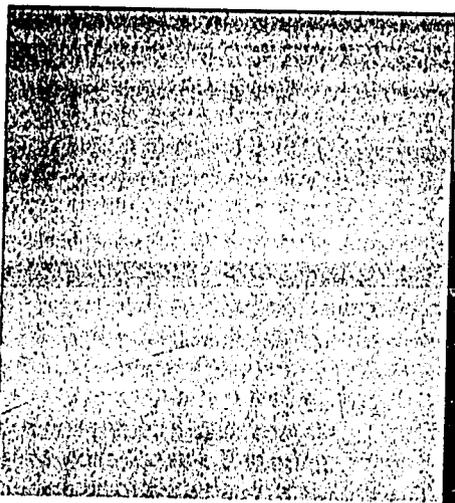
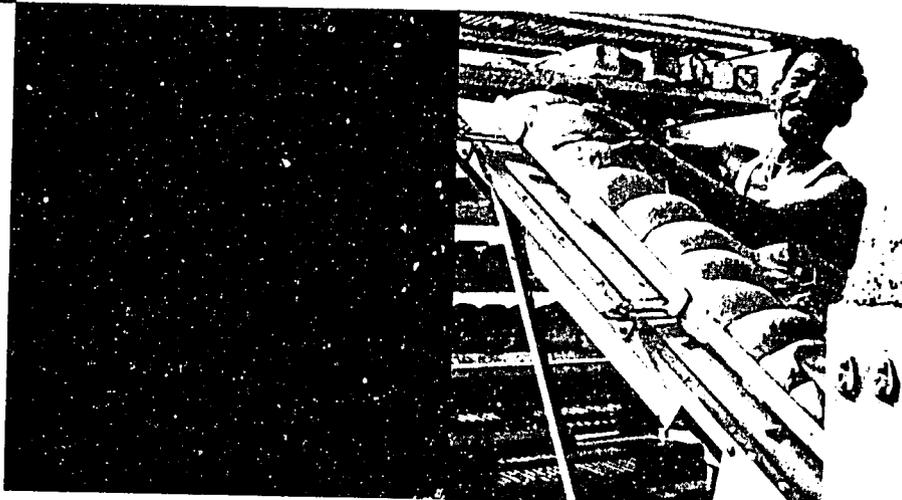


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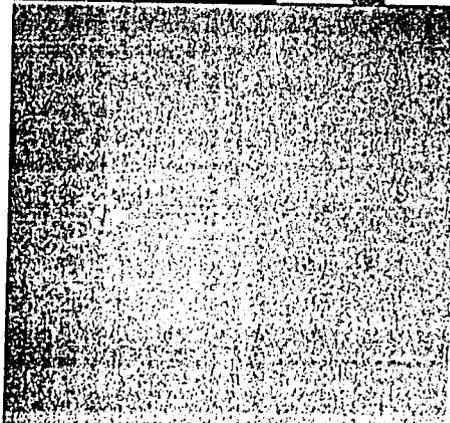


# WHAT AMERICANS THINK: VIEWS ON DEVELOPMENT AND U.S.-THIRD WORLD RELATIONS

**A Public Opinion Project of InterAction  
and the Overseas Development Council**



Report prepared by  
Christine E. Contee



# INTERACTION

InterAction is a broadly based, participatory association of 112 U.S. private and voluntary organizations working in international development, relief and reconstruction, migration and refugee assistance, public policy and federal relations, and education on Third World development issues. InterAction was created to complement and enhance the effectiveness of its individual member organizations and to strengthen the capacity of the private and voluntary agency community as a whole.

Toward this end, InterAction works to:

- enhance the identity, autonomy, credibility, and diverse perspectives of each member agency;
- provide a broadly based, participatory forum for professional consultation, coordination, and concerted action;
- foster the effectiveness and recognition of private and voluntary agencies both professionally and publicly; and
- set a standard of the highest ethics in carrying out its mission.

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Membership in InterAction is open to all private voluntary organizations that are active in the association's areas of concentration and that comply with generally accepted professional standards. InterAction is governed by its Board of Directors. Peter J. Davies is InterAction's President and Chief Executive Officer. Nan Borton is Chair of the Board of Directors.

InterAction, 200 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10003, Tel. (212) 777-8210.



# OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL

The Overseas Development Council is a private, non-profit organization established in 1969 for the purpose of increasing American understanding of the economic and social problems confronting the developing countries and of how their development progress is related to U.S. interests. Toward this end, the Council functions as a center for policy research and analysis, a forum for the exchange of ideas, and a resource for public education. The Council's current program of work encompasses four major issue areas: trade and industrial policy, international finance and investment, development strategies and development cooperation, and U.S. foreign policy and the developing countries. ODC's work is used by policymakers in the Executive Branch and the Congress, journalists, and those concerned about U.S.-Third World relations in corporate and bank management, international and non-governmental organizations, universities, and educational and action groups focusing on specific development issues. ODC's program is funded by foundations, corporations, and private individuals; its policies are determined by a governing Board and Council.

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Victor H. Palmieri is Chairman of the ODC, and J. Wayne Fredericks is Vice Chairman. The Council's President is John W. Sewell.

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Library of Congress Catalog Number: 87-060602

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# INTRODUCTION

The last comprehensive survey of American attitudes on Third World development and U.S. relations with developing countries was carried out in 1972.<sup>1</sup> In the fifteen years since that survey, dramatic changes have taken place in the economic and political role of the United States in the international system, in U.S. relations with the Third World, and within the developing countries themselves. InterAction and the Overseas Development Council therefore took on the task of updating knowledge about an area of public opinion that had been neglected for many years, while uncovering baseline data on U.S.-Third World relations and development issues that had not been explored in depth—for example, perceptions of economic linkages between the United States and the Third World, of regional problems, and of the effectiveness of aid and aid agencies.

In conducting this important initiative, the Public Opinion Project, co-sponsored by InterAction and the Overseas Development Council, has sought to:

1. Examine U.S. public perceptions of problems facing the Third World and of efforts to ameliorate poverty and hunger in those countries;
2. Ascertain public attitudes about U.S. economic relations with the Third World;
3. Identify American perceptions of personal as well as U.S. national interests relating to international development;
4. Examine factors that may motivate or inhibit public support of development efforts;
5. Identify the demographic characteristics of existing and potential supporters of the international development effort; and
6. Gather information on a) the ways Members of Congress and Congressional staff learn about development issues; and on b) information sources that are perceived to be the most reliable and influential in policymaking.

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<sup>1</sup> *World Poverty and Development: A Survey of American Opinion*, a report prepared by Paul A. Laudicina (Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1973). The survey was conducted by Peter D. Hart Associates, Inc., for the Overseas Development Council.

The InterAction/ODC collaborative project included four distinct research components. These were designed and implemented by the Strategic Information Research Corporation in consultation with the co-sponsors.<sup>2</sup>

■ First, a random sample of 2,400 Americans was interviewed by telephone to provide a "snapshot" of general American attitudes on a range of issues pertaining to development and U.S. relations with the Third World.

■ In a second phase of the project, 500 Americans active in political or social issues (defined as "activists" in the project and throughout this report) were interviewed by telephone. While such citizens are not necessarily opinion leaders, they nevertheless are the people who make things happen in communities around the country, through business, religious, political, and community action groups or through school and college boards, church councils, or political campaigns. Although activists as defined in this study are not necessarily involved in Third World issues—or even in international affairs generally—they do represent the types of citizens who are more likely to either be, or become, involved in such efforts. This activist-focused component of the research not only tested this group as to their opinions on various U.S.-Third World issues, but also probed factors that might in future motivate them to become more concerned about and actively involved in public or private efforts to support Third World development.

■ Third, interviews were held with thirteen Members of Congress and Congressional staff to gather information as to groups that contact them with information or opinions on U.S.-Third World relations and development issues, as well as to ascertain which information sources they consider most influential or reliable. Among the interviewees were seven Democrats and six Republicans, from both the Senate and the House. All of the participants were selected because they—by virtue of their committee assignments and legislative activities—were important actors in shaping U.S. foreign policy toward the Third World.

■ As a final step, four focus group discussions were held in three cities around the country for the purpose of adding detail and quality to data collected in previous steps of the inquiry. Through the focus group discussions, ODC and InterAction sought to 1) refine our understanding of how Americans obtain information or form their opinions on development issues and of what motivates them to become involved in development issues, and 2) to identify themes and messages useful for improving development education.

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<sup>2</sup>For a fuller explanation of the methodology of each research component, see Appendix 1, "Survey Methodology," p. 41.



Relations between the United States and the developing countries today necessitate more frequent and complex policy decisions by leaders in both the public and private sectors. Yet the emergence of Third World issues that directly affect Americans—whether relating to trade, aid, investment, or finance—raises troubling concerns among policymakers in the public and private sectors as to whether the U.S. public understands what is at stake, has formulated opinions or preferences, or will support or oppose given proposals. This study's findings therefore should interest a broad audience—including analysts and decisionmakers who design and implement U.S. policies toward the Third World, journalists who report on international affairs, and, above all, those responsible for building support for both public and private assistance.

This project has special relevance for the efforts of the development community to build—through education and information—an American constituency interested in alleviating the sufferings of the poor and in stimulating economic growth in the Third World. It is with this community in mind that the surveys that make up this project focused not only on public attitudes, but also on *motivations* for becoming personally involved with efforts to assist Third World development.

For the development community, this study's findings bring both good and bad news. The widespread feelings of humanitarian concern and responsibility toward people in other countries—as well as the steady support for the concept of U.S. economic assistance—are positive signs in the survey results. But there are negatives, too: the extent to which the public remains uninformed on foreign policy issues in general and Third World issues in particular; the lack of awareness of U.S.-Third World economic interdependence; and the perception of economic assistance as wasted or ineffective.

We hope that the survey findings—both the good news and the bad—will enable those involved in Third World development to do a better job of building an informed constituency for U.S. policies to assist the development efforts of Third World countries.

InterAction and the Overseas Development Council wish to express their deep appreciation to Nancy Belden, Director of Research, and her colleagues at the Strategic Information Research Corporation (SIRC) for dedicated and high-quality work in designing and implementing the research phases of this project. We benefited tremendously from SIRC's preliminary analysis of the data.

Special thanks are also due to Robert Berg and Christine Contee of the Overseas Development Council, co-directors of the project; to Thomas Keehn and John Sommer for representing InterAction in helping to shape the study; to Barry Sussman and Carrol Joy, who acted as special consultants to the project; and to members of the Survey Advisory Group, who provided advice and support throughout the last year and a half.

InterAction and the Overseas Development Council gratefully acknowledge the financial contributions of the Carnegie Corporation of New York and of ODC Board member and InterAction National Council member Marjorie Benton; their concern about American understanding of U.S.-Third World and development issues made this project possible.

Peter J. Davies  
*President*  
*American Council for Voluntary*  
*International Action (InterAction)*

John W. Sewell  
*President*  
*Overseas Development Council*

# WHAT AMERICANS THINK: HIGHLIGHTS

Americans in general consider international development issues and U.S. relations with Third World countries to be less important than—or even to conflict with—domestic problems and other U.S. foreign policy objectives. Many Americans remain uninformed about development efforts and U.S.-Third World relations. A major factor influencing American opinion on U.S. trade, debt, and aid policies toward developing countries is concern that U.S. policies to promote Third World development imply economic losses for Americans. Support for U.S. policies to alleviate poverty and stimulate growth in developing countries is further limited by the American public's negative perceptions of Third World governments, as well as by widespread skepticism about the effectiveness of aid and aid agencies.

These negative findings, however, are only half the story. The positive views are also strong: While few Americans are themselves directly involved in helping to promote poverty alleviation and development in the Third World, a majority of them endorse U.S. policies to provide assistance for these efforts. Public support of U.S. economic aid for the developing countries is firmly rooted in humanitarian concern and a sense of responsibility.

**1** Americans are aware of the problems of poverty and underdevelopment that face the Third World and do not believe that much progress has been made in improving Third World living conditions over the past decade.

- Disease, hunger, poor health care, overpopulation, corrupt governments, and illiteracy were perceived to be serious problems by a majority of the "activist"<sup>1</sup> respondents, with the threat of communism, lack of adequate resources, and lack of democracy seen as slightly less critical.
- The American public associated Africa with hunger, poverty, racial discrimination, and lack of know-how; Asia with overpopulation, hunger, and poverty; and Latin America with political problems and poverty.
- A majority of Americans (56%) believed that living conditions in the Third World have stagnated or deteriorated over the last decade; only 32% believed that conditions have improved.

**2** Americans have strong negative perceptions of Third World governments, but not of the people of these countries.

- Among American activists, only one in three believed that the policies of Third World governments have helped improve conditions in developing countries.
- 58% of American activists believed that corrupt governments are a very serious problem in Third World countries.
- 88% of the general public believed that aid is frequently misused by foreign governments.
- Most Americans did not consider Third World people responsible for their own poverty; only 18% of the activists surveyed said that "people who do not work hard enough" was a very serious problem in developing countries.

**3** A majority of Americans favor U.S. efforts to assist Third World countries with development.

- Nearly 90% of the U.S. public agreed with the statement: "Wherever people are hungry or poor, we ought to do what we can to help them."
- A majority of Americans (54%) favored U.S. economic assistance to other countries—a level of support that has remained fairly steady for over three decades.
- Over three-quarters of the U.S. public (78%) agreed that as a world leader, the United States should set an example by helping poor nations.
- A majority of Americans (75%) agreed that helping the Third World will also benefit the United States in the long run.

**4** Policymakers perceive American public support for U.S. economic assistance to be weak and fluctuating.

- Policymakers (in the Congressional interviews) consistently observed that foreign aid support fluctuates with other variables, such as the performance of the U.S. economy.
- Policymakers were largely unaware of any movements within their Congressional districts to promote U.S. development efforts in the Third World.
- Interviewees consistently maintained that a demonstrated increase in public interest in development issues is needed to stimulate an increase in legislative interest.

**5** Most Americans are poorly informed about U.S. foreign policy in general, about the Third World, development issues, and U.S. relations with the developing countries.

- Only one in three Americans correctly answered all of the three factual questions in the survey concerning which two countries are participants in the SALT or START talks, whether the United States or the U.S.S.R. belongs to NATO, and whether the United States is supporting the Sandinistas or the Contras in Nicaragua.
- Roughly 30% of those surveyed could not name a major problem facing Latin American or Asian countries.
- Eight out of ten activists characterized themselves as not knowing enough about Third World countries and their problems.

**6** Most Americans are aware in very general terms of the existence of economic relationships between the United States and the Third World and believe such relationships to hold potential mutual benefits.

- Nearly three-quarters of the U.S. public believed that the economies of the Third World affect the U.S. economy somewhat or a great deal.
- Two-thirds of the U.S. public rejected the notion that it is against U.S. interests to help Third World countries because they will compete with us economically and politically.
- A majority (55%) of American activists agreed that helping Third World countries is in the self-interest of the United States because as they develop, they will buy American products.

**7** The perceived trade-off between promoting domestic well-being and helping those overseas limits public support for specific U.S. trade, aid, and financial policies to promote Third World growth or alleviate poverty.

- Two out of three Americans strongly agreed with the statement: "We need to solve our own poverty problems in the United States before we turn attention to other countries"; another 24% agreed somewhat with this statement.
- Two out of three Americans believed that the United States should limit Third World imports until our own trade deficit is lowered.
- Two-thirds of the public who opposed U.S. economic assistance to other countries did so on the grounds that domestic welfare and economic problems should receive priority attention.
- Four out of five activists believed that the United States should take care of its own financial problems before helping debt-burdened developing countries.

**8** Most Americans recognize that the United States has political or strategic interests in the Third World, but many are concerned about U.S. overinvolvement in developing-country affairs.

- 85% of Americans agreed that "Soviet aggression in the Third World is a serious problem for the U.S."; 59% agreed strongly.
- Many Americans believed that it is in the U.S. interest to foster political reforms within developing countries, and supported policies such as linking human-rights reforms to foreign assistance (76%), and withholding assistance from countries that are ruled by dictators (66%); 54% of activists felt that the United States should exert economic and political pressure on Mexico to hold fair elections.

- However, a plurality (20%) of those who opposed military aid did so on the grounds that it might lead the United States into war; a majority (62%) of the public felt that aid programs get the United States too mixed up with other countries' affairs.

**9** The major reasons for public support for economic assistance are humanitarian concern or a sense of responsibility; economic or political self-interest rationales are generally less compelling.

- A majority of Americans (53%) who supported economic assistance did so out of feelings of responsibility toward others, or a desire to help the less fortunate or alleviate poverty and hunger overseas.
- One out of four Americans (28%) cited U.S. political or strategic interests as their reason for supporting economic assistance.
- Other reasons mentioned for supporting economic assistance included a desire to promote self-sufficiency in the Third World (8%) and to stimulate the world economy (6%).

**10** Americans consider economic assistance a legitimate tool to use in pursuing U.S. political or strategic objectives, but they are concerned that this result is not always achieved.

- In singling out the most important countries to receive U.S. aid, a plurality of the public (44%) gave preference to countries that are important to U.S. security over countries with the poorest economies and countries that the U.S. needs as trading partners.
- 56% believed that U.S. economic aid reduces the influence of the Soviet Union, and 74% believed that such aid helps us make or keep other countries as allies.
- Focus group participants expressed concern about the use of aid for political purposes, saying it is resented

by recipients who are "under our thumbs," is a form of political "blackmail" against the United States, or does not maintain alliances because "with two superpowers, it is too easy for them to switch sides."

## **11** On some U.S.-Third World issues, public preferences about the U.S. aid program appear to be at odds with official U.S. policy.

- Since 1981, U.S. military assistance has nearly doubled, but a majority (51%) of the American public continues to oppose the program.
- A plurality (39%) of Americans rated Africa as a "high priority" region for receiving U.S. aid; Africa currently receives around 11% of total U.S. bilateral economic assistance.

## **12** Americans express a strong preference for those types of U.S. economic aid programs that most recognizably aim to deliver help directly to poor people.

- Disaster relief was rated "high priority" by the largest percentage (74%) of the public.
- Assistance programs essential to *long-term* development efforts—such as health care, education on family planning and providing birth control, and help for farmers—were also rated "high priority" by a majority of the public.
- Relatively lower priority was assigned to economic and business-related programs, large infrastructure programs, the training of foreign nationals in the United States, and the rental of land overseas for U.S. military bases.

## **13** Economic aid is widely perceived to be ineffective or wasted; however, this opinion does not dissuade many Americans from supporting assistance efforts.

- 85% of Americans believed that a large part of aid is wasted by the U.S. bureaucracy.

- 94% of American activists felt that a lot of foreign aid never gets to the people who need it.
- 74% of the public who had made a donation in the past 12 months to a private agency working overseas had "just some" or "little" confidence that money given to those organizations reaches the needy.

## **14** The American public makes little distinction between private and official aid efforts.

- Participants in focus group discussions were largely unfamiliar with aid agencies—public and private.
- The public was only slightly more trusting about the effectiveness of private agencies over public agencies—14% had a great deal of confidence that money given to *private* organizations reaches the needy overseas, while only 7% had a great deal of confidence that *official* U.S. aid reaches the needy.
- Focus group participants did, however, generally distinguish between the *objectives* of official and private economic assistance—seeing official aid as meeting U.S. political objectives overseas and private assistance as meeting the humanitarian needs of Third World people. Both objectives are perceived to be worthwhile.

## **15** Only a small—but not insignificant—proportion of Americans have been personally involved in efforts to eliminate poverty and stimulate development in the Third World; a larger active constituency may, however, exist.

- 19% of the public reported making a donation in the previous 12 months to an organization working on international issues, including Third World development.

- 36% of the activists reported volunteering their time or money for a group aiding people in poor countries in Asia, Africa, or Latin America in the past year.
- A sizable minority (30%) of Americans feel that individuals like themselves are doing less than can be expected to combat the problem of hunger and poverty overseas.

## **16** Personal experience or personal approaches are most likely to motivate Americans to become actively involved in efforts to promote development or to alleviate poverty in Third World countries.

- Asked to explain in their own words why they might become involved in development efforts, 25% of the activists said that personal experience, first-hand evidence that needs were being met through assistance, or a sense of personal connection—such as a friend or relative living in the Third World—were potentially motivating factors.
- In response to a separate question, a majority of activists also said they might become involved if asked by someone they knew; if presented with an opportunity to work with other people with similar interests; or if they met someone from a developing country or doing work in the Third World.
- Focus group members emphasized television as an important source of information about Third World development; television programs on development efforts were rated by two-thirds of the activists as one approach likely to motivate them to become involved.
- Responses indicated that, generally, other approaches—such as direct mail, print advertising, or telephone solicitations—may be useful in reaching those who are already interested, but are not likely to be effective in stimulating initial concern.



## I. PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF THE THIRD WORLD

Americans are very aware of the problems of disease, hunger, and poverty experienced by people in Third World countries. A majority do not believe that much progress has been made over the past decade in improving living conditions in those countries.

Where conditions have improved, the largest proportions of Americans credit the efforts of private voluntary organizations, direct foreign investment, and U.S. economic assistance. Few recognize the achievements of Third World governments in bringing about improvements in their own countries. Negative impressions of Third World *governments*—as ineffective, corrupt, and largely responsible for creating their countries' problems—are widespread among the American public. Americans do perceive Third World *people* as trying hard to improve their own lives.

Large numbers of interviewees were unable to independently name a development problem facing Asia and Latin America—suggesting a significant degree of ignorance about Third World countries and regions. The poor response rate to factual questions on U.S. foreign policy posed in the general population survey indicates that Americans are uninformed on a range of foreign policy issues.

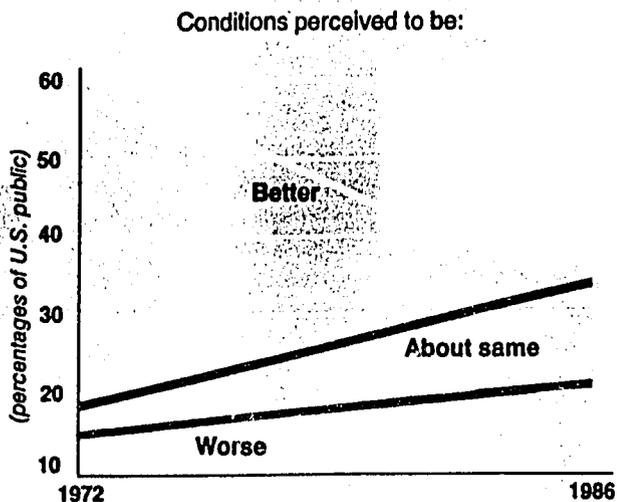
## 1. Growing Public Pessimism About Living Conditions in the World

Question (3B) posed to U.S. public in this survey:

"Would you say that living conditions in the poor countries of the world today are better than, about the same, or not as good as they were 10 years ago?"

Question posed in 1972 ODC survey:<sup>a</sup>

"How about the general living conditions of most of the people in the world? Would you say that living conditions in the world today are better than, about the same, or not as good as they were 10 years ago?"



<sup>a</sup>Paul A. Laudicina, *World Poverty and Development: A Survey of American Opinion*, Overseas Development Council, 1972.

## Third World Progress

Only 32% of the general public<sup>1</sup> believed that living conditions in the poor countries of the world are better today than they were 10 years ago. More than half of the respondents expressed the view that Third World living conditions have stagnated or deteriorated over the past decade; 35% said that conditions have remained about the same, 21% said they have declined. In response to a slightly different question posed in the 1972 survey by the Overseas Development Council, nearly two-thirds of the respondents thought living conditions in the world had improved over the previous decade. This suggests a growing degree of pessimism about progress made in improving the lives of the poor in developing countries.

Americans are more ambivalent about future rather than about past economic advances in the Third World—as shown in their uncertainty about Africa's future. Although a majority (52%) of the general public expressed the opinion that, even with outside assistance, there will always be periods of famine in Africa, a substantial minority (43%) said that Africa will someday be able to raise most of its own food.

Presented by the interviewers with the proposition that conditions in Third World countries have in some instances improved, 62% of activist respondents credited the efforts of U.S. private voluntary organizations with having helped Third World countries a great deal or a fair amount. Also considered helpful by the majority of these respondents were investments by corporations from the United States, Japan, and Europe (61%) and economic aid from the United States government (60%). Activist respondents were, however, more ambivalent about the impact of other factors. While a plurality of them (49%) considered technological advances and favorable world economic conditions to have been helpful, 47% and 45%, respectively, felt that technology and world economic conditions had been just a little or not at all helpful. Forty-seven per cent considered loans from banks to have been just a little or not at all helpful, while 46% felt they had helped a great deal or a fair amount. Men had more favorable impressions than women of the impact of world economic conditions, corporate investment, and commercial bank loans on the Third World.

## Third World Problems

A majority of the public (53%) indicated considerable pessimism about the extent of the Third World's problems, agreeing with the statement: "The problems in developing countries are so overwhelming that anything the United States does is just a drop in the bucket." However, nearly half (46%) of the public rejected this statement, with disagreement much higher (59%) among those aged 18 to 24. The activists surveyed were also divided on a similar question. Reacting to the statement: "I feel the Third World's problems are so great that my help can't make any difference," 48% felt that this described them somewhat or very well, while 51% said it did not describe them at all.

The activist respondents perceived Third World poverty to be caused by factors beyond the control of poor people in those nations. Asked to rate the severity of some long-term

<sup>1</sup>Throughout this report, reference is made to the "general public"—the 2,427 adults selected at random and interviewed in the general population survey—and to "activists"—the 502 interviewed individuals selected for their generally active involvement with community, state, and national issues. For further discussion of the selection procedures and methodology, see Appendix 1, "Survey Methodology," p. 41.

problems that Third World countries may face, the activists considered the proposition that people do not work hard enough to be the least important problem of those enumerated; only one-fifth considered this to be a very serious problem. Nearly three-quarters of the activists rated disease, hunger, and poor health care as extremely serious. A majority of these respondents also perceived overpopulation, corrupt governments, and illiteracy to be serious problems. Problems they considered slightly less critical were the threat of communism, lack of adequate resources such as water and fertile land, and the absence of democracy.

The general public respondents were asked to describe in their own words the major problems facing the developing regions of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Roughly one-third of them did not offer an opinion in response to this question with respect to Asia (36%) or Latin America (32%). A significantly smaller number (11%) did not respond to the question in relation to Africa. This would seem to indicate that the 1984-85 media coverage of Africa's food and development crisis had an impact on American awareness.

In relation to *Africa*, nearly one-half (48%) of the public named hunger and poverty as the major problem. Those aged 18 to 24 named this problem more frequently. A number of those surveyed (17%) pointed to racial discrimination—presumably referring to South Africa; Black Americans cited this problem more frequently than others. The general public also cited Africa's lack of technical know-how (13%), bad leadership (13%), and overpopulation (8%). Lack of technical know-how was mentioned more frequently in relation to Africa than to other regions.

Asked to focus on *Asia*, the general public again cited hunger and poverty as the most crucial problems (24%), followed by overpopulation (17%). Fewer respondents pointed to poor or unstable governance (10%) and lack of know-how (7%) in discussing Asia than they did in relation to Africa or Latin America.

When considering *Latin America*, the public cited political problems most frequently; 23% pointed to bad leadership, unstable governments, or civil war and revolution. Hunger and poverty were close behind (21%), although these problems were less frequently cited in relation to Latin America than in the cases of Africa and Asia. Conflict in Nicaragua was specifically mentioned by only 3% of the respondents; and debt, unemployment, or poor economies by only 7%. Human rights issues were mentioned in the context of Latin America by only two of the 1,246 individuals who were asked this question.<sup>2</sup>

### Third World Governments and People

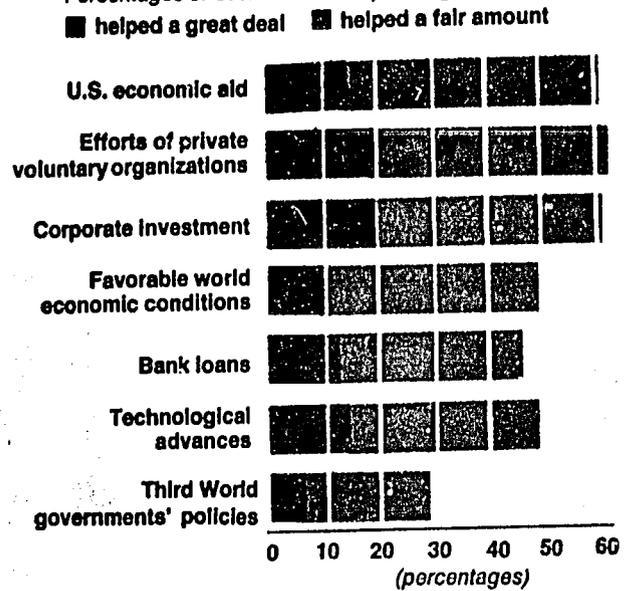
Americans have generally negative perceptions of developing-country governments and lay much of the blame for these countries' problems at the doors of their governments. Eighty-one per cent of the public agreed (nearly one-half of them strongly) with the statement: "Governments in Third World countries are largely to blame for creating their own problems through poor planning." This sentiment was far more pronounced among older, non-professional, and less educated subgroups. Only 5% of the activist respondents gave Third World governments a great deal of credit, and 24% a fair amount of credit, for contributing to progress in their countries, while a majority (64%) felt they were either not at all or only slightly helpful.

## 2. Public Opinion About What Has Helped the Third World

Question (4) posed to U.S. activists:

"In some instances, conditions have improved in Third World countries. As I read you each of the following, please tell me if you think that thing has helped those countries a great deal, a fair amount, just a little, or not at all."

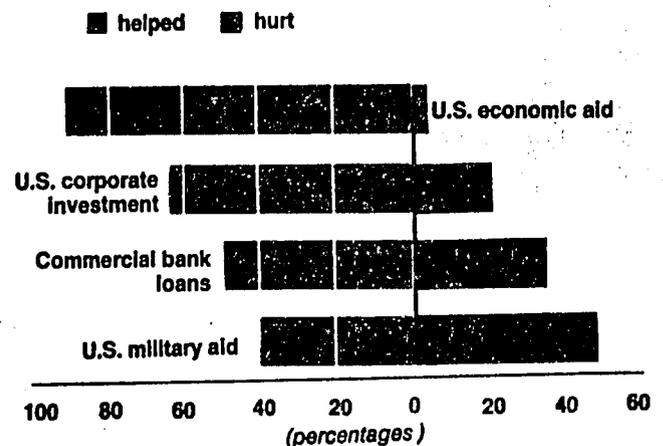
Percentages of U.S. activists responding:



Question (15A) posed to U.S. general public:

"Please tell me whether you think each of the following has generally helped or hurt the people in the Third World countries in the last few years."

Percentages of U.S. general public responding:



Nearly one-half (48%) of the U.S. general public thought that Americans are seen as generous by people in developing countries, while 36% felt that Americans are perceived to be "stingy." A sizable proportion (42%) said that people of the Third World view Americans as enemies, while 37% believe that Americans are considered to be friends. The age of respondents clearly affects their views about how Third World people perceive them, with younger respondents more frequently believing that Third World people see Americans as friends.

<sup>2</sup>Question asked of split sample.

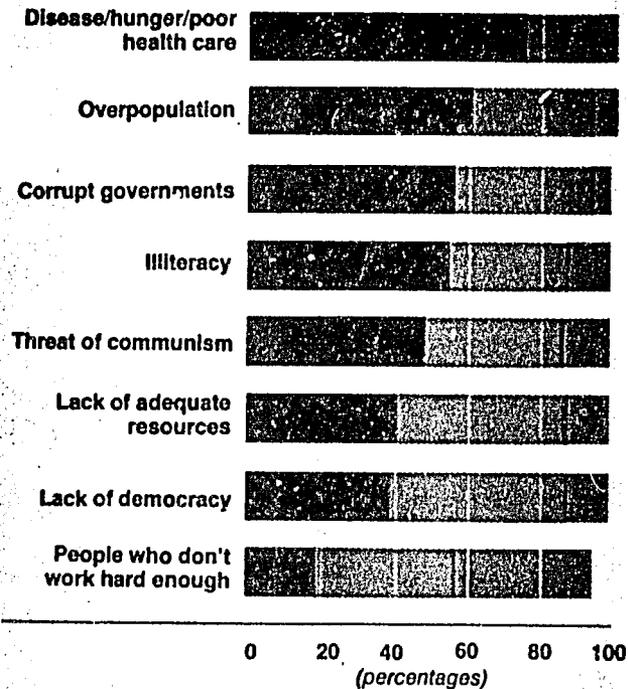
### 3. Seriousness of the Third World's Problems—as Seen by U.S. Activists

Question (3) posed to U.S. activists:

"I'm going to mention some long-term problems Third World countries may have. Using a scale where 1 means 'not a problem at all' and 10 means 'the worst possible problem,' please tell me how serious you think each problem is in the Third World."

Percentages of U.S. activists responding:

- serious problem (rated 8-10)
- somewhat of a problem (rated 4-7)
- not a problem (rated 1-3)



Note: Response totals may not equal 100% due to exclusion of "Don't know" answers.

### American Knowledge of the Third World

No analysis of public attitudes toward U.S.-Third World relations or development efforts can ignore the thinness of the American knowledge base on these questions. Yet the U.S. public is not particularly uninformed about the Third World; evidence abounds that Americans are generally uninformed about policy issues—both domestic and foreign. For example, only 22% of the respondents to the 1972 ODC survey correctly estimated the percentage of the world's people living in the Third World.<sup>3</sup> Closer to home, in response to a 1985 survey by the *Los Angeles Times*, only 9% of the public correctly estimated the percentage of Americans living below the poverty line.<sup>4</sup>

To most Americans, the developing countries seem physically and culturally remote. Although a majority of the respondents in the general population (63%) said that they had traveled outside the United States, most had done so primarily within the industrialized West—with the exception of substantial travel to Mexico and the Caribbean. Of those who reported travel overseas, 48% said they had visited Mexico; 24%, the Caribbean; 13%, Asia; 7%, Africa; and 8% each, Central America, South America, and the Middle East. Eighty per cent of the activists characterized themselves as "not knowing enough about Third World countries and their problems." This lack of personal experience and knowledge undoubtedly affects American perceptions of the people and governments of developing countries, as well as the economic, social, and political relationships of those countries with the United States.

To measure the American public's general level of knowledge, respondents to the general population survey were asked three factual questions regarding U.S. membership in NATO, U.S.-Soviet participation in the SALT or START talks, and U.S. policy in Nicaragua. The responses to the individual questions actually reflect an *increase* in public knowledge. In 1978, only one-third of the public responded correctly to the question on arms negotiations,<sup>5</sup> while nearly one-half (47%) responded correctly now. In this survey, 52%—up from 29% in 1983 and 46% in 1985<sup>6</sup>—knew that the Reagan Administration backs the Contras in Nicaragua.

The level of knowledge does appear to make a difference to American opinion on Third World issues. For example, individuals defined in the general population survey as "well informed" (by having responded correctly to at least two of the three factual questions on the START talks, NATO, and U.S. policy in Nicaragua) favored U.S. economic assistance more than the general public (63%). They were also more likely than average to believe that the United States should give the Third World greater access to U.S. markets (46%).

On issues involving basic values, however, individuals' information levels made less of a difference. For example, "well-informed" individuals did not differ from the general public in most frequently citing humanitarian feelings of concern or responsibility as their reasons for supporting aid. They were only slightly less likely than the general public to agree with the statement: "We need to solve our own poverty problems in the United States before we turn attention to other countries."

<sup>3</sup>World Poverty and Development, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup>Survey by the *Los Angeles Times*, April 20-25, 1985.

<sup>5</sup>Survey by the Roper Organization, October 28-November 4, 1978.

<sup>6</sup>Surveys by ABC News/*Washington Post*, August 1983 and June 1985.



## 2. RANKING POLICY PRIORITIES

Americans place a far higher priority on domestic well-being than on foreign policy problems. For most, international issues—with the exception of terrorism—rank fairly low among other concerns. When Americans do focus on foreign relations, they are generally much more concerned about U.S. relations with traditional allies or adversaries—Great Britain and the Soviet Union—than about Third World countries. Although Americans do perceive the United States to have humanitarian, economic, and political and strategic interests in the Third World, they give these issues relatively low importance among American interests; other priorities—national and international—conflict with or limit their concern about U.S.-Third World or development issues.

### Focus on Domestic Problems

Sixty-four per cent of the general public independently identified domestic “bread and butter” issues—unemployment, the national budget deficit, or the general state of the U.S. economy—to be most pressing.<sup>1</sup> When asked to rate the importance of a number of specific issues confronting the government, respondents assigned the lowest priority to lowering the trade deficit and to reducing poverty and hunger in other countries, while giving high priority to public education, checking crime, and alleviating domestic poverty.

<sup>1</sup> Thirty-five percent cited international terrorism as one of the biggest problems facing the United States today. Although the April 14, 1986 U.S. attack on Libya occurred during the period the general population survey was being conducted, there was little difference between responses recorded before and after the event. Even before the attack on Libya, however, the media were focusing a great deal of attention on international terrorism, no doubt with some impact on the responses.

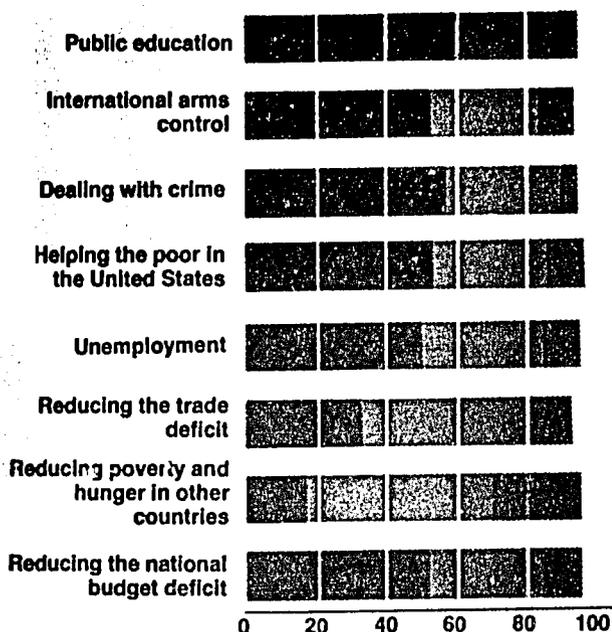
#### 4. Perceptions of U.S. National Priority of Problems and Countries

Question (2A/B) posed to U.S. public:

"Using a scale where 1 means lowest priority and 10 means top priority, please tell me how you would rate these issues the government has to deal with."

Percentages responding:

- very important (rated 8-10)
- somewhat important (rated 4-7)
- not important (rated 1-3)

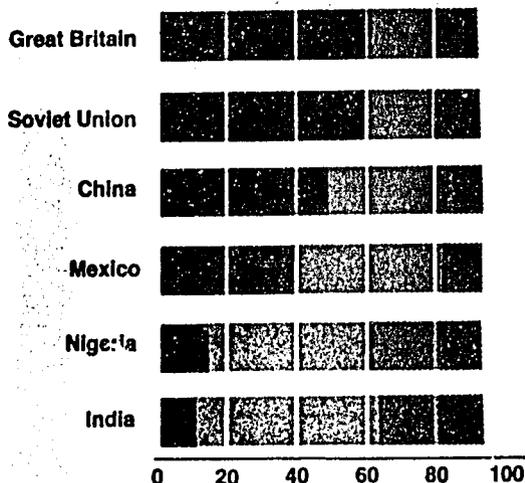


Question (4A) posed to U.S. public:

"Using our scale where 1 means not at all important and 10 means very important, please tell me how important you feel each of these countries is to the United States."

Percentages of U.S. public perceiving country's importance to the United States to be:

- very important (rated 8-10)
- somewhat important (rated 4-7)
- not important (rated 1-3)



Note: Response totals may not equal 100% due to exclusion of "Don't know" answers.

This general perception of the larger claim of domestic problems was highlighted by 84% of the general population agreeing (60% of them strongly) with the statement: "We need to solve our own poverty problems in the United States before we turn attention to other countries." Older respondents, Black Americans, and those with household incomes under \$15,000 strongly agreed with this statement more frequently. Among the activists, 63% considered themselves well described (and an additional 25% somewhat described) by the statement: "I am more interested in helping people in the United States before people in other countries."

Such expression of greater concern about domestic well-being of course is not new. For example, protecting American jobs was consistently rated a very important U.S. foreign policy goal by the largest number of respondents to polls conducted in 1978 and 1982 by The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. U.S. policy goals that rated second and third—keeping up the value of the dollar, or securing adequate supplies of energy—were closely related to domestic self-interest. In contrast, outward-oriented objectives such as promoting and defending human rights overseas, improving the standard of living in other countries, protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression, or helping to bring democratic forms of government to other nations consistently rated lower.<sup>2</sup>

#### Foreign Policy Priorities

Despite continuing priority for domestic issues, public support appears to be growing for an active U.S. role in world affairs. In 1982, only a bare majority (53%) of the public agreed that it would be best for this country's future if the United States were active internationally.<sup>3</sup> In this survey, 69% of the respondents agreed with this statement.

Americans tend to believe that developing countries are less important than traditional U.S. allies or adversaries. Asked to rank several countries according to their importance to the United States, approximately two-thirds of the general public rated Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. as very important, while less than half (47%) gave this rating to China, and only 40% to Mexico. Nigeria and India received lower ratings.

#### U.S.-Third World Policy Priorities

**Humanitarian Concerns.** Most Americans believe that the United States has a humanitarian responsibility to help developing countries. Eighty-nine per cent of those surveyed in the general population agreed with the statement: "Wherever people are hungry or poor, we ought to do what we can to help them;" and 78% supported the statement: "As a world leader, the United States should set an example for other wealthy nations by helping other poor countries." Among the activists surveyed, 73% agreed that: "Because we live in one of the richest countries in the world, Americans have a responsibility to help improve conditions in poorer countries."

The overall survey results indicate that Americans generally feel most strongly that the United States should assist Third World development on humanitarian grounds. Among respondents in some demographic subgroups, feelings of

<sup>2</sup> American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1983, John E. Rielly, ed. (Chicago: Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 1983), pp. 113-14.

<sup>3</sup> American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1983, op. cit., p. 11. The questions in the 1978 and 1982 Chicago Council surveys and in this InterAction/ODC survey differed slightly. See questions in Figure 5.

compassion and responsibility accompany concern about other perceived interests in U.S.-Third World economic, social, or political relations. But for the majority of Americans, humanitarian concern appears to be the major basis for interest in helping the Third World; other mutual interests are not widely perceived or understood.

Clearly, however, the public perceives the government's responsibility for the poor at home to be much greater than for the poor overseas. While over one-half of the general public rated "helping the poor in the United States" a major problem that the government has to deal with, less than one-fifth gave a high rating to "reducing hunger and poverty in other countries." In a 1985 survey by Yankelovich, Skelly and White, 77% of the respondents agreed that "the government has a basic responsibility to take care of people who can't take care of themselves," but only 40% rejected the statement that "the government has no special responsibility to spend money helping the poor in other countries."<sup>4</sup> In this project's focus groups, participants explained that until they perceived a substantial and adequate effort being made to combat domestic poverty, they would be unwilling to support a greater international effort. Greater concern about providing assistance to poor Americans thus clearly competes with public support for helping the poor overseas.

**Political Interests.** Americans tend to view the Third World as a dangerous arena of conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States. Over one-half (59%) of those surveyed in the general population agreed strongly with the statement that: "Soviet aggression in the Third World is a serious problem for the United States," while 26% agreed somewhat. Asked to rate on a scale of 1-10 some possible

<sup>4</sup>The Charitable Behavior of Americans: A National Survey, Findings prepared by Virginia Ann Hodgkinson and Murray S. Weitzman (The Rockefeller Brothers Fund, 1986). This survey was conducted by Yankelovich, Skelly and White for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.

## 5. Growing Support for an Active U.S. International Role

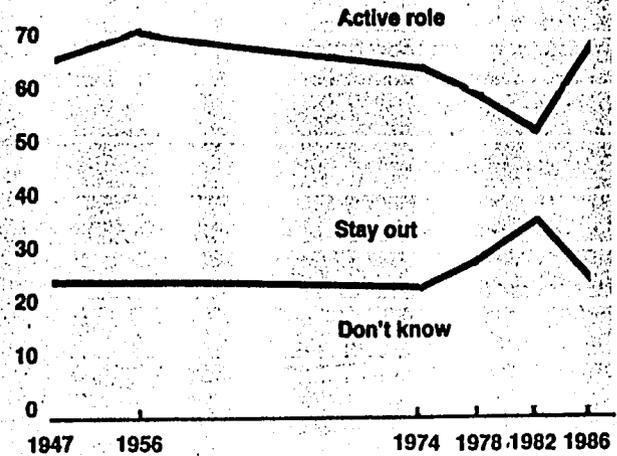
Question (3A) posed to U.S. public in this survey:

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

Question posed in the 1982, 1978, 1974, 1956, and 1947 surveys:

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

(percentages of U.S. public)

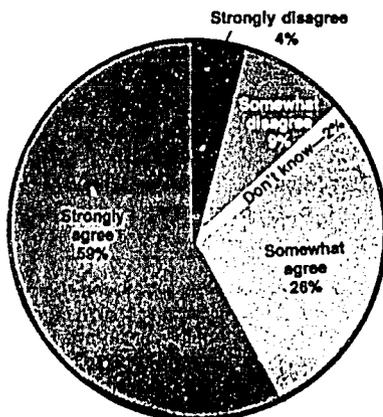


Sources: Data for 1947 and 1956 from surveys by National Opinion Research Center; 1974 data from survey by Louis Harris and Associates, Inc.; 1978 and 1982 data by Gallup Organization, Inc.—all from John E. Rielly, ed., *American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy*, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, 1983, p. 11.

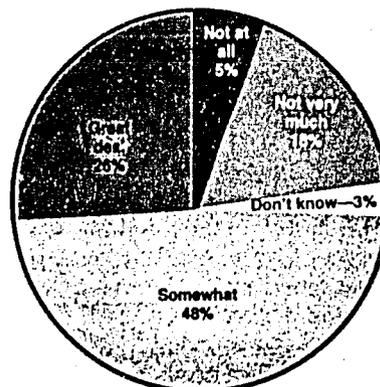
## 6. Public Perception of U.S. Interests in the Third World

Questions (21B, 12B, and 19A, respectively) posed to U.S. public:

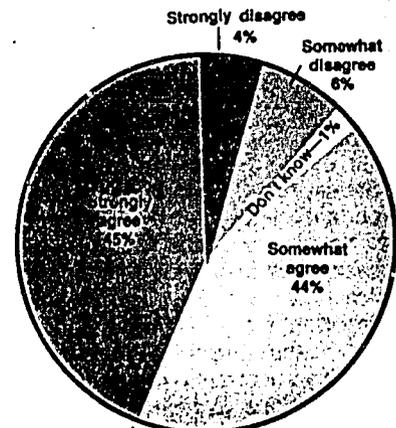
"[Do you agree or disagree that] . . . Soviet aggression in the Third World is a serious problem for the United States?"



"From what you have heard or read, would you say the economies of countries in the Third World affect the U.S. economy a great deal, somewhat, not very much, or not at all?"



"[Do you agree or disagree that] . . . Wherever people are hungry or poor, we ought to do what we can to help them?"



long-term problems of Third World countries, nearly one-half of the activists rated the threat of communism as very serious. (Other problems—disease, hunger, illiteracy, overpopulation, and corrupt governments—were, however, given greater weight.)

Many Americans believe that it is in the U.S. interest to foster political reforms within developing countries. Three-quarters of the general population said that it is good policy for the United States to require a foreign government to carry out human rights reforms before it receives U.S. aid. Sixty-six per cent also agreed that the United States should not give any kind of assistance to countries that do not have free elections or are ruled by dictators. Fifty-four per cent of the activists expressed agreement with the statement: "The United States should exert political and economic pressure on Mexico to hold fair elections."

The public is, however, concerned about America's potential over-involvement in Third World affairs. Among those in the general population who opposed U.S. military assistance to developing countries, 20% did so on the grounds that such assistance could lead the United States to war. Sixty-two per cent of the respondents agreed with the statement: "Aid programs get us too mixed up with other countries' affairs;" and 51% agreed that: "We should give the Third World countries less aid and leave them alone so they can develop in their own ways."

American activists display a significant degree of cynicism regarding the objectives of industrial-country policies toward the Third World. Fifty-one percent of these respondents said that "governments of wealthier nations get involved in Third World countries mostly to take advantage of them." In contrast, in the 1972 ODC survey, only one-quarter (24%) of the public agreed with a similar statement: "The United States exploits poor countries just to get what it needs."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>World Poverty and Development, op. cit., p. 111.

## The United States and Mexico

To examine the perceptions of Americans concerning U.S.-Third World relations in more detail, the general public and activist surveys focused specifically on the relationship between the United States and Mexico, its only contiguous Third World neighbor. The results indicate that Americans are divided over the proper U.S. policy toward Mexico in terms of both priorities and strategies.

This study found that Americans do not consider Mexico to be the Third World nation most important to the United States despite Mexico's geographic proximity, its strong economic links with the United States, and the greater familiarity of Americans with that country relative to other Third World nations. (Of the 63% of those in the general public survey who reported having traveled outside the United States, 48% had visited Mexico.) China was rated more important than Mexico by a larger percentage of the public.<sup>a</sup>

Younger and older Americans differed notably in their assessments of Mexico's importance to the United States. Americans over 35 years old considered Mexico to be very important more frequently than did younger respondents. Americans living in the Western United States rated Mexico as very important more frequently than did those living in other regions. Even in the West, however, Mexico was perceived as less important than the Soviet Union, Great Britain, or China.

**Economic Interests.** At a general level, most Americans appear to be aware of an economic interrelationship between the United States and the Third World. When asked whether "the economies of countries in the Third World affect the U.S. economy," one-quarter of the general public responded that Third World economies affect the U.S. economy a great deal and nearly one-half said the U.S. economy was affected somewhat.

Most Americans perceive this interrelationship to hold potential benefits for both the developing countries and the United States. Thus three-quarters of the general public agreed with the statement: "If the United States helps the Third World, we will benefit in the long run;" and two-thirds rejected the statement that: "It is against U.S. interests to help countries in the Third World because they will compete with us economically and politically." More men than women—and more upper-income than lower-income respondents—perceived such long-term benefits and rejected the idea that future competition should curtail U.S. efforts. Fifty-five per cent of the activist respondents agreed (19% of them strongly) that: "Helping Third World countries is in our self-interest because as they develop, they will buy American products."

Yet when questioned about specific U.S. trade, finance, or investment policies, Americans tend to perceive interdependence as a "negative sum game" for the United States—as in the case of the relationship of trade to U.S. employment. Similarly, they do not appear to see much of a relationship between domestic and international economic problems or policies; for example, there is little evidence that many see the U.S. financial situation and the debt problem of developing countries to be related. Thus while Americans do see positive benefits to economic interdependence *in the abstract—or over a longer time frame*—they do not appear to be aware of economic links in specific terms, or they see such links as negative and are concerned about "damage control."

Over one-third of the U.S. general public considered Mexican immigration to the United States to be the most important issue affecting U.S.-Mexican relations. Nearly one-third gave first place to Mexico's political stability, while 22% considered Mexico's debt crisis to be the most important problem. Activists firmly agreed that Mexico's economy has an impact on the U.S. economy. Seventy-seven per cent disagreed with the statement: "Mexico's economic problems do not affect the U.S. economy very much."

On the issue of U.S. involvement in Mexican affairs, activist respondents were more sharply divided. A majority (54%) agreed with the statement that the United States should exert political and economic pressure on Mexico to hold fair elections, but 41% disagreed. And while 52% agreed, 45% disagreed that Mexico should be accorded highest priority for receiving U.S. help because of its geographic proximity.

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<sup>a</sup>A recent survey by Louis Harris and Associates, Inc., found clear evidence that Americans believe that U.S.-Mexican relations are important to this country. Sixty-nine per cent of those surveyed in the Harris poll responded that it was very important "for the U.S. to have a stable, reliable, and friendly neighbor in the government of Mexico"; another 24% said it was somewhat important. "Mexico is Friendly But Has Serious Problems," Louis Harris, *The Harris Survey*, August 11, 1986, Press Release No. 44.



### **3. VIEWS ON U.S.-THIRD WORLD ECONOMIC ISSUES**

Most Americans generally agree that the economies of the Third World are important to the United States. Their acknowledgement of the Third World's economic significance does not, however, translate into support for specific trade, finance, or labor policies that might contribute to Third World economic growth. Americans are concerned about the impact of Third World trade on domestic business and employment, and this interest overrides any preference they may have for an open, competitive trading system.

Americans are not very concerned about helping developing countries overcome the burdens of their debt problem. This survey found little evidence that they make any connection between the Third World's debt crisis and U.S. national interests or between the debt crisis and alleviating poverty in the developing world.

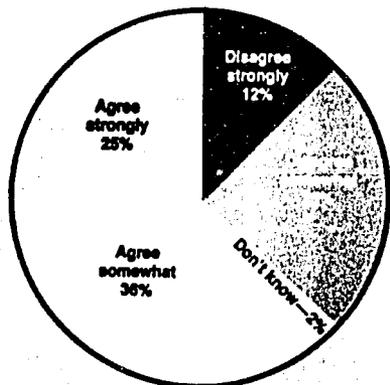
The public's assessments of the impact of the commercial sector on the Third World are somewhat ambiguous: a majority believe that U.S. direct foreign investment has generally helped people in the Third World, but most also believe that investment has made developing countries dependent on U.S. corporations instead of helping them develop themselves. Opinion is also divided as to whether commercial bank loans have helped or hurt the Third World.

Public reaction to the plight of economic and political refugees is generally sympathetic, but there is strong support for U.S. immigration restrictions to protect the jobs of American workers.

## 7. U.S.-Third World Economic Interdependence Recognized—

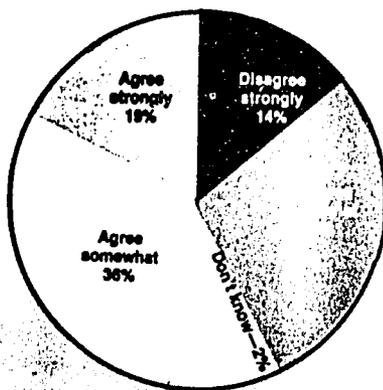
*Question (15) posed to U.S. activists:*

"[Do you agree or disagree that] . . . Helping Third World countries become self-sufficient will cut down on the number of immigrants to the United States?"



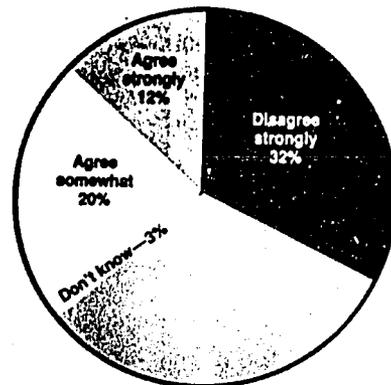
*Question (15) posed to U.S. activists:*

"[Do you agree or disagree that] . . . Helping Third World countries is in our self-interest because as they develop, they will buy American products?"

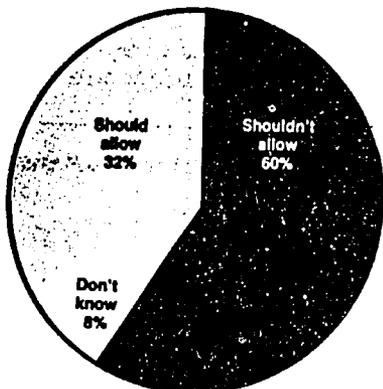


*Question (19A) posed to the U.S. public:*

"[Do you agree or disagree that] . . . It is against U.S. interests to help countries in the Third World because they will compete with us economically and politically?"

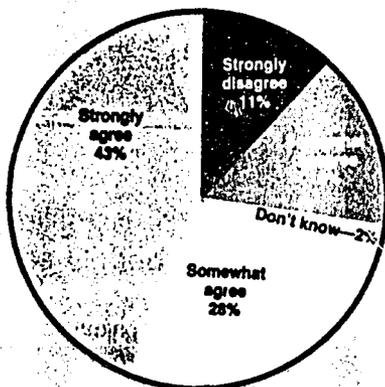


## —But Domestic Problems Considered More Important



*Question (18B) posed to U.S. public:*

"Do you agree more that we should help Third World countries by letting them sell goods to the United States, or more that the United States shouldn't allow so many foreign imports from the Third World until the U.S. trade deficit is lowered?"



*Question (21A) posed to U.S. public:*

"[Do you agree or disagree that] . . . The U.S. should limit the number of immigrants entering the country because they compete with Americans for jobs?"



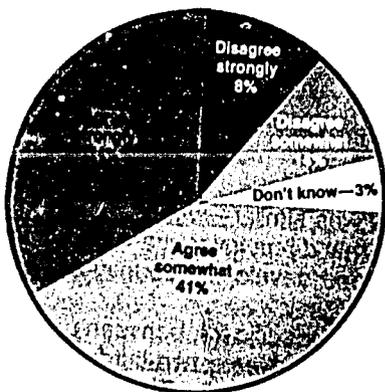
*Question (7) posed to U.S. activists:*

"Which of these two statements do you tend to agree with more: (1) The United States should actively help reduce the foreign debt of Third World countries that face economic collapse—or (2) The United States should take care of its own financial problems first?"

## Trade, Finance, and Jobs

Question (19A) posed to U.S. public:

"[Do you agree or disagree that] . . . If the United States helps the Third World, we will benefit in the long run?"



Strong protectionist sentiment surfaces on the issue of international trade: 60% of the general public said that the United States should restrict imports from the developing countries until the U.S. trade deficit is lowered, while 32% thought that imports should be allowed and 8% were not sure. Current opposition to imports was considerably higher than in the 1972 survey, in which a similar question found 44% favoring restrictions, 39% opposing them, and 16% undecided.<sup>1</sup> On this issue, as on others relating to business and trade policy, there was a notable split among the responses of various demographic subgroups. Those from Western states and the better-educated and more affluent groups tended to take the position that foreign imports should not be limited and that Third World countries should be encouraged to sell goods to the United States. Men held this view more frequently than women.

Activist respondents showed a similar, strong protectionist tendency. When asked to choose between a) purchasing imported goods from Third World countries because "their prices are lower and it helps those countries get on their feet," and b) helping U.S. industries and workers by *not* buying Third World goods, 54% of the activists opted for the latter position. Only 31% favored purchasing imported goods, while 15% were undecided.

Yet, as other surveys have shown, protectionist sentiments do not necessarily imply an underlying preference for a restrictive trade policy. For example, in a 1983 Louis Harris survey, 73% of the respondents favored a policy to open up trade between Europe, Japan, and the United States in order to correct the U.S. trade balance, while only 27% favored restricting foreign imports into the United States.<sup>2</sup> A 1986 survey of attitudes on international trade concluded that Americans continue to be committed to the concept of free trade, but have turned to protectionism because of "what they believe the trade situation to be: The economy is being hurt by import competition, jobs are being lost, the United States is being treated unfairly by its trading partners, and the benefits of import competition are not impressive."<sup>3</sup>

A broader rationale for this "America first" sentiment is suggested in a 1983 study by the Public Agenda Foundation on American attitudes toward the federal budget crisis. This study concluded that the public is unwilling to consider more

<sup>1</sup> The 1972 question, which read: "Considering the products coming in from other countries, would you say you strongly approve, mildly approve, mildly disapprove, or strongly disapprove of import restrictions on goods coming in from underdeveloped countries?" did not mention the U.S. trade deficit. *World Poverty and Development*, op. cit., p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Survey by Louis Harris and Associates, Inc., conducted April 20-25, 1983, for *Business Week*, "Opinion Roundup," *Public Opinion*, April/May 1985, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Survey by Matthew Greenwald and Associates and the Government Research Corporation, March-June 1986, as reported in "Storm Warnings on the Trade Front," Matthew Greenwald and Ruy Teixeira, *The JAMA Forum*, Volume 5, No. 1.



Question (8) posed to U.S. activists

Which of these two statements do you tend to agree with more: (1) Americans should buy products from Third World countries because their prices are lower and it helps those countries get on their feet—or (2) To help U.S. industries and workers, Americans should not buy goods made in Third World countries even if they have to pay more for comparable American products?"

painful domestic solutions to the budget problem, in part due to "the belief that largess to foreigners is responsible for our budget problems":

"Conservative respondents blamed foreign aid and expenditures on social services for illegal aliens such as Mexicans, Cubans, or Haitians. Blue collar respondents saw foreign imports and overseas military spending as important causes of the problem. Underlying both sets of views is a sense of anger and frustration that we're not 'taking care of home' and that, especially in hard times, we should put America first."<sup>4</sup>

Other surveys have found that Americans are largely unaware of the employment benefits of foreign trade for the United States.<sup>5</sup> Among respondents to the 1972 ODC survey, 40% said the most important reason to support free trade between the United States and the Third World was that it helped developing countries; few cited factors beneficial to the United States, such as lower prices (14%) and more export jobs (9%). In response to a separate question in the same survey, a plurality (49%) cited the loss of American jobs as the most important reason to oppose free trade. More recently, in a 1985 New York Times/CBS poll, 69% of the respondents said foreign trade cost the United States jobs, while only 19% said foreign trade gained jobs for the United States.<sup>6</sup>

When asked to choose between other economic priorities, the activist respondents to this survey consistently chose to promote or protect *domestic* over *international* well-being. A large majority (80%) of activists agreed that the United States should take care of its own financial problems before actively helping to reduce the foreign debt of economically unstable Third World countries. Two-thirds of the activists rejected the statement that a) American banks should extend more credit to developing countries to help them repay their loans, in favor of a statement that b) U.S. banks should not offer Third World countries better credit terms than they extend to American companies.

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<sup>4</sup>Public Agenda Foundation, "The Federal Budget Crisis: The Public's Response," Report prepared for the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget, February 1983, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup>In 1980, approximately 6 million U.S. jobs were generated by U.S. goods exports. See Stuart Tucker, "Update: Costs to the United States of the Recession in Developing Countries," Working Paper No. 10 (Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council, 1986).

<sup>6</sup>Survey by *New York Times*/CBS News, conducted May 29-June 2, 1985.

Although 46% of the public agreed that the United States "needs to do everything in its power to find solutions to the debt problems of Third World countries," only 13% strongly agreed with this idea.

American perceptions of the impact of the commercial sector on the Third World are ambiguous. On the one hand, a majority (65%) of those in the public believed that U.S. direct foreign investment has in general helped people in developing countries. Nonetheless, 69% of the same group agreed with the statement: "Investment by U.S. corporations in the Third World has made countries dependent on corporations rather than helping them develop themselves." This apparent contradiction may indicate some confusion of opinion, or a perception that while direct foreign investment has fostered dependency, it has by and large been beneficial to developing countries. Nearly one-half of the general public had a favorable opinion of the impact of commercial bank loans on Third World people, while one-third said it hurt them. The activists' view was similar—with 61% and 46%, respectively, responding that direct investment or commercial bank loans have helped developing countries a great deal or a fair amount.

Respondents perceived a specific link between underdevelopment and U.S. immigration. Nearly two-thirds of the activists agreed with the statement: "Helping Third World countries become self-sufficient will cut down on the number of immigrants to the United States." There is a striking degree of support among the general public for U.S. immigration restrictions to protect American jobs. A large majority (71%) of the public agreed with the statement: "The United States should limit the number of immigrants entering the country because they compete with Americans for jobs"; 43% agreed strongly with this view.

In contrast, there was substantial division among the general public as to whether or not the United States should open its borders to refugees, although they did not appear to make the distinction between *political* and *economic* refugees that guides official U.S. policy. Fifty-five per cent said that the United States should accept refugees fleeing from political oppression; 50% felt that the United States should accept refugees fleeing poverty. The affluent and those in professional households voiced stronger support for the acceptance of refugees. Catholics tended to show stronger commitment than the general public to helping refugees fleeing poverty. Black Americans strongly opposed unrestricted immigration more frequently than did other respondents.

## 8. Apparent Differences Between U.S. Public Opinion and U.S. Policy

### Public Opinion:

### Government Policy:

#### Economic Aid

U.S. giving of economic assistance to other countries

Favor: 54%  
Oppose: 39%

As a world leader, the U.S. should set an example for other wealthy nations by helping other poor nations.

Agree: 78%  
Disagree: 20%

U.S. bilateral economic assistance rose 37% from FY1981 to FY1986. (The budget for U.S. development assistance increased 15%, the food aid budget rose 4%, and economic support funds—a program of economic assistance to countries of political or strategic interest to the United States—rose 79%.)

In absolute terms, the United States official development assistance program is the largest in the world. However, in relative terms—that is, measured as a percentage of national wealth—U.S. official development assistance is lower than that of sixteen other industrial nations.

#### Military Aid

U.S. giving of military assistance to other nations to buy arms and train soldiers

Favor: 38%  
Oppose: 51%

From FY1981 to FY1986, U.S. military assistance to other countries rose 89%, and now comprises nearly one-half of total U.S. bilateral foreign assistance.

#### Priorities (High and Low) for Regional Destination of Aid

Africa	Israel	Arab Countries
High priority: 39%	High priority: 28%	High priority: 9%
Low priority: 11%	Low priority: 23%	Low priority: 43%
Latin America and the Caribbean	Asia	
High priority: 35%	High priority: 19%	
Low priority: 12%	Low priority: 15%	

In FY1987, U.S. bilateral economic assistance—that is, economic support funds, development assistance, and food aid—is allocated as follows: the Middle East (20%); Latin America and the Caribbean (19%); Israel (18%); Asia (16%); and Africa (11%).

#### Priorities (High and Low) for Selected Kinds of Aid Programs

Education on family planning and providing birth control

High priority: 62%  
Low priority: 10%

Renting land for U.S. military bases

High priority: 31%  
Low priority: 18%

U.S. funding for population programs overseas has increased under the Reagan Administration; however, U.S. funding to the two international family planning organizations most active throughout the developing countries—International Planned Parenthood Federation and the U.N. Fund for Population Activities—has been terminated or sharply reduced due to allegations that they were indirectly funding organizations that may have been performing abortions.

In FY1987 the five countries that have base rights agreements with the United States—Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Greece, and the Philippines—will receive \$1.1 billion in U.S. military assistance and \$440 million in economic aid.

#### Trade

The United States shouldn't allow so many foreign imports from the Third World until the U.S. trade deficit is lowered.

Agree: 60%  
Disagree: 32%

"Protectionism is both dangerous and expensive. Its costs include not only the waste of resources and higher prices in our own economy but also the flow to poorer nations around the world that are struggling for democracy but vulnerable to antidemocratic subversions."<sup>a</sup>

#### Debt

The United States should take care of its own financial problems before helping reduce foreign debt of Third World).

Agree: 80% Disagree: 15%

"The resolution of international debt problems is important to the U.S. economy as a whole, as well as to our international trade and financial system."<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup>ie: Totals of percentages that agreed and disagreed—and expressed high and low priority—do not add up to 100% due to the exclusion of middle-range, "don't know," and "no answer" responses.

<sup>a</sup>"Freedom, Regional Security and Global Peace," A message to the Congress from President Reagan, March 14, 1986, U.S. Department of State Bureau of Public Affairs, Special Report No. 143.

<sup>b</sup>Statement of James A. Baker III, Secretary of the Treasury, before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, May 20, 1986.



## 4. VIEWS ON U.S. FOREIGN AID

Support for economic assistance by a majority of the American public has remained remarkably steady for nearly 40 years and is not flagging despite current pressures on the U.S. budget.

Factors that conflict with or limit support are: a firm persuasion on the part of the public that domestic poverty must be addressed before attending to the needs of developing countries; and strong negative impressions of the efficiency of aid agencies, the effectiveness of assistance in reaching the needy in poor countries, and the integrity of Third World governments in managing aid programs.

The major reasons that most Americans offer for supporting economic assistance are humanitarian values and a sense of responsibility. Economic and political self-interest reasons—while not unimportant for certain subgroups—are generally less compelling rationales for support.

Americans have fairly strong preferences for certain types of U.S. economic assistance programs. While support for disaster relief is generally viewed as the most critical type of aid, other programs aimed at long-term development efforts and self-help are also considered to merit high priority, especially when they are perceived to offer benefits to poor people in the developing world.

Support for military aid has increased in recent years, but a majority of the American public continues to oppose the program.

## Economic Aid

The level of public support for *economic* aid to the Third World has remained fairly steady for nearly four decades. Fifty-four per cent of the general public favored U.S. giving of economic assistance<sup>1</sup> to other countries, 39% opposed such programs, and 7% were undecided. With some reservations due to language and to research design, American opinion on foreign aid appears to have changed little in recent decades.

The demographic profile of Americans who supported economic assistance or foreign aid was not widely different from that of the general public, although there were some important distinctions. Among the general public, those who supported aid fell within the highest income levels and were in professional, managerial, and other white-collar households. A majority of those with an education beyond high school expressed support for aid.

Endorsement of U.S. aid to Third World countries was strongest among young people. About twice as many people aged 18 to 24 supported economic assistance (61%) as opposed it (30%). Residents of the Northeastern United States registered the most support and the least opposition of any geographic group. There was strikingly little difference between degrees of support for economic assistance expressed by women and men, or by Black and white Americans.

Opponents to U.S. giving of economic assistance were generally older Americans and those in lower-income groups. Respondents with a high school or lower education, retirees, and those in blue-collar households opposed aid more frequently. Those living in the South and in the North Central states also opposed aid somewhat more frequently than others.

A higher level of involvement in civic or political affairs did not translate into a higher level of support for U.S. economic assistance. Fifty-two per cent of the activists supported economic aid, 33% opposed it, and 15% were undecided. Like the general public, American activists who favored economic assistance were evenly distributed by gender, age, religion, and party affiliation, but were generally in professional positions or members of higher-income households.

While a majority of Americans favor aid, there is little support for an *increase* in the amount of U.S. aid to developing countries. Only a small percentage (18%) of the public felt that the United States is not doing enough to fight poverty in other parts of the world; a plurality (42%) thought that the government is doing about the right amount; and one-third (35%) felt that it is doing more than it should—representing a decline since 1972, when a plurality (44%) considered that the United States was doing more than it should.<sup>2</sup> Activist perceptions were virtually identical to those of the general population—36% of the activists felt the United States was doing more than it should; 42%, that it was doing about the right amount; and 19%, that it was doing less than it should.

A majority of the public (52%) said that the United States cannot afford overseas economic assistance, but 45% disagreed. Northeasterners, Blacks, and those with a college degree responded more frequently than others that the United States can afford the program.

<sup>1</sup>In one version of the general population survey, interviewees were asked about their opinions on "foreign aid"; in a second version they were questioned about "economic assistance". The survey uncovered very little difference between the two sets of responses, although "economic assistance" elicited slightly more support (54%) than did "foreign aid" (50%).

<sup>2</sup>*World Poverty and Development, op. cit.*, p. 97.

## 9. Public Support for U.S. Aid

	Percentage favoring Foreign/Economic Aid	Percentage opposing Foreign/Economic Aid
1986	54%	39%
1982	50	39
1978	46	41
1974	52	38
1972	68	28
1966	53	35
1965	57	33
1963	58	30
1958	51	33
1956	71	na <sup>a</sup>
1952	56	na <sup>a</sup>

*Question (5B) posed to U.S. public in this survey:*

"Are you generally in favor of or opposed to U.S. giving of economic assistance to other countries?"

*Question posed in the 1982, 1978, and 1974 surveys:*

"On the whole, do you favor or oppose our giving economic aid to other nations for purposes of economic development and technical assistance?"

*Question posed in the 1972 survey:*

"Concerning the United States giving foreign assistance—would you say you are strongly in favor, somewhat in favor, somewhat against, or strongly against the United States giving assistance to underdeveloped countries?"

*Question posed in the 1956, 1965, 1963, and 1958 surveys:*

"In general, how do you feel about foreign aid—are you for it or against it?"

*Question posed in the 1956 and 1952 surveys:*

"As things are now, is it more important to send our allies economic aid, like machinery and supplies, or to send them military aid like tanks and guns?"

<sup>a</sup>na—not applicable

Sources: Data for 1982 and 1978 from surveys by the Gallup Organization Inc.; 1974 data from survey by Louis Harris and Associates, Inc.; 1972 data from survey by Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc., for the Overseas Development Council; data for 1986, 1965, 1963, and 1958 from surveys by Gallup; data for 1956 and 1952 from surveys by the National Opinion Research Center.

This finding is consistent with other studies that have concluded that despite general sympathy for the idea of eliminating poverty and hunger abroad, a majority of Americans regularly express the opinion that the United States is spending too much on aid. For example, in a series of 10 polls conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) and General Social Surveys between 1973 and 1984, 66% to 75% of the respondents said that the United States was spending too much on foreign aid; between 3% and 5% said the government was spending too little.<sup>3</sup>

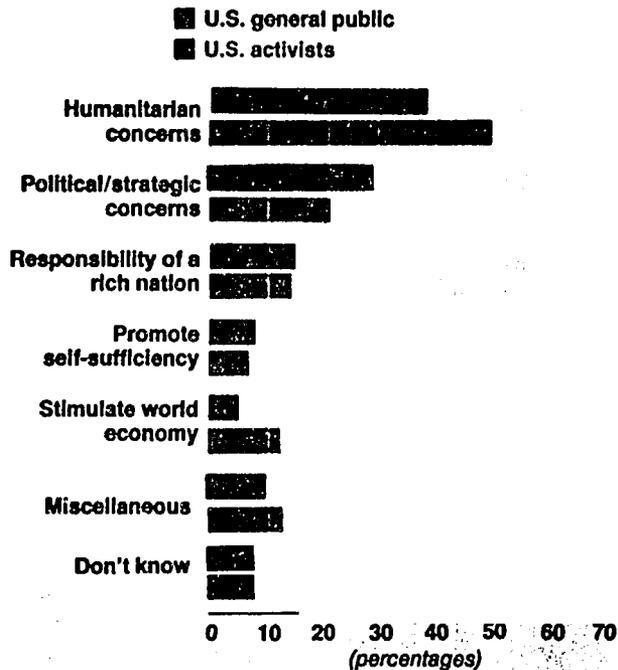
The public's perception that the U.S. aid effort is sufficient or excessive is probably based to some degree on ignorance of how much the United States actually spends on aid.

<sup>3</sup>Surveys by National Opinion Research Center/General Social Surveys, conducted in February-April of 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1984.

## 10. Why Americans Support Economic Aid—

Questions posed to both U.S. public (5B) and U.S. activists (2) who said they favor aid:

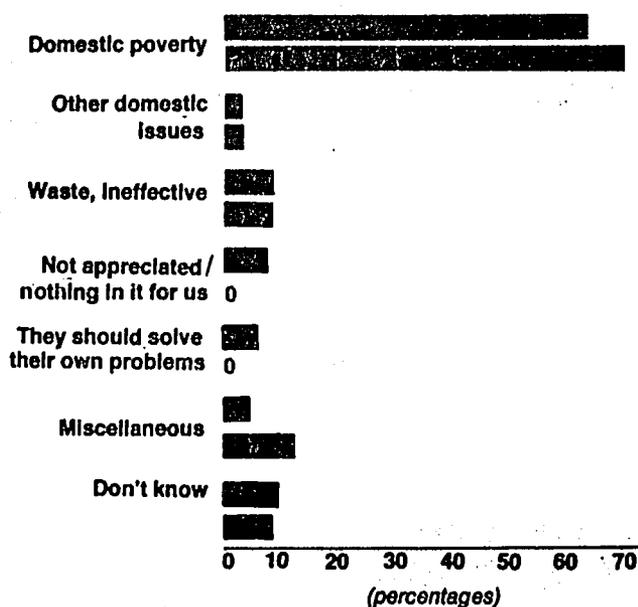
"What is the most important reason to you for favoring economic assistance to other countries?"



## —and Why They Oppose It

Questions posed to both U.S. public (6B) and U.S. activists (2) who said they oppose aid:

"What is the most important reason to you for opposing economic assistance to other countries?"



Note: Responses do not equal 100% due to multiple answers.

Past studies have shown that most Americans are poorly informed about this issue.<sup>4</sup> In this project's focus group discussions, nearly all participants incorrectly stated that the United States gives a higher percentage of its GNP in aid than do other wealthy nations. One participant, for example, objected: "I don't understand. Why does it always have to be the United States [that gives]?" The comments of another participant also illustrate such widely held, inflated perceptions of U.S. foreign assistance: "I think ours is probably the most remarkable country in the history of the world. The mere fact that we can address ourselves to a subject having to do with our *quality* of giving rather than the *quantity* is in itself an incredibly wonderful thing."

Seventy-eight per cent of the general public agreed with the statement: "As a world leader, the United States should set an example for the other wealthy nations by helping other poor nations." Even among those who *opposed* foreign or economic aid, roughly two-thirds agreed with this statement. In light of the low support for *increasing* U.S. efforts to help poor countries, this strong belief that the United States should "set an example" probably confirms the fact that very few Americans know the extent of the U.S. aid effort relative to that of other nations. Although the U.S. economic assistance program is the largest government program in the world, the entire foreign affairs budget is less than 2% of the total federal budget, and the United States devotes a smaller share of its national income to development assistance than most other industrial countries (see Figure 16, page 32).

Americans may have an inflated sense of aid's importance to the developing countries. Eighty per cent of the general population agreed with the statement: "Aid is essential if other countries are to become self-sufficient." In fact, only around 40% of total resource flows to developing countries from all sources between 1980 and 1985 were concessional; commercial bank loans, direct foreign investment, and export credits comprised the bulk of these flows.<sup>5</sup>

**Rationales for Support or Opposition.** The major reasons given by Americans for favoring economic assistance reflect a humanitarian desire to help other people. Economic and political reasons, while not insignificant to certain subgroups, are generally far less important. Opposition to economic assistance, in contrast, is grounded largely in national self-interest concerns—particularly in the view that people at home should be helped first.

When asked to explain why they support economic assistance in their own words, 53% of the general public and 64% of the activists volunteered reasons such as humanitarian concern or a feeling of responsibility. Moreover, nearly three-quarters of the activists agreed with the statements: "I feel bad that others have so little when we have so much," and "Because we live in one of the richest countries in the world, Americans have a responsibility to help improve conditions in poorer countries."

Economic reasons for supporting aid—such as fostering economic stability and growth in the Third World; bringing

<sup>4</sup>For example, in the 1972 ODC survey, 69% of respondents said that the U.S. economic foreign assistance budget was relatively greater than foreign assistance programs of other wealthy countries. In fact, American official development assistance as a share of U.S. GNP ranks lower than that of sixteen other OECD DAC countries.

<sup>5</sup>The increase in concessional financing from 35.3% of total resource flows in 1980 to 60.7% in 1985 was due to the sharp drop in commercial bank lending rather than to an increase in concessional assistance. OECD Development Assistance Committee, *Development Co-operation: 1986 Report*, (Paris: OECD, 1987).

economic benefits to the United States and the developing countries; and promoting self-sufficiency in the Third World—were cited by 14% of the general public. Activists were somewhat more likely to mention economic reasons for supporting aid (20%). Male respondents more frequently named economic rather than humanitarian motivations for supporting economic aid, while women favored humanitarian reasons.

Political and strategic rationales for supporting U.S. economic assistance—such as making and keeping allies, discouraging communism, fostering democracy, and promoting world peace—were volunteered by over one-quarter (28%) of the public. Activist respondents cited political objectives slightly less frequently (21%) than the general public.

The finding that a large segment of the public views U.S. economic assistance largely in terms of its perceived benefits for other countries rather than on the grounds of its actual or potential benefits for the United States has emerged in other studies. For example, a 1982 survey by the Gallup Organization for The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations found support to be strongest for statements about economic aid such as "helps the economy of other countries" (68%), but relatively weak for statements such as "helps our economy at home" (30%), and "helps our national security" (44%).<sup>6</sup>

Public opposition to economic assistance is based principally on concern that *domestic* problems deserve higher priority. When those who opposed economic aid were asked to describe their reasons for doing so in their own words, two-thirds of the general public and nearly three-quarters of the activists cited domestic poverty, the U.S. budget deficit, or general U.S. problems as their reasons for opposing aid.

Less than one-tenth of all respondents who opposed aid in both surveys mentioned reasons such as waste, mismanagement, or failure to get aid to the people that need it. A similar proportion of those opposing aid among the general population cited the neutral or negative impact of aid on the United States—saying for example, that "aid doesn't do us any good", or "countries that receive aid turn against us."

In separate questions, the public displayed some concern at aid programs that the United States excessively involved developing countries—which benefits neither the donor nor the recipients. Sixty-two per cent agreed with the statement: "Aid programs get us too mixed up with other countries' affairs." A slim majority (51%) agreed that: "We should give Third World countries less aid and leave them alone so they can develop in their own ways"; however, only 19% strongly agreed with this statement, and 47% rejected it.

**Effectiveness of Economic Aid and Aid Agencies.** Nine out of ten Americans in the general public believe that U.S. aid for such activities as health care, education, and agriculture has generally helped people in the Third World. However, 58% of the same group agreed with the statement: "Economic aid has *not* been effective in improving poor people's lives in the Third World." This view, which appears to contradict the public's overall assessment of aid as more beneficial than harmful, may be partly explained by the widespread perception that a good deal of aid is mismanaged, wasted, or abused.

Eighty-five per cent of the general public agreed with the statement: "A large part of aid is wasted by the U.S. bureaucracy." This low level of confidence in aid has remained

largely unchanged since 1972.<sup>7</sup> In the present survey, nearly nine out of ten Americans (88%) agreed that "aid is frequently misused by foreign governments"—showing the further erosion of the already low level of confidence in 1972, when 76% of the public agreed with a similar statement.<sup>8</sup> The activist respondents shared this perception of ineffectiveness; 94% considered themselves to be well or somewhat described by the statement: "I feel a lot of foreign aid never gets to the people who need it."

Americans consider the self-reliance of Third World countries to be an important objective of development efforts. In the focus group discussions, a number of participants spoke of the importance of helping people in the developing countries help themselves. There was frequent allusion to the saying: "I give a man a fish, he eats for one day; I teach him how to fish, he eats for the rest of his life." Survey data, however, indicates that the public does not believe that self-reliance is being achieved through aid. Three-quarters of the public agreed—38% of them strongly—with the statement: "Many aid programs are bad in the long run because they make other countries too dependent on us."

The public's lack of awareness about aid's successes was demonstrated in a comment made by one focus group participant: "I have a strong suspicion...there's a lot of aid that does good, even from our own government...But we just don't hear about it very much. It goes into immunization programs for children, it goes for vocational work and a lot of very dry, dull, apolitical activities, but they don't get publicized." A 1986 survey by Louis Harris highlighted the potential impact of publicizing aid's success stories. When asked their opinion on economic aid, 59% of the Harris respondents favored aid and 36% opposed it. A follow-up question asked whether they would favor or oppose the program if they "could be sure that the economic aid we send to countries ended up helping the people of those countries." Eighty-nine per cent of the respondents then responded positively.<sup>9</sup>

Negative perceptions about aid's impact or the efficacy of organizations do not necessarily translate into lack of support for development efforts. Among the general public, Americans who reported making financial contributions to organizations working overseas were not much more confident than others about what happens to those donations. Twenty per cent of those who had made such donations in the past 12 months said they had a great deal of confidence, 41% said they had just some confidence, and the remaining 33% that they had little confidence that money given to private agencies reaches the needy in other countries. In addition, half of those who said that aid is a waste of money, is misused by foreign governments, or has not been effective in improving people's lives in the Third World nonetheless said they favored U.S. economic assistance.

In this respect, the public's attitudes about programs to combat domestic and international poverty are very similar. Commenting on a 1985 poll on domestic poverty issues con-

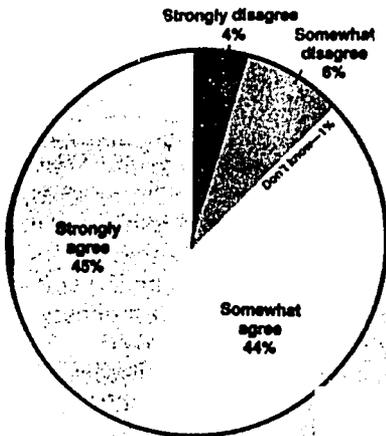
<sup>7</sup>The 1972 statement read: "Too much foreign aid is wasted in our own bureaucracy and never finds its way abroad." *World Poverty and Development*, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.* The 1972 statement read: "Too much of our foreign assistance money is kept by the leaders of poor countries and does not get to the people in need."

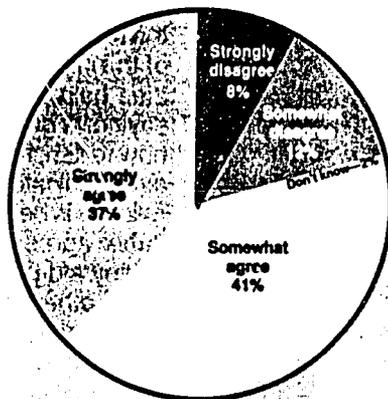
<sup>9</sup>Louis Harris, "Foreign Economic Aid Has Merit," *The Harris Survey*, No. 53, September 29, 1986.

## 11. Strong Endorsement of U.S. Responsibility to Help Others—

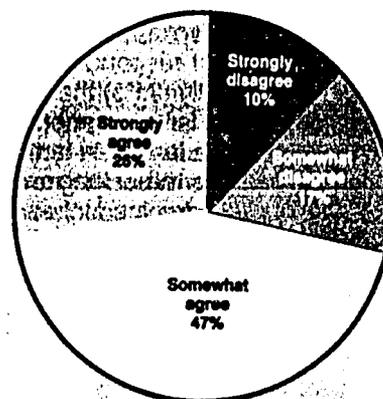
*Question (19A) posed to U.S. public:*  
 "[Do you agree or disagree that] . . .  
 Wherever people are hungry or poor,  
 we ought to do what we can to help  
 them?"



*Question (19B) posed to U.S. public:*  
 "[Do you agree or disagree that] . . .  
 As a world leader, the United States  
 should set an example for other  
 wealthy nations by helping other poor  
 nations?"

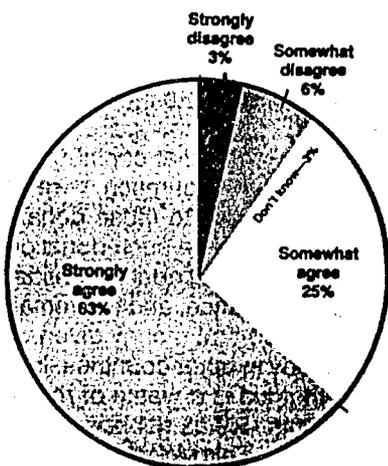


*Question (15) posed to U.S. activists:*  
 "[Do you agree or disagree that] . . .  
 Because we live in one of the richest  
 countries in the world, Americans  
 have a responsibility to help improve  
 conditions in the poorer countries?"

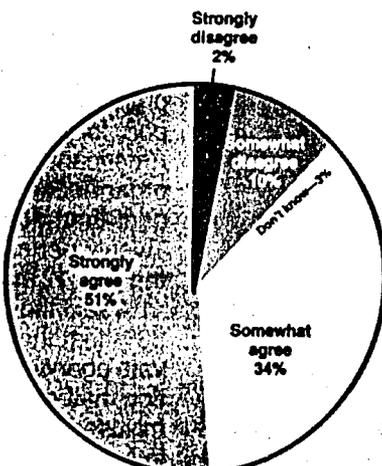


## —Despite Strong Skepticism About What Happens With Aid Funds

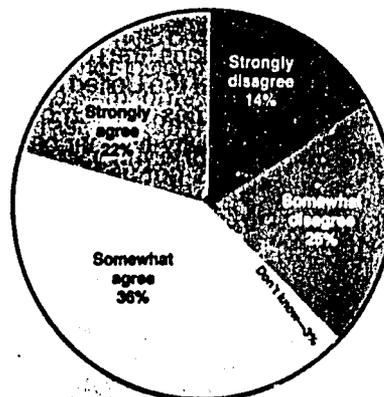
*Question (19A) posed to U.S. public:*  
 "[Do you agree or disagree that] . . .  
 Aid is frequently misused by foreign  
 governments?"



*Question (19A) posed to U.S. public:*  
 "[Do you agree or disagree that] . . .  
 A large part of aid is wasted by the  
 U.S. bureaucracy?"



*Question (19B) posed to U.S. public:*  
 "[Do you agree or disagree that] . . .  
 Economic aid has *not* been effective  
 in improving poor people's lives in the  
 Third World."



ducted by the *Los Angeles Times*, I.A. Lewis and William Schneider concluded:

"...Americans believe that it is proper and necessary for the federal government to take action to help the poor, even if its record in this area is not encouraging. That is essentially a moral conviction, and it overrides what people know to be the practical difficulties of mounting a war on poverty. People think that a lot of money we have spent on behalf of the poor has been wasted or intercepted...People also acknowledge that we really don't know how to solve the poverty problem...But, neither of these practical considerations reverses the basic moral consensus that it is a primary responsibility of the government to fight poverty. The fact that the government doesn't do it particularly well does not mean it shouldn't do it at all."<sup>10</sup>

Americans express more positive views about the effectiveness of economic assistance in satisfying U.S. political objectives. A majority (56%) of the public agreed that U.S. aid helps to reduce Soviet influence, and 74% agreed that our aid helps us to make or keep other countries as allies. Eighty-three per cent agreed with the statement: "Helping other countries develop will make them more stable." Among the activist respondents, 66% agreed with the statement: "Aiding Third World countries can keep them from going communist;" and 67% agreed that: "Helping poor countries will make the world safer."

In the project's focus group discussions, it was clear that most of the participants viewed the use of aid to satisfy political objectives as logical, but their opinions about the effectiveness of economic aid in political terms were more complex than the quantitative results might suggest. There was a fairly widespread concern that the use of aid to pursue political objectives can backfire. The example of the abuse of U.S. aid by the family of the former President of the Philippines, Ferdinand Marcos, was cited by numerous individuals.<sup>11</sup> Several participants also referred to politically motivated aid as a kind of blackmail: "We're being blackmailed by countries who say, 'If you don't give us aid, we'll get it from somewhere else.'" There was also some concern that other countries resent the United States for providing aid with political strings attached. One participant commented: "When we give them aid, they don't have a chance to speak their minds; they're under our thumbs." Moreover, the effectiveness of aid in making and keeping allies was questioned. "With two superpowers, it's so easy for them to switch sides," said one participant.

**Views About Governmental vs. Private Aid.** In different phases of this project, it was evident that the public is relatively uninformed about the efforts of the private voluntary organizations overseas and does not perceive a significant distinction between public and private agencies. One-third of the activists surveyed said that the statement: "I don't know very much about the organizations that run programs to help [Third World] countries" described them very well, and another 51% said it described them somewhat. Although most participants in the focus group discussions knew that private and public programs were separate efforts, they were largely unfamiliar with specific agencies, and made little distinction between the types of assistance delivered by the government and by private groups.

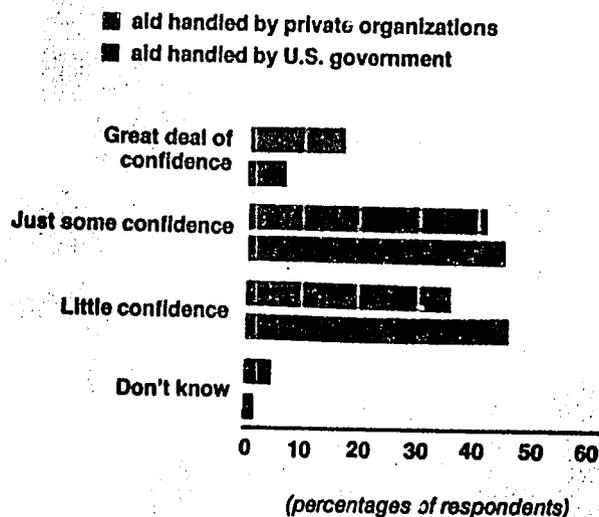
The public is only somewhat more confident about the effectiveness of private voluntary organizations in meeting the needs of poor people in the Third World. Only 7% expressed a great deal of confidence that U.S. governmental assistance reaches needy people overseas; 46% expressed little confidence, and 45% just some confidence. Of the same group, 17% had a great deal of confidence that the money given to private assistance agencies actually reaches the needy overseas, while 36% had little confidence and 42% just some confidence in the effectiveness of these programs. Older Americans, retirees, and individuals with a high school education or less most frequently had little confidence in both public and private assistance. Activists' opinions about the effectiveness of both channels were virtually identical to those of the general public.

While Americans do not see much difference between governmental and private programs, they do perceive differences between the reasons why the U.S. government and private agencies get involved in the Third World. In the focus group discussions it was clear that most of the participants believed some or all official U.S. assistance to be motivated by, and allocated according to, political, strategic, or economic objectives. In contrast, participants in the focus groups thought that private agencies could be expected to go to the neediest countries for humanitarian purposes.

## 12. Low Public Confidence in Aid Agencies

Questions (28A and 29A) posed to U.S. public:

"Would you say you have a great deal, just some, or little confidence that most of the money people give to private organizations (like CARE and Save the Children) reaches the needy people in other countries? How about the money for assistance that the United States government sends overseas?"



A. Lewis and William Schneider, "Hard Times: The Public on Poverty," *Public Opinion*, June/July 1985.

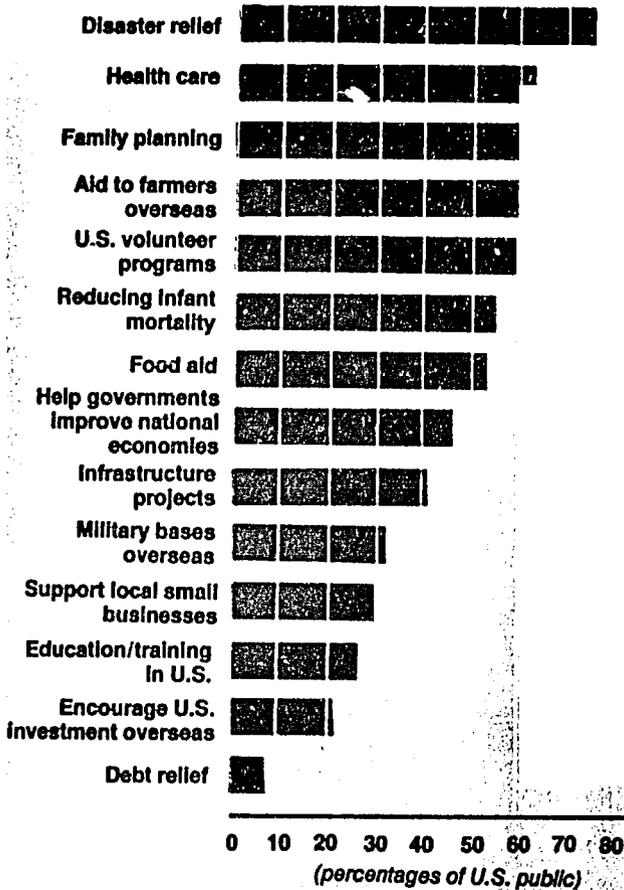
The focus groups were conducted several months after the widespread media coverage of the extravagant lifestyle of the Marcos family.

### 13. Kinds of Aid Programs Favored by the Public

Questions (17A and 17B) posed to U.S. public:

"Now let's talk about what *kinds of aid programs* are important. On a scale where 1 means lowest priority and 10 means top priority, using any number between 1 and 10, where would you place these types of aid?"

Percentages of respondents giving high priority (rate of 8-10) to enumerated kinds of aid programs:



**Types of Economic Assistance.** Relief for victims of disasters such as floods, droughts, and earthquakes was given high priority by the largest percentage (74%) of the general public. However, longer-term development programs perceived to deliver assistance most directly to needy people—programs such as health care, education on family planning and providing birth control, helping farmers, and U.S. volunteer programs—were also rated as high priority by a majority of the respondents.

Strong support for agricultural assistance—the cornerstone of long-term development efforts throughout much of the Third World—was highlighted in this survey by the fact that 87% of the general public agreed (54% of them strongly) with the statement: "We should help farmers in other countries learn to grow their own food, even if it means they buy less food from the United States." American farmers agreed with this statement only slightly less frequently.<sup>12</sup> The response to this question indicates that the public is willing to give domestic interests lower priority if the needs of the Third World are clearly perceived to be greater.

During the focus group discussions, it was evident that most of the participants who supported economic aid considered long-term development assistance equally—and sometimes more—important than emergency relief. "I'm a firm believer in training programs. I can understand the need in emergency situations to send relief, but that should be a small part of it," said one individual. "I'm all for helping countries become agriculturally self-supportive," said another. One participant portrayed the role of assistance as "... not a weekend drop of food and a month-long amount of money, [but] a one to two-year program like the Peace Corps. If the government would support things like that, I'd be all for it." While most focus group participants said they would support an increase in the proportion of U.S. aid funds (public and private) devoted to longer-term programs, the idea that long-term assistance might be provided *instead* of emergency relief met with resistance.

**Prioritizing Regions and Countries.** American preferences about how U.S. economic aid should be allocated among Third World regions and countries were not clear-cut. Asked to choose which kinds of countries should get U.S. economic aid, a plurality (44%) of the public identified national security reasons as their most important consideration; 33% cited degrees of poverty as guiding their choices; and 19% selected countries that the United States needs as trading partners. When asked to rank specific geographic regions, a plurality (39%) of the public named Africa—where U.S. security interests are lesser than in other regions—as a high priority for receiving U.S. aid for development.

This apparent contradiction is, however, consistent with the finding that—although political or strategic goals are perceived as legitimate objectives for U.S. giving of economic aid—humanitarian concerns are the main reasons why a large proportion of Americans support such assistance. It seems realistic to conjecture that, all other things being equal, Americans prefer to target economic assistance for countries that are important to U.S. security, but that their preferences shift when greater need is clearly perceived—as in the case of Africa. (An alternative possibility is that Americans perceive greater U.S. security interests in African countries than in other regions of the developing world. This

<sup>12</sup>Due to the very small base sample size (71 respondents), data on American farmers should be interpreted with caution.

seems unlikely, although the current attention focused on South Africa by the media may be an influencing factor.)

After Africa, respondents gave priority to Latin America and the Caribbean, Israel, Asia, and the Arab countries. Younger respondents and Black Americans ranked Africa highest more frequently than did the general public; Jewish Americans gave Israel top priority for U.S. aid more frequently than the public; and men and upper-income respondents favored Latin America more often than did women and lower-income respondents. Hispanic respondents tended to rank Latin America highest more often than did the general population.<sup>13</sup>

American views about specific countries or regions that the United States should target for assistance have shifted considerably over the past fifteen years, but the public's preference to assist countries that they acknowledge to be experiencing the greatest need has remained constant. In the 1972 ODC study, respondents were given a list of seven countries and asked which two or three countries on the list they would assist first. India and Bangladesh received the highest support. At the time of the survey, the region was receiving intensive media attention, and the public was undoubtedly very aware of its problems. Of the African countries listed in the 1972 survey—Kenya, Nigeria, Tanzania, and South Africa—only South Africa was named by even 1% of the respondents as a top priority to receive aid.<sup>14</sup>

### Military Aid

Americans are notably less interested in providing military assistance to Third World countries, with 51% of the general public opposing and 38% favoring military aid. This level of support is higher than in some periods in the recent past. In 1974, 22% of the public favored military aid; support rose to 37% in 1978, and to 37% in 1981, before dropping to 28% in 1982.<sup>15</sup> The current high level of support for military aid, however, is contrary to American opinion about U.S. budget expenditures on defense. A series of Louis Harris polls found that support for increasing the defense budget declined from 67% to 14% between 1976 and 1985.<sup>16</sup>

Men expressed support for military aid more frequently than women, and individuals aged 18 to 24 also favored such assistance more often than respondents as a whole. Southerners and Republicans were proportionately stronger supporters of military aid. In contrast, there was notable opposition to military aid among Blacks and lower-income Americans, as well as among Democrats and college graduates.

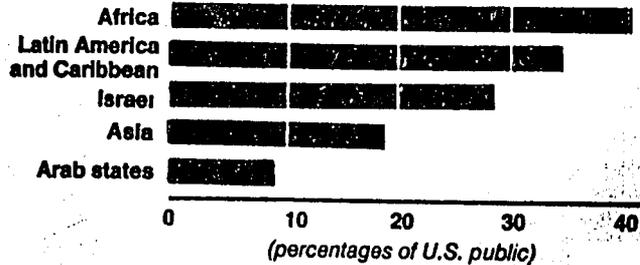
The reasons that the public cited for supporting military aid were more diverse than the rationales mentioned for supporting economic aid. Asked to describe in their own words their most important reasons for favoring military assistance

## 14. American Preferences for Destination of U.S. Aid—

Question (16A) posed to U.S. public:

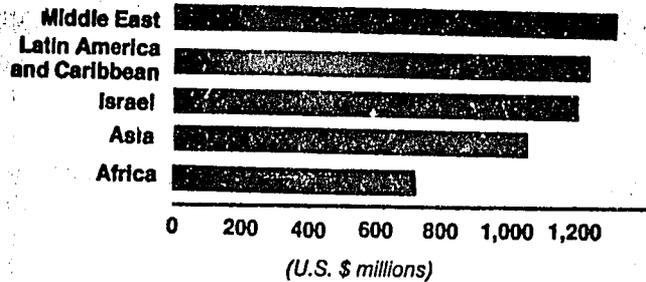
"Assume you are in charge of aid for development to other countries. Using any number from 1 to 10 on a scale, where 1 is lowest priority and 10 is top priority, please tell me how high a priority you would give each of these areas."

Percentages of respondents giving region or country a high priority (rate of 8-10) for U.S. aid:



### —and Current Allocations

U.S. Bilateral Economic Aid,\*  
By Region or Country, FY 1987 (\$ millions)



\*Figures are budget authority estimates and include development assistance, PL-480, and economic support funds. Excludes Asia/Near East Regional Program and local cost support for all regions.

Source: FY 1988 Summary Tables, Agency for International Development, January 1987.

Due to the small base sample size, data on Hispanic and Jewish respondents should be interpreted with caution. (See General Population Questionnaire, p. 52).

*World Poverty and Development*, op. cit., pp. 45-46.

Data for 1974, 1978, and 1982 from *American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy 1983*, op. cit., p. 27. Data for 1981 from survey by Louis Harris Associates, Inc., conducted July 8-12, 1981. In 1974, 1978, and 1982 the question was: "On the whole, do you favor or oppose our giving military aid to other nations? By military aid I mean arms and equipment, but not troops."

1981 question was: "In general, do you favor or oppose the U.S. . . . giving military supplies to nations friendly to us?"

Louis Harris, "Criticisms of Defense Spending Run Deep," *The Harris Survey*, No. 59, July 22, 1985.

to other nations for buying arms and training soldiers, respondents most frequently (26%) cited stopping communism. One-fifth (21%) said they favored military aid as part of U.S. self-defense, or in order to "keep us from having to do it." Seventeen per cent cited the need to make or keep allies. Other reasons given included an obligation to help those who cannot defend themselves (10%), support for democracy and freedom (8%), and the promotion of world peace and stability (4%).

The survey also revealed a diversity of public rationales for opposition to military aid, with no single reason standing out very strongly. Reasons cited by more than 10% of the re-

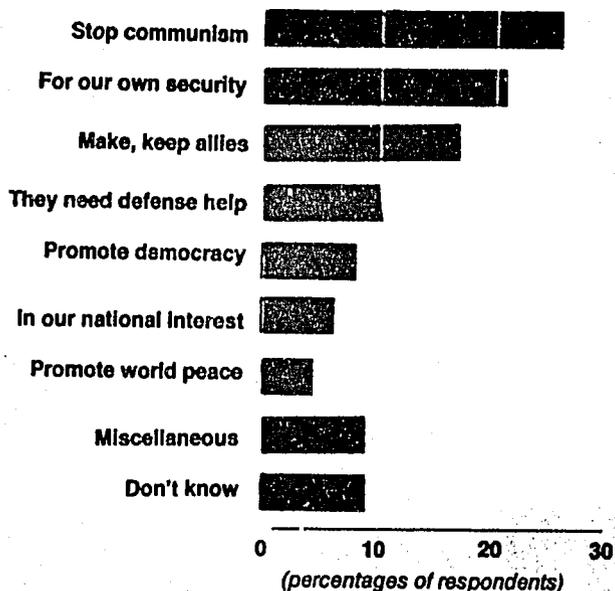
spondents included: concern that military aid would lead to war or U.S. involvement in war (20%); belief that national interests are not advanced through U.S. military aid and that countries receiving it may turn against us (18%); and a feeling that developing countries should solve their own defense problems (15%).

Although 91% of the public expressed the view that economic aid has generally helped the people of the Third World, they were clearly divided as to the impact of military aid. Forty-eight per cent said it has generally hurt the people in developing countries, while 40% said it has generally helped them.

## 15. Why Americans Support Military Aid— and Why They Oppose It

Question (8A/B) posed to those U.S. public respondents who said they favor U.S. military aid:

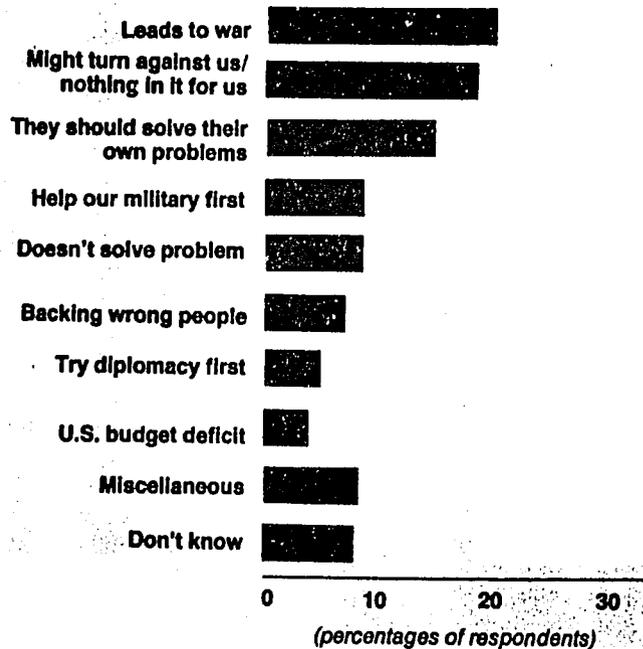
"What is the most important reason to you for favoring military aid?"



Note: Responses do not equal 100% due to multiple answers.

Question (8A/B) posed to those U.S. public respondents who said they oppose military aid:

"What is the most important reason to you for opposing military aid?"



## A Comparison of American and Other Developed-Country Attitudes

Are the publics of other developed countries more sympathetic toward development efforts than their American counterparts? While it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions on the basis of cross-cultural comparisons of public opinion polls, some tentative comparisons can be made.

First, it is fairly clear that the citizens of other developed countries share the firm persuasion of Americans that domestic issues take priority over international issues in national policy. In a 1983 European Omnibus survey, "helping poor countries" ranked second to last in policy priority ratings for European Community countries in the aggregate; it was last on the list in the United Kingdom and Greece. In a 1980 survey of Canadian adults, domestic economic and financial issues were considered to be by far the most important problems facing Canada. Among Australians who said they opposed assistance for Third World countries in a 1983 survey, 89% cited a need to address domestic welfare issues first.

There is, however, data indicating that American public support for economic assistance may be a good deal weaker than it is in other developed countries. The 1983 European Omnibus survey found that 82% of the respondents supported development aid, while only 13% opposed it. In a 1980 Canadian survey, 65% of the respondents favored giving aid to underdeveloped countries. And a 1983 survey of Australians, 65% of the respondents believed that Australia should help Third World countries, while 20% disagreed.

Europeans also may be more favorably inclined than Americans to *increase* their countries' aid programs. The 1983 European Omnibus survey found that 34% of the respondents favored an increase in aid, while 47% wanted to keep aid levels the same and 10% preferred a decrease. A 1981 international poll by the Gallup Organization found that Americans were generally less supportive of aid increases than the citizens of Ireland, Switzerland, Canada, Japan, Great Britain, and the Federal Republic of Germany. Only Austrians stood lower than Americans in their readiness to provide more aid.<sup>a</sup> In a different 1986 Canadian survey, 32% of the respondents said their government's spending on aid should be increased, while 47% wanted it to remain the same. And in a 1980 survey in Ireland, even after respondents were asked to assume that the economic situation in their country would not improve over the next few years, 25% nevertheless favored an increase in Ireland's aid to the Third World and 58% said aid should continue at the present level.

Like Americans, other developed-country citizens appear to support aid largely on humanitarian grounds. In the 1983 Australian survey, for example, 50% of those favoring aid cited humanitarian reasons; important secondary considerations included the promotion of world unity, peace, and regional stability. Fifty-nine per cent of the respondents to the 1980 survey of Canadian opinion named humanitarian reasons for aiding underdeveloped nations, while 29% mentioned Canada's relative wealth. The 1983 European Omnibus survey found that when respondents were asked to select the kinds of developing countries their governments should be helping, 67% chose the *poorest* countries; 21% the countries of *economic* interest; and 5% the countries of *strategic* interest for political or defense reasons.

The same survey found that among European respondents (in aggregate), there was more support for the statement "We have a moral duty to help [Third World countries]" than for the statement, "It is in our interest to help." In five of the ten European countries surveyed, however—Belgium, Denmark, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom—the self-interest statement was supported more strongly than the moral statement.

Europeans, like Americans, appear to give highest priority to aid for Africa. The 1983 European Omnibus survey found that 57% of the respondents favored helping Africa; 47%, India and Pakistan; 26%, Southeast Asia; and 27%, Latin America. Only 12% of those surveyed rated the Middle East—also low in the American response—a priority region for receiving assistance.

Like the U.S. public, Europeans tend to prefer assistance programs that they perceive to have a direct impact on people's well-being in recipient countries. In the 1983 European Omnibus survey, over one-third of the respondents supported programs that a) provide people with equipment and training so they can become self-reliant; b) promote small projects that involve ordinary people; c) specifically aim to benefit the poorest people; and d) provide training in Europe for Third World people. Respondents to the 1985 Irish survey identified the following types of aid programs as "most useful": education and training in the Third World, self-help programs for the poor, and training of Third World people in Ireland.

Citizens of some, but not all, of the other developed countries appear to share the American public's concern about aid's effectiveness. The 1980 Canadian survey found 87% of the respondents agreeing with the statement: "Most foreign aid never reaches the poor because of bureaucracy and corruption in the recipient country." In contrast, in the 1985 Irish survey, which asked: "How do you think that money collected here and given to Third World countries is spent?" 22% responded that the money was very well spent and 48% that it was well spent, while only 21% said it was badly or very badly spent.

There is some evidence that Europeans share the American public's negative perception of Third World governments. In 1985, 65% of Irish adults said that a very important factor contributing to poverty in Third World countries was that their "governments do not do enough to help their own poor", and 54% said that "people suffer because of corruption in their own countries." When the 1983 European Omnibus survey respondents were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with fifteen statements concerning various images associated with Third World countries, the statement "a rich minority exploits the rest of the population" placed second highest after "their populations are growing too fast."

Evidence suggests that the citizens of other developed countries are also generally uninformed about aid issues. Shown a list of six possible sources of Third World assistance, 13% of the respondents to the 1983 European Omnibus survey did not know whether their own country had an aid program; 20% did not know whether international organizations such as the United Nations provided assistance to the Third World; and 27% did not know whether Third World countries received help from the European Community.

The 1983 European Omnibus survey found that 52% of the respondents reported having helped an organization concerned with the Third World during the previous few

<sup>a</sup>In 1981, Austria's disbursements of official development assistance increased 123% over 1980 levels—perhaps accounting for the low level of support for a further increase.

years.<sup>b</sup> In the 1985 survey of Irish adults, 96% of the respondents said they had made a financial contribution to help the Third World in the two previous years.

<sup>a</sup>Average 1985 private contributions on a per capita basis were as follows: Norway, \$12.54; Sweden, \$9.34; Switzerland, \$8.27; Germany, \$6.95; Netherlands, \$6.77; Canada, \$6.74; United States, \$6.32; Ireland, \$6.18; Australia, \$3.30; Denmark, \$3.13; United Kingdom, \$2.98; Finland, \$2.65; New Zealand, \$2.46; Austria, \$2.38; France, \$1.78; Japan, \$0.84; Belgium, \$0.41; and Italy, \$0.14. Computed from data in OECD Development Assistance Committee, *Development Co-operation: 1986 Report*, (Paris: OECD, 1987).

Sources: Survey data and citations in this section were drawn from: European Consortium for Agricultural Development, *Europeans and Aid to Development* (Milan, May 1984); Canadian International Development Agency, *A Report on Canadians' Attitudes Toward Foreign Aid*, (Quebec, November 1980); Australian Council for Overseas Aid, *Overseas Aid: What Australians Think*, Development Dossier No. 13 (Canberra, September 1983); Advisory Council on Development Cooperation, *Aid to Third World Countries: Attitudes of a National Sample of Irish People* (Dublin, December 1985); Gallup Organization Inc., "Public Opinion in Developed Countries Divided on Aid to Third World," Press Release, August 13, 1981; Decima Research, survey of Canadians, conducted in January 1986.

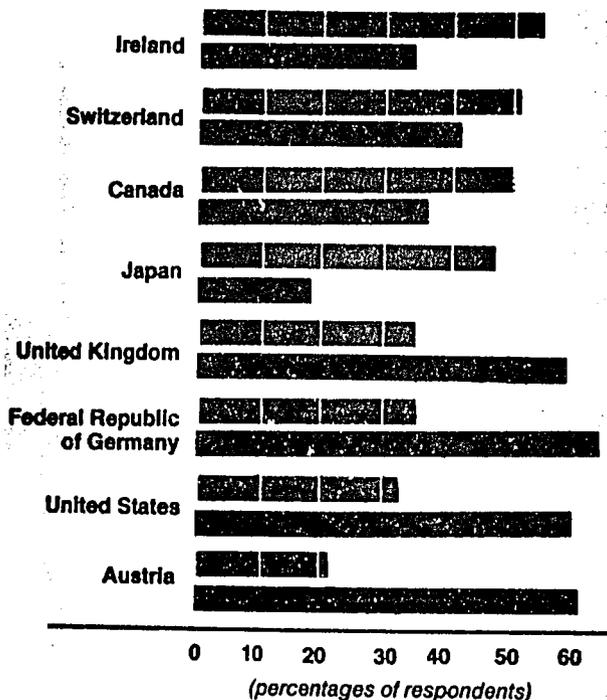
## 16. U.S. and International Public Opinion About Increasing Aid— Compared to Countries' Current Aid

Question posed in 1981 Gallup poll:

"Do you feel that (respondent's country) should or should not increase aid to underdeveloped countries to assist them to become more self-sufficient in the future?"

Percentages responding:

- should increase aid
- should not increase aid



Source: "Public Opinion in Developed Countries Divided on Aid to Third World," Gallup Organization Inc., press release dated August 13, 1981.

### Aid to Third World in 1985<sup>a</sup>

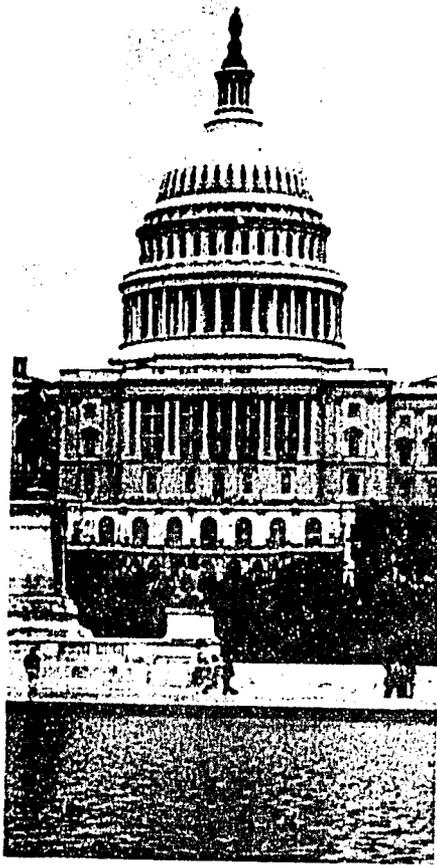
(Information not provided to poll respondents)

Countries polled on increasing aid

Countries ranked by aid as percentage of Gross National Product:	Aid as percentage of GNP	Aid per capita in U.S.	Aid in \$ millions
1. Norway	1.03%	\$138	\$ 580
2. Netherlands	0.91	78	1,130
3. Sweden	0.86	101	840
4. Denmark	0.80	86	440
5. France	0.78	73	3,990
6. Belgium	0.54	44	440
7. Canada	0.49	64	1,630
8. Australia	0.49	47	750
9. Germany (Fed. Rep.)	0.47	48	2,940
10. Finland	0.40	43	210
11. Austria	0.38	33	250
12. United Kingdom	0.34	27	1,530
13. Italy	0.31	19	1,100
14. Switzerland	0.31	46	300
15. Japan	0.29	31	3,800
16. New Zealand	0.25	15	50
17. Ireland	0.24	11	40
18. United States	0.24	39	9,400

<sup>a</sup>"Aid" here refers to official development assistance (ODA) as defined by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). "Third World" refers to countries, territories, or other geopolitical entities that receive ODA or other resource flows from DAC members.

Source: OECD DAC, *Development Co-operation: 1986 Report* (Paris: OECD, 1987).



## 5. CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS

Congressional interest in development issues and U.S.-Third World relations is most frequently generated as a result of direct personal experience, such as Third World travel, committee work, or contact with interested individuals.

This project's findings show that a large segment of the American public is sympathetic to both official and private efforts to alleviate poverty and promote development overseas. This sympathy has not, however, been successfully communicated to Congress. The legislators and their aides interviewed do not detect a strong public interest in, or sympathy for, Third World development issues. Moreover, despite the fairly consistent level of public support for U.S. economic aid recorded for nearly four decades, several of the policymakers interviewed nonetheless perceive public support for assistance efforts to fluctuate greatly, depending on factors such as U.S. economic performance or media coverage of disasters.

Policymakers believe that without more demonstrated *public* support for development efforts, an increase in *legislative* interest is unlikely. Most Congressional interviewees were familiar with Washington-based organizations interested in promoting development efforts, but they did not perceive a strong, coordinated movement. Nor were Members of Congress or their aides aware of any significant organized movement at the Congressional district level that they considered to be important in terms of influencing their own behavior.

## What Draws Congressional Attention to These Issues?

Direct personal experience is clearly important in promoting Congressional interest in, or expertise on, development and the Third World. Travel to the Third World or time spent there was cited not only as an important factor leading to greater interest in development issues, but also as a necessary prerequisite for the shaping of appropriate policy. The policymakers interviewed identified Congressional committee work as another major factor that strengthens their interest and knowledge about the Third World. Several interviewees mentioned the educational impact of being on a committee associated with foreign policy issues. One described his interest in development and Third World issues as "zero, before I came to Congress," noting that "with committee work, you tend to specialize."

A few of the policymakers referred to their own educational backgrounds or careers prior to entering public life as motivating factors. The consensus, however, was that interest was mainly either initiated or developed by taking part in policy work related to Third World issues—whether by being a committee member, by getting a job with a committee or Member involved in Third World issues, or by visiting Third World countries.

## Congressional Views on U.S. Aid to the Third World

Among policymakers, concern about the effectiveness of aid is clearly evident. One interviewee said: "I personally think the U.S. role could be encapsulated in the statement, 'Trade, not aid.' Aid in the traditional sense is doomed to failure." One Congressional aide said, "We're coming to the painful realization that the approach hasn't worked and we're groping for new answers, approaches." Another, commenting on the reasons he felt aid had been ineffective, said, "The blame is on both sides. As part of the East-West competition, we tried to . . . outdo each other. Third World leaders—Western educated—spent too much time in ivory towers and urban centers of the Western world. They adopted a bias against agriculture, peasants."

Like the American public, however, not all Congressional interviewees were pessimistic about the impact of aid. "If you look around, you'll see aid has helped—particularly India, South Korea, Thailand. Those who say it has done more harm than good may be using it as an excuse for other agendas."

## Congressional Perceptions of Public Attitudes

Legislators and their aides interviewed in the project—regardless of party or ideological leanings—consistently expressed the viewpoint that there is no real constituency for

U.S. efforts to assist in Third World development efforts. One Congressman said: "We're still basically talking to ourselves in terms of development issues. We haven't been able to break through." "Opinion is essentially not formed in terms of development policy [among constituents]," said another. The American public was generally characterized as naive or reactionary on matters related to aid. "I'd say [their interest] was confined to headlines. We hardly ever get anybody writing for foreign aid," remarked one Congressman.

Several policymakers observed that foreign aid is not an issue that stands on its own merits in the minds of the public; instead, support for aid fluctuates over time and in relation to other issues. One interviewee commented: "Foreign aid is an issue in a tremendous vacuum—a reflector of other issues. If the economy is bad, then people care about money going overseas . . . It's a victim of other circumstances, or of recession." Another Representative said: "I may be harsh or negative, but basically [Third World assistance] serves as a catharsis for people's impulses . . . It is one-shot aid versus systematic assistance."

## The Public's Impact on Congress

Even those legislators who are most supportive of U.S. efforts to promote Third World development stressed that a demonstrated increase in *public* interest is necessary to increase *legislative* interest. One interviewee said: "Organizations need to realize that until there is a much firmer and broader foundation, grassroots [efforts] will continue to have little reach and little impact here. It is the typical—not the atypical—American we have to reach." Another interviewee remarked: "Lobbying has helped on occasion . . . but [we still hear from] only a tiny percentage of the public."

When asked to describe individuals and organizations that visit or contact them on Third World-related issues, Members and their aides named a number of Washington and New York-based groups that provide valuable published information or expert advice. However, no one group appeared to play a major role. "There is really no central scheme for promoting Third World issues," said one interviewee. "I don't think twenty-five members could name one source or organization," said another. When asked which organizations were influential and helpful on the local level in their Congressional districts, respondents mentioned only one specific organization. Without the backup of their constituents, some Members are reluctant to take on development issues—no matter how well private or public organizations present them. One Representative commented: "A Congressman's primary motive is to take care of his district. Publication/lobbying [around Washington] is just an academic exercise." The Representative noted that such activities were "absolutely essential" to non-elected policymakers, but could not replace constituent support in influencing Members of Congress.



## 6. THE PUBLIC'S INVOLVEMENT IN DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS

One-fifth of the American public and nearly one-half of the activists made charitable contributions in the past year to organizations that work on international issues including Third World development. One-quarter of the activists had at some time volunteered or worked for organizations aiding people in poor countries. A potentially more active constituency may exist, since one-third of the general public respondents felt that individuals like themselves are doing less than can be expected to combat poverty and hunger overseas.

Personal experience and personal appeals for participation have a potentially powerful effect on public interest in, and involvement with, development issues. Third World travel and contact with Third World visitors, returned field workers, and neighbors and friends with knowledge of developing countries are experiences that activists report may establish a sense of personal connection with developing countries. Such contacts also appear to allay the public's fears about the effectiveness of aid and of aid agencies.

Most Americans report television to be an important source of information about the Third World and about development assistance efforts. Television programs describing the positive impact of development efforts on conditions in a poor country were identified by activist respondents as one of the appeals most likely to motivate them. Other media, such as direct mail, print advertising, or telephone solicitation, may be useful in reaching those who are already interested, but are not likely to be as effective in stimulating initial concern.

A slight majority (51%) of the general public said that individuals like themselves are doing all that they can or as much as can be expected to solve problems of hunger and poverty in the world; 46% said individuals are doing less than can be expected or almost nothing at all. This response is virtually identical to that of the 1972 survey by the Overseas Development Council.<sup>1</sup> Age was a factor in the current response; older respondents more frequently said that individuals like themselves are doing as much as can be expected.

### Charitable Giving

Among the general population, 81% of those surveyed indicated they had personally made a donation to a charitable organization within the last 12 months.<sup>2</sup> Among those who had donated, roughly equal proportions reported giving less than \$100 (48%) and giving over \$100 (49%). Of the organizations cited by all donors as recipients of their contributions, 33% were churches or synagogues, 60% were groups working in this country on domestic issues, and 27% were organizations working on international issues including Third World development.

Individuals who reported having made large donations (\$500 or more) to charitable organizations in the last 12 months (14%) were generally married, better educated than average, and living in households where the chief wage earner was in a professional or managerial occupation. They were largely Republicans (43%). Jews and Protestants were more likely than Catholics to be large donors.<sup>3</sup> Nearly three-quarters of those reporting to be large donors were over 25, and those aged 35-54 years indicated that they were the most apt to make large donations. Twenty-nine per cent of those who made large charitable donations reported giving some money to groups working on international issues.

Nineteen per cent of the general public reported making a charitable contribution within the last year to one or more or-

ganizations working on an international issue. Those who reported having made such contributions were generally older, living in households headed by professionals, and better educated than average. Catholics, those more active than average in their communities, and those who had traveled somewhere in the developing world reported having made contributions for international purposes more frequently than the public at large.

In general, those who contribute to organizations working on international issues share the basic values of most other Americans. For example, they were much more likely to say that the biggest problem facing the United States today is a domestic social or economic issue, such as the budget deficit or unemployment, than to say it is an international issue. They also named more domestic causes than international programs as the recipients of their charitable contributions.

Nearly one-half (48%) of the activists surveyed reported making financial donations within the last 12 months to organizations that work overseas.<sup>4</sup> When asked to specify the recipients of their contributions, 70% of the donors named a church, synagogue, or religious organization; 41% a private voluntary or international organization; and 32%, a variety of programs—such as African relief and relief for children—without specifying the name of an organization. The amount contributed varied only slightly among income brackets of respondents.

One-fifth of the general public claimed to have donated money to USA for Africa through the purchase of the recording of "We Are the World"; 7% claimed to have donated or pledged money to the Live Aid fundraising event. Young adults aged 18 to 24 reported having made a purchase or a pledge more frequently than the public at large, and 40% of the Blacks surveyed reported having purchased the "We Are the World" recording.

### Volunteerism

Twice as many activists reported having at some time volunteered or worked for organizations aiding the poor domestically (49%) as differentiated from groups aiding the poor overseas (25%). Activists who had volunteered for organizations aiding people in Asia, Africa, or Latin America tended to be college graduates, to live in the Northeastern United States, and to be professionals between the ages of 35 and 54.

This relatively weaker level of volunteerism on behalf of Third World development efforts might be a result of the bias in favor of domestic concerns, a lack of opportunity to become directly involved in such efforts, or a lack of information about or confidence in organizations involved in development.

### Activist Opinion on Approaches that Catalyze Involvement

In the activist survey, respondents were questioned about factors that might motivate them to become—or inhibit them from becoming—actively involved in U.S. efforts to alleviate Third World poverty and assist in development. The same questions were asked of all activists, regardless of whether or not they had a history of contributing their time or money to overseas activities.

<sup>4</sup>In a separate question, activist respondents were asked whether they had worked for or donated money to a number of different kinds of organizations during the past 12 months. Thirty-six per cent said they had donated to or worked for a group aiding people in poor countries in Asia, Africa, or Latin America in the last year.

## 17. U.S. Activists: Contributions to Overseas Organizations<sup>a</sup>

	Under \$50	\$50- \$99	\$100- \$499	\$500- \$999	Over \$1,000	Don't know/ no answer	Total
% total sample:	30%	27%	21%	7%	4%	11%	100%
<b>Sex</b>							
Male	24	27	23	9	5	12	100
Female	35	27	19	5	2	12	100
<b>Household Income</b>							
Under \$25K	37	34	20	1	2	6	100
\$25K to \$40K	30	18	21	7	7	17	100
Over \$40K	22	28	22	13	3	12	100

Note: Base sample: 240 activist respondents (112 men, 128 women) who said they had donated to an overseas organization in the last 12 months.

<sup>a</sup>Answers to question 19 on activist survey.

Activist respondents were asked to describe in their own words the main reasons why "a person like yourself would become involved in efforts to improve conditions in Third World countries." Forty-eight per cent cited humanitarian concerns or a sense of responsibility, religious duty, or moral obligation. Twelve per cent mentioned reasons related to promoting economic well-being at home and abroad, such as opening new trade relations, helping developing countries become self-sufficient, or promoting strong economies. Two per cent gave political reasons, such as a desire to oppose communism, for becoming involved. These motivations for becoming involved echoed the rationales indicated by the same respondents for supporting U.S. economic assistance—although the proportions differed.

In response to the same question, other activists named more personal reasons that might motivate involvement. Twenty-five per cent mentioned factors such as, "If I felt a strong personal need," "If I were affected personally," "If I saw for myself that needs are being met," or "If I had relatives or friends living there."

Asked "why a person like yourself might decide *not* to become involved in efforts to improve conditions for people in Third World countries," a large proportion of answers again mirrored respondents' reasons for opposing U.S. economic assistance. Thirty-eight per cent of the activists cited skepticism about the effectiveness of assistance or the organizations providing it, and 20% responded that they would prefer to help people at home. Thirty-seven per cent mentioned more personal reasons, such as retirement, lack of time or money, family obligations, apathy, or laziness.

**Personal Experience.** Personal experience or a sense of personal connection is clearly a very important factor in strengthening the likelihood of individual involvement in development issues. In the focus group discussions, numerous participants mentioned personal connections or experiences that had stirred their concern—including knowing missionaries through their churches, having close relatives who were involved in a program like the Peace Corps or the Fulbright scholarship program, having been involved in such programs themselves, or having had wartime experiences in developing countries (particularly in the Korean War).

When the activists were asked to rank several types of approaches that might motivate them to become involved in helping people in the Third World—such as letters from celebrities, television programs, newspaper advertisements, phone calls—they indicated that they would react most favorably to requests from persons they knew, to meeting someone from the Third World, to personal visits from individuals doing work in the Third World, and to the prospect of working with other people with similar interests. More than half (53%) of the activists, however, disagreed with the statement: "Before I would volunteer for an organization, I would like to be asked by someone I know." Thus, as important as the personal approach may be to a majority, other factors or approaches also can be successful.

The importance of personal appeals was also apparent in a recent study by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund on charitable giving in America.<sup>5</sup> Among major donors (\$500 or more a year) who contributed to charities because they were asked to do so, 54% reported that the approach most likely to elicit their donation was being asked by someone they knew well, and 28% felt that way about being asked personally at home or at the office. Respondents were less likely to

## 18. U.S. Activists: Involvement in Domestic and Overseas Activities\*

Domestic or overseas activity	Ever volunteered or worked for	Ever donated to	Volunteered or donated in past 12 months
A political party or campaign for a local, state, or national candidate	52%	50%	35%
A group helping the poor in the United States	49	56	48
A group aiding people in poor countries in Asia, Africa, or Latin America	25	44	36
An environmental organization	25	30	23
A group involved in civil rights	20	19	7
A group working for women's rights	18	17	8
A group against abortion	13	12	10
A group favoring legal abortion	9	9	5
A group trying to stop production of nuclear weapons	8	8	6
Other activity	16	17	17

\*Answers to question 26 on activist survey.

give in response to company drives, advertisements, letters, or telephone calls.

Personal contact—with aid agencies, aid recipients, or individuals working in the field—appears to help satisfy Americans' strong concern about the effectiveness of development agencies and their activities. Twenty-two per cent of the activist respondents said they were very likely to respond favorably to an appeal in which "someone from a poor country tells you that efforts by Americans have been very worthwhile." In focus group discussions, a number of participants indicated support for organizations that have both domestic and international activities because they had witnessed these groups working effectively in their own town or state. According to the focus group members, these groups offer an opportunity to become involved in activities that both benefit the community and help people overseas—thereby making an important connection between aiding the poor at home and offering assistance to the poor in developing countries.

Respondents indicated that they are frequently drawn into a cause or an activity to fulfill a personal objective in their own lives. Nineteen per cent of activist respondents said they were very likely to respond positively to an appeal that offered the opportunity to "work with men and women who have the same interests." This rationale for involvement was echoed in the focus group discussions, where a number of participants reported having become active as volunteers in a variety of organizations at a point in their lives where they were seeking a change—for example, after children had grown up, or following a divorce.

*Charitable Behavior of Americans, op. cit., pp. 19-22.*

## American Activists

The "activist" survey was undertaken not only to identify any major attitudinal similarities or differences between this group and the general public but, more importantly, to identify factors that might motivate these individuals to activism on issues covered in the survey. The definition of activism did not necessarily require involvement in international or development issues—only one-third of this group reported donating time or money to an organization working overseas within the last year.

Activist respondents tended to be between 35 and 54 years old, professionally employed, with household incomes under \$25,000. A majority (59%) were college graduates or had some college or technical school background. They were more likely to live in the North Central states. Nearly all (91%) of the activists were registered voters, and they were evenly distributed politically.

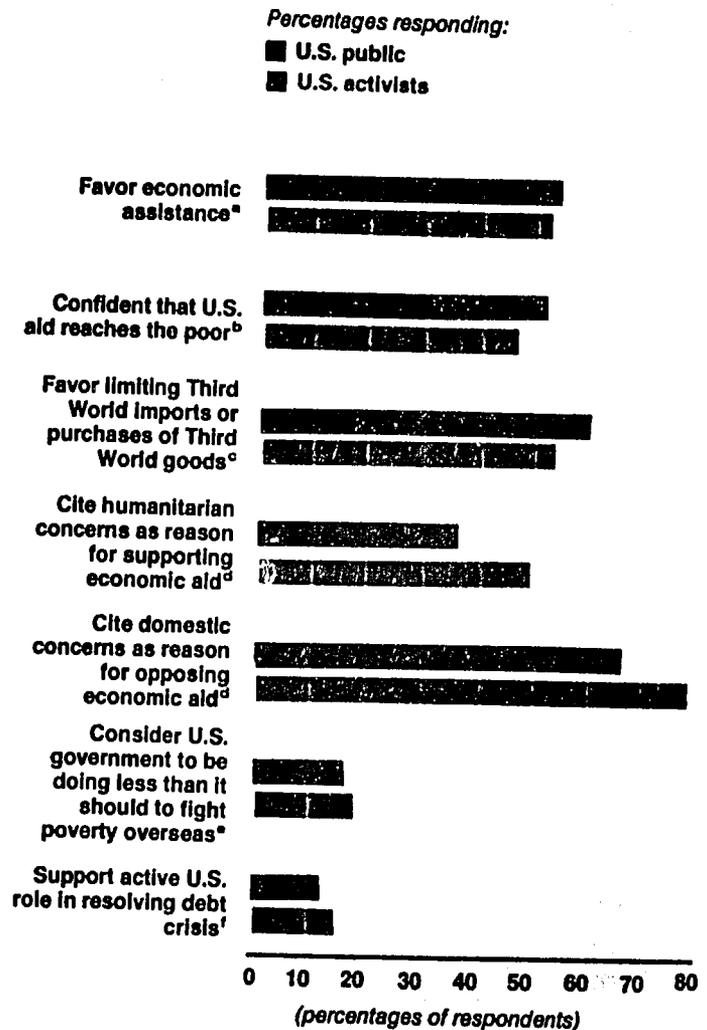
As discussed throughout this report, activists differed little from the general public on most issues covered in both surveys. Like the broader public, they were generally more concerned with domestic well-being than with alleviating overseas poverty. A majority favored the U.S. giving of economic assistance, but 42% felt that the United States is already doing enough—and 36% believed that it is doing too much—to alleviate hunger and poverty overseas. Activists widely perceived aid as being wasted or mismanaged, and few had a great deal of confidence that either U.S. official or private assistance reaches the poor overseas. They strongly opposed U.S. trade or financial policies to stimulate growth in the Third World whenever they perceived a trade-off between domestic or international well-being.

The major attitudinal difference between the activists and the general population surfaced in the reasons each group offered for supporting economic assistance. Whereas one-half of the general public cited humanitarian concerns or feelings of responsibility as their reasons for supporting economic aid, two-thirds of the activists mentioned these kinds of motivations. The most distinctive characteristic of the activists, however, was that they were—by definition—more involved than the general public in activities related to civic, political, or social welfare issues.

Sixty-six per cent of the activists surveyed said that the statement: "Religion is important in my life," described them very well. However, only 9% of the activists said that "almost all" of their civic or public activities were church or synagogue-related. One in five respondents (21%) said that "a large part" of their activities were connected with a church or synagogue, while an additional 25% said "just some"; 21% said "none", and 24% said "very little." There were no significant demographic differences on this issue.

As mentioned earlier, the activists felt relatively ill-informed about Third World countries or about the organizations that run programs to help those countries. This lack of knowledge about the Third World does not indicate a lack of interest. Only 10% of the activist respondents said that the statement: "I'm not really that interested in Third World countries," described them "very well", while an additional 32% said it described them "somewhat". But the majority (57%) said that this statement did not describe them at all.

## 19. U.S. Activists and the Public: More Similarities than Differences



<sup>a</sup>Answers to question 5B on the general population survey and question 1 on activist survey.

<sup>b</sup>Answers to 29A on the general population survey and 13 on activist survey.

<sup>c</sup>Answers to 18B on general population survey and 8 on activist survey.

<sup>d</sup>Answers to 6B on general population survey and 2 on activist survey.

<sup>e</sup>Answers to 9 on general population survey and 5 on activist survey.

<sup>f</sup>Answers to 21A on general population survey and 7 on activist survey.

**Television.** Activists reported that, after personal approaches, they were most likely to respond to a "television program showing how volunteers have improved health, education, or other conditions in a poor country." As was evident in the focus group discussions, many Americans perceive television to be closely akin to a personal experience and to provide proof that assistance is or is not effective in improving human well-being. When focus group participants were questioned about how they knew that aid did not reach the needy, or how they knew that private assistance efforts were successful, they frequently responded that they had learned this from television.

**Telephone, Direct Mail, and Advertising.** The answers of the activist respondents indicated that they were far less likely to become involved in helping people in the Third World as a result of newspaper or magazine ads, phone calls from private organizations, or letters from national leaders or celebrities. In the focus group discussions, participants indicated that when they did respond to such a mass appeal, it was usually for a cause in which they already had developed an interest.

The relatively low potential of generating involvement through direct mail appeals is perhaps related to the generally low rating of such materials as trustworthy sources of information. Only 24% of activist respondents rated ads and mailings from private organizations as a very reliable source of information. This finding is consistent with that of the 1972 ODC survey, which concluded that: "While . . . special meetings, pamphlets and newsletters . . . may be effective in reaching those Americans who are already concerned with foreign policy issues, they will not reach the uninvolved public . . . [Most respondents] stated that special meetings and pamphlets are 'biased and prejudiced' sources . . ."<sup>6</sup>

### Information Sources

Thirty per cent of the general public reported reading a national news magazine almost every week, 62% said they watch a national television news program almost every evening, and 62% also reported reading a daily newspaper nearly every day.

The activists were asked to assess the reliability of various sources of information about the Third World. Major weekly news magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek* were rated as very reliable by the highest percentage of the activists—followed by, in order of perceived reliability, the major national newspapers, national television news programs, ads and mailings from private organizations working overseas, members of Congress, and the Reagan Administration.<sup>7</sup>

The Simmons Study of Media and Markets<sup>8</sup> provides some interesting information regarding media habits of the activist respondents. For example, activists favoring economic assistance read *Newsweek* and *Business Week* at twice the rate of other Americans; *Scientific American* at four and a half times the rate of other Americans; and *Atlantic Monthly* at eight times the average rate.

<sup>6</sup> *World Poverty and Development, op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>7</sup> The general public was not asked to assess the reliability of various sources of information. However, a 1982 survey by the Gallup Organization asked the public on the perceived reliability of sources of information on foreign policy and found that television news was rated as very reliable by 32% of the public, followed by newspapers (31%), magazines (26%), radio news (24%), the Presidency (24%), the State Department (15%), Members of Congress (8%), friends (6%), and private foreign policy organizations (6%).  
<sup>8</sup> *American Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy, 1983, op. cit.*, p. 34. See Appendix 1, "Survey Methodology," p. 41.

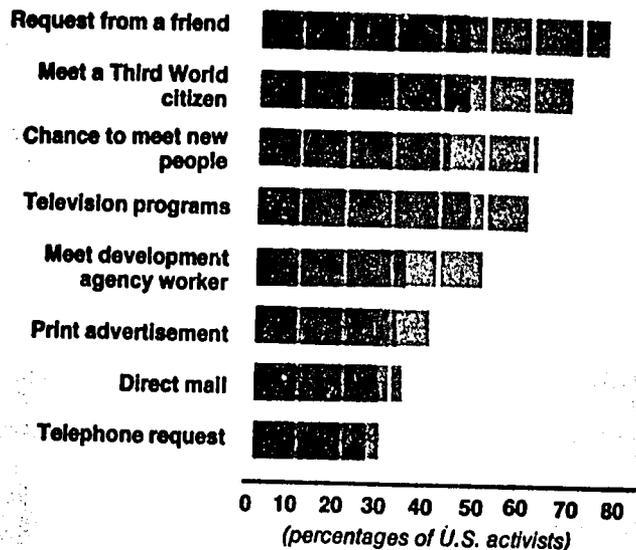
## 20. Potential Success of Various Appeals for Personal Involvement

Question (16) posed to U.S. activists:

"Now I'm going to mention different ways organizations appeal to people to get them involved in helping people in the Third World. Please tell me if you would be very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely to respond to such an appeal."

Percentages responding:

- very likely
- somewhat likely



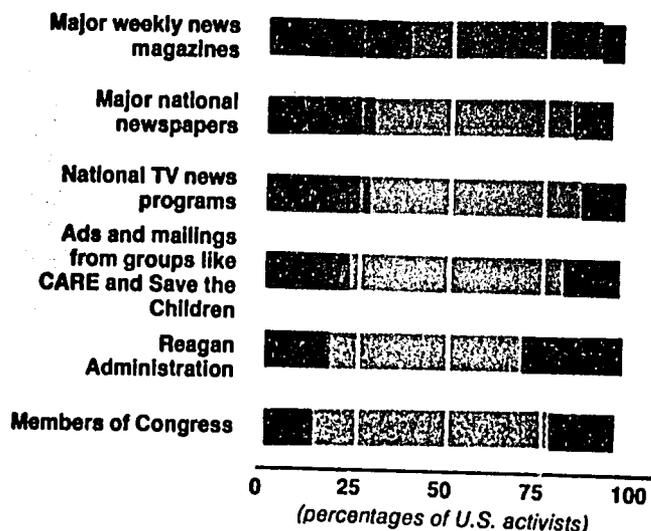
## 21. Trust in Various Information Sources

Question (14) posed to U.S. activists:

"Here are some groups that provide information about Third World countries. Using any number from 1 to 10, with 1 meaning 'not at all reliable' and 10 meaning 'totally reliable', please tell me how reliable you think each group is in providing information on the Third World."

Percentages of respondents considering sources to be:

- reliable (rate of 8-10)
- somewhat reliable (rate of 4-7)
- not reliable (rate of 1-3)



Note: Responses do not total 100% due to exclusion of "don't know" answers.

## Appendix 1

# Survey Methodology

InterAction and the Overseas Development Council commissioned Strategic Information Research Corporation (SIRC) to conduct the survey of the general population, the survey of activists, the focus group sessions, and the interviews with Members of Congress and their aides. The design and content of the various questionnaires were prepared by Director of Research Nancy Belden and her colleagues at SIRC—in consultation with InterAction and ODC representatives; Barry Gussman, special consultant to the Public Opinion Project; and members of the Survey Advisory Group.

### General Population Survey

The data for this portion of the research study were collected by means of telephone interviews with a representative sample of the adult population of the United States. In all, 2,427 interviews were conducted. This unusually large sample size permitted close analysis of certain demographic groups.

**Sample Design.** The frame for this sample was all adults 18 years of age and older living in the United States. The sample was a random probability sample, based on all telephone-equipped households in the United States.

To ensure that every household with a telephone in the country had an equal chance of being included in the sample, a random-digit-dialing (RDD) technique was utilized, which selected telephone numbers at random from all potentially available telephone numbers in the United States.

**Interviewing.** The questionnaire used in this study was separated into two versions. This split sample method—meaning certain questions were asked of only half the sample—made possible the inclusion of more questions on a wider array of topics. The questionnaire was field tested prior to final approval by ODC representatives. The field work took place at the National Telephone Research Center from April 7 to May 6, 1986.

All interviewing was monitored from a central control booth by an interviewing supervisor, who was responsible for validating questionnaire responses. Interviews were administered during the evening and on weekends, when the incidence of adults at home has been found to be highest. Once a household was reached, the respondent was selected at random from the adult residents living there, according to the sampling plan. If the respondent was not available, as many as three attempts were made to call back the selected respondent.

During the interviewing process, the sample was monitored to ensure that the appropriate proportion of respondents was represented according to sex and geographical area.

**Weighting.** The data were weighted by race and age to correspond to U.S. Census estimates.

**Margin of Error.** Version I of the questionnaire was administered to 1,218 adults and Version II to 1,209 adults. For results based on samples of this size, one can say with 95% confidence that the error due to sampling and other random effects could be plus or minus 2.8 percentage points. For results based on the combined sample of 2,427 adults, the margin of error at the 95% confidence level is plus or minus 2.0 percentage points.

### Activist Survey

Data for this portion of the research were collected by means of telephone interviews with 502 American adults who met the criteria or "activism" as outlined below.

**Sample Design.** The sample of activist respondents was drawn from Simmons Market Research Bureau's (SMRB) comprehensive national database, the 1985 Study of Media and Markets. This

study is the result of personal interviews on consumption and purchasing patterns with a national probability sample of U.S. adults (18 years and older) in 19,000 different households.

Using the Simmons survey as a sample frame, potential respondents were selected on the basis of ever having done two or more of the following activities:

- written to the editor of a magazine or newspaper
- written to or telephoned a radio or television station
- written to a public official about some matter of public business
- written something that has been published
- personally visited a public official to express a point of view
- addressed a public meeting
- taken an active part in some local civic issue
- engaged in fund raising
- actively worked as a volunteer (non-political)

The mean number of activities undertaken by the respondents to the InterAction/ODC activist survey was 2.5.

**Interviewing.** Telephone interviewing was conducted by Marketing, Inc., a nationwide WATS telephone center located in Long Island, New York, from August 22 to September 2, 1986. Trained interviewers, working under the close supervision of Marketing, Inc. professionals, conducted the interviews in the early evening hours. A total of 502 telephone interviews were completed. All respondents were individuals previously interviewed by SMRB, and had been selected as part of a random probability sample of Americans.

**Margin of Error.** For results based on a sample of 502, one can say with 95% confidence that the error due to sampling and other random effects could be plus or minus 4.4 percentage points.

### Congressional Interviews

In-depth discussions were held with thirteen members of the House, the Senate, and their staffs.

Members and their aides who were asked to participate in these discussions were identified by ODC representatives as important players in the development of U.S. policy toward the Third World by virtue of their committee assignments, their legislative activity, and their expressed interest in issues. We included seven Democrats and six Republicans. Five were staff members, eight were members of the Senate or House. They were interviewed individually for approximately one-half hour by Nancy Belden, SIRC's Director of Research, in Washington, D.C., between July 15 and August 7, 1986. The responses were compiled in a written summary.

### Focus Groups

On September 16, 17, and 22, 1986, four focus groups were held in Atlanta, Georgia; Petaluma, California; and Chicago, Illinois. The purpose of the groups was to add detail and quality to data collected in previous steps in the inquiry into Americans' attitudes, involvement, and knowledge in the area of international development. The groups were designed to test themes for increasing public support for Third World development efforts.

Members of two groups (one in Atlanta and one of the two convened in Chicago) were recruited from among the general public. The members of the second Chicago group and the California group were recruited from among people identified as active volunteers in their communities. The discussions were led by the SIRC Director of Research, and sessions were audiotaped to facilitate accuracy in report writing. The participants—or an organization of their choice—received a monetary incentive for taking part. Audiotapes of the discussion were reviewed and summarized in a written report.

## Appendix 2

# A Closer Look at Some Subgroups of the Public

To identify demographic or attitudinal characteristics that appear to differentiate the opinions of certain segments of the American public, the InterAction/ODC Public Opinion Project separated out from the general population several subgroups of respondents and their opinions on the issues examined in the survey. In some cases the subgroups examined are readily identifiable by socio-economic or demographic characteristics—for example, Black Americans, young Americans, or those with a college education. In other cases, subgroups were statistically created by separating out from the general public those respondents who provided specific answers to selected questions—for example, those who answered that they strongly supported the nuclear freeze movement. The project then

examined the responses of these subgroups to the *other* questions asked in the survey.

### Attitudinal Subgroups

The attitudinal subgroups created in the general population survey—on the basis of their “humanitarian”, “political/strategic”, or “economic” emphasis—were designed to cluster individuals who—according to criteria selected by the pollsters—feel most strongly about certain objectives or rationales related to U.S. policy toward the developing countries.

### Definitions of Attitudinal Subgroups

The Public Opinion Project's attitudinal subgroups were created to test the hypothesis that certain U.S.-Third World policy objectives are more important than others to different subgroups of the public. The subgroups were formed by separating out those interviewees among the general public who provided certain responses to selected questions (see below). Different criteria of course might have yielded different results—particularly with respect to the relative size of certain subgroups. Nonetheless, the three response clusters separated out as part of this project usefully highlight both the perceptions and the demographic characteristics of certain subgroups of the public whose opinions on U.S.-Third World relations and development seem to be guided relatively *more* by one or another of the three objectives or rationales.

Those in any one subgroup did not necessarily reject the objectives or rationales that define the *other* two groups. For example, the major reasons offered by the “political/strategic emphasis” subgroup for supporting economic assistance were humanitarian concern and a sense of responsibility. And, the “humanitarian emphasis” group felt almost as strongly as did the “economic emphasis” group that the United States should play an active role in resolving the debt crisis.

Not all of the individuals surveyed fulfilled the criteria for even one subgroup. Moreover, since the subgroups were not defined to be mutually exclusive, respondents could belong to more than one cluster. This facilitated a truer picture of the demographics and attitudes of those who support various objectives or rationales—truer in the sense that most Americans probably do simultaneously hold conflicting and congruent perceptions and opinions on the complex issues and policies surrounding U.S. relations with the Third World.

The “humanitarian emphasis” subgroup was defined as those who satisfied at least three of the following criteria:

- 1) Rated reducing hunger and poverty in other countries as a very important problem for the U.S. government;
- 2) Chose the poorest countries as the top priorities for U.S. aid (over countries important to U.S. security and over those needed as trading partners);
- 3) Gave high priority to helping countries lower infant death rates;
- 4) Gave highest priority among aid programs to disaster relief;
- 5) Agreed strongly that we ought to do what we can to help wherever people are hungry or poor; and

- 6) Agreed that the United States should accept refugees fleeing from poverty.

The “economic emphasis” subgroup was defined as those who satisfied at least three of the following criteria:

- 1) Gave as a reason for supporting foreign aid or economic assistance the aim of helping other countries become self-sufficient or promoting strong economies;
- 2) Said that the economies of the Third World affect the United States a great deal;
- 3) Chose countries that the United States needs as trading partners as the most important ones for the U.S. to assist;
- 4) Gave highest priority to using aid money to encourage U.S. businesses to invest in the Third World;
- 5) Agreed that we should not restrict imports but help developing nations by letting them sell goods to the United States;
- 6) Disagreed that it is contrary to U.S. interests to help countries in the Third World because they will compete with us;
- 7) Agreed that helping the Third World will benefit the United States in the long run; and
- 8) Agreed that the United States should do everything in its power to solve the debt problem of the Third World.

The “political/strategic emphasis” subgroup was defined as those who satisfied at least two of the following criteria:

- 1) Favored military aid to other countries;
- 2) Gave U.S. security as the reason for their support of military aid;
- 3) Chose countries important to U.S. security as the most important ones for the United States to assist;
- 4) Gave high priority to using aid money to rent land for U.S. military bases in other countries; and
- 5) Agreed strongly that helping other countries to develop will make them more stable.

\*Some of the definitional questions were posed to all respondents, and some only to one half or the other of the split sample. It can be inferred that the responses of most of those in each attitudinal group would have met almost all of the criteria, had all of the definitional questions been put to them.

### Respondents Who Emphasized Humanitarian Objectives.

Respondents falling within this subgroup according to the definitional criteria used in this survey were evenly distributed across most socio-economic and demographic lines. However, women, Black Americans and those living in Northeastern states more frequently expressed a humanitarian emphasis, and more Democrats than Republicans fell into this category.

The "humanitarian emphasis" subgroup responded very similarly to the population as a whole in giving priority to domestic over international well-being. For example, 79% of this group (compared to 84% of the general public) agreed with the statement: "We need to solve U.S. domestic poverty problems before we turn attention to other countries." When not presented with a choice between domestic and international well-being, however, respondents in this subgroup were very sympathetic to the idea that the United States should help those overseas. Seventy-three per cent (compared to 54% of the public) favored U.S. giving of economic assistance. Although only 35% of the respondents in this subgroup considered the government to be doing less than it should to fight poverty in other parts of the world, this proportion represented double the rate of the general public. Moreover, 69% of the subgroup strongly agreed with the statement: "As a world leader, the United States should set an example for other wealthy nations by helping other poor nations"; this response rate, too, was nearly twice that of the public at large.

In general, respondents in this subgroup had more favorable impressions of the aid program than did the public as a whole. They felt that economic assistance to other countries was cost-effective (74% compared to 52% of the general public) and that the United States can afford it (67% compared to 45%). They were somewhat more confident than the general public that money given to charitable private organizations reaches needy people (although only 24%—compared to 18% of the public—had a great deal of confidence that this is so). They were, however, as skeptical as other Americans that U.S. official assistance ever reaches its intended recipients, and as persuaded as the general public that aid is wasted by the U.S. and foreign governments.

On U.S. trade policy toward developing countries, the "humanitarian emphasis" subgroup was—unlike the general public—split: 46% (compared to 36% of the public) believed the United States should allow Third World goods into the United States, while 47% (compared to 60%) believed that it should not. This subgroup was also sympathetic to the concept of a significant U.S. role in resolving the debt crisis, with 61% agreeing that the United States "should do everything in its power to find solutions to the debt problems of Third World countries." In contrast, 52% of the public *disagreed* that the United States should actively work to solve the debt crisis.

The responses of the individuals in this subgroup indicated they were about as likely as the general public—but less likely than those in the other two attitudinal subgroups—to be very active in civic affairs.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, while 78% of those in this subgroup claimed to be contributors to charitable organizations, their responses indicated they were less likely than members of other attitudinal groups to be major donors (\$500 or more) or to contribute to organizations working on international issues including Third World development. This lower level of activism and giving may be due to the fact that more respondents in this subgroup than in the other attitudinal subgroups had household incomes below \$15,000.

**Respondents Who Emphasized Economic Objectives.** Respondents who met the criteria for this subgroup were found to be largely from the upper socio-economic segments of American society. One-fourth had annual household incomes over \$40,000. They were highly educated and tended to belong to professional households. They also reported a higher than average incidence of travel;

moreover, of the three-quarters who reported having traveled outside the United States, one-half had visited a Third World country. The subgroup's political-party affiliations approximated the national average.

Individuals in the "economic emphasis" subgroup tended to be better informed than the public as a whole about current events. A larger proportion of this group correctly responded to the general population survey's three factual questions concerning U.S. policy in Nicaragua, the START talks, and U.S. membership in NATO, and they were more likely to read a national magazine or daily newspaper or to watch the news on television. Respondents in this subgroup were also more involved in community affairs. Thirty-two per cent of this subgroup (compared to 20% of the general public) reported at some time having been very active in civic affairs.

The "economic emphasis" subgroup's opinions on military aid were virtually identical to those of the general population, but respondents in this group were far more supportive (81%) than the general public (54%) of U.S. giving of economic assistance to other countries. Sixty-three per cent (compared to 52% of the public) rated economic assistance to other countries as cost-effective rather than a waste of money—and the same proportion (compared to 45% of the public) believed that the United States can afford such assistance. Like the "humanitarian emphasis" group, the "economic emphasis" group was also somewhat more confident than most Americans that money given to private organizations reaches needy people in other countries—although only one-quarter had a great deal of confidence that this is so.

Respondents in the "economic emphasis" subgroup believed more frequently than the public as a whole that the U.S. government is doing less than it should (28%) to fight poverty in other parts of the world and that individual Americans are doing less than can be expected (41%) or nothing at all (16%).

The charitable giving habits of respondents in the "economic emphasis" subgroup were roughly in line with those of the entire public, although these subgroup respondents reported somewhat more frequently (25% compared to 19%) that they had contributed to organizations working overseas.

**Respondents Who Emphasized Political/Strategic Objectives.** According to the definition used in this survey, this was the largest subgroup, comprising 27% of the general public. Individuals in this subgroup tended to be white males, Republicans, and people who live in the South.

The "political/strategic emphasis" subgroup favored economic aid less than did the other attitudinal subgroups, falling in line with the public as a whole. Respondents in this subgroup felt somewhat more strongly, however, that the United States is doing more than it should or about the right amount (84% compared to 77% of the public) to fight poverty and hunger overseas.

While it is not surprising that this subgroup cited political or strategic reasons for favoring economic assistance more frequently than the general public (38% compared to 28%) in response to an open-ended question, it is noteworthy that a plurality (43%) of this subgroup named humanitarian concern or a sense of responsibility as their reason for supporting the program. In a separate question, 92% of this subgroup agreed with the statement: "Wherever people are hungry or poor, we ought to do what we can to help them."

By definition, the "political/strategic emphasis" subgroup favored military aid more frequently than did the general public (85% compared to 38%). Moreover, these individuals responded more frequently than the public as a whole (65% compared to 40%) that they believed military aid had generally helped the people in the Third World. Like the general public, however, a greater proportion said that economic aid (93%) and direct foreign investment (70%) had been beneficial.

On the issue of allowing Third World imports into the United States, two-thirds of the "political/strategic emphasis" subgroup were opposed—a response virtually identical to that of the general public. This subgroup was, however, somewhat more sympathetic than the public on the debt issue: 57% (compared to 47%) agreed that the United States should do everything in its power to find a solution to the debt problems of developing countries.

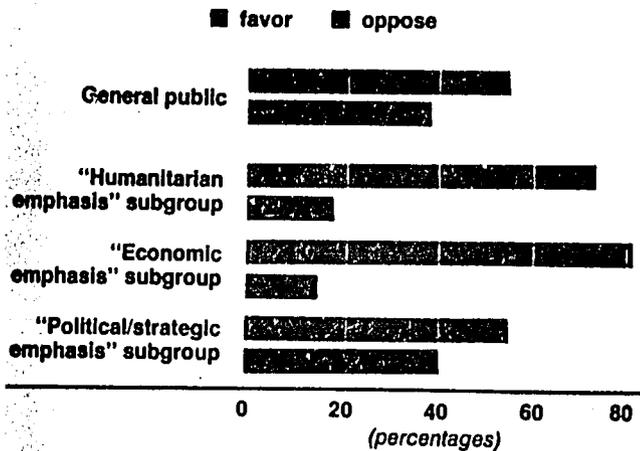
<sup>1</sup> Respondents to the general population survey were asked whether they had ever done any of ten activities, such as written to a newspaper or magazine editor, written to an elected official, or worked for a political party or candidate (see Q.41). Those who responded affirmatively to six or more items on the list were termed "very active."

## Comparison of the General Public's Responses to Those of its Subgroups

### On U.S. economic aid:

Opinions of the general public and of its "political/strategic emphasis" subgroup were very similar. In contrast, the "humanitarian emphasis" and "economic emphasis" subgroups were both relatively more supportive of the program.

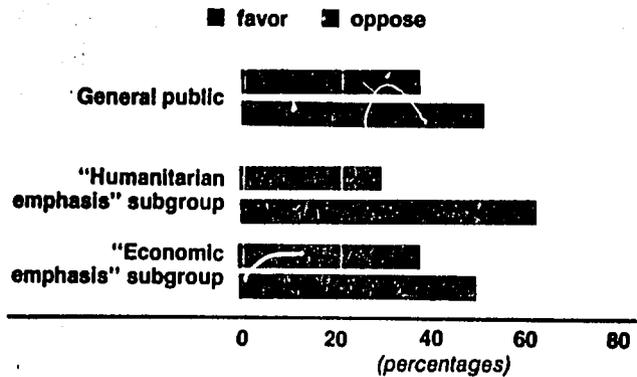
"Are you generally in favor of or opposed to U.S. giving of economic assistance to other countries?"



### On U.S. military aid:

The public as a whole and its "economic emphasis" subgroup held similar views, while individuals in the "humanitarian emphasis" subgroup more frequently opposed the program.

"Are you generally in favor of or opposed to U.S. giving of military assistance to other nations to buy arms and train soldiers?"

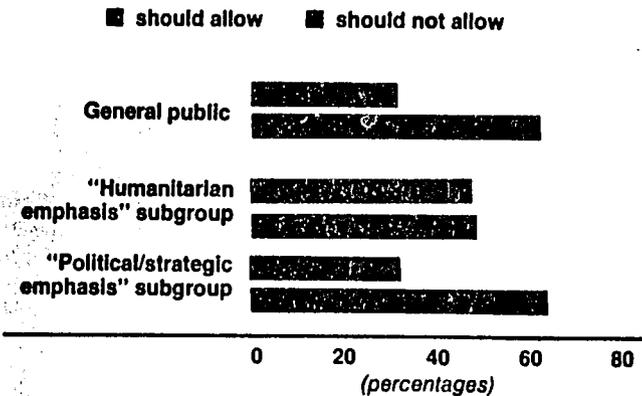


\*The "political/strategic emphasis" subgroup is here excluded because this question was part of that group's definitional criteria.

### On U.S.-Third World trade:

Two out of three Americans in both the general public and its "political/strategic emphasis" subgroup favored restricting Third World imports to the United States, while the "humanitarian emphasis" subgroup was split between allowing and restricting imports.

"Do you agree more that we should help Third World countries by letting them sell goods to the United States, or more that the United States shouldn't allow so many foreign imports from the Third World until the U.S. trade deficit is lowered?"<sup>a</sup>

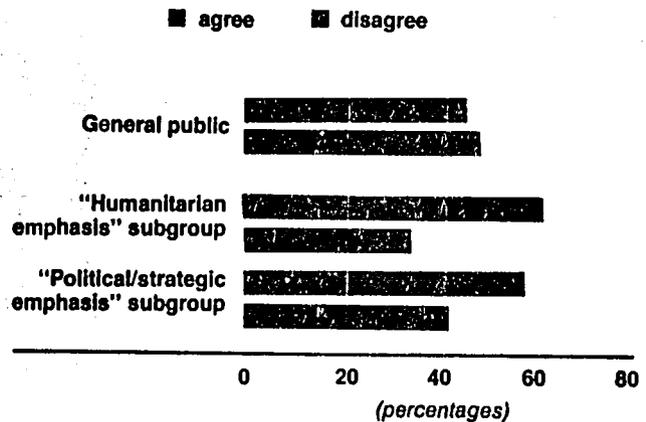


\*The "economic emphasis" subgroup is here excluded because this question was part of that group's definitional criteria.

### On the debt crisis:

Both the "political/strategic emphasis" and the "humanitarian emphasis" subgroups favored a strong U.S. effort to solve the problem more frequently than the public as a whole.

"[Do you agree or disagree that] the United States needs to do everything in its power to find solutions to the debt problems of Third World countries?"<sup>a</sup>



\*The "economic emphasis" subgroup is here excluded because this question was part of that group's definitional criteria.

## Demographics of Attitudinal Subgroups\*

Percentage of Total Who Met Subgroup Definition Criteria:	Humanitarian Emphasis 18%	Political/Strategic Emphasis 27%	Economic Emphasis 18%	Percentage of Total Who Met Subgroup Definition Criteria	Humanitarian Emphasis 18%	Political/Strategic Emphasis 27%	Economic Emphasis 18%
<b>Sex</b>				<b>Region</b>			
Male	43%	58%	55%	West	17	15	20
Female	57	42	45	North	25	28	25
<b>Age</b>				Northeast	29	17	28
18-24 years	17	17	14	South	29	39	26
25-34	26	25	28	<b>Political Affiliations</b>			
35-54	33	31	35	Republican	21	36	31
55+	25	27	23	Democrat	41	32	32
<b>Race</b>				Independent	25	22	27
White	79	88	87	<b>Giving</b>			
Black	16	7	8	Donors <sup>b</sup>	78	84	87
<b>Religion</b>				Large donors <sup>c</sup>	12	16	18
Catholic	25	21	23	Overseas donors <sup>d</sup>	24	20	25
Protestant	50	63	53	<b>Affinity Groups</b>			
<b>Household Income</b>				Strongly supports nuclear freeze movement	49	28	41
Less than \$15,000	28	22	19	Strongly supports family planning movement	57	53	59
\$15,000-40,000	45	49	47	Strongly supports environmental movement	45	41	51
More than \$40,000	18	20	28	Strongly supports equal rights movement	67	46	60
<b>Occupation of Chief</b>				<b>Highly Active<sup>e</sup></b>	19	21	32
Wage Earner							
Professional	36	34	49				
White Collar	15	16	16				
Blue Collar	35	36	25				
<b>Education</b>							
College +	24	21	41				
Some college/trade school	22	28	25				
High school or less	52	50	32				

\*Totals may not equal 100% due to exclusion of smaller categories, exclusion of "don't know" responses, and refusals.

<sup>b</sup>Charitable contribution in the last 12 months.

<sup>c</sup>Charitable contribution of \$500 or more in last 12 months.

<sup>d</sup>Charitable contribution to organization active overseas in past 12 months.

<sup>e</sup>Respondents who reported at some time having done six or more of the activities listed in Q41.

### Affinity Groups

Respondents in the general population survey were questioned about their level of support for the environmental, equal rights, nuclear freeze and family planning movements in the United States to test the affinity of the supporters of these movements for U.S. development efforts in the Third World.

**Supporters of the Environmental Movement.** Forty per cent of those surveyed reported strong support for the efforts of environmentalists in this country. These individuals were more strongly in favor of economic assistance (60%) than the general public. They were split on the issue of targeting U.S. aid to favor countries with the poorest economies (41%) or countries that are important to U.S. security (39%).

**Equal Rights Supporters.** Fifty-two per cent of those polled reported that they strongly support groups promoting equal rights for women and minorities. Equal rights supporters favored economic assistance only slightly more than did the general public (57%). Among those within the subgroup who opposed economic assistance (36%), seven out of ten said they were opposed because people at home should be helped first.

**Supporters of the Nuclear Freeze.** Thirty-five per cent of the respondents identified themselves as strong supporters of the nuclear freeze movement. This subgroup's position on economic as-

sistance closely matched that of the general population. However, a larger majority of these individuals were opposed to military assistance to other nations (65%) and believed that military assistance has hurt foreign countries (58%). They were split over the issue of whether U.S. aid should be targeted to favor countries with the poorest economies (40%) or countries that are important to U.S. security (39%).

**Supporters of Family Planning Groups.** Fifty-one per cent of those polled said they strongly support organizations working to promote family planning in the United States and overseas. Overall, their opinions about economic assistance deviated little from the opinions of the general population. However, individuals in this subgroup were more likely (76%) than the general public (62%) to give a high priority rating to aid programs that provide education on family planning and birth control.

### Other Key Subgroups

**Young Adults.** Young Americans aged 18 to 24 were more likely than any other age group to favor economic aid (61% compared to: 56% of those aged 25-34, 55% of those aged 35-54, and 46% of those 55 and over) as well as military aid (44% compared to: 40% of those aged 25-34, 37% of those aged 35-54, and 32% of those 55 and over). In comparison to other age groups, they were also more likely to rate dealing with hunger and poverty in other countries as

very important (24%) and more likely to perceive aid as cost effective (69%).

This group believed more frequently than all other age groups that individuals (39%) and the U.S. government (28%) are doing less than can be expected to combat hunger and poverty overseas.

Although younger Americans were relatively more sympathetic to development efforts, they were less frequently personally involved in such activities. At a time when most are busy establishing a family or career, they have less time and less disposable income than other age groups. Only 8% of this age group reported undertaking six or more civic activities in the past year—compared to 16% of those aged 25-34 and 27% of those aged 35-54. Only 58% reported making a charitable contribution in the previous 12 months (compared to 81% of the general population) and their annual contributions were far more likely to total less than \$100. A further reason for the relative inactivity of young adults may be that they are less likely to have encountered the experiences that motivate involvement—such as Third World travel, or meeting people from developing nations.

**Black Americans.** The responses of Black Americans were very similar to those of the public as a whole on the issue of support for economic assistance; 58% compared to 54% were in favor. However, they opposed military assistance considerably more frequently than did the public—65% compared to 51%.

Sixty-five per cent of the Black Americans (compared to 45% of the general public) strongly supported the statement: "Wherever people are hungry or poor, we ought to do what we can to help them." They were more likely than the general public (34% compared to 18%) to believe that the government is doing less than it should to fight hunger and poverty overseas, and they were more likely than the public (61% compared to 46%) to believe that individuals are doing less than expected or almost nothing to combat hunger and poverty overseas. However, compared to 60% of the public as a whole, 70% of the Black Americans felt strongly that domestic poverty problems should be addressed before the United States

turns its attention to other countries.

Seventy per cent of the Black Americans felt that the United States should not allow so many Third World imports until the U.S. trade deficit is lowered—a stronger degree of protectionist sentiment than that exhibited by the general population. Black Americans showed more inclination than the general public to reject the notion that the United States should accept political refugees (60% compared to 42%) and to strongly favor restrictions on U.S. immigration (53% compared to 43%).

**College Education.** In the focus group discussions and the Congressional interviews, formal education was not generally thought to make a major contribution to understanding of U.S. relations with Third World countries. Nevertheless, the quantitative data collected in the surveys does indicate that education levels—like information levels—do make a difference to American opinion. Economic assistance was favored by 67% of college graduates compared to 49% of those with no college education. Sixty-two per cent of college graduates, compared to 40% of those with less education, believed that the United States can afford aid. College graduates also tended to be less protectionist: 51% (compared to 25% with less education) believed the United States should give the Third World greater access to its markets. College graduates were also slightly more supportive than those with less education of U.S. efforts to resolve the Third World debt crisis.

Like information levels, however, education levels do not clearly affect responses to questions that are more indicative of basic values than of knowledge. Although their relative degree of agreement varied on some issues, college graduates (like those with no college education) generally placed a greater emphasis on domestic over international problems; believed the United States must address domestic poverty before it turns its attention overseas; supported economic assistance on humanitarian, rather than self-interest, grounds and preferred to target U.S. assistance to countries that are important to American security rather than to countries with the poorest economies.

# Appendix 3 General Population Questionnaire and Response Totals

(sample: 2,427 respondents)

Version A questions of the survey, posed to 1,218 adults

Version B questions of the survey, posed to 1,209 adults

Questions part of both the A and B versions of the survey, posed to 2,427 adults

Responses to some questions may not equal 100% due to multiple responses or rounding.  
\*denotes responses of less than .5%  
—denotes no response.

<b>1. First, what do you think are the one or two biggest problems facing the United States today?</b>	Libya/acts of terrorism/Qaddafi.....	34%	World peace/threat of nuclear war/arms race.....	13
	U.S. economy/miscellaneous economic problems.....	18	Pollution/nuclear waste.....	4
	Unemployment/welfare/poor people/homeless/hunger/poverty/jobs.....	17	Crime/drugs.....	4
	Other foreign policy problems.....	15	Russia/communist aggression.....	4
	Federal budget deficit/the budget/federal spending.....	15	Trade deficit.....	3
	Other domestic problems.....	14	No answer.....	7

**2. Using a scale where 1 means lowest priority and 10 means top priority, how would you rate these issues the government has to deal with? Using any number between 1 and 10, where would you put:**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Don't know	No answer	Mean
(percentages)													
a. Public education.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7.6
b. International arms control.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7.1
a. Dealing with crime.....	2	2	2	4	9	8	12	19	15	25	2	•	7.5
b. Unemployment.....	3	2	4	5	14	8	12	18	11	21	2	•	7.1
c. Helping the poor in U.S.....	4	2	4	5	11	7	10	15	11	30	1	•	7.3
d. Reducing the trade deficit.....	3	2	4	6	19	12	14	15	8	11	6	•	6.5
e. Reducing poverty and hunger in other countries.....	10	6	11	13	21	9	9	7	4	8	2	•	5.2
f. Reducing the national budget deficit.....	3	3	4	4	12	8	11	17	13	23	2	•	7.2

**3A. Do you think it will be best for the future of the United States if we:**

Take an active part in world affairs.....	69%
Stay out of world affairs.....	25
Don't know.....	6
No answer.....	—

**3B. Would you say that living conditions in the poor countries of the world today are better than, about the same as, or not as good as they were 10 years ago?**

Better.....	32%
About the same.....	35
Not as good.....	21
Don't know.....	12
No answer.....	•

**4A. Using our scale where 1 means not at all important and 10 means very important, please tell me how important you feel each of these countries is to the U.S.:**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Don't know	No answer	Mean
(percentages)													
The Soviet Union.....	11	3	3	2	9	4	6	13	9	38	2	—	7.3
Mexico.....	5	3	5	6	17	10	12	17	8	15	2	—	6.5
India.....	11	8	12	12	23	10	7	7	2	4	4	—	4.7
Great Britain.....	3	2	3	3	8	7	11	18	16	27	2	—	7.6
Nigeria.....	11	9	10	11	21	8	8	7	3	5	7	•	4.7
China.....	5	3	3	4	12	9	15	19	10	18	2	—	7.0

**5A. Are you generally in favor of or opposed to U.S. giving of foreign aid?**

In favor.....	50%
Opposed.....	41
Don't know.....	8
No answer.....	1

**5B. Are you generally in favor of or opposed to U.S. giving of economic assistance to other countries?**

Favor.....	54%
Oppose.....	39
Don't know.....	7
No answer.....	•

**6A. What is the most important reason to you for (favoring) (opposing) foreign aid?**

39%	<b>Favoring</b>
21	Should help/they need it/alleviate poverty, hunger.....
10	We might make them allies/good relations.....
9	Responsibility of rich nation.....
6	Stimulate world economy/raise standard of living.....
4	World peace/stability.....
4	Help countries become self-sufficient.....
3	Keep communists out.....
3	Promote democracy/freedom/justice.....
8	Miscellaneous.....
8	No answer.....
57%	<b>Opposing</b>
12	Domestic poverty concerns.....
10	Doesn't do any good/right people don't get it/poorly handled.....
6	Don't appreciate it/turn against us/nothing in it for us.....
6	U.S. budget deficit.....
6	They should solve their own problems.....
7	Miscellaneous.....
7	No answer.....

**6B. What is the most important reason to you for (favoring) (opposing) economic assistance to other nations?**

38%	<b>Favoring</b>
17	Should help/they need it/alleviate poverty, hunger.....
15	We might make them allies/good relations.....
6	Responsibility of rich nation.....
3	Stimulate world economy/raise standard of living.....
3	World peace/stability.....
5	Help countries become self-sufficient.....
3	Keep communists out.....
3	Promote democracy/freedom/justice.....
10	Miscellaneous.....
8	No answer.....
63%	<b>Opposing</b>
9	Domestic poverty concerns.....
8	Doesn't do any good/right people don't get it/poorly handled.....
3	Don't appreciate it/turn against us/nothing in it for us.....
5	U.S. budget deficit.....
6	They should solve their own problems.....
6	Miscellaneous.....
10	No answer.....

7. Are you generally in favor of or opposed to U.S. giving of military assistance to other nations to buy arms and train soldiers?

Favor.....38%  
 Oppose.....51  
 Don't know.....10  
 No answer.....1

8. What is the most important reason to you for (favoring) (opposing) military aid?

**Favoring**

Stop communism/if we don't help communists will.....26%  
 Keep us from having to do it/our own security, defense...21  
 Allies/one day we might need them.....17  
 They need our help/can't do it alone/to help them.....10  
 Promote democracy/freedom/justice.....8  
 U.S. national interest.....6  
 World peace, stability.....4  
 Miscellaneous.....9  
 No answer.....9

**Opposing**

I'm against war/it will lead to war/Vietnam.....20%  
 They might turn against us/nothing in it for us.....18  
 They should solve their own problems.....15  
 Help our own military first.....9  
 Doesn't solve problems.....9  
 Backing the wrong people.....7  
 Try diplomatic means first.....5  
 U.S. budget deficit.....4  
 Miscellaneous.....8  
 No answer.....8

9. Do you think the U.S. government is doing more than it should, about the right amount, or less than it should to fight poverty in other parts of the world?

More than it should.....35%  
 About the right amount.....42  
 Less than it should.....18  
 Don't know.....5  
 No answer.....\*

10. Concerning the problem of hunger and poverty outside of the United States, do you feel that people like yourself are doing all they can to solve it, as much as can be expected, less than expected, or almost nothing at all?

Doing all they can.....10%  
 As much as expected.....41  
 Less than expected.....30  
 Almost nothing.....16  
 Don't know.....3  
 No answer.....\*

11A. Thinking now specifically about Latin America, what do you think is the single biggest problem of the countries there?

Bad leadership/unstable governments/civil wars.....23%  
 Poverty/hunger/malnutrition.....21  
 Lack of know-how/education.....8  
 Exploitation by other countries.....8  
 Poor economies/unemployment/debt.....7  
 Nicaragua conflict.....3  
 Miscellaneous.....11  
 Don't know.....22  
 No answer.....10

11B. In general, do you think that the people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America view Americans as:

**a. Friends—or enemies?**

Friends.....37%  
 Enemies.....42  
 Depends/both.....10  
 Don't know.....11  
 No answer.....—

**b. Generous—or stingy?**

Generous.....48%  
 Stingy.....36  
 Depends/both.....5  
 Don't know.....11  
 No answer.....—

12A. What would you say is the single biggest problem of the countries in Asia?

Poverty/hunger/malnutrition.....24%  
 Overpopulation.....17  
 Bad leadership/unstable governments/wars.....10  
 Lack of know-how/technology/education.....7  
 Communism/Russians.....6  
 Poor economies/unemployment/debt.....4  
 Miscellaneous.....8  
 Don't know.....25  
 No answer.....11

12B. The term *Third World* is used to mean those countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America whose economies and standard of living are lagging behind. The term *developed nations* is used to mean the United States and European and other countries that are richer, and whose economies are fully industrialized.

From what you have heard or read, would you say the economies of countries in the Third World affect the U.S. economy a great deal, somewhat, not very much, or not all?

Great deal.....26%  
 Somewhat.....48  
 Not very much.....18  
 Not at all.....5  
 Don't know.....3  
 No answer.....—

13A. What would you say is the single biggest problem of the countries of Africa?

Poverty/hunger/malnutrition.....48%  
 Racial discrimination/segregation/apartheid.....17  
 Bad leadership/unstable governments/wars.....13  
 Lack of know-how/technology/education.....13  
 Overpopulation.....8  
 Communism.....1  
 Miscellaneous.....12  
 Don't know.....7  
 No answer.....4

13B. As I read these pairs of words, tell me which comes closer to your feelings about economic assistance to other countries?

**a. Is it cost-effective—or a waste of money?**

Cost effective.....52%  
 Waste of money.....40  
 Don't know.....8  
 No answer.....\*

**b. The United States can afford it—or cannot afford it?**

Can afford.....45%  
 Cannot afford.....52  
 Don't know.....3  
 No answer.....\*

14A. Do you think that with help from the outside, Africa will be able someday to raise most of the food it needs, or will there always be periods of famine in Africa?

Raise most of its food.....43%  
 Always famine.....52  
 Don't know.....5  
 No answer.....\*

14B. Sometimes when the United States gives aid to foreign countries, it requires that the aid money be used to buy American products. Do you think that is a good policy—or a bad policy?

Good policy.....73%  
 Bad policy.....20  
 Don't know.....7  
 No answer.....\*

**15A. The term *Third World* is used to mean those countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America whose economies and standard of living are lagging behind. The term *developed nations* is used to mean the United States and European and other countries that are richer, and whose economies are fully industrialized. Please tell me whether you think each of the following has generally helped or hurt people in *Third World* countries in the last few years:**

	Helped	Hurt	Don't know	No answer
a. How about military assistance—to buy arms and train soldiers—that the United States gives to foreign countries? In your opinion, has it helped or hurt them?.....	40%	48%	12%	•
b. How about economic aid for things such as health care, education, and agriculture that the U.S. gives?.....	91	5	4	•
c. Investments by American corporations in the Third World?.....	65	21	14	—
d. Loans made by commercial banks to Third World governments?.....	47	34	19	•

**15B. Sometimes the United States requires a foreign government to make human rights reforms before it gets U.S. aid. Do you think that is a good policy—or a bad policy?**

Good policy.....	76%
Bad policy.....	18
Don't know.....	6
No answer.....	•

**16A. Assume you are in charge of aid for development to other countries. Using any number from 1 to 10 on a scale where 1 is lowest priority and 10 is top priority, please tell me how high a priority you would give each of these areas:**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Don't know	No answer	Mean
	(percentages)												
a. African countries.....	4	2	5	7	16	10	13	16	10	13	4	•	6.5
b. Arab countries.....	21	9	13	11	15	8	8	5	2	2	6	•	4.1
c. Asian countries.....	5	3	7	9	24	14	15	11	4	4	4	•	5.8
d. Israel.....	9	6	8	9	15	9	12	11	6	11	4	•	5.7
e. Latin American and Caribbean countries.....	4	3	5	6	17	12	14	17	6	10	4	•	6.2

**16B. If you had to choose which countries should get U.S. aid, which of these would you select as most important:**

a. Countries that are important to U.S. security.....	44%
b. Countries with the poorest economies.....	33
c. Countries that the U.S. needs as trading partners... ..	19
d. Don't know.....	4
e. No answer.....	•

**17. We've talked about which countries should have highest priority. Now, let's talk about what kinds of aid programs are important. On a scale where 1 means lowest priority and 10 means top priority, using any number between 1 and 10, where would you place these types of aid:**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Don't know	No answer	Mean
	(percentages)												
<b>A.</b>													
a. Relief for victims of disasters like floods, droughts, and earthquakes.....	2	1	1	2	7	4	8	19	13	42	1	•	6.3
b. Giving money to Third World countries to pay their foreign debts.....	35	14	11	10	12	5	5	3	1	2	2	•	3.2
c. Building large projects such as roads, dams, and hospitals.....	4	4	5	5	16	9	15	18	8	15	1	•	6.5
d. Using aid to help farmers in those countries buy seeds and basic equipment.....	3	2	3	4	9	6	12	19	15	26	1	•	7.6
e. Helping foreign governments analyze their economic systems and improve them.....	6	4	4	4	13	9	14	16	10	18	2	•	6.7
f. Sending American volunteers, like those in the Peace Corps, to work in other countries.....	4	2	3	5	8	7	11	20	11	28	1	•	7.4
g. Providing health care.....	3	2	2	3	9	7	11	19	13	30	1	•	7.7
<b>B.</b>													
a. Providing other countries with surplus food.....	4	2	3	5	14	8	11	19	11	21	2	•	7.1
b. Programs that help countries lower infant death rates.....	2	2	4	4	12	8	11	17	12	25	3	•	7.3
c. Giving people from other countries university or other training in the U.S.....	10	5	7	7	22	11	11	12	5	8	2	•	5.6
d. Programs to support small businesses started by local people in those countries.....	6	4	5	9	20	11	12	14	6	9	3	1	5.9
e. Using aid to rent land for U.S. military bases in those countries.....	7	4	7	7	18	10	13	14	6	11	3	•	6.0
f. Education on family planning and providing birth control.....	5	2	3	4	9	5	9	16	14	32	1	•	7.5
g. Using aid money to encourage U.S. businesses to invest in those countries... ..	8	6	8	9	21	12	12	12	3	6	3	•	5.4

**18B. Do you agree more that we should help Third World countries by letting them sell goods to the United States, or more that the United States shouldn't allow so many foreign imports from the Third World until the U.S. trade deficit is lowered?**

Should help sell.....	32%
Shouldn't allow.....	60
Don't know.....	8
No answer.....	•

**19. As I read some statements about economic aid for development, please tell me if you tend to strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree, don't know, or no answer:**

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	No answer	Mean
(percentages)							
<b>A.</b>							
a. Aid is essential if other countries are to become self-sufficient.....	34	46	13	5	2		3.1
b. Wherever people are hungry or poor, we ought to do what we can to help them....	45	44	6	4	1		3.3
c. Aid programs get us too mixed up with other countries' affairs.....	27	35	22	12	3		2.8
d. Helping other countries develop will make them more stable.....	38	45	11	4	2		3.2
e. It is against U.S. interests to help countries in the Third World because they will compete with us economically and politically.....	12	20	33	32	3		2.1
f. We need to solve our own poverty problems in the U.S. before we turn attention to other countries.....	60	24	11	4	1		3.4
g. Aid is frequently misused by foreign governments.....	63	25	6	3	3		3.5
h. A large part of aid is wasted by the U.S. bureaucracy.....	51	34	10	2	3		3.4
i. If the U.S. helps the Third World, we will benefit in the long run.....	34	41	14	8	3		3.0
<b>B.</b>							
a. Economic aid has not been effective in improving poor people's lives in the Third World.....	22	36	25	14	3		2.7
b. As a world leader, the U.S. should set an example for other wealthy nations by helping other poor nations.....	37	41	12	8	2		3.1
c. U.S. aid reduces the influence of the Soviet Union.....	21	35	23	16	5		2.7
d. U.S. aid helps us make or keep other countries as allies.....	31	43	14	9	3		3.0
e. The problems in developing countries are so overwhelming that anything the U.S. does is just a drop in the bucket.....	22	31	27	19	1		2.6

**20B. Which of these do you think is the most important issue affecting our relationship with Mexico...and which is the second most important?**

	Most important	Second most important
a. Immigration from Mexico to the U.S.....	35%	23%
b. Mexico's debt crisis.....	22	32
c. Political stability in Mexico.....	32	30
d. Don't know.....	10	12
e. No answer.....	1	3

**21. Do you tend to strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with these statements:**

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	No answer	Mean
(percentages)							
<b>A.</b>							
a. The U.S. needs to do everything in its power to find solutions to the debt problems of Third World countries.....	13	33	30	22	2		2.4
b. The U.S. should limit the number of immigrants entering the country because they compete with Americans for jobs.....	43	28	16	11	2		3.1
c. Investment by U.S. corporations in the Third World has made these countries dependent on corporations rather than helping them develop themselves.....	27	42	19	7	5		3.0
d. We should help farmers in other countries learn to grow their own food, even if it means they buy less food from the U.S.....	54	33	6	5	2		3.4
e. The U.S. should not give any kind of assistance to countries that do not have free elections or that are ruled by dictators.....	41	25	21	9	4		3.0
f. The U.S. should accept refugees fleeing poverty.....	11	39	27	19	4		2.4
g. We should give the Third World countries less aid and leave them alone so they can develop in their own ways.....	19	32	30	17	2		2.5
<b>B.</b>							
a. Governments in Third World countries are largely to blame for creating their own problems through poor planning.....	46	35	10	7	2		3.2
b. The U.S. should not give any kind of assistance to countries that do not vote with us in the U.N.....	26	21	32	17	4		2.6
c. The U.S. should accept refugees fleeing from political oppression.....	21	34	21	21	3		2.6
d. Many aid programs are bad in the long run because they make other countries too dependent on us.....	38	37	17	6	2		3.1
e. Soviet aggression in the Third World is a serious problem for the U.S.....	59	26	9	4	2		3.4

**22A. Thinking about the issues we have discussed, can you tell me whether you tend to favor or oppose U.S. giving of foreign aid for development projects such as health care, education, and agriculture to countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America?**

Favor.....	79%
Oppose.....	17
Don't know.....	4
No answer.....	—

**22B. Thinking about the issues we have discussed, can you tell me whether you tend to favor or oppose U.S. giving of economic assistance for development projects such as health care, education, and agriculture to countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America?**

Favor.....	78%
Oppose.....	19
Don't know.....	3
No answer.....	—

**23. Do you strongly support, support somewhat, oppose somewhat, or are you strongly opposed to:**

	Strongly support	Somewhat support	Somewhat oppose	Strongly oppose	Don't know	No answer	Mean
	(percentages)						
a. The nuclear freeze movement.....	35	21	17	20	7	—	2.8
b. Organizations working to promote family planning in the United States and overseas.....	51	31	8	7	3	•	3.3
c. Efforts of environmentalists in this country.....	40	38	11	5	6	•	3.2
d. Groups promoting equal rights for women and minorities.....	52	31	9	7	2	—	3.3

**24. Do you happen to recall if you made any donation of money in the last 12 months to any charitable organizations?**

Yes, donated.....	81%
No.....	16
Don't know.....	1
No answer.....	•

**25. Which group or groups are they?**

My church/synagogue.....	33%	OXFAM.....	1%	Save the Children.....	2%	YMCA/YWCA.....	1%
Catholic Relief Services.....	2	Peace Corps.....	•	UNICEF/U.N.....	3	Other: Domestic.....	60
CARE.....	2	Planned Parenthood/another family planning group.....	1	United Way.....	18	Other: International.....	7
Church World Service.....	1	Red Cross.....	9	A U.S. corporation.....	1	Not sure.....	8
National Council of Churches.....	•			World Bank.....	•	No answer.....	10

**26. Was your total donation to all such groups in the last 12 months:**

Under \$50.....	26%	Over \$100/Under \$500.....	31%	Over \$1,000.....	9%	Don't know.....	1%
Over \$50/Under \$100.....	22	Over \$500/Under \$1,000.....	9	Refused to answer.....	2	No answer.....	•

**27A. Did you happen to buy a record or tape of a recording called "We Are The World"?**

Yes.....	20%
No.....	79
Don't know.....	1
No answer.....	•

**27B. Did you donate or pledge any money to the international rock star effort called "Live Aid"?**

Yes, donated.....	7%
No.....	92
Don't know.....	1
No answer.....	•

**28A. Would you say you have a great deal, just some, or little confidence that most of the money people give to private organizations (like CARE and Save the Children) reaches needy people in other countries?**

Great deal.....	17%
Just some.....	42
Little confidence.....	36
Don't know.....	5
No answer.....	•

**28B. How frequently do you get something in the mail asking for a donation for a social or political cause? Would you say never, once a year or less, several times a year, at least once a month, or more often?**

Never.....	11%
Once a year or less.....	22
Several times a year.....	32
At least once a month.....	18
More often.....	16
Refused to answer.....	•
Don't know.....	1
No answer.....	•

**29A. How about the money for assistance that the United States government sends overseas? Would you say you have a great deal, just some, or little confidence that it reaches needy people in other countries?**

Great deal.....	7%
Just some.....	45
Little confidence.....	46
Don't know.....	2
No answer.....	—

**29B. Have you ever responded to one of these mailings by donating money?**

Yes, donated.....	41%
No.....	58
Refused to answer.....	•
Don't know.....	1

**30B. How many times have you done so in the last 12 months? Never, once or twice, or more often?**

Never.....	12%
Once or twice.....	60
More often.....	25
Refused to answer.....	1
Don't know.....	2

**31. Do you happen to recall whether the Reagan Administration is backing the Sandinistas or the Contras in Nicaragua?**

Sandinistas.....	8%
Contras.....	52
Don't know.....	40
No answer.....	—

**32. Do you recall which two nations took part in the SALT talks, now known as the START talks?**

U.S.S.R.....	2%	Other nation(s).....	1%
U.S.....	1	Don't know.....	49
U.S. and U.S.S.R.....	47	No answer.....	•

**33. Do you happen to recall whether the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. is in NATO—that is, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization?**

U.S.....	56%	Neither.....	1%
U.S.S.R.....	4	Other.....	•
Both.....	9	Don't know.....	30
		No answer.....	•

**34. As I read you this list, please tell me which, if any, you belong to:**

a. A church or synagogue.....	74%	g. A labor union.....	15%
b. School board or college board of directors.....	4	h. Fraternal orders, like Elks, Masons, or Eastern Star.....	13
c. Civic clubs like Kiwanis or Rotary.....	11	i. Religious clubs like Hadassah or Knights of Columbus.....	5
d. A hospital board.....	2	j. Veterans organizations, like VFW or American Legion.....	13
e. A church board.....	16	k. Don't know.....	7
f. A business club like the Chamber of Commerce or Jaycees.....	10	l. No answer.....	9

**35. Would you say that you read or look at a news magazine, like Time or Newsweek, almost every week, once or twice a month, less often, or never?**

Almost every week.....	30%	Never.....	15%
Once or twice a month.....	31	Don't know.....	•
Less often.....	24	No answer.....	•

<b>36. Would you say that you watch a national television news program almost every evening, a few times a week, less often than that, or never?</b>	Almost every evening.....62%	Never.....3%			
	A few times a week.....26	Don't know.....*			
	Less often.....9	No answer.....*			
<b>37. Do you read a daily newspaper nearly every day, a few times a week, less often than that, or never?</b>	Nearly every day.....62%	Less often.....11%	Don't know.....*		
	A few times a week.....23	Never.....4	No answer.....*		
<b>38. Do you think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or something else?</b>	Republican.....29%	Independent.....24%	Don't know.....4%		
	Democrat.....35	Something else.....8	No answer.....*		
<b>39. Did you happen to vote for President in 1984?</b>	Yes.....76%	Don't know.....*			
	No.....24	No answer.....*			
<b>40. For whom did you vote—Walter Mondale, Ronald Reagan, or someone else?</b>	Walter Mondale.....30%	Other.....6%	No answer.....*		
	Ronald Reagan.....59	Don't know.....5			
<b>41. Please tell me which of the following you can recall ever having done. Did you happen to have done that in the last 12 months?</b>					
	Ever	Last 12 months	Ever	Last 12 months	
a. Written to the editor of a magazine or newspaper.....	30%	9%	f. Addressed a public meeting.....	26%	15%
b. Written or telephoned a radio or television station.....	33	20	g. Taken an active part in some local civic issue.....	34	21
c. Written to an elected official.....	43	24	h. Actively worked for a political party or candidate.....	22	8
d. Written something that was published (other than a letter to the editor).....	13	6	i. Engaged in fund raising.....	38	22
e. Personally visited an elected official to express a point of view.....	24	14	j. Actively worked as a volunteer in something non-political.....	58	36
			k. No answer.....	15	35
<b>42. Was that organization involved primarily in your local community, your state, nationally, or internationally? (Asked of those who answered "Yes" to question 41(j).)</b>	Local community.....83%	Internationally.....3%			
	State.....11	Don't know.....2			
	Nationally.....9	No answer.....*			
<b>43. Have you ever traveled outside the United States?</b>	Yes.....63%	Don't know.....*			
	No.....37	No answer.....*			
<b>44. Which of these parts of the world have you ever visited:</b>	Africa.....7%	South America.....8%	Far East.....12%		
	Asia.....13	Caribbean.....24	Other.....2		
	Canada.....69	Western Europe.....37	No answer.....*		
	Mexico.....48	Eastern Europe.....13			
	Central America.....8	Middle East.....8			
<b>45. Was your travelling mostly for business, for education, to work abroad, for military service, or for pleasure?</b>	Business.....6%	Military.....21%	Don't know.....1%		
	Education.....8	Pleasure.....70	No answer.....1		
	Work abroad.....2	Other.....*			
<b>46. What kind of work did you do overseas?</b>	Government work.....3%	Commercial work.....41%	Don't know.....—		
	Church-related work.....4	Other.....4	No answer.....45		
	Non-profit work.....3				

**Demographic Profile of General Population Respondents**  
(sample: 2,427)

<b>Sex</b>		<b>Income</b>		<b>Region</b>	
Male	48%	Under \$15,000	25%	West	16%
Female	52	\$15,000-\$40,000	47	Northeast	22
		\$40,000+	19	North Central	29
<b>Age</b>		<b>Education</b>		South	32
18-24 years	16	High school or less	50	<b>Religion</b>	
25-34	24	Some college/technical school	24	Protestant	57
35-54	32	College graduate or more	24	Catholic	24
55 or older	27			Jewish	2
				Other	13
<b>Occupation of chief wage earner</b>				<b>Race</b>	
Professional	35			White	84
White collar	15			Black	11
Blue collar	36			Hispanic	2
				Other	2

# Activist Population Questionnaire

(sample: 502 respondents)

## 1. First of all, are you generally in favor of or opposed to U.S. giving of economic assistance to other countries?

Favor.....	52%
Oppose.....	33
Don't know (skip to question 3).....	15
No answer.....	0

## 2. What is the most important reason to you for (favoring) (opposing) economic assistance to other countries?

### Favoring

People should help each other/end hunger/poverty.....	50%
Responsibility of a rich nation.....	14
Stimulate world economy/raise standard of living.....	12
Maintain balance of power/peace/good relations/other political mentions.....	12
Promote self-sufficiency.....	8
We may get something in return/need their help.....	5
Discourage communism.....	4
Miscellaneous.....	14
Don't know/no answer.....	6

### Opposing

Domestic poverty concerns.....	70%
Other domestic concerns.....	4
Doesn't go to people who need it/waste.....	9
Miscellaneous.....	13
Don't know/no answer.....	9

## 3. The term *Third World* is used to mean those countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America whose economies and standard of living are lagging behind.

I'm going to mention some long-term problems Third World countries may have. Using a scale where 1 means "not a problem at all" and 10 means "the worst possible problem," please tell me how serious you think each problem is in the Third World.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Don't know/ no answer	Mean
	(percentages)											
Overpopulation.....	1	1	3	3	11	6	11	16	11	37	0	7.9
Corrupt governments...	1	1	2	3	13	7	14	20	10	28	1	7.7
Lack of adequate resources such as water and fertile land	2	3	4	6	22	8	10	16	6	21	2	6.8
The threat of communism.....	4	3	6	5	16	6	10	11	10	27	2	7.0
Disease, hunger, and poor health.....	—	1	2	2	4	5	13	22	17	34	0	8.3
People who do not work hard enough.....	14	13	10	10	20	5	6	8	4	6	4	4.6
Illiteracy.....	2	2	4	4	10	8	12	19	14	24	1	7.4
Lack of democracy.....	5	2	5	7	16	8	14	17	6	18	2	6.6

## 4. In some instances, conditions have improved in Third World countries. As I read you each of the following, please tell me if you think that thing has helped those countries a great deal, a fair amount, just a little, or not at all.

	Great deal	Fair amount	Just a little	Not at all	Don't know	No answer
	(percentages)					
a. Economic aid from the United States government	13	47	33	5	2	—
b. Efforts of private voluntary organizations in the United States.....	18	44	29	6	3	—
c. The policies of the Third World governments themselves.....	5	24	40	24	6	1
d. Technological advances...	14	35	34	13	3	1
e. Favorable world economic conditions.....	10	39	34	11	5	1
f. Investments by corporations from the United States, Japan, and Europe.....	20	41	28	7	3	1
g. Loans from banks.....	12	34	32	15	7	0

## 5. Do you think the U.S. government is doing more than it should, about the right amount, or less than it should to fight poverty in other parts of the world?

More than it should.....	36%
About the right amount.....	42
Less than it should.....	19
Don't know.....	3
No answer.....	0

## 6. Generally speaking, do you think governments of wealthier nations are trying to improve conditions in Third World countries, or do they get involved in Third World countries mostly to take advantage of them?

Trying to improve.....	39%
Take advantage.....	51
Don't know.....	10
No answer.....	0

## 7. Which of these two statements do you tend to agree with more:

a. The United States should actively help reduce the foreign debt of Third World countries that face economic collapse, or.....	15%
b. The United States should take care of its own financial problems first.....	80
c. Don't know.....	4
d. No answer.....	1

## 8. Which of these two statements do you tend to agree with more:

a. Americans should buy products from Third World countries because their prices are lower and it helps those countries get on their feet, or.....	31%
b. To help U.S. industries and workers, Americans should not buy goods made in Third World countries even if they have to pay more for comparable American products.....	54
c. Don't know.....	14
d. No answer.....	1

## 9. And which of these two statements do you tend to agree with more:

a. American banks should give Third World countries more financial credit and make it easier for them to repay their loans, or.....	27%
b. Third World countries should not get better terms than any American company that borrows from the bank.....	66
c. Don't know.....	7
d. No answer.....	0

10. Mexico is the only Third World country bordering the United States. As I read you these statements about U.S.-Mexican relations, please tell me if you tend to agree or disagree with each one.

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know	No answer
(percentages)				
a. Mexico's economic problems do not affect the U.S. economy very much....	19	77	4	•
b. The United States should exert political and economic pressure on Mexico to hold fair elections.....	54	41	4	1
c. Because Mexico is our neighbor, it should get priority over other needy countries for help from the U.S.....	52	45	2	1

11. As I read some statements, please tell me whether each one describes you very well, describes you somewhat, or does not describe you at all.

	Very well	Some-what	Not at all	Don't know	No answer
(percentages)					
a. I don't know enough about Third World countries and their problems.....	21	59	20	—	—
b. I feel a lot of foreign aid never gets to the people who need it.....	67	27	5	1	—
c. I don't have enough free time for volunteer work.....	37	27	35	•	1
d. I don't know very much about the organizations that run programs to help those countries.....	30	51	18	1	••
e. I would like to have been in the Peace Corps.....	30	20	50	•	•
f. I'm not really that interested in Third World countries.....	10	32	57	1	•
g. Before I would volunteer for an organization, I would have to be asked by someone I know.....	21	25	53	1	•
h. Religion is important in my life....	66	24	9	•	1
i. I feel the Third World's problems are so great that my help can't make any difference.....	17	31	51	1	•
j. The work I do for a living is personally rewarding to me.....	74	17	7	2	•
k. I am more interested in helping people in the United States before people in other countries.....	63	25	11	1	—

12. Would you say you have a great deal, just some, or little confidence that most of the money people give to private organizations (like CARE and Save the Children) reaches needy people in other countries?

Great deal of confidence.....	16%
Just some confidence.....	42
Little confidence.....	37
Don't know.....	4
No answer.....	1

13. How about the money for assistance that the United States government sends overseas? Would you say you have a great deal, just some, or little confidence it reaches the needy in other countries?

Great deal of confidence.....	6%
Just some confidence.....	41
Little confidence.....	49
Don't know.....	3
No answer.....	1

14. Here are some groups that provide information about Third World countries. Using any number from 1 to 10, with 1 meaning "not at all reliable" and 10 meaning "totally reliable," please tell me how reliable you think each group is in providing information on the Third World.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Don't know/ no answer	Mean
(percentages)												
a. Members of the U.S. House of Representatives or the U.S. Senate.....	5	3	9	8	32	12	12	10	1	5	3	5.4
b. Ads and mailings from groups such as CARE and Save the Children.....	3	4	8	6	24	12	17	14	4	6	2	5.9
c. The national TV news programs (that is: ABC, CBS, and NBC networks).....	3	3	5	8	21	14	16	17	6	6	1	6.2
d. The Reagan Administration.....	11	7	9	7	21	11	12	13	4	4	1	5.2
e. The major national newspapers (such as the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Los Angeles Times)	4	2	4	7	20	13	14	19	7	4	6	6.2
f. The major weekly news magazines (like Time and Newsweek).....	3	2	2	4	15	14	18	22	9	7	4	6.7

15. As I read you the following statements, please tell me if you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with each of them:

	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly	Don't know	No answer
(percentages)						
a. Because we live in one of the richest countries in the world, Americans have a responsibility to help improve conditions in poorer countries.....	26	47	17	10	—	•
b. Aiding Third World countries can keep them from going communist.....	21	45	20	13	1	•
c. Helping poor countries will make the world safer.....	23	44	21	10	2	•
d. I feel bad that others have so little when we have so much....	40	33	17	9	1	•
e. Helping Third World countries is in our self-interest because as they develop, they will buy American products.....	19	36	29	14	1	1
f. Helping Third World countries become self-sufficient will cut down on the number of immigrants to the United States.....	25	36	25	12	2	•
g. My religion teaches me that I should do all I can to help people in need.....	61	26	7	4	2	•

16. Now I'm going to mention different ways organizations appeal to people to get them involved in helping people in the Third World. Please tell me if you would be very likely, somewhat likely, not very likely, or not at all likely to respond to such an appeal.

	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Not likely	Not at all likely	Don't know	No answer
(percentages)						
a. You get a letter seeking help from a national leader or celebrity you respect.....	5	30	34	29	2	•
b. You happen to see a TV program showing how volunteers have improved health, education, or other conditions in a poor country.....	13	48	24	14	1	—
c. Someone you know personally asks you to get involved.....	30	47	12	10	1	•
d. You see a newspaper or magazine ad that as "before and after" type pictures showing how an organization has been able to help improve conditions.....	7	34	33	25	1	—
e. You get a phone call from someone at an organization doing work in the Third World asking for your help.....	3	27	36	31	2	1
f. You get a personal visit from someone doing work in the Third World.....	14	37	27	20	2	•
g. Someone from a poor country tells you that such efforts by Americans have been very worthwhile.....	22	47	19	10	2	•
h. You are told you could work with other men and women who have the same interests.....	19	43	22	14	2	•

17. Have you made any donations of money in the last 12 months to any charitable organization that works overseas?

Yes, donated.....	48%
No.....	46
Don't know (skip to question 20).....	5
No answer.....	1

18. Which group or groups were they?

Church/religious organization.....	70%
CARE.....	14
American Red Cross.....	7
Africa relief/related to Africa.....	6
UNICEF/U.N.....	5
Relief for children.....	5
Rock aid overseas.....	4
United Way.....	4
Amnesty International.....	3
World Vision.....	3
Save the Children.....	2
Oxfam.....	2
Greenpeace.....	1
Other.....	17
Don't know/no answer.....	10

19. What was your total donation to all such groups in the last 12 months?

Under \$50.....	30%	Over \$1,000.....	4%
Over \$50/Under \$100.....	27	Refused to answer.....	2
Over \$100/Under \$500.....	21	Don't know.....	2
Over \$500/Under \$1,000.....	7	No answer.....	7

20. Can you tell me in a few words what you think are the main reasons a person like yourself would become involved in efforts to improve conditions in Third World countries?

Humanitarian concerns.....	32%
Responsibility/moral obligation/religious duty.....	16
Economic concerns.....	12
Political concerns.....	2
If I were involved/felt strong personal need/were personally affected.....	9
If I saw it first hand/saw evidence needs being met.....	13
Other personal concerns.....	3
Miscellaneous.....	7
Don't know/no answer.....	29

21. And can you tell me in a few words why a person like yourself might decide not to become involved in efforts to improve conditions for people in Third World countries?

Skepticism about aid/aid organizations.....	38%
Prefer to help people in U.S.....	20
Time constraints.....	27
Apathy/laziness.....	3
Lack of money.....	7
Miscellaneous.....	13
Don't know/no answer.....	19

22. Do you happen to be currently registered to vote at the address where you are now living?

Yes, registered.....	91%	Don't kno.w.....	—
No, not registered.....	6	No answer.....	1

23. Do you generally consider yourself to be a Democrat, a Republican, or an Independent?

Democrat.....	33%	Other.....	1
Republican.....	32	Don't know.....	1
Independent.....	32	No answer.....	1

24. I am going to read you a list of activities that some people take part in. As I mention each one, please tell me if you recall ever having volunteered or worked for it.

25. Now, regardless of whether or not you've worked for any of these, which have you ever donated money to?

26. Which, if any, have you worked for or given a donation to in the last 12 months?

	Q24: Ever worked for	Q25: Ever donated money	Q26: Past 12 months
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(percentages)

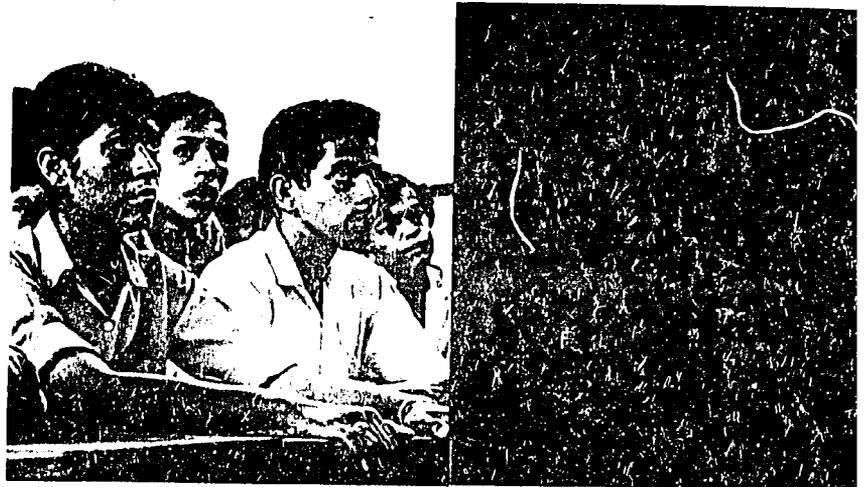
a. A political party or campaign for a local, state, or national candidate.....	52	50	35
b. A group working for women's rights.....	18	17	8
c. A group involved in civil rights.....	20	19	7
d. A group aiding people in poor countries in Asia, Africa, or Latin America.....	25	44	36
e. A group trying to stop production of nuclear weapons.....	8	8	6
f. A group against abortion.....	13	12	10
g. A group favoring legal abortion.....	9	9	5
h. A group helping the poor in the United States.....	49	56	48
i. An environmental organization.....	25	30	23
j. Any other activity.....	16	17	17

27. How much of your civic or public activities are connected with a church or synagogue? Would you say almost all, a large part, just some of them, very little, or none?

Almost all.....	9%	Very little.....	24%
A large part.....	21	None.....	21
Just some.....	25	Don't know/no answer.....	•

**Demographic Profile of Activist Population Respondents**  
(sample: 502)

<b>Sex</b>		<b>Registered voter</b>		<b>Region</b>	
Male	48%	Yes	91%	West	14%
Female	52	No	8	Northeast	25
<b>Age</b>		<b>Party Affiliation</b>		North Central	39
Under 35 years	28	(among registered voters)		South	22
35-54	42	Democratic	33	<b>Religion</b>	
55 or older	29	Republican	32	Protestant	62
<b>Occupation</b>		Independent	32	Catholic	26
Professional	31	Other	1	Jewish	3
White collar	19	Don't know/no answer	2	Other	3
Blue collar	22	<b>Education</b>		<b>Race</b>	
<b>Income</b>		High school or less	41	White	93
Under \$25,000	37	Some college/technical school	23	Black	6
\$25,000-\$40,000	33	College graduate or more	36	Other	1
\$40,000+	30				



In this comprehensive survey of American views on development and U.S.-Third World relations, InterAction and the Overseas Development Council probe an area of public opinion that has not been tested for over a decade. The following are a few of the important questions explored:

- Just how strong or weak is American support for U.S. aid to Third World countries?
- What motivates Americans to volunteer their time or money to help with poverty alleviation and development in the Third World?
- What do Americans know about and think of aid agencies and programs?
- What links do Americans perceive between Third World development and the state of the U.S. economy?
- What images do Americans have of the developing countries, of their governments, and of their people?
- What sources of information about development and the Third World do Americans trust?

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Copies of this report are available from both co-sponsoring organizations for \$8.95 (with enclosed check made out to InterAction/ODC Report): InterAction, 200 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10003, Tel. (212) 777-8210, or Overseas Development Council, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, Suite 501, Tel. (202) 234-8701.