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2016 Chicago Council Survey of American Public Opinion on U.S. Foreign Policy

Data Collection Instrument

2016 Chicago Council Survey of American Public Opinion on U.S. Foreign Policy

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Appendix A: Questionnaire – Main Survey

In this survey, we'd like your opinions about the big foreign policy issues of the day. 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 skip it and go on to the next question.

A.   SECTION I

Base: All Respondents
[Grid, SP Across MP Down]
When you follow the news these days, how interested are you in reports about the following: very interested, somewhat interested, or hardly interested at all?

Scripter: Please randomize and record all statements in row

Statements in row:

Q2/2. National news
Q2/4. News about the relations of the United States with other countries

Answers in column:

1. Very interested
2. Somewhat interested
3. Hardly interested
4. Don't follow the news

Base: All Respondents
Q3_1. [S]
In order to make sure that your browser is working correctly, please select number 4 from the below list.

1. 1
2. 2
3. 3
4. 4
5. 5

Base: All Respondents
Q3. [S]
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?

1. Active part
2. Stay out

Scripter: Please create DOV_TRACKAB and randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 'Track A' or 2 'Track B'

Base: All Respondents

Q5_NEW. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]
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:

Scripter: *Please randomly select and record 10 statements to show the respondents. Of the 10 statements selected, please randomize and record the order of the 10 statements shown.*

Statements in row:

5/1. Drug related violence and instability in Mexico
5/4. Islamic fundamentalism
5/5. The possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers
5/6a. Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the U.S.
5/8a. Climate change **[*Scripter:* Respondent is only eligible to see question if DOV_TRACKAB=1]**
5/8b. Global warming **[*Scripter:* Respondent is only eligible to see question if DOV_TRACKAB=2]**
5/10. International terrorism
5/21. Russia's territorial ambitions
5/23. China's economic power
5/24. China's military power
5/27. A confrontation between North Korea and South Korea
5/28. An international financial crisis
5/29. North Korea's nuclear program

Answers in column:

1. Critical threat
2. Important but not critical threat
3. Not an important threat

Scripter: Please create DOV_Immigration and randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 'A Question Series' or 2 'B Question Series'

Scripter: Please create DOV_Woman and randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 'A Question Series' or 2 'B Question Series'

Base: All Respondents
Q7. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]
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:

Scripter: *Please randomly select and record 10 statements to show the respondents. Of the 10 statements selected, please randomize and record the order of the 10 statements shown.*

Statements in row:

7/3. Combating international terrorism
7/4a. Maintaining superior military power worldwide
7/4b. Maintaining superior economic power worldwide
7/5. Protecting the jobs of American workers
7/8a. Controlling and reducing illegal immigration **[*Scripter:* Respondent is only eligible to see question if DOV_Immigration=1 'A Question Series']**

7/8b. Controlling and reducing undocumented immigration **[*Scripter:* Respondent is only eligible to see question if DOV_Immigration=2 'B Question Series']**
7/9a. Limiting climate change **[*Scripter:* Respondent is only eligible to see question if DOV_TRACKAB=1]**
7/9b. Limiting global warming **[*Scripter:* Respondent is only eligible to see question if DOV_TRACKAB=2]**
7/10. Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons
7/12. Combating world hunger
7/19. Defending our allies' security
7/23. Improving America's standing in the world
7/11b. Improving the world's environment
7/7b. Attaining U.S. energy independence
7/30a. Promoting the full participation of women and girls in their societies around the world **[*Scripter:* Respondent is only eligible to see question if DOV_Woman=1 'A Question Series']**
7/30b. Promoting the rights of women and girls around the world **[*Scripter:* Respondent is only eligible to see question if DOV_Woman=2 'B Question Series']**

Answers in column:

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not important at all

Q8. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]
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?

Scripter: Please randomize and record the order of the statements in row.

8/1. Strengthening the United Nations
8/2. Maintaining U.S. military superiority
8/3. Placing sanctions on other countries
8/4. Signing free trade agreements with other countries
8/5. Maintaining existing alliances
8/6. Building new alliances with other countries
8/13. Signing international agreements
8/14. Intervening militarily

Answers in column:

1. Very effective
2. Somewhat effective
3. Not very effective
4. Not effective at all

Q11_NEW [S]
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?

1. Dominant world leader
2. Play a shared leadership role

3. Not play any leadership role

Q385[S]
Which of the following do you think is more important in determining a country's overall power and influence in the world – **[*Scripter: if 'Economic strength' is the first response listed insert* a country's economic strength, or its military strength , *if 'Military strength' is the first response listed insert* a country's military strength, or its economic strength]**?

1. Economic strength
2. Military strength

Q21 [S]
Some people say the United States has a unique character that makes it the greatest country in the world. Others say that every country is unique, and the United States is no greater than other nations. Which view is closer to your own?

1. The greatest country in the world
2. No greater than other nations

Q40 [Grid, SP Across MP Down]
Do you think the United States should or should not have long-term military bases in the following places?

Statements in row:

40/1. Japan
40/3. South Korea
40/6. Germany
40/8. Australia

Answers in column:

1. Should have
2. Should not have

Q15. [S]
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?

1. Better off
2. Worse off
3. About the same

Q15B. [S]
And thinking now about your parents when they were your age, do you think that economically they were better off, worse off, or about the same as you are today?

1. Better off
2. Worse off
3. About the same

Q45 [Grid, Number Boxes, Range 0 – 100]
Please rate your feelings toward some countries and peoples, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favorable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that country or those people.

Scripter: Please randomly select and record 7 statements to show the respondents. Of the 7 statements selected, please randomize and record the order of the 7 statements shown.

Statements in row:

45/3. Mexico
45/4. Israel
45/6. China
45/11. Japan
45/12. Russia
45/14. Iran
45/15. Cuba
45/19. North Korea
45/20. South Korea
45/26. Canada
45/27. Australia
45/28. India

Answers in column:

Scripter: Please use numeric boxes with a range of 0 – 100 and the feeling thermometer graphic used in previous surveys.

Scripter: Please create DOV_185 and randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 'Canada' or 2 'Australia'

Q185 [Grid, SP Across MP Down]
In your opinion, are relations between the United States with the following countries improving, worsening or staying about the same?

Scripter: Please randomize and record all statements in row

Statements in row:

185/1. China
185/4. Mexico
185/5. South Korea

185/8. Russia
185/9. Canada **[*Scripter:* Respondent is only eligible to see question if DOV_185=1]**
185/10. Australia **[*Scripter:* Respondent is only eligible to see question if DOV_185=2]**
185/11. Iran
185/12. Israel

Answers in column:

1. Improving
2. Worsening
3. Staying the same

Base: Show if DOV_200615=1 'Q200'

Q200. [S]
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?

1. Increase commitment
2. Keep commitment same
3. Decrease commitment
4. Withdraw entirely

Base: Show if DOV_200615=2 'Q615'

Q615. [S]
Some people say that NATO is still essential to our country's security. Others say it is no longer essential. Which of these views is closer to your own?

1. Still essential
2. No longer essential

Base: All Respondents

Q50 [Grid, SP Across MP Down]
I would like to know how much influence you think each of the following countries has in the world. Please answer on a 0 to 10 scale; with 0 meaning they are not at all influential and 10 meaning they are extremely influential.

Scripter: Please randomize and record all statements in row

Statements in row:

1. The U.S.
2. Russia
5. China
6. India
7. The European Union as a whole
8. South Korea
9. Iran

Answers in column:

1. 0
2. 1
3. 2
4. 3
5. 4
6. 5
7. 6
8. 7
9. 8
10. 9
11. 10

Q140 [Grid, SP Across MP Down]
Based on what you know, do you think the U.S. should or should not participate in the following international agreements?

Statements in row:

140/1. The Paris Agreement that calls for countries to collectively reduce their emissions of greenhouse gases
140/2. 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
140/7. 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

Answers in column:

1. Should participate
2. Should not participate

INTRO_Trade [Display]
This next set of questions focuses on international trade.

Q10. [S]
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?

1. Mostly good
2. Mostly bad

Q71a. [S]
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?

1. I strongly support it
2. I somewhat support it
3. I somewhat oppose it
4. I strongly oppose it

Q190 [Grid, SP Across MP Down]
Overall, do you think international trade is good or bad for:

Scripter: Please randomize and record all statements in row

Statements in row:

190/1. The U.S. economy
190/2. American companies
190/3. Consumers like you
190/4. Creating jobs in the U.S.
190/6. Job security for American workers
190/7. Your own standard of living

Answers in column:

1. Good
2. Bad

INTRO_Terrorism [Display]
And next are a few questions on another issue.

Q275. [S]
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?

1. More safe
2. About as safe
3. Less safe

Q281 [Grid, SP Across MP Down]
Are you very worried, somewhat worried, not very worried or not worried at all that:

Scripter: Please randomize and record all statements in row

Statements in row:

Q281/1. You or someone you know will be the target of gun violence

Q281/2. You or someone you know will be the target of a terrorist attack

Answers in column:

1. Very worried
2. Somewhat worried
3. Not very worried
4. Not at all worried

Scripter: Please create DOV_282280 and randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 'Q282' or 2 'Q280'

Base: Show if DOV_282280=1 'Q282'

Q282. [S]
Do you think the greater threat to the United States from terrorism comes from people outside this country or from people inside this country?

1. People outside this country
2. People inside this country

Base: All respondents

Q266. [S]
Do you feel that the U.S.-led coalition against ISIS and other violent Islamic extremist groups in Iraq and Syria is making the situation:

1. A great deal better
2. Somewhat better
3. Neither better nor worse
4. Somewhat worse
5. A great deal worse

Base: All Respondents

Q278b [Grid, SP Across MP Down]
In your opinion, would you say that the following actions are always effective, mostly effective, rarely effective or never effective in combatting terrorism?

Scripter: Please randomize and record all statements in row

Statements in row:

278b/1. U.S. air strikes against suspected terrorists by manned aircraft
278b/2. U.S. air strikes against suspected terrorists by drones/unmanned aircraft
278b/3. Sending U.S. trainers and special operations forces to countries where terrorists operate
278b/4. Using torture against suspected terrorists that are captured
278b/5. Sending U.S. combat troops to fight terrorists abroad
278b/6. Limiting the flow of migrants and refugees and increasing border controls
278b/7. Blocking terrorist financing

Answers in column:

1. Always effective
2. Mostly effective
3. Rarely effective

4. Never effective

Q280. [S]
How likely is it that occasional acts of terrorism in the U.S. will be part of life in the future?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Not at all likely

INTRO_Middle_East [Display]

Next is a series of questions about the Middle East.

Q325A. [S]
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?

1. Very positive
2. Somewhat positive
3. Somewhat negative
4. Very negative

Q230. [S]
In the Middle East conflict, do you think the United States should take Israel's side, take the Palestinians' side, or not take either side?

1. Take Israel's side
2. Take the Palestinians' side
3. Not take either side

Scripter: Please create DOV_267A374 and randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 'Q267a' or 2 'Q374'

Q267a [Grid, SP Across MP Down]
Do you support or oppose the United States taking each of the following actions with respect to Syria?

Statements in row:

267a/1. Accepting Syrian refugees into the United States
267a/7. Helping to negotiate a peace agreement that allows President Assad of Syria to remain in power
267a/3. Sending arms and supplies to anti-government groups in Syria
267a/4. Enforcing a no-fly zone over parts of Syria, including bombing Syrian air defenses
267a/8. Conducting airstrikes against violent Islamic extremist groups
267a/5b. Sending special operations forces into Syria to fight violent Islamic extremist groups

267a/5. Sending combat troops into Syria to fight violent Islamic extremist groups

Answers in column:

1. Support
2. Oppose

INTRO_Russia [Display]
This next question focuses on U.S. relations with Russia.

INTRO_Mexico [Display]
This next question focuses on U.S. relations with Mexico.

Q251B. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]
Please tell me whether the United States and Mexico are working in the same or different direction on each of the following issues:

Statements in row:

Q251B/1. Finding new sources of energy
Q251B/2. Combating the trafficking of illegal drugs
Q251B/3. Securing the U.S.-Mexico border
Q251B/4. Trade and economic development

Answers in column:

1. Same direction
2. Different direction

Q251A. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]
Please tell me whether the United States and Russia are working in the same or different direction on each of the following issues:

Statements in row:

Q251A/1. Ending the conflict in Syria
Q251A/2. Limiting Iran's nuclear program
Q251A/3. Reducing nuclear weapons worldwide

Answers in column:

1. Same direction
2. Different direction

Q350B. [S]
In dealing with Russia, do you think the U.S. should:

Scripter: Please randomize and record order of response options

1. Undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with Russia
2. Actively work to limit Russia's power

Q351B. [S]
And do you think that generally Russia is:

Scripter: Please randomize and record order of response options

1. Trying to undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with the United States
2. Actively working to undermine U.S. international power and influence

INTRO_Climate [Display]
This next question focuses on climate change.

INTRO_Global [Display]
This next question focuses on global warming.

Q295. [S]
There is a controversy over what the countries of the world, including the U.S., should do about the problem of **[*Scripter:* Insert the phrase** climate change **if DOV_TRACKAB=1; Insert the phrase** global warming **if DOV_ TRACKAB =2]**. Here are three statements. Please tell me which statement comes closest to your own point of view:

1. Until we are sure that **[*Scripter:* Insert the phrase** climate change **if DOV_TRACKAB=1; Insert the phrase** global warming **if DOV_ TRACKAB =2]** is really a problem we should not take any steps that would have economic costs.
2. The problem of **[*Scripter:* Insert the phrase** climate change **if DOV_TRACKAB=1; Insert the phrase** global warming **if DOV_ TRACKAB =2]** should be addressed but its effects will be gradual so we can deal with the problem gradually by taking steps that are low in cost.
3. **[*Scripter:* Insert the phrase** Climate change **if DOV_TRACKAB=1; Insert the phrase** Global warming **if DOV_ TRACKAB =2]** is a serious and pressing problem and we should try taking steps now even if this involves significant costs.

INTRO_Asia [Display]
The next group of questions is about U.S. policy in Asia.

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

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

Q336. [S]
At the present time, which nation do you feel is stronger in terms of <u>military</u> power, the U.S. or China – or do you think they are about equal militarily?

1. The U.S.
2. China
3. About equal

Q337. [S]
At the present time, which nation do you feel is stronger in terms of <u>economic</u> power, the U.S. or China – or do you think they are about equal economically?

1. The U.S.
2. China
3. About equal

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

Scripter: Please randomize and record order of response options

1. Undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with China
2. Actively work to limit the growth of China's power

Q351A. [S]
And do you think that generally China is:

Scripter: Please randomize and record order of response options

1. Trying to undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with the United States
2. Actively working to undermine U.S. international power and influence

Q374. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]
Please tell me whether you would support or oppose each of the following kinds of U.S. action to pressure North Korea to stop building its nuclear weapons program:

Statements in row:

374/5. Accept that North Korea will produce additional nuclear weapons
374/1. Continue diplomatic efforts to get North Korea to suspend its nuclear program
374/6. Impose tighter economic sanctions on North Korea
374/7. Conduct cyberattacks against North Korean computer systems
374/8. Conduct airstrikes against North Korea's nuclear production facilities
374/9. Send U.S. troops to destroy North Korea's nuclear facilities

Answers in column:

1. Support
2. Oppose

INTRO_Immigration [Display]
This final section asks about the issue of immigration.

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

1. Kept at present level
2. Increased
3. Decreased

Q401. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]
Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable view of the following people:

Scripter: Please randomize and record all statements in row

Statements in row:

401/1. Chinese immigrants in the United States
401/2. Middle Eastern immigrants in the United States
401/3. Mexican immigrants in the United States
401/4. Mexicans living in Mexico
401/5. Korean immigrants in the United States

Answers in column:

1. Very favorable
2. Somewhat favorable
3. Somewhat unfavorable
4. Very unfavorable

Q405. [S]

When it comes to immigration, which comes closest to your view about [*Scripter:* **Insert the phrase** illegal **if DOV_Immigration=1; Insert the phrase** undocumented **if DOV_Immigration =2]** immigrants who are currently working in the U.S.?

1. They should be allowed to stay in their jobs and to apply for U.S. citizenship
2. 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
3. They should be allowed to stay in their jobs with work permits, but not apply for U.S. citizenship
4. They should be required to leave their jobs and leave the U.S.

Base: Show if DOV_Q410=1 'Q410A'
Q410A. [S]
Do you favor or oppose a wall expanding the 700 miles of border wall and fencing with Mexico to reduce illegal immigration into the United States?

1. Favor
2. Oppose

Base: Show if DOV_Q410=2 'Q410B'
Q410B. [S]
How effective do you think expanding the 700 miles of border wall and fencing with Mexico would be in reducing illegal immigration?

1. Very effective
2. Somewhat effective
3. Not very effective
4. Not at all effective

Base: All respondents
Q1000. [S]
If the presidential election were being held today and the candidates were [*Scripter: If 'Hillary Clinton' is first response option insert* Hillary Clinton, the Democrat or Donald Trump, the Republican*; If 'Donald Trump' is first response option insert* Donald Trump, the Republican or Hillary Clinton, the Democrat]*, for whom would you vote?

1. Hillary Clinton
2. Donald Trump
3. Neither [*Scripter:* **Please anchor response as third response]**
4. Other (specify) [*Scripter:* **Please insert small text box]** [*Scripter:* **Please anchor response as fourth response]**

Base: Show if Q1000=3 'Neither' or 4 'Neither' or -1 'Refused'
Q1000B. [S]
Would you lean toward [*Scripter: If 'Hillary Clinton' is first response option insert* Hillary Clinton, the Democrat or Donald Trump, the Republican*; If 'Donald Trump' is first response option insert* Donald Trump, the Republican or Hillary Clinton, the Democrat]*?

1. Hillary Clinton
2. Donald Trump

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

1. Hillary Clinton
2. Donald Trump
3. Bernie Sanders
4. Ted Cruz
5. John Kasich
6. Marco Rubio
7. Jeb Bush
8. Other (specify) **[*Scripter:* Please insert small text box] [*Scripter:* Please anchor response as eighth response]**

B   SECTION II - DEMOGRAPHICS

Q1005. [S]
In general, do you think of yourself as:

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

Q1010 [S]
Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

1. Republican
2. Democrat
3. Independent
4. Other

Q1015. [S]
Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. Strong
2. Not strong

Q1020. [S]

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

1. Strong
2. Not strong

Q1025. [S]

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

1. Republican
2. Democratic
3. Neither

PPP10003. [S]

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

1. Yes, I am registered to vote at my present address
2. Yes, I am registered to vote at a different address
3. No, I am not registered to vote
4. Not sure

PPA1648. [S]

What is your religion?

1. Catholic
2. Evangelical or Protestant Christian (Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Pentecostal, Church of Christ, etc.)
3. Jehovah's Witness
4. Mormon
5. Jewish
6. Islam/Muslim
7. Orthodox Church (Greek or Russian)
8. Hindu
9. Buddhist
10. Unitarian (Universalist)
11. Other Christian religion, please specify: [*Scripter:* **Please insert small text box**]
12. Other non-Christian religion, please specify: [*Scripter:* **Please insert small text box**]
13. No religion, not a believer, atheist, agnostic

Scripter: Please create DOV_REL1 and use the variable name 'Religious Denomination of Respondent' Merge coding of XPPA1648 and PPA1648 with the following values:

1. Catholic
2. Evangelical or Protestant Christian (Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Pentecostal, Church of Christ, etc.)
3. Jehovah's Witness
4. Mormon

Base: All respondents

Q1065. [S]
Would you be willing to speak with a reporter in a follow-up telephone call or by email to discuss some of these topics?

1. Yes
2. No

Scripter: Please store 'Phone Number" and 'First Name' fields as PII data in lookup tables for Q1065A

Base: Show if Q1065=1 'Yes'

Q1065A. [O]
Thank you for agreeing to participate. Please provide your phone number and first name in the fields below so the reporter might know who to ask for:

Phone Number: [*Scripter:* **Please insert small text box**]

First Name: [*Scripter:* **Please insert small text box**]

Scripter: Please include standard close.

END OF QUESTIONNAIRE