

The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press
Pew Global Attitudes Project: Nine Nation Survey (March 2004)
FINAL TOPLINE

United States – February 24 - 29, 2004 (N=1,000)
 Great Britain – February 23 - 29, 2004 (N=500)
 France – February 23 - 28, 2004 (N=504)
 Germany – February 23 - 29, 2004 (N=500)
 Russia – February 20 - 29, 2004 (N=1,002)
 Turkey – February 21 – March 1, 2004 (N=1,017)
 Pakistan – February 23 – March 3, 2004 (N=1,242)
 Jordan – February 24 - 29, 2004 (N=1,000)
 Morocco – February 19 - 24, 2004 (N=1,000)

NOTE: Data based on national samples except in Pakistan (predominantly) and Morocco (exclusively) urban. See page 40 for details.

Q.1 Now thinking about our country, overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	39	55	6=100
<i>April 8, 2003</i>	50	41	9=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	41	55	4=100
Great Britain	38	58	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	46	49	5=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	30	63	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	32	64	4=100
France	32	68	*=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	44	56	*=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	31	67	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	32	67	1=100
Germany	20	78	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	25	73	2=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	18	79	3=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	31	66	2=99
Russia	26	69	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	28	64	9=101
<i>March, 2003</i>	35	58	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	20	71	9=100
Turkey	40	58	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	19	79	2=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	18	81	2=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	4	93	3=100
Pakistan	54	41	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	29	67	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	49	39	13=101
Jordan	59	30	11=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	42	56	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	21	78	1=100
Morocco	58	40	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	34	62	4=100

Q.2 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (insert)? [Rotate items a and b first, followed by rotating items c thru g]

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know Refused</u>
a1. Great Britain ¹					
United States	33	40	9	3	14=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	49	33	6	4	8=100
<i>February, 2002</i>	48	42	5	2	3=100
<i>Aug., 1998</i>	23	50	6	5	16=100
a2. France ¹					
United States	8	25	25	24	18=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	8	21	24	36	11=100
<i>February, 2002</i>	23	56	13	3	5=100
a3. Germany ¹					
United States	8	42	19	9	23=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	8	36	26	15	15=100
<i>February, 2002</i>	22	61	8	3	6=100
<i>Aug., 1998</i>	13	52	14	5	16=100
a. The United States					
Great Britain	15	43	24	10	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	18	52	14	12	5=101
<i>March, 2003</i>	14	34	24	16	11=99
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	27	48	12	4	9=100
France	6	31	42	20	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	9	34	38	19	*=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	6	25	45	22	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	9	54	26	8	2=99
Germany	3	35	49	10	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	6	39	42	12	1=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	4	21	41	30	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	9	52	31	4	4=100
Russia	9	38	29	15	10=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	11	25	32	23	9=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	4	24	43	25	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	8	53	27	6	6=100
Turkey	6	24	18	45	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	13	15	68	3=101
<i>March, 2003</i>	3	9	17	67	5=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	6	24	13	42	15=100
Pakistan	4	17	11	50	18=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	10	10	71	6=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	2	8	11	58	20=99
Jordan	2	3	26	67	1=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	*	1	16	83	0=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	6	19	18	57	*=100
Morocco	8	19	22	46	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	13	14	13	53	7=100

¹ Only U.S. respondents were asked about Great Britain, France and Germany. February 2002 trend from Gallup. Question wording: "I'd like your overall opinion of some foreign countries. First, is your overall opinion of _____ very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?"

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know Refused</u>
b. Americans					
Great Britain	21	52	14	5	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	27	53	10	5	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	25	58	8	3	8=102
France	5	48	30	13	3=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	13	45	29	13	*=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	10	61	21	5	3=100
Germany	9	59	20	5	6=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	15	52	22	7	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	12	58	20	3	7=100
Russia	13	51	18	8	11=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	17	48	18	7	10=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	9	58	21	3	9=100
Turkey	6	26	21	32	15=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	5	27	17	43	8=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	5	26	12	38	19=100
Pakistan	5	20	13	34	27=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	8	30	11	40	11=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	3	14	12	50	21=100
Jordan	4	17	40	33	6=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	15	36	46	*=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	21	32	17	29	1=100
Morocco	9	28	25	31	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	29	25	10	28	9=101

c. The European Union

United States	7	32	17	9	35=100 (7% Never Heard)
<i>Early Sept., 2001</i>	6	32	18	5	39=100 (20% Never Heard)
Great Britain	13	41	21	15	9=99
France	12	57	21	9	1=100
Germany	13	45	33	6	3=100
<i>1991²</i>	13	58	14	5	10=100
Russia	11	51	13	5	21=101
Turkey	22	36	15	20	7=100
Pakistan	3	16	11	22	48=100
Jordan	3	14	44	31	9=101
Morocco	14	27	27	23	9=100

² 1991 wording was "The EEC."

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know Refused</u>
d. The United Nations					
United States	14	41	20	15	10=100
<i>Early Sept., 2001</i>	23	54	12	6	5=100
<i>Aug., 1999</i>	19	57	14	5	5=100
<i>June, 1999</i>	19	51	16	7	7=100
<i>Early Sept., 1998</i>	14	55	16	7	8=100
<i>Sept., 1997</i>	11	53	19	9	8=100
<i>Feb., 1996</i>	19	46	20	9	6=100
<i>June, 1995</i>	14	53	20	8	5=100
<i>Feb., 1995</i>	13	49	18	8	12=100
<i>July, 1994</i>	21	55	14	5	5=100
<i>May, 1993</i>	21	52	13	4	10=100
<i>May, 1990</i>	15	55	13	6	11=100
Great Britain	22	52	14	4	7=99
France	10	57	24	6	3=100
Germany	21	50	20	3	6=100
<i>1991</i>	21	62	7	3	7=100
Russia	13	47	13	5	21=99
<i>1991</i>	21	59	3	1	16=100
Turkey	13	38	16	19	14=100
Pakistan	9	26	10	17	38=100
Jordan	6	15	26	47	6=100
Morocco	6	19	27	38	10=100

e. Jews

United States	36	41	6	2	15=100
<i>Mid-July, 2003</i>	20	52	6	3	19=100
<i>June, 2003</i>	25	54	6	2	13=100
<i>March, 2002</i>	18	56	7	2	17=100
<i>Mid-Nov., 2001</i>	24	51	5	2	18=100
<i>March, 2001</i>	16	56	8	2	18=100
<i>Sept., 2000 (RV's)</i>	27	50	5	3	15=100
<i>June, 1997</i>	26	56	7	2	9=100
Great Britain	23	53	6	3	15=100
France³	28	53	8	3	8=100
<i>1991</i>	14	58	11	3	14=100
Germany	10	53	16	4	17=100
<i>1991</i>	5	47	18	6	24=100
Russia	18	47	17	8	10=100
<i>1992</i>	11	54	15	7	13=100
<i>1991</i>	9	49	18	8	16=100
Turkey	6	21	17	32	23=99
Pakistan	1	2	7	73	17=100
Jordan	N/A				
Morocco	1	5	11	81	2=100

³Question introduction for France, Germany, and Russia was worded, respectively, "I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (Western Europe/Germany/Russia) according to how you feel about them."

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
f. Christians					
United States	55	29	5	1	10=100
Great Britain	36	48	5	1	9=99
France	34	50	7	2	6=99
Germany	15	60	13	3	9=100
Russia	44	49	2	1	4=100
Turkey	6	25	19	33	17=100
Pakistan	4	20	17	45	15=101
Jordan	N/A				
Morocco	2	21	31	42	4=100

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
g. Muslims					
United States	13	35	18	14	20=100
<i>Mid-July, 2003</i>	9	38	19	12	22=100
<i>June, 2003</i>	12	38	20	10	20=100
<i>March, 2002</i>	7	40	18	11	24=100
Great Britain	18	49	12	6	16=101
France	16	48	20	9	7=100
<i>1991 (N. Africans)</i>	7	42	30	12	9=100
Germany	5	36	35	11	13=100
<i>1991 (Turks)</i>	3	32	32	14	19=100
Russia	15	38	23	15	11=100
Turkey	66	22	6	3	3=100
Pakistan	87	10	1	1	1=100
Jordan	N/A				
Morocco	70	20	6	3	1=100

Q.3 From what you know, do people from our country who move to the U.S. have a better life there, a worse life there, or is life neither better nor worse there?

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Don't know anyone (VOL)</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
United States	88	1	6	1	4=100
Great Britain	41	6	35	10	7=99
France	24	12	57	6	2=101
Germany	14	16	58	3	10=101
Russia	53	10	17	13	7=100
Turkey	50	19	14	6	10=99
Pakistan	30	28	19	8	15=100
Jordan	31	21	28	16	4=100
Morocco	47	27	17	4	5=100

Q.4 In making international policy decisions, to what extent do you think the United States takes into account the interests of countries like (survey country) – a great deal, a fair amount, not too much or not at all?

	<u>A great deal</u>	<u>A fair amount</u>	<u>Not too much</u>	<u>Not much at all</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
United States⁴	34	36	21	6	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	28	45	19	6	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	31	44	17	3	5=100

⁴ U.S. respondents were asked "takes into account the interests of other countries around the world."

	A great <u>deal</u>	A fair <u>amount</u>	Not <u>too much</u>	Not <u>much at all</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Great Britain	7	29	43	18	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	7	37	39	16	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	11	33	37	15	3=99
France	3	11	51	33	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	1	13	44	41	*=99
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	4	17	50	26	2=99
Germany	3	26	47	22	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	29	42	24	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	9	44	35	10	2=100
Russia	5	15	43	30	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	7	15	38	33	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	3	18	45	25	9=100
Turkey	5	9	35	44	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	6	28	58	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	5	11	27	47	10=100
Pakistan	3	15	16	32	34=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	4	19	22	40	15=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	5	18	9	27	41=100
Jordan	1	15	38	39	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	16	44	36	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	7	21	35	36	1=100
Morocco	9	25	16	41	8=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	13	18	17	46	6=100

Q.5 Do you think the partnership between the U.S. and Western Europe should remain as close as it has been or do you think that Western Europe should take a more independent approach to security and diplomatic affairs than it has in the past?

	Remain <u>as close</u>	More <u>independent</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States⁵	55	36	9=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	53	39	8=100
<i>February, 2003</i>	62	29	9=100
Great Britain	40	56	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	51	45	4=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	40	48	12=100
<i>April, 2002</i>	48	47	5=100
France	21	75	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	23	76	1=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	30	67	4=101
<i>April, 2002</i>	33	60	7=100
Germany	36	63	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	42	57	1=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	46	52	3=101
<i>April, 2002</i>	44	51	5=100
Russia	24	56	20=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	17	60	23=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	17	72	11=100
Turkey	22	60	18=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	16	62	22=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	17	62	21=100

⁵ U.S. respondents were asked "...or do you think that the U.S. should take a more independent approach to security and diplomatic affairs than it has in the past?"

Q.6 In your opinion, would it be a good thing or a bad thing if the European Union becomes as powerful as the U.S.?

	<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	33	50	17=100
Great Britain	50	39	11=100
France	90	9	1=100
Germany	70	22	8=100
Russia	67	12	21=100
Turkey	67	21	11=99

[IF GOOD THING IN Q.6 ASK:]

Q.6b Would you favor this even if it means that Europe would have to pay the costs of taking greater responsibility for international problems, or wouldn't you favor it in that case?

	Yes, <u>still favor</u>	No, <u>wouldn't favor</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Great Britain	41	7	2=50
France	77	12	1=90
Germany	46	22	2=70
Russia	52	7	8=67
Turkey	49	12	6=67

Q.7 Now a question about using military force, do you think (survey country) should have U.N. approval before it uses military force to deal with an international threat or do you think that would make it too difficult for our country to deal with international threats?

	<u>U.N. approval</u>	<u>Too difficult</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	41	48	10=99
Great Britain	64	30	6=100
France	63	35	2=100
Germany	80	15	6=101
Russia	37	41	21=99
Turkey	45	44	11=100
Pakistan	38	34	28=100
Jordan	47	38	15=100
Morocco	42	42	16=100

Q.8 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of (insert).

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>	
a. Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf						
United States	4	23	20	12	41=100	(13%= Never Heard)
Great Britain	4	26	18	7	46=101	
France	*	23	33	11	33=100	
Germany	1	15	37	7	40=100	
Russia	2	15	16	6	61=100	
Turkey	15	27	7	9	41=100	
Pakistan	60	26	3	5	6=100	
Jordan	14	21	13	17	35=100	
Morocco	2	11	13	30	44=100	

	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u> ⁶	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>	
b. French President Jacques Chirac						
United States	4	21	26	22	26=99	<i>(9%= Never Heard)</i>
Great Britain	4	33	29	16	18=100	
France	9	51	27	13	*=100	
Germany	9	61	22	2	6=100	
<i>1991</i> ⁷	<i>13</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>14=100</i>	
Russia	10	53	9	3	25=100	
Turkey	5	17	17	28	33=100	
Pakistan	3	11	7	16	63=100	
Jordan	15	18	24	35	8=100	
Morocco	32	31	15	17	4=99	
c. U.S. President George W. Bush						
United States	31	30	14	22	3=100	
<i>April 11-16, 2003</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>3=100</i>	
Great Britain	10	29	25	32	4=100	
France	3	12	33	52	1=101	
Germany	1	13	46	39	1=100	
<i>1991</i> ⁸	<i>18</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>4=100</i>	
Russia	4	24	35	25	12=100	
<i>1991</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>18=100</i>	
Turkey	4	17	13	54	12=100	
Pakistan	2	5	5	62	25=99	
Jordan	1	2	31	65	1=100	
Morocco	2	6	14	76	2=100	
d. British Prime Minister Tony Blair						
United States	37	38	7	4	14=100	<i>(4%= Never Heard)</i>
<i>April 11-16, 2003</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>22=100</i>	
Great Britain	14	37	24	23	2=100	
France	2	33	43	20	2=100	
Germany	2	31	47	15	5=100	
Russia	4	32	25	12	26=99	
Turkey	4	15	16	43	22=100	
Pakistan	1	6	7	50	36=100	
Jordan	3	6	34	50	7=100	
Morocco	1	5	17	70	7=100	
[ITEM e. NOT ASKED IN THE U.S.]						
e. Osama bin Laden						
Great Britain	1	2	7	85	4=99	
France	1	3	10	83	3=100	
Germany	*	2	12	84	2=100	
Russia	1	2	13	74	10=100	
Turkey	4	7	8	67	14=100	
Pakistan	40	25	4	5	26=100	
Jordan	31	24	20	19	7=101	
Morocco	21	24	17	25	13=100	

⁶ For items b, c, and d, U.S. trends and 1991 response categories were “very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, very unfavorable.”

⁷ In 1991, Germany was asked about François Mitterrand.

⁸ In 1991, Germany and Russia were asked about George Bush Sr.

f. U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan	<u>Very favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat unfavorable</u>	<u>Very unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>	
United States	10	32	14	9	34=99	<i>(16% Never Heard)</i>
Great Britain	26	39	9	6	20=100	
France	25	54	12	3	5=99	
Germany	36	38	11	*	15=100	
Russia	10	43	11	5	31=100	
Turkey	10	33	15	21	21=100	
Pakistan	7	22	8	13	51=101	
Jordan	18	23	29	25	5=100	
Morocco	3	9	23	55	10=100	

Q.9 Which of the following phrases comes closer to your view? I favor the US-led efforts to fight terrorism, OR I oppose the US-led efforts to fight terrorism.

	<u>Favor war on terrorism</u>	<u>Oppose war on terrorism</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
United States	81	13	6=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	89	8	3=100
Great Britain	63	30	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	63	30	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	69	23	8=100
France	50	47	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	60	39	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	75	23	3=101
Germany	55	43	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	60	35	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	70	25	5=100
Russia	73	20	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	51	28	21=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	73	16	11=100
Turkey	37	56	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	22	71	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	30	58	12=100
Pakistan	16	60	25=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	16	74	10=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	20	45	35=100
Jordan	12	78	10=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	97	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	13	85	2=100
Morocco	28	66	6=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	9	84	7=100

Q.10 Which of the following phrases comes closer to your point of view? The U.S. is right to be so concerned about the threat of international terrorism OR the U.S. is over reacting to the threat of international terrorism.

	<u>U.S. right to be concerned</u>	<u>U.S. over reacting to terrorism threat</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	84	13	3=100
Great Britain	64	33	3=100
<i>April, 2002</i>	77	20	3=100
France	42	57	2=101
<i>April, 2002</i>	67	30	3=100
Germany	49	49	2=100
<i>April, 2002</i>	63	33	4=100
Russia	58	34	8=100
Turkey	33	55	13=101
Pakistan	8	66	26=100
Jordan	15	76	9=100
Morocco	20	72	8=100

Q.11 Do you think the U.S. led war on terrorism is a sincere effort to reduce international terrorism or don't you believe that?

	<u>Sincere effort</u>	<u>Not sincere</u>	<u>Both (VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>	<i>If "Not sincere" or Both" important reasons (See Q.12)</i>			
					<u>To control Mideast oil</u>	<u>To target Muslim</u>	<u>To protect Israel</u>	<u>To dominate the world</u>
United States	67	25	2	6=100	18	13	11	13
Great Britain	51	41	3	5=100	33	21	19	24
France	35	61	2	2=100	58	44	23	53
Germany	29	65	1	5=100	60	40	30	47
Russia	35	48	9	8=100	51	25	11	44
Turkey	20	64	7	10=101	64	47	45	61
Pakistan	6	58	5	31=100	54	51	44	55
Jordan	11	51	24	14=100	71	53	70	61
Morocco	17	66	4	13=100	63	46	54	60

HOW TO READ THIS TABLE: Those answering "not sincere" or "both" were read a list of items and asked if each was an important reason why the U.S. is conducting the war on terrorism. This table shows the percent of the total population responding "yes" to each item. All percentages are based on the total population of the country. Each item is listed in full detail below.

[IF "NOT SINCERE" OR "BOTH" IN Q11 ASK:]

Q.12 Why do you think the U.S. is conducting the war on terrorism? Is (insert) an important reason why the U.S. is doing this or not?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
a. To control Mideast oil			
United States	18	8	1=27
Great Britain	33	7	3=43
France	58	5	*=63
Germany	60	5	2=67
Russia	51	3	2=56
Turkey	64	3	3=70
Pakistan	54	3	5=62
Jordan	71	4	*=75
Morocco	63	4	3=70

b. To target Muslim governments and groups it sees as unfriendly

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	13	11	3=27
Great Britain	21	18	4=43
France	44	16	3=63
Germany	40	21	5=66
Russia	25	17	14=56
Turkey	47	15	8=70
Pakistan	51	8	4=63
Jordan	53	18	4=75
Morocco	46	16	8=70

c. To protect Israel

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	11	14	2=27
Great Britain	19	20	4=43
France	23	38	2=63
Germany	30	30	6=66
Russia	11	31	14=56
Turkey	45	15	10=70
Pakistan	44	10	8=62
Jordan	70	3	3=76
Morocco	54	10	6=70

d. To dominate the world

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	13	14	1=28
Great Britain	24	17	2=43
France	53	10	*=63
Germany	46	18	2=66
Russia	44	7	6=57
Turkey	61	4	6=71
Pakistan	55	5	3=63
Jordan	61	13	1=75
Morocco	60	4	5=69

NOTE: In Q.12a-d percentages are based on the total population of each country. Figures do not always add precisely to the sum of "Not sincere" and "Both" in Q.11 due to rounding.

Q.13 Some people think that suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets are justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies. Other people believe that, no matter what the reason, this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that this kind of violence is often justified to defend Islam, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified?

	<u>Often justified</u>	<u>Sometimes justified</u>	<u>Rarely justified</u>	<u>Never justified</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Turkey	6	9	9	67	9=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	4	9	7	64	14=98
Pakistan	27	14	8	35	17=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	19	14	5	38	23=99
Jordan	See Q.13a Below				
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	15	28	22	26	8=99
Morocco	16	24	15	38	8=101

Q.13a Some people think that suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilian targets are justified. Other people believe that, no matter what the reason, this kind of violence is never justified. Do you personally feel that this kind of violence is often justified, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified?

Jordan⁹	32	50	14	3	1=100
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Q.14 What about suicide bombing carried out by Palestinians against Israeli citizens? Do you personally believe that this is justifiable or not justifiable?

	<u>Justifiable</u>	Not <u>justifiable</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Turkey	24	67	10=101
Pakistan	47	36	17=100
Jordan	86	12	3=101
Morocco	74	22	4=100

Q.15 What about suicide bombing carried out against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq? Do you personally believe that this is justifiable or not justifiable?

	<u>Justifiable</u>	Not <u>justifiable</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Turkey	31	59	10=100
Pakistan	46	36	19=101
Jordan	70	24	6=100
Morocco	66	27	7=100

Q.16 Do you think the world would be a safer place or more dangerous place if there was another country that was equal in power to the United States?

	<u>Safer place</u>	More <u>dangerous</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	30	50	20=100
Great Britain	42	43	15=100
France	54	41	5=100
Germany	37	47	16=100
Russia	37	44	19=100
Turkey	41	46	14=101
Pakistan	18	61	21=100
Jordan	29	53	17=99
Morocco	21	65	15=101

[ASKED IN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE U.S.]

Q.17 On the subject of Iraq, did (survey country) make the right decision or the wrong decision to use military force against Iraq?

	<u>Right decision</u>	Wrong <u>decision</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	60	32	8=100
<i>Early Feb., 2004</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>Mid-Jan., 2004</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>Early Jan., 2004</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>10=100</i>
<i>Dec., 2003</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>7=100</i>

⁹ Original question wording in Jordan was not allowed in this round of polling. The phrase "in order to defend Islam from its enemies" was stricken.

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
<i>Oct., 2003</i>	60	33	7=100
<i>Aug., 2003</i>	63	30	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	74	20	6=100
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	74	19	7=100
<i>March 20-24, 2003</i>	72	22	6=100
<i>Late Jan., 1991</i>	77	15	8=100
Great Britain	43	47	10=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	61	34	5=100

[ASKED IN FRANCE, GERMANY, RUSSIA, TURKEY, PAKISTAN, JORDAN AND MOROCCO]

Q.18 On the subject of Iraq, did (survey country) make the right decision or the wrong decision to not use military force against Iraq?

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
France	88	11	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	83	16	1=100
Germany	86	11	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	80	19	1=100
Russia	83	10	6=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	89	7	4=100
Turkey	72	22	7=100
Pakistan	68	12	20=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	73	21	6=100
Jordan	87	3	10=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	95	4	1=100
Morocco	84	9	8=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	88	7	5=100

Q.19 Do you think the people of Iraq will be better off or worse off in the long run than they were, now that Saddam Hussein has been removed from power by the U.S. and its allies?¹⁰

	<u>Better off</u>	<u>Worse off</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	84	9	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	87	6	7=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	79	8	13=100
Great Britain	82	11	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	85	7	8=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	76	8	16=100
France	67	27	6=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	76	21	3=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	73	14	13=100
Germany	65	27	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	76	15	9=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	71	15	14=100
Russia	31	37	31=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	27	25	48=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	20	40	40=100

¹⁰ In March 2003 the question was worded: "If Iraq is disarmed and Saddam Hussein is removed from power by the U.S. and its allies, do you think the people of Iraq will be better off or worse off than they are now?"

	<u>Better off</u>	<u>Worse off</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Turkey	41	44	16=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	37	45	18=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	33	52	15=100
Pakistan	8	61	31=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	17	60	23=100
Jordan	25	70	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	19	80	1=100
Morocco	37	48	15=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	24	53	23=100

Q.20 In rebuilding Iraq, how good a job are the U.S. and its allies doing in taking into account the needs and interests of the Iraqi people? Is the coalition doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job in taking into consideration the interests and needs of the Iraqi people?

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	Only <u>fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	13	37	31	9	10=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	18	41	26	6	9=100
Great Britain	4	26	47	16	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	8	33	36	14	9=100
France	2	33	47	13	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	4	41	41	13	2=101
Germany	1	15	59	21	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	21	55	15	7=100
Russia	1	12	36	39	12=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	8	39	39	12=100
Turkey	1	15	31	38	14=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	20	27	36	15=101
Pakistan	3	7	18	34	38=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	4	10	17	43	26=100
Jordan	6	21	28	37	9=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	15	25	55	3=100
Morocco	4	12	31	37	16=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	8	20	47	22=100

Q.21 In the next 12 months do you believe that a stable government will be established in Iraq or do you think it will take longer than that?

	<u>Next 12 months</u>	<u>Take longer</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	13	83	4=100
Great Britain	8	89	2=99
France	6	93	1=100
Germany	6	93	1=100
Russia	14	70	16=100
Turkey	12	78	10=100
Pakistan	5	58	36=99
Jordan	33	51	16=100
Morocco	8	79	13=100

Q.22 Who do you think could do the best job at helping the Iraqi people form a stable government—the United States and its allies or the United Nations?

	<u>The U.S. and its allies</u>	<u>The U.N.</u>	<u>Both (VOL.)</u>	<u>Neither (VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	42	46	4	2	7=101
Great Britain	10	82	3	2	3=100
France	8	82	2	4	4=100
Germany	8	84	2	2	3=99
Russia	9	47	12	14	18=100
Turkey	11	59	6	10	14=100
Pakistan	4	43	3	16	34=100
Jordan	5	15	21	49	10=100
Morocco	17	22	9	34	18=100

Here are a few questions about the war in Iraq may have changed your opinion of the U.S.

Q.23 Did the U.S. military show itself to be stronger or weaker than you expected?

	<u>Stronger</u>	<u>Weaker</u>	<u>Same (VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	73	14	9	4=100
Great Britain	46	32	14	8=100
France	29	53	14	4=100
Germany	27	61	6	6=100
Russia	23	36	29	12=100
Turkey	31	56	4	9=100
Pakistan	21	46	3	30=100
Jordan	47	21	26	6=100
Morocco	48	31	13	8=100

Q.24 As a consequence of the war, do you have more confidence or less confidence that the U.S. is trustworthy?

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Same (VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	58	29	6	7=100
Great Britain	24	58	12	6=100
France	14	78	6	2=100
Germany	10	82	5	3=100
Russia	8	63	21	8=100
Turkey	8	74	11	7=100
Pakistan	5	64	7	24=100
Jordan	4	50	38	8=100
Morocco	12	72	7	9=100

Q.25 And, as a consequence of the war, do you have more confidence or less confidence that the U.S. wants to promote democracy all around the world?

	<u>More</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>Same</u> <u>(VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know/</u> <u>Refused</u>
United States	69	21	3	7=100
Great Britain	41	45	5	9=100
France	16	78	3	3=100
Germany	24	70	3	3=100
Russia	14	53	21	12=100
Turkey	9	73	9	8=99
Pakistan	5	57	5	33=100
Jordan	7	56	28	9=100
Morocco	15	66	8	11=100

Q.26 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

	<u>Helped</u>	<u>Hurt</u>	<u>No effect</u> <u>(VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know/</u> <u>Refused</u>
United States	62	28	3	7=100
<i>Dec., 2003</i>	59	26	6	9=100
<i>Sept., 2003</i>	54	31	7	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	65	22	6	7=100
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	63	22	--	15=100
Great Britain	36	50	5	8=99
France	33	55	10	2=100
Germany	30	58	5	7=100
Russia	22	50	18	10=100
Turkey	24	56	8	12=100
Pakistan	8	57	6	29=100
Jordan	12	36	37	15=100
Morocco	16	67	8	9=100

Q.27 Before the war, the U.S. and Britain claimed that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. These weapons have yet to be found. Why do you think they made this claim? Was it mostly because U.S. and British leaders were themselves misinformed by bad intelligence, or was it mostly because U.S. and British leaders lied to provide a reason for invading Iraq?

	<u>Leaders</u> <u>misinformed</u>	<u>Leaders</u> <u>lied</u>	<u>If "Leaders Lied" (See Q.27b)</u>		<u>WMD might</u> <u>still be found</u> <u>(VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know/</u> <u>Refused</u>
			<u>Chose to believe</u> <u>intelligence</u>	<u>Knew Iraq</u> <u>had no weapons</u>		
United States	49	31	22	9	9	11=100
Great Britain	48	41	27	13	3	7=99
France	15	82	30	50	*	3=100
Germany	22	69	37	30	2	7=100
Russia	17	61	16	40	8	14=100
Turkey	14	66	19	44	6	14=100
Pakistan	8	61	13	43	2	29=100
Jordan	22	69	43	25	6	3=100
Morocco	21	48	12	35	14	18=101

[IF LIED IN Q27 ASK:]

Q27b Do you think U.S. and British leaders knew Iraq had no weapons, or did they simply choose to believe only the intelligence that supported going to war?

	<u>Chose to believe intelligence</u>	<u>Knew Iraq had no weapons</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>	<u>(N)</u>
United States	22	9	*=31	N=606
Great Britain	27	13	1=41	N=205
France	30	50	2=82	N=411
Germany	37	30	2=69	N=346
Russia	16	40	5=61	N=610
Turkey	19	44	2=66	N=668
Pakistan	13	43	4=60	N=751
Jordan	43	25	1=69	N=688
Morocco	12	35	2=49	N=478

Q.28 Now thinking about the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more, Israel or the Palestinians?

	<u>Israel</u>	<u>Palestinians</u>	<u>Both (VOL.)</u>	<u>Neither (VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know Refused</u>
United States	46	12	8	15	19=99
<i>Mid-July, 2003</i>	41	13	8	18	20=100
<i>April, 2002</i>	41	13	6	21	19=100
<i>Mid-Oct., 2001</i>	47	10	8	18	17=100
<i>Early Sept., 2001</i>	40	17	6	23	14=100
<i>Sept. 1997</i>	48	13	5	16	18=100
<i>Sept. 1993</i>	45	21	3	18	12=100
<i>Chicago CFR 1990</i>	34	13	7	26	20=100
<i>Chicago CFR 1978</i>	38	12	8	15	13=100
Great Britain	22	28	15	18	17=100
<i>April, 2002</i>	17	28	11	23	21=100
France	20	28	11	30	11=100
<i>April, 2002</i>	19	36	8	25	12=100
Germany	24	24	7	32	12=99
<i>April, 2002</i>	24	26	4	33	13=100
Russia	23	14	15	34	14=100
Turkey	6	63	4	16	11=100
Pakistan	1	81	1	2	14=99
Jordan	1	93	*	4	2=100
Morocco	1	96	2	1	1=101

Q.29 Do you think the U.S. government favors or opposes democracy in our country?

	<u>Favors</u>	<u>Opposes</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Pakistan	28	36	36=100
Jordan	43	44	13=100
Morocco	51	27	22=100

Q.29b Now that Saddam Hussein has been removed from power by the U.S. and its allies, do you think the Middle East region will become much more democratic, somewhat more democratic, or will there be no change in the region?

	Much more <u>democratic</u>	Somewhat more <u>democratic</u>	No <u>change</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	9	50	34	6=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>4=100</i>
Great Britain	12	35	49	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>4=101</i>
France	3	29	67	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>1=100</i>
Germany	3	45	50	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>2=100</i>
Russia	9	20	52	19=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>22=101</i>
Turkey	9	33	47	11=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>13=101</i>
Pakistan	2	12	43	43=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>28=100</i>
Jordan	12	21	56	11=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>4=100</i>
Morocco	13	29	37	20=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>28=100</i>

ABOUT THE MARCH 2004 GLOBAL ATTITUDES SURVEY

Results for the survey of 9 countries are based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted 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, 503 in France, and 500 in Germany. The fieldwork was conducted by NOP in Great Britain between February 23-29, 2004, by IFOP in France between February 23-28, 2004, by TNS-Emnid in Germany between February 23-29, 2004, and by Princeton Data Source in the U.S. between February 24-29, 2004.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted among a nation-wide representative sample of 1,000 adults in Jordan, 1,002 in Russia, and 1,017 in Turkey. The fieldwork was conducted by MRO in Jordan between February 24-29, 2004, by ROMIR in Russia between February 20-29, 2004, and by TNS Piar in Turkey between February 21 and March 1, 2004. In Morocco, 1,000 face-to-face interviews of adults 18-59 years of age were conducted in four major cities (Casablanca, Rabat, Fes and Marrakech) by Synovate Market Research between February 19-24, 2004. In Pakistan, 1,242 predominantly urban face-to-face interviews were conducted by ACNielsen between February 23-March 3, 2004.

For results based on the total sample in countries where the sample size is more than 900 (the U.S., Russia, Jordan, Turkey, Morocco, and Pakistan), one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. In countries where the sample size is approximately 500 (Great Britain, France, and Germany), the margin of error is 5 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.



ABOUT THE PEW GLOBAL ATTITUDES PROJECT

The Pew Global Attitudes Project is a series of worldwide public opinion surveys. This latest survey was conducted in 9 countries among nearly 8,000 people during late February and early March, 2004. Since its inception in late 2001, the Pew Global Attitudes Project has surveyed more than 74,000 people among 50 populations. The project is directed by Andrew Kohut, director of the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. Former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright chairs the project and its international advisory board. All surveys were conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. The project is funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts, with a supplemental grant from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

This report focuses on the war in Iraq one year after it began, America's image in the world, European-U.S. relations, and attitudes in the Muslim world on these and related issues. The previous Global Attitudes report, "Views of a Changing World, June 2003," focused on international reactions to changes in society, specifically regarding globalization, democratization, modernization and, in countries with significant Muslim populations, the role of Islam in public policy. The first major report, "What the World Thinks in 2002," released December 2002, focused on how people view their lives, their countries, the world and the United States. These and all other reports from the Pew Global Attitudes Project are available at: www.people-press.org