



a PewResearchCenter project

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American Character Gets Mixed Reviews
U.S. IMAGE UP SLIGHTLY, BUT STILL NEGATIVE

16-Nation Pew Global Attitudes Survey

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¹ Data for 17th nation, Morocco, were not yet available at the time of this release. The questionnaire has been updated with results from Morocco, though these data are not referenced in this report's text, tables, or figures.

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16-Nation Pew Global Attitudes Survey²

Anti-Americanism in Europe, the Middle East and Asia, which surged as a result of the U.S. war in Iraq, shows modest signs of abating. But the United States remains broadly disliked in most countries surveyed, and opinion of the American people is not as positive as it once was. The magnitude of America's image problem is such that even popular U.S. policies have done little to repair it. President George W. Bush's calls for greater democracy in the Middle East and U.S. aid for tsunami victims in Asia were well-received in many countries, but only in Indonesia, India and Russia has there been significant improvement in overall opinions of the U.S.

Attitudes toward the U.S. remain quite negative in the Muslim world, though hostility toward America has eased in some countries. Many Muslims see the U.S. supporting democracy in their countries and many who are optimists about the prospects for democracy in the Middle East give at least some credit to U.S. policies. But progress for America's image in these countries is measured in small steps; solid majorities in five predominantly Muslim countries surveyed still express unfavorable views of the United States. However, preliminary results from Morocco suggest significant improvements in the U.S. image there.

The polling in Western Europe, conducted in the weeks leading up to the rejection of the European Union constitution by voters in France and the Netherlands, finds pockets of deep public dissatisfaction with national conditions and concern in several countries over immigration from the Middle East, North Africa and Eastern Europe.

There are no signs, however, that Euro-skepticism about the EU has fueled a desire for a closer trans-Atlantic partnership. On the contrary, most Europeans surveyed want a more

	'99/'00	2002	2003	2004	2005
	%	%	%	%	%
Canada	71	72	63	--	59
Britain	83	75	70	58	55
Netherlands	--	--	--	--	45
France	62	63	43	37	43
Germany	78	61	45	38	41
Spain	50	--	38	--	41
Poland	--	79	--	--	62
Russia	37	61	36	47	52
Indonesia	75	61	15	--	38
Turkey	52	30	15	30	23
Pakistan	23	10	13	21	23
Lebanon	--	35	27	--	42
Jordan	--	25	1	5	21
Morocco	77	--	27	27	N/A ¹
India	--	54	--	--	71
China	--	N/A	--	--	42

1999/2000 trends from Office of Research, U.S. Dept. of State; Canada from Environics.

² Data for 17th country, Morocco, were not yet available at the time of this release. The questionnaire has been updated with results from Morocco, though these data are not referenced in this report's text, tables, or figures.

independent approach from the U.S. on security and diplomatic affairs.

Indeed, opinion of the U.S. continues to be mostly unfavorable among the publics of America's traditional allies, except Great Britain and Canada. Even in those two countries, however, favorable views of the U.S. have slipped over the past two years. Moreover, support for the U.S.-led war on terror has plummeted in Spain and eroded elsewhere in Europe.

Japan, France and Germany are all more highly regarded than the United States among the countries of Europe; even the British and Canadians have a more favorable view of these three nations than they do of America. Strikingly, China now has a better image than the U.S. in most of the European nations surveyed.

Western Publics Rate Major Nations					
<i>-----Favorability Ratings for-----</i>					
<i>Rating given by...</i>	U.S.	Germany	France	Japan	China
	%	%	%	%	%
Canadians	59	77	78	75	58
British	55	75	71	69	65
French	43	89	74	76	58
Germans	41	64	78	64	46
Spanish	41	77	74	66	57
Dutch	45	88	69	68	56
Russians	52	79	83	75	60
Poles	62	64	66	60	36
Americans	83	60	46	63	43

Attitudes toward the U.S. in the former Soviet bloc nations of Poland and Russia are much more positive than in most of Western Europe. In Russia, favorable opinion of its former Cold War adversary has swelled from 36% in 2002 to 52% currently. Opinions of the U.S. in Poland have declined since 2002, but still remain relatively positive (62%).

The latest survey by the Pew Global Attitudes Project, conducted among nearly 17,000 people in the United States and 15 other countries from April 20-May 31, finds that America's image is strongest in India. Fully 71% in India express a positive opinion of the United States, compared with 54% three years ago.

Positive opinions of the U.S. in Indonesia, which had plummeted to as low as 15% in 2003, also have rebounded to 38%. The U.S. tsunami aid effort has been widely hailed there; 79% of Indonesians say they have a more favorable view of the U.S. as a result of the relief efforts. With the exception of Christian opinion in Lebanon, views of the U.S. in other predominantly Muslim nations are more negative and have changed little. In Turkey, hostility toward the U.S. and the American people has intensified. Nearly half of Turks (46%) say they have a *very* unfavorable view of Americans, up from just 32% a year ago.

Yet there is modest optimism among Muslims that the Middle East will become more democratic. And even in countries like Jordan and Pakistan, where people have low regard for the U.S., many who believe the region will become more democratic give some credit to U.S. policies for making this possible. Roughly half of respondents in Jordan – and nearly two-thirds of Indonesians – think the U.S. favors democracy in their countries. About half of the public in Lebanon also takes that view. But on this question and others relating to opinions of the U.S., Lebanon’s Muslim majority (about 60% of the population) is far more negative than its minority Christian population.

The survey finds that while China is well-regarded in both Europe and Asia, its burgeoning economic power elicits mixed reactions. Majorities or pluralities in France and Spain believe that China’s growing economy has a negative impact on their countries. Respondents in the Netherlands and Great Britain have much more positive reactions to China’s economic growth. Public opinion in the U.S. on this issue is divided – 49% view China’s economic emergence as a good thing, while 40% say it has a negative impact on the U.S.

Whatever their views on China’s increasing economic power, European publics are opposed to the idea of China becoming a military rival to the U.S, despite their deep reservations over American policies and hegemony. Solid majorities in every European nation – except Turkey – believe that China’s emergence as a military superpower would be a bad thing. In Turkey and most other predominantly Muslim countries, where antagonism toward the U.S. runs much deeper, most people think a Chinese challenge to American military power would be a good thing.

Nonetheless, there is considerable support across every country surveyed, with the notable exception of the U.S., for some other country or group of countries to rival the United States militarily. In France, 85% of respondents believe it would be good if the EU or another country emerged as a military rival to the U.S.

	2003	2004	2005	03-05 change
	%	%	%	
United States	73	70	67	-6
Canada	28	--	19	-9
Great Britain	44	36	32	-12
France	14	14	18	+4
Germany	32	29	38	+6
Spain	22	--	19	-3
Netherlands	--	--	20	n/a
Russia	22	20	21	-1
Poland	--	--	13	n/a
Turkey	9	14	14	+5
Pakistan	23	18	39	+16
Indonesia	25	--	59	+34
Lebanon	18	--	35	+17
Jordan	19	16	17	-2
India	--	--	63	n/a
China	--	--	53	n/a

Percent saying U.S. takes into account the interests of countries like yours a great deal or a fair amount. U.S. respondents asked if America takes into account the interest of other countries.

Most Western Europeans want their countries to take a more independent approach from the U.S. on diplomatic and security affairs than it has in the past. The European desire for greater autonomy from the U.S. is increasingly shared by the Canadian public; 57% of Canadians favor Canada taking a more independent approach from the U.S., up from 43% two years ago. The American public, by contrast, increasingly favors closer ties with U.S. allies in Western Europe.

As in the past, the perception that the United States conducts a unilateral foreign policy is widely shared across the surveyed countries. Overwhelming percentages of people in Europe and the Middle East believe that the United States does not take their countries' interests into account when making foreign policy. Yet there are a few notable exceptions. Majorities in India (63%) and China³ (53%) believe the U.S. takes their respective countries' interests into account at least a fair amount. The percentage in Indonesia expressing that view has more than doubled since 2003 (from 25% to 59%), probably reflecting the overwhelmingly positive reaction in response to U.S. tsunami relief in that country.

The U.S. tsunami relief effort led to more favorable views of the U.S. for most nations surveyed. But goodwill generated by U.S. tsunami relief has been largely offset by the negative reactions to Bush's re-election and the continuing war in Iraq. Roughly three-quarters of the publics in Germany (77%), Canada (75%) and France (74%) say Bush's re-election has made them feel less favorable toward the U.S. And particularly in Western Europe, most of those who express an unfavorable view of the U.S. mostly blame Bush, rather than a more general problem with America.

<i>Feelings toward the US</i>	<i>U.S. tsunami relief effort</i>		<i>Re-election of George Bush</i>	
	<i>More favorable</i>	<i>Less favorable</i>	<i>More favorable</i>	<i>Less favorable</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Canada	69	17	20	75
Great Britain	44	24	18	62
France	51	33	19	74
Germany	66	23	14	77
Spain	46	23	19	60
Netherlands	62	23	24	72
Russia	61	6	15	36
Poland	43	8	21	18
Turkey	34	24	11	62
Pakistan	26	21	10	36
Indonesia	79	14	12	52
Lebanon	--	--	9	57
Jordan	--	--	10	31
India	54	27	28	35

³ The sample in China is disproportionately urban. The probability sample is drawn from the following six cities and surrounding areas: Shanghai (in east China), Beijing (north) Guangzhou (southeast), Chengdu (southwest), Wuhan (central) and Shenyang (northeast). The surveys in India and Pakistan were also disproportionately or exclusively urban samples.

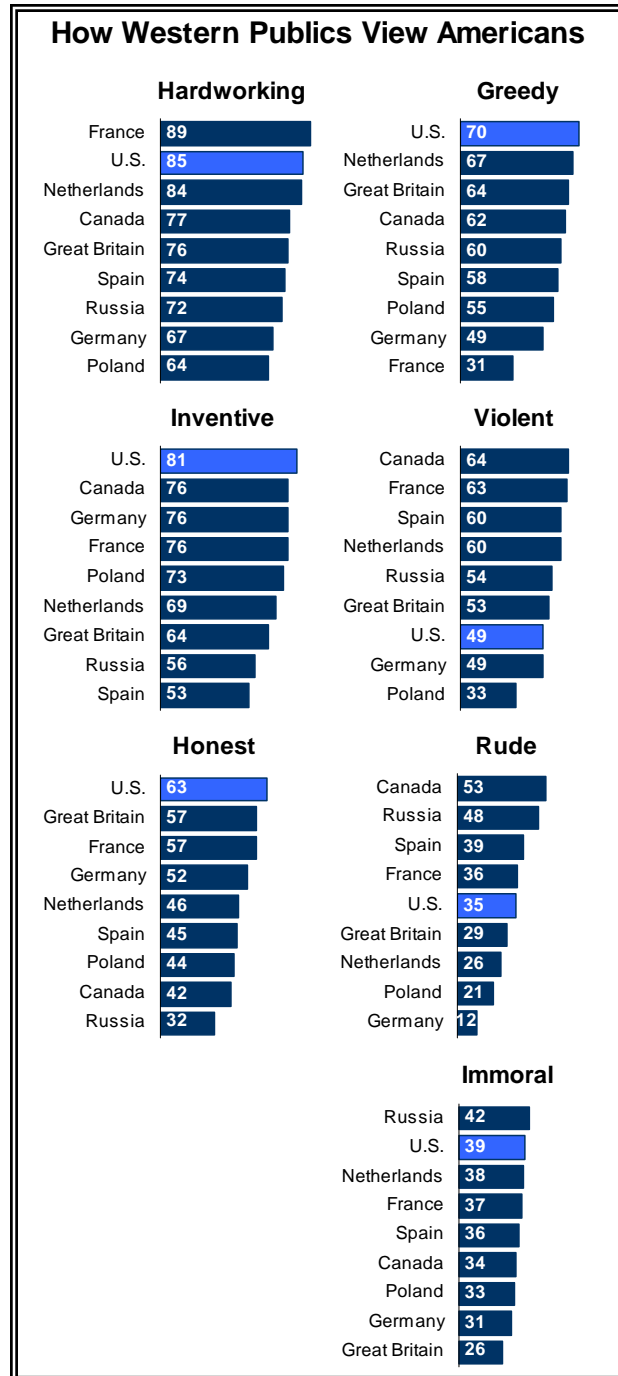
The war in Iraq continues to draw broad international opposition, and there is scant optimism that the elections in that country this past January will foster stability. Even the American public now has diminished expectations that the January elections held in Iraq will lead to a more stable situation there. The United States and India are the only countries surveyed in which pluralities believe Saddam Hussein's removal from power has made the world a safer place.

While the war in Iraq is as unpopular in Europe as it was in 2003 and 2004, there is still majority support for the U.S.-led war on terrorism among Western publics that are otherwise highly critical of the U.S., notably in Germany and France. But support for the war on terrorism has all but evaporated in Spain since 2003 and, notably, Canadian opinion on the American-led war on terror is now evenly divided.

Mixed Views of the American People

The new poll finds Canadians holding increasingly negative views of both the U.S. and the American people.

In most Western countries surveyed, majorities associate Americans with the positive characteristics "honest," "inventive" and "hardworking." At the same time, substantial numbers also associate Americans with the negative traits "greedy" and "violent." Canadians, who presumably have the greatest contact with Americans, agree with Europeans on the negatives, but are less likely to view Americans as honest. And Canada is the only Western nation in which a majority (53%) regards Americans as rude.



Muslim publics, including Indonesians, are highly critical of Americans in many respects. In particular, they are much more likely than others to view the American people as immoral. Yet people in predominantly Muslim countries also see Americans as hardworking and inventive.

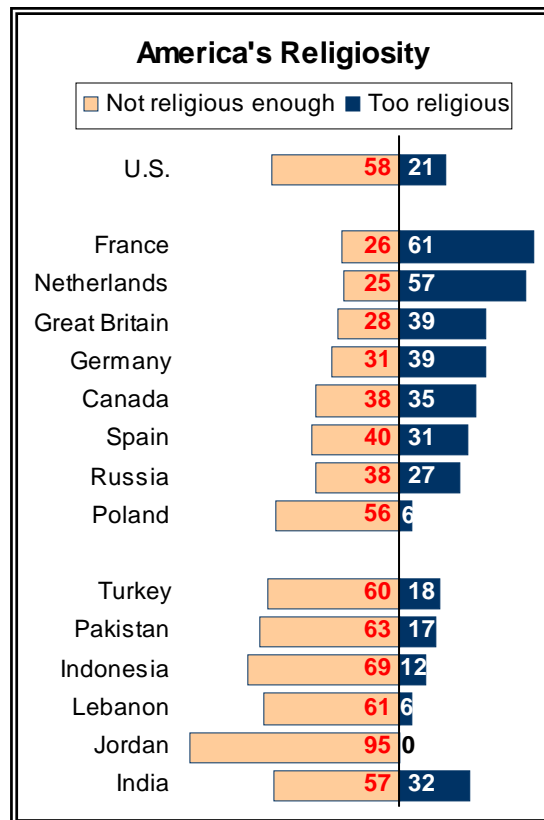
The Chinese are also largely critical of Americans. They are the least likely of these 16 publics to consider Americans hardworking (44%) and just over a third (35%) see Americans as honest. A majority of Chinese associate Americans with being violent (61%) and greedy (57%). The one positive trait most Chinese associate with Americans is inventive (70%).

By contrast, Indians hold largely positive views of the American people. Clear majorities see Americans as inventive, hardworking and honest (86%, 81% and 58% respectively). None of the negative traits is linked with Americans by a majority in India.

The American people's self assessment also identifies both virtues and faults. With respect to the latter, a large percentage of the U.S. public (70%) characterizes the American people as greedy, and many also see their countrymen as violent (49%).

The biggest gap between the way Americans are seen by other Western countries, and the way they see themselves, is with respect to religion. Majorities in France and the Netherlands and pluralities in Great Britain and Germany see the U.S. as too religious. By contrast, a 58% majority of Americans say their country is not religious enough. On this point, Muslims find themselves in rare agreement with the American public; majorities in Indonesia, Pakistan, Lebanon and Turkey all believe the U.S. is not religious enough.

America's international image problem is not lost on its own people. Just 26% of the U.S. public thinks the country is well-liked by people around the world. Only the



Turks and Russians come close in seeing their country as internationally unpopular (30% and 32% well-liked, respectively). Canadians stand out for their nearly universal belief (94%) that other nations have a positive view of Canada.

The American public also looks at U.S. conduct in the world much differently than do publics in Europe, the Middle East and Asia. In response to a hypothetical question, Americans overwhelmingly (73%) see the U.S. as the major power most likely to come to the aid of people threatened by genocide. Only Poles, Canadians and Germans see the U.S. this way in any significant numbers. America evokes even less confidence with respect to the global environment. Fewer than one-in-ten Western Europeans surveyed most trust the U.S. in this regard. But 59% of Americans say they most trust the U.S. to do the right thing in protecting the world's environment.

Roadmap to the Report

The first section of the report analyzes how the people in other countries of the world view the United States and each other. Section II focuses on attitudes toward the American people. Section III examines opinions of U.S. policies with special focus on the potential for democracy in the Middle East, anti-terrorism efforts and the war in Iraq. Section IV explores views of America's role as the world's military and economic superpower. A final section analyzes attitudes on a variety of global issues including attitudes toward China's economic and military emergence and views about immigration.

A description of the Pew Global Attitudes Project and a list of the countries surveyed immediately follows. A summary of the methodology can be found at the end of the report, along with complete results for all countries surveyed.

About the Pew Global Attitudes Project

The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is a series of worldwide public opinion surveys encompassing a broad array of subjects ranging from people's assessments of their own lives to their views about the current state of the world and important issues of the day. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is co-chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, currently principal, the Albright Group LLC, and by former Senator John C. Danforth, currently partner, Bryan Cave LLP. The project is directed by Andrew Kohut, president of the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" in Washington, DC, that provides information on the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is principally funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts. The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation provided a supplemental grant for the 2002 survey.

The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* was originally conceived with two primary objectives: to gauge attitudes in every region toward globalization, trade and an increasingly connected world; and to measure changes in attitudes toward democracy and other key issues among some of the European populations surveyed in the 13-nation 1991 benchmark survey, the Pulse of Europe (also directed by Dr. Albright and Mr. Kohut). After the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, the scope of the project was broadened to measure attitudes about terrorism, the intersection between the Islamic faith and public policy in countries with significant Muslim populations, and to probe attitudes toward the United States more deeply in all countries. Recent *Global Attitudes* surveys have gauged worldwide opinion about international news developments, including the war in Iraq. Over time, the project has surveyed more than 90,000 people in 50 countries.

The inaugural effort of this project was a worldwide survey in 24 countries of 275 opinion leaders (influential people in politics, media, business, culture and government). The survey, entitled "America Admired, Yet its New Vulnerability Seen as Good Thing, Say Opinion Leaders," was released December 19, 2001. The first multinational public opinion survey was conducted in the summer of 2002 in 44 nations. The first major report, "What the World Thinks in 2002," was released December 4, 2002. It focused on how people view their own lives, their countries and the world, as well as attitudes toward the United States. It was followed by a smaller release on the

importance of religion worldwide (December 19, 2002) and a new nine-country survey on the eve of the Iraq war ("America's Image Further Erodes, Europeans Want Weaker Ties," March 18, 2003). The second major release of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*, "Views of a Changing World, June 2003" focused on a changing world, specifically with respect to globalization, democratization, modernization and, in countries with significant Muslim populations, the role of Islam in public policy. It included a survey of 21 populations conducted in May 2003, as major hostilities ended in Iraq. In March 2004, at the one-year anniversary of the start of the war in Iraq, the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* released a 9-nation survey entitled "Mistrust of America in

Pew Global Attitudes Project Public Opinion Surveys		
<u>Survey</u>	<u>Sample</u>	<u>Interviews</u>
Summer 2002	44 Nations	38,263
November 2002	6 Nations	6,056
March 2003	9 Nations	5,520
May 2003	21 Publics*	15,948
March 2004	9 Nations	7,765
May 2005	16 Nations**	16,766

* Includes Palestinian Authority
 ** Data for the 17th nation (Morocco) was not available at the time of this release.

Europe ever Higher, Muslim Anger Persists." This report, "*U.S. Image Up Slightly, But Still Negative; American Character Gets Mixed Reviews*," is the ninth Global Attitudes survey release.

Other *Pew Global Attitudes Project* team members include Bruce Stokes, an international economics columnist at the National Journal; Mary McIntosh, president of Princeton Survey Research Associates International; Wendy Sherman, principal at The Albright Group LLC, and Jodie T. Allen, Nicole Speulda, Paul Taylor, Carroll Doherty, Carolyn Funk, Michael Dimock, Elizabeth Mueller Gross and others of the Pew Research Center. The *International Herald Tribune* is the international newspaper partner of the Global Attitudes Project.

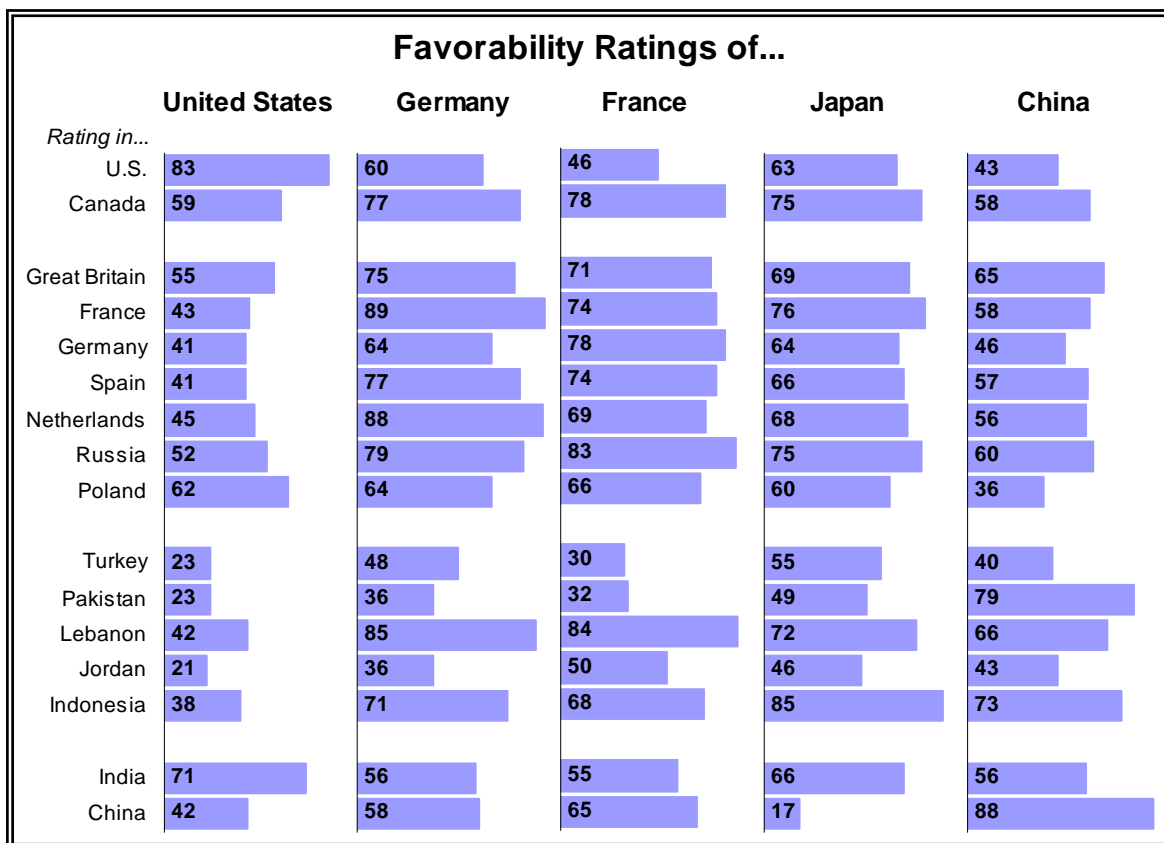
Secretary Albright and Senator Danforth co-chair the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* international advisory board, consisting of policy experts and business leaders. In addition, the Pew Global Attitudes Project team consulted with survey and policy experts, academic regional and economic experts, activists and policy-makers. Their expertise provided tremendous guidance in shaping the surveys.

Following each release, the data will be examined in greater detail for a series of in-depth discussions and publications of several of the varied topics covered in these surveys. The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is a unique, comprehensive, internationally comparable series of surveys that will be available to journalists, academics, policymakers and the public.

I: IMAGE OF THE UNITED STATES

Even though the image of the United States has improved slightly in some parts of the world over the past year, this country's global approval ratings trail well behind those of other leading nations.

When the publics of the 16 nations covered by the survey were asked to give favorability ratings of five major leading nations – the United States, Germany, China, Japan, and France – the U.S. fared the worst of the group. In just six of the 16 countries surveyed does the United States attract a favorability rating of 50% or above. By contrast, China receives that level of favorability rating from 11 countries, while Japan, Germany and France each receive that high of a mark from 13 countries.



The U.S. draws its most negative assessments from Muslim nations, with Jordan at just 21% favorable and Turkey and Pakistan at 23%. These ratings, while low, are better than they were at the start of the Iraq war. As in recent years, the U.S. draws only middling reviews from traditional allies in the West, with Canada at 59% favorable, Great Britain at 55%, the Netherlands at 45%, France at 43% and Germany and Spain each at 41%. It is considerably more popular in India (71%) and Poland (62%).

All four of the other leading nations draw strong marks from all of the Western and Asian countries in the survey, with favorability ratings typically above 60% and in some cases above 80%. One important exception – only 17% of Chinese respondents in the survey hold a favorable view of Japan, while fully 76% rate Japan unfavorably.

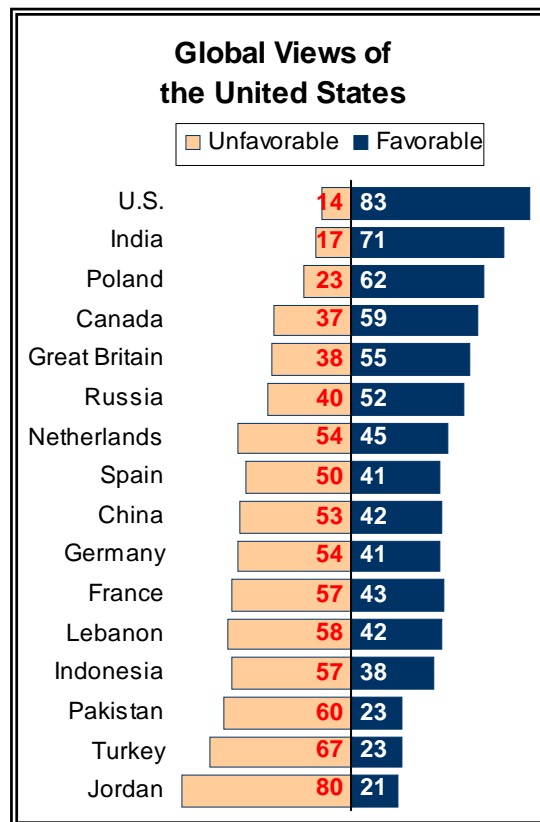
Muslim nations surveyed give lower marks to the world’s leading powers than do Western nations. This is especially true of Turkey, Jordan and Pakistan. Indonesia looks more favorably on the four leading nations than do other Muslim countries. So does Lebanon – though Lebanon’s favorability ratings of the leading nations are a good bit higher among the roughly 40% minority of the Lebanese population that is Christian than among the nearly 60% majority that is Muslim. For example, nearly three-quarters (72%) of Christians rate the U.S. favorably, while just 22% of Lebanese Muslims do so. Views of the U.S. are markedly more positive among Lebanese Christians than they were in 2003, while Muslim views have stayed negative.

Mixed Pattern in U.S. Favorability Ratings

The country-by-country favorability ratings of the U.S. have changed over the past year, but not in a pattern that suggests any strong regional trends.

The nations where the U.S. image has risen most sharply are India, where the 71% rating is up from 54% in the summer of 2002, and Indonesia, where the 38% rating is up from 15% in May of 2003 (but still down from 61% in the summer of 2002).

The nations where the U.S. image has slipped the most are Turkey, where the 23% favorability rating is down from 30% in March 2004 (but up from 15% in May of 2003), and Canada, where the 59% rating continues a decline from 63% in May 2003 and 72% in summer 2002.



Among traditional U.S. allies in Western Europe, there have been only modest changes in the past year. Favorability ratings have risen in France (to 43%, up from 37%

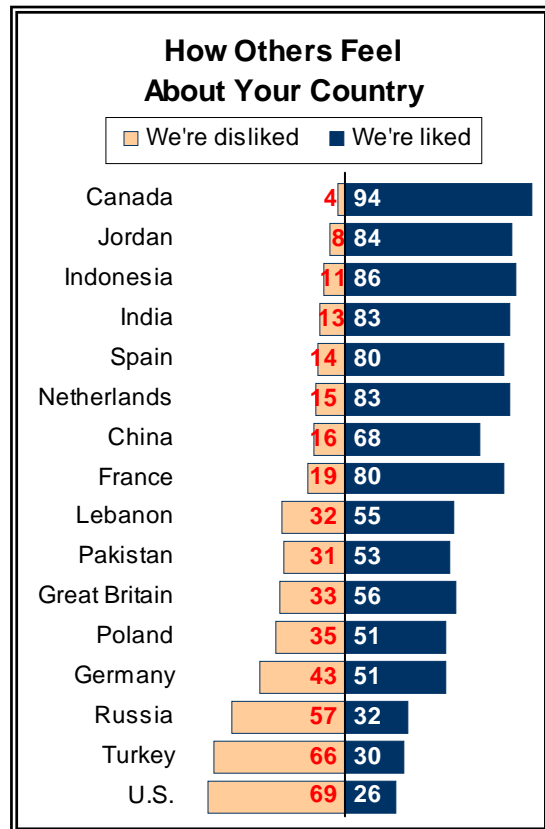
in March 2004) and in Germany (to 41%, up from 38%), but have slipped a bit in Great Britain (to 55%, down from 58%).

Impact of Newsweek/Quran Story

The Pew survey was conducted from late April through late May, a period in which deadly riots broke out in Afghanistan in reaction to a story in *Newsweek* that alleged that a copy of the Quran had been flushed down a toilet at the U.S. military detention facility in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

In Pakistan, there was a significant decline in the image of the U.S. after the Quran allegation became a major international story on May 11. Among those Pakistanis surveyed before May 11, the favorability rating of the U.S. was 30%. Among those interviewed on May 11 or later, the favorability rating fell to 16%.

However, the trend moved in the opposite direction in Jordan. Before May 11, just 9% of Jordanians had a favorable view of the U.S.; after May 11, that number rose to 26%. In the three other predominantly Muslim nations in this survey – Turkey, Indonesia and Lebanon – too few interviews were conducted after May 11 to provide a reliable basis for comparison.



Americans See U.S. as Unpopular

Americans harbor no illusions about the popularity of their country around the world. Nearly seven-in-ten (69%) say the U.S. is “generally disliked” by people in other countries; this is the most downbeat assessment of global popularity given by any national public in the survey.

In just two other countries – Turkey and Russia – does a majority of the public believe that their country is generally disliked by people in other countries, with 66% of Turks and 57% of Russians holding this view.

At the other end of the scale, Canadians believe by an overwhelming margin (94%) that their country is popular. Other national publics that believe their countries are popular around the world include Indonesia (86% say their country is generally liked), Jordan (84%), India (83%), the Netherlands (83%), Spain (80%), France (80%) and China (68%).

As a group, the Muslim countries surveyed spread out across the spectrum of self-assessed popularity, with Indonesians and Jordanians feeling extremely popular, while Pakistanis and Lebanese feel somewhat popular. In Lebanon, notably, Muslims are less certain of their popularity with only 44% saying they are liked by others, while two-thirds of Christians say so. Turks, however, feel unpopular.

Mirror, Mirror on the Wall

When it comes to people’s attitudes toward their own countries, contrary to common belief that the French have an inordinately high opinion of themselves and their culture, France does not lead the self-popularity parade. That honor belongs to China, where 88% of Chinese report holding a favorable attitude toward their country. Second in line comes the U.S., where 83% of Americans hold their country in favorable regard. By comparison, the French favor France by a 74%-26% margin while the Germans take a positive, rather than negative, view of their country by only a modest 64%-34% margin. The German’s self-assessment, however, is weighed down by the downbeat outlook of residents of the former East Germany, a bare majority of whom (51%) look favorably on their now unified country, compared with 68% of West Germans.

Loathing or Loving the Homeland?			
<i>Ratings for Own Country</i>			
<i>Rating given by...</i>	<u>Fav-orable</u> %	<u>Unfav-orable</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Chinese	88	9	2=99
Americans	83	14	3=100
French	74	26	0=100
Germans	64	34	1=99

Germany’s Popularity Paradox

Among Western European nations, Germany has by far the most tentative assessment of its global popularity. Only about half (51%) of Germans say their country is generally liked and nearly as many (43%) say it is generally disliked.

But it turns out that the Germans do not have an accurate fix on how the rest of the world sees them. They are much too self-deprecating. In fact, other Western European nations give Germany the highest global favorability ratings of any of the five leading nations (U.S., France, China, Japan and Germany) covered by the survey.

Particularly striking are the differences between the self-assessments and global assessments of neighbors Germany and France. Eight-in-ten French believe the world likes their country; while only about half of Germans think the world likes theirs. But Germany’s favorability ratings exceed those of France in 10 of the 16 survey countries. In fact, even the French give Germany a higher favorability rating (89%) than they give their own country (74%). The Germans, however, return the favor, giving France a 78% favorability rating, higher than the 64% they give their own country.

Growing Canadian Discontent with the U.S.

Among America’s traditional allies, the one whose opinion of this country and its foreign policy has declined most markedly in the past three years is Canada. In addition, Canadians have a generally more negative view of American character traits than do the publics of other traditional U.S. allies.

Since 2002, favorability ratings of the U.S. among Canadians have decreased from 72% to 59%. Over the same period positive opinions of Americans have declined comparably (from 78% to 66%). Canadian support for the U.S.-led war on terror has fallen by 23 percentage points in this period and the number of Canadians who believe that the U.S. takes Canadian interests into account when conducting foreign policy has also declined further, from 25% in 2002 to 19% currently.

Bad Vibes in the Neighborhood			
<i>Percent of Canadians who...</i>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2005</u>
Have a favorable view of the U.S.	72	63	59
Have a favorable view of Americans	78	77	66
Favor the U.S.-led war on terrorism	68	68	45
Have confidence in Bush leadership	--	59	40
Think the U.S. takes Canadian interests into account	25	28	19
Want U.S./Canadian relationship to stay as close as in past	--	54	41
Think Americans are “rude”			53
Feel less favorably toward the U.S. because of Bush’s re-election			75

Part of the reason may be the outcome of the 2004 presidential campaign. Three-quarters of Canadians – the second most of any public in this survey – say they have a less favorable view of the U.S. as a result of President Bush’s re-election.

Today just 41% of Canadians say the relationship between their country and the U.S. should remain as close as it has been in the past; this is down from the 54% who held that view in May 2003.

Asked to assess American character traits, Canadians led all the publics of traditional U.S. allies in describing Americans as violent and rude. Also, more than six-

in-ten say Americans are greedy and just four-in-ten say Americans are honest. On the positive side, more than three-quarters say Americans are hardworking and inventive.

Sources of Anti-American Sentiment

Among the publics around the world, a low regard for President Bush is more heavily correlated with an unfavorability rating for the United States than is any other attitude or opinion tested in this survey, according to an analysis of the data.

There are a handful of exceptions to this finding. In Great Britain, Lebanon and Jordan, the perception that the U.S. acts unilaterally in the conduct of its foreign policy is roughly as important a driver of anti-Americanism as is a lack of confidence in Bush. In Lebanon, opposition to the U.S.-led war on terror also contributes significantly to the poor U.S. image there. But aside from those few instances, Bush’s low standing emerges in country after country as the leading link to anti-Americanism.

Moreover, when respondents in this survey who expressed an unfavorable opinion of the United States were asked directly whether the problem was more with President Bush or with America in general, they primarily placed the blame on the president.

Throughout Europe, those who say the problem is “mostly” Bush out-number those who say it is “a more general problem with America” by margins of about two-to-one. This ratio is especially lopsided in Spain, where 76% of those with a negative view of the U.S. blame Bush while just 14% blame America in general.

	Mostly Bush %	America in general %	Both (VOL) %	DK/Ref %	
Spain	76	14	7	3	(N=374)
2003	50	37	12	2	
Germany	65	29	5	1	(N=424)
2003	74	22	3	1	
Netherlands	63	30	6	1	(N=403)
France	63	32	5	1	(N=429)
2003	74	21	4	*	
Pakistan	51	29	10	10	(N=730)
2003	62	31	2	5	
Britain	56	35	8	1	(N=285)
2003	59	31	8	3	
Canada	54	37	9	0	(N=188)
2003	60	32	6	2	
Lebanon	47	32	19	1	(N=572)
2003	51	32	16	1	
Turkey	41	36	17	6	(N=671)
2003	52	33	12	3	
Indonesia	43	42	0	15	(N=577)
2003	69	20	7	4	
India	35	35	14	16	(N=349)
Jordan	22	37	41	1	(N=798)
2003	42	28	30	*	
China	16	34	42	8	(N=1,197)
Poland	27	49	14	10	(N=236)
Russia	30	58	9	3	(N=401)
2003	43	32	15	10	

*Based on those with an unfavorable opinion of the U.S.

The two biggest exceptions to this pattern are Russia and Poland. Just 30% of Russians and 27% of Poles who have a negative opinion of the United States blame Bush, while 58% of Russians and 49% of Poles with a negative opinion say the problem is a more general one with America.

In China, a plurality of America’s critics blame both Bush and the U.S. more generally for their negative opinions.

Throughout most of Europe, the president’s standing may be low, but he is less of a lightning rod now than he was two years ago. For example, 63% of French and 65% of Germans with a poor opinion of the U.S. now blame Bush, down from 74% in both countries two years ago.

There has been a more dramatic shift of opinion, in the same direction, in Indonesia. Today just 43% of Indonesians with a negative opinion of the U.S. blame Bush, down from the 69% who blamed Bush two years ago.

Bush Less Popular than Other Western Leaders

Even so, Bush does not fare well in a popularity contest with two other long-time Western leaders. Measured against Prime Minister Tony Blair of Great Britain and President Jacques Chirac of France, the American president comes in third.

In Europe, the percentages saying they have either a lot or some confidence in Bush range downward from 47% in Poland to 18% in Spain. Outside of the United States, the only country where a majority of the public expresses some or a great deal of confidence in Bush is India, where 54% feel this way. (The survey was unable to elicit answers to these and certain other



questions in China.)

Bush gets his lowest vote of confidence in the Muslim world. Jordan casts a virtually unanimous vote against the U.S. president. The low-confidence vote is nearly as large in Turkey (83%) and Lebanon (76%). However, while nearly all Lebanese Muslims have no confidence in Bush, a majority (56%) of Lebanese Christians express confidence in the president.

France's Chirac scores considerably better than Bush among Europeans, with a higher proportion of Germans (80%) saying they have some or a lot of confidence in Chirac than do the French themselves (65%). Other majority supporters of Chirac are the publics of Netherlands (67%), Canada (58%) and Russia (57%). In Lebanon, where French influence has traditionally been strong, three-quarters of the public express a lot or some confidence in him. Support for Chirac is nearly unanimous among Lebanese Christians, but six-in-ten Lebanese Muslims also express confidence in the French leader as does a majority (56%) in Jordan. Elsewhere in the Muslim world, however, Chirac does little better than Bush.

Britain's Blair registers similar overall ratings to those of Chirac, though in a somewhat different geographical configuration. He leads the pack in North America and even tops Bush in the U.S., with 73% of Americans saying they have confidence in Blair, compared with 62% who say the same about Bush. Indeed, American approval exceeds the level accorded Blair by his own countrymen, 60% of whom place a lot or some confidence in their leader (most of the British survey was completed before the May 6 election in Great Britain).

Solid majorities in Canada (69%) and the Netherlands (65%) also express some measure of confidence in Blair, as do half or more of those in France, Germany and Poland as well as a 47% plurality among the Indian public. Blair's ratings are just 28% in Spain, however. And in the Muslim world, he fares no better than Bush.

U.S. Still Land of Opportunity?

For much of its history, America has been considered a land of opportunity for immigrants from all over the world. But in this survey, when respondents were asked in an open-ended question to advise a young person where to move in order to lead a good life, Australia, Canada, Great Britain and Germany were all more frequently recommended as first choices than was the United States.

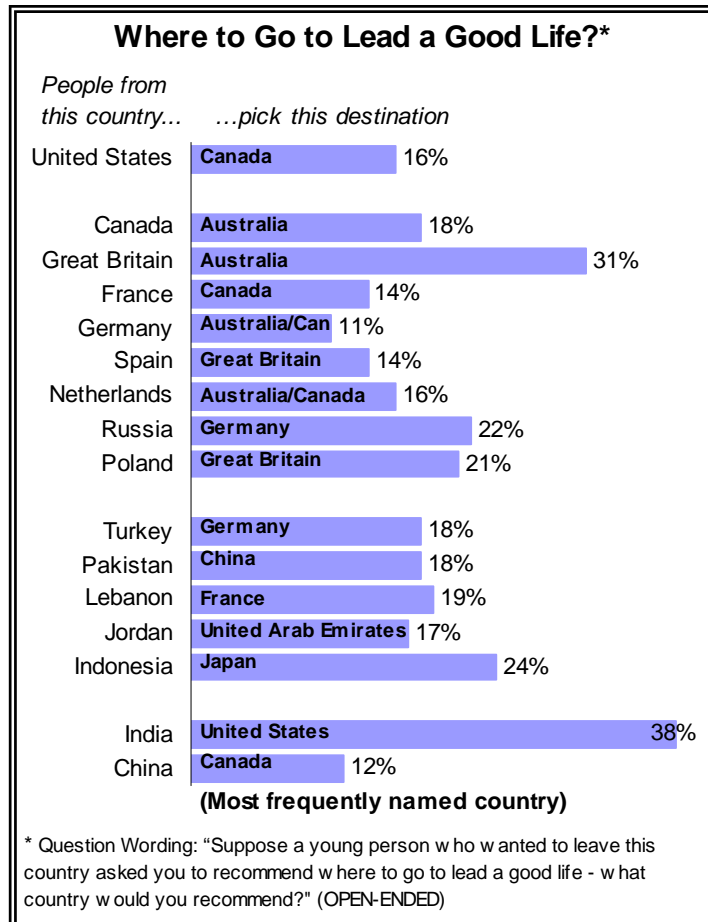
Only in India is the United States seen as the world's leading land of opportunity – 38% of Indians feel this way, the largest percentage of any public to agree on any single country as their top choice.

Australia is cited as the leading land of opportunity in four countries (Great Britain, Canada, Netherlands and Germany); Canada in three countries (U.S., France and China); Great Britain in two countries (Poland and Spain); and Germany in two countries (Russia and Turkey).

English-speaking countries generally dominate the ratings, but two Asian countries buck that trend, perhaps on the strength of a regional attraction to neighbors. China is the first choice among Pakistanis; Japan is the top choice of Indonesians.

Historic ties also appear to play a role in the rankings, with the Lebanese choosing France and the French choosing Canada. But in at least one case, the ratings seem to illustrate that the past is truly past. For their leading land of opportunity, Russians choose their former adversary, Germany. Consistent with current immigration patterns, Turks prefer Germany.

Although the U.S. is named as the top choice of just one country, it is the second or third choice of several others – Canada (second), Poland (second), China (where it is tied for second with Australia) and Germany (third).



II: IMAGE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

In all Global Attitudes surveys dating back to 2002, the rest of the world has held the American people in higher esteem than it has held America. That is still the case now, but in several countries around the world, the gap has narrowed.

This shift in perceptions is most apparent in Indonesia, where since 2003 there has been a sharp increase in U.S. favorability ratings (to 38%, up from 15%) but a significant drop in the favorability ratings of Americans (to 46%, down from 56%). Whatever goodwill the U.S. gained in Indonesia from its tsunami relief efforts apparently did not improve the image that Indonesians have of the American people.

	% Favorable			
	2002	2003	2004	2005
Great Britain	83	80	73	70
Poland	77	--	--	68
Canada	78	77	--	66
Netherlands	--	--	--	66
Germany	70	67	68	65
France	71	58	53	64
Russia	67	65	64	61
Spain	--	47	--	55
Lebanon	47	62	--	66
Indonesia	65	56	--	46
Jordan	53	18	21	34
Turkey	31	32	32	23
Pakistan	17	38	25	22
India	58	--	--	71
China	--	--	--	43

A similar pattern has played out in Russia, Turkey and Pakistan. In these three nations, the image of the United States has risen since 2003 while the image of Americans has declined.

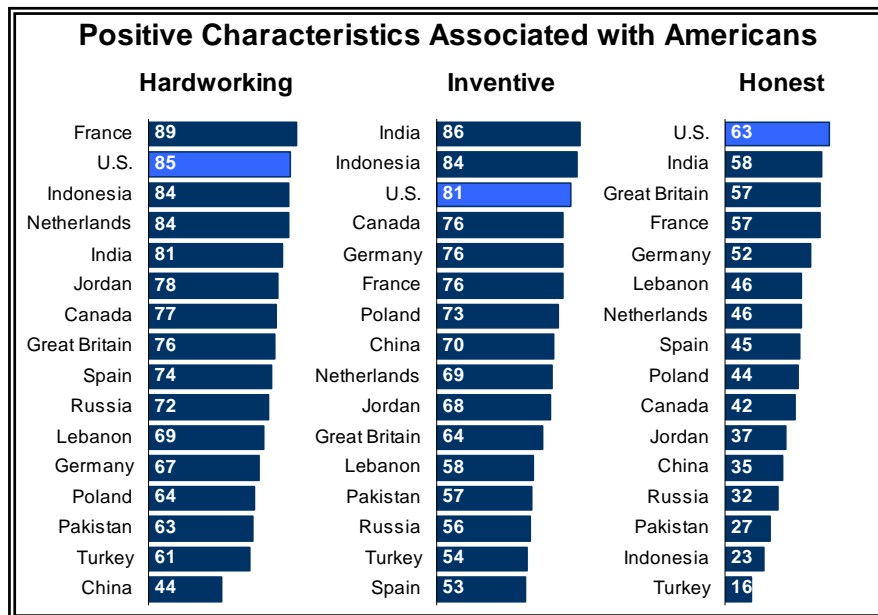
The favorability ratings of Americans have declined since 2002 in 9 of the 12 countries for which trend data exists for that year. These include Great Britain, Poland, Canada, Germany, France, Russia, Indonesia, Jordan and Turkey. The three countries where the image of Americans has risen in that period are Pakistan, India and Lebanon.

	Favorability of the United States			Favorability of Americans		
	2003	2004	2005	2003	2004	2005
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Russia	36	47	52	65	64	61
Turkey	15	30	23	32	32	23
Pakistan	13	21	23	38	25	22
Indonesia	15	--	38	56	--	46

American Character Traits

To find out what the world makes of the American character, respondents, including Americans themselves, were asked to rate Americans on seven character traits – three positives (hardworking, inventive and honest) and four negative (greedy, violent, rude and immoral).

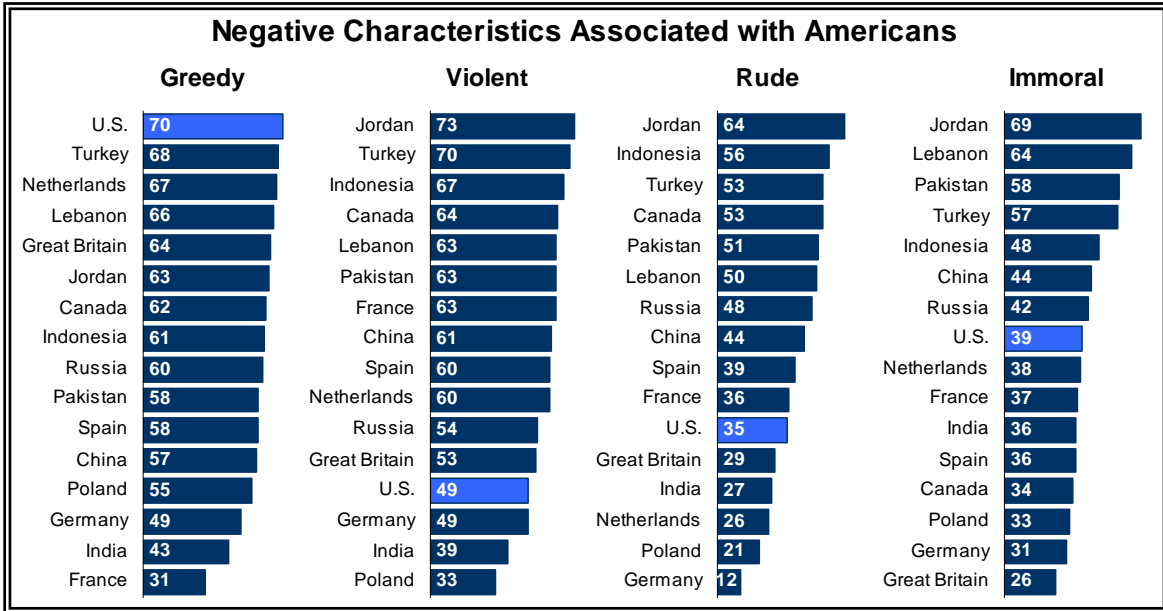
The picture that emerges is both complex and nuanced. Some of the people around the world who have a generally unfavorable view of Americans are nonetheless inclined to acknowledge some strong Americans traits – for example, while just 46% of Indonesians have a favorable view of Americans, 84% say Americans are both hardworking and inventive. Likewise, many who admire Americans generally nonetheless discern weak points in their character. For example, two-thirds of the Dutch public has a favorable overall view of Americans, but an equal proportion say Americans are greedy and 60% say they are violent.



Hardworking is the positive trait that people around the world most readily associate with Americans. A majority of every public save one agrees with that assessment, led by the French, who agree with it by a margin of nearly nine-to-one (89%). Just 44% of the Chinese see Americans as hardworking, however. A majority of every public also believes Americans are *inventive*, though by somewhat less lopsided margins. World views are more mixed about whether Americans are honest; only in the U.S., India, Britain, France and Germany is more than half of the public ready to use that word to describe Americans.

On the negative side of the ledger, people around the world are generally inclined to say Americans are greedy and violent. However, most people are not inclined to describe Americans as *rude* and *immoral*.

In all these character assessments, Americans generally fared worse in Muslim countries than they did among traditional allies.



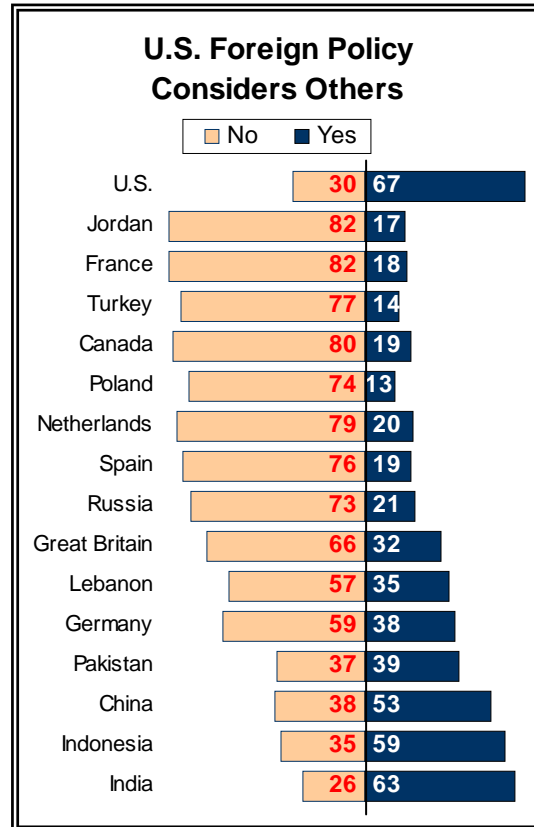
Americans generally rate themselves better than does the rest of the world, but there are a couple of exceptions. Strikingly, Americans are more inclined than any other public in this survey to say their fellow Americans are *greedy*. Americans are about in the middle of the pack in rating their fellow Americans as *immoral*.

In weighing the relative importance of the rest of the world’s assessments about each of these specific character traits, *rudeness* emerges in countries that are traditional U.S. allies as the trait most linked with a low regard for Americans. In Muslim countries as well, *rudeness* is an important link to low overall ratings for Americans, but so too is the perception that Americans are *violent* and *immoral*.

III: OPINIONS OF U.S. POLICIES

A continuing source of resentment toward the U.S. is the view that America pays little if any attention to the interests of other countries in making international policy decisions. Americans, as might be expected, do not subscribe to this view. Two-thirds of the U.S. public says the United States pays either a great deal (28%) or a fair amount (39%) of attention to the interests of other nations.

Majorities in only three other countries now share that opinion; India, where 63% say the U.S. pays a great deal or a fair amount of attention to their country’s interests, Indonesia (59%), and China (53%). In line with the general upsurge of positive feelings toward the U.S. in both India and Indonesia, these percentages are up sharply from past Pew Global Attitudes surveys.



In addition, increasing numbers in Pakistan and Lebanon say the U.S. pays at least some attention to their countries’ interests. About four-in-ten Pakistanis (39%) express that view, compared with 18% in 2004. There has been a comparable increase in Lebanon, though a majority of Lebanese still feel that the U.S. pays little or no attention to their interests. (However, among Lebanese Christians a solid majority (59%) feels that the U.S. is attentive to their country’s concerns.) And, fewer than one-in-five in Jordan (17%) and Turkey (14%) think that the U.S. takes their interests into consideration in its international policymaking.

Perceptions of U.S. unilateralism remain widespread among the publics of America’s traditional allies. In Germany, only 38% of respondents think the U.S. takes their country’s interests into account, the highest percentage in Europe. In Canada, just 19% feel the U.S. takes Canadian interests into account to any substantial degree when making policy. While these views have remained fairly stable in France, Spain and Russia over the last few years, the numbers of those viewing the U.S. as self-centered in its foreign policymaking have risen substantially in Canada, Great Britain and Germany.

Dealing with the U.S.

Publics in predominantly Muslim countries are split as to whether their governments follow the U.S. policy lead too closely. Pluralities in Pakistan (45%) and Turkey (36%) fault their government for hewing too closely to U.S. policies.

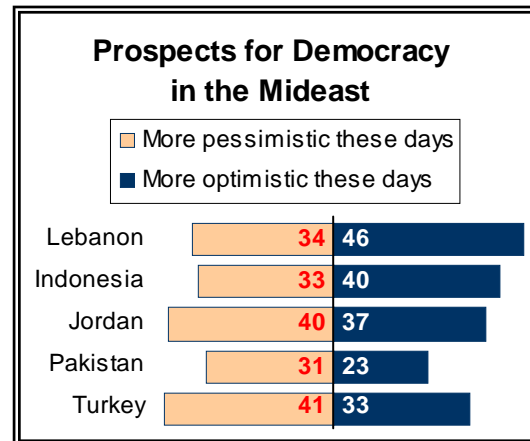
	Too much %	About right %	Not enough %	DK %
Turkey	36	19	30	15=100
Pakistan	45	12	18	25=100
Lebanon	30	28	27	15=100
Jordan	40	43	15	2=100
Indonesia	29	24	35	12=100

But in Jordan 58% of the public says that their government either deals with the U.S. just about right (43%) or does not go along with the U.S. enough (15%). And in Indonesia and Lebanon, nearly six-in-ten would prefer either closer adherence to U.S. policy or maintenance of the status quo (59% Indonesia/55% Lebanon).

A More Democratic Middle East?

Publics in the predominantly Muslim countries covered by the survey hold mixed views on whether democracy’s prospects are increasing or getting worse in the Middle East.

Pluralities in Lebanon (46%) – and a majority of Christians there (59%) – as well as in Indonesia (40%) say they are increasingly optimistic that the Middle East will become more democratic. Jordanians are divided between those who are becoming more optimistic and pessimistic while the publics in Turkey and Pakistan lean toward pessimism (although 34% of Pakistanis offer no opinion).

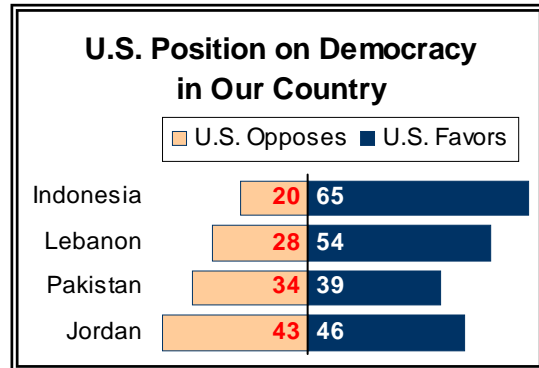


Among those expressing growing optimism about Middle East democracy, a 55% majority in Pakistan gives at least partial credit to U.S. policies for their more hopeful view, as do nearly half of both Jordanian and Lebanese optimists. But in Indonesia, despite its generally more favorable attitudes toward America, 63% of optimists give no credit to the U.S. for their higher hopes for Middle East democracy, as did 51% of Turks.

Among those reporting greater pessimism, large majorities (ranging as high as 75% in Lebanon, 83% in Turkey to an astounding 98% in Jordan) lay the blame for their lack of optimism about democracy in the Middle East at least partly on U.S. policies.

The U.S. is seen as backing democracy in Indonesia and Lebanon by clear majorities of the publics in these countries. But Jordanians and Pakistanis are nearly evenly split over whether America favors or opposes democracy in their nations.

In Indonesia, a solid 65% majority says that the U.S. government favors democracy there. A 54% majority in Lebanon shares this view. But Jordanians and Pakistanis are nearly evenly split, with 46% of Jordanians and 39% of Pakistanis saying the U.S. favors democracy in their country and 43% and 34%, respectively, saying it opposes democracy there (again in Pakistan, a substantial 27% offered no response to the question).



As in past surveys, the poll found most people in predominantly Muslim countries continue to believe that “Western style democracy” could work in their country. This view was most prevalent in Indonesia (77%), Lebanon (83%) and Jordan (80%). Smaller percentages but still pluralities agreed in Turkey (48%) and Pakistan (43%).

Influences on U.S. Policy

When asked to speculate as to which group has the most influence on U.S. policy toward other nations, no clear consensus emerges across countries. Among Americans, 40% say the news media most influences U.S. foreign policy, far more than the number who say business corporations (23%), or ordinary Americans (13%).

In Europe, business corporations generally top the list of influentials, with the news media also mentioned fairly often. The British are most likely to say that corporations have the greatest influence over U.S. foreign policy; roughly four-in-ten (37%) cite corporations as most influential, about twice as many who mentioned the news media (18%).

	News media	Business corporations	The military	Jews	Christian conservatives	Liberals	Ordinary Americans	DK
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
United States	40	23	7	1	6	2	13	8=100
Canada	20	33	12	7	8	5	5	11=100
Great Britain	18	37	9	3	8	1	15	8=99
France	15	20	21	8	15	8	10	3=100
Germany	24	24	14	12	4	3	7	12=100
Spain	30	23	12	10	2	2	8	13=100
Netherlands	27	31	6	4	10	2	14	6=100
Russia	12	30	17	5	1	3	8	23=99
Poland	19	27	7	15	2	3	9	19=101
Turkey	11	17	21	17	4	2	2	26=100
Pakistan	30	3	8	14	2	4	9	31=100
Lebanon	3	12	3	60	13	3	4	2=100
Jordan	9	9	4	60	5	4	8	0=99
Indonesia	18	15	17	18	5	5	3	19=100
India	36	21	6	2	5	2	4	23=99
China	32	13	23	2	2	6	4	18=100

Despite widespread European perceptions that the U.S. is too religious a country, Christian conservatives are not viewed as wielding much influence over foreign policymaking except in France, where 15% of the public accord primary influence to Christian conservatives, as large a percentage as select the news media. Jews are viewed as most influential by 15% of the public in Poland, 12% in Germany and 10% in Spain.

In both Lebanon and Jordan large majorities say Jews exert the most influence on U.S. policy toward other countries (60% in each). But that view is not shared to nearly the same extent in Indonesia (18%), Turkey (17%), or Pakistan (14%).

Negative Views of War, Iraq's Future

The sharp drop in America's global popularity that occurred at the start of the military action in Iraq has not been reversed in most countries, nor have attitudes improved toward the Iraq incursion. Among America's coalition partners, people in the Netherlands stand alone in saying that their government made the right decision using military force in Iraq. A larger percentage of the Dutch public than the American public says that their country made the right decision to use force in Iraq (59% vs. 54%). The Netherlands dispatched a small contingent of troops to Iraq, which was withdrawn earlier this year.

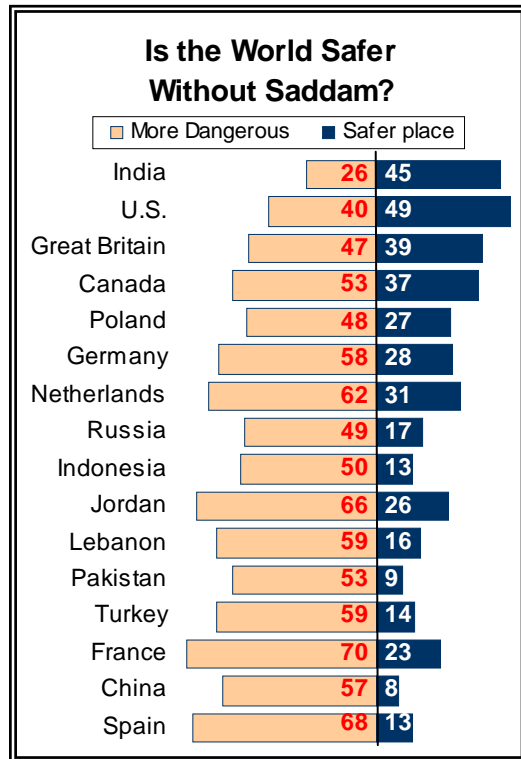
Among other coalition partners surveyed, however, the judgment is decisively to the contrary. More than two-thirds of the publics in Spain (69%) and Poland (67%) think their countries were wrong to support military action in Iraq. The British public, by a 53% to 39% margin, also believes Prime Minister Tony Blair's government made the wrong decision to participate in the war.

By the same token, the countries that declined to participate in the Iraq war overwhelmingly reaffirm that decision, with huge majorities in Europe and the Muslim world believing their governments were wise to stay out of the war.

As to whether the removal of Saddam Hussein from power made the world a safer place, views are also lopsidedly negative. In no country surveyed, including the United States, does a majority think the Iraq leader's overthrow has increased global security. And in Canada and most of Europe – including France, Germany, Spain and the Netherlands – majorities think Hussein's removal has made the world a more dangerous place. They are joined in this view by majorities in China and all Muslim countries. India is the only country, aside from the U.S., in which a plurality believes the world is a safer place as a result of Saddam's ouster.

Nor does a majority in any country – again, including the United States – judge that the January elections in Iraq will lead to a more stable situation in that country. In the U.S., optimism about a more stable outcome in Iraq rose from just 29% in January, before the elections, to 47% in February. But those hopes have receded, and now just 35% of Americans expect a consequent gain for stability in Iraq.

Country's Decision on War in Iraq			
	<i>Right Decision to Use Force</i>		
	2003	2004	2005
	%	%	%
U.S.	74	60	54
Great Britain	61	43	39
Spain	31	--	24
Netherlands	--	--	59
Poland	--	--	24
 <i>Right Decision NOT to Use Force</i>			
	2003	2004	2005
Canada	65	--	80
France	83	88	92
Germany	80	86	87
Russia	89	83	88
Turkey	--	72	81
Pakistan	73	68	63
Indonesia	78	--	70
Lebanon	86	--	85
Jordan	95	87	89
India	--	--	75



In Canada, Indonesia and throughout Europe including Turkey, majorities or pluralities feel that the situation in Iraq will not change much as a result of the election. In Lebanon, a 54% majority predicts that the elections will reduce stability in Iraq. They are joined in this view by pluralities in Jordan, China, India and Pakistan.

Support for Terror War Slipping

The United States finds considerably more support for its leadership in the larger war on terrorism than for the war in Iraq. In the Netherlands, a large 71% majority joins with 76% of Americans in supporting the U.S.-led fight against terrorism. In Poland, 61% of the public also favor the U.S. efforts, joined by small majorities in most other European countries ranging from 55% in Russia, 51% in Great Britain, and France to 50% in Germany. However, in Russia and Great Britain support has declined significantly over the last year.

Canadians, once among the strongest U.S. allies in the war on terror, are now about evenly split on the issue, with 47% opposing the U.S.-led effort and 45% in favor. That represents a significant reversal from May 2003, when two-thirds of Canadians backed the war on terror (68%). Spain has experienced an even more dramatic change of opinion. In 2003, 63% of Spaniards supported the war on terrorism and only 32% opposed it, but now just 26% are in favor while the large majority, 67%, opposes the U.S.-led war against terrorism.

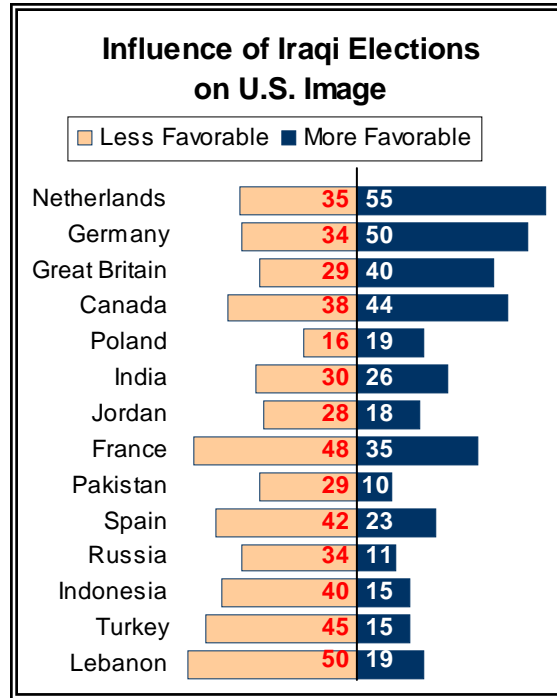
Indonesia is a striking exception to this pattern. The percentage of Indonesians supporting the U.S.-led war on terrorism has more than doubled since 2003 – from 23% to 50%. In most of the Muslim world, however, opposition is widespread. In Turkey, just 17% support the war on terror, down from 37% in March 2004. Similarly in Pakistan support is heavily outweighed by opposition, 22% to 52%. In Jordan opponents of U.S.-led antiterrorism efforts continue to outweigh supporters by a large margin. In Lebanon, views are strongly divided along sectarian lines: Christians support the U.S. anti-terrorism effort by a margin of 60%-33%; Muslims oppose it by an even more lopsided 88%-11%.

	---- Percent Favor ----			
	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2005</u>
	%	%	%	%
United States	89	--	81	76
Netherlands	--	--	--	71
Poland	81	--	--	61
Russia	73	51	73	55
Great Britain	69	63	63	51
France	75	60	50	51
Germany	70	60	55	50
Canada	68	68	--	45
Spain	--	63	--	26
Indonesia	31	23	--	50
Lebanon	38	30	--	31
Pakistan	20	16	16	22
Turkey	30	22	37	17
Jordan	13	2	12	12
India	65	--	--	52

IV: VIEWS OF AMERICA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD

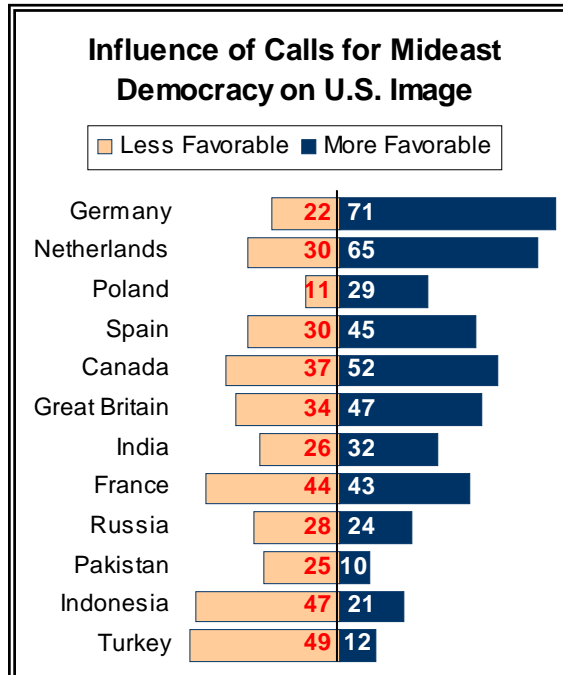
The January elections in Iraq did not cast the U.S. in a more favorable light in most of the countries surveyed. Only in the Netherlands and Germany do small majorities (55% and 50% respectively) say that the Iraq elections led them to have a more favorable opinion of the U.S. However, pluralities in Canada and Great Britain were also more inclined to view the U.S. favorably as a result.

By contrast, in Poland, only 19% of the public says that the January elections improved their opinion of the U.S. In France, Spain, Turkey, India and Indonesia, pluralities say the elections left them with an even less favorable view of the United States as did half of those in Lebanon.



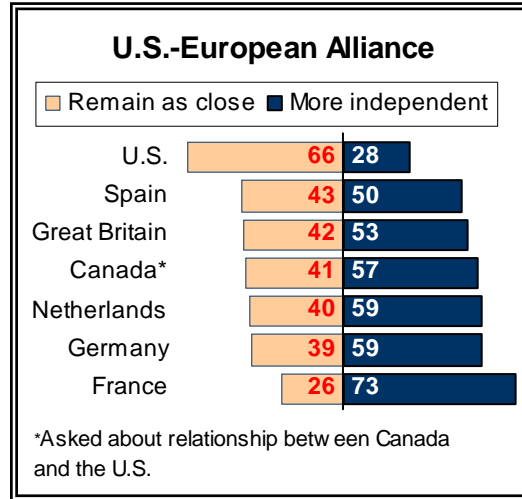
But President Bush's calls for democracy in the Middle East meet with a more favorable reaction in many countries. Large majorities in Germany (71%) and the Netherlands (65%) applaud the move, joined by a small majority in Canada (52%) as well as pluralities in Great Britain (47%), India (32%) and Spain (26%).

However, the people of Poland are mostly unimpressed—a 40% plurality say that their views of the U.S. were unchanged by the calls. But only in France and in Muslim countries do pluralities say that the president's Middle East democracy initiative had led them to a less favorable view of the U.S.



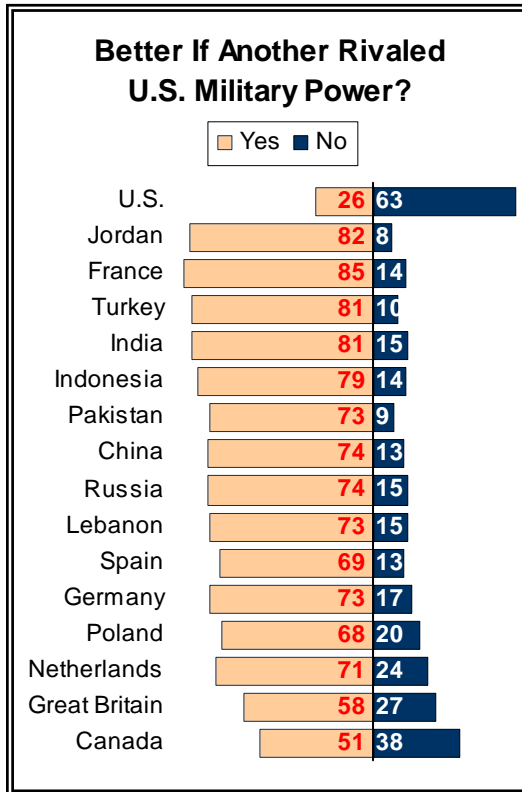
Transatlantic Tensions

Americans and Europeans continue to take very different views of the transatlantic alliance. Majorities in every country of Western Europe say that it should take a more independent approach to security and diplomatic affairs than it has in the past. In Great Britain, France and Germany, these percentages, having risen sharply after 2002, have stabilized in the last year or two. However, in Spain the preference for looser ties to the U.S. declined significantly, from 60% in March 2003 to 50% now.



By contrast, Americans increasingly favor a close partnership with Western Europe. Two-thirds (66%) feel the U.S. and Western Europe should remain as close as in the past. That represents a substantial increase from 55% a year ago.

There is an even bigger gap between Americans and other publics over whether the U.S. should remain the sole global military superpower, or if it would be better if a country or group of countries emerges as a rival to the U.S. Majorities in every other country surveyed, aside from the U.S., favor another country challenging America’s global military supremacy. Americans strongly reject this idea, by 63%-26%.

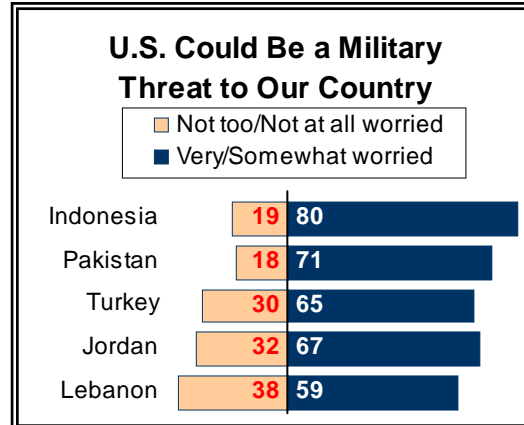


In Western Europe, large majorities favor a countervailing military force with more than 69% of the publics in France, Germany, Spain and the Netherlands taking that view. Even most British and Canadians favor a rival for U.S. dominance to emerge, although somewhat fewer people in those countries endorse this idea.

In the former Soviet bloc, both Russia (74%) and Poland (68%) also heavily favor the rise of another military superpower. In Asia and the Middle East, support for a competing military power to the U.S. ranges upward from 74% in China, 73% in Pakistan and Lebanon and 79% in Indonesia, to more than 80% in India and Jordan.

U.S. Seen as a Threat

Majorities in each of the predominantly Muslim countries surveyed express concern that U.S. military power may ultimately be turned against them. This is a dominant opinion even in Indonesia, where favorable views of the United States have increased over the last year.



A striking 80% of Indonesians say that they worry at least to some degree that America could someday become a military threat to their country, including 38% who say they are very worried. In Pakistan 71% express that concern, including 43% who say they are very worried. Majorities in Jordan (67%), Turkey (65%) and Lebanon (59%) also say that they fear a U.S. military threat at least somewhat. However, in Lebanon, that concern is concentrated among Muslims with 64% of Christians saying they are not much worried about the U.S. turning its military power on them.

Who Do You Trust?

Despite strong reservations over America’s power, sizable minorities in many countries say they would most trust the United States to stop the killing if innocent people in another country were being slaughtered by an army, the police or another tribe.

About four-in-ten Germans (39%) say they most trust the U.S. to stop the murder of innocent civilians, well more than the number who named Germany (18%) or another country. The

	The U.S. %	Own country %	Other on list %	None on list %	DK %
U.S.		73	15	6	7=101
Canada	39	--	44	8	9=100
Great Britain	24	45	12	9	10=100
France	12	65	19	3	1=100
Germany	39	18	23	11	10=101
Spain	16	--	55	20	9=100
Netherlands	24	--	59	7	10=100
Russia	16	24	23	19	18=100
Poland	35	--	34	14	17=100
Turkey	11	--	30	41	18=100
Pakistan	5	--	51	27	17=100
Lebanon	3	--	67	27	2=99
Jordan	8	--	26	53	13=100
Indonesia	13	--	37	24	26=100
India	29	--	38	7	26=100

*Among listed countries: France, Germany, China, Great Britain, Japan, the U.S. and Russia. "None" was volunteered.

same percentage of Canadians (39%) cited the U.S., although somewhat more (44%) said they trusted other countries to do something to stop genocide; Great Britain (21%) and France (15%) were the most frequently mentioned.

Just 12% of the French say they trust the U.S. most to take action to halt the killings of innocent civilians. A large majority in France (65%) say they mostly trust their own country to take action. A plurality in Great Britain (45%) also say they most trust their country, but nearly a quarter (24%) cite the U.S.

Few in the Muslim world, however, would rely on the U.S. to stop genocide. Only 13% of Indonesians, 8% of Jordanians and 5% of Pakistanis would turn to the United States. While in other Muslim countries no alternative country emerges as a likely source of assistance in such circumstances, in Lebanon a 42% plurality would look to France, and in Pakistan an equal plurality of the public, 42%, would turn to China.

U.S. Not Trusted on Environment

When asked who they would most trust to protect the global environment, only small percentages in every country surveyed (other than the U.S.) pick the United States. Apart from self-selection (77% of Germans pick Germany, 45% of the French choose France, 43% of the British pick Great Britain and 33% of the Chinese pick China), there is no consensus on an alternative. Strikingly, just 12% of Russians say they would trust their own country to protect the environment.

	The U.S. %	Own country %	Other on list %	None on list %	DK %
U.S.		59	28	5	8=100
Canada	16	--	63	9	12=100
Great Britain	8	43	34	8	7=100
France	6	45	46	2	1=100
Germany	2	77	14	3	3=99
Spain	7	--	68	16	9=100
Netherlands	5	--	67	17	10=99
Russia	7	12	56	9	16=100
Poland	14	--	61	9	16=100
Turkey	5	--	43	29	23=100
Pakistan	4	--	58	22	17=101
Lebanon	6	--	80	11	3=100
Jordan	10	--	42	34	14=100
Indonesia	7	--	59	11	23=100
India	23	--	46	9	22=100
China	7	33	31	7	22=100

*Among listed countries: France, Germany, China, Great Britain, Japan, the U.S. and Russia. "None" was volunteered.

However, nearly half (47%) of Pakistanis would turn to China for global environmental protection. In Lebanon, 41% put their trust in France while 25% of Indonesians look to Japan for environmental protection.

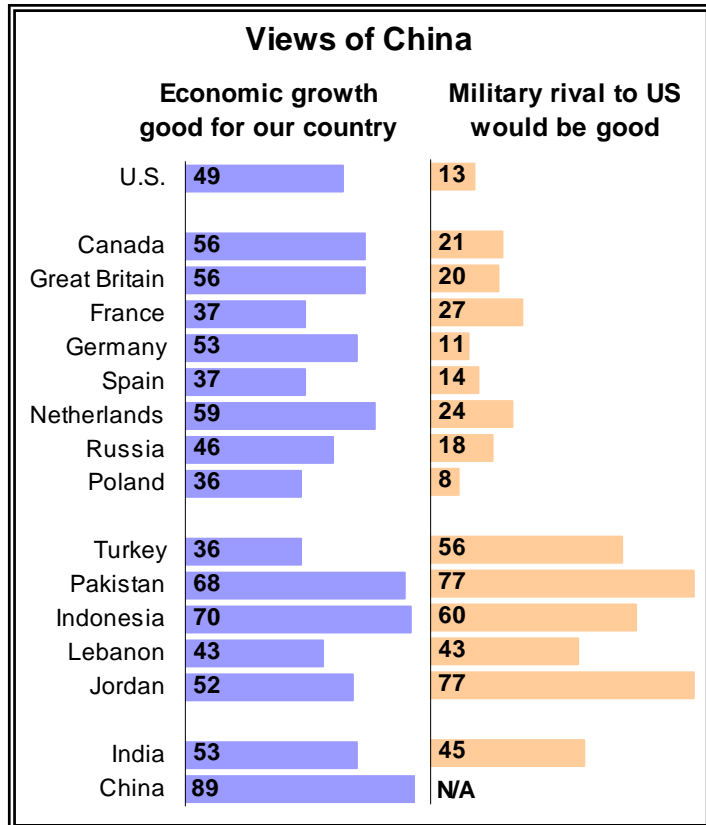
V: OTHER FINDINGS

There is substantial support in most countries for a military rival to challenge America’s global dominance. But the idea of China, in particular, emerging as the counterforce to the U.S. draws a more mixed reaction, especially in Europe.

Throughout Europe, majorities feel it would be a bad thing if China were to become as militarily powerful as the U.S. Opposition ranges from 71% in Great Britain, France, and Russia to 82% in Germany. Germans register even stronger opposition than do Americans, 78% of whom view a militarily equal China as a bad thing.

In the developing world, however, views about China becoming as militarily powerful as the U.S. are markedly different. India’s population is evenly split, with 45% judging it a good thing, and 45% a bad

thing. In Lebanon, a plurality (43%) favors a China equal in military strength to the U.S. while 35% oppose it (23% offer no opinion). Again, views in Lebanon are sharply divided, with 53% of Muslims in favor of China’s rivaling the U.S. in military strength and 55% of Christians opposed. And in other countries in the Middle East and Asia, substantial majorities favor the rise of China as a military equal to America. In both Jordan and Pakistan, more than three-quarters of the population endorse the idea of China as a military superpower. In Indonesia 60% of the public is in favor and 28% opposed; in Turkey, the margin is 56%-to-29%.



Attitudes toward the potential rise of China as a military power do not correlate directly with opinions about China’s growing economic might. In the United States, a 49% plurality sees net benefits to America in China’s growth, although 40% take the opposite view. Europeans are similarly split: While France and Turkey are dubious, small majorities (in the range of 50% to 60%) in Great Britain, Germany and the Netherlands

(as well as Canada) judge China’s economic growth a good thing for their respective countries. In the Middle East, a slight majority in Jordan (52%) views China’s economic growth as a benefit but in Lebanon the public is more divided, with 43% calling China’s growing economy a good thing for their country and 37% calling it a bad thing.

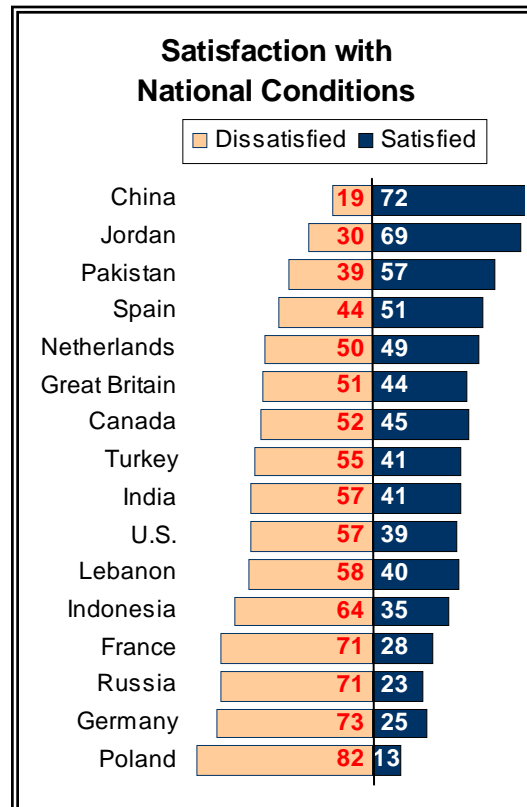
Again, views are uniformly more positive in Asia. By a margin of 53% to 36%, Indians see benefits to themselves in China’s economic emergence. Pakistan and Indonesia approve by still wider margins of 68%-to-10% and 70%-to-23%, respectively. Not surprisingly, the Chinese view their country’s economy growth positively (89%-to-4%).

Gauging National Satisfaction

As in past surveys, discontent with “the way things are going” in one’s country is one of the common themes all around the world. There are, however, some notable exceptions.

China tops the list of countries that are, on balance, satisfied with the way things are going at home, followed closely by Jordan. A striking 72% of Chinese express satisfaction while just 19% are dissatisfied. That figure is up significantly since 2002 when just 48% expressed satisfaction and 33%, dissatisfaction. Jordanians are nearly as content, with seven in ten satisfied (69%) and only 30% dissatisfied.

Pakistan, despite continued conflict in neighboring Afghanistan, also weighs in on the positive side, with 57% of the public content with the country’s current course, compared with 39% who are not. This represents continued improvement over the 54%-41% margin recorded a year ago and a sharp reversal of the 29%-67% balance of dissatisfaction recorded in May 2003.



In India, even with its fast-growing economy, the balance of satisfaction still tips toward the negative, with 57% of the public displeased with the way things are going

compared with 41% who are content. But, again, this represents a significant improvement over the 83% dissatisfaction level that prevailed three years ago in the summer of 2002.

In Lebanon, in the wake of the withdrawal of Syrian forces beyond its borders, those dissatisfied with the ways things are going in their country (58%) still outnumber the 40% saying they are satisfied. However, that balance represents a sharp improvement from the 15% satisfied and 84% dissatisfied registered in May 2003. Among Lebanese Christians, a majority (53%) say they are satisfied with their country's direction compared with 31% of Muslims and Druze.

Elsewhere in the Muslim world, satisfaction is also outweighed by dissatisfaction: in Indonesia, by a margin of 35% satisfied to 64% dissatisfied; in Turkey by a margin of 41% to 55%. In Europe, only Spain records a small balance of satisfaction (51% satisfied, 44% not) while the Dutch split about evenly between satisfied and dissatisfied.

On the other end of the balance of satisfaction, Poland leads the list of discontents with 82% of Poles saying they are dissatisfied with the way things are going in their country. Germany, Russia and France are not far behind with levels of dissatisfaction among their publics exceeding 70%. Even in Canada and Great Britain small majorities express discontent with the course of their nations – but by lesser margins than do Americans. In the U.S., 57% now disapprove of the way things are going in the U.S., compared with 39% who approve (virtually the same margin as recorded in March 2004, but markedly more negative than in April 2003).

Immigration Concerns

Concern about immigration continues to weigh upon some countries in Europe that have received considerable numbers of newcomers in recent years. In Germany, only 34% of the public says that immigration from the Middle East and North Africa is a good thing while 57% calls it a bad thing. Similarly, by a two-to-one margin, (31%-60%) Germans disapprove of immigration from Eastern Europe.

In the Netherlands, roughly equal percentages approve and disapprove of immigration from the Middle East and North Africa (46%-49%) and from Eastern Europe (50%-47%).

France, however, has had a change of heart about immigration in recent years. Now by a 53%-45% margin the French call immigration from the Middle East and North Africa a good thing rather than a bad thing, and by a margin of 52%-47% welcome

newcomers from Eastern Europe. By comparison, in November 2002, 53% in France called immigration from the Middle East and Africa a bad thing, while 50% took a negative view of immigration from the countries of East Europe.

Spain, however, is the most welcoming country in Europe, with 67% of the public saying that immigration from the Middle East and North Africa is a good thing, and an even higher 72% approving of Eastern Europe immigration. Also on the welcoming side is Great Britain, which, by two-to-one margins now approves of immigration from the Middle East and North Africa as well as from Eastern Europe. (In November 2002, only 53% of the British approved of immigration from these areas, whereas more than 60% do now.) However, the Netherlands is about evenly divided in its views about the desirability of immigration from the two areas, an ambivalence that manifested itself in the Dutch rejection of the EU constitution.

Views on Immigration			
	Good thing %	Bad thing %	DK %
From the Middle East and North Africa			
Great Britain	61	30	10=101
France	53	45	2=100
Germany	34	57	9=100
Spain	67	26	7=100
Netherlands	46	49	5=100
Poland	47	43	10=100
From Eastern Europe			
Great Britain	62	28	10=100
France	52	47	1=100
Germany	31	60	9=100
Spain	72	22	6=100
Netherlands	50	47	3=100
From former Soviet bloc			
Poland	44	46	10=100
From Asia			
U.S.	62	27	12=101
Canada	77	15	7=99
From Mexico and Latin America			
U.S.	60	29	10=99
Canada	78	15	7=100

As for Poland, the source of substantial immigration to Western Europe, views there are also divided as to whether to welcome immigrants from other countries in the former Soviet bloc (44% say it is a good thing, 46% call it a bad thing)

North Americans are generally more welcoming to newcomers than Europeans. Substantial majorities in both Canada and the United States say that it's a good thing for Asians, Mexicans and Latin Americans to live and work in their respective countries. Six in ten Americans welcome both Asians and immigrants from south of the border. The margins of approval are still higher in Canada, with 77% judging Asian immigration beneficial, and 78% saying the same of Mexican and Latin American immigration.

Methodological Appendix

ABOUT THE 2005 GLOBAL ATTITUDES SURVEY

Results for the survey are based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. All surveys are based on national samples except in China, India, Morocco and Pakistan where the sample was disproportionately or exclusively urban.

The table below shows the margin of sampling error based on all interviews conducted in that country. For results based on the full sample in a given country, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus the margin of error. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Country: **Britain**
 Company: NOP World
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
 Languages: English
 Fieldwork dates: April 25-May 7, 2005
 Sample size: 750
 Margin of Error: 4%
 Representative: Telephone households

Country: **France**
 Company: Taylor, Nelson & Sofres (TNS)
 Sample design: Quota
 Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
 Languages: French
 Fieldwork dates: May 2-7, 2005
 Sample size: 751
 Margin of Error: 4%
 Representative: Telephone households

Country: **Canada**
 Company: Environics
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
 Languages: English and French
 Fieldwork dates: May 6-11, 2005
 Sample size: 500
 Margin of Error: 4%
 Representative: Telephone households

Country: **Germany**
 Company: TNS EMNID
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
 Languages: German
 Fieldwork dates: April 27-May 4, 2005
 Sample size: 750
 Margin of Error: 4%
 Representative: Telephone households

Country: **China**
 Company: Horizon Market Research (Data were purchased from Horizon Market Research and based on their self-sponsored survey "Chinese People View the World")
 Sample design: Probability sample in six cities and surrounding rural areas – Shanghai (in east China), Beijing (north), Guangzhou (southeast), Chengdu (southwest), Wuhan (central) and Shenyang (northeast).
 Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 to 60
 Languages: Chinese (dialects: Mandarin, Beijingers, Cantonese, Sichuan, Hubei, Dongbei, Shanghaiese)
 Fieldwork dates: May 21-31, 2005
 Sample size: 2191
 Margin of Error: 2%
 Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **India**
 Company: TNS
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Face-to-face adults 18-64
 Languages: Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Kannada, Bengali
 Fieldwork dates: May 1-29, 2005
 Sample size: 2042
 Margin of Error: 2%
 Representative: Urban only

Country: **Indonesia**
 Company: TNS Indonesia
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
 Languages: Bahasa Indonesia
 Fieldwork dates: April 30-May 16, 2005
 Sample size: 1022
 Margin of Error: 3%
 Representative: Eighteen provinces representing 87% of adult population

Country: **Jordan**
Company: MRO
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Arabic
Fieldwork dates: May 3-24, 2005
Sample size: 1000
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Lebanon**
Company: MRO
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Arabic
Fieldwork dates: May 3-24, 2005
Sample size: 1000
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Morocco**
Company: Pan Arab Research Center
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: French and Arabic
Fieldwork dates: June 6-16, 2005
Sample size: 1000
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **Netherlands**
Company: TNS NIPO
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: Dutch
Fieldwork dates: April 27-May 11, 2005
Sample size: 754
Margin of Error: 4%
Representative: Telephone households

Country: **Pakistan**
Company: ACNielsen Aftab
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Urdu
Fieldwork dates: May 2-24, 2005
Sample size: 1225
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **Poland**
Company: Ipsos-Demoskop
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Polish
Fieldwork dates: April 27-May 29, 2005
Sample size: 1024
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Russia**
Company: Bashkirova & Partners
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Russian
Fieldwork dates: April 28-May 13, 2005
Sample size: 1002
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Adult population

Country: **Spain**
Company: TNS-Demoscopia
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: Spanish
Fieldwork dates: April 20-28, 2005
Sample size: 751
Margin of Error: 4%
Representative: Telephone households

Country: **Turkey**
Company: PIAR-TNS
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Turkish
Fieldwork dates: April 27-May 14, 2005
Sample size: 1003
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Adult population

Country: **United States**
Company: Princeton Data Source
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: English
Fieldwork dates: May 18-22, 2005
Sample size: 1001
Margin of Error: 3%
Representative: Telephone households in continental US

Pew Global Attitudes Project

Spring 2005 17-Nation Survey*

United States – May 18 - May 22, 2005 (N=1,001) Canada – May 6 - 11, 2005 (N=500) Great Britain – April 25 - May 7, 2005 (N=750) France – May 2 - 7, 2005 (N=751) Germany – April 27- May 4, 2005 (N=750) Spain – April 20 – April 28, 2005 (N=751) Netherlands – April 27 – May 11, 2005 (N=754) Russia – April 28 – May 13, 2005 (N=1,002) Poland – April 27 – May 29, 2005 (N=1,024)	Turkey – April 27 – May 14, 2005 (N=1,003) Indonesia – April 30 – May 16, 2005 (N=1,022) India – May 1 – May 29, 2005 (N=2,042) Pakistan – May 2 - 24, 2005 (N=1,225) Lebanon – May 3 - 24, 2005 (N=1,000) Jordan – May 3 - 24, 2005 (N=1,000) Morocco – June 6- 16, 2005 (N=1,000)* China – May 21 - 31, 2005 (N=2,191)
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NOTE: Data based on national samples except in China, India, Morocco and Pakistan where the sample was disproportionately or exclusively urban. See Methodological Appendix on page 37 for details.
 NOT ALL QUESTIONS WERE ASKED IN CHINA

PROCEDURAL NOTE: The following topline data is based on two questionnaires, one in the six predominantly Muslim countries (Turkey, Indonesia, Pakistan, Lebanon, Jordan and Morocco) and the other in the eleven countries where Muslims are not the majority population. For question ordering of both questionnaires, see the Global Attitudes website: www.pewglobal.org.

*Data for the 17th nation, Morocco, were not available at the time this report was released. The questionnaire has been updated with results from Morocco, though these data are not referenced in this report's text, tables or figures.

Q.4 Now thinking about (survey country), overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?⁴

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	39	57	4=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	39	55	6=100
<i>April 8, 2003</i>	50	41	9=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	41	55	4=100
Canada	45	52	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	60	35	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	56	42	2=100
Great Britain	44	51	5=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	38	58	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	46	49	5=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	30	63	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	32	64	4=100
France	28	71	*=99
<i>March, 2004</i>	32	68	*=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	44	56	*=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	31	67	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	32	67	1=100
Germany	25	73	2=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	20	78	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	25	73	2=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	18	79	3=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	31	66	2=99

⁴ Question wording slightly different from previous years. From 2002-2004 question was worded, "Now thinking about our country, overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?"

Q.4 CONTINUED...

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Spain	51	44	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	45	52	3=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	41	47	12=100
Netherlands	49	50	2=101
Russia	23	71	6=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	26	69	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	28	64	9=101
<i>March, 2003</i>	35	58	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	20	71	9=100
Poland	13	82	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	9	87	3=99
Turkey	41	55	4=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	40	58	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	19	79	2=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	18	81	2=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	4	93	3=100
Pakistan	57	39	4=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	54	41	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	29	67	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	49	39	13=101
India	41	57	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	9	83	8=100
Lebanon	40	58	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	15	84	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	7	92	1=100
Jordan	69	30	1=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	59	30	11=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	42	56	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	21	78	1=100
Morocco	52	45	3=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	58	40	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	34	62	4=100
Indonesia	35	64	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	15	85	1=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	7	92	1=100
China	72	19	10=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	48	33	19=100

Q.5 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of (insert)? [Read items a and b first, followed by rotating items c thru i]

	--- FAVORABLE ---			--- UNFAVORABLE ---			Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some what</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some what</u>	
a. The United States							
United States	83	50	33	14	4	10	3=100
Canada	59	18	41	37	12	25	3=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	63	24	39	34	13	21	3=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	72	24	48	27	8	19	3=102
Great Britain	55	13	42	38	11	27	7=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	58	15	43	34	10	24	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	70	18	52	26	12	14	5=101

Q.5 CONTINUED...

	--- FAVORABLE ---			--- UNFAVORABLE ---			Don't know/ Refused
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some</u> <u>what</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some</u> <u>what</u>	
<i>March, 2003</i>	48	14	34	40	16	24	11=99
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	75	27	48	16	4	12	9=100
France	43	3	40	57	15	42	*=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	37	6	31	62	20	42	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	43	9	34	57	19	38	*=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	31	6	25	67	22	45	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	63	9	54	34	8	26	2=99
Germany	41	4	37	54	10	44	5=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	38	3	35	59	10	49	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	45	6	39	54	12	42	1=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	25	4	21	71	30	41	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	61	9	52	35	4	31	4=100
Spain	41	14	27	50	16	34	9=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	38	8	30	56	27	29	6=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	14	3	11	74	39	35	12=100
Netherlands	45	5	40	54	14	40	2=101
Russia	52	9	43	40	10	30	8=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	47	9	38	44	15	29	10=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	36	11	25	55	23	32	9=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	28	4	24	68	25	43	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	61	8	53	33	6	27	6=100
Poland	62	11	51	23	5	18	14=99
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	79	14	65	11	1	10	10=100
Turkey	23	4	19	67	54	13	10=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	30	6	24	63	45	18	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	15	2	13	83	68	15	3=101
<i>March, 2003</i>	12	3	9	84	67	17	5=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	30	6	24	55	42	13	15=100
Pakistan	23	6	17	60	48	12	17=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	21	4	17	61	50	11	18=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	13	3	10	81	71	10	6=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	10	2	8	69	58	11	20=99
India	71	29	42	17	9	8	12=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	54	22	32	27	16	11	19=100
Lebanon	42	22	20	58	40	18	*=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	27	8	19	71	48	23	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	35	8	27	59	38	21	6=100
Jordan	21	9	12	80	59	21	0=101
<i>March, 2004</i>	5	2	3	93	67	26	1=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	1	*	1	99	83	16	0=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	25	6	19	75	57	18	*=100
Morocco	49	23	26	44	30	14	6=99
<i>March, 2004</i>	27	8	19	68	46	22	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	27	13	14	66	53	13	7=100
Indonesia	38	6	32	57	17	40	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	15	2	13	83	48	35	1=99
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	61	5	56	36	9	27	3=100
China	42	5	37	53	13	40	5=100

Q.5 CONTINUED...

	--- FAVORABLE ---			--- UNFAVORABLE ---			Don't know/ Refused
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some what</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some what</u>	
b. Americans							
United States	88	49	39	9	1	8	2=99
Canada	66	23	43	30	9	21	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	77	34	43	21	5	16	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	78	21	57	19	6	13	4=101
Great Britain	70	18	52	22	4	18	8=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	73	21	52	19	5	14	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	80	27	53	15	5	10	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	83	25	58	11	3	8	8=102
France	64	5	59	36	7	29	*=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	53	5	48	43	13	30	3=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	58	13	45	42	13	29	*=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	71	10	61	26	5	21	3=100
Germany	65	8	57	24	4	20	11=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	68	9	59	25	5	20	6=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	67	15	52	29	7	22	4=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	70	12	58	23	3	20	7=100
Spain	55	16	39	30	8	22	15=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	47	11	36	41	16	25	13=101
Netherlands	66	9	57	31	4	27	3=100
Russia	61	10	51	29	6	23	11=101
<i>March, 2004</i>	64	13	51	26	8	18	11=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	65	17	48	25	7	18	10=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	67	9	58	24	3	21	9=100
Poland	68	13	55	17	3	14	16=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	77	12	65	12	1	11	10=99
Turkey	23	4	19	63	46	17	14=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	32	6	26	53	32	21	15=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	32	5	27	60	43	17	8=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	31	5	26	50	38	12	19=100
Pakistan	22	5	17	55	41	14	22=99
<i>March, 2004</i>	25	5	20	47	34	13	27=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	38	8	30	51	40	11	11=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	17	3	14	62	50	12	21=100
India	71	28	43	18	9	9	11=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	58	24	34	23	15	8	19=100
Lebanon	66	32	34	32	14	18	1=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	62	21	41	37	16	21	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	47	14	33	46	24	22	7=100
Jordan	34	9	25	66	39	27	0=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	21	4	17	73	33	40	6=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	18	3	15	82	46	36	*=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	53	21	32	46	29	17	1=100
Morocco	62	28	34	30	17	13	7=99
<i>March, 2004</i>	37	9	28	56	31	25	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	54	29	25	38	28	10	9=101
Indonesia	46	8	38	46	9	37	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	56	6	50	42	11	31	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	65	5	60	32	7	25	3=100
China	43	5	38	49	11	38	8=100

Q.5 CONTINUED...

	--- FAVORABLE ---			--- UNFAVORABLE ---			Don't know/ Refused
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some what</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some what</u>	
c. China							
United States	43	9	34	35	13	22	22=100
Canada	58	12	46	27	7	20	14=99
Great Britain	65	13	52	17	3	14	18=100
France	58	6	52	42	13	29	*=100
Germany	46	5	41	37	4	33	16=99
Spain	57	18	39	21	5	16	23=101
Netherlands	56	7	49	34	7	27	9=99
Russia	60	11	49	28	6	22	12=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	71	12	59	18	2	16	11=100
Poland	36	5	31	34	9	25	30=100
Turkey	40	9	31	39	24	15	21=100
Pakistan	79	56	23	4	2	2	17=100
India	56	15	41	21	8	13	23=100
Lebanon	66	19	47	27	7	20	6=99
Jordan	43	6	37	53	18	35	5=101
Morocco	71	39	32	21	8	13	8=100
Indonesia	73	16	57	25	2	23	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	68	4	64	30	6	24	2=100
China	88	53	35	9	1	8	2=99
d. Germany							
United States	60	15	45	17	4	13	23=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	50	8	42	28	9	19	23=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	44	8	36	41	15	26	15=100
<i>February, 2002⁵</i>	83	22	61	11	3	8	6=100
<i>August, 1998</i>	65	13	52	19	5	14	16=100
Canada	77	22	55	8	2	6	15=100
Great Britain	75	18	57	12	2	10	13=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	68	18	50	17	5	12	16=101
France	89	18	71	11	3	8	*=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	88	13	75	7	1	6	4=99
Germany	64	10	54	34	6	28	1=99
Spain	77	27	50	10	2	8	14=101
Netherlands	88	19	69	12	3	9	1=101
Russia	79	21	58	13	3	10	8=100
Poland	64	11	53	23	4	19	13=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	77	15	62	15	2	13	8=100
Turkey	48	12	36	40	25	15	12=100
Pakistan	36	11	25	24	12	12	40=100
India	56	17	39	14	6	8	29=99
Lebanon	85	42	43	14	7	7	1=100
Jordan	36	2	34	59	29	30	4=99
Morocco	81	53	28	12	4	8	8=101
Indonesia	71	15	56	12	2	10	17=100
China	58	9	49	32	6	26	11=101

⁵ February 2002 trend from Gallup. Question wording: "I'd like your overall opinion of some foreign countries. First, is your overall opinion of _____ very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?"

Q.5 CONTINUED...

	--- FAVORABLE ---			--- UNFAVORABLE ---			Don't know/ Refused
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some what</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some what</u>	
e. France							
United States	46	11	35	33	14	19	21=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	33	8	25	49	24	25	18=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	29	8	21	60	36	24	11=100
<i>February, 2002</i>	79	23	56	16	3	13	5=100
Canada	78	23	55	10	2	8	11=99
Great Britain	71	18	53	22	7	15	7=100
France	74	20	54	26	7	19	0=100
Germany	78	12	66	13	3	10	9=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	82	14	68	11	1	10	7=100
Spain	74	25	49	15	3	12	11=100
Netherlands	69	11	58	28	5	23	3=100
Russia	83	22	61	6	1	5	11=100
Poland	66	12	54	17	2	15	17=100
Turkey	30	7	23	51	35	16	19=100
Pakistan	32	10	22	26	14	12	42=100
India	55	16	39	14	5	9	31=100
Lebanon	84	44	40	16	8	8	1=101
Jordan	50	9	41	49	23	26	1=100
Morocco	93	71	22	6	2	4	2=101
Indonesia	68	15	53	15	2	13	17=100
China	65	11	54	25	6	19	11=101
US1. Canada							
United States	76	32	44	9	2	7	14=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	65	25	40	24	8	16	11=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	83	48	35	4	1	3	13=100
US2. Great Britain							
United States	72	31	41	9	2	7	19=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	73	33	40	12	3	9	14=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	82	49	33	10	4	6	8=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	90	48	42	7	2	5	3=100
f. Japan							
United States	63	17	46	16	5	11	21=100
<i>August, 1998</i>	62	9	53	23	8	15	15=100
Canada	75	23	52	11	2	9	15=101
Great Britain	69	14	55	11	3	8	20=100
France	76	10	66	23	6	17	1=100
Germany	64	9	55	18	2	16	18=100
Spain	66	22	44	12	3	9	22=100
Netherlands	68	10	58	21	3	18	10=99
Russia	75	23	52	16	3	13	10=101
Poland	60	12	48	13	2	11	26=99
Turkey	55	21	34	26	18	8	19=100
Pakistan	49	21	28	18	10	8	32=99
India	66	28	38	11	4	7	23=100
Lebanon	72	29	43	23	8	15	5=100
Jordan	46	11	35	49	21	28	6=101
Morocco	74	43	31	16	6	10	10=100
Indonesia	85	32	53	11	2	9	4=100
China	17	3	14	76	43	33	7=100

Q.6 How do you think people in other countries of the world feel about (survey country)? Is (survey country) generally liked or disliked?

	Generally <u>Liked</u>	Generally <u>Disliked</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	26	69	5=100
Canada	94	4	2=100
Great Britain	56	33	11=100
France	80	19	1=100
Germany	51	43	6=100
Spain	80	14	6=100
Netherlands	83	15	2=100
Russia	32	57	11=100
Poland	51	35	14=100
Turkey	30	66	4=100
Pakistan	53	31	16=100
India	83	13	4=100
Lebanon	55	32	14=101
Jordan	84	8	7=99
Morocco	83	13	4=100
Indonesia	86	11	3=100
China	68	16	16=100

[ASKED IF UNFAVORABLE OPINION OF U.S. IN Q.5a:]

Q.7 Why do you have an unfavorable view of the U.S.? Is it mostly because of President George W. Bush or is it more a general problem with America?⁶

	Mostly <u>Bush</u>	America <u>in general</u>	Both <u>[VOL.]</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u> (N)
Canada	54	37	9	0=100 (N=188)
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2=100</i>
Great Britain	56	35	8	1=100 (N=285)
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>3=100</i>
<i>March, 2003</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>2=100</i>
France	63	32	5	1=101 (N=429)
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>*=99</i>
<i>March, 2003</i>	<i>76</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>1=99</i>
Germany	65	29	5	1=100 (N=424)
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1=100</i>
<i>March, 2003</i>	<i>68</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>*=99</i>
Spain	76	14	7	3=100 (N=374)
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>2=101</i>
<i>March, 2003</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>5=101</i>
Netherlands	63	30	6	1=100 (N=403)
Russia	30	58	9	3=100 (N=401)
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>10=100</i>
<i>March, 2003</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>6=100</i>
Poland	27	49	14	10=100 (N=236)
Turkey	41	36	17	6=100 (N=671)
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>3=100</i>
<i>March, 2003</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>6=101</i>

⁶ In March 2003 the question was worded: "Why is it that American policy is having a negative effect on our country? Is it mostly because of President George W. Bush or is it more a general problem with America?" Results were based on respondents who said American foreign policy is having a negative effect on their country.

Q.7 CONTINUED...	Mostly <u>Bush</u>	America in general	Both [VOL.]	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u> (N)
Pakistan	51	29	10	10=100 (N=730)
<i>May, 2003</i>	62	31	2	5=100
India	35	35	14	16=100 (N=349)
Lebanon	47	32	19	1=99 (N=572)
<i>May, 2003</i>	51	32	16	1=100
Jordan	22	37	41	1=101 (N=798)
<i>May, 2003</i>	42	28	30	*=100
Morocco	58	36	4	3=101 (N=444)
<i>May, 2003</i>	66	14	18	2=100
Indonesia	43	42	0	15=100 (N=577)
<i>May, 2003</i>	69	20	7	4=100
China	16	34	42	8=100 (N=1,197)

[ASK ALL:]

Q.8 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 <u>deal</u>	A fair <u>amount</u>	Not <u>too much</u>	Not <u>much at all</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States⁷	28	39	23	7	3=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	34	36	21	6	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	28	45	19	6	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	31	44	17	3	5=100
Canada	4	15	55	25	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	5	23	42	28	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	7	18	47	26	2=100
Great Britain	8	24	44	22	2=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	7	29	43	18	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	7	37	39	16	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	11	33	37	15	3=99
France	2	16	51	31	*=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	3	11	51	33	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	1	13	44	41	*=99
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	4	17	50	26	2=99
Germany	3	35	44	15	3=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	3	26	47	22	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	29	42	24	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	9	44	35	10	2=100
Spain	7	12	29	47	4=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	7	15	40	34	4=100
Netherlands	4	16	51	28	2=101
Russia	3	18	47	26	6=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	5	15	43	30	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	7	15	38	33	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	3	18	45	25	9=100
Poland	2	11	46	28	13=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	4	25	39	20	12=100
Turkey	3	11	27	50	10=101
<i>March, 2004</i>	5	9	35	44	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	6	28	58	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	5	11	27	47	10=100

⁷ U.S. respondents were asked “takes into account the interests of other countries around the world.”

Q.8 CONTINUED...	A great deal	A fair amount	Not too much	Not much at all	Don't know/ Refused
Pakistan	12	27	20	21	20=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	3	15	16	32	34=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	4	19	22	40	15=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	5	18	9	27	41=100
India	21	42	16	10	11=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	13	25	17	14	31=100
Lebanon	13	22	27	30	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	5	13	36	45	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	4	16	27	50	3=100
Jordan	5	12	41	41	1=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	1	15	38	39	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	16	44	36	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	7	21	35	36	1=100
Morocco	8	19	13	52	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	13	18	17	46	6=100
Indonesia	13	46	31	4	6=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	5	20	53	17	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	12	29	39	10	10=100
China	12	41	28	10	9=100

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

	Favor	Oppose	Don't know/ Refused
United States	76	18	6=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	81	13	6=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	89	8	3=100
Canada	45	47	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	68	26	6=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	68	27	6=101
Great Britain	51	40	9=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	63	30	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	63	30	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	69	23	8=100
France	51	48	1=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	50	47	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	60	39	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	75	23	3=101
Germany	50	45	5=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	55	43	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	60	35	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	70	25	5=100
Spain	26	67	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	63	32	5=100
Netherlands	71	26	3=100
Russia	55	34	11=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	73	20	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	51	28	21=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	73	16	11=100
Poland	61	29	10=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	81	11	9=101

Q.9 CONTINUED...	Favor war on terrorism	Oppose war on terrorism	Don't know/ Refused
Turkey	17	71	12=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	37	56	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	22	71	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	30	58	12=100
Pakistan	22	52	26=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	16	60	25=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	16	74	10=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	20	45	35=100
India	52	41	7=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	65	10	25=100
Lebanon	31	65	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	30	67	3=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	38	56	6=100
Jordan	12	86	1=99
<i>March, 2004</i>	12	78	10=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	97	1=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	13	85	2=100
Morocco	33	56	11=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	28	66	6=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	9	84	7=100
Indonesia	50	42	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	23	72	5=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	31	64	5=100

Q.10 I am going to read a list of things that have happened recently. Did (insert) lead you to have a more favorable or less favorable opinion of the U.S.?

	More favorable	Less favorable	No Change [VOL.]	Don't know/ Refused
a. The January elections in Iraq				
Canada	44	38	6	11=99
Great Britain	40	29	21	10=100
France	35	48	14	3=100
Germany	50	34	7	10=101
Spain	23	42	25	9=99
Netherlands	55	35	4	6=100
Russia	11	34	36	19=100
Poland	19	16	46	19=100
Turkey	15	45	20	19=99
Pakistan	10	29	23	39=101
India	26	30	15	29=100
Lebanon	19	50	28	3=100
Jordan	18	28	53	1=100
Morocco	16	45	21	18=100
Indonesia	15	40	21	24=100
b. The re-election of President George W. Bush				
Canada	20	75	2	3=100
Great Britain	18	62	14	6=100
France	19	74	7	1=101
Germany	14	77	5	4=100
Spain	19	60	15	6=100

Q.10 CONTINUED...

	More <u>favorable</u>	Less <u>favorable</u>	No Change <u>[VOL.]</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Netherlands	24	72	2	2=100
Russia	15	36	38	11=100
Poland	21	18	45	16=100
Turkey	11	62	14	13=100
Pakistan	10	36	20	34=100
India	28	35	17	20=100
Lebanon	9	57	27	7=100
Jordan	10	31	54	5=100
Morocco	11	69	9	11=100
Indonesia	12	52	20	16=100

c. U.S. aid to tsunami victims in Southeast Asia

Canada	69	17	4	10=100
Great Britain	44	24	21	10=99
France	51	33	14	2=100
Germany	66	23	5	6=100
Spain	46	23	21	10=100
Netherlands	62	23	4	11=100
Russia	61	6	22	11=100
Poland	43	8	32	17=100
Turkey	34	24	21	21=100
Pakistan	26	21	16	37=100
India	54	27	8	11=100
Morocco	66	16	9	9=100
Indonesia	79	14	4	3=100

d. President Bush's calls for more democracy in the Middle East

Canada	52	37	3	8=100
Great Britain	47	34	11	8=100
France	43	44	12	2=101
Germany	71	22	3	4=100
Spain	45	30	19	6=100
Netherlands	65	30	2	3=100
Russia	24	28	32	17=101
Poland	29	11	40	20=100
Turkey	12	49	20	18=99
Pakistan	10	25	16	49=100
India	32	26	11	31=100
Morocco	32	42	10	16=100
Indonesia	21	47	15	17=100

Q.11 What's your opinion: Is the U.S. too religious a country or not religious enough?

	Too <u>religious</u>	Not religious <u>enough</u>	About right <u>[VOL.]</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	21	58	11	10=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>62</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>8=100</i>
Canada	35	38	5	22=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>25=100</i>
Great Britain	39	28	11	22=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>21=100</i>

Q.11 CONTINUED...	Too <u>religious</u>	Not religious <u>enough</u>	About right <u>[VOL.]</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
France	61	26	7	6=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	65	22	7	6=100
Germany	39	31	7	24=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	36	42	3	20=101
Spain	31	40	11	18=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	18	45	8	29=100
Netherlands	57	25	6	12=100
Russia	27	38	22	13=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	25	41	17	17=100
Poland	6	56	21	17=100
Turkey	18	60	11	11=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	19	55	13	12=99
Pakistan	17	63	9	11=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	11	72	6	11=100
India	32	57	3	8=100
Lebanon	6	61	18	16=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	11	72	8	10=101
Jordan	*	95	1	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	81	15	2=100
Morocco	19	53	15	12=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	31	52	3	14=100
Indonesia	12	69	11	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	7	81	10	2=100

Q.12 Which of these characteristics do you associate with Americans? The first is (insert). Do you associate (insert) with Americans, or not?

a. Rude

	Yes, <u>associate</u>	No, <u>do not associate</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States⁸	35	62	3=100
Canada	53	43	5=101
Great Britain	29	67	5=101
France	36	62	2=100
Germany	12	80	8=100
Spain	39	49	12=100
Netherlands	26	71	3=100
Russia	48	40	11=99
Poland	21	53	26=100
Turkey	53	27	20=100
Pakistan	51	24	25=100
India	27	59	14=100
Lebanon	50	48	3=101
Jordan	64	33	3=100
Morocco	35	52	13=100
Indonesia	56	36	7=99
China	44	46	9=99

⁸ U.S. respondents asked, "Which of these characteristics do you associate with the American people?"

Q.12 CONTINUED...

	<u>Yes, associate</u>	<u>No, do not associate</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
b. Honest			
United States	63	33	4=100
Canada	42	50	8=100
Great Britain	57	34	9=100
France	57	41	2=100
Germany	52	37	11=100
Spain	45	33	22=100
Netherlands	46	46	8=100
Russia	32	49	19=100
Poland	44	27	29=100
Turkey	16	63	22=101
Pakistan	27	48	25=100
India	58	28	14=100
Lebanon	46	52	2=100
Jordan	37	59	4=100
Morocco	63	26	11=100
Indonesia	23	51	25=99
China	35	54	11=100
c. Violent			
United States	49	48	3=100
Canada	64	33	3=100
Great Britain	53	42	5=100
France	63	36	1=100
Germany	49	46	5=100
Spain	60	33	7=100
Netherlands	60	37	4=101
Russia	54	32	14=100
Poland	33	42	25=100
Turkey	70	16	14=100
Pakistan	63	18	19=100
India	39	47	14=100
Lebanon	63	34	3=100
Jordan	73	26	1=100
Morocco	59	31	10=100
Indonesia	67	25	8=100
China	61	29	10=100
d. Hardworking			
United States	85	14	1=100
Canada	77	18	4=99
Great Britain	76	19	5=100
France	89	10	1=100
Germany	67	24	9=100
Spain	74	14	12=100
Netherlands	84	10	6=100
Russia	72	17	11=100
Poland	64	19	17=100
Turkey	61	25	14=100
Pakistan	63	16	21=100
India	81	13	6=100

Q.12 CONTINUED...

	Yes, <u>associate</u>	No, <u>do not associate</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Lebanon	69	23	8=100
Jordan	78	17	4=99
Morocco	92	5	3=100
Indonesia	84	12	4=100
China	44	42	14=100
e. Greedy			
United States	70	28	2=100
Canada	62	33	5=100
Great Britain	64	32	4=100
France	31	67	2=100
Germany	49	39	13=101
Spain	58	32	10=100
Netherlands	67	26	7=100
Russia	60	22	19=101
Poland	55	21	24=100
Turkey	68	15	17=100
Pakistan	58	19	24=101
India	43	43	14=100
Lebanon	66	29	5=100
Jordan	63	34	3=100
Morocco	52	35	13=100
Indonesia	61	26	13=100
China	57	32	11=100
f. Immoral			
United States	39	54	7=100
Canada	34	60	6=100
Great Britain	26	65	9=100
France	37	63	1=101
Germany	31	62	7=100
Spain	36	49	15=100
Netherlands	38	52	9=99
Russia	42	38	20=100
Poland	33	37	30=100
Turkey	57	20	23=100
Pakistan	58	14	28=100
India	36	47	17=100
Lebanon	64	32	4=100
Jordan	69	28	3=100
Morocco	55	31	14=100
Indonesia	48	38	14=100
China	44	42	14=100
g. Inventive			
United States	81	15	4=100
Canada	76	19	5=100
Great Britain	64	31	5=100
France	76	23	1=100
Germany	76	19	5=100
Spain	53	37	10=100

Q.12 CONTINUED...

	Yes, <u>associate</u>	No, <u>do not associate</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Netherlands	69	26	6=101
Russia	56	33	11=100
Poland	73	9	17=99
Turkey	54	29	17=100
Pakistan	57	14	29=100
India	86	10	5=101
Lebanon	58	37	5=100
Jordan	68	26	6=100
Morocco	86	9	5=100
Indonesia	84	11	5=100
China	70	19	11=100

Q.13 Right now, the U.S. has the most powerful military capability in the world. Would you like to see the U.S. remain the only military superpower or would it be better if [Europe (ask in all countries outside of Europe)| the EU (ask in Europe)], China or another country became as powerful as the U.S.?⁹

	<u>U.S. only superpower</u>	<u>Another country, as powerful</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	63	26	11=100
Canada	38	51	12=101
Great Britain	27	58	15=100
France	14	85	1=100
Germany	17	73	10=100
Spain	13	69	18=100
Netherlands	24	71	5=100
Russia	15	74	11=100
Poland	20	68	12=100
Turkey	10	81	9=100
Pakistan	9	73	18=100
India	15	81	4=100
Lebanon	15	73	13=101
Jordan	8	82	10=100
Morocco	22	71	7=100
Indonesia	14	79	7=100
China	13	74	13=100

Q.15 Do you think it's a good or a bad thing that people (insert) come to live and work in this country?

a. From the Middle East and North Africa

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Great Britain	61	30	10=101
<i>November, 2002</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>7=100</i>
France	53	45	2=100
<i>November, 2002</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>3=100</i>
Germany	34	57	9=100
<i>November, 2002</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>8=100</i>

⁹ U.S. asked: "Right now, the U.S. has the most powerful military capability in the world. In the future, should U.S. policies try to keep it so America is the only military superpower or would it be better if Europe, China or another country became as powerful as the U.S.?"

Q.15 CONTINUED...

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Spain	67	26	7=100
Netherlands	46	49	5=100
Poland	47	43	10=100

b. From East European countries

Great Britain	62	28	10=100
<i>November, 2002</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>6=100</i>
France	52	47	1=100
<i>November, 2002</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>3=100</i>
Germany	31	60	9=100
<i>November, 2002</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>8=100</i>
Spain	72	22	6=100
Netherlands	50	47	3=100

c. From former Soviet Bloc countries

Poland	44	46	10=100
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Q.16 Do you think it's a good or a bad thing that (insert) come to live and work in this country?

a. Asians

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	62	27	12=101
Canada	77	15	7=99

b. Mexicans and Latin Americans

United States	60	29	10=99
Canada	78	15	7=100

Q.28 Now I'm going to read a list of political leaders. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs— a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all?¹⁰

	<u>A lot of confidence</u>	<u>Some confidence</u>	<u>Not too much confidence</u>	<u>No confidence</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
a. French President Jacques Chirac					
United States	3	32	25	21	19=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>13=100</i>
Canada	7	51	20	10	12=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>11=100</i>
Great Britain	5	43	27	17	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>4=100</i>
France	13	52	21	14	*=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>*=99</i>
<i>August, 2001</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>2=100</i>

¹⁰ In 2001 response categories were "A great deal, a fair amount, not too much or none at all."

Q.28 CONTINUED...

	<u>A lot of confidence</u>	<u>Some confidence</u>	<u>Not too much confidence</u>	<u>No confidence</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
Germany	24	56	11	4	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	34	50	11	3	1=99
Spain	4	36	36	17	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	12	39	19	22	8=100
Netherlands	7	60	24	7	3=101
Russia	10	47	17	3	24=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	4	38	23	7	28=100
Poland	6	31	33	11	19=100
Turkey	1	9	13	53	24=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	9	13	55	20=99
Pakistan	5	7	19	29	39=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	4	18	6	29	43=100
India	8	22	12	8	51=101
Lebanon	28	47	11	13	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	43	38	11	8	1=101
Jordan	17	39	22	21	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	18	43	24	14	1=100
Morocco	47	27	7	13	6=100
Indonesia	4	25	26	4	41=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	4	32	34	12	18=100

b. U.S. President George W. Bush

United States	34	28	19	17	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	49	29	11	9	2=100
Canada	9	31	27	33	1=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	23	36	18	21	2=100
Great Britain	9	29	27	33	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	16	35	25	22	1=99
<i>August, 2001</i>	4	26	36	28	6=100
France	5	20	27	48	*=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	17	28	51	*=99
<i>August, 2001</i>	2	18	43	32	5=100
Germany	8	22	34	35	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	8	25	28	38	1=100
<i>August, 2001</i>	3	48	27	19	3=100
Spain	4	14	33	47	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	9	17	15	56	4=101
Netherlands	10	29	32	27	1=99
Russia	4	24	40	17	16=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	1	7	27	54	11=100
Poland	8	39	29	11	13=100
Turkey	2	6	8	75	9=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	1	7	8	80	4=100
Pakistan	2	8	19	47	23=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	1	4	3	81	11=100
India	20	34	19	12	15=100
Lebanon	6	17	21	55	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	4	13	20	62	1=100
Jordan	*	1	25	75	0=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	*	1	3	96	0=100

Q.28 CONTINUED...	<u>A lot of confidence</u>	<u>Some confidence</u>	<u>Not too much confidence</u>	<u>No confidence</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
Morocco	2	7	15	68	7=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	1	1	3	87	7=99
Indonesia	3	17	48	25	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	2	6	27	63	2=100

c. British Prime Minister Tony Blair

United States	29	44	11	7	9=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	51	32	4	5	8=100
Canada	17	52	17	9	6=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	30	45	11	7	7=100
Great Britain	20	40	20	20	1=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	28	43	15	13	1=100
<i>August, 2001</i>	14	46	23	16	1=100
France	8	42	32	18	*=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	37	33	26	*=99
Germany	9	43	31	13	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	10	44	30	14	2=100
Spain	4	24	42	26	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	11	32	18	33	6=100
Netherlands	17	48	24	10	2=101
Russia	5	32	29	7	27=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	1	16	21	30	33=101
Poland	8	42	25	7	18=100
Turkey	2	12	12	56	18=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	1	8	8	73	9=99
Pakistan	2	5	20	37	35=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	1	5	3	70	21=100
India	15	32	14	11	28=100
Lebanon	8	10	28	50	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	3	12	21	61	2=100
Jordan	*	3	32	64	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	*	1	9	90	0=100
Morocco	2	10	14	59	16=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	*	2	4	85	9=100
Indonesia	4	23	32	12	30=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	1	10	35	45	8=99

Q.31 On the subject of Iraq, did our country make the right decision or the wrong decision to use military force against Iraq?

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
United States	54	42	5=101
<i>March, 2004</i>	60	32	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	74	20	6=100
Great Britain	39	53	8=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	43	47	10=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	61	34	5=100
Spain	24	69	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	31	62	7=100
Netherlands	59	39	2=100
Poland	24	67	9=100

Q.32 On the subject of Iraq, did our country make the right decision or the wrong decision to not use military force against Iraq?

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Canada	80	17	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	65	31	4=100
France	92	8	*=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	88	11	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	83	16	1=100
Germany	87	11	2=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	86	11	3=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	80	19	1=100
Russia	88	6	5=99
<i>March, 2004</i>	83	10	6=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	89	7	4=100
Turkey	81	13	6=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	72	22	7=100
Pakistan	63	21	16=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	68	12	20=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	73	21	6=100
India	75	16	9=100
Lebanon	85	7	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	86	9	5=100
Jordan	89	8	3=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	87	3	10=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	95	4	1=100
Morocco	90	5	5=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	84	9	8=101
<i>May, 2003</i>	88	7	5=100
Indonesia	70	14	16=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	78	19	3=100

Q.33 Overall, do you think the war with Iraq that removed Saddam Hussein from power made the world a safer place or a more dangerous place?

	<u>Safer Place</u>	<u>More dangerous Place</u>	<u>No change (VOL.)</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
United States	49	40	5	6=100
Canada	37	53	5	5=100
Great Britain	39	47	8	6=100
France	23	70	6	2=101
Germany	28	58	9	6=101
Spain	13	68	14	5=100
Netherlands	31	62	4	4=101
Russia	17	49	24	10=100
Poland	27	48	15	10=100
Turkey	14	59	14	13=100
Pakistan	9	53	11	27=100
India	45	26	15	14=100
Lebanon	16	59	18	7=100
Jordan	26	66	7	1=100
Morocco	9	73	10	8=100
Indonesia	13	50	24	13=100
China	8	57	19	16=100

Q.34 All in all, do you think the January elections in Iraq will lead to a MORE stable situation, a LESS stable situation, or will the situation in Iraq not change much?

	More <u>Stable</u>	Less <u>Stable</u>	Not change <u>much</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	35	9	49	7=100
<i>Feb, 2005</i>	47	7	40	6=100
<i>Jan, 2005¹¹</i>	29	14	49	8=100
Canada	24	10	61	5=100
Great Britain	40	13	43	4=100
France	28	6	66	*=100
Germany	24	15	57	4=100
Spain	22	16	57	5=100
Netherlands	31	25	41	4=101
Russia	14	17	50	19=100
Poland	20	22	40	18=100
Turkey	13	32	35	19=99
Pakistan	9	26	25	40=100
India	27	30	20	23=100
Lebanon	10	54	30	5=99
Jordan	22	48	28	2=100
Morocco	7	54	26	13=100
Indonesia	13	29	44	14=100
China	11	47	22	20=100

Q.35 Suppose a young person who wanted to leave this country asked you to recommend where to go to lead a good life – what country would you recommend? (OPEN-ENDED)

	<u>China</u>	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>Australia</u>	<u>Great Britain</u>	<u>Canada</u>	<u>France</u>	<u>Germany</u>	<u>Japan</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>None (VOL)</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
United States	1	na	9	10	16	3	3	2	23	16	17=100
Canada	1	13	18	7	na	5	3	1	40	4	8=100
Great Britain	1	6	31	na	9	6	2	*	30	10	6=101
France	1	5	7	4	14	na	7	1	37	22	2=100
Germany	1	10	11	3	11	6	na	1	45	7	6=101
Spain	2	7	9	14	2	11	6	1	25	15	8=100
Netherlands	1	3	16	3	16	4	3	*	47	3	4=100
Russia	1	8	9	4	6	9	22	4	12	16	8=99
Poland	*	19	8	21	9	4	10	1	12	9	6=99
Turkey	1	8	12	5	7	5	18	6	11	20	7=100
Pakistan	18	5	1	6	3	1	1	5	21	29	9=99
India	2	38	13	6	6	3	3	7	3	11	8=100
Lebanon	2	8	18	6	17	19	6	1	8	14	2=101
Jordan	*	8	8	9	9	9	2	*	25	26	4=100
Morocco	1	7	3	2	16	31	6	*	20	10	3=101
Indonesia	4	2	8	5	2	3	4	24	26	13	9=100
China	na	10	10	4	12	7	4	2	35	10	6=100

¹¹ Asked before the January 30th elections in Iraq.

Q.36/Q.37 Do you think the partnership between the U.S. and Western Europe should remain as close as it has been or do you think that Western Europe should take a more independent approach to security and diplomatic affairs than it has in the past?

	Remain as close	More independent	Don't know/ Refused
United States ¹²	66	28	7=101
<i>March, 2004</i>	55	36	9=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	53	39	8=100
<i>February, 2003</i>	62	29	9=100
Canada ¹³	41	57	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	54	43	3=100
Great Britain	42	53	5=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	40	56	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	51	45	4=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	40	48	12=100
<i>April, 2002</i>	48	47	5=100
France	26	73	1=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	21	75	4=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	23	76	1=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	30	67	4=101
<i>April, 2002</i>	33	60	7=100
Germany	39	59	2=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	36	63	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	42	57	1=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	46	52	3=101
<i>April, 2002</i>	44	51	5=100
Spain	43	50	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	28	62	10=100
<i>March, 2003</i>	24	60	16=100
Netherlands	40	59	1=100

Q.38 If an innocent people were being killed by the army, the police or another tribe, in another country, who would you trust most to do something to stop the killings? (Read list in order)

	France	Germany	China	Great Britain	Japan	U.S.	Russia	None (VOL)	DK/Ref
United States	3	2	1	6	1	73	2	6	7=101
Canada	15	4	1	21	1	39	2	8	9=100
Great Britain	6	3	1	45	1	24	1	9	10=100
France	65	8	2	4	2	12	3	3	1=100
Germany	12	18	1	4	1	39	5	11	10=101
Spain	27	14	2	6	2	16	4	20	9=100
Netherlands	16	19	3	16	3	24	2	7	10=100
Russia	5	7	2	6	3	16	24	19	18=100
Poland	8	6	1	16	2	35	1	14	17=100
Turkey	4	9	4	3	7	11	3	41	18=100

¹² 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?"

¹³ Canadian respondents asked "Do you think the partnership between the U.S. and Canada should remain as close as it has been, or do you think that Canada should take a more independent approach to security and diplomatic affairs than it has in the past?"

Q.38 CONTINUED...	<u>France</u>	<u>Germany</u>	<u>China</u>	<u>Great Britain</u>	<u>Japan</u>	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>Russia</u>	<u>None (VOL)</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Pakistan	1	1	42	2	4	5	1	27	17=100
India	2	4	7	8	8	29	9	7	26=100
Lebanon	42	9	2	5	4	3	5	27	2=99
Jordan	11	4	1	5	4	8	1	53	13=100
Morocco	53	7	1	1	1	14	2	12	9=100
Indonesia	5	6	5	7	11	13	3	24	26=100

Q.39 Which of the following countries would you trust most to do the right thing in protecting the world's environment? (Read list in order)

	<u>France</u>	<u>Germany</u>	<u>China</u>	<u>Great Britain</u>	<u>Japan</u>	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>Russia</u>	<u>None (VOL)</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
United States	6	5	1	8	7	59	1	5	8=100
Canada	18	16	2	14	11	16	2	9	12=100
Great Britain	10	17	2	43	4	8	1	8	7=100
France	45	39	1	2	4	6	*	2	1=100
Germany	9	77	*	1	3	2	1	3	3=99
Spain	23	27	3	5	8	7	2	16	9=100
Netherlands	14	33	1	11	8	5	*	17	10=99
Russia	8	19	1	11	17	7	12	9	16=100
Poland	12	21	1	16	11	14	*	9	16=100
Turkey	6	17	3	5	11	5	1	29	23=100
Pakistan	2	1	47	2	5	4	1	22	17=101
India	5	6	5	10	12	23	8	9	22=100
Lebanon	41	22	3	6	6	6	2	11	3=100
Jordan	14	8	3	5	11	10	1	34	14=100
Morocco	50	12	5	2	6	7	1	9	9=101
Indonesia	7	9	7	10	25	7	1	11	23=100
China	9	8	33	5	6	7	3	7	22=100

Q.40 Overall do you think that China's growing economy is a good thing or a bad thing for our country?

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	<u>Don't know/Refused</u>
United States	49	40	11=100
Canada	56	34	10=100
Great Britain	56	31	13=100
France	37	61	2=100
Germany	53	38	9=100
Spain	37	48	15=100
Netherlands	59	35	6=100
Russia	46	40	14=100
Poland	36	38	26=100
Turkey	36	45	19=100
Pakistan	68	10	22=100
India	53	36	10=99
Lebanon	43	37	20=100
Jordan	52	41	7=100
Morocco	31	65	4=100

Q.40 CONTINUED...

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Indonesia	70	23	7=100
China	89	4	7=100

Q.41 Overall do you think it would be a good thing or a bad thing if China were to become as powerful militarily as the US?

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
United States	13	78	9=100
Canada	21	73	6=100
Great Britain	20	71	9=100
France	27	71	2=100
Germany	11	82	7=100
Spain	14	75	11=100
Netherlands	24	72	4=100
Russia	18	71	11=100
Poland	8	77	15=100
Turkey	56	29	15=100
Pakistan	77	5	18=100
India	45	45	10=100
Lebanon	43	35	23=101
Jordan	77	18	5=100
Morocco	53	34	12=99
Indonesia	60	28	12=100

Q.42 I will now read a list of groups. Which one do you think has the most influence on American policy toward other countries? (Accept one answer only; Show card OR Read List)

	<u>The news media</u>	<u>Business corporations</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Christian conservatives</u>	<u>The military</u>	<u>Liberals</u>	<u>Ordinary Americans</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
United States	40	23	1	6	7	2	13	8=100
Canada	20	33	7	8	12	5	5	11=101
Great Britain	18	37	3	8	9	1	15	8=99
France	15	20	8	15	21	8	10	3=100
Germany	24	24	12	4	14	3	7	12=100
Spain	30	23	10	2	12	2	8	13=100
Netherlands	27	31	4	10	6	2	14	6=100
Russia	12	30	5	1	17	3	8	23=99
Poland	19	27	15	2	7	3	9	19=101
Turkey	11	17	17	4	21	2	2	26=100
Pakistan	30	3	14	2	8	4	9	31=101
India	36	21	2	5	6	2	4	23=99
Lebanon	3	12	60	13	3	3	4	2=100
Jordan	9	9	60	5	4	4	8	*=99
Morocco	12	7	50	2	3	1	3	22=100
Indonesia	18	15	18	5	17	5	3	19=100
China	32	13	2	2	23	6	4	18=100

[ASK ALL:]

MQ.10 Does our government go along with U.S. policies too much, not enough, or deal with the U.S. just about right?

	<u>Go along Too much</u>	<u>Not Enough</u>	<u>Deal with U.S. about right</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Turkey	36	30	19	15=100
Pakistan	45	18	12	25=100
Lebanon	30	27	28	15=100
Jordan	40	15	43	2=100
Morocco	18	35	33	14=100
Indonesia	29	35	24	12=100

[ASK ALL:]

MQ.15 Some people in our country feel that democracy is a Western way of doing things that would not work here— others think that democracy is not just for the West and can work well here. Which comes closer to your opinion?

	<u>Western way</u>	<u>Can work here</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Turkey	38	48	14=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	37	50	14=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	43	43	14=100
<i>1999¹⁴</i>	59	30	11=100
Pakistan	18	43	39=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	28	57	15=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	15	44	41=100
<i>1999</i>	13	39	49=101
Lebanon	9	83	8=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	27	71	2=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	23	75	2=100
Jordan	19	80	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	25	69	7=101
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	34	63	3=100
Morocco	12	83	5=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	27	64	9=100
Indonesia	16	77	7=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	53	41	6=100
<i>Summer, 2002</i>	25	64	11=100
<i>1999</i>	22	67	12=101

[ASK ALL:]

MQ.35 Do you think the U.S. government favors or opposes democracy in our country?

	<u>Favors</u>	<u>Opposes</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Pakistan	39	34	27=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	28	36	36=100
Lebanon	54	28	18=100
Jordan	46	43	12=101
<i>March, 2004</i>	43	44	13=100
Morocco	62	20	18=100
<i>March, 2004</i>	51	27	22=100
Indonesia	65	20	15=100

¹⁴ 1999 trends provided by the Office of Research, U.S. Department of State.

[ASK ALL:]

MQ.37 Are you more optimistic or more pessimistic these days that the Middle East region will become more democratic?

	<u>Optimistic</u>	<u>Pessimistic</u>	<u>Neither (VOL)</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Turkey	33	41	13	13=100
Pakistan	23	31	12	34=100
Lebanon	46	34	14	6=100
Jordan	37	40	21	2=100
Morocco	35	51	8	7=101
Indonesia	40	33	9	18=100

[BASED ON THOSE WHO RESPONDED "OPTIMISTIC" IN MQ.37:]

MQ.38 In your opinion is this at least partly due to U.S. policies, or don't you think so?

	<u>Yes, U.S. policies</u>	<u>No, not U.S. policies</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>	<u>(N)</u>
Turkey	34	51	15=100	(N=331)
Pakistan	55	28	17=100	(N=276)
Lebanon	49	44	7=100	(N=370)
Jordan	49	44	7=100	(N=370)
Morocco	38	51	11=100	(N=346)
Indonesia	28	63	9=100	(N=410)

[BASED ON THOSE WHO RESPONDED "PESSIMISTIC" IN MQ.37:]

MQ.38 In your opinion is this at least partly due to U.S. policies, or don't you think so?

	<u>Yes, U.S. policies</u>	<u>No, not U.S. policies</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>	<u>(N)</u>
Turkey	83	14	3=100	(N=411)
Pakistan	67	24	9=100	(N=382)
Lebanon	75	23	2=100	(N=337)
Jordan	98	1	1=100	(N=403)
Morocco	71	19	10=100	(N=513)
Indonesia	62	33	5=100	(N=337)

[ASK ALL:]

MQ.41 How worried are you, if at all, that the U.S. could become a military threat to our country someday? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not at all worried?¹⁵

	<u>Very worried</u>	<u>Somewhat worried</u>	<u>Not too worried</u>	<u>Not at all worried</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Turkey	29	36	13	17	4=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>2=100</i>
Pakistan	43	28	8	10	11=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>5=100</i>
Lebanon	37	22	22	16	2=99
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>1=100</i>

¹⁵ In 2003 the question was worded: How worried are you, if at all, that the U.S. could become a military threat to your country someday? Are you very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not at all worried?

MQ.41 CONTINUED...

	<u>Very worried</u>	<u>Somewhat worried</u>	<u>Not too worried</u>	<u>Not at all worried</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Jordan	14	53	22	10	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>0=100</i>
Morocco	91	5	1	1	2=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>2=100</i>
Indonesia	38	42	15	4	1=100
<i>May, 2003</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>1=101</i>