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Chapter 15: U.S. Opinion on Development and Humanitarian Aid www.cfr.org/public_opinion

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CHAPTER 15: U.S. OPINION ON DEVELOPMENT AND HUMANITARIAN AID

The U.S. public, like publics in most other developed nations, expresses support for giving development assistance to poor countries. There is a widespread consensus in the United States that developed countries have a moral responsibility to work to reduce hunger and severe poverty and that helping poor countries develop serves the long-term interests of wealthy countries, including by developing trade partners and enhancing global stability. In addition, Americans perceive development aid as furthering democracy and, for a more modest number of respondents, as a way to fight terrorism. Besides financial aid, large majorities of Americans express a willingness to contribute troops for humanitarian operations, including providing assistance to victims of war and famine.

Americans are generally view development aid favorably. When asked by GMF in 2007 whether they had a favorable or unfavorable view of "providing development assistance to poor countries," 66 percent of Americans expressed a favorable view while 30 percent had an unfavorable view. The average of six European nations polled on the question (75 percent in favor) was slightly higher. These views have been largely stable since 2005, except for declining support in Germany.

When asked whether they supported four different types of aid by Chicago Council on Global Affairs in 2010, majorities of Americans offered support for every type. The two most popular were "food and medical assistance to people in needy countries" and "aid to help farmers in needy countries become more productive"—both favored by 74 percent. These were followed by "aid that helps needy countries develop their economies" (62% support) and the non-altruistic "aid to increase U.S. influence over countries that are important to U.S. interests" (58%). Majority support was lower in 2010 than in 2004 for questions where a trend was available: those favoring "food and medical assistance" went from 82 to 74 percent support, and "aid to help needy countries develop their economies" went from 70 to 62 percent support.

There is a broad U.S. consensus that developed countries have "a moral responsibility to work to reduce hunger and severe poverty in poor countries." In a 2008 WPO poll, a large majority of U.S. respondents (81 percent) said that developed countries have such an obligation. On average among nineteen countries polled, including both developed and developing nations, a similar 80 percent said developed countries have such a responsibility.³

A majority of Americans also agree that "it is in rich countries' own economic self-interest to actively help poor countries develop." In a 2004 GlobeScan poll, a large majority of Americans (83 percent) agreed with this statement, a slightly higher number than the 74 percent average of all nineteen publics polled. Among the seven European countries, an average of 76 percent agreed.⁴

When asked by the German Marshall Fund (GMF) in 2007 to choose the top three (out of nine) reasons for giving aid to poor countries, the most popular reason among U.S. respondents was "alleviating poverty," a rationale cited by 49 percent of Americans and an average of 59 percent of Europeans across six nations polled.

The next most commonly cited reason was "fighting health problems like AIDS," although, again, fewer Americans (37 percent) chose this option than Europeans (46 percent). "Supporting economic growth" was the next most popular reason, with Americans (36 percent) and Europeans (38 percent) showing comparable support. "Helping with natural disaster relief" was also cited by similar numbers of Americans (32 percent) and Europeans (29 percent).

There were some areas, however, where the U.S. public differed from European publics in its justifications for providing development assistance. More Americans chose "contributing to global stability" (35 percent) as a top reason than did Europeans (23 percent). Americans were also somewhat more likely than Europeans to identify "preventing breeding grounds for terrorism" as a top reason for development aid (31 percent, compared to the European average of 26 percent). By contrast, Europeans cited "encouraging democracy" (31 percent) as a top reason more commonly than did Americans (23 percent). Americans were also much less likely (17 percent) than Europeans (31 percent) to mention "helping poor countries trade." Among all countries, few publics considered "gaining political allies" to be a top reason, although more Americans cited this reason (13 percent) than Europeans (5 percent).

A majority of Americans (64 percent) further agreed that development assistance strengthens support for democratic institutions in developing countries, although an even greater percentage (71 percent) of Europeans also adhered to this belief (GMF 2007).⁶

There is less of a consensus among Americans, as well as Europeans, on whether development assistance is a good way to fight terrorism. Publics in the United States, along with ten European countries, were asked whether providing economic aid to raise living standards in countries where terrorists are recruited is the most appropriate way to fight terrorism (GMF 2004). Americans were divided on the questions (49 percent to 46 percent). On average in Europe, 49 percent agreed that economic aid was the most appropriate way to fight terrorism and 43 percent disagreed.⁷

Aside from financial aid, a large majority of Americans express a willingness to contribute troops for humanitarian operations. In a poll conducted by GMF and the Chicago Council on Global Affairs (CCGA) in 2002, 81 percent of respondents in the United States approved of using their troops to assist a population struck by famine, as did an average of 88 percent of Europeans in six nations. Similar numbers of Americans (81 percent) and Europeans (90 percent) approved of using their troops to provide food and medical assistance to victims of war (GMF 2005). The same poll also found strong U.S. support for providing humanitarian assistance in Darfur (75 percent) and contributing to international reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan (64 percent). On average in twelve European countries, similar majorities supported using their troops for these efforts in Darfur (73 percent) and Afghanistan (64 percent).

Aid Levels and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

There is a strong consensus among Americans that wealthy nations are not doing enough to help poorer nations. At the same time, less than a majority of U.S. respondents favor increased government spending on aid, or higher taxes to pay for more foreign aid. However, these attitudes are based on extremely exaggerated estimates of how much aid the U.S. government is giving.

In addition, when increased spending is placed in the context of a multilateral effort—specifically the Millennium Development Goal of cutting hunger and severe poverty in half—a large majority of Americans said they would support increasing their spending to the necessary amount to meet the goal, provided other countries do the same. However, public awareness of the MDGs remains low.

A 2007 study found that a majority of Americans thought "the wealthier nations of the world are not doing enough to help the poorer nations of the world with such problems as economic development, reducing poverty, and improving health" (Pew/Kaiser Foundation). Sixty-nine percent of Americans agreed with this statement, while 25 percent thought wealthier nations are doing enough. This view garnered majority support in other major donor countries as well, including in France (81 percent), Germany (75 percent), Great Britain (77 percent), Italy (78 percent), and Japan (63 percent). Interestingly, the only place with a majority that believed the wealthier nations are doing enough was in Indonesia (54 percent), a developing country. On average among all forty-seven nations polled 72 percent of respondents thought wealthier nations are not doing enough. ¹⁰

Predictably, when asked whether "the European Union can take greater responsibility for dealing with international threats" by "spend[ing] more money on aid for development," 84 percent of Americans agreed that the European Union should spend more. Europeans strongly support this view as well, with an identical 84 percent taking this position (GMF 2007).¹¹

Americans tend to say that their government should cut back on economic aid. In 2010, 60 percent of Americans said their government should cut back on economic aid to other nations (up from 55 percent in 2008), 33 percent said it should be kept the same and 7 percent that it should be expanded—(CCGA) When Americans were asked by GMF in 2002 and 2003 whether their own government is spending too much, too little, or the right amount on "economic aid to other nations," 48 percent in 2002 and 59 percent in 2003 said the U.S. government was spending too much. By contrast, on

average, across seven European countries in 2002, just 24 percent said their government was spending too much, and 31 percent said so in 2003. The most common European response was that their country is spending the right amount (44 percent in 2002, 37 percent in 2003). 12

American attitudes about government aid spending levels, however, appear to rest on extreme overestimates of how much the United States is spending. A 2010 WorldPublicOpinion.org poll asked respondents to estimate what percentage of the federal budget goes to foreign aid, and then what they thought would be an appropriate percentage. (Both questions were asked open-ended; respondents were not prompted with ranges of possible replies.) On average, respondents said they believed 27 percent of the federal budget was currently going to aid (median 25 percent) and said that 13 percent (median: 10 percent) was the appropriate level (ten times the actual percentage). In a similar 2002 CCGA poll, the median response was identical.¹³

Public opinion researchers have also used polling to explore whether telling respondents how much of their tax money actually goes to foreign aid affects their willingness to increase that amount. At the same time it should be noted that Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) polls have found that U.S. respondents tend to be quite mistrustful when they are provided information in a poll that is contrary to their assumptions and many may not believe what they are told about the actual levels of foreign aid spending.¹⁴ Thus the effect of receiving information may be more modest than it would be if respondents were fully confident in the information.

A Hart Research poll (February 2011) divided the sample, telling half that foreign aid is less than 1 percent of the budget and leaving the other half without this information. All were then asked: "Should U.S. spending to address problems facing people in poor and developing countries increase, stay the same, or decrease?" Among those who did not get the information 45 percent wanted to cut it, 20 percent wanted to increase it and 32 percent to keep it the same. Among those who were told that foreign aid is less than 1 percent support for cutting it dropped 19 points to 26 percent, those wanted to increase it jumped 12 points to 32 percent and 39 percent wanted to maintain it at current levels.¹⁵

World Values Survey (WVS) presented respondents from various countries with the percentage of their country's national income spent on foreign aid and the amount per capita (WVS 2005). They were then asked how they felt about the level of aid. In this case, only 20 percent of Americans said that it was too high, 25 percent said it was too low and 51 percent said that this spending was about right, and. Globally, views were also generally mixed between those saying aid levels were too low or about right. On average, 46 percent across ten developed countries said their country's foreign aid contribution level was about right, 35 percent said it was too low, and 9 percent said it was too high. ¹⁶

Especially interesting is how Americans treat foreign aid in the context of a budget balancing exercise in which they are not only given information about the amount of foreign aid but permitted to trade aid off against other budget items, including popular domestic programs like education. The Program on Public Consultation (PPC) presented a representative sample of Americans with an on-line questionnaire on the discretionary budget and the deficit, giving respondents a chance to make tradeoffs in an integrated framework--as policymakers must do. The public did not single out foreign aid for cuts. Rather, presented with budgets for five distinct foreign aid categories—humanitarian assistance, development assistance, global health, Economic Support Funds (generally targeted at political allies), and military aid the respondents increased some, protected others, and cut yet others. Respondents saw 31 items of the discretionary budget and the Office of Management and Budget's projection of the 2015 allocation for each area. They also saw the projected deficit associated with the discretionary budget, and got constant feedback on how their budget choices were affecting that deficit. On average, respondents made substantial cuts to the aid programs with geostrategic objectives: the Economic Support Fund (cut 23 percent) and military aid (cut 15 percent). However, programs with a more altruistic purpose did much better. Humanitarian aid was actually increased by 18 percent, while global health was lightly nicked (cut 2 percent); development assistance got cut a bit more (14 percent). On average, though, altruistic programs were cut just 3 percent--even in the context of seeking to reduce the federal budget deficit. They were also cut less than the average for all discretionary budget items, which was 11 percent. 17

Furthermore, these cuts may have been influenced by misperceptions about what percentage of the federal budget actually goes to foreign aid, as well as a reluctance to believe the modest amounts presented constituted total foreign aid spending.

At the very end of the questionnaire respondents were asked to estimate "about what percentage of the federal budget goes to foreign aid." The median response was 15 percent. Since, as discussed above, a 2010 PIPA poll and a 2002 CCGA poll both found a higher median estimate of 25 percent, the budget study respondents' estimate of 15 percent suggests that the exercise had some impact on their assumptions, but only a limited amount. The budget study next asked them what percentage of the budget they thought foreign aid should be; their median response was 5 percent (higher than the 3.9 percent of the total discretionary budget they had been shown in the budget exercise).

The U.S. public also tends to resist paying higher taxes in order increase aid to other countries. Asked whether they would be willing to pay higher taxes to increase their country's foreign aid to poor countries, most respondents said they would not be willing (WVS 2005). Seventy-three percent of Americans were opposed (the largest opposition of all nations polled) and 23 percent were in favor. On average in thirteen countries, 52 percent of those polled were opposed and 39 percent were willing. It should be noted that, in general, when respondents are asked about raising taxes they often show resistance even when it is for things that they say they support. This may reflect the view that other funds should be redirected to aid purposes, as well as widespread resistance to taxes related to general lack of confidence in governments.¹⁸

Not surprisingly, Americans also put a higher priority on solving their own country's problems over reducing poverty in the world. When respondents were asked to specify the proper balance of their country's priorities on a scale from 1 (top priority to help reducing poverty in the world) to 10 (top priority to solve my own country's problems), Americans gave a rating of 7.6, while the mean rating in all forty-one countries was 7.5 (WVS 2005). 19

This does not mean, however, that Americans do not think that a significant amount of funds should go to addressing poverty abroad. In June 1996, PIPA asked respondents to specify how much of their tax money that goes to the poor should go to the poor at home and how much to the poor abroad. On average, U.S. respondents proposed that 78 percent should go to the poor at home and 22 percent should go to the poor abroad. (At the time, the actual ratio was 97 percent to the poor at home and 3 percent to the poor abroad.)²⁰

The Millennium Development Goals

The UN member states have established a series of goals for economic and social development called the Millennium Development Goals. One goal is to cut hunger and severe poverty in half by the year 2015.

Majorities in all eight developed countries polled were willing to contribute the funds necessary to meet this goal (WPO 2008). Respondents were presented the annual per capita contribution that would be necessary for meeting this goal (based on actual World Bank estimates), adjusted for national income. This ranged from ten dollars for people in Turkey to fifty-six dollars for people in the United States. Seventy-five percent of Americans said that they were willing to contribute this amount, while 22 percent were unwilling. In every case, and in most cases by a large margin, majorities of respondents said they were willing to personally pay the amount necessary to meet the goal, provided that people in other countries did so as well. In the average of the eight countries polled, 77 percent were willing to contribute and 17 percent were not willing.

It should be noted that these large majorities in support of new spending toward meeting the goal of cutting hunger in half were substantially higher than in the above-mentioned questions about increasing foreign aid. It is likely that this higher support was due to its being placed in the context of a multilateral effort, with support being predicated on other countries doing their part as well.

Despite their support, few people around the world, including Americans, have heard of the Millennium Development Goals. In 2005, an overwhelming majority of Americans (92 percent) said they had not heard of the MDGs while only 5 percent had (WVS 2005). On average in forty-two countries, 76 percent of respondents said they had not heard of the MDGs and 20 percent said they had heard of them.²²

There is strong U.S. support for multilateral institutions taking the lead in setting aid policies and delivering development assistance, but not in dealing with refugees.

When it comes to making policies on aid to developing countries, a majority of people in the United States believe the responsibility should lie with multilateral institutions over regional organizations or national governments (WVS 2005). When asked who should take the lead on decisions about "aid to developing countries," 41 percent of Americans thought the United Nations should make such decisions, 30 percent said that national governments should take the lead, and 23 percent said regional organizations. On average among forty-two countries polled, 48 percent favored the United Nations deciding policies on aid, 22 percent favored national governments, and 20 percent favored regional organizations. The World Bank was not offered as an option in this case).

Similarly, when asked who should have the primary responsibility for delivering development assistance, the most common public response was "international organizations like the World Bank and the United Nations" (GMF 2007). A plurality of U.S. respondents (37 percent) were in favor of international organizations delivering development assistance, while the rest were divided between NGOs (18 percent), the U.S. government (17 percent), and private companies (8 percent). On average among the six European countries polled, 46 percent said international organizations should have the responsibility of delivering assistance; 20 percent said the European Union; 12 percent said individual European governments; nine percent said charities, foundations, and nongovernmental organizations; five percent said the U.S. government; two percent said private companies and businesses; and two percent said religious organizations.²⁴

When it comes to policies related to refugees, however, the U.S. public is divided. Thirty-four percent of respondents said that national governments should decide refugee policy, while 33 percent said that the United Nations should have this responsibility and 27 percent said regional organizations (WVS 2005). On the other hand, publics globally express a preference for UN leadership on refugee issues. On average among forty-two countries polled, 43 percent of respondents support the United Nations setting policies on refugee issues, 28 percent picked national governments, and 18 percent favored regional organizations.²⁵

Linking Aid to Recipient Country Behavior

Majorities of Americans favor linking the level of aid given to poor countries with a variety of conditions, including the recipient country's efforts to promote democracy and fight poverty, corruption, and terrorism, though U.S. public support is consistently lower than global support for insisting on these conditions. A large majority also favors giving aid to help poor countries reduce greenhouse gases as part of an agreement wherein they commit to limit the growth of their emissions.

A majority in the United States say it is important to link the level of aid to poor countries with their efforts to fight poverty. Eighty-three percent say that this should be the case, while 9 percent disagree. On average among the six European countries polled (GMF 2007), 89 percent of respondents agreed with linking aid to anti-poverty efforts and 8 percent disagreed.²⁶

Similarly, in the same poll, a large majority agreed that the level of aid to poor countries should be linked with efforts by that country to fight corruption. Eighty percent of U.S. respondents agreed with this while 13 percent disagreed. Among the six European countries, 87 percent favored linking aid levels to efforts against corruption and 10 percent were opposed (GMF 2007).²⁷

A more modest majority of Americans (61 percent) support linking the amount of development aid given to a country with efforts in that country to promote democracy. Among Europeans, a much larger average of 81 percent supported tying aid to democracy promotion (GMF 2007). ²⁸

Americans, as well as publics in other countries, also agreed with linking aid to efforts that recipient countries make to open their markets to international trade. Again, U.S. support is the lowest among countries polled, with 68 percent agreeing and 24 percent disagreeing. Among the six European countries, an average of 75 percent of respondents favored linking aid to openness to international trade (GMF 2007).²⁹

Curiously, U.S. public support is also the lowest when Americans are asked if respondents favor a link between aid and the recipient country's efforts to fight terrorism. Sixty-nine percent of Americans were in favor, while 23 percent were opposed. In all six European countries, an average of 79 percent agreed with such a link and 18 percent disagreed (GMF 2007).³⁰

Finally, there is strong U.S. support for an agreement by which developing countries would limit greenhouse-gas emissions in exchange for technology and financial assistance for this purpose from developed countries. When polled about such an agreement in a 2007 British Broadcasting Company (BBC)/GlobeScan/PIPA survey, a majority of U.S. respondents (70 percent) were in favor, and 21 percent were opposed. In the global average of all twenty-one nations asked, 73 percent of respondents were in favor of such a plan and 18 percent were opposed.³¹

Please tell me if you have a favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of:

Providing development assistance to poor countries

	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/ Refused	Favorable	Unfavorable
Germany	18	37	34	8	3	55	42
France	44	41	9	5		85	15
Italy	53	40	5	2		93	7
Poland	20	53	15	3	8	74	18
Slovakia	14	48	26	6	6	63	31
United Kingdom	39	36	10	10	4	76	21
United States	28	38	17	13	4	66	30
European Average	34	41	17	6	3	75	23

German Marshall Fund Trade and Poverty Reduction Survey, 2005

Please tell me if you have a favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of:

Providing development assistance to poor countries

	Very	Somewhat	Somewhat	Very	Don't
	favorable	favorable	unfavorable	unfavorable	know/refused
Germany	23	46	22	6	3
France	44	41	9	6	0
Italy	40	54	5	1	0
Poland	15	53	23	2	6
United Kingdom	36	31	16	13	3
United States	26	39	20	11	4
European Average	32	45	15	6	2

¹ German Marshall Fund Trade and Poverty Reduction Survey, 2007

² Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2010

Here are some types of foreign aid. Please select whether you favor or oppose them:

Food and medical assistance to people in needy countries

	Favor	Oppose	Not sure/ Decline
2002	84	12	4
2002	87	13	1
2004	82	13	4
2010	74	23	3

Aid that helps needy countries develop their economies

	Favor	Oppose	Not sure/ Decline
2002	74	21	5
2002	74	24	2
2004	70	25	5
2010	62	35	3

Aid to help farmers in needy countries become more productive \setminus

	Favor	Oppose	Not sure/ Decline
2010	74	25	2

Aid to increase U.S. influence over counties that are important to U.S. interests

	Favor	Oppose	Not sure/ Decline
2010	58	39	2

³ WorldPublicOpinion.org 2008

Do you think the developed countries do or do not have a moral responsibility to work to reduce hunger and severe poverty in poor countries?

	Do	Do not	DK/ NS
Argentina	85	10	5
Mexico	90	8	1
United States	81	17	2
France	79	19	2
Germany	87	12	1
Great Britain	81	14	5
Italy	89	10	2
Russia	54	29	17
Ukraine	87	6	7
Egypt	71	27	3

81	11	8
50	49	1
81	15	4
92	8	1
87	12	1
83	5	12
72	14	13
87	4	8
90	10	1
91	5	4
80	15	5
	50 81 92 87 83 72 87 90	50 49 81 15 92 8 87 12 83 5 72 14 87 4 90 10 91 5

^{*} Taiwan not included in average

For each of the following statements, please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree.

It is in rich countries' own economic self-interest to actively help poor countries develop

	Agree	Disagree	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Depends/ Neither	DK/ NA
Argentina	54	26	29	25	14	12	2	18
Brazil	67	31	45	22	14	17	1	1
Canada	87	11	44	43	7	5	-	2
Chile	68	25	37	31	18	7	2	5
China	73	17	21	52	14	2	5	5
France	87	10	52	35	7	3	1	2
Germany	83	15	53	30	11	4	1	1
Great Britain	86	12	50	36	9	3	-	2
India	89	9	57	32	7	1	1	1
Indonesia	55	38	14	41	30	8	2	5
Italy	87	11	53	34	6	5	1	1
Mexico	88	8	56	32	4	4	-	3
Nigeria	73	23	39	34	15	8	2	2
Russia	52	27	16	36	18	9	5	16
South Africa	83	12	58	25	6	6	3	3
Spain	86	12	45	41	8	4	-	2
Turkey	52	15	20	33	13	2	5	28
Uruguay	56	26	23	32	11	15	2	16
United States	83	14	37	46	9	5	-	2
Average	74	18	39	35	12	6	2	6

⁵ German Marshall Fund Trade and Poverty Reduction Survey, 2007

From the following list of possibilities, please select the top three most important reasons, in your opinion, for giving aid to poor countries. Most important reason? Second most important reason? Third most important reason?

						United	United	European
	Germany	France	Italy	Poland	Slovakia	Kingdom	States	Average
Alleviating poverty	65	58	43	60	65	65	49	59
Helping poor countries trade	23	33	40	25	31	38	17	31

⁴ GlobeScan June 2004

Development assistance

Preventing breeding grounds								
for terrorism	21	29	28	29	20	29	31	26
Contributing to global								
stability	24	21	20	26	14	25	35	23
Encouraging democracy	35	38	37	16	26	22	23	31
Gaining political allies	5	3	5	7	10	5	13	5
Helping with natural disaster								
relief	28	31	22	46	45	22	32	29
Fighting health problems like								
AIDS	49	57	45	36	40	41	37	46
Supporting economic growth	40	27	49	35	36	38	36	38
None of these (spontaneous)	1	-	-	1	-	-	3	1
DK/ Refused	1	-	-	3	3	4	4	2

⁶ German Marshall Fund Trade and Poverty Reduction Survey, 2007

Which of the following two positions comes closest to your view?

	Development assistance strengthens support for democratic institutions in developing countries	Development assistance weakens support for democratic institutions in developing countries	neither strengthens nor weakens support for democratic institutions in developing countries (spontaneous)	DK/ Refused
Germany	77	13	4	6
France	76	18	3	3
Italy	74	9	13	5
Poland	64	10	12	14
Slovakia	63	13	8	15
United Kingdom	72	18	2	8
United States	64	11	16	9
European Average	71	14	7	9

 $^{^{7}}$ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2004

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following.

Providing economic aid to raise living standards in countries where terrorists are recruited is the most appropriate way to fight terrorism.

	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly	DK/ Refused
United States	19	30	26	20	5
France	17	30	23	28	3
Germany	20	33	25	19	2
United Kingdom	24	31	22	15	8
Italy	21	35	25	19	3
The Netherlands	18	35	25	19	3
Poland	18	30	25	14	13
Portugal	23	26	15	23	13
Spain	17	25	15	23	13
Slovakia	17	25	29	23	7
Turkey	28	17	15	28	13
European Average	20	29	22	21	8

⁸ German Marshall Fund/Chicago Council on Global Affairs World Views 2002

To assist a population struck by famine

	Approve	Disapprove	DK/ Refused
United Kingdom	90	9	1
France	89	10	1
Germany	83	14	3
The Netherlands	93	6	1
Italy	91	8	1
Poland	92	5	3
United States	81	16	3
European Average	88	10	2

⁹ German Marshall Fund/Chicago Council on Global Affairs World Views 2002

Now I would like to ask you some questions about when [country] should use its military force. For each of the following reasons, would you approve or disapprove the use of [survey country] military forces?

To provide food and medical assistance to victims of war

	Approve	Disapprove	DK/ Refused
United States	81	16	3
France	92	7	1
Germany	94	5	1
United Kingdom	93	5	3
Italy	85	14	1
The Netherlands	98	2	1
Poland	86	12	3
Portugal	85	7	8
Spain	95	5	1
Slovakia	84	11	5
Turkey	87	9	4
European Average	90	8	3

As you may know, some countries have troops engaged in different military operations around the world. To what extent, would you approve or disapprove of the deployment of [Nationality] troops for the following operations?

To provide humanitarian assistance in the Darfur region of the Sudan

	Approve				I don't know anything			
	very much	Approve somewhat	Disapprove somewhat	Disapprove very much	about this topic	DK/ Refused	Approve	Disapprove
United States	43	32	11	10	2	2	75	21

France	61	26	5	5	1	2	88	10
Germany	34	39	15	11	1	1	73	25
United Kingdom	51	29	9	7	1	3	80	16
Italy	55	31	7	7	1	-	86	13
Netherlands	55	27	8	9	1	1	82	17
Poland	30	41	10	7	11	1	71	17
Portugal	52	32	5	7	3	1	84	12
Spain	47	43	4	5		1	90	9
Slovakia	22	41	14	10	8	5	62	24
Turkey	37	21	8	18	16	-	58	26
Bulgaria	17	27	11	17	20	8	44	28
Romania	24	32	11	13	15	5	57	24
European								
Average	40	32	9	10	7	3	73	18

As you may know, some countries have troops currently engaged in different military operations around the world. To what extent, would you approve or disapprove of the deployment of [Nationality] troops for the following operations?

To contribute to international reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan

	Approve very much	Approve somewhat	Disapprove somewhat	Disapprove very much	I don't know anything about this topic	DK/ Refused	Approve	Disapprove
United States	26	38	15	18	1	3	64	33
France	33	38	14	12	1	2	71	25
Germany	20	38	14	12	1	2	71	25
United Kingdom	29	41	14	13	1	4	69	27
Italy	30	40	16	12	1	1	70	28
Netherlands	40	35	9	15		1	75	24
Poland	17	37	23	14	5	4	54	37
Portugal	35	38	10	13	3	2	73	22
Spain	32	49	10	8		1	81	18
Slovakia	11	33	22	18	8	8	44	40
Turkey	28	22	12	22	16		50	34
Bulgaria	11	28	22	25	7	6	39	48
Romania European	26	36	11	15	8	5	61	25
Average	27	37	16	15	3	2	64	30

¹⁰ Kaiser/Pew Global Health Survey May 2007

Do you think the wealthier nations of the world are doing enough or not doing enough to help the poorer nations of the world with problems such as economic development, reducing poverty, and improving health?

	Doing enough	Not doing enough	DK/ Refused
United States	25	69	6
Canada	20	77	3
Argentina	5	85	11
Bolivia	16	76	8
Brazil	7	91	2

Chile	10	86	4
Mexico	14	78	8
Peru	14	78	8
Venezuela	17	81	2
France	19	81	0
Germany	21	75	3
Great Britain	20	77	4
Italy	12	78	10
Spain	5	91	4
Sweden	15	82	4
Bulgaria	6	84	10
Czech Republic	24	74	2
Poland	7	88	5
Russia	10	74	16
Slovakia	27	69	4
Ukraine	5	85	10
Egypt	12	84	5
Israel	16	77	7
Jordan	17	76	7
Kuwait	23	70	6
Lebanon	12	85	2
Morocco	18	58	24
Palestinian	_		
Territories	8	80	12
Turkey	5	77	18
Bangladesh	46	52	2
China	11	83	6
India	33	56	11
Indonesia	54	38	8
Japan	26	63	11
Malaysia	13	73 ~ .	14
Pakistan	13	56	31
South Korea	17	76	7
Ethiopia	29	67 ~ .	3
Ghana	37	56	7
Ivory Coast	39	61	0
Kenya	36	62	2
Mali	42	57	1
Nigeria	34	60	6
Senegal	28	71	1
South Africa	22	71	8
Tanzania	45	48	7
Uganda	39	53	8

¹¹ German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2007

The European Union can take greater responsibility for dealing with international threats in a number of different ways. For each of the following, please tell me if you agree or disagree that it is something that the European Union should undertake.

Spend more money on aid for development

	Agree	Disagree	DK/ Refused
United States	84	13	4
France	86	13	1
Germany	71	27	2
Great Britain	89	10	1
Italy	86	14	1
The Netherlands	63	35	2
Poland	93	5	2
Portugal	88	9	2
Spain	96	4	
Slovakia	73	15	12
Turkey	83	12	5
Bulgaria	87	8	5
Romania	90	6	4
European Average	84	13	3

¹² **Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2010**Below is a list of present federal government programs. For each, please select whether you feel it should be expanded, cut back or kept about the same.

25/5. Economic Aid to Other Nations

			(N=1290)		
	Expand (%)	Cut Back (%)	Keep Same (%)	Not Sure (%)	Total (%)
<u>Year</u>					
1974	10	55	28	7	100
1978	11	50	31	8	100
1982	8	54	31	7	100
1986	11	48	35	6	100
1990	7	61	27	5	100
1994	9	58	28	5	100
1998	13	48	36	3	100
2002 (telephone)	14	48	35	3	100
2004 (telephone)	10	49	38	3	100
2004 (internet)	8	64	26	2	100
2008 (internet)	8	55	36	0	100
2010 (internet)	7	60	33	0	100
Change in % points 2008-2010	-1	+5	-3	0	

German Marshall Fund Transatlantic Trends 2003

Now I am going to read a list of government programs. Is the government spending too much, too little, or about the right on:

Economic aid to other nations

2003	Too much	Too little	About the right amount	DK/ Refused
United Kingdom	33	25	32	10
France	30	25	39	6
Germany	40	12	42	6
The Netherlands	26	18	48	8
Italy	18	29	41	12
Poland	25	13	33	29
Portugal	43	14	25	19
United States	59	8	26	7
European Average	31	19	37	13

2002	Too much	Too little	About the right amount	DK/ Refused
United Kingdom	31	22	45	2
France	2	58	35	4
Germany	29	20	48	3
The Netherlands	21	18	58	2
Italy	15	45	38	2
Poland	44	12	39	6
Portugal	-	-	-	-
United States	48	14	35	3
European Average	24	29	44	3

¹³ WorldPublicOpinion.org November 2010

Q44. Just based on what you know, please tell me your hunch about what percentage of the federal budget goes to foreign aid. You can answer in fractions of percentage points as well as whole percentage points.

Mean	27%
Median	25

Q45. What do you think would be an appropriate percentage of the federal budget to go to foreign aid, if any?

Mean	. 13%
Median	. 10

Chicago Council on Global Affairs 2002

Just based on what you know, please tell me your hunch about what percentage of the federal budget goes to foreign aid?

*%	0
2	Less than 1, more than 0
7	1-3
9	4-6
10	7-10
15	11-20
15	21-30
10	31-40
6	41-50
14	51-100
12	Not sure/Decline
31	Mean
25	Median

What do you think would be an appropriate percentage of the federal budget to go to foreign aid, if any?

10%	0
3	Less than 1, more than 0
12	1-3
11	4-6
19	7-10
13	11-20
8	21-30
6	31-40
3	41-50
5	51-100
10	Not sure/Decline
17	Mean
10	Median

¹⁴ To learn more about this PIPA study, see "Americans on Federal Budget Priorities—A Study of U.S. Public Attitudes" from October 3, 2000.

¹⁵ Hart Research Associates and Public Opinion Strategies, February 2011

Should U.S. spending to address problems facing people in poor and developing countries increase, stay the same, or decrease?

	[respondents told foreign aid is less than 1% of budget]	[respondents not told]	
Increase	32%	20%	
Stay same	39	32	
Decrease	26	45	
Don't know/ refused	3	3	

1,206 likely 2012 voters interviewed by telephone February 22-27, 2011. Margin of error: +/-3.0 percentage points.

In 2003, this country's government allocated [a tenth of one percent]* of the national income to foreign aid- that is, [SUS 38.05]** per person. Do you think this amount is too low, too high, or about right?

¹⁶ World Values Survey 2005-2008

	Too low	About right	Too high	DK/NA
Spain	40.30%	33.10%	4.80%	21.80%
United States	25.00	50.80	20.10	4.10
Japan	14.60	34.30	15.60	35.50
Australia	42.40	46.70	8.60	2.30
Sweden	45.50	45.90	4.30	4.40
Finland	34.50	57.60	5.80	2.10
Switzerland	45.20	47.90	2.40	4.40
Thailand	24.30	60.80	14.40	0.50
Andorra	69.70	24.90	1.40	4.00
Germany	25.70	49.00	10.00	15.20
Average	35.30	46.00	9.20	9.50

¹⁷ To see the details of this somewhat complex study do to: http://www.public-consultation.org/studies/budget_feb11.html

Would you be willing to pay higher taxes in order to increase your country's foreign aid to poor countries?

	Yes	No	DK/NA
Italy	43%	42%	15%
Spain	36	51	13
United States	23	73	4
Japan	18	58	25
South Africa	28	54	18
Australia	32	64	3
Sweden	49	48	4
Finland	36	60	4
Switzerland	47	46	7
Turkey	65	30	6
Thailand	68	32	0
Andorra	56	41	3
Germany	23	69	8
Average	39	52	9

¹⁹ World Values Survey 2005-2008

Should your country's leaders give top priority to help reducing poverty in the world or should they give top priority to solve your own country's problems? Use a scale of one to ten, where one means "top priority to help reducing poverty in the world" and ten means "top priority to solve my own country's problems".

	Mean
Italy	6.75
Spain	6.38
United States	7.61
Japan	7
Mexico	6.73
South Africa	7.99
Australia	7.03
Sweden	5.99
Argentina	8.26

¹⁸ World Values Survey 2005-2008

Finland	6.95		
South Korea	8.33		
Poland	7.63		
Switzerland	6.67		
Brazil	7.18		
Chile	8.18		
India	6.15		
Slovenia	8.49		
Bulgaria	7.27		
Romania	7.58		
China	6.61		
Turkey	7.97		
Ukraine	7.48		
Ghana	7.73		
Moldova	7.31		
Thailand	7.16		
Indonesia	8.16		
Vietnam	8.21		
Serbia	8.05		
Egypt	9.01		
Morocco	7.86		
Jordan	9.13		
Cyprus	8.17		
Trinidad and Tobago	8.79		
Andorra	7.77		
Malaysia	7.01		
Burkina Faso	6.2		
Ethiopia	7.97		
Mali	5.76		
Rwanda	7.37		
Zambia	7.29		
Germany	7.43		
Average	7.5		

²⁰ Program on International Policy Attitudes September 1996

Coming back to the subject of your tax money that goes to help poor people, Of this total amount:

What percentage of it should go to poor people in other countries and what percentage of it should go to poor people in America?

Percentage for other countries

Mean 22%

Median 20%

Percentage for Americans

Mean 78% Median 80%

As you may know, [country] is a member of the OECD, a group that includes most industrialized countries. These countries have agreed to a set of goals, called the Millennium Development Goals. A key goal has been to cut hunger by half throughout the world

²¹ WorldPublicOpinion.org September 2008

and reduce severe poverty by the year 2015. If the cost of achieving these goals were shared among these countries, the cost for [citizens] would be [enter country amount - see chart] per person per year. Assuming the people in the other countries were willing to pay their share, would you be willing to pay [enter country amount - see chart*] a year to cut hunger by half and reduce severe poverty?

	Would be willing	Would not be willing	DK/NS
United States	75	22	3
France	86	14	1
Germany	76	20	4
Great Britain	79	15	6
Italy	84	12	4
Russia	54	24	23
Turkey	78	11	10
South Korea	80	18	1
Average	77	17	7

^{*}Per person, per year cost to cut hunger by half and reduce severe poverty in respondent's currency:

	Amount in USD	Amount in Respondent's Currency
France	\$45	29 EUROS
Italy	\$39	25 EUROS
Great Britain	\$49	25 POUNDS
South Korea	\$23	24,000 WON
Turkey	\$10	12 LIRAS
United States	\$56	\$56
Germany	\$43	27 EUROS
Russia	\$11	257 RUBLES

²² World Values Survey 2005-2008

Have you ever heard of the Millennium Development Goals?

	Yes	No	DK/NR
Italy	17	82	1
Spain	17	81	2
United States	5	92	3
Japan	11	86	3
Mexico	16	83	1
South Africa	13	87	0
Australia	13	85	2
Sweden	30	67	3
Argentina	9	89	2
Finland	20	79	1
South Korea	21	78	0
Poland	7	92	0
Switzerland	23	74	3
Brazil	21	79	1
Chile	28	70	2
India	21	79	0
Slovenia	16	73	12
Bulgaria	9	90	1

Romania	7	89	4
China	5	73	22
Turkey	6	94	0
Ukraine	11	89	0
Peru	14	83	3
Ghana	38	57	5
Moldova	20	81	0
Thailand	40	60	0
Indonesia	20	71	9
Vietnam	33	67	0
Serbia	18	77	6
Egypt	8	90	2
Morocco	19	59	23
Jordan	9	81	10
Cyprus	18	82	0
Trinidad and Tobago	18	81	1
Andorra	13	87	0
Malaysia	22	78	0
Burkina Faso	27	65	8
Ethiopia	64	33	2
Mali	43	49	8
Rwanda	25	74	2
Zambia	41	52	7
Germany	25	71	4
	20	7.6	,
Average	20	76	4

²³ World Values Survey 2005-2008

Should policies regarding aid to developing countries be decided by the national governments, by regional organizations, or by the United Nations?

	National	Regional	United	
	governments	Organization	Nations	DK/NA
	(percent)	(percent)	(percent)	(percent)
Italy	19	19	56	6
Spain	15	18	54	13
United States	30	23	41	5
Japan	14	14	42	30
Mexico	23	11	58	8
South Africa	28	17	49	6
Australia	31	15	49	5
Sweden	14	31	51	4
Argentina	19	9	51	22
Finland	27	15	55	4
South Korea	32	12	56	0
Poland	21	16	61	3
Switzerland	27	16	52	5
Brazil	26	16	50	8
Chile	22	12	58	8
India	23	12	24	40
Slovenia	10	45	33	12

Bulgaria	8	40	40	13
Romania	19	26	36	20
China	17	6	29	48
Taiwan	22	31	43	4
Turkey	31	16	44	8
Ukraine	20	17	50	13
Ghana	24	16	55	6
Moldova	20	36	39	5
Thailand	65	25	9	1
Indonesia	13	26	51	10
Vietnam	13	15	61	10
Serbia	20	18	52	10
Egypt	26	21	49	4
Morocco	19	13	42	26
Jordan	16	17	54	13
Cyprus	28	33	39	0
Trinidad and Tobago	20	20	57	4
Andorra	24	11	63	3
Malaysia	18	43	38	0
Burkina Faso	13	11	61	16
Ethiopia	11	11	68	9
Mali	21	12	55	12
Rwanda	17	19	61	4
Zambia	15	29	48	7
Germany	24	25	46	5
Average	22	20	48	11

²⁴ GMF Trade and Poverty Reduction Survey, 2007

Please tell me who, in your opinion, should have the primary responsibility for delivering development assistance

	Germany	France	Italy	Poland	Slovakia	United Kingdom	United States	European Average
The U.S. government	5	4	4	7	11	3	17	5
The European Union	19	24	20	24	13	12	2	20
Individual European governments	5	13	18	14	14	13	2	12
International organizations like the								
World Bank and the United Nations	54	40	48	36	42	46	37	46
Charities, foundations, and non-								
governmental organizations	0	10		_	10		10	0
(NGOs)	8	12	3	7	12	14	18	9
Religious organizations	3	1	2	2	2	2	6	2
Private companies and businesses	2	4	1	1	1	3	8	2
None of these (spontaneous)	2	1	2	2	1		5	1
DK/ Refused	3	1	7	7	4	7	6	4

²⁵ World Values Survey 2005-2008

Should policies regarding refugees be decided by the national governments, by regional organizations, or by the United Nations?

	National governments	Regional Organizations	United Nations	DK/NA
Italy	32%	22%	37%	9%

Spain	13	20	54	14
United States	34	27	33	6
Japan	17	15	46	23
Mexico	36	14	42	9
South Africa	29	16	47	8
Australia	38	14	44	5
Sweden	34	23	40	3
Argentina	22	5	50	23
Finland	42	17	37	4
South Korea	29	8	62	1
Poland	45	15	37	4
Switzerland	32	17	45	6
Brazil	30	15	45	10
Chile	29	10	52	9
India	30	16	12	43
Slovenia	20	44	24	12
Bulgaria	15	26	44	15
Romania	31	19	28	22
China	22	6	27	45
Taiwan	22	24	51	4
Turkey	37	19	35	10
Ukraine	30	18	39	13
Ghana	18	13	64	5
Moldova	39	29	26	6
Thailand	45	25	29	1
Indonesia	43	9	40	9
Vietnam	22	15	52	11
Serbia	36	16	38	10
Egypt	30	23	42	5
Morocco	14	17	44	26
Jordan	15	15	57	13
Cyprus	43	20	36	0
Trinidad and Tobago	32	15	47	6
Andorra	30	13	54	3
Malaysia	25	36	39	0
Burkina Faso	16	13	53	18
Ethiopia	13	13	62	13
Mali	28	13	42	18
Rwanda	10	17	72	2
Zambia	13	20	63	5
Germany	25	25	45	6
A	20	10	42	1.1
Average	28	18	43	11

²⁶ German Marshall Fund Trade and Poverty Reduction Survey, 2007

I will now read some statements regarding aid to poor countries. For each statement, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with it.

The level of aid to poor countries should be linked to the efforts these countries make to fight poverty

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree (spontaneous)	DK/ Refused	Agree	Disagree
Germany	60	34	5	1	-	-	93	6
France	49	42	7	3	-	-	90	9
Italy	47	46	5	2	-	-	92	7
Poland	42	46	6	2	2	2	88	7
Slovakia	46	39	7	1	3	4	84	9
United Kingdom	53	35	8	4	-	1	87	11
United States	49	34	7	3	4	3	83	9
European Average	50	40	6	2	3	2	89	8

²⁷ German Marshall Fund Trade and Poverty Reduction Survey, 2007

I will now read some statements regarding aid to poor countries. For each statement, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, disagree, or strongly disagree with it.

The level of aid to poor countries should be linked to the efforts these countries make to fight corruption.

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree (spontaneous)	DK/ Refused	Agree	Disagree
Germany	60	30	6	2	-	1	91	8
France	51	39	6	4	-	=	90	9
Italy	49	43	5	2	1	1	92	7
Poland	37	47	8	2	3	3	84	10
Slovakia	35	40	12	3	4	6	75	15
United Kingdom	59	29	7	4	-	2	87	11
United States	50	30	9	4	5	3	80	13
European Average	49	38	7	3	3	3	87	10

²⁸ German Marshall Fund Trade and Poverty Reduction Survey, 2007

I will now read some statements regarding aid to poor countries. For each statement, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with it.

The level of aid to poor countries should be linked to the efforts these countries make to promote democratic government

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree (spontaneous)	DK/ Refused	Agree	Disagree
Germany	46	39	10	3	-	2	85	13
France	47	42	8	3	-	1	89	11
Italy	48	44	5	2	1	1	91	7
Poland	24	50	10	3	5	7	74	14
Slovakia	29	42	15	3	4	7	71	18
United Kingdom	39	39	13	4	1	3	78	18
United States	24	36	21	10	5	4	61	31
European Average	39	43	10	3	3	4	81	14

²⁹ German Marshall Fund Trade and Poverty Reduction Survey, 2007

I will now read some statements regarding aid to poor countries. For each statement, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree.

The level of aid to poor countries should be linked to the efforts these countries make to open their markets to international trade.

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree (spontaneous)	DK/ Refused	Agree	Disagree
Germany	27	46	21	4	-	2	73	25
France	24	49	20	6	-	-	73	26
Italy	28	54	12	4	1	1	82	16
Poland	25	51	10	3	4	7	76	13
Slovakia	23	47	14	3	5	7	71	17
United Kingdom	29	44	16	7	1	3	73	23
United States	25	43	15	9	5	3	68	24
European Average	26	49	16	5	3	4	75	20

³⁰ German Marshall Fund Trade and Poverty Reduction Survey, 2007

I will now read some statements regarding aid to poor countries. For each statement, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with it.

The level of aid to poor countries should be linked to the efforts these countries make to fight terrorism

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree (spontaneous)	DK/ Refused	Agree	Disagree
Germany	49	30	15	5	-	1	79	20
France	40	37	15	8	-	-	77	22
Italy	47	41	7	3	1	1	88	10
Poland	36	45	10	4	4	3	80	13
Slovakia	44	35	10	3	4	5	79	13
United Kingdom	44	28	16	10	1	1	72	26
United States	40	30	14	9	5	3	69	23
European Average	43	36	12	6	3	2	79	17

³¹ BBC July 2007

Would you support or oppose the following deal: Wealthy COs agree to provide less-wealthy COs with financial assistance and technology, while less-wealthy COs agree to limit their emissions of climate changing gases along with wealthy COs.

	Support	Oppose	Don't know / No answer
Australia	84	12	5
Brazil	73	17	10
Canada	84	12	4
Chile	68	16	16
China	90	7	3
Egypt	77	23	-
France	78	14	8
Germany	75	22	3
Great Britain	81	13	5
India	47	19	34
Indonesia	78	12	10
Italy	77	18	5

Kenya	76	19	5	
Mexico	57	29	14	
Nigeria	50	46	4	
Philippines	71	17	12	
Russia	77	6	18	
South Korea	72	23	5	
Spain	76	17	7	
Turkey	65	12	23	
United States	70	21	9	
Average	73	18	10	

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