



The New American Consensus On International Cooperation

A presentation of key findings from
focus groups and a national survey

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RESEARCH KEY FINDINGS

- We are moving into a world of post-Iraq politics. This research helps demonstrate the shifting of the American electorate in reaction to the war in Iraq.
- An underlying shift is occurring in American attitudes regarding the international role and priorities of the United States.
- There is a broad consensus that America is less respected in the world and this is a problem.
- Voters still believe America needs to be a leader in the world but instead of being a “bully” or “policeman,” it is time to be a “role model” for democracy and a “partner.”
- It is not about “engagement” or being more engaged around the world. Voters perceive “engagement” as the U.S. physically being in other parts of the world, such as Iraq or Afghanistan.

RESEARCH KEY FINDINGS

- Americans clearly reject “going it alone,” while an invocation about “doing our fair share” or “international cooperation” clearly works.
- The difference between “international cooperation” versus the phrase “multilateralism” is stark.
- Voters’ preference is for the United States to work more in partnership with other countries to solve the world’s problems.
- A new cluster of issues such as dependence on foreign oil, America’s relationships with other countries, and environmental issues like global warming are beginning to significantly impact what issues voters are most concerned about that confront our country.
- It is an important reminder that Americans’ first priority in our next president continues to be to keep “America strong and secure around the world.” It is compelling, though, to see the desire for balance between toughness/diplomacy and improving our image around the world as such forceful themes in terms of the qualities our country wants in our next president.

RESEARCH KEY FINDINGS

- These are key messages that work across partisan divides and across these new voter segments. These messages represent the “common ground” that Americans across these sharp divides find compelling.
 - America can not face all of its enemies or solve the world’s problems alone. We need help. But to gain help we have to work more closely with other countries around the world. We need to share the burden and not be the sole supplier of resources, finances, military forces, and diplomacy for peace in the world.
 - It is important for us to work more constructively with countries around the world to put a stop to growing anti-American feelings and distrust of the United States abroad. We need to restore trust in America through strong diplomatic efforts and cooperative partnerships with other nations around the world.
 - Teaming up and building partnerships with countries around the world is essential to fighting the war on terror. Encouraging international cooperation to fight terrorism is one way we will be able to prevent another major terrorist attack in the U.S. or against America’s allies.

DEFINING THE NEW AMERICAN ELECTORATE

A NEW VOTER SEGMENTATION

- Fortress America **17%**
- Reluctant Super Power **16%**
- Average American, which is comprised of two sub-groups: **33%**
 - Average American Lean Right **16%**
 - Average American Lean Left **17%**
- New Isolationist **14%**
- International Environmentalist **12%**

Fortress America (17%)

Who they are demographically:

- Core of Republican support - Support Bush and will vote Republican in next election
- Middle to upper middle class
- Tend to be male
- Tend to be Caucasian
- Tend to be married

Their key attributes and values:

- Realize the need for greater involvement from other countries to aid the U.S.
- Tend to resent arguments that weaken/challenge the U.S. position

Top Issues (Combined Choice):

- Terrorism (61%)
- America's dependence on foreign oil (37%)
- Hostile nations such as North Korea and Iran (33%)

Reluctant Super Power (16%)

Who they are demographically:

- Used to be a solid bloc of Republican supporters
- Generally more affluent
- Male
- Suburbanites
- Use the Internet more frequently than other Americans

Their key attributes and values:

- Realize the need to be tough and aggressive on rooting terrorism out and support the effort, but are tired of feeling like we are fighting it alone
- Strongly support getting other countries involved in the fight

Top Issues (Combined Choice):

- Terrorism (49%)
- Hostile nations such as North Korea and Iran (37%)
- America's dependence on foreign oil (28%)

Average American Lean Right (16%)

Who they are demographically:

- Voted heavily for Bush in 2004
- Less educated
- Less affluent
- More concentrated in the South

Their key attributes and values:

- Want to bring the troops home
- Also want terrorism stamped out across the world
- Believe more focus should be placed on the home front rather than international events

Top Issues (Combined Choice):

- Terrorism (51%)
- America's dependence on foreign oil (29%)
- Improving America's relationships with other countries (22%)

Average American Lean Left (17%)

Who they are demographically:

- More educated, affluent and politically active than the “lean right” group
- Solidly Democratic
- Voted more for Kerry than Bush in 2004

Their key attributes and values:

- Want to reduce dependence on foreign oil

Top Issues (Combined Choice):

- America’s dependence on foreign oil (38%)
- Improving America’s relationships with other countries (33%)
- Environmental issues like global warming (28%)
- Terrorism (28%)

New Isolationist (14%)

Who they are demographically:

- Anti-Bush and anti-Republican
- Younger
- Kerry voters
- Well educated
- Moderate to liberal

Their key attributes and values:

- Need to focus on the U.S. and reduce our global influence
- Want to reduce dependence on foreign oil

Top Issues (Combined Choice):

- America's dependence on foreign oil (37%)
- Environmental issues like global warming (36%)
- The global economy and trade (25%)

International Environmentalist (12%)

Who they are demographically:

- Very Democratic
- Wealthier
- Middle-aged
- Urbanites
- Tend to be women
- Tend to be single

Their key attributes and values:

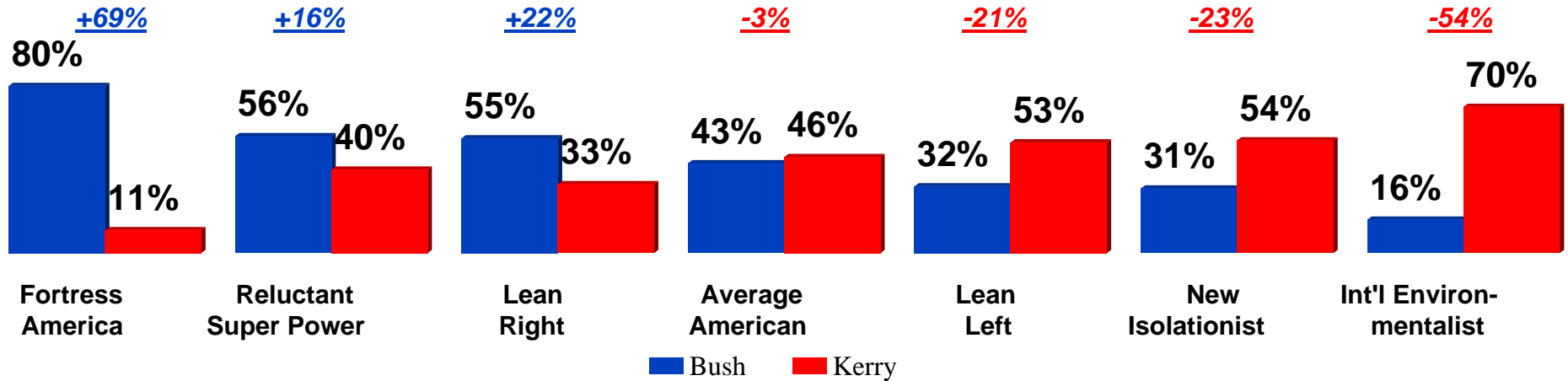
- The environment is important to them
- Believes the U.S. needs to reach out to the world in an effort to work together on environmental issues

Top Issues (Combined Choice):

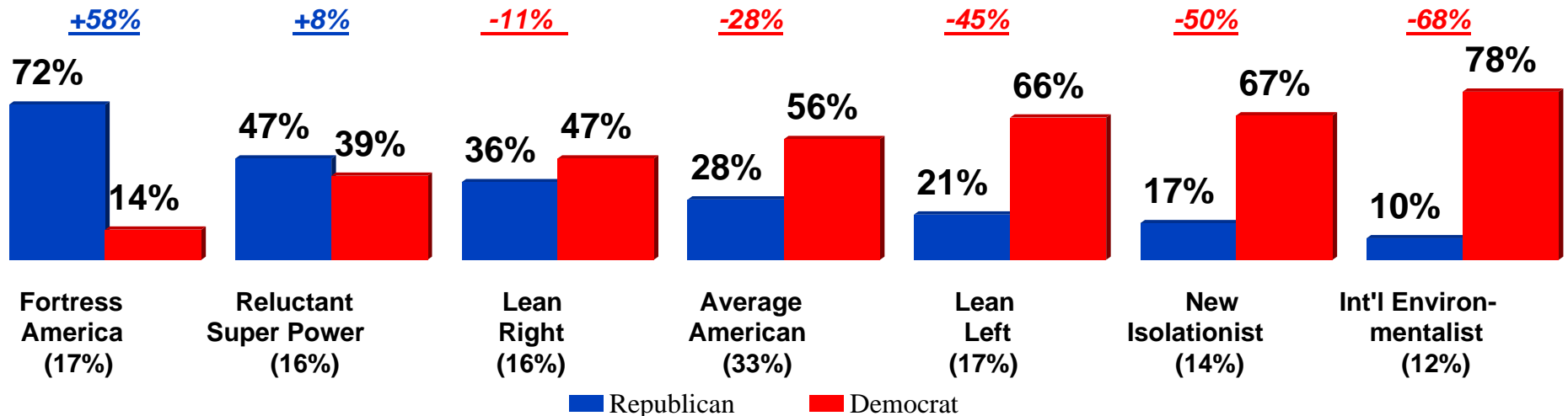
- Improving America's relationships with other countries (56%)
- Environmental issues like global warming (47%)
- America's dependence on foreign oil (36%)

Again, compellingly, one can see how these two clusters of voters (Reluctant Super Power and Average American/lean right) are "in play" this cycle.

Clusters By 2004 Presidential Vote



Clusters By 2008 Generic Presidential Ballot

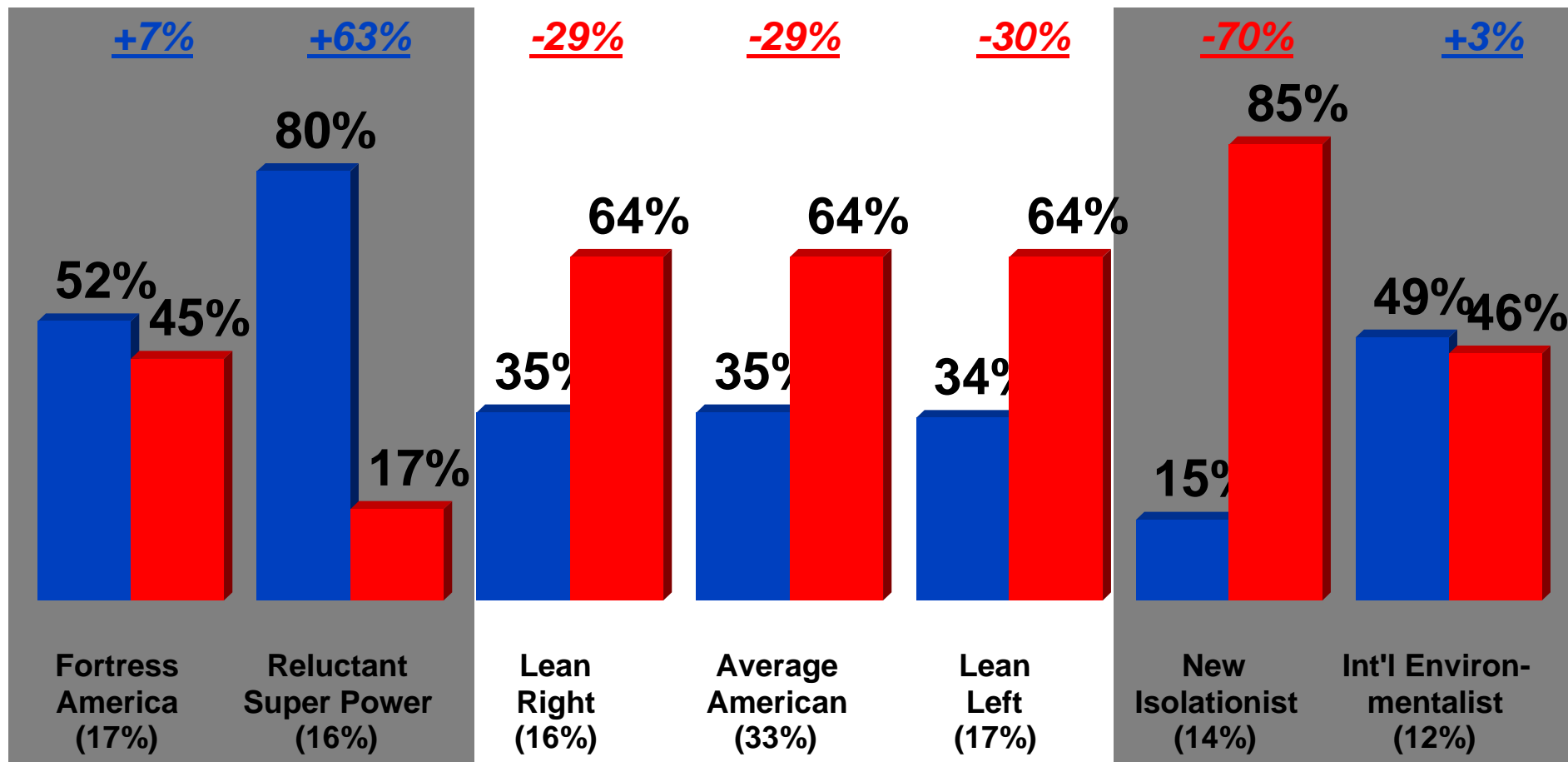


DEFINING THE NEW AMERICAN ELECTORATE

What is especially compelling is understanding the sharp differences in attitudes about America's role in the world between the two sub-groups that are the most Republican (Fortress America and Reluctant Super Power) and the two sub-groups that are the most Democratic (New Isolationist and International Environmentalist).

This new cluster segmentation provides significantly wider variation and better reflects the sharp divisions in the electorate around this question of whether it is time for America to be more or less involved around the world.

Involvement By Cluster Groups



■ Total More Involved ■ Total Less Involved

UNDERSTANDING MORE ABOUT AMERICAN ATTITUDES

Understanding More About American Attitudes

We are moving into a world of post-Iraq politics. This research helps demonstrate the shifting of the American electorate in reaction to the war in Iraq.

We also begin to see the contours of what challenges people perceive face our country even if the situation in Iraq is resolved.

A new cluster of issues such as dependence on foreign oil, America's relationships with other countries, and environmental issues like global warming are beginning to significantly impact what issues voters are most concerned about that confront our country.

While terrorism is still the focus, the issues of dependence on foreign oil and the need to improve our country's relationship with other countries have become issues of dominant concern.

Most Important (Combined Choice) International Concerns

	<u>All Voters</u>	<u>Swing</u>
Terrorism	38%	36%
America's dependence on foreign oil	33%	32%
Improving America's relationships with other countries	27%	30%
Environmental issues like global warming	25%	25%
Hostile nations such as North Korea and Iran	24%	22%
The global economy and trade	20%	21%
The spread of nuclear weapons	12%	13%
Global health issues	12%	11%

Top Issues (Combined Choice)

The concern about America's dependence on foreign oil cuts across party boundaries.

GOP Primary Voters:

- **Terrorism (64%)**
- **Hostile nations such as North Korea and Iran (34%)**
- **America's dependence on foreign oil (31%)**

Swing Voters

- **Terrorism (36%)**
- **America's dependence on foreign oil (32%)**
- **Improving America's relationships with other countries (30%)**

DEM Primary Voters:

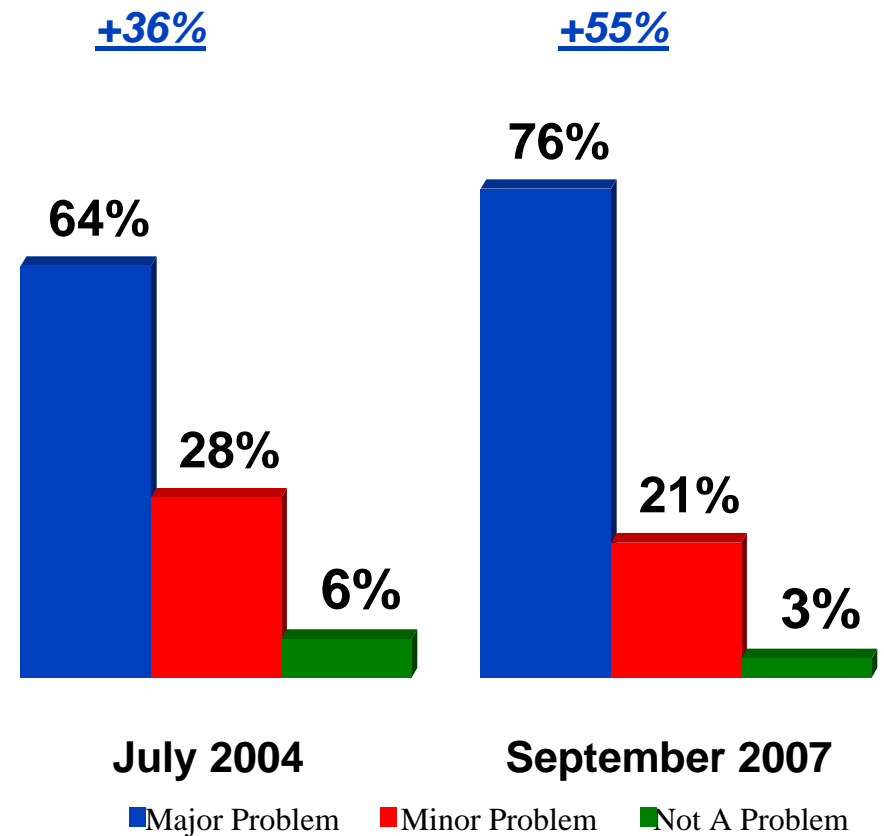
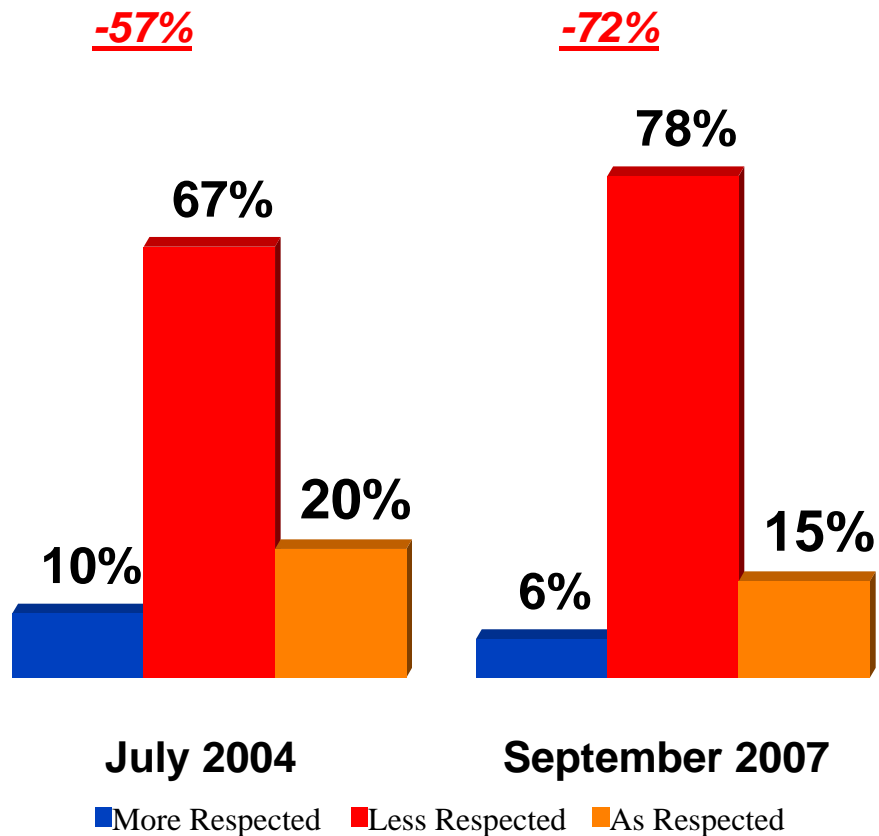
- **Improving America's relationships with other countries (39%)**
- **Environmental issues like global warming (35%)**
- **America's dependence on foreign oil (31%)**

Top Issues (Combined Choice)

The issue of America's dependence on foreign oil is a top-three issue among all of the cluster groups.

	#1	#2	#3
Fortress America	Terrorism (61%)	America's dependence on foreign oil (37%)	Hostile nations such as North Korea and Iran (33%)
Reluctant Super Power	Terrorism (49%)	Hostile nations such as North Korea and Iran (37%)	America's dependence on foreign oil (28%)
Average American Lean Right	Terrorism (51%)	America's dependence on foreign oil (29%)	Improving America's relationships with other countries (22%)
Average American Lean Left	America's dependence on foreign oil (38%)	Improving America's relationships with other countries (33%)	Environmental issues like global warming (28%)
New Isolationist	America's dependence on foreign oil (37%)	Environmental issues like global warming (36%)	The global economy and trade (25%)
International Environmentalist	Improving America's relationships with other countries (56%)	Environmental issues like global warming (47%)	America's dependence on foreign oil (36%)

There is an American consensus that we are less respected by other countries and that this is a major problem.



Compared with the past, would you say the United States is more respected by other countries...less respected by other countries...these days, or as respected as it has been in the past?

Do you think less respect for America by other countries is a...

DOs – What We Heard In Focus Groups

When talking to voters about America's role around the world and building support for diplomacy and international cooperation in solving the world's problems...



- There is an understanding and a belief that America's image around the world and relationships with other countries, even our allies, is strained and in need of repair.
- Voters still believe America needs to be a leader in the world but instead of being a "bully" or "policeman," it is time to be a "role model" for democracy and a "partner."

DOs – What We Heard In Focus Groups

When talking to voters about America's role around the world and building support for diplomacy and international cooperation in solving the world's problems...



- It is important to frame the debate as working in partnership with other countries on international issues/problems and no longer as America acting or going it alone.
- Voters' preference is for the United States to work more in partnership with other countries around the world in helping to solve the world's problems. But, it is important to reinforce our strength and leadership around the world and convey that supporting a policy of working in partnership with other countries does not mean the United States cannot go it alone when we absolutely have to or are forced to by certain events.

There is a growing reaction to the Iraq war that it is time to focus on issues here at home.

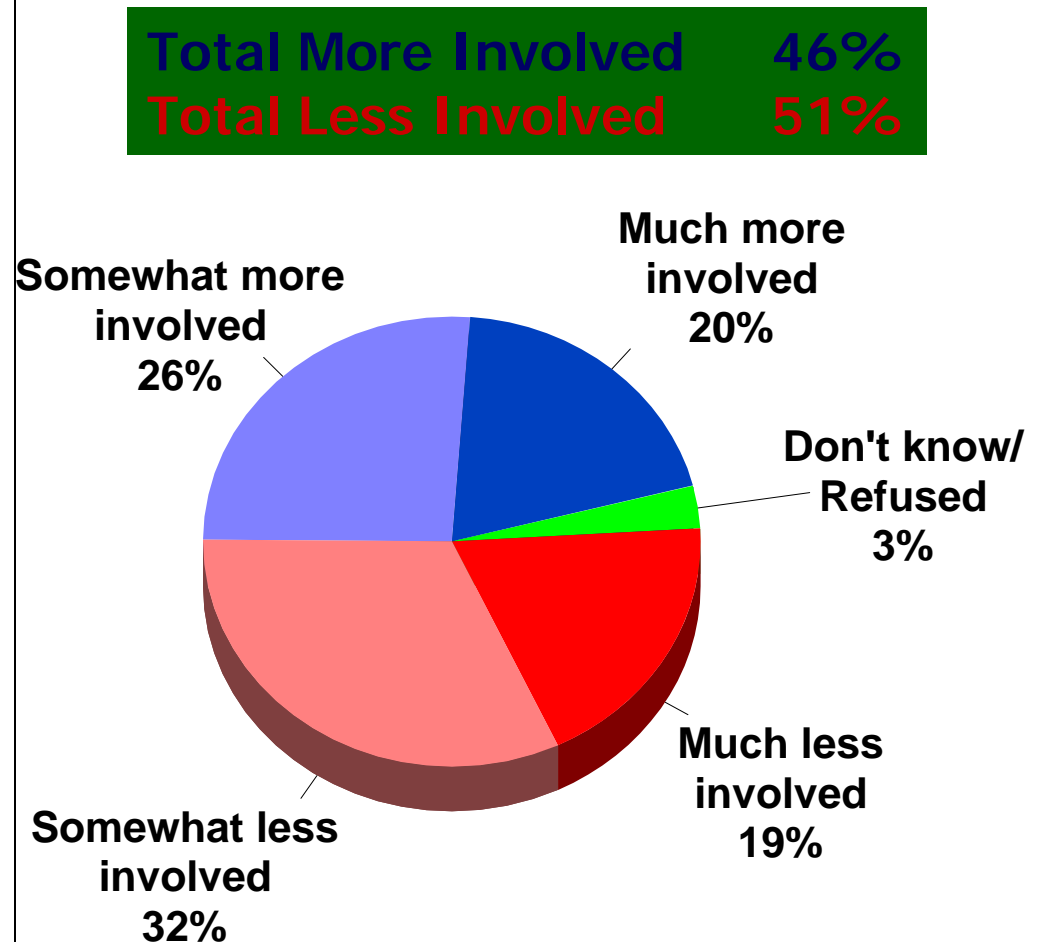
Among All Voters

Please tell me which ONE of the following statements comes closer to your point of view...

The United States needs to be more actively involved in world affairs because we are a leader and global issues affect us here at home.

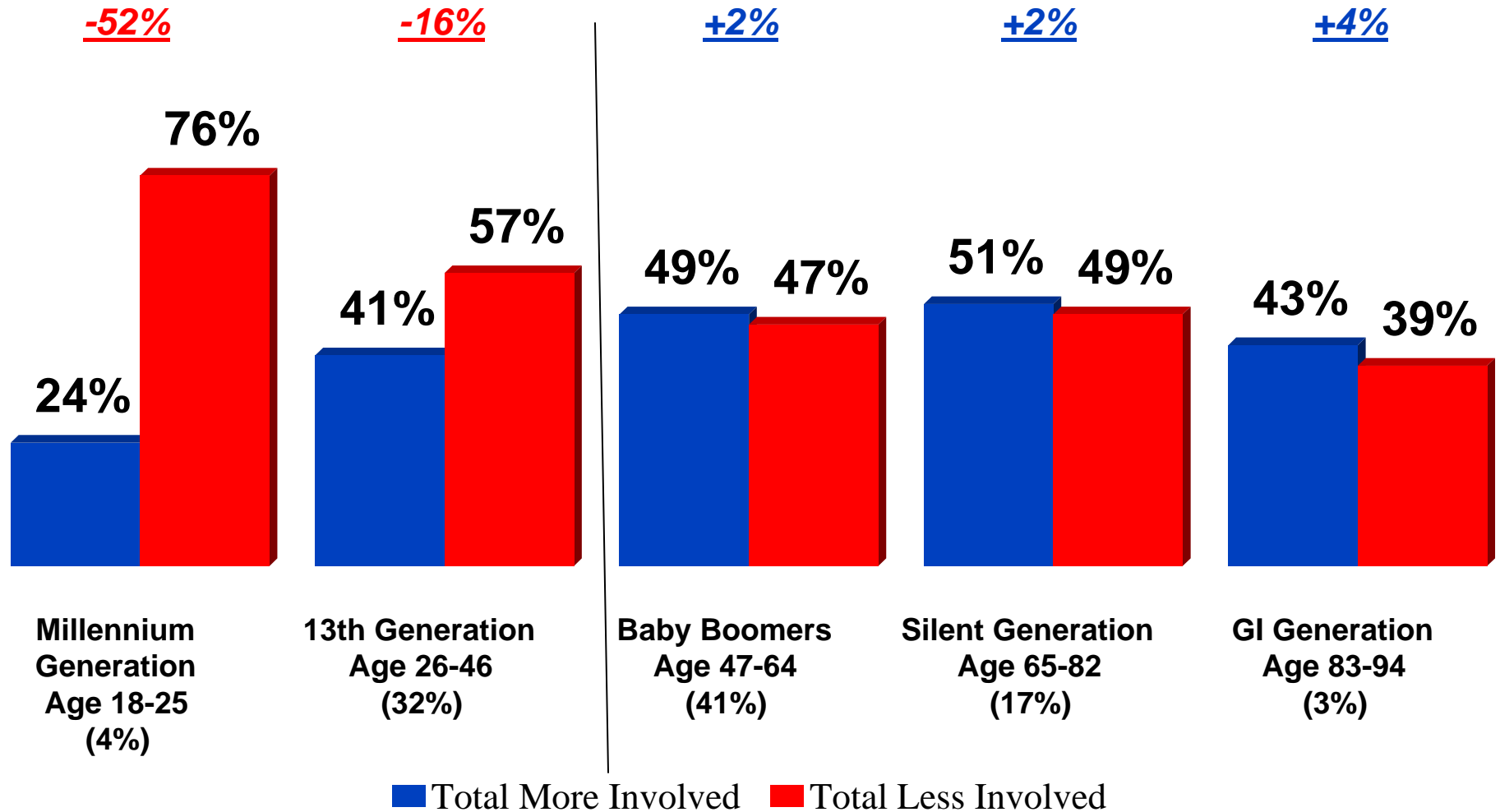
...OR...

The United States needs to be less actively involved in world affairs because we need to focus more on issues here at home.



There is a sharp generational difference about America's role in the world that has been created because of the reaction to the Iraq war.

Involvement By Generation



Language Matters.

There are sharp variations in terms of how Americans respond to different words and short phrases to describe America's role around the world.

In the focus groups we heard:



- Language and messaging that is too narrowly focused on only benefiting the United States or is too focused on our own security does not work well. Voters tend to perceive these concepts as arrogant and a continuation of much of the same.
- It is not about “engagement” or being more engaged around the world. Voters perceive engagement as the U.S. physically being in other parts of the world, such as Iraq and Afghanistan.

Americans clearly reject “going it alone,” while an invocation about “doing our fair share” or “international cooperation” clearly works. The difference between “international cooperation” versus the phrase “multilateralism” is stark.

Impression Of Terms Among All Voters

	<u>Mean Rating</u>
America Doing Its Fair Share Around The World	66
International Cooperation	66
Global Partnerships	63
International Burden-Sharing	58
Multilateralism	49
America Going It Alone	38
Isolationism	30

For each term, please rate your overall impression of the term, using a scale of zero to one hundred, where zero means you have a very unfavorable opinion of the term and one hundred means you have a very favorable opinion of the term and fifty is neutral. You can use any number between zero and one hundred depending on your overall feeling or impression of the term.

It is an important reminder that Americans' first priority in our next president continues to be keeping "America strong and secure around the world." It is compelling, though, to see the desire for balance between toughness/diplomacy and improving our image around the world as such forceful themes in terms of the qualities our country wants in our next president.

Among All Voters	% 8-10
Is committed to keeping America strong and secure around the world	78%
Has the right balance of toughness and diplomacy in working with other countries around the world	69%
Is concerned about addressing major global challenges such as the spread of nuclear weapons and global poverty	61%
Will improve America's image around the world	63%
Will be more likely to bring U.S. troops home from Iraq	60%
Will be willing to act on our own without ally support if our country's security is threatened	59%
Is focused on tracking down, capturing or killing terrorists throughout the world	53%
Is focused much more on issues here at home and much less on issues around the world	50%
Will consider committing U.S. troops as an option in helping resolve international trouble spots	30%
Wants to significantly limit America's role in the world and supports a foreign policy of abstaining from political or economic relations with other countries	19%

I am going to read you some different attributes a candidate could possess or viewpoints a candidate could have about America's role in the world. I would like you to rate how important each is to you in determining how you would vote for president. Please use a scale of zero to ten, with ten being VERY IMPORTANT and zero being NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL.

Top Candidate Attributes (% 10)

The presidential candidate attributes are among the few areas where swing voters more closely mirror Republican primary voters.

GOP Primary Voters:

- Is committed to keeping America strong and secure around the world (70%)
- Will be willing to act on our own without ally support if our country's security is threatened (52%)
- Has the right balance of toughness and diplomacy in working with other countries around the world (44%)

Swing Voters

- Is committed to keeping America strong and secure around the world (53%)
- Will be willing to act on our own without ally support if our country's security is threatened (43%)
- Has the right balance of toughness and diplomacy in working with other countries around the world (42%)

DEM Primary Voters:

- Is committed to keeping America strong and secure around the world (57%)
- Will be more likely to bring U.S. troops home from Iraq (57%)
- Will improve America's image around the world (51%)

Top Candidate Attributes (% 10)

The difference in presidential candidate attributes among the cluster groups is significant and substantial.

	#1	#2	#3
Fortress America	Is committed to keeping American strong and secure (60%)	Will be willing to act on our own without ally support (50%)	Is focused on tracking down, capturing or killing terrorists (36%)
Reluctant Super Power	Is committed to keeping American strong and secure (72%)	Has the right balance of toughness and diplomacy in working with other countries (70%)	Is concerned about addressing major global challenges (57%)
Average American Lean Right	Is committed to keeping American strong and secure (87%)	Will be willing to act on our own without ally support (70%)	Is focused more on issues here at home (65%)
Average American Lean Left	Is committed to keeping American strong and secure (68%)	Will be more likely to bring U.S. troops home from Iraq (68%)	Will improve America's image around the world (60%)
New Isolationist	Will be more likely to bring U.S. troops home from Iraq (49%)	Is focused more on issues here at home (44%)	Will be willing to act on our own without ally support (25%)
International Environmentalist	Has the right balance of toughness and diplomacy in working with other countries (42%)	Will be more likely to bring U.S. troops home from Iraq (32%)	Will improve America's image around the world (31%)

MESSAGE TESTING

There are key messages that work across partisan divides and across these new voter segments. These messages represent the “common ground” that Americans across these sharp divides find compelling.

This is the number-one message that tests well, even across partisan lines and each of the cluster groups.

America can not face all of its enemies or solve the world's problems alone. We need help. But to gain help we have to work more closely with other countries around the world. We need to share the burden and not be the sole supplier of resources, finances, military forces, and diplomacy for peace in the world.

52%
Much More Likely

81% / 7%
Total More Likely Total Less Likely

After hearing each statement, please tell me if you heard a candidate say this would you be more likely or less likely to vote for this candidate or would it make no difference in your vote one way or the other?

This message is especially compelling among Democrats and it tests well among all of the cluster groups except the Fortress America group.

It is important for us to work more constructively with countries around the world to put a stop to growing anti-American feelings and distrust of the United States abroad. We need to restore trust in America through strong diplomatic efforts and cooperative partnerships with other nations around the world.

41%
Much More Likely

69% / 14%
Total More Likely Total Less Likely

After hearing each statement, please tell me if you heard a candidate say this would you be more likely or less likely to vote for this candidate or would it make no difference in your vote one way or the other?

This message is effective among Republicans, swing voters, and the Fortress America group.

Teaming up and building partnerships with countries around the world is essential to fighting the war on terror. Encouraging international cooperation to fight terrorism is one way we will be able to prevent another major terrorist attack in the U.S. or against America's allies.

40%
Much More Likely

74%/10%
Total More Total Less
Likely Likely

After hearing each statement, please tell me if you heard a candidate say this would you be more likely or less likely to vote for this candidate or would it make no difference in your vote one way or the other?

Top Messages (% Much More Likely)

GOP Primary Voters:

- Teaming up and building partnerships with countries around the world is essential to fighting the war on terror (44%)
- America cannot face all of its enemies or solve the world's problems alone (43%)
- Given all the threats in the world today we have to work together (39%)

Swing Voters

- America cannot face all of its enemies or solve the world's problems alone (56%)
- Given all the threats in the world today we have to work together (44%)
- Teaming up and building partnerships with countries around the world is essential to fighting the war on terror (42%)
- We live in a world where the solutions to world problems require international cooperation (42%)

DEM Primary Voters:

- America cannot face all of its enemies or solve the world's problems alone (64%)
- It is important for us to work more constructively with countries around the world to put a stop to growing anti-American feelings (56%)
- We live in a world where the solutions to world problems require international cooperation (53%)

Top Messages (% Much More Likely)

	#1	#2	#3
Fortress America	Teaming up and building partnerships with countries is essential to the war on terror (39%)	America cannot face all of its enemies or solve all of the world's problems alone (37%)	Given all the threats in the world today we have to work together (28%)
Reluctant Super Power	America cannot face all of its enemies or solve all of the world's problems alone (66%)	Given all the threats in the world today we have to work together (64%)	It is important for us to work more constructively with countries (57%)
Average American Lean Right	America cannot face all of its enemies or solve all of the world's problems alone (52%)	We need to restore America's standing as a great leader around the world (47%)	It is important for us to work more constructively with countries (43%)
Average American Lean Left	America cannot face all of its enemies or solve all of the world's problems alone (66%)	It is important for us to work more constructively with countries (53%)	We live in a world where the solutions to world problems require int'l cooperation (49%)
New Isolationist	America cannot face all of its enemies or solve all of the world's problems alone (41%)	It is important for us to work more constructively with countries (31%)	Given all the threats in the world today we have to work together (24%)
International Environmentalist	We live in a world where the solutions to world problems require international cooperation (62%)	America cannot face all of its enemies or solve all of the world's problems alone (59%)	It is important for us to work more constructively with countries (52%)

SUMMARY OBSERVATIONS

METHODOLOGY

METHODOLOGY

Public Opinion Strategies and Peter D. Hart Research conducted a series of nine focus groups in July 2007 on behalf of the United Nations Foundation. The focus groups were mixed gender and divided by party registration/identification and age. The table below shows the locations, dates, and participants:

San Jose, CA	July 16, 2007	Republican Primary Voters Age 55-75 Democratic Primary Voters Age 35-54
Des Moines, IA	July 17, 2007	Republican Primary Voters Age 18-34 Swing Voters Age 35-54
Portland, ME	July 23, 2007	Swing Voters Age 55-75 Democratic Primary Voters Age 18-34
Albuquerque, NM	July 23, 2007	Democratic Primary Voters Age 55-75
Birmingham, AL	July 26, 2007	Republican Primary Voters Age 35-54 Swing Voters Age 18-34

METHODOLOGY

Public Opinion Strategies and Peter D. Hart Research conducted a national survey September 16, 18-20, 2007 of 800 likely voters with an oversample for a total of 400 swing voters on behalf of the United Nations Foundation. The margin of error on a sample of 800 is $\pm 3.46\%$ and the margin of error for the oversample is $\pm 4.9\%$. Swing voters were defined as likely voters who describe themselves as not voting along partisan lines all the time. Instead, these voters say they:

- Vote For A Few More Republicans Than Democrats;
- Vote Independent/Depends on the Person; or,
- Vote For A Few More Democrats Than Republicans.

A NEW VOTER SEGMENTATION

A factor analysis was run on a battery of questions asking the importance of different attributes in determining who someone would vote for as president. The resulting analysis focused on three key components whose factor loadings were then used in a series of cluster analyses to identify key segments of the U.S. electorate. These clusters were looked at in cross-tabulations of voters by the questions to identify their unique characteristics. A further cluster of the "Average American" segment was done to get a better picture of how this group looks.

APPENDIX

Of All Messages Tested



Messages Tested Among All Voters	Much More Likely	Total More Likely	Total Less Likely
<p>America can not face all of its enemies or solve the world's problems alone. We need help. But to gain help we have to work more closely with other countries around the world. We need to share the burden and not be the sole supplier of resources, finances, military forces, and diplomacy for peace in the world.</p>	52%	81%	7%
<p>It is important for us to work more constructively with countries around the world to put a stop to growing anti-American feelings and distrust of the United States abroad. We need to restore trust in America through strong diplomatic efforts and cooperative partnerships with other nations around the world.</p>	41%	69%	14%
<p>Teaming up and building partnerships with countries around the world is essential to fighting the war on terror. Encouraging international cooperation to fight terrorism is one way we will be able to prevent another major terrorist attack in the U.S. or against America's allies.</p>	40%	74%	10%
<p>Given all the threats in the world today from terrorist groups and unstable foreign regimes with nuclear capabilities, we have to work together. Working in cooperation with other countries around the world is essential for global security.</p>	40%	72%	9%
<p>We live in a world where the solutions to world problems require international cooperation, whether they are economic problems, environmental problems, or problems of peace and war – we can not do it alone. International cooperation is a better way of solving some of the world's key problems.</p>	39%	73%	12%

Messages Tested Among All Voters	Much More Likely	Total More Likely	Total Less Likely
<p>We need to restore America’s standing as a great leader around the world. Other countries look to us for leadership and as a role model of what a successful democracy can be. It is important for us to be constructively engaged internationally so that our country remains one that is well-respected and one that other countries look to as a role model.</p>	36%	66%	13%
<p>We live in a global economy where issues that the world faces have a direct impact on us here at home. America’s relationships with other countries are extremely important for us to be successful in the world. If we fail to find a way to work to develop partnerships with countries around the world our economic, political, and security interests will suffer.</p>	33%	65%	13%
<p>It’s time to redefine and restore America’s place as a leader in the world. We need to show the international community that we can be more constructive in the way we help by bringing countries together to solve the world’s problems.</p>	33%	64%	16%
<p>Supporting democracies or stable governments and helping to build strong self-sufficient economies around the world is as important to us as it is to other countries. America must work together with other countries and be part of building a more stable and peaceful world.</p>	32%	65%	13%
<p>America has a duty and responsibility to work with other countries in helping to solve the world’s problems. America’s principles are such that we cannot turn our back when disaster strikes. We have the resources and ability to help those countries around the world whose people are in need or suffering.</p>	28%	60%	18%



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