

**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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>6=100</b>
<i>April 8, 2003</i>	50	41	9=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	41	55	4=100
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>4=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	46	49	5=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	30	63	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	32	64	4=100
<b>France</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>*=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	44	56	*=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	31	67	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	32	67	1=100
<b>Germany</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>2=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	25	73	2=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	18	79	3=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	31	66	2=99
<b>Russia</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>5=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	28	64	9=101
<i>March, 2003</i>	35	58	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	20	71	9=100
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>2=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	19	79	2=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	18	81	2=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	4	93	3=100
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>5=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	29	67	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	49	39	13=101
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>11=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	42	56	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	21	78	1=100
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>2=100</b>
<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 <sup>1</sup>					
<b>United States</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>14=99</b>
<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 <sup>1</sup>					
<b>United States</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>18=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	8	21	24	36	11=100
<i>February, 2002</i>	23	56	13	3	5=100
a3. Germany <sup>1</sup>					
<b>United States</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>23=101</b>
<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					
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8=100</b>
<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
<b>France</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1=100</b>
<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
<b>Germany</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<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
<b>Russia</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>10=101</b>
<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
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<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
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>18=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	10	10	71	6=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	2	8	11	58	20=99
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>1=99</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	*	1	16	83	0=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	6	19	18	57	*=100
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>5=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	13	14	13	53	7=100

<sup>1</sup> 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					
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	27	53	10	5	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	25	58	8	3	8=102
<b>France</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>3=99</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	13	45	29	13	*=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	10	61	21	5	3=100
<b>Germany</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6=99</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	15	52	22	7	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	12	58	20	3	7=100
<b>Russia</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>11=101</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	17	48	18	7	10=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	9	58	21	3	9=100
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>15=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	5	27	17	43	8=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	5	26	12	38	19=100
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>27=99</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	8	30	11	40	11=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	3	14	12	50	21=100
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>6=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	15	36	46	*=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	21	32	17	29	1=100
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	29	25	10	28	9=101

c. The European Union

<b>United States</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>35=100</b> (7% Never Heard)
<i>Early Sept., 2001</i>	6	32	18	5	39=100 (20% Never Heard)
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>9=99</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1=100</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<i>1991<sup>2</sup></i>	13	58	14	5	10=100
<b>Russia</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>21=101</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>48=100</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>9=101</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>9=100</b>

<sup>2</sup> 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					
<b>United States</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<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
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7=99</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>6=100</b>
<i>1991</i>	21	62	7	3	7=100
<b>Russia</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>21=99</b>
<i>1991</i>	21	59	3	1	16=100
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>14=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>38=100</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>6=100</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>10=100</b>

e. Jews

<b>United States</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>15=100</b>
<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
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>15=100</b>
<b>France<sup>3</sup></b>	<b>28</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8=100</b>
<i>1991</i>	14	58	11	3	14=100
<b>Germany</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>17=100</b>
<i>1991</i>	5	47	18	6	24=100
<b>Russia</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<i>1992</i>	11	54	15	7	13=100
<i>1991</i>	9	49	18	8	16=100
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>23=99</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>17=100</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>N/A</b>				
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>2=100</b>

<sup>3</sup>Question 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					
<b>United States</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>9=99</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6=99</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9=100</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4=100</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>17=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>15=101</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>N/A</b>				
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>4=100</b>

g. Muslims					
<b>United States</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>20=100</b>
<i>Mid-July, 2003</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>22=100</i>
<i>June, 2003</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>20=100</i>
<i>March, 2002</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>24=100</i>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>16=101</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<i>1991 (N. Africans)</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>9=100</i>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13=100</b>
<i>1991(Turks)</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>19=100</i>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>11=100</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1=100</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>N/A</b>				
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1=100</b>

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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4=100</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7=99</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2=101</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10=101</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>10=99</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>15=100</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>4=100</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5=100</b>

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>
<b>United States<sup>4</sup></b>	<b>34</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2=100</i>
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>5=100</i>

<sup>4</sup> 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>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	7	37	39	16	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	11	33	37	15	3=99
<b>France</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>2=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	1	13	44	41	*=99
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	4	17	50	26	2=99
<b>Germany</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>2=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	29	42	24	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	9	44	35	10	2=100
<b>Russia</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	7	15	38	33	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	3	18	45	25	9=100
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	6	28	58	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	5	11	27	47	10=100
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>34=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	4	19	22	40	15=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	5	18	9	27	41=100
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	16	44	36	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	7	21	35	36	1=100
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>8=99</b>
<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>
<b>United States<sup>5</sup></b>	<b>55</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>9=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	53	39	8=100
<i>February, 2003</i>	62	29	9=100
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>4=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	51	45	4=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	40	48	12=100
<i>April, 2002</i>	48	47	5=100
<b>France</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>4=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	23	76	1=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	30	67	4=101
<i>April, 2002</i>	33	60	7=100
<b>Germany</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>1=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	42	57	1=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	46	52	3=101
<i>April, 2002</i>	44	51	5=100
<b>Russia</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>20=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	17	60	23=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	17	72	11=100
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>18=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	16	62	22=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	17	62	21=100

<sup>5</sup> 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>
<b>United States</b>	33	50	17=100
<b>Great Britain</b>	50	39	11=100
<b>France</b>	90	9	1=100
<b>Germany</b>	70	22	8=100
<b>Russia</b>	67	12	21=100
<b>Turkey</b>	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>
<b>Great Britain</b>	41	7	2=50
<b>France</b>	77	12	1=90
<b>Germany</b>	46	22	2=70
<b>Russia</b>	52	7	8=67
<b>Turkey</b>	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>
<b>United States</b>	41	48	10=99
<b>Great Britain</b>	64	30	6=100
<b>France</b>	63	35	2=100
<b>Germany</b>	80	15	6=101
<b>Russia</b>	37	41	21=99
<b>Turkey</b>	45	44	11=100
<b>Pakistan</b>	38	34	28=100
<b>Jordan</b>	47	38	15=100
<b>Morocco</b>	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).

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

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

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

<sup>7</sup> In 1991, Germany was asked about François Mitterrand.

<sup>8</sup> 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>	
<b>United States</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>34=99</b>	<i>(16% Never Heard)</i>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>20=100</b>	
<b>France</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5=99</b>	
<b>Germany</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>15=100</b>	
<b>Russia</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>31=100</b>	
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>21=100</b>	
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>51=101</b>	
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>5=100</b>	
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>10=100</b>	

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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>6=100</b>
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	89	8	3=100
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	63	30	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	69	23	8=100
<b>France</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	60	39	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	75	23	3=101
<b>Germany</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>2=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	60	35	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	70	25	5=100
<b>Russia</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	51	28	21=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	73	16	11=100
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	22	71	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	30	58	12=100
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>25=101</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	16	74	10=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	20	45	35=100
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	97	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	13	85	2=100
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>6=100</b>
<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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<i>April, 2002</i>	77	20	3=100
<b>France</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>2=101</b>
<i>April, 2002</i>	67	30	3=100
<b>Germany</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>2=100</b>
<i>April, 2002</i>	63	33	4=100
<b>Russia</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>8=100</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>13=101</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>26=100</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>9=100</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>8=100</b>

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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>6=100</b>	18	13	11	13
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5=100</b>	33	21	19	24
<b>France</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2=100</b>	58	44	23	53
<b>Germany</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5=100</b>	60	40	30	47
<b>Russia</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8=100</b>	51	25	11	44
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>10=101</b>	64	47	45	61
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>31=100</b>	54	51	44	55
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>14=100</b>	71	53	70	61
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>13=100</b>	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			
<b>United States</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>1=27</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3=43</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>*=63</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2=67</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2=56</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3=70</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5=62</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>*=75</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3=70</b>

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

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

c. To protect Israel

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

d. To dominate the world

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

*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>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>9=100</b>
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	4	9	7	64	14=98
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>17=101</b>
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	19	14	5	38	23=99
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>See Q.13a Below</b>				
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	15	28	22	26	8=99
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>8=101</b>

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?

<b>Jordan<sup>9</sup></b>	<b>32</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1=100</b>
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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>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>10=101</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>17=100</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>3=101</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>4=100</b>

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>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>19=101</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>6=100</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>7=100</b>

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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>20=100</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>15=100</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>5=100</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>16=100</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>19=100</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>14=101</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>21=100</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>17=99</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>15=101</b>

[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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>8=100</b>
<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>

<sup>9</sup> 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
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<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>
<b>France</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	83	16	1=100
<b>Germany</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	80	19	1=100
<b>Russia</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6=99</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	89	7	4=100
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>20=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	73	21	6=100
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	95	4	1=100
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8=101</b>
<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?<sup>10</sup>

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

<sup>10</sup> 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>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>16=101</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	37	45	18=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	33	52	15=100
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>31=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	17	60	23=100
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>5=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	19	80	1=100
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>15=100</b>
<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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	18	41	26	6	9=100
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	8	33	36	14	9=100
<b>France</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>5=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	4	41	41	13	2=101
<b>Germany</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>4=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	21	55	15	7=100
<b>Russia</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>12=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	8	39	39	12=100
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>14=99</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	20	27	36	15=101
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>38=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	4	10	17	43	26=100
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>9=101</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	15	25	55	3=100
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>16=100</b>
<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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>83</b>	<b>4=100</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>89</b>	<b>2=99</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>1=100</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>1=100</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>16=100</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>36=99</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>16=100</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>13=100</b>

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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7=101</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4=100</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3=99</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>18=100</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>14=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>34=100</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>18=100</b>

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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4=100</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>8=100</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4=100</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6=100</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>12=100</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>9=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>30=100</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>6=100</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>8=100</b>

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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>6=100</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>2=100</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>8=100</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>24=100</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>8=100</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9=100</b>

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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9=100</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>12=100</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>8=99</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>33=100</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>9=100</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>11=100</b>

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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<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
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8=99</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>2=100</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>10=100</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>12=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>29=100</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>15=100</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>9=100</b>

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>		
<b>United States</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>11=100</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>7=99</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7=100</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>14=100</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>14=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>29=100</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>3=100</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>18=101</b>

**[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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>*=31</b>	<b>N=606</b>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>1=41</b>	<b>N=205</b>
<b>France</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>2=82</b>	<b>N=411</b>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>2=69</b>	<b>N=346</b>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>5=61</b>	<b>N=610</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>2=66</b>	<b>N=668</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>4=60</b>	<b>N=751</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>1=69</b>	<b>N=688</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>2=49</b>	<b>N=478</b>

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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>19=99</b>
<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
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>17=100</b>
<i>April, 2002</i>	17	28	11	23	21=100
<b>France</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>11=100</b>
<i>April, 2002</i>	19	36	8	25	12=100
<b>Germany</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>12=99</b>
<i>April, 2002</i>	24	26	4	33	13=100
<b>Russia</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>14=100</b>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>11=100</b>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>14=99</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>*</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2=100</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1=101</b>

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>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>36=100</b>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>13=100</b>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>22=100</b>

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>
<b>United States</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>6=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>4=100</i>
<b>Great Britain</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>4=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>4=101</i>
<b>France</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>1=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>1=100</i>
<b>Germany</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>2=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>2=100</i>
<b>Russia</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>19=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>22=101</i>
<b>Turkey</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>11=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>13=101</i>
<b>Pakistan</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>43=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>28=100</i>
<b>Jordan</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>11=100</b>
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>4=100</i>
<b>Morocco</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>20=100</b>
<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.