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How Global Publics View:
War in Iraq Democracy Islam and Governance Globalization

VIEWS OF A CHANGING WORLD

JUNE 2003

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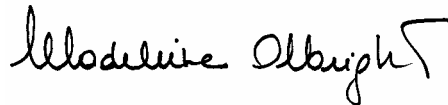
The war in Iraq, the rift in transatlantic relations, the ongoing troubles in the Middle East and the global economic slowdown are stark reminders that we live in turbulent times. In an era of rapid-paced economic, technological and cultural change that profoundly affects the world we live in, the countries and communities we call home, and the lives we lead with our families, we need to know more. As secretary of state I wrestled with such challenges on a daily basis. Now, as a businesswoman and academic, I am profoundly aware of how public attitudes and values shape and drive these issues and America's response to them.

As we move forward, confronting increasingly complex challenges in the years ahead, it is critically important that we better understand how people all over the world are reacting to American foreign policy and economic initiatives, what democratic aspirations and human values we share, how people feel about the opportunities and pitfalls of modern life and how they feel about globalization in all its many manifestations.

The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* was conceived to better understand the times we live in through in-depth, mostly face-to-face interviews with tens of thousands of people in every region of the world. It is the broadest and deepest public opinion poll of its kind, purposely designed to provide the public, the press and policy makers with the kind of vital, timely information they need, both for their work and as citizens in this rapidly changing world.

On behalf of the international advisory board, we are pleased to share "Views of a Changing World" with you. It is the second of our major studies drawn from the *Global Attitudes* surveys to be published by the Pew Research Center for The People & The Press. We hope you find this report informative, thought provoking and useful in better understanding the changing world in which we live.

Sincerely,



Madeleine K. Albright

FOREWORD

The dramatic world events of the past two years have demonstrated the need for a greater understanding of the similarities and gulfs in global public opinion. Determining common points of view—and identifying the differences—about issues and life’s circumstances across continents and cultures is the overarching objective of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*.

Our first major report, entitled *What the World Thinks in 2002* and released last December, highlighted two contrasting global trends: continued strong public support for American ideals and values alongside growing criticism of U.S. unilateralism in foreign policy. It also assessed people's attitudes toward their own lives, the state of their nations and the world.

This new report, *Views of a Changing World, June 2003*, focuses on the global reaction to the war in Iraq, attitudes around the world toward the challenges ahead—such as the U.S.-led war on terrorism, the Israeli-Palestinian situation, Iran, Syria and North Korea—and views of American unilateralism and the future of the transatlantic relationship. It also measures changes in attitudes toward the U.S. over the past year.

This new study is based on a special 21-population survey conducted April 28-May 15 in the United States, Europe, the Middle East and elsewhere, as well as previously unreleased results from the earlier *Pew Global Attitudes* major survey of 38,000 people in 44 nations. In total, the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* has now surveyed more than 66,000 people in 49 nations plus the Palestinian Authority. The current surveys build on the 13-nation 1991 benchmark survey, *Pulse of Europe* (conducted by the then-Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press), which I had the pleasure of co-directing with former secretary of state Madeleine Albright.

The unreleased data from the 2002 major survey provides the basis for this report’s assessment of attitudes in all countries toward democracy, free markets and modernism. It includes a special section—a survey of countries with significant Muslim populations—that focuses in detail on views toward political freedom, the role of religion in government, the role of women, freedom of expression, freedom of the press, multi-party electoral systems, and equal treatment under the law. *Views of a Changing World* also includes an assessment of opinion toward globalization in all its many forms.

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

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

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

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

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

Leslie H. Gelb, president of the Council on Foreign Relations, which cooperates with the Pew Research Center on our quadrennial *America's Place in the World* survey of American public opinion on international affairs, lent the assistance of the Council in communicating the results of our study to a broader public. In addition, our friends at the *International Herald Tribune* helped us shape the scope of the questionnaire and contributed original reporting to the first major report.

Mary McIntosh, vice-president of Princeton Survey Research Associates (PSRA), helped design the survey and develop the questionnaire, managed the fielding of the survey on six continents, helped analyze the data and wrote a principal section of this report. Without the tremendous contribution made by her staff at PSRA, this survey would never have gotten off the ground, let alone have been successfully concluded.

Bruce Stokes, the international economics columnist for the *National Journal*, helped shape the scope of the project, interpret the results and brought context to the writing of the report.

Elizabeth Mueller Gross, the Pew Research Center's special projects director, has been an integral part of this project team, writing questions, analyzing and writing up the results, and organizing the production and publication of this study.

Finally, we owe our deepest gratitude to our superb colleagues at the Pew Research Center, whose professionalism was again demonstrated in their dedication to this project. Editor Carroll Doherty sharpened our ideas, smoothed our prose, and took great responsibility for shaping and organizing this report, in particular. The Center's Associate Director Scott Keeter and Research Director Michael Dimock massaged the data and shaped the graphics to visually tell our story. Nicole Speulda managed the voluminous data the survey produced, always having an answer for our interminable questions. Peyton Craighill helped design data management and presentation approaches. Nilanthi Samaranayake backstopped the research and fact-checking effort.

Views of a Changing World, June 2003 is the second major, in-depth study the Pew Research Center has published based on the results of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*. (For a more detailed listing of our international surveys, see p.119.) We plan to release additional regional and other analyses in the months to come. We hope you will find both this report and our future efforts interesting reading and useful in understanding the world.

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

Views of a Changing World

June 2003

Second Major Report of the
Pew Global Attitudes Project

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But World Embraces Democratic Values and Free Markets

WAR WITH IRAQ FURTHER DIVIDES GLOBAL PUBLICS

The speed of the war in Iraq and the prevailing belief that the Iraqi people are better off as a result have modestly improved the image of America. But in most countries, opinions of the U.S. are markedly lower than they were a year ago. The war has widened the rift between Americans and Western Europeans, further inflamed the Muslim world, softened support for the war on terrorism, and significantly weakened global public support for the pillars of the post-World War II era – the U.N. and the North Atlantic alliance.

The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* surveyed:

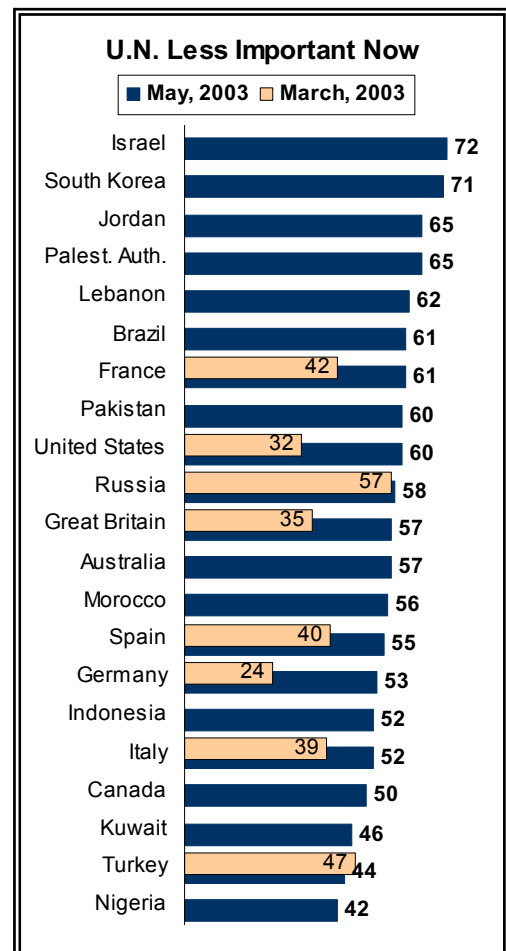
€ 16,000 people in 20 countries and the Palestinian Authority in May, 2003

€ more than 38,000 people in 44 nations in 2002

These are the principal findings from the latest survey of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project*, conducted over the past month in 20 countries and the Palestinian Authority. It is being released together with a broader survey of 44 nations conducted in 2002, which covers attitudes on globalization, democratization and the role of Islam in governance and society.

While the postwar poll paints a mostly negative picture of the image of America, its people and policies, the broader *Pew Global Attitudes* survey shows wide support for the fundamental economic and political values that the U.S. has long promoted. Globalization, the free market model and democratic ideals are accepted in all corners of the world. Most notably, the 44-nation survey found strong democratic aspirations in most of the Muslim publics surveyed. The postwar update confirms that these aspirations remain intact despite the war and its attendant controversies.

The new survey shows, however, that public confidence in the United Nations is a major victim of the conflict in Iraq. Positive ratings for the world body have tumbled in nearly every country for which benchmark measures are available. Majorities or pluralities in most countries believe that the war in Iraq showed the U.N. to

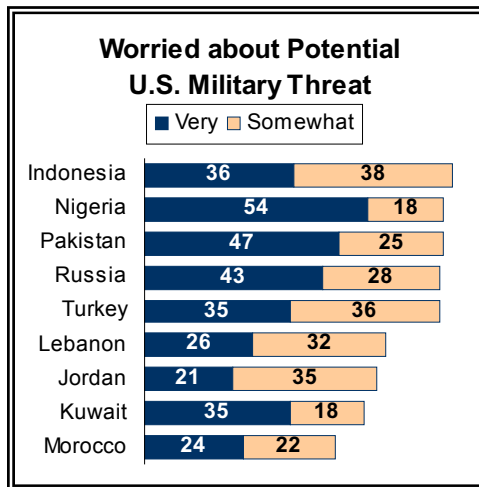


be not so important any more. The idea that the U.N. is less relevant is much more prevalent now than it was just before the war, and is shared by people in countries that backed the war, the U.S. and Great Britain, as well as in nations that opposed it, notably France and Germany.

In addition, majorities in five of seven NATO countries surveyed support a more independent relationship with the U.S. on diplomatic and security affairs. Fully three-quarters in France (76%), and solid majorities in Turkey (62%), Spain (62%), Italy (61%) and Germany (57%) believe Western Europe should take a more independent approach than it has in the past. [#]

The British and Americans disagree – narrow majorities in both countries want the partnership between the U.S. and Western Europe to remain as close as ever. But the percentage of Americans favoring continued close ties with Western Europe has fallen – from 62% before the war to 53% in the current survey. In fact, the American people have cooled on France and Germany as much as the French and Germans have cooled on the U.S.

In Western Europe, negative views of America have declined somewhat since just prior to the war in Iraq, when anti-war sentiment peaked. But since last summer, favorable opinions of the U.S. have slipped in nearly every country for which trend measures are available. Views of the American people, while still largely favorable, have fallen as well. The belief that the U.S. pursues a unilateralist foreign policy, which had been extensive last summer, has only grown in the war's aftermath.



In Great Britain and Italy, positive opinions of the U.S. increased considerably since just before the war (see page 19). Of the 21 publics surveyed in the new poll,

[#]NOTE: For the April-May, 2003 survey conducted among 21 populations, nationwide random samples were interviewed in 15 nations and the Palestinian Authority. Predominately or exclusively urban samples were used in Brazil, Indonesia, Morocco, Nigeria, and Pakistan. The 44-country study conducted in 2002 is based on nationwide random samples except for Angola and Egypt (the capital cities and environs of Luanda and Cairo, respectively), and predominately urban samples in Bolivia, Brazil, China, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Mali, Pakistan, Senegal, Venezuela and Vietnam.

overall support for the United States is greatest by far in Israel, where 79% view the U.S. favorably. Israelis also express near-universal support for the U.S.-led war on terrorism, with 85% favoring the fight against terrorism. Majorities in Western Europe and Australia also back the war on terrorism, but support has slipped since last summer in both France and Germany (15 points in France, 10 points in Germany).

In addition, the bottom has fallen out of support for America in most of the Muslim world. Negative views of the U.S. among Muslims, which had been largely limited to countries in the Middle East, have spread to Muslim populations in Indonesia and Nigeria. Since last summer, favorable ratings for the U.S. have fallen from 61% to 15% in Indonesia and from 71% to 38% among Muslims in Nigeria.

In the wake of the war, a growing percentage of Muslims see serious threats to Islam. Specifically, majorities in seven of eight Muslim populations surveyed express worries that the U.S. might become a military threat to their countries. Even in Kuwait, where people have a generally favorable view of the United States, 53% voice at least some concern that the U.S. could someday pose a threat.

Support for the U.S.-led war on terrorism also has fallen in most Muslim publics. Equally significant, solid majorities in the Palestinian Authority, Indonesia and Jordan – and nearly half of those in Morocco and Pakistan – say they have at least some confidence in Osama bin Laden to “do the right thing regarding world affairs.” Fully 71% of Palestinians say they have confidence in bin Laden in this regard.

	First	Second	Third
Indonesia	Arafat (68%)	Abdallah (66%)	bin Laden (58%)
Jordan	Chirac (61%)	bin Laden (55%)	Abdallah (42%)
Kuwait	Abdallah (84%)	Bush (62%)	Blair (58%)
Lebanon	Chirac (81%)	Annan (38%)	Abdallah (35%)
Morocco	Chirac (65%)	bin Laden (49%)	Arafat (43%)
Nigeria	Annan (52%)	Blair (50%)	Bush (50%)
Pakistan	Abdallah (60%)	bin Laden (45%)	Arafat (42%)
Palest. Auth.	bin Laden (71%)	Arafat (69%)	Chirac (32%)
Turkey	Arafat (32%)	Abdallah (21%)	Annan (18%)

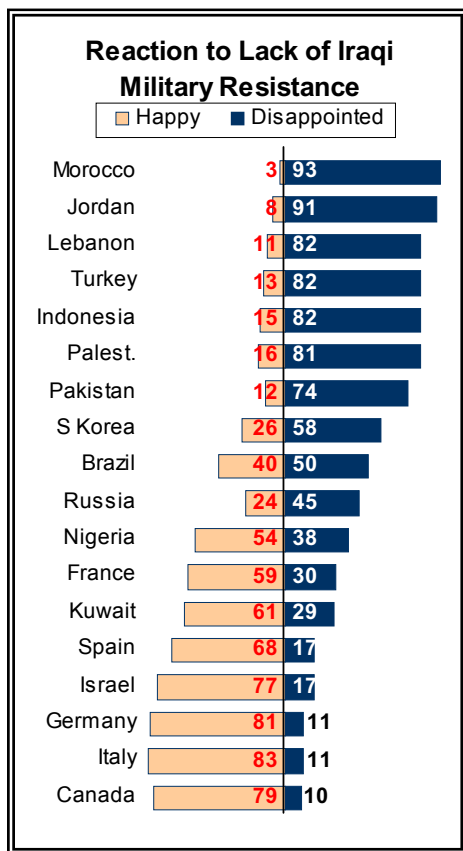
Percent saying they have “a lot” or “some” confidence in each leader’s ability to do the right thing regarding world affairs. Three highest rated (of 8 world leaders) shown here.

More generally, the postwar update survey of 16,000 respondents finds, in most countries that are friendly to the United States, only modest percentages have confidence that President Bush will do the right thing in international affairs. People in most countries rate Vladimir Putin, Gerhard Schroeder, Jacques Chirac and Tony Blair

more highly than they do Bush. The president also ranks slightly behind Blair in the United States, mostly due to political partisanship. Nearly all Republicans (95%) express confidence in Bush, compared with 64% of Democrats.

War Views Entrenched

The war itself did little to change opinions about the merits of using force in Iraq. In countries where there was strong opposition to the war, people overwhelmingly believe their governments made the right decision to stay out of the conflict. In countries that backed the war, with the notable exception of Spain, publics believe their governments made the right decision. In Great Britain, support for the war has grown following its successful outcome. A majority of Turks oppose even the limited help their government offered the U.S. during the war, while Kuwaitis largely approve of their government’s support for the military effort.



Opinion about the war is strongly related to perceptions of how the U.S. and its allies conducted the war and are managing its aftermath. In countries opposed to the war, there is a widespread belief the coalition did not try hard enough to avoid civilian casualties. By contrast, solid majorities in most of the coalition countries, as well as Israel, believe the U.S. and its allies did make a serious attempt to spare civilians. Eight-in-ten Americans (82%) feel that way, the highest percentage of any population surveyed.

A somewhat different pattern is apparent in attitudes toward the postwar reconstruction of Iraq. Americans generally believe the allies are taking the needs of the Iraqi people into account. But there is less support for that point of view elsewhere, even in Great Britain, Australia and Israel. Muslim publics generally believe the United States and its allies are doing only a fair or poor job in addressing the needs of the Iraqi people in the postwar reconstruction.

There also is widespread disappointment among Muslims that Iraq did not put up more of a fight against the U.S. and its allies.

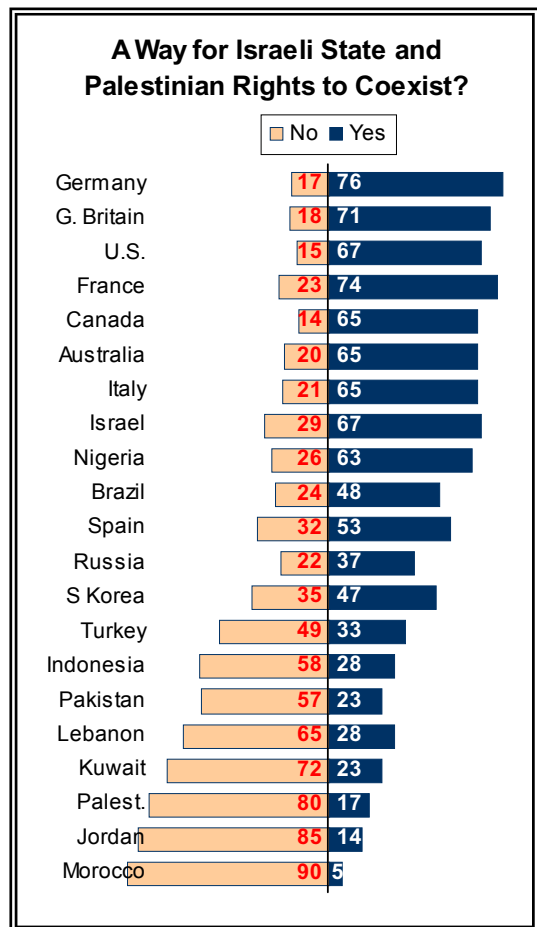
Overwhelming majorities in Morocco (93%), Jordan (91%), Lebanon (82%), Turkey (82%), Indonesia (82%), and the Palestinian Authority (81%) say they are disappointed the Iraqi military put up so little resistance. Many others around the world share that view, including people in South Korea (58%), Brazil (50%) and Russia (45%).

Still, even in countries that staunchly opposed the war many people believe that Iraqis will be better off now that Saddam Hussein has been removed from power. Solid majorities in Western Europe believe the Iraqi people will be better off, as do eight-in-ten Kuwaitis and half of the Lebanese. But substantial majorities elsewhere, notably in Jordan and the Palestinian Authority, say Iraqis will be worse off now that Hussein has been deposed.

The postwar update shows limited optimism for a surge of democratic reform in the Middle East. Substantial minorities of Muslims in many countries say the region will become *somewhat* more democratic, but only in Kuwait do as many as half predict the Middle East will become *much* more democratic. Expectations of major political changes in the Middle East are modest in countries that participated in the war. Just 16% in Great Britain, 14% in the U.S. and 10% in Australia think that the Middle East will become much more democratic.

U.S. Favors Israel

U.S. policies toward the Middle East come under considerable criticism in the new poll. In 20 of 21 populations surveyed – Americans are the only exception – pluralities or majorities believe the United States favors Israel over the Palestinians too much. This opinion is shared in Israel; 47% of Israelis believe that the U.S. favors Israel too much, while 38% say the policy is fair and 11% think the U.S. favors the Palestinians too much.



But Israel is the only country, aside from the U.S., in which a majority says that U.S. policies lead to more stability in the region.

Most Muslim populations think U.S. policies bring less stability to the Middle East, while people elsewhere are divided in their evaluations of the impact of U.S. policies.

More broadly, the postwar survey asked people their views on the conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians. By wide margins, most Muslim populations doubt that a way can be found for the state of Israel to exist so that the rights and needs of the Palestinian people are met. Eight-in-ten residents of the Palestinian Authority express this opinion. But Arabs in Israel, who voice the same criticisms of U.S. policy in the Middle East as do other Muslims, generally believe that a way can be found for the state of Israel to exist so that Palestinian rights and needs are addressed. In fact, Arabs in Israel are nearly as likely as Jews to hold that opinion (62% of Arabs, 68% of Jews).

Outside of the Muslim world, there is general agreement that there is a way to ensure Israel's existence and meet the needs of Palestinians. This view is widely shared in North America and Western Europe.

The poll taken amid extensive news coverage of the SARS outbreak found modest worries about the disease in the U.S. and Western Europe. But people are very worried about exposure in Nigeria (82%), Kuwait (62%), Russia (59%), and Brazil (59%).

As people around the world contemplate emerging security threats, countries in the Middle East – Iran and Syria – are viewed as less of a danger than North Korea. Majorities in most countries see North Korea as at least a moderate threat to Asian stability and world peace, while nearly four-in-ten in Australia (39%), the U.S. (38%) and Germany (37%) view North Korea as a great danger. However, just 28% of South Koreans agree that North Korea presents a major threat to regional stability. Israelis have a different sense of potential threats than do people elsewhere. More than half of Israelis (54%) say Iran presents a great threat to the Middle East, twice the proportion in the next closest country (U.S. at 26%).

Democracy Can Work Here

Despite soaring anti-Americanism and substantial support for Osama bin Laden, there is considerable appetite in the Muslim world for democratic freedoms. The broader, 44-nation survey shows that people in Muslim countries place a high value on freedom of expression, freedom of the press, multi-party systems and equal treatment under the law. This includes people living in kingdoms such

as Jordan and Kuwait, as well as those in authoritarian states like Uzbekistan and Pakistan. In fact, many of the Muslim publics polled expressed a stronger desire for democratic freedoms than the publics in some nations of Eastern Europe, notably Russia and Bulgaria.

The postwar update finds that in most Muslim populations, large majorities continue to believe that Western-style democracy can work in their countries. This is the case in predominantly Muslim countries like Kuwait (83%) and Bangladesh (57%), but also in religiously diverse countries like Nigeria (75%). There are no substantive differences between Muslims and non-Muslims in Nigeria on this point. Only in Indonesia and Turkey do substantial percentages say democracy is a Western way of doing things that would not work in their countries (53%, 37%).[#]

At the same time, most Muslims also support a prominent – and in some cases expanding – role for Islam and religious leaders in the political life of their countries. Yet that opinion does not diminish Muslim support for a system of governance that ensures the same civil liberties and political rights enjoyed by democracies.

In religiously diverse countries, Muslims generally favor keeping religion a private matter at the same rates as non-Muslims. In Nigeria, for example, six-in-ten Muslims and the same proportion of non-Muslims completely agree that religion should be kept separate from government policy. In Lebanon, there are only modest differences on this point between Muslims and non-Muslims.

U.S. Ideals Backed – Mostly

The broad desire for democracy in Muslim countries and elsewhere is but one indication of the global acceptance of ideas and principles espoused by the United States. The major survey also shows that the free market model has been embraced by people almost

Western-style Democracy Can Work Well Here		
	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>
	%	%
Nigeria	79	75
Lebanon	75	71
Jordan	63	69
Pakistan	44	57
Turkey	43	50
Indonesia	64	41
Kuwait	--	83
Morocco	--	64
Palest. Auth.	--	54
Ivory Coast	89	--
Senegal	88	--
Uzbekistan	81	--
Uganda	81	--
Ghana	76	--
Mali	76	--
Tanzania	64	--
Bangladesh	57	--

[#]NOTE: For the April-May 2003 survey conducted among 21 populations, nationwide random samples were interviewed in 15 nations and the Palestinian Authority. Predominantly or exclusively urban samples were used in Brazil, Indonesia, Morocco, Nigeria, and Pakistan. The 44-country study conducted in 2002 is based on nationwide random samples except for Angola and Egypt (the capital cities and environs of Luanda and Cairo, respectively), and predominantly urban samples in Bolivia, Brazil, China, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Ivory Coast, Mali, Pakistan, Senegal, Venezuela and Vietnam.

everywhere, whether in Eastern Europe, sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, or Asia. Majorities in 33 of the 44 nations surveyed feel that people are better off in a free-market economy, even if that leads to disparities in wealth and income. Despite the protests in recent years against globalization and America's role in fostering it, people are surprisingly accepting of the increased interconnectedness that defines globalization.

This is not to say that they accept democracy and capitalism without qualification, or that they are not concerned about many of the problems of modern life. By and large, however, the people of the world accept the concepts and values that underlie the American approach to governance and business.

Americans are much more likely than Europeans to believe that most people who fail in life have themselves to blame, rather than society.

Yet there are profound differences in the way Americans and people in other countries – especially Western Europeans – view such fundamental issues as the limits of personal freedom and the role of government in helping the poor. Americans are more individualistic and favor a less compassionate government than do Europeans and others. Nearly two-thirds of Americans (65%) believe success is *not* outside of their control. Except for Canadians (63%), most of the world disagrees. Among 44 nations surveyed, the U.S. has one of the highest percentages of people who think that most people who fail in life have themselves to blame, rather than society.

Accordingly, Americans care more about personal freedom than government assurances of social justice. Fully 58% of Americans say it is more important to have the freedom to pursue personal goals without government interference, while just 34% say it is more important for government to guarantee that no one is in need. In most other nations, majorities embrace the opposite view. And while most Americans support a social safety net, they are less strongly committed than other peoples to their government taking care of citizens who cannot take care of themselves.

Many Want Democracy, Fewer Have It

People everywhere are united by their desire for honest multiparty elections, freedom of speech and religion and an impartial judiciary. A

fair judiciary is seen as especially important; in most countries it is more highly valued than free elections.

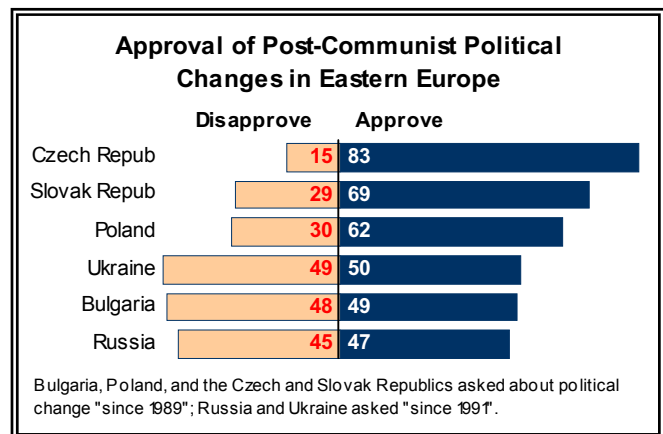
Yet there is a widespread sense that these democratic aspirations are not being fulfilled. In Eastern Europe, only in the Czech Republic does a majority (58%) say they have honest, multiparty elections. In Russia and Ukraine, only small minorities feel they have free elections (15% in Russia, 21% in Ukraine). Skepticism about honest elections and freedom of expression are the norm for almost all of the democratizing countries of the world, but this is especially the case in Muslim countries.

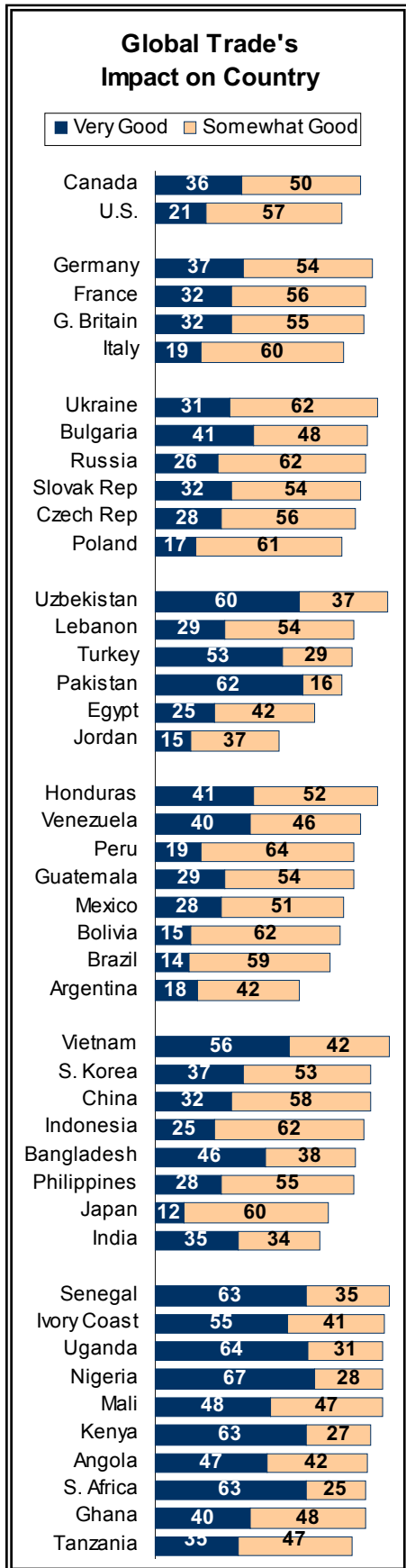
Perceptions of repression in some predominantly Muslim countries – notably Turkey and Lebanon – are as widespread as anywhere in the world. Solid majorities in both Turkey and Lebanon say their nations lack several fundamental rights: freedom of speech, a free press, fair elections and an impartial judiciary.

Soviet Hangover

In much of Eastern Europe, there is now greater acceptance of post-communist political changes compared with *Pulse of Europe* surveys conducted by the then-Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press in 1991, as the Soviet Union was collapsing. Even so, the legacy of communism is apparent in the attitudes of many Eastern European publics. Only about half of those in Ukraine and Russia approve of the political changes that have occurred since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

More generally, Russians and Ukrainians, as well as most other Eastern European publics, say a leader with a “strong hand” could solve national problems better than a democratic government. Only Czechs and Slovaks favor democracy over a strong leader. In most of Latin America and Africa, there is more of a preference for democracy.





There is, however, a large generation gap on views of democracy in Eastern Europe. In most Eastern European countries surveyed, people age 60 and older are much more likely to disapprove of post-communist political changes than are people under the age of 35.

“Yes” to A Smaller World

Beyond their common desire for democracy and free markets, people in emerging nations also generally acknowledge and accept globalization. People worldwide have become aware of the impact of increasing interconnectedness on their countries and their own lives. Majorities in 41 of 44 countries surveyed say that international trade and business contacts have increased in the past 5 years.

The survey finds broad acceptance of the increasing interconnectedness of the world. Three-quarters or more of those interviewed in almost every country think children need to learn English to succeed in the world today. People generally view the growth in foreign trade, global communication and international popular culture as good for them and their families as well as their countries. For most of the world’s people, however, this approval is guarded. Increased trade and business ties and other changes are viewed as *somewhat* positive, not *very* positive.

Despite the widespread support for the globalization process, people around the world think many aspects of their lives – including some affected by globalization – are getting worse. Majorities in 34 of 44 countries surveyed say the availability of good-paying jobs has gotten worse compared with five years ago. They also see the gap between rich and poor, the affordability of health care and the ability to save for one’s old age as getting worse. But people do not blame a more interconnected world for these problems – they mostly point to domestic factors. This is especially true in economically faltering countries in Africa and Latin America, such as Kenya and Argentina.

People around the world are more inclined to credit globalization for conditions they see as improving, such as increased availability of food in stores and more modern medicines and treatments.

While anti-globalization forces have not convinced the public that globalization is the root cause of their economic struggles, the public does share the critics' concerns about eroding national sovereignty and a loss of cultural identity. Large majorities in 42 of 44 countries believe that their traditional way of life is getting lost and most people feel that their way of life has to be protected against foreign influence. There is less agreement that consumerism and commercialism represent a threat to one's culture. However, that point of view is prevalent in Western Europe and Latin America.

The polling finds, however, that the idea of "global" forces is something of a red flag to people around the world. "Global economy" is seen as more threatening than "trade with other countries." People worry about the impact of global trade on themselves and their families even though they believe that global trade is probably a good thing for their country as a whole.

Globalization Foes Fail to Get Through

People around the world generally have a positive view of the symbols of globalization. Large corporations from other countries get a favorable review in much of the world, as do international organizations.

In Africa, people express highly favorable opinions of foreign corporations, while the Middle East is more divided. Dislike of foreign firms is mostly limited to people in the major advanced economies of Western Europe, the U.S. and Canada. Even in these countries, however, positive evaluations of multinationals outweigh negative assessments.

Similarly, the impact of international financial organizations such as the World Bank, the IMF and the World Trade Organization is seen as much more positive than negative in most parts of the world. This is overwhelmingly the case in Africa. Argentina, Brazil, Jordan and Turkey stand out for their highly critical view of these institutions.

People around the world credit globalization for conditions they see as improving, but do not blame growing economic and social problems on globalization.

Restrict Entry into Country More		
	<u>1991</u>	<u>2002</u>
	%	%
United States*	78	81
Great Britain	79	80
France	86	75
Germany	70	67
Italy	84	80
Bulgaria	38	48
Czech Republic	63	83
Poland	58	60
Russia	45	72
Slovak Republic	68	74
Ukraine	31	62

*US trend from June, 1992.

In contrast, people generally have a negative view of anti-globalization protesters. The French give higher ratings to multinational corporations than to the protesters. And in Italy, site of a major clash in 2001 between police and anti-globalization forces in Genoa, the public by nearly two-to-one (51%-27%) says the protesters are having a bad influence on the country. It should be noted that majorities in many countries declined to give an opinion of anti-globalization protesters. This is mostly the case in developing countries, but also in more advanced nations like South Korea (61%) and Japan (55%).

But “Foreign” Still a Negative

Most people in the world feel their way of life needs protection from foreign influence, and majorities in nearly every country surveyed favor tougher restrictions on people entering their countries. Overwhelming majorities in the Western European countries surveyed support tighter borders. In fact, Western Europeans expressed as much support for such restrictions as they did in the *Pulse of Europe* survey 12 years ago, when Europe was less unified. Eastern Europeans also have become much more wary of porous borders than when the Cold War was ending, a time when many people were more concerned with getting out of their countries than with keeping others from getting in.

How Minority Groups Are Seen			
	<i>Influence on nation</i>		DK/ <u>Ref</u>
	<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>	
	%	%	%
United States			
<i>Blacks</i>	78	12	9
<i>Hispanics</i>	67	21	11
Great Britain			
<i>Blacks/Asians</i>	63	26	11
Germany			
<i>Turks</i>	47	41	12
France			
<i>North Africans</i>	43	51	6
Italy			
<i>Albanians</i>	14	80	6

In that context, Western Europeans take a much dimmer view of foreign workers from Eastern Europe, as well as the Middle East and North Africa, than they do of foreign workers from other European Union countries. This is especially the case in Germany, where 59% say Middle Easterners and North Africans who come to work in Germany are bad for the country; 53% say that about foreign workers from Eastern Europe.

This European concern about foreign influence and sovereignty also is seen in other ways. There are still sizable minorities of people in Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy who think that there are parts of other countries that really belong to them. This sentiment has not diminished – and in some cases has risen dramatically – since the end of the Cold War. Fully 63% of Russians believe that “there are parts of neighboring countries that really belong to Russia.” In 1991, just 22% agreed with

that statement. Broad majorities in the Philippines, India, Lebanon, South Africa, Pakistan, Nigeria, South Korea and Turkey also feel that parts of other nations rightfully belong to their country.

As was the case in 1991, the American public has a more favorable view of ethnic and racial minorities than do Western European publics. African Americans and Hispanics are viewed much more positively in the U.S. than are Turks in Germany, North Africans in France, and Albanians in Italy.

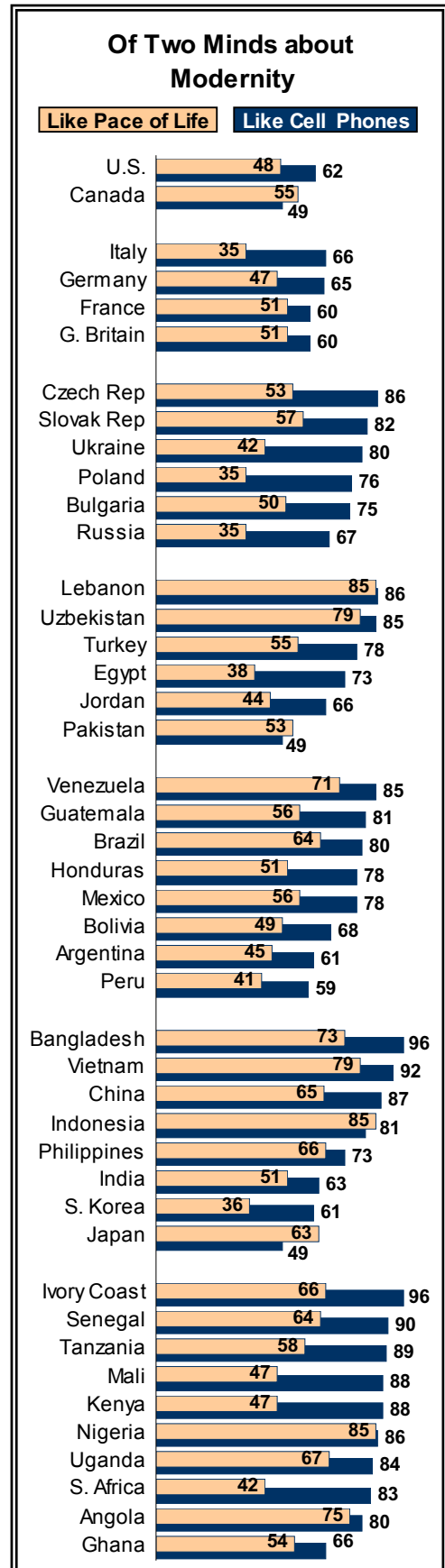
Modern Times

People around the world are struggling with some elements of modern life, while easily accepting others. Many people say that they do not like the pace of modern life. Yet they broadly endorse the things that make life go fast, especially cell phones and the Internet.

There is significant opposition to modern commercial culture in advanced countries, where opinions about the pace of life and such modern conveniences as fast food and television are more mixed than they are in the developing world. Western Europeans and Latin Americans are most likely to express the view that commercialism represents a threat to their cultures.

Underscoring the conflicted views many people have of the modern world, people in Africa are the most likely to express the concern that their traditional way of life is being lost. Yet they also are the most enthusiastic about modern conveniences and fast food.

There also is a significant global generation gap on views of modern life. Younger and better-educated people are more comfortable with the pace of modern life. Younger people also have a better opinion of fast food and television than do their elders.



Globally, people have a broadly favorable view of birth control and family planning, with the notable exception of populations in aging industrial nations, such as Italy, Japan and Germany. Only about three-in-ten Japanese (32%) and fewer than half in Italy and Germany (41%, 47%, respectively), view birth control as a positive change. In most of the developing nations of Africa and Asia, 70% or more say birth control and family planning have changed things for the better.

Divided Over Religion, Homosexuality

Homosexuality and the centrality of religion to personal morality divide the peoples of the world. Majorities in most countries say it is necessary to believe in God to be a moral person. But Canadians and Europeans – both in the West and the East – take the secular view that it is possible to be moral without believing in God. Opinion in the United States is closer to that in most developing countries, where agreement is nearly universal that personal morality is linked to belief in God.

Americans take a less negative view of genetically modified foods than do publics in other advanced countries.

Acceptance of homosexuality divides the publics of the world in a similar way. People in Africa and the Middle East strongly object to societal acceptance of homosexuality. But there is far greater tolerance for homosexuality in major Latin American countries such as Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia and Brazil. Opinion in Europe is split between West and East. Majorities in every Western European nation surveyed say homosexuality should be accepted by society, while most Russians, Poles and Ukrainians disagree. Americans are divided – a thin majority (51%) believes homosexuality should be accepted, while 42% disagree.

Women’s increasing role in the workplace is broadly supported around the world. Large majorities in 41 of 44 countries believe the more satisfying way of life is when both spouses work and share the burdens of childcare. Pakistan, Egypt and Jordan are the only countries in which majorities believe it is better for women to stay home and take care of the children while the husband provides for the family.

About the Pew Global Attitudes Project

The *Pew Global Attitudes Project* is a series of worldwide public opinion surveys, originally of more than 38,000 people in 44 countries, and expanded with additional surveys to a total of more than 66,000 people among the 50 populations surveyed (49 countries plus the Palestinian Authority). The project encompasses a broad array of subjects ranging from people's assessments of their own lives to their views about the current state of the world and important issues of the day. *Global Attitudes* is chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, currently Principal, the Albright Group LLC. Andrew Kohut, director of the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, is the project director. The *Global Attitudes Project* is funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts, with a supplemental grant from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

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

This is the second major release of the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* and it focuses on a changing world, specifically regarding globalization, democratization, modernization and, in countries with significant Muslim populations, the role of Islam in public policy. The first major report, *What the World Thinks in 2002*, was released December 4, 2002. It focused on how people view their own lives, their countries and the world, as well as attitudes toward the United States. It was followed by a smaller release on the importance of religion worldwide (December 19, 2002) and a new nine-country survey on the eve of the Iraq war ("America's Image Further Erodes, Europeans Want Weaker Ties," March 18, 2003). The inaugural effort of this project was a worldwide survey in 24 countries of 275 opinion leaders (influential people in politics, media, business, culture and government). The survey, entitled "America Admired, Yet Its New Vulnerability Seen As Good Thing, Say Opinion Leaders," was released December 19, 2001.

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

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

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

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Pew Global Attitudes Project Countries and sample sizes

(Summer/Fall 2002 survey unless otherwise noted)

	Sample Size		Sample Size
The Americas		Africa	
Argentina	814	Angola	780
Bolivia	782	Ivory Coast	708
Brazil	1,000	Ghana	702
<i>May, 2003</i>	1,000	Kenya	658
Canada	500	Mali	697
<i>May, 2003</i>	500	Nigeria	1,000
Guatemala	500	<i>May, 2003</i>	1,000
Honduras	506	Senegal	710
Mexico	996	South Africa	700
Peru	711	Tanzania	720
United States	1,501	Uganda	1,008
<i>November, 2002</i>	1,000	<hr/>	
<i>January, 2003</i>	1,000	Total Africa	8,683
<i>March, 2003</i>	1,032		
<i>May, 2003</i>	1,201	Middle East/Conflict Area	
Venezuela	700	Egypt	1,013
<hr/>		Israel (<i>May, 2003</i>)	903
Total Americas	13,743	Jordan	1,000
		<i>May, 2003</i>	1,000
Europe		Kuwait (<i>May, 2003</i>)	500
Bulgaria	514	Lebanon	1,000
Czech Republic	500	<i>May, 2003</i>	1,000
France	507	Morocco (<i>May, 2003</i>)	1,001
<i>November, 2002</i>	1,007	Pakistan	2,032
<i>March, 2003</i>	485	<i>May, 2003</i>	999
<i>May, 2003</i>	504	Palestinian Authority	
Germany	1,000	<i>May, 2003</i>	800
<i>November, 2002</i>	1,022	Turkey	1,006
<i>March, 2003</i>	524	<i>November, 2002</i>	1,027
<i>May, 2003</i>	500	<i>March, 2003</i>	513
Great Britain	501	<i>May, 2003</i>	1,000
<i>November, 2002</i>	1,000	Uzbekistan	700
<i>March, 2003</i>	962	<hr/>	
<i>May, 2003</i>	499	Total Mideast	15,494
Italy	508		
<i>March, 2003</i>	500	Asia	
<i>May, 2003</i>	500	Bangladesh	689
Poland	500	China	3,000
<i>March, 2003</i>	500	India	2,189
Russia	1,002	Indonesia	1,017
<i>November, 2002</i>	1,000	<i>May, 2003</i>	1,011
<i>March, 2003</i>	501	Japan	702
<i>May, 2003</i>	501	South Korea	719
Slovak Republic	500	<i>May, 2003</i>	525
Spain (<i>March, 2003</i>)	503	Philippines	700
<i>May, 2003</i>	503	Vietnam	772
Ukraine	500	<hr/>	
<hr/>		Total Asia	11,324
Total Europe	17,043		
		Pacific	
		Australia (<i>May, 2003</i>)	501
		<hr/>	
		TOTAL INTERVIEWS	66,788

POST-WAR OPINIONS

The U.S. image in Europe, which plummeted in the days leading up to war in Iraq, has improved somewhat since then. But favorable ratings for the U.S., in Europe and elsewhere, remain far below levels measured in 2002 and 2000.

Among major U.S. allies in Western Europe, seven-in-ten British and six-in-ten Italians currently say they feel at least somewhat favorably toward the United States. That represents a significant shift since the prewar survey by the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* (March 10-17, 2003), when only about half the British (48%) and a third of Italians (34%) expressed favorable views of the United States.

In Germany, France and Spain, favorable views of the U.S. also have increased from their abysmal prewar levels. Even so, fewer than half in all three countries have positive opinions of the United States (Germany 45%, France 43%, Spain 38%). As recently as last summer, more than six-in-ten French (63%) and Germans (61%) expressed favorable views of the U.S.

Aside from Great Britain and Italy, majorities in only five other countries express favorable views of the U.S.: Israel (79%), Kuwait (63%), Canada (63%), Nigeria (61%) and Australia (60%). Even in some of these countries, however, the U.S. image has slipped. Last summer, 77% of Nigerians had positive feelings toward the U.S., compared with 61% in the current survey.

Fewer than four-in-ten Russians (36%) say they have a very or somewhat favorable view of the U.S., compared with 28% in the prewar survey. That is well below the 61% who gave the U.S. positive ratings in the 2002 poll.

U.S. Image (Percent Favorable View of U.S.)				
	1999/ 2000	Summer 2002	March 2003	Today
	%	%	%	%
Israel	--	--	--	79
Great Britain	83	75	48	70
Kuwait	--	--	--	63
Canada	71	72	--	63
Nigeria	46	77	--	61
Australia	--	--	--	60
Italy	76	70	34	60
South Korea	58	53	--	46
Germany	78	61	25	45
France	62	63	31	43
Spain	50	--	14	38
Russia	37	61	28	36
Brazil	56	52	--	34
Morocco	77	--	--	27
Lebanon	--	35	--	27
Indonesia	75	61	--	15
Turkey	52	30	12	15
Pakistan	23	10	--	13
Jordan	--	25	--	1
Palestinian Auth.	14	--	--	1

1999/2000 survey trends provided by the Office of Research, U.S. Department of State (Canada trend by Environics)

People in most predominantly Muslim countries remain overwhelmingly opposed to the U.S., and in several cases these negative feelings have increased dramatically. Fewer than one-in-five Indonesians (15%) have positive views of the U.S., compared with 83% with unfavorable opinions. That represents a complete reversal since last summer, when by a wide margin (61%-36%), Indonesians expressed favorable opinions of the U.S.

Just 15% of Turks have positive feelings toward the U.S., about the same as in March (12%), but far fewer than in 2002 or 2000 (30% and 52%, respectively). Even in Nigeria – aside from Kuwait, the only largely Muslim country in which a majority has a favorable view of the United States – Muslims are far less supportive of the U.S. than are non-Muslims. Only about four-in-ten Muslims in Nigeria (38%) have favorable views of the United States, compared with 85% of non-Muslims.

Anti-U.S. sentiment is virtually unanimous in Jordan and the Palestinian Authority (99% and 98% unfavorable, respectively). The intensity of this opinion is striking. More than eight-in-ten Palestinians (85%) and Jordanians (83%) say they feel *very* unfavorably toward the U.S., far more than any other public.

U.S. Opinion Also More Negative

Disagreements over Iraq and other policies also have taken their toll on American attitudes toward France and Germany. Fewer than three-in-ten Americans (29%) say they have very or somewhat favorable views of France, while twice as many (60%) feel negatively. In a little over a year, opinion of this traditional U.S. ally has shifted dramatically. In a February 2002 Gallup survey, 79% of Americans had positive opinions of France, compared with just 16% who felt negatively.

<i>Rating of...</i>	Fav- orable %	Unfav- orable %	Don't know %
Canada	65	24	11
Summer 2002	83	4	13
Great Britain	82	10	8
February 2002	90	7	3
France	29	60	11
February 2002	79	16	5
Germany	44	41	15
February 2002	83	11	6

February 2002 trends from Gallup.

Germany's image in the U.S. also has taken a hit, though Americans view Germany much more favorably than they do France. The U.S. public is divided in its assessments of Germany – 44% feel favorably, 41% unfavorably. In February 2002, nearly twice as many

Americans had positive impressions of Germany (83%).

Positive views of Canada also have slipped since last summer, though they remain overwhelmingly favorable (65% now, 83% then). American attitudes toward Great Britain are by far the most positive of the four countries tested: 82% say they have favorable views of Great Britain, down somewhat from February 2002 (90%).

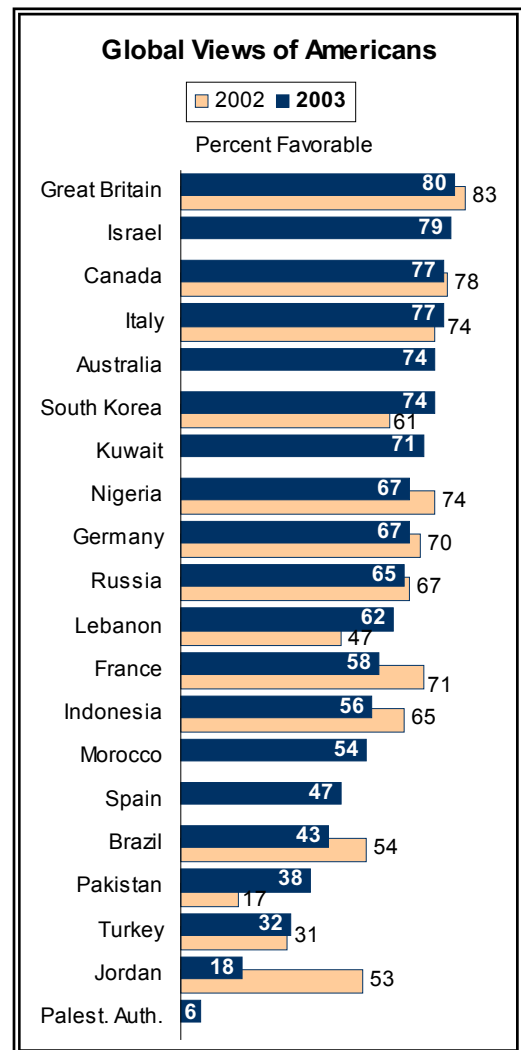
‘Americans’ Liked, But Pockets of Hostility

Traditionally, people around the world tend to take a positive view of Americans, even where most dislike the United States and oppose U.S. policies. Majorities in 14 of the 21 publics express favorable views of Americans.

But several Muslim populations express negative views of Americans, as well as America. Nine-in-ten Palestinians (92%) and eight-in-ten Jordanians (82%) say they feel somewhat or very unfavorably toward Americans. In Jordan, hostility toward Americans is on the rise; last summer, fully half of Jordanians (53%) had a positive view of Americans, a number that has fallen to 18% in the current survey.

Negative views of Americans are not limited to Muslim populations. Fewer than half of those in Spain (47%), a NATO ally, have a positive impression of Americans. Only about four-in-ten Brazilians (43%) view Americans favorably, down from 54% in summer 2002.

People in most other nations continue to have high regard for Americans. This is the case even in countries like Indonesia, where most have a negative view of the United States. More than half of Indonesians (56%) say they feel favorably toward Americans, though this is down from 65% last year. In South Korea, where the image of the U.S. is mixed (46% positive, 50% negative), an increasing number say they have a good opinion of Americans (74%, up from 61% last summer).



Most Blame Bush

People who have unfavorable views of the United States for the most part base those opinions on their feelings about President Bush, not the United States generally. This view is especially widespread in

What's the Problem With the U.S.?					
	Mostly Bush	America in general	Both (VOL)	DK/Ref	
	%	%	%	%	
France	74	21	4	*	(N=301)
Germany	74	22	3	1	(N=266)
Indonesia	69	20	7	4	(N=798)
Italy	67	24	9	0	(N=190)
Morocco	66	14	18	2	(N=660)
Pakistan	62	31	2	5	(N=808)
Canada	60	32	6	2	(N=175)
Nigeria	60	22	18	*	(N=366)
Great Britain	59	31	8	3	(N=153)
Brazil	56	36	6	2	(N=608)
Australia	53	40	6	1	(N=190)
Turkey	52	33	12	3	(N=829)
Lebanon	51	32	16	1	(N=710)
Spain	50	37	12	2	(N=281)
Kuwait	44	42	8	6	(N=159)
Russia	43	32	15	10	(N=281)
Jordan	42	28	30	*	(N=988)
Israel	37	42	15	6	(N=304)
Palest. Auth.	31	32	36	1	(N=784)
South Korea	20	72	7	1	(N=262)

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

some Western European countries. In France and Germany, nearly three-quarters of those who have negative views of the U.S. say their opposition is to the president, rather than America generally (74% each). Two-thirds of Italians (67%) and six-in-ten British (59%) who have negative views of the U.S. say the same.

U.S. critics in largely Muslim nations also tend to blame the president, not a more general problem with the U.S. Nearly seven-in-ten Indonesians (69%) who have a negative view of the U.S. cite their feelings about the president, as do majorities in Morocco (66%), Pakistan (62%), Nigeria (60%), Turkey (52%) and Lebanon (51%).

People who have the most negative views of the U.S. – Palestinians and Jordanians – are more divided in their assessments of whether the president or America generally is to blame. A plurality of Jordanians (42%) blames Bush, while a plurality of Palestinians (36%) volunteered “both,” when asked whether the president or the nation is to blame.

South Koreans are divided in their view of the United States, with half expressing an unfavorable view. Overwhelmingly, South Koreans attribute this negative opinion to a general problem with America, rather than a problem with the president (72%-20%).

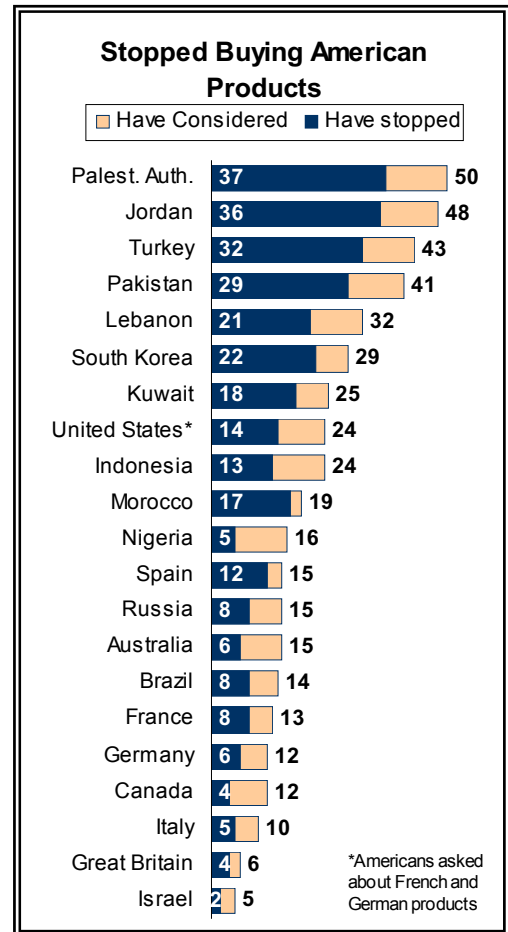
Boycotts Both Ways

In the United States, anger over France’s and Germany’s active opposition to the war with Iraq spurred highly visible protests, including a move to rename French fries “freedom fries,” and calls for boycotts of French and German products. One-quarter of Americans

surveyed (24%) say they have seriously considered such a boycott, and 14% say they have actually stopped buying products from those countries.

The idea of boycotting American products is far less popular in France and Germany, despite the widespread criticism in those countries of the United States and its policies. Only about one-in-ten in France and Germany (13% and 12%, respectively) say they have considered not buying American products to protest U.S. policies. About half that number in each country (8% and 6%) say they actually have stopped buying U.S. goods.

But anti-American boycotts are more widespread in other parts of the world. Half of Palestinians, nearly as many Jordanians (48%) and more than four-in-ten Turks (43%), say they have considered not buying American products to protest U.S. policies, and a significant proportion say they have actually followed through with that action (37% of Palestinians, 36% of Jordanians and 32% of Turks). Substantial minorities in South Korea (29%), Kuwait (25%) and Indonesia (24%) also have considered boycotting American products.



Views of Things American

The postwar update survey revisited opinions about American ideas, business practices, and cultural products, first reported in last year's *Global Attitudes* survey (*What the World Thinks in 2002*). The publics of most nations continue to admire the United States for its technological and scientific advances, and strong majorities in many of them also like American music, movies and television. But large majorities in most countries say they dislike the growing influence of America in their country.

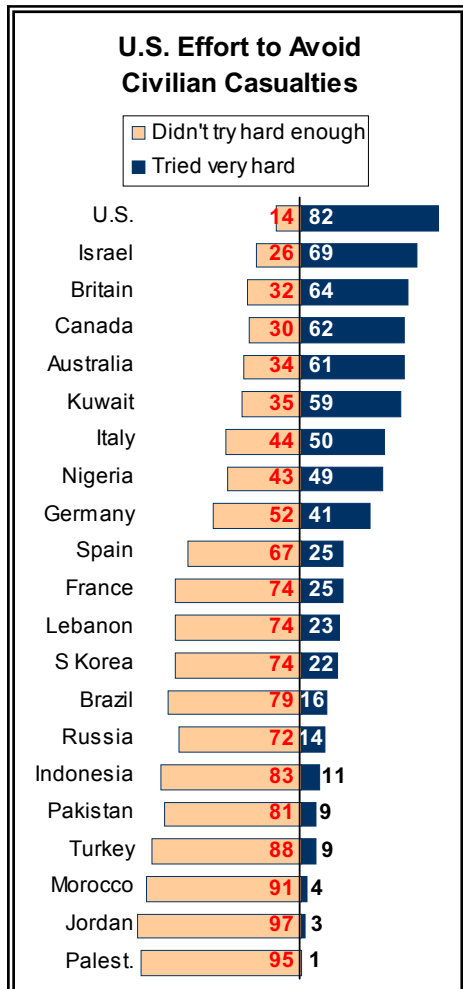
If anything, U.S. technology is even more popular than it was last summer. Solid majorities in every country except Russia say they admire U.S. scientific and technological know-how. Even Palestinians, who were not surveyed in 2002 and who generally take a dim view of

all things American, have a positive view of U.S. science and technology (62% favorable).

Opinions are more mixed on American business practices and American ideas about democracy. As was the case in last year, people around the world generally view the spread of American ideas and customs as a bad thing. In a handful of cases, these attitudes have shifted since last summer – sometimes dramatically – but there has been no consistent pattern to these changes.

Few Second Thoughts about Iraq War

For the most part, people in the 20 nations surveyed say they agree with the stance their governments took on the war in Iraq, whether it was to participate in military action or to stay out of the conflict. Generally the war did little to change prewar attitudes regarding military action, except in the U.S. and Great Britain, where the success of the war bolstered public support for the use of force in Iraq.



In a prewar poll conducted March 14-16, just 39% of British supported their country joining the U.S. and others in taking military action against Iraq. Currently, 61% of the British feel the government made the right decision to use military force in Iraq. The prewar survey also showed 59% of Americans favoring military action; now, 74% believe it was right to go to war. Spain is the notable exception among the so-called “coalition of the willing.” While Spanish military forces had no combat role in Iraq, the Spanish public, by two-to-one, believes their government did the wrong thing in providing even limited support for the coalition effort (62% wrong decision/31% right decision).

The Kuwaiti public overwhelmingly agrees with their government’s decision to allow the U.S. to use bases in that country for military action in Iraq. Fully eight-in-ten Kuwaitis (83%) back that decision, while just 9% disagree.

People in countries that stayed out of the war

overwhelmingly believe their governments made the right decision. Fully nine-in-ten Israelis (92%) and eight-in-ten French (83%) and Germans (80%) believe their governments made the right decision not to join the allies.

Seeing the War Differently

Globally, people have very different perceptions of whether the United States and its coalition partners did all they could to avoid civilian casualties in Iraq. Publics in countries that participated in the war – the U.S., Great Britain and Australia – strongly believe coalition forces did all they could to avoid Iraqi civilian casualties. But for the most part, that view is not shared in other countries.

Large majorities in most Muslim countries believe the U.S. and its allies did *not* do enough to avoid civilian casualties. This opinion is virtually unanimous in Jordan (97%) and the Palestinian Authority (95%) and is widely shared in Morocco (91%), Turkey (88%), Indonesia (83%) and Pakistan (81%).

The idea that the United States and its allies did too little to avoid civilian casualties also is prevalent in Western Europe – with the exception of Italy – Russia, South Korea and Brazil. In fact, aside from the nations that participated in the conflict, solid majorities in only three countries – Israel (69%), Canada (62%) and Kuwait (59%) – believe that the U.S. and its allies did all they could to avoid civilian casualties.

Are Iraqis Better Off?

Despite widespread concerns over the way the war was conducted, majorities in most countries – with the exception of several Muslim nations – feel the Iraqi people will be better off because of Saddam Hussein’s removal from power. However, the United States and its allies receive only middling marks for taking into account the needs of the Iraqi people as they begin the task of rebuilding the country.

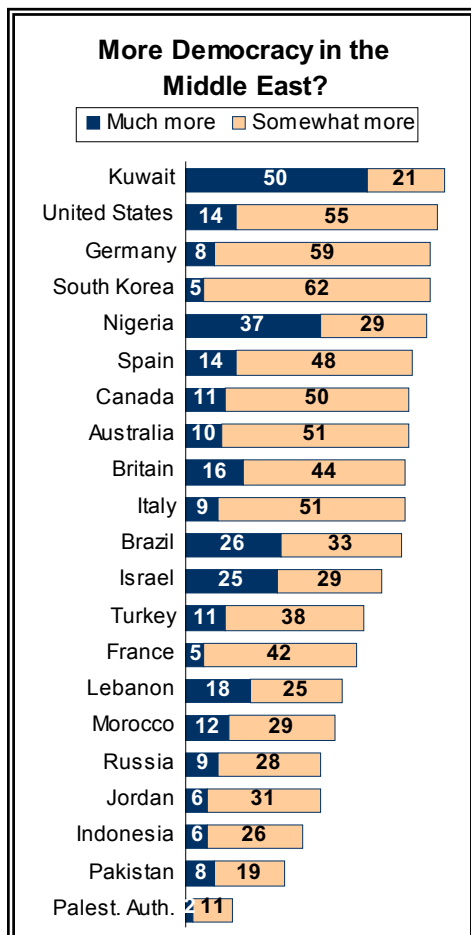
	Post-War Iraq			
	<i>Without Saddam, Iraqi people will be...</i>		<i>Allied job addressing needs of Iraqi people</i>	
	Better off	Worse off	Exc/ Good	Fair/ Poor
	%	%	%	%
United States	87	6	59	32
Australia	85	6	40	53
Great Britain	85	7	41	50
Canada	81	9	41	46
Kuwait	80	10	53	40
Israel	78	10	29	60
France	76	21	45	54
Germany	76	15	23	70
Italy	76	11	36	52
Spain	70	14	26	64
South Korea	65	24	10	84
Nigeria	62	25	59	34
Brazil	50	37	31	54
Lebanon	50	37	25	70
Turkey	37	45	23	63
Russia	27	25	10	78
Morocco	24	53	11	67
Jordan	19	80	17	80
Pakistan	17	60	14	60
Indonesia	17	67	12	83
Palestinian Auth	4	85	7	87

Majorities in every Western European country surveyed – even those where there was broad opposition to the war – believe Iraqis will be better off now that Hussein has been deposed. Three-quarters in France and Germany (76% in each) believe the Iraqi people will be better off with Hussein ousted, and seven-in-ten in Spain agree.

But several Muslim publics believe that the Iraqi people will be worse off now that Hussein is no longer in power. Roughly eight-in-ten Palestinians (85%) and Jordanians (80%) think people in Iraq will be in worse shape with Hussein out of power, and majorities in Indonesia (67%), Pakistan (60%) and Morocco (53%) agree. Among Muslim publics, only in Kuwait and Nigeria do solid majorities believe the lot of Iraqi people will improve in the post-Hussein era (80% and 62% respectively).

Rebuilding Effort Criticized

Most Americans (59%) feel that in rebuilding Iraq, the U.S. and its allies are doing an excellent or good job in taking into account the needs of the Iraqi people. But people in other countries express considerable doubt about how well the allies are doing in that regard – and that is the case even among coalition allies.



Roughly half of Australians (53%) and British (50%) say the U.S. and its allies are doing only a fair or poor job in addressing the interests of the Iraqi people. Views of the reconstruction effort are even more negative elsewhere. Majorities in Western Europe, Russia, South Korea and most Muslim publics give the allies a rating of fair or poor for taking into account the needs of the Iraqi people as they rebuild the country. That is the case as well in Israel (60% fair/poor), where people give the U.S. and its allies high marks for their conduct of the war.

Mixed Outlook for Mideast Democracy

There is moderate optimism that the war on Iraq will lead to broad democratization in the Middle East, as many believe the region will become *somewhat* more democratic. Majorities in the U.S., Canada and most of

Western Europe feel the Middle East will become at least somewhat more democratic with the removal of Hussein from power.

For the most part, people in the Middle East do not concur with that opinion. Nearly six-in-ten in Jordan (59%) believe there will be no change in the region as a consequence of Hussein’s removal, and half of Lebanese agree. A slim majority in Israel (54%) believes the region will become somewhat more democratic. By contrast, just 13% of Palestinians think greater democratization is likely, while 75% expect no change in the region.

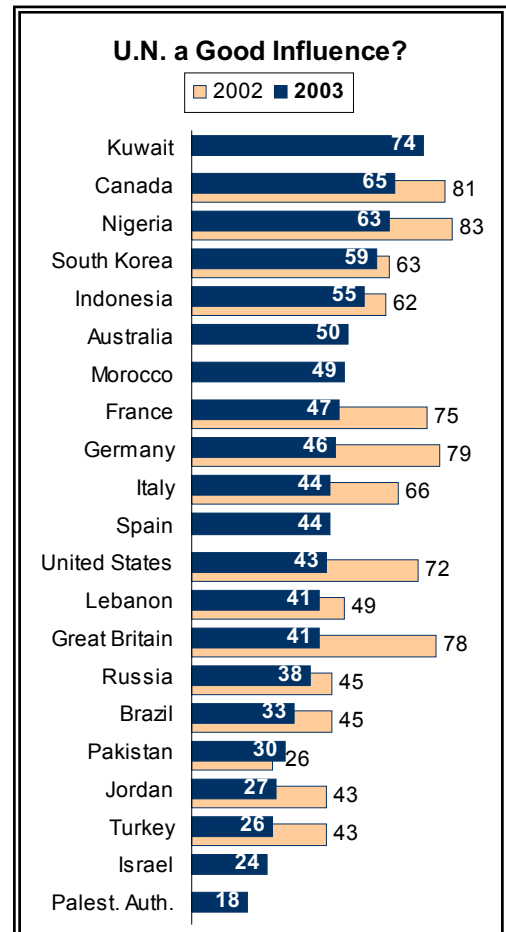
Kuwaitis stand out for their optimism that Hussein’s removal will lead to greater democracy in the Middle East. Fully half of Kuwaitis believe the Middle East will become *much more* democratic as result of Hussein’s ouster, more than any country surveyed. Another 21% of Kuwaitis think the region will become somewhat more democratic.

U.N. Less Popular

While there is a growing consensus that the U.N. has become less relevant, overall positive opinions of the world body have also decreased. The percentage of people who say the U.N. has a good influence on their country has declined in nations that took military action against Iraq – including Great Britain and the U.S. – as well as those that bitterly opposed the war. Positive views of the U.N. dropped by 37 percentage points in Great Britain and 29 points in the U.S.; the negative change was nearly as sharp in Germany (33 points) and France (28 points).

In an unusual note of agreement, large majorities of both Israelis and Palestinians feel that the U.N. is having a bad influence (63% among the Israelis, and 78% on the Palestinians). Majorities are negative about the U.N. in Jordan, Turkey, Lebanon, France and Brazil, and pluralities are now negative in the U.S., Great Britain and Pakistan.

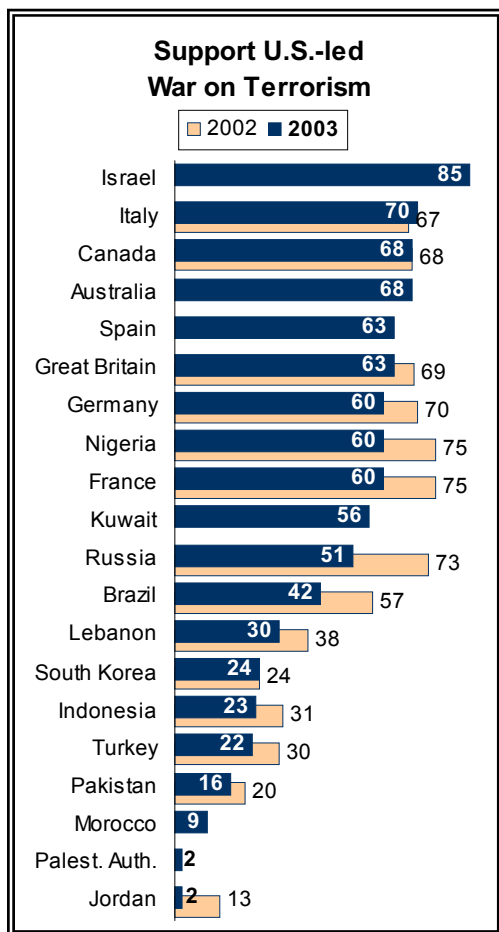
U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan receives a vote



of confidence from majorities in nine of the 21 publics surveyed in the postwar update, with two-thirds or more of the Germans, British, Australians, and Italians saying they have at least some confidence in him to do the right thing regarding world affairs. But majorities in Indonesia, Israel, Lebanon, Turkey, the Palestinian Authority, and Jordan express little or no confidence in the U.N. Secretary General.

More Opposition to War on Terror

Compared with last summer, significantly fewer people around the world say they support the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism. In 10 of the 14 countries where comparisons are possible, the percentage favoring the war on terrorism has declined. And in Pakistan, there was little change in support but a large increase in opposition.



Support for the war on terrorism remains greatest among traditional U.S. allies, including many nations where terrorist attacks have occurred in recent years. Support is strong in Israel (85% favor the U.S. efforts), Italy (70%), Australia and Canada (68% each), Great Britain and Spain (63% each), Nigeria, France and Germany (60% each). But support is down in France and Germany (by 15 and 10 points, respectively). And in Russia, the percentage backing the war on terror has fallen 22 points, to 51%.

Fewer than a quarter support the war on terrorism in Indonesia, Turkey, Pakistan, Jordan, and even in South Korea. Just one-in-ten Moroccans (9%) say they back the war on terror. (This survey was conducted before the May 16 terrorist attack in Casablanca).

Prior to the war with Iraq, President Bush described what many observers saw as a new doctrine asserting the right of military preemption against potentially hostile nations. But majorities in most of the nations polled

believe that the use of force against nations that threaten but have not actually attacked one's country is rarely or never justified.

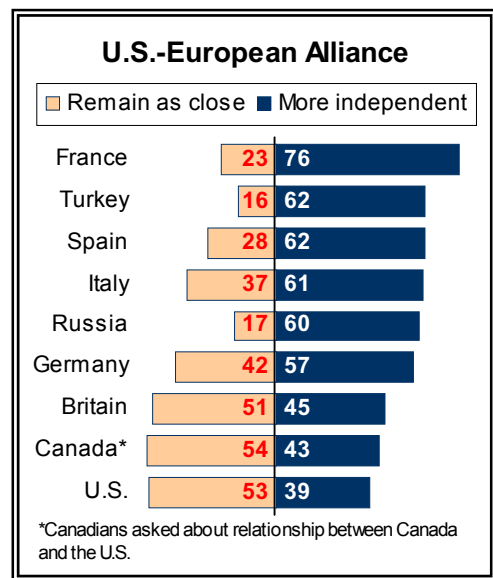
Opposition to preemption is particularly widespread in Jordan and the Palestinian Authority, where 93% and 78%, respectively, believe preemption is rarely or never justified. By contrast, majorities in Pakistan, the United States, Israel, Britain, Australia, and Canada say that this policy is often or sometimes justified. Despite their country's active opposition to the war in Iraq, a sizable minority in France (42%) supports preemption.

Europeans Want Looser Ties to U.S.

The publics of many America's most important allies favor Western Europe taking a more independent approach to security and diplomatic affairs than in the past. But even in the United States, a large minority – 39% – agrees with the idea of loosening the partnership, and 43% of Canadians want their country to have a more independent relationship with the U.S.

In France and Germany, this sentiment is notably higher than it was in April 2002. Currently, 76% in France favor a more distant relationship with the U.S., up from 60% in 2002 and 67% just before the war with Iraq. The change in Germany was smaller, with support for a more independent approach rising from 52% prior to the war to 57% today. About six-in-ten in Turkey, Spain and Italy also favor looser ties with the U.S., all unchanged from prewar levels. The British are divided, with just over half saying the alliance should remain close and 45% favoring a more distant relationship with the U.S.

America is seen by most publics polled as showing little regard for the interests of other countries in making international policy decisions. This sentiment is overwhelming in most Muslim publics, but is shared by majorities in many of America's traditional allies. More than eight-in-ten people in France (85%) say the U.S. does not take French interests into account in making policy decisions, and substantial majorities in South Korea (78%) and Spain (74%), Russia (71%), Canada (70%) believe the United States disregards their countries' interests. Exceptions to this pattern include Israel, Kuwait, and Nigeria. In contrast, a large



majority of Americans (73%) believe the U.S. takes into account the interests of other countries at least a fair amount.

Blair, Annan Get Vote of Confidence in the West

British Prime Minister Tony Blair and U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan are the leaders who command the greatest level of confidence from the publics of non-Muslim nations surveyed. Blair leads in the United States, Canada, and Australia. Annan is the highest rated leader among the British, Italians, Spaniards, Brazilians and

	First	Second	Third	Fourth
United States	Blair (83%)	Bush (78%)	Sharon (49%)	Annan (45%)
Canada	Blair (75%)	Bush (59%)	Putin (54%)	Annan (54%)
Great Britain	Annan (72%)	Blair (71%)	Putin (53%)	Bush (51%)
France	Schroeder (76%)	Chirac (75%)	Annan (65%)	Putin (48%)
Germany	Chirac (84%)	Putin (75%)	Annan (74%)	Schroeder (60%)
Italy	Annan (69%)	Blair (57%)	Chirac (46%)	Putin (45%)
Spain	Annan (59%)	Chirac (51%)	Schroeder (48%)	Blair (43%)
Brazil	Annan (32%)	Chirac (31%)	Schroeder (22%)	Putin (22%)
Australia	Blair (80%)	Annan (68%)	Bush (59%)	Schroeder (54%)
South Korea	Annan (47%)	Chirac (47%)	Blair (41%)	Schroeder (40%)
Russia	Putin (76%)	Chirac (42%)	Schroeder (40%)	Annan (26%)
Israel	Bush (83%)	Blair (76%)	Sharon (68%)	Annan (39%)

Percent saying they have "a lot" or "some" confidence in each leader's ability to do the right thing regarding world affairs. Four highest rated (of 10 world leaders) shown here. See page 3 for rankings in predominantly Muslim nations.

South Koreans. Annan ranks lower in Israel, Russia and the U.S., although nearly half of Americans (45%) express confidence in him.

In France, German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder finished in a virtual tie with President

Jacques Chirac (Schroeder 76%, Chirac 75%); but in Germany, Chirac is by far the highest rated leader (84%). Russians express far greater confidence in President Vladimir Putin (76%) than in any other leader named.

President Bush receives a stronger vote of confidence in Israel than in any other country surveyed. Fully 83% of Israelis express at least some confidence in his ability to handle world affairs, and 51% voice *a lot* of confidence in him. But majorities express confidence in the president in the U.S., Canada, Great Britain and Australia. Bush receives very low ratings in Brazil, Russia, Spain, France and Germany.

Only in Israel does Prime Minister Ariel Sharon get a majority of the public expressing at least some confidence in his ability to do the right thing regarding world affairs. Nearly all of those polled in Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, Lebanon, Morocco and Kuwait say

they have no confidence in Sharon, and large majorities in Turkey, Pakistan, and Spain share this view.

Greatest Threats to Peace

With the conclusion of the war in Iraq, North Korea has taken center stage as a threat to peace and stability in the minds of many. Since November 2002, the percentage rating the current government in North Korea as a great or moderate danger to the stability of Asia has risen by 20 points in Germany, 17 points in France, 13 points in Great Britain, and 12 points in the United States. Overall, about eight-in-ten Australians (79%), Germans (77%) and Americans (77%) believe North Korea presents a great or moderate danger to regional stability and world peace.

Perceptions are different in the Muslim world. No more than half of the respondents in any Muslim public views North Korea as a great or moderate threat. About one-third or more in Pakistan, the Palestinian Authority, Morocco and Turkey see North Korea as no threat at all.

The U.S. and Israel have somewhat similar perceptions of the Middle East, with two-thirds or more in both countries seeing the current government in Syria and Iran as at least moderate dangers to stability in the region. But Israelis are much more likely than Americans to see these countries as major threats. Nearly four-in-ten Israelis (38%) say Syria poses a great danger to regional stability, compared with 22% of Americans.

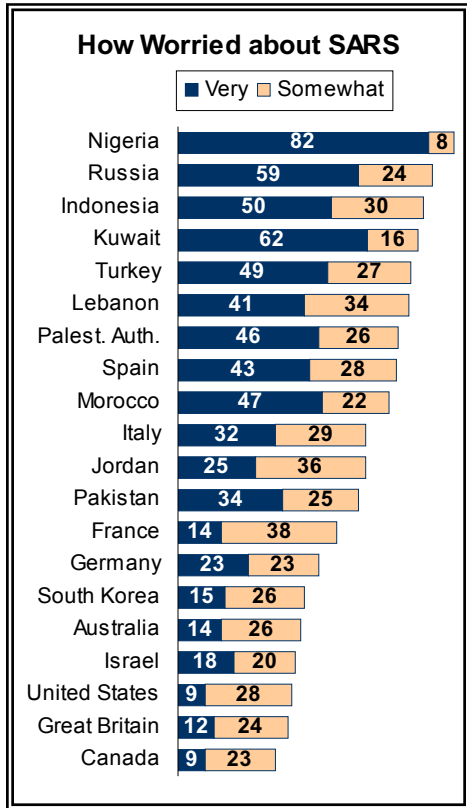
By contrast, large majorities in Jordan, Lebanon and the Palestinian Authority see little danger from Syria; 60% or more in Jordan, the Palestinian Authority, Indonesia and Lebanon are unconcerned about Iran, and 57% in Pakistan also feel this way.

Dangers to Regional Stability			
	<u>Iran</u>	<u>Syria</u>	<u>North Korea</u>
	%	%	%
Israel	75	64	59
United States	71	66	77
Germany	65	56	77
Australia	62	55	79
Canada	61	58	70
Great Britain	54	53	71
Italy	52	48	52
France	48	42	56
South Korea	45	50	69
Brazil	44	44	45
Spain	42	33	48
Nigeria	41	39	36
Kuwait	41	34	48
Lebanon	29	16	32
Turkey	28	28	21
Morocco	27	32	34
Indonesia	27	31	39
Palest. Auth.	25	23	32
Russia	17	13	18
Jordan	16	4	38
Pakistan	9	13	12

Percent saying each country's current government is a great or moderate danger to stability in (the Middle East/Asia) and world peace.

SARS: A Connected World's Downside?

Anxiety about possible exposure to SARS is substantial in many of the nations polled this spring. Worries are greatest in Nigeria (82% very worried), Kuwait (62%) and Russia (59%). About half of Indonesians and Turks are also very worried. Majorities in Lebanon, Spain, Morocco, Italy, Jordan, Pakistan and France are at least somewhat worried.



But the level of worry is not correlated with the actual rates of reported infections around the world. Of the 21 publics polled, Canada and the United States have reported the highest number of cases of the disease. Worries in both countries are very low (9% “very worried” in each). Worries are also very low in South Korea and Australia, despite their proximity to China where the vast majority of the world’s cases have been reported.

Even though the connected world of global air travel has enabled SARS to spread more easily, opinions about connectedness are mostly unrelated to worries about SARS. In most countries, those who are worried about SARS are just as favorable about growing international trade and faster communication as those who are not worried about the disease.

MUSLIM OPINION ON GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL ISSUES

Muslims surveyed in the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* favor a prominent – in many cases expanded – role for Islam and religious leaders in the political life of their countries. Yet that opinion does not diminish Muslim support for a system of governance that ensures the same civil liberties and political rights enjoyed by democracies.

Muslims in 14 countries – ranging from Turkey, Pakistan and other predominantly Muslim countries to Uganda and Ghana where the Muslims are relatively small minority – were surveyed on a range of political, social and religious issues. In most of these countries, support for freedom and a strong Islamic presence in politics go hand in hand.¹

Yet there is a pervasive belief that the desire for more freedom and openness is not being fulfilled. Among the majority Islamic countries surveyed, just two – Mali and Senegal – were rated as “free” by Freedom House in its most recent report on democracy around the world. This reality is reflected in the bleak assessments many Muslims give of political freedom in their own countries. Perceptions of repression in some predominantly Muslim countries – notably Turkey, Bangladesh and Lebanon – are greater than anywhere else in the developing world. But it is important to note that this survey was conducted before the Turkish general elections of November 2002, when the country’s unpopular prime minister, Bulent Ecevit, was replaced by Recep Erdogan of the Islamist-based Justice and Development Party.

I: Islam and Governance

Majorities of Muslims in nine nations favor a large role for Islam in the political life of their countries. This view is common both in countries where Muslims are the overwhelming majority of the

¹ In most of the nations included in this analysis, Muslims make up a clear majority of the sample. The exceptions are Tanzania (36% Muslim), Nigeria (35%), Ghana (14%), Ivory Coast (14%) or Uganda (12%). None of the questions were allowed in Egypt.

population (Pakistan, Jordan, Indonesia, Bangladesh and Mali) as well as where Muslims make up a minority (Uganda, Ivory Coast and Nigeria).

Role of Islam in Political Life			
	Currently plays a <u>large role</u> %	Should play a <u>large role</u> %	<u>Diff.</u>
Pakistan	56	86	+30
Uganda	38	66	+28
Jordan	50	73	+23
Bangladesh	56	74	+18
Ivory Coast	44	54	+10
Ghana	42	52	+10
Mali	61	70	+9
Nigeria	62	61	-1
Indonesia	86	82	-4
Turkey	46	41	-5
Tanzania	28	17	-11
Uzbekistan	55	41	-14
Lebanon	71	49	-22
Senegal	65	42	-23

Questions asked of Muslim respondents only.
Questions not permitted in Egypt.

In four other nations (Lebanon, Turkey, Senegal and Uzbekistan), opinion is split over whether Islam’s role in political life should be large or small. Only in Tanzania is there a prevailing sentiment among the Muslim minority that Islam should play a small role in politics, if any.

Attitudes on Islam’s proper position in political life can be understood in the context of how people perceive its current role. For example, most Indonesian Muslims are satisfied with what they see as a high level of Islamic influence in politics. Fully 86% say Islam plays a very or fairly large role in the political life of their country, and 82% think it *should* play a substantial role. In Pakistan, Uganda, Jordan, and Bangladesh many Muslims want to see Islam play a greater role than they think it currently does.

In Pakistan, where Gen. Perez Musharraf’s hard line against Islamic extremism has provoked a backlash among some Muslims, 56% say Islam plays a large role but far more (86%) think it should play a large role. Moreover, just 35% think Islam currently plays a *very* large role in their nation’s political life today, but 75% think it should have a very large role.

Senegal, Lebanon, Uzbekistan and Tanzania are at the other end of the spectrum. Solid majorities in all three countries say Islam already plays a prominent role in their country’s politics, but far fewer believe this should be the case. Nearly two-thirds of Senegalese think Islam plays a major role in politics, while just 42% endorse a significant political role for Islam. The gap is nearly as large in Lebanon and somewhat smaller in Uzbekistan and Tanzania.

In other parts of the Muslim world there is general satisfaction with Islam’s political influence. Indonesians are generally satisfied

with religion playing a very large role in their nation's politics. In Turkey, Mali and Ghana, most are happy with what they see as a more moderate Islamic influence in each nation's political life.

Larger Role for Religious Leaders?

The widespread Muslim support for religion playing a prominent role in political life is also seen in the large number of Muslim respondents who believe religious leaders should be more active in politics directly. Fully nine-in-ten Muslims in Nigeria (91%) and solid majorities in seven other countries endorse religious leaders playing a larger role in politics.

In several of these countries – notably Bangladesh, Jordan and Mali – support for religious leaders becoming more active in politics is associated with the view that Islam should have a bigger role in political life. In other countries, the pattern is reversed: Muslims in Tanzania, Senegal and Uzbekistan, who have more reservations about a strong role for Islam in politics, oppose a greater political role for religious leaders.

	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %	<u>DK/Ref</u> %
Nigeria	91	8	1
Jordan	77	23	0
Bangladesh	76	14	10
Lebanon	72	23	5
Mali	64	33	2
Pakistan	63	17	20
Ghana	60	36	4
Ivory Coast	59	40	0
Indonesia	51	48	1
Uganda	49	41	10
Turkey	40	50	9
Uzbekistan	40	52	8
Tanzania	36	53	11
Senegal	36	64	0

Question asked of Muslim respondents only. Question not permitted in Egypt.

But there are some interesting contrasts in these views in other nations, suggesting that the idea of religious *leaders* becoming more politically active is more appealing than Islam having a greater role in politics. In Lebanon, for example, 72% of Muslims feel that religious leaders should play a larger role in politics than they currently do, even though a plurality wants Islam to play less of a role in political life than it currently does. Similarly, 91% of Nigerian Muslims favor more political participation by religious leaders even though just 61% favor a large role for Islam in politics generally.

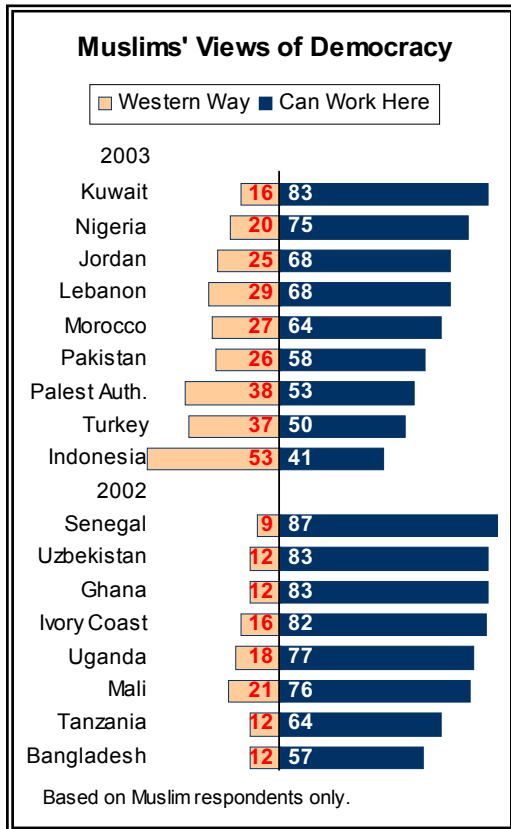
In some other countries, it is the direct participation of religious leaders in politics that is more troubling to Muslims. For example, Pakistanis feel more favorably toward Islam playing a general role in political life (86% favor) than they do about religious leaders taking part in politics (63% favor).

Opinion Not Driven by Religious Commitment, Corruption Concerns

Muslim attitudes on the proper role of religion in politics and public life are, for the most part, unrelated to people’s own religious commitment. Muslims who pray regularly, fast on Ramadan, and say religion plays an important role in their lives are no more or less likely to support a greater role for Islam in politics than those who are less religiously oriented. This suggests that support for religious leaders becoming more deeply involved in politics does not necessarily imply support for a more religiously oriented state or that the belief that religion should play a role in public life means believing that everyone must be religiously devout themselves.

There also is no evidence that support for religion in political and public life is driven by concerns about corruption in government. While corruption concerns are high in many of the Muslim nations surveyed (as they are across much of the developing world), people who rate corruption as a major problem in their nation are no more likely to favor a role for Islam in public life, or for religious leaders in politics, than those who are less concerned about corruption. Similarly, while majorities in most of the Muslim countries surveyed view moral

decline as a major problem for their countries – Jordan is a notable exception – this opinion is not associated with support for religious leaders to take a more active role in politics.



Can Democracy Work? Most say Yes

Support for a religious role in political life among Muslim publics does not necessarily carry the same implications that it might in a nation like the United States, where the separation of church and state has been codified and reinforced over the years. Most importantly, while many Muslims around the world would like to see more religion in politics, this view does not contradict widespread support for democratic ideals among these publics. In fact, in a number of countries, Muslims who support a greater role for Islam in politics place the highest regard on freedom of speech, freedom of the press and the importance of free and contested elections.

Muslim respondents are optimists about democracy. Relatively few Muslims agree that democracy is a “Western way of doing things that would not work here.” Instead, majorities in most predominantly Muslim nations believe democracy is not just for the West and can work in their country. Reservations about western-style democracy are greatest in Indonesia (53%) Turkey (37%) and the Palestinian Authority (37%). This represents significantly less support for democracy in Indonesia than in 2002, when 64% of Muslims thought a western model of democracy would work in their country and just 25% did not.

Democratic Aspirations

Majorities in most predominantly Muslim countries place a high priority on having the freedom to criticize the government. Support for this right is particularly prevalent among Muslims in Turkey (83% very important), Mali (80%), Bangladesh (79%), as well as in Nigeria (72%), Senegal (71%) and Lebanon (66%).

Similarly, majorities in most predominantly Muslim counties believe multi-party electoral systems and judicial systems that treat everyone the same are very important. Freedom of the press to report on the government without censorship is also highly valued.

In a number of predominantly Islamic nations, the extent to which these values are prized is as widespread as it is in non-Muslim countries in both the developed and developing world. In Bangladesh, Lebanon, Nigeria and Mali, the vast majority of Muslims simultaneously support religious leaders playing a greater role in politics as well as freedom of speech and electoral competition; their support for the latter exceeds that of many Eastern European and

Commitment to Democratic Ideals			
<i>Very important to live in a country where...</i>			
	People can openly criticize the gov't	There are honest, two-party elections	The media can report without censorship
Regional medians	%	%	%
Latin America	71	66	67
Sub-Saharan Africa*	71	73	63
Eastern Europe	57	60	60
Predominantly Muslim countries			
Mali	79	82	68
Turkey	83	75	68
Bangladesh	81	71	64
Senegal	71	87	53
Lebanon	67	71	57
Pakistan	63	46	38
Indonesia	56	40	40
Uzbekistan	42	42	44
Jordan	32	28	35
Significant Muslim populations			
Nigeria	68	75	69
Tanzania	56	62	42

Based on total national population. In nations with significant Muslim and non-Muslim populations (Lebanon, Bangladesh, Nigeria, Tanzania) an analysis of Muslim and non-Muslim responses shows no systematic differences by religion.

* Includes African nations with relatively small Muslim populations: Angola, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, South Africa and Uganda. Questions not permitted in Egypt.

Latin American nations.

But Muslims in several countries view these freedoms as less important. In Pakistan, Indonesia, Uzbekistan and Jordan, fewer than half of Muslims surveyed rate honest two-party elections and freedom of the press as *very* important, though most view these freedoms as *somewhat* important. In Jordan, a monarchy with a limited parliament, there is a notable lack of enthusiasm for such liberties, owing at least partly to divisions between Palestinians living in Jordan, who tend to be more supportive of democratic freedoms, and native Jordanians. Roughly a third of Palestinian Muslims (33%) give a high priority to honest elections, compared with 19% of Jordanians.

Religious Freedom Also Supported

Religious freedom also is highly valued by Muslim publics. Muslims in Senegal are nearly unanimous in their support for religious freedom (97%), and more than eight-in-ten in Lebanon (85%), Turkey (84%) and other nations agree. In religiously diverse nations, such as Lebanon and Nigeria, Muslims are as supportive as non-Muslims of the right to practice religion freely.

The lone exception to this pattern is Jordan, where just four-in-ten say it is very important that people can practice their religion freely. Three-in-ten Muslim respondents in Jordan rate freedom of religion as relatively unimportant – the highest proportion among all nations surveyed. Again, Palestinians are more likely to value religious freedom than other Jordanians, with 45% saying it is very important (compared with 32% of Jordanians).

Expressions of support for the democratic ideals of competition and freedom of expression do not conflict with opinion in favor of a role for Islam in public life and politics. In most countries, supporters of an active role for Islam are no more or less committed to these democratic ideals, and in a few predominantly Muslim nations, notably Bangladesh and Pakistan, those who are most supportive of a role for Islam in public life and politics are also the most supportive of freedom of speech and electoral competition.

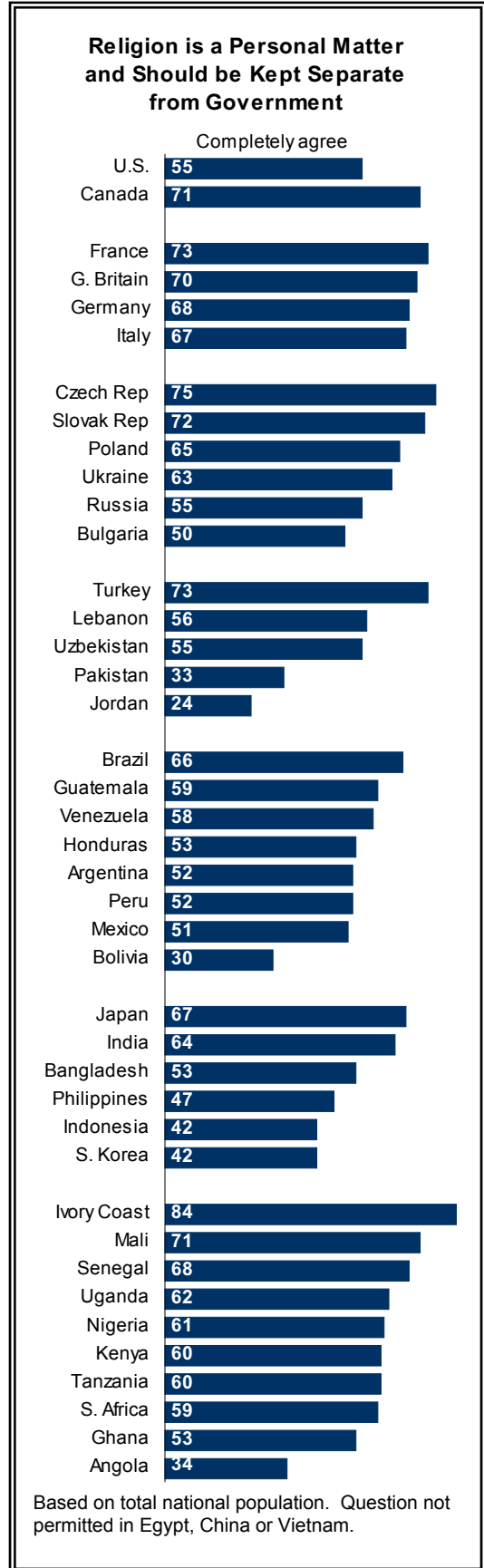
A Mosque - State Divide

Despite the broad support for a greater political role for Islam, Muslim publics are generally no less supportive of keeping religion separate from government policy than are people in other countries. In countries with more secular traditions, such as Turkey, Senegal and Mali, roughly seven-in-ten completely agree that religion is a matter of personal faith and should be kept separate from government policy.

Indeed, publics in those three countries are even more supportive than Americans of keeping religion separate from government policy. Just over half of U.S. respondents (55%) completely agree that religion is a matter of personal faith, not government policy, compared with 73% of Muslims in Turkey, 71% in Mali and 67% in Senegal.

In religiously diverse countries, Muslims generally favor keeping religion a private matter at the same rates as non-Muslims. In Nigeria, for example, six-in-ten Muslims and the same proportion of non-Muslims completely agree that religion should be kept separate from government policy. In Lebanon, there are only modest differences on this point between Muslims and non-Muslims (59% non-Muslim completely agree; 53% Muslim).

But Muslims in Jordan and Pakistan are decidedly less supportive of keeping religion and government policy separate. Just a quarter of Muslims in Jordan and only about a third in Pakistan (34%) completely agree with the principle of maintaining a clear division between religion and policy – the lowest percentages among the 43 nations where this question was asked. Jordan is the only country in which a significant number of Muslims (46%) disagree with



the idea of keeping religion and government policy separate.

Reality Falls Short of Ideals

Despite the widespread support for democratic ideals in most predominantly Muslim countries, the survey finds considerable discontent with political rights and civil liberties as they now exist. Majorities of Muslims in Lebanon, Turkey and Jordan say that they do not have honest elections and lack the freedom to openly criticize the government. These perceptions are also widespread in Nigeria, Uzbekistan, Indonesia and Bangladesh. Many also complain that the judicial system does not treat everyone the same and that news organizations face government censorship.

Where Rights Are Seen As Lacking: Muslim Countries Predominate				
	<i>Percent saying country lacks...</i>			
	<u>Freedom</u>	<u>Freedom</u>	<u>Fair</u>	<u>Fair</u>
	<u>of speech</u>	<u>of press</u>	<u>Elections</u>	<u>Judiciary</u>
	%	%	%	%
Turkey	60	58	61	61
Lebanon	57	54	68	60
Kenya	66	49	58	64
Argentina	34	38	70	85
Jordan	54	47	54	37
Nigeria	44	36	52	59
Brazil	35	34	45	72
Bangladesh	46	31	36	72
Guatemala	48	36	36	60
Peru	38	37	36	60
Slovakia	33	29	22	80
Indonesia	32	22	49	60

Percent saying these principles apply “not too well” or “not at all” in their countries. Table shows top twelve developing nations of 33 in which these questions were asked. Questions not permitted in China, Vietnam or Egypt and not asked in advanced democracies.

Based on total national population.

While these observations are not isolated to the nations listed above – many Latin American publics say their countries fail to live up to these ideals, and Kenyans also say their country lacks many of these basic freedoms – a pattern of support for democratic principles combined with the perception that their nation currently is lacking in these areas is characteristic of many Muslim nations. Of the Muslim nations surveyed, Mali, Senegal, and Pakistan stand out as the exceptions. Publics in these nations are generally satisfied with the electoral process and rights allowed to journalists and protestors.

Most Muslims surveyed – especially those in African countries – feel they have freedom to practice their religion. Nine-in-ten Muslims in Senegal and roughly three-quarters in Mali and Tanzania believe the statement “you can practice your religion” describes their country very well. In Nigeria, far fewer Muslims (51%) say that statement describes their country very well, but seven-in-ten believe they have at least some freedom to practice their faith. And there are only slight differences between Muslims in Nigeria and non-Muslims (56%).

Perceptions of religious freedom are not quite as prevalent in the Middle East/Conflict Area. Still, majorities of Muslims in Pakistan (63%), Bangladesh (60%) and Uzbekistan (58%) say that religious freedom describes their country very well. The most prominent exception is Turkey, where the government has limited the wearing of headscarves by Muslim women. Less than half of Muslims in Turkey say that religious freedom describes their country very (29%) or even somewhat well (16%). (This question was not asked in Jordan and Lebanon.)

Democracy Favored Over Strong Leader

Muslim publics clearly favor democratic government over a strong autocratic leader. In general, there is greater support for a democratic government in the Muslim countries surveyed than there is in much of Eastern Europe. The clear exceptions are Jordan and Uzbekistan, two countries with very strong leaders, and Nigeria.

In that regard, the preference of Muslims in Uzbekistan for a strong leader fits the pattern of publics in the former Soviet Union. Nearly six-in-ten Muslim respondents in Uzbekistan (58%) favor a strong leader over a democratic government, which is consistent with results in Russia and Ukraine, where two-thirds believe their nations should rely on a leader with a strong hand to solve their nation’s problems. In Jordan, a monarchy with a limited parliament, Muslims are divided, with half favoring a strong leader.

	Demo- cratic gov't %	Strong leader %	DK/ Ref %
Senegal	90	9	1
Ivory Coast	76	22	2
Tanzania	71	21	8
Bangladesh	70	24	6
Ghana	69	29	2
Uganda	68	31	2
Indonesia	64	33	3
Lebanon	58	40	3
Turkey	57	37	6
Pakistan	42	32	26
Mali	50	47	3
Nigeria	48	50	1
Jordan	47	50	3
Uzbekistan	38	58	4

Based on Muslim respondents.
Question not permitted in Egypt.

II: Social Attitudes: Tensions Over Women’s Roles

Muslims surveyed in the *Global Attitudes Project* have complex attitudes toward the role of Islam in daily life. These tensions are apparent in attitudes about the role of women in society.

	Mixed Signals on Women’s Roles	
	<i>Women should be...</i>	
	Permitted to work outside home	Separated from men at work
	%	%
Uzbekistan	70	45
Ivory Coast	70	36
Turkey	66	25
Lebanon	66	24
Senegal	64	14
Mali	54	38
Bangladesh	48	29
Tanzania	47	18
Uganda	36	24
Nigeria	35	36
Ghana	35	7
Pakistan	33	35
Indonesia	22	5
Jordan	14	16

Percent “completely agree” with each question. Questions asked of Muslim respondents only. Questions not permitted in Egypt.

Most Muslims express at least some support for a woman’s right to work outside the home. But majorities in only six of 14 nations in which the question was asked *completely agree* that women should be permitted to work outside the home. In Pakistan, just a third completely agree that women should be free to work outside the home, and in Indonesia and Jordan even fewer strongly favor women working outside the home.

In Jordan and Pakistan, nearly four-in-ten Muslims (38%, 36%) say they oppose women holding jobs outside the home. These views are consistent with the strong sentiment in those two countries in favor of a traditional division of roles regarding work and marriage, with husbands holding a job and the wives maintaining the household. Roughly six-in-ten respondents in both of these countries believe husbands should work and wives should stay home, among the highest measures of surveyed nations.

In four of the nations surveyed – Uzbekistan, Mali, Ivory Coast and Nigeria – more than a third of Muslims completely agree that there should be restrictions on men and women working in the same place. In Uzbekistan, where 70% strongly support a women’s right to work, nearly half of Muslim respondents strongly favor separating men and women at work (45% completely agree). And substantial minorities in Mali (38%), Ivory Coast (36%) and Nigeria (36%) completely agree that separating men and women at work is appropriate.

Gender Gap Over Women Working

In several countries, there is a significant gender gap among Muslims over whether women should be permitted to work outside the home. In Bangladesh, nearly six-in-ten women (57%) completely agree that they should be allowed to work, compared with 36% of men. The gap is nearly as wide in Pakistan, where 41% of women

strongly agree with that statement, compared with roughly a quarter of men (24%). Even in countries where Muslims broadly support women’s right to work outside the home, like Lebanon and Turkey, differences between men and women are sizable.

Indonesia and Jordan are notable exceptions to this pattern. In those countries, support for women working is equally weak among members of both sexes. Just 24% of Muslim women in Indonesia, and 20% of men, strongly agree that women should work outside the home, and support is even lower in Jordan (16%, 13%).

There is less of a gender gap over restrictions against men and women being employed in the same workplace. In most cases, women are as supportive of these restrictions as are men. While women in Bangladesh are much more likely than men to strongly favor the right of women to hold jobs, they also are more supportive of separating men and women in the workplace. More than a third of Muslim women in Bangladesh (36%) completely agree such restrictions are appropriate, compared with 20% of Muslim men.

Women Should Be Permitted to Work Outside the Home			
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
	%	%	
Bangladesh	36	57	+21
Lebanon	58	75	+17
Pakistan	24	41	+17
Uzbekistan	64	77	+13
Uganda	30	43	+13
Turkey	60	72	+12
Ghana	32	40	+12
Ivory Coast	66	74	+8
Senegal	60	68	+8
Nigeria	32	38	+6
Mali	51	56	+5
Indonesia	20	24	+4
Jordan	13	16	+3
Tanzania	47	47	0

Percent “completely agree” within each category. Question asked of Muslim respondents only. Question not permitted in Egypt.

Wearing Veils: Who Should Decide?

Generally, Muslims believe it should be up to women to decide whether or not to wear veils. Majorities of Muslims in 11 of 14 countries support the right of women to decide whether or not to wear veils, and this is the overwhelming opinion in Turkey, Lebanon, Indonesia and several other nations.

The issue of whether women should have the choice to wear veils or not is a sensitive one in many Muslim countries. In recent years, secular governments in Turkey have enforced laws *prohibiting* the wearing of veils, but nine-in-ten Muslims surveyed in that country (91%) say it should be for women to decide whether they wear veils or not.

In Indonesia, by contrast, there have been efforts in at least one province to *require* women to wear veils. But by six-to-one (86%-14%), Muslims in that country believe it should be up to women to

Women Should Decide On Veiling			
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	%	%	%
Turkey	91	6	3
Lebanon	90	8	2
Indonesia	86	14	0
Uzbekistan	84	16	1
Ivory Coast	79	20	0
Mali	75	24	1
Senegal	71	28	0
Jordan	61	36	2
Bangladesh	60	40	0
Tanzania	55	43	2
Pakistan	52	44	3
Ghana	48	52	0
Uganda	46	48	6
Nigeria	45	53	2

Question asked of Muslim respondents only. Question not permitted in Egypt.

decide whether or not to wear veils. Support for leaving it to women to decide whether to wear veils is even stronger in Lebanon, where women have long had the freedom to determine the practice for themselves.

Opinion is much more evenly divided among Muslims in Pakistan and Nigeria. Only a slim majority of Muslims in Pakistan (52%) believe women should be allowed to decide whether or not to wear veils. Fewer than half of respondents in Nigeria (45%) believe women should have that choice.

As is the case with opinion on women working outside the home, gender is a factor in Muslims' attitudes on veils. In Pakistan, more than six-in-ten women believe they should have the right to decide whether to wear veils; barely four-in-ten men (41%) agree. In Bangladesh, 57% of women completely agree that they should control decisions on wearing veils, compared with only about half as many men (30%).

Divisions Over Religious Education

Muslims are divided over whether schools should focus more on 'practical' subjects at the expense of religious instruction. Half or more of respondents in seven Muslim nations support giving greater emphasis to practical education, including 63% in Turkey. Yet publics in several other nations – notably Indonesia, Jordan and Pakistan – strongly dissent from this idea.

The dominant opinion in those three countries – as well as in Senegal and Nigeria – appears to be driven at least in part by dissatisfaction with the public education systems. This is particularly the case in Indonesia, where Muslim schools have increasingly filled a void left by the nation's poor public school system. Nine-in-ten Muslims in Indonesia are opposed to focusing more on practical subjects and less on religious education – and two-thirds completely reject the idea.

In Turkey and several other countries, by comparison, there is significantly more support for focusing on more practical subjects. This sentiment is particularly prevalent among Turkish respondents with a low level of personal religious commitment: 82% of this group favors placing greater emphasis on practical subjects, compared with 41% of highly observant Muslims in Turkey.

Single Interpretation of Islam Favored

For the most part, Muslim publics believe there is only one true interpretation of Islam’s teachings. Majorities of Muslims, in 10 of the 12 nations in which this question was asked, reject the idea that Islam should tolerate diverse interpretations of its teachings.

Muslims in Senegal are most likely to express the view that there is only a single true approach to Islamic teachings (82%). But even in secular Turkey, Muslims subscribe to this sentiment by more than three-to-one (67%-20%).

Indonesia, where Muslims have long accepted diverse interpretations of Islam, is the only country in which a majority (54%) supports that approach. The other nations in which a significant share of Muslims believes Islam should tolerate diverse interpretations are Mali (48%) and Ivory Coast (47%).

This question is not a measure of Islamic fundamentalism or tolerance toward other religions and faiths. It also is important to note that this question was not permitted in Egypt and was deemed too sensitive to ask in Jordan and Lebanon. Nearly four-in-ten respondents in Pakistan (37%) declined to express an opinion. Among those who did, twice as many favored a single interpretation of Islam than diverse interpretations of the religion’s precepts (43% vs. 20%).

Schools Should Focus Less On Religious Education			
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	%	%	%
Ivory Coast	74	26	0
Uzbekistan	81	18	1
Mali	71	28	1
Turkey	63	32	5
Ghana	58	39	3
Uganda	58	37	4
Lebanon	50	48	3
Tanzania	45	52	3
Bangladesh	43	51	7
Nigeria	36	63	1
Senegal	36	64	0
Pakistan	27	68	5
Jordan	26	69	4
Indonesia	8	92	0

Question asked of Muslim respondents only.
Question not permitted in Egypt.

Threats to Islam

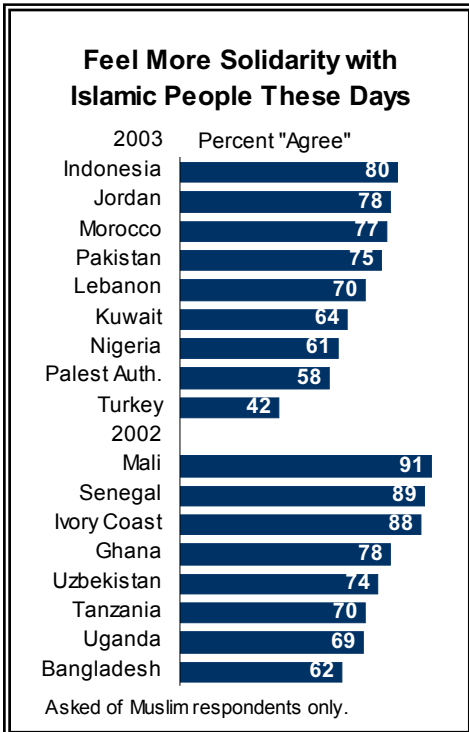
Many Muslims See Serious Threats to Islam

	2002 %	2003 %
Jordan	81	97
Lebanon	74	73
Pakistan	28	64
Indonesia	33	59
Turkey	35	50
Nigeria	21	42
Palestinian Authority	--	91
Kuwait	--	63
Ivory Coast	68	--
Uganda	57	--
Senegal	58	--
Bangladesh	44	--
Uzbekistan	41	--
Mali	40	--
Ghana	35	--
Tanzania	30	--

Question asked of Muslim respondents only. Trends shown where available.
Question not permitted in Egypt.

The perception that Islam faces serious threats is widespread, and growing, among Muslims in many parts of the world. More than nine-in-ten Jordanian and Palestinian Muslims say their religion is threatened, and three-quarters in Lebanon agree. While this view is somewhat less universal in Pakistan, Indonesia, Turkey and Nigeria, the proportion concerned about threats to their religion has risen significantly in all three nations.

However, polling in 2002 found that these concerns were not all about external political, military or cultural threats. At that time, references to U.S. foreign policy, America's support for Israel, and the general oppression of Muslims by others were common, especially in Lebanon and Jordan. But in most places just as many Muslims referred to problems within the respondent's own country or within Islam itself, such as government interference in religion, lack of Islamic unity, disagreements between Muslims regarding issues of religious practice, and references to religious education and moral corruption. The 2003 poll, taken after the Iraq war, did not explore whether the source of the threats was perceived as internal or external.



Most Feel Greater Solidarity

Muslims in nearly all of the countries surveyed say they feel more solidarity these days with Islamic people living elsewhere. This feeling is as widespread among Muslims in Africa and Asia as it is within the Middle East/Conflict Area. Moreover, in nations in which the question was asked both in 2002 and 2003, there was no significant increase in this view. Turkey is the only country where Muslims are divided over whether they feel any greater sense of solidarity.

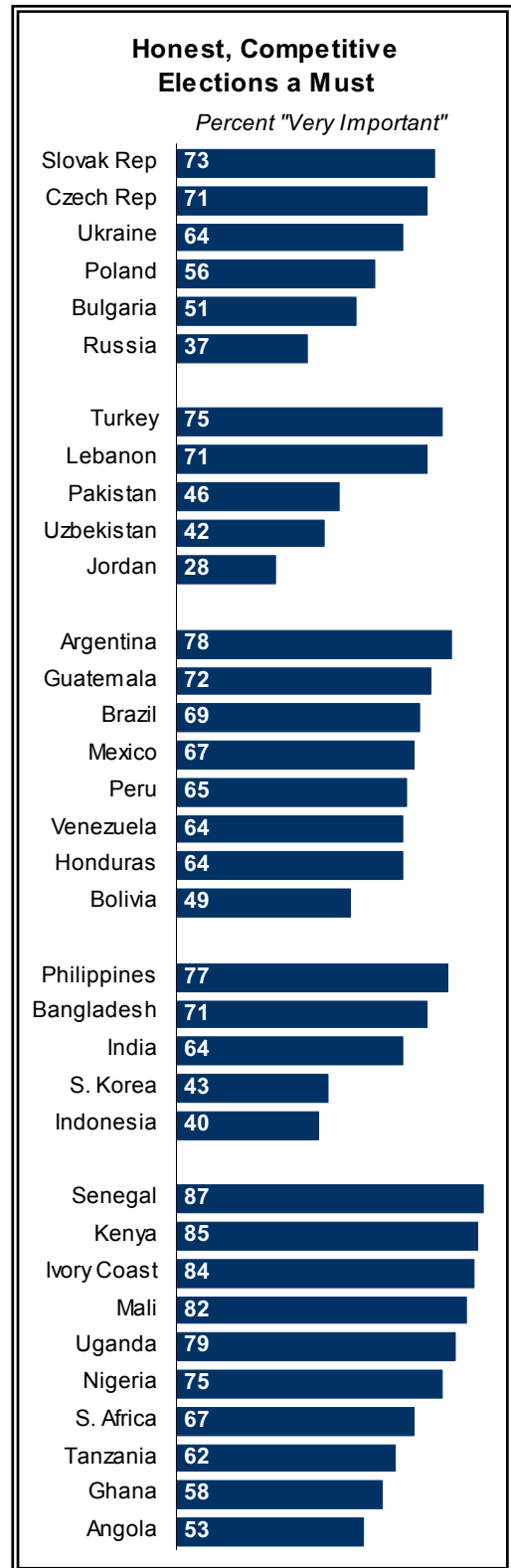
JUDGING DEMOCRACY

Democratization has taken very different paths in the countries surveyed by the Pew Global Attitudes Project. Most Eastern European countries began their transition to democracy with the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989. But 14 years later, many people still do not completely embrace many aspects of democracy, in part because they associate the transition with economic turmoil.

In Latin America and Asia, many countries have moved to freely elected governments only in the past 20 years. Democratization in Africa has taken hold even more slowly, hindered by authoritarian regimes, wars and enormous social problems. And it has yet to fully emerge in most of the Middle East.

What unites the people of these regions is that, for the most part, they highly value political rights and civil liberties. But there is a definite disconnect between their democratic aspirations and their perceptions of day-to-day reality. While people everywhere want honest elections, a fair judiciary and a free press, they often complain that their own country lacks these building blocks of democracy.

However, global attitudes on democracy and civil liberties are hardly uniform. Majorities in most countries say it is very important to live in a country that has honest multiparty elections. But there are several notable exceptions, including Russia, South Korea and Indonesia. And in general, people around the world value an impartial judiciary above honest elections or other aspects of democracy.¹



¹ This question was not permitted in Vietnam.
No questions about democracy were permitted in China and Egypt.

In Eastern Europe, there is clear evidence that the political mindset formed during decades of communist rule has yet to completely dissipate. Significant percentages in Russia, Bulgaria and Ukraine, in particular, continue to disapprove of the political changes that have taken place since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Solid majorities in every Eastern European country surveyed, with the exception of the Czech Republic, believe a strong economy is more important than a good democracy. In other economically struggling regions such as Latin America and Africa, people are much more likely to view a good democracy as more important than a strong economy.

The analysis in this section proceeds through 35 democratizing countries in four regions – Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa. The Middle East/Conflict Area is covered in the chapter entitled “Muslim Opinion on Government and Social Issues” beginning on page 33. The Pew Global Attitudes Project pays particular attention to issues in Eastern Europe because of the dramatic changes there over the past 15 years, and the benchmark *Pulse of Europe* survey that Pew conducted in the region in 1991. To allow for trend comparisons, the German survey updates attitudes on democracy in former East Germany and former West Germany.

I: Eastern Europe

With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union two years later, Eastern Europeans began a rocky transition from one-party rule and a command economy to democracy and a free market system. More than a decade later, support for this transformation remains uneven.

Eastern Europe: Approve of Post-Communist Political Changes			
	<u>1991*</u>	<u>2002**</u>	<u>Change</u>
	%	%	
Bulgaria	60	49	-11
Czech Republic	74	83	+9
Poland	64	62	-2
Russia	30	47	+17
Slovak Republic	48	69	+11
Ukraine	35	50	+15

* Approve of “Political and economic changes over the past year or so.”

** Approve of “changes since 1989” in Bulgaria, Poland and Czech and Slovak Republics; “since 1991” in Russia, Uzbekistan and Ukraine.

Barely half of those in Ukraine (50%), Bulgaria (49%), and Russia (47%) say they approve of the political changes in their country since the fall of communism. While modest, this represents significant growth in support for political change in Russia and Ukraine since 1991 when, as the Soviet Union was collapsing, only about a third in each country endorsed the move toward democratic rule. But in Bulgaria, the number endorsing these political changes has fallen

significantly over the past 11 years (from 60% to 49%).

By contrast, solid majorities in the Czech Republic (83%), the Slovak Republic (69%) and Poland (62%) welcome the political changes of the post-communist era, as they have from the beginning. In 1991, majorities in the Czech Republic (74%) and Poland (64%) and half of those surveyed in the Slovak Republic (48%) said that they approved of the political changes that were then just underway.

To the extent that there is still dissatisfaction with changes since 1989, it is rooted in the economic hardship of the transition. The *Pew Global Attitudes* survey reveals that most Eastern Europeans say the gap between rich and poor in their country has gotten worse, not better, over the last five years. More than eight-in-ten in every country except Ukraine say inequality has grown in their country.

Economic concerns appear to be fueling political dissatisfaction. In every Eastern European country, those with high incomes are more likely than those with low incomes to approve of recent political changes. In Bulgaria, for example, less than a third (31%) of those with the lowest incomes approve of the recent political changes, compared with 83% of those in the high-income bracket.

Young Favor Changes More

Disapproval of political change in Eastern Europe is greater among older Eastern Europeans and those with less education. In Russia, about six-in-ten (59%) of those age 60 or older disapprove of the changes since 1991, compared with just a third (35%) of those aged 18 to 34. In Bulgaria, 62% of those age 60 and older disapprove of the changes since then, compared with 35% of those under age 35. This generation gap exists in every Eastern European country except the Czech Republic, where approval of recent political change is extraordinarily high among both old and young.

	----- Age -----			Diff.
	<u>18-34</u>	<u>35-59</u>	<u>60+</u>	<u>older- young</u>
	%	%	%	
Bulgaria	35	47	62	+27
Czech Republic	12	18	13	+1
Poland	20	31	43	+23
Russia	35	46	59	+24
Slovak Republic	23	32	32	+9
Ukraine	36	48	63	+27

In addition, respondents with a primary school education or lower are much more likely to disapprove of political changes than those

who have attended some college. This relationship is true in every country except Ukraine.

Civil Liberties Backed, Less So in Russia

Eastern Europeans embrace political rights and civil liberties, yet

Eastern Europe's Democracy Gap		
	<u>Want it</u> ¹	<u>Have it</u> ²
	%	%
Honest Elections		
Bulgaria	51	21
Czech Republic	71	58
Poland	56	26
Russia	37	15
Slovak Republic	73	42
Ukraine	64	21
Former East Germany	65	48
Former West Germany	83	62
Fair Judiciary		
Bulgaria	79	5
Czech Republic	84	5
Poland	69	13
Russia	68	20
Slovak Republic	81	5
Ukraine	82	23
Former East Germany	84	34
Former West Germany	87	40
Religious Freedom		
Bulgaria	49	42
Czech Republic	49	58
Poland	62	39
Russia	35	35
Slovak Republic	60	57
Ukraine	55	50
Former East Germany	42	31
Former West Germany	63	53
Freedom of Press		
Bulgaria	56	17
Czech Republic	71	28
Poland	50	20
Russia	31	14
Slovak Republic	66	19
Ukraine	64	27
Former East Germany	51	31
Former West Germany	65	45
Free Speech		
Bulgaria	48	27
Czech Republic	65	32
Poland	55	25
Russia	30	20
Slovak Republic	58	22
Ukraine	59	33
Former East Germany	70	34
Former West Germany	84	55

¹ "Very important" to live in a country with [item]
² [item] describes our country "very well"

they generally place a lower value on such democratic ideals than do people in other nascent democracies or well-established Western democracies. Russians, in particular, give low priority to political rights and liberties. Overall, Russians are less likely than other Eastern Europeans to say that it is *very* important to live in a society that affords freedom of speech, honest multiparty elections, religious freedom, a free press, and a fair judiciary.

Half or more respondents in the Czech Republic, Bulgaria, Poland, the Slovak Republic, former East Germany and Ukraine say that it is *very* important to them that "honest elections are held regularly with a choice of at least two political parties." Far fewer people in Russia take the same position (37%), although most Russians say it is at least *somewhat* important that they live in a country with honest multiparty elections (40% somewhat important).

When Eastern European attitudes are compared to the views of people in former West Germany, an East-West political-values gap emerges. Russians give lowest priority to democratic ideals, former West Germans the highest, with other Eastern Europeans in between.

More than eight-in-ten people in former West Germany (83%) say that honest multiparty elections are very important to them. In Eastern Europe, Slovaks and Czechs place the greatest emphasis on free elections. Aside from Russians, Poles and Bulgarians are least likely to say honest multiparty elections are important to them.

Impartial Judiciary Favored

Eastern Europeans place the greatest value on a fair judicial system. Solid majorities in every country in the region say that it is very important that they live in a society with a judicial system that treats everyone the same. This sentiment is particularly strong among Czechs (84%), former East Germans (84%), Bulgarians (79%) and Ukrainians (82%).

Even here, however, there is a modest gap between East and West. Former West Germans (87%) still place a higher value on a fair judiciary than do Russians, Poles, Bulgarians, Ukrainians or Slovaks. Only the Czechs and former East Germans share the former West Germans' level of concern for honest judges.

But there is broad agreement across the region that the goal of an independent judiciary is not being achieved. Majorities in every eastern European country – with the notable exception of former East Germany – say the phrase “there is a judicial system that treats everyone in the same way” does *not* describe their country well. Just 5% in Bulgaria and the Czech and Slovak Republics say this describes their country very well.

Religious and Press Freedom Backed

Religious freedom is viewed as most important in Eastern European countries where the Catholic and Orthodox Churches have a strong presence: Poland (62% very important), the Slovak Republic (60%) and Ukraine (55%). In Russia, where atheism was official doctrine under communism, notably fewer respondents (35%) say religious freedom is *very* important to them.

The *Global Attitudes* survey also asks whether religion is a matter of personal faith that should be kept separate from government policy. In every country in Eastern Europe, regardless of their religious tradition, large majorities agree that religion is a purely private matter.

But Eastern Europeans differ over the importance of freedom of the press. A free press is as highly valued by Czechs (71% very important), Slovaks (66%) and Ukrainians (64%) as by former West Germans (65%). Solid majorities in each of these countries say it is

very important that they live in a country where the media can report the news without government censorship. But that ideal wins far less support in Russia (31% very important), where the media is still struggling to freely report the news.

Throughout Eastern Europe, large majorities of the public say they value freedom of speech. But most do not place *high* value on it. Just three-in-ten Russians, about half of Bulgarians (48%), and majorities in Poland (55%), the Slovak Republic (58%) and Ukraine (59%) say it

Eastern Europe: Civilian Control of the Military		
	<u>Want it</u> ¹	<u>Have it</u> ²
	%	%
Bulgaria	21	8
Czech Republic	33	16
Poland	29	12
Russia	20	12
Slovak Republic	34	14
Ukraine	38	13
Former East Germany	42	31
Former West Germany	44	32

¹ "Very important" to live in a country with [item]
² [Item] describes our country "very well"

is *very* important that they live in a society where they can openly say what they think and can criticize the government. More people in the Czech Republic (65%) and in former East Germany (70%) claim that freedom of speech is *very* important, but significantly more West Germans hold that view (84%).

In Eastern Europe, and throughout the other regions surveyed, more highly educated people consistently place greater importance on freedom of speech, the press and religion, and honest elections than do those with less education. Higher income respondents are also

most likely to value these rights, but the relationship is much less consistent. There is no consistent difference in attitudes across age groups.

Civilian Control Not a Priority

Civilian control of the military is a democratic principle that finds relatively little favor among Eastern Europeans – not even in Poland where the army seized control and declared martial law in 1981. In every country except former East Germany, fewer than four-in-ten say it is *very* important to them that they live in a society where the military reports to the civilian leadership. Just 29% in Poland, 21% in Bulgaria and 20% in Russia believe this principle is very important.

In part, such sentiment reflects widespread trust of the military. Majorities everywhere except Ukraine say the armed forces have a good influence on how things are going in their country. Only in Ukraine does a plurality (44%) believe that the military has a bad

influence. Even there, however, fewer than four-in-ten (38%) give high priority to the principle of civilian control.

Eastern Europeans generally feel their countries fall short of meeting their expectations on democratic ideals. Whether it is freedom of speech, honest multiparty elections, press freedom or a fair judicial system, substantially fewer than half of those surveyed say these democratic ideals describe their countries *very well*.

Rather, majorities say these ideals *somewhat* or *very well* describe their countries. And less than half the public in Bulgaria (43%), Russia (42%) and Ukraine (45%) believes civilians are in control the military in their country. Between 20% and 40% in each country, on average, say these ideals do not describe their country well.

Progress In Last Decade

Nonetheless, when asked about the pace of progress in specific areas over the last decade, solid majorities say they now have more freedom to say what they think, to join any political organization they want, and to choose whom to vote for without feeling any pressure. Among the six countries surveyed on these issues – the Czech and Slovak Republics, Bulgaria, Poland, Ukraine and Russia – more than two-thirds in every country say that today they have more freedom to say what they think.

Similarly large percentages among all six publics say they have more freedom to join any political organization they choose. And with the exception of Russia, solid majorities say they have more freedom to decide whom to vote for, compared with 10 years ago. About half of Russians feel that way (51%), while 24% report no change and 18% say they have less latitude in deciding their vote than they did a decade ago.

Democratic Progress Over Past 10 Years				
	More now	No change	Less now	DK/ Ref
Freedom to Say what You Think	%	%	%	%
Bulgaria	69	23	3	6
Czech Republic	75	12	13	1
Poland	82	5	7	5
Russia	74	16	6	4
Slovak Republic	77	6	15	1
Ukraine	87	5	6	2
Freedom to Join any Political Organization				
Bulgaria	66	23	1	11
Czech Republic	86	7	4	3
Poland	78	10	6	5
Russia	77	13	4	6
Slovak Republic	89	5	5	1
Ukraine	88	4	4	4
Can Make Vote Choice without Pressure				
Bulgaria	65	25	2	8
Czech Republic	82	10	7	1
Poland	75	12	8	5
Russia	51	24	18	6
Slovak Republic	83	7	9	1
Ukraine	60	10	28	2
Safety from Crime and Violence				
Bulgaria	6	21	67	6
Czech Republic	34	5	60	2
Poland	17	6	73	4
Russia	16	17	65	2
Slovak Republic	24	4	71	1
Ukraine	33	5	60	2

But in another area – personal safety – Eastern Europeans agree that things have deteriorated over the past decade. No fewer than six-in-ten in all six countries surveyed say there is less safety from crime and violence now than a decade ago.

Economic Concerns Drive Age Gap

Older people in Eastern Europe are more likely to disapprove of the changes in the last 10 years than are younger people. At the same time, when asked how well various political rights and civil liberties describe their country, older people are as positive or even more positive than the younger generation.

It is only when asked *generally* about post-communist political changes that older Eastern Europeans voice more concern than the younger generation. This concern has a strong economic component, as the region's political evolution has been accompanied by a dramatic shift to a free market economy. Older Eastern Europeans are less likely than younger people to think they are better off in a free market economy, and the older generation is more likely to be dissatisfied with their household income.

Bribery – Occasionally Necessary

Most Eastern Europeans say they seldom if ever need to give gifts, perform favors or pay bribes to government officials to secure services or documents the government is supposed to provide, but the practice does occur. Four-in-ten Ukrainians (41%) say that in the last year they have engaged in the practice, although relatively few say it happens frequently (4% very often/11% somewhat often).

A third of Russians say they have had to bribe government officials in the past year, as have 27% in the Slovak Republic, 24% in Poland and 20% in Bulgaria. Bribery is reported least often in the Czech Republic – fewer than one-in-ten (9%) say they have had to bribe a government official to get services or documents.

Young people are more likely than older respondents to say they have paid bribes. For example, in Ukraine, nearly half of those ages 18 to 34 (47%) say they have offered a bribe in the past year, compared with a quarter (27%) of those ages 60 or older. A similar difference

between the old and the young exists in Bulgaria, Poland, Russia and the Slovak Republic. In Russia, people with some college education were also more likely to report offering a bribe, and in Bulgaria, Russia and the Ukraine, the wealthy were more likely than those in lower-income brackets to report they have had to pay a bribe to a government official.

Strong Economy Trumps Good Democracy

With the exception of the Czech Republic, at least six-in-ten respondents in every Eastern European country say they believe a strong economy is more important than a good democracy. Overwhelming majorities in Russia (81%), Ukraine (81%) and Bulgaria (74%) opt for a strong economy. Only in the Czech Republic does a majority (59%) choose democracy over economic growth. But even there, four-in-ten (38%) people prefer a strong economy to a good democracy.

Public opinion on this question is linked to people’s own financial situations. In four Eastern European countries – Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Russia and the Slovak Republic – higher income respondents are more likely to favor a good democracy over a strong economy. In the Slovak Republic, for example, almost half (49%) of those in the highest income bracket choose a good democracy compared with three-in-ten (30%) of those in the lowest income bracket.

Education also is a factor in these attitudes. In the Czech Republic, three-quarters of those with at least some college (75%) prefer a good democracy compared to just over half (55%) of those with a primary school education or less. In the Slovak Republic, younger people are more likely to choose a good democracy over a strong economy. Half of those ages 18 to 34 (50%) choose a good democracy compared to a third (32%) of those ages 60 and older.

Eastern Europe: Good Democracy or Strong Economy			
	<i>Which is more important?</i>		
	<u>Good democracy</u>	<u>Strong economy</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
	%	%	%
Bulgaria	16	74	10
Czech Republic	59	38	4
Poland	21	67	12
Russia	11	81	8
Slovak Republic	39	59	3
Ukraine	16	81	3

Prosperity Very Important

Consistent with these attitudes, overwhelming majorities in nearly every Eastern European country rate economic prosperity as a very important objective. The only exception is former East Germany, where a slim majority says economic prosperity is very important. In three nations – Russia, Ukraine and Bulgaria – more people cite prosperity as a top goal than say that about any aspect of democracy.

This desire for national economic success contrasts with reality. Majorities throughout the region – except in former East Germany and the Czech Republic – say their countries are not prosperous. Fully 83% in Bulgaria say their country is not enjoying prosperity – one of the highest percentages of any country surveyed. Nearly as many Slovaks and Poles hold that view as well (76%, 74%). By comparison, people in former East Germany and the Czech Republic are much more upbeat about economic conditions. Roughly two-thirds (68%) of those in former East Germany say economic prosperity describes their country well, and 55% of Czechs agree.

Many Prefer Strong Leader

Many Eastern Europeans also say that to solve their countries’ problems they prefer a strong leader rather than a democratic form of government. Solid majorities in Russia (70%) and Ukraine (67%) opt for a strong hand in government leadership. This is a reversal of 1991 sentiment when most people in Russia (51%) and Ukraine (57%) favored a democratic government to solve problems.

Eastern Europe: Democratic Government or Strong Leader			
	<i>Country should rely on...</i>		
	<u>Democratic government</u> %	<u>Strong leader</u> %	<u>DK/ Ref</u> %
Bulgaria	41	44	15
Czech Republic	91	7	2
Poland	41	44	15
Russia	21	70	9
Slovak Republic	86	12	2
Ukraine	31	67	2

In Poland and Bulgaria, opinion is divided on this issue, with as many people favoring a strong leader as a democratic form of government. The Czech and Slovak Republics stand out with overwhelming majorities favoring a democratic form of government (91%, 86%).

In every country in the region, those in the highest income bracket are more likely to choose a democratic form of government over a strong leader than those in lower income brackets. For example, in Bulgaria more than seven-in-ten (72%) of the rich

chose a democratic form of government, compared with a quarter of the poor. Conversely, people with lower incomes favor a strong leader. In Poland, 59% of those with low incomes choose a strong leader to solve national problems, compared with 23% of those with high incomes.

II: Latin America

Until recently, free and fair elections have had an inconsistent history in Latin America. Most of the countries in the region have only achieved elected civilian rule within the last two decades.

Despite that history, majorities in six of the eight Latin American countries surveyed favor a democratic government over a strong leader to solve their nation's problems. In Mexico and Venezuela, democratic government is favored by better than three-to-one. Only in Honduras and Brazil do majorities dissent from this view.

	<i>Country should rely on...</i>		
	Democratic	Strong	DK/
	<u>government</u>	<u>leader</u>	<u>Ref</u>
	%	%	%
Argentina	54	40	8
Bolivia	57	40	4
Brazil	43	51	5
Guatemala	55	39	5
Honduras	45	53	5
Mexico	72	23	6
Peru	55	40	5
Venezuela	79	20	1

In contrast with most countries in Eastern Europe, recent economic hardships have not led Latin Americans to favor a strong economy over a good democracy. Majorities in economically devastated Argentina, as well as in Venezuela, Peru, Guatemala and Mexico, say they prefer democratic freedoms to a strong economy.

This preference for democracy is particularly significant given the widespread economic pessimism in the region. Solid majorities in every Latin American country surveyed consider economic prosperity as a very important objective, but there is little sense that the goal is being fulfilled. In Argentina, fully 86% say the country is not experiencing prosperity – among the highest percentages of all countries surveyed.

	<i>Which is more important?</i>		
	Good	Strong	DK/
	<u>democracy</u>	<u>economy</u>	<u>Ref</u>
	%	%	%
Argentina	54	38	8
Bolivia	43	53	4
Brazil	44	51	5
Guatemala	55	39	5
Honduras	41	54	5
Mexico	54	40	6
Peru	65	30	5
Venezuela	68	31	1

Most Say Military Not Under Civilian Control

Despite the steps taken toward democracy in several Latin American countries, there is a widespread perception that the military is not under the control of civilian leaders. Almost six-in-ten in Brazil (58%), Venezuela (58%) and Guatemala (57%) say civilian control of the military does not describe their country well.² Only in Mexico is there a clear perception that the military is under civilian control; even so, just 30% of Mexicans say it describes the situation in their country *very well*.

Latin America: Political Rights and Civil Liberties		
Civilian Control of the Military	<u>Want it</u> ¹ %	<u>Have it</u> ² %
Argentina	48	8
Bolivia	27	10
Brazil	41	11
Guatemala	52	12
Honduras	48	28
Mexico	41	30
Peru	38	9
Venezuela	40	14
Honest Elections		
Argentina	78	9
Bolivia	49	20
Brazil	69	16
Guatemala	72	21
Honduras	64	39
Mexico	67	32
Peru	65	21
Venezuela	64	21

¹ "Very important" to live in a country with [item]
² [item] describes our country "very well"

Most Latin Americans, however, do not regard civilian control of the military as a very important priority. Guatemala, which has a long history of military dominance, is the only country in which even a narrow majority (52%) says it is very important to live in a country where the military is under the control of civilian leaders.

Public support for other freedoms is more extensive. Solid majorities in nearly every Latin American country say that it is very important to them that honest elections are held regularly with a choice of at least two political candidates. The only exception is Bolivia, where 49% give multiparty elections high priority.

But far fewer say their country has honest, multiparty elections. No more than four-in-ten in any country say it describes their country very well. People in Argentina take an especially negative view of their country's elections. Just a quarter of Argentines give their elections a passing grade, and only 9% give the nation high marks for honest elections. (This survey was conducted before the May 2003 presidential election in Argentina, and the October 2002 presidential election in Brazil).

Overall, Argentines are much more negative about their country's success in ensuring political rights and civil liberties than are other Latin Americans. These attitudes are associated with negative views of

the government. Argentines who think the government has a bad influence on the way things are going are generally more likely to say that Argentina does not ensure people's rights and liberties.

Differing Views of Political Changes

As in Eastern Europe, opinion on recent political changes in Latin America varies widely from country to country, reflecting different experiences with democracy. In Mexico, for example, the election of President Vincente Fox in 2000 was judged by many international observers as perhaps the first fair presidential election in Mexico's history. This milestone helps explain why a solid majority of Mexicans (62%) say they approve of the political changes that have taken place in the last five years.

Fewer respondents in Venezuela (47%) and Peru (40%) have such positive views. In Peru, the political landscape improved with the presidential election of Alejandro Toledo in 2001. But the government evidently has yet to regain public confidence after the chaotic departure of Alberto Fujimori, the autocratic former president. Since Victor Hugo Chavez was elected president in Venezuela in 1998, the political situation has spiraled downward, with an attempted coup and national strikes that have caused major economic disruption and significant opposition to many of the political and economic changes implemented by Chavez.

In Mexico, Venezuela and Peru, approval of recent political changes is tied to opinion about the president and the government. Those who say that the president has a good influence on how things are going in the country are more likely to approve of the political changes over the last five years than those who think the president has a bad influence. Similarly, those who approve of the government's influence also support how

Latin America: Political Rights and Civil Liberties		
	<u>Want it</u> ¹	<u>Have it</u> ²
Fair Judiciary	%	%
Argentina	84	5
Bolivia	56	17
Brazil	84	10
Guatemala	77	12
Honduras	75	38
Mexico	66	27
Peru	78	20
Venezuela	69	20
Religious Freedom		
Argentina	78	41
Bolivia	50	29
Brazil	78	48
Guatemala	85	54
Honduras	76	61
Mexico	73	61
Peru	71	49
Venezuela	71	48
Free Speech		
Argentina	75	27
Bolivia	51	20
Brazil	71	30
Guatemala	78	17
Honduras	75	49
Mexico	62	39
Peru	67	24
Venezuela	71	41
Freedom of Press		
Argentina	72	16
Bolivia	49	27
Brazil	59	24
Guatemala	78	20
Honduras	65	44
Mexico	62	34
Peru	69	22
Venezuela	68	36

¹ "Very important" to live in a country with [item]
² [Item] describes our country "very well"

² The Venezuela survey was conducted before the December 2002 strikes that shut down the country.

things are going politically in the country. (Approval of political change was asked only in Mexico, Peru and Venezuela.)

Low Confidence in Judiciary

As is the case globally, Latin Americans place high importance on a judicial system that treats everyone the same. Solid majorities in all eight Latin American countries surveyed say it is very important that they live in a country that has a fair judicial system. But people in several of these countries – especially Argentina and Brazil – have highly negative opinions of their current judicial systems.

More than eight-in-ten Argentines (85%) say that the statement “there is a judicial system that treats everyone in the same way” does *not* describe their country well; fully two-thirds say it does not characterize the country “at all” – by far the most negative rating in the world. Just one-in-twenty (5%) Argentines say an impartial judicial system describes their country very well.

Brazilians also judge their country’s judicial system quite critically. Seven-in-ten (72%) think it is not fair and nearly half (47%) say an impartial system does not at all describe their country’s judiciary. This view is shared, to a lesser extent, elsewhere in the region. Honduras is the only nation in the region where a majority of respondents (60%) say the judicial system treats everyone at least somewhat fairly, although a sizable minority (39%) disagrees.

Other Freedoms Valued

The ability to practice one’s religion, freedom of speech and a free press also win broad support in Latin America. Freedom of religion is seen as especially important. More than seven-in-ten in every country except Bolivia say it is very important to live in a country where you can freely practice your religion. Just half of Bolivians agree, and support for other freedoms is also weaker in Bolivia than in other countries in the region.

Large majorities in every Latin American nation surveyed say that religion is a personal matter and should be kept separate from government policy. And, for the most part, people in these predominantly Catholic countries feel they are able to practice their

religion without interference. In Mexico and Honduras, six-in-ten (61% in each) say that religious freedom describes conditions in their country *very* well.

Latin Americans take a less favorable view of the extent to which freedom of the press and freedom of speech are permitted. While majorities in every Latin American country surveyed say the media can report the news without government censorship to some extent, well under half in each say that statement describes their country “very well”. More than a third in Argentina (38%), Peru (37%), Guatemala, (36%), Venezuela (34%) and Brazil (34%) say that statement does not accurately reflect conditions in their countries.

Sizable minorities in several countries say the phrase “you can openly say what you think and can criticize the government” does not accurately describe their country. Nearly half of Guatemalans (48%) say that statement does not reflect conditions in their country, and more than a third of Peruvians (38%), Brazilians (35%), Argentines (34%) and Bolivians (34%) agree.

Reports of Bribery Vary Greatly

The extent to which Latin Americans say they have had to bribe government officials in the past year varies greatly from country to country. Argentines are the least likely to report paying bribes. Just 6% say the practice has occurred at least somewhat often in the past year, while 89% say they have not had a reason to pay a bribe or do a favor to obtain government services or documents.

In Venezuela, by contrast, 36% report that they have had to pay a bribe at least somewhat often in the past year. Fewer respondents in other countries say they have had to pay bribes in the past year. Roughly a quarter of those surveyed in Peru (24%), Mexico (24%) and Bolivia (23%) say they have had to pay a bribe or do a favor at least somewhat often in the past year to obtain government services or documents.

III: Asia

Asian respondents surveyed by the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* generally attach great importance to religious freedom and an impartial judiciary. But other aspects of democracy are less broadly supported – notably honest elections and freedom of the press.

Large majorities in the Philippines (77%), Bangladesh (71%) and India (64%) say that it is *very* important to live in a country that has honest multiparty elections. But only about four-in-ten in Indonesia (40%) and South Korea (43%) concur. Those are among the lowest marks of the 35 countries surveyed on democracy and civil liberties. (This survey was conducted before South Korea’s presidential election in December 2002).³

Asia:		
Political Rights and Civil Liberties		
	<u>Want it</u> ¹	<u>Have it</u> ²
	%	%
Honest Elections ³		
Bangladesh	71	17
India	64	38
Indonesia	40	10
Philippines	77	39
South Korea	43	11
Freedom of Press ³		
Bangladesh	64	13
India	41	32
Indonesia	40	21
Philippines	47	19
South Korea	48	7
Civilian Control of the Military		
Bangladesh	43	21
India	47	45
Indonesia	22	9
Philippines	38	15
South Korea	18	5
Vietnam	60	42

¹ “Very important” to live in a country with [item]
² [item] describes our country “very well”
³ These questions not permitted in Vietnam.
 No questions on democracy permitted in China.

For the most part, Asians do not express a high degree of confidence in their countries’ elections. No more than four-in-ten in any country say that honest, multiparty elections characterize their country very well. Indonesians are the most negative in this regard – just 10% say it describes their country very well, and half say their country is lacking in this regard. Respondents in Bangladesh, in particular, place much greater value on free and fair elections than they believe their country delivers. (Questions on elections were not permitted in Vietnam; none of the questions on democracy were permitted in China).

Press Freedom Not Widely Valued

Freedom of the press is also not widely valued by people in the six Asian nations where this question was asked. (It was not permitted in Vietnam). Only in Bangladesh does a majority (64%) say that it is very important that the media can report the news without censorship in their country. In other countries, less than half the public agrees.

³ Attitudes of Muslims in Indonesia and Bangladesh are discussed in the chapter beginning on page 33.

Most people give their countries, at best, middling ratings for press freedom. Only in India do as many as a third (32%) think the statement, “the media can report the news without government censorship”, describes their country very well. In South Korea, which recently enacted a criminal libel law allowing the government to jail journalists who express criticism, just 7% hold that view.⁴ More than four-in-ten in South Korea (43%) also say that a free, uncensored media does *not* describe the country accurately. Nearly a third in Bangladesh (31%) agree. In Bangladesh, violence and intimidation of journalists who are critical of the government has increased over the last few years.⁵

Attitudes on the importance of civilian control of the military also vary widely in Asia. Fully six-in-ten Vietnamese rate this as very important, by far the highest percentage in the region. But only about one-in-five respondents in Indonesia (22%) and South Korea (18%) attach great importance to this ideal. Fully a third in Indonesia and nearly as many in South Korea (27%) and the Philippines (24%) say civilian control of the military is not too important or not important at all.

Religious Freedom, Fair Judiciary Very Important

Majorities in every Asian country surveyed say that religious freedom is very important to them. There is overwhelming support for religious freedom in predominantly Muslim Bangladesh (93%) and Indonesia (88%) as well as in religiously diverse India (81%).

There is general agreement among Asian respondents that they are able to freely practice their religion. As many as eight-in-ten in India (78%) give the country high marks for being able to practice their religion freely; 68% in Indonesia agree. This perception is not shared as widely in other countries; still,

Asia: Political Rights and Civil Liberties		
	<u>Want it</u> ¹	<u>Have it</u> ²
	%	%
Fair Judiciary		
Bangladesh	89	6
India	71	45
Indonesia	76	23
Philippines	70	25
South Korea	59	9
Vietnam	80	50
Religious Freedom		
Bangladesh	93	55
India	81	78
Indonesia	88	68
Philippines	65	51
South Korea	58	47
Vietnam	53	52
Free Speech ³		
Bangladesh	81	19
India	64	57
Indonesia	56	24
Philippines	65	33
South Korea	57	13

¹ “Very important” to live in a country with [item]
² [Item] describes our country “very well”
³ This question not permitted in Vietnam

⁴ Freedom House—Freedom in the World 2001-2002

about half of respondents across Asia say religious freedom describes their country very well.

Like respondents in other regions, Asians also place a high value on an impartial judiciary. Solid majorities in every country in the region say this is very important, ranging from a high of 89% in Bangladesh to a low of 59% in South Korea. But at most, only about half – in Vietnam (50%) and India (45%) – think their country is doing very well in this regard.

People are particularly critical in South Korea and Bangladesh, where the U.S. State Department says the judicial systems are corrupt, slow and reluctant to challenge government decisions.⁶ Just 6% of Bangladeshis say an impartial judiciary describes their country very well, while 72% say it does not accurately describe conditions in their country. Only one-in-ten South Koreans (9%) give the judicial system high marks, while half say a fair judiciary does not characterize the current system.

The same pattern is apparent in Asian attitudes toward freedom of speech. Majorities in every country view the freedom to criticize the government as very important, but Indians are the only group in which most (57%) think the country is doing “very well” in ensuring freedom of speech. Again, the Bangladeshi public stands out with eight-in-ten (81%) saying that freedom of speech is very important but just two-in-ten (19%) saying it describes their country very well.

South Koreans, Indonesians Choose ‘Strong Economy’

On several measures, South Koreans and Indonesians stand out for the relatively low importance they give to democracy. When asked to choose between a strong economy and a good democracy, Indonesians overwhelmingly opt for a strong economy (69%-30%), while South Koreans are divided (49% strong economy/47% good democracy). In the other countries surveyed, solid majorities favor a good democracy over a strong economy.

⁶ U.S. State Department 2000 country report.

In South Korea at least, this opinion may reflect frustration with the country's recent political history rather than a reaction to economic hard times. Most South Koreans (55%) view economic prosperity as very important, but that is far less than the number who hold that view in Indonesia (92%), Vietnam (84%), Bangladesh (82%) or the Philippines (75%). For the most part, the South Korean public believes that their country is economically prosperous (65%).

Asia:			
Good Democracy or Strong Economy			
	<i>Which is more important?</i>		
	<u>Good Democracy</u>	<u>Strong economy</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	%	%	%
Bangladesh	73	19	8
India	56	31	13
Indonesia	30	69	1
Philippines	55	39	6
South Korea	47	49	4
Vietnam	66	32	1

But South Koreans also disapprove of the political changes that have taken place over the last five years, a period marked by corruption scandals, economic problems and rising tensions with North Korea. Fewer than four-in-ten South Koreans (37%) approve of recent political changes, while a majority (56%) disapproves. (South Korea was the only Asian country where this question was asked).

But Not ‘Strong Leader’

Nonetheless, solid majorities in South Korea (61%) and four other Asian nations favor a democratic government, rather than a strong leader, to solve national problems. This opinion is broadly shared in Bangladesh (70%), Indonesia (65%) and to a lesser extent in India (54%). (This question was not permitted in Vietnam).

Asia: Democratic Government or Strong Leader			
	<i>Country should rely on...</i>		
	<u>Democratic government</u>	<u>Strong leader</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	%	%	%
Bangladesh	70	24	6
India	54	34	12
Indonesia	65	32	3
Philippines	41	55	4
South Korea	61	36	3

This question not permitted in Vietnam

The exception is the Philippines, which became a symbol of democratic revolution in the mid-1980s when Ferdinand Marcos was overthrown and Corazon Aquino was elected president. Most people in the Philippines (55%) believe it is better to rely on a strong leader to solve national problems, while 41% favor a democratic government. As a point of comparison, only in Russia and the Ukraine is there greater support for a strong leader than in the Philippines (70% Russia, 67% Ukraine).

Bribery a Reality in Bangladesh

Most Asians report they have seldom if ever found it necessary in the past year to pay bribes to government officials. But Bangladesh is a notable exception – fully 44% of respondents there say they have had to engage in the practice very (20%) or somewhat often (24%).

Solid majorities in every other country say they either never have to bribe government officials or say it occurs “not at all” often. In every country, those who have attended college are more likely to have felt it necessary to offer a bribe than those with less education.

	Africa: Democratic Government or Strong Leader		
	<i>Country should rely on...</i>		
	<u>Democratic government</u>	<u>Strong leader</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	%	%	%
Angola (Luanda)	54	42	4
Ghana	69	27	4
Ivory Coast	84	15	1
Kenya	77	22	1
Mali	50	47	3
Nigeria	57	42	1
Senegal	90	9	1
South Africa	49	50	2
Tanzania	70	22	8
Uganda	58	38	4

IV: Africa

By virtually any standard, support for democracy in Africa is broad and deep. Africans generally dismiss the idea that a leader with a strong hand is needed to solve their country’s problems. Solid majorities in all African countries, with the exceptions of Mali and South Africa, believe their nations should rely on a democratic government, not a strong leader, to solve problems. This is particularly the case in Senegal (90%), Ivory Coast (84%), Kenya (77%) and Tanzania (70%).

	Africa: Good Democracy or Strong Economy		
	<i>Which is more important?</i>		
	<u>Good democracy</u>	<u>Strong economy</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	%	%	%
Angola (Luanda)	53	44	3
Ghana	60	37	3
Ivory Coast	77	23	0
Kenya	49	47	4
Mali	42	56	1
Nigeria	63	36	1
Senegal	50	48	2
South Africa	41	57	2
Tanzania	49	43	8
Uganda	52	44	4

Moreover, Africans overwhelmingly reject the idea that democracy is a “Western” form of government that would not succeed in their countries. By margins of at least three-to-one, people in all seven nations in which the question was asked instead agree with the statement: “Democracy is not just for the West and can work well here.” (This question was asked in selected countries in Africa, the Middle East and Asia).

In spite of the continent’s grinding poverty, half or more in six of the ten African countries

surveyed say they favor a good democracy over a strong economy. This view is particularly prevalent in the Ivory Coast (77% good democracy), Nigeria (63%) and Ghana (60%).

This survey was conducted prior to presidential elections in Kenya, in December 2002, and in Nigeria, in April 2003. Also, it was conducted before the outbreak of civil war in the Ivory Coast.

Elections Viewed Negatively in Kenya, Nigeria

Majorities in every African country say it is very important to live in a country with fair multiparty elections. Roughly nine-in-ten respondents in Senegal (87%) hold this view, and nearly as many in Kenya (85%), the Ivory Coast (84%), Mali (82%) and Uganda (79%) agree. In every country except Kenya and Nigeria, majorities say that honest, multiparty elections describe their countries at least somewhat well, although far fewer take a very positive view of the elections.

But Kenyans and Nigerians are negative about their countries' elections. In Kenya, a 58% majority feels that free elections do not describe conditions in their country. That was before the presidential election in December, which was judged free and fair by European Union observers. Similarly, about half of Nigerians (52%) expressed a negative view of their country's elections, prior to the recent round of presidential balloting.

Despite the criticisms of elections, people in Kenya and Nigeria are upbeat about the recent political changes in those countries. Seven-in-ten people in Kenya and nearly eight-in-ten in Nigeria (78%) say they approve of the political changes that have taken place in their countries over the last five years. Among all of the nations surveyed, only in Uzbekistan (85%) and the Czech Republic (83%) is there as much support for recent political changes.

Africa:		
Political Rights and Civil Liberties		
	<u>Want it</u> ¹	<u>Have it</u> ²
	%	%
Honest Elections		
Angola (Luanda)	53	38
Ghana	58	40
Ivory Coast	84	43
Kenya	85	12
Mali	82	29
Nigeria	75	23
Senegal	87	37
South Africa	67	42
Tanzania	62	29
Uganda	79	24
Religious Freedom		
Angola (Luanda)	57	52
Ghana	71	57
Ivory Coast	90	80
Kenya	86	59
Mali	87	77
Nigeria	85	54
Senegal	97	89
South Africa	85	75
Tanzania	80	75
Uganda	88	74
Fair Judiciary		
Angola (Luanda)	51	26
Ghana	72	25
Ivory Coast	85	35
Kenya	88	13
Mali	80	21
Nigeria	68	17
Senegal	91	27
South Africa	76	35
Tanzania	71	28
Uganda	85	25

¹ "Very important" to live in a country with [item]
² [item] describes our country "very well"

Most Feel They Have Religious Freedom

As is the case with people in other regions, Africans view religious freedom and an impartial judiciary as highly important. Large majorities in every African country surveyed, with the exception of Angola, say it is very important that they live in a society that permits freedom of religion. This strong support for religious freedom prevails in both largely Muslim countries – Mali, Senegal and Nigeria – and largely non-Muslim countries – South Africa and Kenya.

There is broad agreement among Africans that they currently have religious freedom. This is especially the case in Senegal (89%), the Ivory Coast (80%) and Mali (77%), nations that also placed the highest importance on religious liberty. Nigeria, which has a long history of religious violence, is the only country in which a significant minority (25%) says that religious freedom does not describe the country well. Muslims in Nigeria (30%) are slightly more likely than Christians (22%) to perceive a lack of religious freedom. But even in Nigeria, 74% give the country a positive rating for religious freedom.

In nearly every African country, about seven-in-ten respondents view an impartial judiciary as very important; the only exception is Angola, where only half (51%) of the public says this is very important. But relatively few Africans say that an impartial judiciary describes their countries very well.

Solid majorities in three African countries – Kenya (64%), Mali (62%) and Nigeria (59%) – give their countries' judicial systems negative ratings. In Nigeria, majorities of both Christians and Muslims say an impartial judiciary does not describe the country well. Substantial minorities in other African countries – at least three-in-ten – also feel they lack a fair judiciary.

Free Speech: Ideal vs. Reality

Like other civil liberties, freedom of speech is broadly supported in Africa. Majorities in every country view the freedom to openly criticize the government as very important. But perceptions of whether this freedom exists vary widely from country to country.

Fewer than one-in-ten Kenyans (8%) say that free speech describes Kenya very well, while two-thirds (66%) give the country a negative rating. Fewer than three-in-ten Nigerians (27%) believe their country performs very well in this area, while 44% say freedom of speech does not describe their country. At the other extreme, most of those in the Ivory Coast (55%) feel the country has freedom of speech, but that was prior to the outbreak of violence last year.

Freedom of the press also is highly valued in Africa. Majorities in nine of ten nations surveyed – all except Tanzania – say that living in a country with a free press is very important to them. Again, there is a gap between its perceived importance and whether the media is currently permitted to report the news free of censorship.

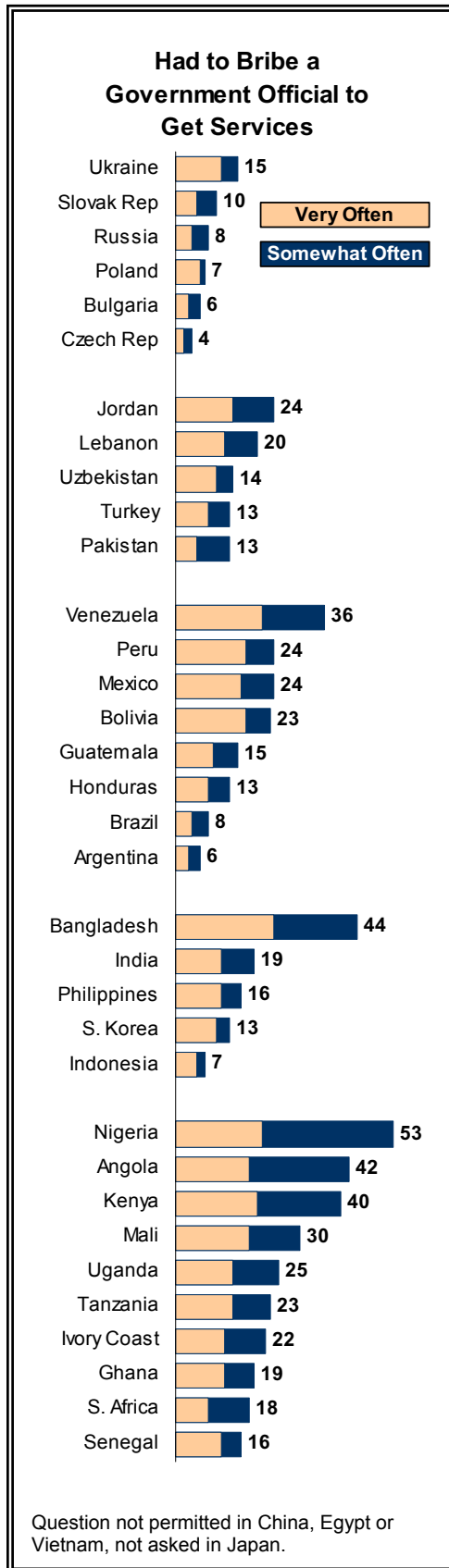
Most Africans feel their countries' media can operate freely to some extent, although relatively few give their countries very high ratings for press freedom. Kenyans and Tanzanians are the most negative in this regard. Just 14% in Kenya give their country high marks for press freedom, though nearly half (48%) believe the statement “the media can report the news without government censorship” describes their country at least somewhat well. In Tanzania, 22% say press freedom characterizes their country very well and 37% have a negative view of their country on this issue.

Majorities in seven of ten African countries surveyed say it is very important that the military be under the control of civilian leaders. Angola is a notable exception – 51% in that country say civilian control is not important.

But in every nation except Senegal and the Ivory Coast, substantially less than half the public says that civilian control of the military describes conditions in their country very well. Majorities in Uganda (58%) and Angola (56%), which have been devastated by civil

Africa:		
Political Rights and Civil Liberties		
	<u>Want it</u> ¹	<u>Have it</u> ²
Free Speech	%	%
Angola (Luanda)	56	40
Ghana	73	49
Ivory Coast	82	55
Kenya	68	8
Mali	79	40
Nigeria	68	27
Senegal	71	39
South Africa	68	44
Tanzania	56	28
Uganda	73	43
Free Press		
Angola (Luanda)	51	35
Ghana	65	43
Ivory Coast	61	37
Kenya	74	14
Mali	68	39
Nigeria	69	30
Senegal	53	27
South Africa	59	39
Tanzania	42	22
Uganda	66	32
Civilian Control of Military		
Angola (Luanda)	22	14
Ghana	51	34
Ivory Coast	67	50
Kenya	62	21
Mali	71	38
Nigeria	58	27
Senegal	66	59
South Africa	39	25
Tanzania	40	30
Uganda	55	17

¹ “Very important” to live in a country with [item]
² [item] describes our country “very well”



wars, say the military forces in their countries are not under civilian control.

Corruption Widespread

More than in any other region of the world, official corruption is seen as widespread in many African countries. Fully 68% of respondents in Nigeria and 65% in Kenya say they have had to do a favor, give a gift or pay a bribe to a government official in the past year to get a service or document the government is supposed to provide. In Nigeria, 56% report this has occurred at least somewhat often, while 40% say that in Kenya.

Half of those in Angola (52%) and more than four-in-ten in Mali (44%), Tanzania (42%) and Uganda (40%) say they have had to offer a bribe to a government official at some point in the past year. Bribery is much less common in South Africa and Senegal; three-quarters of South Africans (76%) say they have not had to pay a bribe in the past year, as do 70% of Senegalese.

GLOBALIZATION WITH FEW DISCONTENTS?

For more than a decade, globalization has been a deeply divisive topic among social activists, intellectuals, business leaders, policy makers and politicians. But the global public is less divided on the subject. To varying degrees, people almost everywhere like globalization.

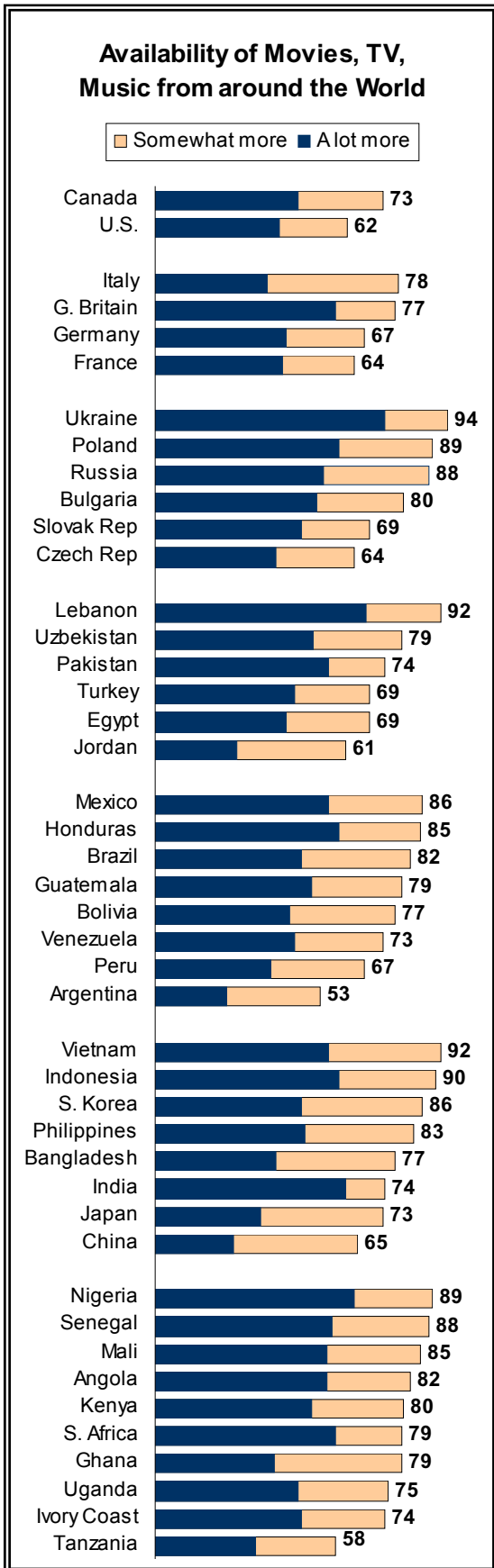
The 38,000 people surveyed in 44 countries by the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* report that globalization is now a routine fact of their everyday lives. They experience it in many ways – through trade, finance, travel, communication and culture. Majorities in every nation surveyed say growing business and trade ties are at least *somewhat* good for their country and themselves. Notably, large majorities in every country say children need to learn English “to succeed in the world today”.

At the same time, people in every region are deeply concerned about a range of worsening financial and social problems in their lives – a lack of good paying jobs, deteriorating working conditions, and the growing gap between rich and poor. People everywhere also strongly believe that their traditional way of life is getting lost.

Yet for the most part they are not inclined to blame such troubles on growing inter-connectedness. Moreover, in the areas in which people say things have generally improved – such as greater availability of food and medicine – they attribute such improvements to the fact that the world has become “more connected.” In a similar

	See it happening*	Good for country		
		Very	Some what	NET
North America	%	%	%	%
United States	67	21	57	78
Canada	69	36	50	86
Western Europe				
Italy	71	19	60	79
Great Britain	61	32	55	87
Germany	56	37	54	91
France	50	32	56	88
Eastern Europe				
Ukraine	79	31	62	93
Poland	76	17	61	78
Russia	75	26	62	88
Czech Republic	60	28	56	84
Slovak Republic	51	32	54	86
Bulgaria	42	41	48	89
Conflict Area				
Uzbekistan	84	60	37	97
Lebanon	74	29	54	83
Egypt	66	25	42	67
Pakistan	63	62	16	78
Turkey	51	53	29	82
Jordan	50	15	37	52
Latin America				
Mexico	77	28	51	79
Brazil	70	14	59	73
Honduras	70	41	52	93
Bolivia	65	15	62	77
Guatemala	59	29	54	83
Venezuela	45	40	46	86
Peru	45	19	64	83
Argentina	28	18	42	60
Asia				
Vietnam	92	56	42	98
Philippines	78	28	55	83
South Korea	77	37	53	90
Japan	74	12	60	72
Indonesia	73	25	62	87
India	65	35	34	69
China	63	32	58	90
Bangladesh	31	46	38	84
Africa				
Nigeria	82	67	28	95
Mali	79	48	47	95
Angola	79	47	42	89
Senegal	74	63	35	98
Ghana	70	40	48	88
Uganda	69	64	31	95
South Africa	69	63	25	88
Kenya	67	63	27	90
Tanzania	52	35	47	82
Ivory Coast	48	55	41	96

* Percent who see “a lot” or “somewhat” more trade and business ties between their country and other countries



vein, people generally take a favorable view of the institutions associated with globalization – multinational corporations and institutions like the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization. They have more negative attitudes toward anti-globalization protesters.

Interconnectedness is now a fact of life all over the world. In most of the 44 nations surveyed, strong majorities of the public say they think that global interconnectedness – in trade and finance, culture and travel – has increased at least somewhat over the last half decade. Majorities in 35 countries take a favorable view of four separate aspects of globalization – growing trade and business ties, faster communication and travel, the growing availability of foreign culture, and the wide variety of products available from different parts of the world. Only in six countries do majorities rate at least one of these trends as bad for their country.

Economic globalization is particularly popular. In 41 of 44 nations surveyed by Pew, majorities think growing trade and business ties are both good for their country *and* good for their families. This is especially true in Vietnam (96%), parts of Africa – Ivory Coast (93%), Senegal (92%) and Nigeria (90%) – and in Western Europe – Germany (83%), France (82%) and Great Britain (81%). Only in Kenya, do most people (58%) think globalization has been good for the country, but not for them personally.

Globalization of Culture

Majorities in every nation surveyed report that over the past five years, there has been increased availability of foreign movies, television programs and music. And in more than half of those countries, the globalization of culture has been intensive, with

people saying there is *a lot more* foreign culture available to them.

This trend is particularly evident in Central America, Eastern Europe, Africa and Asia. Roughly nine-in-ten people see greater availability of foreign pop culture in several countries: Ukraine (94%), Lebanon (92%), Vietnam (92%), Indonesia (90%), Nigeria (89%) and Senegal (88%). In Ukraine, nearly three-quarters of respondents (74%) say there has been a large increase in the availability of foreign movies, television programs and music.

In countries that are prominent cultural exporters – such as the United States and France – people are somewhat less likely to see increased availability of cultural exports from other parts of the world. Overall, about six-in-ten Americans (62%) say foreign movies, television and music have become more available compared with five years ago, but just four-in-ten say they are a lot more available. Roughly the same number in France (64%) see greater availability of foreign popular culture – the lowest percentage in Western Europe.

Communications: Perception vs. Reality

Similarly, most people around the world believe international communication and travel are on the rise. But with a handful of exceptions – notably the British – they believe there is *somewhat* more travel and communication compared with five years ago, rather than *a lot* more.

Nearly two-thirds of British respondents say people in Great Britain are traveling

More International Travel & Communication

	Happening a lot more*	Contact with other countries	
		Traveled in past 5 yrs	Phone, write, visit people
North America	%	%	%
United States	42	22	24
Canada	37	66	59
Western Europe			
Great Britain	65	73	55
Italy	32	40	32
France	31	60	42
Germany	30	77	43
Eastern Europe			
Poland	49	29	38
Ukraine	47	18	35
Czech Republic	36	72	52
Russia	35	9	18
Bulgaria	34	16	33
Slovak Republic	28	65	54
Conflict Area			
Lebanon	55	33	67
Uzbekistan	47	15	24
Egypt	31	14	26
Pakistan	31	4	15
Turkey	28	7	32
Jordan	17	37	35
Latin America			
Honduras	42	23	62
Mexico	41	19	53
Guatemala	34	31	65
Brazil	34	7	17
Venezuela	29	20	47
Bolivia	27	18	47
Peru	26	7	42
Argentina	11	24	40
Asia			
Vietnam	58	5	34
India	48	6	5
Philippines	39	6	37
South Korea	35	19	27
Indonesia	34	3	6
Japan	31	29	17
China	20	4	10
Bangladesh	19	10	29
Africa			
Nigeria	57	13	40
Senegal	57	27	74
Uganda	50	13	21
South Africa	47	12	20
Mali	45	24	58
Kenya	43	9	25
Angola	41	15	50
Ghana	40	6	39
Ivory Coast	29	21	63
Tanzania	28	12	16

* Percent who see "a lot" more communication and travel between people in their country and other countries.

and communicating much more with people from other countries compared with five years ago. But elsewhere in Europe, far fewer people see a large increase in travel and communication. And in the U.S. and Canada, only about four-in-ten say there is a lot more foreign travel and contact with other countries than five years ago (42%, 37%).

In many countries, the perception of increased contact with people from other countries does not reflect personal experience. Nearly half of all Poles (49%) think more travel and communication are taking place, but just three-in-ten (29%) have traveled to another country in the past five years, and fewer than four-in-ten (38%) are regularly in touch with foreigners. That is also the case with Americans, Russians, and people in many other countries.

As might be expected, a country's wealth and its proximity to other countries are important factors in levels of foreign travel. More than three-quarters of Germans (77%) say they have traveled to another country in the past five years, as have 73% of the British, 72% of Czechs, 66% of Canadians, 65% of Slovaks, and 60% of the French. Far fewer people outside of those countries report traveling to another country in the past five years.

However, significant percentages of people in many countries say they stay in regular contact with friends or relatives in other countries, with phone calls, letters or visits. Three-quarters of respondents in Senegal (74%) say they stay in regular touch with people outside the country, as do about two-thirds in Lebanon (67%) and Guatemala (65%).

Three Views of a Connected World

While there is a widespread sense that the world is becoming increasingly connected, these perceptions vary significantly from country to country. By almost any standard, the Vietnamese appear to be experiencing globalization more intensely than any other people surveyed.

Fully two-thirds of Vietnamese say there is a lot more trade and business ties with other countries – more than any other nation

surveyed. Relatively high percentages also report major increases in travel (58%) and exposure to foreign culture (56%), and that international investors are having more influence on the country's economic policies (43%).

By comparison, despite China's growing presence in the global economy, the Chinese people still feel relatively disconnected from the world. Just one-in-five Chinese say they see a lot more trade and business ties with other countries, and only a quarter perceive a large increase in the availability of foreign movies, TV and music. Although China has attracted more foreign investment than any other country over the past five years, relatively few Chinese (15%) believe foreign investors are now exerting considerably more influence on the country's economic policies. (This survey was conducted well before the outbreak of the SARS virus in the spring of 2003.)

<i>See a lot more international...</i>	<u>Vietnam</u> %	<u>China</u> %	<u>Argentina</u> %
Trade and business ties	66	20	10
Communication and travel	58	20	11
Availability of movies, TV, etc.	56	25	23
Influence of intl financial orgs	43	15	24

People in Argentina have another, quite different, perspective on the question of whether the world is becoming more interconnected. Reflecting the severe economic crisis that struck Argentina in the months before the survey was conducted, there is little sense that trade and contacts with other countries have increased much. In fact, four-in-ten Argentines say trade and business ties with the rest of the world have stagnated, and a third says travel and communication have stopped growing.

Connected World: Impact on Countries

Overwhelming majorities of those surveyed – at least two-thirds of the public in every country except Jordan and Tanzania – think it is a good thing that their countries are becoming more connected with the world through trade and communication. For the most part, however, enthusiasm for the connected world is tempered. In most countries, majorities surveyed think growing connectedness is at least *somewhat* good for their nation, not *very* good.

People in Africa, the poorest continent, stand out for their strong embrace of globalization. Majorities in seven of ten African nations surveyed have very positive views of increased global trade and

communication, including 71% in Uganda and roughly two-thirds in Nigeria and Kenya (68%, 67%). In other regions, support for expanding trade and communications is also quite strong in Vietnam (57%), Uzbekistan (54%) and Turkey (50%), which is aspiring to join the European Union.

By comparison, Western Europeans and North Americans take a more moderate view of the impact of globalization on their countries. Roughly nine-in-ten in every country surveyed in these regions believe more trade and faster communication have been at least somewhat good for their countries. But there are differences in the strength of this opinion – nearly half of British respondents (47%) and more than four-in-ten in Canada (43%) believe these trends have been very good for their countries. Fewer respondents in Germany (37%), the U.S. (36%), France (36%) and Italy (25%) agree.

Growing Foreign Trade: Personal Impact

Just as people generally believe that increasing foreign trade has been good for their countries, they also take a favorable view of its personal impact. Majorities in nearly every country surveyed – with Kenya the most notable exception – say growing business and trade ties with other countries have been at least somewhat good for themselves and their families.

In a handful of countries, most respondents view these changes very favorably. Nearly six-in-ten Nigerians (58%) and majorities in Vietnam (55%), Pakistan (55%) and Uganda (53%) say the growth of trade and business has been *very* good for themselves and their families. Elsewhere, enthusiasm is more muted. For example, solid majorities in North America and Western Europe say increased trade has been good for them personally, but no more than three-in-ten say its impact has been very good.

Good for the Country, Bad Personally?

Kenyans have a unique perspective on the impact of increased foreign trade and business. Fully nine-in-ten say this trend has been good for the country – and 63% say it has been very good. Yet people in Kenya take a sharply negative view of trade's impact on individuals. Only a third say it has had a positive effect – just 10% say very

positive – while 66% believe more trade has been bad for them and their families.

This 53-point gap in very favorable assessments of foreign trade – between how Kenyans view its impact on the country and on them personally – is by far the largest of any country surveyed. But other publics also have sharply different impressions of how expanding foreign trade affects their countries and how it affects them and their families.

In Bangladesh, for instance, 46% of respondents say growing foreign trade and business had a very favorable impact on the country, but just 22% believe it has been good for them and their families. There is a similar gap in attitudes in South Korea and Uzbekistan and to a lesser extent in South Africa.

	--Very Good for--		
	Country	Yourself	Diff
Greatest Gaps	%	%	%
Kenya	63	10	+53
Bangladesh	46	22	+24
South Korea	37	15	+22
Uzbekistan	60	38	+22
Former E. Germany	40	19	+21
Slovak Republic	32	13	+19
Bulgaria	41	22	+19
Senegal	63	44	+19
South Africa	63	45	+18
Mali	48	31	+17
Ukraine	31	15	+16

These differences also are apparent in several Eastern European countries, including the Slovak Republic, Bulgaria and Ukraine. Similarly, in former East Germany, where unemployment remains persistently high, people are twice as likely to see global economic connectedness as *very* good for the country as they are to see it as *very* good for themselves and their family (40% vs. 19%).

Foreign Culture’s Personal Impact

Globally, most respondents have a favorable personal reaction to the opportunity to sample foreign television, movies and music. In France, nine-in-ten people (91%) say it is good that they and their families have the opportunity to watch foreign movies and television and listen to music from other parts of the world.

While this view is shared almost everywhere, a few notable exceptions exist. Kenyans are about as negative about the personal impact of foreign culture as they are about increasing foreign trade: 61% of respondents in Kenya say foreign television, movies and music are bad for them and their families. A majority in Pakistan (55%) agrees, while Jordanians are split over the personal impact of foreign culture (50% positive/49%negative). In Bangladesh, another

predominantly Muslim country, the public also is divided (49% positive/46% negative).

Generations Divide Over Cultural Imports

Cultural Imports More Popular Among the Young	----- Age -----			<i>Diff, young- older</i>
	<u>18-29</u> %	<u>30-49</u> %	<u>50+</u> %	
<i>Cultural imports seen as 'Good'*</i>				
Largest Age Gaps				
Russia	85	66	35	+50
Bangladesh	65	42	22	+43
Senegal	76	60	47	+29
South Korea	93	83	65	+28
Guatemala	89	79	62	+27
Mexico	83	79	58	+25
Uzbekistan	82	72	57	+25
For Comparison...				
Egypt	60	52	41	+19
India	62	53	49	+13
China	94	87	82	+12
United States	93	86	82	+11
France	96	95	89	+7
Pakistan	27	23	21	+6
Jordan	48	52	51	-3

*Percent saying the availability of movies, TV and music from different parts of the world has a very or somewhat good effect on themselves and their families.

In most countries, younger respondents are more positive than older ones about the effect of foreign television, music and movies on their families. In Russia and Bangladesh, these age differences are particularly noteworthy. Fully 85% of Russians under age 30 say the opportunity to watch foreign movies and television programs and listen to foreign music is a good thing for them and their families; just 35% of those 50 and older agree. In Bangladesh, young people are nearly three times more likely than those age 50 and older to view foreign culture favorably (65%-22%).

Significant generational differences on this issue are apparent in many other countries, across all regions of the world: Senegal, South Korea, Guatemala, Mexico and Uzbekistan. The

generational differences over foreign culture are much smaller in Pakistan, where young and old alike are critical of the impact of cultural imports, and in the United States and France, where nearly everyone likes these products.

English Necessary for Success

There is global agreement on the importance of children learning English. Solid majorities in every country surveyed believe that “children need to learn English to succeed in the world today.” Nine-in-ten Indians (93%) and Chinese (92%) agree that learning English is essential, and this view is strongly held. Fully 87% in India, and two-thirds of Chinese (66%), *completely* agree that children should learn English.

Generally, even those people who say they dislike American culture, or say they are concerned about the future of their own culture, believe it is necessary for children to learn English. Jordan is the only

country in which a substantial minority (35%) disagrees with the idea that children need to learn English.

Respondents in the U.S. and Great Britain were asked a different version of this question, which asked whether it is necessary for children to learn a foreign language to succeed in the world today. Seven-in-ten in each country agree with that idea (72% of British, 70% of Americans), but sizable minorities dissent. Three-in-ten in the U.S. and comparable percentage in Great Britain (28%) do not believe it is necessary for children to learn a foreign language.

Globally, Problems Worsen

People's attitudes toward the global changes that are affecting their nations and their families are best understood in the context of whether they think their lives are getting better or worse. For the most part, the people surveyed by the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* think life has deteriorated in many ways over the past five years.

Majorities, in most cases strong majorities, in 34 of 44 nations surveyed think the availability of good paying jobs has gotten worse in the last five years. Even in relatively successful economies such as the U.S. and Canada, most people say the job situation has gotten worse (55% U.S., 52% Canada). The notable exceptions are Vietnam (92%), Philippines (68%) and China (52%), where people generally think job opportunities have improved.

People in most parts of the world also think that working conditions for ordinary workers have deteriorated. This is particularly true in countries that have suffered economic reversals in recent years – Argentina (94%), Kenya (89%), Peru (85%), Brazil (84%), Bolivia (83%) and Japan (80%). This view is widely shared in nations that are making the transition from socialism to capitalism – such as Poland (83%) and the Slovak Republic (85%). By comparison, a majority of British (57%) and about half of Americans (50%), Canadians (48%), South Koreans (47%) and Filipinos (45%) believe working conditions have improved.

Availability of Good-Paying Jobs	
Top Countries "Gotten Better"	
	%
Vietnam	92
Philippines	68
China	52
India	41
Great Britain	39
Uzbekistan	39
Top Countries "Gotten Worse"	
	%
Argentina	95
Kenya	93
Bolivia	86
Former East Ger.	86
Japan	85
Lebanon	84

Working Conditions	
Top Countries "Gotten Better"	
	%
Vietnam	85
Great Britain	57
U.S.	50
Canada	48
South Korea	47
Philippines	45
Top Countries "Gotten Worse"	
	%
Argentina	94
Kenya	89
Lebanon	88
Peru	85
Slovak Republic	85
Brazil	84

Changes for the Better, and Worse
(Percent saying situation has gotten better or worse over past 5 years)

	----- Getting Worse -----					---- Getting Better ----		
	<u>Jobs</u>	<u>Working conditions</u>	<u>Spread of diseases</u>	<u>Gap between rich/poor</u>	<u>Affordability of health care</u>	<u>Money for old age</u>	<u>Availability of modern medicines</u>	<u>Availability of food</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
North America								
United States	55	39	68	67	75	69	75	82
Canada	52	39	55	77	71	63	67	82
Western Europe								
Great Britain	47	33	59	68	56	70	76	94
France	77	64	58	82	19	37	82	87
Italy	53	48	54	64	52	62	69	74
Germany	80	68	50	90	90	58	79	82
<i>Former West Ger.</i>	78	66	49	89	90	55	83	82
<i>Former East Ger.</i>	86	75	54	84	93	68	61	83
Eastern Europe								
Bulgaria	72	65	77	86	78	94	57	79
Czech Republic	61	69	62	84	34	49	69	91
Poland	70	83	56	85	57	84	54	82
Russia	49	65	90	92	69	66	47	77
Slovak Republic	74	85	75	91	79	76	30	89
Ukraine	55	70	50	44	80	87	81	96
Conflict Area								
Egypt	40	50	47	55	32	39	66	57
Jordan	61	58	54	65	51	51	29	52
Lebanon	84	88	65	84	87	76	79	76
Pakistan	46	45	31	53	33	35	41	37
Turkey	70	81	75	86	61	71	52	64
Uzbekistan	53	58	67	88	64	43	67	71
Latin America								
Argentina	95	94	84	94	90	91	22	22
Bolivia	86	83	74	81	50	57	48	49
Brazil	80	84	71	83	81	84	59	76
Guatemala	74	78	87	79	68	83	55	55
Honduras	58	63	89	66	53	60	50	59
Mexico	65	54	74	63	60	65	68	63
Peru	81	85	82	81	72	77	50	45
Venezuela	72	68	78	74	57	60	43	51
Asia								
Bangladesh	28	40	56	51	44	35	65	54
China	37	37	41	*	62	35	79	89
India	48	63	81	71	39	48	73	55
Indonesia	58	56	66	74	64	71	79	81
Japan	85	80	57	56	75	39	72	91
Philippines	28	47	83	73	29	39	79	78
South Korea	54	32	51	83	80	39	61	89
Vietnam	7	11	64	51	19	13	95	91
Africa								
Angola	52	54	79	81	53	63	42	57
Ghana	39	44	59	61	47	52	62	54
Ivory Coast	71	58	79	80	72	77	63	70
Kenya	93	89	95	85	91	93	36	28
Mali	62	58	76	83	83	74	68	28
Nigeria	63	61	82	77	51	70	58	45
Senegal	62	53	67	76	69	78	76	80
South Africa	64	56	85	73	51	54	50	64
Tanzania	57	63	70	63	75	72	50	68
Uganda	54	53	80	77	53	69	56	47

* Question not permitted in China.

Strong majorities of the public also think that the gap between the rich and the poor has worsened in the last five years. In 30 of 44 countries, at least seven-in-ten people say economic inequality has grown, including 94% of those surveyed in Argentina, 92% in Russia, 91% in the Slovak Republic and 90% in Germany. Such concerns are particularly widespread in Eastern Europe, with the single exception of Ukraine. Roughly half of Ukrainians say economic inequality has decreased over the past five years, while 44% say it has increased.

Rich-Poor Gap	
Top Countries	
“Gotten Better”	%
Ukraine	51
Vietnam	36
Tanzania	23
Egypt	22
Top Countries	
“Gotten Worse”	%
Argentina	94
Russia	92
Slovak Republic	91
Germany	90

Most people also believe that diseases spread more rapidly today than they did half a decade ago (The survey was conducted before the SARS outbreak). This is particularly true in Africa and Latin America where, in 16 of the 18 countries surveyed, more than seven-in-ten people think the incidence of disease has gotten worse. These are many of the same societies where AIDS and other infectious diseases are viewed as top national problems. But concern about the spread of disease is not limited to poor nations. Two-in-three Americans (68%) and more than half of all Western Europeans and Japanese share such fears.

Costs of Health, Aging Increase

Majorities in most countries say health care has become less affordable. This is particularly the case in Kenya, Argentina as well as in Germany, where patients now pay a greater portion of health care and pharmaceutical costs than in the past. In each of those countries, nine-in-ten people believe the affordability of health care has worsened over the past five years. Fully seven-in-ten respondents in the U.S. (75%) and Canada (71%) say health care costs have gotten worse.

But there are a few exceptions to this trend. In France, for example, 73% say the affordability of health care has improved over the past five years, compared with just 19% who say it has gotten worse. Health care also is perceived to be more affordable in Vietnam (76% better), the Philippines (64%) and the Czech Republic (54%).

In most societies, the public also says it has gotten tougher to provide for one's old age. This perception is widespread in Argentina (91%), where people's life savings were drastically reduced when the

country abandoned the de facto dollar standard, as well as in Kenya (93%) and Bulgaria (94%). France and most Asian countries are exceptions to this trend – majorities in those areas say it is now easier for the elderly to provide for themselves than it was five years ago.

Food, Medicine More Available

At the same time, most respondents see clear improvement in some areas. There is widespread agreement, even in many poor countries, that food is more plentiful in stores than it was five years ago. Majorities in five of eight Latin American countries surveyed, six of ten African nations, all six low-income Asian economies surveyed, and in five of six countries in the Middle East/Conflict Area report more food on their store shelves.

Similarly, people in many countries report that modern medicines and treatments have become more available – if not more affordable – over the past five years. This is particularly true in North America, Western Europe and most of Asia, but it is not universal. Fully six-in-ten in the Slovak Republic (64%) and Kenya (60%), and nearly half in Russia (48%) and Jordan (46%) say the availability of modern medicine and treatments has worsened over the past five years.

Even in many nations where people say modern medicines and treatments are more available, they express concern over the affordability of health care. Three-in-four Americans (75%) see more medical options available today, but an equal proportion say health care costs have increased. The same complaint is heard in Canada and in most of Western Europe – with France being a notable exception. More than eight-in-ten French (82%) say medicines and treatment are more available, and nearly as many report that health care has become more affordable (73%).

Improvements in Food, Medicine Linked To Globalization

The majorities who complain about declines in working conditions, the availability of jobs and inequality generally do not blame globalization for these problems. On the contrary, in areas where people think things have improved – as with the greater availability of food and medicine – many link these changes to growing interconnectedness.

Overwhelming majorities in Ukraine (80%), Great Britain (75%) and the Czech Republic (73%) think there is more food now available in their local stores because of globalization. Three-quarters of respondents also say that in Japan, where there has been increase of imports of Chinese fruits and vegetables. In fact, majorities in every wealthy nation surveyed – with the notable exception of the United States – link the greater availability of food in stores to the way the world has become more connected.

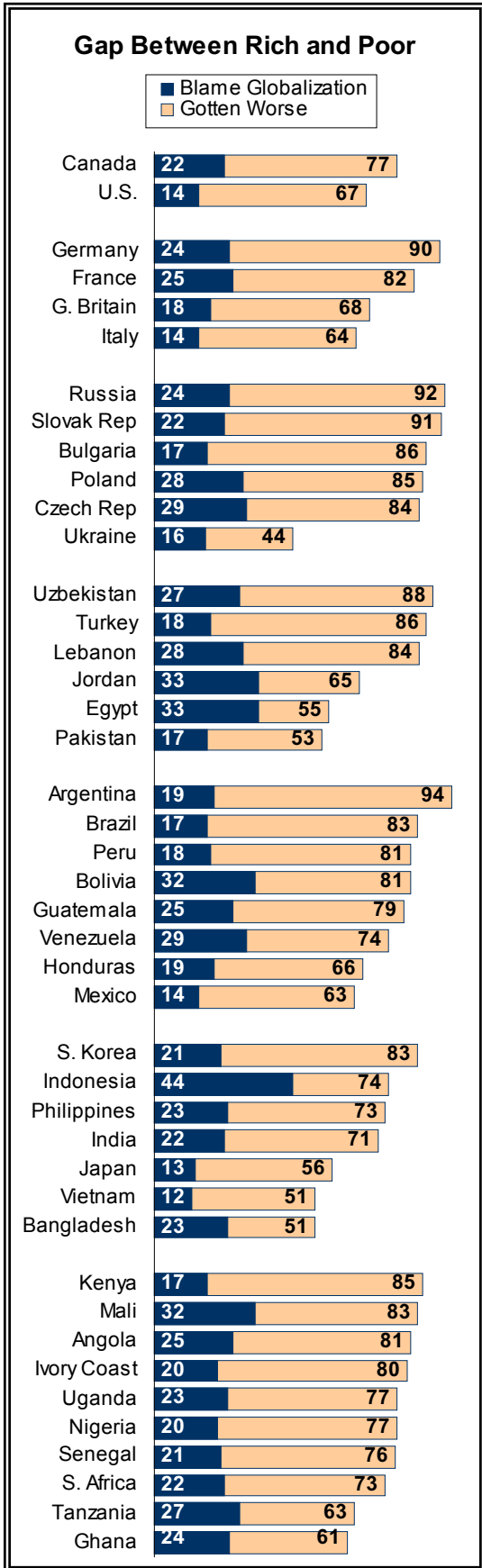
In 23 of 31 developing countries surveyed, pluralities or majorities also attribute the greater availability of food in stores to globalization. Moreover, in the handful of countries in which majorities believe food supplies have gotten worse in the past five years, relatively few blame the change on globalization. Six-in-ten Argentines say food availability has gotten worse, but just 10% of respondents blame globalization.

Similarly, over half of those surveyed in the two largest countries in the world – China (59%) and India (53%) – say growing ties between their countries and the rest of the world are the reason why modern medicines and medical treatment are more available today. Even stronger majorities in Vietnam (77%), Ukraine (71%) and Indonesia (70%) agree. In all, pluralities or majorities in 38 of 44 nations make that positive connection. Only in Jordan (30%) and Russia (24%) do large minorities think that health care is getting worse, and globalization is the culprit.

Globalization Not Blamed

People are also unwilling to link problems like economic inequality, the lack of good-paying jobs and poor working conditions to globalization. At least half of the respondents in every country surveyed, except Ukraine, believe the gap between rich and poor has gotten worse over the past five years. But for the most part, people do not blame this on “the way the world has become more connected”.

In Europe and North America, sizable percentages in every country say economic inequality has worsened. But fewer than three-in-ten respondents in each country believe it has occurred because of global interconnectedness. This pattern is apparent in other regions as well.



Globally, there is only one country, Indonesia, where more than four-in-ten respondents (44%) blame the growing gap between rich and poor on globalization.

Similarly, people almost everywhere think there are fewer good-paying jobs these days, but they generally do not link this to the way the world has become more connected. Only in a handful of countries, such as Guatemala (38%), Bolivia (34%) and Lebanon (33%), do sizable minorities blame the deteriorating job situation on globalization.

The societies where people are most likely to think the world around them is getting better and who attribute that improvement, at least in part, to a more connected world include Vietnam, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, the Philippines and Indonesia. In each of these nations, at least half say that two or more indicators of well-being – the availability of good-paying jobs, the quality of work life, the rich-poor gap, and the availability of food and modern medicines – have improved in the last five years thanks to globalization. Only in a few countries – Guatemala (40%), Bolivia (36%), Jordan (34%), Mali (33%) – do a sizable number of people see a decline in two or more of these quality-of-life indicators and blame global interconnectedness for it.

“Globalization” Per Se

After being asked about their awareness of global interconnectedness, their sense of its impact on their family and nation, and its linkage to the their own lives, respondents were asked for their opinion of “globalization.”

In more than half the nations surveyed, at least six-in-ten respondents rate globalization as at least somewhat good. Yet in many countries, high percentages of respondents offered no opinion,

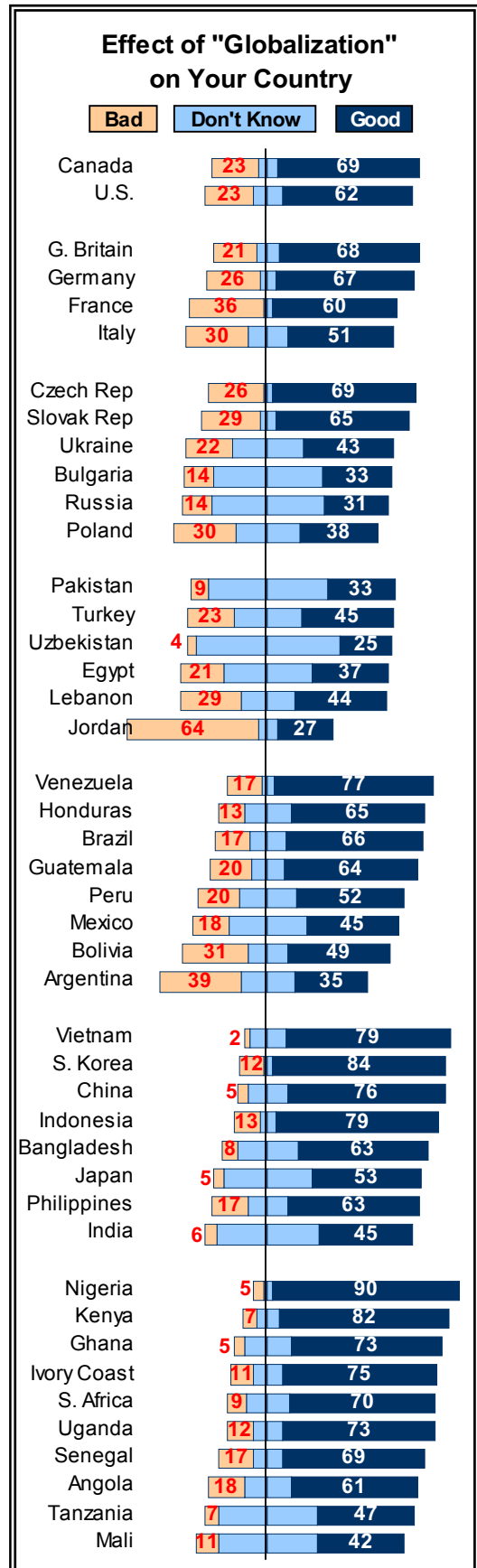
indicating a lack of familiarity with the term. Far fewer respondents express negative feelings about globalization.

Support for globalization is strongest in Nigeria (90%), South Korea (84%) and Kenya (82%), followed closely by Indonesia (79%), Vietnam (79%) and China (76%). In all of these countries, governments and business elites have advocated globalization as a means of rapidly improving the standard of living.

Majorities in North America and Western Europe also have a positive view of globalization, but there also is significant opposition in these regions. Canadians favor globalization by three-to-one (69%-23%), but the margins are smaller in the U.S. and France. Six-in-ten French have a positive view of globalization, while 36% have a negative opinion – the largest percentage among wealthy countries.

Moreover, relatively few people in these nations – and in Eastern Europe and much of Latin America – say globalization is a *very* good thing; most say it is *somewhat* good. Only one-in-ten Americans and Canadians (10%, 11%) characterize globalization as a *very* good thing, and fewer Europeans agree. By comparison, nearly six-in-ten in Nigeria (58%), and more than four-in-ten in Kenya (46%), Uganda (44%) and South Africa (41%) see globalization as very good thing.

Opposition to globalization is most prevalent in Jordan, where 64% feel globalization is a bad thing. In addition, Argentines are evenly divided in their view of globalization (39% bad/35% good). In several countries, majorities or pluralities offered no opinion of globalization. Fully seven-in-ten in Uzbekistan, 57% in Pakistan, 55% in Russia, and 53% in Bulgaria expressed no opinion.



Young People More Likely To Favor Globalization

Despite television images of youthful anti-globalization protestors, in most Western European and Latin American nations, younger citizens are more positive about globalization than older ones. In France, for instance, seven-in-ten (72%) of those below age 30 say globalization is a good thing, while three-in-ten (28%) have a negative view. Among French respondents age 50 and older, fewer (58%) think globalization is good for France, while 35% say it is bad.

Globalization is a good thing	Age			Diff young – older
	18-29 %	30-49 %	50+ %	
Europe				
Poland	52	46	22	+30
Russia	41	34	21	+20
Germany	75	69	61	+14
France	72	57	58	+14
Latin America				
Peru	63	53	36	+27
Bolivia	55	47	33	+22
Brazil	74	61	57	+17
Mexico	48	49	32	+16

This pattern is apparent in Latin America as well. Younger Peruvians are much more likely than their elders to view globalization favorably (63% under 30/36% 50 and older). Nearly half of younger Bolivians and Mexicans agree, compared with only a third of those their parents' age.

Concerns Over Modern Life – Its Pace...

Despite the popular support for swifter communications and increasing international commerce, people are not entirely comfortable with the economic, technological and cultural change going on all around them. Roughly half of Americans, British, French and Germans criticize the pace of modern life. Italians are even more negative; six-in-ten (62%) dislike the pace of life today. Among people in major industrial nations, only the Japanese (63%) say they are content with the pace of life.

By contrast, people in the developing world have generally embraced the modern lifestyle. Throughout most of Africa and Asia – and to a lesser extent in the Middle East/Conflict Area – people generally say they like the pace of life today. In Nigeria, Lebanon and Indonesia, overwhelming majorities (85%) find the modern lifestyle appealing. However, it is notable that in some relatively globalized developing economies – such as South Africa, Egypt and Jordan – majorities say they do not like the pace of life today.

There is a clear generational divide on this issue. In France, Great Britain, Russia and Ukraine, people age 50 and older are about twice as likely to voice discomfort with the pace of life than are those under 30. This gap is biggest in Bulgaria: nearly six-in-ten (58%) Bulgarian respondents age 50 and older express concern that life is moving too fast; just one-in-ten (11%) of those under age 30 agree.

Attitudes on the pace of life are also strongly associated with views about modern technology. In nearly all countries, people who are critical of technological advances – especially television and the Internet – are more likely than others to be troubled by the pace of daily life.

And Fast Food

People's attitudes toward fast food capture their contrasting views about the pace of modern life. Majorities or pluralities in all wealthy nations take a negative view of convenience foods. German respondents, by better than six-to-one (63%-10%), think fast food has had a negative, not a positive, impact on daily life. Other Western Europeans are only somewhat less critical. By significant margins, Americans and Canadians agree that convenience meals have changed things for the worse. Clearly, the dividing line in opinion on fast food is economic, not geographic. South Koreans and the Japanese share the same dim view of meals on the run.

But throughout the developing world, most people have a favorable opinion of takeout food. More than seven-in-ten respondents in the Philippines, Vietnam and China like convenience food. Africans, on balance, are also positive, although in several countries significant minorities offered no opinion. People in Lebanon and Turkey were divided on the issue.

Views on Pace of Modern Life	
Highest "Like pace of modern life"	%
Indonesia	85
Lebanon	85
Nigeria	85
Vietnam	79
Uzbekistan	79
Angola	75
Highest "Do not like pace of modern life"	%
Italy	62
Egypt (Cairo)	60
Poland	60
South Korea	59
South Africa	55
Jordan	55

Traditional Ways Threatened

Traditional Way of Life: Lost, or Still Strong?

Highest “Traditional way of life remains strong”	%
Uzbekistan	60
Philippines	57
Indonesia	48
Jordan	44
Vietnam	42
Egypt (Cairo)	42

Highest “Traditional way of life getting lost”	%
Bangladesh	92
Ghana	89
Ivory Coast	89
Kenya	88
Mali	87
South Africa	87

Overall, there is a widespread sense that the rapidly changing world represents a major threat to people’s traditional way of life. Africans are most likely to feel that their daily customs and traditions are under fire – more than eight-in-ten respondents in every African country express this concern. With only a handful of exceptions, this is also the prevailing view in other regions as well.

Public opinion in the United States is typical in this regard: Two-thirds of Americans say their way of life is being lost, while only three-in-ten people (29%) believe traditions remain strong. Sentiment that something is being lost in the modern world is shared by men and women and across all age groups.

The Philippines and Uzbekistan are the only countries surveyed in which majorities believe their traditional way of life is not threatened. That view is held by sizable minorities in three predominantly Muslim countries: Indonesia (48%), Jordan (44%) and Egypt (42%).

Too Much Commercialism?

Commercialism & Consumerism...

Highest “...Are threats to our culture”	%
Bolivia	72
Tanzania	65
Italy	64
Mexico	64
France	63
Argentina	58

Highest “...Are no threat”	%
Vietnam	66
Nigeria	65
Lebanon	64
Indonesia	58
Uzbekistan	57
Angola	56

The erosion of traditional ways is often blamed on commercialism and consumerism. Majorities in every Western European nation surveyed – and five of eight Latin American countries – agree that “consumerism and commercialism are a threat to our culture.”

More than six-in-ten French (63%) and Italians (64%) say these aspects of a market economy are a threat to their culture. Roughly half of Germans, British, Americans and Canadians agree. In Latin America, Bolivians (72%), Mexicans (64%) and Argentines (58%) are the most likely say consumerism is a threat to their culture.

This criticism is prevalent in many countries in other regions as well – but notably, *not* in the Middle East/Conflict Area. Majorities in Lebanon (64%), Uzbekistan (57%) and Jordan (54%) say commercialism is no threat to their culture. Pluralities in Turkey, Egypt and Pakistan agree.

Cell Phones Viewed Favorably

Still, people everywhere look quite favorably at how certain consumer goods – notably communications technologies – have affected their lives. Cell phones and the Internet are viewed universally as improving people’s lives.

Overwhelming majorities in nearly all of the 44 nations surveyed say cell phones have improved things for the better. This view is equally shared in poor countries in Africa and Asia where relatively few people actually own cell phones. For example, only about one-in-ten people in Bangladesh and Vietnam have a mobile telephone of their own, but more than nine-in-ten respondents in both countries say such phones have been a change for the better (96%, 92%).

The only significant dissent to this viewpoint comes in some wealthy nations, such as Japan, Canada and the United States, where cell phone use is widespread. The Japanese, in particular, are divided in their assessment– nearly one-in-two (49%) say mobile telephones have changed things for the better, while more than one-in-three (37%) believe they have made things worse. A third of Canadians and a quarter of Americans have a negative view of the advent of cell phones.

As might be expected, non-cell phone owners in wealthy nations have a lower opinion of the devices than do cell phone owners. In Japan and Great Britain, about half of those without cell phones say they are a change for the worse; far fewer cell phone users agree.

Thumbs up for Internet

A similar pattern is apparent in global opinion toward the Internet. Outside of a handful of rich countries, most respondents say they never go online. Yet majorities in almost all of the nations surveyed say the Internet has changed things for the better. In many poor countries, however, large percentages express no opinion, reflecting the low level of Internet use and awareness in those societies.

About one-in-five respondents in several wealthy nations – including Japan (24%), the U.S. (21%), and South Korea (21%) – say the Internet has changed things for the worse.

TV Draws Criticism

People have mixed opinions about television, a technology that has now been around for two generations. In the developing world, television is generally seen in a positive light. By wide margins, Africans and Asians say it has changed things for the better. But in three wealthy nations – Italy, Germany and the U.S. – where television is practically ubiquitous, pluralities have a negative view of television.

Too Much New Technology?			
	<i>A change for the worse...</i>		
	Cell		
Top Countries	<u>Phones</u>	<u>Internet</u>	<u>TV</u>
	%	%	%
Japan	37	24	26
United States	25	21	42
Italy	21	16	49
Honduras	12	20	44
Pakistan	11	23	49

Two-thirds of Italians (66%) say television has either been a change for the worse (49%) or had no major impact (17%) on daily life. Similarly, three-quarters of Germans and six-in-ten Americans believe television’s impact has been negative or, at

best, neutral. Respondents in other industrial societies are also critical of television: Nearly six-in-ten South Koreans (58%), 51% of Canadians and half of French say television has had a negative or neutral impact.

Africans have overwhelmingly favorable views of television, but they also rely on television less as a news medium than do people elsewhere. Africa is the only region in which significant numbers of people say they still get most of their news from a source other than television; majorities in six African countries say they rely on radio for most of their news.

Thumbs down for Genetically Modified Foods

Scientifically Altered Fruits and Vegetables are...			
	<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	%	%	%
United States	37	55	8=100
Canada	31	63	6=100
Great Britain	27	65	8=100
Japan	20	76	4=100
Italy	17	74	9=100
Germany	17	81	2=100
France	10	89	1=100

Question asked only in selected advanced economies

People in wealthy countries are generally critical of genetically modified foods. Majorities in all seven advanced nations in which the question was asked have negative views of such foods because of concerns they could hurt health and the environment.

Opposition to scientifically altered foods is strongest in France. Just one-in-ten French agree that such foods are a positive development because they increase crop yields to feed more people and are good for the environment. Roughly nine times as many (89%) believe scientifically altered foods are bad because of their potentially harmful effects on health and

the environment. Attitudes toward genetic foods also are highly negative in Germany (81% bad), Japan (76%) and Italy (74%).

Americans take the least negative view of genetically modified foods. Nearly four-in-ten (37%) say they are good, while a 55% majority disagrees. Roughly three-in-ten in Canada (31%) and Great Britain (27%) have a positive opinion of scientifically altered foods, while roughly twice as many have a negative view.

Majorities of young and old alike think scientifically altered foods are bad. But women are less positive about these foods than are men in most countries where the question was asked. In Canada, for example, nearly three-quarters of women (73%) think genetically modified foods are bad, compared with just half (52%) of men. In Japan, 82% of women and 69% of men think these foods are bad.

Men Less Negative about Genetically Modified Foods			
<i>Believe GMOs are bad</i>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Diff.</u>
	%	%	
Canada	52	73	+21
Great Britain	57	73	+16
United States	47	62	+15
Japan	69	82	+13
Germany	75	85	+10
France	86	91	+5
Italy	74	74	0

NATIONALISM, SOVEREIGNTY AND VIEWS OF GLOBAL INSTITUTIONS

Even as the world grows more comfortable with globalization, people continue to feel the strong pull of nationalism. This enduring sense of national identity is seen in a number of ways. There is a widespread belief among people in most nations that their culture is superior to others and that it needs protection from outside forces. Significant numbers of people assert that parts of neighboring countries rightfully belong to their country. And most would like to tighten controls on the flow of immigrants into their countries.

In the United States, Eastern Europe and throughout most of Africa, Asia and Latin America, majorities believe that their culture is superior to others. This sentiment is particularly strong in a number of developing nations. Fully nine-in-ten respondents in Indonesia and South Korea and more than eight-in-ten Indians (85%) are strong boosters of their own culture. In fact, Jordan is the only developing country surveyed in which a majority of the population does not believe their culture is superior.

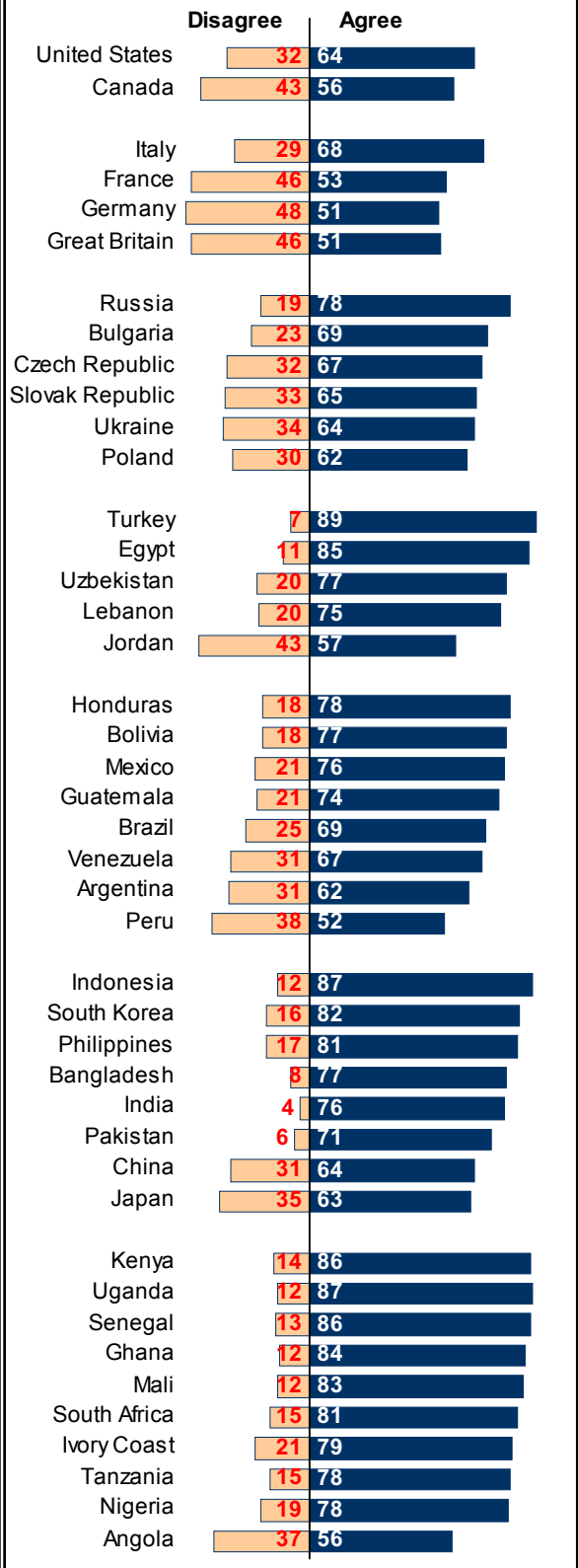
Among wealthy nations, Americans stand out for their sense of cultural superiority. Six-in-ten people in the United States agree with the statement: “Our people are not perfect, but our culture is superior to others.” By comparison, just a third of the French claim their culture is superior to others. Only about four-in-ten in Great Britain (37%) and Germany (40%) say the same about their cultures. In Western Europe, only in Italy does a majority (55%) of the population view their culture as better than others.

Many See Their Way of Life Threatened

Among the world’s people, the belief that their way of life needs protection from foreign influence is even more pervasive than the sense of cultural superiority. This sentiment also is strongest among people in a number of developing countries.

Nearly nine-in-ten Turks (89%) agree that their way of life needs defending, an overwhelming 69% completely agree with that

**Our Way of Life Needs
to be Protected Against
Foreign Influence**



statement – by far the highest percentage in the world. But the general view is nearly as widespread in Indonesia (87%), Uganda (87%), Kenya (86%), Senegal (86%) and Egypt (85%). Strong majorities in most of Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East/Conflict Area also want to defend their way of life from outside influence.

Fewer people in Western Europe are persuaded that their way of life needs protection. Still, narrow majorities France (53%), Great Britain (51%) and Germany (51%) say their way of life needs defending. Italians, who have a greater sense of cultural superiority than others in Western Europe, also are more likely to say their way of life needs protecting (68% agree). A similar pattern is apparent in the United States. More than six-in-ten Americans (64%) say their way of life needs protection from foreign influence, while just half as many (32%) disagree.

Territorial Ambitions

Territorial nationalism, the cause of many conflicts throughout history, is still alive and well. Majorities in 22 of 42 countries where the question was asked say that there are parts of neighboring countries that really belong to their own country.

The potential clash of such territorial ambitions is acutely evident in several global hot spots. Three-in-four Indians (73%) and two-in-three Pakistanis (67%) feel parts of neighboring countries rightfully belong to their own. Seven-in-ten Lebanese (71%) and six-in-ten South Koreans (63%) also believe parts of other countries really belong to their country. At least

half of the respondents in the six Asian nations in which this question was asked – including the Philippines (79%) and Japan (50%) – believe their countries have justifiable territorial claims.

Fewer people in Western Europe and North America express such sentiments. Still, a third of the Germans and a quarter of the French express this view. Italians are divided on this issue: 42% agree that parts of neighboring countries belong to Italy, while the same number disagrees. While a majority of Americans (52%) reject the idea that other countries’ land belongs to the U.S., nearly a third (32%) agree with that statement.

Nearly two-thirds of Russians (63%) believe parts of neighboring countries really belong to Russia. That number has tripled since the 1991 *Pulse of Europe* study, when just 22% of Russians expressed that view. Majorities in Poland (59%) and Bulgaria (54%) also say there are parts of other countries that really belong to their own countries, although the percentage holding that opinion in each country has not changed significantly in the past dozen years.

Where Nationalism Prevails

Large majorities in several countries affirm each of these sentiments – they believe their culture is superior, that it needs defending, and that other lands are rightfully theirs. People in India, for example, are among the most likely to agree with all three statements. Turks, Bangladeshis, South Africans and Pakistanis also rank relatively high on all three measures.

	Our culture is superior	Must protect against foreign influence	Parts of other countries belong to us
	%	%	%
India	74	61	60
Turkey	57	69	40
Bangladesh	63	62	54
South Africa	46	58	42
Pakistan	50	52	51

Percent who “completely agree” with each.

By contrast, the British, French and German people express far less nationalism, based on these questions. They are among the least likely, of all nations surveyed, to say their culture is superior, that their way of life needs protection, and that other lands really belong to their countries.

Immigrants a Widespread Concern

Globalization is not just about international commerce and the cross-border flow of investment and communication. It also involves the movement of millions of people across national borders each year.

Immigrants and minority groups are generally seen as having a bad influence on the way things are going by people in most countries. Only in Canada does a strong majority of the population (77%) have a positive view of immigrants. Among other advanced countries, Americans show the greatest support for immigrants (49%). Nevertheless, a large minority of Americans (43%) believes immigrants are bad for the nation. Half or more in France (50%), Britain (50%), Japan (55%), Germany (60%) and Italy (67%) say immigrants are bad for their nations.

Immigrants are particularly unpopular across Europe. In every European country except Bulgaria immigrants, on balance, are seen as having a bad influence on the country. This negative sentiment coincides with the fact that for the first time in modern history, immigrants now comprise a large and growing minority in every Western European nation surveyed.

Negative sentiment is even higher in Eastern Europe. Strong majorities in the Czech and Slovak Republics take a dim view of immigrants (79%, 69%), as do a majority in Russia (59%) – a country where illegal immigration is soaring. Respondents in Poland and Ukraine have a somewhat less negative opinion of immigrants (45% negative in Poland, 47% in Ukraine).

Restrict Entry of People into our Country	
	Completely Agree
Highest	%
Ivory Coast	76
South Africa	67
Mali	57
India	56
Turkey	56
Venezuela	55
Guatemala	52
Kenya	49
Italy	48
United States	46
Lowest	%
Japan	20
Poland	16
Bulgaria	15
Lebanon	14
South Korea	7

Given the widespread negative attitude toward immigration, it is not surprising then that overwhelming majorities in 38 of 42 countries where the question was asked support tighter immigration controls. This view is shared by overwhelming percentages in countries that take a dim view of immigrants, such as the Czech Republic (83% support tighter controls), but also by smaller but substantial majorities in Canada (69%), which has a favorable opinion of immigrants.

While border concerns are widespread, the intensity of public views about restricting immigration varies. Nearly half of

Americans and Italians (46% and 48%, respectively) *completely* agree that entry to the country should be more restricted, but it is not only people in wealthy countries who want to erect more barriers against foreigners. Three-quarters of those surveyed in the Ivory Coast (76%), two-thirds in South Africa (67%), and majorities in Mali, India, Turkey, Venezuela and Guatemala feel strongly about this as well.

In Japan, which already has some of the world's toughest immigration laws and the lowest immigration rate among advanced societies, just 20% completely agree that tougher restrictions should be placed on people entering the country. Poland, Bulgaria and South Korea have even lower levels of intense opinion about this issue.

Favorable Views of Multinationals

Anti-globalization protestors have long leveled their fire at a number of institutions – international corporations, the World Trade Organization, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund – that they claim promote and abuse globalization. For the most part, the public rejects the criticisms of these symbols of a new global order.

In 33 of 43 countries in which the question was asked, majorities think that foreign corporations have a generally positive influence on their countries. Majorities in every African country surveyed say major foreign companies have a good influence.

Rating Institutions					
(Percent saying a "good influence" on their country)					
	Trade unions	Multi-national corps	Internat'l orgs ¹	Anti-global protestors	NGOs ²
North America					
United States	63	50	60	30	89
Canada	54	55	64	39	94
Western Europe					
Great Britain	67	61	67	39	93
France	59	50	66	44	94
Germany	65	57	66	34	84
Italy	38	51	58	27	83
Eastern Europe					
Bulgaria	38	55	48	16	68
Czech Repub.	62	60	70	18	93
Poland	40	44	50	21	78
Russia	37	42	42	9	81
Slovak Repub.	51	71	74	32	93
Ukraine	38	55	62	20	77
Conflict Area					
Egypt	*	*	*	*	*
Jordan	38	42	32	23	57
Lebanon	46	57	44	24	84
Pakistan	41	29	23	9	23
Turkey	41	41	24	29	67
Uzbekistan	52	76	85	5	66
Latin America					
Argentina	12	25	16	24	77
Bolivia	65	61	64	47	83
Brazil	43	63	30	31	65
Guatemala	52	68	73	44	81
Honduras	57	67	69	46	70
Mexico	45	64	59	37	74
Peru	62	57	55	28	57
Venezuela	43	75	68	34	81
Asia					
Bangladesh	44	48	42	22	72
China	49	76	70	*	71
India	58	46	50	24	45
Indonesia	64	71	48	20	61
Japan	56	63	57	17	55
South Korea	66	56	58	21	71
Philippines	75	74	81	54	81
Vietnam	92	93	85	23	83
Africa					
Angola	48	69	74	27	75
Ghana	76	85	72	36	90
Ivory Coast	68	85	87	43	92
Kenya	75	78	71	21	95
Mali	67	65	69	20	83
Nigeria	82	75	79	28	81
Senegal	77	83	81	22	96
South Africa	59	78	68	44	76
Tanzania	54	53	53	20	62
Uganda	67	83	63	22	92

¹ "International organizations like the World Bank, IMF and World Trade Organization
² "NGOs, that is non-governmental organizations such as [relevant example(s) for each nation]
* Certain questions not permitted in Egypt and China.

Asians also have a favorable view of multinationals, although opinions are somewhat less positive than in Africa. Approval of foreign firms is highly favorable in Vietnam (93%), China (76%) and the Philippines (74%), but less so in South Korea (56%), Bangladesh (48%) and India (46%). Latin Americans also have a generally favorable view of multinationals – with the notable exception of Argentina, where just a quarter of respondents believe major foreign companies have had a positive impact on their country.

By contrast, Americans and Europeans have more measured opinions of companies from other countries. Just half of those surveyed in the U.S. (50%), France (50%) and Italy (51%) give global firms good marks. Multinational companies are viewed favorably by even fewer respondents in Poland (44%) and Russia (42%), which have seen a number of big foreign companies acquire local businesses.

It is important to note that while opinion of multinationals is favorable in most countries, most people say such firms have a somewhat good influence on their countries, rather than a very good influence. In North America and Europe, at most only about one-in-ten say foreign firms' influence has been very positive.

As might be expected, there is a correlation between public sentiment toward globalization and multinational companies. People who think well of big companies from other countries generally take a more positive view of the effect of globalization on their nation than those who see foreign companies as a problem. This pattern is seen in all advanced economies. It is also notable in a number of developing nations, such as Bolivia, India, the Philippines, Russia and Bulgaria, though in most nations, even those critical of international firms have, on balance, favorable views of globalization.

Good Ratings for IMF, World Bank

Public support is even more extensive for international financial organizations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). In most developing countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East, majorities think such international institutions have a good

influence on their societies. Nearly six-in-ten people in North America, Western Europe and Japan agree.

Criticism for these multilateral institutions is largely confined to countries that have recently suffered from economic belt-tightening – government spending cuts, higher interest rates – imposed by the World Bank and IMF in return for international loans. Two-thirds of Argentines (66%), more than half of Turks (57%) and nearly half of Brazilians (48%) say such institutions have been bad for their countries.

Notably, about four-in-ten respondents in Bangladesh and India, and six-in-ten in Pakistan, offered no opinion about these institutions, although their countries have received billions of dollars in loans from the World Bank and IMF. Still, positive assessments of these institutions far outnumber negative ones in India and Bangladesh, but in Pakistanis are divided (23% positive/18% negative).

Criticism of these organizations is most clearly linked to overall concerns about globalization in North America, Western Europe and parts of Eastern Europe. While the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO are generally rated as having a good influence in these parts of the world, people there who are critical of globalization overall take a significantly dimmer view of these institutions.

WTO, IMF and World Bank	
Highest Ratings	Good for Nation %
Ivory Coast	87
Vietnam	85
Uzbekistan	85
Philippines	81
Senegal	81
Nigeria	79
Angola	74
Slovak Republic	74
Guatemala	73
Ghana	72
Lowest Ratings	Bad for Nation %
Argentina	66
Jordan	63
Turkey	57
Brazil	48
Lebanon	34
Indonesia	30

Anti-Globalization Protesters: Not Widely Known

To a considerable degree, anti-globalization protestors have simply failed to register on the public’s consciousness. Majorities or pluralities in most of Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Middle East and Eastern Europe say they do not know enough about anti-globalization critics to have an opinion or declined to offer one.

In countries where anti-globalization protestors are better known – mostly in North America and Western Europe – their image is fairly negative. In Italy, the site of a bloody clash involving anti-globalization protestors at the 2001 G-8 summit, negative opinions of the protestors outnumber positive ones by two-to-one (54%-27%).

Majorities or pluralities in other Western European nations – as well as the U.S. and Canada – have unfavorable views of the protesters.

The Philippines is the only country in which a majority (54%) believes the anti-globalization protesters have a positive influence on their country. But there are several countries in which sizable minorities give them positive ratings, including France (44% positive), where anti-globalization leader José Bové bulldozed a McDonalds some years ago, South Africa (44%), Guatemala (44%), and Honduras (46%). In Bolivia, where popular resistance to the privatization and sale of municipal water supplies is ongoing, nearly half (47%), give the protestors positive ratings.

NGOs, Unions Popular

Non-governmental service organizations (NGOs), such as the Red Cross, Care International and Amnesty International, are well known and well liked. Solid majorities in most countries – more than three quarters in North America and Europe, with the exception of Bulgaria (68%) – believe non-governmental organizations have a positive influence on their countries.

Support for these organizations, which deliver humanitarian relief and work to protect the environment and defend human rights, is nearly as strong in most of Africa, Latin America, Asia and much of the Middle East/Conflict Area. The only significant criticism of non-governmental organizations is in Jordan, where four-in-ten (42%) say such organizations have a bad influence on the nation. About one-in-five in Bangladesh (27%) and Japan (23%) also say NGO's have had a negative impact.

Trade unions, which are often at odds with corporations and often critical of globalization, are held in fairly high esteem in many parts of the world. About six-in-ten Americans (63%) and French (59%), and somewhat higher percentages of Germans (65%) and British (67%) think organized labor has a good influence in their societies.

But as is the case with corporations, support for labor unions is broad but tempered. Even in North America and Europe, where people have a generally favorable opinion of unions, only about one-in-ten

say they completely agree that unions have a good influence on their countries.

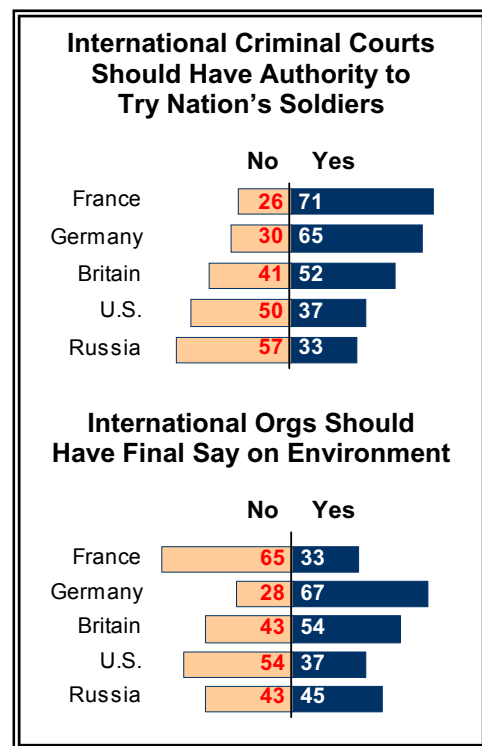
Argentina is the only country in which an overwhelming majority (75%) says that trade unions have a bad influence. Criticism of unions also is widespread in Jordan (57% negative) and in Venezuela (55% negative), where strikes recently crippled the economy.

Questions of Sovereignty: Environment, Criminal Court

In instances where the authority of international organizations and national governments come into conflict – as with global environmental efforts and the International Criminal Court – Americans come down on the side of national sovereignty, while Europeans tend to be more supportive of international authority.

But there are interesting variations in European views on these issues. For example, two-thirds of the French (65%), along with most Americans (54%), say their national governments should have the final word on global environmental disputes as opposed to an international organization like the U.N. The balance tilts the other way – toward giving an international organization final say – in Great Britain (54%) and Germany (67%). Russians are divided, with 45% saying the final decision should rest with the U.N. or another international body and 43% saying the Russian government.

Americans are just as resistant to ceding authority over U.S. military forces. Just 37% say the International Criminal Court should have jurisdiction over U.S. troops accused of war crimes, even if the U.S. government refuses to try them. People in Russia agree – just one-in-three Russian respondents favor giving the International Criminal Court the right to try Russian troops. But the French side with the Germans and British in supporting the authority of the international court to try their countries’ troops if their governments refuse to do so.



SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC VALUES

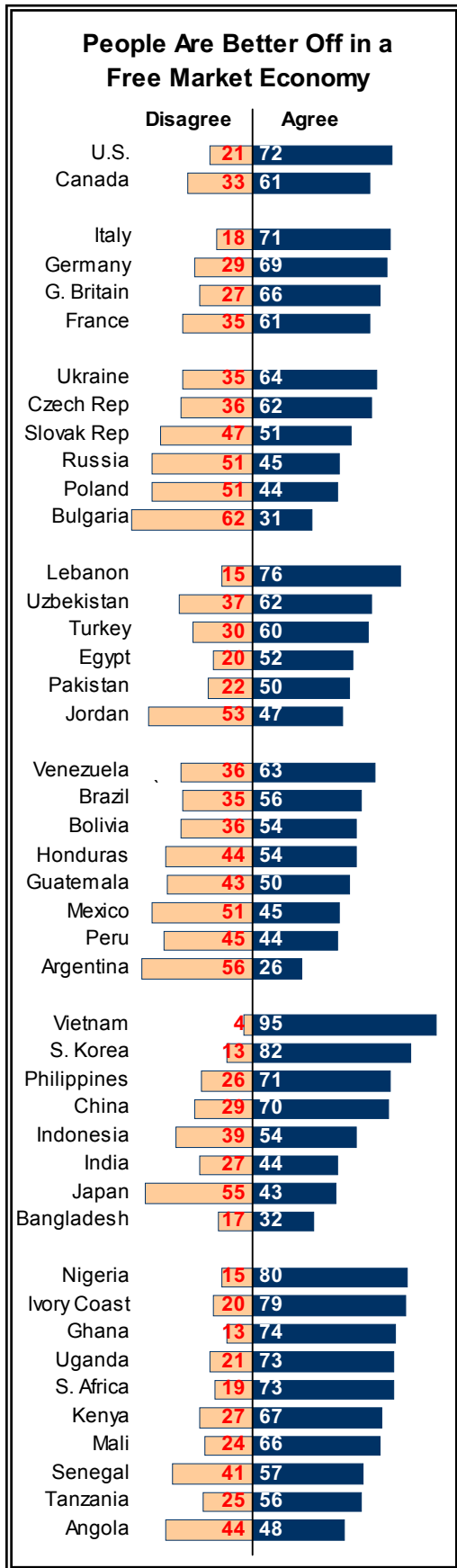
Free-market economies and the individual freedoms that underlie them are highly favored around the world. Majorities in 33 of 44 countries surveyed by the *Pew Global Attitudes Project* believe that people are better off in a free-market economy, even if it leads to disparities in wealth and income. But this global endorsement of capitalism goes hand-in-hand with equally broad support for a government safety net. The need for active government efforts to help the poor is endorsed throughout the world – with the United States a notable exception. Americans also are more likely than people in almost any other nation surveyed to feel that the key to personal success or failure is within each individual’s control.

Other social issues, more than economics, divide the world’s people. In Western Europe and Canada, and to a lesser extent in the U.S., the prevailing view is that homosexuality should be accepted by society. But even larger majorities in Africa, much of the Middle East and Asia are opposed to societal acceptance of homosexuality. In some African countries – notably Kenya and Senegal – that opposition is virtually unanimous.

Global opinion is split, along roughly similar geographic lines, over the linkage between belief in God and morality. The consensus in Europe is that it is not necessary for a person to believe in God to be moral and have good values. In every other country where this question was asked – including the United States – majorities say that belief in God is a prerequisite for morality.

In Praise of Free Markets

As might be expected, there is extensive support for free markets among people living in advanced economies. Fully seven-in-ten in the U.S. (72%), Italy (71%) and Germany (69%) agree that people are better off in free markets, and support is only somewhat less in Great Britain (66%), France (61%) and Canada (61%). Japan, where the economy has been struggling for years, is a notable exception. Only about four-in-ten Japanese (43%) think people are better off in free markets, while a majority (55%) disagrees.



Levels of support for free markets are even higher in several still-developing African countries, particularly Nigeria (80%) and Ivory Coast (79%). In fact, support for free-market economic systems is greatest overall in high-income countries surveyed (66% on average), and in those with the lowest income (63%) — perhaps based on experience in the former case and hopeful expectation in the latter.

Support for free markets is significantly weaker in several middle-income countries, many of which are struggling to make capitalism work. Opinion on this issue varies widely among countries classified by The World Bank as “low middle-income” and “upper middle-income.” But, on average, only a narrow majority (54%) in the middle-income countries surveyed agrees that people are better off in free markets.

In Argentina, which is facing a severe economic crisis, only about a quarter of respondents (26%) feel that people are better off in free markets. There is notable lack of support for free markets in three transitional economies in Eastern Europe – Russia (45%), Poland (44%) and Bulgaria (31%)

On the other hand, some middle-income Eastern European populations show surprising support for free markets, with Ukraine (64%) and the Czech Republic (62%) on par with Canada and France. Similarly in China, where a different version of the question was asked about the country’s increasingly free-market economy, seven-in-ten agreed with the statement “most people have a better life now, even though some are rich and some are poor.”

Still a Need for a Safety Net

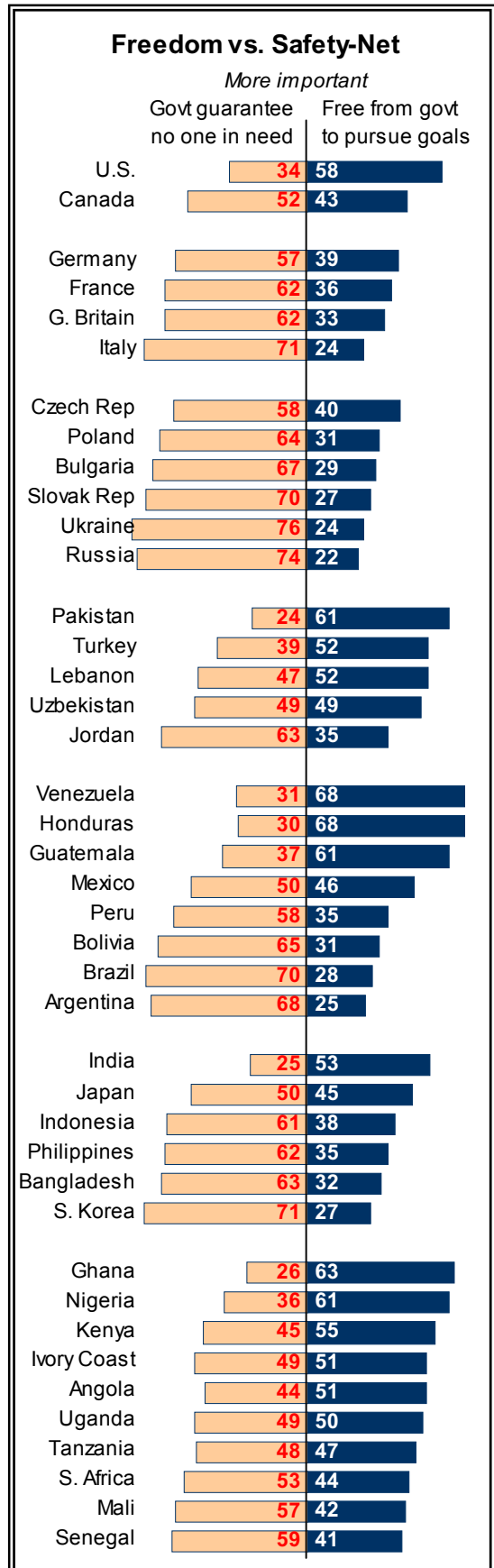
Along with widespread acceptance of free markets, people around the world perceive the need for a social

safety net and believe the government has a responsibility to care for the poor. But significant differences emerge when people are asked to weigh the relative importance of a government guarantee of aid for the poor against the freedom to pursue individual goals without government interference.

Majorities in every European country, as well as Canada, believe it is more important for government to ensure that no one is in need than it is for individuals to be free to pursue goals without government interference. This view is prevalent in former Soviet countries – notably Russia (74%), Ukraine (76%) and the Slovak Republic (70%). Support for activist government efforts to aid the poor is nearly as strong in Italy (71%), France (62%) and Great Britain (62%).

But Americans – alone among the populations of wealthy nations – care more about personal freedom than about government assurances of an economic safety net. Near six-in-ten (58%) value the freedom to pursue individual goals without government interference, while barely a third (34%) say it is more important for the government to take an activist approach to guaranteeing that no one is in need.

Other nations where large majorities favor personal freedom over a government guarantee of aid for the poor include Venezuela (68%), Honduras (68%), Guatemala (61%), Ghana (63%), Nigeria (61%) and Pakistan (61%). In all these nations, as is shown here, significant majorities also say their governments are usually inefficient or overly controlling, assessments that may affect views on the value of a government safety net.



Tepid Support for Safety Net in U.S.

Support for a social safety net is relatively weak in the U.S., even when there is no potential cost in government interference with personal liberty. Asked simply if government has a responsibility to care for the poor, 73% of Americans agree, but that is a smaller percentage than in any other country except Jordan (61%) and Japan (65%).

Differences over this issue are even more apparent in the intensity of opinion. Just three-in-ten Americans (29%) *completely* agree that government has a responsibility to help the poor. In 37 of the 42 other countries where this question was asked, at least four-in-ten completely agree that government has the responsibility to help the needy. In much of Eastern Europe, as well as Great Britain, fully twice as many people completely subscribe to this opinion as compared with the U.S.

Over the past 12 years, there has been a sea change in opinion in several Eastern European countries – especially Russia and the

Ukraine – on the relative importance of personal freedom and government guarantees of aid for the poor. In 1991, just a third of Russians rated a government obligation to help the poor as a greater priority than personal freedom. That percentage has more than doubled over the past 12 years to 74% currently. The change has been nearly as dramatic in Ukraine, where 76% now view a government guarantee to help the poor as more important (compared with 37% in 1991).

	<i>Govt should guarantee no one in need</i>			<i>Govt has responsibility to care for poor*</i>		
	1991	2002	Change	1991	2002	Change
	%	%		%	%	
Russia	33	74	+41	70	70	0
Ukraine	37	76	+39	69	57	-12
Czech Republic	35	58	+23	67	57	-10
Slovak Republic	51	70	+19	62	51	-11
France	51	62	+11	62	50	-12
Germany (Total)	47	57	+10	50	45	-5
Former W. Ger.	41	52	+11	45	43	-2
Former E. Ger.	67	77	+10	64	51	-13
Italy	64	71	+7	66	48	-18
Bulgaria	60	67	+7	81	67	-14
Great Britain	59	62	+3	62	59	-3
United States	36	34	-2	23	29	+6
Poland	73	64	-9	56	59	+3

* % completely agree

In Western Europe, the trend in general attitudes toward government aid for the poor differs. It has been far less dramatic and it has gone in the other direction. There has been a noticeable decline in several European countries in the percentage completely agreeing it is

the government’s responsibility to help the poor. Even so, this view is much more widely held in Europe than it is in the United States.

Resistance to Shutting Inefficient Factories

People around the world express broad support, in principle, for free markets. But there is far more public resistance to implementing such specific policies as closing large, inefficient factories if that entails substantial personal costs.

Majorities in most countries where the question was asked say that large, inefficient enterprises should not be allowed to close because it would cause too much hardship on people. Only in a handful of countries – notably Vietnam, the Czech Republic and Tanzania – do most people believe such factories or enterprises should be closed, even if hardships result.

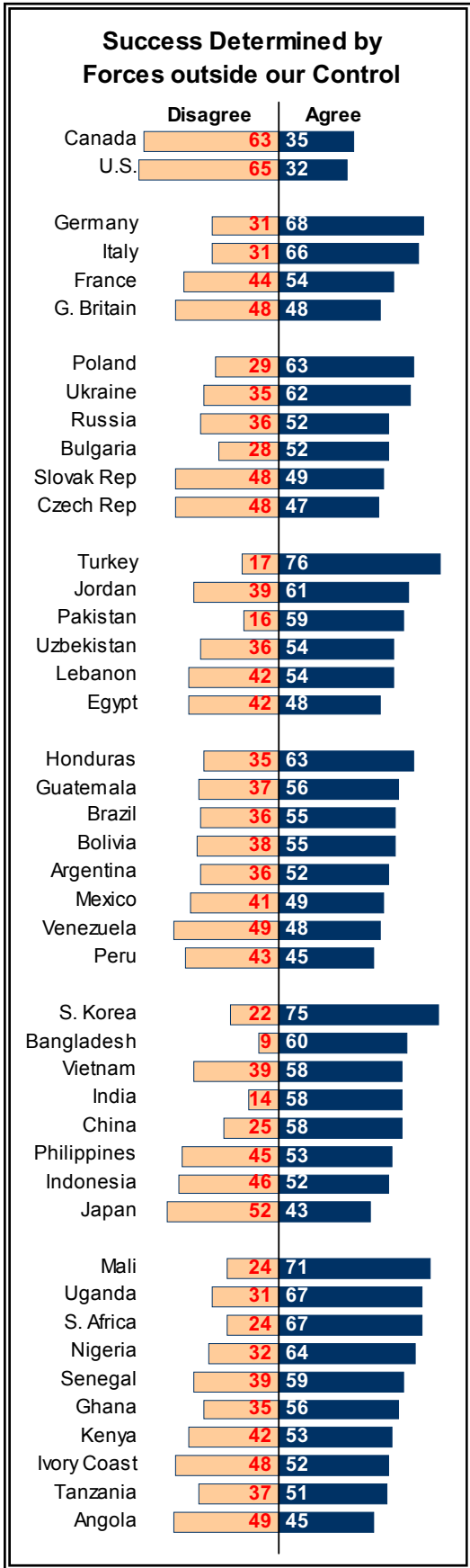
The contrast between principle and reality is most apparent in Guatemala, where 61% favor a free market but 70% say closing inefficient factories is too great a hardship. Similarly in India, 53% favor free markets but 78% oppose closing inefficient factories. Opinion is roughly similar in Turkey, where 52% favor free markets but 70% oppose closing inefficient factories.

Close Inefficient Factories?			
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	%	%	%
Highest Support			
Vietnam	66	29	5
Czech Republic	63	33	4
Tanzania	54	34	12
Slovak Republic	50	47	3
Highest Opposition			
India	18	78	4
Argentina	16	74	10
Jordan	27	72	1
Guatemala	22	70	7
Turkey	22	70	8
Mali	29	68	3
Venezuela	32	66	2
Honduras	25	64	11
Brazil	29	65	6
Russia	27	64	9

Success: Out of One’s Control

North Americans feel a much greater sense of personal empowerment than do people in the rest of the world. Strong majorities in the United States (65%) and Canada (63%) reject the idea that “success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control.” Outside of North America, only in Japan does a majority (52%) disagree with the idea that success lies with forces outside individual control.

Throughout the rest of the world, most people feel that success for the most part lies out of their personal control. This opinion is dominant across a diverse group of countries – including Turkey (76%), South Korea (75%), Mali (71%) and Germany (68%).



In Europe, majorities in every country – except Great Britain and the Czech and Slovak Republics – believe that forces outside of an individual’s personal control determine success. Even in those countries, opinion is divided, with nearly half in each saying success is not within an individual’s control (49% Slovak Republic, 48% Great Britain, 47% Czech Republic).

The percentage of Americans who believe that success is determined by forces outside their control has fallen modestly since 1988—from 41% to 32%. Elsewhere there has been little change in recent years, with a few exceptions. A growing number of Germans feel success is outside of their control – 68% agree with that statement now compared with 59% in 1991. More important, the number *completely* agreeing has nearly doubled, from 12% to 23%, over the same period.

In Bulgaria, by comparison, there has been a decline since 1991 in the percentage of the public saying that success lies beyond an individual’s personal control (from 73% to 54%). And the number who completely agree that outside forces determine individual success has tumbled from 41% to 12%.

Failure: Not Society’s Fault

There is more international agreement on the idea that individuals – not society – are to blame for failure. Not surprisingly, Americans are among the most likely to cite the individual, rather than society. By more than six-to-one, Americans say that people who do not succeed do so because of their failures, not society’s.

That view is shared across a wide range of countries. Opinion in Indonesia is even more on the side of individual accountability than in the U.S.: Fully 87% of Indonesians hold individuals responsible for

their failures, compared with 11% who blame society. Similarly, strong majorities in the Czech Republic (82%), Uzbekistan (79%), Honduras (77%), Guatemala (76%), Mexico (76%), Great Britain (75%) and Germany (74%) believe that failure can be blamed on individual shortcomings.

Still, this view is not universally shared. In Poland, a 55% majority blames failure on society – not the individual – and substantial minorities in Ukraine (48%), Bulgaria (47%) and Russia (38%) agree. In Africa as well, respondents also are less likely to blame failure on individual shortcomings than on society, and opinion is evenly divided on this point in Argentina, Brazil and Turkey.

Government: Inefficient And Controlling, But...

People have complex and somewhat contradictory feelings about their own governments. There is a widespread sense that government is inefficient, and majorities in many countries – including Western Europe and the U.S. – feel that government is too controlling.

At the same time, people generally view their governments as being run for the benefit of all the people. At least half of respondents in 34 of 42 countries in which this question was asked agree that government is generally run for the benefit of everyone.

In effect, people take a compartmentalized view of government. Americans are typical in this regard: Fully six-in-ten say government is inefficient (63%) and overly controlling (60%), but most (65%) also agree with the statement that the government “is run for the benefit of all the

Mixed Views of Government			
	<i>Percent saying the Government</i>		
	<i>Controls too much of our daily lives</i>	<i>Is usually inefficient and wasteful</i>	<i>Is run for the benefit of all people</i>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
North America			
United States	60	63	65
Canada	57	61	69
Western Europe			
Great Britain	54	66	66
France	55	70	40
Germany	60	65	86
Italy	64	82	88
Eastern Europe			
Bulgaria	36	45	37
Czech Republic	42	56	56
Poland	28	61	88
Russia	34	57	50
Slovak Republic	45	58	54
Ukraine	53	64	32
Conflict Area			
Egypt	*	*	90
Jordan	46	48	50
Lebanon	65	56	78
Pakistan	78	43	72
Turkey	59	64	79
Uzbekistan	81	32	85
Latin America			
Argentina	41	71	17
Bolivia	43	67	42
Brazil	74	84	51
Guatemala	48	78	45
Honduras	59	76	63
Mexico	60	66	47
Peru	35	64	51
Venezuela	39	64	54
Asia			
Bangladesh	39	69	93
China	*	*	*
India	48	60	71
Indonesia	28	53	67
Japan	42	74	26
Philippines	49	69	84
South Korea	48	81	50
Vietnam	*	*	*
Africa			
Angola	20	46	64
Ghana	33	59	85
Ivory Coast	46	52	69
Kenya	61	63	73
Mali	58	66	61
Nigeria	57	76	74
Senegal	38	40	53
South Africa	63	61	75
Tanzania	57	63	75
Uganda	54	53	86

* Questions not permitted in China, Vietnam and Egypt

people.” Just a third of Americans (34%) disagree with that statement.

This view of government is shared in several other nations as well. Like Americans, the British view their government as inefficient and excessively controlling (54%, 66% respectively). But two-thirds also say the government is run for the benefit of all the people. People in Canada, Honduras, Lebanon, Turkey and many other countries – including several in Africa – take a similar view of their governments.

This perspective, though, is not universal. Respondents in Argentina and Japan are highly critical of their governments for inefficiency and for not operating for the benefit of all citizens. Just 17% of Argentines and 26% of Japanese say their governments operate for everyone’s benefit. But respondents in these countries do not believe their governments are too controlling; only about four-in-ten in each hold that view (42% in Japan, 41% in Argentina).

Populations in Africa, the Middle East/Conflict Area and some Asian nations are notable for the very positive assessments they give to their governments’ fairness. Overwhelming majorities in most of these countries say their governments are run for the benefit of all, most notably in Bangladesh (93%), Egypt (90%), Uganda (86%), Ghana (85%), Uzbekistan (85%) and the Philippines (84%). Even in Turkey, where most see too much control and inefficiency by the government, nearly eight-in-ten (79%) say it is being run for everyone’s benefit.

In Eastern Europe, where current conditions contrast sharply with the state control of the communist era, relatively few people view their governments as too controlling. In Poland, just 28% say that, and only about a third in Russia (34%) and Bulgaria (36%) agree. There are significant differences among Eastern Europeans, however, over their governments’ efforts at fairness. Just a third (32%) of Ukrainians say their government is run to everyone’s benefit – the lowest percentage of any nation in the region. Poland is at the other end of the spectrum: nearly nine-in-ten Poles (88%) believe the government is fair to everyone.

For the most part, attitudes toward government in the U.S. and Europe have not changed dramatically since the fall of communism. But there are some major exceptions, especially in opinion on whether government is run to the benefit of everyone. In Poland and Germany, the percentage holding that favorable view of their governments has more than doubled since 1991 – from 31% to 88% in Poland, and from 41% to 86% in Germany. And in Russia, half see the government as benefiting everyone, compared with 26% in 1991.

Over the same period, there has been a significant increase in the number of Germans who also see their government as too controlling – from 38% in 1991 to 60% in the current survey. As is the case with German views on government’s fairness, the change has occurred about equally among residents of former East Germany and former West Germany. In Russia, by comparison, the trend has gone in the reverse direction. Fewer people say the government is overly controlling now than did so in 1991 (34% now, 49% then).

Environment vs. Growth

There is fairly wide agreement among people in advanced economies that environmental protection should be a priority, even if it means slower economic growth. But there are notable gaps in the strength of this opinion, with respondents in France and the U.S. less enthusiastic about making that tradeoff.

Fully eight-in-ten in Canada, Italy, Great Britain and former West Germany say protecting the environment is worth the cost in jobs and slower growth. Roughly seven-in-ten in Japan, the U.S. and former East Germany agree. About four-in-ten in Canada and Italy (42%, 40%), *completely* agree that environmental protection is worth the cost, and at least a third in Japan (37%) Great Britain (36%) and Germany (34%) completely agree.

Smaller percentages, in the U.S. and France particularly, completely agree that environmental protection is worth the loss of jobs and economic growth (25% in each country). In addition, overall

Protect the Environment, Even if Economic Growth Slows			
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	%	%	%
Canada	82	16	1
Italy	82	13	4
Great Britain	81	17	2
Former W. Ger.	81	19	0
Germany (Total)	78	21	1
Japan	72	23	5
Former E. Ger.	68	30	2
United States	69	26	4
France	66	33	1

Asked only in selected advanced economies.

opposition to that idea is higher in France (33%), in former East Germany (30%) and the U.S. (26%).

More Tolerance in U.S., Canada

Americans express significantly more tolerance toward ethnic minorities than do Europeans. The U.S. public has an overwhelmingly positive view of the country's two largest ethnic minorities – African-Americans and Hispanics. Nearly eight-in-ten (78%) say blacks have a good influence on the country, while two-thirds (67%) have a similarly positive view of Hispanics.

In Canada, there also is a high level of tolerance for the leading minority group, ethnic French. Fully three-quarters of Canadians say the French have had a positive influence on Canada. Western Europeans, by contrast, have a much more negative opinion of the ethnic minorities in their countries.

Fully eight-in-ten Italians say ethnic Albanians have had a bad influence on Italy – and nearly half (48%) say their influence has been *very* bad. In France, about half of respondents (51%) believe North Africans have a bad influence on France, while 43% say they have a positive influence. Germans are somewhat more positive in assessing the influence of ethnic Turks (47% positive, 41% negative). The British take a relatively favorable view of blacks and Asians in their country: 63% say their influence is good, while 26% say it is bad.

A separate survey last fall underscores the negative impression many in Europe have of ethnic minorities and foreigners more generally. Asked specifically whether it is a good or bad thing that people from “the Middle East and North Africa” were living and working in their country, majorities in Germany (59%) and France (53%) say it is a bad thing. In Great Britain, opinion is divided – 53% feel it is a positive development, while 40% disagree. (This question was only asked in Great Britain, Germany and France.)

Roughly half of respondents in Germany and France (53%, 50%) also take a negative view of Eastern Europeans living and working in their country. The British are somewhat more positive about Eastern

Europeans – 53% say their presence in Great Britain is a good thing, while 41% see it as bad.

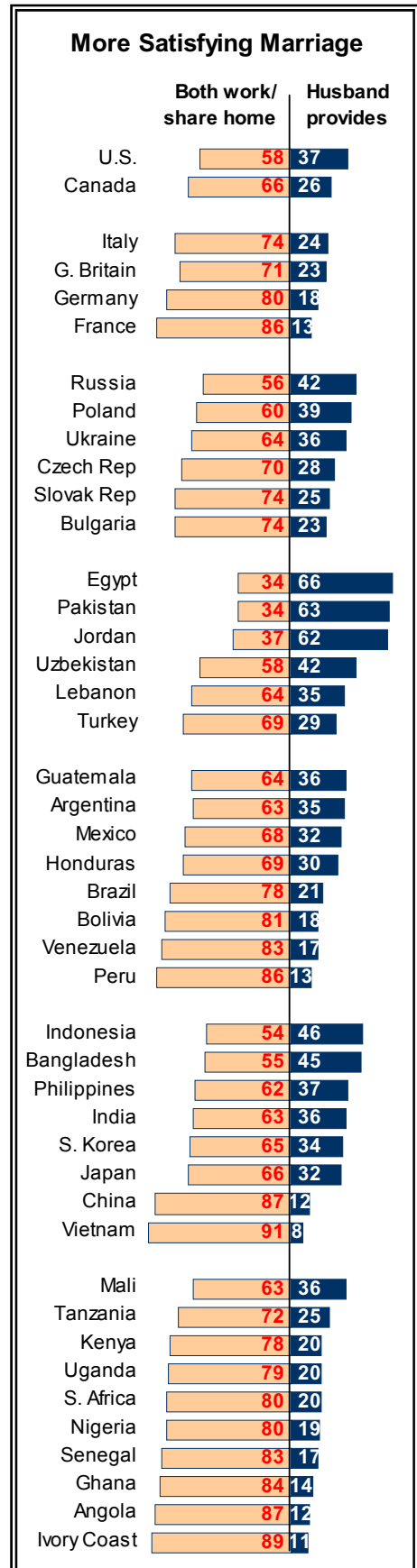
Majorities in all three countries believe it is good that people from other European Union countries are living and working in their country. Six-in-ten in France and Great Britain (64%, 63%) view fellow Europeans in positive terms, but Germans are more divided (54% good thing, 39% bad).

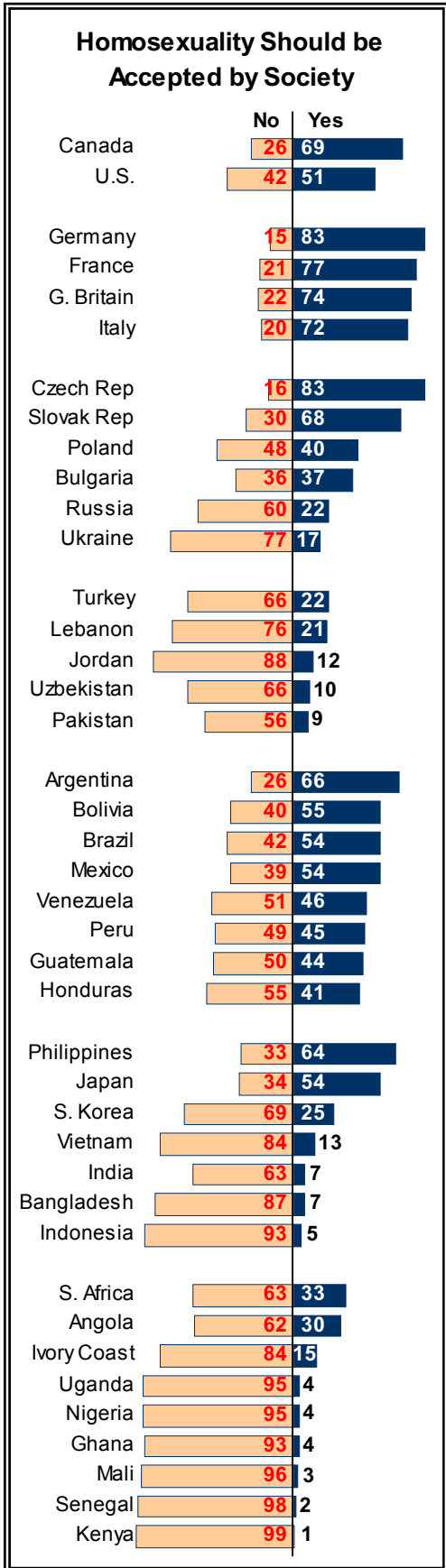
Most Favor Both Spouses Working

The increasing role of women in the workplace is supported in most of the 44 countries surveyed. Throughout Europe, North America, Asia and Africa, majorities believe that the more satisfying way of life is for both spouses to hold jobs and share in household and child care duties.

In Western Europe, this opinion is dominant, particularly in France. In France, 86% favor both spouses working, while just 13% think the preferred model for marriage is when the husband alone supports the family. The idea of both spouses working is less popular in parts of Eastern Europe and the United States. A majority of Russians (56%) favor both spouses working, but more than four-in-ten (42%) disagree. Opinion in the United States is similarly divided; 58% support both spouses working and 37% disagree.

There are major differences in attitudes on this question among predominantly Muslim countries. Egypt, Pakistan and Jordan are the only countries surveyed in which majorities favor the traditional marital division of duties. This is consistent with the relatively low level of support among Muslims in Jordan and Pakistan for women working outside the home. Of Muslims, just 14% in Jordan and a third in Pakistan completely agree that women should be able to work outside the home; this question was not permitted in Egypt. (See Chapter beginning page 33 on Muslim opinion.)





Other Muslim countries broadly accept the idea of both spouses holding jobs. In Turkey, Lebanon and Uzbekistan, solid majorities believe the husband and wife should work and share child care responsibilities. That also is the case in Senegal, Mali and Nigeria, the African countries surveyed with large Muslim populations.

Birth Control Mostly Popular

Birth control is widely viewed as one of the positive aspects of modern life. Majorities in 34 of the 44 countries surveyed say birth control and family planning have changed things for the better. In particular, birth control is broadly supported in the world’s most populous countries. Roughly nine-in-ten Indians (87%) and eight-in-ten Chinese (77%) say birth control has changed things for the better.

By contrast, people in countries where the population is growing slowly (if at all) take a more negative view of birth control. In Japan, where the government did not allow sale of birth control pills until four years ago, just 32% say birth control has changed life for the better and nearly as many (29%) say it has made things worse. In Ukraine and Bulgaria, pluralities (44%, 39%) believe birth control has made things worse. Only four-in-ten Italians (41%) say birth control has improved life, while 30% say it has made things worse.

For the most part, men and women take a similar view of birth control. But in several countries, women are notably more upbeat about birth control than are men. Two-thirds of Canadian women (68%) say birth control has improved life, but only about half of Canadian men (51%) agree. And in France, 66% of women say birth control has improved things, compared with 52% of men.

Global Divide on Homosexuality...

The question of homosexuality highlights a stark global divide over social values. In five African countries, more than nine-in-ten believe homosexuality should not be accepted by society. Opinion is a bit less lopsided, but still highly negative toward homosexuality, elsewhere in Africa and throughout the Middle East/Conflict Area.

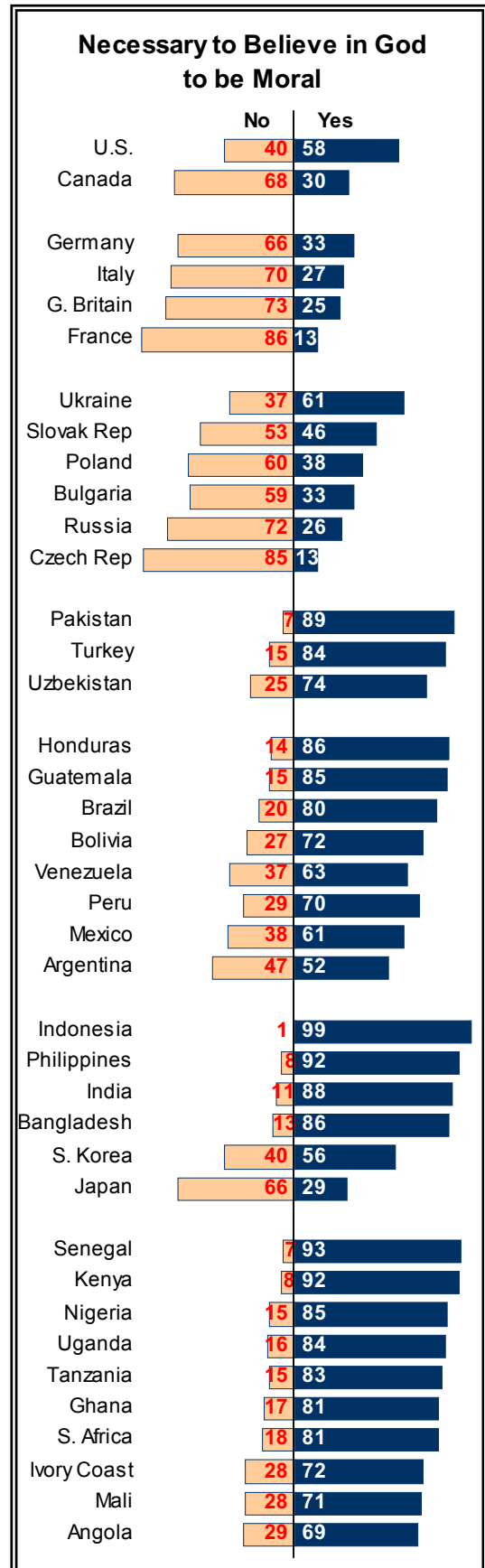
Western Europeans, by nearly as large margins, take the opposite view. More than seven-in-ten respondents in Germany (83%), France (77%), Great Britain (74%) and Italy (72%) think that homosexuality should be accepted by society. Opinion in Canada (69%) closely mirrors that of Western Europe.

American opinion is split on this issue. A bare majority of Americans (51%) believe homosexuality should be accepted, while 42% disagree. In this regard, American attitudes have less in common with Western Europe or Canada than with Latin America, where opinion also is largely divided.

...And Morality

Americans and Europeans differ over foreign policy and other issues, but those disagreements pale in comparison to the transatlantic gulf over religion and morality. While 58% of Americans say that belief in God is a prerequisite to personal morality, just a third of Germans and even fewer Italians, British and French agree.

Attitudes toward religion and morality also divide Americans from publics in Eastern Europe. Along with the French, Czech respondents are most likely to reject linkage between religion and morality (85%-13%). Smaller but substantial majorities in Russia (72%), Poland (60%), Bulgaria (59%) and the Slovak



Republic (53%) also say it is not necessary to believe in God to be moral. Ukraine is the only country of the ten European nations surveyed in which a majority (61%) dissents from that view.

Opinion on God and morality in the U.S. is far closer to that expressed in some Latin American countries surveyed (Mexico, Venezuela and Argentina) than it is to Europe. This pattern is similar to findings on the personal importance of religion, which were released in December 2002. The United States is the only wealthy country in which a majority said religion was very important to them personally. (U.S. Stands Alone in Its Embrace of Religion, Dec. 19, 2002).

Age and Social Values

Just as young people are more comfortable than their elders with the pace of modern life, the two groups also hold very different views on social and religious issues. In many countries, there is a significant generation gap over homosexuality, the role of women in the workplace, and God and morality.

These differences are most pronounced on the question of whether society should accept homosexuality. In Japan, more than three-quarters of those under age 30 favor societal acceptance of homosexuality (77%); just a quarter of those age 65 and older agree (24%). In Poland, the differences are even starker. Six-in-ten Poles under age 30 believe society should accept homosexuality. The number holding that view declines among older age groups, to just 9% of those 65 and older.

Age differences also influence opinion on whether both spouses should work. Poles under the age of 30 overwhelmingly favor both spouses working (82%-18%); those age 65 and older prefer the traditional marriage (62% favor just the husband working). In the U.S., those under age 30 favor both spouses working by three-to-one (73%-24%), while older people are much more divided (53% favor just the husband working, 42% prefer both spouses work).

In most countries, age is less of a factor in attitudes toward God and morality. In the United States, majorities in every age category say

belief in God is a prerequisite for morality, though younger Americans are somewhat less likely to express this opinion than those age 65 and older (53% vs. 68%). In Canada and Western Europe, majorities in every age group hold the opposite view, though in these countries as well, younger respondents are more likely than older people to say that belief in God is not a prerequisite for morality.

But opinion in Poland on God and morality is sharply divided along generational lines. Nearly seven-in-ten of those under age 30 (68%) say it is not necessary to believe in God to be moral, while 31% disagree. Among Poles age 65 and older, those numbers are practically reversed: 64% think belief in God is necessary for morality, compared with 34% who do not. (The question on homosexuality was not asked in China, Egypt and Tanzania; the question on God and morality was not asked in China, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Vietnam.)

Pew Global Attitudes Project—The Research Process

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For the first major report, *The International Herald Tribune* conducted interviews with people in five countries covered by the core survey. Those interviewed were not respondents to the survey.

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

December 4, 2002: The first major *Global Attitudes* report, *What the World Thinks in 2002*, released.

December 19, 2002: A brief *Global Attitudes* report, "Among Wealthy Nations, U.S. Stands Alone in its Embrace of Religion," released.

January-March 2003: As the United Nations debated and war with Iraq loomed, we analyzed the unreleased data (more than half the data collected in the 44-nation major survey), consulted with experts, and drafted the chapters in this report on Islam, globalization, democratization, and basic values.

March 2003: The week before the start of hostilities in Iraq, we surveyed in nine countries – Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Russia, Spain, Turkey and the U.S. – primarily about war in Iraq.

March 18, 2003: "America's Image Further Erodes, Europeans Want Weaker Ties; But Post-War Iraq Will Be Better Off, Most Say," released.

April-May 2003: To measure changes in attitudes after war in Iraq and gauge views about the war and U.S. role in the world, we surveyed nearly 16,000 in 20 countries worldwide (plus the Palestinian Authority), with particular concentration in Europe and the Middle East. This provided an opportunity to expand the survey to Israel, the Palestinian Authority, Morocco, Kuwait, and Australia. This report contains the results (see page T-161 for detailed methodology).

June 3, 2003: "Views of a Changing World, June 2003," released.

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

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Methodological Appendix: 44-Nation Major Survey (2002)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

