

# BUSINESS AND POLITICS IN THE MUSLIM WORLD

## GLOBAL OPINION REPORT NO. 101

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## Prelude

This week report consists of twenty surveys from around the world. Four of these surveys are multi-country while the rest of sixteen are national surveys of their respective countries.

President Barak Obama started his second year in office with 50 per cent job approval ratings. Will he be able to improve or maintain his ratings or is he also going to be one of another unpopular president of United States? The second year start is quite important in the traditions of U.S. political system. President Obama's ratings are only better than President Reagan (the worst ratings recorded for any U.S. president since second world war starting second year in office) at the start of his second year in office. Barak Obama has somewhat maintained its popularity among Democrats with some decline in Independents along with a minimal support from Republicans. His support mainly remained high in men below 50 and generally in all women but especially under 50. Somehow similar were the statistics of his pool of support in the Presidential election.

Though 50 percent approval gives a lot of satisfaction but the 18 percentage point decline in popularity and a rise of 32 percentage points in disapproval is something alarming in one year. One may say it's a sharp decline. However keeping in view the crisis time with two unpopular wars accompanied by financial crisis and manifesto to bring change tells the story that President Obama actually is walking on a tight rope. Crucial decisions about healthcare bill and sending troops to Afghanistan got a mixed review from the public but the important thing remains the economic situation of the country. I say if the U.S. economy begin to improve and the Americans also begin to feel its positive impacts on their personal finances & job market then probably 2010 will bring good news for President Obama regarding his approval ratings. Americans may be concerned about war in Iraq & Afghanistan and terrorism but their actual concern is declining American economy. That is what the various surveys show that Americans want their government to pay more heed to their national issues and economy has remained their single most important issue almost through out the decade with the exception of earlier three years of this decade. Americans now are more concerned about their own bread and butter instead of establishing democracies abroad or attacking other nations on the basis of false information. We will see in this year how far President Obama remains successful in addressing the economic issues of his own nation. Can he make the Americans feel the economic conditions in their country are getting better? Can he make them believe it is a good time to find a quality job in U.S? Can he make the majority of Americans say they had enough money to pay their bills? This will be the real test for President Obama and for the U.S. itself.

## Summary of Polls

### **MIDDLE EAST**

#### Governing Likud Keeps Upper Hand in Israel

Israel's governing party remains the most popular group in the country, according to a poll by Shvakim Panorama released by Israel Radio. A prospective tally of seats shows that the Likud party would get 29 mandates in the next election to the Knesset, unchanged since July.

January 09, 2010

#### Israelis Wanted Livni to Join Government

Many adults in Israel would have welcomed a deal to invite Kadima leader Tzipi Livni into the cabinet, according to a poll by Shvakim Panorama released by Israel Radio. 45.9 per cent of respondents support the proposal put forth by Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu, while 29.5 per cent oppose it.

January 06, 2010

### **EAST ASIA**

#### Aquino's Son Could Be Next Filipino President

Benigno Aquino III, the son of former president Corazon Aquino, could win the race to become the next head of state of the Philippines, according to a poll by Social Weather Stations. 59 per cent of respondents think "Noynoy Aquino" should succeed the current president, down one point since September.

January 06, 2010

### **JAPAN & KOREA**

#### Hatoyama Drops Below 50% in Japan

Public support for the Japanese government dropped considerably last month, according to a poll by Kyodo News. 47.2 per cent of respondents approve of Yukio Hatoyama's cabinet, down 16.5 points since November.

January 07, 2010

### **AFRICA**

#### South Africans Condone Zuma's Performance

Most people in South Africa are satisfied with the leadership of Jacob Zuma, according to a poll by TNS Research Surveys. 58 per cent of respondents approve of their president's performance, up five points since September.

January 08, 2010

### **EAST EUROPE**

#### Yeltsin Right to Appoint Putin, Say Russians

Two-thirds of adults in Russia re satisfied with the last decision taken by former president Boris Yeltsin, according to a poll by the Russian Public Opinion Research Center. 66 per cent of respondents think Yeltsin was right in stepping down and appointing Vladimir Putin as his successor.

January 05, 2010

#### Few Russians Want a New Stalin in Charge

Few people in Russia would welcome a leader with the characteristics of former Soviet strongman Josef Stalin, according to a poll by the All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center. 58 per cent of respondents disagree with the notion that modern Russia needs someone like Stalin, up six points since 2005.

January 04, 2010

## **WEST EUROPE**

### **Turkish Cypriots Would Shun Unity in Referendum**

Most people in Turkish Cyprus would not endorse a plan to unify the island with Greek Cyprus, according to a poll by Redborder Research Company. 51.2 per cent of respondents would vote down a proposal resembling the so-called Annan plan, which a majority supported in a 2005 referendum.

January 08, 2010

## **NORTH AMERICA**

### **Americans Divided Over Health Care Reform**

People in the United States are split over the health care reform bill passed by the Senate last month, according to a poll by Angus Reid Public Opinion. 36 per cent of respondents support the legislation, while 39 per cent oppose it.

January 09, 2010

### **Democratic Support Dips Below Majority Level in 2009**

The year 2009 marked the end of a three-year run of majority Democratic support among U.S. adults. Last year, an average of 49.0% of Americans identified as Democrats or said they leaned Democratic, the party's first yearly average below 50% since 2005. Still, Democrats maintained an average eight-point advantage in support over Republicans last year, as 40.7% of Americans identified as Republicans or leaned Republican.

January 6, 2010

### **Obama Starts 2010 With 50% Approval**

President Barack Obama begins his second year as president with 50% of Americans approving and 44% disapproving of his overall job performance. This is well below the 68% approval rating Obama received in his first few days as president, and matches his average for all of December -- which included many days when public support for him fell slightly below that important symbolic threshold.

January 6, 2010

### **More Americans Went Uninsured in 2009 Than in 2008**

While President Obama works with House and Senate leaders to hammer out a final healthcare bill before the State of the Union address, the legislation's goal of expanding coverage to the uninsured will need to cover a larger pool of Americans who are without health insurance. According to the Gallup Healthways Well-Being Index, an average of 16.2% of American adults lacked health insurance coverage in 2009, up from 14.8% in 2008.

January 8, 2010

### **Stock Owners More Positive About Market in Coming Year**

Stock owners in the U.S. have become somewhat more optimistic about the stock market over the last 20 months. In December, 55% said it was a good idea to invest in the market -- a turnaround from April 2008, when 55% said it was a *bad* idea. A majority of stock owners also at this point believe that stocks will be higher a year from now.

January 4, 2010

### **Canadians Disagree With Prorogation of Parliament**

Many people in Canada believe their federal government was wrong to prorogue Parliament, according to a poll by Angus Reid Public Opinion published in the *Toronto Star*. 53 per cent of respondents share this view.

January 08, 2010

## **LATIN AMERICA**

### **Most Argentines Reject Same-Sex Marriage**

Many people in Argentina are against same-sex marriage, according to a poll by Poliarquía Consultores. 60 per cent of respondents disagree with allowing homosexual couples to get married.

January 05, 2010

## **AUSTRALASIA**

### **A Third of Australians Unhappy with Rudd in 2009**

About one third of people in Australia say the government led by Kevin Rudd underperformed in 2009, according to a poll by Essential Research. 31 per cent of respondents say the prime minister's administration did somewhat worse or much worse than expected last year.

January 07, 2010

## **MULTI-COUNTY POLL**

### **Three Countries OK with New Airport Scanners**

People in three countries would prefer to go through an airport scanner than to be patted-down by an officer before boarding a flight, according to a poll by Angus Reid Public Opinion. 78 per cent of respondents in the United States, 73 per cent of Britons and 67 per cent of Canadians feel this way.

January 08, 2010

### **Few People Expect Legally Binding Climate Deal**

People in three countries hold low expectations on the future of the Copenhagen Accord on climate change, according to a poll by Angus Reid Public Opinion. Only 19 per cent of respondents in the United States, 16 per cent in Britain and 12 per cent in Canada expect the document to become a legally binding treaty.

January 06, 2010

### **Majority of Yemenis See Benefit From Relations With West**

Gallup data reveal the average Yemeni sees greater interaction between the Muslim world and the West as a benefit and views the quality of this interaction as personally important. This is also true for most of the predominant Muslim countries.

January 08, 2010

### **Mixed Expectations For the New Decade by Adults in the Five Largest European Countries and the U.S**

Thinking ahead ten years, pluralities of adults 64 and under in the U.S. (43%) and Spain (41%) as well as 37% of Germans are optimistic about the new decade while 44% of French adults and 36% of Britons are pessimistic. Two in five Italians (41%) are neither optimistic nor pessimistic.

December 30, 2009

### **The Western Balkans –a suitable case for “Shock Integration”**

Support for EU accession has remained high in all countries of the region except Croatia. More than half of the people interviewed in the other countries thought that EU

membership would be a good thing. In Macedonia and Serbia, however, this share has declined over the past three years. Croats continued to see the EU critically – nearly 4 in 10 thought of EU membership as being neither good nor bad – and a relative majority (43%) would vote against accession in a referendum.

## **MIDDLE EAST**

### **Governing Likud Keeps Upper Hand in Israel**

January 09, 2010

Israel's governing party remains the most popular group in the country, according to a poll by Shvakim Panorama released by Israel Radio. A prospective tally of seats shows that the Likud party would get 29 mandates in the next election to the Knesset, unchanged since July.

The opposition Kadima is second with 22 seats, followed by Israel Our Home with 16, the International Organization of Torah-observant Sephardic Jews with nine, and Yahadut Hatorah with five. Support is lower for Vitality-Together, National Union, and Jewish Home. The Arab parties would get 12 seats in the Knesset.

In February 2009, Israeli voters renewed the Knesset. The Likud party, led by Netanyahu, secured 27 seats in the legislature. The far-right Israel Our Home, the Labour party, Shas, United Torah Judaism, and the Jewish Home joined Likud in a coalition. On Mar. 31, Netanyahu was sworn in as prime minister.

Netanyahu served as prime minister from June 1996 to July 1999, and resigned from Ariel Sharon's cabinet—where he held the finance portfolio—after opposing the "Disengagement Plan."

On Jan. 7, Labour leader and defence minister Ehud Barak discussed the Iron Dome missile defence system—which is being developed in order to intercept short-range rockets and artillery shells—saying, "It isn't enough to solve all the problems in the South. It is an illusion to think that the threats have ended, yet it can definitely be said that Iron Dome is an achievement of the Israeli defence ministry."

### **Polling Data**

Prospective results of a Knesset election

(Results presented in seats)

	<b>Dec. 2009</b>	<b>Jul. 2009</b>
Likud (Consolidation)	29	29
Kadima (Forward)	22	23
Israel Our Home (Yisrael Beiteinu)	16	16
International Organization of Torah-observant Sephardic Jews (Shas)	12	12
Labour	9	10
Yahadut Hatorah (United Torah Judaism)	6	6
Vitality-Together (Meretz-Yachad)	5	5
National Union (HaIhud HaLeumi)	5	4
Jewish Home (Habayit Hayehudi)	4	4
Arab parties	12	11

*Source: Shvakim Panorama / Israel Radio*

*Methodology: Interviews with 578 Israeli adults, conducted on Dec. 30 and Dec. 31, 2009. No margin of error was provided.*

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## **Israelis Wanted Livni to Join Government**

January 06, 2010

Many adults in Israel would have welcomed a deal to invite Kadima leader Tzipi Livni into the cabinet, according to a poll by Shvakim Panorama released by Israel Radio. 45.9 per cent of respondents support the proposal put forth by Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu, while 29.5 per cent oppose it.

In addition, 43.6 per cent of respondents believe Livni should have accepted the offer because of the security situation, while 28.9 per cent agree with her decision.

In February 2009, Israeli voters renewed the Knesset. The Likud party, led by Netanyahu, secured 27 seats in the legislature. The far-right Israel Our Home, the Labour party, the International Organization of Torah-observant Sephardic Jews (Shas), United Torah Judaism, and the Jewish Home joined Likud in a coalition. In March, Netanyahu was sworn in as prime minister.

Netanyahu served as prime minister from June 1996 to July 1999, and resigned from Ariel Sharon's cabinet—where he held the finance portfolio—after opposing the "Disengagement Plan."

The Kadima party secured one more seat than Likud in the election but Livni—the party leader—was unable to assemble a coalition with other Israeli political parties.

On Dec. 24, Netanyahu offered Livni to join the government, declaring, "The national and security-related challenges Israel is facing today are similar to the challenges we faced [in 1967]."

On Dec. 28, Kadima lawmaker Yohanan Plasner announced that the offer to join the government had been rejected, adding, "The prime minister's proposal as relayed to the Kadima chairman does not express an honest desire for [a real] partnership. A unity government has many advantages, but a national unity should not be an empty expression, but a commitment for a real partnership with a joint vision and principles and an agreed way to materialize these principles."

### **Polling Data**

Benjamin Netanyahu offered Tzipi Livni this week to join the government in light the of the security situation, in the framework that Menachem Begin joined the government in 1967. Do you support the proposal that Netanyahu gave Livni?

	<b>All</b>	<b>Likud voters</b>	<b>Kadima voters</b>
Support	45.9%	67.7%	37.1%
Oppose	29.5%	19.0%	53.1%
Other	24.7%	13.3%	9.8%

Should Livni have accepted Netanyahu's offer to join the government because of the security situation?

	<b>All</b>	<b>Likud voters</b>	<b>Kadima voters</b>
Yes	43.6%	71.4%	42.7%
No	28.9%	15.3%	53.9%
Other	27.4%	13.3%	3.4%

*Source: Shvakim Panorama / Israel Radio*

*Methodology: Interviews with 578 Israeli adults, conducted on Dec. 30 and Dec. 31, 2009. No margin of error was provided.*

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## **EAST ASIA**

### **Aquino's Son Could Be Next Filipino President**

January 06, 2010

Benigno Aquino III, the son of former president Corazon Aquino, could win the race to become the next head of state of the Philippines, according to a poll by Social Weather Stations. 59 per cent of respondents think "Noynoy Aquino" should succeed the current president, down one point since September.

Senator Manuel Villar is second with 45 per cent, followed by Nationalist People's Coalition (NPC) lawmaker Francis Escudero with 27 per cent, and former president Joseph Estrada with 18 per cent.

Support is lower for current secretary of national defence Gilberto Teodoro, senator Loren Legarda, Aquino's running mate Mar Roxas, current vice-president Noli de Castro, Makati city mayor Jejomar Binay, former police chief Panfilo Lacson of the Genuine Opposition (GO), religious and political leader Eddie Villanueva, and current secretary of the Metropolitan Manila Development Authority Bayani Fernando.

Gloria Macapagal Arroyo took over as president in January 2001, following Estrada's resignation. Arroyo won a six-year term in the June 2004 presidential election, garnering 39.99 per cent of all cast ballots. De Castro—running as Arroyo's running mate, but not as part of a single ticket—received 49.79 per cent of all cast ballots in the vice-presidential election, defeating Legarda.

In May 2007, voters in the Philippines renewed the House of Representatives and one-half of the Senate. Final results gave seven of the 12 upper house seats at stake to GO candidates, followed by the pro-government Team Unity (TU) with three, and two independents.

In 1986, Corazon Aquino—the widow of murdered opposition leader Benigno Aquino—took over as president when long-time dictator Ferdinand Marcos was forced to flee to Hawaii. Aquino accused Marcos of stealing a presidential election, and led a series of massive demonstrations that came to be known as "People Power" in order to topple the regime. Aquino ended her presidency on a high note and remained an extremely popular figure in the country, until her death in August 2009.

Aquino's death ignited a sudden interest in her son becoming a presidential candidate. A grass-roots movement urging Aquino III to run forced the senator to consider a bid, which has now become practically official. He will run as a candidate of the Liberal Party.

Yesterday, Central Bank governor Amando M. Tetangco Jr. said that a new 500-peso bill including a picture of Corazon and Benigno Aquino could be circulating soon. The P500 bill is part of a complete redesign of bills and coins in the country. Current president Arroyo and her

father and former head of state Diosdado Macapagal will also appear on the new notes. Tetangco declared: "We have looked at several designs. This will require presidential approval."

The next election is tentatively scheduled for June 2010. Arroyo is ineligible for a consecutive term in office.

### **Polling Data**

Who do you think should succeed Gloria Macapagal Arroyo as president in 2010? You may provide up to three answers.

	<b>Nov. 2009</b>	<b>Sept. 2009</b>	<b>Jun. 2009</b>
Benigno Aquino III	59%	60%	n.a.
Manny Villar	45%	37%	33%
Francis Escudero	27%	15%	20%
Joseph Estrada	18%	18%	25%
Gilberto Teodoro	8%	4%	1%
Loren Legarda	4%	5%	15%
Mar Roxas	3%	12%	20%
Noli de Castro	3%	8%	19%
Jejomar Binay	1%	2%	4%
Panfilo Lacson	1%	2%	7%
Eddie Villanueva	1%	1%	1%
Bayani Fernando	1%	1%	1%
Not sure / None	10%	10%	18%

*Source: Social Weather Stations*

*Methodology: Face-to-face interviews with 1,200 Filipino adults, conducted from Nov. 4 to Nov. 8, 2009. Margin of error is 2.5 per cent.*

## **JAPAN & KOREA**

### **Hatoyama Drops Below 50% in Japan**

January 07, 2010

Public support for the Japanese government dropped considerably last month, according to a poll by Kyodo News. 47.2 per cent of respondents approve of Yukio Hatoyama's cabinet, down 16.5 points since November.

In August 2009, Japanese voters renewed the House of Representatives. Final results gave the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) a victory with 308 of the 480 lower house seats at stake. Hatoyama, the DPJ leader, was sworn in as prime minister in September.

Aside from a brief period in the 1990s, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) had administered Japan's government for more than five decades.

Last month, Hatoyama was criticized after it was revealed that political donations registered under the names of several individuals actually came from his mother. The Japanese prime minister has acknowledged receiving a monthly contribution of about \$164,000 U.S. from his mother, but vowed to pay back taxes and penalties amounting to about \$6.5 million U.S.

Yesterday, Japanese finance minister Hirohisa Fujii tendered his resignation, citing poor health. Hatoyama appointed deputy prime minister Naoto Kan to replace Fujii, adding, "He submitted the medical test results and letter of resignation this afternoon, and since it was about his health concern, I could not help accepting his resignation."

### **Polling Data**

Do you approve or disapprove of Yukio Hatoyama's cabinet?

	<b>Dec. 2009</b>	<b>Nov. 2009</b>
Approve	47.2%	63.7%
Disapprove	38.1%	25.1%

*Source: Kyodo News*

*Methodology: Telephone interviews with 1,030 Japanese adults, conducted on Dec. 25 and Dec. 26, 2009. No margin of error was provided.*

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## **AFRICA**

### **South Africans Condone Zuma's Performance**

January 08, 2010

Most people in South Africa are satisfied with the leadership of Jacob Zuma, according to a poll by TNS Research Surveys. 58 per cent of respondents approve of their president's performance, up five points since September.

Thabo Mbeki replaced Nelson Mandela as South Africa's president after the 1999 general election, where the African National Congress (ANC) received 66.4 per cent of the vote. Mbeki led the ANC to a second majority government in April 2004.

In December 2007, Zuma defeated Mbeki in an internal leadership ballot and became the new leader of the ANC. In January 2008, Zuma was named as the ANC's presidential candidate.

The rivalry between Zuma and Mbeki brought the ANC to a major crisis. In September 2008, a High Court judge dismissed corruption charges that had been laid against Zuma and accused the Mbeki administration of influencing the prosecution of the accused. On Sept. 21, following the country's ruling favouring Zuma, Mbeki tendered his resignation as president.

In late September 2008, lawmakers elected ANC deputy leader Kgalema Motlanthe—a former labour leader and former member of the military wing of the party—to replace Mbeki as president. Motlanthe is a close Zuma ally.

In the April 2009 general election, the ANC won 65.90 per cent of the vote and 264 seats—15 less than in the 2005 ballot. Zuma was sworn in as South Africa's president in May 2009.

On Dec. 31, Zuma told South Africans that 2010 must be a significant year in the history of the country, as it prepares to host the World Cup of soccer, adding, "Together we must make 2010 the year in which we renew our commitment to national unity and nation building."

### **Polling Data**

Do you approve or disapprove of Jacob Zuma's performance as president?

	<b>Nov. 2009</b>	<b>Sept. 2009</b>	<b>Jun. 2009</b>
Approve	58%	53%	57%
Disapprove	23%	19%	13%

*Source: TNS Research Surveys*

*Methodology: Face-to-face interviews with 2,000 South African adults in seven major metropolitan areas, conducted in November 2009. Margin of error is 2.5 per cent.*

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## **EAST EUROPE**

### **Yeltsin Right to Appoint Putin, Say Russians**

January 05, 2010

Two-thirds of adults in Russia are satisfied with the last decision taken by former president Boris Yeltsin, according to a poll by the Russian Public Opinion Research Center. 66 per cent of respondents think Yeltsin was right in stepping down and appointing Vladimir Putin as his successor.

Yeltsin—who had become president of Russia in June 1991—acted as the Russian Federation's head of state until Dec. 31, 1999, when he abruptly stepped down, saying he had decided that "Russia must enter the new millennium with new politicians." His prime minister, Putin, replaced him as acting president.

In 1998, the government devalued the rouble and declared a moratorium on debt payments, causing a severe financial crisis. During his tenure, Yeltsin fired his entire cabinet on four occasions, and survived two impeachment drives.

Putin won the 2000 presidential elections with 52.94 per cent of all cast ballots. He was elected to a second term as president in March 2004 with 71.31 per cent of all cast ballots.

Russian voters renewed the State Duma in December 2007. United Russia (UR)—whose candidate list was headed by then president Putin—secured 64.1 per cent of the vote and 315 of the legislature's 450 seats. On that same month, Putin endorsed Dmitry Medvedev as a presidential candidate, and Medvedev said it would be of the "utmost importance" to have Putin as prime minister.

On Dec. 29, Putin discussed his views on ballistic missile defence, saying, "The problem is that our American partners are developing missile defences, and we are not. (...) But the issues of missile defence and offensive weapons are closely interconnected. There could be a danger that having created an umbrella against offensive strike systems, our partners may come to feel completely safe. After the balance is broken, they will do whatever they want and grow more aggressive."

### **Polling Data**

How do you assess Boris Yeltsin's decision to step down and appoint Vladimir Putin as his successor in 1999?

Right in every respect	66%
Right, but he should not have appointed a successor	16%
Right, but he should have appointed a different successor	7%
Wrong in every respect	2%
Hard to tell	10%

*Source: Russian Public Opinion Research Center*

*Methodology: Interviews with 1,600 Russian adults, conducted on Dec. 26 and Dec. 27, 2009.*

*Margin of error is 3.4 per cent.*

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## **Few Russians Want a New Stalin in Charge**

January 04, 2010

Few people in Russia would welcome a leader with the characteristics of former Soviet strongman Josef Stalin, according to a poll by the All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center. 58 per cent of respondents disagree with the notion that modern Russia needs someone like Stalin, up six points since 2005.

Stalin was the second leader of the Soviet Union, taking over after the death of Vladimir Lenin in 1924. Stalin was responsible for a series of repressive campaigns—known as the Great Purge—during the 1930s. During his tenure, Stalin eliminated all possible political opposition through executions and internal exile.

Following the victory of the allies in World War II, the Soviet Union was established as one of the world's superpowers. Stalin remained in control of the government and the Soviet Communist Party until his death in 1953. His successor, Nikita Khrushchev, officially denounced Stalin's personality cult and repression in 1956.

On Dec. 21, the 130th anniversary of Stalin's birth, Communist Party (KPRF) member Ivan Melnikov addressed the former Soviet leader's legacy, declaring, "We would like very much on this day for the discussion about any mistakes of the Stalin era to stop, so that people can reflect on the personality of Stalin as a creator, thinker and patriot."

### **Polling Data**

Some people think that modern Russia needs a leader like Stalin. Do you agree with that or not?

	<b>2009</b>	<b>2005</b>
Definitely agree	9%	19%

Rather agree	20%	23%
Rather not agree	26%	27%
Definitely disagree	32%	25%
Hard to tell	13%	7%

*Source: All-Russian Public Opinion Research Center*

*Methodology: Interviews with 1,600 Russian adults, conducted on Dec. 5 and Dec. 6, 2009.*

*Margin of error is 3.4 per cent.*

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## **WEST EUROPE**

### **Turkish Cypriots Would Shun Unity in Referendum**

January 08, 2010

Most people in Turkish Cyprus would not endorse a plan to unify the island with Greek Cyprus, according to a poll by Redborder Research Company. 51.2 per cent of respondents would vote down a proposal resembling the so-called Annan plan, which a majority supported in a 2005 referendum.

Relations between the Greek majority and the Turkish minority in Cyprus have been frayed since 1974, when a Greek-sponsored attempt to seize the government was met by military intervention from Turkey. In the skirmish, the Turks gained control of almost two-fifths of the island, which in 1983 declared itself the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The Turkish government has never acknowledged the Greek Cypriot administration. More than 30,000 Turkish soldiers occupy the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

In March 2004, United Nations (UN) secretary-general Kofi Annan presented a reunification proposal, which called for a federation of two states—one Greek and the other Turkish—with a loose central government. In an April 2005 island-wide referendum, 75.8 per cent of Greek Cypriot voters rejected Annan's proposal. Most Turkish Cypriots voted in favour of the plan.

Northern Cyprus held a presidential election in April 2005, which resulted in a victory for Republican Turkish Party (CTP) candidate Mehmet Ali Talat. In his acceptance speech, Talat declared: "I want to give my hand to the Greek Cypriot people and the Greek Cypriot leadership for peace, to find a solution to our problem and reunify our island."

The president in Northern Cyprus is regarded as the leader of the Turkish community in the island, and acts as chief negotiator in talks with the United Nations (UN) and other international organizations.

In February 2008, Dimitris Christofias—a member of the Progressive Party of the Working People (AKEL)—won a presidential run-off vote in Greek Cyprus with 53.37 per cent of the vote. One of Christofias' main campaign promises was to resume peace talks with Turkish Cyprus.

In March 2008, Christofias and Talat agreed to restart reunification talks.

On Jan. 5, Christofias confirmed that, starting Jan. 11, peace talks between north and south will intensify, saying, "A gap will be left between two three-day periods so that the two leaders will be able to assess their respective positions."

### **Polling Data**

How will you vote if the agreement which will be submitted to referendum is similar to Annan plan?

Yes 28.6%

No 51.2%

Not sure 20.2%

*Source: Redborder Research Company*

*Methodology: Face-to-face interviews with 500 Turkish Cypriot respondents, conducted from Dec. 13 to Dec. 20, 2009. No margin of error was provided.*

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## **NORTH AMERICA**

### **Americans Divided Over Health Care Reform**

January 09, 2010

People in the United States are split over the health care reform bill passed by the Senate last month, according to a poll by Angus Reid Public Opinion. 36 per cent of respondents support the legislation, while 39 per cent oppose it.

Health care in the U.S. is based on a system of benefits provided by employers, as well as the Medicare and Medicaid programs which allocate health insurance for the elderly, disabled and poor. Around 47 million Americans are uninsured.

In American presidential elections, candidates require 270 votes in the Electoral College to win the White House. In November 2008, Democratic nominee Barack Obama secured a majority of electoral votes, defeating Republican candidate John McCain. Obama became the first African



American president in U.S. history when he took over from George W. Bush—who served two four-year terms—in January 2009.

One of Obama’s main campaign pledges was to increase access to health care for all Americans.

On Nov. 7, lawmakers in the lower house of Congress approved a bill—known as the Affordable Health Care for America Act—in a 220-215 vote. On Dec. 24, the Senate passed its own version of the bill in a 60-39 vote. The differences between the two bills are expected to be reconciled by both houses this year.

Obama expressed satisfaction with the Senate outcome, declaring, "With passage of reform bills in both the House and the Senate, we are now finally poised to deliver on the promise of real meaningful health insurance reform that will bring additional security and stability to the American people."

Senate minority leader John Boehner criticized the proposed legislation, declaring, "The bill increases premiums for families and small businesses, raises taxes during a recession, cuts seniors’ Medicare benefits, adds to our skyrocketing debt, and puts bureaucrats in charge of decisions that should be made by patients and doctors."

### **Polling Data**

As you may know, the Senate passed a health care bill last month. From what you have seen, read or heard, do you support or oppose this bill?

	<b>Jan. 2010</b>	<b>Nov. 2009 (*)</b>
Support	36%	41%
Oppose	39%	39%
Not sure	25%	20%

*(\*) As you may know, the House of Representatives passed a health care bill last week. From what you have seen, read or heard, do you support or oppose this bill?*

*Source: Angus Reid Public Opinion*

*Methodology: Online interviews with 1,001 American adults, conducted from Jan. 5 to Jan. 6, 2010. Margin of error is 3.1 per cent.*

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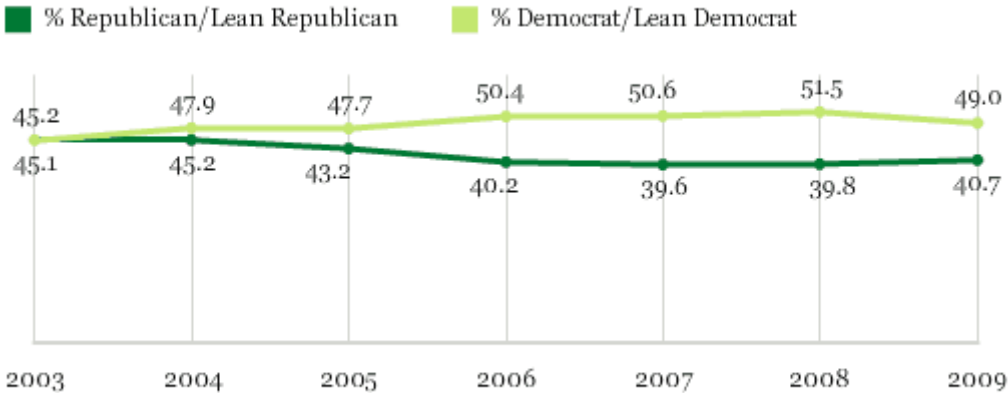
### **Democratic Support Dips Below Majority Level in 2009**

*Had been above 50% in last three years*

January 6, 2010

The year 2009 marked the end of a three-year run of majority Democratic support among U.S. adults. Last year, an average of 49.0% of Americans identified as Democrats or said they leaned Democratic, the party's first yearly average below 50% since 2005. Still, Democrats maintained an average eight-point advantage in support over Republicans last year, as 40.7% of Americans identified as Republicans or leaned Republican.

*Yearly Gallup Averages, Party Identification (Including Leaners), 2003-2009*



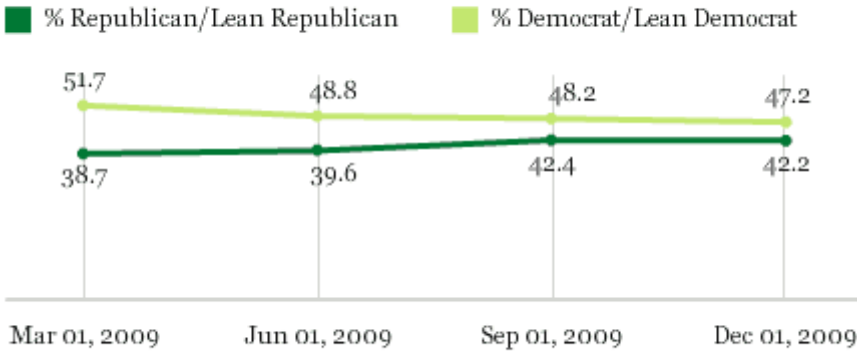
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The 2009 results are based on aggregated data from all Gallup and *USA Today*/Gallup polls conducted last year, encompassing interviews with more than 21,000 Americans. In each poll, Gallup asks Americans whether they consider themselves Republicans, Democrats, or independents. Independents are subsequently asked if they lean to the Republican or Democratic Party.

"The increase in overall GOP support is owing to an increase in the percentage of Republican-leaning independents, from 11% in the first quarter to 15% in the third and fourth quarters."

The 2009 yearly averages do not tell the whole story of changes in party support last year, as they to some degree obscure the sharp decline in the Democrats' advantage over the course of the year. In the first quarter of 2009, coincident with the beginning of the Obama administration, Democrats enjoyed one of the largest advantages for either party since 1991, 13 percentage points (51.7% of Americans identified as Democrats or leaned Democratic, versus 38.7% who identified as or leaned Republican). In each subsequent quarter, the percentage of Democratic supporters declined, and by the fourth quarter, the Democratic advantage had shrunk to 5 points (47.2% to 42.2%).

*Quarterly Gallup Averages, Party Identification  
(Including Leaners), 2009*



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The five-point party gap in the fourth quarter of 2009 represents the smallest Democratic advantage since the second quarter of 2005. Thus, the gains the Democratic Party made in public support during the last several years of the George W. Bush administration have disappeared.

Gallup's Daily tracking data showed similar trends in 2009.

Though total Republican support did increase last year, this came mostly from what can be considered "soft support." The increase in overall GOP support is owing to an increase in the percentage of Republican-leaning independents, from 11% in the first quarter to 15% in the third and fourth quarters. The percentage of Americans with a stronger attachment to the GOP -- those who initially identify themselves as Republicans -- was stable and, if anything, showed a slight decline over the course of the year. Also, there was a two-point drop in the percentage of Democratic identifiers and a two-point drop in the percentage of Democratic-leaning independents.

*Party Identification and Leaning, by Quarter, 2009*

	% Republican identifier	% Republican- leaning independent	% Independent, no leaning	% Democratic- leaning independent	% Democratic identifier
2009-I	27.7	11.0	7.6	16.4	35.3
2009-II	27.6	12.0	10.0	14.8	34.0
2009-III	27.4	15.0	8.0	13.6	34.6
2009-IV	27.0	15.2	8.4	14.2	33.0

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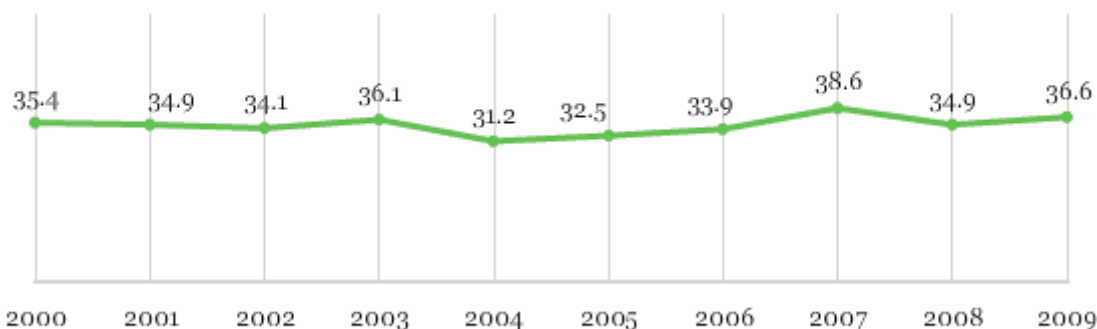
**Rise in Independence in 2009**

One other notable development in the 2009 party identification data is an increase in the percentage of Americans identifying themselves initially as political independents (regardless of whether they subsequently said they leaned to either party). The 36.6% of Americans who identified themselves as independents in 2009 was up from 34.9% in 2008.

It is not unusual for the percentage of independents to increase in a non-election year. But the 2009 average did mark the second-highest percentage of Americans calling themselves independents in the just-completed decade, eclipsed only by the 38.6% average of 2007.

*Yearly Average Percentage of Americans Identifying as Independents, 2000-2009*

■ % Independents



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Longer term, however, the 2000s showed a decline in political independence compared to the 1990s, with an average of 36.8% of Americans identifying as political independents from 1990-1999, compared with 34.8% from 2000-2009. Meanwhile, the proportion of Americans identifying as Republicans was a point higher in the 2000s (30.9%) than in the 1990s (29.9%), while Democratic support was steady at 33.3% in both decades.

Gallup did not begin regularly measuring leaned party identification until 1991. But the average percentage of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents was similar in the 1990s (42.5%) and the 2000s (42.6%), as was the percentage of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents (47.6% from 1991 to 1999, and 47.9% from 2000 to 2009).

These decade-long averages suggest much long-term stability in party preferences, even though these preferences can move in the short term.

### Survey Methods

Results are based on aggregated data from Gallup polls conducted in 2009, each based on telephone interviews with 1,000 or more national adults, aged 18 and older. For results based on the total sample of 21,905 national adults, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of sampling error is  $\pm 1$  percentage point.

Interviews are conducted with respondents on land-line telephones (for respondents with a land-line telephone) and cellular phones (for respondents who are cell-phone only).

In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of public opinion polls.

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## Obama Starts 2010 With 50% Approval

*More than 8 in 10 Democrats but less than half of independents approve*

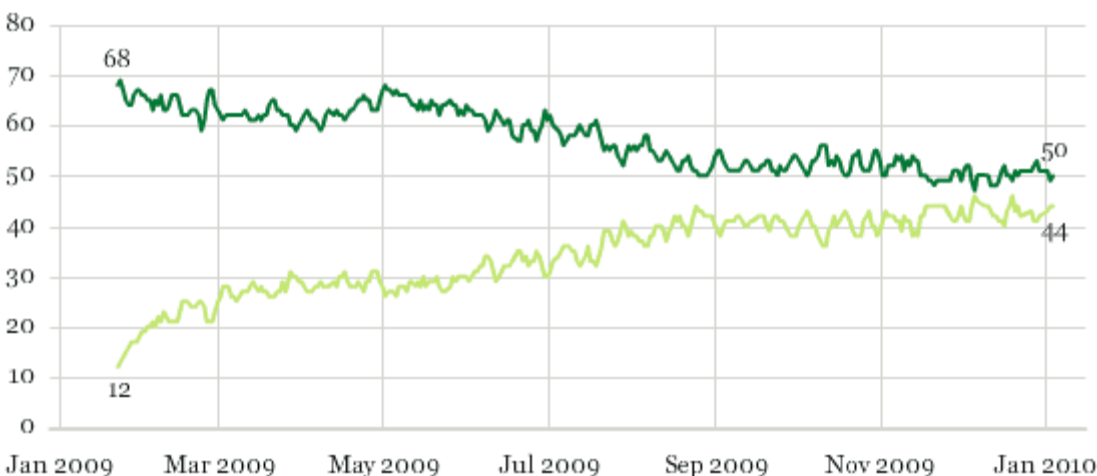
January 6, 2010

President Barack Obama begins his second year as president with 50% of Americans approving and 44% disapproving of his overall job performance. This is well below the 68% approval rating Obama received in his first few days as president, and matches his average for all of December -- which included many days when public support for him fell slightly below that important symbolic threshold.

### *Barack Obama Overall Job Approval Rating*

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as president?

■ % Approve    ■ % Disapprove



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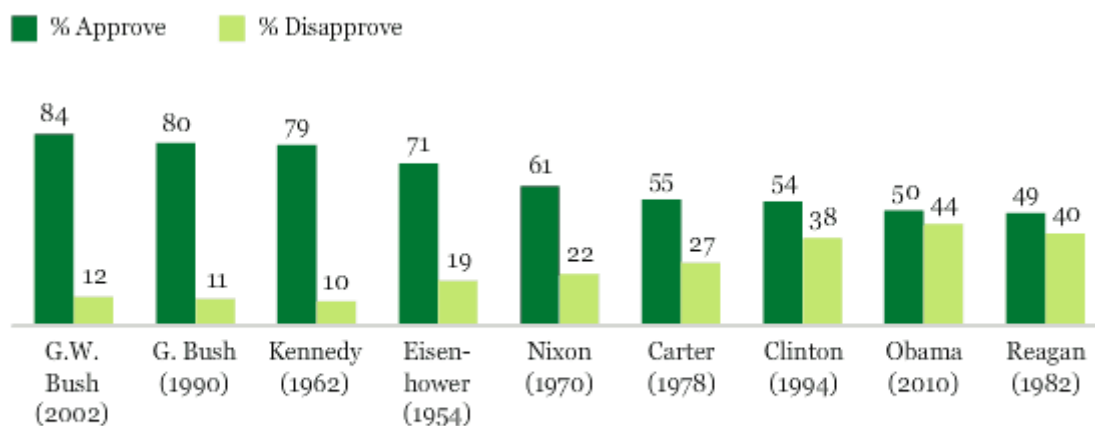
The latest job approval score is based on Gallup Daily tracking from Jan. 2-4, 2010 -- the first Gallup Daily survey conducted entirely within the new year.

"Obama enjoys 84% approval from Democrats, but closer to 50% approval from independents (currently 47%) and minimal support from Republicans (14%)."

President Obama has been walking the public opinion tightrope represented by the 50% job approval line since about mid-November, with his rating wavering between 47% and 53%. However, even when 47% of Americans approved of Obama's overall job performance (in early December), slightly fewer Americans (46%) disapproved. Obama has yet to see his job approval rating descend to the point that more Americans disapprove than approve.

Still, Obama's initial approval rating in his second year as president is among the lowest for elected presidents since Dwight Eisenhower. Only Ronald Reagan -- who, like Obama, took office during challenging economic times -- began his second year in office with a lower approval score (49%). However, Obama's disapproval rating is slightly higher than Reagan's was (44% vs. 40%).

*Job Approval at Start of Second Year in Office -- Elected Presidents Since 1952*



Dates selected reflect first polls for each year shown (all from early January)

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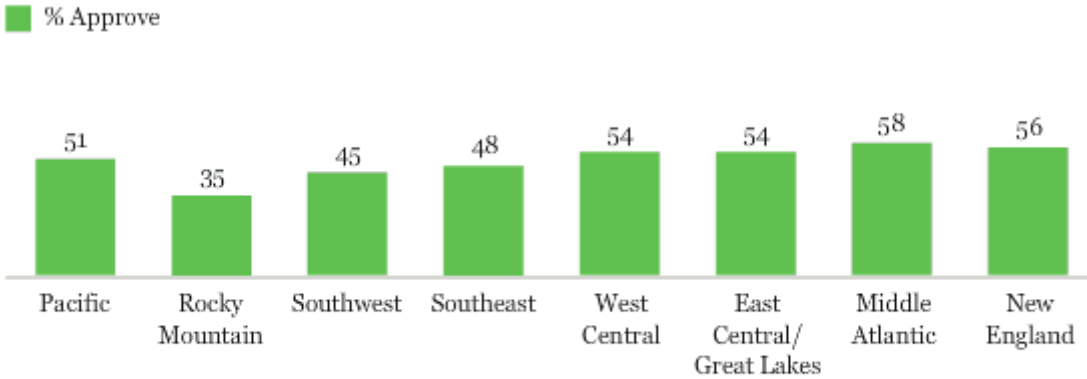
The 50% approval threshold is important because no sitting president whose average approval rating fell below this level in the year he ran for re-election succeeded in winning a second term. However, it may not have much significance relative to re-election at the beginning of year two, as the two presidents (other than Obama) with the lowest approval ratings at this stage of their White House careers were both re-elected, and one of those with the highest approval ratings (George H.W. Bush) was not.

### Generation and Gender Gaps

According to the Jan. 2-4 data, views of Obama among various population subgroups are similar to where they have stood in recent weeks. Obama enjoys 84% approval from Democrats, but closer to 50% approval from independents (currently 47%) and minimal support from Republicans (14%). A majority of nonwhites nationwide (76%) approve of the job he is doing, compared with fewer than half of whites (41%). Regionally, support for Obama ranges from a

high of 58% in the Middle Atlantic states along the East Coast, down to 35% in the Rocky Mountain states.

*Barack Obama Job Approval Rating, by Region*

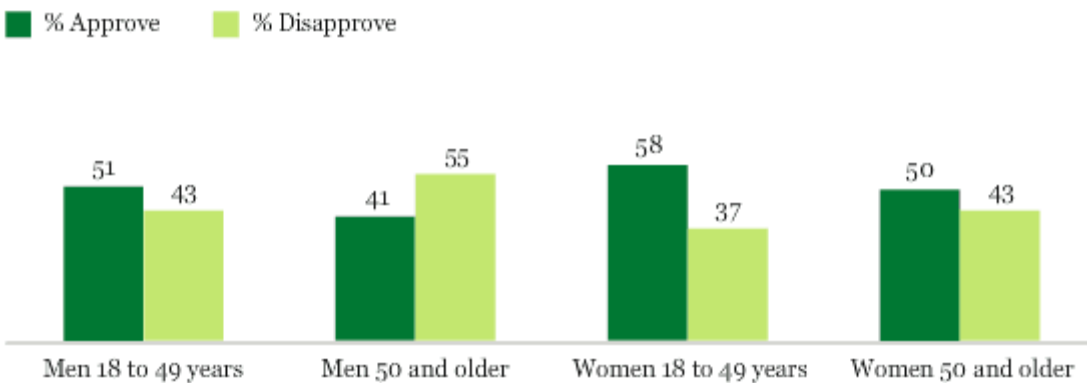


Gallup Daily tracking, Jan. 2-4, 2010

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Women overall are slightly more positive about Obama's job performance than are men (54% vs. 47%), and adults under the age of 50 are more approving than those 50 and older. As a result, Gallup finds a stark difference in approval of the president between younger women and older men, with a solid majority of the former approving (58%), and a majority of the latter (55%) disapproving. By contrast, younger men and older women have generally similar views about the president.

*Barack Obama Job Approval Rating, by Gender/Age*



Gallup Daily tracking, Jan. 2-4, 2010

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**Bottom Line**

The New Year's tradition of resolving to make a fresh start in areas of deficiency doesn't readily apply to public opinion of presidents. For President Obama, that means his position with the American public in 2010 starts about where it left off in 2009, which is to say hovering precariously around 50% approval.

The meaning of the 50% threshold is somewhat relative. A 50% job approval rating would have been cause for major celebration by George W. Bush for much of his second term. But given the speed at which Obama descended to this level in his first year, today it is more of a warning light that this initially muscular administration remains on the threshold of losing majority support. At the same time, 50% is symbolically superior to 49%, and perhaps offers some encouragement to Obama's supporters that 2010 will bring some improvement in how Americans perceive the president.

### **Survey Methods**

Results are based on telephone interviews with 3,032 national adults, aged 18 and older, conducted Jan. 2-4, 2010, as part of Gallup Daily tracking. For results based on the total sample of national adults, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of sampling error is  $\pm 2$  percentage points.

Interviews are conducted with respondents on land-line telephones and cellular phones.

In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of public opinion polls.

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### **More Americans Went Uninsured in 2009 Than in 2008**

*Increase in number without health insurance spans across demographic groups*

January 8, 2010

While President Obama works with House and Senate leaders to hammer out a final healthcare bill before the State of the Union address, the legislation's goal of expanding coverage to the uninsured will need to cover a larger pool of Americans who are without health insurance. According to the Gallup Healthways Well-Being Index, an average of 16.2% of American adults lacked health insurance coverage in 2009, up from 14.8% in 2008.



*Do you have health insurance coverage?*

*Monthly averages, January 2008-December 2009*

Among adults aged 18 and older



Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index

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The number of uninsured was generally below 15% in 2008 until it began to increase in November of that year, coincident with the worst of the economic crisis. With some month-to-month fluctuations, the number of uninsured Americans has remained elevated since that time. Gallup and Healthways ask at least 1,000 Americans, aged 18 and older, each day if they have health insurance coverage. Each monthly average encompasses approximately 30,000 interviews. The yearly averages from 2008 and 2009 consist of approximately 350,000 interviews each.

**Demographics of the Uninsured**

Hispanics continue to be among the most likely demographic segment of the adult population to be uninsured, with 39.9% reporting in 2009 that they are without healthcare coverage, up from 37.0% in 2008, and more than double the current national average. Along with Hispanics, Americans aged 18 to 29 (28.4%) and those with yearly incomes of less than \$36,000 (29.3%) rank among the segments of the population most likely to be uninsured, as they did in 2008. However, in 2009, the proportion of low-income Americans who are uninsured exceeded the proportion of those aged 18 to 29 who lack health insurance after both groups were equally likely to be uninsured in 2008.

### *Percentage Uninsured Among Various Demographic Groups*

Among adults aged 18 and older

% No

	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>Change</b>
Hispanics	37.0	39.9	2.9
Aged 18-29	26.4	28.4	2.0
Less than \$36,000	26.4	29.3	2.9
South	17.9	20	2.1
Aged 30-44	17.7	20.3	2.6
Non-Hispanic blacks	17.6	20.5	2.9
West	17.1	18.4	1.3
Men	16.3	18.1	1.8
NATIONAL ADULTS	14.8	16.2	1.4
Women	13.4	14.5	1.1
Midwest	12.9	13.9	1.0
Aged 45-64	12.7	14.7	2.0
Non-Hispanic whites	10.9	11.9	1.0
East	9.9	10.8	0.9
\$36,000-\$89,999	8.8	9.3	0.5
\$90,000+	4.8	4.5	-0.3
Aged 65+	3.3	3.3	0.0

Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index

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Groups who are among the most likely to be uninsured also, for the most part, experienced the largest increases in percentage uninsured in 2009 compared with 2008. From 2008 to 2009, the percentage of uninsured low-income Americans, Hispanics, and blacks increased by 2.9 percentage points. Americans aged 65 and older and those with yearly incomes of \$36,000 or greater experienced essentially no change in the percentage of uninsured in 2009 compared with 2008. There was a slight decrease in the already low percentage of those without health insurance among those with \$90,000+ household incomes.

#### **Bottom Line**

Despite marginal fluctuation from month to month, the percentage of uninsured in the United States clearly rose in 2009 from 2008 levels. Given the large sample sizes from both years, the change of 1.4 points is significant. While Hispanics continued to be among the most likely to be uninsured in 2009, they, along with almost every other demographic group, saw an upswing in the percentage of those without health coverage last year compared with 2008. The elderly and those with higher incomes were the two groups immune to significant year-over-year increases.

Learn more about the Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index.

### **Survey Methods**

For the Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index, Gallup is interviewing no fewer than 1,000 U.S. adults nationwide each day. All monthly samples are near 30,000 per month. For monthly results based on the total sample of national adults, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of sampling error is  $\pm 0.6$  percentage point.

Over 350,000 surveys were completed in each calendar year, yielding percentages with maximum expected error range of  $\pm 0.2\%$ .

Interviews are conducted with respondents on landline telephones and cellular phones.

In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of public opinion polls.

### **About the Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index™**

The Gallup-Healthways Well-Being Index measures the daily pulse of U.S. well-being and provides best-in-class solutions for a healthier world. To learn more, please visit [well-beingindex.com](http://well-beingindex.com).

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### **Stock Owners More Positive About Market in Coming Year**

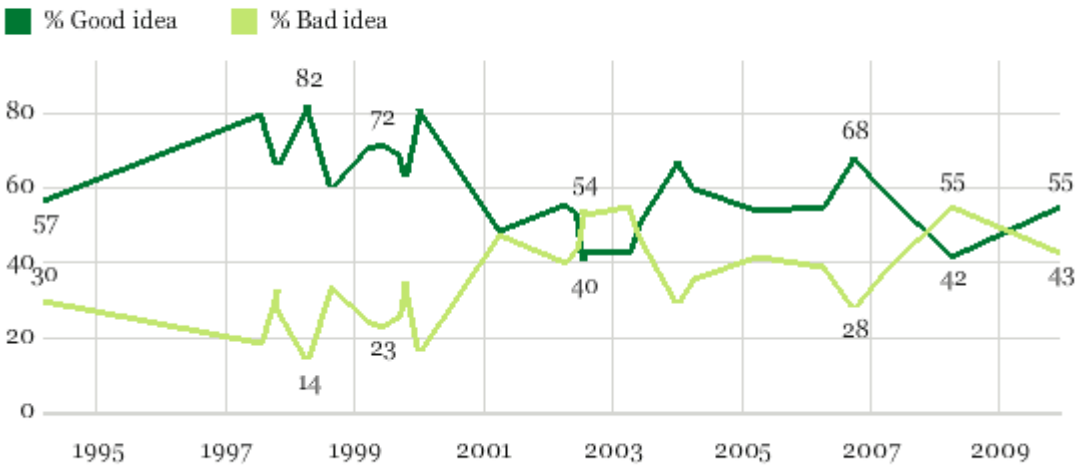
*Majority of Americans say stocks will be higher a year from now*

January 4, 2010

Stock owners in the U.S. have become somewhat more optimistic about the stock market over the last 20 months. In December, 55% said it was a good idea to invest in the market -- a turnaround from April 2008, when 55% said it was a *bad* idea. A majority of stock owners also at this point believe that stocks will be higher a year from now.

*If you had a thousand dollars to spend, do you think investing it in the stock market would be a good or bad idea?*

Among stock owners



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"Americans who do not own stock (37% of the adult population in December) are consistently more pessimistic about investing in the market than are those who do own stock."

Gallup has measured stock owners' views of the market periodically over the last 15 years. This time period has encompassed a great deal of change, if not turmoil: the dot-com boom in the late 1990s, the drop in the market that followed, the uptick in the market in the mid-2000s, the stock crash of late 2008 and early 2009, and the recovery in more recent months.

Stock owners' views of the wisdom of investing in the market have generally followed the market's pattern.

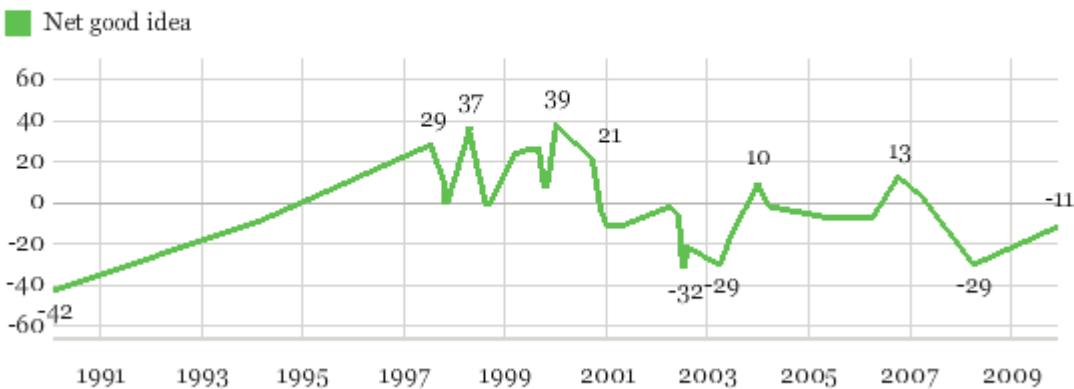
- Stock owners were strongly positive about investing in the market in the late 1990s, with the net "good idea" minus "bad idea" percentage reaching a peak of +68 points in April 1998.
- Owners' views of the market dropped into net negative territory at several points in 2002 and 2003.
- Investors became more positive about the market in Gallup measures in 2004 through 2007.
- In April 2008, stock owners apparently saw the writing on the wall, and there was a concurrent change in views, with more saying it was a bad idea than said it was a good idea to invest in stocks.
- In the current data, based on a Dec. 11-13 *USA Today*/Gallup poll, stock owners have recovered some optimism. The current +12 net value on investment sentiment is not as high as it was at points in the 2004 to 2007 time frame, and not nearly as high as in the boom years of the 1990s, but is certainly higher than the -13 in April 2008.

## Investing Views Among All Americans

Americans who do not own stock (37% of the adult population in December) are consistently more pessimistic about investing in the market than are those who do own stock. Hence, the trend line representing views on whether it is a good idea or a bad idea to invest in the market among all Americans -- including both stock owners and those who do not own stock -- is much less positive than the trend line among stock owners alone.

*Net "Good Idea" to Invest in the Stock Market  
("Good idea" minus "bad idea," in percentage points)*

Among all Americans



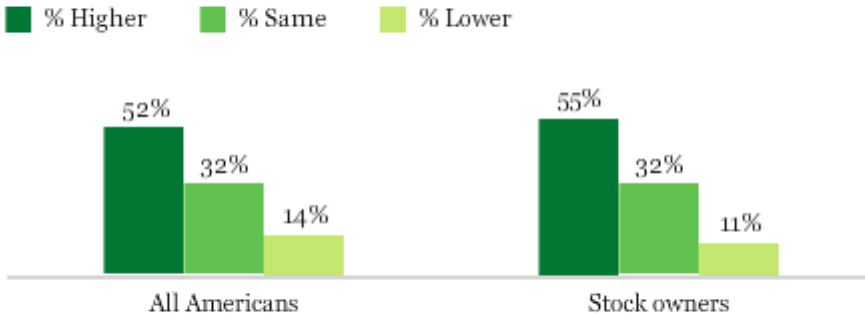
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Nevertheless, the general trend among all Americans follows the track of stock owners, with generally net positive readings in the late 1990s, a drop into negative territory in the early 2000s, a recovery from 2004 to 2007, the drop-off in investment sentiment in 2008, and a recovery in late 2009. At this point, the sentiments about the stock market among all Americans remain in negative territory, with 43% saying it is a good idea to invest in the market and 54% saying it is not.

## Direction of the Market

A majority of Americans -- and a majority of stock owners specifically -- believe the market will be higher a year from now than it is now.

*Thinking ahead to a year from now, do you think the stock market will be [ROTATED: much higher, somewhat higher, about the same, somewhat lower, (or) much lower] than it is today?*



USA Today/Gallup, Dec. 11-13, 2009

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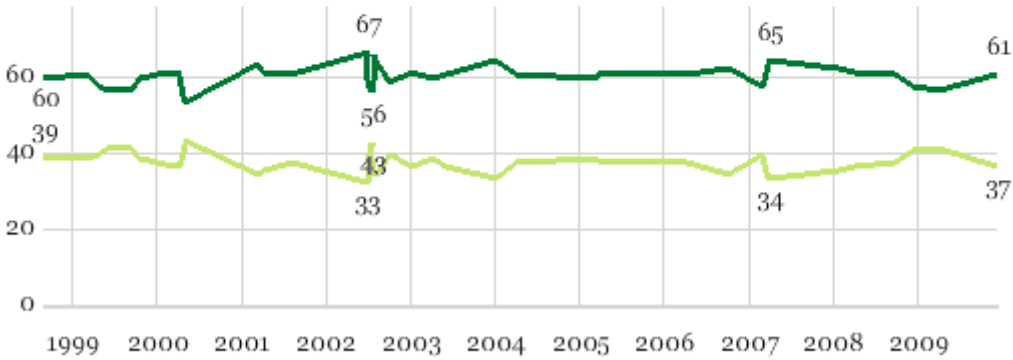
Relatively few Americans or stock owners believe the market will be lower a year from now. About a third of each group says the market will be roughly the same a year from now as it is now.

### **Stock Ownership Remains Steady**

The percentage of all adults who report having money invested in the market has remained fairly constant throughout the market turmoil of the last several years. The poll finds that 61% of Americans are currently invested in the stock market. Interestingly, this percentage is exactly the same as it was nearly 11 years ago, in early 1999 -- at the tail end of the dot-com boom.

*Do you, personally, or jointly with a spouse, have any money invested in the stock market right now -- either in an individual stock, a stock mutual fund, or in a self-directed 401(k) or IRA?*

■ % Yes    ■ % No



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### Survey Methods

Results are based on telephone interviews with 1,025 national adults, aged 18 and older, conducted Dec. 11-13, 2009. For results based on the total sample of national adults, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of sampling error is  $\pm 4$  percentage points.

For results based on the 690 stock owners, the maximum margin of sampling error is  $\pm 5$  percentage points.

Interviews are conducted with respondents on land-line telephones (for respondents with a land-line telephone) and cellular phones (for respondents who are cell-phone only).

In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of public opinion polls.

### Canadians Disagree With Prorogation of Parliament

January 08, 2010

Many people in Canada believe their federal government was wrong to prorogue Parliament, according to a poll by Angus Reid Public Opinion published in the *Toronto Star*. 53 per cent of respondents share this view.

Canadians renewed the House of Commons in October 2008. The Conservative party—led by Stephen Harper—received 37.6 per cent of the vote, and secured 143 seats in the 308-member lower house. Harper assembled a minority administration. The Tories also earned a minority

mandate after the 2006 election, ending more than 12 years of government by the Liberal party. In December, Michael Ignatieff took over as Liberal leader, replacing Stéphane Dion.

On Dec. 30, government spokesman Dimitri Soudas announced that the legislative branch would suspend its activities until March 2010, adding, "This is quite routine but it is also important to give Canadians an overview of where we will be taking the country over the next little while."

On Jan. 6, Harper explained his views on prorogation, saying, "As Prime Minister, I think my sessions of Parliament have been a year or slightly over a year, so this is fairly standard procedure. And I don't think it makes sense for a session of Parliament to go on and on without the government periodically re-examining its overall agenda."

On Jan. 7, New Democratic Party (NDP) deputy leader Libby Davies criticized Harper, declaring, "Canadians want their MPs to be in the House to deal with the important issues facing them and their families. Hundreds of thousands of Canadians are still out of work, they are trying to recover from this recession wondering how or when they are going to find a job."

The next election to the House of Commons is tentatively scheduled for Oct. 15, 2012. Sitting prime ministers can dissolve Parliament and call an early ballot at their discretion. In order to trigger an election, all three opposition parties in the House of Commons—Liberals, NDP and Bloc Québécois—would have to defeat the government in a no-confidence motion.

### **Polling Data**

Do you agree or disagree with the decision to prorogue Parliament?

Agree 19%

Disagree 53%

Not sure 28%

*Source: Angus Reid Public Opinion*

*Methodology: Online interviews with 1,019 Canadian adults, conducted from Jan. 5 to Jan. 6, 2010. Margin of error is 3.1 per cent.*

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### **Most Argentines Reject Same-Sex Marriage**

January 05, 2010

Many people in Argentina are against same-sex marriage, according to a poll by Poliarquía Consultores. 60 per cent of respondents disagree with allowing homosexual couples to get married.



In Argentina, the cities of Buenos Aires, Villa Carlos Paz and Río Cuarto—along with the province of Río Negro—allow heterosexual and homosexual couples to enter into civil unions.

In November 2009, a Buenos Aires court approved the marriage of a same-sex couple, claiming that two articles in the Civil Code were unconstitutional. In late December, the couple wed in Tierra del Fuego, with the consent of provincial governor Fabiana Ríos.

Catholic bishop Juan Carlos Romanin of the southern city of Rio Gallegos expressed dismay at the marriage, declaring, "The decision took me by surprise and I'm concerned. (...) [It is] an attack against the survival of the human species."

Same-sex marriage is currently legal in the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Canada, South Africa, Norway and Sweden. At least 20 countries offer some form of legal recognition to same-sex unions.

### **Polling Data**

Do you agree or disagree with allowing homosexual couples to get married?

Agree 35%

Disagree 60%

Not sure 5%

*Source: Poliarquía Consultores*

*Methodology: Interviews with 1,000 Argentine adults, conducted in December 2009. Margin of error is 3.3 per cent.*

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## **AUSTRALASIA**

### **A Third of Australians Unhappy with Rudd in 2009**

January 07, 2010

About one third of people in Australia say the government led by Kevin Rudd underperformed in 2009, according to a poll by Essential Research. 31 per cent of respondents say the prime minister's administration did somewhat worse or much worse than expected last year.

Conversely, 24 per cent of respondents say the performance of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) government exceeded their expectations in 2009, and 36 per cent say its actions were in line with what they anticipated.

Australia held a federal election in November 2007. Final results gave the ALP 85 seats in the 150-member House of Representatives. ALP leader Rudd was officially sworn in as prime

minister in December, bringing an end to the 11-year tenure of Liberal leader John Howard as head of Australia's government.

Howard failed to retain his seat in the Bennelong constituency and stepped down as Liberal leader. Since their electoral defeat in 2007, the Liberals have had three different leaders: former defence minister Brendan Nelson, former environment minister Malcolm Turnbull, and former health minister Abbott, who defeated Turnbull in an internal leadership ballot by just one vote on Dec. 1.

On Jan. 1, Rudd reflected on his actions in 2009 regarding the global financial crisis, saying, "The government took early and decisive action to cushion Australia from the worst impacts of this global meltdown. Across the nation, the building of infrastructure projects that will continue to support jobs and small businesses, are taking shape."

### **Polling Data**

Thinking about the performance of the Rudd Labor Government over 2009, has it been...

	<b>2009</b>	<b>2008</b>
Much better than expected	7%	10%
Somewhat better than expected	17%	22%
About what expected	36%	42%
Somewhat worse than expected	22%	13%
Much worse than expected	9%	6%
No opinion	8%	7%

*Source: Essential Research*

*Methodology: Online interviews with 1,033 Australian adults, conducted from Dec. 14 to Dec. 20, 2009. No margin of error was provided.*

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## MULTI-COUNTRY POLLS

### Three Countries OK with New Airport Scanners

January 08, 2010

People in three countries would prefer to go through an airport scanner than to be patted-down by an officer before boarding a flight, according to a poll by Angus Reid Public Opinion. 78 per cent of respondents in the United States, 73 per cent of Britons and 67 per cent of Canadians feel this way.

On Dec. 25, Nigerian national Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab tried to detonate explosives hidden in his underwear during a flight from Amsterdam to Detroit. Abdulmutallab has been charged with attempting to blow up an aircraft, placing a destructive device on an aircraft, attempted use of a weapon of mass destruction, and attempted murder of 289 people.

The airport scanners that produce a three-dimensional outline of passenger's body have been tested at 19 airports in the United States, and the Kelowna airport in Canada.

On Jan. 3, British prime minister Gordon Brown ordered the introduction of full-body airport scanners in the United Kingdom, adding, "We've acted very quickly. (...) We've recognized that there are new forms of weapon that are being used by al-Qaeda, so we've got to respond accordingly. We will do everything in our power to tighten up on the security that is essential."

#### Polling Data

Which of these methods would you prefer if you had to go through security at an airport tomorrow?

	CAN	BRI	USA
The airport scanner that produces a three-dimensional outline of your body	67%	73%	78%
The pat-down method, with an officer running his or her hands along your outer garments to detect any concealed items	18%	17%	12%
Not sure	15%	10%	10%

*Source: Angus Reid Public Opinion*

*Methodology: Online interviews with 1,001 American adults, 1,019 Canadian adults, and 2,005 British adults, conducted from Jan. 5 to Jan. 6, 2010. Margins of error range from 2.2 per cent to 3.1 per cent.*

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## Few People Expect Legally Binding Climate Deal

January 06, 2010

People in three countries hold low expectations on the future of the Copenhagen Accord on climate change, according to a poll by Angus Reid Public Opinion. Only 19 per cent of respondents in the United States, 16 per cent in Britain and 12 per cent in Canada expect the document to become a legally binding treaty.

The term global warming refers to an increase of the Earth's average temperature. Some theories say that climate change might be the result of human-generated carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases. In 2007, the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) released a report which states that global warming has been "very likely"—or 90 per cent certain—caused by humans burning fossil fuels.

In 1998, several countries agreed to the Kyoto Protocol, a proposed amendment to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The agreement commits nations to reduce their emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases.

The Copenhagen Climate Change Summit took place from Dec. 7 to Dec. 18, 2009. Countries attending the summit were supposed to draft a new agreement to replace the Kyoto Protocol, which is due to expire in 2012.

The final version of the Copenhagen Accord—which is not legally binding—includes pledges by signatories to hold the increase in global temperatures below two degrees Celsius, create a fund to help poor nations adapt to climate change that will grow to \$100 billion U.S. annually by 2020, and aim to reduce worldwide emissions by 50 per cent below 1990 levels by 2020.

On Dec. 18, U.S. president Barack Obama discussed the importance of the deal, saying, "It is still going to require more work and more confidence-building and greater trust between emerging countries, the least developed countries, and the developed countries before I think you are going to see another legally binding treaty signed. I actually think that it's necessary for us ultimately to get to such a treaty, and I am supportive of such efforts. But this is a classic example of a situation where if we just waited for that, then we would not make any progress."

### Polling Data

Do you think the Copenhagen Accord will become a legally binding treaty in the future?

	<b>USA</b>	<b>CAN</b>	<b>BRI</b>
Yes	19%	12%	16%
No	37%	44%	43%

Not sure 44% 43% 41%

*Source: Angus Reid Public Opinion*

*Methodology: Online interviews with 1,005 American adults, 1,013 Canadian adults, and 2,002 British adults, conducted from Dec. 22 and Dec. 23, 2009. Margins of error range from 2.2 per cent to 3.1 per cent.*

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## **Majority of Yemenis See Benefit From Relations With West**

*Like others in region, many believe violent conflict can be avoided*

January 8, 2010

With the increased attention Yemen is receiving from the U.S. government and the news media, questions about conditions in the country and the sentiment of Yemeni citizens -- their views of the West in particular -- have come to the forefront. Gallup data reveal the average Yemeni sees greater interaction between the Muslim world and the West as a benefit and views the quality of this interaction as personally important.

*Which comes closer to your point of view?*

	<b>Greater interaction between the Muslim and Western worlds is a threat</b>	<b>Greater interaction between the Muslim and Western worlds is a benefit</b>	<b>Don't know/ Refused</b>
Egypt Aug 11-19, 2009	15%	72%	13%
Tunisia Aug 2-22, 2009	13%	72%	14%
Lebanon Aug 2-30, 2009	24%	70%	6%
Morocco Aug 7-24, 2009	17%	69%	15%
Jordan Sep 23-Oct 10, 2009	25%	66%	8%
Saudi Arabia Aug 1-21, 2009	22%	65%	13%
Bahrain Aug 17-Sep 15, 2009	20%	65%	15%
Iran Apr 30-May 31, 2008	19%	63%	18%
Kuwait Aug 10-30, 2009	27%	62%	12%
United Arab Emirates Aug 8-Sep 18, 2009	22%	58%	20%
Palestinian Territories Aug 3-17, 2009	32%	56%	12%
Iraq Aug 10-20, 2009	18%	56%	26%
Syria Aug 10-Sep 30, 2009	11%	55%	33%
Turkey Jun 23-Jul 16, 2008	20%	52%	27%
Algeria Aug 1-Sep 12, 2009	47%	50%	4%
Israel Sep 18-Oct 6, 2008	41%	48%	12%
Yemen Aug 4-Sep 2, 2009	31%	53%	15%
Middle East/ North Africa Median	22%	62%	14%

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A majority of Yemenis (53%) interviewed in early August through early September 2009 told Gallup they believe greater interaction between the Muslim world and the West is a benefit, which may provide a foundation for Western nations and Yemen to build on in the days ahead. This percentage is lower than the median (62%) for the Middle East/North Africa region, but

statistically, it is not any lower or higher than sentiment in a host of other majority Muslim countries, including Iraq (56%), the Palestinian Territories (56%), Syria (55%), Turkey (52%), and Algeria (50%).

Further, nearly 6 in 10 Yemenis (59%) also say the quality of the interaction between the Muslim world and the West is important to them. This number is about average for the Middle East/North Africa region, where the median percentage who believes the quality of the interaction is important is 60%. Yemenis, interestingly, are slightly more likely to share this point of view than Iraqis (54%) or Palestinians (53%).

*Is the quality of interaction between the Muslim and Western worlds important to you?*

	<b>Yes, important</b>	<b>No, not important</b>	<b>Don't know/Refused</b>
Palestinian Territories Aug 3-17, 2009	53%	40%	8%
Israel Sep 18-Oct 6, 2008	53%	41%	5%
Iraq Aug 10-20, 2009	54%	31%	16%
Syria Aug 10-Sep 30, 2009	55%	16%	29%
Jordan Sep 23-Oct 10, 2009	57%	39%	4%
Bahrain Aug 17-Sep 15, 2009	58%	32%	11%
Turkey Jun 23-Jul 16, 2008	60%	19%	21%
Egypt Aug 11-19, 2009	60%	31%	9%
Algeria Aug 1-Sep 12, 2009	64%	35%	2%
United Arab Emirates Aug 8-Sep 18, 2009	66%	22%	12%
Saudi Arabia Aug 1-21, 2009	67%	23%	11%
Kuwait Aug 10-30, 2009	69%	27%	4%
Tunisia Aug 2-22, 2009	69%	19%	12%
Morocco Aug 7-24, 2009	71%	23%	7%
Lebanon Aug 2-30, 2009	71%	25%	4%
Iran Apr 30-May 31, 2008	75%	17%	8%
Yemen Aug 4-Sep 2, 2009	59%	29%	12%
Median	60%	27%	9%

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Like many other residents in the region, the average Yemeni believes violent conflict between the Muslim world and the West can be avoided. A majority of Yemenis (56%) believe such conflict can be circumvented, which statistically similar to the median of 54% for the region and the 52% of Americans surveyed in 2008 who shared the same view. Yemenis, however, are significantly more likely than those surveyed in Iraq, Bahrain, the Palestinian Territories, Syria, and Egypt to believe this.



*Do you think violent conflict between the Muslim and Western worlds can be avoided or not?*

	<b>Can be avoided</b>	<b>Cannot be avoided</b>	<b>Don't know/Refused</b>
Morocco Aug 7-24, 2009	77%	8%	14%
Tunisia Aug 2-22, 2009	73%	12%	16%
United Arab Emirates Aug 8-Sep 18, 2009	67%	25%	9%
Iran Apr 30-May 31, 2008	65%	24%	12%
Saudi Arabia Aug 1-21, 2009	60%	27%	13%
Turkey Jun 23-Jul 16, 2008	59%	21%	20%
Lebanon Aug 2-30, 2009	55%	37%	8%
Algeria Aug 1-Sep 12, 2009	54%	42%	4%
Jordan Sep 23-Oct 10, 2009	53%	40%	8%
Kuwait Aug 10-30, 2009	52%	38%	11%
Israel Sep 18-Oct 6, 2008	46%	42%	12%
Iraq Aug 10-20, 2009	45%	37%	18%
Syria Aug 10-Sep 30, 2009	44%	21%	35%
Bahrain Aug 17-Sep 15, 2009	44%	46%	11%
Palestinian Territories Aug 3-17, 2009	41%	52%	8%
Egypt Aug 11-19, 2009	39%	46%	15%
Yemen Aug 4-Sep 2, 2009	56%	29%	15%
Middle East/ North Africa Median	54%	37%	13%

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At the same time, like most residents in the region, Yemenis are more likely to say the Muslim world and the West are not getting along well (71%) than to say they are getting along (16%), and to say the quality of these interactions is getting worse (55%) rather to say it is getting better

(21%). Yemenis are slightly more likely than the average for the region to see the situation negatively, but they are not the most likely to feel this way. Interestingly, Americans asked this question last year were more likely than Yemenis to see interactions as getting worse; 66% of U.S. adults characterized relations this way.

*Do you think the interaction between the Muslim world and the Western world is getting better or getting worse?*

	Getting better	Getting worse	Don't know/Refused	Volunteered response: Staying the same
Bahrain Aug 17-Sep 15, 2009	50%	23%	28%	--
Morocco Aug 7-24, 2009	49%	20%	13%	17%
Tunisia Aug 2-22, 2009	43%	32%	14%	11%
Algeria Aug 1-Sep 12, 2009	38%	51%	11%	--
Iran Apr 30-May 31, 2008	35%	43%	10%	12%
United Arab Emirates Aug 8-Sep 18, 2009	33%	36%	29%	2%
Kuwait Aug 10-30, 2009	32%	46%	4%	18%
Jordan Sep 23-Oct 10, 2009	30%	52%	6%	12%
Saudi Arabia Aug 1-21, 2009	30%	50%	11%	10%
Egypt Aug 11-19, 2009	27%	43%	8%	22%
Syria Aug 10-Sep 30, 2009	27%	22%	35%	16%
Iraq Aug 10-20, 2009	23%	42%	13%	22%
Palestinian Territories Aug 3-17, 2009	19%	62%	7%	12%
Turkey Jun 23-Jul 16, 2008	19%	50%	22%	9%
Lebanon Aug 2-30, 2009	18%	61%	6%	15%
Israel Sep 18-Oct 6, 2008	11%	70%	5%	15%
Yemen Aug 4-Sep 2, 2009	21%	55%	14%	10%
Middle East/ North Africa Median	30%	46%	11%	12%

## Bottom Line

Relations between Western countries and Yemen remain sensitive given the current security situation. Gallup data suggest that the next steps in relations will likely be crucial ones. Like other residents of the region, the average Yemeni's attitudes about Muslim-West relations indicate there is potential for improvement, with residents actually more confident than those in other nations that violent conflict can be avoided.

## Survey Methods

Results are based on face-to-face with approximately 1,000 adults, aged 15 and older, in Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Egypt, Bahrain, Iraq, Iran, Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, the Palestinian Territories, Kuwait, and Tunisia. With the exception of Turkey, Iran, and Israel, where these questions were asked in 2008, all surveys were conducted between August and October 2009. For results based on the total samples of national adults, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of sampling error ranges from  $\pm 3.4$  percentage points in Bahrain to  $\pm 3.7$  in the Palestinian Territories. For results based on the total sample of Yemeni adults, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of sampling error is  $\pm 3.7$  percentage points. The margin of error reflects the influence of data weighting. In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of public opinion polls.

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## Mixed Expectations For the New Decade by Adults in the Five Largest European Countries and the U.S.

*French most pessimistic while Americans and Spaniards more optimistic about what new decade will hold financially*

December 30, 2009

A new **Financial Times/Harris Poll** in the United States and the five largest European countries looks ahead to the dawn of a new decade and examines what people think their standard of living will be. Thinking ahead ten years, pluralities of adults 64 and under in the U.S. (43%) and Spain (41%) as well as 37% of Germans are optimistic about the new decade while 44% of French adults and 36% of Britons are pessimistic. Two in five Italians (41%) are neither optimistic nor pessimistic.

These are some of the findings of a **Financial Times/Harris Poll** conducted online by Harris Interactive among 6,182 adults aged 16-64 in France, Germany, Britain, Spain, and the United States and 18-64 in Italy between December 2 and 11, 2009.

As the new decade dawns, this survey also looked backwards to see what has changed over the

and Germany (40%) as well as 38% of Britons say their standard of living has become better compared to a decade ago. The French, again, are more negative as 44% of them say their standard of living has gotten worse. Almost two in five Italians (38%) say it has not changed for the better or the worse compared to ten years ago.

Looking ahead again ten years to what people think their standard of living will be there is more pessimism and not just by the French. Over half of French adults (56%) say their standard of living will be worse as do pluralities of Germans (42%), Italians (41%) and Britons (38%). Americans are slightly more optimistic as 39% believe their standard of living will be better ten years from now compared to 35% who believe it will be worse. Spaniards are split as 35% each say their standard of living will be better and worse.

Other interesting findings include:

When it comes to spending money there is more of a consensus as over half of adults in Spain (61%), Italy (58%), France (57%), Great Britain (51%) and Germany (51%) and just under half of Americans (49%) all say they are spending more money than they did ten years ago;

The past ten years has also seen an increase in terrorism and this may explain why very few people feel safer. Almost half of Italians (46%) say they feel less safe compared to ten years ago while 56% of British adults, half of French (50%) and German (50%) adults and 49% of Americans all feel about the same in terms of their safety as they did ten years ago. Spaniards are divided as 39% feel about the same while 38% feel less safe;

Government's involvement in citizens' lives has also changed over the past decade. Majorities in all six countries (between 59% and 72%) say their government has much more information about them now than it did ten years ago. There is also the impact of government in helping citizens financially. Again, most adults in these six countries agree as majorities (between 54% and 75%) say over the next ten years the government will do less for them and their family financially than it has in the past decade.

This decade has also been marked by the war on terror. Strong majorities in Germany (64%), Great Britain (63%) and France (62%) as well as 49% of Spaniards and 46% of Americans believe it is unlikely that the U.S. and its allies will win this war. Italians are more optimistic as 45% of them believe it is likely.

## **So what?**

The events of 2001 quickly set the stage for much of what occurred over the next ten years. Will there be some event that sets the stage for the 2010s? Or will we have to wait until 2019 to look back and see what the defining moments of the decade were? One thing is certain. The current economic uncertainty is hitting home with citizens of these six countries, especially the French, and many people are taking a wait and see approach to what this new decade will bring.

Table 1

Standard of living- thinking ahead

"We would now like you to focus on your standard of living. Thinking ahead to the next 10 years how optimistic or pessimistic do you feel about the new decade?"

Base: All EU adults in five countries and U.S. adults

	Great Britain	France	Italy	Spain	Germany	United States
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Optimistic (NET)	29%	21%	31%	41%	37%	43%
Very Optimistic	5%	2%	3%	13%	12%	11%
Somewhat optimistic	24%	19%	28%	28%	26%	32%
Neither pessimistic nor optimistic	35%	35%	41%	31%	34%	25%
Pessimistic (NET)	36%	44%	28%	28%	29%	33%
Somewhat pessimistic	29%	35%	22%	22%	19%	25%
Very pessimistic	8%	9%	6%	6%	10%	8%

Note: Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

Table 2

Standard of living- compared to ten years ago

"Compared to ten years ago, how much, if at all, has your standard of living changed?"

Base: All EU adults in five countries and U.S. adults

	Great Britain	France	Italy	Spain	Germany	United States
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Better (NET)	38%	37%	29%	43%	40%	44%
Become significantly better	12%	5%	3%	17%	15%	16%
Become somewhat better	27%	31%	26%	26%	25%	28%
Not changed for the better or worse	29%	20%	38%	20%	29%	23%
Worse (NET)	32%	44%	33%	37%	31%	33%
Become somewhat worse	24%	32%	25%	26%	19%	21%
Become significantly worse	8%	11%	7%	11%	12%	11%

Note: Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

Table 3

Standard of living –expectations

"Looking ahead to the next 10 years, and your own family's standard of living, do you expect your standard of living to improve, stay the same or get worse?"

Base: All EU adults in five countries and U.S. adults

	Great Britain	France	Italy	Spain	Germany	United States
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Better (NET)	27%	20%	25%	35%	28%	39%
Become significantly better	6%	2%	4%	7%	6%	10%
Become somewhat better	22%	19%	21%	28%	22%	29%
Will not change for the better or worse	35%	24%	33%	30%	31%	26%
Worse (NET)	38%	56%	41%	35%	42%	35%
Become somewhat worse	30%	41%	32%	25%	28%	25%
Become significantly worse	8%	16%	9%	9%	14%	10%

Note: Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

Table 4

Standard of living- money matters

"Compared to ten years ago, would you say that you are..."

Base: EU adults in five countries and U.S. adults

	Great Britain	France	Italy	Spain	Germany	United States
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Spending more money than you did 10 years ago	51%	57%	58%	61%	51%	49%
Spending the same amount of	19%	18%	16%	17%	22%	17%

money as you did 10 years ago						
Spending less money than you did 10 years ago	21%	23%	19%	19%	24%	29%
Not sure	9%	3%	6%	3%	4%	5%

Note: Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

Table 5

Standard of living- safety

"Compared to ten years ago, how much safer, if at all, do you feel?"

Base: All EU adults in five countries and U.S. adults

	Great Britain	France	Italy	Spain	Germany	United States
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Feel less safe compared to 10 years ago	37%	44%	46%	38%	35%	36%
Feel about the same compared to 10 years ago	56%	50%	38%	39%	50%	49%
Feel more safe compared to 10 years ago	7%	5%	17%	23%	15%	15%

Note Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

Table 6

Government and freedom of information

"Thinking now about the different ways in which the government in Great Britain/France/Italy/Spain/Germany/the US records information about its citizens, which statement best reflects how you feel?"

Base: All EU adults in five countries and U.S. adults

	Great Britain	France	Italy	Spain	Germany	United States
	%	%	%	%	%	%
The Government has much more information about me now than it did 10 years ago	69%	72%	62%	59%	67%	62%



The Government is keeping about the same amount of information on me now as it did 10 years ago	14%	13%	17%	25%	18%	16%
The Government is keeping less information on me now than it did 10 years ago	*	*	3%	2%	2%	2%
Not Sure	16%	15%	18%	14%	13%	20%

Note: Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

Table 7

Standard of living- state help

"How do you believe the Government's handling of public finances will affect you and your family over the next ten years- overall do you think that the Government will be doing more or less for you and your family?"

Base: All EU adults in five countries and U.S. adults

	Great Britain	France	Italy	Spain	Germany	United States
	%	%	%	%	%	%
The Government will do less for me and my family financially than it has in the past decade	69%	75%	55%	55%	68%	54%
The Government will do the same for me and my family as it has in the past decade	27%	22%	36%	35%	26%	33%
The Government will do more for me and my family financially than it has in the past decade	4%	3%	9%	10%	6%	13%

Note: Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

Table 8

Winning the war on terror

"How likely or unlikely are the U.S. and its allies to win the war on terror?"

Base: All EU adults in five countries and U.S. adults

	Great Britain	France	Italy	Spain	Germany	United States
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Likely(NET)	12%	10%	45%	20%	8%	29%
Very likely	1%	1%	8%	5%	2%	9%
Somewhat likely	11%	10%	38%	15%	7%	20%
Neither unlikely or likely	25%	28%	25%	31%	27%	25%
Unlikely(NET)	63%	62%	30%	49%	64%	46%
Somewhat unlikely	35%	46%	17%	34%	41%	26%
Very unlikely	28%	16%	13%	15%	23%	20%

Note: Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding

### Methodology

This **FT/Harris Poll** was conducted online by Harris Interactive among a total of 6,182 adults aged 16-64 within France (1,071), Germany (1,010), Great Britain (1,076), Spain (949), and the United States (1,039), and adults aged 18-64 in Italy (1,037) between December 2 and 11, 2009. Figures for age, sex, education, region and Internet usage were weighted where necessary to bring them into line with their actual proportions in the population. Propensity score weighting was used to adjust for respondents' propensity to be online.

All sample surveys and polls, whether or not they use probability sampling, are subject to multiple sources of error which are most often not possible to quantify or estimate, including sampling error, coverage error, error associated with nonresponse, error associated with question wording and response options, and post-survey weighting and adjustments. Therefore, Harris Interactive avoids the words "margin of error" as they are misleading. All that can be calculated are different possible sampling errors with different probabilities for pure, unweighted, random samples with 100% response rates. These are only theoretical because no published polls come close to this ideal.

Respondents for this survey were selected from among those who have agreed to participate in Harris Interactive surveys. The data have been weighted to reflect the composition of the adult populations of the respective countries. Because the sample is based on those who agreed to participate in the Harris Interactive panel, no estimates of theoretical sampling error can be calculated.

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### **The Western Balkans –a suitable case for “Shock Integration”**

The Balkan Monitor survey recently conducted by Gallup Europe in partnership with the European Fund for the Balkans gives us an idea about the state of public opinion in Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, 20 years on from the fall of the Berlin Wall and a decade after the end of the Kosovo war.

The findings seem to indicate that the next five years will be a make-or-break time for the region's future development. While the overwhelming majority of citizens are convinced that new armed conflicts in the region are unlikely, the public's mood - with the exception of Kosovars and Albanians - is pessimistic. The future promises peace without development. The trust in political elites and in national and European institutions has been steadily declining. The majority of citizens have experienced reduced living standards in the last year and there remains a perception that people could have more opportunities outside of their own borders. Pessimism about employment is alarmingly high among young people, while corruption and government mismanagement are widespread. It is striking that the majority of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina believe that their leaders are not interested in their country joining the EU. An absolute majority of citizens in each of the surveyed countries are convinced that their country is heading in the wrong direction. Less than 1 in 10 Croats (whose country could be joining the EU in the near future) agree that their country is heading in the right direction. All those who made it their job to praise the stability in the region should look at these figures.

In short, there are now two options for the Balkans: one is a "shock integration" programme that takes all of the Western Balkan states into the EU and the other is a journey into the unknown. The hope that countries in the region can muddle through by a continuation of the present policies is a dangerous illusion. Stability alone can no longer be the EU's objective in the region. Advocating such "shock integration", however, may not be realistic. The EU is not only suffering from enlargement fatigue, but also from its difficulty in digesting its new members. Yet the choice it has to make in the Balkans is not between "good" and "bad" but between "bad" and "worse". Not inviting the Western Balkan states to join could only exacerbate the current tensions in the EU's immediate neighbourhood.

The EU's continuing presence in places like Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo could cause problems in the future, especially if benefits are not forthcoming. A delay in Serbia's integration into the EU could bring a shift in Belgrade's foreign and security policy direction.

The demoralization of Balkan societies creates a dynamic of its own when the best and the brightest see their future outside of their own countries. If European leaders do plan to meet in 2014 in Sarajevo, they should act now. The ratification of the Lisbon Treaty allows for an element of visionary realism in European politics, as there are no longer institutional obstacles to the future enlargement of the EU.

Today, compared to a year ago, the situation is somewhat clearer in the Balkans and the Balkan Monitor results show that all of the countries want to join the Union. What the EU has learned from the results of the last parliamentary elections in Bulgaria is that contrary to conventional wisdom, Brussels' leverage over new Member States increases and does not diminish after they join the Union.

The consolidation of the current Pro-European majority in Serbia is a guarantee that Belgrade and Zagreb can be the engines of Balkan integration. Perhaps we can see the EU's decision to liberalise the visa regime for Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia and the European

Commission's recommendation to give a date to Skopje for starting EU accession talks as a recognition that the urgency of Balkan integration is being appreciated. The fact that George Papandreou, the major architect of the EU's Balkan integration strategy, is back in power in Greece is another source of optimism. Visa liberalisation can be a strategic step in the direction of "shock integration" but if it is not followed by bold political actions from the EU, it can turn into a re-packaging of the status quo. In short, the time has come to start shaping events – instead of simply marking anniversaries.

Ivan Krastev

Chairman

Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia

### **LIFE satisfaction and country development**

- Over the past three years, people's satisfaction with their personal standard of living has remained low and mostly stagnated or decreased across the Western Balkans. Albanians in Kosovo (67%) and in Albania (54%) were the only groups in which a majority was satisfied with their standard of living in 2009. While the financial crisis has not had a visible impact on the perceived living standards of people in the region, it seems to have made it harder for them to make ends meet. As a concrete example, the proportion of people that have faced problems in paying their utility bills ranged from 37% (Bosnia and Herzegovina) to 59% (Kosovo); this proportion has risen in all countries except for Albania.
- People's outlook on the future remains gloomy. Except for Kosovo and Albania, majorities in all countries felt that their country was going in a bad direction and at least half of respondents expected their standard of living to worsen in the years to come.
- More than four-fifths of respondents across all countries were convinced that the financial crisis has had a negative effect on their country. However, only Croatia had a majority (57%) calling for protectionist measures to help it overcome the crisis.

### **Attitudes toward the EU**

- Support for EU accession has remained high in all countries of the region except Croatia. More than half of the people interviewed in the other countries thought that EU membership would be a good thing. In Macedonia and Serbia, however, this share has declined over the past three years. Croats continued to see the EU critically – nearly 4 in 10 thought of EU membership as being neither good nor bad – and a relative majority (43%) would vote against accession in a referendum.
- Interviewees in Bosnia and Herzegovina have softened their position towards EU accession: support has risen from 48% to 66% since 2008, with the percentage of people fearing that Bosnia would never join the Union decreasing from 16% to 10% during the same period.
- Respondents in all countries named freer travel as the most probable consequence of joining the EU. Other expectations varied between countries. For example, 88% in Albania hoped that accession would bring greater security, 85% in Bosnia and Herzegovina felt there would be more

employment opportunities while 64% in Croatia expected more competition for national companies.

- EU support remained highest in Albania and Kosovo: 88% found EU accession to be desirable and close to 90% would vote yes if a referendum on the subject was held now.

### **Satisfaction And trust In The region's institutions**

- People in Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro and Albania were satisfied most with their government's performance: more than two-fifths in each country called it *good* or *excellent*. A more negative perspective could be found in the other countries of the region: the government's performance was seen as *poor* in Serbia (44%), Bosnia and Herzegovina (60%) and Croatia (65%).

- The churches/religious organisations of the region remained the institution in the region that inspired most confidence. It was the most trusted organisation among all major ethnic groups except for Albanians in Albania, Macedonia and Kosovo (who had more trust in NATO) and people in Croatia (who had more confidence in the military). People in Montenegro and Kosovo Albanians showed the strongest confidence in their national government. Government confidence was lowest in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia. Across all countries, political parties were the least trusted of all the institutions that the survey covered.

### **Good governance And corruption**

- More than two-thirds of Balkan respondents thought that corruption was pervasive in business and government. The level of corruption was perceived to be highest in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Croatia for businesses and in Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina in regard to government.

Albania was again the country where most respondents stated that they had to pay a bribe in order to solve a problem – 52% found themselves in this situation in the year prior to the survey. In the other countries, the share of people who had to pay a bribe ranged from 8% (Croatia) to 20% (in both Macedonia and Kosovo).

- The people most affected by organized crime were those in Kosovo and Bosnia and Herzegovina, where two-thirds stated that it affected them daily or occasionally. The proportions were substantial in the other countries as well, between 32% (Albania) and 42% (Montenegro) felt the effects of organised crime on their lives.

### **Migration And mobility**

- Respondents across the region were more likely to see better opportunities abroad than in their own country, with a minimum of 45% of respondents sharing this view. The proportions of respondents dissatisfied with their domestic prospects were highest in Albania (64%) and Croatia (61%).

- Kosovo Albanians were the group with the most significant increase in people seeing more opportunities at home (from 18% to 40% between 2008 and 2009); furthermore, fewer Croats

now saw better opportunities at home compared to one year ago (this proportion decreased from 53% to 27%).

- In Albania, 38% of respondents still wanted to leave their country if circumstances allowed. Croatia, despite a majority of people that saw better opportunities abroad, had the lowest level of potential migrants (11%). Montenegro (from 39% in 2006 to 16% in 2009) and Bosnia and Herzegovina (from 25% to 16%) had the biggest drops in the number of people wanting to leave.
- Of the Balkan citizens not profiting from visa liberalisation, Kosovo Albanians (55%) were the only ones where a majority blamed the EU for their exclusion from the scheme. In Bosnia and Herzegovina and Albania, people mostly blamed their national politicians, or felt that nobody was to blame.

### **Balkan challenges: Ethnic relations And the Future OF the region**

- In all countries except Albania, most people were convinced that their country should strengthen its ties with its neighbours. A pronounced interest in stronger neighbourly relations was seen in Bosnia and Herzegovina (68% wanted stronger ties), Serbia (64%) and Macedonia (64%). Since 2008, support for stronger ties has risen in all countries except for Montenegro (where it remained at 42%) and Albania (where it declined from 33% to 27%).
- Across the region, historic animosities and national politicians were said to be the major obstacles that kept the countries of the region from growing closer together.
- Fear of an armed conflict in the region within the next five years was highest among Macedonians, people in Serbia and Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Among Macedonians, however, the proportion of people fearing an armed conflict – while still being the highest in the region – has steadily declined since 2006 and is now at around one-third. About four in five (82%) Kosovo Albanians were convinced that the near future will be peaceful.
- In Macedonia, over 40% of Macedonians and Albanians thought that relations between their two ethnic groups have improved over the past year – while 20% of Albanians felt that it has deteriorated.

### **Methodology**

The survey is representative of the adult population (15 years and older) in the Western Balkan countries. Per country, at least 1,000 face-to-face interviews were conducted in September 2009, each one lasting for about one hour. The margin of error for the survey is +/- 3%. All photographs contained in the report were taken by interviewers during the fieldwork.

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