INTRO Thank you for participating in this survey by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs and the Texas National Security Network.  In this survey, we would like to get your opinion on a wide range of foreign policy and international issues.  There is no right or wrong answer and please answer the questions based on your knowledge.  If you do not know the answer to a question, you can simply skip it and go on to the next question. Click "Next" to begin.

Q2 Do you think it will be best for the future of the country if we take an active part in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs?

* Active part (1)
* Stay out (2)

Q3 What percentage of the public do you think favors taking an active part in world affairs?

\_\_\_\_\_\_ % (1)

Q5\_NEW Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Critical threat (1) | Important but not critical threat (2) | Not an important threat (3) |
| Drug related violence and instability in Mexico (1) |  |  |  |
| Islamic fundamentalism (4) |  |  |  |
| The possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers (5) |  |  |  |
| Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the US (6a) |  |  |  |
| Climate change (8a) |  |  |  |
| International terrorism (10) |  |  |  |
| Russia’s territorial ambitions (21) |  |  |  |
| China’s economic power (23) |  |  |  |
| China’s military power (24) |  |  |  |
| A confrontation between North Korea and South Korea (27) |  |  |  |
| An international financial crisis (28) |  |  |  |
| North Korea’s nuclear program (29) |  |  |  |
| Global gender inequality and/or laws and practices that constrain the rights of women (30) |  |  |  |

Q7 Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all:

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Very important (1) | Somewhat important (2) | Not important at all (3) |
| Combating international terrorism (3) |  |  |  |
| Maintaining superior military power worldwide (4a) |  |  |  |
| Maintaining superior economic power worldwide (4b) |  |  |  |
| Protecting the jobs of American workers (5) |  |  |  |
| Controlling and reducing illegal immigration (8a) |  |  |  |
| Limiting climate change (9a) |  |  |  |
| Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons (10) |  |  |  |
| Combating world hunger (12) |  |  |  |
| Defending our allies’ security (19) |  |  |  |
| Improving America's standing in the world (23) |  |  |  |
| Improving the world’s environment (11b) |  |  |  |
| Attaining U.S. energy independence (7b) |  |  |  |
| Promoting the full participation of women and girls in their societies around the world (30a) |  |  |  |

Q8 And how effective do you think each of the following approaches are to achieving the foreign policy goals of the United States – very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not effective at all?

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Very effective (1) | Somewhat effective (2) | Not very effective (3) | Not effective at all (4) |
| Strengthening the United Nations (1) |  |  |  |  |
| Maintaining U.S. military superiority (2) |  |  |  |  |
| Placing sanctions on other countries (3) |  |  |  |  |
| Signing free trade agreements with other countries (4) |  |  |  |  |
| Maintaining existing alliances (5) |  |  |  |  |
| Building new alliances with other countries (6) |  |  |  |  |
| Signing international agreements (7) |  |  |  |  |
| Intervening militarily (8) |  |  |  |  |

Q11\_NEW What kind of leadership role should the United States play in the world? Should it be the dominant world leader, or should it play a shared leadership role, or should it not play any leadership role?

* Dominant world leader (1)
* Play a shared leadership role (2)
* Not play any leadership role (3)

Q15 Thinking about the next generation of Americans who are children today, the way things are going, do you think economically they will be better off, worse off, or about the same as the generation of adults who are working today?

* Better off (1)
* Worse off (2)
* About the same (3)

Q385 Which of the following do you think is more important in determining a country’s overall power and influence in the world?

* Economic strength (1)
* Military strength (2)

Q16\_NEW And now, thinking about U.S. national security, how important are the following regions to the security interests of the United States?

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Very important (1) | Somewhat important (2) | Not very important (3) | Not at all important (4) |
| Europe (1) |  |  |  |  |
| Asia-Pacific (2) |  |  |  |  |
| The Middle East (3) |  |  |  |  |
| Africa (4) |  |  |  |  |
| Latin America (5) |  |  |  |  |

Q200 Do you feel we should increase our commitment to NATO, keep our commitment what it is now, decrease our commitment to NATO, or withdraw from NATO entirely?

* Increase commitment (1)
* Keep commitment same (2)
* Decrease commitment (3)
* Withdraw entirely (4)

Q140 Based on what you know, do you think the U.S. should or should not participate in the following international agreements?

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Should participate (1) | Should not participate (2) |
| The Paris Agreement that calls for countries to collectively reduce their emissions of greenhouse gases (1) |  |  |
| 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 (3) |  |  |
| The agreement that lifts some international economic sanctions against Iran in exchange for strict limits on its nuclear program for at least the next decade (7) |  |  |

Multilateral Do you think there are more benefits or more costs to seeking international support for US policies?

* More benefits (1)
* More costs (2)

Display This Question:

If In general, do you think the benefits of seeking international support for U.S. policies outweigh the costs? Yes Is Selected

Mulitlateral\_View Which of the following comes closest to your view?"

* "When other countries support U.S. policies, this allows the United States to share the costs of dealing with international problems." (1)
* "When other countries support U.S. policies, this makes U.S. policies more legitimate outside the United States." (2)
* "When other countries support U.S. policies, this suggests that the United States is making good policy decisions." (3)
* None of these (4)

INTRO\_Trade This next set of questions focuses on international trade.

Q10 Do you believe that globalization, especially the increasing connections of our economy with others around the world, is mostly good or mostly bad for the United States?

* Mostly good (1)
* Mostly bad (2)

Q10\_public How do you think the public would answer this question about whether globalization is mostly good or bad for the United States?

* Mostly good (1)
* Mostly bad (2)

Q71a As you may know, the United States is now negotiating a free trade agreement with twelve Pacific nations called the Trans-Pacific Partnership (or TPP). Based on what you know, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose this free trade agreement?

* I strongly support it (1)
* I somewhat support it (2)
* I somewhat oppose it (3)
* I strongly oppose it (4)

Q190 Overall, do you think international trade is good or bad for:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Good (1) | Bad (2) |
| The U.S. economy (1) |  |  |
| American companies (2) |  |  |
| Consumers like you (3) |  |  |
| Creating jobs in the U.S. (4) |  |  |
| Job security for American workers (6) |  |  |
| Your own standard of living (7) |  |  |

NQ30 There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in other parts of the world ${e://Field/EXP1}. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose ${e://Field/EXP2}:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Favor (1) | Oppose (2) |
| If North Korea invaded South Korea (1) |  |  |
| To stop a government from committing genocide and killing large numbers of its own people (2) |  |  |
| If Israel were attacked by its neighbors (3) |  |  |
| To stop Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons (4) |  |  |
| To fight against violent Islamic extremist groups in Iraq and Syria (5) |  |  |
| To ensure the oil supply (6) |  |  |
| To deal with humanitarian crises (7) |  |  |

NQ30\_COMMON In the scenarios you just read about, what do you remember about what the scenarios all had in common?

* All involved nuclear weapons. (1)
* All involved North Korea. (2)
* All involved the United States deploying troops as part of a United Nations Security Council authorized mission. (3)
* All involved the United States deploying troops unilaterally. (4)

Display This Question:

If There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in ot... To stop a government from committing genocide and killing large numbers of its own people - Favor Is Selected

Uni\_Genocide\_Support In relation to your answer on stopping a government from committing genocide, which of the following is closest to your view for supporting sending U.S. troops unilaterally:

* The financial costs will be acceptable. (1)
* The risks to U.S. troops will be acceptable. (2)
* The mission to stop the genocide is likely to succeed. (3)
* People around the world will view this as a legitimate action. (4)
* Other: (7) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Display This Question:

If There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in ot... To stop a government from committing genocide and killing large numbers of its own people - Oppose Is Selected

Uni\_Genocide\_Oppose In relation to your answer on stopping a government from committing genocide, which of the following is closest to your view for opposing sending U.S. troops unilaterally:

* The financial costs are too high. (1)
* The risks to U.S. troops are too high. (2)
* The mission to stop the genocide is unlikely to succeed. (3)
* People around the world will not view this as a legitimate action. (4)
* Other: (7) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Display This Question:

If There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in ot... To stop Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons - Favor Is Selected

Uni\_Iran\_Support In relation to your answer on stopping Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons, which of the following is closest to your view for supporting sending U.S. troops unilaterally:

* The financial costs will be acceptable. (1)
* The risks to U.S. troops will be acceptable. (2)
* The mission to stop Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons is likely to succeed. (3)
* People around the world will view this as a legitimate action. (4)
* Other: (7) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Display This Question:

If There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in ot... To stop Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons - Oppose Is Selected

Uni\_Iran\_Oppose In relation to your answer on stopping Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons, which of the following is closest to your view for opposing sending U.S. troops unilaterally:

* The financial costs are too high. (1)
* The risks to U.S. troops are too high. (2)
* The mission to stop Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons is unlikely to succeed. (3)
* People around the world will not view this as a legitimate action. (4)
* Other: (7) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Display This Question:

If There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in ot... To stop a government from committing genocide and killing large numbers of its own people - Favor Is Selected

Un\_Genocide\_Support In relation to your answer on stopping a government from committing genocide, which of the following is closest to your view for supporting sending U.S. troops as part of a United Nations Security Council authorized mission:

* The financial costs will be acceptable. (1)
* The risks to U.S. troops will be acceptable. (2)
* The mission to stop the genocide is likely to succeed. (3)
* People around the world will view this as a legitimate action. (4)
* Other: (7) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Display This Question:

If There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in ot... To stop a government from committing genocide and killing large numbers of its own people - Oppose Is Selected

Un\_Genocide\_Oppose In relation to your answer on stopping a government from committing genocide, which of the following is closest to your view for opposing sending U.S. troops as part of a United Nations Security Council authorized mission:

* The financial costs are too high. (1)
* The risks to U.S. troops are too high. (2)
* The mission to stop the genocide is unlikely to succeed. (3)
* People around the world will not view this as a legitimate action. (4)
* Other: (7) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Display This Question:

If There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in ot... To stop Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons - Favor Is Selected

Un\_Iran\_Support In relation to your answer on stopping Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons, which of the following is closest to your view for supporting sending U.S. troops as part of a United Nations Security Council authorized mission:

* The financial costs will be acceptable. (1)
* The risks to U.S. troops will be acceptable. (2)
* The mission to stop Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons is likely to succeed. (3)
* People around the world will view this as a legitimate action. (4)
* Other: (7) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Display This Question:

If There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in ot... To stop Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons - Oppose Is Selected

Un\_Iran\_Oppose In relation to your answer on stopping Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons, which of the following is closest to your view for opposing sending U.S. troops as part of a United Nations Security Council authorized mission:

* The financial costs are too high. (1)
* The risks to U.S. troops are too high. (2)
* The mission to stop Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons is unlikely to succeed. (3)
* People around the world will not view this as a legitimate action. (4)
* Other: (5) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Q40 Do you think the United States should or should not have long-term military bases in the following places?

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Should have (1) | Should not have (2) |
| Japan (1) |  |  |
| South Korea (2) |  |  |
| Germany (3) |  |  |
| Australia (4) |  |  |

INTRO\_Terrorism And next are a few questions on another issue.

N16 Do you think that, as a country, we are more safe, about as safe, or less safe than we were before the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001?

* More safe (1)
* About as safe (2)
* Less safe (3)

Q281 Are you very worried, somewhat worried, not very worried or not worried at all that:

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Very worried (1) | Somewhat worried (2) | Not very worried (3) | Not at all worried (4) |
| You or someone you know will be the target of gun violence (1) |  |  |  |  |
| You or someone you know will be the target of a terrorist attack (2) |  |  |  |  |

INTRO\_Middle\_East Next is a series of questions about the Middle East.

Q325A In your opinion, is Israel playing a very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative or very negative role in resolving the key problems facing the Middle East?

* Very positive (1)
* Somewhat positive (2)
* Somewhat negative (3)
* Very negative (4)

Q267a Do you support or oppose the United States taking each of the following actions with respect to Syria?

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Support (1) | Oppose (2) |
| Accepting Syrian refugees into the United States (1) |  |  |
| Helping to negotiate a peace agreement that allows President Assad of Syria to remain in power (7) |  |  |
| Sending arms and supplies to anti-government groups in Syria (3) |  |  |
| Enforcing a no-fly zone over parts of Syria, including bombing Syrian air defenses (4) |  |  |
| Conducting airstrikes against violent Islamic extremist groups (8) |  |  |
| Sending special operations forces into Syria to fight violent Islamic extremist groups (5b) |  |  |
| Sending combat troops into Syria to fight violent Islamic extremist groups (5) |  |  |

Q376 Now thinking about U.S. foreign policy in Asia, do you think the U.S. should put a higher priority on:

* Building up our strong relations with traditional allies like South Korea and Japan, even if this might diminish our relations with China (1)
* Building a new partnership with China, even if this might diminish our relations with our traditional allies (2)

Q350A In dealing with the rise of China’s power, do you think the U.S. should:

* Undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with China (1)
* Actively work to limit the growth of China’s power (2)

Q390 Should legal immigration into the United States be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

* Kept at present level (1)
* Increased (2)
* Decreased (3)

Q390b What do you think the majority of the American public wants - for illegal immigrants to be able to stay in their jobs and in the United States or that they should be required to leave their jobs and leave the US?

* Stay in their jobs and stay in the United States (1)
* Leave their jobs and leave the US (2)

Q405 When it comes to immigration, which comes closest to your view about illegal immigrants who are currently working in the U.S.?

* They should be allowed to stay in their jobs and to apply for U.S. citizenship (1)
* They should be allowed to stay in their jobs and to eventually apply for U.S. citizenship only if they pay a penalty and wait a number of years (2)
* They should be allowed to stay in their jobs with work permits, but not apply for U.S. citizenship (3)
* They should be required to leave their jobs and leave the U.S. (4)

NA-1 Switching gears, how often do you consider the different impacts a policy might have on women in your professional decision‐making?

* Always (1)
* Often (2)
* Sometimes (3)
* Never (4)

NA-2 Policies can impact men and women differently. How relevant do you think this concern is in the following issue areas?

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Very relevant (1) | Somewhat relevant (2) | Not very relevant (3) | Not at all relevant (4) |
| Terrorism and countering violent extremism (1) |  |  |  |  |
| Conﬂict resolution and peace-building (2) |  |  |  |  |
| Regional stability (3) |  |  |  |  |
| Economic development and trade (4) |  |  |  |  |
| Global health and education (5) |  |  |  |  |

Intro\_Demo Finally, we'd just like to ask a few questions about yourself.

Q1000 If the presidential election were being held today, for whom would you vote?

* Hillary Clinton (1)
* Donald Trump (2)
* Neither (3)
* Other (specify) (4) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Display This Question:

If If the presidential election were being held today, for whom would you vote? Neither Is Selected

Or If the presidential election were being held today, for whom would you vote? Other (specify) Is Selected

Or If

If If the presidential election were being held today, for whom would you vote? Hillary Clinton Is Not Selected

And If the presidential election were being held today, for whom would you vote? Donald Trump Is Not Selected

And If the presidential election were being held today, for whom would you vote? Neither Is Not Selected

And If the presidential election were being held today, for whom would you vote? Other (specify) Is Not Selected

Carry Forward All Choices - Displayed & Hidden from "If the presidential election were being held today, for whom would you vote?"

Q1000B Would you lean toward?

* Hillary Clinton (1)
* Donald Trump (2)
* Neither (3)
* Other (specify) (4) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Q1001 Regardless of your voting preference in the previous question, who was your top choice for president among the following candidates?

* Hillary Clinton (1)
* Donald Trump (2)
* Bernie Sanders (3)
* Ted Cruz (4)
* John Kasich (5)
* Marco Rubio (6)
* Jeb Bush (7)
* Other (specify) (8) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Q1005 In general, do you think of yourself as:

* Extremely liberal (1)
* Liberal (2)
* Slightly liberal (3)
* Moderate, middle of the road (4)
* Slightly conservative (5)
* Conservative (6)
* Extremely conservative (7)

Q1010 Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or other?

* Republican (1)
* Democrat (2)
* Independent (3)
* Other (4)

Display This Question:

If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what? &nbsp; Republican Is Selected

Q1015 Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

* Strong (1)
* Not Strong (2)

Display This Question:

If Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party? Democratic Is Selected

Q1020 Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

* Strong (1)
* Not Strong (2)

Display This Question:

If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent,... Independent Is Selected

Or Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent,... Other Is Selected

Q1025 Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

* Republican (1)
* Democratic (2)
* Neither (3)

RegVoter Are you currently registered to vote in the U.S.?

* Yes, I am registered to vote (1)
* No, I am not registered to vote (2)
* No, I am not an American citizen (3)
* Not sure (4)

Q1040 What is your religious preference?  Is it Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Hindu, some other religion, or no religion?

* Christian (1)
* Jewish (2)
* Muslim (3)
* Hindu (4)
* Other (5)
* No religion (6)

GENDER What is your gender

* Male (1)
* Female (2)

AGE What is your age?

* 18 - 29 (1)
* 30 - 44 (2)
* 45 - 59 (3)
* 60 - 74 (4)
* 75+ (5)

RACE What is your race?

* White/Caucasian (1)
* African American (2)
* Hispanic (3)
* Asian (4)
* Native American (5)
* Pacific Islander (6)
* Other (7)

EDU What is the highest level of education you have achieved?

* High school (1)
* Some college (2)
* College (3)
* Postgrad (4)

Display This Question:

If What is the highest level of education you have achieved? Postgrad Is Selected

EDU2 Please check all postgraduate degrees you have received.

* Master’s degree (1)
* PhD (2)
* JD (3)
* MD (4)
* Other (5) \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

MILITARY Have you ever served in the U.S. military?

* Yes (1)
* No (2)

Display This Question:

If Have you ever served in the U.S. military? Yes Is Selected

MILITARY\_TYPE Which service?

* Army (1)
* Air Force (2)
* Coast Guard (3)
* Marines (4)
* National Guard (5)
* Navy (6)

USGOV Have you ever served in the U.S. government?

* Yes (1)
* No (2)

Display This Question:

If Have you ever served in the U.S. government? Yes Is Selected

USGOV\_ROLE Which of the following best describes your role in the government?

* Civil service (1)
* Political appointee (2)
* Foreign Service (3)
* Congress (staffer/member) (4)
* Schedule B (5)

Display This Question:

If Have you ever served in the U.S. government? Yes Is Selected

USGOV\_LEVEL At what level did you or do you serve in the US government (e.g., Deputy Assistant Secretary, Assistant Secretary, Special Assistant, Legislative Assistant, Congressional Staff, Member of Congress)? (whatever you feel comfortable mentioning)

Display This Question:

If Have you ever served in the U.S. government? Yes Is Selected

USGOV\_DEPT In which agencies or departments did you or do you serve?