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As Mali Votes, Mixed Reception to French Intervention from Publics in Africa and Middle East

Most French Approve

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Mali holds a presidential election July 28, its first election since the French military led a January 2013 intervention to oust Islamic rebels from the north of the country. As Malians go to the polls, Africans, on balance, approve of the French military incursion in its former colony and France enjoys a largely positive image in many African nations. In contrast, most publics in the Middle East disapprove of Paris' action and France's ratings have slipped in the region.

Meanwhile, a majority in France (62%) approve of their country's military efforts in Mali. These findings are from a survey by the Pew Research Center, conducted March 3 to April 12 in 13 publics in Africa, the Middle East, and France. (Mali was not included in the 2013 survey).

Intervention in Mali

There is qualified support for the French intervention in the sub-Saharan African countries surveyed. Across the six African nations polled, by almost two-to-one, a median of 41% approve of the military action, while 22% disapprove, but a significant portion of those publics (32%) offer no opinion.

Support for the French incursion, which was conducted jointly with the African Union, is especially widespread in Senegal, which borders Mali and is also a former French colony. Roughly nine-in-ten Senegalese (91%) approve. About half of Kenyans (53%) also favor the military action. In Nigeria, a 42%-plurality sees the intervention positively, although there is a clear religious split: 53% of Nigerian Christians approve, while just 32% of

Mixed Verdict on French Military Action in Mali

Do you approve or disapprove of the recent military action by France against anti-government rebels in Mali?

| | Approve % | Disapprove % | DK % |
|------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------|
| France | 62 | 38 | 0 |
| Senegal | 91 | 5 | 4 |
| Kenya | 53 | 17 | 30 |
| Nigeria | 42 | 25 | 33 |
| <i>Christian</i> | 53 | 15 | 31 |
| <i>Muslim</i> | 32 | 36 | 32 |
| Ghana | 39 | 41 | 20 |
| S. Africa | 36 | 25 | 39 |
| Uganda | 36 | 18 | 45 |
| MEDIAN | 41 | 22 | 32 |
| Lebanon | 35 | 50 | 16 |
| <i>Christian</i> | 47 | 43 | 10 |
| <i>Sunni</i> | 33 | 44 | 23 |
| <i>Shia</i> | 12 | 72 | 16 |
| Tunisia | 18 | 66 | 16 |
| Egypt | 12 | 76 | 12 |
| Palest. ter. | 11 | 43 | 45 |
| Jordan | 8 | 73 | 19 |
| Turkey | 3 | 70 | 27 |
| MEDIAN | 12 | 68 | 18 |

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Nigerian Muslims agree. Support is more lukewarm in Ghana, South Africa, and Uganda, with less than four-in-ten approving of the French intervention and many offering no opinion.

In the Middle East, there is little support for France's military efforts in Mali, with a median of only 12% agreeing with the action and 68% opposing it. Two-thirds or more disapprove in Egypt (76%), Jordan (73%), Turkey (70%), and Tunisia (66%). In Lebanon, half disapprove, but views vary along religious lines. While 72% of Lebanese Shia oppose the French military effort, less than half of Lebanese Sunnis (44%) and Christians (43%) say the same. In the Palestinian territories, 43% disapprove of the intervention and 45% decline to offer an opinion.

In France, 62% approve of the military incursion in Mali, while 38% disapprove. Support is especially high among older people, men, and those with a college degree.

French Image

Overall, views of France are generally positive in Africa, with half or more expressing favorable opinions in Senegal (82%), Ghana (66%), Kenya (57%), and Nigeria (51%). Two-thirds of Nigerian Christians see France favorably, while only 36% of Nigerian Muslims say the same. Four-in-ten Ugandans have a positive opinion, but 46% did not offer a view.

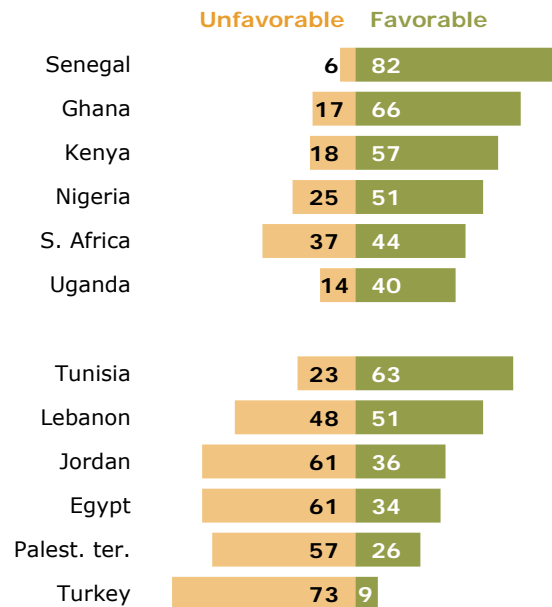
France's image is largely negative in four of the six Middle Eastern countries polled. Majorities of Turks (73%), Jordanians (61%), Egyptians (61%), and Palestinians (57%) rate France negatively. However, even though Tunisians disapprove of the intervention in Mali, 63% in the former French protectorate hold a favorable view of France. The Lebanese are

French Views of Mali Intervention

| | Approve | Disapprove |
|------------------|---------|------------|
| | % | % |
| Age | | |
| 18-29 | 54 | 46 |
| 30-49 | 61 | 39 |
| 50+ | 66 | 34 |
| Gender | | |
| Male | 69 | 31 |
| Female | 55 | 45 |
| Education | | |
| No college | 59 | 41 |
| College degree | 71 | 29 |

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Views of France



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split, with 51% expressing a positive opinion and 48% a negative one. Roughly six-in-ten Lebanese Sunni (63%) and Christians (57%) have a favorable opinion of France, but only around two-in-ten Lebanese Shia (18%) agree.

In the Middle East, positive evaluations of France have plummeted since the Pew Research Center last asked this question in 2005 and 2006. For example, 84% of Lebanese had a positive opinion of France in 2005, but now just half hold that view, a drop of 33 percentage points. Substantial declines have also occurred since 2005 in Turkey (-21) and Jordan (-14), and since 2006 in Egypt (-26). This falloff may be attributed to a number of factors: perceived French intolerance of Muslims, France's major role in the Libyan war, the Mali incursion and other issues.

Opinions of France Have Plummeted in Middle East

| | <i>% Favorable of France</i> | | |
|---------|------------------------------|-------------|---------------|
| | 2005 | 2013 | Change |
| | <i>%</i> | <i>%</i> | |
| Lebanon | 84 | 51 | -33 |
| Egypt* | 60 | 34 | -26 |
| Turkey | 30 | 9 | -21 |
| Jordan | 50 | 36 | -14 |

* Egypt figures are from 2006.

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Survey Methods

About the 2013 Spring 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. Survey results are based on national samples. For further details on sample designs, see below.

The descriptions below show the margin of sampling error based on all interviews conducted in that country. For results based on the full sample in a given country, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus the margin of error. 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.

Country: **Egypt**
 Sample design: Multi-stage cluster sample stratified by governorates and urbanity
 Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
 Languages: Arabic
 Fieldwork dates: March 3 – March 23, 2013
 Sample size: 1,000
 Margin of Error: ± 4.3 percentage points
 Representative: Adult population (excluding Frontier governorates, or about 2% of the population)

Country: **France**
 Sample design: Random Digit Dial (RDD) sample of landline and cell phone-only households with quotas for gender, age and occupation and stratified by region and urbanity
 Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
 Languages: French
 Fieldwork dates: March 4 – March 16, 2013
 Sample size: 1,004
 Margin of Error: ± 3.6 percentage points
 Representative: Telephone households (roughly 99% of all French households)

Country: **Ghana**
Sample design: Multi-stage cluster sample stratified by region and settlement size
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Akan (Twi), English, Dagbani, Ewe
Fieldwork dates: March 20 – April 3, 2013
Sample size: 799
Margin of Error: ± 4.7 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Jordan**
Sample design: Multi-stage cluster sample stratified by Jordan's 12 governorates and urbanity
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Arabic
Fieldwork dates: March 4 – March 23, 2013
Sample size: 1,000
Margin of Error: ± 4.5 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Kenya**
Sample design: Multi-stage cluster sample stratified by province and settlement size
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Kiswahili, English
Fieldwork dates: March 13 – March 30, 2013
Sample size: 798
Margin of Error: ± 4.3 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Lebanon**
Sample design: Multi-stage cluster sample stratified by Lebanon's seven regions and urbanity
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Arabic
Fieldwork dates: March 4 – March 22, 2013
Sample size: 1,000
Margin of Error: ± 4.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population (excluding a small area in Beirut controlled by a militia group and a few villages in the south of Lebanon, which border Israel and are inaccessible to outsiders, or about 2% of the population)

Country: **Nigeria**
Sample design: Multi-stage cluster sample stratified by region and urbanity
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: English, Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo
Fieldwork dates: March 6 – April 4, 2013
Sample size: 1,031
Margin of Error: ± 4.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population (excluding Borno, Yobe and some areas in Taraba, or about 5% of the population)

Country: **Palestinian territories**
Sample design: Multi-stage cluster sample stratified by region and urban/rural/refugee camp population
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Arabic
Fieldwork dates: March 29 – April 7, 2013
Sample size: 810
Margin of Error: ± 4.4 percentage points
Representative: Adult population (excluding Bedouins who regularly change residence and some communities near Israeli settlements where military restrictions make access difficult, or roughly 5% of the population)

Country: **Senegal**
Sample design: Multi-stage cluster sample stratified by region and urbanity
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Wolof, French
Fieldwork dates: March 6 – March 30, 2013
Sample size: 800
Margin of Error: ± 4.1 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **South Africa**
Sample design: Multi-stage cluster sample stratified by metropolitan area, province and urbanity
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: English, Zulu, Xhosa, South Sotho, Afrikaans
Fieldwork dates: March 18 – April 12, 2013
Sample size: 815
Margin of Error: ± 4.1 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Tunisia**
Sample design: Multi-stage cluster sample stratified by governorate and urbanity
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Tunisian Arabic
Fieldwork dates: March 4 – March 19, 2013
Sample size: 1,000
Margin of Error: ± 4.0 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Turkey**
Sample design: Multi-stage cluster sample stratified by the 26 regions (based on geographical location and level of development (NUTS 2)) and urbanity
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Turkish
Fieldwork dates: March 5 – March 24, 2013
Sample size: 1,000
Margin of Error: ± 7.7 percentage points
Representative: Adult population

| | |
|------------------|--|
| Country: | Uganda |
| Sample design: | Multi-stage cluster sample stratified by region and urbanity |
| Mode: | Face-to-face adults 18 plus |
| Languages: | Luganda, English, Runyankole/Rukiga, Luo, Runyoro/Rutoro, Ateso, Lugbara |
| Fieldwork dates: | March 15 – March 29, 2013 |
| Sample size: | 800 |
| Margin of Error: | ±4.3 percentage points |
| Representative: | Adult population |

**Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project
2013 Spring Survey Topline Results
July 25, 2013 Release**

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples. For further details on sample designs, see Survey Methods section.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline “total” columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Since 2007, the Global Attitudes Project has used an automated process to generate topline. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from those published prior to 2007.
- For some countries, trends for certain years are omitted due to differences in sample design or population coverage. Omitted trends often reflect less representative samples than more recent surveys in the same countries. Trends that are omitted include:
 - Nigeria prior to 2010
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2013 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

| | | Q9w Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of: w. France | | | | | |
|--------------|--------------|---|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|------------|-------|
| | | Very favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat unfavorable | Very unfavorable | DK/Refused | Total |
| Turkey | Spring, 2013 | 2 | 7 | 20 | 53 | 17 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2006 | 3 | 15 | 15 | 46 | 21 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2005 | 7 | 23 | 16 | 35 | 19 | 100 |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 9 | 25 | 32 | 29 | 5 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2006 | 27 | 33 | 21 | 14 | 5 | 100 |
| Jordan | Spring, 2013 | 7 | 29 | 35 | 26 | 4 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2006 | 9 | 37 | 32 | 21 | 1 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2005 | 9 | 41 | 26 | 23 | 1 | 100 |
| Lebanon | Spring, 2013 | 20 | 31 | 18 | 30 | 1 | 100 |
| | Spring, 2005 | 44 | 40 | 8 | 8 | 1 | 100 |
| Palest. ter. | Spring, 2013 | 3 | 23 | 23 | 34 | 17 | 100 |
| Tunisia | Spring, 2013 | 28 | 35 | 9 | 14 | 14 | 100 |
| Ghana | Spring, 2013 | 24 | 42 | 14 | 3 | 17 | 100 |
| Kenya | Spring, 2013 | 23 | 34 | 11 | 7 | 25 | 100 |
| Nigeria | Spring, 2013 | 14 | 37 | 13 | 12 | 25 | 100 |
| Senegal | Spring, 2013 | 56 | 26 | 4 | 2 | 12 | 100 |
| South Africa | Spring, 2013 | 14 | 30 | 19 | 18 | 19 | 100 |
| Uganda | Spring, 2013 | 15 | 25 | 6 | 8 | 46 | 100 |

| | | Q163x Do you approve or disapprove of the recent military action by France against anti-government rebels in Mali? | | | |
|--------------|--------------|--|------------|------------|-------|
| | | Approve | Disapprove | DK/Refused | Total |
| France | Spring, 2013 | 62 | 38 | 0 | 100 |
| Turkey | Spring, 2013 | 3 | 70 | 27 | 100 |
| Egypt | Spring, 2013 | 12 | 76 | 12 | 100 |
| Jordan | Spring, 2013 | 8 | 73 | 19 | 100 |
| Lebanon | Spring, 2013 | 35 | 50 | 16 | 100 |
| Palest. ter. | Spring, 2013 | 11 | 43 | 45 | 100 |
| Tunisia | Spring, 2013 | 18 | 66 | 16 | 100 |
| Ghana | Spring, 2013 | 39 | 41 | 20 | 100 |
| Kenya | Spring, 2013 | 53 | 17 | 30 | 100 |
| Nigeria | Spring, 2013 | 42 | 25 | 33 | 100 |
| Senegal | Spring, 2013 | 91 | 5 | 4 | 100 |
| South Africa | Spring, 2013 | 36 | 25 | 39 | 100 |
| Uganda | Spring, 2013 | 36 | 18 | 45 | 100 |