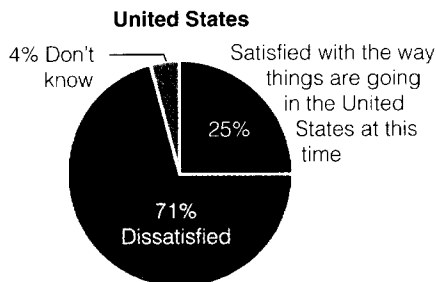


DEMOCRACIES' DISCONTENTS

When former Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney visited Washington in June, he remarked with more than a tinge of irony that he envied President Clinton's "high" approval ratings—then hovering around 38 percent. In fact, all across the world's major industrial democracies, leaders and governments are getting low marks. Relatedly, the performance of national economies is viewed very unfavorably almost everywhere. Beyond this, many citizens of the planet's most fortunate countries are often recorded expressing general pessimism—about the future, about prevailing moral standards, and the like. The question is: What are we to make of such expressions? In particular, how unusual is today's discontent? As we will see, the story is in fact quite complex.

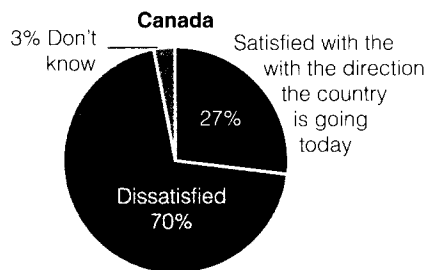
In the first five pages of this section we document the striking display of discontent in eight leading industrial nations: the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Japan.

Question: **In general are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the United States at this time?**



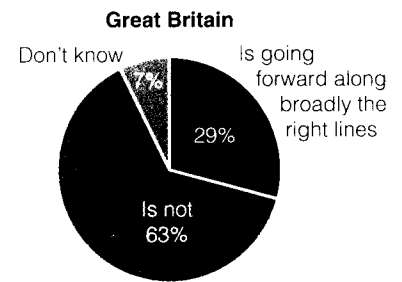
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, latest that of February 12-14, 1993.

Question: **I'd like you to tell me, in the most general way, how satisfied you are with the direction the country is going in today? Would you say you are very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?**



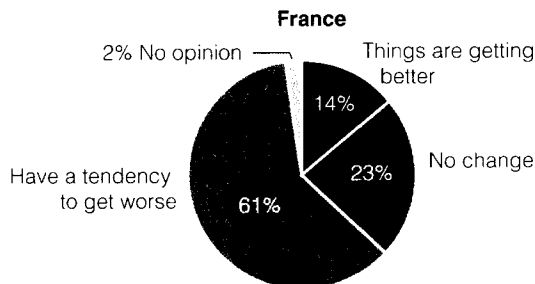
Source: Survey by Decima Research, March 13-17, 1993.

Question: **Thinking of Britain as a whole, do you think the country is going forward along broadly the right lines or not?**



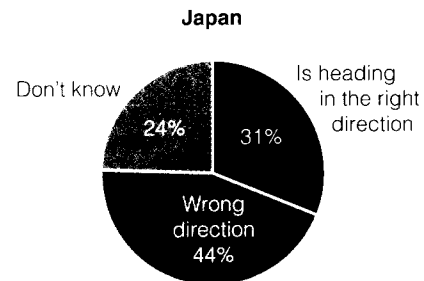
Source: Survey by Social Surveys (Gallup Poll) Ltd., latest that of April 27-May 3, 1993.

Question: **When you look at the way the evolution for France and the French has been going, do you have the impression that things are going to get better or that things have a tendency of getting worse?**



Source: Survey by SOFRES for *Le Figaro*, April 24-28, 1993.

Question: **As a whole, do you think Japan is heading in the right or wrong direction?**



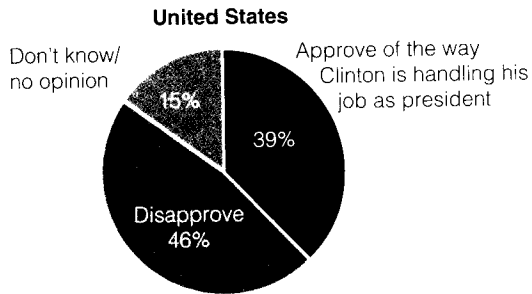
Note: The above result marks the first time since 1983 that "wrong direction" has exceeded "right direction."

Source: Survey conducted for the prime minister's office, December 1992.

Approval Ratings

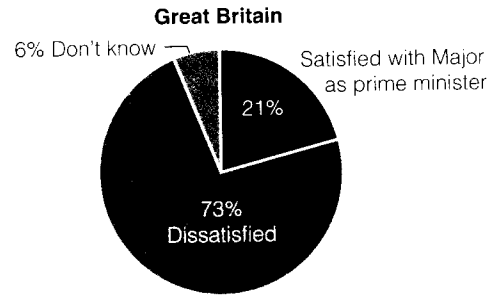
Among government leaders, with the exception of those extremely new to office, no one gets good ratings. Political discontent in general is widespread.

Question: **Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president?**



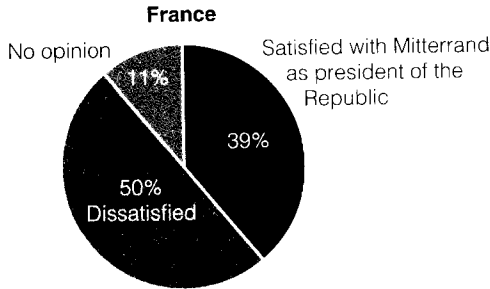
Note: In a CBS News/*New York Times* survey conducted just before the November 1992 election, 37% of respondents said they approved of the way Bush was handling his job as president; 56% disapproved.
Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, June 21-24, 1993.

Question: **Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with Mr. Major as prime minister?**



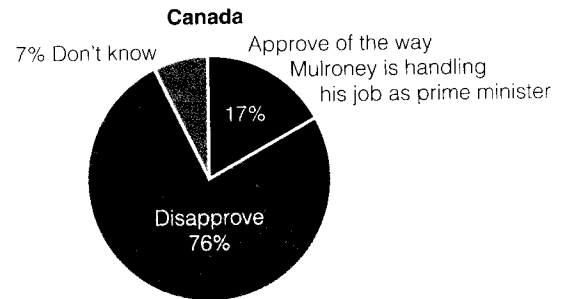
Note: The percentage saying they are satisfied is the lowest ever for any British prime minister for which polling data is available.
Source: Survey by Social Surveys (Gallup Poll) Ltd., May 26-31, 1993.

Question: **Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with Mr. François Mitterrand as president of the Republic?**



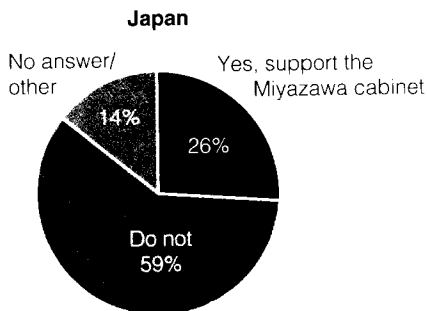
Source: Survey by the Institut Français D'Opinion Publique et D'Etude de Marchés (IFOP) for *Le Journal du Dimanche*, May 6-13, 1993.

Question: **Do you approve or disapprove of the way Brian Mulroney is handling his job as prime minister?**



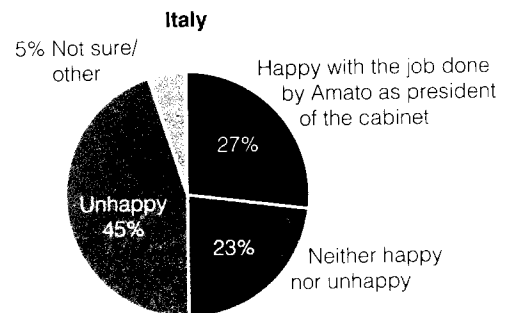
Note: Brian Mulroney was succeeded as Prime Minister by Kim Campbell June 25, 1993.
Source: Survey by Gallup Canada, January 13-18, 1993.

Question: **Do you support the Miyazawa cabinet?**



Source: Survey by the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, May 1993.

Question: **Are you happy or unhappy with the job done, in the last month, by Giuliano Amato as president of the cabinet?**

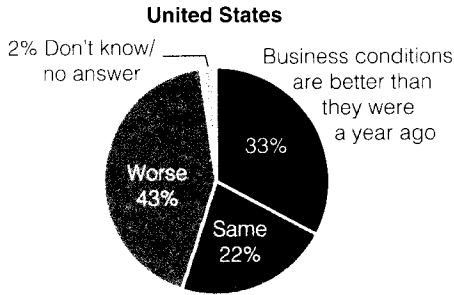


Source: Survey by DOXA, January 19, 1993.

Economic Doldrums

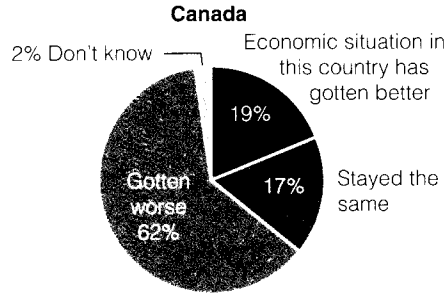
In nearly all of these affluent nations, large majorities say the economic situation is worse now than a year ago.

Question: **Would you say that at the present time business conditions are better or worse off than they were a year ago?**



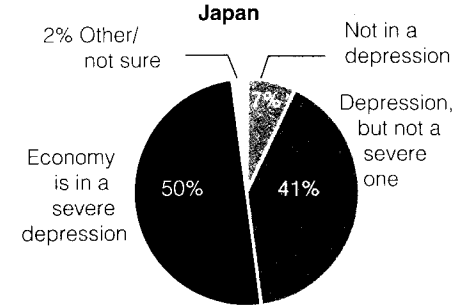
Source: Survey by the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, latest that of May 1-27, 1993.

Question: **How do you think the general economic situation in this country has changed over the last 12 months?**



Source: Survey by Gallup Canada, November 19-26, 1992.

Question: **How do you evaluate the condition of our economy right now?**

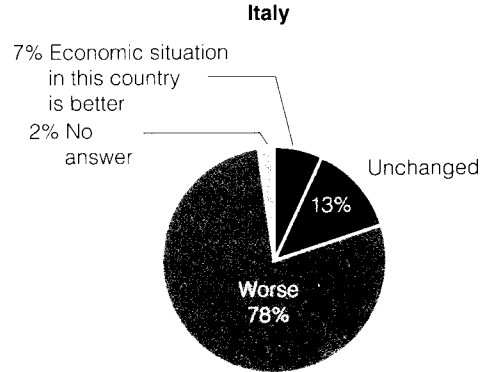
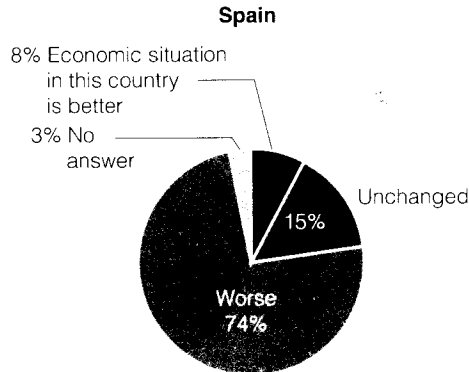
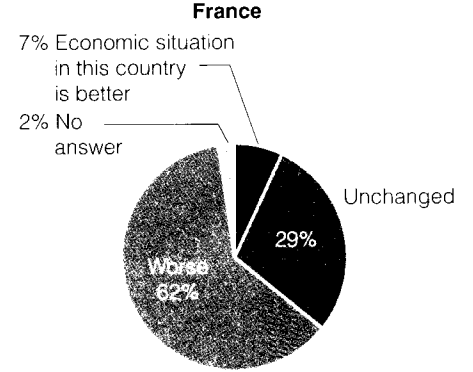
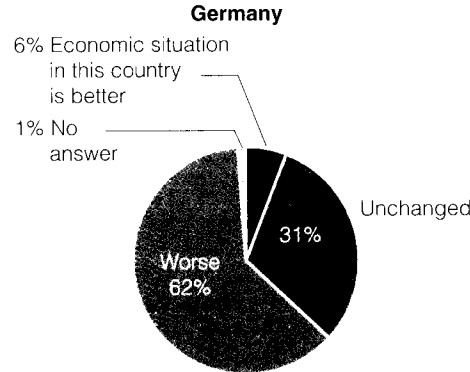
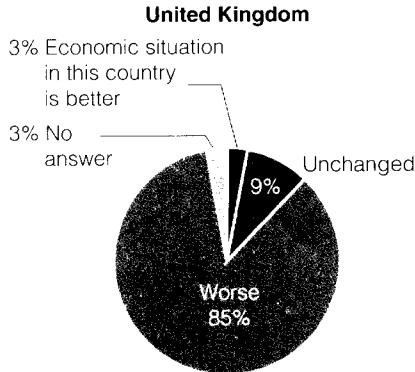


Note: In Japan, "depression" refers to an economic slump which is comparable to a serious recession as we understand it here.

Source: Survey by the Asahi Shimbun, March 1993.

Question: **Compared to 12 months ago, do you think that the general economic situation in this country is better, unchanged, or worse?**

Compared to 12 months ago...

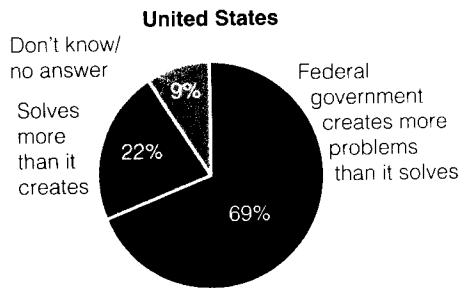


Source: EUROBAROMETER surveys conducted for the Commission of the European Communities, Fall 1992.

Government Malperformance

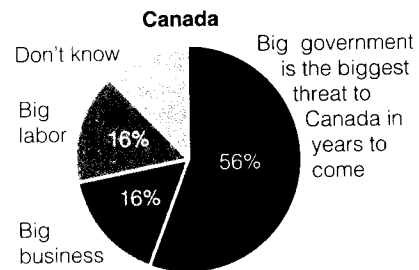
Big government, once seen as the essential solution to myriad problems in many countries shown, is now thought to be a big part of the problem. Governmental performance is criticized across the board.

Question: **Do you think that, in general, the federal government creates more problems than it solves, or do you think it solves more problems than it creates?**



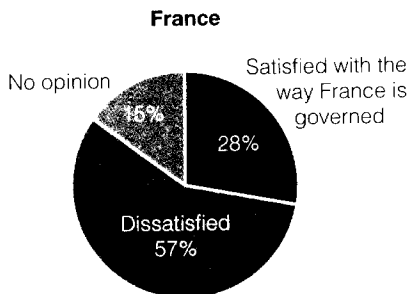
Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, January 12-14, 1993.

Question: **Speaking of our future, which do you think will be the biggest threat to Canada in years to come—big business, big labor, or big government?**



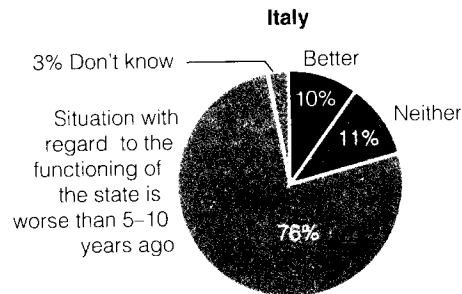
Source: Survey by Gallup Canada, January 2-5, 1991.

Question: **Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way France is governed?**



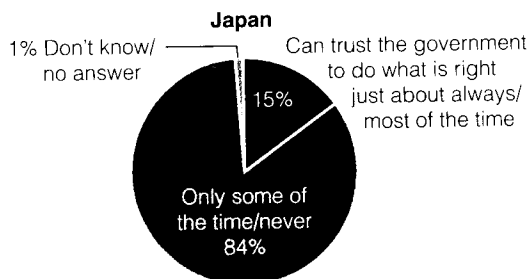
Source: Survey by Brulé Ville Associés (BVA), April 15-20, 1993.

Question: **If we compare the current situation with the situation 5-10 years ago, is the situation in Italy better or worse with regard to the functioning of the state?**



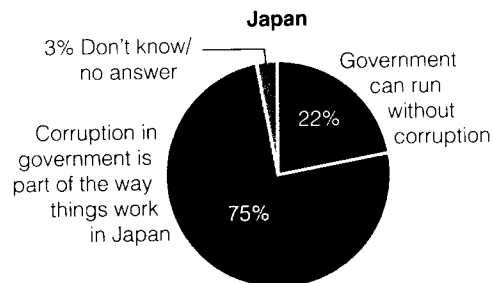
Source: Survey by DOXA, January 1993.

Question: **How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Tokyo to do what is right—just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or never?**



Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times* and the Tokyo Broadcasting System, December 3-9, 1992.

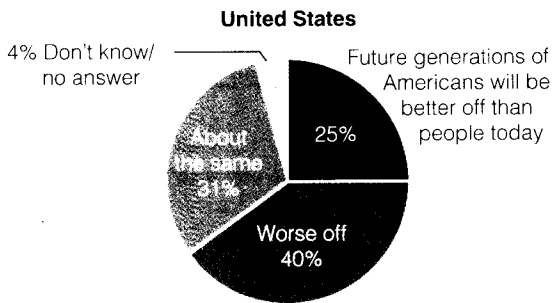
Question: **Do you think corruption in government is part of the way things work in Japan, or do you think the government can run without corruption?**



Prospects

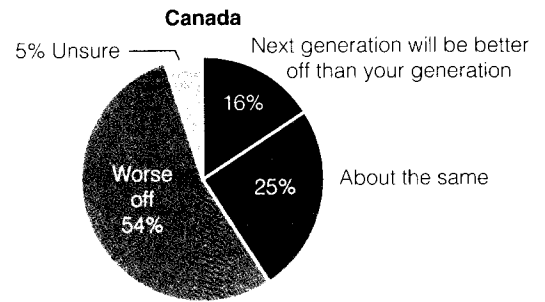
The belief that moral standards have deteriorated is also widespread. And, all of the dissatisfactions noted in these pages have fueled doubts about the future as well—about, for example, what the next generation can expect.

Question: **Do you think the future generation of Americans will be better off, or worse off, or about the same as people today?**



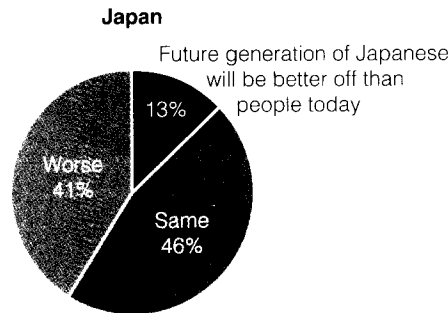
Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, December 7-9, 1992.

Question: **And how do you think the generation younger than you will fare financially compared to your generation? Do you think the next generation will be better off, worse off, or in about the same financial shape as your generation?**



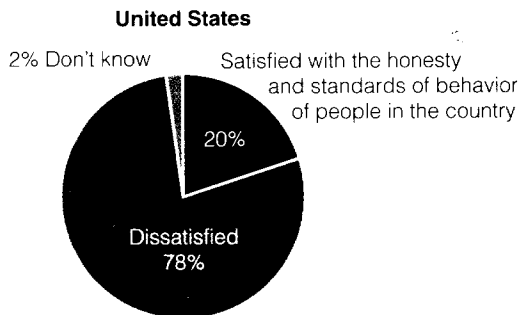
Source: Survey by Angus Reid Group, October 1992.

Question: **Do you think the future generation of Japanese will be better off, worse off, or about the same as people today?**



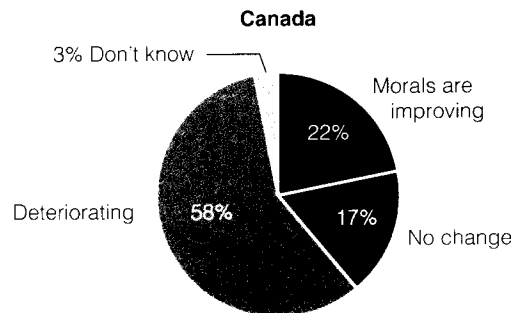
Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times* and the Tokyo Broadcasting System, December 3-9, 1992.

Question: **On the whole, would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the honesty and standards of behavior of people in the country today?**



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for *USA Today* and CNN, January 6-9, 1992.

Question: **Do you believe that morals are improving or deteriorating?**



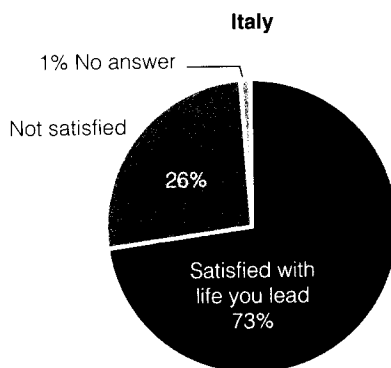
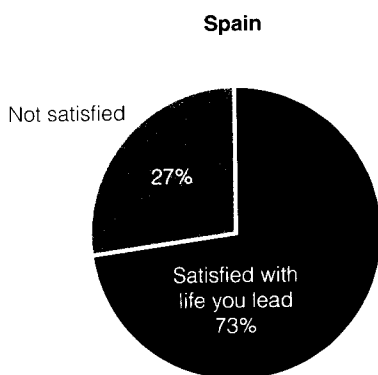
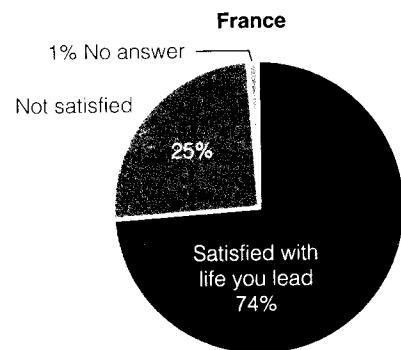
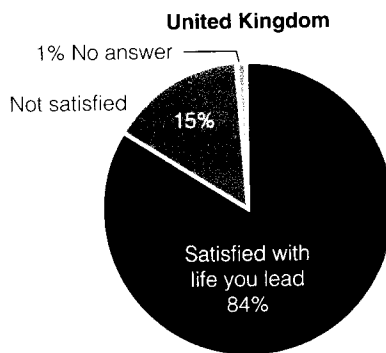
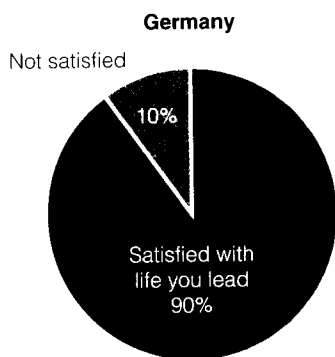
Source: Survey by Gallup Canada, December 1987.

But What Does It Mean?

As we said in the outset, all this professed dissatisfaction and gloom in the world's most fortunate—politically and economically—nations is quite striking. But just how should it strike us? That is, what are we to conclude from these findings? The industrial countries have all been going through recessions, which is presumably enough to dampen spirits and produce complaints about the powers that be. Just how deep does the pessimism run in these countries, and how far across the various areas of life does it extend?

We see below that the discontent chronicled in the first five pages does not extend to people's assessments of their own lives.

Question: **On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?**



Question: **In general, how satisfied are you with the way things are going in your own life these days? Would you say you are completely satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or would you say you are completely dissatisfied with the way things are going these days?**

Satisfied with your own life these days



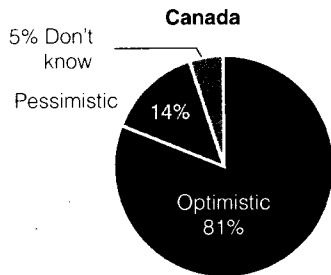
Source: EUROBAROMETER surveys conducted for the Commission of the European Communities. Fall 1992.

Source: Surveys by CBS News/*New York Times* and the Tokyo Broadcasting System. December 3-9, 1992 (Japan) and December 7-9, 1992 (U.S.)

Even Governments Can Get Good Marks

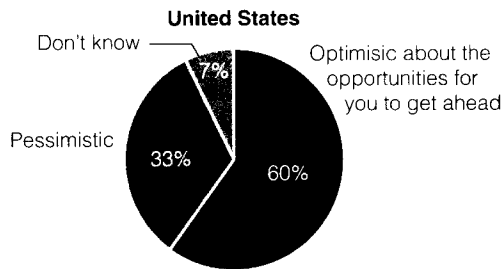
While many leaders are getting bad marks, this condition isn't an inevitable part of modern times. New prime ministers who seem to stand for something other than politics-as-usual get high marks. And, shifting our focus to Mexico, a short, balding Harvard graduate has been getting exceptionally high public ratings.

Question: **How about your personal future? Would you say you are very optimistic, optimistic, pessimistic, or very pessimistic about your own future?**



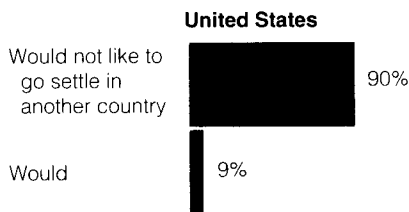
Source: Survey by Decima Research, March 13-17, 1993.

Question: **I'd like to know more specifically what you are optimistic about and what you are pessimistic about. The opportunities for you to get ahead—as far as the future is concerned, do you feel...?**



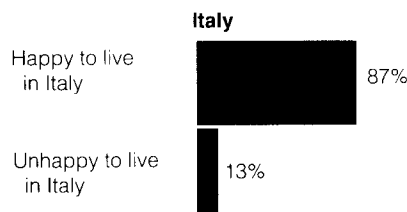
Source: Survey by the Roper Organization (Roper Reports 93-2), January 9-23, 1993.

Question: **If you were free to do so, would you like to go and settle in another country?**



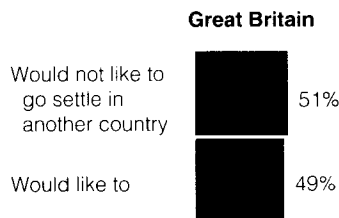
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization, May 23-26, 1991.

Question: **Are you happy or unhappy to live in Italy?**



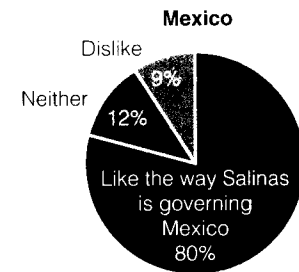
Source: Survey by DOXA, December 1992.

Question: **If you were free to do so, would you like to go and settle in another country?**



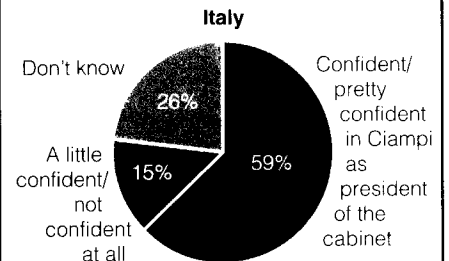
Source: Survey by Social Surveys (Gallup Poll) Ltd., February 2-8, 1993.

Question: **Do you like or dislike the way President Salinas is governing Mexico?**



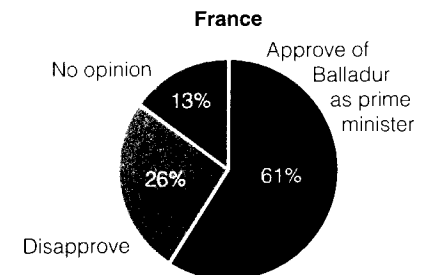
Source: Survey by MORI de Mexico for *Este Pais* and *Excelsior*, February 1993.

Question: **Do you have confidence in Carlo A. Ciampi as president of the cabinet?**



Source: Survey by DOXA, April 27-28, 1993.

Question: **Do you approve or disapprove of the way Edouard Balladur is handling his job as prime minister?**



Source: Survey by IFOP for *L'Express*, May 14-15, 1993.

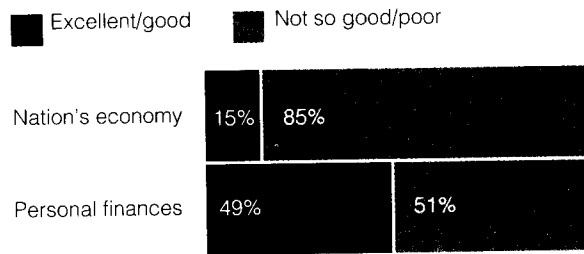
I'm Okay, But the Country Isn't

In general, the data show that in every country, people are more sanguine about things close to home that they can know about from personal experience than about things remote and abstract that they can know about only by reading or watching television.

Question: **Would you describe the state of the nation's economy these days as excellent, good, not so good, or poor?**

Question: **Would you describe the state of your own personal finances these days as excellent, good, not so good, or poor?**

United States

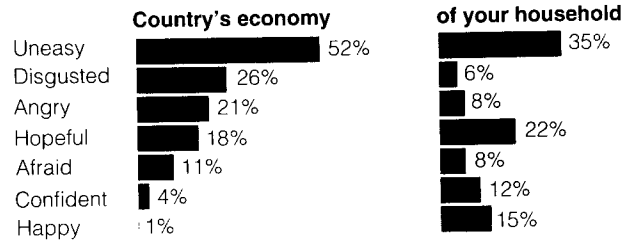


Source: Survey by ABC News/Money, latest that of four-week rolling averages ending June 6, 1993.

Question: **Please look at this card and tell me if any of the words on it describes your feelings about the country's general economic situation. If yes, which ones? Please look at this card again and tell me if any of the words on it describes your feelings about the financial condition of your household. If yes, which ones?**

United Kingdom

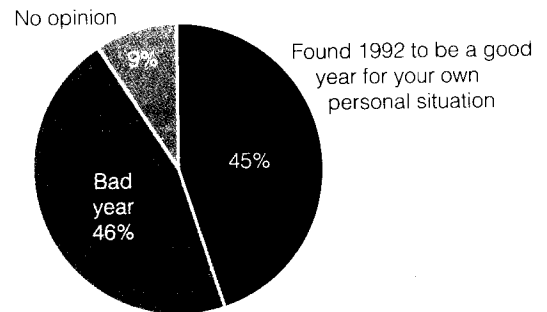
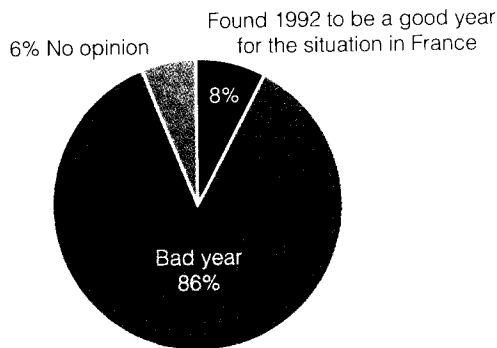
Describes feelings about...



Note: "Proud" (1%, 2% respectively) and "None" (1%, 5%) not shown.
Source: Survey by Social Surveys (Gallup Poll) Ltd., April 15-21, 1993.

Question: **Did you find 1992 to be a good or bad year concerning the following topics?**

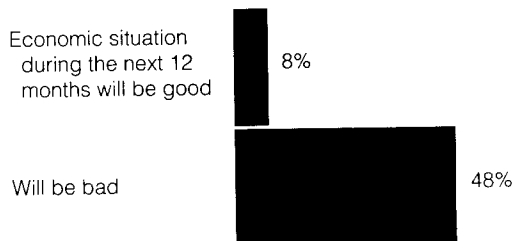
France



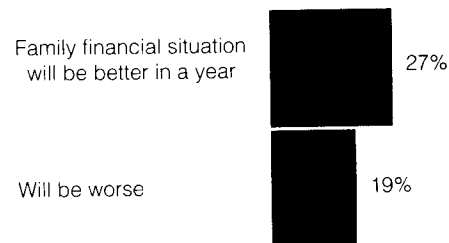
Source: Survey by Institut BVA, December 14-18, 1992.

Question: **Considering the economic situation in Italy, do you think that during the next 12 months things will be good, so so, or bad?**

Italy



Question: **In a year, do you think that you or your family will be financially better or worse?**



Note: "Unchanged" responses not shown.
Source: Survey by Eurisko Group, 1993.

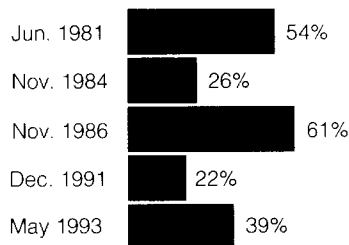
Things Have Always Gone Up and Down

Part of the story of current discontent is that we are on a down-side of an inevitable cycle. Across Europe and the United States, economic pessimism in 1992 looked similar to that of 1982—the last recession. Governments' standings wax and wane in response to business cycles, time in office, and innumerable local conditions. In the early 1990s, many of the western democracies had been controlled by the same party or coalition for an unusually long span.

Question: **Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with François Mitterrand as president of the republic?**

France

Satisfied with Mitterrand as president of the republic

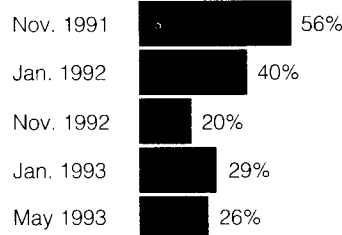


Source: Surveys by IFOP for *Le Journal du Dimanche*, latest that of May 6–13, 1993.

Question: **Do you support the Miyazawa cabinet?**

Japan

Support the Miyazawa cabinet

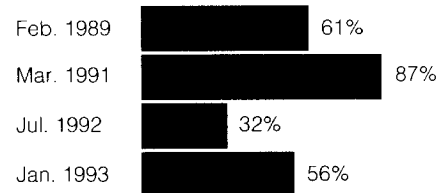


Source: Surveys by the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, latest that of May 1993.

Question: **Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as president?**

United States

Approve of the way Bush is handling job as president

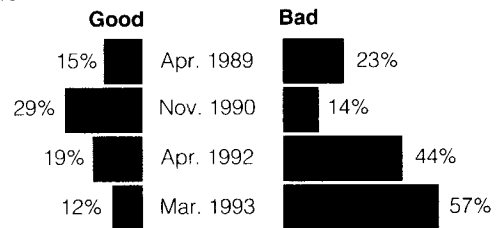


Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of January 8–11, 1993.

Question: **In general terms, would you say that the political situation in Spain is very good, good, bad, very bad, or neither good nor bad?**

Spain

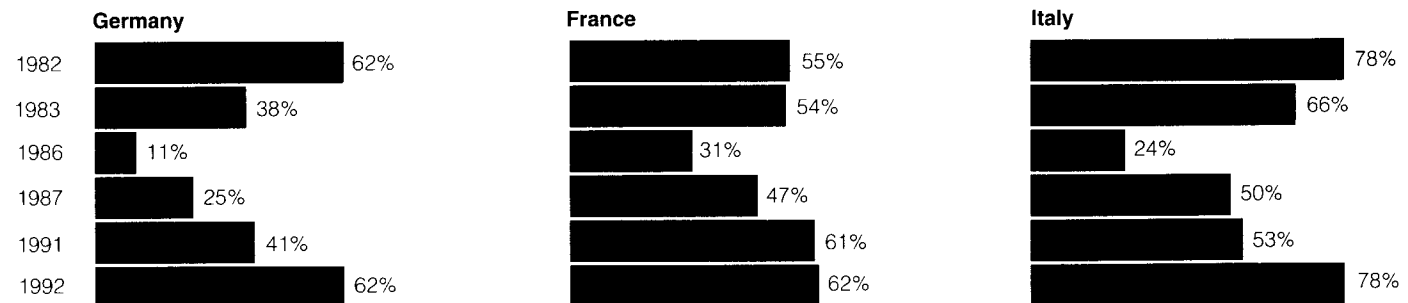
Political situation...



Source: Surveys by Demoscopia for *El País*.

Question: **Compared to 12 months ago, do you think that the general economic situation in this country is better, unchanged, or worse?**

Economic situation in this country is worse than 12 months ago



Source: EUROBAROMETER surveys conducted for the Commission of the European Communities, latest that of Fall 1992.