



FEAR IN THE MEGA-CITIES

Research Synthesis Report

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Sotto l'Alto Patronato del
**PRESIDENTE
DELLA REPUBBLICA ITALIANA**

Con il patrocinio del
MINISTERO DEGLI ESTERI



1. The spread of global worries does not create panic

The survey carried out in July 2008 in 10 Metropolitan cities around the world (London, Paris, Rome, Moscow, Mumbai, Beijing, Tokyo, New York, São Paulo and Cairo) on a sample of inhabitants between 15 and 75 years of age, reflects the image of the global megalopolis permeated with fear, which refuses to succumb to a feeling of fear or panic. A good 90.2% of the population of these huge urban population centres say that they have at least a few **small daily worries**, while 42.4% of them have one or more stronger **anxieties** (which occupy an important place in their lives). However, when asked to identify the feeling that best expresses the individual's attitude with respect to life, it seems that only 11.9% of persons allow themselves to be overwhelmed by true **fear** and that a majority of persons express optimism and confidence. 24% of the interviewees said that they live in a situation of uncertainty, while the majority, 55.3%, have a positive attitude, with some defining themselves as optimistic (24.3%), others as confident (19.8%) and yet others as enthusiastic (13.0%) (**Table 1**).

Although not the most widespread feeling, fear frequently becomes the sum total of the existence of those who have fewer cultural and economic resources. The number of daily lives marked by fear and uncertainty increases along with the decrease in well-being. Fear is named by 8% of those who live in well-off families as their predominant emotion, but by 22.5% of those who come from poorer families, with uncertainty also rising from 17.7% to 32.3% respectively. Similarly, 27.5% of those with only a primary school education report feeling fear, while among those with a higher educational level this falls to around 10%. Senior citizens are also more fragile, and with increasing age, an increasing number of persons declare that the dominant feeling in their lives is fear (8.3% among those who are 18 to 29 years old and 15.3% among those who are above 65 years of age) or uncertainty (which increases from 20.7% to 27.5%) (**Table 2**).

But above it is all the fact of living in a metropolis that conditions its inhabitants' perceptions of fear. Tokyo, São Paulo and Cairo are the cities where the sensation of fear goes beyond the surface, penetrating its depth and becoming the dominant feeling for about one quarter of the population: 26.6% in São Paulo, 23.2% in Cairo and 23% in Tokyo. Rome, on the other hand, distinguishes itself for its citizens' lack of confidence. Although fear is part of its physiological make-up (12.2%), a widespread sense uncertainty prevails in its population (46% of its citizens selected this term). Although this has not turned into worry or anxiety, it still strongly conditions the Metropolitan environment, with Rome turning out, overall, to be the least optimistic and confident of all the cities surveyed. The total value for pessimism (uncertainty + fear) is 58.2% while that for optimism (enthusiasm + confidence + optimism) only comes to 34.4%. In London and New York, despite the terrorist attacks that took place there, a more positive attitude about life prevails. Here, less than 10% of the population state that they are afraid, although uncertainty is more widespread (24% of New York's citizens used this term to describe their feelings) and about 60% of them (61.2% in London and 58.2% in New York respectively) are optimistic, confident or enthusiastic. But it is in Beijing and Mumbai that fear and uncertainty do not seem to have made much of a mark. In Beijing, 65.4% of the population have a positive view of life, with 36.2% saying that they are

optimistic and 29.2% even enthusiastic. In Mumbai, those who feel confident (49.7%) and those who are optimistic (33.6%) total 83.3%. Thus the inhabitants of the two large cities in emerging Asian countries feel optimistic about their lives, although small fears are spread throughout the population neither more nor less than in other cities, testifying in an immediate and vital way that fear can not only be processed and overcome (as in London and New York), but, above all, that it is not an obstacle to social development and growth when it is founded on shared confidence about the future (**Table 3**).

Table 1 - The intensity of fear in the Metropolitan cities, according to city, sex, age group and socio-economic conditions, 2008

| | Persons who say that they have fears (% of Total population) | Persons who say that they have at least one very strong fear (% of Total population) | Persons who say that fear is the feeling which best describes their attitude to life (% of Total population) |
|--|---|---|---|
| <i>City</i> | | | |
| São Paulo | 97.8 | 54.4 | 26.6 |
| Cairo | 88.2 | 53.6 | 23.2 |
| Tokyo | 97.7 | 33.3 | 23.0 |
| Rome | 93.2 | 45.0 | 12.2 |
| London | 74.7 | 21.5 | 9.4 |
| New York | 90.0 | 47.8 | 7.4 |
| Paris | 90.9 | 40.4 | 7.1 |
| Moscow | 99.6 | 46.0 | 2.8 |
| Mumbai | 80.5 | 39.6 | 2.5 |
| Beijing | 85.4 | 41.4 | 1.4 |
| <i>Sex</i> | | | |
| Male | 88.1 | 38.2 | 9.5 |
| Female | 92.2 | 46.4 | 14.3 |
| <i>Age</i> | | | |
| 18-29 years | 89.5 | 42.9 | 8.3 |
| 30-44 years | 90.1 | 40.3 | 11.6 |
| 45-64 years | 90.3 | 42.9 | 14.1 |
| 65 years and over | 91.9 | 46.4 | 15.3 |
| <i>Level of social and economic well-being</i> | | | |
| Very high/high | 83.8 | 31.1 | 8.0 |
| Medium | 90.5 | 42.7 | 10.7 |
| Low/Very low | 95.5 | 52.8 | 22.5 |
| Total | 90.2 | 42.4 | 11.9 |

Source: World Social Summit Survey, 2008

Table 2 - The feeling which best expresses the attitude of respondents towards life today

| | Age group | | | | Socio-economic level of the family | | | Total |
|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|--------|--------------|-------|
| | 18-29 years | 30-44 years | 45-64 years | 65 years and over | Very high/high | Medium | Low/Very low | |
| Fear | 8.3 | 11.6 | 14.1 | 15.3 | 8.0 | 10.7 | 22.5 | 11.9 |
| Uncertainty | 20.7 | 23.5 | 26.2 | 27.5 | 17.7 | 23.7 | 32.3 | 24.0 |
| Indifference | 9.7 | 8.0 | 7.9 | 11.0 | 6.9 | 9.0 | 9.1 | 8.7 |
| Confidence | 17.7 | 18.9 | 16.0 | 14.2 | 19.9 | 18.2 | 9.5 | 17.2 |
| Optimism | 27.5 | 25.5 | 25.9 | 24.8 | 28.9 | 26.8 | 19.0 | 26.0 |
| Enthusiasm | 16.1 | 12.6 | 9.9 | 7.2 | 18.6 | 11.6 | 7.6 | 12.1 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: World Social Summit Survey, 2008

Table 3 - Overall feelings about life in large global cities (%value)

| | Total | Metropolis | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|------------|-------|-------|--------|--------|---------|-------|----------|-----------|-------|
| | | London | Paris | Rome | Moscow | Mumbai | Beijing | Tokyo | New York | São Paulo | Cairo |
| Enthusiasm | 12.1 | 12.4 | 9.6 | 4.6 | 13.8 | 8.2 | 29.2 | 12.2 | 13.0 | 6.4 | 10.2 |
| Optimism | 26.0 | 24.3 | 19.5 | 22.2 | 22.0 | 33.6 | 36.2 | 23.6 | 24.8 | 24.6 | 32.6 |
| Confidence | 17.2 | 24.5 | 21.7 | 9.6 | 18.2 | 49.7 | 17.4 | 7.5 | 20.4 | 9.6 | 5.8 |
| Indifference | 8.7 | 13.5 | 15.0 | 5.4 | 9.8 | 2.5 | 3.4 | 3.7 | 10.4 | 5.6 | 15.2 |
| Uncertainty | 24.0 | 15.9 | 27.2 | 46.0 | 33.4 | 3.5 | 12.4 | 30.0 | 24.0 | 27.2 | 13.0 |
| Fear | 11.9 | 9.4 | 7.1 | 12.2 | 2.8 | 2.5 | 1.4 | 23.0 | 7.4 | 26.6 | 23.2 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Source: World Social Summit Survey, 2008

2. The absence of collective fear and the ranking of individual fears

At the top of the list of fears that affect us as individuals are **ancestral fears** of physical and mental suffering and death. 15.9% of those interviewed declared that the fear of suffering for the **loss of loved ones** is constantly present in their lives. 14.9% fear invalidity resulting from the loss of **self-sufficiency** as the result of an illness or accident. In fourth place, the **fear of being a victim of violence**, physical or verbal aggression, theft and armed robbery was selected by 11.7% of persons and is in many ways related to the preceding one. Crime, insecurity and violence are prominent both at a political and media level and seem to be the only source of insecurity, reducing the complex collection of factors at the origin of the fears to the simple issue of public order.

Also socially relevant, but linked to the material sphere, are the other fears which follow, from worry of falling behind to that of **not managing to maintain the social position** conquered with much hard work. These fears signal the widespread preoccupation with being left out, falling behind, and of being excluded, which sink deep into the social fabric of our cities. For example, in third place, even before fear of physical violence is that of not being able to maintain one's standard of life in the future (11.9%); in fifth place is the fear that their children will have a worse life than their own (10.8%), a sign that the future is an important source of worry, whether it is one's own life or that of others. In seventh place comes the worry of **losing one's house** and becoming homeless (10%) because there may be a mortgage or rent to pay; in eighth place comes the fear of **becoming jobless** and having to give up a good standard of living (9.7%) or, finally, of becoming poor and being unable to maintain one's family (9%).

Collective fears, in comparison, seem to not be excessively important for the inhabitants of large cities. The fear of **natural catastrophes** (8.5%) was felt most strongly, followed by that of **terrorist attacks** (8.2%), and **mass epidemics** or **food poisoning** (7.1%). Few seem really worried about the possibility of war or an international conflict, considering that only 6.7% of interviewees identified this as an important fear in their lives.

3. The geography of fear

The ranking of fears does not seem to change when looked at according to the personal condition of interviewees – sex, age, educational level, social level, professional level – of those interviewed. Whether it is a question of young people or senior citizens, men or women, educated persons, rich or poor, social fears seem to be present in a uniform manner the world over. This is further confirmation of the feeling of multiple and multi-dimensional pervasiveness that distinguishes the fears of our age. At the same time it is superficial and relatively insensitive to the socio-demographic conditions of the metropolis, with just a few exceptions. The fear of **losing one's intellectual faculties**,

for example, is felt more strongly by senior citizens (14.9% of those over 65) than younger people (8.8% of those between 18 and 29 years of age) and occupies a central position in retirees' fears (who put it in third place). There is also the **worry of failure**, of not being able to live up to others' expectations (felt more keenly by those who declare that they come from families with a high socio-economic level), or of not being able to take advantage of opportunities in a rapidly moving society (this too from those who are well-to-do).

The picture that emerges on analysing the rankings of individual cities is however much more complex, with significant differences not only in perception, but also and above all in the type of fear. This confirms that **fear** is a **feeling strongly conditioned by the place where it exists** and develops, and whose people it speaks for. The mechanism that determines the birth of human fears is however extremely complex.

It is impossible to identify demarcation lines between the West and the rest of the world, be it North or South or cities in rich, poor or developing countries, except for a generally stronger **trend towards individual fears in big European cities**. In other parts of the world, the so-called collective fears still occupy a central position, especially in Asia, because evidently the risks they identify are so real for them (**Table 1**).

In **Tokyo**, for example, one of the most fearful cities in the world, the **fear of an earthquake** (indicated by 16.1% of the population as being very present in their lives) or of other natural catastrophes (tsunamis, hurricanes, etc.), outstrips all the other fears by a large margin. Fears of not being able to maintain the same standard of living in the future (9.3%) or of becoming an invalid as the result of illness or being the victim of an accident (8.3%) are minor in comparison. It is striking to see the fear of flying in fourth place in the capital of innovation and technology, selected by 7.5% of the inhabitants interviewed, before the fear of losing loved ones, which seems to be a relatively infrequent fear ("only" 4.3% of the respondents chose this), evidently a result of that country's religious traditions. In **Beijing** also, the risk of earthquakes and **natural disasters** strongly influences daily lives and is one of the two most frequent fears (15.4%), practically at par with that of **violence, aggression and theft** (15.6%). And in third place, at almost the same level, the inhabitants of the Chinese capital fear losing their homes (15.2%). Immediately after this comes the fear of a terrorist attack (15%, but it should be remembered that this survey was carried out just before the Olympic Games), of mass epidemics and food poisoning (14.8%) or the fear that war could break out (14.4%). **Mumbai**, like Beijing, is a city of optimism and confidence, yet its citizens have many different fears. The fear of becoming an **invalid following an accident** or illness occupies the first rank (23.6%) followed by the fear of a **natural disaster** (22%), that of losing one's home (17.3%, in third place), being the victim of a mass epidemic (14.2%) and being the victim of violence (14.2%). Fear also comes from the idea that war could break out (in fifth place with 13.5%), while in this city the fear of pain and physical suffering is relatively low (8.5%), practically in one of the last positions. In 2008, the fears of the people of **New York** are easy to pinpoint. The main source of worry comes from the fear of **not being able to maintain the same standard of living in the future** (17.2% of those interviewed put this in first place as a strong fear in their lives), followed by the fear of a terrorist attack (16.6%) or an international conflict (14.6%). The fear of personal mental pain, exemplified by suffering due to the death of loved ones (14.2%) and physical pain such as becoming an invalid following an accident

or illness (12.6%) are secondary in comparison, practically on the same level as the fear of violence, which is in fifth place with 12.8% of responses.

London, at least initially, looks like a special case, as it is the city with the **fewest worries**. The fear of suffering from the death of loved ones (indicated by 11.8% of interviewees) stands out. However the ranking of fears in daily life seems to faithfully mirror the overall trend, with the fear of being a victim of physical violence in second place, that of no longer being self sufficient in third and the fear of a terrorist attack in fourth place.

Rome, divorced from real risks, seems instead to symbolise an individualist society in its ranking of fears. At the top of the list of Roman fears is that of **becoming an invalid as a result of an illness or accident** resulting in no longer being self-sufficient (21% of respondents), followed in second place by the fear of suffering due to the loss of loved ones (19.4%) and in third place that of **losing one's intellectual faculties** (18.6%). Fear of the future seems to be spread over time. Parents are worried that their children will have a worse life than their own (selected by 14% of Romans) and, more important, the fear that the standard of living is getting worse (in seventh place, chosen by 8.2% of the population). **The fear of being a victim of violence and physical aggression was in fifth place** (9.8%).

The citizens of **Paris** too, like Rome, rank individual fears at the top of their list. 23% of Parisians fear of mental suffering (in first place) followed by losing their intellectual faculties (16.3%) or self-sufficiency (15%) and the fear that their children could have a worse life (13%). Next comes the fear of crime (11.8%) and of being jobless (12.8%), followed by becoming poor (11.6%) or losing one's house (11.4%).

In **Moscow**, a restless city undergoing frenzied changes, the top fear is of not being self-sufficient (20.4%), together with that of being a **victim of crime**, of physical aggression, violence, theft and armed robbery (19%). After this is the fear of being personally left out and becoming poorer. This is followed by the fear of becoming jobless (14.6% of the population put this in third place), of remaining alone, not being able to start a family (14%), of becoming poor (13.8%) and of losing one's house (13.4%). In comparison, the fear of suffering the loss of loved ones (13%) is definitely secondary.

São Paulo in Brazil mirrors the ranking of global fears quite faithfully, with the fear of mental suffering (24.8%) and of not being self sufficient (19.8%), followed immediately by the fear **violence**, aggression and theft (18.8%). Note also that the fear of flying, in seventh place, was selected by 10.6% of the interviewees.

Cairo, on the other hand, displays a unique cross section of fears and worries. The fear of losing loved ones occupies the first place (23.4%) and is followed (17.2%) by the worry of **not being able to keep up in a fast moving society** because of not being able to take full advantage of opportunities. In third place is the fear of not being self-sufficient (16.6%), followed by that of being struck by natural disasters (15%), of becoming jobless or not finding a job (15%), of becoming poor (14.6%), of not being able to maintain the same standard of living in the future (14.4%), of losing one's house and seeing that one's children have a worse life than one's own. In comparison, the fear of being a victim of theft, armed robbery, purse snatching and violence is relatively unimportant (12.4% of interviewees, in twelfth place).

Table1 – The top 8 fears identified as very important in the lives of citizens of global Metropolitan cities (%values.)

| The top 8 fears | |
|-----------------|--|
| London | Losing loved ones (11.8) Being the victim of natural disasters (earthquakes, tsunamis, hurricanes) (2.4) Flying (2.4) Being the victim of a mass epidemic or food poisoning (2.2) Being a victim of aggression, petty theft and armed robbery (2.0) Remaining alone (1.8) Being the victim of a terrorist attack (1.8) Not being self sufficient as a result of an illness or an accident (1.6) |
| Paris | Losing loved ones (23.0) Losing one's intellectual faculties (16.3) Not being self sufficient as a result of an illness or an accident (15.0) Fear that my children's lives will be worse than mine (13.0) Becoming jobless (12.8) Being a victim of aggression, petty theft and armed robbery (11.8) Becoming poor (11.6) Losing my house (11.4) |
| Rome | Not being self sufficient as a result of an illness or an accident (21.0) Losing loved ones (19.4) Losing one's intellectual faculties (18.6) Fear that my children's lives will be worse than mine (14.0) Being a victim of aggression, petty theft and armed robbery (9.8) Losing my house (8.6) Not being able to maintain the same standard of living in the future (8.2) Becoming jobless (5.2) |
| Moscow | Not being self sufficient as a result of an illness or an accident (20.4) Being a victim of aggression, petty theft and armed robbery (19.0) Not being able to maintain the same standard of living in the future (17.8) Becoming jobless (14.6) Remaining alone (14.0) Becoming poor (13.8) Losing my house (13.4) Losing loved ones (13.0) |
| Mumbai | Not being self sufficient as a result of an illness or an accident (23.6) Being the victim of natural disasters (earthquakes, tsunamis, hurricanes) (22.0) Losing my house (17.3) Being a victim of aggression, petty theft and armed robbery (14.2) Being the victim of a mass epidemic or food poisoning (14.2) Being the victim of a terrorist attack (13.8) Fear that war could break out (13.5) Fear that my children's lives will be worse than mine (13.2) |
| Beijing | Being a victim of aggression, petty theft and armed robbery (15.6) Being the victim of natural disasters (earthquakes, tsunamis, hurricanes) (15.4) Losing my house (15.2) Being the victim of a terrorist attack (15.0) Being the victim of a mass epidemic or food poisoning (14.8) Fear that war could break out (14.4) Losing loved ones (14.0) Not being self sufficient as a result of an illness or an accident (13.8) |

Table 1 contd.

| | |
|---|--|
| Tokyo | Being the victim of natural disasters (earthquakes, tsunamis, hurricanes) (16.1) |
| | Not being able to maintain the same standard of living in the future (9.3) |
| | Not being self sufficient as a result of an illness or an accident (8.3) |
| | Fear of flying (7.5) |
| | Becoming jobless (7.4) |
| | Becoming poor (7.0) |
| | Remaining alone (6.8) |
| <hr/> | |
| New York | To fail, to not come up to other people's expectations (6.8) |
| | Not being able to maintain the same standard of living in the future (17.2) |
| | Being the victim of a terrorist attack (16.6) |
| | Fear that war could break out (14.6) |
| | Losing loved ones (14.2) |
| | Being a victim of aggression, petty theft or armed robbery (12.8) |
| | Not being self sufficient as a result of an illness or an accident (12.6) |
| Becoming jobless (10.6) | |
| <hr/> | |
| São Paulo | Fear that my children's lives will be worse than mine (10.0) |
| | Losing loved ones (24.8) |
| | Not being self sufficient as a result of an illness or an accident (19.8) |
| | Being a victim of aggression, petty theft or armed robbery (18.8) |
| | Fear that my children's lives will be worse than mine (17.4) |
| | Not being able to maintain the same standard of living in the future (14.8) |
| | Losing one's intellectual faculties (14.2) |
| Losing my house (10.6) | |
| <hr/> | |
| Cairo | Fear of flying (10.6) |
| | Losing loved ones (23.4) |
| | Being unable to take advantage of opportunities in a fast-moving society (17.2) |
| | Not being self sufficient as a result of an illness or an accident (16.6) |
| | Becoming jobless (15.0) |
| | Being the victim of natural disasters (earthquakes, tsunamis, hurricanes) (15.0) |
| | Becoming poor (14.6) |
| Not being able to maintain the same standard of living in the future (14.4) | |
| <hr/> | |
| | Fear that my children's lives will be worse than mine (14.0) |

Source: World Social Summit Survey, 2008

4. Why fear is growing

Many consider fear the most useful key to understanding today's society. There is also a widespread impression that individual and social fears continue to grow. On asking whether their own sensation of fear has changed in the last 8-10 years, overall 38.9% of respondents answered that it had increased, 21.9% that it had decreased and 39.2% that it has stayed the same (**table 4**).

The difference between cities is significant. Side by side with cities where there is a clear feeling that personal **fears have increased such as Tokyo** (where 61.7% of respondents say that this is true), **São Paulo** (52.6%) and to a certain extent **New York** (48.8%) and **Rome** (46.6%), and where only a small minority is of the opposite opinion, there are others where the data that emerges is much more contradictory. In Paris, London and Mumbai the number of persons who say that fear has increased equals those who say that it has decreased, with the majority saying that it has remained

unchanged. In Moscow, too, the percentage that feel that fear has increased (42.6%) is practically the same as those who say the opposite (43.2%) but only a very small proportion of the respondents say that it is unchanged. The data from Beijing is decidedly positive, however. This is the only city where the number of those who feel that fear has decreased (38.4%) significantly exceeds those who feel it has increased (15.4%).

But above and beyond the social situation, which is an important point of reference to determine the relationships of individuals with their own fears, the survey shows especially how the sense of insecurity and worry have grown in the last few years within some social groups. First and foremost, this is visible among those most at risk of exclusion who, as already pointed out, are a frequent problem in contemporary society. **Although 29.6% of well-to-do persons interviewed state that their personal fears have increased, this proportion rises to 57.7% for those who are less fortunate.** Secondly, although less marked, a greater proportion of women (44.7%) consider their fears to have increased in recent years when compared to men (33%).

Table 4 – The change in personal sense of fear with respect to 8-10 years ago (% value)

| | Increased | Decreased | Unchanged | Total |
|------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| Tokyo | 61.7 | 8.3 | 30.0 | 100.0 |
| São Paulo | 52.6 | 22.2 | 25.2 | 100.0 |
| New York | 48.8 | 16.4 | 34.8 | 100.0 |
| Rome | 46.6 | 7.4 | 46.0 | 100.0 |
| Moscow | 42.6 | 43.2 | 14.2 | 100.0 |
| Cairo | 40.0 | 18.0 | 42.0 | 100.0 |
| Paris | 27.8 | 20.9 | 51.4 | 100.0 |
| London | 24.1 | 21.5 | 54.4 | 100.0 |
| Mumbai | 23.6 | 23.9 | 52.5 | 100.0 |
| Beijing | 15.4 | 38.4 | 46.2 | 100.0 |
| 10-city average | 38.9 | 21.9 | 39.2 | 100.0 |

Source: World Social Summit Survey, 2008

5. Mechanisms which fuel fear

When asked to explain why fear is increasing in society, the answers that top the list include factors that indicate structural changes that are making a deep impression on the evolution of our social fabric. These include a **reduction in the level of social protection** (chosen by 30.7% of respondents), widespread alienation which is the result of **the loss of solidarity** and respect among people (29.7%), the **increase in violence**, due to terrorist groups, xenophobic groups, etc (29.6%) (**Table 5**).

Next in order, 21.3% of the metropolitan population state they are worried as a result of **problems of growth** and development immediately followed, in fifth place, by 18.6% of respondents who feel that fear is increasing as a result of **information in all sectors** (from politics to economics) fuelling worry and fear.

Globalisation subjects society to sudden changes, making it increasingly difficult to plan our lives, and according to 16.7% of respondents this is an important factor in increasing fear. Only a small minority blame science or immigration, with 8.1% of respondents blaming the increase of fear on illegal immigration and related crime and 5.3% of them blaming scientific and technological progress for exposing society to new risks and dangers.

Obviously, the scale of importance of the various factors that drive these fears varies significantly between cities. In London and New York, violence occupies the first place (indicated respectively by 43.4% and 31.7% of inhabitants), followed immediately by the role of information (29.7% in London and 26.6% in New York, almost on an equal footing with the loss of core values of solidarity and respect among people). In Mumbai too, almost half of the respondents agree that fear increases because violence and terrorism have grown (47.4%). Right after this, they blame the effects of globalisation, which makes it impossible to plan the future. The results from Rome follow the general rankings quite closely except for the greater importance given to illegal immigration (in fourth place, indicated by 19.7% of Romans). In Paris, São Paulo and Moscow, it is the loss of values of solidarity among people, the loss of the protective fabric of the family and society that raises the level of fear. For the majority of inhabitants in Beijing and Tokyo, the increase in fear is related to worries about economic problems or the risk of a crisis (35.8% and 46.7% respectively of respondents) and in second place, the increase in violence.

Commenting briefly about the idea that fear increases as a result of **the information and media network** we see, as predicted, the existence of widespread awareness, especially in the western world, of the role of the so-called "entrepreneurs of fear", who turn anxiety and worry into social fears.

Thus, if fear is recognised as a feeling that can be manipulated in many ways and can be easily exploited, citizens are also aware that some people have a personal stake in increasing the permanent level of anxiety to justify their acts. **Mass media** who ride the fear tiger to increase audience share (according to 20.4% of respondents), come behind the **politicians**, who are considered to be among those who foment fear to distract attention from real problems and create consensus (29.6% of respondents), and the **terrorist groups** (25.7%) whose declared aim is that of causing fear (**Table 6**).

But the manipulation of fear also has important economic uses, when large companies (for example arms and security companies) fuel fear with the intention of increasing the demand for the goods they produce, such as weapons or safety systems, or for religious proselytism, which is a way for some groups to recruit new members (3.8%). And fear provides is such an effective push towards social cohesion that even common people can have an interest in using it to feel less lonely (5.3%) by sharing something, however unpleasant, with others, creating unity.

Table 5 – Opinions on the causes of increased world fear (% value)

| | Because the level of security in society has decreased | Because there is less solidarity and respect among people | Because violence has increased (terrorist groups, xenophobic groups, etc) | Because of worry with regard to national growth/development | As a result of information in all sectors (from politics to economics) which tends to fuel fear | Because the sudden changes in modern societies make it difficult for persons to plan their future | Because scientific and technological progress put society at environmental and food-related risk | Because illegal immigration and related crime have increased |
|------------------------|--|---|---|---|---|---|--|--|
| London | 23.7 | 20.5 | 43.4 | 12.8 | 29.7 | 16.9 | 5.9 | 5.0 |
| Paris | 29.6 | 41.9 | 23.8 | 17.7 | 27.7 | 15.0 | 6.5 | 4.6 |
| Rome | 37.8 | 27.6 | 12.8 | 20.7 | 13.8 | 11.2 | 2.6 | 19.7 |
| Moscow | 38.9 | 15.4 | 29.3 | 18.3 | 22.1 | 25.0 | 8.2 | 12.5 |
| Mumbai | 14.3 | 8.6 | 47.4 | 13.7 | 19.4 | 28.6 | 7.4 | 2.9 |
| Beijing | 22.1 | 22.1 | 23.2 | 35.8 | 18.9 | 23.2 | 8.4 | 9.5 |
| Tokyo | 27.8 | 34.4 | 37.5 | 46.7 | 13.9 | 13.4 | 2.8 | 9.0 |
| New York | 22.1 | 28.8 | 31.7 | 16.7 | 26.6 | 12.2 | 2.9 | 5.4 |
| São Paulo | 43.5 | 34.5 | 30.7 | 13.0 | 10.7 | 10.0 | 5.1 | 5.6 |
| Cairo | 33.3 | 43.4 | 15.4 | 10.5 | 11.0 | 29.8 | 9.2 | 5.7 |
| 10-city average | 30.7 | 29.7 | 29.6 | 21.3 | 18.6 | 16.7 | 5.3 | 8.1 |

Source: World Social Summit Survey, 2008

Table 6 – Those who, according to respondents, increase peoples' fears (% value)

| | Politicians, in order to distract the attention of people from real problems | Terrorist groups, to create a permanent state of alarm and tension | The mass media, to increase their audience and sell more | Companies, to sell more | People, to let out their fears | Religious groups, to recruit new members | Other | Total |
|------------------------|--|--|--|-------------------------|--------------------------------|--|------------|--------------|
| London | 25.7 | 38.0 | 14.1 | 12.9 | 5.2 | 4.0 | - | 100.0 |
| Paris | 31.9 | 27.6 | 27.0 | 4.7 | 3.7 | 4.7 | 0.4 | 100.0 |
| Rome | 28.6 | 7.0 | 47.8 | 3.6 | 4.4 | 1.6 | 7.0 | 100.0 |
| Moscow | 23.8 | 21.4 | 17.2 | 20.0 | 9.4 | 3.8 | 4.4 | 100.0 |
| Mumbai | 23.9 | 29.6 | 20.4 | 7.5 | 1.9 | 3.1 | 13.5 | 100.0 |
| Beijing | 18.4 | 48.4 | 14.4 | 8.2 | 1.8 | 6.2 | 2.6 | 100.0 |
| Tokyo | 37.3 | 21.7 | 12.5 | 2.8 | 10.1 | 6.8 | 8.7 | 100.0 |
| New York | 31.2 | 33.2 | 22.2 | 5.4 | 3.8 | 2.4 | 1.8 | 100.0 |
| São Paulo | 49.4 | 10.8 | 16.6 | 8.8 | 6.2 | 3.2 | 5.0 | 100.0 |
| Cairo | 24.9 | 19.5 | 9.9 | 9.4 | 5.9 | 2.7 | 27.7 | 100.0 |
| 10-city average | 29.6 | 25.7 | 20.4 | 8.5 | 5.3 | 3.8 | 6.7 | 100.0 |

Source: World Social Summit Survey, 2008

6. Fighting global fears

If a strong individuality and personal identity are the bulwark of a society composed of small nuclei which provides individualised responses to private fears, we should not be surprised that, **in order to fight global fears**, most respondents (31.3%) feel that, firstly, everyone should be more **responsible and committed**. 21.3% feel that more attention and space should be given to relationships with persons, giving capable individuals the responsibility to prepare the ground for confidence, building relationships and trust, which are necessary for the society, making people responsible for fighting their own fears (**table 7**).

But in order to count on a society that makes it easier to fulfil those individual abilities, it is necessary to ensure respect for rules and greater public order, as hoped for by 31% of the city dwellers interviewed. These persons also seem willing to give up part of their liberty (only 7.3% maintain that more liberty is needed for all) to allow this to take place. The person who is without fear feels free, and this can only happen when he is protected from dangers that threaten him and fuel his fears. This trend, with different shades and varying emphasis, is common to all the big cities, indicating a special demand for greater law and order (this item was the first choice in all the cities) in Cairo (47%), London (45%), Rome (38.6%) and Moscow (34.2%). On the other hand, only 6.1% of respondents on average identify the police (5.4%) and very minimally public institutions (0.7%) as subjects that support them most. This proportion is however most significant in Mumbai (27.3%) and in Tokyo (25.2%).

Table 7 – What is necessary, according to respondents, in order to face fear (% value)

| | More responsibility and commitment from all | More order and respect for rules | More space for and attention to relationships between persons | More liberty for all | Greater well-being | Total |
|------------------------|---|----------------------------------|---|----------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| London | 39.4 | 45.0 | 4.4 | 4.2 | 7.0 | 100.0 |
| Paris | 43.9 | 28.5 | 18.9 | 3.5 | 5.1 | 100.0 |
| Rome | 35.0 | 38.6 | 14.6 | 2.6 | 9.2 | 100.0 |
| Moscow | 25.4 | 34.2 | 20.6 | 5.4 | 14.4 | 100.0 |
| Mumbai | 22.6 | 27.7 | 5.3 | 33.6 | 10.7 | 100.0 |
| Beijing | 32.8 | 21.6 | 29.8 | 9.8 | 6.0 | 100.0 |
| Tokyo | 36.6 | 10.1 | 27.6 | 2.4 | 23.3 | 100.0 |
| New York | 37.8 | 29.0 | 24.2 | 4.8 | 4.2 | 100.0 |
| São Paulo | 23.6 | 25.4 | 41.4 | 5.0 | 4.6 | 100.0 |
| Cairo | 11.5 | 47.0 | 21.5 | 11.3 | 8.7 | 100.0 |
| 10-city average | 31.3 | 31.0 | 21.3 | 7.3 | 9.0 | 100.0 |

Source: World Social Summit Survey, 2008