

**GLOBAL PUBLIC OPINION
ON THE
US PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
AND
US FOREIGN POLICY**

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**PROGRAM ON INTERNATIONAL
POLICY ATTITUDES (PIPA)**

A joint program of the Center on Policy Attitudes and the Center for International and Security Studies at the University of Maryland



GlobeScan Incorporated is a global public opinion and stakeholder research firm with offices in Toronto, London and Washington

INTRODUCTION

In this increasingly globalized world, the governments elected in each country and the foreign policies they pursue have increasingly powerful effects on the lives of people in other countries. Likewise, in an increasingly globalized world, the attitudes of people around the world toward a country's government and foreign policy have greater implications for the affairs of that country.

These dynamics are especially true for the United States. The US has an extraordinary impact on the lives of all people in the world and, due to the reach of its political and economic engagement, is affected by attitudes of people around the world. The election of the US president is certainly one of the most significant global events to occur in the world, with powerful ramifications for every corner of the globe. And the global reactions to this event are likely to have significant consequences for the US.

Thus it is valuable for Americans to know how people around the world feel about the foreign policy of the present administration and the outcome of the presidential election.

To find out, the global polling firm GlobeScan, in conjunction with the Program on International Policy Attitudes at the University of Maryland, conducted a poll of 34,330 people in 35 countries from around the world. Polling was primarily conducted in July and August, with some countries being polled as early as May. Due to the unique difficulties of polling in some developing countries, in eleven countries the sample was limited to urban populations. The margin of error ranged from +/- 2.5-5%. See Appendix A for more details of the research methodology.

Key findings were:

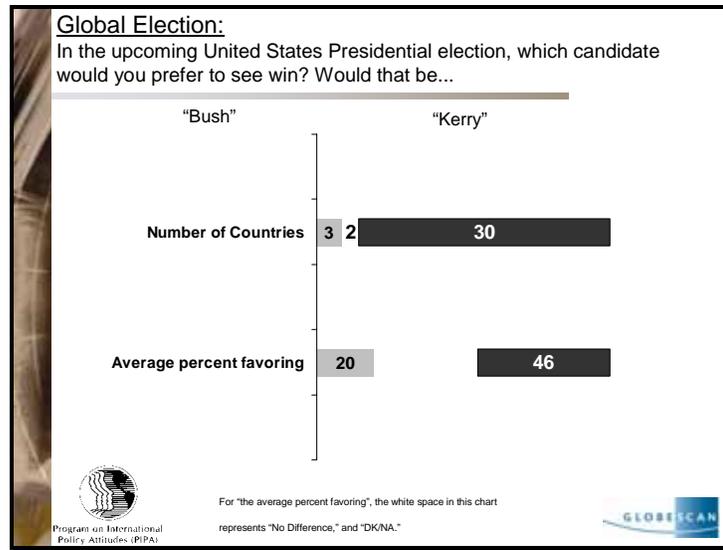
- In 30 countries a plurality or majority preferred to see John Kerry win the US presidential election; in 3 countries George W. Bush was preferred; and in two countries views were evenly balanced.
- On average, Kerry was preferred by a two-to-one margin, including when the countries were weighted for variations in population. Approximately one third said that it made no difference to them who won, or did not answer either way.
- Kerry was more popular in every region of the world and was especially popular among traditional US allies. The only countries in which Bush was more popular were the Philippines, Nigeria, and Poland.
- Asked how the foreign policy of President Bush has affected their feelings toward the US, in 30 countries a majority or plurality said it made them feel "worse," while in 3 countries more said that it had made them feel "better." In two countries views were evenly balanced. On average, 53% said it made them worse about the US, while 19% said it made them feel better.
- Negative feelings in response to US foreign policy and support for Kerry were greater among those with higher education and income levels.

Global Views of the US Presidential Election

In 30 countries a majority or plurality said they would prefer to see John Kerry win the US presidential election. Kerry was clearly preferred in all regions. President Bush was preferred in just three countries—the Philippines, Nigeria, and Poland. Two countries were divided --India and Thailand.

For all countries, on average Kerry was favored by a two-to-one margin--46% to 20%. When country samples were weighted according to their share of the global population the results were not significantly different-- 44% for Kerry, 21% for Bush.

It should be noted that overall, a third expressed no preference. Half of these (17%) said that it made no difference which candidate won. Another 17% did not provide an answer, perhaps due to the feeling that it would be inappropriate for them to say who another country should elect.



Kerry received his highest level of support from Norway (74% for Kerry to 7% for Bush), Germany (74% to 10%), France (64% to 5%), the Netherlands (63% to 6%) and Canada (61% to 16%). The one country that gave Bush a majority was the Philippines (57%--32% for Kerry) and two countries gave Bush a modest plurality: Nigeria (33% Bush- 27% Kerry) and Poland (31% Bush -26% Kerry). Two countries were divided: India (33% Bush—34% Kerry) and Thailand (33% Bush—30% Kerry).

Demographic Variations

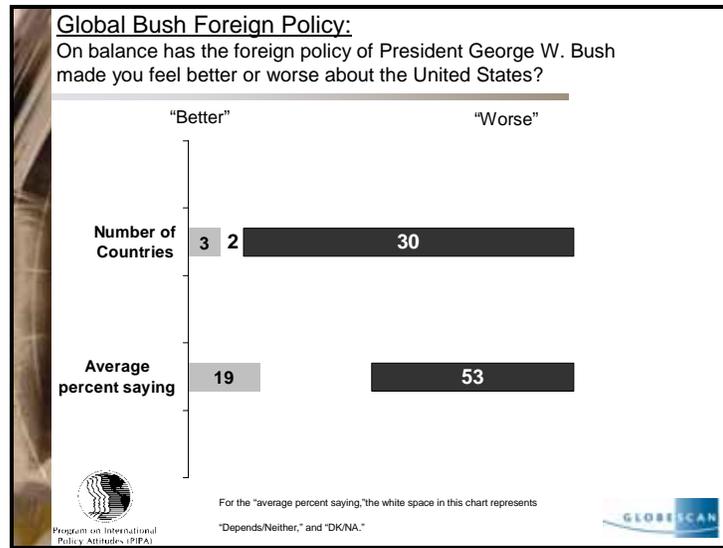
Support for Kerry was greater among those with higher education and income levels. Support for Kerry rose from 42% among those with low income levels, to 50% at medium income levels, and to 52% at high income levels, while for Bush support was constant at 20-22%. Support for Kerry also rose from 38% at low educational levels to 45% at medium educational levels, to 55% at high educational levels. For Bush at these educational levels, support was 17%, 22%, and 20%. Presumably, whatever general effect may exist that shifts attitudes toward Kerry, this effect is more pronounced among those who are better educated, as they have better access to information.

Kerry’s advantage was a bit higher among males (49%-21%), than females (42%-19%). While support for Kerry was constant at all age levels (44-47%), Bush had more support among those 18-24 (25%) than those over 65 (17%).

Global Views of Bush Foreign Policy

Asked how the foreign policy of President Bush has affected their feelings toward the US, in 31 countries a majority or plurality said it made them feel “worse,” while in 4 countries more said that it had made them feel “better.” On average, 53% said it made them worse about the US, while 19% said it made them feel better. Weighted for population, 52% said that it made them feel worse and 19% better.

Clearly, these ratios were similar to those in response to the election question. However while those saying that Bush’s foreign policy has made them feel better about the US were almost exactly as many as those saying that they favored Bush, a significantly larger percentage said that his policy had made them feel worse than said they favored Kerry. Apparently, more respondents felt comfortable expressing their dissatisfaction with Bush’s policy than expressing support for the challenger—either because they were not familiar enough with Kerry or because they felt more uncomfortable saying they would prefer a different president.



Overall, strongest negative views of US foreign policy were expressed in Germany (83% said “worse”), France (81%), Mexico (78%), China (72%), Canada (71%), Netherlands (70%), Spain (67%), Brazil (66%), Italy (66%), Argentina (65%), and the UK (64%).

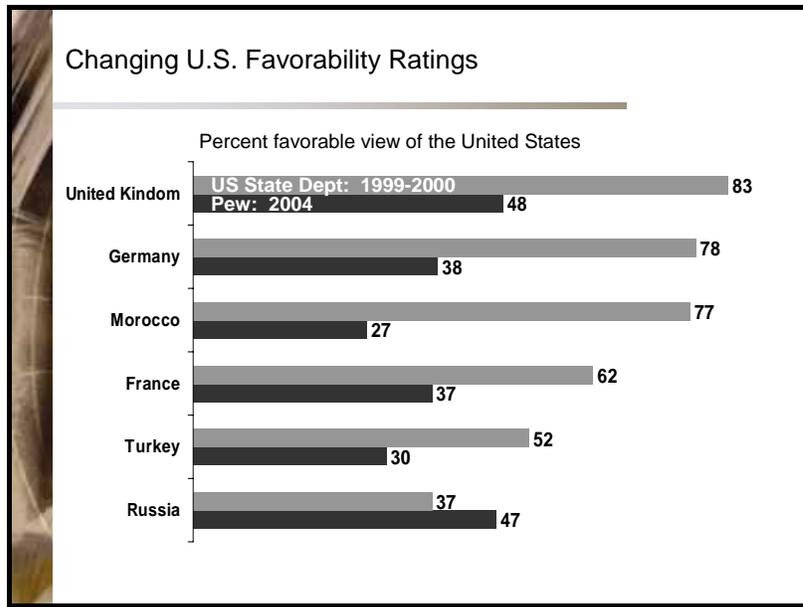
The only country in which a majority expressed a positive view was the Philippines (58% better-27% worse). A plurality expressed a positive view in India (38% better—33% worse) and Thailand (35% better and 30% worse). Nigeria was divided (36% better—34% worse) as was Venezuela (33% better-34% worse). Indonesia had an unusually high percentage saying that their feelings had gotten better (44%) but more (49%) said they had gotten worse.

Effect of Education and Income

Attitudes about the Bush foreign policy were highly related to income and education. Those saying that it made them feel worse about the US, rose from 49% among those with low income levels, to 55% at medium income levels, and to 60% at high income levels, while those saying it made them feel better was constant at 20-21%. Those saying it made them feel worse also rose from 48% at low educational levels to 52% at medium educational levels, and to 60% at high educational levels.

Are These Feelings Simply Chronic?

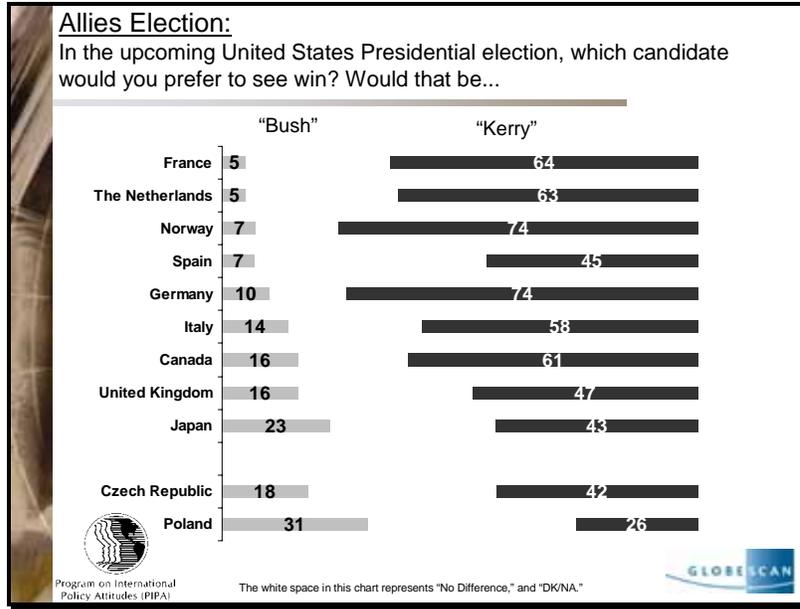
A reasonable question is whether these feelings about Bush Administration foreign policy are specific to the current period, or whether they simply reflect a type of chronic anti-Americanism. While these questions have not been asked in previous global surveys, the Pew Center has trendlines for six countries, based upon US State Department data from 1999-2000 compared to Pew’s own survey conducted in February 2004. Favorable views of the US have declined over this time in countries such as Great Britain (83% favorable in 1999-2000 to 40% in 2004), Germany (78% to 38%), France (62% to 37%), Morocco (77% to 27%), and Turkey (52% to 30%). Only in Russia, among the countries where the comparisons could be made, did public opinion become more favorable (from 37% to 47%). These longer-term trends echo the current findings that traditional friends of the US now regard us much less positively.



US Allies

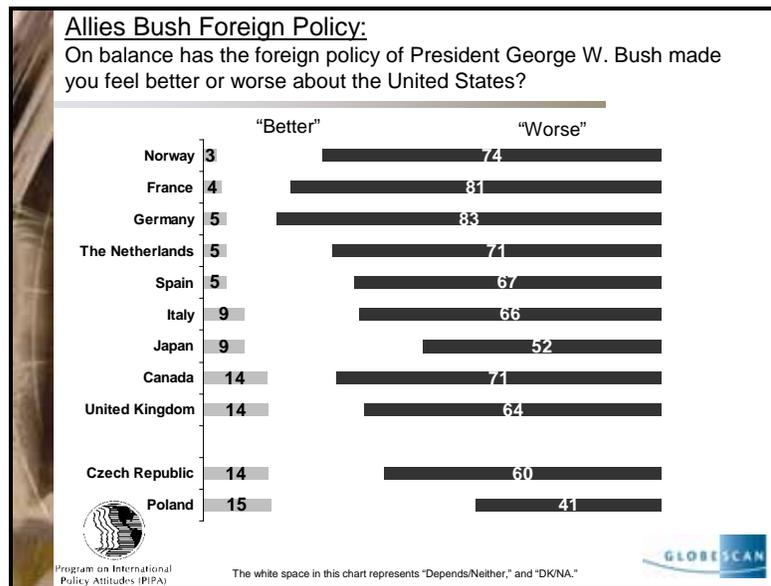
Kerry was highly preferred among America’s traditional allies. These included numerous European allies: Norway (74% for Kerry to 7% for Bush), Germany (74% to 10%), France (64% to 5%), the Netherlands (63% to 6%), Italy (58% to 14%), and Spain (45% to 7%). Even in the UK, Kerry was preferred by more than 30 percentage points (47% to 16%). Among Canadians, Kerry was preferred by 61% to 16% and among the Japanese by 43% to 23%.

The exception for Bush in Europe was a new ally, Poland, where he was preferred by a narrow plurality of 31% against 26% for Kerry. However another new ally, the Czech Republic, preferred Kerry (42% to 18%) as did Sweden (58% to 10%).



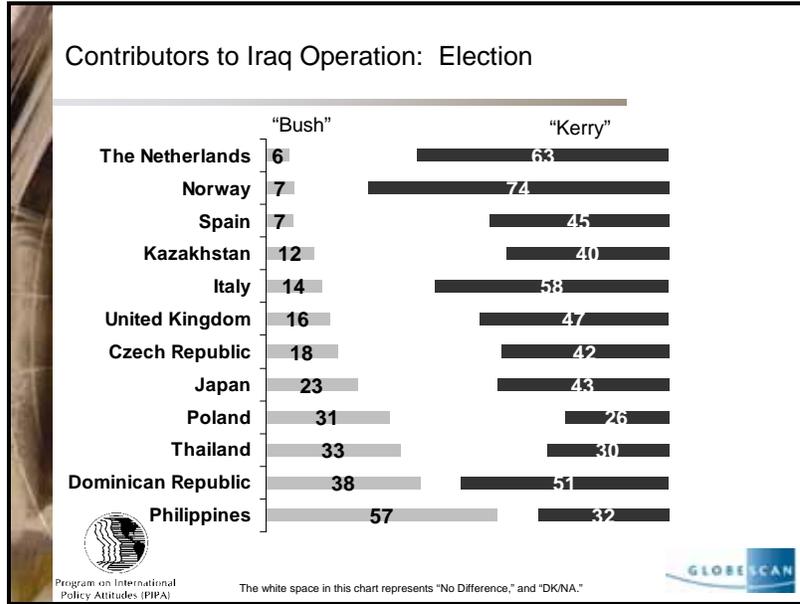
Attitudes about Bush’s foreign policy followed a similar pattern, except that even larger majorities said the Bush foreign policy made them feel worse toward the US—in some cases sharply higher, as in Spain, where 67% said that Bush’s policy made them feel worse (better 5%), while only 45% said they actually favored Kerry. Likewise in the UK, 64% said US policy has made them feel worse about the US (better 14%), while just 47% said they favored Kerry. Those with the strongest negative views were Germany (83% worse- 5% better), France (81%-4%), Norway (74%-3%) and Canada (71%-14%). Other countries with strong majorities saying the policy had made them feel worse were the Netherlands (71%-5%), and Italy (66%-9%). The Japanese were relatively mild (52% worse to 9% better).

Though a slight plurality of Poles had favored Bush, still more said that his policy made them feel worse (41%) rather than better (15%) toward the US. Among the Czechs 60% said they felt worse, as compared to 14% better.

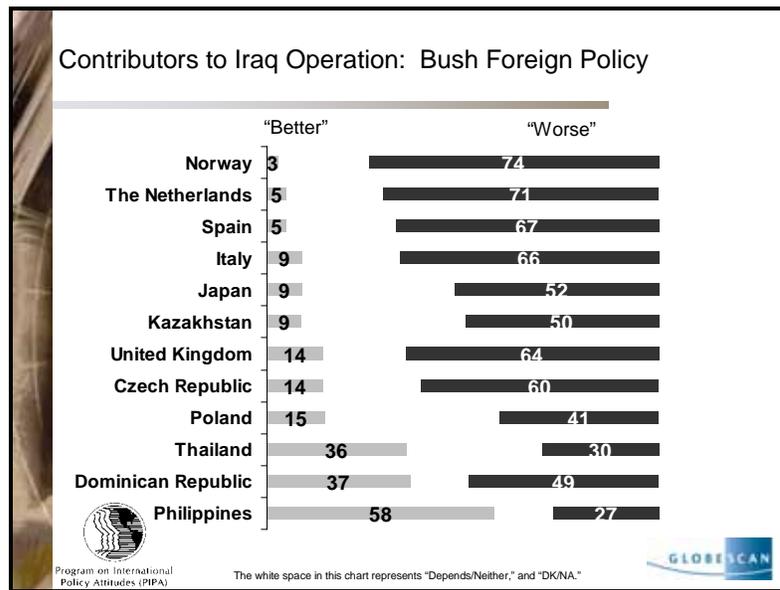


Contributors to Iraq Operation

Interestingly, among countries that have contributed troops to the operation in Iraq, pluralities or majorities favored Kerry and said that their view of the US has gotten worse under Bush’s foreign policy. These include the UK, the Czech Republic, Italy, the Netherlands, the Dominican Republic, Kazakhstan, Japan, Norway, and Spain. Thailand was divided on Kerry and Bush (33% Bush—30% Kerry). But slightly more Thais said their view of the US has gotten better (35% to 30% worse)



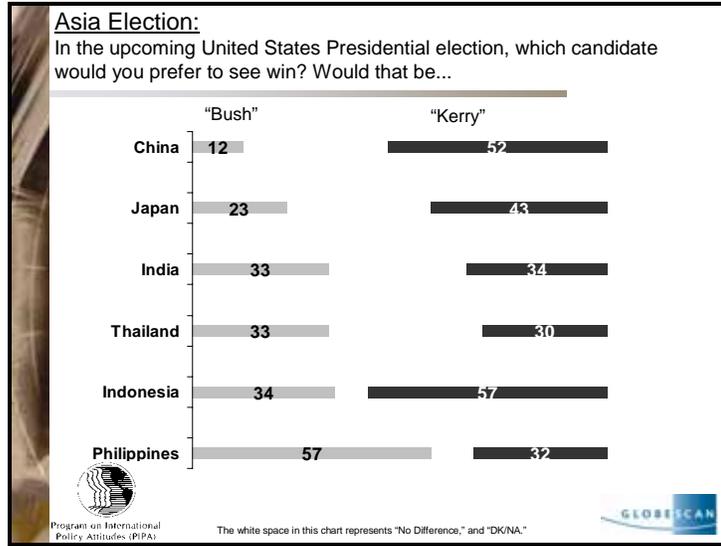
However, this group also included the two countries most favorable to Bush—the Philippines and Poland. Among Filipinos, 57% said they prefer Bush over Kerry, and 58% said that their view of US foreign policy has gotten better. But among Poles, though a modest plurality favored Bush (31% to 26%), a plurality of 41% said that their view of US foreign policy has gotten worse while only 15% said it has gotten better.



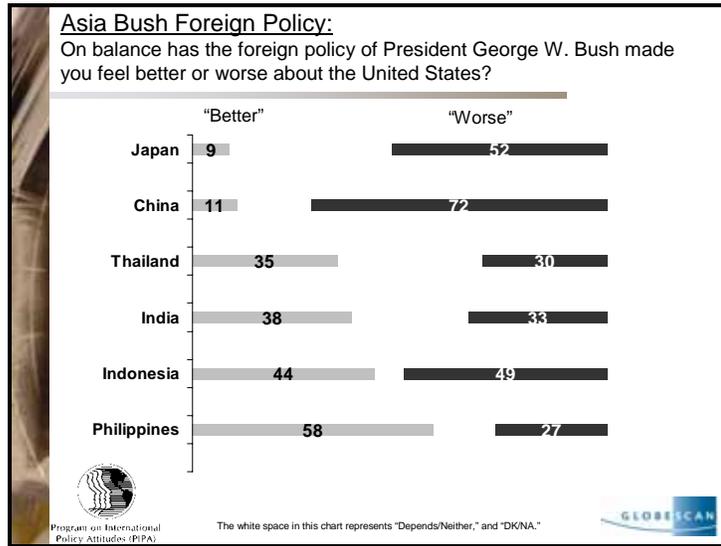
Asia

Asia was the most mixed region though Kerry still did better. He was preferred by clear majorities in China (52% to 12%) and Indonesia (57% to 34%), as well as by a large margin in Japan (43% to 23%). But publics were divided in India (Kerry 34%, Bush 33%) and Thailand (Kerry 30%, Bush 33%).

This region was also the one in which Bush won his strongest support, with 57% of Filipinos favoring him (Kerry 32%). Bush’s post-9/11 aid to the government’s efforts against the terrorist group Abu Sayyaf may have engendered significant goodwill.



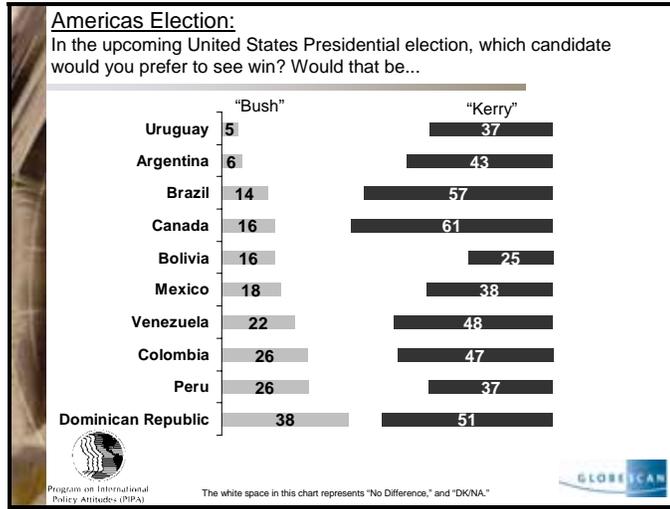
The impact of Bush’s foreign policy followed a slightly different pattern. China and Japan showed stronger negative attitudes, with 72% of Chinese saying that Bush’s policies made them feel worse about the US (better 11%), and 52% of Japanese saying worse (9% better). However, while Indians were divided on the candidates, more expressed the view that Bush’s policies made them feel better (38%) than worse (33%), and among Indonesians it was nearly divided (44% better, 49% worse).



The Americas

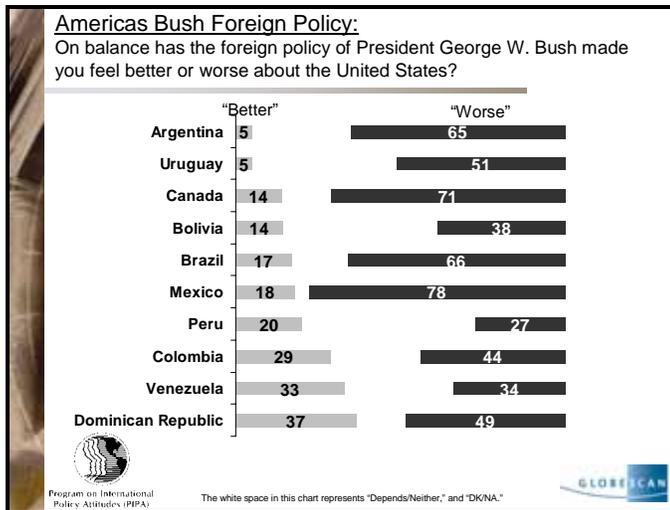
Latin Americans preferred Kerry in all nine Latin American countries polled. In only two cases, though, did Kerry get a majority: Brazil (57% to 14%) and the Dominican Republic (51% to 38%). But in most cases the spread was quite wide. These included Venezuela (48% to 22%), Colombia (47% to 26%), Argentina (43% to 6%), Mexico (38% to 18%), and Uruguay (37% to 5%). Only in Peru (37% to 26%) and Bolivia (25% to 16%) was the spread relatively narrow.

In America’s northern neighbor, Canada, 61% favored Kerry. Just 16% preferred Bush.



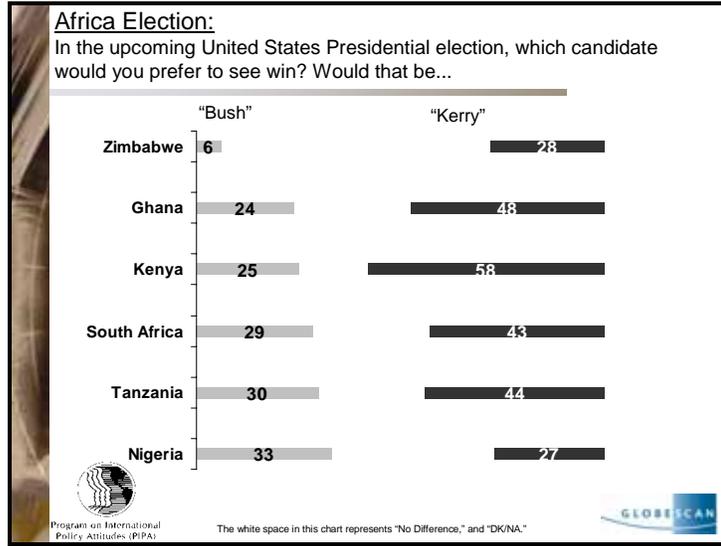
Answers to the question about the impact of Bush’s foreign policy followed a somewhat different pattern than the election question. America’s NAFTA partners were especially negative about US foreign policy—by larger margins than favored Kerry. While 61% of Canadians favored Kerry, 71% said that their view has gotten worse (better 14%). While 38% of Mexicans favored Kerry, 78% said their view of the US had gotten worse (better 18%). Views were also quite negative among Argentineans (65% worse-5% better) and Brazilians, (66% worse-17% better).

Interestingly, the only country with a divided response was Venezuela (34% worse-33% better), though Kerry was preferred by a two-to-one margin. Pluralities said their feelings toward the US had gotten worse in Colombia (44-29), Dominican Republic (49-37), Bolivia (38-14), and Peru (27-20).



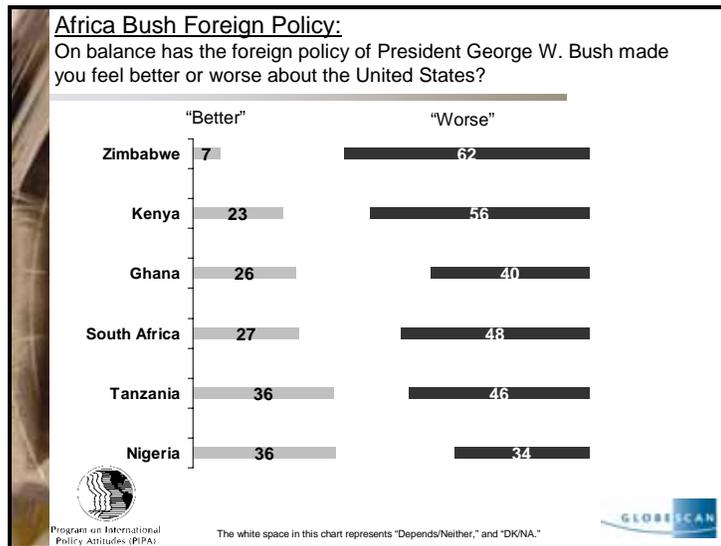
Africa

Bush was preferred in Nigeria with 33%, as compared to 27% for Kerry. However, Kerry was preferred in all other African states polled, including Kenya (58% to 25%), Ghana (48% to 24%), Tanzania (44% to 30%), and South Africa (43% to 29%). In Zimbabwe 28% favored Kerry as compared to 6% for Bush, with very high percentages saying that it made no difference to them (21%) or not answering (45%).



Negative feelings toward the US were considerably stronger. Though a majority of Zimbabweans did not express a preference for a presidential candidate, 62% said their feelings toward the US had gotten worse (better 7%). Kenyans were also quite negative with 56% saying that their feelings had gotten worse (better 23%). This was also true of pluralities in South Africa (48% to 26%), Tanzania (46% to 36%) and Ghana (40% to 26%).

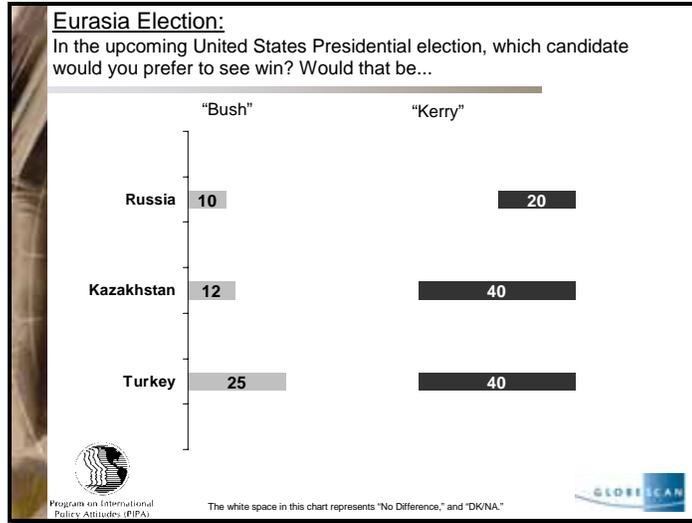
Once again Nigeria stood out, this time with a divided response. Thirty-six percent said that their views had gotten better, while 34% said they had gotten worse.



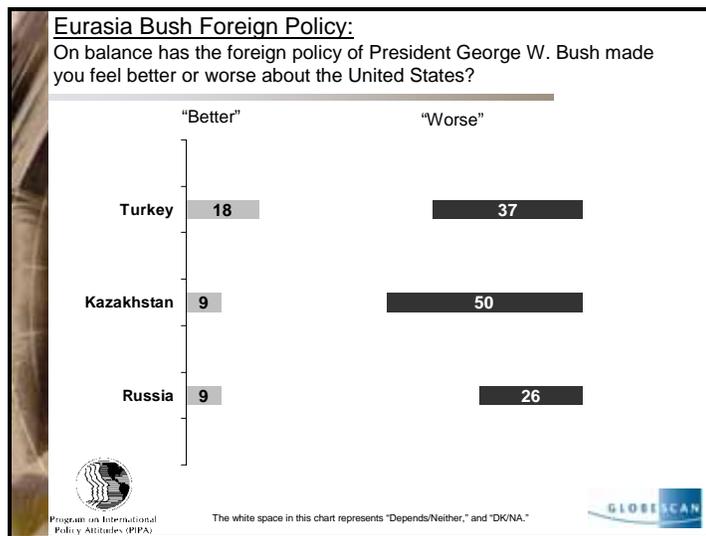
Eurasia

In Eurasian states, more preferred Kerry, though a remarkable number did not express a preference. In Russia Kerry was preferred by 20%, with 10% for Bush. An exceptionally high 41% said that it made no difference to them, while another 30% declined to answer. Responses were somewhat similar in another former Soviet state, Kazakhstan, where Kerry was preferred by 40% to 12% for Bush, with 25% saying it made no difference and 22% giving no answer.

In Turkey 40% favored Kerry while 25% favored Bush. Twenty-four percent said it made no difference.

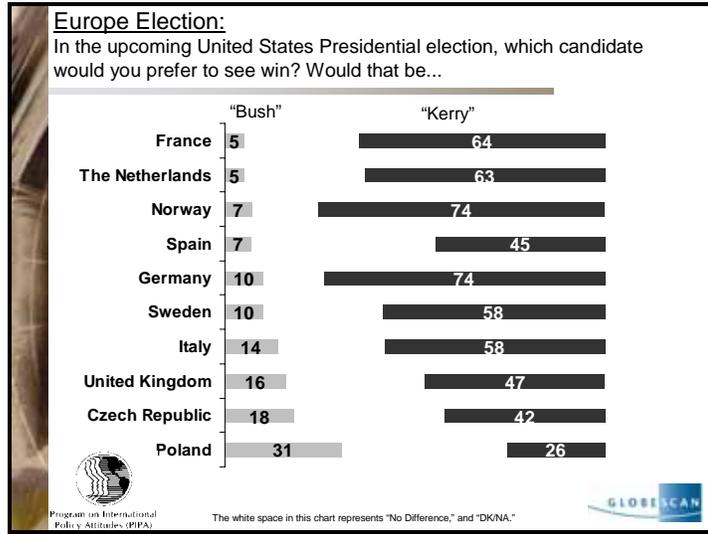


Asked about the effect of the Bush foreign policy, Russians continued to show indifference, with 49% saying it made no difference and 16% not answering. A plurality of 26% said it made them feel worse (9% better). In Kazakhstan a clearer 50% said that it made them feel worse (9% better), but still an unusually large percentage (32%) said it made no difference. In Turkey 37% said it made them feel worse, 18% better and 30% no difference.



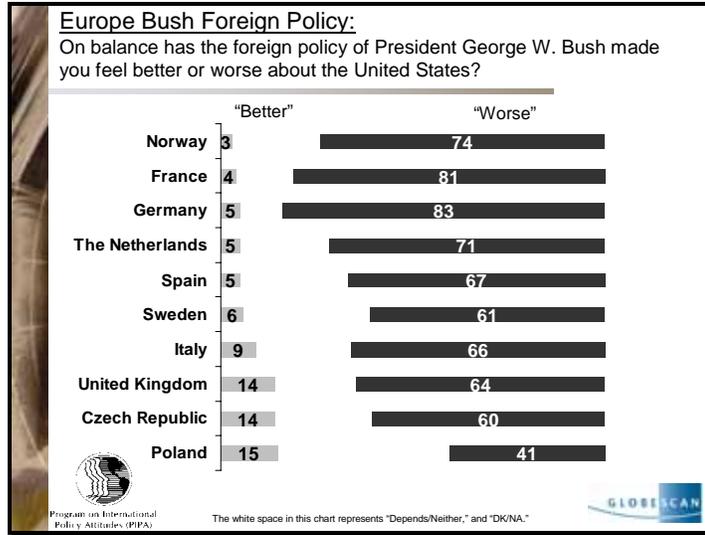
Europe

By a significant margin, Europe was the region that showed the strongest support for Kerry. It was the only region in which he was favored by a majority in most countries. These included Norway (74% for Kerry to 7% for Bush), Germany (74% to 10%), France (64% to 5%), the Netherlands (63% to 6%), Italy (58% to 14%), and Sweden (58% to 10%). In all other cases a plurality went to Kerry, including the UK (47% to 16%), Spain (45% to 7%) and the Czech Republic (42% to 18%). The one country that went for Bush, by a narrow plurality, was Poland with 31% against 26% for Kerry.



Europe was also the region with the largest majorities saying that the Bush foreign policy had made them feel worse toward the US. This was true in Germany (83% worse-5% better), France (81%--4%), Norway (74%—3%), Netherlands (71%--5%), Spain (67% to 5%), Italy (66% to 9%), Sweden (61%--6%), and the Czech Republic (60%-14%).

Poland was the only country in which a majority did not take this position. However, though, a modest plurality favored Bush, a clear plurality said that the Bush foreign policy had made them feel worse toward the US (41% worse—15% better).



GlobeScan Incorporated is a global public opinion and stakeholder research firm with offices in Toronto, London and Washington. GlobeScan conducts custom research and annual tracking studies on global issues. With a research network spanning 40+ countries, GlobeScan works with global companies, multilateral agencies, national governments and non-government organizations to deliver research-based insights for successful strategies.

The Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) is a joint program of the Center on Policy Attitudes and the Center for International and Security Studies at the University of Maryland. PIPA undertakes research on attitudes in both the public and in the policymaking community toward a variety of international and foreign policy issues. It seeks to disseminate its findings to members of government, the press, and the public as well as academia.

Methodology

The following table gives a more detailed description of the methodology used in each of the 35 countries.

Country	Sample Size (unweighted)	Field dates	Sample frame	Survey methodology	Type of sample
Argentina	1002	May 20-24, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Bolivia	1799	July 6-8, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Brazil	500	August 12-23, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Urban ¹
Canada	1598	May 27-July 5, 2004	18 years or older	Telephone	Nation-wide
China	1800	July 2-18, 2004	18 years or older	Telephone	Urban ²
Colombia	503	July 6-30, 2004	18 years or older	Telephone	Urban ³
Czech Republic	1006	June 10-25, 2004	15 years or older	Telephone	Nation-wide
Dominican Rep	500	August, 2004	15 years or older	Face-to-face	Urban ⁴
France	1001	May 17-27, 2004	15 years or older	Telephone	Nation-wide
Germany	1004	June 15-July 2, 2004	15 years or older	Telephone	Nation-wide
Ghana	1010	July 2-15, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Great Britain	1001	May 17-June 6, 2004	18 years or older	Telephone	Nation-wide
India	1016	July 7 - 19, 2004	15 years or older	Face-to-face	Urban ⁵
Indonesia	500	August, 2004	18 years or older	Telephone	Urban ⁶
Italy	1007	July 8-21, 2001	18 years or older	Telephone	Nation-wide
Japan	1475	June 16-19, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Kazakhstan	1200	July 29-August 9, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Urban ⁷
Kenya	1000	July 19-27, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Mexico	1000	July 1-15, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Netherlands	1060	July 15-27, 2004	18 years or older	Internet	Nation-wide
Nigeria	1000	July 19-27, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Norway	1002	July 13-20, 2004	15 years or older	Telephone	Nation-wide
Peru	400	July 17-20, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Urban ⁸
Philippines	500	July 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Nation-wide

Poland	922	August 5-11, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Russia	1035	June 12-22, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
South Africa	1500	July 23-28, 2004	18 years or older	Telephone	Nation-wide
Spain	522	July 26-Aug. 4, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Sweden	1000	July 12-18, 2004	15 years or older	Telephone	Nation-wide
Tanzania	1002	July 19-27, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	6 main ⁹ provinces
Thailand	1300	July 5-Aug. 3, 2004	15 years or older	Face-to-face	Urban ¹⁰
Turkey	675	Aug. 6-Sept. 1, 2004	15 years or older	Face-to-face	Urban ¹¹
Uruguay	1003	July 9-18, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Nation-wide
Venezuela	500	Aug. 17-Sept. 1, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Urban ¹²
Zimbabwe	987	July 22-25, 2004	18 years or older	Face-to-face	Nation-wide

¹In Brazil the survey was conducted in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

²In China the survey was conducted in Beijing, Shenyang, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Wuhan, Chengdu, Guangzhou, Zhengzhou, and Xi'an, representing 36% of the total population in Urban China.

³In Colombia the survey was conducted in Barranquilla, Bucaramanga, Bogota, Cali, and Medellin.

⁴In the Dominican Republic the survey was conducted in Distrito Nacional, representing 33% of the total population.

⁵In India the survey was conducted in Mumbai, Delhi, Calcutta, and Chennai.

⁶In Indonesia the survey was conducted in Jakarta, and Surabaya.

⁷In Kazakhstan the survey was conducted in Astana, Almaty, Aktau, Atyrau, Aktubinsk, Karaganda, Kustanai, Kokshetau, Kzyl-Orda, Petropavlovsk, Pavlodar, Rudny, Semipalatinsk, Taraz, Temirtau, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Uralsk, Shymkent, and Ekibastus.

⁸Greater Lima only.

⁹In Tanzania the survey was conducted in Arusha, Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Kilimanjaro, Mbeya, and Mwanza.

¹⁰In Thailand the survey was conducted in Bangkok, and urban areas, representing 30% of the total adult population.

¹¹In Turkey the survey was conducted in Adana, Ankara, Antalya, Bursa, Diyarbakir, Erzurum, Istanbul, Izmir, Konya, Samsun, and Zonguldak, representing 46% of the total population.

¹²Caracas only.

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