

S I T U A T I O N N O R M A L

A L M O S T

2 0 0 2 Y E A R - E N D R E P O R T

THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER
FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS

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Our centerpiece project this year was the first major report of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*, the largest study yet undertaken by the Pew Research Center and one of the most extensive public opinion surveys ever conducted. Interviews with more than 38,000 people in 44 countries showed, among many other things, a continuing embrace of things American, but also widespread complaints about pervasive U.S. influence.

Back home, Pew Research Center surveys documented Americans' continuing concerns over national security, and the steady strength of President Bush, both of which were important to public support for war with Iraq and a historic Republican victory in the midterm elections.

This report summarizes what we learned from nearly 70,000 interviews, in the U.S. and worldwide, which provided the basis for 21 research reports and nine commentaries during the course of the year.

For more information, contact us by telephone (202-293-3126), by fax (202-293-2569) or on the Web at <http://www.people-press.org>.

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Andrew Kohut". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Andrew Kohut
Director

I. SAFETY FIRST

The public's desire for security in an increasingly dangerous world was a major theme running through the Center's work in 2002. Fears of new terrorism fluctuated throughout the year, but at no point did less than a majority express at least some worry about possible future attacks.

Concern was especially high in the cities targeted by terrorists on Sept. 11. A special survey conducted in New York and Washington a year after the attacks showed many more residents of those cities struggled with the emotional consequences of 9/11 than did other Americans. New Yorkers and Washingtonians also expressed more personal fear of future terrorism — and they acted on those concerns. Washingtonians, in particular, overwhelmingly felt they lived in an area likely to be targeted again by terrorists.

TERRORISM WORRIES

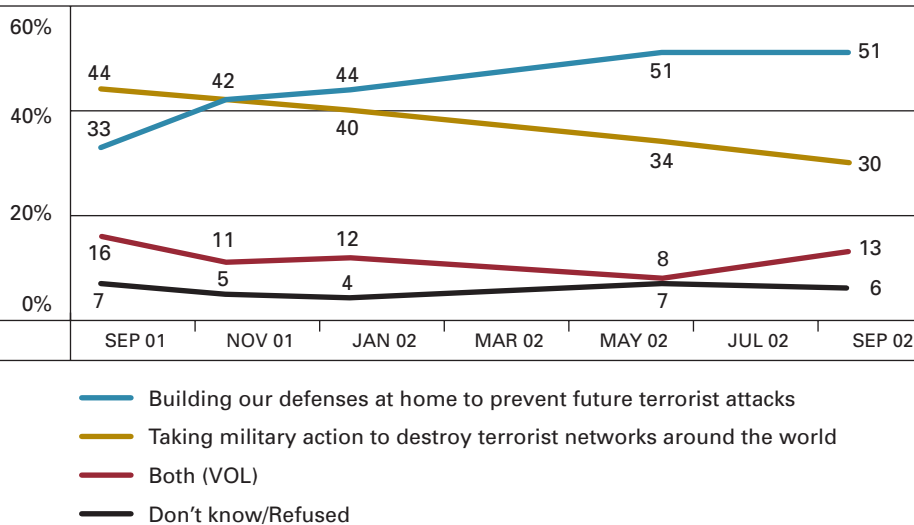
	VERY WORRIED %	SOMEWHAT %	TOTAL %
Dec 02	31	42	73
Oct 02	20	46	66
Aug 02	16	46	62
Jun 02	32	44	76
Jan 02	20	42	62
Dec 01	13	39	52
Oct 01	28	45	73

LASTING IMPACT OF 9/11

	NATION %	NYC %	WDC %
Worry self/family might be a victim of future attack	40	57	52
Live/work in likely terrorist target area	32	42	69
Suffer two or more emotional consequences	34	48	35
Often recall attacks	28	40	40
Often feel sad	24	37	23
Often feel depressed	10	14	8
Often feel angry	31	41	27
Took one or more preventive measures	43	60	61
Avoided public events	15	31	30
Handled mail differently	24	31	32
Traveled by air less	17	30	28

CONCERNS TURN HOMEWARD

WHICH IS HIGHER PRIORITY?



DRAWING THE LINE ON GOVERNMENT SCRUTINY

WHAT CONCERNS YOU MORE?	SEP 01 %	JUN 02 %
Gov't will fail to enact strong anti-terrorism laws	39	35
Gov't will enact laws which excessively restrict civil liberties	34	49
Neither	10	3
Don't know/Refused	17	13
	100	100
WOULD YOU FAVOR...	SEP 01	AUG 02
National ID Cards	70	59
Gov't monitoring phone & e-mail	26	22
Gov't monitoring credit card purchases	40	32

A growing number of Americans, not just New Yorkers and Washingtonians, felt the government should give higher priority to building up anti-terrorist defenses at home rather than taking military action against terrorists overseas. At the same time, the public's rating of the government's efforts in this area steadily declined: The number who thought the military effort against terrorism was going very well fell from 45% in early October 2001 to just 22% in September 2002.

As they questioned the success of the war on terrorism, Americans also became worried about the cost it could take on their personal liberties. In June, nearly half the public (49%) said the greater worry was that the government would go too far, rather than not far enough, with new anti-terrorism laws. Shortly after the attacks, barely a third (34%) had voiced such concerns. And while the public backed some intrusive measures to combat terrorism — such as national ID cards — they drew the line at giving the government free rein to monitor personal email accounts and credit card records.

II. AMERICA AND THE WORLD: STAY STRONG, BUT ALSO ENGAGED

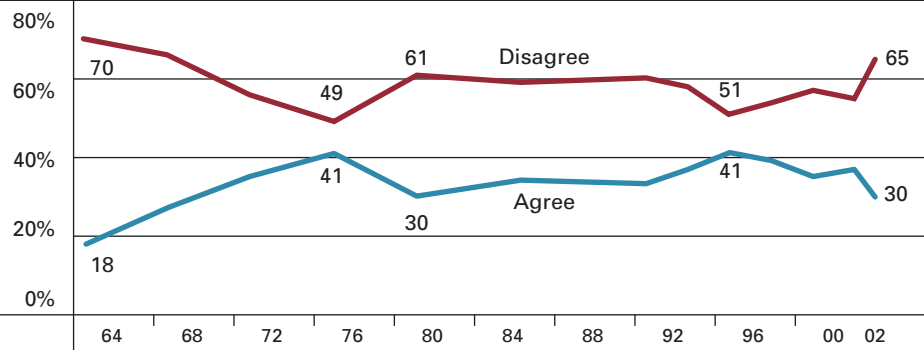
Continuing concern about security has led to profound changes in the way the public looks at the world. An increasing number of Americans support taking military action against foreign threats and cooperating with key allies and the U.N. As war with Iraq looked increasingly likely, these twin strands of opinion came together. There was consistently strong support for military action — but only if the allies went along.

Throughout the year, roughly six-in-ten favored taking military action to remove Saddam Hussein from power, but only about half as many approved the use of force in the absence of allied backing.

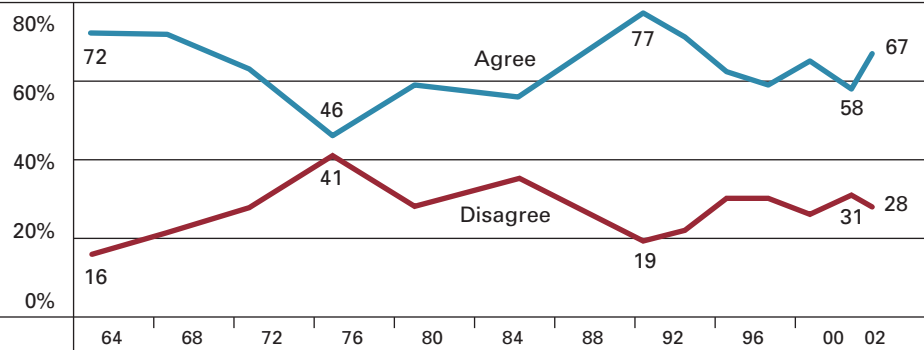
The public was unconditional in its embrace of internationalism. Our December survey showed that just three-in-ten held the hardcore isolationist view that the U.S. should mind its own business internationally — down from a recent high of 41% in 1995 and 37% just prior to last year's terrorist attacks. In fact, the "mind our own business" view has not been that low since 1980 and, before that, the late 1960s.

Americans also strongly favored working with major allies and most think the U.S. does, in fact, take the interests of allied nations into account. But people in those nations overwhelmingly disagree. A multi-national survey conducted in April in association with the International Herald Tribune and the Council on Foreign Relations found a major trans-Atlantic divide over whether the U.S. cooperates with allies in the war on terror. Roughly half of Americans said yes; fewer than half as many of the British, Germans and French agreed.

KEEP OUT OF WORLD AFFAIRS?



COOPERATE WITH THE U.N.?



EUROPEANS SEE U.S. GOING IT ALONE

IN WAR ON TERRORISM...	FRANCE %	GERMANY %	ITALY %	BRITAIN %	U.S. %
U.S. acts mainly on its own interest	80	85	68	73	41
U.S. takes into account views of allies	17	12	28	22	48
Don't know	3	3	4	5	11

III. POLITICS: THE NEW NORMAL?

WHAT VOTERS WANT DISCUSSED

	%
ECONOMIC ISSUES	55
Economy	40
Jobs/Employment	16
Balanced budget	4
DOMESTIC/SOCIAL ISSUES	48
Education	21
Health care	9
Crime	4
Caring for elderly	3
Environment	2
Social Security	2
TERRORISM/FOREIGN	22
Terrorism	11
Foreign policy	6
Iraq	4
National security	3
TAXES	10

Early October

WHICH PARTY CAN BEST HANDLE...

	REPUBLICAN PARTY %	DEMOCRATIC PARTY %	BOTH/ NEITHER %	DK/REF %
Terrorist threat	44	28	12	16=100
Iraq situation	46	30	11	13=100
Economy	37	41	9	13=100
Corporate reform	33	41	9	17=100
Corporate justice	37	38	13	12=100

Early October

Politics in 2002 began returning to normal, after the extraordinary events of the year before. Partisanship came back in vogue and Americans focused more on the nation's lackluster economy. Several Pew Center surveys in the run-up to midterm elections showed the public again becoming as concerned about the economy and other domestic issues as about the continuing threat of terrorism.

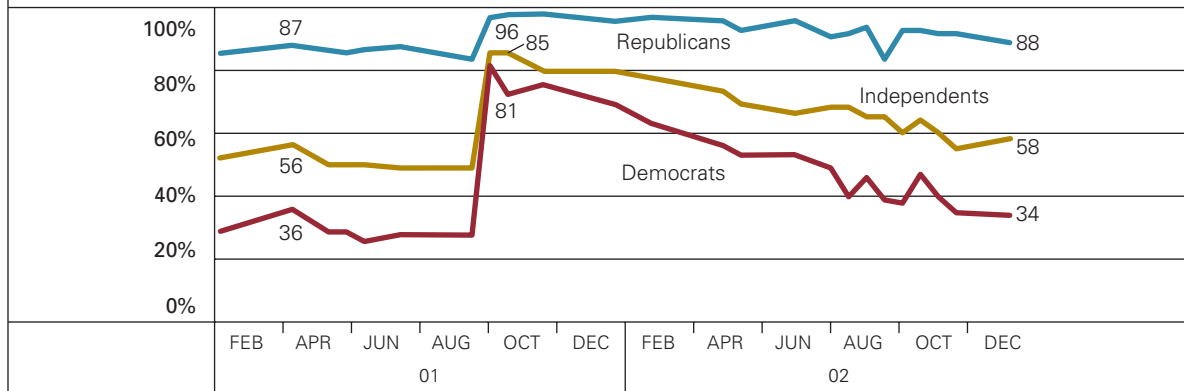
Our major pre-election survey found a 55% majority wanted congressional candidates to talk about economic issues, including jobs, the budget and taxes, while another 48% cited domestic issues such as education, health care and crime — compared with only 22% focused on terrorism and other foreign policy issues.

It might have seemed grounds for significant Democratic traction. But the Democrats built only a slim 41%–37% advantage as the party seen better able to handle the economy. Even the wave of corporate scandals, which Democrats hoped would propel the party back to the majority, failed to give them much of a boost. Republicans, by contrast, retained a 44%–28% lead as better able to deal with terrorism, and held a smaller, but still significant, lead on Iraq.

President Bush also showed continuing strength, especially in connection with terrorism and military action against Iraq. Although his overall job rating declined over the course of the year, from a near post-9/11 high of 80% in January to 61% in December, he was still about 10 points above where he had been before the terrorist attacks.

But the public was as politically polarized as it was before the 9/11 attacks. In December, Bush drew support from roughly nine-in-ten Republicans (88%), but barely a third of Democrats (34%). While the president's crossover appeal was limited, the extraordinary loyalty he commanded from Republicans proved crucial as the GOP added to its House majority and retook the Senate. A majority (51%) of those intending to vote GOP just prior to the election saw it as a vote for Bush. This was a significantly greater presidential role than played by Bill Clinton among Democrats in the midterm election four years earlier (31%).

PARTISAN DIVIDE RETURNS: BUSH JOB APPROVAL



IV. RELIGION: MIXED FEELINGS

RELIGION VERY IMPORTANT

	%
United States	59
Great Britain	33
Canada	30
Italy	27
Germany	21
Japan	12
France	11

CONFLICTING VIEWS OF RELIGION'S ROLE IN THE WORLD

	MAR 02 %
THE BIGGER LESSON OF 9/11	
Too much religion in the world	28
Too little religion in the world	51
Both/Neither (Vol)	13
Don't know	8
INFLUENCE OF RELIGION IN THE WORLD	
Good thing	80
Bad thing	13
Both/Neither/Depends (Vol)	5
Don't know	2
EXTENT OF RELIGION'S ROLE IN CAUSING WAR	
Great deal	34
Fair amount	31
Only a little	20
None	9
Don't know	6
SOME RELIGIONS ENCOURAGE VIOLENCE MORE THAN OTHERS	
Yes	47
No	41
Neither/Don't know	12

Americans remain a highly religious people, especially when compared with the publics in other wealthy nations. Yet they also hold complex attitudes on the role of religion in society and, if anything, this became even more apparent in the aftermath of Sept. 11.

Our annual religion survey, conducted in association with the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, showed that a 51% majority felt that the lesson of the attacks by Islamic extremists was that there is too little religion in the world, not too much. But 65% acknowledged that faith has at least a fair amount to do with causing wars and conflicts in the world, including 34% who say a great deal.

While Americans continued to feel favorably towards Muslim-Americans, mixed feelings were present there as well. Just 38% had a favorable view of Islam, with 33% unfavorable. Nearly half (45%) thought that only some or just a few Muslims around the world are anti-American, but 36% thought as many as half or more are. And a quarter expressed the view that Islam itself encourages violence.

There is widespread belief that religious faith remains the bedrock of American society. But Americans resoundingly reject the notion that their religion provides the only path to salvation. Three-quarters said that many religions — not just their own — can lead a believer to eternal life.

Is it necessary to believe in God to be a moral person? Americans were split here as well, with 47% saying such belief is necessary and 50% disagreeing.

V. NEWS: OLD HABITS,
FAMILIAR CRITICISMS

TOP NEWS STORIES OF 2002

Sept. 11 served as an unwelcome reminder to Americans that what goes on in the world does, in fact, have major consequences for this country. But the attacks did little to raise interest in foreign news and had no lasting impact on the public's overall news consumption habits.

The Pew Research Center's biennial media survey found a modest rise in the number of Americans who say they follow overseas news very closely, to 21% from 14% in 2000. But that increase came mostly among a narrow group of highly educated Americans who already were more disposed to follow such news. More than four-in-ten male college graduates (44%) pay close attention to overseas news, up from 28% in 2000.

International news stories that did not involve Americans or the war on terrorism drew particularly low interest, with the notable exception of the ongoing conflict in the Middle East. In April, 44% followed news of violence in the region, the highest level of interest dating back to 1988. But other major overseas developments drew only a fraction of that audience. And the year's biggest story was the series of sniper attacks that traumatized the Washington, DC, area.

	VERY CLOSELY %	FAIRLY CLOSELY %	TOTAL FOLLOWED STORY %
Sniper shootings (Late Oct)	65	26	91
Debate over war in Iraq* (Early Oct)	60	28	88
War in Afghanistan* (Jan)	51	35	86
Terrorism defenses* (July)	51	33	84
Court ruling on Pledge (July)	52	27	79
Kidnapped children (Sept)	49	30	79
FBI/CIA knowledge of 9/11* (Early Oct)	41	37	78
Violence in Middle East* (April)	44	33	77
U.S. economy* (Feb)	35	40	75
9/11 Anniversary (Sept)	39	35	74
Catholic priest scandals* (June)	38	36	74

* Interest in these stories was tracked over many months – highest reported interest shown here.

REASONS FOR NOT FOLLOWING INTERNATIONAL NEWS
(AMONG THOSE WITH MODERATE/LOW INTEREST IN INTERNATIONAL NEWS)

	YES %	NO %	DK %
Lack background to follow	65	34	1=100
Nothing ever changes	51	47	2=100
Int'l events don't affect me	45	54	1=100
Too much war and violence	42	56	2=100

NEWS MEDIA RATINGS BACKSLIDE

NEWS ORGANIZATIONS...	FEB	EARLY	NOV	JULY
	1999	SEPT	2001	2002
	%	%	%	%
Usually get facts straight	37	35	46	35
Usually report inaccurately	58	57	45	56
Don't know	5	8	9	9
	100	100	100	100
Are highly professional	52	54	73	49
Are not professional	32	27	12	31
Neither/Don't know	16	19	15	20
	100	100	100	100
Care about the people they report on	21	23	47	30
Don't care	67	64	38	55
Neither/Don't know	12	13	15	15
	100	100	100	100
Are willing to admit mistakes	26	24	35	23
Try to cover up mistakes	66	67	52	67
Neither/Don't know	8	9	13	10
	100	100	100	100

Why has international news failed to find more of a following in the age of terror? Most of those who do not closely follow international news stories told us they sometimes lose interest in it because they lack the background information to keep up, significantly more than those who say they find it repetitive, remote or excessively violent.

Other media trends were flat compared with 2000: The rapid growth in online news consumption leveled off and the steady decline in network news viewing abated. Interestingly, the largest decline in consumption of network news and newspapers was not among the very young or very old but in the 35–49 age group.

Hostility toward the media also resurfaced, after subsiding during the fall of 2001 when news organizations won plaudits for terrorism coverage. In November 2001, 73% credited the news media with being highly professional. Just 49% felt that way this past July, even fewer than just before the 9/11 (54%). Other measures on media performance also tumbled. But most Americans agreed that the press does keep political leaders honest.

VI. WHAT THE WORLD THINKS

The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* represents a significant departure for the Pew Research Center, which has largely, though not exclusively, focused on domestic issues. Through more than 38,000 interviews in 44 nations, this first report found a remarkable contradiction between views of the present and the future. In most countries outside the industrialized West, people are negative about the state of their nations and their own lives, with crime, disease (especially AIDS and other infectious diseases), corruption and economic problems the most commonly cited threats.

Still there is widespread expectation of a brighter future, with more people in every nation expressing optimism than pessimism. Outside the West, and especially in Asia (except for Japan), more people also think their country's children will have better lives than people today.

GLOBAL DIVIDES

	UNABLE TO AFFORD FOOD %	TOP GLOBAL THREAT
NORTH AMERICA		
United States	15	Nuclear Weapons
Canada	10	Religious & Ethnic Hatred
WEST EUROPE		
Germany	5	Religious & Ethnic Hatred
France	8	Religious & Ethnic Hatred
Great Britain	11	Religious & Ethnic Hatred
Italy	11	Nuclear Weapons
EAST EUROPE		
Czech Republic	8	Religious & Ethnic Hatred
Slovak Republic	16	Nuclear Weapons
Poland	35	Rich/Poor Gap
Bulgaria	46	Rich/Poor Gap
Russia	50	AIDS & Disease
Ukraine	55	Environment
ASIA		
Japan	4	Nuclear Weapons
South Korea	18	Environment
China	18	Environment
Vietnam	31	AIDS & Disease
Bangladesh	33	Nuclear Weapons
Indonesia	37	Religious & Ethnic Hatred
India	44	Rich/Poor Gap
Philippines	57	Nuclear Weapons
LATIN AMERICA		
Argentina	38	Rich/Poor Gap
Guatemala	44	AIDS & Disease
Mexico	44	AIDS & Disease
Brazil	45	Nuclear Weapons
Honduras	53	AIDS & Disease
Venezuela	53	Nuclear Weapons
Peru	65	AIDS & Disease
Bolivia	67	AIDS & Disease
AFRICA		
Ivory Coast	33	AIDS & Disease
Mali	36	AIDS & Disease
Senegal	42	AIDS & Disease
Tanzania	54	AIDS & Disease
Nigeria	56	Religious/Ethnic Hatred
Kenya	56	AIDS & Disease
South Africa	59	AIDS & Disease
Ghana	65	AIDS & Disease
Uganda	71	AIDS & Disease
Angola	86	AIDS & Disease
CONFLICT AREA		
Lebanon	12	Religious & Ethnic Hatred
Jordan	35	Religious & Ethnic Hatred
Turkey	45	Rich/Poor Gap
Pakistan	47	Nuclear Weapons
Uzbekistan	64	Religious & Ethnic Hatred
Egypt	N/A	AIDS & Disease

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.

The survey shows that the U.S. global image has slipped markedly since 2000. Worldwide polling conducted throughout the summer and fall found few people, even in friendly nations, expressing a very favorable opinion of the U.S., and sizable minorities in Western Europe and Canada with an unfavorable view. But outside the Muslim world, majorities in most countries still have a favorable view of the U.S. on balance, with Russians notably more positive about the U.S. than they were two years ago.

At the same time, however, the spread of U.S. ideas and customs was disliked by majorities in almost every country in the survey, including such nations as Canada (54%) and Great Britain (50%) and even more so in less friendly countries such as Argentina (73%) and Pakistan (81%).

The second report of the Pew Global Attitudes Project will be released in spring 2003. This report will cover global attitudes toward globalization, modernization and democratization, and look more closely at Muslim attitudes.

VII. MORE SIGNS OF THE TIMES

Market Driven. More Americans have direct or indirect stock holdings, and a Pew Center analysis in July showed that the movement of stock indexes is having a much stronger effect than ever before on consumer confidence, the cornerstone of the spending psychology driving the national economy. Since 1998, roughly 20% of the change in consumer confidence — as measured monthly by the University of Michigan — can be attributed to market movement.

Scandal Fatigue. Although the percentage of Americans paying attention to the Enron story and other corporate scandals rose steadily — from 34% at the end of last year to 61% by February — the demand for action was muted, as was its power as a political issue in the November elections. But there has been a long-term rise in the percentage that believe government regulation is necessary to protect the public interest — from 41% in 1994 to 54% last August.

Fox Viewers. For all the controversy over Fox News Channel’s supposed ideological leanings, its audience was shown to be only slightly more conservative than the national average. Nearly half (46%) of regular Fox viewers describe themselves as conservatives, and 18% liberal, not much different from the CNN audience — which describes itself as 40% conservative and 16% liberal.

Hunger: Africa and Beyond. Africa is the only region in the world where a significant minority volunteered hunger as their most pressing personal concern. And in most African countries surveyed, majorities said there were times when they were unable to afford food. Yet deprivation is present in the U.S. as well. Fully 15% of Americans said they have lacked money for food at times in the past year — the highest proportion of any advanced country.

Cell Split. Americans oppose scientific experiments on human cloning by 77%–17%. But those aware of the stem cell research issue favor government funding into such research, 50%–35%. Religious commitment is the most important factor influencing opinion among stem cell opponents. Highly committed white evangelical Protestants oppose funding such research by three-to-one, far more than any other religious group.

Class Act. The public has growing admiration for First Lady Laura Bush. In June, seven-in-ten (69%) approved of how she handled her role, up from 58% in 2001. Men below the age of 50 described her as honest, classy and caring, while women in that age group were more likely to find her confident, intelligent and supportive.

Military Secret. Nearly half of Americans (48%) were able to identify Yasser Arafat as leader of the Palestinians, but only 29% identified Donald Rumsfeld as secretary of defense.

Grazing for News. Roughly half the public “grazes” for news — that is, they check in on the news at no set time. This practice is especially prevalent among young people; seven-in-ten of those under the age of 25 check the news from time to time, a figure that declines among older age groups. The 24-hour availability of news on cable and the Internet has made grazing easier than ever.

GRAZING FOR NEWS			
READ/WATCH/LISTEN TO NEWS...	AT REGULAR TIMES %	FROM TIME TO TIME %	NEITHER/ DK %
Total	49	48	3=100
18-24	28	70	2=100
25-29	35	63	2=100
30-34	45	54	1=100
35-49	45	52	3=100
50-64	59	38	3=100
65+	68	29	3=100



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