***The Chicago Council on Global Affairs – 2017 Chicago Council Survey***

**Fielded June 27 – July 19, 2017**

**Main Questionnaire**

**I. SAMPLE VARIABLES**

*N/A*

**II. QUOTA CHECK BASED ON SAMPLE VARIABLES**

**III. INTRODUCTION**

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.

**QUOTA CHECK**

*N/A*

Base: All Respondents

**Q2B. [S]**

Which ONE of the following do you turn to most often for news about the US and the world?

*SCRIPTER: Please randomize and record the order of the statements shown.*

1. Newspapers and news magazines

2. Radio

3. Network TV news broadcasts (For example: ABC, CBS, or NBC )

4. Cable TV news broadcasts (For example: CNN, Fox News, or MSNBC)

5. Blogs and other websites

6. Facebook, Twitter and other social media

Base: All Respondents

**Q2B\_Followup. [O]**

You indicated that you turn to [IF Q1\_News=1, INSERT: “newspapers and news magazines”/ IF Q1\_News=2, INSERT: “radio”/ IF Q1\_News=3, INSERT: “network TV news broadcasts (For example: ABC, NBC, or CBS)” / IF Q1\_News=4, INSERT: “cable TV news broadcasts (for example: CNN, Fox News, or MSNBC)”/ / IF Q1\_News=5, INSERT: “blogs and other websites” / IF Q1\_News=6, INSERT: “Facebook, Twitter and other social media”] most often for news about the US and the world. Please provide the name of the [IF Q1\_News=1-4, INSERT: “outlet” / IF Q1\_News=5-6, INSERT: “website”] you turn to most often in the box below.

**[INSERT TEXT BOX]**

**V. MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE**

**A. SECTION I**

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

**Q4. [S]**

When it comes to overall US foreign policy, do you feel things are generally heading in the right direction, or are they off on the wrong track?

1. Right direction

2. Wrong track

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

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 randomize and record the order of the statements shown.*

Statements in row:

5/6a. Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the U.S.

5/8a. Climate change

5/10. International terrorism

5/29. North Korea’s nuclear program

5/3. The development of China as a world power

5/19. Political instability in the Middle East

5/33. The military power of Russia

5/34. Russian influence in American elections

5/35b. The possibility of any new countries, friendly or unfriendly, acquiring nuclear weapons

5/16. Cyber-attacks on U.S. computer networks

Answers in column:

1.Critical threat

2. Important but not critical threat

3. Not an important threat

Base: All Respondents

**Q516b. [S]**

When it comes to cyber-attacks, which of the following are you most concerned about?

1. Theft of Americans’ personal information and finances

2. Damage to US infrastructure

3. Theft of classified government information

*Scripter: Please create DOV\_Hunger and randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Hunger’ or 2 ‘Relief’*

Base: All Respondents

***Scripter: Reference SNO 20625***

**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:

7/4a. Maintaining superior military power worldwide

7/4b. Maintaining superior economic power worldwide

7/5. Protecting the jobs of American workers

7/10. Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons

7/11. Promoting and defending human rights in other countries

7/12. Combating world hunger **[*Scripter:* Respondent is only eligible to see question if DOV\_Hunger=1]**

7/12b. Providing famine relief **[*Scripter:* Respondent is only eligible to see question if DOV\_Hunger=2]**

7/19. Defending our allies’ security

7/23. Improving America's standing in the world

7/7. Securing adequate supplies of energy

7/16. Reducing our trade deficit with foreign countries

Answers in column:

1. Very important

2. Somewhat important

3. Not important at all

Base: All Respondents

**Q67a. [S]**

How much of a role do you think American values like democracy should play in shaping US foreign policy - a major role, a minor role or no role at all?

1. A major role

2. A minor role

3. No role at all

Base: All Respondents

**Q67b. [S]**

How much of a role do you think American values like human rights should play in shaping US foreign policy - a major role, a minor role or no role at all?

1. A major role

2. A minor role

3. No role at all

Base: All Respondents

**Q8. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]**

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.*

Statements in row:

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

8/9. International agreements

8/7. Economic aid to other countries

8/8. Military aid to other countries

8/14. Military intervention

8/15. Participating in international organizations

Answers in column:

1. Very effective

2. Somewhat effective

3. Not very effective

4. Not effective at all

Base: All Respondents

**Q130. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]**

Please tell me how much confidence you have in the ability of leaders in each of these institutions to shape policies that benefit the United States:

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

Statements in row:

130/1. The military

130/2. US State Department

130/3. Intelligence agencies

130/4. Congress

130/5. Think tanks

130/6. Academia

130/7. The White House

130/8. Large corporations

130/9. The media

Answers in column:

1. A great deal

2. A fair amount

3. Not very much

4. No confidence at all

Base: All Respondents

**Q110. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]**

How effective are the following ways for a president to inform the US and international publics about an administration's foreign policy?

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

Statements in row:

110/1. Delivering a major speech or address

110/2. Meeting with world leaders on overseas trips

110/3. Appointing special envoys or ambassadors

110/4. Using Twitter or social media

110/5. Attending important world summits like the G20 or the UN General Assembly

110/6. Press conferences or interviews with reporters

Answers in column:

1. Very effective

2. Somewhat effective

3. Somewhat ineffective

4. Very ineffective

Base: All Respondents

**IntroQ11.** [Display]

*Next are questions that ask about the US and other countries.*

Base: All Respondents

**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

Base: All Respondents

**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

Base: All Respondents

**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

Base: All Respondents

**Q25. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]**

Below is a list of present federal government programs. For each, please select whether you feel it should be expanded, cut back or kept about the same.

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

Statements in row:

25/1. Education

25/2. Defense spending

25/3. Social Security

25/4. Military aid to other nations

25/5. Economic aid to other nations

25/6. Healthcare

Answers in column:

1. Expanded

2. Cut back

3. Kept about the same

4. Not sure

Base: All Respondents

**Q12. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]**

How much confidence would you say you have in the following countries to deal responsibly with world problems?

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

Statements in row:

Q12/1. The United States

Q12/2. China

Q12/3. Russia

Q12/4. Japan

Q12/5. South Korea

Q12/6. The European Union

Q12/7. India

Q12/8. Germany

Q12/9. The UK

Answers in column:

1. A great deal

2. A fair amount

3. Not very much

4. No confidence at all

Base: All Respondents

**Q490. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]**

Do you think that the U.S. military presence in the following regions should be increased, maintained at its present level, or do you think it should be decreased?

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

Answers in column:

1. Increased

2. Maintained at its present level

3. Decreased

Statements on row:

490/1. Europe

490/2. Asia-Pacific

490/3. The Middle East

Base: All Respondents

**Q30. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]**

There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in other parts of the world. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops:

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

Statements on row:

30/1. If North Korea invaded South Korea

30/4b. To stop or prevent a government from using chemical or biological weapons against its own people

30/7. To deal with humanitarian crises

30/12. If Russia invades the rest of Ukraine

30/13. If Russia invades a NATO ally like Latvia, Lithuania, or Estonia

30/14. If China initiates a military conflict with Japan over disputed islands

30/15. To fight against violent Islamic extremist groups in Iraq and Syria

Answers in column:

1. Favor

2. Oppose

*Scripter: Please create DOV\_Region and randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘East Asia’, 2 ‘Europe’, 3 ‘the Middle east’*

Base: All Respondents

**Q33abc. [S]**

NEW: Which of the following comes closest to your view on US security alliances in [if DOV\_Region=1, insert “East Asia”/ if DOV\_Region=2, insert “Europe”/ if DOV\_Region=3, insert “the Middle East”]. Do they:

1. Mostly benefit the US

2. Mostly benefit our allies

3. Benefit both the US and our allies

4. Benefit neither

Base: All Respondents

**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

**Q616. [S]**

As you may know, the United States has long urged its NATO allies to spend more on defense. They have recently agreed to increase defense spending but have not yet done so. Which of the following options comes closer to your view:

*SCRIPTER: Please randomize and record the order of the statements shown.*

1. The United States should encourage greater allied defense spending through persuasion and diplomatic means while maintaining a firm commitment to defend NATO members.

2. The United States should withhold its commitment to defend NATO members until NATO allies actually spend more on defense.

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. Germany

10. The UK

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

*Scripter: Please create DOV\_President and randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Korean, 2 ‘French’*

Base: All Respondents

**Q44. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]**

Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable view of the following world leaders?

*SCRIPTER: Please randomize and record the order of the statements shown.*

Statements in row:

Q44/1. Russian President Vladimir Putin

Q44/2. Chinese President Xi Jinping

Q44/3. [if DOV\_President=1, insert: “South Korean President Moon Jae-in”]/[if DOV\_President=2, insert: “French President Emmanuel Macron”]

Q44/4. German Chancellor Angela Merkel

Q44/5. US President Donald Trump

Q44/6. North Korean leader Kim Jong Un

Answers in column:

1. Very favorable

2. Somewhat favorable

3. Somewhat unfavorable

4. Very unfavorable

Base: All Respondents

**Q215. [S]**

Do you think the United States plays a more important and powerful role as a world leader today compared to 10 years ago, a less important role, or about as important a role as a world leader as it did 10 years ago?

1. More important

2. Less important

3. As important

Base: All Respondents

**IntroQ140.** [Display]

*And now a few items about various forms of US diplomacy.*

Base: All Respondents

**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?

*SCRIPTER: Please randomize and record the order of the statements shown.*

Statements in row:

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

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

Base: All Respondents

**Q205. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]**

Do you favor or oppose the following types of foreign aid:

*SCRIPTER: Please randomize and record the order of the statements shown.*

Statements in rows:

205/1. Food and medical assistance to people in needy countries

205/2. Aid that helps needy countries develop their economies

205/3. Aid to help farmers in needy countries become more productive

205/5. Assistance to promote democracy abroad

205/7b. Aid for women's education in needy countries

205/8. Disaster relief for needy countries

Answers in column:

1. Favor

2. Oppose

Base: All Respondents

**Q212. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]**

Do you think that giving foreign aid to other countries helps, hurts, or makes no difference for:

*SCRIPTER: Please randomize and record the order of the statements shown.*

Statements in row:

Q212/1. Our national security

Q212/2. The US economy

Q212/3. US relations with other countries

Answer in column:

1. Helps

2. Hurts

3. Makes no difference

Base: All respondents

**Q10. [S]**

Turning to something else, 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

Base: All Respondents

**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

190/3. Consumers like you

190/4. Creating jobs in the U.S.

Answers in column:

1. Good

2. Bad

Base: All respondents

**Q189. [S]**

Which of the following comes closest to your view on trade deals between the US and other countries. Do they:

1. Mostly benefit the US

2. Mostly benefit other countries

3. Benefit both the US and other countries

4. Benefit neither

Base: All respondents

**Q190N. [S]**

Overall, do you think the North American Free Trade Agreement, also known as NAFTA, is good or bad for the US economy?

1. Good

2. Bad

Base: All Respondents

**Q80. [Grid, SP Across MP Down]**

In general, do you think that the following countries practice fair or unfair trade with the United States?

*SCRIPTER: Please randomize and record the order of the statements shown.*

Statements in rows:

80/1. The countries of the European Union

80/2. China

80/3. Mexico

80/4. Canada

80/5. Japan

80/7. South Korea

Answers in column:

1. Practice fair trade

2. Practice unfair trade

Base: All Respondents

**Q70. [S]**

Which of the following three positions comes closest to your point of view about lowering trade barriers such as tariffs?

1. I favor agreements to lower trade barriers provided the government has programs to help workers who lose their jobs

2. I favor agreements to lower trade barriers, but I oppose government programs to help workers who lose their jobs

3. I oppose agreements to lower trade barriers

Base: All Respondents

**Q206. [S]**

Overall, which do you think is more responsible for the decline in American manufacturing employment?

*SCRIPTER: Please randomize and record the order of the statements shown.*

1. International trade, moving jobs overseas

2. Automation, replacing workers with machines

Base: All Respondents

**Q207. [S]**

Do you think the current administration’s approach to international affairs will do:

#### 

1. More to protect American workers

2. More to harm American workers

3. Make no difference to American workers

Base: All Respondents

**IntroQ703.** [Display]

*And now a few questions about national security.*

Base: All Respondents

**Q275b. [S]**

Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, has US foreign policy made the US:

1. More safe

2. Less safe

3. Made no difference

Base: All Respondents

**Q277. [S]**

Do you think the current administration’s approach to international affairs will make the United States:

1. Safer from terrorism

2. Less safe from terrorism

3. Make no difference

*Scripter: Please create DOV\_267A\_5 and randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 or 2*

*Scripter: Please create DOV\_267A\_7 and randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 or 2*

*Scripter: Please create DOV\_267A\_8 and randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 or 2*

Base: All respondents

**Q267. [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. [If *DOV\_267A\_7 =1, show:*]Helping to negotiate a peace agreement that allows President Bashar al-Assad of Syria to remain in power

267d/7. [If *DOV\_267A\_7 =2, show:*] Helping to negotiate a peace agreement that would put a new President in place other than President Bashar al-Assad

267a/8. [If *DOV\_267A\_8 =1, show:*] Conducting airstrikes against violent Islamic extremist groups /

267d/8 [If *DOV\_267A\_8 =2, show:*] Conducting airstrikes against President Bashar al-Assad’s regime

267a/5. [If *DOV\_267A\_5 =1, show:*] Sending combat troops into Syria to fight violent Islamic extremist groups

267d/5 [If *DOV\_267A\_5 =2, show:*]Sending combat troops into Syria to forcibly remove Syrian President Bashar al-Assad from power

Answers in column:

1. Support

2. Oppose

Base: All respondents

**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

Base: All respondents

**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

Base: All respondents

**Q675. [S]**

Do you think economic sanctions against Russia should be:

1. Increased

2. Decreased

3. Kept about the same

4. Stopped altogether

Base: All respondents

**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

374/12. Accept that North Korea will possess nuclear weapons in exchange for an agreement guaranteeing it will not produce more of them

374/6. Impose tighter economic sanctions on North Korea

374/8. Conduct airstrikes against North Korea’s nuclear production facilities

374/9. Send U.S. troops to destroy North Korea’s nuclear facilities

374/11. Impose sanctions on Chinese companies and banks that do business with North Korea

Answers in column:

1. Support

2. Oppose

1. Tryo undertake friendly cooperation and engage

Base: All respondents

**Q405. [S]**

When it comes to immigration, which comes closest to your view aboutillegalimmigrants 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.

**B SECTION II - DEMOGRAPHICS**

Base: All respondents

**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

Base: All respondents

**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

Base: Ask if Q1010=1 ‘Republican’

**Q1015. [S]**

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

1. Strong

2. Not strong

Base: Ask if Q1010=2 ‘Democrat’

**Q1020. [S]**

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

1. Strong

2. Not strong

Base: Ask if Q1010=3 ‘Independent’

**Q1025. [S]**

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

1. Republican

2. Democratic

3. Neither

Base: Ask if XPPA1648=14 ‘Missing’

**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*

*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*

*-1. Refused*

*Please use the following merging criteria, IF XPPA1648≠14 ‘ Missing’ THEN DOV\_REL1= XPPA1648; IF XPPA1648=14 ‘Missing’ THEN DOV\_REL1= PPA1648.*

*Scripter: Please create DOV\_VOTE and randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Trump First’ or 2 ‘Clinton First’*

Base: All respondents

**2016VOTE. [S]**

Did you happen to vote in the last presidential election, when [Show if DOV\_VOTE=1 Donald Trump ran against Hillary Clinton, ; Show if DOV\_VOTE=2 Hillary Clinton ran against Donald Trump,], Gary Johnson, and Jill Stein, or did you skip that one?

1. [SHOW FIRST IF DOV\_VOTE=1 Yes, I voted for Donald Trump ; SHOW FIRST IF DOV\_VOTE=2 Yes, I voted for Hillary Clinton]

2. [SHOW SECOND IF DOV\_VOTE=1 Yes, I voted for Hillary Clinton ; SHOW SECOND IF DOV\_VOTE=2 Yes, I voted for Donal Trump]

3. Yes, I voted for Gary Johnson

4. Yes, I voted for Jill Stein

5. No, I skipped voting

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**