

Pew Global Attitudes Project
9 Country Study
- FINAL TOPLINE -

United States – March 13 - 16, 2003 (N=1,032)
Britain – March 14 - 16, 2003 (N=962)
France – March 13 - 14, 2003 (N=485)
Germany – March 14 - 15, 2003 (N=524)
Italy – March 12 - 14, 2003 (N=500)
Spain – March 12 - 17, 2003 (N=503)
Poland – March 10 - 14, 2003 (N=500)
Russia – March 12 - 14, 2003 (N=501)
Turkey – March 10 - 17, 2003 (N=513)

Q.1 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

		<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Britain		30	63	7=100
	July, 2002	32	64	4=100
France		31	67	2=100
	July, 2002	32	67	1=100
Germany		18	79	3=100
	July, 2002	31	66	2=99
Italy		20	74	7=101
	July, 2002	24	70	6=100
Spain		41	47	12=100
Poland		7	89	4=100
	July, 2002	9	87	3=99
Russia		35	58	7=100
	July, 2002	20	71	9=100
Turkey		18	81	2=101
	July, 2002	4	93	3=100

Q.2 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the United States.

		<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Favorable</u>	<u>Somewhat Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Britain		14	34	24	16	11=99
	July, 2002	27	48	12	4	9=100
France		6	25	45	22	2=100
	July, 2002	9	54	26	8	2=99
Germany		4	21	41	30	4=100
	July, 2002	9	52	31	4	4=100
Italy		8	26	33	26	8=101
	July, 2002	13	57	18	5	7=100
Spain		3	11	35	39	12=100
Poland		9	41	33	11	7=101
	July, 2002	14	65	10	1	10=100
Russia		4	24	43	25	4=100
	July, 2002	8	53	27	6	6=100
Turkey		3	9	17	67	5=101
	July, 2002	6	24	13	42	15=100

Q.3 Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the international policies of President George W. Bush?
(U.S. asked “Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the nation’s foreign policy?”)

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	53	36	11=100
April, 2002	69	20	11=100
March, 2002 ²	78	17	5=100
October, 2001 ²	81	14	5=100
Early September, 2001	46	34	20=100
August, 2001 ³	45	32	23=100
Britain	23	60	17=100
April, 2002	40	37	23=100
August, 2001	17	49	34=100
France	10	87	3=100
April, 2002	32	61	7=100
August, 2001	16	59	25=100
Germany	14	85	2=101
April, 2002	35	59	6=100
August, 2001	23	65	12=100
Italy	14	76	10=100
April, 2002	44	47	9=100
August, 2001	29	46	25=100
Spain	9	79	13=101
Poland	33	54	13=100
Russia	8	83	9=100
Turkey	5	85	10=100

² Gallup trend from October 2001 and March 2002 was worded “the way George W. Bush is handling foreign affairs.”

³ In August 2001 roughly half of the U.S. sample was asked about Bush’s handling of international policy, while the other half was asked about the handling of the nation’s foreign policy. Results did not differ between question wordings.

Ask in U.S., Britain, Italy, Spain and Poland:
 Q.4a Thinking about possible war with Iraq, would you favor or oppose (Survey country) joining the U.S. and other allies in military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule?
 (U.S. asked "Would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule?")

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	59	30	11=100
February, 2003	66	26	8=100
Britain	39	51	10=100
November, 2002	47	47	6=100
Italy	17	81	2=100
Spain	13	81	7=101
Poland	21	73	6=100

Ask in France, Germany, Russia and Turkey:
 Q.4b Thinking about possible war with Iraq, would you favor or oppose the U.S. and other allies taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule?⁴

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
France	20	75	6=101
November, 2002	33	64	3=100
Germany	27	69	4=100
November, 2002	26	71	3=100
Russia	10	87	3=100
November, 2002	12	79	9=100
Turkey	12	86	2=100

Ask in Turkey only:
 Q.5 In your opinion, which of the following better explains why the U.S. might use military force against Iraq? Is it more because the U.S. believes that SADDAM HUSSEIN IS A THREAT to stability in the Middle East and world peace or is it more because this is a part of the U.S.'s war against MUSLIM COUNTRIES that it sees as unfriendly?

	<u>US believes Saddam is threat to stability</u>	<u>Part of war against Muslim countries</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Turkey	22	60	17=99
November, 2002	34	53	13=100

4

In November 2002, the question was worded "Thinking about possible war with Iraq, would you favor or oppose (Survey country) joining the U.S. and other allies in military action to end Saddam Hussein's rule?"

Q.6a Generally, do you think American foreign policy has a positive effect on our country, a negative effect, or does American foreign policy have no effect on our country?⁵

	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	<u>No Effect</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Britain	38	39	11	12=100
January, 2003	30	42	9	19=100
France	14	63	20	4=101
January, 2003	9	71	9	11=100
Germany	15	59	20	5=99
January, 2003	11	67	17	5=100
Italy	17	52	15	16=100
Spain	14	49	16	21=100
January, 2003	9	57	15	19=100
Poland	26	41	18	15=100
Russia	8	58	17	17=100
January, 2003	11	55	23	11=100
Turkey	14	68	9	10=101

[If Negative]

Q.6b Why is it that American policy is having a negative effect on our country? Is it mostly because of President George W. Bush or is it more a general problem with America?

	<u>Mostly Bush</u>	<u>America in general</u>	<u>Both [VOL.]</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Britain	56	31	11	2=100 (N=375)
France	76	15	7	1=99 (N=305)
Germany	68	30	1	*=99 (N=327)
Italy	52	36	7	5=100 (N=258)
Spain	53	33	10	5=101 (N=247)
Poland	44	40	10	6=100 (N=205)
Russia	29	48	17	6=100 (N=290)
Turkey	35	48	12	6=101 (N=348)

Q.7 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 in the long run than they are now?

	<u>Better Off</u>	<u>Worse Off</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	79	8	13=100
Britain	76	8	16=100
France	73	14	13=100
Germany	71	15	14=100
Italy	61	18	20=99
Spain	46	21	33=100
Poland	52	22	27=101
Russia	20	40	40=100
Turkey	33	52	15=100

Q.8 If Iraq is disarmed and Saddam Hussein is removed from power by the U.S. and its allies, do you think the Middle East region will be more stable or less stable in the long run than it is now?

	<u>More Stable</u>	<u>Less Stable</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	64	17	19=100
Britain	59	22	19=100
France	46	37	17=100
Germany	56	32	13=101
Italy	46	27	26=99
Spain	38	29	33=100
Poland	46	34	20=100
Russia	21	45	34=100
Turkey	30	56	15=101

Q.9 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?

		<u>Remain As Close</u>	<u>More Independent</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
U.S. ⁶	February, 2003	62	29	9=100
Britain		40	48	12=100
	April, 2002	48	47	5=100
France		30	67	4=101
	April, 2002	33	60	7=100
Germany		46	52	3=101
	April, 2002	44	51	5=100
Italy		30	63	7=100
	April, 2002	36	59	5=100
Spain		24	60	16=100
Poland		40	49	11=100
Russia		17	72	11=100
Turkey		17	62	21=100

Q.10 Does the current controversy over what to do about Iraq show that the United Nations still plays an important role in dealing with international conflicts or does it show that the United Nations is not so important any more?

	<u>Still Important</u>	<u>Not so Important</u>	<u>No Difference [VOL.]</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	54	32	1	13=100
Britain	54	35	1	11=101
France	55	42	1	2=100
Germany	73	24	*	3=100
Italy	52	39	2	8=101
Spain	41	40	3	16=100
Poland	49	35	6	11=101
Russia	29	57	3	11=100
Turkey	23	47	12	19=101

⁶ In February, 2003 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?"

Ask in Turkey only:
Q.11 Has the Turkish parliament made the right decision not to allow the American military to use Turkey as a staging ground for a possible war against Iraq?

	<u>Right Decision</u>	<u>Wrong Decision</u>	<u>Don't know Refused</u>
Turkey	52	37	11=100

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March 13-16, 2003
N=1,032

Q.3 Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the nation's foreign policy?

		<i>Gallup</i>		Early	
		April	October	Sept	Aug
		<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u> ⁷
53	Approve	69	81	46	45
36	Disapprove	20	14	34	32
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>23</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

On the subject of Iraq...

Q.4 How much have you yourself thought about whether the U.S. should use military force to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq? **[READ]**

		Feb	Jan	Dec	Early	Mid-	Late	Early
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>Jan</u>
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>1991</u> ⁸
64	A Great deal	58	56	58	54	55	46	66
24	Some	27	29	29	32	27	35	24
7	Only a little – OR –	8	8	8	8	9	11	6
4	Not at all	6	6	4	5	6	6	2
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.5/6 Would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule? **[IF FAVOR, ASK Should we attack Iraq only if our major allies agree to join us, or attack Iraq even if allies do not want to join us?]**

		Feb	Jan	Dec	Nov	Oct	Late	Early	Mid-	Late	-----Gallup ⁹ -----				
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Nov</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>Mar</u>
		<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1992</u>
59	Favor	66	68	65	62	55	62	64	64	59	74	52	70	55	
38	Even if allies won't join	38	26	--	--	27	--	33	30	--	--	--	--	--	
16	Only if allies agree	22	37	--	--	23	--	25	30	--	--	--	--	--	
5	Don't know/Refused	6	5	--	--	5	--	6	4	--	--	--	--	--	
30	Oppose	26	25	25	26	34	28	23	21	34	20	42	27	40	
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	

7

In August 2001 roughly half of the U.S. sample was asked about Bush's handling of international policy, while the other half was asked about the handling of the nation's foreign policy. Results did not differ between question wordings.

8

In Early January 1991 the question was worded "How much thought have you given to the question of whether the U.S. should use military force against Iraq if it does not withdraw its forces from Kuwait?"

9

Gallup trend was worded "Would you favor or oppose sending American troops back to the Persian Gulf in order to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?"

ASK ALL:

Q.7 Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly what's at stake as to why the U.S. might use military force to end the rule of Saddam Hussein, or do you think he has not explained the reasons clearly enough?

		Feb 2003	Jan 2003	Dec 2002	Late Oct 2002	Mid- Sept 2002	Late Aug 2002	<i>NY Times</i> Aug 1990 ¹⁰
49	Explained clearly	53	42	48	48	52	37	50
47	Not clearly	40	53	45	45	37	52	41
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.8 Should the U.S. first get a United Nations resolution to use force before taking military action against Iraq or don't you think the U.S. needs to do this?

IF "SHOULD GET UN RESOLUTION" ASK:

Q.9 If the U.S. and most of its allies back using force against Iraq, but the UN resolution is vetoed by one or two countries who oppose it – what should the U.S. do? **[READ AND ROTATE]**

		Feb 2003
54	Should first get a UN resolution	57
24	Not use force because the UN has not approved it	22
25	Use force if it feels it is the right thing to do	30
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)	5
35	Does not need to do this	33
1	Should not use force in Iraq (VOL.)	*
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>10</u>
100		100

ASK ALL:

Q.10 In your opinion, what do you think the UN weapons inspections have shown so far... **[READ ALL THREE OPTIONS; ROTATE ITEMS 1 & 2]**

		Feb 2003
8	That Iraq will cooperate and can be peacefully disarmed	4
60	That Iraq will not cooperate and can not be peacefully disarmed	58
	--OR--	
28	That it is too early to tell	34
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)	<u>4</u>
100		100

Q.11 From your point of view, does the U.S. now have enough international support to use military force against Iraq or do you think it still has to convince more of its allies to go along?

		Feb 2003
37	Has enough international support	37
56	Still has to convince more	56
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>7</u>
100		100

10

New York Times trend was worded "Do you think George Bush has explained clearly what's at stake and why the U.S. is sending troops to Saudi Arabia, or do you think ..."

Q.12 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 in the long run than they are now?

79	Better off
8	Worse off
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.13 If Iraq is disarmed and Saddam Hussein is removed from power by the U.S. and its allies do you think the Middle East region will be more stable or less stable in the long run than it is now?

64	More stable
17	Less stable
<u>19</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.14 Does the current controversy over what to do about Iraq show that the United Nations still plays an important role in dealing with international conflicts or does it show that the United Nations is not so important any more?

54	Still plays important role
32	Not so important
1	No difference [VOL.]
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	