Mortality Salience and the Uncanny Valley

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Abstract— Abstract. It seems natural to assume that the more closely robots come to resemble people, the more likely they are to elicit the kinds of responses people direct toward each other. However, subtle flaws in appearance and movement only seem eerie in very humanlike robots. This uncanny phenomenon may be symptomatic of entities that elicit a model of a human other but do not measure up to it. If so, a very humanlike robot may provide the best means of finding out what kinds of behavior are perceived as human, since deviations from a human other are more obvious. In pursuing this line of inquiry, it is essential to identify the mechanisms involved in evaluations of human likeness. One hypothesis is that an uncanny robot elicits an innate fear of death and culturally-supported defenses for coping with death's inevitability. An experiment, which borrows from the methods of terror management research, was performed to test this hypothesis. Across all questions subjects who were exposed to a still image of an uncanny humanlike robot had on average a heightened preference for worldview supporters and a diminished preference for worldview threats relative to the control group.
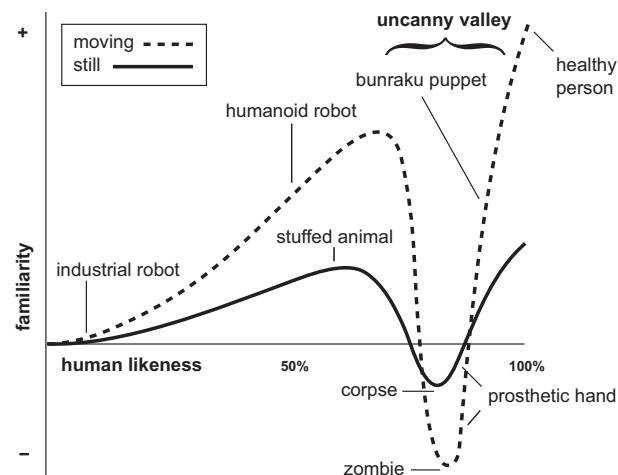
Fig. 1. As a robot designer, Mori graphed what he saw as the relation between human likeness and perceived familiarity: familiarity increases with human likeness until a point is reached at which subtle differences in appearance and behavior create an unnerving effect [12]. This he called the *uncanny valley*. According to Mori, movement amplifies the effect.

I. INTRODUCTION

An experimental apparatus that is indistinguishable from a human being, at least superficially, has the potential to contribute greatly to an understanding of face-to-face interaction in the social and neurosciences. Such a device could be a perfect actor in controlled experiments, permitting scientists to vary precisely the parameters under study. It could also serve as a testbed for cognitive theories, including theories about how the brain acts as a control system in mediating whole-bodied communication. The device would also have the advantage of having the physical presence that simulated characters lack. Unfortunately, no such device yet exists, nor will one any time soon; nevertheless, robots are being built that with each new generation more closely simulate human beings in appearance, facial expression, and gesture [11] [9] [10]. They are capable of eliciting some of the kinds of responses that people direct toward each other but not toward mechanical-looking robots.

Humanlike robots, often referred to as *androids* in the robotics literature to distinguish them from mechanical-looking humanoid robots, may prove more capable of eliciting a subject's model of a human other than any other contrivance to date. One apparent symptom of their potential for eliciting human-directed responses is a phenomenon Masahiro Mori identified as the *uncanny valley* [12].

Mori predicted that, as robots appear more human, they seem more familiar until a point is reached at which subtle imperfections create a sensation of strangeness (see Fig. 1). He noted that some prosthetic hands are, at first glance, indistinguishable from real hands. They simulate muscles, tendons, veins, skin pigmentation, fingernails, and even finger prints. However, if you shook one, the lack of soft tissue and cold temperature would give you a shock. The fact that these hands can move automatically only increases the sensation of strangeness (as shown by the dashed line in Fig. 1). To build a complete android, Mori believed, would only multiply this eerie feeling many times over: Machines that appeared too lifelike would be unsettling or even frightening inasmuch as they resemble figures from nightmares or films about the living dead. Therefore, Mori cautioned robot designers not to make the second peak their goal—that is, total human likeness— but rather the first peak of humanoid appearance to avoid the risk of their robots falling into the uncanny valley.

The uncanny valley can, however, be seen in a positive light. While many nonbiological phenomena can violate our expectations, the eerie sensation associated with the uncanny valley may be particular to the violation of (largely nonconscious) human-directed expectations. If very humanlike robots are capable of eliciting human-directed expectations, then subjects can be used to evaluate the human likeness of their behavior to an extent that would be impossible if mechanical-looking robots were used instead.

Unfortunately, there has been little direct scientific investigation of Mori's uncanny valley hypothesis in the past 35 years. Clearly, there are many qualitatively different ways of deviating from human norms of appearance and movement, some of which are more uncanny than others. In addition, the relation between appearance and behavior in creating a subjective impression of familiarity or human presence has not been well explored, nor how habituation affects that impression.

This paper attempts to explore one possible explanation of the uncanny valley — that when a humanlike robot elicits an eerie sensation it is because the robot is acting as a reminder of mortality. It attempts to test this hypothesis through the experimental methods used by terror management theory (TMT). TMT studies have correlated subliminal reminders of mortality with a wide range of attitude changes. If an android affects people's attitudes without them knowing it, this raises ethical concerns that need to be addressed. If, however, an android is a conscious reminder of death, this could impede its future adoption, although people would likely habituate to the effect to some extent. In either case, the looks or movement of the device would need to be enhanced to prevent unwanted effects.

A. Terror Management Theory

Like other species *Homo sapiens* are highly motivated to avoid dying. Yet unlike other species they are in the potentially terrifying position of knowing that death is inevitable. Inspired by Ernest Becker's *The Denial of Death* [2] and other works, for more than two decades Jeff Greenberg, Tom Pyszczynski, Sheldon Solomon, and their colleagues have been developing a theory concerning how human beings manage their fear of personal extinction [17] [4]. The theory has been supported by more than 200 experiments. They posit a dual-process model. Conscious thoughts of death are either suppressed (e.g., by thinking about something else) or their immediate significance is rationalized away (e.g., "My grandmother lived to be 90.") [13]. Nonconscious thoughts of death elicit defense processes that mitigate anxiety concerning the certainty of death by supporting a person's worldview and self-esteem:

> Along with the evolutionary emergence of cognitive abilities that enabled members of our species to comprehend our own mortality, our ancestors developed a solution to the problem of death in the form of a dual-component cultural anxiety buffer consisting of (a) a cultural worldview — a humanly constructed symbolic conception of reality that imbues life with order, permanence, and stability; a set of standards through which individuals can attain a sense of personal value; and some hope of either literally or symbolically transcending death for those who live up to these standards of value; and (b) self-esteem, which is acquired by believing that one is living up to the standards of value inherent in one's cultural worldview. [13]

Pyszczynski et al. (1999) contrast the *proximal* terror management defenses elicited by conscious thoughts of death with subliminally-elicited *distal* defenses. Distal defenses may address the threat at a level of abstraction different from that
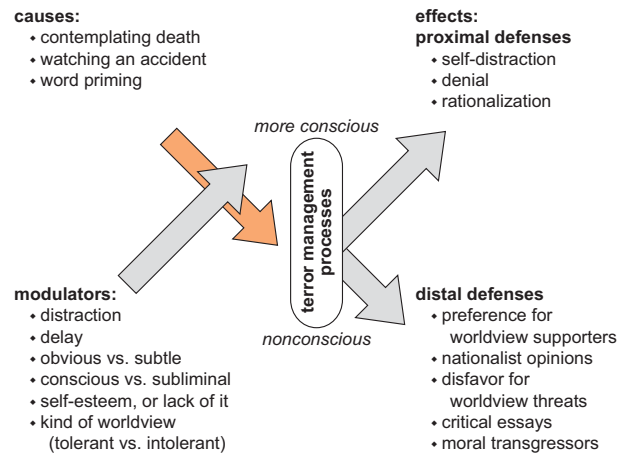

Fig. 2. Terror management theory explores the relationship between reminders of death and the defense processes they elicit, including the modulating effects of intervening treatments.

at which it is perceived and understood. Since distal defenses operate outside of consciousness (or at its fringes), they need not be rationally connected to the threat and may be best described as *experiential* in nature [16].

The *mortality salience hypothesis* predicts that, if having a worldview guards people from anxiety about the inevitability of death (e.g., by giving a literal or symbolic explanation of how death is transcended), those who have been subliminally reminded of death will react more favorably to information that supports their worldview and less favorably to information that undermines it. The hypothesis has been supported by numerous experiment, which have shown, for example, that mortality salience causes people to more strongly prefer essays that praise their country to those that criticize it [5] [6] [7], to prefer charismatic candidates over relationship-oriented candidates [3], and to judge moral transgressors more harshly [15].

Such distal defenses as worldview protection are active when thoughts of death are not conscious but still accessible, such as when subjects have been distracted from death-related thoughts or after a period of delay [6] [7]. They are, however, immediate for such subliminal priming as when the word *death* is flashed between the appearance of two other words for an interval too brief to result in one's conscious awareness of it [1]. Although a fear of death can produce affective and physiological responses, evidence suggests that these responses do not mediate distal defenses; rather distal defences can occur in their absence [13].

B. Appraising human likeness by means of terror management defenses

A basic research question concerns whether very humanlike stimuli sometimes cause an eerie sensation because they remind us of death and mortality, either consciously or subliminally. For example, an android that is not animated — or not animated like a living person — may look dead. This may
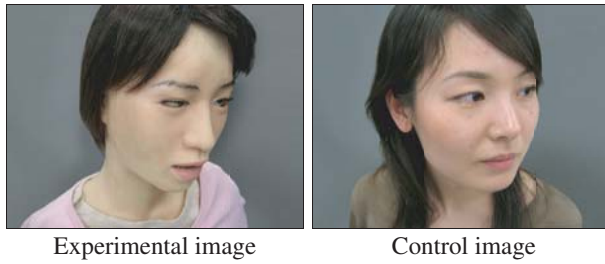
Experimental image   Control image

Fig. 3. The image on the left is the visual stimulus used for the experimental group. It is the head, neck, and upper torso of an android robot. The eyes are turned up and there is a gap between the eyes and eye lids because this part of the android has been powered off and disconnected from the rest of its body. The image on the right is the visual stimulus used for the control group. It depicts an Asian female in her early 20s.
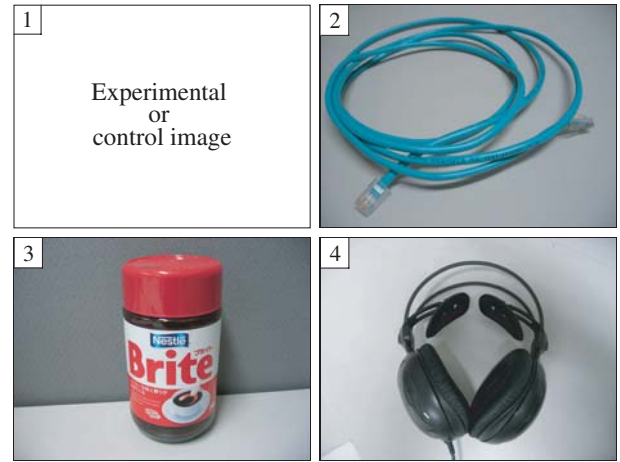

Fig. 4. Participants sequentially viewed either the experimental image or the control image shown in Fig. 3 and then three other images (2–4). The images were 460 pixels in height and were captioned female figure, ethernet cable, nondairy creamer, and headphones.

remind us, if only subconsciously, of the fact that we too shall die, thus setting in motion defensive mechanisms that influence our attitudes in characteristic ways. If so, we can measure these changes of attitude to explore the terrain of uncanny valley.

More specifically, the mortality salience hypothesis predicts that nonconscious but accessible thoughts of death will result in distal defenses resulting in a heightened preference for stimuli that support a person's worldview and a decreased preference for stimuli that threaten it. If the appearance or behavior of a very humanlike robot, to the extent that it is uncanny, elicits proximal or distal terror management defenses, the effects of these defenses provide a means of quantitatively appraising the human likeness of its appearance and behavior. This then places the focus on the causes of TMT defenses (see Fig. 2). So while much research on terror management explores the range of manifestations of terror management defenses (e.g., "Will people who have been reminded of their mortality be more likely to judge moral transgressors harshly?"), the current research assumes the manifestations past studies have correlated with mortality salience are valid indicators of worldview defense, and then considers the range of stimuli that elicit them.

II. EXPERIMENT: DOES AN UNCANNY APPEARANCE ELICIT DISTAL DEFENSES?

The experiment was designed to test the hypothesis that an android with uncanny appearance elicits the same distal defenses that reminders of death do. The evaluation criteria are derived from known mortality salience effects in the terror management theory literature: a heightened preference for charismatic politicians relative to relationships-oriented ones [3] and a heightened preference for foreign students who praise a participant's country relative to those who criticize it [5] [6] [7]. In addition, mortality salience is gauged by word completion puzzles that are expected to show a participant's preference for death-related word completions indicative of the nonconscious activation of death-related associations.

A. Method

1) Participants: There were 63 participants, 25 male and 38 female, of whom 17 were 16 to 20 years old, 18 were 21 to 25, 9 were 26 to 30, 11 were 31 to 40, and 8 were over 40. All participants could communicate in English with 48 growing up in English speaking countries (5 Australia, 3 Canada, 1 Ireland, 1 New Zealand, 7 United Kingdom, and 32 United States) and 14 growing up in non-English speaking countries (1 Austria, 4 Israel, 1 Italy, 2 Korea, 1 the Netherlands, 1 Portugal, 2 Spain, 1 Turkey, and 1 Yugoslavia). Participants were recruited from Zone.com, an online gaming site. Four participants did not submit results for the word completion puzzles only. The participants were all volunteers and none received remuneration.

2) Procedure: Instructions. The solicitation for the experiment explained that (1) it involves filling out an online questionnaire; (2) it is for research on a cognitive mechanism that is common to all people; (3) the participant's abilities would not be evaluated; and (4) further details concerning its purpose will be revealed only after the questionnaire has been completed. Potential participants were also told (5) it takes about 10 minutes to complete the questionnaire; (6) it must be completed in order and in one uninterrupted sitting; and (7) they should relax and just give the first answer they think of. Those who agreed to participate were given a link to the questionnaire website.

The website reiterated points 5 to 7 above and summarized the contents of the questionnaire: "You'll be shown some pictures, and you'll be asked some questions to see what you remember about them. Then you will be asked about a couple of excepts from political speeches and comments made by foreign students. Then you will solve some word puzzles." The wording of the questionnaire was intentionally informal because past studies have found that an informal experimental setting is more conducive to mortality salience effects [16], perhaps because participants tend to follow base their judgments on gut feelings rather than rational arguments. The computer, session, and starting time were uniquely identified to ensure that the same individual had not filled out the questionnaire more than once, and indeed nobody had.

Participants were asked their gender, approximate age, the country

where they grew up, and then had to consent to the experiment: "This questionnaire is voluntary, so you may quit at any time. Data collected may be used in future studies, but it will be stripped of personal information. Clicking *I consent* means you want to go ahead."

Group assignment and stimuli. Participants were then randomly assigned with equal probability to either an experimental group or a control group. There were 31 participants in the experimental group and 32 in the control group. Those in the experimental group viewed the uncanny image of an android, while those in the control group viewed the image of a young Asian female (see Fig. 3). (Perhaps the main reason the android looked uncanny was because the eyes were looking up and sunken because the android was powered off and separated from its base.) In all other respects, the questionnaire was identical for both the experimental and control group. The subjects then viewed in sequence three "neutral" images. For each of the four images, they were instructed to view the image for a couple of seconds and then press a button labeled *view next image*.

Delay. The participants were then asked eight questions about the images. The answers to these questions were not kept. The questions served two functions: they distracted participants about the true purpose of the questionnaire since they concerned recall, and they added a delay before the questions relevant to terror management theory. Past TMT research has found that mortality salience effects appear immediately after subliminal priming on death but only after a delay when death is perceived consciously. Without knowing in advance whether the android would serve as a reminder of death and, if so, whether participants would be conscious of it as such, it was though prudent to insert a delay.

Worldview-related questions. Participants were next asked to read campaign speeches from two political candidates and to rate on a nine-point scale how well they liked each candidate and how insightful they thought each candidate was. They were then asked which candidate they would vote for. The first speech was *charismatic* and the second was *relationship-oriented* (see Appendix A). The speeches were loosely paraphrased from a previous study that indicated subjects in whom a subconscious fear of death has been elicited are more likely to prefer charismatic leaders [3].

The same five questions were repeated for two foreign students who commented on their experience living in the participant's home country: Participants had to rate on a nine-point scale how well they liked each student, how insightful each student was, and which student they would support if both were running for president of the student government. The first student praised the participants' country, while the second student criticized the participants' country. These questions were motivated by a previous study that indicated subjects in whom a subconscious fear of death has been elicited are more likely to prefer people who support their worldview [5] [6] [7].

Word completion puzzles. Participants were next given 35 word completion puzzles of the following form:

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RELA___G
    ?
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A button under each puzzle reads, "Give yourself three seconds to think of the missing letter with a ? under it, and then click here." After clicking the button, the puzzle vanishes and several choices would appear among which the participant may select only one. In the above puzzle, for example, a participant might select X to signify *relaxing*:

◯ T ⦿ X ◯ Y ◯ other / don't know

The participants would then be taken to the next question.

Following the TMT literature, dispersed among this set of 35 puzzles are 7 that allow participants to choose among word completions, one of which is related to death. These puzzles are intended to detect a subconscious activation of death-related concepts. The puzzles in the questionnaire are listed below with italics denoting the death-related option: COFF––: *coffin,* coffee; SK––L: skill, *skull*; MUR––R: murmur, *murder*; GRA––: grace, grade, grate, *grave*, graze; BUR–E–: burden, burger, *buried*, burned/burner, burped, burred; –EAD:
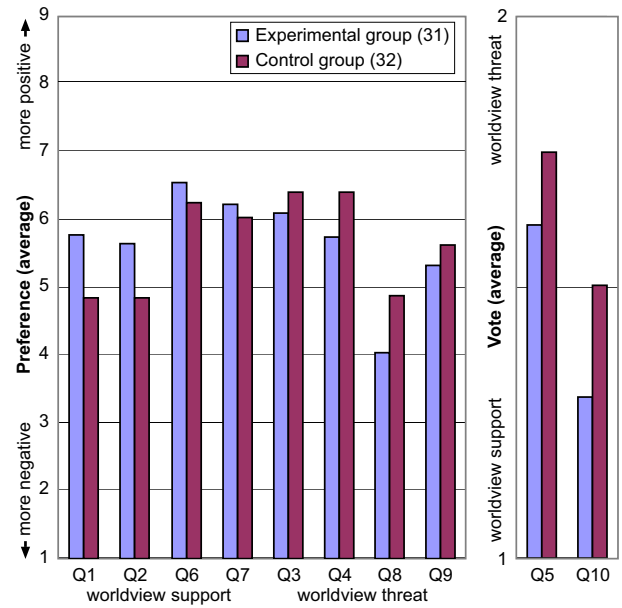

Fig. 5. The experimental group shows more of a preference for the charismatic candidate (questions 1 and 2) and less of a preference for the relationship-oriented candidate (question 3 and 4) relative to the control group. They were also less likely to vote for the relationship-oriented candidate (question 5). This reproduces part of the results of [3] but using an android as the experimental stimulus. The experimental group likewise shows more of a preference for the foreign student who praises their home country (questions 6 and 7) than the one who criticizes it (questions 8 and 9) relative to the control group, and they would vote for the praising student by a wide margin (question 10). This reproduces part of the results of [5] [6] [7] but using an android as the experimental stimulus.

bead, *dead*, head, lead, mead, read; STI––: stick, *stiff*, still/stile/stilt, stink/stint/sting.

A further 7 questions are intended to detect a subconscious activation of concepts that are roughly synonymous with the uncanny. The puzzles are listed below with with italics denoting the option related to the uncanny: WEI––: weigh, *weird*; ––EEPY: *creepy,* sleepy; –DD: add, *odd*; UN–A––Y: *uncanny*, unhappy, unmanly; –––LIAR: familiar, *peculiar*; ST––GE: storage, *strange*; OM––US: *ominous*, omnibus.

The remaining 23 puzzles are unrelated to death and the uncanny. They are intended to disguise the true purpose of the experiment. Among 63 participants, 59 submitted results for the word completion section.

Suspicion and qualitative remarks. Finally, the participants were asked whether they had any difficulty completing the questionnaire; whether they had any suspicion concerning what the questionnaire was about; and what their impression was of the four images shown at the beginning. Some participants in the experimental group were selected for further questions concerning their impression of the uncanny image of the android. The participants were finally debriefed concerning the purpose of the experiment.

B. Results

Worldview-related questions. The results show on average a consistent preference for worldview supporters and against worldview threats in the experimental group (see Table 1 and Fig. 5). The experimental group rated the charismatic political

Question	Experimental	Control
1	5.77 (5)	4.84 (5)
2	5.65 (6)	4.84 (5)
3	6.10 (6)	6.41 (7)
4	5.74 (6)	6.41 (7)
5	1.61 (2)	1.75 (2)
6	6.55 (7)	6.25 (6)
7	6.23 (6)	6.03 (6)
8	4.03 (4)	4.88 (5)
9	5.32 (5)	5.63 (6)
10	1.29 (1)	1.5 (1.5)

candidate nearly a point higher for likeability ($+0.93$) and insight ($+0.80$) and rated the relationships-oriented candidate lower on likeability (-0.31) and insight (-0.66). The experimental group rated the foreign student who praised the partipants' country higher for likeability ($+0.30$) and insight ($+0.19$) and rated the one who criticized it lower on likeability (-0.84) and insight (-0.30). (For preference questions, 1 = strongly negative, 5 = neutral, and 9 = strongly positive.)

The charismatic candidate lost by 7 votes in the experimental group (12 to 19) but by 16 votes in the control group (8 to 24), more than double the margin. The praising and critical foreign students tied in the control group (16 to 16), while the praising foreign student won by a 13 vote margin in the experimental group (22 to 9). (For voting questions, 1 = worldview-supportive candidate and 2 = worldview-critical candidate.)

It is difficult to show strong statistical significance for any isolated question in the worldview section owing to a high variance in the data. The average standard deviation for questions 1 to 4 and 6 to 9 was 2.00 and for questions 5 and 10 it was 0.48. However, when the values were summed together with sign changes on questions that the mortality salience hypothesis predicts will be disfavored by the experimental group, Student's t-test (two tails, heteroscedastic) showed statistical significance among the candidate-related questions ($t = 0.0307$) and overall ($t = 0.0348$).

Word completion puzzles. Among the 28 participants in the experimental group, there were 49 death-related word completions as compared to 38 among the 31 participants in the control group, 85 uncanny-related word completions as opposed to 66 in the control group, and 134 combined death and uncanny-related word completions as opposed to 104 in the control group (see Table 2).

On average the experimental group had 0.524 more death-related word completions, 0.907 more uncanny-related word completions, and 1.430 more death and uncanny-related word completions than the control group (see Table 3).

Student's t-test (two tails, heteroscedastic) showed strong statistical significance uncanny-related questions ($t = 0.0132$), but not for death ($t = 0.0963$) related questions. For combined death and uncanny-related questions, the statistical significance was the highest ($t = 0.00542$).

The median time spent viewing the first image was 12 seconds, and the average time was 21.9 seconds. (The first image is the android head in the experimental group and the Asian woman in the control group.) The minimum time was 2 seconds, and the three longest times were 262, 127, and 67 seconds.

The median time spent in the worldview section of the questionnaire by the 63 participants was 336 seconds, and the average time was 350.9 seconds. The minimum time was 162 seconds, and the three longest times were 735, 604, and 593 seconds. No figures were recorded for the word completion section.

When asked at the end of the questionnaire, "What was your feeling about or impression of the four images shown at the beginning?" 16 participants did not comment on the android or other figures or said that they had no particular feeling. The remaining 12 appeared to be commenting on the android. An exhaustive list of comments about the android head are as follows:

1. Scary female image.
2. I thought the first wax head was really interesting.
3. The women figure kind of freaked me out a bit.
4. Strange.
5. The first two images were disturbing.
6. I thought it was kind of bizarre. The Japanese girl's eyes were messed-up looking.
7. The first image seemed to come across as very sickly. It made me feel sick just looking at it.
8. Weird lady.
9. The woman seemed to be dead. It was a shocking image and given the chance I would have preferred not to see it.
10. The woman was frightening.
11. Weird.
12. I thought it humorous that two of them were related to Asian things.

No one made explicit reference to the content of an image other than the image of the android. The participants were not shown the images again at the end of the questionnaire, so all these comments were based on memory.

III. DISCUSSION

The effects of distal terror management defenses may not be such a reliable indicator of the degree of mortality salience

Type	Experimental	Control
Subjects	28	31
Death	49	38
Uncanny	85	66
Combined	134	104

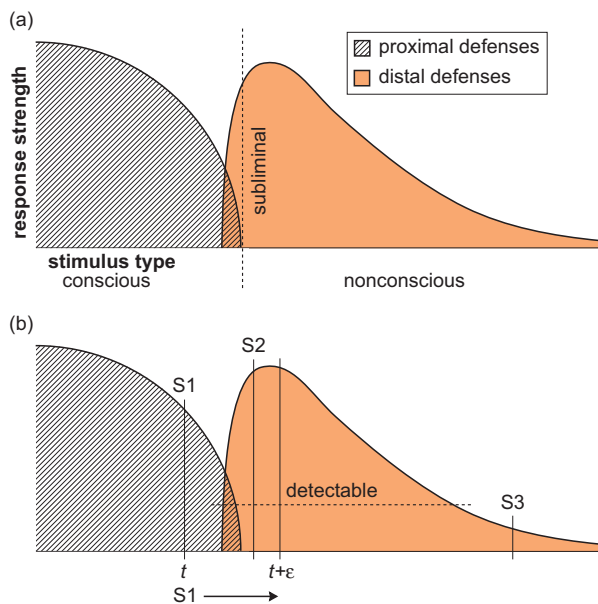| Type	Experimental	Control
Death	1.75 (2)	1.23 (1)
Uncanny	3.04 (3)	2.13 (2)
Combined	4.79 (5)	3.35 (3)

Fig. 6. (a) Stimuli may be perceived in focal or fringe consciousness or subliminally. This can produce proximal or distal defenses with varying response strengths. (The curves in the figure are given only for the sake of example; their actual shapes are unknown.) (b) Different stimuli may elicit different kinds of defenses (S1 and S2) as may the same stimulus (S1) at different times $(t, t + \epsilon)$ owing to the effects of delay. In addition, for a give sample size, the effects of some stimuli may be impossible to measure owing to variance in the data (S3.)

of a given stimulus. The same stimulus will affect the attitudes of individuals differently. (For example, in one study "low authoritarian individuals did not derogate attitudinally dissimilar others when mortality was made more salient," while high authoritarian individuals did ([17], p. 40, citing an experiment in [8]). In addition, proximal and distal defenses have varying response strengths depending on whether the stimulus is perceived in focal or fringe consciousness or subliminally (Fig. 6(a)). The same stimulus can produce varying effects owing to delay, some of which will be too weak to detect owing to the high degree of variance in the data (Fig. 6(b)).

A more fundamental concern relates to affect. The eerie sensation identified with the uncanny valley may be characterized as affective, although it seems difficult to identify it with one or more primary emotions like disgust. Terror management studies have indicated that affect does not mediate distal defenses [13]. And it seems that subliminal priming of death-related words does not create an eerie sensation. That leaves the question of what nonconscious processes do underpin the eerie sensation. The uncanny android still seems to be a reminder of death, but perhaps a conscious reminder, in which case the distal (i.e., nonconscious) defenses that showed up in the experimental results may have occurred owing to delay.

Probably at the end of the study all participants should have been showed the uncanny android and asked to rate how eerie they felt it was and given a questionnaire to evaluate

its emotional impact (e.g., PANAS), but already some were complaining about the questionnaire's length. In addition, another experiment could have measured the experimental stimulus's impact on such physiological responses as heart rate, respiration, and galvanic skin response.

The fact that androids are often not capable of satisfying the human-directed expectations they elicit may be one reason why we may perceive them to not be fully alive. However, it also suggests alternative explanations of the uncanny. If one person elicits expectations in another, that person elicits contextually-appropriate behavior (i.e., behavior that can be described in terms of norms). Given further expectations for real-time responding (regarding the responsive behavior that is appropriate in this context) androids tend to violate human expectations for how to go on. This suggests that some of the peculiarities of interacting with androids may be owing to failures to model the microbehavior central to the expectational cycle.

IV. Conclusion

Many kinds of media (e.g., computers, robots, films) are capable of eliciting, to varying degrees, different kinds of social responses (e.g., verbal [14], gestural, gaze [9]). Nevertheless, qualitative (and quantitative) differences emerge depending on the type of media and how it acts. The eerie feeling elicited by human-looking but not mechanical-looking robots is one such qualitative difference, and its significance is worth exploring.

This study has hypothesized that an uncanny-looking android may be uncanny because it elicits a fear of death, and it has attempted to verify this through questions designed to measure such distal terror management defenses as worldview protection. The results are favorable. On average the group exposed to an image of an uncanny robot consistently preferred information sources that supported their worldview relative to the control group.

The results, however, only apply to one particular stimulus, so it is important to ascertain whether they generalize across uncanny stimuli and, in particular, to uncanny movement in a robot that otherwise looks human and natural.

V. Acknowledgments

VI. Appendix A:
Worldview-related Statements

Politicians. Two candidates are running for our nation's highest office. An excerpt from each candidate's campaign speech is given below:

"I will be the best leader of this great nation because I am committed to a brighter vision of our future. I set high standards for my cabinet and myself and expect them to work

as hard as I do to achieve these standards. I want everyone, both public employees and private citizens, to do their best for our great nation, so that we can all achieve our full potential. My goal is to do things differently from my predecessors, and I am willing to take risks to show voters how things can be improved. You are not just ordinary citizens. You are part of a great nation, and by working together we can have a big impact." – J.N.

"I will be the best leader of this nation because I am concerned about people's welfare. I treat everyone with consideration and respect, no matter how high the political tensions may rise. I stress communication among my staff and the general public. I keep everyone informed about proposed legislation, and I am open to suggestions. I frequently have meetings with constituents to discuss policies. I encourage all citizens to take a role in improving things because I know that each individual can make a difference. Everyone's contributions are recognized and appreciated." – B.E.

Foreign Students. Two foreign students comment on their experiences living in your country:

"I am a foreign student from Phnom Penh, which is the capital of Cambodia. I have been studying civil engineering at university in your country for three years. I love your country because there are many opportunities for me here that do not exist in my home country. Most people I have met have been kind to me, although they know I am a foreigner. I already had a positive impression of your country before coming here because your government has contributed much to the United Nations to support the clearance of landmines in Cambodia, and there are also many private citizens who either volunteer to work in Cambodia or make donations to support aid. After graduation, I would like to help develop my country too." – S.L.

"I am a foreign student from Bandung, which is the largest city in West Java, Indonesia. Last year, I started a Master's degree here. Although my course is challenging, I am surprised how ignorant other students are about other countries. That may be one reason the people have been mislead by your government, which follows short-sighted policies, which appear to be aligned with the interests of the United States, but which actually won't help anyone in the long run. If your country really wants to bring an end to terrorism, they should stop provoking Moslems with bellicose policies or propping up autocratic sheiks." – H.M.

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