



2014 Biennial American Survey  
April, 2014  
- Questionnaire -

The Chicago Council on Global Affairs  
2014 Public Opinion Survey  
Questionnaire

**[DISPLAY]**

In this survey, we'd like your opinions about some important foreign policy 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 skip it and go on to the next question.

**[SP]**

Q3: 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

**[SP]**

Q3\_1 In order to make sure that your browser is working correctly, please select number 4 from the below list

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

DOV\_OE\_Q3

**[SP]**

**[RANDOMLY ASSIGN]**

See Q3B .....1  
Do not see Q3B .....2

**[IF DOV\_OE\_Q3 = 1]**

**[LARGE TEXTBOX] [PROMPT IF NO TEXT ENTERED]**

Q3B: Why do you think it will be best for the future of the country if we take an active part in world affairs?

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DOV\_Split 5\_6

**[SP]**

**[RANDOMLY ASSIGN]**

See Q5/6a.....1

See Q5/6b.....2

DOV\_Split 5\_8

**[SP]**

**[RANDOMLY ASSIGN]**

See Q5/8a.....1

See Q5/8b.....2

**[SP]**

Q3\_2 In order to make sure that your browser is working correctly, please select number 4 from the below list

1

2

3

4

5

**[SP, GRID][DISPLAY RANDOM 9 STATEMENTS]**

Q5NEW: 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:

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

**[RANDOMIZE]**

5/1. Drug related violence and instability in Mexico **[from s13748]**

5/2. U.S. debt to China

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

5/4. Islamic fundamentalism

5/5. The possibility of unfriendly countries becoming nuclear powers

5/6a. **[if DOV\_Split5\_6 = 1]** Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the U.S.

5/6b. **[if DOV\_Split5\_6 = 2]** Large numbers of immigrants coming into the U.S.

5/7. Economic competition from low-wage countries **[from s13748]**

5/8a. **[if DOV\_Split5\_8 = 1]** Climate change

6/8b. **[if DOV\_Split5\_8 = 2]** Global warming

5/10. International terrorism

5/12. Violent Islamist groups in Pakistan and Afghanistan

5/15. Iran's nuclear program

5/16. Cyber-attacks on U.S. computer networks **[from s13748]**

5/17. The continuing conflict in Syria

5/18. The possibility of the Taliban returning to power in Afghanistan

- 5/19. Political instability in the Middle East
- 5/20. Lack of a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians
- 5/21. Russia's territorial ambitions
- 5/22. Border disputes between China and its neighbors

DOV\_Split 7\_9

**[SP]**

**[RANDOMLY ASSIGN]**

See Q7/9a.....1

See Q7/9b.....2

**[GRID, SP][SHOW RANDOM SEVEN STATEMENTS]**

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:

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

**[RANDOMIZE]**

- 7/1. Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression
- 7/2. Strengthening the United Nations
- 7/3. Combating international terrorism
- 7/4. Maintaining superior military power worldwide
- 7/5. Protecting the jobs of American workers
- 7/6. Helping to bring a democratic form of government to other nations
- 7/7. Securing adequate supplies of energy
- 7/8. Controlling and reducing illegal immigration
- 7/9a. Limiting climate change
- 7/9b. **Limiting** global warming
- 7/10. Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons
- 7/11. Promoting and defending human rights in other countries
- 7/12. Combating world hunger
- 7/18. Reducing U.S. dependence on foreign oil
- 7/19. Defending our allies' security
- 7/20. Protecting the interests of American business abroad

**[GRID, SP]**

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

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

**[RANDOMIZE]**

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

**[SP]**

Q10: 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

**[SP]**

Q20: From your point of view, how desirable is it that the U.S. exert strong leadership in world affairs?

1. Very desirable
2. Somewhat desirable
3. Somewhat undesirable
4. Very undesirable

**[IF Q20 = 1-2]**

**[SP]**

Q20A. Which of the following comes closest to your response in the previous question:

Strong U.S. leadership is desirable because:

1. The U.S. should be a model for other countries to follow
2. Only if the U.S. exerts strong leadership will other countries step up and do their part
3. The U.S. has a moral obligation to lead because of our wealth and power
4. It's in our national interests
5. Other; please specify **[textbox]**

**[IF Q20 = 3-4]**

**[SP]**

Q20B. Which of the following comes closest to your response in the previous question:

Strong U.S. leadership is undesirable because:

1. The U.S. should focus on domestic problems in the country rather than the world's problems
2. The U.S. should not interfere in other countries' affairs
3. Other countries should or can help themselves without U.S. leadership
4. Other, please specify **[textbox]**

**[SP]**

Q21: 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
3. Unsure

**[GRID, SP]**

**[RANDOMIZE]**

QT5: Here's a list of international events that the United States has been involved in recent history. For each, please tell me whether you think it was a proud moment in American history, a dark moment, or neither a proud moment nor a dark moment?

	Proud moment	Dark moment	Neither	Not sure
The U.S. role in the founding of the United Nations				
The U.S. role in the Vietnam war				
The U.S. role in World War II				
The Marshall Plan of aid to Europe				
The U.S. role in the 2003 war in Iraq				
The U.S. role in the Bosnian war				

DOV\_Split N6

[SP]

[RANDOMLY ASSIGN]

See N6.....1

See Q25.....2

[IF DOV\_SPLIT\_N6 = 2]

[MATCHES S13748]

[GRID, SP]

[RANDOMIZE]

Q25. 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..

1. Expanded
2. Cut back
3. Kept about the same
4. Not sure

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

25/7. General information gathering activities of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Agency (NSA)

25/9. Improving public infrastructure such as highways, bridges and airports

5/11. Environmental protection

5/12. Welfare and unemployment relief programs at home



**[IF DOV\_SPLIT\_N6 = 1]**

**[GRID WITH NUMBER BOXES; RANGE 0-100; NUMBER BOXES MUST ADD UP TO 100, IF NUMBER BOXES ADD UP TO MORE THAN 100, PROMPT TWICE WITH “YOU HAVE ENTERED AN AMOUNT THAT TOTALS UP TO MORE THAN \$100, PLEASE CHECK YOUR ANSWERS”, IF THE NUMBER BOXES ADD UP TO LESS THAN \$100, PROMPT TWICE WITH “YOU HAVE ENTERED AN AMOUNT THAT TOTALS UP TO LESS THAN \$100. .THE TOTAL MUST ADD TO \$100”]**

QN6. Next I’d like you to please imagine that you get to choose how to spend \$100 of your tax money to make up the following areas of the U.S. government budget. For each item, please let us know how many dollars you’d prefer to spend for each item. You must spend all \$100.

Education	[number box]
Defense spending	[number box]
Social Security	[number box]
Military aid to other nations	[number box]
Economic aid to other nations	[number box]
Healthcare	[number box]
Improving public infrastructure such as highways, bridges and airports	[number box]
	[number box]
General information gathering activities of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Agency (NSA)	[number box]
Environmental protection	[number box]
Welfare and unemployment relief programs at home	[number box]
Total	[Show the sum of all above columns]

DOV\_Split 30

**[SP]**

**[RANDOMLY ASSIGN]**

See Q30.....1  
 See NQ30b .....2  
 See NQ30c .....3

**[IF DOV\_SPLIT\_30 = 1]**

**[GRID, SP]**

Q30 (1-8): 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:

1. Favor
2. Oppose

**[RANDOMIZE]**

30/1. If North Korea invaded South Korea

30/2. If China invaded Taiwan

30/3. To be part of an international peacekeeping force to enforce a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians

30/4. To stop a government from committing genocide and killing large numbers of its own people

30/5. To ensure the oil supply

30/7. To deal with humanitarian crises

30/8. If Israel were attacked by its neighbors

30/9. To stop Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons

30/10. If Israel bombs Iran's nuclear facilities, and Iran were to retaliate against Israel

30/11. To be part of a peacekeeping force to enforce a peace agreement in Syria

30/12. If Russia invades the rest of Ukraine

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

**[IF DOV\_SPLIT\_30 = 2]**

**[GRID, SP]**

NQ30B: There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in other parts of the world as part of a United Nations Security Council authorized military mission. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops:

1. Favor
2. Oppose

**[RANDOMIZE]**

NQ30B/1. If North Korea invaded South Korea

NQ30B/2. If China invaded Taiwan

NQ30B/3. To be part of an international peacekeeping force to enforce a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians

NQ30B/4. To stop a government from committing genocide and killing large numbers of its own people

NQ30B/5. To ensure the oil supply

NQ30B/7. To deal with humanitarian crises

NQ30B/8. If Israel were attacked by its neighbors

NQ30B/9. To stop Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons

NQ30B/10. If Israel bombs Iran's nuclear facilities, and Iran were to retaliate against Israel

NQ30B/11. To be part of a peacekeeping force to enforce a peace agreement in Syria

NQ30B/12. If Russia invades the rest of Ukraine

NQ30B/13. If Russia invades a NATO ally like Latvia, Lithuania, or Estonia

**[IF DOV\_SPLIT\_30 = 3]**

**[GRID, SP]**

NQ30C: There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in other parts of the world as part of a coalition of like-minded allies. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops:

1. Favor
2. Oppose

**[RANDOMIZE]**

NQ30C/1. If North Korea invaded South Korea

NQ30C/2. If China invaded Taiwan

NQ30C/3. To be part of an international peacekeeping force to enforce a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians

NQ30C/4. To stop a government from committing genocide and killing large numbers of its own people

NQ30C/5. To ensure the oil supply

NQ30C/7. To deal with humanitarian crises

NQ30C/8. If Israel were attacked by its neighbors

NQ30C/9. To stop Iran from obtaining nuclear weapons

NQ30C/10. If Israel bombs Iran's nuclear facilities, and Iran were to retaliate against Israel

NQ30C/11. To be part of a peacekeeping force to enforce a peace agreement in Syria

NQ30C/12. If Russia invades the rest of Ukraine

NQ30C/13. If Russia invades a NATO ally like Latvia, Lithuania, or Estonia

**NEW- ASK OF A RANDOM 1/3 OF SAMPLE NQ30C:** There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in other parts of the world **as part of a coalition of like-minded allies**. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops: [ROTATE OPTIONS]

**[SP]**

Q35: Thinking about long-term military bases the U.S. has overseas, do you think the U.S. should have more bases overseas, fewer bases overseas, or about as many as we have now?

1. More bases
2. Fewer bases
3. About as many as now

**[GRID, SP]**

Q40 (1-8): Do you think the United States should or should not have long-term military bases in the following places?

1. Should have
2. Should not have

**[RANDOMIZE]**

- 40/1. Japan
- 40/2. Iraq
- 40/3. South Korea
- 40/4. Afghanistan
- 40/5. Pakistan
- 40/6. Germany
- 40/7. Turkey
- 40/8. Australia
- 40/9. Guantanamo Bay in Cuba
- 40/10. Poland
- 40/11. Kuwait
- 40/12. The Philippines

**[SP]**

QN25 Currently the U.S. is scheduled to withdraw combat forces from Afghanistan by the end of 2014. Do you think that the U.S. should:

1. Withdraw all troops from Afghanistan before the end of 2014
2. Bring all troops home as scheduled by the end of 2014
3. Leave some troops in Afghanistan beyond 2014 for training, anti-insurgency and counter-terrorism activities

**[MATCHES S13748 WITH 4 MORE ADDED AND SOME ADDITIONAL SPLIT SAMPLES]**

**[GRIDS; NUMBER BOXES; RANGE 0-100]**

Q45 (1-21): 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. **[use thermometer graphic]**

**[RANDOMIZE]**

- 45/1. Pakistan **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/2. Germany **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/3. Mexico **[Mexico should be presented to All respondents]**
- 45/4. Israel **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/5. Great Britain
- 45/6. China
- 45/7. Saudi Arabia **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/8. France **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/9. Brazil **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/10. India **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/11. Japan
- 45/12. Russia
- 45/13. Venezuela **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/14. Iran **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/15. Cuba **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/16. Iraq **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/17. Palestinian Authority **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/18. South Africa **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/19. North Korea **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/20. South Korea **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/21. Indonesia **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/22. Turkey **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/23. Egypt **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/24. Taiwan **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/25. Nigeria **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**
- 45/26. Canada **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**

**[SP]**

**[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS]**

Q50 (1-8): 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.

- 50/1. The U.S.
- 50/2. Russia
- 50/3. Japan
- 50/5. China
- 50/6. India
- 50/7. The European Union as a whole
- 50/8. South Korea
- 50/9. Iran

**[SP]**

**[MATCH ORDER OF Q50]**

Q55 (1-8): Using the same 10 point scale, please say how much influence you think each of the following countries will have in the world 10 years from now.

- 55/1. The U.S.
- 55/2. Russia
- 55/3. Japan
- 55/5. China
- 55/6. India
- 55/7. The European Union as a whole
- 55/8. South Korea
- 55/9. Iran

**[MATCHES S13748]**

**[SP]**

**[RANDOMIZE]**

Q385: Which of the following do you think is more important in determining a country's overall power and influence in the world – a country's economic strength, or its military strength? [economic strength and military strength to randomize as per the options]

1. Economic strength
2. Military strength

**[SP]**

N7. How large a gap, if any, do you think exists between American public opinion and decisions taken by American political leaders:

1. a very large gap
2. a somewhat large gap
3. a somewhat small gap
4. no gap at all

**[MATCHES S13748 WITH 120/5 & 120/6 REMOVED AND NEW ITEMS ADDED]**

**[GRIDS; NUMBER BOXES; RANGE 0-10]**

Q120 (1-7): Now please consider how much influence you think some people and groups have on U.S. foreign policy. Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning they are not at all influential and 10 meaning they are extremely influential:

**[RANDOMIZE]**

- 120/1. The American people
- 120/2. Congress
- 120/3. The President
- 120/4. U.S. interest groups
- 120/7. Large corporations
- 120/8. The media
- 120/9. Religious leaders
- 120/10. Universities and think tanks
- 120/11. Military leaders

**[MATCHES S13748 WITH 125/5 & 125/6 REMOVED AND NEW ITEMS ADDED]**

**[GRIDS; NUMBER BOXES; RANGE 0-10]**

Q125 (1-7): How much influence do you think the following **SHOULD** have on U.S. foreign policy. 0 means they should not be at all influential and 10 means they should be extremely influential.

[MATCH ORDER OF Q120]

**[RANDOMIZE]**

- 125/1. The American people
- 125/2. Congress
- 125/3. The President
- 125/4. U.S. interest groups
- 125/7. Large corporations
- 125/8. The media
- 125/9. Religious leaders
- 125/10. Universities and think tanks
- 125/11. Military leaders

**[GRID, SP]**

Q140 (1-3): Based on what you know, do you think the U.S. should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements?

1. Should participate
2. Should not participate

**[RANDOMIZE]**

140/3. A new international treaty to address climate change by reducing greenhouse gas emissions

140/4. An international treaty to regulate the trade in small arms (such as handguns, rifles, and automatic weapons) and light weapons (such as grenade and rocket launchers, landmines, and mortars)

140/5. The international treaty that would establish rights for people with disabilities

140/6. The Law of the Sea treaty that defines the rights and responsibilities of international use of the world's oceans and marine natural resources

**[SP]**

Q144. Do you think that the United States is respected more in the world today than it was ten years ago, is respected less, or is respected about as much now as it was ten years ago?

1. Respected more
2. Respected less
3. Respected about as much
4. Not sure

**[GRID, SP]**

Q145: Please select whether you agree or disagree with the following statement.

**[ADD SPACE]**

When dealing with international problems, the U.S. should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations even if this means that the United States will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice.

1. Agree
2. Disagree



**[GRID, SP]**

N14B - Do you think the United Nations is doing a very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad job at the following:

**[RANDOMIZE]**

N14B/1. Protecting and supporting refugees around the world

N14B/2. Sending peacekeeping troops to conflict zones

N14B/3. Leading international efforts to combat hunger **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**

N14B/4. Protecting the cultural heritage of the world **[goes to a random 1/2 of respondents]**

N14B/5. Resolving international conflicts through negotiations

N14B/6. Authorizing the use of force to maintain or restore international peace and security

N14B/7. Imposing sanctions to punish countries that violate international law'

N14B/8. Preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons

DOV\_Split T13

**[SP]**

**[RANDOMLY ASSIGN]**

See T13a .....1  
See T13b .....2

**[IF DOV\_SPLITT13 = 1]**

**[SP]**

T13a. Now a few questions on the role of the U.S. intelligence agencies.

In your judgment, should the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) be placed under greater restraint, should it have fewer restrictions than it does now, or should the restrictions remain the same?

1. Greater restrictions
2. Fewer restrictions
3. Remain the same
4. Not sure

**[IF DOV\_SPLITT13 = 2]**

**[SP]**

**T13b.NEW [ASK A RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE] In your judgment, should the National Security Agency (NSA) be placed under greater restraint, should it have fewer restrictions than it does now, or should the restrictions remain the same?**

1. Greater restrictions
2. Fewer restrictions
3. Remain the same
4. Not sure

**[SP]**

Q17B. What do you think is more important right now:

1. for the federal government to investigate possible terrorist threats, even if that intrudes on personal privacy; or
2. for the federal government not to intrude on personal privacy, even if that limits its ability to investigate possible terrorist threats.

**[GRID, SP]**

T15A. Below is a list of countries. For each, please select whether you think the U.S. government should be secretly spying on the government of that country or not:

1. Yes
2. No

**[RANDOMIZE]**

T15A/1. North Korea  
T15A/2. Mexico  
T15A/3. Great Britain  
T15A/4. Japan  
T15A/5. Russia  
T15A/6. Israel  
T15A/7. France  
T15A/8. China  
T15A/9. Germany  
T15A/10. Brazil  
T15A/11. South Korea  
T15A/12. Iran  
T15A/13. Iraq

**[MATCHES S13748]**

**[SP]**

Q70. 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

DOV\_Split N9

**[SP]**

**[RANDOMLY ASSIGN]**

See N9a.....1  
See N9b.....2

**[DOV\_SPLIT\_N9 = 1]**

**[SP]**

N9A. 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

**[DOV\_SPLIT\_N9 = 2]**

**[SP]**

N9B. As you may know, the United States is now negotiating a free trade agreement with the European Union called the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (or TTIP). 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

**[GRID, SP]**

Q175 (1-5): As you may know there is currently a debate about whether U.S. government leaders should be ready to meet and talk with leaders of countries and groups with whom the U.S. has hostile or unfriendly relations. Do you think U.S. leaders should or should not be ready to meet and talk with leaders of:

1. Should be
2. Should not be

**[RANDOMIZE]**

175/1. The Taliban

175/2. Iran

175/3. Hamas

175/4. North Korea

175/5. Cuba

175/7. Hezbollah **[from s13748]**

**[SP]**

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?

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

**[GRID, SP]**

Q210 (1-5): Do you think economic aid to the following people or nations should be increased, decreased, kept about the same, or stopped altogether?

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Kept about the same
4. Stopped altogether

**[RANDOMIZE]**

- 210/1. Egypt
- 210/2. Israel
- 210/3. African countries
- 210/4. Afghanistan
- 210/5. Pakistan
- 210/6. Iraq
- 201/7. Ukraine

**[GRID, SP]**

Q211: Do you think military aid to the following countries should be increased, decreased, kept the same or stopped altogether?

1. Increased
2. Decreased
3. Same
4. Stopped altogether

**[RANDOMIZE]**

- 211/1. Egypt
- 211/2. Israel
- 211/3. Taiwan
- 211/4. Pakistan
- 211/5. Afghanistan
- 211/6. Iraq
- 211/7. Mexico

**[SP]**

Q215: 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

[Rotate Q227 and Q271]

DOV\_Split Q227

**[SP]**

**[RANDOMLY ASSIGN]**

See Q227, then  
Q271..... 1  
See Q271, then  
Q227..... 2

**[SP]**

Q227: Next I have some questions on a different topic.

**[if DOV\_Split\_Q227 = 2]**

All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war in Iraq was worth fighting, or not?

1. Was worth it
2. Was not worth it

**[SP]**

**[IF DOV\_SPLIT\_Q227 = 1]**

**Q271** And what about the war in Afghanistan? All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war in Afghanistan has been worth fighting, or not?

1. Has been worth it
2. Has not been worth it

**[SP]**

N23. As you may know, the U.S. and other countries have reached an interim deal with Iran that eases some of the international economic sanctions against Iran. In exchange, the deal requires that Iran accept some restrictions on its nuclear program - but not end it completely - and submit to greater international inspection of its nuclear facilities. Do you favor or oppose this interim agreement?

1. Favor
2. Oppose



**[GRID, SP]**

N24A. If Iran commits a major violation of this agreement, would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the UN Security Council taking each of the following actions:

- 1. Strongly support
- 2. Somewhat support
- 3. Somewhat oppose
- 4. Strongly oppose

**[ROTATE OPTIONS]**

- 240/1. Not pressure Iran to stop enriching uranium
- 240/2. Continue diplomatic efforts to get Iran to stop enriching uranium
- 240/3. Impose tighter economic sanctions on Iran
- 240/4. Authorize a military strike against Iran’s nuclear energy facilities

**[SP]**

Q355B. Do you think that the U.S. military presence in the Middle East increases or decreases stability in the region?

- 1. Increases
- 2. Decreases

QN9998. Regarding Syria, do you think the U.S. government is currently doing:

- 1. Too much
- 2. Not enough
- 3. About the right amount

DOV\_Split Q267

**[SP]**

**[RANDOMLY ASSIGN]**

See Q267a.....	1
See Q267b.....	1
See Q267c.....	1



**[IF DOV\_SPLIT Q267 = 1]**

**[GRID, SP]**

Q267a: Would you support or oppose the United States doing each of the following actions with respect to Syria?

1. Support
2. Oppose

267a/1. Accepting Syrian refugees into the United States

267a/2. Increasing economic and diplomatic sanctions on Syria

267c/3. Sending arms and supplies to anti-government groups in Syria

267a/4. Enforcing a no-fly zone over Syria, including bombing Syrian air defenses

267a/5. Sending troops into Syria

**[IF DOV\_SPLIT Q267 = 1 AND Q267A/5 = 1 (SUPPORT)]**

**[GRID, SP]**

Q268a\_1. Which of the following is your primary reason for supporting sending troops into Syria:

268a\_1/1. The financial costs will be acceptable.

268a\_1/2. The mission is likely to succeed.

268a\_1/3. It would make a difference in stopping the war.

268a\_1/4. People around the world will view this is a legitimate action.

268a\_1/5. The risk to American lives will be low.

268a\_1/6. We have a moral obligation to act.

268a\_1/7. It is in our national interest to act.

268a\_1/8. Other: **[textbox]**

**[IF DOV\_SPLIT Q267 = 1 AND Q267A/5 = 2 (OPPOSE)]**

**[GRID, SP]**

Q268a\_2. Which of the following is your primary reason for opposing sending troops into Syria:

268a\_2/1. The financial costs would be unacceptable.

268a\_2/2. The mission is not likely to succeed.

268a\_2/3. It would not make enough of a difference in stopping the war.

268a\_2/4. People around the world would not view it as a legitimate action.

268a\_2/5. The risk to American lives would be too high.

268a\_2/6. It would be immoral to engage in military action.

268a\_2/7. It is not in our national interest to act.

268a\_2/8. Other: **[textbox]**

**[IF DOV\_SPLIT Q267 = 2]**

**[GRID, SP]**

Q267b: Would you support or oppose the United States doing each of the following actions with respect to Syria as part of a United Nations Security Council authorized military mission?

1. Support

## 2. Oppose

267b/2. Increasing economic and diplomatic sanctions on Syria

267b/3. Sending arms and supplies to anti-government groups in Syria

267b/4. Enforcing a no-fly zone over Syria, including bombing Syrian air defenses

267b/5. Sending troops into Syria

**[IF DOV\_SPLIT Q267 = 2 AND Q267A/5 = 1 (SUPPORT)]**

**[GRID, SP]**

Q268b\_1. Which of the following is your primary reason for supporting sending troops into Syria as part of a United Nations Security Council authorized military mission:

268b\_1/1. The financial costs will be acceptable.

268b\_1/2. The mission is likely to succeed.

268b\_1/3. It would make a difference in stopping the war.

268b\_1/4. People around the world will view this is a legitimate action.

268b\_1/5. The risk to American lives will be low.

268b\_1/6. We have a moral obligation to act.

268b\_1/7. It is in our national interest to act.

268b\_1/8. Other: **[textbox]**

**[IF DOV\_SPLIT Q267 = 2 AND Q267A/5 = 2 (OPPOSE)]**

**[GRID, SP]**

Q268b\_2. Which of the following is your primary reason for opposing sending troops into Syria as part of a United Nations Security Council authorized military mission:

268b\_2/1. The financial costs would be unacceptable.

268b\_2/2. The mission is not likely to succeed.

268b\_2/3. It would not make enough of a difference in stopping the war.

268b\_2/4. People around the world would not view it as a legitimate action.

268b\_2/5. The risk to American lives would be too high.

268b\_2/6. It would be immoral to engage in military action.

268b\_2/7. It is not in our national interest to act.

268b\_2/8. Other: **[textbox]**

**[IF DOV\_SPLIT Q267 = 3]**

**[GRID, SP]**

Q267c: Would you support or oppose the United States doing each of the following actions with respect to Syria as part of a coalition of like-minded allies?

1. Support

2. Oppose

267c/2. Increasing economic and diplomatic sanctions on Syria

267c/3. Sending arms and supplies to anti-government groups in Syria

267c/4. Enforcing a no-fly zone over Syria, including bombing Syrian air defenses

267c/5. Sending troops into Syria

**[IF DOV\_SPLIT Q267 = 3 AND Q267A/5 = 1 (SUPPORT)]**

**[GRID, SP]**

Q268c\_1. Which of the following is your primary reason for supporting sending troops into Syria as part of a coalition of like-minded allies:

268c\_1/1. The financial costs will be acceptable.

268c\_1/2. The mission is likely to succeed.

268c\_1/3. It would make a difference in stopping the war.

268c\_1/4. People around the world will view this is a legitimate action.

268c\_1/5. The risk to American lives will be low.

268c\_1/6. We have a moral obligation to act.

268c\_1/7. It is in our national interest to act.

268c\_1/8. Other: **[textbox]**

**[IF DOV\_SPLIT Q267 = 2 AND Q267A/5 = 2 (OPPOSE)]**

**[GRID, SP]**

Q268c\_2. Which of the following is your primary reason for opposing sending troops into Syria as part of a coalition of like-minded allies:

268c\_2/1. The financial costs would be unacceptable.

268c\_2/2. The mission is not likely to succeed.

268c\_2/3. It would not make enough of a difference in stopping the war.

268c\_2/4. People around the world would not view it as a legitimate action.

268c\_2/5. The risk to American lives would be too high.

268c\_2/6. It would be immoral to engage in military action.

268c\_2/7. It is not in our national interest to act.

268c\_2/8. Other: **[textbox]**

**[SP]**

Q230: 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

**[SP]**

N16. NBC News/Wall Street Journal trend [2007-2013] 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 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001?

1. More safe

2. About as safe

3. Less safe

**[IF DOV\_Q271\_1 = 2]**

**[SP]**

**[GRID, SP]**

Q276: In order to combat international terrorism, please say whether you favor or oppose each of the following measures.

1. Favor
2. Oppose

**[RANDOMIZE]**

276/1. U.S. air strikes against terrorist training camps and other facilities

276/2. Attacks by U.S. ground troops against terrorist training camps and other facilities

276/3. Assassination of individual terrorist leaders

276/5. Helping poor countries develop their economies

276/6. Working through the UN to strengthen international laws against terrorism and to make sure UN members enforce them

276/7. Drone strikes to carry out bombing attacks against suspected terrorists

276/8. The National Security Agency collecting telephone and internet data to identify links to potential terrorists

**[SP]**

Q310: To deal with the problem of climate change, do you think your government is doing:

1. Too much
2. Not enough
3. About the right amount

**[GRID, SP]**

And now a few questions on another topic.

Q320 (1-4): Thinking about how to address America's dependence on foreign energy sources, please indicate whether you favor or oppose each of the following:

1. Strongly favor
2. Somewhat favor
3. Somewhat oppose
4. Strongly oppose

**[RANDOMIZE]**

320/1. Increasing tax incentives to encourage the development and use of alternative energy sources, such as solar or wind power

320/5. Increasing the use of hydraulic fracturing to extract oil and natural gas from underground rock formations

320/6. Opening up land owned by the federal government for oil exploration

320/2. Requiring auto-makers to increase fuel efficiency, even if this means the price of cars would go up

320/7. Increasing the mining and use of coal for generating electricity

320/3. Maintaining existing nuclear power plants to reduce reliance on oil and coal

320/4. Raising taxes on fuels such as coal and oil to encourage individuals and businesses to use less

**[SP] [PROMPT IF NO RESPONSE IS SELECTED]**

Q355. Finally we have a few questions related to Asia.

In your view, which continent is more important to the U.S. - Asia or Europe?

1. Asia
2. Europe

**[GRID, SP]**

Q455: At present, are the following countries mostly rivals or mostly partners?

1. Mostly rivals
2. Mostly partners

**[RANDOMIZE]**

- 455/2. U.S. and China
- 455/4. China and Japan
- 455/5. U.S. and Japan
- 455/6. U.S. and South Korea

**[SP]**

T15a. At the present time, which nation do you feel is stronger in terms of military power, the U.S. or China – or do you think they are about equal militarily?

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

**[SP]**

N32a. At the present time, which nation do you feel is stronger in terms of economic power, the U.S. or China – or do you think they are about equal economically?

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

**[SP]**

Q340: If China's economy were to grow to be as large as the U.S. economy, do you think that would be mostly positive, mostly negative, or equally positive and negative?

1. Mostly positive
2. Mostly negative
3. Equally positive and negative

[SP]

[RANDOMIZE]

Q350: In dealing with the rise of China's power, do you think the U.S. should:

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

[SP]

Q356: How do you feel about the U.S. government's plans to pivot our diplomatic and military resources away from the Middle East and more toward Asia?

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

DOV\_OE\_Q356

[SP]

[RANDOMLY ASSIGN]

See Q32a.....1  
Do not see Q32a.....2

[IF DOV\_OE\_Q356 = 1]

[TEXTBOX] [PROMPT IF NO TEXT ENTERED]

N32a. OPEN END WHY DO you support U.S. government's plans to pivot our diplomatic and military resources away from the Middle East and more towards Asia?

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[SP]

Q355\_1. Do you think that the U.S. military presence in East Asia increases or decreases stability in the region?

1. Increases
2. Decreases

[GRID, SP]

Q374: 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:

1. Support
2. Oppose

374/1. Continue diplomatic efforts to get North Korea to suspend its nuclear program

374/2. Stop and search North Korean ships for nuclear materials or arms

374/3. Air strikes against military targets and suspected nuclear sites in North Korea

374/4. Send in U.S. ground troops to take control of the country

DOV\_SPLIT\_q373  
[RANDOMLY ASSIGN]

See Korea.....1  
See Japan.....2

[SP]

Q373 **SPLIT BALLOT SOUTH KOREA/JAPAN:** When it comes to trade between [if DOV\_SPLIT\_q373 = 1: South Korea; If DOV\_SPLIT\_q373 = 2: Japan] and the United States, do you think that:

1. [if DOV\_SPLIT\_q373 = 1: South Korea; If DOV\_SPLIT\_q373 = 2: Japan] is one of America's top ten trading partners
2. [if DOV\_SPLIT\_q373 = 1: South Korea; If DOV\_SPLIT\_q373 = 2: Japan] is one of America's top twenty trading partners, but not in the top ten
3. [if DOV\_SPLIT\_q373 = 1: South Korea; If DOV\_SPLIT\_q373 = 2: Japan] is not in the top twenty of America's trading partners

[SP]

[RANDOMIZE]

Q376: 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



DEMOGRAPHICS: everyone

[SP]

**Q1005** 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

[SP]

**Q1010** 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

[SP]

[IF Q1010=1]

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

- 1 Strong
- 2 Not strong

[SP]

[IF Q1010=2]

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

- 1 Strong
- 2 Not strong

[SP]

[IF Q1010=3]

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

- 1 Republican
- 2 Democratic
- 3 Neither

**Q1030.** Do you consider yourself a part of or do you identify with the Tea Party movement?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Q1035. Did you vote in the last Presidential election?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

**[SP]**

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

- 1 Christian
- 2 Jewish
- 3 Muslim
- 4 Hindu
- 5 Other
- 6 No religion

**[SP]**

Q1075 Apart from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?

- 1. More than once a week
- 2. Once a week
- 3. Once or twice a month
- 4. Several times a year
- 5. Hardly ever
- 6. Never

**[SP]**

Q1045 Which of the following best describes the area in which you live?

- 1 Rural
- 2 Suburban
- 3 Urban

**[SP]**

This is about Hispanic ethnicity. Are you of Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino descent?

- 1. No, I am not
- 2. Yes, Mexican, Mexican-American, Chicano
- 3. Yes, Puerto Rican
- 4. Yes, Cuban
- 5. Yes, Central American
- 6. Yes, South American
- 7. Yes, Caribbean
- 8. Yes, Other Spanish/Hispanic/Latino



**[SP]**

Q1046. Have you ever travelled outside of the United States?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't recall