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 **PUBLIC AGENDA**

Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index

**Anxious Public Pulling Back
From Use of Force**

A Report from Public Agenda
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with support from the **Ford Foundation**
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**FOREIGN
AFFAIRS**



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Introduction: A winter of discontent

Public anxiety about America's place in the world has reached troubling levels, and not just on the war in Iraq. Following a winter dominated by debate over the "surge" in Iraq and a potential showdown with Iran, Public Agenda's Foreign Policy Anxiety Indicator increased seven points in six months. That puts the indicator at 137 on a 200-point scale, edging toward the 150 mark that we would consider a crisis of confidence in government policy. The public's disenchantment is also leading to increased skepticism about the use of military force in general and a stronger inclination to diplomatic options in international affairs.

This desire for diplomacy is particularly apparent in public attitudes on the spread of nuclear weapons. As far as the vast majority of Americans are concerned, military force is "off the table" in dealing with Iran's nuclear program and its possible meddling in Iraq. There's also been a sharp drop in public confidence in military force as a tool for dealing with other countries developing weapons of mass destruction—even though controlling the spread of nuclear weapons is the public's top policy priority and one of its major fears.

Certainly the public's anguish and frustration over Iraq is a driving force in this questioning of U.S. policy. Multiple national surveys demonstrate attitudes on the war have turned sharply negative. But it would be a mistake to believe that public dissatisfaction is confined to just the conduct of the war itself. The public's anxiety spills over into the entire range of challenges facing the United States in a dangerous world, leading them to question fundamental premises and to give the government poor grades on multiple fronts.

This is the fourth edition of Public Agenda's Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index, conducted in association with "Foreign Affairs," America's most influential publication on international relations. The index, conducted every six months, uses more than 110 questions to track the average American's state of mind about foreign policy. Each edition seeks to find out what worries the public about the United States' place in the world,

to grade the government on its efforts and to determine what they believe the nation's priorities should be.

In addition, the Foreign Policy Anxiety Indicator is designed to measure the public's overall level of concern or confidence on international affairs in much the same way the Consumer Confidence Index measures their view of the economy. (See the methodology for more detail on how we calculate the indicator.)

The Anxiety Indicator shows a high and increasing level of public dissatisfaction with America's global position. There are numerous troubling signs that the public is disenchanted with both the goals and the execution of U.S. foreign policy:

- More than 8 in 10 say the world's becoming a more dangerous place for Americans, and nearly half say it's "much more dangerous."
- The public gives clearly failing grades to the government on controlling illegal immigration, stopping the flow of illegal drugs, protecting U.S. jobs and achieving energy independence. In fact, since Public Agenda began the index in June 2005, we haven't seen passing grades improve on any of the 22 policy goals.
- Promoting democracy is a major U.S. goal, but fully 74 percent of the public say that's something other countries can only do on their own. That's a 20-point increase since we started asking the question in 2005.
- Two-thirds say U.S. foreign policy is "on the wrong track."
- Nearly 6 in 10 say they don't think the government tells them the truth on foreign relations, up 10 points in the past six months.

And then there's Iraq. Strong majorities now want to withdraw, either gradually or right away, and more than 6 in 10 believe the United States can leave without making itself more vulnerable to terrorism. But six in 10 also say the United States has a moral obligation to the Iraqi people, suggesting the public doesn't believe we should withdraw without considering what that will mean for the Iraqis.

Introduction (continued)

In previous editions of the index, we identified Iraq as an issue near a “tipping point” where the public would demand a change in policy. Our definition of a “tipping point” for the purposes of foreign policy is quite specific. Surveys have to show a substantial majority is strongly concerned about a problem and believes the government has the power to address it. Iraq has already reached that point; energy independence is approaching it.

One of the most common questions we get about the index is whether we see the public becoming more “isolationist.” About half of those surveyed say they want the United States to put a greater focus on domestic affairs rather than international relations. Yet the index also shows the public strongly endorses engagement in the world on a variety of fronts, from nonproliferation to disaster relief to climate change. The public doesn’t seem to want to withdraw from the world, but at the moment they tend to prefer foreign policy strategies that are defensive and under our own control, such as energy independence and better intelligence gathering.

Public attitudes are often and not surprisingly driven by the news. Since the last edition of the index in September 2006, the public has seen the election of a Democratic Congress, the Iraq Study Group report and debate over the “surge” in Iraq. There’s also been the United Nations’ determination that Iran is continuing with its nuclear program, even as North Korea promises to dismantle its effort. The survey was in the field after the controversy over whether Iran was supplying Iraqi insurgents with explosives was in the news.

Full survey results for this and previous editions of this report can be found at publicagenda.org, foreignaffairs.org or confidenceinforeignpolicy.org. The Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index is conducted with major support from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and the Ford Foundation.

Summary of findings

The Anxiety Indicator: Troubling levels of concern 6

- The Anxiety Indicator, our measure of the public’s comfort level with foreign policy, stands at 137 on a 200-point scale, a 7-point increase from six months ago
- Two-thirds (67 percent) say foreign policy is on the wrong track
- More than 8 in 10 say the world is becoming a more dangerous place for Americans (48 percent say it’s “much more dangerous”)

Report card: Slipping grades, few bright spots 8

- There are five topics where dissatisfaction is both broad (with about three-quarters giving a C or worse) and intense (with roughly half or more giving D or F marks): keeping illegal drugs out of the country, protecting U.S. jobs, controlling illegal immigration, becoming less dependent on foreign energy and the war in Iraq
- There are only three areas where half or more of the public give the government A or B grades: helping out during natural disasters (77 percent), maintaining a strong military (59 percent) and giving the war on terror the attention it deserves (50 percent)

Iraq: A sense of obligation, a feeling of helplessness 9

- Strong majorities want a withdrawal (19 percent immediately, 51 percent within 12 months). Six in 10 say U.S. safety from terrorism doesn’t depend on Iraq
- But the public does not want to withdraw without considering what that means for the Iraqis (60 percent say we have a moral obligation to the Iraqi people)

Time to talk: A strong preference for diplomacy over force 10

- Two-thirds (67 percent) say the United States should emphasize diplomatic and economic efforts over military action in fighting terrorism
- In dealing with Iran, 44 percent prefer diplomacy to establish better relations and 28 percent favor economic sanctions. Support for military action is in the single digits
- A plurality (43 percent) now say attacking countries that develop weapons of mass destruction would enhance security “not at all”—a 14-point increase in six months. Yet 75 percent say it’s “very important” to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons—the top foreign policy priority

Global warming: A clear call for international cooperation 12

- Four in 10 (41 percent) worry “a lot” about global warming, up eight points in the past six months
- Nearly two-thirds (65 percent) say it’s realistic that international cooperation can reduce global warming
- Cooperating with other countries on the environment and fighting disease is second only to nuclear nonproliferation as a goal, and 60 percent say global warming should be a priority

The best strategies: Intelligence, energy independence and controlling immigration 13

- The public’s views on the best national security strategies have generally held stable since the last edition of the index
- But the public also gives the government low grades for achieving two of these goals, energy independence and immigration

The Anxiety Indicator: Troubling levels of concern

Public dissatisfaction and doubt about U.S. foreign policy has intensified in the past six months. Public Agenda's Anxiety Indicator now stands at 137 on a 200-point scale, a seven-point increase from September 2006.

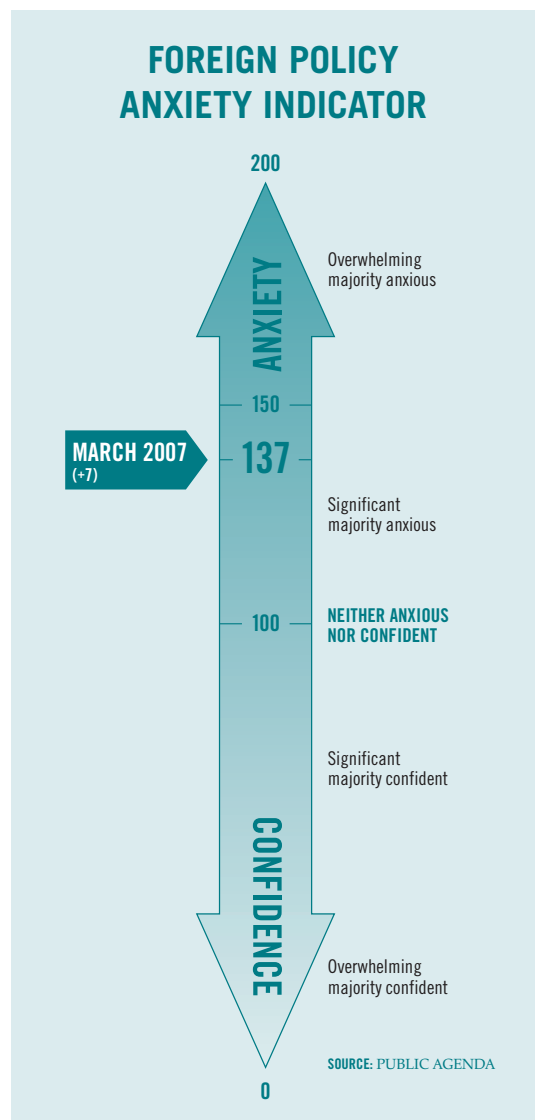
The Anxiety Indicator is designed to provide a measure of Americans' comfort level with the nation's foreign policy, much the same way the Consumer Confidence Index measures the public's satisfaction with the economy. The indicator is a useful tool for policy-makers because the public approaches foreign policy very differently from its approach to the economy or domestic matters in general. Most people admit they don't have a firm grasp on world affairs and are usually willing to leave foreign policy to the experts—unless they believe things are seriously off course. The indicator is designed to provide a guide to when the public believes foreign affairs demand their attention.

Our indicator scale is divided into zones, with 100 serving as a neutral midpoint. We don't anticipate the indicator ever being at either the 0 or the 200 level, but a score of 50 or below would indicate a period of calm, perhaps even complacency. Above the "redline" of 150 would be anxiety shading into real fear and a withdrawal of public confidence in U.S. policy.

Clearly the public's discontent is edging closer to the "redline," but there's no way of telling whether the indicator will go higher—and what might really happen if it does.

The shifts in the five questions used to calculate the indicator would be significant in any survey:

- 84 percent say they worry about "the way things are going for the United States in world affairs"
- 82 percent say the world is becoming more dangerous for Americans, up three points. Nearly half (48 percent) say the world is becoming "much more dangerous"
- 73 percent say the United States is doing only a "fair" or "poor" job in creating a more peaceful and prosperous world, up four points



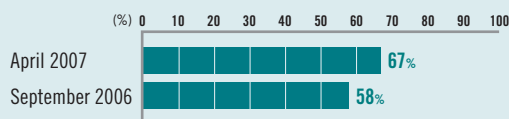
- 68 percent say the rest of the world sees the United States negatively
- 67 percent say foreign policy is on the wrong track, an increase of nine points

The most telling increases are in those who think policy is on the wrong track and those who think the world is becoming "much more dangerous." And the most striking shifts in those categories are among Republicans. There's been a 17-point drop in Republicans who say policy is going in the right

The Anxiety Indicator (continued)

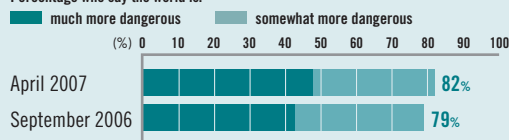
Thinking about recent U.S. relations with the rest of the world, would you say things are heading in the right direction, or are they off on the wrong track?

Percentage who say things are off on the wrong track:



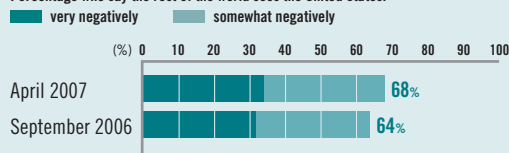
Thinking about current U.S. relations with the rest of the world, would you say that the world is becoming safer or more dangerous for the United States and the American people?

Percentage who say the world is:



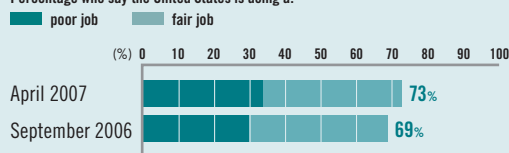
How do you think the rest of the world sees the United States? Would you say they see the United States positively or negatively?

Percentage who say the rest of the world sees the United States:



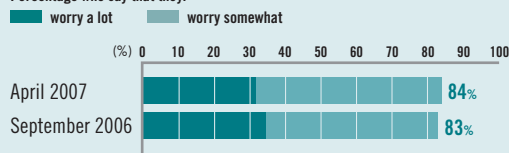
How good a job is the United States doing these days as a leader in creating a more peaceful and prosperous world?

Percentage who say the United States is doing a:



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?

Percentage who say that they:



Note: Question wording in charts may be slightly edited for space. Full question wording is available in the Full Survey Results at the end of this report. Percentages may not equal 100 percent due to rounding or the omission of some answer categories.

direction, leaving them evenly split (45 percent say right direction, 46 percent say wrong track). There's also been a nine-point increase in Republicans who say the world is becoming "much more dangerous" for Americans.

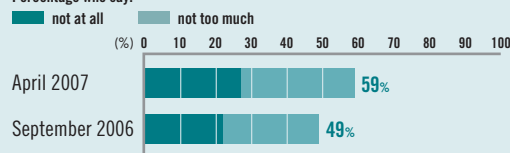
Other survey results in the Foreign Policy Index, while not part of the formal Anxiety Indicator calculation, shed light on why Americans are feeling so unsettled.

One is that a majority of Americans (59 percent) doubt the government is being honest with them. There's been a 10-point increase in the number of Americans who say they trust the government "not too much" or "not at all" to tell the truth about relations with other countries. On Iraq specifically, 54 percent say the government has been "not very" or "not at all" truthful about our actions there.

Another is Americans' obvious discomfort with being unpopular in the rest of the world. Two-thirds of the public says it's "very important" to national security for the rest of the world to see the United States positively. And almost no one says our international image doesn't matter at all.

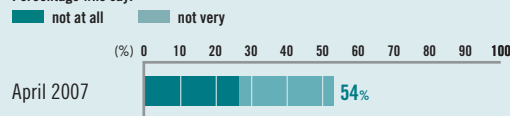
How much do you trust our government to tell the public the truth about our relations with other countries?

Percentage who say:



How truthful do you think the government has been in what it told the public about our actions in Iraq?

Percentage who say:



Report card: Slipping grades, few bright spots

The public's unease is as notable on specific goals as it is in broad outline. When asked to grade the United States on foreign policy goals, using an A through F scale, the public sees only a handful of distinct successes. In fact, since we began the Foreign Policy Index in June 2005, A/B grades have not improved in any of the 22 policy areas we cover. Some have held steady, but most have seen notable declines.

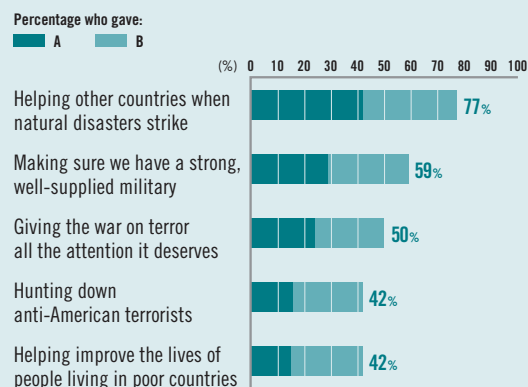
The most significant single change in grades has been in “meeting our objectives in Iraq,” where 73 percent now give the government a C or worse, compared with 57 percent in 2005. There’s also been a notable shift in the intensity of public feelings. Some 52 percent of the public now give the United States a clearly failing D or F grade in Iraq, up 13 points in just six months.

Iraq is just one of five areas where dissatisfaction is both broad (with about three-quarters of the public giving grades of C or lower) and intense (with nearly half of those surveyed giving D or F marks). The other four—keeping illegal drugs out of the country, protecting U.S. jobs, controlling illegal immigration and becoming less dependent on foreign oil—have had consistently low grades in the two years we’ve conducted the Index. And while there’s been little change in the overall scores of these four items, two (drugs and protecting jobs) have seen six-point increases in their D and F grades.

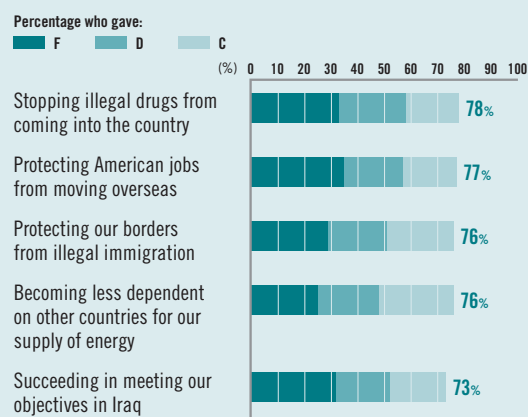
That’s a recurring pattern in this edition’s grades. The numbers who give grades of C or worse haven’t changed that much in the last six months, but the numbers who give D’s or F’s have increased significantly on many issues. More people are giving D’s and F’s on:

- Limiting the money we owe to foreign countries (44 percent, up eight points since September)
- Achieving our goals in Afghanistan (39 percent, up six points)
- Having good relations with the Muslim world (45 percent, up six points)

What grade would you give the United States when it comes to achieving the following goals?



What grade would you give the United States when it comes to achieving the following goals?



By contrast, there are only three areas where half or more of the public see the United States clearly succeeding. An overwhelming 77 percent give the United States an A or B for “helping out during natural disasters,” a view that’s held steady since we began the Foreign Policy Index two years ago. Fifty-nine percent give A or B marks for maintaining a strong military. And 50 percent give the United States high marks for “giving the war on terror the attention it deserves”—but even this grade has slipped six points in six months.

Iraq: A sense of obligation, a feeling of helplessness

The public's anguish over Iraq is a tangible force in this survey. Strong majorities say the United States should withdraw from Iraq and most say we can do so without making the United States more vulnerable to terrorists. But the public also feels a sense of obligation to the Iraqi people, combined with helplessness to change the outcome.

Since the first edition of the Foreign Policy Index in June 2005, we identified Iraq as a potential "tipping point" issue, a level of dissatisfaction with current policy where the public clearly demands change. The results of the current index—plus the significant changes from six months ago—suggest that attitudes have in fact tipped over and the public wants to take a different course from current policy.

The public's worries have clearly increased in the last six months. Nearly three-quarters give the United States a C or worse for achieving its goals in Iraq, an increase of nine points. Roughly half now give D or F grades, an increase of 13 points. Nearly two-thirds, 64 percent, say they worry "a lot" about casualties, up nine points. Almost half (48 percent) say they worry "a lot" that Iraq is distracting the United States from other threats, a six-point increase.

Even more significant for U.S. policy, half the public consistently express grave doubts whether the United States can succeed in Iraq. Some 51 percent say there's "not much" the United States can do to control the violence there, while 49 percent say there's "not much" the United States can do to create a democratic Iraq. That's an increase of nine points. Another 50 percent say Iraq is in a civil war.

At this point, a substantial majority of the public is ready to withdraw. Seven in 10 favor a pullout in some form, but only 19 percent want to leave immediately. About half prefer a withdrawal over 12 months. Only 27 percent say U.S. troops should stay "as long as it takes" to stabilize the country.¹

¹We did not ask about the "surge" specifically, but a number of public polls show about 6 in 10 opposed to the plan.

That preference for a gradual withdrawal seems rooted in two conclusions by the public. One is the public's sense that the United States can leave Iraq without damaging its own security, with 61 percent saying America's safety from terrorism does not depend on success in Iraq.

The other is that 6 in 10 say the United States has a moral obligation to the Iraqi people. Only 31 percent say we should act in our own interests without considering how it affects the Iraqis. So while the public may be ready to leave, this sense of obligation to the Iraqis keeps them from favoring a precipitous withdrawal that would leave the Iraqis to their fate.

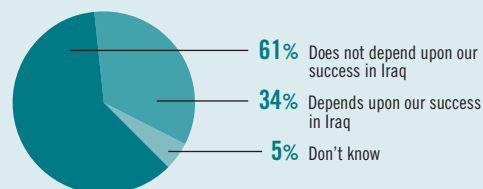
Majorities favor a withdraw from Iraq ...

Percentage who say the United States should:



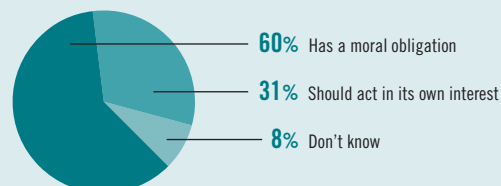
... and say U.S. security doesn't depend on succeeding there

Do you think America's safety from terrorism depends upon our success in Iraq, or does it not depend on our success in Iraq?



But most say the United States has an obligation to the Iraqis

Does the United States have a moral obligation to the Iraqi people, or should we act exclusively in our own nation's interest without regard to how it affects the Iraqi people?



Time to talk: A strong preference for diplomacy over force

For the public, military force is simply not an option in dealing with Iran and none too promising in other situations as well.

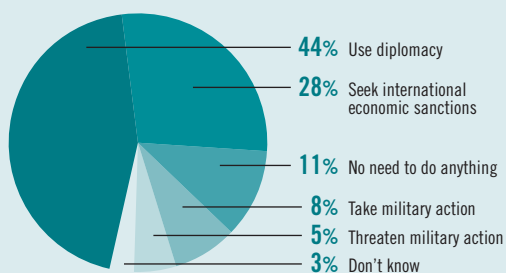
The Foreign Policy Index has consistently shown the public broadly prefers diplomacy over force in international affairs. For example, in June 2005 64 percent thought the United States should emphasize diplomatic and economic efforts over military efforts in fighting terrorism; now that figure stands at 67 percent. Half the public consider it “very important” to only use force with the support of our allies, also consistent with 2005 findings. And majorities throughout the Index have said the criticism that the United States is too quick to resort to war is at least “partly justified” (7 in 10 say so in our current edition).

But after four years of the war in Iraq, and facing rising tensions with Iran, the public is even more firmly on the side of diplomatic efforts.

In dealing with Iran, 44 percent prefer diplomacy to establish better relations, and 28 percent favor economic sanctions. Support for military action is in the single digits, and so is even threatening military action. This preference for nonmilitary solutions cuts across party identification. Republicans are more likely to favor sanctions than improved diplomatic relations, but they still prefer nonmilitary options (68 percent of Republicans, compared with 78 percent of Democrats).

Most favor diplomacy or sanctions with Iran

In your view, what is the one best way for the United States to deal with the current situation in Iran?



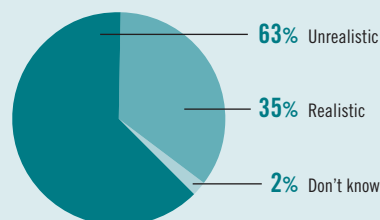
Fewer support military action against countries with weapons of mass destruction

Percentage who say that attacking countries that develop weapons of mass destruction would enhance our security in the following ways:



But many doubt the United States can stop the spread of nuclear weapons

Percentage who say that the claim that the U.S. government can prevent more countries from developing nuclear weapons is:



The skepticism about the use of force applies in general terms as well. A plurality of the public, 43 percent, say attacking countries that develop weapons of mass destruction would enhance national security “not at all”—a 14-point jump in six months. Those who say it would enhance security “a great deal” dropped 19 points, to 17 percent.

This preference for diplomacy comes out most strongly in an area the public considers the top foreign policy priority: nuclear nonproliferation. Three-quarters of the public say it’s “very important” for the United States to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, outstripping any other priority. Overwhelming majorities say they worry at least somewhat about terrorists attacking the United States with biological, chemical or nuclear weapons (85 percent) and about unfriendly nations becoming nuclear powers (82 percent). In both

Time to talk (continued)

cases, four in 10 say they worry “a lot,” which is a high level of concern.

This is also an area where the public has serious doubts about how much the U.S. government can do. More than six in 10 (63 percent) say it isn’t realistic to expect the United States to prevent more countries from developing nuclear weapons. There’s also been an eight-point decline in those who say the United States can do “a lot” to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction, although most Americans still believe the government can do at least something about this.

As noted earlier, Public Agenda has always found a majority of the public saying the government should emphasize diplomatic and economic efforts over the military to fight terrorism. Perhaps this is rooted in the perception that most Muslims don’t back terrorist groups (71 percent say only a small minority support terrorism). And more than half say better communication and dialogue with Muslim countries would reduce hatred of the United States. But in another sense, the public expresses doubts over this strategy, with only one-third saying the U.S. government can do “a lot” to reach out to moderate Muslims.

Global warming: A clear call for international cooperation

The American public clearly sees climate change as a global problem that requires global cooperation—and U.S. leadership.

Climate change has received a lot of media attention in the last six months, and concern about global warming increased significantly since the last edition of the Index. Three-quarters of those surveyed say they worry about global warming, up seven points from six months ago. But the most notable shift is in the intensity of public feeling. Four in 10 (41 percent) said they worry “a lot” about global warming, and that’s up eight points. Those who said they worry somewhat held steady, and the number who say they didn’t worry about the issue at all dropped six points to 24 percent.

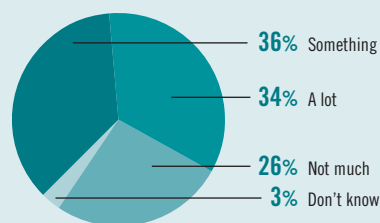
Nearly two-thirds (65 percent) say it’s realistic to believe that international cooperation can reduce global warming. By contrast, the number who say the U.S. government can do “a lot” about global warming held steady, at 34 percent. Some environmentalists may see that as fatalistic or letting the U.S. government off the hook. But the index results strongly suggest that the public believes the United States has a major role to play in international efforts to slow global warming.

For example, the public considers the environment a high priority for U.S. diplomacy. More than 7 in 10 say “cooperating with other countries on problems like the environment or control of disease” should be a very important foreign policy goal, second only to nuclear nonproliferation. Six in 10 say global warming specifically should be a “very important” priority.

Yet the public also gives the government fairly low grades for leading the world’s efforts on climate change, with 61 percent giving the United States a C or below for working with other countries on global warming and roughly one-third giving D or F marks.

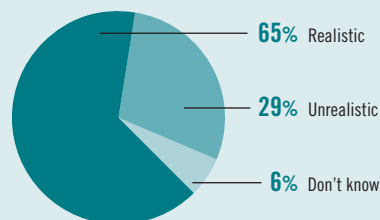
People may not believe that the government can do a lot to reduce global warming

Percentage who say that our government can do the following about reducing global warming:



But international cooperation can reduce global warming

Percentage who say that the claim that international cooperation can reduce global warming is:



The best strategies: Intelligence, energy independence and controlling immigration

Beyond its general faith in diplomatic efforts, the public has consistently favored several strategies to make the United States more secure: better intelligence gathering, energy independence and controlling illegal immigration. But the public also consistently gives the government low grades for achieving two of these goals.

Some 63 percent of those surveyed said improving intelligence operations would enhance U.S. security “a great deal,” higher than any other strategy. That’s consistent with the last round of the Foreign Policy Index. Since the last edition of the Index, however, marks have slipped somewhat. Six months ago, 41 percent of the public gave the United States an A or B grade on this score; now only 36 percent do.

For the public, energy independence was a breakthrough idea last year. The idea appears to be here to stay, with the concept holding steady as a favored strategy. Almost all Americans—89 percent—say reducing dependence on foreign energy would improve U.S. security at least somewhat. Some 55 percent say it would help “a great deal,” second only to better intelligence gathering.

Relying on foreign oil simply does not seem like a viable option to the public. Some 45 percent worry “a lot” about events abroad affecting the supply and price of oil, while 56 percent say it’s unrealistic to expect the government to maintain “a stable supply of oil at a reasonable price.”

Reducing our dependence on foreign energy, however, is something 85 percent of the public believes the government can do “something” about, and nearly half (49 percent) believe it can do “a lot.”

What’s also consistent about attitudes on energy independence, however, is that the public gives the government decidedly bad grades for achieving it. Three-quarters give the government a C or below, with a whopping 49 percent giving a flat D or F.

This combination of high urgency, low grades and the public’s sense that the United States ought to be able to achieve this goal is what makes energy independence worth watching as a potential “tipping point” issue, where leaders ignore public sentiment at their peril.

The third security strategy endorsed by the public is controlling illegal immigration. Nearly half the public say controlling immigration would do a “great deal” to improve security, with about the same number saying the government can do “a lot” about this. But this is also one of the areas where the government gets the worst grades from the public, with 76 percent giving a C or below and 51 percent giving D’s or F’s.

There is a fourth public concern, protecting U.S. jobs, that escapes making this list of effective strategies because of the public’s ongoing uncertainty about what can be done. This has consistently been a major worry for the public in the index, with 45 percent saying they worry about it “a lot.” And the public gives the government dismal grades on this front, with 77 percent giving a C or worse (57 percent give clear D’s and F’s).

The public backs energy independence but gives the government poor grades on achieving it

	March 2007 (%)
Percentage who worry “a lot” that problems abroad may hurt our supply of oil and raise prices for American consumers	45
Percentage who say that becoming less dependent on other countries for our supply of energy would enhance security “a great deal”	55
Percentage who say the government can do “a lot” about decreasing our dependence on other countries for our supply of energy	49
Percentage who gave a D or F grade to the United States when it comes to becoming less dependent on other countries for our supply of energy	48

The best strategies (continued)

But 75 percent of the public don't seem to believe much can be done on this front, saying it's unrealistic to expect U.S. firms to keep jobs here when labor is cheaper overseas. And fully 50 percent say they're unsure who benefits more from international trade, the United States or other countries. So protecting jobs is a major concern but one without clear direction from the public.

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 United States? Would you say they see the United States 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 United States 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 you worry about the way things are going in world affairs a lot, somewhat or do you *not* worry about them?

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 moderately positive, 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 fourth edition of the study was based on interviews with a national random sample of 1,013 adults over the age of 18 between February 21 and March 4, 2007. It covered over 25 different issues in more than 110 different survey questions. The margin of error is plus or minus three. Full survey results can be found at www.publicagenda.org or www.confidenceinforeignpolicy.org.

	March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
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]				
Middle East	40	42	36	—
Administration/politics	17	16	16	—
Domestic problems	11	12	10	—
Foreign policies	8	7	8	—
World peace	3	6	3	—
Trade deficit	1	2	3	—
Other	8	5	13	—
None	1	1	1	—
Don't know	11	8	9	—
2 How do you think the rest of the world sees the United States? Would you say they see the United States positively or negatively?				
Positively (net)	22	24	25	—
Very positively	7	9	—	—
Somewhat positively	15	15	—	—
Negatively (net)	68	64	62	—
Somewhat negatively	34	32	—	—
Very negatively	34	32	—	—
Neutral or mixed	8	8	10	—
Don't know	2	3	3	—
3 How important to our national security is it that the rest of the world sees the United States positively?				
Very important	67	65	—	—
Somewhat important	24	22	—	—
Not too important	5	5	—	—
Not at all important	3	6	—	—
Don't know	1	2	—	—
4 Do you think that people in other countries see the United States ...				
... as a strong leader, or not?				
Yes	59	66	69	—
No	37	30	27	—
Don't know	4	4	4	—
... as a country to be feared, or not?				
Yes	59	53	63	—
No	36	41	32	—
Don't know	5	6	5	—

4	(continued) Do you think that people in other countries see the United States ...	March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
	... as a free and democratic country, or not?				
	Yes	84	81	81	—
	No	13	14	15	—
	Don't know	3	5	4	—
	... as a bully, or not?				
	Yes	67	63	63	—
	No	29	31	32	—
	Don't know	4	5	5	—
	... as pampered and spoiled, or not?				
	Yes	76	72	73	—
	No	21	20	23	—
	Don't know	3	8	4	—
	... as arrogant, or not?				
	Yes	75	78	74	—
	No	22	17	22	—
	Don't know	3	5	4	—
	... with envy, or not?				
	Yes	71	67	71	—
	No	28	27	24	—
	Don't know	2	6	5	—
	... as a country of opportunity for everyone, or not?				
	Yes	79	81	80	—
	No	18	16	17	—
	Don't know	2	3	2	—
	... as generous toward other countries, or not?				
	Yes	72	66	72	—
	No	25	29	23	—
	Don't know	3	5	5	—
	... as corrupt and immoral, or not?				
	Yes	55	52	56	—
	No	40	42	37	—
	Don't know	5	5	7	—
5	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	53	47	55	—
	More attention international	15	15	8	—
	About right	24	28	28	—
	Don't know	8	9	8	—
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	26	35	37	—
	Wrong track	67	58	59	—
	Don't know	6	7	4	—

	March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
7 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	27	32	28	29
More emphasis on diplomatic and economic methods	67	61	61	64
Don't know	5	6	10	7
8 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 United States and the American people? Is that much or somewhat safer/more dangerous?				
Much safer	4	6	—	—
Somewhat safer	9	13	—	—
Somewhat more dangerous	34	36	—	—
Much more dangerous	48	43	—	—
Don't know	4	2	—	—
9 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	6	10	—	—
A good job	20	21	—	—
A fair job	39	39	—	—
A poor job	34	30	—	—
Don't know	1	1	—	—
10 What grade would you give the United States when it comes to achieving the following goals?				
Helping other countries when natural disasters strike				
A	42	47	49	54
B	35	32	31	29
C	15	12	12	11
D	4	4	4	2
F	3	4	3	2
Don't know	1	1	1	1
Making sure we have a strong, well-supplied military				
A	29	30	32	30
B	30	32	33	37
C	20	20	20	19
D	10	8	8	5
F	7	7	4	5
Don't know	3	2	2	2
Giving the war on terror all the attention it deserves				
A	24	25	26	23
B	26	31	32	35
C	25	24	20	23
D	10	8	9	9
F	9	6	9	6
Don't know	5	5	4	3

10 (continued) **What grade would you give the United States when it comes to achieving the following goals?**

	March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
Hunting down anti-American terrorists				
A	16	19	18	19
B	26	28	28	35
C	25	25	27	25
D	15	13	10	10
F	12	11	12	7
Don't know	6	4	6	4
Helping to create democracy in the rest of the world				
A	11	15	16	19
B	25	25	30	31
C	34	30	28	30
D	13	13	12	10
F	9	10	7	7
Don't know	8	6	6	4
Doing our best to bring peace between Israel and the Palestinians				
A	14	13	15	16
B	22	25	29	29
C	27	34	24	30
D	14	10	12	11
F	14	12	9	7
Don't know	8	6	10	7
Helping improve the lives of people living in poor countries				
A	15	13	14	15
B	27	25	31	27
C	29	32	28	28
D	13	12	11	16
F	10	12	11	9
Don't know	5	5	6	4
Living up to our ideals of human rights and justice in the way we conduct our foreign policy				
A	11	13	14	15
B	27	27	31	29
C	29	29	27	29
D	12	13	11	12
F	13	11	10	10
Don't know	8	6	7	5
Stopping countries or groups from getting nuclear weapons				
A	15	13	14	13
B	23	23	27	27
C	25	25	27	29
D	17	18	14	15
F	13	13	10	8
Don't know	8	7	7	7
Succeeding in meeting our objectives in Iraq				
A	7	7	11	13
B	14	24	22	26
C	21	24	23	24
D	20	17	15	17
F	32	22	23	16
Don't know	5	5	6	4

10 (continued) **What grade would you give the United States when it comes to achieving the following goals?**

	March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
Succeeding in meeting our objectives in Afghanistan				
A	7	8	11	13
B	19	22	21	27
C	27	28	28	28
D	17	17	14	14
F	22	16	15	9
Don't know	8	9	11	10
Protecting people or nations that are threatened with genocide or ethnic cleansing				
A	10	11	13	12
B	23	23	24	24
C	26	27	25	28
D	16	15	15	16
F	15	12	11	10
Don't know	10	12	11	10
Conducting effective U.S. intelligence operations				
A	11	12	11	—
B	25	29	26	—
C	26	31	28	—
D	12	9	11	—
F	8	7	10	—
Don't know	16	11	13	—
Having good working relations with other countries				
A	11	10	10	11
B	31	35	32	34
C	35	29	37	32
D	14	14	10	14
F	8	8	6	6
Don't know	1	4	4	4
Working with other countries to reduce global warming				
A	9	—	—	—
B	16	—	—	—
C	27	—	—	—
D	14	—	—	—
F	20	—	—	—
Don't know	13	—	—	—
Avoiding trade agreements that harm the United States				
A	8	—	—	—
B	18	—	—	—
C	28	—	—	—
D	15	—	—	—
F	11	—	—	—
Don't know	19	—	—	—
Stopping illegal drugs from coming into the country				
A	7	6	7	7
B	11	11	13	16
C	20	24	22	24
D	25	19	20	24
F	33	33	31	26
Don't know	4	7	6	3

10	(continued) What grade would you give the United States when it comes to achieving the following goals?	March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
	Having good relations and reputation with Muslim countries				
	A	5	5	6	7
	B	15	14	19	21
	C	28	32	28	32
	D	23	17	19	19
	F	22	22	17	13
	Don't know	7	9	9	7
	Protecting our borders from illegal immigration				
	A	8	6	6	7
	B	13	12	13	18
	C	25	27	27	29
	D	22	23	20	21
	F	29	28	30	24
	Don't know	4	4	4	7
	Protecting American jobs from moving overseas				
	A	6	7	4	4
	B	12	11	11	14
	C	20	25	24	26
	D	22	21	22	21
	F	35	30	35	31
	Don't know	5	6	4	5
	Limiting the amount of money we owe other countries				
	A	5	7	6	—
	B	11	13	14	—
	C	22	26	25	—
	D	17	15	16	—
	F	27	21	17	—
	Don't know	18	19	21	—
	Becoming less dependent on other countries for our supply of energy				
	A	6	8	9	—
	B	15	15	11	—
	C	28	25	30	—
	D	23	26	23	—
	F	25	22	23	—
	Don't know	3	4	5	—
11	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	32	35	—	—
	Worry somewhat	52	48	—	—
	Do not worry	16	16	—	—
	Don't know	*	2	—	—
	The war in Iraq is leading to too many casualties				
	Worry a lot	64	55	56	56
	Worry somewhat	23	29	26	26
	Do not worry	12	15	17	18
	Don't know	*	1	*	*

11 (continued) **Is the following something that you worry about a lot, is this something you worry about somewhat or is this something you do *not* worry about?**

	March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
Terrorist groups may use biological, chemical or nuclear weapons to attack the United States				
Worry a lot	45	47	43	48
Worry somewhat	40	36	43	40
Do not worry	15	16	14	13
Don't know	*	1	*	*
The war in Iraq is requiring so much money and attention that it may be distracting the United States from other threats in the world				
Worry a lot	48	42	44	43
Worry somewhat	35	36	36	34
Do not worry	16	21	19	23
Don't know	*	1	*	*
Problems abroad may hurt our supply of oil and raise prices for American consumers				
Worry a lot	45	46	55	42
Worry somewhat	37	37	33	39
Do not worry	17	17	11	19
Don't know	*	1	*	–
It may be too easy for illegal immigrants to come into the country				
Worry a lot	43	39	41	42
Worry somewhat	36	33	36	31
Do not worry	21	27	22	27
Don't know	*	1	1	1
There may be growing hatred of the United States in Muslim countries				
Worry a lot	42	42	34	40
Worry somewhat	36	36	42	34
Do not worry	21	20	22	25
Don't know	1	1	1	1
The United States may be losing the trust and friendship of people in other countries				
Worry a lot	36	34	29	40
Worry somewhat	42	39	43	35
Do not worry	21	26	27	25
Don't know	1	1	1	1
There may be another major terrorist attack against the United States in the near future				
Worry a lot	42	45	41	37
Worry somewhat	37	37	42	42
Do not worry	20	17	16	21
Don't know	*	1	*	–
The United States may owe too much money to other countries				
Worry a lot	33	27	27	32
Worry somewhat	35	37	34	31
Do not worry	31	32	36	36
Don't know	1	3	2	2

11 (continued) **Is the following something that you worry about a lot, is this something you worry about somewhat or is this something you do *not* worry about?**

	March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
The growing power of China may be a threat to the United States				
Worry a lot	25	30	29	29
Worry somewhat	43	38	38	37
Do not worry	31	31	32	33
Don't know	1	1	*	1
Rise in the cost of gas and fuel				
Worry a lot	57	—	—	—
Worry somewhat	30	—	—	—
Do not worry	12	—	—	—
Don't know	*	—	—	—
Protecting American jobs from moving overseas				
Worry a lot	45	45	52	—
Worry somewhat	37	36	35	—
Do not worry	17	19	12	—
Don't know	*	*	1	—
Global warming				
Worry a lot	41	33	32	—
Worry somewhat	34	35	37	—
Do not worry	24	30	29	—
Don't know	1	2	2	—
That our actions in the Mideast are aiding the recruitment of terrorists				
Worry a lot	37	33	—	—
Worry somewhat	40	37	40	—
Do not worry	22	24	25	—
Don't know	1	2	2	—
The rise of Islamic extremism around the world				
Worry a lot	40	38	31	—
Worry somewhat	39	41	45	—
Do not worry	19	18	22	—
Don't know	2	2	2	—
The possibility of unfriendly nations becoming nuclear powers				
Worry a lot	41	38	31	—
Worry somewhat	41	41	45	—
Do not worry	17	18	22	—
Don't know	*	2	2	—
12 Do you think/believe that ...				
... improved communication and dialogue with the Muslim world will reduce hatred of the United States?				
Yes	53	53	56	59
No	43	41	37	38
Don't know	4	6	7	3

12 (continued) Do you think/believe that ...		March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
... we can fight terrorism without sometimes using torture against suspected terrorists?					
Yes		54	54	56	56
No		40	39	37	39
Don't know		6	6	7	5
... when more countries become democratic, there will be less conflict and violence in the world?					
Yes		50	52	53	51
No		46	42	42	45
Don't know		4	6	5	4
... if there is less poverty in the world, there will be less terrorism?					
Yes		45	44	47	46
No		51	53	49	52
Don't know		4	2	4	3
13 Do you think it's realistic or unrealistic to expect/believe that ...					
... U.S. companies will keep jobs in the United States when labor is cheaper elsewhere?					
Realistic		23	26	22	21
Unrealistic		75	70	74	78
Don't know		2	3	3	1
... the U.S. government will be able to maintain a stable supply of oil at a reasonable price?					
Realistic		41	41	35	—
Unrealistic		56	55	63	—
Don't know		3	4	3	—
... international cooperation can reduce global warming?					
Realistic		65	—	—	—
Unrealistic		29	—	—	—
Don't know		6	—	—	—
... the U.S. government can prevent more countries from developing nuclear weapons?					
Realistic		35	41	35	—
Unrealistic		63	55	63	—
Don't know		2	4	3	—
14 Is the following something our government can do a lot about, something about or not much about?					
Slowing illegal immigration in the United States					
A lot		47	49	48	—
Something		36	37	37	—
Not much		16	11	14	—
Don't know		1	3	1	—
Creating a democratic Iraq					
A lot		13	20	22	—
Something		35	36	39	—
Not much		49	40	35	—
Don't know		3	4	4	—

14	(continued) Is the following something our government can do a lot about, something about or not much about?	March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
	Preventing jobs from going overseas				
	A lot	42	42	44	—
	Something	35	34	34	—
	Not much	22	22	21	—
	Don't know	1	1	1	—
	Establishing good relations with moderate Muslims				
	A lot	33	36	35	—
	Something	41	40	41	—
	Not much	22	20	20	—
	Don't know	3	3	4	—
	Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction				
	A lot	24	32	35	—
	Something	43	43	44	—
	Not much	30	23	19	—
	Don't know	2	2	2	—
	Preventing another major terrorist attack against the United States				
	A lot	36	45	39	—
	Something	42	39	40	—
	Not much	21	15	19	—
	Don't know	1	2	2	—
	Decreasing our dependence on other countries for our supply of energy				
	A lot	49	51	50	—
	Something	36	36	35	—
	Not much	14	11	12	—
	Don't know	2	1	3	—
	Reducing global warming				
	A lot	34	35	30	—
	Something	36	36	40	—
	Not much	26	24	26	—
	Don't know	3	5	5	—
	Reducing our debts to other countries				
	A lot	44	45	41	—
	Something	40	36	39	—
	Not much	14	13	15	—
	Don't know	2	5	5	—
	Controlling the violence in Iraq				
	A lot	17	—	—	—
	Something	30	—	—	—
	Not much	51	—	—	—
	Don't know	2	—	—	—
15	Do you think the United States 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 United States can help other countries become democracies	23	31	36	38
	Democracy is something that countries only come to on their own	74	64	58	54
	Don't know	3	5	6	4

	March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
16 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	33	37	34	32
With all the problems we have, we're already doing more than our share to help less fortunate countries	63	57	60	64
Don't know	3	5	5	4
17 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	47	49	40	—
Somewhat important	43	41	47	—
Not very important	6	6	6	—
Not at all important	4	3	4	—
Don't know	1	1	2	—
Minding our own business and getting less involved with global issues				
Very important	32	30	31	—
Somewhat important	38	40	38	—
Not very important	12	14	13	—
Not at all important	16	13	14	—
Don't know	2	3	3	—
Actively creating democracies in other countries				
Very important	17	24	20	—
Somewhat important	48	45	46	—
Not very important	20	17	18	—
Not at all important	12	11	12	—
Don't know	2	2	3	—
Helping other countries when they are struck by natural disasters				
Very important	68	71	71	—
Somewhat important	28	26	24	—
Not very important	1	1	2	—
Not at all important	2	1	2	—
Don't know	1	*	1	—
Doing what we think is best for our own interests even if other nations oppose us				
Very important	46	46	44	—
Somewhat important	36	33	34	—
Not very important	9	9	11	—
Not at all important	7	8	7	—
Don't know	3	4	3	—
Initiating military force only when we have the support of our allies				
Very important	51	45	50	—
Somewhat important	33	36	31	—
Not very important	7	10	8	—
Not at all important	7	6	7	—
Don't know	2	3	3	—

17 (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?**

	March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
Cooperating with other countries on problems like the environment or control of diseases				
Very important	72	73	70	—
Somewhat important	24	22	25	—
Not very important	2	3	2	—
Not at all important	1	1	3	—
Don't know	*	1	1	—
Helping poor countries move out of poverty				
Very important	44	46	40	—
Somewhat important	45	42	48	—
Not very important	7	8	6	—
Not at all important	3	4	4	—
Don't know	*	1	1	—
Assisting countries in developing clean water supplies				
Very important	67	71	—	—
Somewhat important	27	24	—	—
Not very important	4	3	—	—
Not at all important	1	2	—	—
Don't know	*	*	—	—
Helping people in poor countries to get an education				
Very important	51	54	51	—
Somewhat important	38	35	37	—
Not very important	7	6	8	—
Not at all important	4	4	4	—
Don't know	*	1	1	—
Improving the treatment of women in other countries				
Very important	60	60	57	—
Somewhat important	29	30	35	—
Not very important	5	5	4	—
Not at all important	4	4	3	—
Don't know	1	1	1	—
Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons				
Very important	75	—	—	—
Somewhat important	20	—	—	—
Not very important	3	—	—	—
Not at all important	1	—	—	—
Don't know	1	—	—	—
Cooperating with other countries on reducing global warming				
Very important	60	—	—	—
Somewhat important	27	—	—	—
Not very important	5	—	—	—
Not at all important	6	—	—	—
Don't know	2	—	—	—

	March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
18 Thinking about the benefits of international trade, do you think for the most part the United States benefits more than other countries, or that other countries benefit more than the United States or are you unsure who benefits?				
The United States benefits more than other countries	17	—	—	—
Other countries benefit more than the United States	31	—	—	—
Unsure who benefits more	50	—	—	—
Don't know	1	—	—	—
Note: Questions 19 and 20 were asked later in the survey.				
21 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	7	10	11	—
Somewhat	33	39	37	—
Not too much	32	27	28	—
Not at all	27	22	23	—
Don't know	*	1	*	—
21A How truthful do you think the government has been in what it told the public about our actions in Iraq?				
Completely	7	—	—	—
Somewhat	39	—	—	—
Not very	27	—	—	—
Not at all	27	—	—	—
Don't know	1	—	—	—
22 How would you describe the current violence in Iraq? Would you say it is ... ?				
Mostly a civil war	50	—	—	—
Mostly an uprising opposing the United States's role in Iraq	42	—	—	—
Don't know	7	—	—	—
23 In your opinion, should the United States ... ?				
Withdraw all troops from Iraq immediately	19	—	—	—
Gradually withdraw all troops over the next 12 months	51	—	—	—
Have troops stay in Iraq for as long as it takes to stabilize the country	27	—	—	—
Don't know	3	—	—	—
24 Does the United States have a moral obligation to the Iraqi people, or should we act exclusively in our own nation's interest without regard to how it affects the Iraqi people?				
Moral obligation	60	—	—	—
Nation's interest	31	—	—	—
Don't know	8	—	—	—
25 Do you think America's safety from terrorism depends upon our success in Iraq, or does it not depend on our success in Iraq?				
Depends upon our success in Iraq	34	—	—	—
Does not depend upon our success in Iraq	61	—	—	—
Don't know	5	—	—	—

Note: Questions 19 and 20 were asked out of numerical order.

	March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
19 Now turning to the topic of Iran, how closely are you following recent news about the current situation in Iran? Would you say you are following it very closely, somewhat closely, not too closely or not at all closely?				
Very closely	21	—	—	—
Somewhat closely	43	—	—	—
Not too closely	19	—	—	—
Not at all closely	16	—	—	—
Don't know	*	—	—	—
20 In your view, of the five choices I read, what is the one best way for the United States to deal with the current situation in Iran? (Base: Respondents who have closely followed the current situation in Iran)				
Use diplomacy to try to establish better relations	44	—	—	—
Seek to impose international economic sanctions	28	—	—	—
Threaten military action against Iran	5	—	—	—
Take military action against Iran	8	—	—	—
The United States doesn't have to do anything to deal with the current situation in Iran	11	—	—	—
Don't know	3	—	—	—
26 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	48	46	45	—
The Islamic religion does not encourage violence more than others	42	39	39	—
Don't know	10	14	15	—
27 What is your impression—do you think the majority of Muslims support terrorism, or do you think a small minority of Muslims support terrorism?				
The majority of Muslims support terrorism	21	—	—	—
A small minority of Muslims support terrorism	71	—	—	—
Don't know	7	—	—	—
28 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	63	62	60	65
Somewhat	31	28	33	30
Not at all	3	6	3	4
Don't know	2	3	3	1
Tighter controls on immigration to the United States				
A great deal	51	51	50	58
Somewhat	38	40	41	30
Not at all	10	5	8	10
Don't know	1	3	*	2
Showing more respect for the views and needs of other countries				
A great deal	42	43	45	49
Somewhat	43	42	43	38
Not at all	14	13	11	12
Don't know	1	1	1	1

28 (continued) **Please tell me if each of the following would enhance our security a great deal, somewhat or not at all.**

	March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
Creating policies that support equal rights and better educational opportunities for women in Muslim countries				
A great deal	29	32	30	41
Somewhat	43	44	45	37
Not at all	25	20	19	20
Don't know	2	3	4	2
Tighter control over foreign students who come to our colleges and universities to study				
A great deal	34	40	32	41
Somewhat	46	39	44	34
Not at all	18	19	21	23
Don't know	1	1	3	2
Maintaining our military edge by exploring new technologies or placing weapons in space				
A great deal	36	37	33	40
Somewhat	40	36	45	34
Not at all	19	21	16	23
Don't know	4	6	5	4
Closer cooperation with the UN				
A great deal	33	36	33	34
Somewhat	45	40	46	37
Not at all	20	21	18	26
Don't know	2	3	3	3
Attacking countries that develop weapons of mass destruction				
A great deal	17	36	29	—
Somewhat	37	30	40	—
Not at all	43	29	24	—
Don't know	3	5	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	21	24	27	—
Somewhat	41	35	35	—
Not at all	36	37	36	—
Don't know	2	3	1	—
Building large projects such as roads, dams and hospitals in developing countries				
A great deal	23	28	19	29
Somewhat	46	42	55	43
Not at all	30	26	23	26
Don't know	1	3	3	2
Doing more to help Muslim countries develop economically				
A great deal	20	20	20	27
Somewhat	52	47	53	46
Not at all	27	29	23	26
Don't know	2	3	3	2

28 (continued) **Please tell me if each of the following would enhance our security a great deal, somewhat or not at all.**

Becoming less dependent on other countries for our supply of energy	March 2007 (%)	Sept 2006 (%)	Jan 2006 (%)	June 2005 (%)
A great deal	55	57	57	—
Somewhat	34	30	33	—
Not at all	10	11	8	—
Don't know	1	1	2	—

29 **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 United States has been too quick to resort to war

(Base : Half of respondents)

Totally justified	31	27	34	35
Partially justified	39	36	31	27
Not justified at all	28	33	32	37
Don't know	2	3	3	1

The United States is so concerned with its own security that it sometimes abuses prisoners in the war on terrorism

(Base : Half of respondents)

Totally justified	20	—	—	—
Partially justified	39	—	—	—
Not justified at all	36	—	—	—
Don't know	4	—	—	—

The United States has often been allied with governments that are unjust and exploit their own people

(Base : Half of respondents)

Totally justified	18	17	15	24
Partially justified	50	44	48	46
Not justified at all	26	32	30	26
Don't know	5	7	7	4

U.S. policies are too pro-Israel for the United States to be able to broker peace between Israel and the Palestinians

(Base : Half of respondents)

Totally justified	19	23	14	21
Partially justified	47	47	48	41
Not justified at all	25	22	25	30
Don't know	9	7	12	8

The United States is only concerned with its own interests and disregards the interests of other countries

(Base : Half of respondents)

Totally justified	20	15	16	19
Partially justified	40	46	40	36
Not justified at all	37	35	39	44
Don't know	2	3	5	1

Characteristics of the sample

	March 2007 (%)		March 2007 (%)
Gender		Race	
Male	48	White	69
Female	52	Black/African-American	11
Age		Hispanic	13
18–29	22	Asian	1
30–39	15	Something else	5
40–49	23	Income	
50–64	23	\$15,000 or under	15
65 or more	16	\$15,001 to \$25,000	14
Region		\$25,001 to \$35,000	14
Northeast	19	\$35,001 to \$50,000	13
Midcentral	22	\$51,001 to \$75,000	16
South	36	Over \$75,000	20
West	23	Religion	
Party		Christian	80
Republican	25	Protestant	60
Democrat	34	Roman Catholic	26
Independent	27	Mormon	3
Something else	12	Orthodox Church	*
Political ideology		Other	8
Liberal	22	Born-again/evangelical	43
Moderate	31	Not born-again/evangelical	55
Conservative	36	Jewish	1
Education		Muslim	*
Less than high school	15	Buddhist	1
High school graduate	32	Atheist	1
Some college or trade school, no degree	19	Agnostic	2
Associate's or 2-year degree	8	Something else	2
Bachelor's or 4-year degree	15	No religion	10
Graduate degree	10	Are you or is anyone in your household a member of the military or armed services?	
		Yes, self	2
		Yes, other	7
		No	91

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