Arab Perceptions of the West

A study of public opinion, foreign policy and the role of the media in the Middle East

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Page 12 from Casey Kasem's brochure, *Making a Difference.*

A full copy of the study is available at

www.islamperceptions.org

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Executive Summary

This report is the result of a study conducted by Ms. Gabrielle Mogannam, Ms. Hayat Nadar and Mr. Chris Yalonis of Communique Partners, a leading San Francisco-based market intelligence consultancy. The study was commissioned by the Kuwaiti Ministry of Islamic and Cultural Affairs, with the guidance of Ameen PR, a leading Kuwaiti media and communications firm and Advisory Research & Consultancy, a leading research firm in the Middle East. The report covers research done from March through June, 2006 as part of ongoing research done by Communique Partners on Middle East-West relations and perceptions, the role of the media, and multicultural communications and understanding.

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Ahlan Wasahlan

Welcome

Study objectives

- Better understand the image and perception of the West, specifically major European countries and the US, in the eyes of Arabs in the Middle East, the US and the UK

- Identify the key drivers and influences of that perception and how they are shaped

- Uncover the role of the media in shaping the perception

- Identify the stereotypes and filters of thought that affect how Westerners are perceived

- Identify means of improving perception and intercultural understanding between Arabs and Western non-Arabs and the Western public

Study Components

The study includes the following components:

- Public opinion poll (phone and Internet) of approximately 2000 adults of Arab descent in the US, Egypt, Kuwait, UAE, Lebanon, and Jordan. This used random sampling from a multi-million person database, balanced for general population representation. The survey results have a margin of error of +/- 5% with a 95% confidence level.

- Interviews with experts in government, academia, industry, public affairs, and media

- A review and summary of essential research resources including reports, articles, white

papers, websites, Middle Eastern news, and books

- A review and summary of third party public polls conducted by other research firms

EXPERT COMMENTARY

Attitudinal Segmentation of the Arab World

Country

- The Arab population is far from existing as a monolith. Arabs come from various religious, cultural, educational, and political backgrounds. In turn, Arab attitudes vary based on these diverse backgrounds.

- From a location perspective, there are Christian communities in Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Iraq. Similarly, there are Jewish communities throughout the Middle East especially in Yemen, Northern Iraq and Iran, although the numbers have decreased since the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

- Attitudes will vary depending on the political climate of the country as well as personal experiences. For instance, an Arab that directly suffers somehow from US military presence in Iraq may have harsher views of the United States than one who is experiencing the stories of war via secondary discourse.

- A recent Zogby International public opinion poll reflects these attitudinal differences reporting that overall attitudes toward the US have worsened over the past year in nearly half or more of the population of every Middle Eastern country including the vast majorities in Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

- On the other hand, Lebanon was more likely than the other countries to have improved attitudes toward the US, due to Christian responses in that country.

Class

- Religion and the level of religiosity play a role in the nature of Arab perceptions. Nonetheless, it is imperative to differentiate between those who practice their religion and those who use religion as a platform for political movements.

- Hence, people who belong to and revere Islam understand and accept coexistence of different religions as part of Islam. Those who utilize religion as a platform for influencing the masses politically do not necessarily fall into the religious category.

- Based on recent attitudinal survey data, there are some general differences in positive attitudes toward the West based on these 3 classes as well as country, educational level, and age. All other factors being equal, a person falling in the common category will be less positive as a group toward the West, with professionals being more positive and the learned being the most positive.

- In general, people with higher education tend to view the West in a more positive light with the exception of Egypt and Palestine. Level of education and religiosity did not affect their attitudes toward the West. Nevertheless, Arabs do not think of the West as a monolith.

- In breaking down the West by country, namely US, UK, Germany, and France, the US and UK received the poorest perception ratings across age and level of education. France and Germany on the other hand received the most positive ratings.

THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

Background of Arab Media

- Arab media have transformed drastically over the past two decades moving away from a stagnant and monolithic nature to a dynamic and diverse source of news and entertainment.

- Arabs were not exposed to diverse press until the late 80's to the early 90's. In fact, the Arab world's first exposure to diverse press was that of Western media such as CNN, BBC and APTN.

- To a large extent Arab media was heavily influenced by CNN's coverage of the Gulf war.

- Al Jazeera was one of the first of diverse press to emerge of satellite broadcast channels—a marked turning point in Arab media.

Western Influence on Arab Media

- Initially Arab media adopted much of Western media formats striving to operate with Western media standards.

- The emergence of satellite broadcast channels such as "Al Jazeera" and "Al Arabyia" exemplified a shift toward diversity in content and format.

- As Western media depicted Arabs negatively, the new Arab media covered the colonization, exploitation and images of Israeli and US led military operations.

Ironically, as Arab media moved closer to democracy and diversity, the West tried to silence and interfere with Arab media.

- Hollywood blockbusters introduced Arabs to many Western values that remain admired and sought after such as democracy, education, and popular culture. At the same time, Hollywood reduced Arabs' characters to one-dimensional, barbaric, and dangerous personas.

- Despite the negative depictions in Hollywood films, Western media remain a benchmark for Arab media.

- Two of the most popular shows on Arab television are Arabic versions of "American Idol" and "Who Wants to be a Millionaire".

- Arabs learned a lot a about Western values and culture by watching movies. On the other hand, the West did not have the same opportunity as the absence of an Arabic Hollywood may have been a contributing factor in the West's enigmatic view of Arabs.

Public Diplomacy

- The United States has recently become concerned with its image in the eyes of the Arab world as anti-American sentiments have affected diplomacy and business relationships between the West and the Middle East.

- In an effort to salvage its image and influence Arabs' perceptions of the West, The United States launched a number of media dictated by Westerners for the viewing of Arabs. These media outlets include Al-Hurrah channel [satellite], Sawa [Radio], Voice of America [News Channel], and Radio Free Euro.

- The US funded satellite channel, "Al-hurra" featured programming such as "Al Jazeera in Focus," a show resembling the West's "CNN in focus".

- Business executives and experts alike view the globalization of Al Jazeera as an opportunity for the West to diplomatically rebuild a more favorable image in the eyes of Arabs.

- With anti-American sentiments at an all time high, Al Jazeera's global channel—if approached diplomatically—may be the vessel to improving Arab perceptions of the West and thus improving business relations.

- Scholars, experts, and government officials report the majority of negative perceptions of the West are attributed to Western foreign policy. *The US state department reported that 80% of Arab perceptions may be shaped by foreign policy.* That is likely an exaggeration.

Role of Globalization

- Globalization has played a vital role in bridging some of the misunderstandings between Arabs and the West.

- Despite today's technological advancements that facilitate a wide audience reach, media reach alone cannot change people's perceptions of their experiences.

- Arab perceptions of the West remain an outcome of the experience of poor treatment.

Making a Difference

- A brochure by Casey Kasem (a very well known music historian and disc jockey), published by the Arab American Institute Foundation, beautifully illustrates famous and accomplished Arab Americans who proudly contribute to the US.

- This brochure is one example of outreach programs that can promote positive awareness of Arab American contributions to life in the United States!

THE ROLE OF FOREIGN POLICY

Anti-Western Sentiment in the Arab World

- Research suggests that Arabs generally have a positive opinion of American values and society with American foreign policy being the exception.

- A Pew Global Attitudes survey recently found anti-Americanism stemming from American foreign policy, specifically the ongoing war in Iraq, the war on terror, and U.S. policy in the Israel-Palestinian conflict.

- The 1950's marked the United States' growing presence in Middle Eastern Affairs as it became Israel's' primary ally and protector. Following the Persian Gulf War in the 1990's, there came about a permanent US military presence in the Middle East. Today, the United States has come to symbolize occupation and exploitation in the Arab region—from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to the war in Iraq.

- A recent survey titled "The Arab Street Revisited: Research from Within", explores Arab perceptions of the West, namely the US, UK and France.

A History of Mistrust

- Historically, Arabs have perceived their experience with the West as that of a struggle with foreign occupiers and mistrust—from British and French colonialism to current military presence in Iraq and Palestine.

- Following the British and French's secret agreement to colonize the Arab world, Arab anti-Western sentiment is perceived to have been exacerbated by the Balfour declaration of 1917.

- The agreement granted the Zionists Federation a Jewish state in the middle of Palestine. The US was no longer viewed positively staring with its economic and military support in the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948 and the continued perceived support.

- The 1950's marked the United States' growing presence in Middle Eastern affairs as it became Israel's' primary ally and protector.

Following the Persian Gulf War in the 1990's, there came about a permanent US military presence in the Middle East. Today, the United States has come to symbolize occupation and exploitation in the Arab region—from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to the war in Iraq.

The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

- A recent Zogby poll suggests that Arabs today perceive US policy issues as a major source of the negative US image in the region. When asked whether their overall attitude toward the US was shaped by policy or culture, the majority of respondents indicated that policy as a deciding factor.

- Arab perceived bias in US Israeli-support is often cited by critiques.

- Arab anti-American sentiments increased in the fall of 2000, as prolific demonstrations across the world exhibited dissatisfaction and concern regarding the death of many Palestinians in the first and second *Intifada.*

- "I think the issue of Palestine makes a difference because Palestine has become much more of a symbol for the whole resistance of Arab countries against what many people feel is a neo-colonial strategy enforced by the United States after the September 11 bombing in 2001". *Professor Kai Hafez*

The War on Iraq

• Negative Arab perceptions of the war in Iraq may also be attributed to the large number of civilian casualties. The Human Rights Watch reports that more than 1,000 civilian were killed during the 2003 air war due to the use of ground-launched cluster munitions alone and at least a hundred Iraqis are still killed everyday.

• In response to these negative perceptions and in order to promote political, economic, and educational development in the Middle East the Bush Administration has implemented the Middle East Partnership Initiative highlighting the softer side of American foreign policy

• Many Arabs view the occupation of Iraq and US support for Israeli military rule over Palestinians as authoritarian and a violation of the "basic notion of democracy."

PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY RESULTS

Highlights

These findings are based on a public opinion poll (phone and Internet) of approximately 2000 adults of Arab descent in the US, Egypt, Kuwait, UAE, Lebanon, and Jordan.

Perceptions of the US

• Overall, 54% of all respondents held a somewhat or very favorable opinion of the US. 25% and 14% respectively, held a very and somewhat unfavorable opinion.

• Egypt held the most unfavorable opinions, with 73% unfavorable (51% very unfavorable).

• Lebanon, Kuwait and Arab American respondents held the most favorable views.

UK

• Overall, the UK received a 69% favorability rating. Favorability ratings are highest in Lebanon, Kuwait, and the UAE.

• Lowest ratings were in Egypt (38% unfavorable) and among Arabs in the US.

France

• Overall, France received a 78% favorability rating, highest among the four Western countries that were rated.

• Lebanon and Egypt respondents were especially favorable, with 96% favorable.

• Jordan respondents scored lowest at 28% unfavorable.

Germany

• Overall, Germany received a high 78% favorability rating, on par with France, spread across respondent countries

• Jordan respondents were especially favorable (89%)

• Kuwait respondents held the most unfavorable views at a 15% unfavorable rating.

Most Important Sources of Information about the West

Arabs rely on Arab TV and newspapers as their primary source of information in forming their opinions about Western countries, especially in Egypt and Kuwait. In Lebanon and Jordan especially, a personal interaction with an American or European as a friend or co-worker, as well as a travel experience to the US or Western Europe, are also very important (and positive) influences on their attitudes. Over half of respondents overall said that they knew Americans or Europeans, regularly watch American or European media, or personally traveled to the US or Europe or worked at an American (European) company (or at least had friends or family that did).

Favorability rating of various characteristics of the US (all countries combined)

We rated the favorability and importance of the following factors or characteristics of each of four Western countries, including the US, the UK, France and Germany:

- Science and technology

- People

- Companies in their country

- Aid to their country

- Education

- Place to visit

- Movies/TV/Entertainment

- Promotion of Human Rights/democracy

- Government policy in Israeli/Palestinian conflict

- Non-Military presence in Iraq

- Treatment of Muslims

- Many aspects of the Western countries receive high favorability marks including science and technology (89% positive for the US), people (69%), companies (66%), a place to visit (67%), and TV/movies/entertainment 63%).

- Dramatic drops in positive scores (only 21-31% favorable) come when asked about US promotion of human rights/democracy (perceived hypocrisy), US policy on Palestine, US Military in Iraq, and US treatment of Muslims.

Importance of Characteristics in Determining the Overall Attitude Toward the US

- These characteristics go into a perception prism in which a holistic view of the US and the EU is formed. For the non-policy factors, (i.e., people, technology, entertainment) the positive perception and the importance of those characteristics in forming the overall opinion are within 10% of one another.

Positive perception and importance are congruent.

- But with policy on human rights, Palestine, Iraq, and treatment of Muslims, there is as much as an 18-35% gap on any one factor between the favorability score and the importance of that factor. This could be called the favorability-importance gap because it is so largely negative for several policy factors it overwhelms the other positive factors and causes a substantial percentage of respondents to hold negative opinions overall.

Public Skeptical of Media Accuracy in its Coverage of the US

- Only one third of Arabs believe that the media depicts the US accurately most of the time. Two- thirds believe that the media is wrong half or more of the time. Arabs in the US and Kuwait are especially skeptical.

Attitudes on Religion

- 95% or more of respondents in the Arab countries rated religion as very or somewhat important in their own lives, whereas 56% of Arabs in the US rated it important.

- Sunni Muslims had the highest favorability scores, followed by Christians, and then Shii Muslims.

- Jews, Buddhists, and Hindus received less than 20% favorable scores. An exception was Arab Americans, who rated those groups much higher.

Attitudes on Freedom, Terrorism, and Politics

- Levels of support varied by country in terms of support for basic tenets of democracy and freedoms. High percentages (80s and 90s) in the US, Egypt, and Lebanon agreed with the statement, "It is good for my country to have freedom of the press without censorship". Kuwait (54%) and Jordan (68%) came in lower, but still majorities, in agreement.

Journalists of all nationalities and types of media have an obligation to be objective, professional, and to work to break the cycle of mutually reinforcing animosity between Western and Arab publics. Positive initiatives that can improve Western coverage:

- Government sponsors and non-government owners should facilitate and fund professional journalist training and journalist exchanges with Western news organizations.

- Sponsors should encourage open, free, objective editorial coverage.

- Journalists and news directors should open and expand their sources for unbiased Western experts and spokespeople.

- Look for stories that describe US or European cultural diversity, the role of public opinion, Western media, and how government policy is formed.

- Look for stories that showcase Arab Americans or Arab British success stories in business or entertainment.

- Avoid story images that are sensational or inflammatory that do little for improving context and background of a news event.

OTHER THIRD PARTY OPINION POLL RESULTS

The study also reviewed other third party public opinion polls that were conducted by highly accredited research organizations and found consistent results. Here are some of those findings:

Attitudes of Arabs 2005, Zogby International and Young Arab Leaders, October 2005

Most Important Factor in Determining Attitude Towards US - 2005

Factor	Egypt	Jordan	Lebanon	Morocco	Saudi Arabia	UAE
War in Iraq	57	48	34	45	49	31
President Bush's promotion of democracy and reform	4	6	16	2	9	9
Developments in the Arab-Israeli front	8	13	19	8	8	7
American treatment of Arabs and Muslims	28	28	22	40	32	41
Other	0	3	4	2	0	5

The Arab Street Revisited: Research from Within, Center for Strategic Studies (CSS), February 2005

General Attitudes toward Western Countries, National Samples
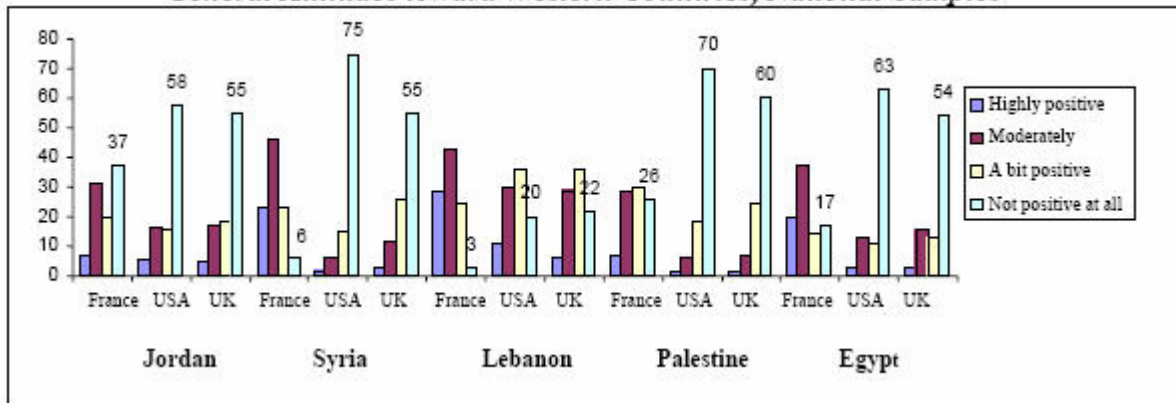
What the Iraqi Public Wants, Program on International Policy Attitudes, January 31, 2006

Will Iraqi Security Forces Be Strong Enough?

Do you think that six months from now Iraqi security forces will be strong enough to deal with the security challenges that Iraq will face, or do you think that Iraq will still need the help of military forces from other countries?

Will still need the help of military forces from other countries

Overall	59%
Kurds	73%
Shia	55%
Sunni	58%

Strong enough to deal with security on it's own

Overall	39%
Kurds	22%
Shia	45%
Sunni	38%

WPO 1/2006

A View from the Arab World: A Survey In Five Countries, The Brookings Institute, March 13, 2003

Country	Based on my values	Based on American policy	Not sure
Saudi Arabia	33	67	0
Morocco	37	59	4
Lebanon	29	58	14
Jordan	36	58	6
Egypt	43	46	11

A majority of citizens in all countries say their attitudes toward the United States are based on American foreign policy.

ROADMAP TO IMPROVING PERCEPTIONS

Recommendations for improving perceptions

Why Public Perception Matters

Popular negative resentment of the US, its allies, and its policies has strong negative consequences for the US and EU governments, as well as for business, educational, cultural and religious groups. Negative sentiments have also impacted Arab governments and citizens. For the US, negative sentiments have played a role in encouraging anti-American violence and exacerbated hostility towards US policies. Moreover, anti-American sentiments jeopardize formal government-to-government relations as well as private interactions between individuals in both regions. Negative perceptions and resentments undermine long term prospects for cooperation. This holds for the EU and Arab countries, also.

Broad anti-Americanism facilitates broad base recruiting for those extremist groups. More common than active participation is the financial and political support that people holding anti-American feelings give to extremist groups.

Few governments can ignore popular sentiment indefinitely. Public opinion affects policy making. A good example is Turkey in the run-up to the 2003 Iraq invasion, where anti-American public opinion forced the Turkish government to decline permission to the US to use bases for a northern Iraq ground attack.

Muslim animosity toward the West minimizes the chances of building and maintaining a basic level of trust or understanding between the West and Muslim societies. A widespread opinion that the US is not considerate of Muslim interests promotes anti-Americanism. Similarly, American and European perceptions that Muslims are generally hostile to the West and its people also generate negative attitudes about Muslims and Islam.

Myths of Perception

Contrary to what some analysts suggest, especially in the West, Arabs do not universally see the West in negative terms. In fact, many Arabs have positive attitudes toward many Western products, technology, education, and people. In addition, there is an overwhelming support among Arabs regarding universal values of democracy, human rights, pluralism, as well as freedom of the press and speech. The majority of Arabs do not view the tension between the Arab world and the West in cultural or religious terms. The majority of Arabs do not attribute tensions to an ongoing Western crusade against them; nor do they support the idea of a Clash of Civilizations. Rather, Arabs distinguish between states, particularly the foreign policy actions of those states. The primary actions and policies that draw the most vehement disapproval include the invasion and continued occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq, and the ongoing over-weighted support of Israel in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

What the US and EU Governments Can Do

1) Evolve Middle East Foreign Policy. The changes in policy that would most positively impact Arab perception include:

- Cut back on the perceived over weighted support of Israel in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Support the Palestinian people with aid and political pressure. Actively discourage Israeli oppressive policies.

- Withdraw US military presence in Iraq rapidly while ensuring security as Iraq forces take over responsibility.

- Minimize perceived hypocrisies between stated US Administration values and actions.

2) Rethink how the US and EU government formulates and communicates its foreign policy.

- Consider public diplomacy concerns and foreign public attitudes and reactions as an integral factor in making policy decisions.

- Strengthen the structure of public diplomacy within the government. Improve its ability to "listen" to foreign public better.

- Craft messages that highlight cultural commonalities between American (European) values and the Arab world.

3) Build and Communicate Key Messages, including US (EU) Government Policies and America's Strengths, Culture and Diversity

- US administration to a 2-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

- US objectives in its fight against terrorism, which is widely condemned by Muslim as an attack on Islam or Muslims in general

- Elucidate the rationale for US overseas military deployments

- US support for democracy and human rights in other Muslim countries

A commitment to protect the civil rights of Muslims and other minorities in the US

4) Develop new institutions to strengthen public diplomacy efforts.

- A "Corporation for Public Diplomacy" would be independent, not-for-profit, and act as a focal point for private sector involvement in public policy, accept private grants, and attract media and personalities.

- Independent Public Diplomacy Training Institute, drawing upon corporations and universities to recruit and train a new breed of Foreign Service professionals to perform critical public diplomacy.

- Increase American (European) libraries and cultural centers in the Middle East that are accessible to the local public and leverage Internet and digital technology.

5) Improve practices of public diplomacy.

- Ensure that diplomats make public diplomacy central to their work

- Enhance training for diplomats and ambassadors

- Train more diplomats and spokespeople in Arabic

- Establish a translation entity for translating the best Western books into Arabic and make them accessible to libraries, schools, and cultural centers.

- Expand the range of America's (European) messengers abroad, including local independent spokespeople.

- Foster increasing meaningful relationships between the US and EU Governments and Middle Eastern journalists.

- Support voices of moderation in Arab states, especially the young, to empower them to engage in effective debate within their societies.

- Utilize satellite broadcasting and Internet channels for communications and interchanges.

- Facilitate bridges between US society and Arab cultures using common pursuits such as art, music, theater, religion, and academia. These include student and professional exchanges, art exhibits, American (European) libraries abroad, and academic endowments.

6) Increase funding and resources.

- Bring public diplomacy in line with its role as a vital part of foreign policy and national security.

- Build congressional parliamentarian support for authorizing and funding public diplomacy efforts.

What NGO's (non-government organizations) in the US, EU and Arab states can do:

NGO's range from foundations, think tanks, and humanitarian aid organizations, to educational groups, interfaith/intercultural institutions, and youth exchange programs.
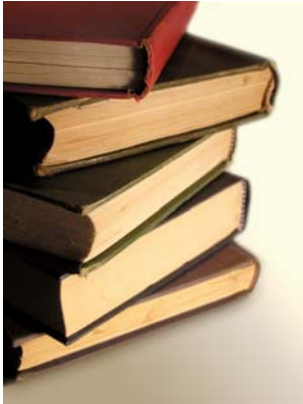
These groups are often more effective in improving Arab-Western relations than government programs. According to opinion research, professional, cultural, and educational exchanges are very effective in bridging gaps in understanding and encouraging cooperation. Effective actions that these groups can do (and do currently) include:

- Arabic and English translation and training programs and centers that translate the best books, educational material, and other media and make it available to the general public.

- Exchange programs that include Arab and Western scholars, scientists, students, youth, business leaders, journalists, legal experts, economists, and development aid leaders.

- Fund and produce books, documentaries, videos, and advanced media using advanced digital and information technology, which improve inter-cultural understanding and appreciation.

- Fund and facilitate the development of dialogue programs and digital community building using the Internet, high band-width communications, satellite TV, and mobile phones.

- Use call in programs and interactive programs on satellite TV to engage Arab and American audiences.

What Arab Governments Can Do:

- Build and resource public diplomacy programs and institutions to communicate country and Arab issues and improve understanding and perception in the West of Arabs and Islamic culture.

- Government and social entities should encourage and facilitate a free media.

- Encourage translations and digital access of the best English (and other language) books into Arabic.

- Encourage and facilitate cultural openness and minimize political pressure on freedom of expression, opinion and association.

- Popularize ICT (information and communications technology) as a tool for knowledge acquisition.

- Promote literacy, especially among women.

- Lower monopolistic barriers on ICT access by gender, economic capability, geographic location, or social conditions.

- Lower Internet access costs.

What Media Organizations Can Do:

Opinion research shows that Arab media, including newspapers, TV news and entertainment, movies, documentaries, and the Internet are important shapers of Arab perceptions of the US and Europe. Based on opinion research, two-thirds of Arabs believe that Arab media is inaccurate about the US 50% of the time or more. Not enough coverage is devoted to in-depth analysis or providing context to form educated judgments on news events. Without appropriate understanding of Western foreign policy, how it is formed, the role of Western media and public opinion, the diversity of Western society, voters, and media, many Arab audiences cannot make an independent assessment of facts and their relative importance.

- The same countries (US, Egypt, Lebanon) had very high agreement (90's) with the statement, "It is good for my country to have freedom of speech to criticize the government", with Kuwait and Jordan in the 70's.

- The US and Egypt had very high agreement (90's) with "it is good for my country to have open, honest, multi-party elections", with fewer in Lebanon (73%) and Jordan (65%) agreeing, and a minority in Kuwait agreeing (40%).

- The statement "Religion is a personal matter separate from government", was highly supported in the US and Lebanon, but only by approximately one third of those in Kuwait, Egypt and Jordan.

- Support for "Western efforts to fight terrorism" varied widely across countries, with high support in Lebanon (69%), then 50% of the groups in Jordan and Kuwait, and then a much smaller percentage in the US and Egypt.

- All countries had scant support (under 5%) for the statement "Al Qaeda is fighting for the rights of Muslims everywhere". The exception was Kuwait, where 35% agreed with the statement.

Finally, The Most Popular Solutions to the War on Terror (in order of most popular):

- Provide development aid to poor countries

- Equally support Palestine and Israel

- Hunt and capture terrorists wherever they are

- Withdraw troops from Iraq immediately

- Keep troops in Iraq until secure

II. Expert Commentary and Analysis

This chapter is based on an analysis of reports, articles, and secondary research on the topic of Arab Perceptions of the West, as well as a series of expert interviews. Ms. Hayat Nadar and Mr. Chris Yalonis with Communique Partners, the study's co-authors, interviewed a group of US, European, and Arab experts in Middle Eastern studies, media relations and diplomatic relations. The experts came from leading universities, media, business, and think tanks in the EU, US and the Middle East. The authors with Communique Partners identified top experts on the topic of Arab relations in the West, through literature and Web based research and networking. Biographies of the contributors are available in the reference section.

Experts who contributed to this chapter included:

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EXPERT COMMENTARY

A key source of insight for this study has come from contributed writings and interviews with experts in academia, government and non-government organizations, media, and think tanks. This chapter draws upon their insight to review several key aspects of Arab perceptions of the West. First, it offers a historical review of Arab perceptions, then a segmentation analysis of perceptions, paying attention to socio-economic class, education, direct experience with Westerners and media consumption behaviors. Next it reviews expert thinking on the role of US foreign policy and the media on Arab perceptions, ending with highlights on means of improving perceptions.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

"Generally speaking, the Arab world overall was the beacon of the world for almost 1000 years – the same way people now come from all over the world to the US to study at our universities, to learn English and to get the best they can get here. It was all just the Arab world and we were Muslim, Christian and Jewish Arabs – we were all Arabs and we have gotten away from that" explains Mr. Nawar Shora, a director at the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC).

In order to understand Arab perceptions it is critical to review the relationship with the West from a historical perspective. The Arab world was colonized and divided by the British and French in the early 20th century in a time when Arabs were under the impression that their relationship was that of allies. Shortly thereafter, Zionist settlers declared the state of Israel in the middle of Palestine in 1947 with the help of Europeans.

Consequently, close to 800,000 Palestinians became refugees in neighboring Arab countries. The 1950's marked the United States' growing presence in Middle Eastern Affairs as it became Israel's' primary ally and protector. Following the Persian Gulf War in the 1990's, there came about a permanent US military presence in the Middle East. Today, the United States has come to symbolize occupation and exploitation in the Arab region—from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to the war in Iraq.

Dr. Kai Hafez, professor of political communication and academic advisor of the President of the Federal Republic of Germany, expands on recent history and its effect on Arab perceptions of the West. "I think the issue of Palestine makes a difference because Palestine has become much more of a symbol for the whole resistance of Arab countries against what many people feel is a neo-colonial strategy enforced by the United States after the September 11 bombing in 2001. I think that really blew the situation to the worse."

> I think the issue of Palestine makes a difference because Palestine has become much more of a symbol for the whole resistance of Arab countries against what many people feel is a neo-colonial strategy enforced by the United States after the September 11 bombing in 2001.
> *Kai Hafez, Professor, International Comparative Communication Science Erfurt, Germany*

Dr. Muhammad Ayish, Dean of the College of Communication at the University of Sharjah, maintains that "history has been defining these negative perceptions ever since the early 19th century– it is about looking at the West as a dominating force – that is relating to the government, foreign policy and ministry intervention."

ATTITUDINAL SEGMENTATION

Country

The Arab population is far from existing as a monolith. Arabs come from various religious,

cultural, educational, and political backgrounds. In turn, Arab attitudes vary based on these diverse backgrounds. For Instance, from a location perspective, there are Christian communities in Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Iraq. Similarly, there are Jewish communities throughout the Middle East especially in Yemen, Northern Iraq and Iran, although the numbers have decreased since the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine[1.]

Mr. Julian Madsen, Senior Researcher for Al Jazeera International shares that when it comes to the Middle East "nothing is clear cut from ethnic divisions, religious divisions and attitudes." He continues to share his travel experiences in the Middle East stating "it is an amazingly diverse region and quite difficult to pigeonhole talk about an Arab region. From living in the gulf now to having lived outside the Gulf—Syria, there are differences. Even linguistically, language is quite different."

> …when it comes to the Middle East "nothing is clear cut from ethnic divisions, religious divisions and attitudes.
> *Julian Madsen, Senior Researcher,* Al Jazeera International

Not only are there inherent differences in culture and language from country to country in the Middle East, but there are also differences in the political state of each country. For instance, an Arab that directly suffers somehow from US military presence in Iraq may have harsher views of the United States than one who is experiencing the stories of war via secondary discourse.

> "you have war, you have conflict, you have people dying on a daily basis, and that is not a misconception".
> *Khaled Hroub, Director, Cambridge Media Project*

Mr. Khaled Hroub, Director of the Cambridge Arab Media Project and Journalist reminds us that "you have war, you have conflict, you have people dying on a daily basis, and that is not a misconception". Attitudes will vary depending on the political climate of the country as well as personal experiences. Mr. Hroub explains that there appears to be a variance in attitude dependent on amount of suffering. "When you see the profile of their life and the pressures every single one of them has at least one or two or three brothers or sisters either killed or imprisoned." Arab perceptions vary by country in relation to the experience of war.

A recent Zogby International public opinion poll reflects these attitudinal differences reporting that overall attitudes toward the US have worsened over the past year in nearly half or more of the population of every Middle Eastern country including the vast majorities in Egypt and Saudi Arabia. On the other hand, Lebanon was more likely than the other countries to have improved attitudes toward the US, due to Christian responses in that country. [2] Religion and the level of religiosity play a role in the nature of Arab perceptions. Nonetheless, it is imperative to differentiate between those who practice their religion and those who use religion as a platform for political movements. Professor Ayish states: "I think that if you are an enlightened Muslim, I don't think that you would be swayed by these sentiments and fanatic ideas. I think once you understand the real value of Islam as a universal religion that respects others, that will be what denounces the violence and terrorism."

I think once you understand the real value of Islam as a universal religion that respects others, that will be what denounces the violence and terrorism. *Muhammad Ayish, Dean of the College of Communication, University of Sharjah, UAE*

Hence, people who belong to and revere Islam understand and accept coexistence of different religions as part of Islam. Those who utilize religion as a platform for influencing the masses politically do not necessarily fall into the religious category. Mr. Nawar Shora with ADC illuminates this idea "Any ideology be it political or religious is often used as a catalyst to move people for better or for worse. If you look at history the greatest religions all preach tolerance and coexistence and peace and yet at the same time the greatest wars in history were often sparked through religion – that is something we cannot loose sight of – an ideology –whether that is a religion or a political motivation we need to be watchful."

Class

Arab attitudes toward the US also vary by level of education, exposure to the West, travel experience and media consumption behaviors.

Similar to regional segmentation, Arab attitudes toward the US also vary by level of education, exposure to the West, travel experience and media consumption behaviors. Clearly, understanding Arab attitudes towards the US is becoming increasingly contingent on cross-national and cross-cultural analysis. Therefore, examining social class as a function of education and exposure to the West is central to a more in depth look at attitudinal segmentation. Professor Ayish illuminates this point. "The breakdown would be contingent on the level of education that the person has. The more educated the person is, the more rational he or she would be in his or her attitudes." Recent research suggests a three category topology for understanding Arab attitudes toward the West, namely the common person, the professional person, and the learned person.[3]

The Common Person

The common person is defined as one who is minimally educated. The common person has little exposure to the outside world, has a high school diploma or less, and works at a local profession. Typically, the common person is thought to seek out his or her political information from radio or television news. It is suggested that the common person's perception of the United States is reduced to its military power, thus not differentiating between US policy and the American people.

For the common person attitudes differ by level of religiosity as well. For instance, the religious common person tends to think that the United States military infiltration of the Middle East is characterized by that of a modern crusade against Islam and clash of civilizations. The non-religious common person on the other hand tends to see the military excursions as a war against the Muslims, a type of "ethnic cleansing." Mr. Ramzi Khoury, a prominent Arab journalist and management perception advisor warns that the perception that the source of conflict in the Middle East is of a modern crusade is very dangerous in that it ignores the problems at hand and leaves no room for improving relations.

The Professional Person

Unlike the common person, the professional person is thought to be one who holds an undergraduate degree and works in an environment that harbors some type of international or Western connection. Typically, the professional person seeks political information from radio, television, newspapers, books as well as the internet.

In breaking down the West by country, namely US, UK, Germany, and France, the US and UK receive the poorest perception ratings across age and level of education. France on the hand receives the most positive ratings. Germany tends to fall in between France and the UK in these findings. [4]

Moreover, the nature of attitudes toward the West does not sway people's affinity to doing business, getting medical care, going to school, or vacationing in France, UK, or the US. Arabs may dislike US policy toward the Middle East, but hold favorable opinions about US products and education.

ATTITUDE TOWARD WESTERN VALUES AND PRODUCTS

"There is a deep divide regarding the image of the United States. There are a lot of positive aspects that are upheld. . . On the other hand there is an extremely negative image of American foreign policy" states Professor Kai Hafez. Recent surveys and polls also reflect this multifaceted perception of the West. In general, Arab perceptions of Western products and values are positive as Arabs have incorporated them into their daily lives—from technology to Western educational opportunities.

The People and a Place to Visit

The Arab culture is that of hospitality and various accounts suggest that Arab perceptions and treatment of Americans remains positive. Mr. Khaled Hroub recounts two stories that illustrate the Arab mentality. "You will see these people are living in extreme conditions, enormous pressures, and still—from my first hand experience— when

you talk to people on the streets, a taxi drivers—very poor— expecting him to be very radical or subjective—they are not." Mr. Hroub remembers a taxi driver tell him. "I see the [Westerners] in my taxi from day to day, they are nice people, they are just like us, but I can't figure out how could they elect bad people like George Bush or Tony Blair?"

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> *Kai Hafez, Professor*

This instance exemplifies the conflicting sentiments Arabs have toward the American people versus the government. Mr. Hroub states: "For me, I have respect for the busy roads of Cairo. Respect for him to tell me that he distinguishes between the policy of George Bush and Western civilians." On a similar note, people look at the United States as a great place to visit. Not only do Arabs take an opportunity to visit the Unites States but they also strive toward spending some of their time here to expand their educational horizons. Mr. Madsen, Senior Researcher at Al-Jazeera International explains that "most Arabs don't have anything against the [American] people or their products." In fact, "if Arabs had the opportunity to go live in the States, they would do so- Whether it's for college opportunities, work or to move there with their families."

Products

Western products and their use are evident in the Arab world. Although some Western corporate executives have expressed concern regarding the effects of the deteriorating relations between the West and the Middle East, Western products are still widely used. Some attempts have been made to boycott American products but according to experts the majority of the Arab region has led boycotts at one point or another, but they were short lived.

Mr. Ramzi Khoury, a journalist and perception management expert elucidates the conflicting sentiments toward American products.

Mr. Ramzi Khoury, a prominent Arab journalist and management perception advisor warns that the perception that the source of conflict in the Middle East is of a modern crusade is very dangerous in that it ignores the problems at hand and leaves no room for improving relations.

The professional person makes sense of international conflict by examining US international interests, specifically economic motivations such as military intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq for the sake of oil. They also view US policies and potential war victories as a vessel for boosting reelection.

Moreover, the professional person tends to be aware and critical of US portrayals of Arabs and Muslims by the media. Nevertheless, professionals do not view America as a monolith; rather they differentiate between America's commercial interest and the people. Attitudes differ slightly among professionals. Semi-secular professionals may view US interventions as an attempt to disintegrate Arab ways of life. The secular professionals on the other hand perceive US policies in relation to US economic interests.

The Learned Person

Lastly, there is the learned person who is generally well read, aware, and engaged in today's global culture. The learned person is thought to be considerably experienced in dealing with the West through his or her career, travel, and study. Moreover, the learned person is thought to be linguistically capable and well versed in Western literature. The learned person feels US policy has directly resulted in the inability to open political, cultural, and religious communication. The learned person sees democracy as something that can not be installed; rather only conditions for the development of democracy can be put in place.

It is inconceivable to the learned person that a civil society could exist in the Arab world without drawing on Muslim culture. Therefore, internal political authoritarianism and external intervention that result in a culture of poverty and steer popular movements toward rigid goals work against peace and prosperity in the region.

Professor Ayish sums up the diversity in Arab perceptions. "Some people who have had some experience living in the West and interacting with Western people would not have the same reasons for these perceptions as people who have never been outside or are just captive to their positions and beliefs. It depends on who you are speaking to and there is no one logical way to look at our perceptions as just one entity. It is multifaceted and it depends on the country and it depends on the person, it depends on the time." *Muhammad Ayish, Dean of the College of Communication, University of Sharjah, UAE*

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In Conclusion

Based on recent attitudinal survey data, there are some general differences in positive attitudes toward the West based on these 3 classes as well as country, educational level, and age. All other factors being equal, a person falling in the common category will be less positive as a group toward the West, with professionals being more positive and the learned being the most positive. At the same time youth (ages 16-24) exhibit lower levels of positive attitudes. Moreover, attitudes towards the US and the UK vary with age. About half of younger Arabs are more likely to view these countries positively.

In general, people with higher education tend to view the West in a more positive light with the exception of Egypt and Palestine. Level of education and religiosity did not affect their attitudes toward the West. Nevertheless, Arabs do not think of the West as a monolith.

"There is more of a conflict with Western products. Arabs can't live without and don't want to live without American products." Mr. Madsen backs up Mr. Khoury ascertaining that "American products are everywhere in the region. They are by and large seen as seen as superior in many ways." In addition, corporations have responded and worked through any type of boycotts by promoting goodwill. Mr. Khoury provides an example. "A few years back, especially during the invasion of Iraq and even before that, there was a serious attempt to boycott American products and that attempt actually worked. I know for example McDonalds in Saudi Arabia declared that they were going to donate money from every hamburger sold to the Palestinians in an attempt to get people to start seeing McDonalds as a company that is not hostile to Arabs."

Professor Ayish from the University of Sharjah sheds light on the state of American products in the Arab world. "I found that about 70% of the commercial broadcasts from different channels are for multinational corporations that have some operations in the Middle East. About 2/3 of the commercials are sponsored by mostly European and American corporations – this gives you an indication that the media are playing a very active role in promoting foreign operations in the area." It is evident that Western products are very much welcomed and consumed in the Arab world despite the tension between the West and the Middle East.

Education

Arabs look up to the West's educational and technological advancements. Professor Ayish explains that "the West is associated with progress, science, knowledge of liberalism and good values. . . I respect the West because it is the source of progress, the source of human development – it has given us a lot technology and science and new values – I can make the distinction." Again, Arabs are reported to revere many American values and advancements.

Mr. Madsen shares his experience of interacting with Arabs who have sought continued education in the West. "The friend I was living with in Damascus just finished his medical degree at Damascus University and the same story is repeated with all of his friends— that they have gone to or they intend to go in the next year when they finish their course, their plan is to go UK or to go to the US." Despite the negative sentiments toward Western policy, specifically US policy, Arabs give credit where it is due, namely the accomplishments and educational advancements of the West.

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Entertainment

Although some Arabs maintain a perception that Western entertainment may have acted as an invasion to Arab culture, the majority of Arabs consume American entertainment. The idea and its existence today of Western culture as an invasion has been "handed over from generation to generation - if you are going to do a poll on the notion of a Western invasion you are going to find that people agree – yet people watch American movies – American movies are the only watchable movies – no body wants to watch a European movie or a Chinese movie or Pakistani or Egyptian movie really – because the standard of movies has been set by American movies" shares Mr. Khoury.

Other experts maintain that Arabs "love American movies. The main staple is American action movies. Censorship aside, American movies and American pop culture is enormously important in the region", adds Mr. Madsen.

Even "the music channel which is broadcast in the region—maybe you have it in your own home. Arabs even download the latest tunes to their mobile phones. They can be either Western or Arab pop tunes that people are downloading to their mobile and they're indispensable."

> I think Arabs by and large are more informed, are more aware of cultural norms within the West than Westerners are of Arab norms within the Middle East.
> *Ramzi Khoury, Journalist and Strategic Communications Expert Advisor for Government of Saudi Arabia*

Clearly, Arab attitudes towards Western values and products are positive. Mr. Ramzi Khoury attributes these attitudes to exposure to Western values "I think Arabs by and large are more informed, are more aware of cultural norms within the West than Westerners are of Arab norms within the Middle East."

Treatment of Arabs and Human Rights

Unfortunately, Arab sentiments toward the treatment of Arabs and human rights in general are not as positive as that of American products and values. Arabs have felt mistreated by the West on a number of levels including unbiased support of Israel that has impacted the terror that Palestinians have been and still are experiencing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the invasion of Iraq and the daily death of Iraqi civilians,

> Arabs have felt mistreated by the West on a number of levels including unbiased support of Israel that has impacted the terror that Palestinians have been and still are experiencing in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the invasion of Iraq and the daily death of Iraqi civilians, and media's demeaning and demonizing portrayal of Arabs in Hollywood movies.

and media's demeaning and demonizing portrayal of Arabs in Hollywood movies. Moreover, negative treatment of Arabs is also greatly felt outside of the Middle East in places such as the United States.

Mr. Nawar Shora, director of the law enforcement outreach program describes Arab sentiment regarding the manner in which they are treated. "In one word I would say fear. In a more precise word I would say mistrust – but it is actually both. Especially for Arabs visiting the United States or recent immigrants to the United States— there is a lot of fear because they are afraid they will be harassed in the airport and they are afraid they will be reading a book in Arabic and all of a sudden the FBI will show up. They are afraid they will be kicked off the plane and that is humiliating."

Negative treatment of Arabs has extended into the business world with the United States rejecting business dealings with UAE. In a recent debate regarding the port deal, Dr. James Zogby, president of the Arab American Institute states "smearing Arabs is the last acceptable form of ethnic bigotry in America. When referring to the comments made by senators and radio talk show hosts, Dr. Zogby explains "they've been using shameful language . . . Like ties to Islamic fascism… comparing the devil with Dubai. Look, the last best friends we've got in the Middle East are the business community, and they are thinking twice right now about whether capital ought to go where risk and controversy follows. It is not in our national interests..." [5]

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Arab perception of the importance of human rights to the West, and especially the United States is that of ambivalence. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the United States' halting of the Security Council's involvement exemplify the drive for Arabs thinking that America does not uphold human rights as important—outside of its own people. [6] Although Arab perceptions remain positive toward certain aspects of US values, experts agree that the clock is ticking.   Professor Kai reminds us that "Arabs still very much uphold certain cultural aspects of the American way of life. You shouldn't destroy the remnants of that kind of sympathy."

Professor Ayish summarizes the complexity of the US Image. "American behavior is perceived as being largely predatory. This hostility is spilling over into negative attitudes toward American people and brands. Yet Muslims still respect, if somewhat grudgingly, America's economic strength, educational and legal systems, and work ethic. They recognize that America possesses what they believe their own societies need most to develop. They are of two minds about American popular culture, drawn to American styles and movies yet appalled by their violent and lewd aspects. Many Muslims are so alienated that they claim they would not like to visit the United States, nor would they mind if the United States withdrew—politically, economically, and militarily—from the Muslim world. There are some predictable demographic differences -- older people, women, and those further from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are less hostile -- but the most striking finding is how widely anger has spread across the different demographic groups and

countries."

The Role of Western Foreign Policy in shaping Arab Perceptions

A recent Zogby International opinion poll found that negative perception of the United States is based on American policies.[7] This perception for many Arabs is not shaped by media but is the consequence of American foreign policies that are experienced during the course of Arab daily life. Dr. Kai Hafez states, "the Arab world—the daily experience of what I would call a renewed American presence in the region in all sorts of countries from Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. All that is felt very much.

People see that, the Americans are present militarily and politically and they are very active."

> "We want the West of poetry and creativity, technology and science. What we don't want is tanks, guns, and wars. We want these guys to be here as tourists. We don't want [them] to be here as soldiers

Moreover, the renewed American military presence has generated anti-American sentiment directed mainly at the US government. Mr. Khaled Hroub, relating the comments of an Arab shop owner, explains, "We want the West of poetry and creativity, technology and science. What we don't want is tanks, guns, and wars. We want these guys to be here as tourists. We don't want [them] to be here as soldiers." Arab perceptions of the US is an outcome of direct experience and suffering due to Western policies, especially that of the United States.

Arabs view US policy in their region to be that of self interest and feel this directly contradicts such notions as spreading democracy. Mr. Khoury illustrates the perceived double standards. "You cannot say that you have invaded Iraq and now so many people have died – on a daily basis there are 100's of Iraqis who get killed – and you are doing this in order to give the Iraqis democracy – so basically American foreign policy is the cause for adverse perception.

Arabs are very skeptical about the concept of democracy according to Professor Ayish. "People here are very skeptical about the concept of democracy, not because they don't like it but because the way it is being presented is hypocritical. If democracy is about people choosing their leaders then it should apply across the board." The case of the Palestinians electing Hamas and the US opposition of this exemplifies the nature of

contradictions that Arabs are facing from the US. "The case of Hamas for example has been taken as yet another indicator that the administration is not serious about applying democracy in the Arab world" states Professor Ayish.

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> *University of Sharjah, UAE*

Extreme times beget extremist groups. The Arab world is experiencing war, death and the absence of leadership. Mr. Khoury states "I am not undermining the influence of the Islamists movement in creating perception in the Middle East- but the Islamist movements are using American foreign policy in order to be able to do that." In other words, military actions that are carried out as part of America's foreign policy to combat terrorism or Islamist; and that result of daily suffering of part of the Arab population are exploited by Islamist movements to further their cause.

> In order for the media to play a role in helping improve Arab perceptions of the West, a slight shift in foreign policy should occur because as long as Arabs are experiencing suffering that is secondary to foreign policy, perceptions will remain the same if not worsen.

Mr. Ramzi Baroud, a prominent Arab journalist points out that the Western image problem is deeply rooted in Arabs' historical experience with the West. Arab public perceptions of American and British policies in the Middle East are those of hypocrisy, colonialism, repression, and aggression. In order for the media to play a role in helping improve Arab perceptions of the West, a slight shift in foreign policy should occur because as long as Arabs are experiencing suffering that is secondary to foreign policy, perceptions will remain the same if not worsen.

The Role of Arab and Western Media in Shaping Arab Perceptions

Media have been known to play a powerful role in shaping public opinion. It is important to note though that it does not operate alone in shaping perception. Factors that determine media effects on a population include trust in the message source as well as relating to the media content. Audiences typically are moved by media that resonates with their experience. Professor Shibley Telhami, Senior Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy argues that mass media are most effective where people have no first hand experience with the issue at stake and therefore must rely on the media.

Mr. Khaled Hroub expounds on Arab attitudes toward Western media pointing out double standards as a source of distrust. "What I am saying, even the concept of free speech, you can practice it, when it comes to criticizing Muslims and Arabs in Western media, but when it comes to criticizing Israel or any Israeli aggression against the Palestinians free speech goes out the window. So in conclusion, we end up with no credibility in Western media, and this is how it is viewed by Arabs."

Mr. Hroub explains the source of rightful increased trust in the Arab media comes from Al

Jazeera's encouragement of covering all points of view including that of political leaders that have been considered caustic to Arab quality of life. "The airtime that was given to these officials was even more than the time that they enjoyed on CNN. It was tremendous, it was even boring, from TV standards. People at Al Jazeera, Al Arabiya, and Abu Dhabi would cover the press conference entirely, to avoid being accused that they are cutting the American view from reaching Arab audiences."

Trusting the source or the messenger is just as important as media content. Moreover, media content must resonate with the experience of the audience. In fact, media becomes secondary when the content is divergent in nature from the people's experience. Professor Kai Hafez addresses the role of media in improving Arab perceptions. "I think the basic and the bottom line of the negative perceptions of American foreign policy in the region is somewhat resistant to media influences. I don't think it plays a vital role. What kind of coverage do you have in Arab mass media? You've got coverage that would be countering the personal experience people have and it wouldn't be trusted." Clearly the influence of Western media in recent years has been minimal in improving Arab perception.

Arab media have been perceived to balance the Western media content especially when it comes to coverage on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the war in Iraq. Professor Ayish states that "there is a large amount of trust in the new formats like Al-Jazeera. A few polls that we have - show that the trust in Al Jazeera is still very high among most Arab populations. Most people think it's an independent medium. There has been a tremendous change." On the contrary, Western media is losing its credibility in the Arab world. Media in general have played a role in

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> *Khaled Hroub, Director*
> *Cambridge Media*

Arabs lends itself to further instilling distrust and offense in Arab perceptions of the West. Today, Arabs have little or no trust in Western media."

Mr. Nawar Shora comments on discrepancies in messages that are presented by the media that imply that Arabs dislike the West. "It is not hatred; it is fear – that is where messages get mixed up with Western media because they interpret the fear as hatred. I am going to quote George Lucas 'ignorance leads to fear, fear leads to hate, hate leads to suffering' and that is true."

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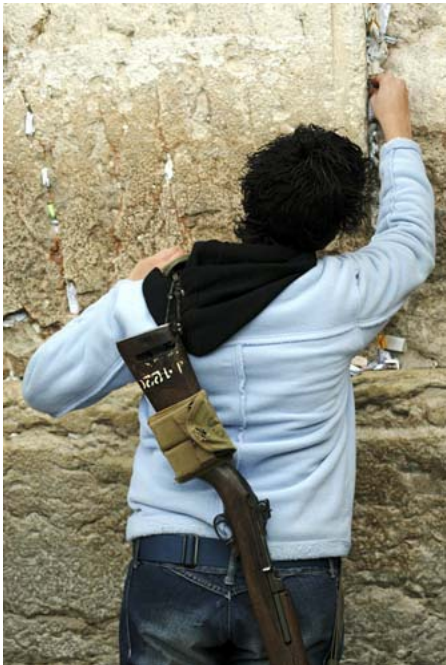
Improving Arab Perceptions and Relations

Much can be done to improve the perception of Arabs toward the West. Although foreign policy is the main driver in shaping Arab perceptions, experts agree that there still remain strategies for improvements. Recommendations range from increasing non-government organization activity and exhibiting empathy for Arab suffering in the media to increasing level of exposure by implementing educational exchange programs and public diplomacy campaigns. Some suggestions include changing the foreign policy terrain by ending the occupation of the West bank and ending the war in Iraq. Another vital change must be to eliminate the double standards that are being employed by the West.

Mr. Hroub expounds by stating "there is hypocrisy—this is a fact and not an accusation. There are double standards and unfortunately the Arab media can't improve them. They would be lying otherwise. The job the Arab media can do—and is doing— is to give the platform to Americans and American foreign policy voices, to provide these messages, and then it is up to the audience to judge. The Arab audience is so far judging things as they see them from the ground and their experience, not on the media. If you have people killed every single day in Iraq, you can't ask Arab media to say people are not being killed in Iraq. You have to say something else. If the entire venture in Iraq is failing and this is acknowledged by the Americans themselves, one can't pressure the Arab media to say that the adventure there has been successful." Professor Hafez adds that "there needs to be concerted effort and a political strategy on the part of the American civil society and then you can do an image campaign with that and try to improve the American image. As long as image policy is isolated from anything on the

> If you have people killed every single day in Iraq, you can't ask Arab media to say people are not being killed in Iraq. You have to say something else. If the entire adventure is failing and this is acknowledged by the Americans themselves, one can't pressure the Arab media to say that the adventure there has been successful.
> *Khaled Hroub*
> *Director*
> *Cambridge Media Project*

ground and from political and economic realities I don't think it leads to a positive end."

Mr. Shora of ADC suggests that people get involved in the system. "The government is merely one arm of a multi-armed entity – one is join the government and become the government. If you have a problem, run for US Senate – start small and run for city council." Mr. Shora continues to emphasize the importance of involvement in the political system and points out that Arab Americans can do that. "Arab Americans coming out who are well educated, know the system, don't have the accent, are proud to be Arab and proud to be American – it is a healthy balance of both and they are ready to make a change. What is beautiful about American society is that anybody can become what they wish – the mobility – you have a problem with the government or have a problem with the system, join it and become it, fix it – it allows for one to do that." Similarly, Mr. Trevor

Mostyn, a Middle East journalist and consultant explains that "Arabs need to be more inroads with policy makers and lobby more effectively as well as monitor anti-Arab media coverage and respond to it with swat teams."

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> *Trevor Mostyn,*
> *Author, publisher, media consultant in*

Ms. Laila Al-Qatami, communications director at the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) suggests increasing communication and exposure stating "the more that you understand people by personal contact the better off you are, so having American engagement by sending more American students to the region. It is very difficult to have misunderstandings if you actually get to know people and it does not take that much but we have to have the courage to do that. Secondly, I think the US leadership, whether it is in industry or universities or government – has to decide what kind of message it wants to convey to people – and as simple minded as that may seem some coherence in that message would be very useful." Mr. Nawar Shora with ADC adds that "we need more ambassadors across the Western culture to let them know and to humanize and bring understanding – to bring communication."

There is much hope in non-governmental organizations bridging the gap in communication. Mr. Hroub explains that "there is a need to counter attack from non-governmental organizations, to reach out regarding national foreign policy, to speak and say we are against it, and we are mobilizing ourselves, we are trying to improve or change this foreign policy. This will give some confidence to the Arab people that they are not completely ignored and neglected by the American people." Mr. Julian Madsen points out that popular culture has much influence on that, namely, "Arabs as well as Arab Americans – have much influence on popular culture and thus the people."

The notion of education on every one's part is also very important. There is a portion of Arabs that reportedly believe that this is a clash of civilizations or a modern crusade. This perception has been rendered dangerous by a number of experts. Even the term anti-Westernism may be harmful in itself as it conveys a misperception and does not leave room for the admiration that Arabs have for certain Western values and cultures beyond politics. Mr. Hroub expands on this idea. "The tale that speaks of anti-Americanism and anti-Westernism implies misperception. And this time it is coming from the West itself. When you say that we have strong anti-American sentiment across the Middle East, what does it mean? Does it mean that people hate Western or American movies? People go and watch these movies everywhere and just love them. As I said, these are very familiar household names. So people, they don't hate America or American things, they hate the American government, they hate the American army, they hate the American invasions in their countries. So, I think you have a misuse of a term that is really destructive."

Finally, it is important for the US to maintain political actions that are in congruence with US values. A recent report submitted to the US Senate echoes the importance to have a parallel between foreign policy and US values. "We must underscore the common ground in both our values and policies. We have failed to listen and failed to persuade. We have not taken the time to understand our audience and we have not bothered to help them understand us. We can not afford such shortcomings. Surveys show that Arabs and Muslims admire the universal values for which the United States stands. They admire, as well, our technology, entrepreneurial zeal, and the achievements of Americans as individuals.

We were told many times in our travels in Arab countries that- we like Americans but not what the American government is doing. This distinction is not realistic, since Americans elect its government and broadly support its foreign policy, but the assertion that- we like you but don't like your policies offers hope for transformed public diplomacy. Arabs and Muslims, it seems, support our values but believe our policies do not live up to them. [8]

> "The tale that speaks of anti-Americanism and anti-Westernism implies misperception. And this time it is coming from the West itself. When you say that we have strong anti-American sentiment across the Middle East, what does it mean? Does it mean that people hate Western or American movies? People go and watch these movies everywhere and just love them. As I said, these are very familiar household names. So people, they don't hate America or American things, they hate the American government, they hate the American army, they hate the American invasions in their countries. So, I think you have a misuse of a term that is really destructive."
> *Khaled Hroub, Director, Cambridge Media Project*

III. The Role of the Media

The following chapter is a review of critique regarding the role of media in shaping Arab perceptions of the west. Furthermore, it explores Arab media, public diplomacy and globalization.

Background of Arab Media

Arab media have transformed drastically over the past two decades moving away from a stagnant and monolithic nature to a dynamic and diverse source of news and entertainment. Until recently, Arab media have been predominantly government controlled. Scholars have proposed three categories to better describe the topology of Arab media, namely, mobilized press, loyalty press, and diverse press. Mobilized press represents government controlled press where media is a sole reflection of government agenda. Loyalty press is not necessarily controlled by the government but still reflects the partisan views of private investors where prestige supersedes profit. Diverse press assumes a more objective role and acts as a tool for the dissemination of information as opposed to the construction of propaganda. [9]

> Arab world's first exposure to diverse press was that of western media such as CNN, BBC and APTN.

Arabs were not exposed to diverse press until the late 80's to the early 90's. In fact, the Arab world's first exposure to diverse press was that of western media such as CNN, BBC and APTN. To a large extent Arab media was heavily influenced by CNN's coverage of the Gulf war. Live coverage, network of correspondence and a wider range of program choices were only a few media formats adopted by Arabs from western media. Al Jazeera was one of the first of diverse press to emerge of satellite broadcast channels—a marked turning point in Arab media.

Western influence on Arab Media

Western influence on Arab media has been paradoxical in nature. Not only did the West provide a prototype for Arab media, but it also continued to play a role in shaping its development. Initially Arab media adopted much of western media formats striving to operate with western media standards.

The emergence of satellite broadcast channels such as "Al Jazeera" and "Al Arabyia" exemplified a shift toward diversity in content and format. News channels covered the unrest in the region without demeaning Arabs' image. Some viewed the nature of media content as a derivative of the interaction of western and Arab media. As western media depicted Arabs negatively, the new Arab media covered the colonization, exploitation and images of Israeli and US led military operations. Ironically, as Arab media moved closer to democracy and diversity, the west tried to silence and interfere with Arab media. [10]

Moving away from news reporting to media as entertainment, Hollywood appears to have played a role in shaping Arab perceptions of the west. Hollywood blockbusters introduced Arabs to many western values that remain admired and sought after such as democracy, education, and popular culture. At the same time, Hollywood reduced Arabs' characters to one-dimensional, barbaric, and dangerous personas. Despite the negative depictions in Hollywood films, western media remain a benchmark for Arab media.

Arabs, like many other people, primarily seek media for entertainment. Arabs have looked up to western entertainment. In fact, some of the most popular Arab television shows have been modeled after western television.

The USC Center on Public Diplomacy- the Middle East Media Project surveyed content of Arab media only to find two of the most popular shows on Arab television are Arabic versions of "American Idol" and "Who Wants to be a Millionaire". [11] Moreover, many of entertainment driven TV channels broadcast a variety of mini-series and talk shows based on American primetime TV shows. Some television stations broadcast American versions of talk shows and soap operas in English with Arabic subtitles.

> …two of the most popular shows on Arab television are Arabic versions of "American Idol" and "Who Wants to be a Millionaire.

Arabs appear to harbor mixed emotions toward western entertainment. Evidence illustrates that Arabs enjoy the majority of American media and entertainment so long as it does not demean them or portray them in a negative fashion. Arabs learned a lot a about western values and culture by watching movies. On the other hand, the west did not have the same opportunity as the absence of an Arabic Hollywood may have been a contributing factor in the west's enigmatic view of Arabs. Interestingly enough, when it comes to entertainment, Arabs and the west have a lot in common.

Public Diplomacy

The United States has recently become concerned with its image in the eyes of the Arab world as anti-American sentiments have affected diplomacy and business relationships between the west and the Middle East. In an effort to salvage its image and influence Arabs' perceptions of the west, The United States launched a number of media dictated by westerners for the viewing of Arabs. These media outlets include Al-Hurrah channel [satellite], Sawa [Radio], Voice of America [News Channel], and Radio Free Euro. The US funded satellite channel, "Al-hurra" featured programming such as "Al Jazeera in Focus," a show resembling the English "CNN in focus". A magazine for Arab teens was also launched to influence young Arab perceptions. Although the US channel had potential in improving Arab Perceptions of the west, the consequences of western foreign policy remained a more powerful factor in shaping Arab Perceptions. Another development in Arab Media

has been the recent attention to the idea of corporate public diplomacy and the role of media in

> The United States launched a number of media dictated by westerners for the viewing of Arabs. Including, Al-Hurrah channel [satellite], Sawa [Radio], Voice of America [News Channel], and Radio Free Euro

bettering business relationships.[12] In general, the Arab media have not been market driven. To the contrary, broadcasting stations are typically owned and funded largely by the private sector. Recently, Al Jazeera announced that it would be expanding globally reaching out to a wide range of audience. Business executives and experts alike view the globalization of Al Jazeera as an opportunity for the west to diplomatically rebuild a more favorable image in the eyes of Arabs. A recent Zogby study surveyed business executives and found many are distressed with anti-American sentiment and it has negatively affected business relations. With anti-American sentiments at an all time high, Al Jazeera's global channel—if approached diplomatically—may be the vessel to improving Arab perceptions of the west and thus improving business relations. [13]

Although media has typically played an influential role in shaping people's perceptions, simply relying on media in

> With anti-American sentiments at an all time high, Al Jazeera's global channel—if approached diplomatically—may be the vessel to improving Arab perceptions of the west and thus improving business relations.

improving Arab perceptions of the west may not suffice. Scholars, experts, and government officials report the majority of negative perceptions of the west are attributed to western foreign policy. **The US state department reported that 80% of Arab perceptions are shaped by foreign policy.** In 2005, the Pew Center research suggested that the war on Iraq, war on terrorism, and support of Israel are critical drivers of negative perceptions of the US in the Middle East. The Arab American

Institute also surveyed Arabs in six countries regarding US image in the Middle East and reported foreign policy as the key driver of negative images of the United States as opposed to US cultural values. The bottom line is that the US image problem is not derived from 24 hour satellite channels and/or print media. Rather, it is rooted in the west's historical and current relationship with the Middle East characterized by colonialism and exploitation.[14]

Recent developments in Arab Media include a move towards a more objective and neutral reporting strategy. For example, Al Jazeera is working to achieve new free media. In an effort to build and maintain an objective and neutral news source, Al Jazeera has invited and hired people from all over the world in launching its global version. It also plans on having offices in different parts of the world encouraging a wide scope of perspectives and welcoming personalities of all political view points.

> The bottom line is that the US image problem is not derived from 24 hour satellite channels and/or print media. Rather, it is rooted in the west's historical and current relationship with the Middle East characterized by colonialism and exploitation.

Role of Globalization

Globalization has played a vital role in bridging some of the misunderstandings between Arabs and the west. [15] Despite the majority of news being delivered via television stations and print sources, more and more people in the Middle East are beginning to utilize the internet as a source for news and entertainment. The Internet is a vast platform allowing exchange of information and opinions. In a sense, the internet has democratized information in that people can access information that may have otherwise not been available. Despite today's technological advancements that facilitate a wide audience reach, media reach alone cannot change people's perceptions of their experiences. Arab perceptions of the west remain an outcome of the experience of poor treatment.[16] Arabs are experiencing war and forced governance from the west. **It is evident that Arabs need a change in their experience of the West before a change in perception is possible**. Perhaps when diplomacy replaces coercion, media will regain influence in shaping perceptions.

Making a Difference:

A brochure by Casey Kasem (a very well known music historian and disc jockey), published by the Arab American Institute Foundation, beautifully illustrates famous and accomplished Arab Americans who proudly contribute to the US. This brochure is one example of outreach programs that can promote positive awareness of Arab American contributions to life in the United States!

"There are about 3 million Arab Americans, and as a community, we've been demonstrating loyalty, inventiveness, and courage on behalf of the United States for over 100 years."

"Arab Americans are grocers and governors, physicians and farmers, Indy 500 champs and taxicab drivers, financiers and factory workers, bakers and bankers, salesmen and senators, TV stars and TV repairmen, teachers and preachers, Heisman Trophy-winning quarterbacks and neighborhood sandlot heroes. Name it, and an Arab American has probably done it." [17]

IV. The Role of Foreign Policy

The following chapter is a review of articles and expert opinion regarding the role of foreign policy in shaping Arab perceptions of the west. A number of third party public opinion polls of Arab perception suggest a rise in anti-western sentiment primarily due foreign policy on the war in Iraq and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Anti-Western Sentiment in the Arab World

Research suggests that Arabs generally have a positive opinion of American values and society with American foreign policy being the exception. A Pew Global Attitudes survey recently found anti-Americanism stemming from American foreign policy, specifically the ongoing war in Iraq, the war on terror, and U.S. policy in the Israel-Palestinian conflict.[18] Moreover, negative perceptions extend beyond the United States as research suggests that many Arabs are also critical of British foreign policy.

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A recent survey titled "The Arab Street Revisited: Research from Within", explores Arab perceptions of the west, namely the US, UK and France. Results indicate an overwhelmingly large percentage of Arabs surveyed were critical of American and British foreign policies, but viewed French foreign policy positively. The survey also highlights that Arab perceptions remain positive toward western values in general such as liberty, hard work, pursuit of knowledge, and wealth.[19]

Nevertheless, western foreign policy has been viewed as hypocritical furthering the loss of its credibility among Arabs. In the wake of Hamas having been chosen as the preferred government for the Palestinians by the Palestinians in January 2006, the US faces further complications regarding its image and role in the Arab world. One author posits that the notion of democracy in the Middle East has been a major premise for US military presence in Iraq and its unconditional financial and military backing of Israel. US commitment to democracy vs. US political interest in the Middle East is under scrutiny.[20]

A History of Mistrust

Historically, Arabs have perceived their experience with the west as that of a struggle with foreign occupiers and mistrust—from British and French colonialism to current military presence in Iraq and Palestine. In recounting Arab experiences with western colonialism, scholars highlight WWI a defining period of suspicious perceptions of the west. Arabs cooperated with Great Britain during WWI in return for a promise of independence from the governance of the Ottoman Empire. Britain accepted Arab military support but did not follow through on its agreement regarding Arab independence. When WWI ended with the Turkish defeat, Arabs did not gain the much anticipated and promised independence. To the contrary, Arabs found themselves being colonized under British and French control. Thus began Arab perceptions of the west as a Machiavellian power, namely a power willing to say and do anything in an effort to further its western cause.[21]

Following the British and French's secret agreement to colonize the Arab world, Arab anti-western sentiment is perceived to have been exacerbated by the Balfour declaration of 1917. The agreement granted the Zionists Federation a Jewish state in the middle of Palestine.[22] The US was no longer viewed positively staring with its economic and military support in the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948 and the continued perceived support.

> Historically, Arabs have perceived their experience with the west as that of a struggle with foreign occupiers and mistrust—from British and French colonialism to current military presence in Iraq and Palestine.

occupation and military force. When the Security Council tried to interfere in bringing peace to the region, the US vetoed the UN efforts. Arab sentiment is captured by a Palestinian U.N. observer. "We are the people under occupation, and it is our right and a duty to come to the body responsible for international peace and security, to the United Nations, to the Security Council, and try to help the situation." [26] It is thought that Arabs have been angered by the unreasonable position of the US regarding these issues. There appears to be a double standard when it comes to treatment of Arabs, Israelis and US interests.

The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

A recent Zogby poll suggests that Arabs today perceive US policy issues as a major source of the negative US image in the region. When asked whether their overall attitude toward the US was shaped by policy or culture, the majority of respondents indicated that policy as a deciding factor. Arabs report the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the war in Iraq as major drivers of negative sentiments.[23]

Arab perceived bias in US Israeli-support is often cited by critiques. In an article published in the Arab Reform Bulletin the author suggests that "most damaging of all [to Arabs] is the unqualified US support of Israel despite its occupation of Palestinian lands." [24] Similarly, the opinion of an Arab business official captured by a researcher on Arab perceptions expounds on such sentiments. "Regarding America's foreign policy toward the Arabs, we don't actually expect the US to be one hundred percent unbiased, but we do wish the US was just ten percent unbiased".[25]

Arab anti-American sentiments increased in the fall of 2000, as prolific demonstrations across the world exhibited dissatisfaction and concern regarding the death of many Palestinians in the first and second *Intifada.* The Intifada is the Palestinians plight in standing up to Israeli

An article examining US business relations with GCC countries and the role of the *intifada,* also suggests that US political reaction to the year 2000 outbreaks of violence was marked turning point for Arab perceptions. The author states that GCC leaders "call attention to the fact that the United States consistently fails to demand that Israel be held similarly accountable for its defiance of the Security Council". [27]

It is reported that Arab government and military leaders are disappointed in the perceived US failure in even protecting its own interests in the region. GCC leaders do not believe that the US is completely aware of the amount of damage it has inflicted on US-Arab relations. One source of damage is US transparent attempts in accommodating Israel and heavily identifying with its suffering**. Arab officials expressed the need for change in policy before US-Arab-**

> Arab sentiment is captured by a Palestinian U.N. observer. "We are the people under occupation, and it is our right and a duty to come to the body responsible for international peace and security, to the United Nations, to the Security Council, and try to help the situation."

relations and US image would improve.

The War on Iraq

Negative Arab perceptions of the war in Iraq may also be attributed to the large number of civilian casualties. The Human Rights Watch reports that more than 1,000 civilian were killed during the 2003 air war due to the use of ground-launched cluster munitions alone and at least a hundred Iraqis are killed still killed everyday. Arab perceptions of US presence in the Middle East have thus been that of intrusion and carelessness.[28] In addition, conflicting reports remain a highlight of Middle East-Western conflict as President Bush addressed the nation stating: "With new tactics and precision weapons, we can achieve military objectives without directing violence against civilians. No device of man can remove the tragedy from war. Yet it is a

great advance when the guilty have far more to fear from war than the innocent."[29] In the light of conflicting reports and experience, Arabs must reconcile between the voiced agenda of the US and Arab experience of it. For instance, Arabs felt that any UN resolutions backed or vetoed by the west only served to bring suffering to the Iraqi people and withheld much needed aid to the

> Arabs felt that any UN resolutions backed or vetoed by the west only served to bring suffering to the Iraqi people and withheld much needed aid to the Palestinians.

Palestinians.

In response to these negative perceptions and in order to promote political, economic, and educational development in the Middle East the Bush Administration has implemented the Middle East Partnership Initiative highlighting the softer side of American foreign policy.[30] However, as America attempts at advocate democracy and pluralism, Arab critiques perceive the US position as selectively supporting democracy while mobilizing repressive regimes to protect vital US interests.

Many Arabs view the occupation of Iraq and US support for Israeli military rule over Palestinians as authoritarian and a violation of the "basic notion of democracy." [31] Arab critiques maintain the defining themes in Arab public perceptions of American and British policies in the Middle East as those of hypocrisy, colonialism, repression, and aggression.[32] Despite the negative perceptions of foreign policies, one Arab critique maintains a clear distinction among US foreign policy, values and culture.

> Many Arabs view the occupation of Iraq and US support for Israeli military rule over Palestinians as authoritarian and a violation of the "basic notion of democracy."

As for American foreign policies, please understand that I criticize certain foreign policies, not everything the US stands for. America made great contributions to civilization that cannot be denied and are very much appreciated. The US helped the world in two great wars that almost destroyed it. It helped Muslims in Bosnia, Somalia and Kosovo, and fought with us in the first Gulf War. Then, it was invited and worked hand in hand with us, unlike the latest invasion against our best advice and strongest objections.[33]

Page 45

V. Results of Survey in 6 countries

This chapter contains the results of primary survey research in 6 countries, including Kuwait, UAE, Jordan, Lebanon, Egypt and the US (Arab Americans). The surveys included approximately 2000 phone and Internet interviews, with each country having between 300-350 completions each. The interviews were fielded from May 15-30, 2006. In the Arab states, the interviews were conducted using random phone dialing into metropolitan areas and balanced to be representative of the general population. In the US, we used a 100,000 person database of Arab Americans, that was representative of the general Arab American population. In the aggregate, the margin of error is +/- 5% at a 95% confidence level. At the country level, the margin of error is +/- 6%.

Results of Survey in 6 countries

Introduction and Methodology

The objectives of the surveys were to:

- Understand the favorability ratings of various religious groups

- Identify the most important sources of information about the West and their relative importance to each other

- Understand the overall favorability ratings of 4 Western countries including the US, UK, France and Germany

- Understand the favorability rating of various characteristics of each country including:

  o   Science and technology

  o   People

  o   Companies in their country

  o   Aid to their country

  o   Education

  o   Place to visit

  o   Movies/TV/Entertainment

  o   Promotion of Human Rights/democracy

  o   Government policy in Israeli/Palestinian conflict

  o   Military presence in Iraq

  o   Treatment of Muslims

- Understand the relative importance of these characteristics in determining the overall attitude towards the country as a whole.

- Initial first impressions of each country

- Identify recommended actions that each country should take to improve perceptions with the Arab world

- Uncover the perceived accuracy of media in its coverage of the US

- Understand the support of various political positions, such as freedom of the press, and expression, open elections, anti-terrorism efforts, and Al Qaeda

Where relevant, we also highlight differences between respondent countries, gender, age and educational level.

Perceptions of the US

- Overall, 54% of all respondents held a somewhat or very favorable opinion of the US. 25% and 14% respectively, held a very and somewhat unfavorable opinion.
- Egypt held the most unfavorable opinions, with 73% unfavorable (51% very unfavorable).
- Lebanon, Kuwait and Arab Americans respondents were the most favorable.

What is your overall opinion of the US?

Country	No opinion	Very Unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very Favorable
US	3%	13%	25%	47%	13%
Kuwait	9%	16%	8%	38%	29%
UAE	13%	23%	9%	29%	25%
Egypt	2%	51%	22%	16%	10%
Jordan	1%	36%	21%	30%	13%
Lebanon	1%	11%	11%	53%	24%

All countries/respondents
- 20% Very Favorable
- 34% Somewhat favorable
- 14% Somewhat unfavorable
- 25% Very Unfavorable
- 5% No opinion
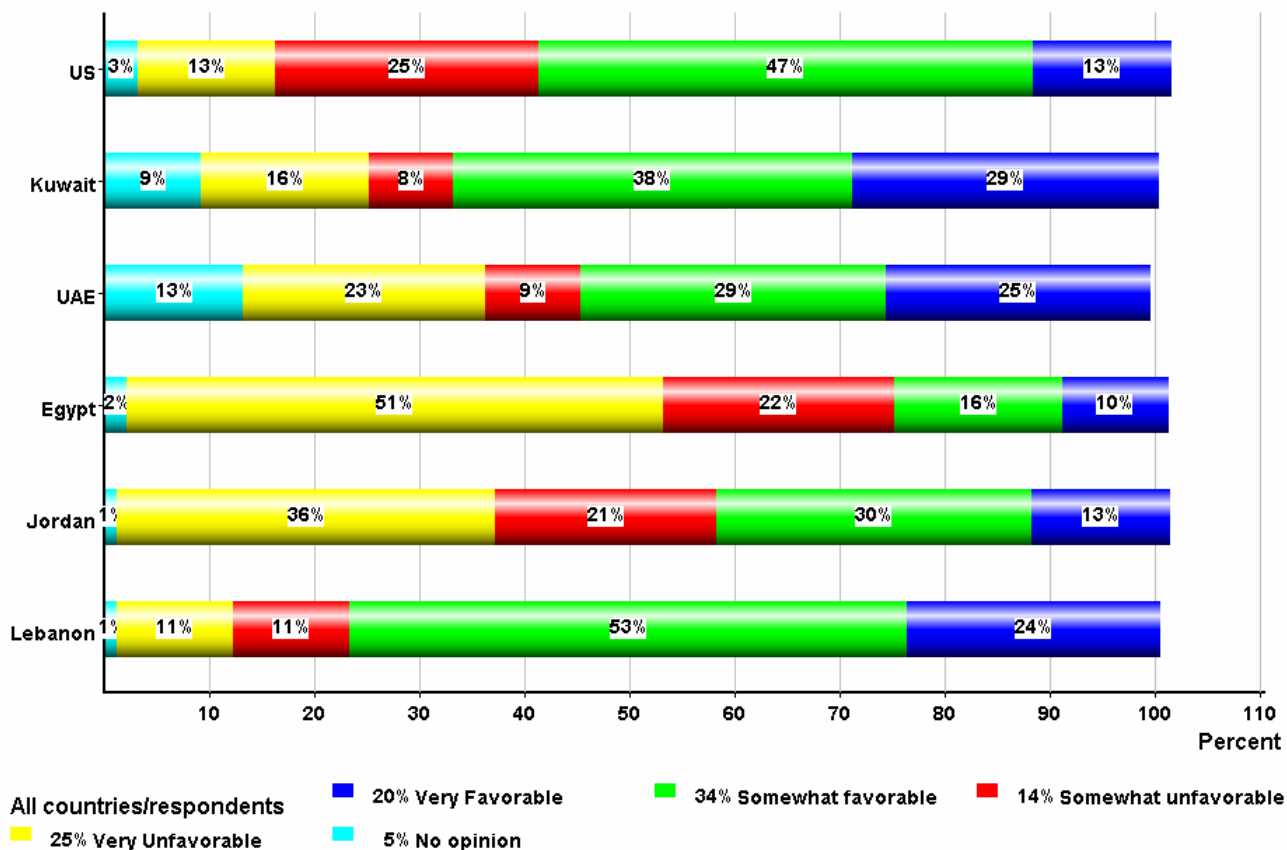
Most Important Sources of Information about the US

Arabs rely on Arab TV and newspapers as their primary source of information in forming their opinions about the US, especially in Egypt and Kuwait. In Lebanon and Jordan especially, a personal interaction with an American as a friend or co-worker, as well as a travel experience to the US, are also very important (and positive) influences on their attitudes. Over half of respondents overall said that they knew Americans, regularly watch American media, or personally traveled to the US or worked at an American company (or at least had friends or family that did).

Percentage of all respondents who rated various sources of information somewhat or very important:

Percent

Arab newspapers	69%
Arab TV	69%
Other	10%
Personally know someone who is American	47%
Regularly read or watch American media	52%
I or friends/family visited the US	57%
I or friend/family worked with US organization	40%

Page 49
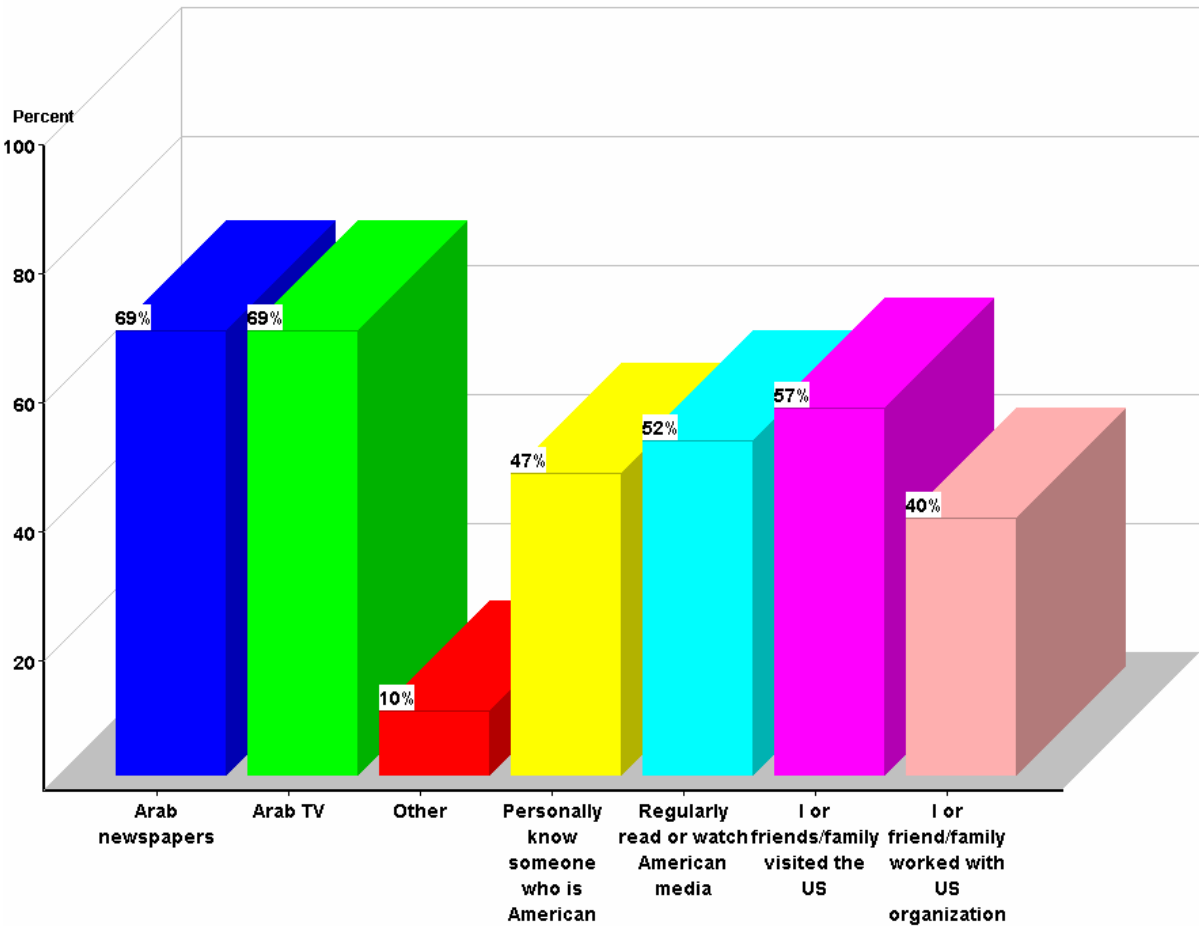
Sources of Information about the US-country differences

Percentage of respondents who rated various sources of information somewhat or very important in forming their overall opinion of the US

Percent

Kuwait: 47%, 36%, 48%, 37%, 81%, 83%, 5%

UAE (United Arab Emerites): 50%, 44%, 36%, 34%, 46%, 37%, 10%

Egypt: 36%, 37%, 33%, 21%, 91%, 93%, 3%

Jordan: 70%, 56%, 68%, 56%, 80%, 83%, 10%

Lebanon: 83%, 65%, 78%, 56%, 57%, 57%, 24%

Legend:
■ I or friends/family visited US
■ Personally know American
■ American media
■ Worked with US organization
■ Arab TV
■ Arab newspapers
■ Other
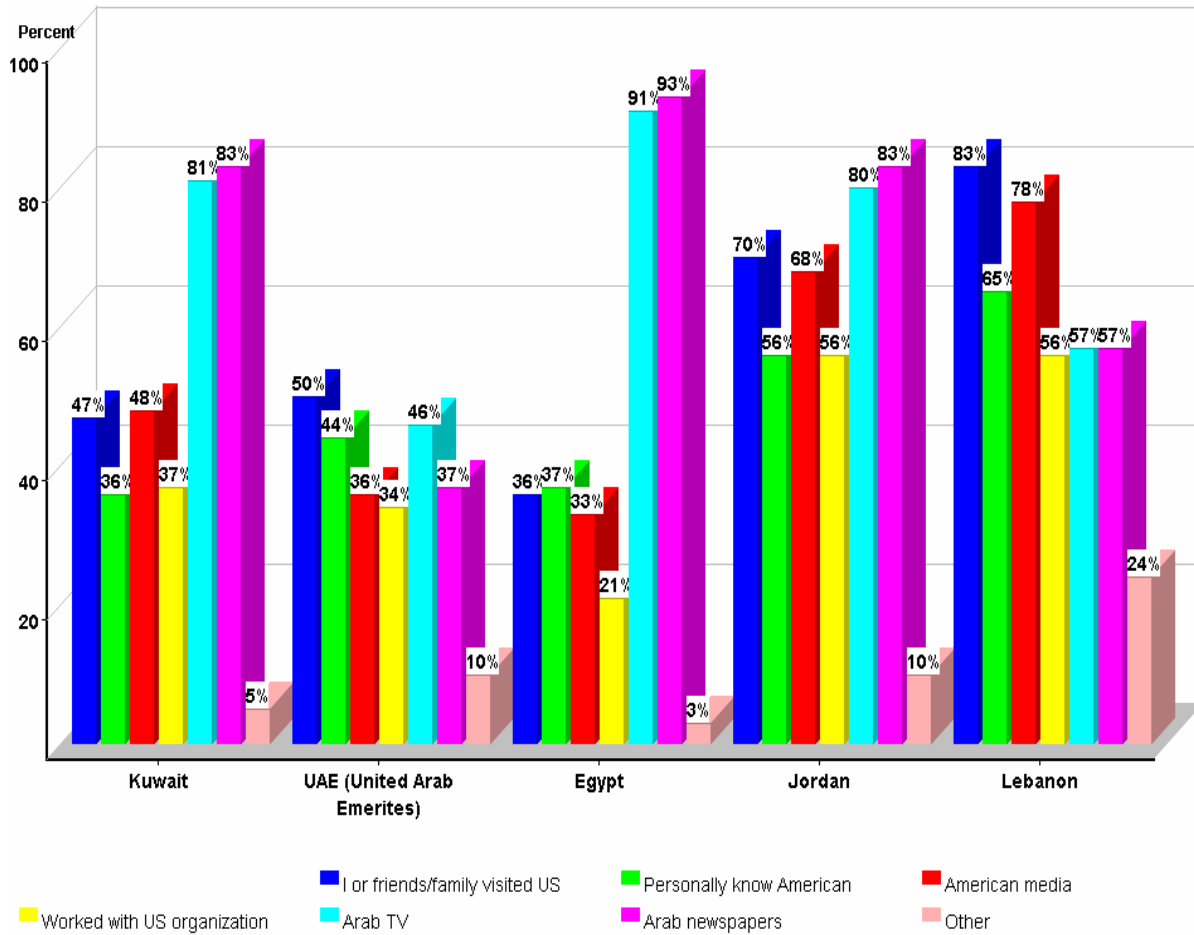
Favorability rating of various characteristics of the US (all countries combined)

- Many aspects of the US receive high favorability marks including US science and technology (89% positive), people (69%), US companies (66%), US as a place to visit (67%), and TV/movies/entertainment (63%).

- Dramatic drops in positive scores (only 21-31% favorable) come when asked about US promotion of human rights/democracy (perceived hypocrisy), US policy on Palestine, US Military in Iraq, and US treatment of Muslims.

Percentage with somewhat or very favorable ratings of various US characteristics
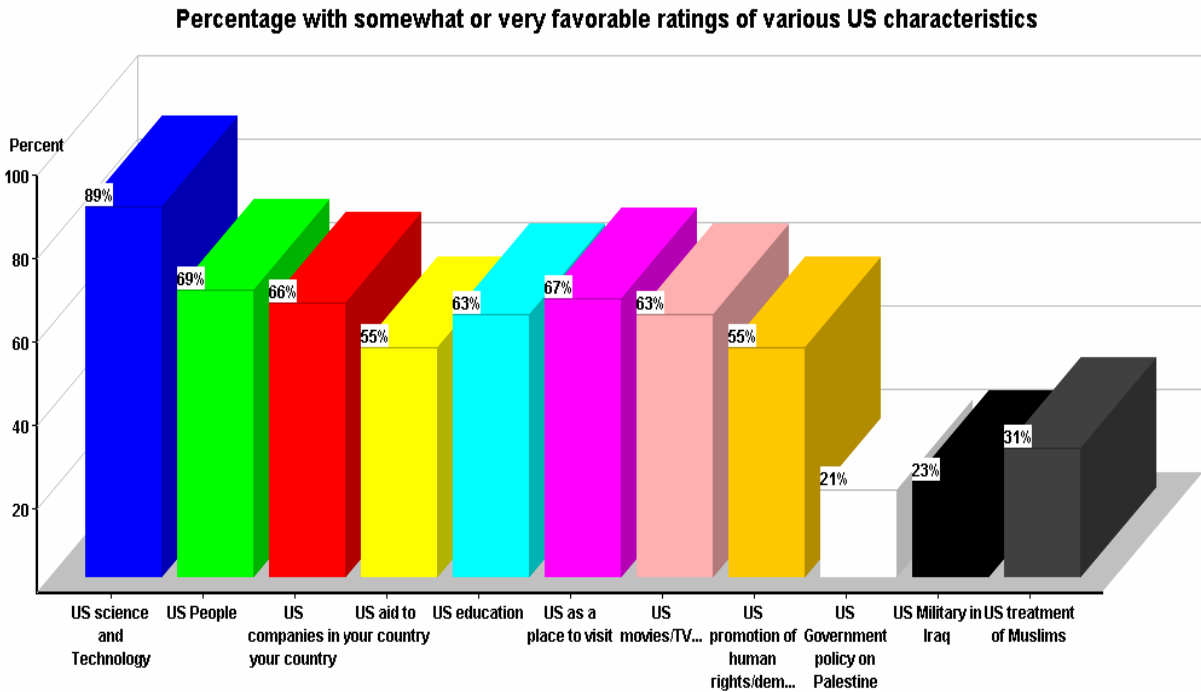
Importance of these characteristics in determining the overall attitude towards the US

- These characteristics go into a perception prism in which a holistic view of the US is formed. For the non-policy factors, (people, technology, entertainment) the positive perception and the importance of those characteristics in forming the overall opinion are within 10% of one another. Positive perception and importance are congruent.

- But with policy on human rights, Palestine, Iraq, and treatment of Muslims, there is as much as a 18-35% gap on any one factor. This could be called the favorability-importance gap. Because it is so large for several factors, it overwhelms the other positive factors and causes a substantial percentage of respondents to hold negative opinions overall.

Percentage that rated a characteristic somewhat or very important in determining their overall opinion of the US

-
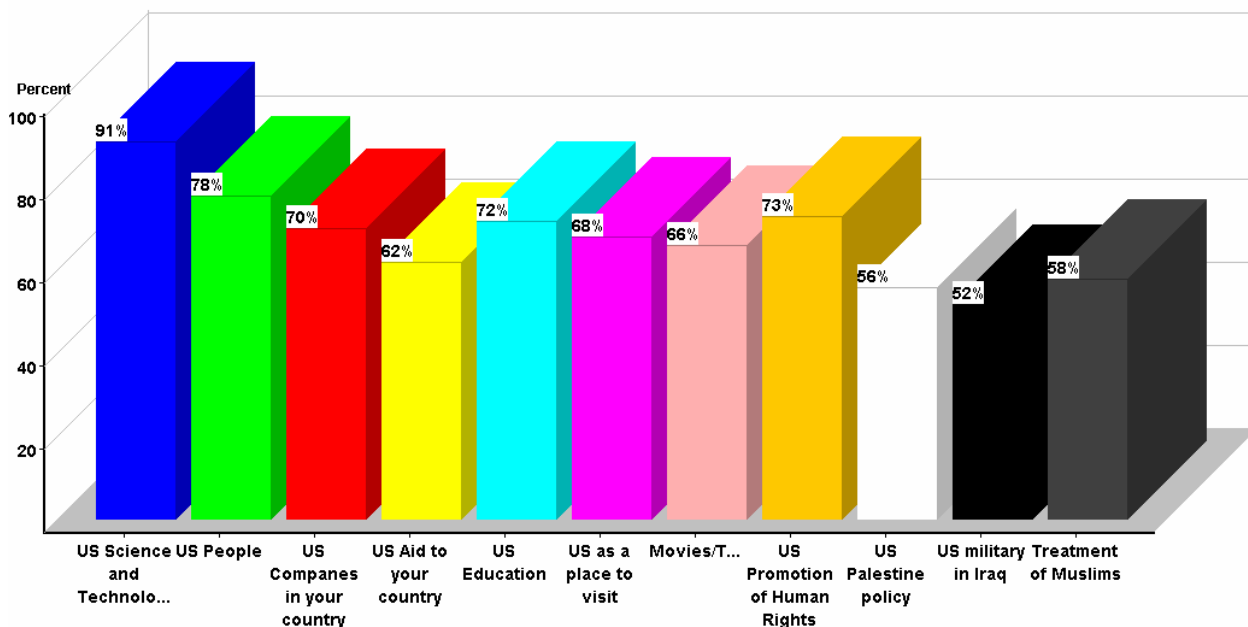
Unaided, initial first impressions of the US by country of response

Lebanon:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
33	Technology's evolution / Evolution / Civilization
33	Control the world
16	Statue of liberty
10	Terrorist organization or chasing terrorism
10	September 11
8	Power / The powerful country in the world

Kuwait:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
70	Cultured And Technological Country/Advanced/Great/Big Democratic/Modern
34	Control With The World/Betrayal Dictatorship/ Glorious/ Sovereignty
33	I Do Not Know/ Nothing
14	A Beautiful Thing At The Outside But Disaster At The Inside
8	Freedom/ You Are Free As Long As You Do Not Harm Anyone

Jordan:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
66	Cultured And Technological Country/Advanced/Great/Big Democratic/Modern
36	Control With The World/Betrayal Dictatorship/ Glorious/ Sovereignty
34	I Do Not Know/ Nothing
10	Strong Country That Puts Limits To Some Countries That Wants To Invade Weaker Countries
10	Terrorist Country/ Enemy Crime
9	A Beautiful Thing At The Outside But Disaster At The Inside

Egypt:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
26	Occupation of Iraq
23	Force/ strength/ Dictatorship/ Command of the world
21	Inequality / Biased / Discrimination
20	War & blood / Destruction / Terrorism
18	Liberty statue
12	Films/Cinema / Hollywood
11	George Bush
9	Development/ Technology improvement

UAE:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
36	George W bush leader of USA and wars/ Wars
32	Traveling/tourism
24	Powerful & the great country/controlling
18	It has freedom/democracy (sometimes against other countries)
13	High technology
13	Their education/their knowledge/development/economics
8	Empty promises

Unaided, Recommended actions that the US should take to improve perceptions with the Arab world

Lebanon:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
36	Offers financial aid, assist, or invest in Arab countries
25	Stop the support to Israel / non-alignment to Israel
22	Leave Arabians and stop overruling them and treat them as an independent nation
21	Solve the Arab world's crisis with Israel
18	Treat Arab nations in an equal and respectful way
16	Reduce its personal interests and look for Arab nations' benefits
15	Not interfere but in its own business
11	Change its foreign politics / consolidate democracy

Kuwait:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
48	I Do Not Know/ Nothing
29	Equal Treatment And Not Differentiating Between Countries/Peaceful Treatment/ Take Into Consideration Their Opinions
20	Helping The Arab World In All Occasions
19	Remove Its Control Over The Islamic World/The Arabs
16	Not Interfering With Other Countries Become Neutral With The Arab Countries
14	Improve Its Image With The Arab Countries

Jordan:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
48	I Do Not Know/ Nothing
26	Equal Treatment And Not Differentiating Between Countries/Peaceful Treatment/ Take Into Consideration Their Opinions
26	Not Interfering With Other Countries Become Neutral With The Arab Countries
21	Helping The Arab World In All Occasions
21	Improve Its Image With The Arab Countries
10	Extract Israel From Palestine Especially The Jews /Leave Iraq

Egypt:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
59	Immediate withdrawal from Iraq
41	Dealing with the Palestinian issue fairly / Equity between the Arabs and the Jews/ Settle the Palestinian issue in a fair way
21	Not to be bias to Israel
16	Increase economic, technological, and cultural exchange in the Arab world
14	Stop being part of the Arab political issue
10	Respect other believes / stop attacking Islam
9	Neutral towards the everyday issues

Public skeptical of media accuracy in its coverage of the US

Only one third of Arabs believe that the media depicts the US accurately most of the time. Two-thirds believe that the media is wrong half or more of the time. Arabs in the US and Kuwait are especially skeptical.

Percentage who believe that the media depicts the US accurately half the time or less

	US	Kuwait	UAE	Egypt	Jordan	Lebanon
Percent	86%	88%	61%	59%	62%	64%
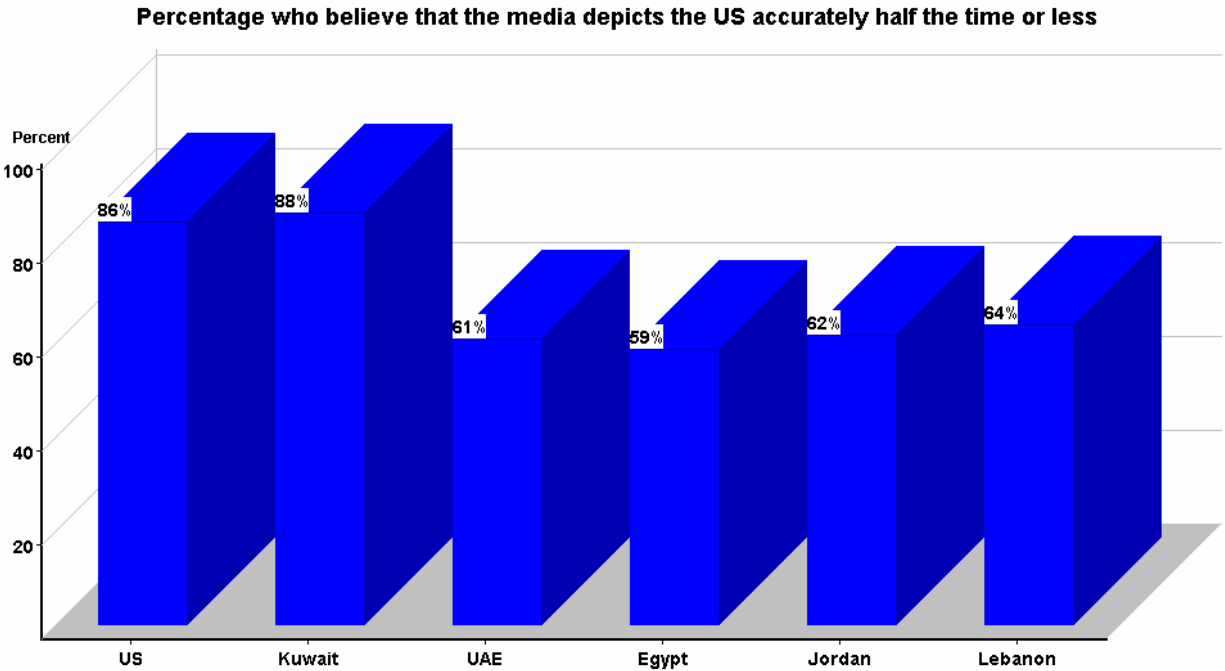
Perceptions of the UK

- Overall, the UK enjoys a 69% favorability rating. Favorability ratings are highest in Lebanon, Kuwait, and the UAE.

- Lowest ratings were in Egypt (38% unfavorable) and among Arabs in the US.

Overall opinion of the UK
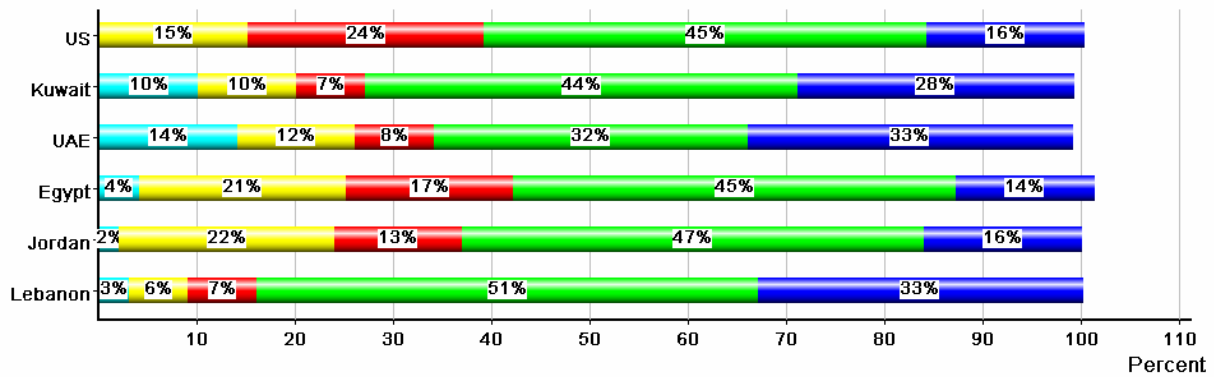
All countries combined

■ 25% Very favorable   ■ 44% Somewhat favorable   ■ 11% Somewhat unfavorable
■ 14% Very unfavorable   ■ 6% No opinion

Most important sources of information about the UK

- As in forming opinions about the US, Arabs rely on Arab newspapers and TV, and then a third less on personal interactions with British individuals, to form their overall attitudes about Britain.

- In Lebanon and Jordan especially, a personal interaction with a Brit as a friend or co-worker, as well as a travel experience to the UK, are also very important (and positive) influences on their attitudes.

Percentage who rate information source somewhat or very important in forming opinion about the UK

Percent

i or friends/family visited the UK	55%
Know a British person	48%
Read/watch British media	48%
I or friend/family work at British company	37%
Arab TV	68%
Arab newspapers	68%
Other	11%
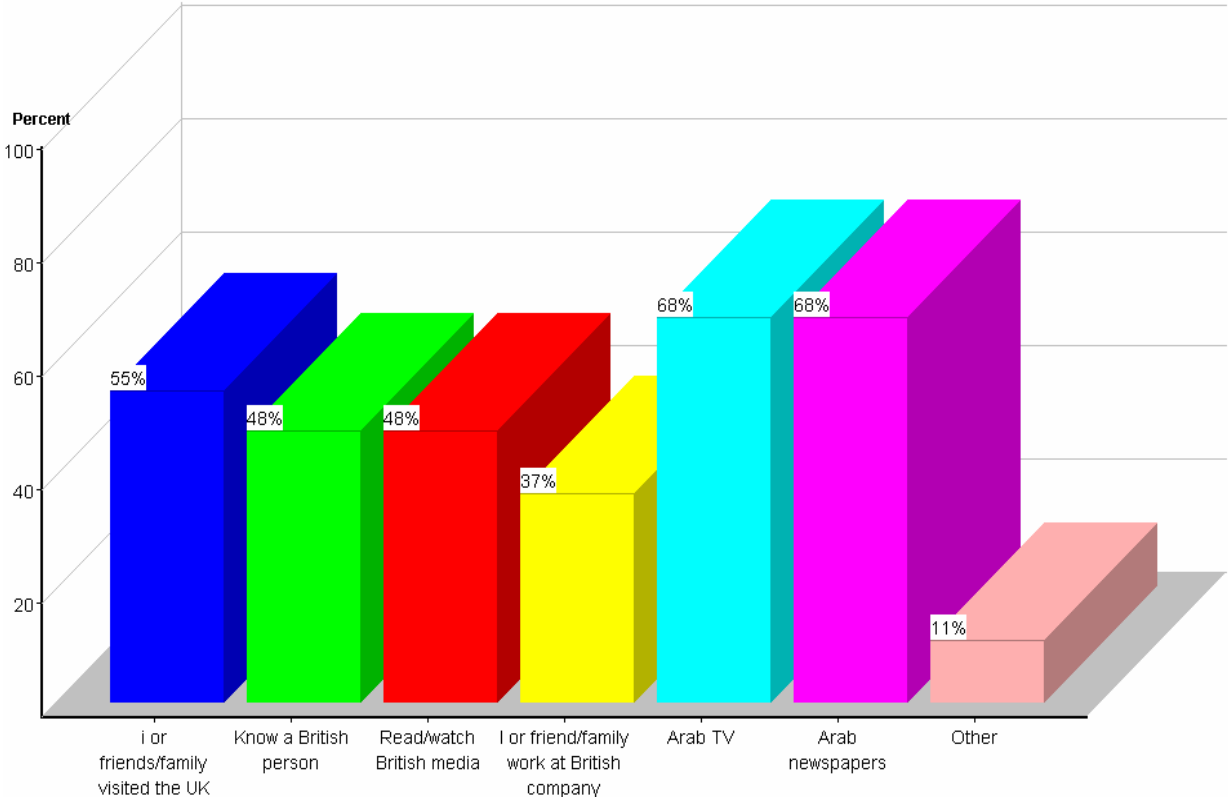
Importance of Information sources about the UK-country differences

Percentage who rated an information source as somewhat or very important in forming opinion about the UK

Legend:
- I or friends/family have visted UK
- Know a British person
- Read or watch UK media
- I or family/friends work in UK
- Arab TV
- Arab newspapers
- Other
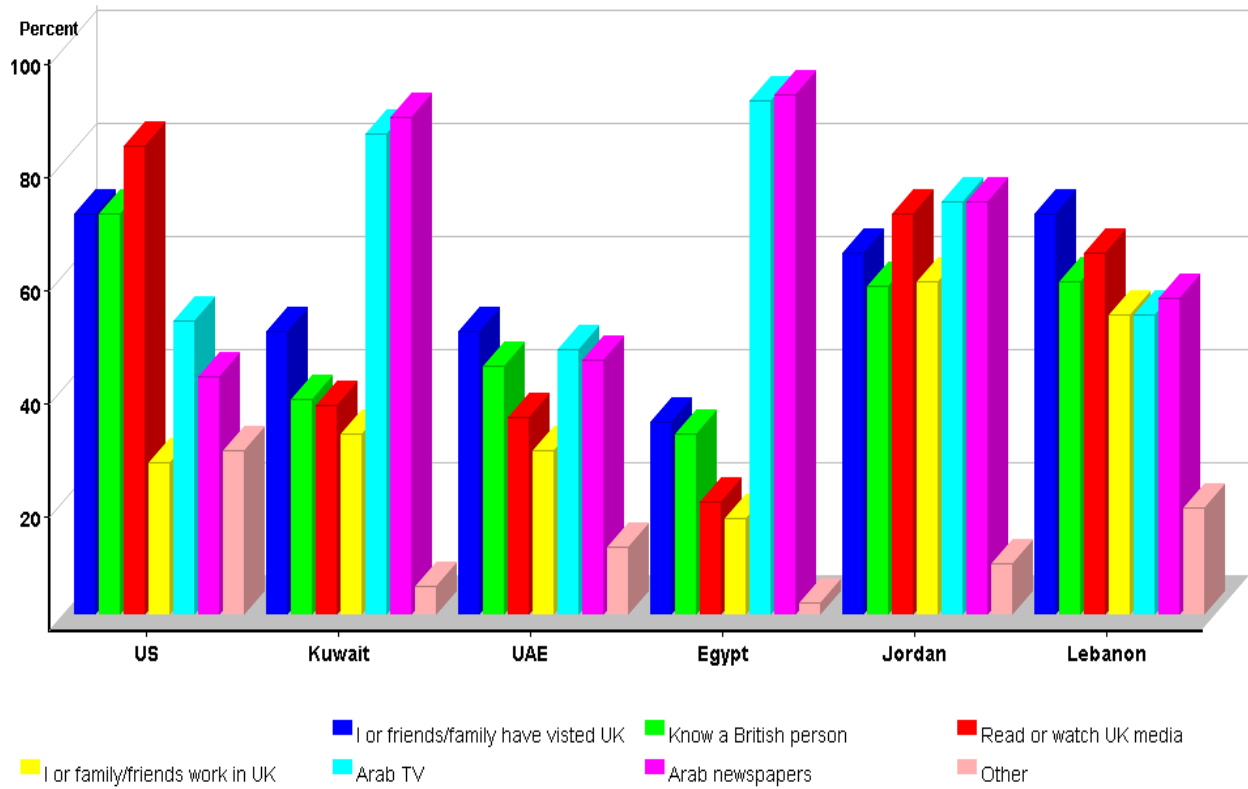
Unaided, initial first impressions of the UK by country of response

Lebanon:

Total Responses   Coded, non-aided responses

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
30	Lady Diana
22	Royal reign / The royal throne
21	Developed country / technology
16	Queen Elizabeth
12	City of mist
10	Fanaticism against Islam

Kuwait:

Total Responses   Coded, non-aided responses

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
43	Democratic Country With Great Culture/ Advanced Technology
39	Controlling Country/ Conqueror/Betrayal/War And Destruction
21	Strong Country/Strong Army/ Magnificent/Mother Of All Countries/ Business
18	European Country/ Modern Good Monarchy/Touristy
17	Strong Ally To America
9	Citizens That Like To Work/ Good & Positive

Jordan:

Total Responses   Coded, non-aided responses

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
43	Democratic Country With Great Culture/ Advanced Technology
41	Controlling Country/ Conqueror/Betrayal/War
20	European Country/ Modern Good Monarchy/Touristy
20	Strong Ally To America
15	Strong Country/Strong Army/ Magnificent/Mother Of All Countries/ Business

Egypt:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
32	The queen/Buckingham palace
20	Occupation/ Colonization
20	Global advancement
19	Princess Diana
14	Big Ben
10	Tony Blair
10	War on Iraq
8	Alliance with the US

UAE:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
52	Tourism
29	Knowledge/strong education
23	Developed country/Powerful country
18	The war because they lead for a lot of wars/ Iraq war
15	The great kingdom/great queen/princess Diana

Unaided, recommended actions that the UK should take to improve perceptions with the Arab world

Lebanon:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
30	Spreading education, culture and technology
26	Helps Arabian people against Israel
23	Offering economic aids to the Arab world
23	Improving relations with Arab nations
21	Offering assistances to Arab nations
20	To be neutral / offer peace
17	Offering financial aids
12	Change or Improve foreign policies
11	Make more investments in the Arab countries (opening companies)
10	Helping schools and universities and opening them

Kuwait:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
30	Not Interfering In Poor Countries/Others/Arab/ Leaving Iraq
17	Solving The Palestinian Issue
15	Trade In Business And Culture And Communication Between Arab Countries And The Economic Ones
14	Providing Help To Arab Countries And Islamic Ones
15	Treatment Of Muslims Anywhere Is Good Especially In Britain
8	Equality Between All Countries

Jordan:

Total Responses   Coded, non-aided responses

24	Not Interfering In Poor Countries/Others/Arab/ Leaving Iraq/Withdrawal From The Area
19	Solving The Palestinian Issue
17	Trade In Business And Culture And Communication Between Arab Countries And The Economic Ones
16	Providing Help To Arab Countries And Islamic Ones
15	Equality Between All Countries/ Peace/ Democracy
14	Treatment Of Muslims Anywhere Is Good Especially In Britain

Egypt:

Total Responses   Coded, non-aided responses

49	Withdrawal of the army from Iraq
24	Unbiased opinion / Equality/Respect Islam and Muslims
24	Quit following the United States/Do not interfere with Arab political issues
18	Increase economic/military assistance
18	Assist in Arab political issues
16	Increase efforts to solve middle east problem
16	Increase education, investments. Awareness, trade in the Arab world
16	Dealing with the Palestinian conflict fairly

Perceptions of France

- Overall, France, enjoys a 78% favorability rating, highest among the four Western countries that were rated.

- Lebanon and Egypt respondents were especially favorable, with 96% favorable.

- Jordan respondents scored lowest at 28% unfavorable.

Overall Opinion of France (by country)

| All Countries Combined | 30% Very favorable | 48% Somewhat favorable | 9% Somewhat unfavorable |
| 6% Very unfavorable | 7% No opinion | | |
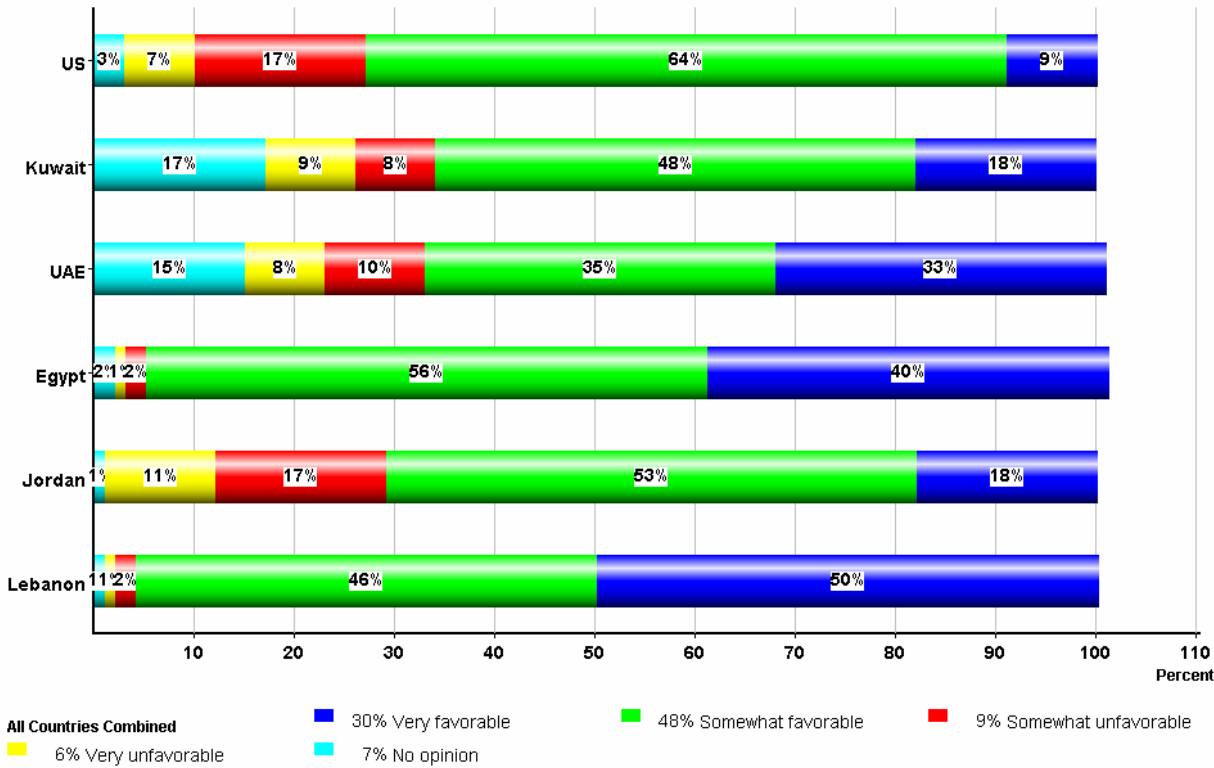
Most important sources of information about France

- The most influential sources of information, like for the other Western countries rated, are Arab media

- For Lebanon and Jordan, a high percentage have personal interactions with France or French people that affect their overall opinions about France

Percentage rating various sources of information somewhat or very important in forming opinion about France

Percent

59%	50%	43%	37%	68%	68%
I or family/friends visited France	I or family/friend know someone from France	Read or watch French media	I or friend/family work in French company	Arab TV	Arab newspapers

Importance of Information sources about France-country differences

Percentage rating various information sources as somewhat or very important in forming opinion about France

Legend:
- i or family/friends visited (blue)
- Know French person (green)
- Read/watch French media (red)
- I or friends/family worked with (yellow)
- Arab TV (cyan)
- Arab newspapers (magenta)
- Other (pink)

Favorability ratings of various characteristics of France

- We rated the favorability and importance of the following factors or characteristics of France:

  - o   Science and technology
  - o   People
  - o   Companies in their country
  - o   Aid to their country
  - o   Education
  - o   Place to visit
  - o   Movies/TV/Entertainment
  - o   Promotion of Human Rights/democracy
  - o   Government policy in Israeli/Palestinian conflict
  - o   Non-Military presence in Iraq
  - o   Treatment of Muslims

- With the exception of Technology/science and TV/entertainment, France had higher favorability scores than the US and the UK. (5% higher on average).

- As far as policy issues, it had higher favorability scores than the US and the UK, but still had a substantial gap between favorability scores and importance scores.

- France's policy on human rights and democracy scored fairly high, but only 39% and 35% of respondents, respectively, were positive on its policy on Palestine and in the treatment of Muslims.

Percentage who rate characteristic somewhat or very favorable
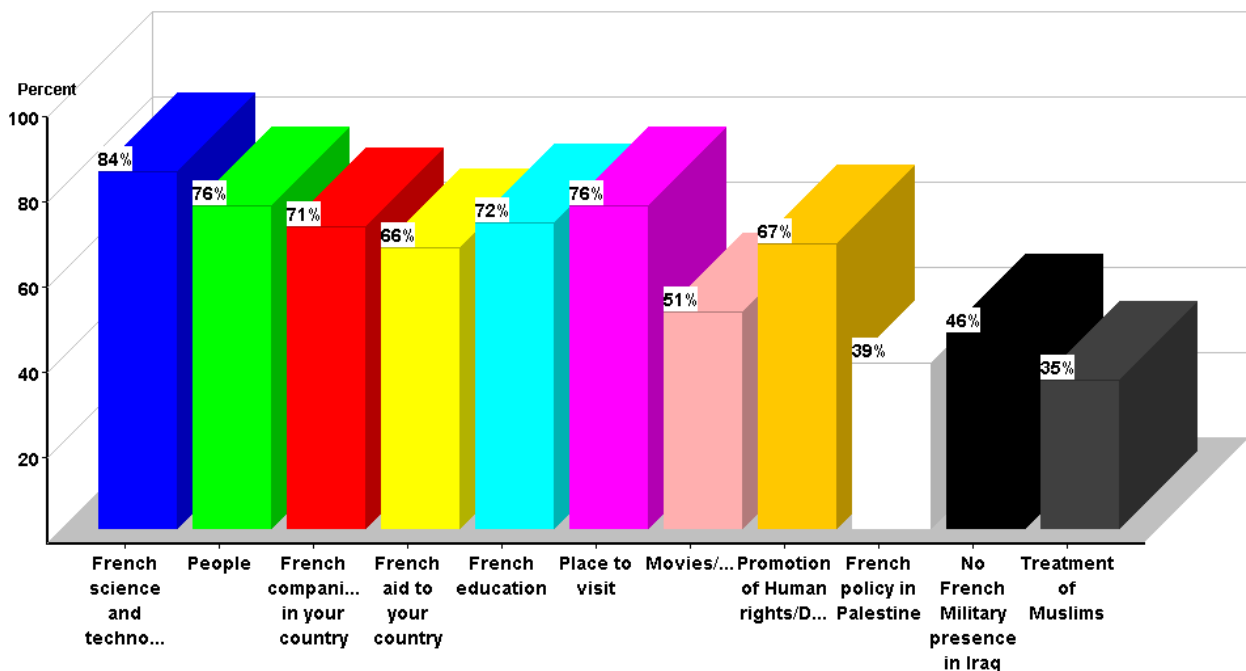
Importance of Characteristics in forming Opinion of France

Percentage who rate characteristic as somewhat or very important in forming overall opinion about France

Percent

French science and techno...	83%
People	79%
French compani... in your country	70%
French aid to your country	70%
French education	74%
Place to visit	72%
Movies/...	54%
Promotion of Human rights/D...	76%
French policy in Palestine	59%
No French Military in Iraq	57%
Treatment of Muslims	61%
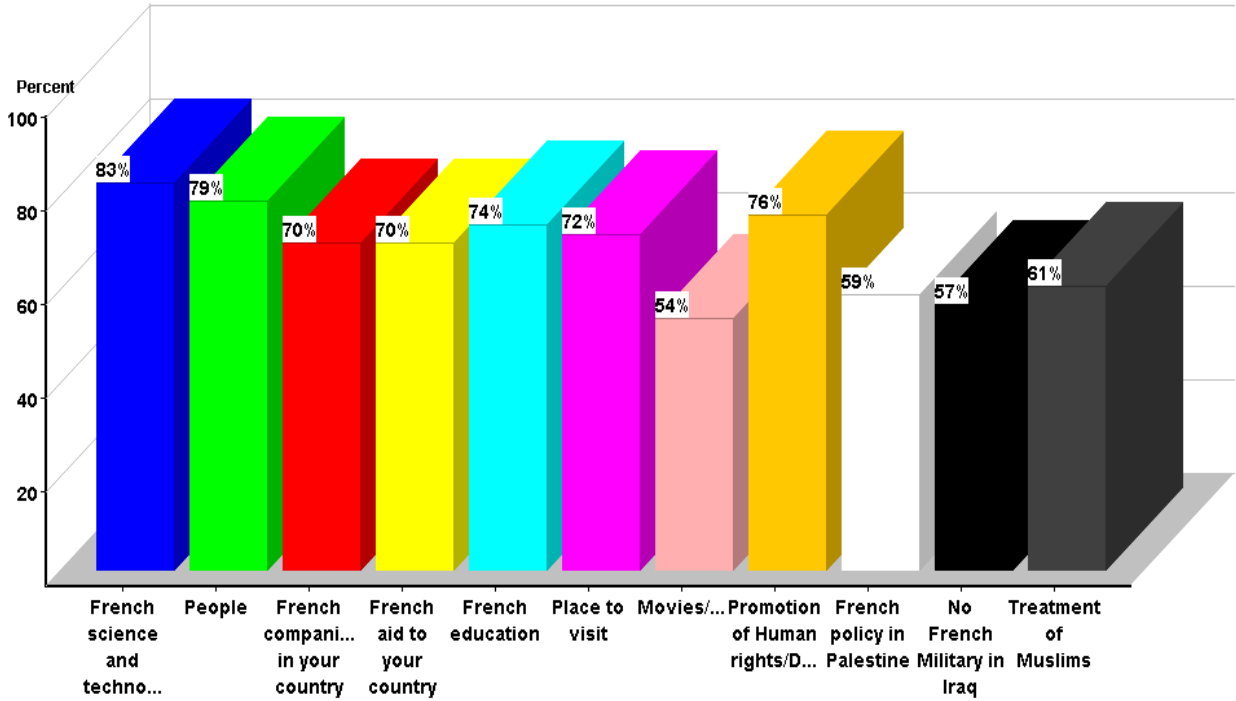
Unaided, initial first impressions of France by country of response

Lebanon:

Total Responses   Coded, non-aided responses

41	Tour Eiffel
17	Pia mater to Lebanon / Lebanon's confederate
15	Internet
14	Freedom
20	Tourism
11	Country of civilizations
10	Education and culture
8	Jack Chirack
8	Fashion

Kuwait:

Total Responses   Coded, non-aided responses

55	Tourism/ Beautiful Oceanic Scenery/Nature
37	Discrimination
25	Fashion And Perfumes/ Style/ Beautification/Brand Makes
17	Ally, works in order to Help Arabs, a friend, nice to Arabs, increasing its communi-
16	Country That Has Freedom
15	French Culture/ Good Education/Universities

Jordan:

Total Responses   Coded, non-aided responses

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
58	Tourism/ Beautiful Oceanic Scenery/Nature
35	Discrimination
23	Fashion And Perfumes/ Style/ Beautification/Brand Makes
16	Country That Has Freedom
15	Proper treatment of Arabs/supporting Palestinians, a friend, nice to Arabs
7	French Culture/ Good Education/Universities
7	Political Exchange/ Cultural And Business
7	Moral Decrease/ Bad Reputation

Egypt:

Total Responses   Coded, non-aided responses

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
45	Eiffel Tower
46	Fashion/Perfumes/Designs/Models
18	Jacques Chirac
15	Culture and Arts
11	Civilization/Human Rights
7	The law for veil prevention

UAE:

Total Re- sponses	Coded, non-aided responses
104	Tourism
17	Good country, nice country
15	Politics, development and technology
11	Studying and universities/the education
9	Cars
8	Fashion

Unaided, recommended actions that France should take to improve perceptions with the Arab world

Lebanon:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
40	Help the Arab nations/assure peace and justice
36	Investments between France and the Arab nations / Cooperate and exchange products
34	Helps them economically
26	Support the Arab nations culturally
21	To maintain its good relation among Arab nations
16	Equality among Arab nations
12	Take the youth to learn in France
10	Don't intrude into the Arab countries' affairs

Kuwait:

Total Responses   Coded, non-aided responses

49	Good Treatment Of Muslims And Helping Them
38	Stop Discrimination
18	Does Not Exist
10	Influencing Israel To Stop Harming Palestinians/ Ole The Palestinian Issue
10	More Honesty And Respect Religions(Muslims)/ Freedom In Religions

Jordan:

Total Re-   Coded, non-aided responses

29	Equality Treatment/ Integrity In Its Actions Peaceful Country
27	Stop Discrimination
28	Good Treatment Of Muslims And Helping Them
23	Prohibiting Wearing The Veil And Giving The Muslims Their Rights
18	Does Not Exist
8	Stop Intervening In Lebanese Inside Issues /Other Countries

Egypt:

Total Responses   Coded, non-aided responses

42	Dealing fairly with the Palestinian case/matter/Not to follow American policies
30	More economical aid
20	Respectful treatment for Muslims/Religion
17	More cultural exchange
15	Does not need since it already has close relations with the Arabs
10	Work on military withdrawal from Iraq
9	Allow veil
9	More trade exchange

Perceptions of Germany

- Overall, Germany enjoys a high 78% favorability rating, on par with France, spread across respondent countries

- Jordan respondents were especially favorable, with 89% favorable.

- Kuwait respondents scored lowest at 15% unfavorable.

Overall Opinion of Germany-by Country

Country	No opinion	Very unfavorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Somewhat favorable	Very favorable
US	9%	2%	11%	61%	17%
Kuwait	22%	6%	9%	40%	24%
UAE	15%	4%	6%	30%	46%
Egypt	4%	6%	6%	50%	34%
Jordan	2%	8%	8%	55%	28%
Lebanon	5%	2%	5%	54%	35%

All countries combined
- 32% Very favorable
- 46% Somewhat favorable
- 7% Somewhat unfavorable
- 5% Very unfavorable
- 9% No opinion
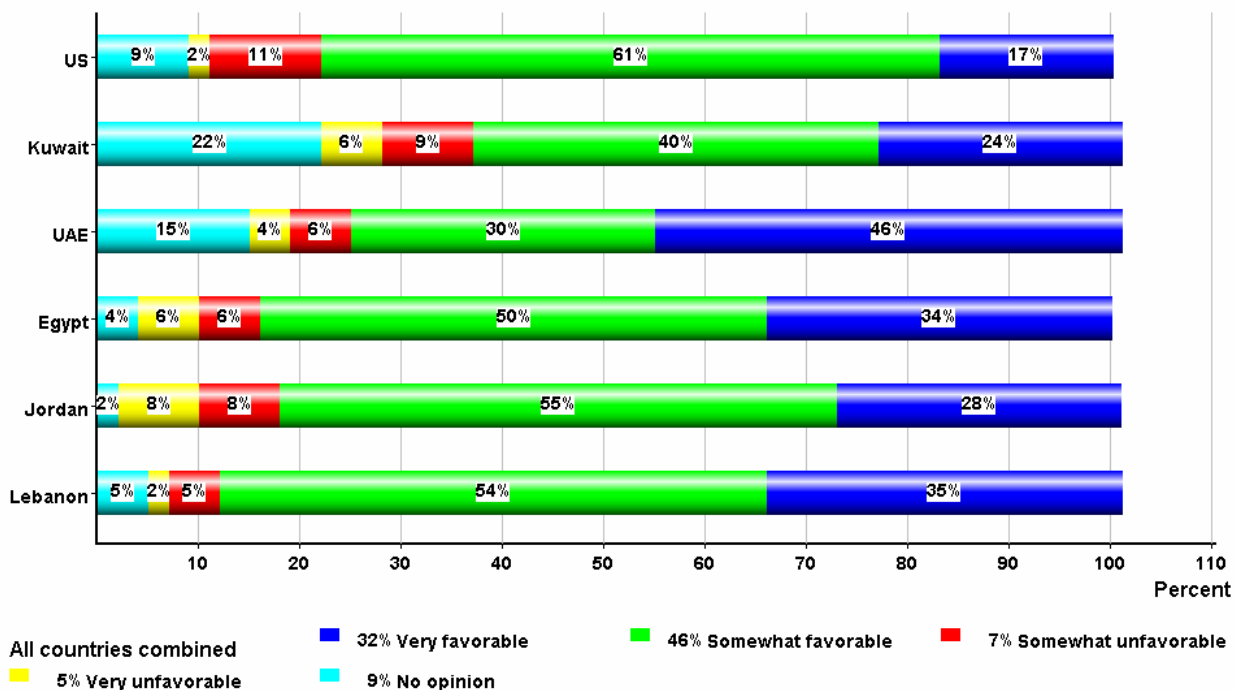
Most important sources of information about Germany in forming overall opinions

Percentage rating information source somewhat or very important in forming opinions about Germany

Percent

- 56% — I or family/friends visited Germany
- 49% — Know a German
- 42% — Read/watch German media
- 40% — I or familiy/friend worked with a German company
- 65% — Arab TV
- 65% — Arab newspapers
- 10% — Other
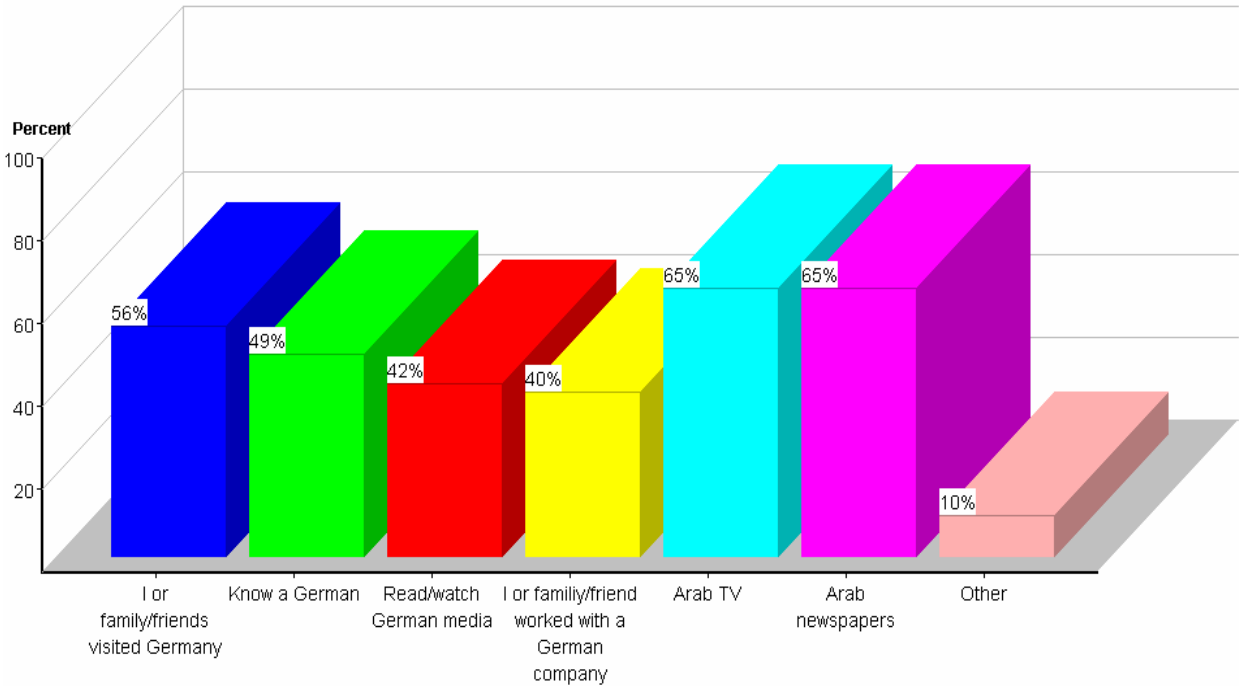
Importance of Information Sources (by country)

- Arab media continue to be the most important source of information across Arab states, in addition to personal interactions in Lebanon and Jordan

- In the other respondent countries, personal interaction with German people, travel, or companies is substantially less (20-30% of respondents less)

Percentage who rate information source somewhat or very important in forming overall opinion of Germany

Favorability rating of various characteristics of Germany

We rated the favorability and importance of the following factors or characteristics of Germany:

- o Science and technology
- o People
- o Companies in their country
- o Aid to their country
- o Education
- o Place to visit
- o Movies/TV/Entertainment
- o Promotion of Human Rights/democracy
- o Government policy in Israeli/Palestinian conflict
- o Non-Military presence in Iraq
- o Treatment of Muslims

- With the exception of Movies/TV/entertainment, Germany had as high of favorability scores as the top scores for US and France

- As far as policy issues, it had higher favorability scores than the US and the UK, but still had Germany's policy on human rights and democracy scored fairly high, but only 33% and 42% of respondents, respectively, were positive on its policy on Palestine and in the treatment of Muslims.

Percentage who rated characteristics somewhat or very favorably
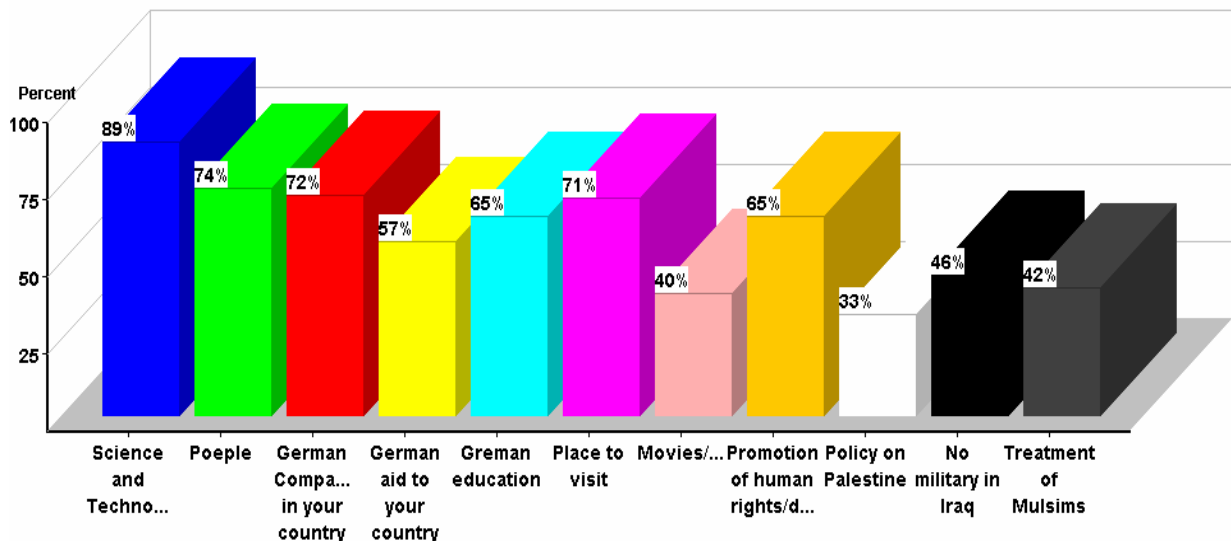
Relative importance of these characteristics in determining the overall attitude towards Germany as a whole

Percentage who rate characteristic somewhat or very important in forming overall opinion of Germany
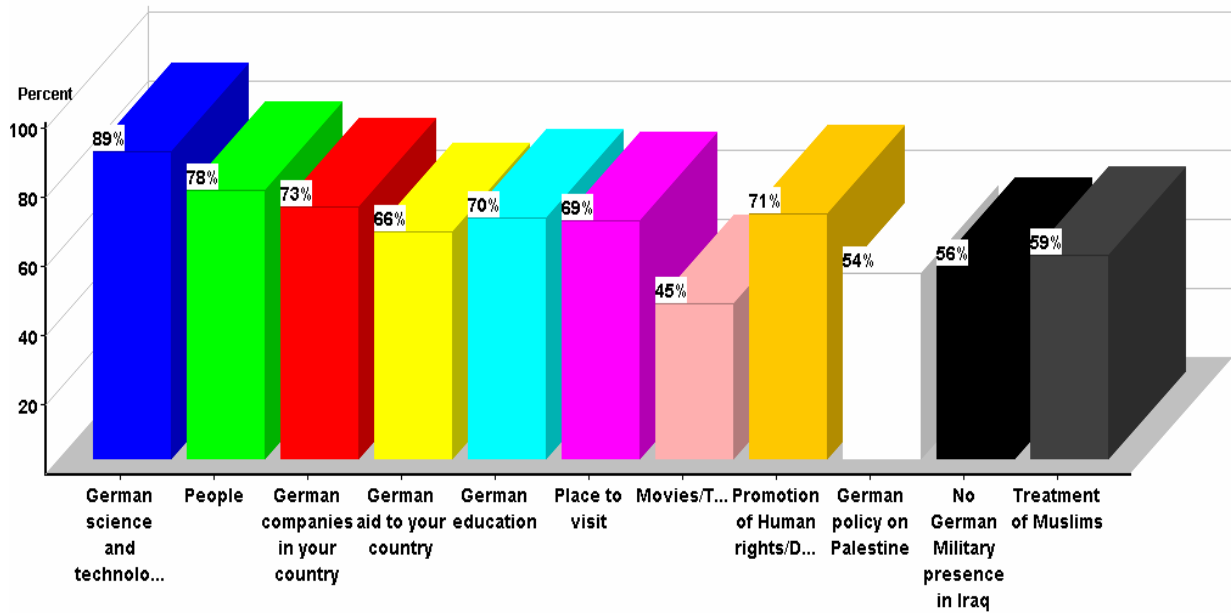
Unaided, initial first impressions of Germany by country of response

Lebanon:

Total Responses   Coded, non-aided responses

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
40	Football
32	Hitler
27	Developed industrially
23	Cars / Michael Schumaker
15	Civilized country
11	Technology

Kuwait:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
48	Good Manufacturing Country
24	Technology/Tourism/Advancements/Nature/ Economy
13	Advances In Treatment/Medicine
10	Friendly People/ Educated/ Science
9	Its People Refuse To Deal With Arabs/ Distant People
8	Hitler/ Great German Towers/ Nazi
7	Ally, country that understands other countries and has no discrimination against any country

Jordan:

Total Responses   Coded, non-aided responses

32	Technology/Tourism/Advancements/Nature/ Economy
29	Good Manufacturing Country
20	Beautiful Country And Superior In Car Industry
11	Advances In Treatment/Medicine
10	Hitler/ Great German Towers/ Nazi
8	Discrimination
7	Country That Understands Other Countries And Has No Discrimination Against Any Country/Friend

Egypt:

Total Responses   Coded, non-aided responses

57	Industry/Machines
42	Hitler
23	World Cup 2006
22	German technology
9	Cars
8	World War II
7	Greatest European nation in modern times/civilization

UAE:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
39	It is a nice country \ nice places
35	German cars \ Cars like BMW \ Audi cars (without them we wouldn't have cars, motor cars, and technology of cars)
30	The Fifa world cup \ world cup 2006 \ German football \ football country
25	The education \ studying and researching \ very high level of education and famous universities \ high degrees
14	Hitler he was the reason for the second war in the world
11	Medicine \ advanced medical
10	Industry and treatment \ country of industry

Unaided, recommended actions that Germany should take to improve perceptions with the Arab world

Lebanon:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
44	Helping Arab nations / build strong relations
42	Helps them in the economy
27	Helping Arab nations in politics
26	Open-mindedness towards Arab countries /Respecting the policy and sovereignty
26	Supporting Arab culture
22	Introduce the world its culture
22	Open common institution with the Arab nations
19	Helping with the technological evolution and industry sector

Kuwait:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
24	Exchange cultures with Arabs and also its industries
16	Not interfere with affairs of Islamic countries and treating them properly
21	Strengthening its diplomatic situation, openness and communication with Arabs
13	Decreasing discrimination
11	Standing by the Palestinians in solving the Issue/ not supporting Israel/understand Islam

Jordan:

| Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
20	Not Interfering With Affairs Of Islamic Countries And Treating Them Properly
10	Helping The Arabs In Manufacturing Industry/ Medicine Especially In The Bone Domain
8	Categorize The Arab Countries And Treat The Arabs Properly
12	Standing By The Palestinians In Solving The Issue/ Not Supporting Israel/ Understand Islam
6	Peace In Some Countries/ Good Intentions

Egypt:

Total Responses	Coded, non-aided responses
44	Assisting in the Palestinian situation to bring about peace/objective role in the peace process
32	Increasing cultural exchange/increasing delegations to other countries/ German cultural centers in Arab countries
30	Increasing economic and other assistance
28	Taking on objective positions in relation to Arab issues/positive and effective role in the Middle East
21	Improving economic and trade relations
14	Increasing investment in the Arab world
11	Stopping the provision of assistance to Israel/not providing Israel with military assistance
10	Exchanging industrial and technological skills
10	Neutrality towards Middle Eastern issues and images/Respect of religion

Attitudes on Religion

- 95% or more of respondents in the Arab countries rated religion as very or somewhat important in their own lives, whereas 56% of Arabs in the US rated it important.

- Sunni Muslims had the highest favorability scores, followed by Christians, and then Shii Muslims.

- Jews, Buddhists, and Hindus received less than 20% favorable scores. The exception was Arab Americans, who rated those groups much higher.

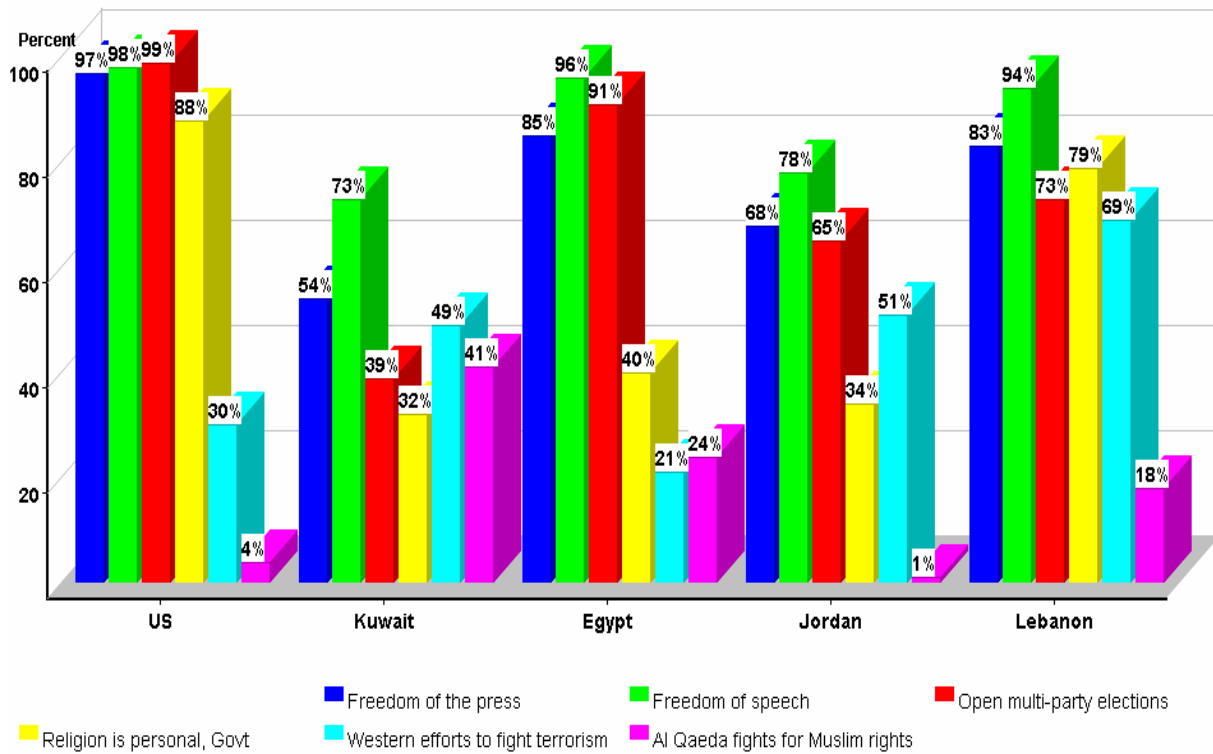Percentage rating somewhat or very favorable towards a religious group
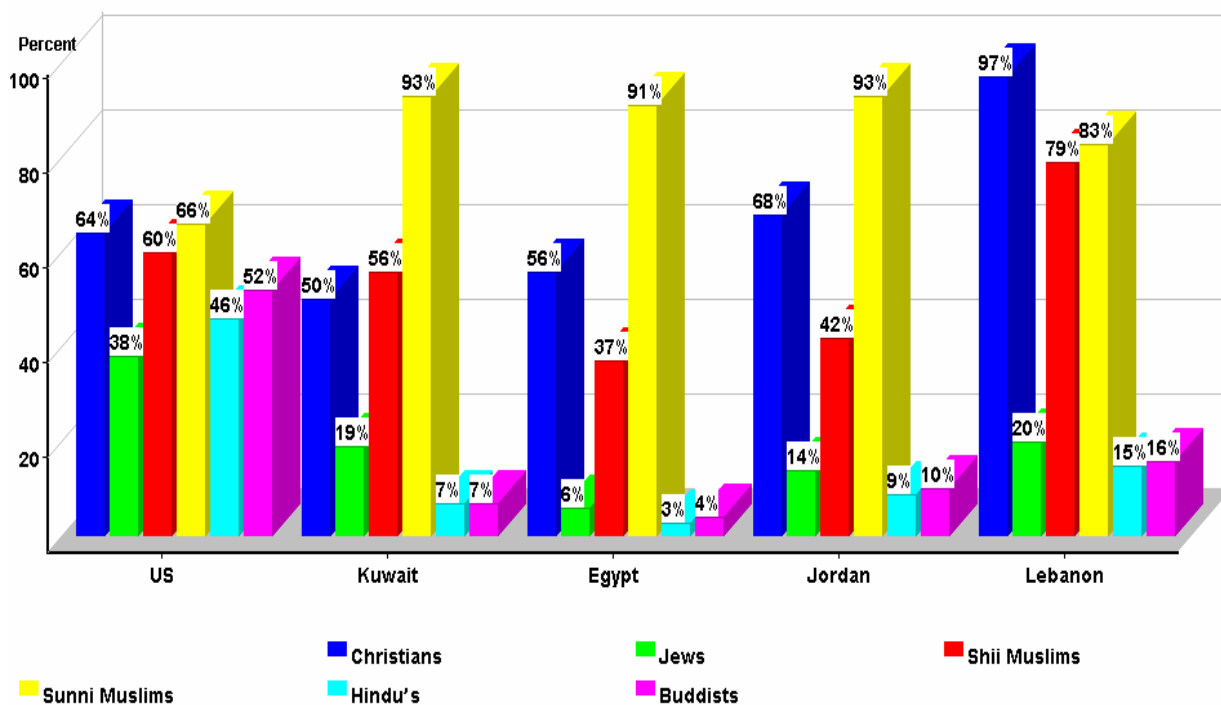
Attitudes on Freedom, Terror, and Politics

- Levels of support varied by country in terms of support for basic tenets of democracy and freedoms. High percentages (80s and 90s) in the US, Egypt, and Lebanon agreed with the statement, "It is good for my country to have freedom of the press without censorship". Kuwait (54%) and Jordan (68%) came in lower, but still majorities, in agreement.

- The same countries (US, Egypt, Lebanon) had very high agreement (90's) with the statement, "It is good for my country to have freedom of speech to criticize the government", with Kuwait and Jordan in the 70's.

- The US and Egypt had very high agreement (90's) with "it is good for my country to have open, honest, multi-party elections", with fewer in Lebanon (73%) and Jordan (65%) agreeing, and a minority in Kuwait agreeing (40%).

- The statement "Religion is a personal matter separate from government", was highly supported in the US and Lebanon, but only by approximately one third of those in Kuwait, Egypt and Jordan.

- Support for "Western efforts to fight terrorism" varied widely across countries, with high support in Lebanon (69%), then 50% of the groups in Jordan and Kuwait, and then a much smaller percentage in the US and Egypt.

- The US and Jordan had scant support (under 5%) for the statement "Al Qaeda is fighting for the rights of Muslims everywhere", with about 20% of those in Egypt and Lebanon agreeing. The exception was Kuwait, where 41% agreed with the statement.
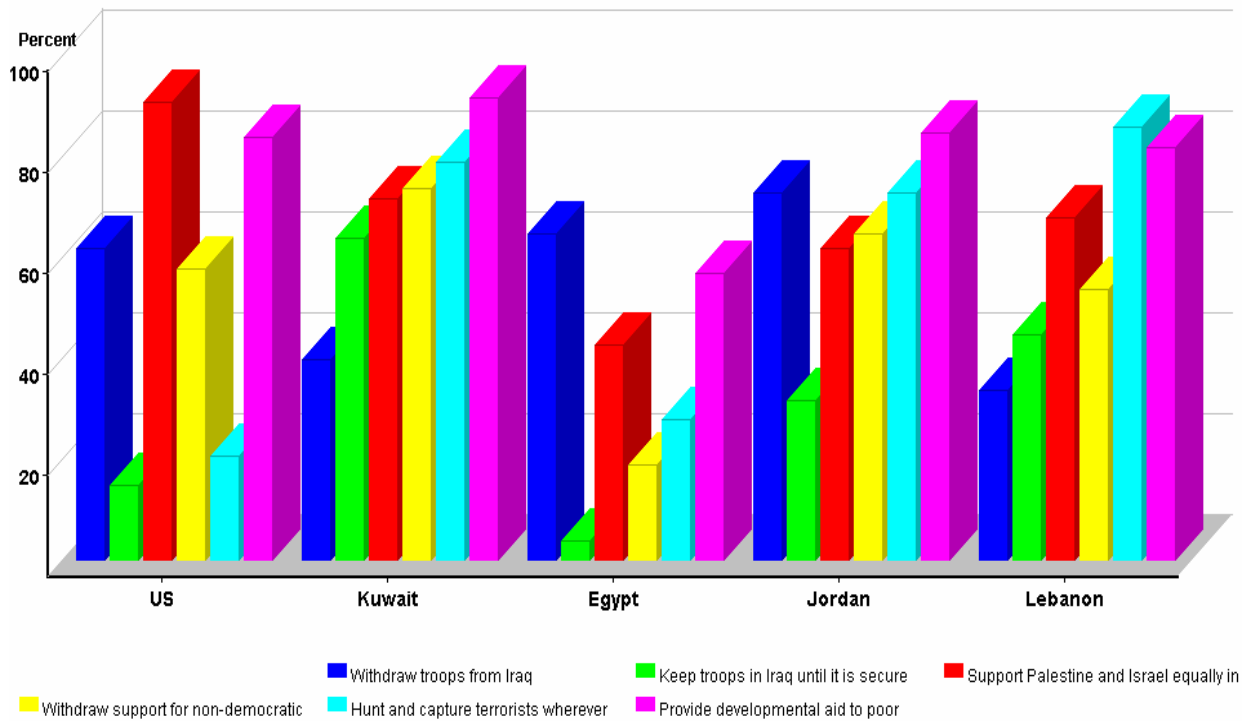
Finally, the most popular solutions to the war on terror included (in order of most popular):

- Provide development aid to poor countries

- Equally support Palestine and Israel

- Hunt and capture terrorists wherever they are

- Withdraw troops from Iraq immediately

- Keep troops in Iraq until secure

Percentage who agree with statements

Legend:
- Freedom of the press
- Freedom of speech
- Open multi-party elections
- Religion is personal, Govt
- Western efforts to fight terrorism
- Al Qaeda fights for Muslim rights

Percentage mentioning action as effective against terrorism

Legend:
- Withdraw troops from Iraq
- Keep troops in Iraq until it is secure
- Support Palestine and Israel equally in
- Withdraw support for non-democratic
- Hunt and capture terrorists wherever
- Provide developmental aid to poor

VI. Secondary Public Opinion Polls

Secondary Third Party Survey Research: A Summary of National Polls

Communique Partners ran an extensive two month research investigation of credible studies and national public opinion polls that were conducted between 2001 and 2005. The findings of these studies are summarized in this chapter. These polls were conducted by the following research firms:

- Zogby International

- Young Arab Leaders

- The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press

- Program on International Policy Attitudes

- Center for Strategic Studies (CSS)

- The Brookings Institute
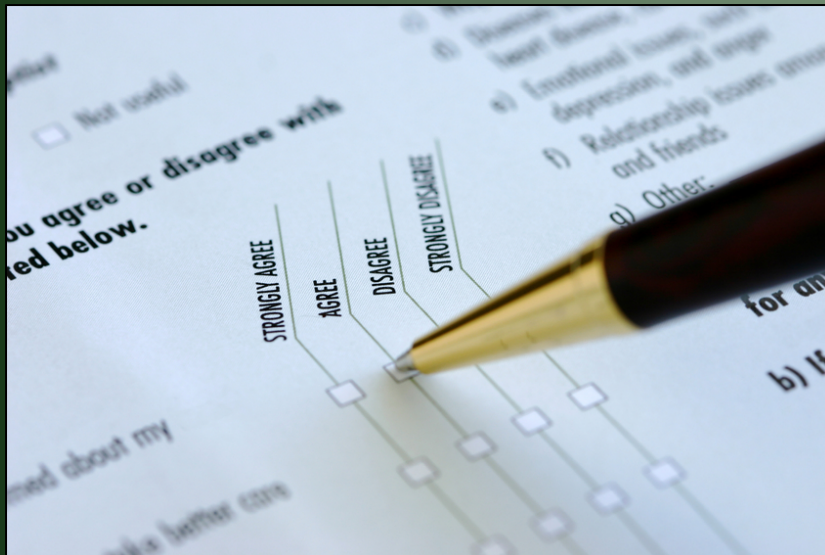
Note: These research firms bear no responsibility for the analyses or interpretations of the data presented in these summaries.

Zogby International and Young Arab Leaders

Attitudes of Arabs 2005
An In-Depth Look at Social and Political Concerns of Arabs

Results indicate that Arabs are examining what needs to be done to improve their lives. It is important to note that this looking inwards coexists with the sense of satisfaction (most saying they are better off) and a sense of optimism (most saying they believe things will continue to improve). Arabs want to solve problems and are hopeful that change will come.

What our poll also shows is that these views coexist in an environment where there is a diminishing belief in the "likelihood of peace" and a hardening of negative attitudes toward American policies—especially toward Iraq and "US treatment of Arabs and Muslims."

As in our earlier polling, this survey establishes that as long as American policies are viewed negatively, it is difficult for the US to be an agent for change. The poll also helps focus on what are the real priorities that must be pursued: employment, health care, corruption, education, and combating extremism.

This is what most Arabs want, and this is what they are looking to their governments to deliver, with or without the US, and regardless of whether or not peace is established soon in the broader region.

In the past year, how has your attitude towards the United States changed? Is it now...?

Change in Attitude Towards USA - 2005

Change	Egypt	Jordan	Lebanon	Morocco	Saudi Arabia	UAE
Better	5	13	21	6	8	8
Worse	84	62	49	72	82	58
Same	11	18	27	21	9	31

Overall attitudes toward the U.S. have worsened over the past year. Nearly half or more in every country feel this way, including vast majorities in Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

Lebanon is more likely than the other countries to have improved attitudes towards the U.S., due to Christian responses in that country.

Which of the following has been the most important factor in determining your attitude towards the United States in the past year?

Most Important Factor in Determining Attitude Towards US - 2005

Factor	Egypt	Jordan	Lebanon	Morocco	Saudi Arabia	UAE
War in Iraq	57	48	34	45	49	31
President Bush's promotion of democracy and reform	4	6	16	2	9	9
Developments in the Arab-Israeli front	8	13	19	8	8	7
American treatment of Arabs and Muslims	28	28	22	40	32	41
Other	0	3	4	2	0	5

The principal factors in worsening attitudes towards the U.S. include "the war in Iraq" and "American treatment of Arabs and Muslims."

The "U.S. advocacy of democracy" only resonated in Lebanon, and this was mostly among Christians. Lebanese are also more likely than those in the other countries to say that "developments in the Arab-Israeli front" most impacted their opinions towards the U.S.

In Egypt and Saudi Arabia, the two countries where the U.S. focused its democracy message, the effort appeared to backfire. Of the small percentage in each country who said that "President Bush's promotion of democracy and reform" was the most important factor determining their attitudes toward the U.S. (4% in Egypt and 9% in Saudi Arabia), over 80 percent said this effort worsened their view of the U.S.

A full report can be found at:

http://aai.bluestatedigital.com/page/file/6e38e45846c8ce7df5_k0m6be9di.pdf/2005_Arab_Poll.pdf

Zogby International

Impressions of America 2004
How Arabs View America / How Arabs Learn About America

In June 2004, Zogby International surveyed almost 3,300 Arabs living in Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Lebanon, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt. The poll was commissioned by the Arab American Institute as a follow-up to the 2002 "Impressions of America" study.

PRINCIPLE FINDINGS

- Overall favorable ratings toward the US have declined in the past two years.

- Attitudes toward American values, people, and products remain mostly favorable, but have also declined in the past two years.

- Attitudes toward US policy in Iraq and Palestine are extremely low, in the single digit range.

- Attitudes toward US policy on terrorism are somewhat higher, though still quite low. These too, have declined precipitously in the past two years.

- US policy is the major factor that accounts for the low US favorable ratings and the decline in these ratings.

- Most Arabs have only indirect or received knowledge about America. The principle source of that knowledge comes from the Arab media.

- Arabs who have learned about America by visiting the US, knowing Americans or watching American television programs have somewhat more favorable views about US values, people and products.

- These factors have no impact on Arab attitudes toward US policy, which remains low and drives overall favorables down.

- Arabs, whose principle source of knowledge about the US, comes from Arab commentary or Arab media have somewhat less favorable attitudes toward American values, people and products, except in Saudi Arabia, where these attitudes actually are somewhat higher among those who watch Arab television.

US policy is more important than American values in determining Arab attitudes toward the US.

2b. Importance of Values v. Policies in Overall Attitudes toward US

	Morocco Values/ Policy 18/79	Saudi Arabia Values/ Policy 10/86	Jordan Values/ Policy 16/76	Lebanon Values/ Policy 9/89	UAE Values/ Policy 9/75
	Imp/ Not Imp	Imp/ Not Imp	Imp/ Not Imp	Imp/ Not Imp	Imp/ Not Imp
Freedom/Opportunity	32/51	49/39	31/48	75/20	23/50
Science/Technology	47/38	59/35	41/34	75/18	50/27
Iraq Policy	88/7	79/3	68/19	82/6	68/18
Policy Towards Palestinians	89/7	81/3	71/20	89/5	72/16
Treatment of Arabs and Muslims	69/14	82/3	61/23	90/4	73/13

When asked whether their overall attitude toward the US was shaped by their feelings about American values or US policies, in all six countries, an overwhelming percentage of respondents indicated that policy played a more important role.

What Should America do to Improve its Image in the Arab World

	Morocco	Saudi Arabia	Jordan	Lebanon	UAE	Egypt
Out of Iraq	14	21	15	12.5	6.5	24
Stop Supporting Israel	18	22.5	24.5	46	27	34
Help Palestinians	4	4	3.5	3.5	1	1.5
Make Peace	7	5.5	8.5	4.5	5	3
Justice	10.5	9	18.5	5	20.5	9
Respect Arabs	7.5	11	5	7	5	5
Change Middle East Policy	20.5	11	14.5	19	20.5	20.5
Improve Arab Relations	5	9	2.5		4	
Leave Arabs	2					
Not Sure	3	5.5	2		2	3
Respect Human Rights	1.5					
Respect International Law	1.5					
Be Balanced	2.5					
Other	3.5		6	2	9	

The two most frequently provided answers were "stop supporting Israel" and "change your Middle East policy"—these were similar to the most frequently cited responses given in the 2002 "Impressions of America" poll. The very high 46% of Lebanese whose answers to this question can be grouped under "stop support for Israel" can be explained by the fact that Lebanon has its own history with Israel and its own frustration with US support for Israeli policy.

A newer response, that ranks quite high in five of the Arab countries, is "get out of Iraq." The exception here is the UAE. It is interesting to note that in four of the six countries, over 1/3 of the respondents call on the US to adopt what might be referred to as a more "values driven" policy. There are calls for the US to show more "respect," "apply justice," "improve relations," or "work for peace."

A full copy of the study can be found at: http://aai.bluestatedigital.com/page/file/229fc3112466dc002f_wvm6bhed9.pdf/2004_Impressions_of_America_Poll.pdf

A Rare Arab Opinion Poll Says Arabs Dislike America But Not Democracy

Released October 30, 2002 - The survey questioned 3,200 people in eight countries. The countries surveyed were Lebanon, Jordan, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Morocco and Egypt. The Arabs in Israel were included as an eighth group. The questions were asked in face-to-face interviews and the margin of error is plus or minus 4.5 percent.

Cairo, Egypt - A rare survey of public opinion in the Arab world has found that most Arabs dislike the United States but not for reasons often cited by American officials — a rejection of Western democracy and values.

Zogby said negative perception of the United States is based on American policies, not a dislike of the West. He said that Arabs view some other Western countries favorably and list among their own wishes such Western notions as personal freedom and equal rights for women.

On the issue of Arab views of other countries, only Israel, the United States and Britain received overall negative scores among 13 countries listed in the question, including Asian and Islamic nations.

The negative sentiment was highest in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, with 87 percent saying they have an unfavorable impression of the United States. The figure was 76 percent in Egypt, and 61 percent in Jordan. Negative sentiments were lowest in Kuwait. Forty-one percent viewed America favorably — compared to only 12 percent in Saudi Arabia.

"It is a question of policy," said Zogby, referring to the recent U.S. stand on Iraq and what Arab have long regarded as an American bias in favor of Israel.

Noting the Arabs shared many values with the West, between 90 and 96 percent of the respondents rated personal and civil rights as the first or second priority, out of 10 different issues that included health care, moral standards and personal economic conditions.

"It is not a foreign policy issue (for Arabs)," Zogby said. "It defines almost existentially their sense of who they are." Zogby said he hoped the study would be useful for Americans to dispel some of the misconceptions about Arabs that arose after the Sept. 11 attacks.

"What we learned is that Arabs like people all over the world are focused on matters close to home. ...Arabs don't go to bed at night thinking about politics" but like everybody in the world they think about their children and their future, he said.

More on this poll can be found at: www.aaiusa.org

Zogby International

Americans for Peace Now Survey of Jewish American and Arab American Public Opinion

This survey was conducted by Zogby International. The Jewish American segment was completed on 10/25/02, and the Arab American segment was completed on 10/29/02. 500 people were polled in each community.

When Jewish Americans and Arab Americans were asked whether they were mostly optimistic or pessimistic about Middle East peace, 17.2 percent of Jewish Americans optimistic compared to 33.8 percent of Arab Americans. The majority of Jewish Americans were Pessimistic at 74.3 percent, compared to 59.9 percent of Arab Americans.

Would you say you are mostly optimistic or pessimistic about Middle East peace?

	Jewish Americans		Arab Americans	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Optimistic	86	17.2	169	33.8
Pessimistic	371	74.3	295	58.9
Not Sure	42	8.5	36	7.3

When Jewish Americans and Arab Americans were asked to rate Generally speaking, how President George W. Bush's handling of Arab/Israeli conflict in the Middle East. The majority of Jewish Americans (37.5 percent) surveyed rate a fair job (on a 5 point scale form excellent top poor). The majority of Arab Americans rated the handling of the Arab/Israeli conflict a poor job (46.4 percent).

Generally speaking, how would you rate President George W. Bush's handling of Arab/Israeli conflict in the Middle East?

	Jewish Americans		Arab Americans	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Excellent	28	5.5	39	7.8
Good	115	23.0	93	18.6
Fair	188	37.7	112	22.3
Poor	156	31.3	232	46.4
Not Sure	13	2.5	24	4.8

When Jewish and Arab Americans were asked concerning the Bush Administration's efforts at pursuing peace in the Middle East, which of the following statements do you feel is most accurate? The Bush Administration is "Leaning-Israel", "Leaning-Palestinian", "Steering Middle Course", "leaning Disengagement" and "Not sure". The Majority of Jewish Americans were split between Leaning toward Israel and Steering the Middle Course. Whereas, the majority of Arab Americans surveyed indicated that the Bush administration leans toward Israel.

A full copy of the study can be found at: http://aai.bluestatedigital.com/page/file/83f787e6491c1a262e_ap7mvyt1b.pdf/2002_AAIAPN_Poll.pdf

Zogby International

Profiling and Pride: Arab American Attitudes and Behavior Since September 11

> Zogby International conducted interviews of 505 Arab Americans nationwide who have a Middle Eastern or Arabic-speaking background, chosen at random. Phone interviews were made from May 1 to Saturday, May 4, 2002.

In May 2002, the Arab American Institute Foundation (AAIF) commissioned a survey of Arab American attitudes and behavior since September 11. Below are some findings of the study:

Discrimination Before and After Sept. 11

- Overall, nearly one in three Arab Americans (30%) say they have personally experienced discrimination in the past because of their ethnicity. The overall percentages are nearly identical to a previous survey conducted in October 2001, shortly after the terrorist attacks (Figure 4).

- Since September 11, one in five has personally been discriminated against because of their ethnicity, and over the same time, a nearly equal 20% say their children or a member of their household has experienced discrimination.

- A plurality of respondents (40%), however, says they know someone of Arabic ethnicity or an Arabic speaking background who has experienced more discrimination since the terrorist attacks.

- U.S.-born Arab Americans and those born elsewhere have been discriminated against equally in the past (30% each). Since September 11, however, Arab Americans born outside the U.S. (27%) say they have experienced more personal discrimination than those born in the U.S. (17%).

Impact of 9/11 on Ethnic Identity and Pride

The results of the survey show that despite the Arab American community's anger at the terrorists who attacked the U.S. and the resultant discrimination experienced in the aftermath of September 11, Arab Americans as a whole continue to maintain strong pride in their ethnicity and heritage. Overall, eighty-nine percent of Arab Americans professed to be either extremely or very proud of their ethnicity (those answering 4 or 5 on a 5-point scale, Figure 11).

Solidarity with the Victims of 9/11 in an effort to measure the response of Arab Americans as Americans in the immediate aftermath of the terror attacks, the respondents were asked if September 11 led them to (1) hang out or purchase an American flag; (2) contribute to a victims' relief fund, or (3) donate blood. Nearly eight out of ten Arab Americans surveyed said they took part in one or more of these activities. More than half said they hung out a flag (54%) and contributed to a relief fund (53%), while 24% reported that they gave blood.
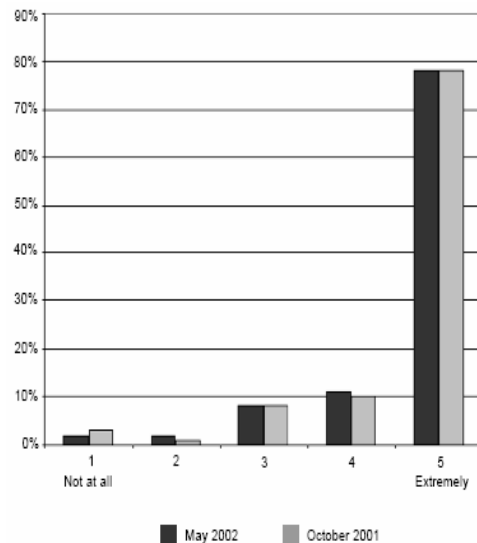
Figure 11: Pride in Ethnic Heritage
On a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being not at all and 5 being extremely, how proud are you of your ethnic heritage?

A full report can be found at: http://aai.bluestatedigital.com/page/file/d7083bd00cf4ce3240_wfm6ii8b7.pdf/2002_AA_9-11_Poll.pdf

Zogby International

Arab American Attitudes and the September 11 Attacks

These are some of the results of a Zogby International (ZI) poll of Arab American attitudes commissioned by the Arab American Institute (AAI).The ZI/AAI poll surveyed 508 randomly selected Arab Americans from October 8-10 2001.

When asked if they would "support or oppose an all-out war against countries which harbor or aid terrorists who have attacked the United States", sixty-nine percent of Arab Americans indicated they would support such a move (Exhibit 3). Only 23% are opposed. And 63% of Arab Americans indicate that they are afraid that the September 11 attacks will damage the economy (Exhibit 4)
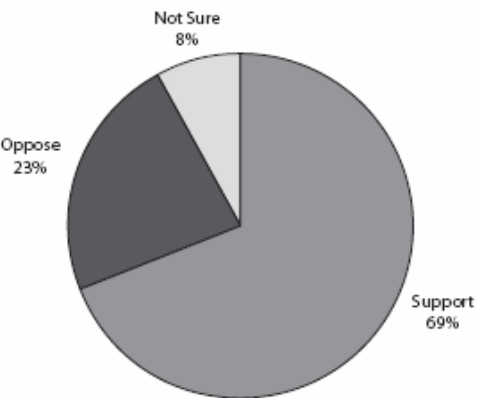

Figure 3: Would you support or oppose an all-out war against countries which harbor or aid terrorists who have attacked the U.S.?
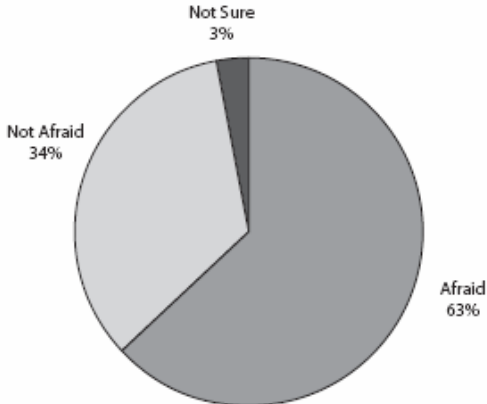

Figure 4: Are you afraid or not afraid that the terrorist attacks will damage the U.S. economy?

A. Discrimination

Sixty-one percent of those polled indicate that they are "worried about the long-term effects of discrimination against Arab Americans" caused by this situation. And a surprisingly large 20% note that they have "personally experienced discrimination because of their ethnicity" since September 11. Additionally, forty-five percent of all Arab Americans state that they know someone who has experienced such discrimination.

B. Profiling

The community's concern extends beyond the random acts of bias that have occurred to the practice of "profiling" used by law enforcement agencies. Profiling refers to the practice in which all members of a group who share the characteristics of criminal suspects are stopped or detained for investigation by law enforcement.
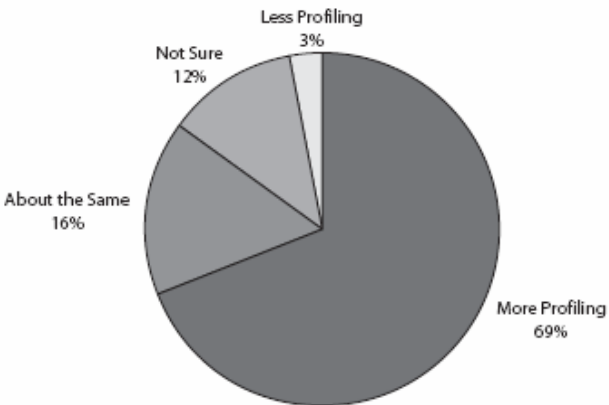

Figure 8: More profiling, less profiling, or about the same amount of profiling of Arab Americans since September 11?

This practice has been used in the past by airlines who, for a number of years in the mid-1990s, singled out Arab passengers for special security before they were allowed to board planes.

The ZI/AAI poll shows that 69% of Arab Americans believe that profiling of Arab Americans has increased since September 11 (See Figure 8). When asked whether they agreed with the notion that "Arab Americans or Arabic-speaking citizens be detained for profiling by investigators", fifty-eight percent of those polled indicated their disagreement. A surprisingly large 36% agreed. This may be due to the fact that 54% of Arab Americans apparently feel that while they may disagree with the practice of profiling, they believe that it is justified in the present circumstances.

III. Arab Americans and Ethnic Pride

What the ZI/AAI poll clearly establishes is that despite their fears and their embarrassment, Arab Americans retain a strong sense of pride in their ethnic heritage. By a margin of 88% to 4%, those polled say that they are proud of their heritage (See Figure 12). Those numbers are virtually identical to the numbers recorded in a similar poll taken over one and one-half years ago. Eighty-four percent of Arab Americans state that their ethnic heritage is important in defining their identity. This number is higher than the 79% recorded in the January 2000 ZI poll. Interestingly, the difference is due to a sharp increase in ethnic pride among the native born Arab Americans.
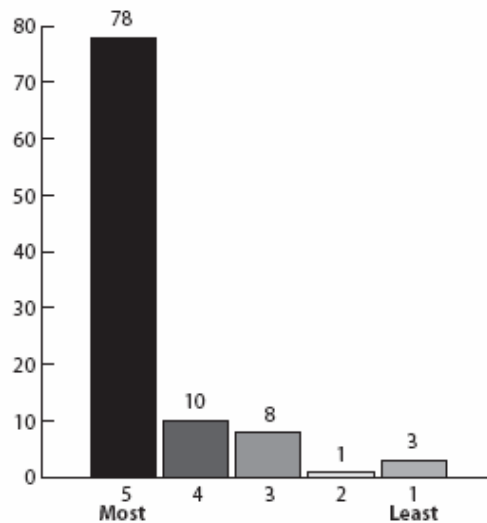

Figure 12: Degree of pride in your ethnic heritage.

A full report can be found at:
http://aai.bluestatedigital.com/page/file/75eccc470d751307bc_jcm6bx13j.pdf/attitudes.pdf

The Pew Research Center

Arab and Muslim Perceptions of the United States

November 10, 2005, Testimony - Pew Global Attitudes Project
17-nation survey conducted in the spring of 2005. The survey included six majority Muslim countries: Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Pakistan, and Turkey. This report focuses on recent findings in the Arab countries of Jordan, Lebanon, and Morocco, and also addresses findings from the neighboring countries of Pakistan and Turkey.

Testimony to U.S. House International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations

Sources of Anti-Americanism

Over time, our surveys have found that anti-Americanism around the world is driven first and foremost by opposition to U.S. foreign policy. Four policies are particularly relevant to countries in the region. First, the ongoing conflict in Iraq continues to fuel anti-American sentiments. America's global popularity plummeted at the start of military action in Iraq, and the U.S. presence there remains widely unpopular. Strong majorities in all five nations where we surveyed believe their country's decision not to use force in the Iraqi conflict was the right one. Majorities also think the war has made the world a more dangerous place.

Second, the war on terror is perceived negatively in the region; majorities in all five countries oppose U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism. The 2002 Global Attitudes survey found that the war on terror drew more opposition from Arab and other Muslim-majority countries than from any other part of the globe, and although the degree of opposition in specific countries has fluctuated somewhat over time, the overall picture is clear: the U.S. has not won the battle for Muslim public opinion on this important issue.

Third, anti-Americanism is driven by the perception that America acts unilaterally on the world stage. Majorities or pluralities in each of these countries say that in making foreign policy decisions, the U.S. pays either "not too much" or "not much at all" attention to their country's interests. In Lebanon, there has been some progress on this question - the United States is seen as less unilateralist than it was two years ago. Nonetheless, nearly six-in-ten Lebanese still feel the U.S. does not take their interests into account.

Finally, perceptions of U.S. policy in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict feed anti-Americanism. A 2003 Pew Global Attitudes poll found that enormous majorities in Arab and Muslim countries (at least 90% in Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, Morocco, and Lebanon) believed the U.S. favors Israel too much. Although our most recent survey did not ask this same question, it did find strongly negative views towards Jews in the Arab world. For example, no respondents in either Lebanon or Jordan had a favorable view of Jews (on the other hand, 91% of Lebanese and 58% of Jordanians had a favorable view of Christians).
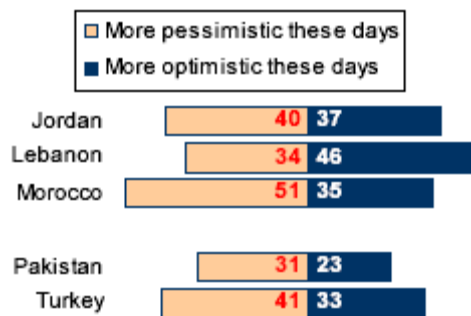
Muslim Publics Favor Democracy

Since the first Pew Global Attitudes Survey in 2002, we have consistently found broad support for democracy among predominantly Muslim publics. And on our most recent survey, overwhelming majorities of Jordanians, Lebanese, and Moroccans say democracy is not just a Western way of governance, and that it can work in their countries. Although there is less agreement on this in Pakistan and Turkey, pluralities there still believe democracy can work in those countries. Moreover, our 2002 survey found widespread support in the region for specific features of a democratic system, such as the right to criticize the government; honest, multiparty elections; a fair judiciary; and a free, independent media.

Democracy Not Just a Western Way

Democracy can work here

	2002	2003	2005
	%	%	%
Jordan	63	69	80
Lebanon	75	71	83
Morocco	--	64	83
Pakistan	44	57	43
Turkey	43	50	48

Prospects for Democracy in the Mideast

☐ More pessimistic these days
■ More optimistic these days

Country	Pessimistic	Optimistic
Jordan	40	37
Lebanon	34	46
Morocco	51	35
Pakistan	31	23
Turkey	41	33

People are divided, however, over the future of democracy in the Middle East. A plurality of Lebanese (46%) - and a majority of the country's Christians (59%) - are optimistic that the Middle East will become more democratic. Meanwhile, Jordanians are divided between those who are becoming more optimistic and pessimistic, while the Turks, Pakistanis, and Moroccans lean toward pessimism (although 34% of Pakistanis offer no opinion).

Despite widespread distrust of America among Arabs and Muslims, many do believe the U.S. wants to see countries in the region move toward democracy. Clear majorities in Morocco and Lebanon believe the U.S. is backing democracy in their countries. But Jordanians and Pakistanis are nearly evenly split over whether America favors democracy in their nations (the question was not asked in Turkey). Across all four countries, those who believe the U.S. backs democracy are considerably more likely to have a favorable view of America.

A full report can be found at: http://pewresearch.org/obdeck/?ObDeckID=6

The Pew Research Center

Islamic Extremism: Common Concern for Muslim and Western Publics Support for Terror Wanes Among Muslim Publics

> 2005 Global Attitudes Survey. Results for the survey are based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. All surveys are based on national samples except in China, India, Morocco and Pakistan where the sample was disproportionately or exclusively urban. Interviews were conducted April through June 2005.

Demographic Differences in U.S. Image

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

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

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

U.S. Viewed More Favorably by Young

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

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

U.S. Image More Positive Among Women

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

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

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

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

A full report can be found at: http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?PageID=809

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

Suicide Attacks Justifiable

	2004 %	2005 %
Morocco	66	56
Jordan	70	49
Lebanon	--	49
Pakistan	46	29
Indonesia	--	26
Turkey	31	24

* Based on Muslim respondents only.

The Pew Research Center

U.S. Image Up Slightly, But Still Negative

16-Nation Pew Global Attitudes Survey. Results for the survey are based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. All surveys are based on national samples except in China, India, Morocco and Pakistan where the sample was disproportionately or exclusively urban. Interviews were conducted April through June 2005.

Favorable Opinion of the U.S.

	'99/'00 %	2002 %	2003 %	2004 %	2005 %
Canada	71	72	63	--	59
Britain	83	75	70	58	55
Netherlands	--	--	--	--	45
France	62	63	43	37	43
Germany	78	61	45	38	41
Spain	50	--	38	--	41
Poland	--	79	--	--	62
Russia	37	61	36	47	52
Indonesia	75	61	15	--	38
Turkey	52	30	15	30	23
Pakistan	23	10	13	21	23
Lebanon	--	35	27	--	42
Jordan	--	25	1	5	21
Morocco	77	--	27	27	N/A[1]
India	--	54	--	--	71
China	--	N/A	--	--	42

1999/2000 survey trends provided by the Office of Research, U.S. Department of State (Canadian 99/00 data by Environics).

American Character Gets Mixed Reviews

Results for the survey are based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. All surveys are based on national samples except in China, India, and Pakistan where the sample was disproportionately or exclusively urban.

Anti-Americanism in Europe, the Middle East and Asia, which surged as a result of the U.S. war in Iraq, shows modest signs of abating. But the United States remains broadly disliked in most countries surveyed, and the opinion of the American people is not as positive as it once was. The magnitude of America's image problem is such that even popular U.S. policies have done little to repair it. President George W. Bush's calls for greater democracy in the Middle East and U.S. aid for tsunami victims in Asia have been well-received in many countries, but only in Indonesia, India and Russia has there been significant improvement in overall opinions of the U.S.

Attitudes toward the U.S. remain quite negative in the Muslim world, though hostility toward America has eased in some countries. Many Muslims see the U.S. supporting democracy in their countries, and many of those who are optimists about the prospects for democracy in the Middle East give at least some credit to U.S. policies. But progress for America's image in these countries is measured in small steps; solid majorities in all five predominantly Muslim countries surveyed still express unfavorable views of the United States.
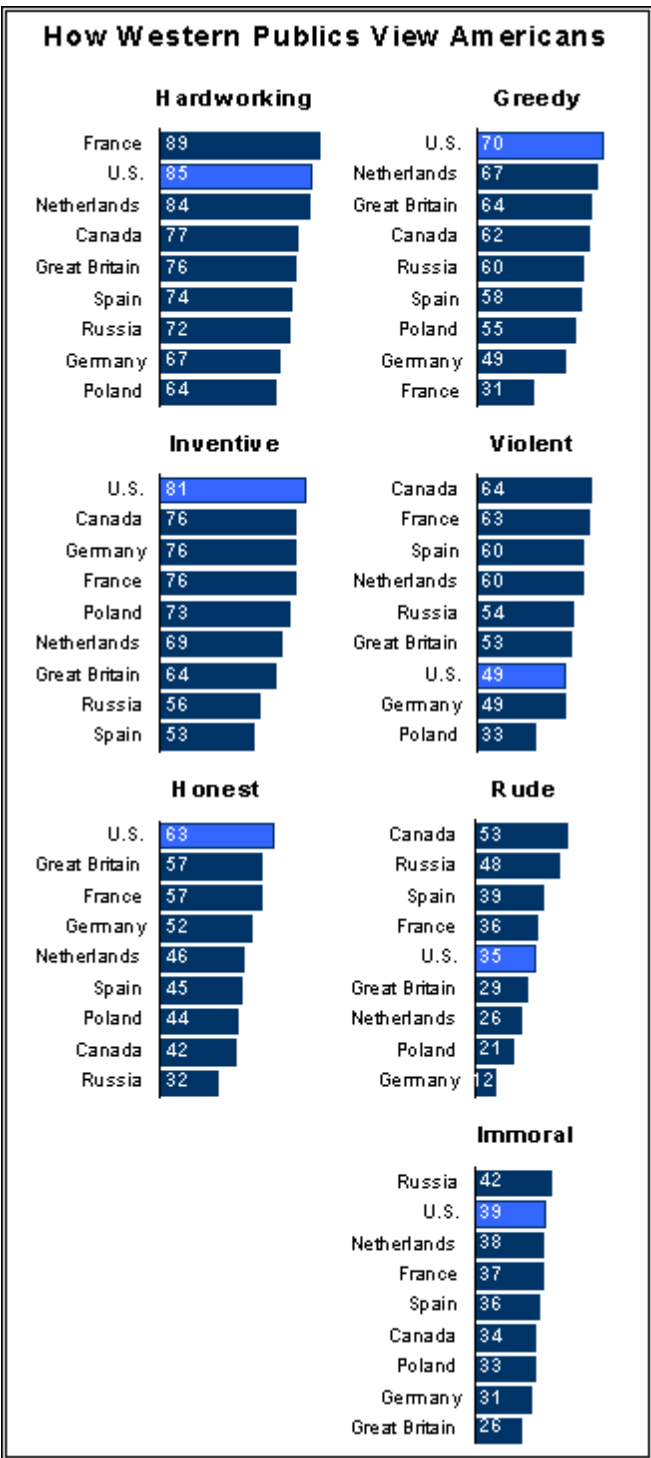
Tsunami Relief Boosts U.S. Image Unlike Bush's Re-election

Feelings toward the US	U.S. tsunami relief effort		Re-election of George Bush	
	More favorable %	Less favorable %	More favorable %	Less favorable %
Canada	69	17	20	75
Great Britain	44	24	18	62
France	51	33	19	74
Germany	66	23	14	77
Spain	46	23	19	60
Netherlands	62	23	24	72
Russia	61	6	15	36
Poland	43	8	21	18
Turkey	34	24	11	62
Pakistan	26	21	10	36
Indonesia	79	14	12	52
Lebanon	--	--	9	57
Jordan	--	--	10	31
India	54	27	28	35

How Western Publics View Americans

Hardworking

Country	
France	89
U.S.	85
Netherlands	84
Canada	77
Great Britain	76
Spain	74
Russia	72
Germany	67
Poland	64

Greedy

Country	
U.S.	70
Netherlands	67
Great Britain	64
Canada	62
Russia	60
Spain	58
Poland	55
Germany	49
France	31

Inventive

Country	
U.S.	81
Canada	76
Germany	76
France	76
Poland	73
Netherlands	69
Great Britain	64
Russia	56
Spain	53

Violent

Country	
Canada	64
France	63
Spain	60
Netherlands	60
Russia	54
Great Britain	53
U.S.	49
Germany	49
Poland	33

Honest

Country	
U.S.	63
Great Britain	57
France	57
Germany	52
Netherlands	46
Spain	45
Poland	44
Canada	42
Russia	32

Rude

Country	
Canada	53
Russia	48
Spain	39
France	36
U.S.	35
Great Britain	29
Netherlands	26
Poland	21
Germany	12

Immoral

Country	
Russia	42
U.S.	39
Netherlands	38
France	37
Spain	36
Canada	34
Poland	33
Germany	31
Great Britain	26

The U.S. tsunami relief effort led to more favorable views of the U.S. for most nations surveyed. But goodwill generated by U.S. tsunami relief has been largely offset by the negative reactions to Bush's re-election and the continuing war in Iraq. Roughly three-quarters of the publics in Germany (77%), Canada (75%) and France (74%) say Bush's re-election has made them feel less favorable toward the U.S. And particularly in Western Europe, most of those who express an unfavorable view of the U.S. mostly blame Bush, rather than a more general problem with America.

The war in Iraq continues to draw broad international opposition, and there is scant optimism that the elections in that country this past January will foster stability. Even the American public now has diminished expectations that the January elections held in Iraq will lead to a more stable situation there. The United States and India are the only countries surveyed in which pluralities believe Saddam Hussein's removal from power has made the world a safer place.

While the war in Iraq is as unpopular in Europe as it was in 2003 and 2004, there is still majority support for the U.S.-led war on terrorism among Western publics that are otherwise highly critical of the U.S., notably in Germany and France. But support for the war on terrorism has all but evaporated in Spain since 2003 and, notably, Canadian opinion on the American-led war on terror is now evenly divided.

A full report can be found at: http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=247

The Pew Research Center

Iraqi Vote Mirrors Desire for Democracy in Muslim World
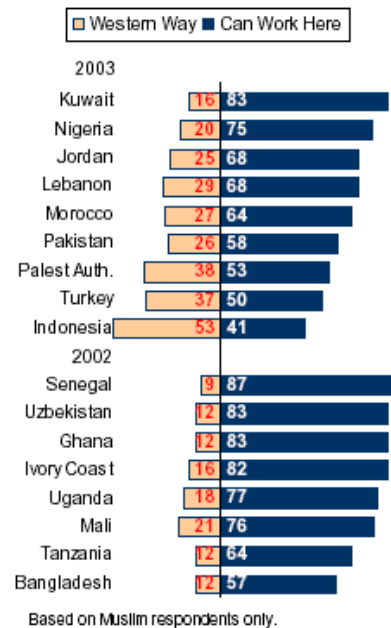**A Pew Global Attitudes Project commentary**

February 3, 2005 - The Pew Global Attitudes Project is a series of worldwide public opinion surveys. The project has issued two major reports, "What the World Thinks in 2002" – based upon 38,000 interviews in 44 nations – and "Views of a Changing World, June 2003" – based on an additional 16,000 interviews in 20 nations and the Palestinian Authority. The project also conducted a nine-nation poll in March 2004. Surveys were conducted by local organizations under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International.

Relatively few Muslims said that "democracy is a Western way of doing things that would not work here." Instead, most of the Muslim publics surveyed felt that democracy can work in their country. In addition, they clearly favor democratic government over "a leader with a strong hand." In two Muslim countries – Lebanon and Turkey – the number preferring democracy over a strong leader is about the same as in the U.S. (63% U.S., 63% Lebanon, and 57% Turkey).

Nonetheless, Muslims generally are no less supportive of keeping religion separate from government policy than are people in other countries. Indeed, in predominantly Muslim countries with secular traditions, such as Turkey, Senegal and Mali, roughly seven-in-ten respondents completely agreed that religion should be kept separate from government policy. In the U.S., significantly fewer (55%) expressed that view.

There is no evidence, however, that support for democracy will necessarily do much to diminish the extensive anti-Americanism throughout the Muslim world. In Pakistan, those who strongly support democratic values (based on responses to questions about the importance of an independent judiciary, religious and press freedom, honest, competitive elections and civilian control of the military) are just as hostile to the United States as those who place little or no importance on such values.

Muslims' Views of Democracy

□ Western Way ■ Can Work Here

2003
	Western Way	Can Work Here
Kuwait	16	83
Nigeria	20	75
Jordan	25	68
Lebanon	29	68
Morocco	27	64
Pakistan	26	58
Palest Auth.	38	53
Turkey	37	50
Indonesia	53	41

2002
	Western Way	Can Work Here
Senegal	9	87
Uzbekistan	12	83
Ghana	12	83
Ivory Coast	16	82
Uganda	18	77
Mali	21	76
Tanzania	12	64
Bangladesh	12	57

Based on Muslim respondents only.

Nearly two-thirds of Pakistanis (65%) who strongly support democratic principles express a very unfavorable view of the United States; that compares with 59% of those who express moderate support for those principles and 54% of those who attach little importance to democratic ideals. This pattern is evident in Turkey and Indonesia as well. In Jordan, however, strong supporters of democratic principles do have a much more favorable impression of the United States than those who are less supportive of those ideals. **Roughly six-in-ten Jordanians who strongly support democratic ideals have a favorable view of the United States; that compares with just 14% who attach little or no importance to democratic values.**

In general, as Pew surveys and others have shown, anti-American sentiment has surged in recent years among Muslim populations. A March 2004 Pew survey found, for example, that 70% of Jordanians and 66% of Moroccans believe that suicide bombings of Americans and other Westerners in Iraq are justifiable. Even in Turkey and Pakistan, two U.S. allies, 31% and 46%, respectively, shared this view. More on this commentary can be found at:
http://people-press.org/commentary/display.php3?AnalysisID=107

The Pew Research Center

A Year After Iraq War
Mistrust of America in Europe Ever Higher, Muslim Anger Persist

Surveys for the Pew Global Attitudes Project were conducted February 19-March 3, 2004 in nine nations under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Telephone interviews were conducted among a nationwide, representative sample of 1,000 adults, 18 years of age or older, in the United States, 500 in Great Britain, 504 in France, and 500 in Germany. 3,000 face-to-face interviews were conducted among a nation-wide representative sample in Jordan, Russia and in Turkey. Face-to-face interviews were also conducted in Morocco (N=1,000, which was exclusively urban) and Pakistan (N=1,242, which was predominantly urban).

Summary of Findings

A year after the war in Iraq, discontent with America and its policies has intensified rather than diminished. Opinion of the United States in France and Germany is at least as negative now as at the war's conclusion, and British views are decidedly more critical. Perceptions of American unilateralism remain widespread in European and Muslim nations, and the war in Iraq has undermined America's credibility abroad. Doubts about the motives behind the U.S.-led war on terrorism abound, and a growing percentage of Europeans want foreign policy and security arrangements independent from the United States. Across Europe, there is considerable support for the European Union to become as powerful as the United States.

In the predominantly Muslim countries surveyed, anger toward the United States remains pervasive, although the level of hatred has eased somewhat and support for the war on terrorism has inched up. Osama bin Laden, however, is viewed favorably by large percentages in Pakistan (65%), Jordan (55%) and Morocco (45%). Even in Turkey, where bin Laden is highly unpopular, as many as 31% say that suicide attacks against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq are justifiable. Majorities in all four Muslim nations surveyed doubt the sincerity of the war on terrorism. Instead, most say it is an effort to control Mideast oil and to dominate the world.

In the four predominantly Muslim countries surveyed, opposition to the war remains nearly universal. Moreover, while large majorities in Western European countries opposed to the war say Saddam Hussein's ouster will improve the lot of the Iraqi people, those in Muslim countries are less confident. In Jordan, no less than 70% of survey respondents think the Iraqis will be worse off with Hussein gone.

Post-Hussein, Iraqi People Will Be...

	Worse off	Don't know	Better off
U.S.	9		84
Britain	11		82
France	27		67
Germany	27		65
Russia	37		31
Turkey	44		41
Morocco	48		37
Jordan	70		25
Pakistan	61		8

The survey finds a significant point of agreement in opinion on Iraq's future. Overwhelming majorities in all countries surveyed say it will take longer than a year to establish a stable government in Iraq. But there are deep differences about whether the U.S. or the United Nations would do the best job of helping Iraqis to form such a government. The U.N. is the clear choice of people in Western Europe and Turkey; Americans are divided over this issue. However, roughly half of Jordanians and a third of Moroccans volunteered that neither the U.S. nor the U.N could do best in this regard.
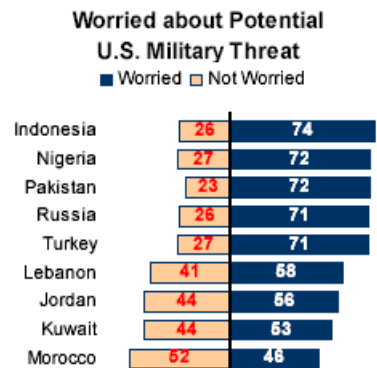
A full report can be found at: http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?PageID=795
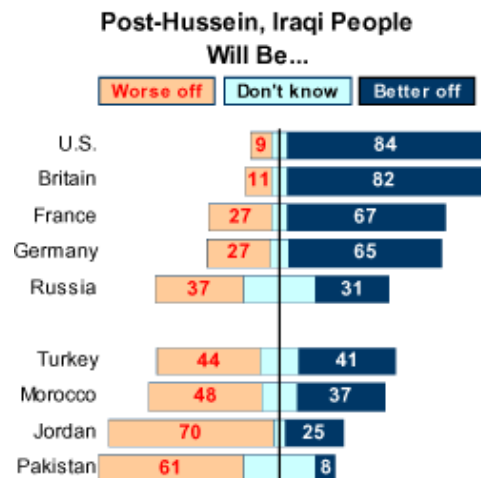
The Pew Research Center

Anti-Americanism: Causes and Characteristics

Released December 10, 2003 - These findings are drawn from polls conducted by the Pew Global Attitudes Project, a series of worldwide public opinion surveys. The project has issued two major reports, "What the World Thinks in 2002" – based upon 38,000 interviews in 44 nations – and "Views of a Changing World, June 2003" – based on 16,000 interviews in 20 nations and the Palestinian Authority. Surveys were conducted by local organizations under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates.

The U.S. image in the Middle East has been dismal for some time. State Department surveys show that, four years ago, just 23% of Jordanians expressed a favorable view of the U.S. What has changed is that these sentiments have now spread to predominantly Muslim countries far outside of the region. Just 15% of Indonesian Muslims look favorably at the U.S. – down from 61% in 2002.

Moreover, there is considerable evidence that the opinion many Muslims have of the United States has gone beyond mere loathing. In this year's Pew survey, majorities in seven of eight predominantly Muslims nations believe the U.S. may someday threaten their country -- including 71% in Turkey and 58% in Lebanon.

Worried about Potential U.S. Military Threat

	Worried	Not Worried
Indonesia	26	74
Nigeria	27	72
Pakistan	23	72
Russia	26	71
Turkey	27	71
Lebanon	41	58
Jordan	44	56
Kuwait	44	53
Morocco	52	46

Anti-Americanism's Roots: Policies and Power

To pinpoint the causes of anti-Americanism, we asked people who have a negative view of the U.S. the reasons for their hostility. Is it President Bush or America generally? Not surprisingly, solid majorities in most countries blamed the president, not America. Yet these results do not tell the whole story. Undoubtedly, Bush has become the lightning rod for anti-American feelings, but the problem is bigger than Bush. American policies and power fuel resentment for the U.S. throughout the world. The administration brought those resentments to the surface and intensified unhappiness with the U.S.

Global publics believe the United States does too little to solve world problems and backs policies that increase the yawning global gap between rich and poor. Again, these sentiments were evident well before the war in Iraq.

Similarly, opposition to strong American support for Israel long predates the Bush administration. For Muslims, it has become an article of faith that the U.S. unfairly sides with Israel in its conflict with the Palestinians – 99% of Jordanians, 96% of Palestinians and 94% of Moroccans agree. So too do most Europeans. The only dissent comes from Americans, where a 47% plurality sees U.S. policy as fair. Even in Israel, more respondents view U.S. policy as unfair than say it is fair.

But resentment of American power, as much as its policies or leadership, also drives anti-American sentiments. People around the world – and particularly in Western Europe and the Middle East – are suspicious of America's unrivaled power. Western Europeans not only overwhelmingly opposed the war; they also were highly dubious of the administration's stated reasons for conducting it. Solid majorities in Russia, France and Germany said prior to the war that the U.S. was primarily motivated to control Iraqi oil. Turks said the war was being waged for a different, equally nefarious purpose: Six-in-ten saw it as part of a broader American assault on unfriendly Muslim nations. More on this commentary can be found at:

http://people-press.org/commentary/display.php3?AnalysisID=77

The Pew Research Center

American Public Diplomacy in the Islamic World

Commentary remarks of Andrew Kohut to The Senate Foreign Relations Committee Hearing. Re-leased: February 27, 2003. To a committee primarily interested in the image of United States in the Islamic world. Also generally discussing attitudes toward the United States around the world. The Pew Global Attitudes Project surveyed 38,000 people in 44 countries. Results, "What the World Thinks in 2002," was released in December.

Dislike of America undoubtedly reflects dislike of U.S. policies in the Middle East. In a survey of opinion leaders released by the Pew Research Center in December 2001 ("America Admired, Yet its New Vulnerability Seen as Good Thing, Say Opinion Leaders"), a majority in Islamic countries told us that U.S. support of Israel is the top reason that people in their countries dislike America.

But backlash against the U.S.-led war on terror is also a big part of the problem. Unlike in much of the rest of the world, the war on terrorism is opposed by majorities in 10 of the 11 countries predominantly Muslim country surveyed by Pew. This includes countries outside the Middle East/Conflict Area, such as Indonesia and Senegal where majorities still held favorable opinion of the US. While they still like us, they don't like our war on terrorism.

Jordanians, in particular, are overwhelmingly opposed to the war on terror (85%-13%). Majorities in Egypt, Lebanon and Turkey and a plurality in Pakistan, a key U.S. ally in the region, also oppose the U.S.-led war on terror. In Pakistan, Lebanon and Egypt, Muslims are more likely to oppose these efforts to fight terrorism than non-Muslims.
The prevailing opinion among people in this region is that the United States ignores the interests of their countries in deciding its international policies. This view is as dominant in Turkey (74%), a NATO ally, as it is in Lebanon (77%). Moreover, sizable minorities feel the United States does too little to help solve the world's problems.

'Americanifzation' Rejected
But it is all not one way - even in Muslim countries, opinions about the U.S. are complicated and contradictory. As among other people around the world, U.S. global influence is simultaneously embraced and rejected by Muslim publics. America is nearly universally admired for its technological achievements and people in most countries say they enjoy U.S. movies, music and television programs. Although people in some Islamic countries like American popular culture while others reject it, there is more of a consensus that people do not like the spread of "Americanism." In general, the spread of U.S. ideas and customs is disliked by majorities in almost every country included in this worldwide survey

Summary: Opinion of U.S. Linked to Views of Policies
In summary, antipathy toward the U.S. is shaped by how its international policies are interpreted. Gallup's findings reflected that clearly in showing that large majorities in their nine-nation survey said the West doesn't respect Muslim values, or show concern for the Islamic and Muslim worlds.

Improving America's image is a tough charge unless we can prove that our critics in the Muslim world are wrong about our intentions and the consequences of our policies. Until that happens, U.S. communication efforts in the region can only be defensive, doing the best possible in a bad situation – correcting misinformation, softening hostility by playing to aspects of America that are still well regarded. But in the end, we will only be affecting opinions on the margins.

More on this commentary can be found at:
http://people-press.org/commentary/display.php3?AnalysisID=63

The Pew Research Center

International Surveys: What We Are Finding

Released: April 29, 2002. The overseas polls have contributed to our understanding of the post-9/11 global environment, but they tell only part of the story. The Pew Global Attitudes project will attempt to develop a fuller, more detailed picture of international opinion not merely toward the U.S. and the war on terrorism, but in how people assess their lives, their futures, and the impact of the rapid pace of global economic, social and technological change. The project will conduct interviews with 30,000 people in 40 countries over the next two years.

In the aftermath of Sept. 11, the Pew Research Center and several other major survey organizations have conducted a number of international polls. These surveys have been illuminating, showing a vast opinion gulf between the American public and people elsewhere. Yet they also reveal, surprisingly, the ways in which the United States is admired around the world.

Policy Not Culture

Why do so many people in the Middle East and elsewhere dislike the United States? One surprise from the recent surveys is that anti-American sentiment is not driven by hostility toward U.S. culture or resentment of American multinationals. The Pew Research Center's survey last November of political, cultural and business leaders in 24 countries showed that most influentials viewed American culture as at most a minor reason for this hostility. The main sources of friction are unrivaled American power and policies that have widened divisions between rich and poor. Zogby International's 10-nation survey in March contained similar findings: majorities in eight predominantly Muslim nations and 75% of those in Iran had favorable impressions of American movies and television. More than seven-in-ten respondents in those nations took an unfavorable view of U.S. policies toward Arab nations.

Islamic Hostility

Public antagonism toward the United States in the Middle East and the rest of the Islamic world is so great that about the most the Bush administration can hope for is to not increase this anger. Gallup's March poll of nine predominantly Muslim nations showed that the United States is seen by most people in those countries as arrogant, untrustworthy and easily provoked. Nearly nine-in-ten respondents in Kuwait and Pakistan and solid majorities in Indonesia, Iran and Lebanon said they didn't believe reports than Arabs carried out the 9/11 attacks.

America's Overlooked Strengths

The United States is widely admired for its technological capability, educational system and, perhaps most of all, its enduring image as a land of opportunity. In the Pew poll of global influentials, solid majorities in every region cited the latter as a main reason why people in their countries like the United States. Zogby found broad acceptance of American-made products in Muslim countries, and that U.S. education is viewed favorably by about eight-in-ten in Lebanon, the United Arab Emirates, Pakistan and Indonesia.

More on this commentary can be found at:
http://people-press.org/commentary/display.php3?AnalysisID=46

The Pew Research Center

What the World Thinks in 2002
How Global Publics View: Their Lives, Their Countries, The World, Americ

The Pew Global Attitudes survey interviewed more than 38,000 people in 44 nations. The questionnaire was translated into 63 languages and dialects. Most interviews were conducted face-to-face in the respondent's home. The primary survey was conducted over a four-month period (July-October 2002) among over 38,000 respondents. It was augmented with a separate, six-nation survey in early November, which examined opinion concerning a possible U.S. war with Iraq.

Global Gloom and Growing Anti-Americanism

Despite an initial outpouring of public sympathy for America following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, discontent with the United States has grown around the world over the past two years. Images of the U.S. have been tarnished in all types of nations: among longtime NATO allies, in developing countries, in Eastern Europe and, most dramatically, in Muslim societies.

Since 2000, favorability ratings for the U.S. have fallen in 19 of the 27 countries where trend benchmarks are available. While criticism of America is on the rise, however, a reserve of goodwill toward the United States still remains. The Pew Global Attitudes survey finds that the U.S. and its citizens continue to be rated positively by majorities in 35 of the 42 countries in which the question was asked. True dislike, if not hatred, of America is concentrated in the Muslim nations of the Middle East and in Central Asia, today's areas of greatest conflict.

Opinions about the U.S., however, are complicated and contradictory. People around the world embrace things American and, at the same time, decry U.S. influence on their societies. Similarly, pluralities in most of the nations surveyed complain about American unilateralism. But the war on terrorism, the centerpiece of current U.S. foreign policy, continues to enjoy global support outside the Muslim world.

While attitudes toward the United States are most negative in the Middle East/Conflict Area, ironically, criticisms of U.S. policies and ideals such as American-style democracy and business practices are also highly prevalent among the publics of traditional allies. In fact, critical assessments of the U.S. in countries such as Canada, Germany and France are much more widespread than in the developing nations of Africa and Asia.

A follow-up six-nation survey finds a wide gap in opinion about a potential war with Iraq. This threatens to further fuel anti-American sentiment and divide the United States from the publics of its traditional allies and new strategic friends. But even on this highly charged issue, opinions are nuanced. Iraq is seen as a threat to regional stability and world peace by overwhelming numbers of people in allied nations, yet American motives for using force against Iraq are still suspect.

People around the world both embrace things American and, at the same time, decry U.S. influence on their societies.

Souring attitudes toward America are more than matched by the discontent that people of the planet feel concerning the world at large.

Follow-Up Survey on Iraq
Suspicions about U.S. motives in Iraq are consistent with criticisms of America apparent throughout the Global Attitudes survey. The most serious problem facing the U.S. abroad is its very poor public image in the Muslim world, especially in the Middle East/Conflict Area.

Favorable ratings are down sharply in two of America's most important allies in this region, Turkey and Pakistan. The number of people giving the United States a positive rating has dropped by 22 points in Turkey and 13 points in Pakistan in the last three years. And in Egypt, a country for which no comparative data is available, just 6% of the public holds a favorable view of the U.S.

Suicide Bombing In Defense of Islam

Justifiable?

	Yes %	No %	DK/ Ref %
Lebanon	73	21	6
Ivory Coast	56	44	*
Nigeria	47	45	8
Bangladesh	44	37	19
Jordan	43	48	8
Pakistan	33	43	23
Mali	32	57	11
Ghana	30	57	12
Uganda	29	63	8
Senegal	28	69	3
Indonesia	27	70	3
Tanzania	18	70	12
Turkey	13	71	14
Uzbekistan	7	84	9

Asked of Muslim respondents only. This question not permitted in Egypt.

The war on terrorism is opposed by majorities in nearly every predominantly Muslim country surveyed. This includes countries outside the Middle East/ Conflict Area, such as Indonesia and Senegal. The principal exception is the overwhelming support for America's anti-terrorist campaign found in Uzbekistan, where the United States currently has 1,500 troops stationed.

Sizable percentages of Muslims in many countries with significant Muslim populations also believe that suicide bombings can be justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies. While majorities see suicide bombing as justified in only two nations polled, more than a quarter of Muslims in another nine nations subscribe to this view.

The American public is strikingly at odds with publics around the world in its views about the U.S. role in the world and the global impact of American actions. In contrast to people in most other countries, a solid majority of Americans surveyed think the U.S. takes into account the interests of other countries when making international policy. Eight-in-ten Americans believe it is a good thing that U.S. ideas and customs are spreading around the world. The criticism that the U.S. contributes to the gap between rich and poor nations is the only negative sentiment that resonates with a significant percentage of Americans (39%).

A full report can be found at: http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=165

The Pew Research Center

America Admired, Yet Its New Vulnerability Seen As Good Thing, Say Opinion Leaders -- Little Support for Expanding War on Terrorism

Released: December 19, 2001. These findings are based on 275 interviews with influential people in politics, media, business, culture and government conducted by the Pew Research Center, Princeton Survey Research Associates and the International Herald Tribune, Nov. 12 to Dec. 13. Almost all interviewing was conducted after the fall of Kabul as the Taliban was in full retreat. Of the 275 interviews, 40 were conducted in the U.S. and approximately 10 were conducted in each of the countries

Asked for their own view, most opinion leaders say they think the U.S. is conducting the war on terrorism without taking into account its allies' interests. There also is little backing among the 275 political, media, cultural, business and government leaders in 24 countries surveyed by the Pew Research Center and the International Herald Tribune for extending the war to Iraq or Somalia, even if it is shown that these countries have supported terrorism. While half of U.S. opinion leaders would favor expanding the conflict, large majorities in most parts of the world say the war should be confined to Afghanistan.

But reflecting a broad ambivalence toward the United States, a majority of non-U.S. opinion leaders, including nearly half of influentials in Islamic countries, say many or most people in their countries think the U.S. is doing the right thing in fighting terrorism. Moreover, when speaking for themselves, even opinion leaders in Islamic nations say the war against terrorism is worth the risk of destabilizing Muslim states that support the anti-terror coalition.

Few opinion leaders, even in Muslim countries, see popular support for the al Qaeda position and most report at least a moderate degree of public backing for the U.S. More generally, two-thirds of opinion leaders outside the U.S. say ordinary people in their countries have a favorable view of the U.S. The notable exception is the Middle East/conflict area, where roughly half say ordinary people have a negative impression of the U.S.

Leadership Views on Conduct of War

	U.S. Acting Multi-laterally %	Attack Iraq and Somalia* %	(N)
U.S.	70	50	(40)
Total Non-U.S.	33	29	(235)
Western Europe	34	32	(41)
E. Europe/Russia	37	23	(30)
Latin America	37	34	(41)
Asia	25	27	(62)
Mid-East/Conflict Area	27	24	(41)
All Islamic states	25	32	(71)

*If it is shown they have supported terrorism

American elites see the world image of the U.S. through a different lens than do their counterparts overseas. While they recognize that U.S. power is resented, opinion leaders in the United States believe America's support of Israel is also a big problem. Not so, say opinion leaders in most other parts of the world, except for those in Islamic nations. Even among leaders in the Middle East/conflict area (Egypt, Turkey, Pakistan and Uzbekistan), U.S. support for Israel is not a bigger factor than are criticisms of the American role in the world.

Along with resentment of U.S. power, the other leading reason that people around the world dislike the United States, according to foreign opinion leaders, is

Major Reasons For Disliking the U.S.

	Resentment Of U.S. Power %	Causes Rich/Poor Gap %	US Support of Israel %	Power of Multinat'l Corps. %
U S	88	43	70	40
Total Non-U.S.	52	52	29	36
Western Europe	66	61	22	59
E. Europe/Russia	64	53	17	47
Latin America	58	51	7	44
Asia	38	42	36	21
Mid-East/Conflict Area	54	59	57	17
All Islamic states	41	45	57	17

the perception that U.S. policies contribute to the growing gap between rich and poor nations. While acknowledged by some American opinion leaders as well, influentials in most other regions see this as a bigger problem.

While U.S. support for Israel is not seen as a major factor in why ordinary people dislike the United States, except in Muslim states, a 73% majority of opinion leaders around the world believe the U.S. has been too supportive of Israel. Just 35% of American elites concur. And there is broad consensus among influentials that if the U.S. pressured Israel to create a Palestinian state, terrorism would be reduced 67% of American leaders subscribe to that view, as do 74% of those overseas.

There is little indication that criticisms of the United States by anti-globalization activists hold much sway with people around the world. The growing power of U.S. multinational corporations is not seen as a leading factor in why the U.S. is disliked, except in Western Europe. The spread of American culture through movies, TV and music is at most a minor reason for animosity toward the U.S., according to foreign influentials. Looking forward, few see the sale of American products and the popularity of American entertainment being hurt by the war on terrorism.

When asked directly whether globalization has been a cause of terrorism, pluralities of opinion leaders viewed it as a minor factor at best. Nor is globalization likely to become a casualty of the war. The consensus is that the pace of globalization has barely slowed and even this is seen as a temporary phenomenon by most opinion leaders, in the United States and abroad…This despite the fact that strong majorities see migration, travel and tourism being hurt by the war.

Similarly, while American opinion leaders think the U.S. is liked for its good works around the world, fewer than one-in-four leaders in all other regions agree. What U.S. influentials underestimate is the importance of the nation's role as a technological and scientific leader in bolstering America's image overseas. Two-thirds of foreign opinion leaders rate this as a major reason why people like the U.S.

Major Reasons For Liking the U.S.			
	U.S. Does A lot of Good %	Democratic Ideas Appealing %	Land of Opportunity %	Tech/ Science Advances %
U.S.	52	70	83	32
Total Non-U.S.	21	63	75	67
Western Europe	22	68	73	63
E. Europe/Russia	23	67	76	66
Latin America	12	66	66	71
Asia	23	63	76	58
Mid-East/Conflict Area	22	49	81	86
All Islamic states	20	48	81	73

The perception of the United States as the land of opportunity is what most opinion leaders both in the United States and overseas see as America's strong suit. American democratic ideals also are thought to be appealing by majorities of leaders in most parts of the world, with Muslim countries not far behind.

A full report can be found at: http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=145

Program on International Policy Attitudes

What the Iraqi Public Wants
-A WorldPublicOpinion.org Poll-

January 31, 2006
The poll was fielded by KA Research Limited/D3 Systems, Inc. Polling was conducted January 2-5 with a nationwide sample of 1,150, which included an over sample of 150 Arab Sunnis (bringing the total of Sunnis to 421). Respondents from all of Iraq's 18 governorates were interviewed for the sample

WorldPublicOpinion.org has undertaken a poll of the Iraqi people to determine their attitudes about these various developments occurring around them, and also to differentiate the views of the ethnic subgroups—Arab Sunnis, Shia and Kurds.

US Forces in Iraq

A large majority of Iraqis think the US plans to maintain bases in Iraq permanently, even if the newly elected government asks the US to leave. A large majority favors setting a timeline for the withdrawal of US forces, though this majority divides over whether the timeline should be six months or two years. Nearly half of Iraqis approve of attacks on US-led forces—including nine out of 10 Sunnis. Most Iraqis believe that many aspects of their lives will improve once the US-led forces leave, but are nonetheless uncertain that Iraqi security forces are ready to stand on their own.
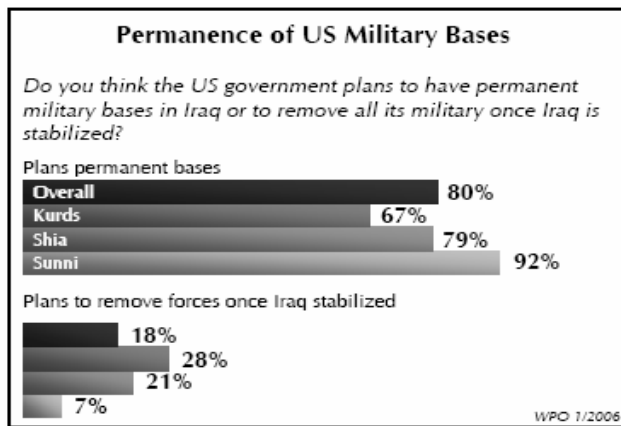
Asked whether "the US government plans to have permanent military bases in Iraq or to remove all its military forces once Iraq is stabilized," 80% overall assume that the US plans to remain permanently, including 79% of Shia, 92% of Sunnis and 67% of Kurds. Only small minorities believe that the US plans "to remove all its military forces once Iraq is stabilized" (overall 18%, Shia 21%, Sunni 7%, Kurds 28%).

Iraqis of all ethnic groups also agree that the US is unlikely to take direction from the Iraqi government. Asked what they think the US would do if the new government were to ask the US to withdraw its forces within six months, 76% overall assume that the US would refuse to do so (Shia 67%, Sunni 94%, Kurds 77%).

Page 112
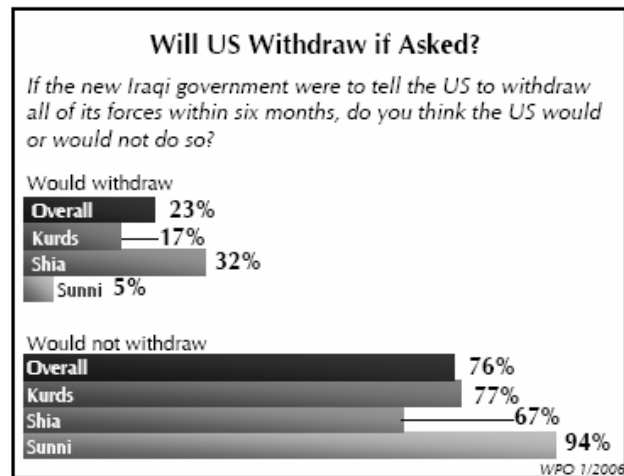
Current Situation in Iraq

The majority of Iraqis view the recent parliamentary elections as valid, are optimistic that their country is going in the right direction and feel that the overthrow of Saddam Hussein has been worth the costs. Sunnis, on the other hand, overwhelmingly reject the validity of the elections, see the country going in the wrong direction and regret the overthrow of Saddam.

Was Ousting Saddam Worth It?

Thinking about any hardships you might have suffered since the US-Britain invasion, do you personally think that ousting Saddam Hussein was worth it or not?

Worth it
Overall — 77%
Kurds — 91%
Shia — 98%
Sunni — 13%

Not worth it
22%
8%
2%
83%

WPO 1/06
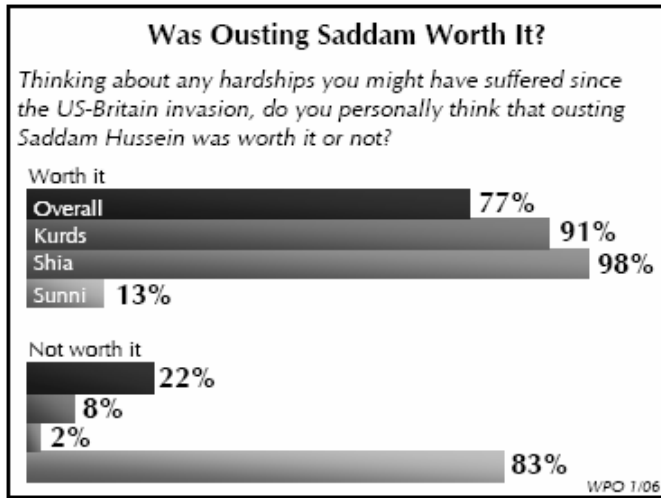
Iraqis overall have a positive view of the toppling of Saddam Hussein. Asked, "Thinking about any hardships you might have suffered since the US-Britain invasion, do you personally think that ousting Saddam Hussein was worth it or not?" 77% say it was worth it, while 22% say it was not.

However, here again, the ethnic divisions are very sharp. Ninety-eight percent of Shia and 91% of Kurds say the hardships were worth it, while 83% of Sunnis say they were not.

Support for International Assistance

Many Iraqis express strong support for various forms of international assistance including the presence of foreign forces, UN (rather than US) leadership on reconstruction, an international conference of global and regional players to address Iraq's needs, engagement by the Arab League and a variety of forms of nonmilitary US assistance. In some cases, international forms of assistance are even endorsed by Sunnis who tend to strongly oppose all US-led efforts in Iraq.

Will Iraqi Security Forces Be Strong Enough?

Do you think that six months from now Iraqi security forces will be strong enough to deal with the security challenges that Iraq will face, or do you think that Iraq will still need the help of military forces from other countries?

Will still need the help of military forces from other countries
Overall — 59%
Kurds — 73%
Shia — 55%
Sunni — 58%

Strong enough to deal with security on it's own
Overall — 39%
Kurds — 22%
Shia — 45%
Sunni — 38%

WPO 1/2006

A majority of Iraqis (59%) feel that in six months it will be necessary for Iraq to have "military forces from other countries." Just 39% say that "six months from now Iraqi security forces will be strong enough to deal with the security challenges Iraq will face." Not surprisingly, 55% of Shia and 73% of Kurds endorse the need for foreign forces.

A full report can be found at:

http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/jan06/Iraq_Jan06_rpt.pdf

Center for Strategic Studies (CSS)

The Arab Street Revisited: Research from Within

The survey was conducted in mid-2004 in Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Palestine (West Bank and Gaza) under the aegis of the Center for Strategic Studies (CSS) at the University of Jordan. It included four samples in each country: a national sample of 1,200 respondents, a university student sample of 500, a business sample of 120 and a media sample of 120.

The survey, entitled "The Arab Street Revisited: Research from Within," revealed important new insights into how Arabs differentiate between political and cultural values in the West, and also among the different leading states of the West. The surveyed Arabs also differentiate between Western political values which they admire and covet (democracy, justice, rule of law, etc.) and Western foreign policies in the Middle East, which they generally reject and criticize.

When "the West" was broken down into the U.S., U.K. and France, the survey broadly found that majorities of Arabs surveyed were critical of American and British foreign policies, but viewed French foreign policy positively.

Freedom and democracy:
Dr. Fares Breizat, director of survey research at the CSS, told The Daily Star in an interview here that the survey results support a few clear conclusions: "Culturally, the Arabs of the Mashreq see one West which they admire, but politically they differentiate among the policies of Western states and the principles that guide them, broadly

Figure 12: Degree of pride in your ethnic heritage.

viewing the U.S. and U.K. as bad, and France as good. The Arabs, despite their anger at Western states' foreign policies, generally desire all that the West represents and offers in terms of education, democratic political systems, health care, job opportunities, political values, tourism and emigration destinations, and other such variables."

Other surveys in the entire Middle East and North Africa region since 2001 have also shown a widespread desire by Arabs for more freedom and democracy, and a clear rejection of authoritarian governance systems. This reaches 80 percent in Egypt, Morocco, Jordan and other societies, and is repeatedly reconfirmed by using more than one indicator in surveys.

Some indicators on attitudes to Western and Arab states were identical throughout the Middle East and North Africa, which Breizat interprets as "reflecting the same pan-Arab climate of opinion that is shaped around core issues, including Palestine and Iraq."

He added that results from this and previous surveys conducted in Arab countries confirm decisively that "the problem of relations between the Arabs and the United States is political, not cultural or religious."

"The evidence indicates that people in this region are angry at American and British policies on the ground, but they respect Western values, and wish to cooperate and engage more with the West - yet they want to do this in a context of being treated with dignity and respect.
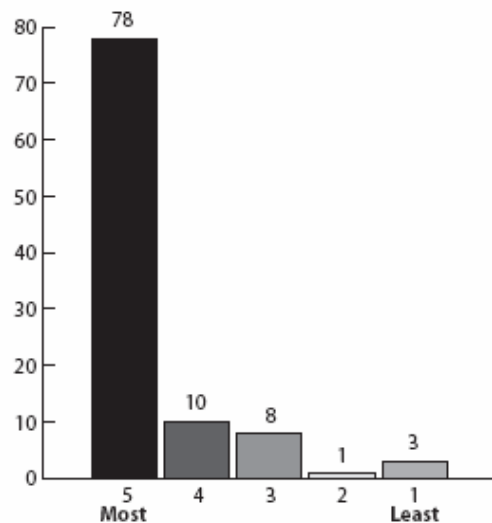
The citizens of the Mashreq region want to be treated better by the West and by their own Arab governments. This is one of the conclusions we draw from the strong support for democracy in Arab societies, which is often higher than in many Western countries. The average Arab citizen feels he or she has been mistreated by their own government, by their own government under Western pressure, and by Western powers directly. That's why respondents express a very strong drive for being treated with respect and dignity. They are almost desperate to enjoy a system that gives them voice to express themselves, and that recognizes their humanity, their existence, and their concerns."

Extremist Attitudes:
Extremist attitudes do prevail in some quarters of the region, though, as this survey reconfirmed. About two-thirds of respondents in Jordan and Palestine said that Al-Qaeda is a "legitimate resistance movement," along with 41 percent in Egypt, but just 8 and 18 percent respectively in Syria and Lebanon. Yet 74 percent of Lebanese Christians also see Hizbullah as a legitimate resistance movement, and 56 percent say the same of the Palestinian groups Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades. This and other survey evidence suggests to Breizat that "the issue of how people in this region feel and respond to events around them is not primarily religious or cultural, it's political and national."

The data shows that young Arabs are more radical than their parents. Eighty-four percent of people aged 16-24 years had a negative view of the U.S., compared to 73 percent of people aged 45 years or more. The survey also indicated that younger people were less likely to use the word "terrorism" to describe attacks such as Sept. 11, 2001 in the U.S., the 2003 bombing of the UN in Iraq, and bombings of Jewish targets in Turkey and Tunisia.

Public Policy:
He also believes the survey evidence has serious policy implications for Arab governments and regimes, whose support for U.S. policies in Iraq and Palestine is increasingly divergent from public opinion in these same Arab countries.

"Public opinion in the Arab countries we surveyed sees the people themselves as losers from close ties with the U.S., while the governments in most of these countries rely heavily on American financial and military aid for their survival," Breizat says. The survey evidence suggests that on the issue of relations with the U.S. and U.K., a more visible gap is opening up between some Arab leaders and their publics, especially because of policies in Palestine and Iraq.

More on this report can be found at:
http://www.css-jordan.org/new/REVISITINGTTHEARABSTREETReport.pdf

The Brookings Institute

A View from the Arab World: A Survey In Five Countries
Sponsored by the Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development

Released March 13, 2003
Interviewed 2,620 men and women in Egypt, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and Jordan. The survey was conducted between February 19 and March 11, 2003

A majority or plurality of citizens in all countries say their attitudes toward the United States are based on American foreign policy. Saudi citizens are most likely (67%) to form their attitudes based on U.S. policy, while the Egyptians are more evenly divided: 46% say their opinion is based on American policy and 43% say their opinion is based on their own values.

Country	Based on my values	Based on American policy	Not sure
Saudi Arabia	33	67	0
Morocco	37	59	4
Lebanon	29	58	14
Jordan	36	58	6
Egypt	43	46	11

Overwhelmingly, respondents think that war with Iraq will bring less peace to the Middle East. Most pessimistic was Saudi Arabia, where more than nine in ten respondents (91%) believe that a war between the U.S. and Iraq will bring less peace. In Lebanon and Egypt, 79% of respondents believe war with Iraq will bring less peace. Just fewer than one in ten Lebanese believe a war with Iraq will bring more peace in the Middle East—and they are the most optimistic on this question.

Country	More peace	Less peace	Neither	Not sure
Lebanon	9	79	10	3
Egypt	5	79	13	2
Saudi Arabia	5	91	3	0
Jordan	4	60	30	7
Morocco	1	89	8	2

More than three in four respondents in every country believe a war between the United States and Iraq will prompt more terrorism toward the U.S., including nearly all (96%) Saudi respondents.

Country	More peace	Less peace	Neither	Not sure
Lebanon	9	79	10	3
Egypt	5	79	13	2
Saudi Arabia	5	91	3	0
Jordan	4	60	30	7
Morocco	1	89	8	2

Less than one in ten (9%) Lebanese believes there will be less terrorism and 15% of Egyptians do not think a war between Iraq and America will affect the amount of terrorism either way.

A full report can be found at: http://www.brookings.edu/fp/saban/survey20030313.pdf

V. Roadmap to Improving Perceptions

The Following is a roadmap for improving Arab perceptions of the West as well as nurturing a mutual understanding between regions, nations and cultures. The recommendations presented involve multiple public and private entities—from cultural exchange programs to corporate for public diplomacy entities—that can build better understanding and perceptions between Arabs and the West.

Roadmap to Improving Perceptions

Negative sentiments coupled with certain political and economic conditions have induced extremism and thus promoted civilian terror as a legitimate political instrument.

Why Public Perception Matters

Popular negative resentment of the US, its allies, and its policies has strong negative consequences for the US and EU governments, as well as for business, educational, cultural and religious groups. Negative sentiments have also impacted Arab governments and citizens. For the US, negative sentiments have played a role in encouraging anti-American violence, and exacerbated hostility towards US policies. Moreover, anti-American sentiments jeopardize formal government-to-government relations as well as private interactions between individuals in both regions. Negative perceptions and resentments undermine long term prospects for cooperation. This also holds true for the EU and Arab countries.

Support for Extremist Groups

A very small portion of anti-American and anti-Western activity involves terrorism or other forms of political violence. Negative sentiments coupled with certain political and economic conditions have induced extremism and thus promoted civilian terror as a legitimate political instrument. Broad anti-Americanism facilitates broad base recruiting for those extremist groups. More common than active participation is the financial and political support that people holding anti-American feelings give to extremist groups. In some Middle East countries, authoritarian governments encourage popular support to extremist groups to deflect criticism of their own internal politics and problems.

Extremist groups adapting strong anti-West positions gain support from people who harbor resentment toward the West, but they appear to care little for the overall political or religious agenda of the group.

Impact on Government Policies

Few governments can ignore popular sentiment indefinitely. Public opinion affects policy making. A good example is Turkey in the run-up to the 2003 Iraq invasion. According to polling data in early 2003, the majority of Turks opposed the use of Turkish lands as a staging area for invasion forces because they held anti-American views and believed that the US was engaged in a broader war against fellow Muslims. In turn, the Turkish government declined to give approval to the US to use the Turkish bases despite the offer of billions of US dollars in aid. Consequently, the Turkish government denied US plans to deploy heavy ground forces in Northern Iraq.

Widespread anti-West efforts to fight terrorism are opposed by the majority of Muslim populations. Sustained opposition may undermine the willingness and abilities of many Muslim country governments to cooperate with the US and the EU on critical national security issues for many years to come.

Blowback: The Reinforcing Cycle of Animosity

Muslim animosity toward the West minimizes the chances of building and maintaining a basic level of trust or understanding between the West and Muslim societies. Widespread opinions that the US is not considerate of Muslim interests promote anti-Americanism. Similarly, American and

Widespread anti-West efforts to fight terrorism are opposed by the majority of Muslim populations. Sustained opposition may undermine the willingness and abilities of many Muslim country governments to cooperate with the US and the EU on critical national security issues for many years to come.

> Many Arabs perceive US hypocrisy in the American administration; espousing human rights and democratic ideals yet contradicting it by supporting autocratic Middle Eastern regimes, oppressive Israeli actions against Palestinians, withholding support for elected Islamist parties, and incidents of torture at Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo Bay prisons.

European perceptions that Muslims and Arabs are generally hostile to the West and its people also generate negative attitudes about Muslims and Islam.

It is critical to address negative perceptions in the Middle East as well as the West. The reinforcement of negative perceptions may severely constrain opportunities to build constructive relations between individuals, businesses, NGO's, civil society in the West and its Muslim counterparts in the Middle East.

Declining cooperative relations jeopardize American and European interests in predominantly Muslim countries. Military bases, political and military cooperation with Turkey, and anti-terrorist efforts with Pakistan will be difficult to sustain if Anti-Westernism remains strong in those countries. American leadership has been prominent in promoting the so-called Middle East Roadmap for peace. Muslim hostility toward the US may endanger public support in the US for the effort and time required to achieve a peaceful resolution of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Lack of public support in the US may also hinder the promotion of democratic states in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Islamaphobic and anti-Arab sentiments have grown in the US and Europe especially since the September 11 attacks on the US, the London and Madrid train bombings, Islamic extremist demonstrations, as well as continued Muslim immigrant tensions and assimilation struggles. This has led to new laws and policies that many Western Muslims feel have infringed upon their privacy and human rights. Moreover, the news reporting of this perceived mistreatment of Muslims in the West has only reinforced to fellow Middle Eastern Muslims that the West and Islam are in a clash of civilizations.

Myths of Perception

Contrary to what some analysts suggest, especially in the West, Arabs do not universally see the West in negative terms. In fact, many Arabs have positive attitudes toward many Western products, technology, education, and people. In addition, there is an overwhelming support among Arabs regarding universal values of democracy, human rights, pluralism, as well as freedom of the press and speech. The majority of Arabs do not view the tension between the Arab world and the West in cultural or religious terms. The majority of Arabs do not attribute tensions to an ongoing Western crusade against them; nor do they support the idea of a Clash of Civilizations. Rather, Arabs distinguish between states, particularly the foreign policy actions of those states. Arabs do not hate the US or UK for who they are or for their values instead, negative sentiments are driven by the actions of the US (and the UK when in agreement).

> …many Arabs have positive attitudes toward many Western products, technology, education, and people. In addition, there is an overwhelming support among Arabs regarding universal values of democracy, human rights, pluralism, as well as freedom of the press and speech.

The primary actions and policies that draw the most vehement disapproval include the invasion and continued occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq, and the ongoing over-weighted support of Israel in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Many Arabs perceive US hypocrisy in the American administration; espousing human rights and democratic ideals yet contradicting it by supporting autocratic Middle Eastern regimes, oppressive Israeli actions against Palestinians, withholding support for elected Islamist parties, and incidents of torture at Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo Bay prisons.

Stakeholders in Improving Perceptions

There are multiple public and private entities that aim to build better understanding and perceptions between Arabs and the West. Most public entities are the governmental departments and ministries responsible for foreign relations and defense. The key players in the US government are the State

Department, the White House Office of Global Communications, the Defense Department, the US Agency for International Aid (USAID) and the Broadcasting Board of Governors.

There are hundreds of non-government organizations in the US, Europe, and the Middle East, comprised of think tanks, foundations, humanitarian/ healthcare/aid groups that work in Arab countries to improve economic, social, political, and human rights conditions. Also, there are hundreds of interfaith and intercultural organizations that run exchange, aid, and educational programs that invite Middle Eastern Arabs to come live and work alongside Americans and Europeans—and visa versa. Hundreds of thousands of Arabs have come to the US to study (80% of the Saudi cabinet have American degrees). Over 100,000 Americans live and work in the Middle East, over 1,000,000 American men and women have fought there, and hundreds of thousands more visit as tourists and visitors each year.

Thousands of American and European companies have offices and operations in the Middle East and serve as diplomats and agents for nurturing and improving positive perception. Moreover, many of these companies employ thousands of resident Arabs and provide needed economic growth, stability and investment in local economies. On a similar note, thousands of native Middle Easterners work in the US and in Europe making experiences and perceptions a powerful impression builder for Arabs in the Middle East.

Findings and underlying assumptions

The following recommendations are primarily geared toward what the US can do to improve perceptions and relations, since US foreign policy drives much of the Arab perceptions, playing a dominant role in the Middle East region for the past 5 years. Nevertheless, not only are EU government, business and NGO efforts important, but many of the strategic issues and vehicles for improving perception recommended to the US can be applied at the EU Parliament or individual European country level. As for Middle Eastern governments and NGO's, many of the basic ideas can also be used in executing Arab country programs for improving relations and perceptions, including new public diplomacy efforts, cultural exchanges, communications programs, translation efforts, use of information and communications technologies, and coordination of messages across groups inside and outside government.

> Public diplomacy has at times been treated as an afterthought. Western government leaders must realize that defending their homelands, fighting and destroying terrorists, and using public diplomacy to make it easier for allies to support the West and to reduce the lure of terrorism, are all parts of the same battle.

A country's public diplomacy is defined as a process of international broadcasting, cultural and educational exchanges, overseas libraries and cultural exhibits, and a corps of policy and opinion analysts. These resources and programs aim to facilitate three main things:

- Influence the formulation of public attitudes abroad about the country

- Inform the country's policy makers about the impact of current and prospective US policies on attitudes overseas

- Facilitate dialogue and mutual understanding between the country and foreign societies

Recent research reports that negative Arab perceptions are on the rise. Not only is Anti-Americanism on the rise throughout the Arab world, but it also increasingly compromises America's safety thus constricting its movements and foreign policy actions. Public diplomacy has at times been treated as an afterthought. Western government leaders must realize that defending their homelands, fighting and destroying terrorists, and using public diplomacy to make it easier for allies to support the West and to reduce the lure of terrorism, are all parts of the same battle. But how the US's actions and words impact the rest of the world and outcomes those actions provoke

Americans came to be perceived as "poor listeners" to the rest of the world. While they are defining their interests and defending them, Western governments have allocated too few resources to public diplomacy efforts—a powerful means for maintaining relations, and opening communication channels.

have not been incorporated into the US foreign policy process.

Both US and European governments underutilize the private sector, which contains vast talents and resources that it needs, such as technology, film and broadcast, market research and communications. US foreign policy has often been communicated in a style that bred frustration and resentment. The US foreign policy has adopted a "push-down" style which neither considered foreign audience nor opened channels for dialogue and debate. In turn, Americans came to be perceived as "poor listeners" to the rest of the world. While they are defining their interests and defending them, Western governments have allocated too few resources to public diplomacy efforts—a powerful means for maintaining relations, and opening communication channels.

What the US Government can do

1) Evolve Middle East Foreign Policy.

Foreign policy formulation has many components. Arab public opinion in the Middle East is just one component, albeit an important one. According to opinion research, there are a number of modifications in policy that can yield the most positive impact:

- Cut back on the perceived over weighted support of Israel in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Support the Palestinian people with

aid and political pressure. Re-energize the efforts to execute the Middle East Roadmap for peace. Actively discourage Israeli oppressive policies.

- Withdraw US military presence in Iraq rapidly while ensuring security as Iraq forces take over responsibility.

- Minimize perceived hypocrisies between stated Administration values and actions. The opinion research among Arabs overwhelming find that the administration cannot credibly tout democracy, validate free elections, freedom of the press, human rights, and then be seen as actively supporting autocratic Arab governments, cutting off support or relations with newly elected Islamist parties, running prisons like Abu Ghraib and Guantánamo Bay where torture has been reported.

2) Rethink how the US government formulates and communicates its foreign policy.

- Consider public diplomacy concerns and foreign public attitudes and reactions as an integral factor in making policy decisions.

- Strengthen the structure of public diplomacy within the government. This includes a public diplomacy coordinating structure with the confidence of the President that coordinates strategies, streamlines public diplomacy structures, and transfers ownership of programs and efforts to US agencies, allies, and private organizations, as needed. The US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Defense Department must be tied to the coordinating structure.

- Improve its ability to "listen" to foreign public better, including polling, Internet communities, pre and post campaign testing and effectiveness tracking. Establish and adequately resource measurement of public diplomacy effectiveness.

- Craft messages that highlight cultural commonalities between American values and the Arab world.

Craft messages that highlight cultural commonalities between American values and the Arab world.

The $13 billion aid by the US Agency for International Development (USAID), as well as other US humanitarian aid programs to Kosovo, Darfur, Afghanistan and Iraq need to be presented as reflections of American cultural values.

3) Build and Communicate Key Messages, including:

US Government Policies:

- US commitment to stable, independent democratic regimes in Iraq and Afghanistan.

- US administration to a 2-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

- US objectives in its fight against terrorism, which is widely condemned by Muslim as an attack on Islam or Muslims in general

- Elucidate the rationale for US overseas military deployments

- US support for democracy and human rights in other Muslim countries

- A commitment to protect the civil rights of Muslims and other minorities in the US

America's Strengths, Culture and Diversity:

- Diversity and culture of tolerance
- Civic participation and how citizens influence the political process and how diverse opinions are expressed and debated
- Entrepreneurship and small business success stories
- Image as a leader in information technology
-

4) Develop new institutions to strengthen public diplomacy efforts.

Establish an Independent Public Diplomacy Training Institute. This entity would draw upon corporations and universities to recruit and train a new breed of Foreign Service professionals to perform critical public diplomacy.

- A principal new entity that has been recommended by a number of think tanks and advisory groups has been a "Corporation for Public Diplomacy". This "CPD" would be independent, not-for-profit, and act like the Corporation for Pubic Broadcasting—a successful model. It would act as a focal point for private sector involvement in public policy, accept private grants, and attract media and personalities not willing to work for the US government. A 'CPD' would provide more credible spokespeople for skeptical audiences, and support regional voices of moderation and independent media.

- Establish an Independent Public Diplomacy Training Institute. This entity would draw upon corporations and universities to recruit and train a new breed of Foreign Service professionals to perform critical public diplomacy.

- Establish a Public Diplomacy Reserve Corps, modeled after the Federal Emergency Management Agency's disaster–relief model. The Public Diplomacy Reserve Corps would provide augmented help in temporary public diplomacy crisis situations.

- Increase American libraries and cultural centers in the Middle East that are accessible to the local public and leverage Internet and digital technology to make accessible the best of Western books, media, and knowledge.

According to opinion research, professional, cultural, and educational exchanges are very effective in bridging gaps in understanding and encouraging cooperation. People participating in these programs tend to be much more favorable toward their host country.

- English training in Arab states, especially for lower income, and economically disadvantaged youth communities.

- Exchange programs that include Arab and Western scholars, scientists, students, youth, business leaders, journalists, legal experts, economists, and development aid leaders.

- Fund and produce books, documentaries, videos, and advanced media using advanced digital and information technology, which improve inter-cultural understanding and appreciation.

- Fund and facilitate the development of dialogue programs and digital community building using the Internet, high band-width communications, satellite TV, and mobile phones.

- Use call in programs and interactive programs on satellite TV to engage Arab and American audiences.

> Exchange programs that include Arab and Western scholars, scientists, students, youth, business leaders, journalists, legal experts, economists, and development aid leaders.

What the EU can do:

- Apply the recommendations above on a national or an EU umbrella basis.

- Increase the training of local imams to better direct the religious leadership to local concerns instead of distant grievances.

- Promote Muslim Councils that aim to give Muslims a stronger voice in dealing with the

state and fighting discrimination.

- Create educational programs that teach the basics of Islam in public schools.

- Create an EU Public Diplomacy Strategy Committee to centrally review and co-ordinate strategy.

- Increase support for public diplomacy and communications activity of EC delegations.

- Conduct a comprehensive survey of EU public diplomacy and related activities and create an accessible database of activities.

- Increase research into how the EU is perceived in third countries through polling, surveys, and media monitoring.

- Be more aggressive in promoting EU aid visibility in Arab states.

- Improve public diplomacy with and through EU resident diasporic networks.

- Expand the pubic diplomacy dimension of EUROMED.

- Increase EU funding for third party educational, cultural, scientific, and business exchange programs.

What Arab Governments can do:

- Build and resource public diplomacy programs and institutions to communicate country and Arab issues and improve understanding and perception in the West of Arabs and Islamic culture.

- Government and social entities should encourage and facilitate a free media.

- Encourage translations and digital access of the best English (and other language) books into Arabic.

- Encourage and facilitate cultural openness and minimize political pressure on freedom of expression, opinion and association.

- Popularize ICT (information and communications technology) as a tool for knowledge acquisition.

- Promote literacy, especially among women.

- Lower monopolistic barriers on ICT access by gender, economic capability, geographic location, or social conditions.

- Lower Internet access costs.

- Use ICT as a toll for life-long education.

What Arab Media can do:

Opinion research shows that Arab media, including newspapers, TV news and entertainment, movies, documentaries, and the Internet are important shapers of Arab perceptions of the US and Europe. At the same time, Arab media is in a rapid growth and maturing process. Depending on the country and medium, it is emerging from out of state control and censorship. Many journalists in print and TV are not formally trained in professional journalism nor have they had exposure to open, independent, objective editorial environments. Out of the 130 satellite TV channels, about 70% are state controlled. Some of these channels are vanity channels with no concern over profitability or increasing audience reach. Others do chase scant advertising revenues and there is evidence that there may be too many channels chasing too few ad dollars. Under these pressures, much of Arab TV has lost credibility with audiences who see too much violence and sex, as well as too little objectivity and independence.

> Journalists of all nationalities and types of media have an obligation to be objective, professional, and to work to break the cycle of mutually reinforcing animosity between Western and Arab publics.

These dynamics have an impact on coverage of Western news and culture and foreign policy. Based on opinion research, two-thirds of Arabs believe that Arab media is inaccurate about the US 50% of the time or more. Not enough coverage is devoted to in-depth analysis or providing context to form educated judgments on news events. Without appropriate understanding of Western foreign policy, how it is formed, the role of Western media and public opinion, the diversity of Western society, voters, and media, many Arab audiences cannot make an independent assessment of facts and their relative importance.

What can Arab journalists do to accurately and objectively cover Western foreign policy, culture, news, and relations with their country and region?

Journalists of all nationalities and types of media have an obligation to be objective, professional, and to work to break the cycle of mutually reinforcing animosity between Western and Arab publics. The oft-repeated showing of anti-American violence and demonstrations by Arab TV is repeated on US news coverage. US audiences react negatively and generate public animosity that fuel anti-Arab statements by US opinion leaders that in turn get covered by Arab TV. Hence, the cycle of mutually reinforcing animosity continues. Many Arab and Western news organizations need to evolve and mature to provide objectivity and context in which to view these inflammatory events.

Positive initiatives that can improve Western coverage:

• Government sponsors and non-government owners should facilitate and fund professional journalist training and journalist exchanges with Western news organizations.

• Sponsors should encourage open, free, objective editorial coverage.

• Journalists and news directors should open and expand their sources to include Western analysts, US and EU government spokespeople -- people of diverse opinions who can represent accurate and unbiased perspective of US or European viewpoints.

• Scrutinize the expertise and qualifications of spokespeople who address Western-Arab relations and Western foreign policy and ensure their objectivity and fairness. Recognize political agendas and pre-conceived positions on policy, religious issues or Western relations.

• Ensure that there is coverage of both sides of an issue instead of having one viewpoint or only parochial concerns.

• Look for stories that describe US or European cultural diversity, the role of public opinion, Western media, and how government policy is formed.

• Look for stories that showcase Arab Americans or Arab British success stories in business or entertainment.

• Avoid story images that are sensational or inflammatory that do little for improving context and background of a news event.

Ensure that there is coverage of both sides of an issue instead of having one viewpoint or only parochial concerns.

VII. References and Resources

The following chapter includes various summarized reference listings on Arab perception of the West. This section can be used as a reference tool to ascertain more knowledge on this important subject matter.

Included in this section are:
- Public opinion polls on Arab Perception of the West
- Reports and white papers
- Articles and References
- Books
- Websites
- Profiles of Experts Interviewed for the Study
- Expert Contributors to the Study

Arab Perception Polls

Zogby International

Attitudes of Arabs 2005
http://aai.bluestatedigital.com/page/file/6e38e45846c8ce7df5_k0m6be9di.pdf/2005_Arab_Poll.pdf

Impressions of America 2004
How Arabs View America / How Arabs Learn About America
http://aai.bluestatedigital.com/page/
file/229fc3112466dc002f_wvm6bhed9.pdf/2004_Impressions_of_America_Poll.pdf

A Rare Arab Opinion Poll Says Arabs Dislike America But Not Democracy
www.aaiusa.org/

Americans for Peace Now Survey of Jewish American and Arab American Public Opinion
http://aai.bluestatedigital.com/page/file/83f787e6491c1a262e_ap7mvyt1b.pdf/2002_AAIAPN_Poll.pdf

Profiling and Pride: Arab American Attitudes and Behavior Since September 11
http://aai.bluestatedigital.com/page/file/d7083bd00cf4ce3240_wfm6ii8b7.pdf/2002_AA_9-11_Poll.pdf

Arab American Attitudes and the September 11 Attacks
http://aai.bluestatedigital.com/page/file/75eccc470d751307bc_jcm6bx13j.pdf/attitudes.pdf

The Pew Research Center

Arab and Muslim Perceptions of the United States
http://pewresearch.org/obdeck/?ObDeckID=6

Islamic Extremism: Common Concern for Muslim and Western Publics Support for Terror Wanes Among Muslim Publics
http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?PageID=809

U.S. Image Up Slightly, But Still Negative
http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?ReportID=247

Iraqi Vote Mirrors Desire for Democracy in Muslim World
http://people-press.org/commentary/display.php3?AnalysisID=107

A Year After Iraq War
Mistrust of America in Europe Ever Higher, Muslim Anger Persist
http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?PageID=795

The Pew Research Center, continued

Anti-Americanism: Causes and Characteristics
http://people-press.org/commentary/display.php3?AnalysisID=77

American Public Diplomacy in the Islamic World
http://people-press.org/commentary/display.php3?AnalysisID=63

International Surveys: What We Are Finding
http://people-press.org/commentary/display.php3?AnalysisID=46

What the World Thinks in 2002
How Global Publics View: Their Lives, Their Countries, The World, America
http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=165

America Admired, Yet Its New Vulnerability Seen As Good Thing, Say Opinion Leaders
Little Support for Expanding War on Terrorism
http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=145

Program on International Policy Attitudes

What the Iraqi Public Wants
-A WorldPublicOpinion.org Poll-

http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/jan06/Iraq_Jan06_rpt.pdf

Center for Strategic Studies (CSS)

The Arab Street Revisited: Research from Within
http://www.css-jordan.org/new/REVISITINGTTHEARABSTREETReport.pdf

The Brookings Institute

A View from the Arab World: A Survey In Five Countries
Sponsored by the Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development
http://www.brookings.edu/fp/saban/survey20030313.pdf

5) Improve practices of public diplomacy.

- Ensure that diplomats make public diplomacy central to their work

- Enhance training for diplomats and ambassadors

- Train more diplomats and spokespeople in Arabic

- Establish a translation entity for translating the best Western books into Arabic and make them accessible to libraries, schools, and cultural centers.

- Expand the range of America's messengers abroad, including local independent spokespeople. Highlight the diversity and importance of Arab Americans and Muslim Americans. These include Arab-Americans firefighters who rushed to the World Trade Center scene, American Muslims who lost loved ones on September 11, ordinary and celebrity American citizens thriving in American society and who can attest to the respect that Islam receives.

- Foster increasing meaningful relationships between the US Government and Middle Eastern journalists.

- Support voices of moderation in Arab states, especially the young, to empower them to engage in effective debate within their societies.

- Utilize satellite broadcasting and Internet channels for communications and interchanges. While Internet penetration is still modest in Arab states, it has grown at a 450% rate over the past 5 years, and it reaches key opinion makers. It is often an effective source of free information, especially in states with media that is predominantly government controlled.

- Facilitate bridges between US society and Arab cultures using common pursuits such as art, music, theater, religion, and academia. These include student and professional exchanges, art exhibits, American libraries abroad, and academic endowments.

6) Increase funding and resources.

- Bring public diplomacy in line with its role as a vital part of foreign policy and national security.

- Build congressional support for authorizing and funding public diplomacy efforts.

What NGO's (non-government organizations) in the US, EU and Arab States Can Do:

NGO's range from foundations, think tanks, and humanitarian aid organizations, to educational groups, interfaith/intercultural institutions, and youth exchange programs. These groups are often more effective in improving Arab-Western relations than government programs. According to opinion research, professional, cultural, and educational exchanges are very effective in bridging gaps in understanding and encouraging cooperation. People participating in these programs tend to be much more favorable toward their host country. For example, almost 200 current and former heads of state, and 1500 cabinet-level officials from foreign nations, have participated in US exchange programs.

Effective actions that these groups can do (and do currently) include:

- Arabic and English translation programs and centers that translate the best books, educational material, and other media and make it available to the general public (example: the US based AMIDEAST is a 50 year old educational and cultural organization that fosters improved Arab culture understanding in the EU and the US).

Arab Perceptions White Papers and Briefings:

IMPROVING IMAGE

Seizing the Moment in the Middle East
World Economic Forum in Jordan, Updated 2005

More than 1,000 government, business and other leaders met at the World Economic Forum in Jordan 2005 under the theme "Seizing the Moment" to set out priority steps for comprehensive reform in the region and to increase engagement in the global economy. The potential benefits deriving from continued economic liberalization and political reform in the Middle East are growing clearer and more urgent each year. The current environment in the region gives some grounds for optimism. However, in order to "seize the moment" for change and face up to the scale of the challenges facing the Middle East, the pace of reform will need to accelerate.

Members and participants are able to work on issues of great concern to the global community: peace and security, economic opportunity and, more recently, governance, energy, regional vision and intercultural dialogue.

http://www.weforum.org/pdf/SummitReports/Jordan_SI_2005.pdf

New Beginning
Strategies for a More Fruitful Dialogue with the Muslim World
Council on Foreign Relations (May 2005)

Focus group research in Morocco, Egypt, and Indonesia has shown that it is possible to improve the image of the United States in the Muslim world. Although many Muslims are angry at what they perceive America does, the right efforts to communicate can produce significant shifts in attitudes. Such efforts would involve listening more, speaking in a humbler tone, and focusing on bilateral aid and partnership, while tolerating disagreement on controversial policy issues. Fortunately, a window of opportunity has opened with the Iraqi elections, renewed hope for Israeli-Palestinian peace, tsunami relief, and developments in Lebanon and Egypt, as well as the start of a new administration in Washington. This moment, marked by an easing of tensions and the arrival of new actors on both sides, offers the possibility of a new beginning in America's dialogue with the Muslim world.

Attitudes toward America in the Islamic countries in this study are marked by ambiguity and ambivalence -- but they have become much more negative in recent years. The first section of this report lays out the current mix of attitudes toward America in Egypt, Morocco, and Indonesia. Immediate reactions to the United States reveal resentment of American power and of President George W. Bush. American behavior is perceived as being largely predatory. This hostility is spilling over into negative attitudes toward American people and brands. Yet Muslims still respect, if somewhat grudgingly, America's economic strength, educational and legal systems, and work ethic. They recognize that America possesses what they believe their own societies need most to develop. They are of two minds about American popular culture, drawn to American styles and movies yet appalled by their violent and lewd aspects. Many Muslims are so alienated that they claim they would not like to visit the United States, nor would they mind if the United States withdrew -- politically, economically, and militarily -- from the Muslim world. There are some predictable demographic differences -- older people, women, and those further from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are less hostile -- but the most striking finding in this study is how widely anger has spread across the different demographic groups and countries.

http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/Anti-American_CSR.pdf

Page 130

Arab Americans: Making a Difference
Casey Kasem (*Updated 2004*)

A brochure by Casey Kasem (a very well known music historian and disc jockey), published by the Arab American Institute Foundation, beautifully illustrates famous and accomplished Arab Americans who proudly contribute to the US. This brochure is one example of outreach programs that can promote positive awareness of Arab American contributions to life in the United States!

There are about 3 million Arab Americans, and as a community, we've been demonstrating loyalty, inventiveness, and courage on behalf of the United States for over 100 years.

Arab Americans are grocers and governors, physicians and farmers, Indy 500 champs and taxicab drivers, financiers and factory workers, bakers and bankers, salesmen and senators, TV stars and TV repairmen, teachers and preachers, Heisman Trophy-winning quarterbacks and neighborhood sandlot heroes. Name it, and an Arab American has probably done it.

http://aai.bluestatedigital.com/page/file/ eb843914472c84a043_efm6ibdbq.pdf/ Cas.Broch.%28AAIF-V%29.pdf

Roster of Arab Americans in Public Service & Political Life 2006
(*Updated 2006*)

Arab Americans have made a significant difference and progress in the U.S. And the community makes a presence felt in U.S. politics. Over 700 Arab Americans serve as elected and appointed officials throughout the U.S.

The following is a roster (categorized by State) of past and present Federal Appointed Officials, Congressional/Federal Staff, Party Leaders and Activists, Elected Officials, Judges, Mayors and more.

http://aai.bluestatedigital.com/page/ file/61bf4d1f1b5868b202_64m6b9e8y.pdf/2006_ Roster.pdf

Currents *and* Crosscurrents *of* Radical Islamism
A Report of the Center for Strategic and International Studies Transatlantic Dialogue on Terrorism (April 2006)

In September 2005, *The Transatlantic Dialogue on Terrorism*, began its second phase of work by convening three international conferences to examine various issues associated with the current state of the radical Islamic threat.

These conferences, attended by a mix of American and European experts, examined topics including the dynamics of radicalization, the role of the Internet as both an ideological and operation tool, the perception of the Iraq conflict in the minds of the Muslim diaspora and the dynamic between local grievances and the global jihadist movement.

The phase two report, "Currents and Crosscurrents of Radical Islamism," represents the culmination of insights gathered over the course of these three conferences (Berlin, June 2005, Washington D.C, September 2005 and The Hague, December 2005). Featuring the voices of numerous participants from academia, government and think tanks on both sides of the Atlantic, the report represents the current thinking of a multi-disciplinary network of experts.

http://www.csis.org/media/csis/ pubs/060404_tdt.pdf

Healing the Nation — The Arab American Experience After September 11
Arab American Institute, 2002

For Arab Americans, the deep shock and anger over this national trauma and grief over lost relatives and friends were compounded by a rush by some to blame Arabs collectively for the attacks. Arabs and Muslims in this country were suddenly confronted with the double pain of mourning an attack on their country and simultaneously having to defend themselves, their families, and their stature as Americans.

The first anniversary of the attacks is an appropriate time to document the Arab American experience in the days, weeks, and months following the terrorist attacks and to tell some of the stories of the past year that have yet to be told: the Arab American firefighters and doctors who rushed to Ground Zero to help in the recovery efforts. The hundreds of thousands of dollars raised by Arab and Muslim groups to aid victims. The Americans across the nation who lent assistance and support when their Arab and Muslim neighbors were threatened. Blood drives, interfaith prayer vigils, and fundraisers that brought together Americans from all backgrounds and faiths. The many Americans who sought to learn more about Arab culture and the Muslim faith, and the many Arabs and Muslims who stepped forward to promote greater understanding.

http://aai.bluestatedigital.com/page/
file/64de7330dc475fe470_h1m6b0yk4.pdf/
healing_the_nation.pdf

FOREIGN POLICY

America's Credibility at Stake: Arab Perceptions of US Foreign Policy
Michael B. Meyer, Major, United States Air Force (March 2002)

Arab perceptions of US foreign policy toward the Arab world, particularly since the onset of the second, or Al-Aqsa intifada, are abysmal. United States foreign policy is viewed by Arab populaces and Arab governments as biased against the Arabs and in favor of Israel. From the Arab view, two lesser factors that contribute to Arab feelings that US policies are unjust include the long-term American presence in the Arabian (or Persian) Gulf and America giving only lip service to promoting democracy in the Middle East. Two dominant issues that incite Arab opinion against US foreign policy are America's dealings with Iraq over the past decade and America's handling of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This paper seeks to introduce and explain in detail Arab reactions to US foreign policy toward the Arab world.

The author believes that although Arab resentment over US policies is unlikely to become positive in the immediate future, certain proactive US initiatives can more favorably affect Arab

opinion over the long term. To better promote its interests in the volatile Middle East, America must adopt an enhanced and integrative approach to fuse together the military, economic, diplomatic, and informational instruments of power.

http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/acsc/02-081.pdf

The Youth Factor: The New Demographics of the Middle East and the Implications for U.S. Policy
Brookings Institution study by Graham E. Fuller (June 2003)

Barring dramatic change in the U.S. approach to the Middle East, continuation of present trends will almost surely lead to new generations becoming socialized into an attitude of hostility to the U.S. and its policies. This increasingly youthful population may be destined to translate such feelings into political expression and even violent action. Indicators are that the U.S. probably will not succeed in the foreseeable future in capturing the imagination of most youth sufficiently to overcome anti-U.S. feeling at the political level or for offering the West as a plausible and attainable alternative model as a path for future development. Attitudes for resentment will also grow toward most regimes in the area. This creates an incredibly destabilizing mix, which could articulate itself in greater levels of terrorism, violence, and underlying instability, enduring over a period of generations.

http://www.brookings.edu/fp/saban/
fuller20030601.pdf

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Cultural Diplomacy The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy
U.S. Department of State (September 2005)

Cultural diplomacy is the linchpin of public diplomacy; for it is in cultural activities that a nation's idea of itself is best represented.

And cultural diplomacy can enhance our national security in subtle, wide-ranging, and sustainable ways. Indeed history may record that America's cultural riches played no less a role than military action in shaping our international leadership, including the war on terror. For the values embedded in our artistic and intellectual traditions form a bulwark against the forces of darkness.

Cultural diplomacy reveals the soul of a nation, which may explain its complicated history in American political life: when our nation is at war, every tool in the diplomatic kit bag is employed, including the promotion of cultural activities. But when peace returns, culture gets short shrift, because of our traditional lack of public support for the arts. Now that we are at war again, interest in cultural diplomacy is on the rise. Perhaps this time we can create enduring structures within which to practice effective cultural diplomacy and articulate a sustaining vision of the role that culture can play in enhancing the security of this country.

http://
www.publicdiplomacywatch.com/091505Cultural-Diplomacy-Report.pdf

From Conflict to Cooperation
Writing a New Chapter in U.S. - Arab Relations
A Report of the CSIS Advisory Committee on U.S. Policy in the Arab World (March 2005)

CSIS convened this study group in early 2004 not because there were too few people examining U.S. policy in the Arab world, but because there were too many. A remarkable focus in recent years on discrete issues and immediate crises in the Arab world -- from the Arab-Israeli conflict to Iraq to terrorism to reform -- often meant that longer-term strategic issues were left unaddressed. Too often, the high level of activity served to mask the lack of an integrated vision for U.S. policy toward the region.

With this in mind, CSIS brought together a panel of former senior U.S. government officials, academics, and businesspeople to think in a more integrated way about what it is that the U.S. government does, and what it needs to do, to serve U.S. interests in the Arab world. Importantly, the committee also engaged in sustained dialogues with partners and potential partners in the Arab world, seeking to understand their perspectives and honing recommendations with their help. Our thinking was that if partnerships are needed - and we believe that they are if we are to reach our common goals of goals of peace, stability, and growth - the process of dialogue with prospective partners needs to start early and sustained. The committee also benefited from excellent suggestions from U.S. government Officials, who welcomed both the approach and the preliminary recommendations.

http://www.csis.org/media/csis/
pubs/0503_conflictcooperation.pdf

Changing Minds Winning Peace
A new strategic direction for U.S. public diplomacy in the Arab & Muslim world
Edward P. Djerejian, Report of the Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim World (October 2003)

In the aftermath of the cold war and the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the United States of America is engaged in a major struggle to expand the zone of tolerance and marginalize extremists, whether secular or religious, especially in the Arab and Muslim world. While the conduct of policy is the primary determinant of success or failure in this struggle, the role of public diplomacy has taken on critical importance in the effort to understand, inform, engage, and influence people in this important region of the world, home to some 1.5 billion Muslims. While we refer here to the Arab and Muslim world, we recognize that Muslim societies and countries are diverse culturally, linguistically, ethnically, and even religiously and that, as in other regions of the world, we have to tailor our approach accordingly. While our mandate is focused on the Arab and Muslim world, the analysis and recommendations that we present in this report necessarily go to the larger challenges of U.S. public diplomacy.

http://bakerinstitute.org/Pubs/testimony_peace.pdf

The Elusive Art of Public Diplomacy
Ambassador Martin Indyk, (Feb. 2005)

There is something wrong with our public diplomacy; that somehow if we could just get the

mechanisms right, reorganize government bureaucracy, have a cabinet level person in the White House responsible, integrate different agencies in some way and bring in some top public relations and advertising firms—somehow if we did that and set a television station, to compete with Arab satellite television stations—If we found a solution to this problem, things would be OK. This is not to say that all those things are unimportant. They can help on the margins. But the fact is, notwithstanding the 4 years since 9/11, our standing among the Arab public is worse than ever.

The second answer, which I'm sure you have heard a lot, is that the reason that we have such a problem in the Arab and Muslim world is U.S. failure to solve the Palestinian problem. And again, there's a certain truth to that. A grain of truth. In the sense that at a time when the Israelis and the Palestinians are at each other's throats and the Arab satellite television is broadcasting on a daily basis that Israeli tanks or helicopters are shooting at Palestinians, it certainly generates antagonism, not just toward Israel, but toward Israel's ally the U.S.

http://www.mec.utah.edu/Lectures/2005%
20Lecture%20Pages/Indyk%202005.pdf

Taking the Pulse of American Public Diplomacy in a Post-9/11 World
Barry Fulton, Ph.D., Research Professor and Director Public Diplomacy Institute, GWU (March 2004)

From 1998 to 2003, more than a dozen think tank studies and government reports chronicled the decline of American public diplomacy. With the end of the Cold War,

Congressional and public interest in sustaining America's international presence dissipated. USIA and ACDA vanished in the interest of efficiency and policy management. Recruitment and training shrank. Open libraries and American cultural centers were closed, while embassies were fortified. As educational exchanges and international broadcasting were curtailed, America retreated from a 50-year engagement with international publics.

This paper will summarize the recommendations of several key studies and examine the response of the U.S. government including the Department of State and the Broadcasting Board of Governors. In summary, the paper will ask whether the U.S. government's increasing appreciation for public diplomacy will reinvigorate its conduct and restore America's influence with foreign publics.

http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/papers/pmt/exhibits/1539/
fulton.pdf

The conquest of Muslim Hearts and Minds? Perspectives on U.S. Reform and Public Diplomacy Strategies
Dr. Abdelwahab El-Affendi, The Brookings Institute (September 2005)

The Brookings Project on U.S. Policy Towards the Islamic World is designed to respond to some of the most difficult challenges that the United States will face in the coming years, most particularly how to prosecute the continuing war on global terrorism and radicalism while still promoting positive relations with Muslim states and communities. A key part of the Project is the production of Working Papers written by outside scholars and visitors that discuss significant issues that affect American policy towards the Islamic world.

Dr. Abdelwahab El-Affendi, a leading expert on democratization in the Muslim world, provides

an outside vantage point on the recent enthusiasm in U.S. policy circles for engagement with and reform in the Muslim world. He lays out the perspective that, in general, the renewed U.S. interest is certainly a welcome development, even when it comes about for the wrong reasons. However, he cautions that the difficulties faced so far by the United States are not just a matter of technique or style. When the country which commands unchallenged hegemony in both the technology and the art of communication appears unable to get its message across, it can only be a symptom of a deeper concern.

http://www.brookings.edu/fp/research/projects/
islam/paper_elaffendi.pdf

Building Americas Public Diplomacy Through a Reformed Structure and Additional Resources
A report of the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (2002)

The United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy notes with great satisfaction that the power of public diplomacy is being recognized again by the media, Congress, and America's think tanks. It is regrettable that it took the events of September 11, 2001, to make this happen. In the aftermath of the terrorism onslaught, a number of questions were raised as to why these horrible events occurred. Many referred to public opinion polls in Islamic countries and some blamed American public diplomacy efforts. Thereupon, the Administration undertook an inquiry; Congress held hearings and the House of Representatives passed legislation; newspapers published articles; and think tanks issued reports. This Commission, which has studied public diplomacy for the past 54 years, welcomes this new interest in how the United States informs and influences foreign audiences. The Commission would like to take this occasion to advance its own views on how public diplomacy should be structured and funded.

http://www.state.gov/documents/
organization/13622.pdf

Finding Americas Voice: A Strategy for Reinvigorating U.S. Public Diplomacy
Independent task force sponsored By the Council on Foreign Relations (June 2003)

Rage and deep misunderstanding of America are most marked in the part of the world where aggravated feelings of grievances directed at the United States must be viewed in the context of decline, despair, hopelessness, humiliation, and envy, especially in the face of America's unprecedented—and very visible—affluence and presumed lack of empathy. One of greatest challenges the United States is now facing in the Arab world is the perception that America is both propping up undemocratic regimes and unfairly supporting Israel with indifference to Palestinian suffering and humiliation. Both of these perceptions are constant irritants to the

Arab world and both are examples of where policy and public diplomacy are inextricably intertwined.

Why should the United States care if it is well liked or not? Because at this moment of our greatest strength, we are uniquely vulnerable. Anti-Americanism is endangering our national security and compromising the effectiveness of our diplomacy. Not only is the United States at increased risk of direct attack from those who hate it most, but it is also becoming more difficult for America to realize its long-term aspirations as it loses friends and influence. By standing so powerful and alone, the United States becomes a lightning rod for the world's fears and resentment of modernity, inequality, secularism, and globalization.

http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/
attachments/public_diplomacy.pdf

Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication: Cultures, Firewalls, and Imported Norms
Bruce Gregory Director, Public Diplomacy Institute Adjunct Assistant Professor for Media and Public Affairs, George Washington University (August 2005)

This paper uses public diplomacy and strategic communication to describe an instrument of statecraft that embraces diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, international broadcasting, political communication, democracy building, and open military information operations. Each element is instrumental in its core, but each imports discourse norms requiring limited firewalls to be successful. Because U.S. public diplomacy is characterized by episodic commitment, organizational stovepipes, tribal cultures, and excessive reliance on "accidental" personalities, reforms of unusual duration and scale are required in a world where geography and military dominance no longer ensure America's security. To transform the *intent* of political leaders and some thirty expert studies since 9/11 into *action,* a business plan is needed to map policy and public diplomacy connections, replace coordination with strategic direction, marshal private sector creativity, and institutionalize planning.

http://www8.georgetown.edu/cct/apsa/papers/gregory.pdf

U.S. PUBLIC DIPLOMACY
State Department Expands Efforts but Faces Significant Challenges, *By the U.S. General Accounting Office, September 2003*

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, focused attention on the need to improve public diplomacy efforts to cultivate a better public opinion of the United States abroad. However, recent opinion research indicates that many foreign publics, especially in countries with significant Muslim populations, view the United States unfavorably. GAO examined changes in the State Department's (State) public diplomacy efforts since September 11, whether State has an overall strategy for its public diplomacy programs, how it measures their effectiveness, and challenges it faces in implementing these programs.

http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d03951.pdf

An Initiative: Strengthening U.S.-Muslim Communications
Phyllis D'Hoop, Center for the Center for the Study of the Presidency, July 2003

CSP responded to the tragedies of 9/11 by focusing on communications with Muslim communities worldwide. In June, the Center hosted a large plenary meeting on the challenges of strengthening U.S. Muslim Communications. The current gulf between the public diplomacy challenge we face and the inadequate financial and organizational capabilities we have is frightening and poses a direct and present danger to America. Although budget deficits are increasing and new appropriations must be fully justified, this huge gap in what clearly is a part of our national security must be put in precisely the same context as funding for our Armed Forces or the reconstruction of Iraq. A major increase in Congressional appropriations to public diplomacy is critical.   If anyone believes that the issue of anti-Americanism stemming from our ineffective public diplomacy is not a critical national security deficiency, they should look again at the

collapsing Twin Towers and the burning Pentagon. As was said in the concluding panel of our June plenary meeting, the time for talk is over, and the time for action is now.

http://www.thepresidency.org/pubs/US-MuslimCommunications.pdf

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

Arab Human Development Report 2004 – Towards Freedom in the Arab World *United Nations Development Programme, Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, Arab Gulf Programme for United Nations Development Organization (2004)*

This report provides a thorough examination of the deficit of freedom and good governance, a topic that dominates current discourse within the region and abroad. It is hoped that this detailed analysis will stimulation a dialogue in Arab societies on how to expand freedom and establish good governance. A serious and objective debate around the substance of this report would have paved the way for a process of social innovation leading to a genuine project for the Arab renaissance.

The Arab development crisis has widened, deepened and grown more complex to a degree that demands the full engagement of all Arab citizens in true reform in order to spearhead a human renaissance in the region. The strategic vision for establishing the "knowledge society" in the Arab states clearly showed that required reforms extend to the current socio-economic structure and, critical to the political context at the national, regional and international levels.

http://www.pogar.org/publications/other/ahdr/ahdr2004e.pdf

The Arab Human Development Report 2003 - Building a knowledge society
Sponsored by the Regional Bureau for Arab States Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development (2003)

Last year's inaugural Arab Human Development Report was by any standard a phenomenon. As

the more than one million copies downloaded off the Internet so far testifies its groundbreaking analysis of the region's development challenges catalyzed an unprecedented wave of debate and discussion in both Arab countries and the wider world. Even that understates its true impact: measured by the fierce arguments it continues to provoke from coffee houses to television talk shows to parliaments and beyond it is clear why *Time* magazine cited it as the most important publication of 2002. The reason for this impact is simple but important. As a pioneering and provocative study produced by a team of Arab scholars, policy analysts and practitioners at a time of enormous economic, social and political ferment its central messages -- that reform is necessary and if it is to be successful and sustainable then change has to come from within -- carried unique authority. The United Nations Development Programme is proud to have sponsored it.

In the twelve months since that report came out, several Arab countries have taken significant steps toward grappling with the challenges it set out. At the same time, however, two other events -- the intensification of conflict in the occupied Palestinian territories and the invasion of Iraq by coalition forces – have complicated matters. The first Arab Human Development Report carried broad support across normal political divides by highlighting the three deficits afflicting the Arab world – freedom, women's rights and knowledge – and stressing the importance of democracy as part of the solution to bridging them. However, reaction to both the events in Iraq and the Occupied Territories shows, once again, how divided the international community is on the "how" of such reforms. For much of the Arab world – and, indeed, global public opinion – military action was not the best way to promote democratic change. Hence the strong reassertion in this report of a key tenet of its predecessor: lasting reform in the Arab world must come from within.

http://www.undp.org.sa/Reports/AHDR%202003%20-%20English.pdf

Arab Human Development Report 2002
Creating Opportunities for Future Generations

The first Arab States' Report acknowledges that Arab countries have made substantial progress over the past three decades. Life expectancy has increased by 15 years; mortality rates for children under five years of age have fallen by about two thirds; adult literacy has almost doubled, reflecting large increases in gross educational enrollments. Yet it is obvious that Arab countries have not developed as quickly as comparable nations in other regions. Indeed, more than half of Arab women are illiterate; the region's infant mortality rate is twice as high as in Latin America and the Caribbean. Over the past 20 years, income growth per capita has also been extremely low. The Report highlights the causes of these deficits and identifies three areas where Arab institutional structures are hindering performance and crippling human development: governance, women's empowerment, and access to knowledge.

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Link TV
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Link TV broadcasts programs that engage, educate and activate viewers to become involved in the world. These programs provide a unique perspective on international news, current events, and diverse cultures, presenting issues not often covered in the U.S. media. We connect American viewers with people at the heart of breaking events, organizations in the forefront of social change and the cultures of an increasingly global community.

Worldpress.org

http://www.worldpress.org/mideast.htm

Worldpress.org was founded in 1997 and we are committed to offering our readers a first-hand look at the issues and debates that occupy the world's newspapers and magazines. As the space devoted to thoughtful, incisive reporting of foreign news shrinks in the U.S. media, many subjects and perspectives of vital international importance are increasingly obscured or invisible to Americans.

Council on Foreign Relations
www.cfr.org

Founded in 1921, the Council on Foreign Relations is an independent, national membership organization and a nonpartisan center for scholars dedicated to producing and disseminating ideas so that individual and corporate members, as well as policymakers, journalists, students, and interested citizens in the United States and other countries, can better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other governments. The Council does this by convening meetings; conducting a wide-ranging Studies program; publishing *Foreign Affairs*, the

preeminent journal covering international affairs and U.S. foreign policy; maintaining a diverse membership; sponsoring Independent Task Forces and Special Reports; and providing up-to-date information about the world and U.S. foreign policy on the Council's website, www.cfr.org.

AMILA
www.amila.org

AMILA (which means "to work" or "to act" in Arabic) is an organization that is helping to build the American Muslim community through activism, Islamic education, spirituality, and networking with other Muslim groups. Now recognized as one of the nation's most dynamic Muslim organizations, AMILA is entering its second decade as an influential voice among Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

Our introspective and non-dogmatic approach to Islam has allowed us to tap the resources of a wide variety of Muslim intellectuals in our monthly lecture series, Akhlaq study groups, book clubs, and annual Ramadan spiritual retreats. Our constitution has allowed us to foster over five generations of elected leadership, both men and women. AMILA has bridged the differences between Muslims of different ethnic and ideological backgrounds - it includes Sunnis, Shias, Sufis, African-Americans, converts, and even non-Muslims who have taken shahada at AMILA meetings.

Centre for Strategic Insight
www.weforum.org

The World Economic Forum's Centre for Strategic Insight (CSI) supports members by identifying and analyzing the global, regional and industry tasks that matter most. With strategic insights gained through the Forum's position at the hub of many global communities and interest groups, CSI's approaches include exploratory work, strategic mapping and scenario projects. Our mission is to proactively create relevant strategic insight through a range of activities. Particular emphasis is given to identifying emerging risks and developments that will shape the new agendas of business and government.

For further information on the Centre for Strategic Insight, please contact: insight@weforum.org

Center for Christian-Muslim Understanding
http://cmcu.georgetown.edu

The Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding was founded in 1993 by an agreement between the Fondation pour L'Entente entre Chretiens et Musulmans, Geneva and Georgetown University to build stronger bridge of understanding between the Muslim world and the West as well as between Islam and Christianity. The Center's mission is to improve relations between the Muslim world and the West and enhance understanding of Muslims in the West. The geographic scope and coverage of the center includes the breadth of the Muslim world, from North Africa to Southeast Asia, as well as Europe and America. Since its foundation, the Center has become internationally recognized as a leader in the field of Muslim-Christian relations.

Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy
www.islam-democracy.org

The Center for the Study of Islam & Democracy (CSID) is a non-profit organization, based in Washington DC, dedicated to studying Islamic and democratic political thought and merging them into a modern Islamic democratic discourse.

The organization was founded in March 1999 by a diverse group of academicians, professionals, and activists--both Muslim and non-Muslim--from around the USA who agree on the need for the study of and dissemination of reliable information on this complex topic.

There is no narrow ideological or sectarian litmus test for involvement in CSID--the organization has no agenda other than the production and dissemination of rigorous research into Islam and democracy--but its members are united in the conviction that this subject has been widely misunderstood both in the West and the Muslim world, and that this fact has caused much fitnah (discord) among Muslims and continues to hamper attempts at cross-cultural dialogue today.

Council on Islamic Education
www.cie.org

The Council on Islamic Education (CIE), founded in 1990, is a national, non-profit research institute and resource organization based in Fountain Valley, California. CIE is formally comprised of Muslim academic scholars of religion, history, political science, cultural studies, communications, education, and other fields, along with a full-time professional staff with expertise on matters related to U.S. education, civics, politics, the media, faith communities and other components of American society and the institutional system.
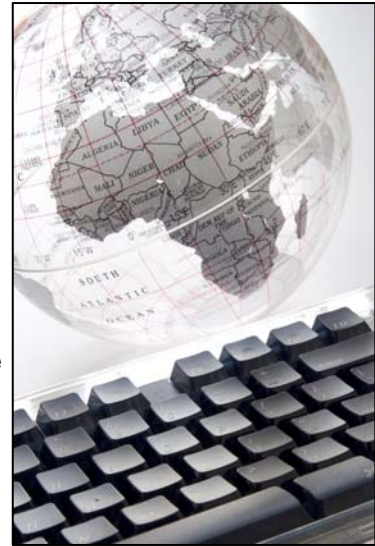
Islamic Society of North America
www.isna.net

ISNA is an association of Muslim organizations and individuals that provides a common platform for presenting Islam, supporting Muslim communities, developing educational, social and outreach programs and fostering good relations with other religious communities, and civic and service organizations.

Center for Contemporary Arab Studies
http://ccas.georgetown.edu/

The Center for Contemporary Arab Studies (CCAS) is the only academic center in the United States focusing essentially on the Arab world--the region from Morocco to the Gulf. It has been doing so with distinction for close to 30 years. The Center's Washington, DC location provides access to government, the non-governmental policy-studies community, the media, and business as well as academia.

Attendance at its public events and applications to its distinguished Masters Degree Program in Arab Studies (MAAS) have more than doubled since 2001.

The Arab League - The League of Arab States
www.arableagueonline.org

Arab League, informal name of the League of Arab States, a voluntary association of independent countries whose peoples are mainly Arabic speaking. Its stated purposes are to strengthen ties among the member states, coordinate their policies, and promote their common interests.

The Arab League was founded in Cairo in 1945 by Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Transjordan (Jordan, as of 1950), and Yemen.

Middle East Institute
www.mideasti.org

Since 1946 the Middle East Institute has been an important conduit of information between Middle Eastern nations and American policymakers, organizations and the public. We strive to increase knowledge of the Middle East among our own citizens and to promote understanding between the peoples of the Middle East and America. Today we play a vital and unique role in expanding the dialogue beyond Washington, DC, and actively with organizations in the Middle East. Our Public Policy Center and Department of Programs present programs with top regional experts and officials from the US and foreign governments. The George Camp Keiser Library has the largest English-language collection on the Middle East outside of the Library of Congress. We publish quarterly one of the most prestigious journals on the Middle East, The Middle East Journal. MEI's Department of Language and Regional Studies offers courses in Arabic, Hebrew, Persian and Turkish and seminars highlighting the history, literature and culture of the Middle East.

Middle East Policy Council
www.mepc.org

The MEPC, since its formation in 1981, has provided political analysis of issues involving the greater Middle East. Through its programs, publications and Web site, the Council strives to ensure that a full range of U.S. interests and views are considered by policy makers.

We challenge the conventional wisdom, ask the difficult questions, encourage a wide spectrum of views, and provide forums to stimulate thinking.

The Council strives to fulfill these objectives through three major activities:

- *Middle East Policy* - a quarterly journal of political, economic and social analysis.

- A Capitol Hill Conference Series - forums for members of Congress, their staffs, federal government officials, foreign policy experts and the media.

Workshops for high school teachers - daylong training sessions to build a fact-based foundation for educating America's youth about the Arab world and Islam.

Arab Human Development Report (AHDR)
http://cfapp2.undp.org/rbas/ahdr.cfm

The Arab Human Development Reports series represents an effort to crystallize a strategic vision of change, developed by Arabs…. to deepen an Arab-owned and Arab-led dialogue on ways to safeguard the dignity and well-being of the Arab people. There can be no doubt that self-reform stemming from open, scrupulous and balanced self-criticism is the right, if not the only alternative to plans that have apparently been drawn up outside the Arab world for restructuring the region and for reshaping its identity"Dr. Rima Khalaf Hunaidi.

Middle East Research and Information Project
www.merip.org

The Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP) was established 32 years ago. The original conception of MERIP was to provide information and analysis on the Middle East that would be picked up by the existing media. *Middle East Report* provides news and perspectives about the Middle East not available from mainstream news sources. The magazine has developed a reputation for independent analysis of events and developments in the Middle East.

Arab Reform Bulletin
www.carnegieendowment.org

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is a private, nonprofit organization dedicated to advancing cooperation between nations and promoting active international engagement by the United States. Founded in 1910, its work is nonpartisan and dedicated to achieving practical results.

Through research, publishing, convening, and on occasion, creating new institutions and international networks, Endowment associates shape fresh policy approaches. Their interests span geographic regions and the relations among governments, business, international organizations and civil society, focusing on the economic, political, and technological forces driving global change.

Through its Carnegie Moscow Center, the Endowment helps develop a tradition of public policy analysis in the states of the former Soviet Union and improve relations between Russia and the United States.

The Endowment publishes *Foreign Policy*, one of the world's leading magazines of international politics and economics which reaches readers in more than 120 countries and several languages.

ISRO (USAK)
www.usak.org.uk

The ISRO is a non-profit and non-governmental (NGO) research organization.

ISRO (International Strategic Research Organization) is established in Ankara and its central office is at Suslu Sokak, No: 2, Tandogan Ankara, Turkey.

The ISRO aims to help individuals and organizations in understanding an ever-changing and increasingly complex world.

The ISRO serves as one of the focal points for research in Turkey by convening seminars, conferences, hosting visiting scholars, publishing books, papers and journals, organizing an extensive program of research programs and projects.

The organization works to stimulate debate and research on international relations. The main key issues in its researches are security and co-operation.

MidEast Web
http://www.mideastweb.org/

MidEast Web was started by people active in Middle East dialog and peace education efforts. Our goal is to weave a world-wide web of Arabs, Jews and others who want to build a new Middle East based on coexistence and neighborly relations. Our members and staff include distinguished educators, engineers, Web designers and other professionals experienced in dialog, peace education projects and in promoting dialog and coexistence using the Internet.

MidEast Web for Coexistence is a registered non-government organization in Israel.

The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS)
http://www.csis.org/about/

The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) seeks to advance global security and prosperity in an era of economic and political transformation by providing strategic insights and practical policy solutions to decision makers. CSIS serves as a strategic planning partner for the government by conducting research and analysis and developing policy initiatives that look into the future and anticipate change.

WorldPublicOpinion.org
www.WorldPublicOpinion.org

WorldPublicOpinion.org is a webzine/website that presents the voice of publics around the world on international policy issues. It is designed to be a source of public opinion research for the policy community, the media and government in all countries. New polls are conducted and released; analyses of publicly available polling from organizations worldwide are gathered and analyzed. It is published by the staff of the Program on International Policy Attitudes.

MIFTAH's
www.miftah.org/

The Palestinian Initiative for the Promotion of Global Dialogue and Democracy, MIFTAH, is a non-governmental non-partisan Jerusalem-based institution dedicated to fostering democracy and good governance within Palestinian society through promoting public accountability, transparency, the free flow of information and ideas, and the challenging of stereotyping at home and abroad. Established in December 1998, with Hanan Ashrawi as its Secretary-General, MIFTAH's aim is to serve as a Palestinian platform for global dialogue and cooperation guided by the principles of democracy, human rights, gender equity, and participatory governance. To this end, MIFTAH undertakes the pro-active generation and presentation of policy proposals and the focused dissemination of reliable information. Since its establishment, MIFTAH has established the cogency of its positions in Palestine and in the region, and has formulated long and short-term policies and strategies to deal with particular pressing issues. Through networking with like-minded organizations locally, regionally and internationally, and with Palestinian expatriate communities, MIFTAH has forged lasting relationships and partnerships in pursuit of a common vision of dialogue and democracy.

Western-Islamic Dialogue

In Europe / Europe-based global programs:

Christian-Muslim

Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations (CSIC)
www.theology.bham.ac.uk/postgrad/islam/intro.htm

The Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim relations (CSIC) was founded in 1976 as a joint Muslim-Christian graduate teaching and research institute. The centre seeks to encourage respect for the various Christian and Muslim traditions in their own terms and rejects polemics and proselytism. With academic integrity, the programmes of the CSIC seek to give equal attention to the theoretical dimensions of Christian-Muslim relations and the lived situations of communities in plural contexts, and to understand the relationships between the two spheres.

Islamisk-Kristent Studiecenter
www.ikstudiecenter.dk/

Islamic-Christian Study Centre (IKS) was established in May 1996 by a group of Christians and Muslims together. Its board consists of an equal number of Christians and Muslims.

IKS is a kind of refuge, where Muslims and Christians can feel confident and respected and therefore free to openly engage and express themselves.

Religion.dk
http://debat.religion.dk/

Religion.dk includes news on religious affairs, philosophical riddles and ethical dilemmas in Denmark and abroad. Readers can pose questions to and get answers from more than 50 experts on Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and other major religions through the portal. Furthermore, religion.dk contains a large section with links to more than 7000 religious websites. All links have been commented on and categorized by the editors of the site. In order to be accepted at religion.dk, links have to be essential and of a high quality. Religion.dk is owned and operated by Christian Daily, a national Danish newspaper focusing particularly on faith, ethics and big questions of life in general.

Abrahams Barn
www.abrahamsbarn.org/

We prepare educational programmes for all school-levels in close collaboration with libraries, schools and preschools. The present programmes are Common Roots (Comparative Religion), From Alfie Atkins to Fiodor Dostojevskij (implements the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child), KiM (Integration Project for the 21st Century) and Friends, (an Empathy Programme for Pre-School Children).

Interfaith (multilateral)

The Inter Faith Network for the UK
www.interfaith.org.uk/

The Inter Faith Network for the UK was founded in 1987 to promote good relations between people of different faiths in this country. Its member organisations include representative bodies from the Baha'i; Buddhist; Christian; Hindu; Jain; Jewish; Muslim; Sikh; and Zoroastrian communities; national and local inter faith bodies; and academic institutions and educational bodies concerned with inter faith issues.

International Interfaith Centre

www.interfaith-center.org/

The International Interfaith Centre was inaugurated in Oxford, UK on 6 December1993, inspired by the 1993 Year of Interreligious Understanding and Cooperation. As a result of the increasing amount and variety of interfaith activity around the world, it was perceived that a need could be met by an

international, interfaith centre which was informed about all these different efforts and able to encourage continuing interfaith understanding and cooperation.

Multifaithnet
www.multifaithnet.org/

MultiFaithNet is a self-access research, learning, information and dialogue tool, providing updated access to global electronic resources and interactions useful for study of world religious traditions and communities and the practice of inter-faith dialogue. It is invaluable for those with information, community liaison and equal opportunities responsibilities in the public, private and voluntary (including religious) sectors offering a participative electronic forum for dialogue and debate among and between faith communities.

Now situated in The Multi-Faith Centre at the University of Derby it builds upon the track record of the University of Derby's Religious Resource and Research Centre in producing Religions in the UK: Directory 2001-03 jointly with The Inter Faith Network for the UK. MultiFaithNet works according to an explicit editorial policy and can draw upon consultants from within the religious traditions and from academics with expertise in respect of these traditions.

InterReligiöse Arbeitsstelle   INTR°A
www.interrel.de/

The Institute for Interreligious Studies (Interreligiöse Arbeitsstelle INTR°A e.V.) is an association of educationalists, theologians, teachers, economists and other interested people who want to promote interfaith dialogue through encounters and publications.

Global Ethic Foundation
www.weltethos.org/dat_eng/index_e.htm

The Global Ethic Foundation has come into being through the generosity of Count K. K. von der Groeben. In 1995 he read "Global Responsibility" and was so impressed by it that he made available a substantial sum for the dissemination of the idea of a global ethic. In the words of its founder, "the Foundation is to show that there are more satisfying values than material pleasure, and that to commit oneself to a lofty goal brings great joy. We must get away from the celebration of "self-fulfillment" and the idea of prosperity and make it clear to people that if we are to live together in peace and freedom we need high ethical norms. Perhaps yet more people will associate themselves with our initiative. There is plenty of work and plenty to do!"

In the USA / US-based global programs:

Christian-Muslim

Duncan Black Macdonald Center for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations
www.macdonald.hartsem.edu/

The Duncan Black Macdonald Center is an academic unit within Hartford Seminary dedicated to scholarly research, teaching, publication and communication with the public.

The Center is responsible for the Islamic Studies and Christian-Muslim Relations component of the Seminary's MA and PhD programs, and the Muslim Chaplaincy program. Named for one of the nation's early, pre-eminent scholars of Islam, the Macdonald Center is the country's oldest center for such study.

Answering Islam *(A Christian Muslim Dialog)*
www.answering-islam.org.uk/index.html

Many people send us emails asking who we are, what are our qualifications to speak on Islam, what is our statement of faith, etc.

Some say, that they love our site, and would like to recommend it to others, but cannot do so before they know who we are and what exactly we believe.

If you are one who seeks answers to these questions, we would like to ask you: What would you need these answers for? Why is the (usually acknowledged) quality of our material not enough for you?

We have no desire that people believe our arguments just because some respectable names of persons, organizations or churches are attached to the site. Often the question comes from Christians who want to be sure, we are evangelical Christians, before they can trust or recommend us.

We do not want Christians (or anyone else) to believe what we write is correct just because we claim to be evangelical, or because we can tout some academic titles to the names of our authors, but because the arguments are biblical, well documented, and logically sound. Answering Islam

Interfaith (multilateral)

International Center for Religion and Diplomacy

www.icrd.org/

The International Center for Religion and Diplomacy serves as a bridge between religion and politics in preventing and resolving conflicts in various parts of the world.

By linking religious reconciliation with official and unofficial diplomacy, the Center has created a new synergy for peacemaking in such places as Kashmir, Sudan, and Pakistan.

The Institute for Interreligious, Intercultural Dialogue
http://astro.temple.edu/%7Edialogue/iiid.htm

The Institute for Interreligious, Intercultural Dialogue (IIID) translated the fundamental research published in the Journal of Ecumenical Studies into concrete activities and partnerships. It sponsored numerous conferences on interreligious, interideological, intercultural dialogue, including a number of seminars on Jewish-Christian dialogue in Germany (East and West) and the United States, Christian-Marxist Dialogue in Europe, the United States, the Soviet Union and China, and an International Buddhist-Christian Dialogue Conference in Japan. IIID also collaborated with the Kennedy Institute of Georgetown University, and then the National Conference of Christians and Jews in sponsoring the "International Scholars' Annual Trialogue" (ISAT) especially directed toward Jews, Christians, and Muslim.

Such face-to-face encounters in the United States, Europe and the Near East have brought together renowned scholars representing various world religions, ideologies and cultures, and have pushed dialogue forward into new spheres, such as the Deep-Dialogue^{TM} of the Global Dialogue Institute. These conferences resulted in the publication of several major books, including: 1) *From Holocaust to Dialogue: A Jewish-Christian Dialogue Between Americans and Germans*; 2) *Abraham, Father of Three Religions*; 3) *Human Rights: Christians, Marxists and Others in Dialogue*; 4) *How Jews, Christians, Muslims Can Together Move from Theory to Practice*; and 5) *Toward a Theology of World Religions*.

Global Dialogue Institute
http://global-dialogue.com

GDI promotes dialogue in the broadest sense among individuals and groups of different religions and cultures, focusing especially though not exclusively on the "opinion-shapers" of society, e.g., scholars, professionals, and institutional & business leaders. In this website you will find references to the ongoing projects supported by the GLOBAL DIALOGUE INSTITUTE in working

toward these aims

The Center for Global Ethics
http://astro.temple.edu/%7Edialogue/geth.htm

The CENTER FOR GLOBAL ETHICS coordinates the work of thinkers, scholars and activists from around the world, who are working to define, implement and promote policies of responsible global citizenship. As profoundly interconnected members of a global community, we recognize the need to develop and advance the acceptance of a viable and sustainable Global Ethic.

The Institute of Interfaith Dialog
www.interfaithdialog.org/

The Institute of Interfaith Dialog (IID) grew out of the need to address the question, "How can citizens of the world live in peace and harmony?" From this question a conversation took root and began to grow. The founding members of the IID knew from personal experience that a discussion on religion and spirituality did not have to digress into confusion, fighting, and anarchy. On the contrary the founding members understood that peace could be achieved by sharing different perspectives by listening to each other from the space of love, respect, tolerance, mercy, and compassion.

The North American Interfaith Network
www.nain.org/

This web site presents information about, and insights to, some of the many interfaith activities and organizations in North America and throughout the world. It also provides connections via membership lists, resources, and selected links to information about religions and their communities, interfaith sites and faith-based groups. We invite you to interact with this Network "in the flesh or on-line" in whatever way is appropriate for you.

In the Middle East:

Christian-Muslim
Hiwar.net
www.hiwar-net.usj.edu.lb/

Hiwar.Net is the website of the Islamic Christian Dialogue in Lebanon formed by the Institute Of Islamic-Christian Studies (of St Joseph University, Beirut, Lebanon) in 1998.

Hiwar.net: A place for dialogue, where dialogue means speaking to the other includes the expectation of a response.

Hiwar net: A place for true dialogue, means not a discussion which aimed at convincing the other but for an open exchange where one seeks to know the other beyond all the false images.

Hiwar.net: A place for a truthful relation where people seek to understand each other as they wish to be understood.

Our aim is to bring together the Lebanese youth of all sects to work on for a better future for our country and nation.

Our activities range from periodical meetings and discussions to cross-country trips.

Forum for Development, Culture and Dialogue
www.fdcd.org

FDCD represents a faith-based, integrated initiative rising from the community and aiming to restore dignity to marginalized, oppressed, and dehumanized individuals and communities. We strive to support communities of faith, both Muslim and Christian, to work alongside civil society organizations to address the challenges that face their communities, individually and collectively. This is done through a process of dialogue, inter-faith solidarity and cooperation among communities in the Middle East. Through this sense of solidarity, and through intervention in specific locales, the work to:
- activate the role that religious communities, Muslim and Christian, can play as they strive for cultural, social, and economic

empowerment of marginalized communities and the promotion of sustainable development
- advocate for and encourage the peaceful transformation of conflict at multiple levels in society as a means of building peace through justice and reconciliation
- promote inter-communal understanding and cooperation by strengthening the role of women and youth in inter-cultural dialogue

Wi'am
www.planet.edu/%7Ealaslah/

Wi'am as a grassroots organization, strives alongside other democratic forces present in the larger Bethlehem community to build a democratic and just society. The Center aims to improve the quality of relationships by: addressing injustices rather than avenging them; dignifying persons on both sides of the conflict; promoting human rights and advocating for peace among all people.

Interfaith (multilateral)

The Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies
www.riifs.org/

Established in 1994 in Amman, Jordan, under the patronage of HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal, the Royal Institute for Inter-Faith Studies (RIIFS) provides a venue in the Arab world for the interdisciplinary study and rational discussion of religion and religious issues, with particular reference to Christianity in Arab and Islamic society.

More recently, RIIFS has broadened its focus to include all issues pertaining to religious, cultural and civilizational diversity, regionally and globally. For this purpose, it maintains relations with similarly concerned academic institutions in different parts of the world.

International Islamic Forum for Dialogue
www.dialogueonline.org/

Dialogue among civilizations became an international phenomenon and a pressing requirement. There are many sides in the world today, practicing the dialogue in aim to achieve a safe human co - existence and to avoid wars,

Page 155

and crises. And addressing their traces on the security, societies, human dignity and safety of the environment.

For that, International Islamic Council for Daw'a and Relief decided establishing of the International Islamic Forum for Dialogue (IIFD) to assume tasks of the dialogue and to ingrain it's conceptions. And Laying down the mechanisms and rules, and determine the suitable means to achieve the constructive goals of the dialogue. And to coordinate among the Islamic Organizations in the field of Dialogue.

The Elijah Interfaith Institute
www.elijah.org.il/

The Elijah Interfaith Institute is a multinational organization dedicated to fostering peace between the world's diverse faith communities through interfaith dialogue, education, research and dissemination. Our unique programming generates interfaith dialogue at the highest levels, bringing together world religious leaders and renowned scholars the world over.

Center for Inter-religious Dialogue / Islamic Culture and Relations Organization's
www.icro.ir/?m=1065&c=1057&t=3

This organization took birth as a result of the concerted efforts of a group of cultural heads of the Islamic Republic of Iran who proposed the amalgamation of the numerous branches of the various governmental and Public organizations and institutions involved in cultural and propagation activities outside Iran. As mentioned earlier, the purpose behind this move was to centralize the management, policy-making, and the coordination of the cultural and propagation activities abroad as well as facilitating the optimal utilization of the material and the non-material resources at the disposal of these centers. The Supreme Council for the Dissemination of the Message of Islam before which the initial proposal was put forward, deemed the amalgamation necessary, after a detailed survey.

Institute for Inter-religious Dialogue
www.iid.org.ir/

Institute for Inter-religious Dialogue has had a positive function so far and in line with spread of information in the field of religion and religious culture, developing of the culture of mutual respect with regards to other religions and advancement of peace and friendship through inter-religious dialogues, many of the above mentioned objectives have been materialized. Institute for Inter-religious Dialogue, through conducting these activities hopes to be able to meet part of the needs of researchers, thinkers within the domain of religion studies and inter-religious dialogues. Generally speaking, of the honors of the Institute, the followings can be mentioned:

Establishing professional library of religions with more than 4000 titles of Professional books of religions in different languages, Internet Site, conducting some research projects, developing archives for professional Journals, translating and editing books for faculty members, thinkers, researchers and those interested in this field, holding monthly professional meetings in the presence of authorities and interested people, participating and cooperating with different local and international conferences, holding different meetings with authorities of religious minorities , establishing professional foreign language classes for the students and researches of the religious field, publishing professional journal of Religious News and other effective activities in this field

Asia / Oceania:

Christian-Muslim

Human Development Centre
http://hdcpakistan.tripod.com/

HDC has established and running a low cost self sustain Peace Resource Centre to provide update information and training to local groups and local department.

HDC staff and volunteers are trained to educate, motivate, mobilize and transfer managerial, technique, knowledge, skills and attitudes to local groups (LPCs, WPGs, TPCs DPC).

HDC has enabled poor women, small farmers and landless people to participate in activities for their own economic and social development in selected areas of Toba Tek Singh Jhang and Faisalabad.

Peace Committees established and made functional for advocacy of civil rights, peace and interfaith harmony on sustainable basis. HDC has established NGOs, CBOs and community groups at local level and linked under level with other groups to advocate peace and interfaith harmony issues for sustainable grass roots movements.

Interfaith (multilateral)

Henry Martyn Institute
www.hmiindia.com/

Henry Martyn Institute - International Centre for Research, Interfaith Relations and Reconciliation (HMI) - is an ecumenical Christian organisation, dedicated to the objective study and teaching of Islam, the promotion of interfaith dialogue and reconciliation. Since its founding in 1930, HMI has established a long record of teaching and research, with an ever-widening circle of research scholars from both within the country and abroad who use the Institute's facilities for Master's, Doctoral and Post-Doctoral research.

With well-qualified faculty and an excellent library and other facilities, HMI has become a major centre for research and teaching on matters related to Islamic studies. HMI publishes an academic journal and books on Christianity, Islam and other faiths, to which scholars and experts contribute from all over the world.

MADIA (Masyarakat Dialog Antar Agama) or SIDA (Society for Inter-Religious Dialogue)
http://astro.temple.edu/%7Edialogue/indonesia1.html

In light of the recent rapid social, political and economic developments in Indonesia, the members of MADIA (Masyarakat Dialog Antar Agama) or SIDA (Society for Inter-Religious Dialogue) feel compelled to state our

convictions and views, and to appeal to all well-intentioned people and parties.

1.   The are deeply concerned to observe current social, political and economic envelopments in Indonesia, and in particular the extent to which noble religious values are often debased and reduced to mere ritualistic symbols that are rigid, desiccated and far removed from the essential truths which underlie all religions.

2.   They are deeply concerned to see how the diversity of religious beliefs, cultural values, ethnic groups and races present in Indonesia is not being accorded the respect it deserves, as a direct result of conscious efforts to instill and foster a culture of uniformity.

3.   They are deeply concerned to observe how often religious symbols, as well as ethnic and racial diversity, have been misused as tools for political engineering and business interests for the advantage of certain groups and individuals and at the expense of society at large.

4.   They are deeply concerned to witness the culture of violence which has become a standard practice in effecting political change in Indonesia, and the lack of respect for human values and dignity which result from such violence.

They are deeply concerned that none of the above problems has received serious attention from, or been openly, critically and seriously discussed by, either the nation's power elite or its religions leaders.

Institut Dian/Interfidei
www.lp3es.or.id/direktori/data/yogya/yogya_003.htm

The inception of DIAN/INTERFIDEI on 10 August 1992 was motivated by the desire to create mutual respect and mutual help for humanizing people from different religions using historical and sociological approaches not dogmatic/doctrinaire approaches. The purpose of the institute to create a society which is dynamic, harmonious, and peaceful; and also, establish cooperation between people from different religions in order to improve common welfare.

Global:

Interfaith (multilateral)

World Conference on Religion and Peace / Religions for Peace
www.wcrp.org/

The World Conference of Religions for Peace is the largest international coalition of representatives from the world's great religions who are dedicated to achieving peace. Respecting cultural differences while celebrating our common humanity, Religions for Peace is active on every continent and in some of the most troubled places on earth, creating multi-religious partnerships that mobilize the moral and social resources of religious people to address their shared problems.

The World Council of Religious Leaders
www.millenniumpeacesummit.org/

The World Council of Religious Leaders, an independent body, works to bring religious resources to support the work of the United Nations in our common quest for peace. WCRL is not an official part of the United Nations, nor does it have any status with the United Nations."

The formation of the World Council of Religious Leaders was one of the stated goals of the Millennium World Peace Summit. The objective of this Council is to serve as a resource to the United Nations and its agencies around the world, nation states and other international organizations, offering the collective wisdom and resources of the faith traditions toward the resolution of critical global problems.

The launching of the World Council took place in Bangkok on June 12th-14th, 2002, at Buddhamonthon and at UNESCAP. Participants adopted a Charter that outlines key areas in which religious leaders can play an active role in reducing conflict and addressing the critical needs of humankind.

United Religions Initiative
www.uri.org/

United Religions Initiative (URI) was founded in 2000 by an extraordinary global community committed to promoting enduring, daily interfaith cooperation and to ending religiously motivated violence. Today the URI includes thousands of members in over 50 countries representing more that 100 religions, spiritual expressions, and indigenous traditions.

Council for a Parliament of the World's Religions
www.cpwr.org/

Over the years, the Council has initiated dialogues and nurtured relationships among people of difference. In doing so the Council has provided a framework for expressing many visions of a just, peaceful and sustainable future. In the process, religious and spiritual communities have discovered a shared commitment to ethical principles. This shared commitment has opened the way for a new era of cooperative action among the world's religious and spiritual communities as well as with the world's other guiding institutions. The well-being of the Earth and all life depends on such collaboration.

Inter-Religious Relations & Dialogue
www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/what/interreligious/index-e.html

The team on interreligious relations promotes contact between Christians and neighbours of other faiths primarily through multi-lateral and bi-lateral dialogue with partners of other faiths that is aimed at building trust, meeting common challenges and addressing conflictive and divisive issues.
An increasingly important aspect of the team's work is to interpret major trends in the religious, intellectual and political life of various faith communities and to consider the future of religion and interreligious relations.
In partnership with other WCC programme teams, the team on interreligious relations seeks to encourage reflection on religious plurality and its significance for Christian identity and witness. The team also explores issues related to indigenous beliefs, traditional spiritual beliefs/ideologies and new religious movements.

Pontificio Istituto di Studi Arabi e d'Islamistica
village.flashnet.it/%7Efn026243/index.htm

The Pontifical Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies aims at the formation of Christians for encounter with Islam. Its purpose is defined in the statutes:

"The students of the Institute prepare for dialogue with Muslims, fully respecting what they are and what they hold, and with sensitivity for their feelings. They study how the Gospel can best be presented to Muslims, without being diluted in any way, but in such a manner that it may find an echo in their own culture".

The various courses and formation programmes offered by the Institute, as well as the research carried out there, have but one aim: to serve the Church by being an instrument for encounter and dialogue between Christians and Muslims.

International Association for Religious Freedom
www.iarf.net/

The International Association for Religious Freedom is a registered charity based in the United Kingdom which has the aim of working for freedom of religion and belief at a global level.

Encouraging interfaith dialogue and tolerance is part of this agenda, and we are proud of a 100-year-plus history in this work. We have over 90 affiliated member groups in approximately 25 countries, from a wide range of faith traditions including Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Shintoism and Sikhism, among others.

With member organizations, regional coordinators, and national chapters around the world, the International Association for Religious Freedom is well placed to obtain local perspectives on religious freedom concerns and issues.

UNESCO
www.unesco.org/culture/dialogue/html_eng/index_en.shtml
Throughout history, peoples have exchanged cultural experience, ideas, values and goods through art, trade and migrations.

Human history is the tale of such journeys. As we cross into the twenty-first century, we too have embarked on a journey – whose destination holds out the promise of justice, well-being and a peaceful existence for all.

These encounters, in which individual travelers or communities have conveyed their ideas and customs across whole continents and oceans, are celebrated in a series of UNESCO projects.

International Council of Christian and Jews
www.iccj.org/en/index.php

International Council of Christian and Jews Encourages research and education at all levels, including universities and theological seminaries, to promote interreligious understanding among students, teachers, religious leaders, and scholars;

Performs outreach in regions that so far have little or no structured Jewish-Christian dialogue, such as Eastern Europe, Africa, and the Far East;

Provides a platform for wide-ranging theological debate in order to add a religious choice to the contemporary search for answers to existential and ethical challenges.

Profiles of Experts Interviewed

Laila Al-Qatami, *Communications Director*, American-Arab *Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC).*

Laila has served as an editorial consultant for a wide range of documentaries and educational programs about Arabs, Arab Americans, Islam, and Civil Rights in the US. These programs have aired on PBS, Discovery, Showtime, BBC, MTV, and Nickelodeon in addition to several independent films.

She was recently elected to the National Board of Directors for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and is believed to be the first Arab American to hold this position. She is currently a mentor for Georgetown University students in the Patrick Healy Fellows Program. Additionally, she is the Communications Co-Chair for the Rights Working Group and also the Georgetown Club of Metropolitan Washington, DC. She has a B.S. in Journalism from the University of Colorado and an M.A. in Arab Studies from Georgetown University.

Dr. George H. Atkinson, *S&T Adviser to the Secretary of State, Office of the Science and Technology Adviser*

Dr. George Atkinson was selected in 2003 by Secretary of State Colin Powell to become the Science and Technology Adviser to the Secretary of State (STAS). He is responsible for increasing the S&T capacity in the Department of State and for addressing both contemporaneous and emerging S&T issues affecting U.S. foreign policy.

He is the recipient of many awards, including the Senior Alexander von Humboldt Award (Germany), the Senior Fulbright Award (Germany), the Lady Davis Professorship (Israel), and the SERC Award (Great Britain). He has been a visiting professor at distinguished Universities and research institutions in Japan, Great Britain, Germany, Israel, and France. He recently received an honorary doctorate from Eckerd College, the Distinguished Alumni Science Award from Indiana University, and was selected for the Chancellor's Distinguished Fellows Series by the University of California Irvine.

Dr. **Muhammad Ayish,** *Dean of the College of Communication, University of Sharjah in the United Arab Emirates*

Muhammad Ayish is currently Professor and Dean of the College of Communication at the University of Sharjah in the United Arab Emirates. He received his Master's and Doctoral degrees in broadcast communication from the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities in 1983 and 1986 respectively. He also holds two bachelor degrees in English literature and broadcast journalism from the University of Missour-Columbia (1979). He has worked at several Arab universities including Yarmouk University in Jordan and United Arab Emirates University. His research interests are in broadcasting, new media technologies, global communication, and Arab media systems. He has published scores of articles in English and Arabic journals in addition to two books: one on Arab satellite television in the age of globalization (Hamburg, 2003) and the other in print on the emerging Arab public sphere (American University of Sharjah and Paris University III).

Dr. Kai Hafez, *Chair for International and Comparative Communication Studies , University of Erfurt*

Dr. Hafez's research specialization is theory of international communication; media coverage and Islamic-Western relations; mass media and political transition in Asia, Africa and Latin America; media and immigration in Europe and political relations between Europe and the Middle East.

He was the academic advisor of the President of the Federal Republic of Germany for matters related to Islamic-Western relations; and was the director of an international conference on "The Ethics of Journalism in the Islamic-Western Context" under the auspices of the German President, Johannes Rau in Bellevue Palace, Berlin.

Some of his books include: Islam and the West in the Mass Media - Mass Media, Politics, and Society in the Middle East - An Introduction to Political Cultures and International Relations - Myth of Media Globalization (in German) - Iraq Country between War and Peace (in German). He is the Senior Associate Fellow, St Antony's College, University of Oxford and studied Political Science, History, Journalism and Arab Studies at the University of Hamburg and at Georgetown University, Washington, DC.

Khaled Hroub, *Director, Cambridge Arab Media Project (CAMP) in association with the Centre of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (CMEIS), University of Cambridge*

Former visiting scholar at CMEIS and a Queens' College member; host of a weekly book-review programme on Al-Jazeera TV; editor *of 'New Media and Politics in the Arab World'* (forthcoming) and author of '*Hamas: A Beginners Guide'* (Pluto Press, forthcoming) and '*Hamas: Political Thought and Practice*', (Washington DC., 2000); worked for the Middle East Programme of the International Institute of International Studies - London (IISS); his academic writings appeared in *Middle East Journal*, *Middle East International*, Journal for Palestine Studies, '*Shu'un Arabyya'* [Arab Affairs], *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies, Outre terre* (Paris) *INTERNATIONALE POLITIK* (Germany); he writes for leading Arab newspapers including *Al-Hayat, Al-Quds Al-Arabi* and *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* (London) and publishes a weekly article that appears in seven Arab dailies in Jordan, Qatar, Egypt, UAE, Oman, Palestine and Mauritania; he also published the *Daily Star*, *International Herald Tribune* and *El Pais*; *La Razon* and appears on international news networks such as the BBC, Channel 4 and Sky News.

Ramzi E. Khoury, *CEO, Strategy Falcons Ltd*

Ramzi E. Khoury is CEO of Strategy Falcons Ltd, a Strategic Communications company based in the Middle East. Khoury is in an expert on Perception Management and works as an adviser to governments and media companies in this field as well as Middle East affairs. His background is from the journalism and media industries and was elected the Secretary General of the Arab Media Organization, the union of private sector satellite stations. He was editor in chief of the Arab Daily, chief subeditor of the Jordan Times in the mid-nineties and is currently a columnist with the Saudi Gazette and political analyst on several international satellite and radio stations in addition to his work in the strategic communications field.

Julian Madsen, *Senior Researcher, Al Jazeera International*

Mr. Madsen has written a number of articles for both scholarly and general audiences about the politics of the Middle East, political conflict and foreign policy. He also founded the Arab Press Review, a network of individuals who provide translations of some of the key political, cultural and economic themes and issues that appear in the Arab press. He is currently working for al Jazeera International about perceptions of the Middle East, and the culture and politics of the region more broadly.

Trevor Mostyn, *Journalist, Publisher and Consultant*

Mr. Mostyn read Arabic and Persian at Edinburgh University and has been a journalist, publisher and consultant in the Arab world, Iran and India. He spent some years as Macmillan Publishers Middle East manager before moving to create MEED Books for the Middle East Economic Digest. After the Oslo Peace Accords he created and ran the European Union's Med Media and Peace Media Programmes (1991-96) which funded cooperation between Arab, Israeli and European media professionals. He later launched the EU's Gulf Media and UNDP's Palestine Media initiatives. He was deputy *Financial Times* correspondent in Cairo and is Middle East correspondent for *The Tablet* newspaper. He has written for *Prospect* magazine, the *Evening Standard, The Times, The International Herald Tribune* and *The Wall Street Journal.* He reviews for the *Times Literary Supplement and the Times Higher Education Supplement. He* is a member of the Society of Authors and is on the executive commitees of English PEN and of English's PEN's Writers in Prison Committee for whom he has undertaken missions to Egypt, Cyprus and Belarus.

Farid Senzai, *Fellow and Director of Research, Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU).*

Farid Senzai is currently a Fellow and Director of Research at the Institute for Social Policy and Understanding (ISPU). In this capacity, he leads the research effort for the organization and its continued focus on the Muslim community in the United States. Mr. Senzai is also an Adjunct Professor in the Political Science departments at California State University and Santa Clara University. Prior to joining ISPU, Mr. Senzai was a research associate at the Brookings Institution where he researched U.S. foreign policy towards the Middle East. In addition, he was a research analyst at the Council on Foreign Relations where he worked on the Muslim Politics project. He has also served as a consultant for Oxford Analytica and the World Bank. Mr. Senzai received his MA in International Affairs from Columbia University and is completing his Ph.D. in Political Science at Oxford University.

Nawar Shora, **J.D.**, Legal Advisor and *Director of the Law Enforcement Outreach Program (LEOP), American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC)*

Through the Law Enforcement Outreach Program, Shora has been involved in varied aspects of diversity training and cultural awareness and has worked with a multitude of government agencies as well as private corporations. He played a crucial role with the Washington, DC Metro Police Department (MPD) in 2003 as part of their 30 week In-Service Diversity Training. Shora has also presented at the Federal Law Enforcement Training Center and at the FBI Academy numerous times. Furthermore, he is currently working with a major multinational airline, under their Leadership Training program, to develop an online training module and is involved in a very comprehensive fashion on the project design. Shora and LEOP have played a part in the training of thousands of individuals.

Nawar, who is fluent in Arabic, earned his Doctorate of Jurisprudence from the West Virginia University College of Law. He was born in Damascus, Syria and moved to the United States in 1987.

Expert Contributions

The authors would like to acknowledge and thank the following experts for their contributions either in personal interviews or in correspondence and writings. The reference section and other chapters of this book would not be possible without their efforts and support.

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Founding President and CEO
National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations

George Atkinson
Assistant Secretary of State for Science and Technology
US State Department

Muhammad Ayish
Dean of the College of Communication
University of Sharjah, UAE

Maha Azzam
Associate Fellow
Royal Institute of International Affairs

Ramzy Baroud
Editor-in-chief
Palestine Chronicle

Cameron W. Barr
Staff Writer
Christian Science monitor

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James Zogby
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Footnotes

[1] *Communal Identities and Ethnic Groups* published in 2000 Pearson Education available at: http://arabworld.nitle.org/texts.php?module_id=6&reading_id=59&sequence=7

[2] Zogby International poll titled *Attitudes of Arabs 2005-An In-Depth Look at Social and Political Concerns of Arabs* available at http://www.aaiusa.org/PDF/2005%20Arab%20Poll.pdf

[3] *Understanding the Attitudes of Arabs toward "America": The Under Utilization of Class*, published in "The Arab Studies Quarterly," Mazen Hashem, 2005.

[4] CSS 2005 *Revisiting the Arab Street; Research from Within* available at: http://www.css-jordan.org/new/REVISITINGTTHEARABSTREETReport.pdf

[5] Transcript from Lou Dobb, Tonight, aired February 28, 2006. http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0602/28/ldt.01.html

[6] *US Vetoes UN Terror Resolution* published in USA Today.com December 2001 available at: http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2001/12/15/us-veto.htm

[7] Zogby International Poll 2005 available at: http://www.aaiusa.org/news/aainews103102.htm

[8] *Changing Minds Winning Peace: A New strategic Direction for U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Arab and Muslim World* submitted to the House of Representatives in 2003.

[9] Dr Hafez Kai stated that "the news media must not only mirror the people, but should inform them, correct them and also 'educate' them".

[10] A "Rapid Response Unit" has been set up by the US State Department to monitor Arab news media closely monitoring everything that is said and written about US policy.

[11] One of the most popular prime time shows is called "superstar", a spin off from American Idol.

[12] Simon Anholt, a UK-based brand consultant and author of *Brand America*, the old Al Jazeera's latent brand equity translates into a tremendous opportunity for its English-language station to deliver a platform for certain kinds of brands.

[13] "Anti-American sentiment, in general could pose an extreme, long-range threat – and that is why it is important that American companies know the country they are entering, respect local traditions and cultures, and act like a local company."
    -- Mike Eskew, CEO, UPS

[14] Shibley Telhami rightly argued that mass media are most effective where people have no first hand experience with the issue at stake and therefore must rely on the media.

[15] Dr. Mark Tessler stated that "Younger Arabs and Muslims do not have more negative views of Western society than do older individuals, and in many cases their views are significantly more positive. Similarly, watching satellite television is frequently correlated with attitudes about Western norms and institutions that are more favorable, not less".

Footnotes

[17] Arab Americans: Making a Difference, *By Casey Kasem - *Updated in 2004*.* http://aai.bluestatedigital.com/page/file/eb843914472c84a043_efm6ibdbq.pdf/Cas.Broch.%28AAIF-V%29.pdf

[18] *Arab and Muslim Perceptions of the United States*; Andrew Kohut, Pew Global Attitudes Project, November 10, 2005; Testimony to U.S. House International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations.

[19] A pioneering survey conducted recently in five Arab countries reveals Arabs anti-western sentiment particularly toward US and British Foreign Policy but not western values.

[20] In the 2006 article titled *The Hamas Factor*, Ramzy Baroud examines the implications of democracy gone too far as it pertains to Arab perceptions and US interest.

[21] AJ Alemany, a professor at DePaul University expounds on how Arabs came to perceive the west as they do with a historical account of Western Colonization and deceit in his 1982 article published in Business Horizons.

[22] November 2nd, 1917 the Balfour Declaration from Arthur James Balfour to lord Rothschild stating: I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet. "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation. http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/mideast/balfour.htm

[23] A Zogby International 2004 poll titled *Impressions of America: How Arabs View America, How Arabs Learn About America* available at: http://aai.bluestatedigital.com/page/file/229fc3112466dc002f_wvm6bhed9.pdf/2004_Impressions_of_America_Poll.pdf

[24] A 2005 article titled *Democracy and the Palestinian Question: A lesson from Tunisia* can be found at: http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/Hroub.pdf

[25] As cited in a 2002 Article titled *America's Credibility at Stake: Arab Perceptions of US Foreign Policy* available at https://research.au.af.mil/papers/ay2002/acsc/02-081.pdf

[26] *US Vetoes UN Terror Resolution* published in USA Today.com December 2001 available at: http://www.usatoday.com/news/world/2001/12/15/us-veto.htm

[27] Arab perception of US foreign policy and effects on international relations are presented in *The Intifada, the U.S., and GCC Countries* by John Duke Anthony available at: http://www.palestinecenter.org/cpap/pubs/20010830pb.html

[28] www.hrw.org/english/docs/2006/03/16/iraq13022.htm

[29] President Bush's speech in 2003 after defeating Saddam Hussein available at: http://www.cnn.com/2003/ALLPOLITICS/05/01/sprj.irq.bush.speech/index.html

[30] Jeremy M. Sharp, Middle East Policy Analyst Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division; www.fas.org/crs/mideast/RS21457.pdf

[31] *Democracy and the Palestinian Question: A Lesson from Tunisia*; Khaled Hroub, Arab Reform Bulletin, 2005.

[32] Ramzy Baroud points out that US image problem is deeply rooted in Arabs' historical experience with the West

Footnotes

[33] 2004 article examining the Arab perception of the US titled: *Arab Perception of US May Change – for the Worse:*
http://www.arabnews.com/?page=7&section=0&article=54484&d=14&m=11&y=2004