

WHAT THE WORLD THINKS IN 2002



How Global Publics View: Their Lives Their Countries The World America

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As U.S. secretary of state, I was acutely conscious that we live in an era of rapid-paced economic, technological and cultural change that profoundly affects the world we live in, the countries and communities we call home, and the lives we lead with our families, I realized that so much of what we had taken for granted was now different. I was not the only one to have such concerns. It was obvious to me that my foreign counterparts also wanted to better understand these changes.

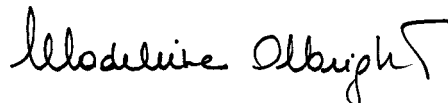
The terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, the subsequent international war on terrorism and the continued instability in the Middle East and elsewhere only underscored the need for a deeper awareness of the world around us and the importance of having some sense of where it is headed.

Now as a businesswoman and professor I am repeatedly reminded of how little is known about how individuals are experiencing these tumultuous times—is personal life good or bad, is the national economy better or worse, what are the problems people encounter in their daily lives, what are the threats they fear, are people optimistic or pessimistic about the future for themselves and for their children? We also cannot claim to understand how these transformative times are shaping individuals' values about religion, democracy, the role of women in society, and people's obligations toward their neighbors. We lack a comprehensive, cross-cultural appreciation of the public's evolving attitude toward their national government, their political leaders and even toward the United States.

The Pew Global Attitudes Project was conceived to begin to answer some of these questions through in-depth, mostly face-to-face interviews with tens of thousands of people in every region of the world. It is the broadest and deepest public opinion poll of its kind, purposely designed to provide the public, the press and policy makers with the kind of vital, timely information they need, both for their work and as citizens.

On behalf of the international advisory board, we are pleased to share “What the World Thinks in 2002” with you. It will be the first of several in-depth studies drawn from *Global Attitudes* that will be published by the Pew Research Center for The People & The Press over the next year. We hope you find this report informative, thought provoking and useful in better understanding the changing world in which we live.

Sincerely,



Madeleine K. Albright

FOREWORD

A smaller, more connected world has only heightened the need to understand the similarities and gulfs in global public opinion. Determining common points of view on issues and life's circumstances across continents and cultures is the overarching objective of this survey, the first publication of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*.

In 44 national surveys, based on interviews with more than 38,000 people, we explore public views about the rapid pace of change in modern life; global interconnectedness through trade, foreign investment and immigration; and people's attitudes toward democracy and governance. The surveys' themes range from economic globalization and the reach of multinational corporations to terrorism and the U.S. response. The results illuminate international attitudes toward the United States and show where U.S. and foreign opinions align and collide.

In addition to probing new topics, the surveys also measure changes in public attitudes among some of the populations surveyed in the 13-nation 1991 benchmark Times Mirror survey, "The Pulse of Europe," which I had the pleasure of co-directing with former secretary of state Madeleine Albright. European trend measures will offer insights into both the changes that have occurred in Western Europe and in former Communist countries since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the challenges still facing all of those nations. Further, the surveys specifically probe attitudes toward democratization in emerging democracies, both within and outside the former Soviet bloc, as those countries struggle to create representative and participatory societies.

This project began last year, with a preliminary survey of 275 political, media, cultural and business leaders in 24 countries, released in December 2001. This is the first *Global Attitudes* report on world public opinion. It details how people view the state of their lives, their nations and global conditions at the end of 2002. In addition, it presents public views about America's role in the world, U.S. foreign policy and the spread of American culture, values and business practices.

The second *Global Attitudes* report, to be released in Spring 2003, will assess public views toward globalization and modernization, look at the role the Internet and other modern technologies play in people's lives around the world and will include a special focus on attitudes and values in Islamic societies. Subsequent studies will report findings on democratization and provide an in-depth look at particular regions of the globe.

People's responses to all of the questions reported in this publication can be found in the topline in the appendix and also are available on our website at the Pew Research Center for The People & The Press: www.people-press.org.

Secretary Albright has chaired our project since the beginning. She has challenged us, counseled us and contributed immensely to the substance of this work. She lent particular insight from her vast and varied experience in public service, academia and the business world. Most important, she inspired us by never letting us forget why this project was crucial to a better understanding of the world we live in. Her colleague, Wendy R. Sherman, a principal of the

Albright Group, provided wise counsel and advice to the project and guided our thinking at every stage, from what questions to ask to where to poll to how to report.

We could not have conducted the *Global Attitudes* survey without the generous support of the Pew Charitable Trusts, steadfast sponsor of the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press since 1996. Rebecca W. Rimel, the Trusts' president, was an enthusiastic driving force in launching the project, because she recognized the need for better understanding of global public values and opinions. Donald Kimelman, director of the Trusts' Venture Fund, helped guide us through the project design and approval process and our analysis has benefited from his insights drawn from years as a foreign correspondent. We would also like to thank the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, in particular Smita Singh, Hewlett's special advisor for global affairs, for their supplemental grant that allowed us to expand the list of countries we surveyed to include additional African nations and other project enhancements.

The *International Herald Tribune* is the global newspaper partner of the *Global Attitudes Project*. Peter Goldmark, the IHT's chairman and CEO, helped conceive the project. David Ignatius, the paper's executive editor, and Robert McCartney, managing editor, helped shape our effort. Their counsel has always proven timely and helpful. A team of IHT reporters, admirably supervised by deputy editorial page editor Andrew Johnston, did the interviews that produced the quotes from real individuals that help illustrate the issues raised in this survey. It should be noted that those quoted were not actual poll respondents.

We benefited immeasurably from the advice of a range of thoughtful country, cultural and religious experts, economists, sociologists, political scientists and practitioners who took time out of their busy schedules to share their insights about the lives of the people we were trying to better understand through our survey. The questions we eventually asked in the *Global Attitudes* survey and our interpretation of what our respondents told us are solely our responsibility. But our intellectual mentors around the world, too numerous to mention by name here, have our heartfelt gratitude for their contribution to this project.

Thanks also is owed to a host of colleagues, former collaborators, advisers and friends who generously shared their time, their talents, their counsel and the benefits of their broad experience in survey work and international affairs. They include: Maxine Isaacs, Donald Kellermann, Samuel Popkin, Michael Robinson and Robert C. Toth. Again, these advisers bear no responsibility for our analysis and conclusions. But this project is infinitely better thanks to their participation.

Leslie H. Gelb, president of the Council on Foreign Relations, which cooperates with the Pew Research Center on our quadrennial *America's Place in the World* survey of American public opinion on international affairs, encouraged us from the beginning, lending his insight, the expertise of the Council fellows and the assistance of the Council in communicating the results of our study to a broader public.

Mary McIntosh, vice-president of Princeton Survey Research Associates (PSRA), applied two decades of international research experience to help design the survey and develop the questionnaire, managed the fielding of the survey on five continents, helped analyze the data and

wrote a principal section of this report. Her contribution is inestimable. Without the tremendous contribution made by her staff at PSRA, this survey would never have gotten off the ground, let alone have been successfully concluded.

Bruce Stokes, the international economics columnist for the *National Journal* and an adjunct fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, contributed his global expertise and years of experience to this project. He helped determine the scope of the project, interpret the results and brought context to the writing of the report.

Elizabeth Mueller Gross, the Pew Research Center's special projects director, has been an integral part of this project team, writing questions, analyzing and writing up the results, and organizing the production and publication of this study, drawing on her years of experience as director of research at *U.S. News & World Report*.

Finally, we owe our deepest gratitude to our superb colleagues at The Pew Research Center, whose professionalism was again demonstrated in their dedication to this project. Editor Carroll Doherty sharpened our ideas and smoothed our prose. Research Director Michael Dimock massaged the data and shaped the graphics to visually tell our story. He was assisted by the recent arrival of the Center's new associate director, Scott Keeter. Nicole Speulda managed the voluminous data the survey produced, always having an answer for our interminable questions. Peyton Craighill helped design data management and presentation approaches. Nilanthi Samaranyake backstopped the research and fact-checking effort. Mary Dinh of the Council on Foreign Relations was of great help with the research.

What the World Thinks in 2002 is just the first of several in-depth studies the Pew Research Center will publish based on the results of the *Global Attitudes Project*. We hope you will find both this report and our future efforts interesting reading and useful in understanding the world.

Andrew Kohut
Director
Pew Research Center for the People & the Press

What the World Thinks in 2002

First Major Report of the

Pew Global Attitudes Project

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GLOBAL GLOOM AND GROWING ANTI-AMERICANISM

Despite an initial outpouring of public sympathy for America following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, discontent with the United States has grown around the world over the past two years. Images of the U.S. have been tarnished in all types of nations: among longtime NATO allies, in developing countries, in Eastern Europe and, most dramatically, in Muslim societies.

The *Pew Global Attitudes* survey interviewed more than 38,000 people in 44 nations.

Since 2000, favorability ratings for the U.S. have fallen in 19 of the 27 countries where trend benchmarks are available. While criticism of America is on the rise, however, a reserve of goodwill toward the United States still remains. The *Pew Global Attitudes* survey finds that the U.S. and its citizens continue to be rated positively by majorities in 35 of the 42 countries in which the question was asked.¹ True dislike, if not hatred, of America is concentrated in the Muslim nations of the Middle East and in Central Asia, today's areas of greatest conflict.

Opinions about the U.S., however, are complicated and contradictory. People around the world embrace things American and, at the same time, decry U.S. influence on their societies. Similarly, pluralities in most of the nations surveyed complain about American unilateralism. But the war on terrorism, the centerpiece of current U.S. foreign policy, continues to enjoy global support outside the Muslim world.

While attitudes toward the United States are most negative in the Middle East/Conflict Area, ironically, criticisms of U.S. policies and ideals such as American-style democracy and business practices are also highly prevalent among the publics of traditional allies. In fact, critical assessments of the U.S. in countries such as Canada, Germany and France are much more widespread than in the developing nations of Africa and Asia.

The questionnaire was translated into 63 languages and dialects. Most interviews were conducted face-to-face in the respondent's home.

A follow-up six-nation survey finds a wide gap in opinion about a potential war with Iraq. This threatens to further fuel anti-American sentiment and divide the United States from the publics of its

¹ These survey questions were not permitted in China, and were not asked in the U.S.

traditional allies and new strategic friends. But even on this highly charged issue, opinions are nuanced. Iraq is seen as a threat to regional stability and world peace by overwhelming numbers of people in allied nations, yet American motives for using force against Iraq are still suspect.

People around the world both embrace things American and, at the same time, decry U.S. influence on their societies.

Souring attitudes toward America are more than matched by the discontent that people of the planet feel concerning the world at large. As 2002 draws to a close, the world is not a happy place. At a time when trade and technology have linked the world more closely together than ever before, almost all national publics view the fortunes of the world as drifting downward. A smaller world, our surveys indicate, is not a happier one.

The spread of disease is judged the top global problem in more countries than any other international threat, in part because worry about AIDS and other illnesses is so overwhelming in developing nations, especially in Africa. Fear of religious and ethnic violence ranks second, owing to strong worries about global and societal divisions in both the West and in several Muslim countries. Nuclear weapons run a close third in public concern. The publics of China, South Korea and many in the former Soviet Bloc put more emphasis on global environmental threats than do people elsewhere.

Dissatisfaction with the state of one's country is another common global point of view. In all but a handful of societies, the public is unhappy with national conditions. The economy is the number one national concern volunteered by the more than 38,000 respondents interviewed. Crime and political corruption also emerge as top problems in most of the nations surveyed. Both issues even rival the importance of the spread of disease to the publics of AIDS-ravaged African countries.

Some questions could not be asked in China, Vietnam and Egypt. But question wordings were not altered in any country because of official pressure.

These are among the principal findings of the *Pew Global Attitudes* survey, conducted in 44 nations to assess how the publics of the world view their lives, their nation, the world and the United States. This is the first major report on this survey. The second will detail attitudes toward globalization, modernization, social attitudes and democratization. *The International Herald Tribune* is our global

newspaper partner and conducted in-depth interviews with citizens in five nations, some of which are quoted in this report.

The primary survey was conducted over a four-month period (July-October 2002) among over 38,000 respondents. It was augmented with a separate, six-nation survey in early November, which examined opinion concerning a possible U.S. war with Iraq.

Follow-Up Survey on Iraq

Huge majorities in France, Germany and Russia oppose the use of military force to end the rule of Saddam Hussein. The British public is evenly split on the issue. More than six-in-ten Americans say they would back such an action. But the six-nation poll finds a significant degree of agreement in Europe that Iraq is a threat to the stability of the Middle East and to world peace. More people in all countries polled say the current Iraqi regime poses a danger to peace than say the same about either North Korea or Iran.

Majorities in Great Britain, Germany and France also agree with Americans that the best way to deal with Saddam is to remove him from power rather than to just disarm him. However, the French, Germans and Russians see the conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians as a greater threat to stability in the Middle East than Saddam’s continued rule. The American and British publics both worry more about Iraq than the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Turkish respondents differ from Europeans about the danger posed by Iraq. They are divided on whether the regime in Baghdad is a threat to the stability of the region, and just a narrow 44% plurality thinks Saddam Hussein should be removed from power.

	<u>U.S.</u> %	<u>Bri- tain</u> %	<u>Fra- nce</u> %	<u>Ger- many</u> %	<u>Rus- sia</u> %	<u>Tur- key</u> %
<i>How much of a danger is Iraq?</i>						
Great/moderate	84	85	67	82	55	48
Small/none	7	10	30	14	28	40
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Saddam Hussein...</i>						
Must be removed	n/a	75	63	75	42	44
Can be disarmed		20	32	19	32	40
Don't know		<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>16</u>
		100	100	100	100	100
<i>Which explains American use of force</i>						
The U.S. believes						
Saddam is a threat	67	45	21	39	15	n/a
The U.S. wants						
to control Iraqi oil	22	44	75	54	76	
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	
<i>Using force to remove Saddam</i>						
Favor	62	47	33	26	12	13*
Oppose	26	47	64	71	79	83*
Don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4*</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Turkish respondents asked about allowing the U.S. and its allies to use bases in Turkey for military action.

Fully 83% of Turks oppose allowing U.S. forces to use bases in their country, a NATO ally, to wage war on Iraq. Further, a 53% majority of Turkish respondents believe the U.S. wants to get rid of Saddam as part of a war against unfriendly Muslim countries, rather than because the Iraqi leader is a threat to peace.

U.S. Image Slips (Percent Favorable View of U.S.)			
	1999/ 2000	2002	Change
West Europe			
Germany	78	61	-17
Great Britain	83	75	-8
Italy	76	70	-6
France	62	63	+1
East Europe			
Slovak Republic	74	60	-14
Poland	86	79	-7
Czech Republic	77	71	-6
Bulgaria*	76	72	-4
Ukraine	70	80	+10
Russia	37	61	+24
Conflict Area			
Turkey	52	30	-22
Pakistan	23	10	-13
Uzbekistan	56	85	+29
Americas			
Argentina	50	34	-16
Bolivia	66	57	-9
Peru	74	67	-7
Honduras	87	80	-7
Venezuela	89	82	-7
Brazil	56	52	-4
Mexico	68	64	-4
Canada	71	72	+1
Guatemala	76	82	+6
Asia			
Indonesia	75	61	-14
South Korea	58	53	-5
Japan	77	72	-5
Africa			
Kenya	94	80	-14
Nigeria	46	77	+31

Countries where 1999/2000 survey data is available. Trends provided by the Office of Research, U.S. Department of State (Canada trend by Environics)

* Decline not statistically significant.

While Europeans view Saddam as a threat, they also are suspicious of U.S. intentions in Iraq. Large percentages in each country polled think that the U.S. desire to control Iraqi oil is the principal reason that Washington is considering a war against Iraq. In Russia 76% subscribe to a war-for-oil view; so too do 75% of the French, 54% of Germans, and 44% of the British. In sharp contrast, just 22% of Americans see U.S. policy toward Iraq driven by oil interests. Two-thirds think the United States is motivated by a concern about the security threat posed by Saddam Hussein.

In addition, respondents in the five nations surveyed (aside from the U.S.) express a high degree of concern that war with Iraq will increase the risk of terrorism in Europe. Two-thirds of those in Turkey say this, as do majorities in Russia, France, Great Britain and Germany. By comparison, 45% of Americans are worried that war will raise the risk of terrorist attacks in the U.S.

Suspicious about U.S. motives in Iraq are consistent with criticisms of America apparent throughout the *Global Attitudes* survey. The most serious problem facing the U.S. abroad is its very poor public image in the Muslim world, especially in the Middle East/Conflict Area.¹ Favorable ratings are down sharply in two of America's most important allies in this region, Turkey and Pakistan. The number of people giving the United States a positive rating has dropped by 22 points in Turkey and 13 points in Pakistan in the last three years. And in Egypt, a country for

¹ Countries included in the Middle East/Conflict Area are Egypt (Cairo), Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Turkey and Uzbekistan.

which no comparative data is available, just 6% of the public holds a favorable view of the U.S.

The war on terrorism is opposed by majorities in nearly every predominantly Muslim country surveyed. This includes countries outside the Middle East/Conflict Area, such as Indonesia and Senegal. The principal exception is the overwhelming support for America's anti-terrorist campaign found in Uzbekistan, where the United States currently has 1,500 troops stationed.

Sizable percentages of Muslims in many countries with significant Muslim populations also believe that suicide bombings can be justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies. While majorities see suicide bombing as justified in only two nations polled, more than a quarter of Muslims in another nine nations subscribe to this view.

U.S. image problems are not confined to Muslim countries. The worldwide polling conducted throughout the summer and fall finds few people, even in friendly nations, expressing a *very* favorable opinion of America, and sizable minorities in Western Europe and Canada having an unfavorable view. Many people around the world, especially in Europe and the Middle East/Conflict Area, believe the U.S. does not take into account the interests of their country when making international policies. Majorities in most countries also see U.S. policies as contributing to the growing gap between rich and poor nations and believe the United States does not do the right amount to solve global problems.

U.S. global influence is simultaneously embraced and rejected by world publics. America is nearly universally admired for its technological achievements and people in most countries say they enjoy U.S. movies, music and television programs. Yet in general, the spread of U.S. ideas and customs is disliked by majorities in almost every country included in this survey. This sentiment is prevalent in friendly nations such as Canada (54%) and Britain (50%), and even more so in countries where America is broadly disliked, such as Argentina (73%) and Pakistan (81%).

	Justifiable?		
	Yes %	No %	DK/ Ref %
Lebanon	73	21	6
Ivory Coast	56	44	*
Nigeria	47	45	8
Bangladesh	44	37	19
Jordan	43	48	8
Pakistan	33	43	23
Mali	32	57	11
Ghana	30	57	12
Uganda	29	63	8
Senegal	28	69	3
Indonesia	27	70	3
Tanzania	18	70	12
Turkey	13	71	14
Uzbekistan	7	84	9

Asked of Muslim respondents only.
This question not permitted in Egypt.

The American public is strikingly at odds with publics around the world in its views about the U.S. role in the world and the global impact of American actions.

Gauging Global Satisfaction

	Own Life*	Nation	World
	%	%	%
North America			
United States	64	41	17
Canada	67	56	18
West Europe			
France	57	32	10
Great Britain	54	32	22
Italy	53	24	9
Germany	49	31	11
East Europe			
Czech Republic	41	36	25
Slovak Republic	29	11	17
Poland	28	9	18
Ukraine	19	9	17
Russia	19	20	19
Bulgaria	8	4	12
Conflict Area			
Egypt	45	N/A	20
Uzbekistan	35	69	47
Jordan	33	21	12
Pakistan	25	49	38
Lebanon	22	7	11
Turkey	17	4	15
Latin America			
Guatemala	71	7	10
Mexico	59	16	15
Honduras	59	11	13
Venezuela	50	8	22
Argentina	45	3	10
Brazil	42	11	12
Peru	37	3	11
Bolivia	30	7	9
Asia			
South Korea	53	14	19
Vietnam	43	69	51
Japan	39	12	15
Indonesia	32	7	15
Philippines	31	20	25
China	23	48	31
India	17	9	11
Bangladesh	14	20	14
Africa			
Nigeria	36	11	12
South Africa	33	20	16
Ivory Coast	29	31	17
Senegal	23	22	17
Kenya	18	9	12
Uganda	12	37	30
Ghana	11	28	23
Angola	10	39	24
Mali	9	32	21
Tanzania	8	40	28

* Percent rating personal life seven or higher on a scale of 0 to 10.

Similarly, despite widespread resentment toward U.S. international policies, majorities in nearly every country believe that the emergence of another superpower would make the world a more dangerous place. This view is shared even in Egypt and Pakistan, where no more than one-in-ten have a favorable view of the U.S. And in Russia, a 53% majority believes the world is a safer place with a single superpower.¹

The American public is strikingly at odds with publics around the world in its views about the U.S. role in the world and the global impact of American actions. In contrast to people in most other countries, a solid majority of Americans surveyed think the U.S. takes into account the interests of other countries when making international policy. Eight-in-ten Americans believe it is a good thing that U.S. ideas and customs are spreading around the world. The criticism that the U.S. contributes to the gap between rich and poor nations is the only negative sentiment that resonates with a significant percentage of Americans (39%).

Global Discontents

In most countries surveyed, people rate the quality of their own life much higher than the state of their nation; similarly, their rating of national conditions is more positive than their assessment of the state of the world. Even so, the survey finds yawning gaps in perceptions dividing North America and Western Europe from the rest of the world.

Americans and Canadians judge their lives better than do people in the major nations of Western Europe. But that gap is minimal when the publics of the West are contrasted with people in other parts of the world.

¹ This survey question was not permitted in China.

Asians, South Koreans excepted, are less satisfied with their lives than are Western publics. Personal contentment is especially low among Chinese and Indian respondents, and relatively few feel they have made personal progress over the past five years. Nevertheless, the Chinese and Indians are extremely optimistic about their futures. In fact, many people in Asia expect their lives to get better. This is the case in the Philippines, Vietnam, South Korea and Indonesia. The Chinese and the Vietnamese, in particular, have great confidence that their children will lead better lives than they have. By contrast, the Japanese are among the gloomiest people in Asia, whether reflecting on the past, present or the future.

Latin Americans present a very mixed picture of their lives. Mexicans, Hondurans and Guatemalans express a much higher degree of satisfaction than do people in South America. These positive assessments are notable given the large percentage of people in Mexico and the two Central American countries who say there have been times in the past year when they have been unable to afford food, health care or clothing.

Argentines are at the opposite end of the attitude spectrum. Most feel their lives have gotten worse in recent years and few express optimism about a better future. Brazilians rate their lives at present in about the same way as Argentines, but more expect progress in the future.

By nearly all measures, the Turks are among the unhappiest people surveyed. More generally, the publics of the six countries in the Middle East/Conflict Area are dissatisfied with the state of their lives, and a relatively high proportion of respondents in this region also report they have been unable to afford basic necessities in the past year.

But not having enough money for essentials is a common experience for many people outside of the advanced economies. Overwhelming majorities of African respondents say there have been times in the past year when they did not have enough money for food, clothing or health care. In much of Latin America, as well as Russia and Ukraine, majorities say there have been times in the past year

The next report from the Global Attitudes Project will focus on globalization, modernization, social attitudes and democratization.

Only in the industrialized nations are reports of doing without the basics of life limited to a distinct minority of the population.

when they had too little money to afford food. Only in the industrialized nations are reports of doing without the basics of life limited to a distinct minority of the population.

Yet the range of problems confronting the world's people goes well beyond personal deprivation. Health care is high on the list of people's concerns, as are crime and political corruption. In most countries, majorities cite crime as a major national issue.

The *Global Attitudes* survey finds that people living in the most globalized countries express more satisfaction with their lives and a greater sense of personal progress than do people living in less globalized nations. However, the most globalized nations are also the richest. Among poorer countries, a nation's degree of globalization has no bearing on its citizens' satisfaction with life, feelings of personal progress or optimism.¹

Personal Progress In Eastern Europe

Satisfaction With Life Rises, Both East and West			
	<u>1991</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>Diff</u>
West Europe	%	%	
France	36	57	+21
Great Britain	45	54	+9
Italy	41	53	+12
Germany	44	49	+5
East Europe			
Czech Republic	23	41	+18
Slovak Republic	13	29	+16
Poland	12	28	+16
Ukraine	7	19	+12
Russia	7	19	+12
Bulgaria	3	8	+5
Still Two Germanys			
Former West	52	52	0
Former East	15	36	+21

The publics of the former Soviet Bloc nations continue to lag behind Western Europeans in life satisfaction, but express more contentment than they did in the early 1990s. However, in the past five years Eastern Europeans report less personal progress than do Western Europeans.²

Czechs have clearly made the smoothest adjustment from the communist era. They rate their lives and the state of their country better than other countries in the region. But there are still two Germanys when it comes to personal satisfaction – the citizens of the former East Germany are much happier than they were in 1991, but they have yet to catch up with their West German counterparts.

¹ Globalization measure based on the *Foreign Policy* magazine Globalization Index.

² 1991 figures from "The Pulse of Europe," conducted by the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press.

Global Esteem for Military and Media

People around the world are generally more satisfied with their national governments than they are with national conditions. Generally, views of the economy have a much greater bearing on public satisfaction with the national government than do people's concern for other top problems such as corruption. Many heads of state are rated better than the governments they lead. In particular, Vladimir Putin and George W. Bush are much better regarded by their constituents than are the Russian and U.S. governments, respectively. On the other hand, Canada's Jean Chretien, and Great Britain's Tony Blair get lower grades from their citizens than do their nation's governments.

Perhaps reflecting international worries, the military emerges as a highly rated institution in most countries of the world. The notable exceptions are Latin American countries, notably Guatemala, Argentina and Peru. The military not only gets a better rating than the national governments in most countries, it also is more highly regarded than religious leaders in most of Europe, Asia and many countries in the Middle East/Conflict Area. This is not the case, however, in most African and Latin American nations.

Despite displeasure with national and international conditions around the globe, there is no evidence of an international shoot-the-messenger syndrome. Lopsided majorities in just about every country surveyed say that news organizations have a beneficial impact on their societies. In almost every country, the media rates higher than the national government. There is also global unanimity as to where people go for news. In the 44 nations surveyed, nearly everyone cited television news as their predominant source of information about national and international affairs.

Some of the poll's questions track changes from a 1991, 13-nation poll, "The Pulse of Europe."

Lopsided majorities in just about every country surveyed say that news organizations have a beneficial impact on their societies.

Other notable findings:

- Ø Unlike many publics, the Russians have a much better opinion of the United States than they had in 2000. Six-in-ten Russian respondents have a favorable view of the U.S. now, compared with 37% two years ago.
- Ø For all of the French criticism of U.S. policies, America's image in France has not declined over the past two years. Still, French ratings of the United States continue to be among the lowest in Europe.
- Ø There remains a substantial gap in personal satisfaction in Germany, with respondents in former West Germany more positive about their lives than their counterparts in the East. But former West Germans are the sole European public that showed no increase in personal satisfaction since the early 1990s.
- Ø The post-communist generation in Eastern Europe is much more upbeat about their lives than those age 35 and older.
- Ø Despite deep dissatisfaction and pessimism about their lives and country, an unusually high proportion of Japanese say they have no major personal concerns.
- Ø People in the West express more satisfaction with their lives than do those in emerging nations. But this pattern is reversed when respondents are asked about the future of their nation's children. Asians, in particular, are much more optimistic about prospects for the next generation than are Americans or Europeans.
- Ø Publics all around the world are more satisfied with their family lives than with their incomes or jobs. But people in several countries – in Africa, the Middle East/Conflict Area and Eastern Europe – voice significant discontent with their family lives.
- Ø While crime is a top *national* problem all around the world, it ranks high as a pressing *personal* concern in Latin American countries, especially in Honduras.

- Ø Fully 15% of Americans say there have been times in the past year they have been unable to afford food – the highest proportion in any advanced economy. But levels of reported deprivation in Angola are highest in the world; 86% of Angolans report being unable to afford food at some point in the last 12 months.
- Ø Africa is the only region in which a significant minority volunteers hunger as a personal problem.
- Ø Canada is the only country in the West in which a majority of those surveyed express satisfaction with national conditions.

Roadmap to the Report

The first section of the report looks at how people evaluate their lives and concerns. Section II focuses on public attitudes toward national conditions and institutions. Section III examines public views of the world and global threats. Section IV analyzes how the people of the world view the United States.

A description of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*, its board of international advisers, and complete list of the countries surveyed immediately follows. A summary of the research process and 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 worldwide public opinion survey of more than 38,000 people in 44 countries. The project focuses on a broad range of subjects ranging from people's assessments of their own lives to their views about the current state of the world. Global Attitudes is chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, currently Principal, The Albright Group LLC. Andrew Kohut, director of The Pew Research Center For The People & The Press, is the project director. The *Global Attitudes Project* is funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts, with a supplemental grant from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

The *Global Attitudes Project* was originally conceived with two primary objectives in mind: 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 more deeply probe attitudes toward the United States in all countries.

The results of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* will be released over a two-year period. This is the first major release, focusing on how people view their own lives, their countries and the world. It will be followed in Spring 2003 by another major report focusing on a changing world, specifically regarding globalization, democratization and modernization. Following these releases, the data will be examined in greater detail in order to provide a more in-depth analysis to interested experts and the public. 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.

Other *Global Attitudes* team members include Bruce Stokes, an international economics columnist at the National Journal; Mary McIntosh, vice-president of Princeton Survey Research Associates, and Elizabeth Mueller Gross and Nicole Speulda, both of the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press.

Secretary Albright chairs the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* international advisory board, consisting of policy experts and business leaders (see attached list). In addition, the *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.

The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* will be a unique, comprehensive, internationally comparable series of surveys. After publication, it will be available to journalists, academics, policymakers and the public.

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Pew Global Attitudes Project

Countries and sample sizes

	Sample size		Sample size
The Americas		Africa	
Argentina	814	Angola	780
Bolivia	782	Ivory Coast	708
Brazil	1,000	Ghana	702
Canada	500	Kenya	658
Guatemala	500	Mali	697
Honduras	506	Nigeria	1,000
Mexico	996	Senegal	710
Peru	711	South Africa	700
United States	1,501	Tanzania	720
Venezuela	700	Uganda	1,008
Total Americas	8,010	Total Africa	7,683
Europe		Middle East/Conflict Area	
Bulgaria	514	Egypt	1,013
Czech Republic	500	Pakistan	2,032
France	507	Jordan	1,000
Germany	1,000	Lebanon	1,000
Great Britain	501	Turkey	1,005
Italy	508	Uzbekistan	700
Poland	500	Total Mideast	6,750
Russia	1,002		
Slovak Republic	500		
Ukraine	500		
Total Europe	6,032		
Asia		TOTAL INTERVIEWS	
Bangladesh	689		38,263
China	3,000		
India	2,189		
Indonesia	1,017		
Japan	702		
South Korea	719		
Philippines	700		
Vietnam	772		
Total Asia	9,788		

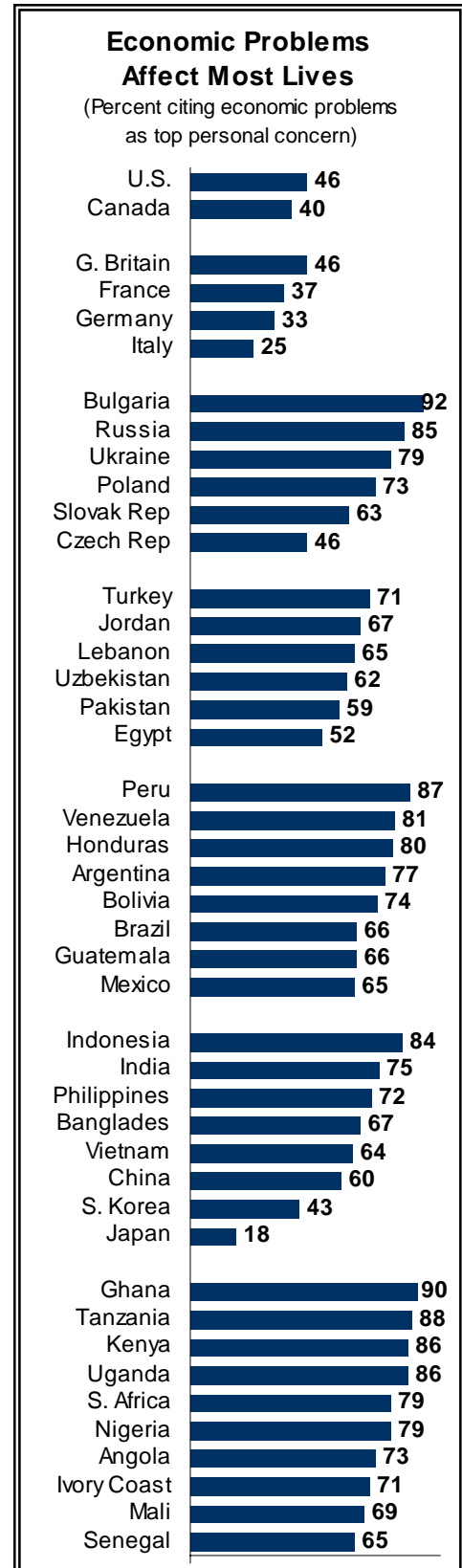
I: Global Publics View Their Lives

From the industrial West to Latin America and Asia, people generally point to financial concerns as their most pressing personal problem. When respondents were asked to describe in their own words the biggest problem confronting them and their families, economic difficulties were cited most frequently in 40 of 44 nations surveyed.

Nearly half of Americans and British who were surveyed (46% each) mention economic difficulties most often, as do four-in-ten Canadians and French (40%, 37%). And in some middle-income countries that have suffered economic downturns recently – notably, Argentina, Turkey and Russia – as many cite economic problems as in many of the most impoverished nations such as Senegal, Mali and Bangladesh.

Joblessness is a major concern in Latin America. Fully 40% of Peruvians and roughly three-in-ten Bolivians, Brazilians and Argentines mentioned unemployment as the leading problem facing them and their families. Inflation and high prices are generally viewed as less of a problem, though 58% of Indonesians point to this as their main concern. Again, this is not surprising given that prices were rising dramatically in Indonesia in 2002.

In many poor countries, there is a range of competing problems aside from a lack of money or work. Fully six-in-ten Angolans cite health concerns as most important, (28% specifically referring to the lack of clean water). More than in any other countries, people in Angola, Pakistan, Russia and Uzbekistan cite housing as a major problem. And in Bangladesh, 47% of the public cites personal family problems and other troubled social relations as most important to them.



Personal Concerns	
Health Problems	
Angola	60%
Kenya	48%
Uganda	45%
South Korea	42%
India	41%
Russia	40%
Ghana	40%
Germany	35%
Poland	32%
Honduras	31%
Czech Rep.	29%
France	27%
Italy	26%
Slovak Rep.	26%
Children/Education	
Indonesia	40%
South Korea	35%
Uzbekistan	33%
Ghana	30%
China	28%
Vietnam	22%
Russia	21%
Bangladesh	21%
Kenya	21%
Crime	
Honduras	32%
Mexico	17%
Guatemala	15%
South Africa	12%
Argentina	11%
Housing Problems	
Angola	40%
Pakistan	37%
Russia	36%
Uzbekistan	34%
Ghana	30%
China	22%
India	20%
Vietnam	19%

In Germany and Italy, slightly more people named health problems than the economy as their top personal concern. And health is the second leading concern in most other nations, regardless of economic status. Despite wide variations in income, roughly the same proportion of respondents in South Korea, India, Russia and Ghana cite health concerns as among the most important in their lives.

Throughout much of Asia, educational concerns rank relatively high in people’s minds. While many refer specifically to the availability of quality education for their children, even more prevalent are worries about educational expenses. In most countries where educational concerns rank high, it is the cost of providing education for children that is mentioned most by those surveyed.

Crime is a particularly salient issue in Latin America. This is seen not only in the high level of personal concern over this issue, but also in the in the overwhelming perception among people in this region that crime is a major national problem.

One third of Hondurans (32%) cite crime as the most important problem they and their families face, and this concern is also widespread in Mexico and Guatemala. Outside of Latin America, only South Africans raise crime as a major personal concern, reflecting that country’s high crime rate.

Japanese tend to take a dim view of their lives and their futures, as might be expected in a country where the economy has been stagnant for a decade. But as in similar surveys in the past, Japanese respondents were hesitant to voice any major personal concerns. Fully 43% of Japanese respondents – a far greater proportion than any other country – acknowledge no major personal problems. Among those who did give a response, economic and health problems stood out.

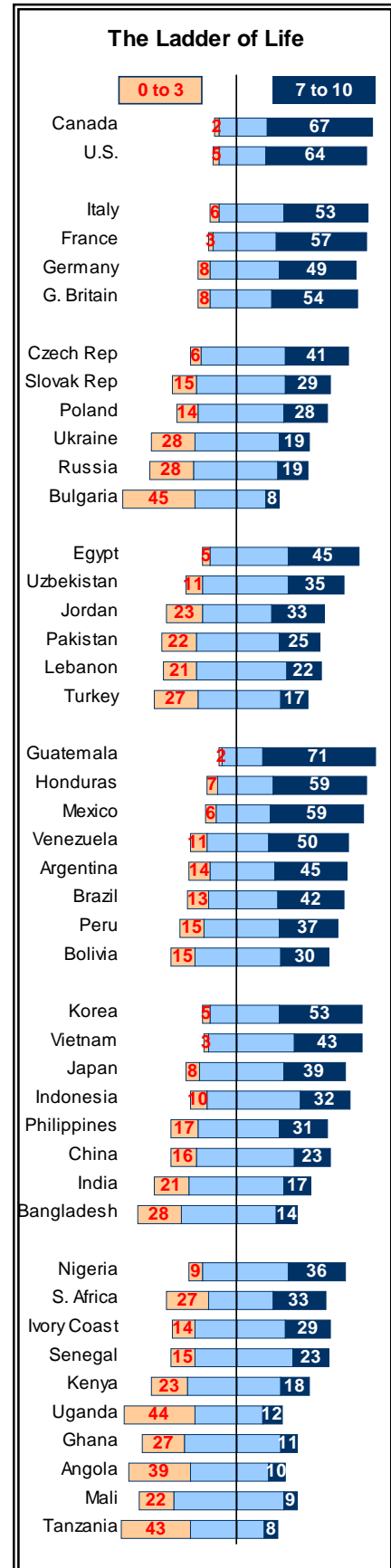
Outside West, Dissatisfaction Prevalent

Most people in the West have a positive view of their personal lives. Two-thirds of Canadians and nearly as many Americans give their current lives the highest rating – at least seven on a scale from zero to ten. Smaller majorities in Western Europe also express a great deal of satisfaction with their lives today.

But aside from a few other pockets of contentment, people outside the West express far lower levels of satisfaction. Fewer than four-in-ten people in every African country surveyed rate their lives highly, possibly reflecting the fact that African nations account for nine of the eleven poorest countries in the *Global Attitudes* survey.

Generally, personal satisfaction in a country is strongly linked to per capita income adjusted for price differences between economies. While respondents in much of Eastern Europe express low satisfaction with their personal lives, those in the Czech Republic – which has the highest per capita income in the region – are a notable exception. Four-in-ten Czechs give their lives the highest rating, more than any other nation in the region. By contrast, nearly half of Bulgarians and over a quarter of Russians and Ukrainians give their lives very low ratings (three or less on a scale of zero to ten).

Still, income alone does not always predict how people evaluate their lives. Personal satisfaction in Mexico and South Korea is at roughly the same level as in Western Europe, which has a much higher per capita income than those two countries. And respondents in Turkey express less satisfaction with their lives than people in other nations in the Middle East/Conflict Area. Turkey has the highest adjusted per capita income among those countries, although its economy has been mired in a recession.



Young More Optimistic – Especially in Eastern Europe

There are signs that Eastern Europeans believe their lives have improved since communism collapsed in the early 1990s.

For the most part, Eastern Europeans are unhappy with their lives today, particularly when compared with people in Western Europe. Only about a fifth (19%) of the respondents in Russia rate their lives highly, and this is similar across most other former Soviet-bloc nations.

Yet there are signs that Eastern Europeans believe their lives have improved since communism collapsed in the early 1990s. In *The Pulse of Europe*, a multinational survey conducted in 1991, fewer than one-in-ten Russians (7%), Ukrainians (7%) and Bulgarians (3%) rated their lives highly.

Post-Communist Generation More Satisfied with Lives

	Young-old			
	18-34	35-59	60+	gap
West Europe	%	%	%	
France	61	59	49	+12
Italy	60	50	53	+7
Great Britain	56	52	51	+5
Germany (total)	55	48	45	+10
Germany				
Former West	57	51	50	+7
Former East	48	36	22	+26
East Europe				
Czech Repub.	48	37	38	+10
Slovak Repub.	42	23	20	+22
Poland	36	26	20	+16
Russia	26	19	8	+18
Ukraine	26	19	8	+18
Bulgaria	15	8	2	+13

Cell entries show percent rating personal life seven or higher on a scale of 0 to 10.

In addition, young people in these countries are far more optimistic today than their elders. While in Western Europe there is a modest age gap over how people view their lives, that gap is much wider in Eastern Europe. In the Slovak Republic, twice as many people younger than age 35 give their lives the highest rating, compared with those 60 and older. Even in Russia, Ukraine and Bulgaria, which have the lowest personal satisfaction levels in the region, young people are much happier with their lives than their elders.

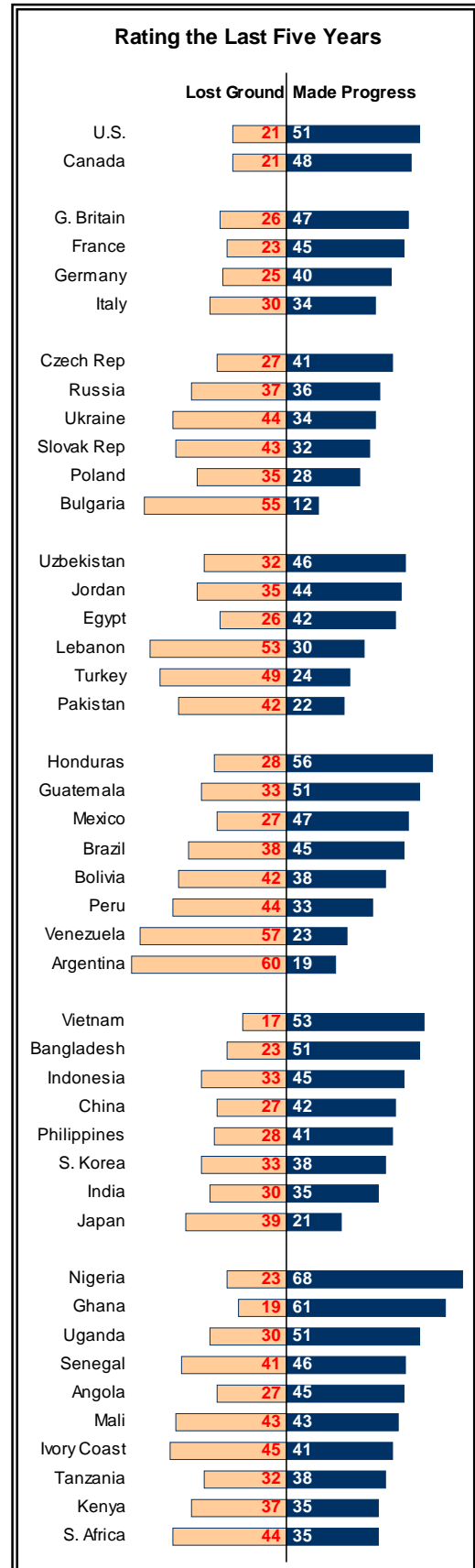
Perceptions of Progress

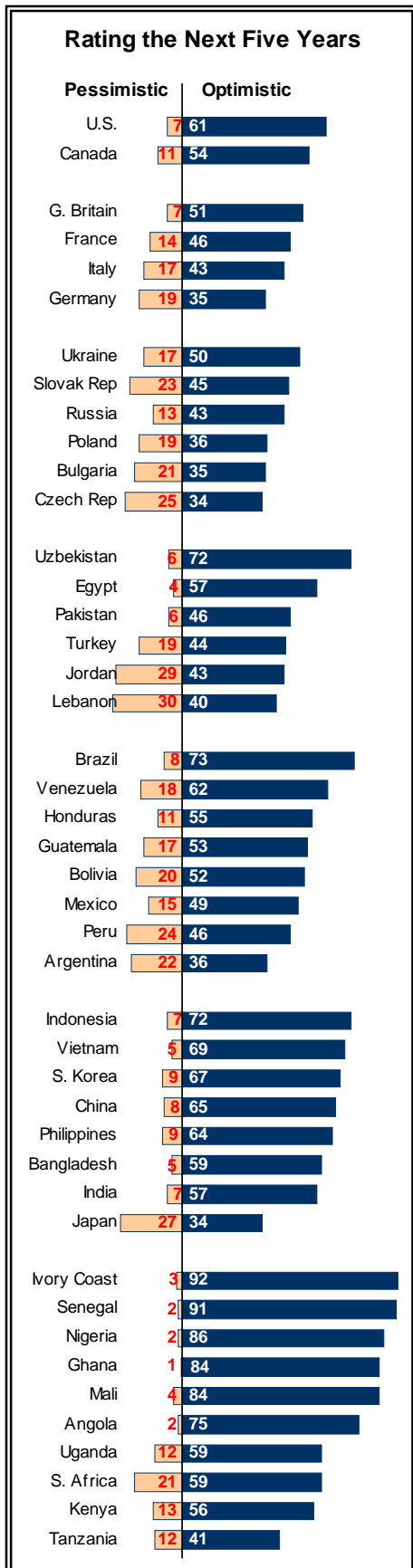
Not only do people in North America and Western Europe express satisfaction with their current lives, they generally believe their lives have improved over the last five years. This also is the case in Asia, with the prominent exception of Japan, where the economy has been stagnant and unemployment is at record levels. But there is a mixed record of progress elsewhere in the world.

Most Argentines believe their lives were better in the late 1990s, before that nation's devastating economic and political crisis. Seven-in-ten (69%) give their lives of five years ago a high rating. But six-in-ten say they have lost ground since then, while just 19% think their lives have gotten better. In Venezuela, pessimism is nearly as prevalent; 57% say life has gotten worse over the past five years compared with 23% who think things have improved.

While Eastern Europeans feel their lives are better off since the collapse of communism, many say they have lost ground over the past five years. A majority of Bulgarians (55%) believe their lives are worse today, as do pluralities in Ukraine, the Slovak Republic and Poland. Again, Czechs are the exception – 41% think they have made progress while 27% believe they have lost ground. Russians are divided on this point (37% say they have lost ground, 36% feel they have made progress).

On balance, people in Turkey, Pakistan and Lebanon all believe their lives have gotten worse over the past five years. By two-to-one (49%-24%), respondents in Turkey say they have lost ground compared with five years ago. Comparable pluralities in Pakistan and Lebanon agree. By comparison, Jordanians and Egyptians have a net positive opinion of the progress made over the past five years.





While Asians give their current lives a modest rating, in most countries there is a sense that things have improved. In China, for example, 42% of respondents rate their current lives more highly than their lives of five years ago, while 27% disagree. In Bangladesh and Vietnam, majorities say have made progress over the past five years. But in Japan, nearly twice as many feel their lives have gotten worse in that period as believe things have improved (39% vs. 21%).

Looking Ahead: Optimism Reigns

Even in countries where people are gloomy about the present and recent past, there is broad optimism about the future. Asked to assess the state of their lives five years from now, more people in every country express optimism than pessimism.

That is the overwhelming sentiment in seven of the eight Asian nations surveyed. In Bangladesh and Vietnam, only about one-in-twenty expect life to get worse over the next five years, while solid majorities believe their lives will improve. Optimism is also the dominant view in South Korea, China and Philippines. Japanese, by contrast, are more conflicted. Roughly a third (34%) expect their lives to improve, while 27% say their lives will be worse.

People in Latin America also are bullish about the future. In Venezuela, where a majority thinks that life has gotten worse in the past five years, there is widespread optimism. Six-in-ten (62%) believe their lives will be better off five years from now. That view is not as widely shared in economically beleaguered Argentina. Still, optimists outnumber pessimists by 14 points (36%-22%).

In North America and Western Europe, respondents also express a high degree of confidence about their personal futures, though there is a bit less optimism in Germany than elsewhere. Fully 61% of Americans rate their personal future more highly than the present, while

just 7% expect their lives to get worse. That is the dominant view in Canada and Great Britain as well, though less so in France and Italy. In Germany, 35% rate their future life better, 19% see it as worse. Respondents in former East Germany are less optimistic about the future than are those in the West.

Interestingly, although the Czech Republic stands out among Eastern European countries for levels of personal satisfaction, a relatively high proportion of Czechs (25%) believe life will get worse over the next five years. Respondents in Bulgaria have a strikingly negative view of the present, but there is as much optimism about the future in Bulgaria as there is in the Czech Republic.

Children's Lives: More Optimism in East Than West

In most countries, there are profound differences between how people view their own lives and futures and how they view those of their children. Significantly, while respondents in the U.S., Canada and Western Europe express far more personal satisfaction and optimism than people living in other countries, their perceptions of continuing progress do not extend over a longer time frame when asked what the future holds for their nation's children.

Half of Americans think children will be worse off when they grow up, compared with 41% who think their lives will be better. The British hold a similar view, while Italians, French and Canadians are even more pessimistic about what lies ahead for their country's children. By nearly three-to-one, Italians think children will be worse off when they grow up compared with how people live today.

"[S]ince the economic crisis five years ago, more and more the Korean condition is getting better and better." In another few years "maybe the Korean economy will be among the best in the world."
-- South Korean artist, age 32:

Satisfaction with...			
	H-hold <u>Income</u>	Family <u>Life</u>	<u>Job</u> *
	%	%	%
North America			
United States	74	91	86
Canada	73	91	82
West Europe			
Great Britain	71	90	86
Germany	69	91	84
France	69	88	82
Italy	69	82	61
East Europe			
Czech Republic	58	88	77
Slovak Republic	44	87	78
Poland	33	78	73
Ukraine	23	63	47
Russia	21	66	58
Bulgaria	19	68	55
Conflict Area			
Egypt	75	83	70
Pakistan	56	60	57
Lebanon	53	82	63
Uzbekistan	46	82	75
Turkey	45	83	49
Jordan	31	57	20
Latin America			
Guatemala	76	94	84
Mexico	67	92	71
Honduras	62	91	73
Bolivia	55	79	56
Peru	53	85	60
Venezuela	40	90	62
Argentina	38	91	64
Brazil	37	85	65
Asia			
Vietnam	72	87	75
Philippines	62	85	68
Japan	58	86	72
China	51	82	63
India	51	73	52
Bangladesh	51	72	59
South Korea	46	87	65
Indonesia	43	73	49
Africa			
Angola	62	74	49
Ivory Coast	59	75	56
Senegal	54	80	54
Mali	50	80	49
Nigeria	49	77	54
Ghana	35	46	35
Tanzania	34	64	55
South Africa	32	61	45
Kenya	28	62	40
Uganda	26	49	43

* Based on those who are employed

Yet most Asian respondents – outside of Japan – have an upbeat sense of children’s futures. Eight-in-ten Chinese say the country’s children will be better off than people today; just 9% say children’s lives will be worse. South Koreans, Indians and Indonesians are bit less optimistic, but they still have greater confidence about children’s futures than do Americans or Europeans. But the Japanese are even more pessimistic about their children’s lives than they are about the present or the future. By nearly four-to-one (67%-18%), Japanese believe that when the current generation of children comes of age, their lives will be worse than people today.

The gap in optimism between Eastern and Western Europe when people were asked about their own futures is largely reversed when they look to the future of their nation’s children. Solid majorities of Czechs, Slovaks and Ukrainians say children will be better off than people today. Even in Bulgaria and Russia, more respondents see children’s futures as positive than negative. Poland is the only country in the former Soviet bloc where people are more likely to see children faring worse than people today.

Most Content With Family Lives

Respondents in every country voice more satisfaction with their family lives than with their incomes or jobs. But there are some countries – including several with substantial Muslim populations and two in Eastern Europe – where significant minorities have a negative view of their family lives.

Fully 44% of Jordanians and 36% of Pakistanis say they are very or somewhat dissatisfied with their family situation. Nearly three-in-ten Bangladeshis and Indonesians also voice dissatisfaction with their family lives (28%, 27%). In Russia and Ukraine there also is notable dissatisfaction with family life; roughly three-in-ten of those surveyed express that opinion.

Turning to the financial side of life, roughly seven-in-ten respondents in North America and Western Europe say they are very or somewhat satisfied with their household income. In Asia, people also have a generally positive view of their earnings. Even in Japan, where fewer than one-in-ten rate give the economy a positive rating, 58% say they are at least somewhat satisfied with their household income.

But in much of Eastern Europe, the overwhelmingly negative opinion people have of national economic conditions parallels how they view their personal financial situations. Only about one-in-five respondents in Russia, Ukraine and Bulgaria are satisfied with their household income. Only in the Czech Republic and to a lesser degree the Slovak Republic do many people take a positive view of their earnings.

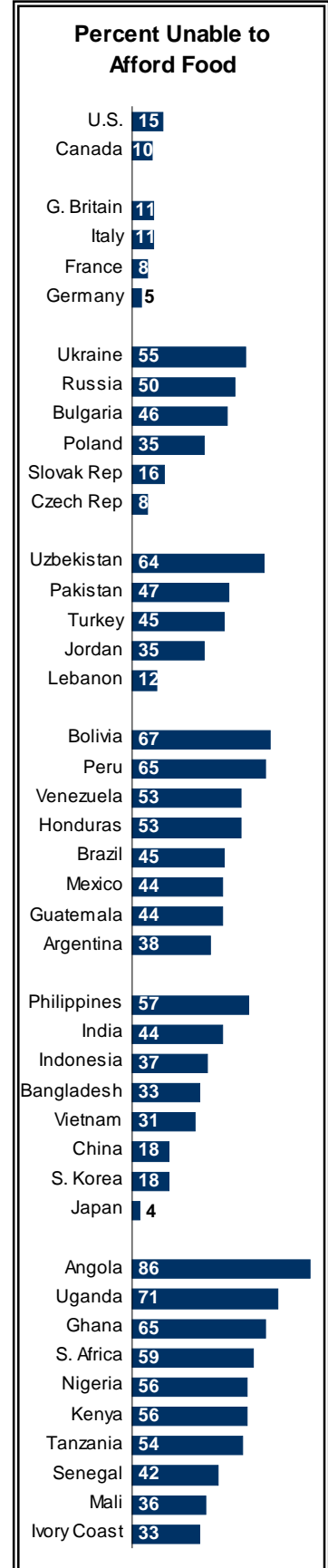
In all but a few countries, majorities of working people express satisfaction with their jobs. Job satisfaction is particularly high in North America and Western Europe, while it is especially low among working people in Jordan (20%) and a number of African nations.

Going Without: A Common Experience

Except in the industrialized countries, significant numbers of respondents in virtually every other nation report that in the past year there have been times when they have been unable to afford food, clothing or medical care.

It is important to note that this question is not a direct measure of deprivation; rather it asks respondents whether they have been able to *afford* these basic items. As might be expected, people in countries with low per capita incomes, especially in Africa and Latin America, are most likely to say they have been unable to afford food, clothing and health care. Majorities in seven of ten African countries surveyed say they have gone without food at some point over the past year for lack of money.

Yet clearly, this experience is commonplace in higher income nations as well. Roughly half of Russians say there have been times



when they have been unable to pay for food (50%) and health care (54%) in the past year, and 68% have forgone buying clothing. The number reporting such deprivations is comparable in Ukraine and Bulgaria.

The global survey shows that going without some basic necessities is far more common in the United States than in other major countries. A quarter of Americans say they have at least occasionally been unable to afford health care in the past year, while 19% have gone without clothing and 15% food. Overall, a third of Americans say they have encountered at least one of these hardships in the past year. Such findings are in line with Gallup and Pew Research Center surveys dating back to the 1970s.

The global survey shows that going without some basic necessities is far more common in the United States than in other major countries.

By comparison, levels of deprivation are significantly lower in Western Europe, Japan, and such countries as the Czech Republic and South Korea. In Japan, just 9% say they have been unable to afford food, clothing or health care in the past year, the lowest level of the 44 countries surveyed.

II: Global Publics View Their Countries

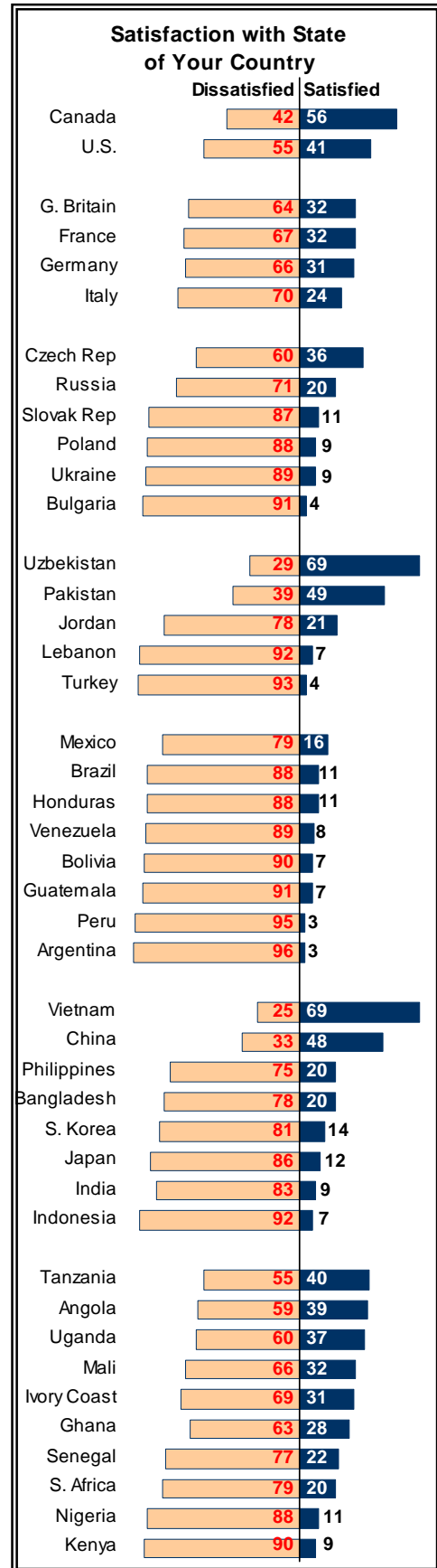
The more than 38,000 people interviewed in the *Global Attitudes* survey are overwhelmingly dissatisfied with the way things are going in their countries today. Solid majorities in nearly every country in every region surveyed say they are unhappy with the state of their nation.

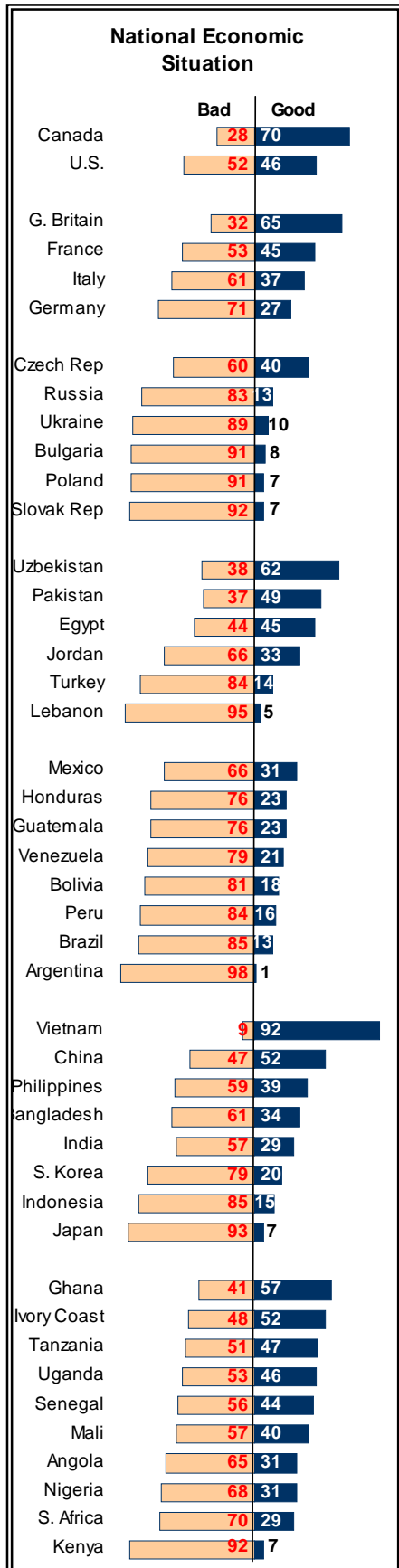
Although just four-in-ten Americans (41%) have a positive view of national conditions, people in the United States rank as one of the more contented populations in the world. Canada is the only country in the West where a majority of those surveyed (56%) is satisfied with the way things are going. The other relatively happy publics are in less open societies: China, Pakistan, Uzbekistan and Vietnam.

There are great disparities in national satisfaction within and between regions. People in Canada and the United States are four times more likely than Latin Americans to express satisfaction with the state of their nation. There is a smaller but still substantial divide in Europe. People in Western Europe are twice as likely as those in most East European nations to give a positive rating to national conditions, though Czechs have more in common with the west than the east on this question.

Similarly, respondents in China and Vietnam are much more satisfied with their country than are people in most other parts of Asia. In Africa, satisfaction is highest in Tanzania, Angola, Uganda and Mali. All of these countries have economically outperformed their regional counterparts in recent years.

The Middle East/Conflict Area is the only region where there is no apparent relationship between satisfaction with the state of affairs in the country and recent national economic performance. Among these





countries, satisfaction is highest in Pakistan and Uzbekistan, though other nations have grown faster.

National Economies Viewed Negatively

By an overwhelming margin in almost all countries, people have a negative view of economic conditions in their country. This perception is particularly prevalent in countries where the economy is performing very poorly: in Latin America and in Japan, where economies are expected to shrink in 2002; most of Eastern Europe, where growth is slowing; much of Africa, where inflation remains strong; and in Indonesia and Turkey, which are actually growing faster this year than last but still live under the burden of huge international debts.

Among the 44 countries surveyed, majorities in just seven give their nation's economy a favorable rating. These positive attitudes can be explained in part by recent economic trends. In Canada, where seven-in-ten rate conditions as good, both the economy and the number of jobs are growing the fastest among major nations. In Great Britain, which is outperforming the rest of Europe, 65% see the economy as good.

While people are profoundly pessimistic about the current state of their country's economy, they are strongly optimistic about their national economic prospects over the next year. In 27 of the 44 countries surveyed, a plurality or majority think the economy will get better. Some of the most optimistic people live in Africa – in Mali (87%), Ghana (81%) and the Ivory Coast (80%) – where overwhelming majorities of the people think economic conditions will improve over the next 12 months.

Nearly half of Americans (48%) think the economy will brighten. But only a third of the French (32%) and one-in-five Russians (22%) agree. In only four nations, Lebanon (58%), Turkey (49%), the Slovak Republic (44%) and Argentina (33%) is the dominant sentiment that the economic situation will get worse. In other countries – including most of Europe both East and West, China, Japan and Canada – people are neither optimistic nor pessimistic; they think the economic future will look a lot like the present.

Where Optimism Prevails

People in the Western Hemisphere nations are generally more optimistic than those in Europe. And within Europe, Western Europeans have a slightly brighter view of the economic future than do those in the East. This division is seen starkly in Germany itself, where 42% of those surveyed in what was formerly West Germany think the economy will improve, compared with only 27% who have such faith in former East Germany.

Been Down So Long...*				
	Bad shape today	Economy will improve?		
		Yes	No	DK
	%	%	%	%
East Europe				
Ukraine	89	24	73	3
Russia	83	22	71	7
Slovak Republic	92	20	78	1
Bulgaria	91	17	72	11
Poland	91	12	81	7
Latin America				
Peru	84	81	17	2
Brazil	85	58	39	3
Honduras	76	54	40	6
Venezuela	79	54	44	1
Guatemala	76	35	59	5
Argentina	98	30	59	11
Bolivia	81	27	61	12
Asia				
Japan	93	11	89	0
South Korea	79	48	51	1
Indonesia	85	41	57	2
Other				
Turkey	84	21	71	8
Lebanon	95	14	81	5
Kenya	92	34	51	15

* Nations where more than three-quarters say the current economy is in bad shape.

Attitudes about the economy over the next year vary widely in Asia and the Middle East/Conflict Area. Those surveyed in Egypt (46%) are much more optimistic than those in Lebanon (14%). The public in South Korea (48%) is slightly more upbeat about the future than those in China (36%) or India (36%).

Significantly, in many countries in which there is general pessimism over current conditions, most people have hope for the future. In these nations, the public may feel that the economy is so bad today it can only get better in the future. In Peru, for example, 84% of those surveyed lament current economic conditions, but 81% think the economy will brighten within a year. There is a similar combination of deep anxiety about present economic conditions with strong faith in a better future in other Latin American nations such as Brazil, Honduras and Venezuela, as well as in Nigeria.

"Will my kids go hungry? Will they be stuck with my debts? ... It looks bad and it can only get worse. I mean, you can hope it will get better but it does not look good."
-- Polish farmer, age 69

But in a number of countries – including Argentina, Turkey, Poland, Bulgaria, Ukraine and the Slovak Republic -- the public is mired in pessimism, with people thinking things are bad today and will not improve or could even get worse over the next year. The deepest gloom is in Japan, where 93% of the public gives the economy a bad grade today and 89% think present conditions will last or deteriorate.

In Their Own Words...Economy Is Top Concern

When people are asked to describe in their own words the top problem facing their country, the economy also dominates. This is consistent with the finding that in countries around the world, people volunteer the economy as their most important *personal* problem.

This is particularly the case in Africa and the Middle East/Conflict Area. In several countries in these regions, including Angola, Ghana, Kenya, Pakistan and Turkey, more than eight-in-ten respondents volunteered the economy as their nation's most important problem, with joblessness among their primary concerns.

Economic anxiety also is widespread throughout Latin America. In that region, general economic problems are cited as the principal national concern in most nations, especially in Peru (84%) and in Bolivia (77%), Venezuela (76%). Unemployment is again what troubles people the most.

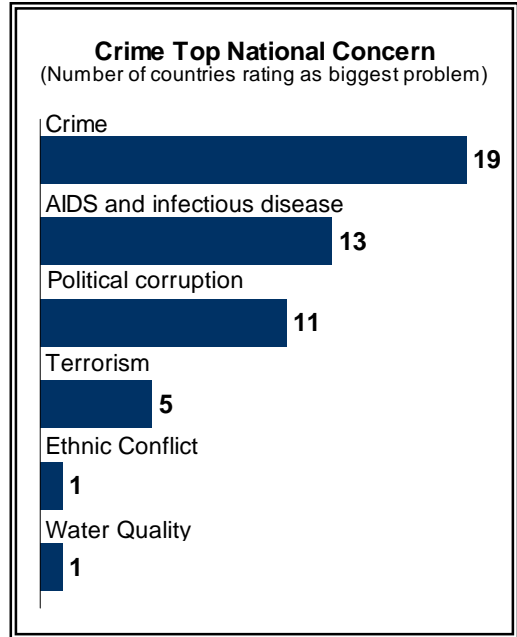
Yet there are exceptions to this pattern, including the United States, where terrorism and the threat of war are mentioned more frequently than economic troubles, poverty or unemployment. In South Korea, issues such as corruption, political power struggles, and problems with North Korea are raised by seven-in-ten of those questioned. And in the Czech Republic, Great Britain and Nigeria, more people cite political problems than more general economic concerns. Their complaints are frequently about government corruption and inefficiency.

"For countries like us or Brazil, which have large debts, it's going to be so much harder to pay back the money if the playing field is not leveled out"--
Argentine business executive.

Rating National Problems

The broad range of issues afflicting global publics is also seen when people are asked to rate the importance of specific problems their country may face. In 19 of the 44 countries in the *Global Attitudes* survey, more people rate crime as a “very big problem” than any other issue. This is the case in most of Western and Eastern Europe, and in five of eight nations surveyed in Latin America.

Respondents in 13 nations rate AIDS and infectious diseases as the principal threats, especially in Africa where they are the number one concern in eight of ten countries surveyed. Corruption ranks a close third, with people in 11 countries saying it is their nation's biggest problem. Ethnic strife is the greatest concern only in Senegal, water problems only in Jordan. And nowhere are immigration, emigration, moral decline or the quality of public schools seen as the principal national problem.



Global Crime Epidemic

There is nearly universal anxiety over crime. In fact, in every region but North America majorities in nearly every country cite crime as a “very big problem.” Only in Jordan, Canada, China and South Korea is crime seen as a lesser concern.

The extent of public anxiety about crime is most evident in Latin America. Roughly nine-in-ten respondents in Guatemala, Honduras and Argentina rate crime as a very big problem; no fewer than 65% in any country in the region view this as a major concern. This is consistent with the responses Latin Americans give when they are asked in an open-ended format to name their most pressing national problem. More Hondurans volunteer crime, particularly delinquency, than any other issue; it is the second leading concern in Mexico and Guatemala, where delinquency, robberies and vandalism are a problem.

Most	%
South Africa	96
Bangladesh	96
Guatemala	93
Honduras	93
Argentina	88
India	86
Japan	85
Nigeria	84
Pakistan	84
Kenya	83
Philippines	83
Least	
Lebanon	49
Uzbekistan	49
United States	48
Germany	45
China	40
South Korea	35
Canada	26
Jordan	22

Top National Problems
(Percent saying a “very big” problem in their country)

	<u>Crime</u>	<u>AIDS & disease</u>	<u>Corrupt political leaders</u>	<u>Terr- orism</u>	<u>Ethnic conflict</u>	<u>Poor drinking water</u>	<u>Moral decline</u>	<u>Poor quality schools</u>	<u>Immig- ration</u>	<u>Emig- ration</u>
North America										
United States	48	42	46	50	30	17	49	41	37	9
Canada	26	31	32	19	12	18	29	25	21	20
West Europe										
Great Britain	61	30	21	23	30	7	33	32	46	12
France	76	68	50	65	44	49	41	47	36	14
Italy	71	68	61	71	50	49	63	36	55	27
Germany	45	33	43	45	30	13	30	37	30	33
East Europe										
Czech Republic	66	38	65	31	26	32	48	42	29	15
Slovak Republic	71	28	79	28	26	28	55	51	14	41
Bulgaria	72	30	60	21	10	20	39	23	5	58
Poland	80	37	70	45	19	13	36	14	12	22
Ukraine	67	66	63	33	24	45	40	33	19	39
Russia	75	63	61	65	41	35	47	29	14	12
Conflict Area										
Egypt	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Jordan	22	23	23	15	9	32	27	27	13	16
Lebanon	49	42	81	40	74	46	61	44	61	46
Turkey	69	61	79	57	52	43	75	70	51	49
Uzbekistan	49	59	36	59	25	47	44	45	16	36
Pakistan	84	62	58	78	59	55	55	61	26	34
Latin America										
Mexico	81	78	73	69	44	52	45	49	31	52
Guatemala	93	82	84	59	63	63	71	62	47	53
Honduras	93	93	84	62	49	66	74	71	59	63
Venezuela	65	69	58	62	27	36	43	49	26	28
Bolivia	69	66	70	58	42	37	43	46	35	36
Brazil	82	72	71	56	N/A	33	50	62	16	17
Peru	82	79	82	70	40	45	60	55	31	39
Argentina	88	71	90	65	N/A	45	77	66	38	58
Asia										
Bangladesh	96	58	92	92	54	59	86	42	29	16
India	86	72	80	90	71	59	44	46	32	39
China	40	43	N/A	N/A	N/A	32	N/A	37	9	4
Indonesia	74	55	84	46	69	32	68	45	11	15
Vietnam	66	69	N/A	20	N/A	26	N/A	13	15	14
South Korea	35	30	75	15	28	38	38	28	10	11
Japan	85	54	85	68	20	47	66	40	21	12
Philippines	83	71	74	78	61	38	48	37	22	25
Africa										
Angola	79	87	74	49	47	70	48	70	32	35
Ivory Coast	82	87	68	63	56	62	49	57	41	28
Ghana	82	89	65	26	58	47	55	52	27	43
Kenya	83	94	84	42	52	48	56	43	28	37
Mali	70	83	75	29	49	62	69	82	27	32
Nigeria	84	83	88	65	76	66	59	65	35	42
Senegal	79	82	56	33	83	57	67	61	18	13
South Africa	96	96	75	43	52	53	59	59	63	52
Tanzania	71	88	65	27	34	42	57	36	23	19
Uganda	67	91	81	52	49	53	56	43	28	23

Certain questions not permitted in Egypt, China and Vietnam

But crime is not just a concern in poor countries. More Europeans rate crime as a very big problem than any other issue; the lone exception is the Slovak Republic. And nearly half of Americans view crime as a very big national problem, putting it on par with terrorism and moral decline as the top national issues.

Corruption: A Related Concern

In many nations, worries about crime and political corruption go hand in hand, with similarly large majorities citing both as major problems. In Japan, for example, 85% see crime as a very big problem and the same number say that about corruption. The notable exception is Great Britain, where six-in-ten people (61%) view crime as a significant problem, but only two-in-ten (21%) say that about official corruption.

Dishonest political leaders are a prevalent national concern in Latin America. Nine-in-ten Argentines rate corruption as a very big problem, more than any other issue. It also is the leading concern in Peru (82%) and Bolivia (70%), and it ranks only behind crime in Guatemala (84%). Yet corruption also is a dominant concern in Asia and Eastern Europe. More than seven-in-ten respondents in every Asian country, and at least six-in-ten in every Eastern European country, rate corruption as a national problem.

AIDS Impact Felt Well Beyond Africa

As might be expected, concern over the spread of infectious diseases is highest in Africa, where AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and other illnesses have taken a deadly toll. Nine-in-ten respondents in South Africa, Kenya and Uganda judge disease a “very big problem,” while eight-in-ten share that judgment in the other African nations in the survey.

But worry about AIDS and other diseases is nearly as great in Latin America, where overwhelming majorities – 93% in Honduras, 82% in Guatemala and 79% in Peru – see the spread of disease as a major problem. Asians are only slightly less concerned about AIDS and other epidemics.

Political Corruption	
("very big" problem)	
Most	%
Bangladesh	92
Argentina	90
Nigeria	88
Guatemala	84
Japan	85
Kenya	84
Indonesia	84
Honduras	84
Least	
France	50
United States	46
Germany	43
Uzbekistan	36
Canada	32
Great Britain	21

"AIDS is everywhere. I've lost friends, quite a few friends. But it's difficult to know who has it because nobody has a test. What's the point? Nobody wants to know they have this disease when there's no medicine for it."

-- Nairobi odd-job man, age 30

Terrorism	
("very big" problem)	
Most	%
Bangladesh	92
India	90
Philippines	78
Pakistan	78
Italy	71
Peru	70
Mexico	69
Japan	68
Russia	65
Argentina	65
France	65
Nigeria	65
Least	
Bulgaria	21
Vietnam	20
Canada	19
South Korea	15
Jordan	15

By contrast, in North America and Europe, where preventive health measures are more readily available than in other parts of the world, AIDS and other infectious diseases are less of a concern. Among these countries, only in France, Italy, Ukraine and Russia do strong majorities think the spread of infectious illnesses is a major threat to their nations. The nation least concerned about the spread of disease is Jordan, where fewer than one-in-four (23%) see such health problems as a big national problem.

Latin America's Terrorism Fears

A little over a year after Sept. 11, it is hardly surprising that half those surveyed in the United States (50%) say terrorism is a very big problem, ranking it above moral decline, crime or corruption. But concern over terrorism is even greater in countries where terrorist attacks have been part of life for years.

Nine-in-ten in Bangladesh (92%) and India (90%) and nearly eight-in-ten in Pakistan (78%) cite terrorism as a major issue. Terrorism concerns are even more widespread in Latin America, where majorities in every country identify it as a very important problem for the country. In other parts of the world, fear of terrorism varies from nation to nation. South Koreans and Canadians are among the least likely to rate terrorism as a major threat.

"Morality has been replaced in our schools by ideology. Children should be taught about morality. We've not done this for more than 50 years" -- Chinese publishing executive, age 45.

Competing Concerns

The level of concern over other national issues varies widely from region to region, and often within regions:

Education is seen as a major problem throughout Latin America, in much of Africa and in Pakistan and Turkey. On average, six-in-ten respondents in Latin America and more than half of Africans view poor schools as a top national concern. The Vietnamese, Poles and Bulgarians are the least worried about their schools.

Concern about *moral decline* is particularly high in countries with large Muslim populations, especially in Bangladesh (86%), Turkey (75%), Mali (69%) and Indonesia (68%). More broadly, the perceived breakdown in social moral order – as reflected in public concern about crime, political corruption and moral decline – is often sharply felt in

Muslim nations, where strong majorities are very troubled by this nexus of issues.

But these concerns also are widespread in many traditionally Catholic countries – Honduras, Guatemala, Argentina, Peru and Italy. Moral decline also is the second most cited major problem in the United States. In general, those least concerned about moral issues live in relatively secular societies, such as Canada, Great Britain and Germany.

Ethnic conflict is a major concern in nations with a recent history of civil strife: Senegal (83%), Nigeria (76%), Lebanon (74%), India (71%), and Indonesia (69%). Racial, religious and ethnic tensions are less likely to be seen as a top national problem in major industrial societies.

Nevertheless, half of Italians and more than four-in-ten French cite ethnic discord as a major national concern, as do three-in-ten Americans, British and Germans. Jordanians (9%), Bulgarians (10%), Canadians (12%), Poles (19%) and Japanese (20%) are the least likely to think ethnic conflict is a big issue in their societies.

Meanwhile, in very poor nations the absence of simple basic necessities, such as *drinking water*, remains a serious national concern. Two-in-three people in Angola, Nigeria and Honduras, and six-in-ten in Guatemala, Ivory Coast, Mali, Bangladesh and India worry about the quality or availability of water for daily drinking, cooking and bathing. Somewhat surprisingly, nearly half those surveyed in France, Italy and Japan also complain about their water, suggesting water quality is a problem even in some wealthy nations.

Poor Quality Drinking Water ("very big" problem)	
Most	%
Angola	70
Nigeria	66
Honduras	66
Guatemala	63
Ivory Coast	62
Mali	62
Bangladesh	59
India	59
Senegal	57
Pakistan	55
Least	
United States	17
Poland	13
Germany	13
Great Britain	7

Rating Institutions

(Percent saying a “good influence” in their country)

	<u>Military</u>	<u>National gov't</u>	<u>News media</u>	<u>Religious leaders</u>
North America				
United States	87	64	65	62
Canada	72	63	69	54
West Europe				
Great Britain	74	66	70	52
France	80	61	55	58
Italy	58	40	60	45
Germany	70	51	77	39
East Europe				
Czech Republic	59	57	69	28
Slovak Republic	76	25	71	59
Bulgaria	55	38	77	24
Poland	60	26	68	51
Ukraine	42	35	75	44
Russia	53	59	61	54
Conflict Area				
Egypt	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Jordan	50	44	49	47
Lebanon	76	25	73	51
Turkey	79	7	47	32
Uzbekistan	91	88	88	69
Pakistan	84	72	62	50
Latin America				
Mexico	75	64	84	57
Guatemala	31	25	75	71
Honduras	83	64	89	83
Venezuela	51	37	62	63
Bolivia	49	54	81	63
Brazil	43	34	75	51
Peru	38	27	66	66
Argentina	20	7	51	38
Asia				
Bangladesh	61	66	78	55
India	85	64	80	47
China	N/A	N/A	89	N/A
Indonesia	73	52	89	89
Vietnam	N/A	N/A	98	N/A
South Korea	66	41	64	58
Japan	69	22	48	13
Philippines	66	74	88	76
Africa				
Angola	77	59	84	74
Ivory Coast	66	78	68	73
Ghana	81	87	88	88
Kenya	78	50	82	92
Mali	90	77	86	75
Nigeria	47	59	91	84
Senegal	92	70	86	89
South Africa	54	51	85	74
Tanzania	79	79	86	84
Uganda	75	84	93	89

Certain questions not permitted in Egypt, China and Vietnam

Military Widely Admired

With the exception of Latin America, majorities in nearly every nation surveyed say the military is a good influence on the way things are going in their country. This is particularly noteworthy in Western societies. In the U.S., Canada, Great Britain and France, the armed forces are more admired than the national government, the president or prime minister, the news media, or religious leaders. And in Germany and Italy, the military rates a close second to the news media.

Reflecting the unsettled nature of local conditions, overwhelming majorities of Indians (85%), Pakistanis (84%) Uzbeks (91%) and Turks (79%) give the military high marks. There is also very strong support for the armed forces in most of Africa, particularly in Senegal (92%) and Mali (90%).

But in Latin America, which has recently emerged from a long history of military dictatorships, people take a more skeptical view of their armed forces. Just one-in-five Argentines and just three-in-ten Guatemalans believe their nation's military has a positive influence. Similarly, many Eastern Europeans, including Ukrainians and Russians, show some wariness of their militaries.

Media Heralded Too

Journalists are often the target of criticism in the United States, but 65% of the American public says that in general the media have been a positive force in society. In Europe, news organizations also get high marks. This is particularly the case in Germany (77% positive), Bulgaria (77%) and Ukraine (75%). The media's image is somewhat less positive in France, but even there 55% of respondents hold journalists in high regard.

In Germany, the media's image has improved considerably over the past decade and is now among the highest in the region. In 1991, just half said German newspapers had a good influence on the nation. Journalists are viewed significantly better in every Eastern European country than they were right after the Cold War.

Elsewhere people think even more highly of the news media. In every Latin American country, except Venezuela, and in six of the ten

Military a Good Influence	
Highest	%
Senegal	92
Uzbekistan	91
Mali	90
United States	87
India	85
Pakistan	84
Honduras	83
Ghana	81
France	80
Lowest	
Peru	38
Guatemala	31
Argentina	20

African nations surveyed, the news media is the single most respected national institution. Worldwide, only in Jordan, Turkey and Japan do journalists get positive ratings from less than a majority of the public.

Conflicting Views of Religious Leaders

	<i>Influence on Nation</i>		
	<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>	<u>Diff</u>
	%	%	
Most Favorable			
Kenya	92	7	+85
Indonesia	89	10	+79
Senegal	89	10	+79
Uganda	89	10	+79
Tanzania	84	9	+75
Nigeria	84	14	+70
Honduras	83	14	+69
Most Unfavorable			
Germany	39	57	-18
Turkey	32	54	-22
Czech Republic	28	63	-35
Japan	13	74	-61

In most countries where the *Global Attitudes'* polling was conducted, religious leaders are seen as having a positive influence. More than three-in-five Americans look favorably on their spiritual leaders.

Overwhelming majorities in Africa think religious institutions are a “good influence” on their countries, particularly in Kenya, Senegal, Uganda, Tanzania and Nigeria. It is a sentiment shared somewhat less strongly in much of Latin America, especially Honduras and Guatemala.

But in several countries with widely different religious traditions, publics take a much more skeptical view of the influence of religious leaders. Three-quarters of Japanese (74%) say the influence of religious leaders is at least somewhat negative, and three-in-ten see their influence as “very bad.” Argentines, as well, have at best mixed views of the effect of religious leaders in their country.

In Europe, roughly six-in-ten Germans and Czechs and nearly half of Italians (47%) say religious leaders have at least a moderately negative influence on society. Since 1991, the reputation of religious institutions has improved in the Slovak Republic and Poland, but it has fallen dramatically in the former East Germany, Bulgaria, Ukraine and the Czech Republic.

Among countries with substantial Muslim populations, attitudes toward religious leaders vary widely. Clerics are judged quite favorably in Indonesia (89%), Senegal (89%), Mali (75%) and Uzbekistan (69%). But just half of the Lebanese and Pakistanis agree. In general, the military is held in higher regard than religious leaders in most heavily Islamic nations. This is especially evident in Turkey.

More than twice as many respondents in Turkey give the military a good rating as view religious leaders in positive terms (79% vs. 32%).

Fair Marks for Government

In countries around the world, people are generally more satisfied with their national governments than they are with overall national conditions. In several European countries, as well as the United States, the ratings for government are significantly higher than for the state of the nation.

Russia is a notable example of these widely differing opinions. Just 20% of Russians say they are satisfied with the way things are going in their country, but three times as many (59%) say the government has a positive influence. This no doubt reflects the broad popularity of Russian President Vladimir Putin.

But there are several countries where ratings for government and national conditions are equally abysmal. In Argentina, just 3% are satisfied with the state of the nation, compared with an equally paltry 7% who see government’s influence as positive. Similarly, in Japan and Turkey the public is down on its government about as much as it is on state of the country.

For all of the criticism targeted at Washington, Americans are relatively pleased with their national government’s performance. Nearly two-in-three (64%) think it exerts a good influence on the country. As is the case in Russia, President Bush’s popularity may be a factor in the public’s positive assessment. This sentiment is shared in Canada and in Mexico, which give similarly positive marks to their national governments. In Mexico, four times as many respondents have a favorable view of government’s influence as express satisfaction with national conditions (64% vs. 16%).

This affirmative assessment is generally shared in Western Europe, where two-thirds of the British surveyed feel good about their government; 61% of French and roughly half of Germans share that sentiment. The majority of respondents in the Czech Republic (57%),

Government’s Influence on the Way Things are Going			
	<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
	%	%	%
North America			
United States	64	32	5
Canada	63	34	3
West Europe			
Great Britain	66	30	5
France	61	37	2
Germany	51	45	4
Italy	40	54	5
East Europe			
Russia	59	33	7
Czech Republic	57	42	2
Bulgaria	38	53	9
Ukraine	35	61	3
Poland	26	68	5
Slovak Republic	25	73	1
Conflict Area*			
Uzbekistan	88	11	1
Pakistan	72	19	9
Jordan	44	54	2
Lebanon	25	72	3
Turkey	7	92	1

* This question not permitted in Egypt.

For all of the criticism targeted at Washington, Americans are relatively pleased with their national government’s performance.

Government's Influence on the Way Things are Going			
	<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
	%	%	%
Latin America			
Mexico	64	30	6
Honduras	64	35	1
Bolivia	54	41	4
Venezuela	37	62	0
Brazil	34	60	6
Peru	27	69	4
Guatemala	25	73	3
Argentina	7	88	5
Africa			
Ghana	87	11	2
Uganda	84	15	1
Ivory Coast	78	22	0
Tanzania	79	16	5
Mali	77	20	3
Senegal	70	30	0
Angola	59	30	11
Nigeria	59	40	1
South Africa	51	47	2
Kenya	50	47	2
Asia*			
Philippines	74	23	3
Bangladesh	66	29	5
India	64	28	9
Indonesia	52	47	1
South Korea	41	56	3
Japan	22	74	3

* This question not permitted in China or Vietnam

which is about to join the European Union, also have a favorable opinion of their government. But in Italy, support for Rome is weak. Just four-in-ten Italians give the government good marks, possibly reflecting the relatively large proportion of Italians (61%) who view political corruption as a major problem.

Moderate to strong majorities in the African countries surveyed give their governments good marks. This is particularly true in Ghana (87%) and Uganda (84%), whose governments get some of the highest ratings in the world. More modest majorities have a positive opinion of governments in Asia, with the most favorable rating for the Philippine government. Notable exceptions are South Korea, where only 41% think their government is doing a good job, and Japan, where only 22% give the government good marks.

Respondents in Pakistan and Uzbekistan have overwhelmingly positive views of their government, but elsewhere in the Middle East/Conflict Area people have a more mixed opinion of the public sector. Just a quarter of those in Lebanon and fewer than one-in-ten Turks (7%) give their governments good ratings. The Turkish survey was concluded before national elections there in November.

EU Draws Broad Support

The European Union gets high marks from people in the region. In France, Italy and Germany, respondents rate the EU more highly than their own national governments. That is not the case in Great Britain, where more people view the national government as a positive influence. But even a majority of British (53%) says the EU is a good influence.

In every Western European nation surveyed, including Great Britain, strong supporters of the EU – those that judge the Brussels-based institution's influence as “very good” – is larger than the number who give comparable ratings to their national government. One-fifth of Italians see the EU as a very good influence, compared with just 5% who say that about the government in Rome.

People in Eastern Europe – with the exception of Russians – also are more supportive of the European Union than they of their own governments, which helps explain why these countries are all trying to join the European single market. This is particularly the case in the Slovak Republic, where three times as many people give the EU a very high rating than say the same about their own government. Only in Poland and Russia does the EU draw less than majority support.

Respondents in Turkey, which has sought for years to join the EU, have a generally favorable reaction to the institution. Roughly half of Turkish respondents (52%) view the EU as a positive influence on their country. Still, opinion in Turkey is somewhat polarized. Compared with European nations, more people in Turkey see the EU as both a very good influence (24%) and a very bad influence (20%).

Government Ratings Linked to Economy

There is a strong correlation between how people view government generally and their assessment of their country's economy. Governments that have lost their public's support tend to be in countries where the economy has performed particularly poorly in recent years.

Argentina may be Exhibit A. Just one in a hundred Argentines think the economy is doing well. This is not surprising since the Argentine economy is expected to shrink dramatically this year and it has defaulted on its international debts. Just slightly more Argentines (7%) think their national administration is doing a good job. Similarly, only 7% of Japanese say the country's economic situation is good (Japan's economy is likely to contract this year), while 22% give their government a positive rating.

People in other countries with recent economic problems – Turkey, the Slovak Republic, Ukraine, Poland, Brazil, Peru and Venezuela – also hold their government in relatively low regard.

Governments that have lost their public's support tend to be in countries where the economy has performed particularly poorly in recent years.

Bush, Putin Most Popular

Leaders' Images Improve			
United States			
	George Bush	George W. Bush	
	Sept 1991	Sept 2002	
Good	56	71	
Bad	30	25	
DK/Ref.	4	5	
	100	101	
Russia			
	Boris Yeltsin	Vladimir Putin	
	May 1991	Sept 2002	
Good	39	85	
Bad	47	11	
DK/Ref.	14	4	
	100	100	

Note: 1991 figures show job approval ratings. 2002 figures show % saying leader has a good influence on the nation

U.S. President George W. Bush and Russian President Vladimir Putin stand head and shoulders above their counterparts in personal popularity. Seven-in-ten Americans (71%) say Bush is having a good influence on how things are going in the country and 85% of Russians feel the same way about Putin. Both leaders are held in significantly higher regard than their predecessors in the 1991 “Pulse of Europe” survey. Bush's rating is 15 percentage points higher than that of his father, George Bush. Putin's rating is 46 points higher than Boris Yeltsin.

By comparison, 62% of the French hold a positive view of French President Jacques Chirac (the survey was taken after the French presidential election), while 54% of the British believe Prime Minister Tony Blair is a positive influence on the country. Canadian Prime Minister Jean Chretien has the support of about half (48%) of his citizens. And Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi of economically beleaguered Japan has the least support among the G-8 leaders. Just 38% of the Japanese respondents give him a good rating.

European attitudes toward their political leadership have generally improved in the last decade, with some exceptions. Support for the president or prime minister has grown markedly in France (approval rating up 11 points), Germany (up 16 points), Poland (up 16 points), and Ukraine (up 14 points).

However, there has been a sharp reversal of public sentiment toward elected leaders in the Czech and Slovak Republics. In the first blush of good feelings after the fall of the Iron Curtain, 68% of Czechs approved of the job Vaclav Havel was doing. But in this survey, only 46% of Czechs have a favorable reaction to former Prime Minister Milos Zeman. (Vladimir Spidla is now prime minister.) Fewer than four-in-ten Slovaks (38%) feel positively about their prime minister, Mikulas Dzurinda. There has been a similar 19-point falloff in approval for the leadership in Bulgaria.

Support is high for the leaders of a number of other major countries. Three-quarters of Indians give Prime Minister Atal Bihari

Vajpayee good marks. After two years in office and despite growing criticism at home, two-thirds of Mexicans still think reform-minded President Vicente Fox is doing a good job.

Seven-in-ten Indonesians are similarly supportive of President Megawati Sukarnoputri. And Philippine President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, whose government is locked in a war with Muslim guerrillas, enjoys equally strong approval.

People in countries with authoritarian regimes give their leaders, such as Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan (95% approval) and Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan (76% approval), the high marks that might be expected for heads of governments that brook little opposition.

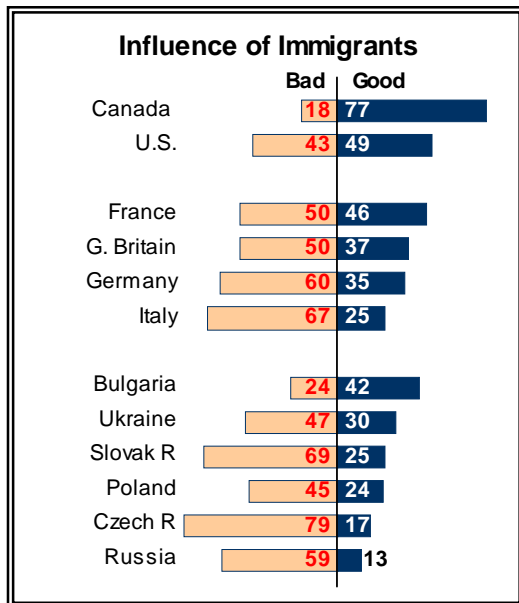
The dubious prize for the leader least respected by his citizens goes to former Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit of Turkey: 91% of Turkish respondents thought was doing a bad job at the time of the survey. His government was replaced in the November Turkish elections. Among those heads of state still in power, poor grades were given to Alfonso Portillo of Guatemala (75% negative), Alejandro Toledo in Peru (76%) and Eduardo Duhalde (84%) of Argentina.

"All politicians are thieves. We have so many problems — AIDS, insecurity and above all poverty. But they are not interested"
-- Kenyan accountant, age 35.

Immigrants Unpopular in Europe

Although immigration does not rival other issues as a big problem in people's minds, immigrants and minority groups are generally seen as having a bad influence on the way things are going by people in most countries. At the same time, people in societies that have traditionally supplied the industrial world with immigrants deeply resent that their fellow countrymen are leaving home to seek work abroad.

Only in Canada does a strong majority of the population (77%) have a positive view of immigrants. Immigration is the source of two-thirds of Canada's annual population growth and about one-in-five Canadians is foreign born, which may explain Canadian attitudes. Among other major industrial countries, Americans – who fancy their country as an ethnic melting pot – show the greatest support for immigrants (49%). Nevertheless, a large minority (43%) believes immigrants are bad for the nation.



Immigrants are particularly unpopular across Europe. In every European country, except Bulgaria, immigrants are seen as having a bad influence on the country. This negative sentiment may reflect the fact that for the first time in modern history, Western European nations are becoming immigrant societies. People born in other countries now comprise a large and growing minority in all of the Western European countries surveyed.

Negative sentiment is even higher in Eastern Europe. Strong majorities in the Czech and Slovak Republics take a dim view of immigration, as do a majority of Russians – a country where illegal immigration is soaring. Respondents in Poland and Ukraine have a somewhat less negative opinion of immigrants.

Deconstructing Anti-Immigrant Opinion

The survey finds considerable anti-immigrant sentiment in countries with shrinking economies, such as Argentina and Venezuela, where presumably competition is intense for scarce jobs. Yet frequently there is no clear linkage between attitudes toward immigrants and national economic conditions.

In Poland, where economic growth has been slow and unemployment high, people are less hostile toward immigrants than are respondents from the Czech Republic, where the economy has done slightly better. Similarly, unemployment is higher in France than in Great Britain. But the French hold immigrants in higher esteem than do the British, suggesting other non-economic issues may be important factors in public opinion toward immigrants.

Some rapidly aging industrial countries, such as Italy and Germany, which need workers to support their growing retiree populations, have the most negative attitudes toward immigrants. The same holds true in Japan, where nearly a fifth of the population is already over 65; still, more than half of Japanese have a negative opinion of immigrants.

Ironically, anti-immigrant sentiment is quite strong in a number of countries that have traditionally been a source of immigrants for other nations. In Guatemala, which sends thousands of its citizens to the United States each year, 58% of the survey's respondents see immigrants as exerting a bad influence. In Turkey, which has supplied several million immigrants to Germany alone, half of those questioned say immigrants entering Turkey are bad for the country.

Emigration a Common Problem

Meanwhile, people in Latin America, Eastern Europe and the Middle East/Conflict Area, areas that people have left in droves in recent years for better opportunities in Western Europe and the United States, resent the loss of their fathers and sisters, mothers and sons.

Strong majorities in countries ranging from Honduras and Mexico to Poland and Turkey say emigration is a problem in their societies. The brain-and-brawn drain is not a concern limited to residents of poor countries. More than half of Canadians (55%) and Italians (65%) also worry about the long-term national consequences of emigration.

Where Emigration is a Problem	
East Europe	%
Bulgaria	87
Fmr. E. Germany	86
Slovak Republic	72
Ukraine	67
Latin America	
Honduras	86
Mexico	82
Guatemala	81
Argentina	79
Bolivia	74
Peru	68
Africa	
Ghana	72
Nigeria	69
South Africa	67
Conflict Area	
Lebanon	71
Turkey	68

III: Global Publics View the World

If any single attitude unites people of different nations and varied personal circumstances, it is their very strong dissatisfaction with the way things are going in the world. Overwhelming majorities in nearly every country are unhappy with the state of the world. Yet the *Global Attitudes* survey also shows that people from different countries disagree about which specific threats pose the greatest danger to the world.

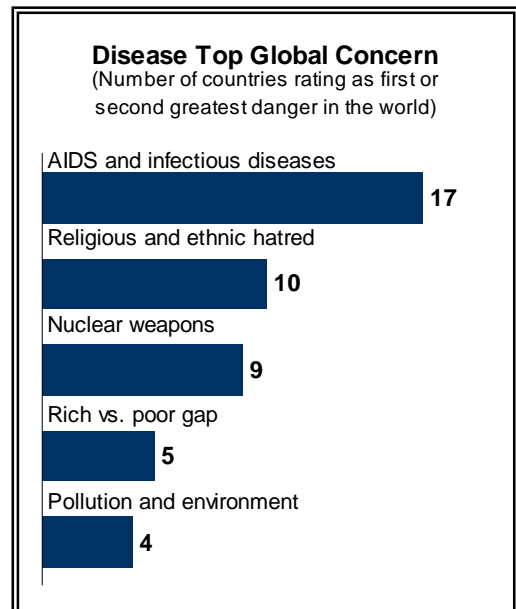
The survey shows remarkable agreement about the unsatisfactory state of the world.

Of the 44 nations surveyed, 17 countries – most in Africa – say AIDS and other diseases pose the greatest threat to the world. Majorities or pluralities in ten other countries rate religious and ethnic hatred as a top global concern. And people in nine countries cite nuclear weapons as the main danger facing the world.

Survey respondents were asked to choose the greatest threat currently confronting the world from a list of five, including pollution and other environmental concerns and the growing gap between rich and poor. Outside of Africa, there is little agreement about which of these threats present the greatest risk, within regions or even among close allies.

The Americas: In the United States, the biggest worry about the world concerns the spread of nuclear weapons (59% say this is the greatest or second-greatest threat to the globe), followed by the danger of religious and ethnic hatred (52%). Canadians express a similar level of concern about religious and ethnic hatred (55%), but just one-third name the spread of nuclear weapons. Nearly twice many Canadians as Americans worry about pollution and the environment (44% vs. 23%)

Not only do the publics in the United States and Canada diverge in their opinion about the world's greatest dangers, their views about individual threats often differ from those of people in the rest of the Americas. Mexicans, for instance, express much more concern about AIDS and other infectious diseases. Fully six-in-ten Mexican



Greatest Danger to the World

	AIDS & Infectious Diseases	Relig. & Ethnic Hatred	Nuclear Weapons	Rich/Poor Gap	Pollution/Environment
North America	%	%	%	%	%
United States	32	52	59	30	23
Canada	30	55	33	37	44
West Europe					
Great Britain	29	69	40	30	30
France	37	59	29	43	30
Italy	32	47	48	32	39
Germany	17	61	41	51	27
East Europe					
Czech Repub.	28	58	40	31	43
Slovak Repub.	24	44	50	41	37
Bulgaria	36	31	41	55	29
Poland	36	38	47	51	21
Ukraine	51	13	42	40	54
Russia	45	41	38	34	40
Conflict Area					
Egypt	86	N/A	N/A	36	76
Jordan	36	52	33	42	37
Lebanon	22	72	49	34	22
Turkey	24	38	46	62	22
Uzbekistan	45	48	40	33	32
Pakistan	27	41	54	43	14
Latin America					
Mexico	62	20	51	30	34
Guatemala	48	38	40	26	46
Honduras	77	22	35	19	46
Venezuela	56	32	57	34	20
Bolivia	49	33	39	37	39
Brazil	52	28	56	43	20
Peru	59	23	49	30	37
Argentina	39	27	40	58	28
Asia					
Bangladesh	35	41	42	37	30
India	34	45	39	46	21
China	39	N/A	26	58	70
Indonesia	35	64	20	50	27
Vietnam	80	23	34	17	44
South Korea	24	28	30	43	73
Japan	19	38	68	19	55
Philippines	32	27	49	40	49
Africa					
Angola	79	17	51	24	24
Ivory Coast	68	43	41	32	16
Ghana	84	35	35	30	10
Kenya	89	19	21	62	9
Mali	67	33	41	45	12
Nigeria	61	67	20	36	16
Senegal	56	39	45	42	17
South Africa	90	20	38	31	19
Tanzania	87	30	32	26	21
Uganda	86	23	46	32	8

"Here is a list of five dangers in the world today. In your opinion, which one of these poses the greatest threat to the world – the spread of nuclear weapons, religious and ethnic hatred, AIDS and other infectious diseases, pollution and other environmental problems, or the growing gap between the rich and poor." "And which one poses the second greatest threat?" **Percent citing item as first or second greatest threat shown above.** Certain questions not permitted in Egypt and China.

respondents (62%) name such health concerns as a top threat to the world, compared with 32% of Americans and 30% of Canadians.

However, Mexicans do share the U.S. concern about nuclear weapons, with 51% citing this as a major danger. So too do majorities of Venezuelans (57%), Brazilians (56%) and nearly half of respondents in Peru (49%).

But like Mexicans, people in these and other Latin American countries are much more concerned about AIDS and infectious disease. In Honduras, more than three-quarters (77%) say these illnesses are the greatest threat to the world. There also is a high degree of concern over health problems in Peru (59%), Venezuela (56%), Brazil (52%), Bolivia (49%), and Guatemala (48%).

By contrast, a solid majority of those surveyed in Argentina (58%) see the rich-poor gap as a greatest threat to the world. Argentines' high level of concern about global income disparities is not matched by any other Western Hemisphere nation surveyed and Argentine concern is among the highest in the world. In the rest of the region, Brazilians and Bolivians display the greatest level of concern about the rich-poor gap (43% in Brazil, 37% in Bolivia).

Overall, Latin Americans are primarily concerned about three world dangers – nuclear weapons, infectious diseases, and the rich-poor gap. They are less concerned than their neighbors to the north -- the United States and Canada – about the threat to the globe from religious and ethnic hatred.

Europe: Europeans generally agree that the greatest danger to the world is religious and ethnic conflict. In this respect, the U.S. and Canada have more in common with most of their traditional European allies than with most other countries.

Europeans generally agree that the greatest danger to the world is religious and ethnic conflict.

Concern about ethnic strife is highest among the British (69%), Germans (61%), French (59%) and the Czechs (58%). For the most part, people in Western European countries are more concerned about the danger of religious and ethnic conflict than are Eastern Europeans. This division is seen even within Germany, where 63% of those in the former West Germany cite this danger, compared with 55% of those in the former East Germany.

Aside from religious and ethnic conflict, Europeans say that nuclear weapons and the rich-poor gap pose the greatest dangers to the world. The spread of nuclear weapons is viewed as the biggest threat in the Slovak Republic (50%) and Italy (48%), and one of the top two concerns in Poland (47%), Bulgaria (41%) and Britain (40%). The rich-poor gap is seen as the greatest world threat in Bulgaria (55%) and Poland (51%) and it is viewed as the second-biggest danger to the world in Germany (51%) and France (43%).

But Russians and Ukrainians take a different view of global dangers. In Russia, 45% of the public says the biggest danger to the world is disease – reflecting the high incidence of both AIDS and tuberculosis – followed by ethnic conflict or pollution (41% and 40% respectively). In Ukraine, more people cite pollution and environmental problems (54%) than other global dangers, which may be an indication of continued public concern about the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear disaster and the lingering effects of Soviet-era environmental neglect. Nearly as many Ukrainians (51%) view AIDS and other infectious diseases as a major threat.

AIDS & Disease: Not Just Africa	
	%
South Africa	90
Kenya	89
Tanzania	87
Uganda	86
Ghana	84
Vietnam	80
Angola	79
Honduras	77
Ivory Coast	68
Mali	67
Mexico	62
Nigeria	61
Peru	59
Senegal	56
Venezuela	56

Africa: Only in Africa is there is broad consensus about the greatest danger facing the world. Africans overwhelmingly agree that AIDS and other infectious diseases represent the most threatening global problem. Fully 90% of South Africans and nearly as many Kenyans (89%), Tanzanians (87%) and Ugandans (86%) share this concern, followed by 84% in Ghana. This judgment parallels most Africans' sense that such health problems also pose the greatest threat to their individual nations. There is broad awareness of the prevalence of other deadly diseases besides AIDS, such as malaria, where the African death toll is nearly eight times the world average, and tuberculosis, where the incidence in Africa is twice the world average.

Beyond AIDS and infectious diseases, there is little consensus in Africa about the greatest dangers to the world. But the spread of nuclear weapons is mentioned by a significant number of Africans: Angola (51%), Uganda (46%), Senegal (45%), and the Ivory Coast and Mali (both 41%).

Asia: Worry about the global ecosystem is the dominant global concern in Asia, possibly because air pollution is emerging as a key issue across the region. Of the top six countries worldwide where pollution and the environment are named as the greatest threat to the world, four are in Asia: South Korea (73%), China (70%), Japan (55%) and the Philippines (49%).

Nearly seven-in-ten Japanese (68%) say the spread of nuclear weapons is the gravest threat to the globe today; along with Americans (59%), Japanese are most likely to cite nuclear weapons as a global danger. The spread of nuclear weapons also is considered a top global risk in the Philippines (49%) and in Bangladesh (42%).

The greatest threat, as far as 64% of Indonesians are concerned, is religious and ethnic hatred, perhaps reflecting recent outbreaks of civil strife in that island nation.

Middle East/Conflict Area: In Lebanon and Jordan, the greatest danger cited by those surveyed is religious and ethnic conflict (72% and 52% respectively). In Pakistan, which has long been in a nuclear

"I sometimes wonder if I'll still be able to drink a clean glass of water or enjoy blue skies when I get old. And with a lot of animals on the brink of extinction, what will mankind do in the future?"
 -- Beijing editor, age 29

standoff with India, 54% cite the spread of nuclear weapons. And in Turkey, 62% cite the rich-poor gap as a global danger.

In general, peoples' specific worries about the most dangerous global problem do not seem to strongly influence their overall level of satisfaction with the world, with one exception. In countries where people name the rich-poor gap as the greatest danger facing the world, people also are more likely to be dissatisfied with the world right now. These countries include: Argentina, Bulgaria, India, Poland and Turkey.

IV: Global Publics View the United States

The United States and its people are looked upon favorably by much of the world, despite substantial concern over U.S. international policies, its business practices and even its ideas about democracy. The United States is rated favorably by majorities in 35 of the 42 countries where the question was asked. But the U.S. is viewed only *somewhat* favorably in virtually all of these countries. Moreover, negative opinions of the U.S. have increased in most of the nations where trend benchmarks are available.

Opinion of the U.S. varies greatly around the world. More than eight-in-ten respondents in countries such as Venezuela, Ukraine, Ghana, Uzbekistan and the Philippines have a positive view of the U.S. Negative opinion of the U.S. is most prevalent in the Middle East/Conflict Area, but by no means is it confined to those countries. Roughly half of Argentines look upon the United States unfavorably, as do sizable minorities in countries ranging from the Slovak Republic to South Korea.

The United States and its people are looked upon favorably by much of the world... but negative opinions of the U.S. have increased in most of the nations where trend benchmarks are available.

U.S. Image Among Allies: Positive, But Less So

America's image among its closest allies remains largely positive, although it has declined over the past two years. At least seven-in-ten in Great Britain, Canada and Italy, and roughly six-in-ten in France and Germany, still retain a favorable opinion of the United States. Yet relatively few people in these countries have strongly positive feelings toward the U.S. and favorable opinion has diminished among three of four major U.S. allies in Western Europe.

The picture is similar in Eastern Europe, where solid majorities look favorably at the United States. But up to four-in-ten in the Slovak Republic dislike the U.S. and in four of the six Eastern European countries surveyed opinion of the U.S. has declined since 2000. Russia is an exception to this trend. Fully 61% of Russians have a positive opinion of the United States, a substantial increase from 37% two years ago.

Opinion of U.S.:			
Canada, Europe, Conflict Area			
	Fav	Unfav	DK/Ref
	%	%	%
North America			
Canada	72	27	3
West Europe			
Great Britain	75	16	9
Italy	70	23	7
France	63	34	2
Germany	61	35	4
East Europe			
Ukraine	80	19	2
Poland	79	11	10
Bulgaria	72	18	11
Czech Republic	71	27	2
Russia	61	33	6
Slovak Republic	60	39	1
Conflict Area			
Uzbekistan	85	11	4
Lebanon	35	59	6
Turkey	30	55	15
Jordan	25	75	0
Pakistan	10	69	20
Egypt	6	69	25

Public opinion about the United States in the Middle East/Conflict Area is overwhelmingly negative, even in countries whose governments have close ties with the United States

Middle East: Decidedly Negative

Public opinion about the United States in the Middle East/Conflict Area is overwhelmingly negative. Even in countries whose governments have close ties with the United States, such as Jordan, Turkey and Pakistan, substantial majorities have an unfavorable view of the United States.

Fully three-quarters of respondents in Jordan, the fourth largest recipient of U.S. assistance, have a poor image of the United States. In Pakistan and Egypt nearly as many (69%) have an unfavorable view and no more than one-in-ten in either country have positive feelings toward the U.S. In Jordan, Pakistan and Egypt, the intensity of this dislike is strong – more than 50% in each country have a *very* unfavorable view.

Public perceptions of the United States in Turkey, a NATO ally, have declined sharply in the last few years. In 1999, a slim majority of Turks felt favorably toward the U.S., but now just three-in-ten do. As is the case in Pakistan, Jordan and Egypt, the intensity of negative opinion is strong: 42% of Turks have a very unfavorable view of the U.S. The same pattern is evident in Lebanon, where 59% have a poor opinion of the U.S.

Uzbekistan, a new U.S. ally in the fight against terror, is a notable exception to this negative trend. By nearly eight-to-one (85%-11%) Uzbeks have a positive opinion of the United States and more than a third (35%) hold a very favorable view of the U.S.

In Lebanon, Pakistan and Egypt, Muslims are more likely than non-Muslims to have an unfavorable opinion of the U.S. This is not the case in Jordan, where both Muslims and non-Muslims hold very unfavorable views of the U.S. In Uzbekistan, Muslims generally have a more positive opinion of the United States than do non-Muslims.¹

“The United States helps us a lot, but recent attitudes are very disturbing.”
-- South Korean engineer, age 33

¹ Turkey was not included in the analysis because the population and survey sample are both more than 98% Muslim.

Mixed Views of U.S. Elsewhere

On balance, Latin Americans have a positive impression of the United States. This is particularly the case in Venezuela, Honduras and Guatemala, where eight-in-ten have a favorable opinion of the U.S. Solid majorities in Peru, Mexico and Bolivia assess the U.S. in positive terms.

Yet people in Latin America's two largest countries – Brazil and Argentina – have a decidedly mixed view of the U.S. Barely half of Brazilians now hold the United States in good stead, and America's image has declined sharply in Argentina. Just 34% of Argentines voice a favorable opinion of the U.S., down from 50% in 2000. Overall, in seven of the eight Latin American countries surveyed, favorable opinion has declined since 2000.

In Asia, there is strong support for the United States in Japan and the Philippines, both long-time U.S. allies. Yet South Koreans are much more skeptical despite that country's close military and economic ties with the U.S. More than four-in-ten South Koreans (44%) have an unfavorable opinion of the U.S.

Nearly half respondents in Bangladesh (47%) and more than a third in Indonesia (36%), where opinion has declined over the last two years, express an unfavorable opinion of the U.S.¹ America's image in India is also mixed, with a slim majority of Indians (54%) viewing the U.S. favorably.

Publics in Africa have a generally positive attitude toward the U.S. More than three-in-four in the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Mali, Ghana and Nigeria voice favorable opinions of the U.S., and majorities in the other countries agree.

Opinion of U.S.: Latin America, Asia, Africa*			
	<u>Fav</u>	<u>Unfav</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
Latin America	%	%	%
Guatemala	82	13	5
Venezuela	82	14	5
Honduras	80	5	15
Peru	67	19	15
Mexico	64	25	11
Bolivia	57	35	8
Brazil	52	32	16
Argentina	34	49	17
Asia*			
Philippines	90	7	3
Japan	72	26	2
Vietnam	71	27	3
Indonesia	61	36	3
India	54	27	19
South Korea	53	44	3
Bangladesh	45	47	9
Africa			
Ivory Coast	84	16	0
Ghana	83	9	8
Kenya	80	15	5
Nigeria	77	11	12
Mali	75	20	5
Uganda	74	13	13
South Africa	65	28	8
Senegal	61	37	2
Angola	54	23	23
Tanzania	53	26	21

* This question was not permitted in China.

¹ Interviewing was conducted in Indonesia before the terrorist bombing of the nightclub in Bali October 12, 2002.

There is limited evidence to support the widely held view that poverty fuels discontent with the United States

Demographics of Discontent

In general, there is limited evidence to support the widely held view that poverty fuels discontent with the United States. There is only a clear correlation between low income or a sense of deprivation and anti-American feelings in roughly one-in-three countries surveyed.

This relationship is most apparent in Eastern Europe and the Middle East/Conflict Area. In these countries, people who are less well off economically are more likely than those who are more financially secure to dislike the U.S. Yet in Africa, Latin America and Asia, where poverty is widespread, the relationship between deprivation and anti-American sentiment is apparent in some countries but not others.

Age is often a factor in attitudes toward the United States, but its effect varies in different countries. Older people in Eastern Europe and Latin America, in particular, express more negative views of the U.S. compared with younger people in those regions. Yet in Canada, this age gap is reversed: 44% of Canadians below the age of 30 have an unfavorable opinion of the U.S. compared with just 20% of those age 50-64. This tendency of younger people to be more negative toward the U.S. is also true to a lesser degree in the Czech Republic, Bangladesh and South Korea.

Familiarity Increases Favorability

Most of the respondents to this survey have not visited the United States. But an analysis of results from 21 of the nations surveyed shows that those who have traveled to the United States, or are in regular communication with Americans, have a more favorable opinion of the U.S. compared with those who have had no comparable exposure. This is even true in countries where many hold an unfavorable view of the U.S.: Jordan, Lebanon, Turkey and South Korea.

Those who have traveled to the United States, or are in regular communication with Americans, have a more favorable opinion of the U.S.

Not surprisingly, people from countries in closest proximity to the U.S. have the most frequent contact with Americans, through travel and direct communications. Nine-in-ten Canadians say they have visited the United States, as have sizable minorities of British (40%), Germans (25%), French (14%) and Japanese (25%). Many Latin American respondents say they stay in regular contact with someone in

the U.S., including roughly half or more Guatemala, Mexico and Honduras. Even in countries where relatively few people have visited the United States – such as Vietnam, Senegal and Ghana – nearly 20% have regular contact with someone in the U.S.

‘America’ and ‘Americans’: Less of a Distinction?

Historically, people around the world tend to have a more positive view of Americans than of the United States. But this distinction is fading, as respondents in only 13 of 43 countries surveyed expressed more positive attitudes about Americans than the U.S.

People in nearly every Latin American country assess “Americans” in the same terms or more negatively than they assess “the United States.” On the other hand, those in Canada, Asia and Western Europe (and to a lesser extent Eastern Europe) are still more likely to make this distinction. In these countries, respondents have more favorable reactions to Americans than to the United States.

In some parts of the Middle East/Conflict Area, people have higher esteem for Americans than they do of the U.S. This is especially the case in Jordan, where roughly half have a favorable view of Americans and just one-in-four say the same about America. But in Egypt, Pakistan and Turkey, views of Americans are nearly as negative as views about the United States itself.

	Favorable Opinion of U.S. %	Favorable Opinion of Americans %
Conflict Area		
Uzbekistan	85	83
Lebanon	35	47
Turkey	30	31
Jordan	25	53
Pakistan	10	17
Egypt	6	13

U.S. Goals Backed, Unilateralism Decried

In some ways, the war on terror provides a useful prism for analyzing opinion toward the United States. There is broad support for the U.S. goal of combating terrorism, with the notable exception of those countries in the Middle East/Conflict Area. Yet there is an equally strong global consensus that the United States disregards the views of others in carrying out its foreign policy.

**U.S. Foreign Policy and the War on Terror:
Canada and Europe**

	<i>U.S. foreign policy considers others</i>		<i>U.S.-led war on terrorism</i>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
North America	%	%	%	%
Canada	25	73	68	27
West Europe				
Germany	53	45	70	25
Great Britain	44	52	69	23
Italy	36	58	67	22
France	21	76	75	23
East Europe				
Poland	29	59	81	11
Ukraine	29	68	86	13
Czech Republic	29	71	82	17
Slovak Republic	27	70	66	31
Russia	21	70	73	16
Bulgaria	20	69	72	10

This duality of opinion is evident among the United States' closest allies: By wide margins, respondents in Canada and Western Europe support the U.S. struggle against global terrorism. Fewer than three-in-ten in any of these countries oppose that effort. But with the exception of Germany, majorities in these countries believe United States fails to take into account the interests of their country when making international policy decisions.

This sentiment is strongest in France, where charges of American

dominance are longstanding. Even in Great Britain, perhaps the most reliable U.S. ally in the war on terror, half (52%) say the United States disregards British views in carrying out its foreign policy. Germany is the lone exception in this regard, with a slight majority saying the U.S. makes an effort to take Germany's interests into account.¹

There is broad support for the U.S. goal of combating terrorism. Yet there is an equally strong global consensus that the United States disregards the views of others in carrying out its foreign policy.

A similar pattern is evident in Eastern Europe, where there is even stronger support for the U.S. fight against terrorism. In Russia, for instance, supporters of the fight against terrorism outnumber opponents by nearly five-to-one (73%-16%). As in Western Europe, people in this region overwhelmingly view U.S. as unilateralist, with no more than three-in-ten saying the U.S. takes their country's interests into account.

Terror Fight Rejected in Conflict Area

Publics in the Middle East/Conflict Area share Europeans' concerns about U.S. unilateral actions, but strongly oppose the U.S. struggle against terrorism. The single exception is Uzbekistan, which has by far the most favorable opinion of the United States among these countries.

¹ Polling conducted prior to the 2002 German elections.

Jordanians, in particular, are overwhelmingly opposed to the war (85%-13%). Majorities in Egypt, Lebanon and Turkey and a plurality in Pakistan, a key U.S. ally in the region, also oppose the war on terror. In Pakistan, Lebanon and Egypt, Muslims are more likely to oppose the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism than non-Muslims.

The prevailing opinion among people in this region is that the United States ignores the interests of their countries. This view is as dominant in Turkey (74%), a NATO ally, as it is in Lebanon (77%). By contrast, the growing U.S. military role in Uzbekistan has apparently improved opinion of the United States in that country: Six-in-ten Uzbeks believe the U.S. takes their interests into account and nine-in-ten favor U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism.

Opinion is divided in Latin America over whether the U.S. acts unilaterally in making foreign policy decisions. Majorities in four of the eight countries surveyed – Guatemala, Honduras, Venezuela and Peru – believe the U.S. takes their interests into account when making policy decisions, and there is strong backing in these four countries for the struggle against terrorism.

But in the other Latin American countries surveyed, the dominant view is that U.S. does not take into account the interests of others. Support for the war on terror also is considerably lower among these countries. This is particularly the case in Argentina, which has the most negative view of the United States of any country in the region. Three-quarters of Argentines see the U.S. going it alone in setting its foreign policy and just a quarter support the U.S.-led war on terror, underscoring the intensity of negative sentiment toward the U.S. in this country.

	U.S. Foreign Policy and the War on Terror: Conflict Area and Latin America			
	<i>U.S. foreign policy considers others</i>		<i>U.S.-led war on terrorism</i>	
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
Conflict Area	%	%	%	%
Uzbekistan	56	38	91	6
Jordan	28	71	13	85
Pakistan	23	36	20	45
Lebanon	20	77	38	56
Egypt	17	66	5	79
Turkey	16	74	30	58
Latin America				
Venezuela	79	19	79	20
Honduras	61	33	86	10
Guatemala	57	39	77	17
Peru	52	41	81	12
Bolivia	45	48	64	32
Mexico	42	52	52	37
Brazil	37	55	57	35
Argentina	16	76	25	67

South Koreans Critical

“The United States tries to force Korea too much to follow its policy. Maybe there will be difficulty with North Korea. These days North Korea and the United States have bad relations.”
 -- South Korean artist, age 32

Among Asian countries surveyed, South Korea stands out for its opposition to the war on terror and its belief that the United States pays little attention to Seoul’s concerns. By three-to-one, South Koreans oppose the war on terror, and by roughly the same margin respondents in this country view the United States as acting unilaterally.

A solid majority of Japanese (59%) also says the United States disregards Japan’s interests, though support for the war is much higher there than in South Korea (61% vs. 24%). In Bangladesh and Indonesia, pluralities say the U.S. disregards their countries interests and majorities oppose the war on terror. Along with South Korea, those two predominantly Muslim countries register the broadest opposition to the war among countries in this region.

Opinion is much more favorable to the United States in the Philippines, Vietnam and India. In the Philippines, which has strong

historical ties to the United States, most say the U.S. takes their interests into account. In Vietnam, where there has been a recent warming of diplomatic relations with the United States, eight-in-ten say the U.S. takes their interests into account. In India, a plurality (38%) say the U.S. takes their interests into account, although nearly as many (31%) disagree.

Publics in Africa generally feel that their countries’ interests are taken into account by the United States, at least more so than other respondents from other regions. A large majority of Nigerians say their country’s interests are considered by the U.S., and half or more in five of the other African countries concur.

	<i>U.S. foreign policy considers others</i>		<i>U.S.-led war on terrorism</i>	
	Yes	No	Favor	Oppose
Asia	%	%	%	%
Vietnam	80	8	62	29
Philippines	74	15	82	17
Indonesia	41	49	31	64
India	38	31	65	10
Japan	36	59	61	32
South Korea	23	73	24	72
Bangladesh	15	40	28	46
Africa				
Nigeria	76	17	75	20
Ivory Coast	54	46	87	13
Kenya	53	38	85	12
Uganda	53	28	67	24
Angola	53	34	59	33
South Africa	51	35	55	32
Mali	49	38	47	36
Tanzania	47	30	53	35
Ghana	45	34	63	24
Senegal	34	59	32	64

*These questions were not permitted in China.

These countries also support the war on terror. By contrast, in the largely Muslim countries of Senegal and Mali, support for the U.S.-led war on terror drops below 50%. And as is true in many other countries with sizable Muslim populations, Muslims in Nigeria and Senegal are less supportive than non-Muslims of the U.S.-led fight against terrorism.

Most See U.S. Adding to Rich-Poor Divide

In general, respondents to the global survey are more critical of U.S. policies than they are of U.S. values. In nearly every country surveyed, at least a plurality blames differences their country has with the United States on policy disputes rather than on fundamental differences over values. Again, this is true even in the Middle East/Conflict Area.

More specifically, there is a strong sense among most of the countries surveyed that U.S. policies serve to increase the formidable gap between rich and poor countries. Moreover, sizable minorities feel the United States does too little to help solve the world’s problems.

These sentiments are not limited to poor countries or those with unfavorable opinions of the United States. In fact, in Germany, France and Canada, roughly 70% say U.S. policies serve to widen the global economic divide. There is less of a consensus on the U.S. role in solving world problems. Outside of Germany, relatively few say the United States does the right amount in this regard, but they disagree about whether the U.S. does too much or too little. Analysis indicates both sentiments are meant as criticisms of the U.S.

In Eastern Europe, as in Germany, more people believe the United States is doing the right amount to alleviate global problems. Solid majorities of Czechs and Slovaks say this, as do roughly half of Ukrainians and Germans. At the same time, most Eastern Europeans

U.S. Doesn't Solve Problems and Increases Rich/Poor Gap		
	U.S. does too much/ too little*	U.S. increases gap
	%	%
North America		
Canada	68	68
West Europe		
France	74	69
Italy	60	58
Great Britain	60	53
Germany	47	70
East Europe		
Russia	54	53
Poland	52	49
Bulgaria	48	48
Slovak Republic	45	62
Ukraine	44	54
Czech Republic	38	54
Conflict Area		
Egypt	78	42
Lebanon	68	73
Jordan	63	70
Turkey	63	63
Pakistan	58	39
Uzbekistan	55	40
Latin America		
Venezuela	85	48
Bolivia	76	74
Mexico	74	55
Guatemala	69	55
Honduras	67	45
Argentina	65	67
Brazil	65	60
Peru	60	55
Asia**		
Indonesia	76	53
South Korea	65	67
Vietnam	64	63
Japan	60	69
India	59	46
Bangladesh	53	41
Philippines	44	33
Africa		
Nigeria	76	22
Angola	69	56
Kenya	67	24
South Africa	66	41
Ghana	65	31
Uganda	64	36
Mali	59	49
Tanzania	56	48
Ivory Coast	53	51
Senegal	46	49

* Includes those volunteering that the U.S. does "nothing"
 **These questions were not permitted in China.

fault the U.S. for contributing to the gap between rich and poor nations.

Perhaps not surprisingly, criticisms of the U.S. role in the world resonate strongly in the Middle East/Conflict Area. Three-in-four Egyptians and roughly two-thirds in Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey are critical of America's role in solving the world's problems.

People in Latin American countries, many of which are struggling economically, are also critical of U.S. policies. A plurality in every country says those policies increase the gap between rich and poor, and in all Latin American countries majorities say the U.S. is not doing the right amount to solve world problems.

This same pattern is evident in the Asian and African countries surveyed. Overall these publics feel the U.S. does not do the right amount to solve world problems and adds to the gap between rich and poor countries. Two countries in Africa are important exceptions. In Nigeria and Kenya more people say U.S. policies lessen the gap between rich and poor countries (64% and 41%, respectively).

Despite criticisms of U.S. policy, most people around the world think that a rival superpower would make the world a more dangerous place.

But Few Want a Second Superpower

Despite criticisms of U.S. policy, most people around the world think that a rival superpower would make the world a more dangerous place. This certainly is the case among U.S. allies in Canada and Western Europe, where large majorities believe this.

It is noteworthy that Russians agree. By two-to-one (53%-25%) they see a bipolar world as potentially more dangerous. This sentiment is also broadly shared in the Middle East/Conflict Area, in spite of the deep resentment of U.S. policies in these countries. Solid majorities in Jordan, Egypt and Lebanon believe that the world is safer with the United States as a lone superpower. Even pluralities in Turkey and Pakistan agree.¹

¹ This question was among several that were not asked in China. For a complete list, see the topline pp. T-1

'Americanization' Rejected

In general, people around the world object to the wide diffusion of American ideas and customs. Even those who are attracted to many aspects of American society, including its democratic ideas and free market traditions, object to the export of American ideas and customs. Yet this broad-brush rejection of 'Americanism' obscures the admiration many people have for American culture and particularly U.S. science and technology.

Publics in every European country surveyed except Bulgaria are resentful of the American cultural intrusion in their country. The British have the most favorable view of the spread of American ideas, but even half of British respondents see this as a bad thing. Strong opposition to the spread of American customs and ideas is seen in France and Russia, where the number expressing an unfavorable opinion of the United States is relatively high.

In the Middle East/Conflict Area, overwhelming majorities in every country except Uzbekistan have a negative impression of the spread of American ideas and customs. Just 2% of Pakistanis and 6% of Egyptians see this trend as a good thing. Even in generally pro-American Uzbekistan, 56% object to the spread of American ideas and customs.

The sentiment also appears throughout Latin America and Asia (with the exception of Japan and the Philippines). In Argentina and Bolivia, two countries in which there is considerable antipathy toward the U.S., more than seven-in-ten resent the spread of Americanism. And in Asia, the two countries that most object to American ideas are the predominately Muslim countries of Indonesia and Bangladesh.

In Africa, public attitudes are generally more pro-American. In Nigeria and the Ivory Coast, majorities say the spread of American customs and ideas is good. In most other

Spread of American Ideas and Customs

	<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>	DK/ <u>Ref</u>
	%	%	%
North America			
Canada	37	54	8
West Europe			
Great Britain	39	50	11
Italy	29	58	12
Germany	28	67	6
France	25	71	4
East Europe			
Bulgaria	36	32	33
Ukraine	35	58	7
Slovak Republic	34	60	7
Czech Republic	34	61	6
Poland	31	55	14
Russia	16	68	15
Conflict Area			
Uzbekistan	33	56	11
Lebanon	26	67	7
Jordan	13	82	5
Turkey	11	78	11
Egypt	6	84	10
Pakistan	2	81	17
Latin America			
Venezuela	44	52	4
Honduras	44	53	4
Guatemala	40	53	7
Peru	37	50	13
Brazil	30	62	8
Mexico	22	65	13
Bolivia	22	73	5
Argentina	16	73	11
Asia*			
Philippines	58	36	6
Japan	49	35	15
Vietnam	33	60	7
South Korea	30	62	8
India	24	54	22
Indonesia	20	73	7
Bangladesh	14	76	10
Africa			
Ivory Coast	69	31	0
Nigeria	64	31	6
Uganda	50	42	8
Ghana	47	40	13
South Africa	43	45	12
Kenya	40	55	5
Mali	35	61	4
Senegal	34	62	4
Angola	33	54	13
Tanzania	18	67	15

* This question was not permitted in China.

African countries, only about half of respondents, at most, oppose the diffusion of American ideas. The exceptions are Tanzania, Senegal and Mali, where more than six-in-ten say that the spread of American customs and ideas is bad.

Divides on U.S.-Style Democracy

U.S.-style democracy gets a mixed review in the other Western democracies surveyed. Less than half in every Western European nation surveyed say they like American ideas about democracy. However the U.S. democratic model is viewed positively in many of the democratizing nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Views of American democracy are somewhat better in Eastern Europe. Roughly half in the Slovak Republic, Bulgaria, Poland and Ukraine favor American ideas about democracy, and nearly two-thirds in the Czech Republic hold this view. Russians, however, offer a much more negative assessment. Just three-in-ten say they like American ideas about democracy.

American Ideas about Democracy: Canada, Europe, Conflict Area			
	<u>Like</u>	<u>Dislike</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
	%	%	%
North America			
Canada	50	40	10
West Europe			
Germany	47	45	7
Italy	45	37	18
Great Britain	43	42	15
France	42	53	5
East Europe			
Czech Republic	64	30	6
Slovak Republic	54	38	8
Ukraine	53	35	12
Poland	51	30	19
Bulgaria	50	23	27
Russia	28	46	26
Conflict Area*			
Uzbekistan	65	22	13
Lebanon	49	45	7
Turkey	33	50	17
Jordan	29	69	2
Pakistan	9	60	31

* This question was not permitted in Egypt.

The European preference for social democracy may help explain the uneven reaction to American-style democracy. In Germany and five of six Eastern European countries surveyed, broader attitudes concerning the role of government are linked to opinion of the U.S. approach to democracy. People who say it is up to the government to insure that no citizens are in need tend to reject American-style democracy. By contrast, those who favor a more minimalist government role favor the American form of democracy by higher margins.

The Middle East/Conflict Area has the greatest antipathy toward American ideas about democracy. Consistent with their largely unfavorable views of the U.S., half or more in Turkey, Pakistan and Jordan say they dislike this foundation of the American political system. Opinion is split in Lebanon, with 49% expressing a preference for U.S.-style democracy.

In Latin America, Asia and Africa, public opinion of American democracy generally mirrors overall attitudes toward the United States. Solid majorities like American ideas about democracy in three of the eight Latin American countries surveyed – Venezuela, Guatemala and Honduras. And half or more dislike American democracy in the three Latin American countries with the lowest favorable opinion of the U.S. – Bolivia, Brazil and Argentina.

Among most Asian countries surveyed, American democracy is viewed more favorably. Majorities or pluralities of publics in Asia say they like American ideas about democracy. India, the largest democracy in the world, is an exception, with just 36% positive toward American ideas about democracy. An equal number in India, which is modeled after the British political system, declined to offer an opinion.

African countries generally hold the most favorable opinions toward American ideas about democracy. Majorities or pluralities in all 10 countries surveyed like American democracy, and support is especially strong in Kenya, Ghana, Nigeria and the Ivory Coast. Support is more tempered in Tanzania, Angola, Mali and South Africa.

**American Ideas about Democracy
Latin America, Asia, Africa**

	<u>Like</u>	<u>Dislike</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
	%	%	%
Latin America			
Venezuela	67	30	3
Guatemala	59	31	10
Honduras	58	29	13
Peru	47	36	17
Mexico	41	41	18
Brazil	35	51	15
Argentina	29	50	22
Bolivia	27	60	13
Asia*			
Philippines	69	25	6
Japan	62	27	11
South Korea	58	37	5
Indonesia	52	40	8
India	36	27	37
Bangladesh	31	31	38
Africa			
Kenya	87	6	7
Nigeria	86	8	5
Ghana	80	7	13
Ivory Coast	78	21	0
Uganda	67	17	16
Senegal	65	28	7
Mali	55	35	10
South Africa	53	32	15
Angola	51	31	19
Tanzania	43	31	25

* This question was not permitted in China and Vietnam.

U.S. Technology Widely Admired

People around the world have a mixed reaction to exports of American ideas, but they have no such ambivalence concerning U.S. science and technology. Large majorities around the world admire the U.S. for its technological and scientific advances. Moreover, in most countries American technology is admired more than American ideas about democracy, ideas about business, or popular culture.

In many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, more than 80% of the public says it admires U.S. technology. This is the case even among publics that have low regard for the United States generally. In Jordan, where just a quarter have a favorable opinion of the U.S., 59% say they admire U.S. technological achievements. Even in Pakistan, where one-in-ten have a positive image of the U.S., a 42% plurality says they admire U.S. scientific advances.

American Popular Culture: Canada, Europe, Conflict Area, Latin America			
	<u>Like</u>	<u>Dislike</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
North America			
Canada	77	17	6
West Europe			
Great Britain	76	19	5
Germany	66	29	5
France	66	32	3
Italy	63	29	9
East Europe			
Poland	70	22	8
Bulgaria	64	25	11
Czech Republic	59	37	4
Slovak Republic	58	39	3
Ukraine	55	42	3
Russia	42	50	9
Conflict Area			
Lebanon	65	34	1
Uzbekistan	51	44	5
Turkey	44	46	10
Egypt	33	57	10
Jordan	30	67	3
Pakistan	4	79	17
Latin America			
Venezuela	78	20	2
Honduras	71	25	4
Guatemala	70	26	5
Brazil	69	29	2
Mexico	60	30	10
Peru	46	43	11
Bolivia	39	54	7

Russia is the only notable exception. Nearly half of Russians (44%) say they do not have high regard for U.S. accomplishments, the highest proportion among any country surveyed, compared with 41% who take a positive view of U.S. scientific advances.

Hollywood Hailed

A dominant image of “what America is” to the outside world is its music, movies and television. American popular culture is readily available nearly anywhere in the world, and in some countries the market for American cultural products is very strong. At the same time, the invasion of American culture is often a complaint, particularly when it is seen as coming at the expense of indigenous cultures.

Still, publics around the world generally embrace American music, movies and television. American popular culture is particularly favored by the young. In nearly every country, the percent of young people who like American movies, music and TV is dramatically higher than among older people.

People in Western Europe and Canada have a strongly favorable view of American popular culture. Even in France, whose government has tried to discourage consumption of American culture, two-thirds like American movies, music and TV.

Opinion is somewhat less positive in Eastern Europe. Half of Russians dislike American cultural exports, while sizable minorities in Ukraine, the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic concur. Poland and Bulgaria are the only two countries in Eastern Europe with solid majorities who like American popular culture.

Pakistan stands alone in the extent of its dislike of American popular culture. Eight-in-ten Pakistanis dislike American music, movies and television. Opinion in the other countries in the Middle East/Conflict area is also negative but not as extreme as in Pakistan. Majorities in Jordan and Cairo dislike U.S. culture, as does a plurality in Turkey. In Lebanon, where most have an unfavorable view of the U.S., 65% say they like American music, movies and television.

For the most part, people in Latin America, Asia and Africa are solidly positive toward American music, movies and television. This includes China, where American music has become very popular among young people despite government efforts to promote Chinese performers over artists from the West.

Still, sizable minorities in several of these countries – China, Indonesia and South Korea -- say they dislike American popular culture. Majorities in Bangladesh and Vietnam also take a negative view of American popular culture. And in India, where Bombay’s thriving “Bollywood” aims to rival Hollywood, there is broad antipathy for American music, movies and television. Just a quarter of Indian respondents say they like U.S. cultural exports.

In Africa, majorities in eight of the ten countries surveyed like American popular culture. At least 70% say they like American music,

People in Western Europe and Canada have a strongly favorable view of American popular culture. Opinion is somewhat less positive in Eastern Europe.

	<u>Like</u>	<u>Dislike</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Asia	%	%	%
Japan	74	18	8
Philippines	70	26	3
Indonesia	59	40	1
China	55	36	9
South Korea	53	38	9
Vietnam	45	52	3
India	24	46	30
Bangladesh	20	69	10
Africa			
Ivory Coast	84	16	0
Angola	81	18	1
Nigeria	76	19	5
South Africa	71	20	9
Senegal	63	34	3
Ghana	59	26	15
Uganda	57	31	12
Mali	56	39	5
Kenya	50	44	6
Tanzania	41	46	13

American Ideas about Business Practices			
	<u>Like</u>	<u>Dislike</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	%	%	%
North America			
Canada	34	56	11
West Europe			
Italy	39	43	18
Great Britain	37	44	18
Germany	32	58	10
France	23	73	4
East Europe			
Ukraine	58	23	18
Slovak Republic	52	40	8
Bulgaria	50	12	37
Poland	46	25	29
Czech Republic	44	47	9
Russia	41	30	29
Conflict Area			
Uzbekistan	76	11	12
Lebanon	65	28	7
Jordan	44	52	4
Egypt	34	46	20
Turkey	27	59	14
Pakistan	14	53	33
Latin America			
Honduras	67	23	10
Venezuela	64	31	4
Guatemala	63	25	12
Peru	47	30	23
Mexico	44	38	18
Brazil	34	51	15
Bolivia	32	56	12
Argentina	29	54	18
Asia			
Philippines	73	21	6
Vietnam	68	24	8
South Korea	59	32	10
Indonesia	54	38	7
India	50	17	33
Japan	40	40	20
China	36	24	40
Bangladesh	21	32	47
Africa			
Nigeria	85	7	8
Kenya	78	8	14
Ivory Coast	76	23	0
Ghana	70	11	19
Uganda	66	13	21
South Africa	60	22	18
Senegal	49	45	6
Mali	48	44	9
Tanzania	47	26	28
Angola	41	36	23

movies and television in Angola, the Ivory Coast, Nigeria and South Africa. Kenya and Tanzania are much more evenly divided.

Criticisms of U.S. Business Practices

Many of the respondents in the global survey, taken after revelations of American corporate wrongdoing, expressed an aversion to U.S. business practices. This was especially the case among major U.S. trading partners, such as France, Germany and Canada. There is, however, more acceptance of the American way of doing business in Asia and in the emerging market economies of Africa.

In Eastern Europe, opinion is more favorable toward American business practices. But the Czech Republic, which has the region's most globalized economy, is a notable exception. Roughly half of Czechs have a negative view of U.S. business tactics, while 44% favor the American approach.

Opinion toward U.S. business practices is linked with underlying attitudes about the free market. Publics who believe people are not better off in a free market system are more likely to say they dislike the American way of doing business. This is particularly true in Europe and Latin America.

The Middle East/Conflict Area has a largely unfavorable view of American business mores. In line with their negative impressions of American democracy (and the U.S. generally), half or more in Jordan, Turkey and Pakistan say they dislike American business practices. Lebanon and Uzbekistan are exceptions, with majorities holding favorable opinions of American business practices.

Majorities in three Latin American countries – Bolivia, Argentina and Brazil – dislike American ways of doing business. These same countries, including Mexico, also

have the largest percentages that dislike American ideas about democracy. By contrast, majorities in Guatemala, Honduras and Venezuela like American ideas about business practices.

Majorities or pluralities in China, India, Indonesia, South Korea and the Philippines say they like American business practices. In Japan, a large U.S. trading partner, opinion is split – 40% like and 40% dislike American business practices. Opposition to American business practices is the greatest complaint about the U.S. made by the Japanese, who otherwise like most aspects of American society.

African countries generally hold favorable opinions toward American business practices. Pluralities in all 10 countries surveyed like American business practices, but there is especially strong support in Nigeria, Kenya and the Ivory Coast. Support is much lower in Mali (48%), Tanzania (47%) and Angola (41%).

Opinion of U.S. Linked to Views of Policies

In general, antipathy toward the U.S. is shaped more by what it *does* in the international arena than by what it *stands for* politically and economically. In particular, the U.S.’s perceived unilateral approach to international problems and the U.S. war on terror play large roles in shaping opinion toward the U.S.

Those who think the U.S. does not take their country’s interests into account when making international policy and those who oppose the U.S.-led war on terror are much more likely than others to have an unfavorable opinion of the U.S. This is particularly true in the Middle East/Conflict Area, Eastern Europe and Latin America.

Other attitudes are less closely linked with overall opinion of the United States. European and Asian publics that dislike American ideas about democracy are more likely to express an unfavorable opinion of the U.S., and vice versa. In Latin America, by contrast, attitudes toward American technology and scientific advances bear a strong relationship to opinion of the United States. And in Africa, attitudes toward American business practices affect overall opinion of the U.S.

Antipathy toward the U.S. is shaped more by what it *does* in the international arena than by what it *stands for* politically and economically.

U.S. Opinion At Odds With Global Attitudes

There is a great divide between global attitudes and public opinion in the United States. Americans generally think the export of their ideas and the actions of their government benefit the world, but people

	<i>U.S. considers others</i>		
	<i>Great deal/ fair amount</i>	<i>Not much/ not at all</i>	<i>DK/ Ref</i>
U.S.	75	20	5
Mexico	42	52	6
Brazil	37	55	8
Canada	25	73	2
Germany	53	45	2
Great Britain	44	52	3
Italy	36	58	5
France	21	76	2
Russia	21	70	9
Indonesia	41	49	10
India	38	31	31
South Korea	23	73	4
Japan	36	59	5
Egypt	17	66	17
Turkey	16	74	10

in most other countries disagree. Those in other countries dislike the spread of American influence and often say the U.S. creates more problems than it solves. These widely different views illustrate the gap between the American public and others, and may help explain why Americans are often surprised by global reactions to the U.S.

Americans generally support the actions of their government overseas and see these actions as multilateral. A large majority of Americans (75%) say the U.S. takes into account the interests of other countries when making international policy decisions. This is in sharp disagreement with people from most other countries. Similarly, while Americans almost unanimously support their government’s struggle against terrorism (89% favor), opinion is much more divided elsewhere.

Americans See Positive U.S. Role

Nearly eight-in-ten Americans believe the United States helps solve global problems. Global publics disagree, though there is no consensus as to whether the United States does too much – as many French, Japanese, Indonesians and others believe – or does too little.

Americans are also much more likely than other publics to say U.S. policies have not increased the gap between rich and poor countries. Nearly half (47%) say U.S. policies have either had no effect on this gap or lessened it. Still, it is notable that a plurality of Americans (39%) believes the United States has added to the global economic divide.

Seven-in-ten Americans say that the United States should be promoting its ideas about democracy and business to the rest of the world. Clearly, there is less enthusiasm among the targets of these ideas. Likewise, six-in-ten Americans say the U.S. should be promoting its business practices around the world, though many

Americans are also much more likely than other publics to say U.S. policies have not increased the gap between rich and poor countries.

people in other countries give a lukewarm reception to those practices. And in contrast with the rest of the world, Americans believe, in general, that the spread of American ideas and customs around the world is a good thing – 79% see this is a good thing and 16% say it is bad.

For the most part, Americans feel much more favorably about exporting their culture than they do about welcoming other cultures. Half of the respondents in the U.S. sample say they like foreign music, movies and television, but a sizable minority of Americans say they dislike foreign cultural products. Generally, publics in other countries like American popular culture much more than Americans like foreign culture.

The one area where Americans and people in other countries agree is in their admiration of U.S. technology. Americans are great admirers of U.S. technology, an appreciation shared by people around the world. Nearly all Americans (94%) say they are proud of U.S. technological and scientific advances, an opinion that is shared – in varying degrees – around the world.

Pew Global Attitudes Project—The Research Process

Work on the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* began in summer 2001 with two primary goals: to gauge people's experiences and attitudes about globalization and an increasingly connected world; and to measure changes in opinion among some of the European populations surveyed in the 13-nation 1991 benchmark survey, "The Pulse of Europe," expanding the survey to include many more countries in all regions. Following the terrorist attacks of September 11, we broadened the survey objectives to include attitudes about the U.S., terrorism and, in countries with significant Muslim populations, to probe attitudes about the relationship between Islam and public policy.

November-December, 2001: We surveyed opinion leaders around the world for their views about September 11, terrorism, the image of the U.S. in their countries, and about globalization. Interviews among 275 influential people in politics, media, business, culture and government were conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates (PSRA), the Pew Research Center, and the *International Herald Tribune*. This inaugural survey of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*, "America Admired, Yet Its New Vulnerability Seen As Good Thing, Say Opinion Leaders" was released December 19, 2001.

January-March, 2002: To help us more fully understand the scope of the topics we now wished to cover, the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* team met with experts and leaders in the fields to be explored. They included regional specialists and experts on democratization, international policy, media, economic analysis and policy, and advocacy regarding trade, labor and monetary policy. Their views were enormously helpful in defining the broad scope and specific issues to explore. Responsibility for deciding which topics and questions to include in the final survey was entirely ours.

During this time, we also reviewed trend data from the 1991 benchmark study "The Pulse of Europe" to identify relevant questions for updating.

April-May, 2002: We developed a lengthy pilot questionnaire and fielded it in four countries: Mexico, Russia, Indonesia, and South Africa. Based on the results of the pilot study, we refined and trimmed the questionnaire to field it ultimately in 44 countries worldwide, interviewing 38,263 people.

June 2002: Under the direction of Mary McIntosh, Princeton Survey Research Associates (PSRA) contracted with established local survey organizations to conduct the fieldwork. The final questionnaire was translated into 46 languages and 17 dialects. Translated questionnaires were "back-translated" to English by independent professional translators and English back-translations were checked and corrected by the staff of PSRA.

In some countries, official government permission needed to be granted in order to proceed and, in some cases, certain questions could not be asked. We did not alter the questionnaire to gain permission, but were required to omit a significant number of questions in China, Vietnam, and Egypt.

July-October 2002: The fieldwork in all 44 countries was completed between July and October 2002. Most samples were nationally representative, but in the following countries, the samples were predominantly urban: Angola, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Egypt, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Mali, Pakistan, Senegal, Venezuela, and Vietnam. The Methodological

Appendix on the next page contains a full description of sample design, survey organizations and field dates.

The International Herald Tribune conducted interviews with people in five countries covered by the survey; excerpts from those interviews are used in this report to illustrate some of the views expressed. Those interviewed were not respondents to the survey.

November 2002: As the U.S. and its allies faced the prospect of war with Iraq, we surveyed again -- this time in Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Turkey and the U.S. -- about attitudes toward a potential war and the likely consequences. The results of that survey are contained in this first major release of the *Global Attitudes Project*.

The results of the surveys were analyzed, interpreted and are presented in this report by the *Global Attitudes Project* team and staff at the Pew Research Center and Princeton Survey Research Associates. This is the first major release of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*. Following publication, all data will be available to the public.

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Methodological Appendix

Country: **Angola (Luanda only)**
 Company: Research International
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
 Languages: Portuguese
 Fieldwork dates: August 1-September 17, 2002
 Sample size: 780
 Margin of Error: 3.5%
 Representative: Luanda City and surrounding area only

Country: **Britain**
 Company: ICM Research
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
 Languages: English
 Fieldwork dates: July 15-22, 2002
 Sample size: 501
 Margin of Error: 4.4%
 Representative: 100% of telephone households

Country: **Argentina**
 Company: Gallup Argentina
 Sample design: Probability with age and gender quotas
 Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
 Languages: Spanish
 Fieldwork dates: July 18-29, 2002
 Sample size: 814
 Margin of Error: 3.4%
 Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Bulgaria**
 Company: Vitosha Research
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
 Languages: Bulgarian
 Fieldwork dates: July 8-18, 2002
 Sample size: 514
 Margin of Error: 4.3%
 Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Bangladesh**
 Company: Survey Research Group of Bangladesh
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
 Languages: Bengali
 Fieldwork dates: August 1-12, 2002
 Sample size: 689
 Margin of Error: 3.7%
 Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Canada**
 Company: Environics
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
 Languages: English and French
 Fieldwork dates: July 16-24, 2002
 Sample size: 500
 Margin of Error: 4.4%
 Representative: 100% of telephone households

Country: **Bolivia**
 Company: Apoyo Bolivia
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 to 70
 Languages: Spanish
 Fieldwork dates: July 11-27, 2002
 Sample size: 782
 Margin of Error: 3.5%
 Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **China**
 Company: Taylor Nelson Sofres
 Sample design: Probability sample in six cities and surrounding rural areas – Shanghai (in southeast China), Beijing (north), Guangzhou (southeast), Chengdu (southwest), Wuhan (central) and Shenyang (northeast).
 Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 to 60
 Languages: Chinese (dialects: Mandarin, Beijingsese, Cantonese, Sichun, Hubei, Dongbei, Shanghaiese)
 Fieldwork dates: July 20-August 18, 2002
 Sample size: 3000
 Margin of Error: 1.8%
 Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **Brazil**
 Company: Research International
 Sample design: Probability
 Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
 Languages: Portuguese
 Fieldwork dates: July 2-August 8, 2002
 Sample size: 1000
 Margin of Error: 3.1%
 Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **Czech Republic**
Company: NFO AISA
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: Czech
Fieldwork dates: July 12-16, 2002
Sample size: 500
Margin of Error: 4.4%
Representative: 100% of telephone households

Country: **Egypt (Cairo only)**
Company: MEMRB Egypt
Sample design: Quota
Mode: Face-to-face with adults 18-60
Languages: Arabic
Fieldwork dates: October 2-26, 2002
Sample size: 1013
Margin of Error: 3.1%
Representative: Cairo and surrounding area

Country: **France**
Company: Taylor, Nelson & Sofres
Sample design: Quota
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: French
Fieldwork dates: July 22-26, 2002
Sample size: 507
Margin of Error: 4.4%
Representative: 100% of telephone households

Country: **Germany**
Company: EMNID
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: German
Fieldwork dates: July 12-August 10, 2002
Sample size: 1000
Margin of Error: 3.1%
Representative: 100% of telephone households

Country: **Ghana**
Company: Research International
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Akan, Ewe, Ga, Dagbani, English
Fieldwork dates: October 26-31, 2002
Sample size: 702
Margin of Error: 3.7%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Guatemala**
Company: MERCAPLAN Centroamerica
Sample design: Probability with gender quotas
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Spanish
Fieldwork dates: July 19-27, 2002
Sample size: 500
Margin of Error: 4.4%
Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **Honduras**
Company: MERCAPLAN Centroamerica
Sample design: Probability with gender quotas
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Spanish
Fieldwork dates: July 10-21, 2002
Sample size: 506
Margin of Error: 4.4%
Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **India**
Company: Taylor Nelson Sofres Mode
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18-64
Languages: Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil, Kannada, Bengali
Fieldwork dates: September 12-Oct. 21, 2002
Sample size: 2189
Margin of Error: 2.1%
Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **Indonesia**
Company: Taylor Nelson Sofres
Indonesia
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Bahasa Indonesia
Fieldwork dates: July 20-August 7, 2002
Sample size: 1017
Margin of Error: 3.1%
Representative: Disproportionately urban
Seven provinces (Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, East Java, North Sumatra, South Sumarta, South Sulawesi) representing 66% of population

Country: **Italy**
Company: DOXA
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Italian
Fieldwork dates: July 5-24, 2002
Sample size: 508
Margin of Error: 4.4%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Ivory Coast**
Company: Research International
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: French
Fieldwork dates: September 9-15, 2002
Sample size: 708
Margin of Error: 3.7%
Representative: Disproportionately urban.
Three cities--Yamoussoukro,
Abidjan, and Bouake--and
surrounding areas

Country: **Japan**
Company: Research International
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: Japanese
Fieldwork dates: July 24-August 4, 2002
Sample size: 702
Margin of Error: 3.7%
Representative: 100% of telephone households

Country: **Jordan**
Company: MRO
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Arabic
Fieldwork dates: September 5-October 21, 2002
Sample size: 1000
Margin of Error: 3.1%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Kenya**
Company: Research International
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: English, Kiswahili (Kikuyu,
Luo, Meru)
Fieldwork dates: August 23-September 3, 2002
Sample size: 658
Margin of Error: 3.8%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Lebanon**
Company: MRO
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Arabic
Fieldwork dates: September 30-Oct. 18, 2002
Sample size: 1000
Margin of Error: 3.1%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Mali**
Company: Research International
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: French, (Bambara)
Fieldwork dates: September 16-29, 2002
Sample size: 697
Margin of Error: 3.7%
Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **Mexico**
Company: BGC, S.C.
Sample design: Probability with age and
gender quotas
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Spanish
Fieldwork dates: July 19-27, 2002
Sample size: 996
Margin of Error: 3.1%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Nigeria**
Company: Research International
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Igbo, Hausa, Yoruba
Fieldwork dates: September 11-30, 2002
Sample size: 1000
Margin of Error: 3.1%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Pakistan**
Company: ACNielsen Aftab
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Urdu
Fieldwork dates: August 9-September 6, 2002
Sample size: 2032
Margin of Error: 2.2%
Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **Peru**
Company: Apoyo
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Spanish (Aymara, Quechua)
Fieldwork dates: July 10-21, 2002
Sample size: 711
Margin of Error: 3.7%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Philippines**
Company: Taylor Nelson Sofres
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Tagalog (Ilocano, Bicolano, Cebuano, Ilonggo and Waray)
Fieldwork dates: July 11-31, 2002
Sample size: 700
Margin of Error: 3.7%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Poland**
Company: Ipsos-Demoskop
Sample design: Probability with age, gender and education quotas
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Polish
Fieldwork dates: July 9-18, 2002
Sample size: 500
Margin of Error: 4.4%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Russia**
Company: Romir
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Russian
Fieldwork dates: July 5-26, 2002
Sample size: 1002
Margin of Error: 3.1%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Senegal**
Company: Research International
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: French (Wolof)
Fieldwork dates: September 12-22, 2002
Sample size: 710
Margin of Error: 3.7%
Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **Slovak Republic**
Company: NFO AISA
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: Slovak
Fieldwork dates: July 12-19, 2002
Sample size: 500
Margin of Error: 4.4%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **South Africa**
Company: Research International
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: English, Zulu, Afrikaans, South Sotho, North Sotho, Xhosa
Fieldwork dates: August 26-September 11, 2002
Sample size: 700
Margin of Error: 3.7%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **South Korea**
Company: Gallup Korea
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Korean
Fieldwork dates: July 28-August 10, 2002
Sample size: 719
Margin of Error: 3.7%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Tanzania**
Company: Research on Poverty Alleviation
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Swahili, English
Fieldwork dates: August 2-24, 2002
Sample size: 720
Margin of Error: 3.7%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Turkey**
Company: PIAR-Taylor Nelson Sofres
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Turkish
Fieldwork dates: July 21-August 9, 2002
Sample size: 1005
Margin of Error: 3.1%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Uganda**
Company: Wiksken Agencies
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Alur, Ateso, Luganda,
Lugbara, Lumasaaba, Lusonga,
Lwo, Runyankore-Rukiga,
Runyoro-Rutooro
Fieldwork dates: October 1-12, 2002
Sample size: 1008
Margin of Error: 3.1%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Ukraine**
Company: MEMRB
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Ukrainian and Russian
Fieldwork dates: July 11-25, 2002
Sample size: 500
Margin of Error: 4.4%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **United States**
Company: Princeton Data Source
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Telephone adults 18 plus
Languages: English
Fieldwork dates: August 19-September 8, 2002
Sample size: 1501
Margin of Error: 2.8%
Representative: 100% of telephone household
in continental US

Country: **Uzbekistan**
Company: Romir
Sample design: Probability with age and
gender quotas
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Uzbek and Russian
Fieldwork dates: July 26-August 9, 2002
Sample size: 700
Margin of Error: 3.7%
Representative: 100% adult population

Country: **Venezuela**
Company: Sigma Dos Venezuela
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus
Languages: Spanish
Fieldwork dates: July 13-August 1, 2002
Sample size: 700
Margin of Error: 3.7%
Representative: Disproportionately urban

Country: **Vietnam**
Company: NFO Vietnam
Sample design: Probability
Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 to 65
Languages: Vietnamese
Fieldwork dates: July 6-22, 2002
Sample size: 772
Margin of Error: 3.5%
Representative: Disproportionately urban