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Little Support for Expanding War on Terrorism

**AMERICA ADMIRER, YET ITS NEW VULNERABILITY SEEN AS GOOD THING,
SAY OPINION LEADERS**

*A Multinational Survey Conducted With:
INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE*

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SAY OPINION LEADERS

Opinion leaders around the world believe that the events of Sept. 11 opened a new chapter in world history, but their views about the United States and its struggle with terrorism reflect a more familiar love-hate relationship with America. Influentials in much of the world, except for Western Europe, see mixed public attitudes toward the war on terrorism. For example, while popular support is reported in most regions of the world, the U.S. is seen as overreacting to the terrorist attacks. Most important, a huge gulf of disagreement exists between American elites and opinion leaders in other parts of the world about the causes of terrorism and the sources of resentment and respect for the U.S.

Commenting on public sentiment in their countries, opinion leaders in most regions say U.S. policies are believed to be a principal cause of the Sept. 11 attack. And majorities in all parts of the world, including Western Europe, say that many or most of the people in their countries think it *is good that Americans now know what it is like to be vulnerable*.

Asked for their own view, most opinion leaders say they think the U.S. is conducting the war on terrorism without taking into account its allies' interests. There also is little backing among the 275 political, media, cultural, business and government leaders in 24 countries surveyed by the Pew Research Center and the International Herald Tribune for extending the war to Iraq or Somalia, even if it is shown that these countries have supported terrorism. While half of U.S. opinion leaders would favor expanding the conflict, large majorities in most parts of the world say the war should be confined to Afghanistan.

	Perceived Popular Views of Terrorist Attacks	
	<i>Most/Many People Believe U.S. Policy Caused Attacks</i>	<i>Good for U.S. To Feel Vulnerable</i>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
U.S.	18	n/a
Total Non-U.S.	58	70
Western Europe	36	66
E. Europe/Russia	71	70
Latin America	58	71
Asia	60	76
Mid-East/Conflict Area	81	65
All Islamic states	76	73

	Leadership Views on Conduct of War		(N)
	<i>U.S. Acting Multi-laterally</i>	<i>Attack Iraq and Somalia*</i>	
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	
U.S.	70	50	(40)
Total Non-U.S.	33	29	(235)
Western Europe	34	32	(41)
E. Europe/Russia	37	23	(30)
Latin America	37	34	(41)
Asia	25	27	(62)
Mid-East/Conflict Area	27	24	(41)
All Islamic states	25	32	(71)

* If it is shown they have supported terrorism

But reflecting a broad ambivalence toward the United States, a majority of non-U.S. opinion leaders, including nearly half of influentials in Islamic countries, say many or most people in their countries think the U.S. is doing the right thing in fighting terrorism. Moreover, *when speaking for themselves*, even opinion leaders in Islamic nations say the war against terrorism is worth the risk of destabilizing Muslim states that support the anti-terror coalition.

Few opinion leaders, even in Muslim countries, see popular support for the al Qaeda position and most report at least a moderate degree of public backing for the U.S. More generally, two-thirds of opinion leaders outside the U.S. say ordinary people in their countries have a favorable view of the U.S. The notable exception is the Middle East/conflict area, where roughly half say ordinary people have a negative impression of the U.S.

It should be noted that these are observations that opinion leaders around the world make about people in their countries. A principal objective of the forthcoming Pew Global Attitudes Project will be to test these findings by conducting public opinion surveys in 25 countries over the course of the next year.

American elites see the world image of the U.S. through a different lens than do their counterparts overseas. While they recognize that U.S. power is resented, opinion leaders in the United States believe America's support of Israel is also a big problem. Not so, say opinion leaders in most other parts of the world, except for those in Islamic nations. Even among leaders in the Middle East/conflict area (Egypt, Turkey, Pakistan and Uzbekistan), U.S. support for Israel is not a bigger factor than are criticisms of the American role in the world.

	Resentment Of U.S. Power %	Causes Rich/Poor Gap %	U.S. Support of Israel %	Power of Multinat'l Corps. %
U.S.	88	43	70	40
Total Non-U.S.	52	52	29	36
Western Europe	66	61	22	59
E. Europe/Russia	64	53	17	47
Latin America	58	51	7	44
Asia	38	42	36	21
Mid-East/Conflict Area	54	59	57	17
All Islamic states	41	45	57	17

Along with resentment of U.S. power, the other leading reason that people around the world dislike the United States, according to foreign opinion leaders, is the perception that U.S. policies contribute to the growing gap between rich and poor nations. While acknowledged by some American opinion leaders as well, influentials in most other regions see this as a bigger problem.

Similarly, while American opinion leaders think the U.S. is *liked* for its good works around the world, fewer than one-in-four leaders in all other regions agree. What U.S. influentials underestimate is the importance of the nation's role as a technological and scientific leader in bolstering America's image overseas. Two-thirds of foreign opinion leaders rate this as a major reason why people like the U.S.

	U.S. Does A lot of <u>Good</u> %	Democratic Ideas <u>Appealing</u> %	Land of <u>Opportunity</u> %	Tech/ Science <u>Advances</u> %
U.S.	52	70	83	32
Total Non-U.S.	21	63	75	67
Western Europe	22	68	73	63
E. Europe/Russia	23	67	76	66
Latin America	12	66	66	71
Asia	23	63	76	58
Mid-East/Conflict Area	22	49	81	86
All Islamic states	20	48	81	73

The perception of the United States as the land of opportunity is what most opinion leaders – both in the United States and overseas – see as America's strong suit. American democratic ideals also are thought to be appealing by majorities of leaders in most parts of the world, with Muslim countries not far behind.

While U.S. support for Israel is not seen as a major factor in why *ordinary people* dislike the United States, except in Muslim states, a 73% majority of *opinion leaders* around the world believe the U.S. has been too supportive of Israel. Just 35% of American elites concur. And there is broad consensus among influentials that if the U.S. pressured Israel to create a Palestinian state, terrorism would be reduced – 67% of American leaders subscribe to that view, as do 74% of those overseas.

There is little indication that criticisms of the United States by anti-globalization activists hold much sway with people around the world. The growing power of U.S. multinational corporations is not seen as a leading factor in why the U.S. is disliked, except in Western Europe. The spread of American culture through movies, TV and music is at most a minor reason for animosity toward the U.S., according to foreign influentials. Looking forward, few see the sale of American products and the popularity of American entertainment being hurt by the war on terrorism.

When asked directly whether globalization has been a cause of terrorism, pluralities of opinion leaders viewed it as a minor factor at best. Nor is globalization likely to become a casualty of the war. The consensus is that the pace of globalization has barely slowed – and even this is seen as a temporary phenomenon by most opinion leaders, in the United States and abroad. This despite the fact that strong majorities see migration, travel and tourism being hurt by the war.

These findings are based on 275 interviews with influential people in politics, media, business, culture and government conducted by the Pew Research Center, Princeton Survey Research Associates and the International Herald Tribune, Nov. 12 to Dec. 13. Almost all interviewing was conducted after the fall of Kabul as the Taliban was in full retreat. Of the 275 interviews, 40 were conducted in the U.S. and approximately 10 were conducted in each of the countries listed. (See Survey Methodology on page 16 for a fuller description of the survey design.)

Countries Included in Survey

United States

Western Europe: France, Germany, Spain and United Kingdom

Eastern Europe/Russia: Poland, Russia and Ukraine

Latin America: Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Venezuela

Asia: Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea and Philippines

Middle East/Conflict Area: Egypt, Pakistan, Turkey and Uzbekistan

Total Non-US: includes all countries listed above plus Nigeria and South Africa

This is the inaugural survey of “The Pew Global Attitudes Project,” a series of worldwide public-opinion surveys that will measure the impact of globalization, modernization, rapid technological and cultural change and recent terrorist events on the values and attitudes of 30,000 people in 25 countries worldwide. It will be conducted and released over the coming two years. (See project description on page 5.)

About the Pew Global Attitudes Project

The Global Attitudes Project is chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright. Andrew Kohut, director of The Pew Research Center For The People & The Press, is the project director. An international advisory board – consisting of regional experts, academics, activists, and business and government leaders – will provide guidance in shaping the surveys. Team members include Bruce Stokes, a columnist at the National Journal, and Mary McIntosh, vice-president of Princeton Survey Research Associates. The International Herald Tribune will be a media partner. The Global Attitudes Project is funded by the Pew Charitable Trusts.

The Project will focus on public views about the rapid pace of change in modern life; global interconnectedness through trade, foreign investment and immigration; and democracy and governance. It will explore themes ranging from economic globalization and the reach of multinational corporations to terrorism and the U.S. response. The surveys will identify common attitudes and perspectives on globalization-related issues among people across national and cultural divides, and portray the range of views held by particular nationality groups. The analysis will probe the opinions most people hold about globalization to establish the relative importance of their attitudes on a range of global issues. The surveys also will explore attitudes toward the U.S. and show where U.S. and foreign opinions align and collide.

In addition to probing new topics, the surveys will measure changes in attitudes among some of the populations surveyed in the 17-nation 1991 benchmark survey, “The Pulse of Europe” (also directed by Dr. Albright and Mr. Kohut). European trend measures will offer insights into both the changes that have occurred in former Communist countries since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the challenges still facing these countries. The surveys will specifically probe attitudes toward democratization and globalization in eight emerging democracies, both within and outside the former Soviet bloc. This “democratization module” will primarily focus on assessing people’s democratic values in those countries wrestling with the consequences of rapid economic and technological change while they still are struggling to create representative and participatory societies.

Global Attitudes will be a unique, comprehensive, internationally comparable series of surveys. For the first time, journalists, academics and policymakers will have in-depth information about people’s views about the outward manifestations of globalization—trade, investment, immigration and foreign policy—and the inner impact of globalization on family and spiritual values, standards of living, public morality and civic pride, feelings about the future and about democracy. This data will prove an invaluable resource in both projecting the future trajectory for globalization and in assessing the backlash against it. After publication, Global Attitudes will be fully available to the public.

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How the World Has Changed

Despite their deep differences over the causes and consequences of the terror attacks, opinion leaders in every region agree that Sept. 11 marked the beginning of a new chapter in world history. About eight-in-ten (78%) U.S. respondents, and virtually the same number elsewhere, believe that the terrorist attacks and subsequent conflict opened a new era.

There also is broad agreement that air travel and tourism are likely to be casualties of the war on terrorism. Nearly all Americans and eight-in-ten of those from other nations say air travel will be harmed, while only somewhat fewer (90% U.S., 64% non-U.S.) say the same about tourism. Opinion leaders in Eastern Europe/Russia are notable for their lack of pessimism concerning tourism – just a third say tourism in their countries will be negatively affected.

Beyond that, the opinion leaders differ over what the war will mean for their countries. American opinion leaders are virtually unanimous in their view that personal freedoms and privacy will be curtailed as a result of the war, and solid majorities in Western Europe see the same for their countries (71% say personal freedom will be hurt, 66% privacy). This view is not as prevalent elsewhere – in Eastern Europe/Russia and Asia, no more than half believe personal liberties and privacy will be limited because of the struggle against terrorism.

On economic issues, opinion leaders in Asia are much more likely than those in other regions to say their nation's exports and foreign investment will be undermined in the coming year by the fight against terrorism. While better than eight-in-ten respondents from Asia say those two areas will be hurt, fewer than half of those in other regions agree. A majority of the U.S. respondents (58%) believe exports will be unaffected while a 45% plurality says the same about foreign investment.

In West, Most See Freedoms Lost

	<i>Privacy</i>		<i>Personal Freedoms</i>	
	<u>Hurt</u>	<u>Helped</u>	<u>Hurt</u>	<u>Helped</u>
	%	%	%	%
U.S.	95	0	90	0
Total Non-U.S.	50	12	53	10
Western Europe	66	0	71	0
E. Europe/Russia	33	20	50	3
Latin America	59	21	54	21
Asia	46	0	48	2
Mid-East/Conflict Area	48	29	61	22
All Islamic states	39	18	46	17

Asians Expect Steep Economic Toll

	<i>Exports</i>		<i>Foreign Investment</i>	
	<u>Hurt</u>	<u>Helped</u>	<u>Hurt</u>	<u>Helped</u>
	%	%	%	%
U.S.	42	0	38	12
Total Non-U.S.	50	23	48	22
Western Europe	34	10	36	7
E. Europe/Russia	36	30	30	37
Latin America	44	31	47	24
Asia	88	3	82	2
Mid-East/Conflict Area	42	41	41	52
All Islamic states	52	29	51	33

Population migration also is likely to be affected by the war on terrorism, according to opinion leaders, especially those in Latin America. Roughly seven-in-ten (71%) influentials in Latin America think migration will be negatively affected. American opinion leaders agree. Asked a different form of the question, fully 78% of U.S. influentials expect immigration to the United States to be hurt by the war.

Perhaps surprisingly, opinion leaders outside the United States do not see much of a backlash against American consumer goods or music and movies because of the war. In fact, majorities of non-U.S. respondents expect the sale of U.S. products and the popularity of American movies to be either boosted or unaffected by the conflict. American opinion leaders are far more likely to believe sales of U.S. consumer goods will be hurt (half expect that to occur), although they agree that the popularity of U.S. music and movies will be unaffected.

	<i>Sale of U.S. Products ...</i>		
	Hurt %	Helped %	Neither/DK %
U.S.	50	10	40=100
Total Non-U.S.	27	11	62=100
Western Europe	10	2	88=100
E. Europe/Russia	13	13	74=100
Latin America	24	17	59=100
Asia	39	0	61=100
Mid-East/Conflict Area	37	27	36=100
All Islamic states	37	17	46=100

The opinion leaders are virtually unanimous in their view that use of the Internet will not be hurt by the current conflict. Respondents in the Middle East/conflict area are especially bullish on the Internet – 72% say use of the Internet will be helped as a result of the war. In Asia, a solid plurality (43%) believes that the use of the Internet will be helped. Elsewhere, most respondents expect that Internet use will be unaffected by the war on terrorism.

Westerners Willing to Sacrifice Freedoms

In addition to evaluating ways in which their nation’s economic and political life may be affected by the war, opinion leaders were asked their opinion of specific policies relating to personal liberty and immigration. American and Western European influentials – who are most likely to say they expect future terrorists attacks – are also among the most willing to sacrifice personal freedoms as part of the fight against terrorism.

Two-thirds of influentials in the United States and Western Europe say they are willing to accept less personal freedom. Opinion leaders from other nations express more reluctance about sacrificing freedom. In the Middle East/conflict area and Latin America, roughly half say they would be unwilling to accept less freedom, while about four-in-ten of those in Asia and Eastern Europe/Russia agree.

Opinion leaders have a similarly mixed view of tighter immigration curbs. Narrow majorities in the United States and Middle East/conflict area support such curbs in their countries. But two-thirds of Asian influentials oppose such restrictions, more than any other group.

New World Order?

Most opinion leaders in the United States and Western Europe think that one of the silver linings of the war on terrorism will be a lasting improvement in relations between the U.S., Russia and China. But respondents in other regions are far more skeptical, including a solid majority of those from Eastern Europe/Russia.

Nearly two-thirds of opinion leaders in America (63%) and Western Europe (65%) expect closer relations between the United States, Russia and China to endure. Respondents from Eastern Europe/Russia disagree – 57% say closer ties among the three nations will be only temporary. By slightly larger margins, opinion leaders in Asia and the Middle East/conflict area also say they doubt that the newly improved relations will last.

Permanent Shift or Marriage of Convenience?			
	<i>Closer ties between US Russia & China are ...</i>		
	<u>Long- Term</u>	<u>Temp- orary</u>	<u>DK/ Ref</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
<i>U.S.</i>	63	25	12=100
<i>Total Non-U.S.</i>	42	51	7=100
Western Europe	65	20	15=100
E. Europe/Russia	30	57	13=100
Latin America	47	51	2=100
Asia	27	68	5=100
Mid-East/Conflict area	29	63	8=100
All Islamic states	31	65	4=100

A similar gap exists on the question of whether democratic institutions in nations undergoing the transition to democracy will be helped or harmed by the war on terrorism. Most American opinion leaders (55%) say democratic institutions in those countries will be helped, and by about two-to-one (43%-22%), respondents in Western Europe agree. But 64% of opinion leaders in Eastern Europe/Russia believe that democratic institutions in emerging democracies will be hurt, not helped, by the struggle against terrorism.

Few See Broader Conflict

Opinion leaders in both the West and Islamic countries reject the notion that the Sept. 11 attacks will trigger a major cultural clash pitting the West against Islam. Indeed, there is a confluence of opinion among respondents in the United States, Western Europe and Islamic countries that the conflict will be limited to a struggle between the West and the al Qaeda group – better than half in all three regions take this view.

Respondents in the Middle East/conflict area are somewhat more likely to envision a broader conflict (41% see broader clash, 54% limited conflict). And interestingly, opinion leaders in Eastern Europe/Russia are split on this point; as many see a major conflict between the West and Islam (40%) as believe it will be limited to al Qaeda.

No Clash of Civilizations			
	Major conflict between West Islam	Limited conflict with West and al Qaeda	DK/Ref
	%	%	%
U.S.	28	52	20=100
Total Non-U.S.	27	59	14=100
Western Europe	20	63	17=100
E. Europe/Russia	40	40	20=100
Latin America	34	41	25=100
Asia	12	76	12=100
Mid-East/Conflict Area	41	54	5=100
All Islamic states	29	64	7=100

In the conflict with Osama bin Laden’s group, most opinion leaders – with the notable exception of those in the United States – feel it is unlikely that their country will become a target of al Qaeda terrorism. Fully 85% of Americans say new attacks by al Qaeda against their country are likely; only about one-in-four of those elsewhere believe their country will become targets. Only among Western Europeans (47% of whom say an attack on their nation is likely) is there much concern about an al Qaeda attack.

Of the small number outside the United States who say an attack by al Qaeda is likely, nearly all think that allying with the U.S. is the best way to avoid such an attack. Even among those in the Middle East/conflict area, fewer than one-in-ten say that creating distance with the United States would be an effective means of avoiding future al Qaeda attacks.

U.S. Seen as Acting Unilaterally – Again

The wide gap between American opinion leaders and those from other nations over the U.S. image is mirrored in the dramatically different perceptions of whether the United States is taking heed of the interests of coalition partners in the fight against terrorism. Seven-in-ten American opinion leaders say the United States is taking into account allied interests. On average, six-in-ten of those in other nations disagree, saying the U.S. is acting mainly on its own interests.

What is striking is the uniformity of that view across regions. Roughly as many opinion leaders in Western Europe (66%) – where there is considerable support for U.S. military action – as in the Middle East/conflict area (71%) believe the United States is acting mostly in its own interests in battling terrorism.

The view among elites in Western Europe that the United States is mostly going it alone shows that, at least in this respect, opinions apparently have changed little as a result of Sept. 11. Before the attacks, better than seven-in-ten members of the *public* in four Western European nations said that the Bush administration based foreign policy decisions entirely on U.S. interests rather than taking European interests into account (see “Bush Unpopular in Europe, Seen As Unilateralist,” Aug. 15).

Differences Over Israel

Substantial majorities of opinion leaders in every region except Eastern Europe/Russia believe the United States has been too supportive of Israel. American influentials, on balance, disagree: 45% say that U.S. backing for Israel has not been excessive, while 35% say that it has.

Opinion leaders in the Middle East/conflict area, not surprisingly, are nearly unanimous in their view that the United States has been too supportive of Israel. Yet that opinion is widely shared in Latin America and Asia as well, where roughly eight-in-ten believe U.S. backing has been excessive. The only significant dissent comes from Eastern Europe/Russia, where opinion is split – 40% say U.S. has provided too much support for Israel, while 47% disagree.

There is broad agreement that U.S. pressure on Israel to create a Palestinian state would reduce terrorism. Most American opinion leaders (67%) subscribe to this view, as do those in other regions, especially the Middle East/conflict area (90%).

Mid-East Leaders See Risk Worth It

Many opinion leaders, especially those in Asia and Eastern Europe/Russia, say the war on terrorism is not worth the risk it poses to the governments of Muslim states aligned with the United States against terrorism. But influentials in Pakistan, Uzbekistan and Turkey do not share this view (this question was not asked in Egypt).

In fact, by a 74%-23% margin, influentials in this region say the military action is worth the risk it poses to governments of Islamic nations. Only among U.S. opinion leaders is this view more prevalent (85% agree).

	Is War Worth The Risk?		
	<i>War Worth Risk of Destabilizing Muslim States</i>		
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	%	%	%
U.S.	85	2	13=100
Total Non-U.S.	54	38	8=100
Western Europe	61	25	14=100
E. Europe/Russia	47	47	6=100
Latin America	46	42	12=100
Asia	41	52	7=100
Mid-East/Conflict Area*	74	23	3=100
All Islamic states	59	38	3=100

* Not asked in Egypt

America's Image, Post 9/11

Most global opinion leaders say people in their countries hold favorable views of the United States, in spite of their negative perceptions of U.S. power. This is particularly true in Western Europe, where 81% of influentials say publics have a very or mostly favorable impression of the United States. Only in the Islamic world are elites divided – 48% of leaders there report mostly favorable views, while 49% say the U.S. is viewed unfavorably.

	Perceived Popular View of U.S.		
	<i>Ordinary People Have ...</i>		
	Favorable Opinion	Unfavorable Opinion	DK/Ref
	%	%	%
Total Non-U.S.	69	28	3=100
Western Europe	81	17	2=100
E. Europe/Russia	73	20	7=100
Latin America	63	32	5=100
Asia	74	24	2=100
Mid-East/Conflict Area	48	49	3=100
All Islamic states	52	45	3=100

Elites perceive that there is a comparably high level of support for Washington in its current struggle with Osama bin Laden and the al Qaeda network. Influentials say most or many people in their countries side with the United States in this conflict. Again, this is less the case in Islamic countries, where opinion leaders are divided over how many people support the position of the U.S. But even in Islamic countries, including those in the Middle East/conflict area, only a small minority of opinion leaders see popular support for bin Laden and his followers.

Contrasting Images of U.S.

Positive feelings toward the United States are strongly attributable to what America *stands for*, not what America does in the world, say opinion leaders. Most of all, they reflect the widespread view across regions that the United States is the land of opportunity. An overwhelming majority of those questioned – two-thirds of opinion leaders in Latin America and roughly three-quarters in Asia, Europe and the Middle East/conflict area – think that is why people in their countries like America.

U.S. leadership in scientific and technological innovation is another major image booster for the United States, with two-thirds of those surveyed citing such leadership as an asset abroad. They also say pro-U.S. sentiment is a product of people's strong appreciation for America's democratic ideals. And, despite the criticism of American materialism by many intellectuals around the world, a slight majority of leaders both in the United States and abroad attribute the high regard for the United States to the popularity of American consumer goods.

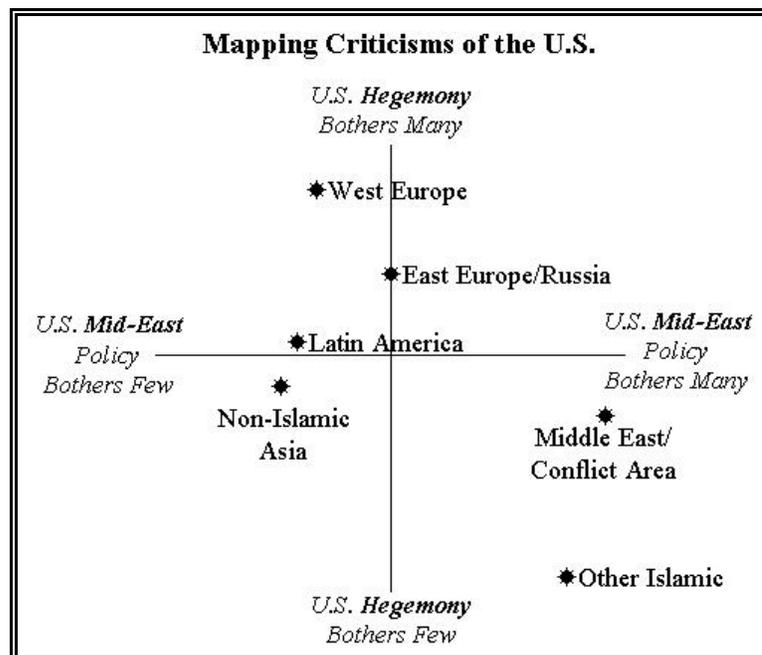
Dissatisfaction with the United States is, however, largely attributable to how *America acts in the world*. Unlike the positive assessments of the United States, which tend to be shared fairly consistently across regions, different parts of the world react negatively to different actions and policies of the United States.

The U.S. is viewed unfavorably by many for its general power and influence. Particularly in many European countries, including Russia, opinion leaders perceive a good deal of resentment of the United States’ power in the world among citizens of their countries, as well as unhappiness with the dominance of U.S. culture, U.S. corporations, and the belief that U.S. policies may have contributed to the growing gap between rich and poor nations.

Distinct from these concerns are another set of criticisms about how the United States has handled regional affairs in the Middle East. The impression that U.S. policies and actions in the world were a major cause of the terrorist attacks is strongly related to the perception that the United States is overreacting in its response, and a general dislike of U.S. support for Israel.

Not surprisingly, public dissatisfaction with America’s Middle East policy is perceived to be highest in largely Islamic countries. In particular, citizens of those countries closest to the current conflicts – Pakistan, Egypt, Uzbekistan and Turkey – have a strongly unfavorable view of U.S. policy toward Israel, and the U.S. response to the terrorist attacks.

However, these same Islamic states express less concern over American power in general than do citizens of other parts of the world. U.S. business and cultural hegemony is, at best, a minor consideration, and fewer resent U.S. power and economic policies than in other regions. This is especially true in Islamic countries that are not close to the current conflicts. Leaders in Indonesia, Bangladesh and Nigeria see very little public concern in their countries over American cultural, economic, and political influence.



Western European publics, by contrast, are seen as having the greatest distaste for American power in general, while opposition to American policy in the Middle East is not thought to be widespread in these countries. Opinion leaders in Eastern Europe see similar attitudes among citizens of their countries, though Russians, in particular, are perceived as being unhappy with both American hegemony in general as well as the handling of Middle Eastern affairs.

Perceived Views: Blame, Sympathy for U.S.

Opinion leaders from every region say large numbers of people in their country think U.S. policies were a major cause of the Sept. 11 attacks. Even in Western Europe, 36% of opinion leaders say most or many people in their country believe U.S. policies were to blame; that figure rises to 71% in Eastern Europe/Russia and 81% in the Middle East/conflict area.

Even more widespread among ordinary people, according to elites, is the view that it is good that Americans know what it is like to be vulnerable. Seven-in-ten opinion leaders say at least many people in their countries think this – ranging from a low of 65% in the Middle East/conflict area to a high of 76% in Asia.

Yet underscoring the mixed feelings many people have toward the United States, the opinion leaders also say that large numbers of people in their countries are sympathetic with the United States. Indeed, two-thirds say most or many people in their countries think it is sad to see what America is going through, virtually the same number as say many people think it is good for the U.S. to feel vulnerable.

About four-in-ten opinion leaders outside the U.S. say that many or most people in their country believe that the United States is overreacting to the terrorist attacks. This opinion is most prevalent in the Middle East/conflict area (62%), but a majority in Eastern Europe/Russia also say that many or most people hold this view.

	Elites See Popular Sympathy for U.S.	
	<i>Most/Many People Believe ...</i>	
	<u>Good for U.S. to be vulnerable</u>	<u>Sad to see America suffer</u>
	%	%
Total Non-U.S.	70	67
Western Europe	66	84
E. Europe/Russia	70	71
Latin America	71	61
Asia	76	70
Mid-East/Conflict Area	65	46
All Islamic states	73	58

	Two Views of War on Terror	
	<i>Most/Many People Say ...</i>	
	<u>U.S. is over-reacting</u>	<u>U.S. is doing the right thing</u>
	%	%
Total Non-U.S.	42	62
Western Europe	27	90
E. Europe/Russia	53	64
Latin America	40	46
Asia	42	63
Mid-East/Conflict Area	62	41
All Islamic states	62	48

But even though sizable numbers think that the United States is overreacting, the influentials also say that publics around the world support the objective of rooting out terrorism. A solid majority (62%) of the business, economic and cultural influentials overseas say that at least many people in their countries think that the United States is doing the right thing by fighting terrorism. Popular support for the struggle against terrorism is seen as highest in Western Europe (90% most/many support) and lowest in the Middle East/conflict area (41%).

Globalization Barely Slowed

Most opinion leaders do not accept doomsayers' predictions that Sept. 11 and subsequent developments have slowed the pace of globalization. Only in Asia, which is more dependent on exports than any other region, does a majority of leaders express such concerns and, even there, just 22% say globalization has slowed down a lot. At the other end of the spectrum, better than seven-in-ten influentials in Western Europe say globalization has barely slowed, if at all.

	Globalization Slowed, Not Stopped			
	<i>Pace of Globalization Slowed</i>			
	A Lot	A Little	Hardly/Not	DK
	%	%	%	%
<i>U.S.</i>	8	40	52	0=100
<i>Total Non-U.S.</i>	10	36	53	1=100
Western Europe	5	22	73	0=100
E. Europe/Russia	7	23	63	7=100
Latin America	7	39	54	0=100
Asia	22	47	31	0=100
Mid-East/Conflict Area	0	44	56	0=100
All Islamic states	9	43	48	0=100

Among the relatively small number who think globalization has slowed, most believe this will be a short-term phenomenon. Opinion leaders also reject the argument that globalization has been a major cause of recent terrorism. In every region, including the United States, more than seven-in-ten say globalization has, at most, been a minor cause of terrorism.

Survey Methodology

In this research we sought to gauge opinion among a wide range of influentials. To systematically accomplish this goal, the International Herald Tribune, Princeton Survey Research Associates (PSRA) and PSRA's partner research firms overseas compiled lists of 10 influential people in each of five diverse categories—politics, media, business, culture and government. The lists were based on the following guidelines:

Politics: Current or former elected officials at the national level who are influential in international affairs or international economics; political activists who are influential in international affairs or have been active in anti-globalization, environmental or development activities.

Media: Columnists, journalists and editors in print or electronic media who are responsible for the international material covered in their newspaper or broadcast.

Business: CEOs or other senior business people who conduct business internationally; financial consultants or business experts who are known for their international expertise; labor leaders.

Culture: Influential religious leaders; writers or academics who write about international affairs such as globalization, international, environmental and cultural issues.

Government: Current or former senior members of government who deal with international affairs, trade or international finance.

Princeton Survey Research Associates (PSRA) reviewed each research firm's lists to ensure that they fit the above criteria. From each of the five lists compiled, two names were randomly selected to be interviewed. In most countries outside the U.S., a total of 10 interviews were conducted in each country, two from each category. In four countries, more than 10 interviews were conducted (12 in Korea, 11 in Mexico, 11 in Spain and 11 in Turkey). In these four countries, the interviews were weighted so that each country outside the U.S. had the same number of interviews.

In the U.S., 40 interviews were conducted—10 media, 6 culture, 10 business, 6 politics and 8 government. These interviews were conducted by Pew Research Center for the People and the Press and PSRA. The International Herald Tribune conducted the interviews in Britain, France, India, Korea and Japan.

All 275 interviews were conducted between Nov. 12 and Dec. 13, 2001.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
& THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE
GLOBAL OPINION LEADER SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
NOV. 12 - DEC. 13, 2001**

Q1 Has the terrorist attack in the US and subsequent war opened up a new chapter in world history or do you think this will not turn out to be such a significant event?

	Total Non- US	West. Europe	East Euro./ Russia	Latin Amer.	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict Area	Islamic	
New chapter in world history	78	79	76	73	90	69	90	80
Not such a significant event	20	18	22	20	10	29	10	17
Don't Know/Refused	2	3	2	7	0	2	0	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of interviews:	(40)	(235)	(41)	(30)	(41)	(62)	(41)	(71)

Q2 Do you think the terrorist attacks are the start of a major conflict between the West and Islam, or will it remain only a conflict between the West and al Qaeda (bin Laden's network)?

	Total Non- US	West. Europe	East Euro./ Russia	Latin Amer.	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict Area	Islamic	
Major conflict between the West and Islam	28	27	20	40	34	12	41	29
Will remain only a conflict between the West and al Qaeda	52	59	63	40	41	76	54	64
Don't Know/Refused	20	14	17	20	25	12	5	7
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

NOT ASKED OF RESPONDENTS IN FRANCE, INDIA, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND SOME IN JAPAN AND THE U.S.:

Q3 Do you think the Taliban regime in Afghanistan will be removed in the next twelve months or not?

	Total Non- US	West. Europe	East Euro./ Russia	Latin Amer.	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict Area	Islamic	
Removed	97	85	85	77	93	72	90	84
Not removed	0	12	10	23	5	21	5	10
Don't Know/Refused	3	3	5	0	2	7	5	6
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of interviews:	(39)	(201)	(21)	(30)	(41)	(48)	(41)	(71)

ASK ALL:

Q4 If it turns out that other regimes such as Iraq and Somalia have supported terrorism, should the United States and its allies attack them or should the war be confined to Afghanistan?

	Total Non- US	West. Europe	East Euro./ Russia	Latin Amer.	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict Area	Islamic	
Attack	50	29	32	23	34	27	24	32
Confine to Afghanistan	38	54	37	74	39	58	66	59
Don't Know/Refused	12	17	31	3	27	15	10	9
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q5 How do you see the conflict – do you think the US is taking into account the interests of its partners in the fight against terrorism or do you think the US is acting mainly on its own interests?

	<u>US</u>	Total Non- <u>US</u>	West. <u>Europe</u>	East Euro./ <u>Russia</u>	Latin <u>Amer.</u>	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict <u>Area</u>	<u>Islamic</u>
Taking into account the interests of its partners	70	33	34	37	37	25	27	25
Acting mainly on its own interests	28	62	66	60	61	65	71	69
Don't Know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q6 Do you think the coalition of major countries formed to combat terrorism will lead to closer relations between the US, Russia, and China in the long term, or do you think that newly improved relations will only be temporary?

	<u>US</u>	Total Non- <u>US</u>	West. <u>Europe</u>	East Euro./ <u>Russia</u>	Latin <u>Amer.</u>	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict <u>Area</u>	<u>Islamic</u>
Closer relations between the US, Russia, and China in the long term	63	42	65	30	47	27	29	31
Recently improved relations will only be temporary	25	51	20	57	51	68	63	65
Don't Know/Refused	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q7 Do you think the war on terrorism is worth the risk of destabilizing the governments of the Muslim states supporting the coalition or isn't it worth that risk?

	<u>US</u>	Total Non- <u>US</u>	West. <u>Europe</u>	East Euro./ <u>Russia</u>	Latin <u>Amer.</u>	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict <u>Area</u> ¹	<u>Islamic</u>
Worth the risk of destabilizing the governments of the Muslim states	85	54	61	47	46	41	74	59
Not worth that risk	2	38	25	47	42	52	23	38
Don't Know/Refused	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

(N=31)

Q8 Has the United States been too supportive of Israel or don't you think so?

	<u>US</u>	Total Non- <u>US</u>	West. <u>Europe</u>	East Euro./ <u>Russia</u>	Latin <u>Amer.</u>	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict <u>Area</u>	<u>Islamic</u>
Yes	35	73	68	40	78	82	95	90
No	45	21	32	47	17	10	5	9
Don't Know/Refused	<u>20</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹ This question was not asked in Egypt.

BASED ON FORM B WORDING:

Q9 If the US pressured Israel to create a Palestinian state, would it lead to less terrorism or would it make the terrorism problem worse?

	Total Non- US	West. Europe	East Euro./ Russia	Latin Amer.	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict Area	Islamic	
Less terrorism	67	74	82	57	68	70	90	86
Make terrorism worse	8	13	7	10	12	22	10	14
Don't Know/Refused	25	13	11	33	20	8	0	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of interviews:	(40)	(196)	(28)	(30)	(41)	(36)	(41)	(71)

ASK ALL:

Q10 In the future do you think our country will become a target of al Qaeda terrorism or don't you think that is likely?

ASK IF BELIEVE COUNTRY WILL BECOME TARGET OF AL QAEDA (Q10=1):

Q11 What is the best way of preventing such attacks, by allying closely with the United States or by avoiding an alliance with the US?

	Total US ²	Non- US	West. Europe	East Euro./ Russia	Latin Amer.	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict Area	Islamic
Yes, become a target	85	27	47	13	20	30	24	21
Allying closely with the US	-	16	34	10	15	13	14	9
Avoiding an alliance with the US	-	5	0	3	0	9	5	6
Don't Know/Refused	-	6	13	0	5	8	5	6
No, not likely	15	66	38	84	80	62	64	72
Don't Know/Refused	0	7	15	3	0	8	12	7
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q12 In order to curb terrorism, would you be willing or unwilling to accept less personal freedom?

	Total US	Non- US	West. Europe	East Euro./ Russia	Latin Amer.	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict Area	Islamic
Willing	68	49	66	53	32	45	49	44
Unwilling	20	42	29	40	51	42	49	50
Don't Know/Refused	12	9	5	7	17	13	2	6
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q13 Do you think there should be stricter limits on immigration in our country or not?

	Total US ³	Non- US	West. Europe	East Euro./ Russia	Latin Amer.	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict Area	Islamic
Yes	55	40	42	50	43	26	53	43
No	40	54	50	43	54	66	42	53
Don't Know/Refused	5	6	8	7	3	8	5	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

² In the United States the question was worded "... do you think the U.S. will again be a target ...?"

³ In the United States the question was worded "... immigration in the U.S. or not?"

Q14 We're interested in what ordinary people think about the attacks in the US. Do most people, many people, only some, or hardly any ordinary people think . . .

	<u>US</u> ⁴	<u>Total Non-US</u>	<u>West. Europe</u>	<u>East Euro./Russia</u>	<u>Latin Amer.</u>	<u>Asia</u>	<u>Mid-East/Conflict Area</u>	<u>Islamic</u>
a. That US policies and actions in the world were a major cause of the attack								
Most people	0	26	9	34	19	24	47	45
Many people	18	32	27	37	39	36	34	31
Only some	48	29	37	23	34	24	15	18
Hardly any	32	9	22	3	5	10	2	3
Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
b. The US is over reacting to the terrorist attack								
Most people	0	18	7	3	10	24	43	41
Many people	0	24	20	50	30	18	19	21
Only some	15	39	46	23	43	42	36	29
Hardly any	85	17	25	17	17	13	2	9
Don't know/Refused	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
c. It's good that Americans now know what it's like to be vulnerable								
Most people	–	29	24	37	29	25	31	35
Many people	–	41	42	33	42	51	34	38
Only some	–	17	17	20	12	11	22	17
Hardly any	–	8	15	7	12	8	5	4
Don't know/Refused	–	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100
d. The US is doing the right thing for the world by fighting terrorism								
Most people	–	32	46	44	20	27	27	28
Many people	–	30	44	20	26	36	14	20
Only some	–	22	8	30	29	23	19	24
Hardly any	–	11	0	3	20	9	30	22
Don't know/Refused	–	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100
e. It's sad to see what America is going through								
Most people	–	33	49	44	31	26	24	24
Many people	–	34	35	27	30	44	22	34
Only some	–	22	14	23	29	18	26	25
Hardly any	–	6	0	3	5	6	18	11
Don't know/Refused	–	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

4

In the United States the word "Americans" was substituted for "people."

Q15 And roughly how many ordinary people support the position of . . .

	<u>US</u>	<u>Total Non-US</u>	<u>West. Europe</u>	<u>East Euro./Russia</u>	<u>Latin Amer.</u>	<u>Asia</u>	<u>Mid-East/Conflict Area</u>	<u>Islamic</u>
a. Osama bin Laden and the al Qaeda network								
Most people	–	1	0	0	0	0	8	4
Many people	–	6	0	0	0	10	17	20
Only some	–	30	7	63	26	29	37	37
Hardly any	–	60	91	37	74	59	28	33
Don't know/Refused	–	3	2	0	0	2	10	6
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100
b. The US								
Most people	–	31	52	37	29	16	32	27
Many people	–	36	37	43	34	43	14	18
Only some	–	22	7	17	32	34	14	29
Hardly any	–	7	2	0	5	5	25	17
Don't know/Refused	–	4	2	3	0	2	15	9
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q16 Overall, do ordinary people have a very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of the US?

	<u>US</u>	<u>Total Non-US</u>	<u>West. Europe</u>	<u>East Euro./Russia</u>	<u>Latin Amer.</u>	<u>Asia</u>	<u>Mid-East/Conflict Area</u>	<u>Islamic</u>
Very Favorable	–	9	10	17	8	7	2	6
Mostly Favorable	–	60	71	56	55	67	46	46
Mostly Unfavorable	–	24	17	20	32	24	29	32
Very Unfavorable	–	4	0	0	0	0	20	13
Don't Know/Refused	–	3	2	7	5	2	3	3
		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q17 The next two questions are about why people dislike and like the United States. Do you think each of the following is a major reason, a minor reason, or not much of a reason that some people in our country dislike the US. . .

	<u>US⁵</u>	<u>Total Non-US</u>	<u>West. Europe</u>	<u>East Euro./Russia</u>	<u>Latin Amer.</u>	<u>Asia</u>	<u>Mid-East/Conflict Area</u>	<u>Islamic</u>
a. US support for Israel								
Major reason	70	29	22	17	7	36	57	57
Minor reason	25	36	48	46	32	25	33	29
Not much of a reason	2	33	22	37	59	39	10	13
Don't know/Refused	3	2	8	0	2	0	0	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
b. The spread of American culture through movies, television, and pop music								
Major reason	28	15	22	27	17	9	10	10
Minor reason	62	36	39	40	34	36	29	27
Not much of a reason	10	47	34	33	47	53	61	63
Don't know/Refused	0	2	5	0	2	2	0	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

⁵

In the United States the question was worded "... why some people in other countries around the world dislike ..."

Q17 CONTINUED ...

	<u>US</u>	Total Non- <u>US</u>	West. <u>Europe</u>	East Euro./ <u>Russia</u>	Latin <u>Amer.</u>	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict <u>Area</u>	<u>Islamic</u>
c. The growing power of American multinational corporations								
Major reason	40	36	59	47	44	21	17	17
Minor reason	53	38	27	33	34	48	42	42
Not much of a reason	5	25	9	20	22	31	41	41
Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
d. US support for authoritarian governments in Arab countries								
Major reason	33	21	36	13	24	13	20	14
Minor reason	55	38	49	30	32	32	46	39
Not much of a reason	10	35	10	50	37	47	32	44
Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
e. US policies which may have contributed to the growing gap between rich and poor								
Major reason	43	52	61	53	51	42	59	45
Minor reason	40	31	29	40	29	32	27	34
Not much of a reason	15	15	5	7	15	26	14	21
Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
f. Resentment of US power in the world								
Major reason	88	52	66	64	58	38	54	41
Minor reason	12	31	22	13	29	35	41	42
Not much of a reason	0	14	5	23	10	25	5	16
Don't know/Refused	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q18 Do you think each of the following is a major reason, a minor reason, or not much of a reason that some people in our country like the US. . .

	<u>US</u> ⁶	Total Non- <u>US</u>	West. <u>Europe</u>	East Euro./ <u>Russia</u>	Latin <u>Amer.</u>	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict <u>Area</u>	<u>Islamic</u>
a. The US does a lot of good around the world								
Major reason	52	21	22	23	12	23	22	20
Minor reason	40	48	58	57	35	47	49	45
Not much of a reason	8	28	17	17	51	30	24	31
Don't know/Refused	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
b. American democratic ideals are appealing								
Major reason	70	63	68	67	66	63	49	48
Minor reason	28	28	24	23	27	32	31	38
Not much of a reason	0	8	5	7	7	5	20	13
Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

6

In the United States the question was worded "... some people in other countries like ..."

Q18 CONTINUED ...

	<u>US</u>	Total Non- <u>US</u>	West. <u>Europe</u>	East Euro./ <u>Russia</u>	Latin <u>Amer.</u>	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict <u>Area</u>	<u>Islamic</u>
c. America is the land of opportunity								
Major reason	83	75	73	76	66	76	81	81
Minor reason	15	19	17	17	30	22	14	15
Not much of a reason	2	5	7	7	4	2	5	3
Don't know/Refused	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
d. The US has led in scientific and technological innovation								
Major reason	32	67	63	66	71	58	86	73
Minor reason	58	27	35	27	24	31	14	24
Not much of a reason	10	5	0	7	5	11	0	1
Don't know/Refused	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
e. American consumer goods, movies, and music are popular								
Major reason	57	52	63	53	47	45	39	42
Minor reason	38	36	30	37	34	40	49	41
Not much of a reason	5	11	5	7	19	15	12	16
Don't know/Refused	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q19 Do you think that the pace of globalization has recently been slowed a lot, a little, hardly any, or not at all?

	<u>US</u>	Total Non- <u>US</u>	West. <u>Europe</u>	East Euro./ <u>Russia</u>	Latin <u>Amer.</u>	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict <u>Area</u>	<u>Islamic</u>
A lot	8	10	5	7	7	22	0	9
A little	40	36	22	23	39	47	44	43
Hardly any	30	28	42	30	22	20	27	27
Not at all	22	25	31	33	32	11	29	21
Don't Know/Refused	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK Q20 AND Q21 IF RESPONDENT SAID SLOWED "A Lot" or "A Little" (Q19=1 or 2):

Q20 Do you think the slowing down in the pace of globalization is a short-term or a long-term phenomenon?

	<u>US</u>	Total Non- <u>US</u>	West. <u>Europe</u>	East Euro./ <u>Russia</u>	Latin <u>Amer.</u>	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict <u>Area</u>	<u>Islamic</u>
Short-term	68	63	81	67	41	69	61	65
Long-term	21	30	9	22	54	26	27	29
Don't Know/Refused	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of interviews:	(19)	(108)	(11)	(9)	(19)	(43)	(18)	(37)

Q21 And is the slowing down in the pace of globalization a good thing or a bad thing for ordinary people?

	<u>US</u>	Total Non- <u>US</u>	West. <u>Europe</u>	East Euro./ <u>Russia</u>	Latin <u>Amer.</u>	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict <u>Area</u>	<u>Islamic</u>
Good thing	32	52	53	44	69	49	55	45
Bad thing	63	31	19	44	10	33	34	44
Don't Know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of interviews:	(19)	(108)	(11)	(9)	(19)	(43)	(18)	(37)

ASK ALL:

Q22 In your opinion, has globalization been a major cause of terrorism, a minor cause, or not much of a cause?

	US	Total Non-US	West. Europe	East Euro./Russia	Latin Amer.	Asia	Mid-East/Conflict Area	Islamic
Major cause	10	19	19	20	22	18	14	20
Minor cause	35	41	37	53	32	43	46	43
Not much of a cause	50	37	39	27	44	34	37	36
Don't Know/Refused	5	3	5	0	2	5	3	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q23 In our country, will the following be helped or hurt in the coming year by the war on terrorism . . .

	US ⁷	Total Non-US	West. Europe	East Euro./Russia	Latin Amer.	Asia	Mid-East/Conflict Area	Islamic
a. The sale of American consumer products								
Helped	10	11	2	13	17	0	27	17
Hurt	50	27	10	13	24	39	37	37
Neither (VOL)	40	44	38	74	52	30	36	45
Don't know/Refused	0	18	50	0	7	31	0	1
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
b. The popularity of American music and movies								
Helped	15	18	20	27	24	5	20	16
Hurt	18	16	2	10	15	21	32	28
Neither (VOL)	67	47	38	63	54	36	43	52
Don't know/Refused	0	19	40	0	7	38	5	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
c. Tourism to our country								
Helped	2	17	5	20	28	3	24	17
Hurt	90	64	68	33	64	92	59	65
Neither (VOL)	8	15	15	47	8	2	15	15
Don't know/Refused	0	4	12	0	0	3	2	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
d. Airline travel								
Helped	0	9	2	7	12	2	17	14
Hurt	98	81	95	73	83	88	78	70
Neither (VOL)	2	9	0	20	5	10	5	16
Don't know/Refused	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
e. Use of the Internet								
Helped	48	46	29	40	39	43	72	52
Hurt	0	8	5	10	12	10	4	8
Neither (VOL)	52	34	26	50	49	27	24	38
Don't know/Refused	0	12	40	0	0	20	0	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

⁷

In the United States the items were slightly different. Items a and b were "... in other countries"; item c was "tourism to the U.S."

Q23 CONTINUED ...

	<u>US</u> ⁸	Total Non- US	West. Europe	East Euro./ Russia	Latin Amer.	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict Area	Islamic
f. Population migration								
Helped	2	15	12	27	4	3	30	23
Hurt	78	47	41	20	71	53	56	52
Neither (VOL)	18	26	19	46	25	20	12	24
Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
g. Exports from our country								
Helped	0	23	10	30	31	3	41	29
Hurt	42	50	34	36	44	88	42	52
Neither (VOL)	58	17	19	27	25	3	7	13
Don't know/Refused	<u>0</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
h. Foreign investments in our country								
Helped	12	22	7	37	24	2	52	33
Hurt	38	48	36	30	47	82	41	51
Neither (VOL)	45	20	19	33	29	5	2	13
Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
i. Personal freedoms								
Helped	0	10	0	3	21	2	22	17
Hurt	90	53	71	50	54	48	61	46
Neither (VOL)	10	28	16	40	25	33	12	34
Don't know/Refused	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
j. Privacy								
Helped	0	12	0	20	21	0	29	18
Hurt	95	50	66	33	59	46	48	39
Neither (VOL)	5	28	21	37	20	35	15	37
Don't know/Refused	<u>0</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q24 What about the strengthening of democratic institutions in transitional countries – will it be helped or hurt in the coming year by the war on terrorism?

	<u>US</u> ⁹	Total Non- US	West. Europe	East Euro./ Russia	Latin Amer.	Asia	Mid-East/ Conflict Area	Islamic
Helped	55	39	43	23	46	31	37	38
Hurt	20	38	22	64	34	43	48	38
Don't Know/Refused	<u>25</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>24</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

⁸ In the United States the items were slightly different. Item f was “Immigration to the U.S.”; item g was “exports of U.S. manufactured and industrial goods.”

⁹ In the United States the question was worded “... institutions in emerging democracies – will it be ...?”