



Program on International
Policy Attitudes (PIPA)

Americans on Promoting Democracy

September 29, 2005



Knowledge
NETWORKS

The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations (CCFR) is one of the largest independent, nonprofit international affairs organizations in the United States, serving over 7,000 members and the community through diversified programming. The Council provides members, specialized groups and the general public with a forum for the consideration of significant international issues and their bearing on American foreign policy. In over 150 meetings annually, including lectures, seminars, conferences, publications, a travel program and other activities, the CCFR seeks to represent all sides of complex issues on the global agenda.

The Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) is a joint program of the Center for International and Security Studies at Maryland (CISSM) and the Center on Policy Attitudes. PIPA undertakes research on American attitudes in both the public and in the policymaking community toward a variety of international and foreign policy issues. It seeks to disseminate its findings to members of government, the press, and the public as well as academia.

Knowledge Networks is a polling, social science, and market research firm based in Menlo Park, California. Knowledge Networks uses a large-scale nationwide research panel which is randomly selected from the national population of households having telephones and is subsequently provided internet access for the completion of surveys (and thus is not limited to those who already have internet access).

INTRODUCTION

Democracy promotion has emerged in the post-September 11 world as one of the core principles of US foreign policy. While the United States has historically paid lip service to the goal of democratization, this was typically counterbalanced by the perceived need to maintain good relations with non-adversarial authoritarian states in strategic areas. This debate has been recast in the last several years in light of the emerging view that the United States can no longer ignore the authoritarian nature of many governments, particularly in the Middle East, whose lack of political and economic freedom is seen as contributing to religious radicalism, support for terrorist groups and anti-Americanism. President Bush, in his 2005 State of the Union Address, committed the United States to an active democratization program aimed at ending tyranny in our world.

Many who advocate for active US efforts in democracy promotion see it both as the bedrock of the US political system and a universal value that can be successfully transplanted in virtually any country or region. The current test case for this is Iraq. The US has stated that the Iraq War was justified on the grounds of removing Saddam Hussein's tyrannical regime and replacing it with a democratic alternative and has committed substantial resources to democratizing the country. The hope is that a viable democracy in Iraq will stabilize the country and assist in spreading liberal political values to other Middle Eastern states, thereby undermining support for terrorism and making the US more secure.

The present difficult situation in Iraq, however, has underscored the complexity of imposing democracy on states with little or no experience with it and brings into question the role democratization should play in US foreign policy, the benefits it brings to the United States and the extent to which democratic processes must originate from within. There are fundamental questions about whether democracy should be viewed as a universal value, whether the United States should universally promote it and if so whether it should use coercive tactics such as military force.

Public attitudes on these issues will impact the policy direction the United States takes. If Americans believe that the United States should play an important role in pushing democratization and that these efforts make this country and the world safer, then the US government will have a greater mandate to undertake active democratization initiatives. If instead Americans question whether there is a real democracy dividend due to the lack of universal applicability of democratic principles or to what the United States can accomplish on its own, there will likely be pressure to scale back what we do and focus on non-coercive forms of pressure and encouragement.

In order to shed further light on American attitudes on these critical issues, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations and the Program on International Policy Attitudes conducted a poll September 15-21 with a nationwide sample of 808 Americans (margin of error was +/- 3.5-4.0%) depending on the sample size for each question. The poll was fielded by Knowledge Networks using its nationwide panel, which is randomly selected from the entire adult population and subsequently provided internet access. For more information about this methodology, go to www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp.

Key findings of the study were:

1. Promoting Democracy with Military Force

A majority rejects the idea of using military force to promote democracy, whether by overthrowing dictators or threatening countries with military force if they do not institute democratic reforms.3

2. Iraq War

A large bipartisan majority says that establishing a democracy was not a good enough reason to go to war in Iraq. The experience in Iraq has made Americans feel less supportive of using military force to bring about democracy. A majority is ready to accept an Iraqi constitution even if it does not fully meet democratic standards, and wants to start withdrawing troops once the constitution is ratified.....4

3. Benefits of Democracy

Americans are not convinced that when there are more democracies the world is a safer place, and are divided about whether democracy undermines support for terrorist groups, or whether democracies are less likely to go to war with each other or more likely to be friendly to the US. While a very large majority believes that democracy is the best form of government, there is less confidence that it is best for all countries. Republicans are a bit more convinced of the benefits of democracy, but only by a few percentage points.....5

4. Democracy as a Priority in US Foreign Policy

In general, a majority thinks that promoting democracy should be a goal of US foreign policy, but not a top priority, and favors a pragmatic approach: actively promoting democracy in some cases but not others. While a majority thinks that the US should be supportive of Saudi Arabia having free elections even if it is likely that the elected government would be unfriendly, a majority does not think that the US should promote a country becoming a democracy if it is likely to bring Islamic fundamentalists to power. The public is divided on whether the US should pressure Pakistan to hold elections.....6

5. Promoting Democracy with Diplomatic and Cooperative Methods

A large majority favors the US promoting democracy through diplomatic and cooperative methods including helping emerging democracies with aid and technical assistance in conducting elections, sending monitors to certify that elections are conducted fairly and honestly, and bringing students, journalists and political leaders from a variety of countries to the US to educate them on how democracy works. However, a majority opposes using punitive or assertive methods for pressuring countries to become more democratic such as economic sanctions and supporting dissidents. Support for using aid as a reward is high, but not for withholding it as a punishment, whether the aid provider is the US government or the World Bank.....8

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In contrast to more divided attitudes about pressuring countries to be more democratic, large majorities favor the US putting diplomatic pressure on governments to respect human rights, speaking out against human rights abuses, and encouraging other countries to do the same.....11

8. Reservations about US Democracy

Some of the reservations Americans have about pressing countries to become more democratic may be derived from a lack of confidence that the US is an ideal democracy. Americans are clearly not satisfied with the level of US government responsiveness to the will of the public.....12

FINDINGS

1. Promoting Democracy with Military Force

A majority rejects the idea of using military force to promote democracy, whether by overthrowing dictators or threatening countries with military force if they do not institute democratic reforms.

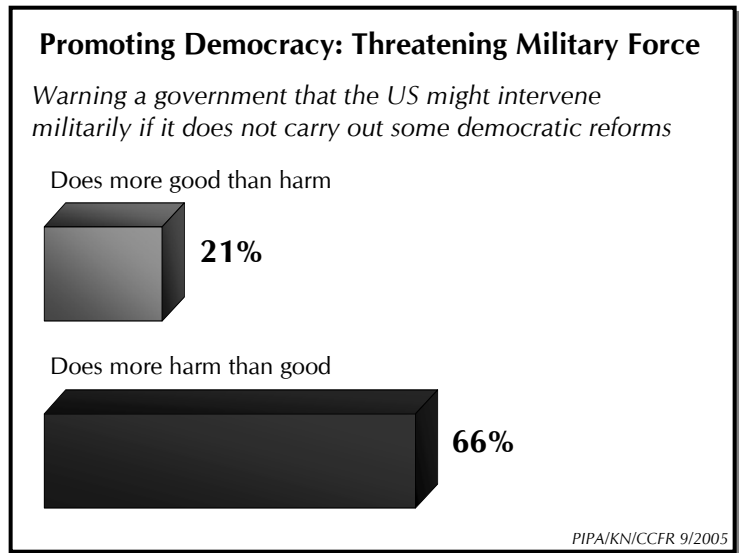
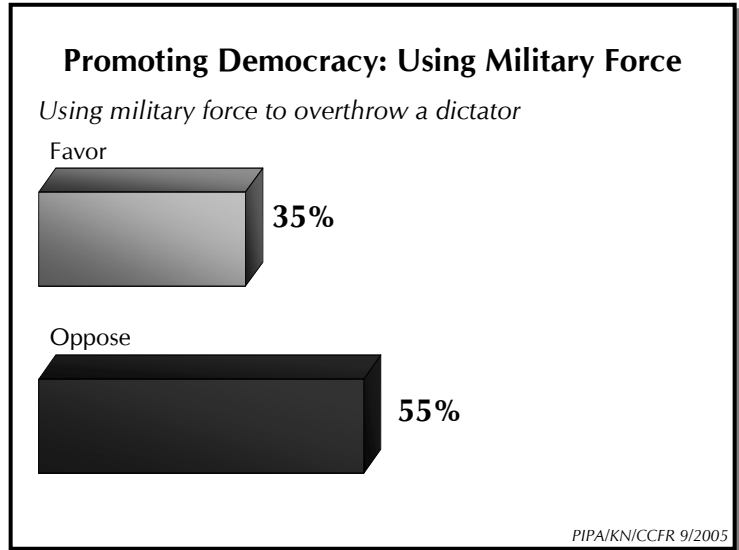
Asked simply whether they favored or opposed using military force to overthrow a dictator, only 35% were in favor while 55% were opposed. Only 27% said that “using military force to overthrow a dictator” “does more good than harm,” while a 58% majority says this “does more harm than good.”

Perhaps more telling, a larger majority rejects the idea of the US threatening countries with military force if they do not institute democratic reforms. Two-thirds (66%) said “warning a government that the US might intervene militarily if it does not carry out some democratic reforms” does more harm than good; only 21% thought the opposite. When asked to think about making such threats to specific countries, 73-76% rejected doing so for each country named (Iran, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Russia, China, and Burma, also called Myanmar).

On one question, Republicans deviated from the norm. A modest majority favored “using military force to overthrow a dictator” (52% in favor, 44% opposed). However, like the overall majority, a plurality of 48% said doing so does more harm than good (only 41% thought this “does more good than harm”). A majority of Republicans (59%) thought threatening countries does more harm than good as a method of promoting democracy.

Among Democrats, 66% were opposed to using military force to overthrow a dictator (27% in favor) and 75% thought it did more harm than good. Eighty percent of Democrats thought threatening countries does more harm than good.

Interestingly, while the public rejects the actual use of military force as a method to promote democracy, the use of force is not rejected as strongly as are warnings to do so. It seems possible that support for using force to overthrow a dictator may have been influenced by positive feelings about overthrowing Saddam Hussein.



2. Iraq War

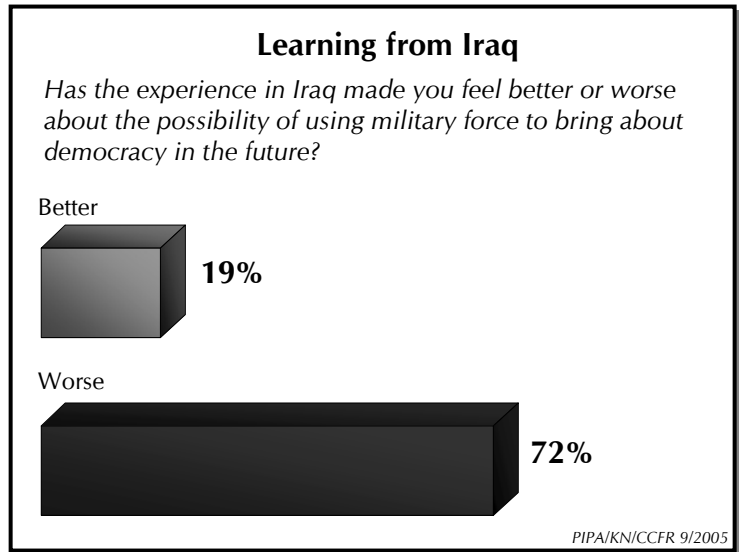
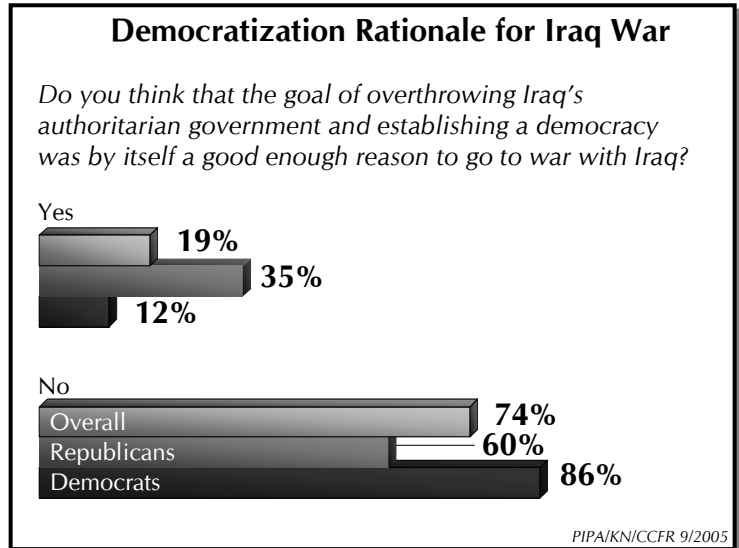
A large bipartisan majority says that establishing a democracy was not a good enough reason to go to war in Iraq. The experience in Iraq has made Americans feel less supportive of using military force to bring about democracy. A majority is ready to accept an Iraqi constitution even if it does not fully meet democratic standards, and wants to start withdrawing troops once the constitution is ratified.

Americans appear to be having reservations about America's current effort to promote democracy in Iraq. Three-fourths (74%) of respondents said that the goal of overthrowing Iraq's authoritarian government and establishing a democracy was not sufficient reason to go to war with Iraq. This conclusion spreads across party lines, including 60% of Republicans, 86% of Democrats and 73% of independents.

Nearly three-fourths (72%) said the experience in Iraq has made them feel worse about the prospect of using military force to bring about democracy in the future. This was true of a majority of Republicans (57%) as well as Democrats (88%).

Americans do not seem to be insisting that Iraq achieve a high level of democracy before the United States pulls out. Respondents were told that "in October Iraqis will vote on whether to accept or reject a new constitution that recognizes Islamic law as a main source of legislation. Some are concerned that this may undermine the rights of women." Nonetheless, 64% said that "if the Iraqis vote to accept the constitution" the US should "accept the constitution as it is." Less than one-fourth (23%) said the US should threaten to withdraw support unless the constitution is changed in ways the US specifies. Republicans (65%) were nearly as likely as Democrats (70%) to accept the constitution as it is.

A majority also supported reducing the US troop presence in Iraq if Iraqis approve their constitutional referendum. Fifty-seven percent agreed that the US should assume that the implementation of democracy is achieved if the referendum passes, and begin a process of withdrawing troops. Nearly half of Republicans (49%) said the US should do so, while 70% of Democrats agreed. Less than a third of



Americans (29%) said the US should maintain current troop levels while working to ensure the implementation of democracy if Iraqis accept the constitutional referendum.

3. Benefits of Democracy

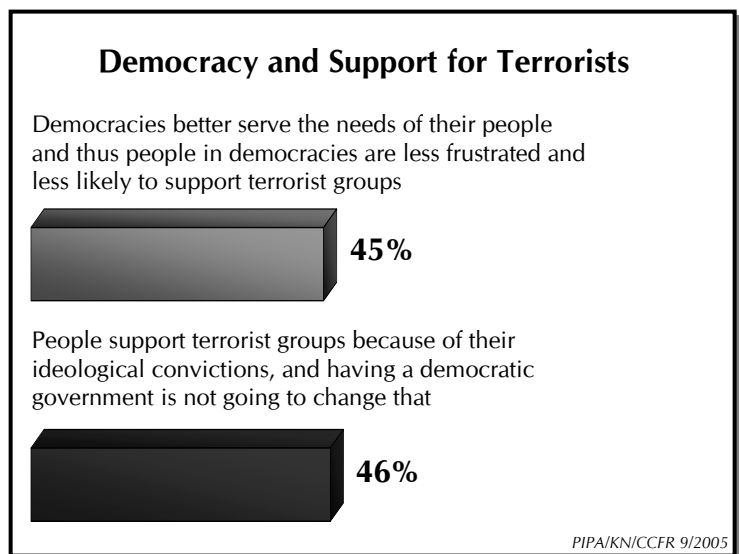
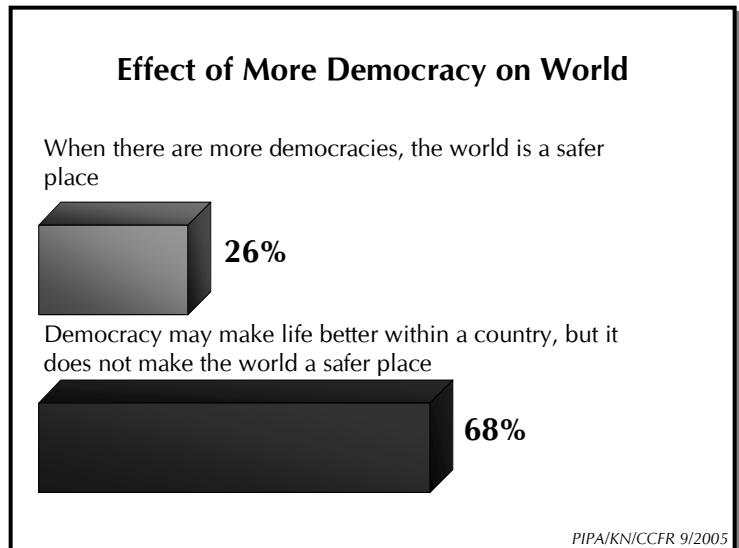
Americans are not convinced that when there are more democracies the world is a safer place, and are divided about whether democracy undermines support for terrorist groups, or whether democracies are less likely to go to war with each other or more likely to be friendly to the US. While a very large majority believes that democracy is the best form of government, there is less confidence that it is best for all countries. A majority is not confident that nearly all countries will eventually become democracies. Republicans are a bit more convinced of the benefits of democracy, but only by a few percentage points.

Despite the efforts of the Bush administration, Americans are not widely convinced that expanding the number of democracies will have wide-ranging positive effects.

Americans have doubts about whether democracy makes the world safer. Presented two statements, only 26% chose the one that said “When there are more democracies the world is a safer place.” Instead, 68% chose the statement “Democracy may make life better within a country, but it does not make the world a safer place.” This latter statement was endorsed by 63% of Republicans as well as 74% of Democrats.

The case that democracy undermines support for terrorism did a bit better but was not persuasive to a majority. Forty-five percent concurred that “democracies better serve the needs of their people and thus people in democracies are less frustrated and less likely to support terrorist groups.” A modest majority of Republicans (53%) however did agree with the statement. Overall 46% opted instead for the view that “people support terrorist groups because of their ideological convictions, and having a democratic government is not going to change that.”

The view, popular among political scientists, that democracies are unlikely to go to war with each other does not have a wide following. A plurality (49%) said democracies are just as likely to go to war with each other as are other



types of government, compared to 46% who said democracies are less likely to go to war with each other than other types of government. However, 55% of Republicans agreed that democracies are less likely to go to war.

One idea that did get modest majority support (52%) was that democracies are more stable and less likely to experience civil war than non-democracies. Similar numbers of Republicans (57%) and Democrats (60%) shared this view.

Americans are not widely convinced that democratization will lead countries to become more friendly to the US. When asked about the likelihood that countries that are becoming more democratic will agree with US policies, just 42% said it “increases the likelihood,” while a plurality (45%) said it “has no effect either way.” Republicans were more optimistic, with 53% saying that the process of countries becoming more democratic increases the likelihood they will agree with U.S. policies, as compared to 38% of Democrats.

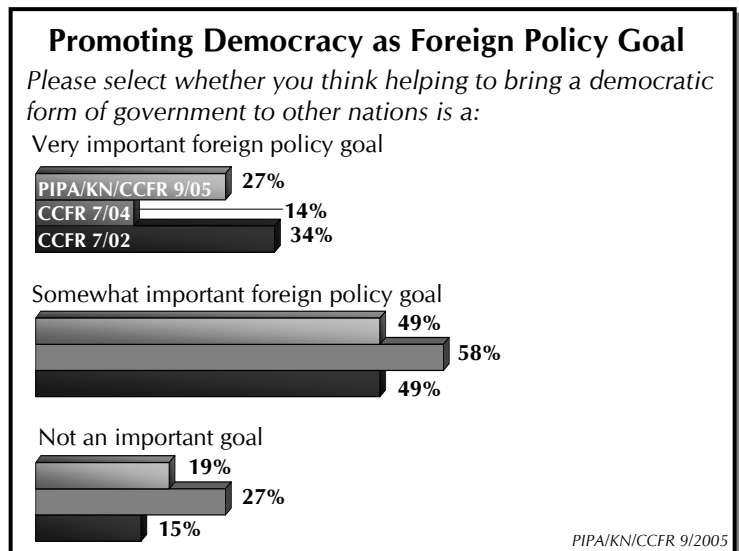
Some proponents of democracy promotion have argued that it is more important to promote democracy than economic development because the former is a prerequisite for the latter. However, only 9% of respondents accepted this view, with the same small percentage (10%) endorsing the opposite view as well. Rather, 74% opted for the view that the two factors help each other, and there is no fixed rule about which must come first. This view was shared by 80% of Democrats and 73% of Republicans.

Some of these reservations seem to be derived from doubts about whether all countries are ready for democracy. While 78% said that democracy is the best form of government, only 50% said that it is the best for all countries while 43% disagreed. Only 28% believe that eventually nearly all countries will become democracies. Republicans were more likely to believe that democracy is the best for all countries (59%) but only 33% of Republicans were confident that all countries would eventually become democracies.

However, a majority does not categorically assume that Islamic countries are incapable of becoming democratic. Only 34% said that “democracy and Islam are incompatible,” while a clear majority of 55% believes “it is possible for Islamic countries to be democratic.” Republicans and Democrats are very similar on this point, with 60% of Republicans and 57% of Democrats seeing Islamic democracies as real possibilities.

4. Democracy as a Priority in US Foreign Policy

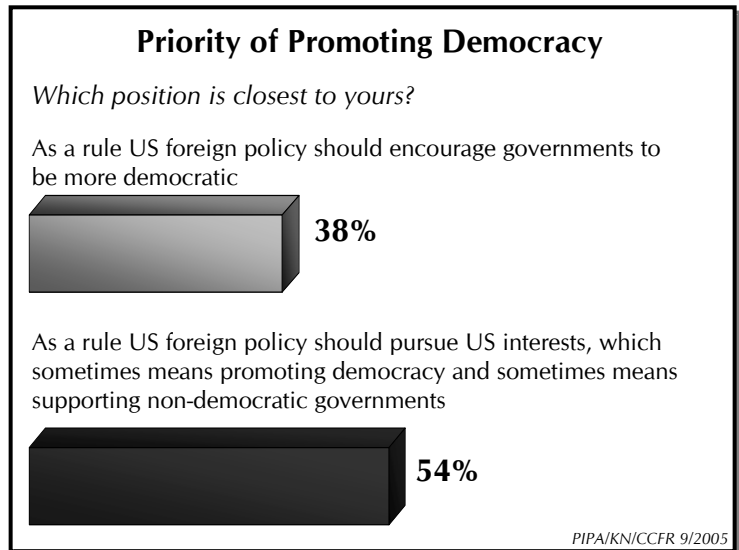
In general, a majority thinks that promoting democracy should be a goal but not a top priority of US foreign policy and favors a pragmatic approach, actively promoting democracy in some cases but not others. While a majority thinks that the US should be supportive of Saudi Arabia having free elections even if it is likely that the elected government would be unfriendly, a majority does not think that the US should promote a country becoming a democracy if it is likely to bring Islamic fundamentalists to power. The public is divided on



whether the US should pressure Pakistan to hold elections.

In general, a majority thinks that promoting democracy should be a goal but not a top priority of US foreign policy. Asked to assess the importance of “helping to bring a democratic form of government to other nations,” only 27% said it was very important and 19% said that it was not at all important. A 49% plurality said it was a somewhat important goal. CCFR has asked this question on a regular basis for some years now and it consistently gets similar ratings. Compared to other foreign policy goals, it receives one of the lowest ratings.

Americans appear to want to take a fairly pragmatic approach to promoting democracy, not making it a fixed rule that the US will always promote democracy in every situation. Offered two positions, only 38% said that “As a rule, US foreign policy should encourage countries to be democratic.” Fifty-four percent preferred the position that “As a rule, US foreign policy should pursue US interests, which sometimes means promoting democracy and sometimes means supporting non-democratic governments.”



However, when asked how they feel if a country goes through a democratic process of its own that results in a government less friendly to the US, a plurality said they would see it as positive. Forty-eight percent said they “would want to see a country become more democratic even if this resulted in the country being more likely to oppose US policies.” Thirty-nine percent disagreed.

Asked specifically about Saudi Arabia, a majority (54%, including 63% of Republicans and 52% of Democrats) said that the US should support free elections in Saudi Arabia even if it is likely that the elected government would be unfriendly. Just 36% thought the US should not. What is more, only a quarter (26%) believes that “if Saudi Arabia were to hold free elections...the elected government would be more friendly to the US.” A 48% plurality thought such elections would have no effect either way on the degree of friendliness of the Saudi government, while another 18% believed the new government would be less friendly.

However, support for elections is not reflexive. Fifty-four percent felt that the US should not “support a country becoming a democracy if there is a high likelihood that the people will elect an Islamic fundamentalist leader.” This is probably not only because such a government might be unfriendly to US interests, but also because there would be a considerable likelihood that it would become undemocratic.

When presented the specific case of Pakistan, with all of these value conflicts highlighted, the response was divided. Respondents were told:

As you may know, Pakistan is now led by General Musharraf, who came to power through a military coup, but made a commitment to hold elections. General Musharraf recently changed his mind and cancelled scheduled elections. Here are two views of what the US position should be about this.

Forty percent chose the pro-pressure argument that “The US should pressure the Musharraf government to hold elections. To simply ignore this would be contrary to US values and would undermine US leadership in the world.” About as many—43%—chose the opposing argument, which said “the Musharraf government has been helpful in the war on terrorism, and if there are elections, it is possible that Islamic fundamentalists may win.” Interestingly, 53% of Republicans took the pro-pressure position, while 52% of Democrats opposed pressure.

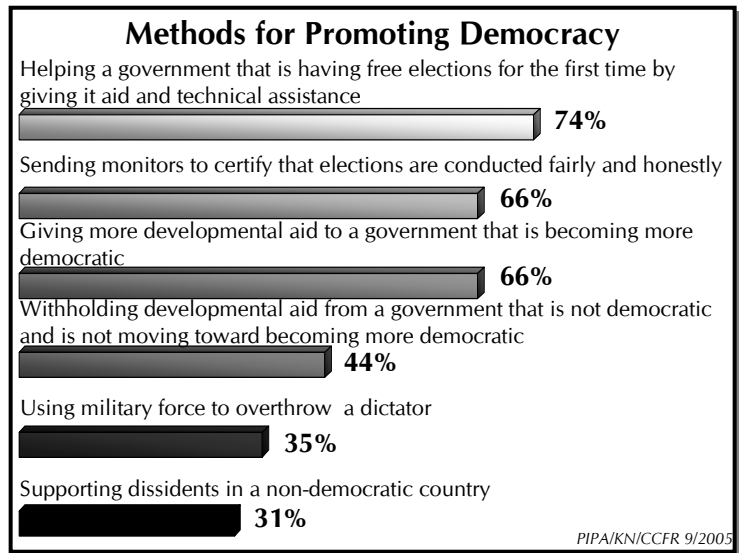
When Americans are asked about whether the US should try to spend money to influence elections in its interest, a large majority takes a stance consistent with democratic ideals. Seventy-five percent said the “US should not spend money to try to influence elections in other countries in order to help elect candidates friendly to the US” (Republicans 69%, Democrats 83%), while only 20% said it should. For Americans, this is simply a principle which should be reciprocal: 85% said other countries should not be allowed to spend money to try to influence US elections.

5. Promoting Democracy with Diplomatic and Cooperative Methods

A large majority favors the US promoting democracy through diplomatic and cooperative methods including helping emerging democracies with aid and technical assistance in conducting elections, sending monitors to certify that elections are conducted fairly and honestly, and bringing students, journalists and political leaders from a variety of countries to the US to educate them on how democracy works. However, a majority opposes using punitive or assertive methods for pressuring countries to become more democratic such as economic sanctions and supporting dissidents. Support for using aid as a reward is high, but not for withholding it as a punishment regardless of whether the aid provider is the US government or the World Bank.

While Americans have strong reservations about using military force to promote democracy, they consistently support methods that are diplomatic and involve cooperation with the country’s government. Methods of democracy promotion that are more assertive get less than majority support from the public.

Respondents were asked to think about nine different methods for the US to promote democracy, and in most instances were asked more than one question about each method. They were asked whether they favored or opposed the method in general; whether they thought the method was effective (“did more good than harm” or “did more harm than good”); and whether they would favor or oppose its use in seven specific countries—China, Russia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Pakistan, and Burma.



Election Assistance

The most popular of all methods tested was “helping a government that is having free elections for the first time by providing aid and technical assistance in elections.” Three out of four both favored this approach in general (74%) and saw it as doing more good than harm (70%). There was a similar positive

response to “sending monitors to certify that elections are conducted fairly and honestly:” 66% favored this method in general, with only 25% opposed.

Educating on Democracy

“Bringing students, journalists and political leaders to the United States to educate them on how democracy works” was widely seen as effective, with 66% saying it does “more good than harm” and only 19% saying the reverse. When asked about arranging such visits for citizens from specific countries, support for doing so ranged from 50% to 60%. Sixty percent supported exchanges with Russia while 50% supported exchanges with Iran.

Diplomatic Pressure

Respondents were asked whether they thought it would do more good than harm for the US to “put diplomatic pressure on a government to become more democratic, speak out against its lack of democracy, and encourage other countries to do the same.” The response was quite divided, with 44% thinking this would do more good than harm and 42% thinking it would do more harm than good. Democrats were likewise divided (44% more good, 49% more harm), while a 55% majority of Republicans saw it as doing more good (34% more harm). When the same question was asked for the seven countries, a narrow plurality (46-48%) favored diplomatic pressure in all cases, while four in ten (39-41%) were opposed.

Asked specifically about putting “greater pressure on countries in the Middle East like Saudi Arabia and Egypt to become more democratic,” 51% said the US should not do this, while 39% said that it should. This result is similar to polling in 2003 and 2004, which respectively found 41% in favor of more pressure, 53% against, and 35% in favor, 57% against. Republicans in the new poll were more inclined to favor pressure on Middle East nations (51%) than Democrats (32%).

Economic Sanctions

The method of “pressuring a non-democratic government with some economic sanctions, such as reduced trade with the US” fell short of majority support, with 46% seeing it as doing more harm than good and 40% seeing it as positive on balance. On this method, however, there is something of a partisan divide. A clear majority of Democrats (58%) saw sanctions as negative on balance, while 57% of Republicans saw them as positive. When the same question was asked about the seven listed countries, support for using economic sanctions was strongest regarding China (51% in favor, 37% opposed) and Iran (50% in favor, 37% opposed)—though this support was still slim. With all other countries tested, there was narrow plurality support for pressuring with sanctions. For Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Burma, 48% were in favor (40-42% opposed). For Russia, the response was essentially divided (47% in favor, 42% opposed).

Supporting Dissidents

When asked whether, in general, they favored or opposed the method of “supporting dissidents in a non-democratic country,” a clear majority—56%—opposed it, with only 31% in favor. Republicans and Democrats were in harmony, with 57% of Republicans and 63% of Democrats opposed. When asked to think about the method’s effectiveness, a 48% plurality thought it does “more harm than good,” while 36% thought it does “more good than harm.” Republicans were divided on its effectiveness (42% more harm, 46% more good), but among Democrats a strong majority saw this method as negative on balance (62% more harm, 32% more good).

To see whether the current interest in democratization had affected the way Americans look at China, this study asked a question ABC last asked in 1998: “Generally, do you think the United States should support the pro-democracy movement in China, or do you think this is an internal matter and the United States should stay out of it?” The results were nearly identical to 1998: 55% thought the US should “stay out of it,” while only 35% thought the US should support China’s pro-democracy movement (1998: 58% and 37% respectively).

The Use of Aid

Attitudes about using aid as an incentive to promote democracy varied sharply depending on whether it was offered as a positive reinforcement or withheld as a punishment. Asked whether they favored or opposed the general method of “giving more developmental aid to a government that is becoming more democratic,” two-thirds (66%) were in favor. Both Republicans (76%) and Democrats (70%) were highly supportive, with only a plurality (42%) of independents favoring this method (with 32% opposed and 26% undecided).

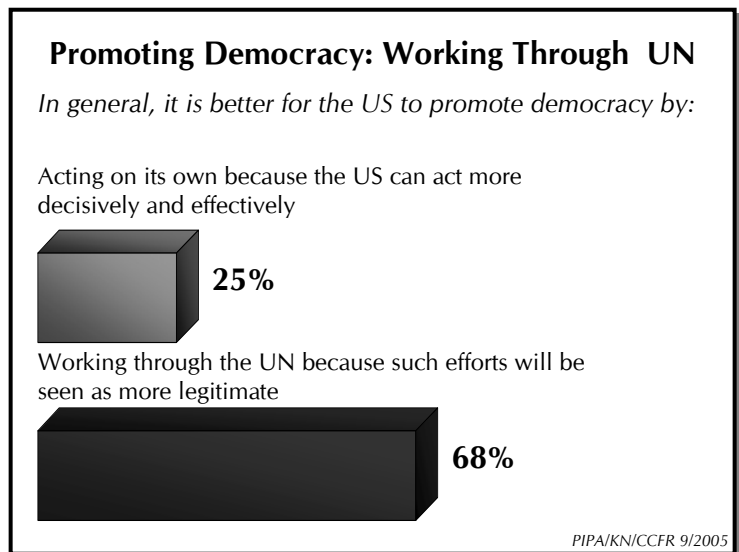
Respondents were also asked about the opposite tactic: “Withholding developmental aid from a government that is not democratic or is not moving toward becoming more democratic.” Support was far lower—44%—with 46% opposed. Asked to think about the method’s effectiveness, a 49% plurality thought it does more harm than good, with only 36% thinking the opposite.

The same pattern applied when asked what the World Bank should do. Only 39% agreed that “The World Bank should only give loans to poor countries that are democracies or are moving toward becoming more democratic so as to encourage countries to become more democratic.” A majority (65%) agreed with the idea that the World Bank should help people in poor countries and not discriminate against those who happen to live under a non-democratic government.

6. Working through the UN

A large majority prefers working through the UN to promote democracy. A plurality believes that it should be the goal of the UN to promote democracy in the world.

Consistent with their support for cooperative methods for promoting democracy, Americans prefer working through the UN to accomplish this goal. Two-thirds of respondents (68%) said it is better for the US to promote democracy through the UN, because such efforts will be seen as more legitimate than for the US to act on its own. A plurality of Republicans (49%) and a majority of Democrats (88%) held this view. Only a quarter of those polled said the US should act on its own because it can act more decisively and effectively that way.

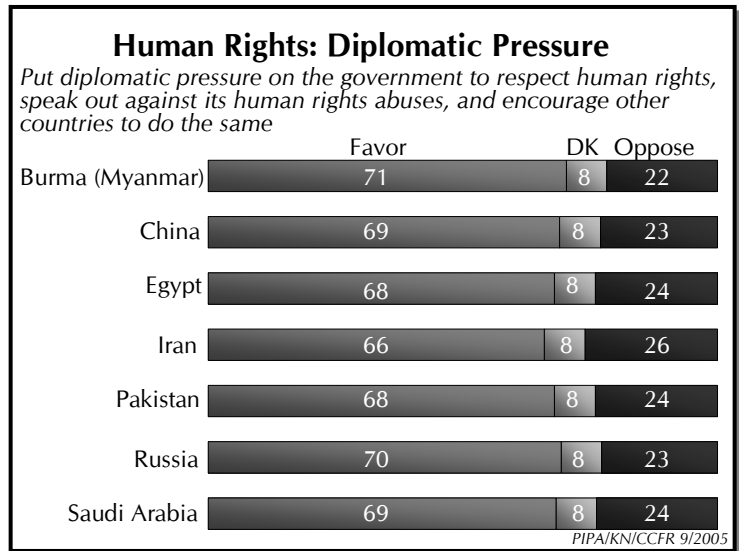


Half of respondents believe that promoting democracy should be a goal of the UN, including 56% of Republicans and 54% of Democrats. Only a third of independents (35%) agreed with that idea. Forty-two percent said the UN should not be involved in attempting to influence what kind of government a country has (39% of Republicans and 42% of Democrats).

7. Pressing for Human Rights

In contrast to more divided attitudes about pressuring countries to be more democratic, large majorities favor the US putting diplomatic pressure on governments to respect human rights, speaking out against human rights abuses, and encouraging other countries to do the same.

A significant majority favored pressuring governments to respect human rights as a method to encourage greater democracy. Asked specifically about Burma, China, Egypt, Iran, Pakistan, Russia and Saudi Arabia – a majority—66% to 70%—in each case favored putting diplomatic pressure on the government to respect human rights, speaking out against the country’s human rights abuses and encouraging other countries to do the same.



Support for pressing for human rights was in sharp contrast to the above-mentioned similarly worded question about applying diplomatic pressure to become more democratic: in this case, for the seven countries only a narrow plurality (46-48%) favored it while four in ten (39-41%) were opposed.

Of five different methods that were listed as possible ways to encourage democracy, including pressure on human rights, warning of military intervention, and economic sanctions, the most favored method was pressure on human rights. Americans were even more in favor of pressuring these nations on human rights than they were of bringing students, journalists and political leaders to the United States to educate them on democracy.

Americans also appear to be ready to accept significant political costs as part of pressing for human rights. In another question on human rights, nearly three-fourths of Americans favored investigating possible human rights abuses even if it meant that the United States would lose the ability to utilize a foreign military base as a result. Asked whether the United States should have called for an international investigation of a protest in Uzbekistan in which the government shot and killed several hundred Uzbeks and as a consequence Uzbekistan ordered the U.S. to close its airbase and leave, 72% of Americans said the United States did the right thing. Slightly more Republicans (80%) than Democrats (73%) believed it was the right thing to do, but independents were less supportive of the U.S. call for an investigation (57%). A quarter of independents did not answer the question, far more than Democrats or Republicans.

8. Reservations about US Democracy

Some of the reservations Americans have about pressing countries to become more democratic may be derived from a lack of confidence that the US is an ideal democracy. Americans are clearly not satisfied with the level of US government responsiveness to the will of the public.

Americans do not show a high level of confidence in American democracy. Asked how democratic the US government is, on a scale of 0 to 10 (0 meaning not at all democratic and 10 meaning completely democratic), the mean was 6.2. This is a lower score in comparison to other Western democracies such as Canada (7.1), Britain (6.8) and Sweden (6.2).

Many Americans feel that their federal elected representatives are not heeding citizens' views. Asked how much influence the views of the majority of Americans have on the decisions of elected officials in Washington, on a scale of 0 to 10 (0 meaning not at all influential and 10 meaning extremely influential), the mean response was 4.5.

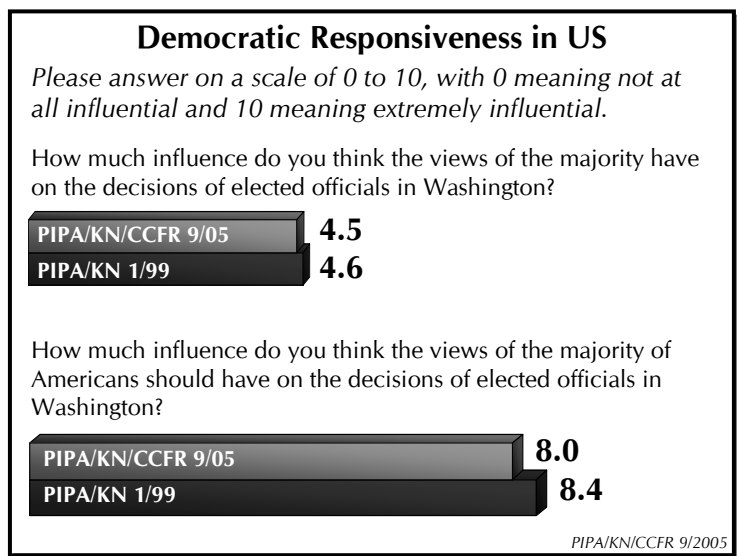
When asked how much influence the views of the majority of Americans should have on the decisions of elected officials in Washington, on a scale of 0 to 10, the mean response was 8.0.

When asked what percentage of the time Congress makes decisions that are the same as the decisions the majority of Americans would make, the mean answer was 39%—less than chance.

Evaluating Level of Democracy

Country	Mean
Canada	7.1
Great Britain	6.8
United States	6.2
Sweden	6.2
Mexico	4.6
India	4.0
Russia	3.6
Turkey	3.6
Egypt	3.5
Afghanistan	2.6
Iraq	2.3
Pakistan	2.3
Saudi Arabia	1.9
China	1.9
Iran	1.7

PIPA/KN/CCFR 9/2005



METHODOLOGY

The poll was fielded by Knowledge Networks, a polling, social science, and market research firm in Menlo Park, California, with a randomly selected sample of its large-scale nationwide research panel. This panel is itself randomly selected from the national population of households having telephones and subsequently provided Internet access for the completion of surveys (and thus is not limited to those who already have Internet access). The distribution of the sample in the Web-enabled panel closely tracks the distribution of United States Census counts for the US population on age, race, Hispanic ethnicity, geographical region, employment status, income, education, etc.

The panel is recruited using stratified random-digit-dial (RDD) telephone sampling. RDD provides a non-zero probability of selection for every US household having a telephone. Households that agree to participate in the panel are provided with free Web access and an Internet appliance, which uses a telephone line to connect to the Internet and uses the television as a monitor. In return, panel members participate in surveys three to four times a month. Survey responses are confidential, with identifying

information never revealed without respondent approval. When a survey is fielded to a panel member, he or she receives an e-mail indicating that the survey is available for completion. Surveys are self-administered.

For more information about the methodology, please go to:

www.knowledgenetworks.com/ganp.