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Chapter 7: World Opinion on Economic Development and Humanitarian Aid www.cfr.org/public_opinion

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CHAPTER 7: WORLD OPINION ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND HUMANITARIAN AID

Publics in developed countries express support for giving development assistance to poor countries. Globally, there is a widespread consensus that developed countries have a moral responsibility to work to reduce hunger and severe poverty. There is also a consensus that helping poor countries develop serves the long-term interests of wealthy countries, such as developing trade partners and achieving global stability. In addition, developmentaid is seen as furthering democracy and, for a more modest number of respondents, as a way to fight terrorism. Besides financial aid, large majorities of European and U.S. respondents express a willingness to contribute troops for humanitarian operations, including providing assistance to victims of war and famine.

People in Europe and the United States express a favorable view of development assistance. In 2007, the German Marshall Fund (GMF) asked six European countries and the United States whether they had a favorable or unfavorable view of "providing development assistance to poor countries." All six European countries had a majority with a favorable view (on average 74 percent), including Germany (55 percent), Slovakia (63 percent), Poland (74 percent), United Kingdom (76 percent), France (85 percent), and Italy (93 percent). Sixty-six percent of respondents from the United States were also favorably inclined toward development aid. These views have been largely stable since 2005, except that views in Germany declined 14 points from 69 percent expressing favorable views.¹

There seems to be a global consensus that developed countries have "a moral responsibility to work to reduce hunger and severe poverty in poor countries." In a poll of twenty developed and developing nations, over 80 percent in all developed nations said that they did have this responsibility (WPO 2008). This included the United States (81 percent), France (79 percent), Germany (87 percent), and Britain (81 percent). Publics in less developed nations had similarly high numbers, except that for three nations or territories this number was less than 80 percent; these were the Palestinian Territories (50 percent), Russia (54 percent), and India (72 percent). On average globally, 80 percent said developed countries did have a responsibility to work to reduce hunger and 15 percent said they did not.²

Majorities around the world also agree that "it is in rich countries' own economic self-interest to actively help poor countries develop." GlobeScan presented this statement to respondents in nineteen countries, and majorities in all cases said they agreed with it in 2004. This included large majorities in developed countries, including the United States (83 percent), Germany (83 percent), France (87 percent), Great Britain (86 percent), Italy (87 percent), Spain (86 percent), and Canada (87 percent). The lowest levels of agreement out of all countries polled were found in Russia (52 percent) and Turkey (52 percent). On average, 74 percent agreed and 18 percent disagreed.³

Other polls that have asked respondents to assess a variety of motivations for giving aid find endorsement of a variety of motivations, including moral reasons and long-term self- interest.

When Europeans were asked to name the top two motivations for richer countries helping poor countries out of a list of seven provided, the two motivations most frequently cited among twenty-seven EU countries were "self-interest; for example, helping poor countries trade will enable them to buy more products from rich countries" and "contribute to global stability" (both cited by 28 percent) (Eurobarometer 2007). The other leading motivations were "to encourage democracy and good governance" (22 percent), to "avoid citizens of these countries emigrating to rich countries" (20 percent), to "prevent and avoid favorable conditions for terrorism" (19 percent), to "gain political allies" (15 percent), and to "have a clear conscience" (12 percent). Eleven percent also volunteered the answer of helping people in need.⁴

Asked by GMF in 2007 to choose the top three (out of nine) reasons for giving aid to poor countries, the most popular reason among respondents in six European countries and the United States was alleviating poverty—a

rationale cited by 49 percent of U.S. respondents and an average of 59 percent of Europeans. This was the most widely cited reason in all countries polled, except Italy.

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

There were also several differences between the United States and Europe. More people in the United States chose "contributing to global stability" (35 percent) as a top reason for development assistance than did Europeans (23 percent). U.S. respondents were also somewhat more likely than Europeans to identify "preventing breeding grounds for terrorism" as a top reason (31 percent compared to 26 percent). By contrast, Europeans cited "encouraging democracy" (31 percent) as a top reason more commonly than people in the United States (23 percent). Europeans were also much more likely to mention "helping poor countries trade" (31 percent) than their U.S. counterparts (17 percent). Among all countries, few publics considered "gaining political allies" (9 percent) to be a top reason, although more U.S. respondents cited this reason (13 percent) than European respondents (5 percent).⁵

Majorities of six European nations agreed that development assistance strengthened support for democratic institutions in developing countries. Support for this view ranged from 63 percent in Slovakia to 77 percent in Germany. Sixty-four percent of respondents in the United States also agreed (GMF 2007).

There is less of a consensus on whether development assistance is a good way to fight terrorism. Ten European countries and the United States 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). Seven European countries were in agreement, two European countries disagreed, and one European country and the United States were divided on this point. In the European average, 49 percent agreed that economic aid was the best way to fight terrorism and 43 percent disagreed.⁷

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

Aid Levels and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)

There is a strong global consensus that wealthy nations are not doing enough to help poorer nations. Europeans strongly support the view that the European Union should spend more on development aid. At the same time, less than a majority of Europeans favor increasing their taxes to increase aid or say that their own national government should increase its spending. However, 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—large majorities in the OECD countries say that they would be willing to substantially increase their spending if others did the same. Globally, public awareness of the MDGs remains low.

A study of forty-seven nations found that in nearly all countries a majority 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 2007). This view garnered majority support in major donor countries such as the United States (69 percent), France (81 percent), Germany (75 percent), Great Britain (77 percent), Italy (78 percent), and Japan (63 percent). Interestingly, the only dissenting publics were among the developing countries. Indonesia had a 54-percent majority saying the wealthier nations are doing enough; Tanzanians were divided; and in Bangladesh a large minority (46 percent) said the wealthier nations are doing enough. ¹⁰

Europeans strongly support the view that the European Union should spend more money on aid for development as part of the European Union taking greater responsibility for dealing with international threats. Large majorities in all twelve European nations (on average 84 percent) favored the European Union spending more while only 13 percent disagreed (GMF 2007). Not surprisingly, people in the United States concurred that the European Union should spend more. 11

However, when seven European countries and the United States were asked in 2002 and 2003 whether their own government was spending too much, too little, or the right amount on "economic aid to other nations," relatively small numbers said their government was spending too little (GMF/CCGA). In 2002, only France had a majority saying their government was spending too little, and this dropped to 25 percent the following year. On average, just 29 percent said their government was spending too little in 2002, and 19 percent said so in 2003. In no country did a majority think their country was spending too much; on average 24 percent felt this way in 2002 and 31 percent in 2003. The most common response was that their country was spending the right amount (2002 44 percent, 2003 37 percent).¹²

Looking more closely at the wording of these questions suggests why these responses were so different. The former question that received such robust majority support asked about the *European Union* providing aid, as opposed to the respondent's own government. It also asked about "aid for development," while the latter simply described "economic aid to other nations" without specifying a purpose. In addition, the first question had a preamble that talked about the European Union taking greater responsibility for dealing with international threats and placed the development aid in that context. Thus it appears that increased aid given multilaterally—and specifically to promote development in the context of addressing potential threats—garners far more support than increasing bilateral aid to another government for unspecified purposes.

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. In 2005, World Values Survey (WVS) presented respondents in ten countries (most of them developed European countries) with the percentage of their country's national income spent on foreign aid and the amount per capita. They were then asked how they felt about the level of aid. In no country did more than one in 5 percent say it was too high. Views were generally mixed between saying it was too low or about right. On average, 46 percent 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. ¹³ In general, supplying such information tends to significantly reduce the number of respondents claiming that their government is spending too much, but only modestly increases the number saying that it is spending too little. 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.

Publics also tend 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, respondents in seven of thirteen countries polled said they would not be willing, three said they would be willing, and three were divided on the question (WVS 2005). Across all 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.¹⁴

Not surprisingly, people also put a higher priority on solving their own country's problems over reducing poverty in the world. When respondents in forty-one countries were asked to specify the proper balance of their country's priorities on a scale from one (top priority to help reducing poverty in the world) to ten (top priority to solve my own country's problems), the mean rating in all forty-one countries was over 5.0, giving priority to solving problems in respondents' country (WVS 2005). The average across all countries was 7.5.15

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 eight developed countries polled were willing to contribute the funds necessary to meet this goal (WPO 2008). Respondents were presented with 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 \$10 for people in Turkey to \$56 for people in the United States. 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. Across the eight countries, 77 percent were willing to contribute and 17 percent were not willing. 16

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.

Few people around the world, however, have heard of the Millennium Development Goals. Majorities or pluralities in forty-one out of forty-two countries said they had not heard of the MDGs (WVS 2005). Only a majority of Ethiopians said they had. In the average of forty-two countries, 76 percent said they had not heard of the MDGs and 20 percent said they had.¹⁷

Similarly, in all twenty-seven EU member states surveyed, majorities said they had never heard or read about the MDGs (Eurobarometer 2007). On average in Europe, 80 percent said they had not heard or read about the goals, 14 percent said they had but did not know what they are, and 4 percent said they had and did know what they are. 18

Role of Multilateral Institutions and Aid to Developing Countries There is strong support for multilateral institutions taking the lead in setting aid policies, delivering development assistance, and dealing with refugees.

When it comes to making policies on aid to developing countries, most people believe the responsibility should lie with multilateral institutions over regional organizations or national governments. Asked who should take the lead on decisions about "aid to developing countries," in thirty-six out of forty-two countries polled, a majority thought the United Nations should make such decisions; in two cases, respondents thought regional organizations should; in one case, respondents thought national governments should; and three countries were divided (WVS 2005). On average globally, 48 percent favored the United Nations handling aid, 22 favored national governments, and 20 percent favored regional organizations. ¹⁹

Similarly, people in six European countries and the United States were asked who should have the primary responsibility for delivering development assistance, the most common response in all cases was "international organizations like the World Bank and the United Nations" (GMF 2007). On average among the seven countries, 46

percent said international organizations should have the responsibility; 11 percent said charities, foundations, and nongovernmental organizations; 16 percent said the European Union; 7 percent said the U.S. government; 11 percent said individual European governments; 5 percent said private companies and businesses; and 3 percent said religious organizations.²⁰

Polling shows a clear preference for UN leadership on problems related to refugees as well. Twenty-nine out of forty-two countries polled favored the United Nations making decisions on refugees, six favored national governments, one said regional organizations, and six were divided (WVS 2005). On average, 43 percent of respondents supported the United Nations handling refugee issues, 28 percent supported national governments, and 18 percent favored regional organizations.²¹

Publics of European countries newly admitted to the European Union agreed that development aid is used more efficiently when spent by the European Commission rather than by individual states. Respondents in all twelve new EU member countries said aid was more efficient when provided through the European Union, with an average of 61 percent holding this view, while only 16 percent thought that national governments were more efficient (Eurobarometer 2007).²²

In 2007, Eurobarometer asked respondents in the twenty-seven EU member states to select the top two explanations (if any) for why it is better for the European Union to provide development aid, rather than individual country governments. On average, the top reasons provided were that: the European Union is active in cooperation programs covering practically all developing countries (28 percent); the European Union is the strongest and best recognized player on international stage (24 percent); coherence between the actions of the EU member states can be ensured (23 percent); and the European Union's cultural diversity results in a more effective and neutral expression of solidarity with developing countries (22 percent). Only 5 percent on average suggested that the European Union does not add value, compared to national governments, when addressing poverty.²³

Linking Aid to Recipient Country Behavior

Large majorities of Europeans and Americans favor linking the level of aid given to poor countries to a variety of conditions, including the recipient country's efforts to fight poverty, corruption, and terrorism, and to promote democracy. Large majorities favor giving aid to help poor countries reduce greenhouse gases as part of an agreement wherein they commit to limit the growth of their emissions.

Large majorities in European countries and the United States say it is important to link the level of aid to poor countries to their efforts to fight poverty. On average among seven countries polled, 88 percent of publics agreed with linking aid to antipoverty efforts and 8 percent disagreed (GMF 2007).²⁴

Similarly, in the same poll, large majorities in all seven countries agreed that the level of aid to poor countries should be linked to efforts by that country to fight corruption. Across all seven countries, an average of 86 percent favored linking aid levels to efforts against corruption and 10 percent were opposed (GMF 2007).²⁵

Majorities also agreed that the amount of development aid given to a country should be linked to efforts in that country to promote democracy, though these majorities were slightly smaller. On average, 78 percent supported tying aid to democracy promotion and 16 percent were opposed (GMF 2007).²⁶

All seven countries also supported linking aid to recipient countries' efforts to open their markets to international trade. In the seven-country average, 74 percent favored linking aid to trade openness and 21 percent were opposed (GMF 2007).²⁷

Broad majorities in the seven countries polled all favored a link between aid and the recipient country's efforts to fight terrorism. On average among all seven countries, 78 percent agreed with such a link and 18 percent disagreed (GMF 2007).²⁸

Finally, there is strong 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. Among twenty-one countries, nineteen had majorities and two had pluralities in support of such an agreement (BBC/GlobeScan/PIPA 2007). On average, 73 percent were in favor of such a plan and 18 percent were opposed.²⁹

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

² 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
Jordan	81	11	8
Palestinian			
Territories	50	49	1
Turkey	81	15	4
Kenya	92	8	1
Nigeria	87	12	1
China	83	5	12
India	72	14	13
Indonesia	87	4	8
South Korea	90	10	1
Taiwan	91	5	4
Average	80	15	5
* Taiwan not included in a	verage		

^{*} Taiwan not included in average

 $^{^{11}\,\}mbox{German}$ Marshall Fund Trade and Poverty Reduction Survey, 2007

³ GlobeScan June 2004

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

⁴ Eurobarometer June 2007

What in your opinion are the two main motivations for richer countries to provide development aid to poor countries?

	European Average
Self-interest for example helping poor countries trade will enable them to buy more products from rich countries	28
Contribute to global stability	28
Encourage democracy and good governance	22
Avoid citizens of these countries emigrating to rich countries	20
Prevent and avoid favorable conditions for terrorism	19
Gain political allies	15
Have a clear conscience	12
To help people who are in need (spontaneous)	11
None of these (spontaneous)	2
Other (spontaneous)	1
Don't know	9

 $^{^{\}rm 5}$ 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
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	Development assistance 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 Italy The Netherlands Poland Portugal Spain	24 21 18 18 23 17	31 35 35 30 26 25	22 25 25 25 25 15	15 19 19 14 23 23	8 3 3 13 13
Slovakia Turkey European Average	17 17 28 20	25 17 29	29 15 22	23 28 21	7 13 8

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

To assist a population struck by famine

			DK/
	Approve	Disapprove	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	90	9	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

			DK/
	Approve	Disapprove	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 very much	Approve somewhat	Disapprove somewhat	Disapprove very much	I don't know anything 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	26	38	15	18	1	3	6.4	33
States	_				1		64	
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	26	36	11	15	8	5	61	25
European								
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

		DK/
Agree	Disagree	Refused
84	13	4
86	13	1
71	27	2
89	10	1
86	14	1
63	35	2
93	5	2
88	9	2
96	4	
73	15	12
83	12	5
87	8	5
90	6	4
84	13	3
	84 86 71 89 86 63 93 88 96 73 83 87	84 13 86 13 71 27 89 10 86 14 63 35 93 5 88 9 96 4 73 15 83 12 87 8 90 6

12 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

			About the	
	Too	Too	right	DK/
2003	much	little	amount	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
			About the	
	Too	Too	right	DK/
2002	much	little	amount	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

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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?

	Too low	About right	Too high	DK/NA
Spain	40	33	5	22
United States	25	51	20	4
Japan	15	34	16	36
Australia	42	47	9	2
Sweden	46	46	4	4
Finland	35	58	6	2
Switzerland	45	48	2	4
Thailand	24	61	14	1
Andorra	70	25	1	4
Germany	26	49	10	15
Average	35	46	9	10

^{*} Official development aid as percentage of OECD donor's Gross National Income

1	1	0
	2003	In words, express this as
Australia	0.05	Less than a tenth of one percent
Austria	0.07	A tenth of one percent
Belgium	0.35	A third of one percent
Canada	0.07	A tenth of one percent
Denmark	0.32	A third of one percent
Finland	0.11	A tenth of one percent
France	0.17	A fifth of one percent
Germany	0.1	A tenth of one percent
Greece	0.03	Less than a tenth of one percent
Ireland	0.21	A fifth of one percent
Italy	0.08	A tenth of one percent
Japan	0.04	Less than a tenth of one percent
Luxembourg	0.27	A quarter of one percent
Netherlands	0.16	A quarter of one percent
New Zealand	0.06	A tenth of one percent
Norway	0.36	A third of one percent

Portugal	0.14	A tenth of one percent
Spain	0.04	Less than a tenth of one percent
Sweden	0.27	A quarter of one percent
Switzerland	0.12	A tenth of one percent
United Kingdom	0.12	A tenth of one percent
United States	0.04	Less than a tenth of one percent

^{**} Official Development Aid to LDCs

··· Official Developme	2003 Aid in U.S. millions	Population in 2000	Amount in U.S. dollars per person
Australia	259	19.195	13.49
Austria	169	8.098	20.87
Belgium	1088	10.252	106.12
Canada	634	30.735	20.63
Denmark	673	5.34	126.03
Finland	183	5.18	35.33
France	2965	58.85	50.38
Germany	2508	82.15	30.53
Greece	55	10.56	5.21
Ireland	266	3.794	70.11
Italy	1104	57.679	19.14
Japan	1922	126.77	15.16
Luxembourg	65	0.438	148.4
Netherlands	1286	15.919	80.78
New Zealand	45	3.831	11.75
Norway	801	4.492	178.32
Portugal	205	10.01	20.48
Spain	342	39.45	8.67
Sweden	822	8.869	92.68
Switzerland	405	7.18	56.41
United Kingdom	2273	59.739	38.05
United States	4474	281.55	15.89

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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

15 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
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

¹⁶ WorldPublicOpinion.org September 2008

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 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

¹⁷ 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
Average	20	76	4

¹⁸ Eurobarometer June 2007

Have you ever heard or read about the Millennium Development Goals?

	Yes and you know what it is	Yes but you don't really know what it is	No
Belgium	6	24	70
Bulgaria	4	11	82
Czech Republic	4	15	80
Denmark	8	25	66

Germany	4	15	78
Estonia	2	15	79
Greece	3	11	85
Spain	4	8	87
France	3	9	88
Italy	4	14	77
Ireland	4	15	85
Cyprus	1	5	88
Latvia	2	17	80
Lithuania	4	16	78
Luxembourg	3	11	84
Hungary	5	21	73
Malta	4	10	84
Netherlands	8	30	61
Austria	4	23	71
Poland	4	13	81
Portugal	7	17	76
Romania	4	16	72
Slovenia	7	27	65
Slovakia	6	21	71
Finland	5	24	70
Sweden	7	34	58
United Kingdom	4	10	86
European Average	4	14	80

¹⁹ 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
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
19				

²⁰ 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								
(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

²¹ World Values Survey 2005-2008

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

	National	Regional	United	
	governments	Organization	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
	-			
Average	28	18	43	11

²² Eurobarometer September 2007

Would you say that development aid is more efficient if provided by each Member State separately or if it is provided by the European Union through the European Commission?

	More efficient if provided by each Member State separately	More efficient if provided by the European Union through the European Commission	DK
Bulgaria	15	45	40
Czech Republic	21	64	15
Estonia	16	62	22
Cyprus	20	67	13
Latvia	14	68	18
Lithuania	17	60	23
Hungary	15	68	17
Malta	21	64	15
Poland	13	68	19
Romania	17	46	37
Slovenia	24	65	11
Slovakia	23	63	14
Average	16	61	23

²³ Eurobarometer March 2007

In your opinion, which two of the following, if any, best explain the added value of the European Union, compared to the [Nationality] Government, when it comes to providing development aid to developing countries in order to eradicate poverty?

The EU's

	The EU is active in cooperation programs covering practically all developing countries	Coherence between the actions of the EU Member States can be ensured	cultural diversity results in a more effective and neutral expression of solidarity with developing countries	The EU is the strongest and best recognized player on the international stage	The EU does not add value compared to the [Nationality] Government when it comes to combating poverty (Spontaneous)	Other (Spontaneous)
Belgium	40	40	27	23	4	1
Bulgaria	39	23	11	20	1	0
Czech Republic	35	24	20	21	2	0
Denmark	39	49	23	28	4	0
Germany	22	24	30	30	7	0
Estonia	36	34	20	20	1	0
Greece	46	36	27	32	5	

Spain	18	12	16	18	5	0
France	29	26	27	22	5	1
Ireland	30	26	26	23	5	1
Italy	24	21	18	23	3	
Cyprus	50	35	25	20	1	
Latvia	29	27	13	20	4	
Lithuania	31	19	15	15	2	
Luxembourg	39	26	22	24	4	0
Hungary	28	30	19	28	9	1
Malta	33	16	20	18	3	0
Netherlands	39	29	19	20	9	1
Austria	36	18	31	24	9	0
Poland	31	20	18	31	4	0
Portugal	35	23	20	23	3	0
Romania	38	26	12	21	6	1
Slovenia	34	24	26	39	1	1
Slovakia	48	22	26	26	1	0
Finland	35	26	18	33	9	1
Sweden	27	31	22	22	6	0
United Kingdom	23	17	22	29	3	0
European Average	28	23	22	24	5	0

²⁴ 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

 $^{^{25}}$ 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

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 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

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, 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

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 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

²⁹ 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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