

KNOWLEDGE PUBLIC

Team Player, Not Lone Ranger

A Meta-Analysis of Public Opinion

Commissioned by the Stanley Foundation

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Introduction

There is no question that Americans believe it is important to be engaged in global affairs. However, Americans' dissatisfaction with the U.S. role in the world is at a record high level, while their assessment of the U.S. image around the world is at a record low level. Americans are clearly disturbed by the course of the war in Iraq and are highly critical of the Bush Administration's actions on international affairs.

Public opinion surveys suggest, however, that public dissatisfaction may also be driven by even more fundamental considerations than an unpopular war. Surveys suggest Americans have a clear opinion for how we build international relationships. Instead of a unilateral approach to foreign relations, the public has very different expectations for the way in which our leadership chooses to engage in the world.

Americans do not relish a Lone Ranger persona. Instead, they want to be a team player and share the burdens of world leadership by working in cooperation with other nations to solve the world's problems. Increasingly, Americans are rejecting a leadership role in favor of a major role in world affairs. They prefer that international organizations like the United Nations be strengthened to take the lead in global problem solving.

This is an uncertain moment in the course of American perceptions of global engagement. A possible consequence of the high levels of dissatisfaction with the nation's current standing in the world is that it could cause some Americans to become more reluctant to engage when needed. The question is whether this dissatisfaction leads to support for truly international efforts, or to public pressure to reduce global efforts.

This analysis seeks to answer the following questions:

- ◆ How would Americans like to engage with the world?
- ◆ What do they see as the desired role for international institutions?
- ◆ Has current policy and an unsatisfactory global image damaged American willingness to lead in global problem solving?
- ◆ Will a rejection of leadership result in partnership or withdrawal?

Global Cooperation

Americans do not want the United States to be the solitary world leader, nor do they want to be the global sheriff. By large margins, Americans consistently indicate they want to solve problems in partnership with other nations rather than carry the burden of singular leader and enforcer for the world. Cooperation is the style of engagement Americans prefer, but they believe it is also a pragmatic approach.

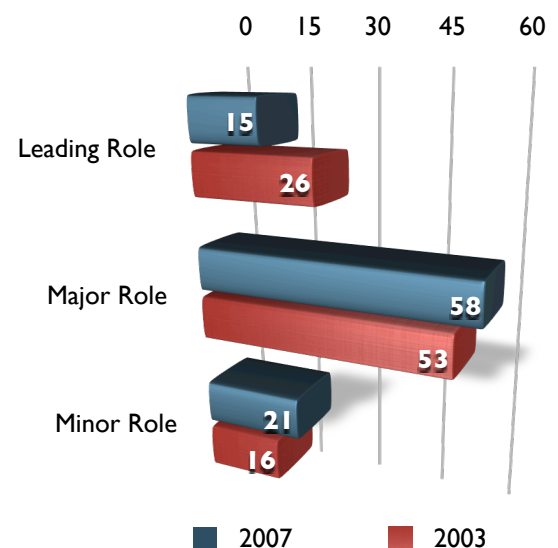
Americans spurn the roles of global cop and international problem-solver. Instead, they strongly and consistently express a desire to approach world affairs in a spirit of cooperation and teamwork. Three-quarters (76%) agree, “The U.S. is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be” (KN 2004). Of three approaches to international relations, very few (9%) side with the view, “As the sole remaining superpower, the U.S. should continue to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems.” However, only 16% prefer the opposite view: “The U.S. should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems.” Instead, most Americans (72%) prefer international teamwork: “The U.S. should do its share in efforts to solve international problems together with other countries” (KN/PIPA 2006).

Survey trends indicate that Americans are increasingly disinclined to be the primary world leader. According to Gallup trends, a majority has consistently stated they want the United States to play a major role in world affairs (58%). What has changed in recent years is the percentage wanting the U.S. to play a leading role. Currently, only 15% of Americans want the U.S. to play a leading role in world affairs, down from 26% in 2003 (Gallup trend, February 2007 most recent).

Cooperation is in part a philosophical stance; Americans approach relations with other countries as they would approach relationships with other people. Therefore, Americans favor a cooperative approach to international relations over narrow self-interest. With no assumption of self-interest,

Americans consistently support a cooperative approach. By overwhelming percentages, survey respondents side with the view, “The U.S. should coordinate its power together with other countries according to shared ideas of what is best for the world as a whole” (79%), while only 16% prefer the alternative, “The U.S. should use its power to make the world be the way that best serves U.S. interests and values” (KN/PIPA 2006). Nearly three-quarters (71%) agree, “The United States should look beyond its own self-interest and do what’s best for the world as a whole, because in the long run this will probably help make the kind of world that is best for the U.S.” (KN/WPO Nov. 2006). Most are willing to act cooperatively even if it means the United States does not get its way. Nearly two-thirds (63%) side with the view, “We should cooperate with other countries as often as we can, even if this means we have to compromise on occasion. America should only act alone as a last resort,” while

Preferred U.S. Role in World Affairs
In Percent
(Gallup Trend)



only 32% side with the opposing view, “We should put American interests first at all times – even if this means pulling out of international agreements or frequently acting alone” (Marttila). Majorities of all groups agree, but Democrats feel particularly strongly about the importance of global cooperation.

In addition to being the way of relating that Americans prefer, cooperation is also viewed as a pragmatic choice. They insist we are more able to reach our objectives working with alliances. In its foreign policy, fully 79% believe the U.S. should “think in terms of being a good neighbor with other countries, because cooperative relationships are ultimately in the best interests of the United States” while only 16% think the U.S. should “not worry about what others think, but just think in terms of what is best for the US, because the world is a rough place” (KN/PIPA 2006). Three-quarters (76%) assert, “We are stronger and more able to achieve our goals abroad when we work with alliances and international organizations,” as opposed to only 18% who side with the view, “Alliances and international organizations tie us down and prevent us from using our power effectively to achieve our goals” (Penn).

76% “We are stronger and more able to achieve our goals abroad when we work with alliances and international organizations”

OR

18% “Alliances and international organizations tie us down and prevent us from using our power effectively to achieve our goals”
(Penn)

Finally, Americans believe security requires cooperation because security depends upon strong ties with other nations. Fully 91% agree (65% strongly agree), “When our country acts on a national security issue, it is critical that we do so together with our closest allies.” The percentage strongly agreeing with this statement is even higher than it had been, up 7 points since 2004 (TNS, June 2006). A majority (55%) sides with the statement, “America’s security depends on building strong ties with other nations,” while only 35% choose the alternative, “Bottom line, America’s security depends on its own military strength” (GQR).

Confidence in a cooperative approach to international affairs is so deep-seated that a substantial proportion of Americans prefer talking to enemies rather than shunning them into compliance with American demands. Fully 84% say the U.S. should “talk to such countries because communication increases the chance of finding a mutually agreeable solution.” Similarly, 82% say the U.S. should be willing to talk with countries that are acting in opposition to our desires: “Be willing to talk with such countries because isolating them often provokes them to increase the behavior the U.S. opposes.” Three-quarters of Americans, and majorities across partisan lines, even support enlisting Iran and Syria in stabilizing Iraq (75% say it is a good idea to talk) (KN/WPO Nov. 2006).

While talking to enemies is consistent with Americans’ long-standing belief in a cooperative approach to international affairs, it is likely that this response is also driven by dissatisfaction with the military action in Iraq. Increasingly, Americans want more emphasis on diplomatic solutions. Those wanting more emphasis on diplomatic and economic methods over military methods increased from 58% to 67% between 2003 and 2006 (KN/PIPA). At the same time, Americans have become less enthusiastic about military solutions. A majority of Americans no longer believes, “The best way to ensure peace is through military strength” (only 49% agree, the lowest rating since Pew started tracking this perception in May 1987). In comparison, at the start of the build-up to the War in Iraq, in August 2002, 62% agreed (PSRA/Pew 2007).

International Institutions

Americans further express their interest in global teamwork by endorsing efforts to strengthen international institutions. Since the events of September 11th, Americans have become even more interested in supporting international institutions. They generally support the U.N., though its image has suffered in recent years. Americans also support the International Criminal Court, even when warned that it could be used to prosecute American military.

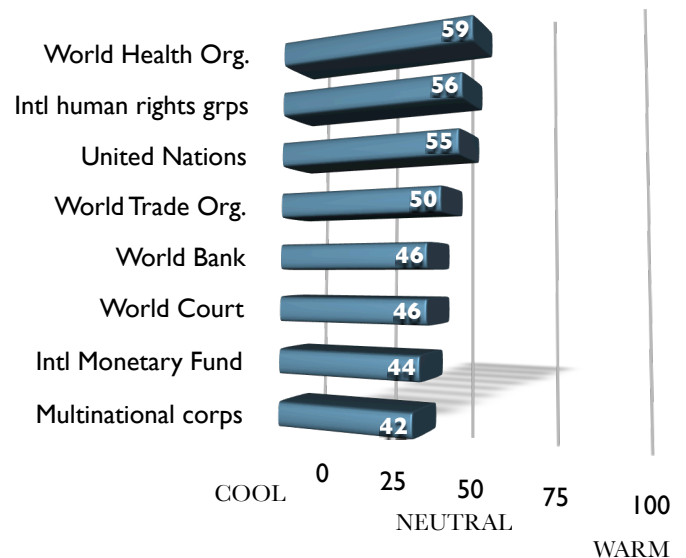
Americans are increasingly interested in working through international institutions rather than going it alone. Asked to choose between two views, a substantial percentage (69%) say, “As the world becomes more interconnected, and problems such as terrorism and the environment are of a more international nature, it will be increasingly necessary for the U.S. to work through international institutions,” over the competing view: “International institutions are slow and bureaucratic, and often used as places for other countries to criticize and block the U.S. It is better for the U.S. to try and solve problems like terrorism and the environment on our own instead” (23%). Since 1999, the percentage supporting the cooperative view jumped by 13 points, while the opposing view declined by 16 points (KN/PIPA 2006).

Endorsement of working with international institutions remains strong even when these institutions put restrictions on U.S. actions. For example, 73% assert the U.S. should comply with the decision of the World Trade Organization even if it rules against the U.S. (KN 2006). A majority (58%) agrees, “The U.S. should invade other countries only when we have the military and financial support of the UN, NATO, or both” (Penn).

While committed to the concept of working through international institutions, Americans sometimes have less enthusiasm for specific organizations.

International health and human rights organizations, as well as the United Nations, receive higher ratings than international economic or judicial organizations. Part of the distinction may be due to differences in familiarity – organizations that are more widely known are generally rated more highly than lesser known organizations. Most Americans are familiar with, and have fairly warm feelings toward the World Health Organization (59 degrees on a 1-100 thermometer scale, 18% “don’t know”), international human rights groups (56 degrees, 18%), and the United Nations (55 degrees, 14%). While most are familiar with the World Trade Organization, opinion of the organization is neutral (50 degrees, 18%). Fewer are willing to rate other international organizations, but those who do are slightly cool toward the World Bank

Ratings of International Organizations
1-100 Thermometer Scale
(KN 2006)



(46 degrees, 25%), the World Court (46 degrees, 26%), the International Monetary Fund (44 degrees, 30%), and multinational corporations (42 degrees, 28%) (KN 2006).

American opinion of the United Nations – our most visible international collaborator - is more well developed than other organizations. While opinion of the organization has suffered in recent years, Americans continue to believe in the U.N. In fact, they want to bolster and expand the responsibility of the organization. They see the U.N. as a way to work cooperatively with the world, rather than unilaterally.

Americans continue to believe U.N. participation is worthwhile. A majority (59%) says, “It is worthwhile for the United States to participate in the U.N.” while 28% believes “It used to be worthwhile, but it isn’t anymore” and only 8% thinks, “It was never worthwhile to participate in the U.N.” Democrats are more likely to believe U.N. participation is worthwhile (68%), but most Independents (61%) and Republicans (50%) share the same view (OD/Fox).

However, support for the United Nations has been damaged in recent years. Survey trends show the U.N.’s high ratings in the 1990s, with a high of 77% favorability just prior to the events of September 11, 2001, were damaged by debates over the Iraq War. Favorability ratings for the organization hit a low point of 48% in October 2005 but have since improved slightly and now stand at 57% (PSRA/Pew Jan. 2007). Other measures of support for the organization have suffered as well. The percentage saying the U.N. is doing a “good job” stands at a mere 29%, down from 50% in January 2003 (Gallup trend).

American support for the U.N. withstands attacks that the organization is a forum for our enemies or that it is ineffective and corrupt, but support can be undermined by an appeal to funding priorities. Even after being exposed to a series of questions about Hugo Chavez calling Bush a devil, coming to the United States and criticizing the president, and insulting the American people, a large majority (62%) still thinks the U.S. should stay on the Security Council even if the U.N. gives Chavez a seat. Wide majorities of Democrats (65%), Independents (66%) and Republicans (58%) agree (OD/Fox).

An attack on the effectiveness of the organization is also unable to undermine American support. When provided with two views of the U.N., a slim majority continues to express support for the organization. Just over half (54%) sides with the view: “The United Nations, despite its flaws, is important to American national security. The U.N. has peacekeepers in more than a dozen countries, it immunizes millions of children, and it monitors the spread of weapons of mass destruction. What’s more, it is a place where nations can work out their conflicts peacefully instead of on the battlefield.” Meanwhile, a third (37%) take the opposing view: “The United Nations is a flawed, ineffective, and corrupt institution. Its resolutions are often ignored or circumvented, often by its own members. Its officials got rich helping Iraq cheat on the Oil for Food program in the 1990s, and it provides a platform for anti-Americanism.” Republicans are susceptible to this attack. A majority of Republicans say the U.N. is flawed while two thirds of Democrats and a majority of Independents see it as important (Marttila).

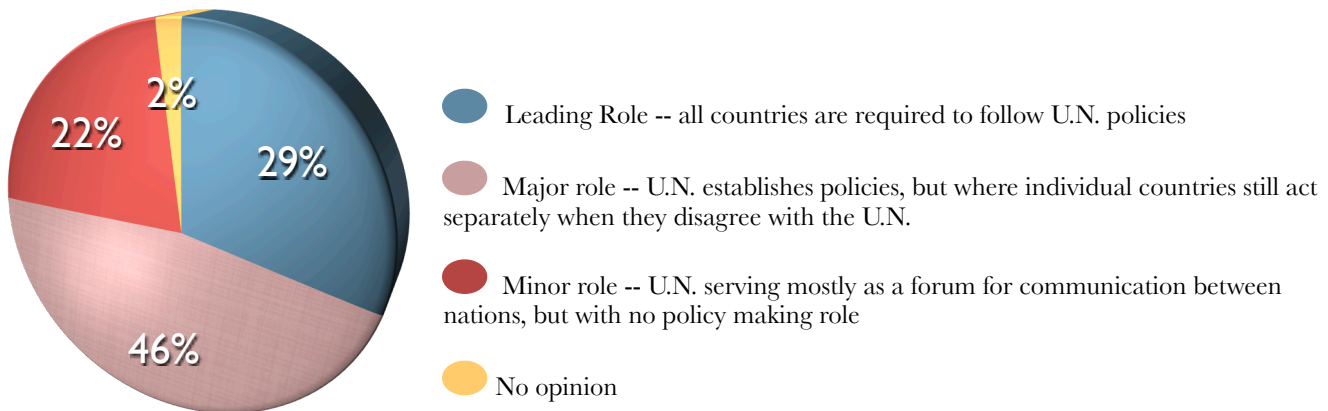
Support is weakened when Americans are confronted with the costs of belonging to the United Nations. At the same time, other surveys show a desire to increase support for the organization. When told, “This year it is estimated that the United States will pay over \$5 billion in dues and fees to support the United Nations and its programs,” just over a third (36%) believe the U.S.

should continue to fund the U.N., while a plurality (45%) think the money would be better spent elsewhere (OD/Fox). While the cost argument can be effective, other surveys demonstrate Americans want more investment for the U.N. For example, when asked for desired changes in federal appropriations for 15 international priorities, nearly half (48%) chose to increase spending for the U.N. (KN/PIPA 2006).

Though ratings of the organization have declined in recent years, and Americans give the organization poor job approval ratings, the public wants to improve and expand the organization rather than abandon it. In fact, Americans want the United Nations to play an increasingly important role in the world. Three-quarters want the United Nations to take a major (46%) or leading role (29%) in global affairs. There is an indication that Americans increasingly want the U.N. to have a leading role in world affairs, with the percentage selecting “leading role” up 5 points since 2004 (Gallup trend, February 2007 most recent).

Role for United Nations

In Percent
(Gallup, Feb. 2007)



What attracts Americans to the United Nations is the ability to work in concert with other nations rather than unilaterally. The United Nations is a way to reduce global reliance on the U.S., according to survey respondents. Two-thirds (68%) agree, “For the U.S. to move away from its role as world policeman and reduce the burden of its large defense budget, the U.S. should invest in efforts to strengthen the U.N.’s ability to deal with potential conflicts in the world” (KN/PIPA 2006). They recognize and accept that reducing U.S. influence means having to compromise. Sixty percent (60%) agree, “When dealing with international problems, the U.S. should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations even if this means that the U.S. will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice” (KN 2006).

Over and over, majorities say they would like the U.N. to take the lead on a number of issues. For example:

	U.S. Lead	U.N. Lead
Dealing with Iran's nuclear program (PSRA/Pew May 2006)	21	72
Letting other countries and the United Nations take the lead in solving international crises and conflicts (CBS/ NYT)	31	59
Developing a peace agreement between Israel and Hezbollah (Gallup 2006)	14	56

As a result, majorities favor a number of steps to strengthen the United Nations including giving it authority to investigate human rights, arrest those responsible for genocide, develop a standing peacekeeping force and regulate the international arms trade.

Steps to Strengthen the United Nations % Favor (Knowledge Networks 2006)	
Giving the U.N. the authority to go into countries in order to investigate violations of human rights	75%
Creating an international marshals service that could arrest leaders responsible for genocide	75%
Having a standing U.N. peacekeeping force selected, trained and commanded by the United Nations	72%
Giving the U.N. the power to regulate the international arms trade	60%
Giving the U.N. the power to fund its activities by imposing a small tax on such things as the international sale of arms or oil	45%

As noted earlier, in response to one question one in four Americans did not know enough about the “World Court” to rate it, and those who did rate the organization held slightly negative feelings toward it compared with other international institutions like the World Health Organization. However, a more detailed series of questions suggest that as they consider the idea of an International Criminal Court, Americans are solidly in favor of participation and they support holding the United States to international standards.

Whether described conceptually, or named specifically, the public supports U.S. participation in the International Criminal Court. Three-quarters (76%) think when the U.S. enters into international agreements, there should be “an independent international body, such as a court, to judge whether both parties are complying with the agreement.” Even after hearing a number of arguments for and against such a body, 71% continue to support it. When asked specifically about “the International Criminal Court,” 74% think the U.S. should participate. Even when respondents are given two sides – that the U.S. should participate because we need a better way to prosecute war criminals, and the U.S. should not participate because trumped-up charges may be brought against Americans who use force in a peacekeeping operation – two-thirds (68%) say the U.S. should participate (KN/WPO April 2006).

Americans like the idea of an international court in part because they believe some laws should be universal and some actions are so heinous that all nations should be unified against them. Between two choices, 60% side with the statement, “In some cases there are individual actions that are of such significance, such as acts of torture or genocide, that there should be international laws governing these actions that are applied by an international court or tribunal if a nation does not enforce them.” Only 36% side with the opposing view: “Only individual nations should make laws governing the acts of individuals, because having such international laws and giving international courts and tribunals the power to apply them would violate the sovereignty of nations” (KN/WPO April 2006).

Once Americans reflect on the idea of universally held law, they readily agree the United States should be held to the same standards. For example, fully 85% approve of the U.S. joining treaties to establish international laws governing how a country, in the context of armed conflict, must treat an individual it has detained. When told the U.N. Commission on Human Rights determined U.S. treatment of prisoners at Guantanamo violated international conventions, 63% said we should change our practices (KN/WPO April 2006).

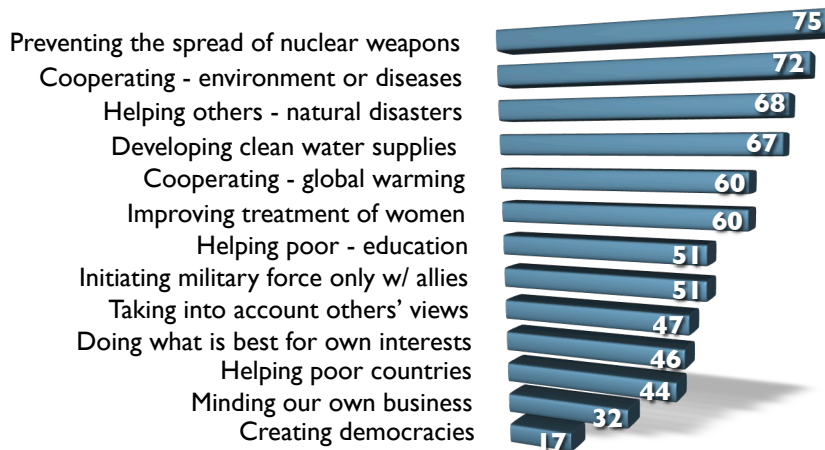
Multilateral Approach to Specific Problems

Certain foreign policy objectives consistently rate as high priorities for the American public. Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction, addressing international terrorism, developing energy supplies, protecting American jobs, and addressing disease and disasters are typically rated highly. Promoting democracy, addressing global poverty and defending human rights are typically low priorities. Note the similarities in rankings across three separate surveys taken in three separate years.

Should be Important to Our Foreign Policy

% Very Important
(Public Agenda 2007)

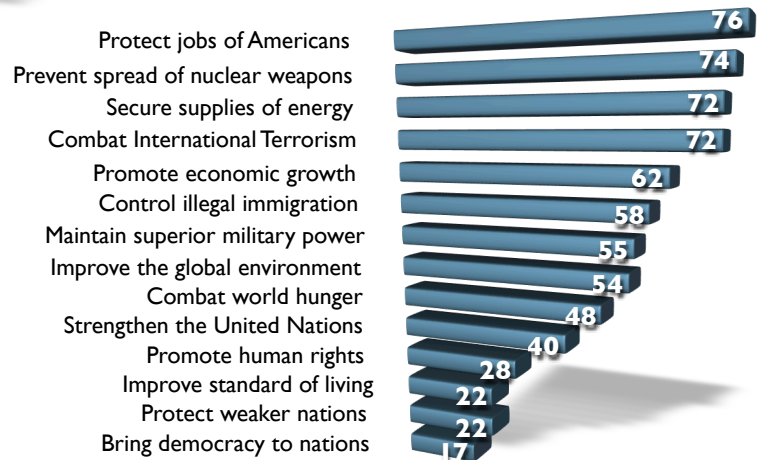
2007



Foreign Policy Goals

% "Should Be Very Important"
(Knowledge Networks 2006)

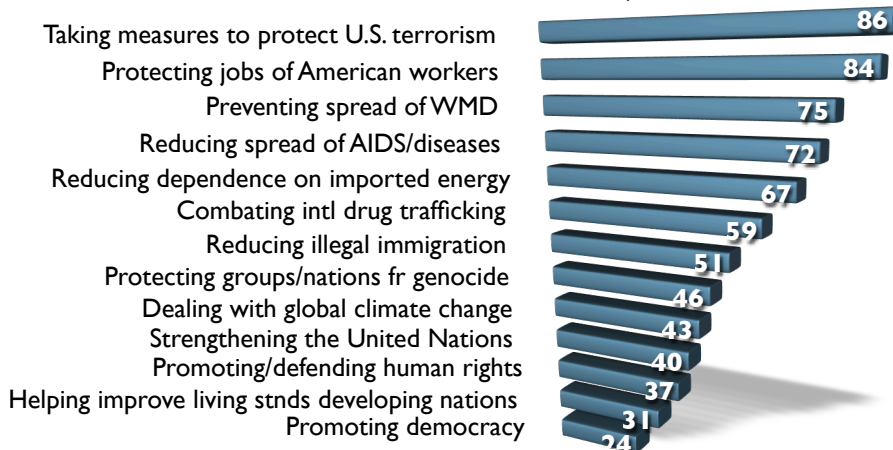
2006



Long-Range Foreign Policy Goals

% "Top Priority"

2005



However, these questions typically assume U.S. unilateral action. It is not possible to tell from these ratings if response would be different if people were thinking of a multilateral effort. For example, Americans rate “protecting American jobs” as a high priority, but give low ratings to addressing global poverty. Does that mean Americans only care about the U.S. economy? Or, would response for problems like global poverty be higher if respondents were asked to consider the problems that are so serious that nations need to work together to address them? Response to international treaties suggests Americans may support some objectives as multilateral efforts for which they show little enthusiasm as U.S. priorities. For example, human rights and environmental issues are typically mid to low level objectives, but more than two-thirds support U.S. participation in treaties with those objectives:

- ◆ 89% believe the U.S. should participate in “an agreement under the treaty banning biological weapons that would allow international inspectors to examine biological research laboratories to ensure that countries are not producing biological weapons”
- ◆ 86% “the treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide”
- ◆ 71% “the agreement on the International Criminal Court that can try individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won’t try them,” and,
- ◆ 70% “the Kyoto agreement to reduce global warming” (KN 2006).

Subverting International Teamwork

Clearly, Americans want to work cooperatively with other nations to solve the world’s most pressing problems. However, the public is concerned that the nation’s worsening global image diminishes our ability to work well with others. If Americans feel that U.S. involvement in the world is unwelcome or intrusive, it could eventually undermine public support for global engagement.

Americans conclude that the image of the U.S. has deteriorated internationally, damaging international goodwill and cooperative relationships. Seventy percent (70%) believe America’s leadership role in the world is “off on the wrong track” (Marttila 2007). Sixty-one percent (61%) are dissatisfied with the position of the United States in the world today, the highest response Gallup has recorded on this measure since it started asking the question in 1966. As they consider the view of the rest of the world, a majority (54%) believes the U.S. rates unfavorably (16% very unfavorably), the highest response since Gallup started tracking this measure in 2000 (Gallup trend, most recent February 2007). Another survey suggests an even tougher assessment of the nation’s position, with 68% stating the rest of the world regards the United States negatively (Public Agenda).

A declining image is a problem, according to survey respondents, because it interferes with cooperative relationships. Three-quarters (73%) side with the statement, “America’s moral authority in the world has declined significantly making it much harder to persuade our allies to work with us.” Strong majorities across partisan lines agree with this assessment. Meanwhile only 20% side with the view, “Our allies and people around the world still see America as the indispensable nation and they are more than willing to follow our lead on the key issues facing the world” (Marttila)

Americans are skeptical that the country has strong enough relations with other countries to work cooperatively. Three-quarters worry (78% worry, 36% worry a lot), “The United States may be losing the trust and friendship of people in other countries.” In addition, the public gives the U.S. just

middling grades in “having good working relations with other countries.” Only 42% give the U.S. a grade of “A” (11%) or “B” (31%) on this measure (Public Agenda).

As might be expected, Americans are particularly troubled about the nation’s ability to work with Muslim countries. They insist it is possible to build ties with Muslim countries. Nearly two-thirds (64%) believe it is possible to find common ground between Muslim and Western cultures, while only 31% think violent conflict is inevitable (GlobeScan). Further, a slim majority (53%) has faith that “improved communication and dialogue with the Muslim world will reduce hatred of the United States.” However, Americans are concerned that the nation’s image will be a barrier to improved relations with Muslims. Three quarters worry (78% worry, 42% worry a lot), “There may be growing hatred of the United States in Muslim countries.” Americans give decidedly negative ratings on the U.S. “having good relations and reputation with Muslim countries.” Forty-five percent give the U.S. a grade of “D” (23%) or “F” (22%) while only one in five give a grade of “A” (5%) or “B” (15%) (Public Agenda).

A possible consequence of American dissatisfaction with the U.S. role in the world is that it could cause some to become more reluctant to intervene when needed. The question is whether public reaction to the consequences of the nation’s current global engagement leads to support for truly international efforts, or to public pressure to withdraw from global efforts.

After the events of September 11th, there was a surge in support for international engagement among Americans. While support for engagement remains high, there are indications of softening support. Three-quarters agree, “We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home” (77% agree, 38% “completely agree”). Americans are slightly more likely to agree with this statement compared with 2002, but sentiment is not nearly as high as it was in the early and mid 1990s (PSRA/Pew Jan. 2007). Americans are increasingly likely to agree with the view, “The U.S. should mind its own business internationally” (42% agree, +12 points from 2002) (PSRA/Pew 2005). In addition, the percentage responding that not getting “involved in trying to solve the problems of other countries” is a “very important” way to reduce terrorism in the future stands at 41%, a 9-point increase from 2002 (PSRA/Pew August 2006).

Will public dissatisfaction lead to support for *truly* international efforts, or to pressure to *withdraw* from global efforts?

At the same time, Americans continue to reject isolationism. Though they are increasingly concerned about U.S. actions around the globe, Americans continue to believe it is important to be involved in world affairs. According to Pew trends, fully 86% agree (42% completely agree), “It’s best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs.” While this is a huge endorsement of international engagement, trends demonstrate the percent responding “completely agree” is at its lowest point since May 1993 (PSRA/Pew Jan. 2007).

There is a partisan nature to survey respondents’ views of the U.S. role in the world that suggests Democrats are particularly likely to urge withdrawal from the world in the current political environment. Overall, 67% think it will be best for the future of the country if we take an active role in world affairs, while 30% prefer a minimal role. Democrats (60%), liberals (63%) and those who disapprove of President Bush’s Iraq policy (60%) are less enthusiastic about an active role

in the world than Republicans (77%), conservatives (73%), and those who approve President Bush's Iraq policy (81%). (Marttila 2007) Finally, Democrats and Independents show more isolationist tendencies than Republicans. Overall, 42% agree, "The U.S. should mind its own business internationally" (42% agree, +12 points from 2002). Democrats are more likely to agree (55%, +15 points) as are Independents (42%, +15 points), but Republicans are less likely to agree (27%, +5 points) (PSRA/Pew 2005).

While they want cooperation and teamwork, Americans also want to maintain world leadership and influence. As noted earlier, the percentage of Americans endorsing a leading role in world affairs has declined, but a majority continues to support a major role in world affairs. Americans believe the U.S. is influential and they want to maintain significant influence. On a scale of 1-10, Americans think the U.S. is currently 8.5 in terms of world influence, and they want the U.S. to continue to be just as influential (8.2) (KN 2004). Furthermore, fully 84% say it is desirable for the United States to exert strong leadership in world affairs (43% very desirable) (TNS, June 2006).

The question becomes, what kind of global leadership do Americans want?

Defining American leadership will be the topic of the next issue sponsored by the Stanley Foundation, released in November 2007.

Conclusions and Questions for Further Research

- ◆ Survey trends indicate that Americans are increasingly disinclined to be the world leader. What is the role that Americans actually want their government to play? What does this mean for global problem solving? Are Americans looking to decrease U.S. international efforts, are they looking for other countries to do more, or are they looking for a different way of engaging with the world?
- ◆ While Americans are increasingly interested in working through international institutions, their view of the United Nations has been damaged and they lack familiarity and strong commitment to other specific international institutions. How can public support for effective global cooperation through international institutions, including the U.N., be fostered? What communications approaches will cause the public to see the value of international institutions as effective change agents?
- ◆ What are the clear priorities for cooperative problem solving? Are Americans more willing to engage on global issues, or willing to engage on different issues, when they understand the efforts will be multilateral and not the sole responsibility of the United States?
- ◆ Americans conclude that the image of the U.S. has deteriorated internationally, damaging international goodwill and cooperative relationships. What consequences does this have for American willingness to work cooperatively?
- ◆ A serious consequence of public dissatisfaction with the U.S. role in the world, driven by concerns about the war in Iraq, is the possibility that it will cause Americans to become more reluctant to engage globally when needed. What communications strategy can make the lesson of Iraq lead to support for truly international efforts rather than withdrawal from global efforts?
- ◆ Democrats are less enthusiastic about an active role in the world and Republicans are less enthusiastic about international institutions or measures that restrict U.S. actions. Is there a narrative that can be developed to build support among both groups for international engagement and cooperative action?

Works Cited

While the works below are directly cited in this analysis, many other surveys and survey organizations helped develop the author's conclusions. Close to 200 documents were reviewed in the course of developing this analysis. Frequently the same finding was substantiated by many surveys. In those instances, the author attempted to use the most recent source or the question language that most clearly demonstrated the conclusion.

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Opinion Dynamics/Fox News (OD/Fox), 900 phone interviews with likely voters nationwide, September 26-27, 2006.

Penn, Schoen & Berland Associates, "National Security Poll," sponsored by Third Way, 807 telephone interviews nationwide among likely voters in the 2008 presidential election, conducted January 30 – February 4, 2007.

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About the Author

Meg Bostrom, President of Public Knowledge LLC, is a veteran communications strategist with a unique perspective resulting from her rich and varied experiences as communicator, public opinion analyst, advertising agency executive, and political consultant. With degrees in both communications and public opinion research, Bostrom's work is grounded in a cross-disciplinary focus.

She started her career as a political pollster: Senior Analyst at Greenberg Lake, Vice President at Mellman Lazarus Lake. Desiring a better understanding of how communications is developed and implemented, Bostrom joined the ad agency Trahan, Burden and Charles, as Executive Vice President of Strategic Planning.

With practical communications experience added to her background in research, Bostrom launched Public Knowledge in 1998 to bring her personal passion for social issues to bear on specific communications challenges. Bostrom has researched public opinion and developed communications strategies for a variety of social issues, including: foreign policy, the environment, global warming, children's issues, education, health care, rural policy, taxes, the economy, government, civic engagement, race/ethnicity, and the working poor, among many others.