



survey

Muslim views:

Foreign policy and its effects

The 1990 Trust
October 2006

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Introduction

In light of the frenzy of news stories on Muslim issues, it is difficult to ignore the increasing intensity of the spotlight aimed at Muslims in Britain, now under regular scrutiny from mainstream society. This gaze at the Muslim community has been channeled by the media and other influential institutions and typified in a series of surveys, by established research companies such as ICM, Populus and YouGov.

The surveys and polls, run in conjunction with media organisations, have been undertaken with increasing frequency since the 7/7 bombings. This, no doubt, is an attempt to understand 'British Muslim' thinking, but arguably, also as a tool to test Muslims on crucial issues such as loyalty, or the more neutral 'attachment' to Britain. The ICM/Sunday Telegraph poll in February 2006 for example had in its short survey two questions on loyalty specifically for Muslims.

Some elements of the media use the results of such surveys on potentially sensitive issues for an interesting story; reflecting on the points of conflict with mainstream society rather than areas of convergence: *'Poll reveals 40% of Muslims want Sharia law in UK'* (19th February 2006), and *'Muslim Britain split over 'martyrs' of 7/7'* (4th July 2006). These headlines often provoke unmeasured responses from important political figures - the Commission

for Racial Equality chair Trevor Philips claiming alongside certain media outlets that a section of the Muslim community is " *at war with the rest of the community*".

At a time when a number of accusations have recently been made by a procession of organisations in different fields, picked up and then played out in the media and aimed at parts of or indeed the entire Muslim community. It is important to identify and hear directly from Muslim communities and listen to what the majority are saying. It is often frustrating and depressing for those communities whose critical mass of voices cannot be heard because of the din of politicians and media communications. To many it seems that the Government is determined to broadcast a particular ideology based on popularism as opposed to courageous and ethical leadership. Ruth Kelly's Commission on Integration and Cohesion, which has in its terms of reference 'tackling extremism', would do well to take note of the findings expressed in this survey, and start reflecting in their pronouncements what the vast majority of Muslims in the UK are saying.

In some recent cases the different variations of stories are based on a similar theme: that Muslims are a distinct body from the rest of society and further, have a disproportionate influence over many aspects of

Government policy. The following examples highlight what can be seen as a growing trend: Cohesion and Integration paper, October 2006, commissioned by the Church of England pointing at the failure of multiculturalism to fully engage Christians, and reported as 'Church sidelined 'by Government favouritism to Muslims' (Evening Standard 8/10/2006), and more specifically 'reactionary' Muslim elements infiltrating the foreign office attempting to affect UK foreign policy (political editor of the New Statesman, Martin Bright's, 2006 briefing paper *'When Progressives Treat with Reactionaries: The British State's flirtation with radical Islamism'* and his Channel 4 follow up programme *'Who Speaks for Muslims'*).

With this in mind this survey was conducted with the view to look at how Muslims felt, in particular, about foreign policy, its direction, and the issues surrounding it. We were aware that this project could have been seen as yet another poll on Muslims, engendering further sense of intrusion, division, and a sense of exasperation with surveys. However, it was felt that previous polls and the sensational manner in which some of them were reported have left many serious questions unanswered.

UK foreign policy

The survey bore out a sense that foreign policy plays a central role in shaping Muslims' engagements in the British political arena. One of the main areas of tension, and potential causes of 'radicalisation' seems to be the UK's foreign policy.

One of the main findings of the survey is that just 1.6% of Muslims feel that their views on foreign policy are represented by the UK government. 91.4% disagree with Government on its foreign policy. Of those organisations seen as best representing respondents, all were opposed to wars in Iraq and Afghanistan: Muslim Council of Britain, Muslim Association of Britain, Stop the War Coalition, Respect (George Galloway), Muslim Public Affairs

Do you feel the Government represents your views on Foreign Policy?



Committee UK and Hizb-ut-Tahrir. Also included are the Green Party and the Liberal Democrats, who, contrary to the Labour and Conservative parties, were vocal in coming out against the war, although with reservations. There were also a significant minority refusing to name any organizations for a number of reasons.

US influence on UK foreign policy

93% of respondents felt that UK foreign policy was influenced too much by the US Government. To see if this opinion is only held by Muslims it can be contrasted with the non-Muslim specific ICM Guardian July 2006 poll, which found that 63% of a random sample of the UK population thought Tony Blair had made Britain too closely aligned to the US. Muslims' take on UK foreign policy is therefore in step with the wider cross-section of British society. It also puts into question the perception, expressed in the public domain that it is 'radical' Muslims who hold undue influence over UK foreign policy.

A foundation stone of the current foreign policy is the global 'war on terror'. 81% of respondents in our survey felt that the campaign equated to a warfare

Do you think the US Government has too much influence over UK foreign policy?



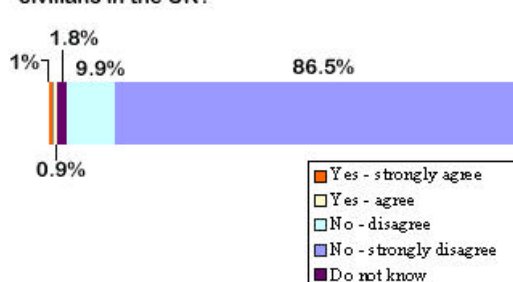
waged against Muslims, with 10% disagreeing. George W Bush's metaphor of a 'crusade' against his enemies and his recent references to 'Islamic Fascism' have further highlighted this feeling of being targeted while Tony Blair has made reference to the 'arc of extremism'.

Acts of terrorism

Previous surveys have caused much controversy on the contentious subject of whether a significant proportion of Muslims support the use of violence for political reasons. In this survey, only 1.9% of Muslims believe that it is justifiable to commit acts of terrorism against civilians in the UK. An overwhelming majority - 96% stated emphatically that acts of terrorism against civilians was unjustifiable.

Of the Muslim respondents in an earlier ICM Telegraph survey of February 2006 asked whether those who bombed London were right to do so 1% responded affirmatively. Both survey's show an overwhelming rejection of violence in the UK. However, some sections of the media have conflated Muslim respondents answering positively to the question of whether they have sympathy 'with the feeling and motives of those who carried out the

Is it justifiable to commit acts of terrorism against civilians in the UK?



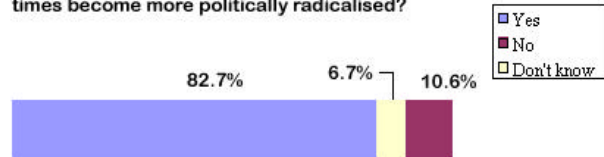
attacks' (20% of those polled in the same ICM/Telegraph survey of February 2006 answered affirmatively) with the violence itself. To understand the motive behind an action cannot be equated with violence itself, and the media have a responsibility to create a clear demarcation.

'Islamic Radicalisation'

The survey also found that 82% of respondents thought that Muslims were becoming more radicalised. The term 'radicalisation' used in conjunction with 'Islamic' or 'Muslim' is more complex than mainstream politicians and media portray. On a number of occasions George W Bush has used the phrase 'Islamic radicalism' fused with 'violent' or 'evil' whilst Condoleeza Rice said on 10th February 2005, 'Today's radical Islamists are swimming against the tide of the human spirit. They grab headlines with their ruthless brutality, and they can be brutal.'

During a public meeting in East London in September, John Reid, the Home Secretary, told

Do you think that Muslims in the UK have in recent times become more politically radicalised?



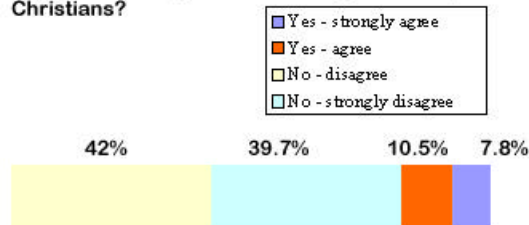
Muslim parents to monitor their children for 'tell tale' signs of radicalism. The survey shows that a majority of Muslims (65.2%) did not associate radicalism primarily with violence. Radicalism can take the form of letter writing to politicians, demonstrations, becoming involved in organisations, or disengaging with mainstream politics – 25.6% thought it involved some degree of violent activity.

Bush, Blair and Christianity

After the bombings of 7/7 and 21/7, Muslims felt aggrieved that they were being asked directly or indirectly to apologise for these events because of their 'shared' religion with the bombers.

Two questions were therefore posed to Muslims regarding George Bush, Tony Blair and whether or not they and their actions relate to Christianity in any way. As both Premiers have declared their Christianity as well as seeking God's advice over foreign policy decisions this was seen as a valid question. Overwhelmingly only 18% of those polled feel that Tony Blair and George Bush represent Christians, as opposed to 82% who feel they don't. Further, only 13% of Muslims polled believe that British Christians should apologise for the actions of

Do you think Tony Blair and George Bush represent Christians?



Blair in Iraq and Afghanistan whilst 76% believe Christians should not apologise.

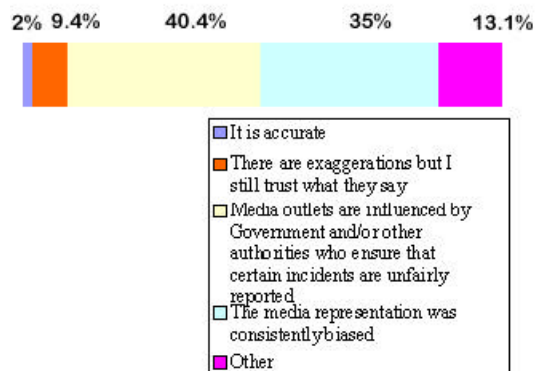
Therefore a significant majority of Muslims can divorce what they see as criminal actions in Afghanistan and Iraq undertaken by the Bush and Blair administrations partly in the name of Christianity, from what they consider the real tenets of Christianity.

Media

Our survey found that Muslims not only felt under-represented in mainstream politics, but also felt a lack of representation in and mistrust of mainstream media. 2% of respondents think that UK media coverage in the Middle East is accurate, while 40% think that media output is affected by government policy, and 35% think the media is biased. This may explain the rise of demand for media outlets like Al-Jazeera and the Islam Channel as well as an array of newspapers and journals including 'Muslim News' (with a circulation of 140,000 per month) and Q News, and websites such as www.muslimnews.co.uk, www.islamonline.net

A YouGov survey on ethnic minorities and the media, in September 2006 found that out of 780 non-white respondents 51% felt the media dealt with ethnic minority issues unsatisfactorily.

What is your view of mainstream UK media representation of the events in the Middle East?



Muslim distrust went further, with 82% of Muslim respondents believing that there should be a public inquiry into the 7/7 bombings. Although there were some differences of opinion over the role of the government in the events, there was a genuine belief that not all of the truth had been revealed and that

there were lessons to be learnt. It must be noted that the call for an inquiry has been strongly called for by non-Muslim organisations as well such as the 7th July Truth Campaign.

Our results also indicate that Muslims do not

obtain information on events in the Middle East from the clerics or mosques. This response questions the government's strategy to pressurise clerics and mosques to conform or risk being prosecuted and shut down.

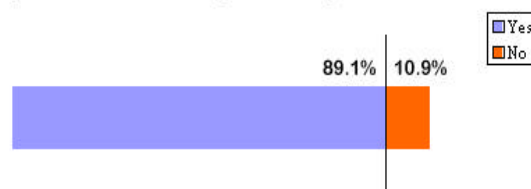
Ummah and the British Citizen

The Ummah is the concept that a global family of Muslims exists, transcending national boundaries. Suffering by Muslims in Iraq, Palestine, Somalia, Bangladesh or wherever, is felt deeply by those elsewhere. 89% of Muslims say that they feel included in the global concept of 'Ummah' although the survey recognizes that the way this manifests itself is difficult to gauge.

This definite sense of transnational identity is of concern to some who pose the question, whether one is British or Muslim first. The question asked to Muslim respondents was whether there is a contradiction in being loyal to the "Ummah" and being a good citizen who can get on with others in society.

92.7% said they feel that the loyalty towards 'Ummah' does not contradict ones role as a citizen of a nation, to be able to live and work within one's society. However, Muslims responding to the question of whether they would only defend Muslim inter-

Do you feel included in the global concept of the Muslim "Ummah"?



ests, 86% answered no, questioning so-called Muslim sectarianism - indicating (and backed up by comments from respondents) that it is a sense of general injustice that Muslims oppose. As one respondent wrote:

“Injustice is injustice, it does not have a colour or a faith and humans are human’s regardless of what faith they choose to follow. We do not have a right to judge but we do have a duty to fight injustice in whatever form”

Methodology

Between the 8th and 27th September 2006, 1213 people responded to this online survey. It was posted on various Muslim websites: Muslim Directory, Muslim Public Affairs Committee (UK), Q News, and the Islamic Human Rights Commission. The survey was also sent out to the networks of the following organizations. Muslim Council of Britain, Muslim Association of Britain, British Muslim Initiative, Khoja Shia Ithna Asheri, Newham Public Affairs Committee. The 1990 Trust sent the survey to its Muslim contact lists of nearly 10 000 Muslims. The survey was not posted on the BLINK (1990 Trust) website to ensure objectivity.

A wide range of Muslims from diverse backgrounds responded to the survey. These included students, housewives, academics, human rights/political activists and people working within sectors including business, finance, health and the service industries.

The survey drew respondents from a wide range of backgrounds including academics, human rights activists, individuals from NGO's, civil servants, financial institutions as well as housewives and students

An internet survey via recognised Muslim sites has the benefits of drawing more young Muslims to respond (and young Muslims are the particular tar-

gets of suspicion and of radicalisation). Additionally those using the sites would be perhaps more attuned to the issues and likely to want to engage in communication. For the purpose of the 1990 Trust it is also the most cost-effective way of reaching a large volume, wide-ranging set of respondents (geographically, ethnically and in terms of viewpoints). At the same time it is recognised that the most disaffected and poorest members of the community may not have internet access.

In understanding some of the possible shortcomings of an internet-based survey, we were aware that the respondents are likely to be younger, potentially disproportionately male (affirmed with the statistics showing 59% of respondents were male and 41% female), from a more independent socioeconomic background, and arguably more aware of political events - activists. The internet-based survey was used because of the speed, cost-effectiveness and the questionability of other forms of supposedly random surveys. As reported elsewhere, surveys, especially 'reputable' ones such as YouGov, are open to manipulation by political factions who work to skew the results in their favour. This survey did not seek the high media profile of some other polling researchers in order to safeguard the collation of qualitative data.

About the 1990 Trust

This survey was conducted by The 1990 Trust, a black human rights and anti-racist charity dealing with issues affecting, African, Caribbean and Asian communities.

The Trust is funded by the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, Comic Relief, CRE and a few other grants from other sources. This project was undertaken as part of the Trust's commitment to challenging racism and Islamophobia.

The 1990 Trust would like to acknowledge Robin Virgin from Pluto Books for his assistance in the production of this report.

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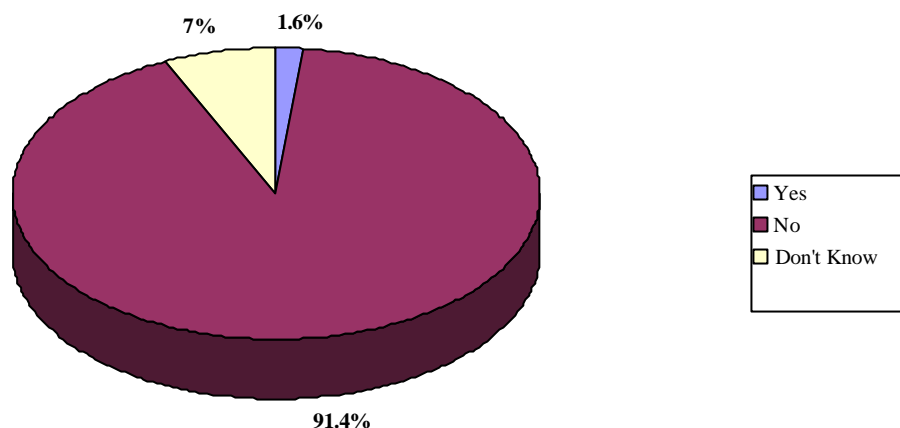
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Findings

1.

Do you feel the British government represents your views on Foreign Policy?



91.4% of respondents disagree with the British Government on its foreign policy

2.

Please state which organisations best represent your views on foreign policy

Whereas previous surveys have provided multiple-choice selections (Channel 4 Dispatches Muslim Survey: *Attitudes to living in Britain*), this survey left the question open and elicited a wide range of responses.

Muslim organisations such as Muslim Council of Britain, Islamic Human Rights Commission, Hizb-ut-Tahrir, Muslim Association of Britain, Muslim Public Affairs Committee and Islamic Forum Europe were the most common answers. A small but significant minority listed non-specific Muslim organisations and lobby groups such as Liberal Democrats, Respect (George Galloway), Stop the War Coalition, Amnesty and the Green Party.

Muslim lobby groups stated included, Stop Political Terror, Caged Prisoners and media organizations such as Q-News, Muslim News and Islam Channel. Some respondents listed Muslim organisations such as Muslim Council of Britain, Muslim Public Affairs Committee or Hizb-ut-Tahrir as their sole representative while others listed them alongside other organisations. A very small proportion of answers listed organisations outside of the UK.

There were a significant number of respondents feeling that no one specific organisation reflected their views for a variety of different reasons,

'at the moment there is no party or organisation which represents the views of Muslims. In fact the Muslim community is so divided that the views are not the same. I feel that we will have to speak with one voice to get any credibility.'

For a different reason another respondent argued,

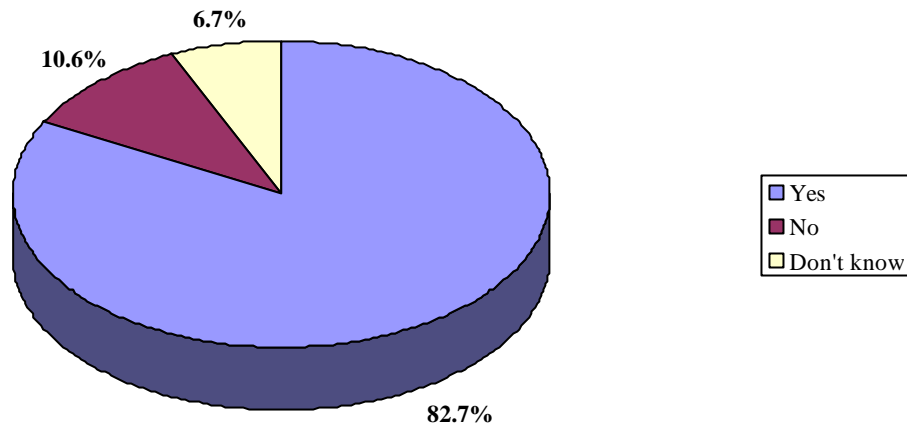
'There can be NO INDIVIDUAL body to represent us all as we are not encompassed by policies, doctrines, traditions, language etc.'

In contrast, a significant number of respondents named more than one group, their decision informed by the organisation's perceived stance over the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the situation in Palestine, borne out by a number of comments not just in this section:

'All those who recognize that it is the interference with the affairs of Muslims by western governments that is leading to the escalated problems we see in the Muslim lands and only the ones who use the Islamic principles of non-violent means of protest as a legitimate way to air their views'.

3.

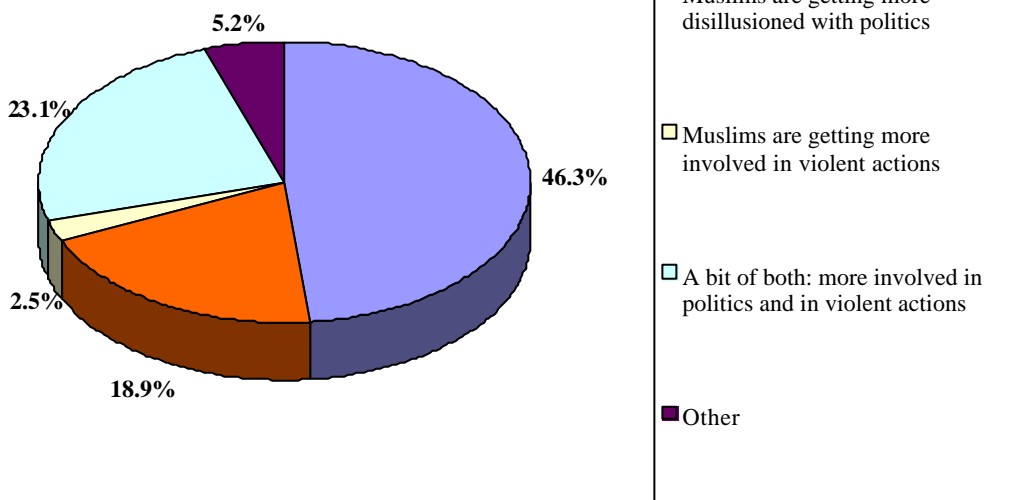
Do you think that Muslims in the UK have in recent times become more politically radicalised?



Of those who replied 82.7% said that Muslims had become more radicalised.

4.

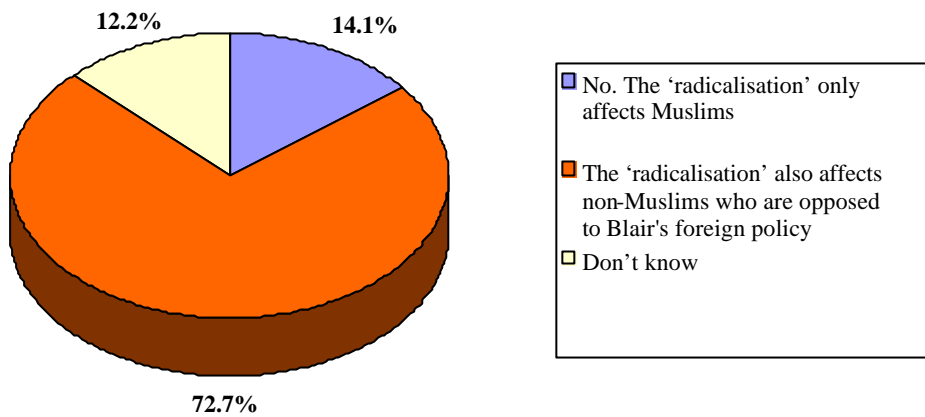
If yes, what form does this radicalisation take?



From politicians, to clerics and academics 'radicalism' of Muslims has been closely associated with violence, and in particular Al-Qaeda. With the question of what form radicalism takes 65.2% of Muslim respondents believed that radicalism was not linked to violent action. 46.3% thought radicalism takes the form of greater involvement in politics (demonstrations, petitioning, and activism) and 18.9% disillusionment altogether with politics.

5.

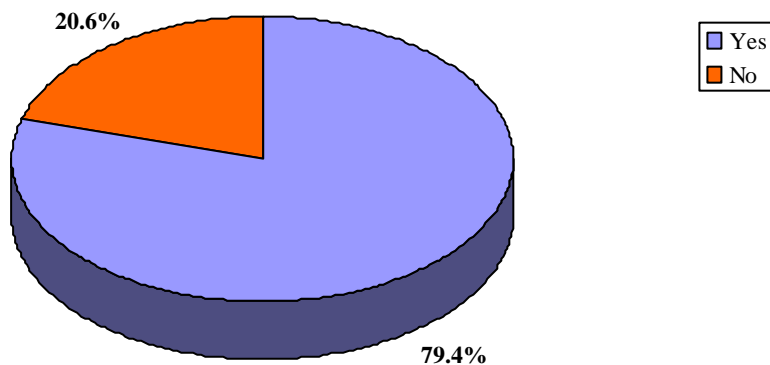
Do you think this 'radicalisation' is specific to Muslims or do you think it is also affecting other components of society (for example British people who define themselves as members of the Left or hard Left)?



Only 14.1% of people answering thought that Muslims were exclusively affected by this political radicalism, whilst 72.7% thought that it affected other parts of society.

6.

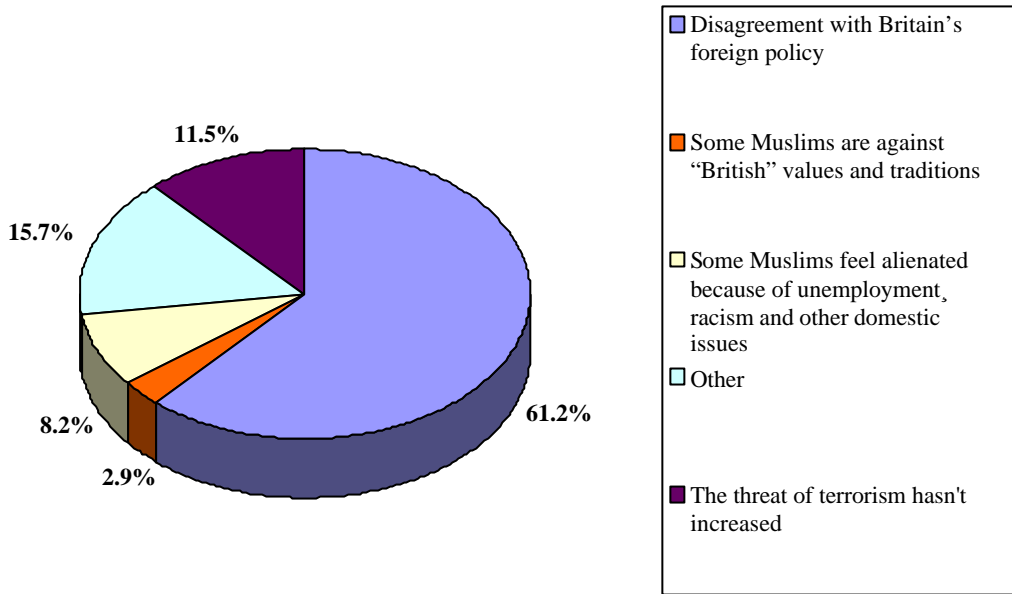
Do you feel that there has been an increased threat of terrorism in the UK since 9/11?



Alongside other polls both in and outside the Muslim community, a sizeable majority of people, 79.4%, think that there has been an increased threat of terrorism in the UK since 9/11. Looking at answers to the other questions (in particular question 12) it appears that the affect of the 'war on terror' has been a significant factor in this perception of an increase in the threat of terrorism.

7.

If yes, what do you think is the main reason for the increased threat



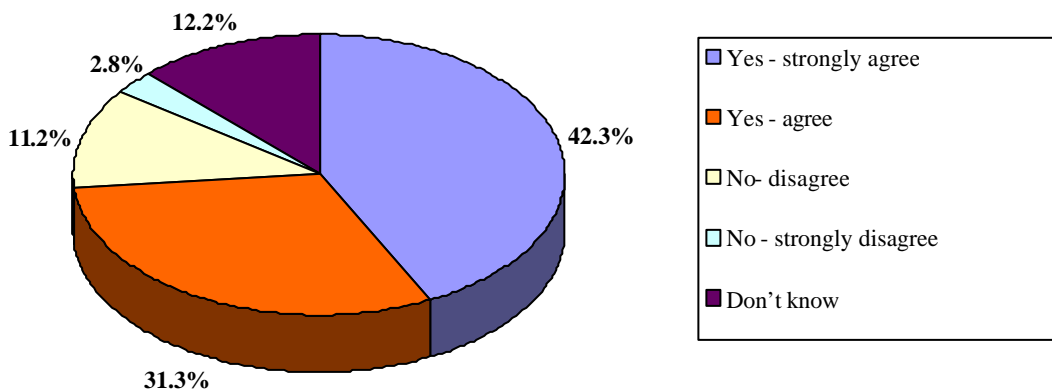
61.2% of respondents see the main reason for the increased threat of terrorism as the British Government's foreign policy.

'Appallingly uneven foreign policy decisions which promote and condone injustice under the guise of supporting democracy', were the comments of one respondent.

Only 2.9% of those polled preferred the answer that they were against "British" values or traditions, clearly showing that British foreign policy was the paramount political issue for Muslims; 8.2% or those polled thought some Muslims felt alienation because of unemployment and racism. Muslims clearly seem skeptical at best over the motivations of the US-UK axis despite the consistent position held and promoted by both George W Bush and Tony Blair that terrorists are reacting to the values of freedom and democracy being spread throughout the world initially supported by the mainstream press. Tony Blair in his speech to the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, 1st August 2006, coined the term an 'arc of extremism' in relation to 'Reactionary Islam' which had to be combated.

8.

Do you think that if American and British troops were to leave Afghanistan and Iraq, the threat of terrorism in the UK would decrease?

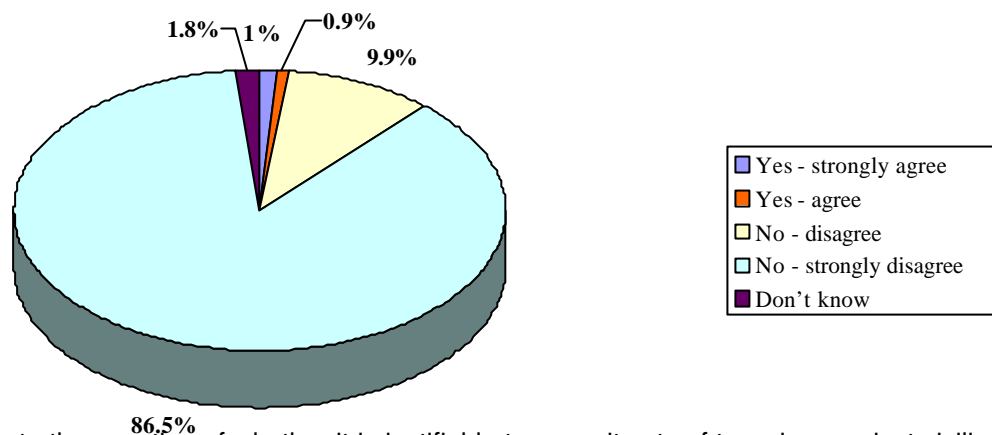


73.6% of respondents answered that troop withdrawals from Iraq and Afghanistan would directly affect Britain's security, with the threat of terrorism decreasing. Out of the 11.2% of people who think it would make no difference. There were some who again had no doubt that terrorism and foreign policy are inextricably linked but who believe that Britain has committed so much violence in inexcusable wars that a subsequent troop withdrawal would make no difference :

'I think the UK have to much blood on their hands and as such even if we withdraw I am not sure if the threat would completely go away it would definitely decrease'

9.

Is it justifiable to commit acts of terrorism against civilians in the UK?



In answer to the question of whether it is justifiable to commit acts of terrorism against civilians in the UK 96% of respondents said that it was unjustifiable. With 2% of people thinking the opposite the result reinforces the overwhelming rejection of violence by Muslims. Other surveys such as the ICM/Telegraph survey in Feb 2006 found 1% of Muslim respondents thought that those who bombed London were right to do so. This is a highly significant difference to the supposed 6% of Muslims in the July 2005 'YouGov Poll of British Muslims' who responded in an affirmative to the question "Do you think the bombing attacks in London on July 7 were justified or not?" - a poll which provoked much speculation on its accuracy.

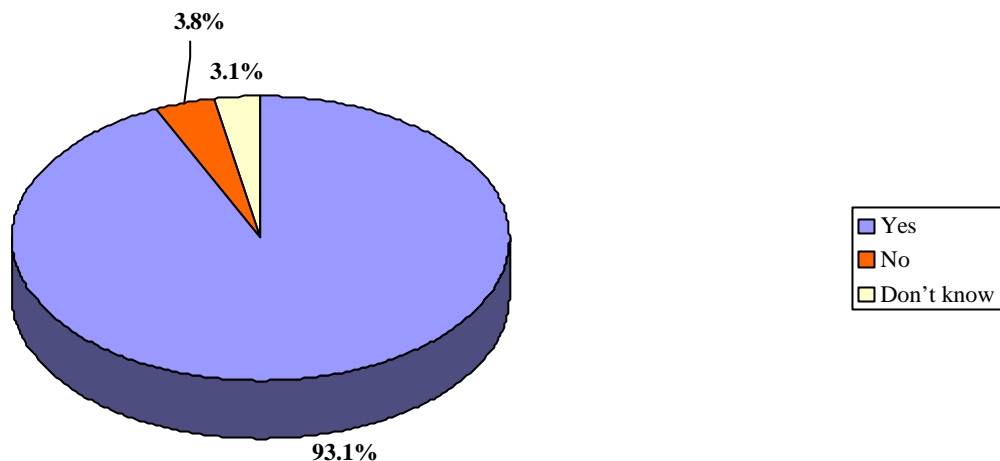
The subject of the London bombings have produced inflammatory headlines, with 'Muslim Britain split over 'martyrs' of 7/7' the headline of the Times in July 2006 as a result of the Populus survey for The Times and ITN News. The survey results show 13% of Muslim respondents regarding the bombers as martyrs. In the same survey the pollsters missed the opportunity to ask non-Muslims as well the same question of whether they can condone/justify violence in any form.

It seems that questions such as *'do you personally have any sympathy with the feeling and motives of those who carried out the attacks'* which elicited a positive of 20% in the ICM/Telegraph survey of February 2006 take more of the headlines over the emphatic rejection of violence and become shorthand for supporting the bombings which is clearly not the case.

An understanding and contextual explanation as to why an occurrence takes place, is not a justification or glorification.

10.

Do you think the US Government influences UK foreign policy too much?



93% of respondents think the US government does over-influence UK Foreign Policy. Only 3.7% hold the opposite view.

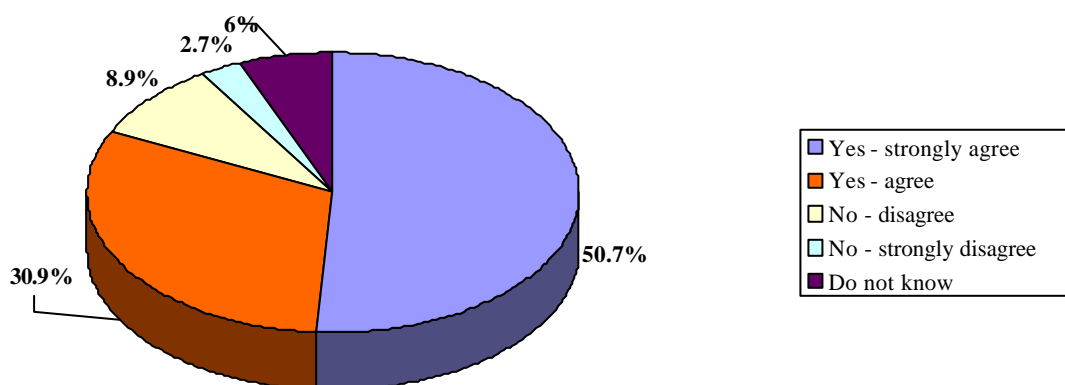
An ICM Guardian poll in July 2006, found that the majority of British people (63%) thought Tony Blair had aligned Britain too closely with US foreign policy, endorsing the views of Muslims in this study.

Many respondents made their feelings strongly in the comment section, about Britain's relationship to the US , as seen in the comment below:

'The American administration seem to start a campaign, and when it gets too much to handle or when they are not receiving as much support as they expect/require; somehow they manage to suck Britain into the problem. Tony Blair also seems to show too much affection to America which is obviously not mutual'

11.

Do you feel the "War on Terror" is a war on Islam?



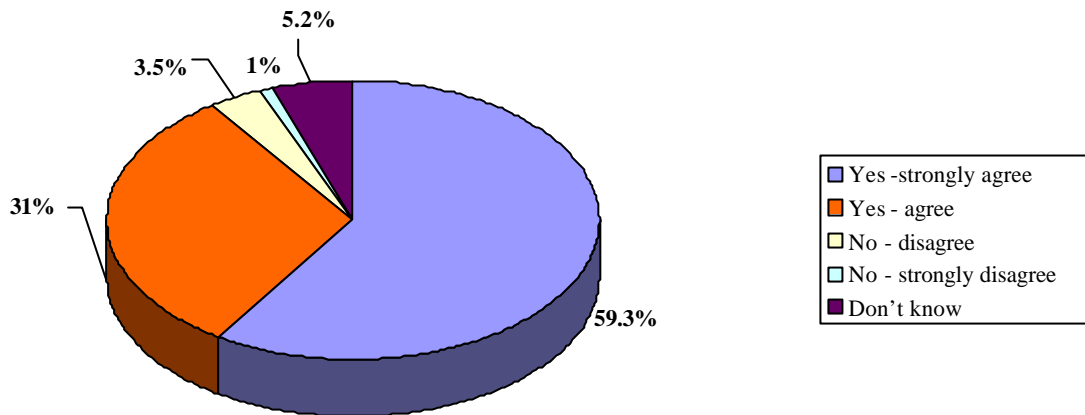
Over 81% of Muslims questioned, believed the war on terror is a war on Islam with only 10% disagreeing.

Despite the insistence by the British Government that the interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq are not aimed directly at the Muslim population, it is felt by many in the Muslim community that this is not the case. George W Bush's foreign policy and his use of language charged with strong historical symbolism worrying to many respondents, to justify it (on 16th September 2001, claiming '*This crusade, this war on terrorism is going to take a while*', and further in August 2006 referring to Hizbu'llah as Islamic Fascism, opposed to democracy) fuels a perception that the war on terrorism is specifically targeting Muslims.

'The War On Terror in the UK and all over the world so far has only managed to capture Muslims. It appears from media reports that only Muslims and Muslim countries pose a terrorist threat. Any other nation / religion are exempt. An example is Israeli bombing on Lebanon and the distinct inaction of the UK, USA and UN (another department of the USA in effect).'

12.

Has the "War on Terror" increased the threat of terrorism in the West?

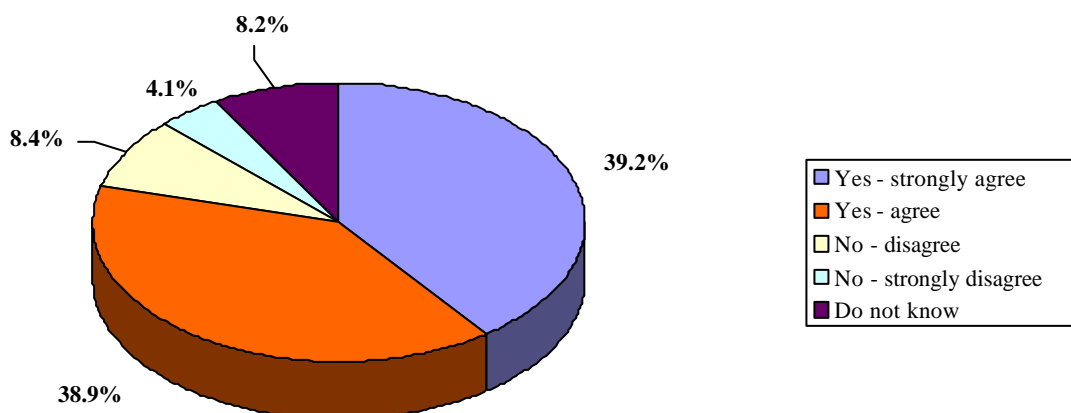


In accordance with many recent surveys the 'War on Terror' has increased the threat of terrorism in the West. Less than 4.5% believe there has been no increase in threat compared to over 91% who believe there has been.

An August 2006 ICM Poll sampling a cross-section of the British public endorses this view, with 72% of respondents believing that the UK was now more of a target for terrorists due to its actions in Iraq and Afghanistan. Although George W Bush's public announcements have linked greater homeland security in the US with its actions in Iraq and Afghanistan an increasing number of polls demonstrate, as stated by Simon Hughes, president of the Liberal Democrats that the UK had become a 'greater target' due to its closeness with the US and the war in Iraq. This has recently been reinforced by a report by 16 US intelligence agencies who found that the "American invasion and occupation of Iraq has helped spawn a new generation of Islamic radicalism"(New York Times).

13.

Is the situation in Palestine a cause for radicalisation in the UK?



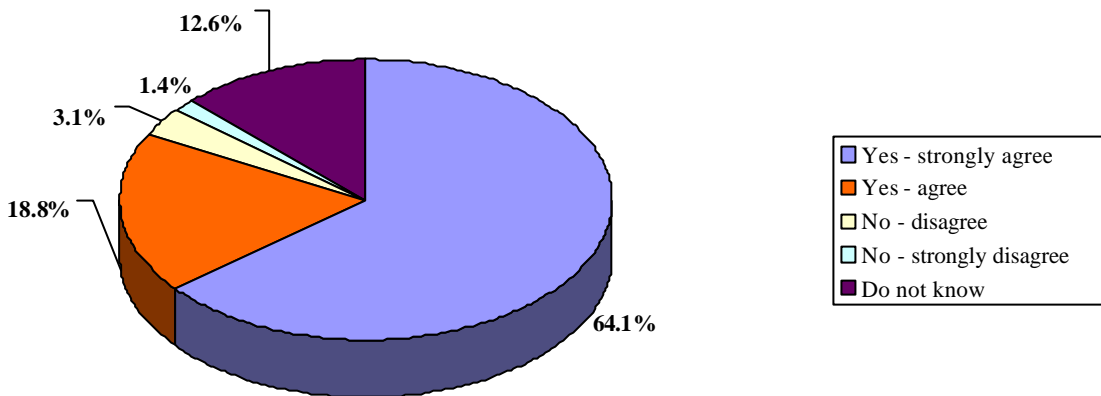
Palestine is seen as having an affect on the outlook of Muslims in the UK with just under 80% of Muslims polled seeing the current situation in Palestine a cause for radicalization in the UK.

Although it cannot be specified exactly how much influence it bears on Muslim thinking, with respondents often pointing out that it is one in a number of causes of radicalization, there is a definite perceived feeling that the situation in Palestine has not been effectively dealt with by the main players, including the West. Typical amongst the comments were:

'Palestine and the treatment of the Palestinian people represents the maximum in Western hypocrisy, bias, injustice and support of corruption and racial discrimination.'

14.

Should there be an independent public enquiry into the events leading up to the July 7th bombings?



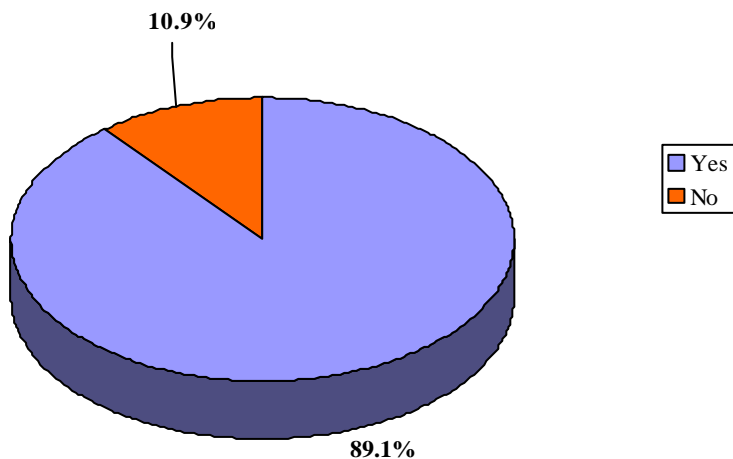
82% of respondents feel there should be an independent public inquiry into the events leading up to July 7th bombings. Fewer than 4.5% feel that there should be no inquiry.

Other surveys have suggested that support for a public inquiry are linked to a cult of conspiracy theory but the comments from respondents are more nuanced, some hope that 'lessons for future' will be learnt from it, and will 'encourage dialogue', or instill greater 'transparency' or that there is a genuine need to explain unanswered questions and find out the truth. Some comments state the following concern:

'Blair seems to think there is no link between foreign policy and the July 7th bombings. It may become clear as to what the motives of the bombings were.'

15.

Do you feel included in the global concept of the Muslim "Ummah"?

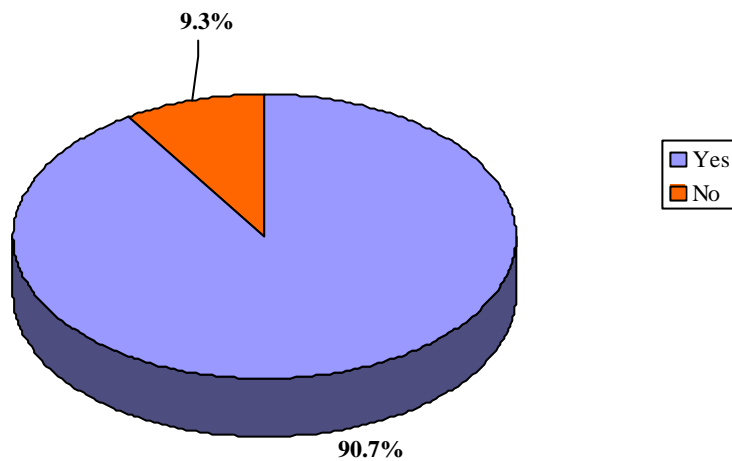


89% of those polled feel that they are included in the global concept of the Muslim 'Ummah'. Only 11% feel that they are not. The Ummah is the concept that a global family of Muslims exists, transcending national boundaries. Suffering by Muslims in Iraq, Palestine, Somalia, Bangladesh is likened to the suffering of relatives and again this form of global awareness impacts on perceptions of British foreign policy.

16.

If yes, does this affect your reaction or feelings towards the treatment of Muslims in other parts of the world?

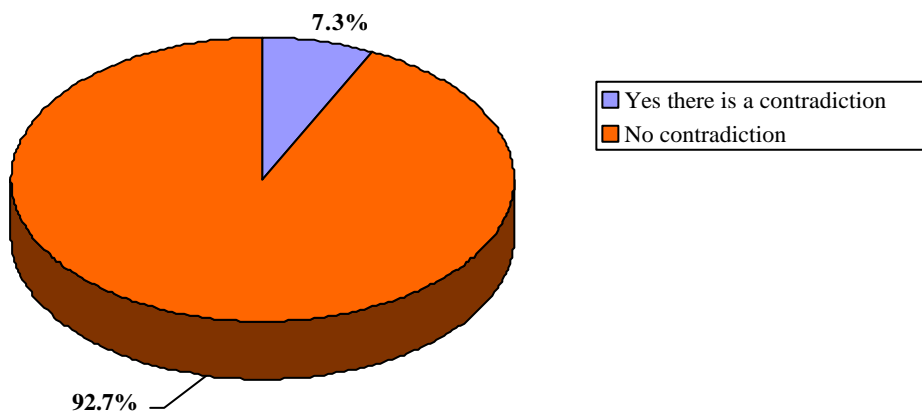
As a result of the belief in 'Ummah' 91% of Muslims feel that their feelings towards the treatment of



Muslims in other parts of the world are affected by this bond.

17.

Is there a contradiction in being loyal to the "Ummah" and being a good citizen who can get on with others in society?



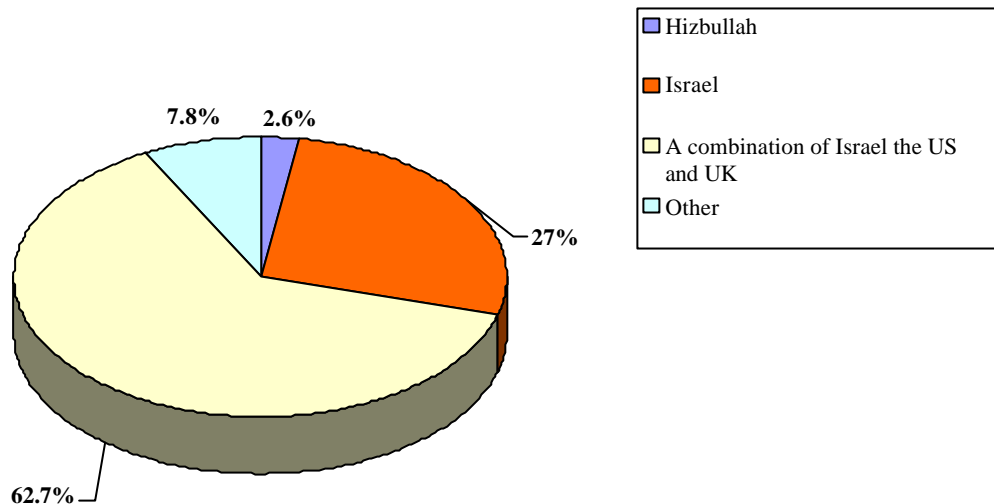
92.7% of respondents feel that this loyalty towards 'Ummah' does not contradict ones role as a citizen of a nation, able to live and work within one's society.

This challenges the notion by government and media that because Muslims pursue elements of their Muslim identity that this is a direct threat to society. This concern of mainstream society is illustrated in surveys by questions dealing 'belonging' on being 'part of' (both asked in the July 2005 'Attitudes of British Muslims' survey), on 'loyalty', a question asked twice in one survey - the ICM /Sunday Telegraph poll in February 2006, or in the more subtle question of 'attachment' to the society, as asked in the ICM/Guardian

poll of June 2006. The respondents firmly believe you can be Muslim and a good citizen, which concurs with a 2004 study by the Islamic Human Rights Commission called *“British Muslims’ Expectations of the Government”*.

18.

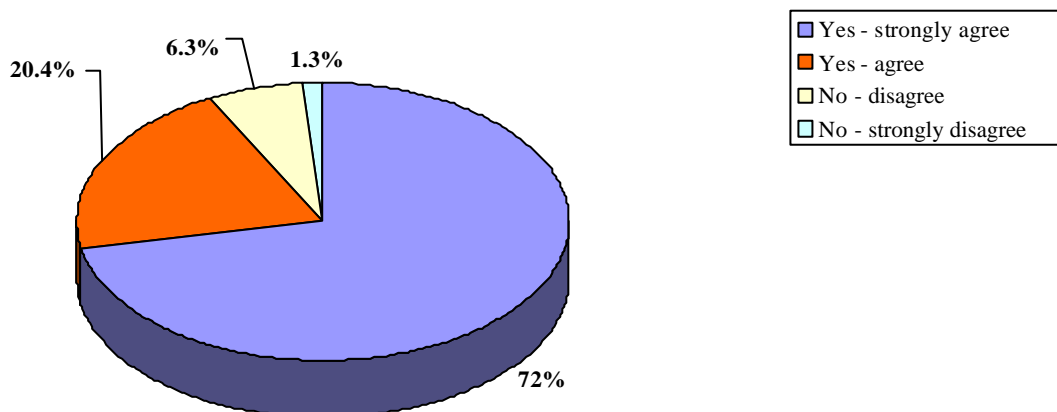
Do you feel recent occurrences in Lebanon were caused by:



Nearly 63% of respondents felt the recent occurrences in Lebanon were caused by a combination of Israel, the USA and UK, again showing Muslims alienation from British foreign policy, and Lebanon was mentioned in comments as an example of Western injustice at the expense of Muslims. A further 27% of respondents held Israel solely responsible whilst only 2.6% blamed Hizbu'llah.

19.

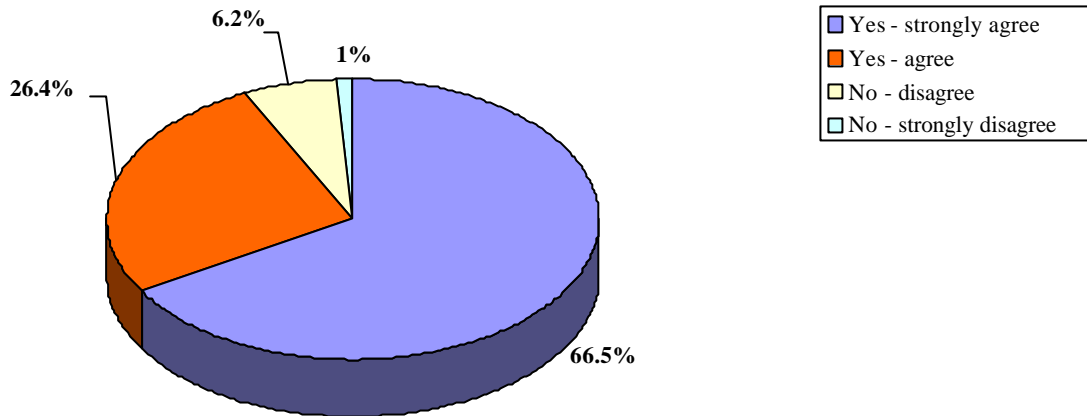
Do you think Israel is a terrorist state?



92.5% of respondents feel that Israel is a terrorist state. The question of the fate of Israel and Palestinians with the conflict still unresolved despite various peace accords and roadmaps, continues to affect many Muslims. The sense of injustice done to the Palestinians by the Israeli state over many years, and played out on mainstream media channels, have hardened many Muslims attitudes on this subject, and greatly affects how Muslims define as 'terrorism' and 'terrorists', contrary to the British government.

20.

Do you feel Bush and Blair are sponsors of state terrorism?

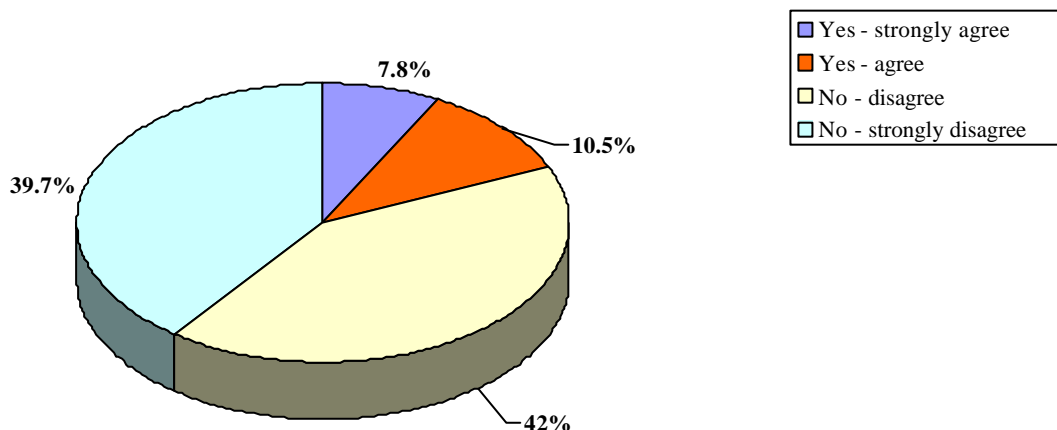


93% of those polled feel that Bush and Blair are sponsors of state terrorism.

Comments from respondents showed that political and military support for Israel from the US and the UK illustrated this point, heightened by the war with Lebanon and the US/UK stance. Again the US and UK foreign policies especially elsewhere in the Middle East region reinforces this attitude.

21.

Do you think Tony Blair and George Bush represent Christians?



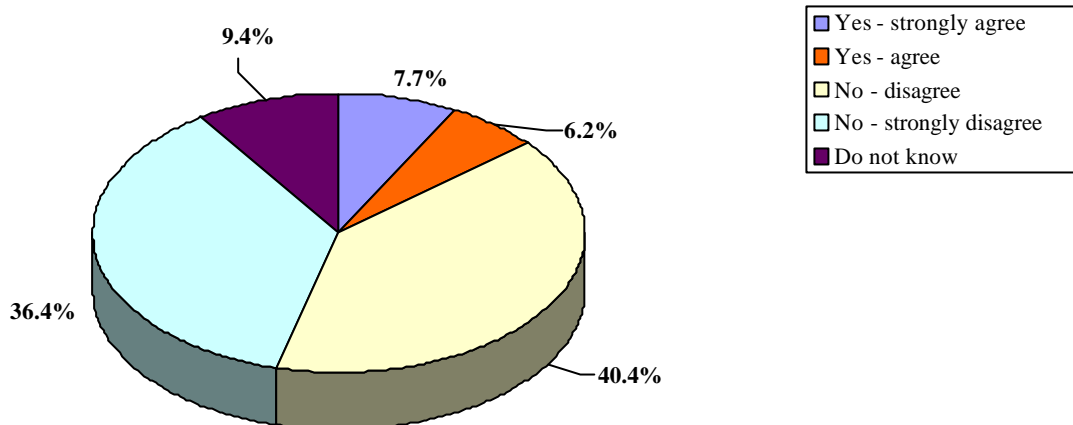
Only 18% of those polled feel that Tony Blair and George Bush represent Christians, as opposed to 82% who feel they don't.

This finding is interesting considering that George Bush, in particular, and Tony Blair have invoked God in their pursuit of Foreign Policy goals. Bush ('God told me to strike at Al Qaeda, and I struck them, and then he instructed me to strike at Saddam, and I did, and now I am determined to solve the problem in the Middle East' - recounted by Prime Minister Palestine Mahmoud Abbas June 2003). Tony Blair himself has gone on record as saying he prayed to God when deciding whether or not to send UK troops to Iraq. He answered "yes" when asked on ITV chat show Parkinson if he had sought holy intervention on the issue. With reference to the decision to go to war, Blair stated "and if you believe in God, it's made by God as well."

Respondents are separating what they see are foreign policy undertaken by leaders using Christian discourse, with what they believe are the tenets of Christianity.

22.

Do you think British Christians should apologise for the politics of Tony Blair in Iraq and Afghanistan?



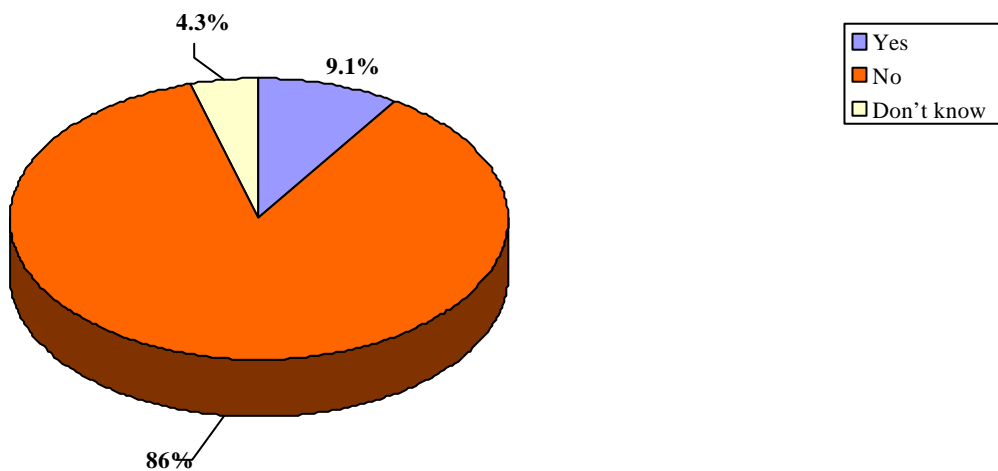
Only 13% of Muslims polled believe that British Christians should apologise for the actions of Blair in Iraq and Afghanistan whilst 76% believe Christians should not apologise.

The response from this question reinforces the view that the vast majority of Muslims divorce Christians from the foreign policies of President Bush and Prime Minister Blair.

The question was specifically posed to emphasise the frequency felt by Muslims as individuals, communities, organisations etc. with which they are encouraged to apologise for the London bombings, and the events of 9/11. Turning this perspective around, if Muslims are seen as shouldering the responsibility for those attacks, then should Christians be held responsible in the same way for crimes committed by Bush and Blair?

23.

Would you only defend Muslim interests?



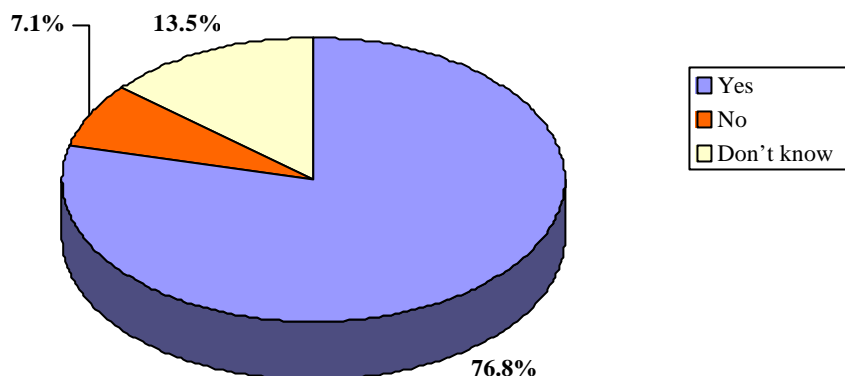
Less than 10% of those polled stated that they would only defend Muslim interests. This compares to 86% who answered no, questioning so-called Muslim sectarianism - indicating (and backed up by comments from respondents) that it is injustice that Muslims oppose.

As one respondent wrote:

"Injustice is injustice, it does not have a colour or a faith and humans are humans regardless of what faith they choose to follow. We do not have a right to judge but we do have a duty to fight injustice in whatever form"

24.

If you took part in any of the demonstrations against the war in Iraq and/or Afghanistan, would you demonstrate if British forces attacked North Korea or Venezuela?

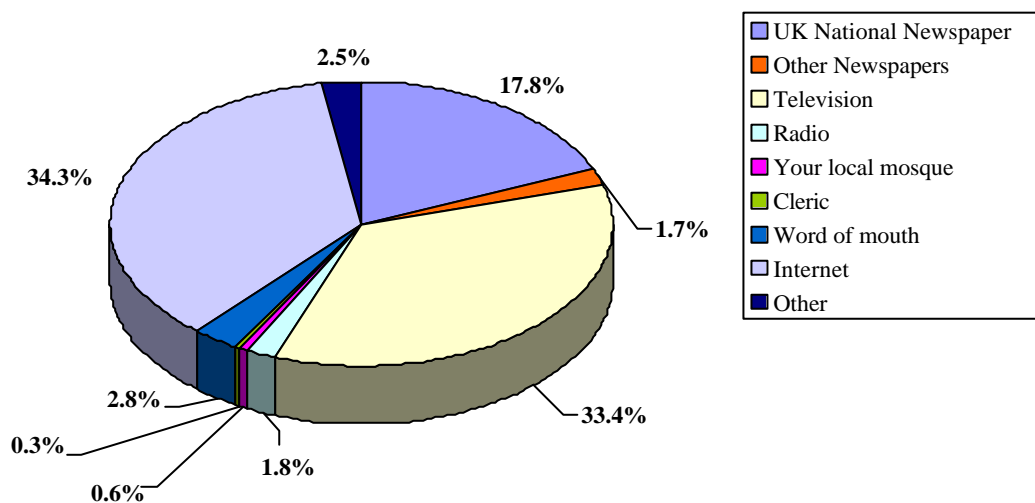


Of those Muslims who felt strongly about Afghanistan and Iraq 77% would also participate in demonstrations against British attacks on North Korea or Venezuela while only 7.1% of Muslims polled stated that they wouldn't intervene.

This again raises questions on the accusations of sectarianism faced by Muslims, and reinforces fundamental disagreements that they have with US and UK foreign policy.

25.

What is your main source of information on the situation in the Middle East?



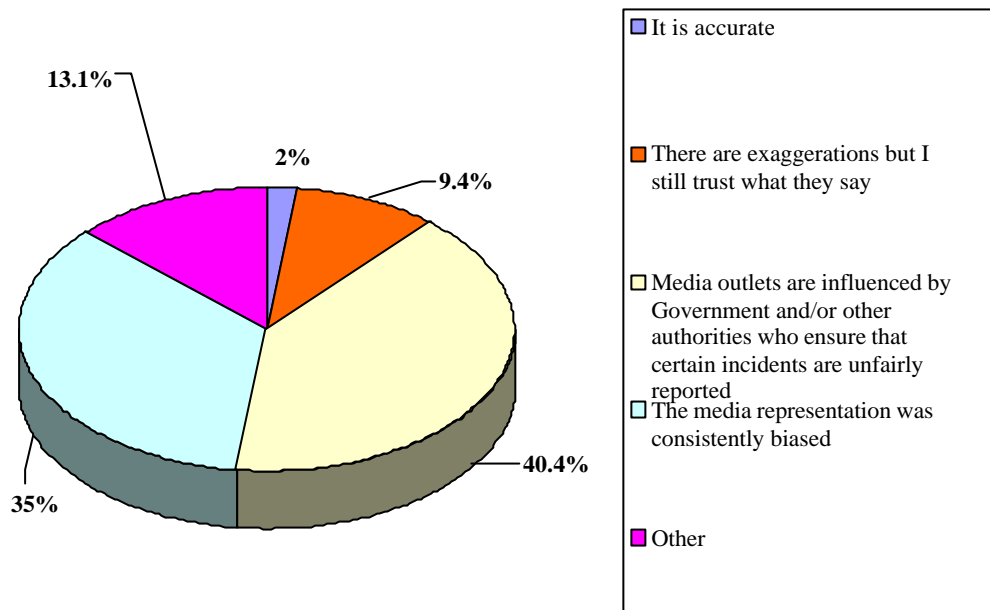
Of those polled, the internet with 34.2% was seen as the main source of information on the situation in the Middle East. This was closely followed by TV with 33.5%, newspapers made up nearly 19%, and radio 2%. Only 0.6 % stated the main source came from their local mosque whilst 0.3% stated a cleric.

The responses deeply question statements from government officials that pin 'radicalisation' of Muslims upon mosques, clerics and communities. Less than 1% of Muslims obtain information on foreign policy issues from here. And yet in an August 2005 press briefing the Prime Minister threatened 'we will consult on a new power to order closure of a place of worship which is used as a centre for fomenting extremism, and will consult with Muslim leaders in respect of those clerics who are not British citizens to draw up a list of those not suitable to preach and who will be excluded from our country in future.'

From responses to the questions on 'radicalisation' in this survey, arguably, the Internet, TV, radio, newspapers etc have more effect on the political activism of Muslims than clerics or the mosques.

26.

What is your view of mainstream UK media representation of the events in the Middle East?



2% of those questioned see mainstream UK representation of events in the Middle East as being accurate. 9% say the news is exaggerated but still generally trusted. Over 40% say government influences the media and 35% believing that media representation was constantly biased.

This may help to explain the growth of 'alternative' media channels both on the internet and TV, and the increasing market for them such as Islam Channel or Al-jazeera.