

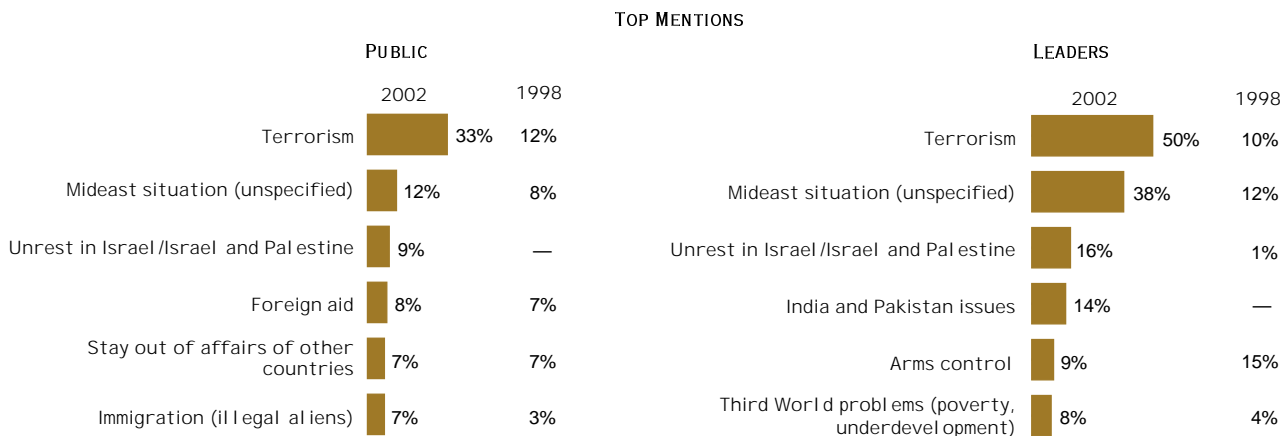
# Eyes Outward

Much of the data appearing in this data essay comes from two major studies. *Worldviews 2002* is the first poll sponsored jointly by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations and the German Marshall Fund of the United States. It follows many of the themes covered in US public opinion polls sponsored every four years by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations and conducted by the Gallup Organization since 1974. Interviews were conducted with nationally representative adult samples in the United States and each of six European countries—Great Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and Poland. The surveys were carried out by Harris Interactive in the United States and by MORI in Europe, with the fieldwork begun on June 5 and completed July 10. Using an abridged version of the general public questionnaire, the study also included a survey of 397 United States opinion leaders. The sample comprised subsamples of US Representatives and Senators, senior-level federal administrators, corporate vice presidents in charge of international affairs, media leaders, labor leaders, religious leaders, educators, presidents of large special interest groups, and presidents of private foreign policy organizations.

*The Pew Global Attitudes Project*, by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, was conducted between July and October, 2002, in the United States and 43 other countries. Nationally representative samples were interviewed in Argentina, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Canada, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Ghana, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Lebanon, Mexico, Nigeria, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Russia, the Slovak Republic, South Africa, South Korea, Tanzania, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, the United States, and Uzbekistan. Predominantly urban samples were used in Angola, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Egypt, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Indonesia, the Ivory Coast, Mali, Pakistan, Senegal, Venezuela, and Vietnam.

## Question:

What do you feel are the two or three biggest foreign policy problems facing the United States today?

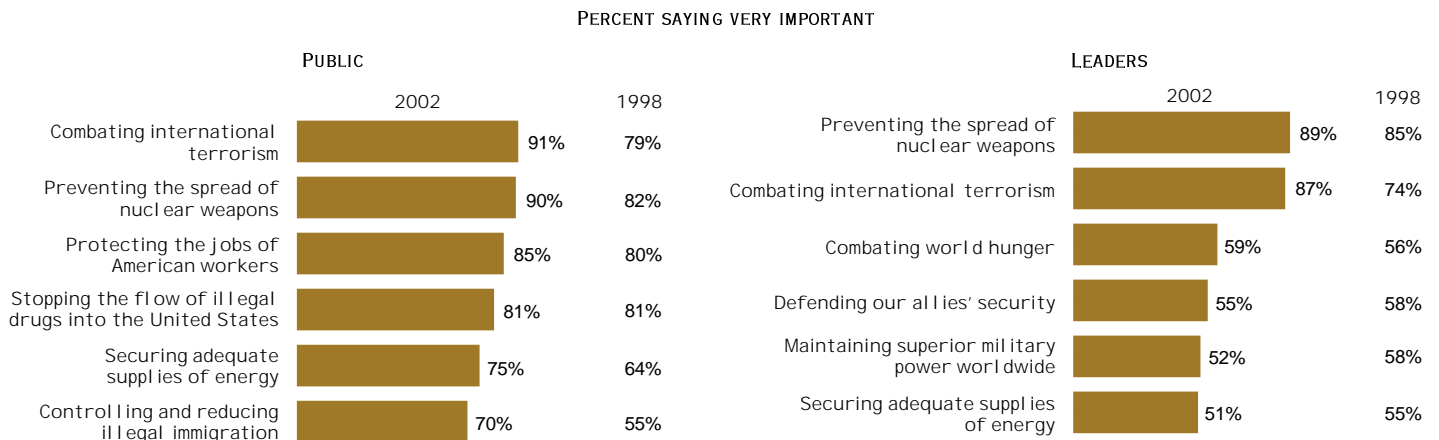


**Note:** Multiple responses were allowed.

**Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, October 15-November 10, 1998, and Harris Interactive/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations/The German Marshall Fund of the United States, June 5-July 6, 2002.

## Question:

I am going to read a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please say whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important policy goal, or not an important goal at all.

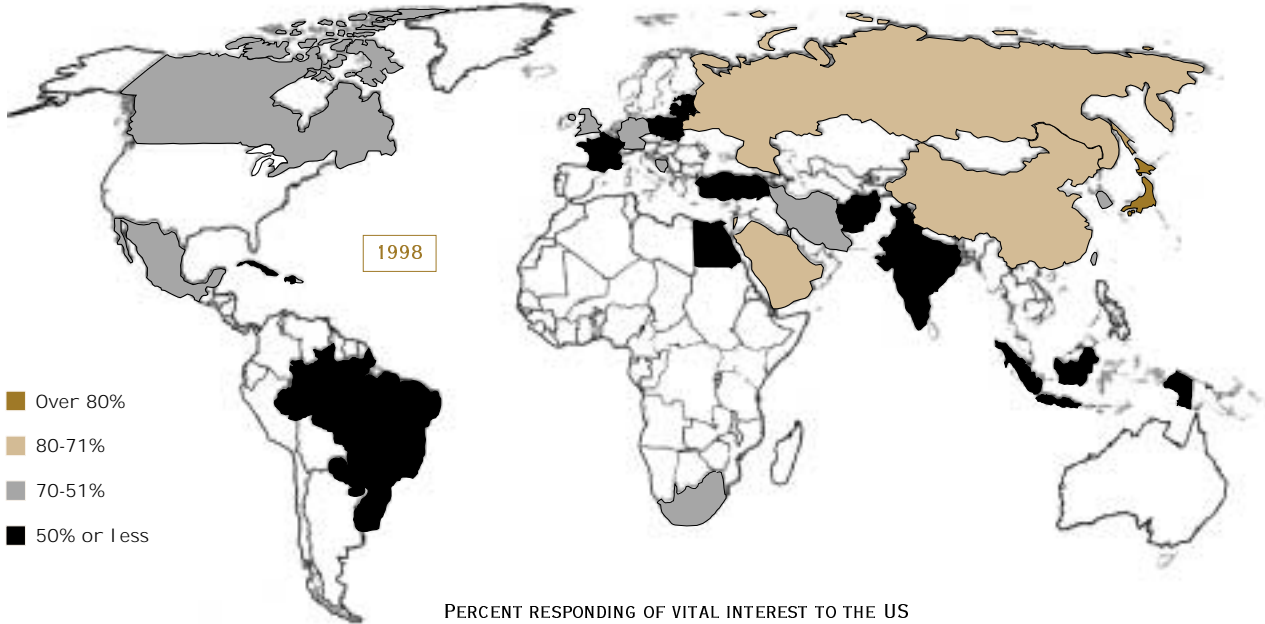


**Source:** Surveys by the Gallup Organization/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, October 15-November 10, 1998, and Harris Interactive/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations/The German Marshall Fund of the United States, June 5-July 6, 2002.

# Vital Interests

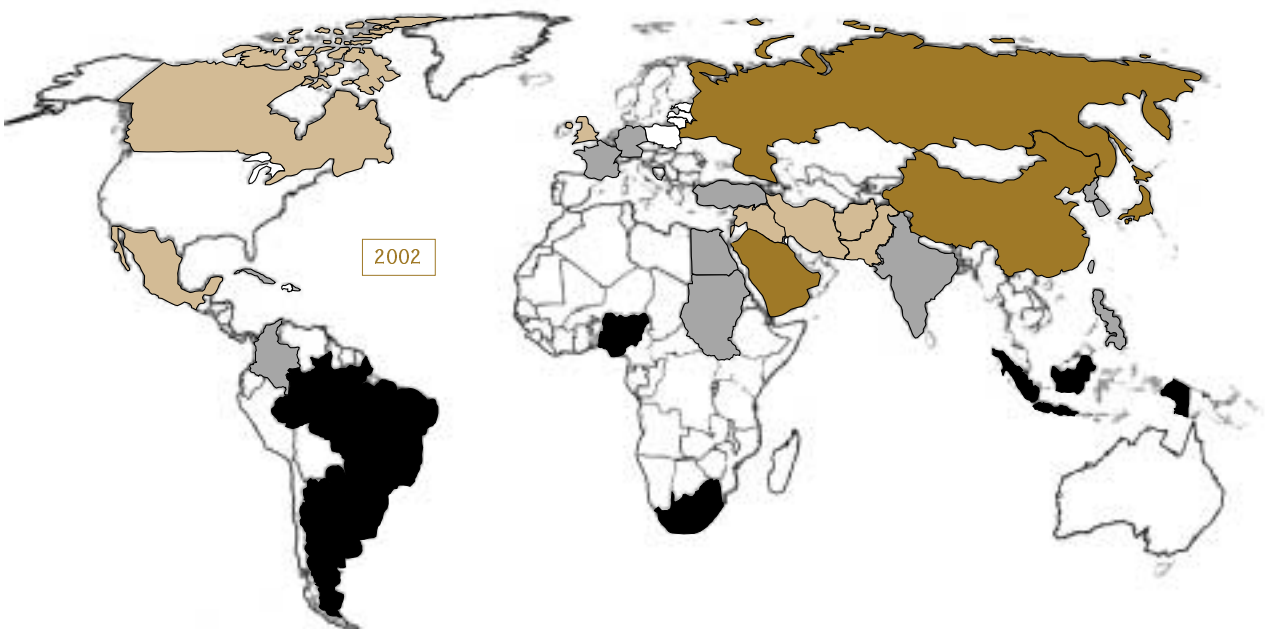
**Question:**

Many people believe that the United States has a vital interest in certain areas of the world and not in other areas. That is, certain countries of the world are important to the US for political, economic and security reasons. I am going to read a list of countries. For each, tell me whether you feel the US does or does not have a vital interest in that country.



PERCENT RESPONDING OF VITAL INTEREST TO THE US

OVER 80%	2002	1998	80-71%	2002	1998	70-51%	2002	1998	50% OR LESS	2002	1998
China	83%	74%	Israel	79%	69%	South Korea	69%	54%	South Africa	49%	52%
Japan	83	87	Great Britain	78	66	Germany	68	60	Bosnia	43	51
Saudi Arabia	83	77	Canada	76	69	India	65	36	Argentina	39	—
Russia	81	77	Iraq	76	—	Taiwan	65	52	Brazil	36	33
			Pakistan	76	—	Colombia	62	—	Indonesia	33	33
			Iran	75	61	North Korea	62	—	Nigeria	31	—
			Afghanistan	73	45	Philippines	62	—	Poland	—	31
			Mexico	72	66	Cuba	60	50	Haiti	—	31
						Egypt	53	46	The Baltic	—	27
						France	53	37	Countries of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia		
						Sudan	52	—			
						Turkey	52	33			
						Kuwait	—	68			

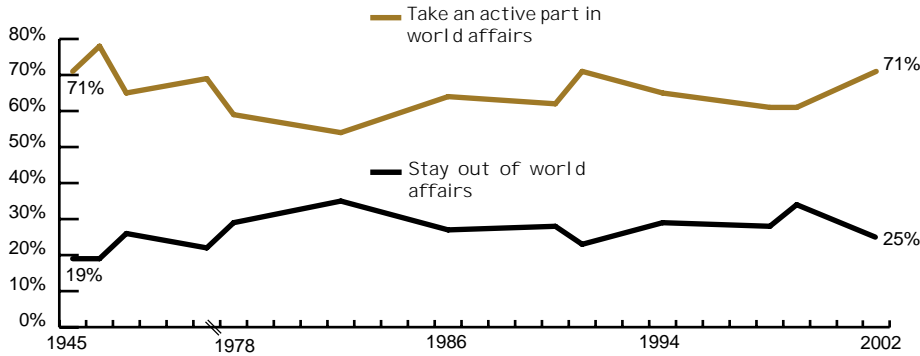


Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, October 15-November 10, 1998, and Harris Interactive/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations/The German Marshall Fund of the United States, June 5-July 6, 2002.

# Take an Active Part

**Question:**

Do you think it will be best for the future of the country if we take an active part in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs?

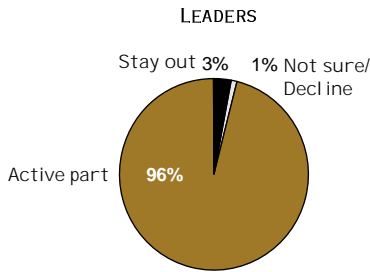


	Active part	Stay out
1945	71%	19%
1946	78%	19%
1947	65%	26%
1950	69%	22%
1978	59%	29%
1982	54%	35%
1986	64%	27%
1990	62%	28%
1991	71%	23%
1994	65%	29%
1998	61%	28%
1999	61%	34%
2002	71%	25%

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of October 15-November 10, 1998, and Harris Interactive/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations/The German Marshall Fund of the United States, latest that of June 5-July 6, 2002.

**Question:**

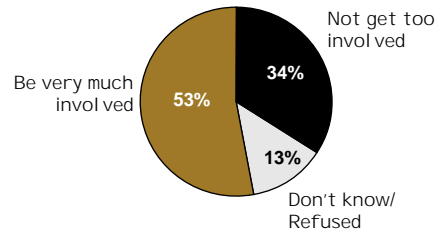
Do you think it will be best for the future of the country if we take an active part in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs?



Source: Survey by Harris Interactive/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations/The German Marshall Fund of the United States, June 5-July 6, 2002.

**Question:**

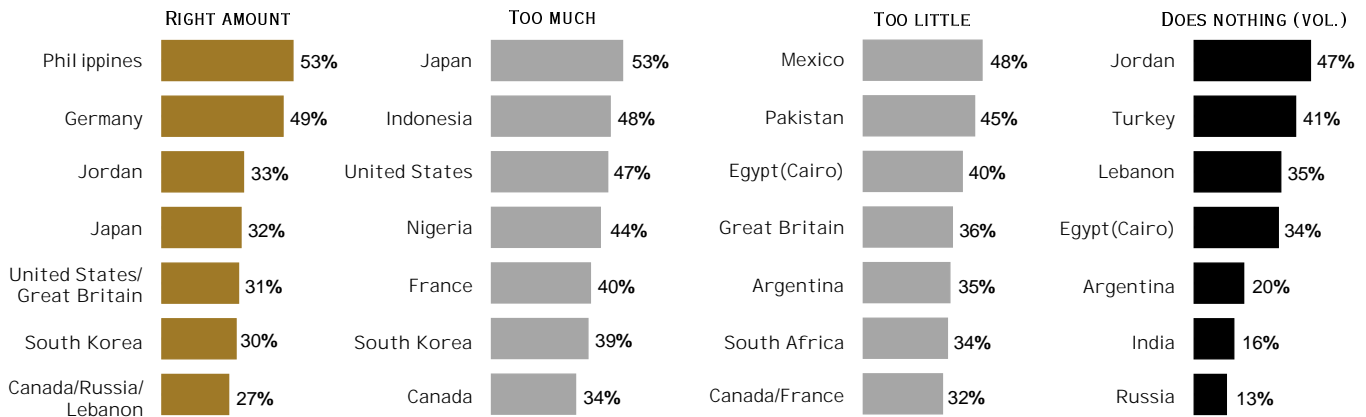
In the long run, what is the best way for the US to avoid problems like terrorism? Should the US be very much involved in solving international problems, or not get too involved with international problems?



Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates/Pew Research Center, August 14-25, 2002.

**Question:**

In terms of solving world problems, does the United States do too much, too little, or the right amount in helping solve world problems?

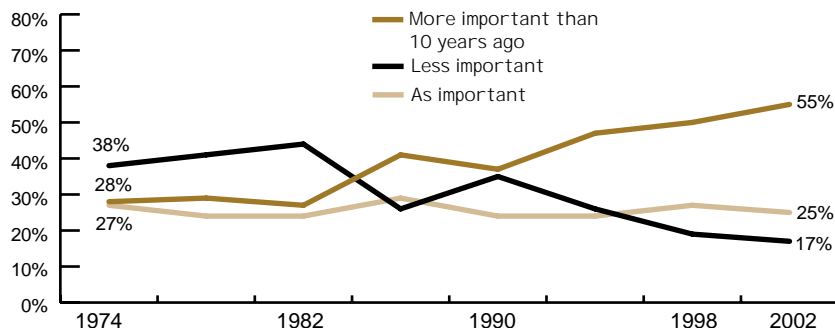


Note: Top seven shown in each response category from 20 selected countries of the 44 in the study.  
Source: Surveys by the Pew Research Center, July-October, 2002.

# Looming Ever Larger

## Question:

Do you think the United States plays a more important and powerful role as a world leader today compared to 10 years ago, a less important roll, or about as important a role as it did 10 years ago?



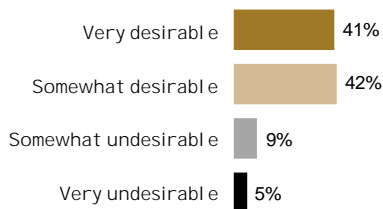
	More important	Less important	As important
1974	28%	38%	27%
1978	29	41	24
1982	27	44	24
1986	41	26	29
1990	37	35	24
1994	47	26	24
1998	50	19	27
2002	55	17	25

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of October 15-November 10, 1998, and Harris Interactive/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations/The German Marshall Fund of the United States, June 5-July 6, 2002.

## Lead Role or Ensemble Player?

### Question:

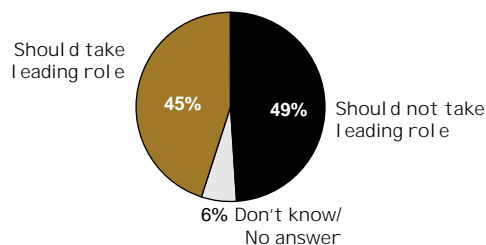
From your point of view, how desirable is it that the US exert strong leadership in world affairs—very desirable, somewhat desirable, somewhat undesirable, or very undesirable?



Source: Survey by Harris Interactive/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations/The German Marshall Fund of the United States, June 5-July 6, 2002.

### Question:

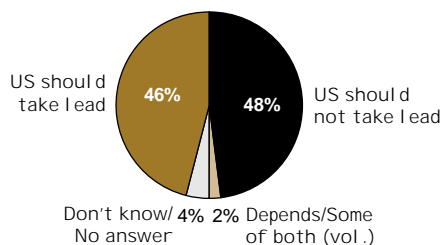
Do you think the United States should or should not take the leading role among all other countries in the world in trying to solve international conflicts?



Source: Survey by CBS News, September 22-23, 2002.

### Question:

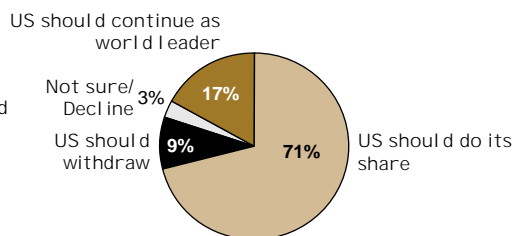
Which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view—the United States should take the lead in solving international crises and conflicts, or the United States should let other countries and the United Nations take the lead in solving international crises and conflicts?



Source: Survey by CBS News, September 22-23, 2002.

### Question:

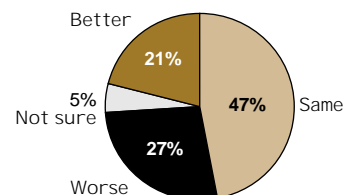
Which statement comes closest to your position—as the sole remaining superpower, the US should continue to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems, [or] the US should do its share in efforts to solve international problems together with other countries, [or] the US should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems?



Source: Survey by Harris Interactive/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations/The German Marshall Fund of the United States, June 5-July 6, 2002.

### Question:

How about the country's standing in the world? Generally speaking, over the next six months, do you think that the position of the United States as a world leader will be better, worse, or about the same as now?

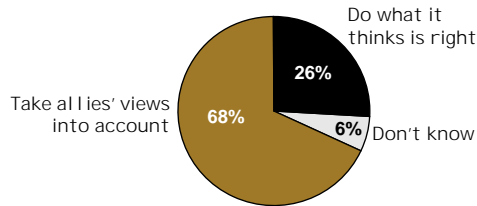


Source: Survey by TechnoMetrica Institute of Policy and Politics/Investor's Business Daily/Christian Science Monitor, January 6-11, 2003.

# Go Along or Go It Alone?

## Question:

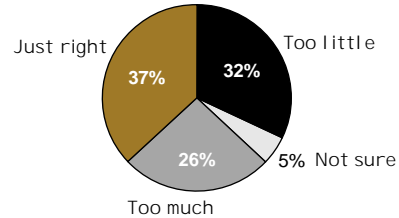
When it comes to foreign policy in general, do you think the US should do what it thinks is right no matter what its allies think, or should the US take into account the views of its allies before taking action?



Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, October 27-31, 2002.

## Question:

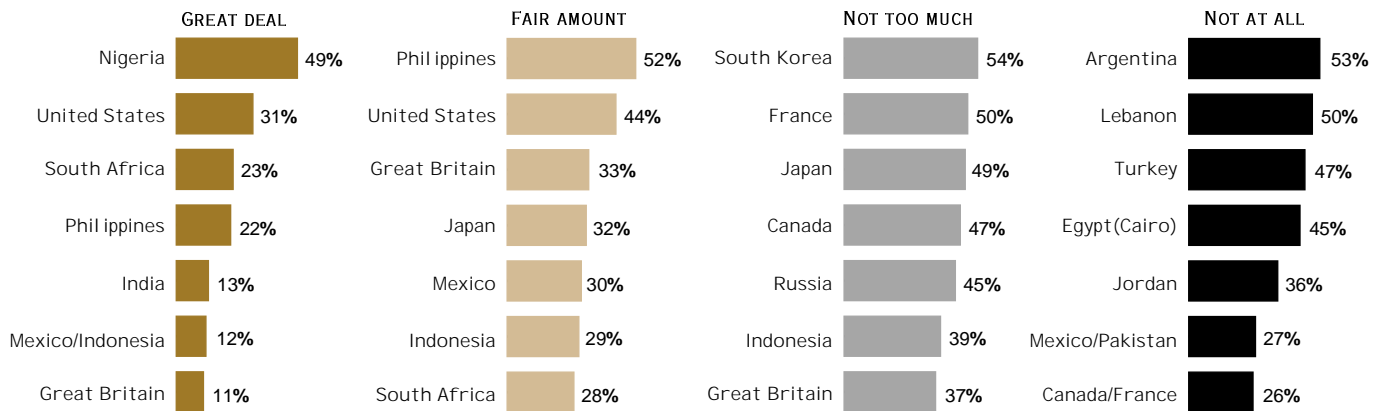
Generally speaking, when it comes to formulating the US foreign policy, do you think the current administration takes into account the position of other nations too much, too little, or the right amount?



Source: Survey by TechnoMetrica Institute of Policy and Politics/*Investor's Business Daily/Christian Science Monitor*, September 3-8, 2002.

## Question:

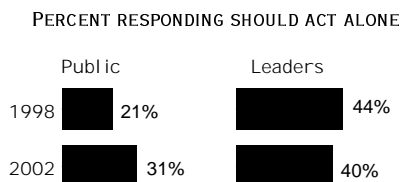
In making international policy decisions, to what extent do you think the United States takes into account the interests of countries like [respondent's country]—a great deal, a fair amount, not too much, or not at all?



Note: Top seven shown in each response category from 20 selected countries of the 44 in the study.  
Source: Surveys by the Pew Research Center, July-October, 2002.

## Question:

In general, in responding to international crises, do you think the United States should or should not take action alone if it does not have the support of its allies?

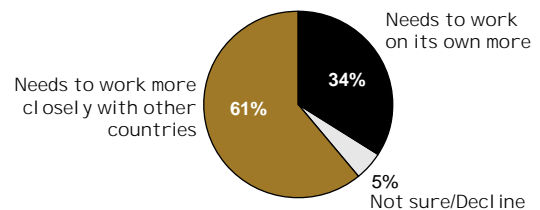


Source: Surveys by Harris Interactive/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations/The German Marshall Fund of the United States, latest that of June 5-July 6, 2002.

## In It Together

### Question:

What do you think is the more important lesson of September 11—that the US needs to work more closely with other countries to fight terrorism, or that the US needs to act on its own more to fight terrorism?

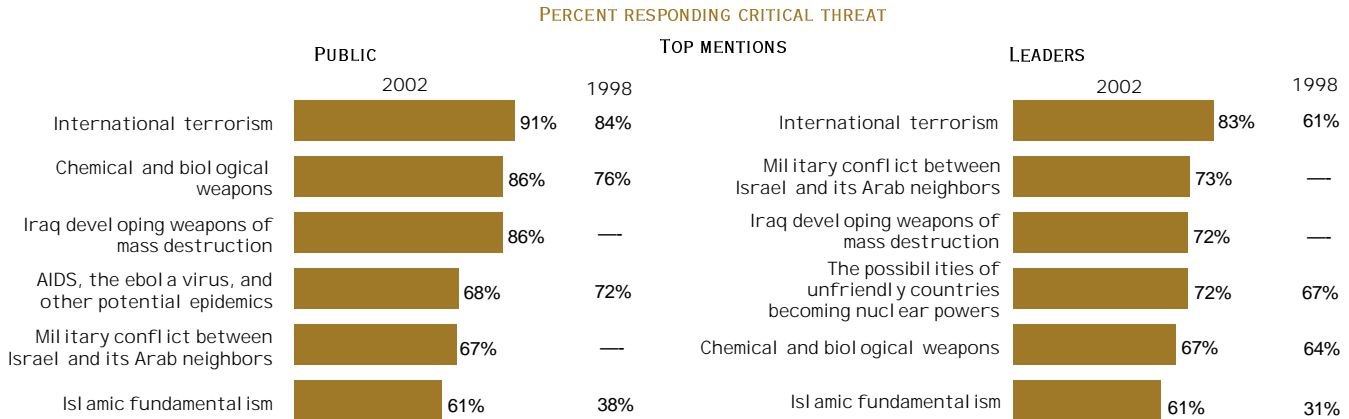


Source: Survey by Harris Interactive/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations/The German Marshall Fund of the United States, June 5-July 6, 2002.

# Danger All Around

## Questions:

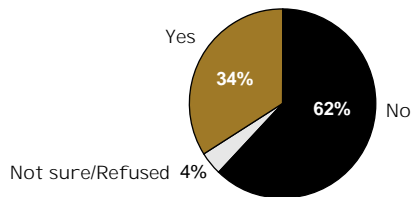
I am going to read you a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next ten years. For each one, please tell me if you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all.



## Top Cop

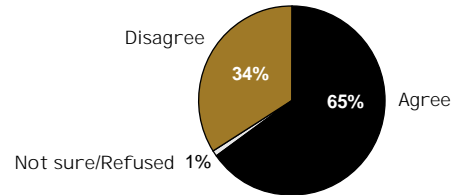
### Question:

Do you think the United States has the responsibility to play the role of world policeman, that is, to fight violations of international law and aggression wherever they occur?



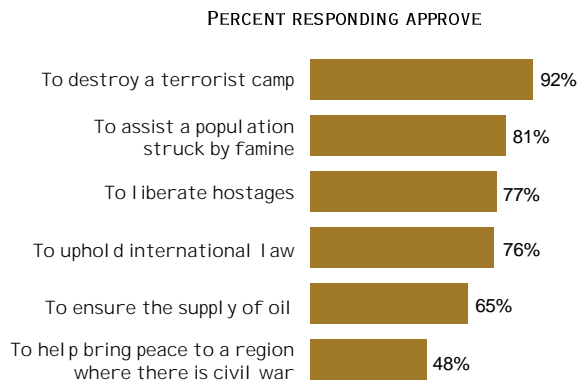
### Question:

Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement—the US is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be.



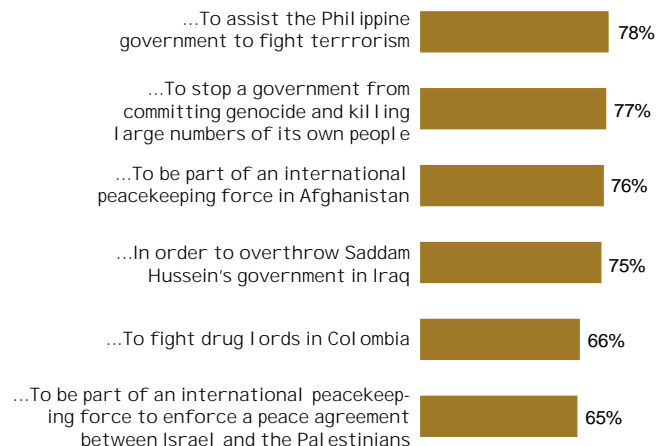
## Questions:

For each of the following reasons, would you approve or disapprove of the use of US military troops?



## Questions:

...[W]ould you favor or oppose the use of US troops...?

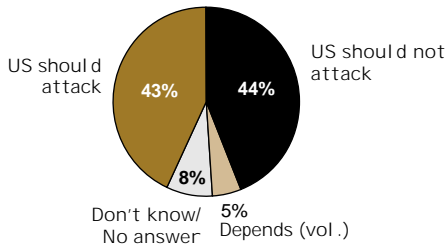


Source: All data on this page by the Gallup Organization/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, October 15–November 10, 1998, and Harris Interactive/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations/The German Marshall Fund of the United States, June 5–July 6, 2002.

# Rules of War

## Question:

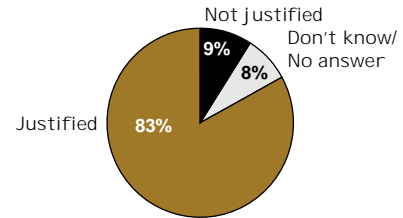
Which comes closer to your opinion—the United States should not attack another country unless that country has attacked the United States first, [or] the United States should be able to attack any country it thinks might attack the United States?



Source: Survey by CBS News, September 22-23, 2002.

## Question:

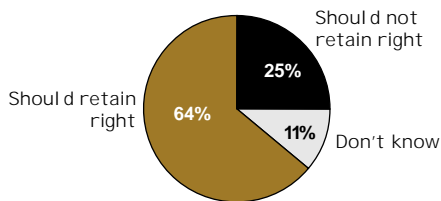
If the United States has evidence that another nation is planning to use weapons against the US, is the US justified in taking military action against that government, or not?



Source: Survey by CBS News, June 18-20, 2002.

## Question:

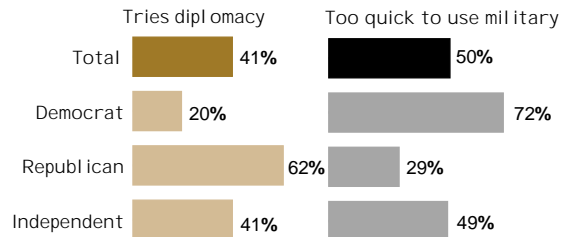
George W. Bush formally laid out a strategic plan for America that includes the right to launch preemptive strikes on terrorist regimes, and which asserts the country's right to act alone. Do you think the United States should retain the right to launch a preemptive strike if it feels it is under threat, or not?



Source: Survey by Los Angeles Times, December 12-15, 2002.

## Question:

In its dealings with foreign countries and its handling of international problems, do you think the Bush administration tries hard enough to reach diplomatic solutions, or is it too quick to get American military forces involved?

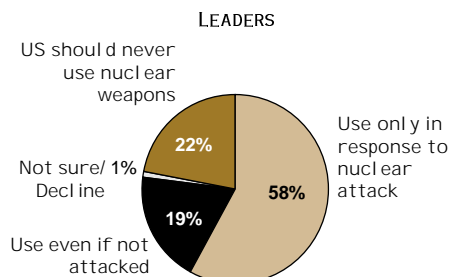
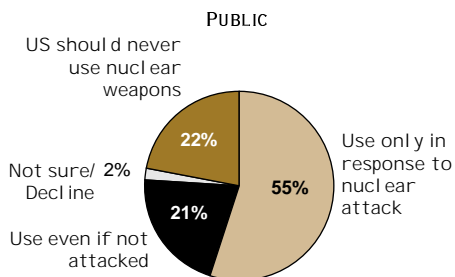


Source: Survey by CBS News, January 4-6, 2003.

## Last Case Scenario

### Question:

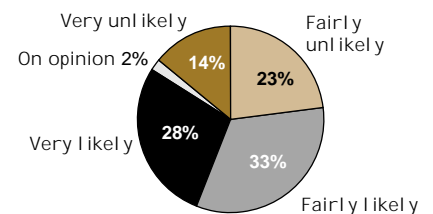
[Which position] about the possible use of nuclear weapons by the United States... comes closest to yours—the US should never use nuclear weapons under any circumstances, [or] the US should only use nuclear weapons in response to a nuclear attack, [or] in certain circumstances, the US should use nuclear weapons even if it has not suffered a nuclear attack?



Source: Surveys by Harris Interactive/The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations/The German Marshall Fund of the United States, June 5-July 6, 2002.

### Question:

...[P]lease tell me whether you think [this] is very likely, fairly likely, fairly unlikely, or very unlikely to happen—that the United States will be attacked by another country using nuclear weapons within the next 50 years.

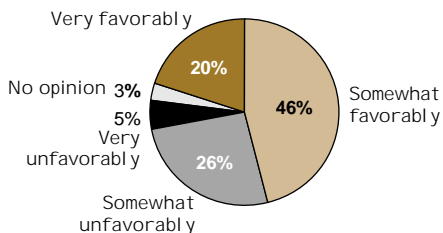


Source: Survey by Gallup/CNN/USA Today, March 22-24, 2002.

# Eyes on US

## Question:

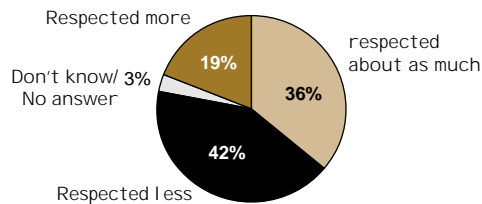
In general, how do you think the United States rates in the eyes of the world—very favorably, somewhat favorably, somewhat unfavorably, or very unfavorably?



Source: Survey by Gallup/CNN/*USA Today*, March 8-9, 2002.

## Question:

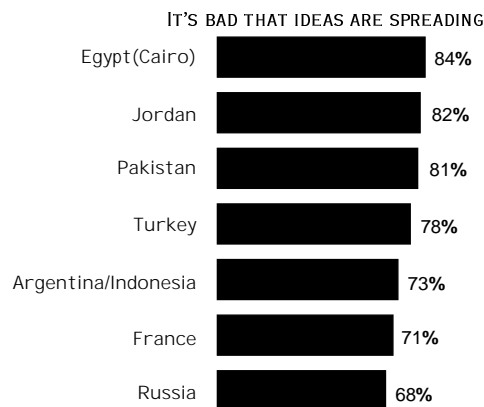
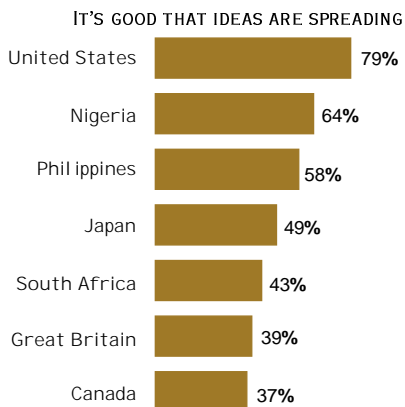
Compared to two years ago, is America today respected more in the world than it was then, respected less than it was then, or respected about as much?



Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, October 3-5, 2002.

## Question:

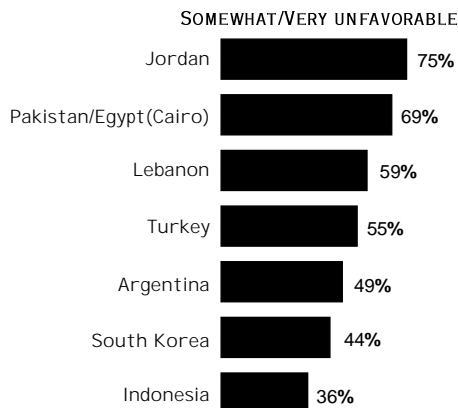
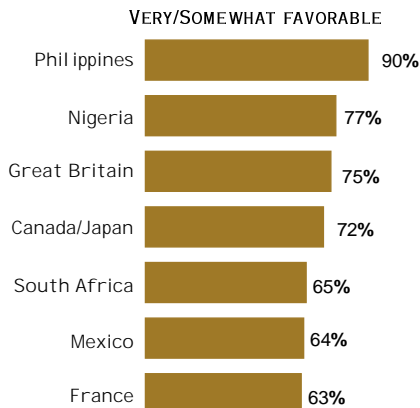
Which of the following phrases comes closer to your view—it's good that American ideas and customs are spreading here, or it's bad that American ideas and customs are spreading here?



Note: Top seven shown in each response category from 20 selected countries of the 44 in the study.  
Source: Surveys by the Pew Research Center, July-October, 2002.

## Question:

Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the United States.



Note: Top seven shown in each response category from 20 selected countries of the 44 in the study. This question was not asked in the United States.  
Source: Surveys by the Pew Research Center, July-October, 2002.



# A Whirl of Possibilities

## Gathering ...

- **Custom Research** provides the diversity you need
- **EXCEL<sup>SM</sup> Omnibus** collects critical consumer information quickly and inexpensively
- **SmallBizEXCEL<sup>SM</sup> Omnibus** taps the vital market of small companies (up to 100 employees) for business-to-business studies
- **TeenEXCEL<sup>SM</sup> Omnibus** is a cost-effective alternative to reach 12- to 17-year-olds
- **Web-Based Consumer Panel** delivers quick, easy access to the online population
- **Expert Web, Mail, and Intercept Surveys** work when telephone research doesn't fit your needs
- **Sampling Models** offer complex research designs and efficient representations of elite populations
- **International Research** is conducted in over 60 countries to let you reach around the world
- **In-House Facilities** ensure quality

## ... Insight

- **Multivariate Analytical Support** yields actionable answers to your research questions
- **Corporate Branding Model** determines your marketplace position by employing exclusive elements for true market comparisons
- **Customer Satisfaction and Loyalty Research and Implementation** identify your most valuable customers and maintain their loyalty
- **RACER<sup>SM</sup>** delivers and sorts large-scale projects through a unique, efficient web-based service
- **Specialized Expertise** brings added value to utility, technology, religion, social sciences, cable television, financial, retail, packaged goods, healthcare, and public relations clients
- **Economic Forecasting, Modeling, and Database Development and Management** convert information into insight for maximum benefit

We Gather Insight.



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