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Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index

Anxious Public Sees Growing Dangers, Few Solutions

A Report from Public Agenda by Scott Bittle, Ana Maria Arumi and Jean Johnson with Amber Ott and Jonathan Rochkind

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Introduction

Americans are looking out on a world where they see growing dangers, few solutions and little in U.S. foreign policy that seems to be working. In this third edition of the Public Agenda Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index, we're introducing our new "Anxiety Indicator," which will track the public's overall outlook on world affairs much as the Consumer Confidence Index follows its view of the economy. Our first indicator shows that public anxiety on international affairs is at high levels (a score of 130 on a 200-point scale), enough to show a deep dissatisfaction with current policies.

Majorities believe the world is becoming a more dangerous place for Americans and that international relations are on the wrong track. Yet the best-known policy strategies, such as actively creating democracies or economic development in Islamic countries, face skepticism from the public. Majorities do believe reducing dependence on foreign energy sources would enhance national security, and even stronger majorities think the government can do something to achieve it—yet nearly half give the United States failing grades in this area.

The Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index is a joint venture with "Foreign Affairs," America's most influential publication on international affairs and foreign policy. The survey is conducted by Public Agenda with major support from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and the Ford Foundation. For the Foreign Policy Index, Public Agenda regularly interviews a nationwide random sample of adult Americans to track the changing state of mind of average Americans toward our foreign policy—what worries people most, where they support or resist current policy, what their priorities are and what foreign policy initiatives make sense to them.

Each edition of the index asks the public what worries them most about the international challenges facing the nation, to grade the U.S. government on its efforts to address them and what they believe might be the most effective strategies

and priorities. With our Anxiety Indicator, we're introducing a way of measuring the public's overall confidence in or concerns regarding foreign policy over time. (See the sidebar on how the indicator works.)

Traditionally, the American public focuses more on domestic concerns and gives leaders a lot more leeway in crafting foreign policy. But the threat of terrorism, the Iraq war and the seemingly endless series of crises in the Middle East have put foreign affairs front and center for the public. That's reflected in the relatively high rating of our first Anxiety Indicator.

In addition, the Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index tries to identify "tipping points," specific areas where public concerns have reached such a high pitch that political leaders ignore them at their peril. Our standard for a tipping point is a situation where surveys show a substantial majority is strongly concerned about a problem and believes the government has the power to address it. Iraq and dependence on foreign oil are the two issues at or near a tipping point. Both were cited in previous editions of the index. Neither shows signs of receding as a concern.

Events in the news always provide context to survey results on foreign relations, even more than they do with domestic affairs. This edition of the index was in the field during the 9/11 commemorations in September and the debate over how the United States should treat suspected terrorists. Since the last edition of the index, the public has witnessed the warnings over a possible Iraq civil war, the growing international concern over Iran's nuclear program, the Israeli-Hezbollah conflict in Lebanon, the foiled airline bomb plot in London and the killing of al-Qaeda leader Abu Musab al-Zarqawi.

Full survey results for this report, as well as for previous editions, can be found at **publicagenda.org** or **confidenceinforeignpolicy.org**.

Measuring anxiety: Summing up the public's mood with a new indicator

by Daniel Yankelovich

Chairman, Public Agenda

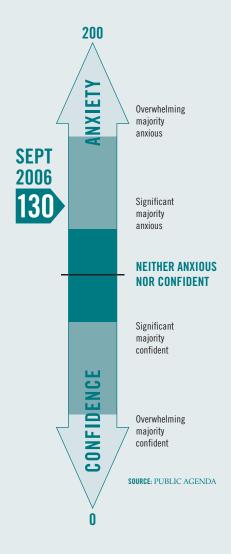
In the fall 2006 edition of the Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index, we introduce a new element called the Anxiety Indicator. The indicator sums up Americans' overall comfort level with the country's foreign policy using a simple numerical score. It offers a clear, unadorned benchmark of how well Americans think the country is doing in the international arena—much the way the Consumer Confidence Index captures the public's views of the economy or the way a student's grade point average sums up overall scholastic ability.

The U.S. Foreign Policy Index will continue to offer detailed results from its comprehensive survey containing more than 100 questions about America's role in the world. And it will continue to provide performance ratings from the public on issues ranging from terrorism to trade to energy independence to global development. But as informative as the specifics are, we believe a more succinct and overarching reading of Americans' state of mind is needed.

Apart from the war in Iraq (America's most urgent foreign policy concern), how secure and confident are most Americans about the nation's course? Is the country divided? Are most people feeling confident and positive about our role in the world? Or is the bulk of country feeling anxious and ill-at-ease? We've introduced the Anxiety Indicator to gauge this overall sense of well-being.

We cannot expect unanimity in any society where robust debate flourishes, especially in troubled times. There will always be disagreements among Americans on whether the United States is succeeding or failing in its foreign policy goals. Still, it is important to know whether the country's leaders are pursuing foreign policy goals that are widely shared and initiatives that have broad public support. It's also important to know when public dissatisfaction with government

FOREIGN POLICY ANXIETY INDICATOR



policy may be reaching a "tipping point" that leaders have to address. The Anxiety Indicator is designed to highlight the degree to which a broad swath of Americans have confidence in or concern about the country's direction. The indicator will also offer a way to understand

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Measuring anxiety

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how the public's mind-set at any one time stacks up against other recognized benchmarks in public opinion.

There is a thorough discussion of how Public Agenda computes the Anxiety Indicator in the methodology section of this report, and we encourage those who want to delve into the nitty-gritty of the calculations behind it to contact us for details. Fundamentally, however, the indicator is the result of a few key steps.

Public Agenda has created five questions that we believe capture the public's fundamental comfort level with the country's position in the world:

- Whether U.S. relations with the rest of the world are on the right or wrong track
- Whether the world is becoming safer or more dangerous for Americans
- Whether the public believes the rest of the world sees the United States in a positive or negative light
- · How successful the United States is as a leader working toward a more peaceful and prosperous world
- The degree to which Americans say they worry about the way things are going for the United States in world affairs

The five questions are dispersed and rotated throughout the questionnaire to avoid biased or patterned responses.

To create the indicator, Public Agenda collects from more than 1,000 randomly selected Americans the responses to these five questions and plots them on a scale of 0 to 200, where 0 is the most secure and 200 the most anxious. A rating of 100 is "neutral," a midpoint neither anxious nor confident. In fall 2006, the Anxiety Indicator stands at 130—a number suggesting that apprehension and unease about the

country's international position are at high levels and that the public mood may be nearing a tipping point.

Public Agenda will ask these five questions in all future editions of the Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index and report the Anxiety Indicator whenever we release our results. The plan invites the natural question of how much we expect the Indicator to rise and fall over time. We certainly don't expect that the Indicator will ever reach the extreme points on the scale, either the 0 for confidence or the 200 for anxiety. World events and how the country responds to them will obviously play a role. Even so, the relationship between events and the public's state of mind may not be as simple as might be expected. There may often be a time lag between events and changes in public opinion or momentary surges or falls that quickly dissipate. Overall, however, we expect the Indicator to give us an ongoing reading of the shifts in the state of public opinion on foreign policy.

Another reasonable question is whether Americans' sense of confidence or anxiety is based on an accurate picture of reality. Or put another way, given the public's comparatively low interest and knowledge about foreign affairs, do the views of typical Americans really matter? Some are likely to argue that the public's current anxiety is being stoked by the media's focus on bad news from Iraq and Afghanistan-or that some politicians are fanning public fears of terrorism for political gain. It's only public opinion, they may argue, not actual developments on the ground.

But in the world of policy making and international relations, public perceptions and beliefs have their own reality. Even in countries far less open and democratic than the United States, what the population wants and fears matters a great deal; leaders' actions are influenced and constrained by it. And history suggests that high levels of public anxiety and fear can be especially troublesome.

Summary of findings

acing a dangerous world
The high starting point of the Anxiety Indicator (a score of 130) suggests the public is deeply
dissatisfied with current foreign policy Nearly 6 in 10 (58%) say international relations are on the wrong track. Substantial majorities (79%) say the world is becoming a more dangerous place for the United States. Some 69 percent say the United States is doing only a "fair" or "poor" job of creating a more peaceful and prosperous world
nd making doubtful progress. Roughly half the public gives the United States failing grades on stopping illegal drugs and immigration, protecting U.S. jobs and becoming energy independent Increasing numbers of the public give the United States a "D" or "F" grade on key goals like stopping nuclear proliferation, having good working relations with other nations and meeting our objectives in Iraq and Afghanistan
he reason why: Islam, terrorism and the Middle East
Increasing numbers of Americans say they're worried about the rise of Islamic extremism and that U.S. actions may aid the recruitment of terrorists. Only 19 percent give the United States an "A" or "B" grade for having good relations with Muslim countries There are small but significant increases in the number who give the United States failing grades
for its efforts to promote peace between Israelis and Palestinians
Public concern that doesn't fade
he good options: Intelligence and energy Only two strategies seem to have strong public backing right now: building up our intelligence gathering and reducing our dependence on foreign energy Energy independence is firmly established as a national security concern and a practical strategy for the public. Yet the public also gives the United States terrible grades on achieving energy independence, with half grading it as a "D" or "F"
Oes helping out make us safer?

Facing a dangerous world

Nearly 6 in 10 (58%) say international relations are off on the wrong track.

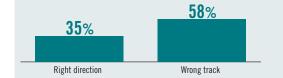
A striking 79 percent say the world is becoming a more dangerous place for the United States. Some 69 percent say the United States is doing only a "fair" or "poor" job of creating a more peaceful and prosperous world.

These are some of the key elements factored into Public Agenda's Anxiety Indicator, a new tool for gauging Americans' comfort level with the nation's foreign policy goals and performance. The Anxiety Indicator starts off at a relatively high level of 130, well above the neutral "midpoint" of 100. Since this is the indicator's first appearance, we can't say whether overall anxiety is increasing or decreasing, but the high starting point suggests the public is already deeply concerned and dissatisfied with current foreign policy. When public opinion reaches and remains at this level of dissatisfaction, political leaders ignore it at their peril. (See the sidebar for more on how the indicator is calculated.)

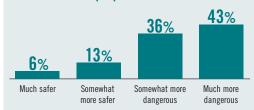
Part of this anxiety is certainly driven by events, such as the continuing, troubling Iraq war, the Israeli-Hezbollah fighting, the controversy over Iran's nuclear program and the foiled plot to bomb airliners in London, to name but a few. Part of this may also be the public's unsettling realization that the United States is disliked in much of the world.

Certainly Americans view their nation with pride, and more than 8 in 10 believe the rest of the world views the United States as a free country of opportunity for everyone. But nearly as many say the United States is also viewed as arrogant, pampered and spoiled. In addition, fewer Americans are saying that we are perceived abroad as "generous" and "a country to be feared." Overall, 64 percent say the rest of the world views the United States negatively.

Thinking about recent U.S. relations with the rest of the world, would you say things are heading in the right direction, or are they off on the wrong track?



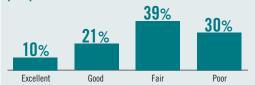
Thinking about current U.S. relations with the rest of the world, would you say that the world is becoming safer or more dangerous for the U.S. and the American people?



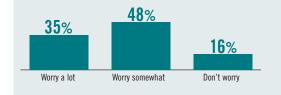
How do you think the rest of the world sees the U.S.? Would you say they see the U.S. positively or negatively?



How good a job is the U.S. doing these days as a leader in creating a more peaceful and prosperous world?

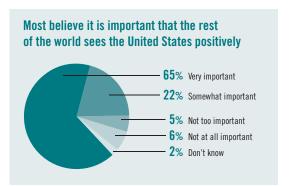


Is "the way things are going for the United States in world affairs" something that you worry about a lot, somewhat or do you not worry about it?



And how others see us matters, Americans say. Some 87 percent say it's important to national security for the United States to be seen positively (65% say it's "very important").

A number of survey organizations have noted how strongly party identification is affecting poll results this year. We find that our Anxiety Indicator cuts across party lines, but there are a few notable differences in what party partisans are worried about. Democrats are dramatically more likely to be worried that the Iraq war is "requiring too much money and attention" (58% worry a lot, compared with 18% of Republicans) and resulting in too many casualties (70% of Democrats, compared with 31% of Republicans). Republicans are more likely to worry about illegal immigration (46%, compared with 36% of Democrats).



And making doubtful progress

A dangerous world is not as frightening if you have confidence in what the government is doing to cope with it. But increasing numbers of the public give the United States a "D" or "F" grade on accomplishing key foreign policy goals.

In some areas, grades started low and have stayed that way over the three Foreign Policy Index surveys. For example, roughly half the public gives the United States failing grades on stopping drug trafficking (52%) and illegal immigration (51%), protecting U.S. jobs (51%) and becoming energy independent (48%). The government's grades on jobs and illegal drugs have improved slightly since the last index but are still among the lowest on our scale.

On other topics, grades declined in this edition of the index. Perhaps because of the controversy over Iran's nuclear program, the number who give failing grades on stopping the spread of nuclear weapons increased from 24 percent in January to 31 percent now. One-third now give the United States a "D" or "F" on achieving our objectives in Afghanistan (compared with 23% in 2005). Grades have also declined for having good working relations with other countries, preventing global warming, helping to create democracy and meeting our objectives in Iraq.



The reason why: Islam, terrorism and the Middle East

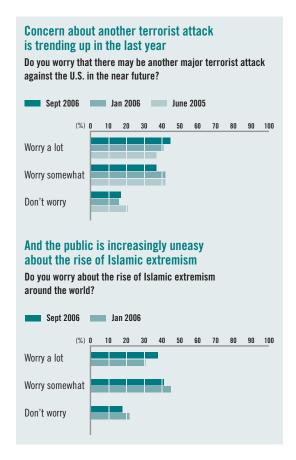
There's no mystery about why the public is in such an anxious mood about foreign policy. When asked an open-ended question about the most important foreign policy problem facing the country, 42 percent cited the Middle East, far ahead of any other concern and up from 36 percent in January.

Concern about terrorism has increased steadily over the three editions of the index, with 45 percent now saying they worry a lot about a new attack, up eight points since last year. Some 47 percent say they worry a lot about an attack using biological, chemical or nuclear weapons.

On the plus side, the public gives the government good grades on some elements of the war on terror. Some 56 percent assign the government an "A" or "B" grade for giving the war on terror the attention it deserves, and 47 percent give high grades for hunting down terrorists.

There has been an increase in the number of those who say they worry a lot about the rise of Islamic extremism, from 31 percent in January to 38 percent now, and only 18 percent say they don't worry about it at all. Fifty percent of Americans say at least half of the world's Muslims are anti-American.

But although worry is up, the public has doubts about our ability to solve the problem. Only 1 in 5 Americans (19%) gives the United States an "A" or "B" grade for "having good relations and reputation with Muslim countries," while twice as many (39%) give a "D" or "F." Nearly threequarters worry that our actions in the Middle East are aiding the recruitment of terrorists, with 37 percent saying they worry "a lot." That's up four points since January. (The survey was in the field before the controversy over a National Intelligence Estimate concluding that the war in Iraq has led to increased jihadist recruitment.)

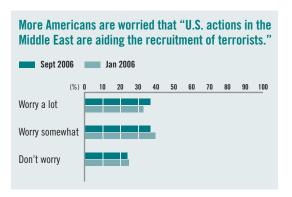


About half the public (53%) say "improved communication and dialogue with the Muslim world will reduce hatred of the U.S." Yet only 36 percent say "establishing good relations with moderate Muslims" is something the government can do a lot about. Few believe "doing more to help Muslim countries develop economically" would help the nation's security a great deal (20%, down from 27% in June 2005).

This summer, the Israeli-Hezbollah conflict and Iran's quest to develop a nuclear program were major news stories. The public gives mediocre grades to the United States for "doing our best to bring peace between Israel and the Arab world,"

with one-third giving a "D" or "F." Since January, there was a nine-point jump (to 23%) in the percentage of those who say it's "totally justified" to say U.S. policies are too pro-Israel to broker peace, while 47 percent also consider it "partly justified." The numbers are comparable to our 2005 survey.

The number of people who give the United States poor grades on stopping the spread of nuclear weapons jumped seven points since January, to 31 percent. On the other hand, only some 32 percent say the government can do "a lot" to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction. On one vital question—whether it would improve national security to attack countries that develop weapons of mass destruction—there were increases on both sides of the issue. The percentage of the public who said it would help "a lot" rose seven points, to 36 percent, and those who said it would help "not at all" increased five points, to 29 percent.



Iraq: The concern that doesn't fade

Public concern about Iraq is high but also fairly stable. When asked about specifics, more people say they worry "a lot" about casualties in Iraq (55%) than any other item. But that's essentially unchanged from last year. The same is true for those who worry a lot that the Iraq war is distracting the United States from other threats (42%). Four in 10 say there's "not much" the government can do to create a democracy in Iraq (up five points from January).

55% say the war in Iraq is leading to too many casualties

Large numbers of the public have harbored doubts about the war for some time (other surveys show half or more of the public have considered the war not worth it since fall 2004).3 That's a long time for the public to live with this level of dissatisfaction. It's possible that the public is learning to live with this anxiety, but it's more likely that the public's patience is wearing thin, which is why we continue to consider this a "tipping point" issue.

³ See Public Agenda's website at www.publicagenda.org/ issues/pcc_detail.cfm?issue_type=americas_global_ role&list=13.

The good options: Intelligence and energy

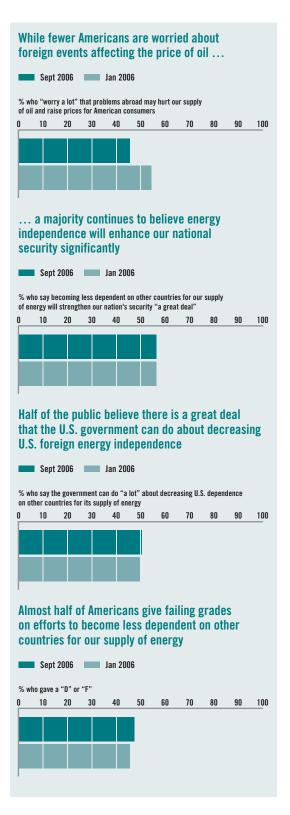
The public does believe strongly in the importance of two strategies that could improve national security "a great deal": improved intelligence gathering (62%) and reducing our dependence on foreign energy (57%).

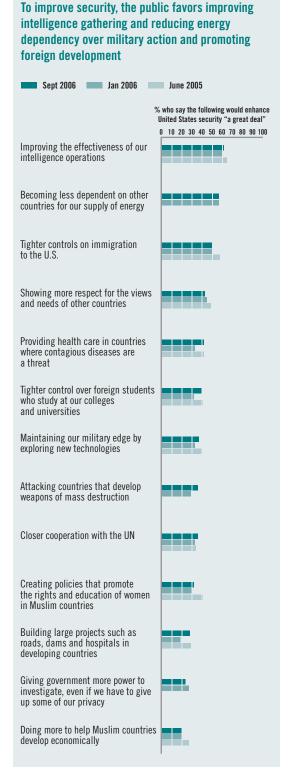
In our three surveys so far, Americans have consistently placed better intelligence gathering near the top of its priority list. The government's grades on this have also remained consistent. That's not to say the public is completely satisfied on this, since only 41 percent give the government an "A" or "B" on conducting effective intelligence operations. But it is a sign that public opinion has been relatively stable.

Energy independence is another matter. The public thinks this would be both effective and practical, with 51 percent saying the government can do "a lot" to reduce dependence on foreign energy. Another 36 percent say the government can do at least "something" about this, and almost no one says it's beyond the government's control.

For the public, energy is being redefined as a national security issue as much as or more than a pocketbook issue. If anything, the public's connection between energy and security seems to have grown stronger. We find it highly significant that this continues to be a priority for the public, even though its specific concern about the price and supply of oil has fallen nine points since the last edition of the index. Yet the government gets dismal grades from the public here, with 48 percent who say the United States deserves a "D" or "F" for its efforts on energy dependence.

Only one other strategy, tighter controls on immigration, is even close to having a majority who believes it would improve national security "a great deal," with 51 percent in favor. All the other options, whether backed by left or right, hawks or doves, have less than a majority. Some of the options most discussed in the media are graded quite poorly as strategies for improving national security.





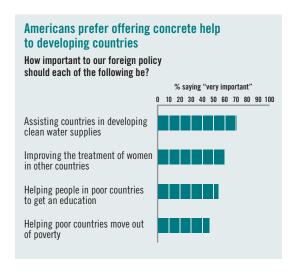
As in the last edition of the index, there seems to be little confidence in spreading democracy as a way to improve U.S. security. Only 24 percent believe it's "very important" for the United States to actively create democracies in other countries. Some 64 percent say "democracy is something that countries can only come to on their own." That's a 10-point increase since June 2005, a skepticism that is likely linked to frustration with events in Iraq. On the other hand, 40 percent give the United States an "A" or "B" grade on promoting democracy, better than many other areas.

Does helping out make us safer?

Advocates of foreign aid and global development have long billed it not only as a strategy for improving the lives of hundreds of millions who live in dire poverty, but also as a tactic for attacking the causes of terrorism and improving our image abroad. Americans like the idea of humanitarian work, but they don't seem sold on it as a security strategy or a moral obligation for a wealthy nation.

Helping others certainly appeals to Americans, with majorities saying "cooperating with other countries on problems like the environment or control of diseases" (73%); "helping other countries when they are struck by natural disasters" (71%); "assisting countries in developing clean water supplies" (71%) and "improving the treatment of women in other countries" (60%) should all be "very important" foreign policy priorities. But "helping poor countries move out of poverty" was ranked "very important" by only 46 percent.

The public also sees the United States as pretty successful on several of these issues. Seventy-nine percent give the United States an "A" or "B" on "helping other countries when natural disasters strike," consistently the highest-rated item in the battery of questions asking about 24 dimensions of foreign policy performance. The majority (54%) also gives an "A" or "B" on "preventing the spread of contagious diseases from around the world." We're doing less well, Americans say, on "helping improve the lives of people living in poor countries" (38% give an "A" or "B"), but this is a better rating than many other foreign policy areas.



People are less convinced that development goals are likely to improve our national security. When asked what would strengthen our nation's security "a great deal," relatively few picked development projects like "providing health care in countries where contagious diseases are a threat" (42%); "creating policies that support equal rights and better educational opportunities for women in Muslim countries" (32%); "building large projects such as roads, dams and hospitals in developing countries" (28%) and "doing more to help Muslim countries develop economically" (20%).

Nor does the public see a moral obligation to do more to help other countries, given the United States' wealth. Some 57 percent say "with all the problems we have, we're already doing more than our share to help less fortunate countries."

Indicator methodology

The Anxiety Indicator is a figure on a scale from 0 to 200, with the neutral value being 100, and is derived by comparing the positive and negative responses to five key questions while disregarding non-responses (such as "not sure" or "no answer").

The five questions are the following:

Thinking about recent U.S. relations with the rest of the world, would you say things are heading in the right direction, or are they off on the wrong track?

How do you think the rest of the world sees the U.S.? Would you say they see the U.S. positively or negatively?

Thinking about current U.S. relations with the rest of the world, would you say that the world is becoming safer or more dangerous for the U.S. and the American people?

How good a job is the United States doing these days as a leader in creating a more peaceful and prosperous world?

Would you say the following is something you worry about a lot, worry about somewhat or you do not worry about this?

These numbers are calculated in the following way:

1. If the question assumes either one positive or one negative response (right track or wrong direction, yes or no), the following formula is used to calculate this question index component:

$$K = 100 + (p(-) - p(+))$$

where p(+) is the percent that answered positively, p(-) is the percent that answered negatively.

2. If the question allows a choice from two positive or two negative responses (very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied), the following formula is used to calculate this question index component:

$$K = 100 + (p1(-) - p1(+)) + 0.5*(p2(-) - p2(+))$$

where p1(+) is the percent that answered strongly positive, p1(-) is the percent that answered strongly negative, p2(+) is the percent that answered moderate positively, and p2(-) is the percent that answered moderately negative.

The index question components are then averaged to calculate the index.

When the index level is more than 100, the number giving a negative response is more than the number giving a positive response. When all answers are strongly positive, the index is 0. When all answers are strongly negative, the index is 200.

Full Survey Results

This third edition of the study was based on interviews with a national random sample of 1,001 adults over the age of 18 between September 5 and September 18, 2006. It covered over 25 different issues in more than 110 different survey questions. The margin of error is plus or minus 3.1. Full survey results can be found at **www.publicagenda.org** or **www.confidenceinforeignpolicy.org**.

1	What do you think is the most important problem facing the United States in its dealings with the rest of the world? [open-ended]	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
	Middle East	42	36	_
	Administration/politics	16	16	_
	Domestic problems	12	10	_
	Foreign policies	7	8	
	World peace	6	3	_
	Trade deficit	2	3	
	Other	5	13	
	None	1	1	
	Don't know	8	9	_
2A	How do you think the rest of the world sees the United States? Would you say very or somewhat positively or negatively?			
	Positively (net)	24	25	_
	Very positively	9	_	
	Somewhat positively	15	_	_
	Negatively (net)	64	62	_
	Somewhat negatively	32	_	_
	Very negatively	32	_	_
	Neutral or mixed	8	10	
	Don't know	3	3	_
3	How important to our national security is it that the rest of the world sees the United States positively?			
	Very important	65	_	_
	Somewhat important	22	_	_
	Not too important	5	_	_
	Not at all important	6	_	
	Don't know	2	_	_
4	Do you think that people in other countries see the United States (Base: Half of respondents)			
	as a strong leader, or not?			
	Yes	66	69	
	No	30	27	_
	Don't know	4	4	

	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
(continued) Do you think that people in other countries see the United States (Base: Half of respondents)			
as a country to be feared, or not?			
Yes	53	63	_
No Don't know	41 6	32 5	_
as a free and democratic country, or not?	U	J	
Yes	81	81	_
No	14	15	_
Don't know	5	4	_
as a bully, or not?			
Yes No	63 31	63 32	_
Don't know	5	5	
as pampered and spoiled, or not?			
Yes	72	73	_
No Don't know	20 8	23 4	_
as arrogant, or not?	O	4	
Yes	78	74	_
No	17	22	_
Don't know	5	4	_
with envy, or not?			
Yes No	67 27	71 24	_
Don't know	6	24 5	_
as a country of opportunity for everyone, or not?			
Yes	81	80	_
No Don't know	16 3	17 2	_
	3	Z	_
as generous toward other countries, or not?	CC	70	
Yes No	66 29	72 23	_
Don't know	5	5	_
as corrupt and immoral, or not?			
Yes	52	56	_
No Don't know	42 5	37 7	_
Is the balance between the attention paid to domestic and international issues about right, or should we be paying more attention to one or the other?			
More attention domestic	47	55	_
More attention international About right	15 28	8 28	_
Don't know	9	8	_

5A

		Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
6	Thinking about recent U.S. relations with the rest of the world, would you say things are heading in the right direction, or are they off on the wrong track?			
	Right direction Wrong track Don't know	35 58 7	37 59 4	_ _ _
8	Thinking about things that the government must do to fight terrorism, in your opinion, should the government put more emphasis on military efforts, or should it put more emphasis on diplomatic and economic methods?			
	More emphasis on military efforts More emphasis on diplomatic and economic methods Don't know	32 61 6	28 61 10	29 64 7
7	Thinking about current US relations with the rest of the world, would you say that the world is becoming safer or more dangerous for the U.S. and the American people? Is that much or somewhat safer/more dangerous?			
	Much safer Somewhat safer Somewhat more dangerous Much more dangerous Don't know	6 13 36 43 2	_ _ _ _	_ _ _
9	Which comes closer to your view?			
	The U.S. should take a leading role in world affairs The U.S. should stay out of the affairs of other countries Don't know	47 45 6	_ _ _	_ _ _
9A	How good a job is the United States doing these days as a leader in creating a more peaceful and prosperous world? Would you say the United States is doing			
	an excellent job a good job a fair job a poor job Don't know	10 21 39 30 1	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _
10	This question was omitted from the survey.			
11	What grade would you give the U.S. when it comes to achieving the following goals?			
	Helping other countries when natural disasters strike			
	A B C D F Don't know	47 32 12 4 4 1	49 31 12 4 3 1	54 29 11 2 2

		Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
11	(continued) What grade would you give the U.S. when it comes to achieving the following goals?			
	Making sure we have a strong, well-supplied military			
	A	30	32	30
	B	32	33	37
	C D	20 8	20 8	19 5
	F	7	4	5
	Don't know	2	2	2
	Giving the war on terror all the attention it deserves			
	A B	25 31	26 32	23 35
	C C	24	20	23
	D	8	9	9
	F Don't know	6 5	9 4	6 3
	Hunting down anti-American terrorists			
	A	19	18	19
	В	28	28	35
	C D	25 13	27 10	25 10
	F	11	12	7
	Don't know	4	6	4
	Helping to create democracy in the rest of the world			
	A	15	16	19
	B C	25 30	30 28	31 30
	D	13	12	10
	F	10	7	7
	Don't know	6	6	4
	Doing our best to bring peace between Israel and the Palestinians	40	4.5	4.0
	A B	13 25	15 29	16 29
	$^{\mathrm{C}}$	34	24	30
	D F	10	12	11
	P Don't know	12 6	9 10	7 7
	Doing our best to bring peace between Israel and the Arab world			
	A	12		_
	B	26	_	_
	C D	23 17	_	_
	F	16	_	
	Don't know	6	_	_
	Helping improve the lives of people living in poor countries			
	A	13	14	15
	B C	25 32	31 28	27 28
	D	12	11	16
	F Destriction	12	11	9
	Don't know	5	6	4

		Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
11	(continued) What grade would you give the U.S. when it comes			
	to achieving the following goals?			
	Living up to our ideals of human rights and justice in the way we conduct our foreign policy			
	A	13 27	14 31	15
	B C	27 29	27	29 29
	D	13	11	12
	F David and	11 6	10 7	10 5
	Don't know Stopping countries or groups from getting nuclear weapons	0	1	0
	A	13	14	13
	В	23	27	27
	C	25 18	27	29
	D F	13	14 10	15 8
	Don't know	7	7	7
	Succeeding in meeting our objectives in Iraq			
	A	7	11	13
	B C	24 24	22 23	26 24
	D	17	15	17
	F	22	23	16
	Don't know	5	6	4
	Succeeding in meeting our objectives in Afghanistan			
	A	8	11	13
	B C	22 28	21 28	27 28
	D	17	14	14
	F	16	15	9
	Don't know	9	11	10
	Protecting people or nations that are threatened with genocide or ethnic cleansing			
	A	11	13	12
	B	23	24	24
	C D	27 15	25 15	28 16
	F	12	11	10
	Don't know	12	11	10
	Conducting effective U.S. intelligence operations			
	A	12 29	11 26	_
	B C	29 31	26 28	
	D	9	11	_
	F	7	10	_
	Don't know	11	13	_

	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
(continued) What grade would you give the U.S. when it comes			
to achieving the following goals?			
Having good working relations with other countries			
A B C D F Don't know	10 35 29 14 8	10 32 37 10 6 4	11 34 32 14 6 4
Working with other countries to prevent global warming (June 2005 reads "working with other countries to protect the global environment")	·		·
A B C D F Don't know Making international trade agreements that benefit the United States	9 17 25 11 21 16	11 19 24 13 15	10 27 27 16 13 8
A B C D F Don't know	11 25 28 13 11	11 27 25 14 12	9 28 27 17 9
Stopping illegal drugs from coming into the country			
A B C D F Don't know	6 11 24 19 33 7	7 13 22 20 31 6	7 16 24 24 26 3
Having good relations and reputation with Muslim countries			
A B C D F Don't know	5 14 32 17 22 9	6 19 28 19 17	7 21 32 19 13 7
Protecting our borders from illegal immigration	•	-	
A B C D F Don't know	6 12 27 23 28 4	6 13 27 20 30 4	7 18 29 21 24 7

		Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
11	(continued) What grade would you give the U.S. when it comes to achieving the following goals?			
	Protecting American jobs from moving overseas			
	A B C D F Don't know	7 11 25 21 30 6	4 11 24 22 35 4	4 14 26 21 31 5
	Preventing the spread of contagious diseases from around the world			
	A B C D F Don't know	18 36 21 8 8	23 32 23 7 8 7	_ _ _ _
	Limiting the amount of money we owe other countries			
	A B C D F Don't know	7 13 26 15 21 19	6 14 25 16 17 21	_ _ _ _
	Becoming less dependent on other countries for our supply of energy			
	A B C D F Don't know	8 15 25 26 22 4	9 11 30 23 23 5	_ _ _ _ _
12	Is the following something that you worry about a lot, is this something you worry about somewhat or is this something you do <i>not</i> worry about?			
	The way things are going for the United States in world affairs			
	Worry a lot Worry somewhat Do not worry Don't know	35 48 16 2	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _
	The war in Iraq is leading to too many casualties			
	Worry a lot Worry somewhat Do not worry Don't know	55 29 15 1	56 26 17 *	56 26 18 *
	Terrorist groups may use biological, chemical or nuclear weapons to attack the U.S.			
	Worry a lot Worry somewhat Do not worry Don't know	47 36 16 1	43 43 14 *	48 40 13 *

		Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
12	(continued) Is the following something that you worry about a lot, is this something you worry about somewhat or is this something you do <i>not</i> worry about?			
	The war in Iraq is requiring so much money and attention that it may be distracting the U.S. from other threats in the world			
	Worry a lot Worry somewhat Do not worry Don't know	42 36 21 1	44 36 19 *	43 34 23 *
	Problems abroad may hurt our supply of oil and raise prices for American consumers			
	Worry a lot Worry somewhat Do not worry Don't know	46 37 17 1	55 33 11 *	42 39 19
	It may be too easy for illegal immigrants to come into the country			
	Worry a lot Worry somewhat Do not worry Don't know	39 33 27 1	41 36 22 1	42 31 27 1
	There may be growing hatred of the U.S. in Muslim countries			
	Worry a lot Worry somewhat Do not worry Don't know	42 36 20 1	34 42 22 1	40 34 25 1
	The U.S. may be losing the trust and friendship of people in other countries			
	Worry a lot Worry somewhat Do not worry Don't know	34 39 26 1	29 43 27 1	40 35 25 1
	There may be another major terrorist attack against the U.S. in the near future			
	Worry a lot Worry somewhat Do not worry Don't know	45 37 17 1	41 42 16 *	37 42 21
	The U.S. may owe too much money to other countries			
	Worry a lot Worry somewhat Do not worry Don't know	27 37 32 3	27 34 36 2	32 31 36 2
	The growing power of China may be a threat to the U.S.			
	Worry a lot Worry somewhat Do not worry Don't know	30 38 31 1	29 38 32 *	29 37 33 1

		Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
12	(continued) Is this something that you worry about a lot, is this something you worry about somewhat or is this something you do <i>not</i> worry about?			
	Protecting American jobs from moving overseas			
	Worry a lot Worry somewhat Do not worry Don't know	45 36 19 *	52 35 12 1	_ _ _ _
	Global warming			
	Worry a lot Worry somewhat Do not worry Don't know	33 35 30 2	32 37 29 2	_ _ _ _
	That our actions in the Mideast are aiding the recruitment of terrorists			
	Worry a lot Worry somewhat Do not worry Don't know	37 37 24 2	33 40 25 2	_ _ _
	The rise of Islamic extremism around the world			
	Worry a lot Worry somewhat Do not worry Don't know	38 41 18 2	31 45 22 2	_ _ _
13	Do you think/believe that			
	improved communication and dialogue with the Muslim world will reduce hatred of the U.S.			
	Yes No Don't know	53 41 6	56 37 7	59 38 3
	we can fight terrorism without sometimes using torture against suspected terrorists			
	Yes No Don't know	54 39 6	56 37 7	56 39 5
	when more countries become democratic there will be less conflict and violence in the world			
	Yes No Don't know	52 42 6	53 42 5	51 45 4
	\dots if there is less poverty in the world there will be less terrorism			
	Yes No Don't know	44 53 2	47 49 4	46 52 3
	we have the right to attack other countries before they attack us			
	Yes No Don't know	48 47 5	_ _ _	_ _ _

		Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
14	Do you think it's realistic or unrealistic to expect/believe that			
	U.S. companies will keep jobs in the U.S. when labor is cheaper elsewhere?			
	Realistic Unrealistic Don't know	26 70 3	22 74 3	21 78 1
	the U.S. government will be able to have U.S. companies keep jobs in the U.S. rather than outsourcing them overseas?			
	Realistic Unrealistic Don't know	47 50 3	44 52 5	_ _ _
	the U.S. government will be able to maintain a stable supply of oil at a reasonable price?			
	Realistic Unrealistic Don't know	41 55 4	35 63 3	_ _ _
	international cooperation can prevent global warming?			
	Realistic Unrealistic Don't know	58 34 7	56 35 8	
15	Is the following something our government can do a lot about, something about or not much about?			
	Slowing illegal immigration in the U.S.			
	A lot Something Not much Don't know	49 37 11 3	48 37 14 1	_ _ _ _
	Creating a democratic Iraq			
	A lot Something Not much Don't know	20 36 40 4	22 39 35 4	_ _ _
	Preventing jobs from going overseas			
	A lot Something Not much Don't know	42 34 22 1	44 34 21 1	_ _ _ _
	Establishing good relations with moderate Muslims			
	A lot Something Not much Don't know	36 40 20 3	35 41 20 4	_ _ _ _
	Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction			
	A lot Something Not much Don't know	32 43 23 2	35 44 19 2	_ _ _

		Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
15	(continued) Is the following something our government can do a lot about, something about or not much about?			
	Preventing another major terrorist attack against the U.S.			
	A lot Something Not much Don't know	45 39 15 2	39 40 19 2	_ _ _ _
	Decreasing our dependence on other countries for our supply of energy			
	A lot Something Not much Don't know	51 36 11 1	50 35 12 3	_ _ _ _
	Reducing global warming			
	A lot Something Not much Don't know	35 36 24 5	30 40 26 5	_ _ _ _
	Reducing our debts to other countries			
	A lot Something Not much Don't know	45 36 13 5	41 39 15 5	_ _ _ _
16	This question was omitted from the survey.			
17	Do you think the U.S. can effectively help other countries become democratic, or is democracy something that countries only come to on their own when they're ready for it?			
	The U.S. can help other countries become democracies Democracy is something that countries only come to on their own Don't know	31 64 5	36 58 6	38 54 4
18	Which comes closer to your view?			
	Our country is so well-off that we should really be doing more to help countries that are less fortunate With all the problems we have, we're already doing more than our share to help less fortunate countries Don't know	37 57 5	34 60 5	32 64 4
18A	How important to our foreign policy should each of the following be? Should this be very important, somewhat important, not very important or not at all important?			
	Taking into account the views and interests of other countries			
	Very important Somewhat important Not very important Not at all important Don't know	49 41 6 3 1	40 47 6 4 2	_ _ _ _

		Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
18A	(continued) How important to our foreign policy should each of the following be? Should this be very important, somewhat important, not very important or not at all important?			
	Minding our own business and getting less involved with global issues			
	Very important Somewhat important Not very important Not at all important Don't know	30 40 14 13 3	31 38 13 14 3	_ _ _ _
	Actively creating democracies in other countries			
	Very important Somewhat important Not very important Not at all important Don't know	24 45 17 11 2	20 46 18 12 3	_ _ _ _
	Helping other countries when they are struck by natural disasters (like the tsunami in Indonesia)			
	Very important Somewhat important Not very important Not at all important Don't know	71 26 1 1	71 24 2 2 1	_ _ _ _
	Doing what we think is best for our own interests even if other nations oppose us			
	Very important Somewhat important Not very important Not at all important Don't know	46 33 9 8 4	44 34 11 7 3	_ _ _ _
	Initiating military force only when we have the support of our allies			
	Very important Somewhat important Not very important Not at all important Don't know	45 36 10 6 3	50 31 8 7 3	_ _ _ _
	Cooperating with other countries on problems like the environment or control of diseases			
	Very important Somewhat important Not very important Not at all important Don't know	73 22 3 1 1	70 25 2 3 1	_ _ _ _
	Helping poor countries move out of poverty			
	Very important Somewhat important Not very important Not at all important Don't know	46 42 8 4 1	40 48 6 4 1	_ _ _ _

27

		Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
18A	(continued) How important to our foreign policy should each of the following be? Should this be very important, somewhat important, not very important or not at all important?			
	Assisting countries in developing clean water supplies			
	Very important Somewhat important Not very important Not at all important Don't know	71 24 3 2	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _
	Helping people in poor countries to get an education			
	Very important Somewhat important Not very important Not at all important Don't know	54 35 6 4 1	51 37 8 4	_ _ _ _
	Improving the treatment of women in other countries			
	Very important Somewhat important Not very important Not at all important Don't know	60 30 5 4 1	57 35 4 3 1	_ _ _ _
19	This question was omitted from the survey.			
20	How much do you trust our government to tell the public the truth about our relations with other countries? Would you say you trust them			
	Very much Somewhat Not too much Not at all Don't know	10 39 27 22 1	11 37 28 23 *	_ _ _ _
21	For each of the following issues, please tell me how truthful you think the government has been in what it has told the public. Do you think the government has been completely truthful, somewhat truthful, not very truthful or not at all truthful?			
	Why we waged war against Afghanistan			
	Completely truthful Somewhat truthful Not very truthful Not at all truthful Don't know	19 43 21 15 2	19 42 17 17	_ _ _ _
	Why we invaded Iraq			
	Completely truthful Somewhat truthful Not very truthful Not at all truthful Don't know	15 33 23 28 1	13 34 22 28 2	_ _ _ _

		Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
21	(continued) For each of the following issues, please tell me how truthful you think the government has been in what it has told the public. Do you think the government has been completely truthful, somewhat truthful, not very truthful or not at all truthful?			
	How much progress we are making in homeland security			
	Completely truthful Somewhat truthful Not very truthful Not at all truthful Don't know	12 52 22 12 1	10 50 23 14 4	_ _ _ _
	How well we are doing in the war on terrorism			
	Completely truthful Somewhat truthful Not very truthful Not at all truthful Don't know	10 43 29 16 2	13 42 25 17 2	_ _ _ _
22	This question was omitted from the survey.			
23	Which statement comes closer to your own views even if neither is exactly right?			
	The Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers The Islamic religion does not encourage violence more than others Don't know	46 39 14	45 39 15	_ _ _
24	What's your impression—how many Muslims around the world are anti-American?			
	Almost all Most About half Some Just a few Don't know	10 17 23 29 15 6	7 16 27 25 16 9	_ _ _ _
25	Please tell me if each of the following would enhance our security a great deal, somewhat or not at all.			
	Improving the effectiveness of our intelligence operations			
	A great deal Somewhat Not at all Don't know	62 28 6 3	60 33 3 3	65 30 4 1
	Tighter controls on immigration to the U.S.			
	A great deal Somewhat Not at all Don't know	51 40 5 3	50 41 8 *	58 30 10 2
	Showing more respect for the views and needs of other countries			
	A great deal Somewhat Not at all Don't know	43 42 13 1	45 43 11 1	49 38 12 1

		Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
25	(continued) Please tell me if each of the following would enhance our security a great deal, somewhat or not at all.			
	Providing health care in countries where contagious diseases are a threat			
	A great deal Somewhat Not at all Don't know	42 39 17 1	33 47 17 2	42 39 18 1
	Creating policies that support equal rights and better educational opportunities for women in Muslim countries			
	A great deal Somewhat Not at all Don't know	32 44 20 3	30 45 19 4	41 37 20 2
	Tighter control over foreign students who come to our colleges and universities to study			
	A great deal Somewhat Not at all Don't know	40 39 19 1	32 44 21 3	41 34 23 2
	Maintaining our military edge by exploring new technologies or placing weapons in space			
	A great deal Somewhat Not at all Don't know	37 36 21 6	33 45 16 5	40 34 23 4
	Closer cooperation with the UN			
	A great deal Somewhat Not at all Don't know	36 40 21 3	33 46 18 3	34 37 26 3
	Attacking countries that develop weapons of mass destruction			
	A great deal Somewhat Not at all Don't know	36 30 29 5	29 40 24 6	_ _ _
	Giving government more power to investigate, even if we had to give up some of our privacy in order to do it			
	A great deal Somewhat Not at all Don't know	24 35 37 3	27 35 36 1	_ _ _ _
	Building large projects such as roads, dams and hospitals in developing countries			
	A great deal Somewhat Not at all Don't know	28 42 26 3	19 55 23 3	29 43 26 2

		Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
25	(continued) Please tell me if each of the following would enhance our security a great deal, somewhat or not at all.			
	Doing more to help Muslim countries develop economically			
	A great deal Somewhat Not at all Don't know	20 47 29 3	20 53 23 3	27 46 26 2
	Becoming less dependent on other countries for our supply of energy			
	A great deal Somewhat Not at all Don't know	57 30 11 1	57 33 8 2	_ _ _ _
26	Here are some criticisms of U.S. foreign policies that have been made in recent years. For each, please tell me if you find the criticism to be totally justified, partly justified or not justified at all.			
	The U.S. has been too quick to resort to war			
	Totally justified Partially justified Not justified at all Don't know	27 36 33 3	34 31 32 3	35 27 37 1
	The U.S. is so concerned with its own security that it sometimes ends up violating the rights of citizens in other countries			
	Totally justified Partially justified Not justified at all Don't know	22 40 32 5	23 46 27 4	26 39 32 4
	The U.S. has often been allied with governments that are unjust and exploit their own people			
	Totally justified Partially justified Not justified at all Don't know	17 44 32 7	15 48 30 7	24 46 26 4
	U.S. policies are too pro-Israel for the U.S. to be able to broker peace between Israel and the Palestinians			
	Totally justified Partially justified Not justified at all Don't know	23 47 22 7	14 48 25 12	21 41 30 8
	U.S. policies are too pro-Israel for the U.S. to be able to broker peace between Israel and the Arab world (Base: Half of respondents)			
	Totally justified Partially justified Not justified at all Don't know	18 47 26 8	_ _ _ _	_ _ _ _

26	(continued) Here are some criticisms of U.S. foreign policies that have been made in recent years. For each, please tell me if you find the criticism	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
	to be totally justified, partly justified or not justified at all.			
	The U.S. is only concerned with its own interests and disregards the interests of other countries (Base: Half of respondents)			
	Totally justified	15	16	19
	Partially justified	46	40	36
	Not justified at all	35	39	44
	Don't know	3	5	1

Characteristics of the sample

	Sept 2006 (%)		Sep 200
Gender	(%)	Income	(%)
Male	48	\$15,000 or under	48
Female	52	\$15,000 of tilider \$15,001 to \$25,000	13
Temate	JL	\$25,001 to \$35,000	12
Age		\$35,001 to \$50,000	14
	01	\$51,001 to \$75,000	18
18–29	21	Over \$75,000	19
30–39	15	3 (01 470,000	
40–49	23	Religion	
50–64	22 16		80
65 or more	10	Christian	46
Region		Protestant Roman Catholic	20
		Mormon	1
Northeast	19	Orthodox Church	1
Midcentral	23	Other	5
South	36	Other	J
West	22	Born-again/evangelical	32
Dortu		Not born-again/evangelical	40
Party		Jewish	1
Republican	31	Muslim	1
Democrat	39	Buddhist	*
Independent	14	Atheist	2
Something else	12	Agnostic	2
		Something else	2
Political ideology		No religion	7
Liberal	23	Ü	
Moderate	32	Were you, either of your parents or any	
Conservative	38	of your grandparents born in a country	
		other than the United States?	
Education			0.7
Less than high school	15	Yes (net)	37
High school graduate	31	Yes, respondent	10
Some college or trade school,	01	Yes, parents	12
no degree	18	Yes, grandparents	23 62
Associates or 2-year degree	9	No	02
Bachelor's or 4-year degree	15	Do you have, or have you ever had,	
Graduate degree	10	a passport?	
Race		Yes	44
White	67	No	54
Winte Black/African-American	11		
Hispanic	12	Are you or is anyone in your household	
Asian	2	a member of the military or armed service	es?
Something else	4	Yes, self	5
bonneuming else	4	Yes, other	7
		No	86
		110	

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