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Global Publics Back U.S. on Fighting ISIS, but Are Critical of Post-9/11 Torture

Asian Nations Mostly Support TPP, Defense Pivot – but Also Value Economic Ties with China

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About This Report

This report examines global public opinion about the United States, China, and the international balance of power, as well as key issues in Asia. It is based on 45,435 face-to-face and telephone interviews in 40 countries with adults 18 and older conducted from March 25 to May 27, 2015. For more details, see survey methodology and topline results.

Chapter 1 explores America's image worldwide, including views of U.S. actions against ISIS, post-9/11 interrogation practices, whether the U.S. government respects Americans' personal freedoms and President Obama and his handling of international issues. Chapter 2 examines China's image and perceptions about the balance of power between the U.S. and China. Chapter 3 puts Asia in focus, looking at support for TPP, economic ties with the U.S. and China, U.S. military resources in the region, relationships with China and Americans' willingness to defend Asian allies against China.

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Table of Contents

Overview: Global Publics Back U.S. on Fighting ISIS, but Are Critical of Post-9/11 Torture	4
China's Global Image	8
Europeans More Critical of U.S. on Personal Freedoms, but Positive about Its Economic Power	9
American Public an Outlier on Torture	10
1. America's Global Image	12
Young See U.S. More Positively	15
Support for U.S. against ISIS	16
Few Say U.S. Interrogation Methods Were Justified	17
U.S. Generally Seen as Respecting Personal Freedoms	19
Most Have Confidence in Obama	20
Mixed Reviews on Issues	21
2. Views of China and the Global Balance of Power	23
Globally, U.S. Seen as Leading Economic Power	23
Most Say China Will Overtake U.S. as Global Superpower	26
China Receives Generally Positive Ratings from Global Publics	28
Global Youth More Positive on China	30
Poor Marks for China on Human Rights	31
3. Asia in Focus	33
TPP: Americans among the Least Supportive	33
The Defense Pivot	35
Methodology	39
Topline Results	40

Global Publics Back U.S. on Fighting ISIS, but Are Critical of Post-9/11 Torture

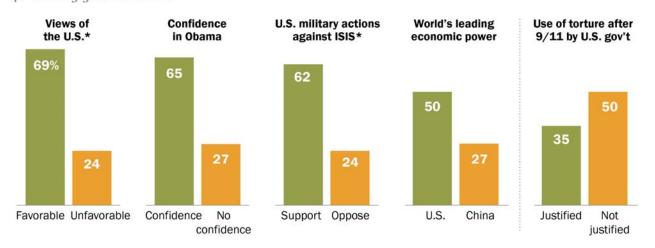
Asian Nations Mostly Support TPP, Defense Pivot – but Also Value Economic Ties with China

The rise of ISIS has generated strong concerns in nations around the world, and a new Pew Research Center survey finds broad global support for American military efforts against the terrorist group. And unlike the Iraq War a decade ago, the current U.S. air campaign in Iraq and Syria is backed by majorities in America's European allies, and endorsed by publics in key Middle Eastern nations.

However, global publics mostly oppose another element of recent U.S. national security policy: the harsh interrogation methods used against suspected terrorists in the wake of 9/11 that many consider torture. A median of 50% across 40 nations surveyed say they oppose these practices, which were detailed in a widely publicized U.S. Senate report in December 2014. Only 35% believe they were justified. Americans disagree — nearly six-in-ten (58%) say they were justified.

Many Around the World Have Favorable Opinion of the U.S., President Obama and Actions against ISIS, but Most Say Torture Not Justified

40 country global median



^{*}Median across 39 countries.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey, Q12a, Q17, Q25a, Q35 & Q39.

And more broadly, Americans are more supportive of using torture than others around the world. The U.S. is one of only 12 countries where half or more approve of their own government using torture against suspected terrorists.

Overall, ratings for the U.S. remain mostly positive, with a global median of 69% expressing a favorable opinion of the country. President Obama also remains popular in most countries, and his ratings have improved over the last year in 14 nations. The biggest gains are found in India, which the president visited in January. About three-in-four Indians (74%) now express confidence in Obama, compared with 48% a year ago.

By far, the sharpest decline in Obama's image occurred in Israel. Following a year marked by tensions between Obama and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu over negotiations with Iran, confidence in Obama slipped from 71% in Israel to 49%. Eight-in-ten Israelis disapprove of how Obama is dealing with Iran's nuclear program.

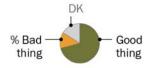
Meanwhile, assessments of U.S. economic power are on the rise. After the onset of the Great Recession in 2008, many believed the global economic balance of power was shifting, as China's economy expanded while the U.S. struggled. But over the last year, as the American economy has continued to rebound, the number of people naming the U.S. as the top economy has increased, especially in Europe. Still, when asked about the future, most publics think China has eclipsed or will eventually eclipse the U.S. as the dominant superpower.

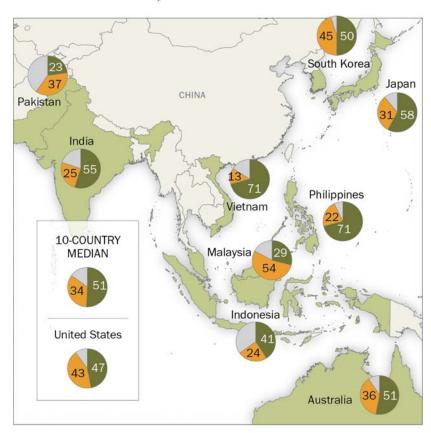
China's rise has generated anxiety and security concerns among many of its neighbors, and the Asian nations surveyed mostly welcome U.S. plans to commit more military resources to the Asia-Pacific region, which is part of a U.S. strategy sometimes referred to as the "pivot" or "rebalancing" toward Asia. Half or more in Vietnam, the Philippines, Japan, India, Australia and South Korea say a greater American military commitment to the region would be a good thing because it could help maintain peace. Malaysia is the only Asian nation where more than half (54%) takes the opposite view that the pivot is bad because it could lead to conflict with China.

There is also considerable support for the major economic component of the pivot: the Trans-Pacific Partnership, or TPP. This trade agreement, which is currently under negotiation, would deepen economic ties among a number of nations on both sides of the Pacific. Roughly half or more in seven of the nine TPP nations in the study believe the agreement would be a good thing for their country.

U.S. Defense Pivot to Asia Welcomed, for the Most Part ...

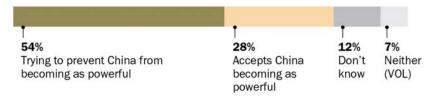
The United States has announced plans to commit more military resources to Asia. Is this a good thing because it could help maintain peace in the region OR is this a bad thing because it could lead to conflict with China?





... But Chinese See U.S. as Trying to Limit China's Power

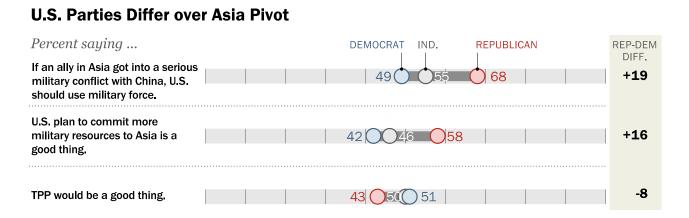
Which is closest to your view? The U.S. accepts that China will eventually be as powerful as the U.S. OR the U.S. is trying to prevent China from becoming as powerful as the U.S.



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q37 & Q121.

However, the American public's embrace of the pivot is somewhat tepid. By a 49%-29% margin, Americans support TPP, although nearly a quarter offer no opinion. They are more divided over committing additional defense resources to the Asia - 47% support the idea, while 43% oppose it. Nonetheless, when asked whether the U.S. should use military force to defend an Asian ally that got into a military conflict with China, 56% of Americans say yes, while 34% say no. Key allies in the region have faith that Washington would come to their defense. Fully 73% of South Koreans, 66% of Filipinos, and 60% of Japanese say the U.S. would use force if their country were involved in a military conflict with China.

In the U.S., there are substantial partisan divides over American engagement in Asia. Republicans are less supportive than Democrats or independents of a potential trade deal, but more supportive of American military commitments in the region.



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q20a, Q37 & Q38.

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Even though Asian publics largely welcome American economic and security initiatives, they also value their economic relationships with China. In fact, in Australia and South Korea, two close American allies, the balance of opinion is that having strong economic ties with China is more important than having such ties with the U.S.

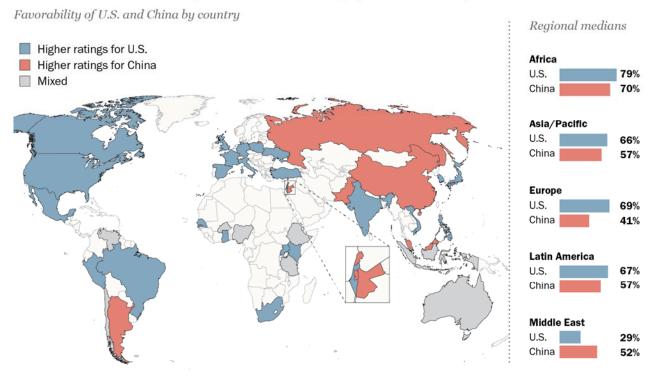
In China itself, America's intentions are viewed with suspicion. More than half (54%) believe the U.S. is trying to prevent China from becoming equally as powerful; just 28% say the U.S. accepts that China will eventually be an equal power.

These are among the main findings of a new Pew Research Center survey, conducted in 40 nations among 45,435 respondents from March 25 to May 27, 2015. (See here for a map of countries included in the survey).

China's Global Image

The survey finds that overall ratings for China are mostly positive. A global median of 55% express a favorable view of China, while 34% have a negative opinion. Ratings tend to be especially positive in sub-Saharan Africa (a median of 70% favorable), although they are still slightly lower than the ratings received by the U.S. in the region. The U.S. also receives higher marks than China in Asia, Latin America, and especially Europe. The opposite is true, however, in the Middle East.

U.S. Seen More Positively than China in Europe, Latin America, but Not in Middle East



Note: China not included in Asia regional median rating for China. Russia and Ukraine not included in Europe median. Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12a-b.

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One thing China and the U.S. have in common is that both nations tend to get better ratings among young people. In 18 nations, people under age 30 are more likely than those 50 and older to express a positive opinion of China. And this is especially true in the U.S., where 55% of 18-29

year-olds offer a favorable view, compared with 27% of people 50 and over. Meanwhile, 59% of Chinese under age 30 see the U.S. favorably, compared with only 29% of those ages 50+.

However, global images of the U.S. and China are very different when it comes to individual rights. A global median of just 34% believe the Chinese government respects the personal freedoms of its people. Large majorities (about three-quarters or more) in the U.S., Canada, Japan, Australia, South Korea, and throughout the EU say China does not respect these rights. There are exceptions however: In ten countries, at least six-in-ten say China does respect individual liberty, including the Asian nations of Pakistan, Indonesia and Malaysia.

In contrast to China, the U.S. gets relatively high marks on individual liberty – a global median of 63% says the American government does respect the personal freedoms of its citizens.

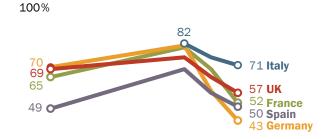
Europeans More Critical of U.S. on Personal Freedoms, but Positive about Its Economic Power

Europeans, however, stand out as increasingly critical of the U.S. government when it comes to protecting the freedoms of its people.

Across the Western European nations polled, ratings for the U.S. on this issue declined between 2013 and 2014, at least partly in response to Edward Snowden's revelations about the NSA's electronic surveillance programs. This year's survey highlights further declines, perhaps in response to highly publicized stories over the last year, such as those concerning harsh interrogation techniques in the post-9/11 era, as well as the controversy in the U.S. regarding police treatment of African-Americans and other minorities.

Fewer in Western Europe Say U.S. Respects Personal Freedoms

Percent saying the government of the U.S. respects the personal freedoms of its people





Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q19b.

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In Germany, France and the United Kingdom,

fewer people believe the U.S. government respects personal freedoms than was the case in 2008, the final year of the George W. Bush administration, which was widely unpopular in Western Europe.

At the same time that Europeans give the U.S. poorer ratings for this element of soft power, they believe American economic power is on the rise. Between 2009 and 2012, Europeans increasingly saw China, rather than the U.S., as the world's economic leader. However, the pendulum has swung back in the other direction since 2012, and today Europeans are now essentially divided on this question. A median of 41% across five EU nations — Britain, France, Germany, Poland, Spain — name China as the top economy, while a median of 39% say it is America.

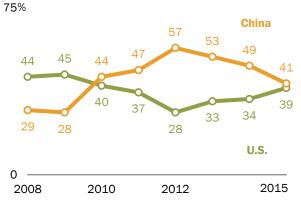
American Public an Outlier on Torture

Views about America's post-9/11

A D LU C III

Europeans Back to Believing China and U.S. at Economic Parity

Medians across five European nations saying __ is the world's leading economic power, 2008-2015



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q17.

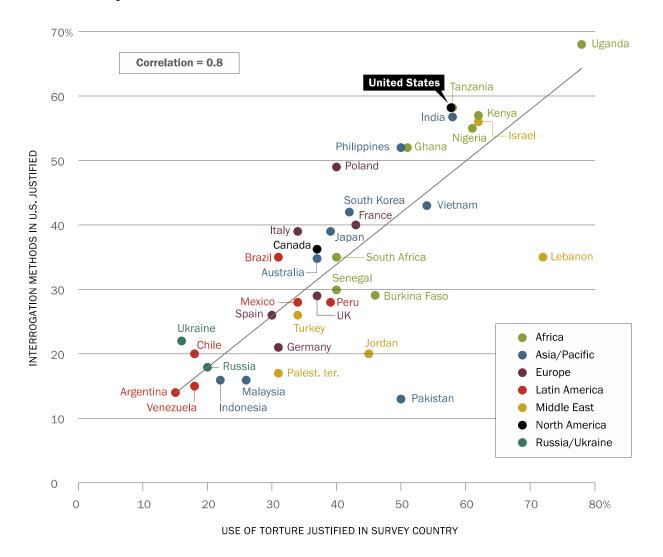
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interrogations are strongly correlated with how people feel about the potential use of torture in their own countries. Across the nations surveyed, a median of 40% believe their own governments would be justified in using torture against people suspected of terrorism in order to gain information about possible attacks. A median of 45% oppose this idea.

Compared with other nations, Americans are generally more supportive of using torture in this type of situation. Nearly six-in-ten (58%) in the U.S. say it could be justified, making it one of only 12 countries surveyed where at least half hold this view.

Countries with higher levels of support for the use of torture by their own governments tend to also have higher levels of support for the use of torture techniques by the U.S. government following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks.

Views about Torture by U.S. Government Track with Opinions of Torture by Own Government



Note: The wording for the questions used above is: "In the period following the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S., the **U.S.**, government used interrogation methods that many consider to be torture on people suspected of terrorism. In your opinion, were these interrogation methods justified, or not justified?"

"If the **(survey country)** government used torture against people suspected of terrorism to try to gain information about possible attacks in our country, do you think this could be justified or could not be justified?"

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q39 & Q57.

1. America's Global Image

America's overall image around the world remains largely positive. Across the nations surveyed (excluding the U.S.), a median of 69% hold a favorable opinion of the U.S., while just 24% express an unfavorable view. However, there is significant variation among regions and countries.

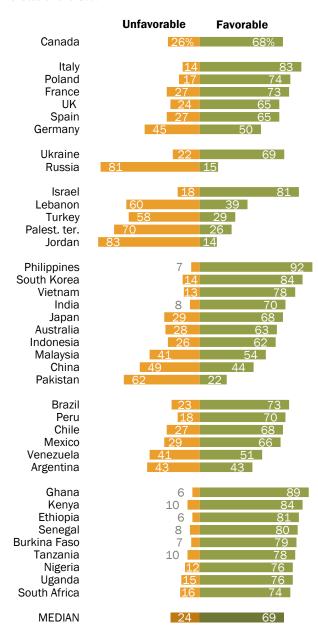
The U.S. receives largely positive reviews among many of its key NATO allies. About two-in-three Canadians have a favorable opinion, as do large majorities in Italy, Poland, France, the UK and Spain. The outlier is Germany, where just 50% give the U.S. a positive rating, while 45% express a negative one. America's image has become more negative in Germany over the last few years — as recently as 2011, 62% of Germans gave the U.S. a favorable review and only 35% assigned a negative rating.

In conflict-ridden Ukraine, 69% have a positive opinion of the U.S., although there are notable differences between the western (78%) and eastern (56%) regions of the nation. (For more on Ukrainian public opinion and the methodology for our Ukraine survey, see this recent report).

The conflict has led to a dramatic increase in anti-American sentiments in Russia. Only 15% of Russians have a positive view of the U.S. today, down from 51% two years ago, before the outbreak of violence.

Mostly Favorable Ratings for U.S.

Views of the U.S.



Note: Median for 39 countries shown, excluding the U.S.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12a.

U.S. Favorability

	1999/ 2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Canada		72	63		59		55		68				64		68
France	62	62	42	37	43	39	39	42	75	73	75	69	64	75	73
Germany	78	60	45	38	42	37	30	31	64	63	62	52	53	51	50
Italy	76	70	60				53					74	76	78	83
Poland	86	79			62		61	68	67	74	70	69	67	73	74
Spain	50		38		41	23	34	33	58	61	64	58	62	60	65
UK	83	75	70	58	55	56	51	53	69	65	61	60	58	66	65
Russia	37	61	37	46	52	43	41	46	44	57	56	52	51	23	15
Ukraine														68	69
Turkey	52	30	15	30	23	12	9	12	14	17	10	15	21	19	29
Jordan		25	1	5	21	15	20	19	25	21	13	12	14	12	14
Lebanon		36	27		42		47	51	55	52	49	48	47	41	39
Palest. ter.			0				13		15		18		16	30	26
Israel			78				78		71		72		83	84	81
Australia			59					46				-	66	-	63
China					42	47	34	41	47	58	44	43	40	50	44
India													56	55	70
Indonesia					38	30	29	37	63	59	54		61	59	62
Japan	77	72				63	61	50	59	66	85	72	69	66	68
Malaysia							27						55	51	54
Pakistan	23	10		21	23	27	15	19	16	17	12	12	11	14	22
Philippines		90											85	92	92
South Korea	58	52	46				58	70	78	79			78	82	84
Vietnam														76	78
Argentina	50	34					16	22	38	42		-	41	36	43
Brazil	-							-	-	62	62	61	73	65	73
Chile							55					-	68	72	68
Mexico	68	64					56	47	69	56	52	56	66	63	66
Peru	74	67					61							65	70
Venezuela	-											-	53	62	51
Burkina Faso															79
Ethiopia												-			81
Ghana		83					80						83	77	89
Kenya	94	80					87		90	94	83		81	80	84
Nigeria										81			69	69	76
Senegal													81	74	80
South Africa	-	65						60					72	68	74
Tanzania	-	53					46	65						75	78
Uganda	_	74			_	_	64						73	62	76

Note: 1999/2000 survey trends provided by the U.S. Department of State.

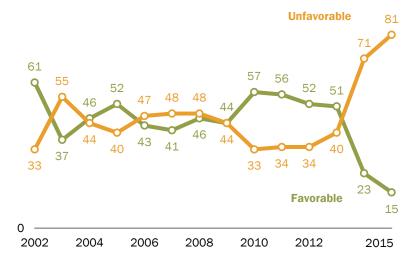
Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12a.

Roughly eight-in-ten Israelis see the U.S. in a positive light, although there is a wide gap between Israeli Jews (87% favorable) and Arabs (48%). Elsewhere in the region, America's image is largely negative, with most Jordanians, Palestinians, Turks and Lebanese registering an unfavorable opinion.

Still, positive ratings for the U.S. in Turkey have increased by 10 percentage points in the last year (from 19% to 29%). And in Lebanon, views divide sharply along religious lines: A

Negative Views of U.S. in Russia

Views of the U.S. 100 %



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12a.

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slim 55%-majority of the country's Christians have a positive opinion of the U.S., as do 48% of Sunni Muslims. Only 3% of Lebanese Shia Muslims share this view.

America's image is mostly positive among the Asian nations polled. Particularly large majorities see the U.S. favorably in the Philippines (92%), South Korea (84%) and Vietnam (77%). And following a year in which President Obama visited India, and Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi came to the U.S., America's image in that country has improved significantly, jumping from 55% favorable to 70% today.

Positive views of the U.S. have declined slightly in China, however, dropping from 50% to 44%. Pakistan is the one Asian nation surveyed where a majority gives the U.S. a negative rating, although favorable views have become somewhat more common over the last year (22% today, 14% in 2014).

Views of the U.S. remain largely favorable in Latin America. As Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff prepares to visit the U.S., fully 73% in her country give the U.S. a favorable review, up from 65% a year ago. And even though Argentina is the only country surveyed in the region where less than half hold a positive view, ratings for the U.S. have nonetheless improved since 2014 (43% now vs. 36% a year ago).

The opposite is true, however, in Venezuela, where President Nicolás Maduro has engaged in considerable anti-American rhetoric in the past year. Only 51% of Venezuelans now rate the U.S. favorably, down from 62% in 2014. There are deep ideological divisions in Venezuela, with 73% of those on the political right giving the U.S. positive marks, compared with 44% of those in the center and just 21% among those on the left.

As has largely been the case since the Pew Research Center began polling in sub-Saharan Africa in 2002, America's image is positive in the region. In all nine African nations surveyed, more than seven-in-ten have a favorable opinion of the U.S. And in Uganda (+14 percentage points), Ghana (+12), Nigeria (+7), Senegal (+6) and South Africa (+6) the percentage of people expressing this view has increased significantly since last year.

Young See U.S. More Positively

In 22 of 39 nations, young people express significantly more favorable attitudes toward America. For instance, 59% of 18-29 year-olds in China have a positive opinion about the U.S., compared with just 29% of those ages 50 and older. Notably large gaps are also found in Vietnam, Brazil, Mexico, Poland, Ukraine and Venezuela.

Wide Generation Gap on Views of U.S. in Many Countries

Favorable view of U.S.

				Youngest-
	1 8-29	30-49	50+	oldest gap
	%	%	%	
China	59	45	29	+30
Vietnam	88	77	64	+24
Brazil	84	74	60	+24
Mexico	74	68	55	+19
Poland	85	76	68	+17
Ukraine	79	69	62	+17
Venezuela	57	53	41	+16
Malaysia	60	55	45	+15
Peru	79	67	65	+14
Argentina	50	43	37	+13
Senegal	83	81	71	+12
Lebanon	42	44	30	+12
Palest. ter.	32	23	20	+12
Burkina Faso	81	81	70	+11
Ethiopia	84	81	74	+10
Spain	71	65	61	+10
Pakistan	25	23	15	+10
Tanzania	82	76	73	+9
South Africa	78	74	69	+9
South Korea	92	80	84	+8
India	75	67	67	+8
Russia	16	21	10	+6

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12a.

Support for U.S. against ISIS

There is extensive global support for the U.S. military campaign against ISIS. A median of 62% across the nations polled say they support American military efforts against the militant group in Iraq and Syria, while a median of just 24% are opposed.

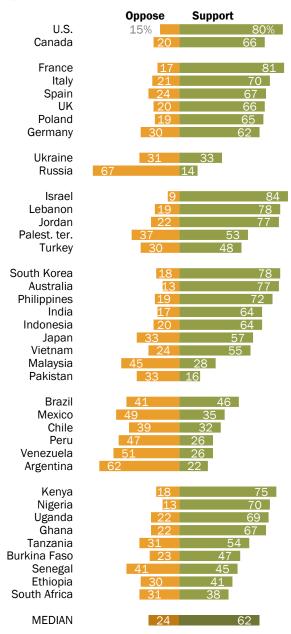
Fully 80% of Americans back the campaign against ISIS, including large majorities of Republicans (88%), Democrats (80%) and independents (75%). Across the border, roughly two-in-three Canadians support the military action, as do solid majorities in the EU nations surveyed.

The campaign also has support in the Middle Eastern nations surveyed, even in some countries where the U.S. and many elements of American foreign policy have been unpopular in recent years. More than three-in-four support the American military actions in Lebanon and Jordan, both of which share a border with Syria. Palestinians and Turks are also, on balance, supportive. Meanwhile, fully 84% of Israelis support the strikes against ISIS, including 87% of Jews and 69% of Arabs.

Turks and Jordanians were also asked whether they favor or oppose their own countries being a part of the coalition to fight ISIS in Iraq and Syria. Overwhelmingly, Jordanians are willing to join the coalition (76% support, 21% oppose). However, a plurality of Turks say their country should stay out of the coalition (36% support, 44% oppose).

Widespread Support for U.S. Actions against ISIS

Do you support or oppose the U.S. military actions against ISIS in Iraq and Syria?



Note: Not asked in China.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q35.

American's military efforts against ISIS receive support throughout most of the nations polled in Asia and Africa, although there are a couple of notable exceptions — on balance, the Malaysian public opposes these efforts, and Senegalese are essentially divided. In several countries a relatively high percentage of respondents do not offer an opinion.

The strongest opposition to America's campaign comes from Russia, where 67% oppose it. And aside from Brazil, public opinion in Latin American leans against U.S. efforts. This is especially true in Argentina, the only country other than Russia with a majority (62%) in opposition.

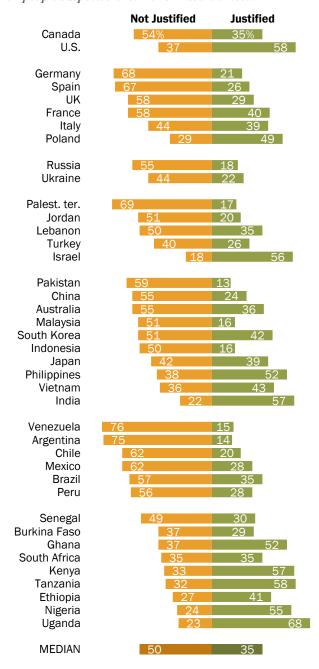
Few Say U.S. Interrogation Methods Were Justified

There is considerable opposition to the American government's use of interrogation methods that many consider torture in the period following the September 11, 2001 terror attacks. A median of 50% across the nations surveyed say using these methods against suspected terrorists was not justified, while only 35% believe they were justified.

Opposition is strong among some of America's top European allies, with majorities in Germany, Spain, the UK and France saying these methods were not justified. Italians, however, are roughly divided on this issue, and Poles lean towards saying the interrogations were justified. In every EU nation surveyed except Poland, those on the ideological left are

U.S. Interrogation Methods

In the period following the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S., the U.S. government used interrogation methods that many consider to be torture on people suspected of terrorism. Were these...



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q39.

more likely to be opposed than those on the right.

Outside of Israel, there is relatively little support for the post-9/11 interrogations in the Middle East. Most in Asia also say these techniques were not justified, although Filipinos and Indians tend to be supportive.

Opposition is consistently strong in Latin America, while Africa is the one region where public opinion tends to favor the harsh methods.

Most Americans believe the post-9/11 interrogations were justified, but there are sharp divisions along partisan lines, with Republicans much more likely than others to say they were justified. There are also significant age and gender gaps.

In U.S.: Young, Democrats, Women Less Supportive of Post-9/11 Interrogation Methods

In the period following the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks in the U.S., the U.S. government used interrogation methods that many consider to be torture on people suspected of terrorism. Were these interrogation methods justified or not justified?

	Justified	Not justified	Depends (VOL)	Don't know
	%	%	%	%
Republican	78	16	2	5
Independent	59	37	2	2
Democrat	43	53	1	3
18-29	46	52	1	1
30-49	62	33	1	3
50+	61	32	3	4
Male	63	33	2	2
Female	53	40	2	5

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q39.

U.S. Generally Seen as Respecting Personal Freedoms

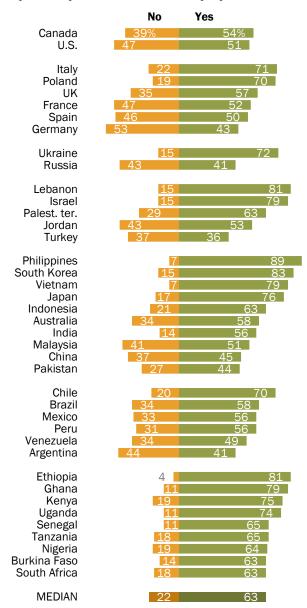
Although many around the world take a grim view of the harsh interrogation policy America pursued in the wake of the September 11 attacks, the U.S. continues to receive strong marks for respecting the individual liberties of its own citizens. Across the nations surveyed, a median of 63% believe the American government respects the personal freedoms of its people, while just 22% say they do not believe this.

There are, however, some exceptions. Public opinion is roughly divided on this question in Russia, Turkey and Argentina. And the U.S. actually gets some of its most negative ratings on this issue in Europe. Germany is the only country in the survey where more than half say the U.S. does not respect personal freedom. This view has become increasingly common among Europeans over the last two years.

Critical views of the U.S. government on this issue have also become more common among Americans themselves. Barely half in the U.S. (51%) think their government respects individual freedoms today, down from 63% last year, 69% in 2013 and 75% in 2008, the first time the question was asked. This view is more common among Democrats (62%) than Republicans (50%) or independents (42%).

Most Think U.S. Respects Personal Freedoms

Do you think the government of the United States respects the personal freedoms of its people?



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q19b.

Most Have Confidence in Obama

Half or more in 29 of 40 countries surveyed say they have confidence in President Obama to do the right thing in world affairs. Throughout his terms in office, Obama has received particularly strong ratings in Europe and Africa, and that continues to be the case this year. Majorities in every EU and sub-Saharan African nation surveyed give him positive marks. He is also largely popular in Asia, although Pakistan is an exception, and he gets mixed reviews in China.

Half or more rate Obama positively in the Latin American nations of Brazil, Chile and Peru. But his ratings are mixed in Mexico, on balance negative in Argentina and overwhelmingly negative in Venezuela.

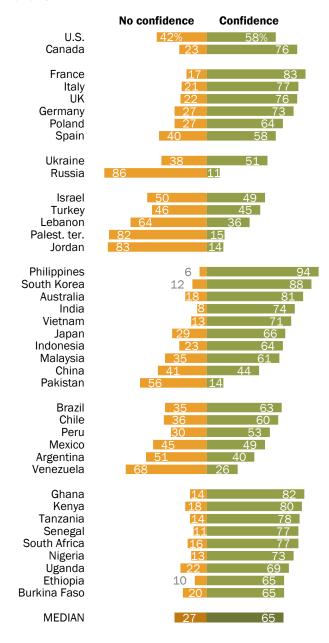
Meanwhile, Obama's image in the Middle East is mixed or negative, with more than eight-inten Jordanians and Palestinians giving him poor marks.

Overall, Obama's image has improved in the last year. In 14 countries of the 36 countries where trends from 2014 are available, more people now say they have confidence in the U.S. president. The largest gain occurred in India, which Obama visited in January. Almost three-in-four Indians express confidence in Obama, up from 48% a year ago. Double digit gains are also found in Ghana (+22 points), Turkey (+21), Nigeria (+20), Uganda (+11) and Brazil (+11).

The biggest decline by far in Obama's rating took place in Israel. Currently, 49% of Israelis are confident in his leadership of international

Confidence in Obama on World Affairs

How much confidence do you have in U.S. President Barack Obama to do the right thing regarding world affairs?



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q25a.

affairs, down from 71% in 2014. Among those who identify with Benjamin Netanyahu's Likud Party, just 40% have confidence. The president's ratings are also down 7 percentage points in both China and Venezuela.

The harshest assessments of Obama are found in Russia, where 86% say they lack confidence in the American president. This is up slightly from 80% in 2014, and up steeply from 51% in 2013, before the Ukraine crisis.

Mixed Reviews on Issues

When respondents are asked to rate President
Obama on issues, he receives his most positive
reviews for his handling of global economic
problems. Across the 40 nations in the survey, a
median of 52% approve of how he has dealt with this
issue, while just 28% disapprove.

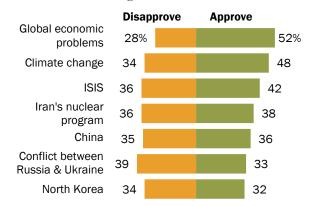
He also receives relatively good marks on climate change, although in 12 of 20 countries where trends from 2010 are available, fewer people now think he is handling this issue well, including significant declines in the five EU nations that were surveyed in both years.

On balance, global publics tend to approve of how Obama is dealing with ISIS. His ratings on this issue are mostly positive among American allies in Europe: Across the six EU member states polled, a median of 51% approve, while 38% disapprove. In the Middle East, most Lebanese (66%) and Jordanians (56%) say they approve, but majorities in Israel (55%) and the Palestinian territories (59%) disapprove.

On his handling of China, Iran and North Korea, the U.S. president receives mixed reviews. Six-in-ten Chinese

Obama's Approval Highest on Economy Globally

Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Barack Obama is dealing with ...



Note: Percentages are global medians based on 40 countries.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q26a-g.

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Fewer Approve of Obama on Climate Change

Approve of the way President Barack Obama is dealing with climate change

	2010	2015	Change
	%	%	
Germany	65	40	-25
Russia	32	12	-20
Indonesia	72	53	-19
Kenya	69	53	-16
Japan	71	56	-15
Spain	51	37	-14
UK	46	32	-14
Poland	56	45	-11
Nigeria	71	62	-9
China	50	41	-9
South Korea	65	57	-8
France	47	41	-6
Brazil	36	43	+7
Pakistan	17	26	+9
Mexico	38	48	+10

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q26b.

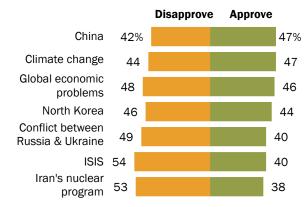
disapprove of how Obama is dealing with their country. Meanwhile, when asked to rate how he is dealing with Iran's nuclear program, eight-in-ten Israelis disapprove.

A global median of 39% give Obama negative marks for how he has dealt with the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, while 33% rate him positively. Fully 90% of Russians say they disapprove. In Ukraine, opinions lean slightly toward a negative assessment: 38% approve of how Obama is dealing with the conflict, while 43% disapprove. However, 44% of those living in the western part of Ukraine approve of the U.S. president's actions, while only 31% in the east agree.

Among Americans, there is no issue where Obama gets majority approval. He gets his highest ratings for dealing with China, climate change and global economic problems. His poorest reviews are on dealing with Iran's nuclear program. As might be expected, there are large partisan differences on each of these evaluations.

How Americans Rate Obama on International Issues

Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Barack Obama is dealing with ... (U.S. only)



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q26a-g.

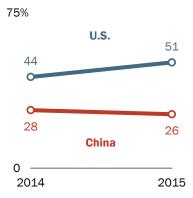
2. Views of China and the Global Balance of Power

In the aftermath of the Great Recession, many commentators remarked that the era of U.S. dominance of the global economy and position as sole superpower were at an end. However, in the intervening years, a sustained economic recovery in the U.S. has bolstered its leadership credentials, and in the current survey, about twice as many people worldwide say that the U.S., and not China, is the world's leading economy. Nonetheless, global publics continue to express the view that China either has or eventually will replace the U.S. as the leading superpower.

Majorities or pluralities have positive sentiments towards China in 27 of the countries surveyed in 2015. China's image has improved in the last year across the countries polled. And these favorable views are particularly evident among the young. But China's human rights record is still a stain on its reputation. On balance, the publics surveyed believe that the Chinese government does not respect the personal freedoms of its people.

More Say U.S. Is World's Leading Economic Power

Median saying __ is the world's leading economic power



Note: Median percentage based on 35 countries surveyed in both 2014 and 2015.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q17.

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Globally, U.S. Seen as Leading Economic Power

Across the 40 countries surveyed in spring 2015, a median of half say that the U.S. is the world's leading economic power. Only 27% across these same nations say that China is the top global economy. A median of 6% name Japan as the top economy, while 5% cite the nations of the EU.

Majorities or pluralities in 30 of 40 countries name the U.S. as the top economy, including all of the African and Latin American countries surveyed. Six-in-ten or more say the U.S. is the global economic leader in Senegal, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Ghana, Ethiopia and Mexico. In all of these nations, roughly a quarter or less say China is the leading economic power.

In every Asian-Pacific country surveyed but one, people choose the U.S. as the leading economic power, including 66% in India and the Philippines. Even in China, 44% say that the U.S. is the top economy, while only 34% name their own country. In Australia, however, a majority (57%) see China as the world's economic leader, while 31% name the U.S.

On balance, the Middle Eastern countries polled say the U.S. is the number one economy, with 63% of Israelis expressing this view, as well as 48% of Palestinians and 47% of Turks. But Lebanese are split (44% U.S., 44% China) and a plurality of Jordanians (47%) say China is the economic leader.

During a grim time for <u>U.S.-Russia relations</u>, 37% of Russians say China is the leading economy, while just 24% believe it is the U.S.

In the EU, opinion on the balance of power between the Chinese and American economies is on a knife's edge. In Italy, Spain, and the UK, nearly equal numbers choose either country as the number one economy. But in France and Germany, public opinion tilts more toward China (49% and 39% respectively), while a quarter of Germans also say the countries of the EU are the leading economic power. However, a 48%-plurality in Poland says the U.S. is number one.

Americans tend to believe their country is the leading economic

U.S. Seen as World's Leading Economy

Today, which one of the following do you think is the world's leading economic power?

	U.S.	China	Japan	EU	Other/None/ Don't know
	%	%	%	%	%
U.S.	46	36	7	7	4
Canada	34	46	6	8	7
Poland	48	25	9	9	9
Italy	44	42	7	2	5
Spain	39	44	8	6	4
UK	39	41	5	8	6
Germany	27	39	5	25	5
France	40	49	5	5	0
Ukraine	44	17	12	12	14
Russia	24	37	15	8	17
Israel	63	28	3	2	5
Palest. ter.	48	28	7	11	6
Turkey	47	21	10	5	18
Lebanon	44	44	6	1	6
Jordan	33	47	12	5	3
India	66	10	3	1	19
Philippines	66	14	13	4	2
Japan	59	23	6	5	6
Malaysia	53	33	7	4	3
Pakistan	51	25	2	1	20
South Korea	51	38	3	6	3
Vietnam	50	14	13	11	11
Indonesia	47	19	16	5	13
China	44	34	2	10	9
Australia	31	57	2	5	5
Mexico	60	17	7	7	9
Brazil	56	17	15	3	9
Chile	54	25	6	6	9
Venezuela	53	27	3	5	12
Argentina	44	32	8	7	9
Peru	39	27	15	9	11
Senegal	68	19	2	3	8
Kenya	64	20	6	4	6
Tanzania	63	16	3	6	13
Uganda	62	16	5	2	14
Ghana	61	23	3	2	10
Ethiopia	60	15	3	4	17
Nigeria	54	26	3	2	16
South Africa	53	21	4	6	18
Burkina Faso	50	30	3	2	16
MEDIAN	50	27	6	5	9

Note: **Bolded** figures represent statistically significant majorities or pluralities.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q17.

power (46%), although 36% name China. It is the opposite in Canada, where 46% say China is the world's top economy and 34% name the U.S.

In half of the countries surveyed in 2014 and 2015, there has been a significant increase in the belief that the U.S. is the world's economic superpower. This includes double-digit gains in India, the Palestinian territories, Kenya, Ghana, Pakistan, Uganda, Venezuela, Malaysia, Senegal, Nigeria, Ukraine and South Africa.

There has also been a rebound in some European nations (Poland, Spain and Germany) when it comes to seeing the U.S. as the top economy, helping it to draw even in a contest that was clearly in China's favor in the years following the Great Recession. In the U.S. itself, more people now say the U.S. is the global economic leader compared to any previous survey going back to 2009.

In China, many fewer people now say the U.S. is the world's leading economy compared with 2014 (-11 percentage points). Significant drops also occurred in Asia among South Koreans (-9) and Vietnamese (-6).

More Now Say U.S. Is Top Economy

U.S. is the world's leading economic power

	2014 %	2015 %	Change
India	47	66	+19
Palest. ter.	29	48	+19
Kenya	48	64	+16
Ghana	45	61	+16
Pakistan	35	51	+16
Uganda	48	62	+14
Venezuela	39	53	+14
Malaysia	40	53	+13
Senegal	56	68	+12
Ukraine	32	44	+12
Nigeria	43	54	+11
South Africa	43	53	+10
Mexico	51	60	+9
Poland	39	48	+9
Spain	31	39	+8
Tanzania	56	63	+7
Germany	20	27	+7
U.S.	40	46	+6
China	55	44	-11
South Korea	60	51	-9
Turkey	55	47	-8
Vietnam	56	50	-6

Note: Only countries surveyed in 2014 and 2015 where there is a significant change shown.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q17.

Most Say China Will Overtake U.S. as Global Superpower

When asked about the future, people around the world are generally convinced that China either will eventually replace or already has replaced the U.S. as the world's leading superpower. Overall, majorities or pluralities in 27 of 40 countries surveyed say this. It is important to note, however, that in no country do more than 26% say China has already replaced the U.S. Instead, the more common view is that China will eventually take its place as the global superpower.

Around equal numbers of Americans say China has replaced or will eventually replace the U.S. as the world's leading superpower as say that China will never replace the U.S. (46% vs. 48%). By a 52%-40% margin, Canadians think that China will or has replaced the U.S.

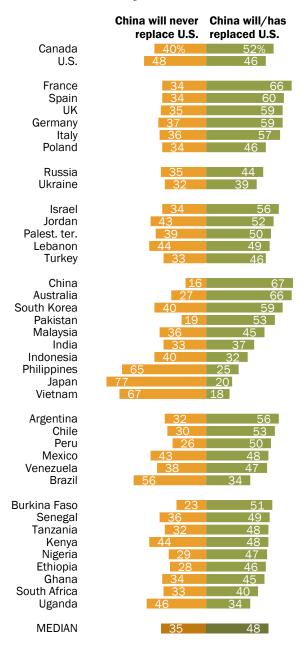
European Union countries surveyed all agree that China will become the world's top power, ranging from 66% in France to 46% in Poland. Among the regions surveyed, Europeans are the most convinced that the U.S.'s days as top power are numbered.

Middle Easterners are also convinced that China will eventually overtake the U.S., including 56% of Israelis.

Countries in Asia and the Pacific have the most diverse opinions when it comes to China's status as a superpower. Overall, a median of 41% in these countries say China will or

People Think China Will or Already Has Replaced U.S. as Superpower

Which comes closest to your view?



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q18.

already has replaced the U.S., while 38% say it will never happen.

More than half in China (67%), Australia (66%), South Korea (59%) and Pakistan (53%) say China will eventually be the world's leading power. A plurality of Malaysians also agree, but Indians are split on this issue. Meanwhile, roughly two-thirds or more in Japan (77%), Vietnam (67%) and the Philippines (65%) say that China will never replace the U.S. as the globe's superpower, which are the highest such readings across the countries surveyed.

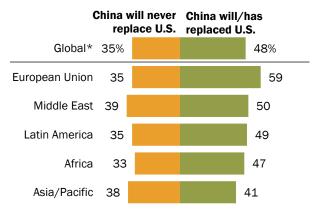
Latin American publics generally think that the U.S. will lose its position as the globe's superpower, but not every country in the region agrees. The most likely to say China will surpass the U.S. are Argentina (56%), Chile (53%) and Peru (50%). However, 56% of Brazilians say the U.S. will never be replaced.

In the nine African nations surveyed, pluralities in six believe the U.S. will be replaced by China, including roughly half in Burkina Faso, Senegal, Tanzania and Kenya.

In 17 of the countries surveyed, younger people are more likely to say China has or will replace the U.S. as the leading superpower. For example, 65% of Canadians ages 18-29 think China will or has replaced the U.S., while only 46% among those ages 50 and older say the same. This age gap also exists in the U.S. itself, as well as a diverse array of countries across the globe.

EU Members Most Likely to Say U.S. Has/Will Be Replaced; Asia Divided

Which comes closest to your view?



^{*} Median across all 40 countries surveyed.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q18.

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Younger People More Likely to See China Overtaking the U.S.

China has replaced or will eventually replace U.S. as superpower

	18-29	30-49	50+	Youngest- oldest gap
	%	%	%	
Canada	65	54	46	+19
Brazil	43	34	24	+19
Burkina Faso	55	52	38	+17
Uganda	38	33	21	+17
Nigeria	46	54	30	+16
Chile	58	56	44	+14
Australia	73	71	60	+13
France	74	66	62	+12
Peru	55	54	43	+12
U.S.	53	48	41	+12
Turkey	49	50	37	+12
Indonesia	35	34	23	+12
Vietnam	23	18	11	+12
Spain	65	67	54	+11
Senegal	53	48	42	+11
Tanzania	49	51	39	+10
Philippines	32	22	23	+9

Note: Only countries with significant young-old differences shown.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q18.

China Receives Generally Positive Ratings from Global Publics

A median of 55% of people across the countries surveyed (excluding China) have a favorable opinion of China. This includes majorities or pluralities with positive sentiment towards China in 27 of 39 countries. Favorable views are more concentrated in Africa and Latin America, but there are divergent opinions in China's home region of Asia.

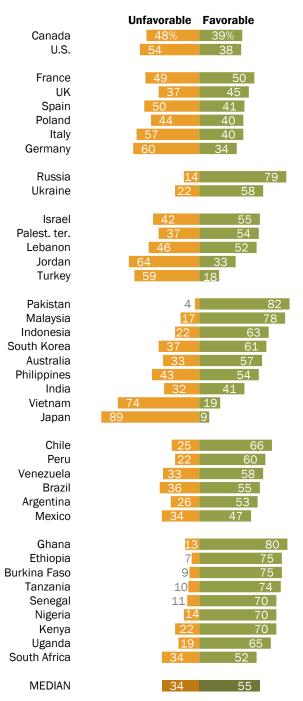
The most favorable views of China are found in Pakistan, Ghana, Russia and Malaysia. China has deep economic ties with each of these countries and has become more strategically entwined with Russia over the past year. This may help explain the 15 percentage point increase in positive views toward China in Russia since 2014. And in Malaysia, 88% of ethnic Chinese have a positive view of China, while roughly three-quarters of ethnic Malays (74%) agree with this assessment.

Elsewhere in Asia, views of China vary greatly. Half or more in Indonesia (63%), South Korea (61%), Australia (57%) and the Philippines (54%) hold a favorable opinion of China. A plurality of Indians agree (41% favorable, 32% unfavorable, 28% no opinion). People in Vietnam (74% unfavorable) and Japan (89%) have a decidedly negative view of their region's dominant economic power.

Majorities or pluralities in all of the African and Latin American countries surveyed have a positive view of China. Highest praise can be found in Africa, where seven-in-ten or more in

Global Ratings for China

Views of China



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12b.

Ghana, Ethiopia, Burkina Faso, Tanzania, Nigeria, Senegal and Kenya have favorable views of Beijing. Meanwhile, around six-in-ten or more in Chile, Peru and Venezuela express favorable attitudes toward China.

Middle Eastern publics are more divided on China. Half or more in Israel and the Palestinian territories like China, but majorities in Jordan (64%) and Turkey (59%) do not. Israeli Arabs (85%) are much more likely to have favorable views, compared with Israeli Jews (49%). Overall, the Lebanese are split, but there is a distinct religious break among Shia Muslims (81% favorable), Christians (47%) and Sunni Muslims (29%).

Europeans and North Americans are less sanguine about the Asian giant compared with the rest of the world. In Europe, Germans and Italians have the highest unfavorable views of China (60% and 57%, respectively). The Spanish also have, on balance, negative views. People in France and Poland are almost equally divided, while slightly more people in the UK have a positive opinion of China (45%) than a negative one (37%).

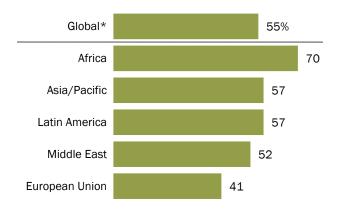
In the U.S. and Canada, only about four-in-ten have a favorable view of China. Over half of Americans (54%) express an unfavorable view, but distaste for China is more evident among Republicans (63% unfavorable) than Democrats (50%).

In the past year, ratings for China have risen slightly across the 35 countries surveyed in both 2014 and 2015. In 2014, a median of 49% had a positive view of China across these countries, but in 2015 it is 54%. Meanwhile, negative views have dropped from 38% to 34%.

Positive opinions of China have become more common in 12

China Seen Positively in Africa, Asia and Latin America, but Less So in EU

Medians with a favorable view of China



* Global median of 39 countries not including China.

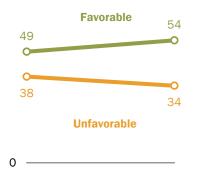
Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12b.

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Favorable Views of China Change in Last Year

Median saying they have a ___ view of China

75%





Note: Median percentage based on 35 countries surveyed in both 2014 and 2015.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12b.

countries over the past year. Of note, Filipinos are more keen on China in 2014 compared with 2015 (+16 percentage points). This might be due to the fact that relations were at a low last year after a <u>confrontation between a Filipino supply ship and a Chinese coast guard vessel</u> in the South China Sea. And in India, which <u>Chinese President Xi Jinping visited in the fall of 2014</u>, favorable opinions of China are up 10 points.

Global Youth More Positive on China

In 18 countries surveyed, younger people are more favorable towards China than their elders. The largest difference between young and old on positive sentiment of China is found in the U.S., where 55% of young Americans (18-29 year-olds) have a favorable view of China while only 27% among those ages 50 and older agree. Significant age gaps of 15 percentage points or more also appear in Brazil, Spain, the Palestinian territories and Mexico.

South Korea is the only country with the opposite pattern. Older South Koreans have more favorable views of China than do their younger counterparts.

There is also a gender gap on opinions towards China. In 17 countries, men are more likely than women to have a positive view of China. This includes Germany, where 42% of men have a favorable view of China compared with only 25% of women. It should be noted that in Pakistan, Vietnam, Brazil, Argentina and many African countries, part of this gap can be explained by women being less likely to have an opinion about China.

Younger People Tend to Have Higher Opinion of China

Favorable view of China

	18-29	30-49	50+	Youngest- oldest gap
	%	%	%	
U.S.	55	41	27	+28
Brazil	65	56	45	+20
Spain	56	41	37	+19
Palest. ter.	58	54	43	+15
Mexico	53	50	38	+15
Nigeria	72	72	59	+13
Peru	68	59	55	+13
Argentina	59	54	46	+13
Poland	48	43	35	+13
Ethiopia	78	73	66	+12
Burkina Faso	76	78	64	+12
Canada	47	39	35	+12
Indonesia	67	64	56	+11
Uganda	69	63	59	+10
Ukraine	65	58	55	+10
Philippines	57	56	47	+10
France	56	54	46	+10
South Africa	52	58	43	+9
South Korea	54	59	68	-14

Note: Only countries with significant differences shown.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q12b.

Poor Marks for China on Human Rights

While overall ratings for China are mostly positive, that is not the case on the issue of individual liberty. Across 39 countries, a median of 45% say the Chinese government does not respect the personal freedoms of its people, while only 34% say that it does.

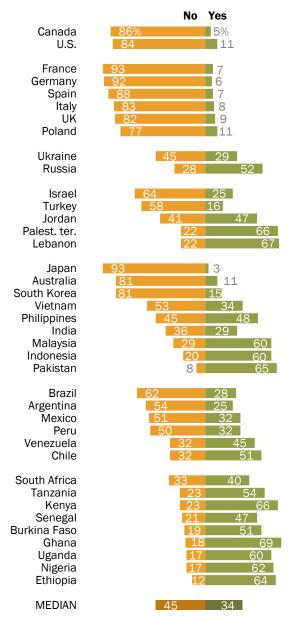
Publics in the EU and North America are the most likely to say that China does not respect the rights of its people. Around eight-in-ten or more among the eight countries surveyed in these regions say that China does not respect the freedoms of its people, including 93% in France, 92% in Germany, 88% in Spain, 86% in Canada and 84% in the U.S. No more than 11% in these places say that China respects individual liberty.

In Asia, publics are very divided on this issue. On the one hand, eight-in-ten or more in Japan (93%), Australia (81%) and South Korea (81%) say that China does not respect the rights of its people. On the other, six-in-ten or more in Pakistan (65%), Indonesia (60%) and Malaysia (60%) say the Chinese government *does* respect personal freedoms. Indians and Filipinos are split.

Middle Eastern publics are also divided on this issue. Nearly two-thirds in Israel (64%) and 58% in Turkey say Beijing ignores the human rights of its people. But around two-thirds in Lebanon (67%) and the Palestinian territories (66%) say China does respect personal freedoms. Israeli Arabs (54%) are much more

Generally Negative Views of China's Respect for Human Rights

Do you think the government of China respects the personal freedoms of its people?



Note: Not asked in China.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q19a.

supportive of China's rights record than are Israeli Jews (20%).

Lebanese Shia Muslims (86%) and Christians (64%) are more likely than Sunni Muslims (49%) to give Beijing a positive rating on this question.

Russians also believe that China respects the rights of its people (52%), while only 29% of Ukrainians agree.

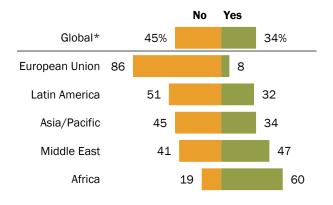
People in Africa are the most positive about China's human rights record. A median of 60% across the nine African countries surveyed say the Chinese government respects personal freedoms. This sentiment is highest in Ghana (69%), Kenya (66%) and Ethiopia (64%). However, only 40% in South Africa say the same.

While not drastically changed since 2014, a year which saw a very public demonstration in Hong Kong regarding democratic rights for the Special Administrative Region, the belief that the Chinese government *does not* respect the human rights of its people is up across the 35 countries surveyed in both years.

Today, a median of 45% think the government of China does not respect the personal freedoms of its people, up from 40% in 2014. There were significant increases in the view that China does not respect individual rights in 14 of the countries surveyed in both years.

Globally, More Say China Does Not Respect Personal Freedoms

Medians saying whether the government of China respects the personal freedoms of its people



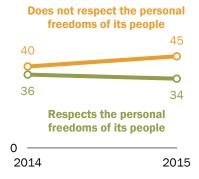
^{*} Global median of 39 countries not including China. Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q19a.

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Changing Belief that China Does Not Respect Human Rights

Median saying the government of China ...

75%



Note: Median percentage based on 35 countries surveyed in both 2014 and 2015.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q19a.

3. Asia in Focus

Former U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton wrote in October, 2011 in <u>Foreign Policy</u> that the U.S. planned to pivot to Asia in the wake of the wind down from the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. The pivot, or rebalancing, has two fulcrums: economic, through a Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade and investment treaty with 11 other nations that border the Pacific, and military, through a renewed U.S. commitment to defend its <u>Asian allies</u>.

The ultimate success of the pivot can only be judged over time. But a measure of its current credibility is public support for transpacific economic integration, Americans' willingness to defend their Asian allies, and those allies' faith that Uncle Sam will come to their defense.

Both the economic and military pivots have general public support on both sides of the Pacific. Half or more of the publics in seven of the nine TPP nations surveyed voice the view that such an accord would be a good thing for their country. The American public is willing to use military force to defend its Asian allies if they get into a military conflict with China. And those allies – Japan, the Philippines and South Korea – trust that Washington will come to their aid.

TPP: Americans among the Least Supportive

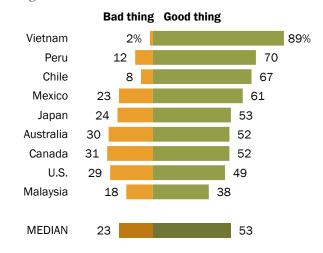
TPP involves 12 nations on both sides of the Pacific, including Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, Japan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, the United States and Vietnam.

If successfully concluded, participating economies would account for 40% of the world's economy and 26% of world trade.

The 2015 Pew Research survey involved 9 of the 12 countries engaged in the TPP negotiations. Among those publics, a median of 53% think the deal would be a good thing for their country. A median of 23% say it would be a bad thing.

General Support for TPP

Would TPP be a good thing for our country or a bad thing?



Note: Data for volunteer categories "haven't heard enough" and "neither good nor bad" not shown.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q20a.

The strongest support is in Vietnam, where 89% of the public backs the potential accord. The weakest support is in Malaysia (38%) and the U.S. (49%) with 31% of Malaysians and 12% of Americans volunteering they have not heard of the negotiations. The greatest outright opposition is in Canada (31%), Australia (30%) and the U.S. (29%).

Notably, there is a gender gap in public attitudes toward the deal in four of the largest economies negotiating TPP. In the U.S., 53% of men favor TPP, but only 45% of women agree. In Japan, 60% of men think the trade deal would be good for the country, while only 46% of Japanese women agree. In Canada, the gender gap is 13 percentage points: 59% of men favor compared with 46% of women. In Australia, the gap is seven points: 56% to 49%.

There is also a generation gap on TPP in a number of participating nations. The largest difference (24 percentage points) is in the U.S., where Americans ages 18 to 29 (65%) are much more supportive than those ages 50 and older (41%). There is also a 19 percentage point young-old difference in Mexico, a 15 point gap in Australia, a 10 point difference in Peru and an 8 point difference in Vietnam.

In addition to gender and age gaps, there is a partisan divide on TPP in a few key nations. In

Many Young People More Pro-TPP

TPP trade agreement would be a good thing for country

	18-29	30-49	50+	Youngest- oldest gap
	%	%	%	
U.S.	65	49	41	+24
Mexico	69	63	50	+19
Australia	63	52	48	+15
Peru	77	67	67	+10
Vietnam	95	86	87	+8

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q20a.

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the U.S., roughly half (51%) of Democrats think this trade deal would be a good thing for the country, while only 43% of Republicans agree. In Canada, 70% of supporters of the ruling Conservative Party back the TPP, but only 60% of Liberals and 42% of adherents of the New Democratic Party agree. In Australia, 67% of backers of the Liberal National Party/Country Liberal Party support TPP, but only 44% of the opposition Labor Party favor the trade agreement.

TPP is avowedly an effort to deepen the participants' economic ties with each other, particularly with the U.S. And some observers see this initiative as Washington's effort to contain China and limit Beijing's economic ties with the region. But majorities in only four of eight TPP nations asked this question say it is more important to have strong economic ties with the U.S. than with China.

In both TPP and non-TPP Pacific Rim nations, publics were asked if they favor stronger economic ties with Washington or with Beijing. Seven-in-ten or more Japanese (78%), Filipinos (73%) and Canadians (73%) choose the U.S. Nearly seven-in-ten Vietnamese (69%) agree. Malaysians (14%) are the least supportive of a closer economic relationship with the U.S.

The greatest support for deeper economic ties with China is in Australia (50%) and South Korea (47%).

In addition, large numbers of Malaysians (43%) and Chileans (35%) volunteer that they would like to have strong commercial relations with both China and the U.S.

The Defense Pivot

The U.S. <u>Quadrennial Defense Review</u> has committed the U.S. to rebalance military resources to the Asia-Pacific region. Half or more of the publics in six of ten nations surveyed think this is a good thing because it could help maintain peace in the region. However, Americans are divided on the issue.

The strongest support for the defense pivot is found in Vietnam (71%) and the Philippines (71%). Only roughly half of Australians (51%) and South Koreans (50%) back this rebalancing despite the fact that their governments are among Washington's closest strategic allies in the region.

Many in TPP Countries Prefer Strong Economic Ties with the U.S.

More important to have strong economic ties with ...

	U.S.	China	Both (VOL)	Neither (VOL)	Don't know
TPP countries:	%	%	%	%	%
Japan*	78	10	4	4	4
Canada	73	13	8	2	4
Vietnam	69	18	4	1	8
Mexico	64	15	14	4	3
Peru	44	23	24	2	7
Chile	34	25	35	4	2
Australia	27	50	18	1	4
Malaysia	14	39	43	3	2
Non-TPP countr	ies:				
Philippines	73	7	13	1	6
India	63	14	6	2	15
South Korea	39	47	13	0	2
Indonesia	30	22	29	6	12
Pakistan	7	72	5	1	15

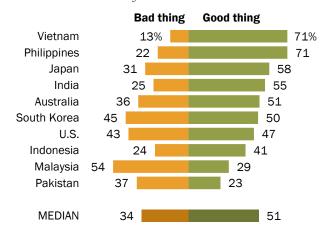
^{*} Japan data from April 2015 Pew Research Center survey.

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q26v.

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U.S. Military Presence in Asia Welcomed by Many

Increased U.S. military resources in Asia are a ...



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q37.

The greatest opposition to the U.S. defense pivot is in Malaysia, where 54% believe it is a bad thing because it could lead to conflict with China.

Americans are ambivalent about whether a greater military presence in Asia is a good thing or whether it is a bad thing: 47% favor it, 43% are opposed. A majority of Republicans (58%) think the military rebalancing is a good idea. But only 42% of Democrats support it while 47% do not. Americans ages 50 and older are more supportive (51%) of the security pivot than those ages 18 to 29 (37%).

There is a gender gap in support of the pivot in some key Pacific Rim nations. Men are more supportive than women by 25 percentage points in Japan (71% to 46%), by 14 points in the U.S. (54% to 40%), by 12 points in Australia (57% to 45%) and by 11 points in Vietnam (77% to 66%).

It is also older (53%) rather than younger Australians (43%) who support greater U.S. military involvement in the region. A similar generation gap exists in South Korea with 57% of older Koreans in favor of the pivot versus 49% of younger ones.

Partisan political divisions on the pivot are not limited to the U.S. In Australia, 62% of Liberals think America committing more military resources to Asia is a good thing, while only 49% of Labor Party supporters agree.

China is currently engaged in a number of territorial disputes in the region over sovereignty in the South China and East China Seas. Support for or opposition to a greater U.S. military presence in the Asia-Pacific often reflects a broader public preference for either standing up to China in these disputes or deepening commercial engagement with Beijing, the dominant economy in the region.

Nearly three-quarters of Vietnamese (74%) say it is more important to be tough with China on territorial disputes than it is to have a strong economic relationship (17%) with their neighbor to the north. This may be one important reason why roughly seven-in-ten

Relations with China

Which is more important?

	Being tough with China on territorial disputes	Having a strong economic relationship with China	Don't know
	%	%	%
Vietnam	74	17	9
South Korea	56	40	4
Japan	46	45	9
India	44	37	19
Philippines	41	43	16
Indonesia	38	36	26
Malaysia	7	83	10

Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q136.

(71%) Vietnamese back increased American military resources being committed to the Asia-Pacific.

At the same time, 83% of Malaysians say it is more important to have deeper economic ties with China than to stand up to Beijing over territorial issues. Given such sentiment, Malaysian opposition to a U.S. military pivot to Asia is not surprising.

Japanese and Filipinos are divided on confronting China or getting closer to her economically, despite the fact that both publics support a greater U.S. military presence in the region. And the South Koreans are more supportive of being tough with China than they are of the U.S. defense pivot to Asia.

Some young Asians prefer standing up to China on territorial issues over closer economic ties with Beijing. There is a 17 percentage point generation gap on this issue in Vietnam (84% of those under 30 say be tough with China, compared with 67% of people ages 50 and older). The generation gap in South Korea is 9 points, with 60% of those ages 18 to 29 saying being tough with

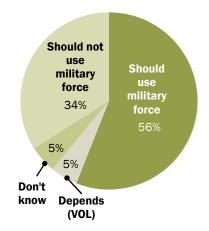
China is more important compared with 51% of those ages 50 and older, and in Indonesia 12 points (45% of younger vs 33% of older respondents).

The U.S. government has long been committed to the <u>defense of its Asian allies</u>. A majority of Americans support that commitment. When asked if the U.S. should defend one of its Asian allies if it got into a serious military conflict with China, 56% of Americans say Washington should respond with military force. However, American men and women disagree: 64% of men say Washington should respond with force, but only 48% of women hold this view. And there is a partisan division on the willingness to come to Asian allies' defense — while 68% of Republicans think the U.S. should do so, only 49% of Democrats agree.

Major U.S. allies in the region expect Uncle Sam to come to their defense in the event of a clash with China. More than seven-inten South Koreans (73%), roughly two-thirds of Filipinos (66%) and six-in-ten Japanese believe that if their country and China got into a serious military conflict, the U.S. would use military

U.S. Views on Defending Asian Allies

If one of our allies in Asia, such as Japan, South Korea or the Philippines, got into a serious military conflict with China, do you think we ___ to defend them?



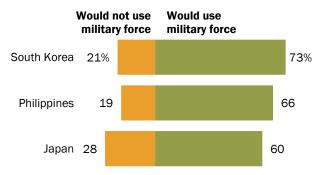
Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. 038.

force to defend them.

Notably, in Japan young people (70%) are more likely than those ages 50 and older (53%) to trust the U.S. to come to their military aid.

America's Asian Allies Believe U.S. Would Come to Their Defense

If your country and China got into a serious military conflict, do you think the U.S. __ to defend your country?



Source: Spring 2015 Global Attitudes survey. Q137.

Methodology

About the 2015 Spring Pew Global Attitudes Survey

Results for the survey are based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. The results are based on national samples, unless otherwise noted. More details about our international survey methodology and country-specific sample designs are available on our <u>website</u>.

For more detailed information on survey methods for this report, see here: http://www.pewglobal.org/international-survey-methodology/?year_select=2015

For more general information on international survey research, see here: http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/international-survey-research/

Topline Results

Pew Research Center Spring 2015 survey June 23, 2015 Release

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples. For further details on sample designs, see Methodology section and our <u>international survey methods database</u>.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline "total" columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Since 2007, the Pew Research Center has used an automated process to generate toplines for its Global Attitudes surveys. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from those published prior to 2007.
- Throughout this report, trends from India in 2013 refer to a survey conducted between December 7, 2013, and January 12, 2014 (Winter 2013-2014).
- Spring, 2011 survey in Pakistan was fielded before the death of Osama bin Laden (April 10 April 26), while the Late Spring, 2011 survey was conducted afterwards (May 8 May 15).
- Results for Ukraine in 2014 may differ from previously published figures. To make the 2014 sample comparable to 2015, Luhans'k, Donets'k and Crimea were excluded from the 2014 sample. These areas were not surveyed in 2015 due to security concerns. Throughout the topline results, 2014 Ukraine figures are noted with an asterisk.
- For some countries, trends for certain years are omitted due to differences in sample design or population coverage. Omitted trends often reflect less representative samples than more recent surveys in the same countries. Trends that are omitted include:
 - Ethiopia prior to 2015
 - Ukraine prior to 2014
 - Vietnam prior to 2014
 - India prior to Winter 2013-2014

- Senegal prior to 2013
- Venezuela prior to 2013
- Brazil prior to 2010
- Nigeria prior to 2010
- South Africa in 2007
- Indonesia prior to 2005
- Pakistan in May 2003
- Poland in March 2003
- Russia in March 2003
- Due to translation errors, trends for certain questions are not shown prior to 2015. Trends that are omitted include:
 - o Q18 for Japan, Kenya and Nigeria in 2014 and 2013; Japan and Kenya in 2011 and 2009; and Japan in 2008.
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2015 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.