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**PUBLIC AGENDA
CONFIDENCE IN U.S.
FOREIGN POLICY INDEX**

**Americans Perplexed and Anxious
About Relations with Muslim World
According to First Confidence Index**

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PUBLIC AGENDA CONFIDENCE IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INDEX

Americans Perplexed and Anxious About Relations with Muslim World According to First Confidence Index

A Report from Public Agenda
by Ana Maria Arumi and Scott Bittle
with Steve Farkas and Jean Johnson

Concept by Public Agenda Chairman and
Co-founder Daniel Yankelovich

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PUBLIC AGENDA CONFIDENCE IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INDEX

Americans Perplexed and Anxious About Relations with Muslim World According to First Confidence Index

The American public sees the web of issues surrounding relations with the Islamic world as the fundamental foreign policy problem facing the nation – but they have little idea what to do about it. So far, public thinking is a disquieting mix of high anxiety, growing uncertainty about current policy, and virtually no consensus about what else the country might do.

The inaugural edition of the Public Agenda Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index finds the public's concerns are dominated by issues that all lead back to the central theme of Islam and the West: the Iraq war, the global war on terrorism, and the public image of the United States abroad. Even before the London bombings, these worries rose without prompting in both our survey and focus groups.

But there is confusion and contradiction when the public is asked about possible strategies for dealing

with the Muslim world. No single survey question holds the key to public attitudes; rather, we have reviewed and synthesized many questions to reveal a pattern. The aggregate findings show that there is still no consensus on our problems in the Middle East region. And like the motif in an unfinished Turkish rug, the growing image in the public mind has yet to develop fully.

The Public Agenda Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index reveals several foreign policy issues that have attracted less attention from leadership elites, but that the public cares about deeply and expresses stronger unanimity. The problems of illegal immigration and protecting American jobs in a global economy resonate strongly with the public. Political leaders usually determine which foreign policy issues deserve high priority and which deserve less – since the public usually looks to leaders for guidance here. But results from this first Foreign Policy Index strongly suggest

THE PUBLIC AGENDA CONFIDENCE IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY INDEX

The Public Agenda 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, conducted by Public Agenda with major support from the Ford Foundation. To create the Foreign Policy Index, Public Agenda will regularly interview a nation-wide 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 present foreign policy, what their priorities are, and what foreign policy initiatives make sense to them. This first baseline study was based on a series of expert interviews, four focus groups of the general public and telephone interviews with a national random sample of 1,004 adults over the age of 18 between June 1 and June 13, 2005. It covered more than 25 different issues in more than 80 different survey questions. The margin of error for the overall sample of 1,004 is plus or minus three percentage points. Full survey results can be found at www.publicagenda.org, www.confidenceinforeignpolicy.org or www.foreignaffairs.org.



that attitudes on these problems are reaching a point where the public's concerns will be too strong to be ignored.

Currently, half the public is dissatisfied with America's current global position – 49% said there were “too many things worrying and disappointing” them about relations with the rest of the world, compared to 40% who said the U.S. is “generally doing the right things.” People are both dissatisfied with our position generally, and they give failing grades to many of the specifics of our foreign policy.

Historically, many Americans resist thinking about foreign policy at all. With the brief, traumatic exception of the Vietnam years, domestic issues have consistently trumped international affairs for the public, both in terms of their own interest and their desired priorities for government attention.

Should the U.S. government give more attention than it does now to international issues?

	2000	2005
A lot more	13%	21%
Somewhat more	25%	30%
Somewhat less	31%	27%
A lot less	15%	9%
Same [volunteered]	13%	9%

Belden Russonello & Stewart 2/00; Public Agenda 6/05

Today we live in the midst of another exception to that rule. In January 2000, before 9/11 took hold of the

nation's consciousness, only a minority of Americans wanted the U.S. government to place more attention on international issues than they were at the time. Remarkably, now, even with the greater public attention paid to global concerns, Americans want more: half the public (51%) wants the government to place even more emphasis on international issues.

Since the invasion of Iraq, multiple surveys have found that the Iraq war and terrorism rival or outstrip the economy as a public concern. When people were asked in an open-ended question – one where respondents give their own answers rather than picking from alternatives – to name the most important international problem facing the U.S., Iraq and terrorism dominated, although there were some surprising other choices. In addition to more partisan critiques of the role of the Bush administration and the degree to which we focus on foreign versus domestic policy, concerns about how we relate to other countries and how they view us bubbled up.

Most important problem facing the U.S. in its dealings with the rest of the world

Iraq war	17%
Terrorism/security	11%
Negative view of the U.S.	9%
Should focus on domestic issues	8%
Relations with foreign countries	6%
The current administration	6%
U.S. is arrogant/bullying	5%
Economy	4%
Immorality and lack of religion	3%
Immigration	2%

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Level of worry about U.S. perception abroad

	Worry a lot	Worry somewhat	Don't worry
There may be growing hatred of the U.S. in Muslim countries	40%	34%	25%
The U.S. may be losing the trust and friendship of people in other countries	40%	35%	25%
Accusations of U.S. torture and abuse of suspected terrorists may damage our reputation in the world	29%	32%	39%

Public Agenda 6/05

The U.S. and the Islamic World: Concern and Confusion

Contrary to conventional wisdom that the American public doesn't know and doesn't care how it is seen abroad, strong majorities of the public believe the view of the United States is suffering abroad and large majorities are worried about it. Three-quarters say they worry that "the U.S. may be losing the trust and friendship of people in other countries" and that "there may be growing hatred of the U.S. in Muslim countries." In both cases, four in ten say they worry "a lot" about this, compared to the one-quarter who say they don't worry at all. A smaller majority, six in ten, say they're at least somewhat worried that

accusations of torture against the U.S. will hurt our reputation (See full list of worries on page 10).

There is a strong impression that this image problem is primarily, but not exclusively, an issue with our dealings with the Muslim world. When asked to grade the nation's performance on foreign policy, nearly two-thirds (64%), give the U.S. a "C" or worse on having good relations with Muslim countries. By contrast, only 52% give the U.S. such bad grades in having good relations with other countries in general, and 45% give the U.S. an "A" or "B" (See full list of grades on page 9).

What grade would you give the U.S. when it comes to achieving the following goals?

	A	B	C	D	F
Having good relations and reputation with Muslim countries	7%	21%	32%	19%	13%
Having good working relations with other countries	11%	34%	32%	14%	6%

Public Agenda 6/05

There are also vivid indications in the survey about why the public believes we are viewed negatively. When asked an open-ended question on how the rest of the world sees the U.S., nearly two-thirds said the world has a negative view. Fully one in ten, the largest single group, actually used the words “bully” or “bullying.”

How Americans think the rest of the world views the U.S.

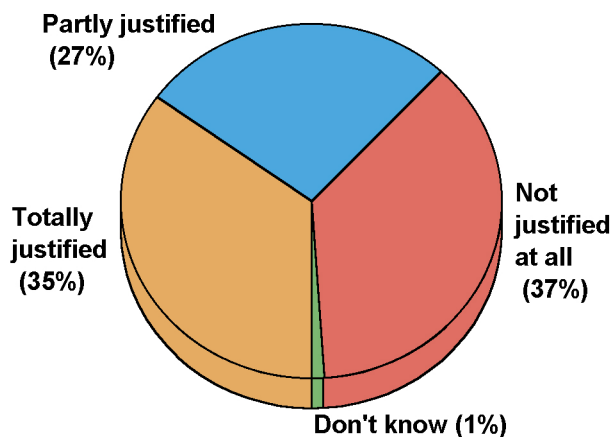
Negatively (unspecific)	18%
A bully	11%
Aggressive	8%
Materialistic and spoiled	6%
Powerful	6%
Mixed viewpoints	6%
Arrogant	5%
Benefactor	4%
Envious of the U.S.	4%
Wealthy	4%
Free and democratic	3%
Positively (unspecific)	3%

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Hinting at what might lie behind this assessment, in a different question some 63% said the criticism that

the U.S. has been “too quick to resort to war” is at least partly justified (35% say it is “totally justified”).

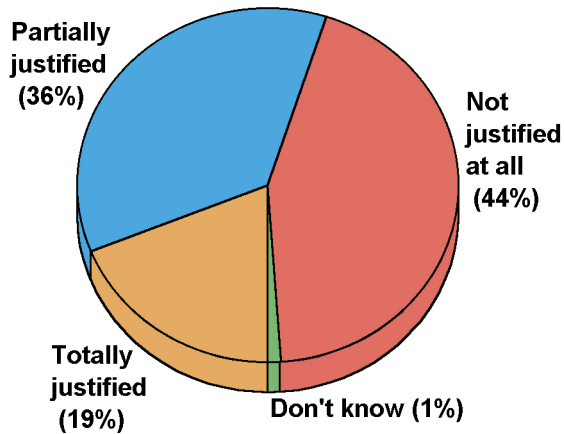
“The U.S. has been too quick to resort to war.” Is the accusation justified?



Public Agenda 6/05

Yet even as people say it, there is reason to believe they do not accept it. A number of respondents and focus group participants said, in some form, that “the world may see us this way, but we’re really not that domineering.” When asked if the U.S. is only concerned with itself and ignores the interests of other countries, only 19% say that charge is “totally justified,” while 44% say it’s not justified at all.

**“The U.S. is only concerned with its own interests and disregards the interests of other countries.”
Is the accusation justified?**

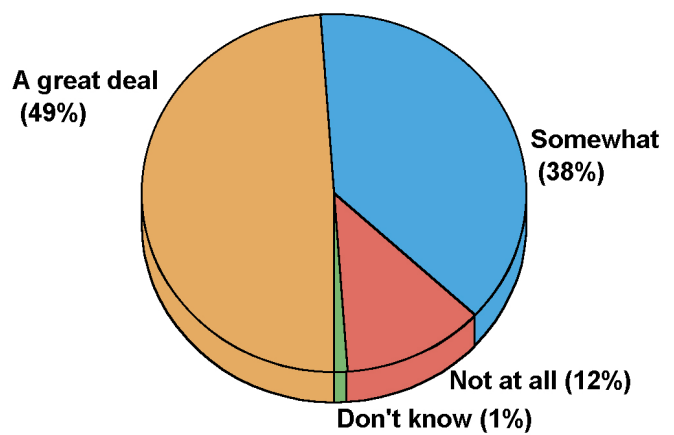


Public Agenda 6/05

The public also believes strongly in the United States as a force for humanitarian good. Fully 83% gave the U.S. an “A” or “B” for helping other countries during natural disasters, by far the highest grade in the survey. Half give the U.S. “A” and “B” grades for helping to create democracy overseas.

When it comes to what should be done about America’s image, or indeed, on the grim business of fighting terrorism in general, there are contradictions in the survey results. Public Agenda’s founder, Daniel Yankelovich, has a theory of the stages public opinion travels through on its way to firm conclusions [\[http://www.publicagenda.org/polling/polling_stages.cfm\]](http://www.publicagenda.org/polling/polling_stages.cfm). One of the stages involves the public acknowledging the problem but not being ready to make the difficult choices necessary to achieve a solution. In some ways, that may be where the public is now: they want to be harsh and simultaneously diplomatic, to be both hard and soft.

Showing more respect for the views and needs of other countries would enhance security...

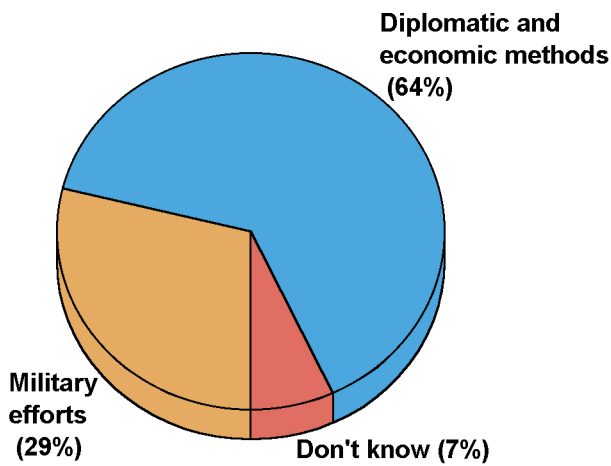


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For example, in many ways the public endorses the more diplomatic, so-called “soft power” approach to terrorism and the Islamic world. Some 87% say showing more respect for the needs of other countries would enhance U.S. security at least “somewhat” (half say “a great deal”). Some 64% say the government should put more emphasis on diplomatic and economic efforts to fight terrorism. Six in ten say improved communication and dialogue with the Muslim world would reduce hatred of the U.S.

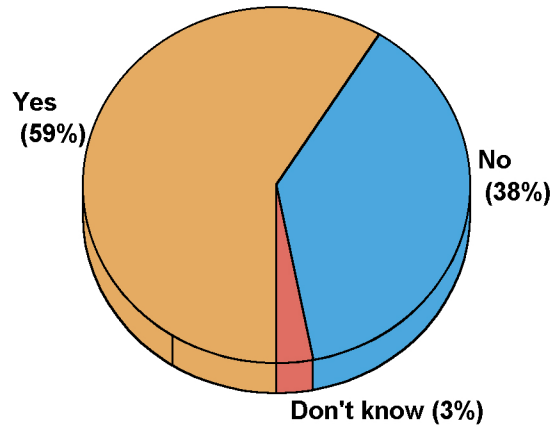
The public’s doubts about the Iraq war, documented in this and other surveys, may also fall into this pattern. Indeed, they may help explain the public’s interest in non-military options. More than half (56%) say they worry “a lot” that there are too many casualties in the Iraq war, with another quarter (26%) at least “somewhat” worried. Forty-three percent say they worry a lot that Iraq is distracting the U.S. from other threats, with 34% somewhat worried.

To fight terrorism, in your opinion, should the government put more emphasis on...



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Do you think improved communication and dialogue with the Muslim world will reduce hatred of the U.S.?



Public Agenda 6/05

Yet in other areas there is a strong sense that harsh tactics may be necessary and a skepticism about defeating terrorism by doing good deeds. A substantial majority (64%) says it's "wrong but sometimes necessary" to cooperate with harsh, undemocratic governments to fight terrorism. Half doubt that reducing poverty in the world will also reduce terrorism.

While half also believe that spreading democracy will reduce violence and conflict in the world, a significant minority (45%) disagree. And while 56% reject the idea that the U.S. will sometimes have to torture suspected terrorists, four in ten think it is necessary.

Is this something you worry about?

	Worry a lot	Worry somewhat	Don't worry
The war in Iraq is leading to too many casualties	56%	26%	18%
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	43%	34%	23%

Public Agenda 6/05

Given these crosscurrents, it is hard to draw a roadmap for political leaders. The public has not coalesced around a specific solution to the problems of America's image abroad and the Iraq war. In reviewing the breadth of the public's anxiety and their relative disenchantment with current foreign policy approaches, we find they are not only unhappy with the war, but they also question the degree to which we can help other countries become democracies or whether they need to come to this on their own. The Foreign Policy Index suggests that the public considers these major issues, and political leaders ignore that at their peril.

Jobs: Frustration and Fatalism

The areas where the public displayed the greatest dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs lay closer to home – they are concerned about the export of American jobs and illegal immigration. In particular, when it comes to American jobs and the global economy, the best words to sum up public attitudes are frustration and fatalism. The public doesn't believe the government is protecting U.S. jobs, but then again, it seems cynical about whether anyone can.

Half of Americans give the U.S. a "D" or "F" grade on protecting American jobs from going overseas (and three in ten chose "F"). The grades are better, but hardly great, on making international trade agreements that benefit the U.S. Slightly more than half (53%) give the U.S. a grade of "C" or worse.

At the same time, strong majorities believe cheap labor is hard to resist. Some 78% said it's unrealistic to believe U.S. firms will keep jobs at home "when labor is cheaper elsewhere." About half (52%) say it's

unrealistic to expect American companies to have the same standards abroad as they do at home. This shows a great deal of dissatisfaction. Again, the findings don't point to a particular solution, but they do point to a public desire for leaders to come up with one.

Immigration is a Hot Button Issue

There is marked dissatisfaction over illegal immigration and deep concern over its implications. Some but not all of this is driven by concern about terrorism – a number of surveys have shown support for limiting immigration surged after 9/11.

Three-quarters of the public give the U.S. a "C" grade or worse in "protecting our borders from illegal immigration," with nearly one-quarter giving an "F." Roughly as many say it worries them that "it may be too easy for illegal immigrants to come into the country," with four in ten saying it worries them a lot.

Even more striking is that 58% say tighter controls on immigration would strengthen national security "a great deal." Another 30 percent said tighter immigration would at least "somewhat" strengthen security. Of all the security proposals cited in the survey, this is second only to improving U.S. intelligence operations (65% said that would help a great deal). Another 41% think it would improve security a great deal to have tighter controls on foreign students in American universities.

However, conflicted feelings about immigration are nothing new. Security fears may be pushing public attitudes toward a tipping point on immigration, but they build on longstanding economic and social concerns. It's also vital to remember that the public

has historically made a distinction between legal and illegal immigration, with surveys finding far more favorable attitudes toward those who “play by the rules.” At the same time there are longstanding concerns with the strain that both kinds of immigrants may place on our infrastructures.

Still, the idea that people can enter and live in the United States without permission is of tremendous concern to the public. Leadership elites may well be daunted by the enormous administrative, social and economic problems involved in controlling the nation’s borders, but the public’s patience with illegal immigration may be wearing thin.

What grade would you give the U.S. when it comes to achieving the following goals? Please give an A, B, C, D or F for Fail. If you don't know, just say so.	A %	B %	C %	D %	F %	Don't know %
Helping other countries when natural disasters strike	54	29	11	2	2	1
Making sure we have a strong, well-supplied military	30	37	19	8	5	2
Giving the war on terror all of the attention it deserves	23	35	23	9	6	3
Hunting down anti-American terrorists	19	35	25	10	7	4
Helping to create democracy in the rest of the world	19	31	30	10	7	4
Doing our best to bring peace between Israel and the Palestinians	16	29	30	11	7	7
Helping improve the lives of people living in poor countries	15	27	28	16	9	4
Living up to our ideals of human rights and justice in the way we conduct our foreign policy	15	29	29	12	10	5
Stopping countries or groups from getting nuclear weapons	13	27	29	15	8	7
Succeeding in meeting our objectives in Iraq	13	26	24	17	16	4
Succeeding in meeting our objectives in Afghanistan	13	27	28	14	9	10
Protecting people or nations that are threatened with genocide or ethnic cleansing	12	24	28	16	10	10
Making the changes needed to improve U.S. intelligence and spying	12	29	30	9	5	16
Having good working relations with other countries	11	34	32	14	6	4
Working with other countries to protect the global environment	10	27	27	16	13	8
Making international trade agreements that benefit the United States	9	28	27	17	9	9
Stopping illegal drugs from coming into the country	7	16	24	24	26	3
Having good relations and reputation with Muslim countries	7	21	32	19	13	7
Protecting our borders from illegal immigration	7	18	29	21	24	2
Protecting American jobs from moving overseas	4	14	26	21	31	5

Some people say they are worried about various things, while others are not. I am going to read you several statements. For each statement, please tell me if this is something that you worry about a lot, is this something you worry about somewhat, or is this something you do NOT worry about.	Worry a lot %	Worry somewhat %	Don't worry %	Don't know %
The War in Iraq is leading to too many casualties	56	26	18	*
Terrorists may obtain biological, chemical or nuclear weapons to attack the U.S.	48	40	13	*
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	43	34	23	*
Problems abroad may hurt our supply of oil and raise prices for American consumers	42	39	19	-
It may be too easy for illegal immigrants to come into the country	42	31	27	1
There may be growing hatred of the U.S. in Muslim countries	40	34	25	1
The U.S. may be losing the trust and friendship of people in other countries	40	35	25	1
The U.S. is so concerned with its national security that it sometimes ends up violating the rights of its own citizens	38	32	30	1
There may be another major terrorist attack against the U.S. in the near future	37	42	21	-
The U.S. may owe too much money to other countries	32	31	36	2
The growing power of China may be a threat to the United States	29	37	33	1
Accusations of U.S. torture and abuse of suspected terrorists may damage our reputation in the world	29	32	39	1
The U.N. may be ineffective	27	37	34	2
The U.S. can recruit enough military troops without a draft	25	38	35	3
The U.S. may not be doing enough to prevent contagious diseases like SARS, lethal flues and Mad Cow that come from other countries	23	37	39	1

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About Public Agenda

Founded in 1975 by social scientist and author Daniel Yankelovich, and former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Public Agenda works to help the nation's leaders better understand the public's point of view and to help average citizens better understand critical policy issues. Our in-depth research on how citizens think about policy has won praise for its credibility and fairness from elected officials from both political parties and from experts and decision makers across the political spectrum. Our citizen education materials and award-winning web site www.publicagenda.org offer unbiased information about the challenges the country faces. Recently recognized by Library Journal as one of the Web's best resources, Public Agenda Online provides comprehensive information on a wide range of policy issues.

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Public Agenda
6 East 39th Street
New York, NY 10016
Tel: 212.686.6610
Fax: 212.889.3461
Web site: www.publicagenda.org

Complete Survey Results

The findings in the *Public Agenda Confidence in U.S. Foreign Policy Index* are based on telephone interviews with a national random sample of 1,004 adults over the age of 18. The survey was conducted between June 1 and June 13, 2005; it averaged 21 minutes in length. The margin of error for the overall sample of 1,004 is plus or minus 3 percentage points. The margin of error is higher when comparing percentages across subgroups.

Results of less than 0.5 are signified by an asterisk (*). Results of zero are signified by a dash (-). Responses may not always total 100% due to rounding. Combining answer categories may produce slight discrepancies between the numbers in these survey results and numbers in the report.

	Percent %
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]	
Iraq war	17
Terrorism/security	11
Negative image in the view of foreign nations	9
U.S. pays too much attention to foreign policy; needs to focus on domestic issues	8
President Bush and the current administration	6
Relate with foreign countries	6
U.S. is arrogant/bullying	5
Economy	4
Immorality and lack of religion	3
Immigration	2
Miscellaneous	21
Don't know	7
	Percent %
2 How do you think the rest of the world sees the United States? [open-ended]	
NET Positive	15
NET Negative	65
NET Neutral	14
Negatively – unspecific	18
Bullying	11
Aggressive	8
Materialistic and spoiled	6
Powerful	6
Mixed viewpoints	6
Arrogant	5
Benefactor	4
Envious of the U.S.	4
Wealthy; rich in resources	4
Free and democratic	3
Positively – unspecific	3
Neutrally – unspecific	1
Miscellaneous	16
Don't know	5

		Very well %	Fairly well %	Not too well %	Not at all well	Don't know
3	How well would you say that you understand current events in the Middle East?	22	53	22	4	-
4	How well would you say that you understand current events in Europe?	12	34	41	13	1
5	How well would you say that you understand current events in developing nations?	8	31	45	15	1

	How would you rate... Would you give them an A, B, C, D or F? [Randomize Q6-Q7]	A %	B %	C %	D %	F %	Don't know %
6	...the news media when it comes to helping Americans understand what's happening in the rest of the world and our relations with other countries?	9	24	31	21	15	2
7	...the country's leadership when it comes to informing Americans about what's happening in the rest of the world?	9	27	28	20	15	2
8	...yourself when it comes to making an effort to understand what's happening in the rest of the world?	15	42	33	8	3	*

		Percent %
9	Thinking about the things that government must do, in your opinion, should the US government give more attention or less attention than it does now to international issues?	
	A lot more	21
	Somewhat more	30
	Somewhat less	27
	A lot less	9
	[VOL.] Same	9
	Don't know	5
10	Thinking about recent U.S. relations with the rest of the world, do you feel that we're generally doing the right things and there is plenty to be proud of or are there too many things that are worrying and disappointing you?	
	Generally doing the right things	40
	There are too many things worrying and disappointing you	49
	[VOL.] Somewhere in the middle	9
	Don't know	2
10a	Thinking about the things that 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	29
	More emphasis on diplomatic and economic methods	64
	Don't know	7

What grade would you give the U.S. when it comes to achieving the following goals? Please give an A, B, C, D or F for Fail. If you don't know, just say so. [Randomize Q11-Q30]	A %	B %	C %	D %	F %	Don't know %
Helping other countries when natural disasters strike	54	29	11	2	2	1
Making sure we have a strong, well-supplied military	30	37	19	8	5	2
Giving the war on terror all of the attention it deserves	23	35	23	9	6	3
Hunting down anti-American terrorists	19	35	25	10	7	4
Helping to create democracy in the rest of the world	19	31	30	10	7	4
Doing our best to bring peace between Israel and the Palestinians	16	29	30	11	7	7
Helping improve the lives of people living in poor countries	15	27	28	16	9	4
Living up to our ideals of human rights and justice in the way we conduct our foreign policy	15	29	29	12	10	5
Stopping countries or groups from getting nuclear weapons	13	27	29	15	8	7
Succeeding in meeting our objectives in Iraq	13	26	24	17	16	4
Succeeding in meeting our objectives in Afghanistan	13	27	28	14	9	10
Protecting people or nations that are threatened with genocide or ethnic cleansing	12	24	28	16	10	10
Making the changes needed to improve U.S. intelligence and spying	12	29	30	9	5	16
Having good working relations with other countries	11	34	32	14	6	4
Working with other countries to protect the global environment	10	27	27	16	13	8
Making international trade agreements that benefit the United States	9	28	27	17	9	9
Stopping illegal drugs from coming into the country	7	16	24	24	26	3
Having good relations and reputation with Muslim countries	7	21	32	19	13	7
Protecting our borders from illegal immigration	7	18	29	21	24	2
Protecting American jobs from moving overseas	4	14	26	21	31	5

Some people say they are worried about various things, while others are not. I am going to read you several statements. For each statement, please tell me if this is something that you worry about a lot, is this something you worry about somewhat, or is this something you do NOT worry about. [Randomize Q31-Q45]	Worry a lot %	Worry somewhat %	Don't worry %	Don't know %
The war in Iraq is leading to too many casualties	56	26	18	*
Terrorists may obtain biological, chemical or nuclear weapons to attack the U.S.	48	40	13	*
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	43	34	23	*
Problems abroad may hurt our supply of oil and raise prices for American consumers	42	39	19	*
It may be too easy for illegal immigrants to come into the country	42	31	27	1
There may be growing hatred of the U.S. in Muslim countries	40	34	25	1
The U.S. may be losing the trust and friendship of people in other countries	40	35	25	1
The U.S. is so concerned with its national security that it sometimes ends up violating the rights of its own citizens	38	32	30	1
There may be another major terrorist attack against the U.S. in the near future	37	42	21	-
The U.S. may owe too much money to other countries	32	31	36	2
The growing power of China may be a threat to the United States	29	37	33	1
Accusations of U.S. torture and abuse of suspected terrorists may damage our reputation in the world	29	32	39	1
The U.N. may be ineffective	27	37	34	2
The U.S. can recruit enough military troops without a draft	25	38	35	3
The U.S. may not be doing enough to prevent contagious diseases like SARS, lethal flu and Mad Cow that come from other countries	23	37	39	1

[Randomize Q46-Q51]	Yes %	No %	Don't know %
Do you think that improved communication and dialogue with the Muslim world will reduce hatred of the U.S?	59	38	3
Do you think that we can fight terrorism without sometimes using torture against suspected terrorists?	56	39	5
Do you believe that when more countries become democratic there will be less conflict and violence in the world?	51	45	4
Do you think that if there is less poverty in the world there will be less terrorism?	46	52	3

	Realistic %	Un-realistic %	Don't know %
Do you think it's realistic or unrealistic to expect American companies to have the same standards abroad as they have at home?	44	52	4
Do you think that it's realistic or unrealistic to believe that U.S. companies will keep jobs in the U.S. when labor is cheaper elsewhere?	21	78	1

	Percent %
52 Do you think it's right, wrong but sometimes necessary, or always wrong for the U.S. to cooperate with harsh, undemocratic governments in order to fight terrorism?	
Right	18
Wrong but sometimes necessary	64
Always wrong	14
Don't know	4
53 Do you think that 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	38
Democracy is something that countries only come to on their own	58
Don't know	4
54 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	32
With all the problems we have, we're already doing more than our share to help less fortunate countries	64
Don't know	4

I'm going to read you some proposals for strengthening our nation's security. For each of the following, please tell me if it would enhance our security a great deal, somewhat or not at all. [Randomize Q55-Q66]	A great deal %	Somewhat %	Not at all %	Don't know %
Improving the effectiveness of our intelligence operations	65	30	4	1
Tighter controls on immigration to the U.S.	58	30	10	2
Showing more respect for the views and needs of other countries	49	38	12	1
Providing health care in countries where contagious diseases are a threat	42	39	18	1
Creating policies that support equal rights and better educational opportunities for women in Muslim countries	41	37	20	2
Tighter control over foreign students who come to our colleges and universities to study	41	34	23	2
Maintaining our military edge by exploring new technologies or placing weapons in space	40	34	23	4
Closer cooperation with the UN	34	37	26	3
Launching pre-emptive strikes against countries that develop weapons of mass destruction	30	31	34	5
Giving law enforcement agencies greater authority to track and detain suspects, even if we have to give up some of our privacy in order to do it	29	35	34	2
Building large projects such as roads, dams, and hospitals in developing countries	29	43	26	2
Doing more to help Muslim countries develop economically	27	46	26	2
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. [Randomize Q67-71]	Totally justified %	Partly justified %	Not justified at all %	Don't know %
The U.S. has been too quick to resort to war	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.	26	39	32	4
The U.S. has often allied with governments who are unjust and exploit their own people.	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.	21	41	30	8
The U.S. is only concerned with its own interests and disregards the interests of other countries	19	36	44	1

DEMOGRAPHICS		Percent %
72	In the presidential election between George Bush and John Kerry, did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?	
	Yes, voted	83
	No, did not vote	17
	Don't know	
72a	Who did you vote for in the last presidential election - George W. Bush, John Kerry, or someone else? <i>Base: Voted in presidential election (n=789)</i>	
	George W. Bush	50
	John Kerry	44
	Someone else	5
	Don't know	1
73	Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or something else?	
	Republican	27
	Democrat	32
	Independent	31
	Something else	9
	Don't know	1
73a	Do you lean toward the Republican or Democratic Party, or do you not lean either way? <i>Base: Independent (n=303)</i>	
	Republican	23
	Democrat	23
	Don't lean either way	53
	Don't know	1
74	Were you, either of your parents, or any of your grandparents born in a country other than the United States?	
	Yes, respondent	8
	Yes, parents	7
	Yes, grandparents	21
	No	63
	Don't know	1
75	Do you have, or have you ever had a passport?	
	Yes	46
	No	54
	Don't know	-
75a	About how many trips have you taken outside of the United States? Please do not include trips to Canada or resorts in the Caribbean or in Mexico. <i>Base: Have or had a passport (n=455)</i>	
	0	62
	1	9
	2	7
	3	4
	4	3
	5	3
	6 or more	12
	Don't know	*
76	What is the highest level of school you completed?	
	Less than High School	6
	High School graduate	24
	Some College or Trade School, no degree	21
	Associates or 2-year degree	14
	Bachelor's or 4-year degree	20
	Graduate degree	16
	Don't know	-

77	What is your age?	
	18-24	23
	30-39	20
	40-49	20
	50-64	21
	65 or more	15
	Don't know	*
78	Are you white, black or African American, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?	
	White	73
	Black/African American	11
	Hispanic	11
	Asian	3
	Something else	1
	American Indian	1
	Don't know	-
79	I'm going to read some ranges of annual household income. Please stop me when I read the one that best describes your total household income in 2004.	
	\$15,000 or under	10
	\$15,001 to 25,000	8
	\$25,001 to 35,000	14
	\$35,001 to 50,000	18
	\$50,001 to 75,000	19
	Over \$75,000	25
	Don't know	5
80	How often, if ever, do you attend religious services-never, a few times a year, about once a month, nearly every week, every week, or more than once a week?	
	Never	16
	A few times a year	25
	About once a month	14
	Nearly every week	14
	Every week	21
	More than once a week	10
81	Would you describe yourself as a born-again or evangelical Christian, or not?	
	Yes, born-again or Evangelical Christian	37
	No	63
82	What is your zip code? [open-ended]	
83	How long have you lived in this community?	
	All my life	21
	Less than 1 year	4
	1-5 years	21
	6-10	18
	More than that but not all my life	36
84	May we call you back another day if we have a quick follow-up question?	
	Yes	93
	No	7
	Don't know	*
	Region	
	NE	18
	MW	23
	S	36
	W	24
	Urbanicity	
	Rural	19
	Suburban	51
	Urban	30
	Gender	
	Male	49
	Female	51