



# Who Rules the World?

The Results of the Second Representative Survey in Brazil, China, France, Germany, India, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States

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## OVERVIEW

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the global order was to an important extent determined by two world wars. But who or what are likely to be the dominant powers of the 21<sup>st</sup> century? After the collapse of the Soviet Union it seemed for a short time as if the fate of the world would be determined solely by the U.S., the new hyperpower. However, not only the rapid rise of China, and of India, make this seem doubtful. Russia, which has been recovering with the help of its abundant energy resources, has made a comeback to the world stage.

It seems that in future we will be dealing with a multipolar global constellation with a number of different gravitational centres. It remains to be seen whether this can be a stable order. The competition between the European great powers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century demonstrated that a balancing act of this kind is not easy. Moreover, it cannot be excluded that another bipolar order will emerge, with the U.S. and China as the leading powers.

But will great powers in the future actually be in a position to determine the nature of international politics? Or will the progressive economization that is taking place under the aegis of globalization also set certain limits to the ambitions and interests of these states? Might it not be that a quite different constellation of actors will in fact become far more influential? Phenomena such as international terrorism, climate change and in particular the increasingly interwoven global economy and the attendant economic interdependence of the various states make it seem apposite to suggest that it is no longer possible to govern with the help of the classical arsenal of power politics. These challenges call for the global management of what is an increasingly large degree of interdependence.

All the issues alluded to above have of course been a subject for debate in academic and political circles for quite a long time. However, the question of what ordinary people think about these things rarely arises. More specifically, there are hardly any empirical data with which to compare opinions in the countries which will probably be among the leading powers of the century. What do citizens in Brazil, China, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, India, Japan, Russia and the U.S. think about

the international role played by their countries? How do they evaluate the dangers and the opportunities? And in what kind of order would they like to live?

As early as 2005 the Bertelsmann Foundation conducted a representative survey in conjunction with TNS Emnid in order to find answers to these questions. This year the survey has been repeated.

Both surveys will come as a disappointment to proponents of a “global community.” Instead of a greater awareness of the interwoven economy and the global nature of the challenges, national approaches continue to predominate and with them the notion that problems can be solved on a national basis using the resources at one’s disposal.

An agenda shared by every state which would operate under the auspices of the United Nations exists either in very rudimentary form or not at all. And the history of the 21<sup>st</sup> century seems to be merely a continuation of old and familiar patterns, the rise and fall of large political entities. The European states are now confronted with the unpleasant fact that they are being marginalized. Behind the U.S., China and Russia they will only be in a position to participate in the discourse of the mighty in the shape of the European Union.

The results of the survey are as follows:

- Although a predominant criterion did not emerge, the population sees economic strength, political stability and a strong research and educational sector as the crucial factors contributing to a country’s world power status. The assumption of global security functions, abundant natural resources and cultural attractiveness tend to come at the bottom of the list. On the basis of the interviewees’ total averages, military power actually comes last of all. Here China, where military power comes in third place (59 per cent), forms a striking exception.
- The U.S. is unquestionably perceived to be the leading world power, and is followed at a distance by China. EU and UN reach a “mid-range” world power position. The perception that Russia is a world power has increased considerably.

In comparison to the 2005 survey, Russia moved up from sixth to third place, directly after China. Conversely, Japan and the United Kingdom have both lost ground. The reputation of the EU has risen both in China and the United Kingdom.

- The U.S. will lose its currently undisputed role as the number one world power by the year 2020. The population believes that China will then be on an equal footing. Russia, the EU, Japan and India are all on about the same level and follow at a distance of 20 per cent. Here again a comparison with the 2005 survey demonstrates a rise in the significance of Russia, which is also reflected in the greater self-confidence of the Russians themselves.
- Climate change, international terrorism, poverty and overpopulation are deemed to be the most serious challenges which confront the world. Thus there is now a greater awareness of climate change. In 2005 international terrorism was still considered to be the greatest challenge, followed by poverty and climate change. However, with regard to this issue national approaches clearly determine the way the problem is construed. It is noticeable that in India, as was already the case in 2005, international terrorism had the highest percentage (75%) of the various responses. Anxieties about a shortage of natural resources are particularly common in China. On the other hand, the danger of a spread of weapons of mass destruction comes at the bottom of the list when we compare the averages. Only the U.S. and China are rather worried about this problem.
- Important tasks of the world powers are the eradication of poverty, environmental protection, and support for democracy and human rights. This is surprising, since the answers to the previous question would suggest that action to deal with climate change would be given priority. This discontinuity also occurs with regard to combating international terrorism, which is not given top priority, although the interviewees had earlier on declared it to be one of the main challenges. Conversely, a large and above-average number of Germans and Japanese believe that the world powers should support nuclear non-proliferation, even though neither state accorded a great deal of importance to this threat. When evaluating individual results, it is noticeable that China, when it comes to the world powers supporting democracy and human rights, has the second highest

individual result (59 per cent). Only in India were even more interviewees in favour of combating poverty (73 per cent). In 2005 the question about democracy and human rights was banned in China.

- Three-quarters of the interviewees are in favour of closer cooperation with the EU or with Europe. This desire has risen slightly, especially among the population in Russia and China. In India, on the other hand, it has clearly declined.
- There is a wish that the U.S. in particular should play a more important role in the maintenance of peace and stability in the world. Here there is clearly a great deal of agreement. Germans and Britons in particular are in favour of enhancing the relevance of the UN and the EU. The trend comparison suggests that Russia should play a more important role.
- Five of the populations covered by the survey in nine states are of the opinion that peace and stability in the world can best be maintained under the leadership of the UN. However, an absolute majority for this emerges only among the German and British populations. Brazil, the U.S., Russia and Japan prefer a system under the leadership of various regional powers. A majority rejects unipolar or bipolar systems. India is an exception. Here 18 and 15 per cent of the population respectively think that a unipolar or bipolar system might have a positive effect on the maintenance of world peace. The second exception is Russia, where a sizeable 20 per cent of the population think that a system under the leadership of one world power would create the greatest stability.



## 1. OBJECTIVES

The aim of this representative survey in selected states in Europe, America and Asia was to elucidate the views of the population about the question of “what defines a world power in the 21<sup>st</sup> century,” and in particular to determine whether the EU is perceived to have a role as a global player. To this end exemplary surveys were conducted in nine different states (listed here in alphabetical order):

- Brazil
- China
- France
- Germany
- India
- Japan
- Russia
- United Kingdom
- United States

The states were chosen on the basis of their historical, current or future significance in terms of political, economic, cultural and military power. Brazil, which is the largest industrialized nation in Latin America, and India, an Asian emerging market with a large population and high growth levels, were incorporated into the survey in addition to the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (and nuclear powers), the United States, Russia, China, France and the United Kingdom. Japan and Germany represent global economic power inasmuch as they are both nations which depend on exports.

In addition to questions relating to the qualities of a world power and the world power status of states now and in the future, the survey was concerned to elucidate the population’s views about the challenges with which world powers are currently confronted, and will be confronted in the future. Conversely, there are questions about the goals and tasks which world powers should embrace in order to meet and deal with the identified threats and risks. The roles of the EU and the United Nations (UN) are also mentioned in this context. Another set of questions was devoted to the

maintenance of peace and stability throughout the world and the powers and organizations which are best able to perform this task.

The survey was conducted for the second time this year. The series, which began in 2005, will be continued in order to measure trends over a longer period of time and thus to make it possible to place the results in the context of global political developments.

## 2. EXECUTION AND METHODOLOGY

The demoscopic survey was carried out by the Empirical Social Research Project Division of TNS Emnid Medien- und Sozialforschung GmbH, Bielefeld.

A total of 1,000 adults were interviewed in each of the nine countries. The exceptions were Russia (1,640 interviews), Brazil (1,500 interviews), China (600 interviews) and Japan (1,200 interviews). The polls were conducted via telephone with the help of CATI (computer-assisted telephone interviewing) technology. The average duration of the main interview was five minutes. Since the institutes in India, China and Russia were of the opinion that there were not enough telephones in these countries for a representative telephone survey approach, the interviews were conducted on a face-to-face basis. In Brazil, China and India the survey was conducted only in the large "metropolitan areas," for interviews in rural areas would have been difficult to carry out for organizational reasons.

8,999 people were interviewed for the survey. The interviews were conducted between 14 August 2007 and 24 September 2007.

All of the institutes which took part in the project are familiar with the structure of international surveys. Furthermore, they are all members of ESOMAR and thus subscribe to international market and opinion research quality standards. The institutes all based their work on the English version of the questionnaire. TNS Emnid subsequently checked the accuracy of the questionnaires translated into the various local languages. The project was coordinated by TNS Emnid in Bielefeld. The international section of the survey was coordinated by Gallup International.

The median margin of error of the proportional values with a total probability of 90 per cent amounts to +/- 3.1 percentage points (based on a sample size of  $n = 1,000$ ).

**3. SURVEY**

The most important results of the study are presented below. In order to make it possible to depict the salient facts appropriately in the restricted space available, the data for the various countries are to a large extent presented in the form of diagrams. The descriptive commentary refers to specific data only in passing. More detailed information is contained in the volumes which contain the data in tabular form.

The standard of comparison with which to interpret the data is the median result of the countries sampled in the survey. The results from the various countries are equally weighted – in other words, the differences in the size of the population have not been taken into account.

The present survey is a sequel to a similar poll conducted in 2005. This makes it possible to describe changes in the opinions held by the interviewees. They are presented in graphic form in a subsection whenever the questions in 2005 and 2007 coincided. In order to be able to focus more precisely on certain subjects, not all of the questions in the 2005 poll were included in their original form in the present survey. In such cases trend comparisons are only partially valid for obvious methodological reasons. Thus the presentation of these results lacks a graphic trend comparison, and the text comments on important changes.

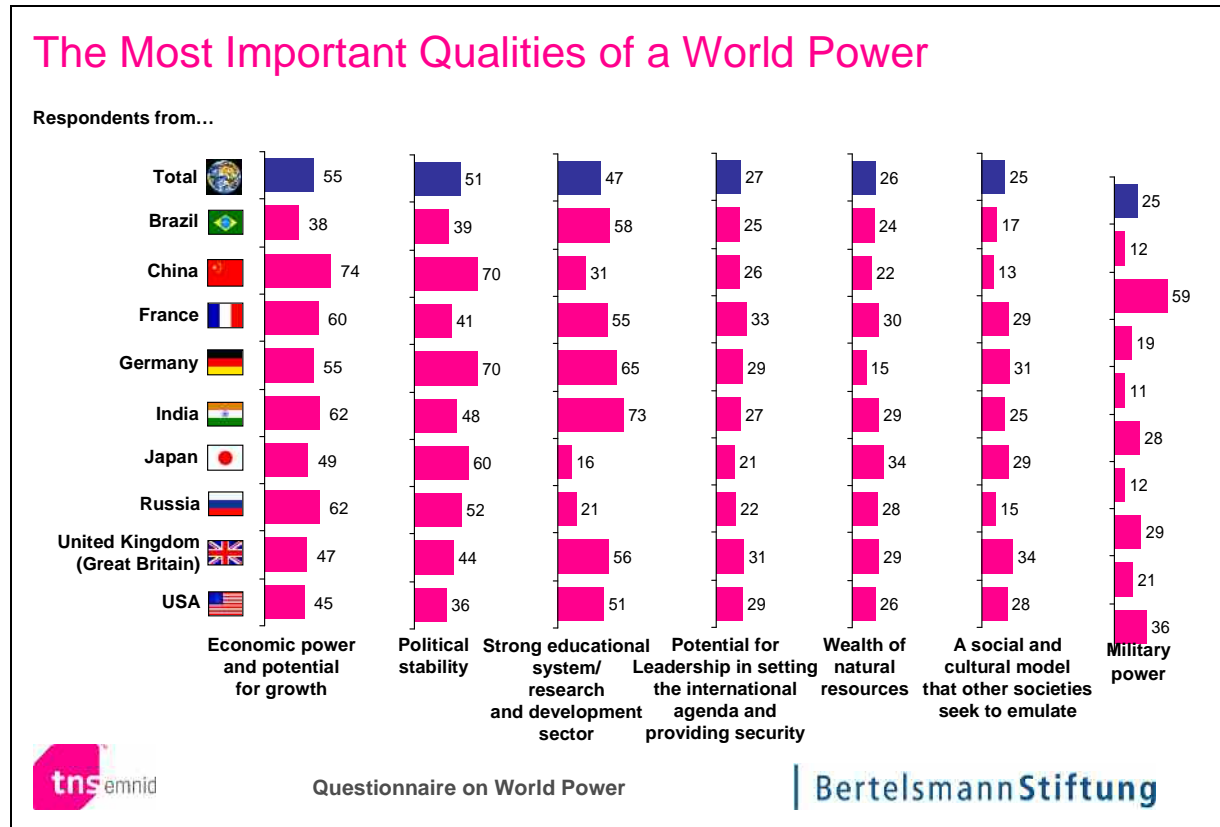
As a result of a change in the regulations governing relations with opinion poll institutes in China, TNS Emnid was unable to work together with the institute that participated in the 2005 survey. This should be borne in mind when assessing the trend results for China.

In the interests of greater legibility, the states are represented in the diagrams by their national flags:

- |   |  |   |
|---|--|---|
| <b>Brazil</b>  | <b>Germany</b>  | <b>Russia</b>          |
| <b>China</b>   | <b>India</b>    | <b>United Kingdom</b>  |
| <b>France</b>  | <b>Japan</b>    | <b>United States</b>   |

### 3.1 The Most Important Qualities of a World Power

- The population is of the opinion that the economy, politics and research/education are the central factors of a world power. A country's military power is particularly important to interviewees in China.



**Question:** In your opinion, what qualities must a country possess to be considered a global power? Please name the 3 most important qualities.

**Legend:** The results from the various states in which the population participated in the survey are aligned from top to bottom – in alphabetical order. The top line, which is labelled “Total”, is the median value derived from the individual results and can be used as a yardstick (or “benchmark”) with which to interpret the results from the various different countries. From left to right are the individual qualities which could be assigned to a world power, arranged in descending order on the basis of the median frequency of the responses.

Thus the quality labelled “Economic Power and Potential for Growth” is on average assigned to a world power by 55 per cent of the interviewees (“Total”), whereas one out of two Japanese selected this particular quality.

At the start of the survey the population was asked to name what it considered to be the most important qualities of a world power.

In all of the states covered by the survey, the interviewees believed that a country was a world power primarily on account of economic power and potential for growth (55 %), political stability (51%) and a strong educational and research sector (47%). However, there is no single predominant factor. It seems that a state becomes a world power as a result of the confluence of various different factors.

The four other factors—leadership function, abundant natural resources, cultural hegemony and military power—are mentioned by about every fourth interviewee (the overall average) and thus deemed to be less important for the world power status of a particular state.

However, if one examines the results of the various different countries included in this survey, there are specific national preferences with regard to the priority of certain factors.

The three most important world power qualities (overall average)—economic power, political stability and a strong research and educational system—are deemed to be the most important factors by the interviewees in almost every country, though the priorities differ. Whereas almost all of the interviewees believe that economic power is the most important or second most important factor if a state is to be a world power, Germans and Brazilians consider this to be only the third most important factor. Only 38 per cent of Brazilians consider economic power to be one of the three most important world power factors—in international terms the lowest interviewee result. They consider a strong educational and research sector (58 %) to be the most important precondition for world power status, whereas for Germans it is political stability (70%).

Compared to other countries, the Chinese accord the greatest significance to economic power. Three-quarters of them—that is, an above-average number of interviewees—believe that this is what a country needs in order to be a world power. Particularly noticeable in China is the striking significance of military power (59%)—the Chinese population considers this to be the third most important world power factor. Military might also comes in third place in the U.S. (36%) and in Russia (29%), though in these two countries a much smaller number of interviewees mentions this factor as one of the three most important qualities. On the other hand, the population of all the other countries (with the exception of India) considers military power to be the most unimportant world power quality.

The strength of the research and educational sector, the third most important factor (overall average), is of only secondary importance for the Chinese (31%), the

Russians (21%) and the Japanese (16%). In the last two countries this quality is last but one in the hierarchy of what is important. It is noteworthy that in an economically highly developed country such as Japan abundant natural resources are considered to be the third most important factor for a world power, far outstripping the “soft skills” education and research.

The classical function of a world power, namely leadership, which in the final analysis is based on military power and to a certain extent on cultural hegemony, is clearly far too abstract for many people and thus difficult to associate with a world power. The French and the British still tend to expect leadership from a world power.

The French, the British and the Indians tend to believe that a world power must have access to sufficient natural resources. Cultural attractiveness and the model character that it implies is of slightly above-average importance for Britons, Germans, French and Japanese.

## Trend Comparison

If we compare the current results with those of the first survey in 2005, only unimportant changes emerge. The overall average shows that all the world power qualities have become slightly more important for the interviewees, rising by between 2 and 4 percentage points.

However, if we examine the countries singly, a number of noteworthy changes become apparent. For example, the importance of a strong education and research sector for the world power status of a state is currently, from the point of view of Indians (+32 percentage point), French (+15 percentage points) and Germans (+11 percentage points), greater than it was two years ago. Yet in China (-20 percentage points) and Brazil (-10 percentage points) this factor is currently deemed to be less important.

Furthermore, in India the cultural attractiveness of a state has clearly gained ground as a world power factor (+18 percentage points), whereas the acceptance of global security functions is mentioned more seldom as a world power quality (-25 percentage points) than at the time of the 2005 survey.

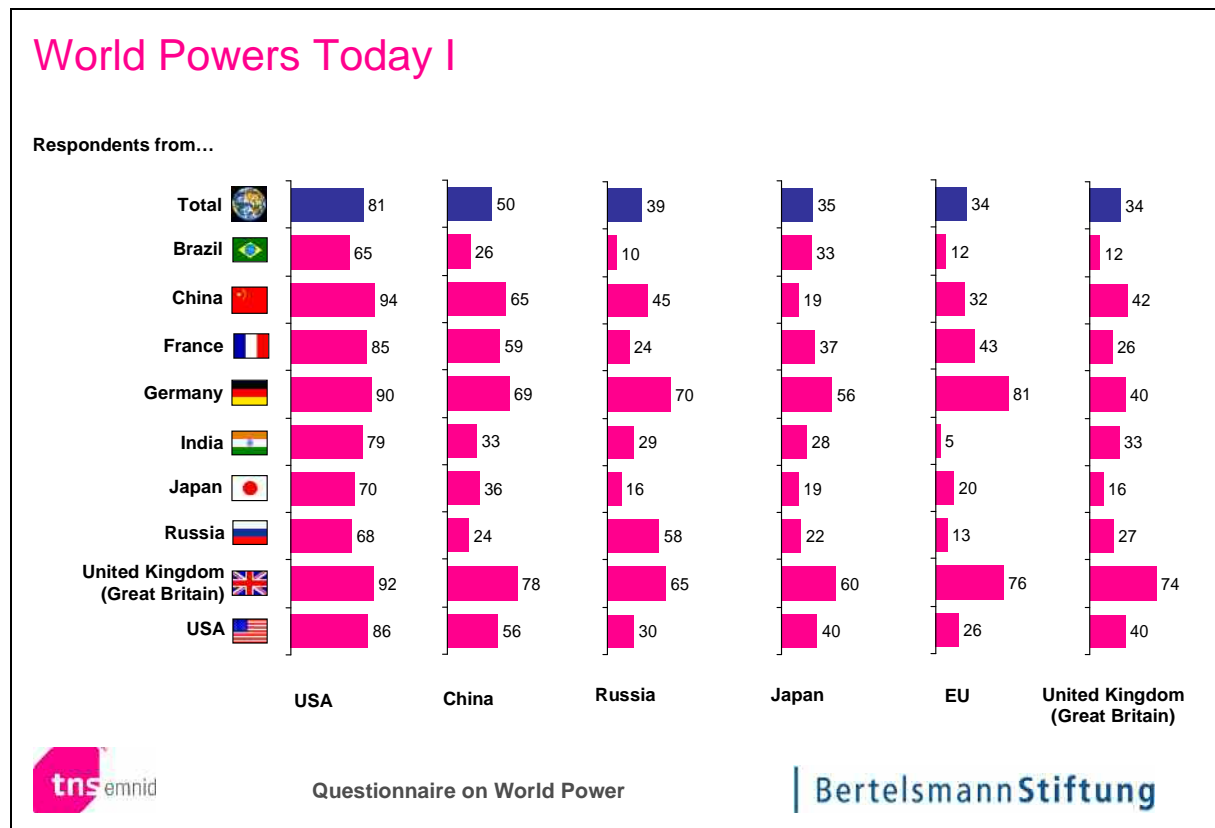
However, it should be borne in mind that the question and the items that it includes were slightly different in the current survey, which makes it difficult to compare the results directly.



## 3.2 States and Organizations with World Power Status

### 3.2.1 States and Organizations with World Power Status Today

- **The United States is unquestionably perceived to be a world power, and is followed at a distance by China. The EU and UN reach a “mid-range” world power position. The perception that Russia is a world power has increased considerably.**



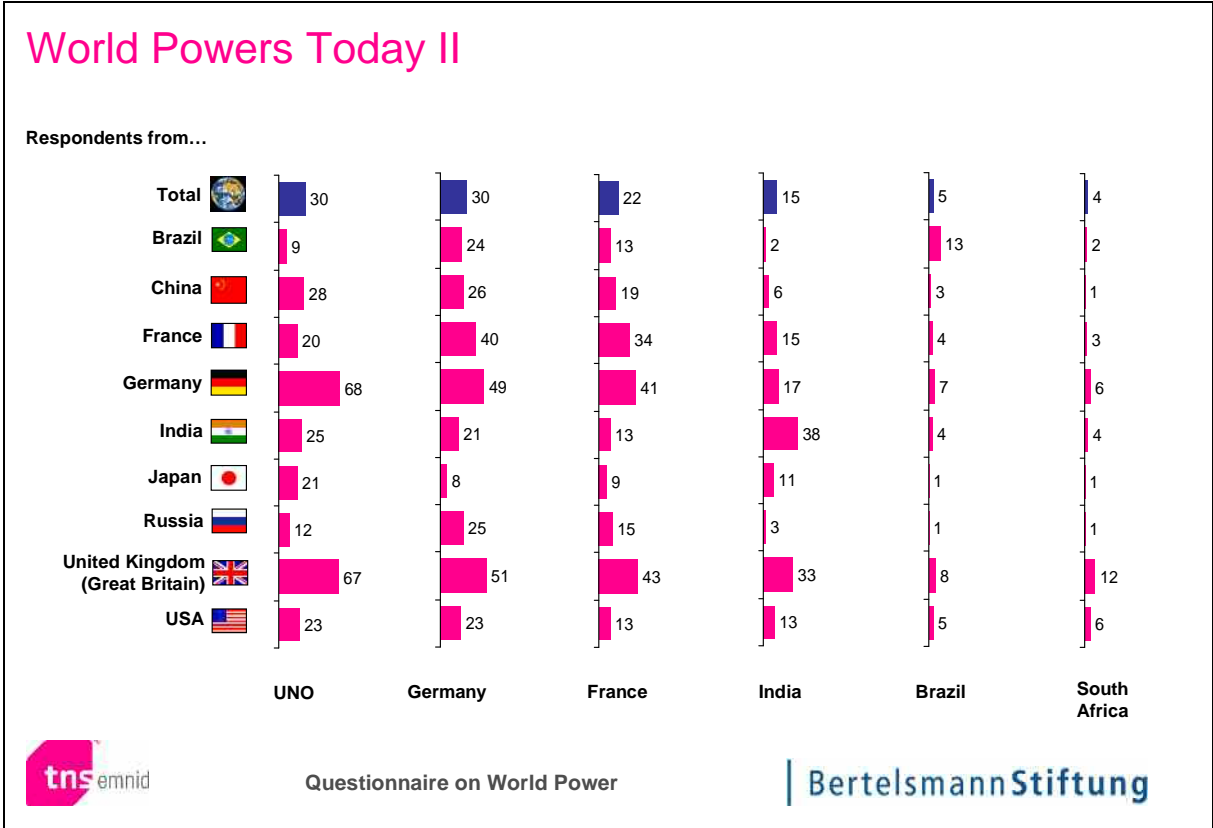
**Question:** In your opinion, which of the following countries and organizations are world powers today?

**Legend:** The results from the various states in which the population participated in the survey are aligned from top to bottom – in alphabetical order. The top line, which is labelled “Total”, is the median value derived from the individual results and can be used as a yardstick (or “benchmark”) with which to interpret the results from the various different countries. From left to right are the individual states and organizations which it was possible to describe as world powers, arranged in descending order on the basis of the median frequency of the responses.

On average (“Total”) 81 per cent of the interviewees consider the United States to be a world power, whereas in Japan 70 per cent are of this opinion.

There is unanimous agreement among the population of the states included in this survey that the U.S. is perceived as the foremost world power (81%), though the Japanese (70%), the Russians (68%) and the Brazilians (65%) assign lower values to the position of the U.S. On the other hand, the interviewees from the west European states of the EU (Germany, United Kingdom and France) and the Chinese ascribe a world power role to the U.S. with above-average frequency. U.S. citizens

themselves also consider their country to be a world power with above-average frequency. It seems that the U.S. manages best of all to combine the important qualities of a world power named in the previous section, namely “economic power,” “political stability” and “education.”



The status of the U.S. as the foremost world power is described as such by the population of all the countries in the survey, though to differing extents. Conversely, the fact that Brazil and South Africa are not world powers is equally unambiguous.

There are some clear differences when it comes to assigning the status of world power to other states. With 50 per cent of the responses, the People’s Republic of China follows in second place, though rather far behind the U.S. Many interviewees, especially from west European countries, from the U.S. and from China itself consider the country to be a world power.

The majority of the British see their own country as a world power on a par with the U.S. and China. This view is not shared by other states.

World power status is primarily ascribed to Germany by the participating European states. One out of two Germans and Britons and four out of ten French interviewees ascribe a leading position in the world to the Federal Republic. Among the other nations, on the other hand, Germany is considered to be a world power by at the most a quarter of the interviewees.

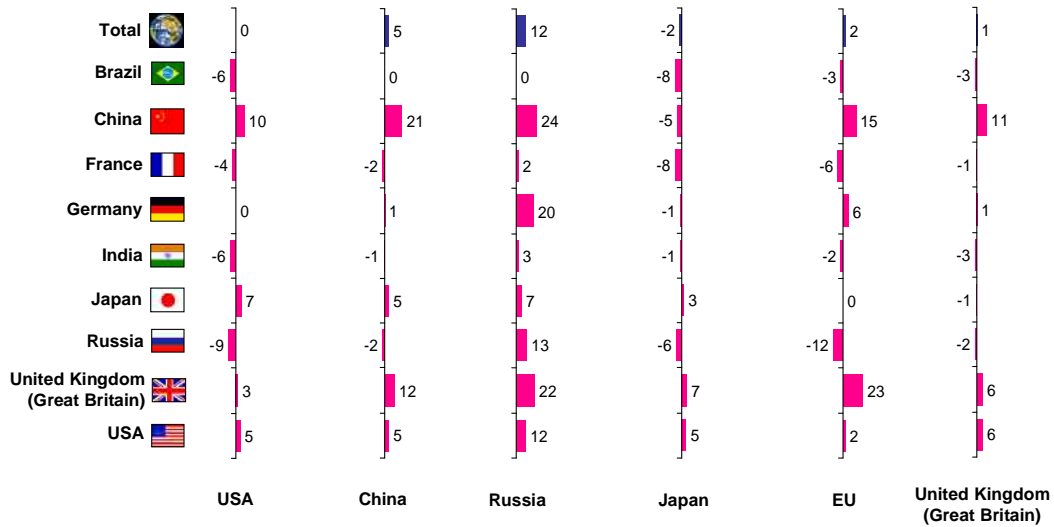
In the case of this question it was possible to assess the importance of individual states and of the UN and the EU. The EU is deemed to be more important as a world power than the UN in all countries with the exception of India, where the UN is accorded a much higher status (25% compared to 5%). Germans, Britons, and the French in particular—that is, the Europeans themselves—consider the EU to be a world power.

The Germans and the British in particular believe that both supranational organizations have a strong role to play. The Germans believe that the EU comes in second place in the hierarchy of world power, followed by Russia. The UN comes in fifth place. The British think that the EU comes in third place, and the UN in fifth place. On the other hand, in Latin America and Asia the two international organizations play only a subordinate role as world powers.

## Trend Comparison

### World Powers Today (Trend) I

Variance to 2005 (in percentage points)  
Respondents from...

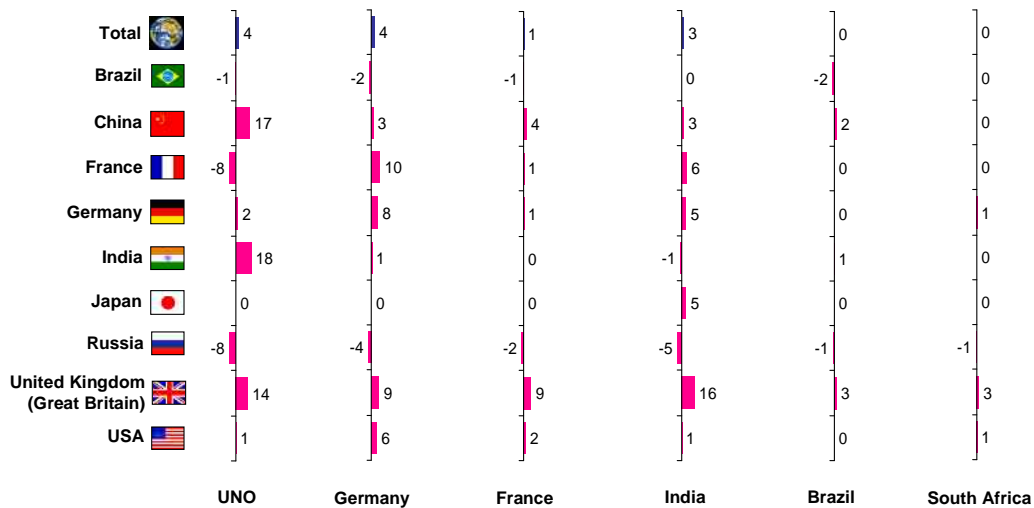


Questionnaire on World Power

BertelsmannStiftung

### World Powers Today (Trend) II

Variance to 2005 (in percentage points)  
Respondents from...



Questionnaire on World Power

BertelsmannStiftung

**Legend:** The changes in the various states since the first survey in 2005 are aligned from top to bottom – in alphabetical order. The changes are given in percentage points. A positive figure stands for an approval increase, a negative figure for an approval decrease. The top line, which is labelled “Total”, is the median value derived from the individual results and can be used as a yardstick (or “benchmark”) with which to interpret the results from the various different countries. From left to right are the individual states and organizations which it was possible to describe as world powers, arranged in descending order on the basis of the median frequency of the responses.

On average (“Total”) the proportion of those who consider Russia to be a world power has risen 12 percentage points since 2005. Among Germans it has risen 20 percentage points.

A comparison with the first survey shows that almost all the countries and institutions mentioned in the question are now considered to be world powers by a slightly higher number of the interviewees. On the other hand, the importance of Russia has clearly increased significantly. Two years ago only 27 per cent of the interviewees described the state to the east as a world power. Currently 39 per cent are of this opinion. Russia is thus now in third place before Japan and the United Kingdom. In recent years the country has succeeded rather well in positioning itself in the world as a powerful nation. In the eyes of the Chinese (+24 percentage points), the British (+22 percentage points) and the Germans (+20 percentage points), Russia now has a much higher status than it did two years ago.

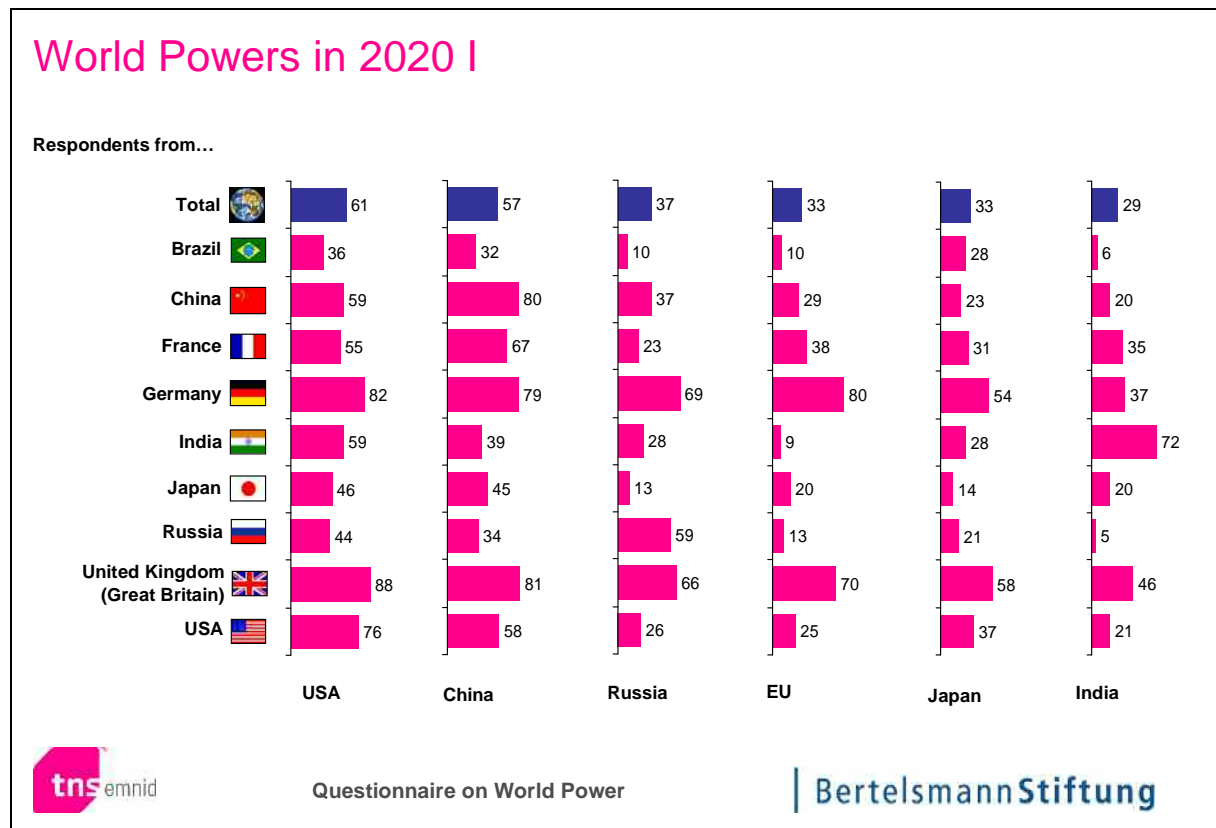
As a comparison with the first survey shows, the proportion of those who consider China to be a world power has risen by 5 percentage points. There was a particularly large increase in the country itself (+21 percentage points), which might be an indication that there is greater self-confidence among the Chinese population.

On the other hand, in certain countries the U.S. has lost some of its world power status when we compare the data with 2005. In Russia in particular (-9 percentage points), but also in Brazil and India (both -6 percentage points) and France (-4 percentage points) the U.S. is now less frequently considered to be a world power.

A comparison with the last survey shows that the EU has gained a great deal in importance as a world power, above all in the United Kingdom (+23 percentage points) and in China (+15 percentage points).

### 3.2.2 States and Organizations with World Power Status in 2020

- In future the United States will have to relinquish its currently undisputed role as the predominant world power. People believe that China will draw level with the United States. The envisaged role of the EU and the UN remains basically unchanged.



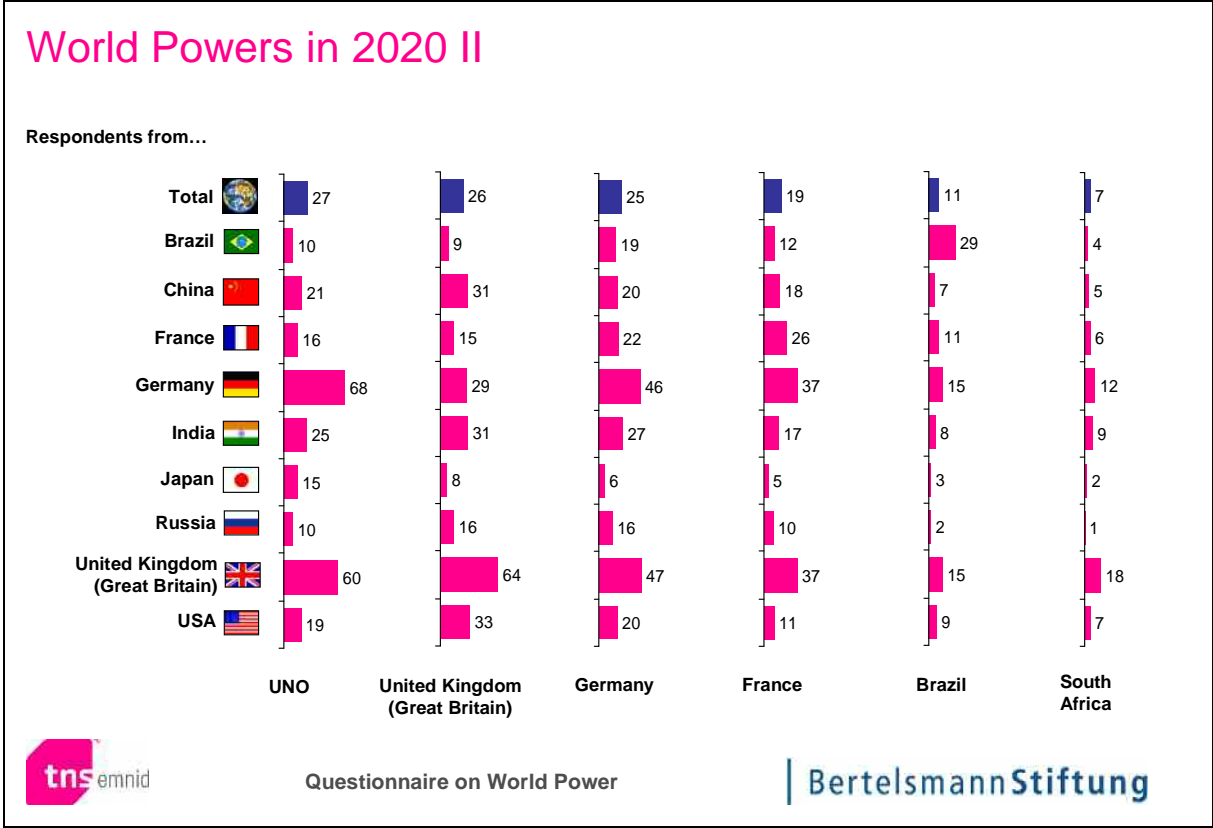
**Question:** In your opinion, which of the following countries and organizations will be world powers in the year 2020?

**Legend:** The results from the various states in which the population participated in the survey are aligned from top to bottom – in alphabetical order. The top line, which is labelled “Total”, is the median value derived from the individual results and can be used as a yardstick (or “benchmark”) with which to interpret the results from the various different countries. From left to right are the individual states and organizations which it was possible to describe as future world powers, arranged in descending order on the basis of the median frequency of the responses.

On average (“Total”) 61 per cent of the interviewees consider the United States to be a future world power, whereas in Germany 82 per cent are of this opinion.

In the opinion of the population interviewed in the survey, the U.S. will be the great loser of the future. Although currently, as we have seen, it is undisputedly deemed to be a world power by 81 per cent of the interviewees, only 61 per cent believe that it will still have this role in the year 2020 (this amounts to a decrease of 20 percentage points). Conversely, interviewees believe that China’s importance as a world power will be much greater in 13 years’ time, and thus, as a future world power, it ranks only slightly behind the U.S. India (+14 percentage points) and, to a lesser extent, Brazil

(+6 percentage points) will also become more important. On the other hand, similar in this respect to the U.S., the United Kingdom will lose in importance (-8 percentage points). The position of Germany (-5 percentage points) is also expected to worsen.



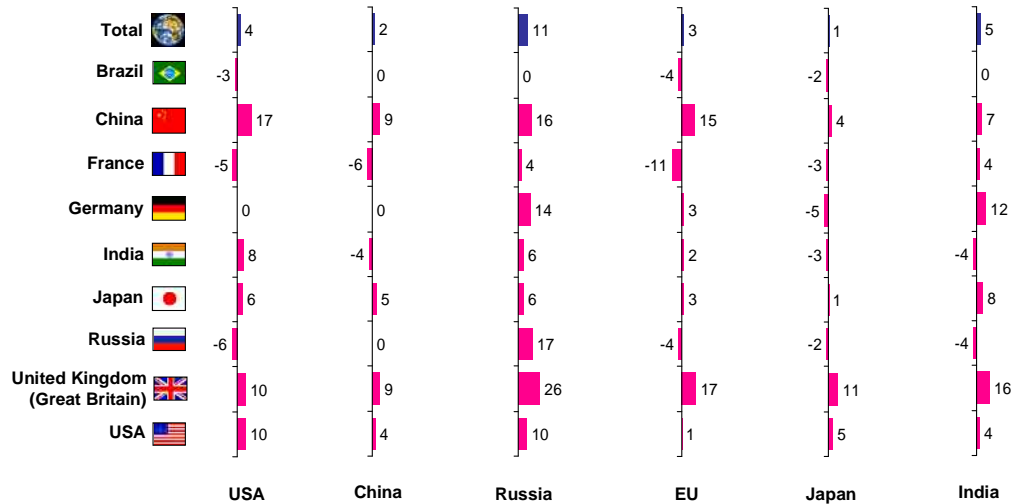
The status of the supranational organizations EU and UN remains to all intents and purposes unchanged. In the future they are not expected to play a greater role as world powers.

An assessment of the responses of the population in the various countries shows that the Americans are more pessimistic about their own future role as world power than the Germans and the British, when they think about what will happen to the U.S.

## Trend Comparison

### World Powers in 2020 (Trend) I

Variance to 2005 (in percentage points)  
Respondents from...

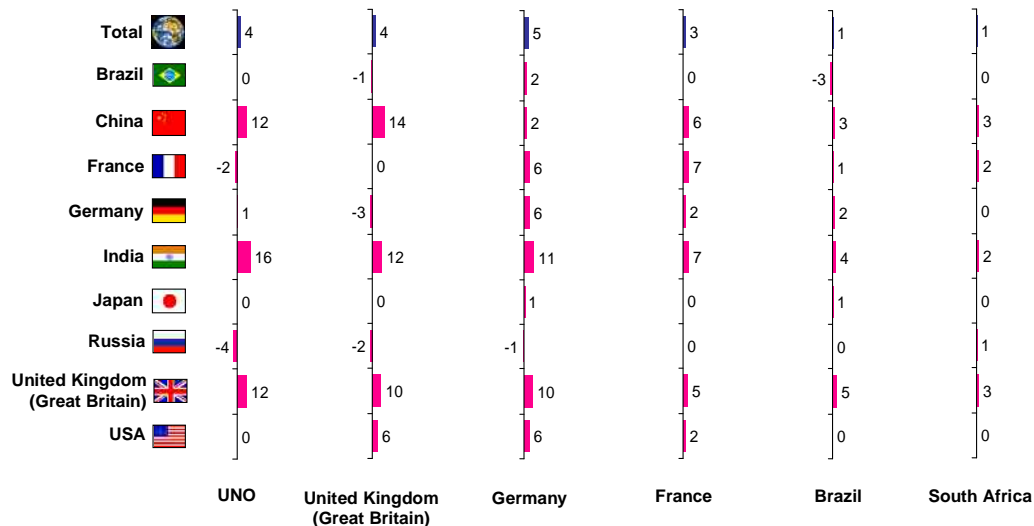


Questionnaire on World Power

BertelsmannStiftung

### World Powers in 2020 (Trend) II

Variance to 2005 (in percentage points)  
Respondents from...



Questionnaire on World Power

BertelsmannStiftung

**Legend:** The changes in the various states since the first survey in 2005 are aligned from top to bottom – in alphabetical order. The changes are given in percentage points. A positive value stands for an approval increase, a negative value for an approval decrease. The top line, which is labelled “Total”, is the median value derived from the individual results and can be used as a yardstick (or “benchmark”) with which to interpret the results from the various different countries. From left to right are the individual states and organizations which it was possible to describe as world powers, arranged in descending order on the basis of the median frequency of the responses.

On average (“Total”) the proportion of those who consider China to be a future world power has risen 2 percentage points since 2005, whereas among the French it has fallen by 6 percentage points.

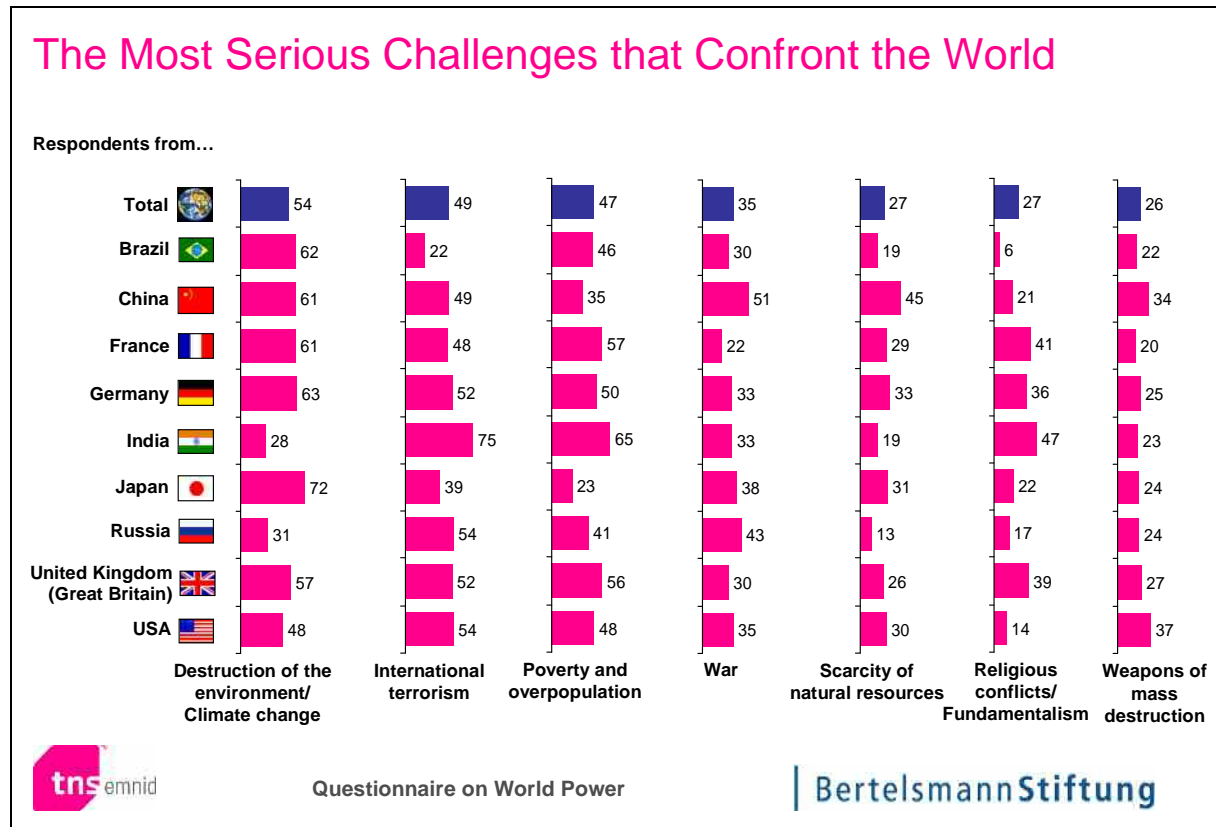


A comparison with the first survey shows that all the nations and institutions mentioned in the question are considered to be future world powers. The responses are slightly higher, though not unduly so. The only straightforward increase in importance is seen in the case of Russia. In 2005 only 26 per cent of the interviewees considered this country to be a future world power. Now 37 per cent are of this opinion (+11 percentage points). There has been an above-average increase in the proportion of those who believe that Russia will have a world power role in the year 2020, especially in the United Kingdom (+26 percentage points), China (+16 percentage points), Germany (+14 percentage points), but, above all, in Russia itself (+17 percentage points). This suggests a clear increase in self-confidence among the Russian population.

It is noticeable that the British, when one compares their responses with those given in 2005, believe that in the year 2020 all of the states or institutions included in this survey will be in a stronger position as world power. This could well be a sign of greater British interest in this subject.

### 3.3 The Most Serious Challenges and Threats that Confront the World

- **Climate change, terrorism and poverty are deemed to be the most serious challenges which confront the world. National approaches determine how the problems are understood**



**Question:** In your opinion, what are the main challenges and threats confronting the world? Please name the 3 biggest challenges and threats!

**Legend:** The results from the various states in which the population participated in the survey are aligned from top to bottom – in alphabetical order. The top line, which is labelled “Total”, is the median value derived from the individual results and can be used as a yardstick (or “benchmark”) with which to interpret the results from the various different countries. From left to right are the individual threats and challenges which confront the world, arranged in descending order on the basis of the median frequency of the responses.

On average 54 per cent of the interviewees consider environmental degradation and climate change to be one of the three greatest threats which confront the world. In Japan 72 per cent are of this opinion.

A summary of the results from the states in the survey suggests that the greatest threats to the world are environmental degradation and climate change (54%). However, almost one in two interviewees does not believe that the problem of the environment is one of the three greatest threats to the world. From the point of view of the world population (as represented by the states in the survey) it is an important, though not a predominant threat. Terrorism (49%) and poverty and overpopulation (47%) are felt to be equally great threats (in relative terms).

An analysis of the results in the individual countries shows that there are some very different threat scenarios. Environmental degradation and climate change constitute a threat to the world, especially for the Japanese population (72%), whereas an awareness of this problem is weak among the Russians (31%) and the Indians (28%).

Conversely, in India there is a far greater perception of the global threat of international terrorism (75%). On the other hand, whereas the Japanese (39%) mention this as one of the three greatest challenges for the world, the responses are sub-average. The proportion of those who believe that the world is threatened by terrorism is lower only in Brazil (22%).

Poverty and overpopulation also received above-average responses from the Indian population (65%), though relatively sub-average ones from the Chinese (35%) and the Japanese (23%). Wars are considered to be a threat primarily by the Chinese and Russian populations, whereas armed conflicts do not pose a great threat to the French, when compared with the other challenges.

Limited and scarce natural resources pose a global challenge, especially from a Chinese point of view (45%). The existence of weapons of mass destruction is currently not considered to be a particularly serious threat in any of the states in the survey, though to some extent in the U.S. (37%) and in China (34%). Fundamentalism is singled out above all by the French and the Indians.

It is clear that the various threat scenarios are divergent and shaped by national attitudes. Thus the one big threat to the world to which all of the nations in the survey would give top priority does not exist.

## Trend Comparison

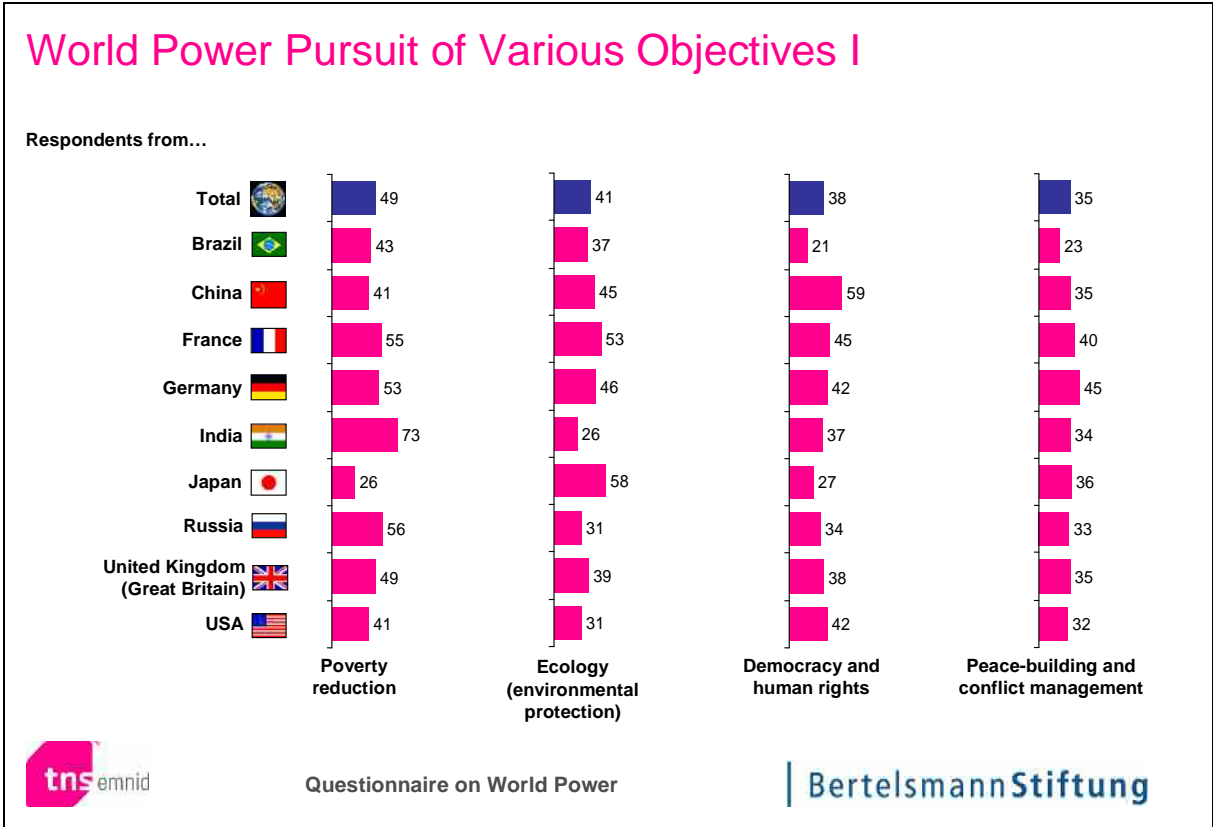
A comparison with the first survey shows that there are clear changes in two areas in particular.

On the one hand, awareness of the environmental issue has increased markedly by 10 percentage points since 2005. The proportion of those who perceive climate change and environmental degradation as a threat has increased in all the participating countries, but particularly strongly in the U.S. (+22 percentage points), in China (+17 percentage points) and in Japan (+16 percentage points).

The second major change relates to fundamentalism, which today is now more frequently regarded as a global threat (+14 percentage points.) This is true of interviewees in all countries, but above all for the French (+38 percentage points) and the Indians (+29 percentage points). However, it should be borne in mind that this item on the questionnaire differs from the version included in the first survey. Instead of “fundamentalism” pure and simple, the question this time round included “religious conflicts.” As a result of this and other methodological changes the results of the two surveys can only be compared to a limited extent.

3.4 Objectives which World Powers Should Pursue

- **Combating poverty, environmental protection and support for democracy and human rights are the three most important tasks of the world powers in the eyes of the population**



**Question:** What are the main goals that a world power should pursue? Please name the 3 most important goals!

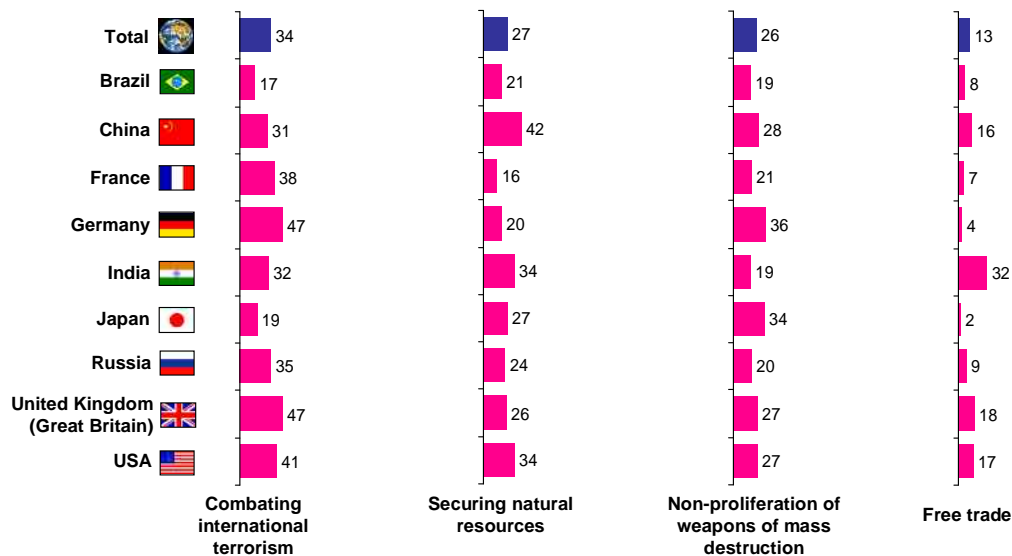
**Legend:** The results from the various states in which the population participated in the survey are aligned from top to bottom – in alphabetical order. The top line, which is labelled “Total”, is the median value derived from the individual results and can be used as a yardstick (or “benchmark”) with which to interpret the results from the various different countries. From left to right are the objectives which the world powers should support, arranged in descending order on the basis of the median frequency of the responses.

On average (“Total”) 49 per cent of the interviewees believe that the world powers should support the objective “Combating poverty,” whereas 43 per cent of the Brazilians are of this opinion.

The population believes that environmental degradation and poverty are two of the three greatest threats which confront the world. It thus follows that it is of the opinion that combating these threats should be the main goal of the world powers. 49% think that combating poverty should be a principal objective for the world powers, followed by support for environmental protection (41%).

## World Power Pursuit of Various Objectives II

Respondents from...



Questionnaire on World Power



Although international terrorism is on average deemed to be the second greatest challenge, combating it tends to be of secondary importance for the interviewees (34%). In contrast to this, support for democracy and human rights (38%) and peace enforcement and conflict management (35%) are mentioned slightly more frequently as the most important objectives to which world powers should give their support.

But here again, from the viewpoint of the “global population” there is no such thing as a single predominant objective. This is indicated by the level of the responses, which, even in the case of the highest values, never reaches the 50% mark.

Once again the answers vary from country to country, and to some extent are clearly shaped by the attitudes of the population to international threats. Thus combating poverty is singled out by the Indian population (73%), but hardly mentioned by the Japanese population (26%). The latter, on the other hand, considers environmental protection to be of primary importance (58%), whereas from an Indian point of view it is of secondary importance (26%). Americans and Russians also deem environmental protection to be a secondary objective (31% respectively).

Support for democracy and human rights is especially important for the Chinese (59%). This objective is also of above-average importance for the French (45%), the Germans, and the Americans (42% respectively). The objective of “peace enforcement and conflict management” is only of average importance, with fairly similar responses in all of the countries covered by the survey.

Combating international terrorism is only of secondary importance for the Brazilians and the Japanese, who differ in this respect from the Germans, the British and the Americans (though here again not even one in two considers this to be a principal objective). It is noticeable that the Indian population, which considers terrorism to be the greatest danger of all (see Section 3.3), believes that combating it, as an objective of the world powers, is only of secondary importance.

Conversely, an above-average number of Germans and Japanese would like to see the world powers supporting the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, even though in these two countries weapons of mass destruction are perceived to be only an average kind of threat.

The procurement of natural resources plays a central role in China. It is hardly mentioned by the French. Finally, only one in eight mentions free trade as a principal objective of the world powers.

In general the objectives which, in the eyes of the population, should be supported by the world powers coincide with the responses concerning the greatest challenges which confront the world that were alluded to in the previous section. Here again we reach the same conclusions. The one big objective for the world powers does not exist, since to some extent the goals espoused in the various nation-states are very different.

## Trend Comparison

A comparison with the first survey shows that the interviewees' desire for the support of the world powers with regard to virtually every item mentioned in the question has risen by three to eight percentage points. Only the call to combat international terrorism has hardly changed since 2005 (-1 percentage point). Whereas in the previous survey this objective was accorded second highest priority after combating poverty, the overall averages show that environmental protection, democracy and peace enforcement are now seen as slightly more important objectives.

Once again we see the greater significance of environmental protection. It is the objective which has acquired the highest priority for the interviewees since the last survey (+8 percentage points). As was the case in Section 3.3, the increased environmental awareness of the Americans (+17 percentage points) and the Japanese (+15 percentage points) is again clearly apparent.

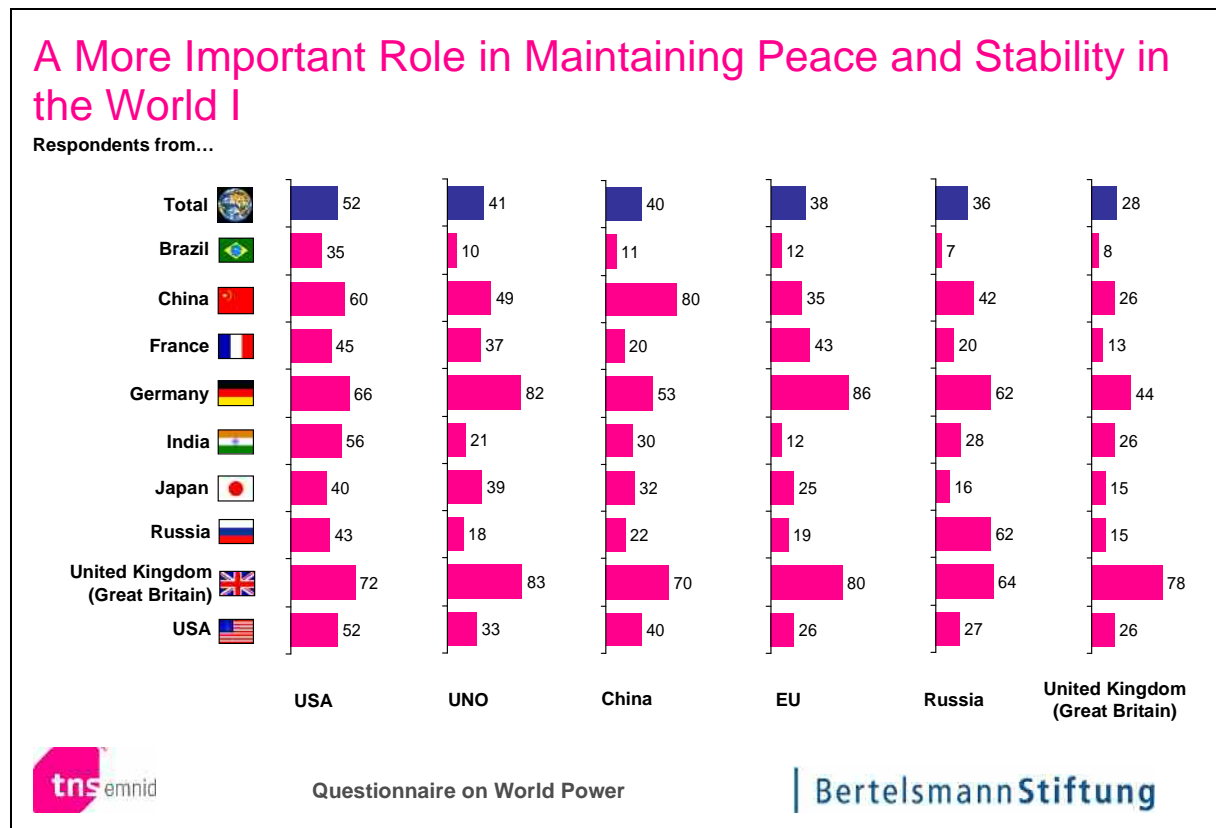
In addition to this, it is above all peace enforcement and conflict management which are now considered to be more important objectives than two years ago (+7 percentage points). This is particularly true of interviewees from Germany, the United Kingdom and India (+11 percentage points respectively).

However, here again the comparability of the results is limited on account of methodological changes.



### 3.5 States or Organizations which in Future Should Play a More Important Role in Maintaining Peace and Stability in the World

- There is above all a wish that the United States should play a more important role in maintaining peace and stability in the world. Germans and Britons in particular are in favour of greater UN and EU involvement. 73 per cent of the Germans would welcome a higher German profile.



**Question:** In your opinion, what is the best framework for ensuring peace and stability?

**Legend:** The results from the various states in which the population participated in the survey are aligned from top to bottom – in alphabetical order. The top line, which is labelled “Total”, is the median value derived from the individual results and can be used as a yardstick (or “benchmark”) with which to interpret the results from the various different countries. From left to right are the various states and organizations which should in future play a more important role in maintaining peace and stability in the world, arranged in descending order on the basis of the median frequency of the responses.

On average (“Total”) 52 per cent of the interviewees would like the United States to play a more important role in the maintenance of “peace and stability”. 66 per cent of the interviewees in Germany are of this opinion.

As stated in Section 3.4, the interviewees do not think that the grouping “peace enforcement and conflict management” is an important objective of a world power, even if political stability is actually an important world power quality (see Section 3.1). But who in future should play a greater role as “peacekeeper” ? The answer is once again primarily the U.S. (52%), now the predominant world power (see Section 3.2.1), though in the year 2020 it will be competing with China (see Section 3.2.2).

## A More Important Role in Maintaining Peace and Stability in the World II

Respondents from...



Questionnaire on World Power



The UN did not play a prominent role when it was a question of who or what was likely to be a world power in 2020. However, the situation changes when the issue is the creation of peace and stability in world. Here as many as 41 per cent of the interviewees would like the UN to play a more important role than it does today (though 59 per cent obviously think otherwise). China comes next, with four out of ten responses. In the eyes of the population it is the country with the greatest increase in “world power potential.” The EU already comes in fourth place. Here 38 per cent of the population hope that in future it will play a more important role in the maintenance of peace and security in the world.

Whereas the world population represented in this survey is more or less in agreement about the role of the U.S. in this area, there are different views in various countries about the future role of the EU and the UN. Germans and Britons in particular are of the opinion that the two international organizations should in future play a more important international peacekeeping role. With regard to the EU, there are also frequent and above-average demands that it should do more for peace and stability.

However, this is a (west European) eurocentric view which is not shared by the population in the other states. In Brazil, India and Russia only a sub-average number of interviewees would welcome a greater role for the UN and the EU.

Many interviewees expressed the wish that their own countries should in future make a greater contribution to the maintenance of peace and stability. This applies primarily to the Chinese, British, Russians, Germans, Indians and Brazilians.

A majority of Germans and Britons are of the opinion that almost all the states and institutions mentioned in the question should play a more important role in the maintenance of peace and stability.

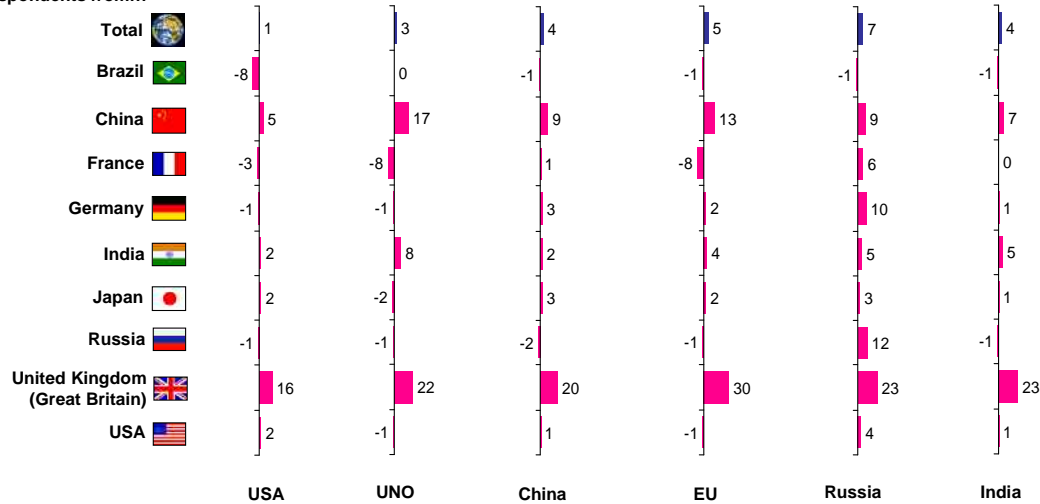
The Japanese are in fact rather taciturn with regard to this issue. 30 per cent did not respond to the question.

## Trend Comparison

### A More Important Role in Maintaining Peace and Stability in the World (Trend) I

Variance to 2005 (in percentage points)

Respondents from...



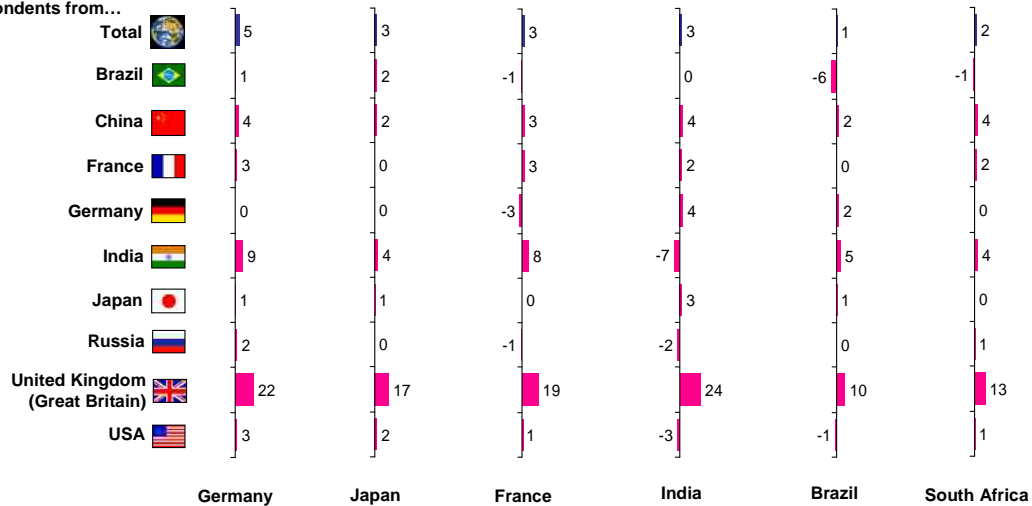
Questionnaire on World Power

BertelsmannStiftung

### A More Important Role in Maintaining Peace and Stability in the World (Trend) II

Variance to 2005 (in percentage points)

Respondents from...



Questionnaire on World Power

BertelsmannStiftung

**Legend:** The changes in the various states which have occurred since the 2005 survey are aligned from top to bottom – in alphabetical order. The changes are given in percentage points. A positive figure stands for an approval increase, a negative figure for an approval decrease. The top line, which is labelled “Total”, is the median value derived from the individual results and can be used as a yardstick (or “benchmark”) with which to interpret the results from the various different countries. From left to right are the states or organizations which could be described as world powers, arranged in descending order on the basis of the median frequency of the responses.

On average (“Total”) the proportion of those who are in favour of a more important EU role in the maintenance of peace and stability has risen by 5 percentage points since 2005, and in India by 4 percentage points.

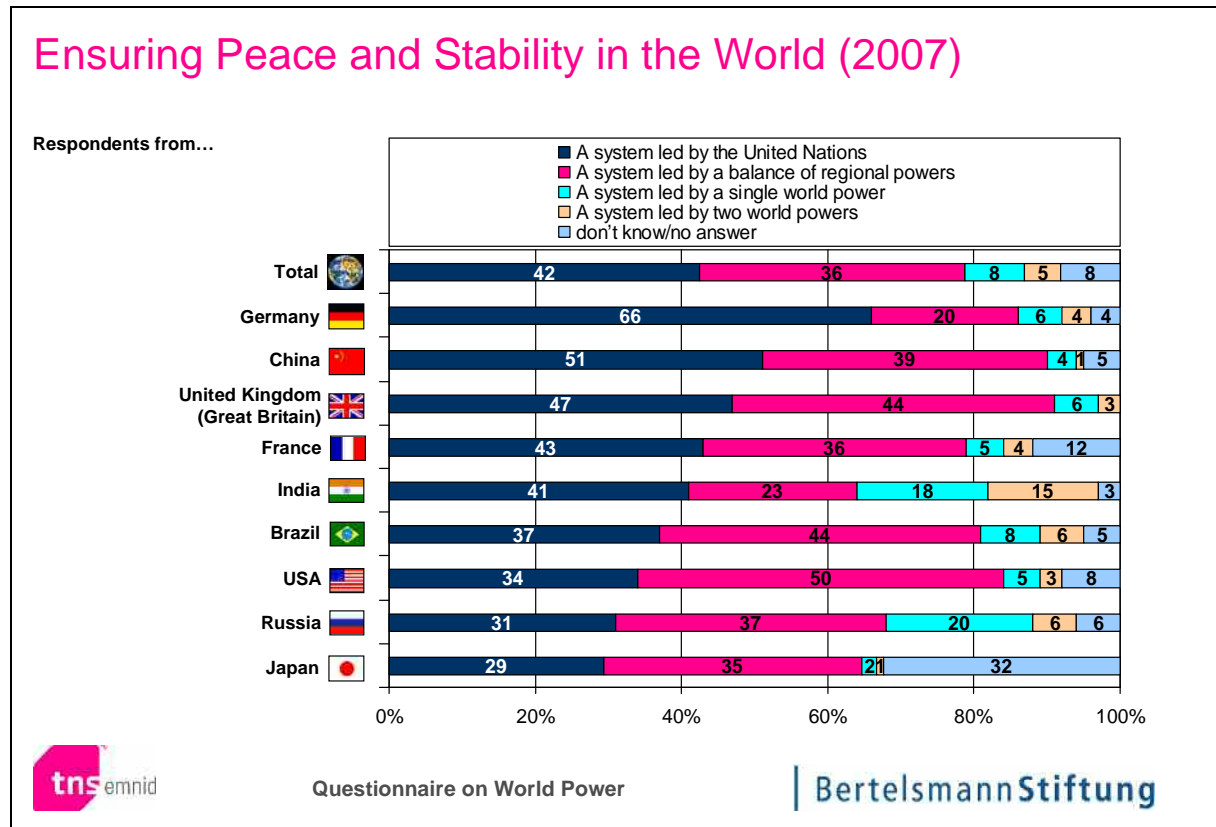
A trend comparison with 2005 shows that there are only a few differences. Russia's increased status in the world is once again clearly apparent.. The proportion of all interviewees who hope that this country will make a greater contribution to peace and stability is seven percentage points higher than in 2005. Apart from the Russian population itself (+12 percentage points), this wish was expressed above all by the British (+23 percentage points), the Germans (+10 percentage points) and the Chinese (+9 percentage points).

In France the perceived importance of the two supranational organizations for the maintenance of global peace and stability has decreased significantly. In the case of both the UN and the EU the proportion of the French who are in favour of greater involvement has declined by 8 percentage points.

It is also noticeable that to a much larger extent than two years ago the British would like more involvement from all the states and organizations mentioned in the question. This could be a sign that the British population is taking greater interest in the whole problem.

### 3.6 The Best Framework for Ensuring Peace and Stability in the World

- Only a majority of the German and British population are of the opinion that peace and stability in the world can best be attained under UN leadership.



**Question:** In your opinion, within which framework can peace and stability in the world be best achieved?

**Legend:** The results from the various states in which the population participated in the survey are aligned from top to bottom – in order of the frequency of the response “UN leadership.” The top line, which is labelled “Total”, is the median value derived from the individual results and can be used as a yardstick (or “benchmark”) with which to interpret the results from the various different countries.

On average (“Total”) 42 per cent of the interviewees believe that peace and stability can be best achieved under UN leadership, and 36 per cent are of the opinion that it would be easier to achieve under the leadership of the regional powers. 66 per cent of the German population backs the idea of UN leadership.

42 per cent of the world population in the survey are in favour of peacekeeping and stabilization activities under the leadership of the UN, whereas 36 per cent would prefer the leadership of various regional powers. Thus the relative, though not the absolute majority of the interviewees is in favour of an internationally institutionalized framework for peacekeeping activities. The exceptions here are merely the Germans, two-thirds of whom are in favour of UN leadership, and the British (51%).

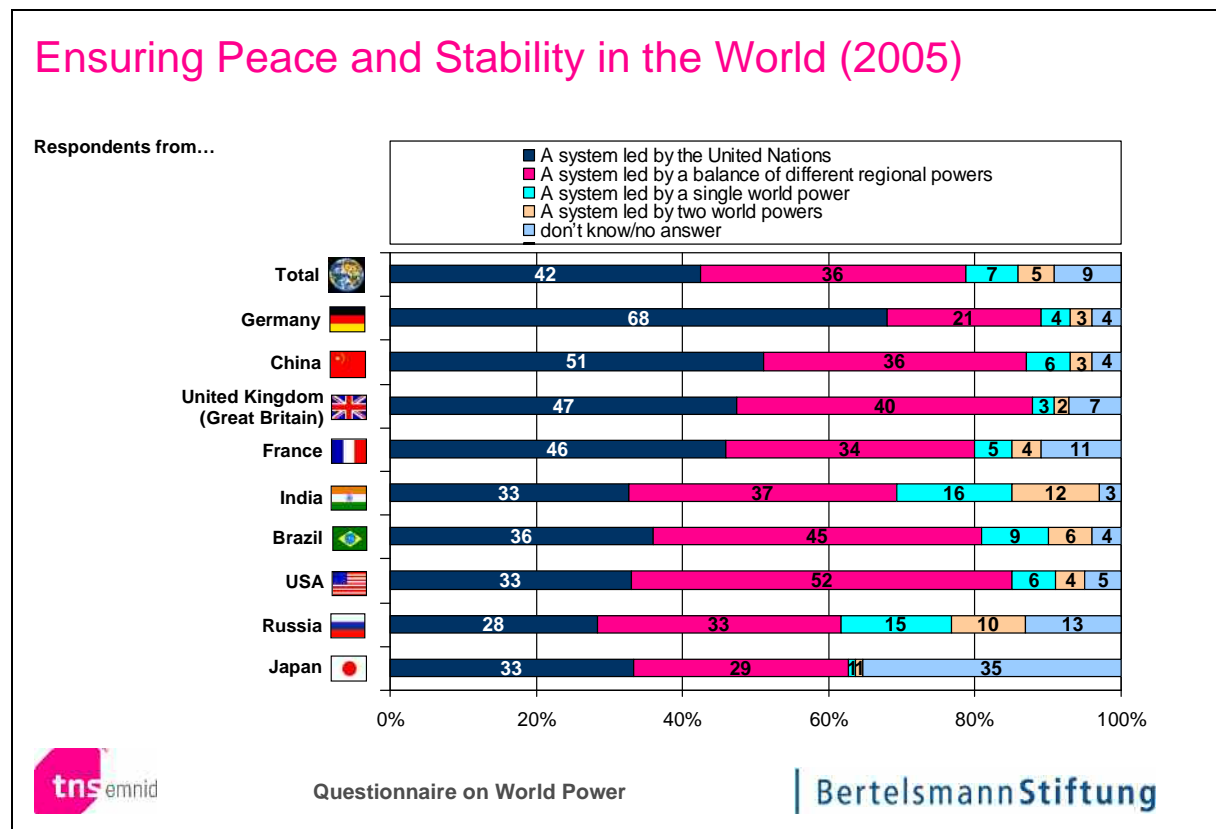
Conversely, the relative majority of the interviewees in Brazil, Russia and Japan is in favour of creating peace and stability under the leadership of regional powers.

In the United States one out of two interviewees believes that peace and stability in the world can best be ensured by regional powers. It seems that there is no intrinsic interest among the U.S. population in acting as a world power in this area, for no more than 8 per cent are in favour of a leadership role for one or two world powers.

One out of three interviewees in Japan did not answer this question. Those who actually responded tended to prefer the leadership of regional powers in the creation of peace and stability in the world.

The majority of interviewees generally reject leadership by one or two world powers. Most of the adherents of these models are to be found in India (together 33%) and in Russia (together 26%).

## Trend Comparison



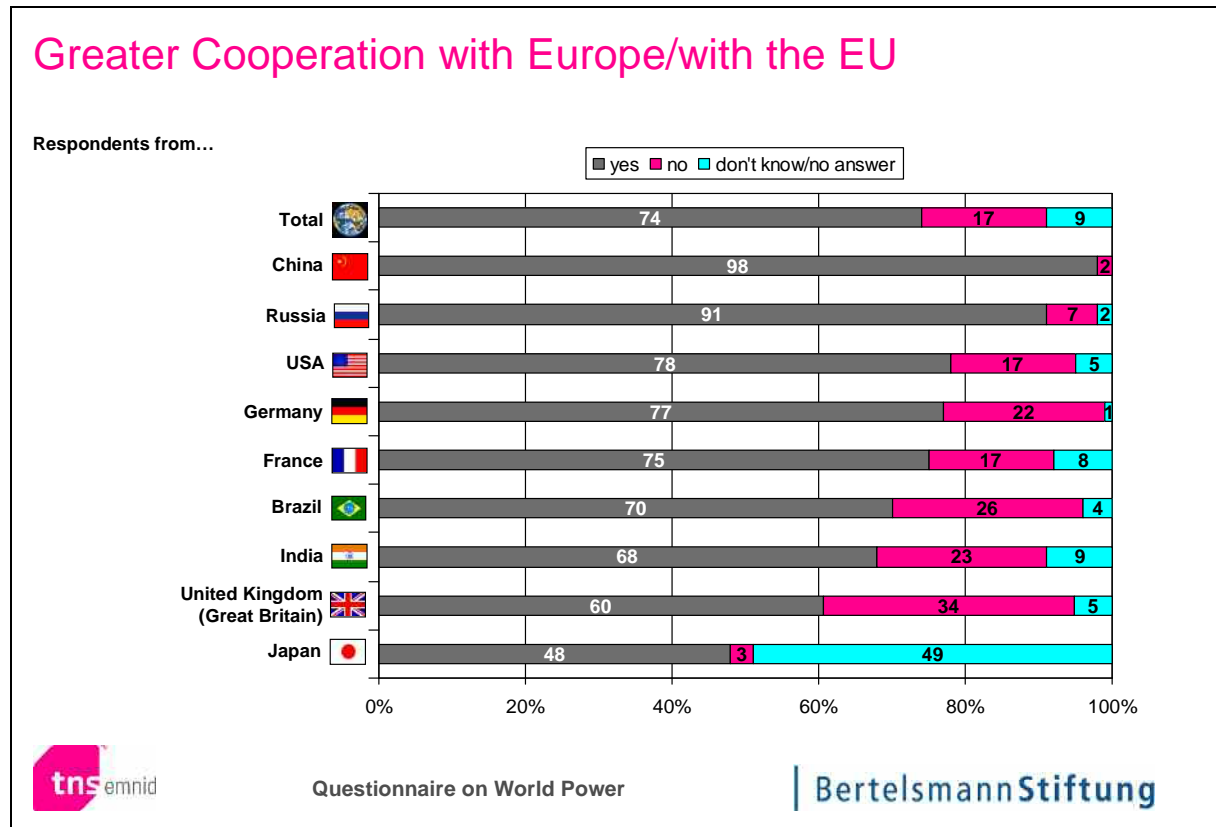
Here again a trend comparison with 2005 shows that there are only a few changes. A larger proportion of the Indian population than in the first survey is currently in favour of a leading role for the UN (+8 percentage points). On the other hand, far fewer Indians wish to see the various regional powers assuming a leading position (14 percentage points).

A comparison with the earlier survey shows that in Russia there is now a greater preference for leadership by a single world power (+5 percentage points)—possibly another indication of the greater self-confidence of the Russian population. However, more of the interviewees in Russia would currently prefer a leading role for the UN (+3 percentage points) or various regional powers (+4 percentage points). The proportion of those who did not respond to this question has declined considerably (-7 percentage points).



### 3.7 Cooperation with Europe/the European Union (EU)

- Three-quarters of the interviewees are in favour of greater cooperation with the EU or with Europe. However, in India rejection of greater cooperation has increased.



**Question:** Should [YOUR COUNTRY] strengthen its cooperation with Europe?

**Legend:** The results from the various states in which the population participated in the survey are aligned from top to bottom – in the order of the frequency of the response “yes”. The top line, which is labelled “Total”, is the median value derived from the individual results and can be used as a yardstick (or “benchmark”) with which to interpret the results from the various different countries.

On average (“Total”) 74 per cent of the interviewees believe that their country should cooperate more closely with the EU / with Europe. 78 per cent of Americans are also of this opinion.

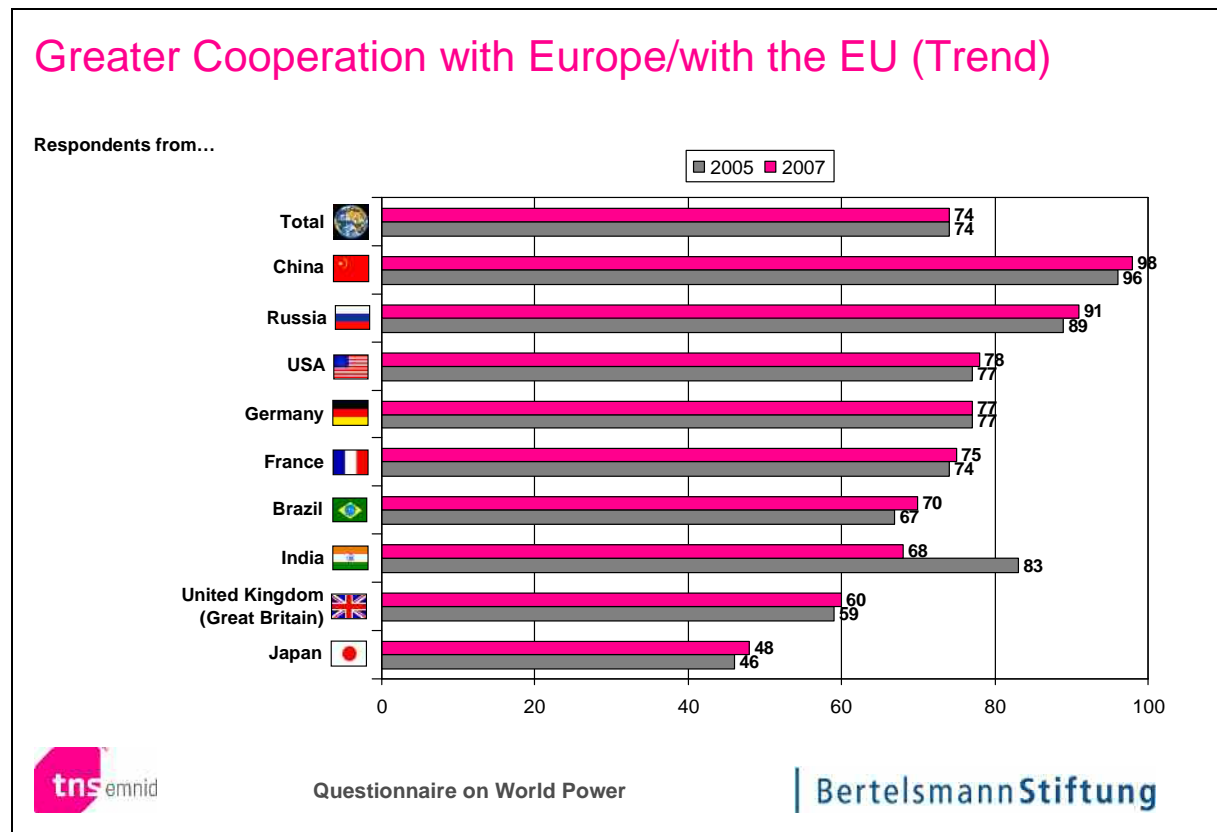
An analysis of the role of the EU on the basis of the results presented above shows that about a third of the world population believes that it now occupies and will in future occupy a world power position. However, primarily responsible for this result are the west Europeans, for without their markedly above-average responses the significance of the EU would be deemed to be far less important.

Yet when the population is asked whether it would like to see greater cooperation between its own country and the EU or Europe, an average of three-quarters (74%) is in favour of the idea, especially in China and Russia.

Whereas the majority of the Japanese population are undecided when it comes to cooperation with Europe (though the vast majority of those who can make up their minds is in favour of greater cooperation), the British population is especially sceptical about greater cooperation with the EU—almost a third of the British are against it, and only 60 per cent are in favour of the idea.

The population of the U.S. thinks differently. Here 78 per cent are in favour of greater cooperation with Europe. However, an interpretation of the results needs to take into account the level of cooperation which already exists with any particular country.

## Trend Comparison



**Legend:** The proportions of the response "yes" from the various states in which the population participated in the survey are aligned from top to bottom – in the order of the frequency of the response "yes" in 2007. The top line, which is labelled "Total", is the median value derived from the individual results and can be used as a yardstick (or "benchmark") with which to interpret the results from the various different countries.

On average ("Total") in 2005 and 2007 74 per cent of the interviewees were of the opinion that their country should cooperate more closely with the EU or with Europe.

The trend comparison shows that the opinion of the population with regard to closer cooperation with the EU has clearly changed in only one country. Whereas 83 per cent of Indians were in favour of this two years ago, only 68 per cent now subscribe to this view. Furthermore, the proportion of those who are explicitly against closer cooperation between India and Europe has risen from 13 to 23 per cent. Thus Indians are highly critical of closer cooperation. Such antipathetic attitudes are more widespread only in the United Kingdom (34%) and Brazil (26%).