# The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press Pew Global Attitudes Project: Iraq, One Year Later Survey (2004) 9 Countries Surveyed

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.

Q.1 Now thinking about our country, overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?
Don't know/
Satisfied Dissatisfied Refused

|                      | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | Refused |
|----------------------|-----------|--------------|---------|
| <b>United States</b> | 39        | 55           | 6=100   |
| Jan., 2004           | 45        | 48           | 7=100   |
| Oct., 2003           | 38        | 56           | 6=100   |
| April 8, 2003        | 50        | 41           | 9=100   |
| Summer, 2002         | 41        | 55           | 4=100   |
| March, 2002          | 50        | 40           | 10=100  |
| Late Sept., 2001     | 57        | 34           | 9=100   |
| Early Sept., 2001    | 41        | 53           | 6=100   |
| Great Britain        | 38        | 58           | 4=100   |
| May, 2003            | 46        | 49           | 5=100   |
| March, 2003          | 30        | 63           | 7=100   |
| Summer, 2002         | 32        | 64           | 4=100   |
| France               | 32        | 68           | *=100   |
| May, 2003            | 44        | 56           | *=100   |
| March, 2003          | 31        | 67           | 2=100   |
| Summer, 2002         | 32        | 67           | 1=100   |
| Germany              | 20        | 78           | 2=100   |
| May, 2003            | 25        | 73           | 2=100   |
| March, 2003          | 18        | 79           | 3=100   |
| Summer, 2002         | 31        | 66           | 2=99    |
| Russia               | 26        | 69           | 5=100   |
| May, 2003            | 28        | 64           | 9=101   |
| March, 2003          | 35        | 58           | 7=100   |
| Summer, 2002         | 20        | 71           | 9=100   |
| Turkey               | 40        | 58           | 2=100   |
| May, 2003            | 19        | 79           | 2=100   |



|              |           |              | Don't know/ |
|--------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|
|              | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | Refused     |
| March, 2003  | 18        | 81           | 2=101       |
| Summer, 2002 | 4         | 93           | 3=100       |
| Pakistan     | 54        | 41           | 5=100       |
| May, 2003    | 29        | 67           | 4=100       |
| Summer, 2002 | 49        | 39           | 13=101      |
| Jordan       | 59        | 30           | 11=100      |
| May, 2003    | 42        | 56           | 2=100       |
| Summer, 2002 | 21        | 78           | 1=100       |
| Morocco      | 58        | 40           | 2=100       |
| May, 2003    | 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]

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|                          | Very<br><u>favorable</u>         |   | omewhat<br><u>avorable</u>  | Somewhat<br>unfavorable | Very<br>unfavorable | Don't know<br>Refused            |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|---|---|-------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| a. The United States     | 10101010                         | 1   | avorable  | uniavorable             | uniavorable         | Kelused                          |
| U.S. $(Britain)^1$       | 33                               | 73  | 40  | 9                       | 3                   | 14=99                            |
| May, 2003                | 33<br>49                         |   | 33  | 6                       | 3                   | 8=100                            |
| February, 2003           | 49                               | 82  | 33<br>42  | 5                       | 4 2                 |                                  |
| Aug., 1998               | 40<br>23                         | 90  | 42<br>50  | 5                       | 2<br>5              | 3=100                            |
| May, 1998                | 38                               | 73  | 50  | 5                       | 5                   | 16=100 (1% Never Heard)<br>6=100 |
| U.S. (France)            | 8                                | 58  | 25  | 25                      | 24                  | 18=100                           |
| May, 2003                | 8                                | 33  | 23  | 23                      | 36                  | 11=100                           |
| February, 2003           | 23                               | 29  | 56  | 13                      | 3                   | 5=100                            |
| U.S. (Germany)           | 8                                | a second s | 42  | - 13<br>19              | 9                   | 23=101                           |
| May, 2003                | 8                                | 50  | 36  | 26                      | 15                  | 25 = 101<br>15 = 100             |
| February, 2003           | 22                               | 47  | 61  | 8                       | 3                   | 6=100                            |
| Aug., 1998               | 13                               | 66  | 52  | 14                      | 5                   | 16=100                           |
| Great Britain            | 15                               | 58.   | 43  | 24                      | 10                  | 8=100                            |
| May, 2003                | 18                               | 20  | 52  | 14                      | 12                  | 5 = 101                          |
| May, 2005<br>March, 2003 | 14                               |   | 34  | 24                      | 16                  | 11=99                            |
| Summer, 2002             | 27                               | 48  | 48  | 12                      | 4                   | 9=100                            |
|                          | Chine and a second second second | and the second se | on some statement of the second |                         |                     |                                  |
| France                   | 6                                | 3.7   | 31  |                         | 2 20                | 1=100                            |
| May, 2003                | 9                                | 43.   | 34  | 1 -                     | 57 19<br>22         | *=100                            |
| March, 2003              | 6<br>9                           | 33  | 25  | 45                      | 67 22               | 2=100                            |
| Summer, 2002             |                                  |   | 54  | 26                      | 34 8                | 2=99                             |
| Germany                  | 3                                | 38  | 35  | 49                      | 59 10               | 3=100                            |
| May, 2003                | 6                                | 45.   | 39  | 42                      | 12                  | 1=100                            |
| March, 2003              | 4                                | 25  | 21  |                         | 30                  | 4=100                            |
| Summer, 2002             | 9                                | 61  | 52  |                         | 35 4                | 4=100                            |
| Russia                   | 9                                | 117   | 38  | 29                      | 15                  | 10=101                           |
| May, 2003                | 11                               | 36.   | 25  | 32                      | 23                  | 9=100                            |
| March, 2003              | 4                                | 2.48  | 24  | 43                      | 25                  | 4=100                            |
| <i>Summer, 2002</i>      | 8                                | 61  | 53  | 27                      | 6                   | 6=100                            |
| Turkey                   | 6                                | 30:   | 24  | 18                      | · 2 45              | 7=100                            |
| May, 2003                | 2                                |   | 13  | 15                      | 68                  | 3=101                            |
| March, 2003              | 3                                | 15.   | 9   | 17                      | 67                  | 5=101                            |
|                          |                                  | 12  |   |                         |                     |                                  |

<sup>1</sup> U.S. respondents were asked about Britain, France and Germany. In February, 2002, Gallup asked Americans: "I'd like your overall opinion of some foreign countries. First, is your overall opinion of (Great Britain/France/Germany) very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?" In May 1987 question wording was asked using a ladder rating scale.



|                       | Very<br>favorable | Somewhat favorable | Somewhat<br>unfavorable | Very<br>unfavorable | Don't know<br>Refused          |
|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Summer, 2002          | 6                 | 24                 | 13                      | 42                  | 15=100                         |
| Pakistan              | 4 2               | 17                 | 11                      | 50                  | 18=100                         |
| May, 2003             | 3                 | 6 10               | 10                      | 71                  | 6=100                          |
| Summer, 2002          | 2 10              | 8                  | 11                      | 58                  | 20=99                          |
| Jordan                | 2                 | 5 <b>3</b>         | 26                      | 67                  | 1=99                           |
| May, 2003             | *                 | 1                  | 16                      | 83                  | 0=100                          |
| Summer, 2002          | 6 20              | 5 19               | 18                      | 57                  | *=100                          |
| Morocco               | 8                 | 19                 | 22                      | 46                  | 5=100                          |
| May, 2003             | 13                | 14                 | 13                      | 53                  | 7=100                          |
|                       | d.                |                    |                         |                     |                                |
| b. Americans          |                   |                    |                         |                     |                                |
| <b>Great Britain</b>  | 21                | 73 52              | 14                      | 5                   | 8=100                          |
| May, 2003             | 27                | 53                 | 10                      | 5                   | 5=100                          |
| Summer, 2002          | 25                | 58                 | 8                       | 3                   | 8=102                          |
| France                | 5                 | 53 48              | 30                      | 13                  | 3=99                           |
| May, 2003             | 13                | 58 45              | 29                      | 13                  | *=100                          |
| Summer, 2002          | 10                | (F) 61             | 21                      | 5                   | 3=100                          |
| Germany               | 9                 | 6% 59              | 20                      | 5                   | 6=99                           |
| May, 2003             | 15                | 52                 | 22                      | 7                   | 4=100                          |
| Summer, 2002          | 12                | 58                 | 20                      | 3                   | 7=100                          |
| Russia                | 15                | 51                 | 18                      | 8                   | 11=101                         |
| May, 2003             | 17                | 48                 | 18                      | 7                   | 10=100                         |
| Summer, 2002          | 9                 | 58                 | 21                      | 3                   | 9=100                          |
| Turkey<br>May, 2003   | 6<br>5            | 26<br>27           | <b>21</b><br>17         | 32                  | 15=100                         |
| Summer, 2002          | 5                 | 27<br>26           | 17<br>12                | 43<br>38            | 8=100<br>19=100                |
| Pakistan              | 5 0               | 5 20               | 12                      |                     |                                |
| May, 2003             | 8                 | 30                 | 13                      | <b>34</b><br>40     | <b>27=99</b><br>11=100         |
| Summer, 2002          | 3                 | 14                 | 12                      | 50                  | 21 = 100                       |
| Jordan                | 4 7               | 17                 | 40                      | 33                  | 6=100                          |
| May, 2003             | 3                 | 15                 | 36                      | 46                  | *=100                          |
| Summer, 2002          | 21                | 32                 | 17                      | 29                  | 1 = 100                        |
| Morocco               | 9 5               | 28                 | 25                      | 31                  | 7=100                          |
| May, 2003             | 29                | 25                 | 10                      | 28                  | 9=101                          |
| 1149, 2005            |                   | 54                 | 10                      | 20                  | 9-101                          |
| c. The European Union |                   | 21                 |                         |                     |                                |
| United States         | 7                 | 32 32              | 17                      | 9                   | <b>35=100</b> (7% Never Heard) |
| Early Sept., 2001     |                   | 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                | 6 6 45             | 33                      | 6                   | 3=100                          |
| 1991 <sup>2</sup>     | 13                | 58                 | 14                      | 5                   | 10=100                         |
| Russia                | 11                | 51                 | 13                      | 5                   | 21=101                         |
| Turkey                | 22                | 59 36              | 15                      | 20                  | 7=100                          |
| Pakistan              | 3                 | 19 16              | 11                      | 22                  | 48=100                         |
| Jordan<br>Morocco     | 3<br>14           | 14                 | 44<br>27                | 25 31               | 9=101                          |
| 14101 0000            | 14                | 2 4/               | 21                      | 23                  | 9=100                          |
|                       |                   | 11                 |                         |                     |                                |
|                       |                   | 7.                 |                         |                     |                                |
|                       |                   |                    |                         |                     |                                |

<sup>2</sup> 1991 wording was "The EEC."

The Pew Global Attitudes

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1 SUCA

d. The United Nations

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| d. 1 he   | United Nations                  | Very            | Somewhat        | Somewhat      | Very          | Don't know                        |
|---|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|
|   |                                 | avorable        | favorable       | unfavorable   | unfavorable   | Refused                           |
|   | United States                   | 14              | 41              | 20            | 15            | 10=100                            |
| MARE Forme  | Le Early Sept., 2001            | 23 (3-18)       | 54 20-          | 12            | 6             | 5=100 (1% Never Heard)            |
| willer 1 on   | Aug., 1999                      | 19              | 57              | 14            | 5             | 5=100                             |
| 139 Ans 1271  | June, 1999                      | 19 69           | 51              | 16            | 7             | 7=100                             |
| E 100 000 101   | 517 Early Sept., 1998           | 14,190          | 55 0            | 16            | 7             | 8=100                             |
| 550 49 400  | Sept., 1997                     | 11 19           | 53 20           | 5 19          | 9             | 8=100                             |
|   | Feb., 1996                      | 19 7 58         | 46 A            | 20            | 9             | 6=100 (1% Never Heard)            |
| 1 199 5 1910  | June, 1995                      | 14 201          | 53 M            | <b>(b)</b> 20 | 8             | 5=100                             |
| V 199 42 196  | 27 J. Feb., 1995                | 13 - 341        | o 49 U          | 18            | 8             | 12=100                            |
| nh in   | July, 1994                      | 21              | 55              | 14            | 5             | 5=100 (1% Never Heard)            |
|   | May, 1993                       | 21 105          | - 52            | 13            | 4             | 10=100                            |
| - · · · - · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·   | May, 1990                       | 15 05           | 55              | 13            | 6             | 11=100 (1% Never Heard)           |
| DAYL TOM  | Great Britain                   | 22              | 42              | 14            | 4             | 7=99                              |
|   | France                          | 10 20           | * 57            | 24            | 6             | 3=100                             |
| \$20 HBD  | Germany                         | 21              | 50              | 20            | 3             | 6=100                             |
| RED Bad   | 1991<br>Duccio                  | 21              | 62              | 7             | 3             | 7=100                             |
| 950 998   | Russia                          | 13              | 47              | 13            | 5             | 21=99                             |
|   | 1991                            | 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                            |
| M R e. Jew  |                                 | 26              | 41              | C.            |               | 15 100                            |
|   | United States<br>Mid-July, 2003 | <b>36</b><br>20 | <b>41</b><br>52 | <b>6</b><br>6 | <b>2</b><br>3 | 15=100                            |
|   | June, 2003                      | 25              | 52<br>54        | 6             | 2<br>2        | 19=100 (1% Never Heard)<br>13=100 |
| F220 281  | March, 2002                     | 18              | 56              | 7             | 2             | 13 = 100<br>17 = 100              |
|   | Mid-Nov., 2002                  | 24              | 51              | 5             | 2             | 17 = 100<br>18 = 100              |
| 428 302   | March, 2001                     | 16              | 56              | 8             | 2             | 18 = 100<br>18 = 100              |
| 211   | Sept., 2000 (RV's)              | 27              | 50              | 5             | 3             | 15=100                            |
| 79% Hb  | June, 1997                      | 26              | 56              | 7             | 2             | 9=100 (1% Never Heard)            |
| 53  | Great Britain                   | 23              | 53              | 6             | 3             | 15=100                            |
| 6m  | France <sup>3</sup>             | 28 %            | 53              | 8             | 3             | 8=100                             |
| 11 00   | 1991                            | 14 0            | 58              | 11            | 3             | 14=100                            |
| 0 19 2le  | Germany                         | 10 13           | 53              | 16            | 4             | 17=100                            |
| ari 8%.   | 1991                            | 5 57            | 47              | 18            | 6             | 24=100                            |
| 9.6. 8%.  | Russia                          | 18 66           | 47              | 17            | 8             | 10=100                            |
| The second se | 1992                            |                 | 5 54            | 15            | 7             | 13=100                            |
| aco 998   | 1991                            | 9               | 49              | 18            | 8             | 16=100                            |
| 950 998<br>DETALS   | Turkey                          | 6               | 21              | 17            | 32            | 23=99                             |
| namí  | Pakistan                        | 1               | 2               | 7             | 73            | 17=100                            |
| 181102  | Jordan                          | N/A             |                 |               |               | =100                              |
| (   | Morocco                         | 1               | 5               | 11            | 81            | 2=100                             |
|   |                                 |                 |                 |               |               |                                   |

<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."

| 1.     | f. Christ    | tians                |     |      |           |    |         |    |          |                 |
|--------|--------------|----------------------|-----|------|-----------|----|---------|----|----------|-----------------|
| M      | F            | <b>United States</b> | 55  |      | 29        | 5  |         | 1  | 10=100   |                 |
|        |              | Great Britain        | 36  |      | 48        | 5  |         | 1  | 9=99     |                 |
| 2 497a | SP2 and      | France               | 34  |      | 50        | 7  |         | 2  | 6=99     |                 |
| - 31   | 211 (94)     | Germany              | 15  |      | 60        | 13 |         | 3  | 9=100    |                 |
| 715    | 294          | Russia               | 44  |      | 49        | 2  | 1       | 1  | 4=100    |                 |
|        | 11.2         | Turkey               | 6   |      | 25        | 19 | 52      | 33 | 17=100   |                 |
| 53     | 42           | Pakistan             | 4   |      | 20        | 17 | and the | 45 | 15=101   |                 |
| M (7)  | 14 (9)       | Jordan               | N/A |      |           |    |         | 15 | =100     |                 |
| IL     |              | Morocco              | 2   |      | 21        | 31 |         | 42 | 4=100    |                 |
|        |              |                      |     |      |           |    |         |    |          |                 |
| Act    | agg, g. Musl | ims                  |     |      |           |    |         |    |          |                 |
| 150    |              | <b>United States</b> | 13  |      | 35        | 18 |         | 14 | 20=100 ( | 1% Never Heard) |
|        |              | Mid-July, 2003       | 9   | 1    | 38        | 19 |         | 12 |          | 1% Never Heard) |
|        |              | June, 2003           | 12  | 18   | 38        | 20 |         | 10 | 20=100 ( | 1% Never Heard) |
|        |              | March, 2002          | 7   | Ya   | 40        | 18 |         | 11 |          | 1% Never Heard) |
|        | 1 -          | Great Britain        | 18  | 1    | 49        | 12 |         | 6  | 16=101   |                 |
| A      | IF           | France               | 16  | 61   | <b>48</b> | 20 |         | 9  | 7=100    |                 |
|        | 1            | 1991 (N. Africans)   | 7   |      | 42        | 30 |         | 12 | 9=100    |                 |
|        |              | Germany              | 5   | 1    | 36        | 35 |         | 11 | 13=100   |                 |
| - 117  | 141          | 1991(Turks)          | 3   | ( gr | 32        | 32 |         | 14 | 19=100   |                 |
| PIIT   |              | Russia               | 15  | 19 1 | 38        | 23 |         | 15 | 11=100   |                 |
| - 349  | 331          | Turkey               | 66  |      | 22        | 6  |         | 3  | 3=100    |                 |
| (m)    | (47          | Pakistan             | 87  |      | 10        | 1  |         | 1  | 1=100    |                 |
| 49)    |              | Jordan               | N/A |      |           |    |         |    | =100     |                 |
| i.     | 1173         | Morocco              | 70  |      | 20        | 6  |         | 3  | 1=100    |                 |
| 184    | t 1 12-13    | 0)                   |     |      |           |    |         |    |          |                 |

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?

| •   |                      |        |       |         | Don't know   | Don't know/ |
|-----|----------------------|--------|-------|---------|--------------|-------------|
|     |                      | Better | Worse | Neither | Anyone (VOL) | Refused     |
| aga | <b>United States</b> | 88     | 1     | 6       | 1            | 4=100       |
| 110 | <b>Great Britain</b> | 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?

|                                   | A great<br><u>deal</u> | A fair<br>amount | Not<br>too much | Not<br>much at all | Don't know/<br>Refused |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| <b>United States</b> <sup>4</sup> | 34 (10)                | 36               | 21              | 6                  | 3=100                  |
| May, 2003                         | 28                     | 45               | 19              | 6                  | 2=100                  |
| Summer, 2002                      | 31                     | 44               | 17              | 3                  | 5=100                  |
| <b>Great Britain</b>              | 7 (26)                 | 29               | 43              | 18                 | 3=100                  |
| May, 2003                         | 7                      | 37               | 39              | 16                 | 1=100                  |
| Summer, 2002                      | 11                     | 33               | 37              | 15                 | 3=99                   |

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



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|              | A great | A fair | Not             | Not         | Don't know/ |
|--------------|---------|--------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
|              | deal    | amount | too much        | much at all | Refused     |
| France       | 3 (14)  | 11     | 51 C            | 33          | 2=100       |
| May, 2003    | 1 4     | 13     | 44              | 41          | *=99        |
| Summer, 2002 | 4       | 17     | 50              | 26          | 2=99        |
| Germany      | 3 (20)  | 26     | 47              | 22          | 2=100       |
| May, 2003    | 3       | 29     | 42              | 24          | 2=100       |
| Summer, 2002 | 9       | 44     | 35              | 10          | 2=100       |
| Russia       | 5       | 15     | 43 <del>7</del> | 30          | 7=100       |
| May, 2003    | 7 24    | 15     | 38              | 33          | 7=100       |
| Summer, 2002 | 3       | 18     | 45              | 25          | 9=100       |
| Turkey       | 5 (1)   | 9      | 35 (1           | 9 44        | 7=100       |
| May, 2003    | 3       | 6      | 28              | 58          | 5=100       |
| Summer, 2002 | 5       | 11     | 27              | 47          | 10=100      |
| Pakistan     | 3 ( )   | 15     | 16              | K 32        | 34=100      |
| May, 2003    | 4       | 19     | 22              | 40          | 15=100      |
| Summer, 2002 | 5       | 18     | 9               | 27          | 41=100      |
| Jordan       | 1 (16   | 15     | 38              | 2 2 39      | 7=100       |
| May, 2003    | 3       | 16     | 44              | 36          | 1=100       |
| Summer, 2002 | 7       | 21     | 35              | 36          | 1=100       |
| Morocco      | 9 (34)  | 25     | 16 6            | 7 41        | 8=99        |
| May, 2003    | 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?

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

|                      |      |     | Don't know/ |
|----------------------|------|-----|-------------|
|                      | Good | Bad | Refused     |
| <b>United States</b> | 33   | 50  | 17=100      |
| <b>Great Britain</b> | 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:]

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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,        | No,            | Don't know/ |
|----------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|
|                      | still favor | wouldn't favor | Refused     |
| <b>Great Britain</b> | 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?

|                      |               |               | Don't know/ |
|----------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
|                      | U.N. Approval | Too Difficult | Refused     |
| <b>United States</b> | 41            | 48            | 10=99       |
| <b>Great Britain</b> | 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). [Item e not asked in the United States.

| a. Pakistani President Pervez | Very<br><u>favorable</u><br>Musharraf | Somewhat<br><u>favorable<sup>6</sup></u> | Somewhat<br><u>unfavorable</u> | Very<br><u>unfavorable</u> | Don't know/<br><u>Refused</u>    |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <b>United States</b>          | 4                                     | 23                                       | 20                             | 12                         | <b>41=100</b> (13%= Never Heard) |
| <b>Great Britain</b>          | 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                            |

<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."



|                               | Very      | Somewhat               | Somewhat    | Very        | Don't know/ |                     |
|-------------------------------|-----------|------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|
|                               | favorable | favorable <sup>7</sup> | unfavorable | unfavorable | Refused     |                     |
| Jordan                        | 14        | 21                     | 13          | 17          | 35=100      |                     |
| Morocco                       | 2         | 11                     | 13          | 30          | 44=100      |                     |
|                               |           |                        |             |             |             |                     |
| b. French President Jacques C |           |                        |             |             |             |                     |
| United States                 | 4         | 21                     | 26          | 22          | 26=99       | (9%= Never Heard)   |
| Great Britain                 | 4         | -33                    | 29          | 16          | 18=100      |                     |
| France                        | 9 60      |                        | 27          | 13          | *=100       |                     |
| Germany                       | 9 70      |                        | 22          | 2           | 6=100       |                     |
| <i>1991<sup>8</sup></i>       | 13        | 54                     | 16          | 3           | 14=100      |                     |
| 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. I | Bush      |                        |             |             |             |                     |
| United States                 | 31        | 30                     | 14          | 22          | 3=100       |                     |
| April 11-16, 200              | 03 37     | 35                     | 14          | 11          | 3=100       |                     |
| Great Britain                 | 10 34     | 29                     | 25          | 32          | 4=100       |                     |
| France                        | 3         | 12                     | 33 /        | 52          | 1=101       |                     |
| Germany                       | 1         | 13                     | 46 9.       | \$ 39       | 1=100       | 1                   |
| 1991 <sup>9</sup>             | 18        | 57                     | 16          | 5           | 4=100       | 01                  |
| Russia                        | 4         | 24                     | 35          | 25          | 12=100      | 05                  |
| 1991                          | 9         | 63                     | 8           | 2           | 18=100      | 26                  |
| Turkey                        | 4         | 17                     | 13          | 54          | 12=100      | 2                   |
| Pakistan                      | 2         | 5                      | 5           | 62          | 25=99       | R. Kon              |
| Jordan                        | 1         | 2                      | 31          | 65          | 1=100       | 60                  |
| Morocco                       | 2         | 6                      | 14          | 76          | 2=100       |                     |
| d. British Prime Minister Ton | v Blair   |                        |             |             |             |                     |
| United States                 | 37        | 38                     | 7           | 4           | 14=100      | (4%= Never Heard)   |
| April,11-16 200               | 3 32      | 36                     | 7           | 3           | 22=100      | (10%= Never Heard)  |
| Great Britain                 | 14        | 37                     | 24 4        | 7 23        | 2=100       | (11) 1000 1000 1000 |
| France                        | 2 6       | 33                     | 43 7        | 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       |                     |
| 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       |                     |
|                               |           |                        |             |             | - 100       |                     |

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For items b, c, and d, U.S. trends and 1991 response categories were "very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, very unfavorable."
<sup>8</sup> In 1991, Germany was asked about François Mitterrand.
<sup>9</sup> In 1991, Germany and Russia were asked about George Bush Sr.



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|                               | Very<br>favorable | Somewhat favorable <sup>10</sup> | Somewhat<br>unfavorable | Very<br>unfavorable | Don't know/<br>Refused |                   |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| Russia                        | 1                 | 2                                | 13                      | 74                  | 10=100                 |                   |
| Turkey                        | 4                 | 1 7                              | 8 7                     | 5 67                | 14=100                 |                   |
| Pakistan                      | 40                | 25                               | 4                       | 5                   | 26=100                 |                   |
| Jordan                        | 31                | 24                               | 20                      | 19                  | 7=101                  |                   |
| Morocco                       | 21                | 24                               | 17                      | 25                  | 13=100                 |                   |
| f. U.N. Secretary General Kot |                   |                                  |                         |                     |                        |                   |
| <b>United States</b>          | 10                | 32                               | 14                      | 9                   | 34=99                  | (16% Never Heard) |
| Great Britain                 | 26                | 55 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.

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

<sup>10</sup> For items b, c, and d, U.S. trends and 1991 response categories were "very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, very unfavorable."



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.S. right to be concerned | U.S. over reacting to terrorism threat | Don't know/<br>Refused |
|----------------------|----------------------------|--|------------------------|
| <b>United States</b> | 84                         | 13                                     | 3=100                  |
| Great Britain        | 64                         | 33                                     | 3=100                  |
| April, 2002          | 77                         | 20                                     | 3=100                  |
| France               | 42                         | 57                                     | 2=101                  |
| April, 2002          | 67                         | 30                                     | 3=100                  |
| Germany              | 49                         | 49                                     | 2=100                  |
| April, 2002          | 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                  |

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

|                      |               |         |        |             | If "Not sincere" or Both"    |           |               |             |  |
|----------------------|---------------|---------|--------|-------------|------------------------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|--|
|                      |               |         |        |             | important reasons (See Q.12) |           |               |             |  |
|                      | Sincere       | Not     | Both   | Don't know/ | To control                   | To target | To protect    | To dominate |  |
|                      | <u>effort</u> | sincere | (VOL.) | Refused     | <u>Mideast Oil</u>           | Muslim    | <u>Israel</u> | the world   |  |
| <b>United States</b> | 67            | 25      | 2      | 6=100       | 18                           | 13        | 11            | 13          |  |
| <b>Great Britain</b> | 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 asked a list of items and asked if it was an important reason why the U.S. is conducting the war on terrorism. This table shows those responding "yes" to the important reason. 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?

a. To control Mideast oil

| ntrol Mideast oil    |     |    | Don't know/ |
|----------------------|-----|----|-------------|
|                      | Yes | No | Refused     |
| <b>United States</b> | 18  | 8  | 1=27        |
| <b>Great Britain</b> | 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

| anget mathematic ge term | mento una Broapo | it beeb ub uninit | iller y     |
|--------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------|
|                          |                  |                   | Don't know/ |
|                          | Yes              | No                | Refused     |
| <b>United States</b>     | 13               | 11                | 3=27        |
| <b>Great Britain</b>     | 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

.

|                          |     |    | Don't know/ |
|--------------------------|-----|----|-------------|
|                          | Yes | No | Refused     |
| 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                   | 69  | 3  | 3=75        |
| Morocco                  | 54  | 10 | 6=70        |
|                          | 0.  | 10 | 0 /0        |
|                          |     |    | Don't know/ |
|                          | Yes | No | Refused     |
| d. To dominate the world |     |    |             |
| <b>United States</b>     | 13  | 14 | 1=28        |
| <b>Great Britain</b>     | 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                  |     |    |             |
| IVIOI OCCO               | 60  | 4  | 5=69        |

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?

|              | Often<br>justified | Sometimes justified | Rarely justified | Never | Don't know/<br>Refused |
|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Turkey       | 6                  | 9                   | 9                | 67    | 9=100                  |
| Summer, 2002 | 4                  | 9                   | 7                | 64    | 14=98                  |
| Pakistan     | 27                 | 14                  | 8                | 35    | 17=101                 |
| Summer, 2002 | 19                 | 14                  | 5                | 38    | 23=99                  |
| Jordan       | See Below          |                     |                  |       |                        |
| Summer, 2002 | 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 to defend Islam, sometimes justified, rarely justified, or never justified?

| Jordan <sup>11</sup> | 32 | 50 | 14 | 3 | 1=100 |
|----------------------|----|----|----|---|-------|
|                      |    |    |    |   |       |

Q.14 What about suicide bombing carried out by Palestinians against Israeli citizens? Do you personally believe that this is justifiable or not justifiable?

|          |             | Not         | Don't know/ |
|----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|          | Justifiable | Justifiable | Refused     |
| 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?

|          |             | Not         | Don't know/ |
|----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|          | Justifiable | Justifiable | Refused     |
| 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?

|                      | Safer<br><u>place</u> | More<br><u>dangerous</u> | Don't know/<br><u>Refused</u> |
|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <b>United States</b> | 30                    | 50                       | 20=100                        |
| <b>Great Britain</b> | 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?

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

<sup>11</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."



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

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

|                      |            |           | Don't know/ |
|----------------------|------------|-----------|-------------|
|                      | Better off | Worse off | Refused     |
| <b>United States</b> | 84         | 9         | 7=100       |
| May, 2003            | 87         | 6         | 7=100       |
| March, 2003          | 79         | 8         | 13=100      |
| Great Britain        | 82         | 11        | 7=100       |
| May, 2003            | 85         | 7         | 8=100       |
| March, 2003          | 76         | 8         | 16=100      |
| France               | 67         | 27        | 6=100       |
| May, 2003            | 76         | 21        | 3=100       |
| March, 2003          | 73         | 14        | 13=100      |
| Germany              | 65         | 27        | 8=100       |
| May, 2003            | 76         | 15        | 9=100       |
| March, 2003          | 71         | 15        | 14=100      |

<sup>12</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?"



| Russia      | Better off<br>31 | $\frac{\text{Worse off}}{37}$ | Don't know/<br><u>Refused</u><br>31=99 |
|-------------|------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| May, 2003   | 27               | 25                            | 48 = 100                               |
| March, 2003 | 20               | 40                            | 40=100                                 |
| Turkey      | 41               | 44                            | 16=101                                 |
| May, 2003   | 37               | 45                            | 18=100                                 |
| March, 2003 | 33               | 52                            | 15=100                                 |
| Pakistan    | 8                | 61                            | 31=100                                 |
| May, 2003   | 17               | 60                            | 23=100                                 |
| Jordan      | 25               | 70                            | 5=100                                  |
| May, 2003   | 19               | 80                            | 1=100                                  |
| Morocco     | 37               | 48                            | 15=100                                 |
| May, 2003   | 24               | 53                            | 23=100                                 |

Q.20

P

999

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Q.21

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AA

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ma

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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?

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

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?

|                      | Stable     | Take   | Don't know/ |
|----------------------|------------|--------|-------------|
|                      | government | Longer | Refused     |
| <b>United States</b> | 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      |

The Pew Global Attitudes 14

|          | Stable     | Take   | Don't know/ |
|----------|------------|--------|-------------|
|          | government | Longer | Refused     |
| Turkey   | 12         | 78     | 10=100      |
| Pakistan | 5          | 58     | 36=99       |
| Jordan   | 33         | 51     | 16=100      |
| Morocco  | 8          | 79     | 13=100      |

Q.22

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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.S. &<br>Allies | The U.N. | Both [VOL.] | Neither [VOL.] | Don't know/<br>Refused |
|----------------------|------------------|----------|-------------|----------------|------------------------|
| <b>United States</b> | 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?

|                      | Stronger | Weaker | Same [VOL.] | Don't know/<br>Refused |
|----------------------|----------|--------|-------------|------------------------|
| <b>United States</b> | 73       | 14     | 9           | <u>4=100</u>           |
| 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?

|                      | More | Less | Same | Don't know/<br><u>Refused</u> |
|----------------------|------|------|------|-------------------------------|
| <b>United States</b> | 58   | 29   | 6    | 7=100                         |
| <b>Great Britain</b> | 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?

|                      | More | Less | Same [VOL.] | Don't know/<br>Refused |
|----------------------|------|------|-------------|------------------------|
| <b>United States</b> | 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?

|                      |        |      | No Effect | Don't know/ |
|----------------------|--------|------|-----------|-------------|
|                      | Helped | Hurt | [VOL.]    | Refused     |
| <b>United States</b> | 62     | 28   | 3         | 7=100       |
| Dec., 2003           | 59     | 26   | 6         | 9=100       |
| Sept., 2003          | 54     | 31   | 7         | 8=100       |
| May, 2003            | 65     | 22   | 6         | 7=100       |
| April 8-9, 2003      | 63     | 22   |           | 15=100      |
| <b>Great Britain</b> | 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?

|                      |                    |           | If "Leaders         | Lied" (See Q.27b) | WMD might      |             |
|----------------------|--------------------|-----------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------|
|                      | Leaders            | Leaders ( | Chose to believ     | ve Knew Iraq      | still be found | Don't know/ |
|                      | <b>Misinformed</b> | Lied      | <u>intelligence</u> | had no weapons    | [VOL.]         | Refused     |
| <b>United States</b> | 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 com    | 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      |



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#### [IF LIED IN Q27 ASK:]

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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?

|               | Chose to believe intelligence | Knew Iraq<br>had no weapons | Don't know/<br><u>Refused</u> ( <u>N)</u> |
|---------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| U.S.          | 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?

| or the Palestinians? |        |              |        |         |            |
|----------------------|--------|--------------|--------|---------|------------|
|                      |        |              | Both   | Neither | Don't know |
|                      | Israel | Palestinians | (VOL.) | (VOL.)  | Refused    |
| <b>United States</b> | 46     | 12           | 8      | 15      | 19=99      |
| Mid-July, 2003       | 41     | 13           | 8      | 18      | 20=100     |
| April, 2002          | 41     | 13           | 6      | 21      | 19=100     |
| Mid-Oct., 2001       | 47     | 10           | 8      | 18      | 17=100     |
| Early Sept., 2001    | 40     | 17           | 6      | 23      | 14=100     |
| Sept. 1997           | 48     | 13           | 5      | 16      | 18=100     |
| Sept. 1993           | 45     | 21           | 3      | 18      | 12=100     |
| Chicago CFR 1990     | ) 34   | 13           | 7      | 26      | 20=100     |
| Chicago CFR 1978     | 3 38   | 12           | 8      | 15      | 13=100     |
| Great Britain        | 22     | 28           | 15     | 18      | 17=100     |
| April, 2002          | 17     | 28           | 11     | 23      | 21=100     |
| France               | 20     | 28           | 11     | 30      | 11=100     |
| April, 2002          | 19     | 36           | 8      | 25      | 12=100     |
| Germany              | 24     | 24           | 7      | 32      | 12=99      |
| April, 2002          | 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?

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

#### 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 by Synovate Market Research between February 19-24, 2004. In Pakistan, 1,220 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 xx% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus x percentage points. In countries where the sample size is approximately 500 (Great Britain, France, and Germany), the margin of error is x 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.



(Print Version)

#### Pew Research Center for the People & the Press Commentary

A Global Generation Gap

Adapting to a New World

Released: February 24, 2004

Generational differences fuel much of current social and political tension in Western Europe and the United States over globalization, nationalism and immigration, according to an indepth analysis of results from the Pew Global Attitudes surveys. Older Americans and Western Europeans are more likely than their grandchildren to have reservations about growing global interconnectedness, to worry that their way of life is threatened, to feel that their culture is superior to others and to support restrictions on immigration. This generation gap is less pronounced in Eastern Europe and is virtually nonexistent in Asia, Africa and the Middle East. Nevertheless, Americans and Western Europeans of all ages are less likely than people in other parts of the world to tout their own cultural superiority and are less wary of foreign influence. These findings are based on the Pew *Global Attitudes Project*'s surveys conducted during 2002 and 2003 among more than 66,000 people in 49 nations plus the Palestinian Authority.

Throughout the world, there is a tension in opinion brought on by the push and pull of globalization. Strong majorities in all regions believe that increased global interconnectedness is a good thing. But globalization is more popular among the youth of the world. Everywhere but Latin America, young people are more likely than their elders to see advantages in increased global trade and communication, and they are more likely to embrace "globalization" per se<sup>1</sup>. This hesitation among some older citizens to embrace the movement toward globalization may be due in part to latent nationalism. Trend data from the World Values Survey<sup>2</sup>, in successive surveys over the past 20 years, show that for the last two decades older people in the U.S. and throughout Western Europe have consistently expressed more national pride than a generation of older citizens.

|                   | Age   |       |       |     |
|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
|                   | 18-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+ |
|                   | %     | %     | %     | %   |
| North America     | 43    | 35    | 35    | 27  |
| Western Europe    | 41    | 37    | 40    | 36  |
| Eastern Europe    | 39    | 30    | 30    | 7   |
| Latin America     | 36    | 36    | 44    | 45  |
| West Africa       | 75    | 66    | 58    | 61  |
| East/South Africa | 59    | 51    | 48    | 31  |
| Conflict Area*    | 50    | 50    | 45    | 39  |

Mixed Support for Globalization

communication?" \*Countries included in the Middle East/Conflict area are Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Turkey and Uzbekistan.

through greater economic trade and faster

#### Whose Culture is Best?

The Global Attitudes survey shows that people all over the world and of all ages are proud of their cultures. Yet it is only in the West (North America and Western Europe) where that pride is markedly stronger among the older generations, while younger people tend to be less wedded to their cultural identities.

In the U.S., 68% of those ages 65 and older agree with the statement "our people are not perfect, but our culture is superior," while only 49% of those ages 18-29 agree. The generation gap in Western Europe is similar. More than half of older Western Europeans (53%) are culturally chauvinistic, compared with only one-in-three (32%) of their younger counterparts. The difference between generations is particularly apparent in France, where

only 21% of those under age 30 support the notion of cultural superiority while 56% of those aged 65 and older say French culture is superior.

Eastern Europeans overall are more likely than their Western counterparts to say that their culture is superior. However, generational differences are not as sharp or as consistent as those seen in the US and Western Europe. In Bulgaria, Russia and Ukraine, citizens of all ages agree about the superiority of their respective cultures. In the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovak Republic, there are differences in perspective across age groups.

In Africa and Latin America, strong majorities, cutting across almost all ages, believe their culture is superior. In Asia, feelings of cultural superiority are even more intense. There are no major generation gaps in the region, except in Japan, where 84% of older people think that their culture is superior, compared with only 56% of those under age 30 who hold that view.

| Older Citizens See Culture as Superior         |       |          |           |        |  |
|--|-------|----------|-----------|--------|--|
| Age  |       |          |           |        |  |
|  | 18-29 | 30-49    | 50-64     | 65+    |  |
|  | %     | %        | %         | %      |  |
| North America                                  | 49    | 56       | 71        | 68     |  |
| United States                                  | 49    | 56       | 71        | 68     |  |
| Canada   | 46    | 42       | 56        | 57     |  |
| Western Europe                                 | 32    | 32       | 43        | 53     |  |
| France   | 21    | 22       | 50        | 56     |  |
| Germany  | 33    | 36       | 45        | 46     |  |
| Italy  | 46    | 57       | 55        | 64     |  |
| Britain  | 36    | 31       | 39        | 51     |  |
| Eastern Europe                                 | 57    | 62       | 60        | 58     |  |
| Bulgaria                                       | 75    | 75       | 75        | 78     |  |
| Czech Rep.                                     | 47    | 47       | 53        | 68     |  |
| Poland   | 53    | 49       | 68        | 60     |  |
| Russia   | 58    | 63       | 62        | 59     |  |
| Slovak Rep.                                    | 53    | 47       | 51        | 65     |  |
| Ukraine  | 49    | 52       | 54        | 50     |  |
| Percent who agree "o<br>our culture is superio |       | le are n | ot perfec | t, but |  |

#### Protecting "Our Way of Life"

Despite the general attraction of globalization and possibly, as a reflection of their sense of cultural superiority, solid majorities everywhere think that their way of life needs to be protected against foreign influence. In most parts of the world, that desire cuts across all age groups. However, in the U.S., Western Europe and parts of Eastern Europe, older people are much more worried than the young about defending their country's way of life.

In the U.S., seven-in-ten (71%) people ages 65 and older want to shield their way of life from foreign influence, while just over half (55%) of those ages 18 to 29 agree. This generation gap is even greater in France, Germany and Britain, where older people are twice as likely as young people to be worried about erosion of their way of life. Generational differences are less consistent in Eastern Europe. Concern is greatest among older people in Russia and Ukraine, while young Czechs are more worried than their elders about foreign influence.

Africans, Asians, Latin Americans and people living in the Middle East are generally even more worried than Americans and Europeans about a pernicious foreign influence on their way of life, but that concern is broadly shared across generations, with little significant difference between age groups.

#### **Putting the Brakes on Immigration**

Skepticism about foreign influence is evident in widespread, intense antipathy toward immigration. Majorities in nearly every country surveyed support tougher restrictions on people entering their countries. Immigrants are particularly unpopular across Europe, especially among the older generation, where half of those surveyed *completely agree* with the need for additional immigration controls. The anti-immigrant generation gap is widest in

France, where more than half (53%) of those ages 65 and older *completely agree* that immigration should be restricted. Only a quarter (24%) of younger French men and women shared such strong views.

Anti-immigrant sentiment also runs high in the United States, especially among older Americans. Half (50%) of those ages 65 and older strongly support new controls on entry of people into the country. Only four-in-ten (40%) young people share that intensity of sentiment.

Support for greater immigration controls also is widespread in Africa, Asia and Latin America, without the generational differences seen in Europe and the United States. The principal exception is Japan, where older people are much more vehement than younger people that foreigners should face restrictions for entering their country. Fully 64% of Japanese ages 65 and older say there should be more control over foreign immigration. Only 12% of those ages 18-29 agree.

| Intensity of Support for Restricting<br>Immigration   |    |       |    |      |
|---|----|-------|----|------|
|   |    | Aş    | 7e | u.u. |
|   |    | 30-49 |    | 65+  |
|   | %  | %     | %  | %    |
| North America   | 40 | 43    | 35 | 43   |
| United States   | 40 | 45    | 49 | 50   |
| Canada  | 29 | 30    | 37 | 36   |
|   |    |       |    |      |
| Western Europe  | 31 | 39    | 47 | 50   |
| France  | 24 | 33    | 54 | 53   |
| Germany   | 21 | 26    | 33 | 36   |
| Italy   | 41 | 47    | 45 | 58   |
| Britain   | 37 | 47    | 49 | 52   |
|   |    |       |    |      |
| Eastern Europe  | 31 | 32    | 35 | 36   |
| Bulgaria  | 14 | 15    | 19 | 12   |
| Czech Rep.  | 48 | 47    | 50 | 50   |
| Poland  | 17 | 13    | 16 | 22   |
| Russia  | 32 | 34    | 34 | 35   |
| Slovak Rep.   | 29 | 38    | 36 | 43   |
| Ukraine   | 26 | 22    | 27 | 51   |
| Percent who completely agree "We should restrict<br>and control entry of people into our country more |    |       |    |      |

and control entry of people into our country more than we do now."

#### Most Agree English is Important

While most citizens of the world long to preserve their own national identities and to protect their cultures from foreign influence, majorities everywhere agree on the importance of children learning English or, in the case of the U.S. and Britain, on the necessity for children to learn a foreign language.

Generational differences on language training suggest that, while older Americans and Western Europeans are quite worried about foreign threats to their way of life, they still place great value on developing the language skills necessary to cope with the broader world. Fully 42% of US senior citizens *completely agree* that children need to learn a foreign language. Only 29% of those under the age of 30 feel that strongly about language training. In France, 68% of those ages 65 and older *completely agree* that kids need to learn English to succeed in the world today. Only 44% of those ages 18-29 feel that strongly. The age gap is equally wide in Britain and less pronounced in Germany and Italy.

In Eastern Europe, the generational difference on this issue runs in the opposite direction. Young people are much more strongly committed to the idea of learning English than the older generation. Overall, 53% of Eastern Europeans under the age of 30 *completely agree* that children need to learn English to succeed in

| English a M     | ust-Le<br>Worl |       | round     | the   |  |
|-----------------|----------------|-------|-----------|-------|--|
|                 | 30.90          | A(    | <u>је</u> | an ar |  |
|                 | 18-29          | 30-49 | 50-64     | 65+   |  |
|                 | %              | %     | %         | %     |  |
| North America   | 30             | 30    | 35        | 29    |  |
| United States** | 29             | 30    | 35        | 42    |  |
| Canada**        | 42             | 44    | 47        | 43    |  |
|                 |                |       |           |       |  |
| Western Europe  | 42             | 50    | 56        | 61    |  |
| France          | 44             | 59    | 65        | 68    |  |
| Germany         | 62             | 71    | 76        | 74    |  |
| Italy           | 49             | 46    | 50        | 53    |  |
| Britain**       | 27             | 30    | 41        | 51    |  |
|                 |                |       |           |       |  |
| Eastern Europe  | 53             | 52    | 45        | 29    |  |
| Bulgaria        | 53             | 52    | 37        | 30    |  |
| Czech Rep.      | 68             | 69    | 78        | 74    |  |
| Poland          | 50             | 50    | 53        | 35    |  |
| Russia          | 52             | 50    | 41        | 26    |  |
| Slovak Rep.     | 68             | 73    | 72        | 70    |  |
| Ukraine         | 62             | 67    | 73        | 62    |  |
|                 |                |       |           |       |  |

Percent who completely agree "Children need to learn English to succeed in the world today."

\*\* U.S. and British respondents asked "Children need to learn a foreign language to succeed in the the world today. Only 29% of those ages 65 and older feel the same way.

In Latin America, overwhelming majorities of all ages agree about the importance of learning English. Only in Mexico do young people place much greater value on language training than do their elders. In Asia, there is similarly widespread agreement among all age groups about the need to learn English. The lone exception is Japan, where 75% of those ages 65 and older *completely agree* that it is important for kids to learn English, while only 45% of those ages 18-29 *completely agree*.

<sup>1</sup> This also is true in the Asian countries surveyed by the *Global Attitudes Project* but not aggregated for the accompanying table or for this analysis.

<sup>2</sup> The World Values Survey, run out of University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research, can be found online at www.worldvaluessurvey.org.

Q9 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.

| MA   |          | MI  | EN ØK  | we we | OMEN   | Men- | Women  | Mur often oppose the US           |
|------|----------|-----|--------|-------|--------|------|--------|-----------------------------------|
| WKQ. |          | Fav | Oppose | Fav   | Oppose | Fav  | Oppose | U MAN OTTANO PRINCIPLOS           |
|      | US       | 84  | 11     | 79    | 14     | 5    | -3     | LALL LA A L'ANDRON                |
|      | Britain  | 66  | 29     | 61    | 31     | 5    | -2     | Fight to end temorism             |
|      | France   | 55  | 42     | 45    | 52     | 10   | -10    | 0                                 |
|      | Germany  | 58  | 40     | 52    | 46     | 6    | -6     |                                   |
|      | Russia   | 73  | 21     | 73    | 20     | 0    | 1      |                                   |
| 0    | Turkey   | 35  | 60 6   | 39    | 51     | -4   | 9      | Muxim notions: gender no differen |
| 39   | Pakistan | 16  | 69 15  | 16    | 49     | 0    | 20     | MANY Sector of Many               |
|      | Jordan   | 12  | 79 9   | 11    | 77     | 1    | 2      | 2 clearly oppose -                |
| 12   | Morocco  | 28  | 68 4   | 27    | 65     | 1    | 3      | + · · · ) of food                 |
| B    |          |     |        |       |        |      | 1      |                                   |

Q10 Which of the following phrases comes closer to your point of view? The US is right to be so concerned about the threat of international terrorism OR the US is over reacting to the threat of international terrorism.



X

Q11 Do you think that the US led war on terrorism is a sincere effort to reduce international terrorism or don't you believe that?

|          | Sincere Effort |       | Don't Believe |       | В   | oth   | Men-Women |               |  |
|----------|----------------|-------|---------------|-------|-----|-------|-----------|---------------|--|
|          |                |       |               |       |     |       | Sincere   |               |  |
|          | Men            | Women | Men           | Women | Men | Women | Effort    | Don't Believe |  |
| US       | 67             | 68    | 26            | 24    | 2   | 3     | -1        | 2             |  |
| Britain  | 50             | 53    | 42            | 38    | 3   | 2     | -3        | 4             |  |
| France   | 36             | 33    | 61            | 61    | 3   | 2     | 3         | 0             |  |
| Germany  | 34             | 25    | 61            | 70    | 0   | 1     | 9         | -9            |  |
| Russia   | 35             | 36    | 53            | 43    | 8   | 10    | -1        | 10            |  |
| Turkey   | 17             | 22    | 70            | 58    | 8   | 6     | -5        | 12            |  |
| Pakistan | 7              | 6     | 72            | 42    | 7   | 3     | 1         | 30            |  |
| Jordan   | 12             | 11    | 50            | 53    | 27  | 21    | 1         | -3            |  |
| Morocco  | 17             | 17    | 68            | 64    | 4   | 3     | 0         | 4             |  |

Q13 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?

|          | Jus | tified <b>OK</b> | Not J      | ustified <b>D</b> K | 0 Men-      | Women    |
|----------|-----|------------------|------------|---------------------|-------------|----------|
|          | Men | Women            | Men        | Women               | 🕇 Just      | Not Just |
| Turkey   | 19  | 10 🚺             | 75         | 78 🚺                | 9           | -3       |
| Pakistan | 49  | 31 1             | 42         | 44 7                | <b>6</b> 18 | -2       |
| Jordan   | na  | na               | na         | na                  | na          | na       |
| Morocco  | 37  | 41 6             | 57         | (48)                | -4          | 9        |
| 9        |     |                  | crea<br>by | red sug<br>Moror    | ang         | ť        |

Q14 What about suicide bombing carried out by Palestinians against Israeli citizens? Do you personally believe that this is justifiable or not justifiable?

|          | Jus | tified | Not J | ustified | Men-Women |          |  |
|----------|-----|--------|-------|----------|-----------|----------|--|
|          | Men |        |       | Women    | Just      | Not Just |  |
| Turkey   | 31  | 17     | 63    | 71       | 14        | -8       |  |
| Pakistan | 60  | 32     | 32    | 41       | 28        | -9       |  |
| Jordan   | 84  | 88     | 14    | 9        | -4        | 5        |  |
| Morocco  | 71  | 77     | 25    | 19 .     | -6        | 6        |  |

Q15 What about suicide bombing carried out against American and other Westerners in Iraq? Do you personally believe that this is justifiable or not justifiable?

|          | Jus | tified | Not Justified |       | Men  | Women    |       |             |
|----------|-----|--------|---------------|-------|------|----------|-------|-------------|
|          | Men | Women  | Men           | Women | Just | Not Just |       |             |
| Turkey   | 41  | 22     | 52            | 66    | 19   | -14      | 0     |             |
| Pakistan | 61  | 29     | 30            | 41    | 32   | -11      | No. Y | Not watched |
| Jordan   | 69  | 71     | 23            | 24    | -2   | -1       |       | 1 XX WARM   |
| Morocco  | 64  | 68     | 30            | 24    | -4   | 6        |       | 0           |

Q16 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

|          | Safe | r Place | More D | angerous | Men-  | Women  |                             |
|----------|------|---------|--------|----------|-------|--------|-----------------------------|
|          | Men  | Women   | Men    | Women    | Safer | Danger |                             |
| US       | 32   | 27      | 50     | 50       | 5     | 0      | women more so believe work  |
| Britain  | 45   | 40      | 40     | 46       | 5     | -6     |                             |
| France   | 56   | .51     | 40     | 42       | 5     | -2     | is not desperers with hoter |
| Germany  | 44   | 32      | 40     | 53       | 12    | -13    | 13 March                    |
| Russia   | 41   | 34      | 43     | 45       | 7     | -2     | $\cap$                      |
| Turkey   | 47   | 34      | 43     | 48       | 13    | -5     | Power.                      |
| Pakistan | 25   | 11      | 62     | 59       | 14    | 3      | 1                           |
| Jordan   | 29   | 29      | 52     | 54       | 0     | -2     |                             |
| Morocco  | 22   | 20      | 67     | 63       | 2     | 4      |                             |
|          |      |         |        | 181 111  |       |        |                             |

Q18 On the subject of Iraq, did (survey country) make the right decision or the wrong decision to not use military force against Iraq

|          | Ri  | ight  | W   | rong  | Men-Women |       |  |
|----------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----------|-------|--|
|          | Men | Women | Men | Women | Right     | Wrong |  |
| France   | 88  | 88    | 11  | 11    | 0         | 0     |  |
| Germany  | 82  | 90    | 15  | 8 -   | -8        | 7     |  |
| Russia   | 83  | 84    | 12  | 8     | -1        | 4     |  |
| Turkey   | 72  | 71    | 24  | 21    | A         | 3     |  |
| Pakistan | 80  | 55    | 12  | 13 .  | (25)      | -1    |  |
| Jordan   | 87  | 86    | 2   | 3     | 1         | -1    |  |
| Morocco  | 84  | 83    | 11  | 7     | 1         | 4     |  |
|          |     | 1     |     |       |           |       |  |

Mulle East 9 hot as commend V European

Q19 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 US and its allies?

|          | Bett | er Off | Wor | se Off | Men-Women |       |  |
|----------|------|--------|-----|--------|-----------|-------|--|
|          | Men  | Women  | Men | Women  | Better    | Worse |  |
| US       | 84   | 84     | 9   | 9      | 0         | 0     |  |
| Britain  | 81   | 83     | 12  | 10     | -2        | 2     |  |
| France   | 65   | 69     | 31  | 24     | -4        | 7     |  |
| Germany  | 70   | 61     | 26  | 29     | 9         | -3    |  |
| Russia   | 33   | 30     | 41  | 34     | 3         | 7     |  |
| Turkey   | 40   | 42     | 46  | 42     | -2        | 4     |  |
| Pakistan | 9    | 7      | 72  | 50     | 2         | 22    |  |
| Jordan   | 26   | 24     | 70  | 71     | 2         | -1    |  |
| Morocco  | 40   | 33     | 48  | 49     | 7         | -1    |  |
|          |      |        |     |        |           |       |  |

Q20 in rebuilding Iraq, how good a job are the US 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?

|                   | Exc | ellent | G   | ood   | Onl | y Fair | 1   | Poor  | Men-     | Women    |
|-------------------|-----|--------|-----|-------|-----|--------|-----|-------|----------|----------|
|                   | Men | Women  | Men | Women | Men | Women  | Men | Women | Positive | Negative |
| US                | 16  | 12     | 35  | 40    | 33  | 29     | 10  | 9     | -1       | 5        |
| Britain           | 4   | 4      | 22  | 29    | 48  | 47     | 21  | 12    | -8       | 9 /      |
| France            | 2   | 1      | 31  | 35    | 47  | 47     | 16  | 11    | -4       | 6        |
| Germany           | 1   | 1      | 15  | 16    | 58  | 60     | 21  | 20    | -1       | 0        |
| Russia            | 2   | 1      | 11  | 12    | 38  | 34     | 42  | 37    | 0        | 8        |
| Turkey            | 2   | 1      | 15  | 14    | 31  | 31     | 41  | 36    | 2        | 6        |
| Pakistan          | 3   | 3      | 7   | 7     | 20  | 16     | 46  | 22    | 0        | 1 29     |
| Jordan            | 6   | 6      | 21  | 21    | 27  | 29     | 38  | 37    | -1       | -2       |
| Morocco           | 14  | 10     | 32  | 29    | 39  | 35     | 11  | 21    | 3        | 7        |
| Statter job us my |     |        |     |       |     |        |     |       |          |          |

43

Q21 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?

|    |         | Stable |       | Will Take | -     |        | Vomen  | Call 19 and Broad antainly = |
|----|---------|--------|-------|-----------|-------|--------|--------|------------------------------|
|    |         | Men    | Women | Men       | Women | Stable | Longer | Shall harren O mocoptonest - |
| U  | S       | 13     | 12    | 85        | 82    | 1      | 3      |                              |
| B  | ritain  | 9      | 8     | 87        | 91    | 1      | -4     | and an initial and it it     |
| Fr | rance   | 9      | 3     | 90        | 95    | 6      | -5     | zunder opinions in stabulity |
| G  | ermany  | 7      | 4     | 92        | 95    | 3      | -3 c / |                              |
| R  | ussia   | 17     | 12    | 72        | 68    | 5      | 4      | De! very dose -              |
| Τι | urkey   | 13     | 12    | 79        | 77    | 1      | 2      | Insent It 0                  |
| Pa | akistan | 6      | 5     | 70        | 46    | 1      | 24 V   |                              |
| Jo | ordan   | 34     | 32    | 51        | 51    | 2      | 0      | Western OF toppones          |
| М  | lorocco | 8      | 8     | 83        | 75    | 0      | 8      |                              |

Q22 Who do you think could do the best job at helping the Iraqi people form a stable government -- the US and its allies or the United Nations?

|          | US ar | nd allies | Th  | e UN  | В   | oth   | N   | either | Men-V | Vomen |           |
|----------|-------|-----------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|--------|-------|-------|-----------|
|          | Men   | Women     | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women  | US    | UN    |           |
| US       | 45    | 38        | 45  | 46    | 4   | 3     | 2   | 3      | 7     | -1    |           |
| Britain  | 9     | 11        | 83  | 80    | 3   | 4     | 1   | 2      | -2    | 3     |           |
| France   | 6     | 11        | 86  | 77    | 1   | 2     | 6   | 3      | -5    | 9     | huslin    |
| Germany  | 8     | 8         | 82  | 85    | 3   | 2     | 4   | 1      | 0     | -3    | 3         |
| Russia   | 11    | 8         | 46  | 48    | 11  | 12    | 19  | 9      | 3     | -2    | 0.        |
| Turkey   | 10    | 12        | 65  | 53    | 8   | 4     | 9   | 12     | -2    | 12    | Later Mal |
| Pakistan | 3     | 6         | 53  | 32    | 4   | 3     | 23  | 8      | -3    | 21    | neuro min |
| Jordan   | 6     | 5         | 16  | 14    | 19  | 22    | 50  | 49     | 1     | 2     | 4         |
| Morocco  | 18    | 16        | 24  | 20    | 11  | 7     | 35  | 34     | 2     | 4     | TA        |

Here are a few questions about how the war in Iraq may have changed your opinion of the US Q23 Did the US military show itself to be stronger or weaker than you expected?

|          | Str | onger | We   | eaker | S   | ame   |         | Men-Women |      |
|----------|-----|-------|------|-------|-----|-------|---------|-----------|------|
|          | Men | Women | Men  | Women | Men | Women | Stonger | Weaker    | Same |
| US       | 72  | (73)  | (15) | 13    | 10  | 8     | -1      | 2         | 2    |
| Britain  | 48  | 43    | 30   | (35)  | 18  | 11    | 5       | -5        | 7    |
| France   | 25  | (32)  | 53)  | 52    | 17  | 12    | -7      | 1         | 5    |
| Germany  | 30  | 23    | 56   | 65    | 9   | 3     | 7       | -9        | 6    |
| Russia   | 20  | 25    | 43   | 31    | 32  | 27    | -5      | (12)      | 5    |
| Turkey   | 28  | 33    | 62   | 50    | 5   | 5     | -5      | 12        | 0    |
| Pakistan | 24  | 19    | 61   | 30    | 1   | 4     | 5       | 31        | -3   |
| Jordan   | 51  | 43    | 19   | (23)  | 23  | 28    | 8       | -4        | -5   |
| Morocco  | 48  | 49    | 35   | 28    | 11  | 15    | -1      | 7         | -4   |
|          |     |       |      |       |     |       |         |           |      |

Q24 As a consequence of the war, do you have more confidence or less confidence that the US is trustworthy?

|          | Μ   | lore  |     | ess   | S   | ame   |      | Men-Womer | 1    |
|----------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----|-------|------|-----------|------|
|          | Men | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women | More | Less      | Same |
| US       | 58  | 57    | 29  | 29    | 6   | 6     | 1    | 0         | 0    |
| Britain  | 22  | 26    | 58  | 57    | 15  | 10    | -4   | 1         | 5    |
| France   | 12  | 16    | 80  | 75    | 6   | 6     | -4   | 5         | 0    |
| Germany  | 10  | 10    | 82  | 82    | 6   | 4     | 0    | 0         | 2    |
| Russia   | 8   | 8     | 64  | 63    | 23  | 20    | 0    | 1         | 3    |
| Turkey   | 7   | 9     | 77  | 71    | 12  | 11    | -2   | 6         | 1    |
| Pakistan | 5   | 5     | 77  | 49    | 6   | 9     | 0    | 28        | -3   |
| Jordan   | 6   | 3     | 49  | 51    | 37  | 39    | 3    | -2        | -2   |
| Morocco  | 13  | 10    | 73  | 72    | 8   | 6     | 3    | 1         | 2    |

shyptigless - have less comfidences that is muchility to state they are tess tikety is trustmonthy

a fees us as wanter

a more confidence in the US

not by too much

15

Q25 And as a consquence of the war, do you have more confidence or less confidence that the US wants to promote democracy all around the world?

|          | More |       | Less |       | Same |       |      | Men-Women |      |
|----------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-----------|------|
|          | Men  | Women | Men  | Women | Men  | Women | More | Less      | Same |
| US       | 71   | 69    | 20   | 22    | 3    | 2     | 2    | -2        | 1    |
| Britain  | 45   | 37    | 43   | 46    | 6    | 5     | 8    | -3        | 1    |
| France   | 17   | 15    | 78   | 78    | 2    | 3     | 2    | 0         | -1   |
| Germany  | 27   | 20    | 65   | 76    | 4    | 1     | 7    | -11       | 3    |
| Russia   | 15   | 13    | 55   | 51    | 22   | 20    | 2    | 4         | 2    |
| Turkey   | 9    | 10    | 76   | 71    | 10   | 8     | -1   | 5         | 2    |
| Pakistan | 7    | 3     | 71   | 41    | 5    | 5     | 4    | 30        | 0    |
| Jordan   | 7    | 7     | 56   | 56    | 28   | 29    | 0    | 0         | -1   |
| Morocco  | 17   | 13    | 67   | 66    | 7    | 8     | 4    | 1         | -1   |

Q26 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

| Helped<br>MenHurtNo EffectMen-WomenHurtNo Effect $f_{GF}$ US64602829324-11Britain363651505601-1France32345654128-224Germany312958575621-11Russia232251492115126Turkey2622585587431Pakistan976945652241Jordan101439333340-46-7DK'S -Morocco181468668942-1DK'S -   | (        | 110  |       | $\cap$     |              |     |        |        |           |           | 40           |
|--|----------|------|-------|------------|--------------|-----|--------|--------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| US64602829324-11Britain363651505601-1France32345654128-224Germany312958575621-1Russia232251492115126Turkey2622585587431Pakistan976945652241Jordan101439333340-46-7North  | (PN      | W He | lped  |            | Hurt         | No  | Effect |        | Men-Women |           | 1            |
| Britain $36$ $36$ $51$ $50$ $5$ $6$ $0$ $1$ $-1$ $-1$ France $32$ $34$ $56$ $54$ $12$ $8$ $-2$ $2$ $4$ Germany $31$ $29$ $58$ $57$ $5$ $6$ $2$ $1$ $-1$ Russia $23$ $22$ $51$ $49$ $21$ $15$ $1$ $2$ $6$ Turkey $26$ $22$ $58$ $55$ $8$ $7$ $4$ $3$ $1$ Pakistan $9$ $7$ $69$ $45$ $6$ $5$ $2$ $24$ $1$ Jordan $10$ $14$ $39$ $33$ $33$ $40$ $-4$ $6$ $-7$ $7$ | C        | Men  | Women | Men        | Women        | Men | Women  | Helped | Hurt      | No Effect | 171          |
| France32345654128-224Germany312958575621-1Russia232251492115126Turkey2622585587431Pakistan976945652241Jordan101439333340-46-77   | US       | 64   | 60    | 28         | 29           | 3   | 2      | 4      | -1        | 1         | (67).        |
| Germany $31$ $29$ $58$ $57$ $5$ $6$ $2$ $1$ $-1$ $1$ $1$ Russia $23$ $22$ $51$ $49$ $21$ $15$ $1$ $2$ $6$ Turkey $26$ $22$ $58$ $55$ $8$ $7$ $4$ $3$ $1$ Pakistan $9$ $7$ $69$ $45$ $6$ $5$ $2$ $24$ $1$ Jordan $10$ $14$ $39$ $33$ $33$ $40$ $-4$ $6$ $-7$ $7$  | Britain  | 36   | 36    | 51         | 50           | 5   | 6      | 0      | 1         | -1        | n mainstakel |
| Russia232251492115126Turkey2622585587431Pakistan976945652241Jordan101439333340-46-7 $7$  | France   | 32   | 34    | 56         | 54           | 12  | 8      | -2     | 2         | 4         | A) WWWWWW    |
| Turkey       26       22       58       55       8       7       4       3       1       WTW Mu         Pakistan       9       7       69       45       6       5       2       24       1       1       WTW Mu         Jordan       10       14       39       33       33       40       -4       6       -7       7       0       1                        | Germany  | 31   | 29    | 58         | 57           | 5   | 6      | 2      | 1         | -1        | Y to hu      |
| Pakistan       9       7       69       45       6       5       2       24       1         Jordan       10       14       39       33       33       40       -4       6       -7 $7$ $0$   | Russia   | 23   | 22    | 51         | 49           | 21  | 15     | 1      | 2         | 6         |              |
| Jordan 10 14 39 33 33 40 -4 6 -7   | Turkey   | 26   | 22    | 58         | 55           | 8   | 7      | 4      | 3         | 1         | Y WOTHN INL  |
|  | Pakistan | 9    | 7     | 69         | 45           | 6   | 5      | 2      | 24        | 1         |              |
| Morocco 18 14 68 66 8 9 4 2 -1 UKS-  | Jordan   | 10   | 14    | 39         | 33           | 33  | 40     | -4     | 6         | -7        | The Will     |
|  | Morocco  | 18   | 14    | 68         | 66           | 8   | 9      | 4      | 2         | -1        | · 11K S -    |
|  |          |      |       | $\bigcirc$ | $\mathbf{X}$ |     |        |        |           |           |              |

Q27 Before the war, the leaders of US and Britain claimed that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. These weapns have yet to be found. Why do you think they made this claim? Was it mostly because US and British leaders were themselves misinformed by bad intelligence, or wsa it mostly because US and British leaders lied to provide a reason for invading Iraq?

|          | Misin | formed | Lied |       | Might sti | ill be found | Men-Women       |      |                         |  |
|----------|-------|--------|------|-------|-----------|--------------|-----------------|------|-------------------------|--|
|          | Men   | Women  | Men  | Women | Men       | Women        | Misinform<br>ed | Lied | Might still<br>be found |  |
| US       | 48    | 50     | 30   | 32    | 12        | 6            | -2              | -2   | 6                       |  |
| Britain  | 47    | 49     | 42   | 40    | 4         | 3            | -2              | 2    | 1                       |  |
| France   | 12    | 18     | 86   | 78    | 0         | 1            | -6              | 8    | -1                      |  |
| Germany  | 25    | 21     | 66   | (72)  | 1         | 3            | 4               | -6   | -2                      |  |
| Russia   | 19    | 16     | 63   | 59    | 8         | 8            | 3               | 4    | 0                       |  |
| Turkey   | 14    | 15     | 73   | 59    | 6         | 7            | -1              | 14   | -1                      |  |
| Pakistan | 11    | 6      | 70   | 50    | 2         | 2            | 5               | 20   | 0                       |  |
| Jordan   | 22    | 23     | 72   | 65    | 5         | 7            | -1              | 7    | -2                      |  |
| Morocco  | 22    | 19     | 50   | 45    | 14        | 13           | 3               | 5    | 1                       |  |

esp. in Muslims

ment likely to turk VS leaders hed to Q28 Now thinking about the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more -Israel or the Palestinians?

2

|          | Is  | Israel |     | Palestinians |     | oth   | Neither |       |  |
|----------|-----|--------|-----|--------------|-----|-------|---------|-------|--|
|          | Men | Women  | Men | Women        | Men | Women | Men     | Women |  |
| US       | 51  | 41     | 12  | 14           | 6   | 9     | 16      | 13    |  |
| Britain  | 23  | 20     | 35  | 22           | 12  | 17    | 18      | 18    |  |
| France   | 19  | 21     | 30  | 26           | 10  | 11    | 32      | 28    |  |
| Germany  | 24  | 24     | 26  | 23           | 3   | 11    | 33      | 31    |  |
| Russia   | 25  | 21     | 14  | 13           | 15  | 15    | 37      | 33    |  |
| Turkey   | 6   | 7      | 72  | 56           | 3   | 5     | 14      | 17    |  |
| Pakistan | 1   | 2      | 90  | 72           | 1   | 1     | 2       | 2     |  |
| Jordan   | 1   | 1      | 83  | 94           | 0   | 0     | 5       | 4     |  |
| Morocco  | 1   | 0      | 96  | 96           | 2   | 2     | 1       | 1     |  |

#### Q29 Do you think the US government favors or opposes democracy in our country?

|          | M   | IEN    | WO  | MEN    | Men-Women |        |  |
|----------|-----|--------|-----|--------|-----------|--------|--|
|          | Fav | Oppose | Fav | Oppose | Fav       | Oppose |  |
| Pakistan | 35  | 22     | 43  | 28     | -8        | -6     |  |
| Jordan   | 45  | 42     | 43  | 44     | 2         | -2     |  |
| Morocco  | 56  | 46     | 27  | 27     | 29        | 19     |  |

#### Gender

• Favorability Ratings: Gender differences have more prominence when asking about institutions or governments. And less divergence with regards to religion. For example we see pretty similar favorability rankings for opinions on Jews, Christians and Muslims between sexes with very little divergence. Specifically, men give Jews and Christians slightly lower favorability than women but for the most part, as we see with the Muslim favorability we get very low divergence overall.

When asked how people view the US, women in Turkey and Pakistan we less likely than their male counterparts to give an unfavorable mark. 58% and 46% as compared to 70% and 74%. The British, both men and women and Russian men gave the US its highest favorability 59%, 57% and 51% respectfully. Men and women in Jordan and Morocco gave the US high unfavorable but Pakistani and Turkish women gave slightly higher favorability ratings and extremely less unfavorable ratings than their male counterparts.

- Across the board men in all countries surveyed believe it to be better living in the US than in their current country. The lone exception is males in Britain.
  - Women are considerably more likely to answer, "don't know" when asked current hot topic questions regarding issues such as support of US-led efforts to fight terrorism, partnerships with the US. UN approval before military action and when asked their opinion on suicide bombings (on this questions women in Muslim countries doubled the refusal of the men when asked if suicide bombing was justified to defend Islam. A quarter of Pakistani women stated refused to answer. When asked if the EU should become as powerful as the US, men held stronger opinions on both sides of the issue, with women overwhelmingly stating DK. Excluding the US, men in most countries are more likely to favor getting UN approval before using military force in dealing with international threat.
  - Men in Muslim nations, more often oppose the US fight to end terrorism than women, the opposite it true in the US and European countries. Strong majorities in those countries support the effort, with men leading the charge.
  - Women in Muslim nations believe the US is over-reacting to the terror threat, with majorities in both genders saying so. Gender differences in Europeans have very little divergence on this issue.
  - Women more so believe that the world would be a more dangerous place if there was another country equal in power to the US.

#### Age Breakouts for March 2004 Survey

Q2 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of (insert)? a The United States

| a The United States |       |       |       |      |  |
|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|------|--|
|                     | 18-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+  | England Flange   |
| Britain             |       |       |       |      | FAVOR for the US INCREMENT MADE ON CONTON                                      |
| Favorable           | 49    | 58    | 60    | 64   | 1 up mart al powers favoraboulity  |
| Unfavorable         | 41    | 32    | 34    | 31   | Favor for theus increases w/ age in Europe<br>youngest w/ Porrist favorability |
|                     |       |       |       |      | U Ű  |
| France              |       |       |       |      |  |
| Favorable           | 27    | 39    | 35    | 42   | 11   |
| Unfavorable         | 70    | 61    | 64    | 54   |  |
|                     |       |       |       |      | 7  |
| Germany             |       |       |       |      | (  |
| Favorable           | 32    | 41    | 34    | 41   | 11   |
| Unfavorable         | 68    | 56    | 63    | 51   |  |
| child of doile      | 00    | 00    | 00    | 01   |  |
| Russia              |       |       |       |      |  |
| Favorable           | 58    | 49    | 38    | 31   | A Distance   |
| Unfavorable         | 35    | 40    | 53    | 52 - | - while in Russia  |
|                     |       |       |       |      | 58%. of those 18-29<br>hold a forrorable                                       |
| Turkey              |       |       |       |      | hadda Geroscalde   |
| Favorable           | 30    | 28    | 30    | na   | No un u Triver even  |
| Unfavorable         | 64    | 64    | 63    | ~    | SCAPALA  |
| o mail or a or a    | 0.    | 0.1   | 00    |      | 2 Strander   |
| Pakistan            |       |       |       |      | 0  |
| Favorable           | 24    | 20    | 16    | na   | -> strady  |
| Unfavorable         | 60    | 61    | 68    |      | 8 Corow  |
|                     |       | 01    | 00    |      |  |
| Jordan              |       |       |       |      |  |
| Favorable           | 8     | 5     | 2     | na   | Challes  |
| Unfavorable         | 91    | 94    | 96    |      | _ straky   |
|                     |       |       | 20    |      |  |
| Morocco             |       |       |       |      |  |
| Favorable           | 28    | 25    | 30    | na   | -) strady  |
| Unfavorable         | 69    | 69    | 55    |      | )  |
|                     |       |       |       |      | v.   |

| b. Americans | 18-29      | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+ | for Ameri                  |
|--------------|------------|-------|-------|-----|----------------------------|
| Britain      | <i>(</i> 0 |       | 70    |     | 11 / 11 - 00               |
| Favorable    | 68         | 74    | 72    | 72  |                            |
| Unfavorable  | 21         | 16    | 22    | 19  |                            |
| France       |            |       |       |     |                            |
| Favorable    | 55         | 52    | 50    | 58  |                            |
| Unfavorable  | 42         | 46    | 50    | 33  |                            |
| Uniavolable  | 44         | 40    | 50    | 55  |                            |
| Germany      |            | - C   |       |     |                            |
| Favorable    | 71         | 67    | 69    | 65  | 2.1                        |
| Unfavorable  | 28         | 26    | 27    | 22  | Maria I Fred               |
| Ullavorable  | 20         | 20    | 21    | 22  | gunges menu                |
| Russia       |            |       |       |     | Jungest trend              |
| Favorable    | 69         | 68    | 66    | 55  | CONXVIN ~>                 |
| Unfavorable  | 14         | 17    | 21    |     | to I have to               |
| Uniavorable  | 14         | 1 /   | 21    | 28  | The rown rei we            |
| Turkey       |            |       |       |     | the lowby in<br>American f |
| Favorable    | 33         | 31    | 33    | na  | 11000000000 1              |
| Unfavorable  | 56         | 52    | 54    | na  |                            |
| Ontavorable  | 50         | 52    | 54    |     |                            |
| Pakistan     |            |       |       |     |                            |
| Favorable    | 26         | 28    | 25    | na  |                            |
| Unfavorable  | 49         | 46    | 47    |     | Anadrana                   |
|              |            |       |       |     | I MANGER MALINE            |
| Jordan       |            |       |       |     | y steam 2.3.               |
| Favorable    | 22         | 21    | 19    | na  | 30-20                      |
| Unfavorable  | 74         | 73    | 73    |     | henry                      |
|              |            |       |       |     | Vervy                      |
| Morocco      |            |       |       |     |                            |
| Favorable    | 38         | 35    | 39    | na  | 1                          |
| Unfavorable  | 57         | 57    | 49    |     |                            |
|              |            |       |       |     |                            |

Favorability across the bound All age groups is higher for Americans than the US.

Russians register among the lowest in Europe on American Favorishity of 55%.

Austin nations steady 2,3-inten 30-20 age groups-

|  |                     |            |          |            | of me 9  |
|--|---------------------|------------|----------|------------|--|
| d. The United Nations                            | 18-29               | 30-49      | 50-64    | 65+        | Countrils S.   |
| <b>United States</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable | (65)<br>23          | 52<br>37   | 54<br>38 | (48)<br>36 | Showed highest UN<br>Frontibility vi 16-29's-                              |
| <b>Britain</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable       | 83)<br>11           | 75<br>16   | 70<br>26 | 70<br>22   | of the 9<br>Countries S.<br>Showed hughest UN<br>Faroribations vi 18-29's- |
| <b>France</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable        | ( <u>81</u> )<br>19 | 67<br>32   | 56<br>40 | 67<br>23   |  |
| <b>Germany</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable       | 67<br>26            | (75)<br>19 | 72<br>23 | 69<br>26   |  |
| <b>Russia</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable        | 65<br>22            | 66)<br>16  | 56<br>22 | L 47<br>17 | ding neusbour.org  |
| <b>Turkey</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable        | 53<br>36            | 48         | 56<br>34 | na         |  |
| <b>Pakistan</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable      | (40)<br>25          | 33<br>27   | 32<br>34 | na         |  |
| <b>Jordan</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable        | 27<br>67            | 19<br>75   | 16<br>75 | na         | we are<br>adding   |
| Morocco<br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable              | 26<br>67            | 24<br>66   | 27<br>46 | na N       | have adding<br>have info on awareness<br>of CLARK                          |
|  |                     |            |          |            | DT CLOW IN   |

of Clark allegations

| e. Jews              | 18-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+   |       |  |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--|
| <b>United States</b> | 10-2) | 50-49 | 50-04 | 0.5 1 |       |  |
| Favorable            | 73    | 79    | 78    | 72    |       |  |
| Unfavorable          | 13    | 8     | 5     | 7     | × .   |  |
|                      |       |       |       |       | winor |  |
| Britain              |       |       |       |       |       |  |
| Favorable            | 72    | 76    | 73    | 80    |       |  |
| Unfavorable          | 12    | 8     | 9     | 11    |       |  |
| France               |       |       |       |       |       |  |
| Favorable            | 90    | 78    | 78    | 79    |       |  |
| Unfavorable          | 4     | 13    | 9     | 15    |       |  |
| Olliavolable         | -     | 15    | )     | 15    |       |  |
| Germany              |       |       |       |       |       |  |
| Favorable            | 71    | 66    | 60    | 56    |       |  |
| Unfavorable          | 15    | 18    | 25    | 19    |       |  |
| Russia               |       |       |       |       |       |  |
| Favorable            | 62    | 67    | 63    | 64    |       |  |
| Unfavorable          | 29    | 22    | 27    | 24    |       |  |
|                      |       |       |       |       |       |  |
| Turkey               |       |       |       |       |       |  |
| Favorable            | 27    | 28    | 29    | na    |       |  |
| Unfavorable          | 52    | 46    | 56    |       |       |  |
| Pakistan             |       |       |       |       |       |  |
| Favorable            | 2     | 3     | 3     | na    |       |  |
| Unfavorable          | 80    | 80    | 86    |       |       |  |
|                      |       |       |       |       |       |  |
| Jordan               |       |       |       |       |       |  |
| Favorable            | na    | na    | na    | na    |       |  |
| Unfavorable          |       |       |       |       |       |  |
| Morocco              |       |       |       |       |       |  |
| Favorable            | 5     | 6     | 7     | na    |       |  |
| Unfavorable          | 94    | 91    | 88    |       |       |  |
|                      |       |       |       |       |       |  |
|                      |       |       |       |       |       |  |
|                      |       |       |       |       |       |  |

| f. Christians                                    | 18-29    | 30-49    | 50-64    | 65+      |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| <b>United States</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable | 80<br>10 | 83<br>9  | 86<br>2  | 87<br>2  |
| <b>Britain</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable       | 80<br>9  | 84<br>5  | 85<br>7  | 89<br>5  |
| <b>France</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable        | 92<br>3  | 80<br>13 | 79<br>11 | 89<br>9  |
| <b>Germany</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable       | 75<br>16 | 72<br>18 | 79<br>11 | 75<br>16 |
| <b>Russia</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable        | 94<br>3  | 78<br>3  | 93<br>4  | 94<br>0  |
| <b>Turkey</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable        | 29<br>55 | 31<br>48 | 30<br>58 | na       |
| <b>Pakistan</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable      | 26<br>61 | 23<br>62 | 25<br>68 | na       |
| <b>Jordan</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable        | na       | na       | na       | na       |
| <b>Morocco</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable       | 21<br>76 | 23<br>73 | 31<br>59 | na       |

| g. Muslims                                       | 18-29    | 30-49    | 50-64    | 65+      |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| <b>United States</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable | 57<br>31 | 52<br>29 | 47<br>30 | 30<br>37 |
| <b>Britain</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable       | 69<br>18 | 72<br>14 | 68<br>18 | 56<br>23 |
| <b>France</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable        | 80<br>15 | 62<br>31 | 56<br>33 | 65<br>31 |
| <b>Germany</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable       | 56<br>33 | 42<br>48 | 35<br>50 | 33<br>47 |
| <b>Russia</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable        | 51<br>40 | 56<br>35 | 51<br>38 | 47<br>38 |
| <b>Turkey</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable        | 89<br>8  | 89<br>8  | 86<br>12 | na       |
| <b>Pakistan</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable      | 97<br>1  | 97<br>1  | 80<br>4  | na       |
| <b>Jordan</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable        | na       | na       | na       | na       |
| <b>Morocco</b><br>Favorable<br>Unfavorable       | 89<br>10 | 91<br>8  | 85<br>8  | na       |

Q3 From what you know, do people from our country who move to the US have a better life there, a worse life there or is neither better or worse?

|                    | 18-29    | 30-49   | 50-64   | 65+  |  |
|--------------------|----------|---------|---------|------|--|
| United States      |          |         |         |      | the young w/ a more grounded   |
| Better             | 81       | 89      | 91      | 91   | the young war more growing   |
| Worse              | 1        | 1       | 2       | 3    | 1 And 1  |
| Neither            | 15       | 6       | 3       | 2    | VUD K-   |
| Don't Know Anyone  | 0        | 1       | 0       | 0    |  |
| Britain            |          |         |         |      |  |
| Better             | 28 - 17- | 45      | 41      | 48   | 11 - We halver, life innuther  |
| Worse              | 7        | 5       | 7       | 7    | VLANA IN NK REMARCING THE  |
| Neither            | 51-15    | 36      | 30      | 25   | 1. Mana and in teve  |
| Don't Know Anyone  | 12       | 8       | 13      | 10   | Young in UK believe life is nutter<br>better or work in the VS.                                    |
| France             |          |         |         |      |  |
| Better             | 19       | 22      | 25      | 29   |  |
| Worse              | 19       | 13      | 10      | 11   |  |
| Neither            | 67       | 59      | 56      | 45 ~ |  |
|                    | 2        | 5       | 7       | 12   |  |
| Don't Know Anyone  | Z        | 3       | /       | 12   | Munstrum France & Fremany  |
| Germany            |          |         |         |      | Mayorithus in France & Greemany  |
| Better             | 12       | 13      | 18      | 12   |  |
| Worse              | 14       | 18      | 16      | 13   |  |
| Neither            | 68       | 60      | 53      | 53 — |  |
| Don't Know Anyone  | 2        | 3       | 2       | 6    |  |
| Russia             |          |         |         |      |  |
| Better             | 53       | 58      | 50      | (71) |  |
| Worse              | 10       | 8       | 14      | 9    | 71% of the left are believe like in  |
| Neither            | 21       | 15      | 16      | 17   | line is the server age to  |
| Don't Know Anyone  | 8        | 12      | 15      | 23   | better in The is-the nights I  |
| Don't Itnow Amyone | 0        | 12      | 15      | 25   | Flil. of the 65t age behine life is<br>better in the vo-the highest<br>age grop out side the US to |
| Turkey             |          |         |         |      |  |
| Better             | 53       | 47      | 57      | na   | tel so   |
| Worse              | 19       | 21      | 13      |      |  |
| Neither            | 15       | 14      | 14      |      |  |
| Don't Know Anyone  | 4        | 6       | 7       |      | handrow the te all Darks.  |
| D 11               |          |         |         |      | here the is better in US   |
| Pakistan           | 21       | 20      | 20      |      | believe up is month  |
| Better             | 31       | 29      | 29      | na   | v  |
| Worse              | 27       | 29      | 28      |      |  |
| Neither            | 21<br>8  | 19<br>8 | 18<br>8 |      |  |
| Don't Know Anyone  | 8        | 8       | 8       |      |  |
| Jordan             |          |         |         |      |  |
| Better             | 39       | 28      | - 23    | na   |  |
| Worse              | 19       | 24      | 20      | 29   |  |
| Neither            | 23       | 30      | 33      | 57   |  |
| Don't Know Anyone  | 15       | 15      | 19      | V    |  |
| Morocco            |          |         |         |      |  |
| Better             | 47       | 46      | 49      | na   |  |
| Worse              | 28       | 27      | 20      |      | then heart #3 M  |
| Neither            | 17       | 18      | 14      |      | 1 might believe  |
| Don't Know Anyone  | 4        | 3       | 7       |      | Weround I stray Us   |
| -                  |          |         |         |      | tren high #'s of believe<br>merrorcan believe<br>life would be heater in Us.                       |
|                    |          |         |         |      | Mar voite  |
|                    |          |         |         |      | ×  |
Q4 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?

| N * 10 (                    | 18-29    | 30-49    | 50-64    | 65+     |
|-----------------------------|----------|----------|----------|---------|
| United States<br>Great Deal | 31       | 35       | 33       | 36      |
| Fair amount                 | 34       | 38       | 35       | 33      |
| Not too much                | 24       | 20       | 23       | 16      |
| Not at all                  | 8        | 5        | 5        | 7       |
| 1 tot ut un                 |          | 0        | 5        | ,       |
| Britain                     |          |          |          |         |
| Great Deal                  | 3        | 6        | 7        | 11      |
| Fair amount                 | 38       | 27       | 25       | 32      |
| Not too much                | 40       | 46       | 45       | 40      |
| Not at all                  | 17       | 20       | 21       | 13      |
|                             |          |          |          |         |
| France                      | 5        | 2        | 1        | (       |
| Great Deal                  | 5<br>11  | 3<br>14  | 1<br>8   | 6<br>9  |
| Fair amount<br>Not too much | 61       | 50       | 51       | 43      |
| Not at all                  | 23       | 33       | 39       | 38      |
| Not at all                  | 23       | 55       | 59       | 50      |
| Germany                     |          |          |          |         |
| Great Deal                  | 1        | 4        | 0        | 5       |
| Fair amount                 | 21       | 25       | 26       | 33      |
| Not too much                | 49       | 43       | 58       | 40      |
| Not at all                  | 28       | 26       | 17       | 18      |
|                             |          |          |          |         |
| Russia                      | 4        | (        | 7        | 2       |
| Great Deal                  | 4<br>15  | 6<br>17  | 7<br>16  | 2 9     |
| Fair amount<br>Not too much | 51       | 41       | 38       | 9<br>40 |
| Not at all                  | 23       | 30       | 34       | 38      |
| i tot di dii                | 25       | 50       | 51       | 50      |
| Turkey                      |          |          |          |         |
| Great Deal                  | 6        | 4        | 5        | na      |
| Fair amount                 | 10       | 7        | 9        |         |
| Not too much                | 38       | 31       | 41       |         |
| Not at all                  | 42       | 50       | 38       |         |
| Pakistan                    |          |          |          |         |
| Great Deal                  | 4        | 2        | 4        | na      |
| Fair amount                 | 16       | 16       | 11       | nu      |
| Not too much                | 18       | 15       | 22       |         |
| Not at all                  | 32       | 31       | 39       |         |
|                             |          |          |          |         |
| Jordan                      |          |          |          |         |
| Great Deal                  | 2        | 1        | 1        | na      |
| Fair amount                 | 18       | 13       | 13       |         |
| Not too much<br>Not at all  | 37<br>36 | 39<br>41 | 34<br>43 |         |
| i tot at all                | 50       | 71       | UT       |         |
| Morocco                     |          |          |          |         |
| Great Deal                  | 7        | 11       | 11       | na      |
| Fair amount                 | 24       | 27       | 20       |         |
| Not too much                | 18       | 15       | 12       |         |
| Not at all                  | 45       | 39       | 35       |         |

Generat

Q5 Do you think the partnership between the US 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 dipolmatic affairs than it has in the past?

|   | 18-29    | 30-49    | 50-64    | 65+      |   |
|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|---|
| <b>United States</b><br>Remain as Close<br>More Independent | 58<br>35 | 53<br>39 | 57<br>37 | 53<br>31 |   |
| Britain<br>Remain as Close<br>More Independent<br>France    | 32<br>64 | 37<br>59 | 38<br>50 | 46<br>48 | 64% of young brits want<br>a more way nestern terrope<br>Uss 80, the older one gets |
| Remain as Close<br>More Independent                         | 28<br>71 | 19<br>78 | 23<br>76 | 17<br>72 |   |
| <b>Germany</b><br>Remain as Close                           | 38       | 39       | 28       | 38       |   |
| More Independent<br>Russia                                  | 62       | 60       | 71       | 59       | Marr Rianians   |
| Remain as Close<br>More Independent                         | 30<br>51 | 23<br>60 | 26<br>56 | 16<br>49 | Mer Russians<br>half as many as youngust  |
| <b>Turkey</b><br>Remain as Close<br>More Independent        | 20<br>65 | 22<br>58 | 28<br>59 | 36<br>38 |   |

Q6 In your opinion, would it be a good thing or a bad thing if the European Union becomes as powerful as the US?

|                      | 18-29                          | 30-49  | 50-64    | 65+      |                               |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|--|----------|----------|-------------------------------|
| <b>United States</b> |                                |  |          | 2        | 4                             |
| Good                 | 37                             | 34   | 37       | 22       |                               |
| Bad                  | 53                             | 53   | 43       | 48       |                               |
|                      |                                |  |          |          | melo                          |
| Great Britain        |                                |  |          |          | APENERALA LANG                |
| Good                 | 63                             | 35   | 46       | 35       | hall as manin menores of more |
| Bad                  | 28                             | 32   | 46<br>41 | 35<br>57 | half as many decreases of age |
|                      |                                |  |          |          | · )                           |
| France               |                                |  |          |          |                               |
| Good                 | 90                             | 89   | 89       | 94       |                               |
| Bad                  | 10                             | 9  | 10       | 4        |                               |
|                      |                                |  |          |          | 1 - 44                        |
| Germany              |                                |  |          | 1        | MAR                           |
| Good                 | 74                             | 74   | 72       | 58       | Alexandra and a               |
| Bad                  | 21                             | 22   | 22       | 58<br>22 | Lemany<br>Ny age              |
|                      |                                |  |          |          |                               |
| Russia               |                                |  |          |          | Man                           |
| Good                 | 69                             | 71   | 68       | 54       | Runn                          |
| Bad                  | 13                             | 12   | 14       | 9        | LANS SALO                     |
|                      |                                |  |          |          |                               |
| Turkey               | Management of the other others | and the section of the |          |          |                               |
| Good                 | 66                             | 68   | 75       | 53       | Mary                          |
| Bad                  | 25                             | 19   | 17       | 26       | V                             |
|                      |                                |  |          |          |                               |

Q7 Now a question about using military force, do you think (sc) should have UN approval before it uses military forces to deal with an international threat or do you think that would make it too difficult for our country to deal with international threats?

|               | 18-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+  |     |
|---------------|-------|-------|-------|--|-----|
| United States |       |       | 10    |  |     |
| UN approval   | 46    | 37    | 40    | 44   |     |
| Too difficult | . 46  | 54    | 50    | 40   |     |
| Britain       |       |       |       |  |     |
| UN approval   | 61    | 65    | 60    | 67)  |     |
| Too difficult | 30    | 28    | 34    | 28 ANDO MADOMATIA                                |     |
|               |       |       |       | - Winte wow to wood                              |     |
| France        |       |       |       | in a barrier but it                              |     |
| UN approval   | 67    | 59    | 66    | 63 - Emopean narrows                             |     |
| Too difficult | 32    | 38    | 32    | 38   |     |
| 100 unitedit  | 52    | 50    | 54    | 50   |     |
| Germany       |       |       |       |  |     |
| UN approval   | 84    | 81    | 81    | 74)  |     |
| Too difficult | 14    | 16    | 13    | 16   |     |
|               |       | 10    | 10    |  |     |
| Russia        |       |       |       |  |     |
| UN approval   | 36    | 40    | 38    | 31 -   |     |
| Too difficult | 43    | 41    | 43    | 35   |     |
| 100 unnoun    | 15    |       | 15    | 55   |     |
| Turkey        |       |       |       |  |     |
| UN approval   | 42    | 45    | 57    | 51   |     |
| Too difficult | 48    | 43    | 37    | 34   |     |
|               |       | 10    | 57    |  |     |
| Pakistan      |       |       |       |  |     |
| UN approval   | 41    | 37    | 36    | na   |     |
| Too difficult | 35    | 35    | 41    | 114  |     |
| 100 uniteut   | 00    | 00    | 11    |  |     |
| Jordan        |       |       |       |  |     |
| UN approval   | 50    | 47    | 40    | na   |     |
| Too difficult | 33    | 39    | 44    |  |     |
|               |       |       | ×.    |  |     |
| Morocco       |       |       |       | na Salmost never uf a majon<br>in any one age gr | 1   |
| UN approval   | 40    | 43    | 42 ,  | na Summer rever w a marm                         | 171 |
| Too difficult | 46    | 41    | 30    | 100 OAMA DOR HOT A                               | hal |
|               |       |       |       | in any one age gr                                | 22  |
|               |       |       |       |  |     |
|               |       |       |       |  |     |
|               |       |       |       | MILLIC VILLAS                                    |     |
|               |       |       |       | CUN VIEW   |     |
|               |       |       |       | * nge brenk                                      |     |
|               |       |       |       | who are work                                     |     |
|               |       |       | 10-   | pr drivis much like                              |     |
|               |       |       | WNN   | AI BARAND KAAROU ANKE                            |     |
|               |       |       | 10.0  | have to the                                      |     |
|               |       |       |       | these Mushim                                     |     |
|               |       |       |       |  |     |
|               |       |       |       | cumptures.                                       |     |
|               |       |       |       | ~  |     |

Mar.

Q9 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.

|               | 18-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+        |
|---------------|-------|-------|-------|------------|
| United States |       |       |       |            |
| Favor         | 72    | 84    | 86    | 80 minutes |
| Oppose        | 22    | 11    | 8     | 11         |
| Britain       |       |       |       |            |
| Favor         | 56    | 61    | 68    | 69         |
| Oppose        | 34    | 30    | 30    | 25         |
|               |       |       | 5.5   |            |
| France        |       |       |       |            |
| Favor         | 40    | 47    | 55    | 58         |
| Oppose        | 60    | 49    | 41    | 39         |
|               |       |       |       |            |
| Germany       |       |       |       |            |
| Favor         | 47    | 50    | 61    | 63         |
| Oppose        | 51    | 50    | 37    | 33         |
|               |       |       |       |            |
| Russia        | 76    | 70    | 7.4   | 70         |
| Favor         | 75    | 72    | 74    | 70         |
| Oppose        | 20    | 20    | 20    | 20         |
| Turkey        |       |       |       |            |
| Favor         | 36    | 36    | 41    | na         |
| Oppose        | 59    | 56    | 53    |            |
|               |       |       |       |            |
| Pakistan      |       |       |       |            |
| Favor         | 15    | 16    | 17    | na         |
| Oppose        | 63    | 58    | 65    |            |
| Jordan        |       |       |       |            |
| Favor         | 12    | 12    | 11    | na         |
| Oppose        | 78    | 78    | 79    |            |
| 1 1           |       |       |       |            |
| Morocco       |       |       |       |            |
| Favor         | 25    | 30    | 26    | na         |
| Oppose        | 71    | 63    | 58    |            |
|               |       |       |       |            |

Q10 Which of the following phrases comes closer to your point of view? The US is right to be so concerned about the threat of international terrorism OR the US is over reacting to the threat of international terrorism.

|                      | 18-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+ |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| <b>United States</b> |       |       |       |     |
| US is right          | 79    | 85    | 87    | 85  |
| US is over-reacting  | 18    | 11    | 11    | 14  |
| Britain              |       |       |       |     |
| US is right          | 66    | 64    | 60    | 65  |
| US is over-reacting  | 31    | 33    | 35    | 34  |
| France               |       |       |       |     |
| US is right          | 36    | 38    | 46    | 49  |
| US is over-reacting  | 62    | 60    | 53    | 48  |
| Germany              |       |       |       |     |
| US is right          | 43    | 45    | 53    | 53  |
| US is over-reacting  | 55    | 54    | 46    | 41  |
| Russia               |       |       |       |     |
| US is right          | 55    | 62    | 58    | 54  |
| US is over-reacting  | 36    | 32    | 37    | 32  |
| Turkey               |       |       |       |     |
| US is right          | 32    | 30    | 41    | na  |
| US is over-reacting  | 56    | 57    | 51    |     |
| Pakistan             |       |       |       |     |
| US is right          | 8     | 8     | 14    | na  |
| US is over-reacting  | 67    | 65    | 69    |     |
| Jordan               |       |       |       |     |
| US is right          | 15    | 14    | 16    | na  |
| US is over-reacting  | 77    | 76    | 73    |     |
| Morocco              |       |       |       |     |
| US is right          | 20    | 21    | 19    | na  |
| US is over-reacting  | 75    | 71    | 64    |     |

Q11 Do you think that the US led war on terrorism is a sincere effort to reduce international terrorism or don't you believe that?

1.

|                            | 18-29    | 30-49    | 50-64    | 65+ |
|----------------------------|----------|----------|----------|-----|
| United States<br>Sincere   | 61       | 70       | 74       | 62  |
| Don't believe that         | 32       | 23       | 21       | 26  |
| Both                       | 1        | 3        | 2        | 20  |
| Doui                       | 1        | 5        | 2        | 2   |
| Britain                    |          |          |          |     |
| Sincere                    | 41       | 52       | 54       | 57  |
| Don't believe that         | 54       | 40       | 38       | 32  |
| Both                       | 1        | 4        | 1        | 4   |
| r.                         |          |          |          |     |
| France<br>Sincere          | 26       | 25       | 44       | 51  |
|                            | 20<br>73 | 23<br>70 | 44<br>51 | 43  |
| Don't believe that<br>Both | 13       | 3        | 3        | 43  |
| Both                       | 1        | 3        | 3        | 4   |
| Germany                    |          |          |          |     |
| Sincere                    | 21       | 29       | 33       | 34  |
| Don't believe that         | 73       | 69       | 66       | 54  |
| Both                       | 4        | 0        | 0        | 0   |
|                            |          |          |          |     |
| Russia                     | 2.5      | 27       |          | 2.0 |
| Sincere                    | 35       | 37       | 36       | 30  |
| Don't believe that         | 49       | 48       | 49       | 45  |
| Both                       | 9        | 8        | 7        | 11  |
| Turkey                     |          |          |          |     |
| Sincere                    | 19       | 18       | 26       | na  |
| Don't believe that         | 67       | 63       | 59       |     |
| Both                       | 5        | 6        | 11       |     |
|                            |          |          |          |     |
| Pakistan                   |          | 0        | 0        |     |
| Sincere                    | 6        | 8        | 8        | na  |
| Don't believe that         | 59       | 56       | 65       |     |
| Both                       | 5        | 5        | 8        |     |
| Jordan                     |          |          |          |     |
| Sincere                    | 12       | 11       | 12       | na  |
| Don't believe that         | 51       | 51       | 50       |     |
| Both                       | 22       | 27       | 23       |     |
| Managar                    |          |          |          |     |
| Morocco<br>Sincere         | 17       | 19       | 7        | 200 |
| Don't believe that         | 70       | 63       | 68       | na  |
| Both                       | 4        | 4        | 0        |     |
| Doui                       | +        | -+       | 0        |     |

Q13 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?

|                     | 18-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+ |
|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| Turkey              |       |       |       |     |
| Often justified     | 7     | 5     | 6     | na  |
| Sometimes justified | 10    | 8     | 10    |     |
| Rarely justified    | 10    | 9     | 12    |     |
| Never justified     | 64    | 68    | 69    |     |
| Pakistan            |       |       |       |     |
| Often justified     | 23    | 29    | 34    | na  |
| Sometimes justified | 16    | 13    | 15    |     |
| Rarely justified    | 8     | 8     | 10    |     |
| Never justified     | 39    | 34    | 28    |     |
| Jordan              |       |       |       |     |
| Often justified     |       |       |       | na  |
| Sometimes justified |       |       |       |     |
| Rarely justified    |       |       |       |     |
| Never justified     |       |       |       |     |
| Morocco             |       |       |       |     |
| Often justified     | 17    | 15    | 16    | na  |
| Sometimes justified | 26    | 21    | 22    |     |
| Rarely justified    | 17    | 13    | 11    |     |
| Never justified     | 35    | 41    | 38    |     |
|                     |       |       |       |     |

Q14 What about suicide bombing carried out by Palestinians against Israeli citizens? Do you personally believe that this is justifiable or not justifiable?

|   | 18-29    | 30-49    | 50-64    | 65+ |
|---|----------|----------|----------|-----|
| <b>Turkey</b><br>Justifiable<br>Not Justifiable   | 27<br>62 | 21<br>71 | 27<br>66 | na  |
| <b>Pakistan</b><br>Justifiable<br>Not Justifiable | 42<br>39 | 49<br>38 | 61<br>26 | na  |
| <b>Jordan</b><br>Justifiable<br>Not Justifiable   | 84<br>14 | 88<br>10 | 86<br>10 | na  |
| <b>Morocco</b><br>Justifiable<br>Not Justifiable  | 77<br>19 | 72<br>24 | 70<br>26 | na  |

Q15 What about suicide bombing carried out against American and other Westerners in Iraq? Do you personally believe that this is justifiable or not justifiable?

|   | 18-29    | 30-49    | 50-64    | 65+ |
|---|----------|----------|----------|-----|
| <b>Turkey</b><br>Justifiable<br>Not Justifiable   | 32<br>57 | 28<br>63 | 41<br>53 | na  |
| <b>Pakistan</b><br>Justifiable<br>Not Justifiable | 42<br>39 | 46<br>37 | 64<br>20 | na  |
| <b>Jordan</b><br>Justifiable<br>Not Justifiable   | 66<br>29 | 72<br>21 | 73<br>19 | na  |
| <b>Morocco</b><br>Justifiable<br>Not Justifiable  | 68<br>26 | 65<br>29 | 66<br>24 | na  |

Q16 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

|                      | 18-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+  |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|------|
| <b>United States</b> |       |       |       |      |
| Safer                | 28    | 34    | 30    | 22   |
| More dangerous       | 62    | 45    | 48    | 53   |
| D 11 1               |       |       |       |      |
| Britain<br>Safer     | 2.1   | 41    | 16    | 4.0  |
|                      | 34    | 41    | 46    | 48   |
| More dangerous       | 55    | 45    | 37    | 35   |
| France               |       |       |       |      |
| Safer                | 44    | 57    | 56    | 55   |
| More dangerous       | 53    | 39    | 39    | 35   |
| 8                    |       |       |       |      |
| Germany              |       |       |       |      |
| Safer                | 35    | 43    | 33    | 36   |
| More dangerous       | 54    | 45    | 51    | 39   |
| -                    |       |       |       |      |
| Russia               |       |       |       |      |
| Safer                | 38    | 39    | 34    | 38   |
| More dangerous       | 46    | 44    | 47    | 36   |
| Turkey               |       |       |       |      |
| Safer                | 40    | 40    | 45    | na   |
| More dangerous       | 51    | 43    | 41    | nu   |
| whole dangerous      | 51    | 15    | 71    |      |
| Pakistan             |       |       |       |      |
| Safer                | 16    | 19    | 30    | na   |
| More dangerous       | 65    | 58    | 54    |      |
| T                    |       |       |       |      |
| Jordan               | 20    |       |       |      |
| Safer                | 29    | 29    | 30    | na   |
| More dangerous       | 55    | 51    | 55    |      |
| Morocco              |       |       |       |      |
| Safer                | 22    | 20    | 16    | na   |
| More dangerous       | 67    | 63    | 61    | 1164 |
| and a second         |       | 00    | 01    |      |

Q17 On the subject of Iraq, did (survey country) make the right decision or the wrong decision to use military force against Iraq?

|                      | 18-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+ |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| <b>United States</b> |       |       |       |     |
| Right                | 66    | 65    | 59    | 47  |
| Wrong Decision       | 27    | 27    | 34    | 44  |
|                      |       |       |       |     |
| Britain              |       |       |       |     |
| Right                | 40    | 46    | 39    | 44  |
| Wrong Decision       | 45    | 46    | 49    | 49  |

Q18 On the subject of Iraq, did (survey country) make the right decision or the wrong decision to not use military force against Iraq?

|          | 18-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+ |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| France   |       |       |       |     |
| Right    | 91    | 86    | 85    | 91  |
| Wrong    | 9     | 12    | 14    | 8   |
|          |       |       |       |     |
| Germany  |       |       |       |     |
| Right    | 88    | 84    | 90    | 85  |
| Wrong    | 8     | 15    | 8     | 10  |
|          |       |       |       |     |
| Russia   |       |       |       |     |
| Right    | 78    | 84    | 86    | 87  |
| Wrong    | 14    | 8     | 10    | 9   |
|          |       |       |       |     |
| Turkey   |       |       |       |     |
| Right    | 73    | 71    | 72    | na  |
| Wrong    | 21    | 23    | 25    |     |
| Pakistan |       |       |       |     |
|          | 64    | (0    | 0.1   |     |
| Right    |       | 69    | 81    | na  |
| Wrong    | 16    | 10    | 6     |     |
| Jordan   |       |       |       |     |
| Right    | 86    | 87    | 86    | na  |
| Wrong    | 2     | 2     | 4     | IIu |
|          | 2     | 2     | т     |     |
| Morocco  |       |       |       |     |
| Right    | 84    | 84    | 77    | na  |
| Wrong    | 9     | 9     | 7     |     |
| 0        |       |       |       |     |

Q19 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 US and its allies?

|               | 18-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+ |
|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| United States |       |       |       |     |
| Better off    | 88    | 84    | 82    | 81  |
| Worse off     | 9     | 8     | 10    | 10  |
| Britain       |       |       |       |     |
| Better off    | 81    | 84    | 83    | 79  |
| Worse off     | 11    | 11    | 6     | 16  |
| worse off     | 11    | 11    | 0     | 10  |
| France        |       |       |       |     |
| Better off    | 71    | 68    | 65    | 64  |
| Worse off     | 23    | 27    | 31    | 28  |
|               |       |       |       |     |
| Germany       |       |       |       |     |
| Better off    | 66    | 72    | 61    | 56  |
| Worse off     | 31    | 24    | 34    | 24  |
| Russia        |       |       |       |     |
| Better off    | 35    | 31    | 35    | 24  |
| Worse off     | 34    | 38    | 39    | 36  |
|               | 51    | 50    | 57    | 50  |
| Turkey        |       |       |       |     |
| Better off    | 43    | 40    | 40    | na  |
| Worse off     | 44    | 43    | 48    |     |
| Pakistan      |       |       |       |     |
| Better off    | 10    | 5     | 7     |     |
| Worse off     | 60    | 63    | 70    | na  |
| worse off     | 00    | 03    | 70    |     |
| Jordan        |       |       |       |     |
| Better off    | 26    | 24    | 23    | na  |
| Worse off     | 69    | 71    | 73    |     |
| N             |       |       |       |     |
| Morocco       | 24    | 20    | 25    |     |
| Better off    | 34    | 39    | 35    | na  |
| Worse off     | 52    | 46    | 45    |     |

Q20 in rebuilding Iraq, how good a job are the US 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?

|                      | 18-29   | 30-49      | 50-64           | 65+ |
|----------------------|---------|------------|-----------------|-----|
| <b>United States</b> |         |            |                 |     |
| Excellent            | 13      | 15         | 16              | 10  |
| Good                 | 42      | 33         | 39              | 40  |
| Only fair            | 31      | 34         | 25              | 30  |
| Poor                 | 8       | 9          | 12              | 7   |
| Britain              |         |            |                 |     |
| Excellent            | 2       | 3          | 4               | 6   |
| Good                 | 20      | 24         | 27              | 32  |
| Only fair            | 51      | 49         | 46              | 41  |
| Poor                 | 14      | 16         | 19              | 18  |
| France               |         |            |                 |     |
| Excellent            | 0       | 2          | 1               | 2   |
| Good                 | 26      | 31         | 45              | 32  |
| Only fair            | 59      | 46         | 39              | 46  |
| Poor                 | 15      | 16         | 11              | 7   |
|                      |         |            |                 |     |
| Germany              |         |            |                 |     |
| Excellent            | 1       | 1          | 0               | 2   |
| Good                 | 9       | 16         | 15              | 19  |
| Only fair            | 59      | 59         | 60              | 56  |
| Poor                 | 26      | 19         | 23              | 17  |
| Russia               |         |            |                 |     |
| Excellent            | 0       | 2          | 1               | 1   |
| Good                 | 10      | 14         | 11              | 9   |
| Only fair            | 44      | 33         | 39              | 28  |
| Poor                 | 33      | 41         | 42              | 40  |
|                      |         |            |                 |     |
| Turkey               | 2       | 2          | 1               |     |
| Excellent            | 2       | 2          | 1               | na  |
| Good                 | 16      | 14         | 12              |     |
| Only fair            | 32      | 31         | 33              |     |
| Poor                 | 38      | 39         | 43              |     |
| Pakistan             |         |            |                 |     |
| Excellent            | 4       | 2          | 3               | na  |
| Good                 | 9       | 5          | 5               |     |
| Only fair            | 20      | 17         | 18              |     |
| Poor                 | 31      | 36         | 45              |     |
| Jordan               |         |            |                 |     |
| Excellent            | 6       | 5          | 8               | na  |
| Good                 | 23      | 21         | 16              |     |
| Only fair            | 30      | 25         | 28              |     |
| Poor                 | 35      | 39         | 38              |     |
| Morocco              |         |            |                 |     |
| Excellent            | 4       | 5          | 1               | na  |
| Good                 | 12      | 13         | 8               |     |
| Only fair            | 32      | 31         | 23              |     |
| Poor                 | 39      | 35         | 35              |     |
| a ha warnewidthi     | 1724100 | 1.0000 Cal | prove the state |     |

Q21 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?

|  | 18-29    | 30-49    | 50-64    | 65+      |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| <b>United States</b><br>Will be formed<br>Will take longer | 11<br>85 | 12<br>85 | 14<br>83 | 14<br>79 |
| <b>Britain</b><br>Will be formed<br>Will take longer       | 9<br>90  | 7<br>92  | 9<br>89  | 12<br>84 |
| <b>France</b><br>Will be formed<br>Will take longer        | 8<br>92  | 5<br>95  | 6<br>92  | 8<br>90  |
| <b>Germany</b><br>Will be formed<br>Will take longer       | 8<br>90  | 7<br>93  | 3<br>96  | 4<br>94  |
| <b>Russia</b><br>Will be formed<br>Will take longer        | 10<br>75 | 16<br>72 | 18<br>70 | 10<br>58 |
| <b>Turkey</b><br>Will be formed<br>Will take longer        | 11<br>83 | 13<br>75 | 15<br>80 | na       |
| <b>Pakistan</b><br>Will be formed<br>Will take longer      | 5<br>60  | 5<br>57  | 7<br>64  | na       |
| <b>Jordan</b><br>Will be formed<br>Will take longer        | 29<br>57 | 36<br>49 | 35<br>43 | na       |
| <b>Morocco</b><br>Will be formed<br>Will take longer       | 9<br>79  | 7<br>80  | 8<br>69  | na       |

Q22 Who do you think could do the best job at helping the Iraqi people form a stable government -- the US and its allies or the United Nations?

|                     | 18-29    | 30-49   | 50-64   | 65+     |
|---------------------|----------|---------|---------|---------|
| United States       | 10       | 4.4     | 40      | 10      |
| US and allies<br>UN | 40<br>51 | 44      | 42      | 40      |
| Both                | 2        | 45<br>2 | 43<br>7 | 44<br>5 |
| Neither             | 2        | 3       | 1       | 4       |
| Iventifer           | 2        | 5       | 1       | 7       |
| Britain             |          |         |         |         |
| US and allies       | 7        | 10      | 7       | 16      |
| UN                  | 83       | 80      | 85      | 79      |
| Both                | 3        | 3       | 5       | 3       |
| Neither             | 3        | 2       | 2       | 0       |
| France              |          |         |         |         |
| US and allies       | 7        | 7       | 10      | 11      |
| UN                  | 85       | 84      | 79      | 77      |
| Both                | 2        | 2       | 3       | 0       |
| Neither             | 5        | 4       | 4       | 4       |
| Germany             |          |         |         |         |
| US and allies       | 8        | 10      | 7       | 6       |
| UN                  | 86       | 83      | 80      | 86      |
| Both                | 2        | 3       | 3       | 2       |
| Neither             | 1        | 2       | 4       | 3       |
| Russia              |          |         |         |         |
| US and allies       | 13       | 9       | 9       | 6       |
| UN                  | 44       | 52      | 50      | 40      |
| Both                | 14       | 10      | 13      | 10      |
| Neither             | 12       | 16      | 12      | 13      |
| Turkey              |          |         |         |         |
| US and allies       | 11       | 12      | 8       | na      |
| UN                  | 58       | 56      | 74      | inte    |
| Both                | 6        | 7       | 3       |         |
| Neither             | 13       | 10      | 6       |         |
| Pakistan            |          |         |         |         |
| US and allies       | 7        | 2       | 3       | na      |
| UN                  | 44       | 42      | 50      |         |
| Both                | 3        | 3       | 3       |         |
| Neither             | 15       | 17      | 19      |         |
| Jordan              |          |         |         |         |
| US and allies       | 5        | 5       | 5       | na      |
| UN                  | 16       | 16      | 12      |         |
| Both                | 24       | 19      | 17      |         |
| Neither             | 45       | 51      | 54      |         |
| Morocco             |          |         |         |         |
| US and allies       | 20       | 15      | 16      | na      |
| UN                  | 24       | 22      | 14      |         |
| Both                | 9        | 9       | 8       |         |
| Neither             | 35       | 35      | 28      |         |
|                     |          |         |         |         |

Here are a few questions about how the war in Iraq may have changed your opinion of the US Q23 Did the US military show itself to be stronger or weaker than you expected?

|                      | 18-29    | 30-49    | 50-64    | 65+ |
|----------------------|----------|----------|----------|-----|
| <b>United States</b> |          |          |          |     |
| Stronger             | 72       | 71       | 77       | 73  |
| Weaker               | 18       | 16       | 11       | 8   |
| Same                 | 8        | 8        | 9        | 9   |
|                      |          |          |          |     |
| Britain              |          |          |          |     |
| Stronger             | 41       | 46       | 44       | 53  |
| Weaker               | 39       | 31       | 31       | 29  |
| Same                 | 13       | 17       | 17       | 7   |
|                      |          |          |          |     |
| France               |          |          |          |     |
| Stronger             | 37       | 26       | 28       | 26  |
| Weaker               | 49       | 52       | 56       | 54  |
| Same                 | 5        | 18       | 15       | 13  |
|                      |          |          |          |     |
| Germany              |          |          |          |     |
| Stronger             | 28       | 31       | 24       | 22  |
| Weaker               | 61       | 57       | 65       | 61  |
| Same                 | 4        | 9        | 4        | 5   |
|                      |          |          |          |     |
| Russia               |          |          |          |     |
| Stronger             | 26       | 22       | 22       | 22  |
| Weaker               | 37       | 38       | 42       | 24  |
| Same                 | 27       | 32       | 25       | 32  |
|                      |          |          |          |     |
| Turkey               |          |          |          |     |
| Stronger             | 32       | 28       | 37       | na  |
| Weaker               | 55       | 59       | 52       |     |
| Same                 | 5        | 4        | 5        |     |
|                      |          |          |          |     |
| Pakistan             |          |          |          |     |
| Stronger             | 24       | 16       | 26       | na  |
| Weaker               | 44       | 50       | 53       |     |
| Same                 | 2        | 3        | 3        |     |
| * 1                  |          |          |          |     |
| Jordan               | 10       | 10       | 15       |     |
| Stronger             | 48       | 48       | 45       | na  |
| Weaker               | 24       | 17       | 21       |     |
| Same                 | 22       | 29       | 27       |     |
| Morocco              |          |          |          |     |
| Morocco              | 47       | 50       | 43       |     |
| Stronger<br>Weaker   | 32       | 30       | 43<br>30 | na  |
| Same                 | 32<br>14 | 30<br>12 | 30<br>14 |     |
| Salle                | 14       | 12       | 14       |     |

Q24 As a consequence of the war, do you have more confidence or less confidence that the US is trustworthy?

|                      | 18-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+ |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| <b>United States</b> | 10 17 | 00 17 |       | 00  |
| More                 | 56    | 60    | 58    | 55  |
| Less                 | 31    | 28    | 29    | 29  |
| Same                 | 5     | 7     | 7     | 5   |
| Sume                 | 5     | ,     | ź     | 5   |
| Britain              |       |       |       |     |
| More                 | 22    | 21    | 20    | 38  |
| Less                 | 67    | 60    | 55    | 48  |
| Same                 | 4     | 14    | 19    | 9   |
|                      |       |       |       |     |
| France               |       |       |       |     |
| More                 | 8     | 13    | 12    | 25  |
| Less                 | 89    | 80    | 79    | 61  |
| Same                 | 2     | 7     | 7     | 6   |
|                      |       |       |       |     |
| Germany              |       |       |       |     |
| More                 | 12    | 11    | 8     | 10  |
| Less                 | 82    | 81    | 85    | 82  |
| Same                 | 6     | 6     | 3     | 3   |
|                      |       |       |       |     |
| Russia               |       |       |       |     |
| More                 | 12    | 9     | 5     | 4   |
| Less                 | 59    | 65    | 67    | 59  |
| Same                 | 24    | 20    | 21    | 21  |
|                      |       |       |       |     |
| Turkey               |       |       |       |     |
| More                 | 7     | 8     | 10    | na  |
| Less                 | 77    | 72    | 77    |     |
| Same                 | 11    | 12    | 11    |     |
|                      |       |       |       |     |
| Pakistan             |       |       |       |     |
| More                 | 6     | 4     | 7     | na  |
| Less                 | 64    | 64    | 69    |     |
| Same                 | 8     | 7     | 9     |     |
|                      |       |       |       |     |
| Jordan               |       |       |       |     |
| More                 | 6     | 4     | 2     | na  |
| Less                 | 47    | 52    | 54    |     |
| Same                 | 39    | 38    | 35    |     |
|                      |       |       |       |     |
| Morocco              | 4.0   |       |       |     |
| More                 | 10    | 13    | 11    | na  |
| Less                 | 79    | 68    | 61    |     |
| Same                 | 5     | 9     | 11    |     |

Q25 And as a consequence of the war, do you have more confidence or less confidence that the US wants to promote democracy all around the world?

|               | 18-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+ |
|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| United States |       |       |       |     |
| More          | 73    | 71    | 69    | 63  |
| Less          | 21    | 20    | 19    | 23  |
| Same          | 1     | 3     | 3     | 4   |
| Britain       |       |       |       |     |
| More          | 44    | 38    | 36    | 50  |
| Less          | 43    | 47    | 47    | 38  |
| Same          | 5     | 6     | 6     | 3   |
| France        |       |       |       |     |
| More          | 14    | 14    | 12    | 24  |
| Less          | 82    | 83    | 82    | 61  |
| Same          | 2     | 2     | 2     | 6   |
| Germany       |       |       |       |     |
| More          | 17    | 24    | 27    | 24  |
| Less          | 77    | 68    | 69    | 71  |
| Same          | 2     | 4     | 4     | 0   |
| Russia        |       |       |       |     |
| More          | 19    | 14    | 12    | 11  |
| Less          | 48    | 55    | 57    | 49  |
| Same          | 21    | 21    | 21    | 21  |
| Turkey        |       |       |       |     |
| More          | 8     | 10    | 12    | na  |
| Less          | 77    | 71    | 76    |     |
| Same          | 8     | 10    | 8     |     |
| Pakistan      |       |       |       |     |
| More          | 7     | 4     | 3     | na  |
| Less          | 56    | 57    | 63    |     |
| Same          | 5     | 5     | 9     |     |
| Jordan        |       |       |       |     |
| More          | 8     | 7     | 4     | na  |
| Less          | 50    | 57    | 64    |     |
| Same          | 33    | 27    | 22    |     |
| Morocco       |       |       |       |     |
| More          | 16    | 15    | 12    | na  |
| Less          | 71    | 63    | 60    |     |
| Same          | 6     | 10    | 7     |     |

Q26 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

|                | 18-29    | 30-49    | 50-64    | 65+      |
|----------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| United States  | (0       | (0       | (2)      | 50       |
| Helped<br>Hurt | 60<br>32 | 68<br>24 | 63<br>30 | 50<br>29 |
| No effect      | 2        | 24       | 2        | 5        |
| NO Effect      | Z        | 2        | 2        | 5        |
| Britain        |          |          |          |          |
| Helped         | 37       | 40       | 33       | 33       |
| Hurt           | 59       | 45       | 52       | 52       |
| No effect      | 3        | 5        | 7        | 5        |
| France         |          |          |          |          |
| Helped         | 31       | 32       | 38       | 31       |
| Hurt           | 64       | 56       | 46       | 54       |
| No effect      | 3        | 11       | 11       | 12       |
|                |          |          |          |          |
| Germany        | 24       | 2.5      |          |          |
| Helped         | 26       | 37       | 31       | 21       |
| Hurt           | 66       | 53       | 57       | 58       |
| No effect      | 4        | 5        | 5        | 9        |
| Russia         |          |          |          |          |
| Helped         | 24       | 22       | 24       | 21       |
| Hurt           | 49       | 52       | 51       | 45       |
| No effect      | 19       | 18       | 16       | 18       |
| Turkey         |          |          |          |          |
| Helped         | 24       | 24       | 28       | na       |
| Hurt           | 59       | 53       | 59       |          |
| No effect      | 6        | 9        | 6        |          |
| Pakistan       |          |          |          |          |
| Helped         | 7        | 8        | 8        | na       |
| Hurt           | 60       | 57       | 58       |          |
| No effect      | 6        | 5        | 10       |          |
| Jordan         |          |          |          |          |
| Helped         | 13       | 14       | 7        | na       |
| Hurt           | 38       | 34       | 37       |          |
| No effect      | 36       | 36       | 40       |          |
| Morocco        |          |          |          |          |
| Helped         | 16       | 16       | 11       | na       |
| Hurt           | 71       | 65       | 57       |          |
| No effect      | 7        | 10       | 11       |          |
|                |          |          |          |          |

Q27 Before the war, the leaders of US and Britain claimed that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. These weapns have yet to be found. Why do you think they made this claim? Was it mostly because US and British leaders were themselves misinformed by bad intelligence, or wsa it mostly because US and British leaders lied to provide a reason for invading Iraq?

|  | 18-29    | 30-49   | 50-64    | 65+      |
|--|----------|---------|----------|----------|
| United States  |          |         |          |          |
| Leaders were misinformed by bad intelligence                           | 41       | 51      | 51       | 53       |
| Leaders lied to provide a<br>reason for invading<br>WMD might be found | 51<br>3  | 30<br>9 | 20<br>12 | 25<br>10 |
| Britain  |          |         |          |          |
| Leaders were misinformed by bad intelligence                           | 40       | 53      | 44       | 53       |
| Leaders lied to provide a<br>reason for invading<br>WMD might be found | 52<br>3  | 40<br>1 | 42<br>6  | 33<br>5  |
| France   |          |         |          |          |
| Leaders were misinformed by bad intelligence                           | 11       | 14      | 16       | 18       |
| Leaders lied to provide a<br>reason for invading<br>WMD might be found | 89<br>0  | 83<br>0 | 81<br>0  | 74<br>2  |
| Germany  |          |         |          |          |
| Leaders were misinformed by bad intelligence                           | 14       | 23      | 28       | 23       |
| Leaders lied to provide a<br>reason for invading<br>WMD might be found | 79<br>0  | 70<br>1 | 63<br>3  | 68<br>4  |
| Russia   |          |         |          |          |
| Leaders were misinformed by bad intelligence                           | 13       | 20      | 17       | 18       |
| Leaders lied to provide a<br>reason for invading<br>WMD might be found | 60<br>13 | 62<br>6 | 65<br>5  | 56<br>7  |
| Turkey   |          |         |          |          |
| Leaders were misinformed by bad intelligence                           | 14       | 14      | 17       | na       |
| Leaders lied to provide a<br>reason for invading<br>WMD might be found | 64<br>8  | 65<br>5 | 72<br>6  |          |

|  | 18-29    | 30-49    | 50-64   | 65+ |
|--|----------|----------|---------|-----|
| Pakistan   |          |          |         |     |
| Leaders were misinformed by bad intelligence                           | 7        | 10       | 13      | na  |
| Leaders lied to provide a reason for invading WMD might be found       | 64<br>2  | 56<br>2  | 69<br>1 |     |
| Jordan   |          |          |         |     |
| Leaders were misinformed by bad intelligence                           | 26       | 20       | 20      | na  |
| Leaders lied to provide a<br>reason for invading<br>WMD might be found | 62<br>8  | 73<br>4  | 72<br>5 |     |
| Morocco  |          |          |         |     |
| Leaders were misinformed by bad intelligence                           | 22       | 20       | 18      | na  |
| Leaders lied to provide a<br>reason for invading<br>WMD might be found | 51<br>13 | 46<br>15 | 46<br>8 |     |
|  |          |          |         |     |
|  |          |          |         |     |

Q28 Now thinking about the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more - Israel or the Palestinians?

|                      | 18-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+ |
|----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| <b>United States</b> |       |       |       |     |
| Israel               | 54    | 56    | 49    | 32  |
| Palestinians         | 12    | 12    | 11    | 14  |
| Both                 | 0     | 8     | 10    | 14  |
| Neither              | 11    | 14    | 16    | 21  |
| Britain              |       |       |       |     |
| Israel               | 22    | 18    | 20    | 32  |
| Palestinians         | 27    | 30    | 30    | 24  |
| Both                 | 14    | 12    | 20    | 16  |
| Neither              | 16    | 23    | 16    | 13  |
| E                    |       |       |       |     |
| France               | 0.1   | 17    | 22    | 21  |
| Israel               | 21    | 17    | 22    | 21  |
| Palestinians         | 29    | 32    | 29    | 19  |
| Both                 | 7     | 7     | 12    | 20  |
| Neither              | 31    | 30    | 30    | 29  |
| Germany              |       |       |       |     |
| Israel               | 26    | 23    | 27    | 19  |
| Palestinians         | 27    | 22    | 25    | 25  |
| Both                 | 8     | 6     | 5     | 12  |
| Neither              | 22    | 39    | 27    | 33  |
| Russia               |       |       |       |     |
|                      | 26    | 22    | 26    | 16  |
| Israel               | 26    | 23    | 26    | 16  |
| Palestinians         | 11    | 14    | 17    | 15  |
| Both                 | 13    | 14    | 16    | 19  |
| Neither              | 35    | 38    | 31    | 30  |
| Turkey               |       |       |       |     |
| Israel               | 8     | 4     | 5     | na  |
| Palestinians         | 59    | 67    | 70    |     |
| Both                 | 2     | 4     | 5     |     |
| Neither              | 16    | 15    | 15    |     |
| Pakistan             |       |       |       |     |
| Israel               | 2     | 2     | 0     | na  |
| Palestinians         | 82    | 80    | 87    | na  |
| Both                 | 1     | 1     | 1     |     |
| Neither              | 2     | 2     | 1     |     |
|                      |       |       |       |     |
| Jordan               |       |       |       |     |
| Israel               | 1     | 1     | 2     | na  |
| Palestinians         | 92    | 94    | 94    |     |
| Both                 | 0     | 1     | 0     |     |
| Neither              | 6     | 4     | 2     |     |
| Morocco              |       |       |       |     |
| Israel               | 1     | 0     | 0     | na  |
| Palestinians         | 96    | 95    | 96    |     |
| Both                 | 2     | 3     | 0     |     |
| Neither              | 1     | 1     | 1     |     |
|                      | 1     | 1     | 1     |     |

Q29 Do you think the US government favors or opposes democracy in our country?

|          | 18-29 | 30-49 | 50-64 | 65+ |
|----------|-------|-------|-------|-----|
| Pakistan |       |       |       |     |
| Favors   | 29    | 26    | 36    | na  |
| Opposes  | 38    | 35    | 33    |     |
|          |       |       |       |     |
| Jordan   |       |       |       |     |
| Favors   | 44    | 42    | 44    | na  |
| Opposes  | 45    | 44    | 41    |     |
|          |       |       |       |     |
| Morocco  |       |       |       |     |
| Favors   | 53    | 51    | 45    | na  |
| Opposes  | 27    | 28    | 24    |     |
|          |       |       |       |     |

Q2 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of (insert)? a The United States

|          | MEN |       | WO  | MEN   | Men-Women |       |
|----------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----------|-------|
|          | Fav | Unfav | Fav | Unfav | Fav       | Unfav |
| Britain  | 59  | 34    | 57  | 34    | 2         | 0     |
| France   | 37  | 63    | 36  | 62    | 1         | 1     |
| Germany  | 41  | 56    | 36  | 61    | 5         | -5    |
| Russia   | 51  | 43    | 42  | 44    | 9         | -1    |
| Turkey   | 28  | 70    | 31  | 58    | -3        | 12    |
| Pakistan | 17  | 74    | 25  | 46    | -8        | 28    |
| Jordan   | 7   | 93    | 5   | 95    | 2         | -2    |
| Morocco  | 30  | 67    | 24  | 69    | 6         | -2    |

## b Americans

|          | M   | MEN   |     | MEN   | Men-Women |       |  |
|----------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----------|-------|--|
|          | Fav | Unfav | Fav | Unfav | Fav       | Unfav |  |
| Britain  | 71  | 20    | 73  | 18    | -2        | 2     |  |
| France   | 54  | 43    | 53  | 44    | 1         | -1    |  |
| Germany  | 71  | 25    | 65  | 13    | 6         | 12    |  |
| Russia   | 67  | 26    | 61  | 25    | 6         | 1     |  |
| Turkey   | 34  | 56    | 29  | 47    | 5         | 9     |  |
| Pakistan | 29  | 56    | 23  | 38    | 6         | 18    |  |
| Jordan   | 21  | 73    | 20  | 74    | 1         | -1    |  |
| Morocco  | 42  | 53    | 32  | 59    | 10        | -6    |  |

## d United Nations

| M   | EN   | WO  | MEN  | Men-Women   |   |  |  |  |  |  |
|-----|--|---|--|---|---|--|--|--|--|--|
| Fav | Unfav  | Fav   | Unfav  | Fav   | Unfav   |  |  |  |  |  |
| 49  | 42   | 59  | 27   | -10   | 15  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 73  | 23   | 75  | 14   | -2  | 9   |  |  |  |  |  |
| 64  | 34   | 70  | 26   | -6  | 8   |  |  |  |  |  |
| 75  | 22   | 69  | 23   | 6   | -1  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 66  | 24   | 57  | 14   | 9   | 10  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 58  | 36   | 45  | 33   | 13  | 3   |  |  |  |  |  |
| na  | na   | na  | na   | na  | na  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 24  | 71   | 19  | 73   | 5   | -2  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 26  | 68   | 24  | 63   | 2   | 5   |  |  |  |  |  |
|     | <b>Fav</b><br>49<br>73<br>64<br>75<br>66<br>58<br>na<br>24 | HEN   Fav Unfav   49 42   73 23   64 34   75 22   66 24   58 36   na na   24 71 | MEN WO   Fav Unfav Fav   49 42 59   73 23 75   64 34 70   75 22 69   66 24 57   58 36 45   na na na   24 71 19 | MEN WOMEN   Fav Unfav Fav Unfav   49 42 59 27   73 23 75 14   64 34 70 26   75 22 69 23   66 24 57 14   58 36 45 33   na na na na   24 71 19 73 | MEN WOMEN Men-V   Fav Unfav Fav Unfav Fav   49 42 59 27 -10   73 23 75 14 -2   64 34 70 26 -6   75 22 69 23 6   66 24 57 14 9   58 36 45 33 13   na na na na na   24 71 19 73 5 |  |  |  |  |  |

| e Jews   |     |       |     |           |       |       |
|----------|-----|-------|-----|-----------|-------|-------|
|          | M   | EN    | WO  | MEN       | Men-W | Vomen |
|          | Fav | Unfav | Fav | Fav Unfav |       | Unfav |
| US       | 79  | 9     | 74  | 8         | 5     | 1     |
| Britain  | 72  | 11    | 79  | 8         | -7    | 3     |
| France   | 78  | 13    | 83  | 9         | -5    | 4     |
| Germany  | 67  | 23    | 65  | 16        | 2     | 7     |
| Russia   | 64  | 27    | 65  | 23        | -1    | 4     |
| Turkey   | 27  | 56    | 28  | 43        | -1    | 13    |
| Pakistan | 3   | 88    | 1   | 71        | 2     | 17    |
| Jordan   | na  | na    | na  | na        | na    | na    |
| Morocco  | 7   | 91    | 4   | 93        | 3     | -2    |

| f Christians | 5   |       |     |       |      |       |
|--------------|-----|-------|-----|-------|------|-------|
|              | M   | MEN   |     | MEN   | Men- | Vomen |
|              | Fav | Unfav | Fav | Unfav | Fav  | Unfav |
| US           | 84  | 7     | 84  | 6     | 0    | 1     |
| Britain      | 82  | 9     | 87  | 4     | -5   | 5     |
| France       | 80  | 11    | 88  | 9     | -8   | 2     |
| Germany      | 73  | 18    | 77  | 13    | -4   | 5     |
| Russia       | 93  | 4     | 94  | 2     | -1   | 2     |
| Turkey       | 30  | 57    | 31  | 47    | -1   | 10    |
| Pakistan     | 29  | 65    | 19  | 59    | 10   | 6     |
| Jordan       | na  | na    | na  | na    | na   | na    |
| Morocco      | 24  | 72    | 22  | 74    | 2    | -2    |

## g Muslims

|          | MEN |       | WO  | MEN   | Men-Women |       |
|----------|-----|-------|-----|-------|-----------|-------|
|          | Fav | Unfav | Fav | Unfav | Fav       | Unfav |
| US       | 49  | 34    | 47  | 30    | 2         | 4     |
| Britain  | 65  | 19    | 69  | 18    | -4        | 1     |
| France   | 61  | 32    | 68  | 26    | -7        | 6     |
| Germany  | 43  | 44    | 39  | 48    | 4         | -4    |
| Russia   | 54  | 37    | 50  | 38    | 4         | -1    |
| Turkey   | 88  | 11    | 89  | 7     | -1        | 4     |
| Pakistan | 98  | 2     | 95  | 1     | 3         | 1     |
| Jordan   | na  | na    | na  | na    | na        | na    |
| Morocco  | 89  | 10    | 90  | 9     | -1        | 1     |

Q3 From what you know, do people from our country who move to the US have a better life there, a worse life there or is neither better or worse?

|          | Better |       | Worse |       | Neither |       | Men -Women |       |         |
|----------|--------|-------|-------|-------|---------|-------|------------|-------|---------|
|          | Men    | Women | Men   | Women | Men     | Women | Better     | Worse | Neither |
| US       | 90     | 85    | 1     | 2     | 5       | 8     | 5          | -1    | -3      |
| Britain  | 40     | 43    | 6     | 7     | 34      | 37    | -3         | -1    | -9      |
| France   | 27     | 21    | 10    | 13    | 52      | 61    | 6          | -3    | -4      |
| Germany  | 17     | 11    | 15    | 16    | 56      | 60    | 6          | -1    | 0       |
| Russia   | 53     | 53    | 12    | 8     | 17      | 17    | 0          | 4     | -3      |
| Turkey   | 51     | 50    | 21    | 17    | 13      | 16    | 1          | 4     | -5      |
| Pakistan | 31     | 28    | 35    | 22    | 16      | 21    | 3          | 13    | -6      |
| Jordan   | 38     | 25    | 20    | 23    | 25      | 31    | 13         | -3    | 3       |
| Morocco  | 49     | 45    | 24    | 29    | 19      | 16    | 4          | -5    | 0       |

Q5 Do you think the partnership between the US 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 dipolmatic affairs than it has in the past?

|         | Remain as Close |       | More Indep |       | Don't Know |       | Men-Women |       |
|---------|-----------------|-------|------------|-------|------------|-------|-----------|-------|
|         | Men             | Women | Men        | Women | Men        | Women | As Close  | Indep |
| US      | 54              | 57    | 38         | 34    | 7          | 9     | -3        | 4     |
| Britain | 44              | 37    | 53         | 58    | 4          | 5     | 7         | -5    |
| France  | 22              | 20    | 76         | 75    | 2          | 5     | 2         | 1     |
| Germany | 43              | 30    | 57         | 67    | 0          | 3     | 13        | -10   |
| Russia  | 23              | 26    | 62         | 50    | 15         | 24    | -3        | 12    |
| Turkey  | 28              | 17    | 62         | 57    | 10         | 26    | 11        | 5     |

Q6 In your opinion, would it be a good thing or a bad thing if the European Union becomes as powerful as the US?

|         | Good Thing |       | Bad Thing |       | Don't Know |       | Men-Women |     |
|---------|------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|-------|-----------|-----|
|         | Men        | Women | Men       | Women | Men        | Women | Good      | Bad |
| US      | 36         | 31    | 50        | 50    | 13         | 17    | 5         | 0   |
| Britain | 52         | 49    | 41        | 36    | 7          | 15    | 3         | 5   |
| France  | 90         | 90    | 9         | 8     | 1          | 2     | 0         | 1   |
| Germany | 76         | 65    | 19        | 24    | 6          | 11    | 11        | -5  |
| Russia  | 68         | 66    | 15        | 10    | 17         | 24    | 2         | 5   |
| Turkey  | 69         | 65    | 23        | 19    | 7          | 15    | 4         | 4   |

Q7 Now a question about using military force, do you think (sc) should have UN approval before it uses military forces to deal with an international threat or do you think that would make it too difficult for our country to deal with international threats?

|          | Should   | have UN | Too Diffi | cult to deal |      |        |          |           |
|----------|----------|---------|-----------|--------------|------|--------|----------|-----------|
|          | approval |         | w/tl      | nreats       | Don' | t know | Men-W    | /omen     |
|          |          |         |           |              |      |        | UN       | Too       |
|          | Men      | Women   | Men       | Women        | Men  | Women  | Approval | Difficult |
| US       | 37       | 45      | 54        | 44           | 9    | 11     | -8       | 10        |
| Britain  | 65       | 62      | 30        | 30           | 5    | 8      | 3        | 0         |
| France   | 70       | 56      | 28        | 43           | 2    | 2      | 14       | -15       |
| Germany  | 81       | 79      | 14        | 16           | 5    | 5      | 2        | -2        |
| Russia   | 39       | 35      | 46        | 38           | 15   | 27     | 4        | 8         |
| Turkey   | 49       | 42      | 45        | 43           | 6    | 14     | 7        | 2         |
| Pakistan | 38       | 38      | 43        | 24           | 19   | 38     | 0        | 19        |
| Jordan   | 47       | 47      | 36        | 40           | 18   | 13     | 0        | -4        |
| Morocco  | 47       | 36      | 43        | 42           | 10   | 22     | 11       | 1         |

Q9 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.

|          | MEN |        | WC  | DMEN   | Men-Women |        |
|----------|-----|--------|-----|--------|-----------|--------|
|          | Fav | Oppose | Fav | Oppose | Fav       | Oppose |
| US       | 84  | 11     | 79  | 14     | 5         | -3     |
| Britain  | 66  | 29     | 61  | 31     | 5         | -2     |
| France   | 55  | 42     | 45  | 52     | 10        | -10    |
| Germany  | 58  | 40     | 52  | 46     | 6         | -6     |
| Russia   | 73  | 21     | 73  | 20     | 0         | 1      |
| Turkey   | 35  | 60     | 39  | 51     | -4        | 9      |
| Pakistan | 16  | 69     | 16  | 49     | 0         | 20     |
| Jordan   | 12  | 79     | 11  | 77     | 1         | 2      |
| Morocco  | 28  | 68     | 27  | 65     | 1         | 3      |

Q10 Which of the following phrases comes closer to your point of view? The US is right to be so concerned about the threat of international terrorism OR the US is over reacting to the threat of international terrorism.

|          | Is right to be |       | Overr | eacting | Men-Women |      |  |
|----------|----------------|-------|-------|---------|-----------|------|--|
|          | Men            | Women | Men   | Women   | Right     | Over |  |
| US       | 82             | 86    | 15    | 11      | -4        | 4    |  |
| Britain  | 61             | 67    | 36    | 30      | -6        | 6    |  |
| France   | 43             | 40    | 55    | 58      | 3         | -3   |  |
| Germany  | 50             | 47    | 46    | 51      | 3         | -5   |  |
| Russia   | 56             | 60    | 39    | 30      | -4        | 9    |  |
| Turkey   | 28             | 37    | 63    | 48      | -9        | 15   |  |
| Pakistan | 9              | 8     | 77    | 53      | 1         | 24   |  |
| Jordan   | 15             | 15    | 78    | 73      | 0         | 5    |  |
| Morocco  | 23             | 18    | 73    | 71      | 5         | 2    |  |

Q11 Do you think that the US led war on terrorism is a sincere effort to reduce international terrorism or don't you believe that?

|          | Sincere Effort |       | Don't | Don't Believe |     | oth   | Men-V<br>Sincere | Vomen<br>Don't |
|----------|----------------|-------|-------|---------------|-----|-------|------------------|----------------|
|          | Men            | Women | Men   | Women         | Men | Women | Effort           | Believe        |
| US       | 67             | 68    | 26    | 24            | 2   | 3     | -1               | 2              |
| Britain  | 50             | 53    | 42    | 38            | 3   | 2     | -3               | 4              |
| France   | 36             | 33    | 61    | 61            | 3   | 2     | 3                | 0              |
| Germany  | 34             | 25    | 61    | 70            | 0   | 1     | 9                | -9             |
| Russia   | 35             | 36    | 53    | 43            | 8   | 10    | -1               | 10             |
| Turkey   | 17             | 22    | 70    | 58            | 8   | 6     | -5               | 12             |
| Pakistan | 7              | 6     | 72    | 42            | 7   | 3     | 1                | 30             |
| Jordan   | 12             | 11    | 50    | 53            | 27  | 21    | 1                | -3             |
| Morocco  | 17             | 17    | 68    | 64            | 4   | 3     | 0                | 4              |

Q13 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?

|          | Justified |       | Not J | ustified | Men-Women |          |  |
|----------|-----------|-------|-------|----------|-----------|----------|--|
|          | Men       | Women | Men   | Women    | Just      | Not Just |  |
| Turkey   | 19        | 10    | 75    | 78       | 9         | -3       |  |
| Pakistan | 49        | 31    | 42    | 44       | 18        | -2       |  |
| Jordan   | na        | na    | na    | na       | na        | na       |  |
| Morocco  | 37        | 41    | 57    | 48       | -4        | 9        |  |

Q14 What about suicide bombing carried out by Palestinians against Israeli citizens? Do you personally believe that this is justifiable or not justifiable?

|          | Justified |       | Not J | ustified | Men-Women |          |  |
|----------|-----------|-------|-------|----------|-----------|----------|--|
|          | Men       | Women | Men   | Women    | Just      | Not Just |  |
| Turkey   | 31        | 17    | 63    | 71       | 14        | -8       |  |
| Pakistan | 60        | 32    | 32    | 41       | 28        | -9       |  |
| Jordan   | 84        | 88    | 14    | 9        | -4        | 5        |  |
| Morocco  | 71        | 77    | 25    | 19       | -6        | 6        |  |

Q15 What about suicide bombing carried out against American and other Westerners in Iraq? Do you personally believe that this is justifiable or not justifiable?

|          | Justified |       | Not J | ustified | Men-Women |          |  |
|----------|-----------|-------|-------|----------|-----------|----------|--|
|          | Men       | Women | Men   | Women    | Just      | Not Just |  |
| Turkey   | 41        | 22    | 52    | 66       | 19        | -14      |  |
| Pakistan | 61        | 29    | 30    | 41       | 32        | -11      |  |
| Jordan   | 69        | 71    | 23    | 24       | -2        | -1       |  |
| Morocco  | 64        | 68    | 30    | 24       | -4        | 6        |  |

Q16 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

|          | Safer Place |       | More D | angerous | Men-Women |        |  |
|----------|-------------|-------|--------|----------|-----------|--------|--|
|          | Men         | Women | Men    | Women    | Safer     | Danger |  |
| US       | 32          | 27    | 50     | 50       | 5         | 0      |  |
| Britain  | 45          | 40    | 40     | 46       | 5         | -6     |  |
| France   | 56          | 51    | 40     | 42       | 5         | -2     |  |
| Germany  | 44          | 32    | 40     | 53       | 12        | -13    |  |
| Russia   | 41          | 34    | 43     | 45       | 7         | -2     |  |
| Turkey   | 47          | 34    | 43     | 48       | 13        | -5     |  |
| Pakistan | 25          | 11    | 62     | 59       | 14        | 3      |  |
| Jordan   | 29          | 29    | 52     | 54       | 0         | -2     |  |
| Morocco  | 22          | 20    | 67     | 63       | 2         | 4      |  |

Q18 On the subject of Iraq, did (survey country) make the right decision or the wrong decision to not use military force against Iraq?

|          | Ri        | ght | W   | rong  | Men-Women |       |  |
|----------|-----------|-----|-----|-------|-----------|-------|--|
|          | Men Women |     | Men | Women | Right     | Wrong |  |
| France   | 88        | 88  | 11  | 11    | 0         | 0     |  |
| Germany  | 82        | 90  | 15  | 8     | -8        | 7     |  |
| Russia   | 83        | 84  | 12  | 8     | -1        | 4     |  |
| Turkey   | 72        | 71  | 24  | 21    | 1         | 3     |  |
| Pakistan | 80        | 55  | 12  | 13    | 25        | -1    |  |
| Jordan   | 87        | 86  | 2   | 3     | 1         | -1    |  |
| Morocco  | 84        | 83  | 11  | 7     | 1         | 4     |  |

Q19 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 US and its allies?

|          | Better Off |       | Wor | se Off | Men-Women |       |  |
|----------|------------|-------|-----|--------|-----------|-------|--|
|          | Men        | Women | Men | Women  | Better    | Worse |  |
| US       | 84         | 84    | 9   | 9      | 0         | 0     |  |
| Britain  | 81         | 83    | 12  | 10     | -2        | 2     |  |
| France   | 65         | 69    | 31  | 24     | -4        | 7     |  |
| Germany  | 70         | 61    | 26  | 29     | 9         | -3    |  |
| Russia   | 33         | 30    | 41  | 34     | 3         | 7     |  |
| Turkey   | 40         | 42    | 46  | 42     | -2        | 4     |  |
| Pakistan | 9          | 7     | 72  | 50     | 2         | 22    |  |
| Jordan   | 26         | 24    | 70  | 71     | 2         | -1    |  |
| Morocco  | 40         | 33    | 48  | 49     | 7         | -1    |  |

Q20 in rebuilding Iraq, how good a job are the US 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?

|          | Excellent |       | Good |       | Only Fair |       | Poor |       | Men-Women |          |
|----------|-----------|-------|------|-------|-----------|-------|------|-------|-----------|----------|
|          | Men       | Women | Men  | Women | Men       | Women | Men  | Women | Positive  | Negative |
| US       | 16        | 12    | 35   | 40    | 33        | 29    | 10   | 9     | -1        | 5        |
| Britain  | 4         | 4     | 22   | 29    | 48        | 47    | 21   | 12    | -8        | 9        |
| France   | 2         | 1     | 31   | 35    | 47        | 47    | 16   | 11    | -4        | 6        |
| Germany  | 1         | 1     | 15   | 16    | 58        | 60    | 21   | 20    | -1        | 0        |
| Russia   | 2         | 1     | 11   | 12    | 38        | 34    | 42   | 37    | 0         | 8        |
| Turkey   | 2         | 1     | 15   | 14    | 31        | 31    | 41   | 36    | 2         | 6        |
| Pakistan | 3         | 3     | 7    | 7     | 20        | 16    | 46   | 22    | 0         | 29       |
| Jordan   | 6         | 6     | 21   | 21    | 27        | 29    | 38   | 37    | -1        | -2       |
| Morocco  | 14        | 10    | 32   | 29    | 39        | 35    | 11   | 21    | 3         | 7        |

Q21 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?

|          | Stable Gov't |       | Will Tak | ke Longer | Men-Women |        |  |
|----------|--------------|-------|----------|-----------|-----------|--------|--|
|          | Men          | Women | Men      | Women     | Stable    | Longer |  |
| US       | 13           | 12    | 85       | 82        | 1         | 3      |  |
| Britain  | 9            | 8     | 87       | 91        | 1         | -4     |  |
| France   | 9            | 3     | 90       | 95        | 6         | -5     |  |
| Germany  | 7            | 4     | 92       | 95        | 3         | -3     |  |
| Russia   | 17           | 12    | 72       | 68        | 5         | 4      |  |
| Turkey   | 13           | 12    | 79       | 77        | 1         | 2      |  |
| Pakistan | 6            | 5     | 70       | 46        | 1         | 24     |  |
| Jordan   | 34           | 32    | 51       | 51        | 2         | 0      |  |
| Morocco  | 8            | 8     | 83       | 75        | 0         | 8      |  |

Q22 Who do you think could do the best job at helping the Iraqi people form a stable government -- the US and its allies or the United Nations?

|          | US an | US and allies The UN |     | В     | Both Neither |       |     | Men-Women |    |    |      |         |
|----------|-------|----------------------|-----|-------|--------------|-------|-----|-----------|----|----|------|---------|
|          | Men   | Women                | Men | Women | Men          | Women | Men | Women     | US | UN | Both | Neither |
| US       | 45    | 38                   | 45  | 46    | 4            | 3     | 2   | 3         | 7  | -1 | 1    | -1      |
| Britain  | 9     | 11                   | 83  | 80    | 3            | 4     | 1   | 2         | -2 | 3  | -1   | -1      |
| France   | 6     | 11                   | 86  | 77    | 1            | 2     | 6   | 3         | -5 | 9  | -1   | 3       |
| Germany  | 8     | 8                    | 82  | 85    | 3            | 2     | 4   | 1         | 0  | -3 | 1    | 3       |
| Russia   | 11    | 8                    | 46  | 48    | 11           | 12    | 19  | 9         | 3  | -2 | -1   | 10      |
| Turkey   | 10    | 12                   | 65  | 53    | 8            | 4     | 9   | 12        | -2 | 12 | 4    | -3      |
| Pakistan | 3     | 6                    | 53  | 32    | 4            | 3     | 23  | 8         | -3 | 21 | 1    | 15      |
| Jordan   | 6     | 5                    | 16  | 14    | 19           | 22    | 50  | 49        | 1  | 2  | -3   | 1       |
| Morocco  | 18    | 16                   | 24  | 20    | 11           | 7     | 35  | 34        | 2  | 4  | 4    | 1       |

Here are a few questions about how the war in Iraq may have changed your opinion of the US Q23 Did the US military show itself to be stronger or weaker than you expected?

|          | Stronger |       | Weaker |       | Sa  | ame   | Men-Women |        |      |  |
|----------|----------|-------|--------|-------|-----|-------|-----------|--------|------|--|
|          | Men      | Women | Men    | Women | Men | Women | Stonger   | Weaker | Same |  |
| US       | 72       | 73    | 15     | 13    | 10  | 8     | -1        | 2      | 2    |  |
| Britain  | 48       | 43    | 30     | 35    | 18  | 11    | 5         | -5     | 7    |  |
| France   | 25       | 32    | 53     | 52    | 17  | 12    | -7        | 1      | 5    |  |
| Germany  | 30       | 23    | 56     | 65    | 9   | 3     | 7         | -9     | 6    |  |
| Russia   | 20       | 25    | 43     | 31    | 32  | 27    | -5        | 12     | 5    |  |
| Turkey   | 28       | 33    | 62     | 50    | 5   | 5     | -5        | 12     | 0    |  |
| Pakistan | 24       | 19    | 61     | 30    | 1   | 4     | 5         | 31     | -3   |  |
| Jordan   | 51       | 43    | 19     | 23    | 23  | 28    | 8         | -4     | -5   |  |
| Morocco  | 48       | 49    | 35     | 28    | 11  | 15    | -1        | 7      | -4   |  |

Q24 As a consequence of the war, do you have more confidence or less confidence that the US is trustworthy?

|          | More |       | Less |       | Same |       | Men-Women |      |      |
|----------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|-----------|------|------|
|          | Men  | Women | Men  | Women | Men  | Women | More      | Less | Same |
| US       | 58   | 57    | 29   | 29    | 6    | 6     | 1         | 0    | 0    |
| Britain  | 22   | 26    | 58   | 57    | 15   | 10    | -4        | 1    | 5    |
| France   | 12   | 16    | 80   | 75    | 6    | 6     | -4        | 5    | 0    |
| Germany  | 10   | 10    | 82   | 82    | 6    | 4     | 0         | 0    | 2    |
| Russia   | 8    | 8     | 64   | 63    | 23   | 20    | 0         | 1    | 3    |
| Turkey   | 7    | 9     | 77   | 71    | 12   | 11    | -2        | 6    | 1    |
| Pakistan | 5    | 5     | 77   | 49    | 6    | 9     | 0         | 28   | -3   |
| Jordan   | 6    | 3     | 49   | 51    | 37   | 39    | 3         | -2   | -2   |
| Morocco  | 13   | 10    | 73   | 72    | 8    | 6     | 3         | 1    | 2    |

Q25 And as a consquence of the war, do you have more confidence or less confidence that the US wants to promote democracy all around the world?

|          | More |       | Less |       | Same |       | Men-Women |      |      |
|----------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|-----------|------|------|
|          | Men  | Women | Men  | Women | Men  | Women | More      | Less | Same |
| US       | 71   | 69    | 20   | 22    | 3    | 2     | 2         | -2   | 1    |
| Britain  | 45   | 37    | 43   | 46    | 6    | 5     | 8         | -3   | 1    |
| France   | 17   | 15    | 78   | 78    | 2    | 3     | 2         | 0    | -1   |
| Germany  | 27   | 20    | 65   | 76    | 4    | 1     | 7         | -11  | 3    |
| Russia   | 15   | 13    | 55   | 51    | 22   | 20    | 2         | 4    | 2    |
| Turkey   | 9    | 10    | 76   | 71    | 10   | 8     | -1        | 5    | 2    |
| Pakistan | 7    | 3     | 71   | 41    | 5    | 5     | 4         | 30   | 0    |
| Jordan   | 7    | 7     | 56   | 56    | 28   | 29    | 0         | 0    | -1   |
| Morocco  | 17   | 13    | 67   | 66    | 7    | 8     | 4         | 1    | -1   |

Q26 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

|          | He  | Helped |     | Hurt  |     | No Effect |        | Men-Women |           |  |
|----------|-----|--------|-----|-------|-----|-----------|--------|-----------|-----------|--|
|          | Men | Women  | Men | Women | Men | Women     | Helped | Hurt      | No Effect |  |
| US       | 64  | 60     | 28  | 29    | 3   | 2         | 4      | -1        | 1         |  |
| Britain  | 36  | 36     | 51  | 50    | 5   | 6         | 0      | 1         | -1        |  |
| France   | 32  | 34     | 56  | 54    | 12  | 8         | -2     | 2         | 4         |  |
| Germany  | 31  | 29     | 58  | 57    | 5   | 6         | 2      | 1         | -1        |  |
| Russia   | 23  | 22     | 51  | 49    | 21  | 15        | 1      | 2         | 6         |  |
| Turkey   | 26  | 22     | 58  | 55    | 8   | 7         | 4      | 3         | 1         |  |
| Pakistan | 9   | 7      | 69  | 45    | 6   | 5         | 2      | 24        | 1         |  |
| Jordan   | 10  | 14     | 39  | 33    | 33  | 40        | -4     | 6         | -7        |  |
| Morocco  | 18  | 14     | 68  | 66    | 8   | 9         | 4      | 2         | -1        |  |

Q27 Before the war, the leaders of US and Britain claimed that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction. These weapns have yet to be found. Why do you think they made this claim? Was it mostly because US and British leaders were themselves misinformed by bad intelligence, or wsa it mostly because US and British leaders lied to provide a reason for invading Iraq?

|          | Misinformed |       | L   | Lied  |     | Might still be found |                 | Men-Women |                         |  |
|----------|-------------|-------|-----|-------|-----|----------------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------------------|--|
|          | Men         | Women | Men | Women | Men | Women                | Misinforme<br>d | Lied      | Might still<br>be found |  |
| US       | 48          | 50    | 30  | 32    | 12  | 6                    | -2              | -2        | 6                       |  |
| Britain  | 47          | 49    | 42  | 40    | 4   | 3                    | -2              | 2         | 1                       |  |
| France   | 12          | 18    | 86  | 78    | 0   | 1                    | -6              | 8         | -1                      |  |
| Germany  | 25          | 21    | 66  | 72    | 1   | 3                    | 4               | -6        | -2                      |  |
| Russia   | 19          | 16    | 63  | 59    | 8   | 8                    | 3               | 4         | 0                       |  |
| Turkey   | 14          | 15    | 73  | 59    | 6   | 7                    | -1              | 14        | -1                      |  |
| Pakistan | 11          | 6     | 70  | 50    | 2   | 2                    | 5               | 20        | 0                       |  |
| Jordan   | 22          | 23    | 72  | 65    | 5   | 7                    | -1              | 7         | -2                      |  |
| Morocco  | 22          | 19    | 50  | 45    | 14  | 13                   | 3               | 5         | 1                       |  |

Q28 Now thinking about the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more -Israel or the Palestinians?

|          | Israel |       | Palestinians |       | Both |       | Neither |       |
|----------|--------|-------|--------------|-------|------|-------|---------|-------|
|          | Men    | Women | Men          | Women | Men  | Women | Men     | Women |
| US       | 51     | 41    | 12           | 14    | 6    | 9     | 16      | 13    |
| Britain  | 23     | 20    | 35           | 22    | 12   | 17    | 18      | 18    |
| France   | 19     | 21    | 30           | 26    | 10   | 11    | 32      | 28    |
| Germany  | 24     | 24    | 26           | 23    | 3    | 11    | 33      | 31    |
| Russia   | 25     | 21    | 14           | 13    | 15   | 15    | 37      | 33    |
| Turkey   | 6      | 7     | 72           | 56    | 3    | 5     | 14      | 17    |
| Pakistan | 1      | 2     | 90           | 72    | 1    | 1     | 2       | 2     |
| Jordan   | 1      | 1     | 83           | 94    | 0    | 0     | 5       | 4     |
| Morocco  | 1      | 0     | 96           | 96    | 2    | 2     | 1       | 1     |

## Q29 Do you think the US government favors or opposes democracy in our country?

|          | MEN |        | WC  | OMEN   | Men-Women |        |  |
|----------|-----|--------|-----|--------|-----------|--------|--|
|          | Fav | Oppose | Fav | Oppose | Fav       | Oppose |  |
| Pakistan | 35  | 22     | 43  | 28     | -8        | -6     |  |
| Jordan   | 45  | 42     | 43  | 44     | 2         | -2     |  |
| Morocco  | 56  | 46     | 27  | 27     | 29        | 19     |  |

temy Bush +60%

Repty pens +40%