

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER & COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD, VI
SURVEY OF CFR MEMBERS
FINAL TOPLINE
OCTOBER 7-NOVEMBER 11, 2013
N=1,838**

ASK ALL:

Q.1 Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as president?

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No answer</u> | <u>Number of interviews</u> |
|------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 (<i>Obama</i>) | 60 | 39 | 1 | (1,838) |
| 2009 (<i>Obama</i>) | 77 | 20 | 3 | (642) |
| 2005 (<i>Bush</i>) | 15 | 83 | 2 | (96) |
| 2001 (<i>Bush</i>) | 20 | 66 | 14 | (89) |
| 1997 (<i>Clinton</i>) | 72 | 19 | 9 | (69) |
| 1993 (<i>Clinton</i>) | 54 | 36 | 10 | (69) |
| <i>General public</i> ¹ | 41 | 53 | 6 | (2,003) |

ASK ALL:

Q.1b When it comes to his handling of foreign policy, has Barack Obama done better than you expected, worse than you expected, or about as you expected?

| | <u>Better than expected</u> | <u>Worse than expected</u> | <u>About as expected</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 | 16 | 44 | 40 | * |

Q.2 AND Q.3 ON SAME SCREEN**ASK ALL:**

Q.2 So far, what are the **best** things about the Obama administration's handling of foreign policy?
[OPEN-END; CODE UP TO 4 RESPONSES]

| | |
|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| CFR members | |
| <u>2013</u> | |
| 24 | Withdrawal from Iraq/Afghanistan |
| 18 | Multilateralism/Engagement/Diplomacy |
| 14 | Asia-pacific pivot/Focus on Asia |
| 13 | All mentions of Iran |
| 12 | Handling of terrorism and national security/Drone policy |
| 11 | All mentions of Syria |
| 10 | Cautious about or avoids using military force generally/Understands limits of military power |
| 9 | Flexible/Pragmatic/Thoughtful approach and style |
| 7 | Bin Laden raid |
| 6 | Hillary Clinton/John Kerry and other appointments |
| 5 | Economics/Trade |
| 5 | All mentions of Libya |
| 4 | U.S. Image/Respect/Credibility with international community |
| 4 | US-Israel relations/Israeli-Palestinian conflict |
| 4 | All mentions of China |
| 4 | Middle-Eastern policy/Arab Spring |

¹ For questions asked of both the CFR members and the general public, comparable figures for the general public are included for comparison in this topline. The survey of the general public was conducted by telephone on October 30-November 6, 2013. For more details about the survey, see the "About the Surveys" section at the back of the report. For general public trends, see the topline for the survey of the general public, also at the back of this report.

Q.2 CONTINUED...

| | |
|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| CFR | |
| members | |
| <u>2013</u> | |
| 3 | Reversal of Bush administration policies |
| 3 | Communication/Rhetoric/Oratory/Tone |
| 2 | Approach to Muslim world (including 2009 speech in Cairo) |
| 2 | All mentions of Russia |
| 2 | Non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction/Arms control/New START treaty |
| 1 | All mentions of other specific countries |
| 1 | Emphasis on human rights |
| 1 | Focus on climate change |
| 1 | All mentions of Egypt |
| 1 | Understands/willing to take on issues |
| 1 | All mentions of Myanmar/Burma |
| 6 | Other |
| 4 | Nothing/None |
| 9 | No Response |

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

| | |
|-------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| CFR | |
| members | |
| <u>2009</u> | |
| 44 | Engagement/Multilateral/Outreach/Emphasis on diplomacy |
| 18 | U.S. image/respect/credibility |
| 11 | Realistic/Flexible/Compromise/Non-ideological |
| 9 | Approach to Muslim world (including speech in Cairo) |
| 8 | All mentions of Iran |
| 7 | Good foreign policy/defense appointments (e.g. Clinton/advisers/State Dept./DOD) |
| 5 | All mentions of Iraq |
| 5 | All mentions of Mideast/Israel-Palestinian conflict |
| 5 | Public diplomacy/communication/Other specific speeches |
| 5 | New course of action for United States/Reversal of Bush administration policies |
| 4 | All mentions of Afghanistan/The Taliban/Pakistan |
| 3 | All mentions of Russia |
| 3 | Nuclear non-proliferation/Support for reduction in number of missiles/Arms control |
| 3 | Environmental policy mentions/Climate change |
| 3 | All trade/economic mentions |
| 3 | Not deploying an East European missile defense system |
| 2 | All other mentions of ability to handle issues/problems |
| 2 | Cautious/patient |
| 2 | Supports United Nations/international institutions |
| 2 | All mentions of North Korea |
| 2 | Other specific country/international mentions |
| 1 | Approach to China |
| 1 | Shift in torture policy/Closing Guantanamo |
| 1 | All other mentions of foreign conflicts |
| 1 | All mentions of Cuba |
| 9 | Other |
| * | Nothing/None |
| 2 | No answer |

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

ASK ALL:

Q.3 So far, what are the **worst** things about the Obama administration's handling of foreign policy?
[OPEN-END; CODE UP TO 4 RESPONSES]

CFR
 members

2013

| | |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 29 | All mentions of Syria |
| 16 | Indecision/Weak performance/Not enough action |
| 12 | Lack of clear foreign policy goals and strategy |
| 12 | Mishandling Middle-Eastern policy or the Arab Spring |
| 12 | Failed to lead or consult with allies/Damaged relations/Weakened US credibility |
| 8 | All mentions of Afghanistan/withdrawal from Afghanistan |
| 7 | Mishandling of NSA surveillance |
| 7 | Handling of terrorism and national security/Drone policy |
| 7 | All mentions of Egypt |
| 6 | All mentions of Russia |
| 5 | US-Israel relations/Israeli-Palestinian conflict |
| 4 | All mentions of Iran |
| 4 | Failure to close Guantanamo |
| 4 | All mentions of Iraq |
| 4 | All mentions of Libya |
| 3 | Failure to advance the "Asia Pivot" |
| 3 | Allowing domestic policy to distract or undermine foreign policy |
| 3 | All mentions of China |
| 2 | Poor communication with the public/Sending mixed messages |
| 2 | Lack of knowledge/Naive understanding of foreign policy |
| 2 | Made poor appointments or slow to make appointments |
| 2 | Economic failures |
| 2 | Mentions of Benghazi, Libya/Death of Ambassador Stevens |
| 2 | Handling of climate change |
| 2 | Failure to use outside expertise/Lacks knowledgeable foreign policy advisors |
| 1 | All mentions of Africa |
| 1 | All mentions of Latin America |
| 1 | All mentions of Pakistan |
| 1 | Downplaying global human rights situation |
| 1 | Continuing Bush policies |
| 1 | All mentions of North Korea |
| 1 | All mentions of Cuba |
| 9 | Other |
| * | Nothing |
| 9 | No answer |

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

CFR
 members

2009

| | |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 27 | All mentions of Afghanistan/Pakistan |
| 13 | All mentions of Mideast/Mideast peace talks |
| 10 | Indecisive/Slow/All talk/Not making tough decisions |
| 6 | Lacks foreign policy direction/goals/No clear vision/Inability to articulate policy/No clarity |
| 6 | Trade policies |
| 5 | All mentions of Iran |
| 5 | Trying to do too much/Too much attention to domestic issues; not enough to foreign policy/Inattention |
| 5 | Overemphasis on diplomacy/engagement |
| 5 | Made bad decisions selecting/not selecting his foreign/defense appointments and staff/Too slow on appointments/Who is really in charge?/Too many special envoys |
| 4 | All mentions of Iraq |
| 4 | All mentions of Latin America |
| 3 | Downplaying global human rights situation/democratization |
| 3 | All mentions of Russia |

Q.3 CONTINUED...

| | |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| CFR members | |
| <u>2009</u> | |
| 3 | Mishandling of the European missile defense decision |
| 2 | Lacks knowledge/experience/Too idealistic |
| 2 | Hasn't failed yet/Too early to tell/Needs more time |
| 2 | Handling of climate change/global warming |
| 2 | Too focused on what others think/Seeking international popularity/Can't go it alone/Wants to appease everyone |
| 2 | All mentions of North Korea/Korea situation |
| 2 | Failure to close Guantanamo/find countries to take detainees |
| 2 | Apologizing for past actions of the United States/all things American/Blaming Bush |
| 1 | All mentions of Africa |
| 1 | Other countries/conflicts |
| 1 | No tangible progress in any area |
| 1 | Obama's trip to Copenhagen in support of Chicago's Olympic bid |
| 1 | All mentions of China |
| 1 | Failure to decide on future of USAID/Work on an international development policy/Foreign aid |
| 1 | Failure to stop use of rendition/torture through CIA/Failure to reverse Bush policies on torture |
| 1 | Failure to consult with our allies/the international community/Worsens relations |
| 1 | All other mentions of indecisive/slow/inexperienced/ignorant |
| 1 | Economic policies |
| 1 | All mentions of Cuba |
| 1 | Continuing Bush policies |
| 1 | Terrorism |
| 1 | At fault over a domestic issue (e.g. health care)/Hampers image overseas |
| 10 | Other |
| 4 | Nothing |
| 7 | No answer |

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

ASK ALL:

Q.4 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling policy in each of the following areas? **[RANDOMIZE LIST]**

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| a. Afghanistan | | | |
| CFR members | | | |
| 2013 | 56 | 41 | 4 |
| 2009 | 42 | 47 | 11 |
| <i>General public</i> ² | 34 | 57 | 9 |
| b. Pakistan | | | |
| CFR members | | | |
| 2013 | 52 | 40 | 8 |
| 2009 | 66 | 26 | 8 |
| c. Iran | | | |
| CFR members | | | |
| 2013 | 72 | 25 | 3 |
| 2009 | 76 | 21 | 3 |
| <i>General public</i> ³ | 37 | 53 | 10 |

² The item in the general public questionnaire asked about "the situation in Afghanistan."

³ The item in the general public questionnaire asked about "dealing with Iran."

Q.4 CONTINUED...

| | | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|----|------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| d. | Relations with China | | | |
| | CFR members | | | |
| | 2013 | 69 | 26 | 4 |
| | 2009 | 79 | 16 | 5 |
| | <i>General public</i> ⁴ | 30 | 52 | 18 |
| e. | Terrorism | | | |
| | CFR members | | | |
| | 2013 | 73 | 24 | 4 |
| | 2009 | 77 | 18 | 5 |
| | <i>General public</i> ⁵ | 51 | 44 | 5 |
| f. | Immigration policy | | | |
| | CFR members | | | |
| | 2013 | 67 | 29 | 3 |
| | 2009 | 58 | 28 | 14 |
| | <i>General public</i> | 32 | 60 | 7 |
| g. | Global climate change | | | |
| | CFR members | | | |
| | 2013 | 53 | 42 | 5 |
| | 2009 | 73 | 22 | 5 |
| | <i>General public</i> | 38 | 46 | 17 |
| h. | International trade issues | | | |
| | CFR members | | | |
| | 2013 | 66 | 26 | 8 |
| | 2009 | 49 | 40 | 11 |
| | <i>General public</i> | 36 | 47 | 17 |
| i. | Syria | | | |
| | CFR members | | | |
| | 2013 | 38 | 59 | 3 |
| | <i>General public</i> ⁶ | 30 | 57 | 13 |
| j. | Relations with Russia | | | |
| | CFR members | | | |
| | 2013 | 49 | 46 | 4 |
| | <i>General public</i> ⁷ | 37 | 47 | 16 |

⁴ The item in the general public questionnaire asked about "dealing with China."
⁵ The item in the general public questionnaire asked about "the threat of terrorism."
⁶ The item in the general public questionnaire asked about "the situation in Syria."
⁷ The item in the general public questionnaire asked about "dealing with Russia."

ASK ALL:

Q.5 Overall, is the Obama administration's approach to foreign policy...?

| | <u>Too assertive</u> | <u>Not assertive enough</u> | <u>About right</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 | 2 | 52 | 43 | 3 |
| 2009 | 1 | 31 | 67 | 1 |
| TREND FOR COMPARISON: | <u>Too tough</u> | <u>Not tough enough</u> | <u>About right</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| <i>General public</i> ⁸ | 5 | 51 | 37 | 6 |

ASK ALL:Q.6 How much of a threat are each of the following international concerns to the well-being of the United States? **[RANDOMIZE LIST]**

| | <u>Major threat</u> | <u>Minor threat</u> | <u>Not a threat</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| a. China's emergence as a world power | | | | |
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 | 36 | 46 | 17 | 1 |
| 2009 | 21 | 49 | 29 | 1 |
| 2005 | 30 | 45 | 24 | 1 |
| 2001 | 38 | 35 | 20 | 7 |
| <i>General public</i> | 54 | 31 | 11 | 4 |
| b. Growing authoritarianism in Russia | | | | |
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 | 17 | 68 | 15 | * |
| 2005 | 18 | 65 | 17 | 0 |
| TREND FOR COMPARISON: | | | | |
| 2009: <i>Growing tension between Russia and its neighbors</i> | 12 | 76 | 11 | 1 |
| 2001: <i>Political and economic instability in Russia</i> | 63 | 32 | 4 | 1 |
| <i>General public</i> | 32 | 41 | 13 | 14 |
| c. North Korea's nuclear program | | | | |
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 | 39 | 55 | 5 | 1 |
| 2009 | 44 | 53 | 3 | * |
| 2005 | 67 | 31 | 0 | 2 |
| <i>General public</i> | 67 | 24 | 6 | 3 |
| d. Iran's nuclear program | | | | |
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 | 56 | 39 | 5 | 1 |
| 2009 | 64 | 34 | 2 | * |
| 2005 | 54 | 41 | 5 | 0 |
| <i>General public</i> | 68 | 23 | 5 | 3 |

⁸ The question in the general public questionnaire read, "Do you think Barack Obama is too tough, not tough enough or about right in his approach to foreign policy and national security issues?"

Q.6 CONTINUED...

| | | <u>Major threat</u> | <u>Minor threat</u> | <u>Not a threat</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| e. | Global climate change | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 61 | 28 | 11 | 1 |
| | 2009 | 59 | 30 | 10 | * |
| | TREND FOR COMPARISON: | | | | |
| | 2001: <i>Global environmental problems</i> | 69 | 27 | 2 | 2 |
| | <i>General public</i> | 45 | 30 | 20 | 4 |
| f. | Islamic extremist groups like al Qaeda | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 68 | 31 | * | * |
| | 2009 | 77 | 23 | 0 | * |
| | TREND FOR COMPARISON: | | | | |
| | June 21-Sept 10, 2001: <i>The rising power of fundamentalist Islamic political movements across the Middle East and Central Asia</i> | 41 | 54 | 3 | 2 |
| | <i>General public</i> | 75 | 18 | 4 | 3 |
| g. | Drug-related violence in Mexico | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 21 | 67 | 11 | 1 |
| h. | The situation in Syria | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 32 | 57 | 11 | 1 |
| i. | Cyber attacks from other countries | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 69 | 29 | 1 | * |
| | <i>General public</i> | 70 | 23 | 4 | 4 |
| j. | Economic problems in the European Union | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 36 | 55 | 9 | 1 |
| | <i>General public</i> | 37 | 41 | 12 | 10 |

ASK ALL

Q.7 Looking forward, do you think each of the following would mostly help or mostly hurt the U.S. economy? [RANDOMIZE a AND b BLOCK WITH c AND d BLOCK]

| | | <u>Mostly help</u> | <u>Mostly hurt</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|----|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| a. | More foreign companies setting up operations in the U.S. | | | |
| | CFR members | | | |
| | 2013 | 96 | 3 | 1 |
| | <i>General public</i> | 62 | 32 | 6 |

ASK ALLQ.11 In the future...¹⁰

| | U.S. policies should try to keep it so America is the only <u>military superpower</u> | It would be acceptable if China or another country became as militarily <u>powerful as the U.S.</u> | No <u>answer</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|
| CFR members | | | |
| 2013 | 64 | 29 | 7 |
| 2009 | 49 | 43 | 8 |
| 2005 | 54 | 35 | 11 |
| <i>General public</i> | 56 | 32 | 11 |

ASK ALL:

Q.12 In terms of solving world problems, do you think the United States does ...?

| | <u>Too much</u> | <u>Too little</u> | <u>The right amount</u> | (VOL.) <u>Nothing</u> ¹¹ | No <u>answer</u> |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------|
| CFR members | | | | | |
| 2013 | 21 | 41 | 35 | -- | 3 |
| <i>General public</i> | 51 | 17 | 28 | 1 | 3 |

ASK ALL:Q.13 In the future, what countries in the world, if any, do you think will be **more important** as America's allies and partners? [OPEN-END; RECORD UP TO 7 MENTIONS]

| | |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------|
| CFR | |
| members | |
| <u>2013</u> | |
| 37 | India |
| 34 | China |
| 28 | Brazil |
| 25 | Japan |
| 21 | Mexico |
| 19 | Germany |
| 14 | Turkey |
| 12 | European Union/Europe |
| 11 | South Korea/Korea |
| 11 | Australia |
| 10 | Canada |
| 10 | Britain/United Kingdom/England |
| 10 | Indonesia |
| 6 | Israel |
| 6 | Asia-Pacific |
| 5 | Russia |
| 5 | France |
| 4 | South Africa |
| 3 | Nigeria |
| 3 | Poland |
| 3 | Latin America/South America/Central America |
| 3 | Iran |
| 3 | Vietnam |
| 3 | Saudi Arabia |
| 2 | Egypt |

¹⁰ In the general public questionnaire and in the CFR questionnaire prior to 2013, the question read, "In the future... U.S. policies should try to keep it so America is the only military superpower [OR] It would be acceptable if China, another country or the European Union became as militarily powerful as the U.S."

¹¹ The volunteered "Nothing" response category was accepted only in the telephone survey and not in the online survey mode.

Q. 13 CONTINUED...

| CFR members | |
|-------------|--------------------------|
| | <u>2013</u> |
| 2 | Philippines |
| 2 | Africa |
| 2 | Kenya |
| 2 | Singapore |
| 2 | BRICS/Emerging countries |
| 1 | Pakistan |
| 1 | Colombia |
| 1 | United Arab Emirates |
| 1 | Middle East |
| 1 | Jordan |
| 1 | Chile |
| 1 | Thailand |
| 1 | Burma/Myanmar |
| 1 | Malaysia |
| 1 | NATO Countries |
| 1 | New Zealand |
| 6 | Other |
| 1 | None |
| 15 | No answer |

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

| CFR members | | CFR members |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------|
| | <u>2009</u> | <u>2005</u> |
| 58 | China | 31 |
| 55 | India | 43 |
| 37 | Brazil | 17 |
| 21 | European Union/Europe (unspecified country) | 23 |
| 17 | Russia | 16 |
| 16 | Japan | 32 |
| 10 | Britain/United Kingdom/England | 27 |
| 10 | Turkey | 9 |
| 9 | Germany | 3 |
| 8 | Mexico | 7 |
| 5 | Canada | 7 |
| 5 | Indonesia | -- |
| 5 | Pakistan | 1 |
| 5 | Australia | 8 |
| 5 | France | 3 |
| 4 | South Korea/Korea | 2 |
| 4 | Israel | 1 |
| 3 | South Africa | -- |
| 3 | Saudi Arabia | 0 |
| 2 | Latin America/South America/Central America | -- |
| 2 | Egypt | 3 |
| 2 | Iraq | 1 |
| 1 | Iran | 1 |
| 1 | BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China) | -- |
| * | NATO countries | -- |
| * | North Korea | 0 |
| * | Spain | 0 |
| * | Italy | 0 |
| * | Taiwan | 0 |
| 17 | Other | |
| 1 | None | -- |
| 5 | No answer | 6 |

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

ASK ALL:

Q.14 In the future, what countries in the world, if any, do you think will be **less important** as America's allies and partners? [**OPEN-END; RECORD UP TO 7 MENTIONS**]

| CFR members | |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------|
| | <u>2013</u> |
| 20 | European Union/Europe (unspecified country) |
| 19 | France |
| 17 | Britain/United Kingdom/England |
| 15 | Saudi Arabia |
| 11 | Israel |
| 9 | Japan |
| 8 | Egypt |
| 7 | Russia |
| 6 | Pakistan |
| 5 | Italy |
| 5 | Middle East |
| 4 | Germany |
| 2 | Spain |
| 2 | Afghanistan |
| 2 | NATO countries |
| 2 | Iraq |
| 2 | South Korea |
| 2 | Taiwan |
| 2 | Canada |
| 1 | Turkey |
| 1 | Latin America/South America/Central America |
| 1 | Brazil |
| 1 | India |
| 1 | Africa |
| 1 | Greece |
| 1 | Australia |
| 1 | Argentina |
| 1 | Philippines |
| 1 | China |
| 6 | Other |
| 4 | None/All will be important |
| 25 | No answer |

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

| CFR members | | CFR members |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------|
| | <u>2009</u> | <u>2005</u> |
| 18 | France | 31 |
| 17 | Britain/United Kingdom/England | 2 |
| 16 | Japan | 7 |
| 16 | European Union/Europe (unspecified country) | 5 |
| 9 | Israel | 8 |
| 8 | Germany | 21 |
| 7 | Italy | 4 |
| 5 | Russia | 5 |
| 5 | Saudi Arabia | 9 |
| 4 | South Korea | 3 |
| 3 | Taiwan | 3 |
| 2 | Canada | 3 |
| 2 | Pakistan | 6 |
| 2 | Spain | 3 |
| 2 | Australia | 2 |
| 2 | Egypt | 1 |

Q.14 CONTINUED...

| CFR members | | CFR members |
|-------------|---------------------------------------------|-------------|
| <u>2009</u> | | <u>2005</u> |
| 2 | Latin America/South America/Central America | -- |
| 1 | Iraq | 0 |
| 1 | NATO countries | -- |
| 1 | Mexico | 1 |
| * | China | 1 |
| * | Turkey | 1 |
| * | Iran | 0 |
| * | South Africa | -- |
| * | Indonesia | -- |
| * | Brazil | 1 |
| * | India | 0 |
| * | North Korea | 0 |
| 10 | Other | |
| 8 | None/All will be important | 7 |
| 22 | No answer | 22 |

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

ASK ALL:

Q.15 Do you think the American public has become less supportive of the U.S. taking an active role in world affairs in recent years, or not?

| CFR members | <u>Less supportive</u> | <u>Not less supportive</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-------------|------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|
| 2013 | 92 | 8 | * |

ASK IF Q.15 IS "LESS SUPPORTIVE":

Q.16 What do you see as the **main reason** Americans have become less supportive of the U.S. taking an active role? [**OPEN-END; CODE UP TO 4 MENTIONS**]

BASED ON AMERICAN PUBLIC IS LESS SUPPORTIVE OF ACTIVE ROLE [N=1694]:

| CFR members | |
|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| <u>2013</u> | |
| 42 | War fatigue/Cost of involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan |
| 28 | US economy/Cost of U.S. involvement |
| 19 | Recent efforts have not been effective |
| 17 | Congress/President not providing leadership/vision |
| 8 | People don't understand its importance/Lack of public interest |
| 7 | Americans concerned about domestic problems |
| 5 | Overreach/Don't want burden of being world police |
| 5 | Other |
| 9 | No answer |

ASK ALL:

Q.17 How much priority do you think the U.S. should give to each of the following long-range foreign policy goals? [**RANDOMIZE LIST**]

| | <u>Top priority</u> | <u>Some priority</u> | <u>No priority at all</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|---------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| a. Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction | | | | |
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 | 81 | 18 | * | * |
| 2009 | 88 | 12 | 0 | 1 |
| 2005 | 89 | 10 | 0 | 1 |
| 2001 | 83 | 17 | 0 | 0 |
| 1997 | 88 | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| 1993 | 90 | 10 | * | * |

Q.17 CONTINUED...

| | | Top <u>priority</u> | Some <u>priority</u> | No priority <u>at all</u> | No <u>answer</u> |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------|
| | <i>General public</i> | 73 | 21 | 4 | 2 |
| b. | Taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 76 | 23 | * | * |
| | 2009 | 81 | 18 | 0 | 1 |
| | 2005 | 84 | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| | 2001 | 62 | 36 | 2 | 0 |
| | <i>General public</i> | 83 | 14 | 2 | 1 |
| c. | Protecting the jobs of American workers | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 29 | 56 | 15 | 1 |
| | 2009 | 21 | 57 | 20 | 2 |
| | 2005 | 19 | 60 | 21 | 0 |
| | 2001 | 17 | 70 | 11 | 2 |
| | 1997 | 16 | 65 | 12 | 7 |
| | 1993 | 19 | 65 | 10 | 6 |
| | <i>General public</i> | 81 | 16 | 2 | 2 |
| d. | Strengthening the United Nations | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 17 | 54 | 29 | * |
| | 2009 | 18 | 58 | 23 | 1 |
| | 2005 | 29 | 57 | 14 | 0 |
| | 2001 | 37 | 53 | 10 | 0 |
| | 1997 | 32 | 55 | 12 | 1 |
| | 1993 | 45 | 48 | 7 | * |
| | <i>General public</i> | 37 | 42 | 18 | 2 |
| e. | Dealing with global climate change | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 57 | 34 | 9 | * |
| | 2009 | 57 | 35 | 7 | 1 |
| | 2005 | 56 | 41 | 3 | 0 |
| | 2001 ¹² | 56 | 41 | 3 | 0 |
| | 1997 | 49 | 44 | 7 | 0 |
| | 1993 | 42 | 55 | 3 | * |
| | <i>General public</i> | 37 | 37 | 23 | 2 |
| f. | Combating international drug trafficking | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 17 | 70 | 12 | 1 |
| | 2009 | 22 | 69 | 8 | 2 |
| | 2005 | 21 | 67 | 12 | 0 |
| | 2001 | 35 | 59 | 6 | 0 |
| | 1997 | 36 | 52 | 12 | 0 |
| | <i>General public</i> | 57 | 33 | 8 | 1 |

¹² In 2001, the item was "dealing with global warming." In 1997 and 1993, the item was "improving the global environment."

Q.17 CONTINUED...

| | | <u>Top priority</u> | <u>Some priority</u> | <u>No priority at all</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| g. | Helping improve the living standards in developing nations | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 25 | 68 | 6 | 1 |
| | 2009 | 35 | 59 | 4 | 1 |
| | 2005 | 47 | 50 | 2 | 1 |
| | 2001 | 48 | 50 | 1 | 1 |
| | 1997 | 31 | 62 | 4 | 3 |
| | 1993 | 25 | 66 | 9 | * |
| | <i>General public</i> | 23 | 60 | 16 | 1 |
| h. | Promoting democracy in other nations | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 12 | 71 | 17 | 1 |
| | 2009 | 10 | 71 | 17 | 1 |
| | 2005 | 18 | 73 | 8 | 1 |
| | 2001 | 44 | 54 | 2 | 0 |
| | 1997 | 32 | 56 | 9 | 3 |
| | 1993 | 28 | 62 | 10 | * |
| | <i>General public</i> | 18 | 55 | 24 | 3 |
| i. | Promoting and defending human rights in other countries | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 19 | 73 | 7 | 1 |
| | 2009 | 21 | 73 | 5 | 1 |
| | 2005 | 22 | 76 | 2 | 0 |
| | 2001 | 43 | 53 | 3 | 1 |
| | 1997 | 28 | 65 | 4 | 3 |
| | 1993 | 22 | 71 | 7 | * |
| | <i>General public</i> | 33 | 54 | 12 | 2 |
| j. | Reducing our dependence on imported energy sources | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 47 | 42 | 10 | 1 |
| | 2009 | 65 | 28 | 5 | 1 |
| | 2005 | 67 | 30 | 3 | 0 |
| | <i>General public</i> | 61 | 32 | 4 | 3 |
| k. | Reducing illegal immigration | | | | |
| | CFR members | | | | |
| | 2013 | 11 | 61 | 28 | 1 |
| | 2009 | 11 | 64 | 24 | 1 |
| | 2005 | 12 | 63 | 23 | 2 |
| | 1997 | 16 | 67 | 16 | 1 |
| | <i>General public</i> | 48 | 40 | 9 | 2 |

ASK ALL:

Q.18 When it comes to spending on national defense, do you think that the U.S. should...?
[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF OPTIONS 1 AND 2]

| | <u>Increase defense spending</u> | <u>Cut back on defense spending</u> | <u>Keep defense spending about the same</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 | 9 | 51 | 39 | 1 |
| 2009 | 7 | 40 | 51 | 2 |

Q.18 CONTINUED...

| | <u>Increase defense spending</u> | <u>Cut back on defense spending</u> | <u>Keep defense spending about the same</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>General public</i> ¹³ | 23 | 28 | 47 | 3 |

NO QUESTION 19**RANDOMIZE Q.20 AND Q.21****ASK ALL:**

Q.20 Do you think the United States made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Afghanistan?

| | <u>Right decision</u> | <u>Wrong decision</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| CFR members | | | |
| 2013 | 69 | 28 | 3 |
| 2009 ¹⁴ | 87 | 10 | 3 |
| <i>General public</i> | 56 | 37 | 8 |

RANDOMIZE Q.20 AND Q.21**ASK ALL:**

Q.21 Do you think the United States made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Iraq?

| | <u>Right decision</u> | <u>Wrong decision</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|
| CFR members | | | |
| 2013 | 14 | 83 | 3 |
| 2005 | 21 | 77 | 2 |
| <i>General public</i> | 49 | 45 | 6 |

ASK ALL

Q.22 Do you think a way can be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully with each other, or not?

| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-------------|------------|-----------|----------------------|
| CFR members | | | |
| 2013 | 77 | 21 | 2 |

ASK ALL:

Q.23 In terms of resolving the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, do you think the United States should be **[RANDOMIZE: more involved than it is now, less involved than it is now]**, or as involved as it currently is?

| | <u>More involved</u> | <u>Less involved</u> | <u>As involved as it currently is</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------------------|----------------------|
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 | 39 | 14 | 46 | 1 |
| <i>General public</i> | 21 | 39 | 36 | 4 |

¹³ For general public survey, response options not randomized.

¹⁴ In 2009, the question read "Do you think the United States' initial decision to use force in Afghanistan was the right decision or the wrong decision?"

ASK ALL:

Q.24 When it comes to recent changes in political leadership in Middle Eastern countries such as Egypt and Libya, do you think the United States should be **[ASK IN SAME ORDER AS Q.23: more involved than it is now, less involved than it is now]**, or as involved as it currently is?

| | <u>More involved</u> | <u>Less involved</u> | <u>As involved as it currently is</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| CFR members 2013 | 24 | 25 | 50 | 1 |

ASK ALL:

Q.25 Thinking about the political situation in the Middle East, which is more important?

| | <u>Democratic governments, even if there is less stability in the region</u> | <u>Stable governments, even if there is less democracy in the region</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| CFR members 2013 | 32 | 64 | 4 |
| <i>General public</i> | 28 | 63 | 9 |

ASK ALL:

Q.26 Do you think the growing trade and business ties between the U.S. and other countries are a very good thing, somewhat good, somewhat bad or a very bad thing for our country?

| | <u>Very good</u> | <u>Somewhat good</u> | <u>Somewhat bad</u> | <u>Very bad</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| CFR members 2013 | 86 | 13 | 1 | * | * |
| <i>General public</i> | 23 | 54 | 12 | 6 | 5 |

RANDOMIZE Q.27 AND Q.28**ASK ALL:**

Q.27 Do you think the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the free trade agreement the U.S. is negotiating with eleven countries in Asia and Latin America, would be a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?

| | <u>Good thing</u> | <u>Bad thing</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|
| CFR members 2013 | 93 | 3 | 4 |

RANDOMIZE Q.27 AND Q.28**ASK ALL:**

Q.28 Do you think the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, the free trade agreement the U.S. is negotiating with the European Union, would be a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?

| | <u>Good thing</u> | <u>Bad thing</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|
| CFR members 2013 | 93 | 2 | 5 |

RANDOMIZE Q.29 AND Q.30**ASK ALL:**

Q.29 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of China today? Do you think China is...

| | <u>An adversary</u> | <u>A serious problem, but not an adversary</u> | <u>Not much of a problem</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 | 12 | 66 | 21 | 1 |
| 2009 | 5 | 58 | 31 | 5 |
| 2005 | 9 | 62 | 29 | 0 |
| 2001 | 9 | 66 | 24 | 1 |
| 1997 | 10 | 67 | 20 | 3 |
| <i>General public</i> | 23 | 43 | 28 | 6 |

RANDOMIZE Q.29 AND Q.30**ASK ALL:**

Q.30 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of Russia today? Do you think Russia is...

| | <u>An adversary</u> | <u>A serious problem, but not an adversary</u> | <u>Not much of a problem</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 | 23 | 55 | 21 | 1 |
| 2009 | 13 | 61 | 22 | 4 |
| <i>General public</i> | 18 | 36 | 40 | 6 |

ASK ALL:

Q.31 Do you think Iranian leaders are serious about addressing international concerns about Iran's nuclear enrichment program, or not?

| | <u>Serious</u> | <u>Not serious</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| CFR members | | | |
| 2013 | 50 | 44 | 5 |
| <i>General public</i> ¹⁵ | 33 | 60 | 7 |

ASK ALL:

Q.32 In dealing with climate change, do you think Barack Obama has or has not gotten the United States to take significant measures to reduce carbon emissions?

| | <u>Has</u> | <u>Has not</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-------------|------------|----------------|------------------|
| CFR members | | | |
| 2013 | 23 | 74 | 3 |

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

In dealing with climate change, do you think Barack Obama will or will not get the United States to take significant measures to reduce carbon emissions?

| | <u>Will</u> | <u>Will not</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-------------|-------------|-----------------|------------------|
| CFR members | | | |
| 2009 | 58 | 37 | 5 |

¹⁵ General public, responses are based on those who say they have heard "a lot" or "a little" about "recent international talks regarding Iran's nuclear enrichment program."

ASK ALL:

Q.33 In general, does the United States rely on military strength too much, too little or about the right amount to achieve its foreign policy goals?

| | <u>Too much</u> | <u>Too little</u> | <u>About the right amount</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|
| CFR members 2013 | 53 | 5 | 40 | 2 |
| <i>General public</i> | 38 | 15 | 43 | 4 |

ASK ALL:

Q.34 Thinking about the issue of terrorism for a moment...
Overall, do you think the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. is ...?

RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2

| | <u>Greater than at the time of the September 11th terrorist attacks</u> | <u>Less than at the time of the September 11th terrorist attacks</u> | <u>The same</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| CFR members 2013 | 8 | 67 | 23 | 1 |
| 2009 | 11 | 56 | 30 | 3 |
| 2005 ¹⁶ | 13 | 44 | 43 | 0 |
| <i>General public</i> ¹⁷ | 34 | 36 | 29 | 2 |

ASK ALL:

Q.35 What concerns you more about the government's anti-terrorism policies?
[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS]

| | <u>They have gone too far in restricting the average person's civil liberties</u> | <u>They have not gone far enough to adequately protect the country</u> | <u>(VOL.) Both¹⁸</u> | <u>(VOL.) Neither/Approve of policies</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|------------------|
| CFR members 2013 | 52 | 32 | -- | -- | 15 |
| 2009 | 46 | 33 | -- | -- | 21 |
| 2005 ¹⁹ | 33 | 46 | 6 | 4 | 11 |
| <i>General public</i> | 44 | 39 | 3 | 6 | 7 |

ASK ALL:

Q.36 Overall, do you think each of the following has made the United States **[RANDOMIZE: safer from terrorism, less safe from terrorism]**, or hasn't it made a difference?

| | <u>Safer</u> | <u>Less safe</u> | <u>Has not made a difference</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|
| a. The war in Afghanistan CFR members 2013 | 43 | 26 | 30 | 2 |
| <i>General public</i> | 31 | 21 | 43 | 6 |
| b. The NSA's phone and internet surveillance programs CFR members 2013 | 68 | 9 | 21 | 3 |

¹⁶ In 2005, the response options were not randomized.

¹⁷ For the general public survey, response options were not randomized.

¹⁸ The volunteered "Both" and "Neither/Approve of policies" response categories were accepted exclusively in the general public questionnaire and in the 2005 CFR questionnaire, and were not accepted in the 2013 and 2009 CFR questionnaires.

¹⁹ In 2005, response categories in the questionnaire were not randomized.

Q.36 CONTINUED...

| | <u>Safer</u> | <u>Less safe</u> | <u>Has not made a difference</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>General public</i> ²⁰ | 39 | 14 | 38 | 8 |
| c. The use of military drones to target extremists in countries such as Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia | | | | |
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 | 70 | 18 | 10 | 2 |
| <i>General public</i> | 50 | 14 | 27 | 9 |

ASK ALL:

Q.37 Do you think Edward Snowden's leak of classified information about the NSA's phone and internet surveillance programs has served the public interest or harmed the public interest?

| | <u>Has served the public interest</u> | <u>Has harmed the public interest</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| CFR members | | | |
| 2013 | 28 | 69 | 3 |
| <i>General public</i> ²¹ | 34 | 55 | 11 |

ASK ALL:

Q.38 Thinking about recent events in Syria, do you think the reputation of each of the following has been strengthened, weakened, or not affected by the way they have handled the situation in Syria?

| | <u>Strengthened</u> | <u>Weakened</u> | <u>Not affected</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------|
| a. The United States | | | | |
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 | 12 | 72 | 14 | 1 |
| b. Russia | | | | |
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 | 74 | 14 | 10 | 1 |
| c. The United Nations | | | | |
| CFR members | | | | |
| 2013 | 18 | 38 | 42 | 2 |

ASK ALL:

Q.39 Do you think the U.S. response to the use of chemical weapons in Syria will discourage other leaders who might consider the use of weapons of mass destruction, or not?

| | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|-------------|------------|-----------|------------------|
| CFR members | | | |
| 2013 | 41 | 57 | 2 |

²⁰ The item in the general public questionnaire asked about "the U.S. government's phone and internet surveillance programs."

²¹ The question in the general public questionnaire asked, "Do you think Edward Snowden's leak of classified information about the U.S. government's phone and internet surveillance programs has served the public interest or harmed the public interest?"

ASK ALL:

Q.40 Over the next ten years, do you think each of the following will become more democratic, less democratic, or will it be about the same as it is now?

| | | <u>More democratic</u> | <u>Less democratic</u> | <u>About the same as it is now</u> | <u>No answer</u> |
|----|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------|
| a. | China CFR members 2013 | 52 | 6 | 40 | 2 |
| b. | Russia CFR members 2013 | 19 | 35 | 44 | 2 |
| c. | Iran CFR members 2013 | 50 | 7 | 41 | 2 |
| d. | Egypt CFR members 2013 | 33 | 30 | 35 | 3 |
| e. | Saudi Arabia CFR members 2013 | 24 | 8 | 66 | 2 |

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER & COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD, VI
GENERAL PUBLIC SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
OCTOBER 30-NOVEMBER 6, 2013
N=2,003**

RANDOMIZE Q.1 AND Q.2**ASK ALL:**

Q.1 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

| | Satis- <u>fied</u> | Dis- <u>satisfied</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> | | Satis- <u>fied</u> | Dis- <u>satisfied</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 21 | 75 | 3 | Apr 14-21, 2009 | 23 | 70 | 7 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 14 | 81 | 5 | Jan 7-11, 2009 | 20 | 73 | 7 |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 | 27 | 67 | 6 | December, 2008 | 13 | 83 | 4 |
| May 1-5, 2013 | 30 | 65 | 5 | Early October, 2008 | 11 | 86 | 3 |
| Feb 13-18, 2013 (U) | 31 | 64 | 5 | Mid-September, 2008 | 25 | 69 | 6 |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 30 | 66 | 4 | August, 2008 | 21 | 74 | 5 |
| Dec 17-19, 2012 | 25 | 68 | 7 | July, 2008 | 19 | 74 | 7 |
| Dec 5-9, 2012 | 33 | 62 | 5 | June, 2008 | 19 | 76 | 5 |
| Oct 18-21, 2012 | 32 | 61 | 8 | Late May, 2008 | 18 | 76 | 6 |
| Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 | 31 | 64 | 5 | March, 2008 | 22 | 72 | 6 |
| Jun 7-17, 2012 | 28 | 68 | 5 | Early February, 2008 | 24 | 70 | 6 |
| May 9-Jun 3, 2012 | 29 | 64 | 7 | Late December, 2007 | 27 | 66 | 7 |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 24 | 69 | 6 | October, 2007 | 28 | 66 | 6 |
| Feb 8-12, 2012 | 28 | 66 | 6 | February, 2007 | 30 | 61 | 9 |
| Jan 11-16, 2012 | 21 | 75 | 4 | Mid-January, 2007 | 32 | 61 | 7 |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 17 | 78 | 5 | Early January, 2007 | 30 | 63 | 7 |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 17 | 79 | 4 | December, 2006 | 28 | 65 | 7 |
| Jul 20-24, 2011 | 17 | 79 | 4 | Mid-November, 2006 | 28 | 64 | 8 |
| Jun 15-19, 2011 | 23 | 73 | 4 | Early October, 2006 | 30 | 63 | 7 |
| May 5-8, 2011 | 30 | 62 | 8 | July, 2006 | 30 | 65 | 5 |
| May 2, 2011 | 32 | 60 | 8 | May, 2006* | 29 | 65 | 6 |
| Mar 8-14, 2011 | 22 | 73 | 5 | March, 2006 | 32 | 63 | 5 |
| Feb 2-7, 2011 | 26 | 68 | 5 | January, 2006 | 34 | 61 | 5 |
| Jan 5-9, 2011 | 23 | 71 | 6 | Late November, 2005 | 34 | 59 | 7 |
| Dec 1-5, 2010 | 21 | 72 | 7 | Early October, 2005 | 29 | 65 | 6 |
| Nov 4-7, 2010 | 23 | 69 | 8 | July, 2005 | 35 | 58 | 7 |
| Sep 23-26, 2010 | 30 | 63 | 7 | Late May, 2005* | 39 | 57 | 4 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 25 | 71 | 5 | February, 2005 | 38 | 56 | 6 |
| Jun 24-27, 2010 | 27 | 64 | 9 | January, 2005 | 40 | 54 | 6 |
| May 13-16, 2010 | 28 | 64 | 7 | December, 2004 | 39 | 54 | 7 |
| Apr 21-26, 2010 | 29 | 66 | 5 | Mid-October, 2004 | 36 | 58 | 6 |
| Apr 1-5, 2010 | 31 | 63 | 6 | July, 2004 | 38 | 55 | 7 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 25 | 69 | 5 | May, 2004 | 33 | 61 | 6 |
| Mar 10-14, 2010 | 23 | 71 | 7 | Late February, 2004* | 39 | 55 | 6 |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 23 | 71 | 6 | Early January, 2004 | 45 | 48 | 7 |
| Jan 6-10, 2010 | 27 | 69 | 4 | December, 2003 | 44 | 47 | 9 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 25 | 67 | 7 | October, 2003 | 38 | 56 | 6 |
| Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009 | 25 | 67 | 7 | August, 2003 | 40 | 53 | 7 |
| Sep 10-15, 2009 ¹ | 30 | 64 | 7 | April 8, 2003 | 50 | 41 | 9 |
| Aug 20-27, 2009 | 28 | 65 | 7 | January, 2003 | 44 | 50 | 6 |
| Aug 11-17, 2009 | 28 | 65 | 7 | November, 2002 | 41 | 48 | 11 |
| Jul 22-26, 2009 | 28 | 66 | 6 | September, 2002 | 41 | 55 | 4 |
| Jun 10-14, 2009 | 30 | 64 | 5 | Late August, 2002 | 47 | 44 | 9 |
| Apr 28-May 12, 2009 | 34 | 58 | 8 | May, 2002 | 44 | 44 | 12 |
| | | | | March, 2002 | 50 | 40 | 10 |
| | | | | Late September, 2001 | 57 | 34 | 9 |
| | | | | Early September, 2001 | 41 | 53 | 6 |
| | | | | June, 2001 | 43 | 52 | 5 |
| | | | | March, 2001 | 47 | 45 | 8 |

¹ In September 10-15, 2009 and other surveys noted with an asterisk, the question was worded "Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?"

Q.1 CONTINUED...

| | Satis- <u>fied</u> | Dis- <u>satisfied</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> | | Satis- <u>fied</u> | Dis- <u>satisfied</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| February, 2001 | 46 | 43 | 11 | March, 1996 | 28 | 70 | 2 |
| January, 2001 | 55 | 41 | 4 | October, 1995 | 23 | 73 | 4 |
| October, 2000 (RVs) | 54 | 39 | 7 | June, 1995 | 25 | 73 | 2 |
| September, 2000 | 51 | 41 | 8 | April, 1995 | 23 | 74 | 3 |
| June, 2000 | 47 | 45 | 8 | July, 1994 | 24 | 73 | 3 |
| April, 2000 | 48 | 43 | 9 | March, 1994 | 24 | 71 | 5 |
| August, 1999 | 56 | 39 | 5 | October, 1993 | 22 | 73 | 5 |
| January, 1999 | 53 | 41 | 6 | September, 1993 | 20 | 75 | 5 |
| November, 1998 | 46 | 44 | 10 | May, 1993 | 22 | 71 | 7 |
| Early September, 1998 | 54 | 42 | 4 | January, 1993 | 39 | 50 | 11 |
| Late August, 1998 | 55 | 41 | 4 | January, 1992 | 28 | 68 | 4 |
| Early August, 1998 | 50 | 44 | 6 | November, 1991 | 34 | 61 | 5 |
| February, 1998 | 59 | 37 | 4 | Gallup: Late Feb, 1991 | 66 | 31 | 3 |
| January, 1998 | 46 | 50 | 4 | August, 1990 | 47 | 48 | 5 |
| September, 1997 | 45 | 49 | 6 | May, 1990 | 41 | 54 | 5 |
| August, 1997 | 49 | 46 | 5 | January, 1989 | 45 | 50 | 5 |
| January, 1997 | 38 | 58 | 4 | September, 1988 (RVs) | 50 | 45 | 5 |
| July, 1996 | 29 | 67 | 4 | | | | |

RANDOMIZE Q.1 AND Q.2

ASK ALL:

Q.2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

| | <u>Approve</u> | Dis- <u>Approve</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> | | <u>Approve</u> | Dis- <u>Approve</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|---------------------|----------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|----------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 41 | 53 | 6 | Feb 2-7, 2011 | 49 | 42 | 9 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 43 | 51 | 6 | Jan 5-9, 2011 | 46 | 44 | 10 |
| Sep 4-8, 2013 (U) | 44 | 49 | 8 | Dec 1-5, 2010 | 45 | 43 | 13 |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 | 46 | 46 | 7 | Nov 4-7, 2010 | 44 | 44 | 12 |
| Jun 12-16, 2013 | 49 | 43 | 7 | Oct 13-18, 2010 | 46 | 45 | 9 |
| May 1-5, 2013 | 51 | 43 | 6 | Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 47 | 44 | 9 |
| Mar 13-17, 2013 | 47 | 46 | 8 | Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 | 47 | 41 | 12 |
| Feb 13-18, 2013 (U) | 51 | 41 | 7 | Jun 8-28, 2010 | 48 | 41 | 11 |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 52 | 40 | 7 | Jun 16-20, 2010 | 48 | 43 | 9 |
| Dec 5-9, 2012 | 55 | 39 | 6 | May 6-9, 2010 | 47 | 42 | 11 |
| Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 | 50 | 43 | 7 | Apr 21-26, 2010 | 47 | 42 | 11 |
| Jun 7-17, 2012 | 47 | 45 | 8 | Apr 8-11, 2010 | 48 | 43 | 9 |
| May 9-Jun 3, 2012 | 46 | 42 | 11 | Mar 10-14, 2010 | 46 | 43 | 12 |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 46 | 45 | 9 | Feb 3-9, 2010 | 49 | 39 | 12 |
| Mar 7-11, 2012 | 50 | 41 | 9 | Jan 6-10, 2010 | 49 | 42 | 10 |
| Feb 8-12, 2012 | 47 | 43 | 10 | Dec 9-13, 2009 | 49 | 40 | 11 |
| Jan 11-16, 2012 | 44 | 48 | 8 | Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 51 | 36 | 13 |
| Dec 7-11, 2011 | 46 | 43 | 11 | Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009 | 52 | 36 | 12 |
| Nov 9-14, 2011 | 46 | 46 | 8 | Sep 10-15, 2009 | 55 | 33 | 13 |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 43 | 48 | 9 | Aug 20-27, 2009 | 52 | 37 | 12 |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 43 | 49 | 7 | Aug 11-17, 2009 | 51 | 37 | 11 |
| Jul 20-24, 2011 | 44 | 48 | 8 | Jul 22-26, 2009 | 54 | 34 | 12 |
| Jun 15-19, 2011 | 46 | 45 | 8 | Jun 10-14, 2009 | 61 | 30 | 9 |
| May 25-30, 2011 | 52 | 39 | 10 | Apr 14-21, 2009 | 63 | 26 | 11 |
| May 5-8, 2011 | 50 | 39 | 11 | Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009 | 61 | 26 | 13 |
| May 2, 2011 (WP) | 56 | 38 | 6 | Mar 9-12, 2009 | 59 | 26 | 15 |
| Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 | 47 | 45 | 8 | Feb 4-8, 2009 | 64 | 17 | 19 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 51 | 39 | 10 | | | | |

See past presidents' approval trends: [George W. Bush](#), [Bill Clinton](#)

ASK ALL

Q.3 Right now, which is more important for President Obama to focus on... domestic policy or foreign policy?

| | <u>Domestic policy</u> | <u>Foreign policy</u> | <u>(VOL.) Neither</u> | <u>(VOL.) Both</u> | <u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u> |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Obama | | | | | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 82 | 8 | 1 | 6 | 3 |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 83 | 6 | 1 | 7 | 4 |
| Jan 11-16, 2012 | 81 | 9 | 1 | 5 | 4 |
| May 25-30, 2011 | 77 | 9 | 1 | 9 | 5 |
| Jan 5-9, 2011 | 78 | 11 | 1 | 7 | 3 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 73 | 12 | 1 | 10 | 3 |
| January 7-11, 2009 ² | 71 | 11 | * | 14 | 4 |
| Next President | | | | | |
| September, 2008 ³ | 60 | 21 | * | 15 | 4 |
| May, 2008 | 61 | 22 | * | 15 | 4 |
| G.W. Bush | | | | | |
| January, 2008 | 56 | 31 | 1 | 8 | 4 |
| January, 2007 | 39 | 40 | 1 | 15 | 5 |
| August, 2006 | 50 | 32 | 1 | 12 | 5 |
| January, 2006 | 57 | 25 | 1 | 13 | 4 |
| October, 2005 | 64 | 20 | 1 | 12 | 3 |
| Early January, 2005 | 53 | 27 | 1 | 16 | 3 |
| January, 2002 | 52 | 34 | * | 11 | 3 |
| Clinton | | | | | |
| Early September, 1998 | 56 | 30 | 0 | 11 | 3 |
| January, 1997 | 86 | 7 | * | 5 | 2 |
| December, 1994 | 85 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| October, 1993 | 76 | 13 | * | 7 | 4 |

ASK ALL:

And thinking about the world...

Q.4 All in all, would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in the WORLD these days?

| | <u>Satisfied</u> | <u>Dissatisfied</u> | <u>(VOL.) Neither</u> | <u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 16 | 78 | 3 | 3 |
| Oct 28-Nov 5, 2009 | 15 | 79 | 4 | 2 |
| October, 2005 | 16 | 77 | 3 | 4 |
| July, 2004 | 21 | 74 | 2 | 3 |
| Summer, 2002 (GA) | 17 | 79 | -- | 4 |
| Early September, 2001 | 27 | 64 | 6 | 3 |
| September, 1997 | 29 | 65 | 4 | 2 |
| October, 1993 | 12 | 81 | 4 | 3 |
| September, 1993 | 28 | 66 | * | 6 |

² January 7-11, 2009, survey asked about "president-elect Obama."

³ September and May 2008 surveys asked about priorities for the "next president."

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:

Q.5F2 What country in the world, if any, represents the greatest danger to the United States? **[OPEN END; DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD ALL IN ORDER OF MENTION. IF MULTIPLE MENTIONS ONLY RECORD EXPLANATION IF NECESSARY FOR CLARIFICATION.]**

| Oct 30- Nov 6 2013 | | (GA) Spring 2012 | Jan 11-16 2012 | Jan 5-9 2011 | Oct 28- Nov 8 2009 | Mid- Sep 2008 | Feb 2007 | Feb 2006 | Late Oct 2005 | Early Sep 2001 | Sep 1993 | Apr 1993 | Jan 1993 |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| 16 | China | 26 | 22 | 20 | 11 | 16 | 14 | 20 | 16 | 32 | 11 | 7 | 9 |
| 16 | Iran | 16 | 28 | 12 | 21 | 21 | 25 | 27 | 9 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 6 |
| 9 | United States | 4 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 2 | -- | 6 | 6 |
| 7 | North Korea | 13 | 8 | 18 | 10 | 6 | 17 | 11 | 13 | 1 | 1 | -- | -- |
| 7 | Iraq | 7 | 7 | 8 | 14 | 13 | 19 | 17 | 18 | 16 | 18 | 14 | 17 |
| 5 | Russia ⁴ | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 14 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 9 | 8 | 16 | 13 |
| 5 | Afghanistan | 7 | 5 | 10 | 14 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 2 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 5 | Syria | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 3 | Pakistan | 3 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 1 | -- | 1 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 2 | Middle East (general) | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 8 | -- | 6 | 4 |
| | Al Qaeda/Terrorist | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | groups | -- | -- | -- | 2 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1 | Israel | -- | 1 | 1 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| | None/Not just | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | one country | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 2 | 8 | 2 | 6 | 12 | 9 |
| 5 | Other | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 20 | Don't know/Refused | 16 | 13 | 17 | 16 | 14 | 13 | 10 | 17 | 20 | 24 | 17 | 21 |

| | Feb 1992 | Mar 1990 |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|
| China | 8 | 8 |
| Iran | 4 | 6 |
| United States | 3 | 4 |
| North Korea | 8 | 8 |
| Iraq | 12 | -- |
| Russia | 13 | 32 |
| Afghanistan | -- | -- |
| Syria | -- | -- |
| Pakistan | -- | -- |
| Middle East (general) | 6 | 5 |
| Al Qaeda/Terrorist | | |
| groups | -- | -- |
| Israel | -- | -- |
| None/Not just | | |
| one country | 5 | 6 |
| Other | -- | -- |
| Don't know/Refused | 13 | 13 |

NO QUESTIONS 6-11

⁴ In November 2009 and before, Russia also included mentions of the former Soviet Union.

ASK ALL:

Next...

Q.12 Thinking about some countries around the world...Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of **[INSERT; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]**? How about **[NEXT ITEM]**? **[REPEAT IF NECESSARY: "Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of **[ITEM]**?"**

| | | <u>Very favorable</u> | <u>Somewhat favorable</u> | <u>Somewhat unfavorable</u> | <u>Very unfavorable</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,007]: | | | | | | |
| a.F1 | China | | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 7 | 26 | 32 | 23 | 11 |
| | Spring, 2013 (GA) | 7 | 30 | 32 | 20 | 12 |
| | Spring, 2012 (GA) | 6 | 34 | 25 | 15 | 19 |
| | Spring, 2011 (GA) | 12 | 39 | 22 | 14 | 12 |
| | Spring, 2010 (GA) | 10 | 39 | 24 | 12 | 15 |
| | Spring, 2009 (GA) | 9 | 41 | 25 | 13 | 13 |
| | Spring, 2008 (GA) | 10 | 30 | 26 | 16 | 18 |
| | Spring, 2007 (GA) | 8 | 34 | 25 | 14 | 19 |
| | Spring, 2006 (GA) | 12 | 40 | 19 | 10 | 19 |
| | Spring, 2005 (GA) | 9 | 34 | 22 | 13 | 22 |
| b.F1 | France | | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 13 | 46 | 17 | 7 | 16 |
| | Fall, 2009 (GA) | 16 | 46 | 17 | 8 | 14 |
| | Spring, 2007 (GA) | 11 | 37 | 18 | 12 | 21 |
| | Spring, 2006 (GA) | 15 | 37 | 18 | 12 | 19 |
| | Spring, 2005 (GA) | 11 | 35 | 19 | 14 | 21 |
| | Spring, 2004 (GA) | 8 | 25 | 25 | 24 | 19 |
| | May, 2003 (GA) | 8 | 21 | 24 | 36 | 10 |
| c.F1 | Germany | | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 21 | 46 | 11 | 5 | 18 |
| | Sep 10-15, 2009 (GA) | 21 | 45 | 14 | 5 | 16 |
| | Spring, 2007 (GA) | 15 | 46 | 11 | 5 | 23 |
| | Spring, 2006 (GA) | 20 | 46 | 9 | 4 | 21 |
| | Spring, 2005 (GA) | 15 | 45 | 13 | 4 | 23 |
| | Spring, 2004 (GA) | 8 | 42 | 19 | 9 | 23 |
| | May, 2003 (GA) | 8 | 36 | 27 | 15 | 14 |
| NO ITEM d | | | | | | |
| e.F1 | India | | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 9 | 37 | 22 | 11 | 21 |
| | Fall, 2009 (GA) | 10 | 46 | 16 | 8 | 19 |
| | Spring, 2008 (GA) | 18 | 45 | 11 | 3 | 22 |
| f.F1 | Canada | | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 45 | 36 | 6 | 3 | 10 |
| | Fall, 2009 (GA) | 42 | 42 | 4 | 2 | 10 |
| | Spring, 2007 (GA) | 35 | 43 | 6 | 2 | 13 |
| | Spring, 2005 (GA) | 32 | 44 | 7 | 2 | 14 |
| | May, 2003 (GA) | 25 | 40 | 16 | 8 | 11 |
| | Summer, 2002 (GA) | 48 | 35 | 3 | 1 | 13 |
| g.F1. | Mexico | | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 8 | 31 | 28 | 24 | 9 |
| | Fall, 2009 (GA) | 9 | 35 | 28 | 17 | 11 |
| | Spring, 2007 (GA) | 9 | 38 | 23 | 14 | 16 |

Q.12 CONTINUED...

| | | <u>Very favorable</u> | <u>Somewhat favorable</u> | <u>Somewhat unfavorable</u> | <u>Very unfavorable</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]: | | | | | | |
| h.F2 | Saudi Arabia | | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 2 | 25 | 33 | 24 | 17 |
| | Fall, 2009 (GA) | 3 | 21 | 35 | 26 | 16 |
| NO ITEM i | | | | | | |
| j.F2 | Great Britain | | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 40 | 39 | 6 | 3 | 12 |
| | Fall, 2009 (GA) | 37 | 40 | 7 | 3 | 14 |
| | Spring, 2007 (GA) | 32 | 42 | 6 | 3 | 17 |
| | Spring, 2005 (GA) | 31 | 42 | 7 | 2 | 19 |
| | Spring, 2004 (GA) | 33 | 40 | 9 | 3 | 15 |
| | May, 2003 (GA) | 49 | 32 | 6 | 4 | 8 |
| k.F2 | Japan | | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 23 | 47 | 12 | 8 | 10 |
| | Fall, 2009 (GA) | 21 | 46 | 13 | 7 | 13 |
| | Spring, 2008 (GA) | 25 | 45 | 8 | 3 | 18 |
| | Spring, 2006 (GA) | 22 | 44 | 9 | 4 | 21 |
| | Spring, 2005 (GA) | 17 | 46 | 12 | 5 | 21 |
| l.F2 | Brazil | | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 15 | 46 | 11 | 4 | 25 |
| | Fall, 2009 (GA) | 11 | 46 | 13 | 4 | 26 |
| m.F2 | Russia | | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 2 | 30 | 34 | 20 | 15 |
| | Spring, 2013 (GA) | 4 | 33 | 29 | 14 | 20 |
| | Spring, 2012 (GA) | 5 | 32 | 27 | 13 | 24 |
| | Spring, 2011 (GA) | 8 | 41 | 22 | 10 | 19 |
| | Spring, 2010 (GA) | 7 | 42 | 24 | 8 | 19 |
| | Spring, 2009 (GA) | 7 | 36 | 27 | 12 | 18 |
| | Spring, 2007 (GA) | 4 | 40 | 24 | 11 | 21 |
| n.F2 | Israel | | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 29 | 32 | 17 | 9 | 13 |
| | Spring, 2013 (GA) | 21 | 36 | 18 | 9 | 17 |

ASK ALL:

Thinking about some issues...

Q.13 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] How about [NEXT ITEM]? [REPEAT INTRODUCTION AS NECESSARY]

| | | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,007]: | | | | |
| a.F1 | Health care policy | | | |
| | Obama | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 37 | 59 | 3 |
| | Sep 4-8, 2013 (U) | 41 | 53 | 6 |
| | Jan 6-9, 2011 | 45 | 47 | 8 |
| | Jun 16-20, 2010 | 42 | 50 | 7 |
| | Apr 21-26, 2010 | 40 | 51 | 9 |
| | Mar 10-14, 2010 | 39 | 52 | 9 |
| | Jan 6-10, 2010 | 38 | 52 | 10 |
| | Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 43 | 47 | 10 |
| | July 22-26, 2009 | 42 | 43 | 14 |
| | April 14-21, 2009 | 51 | 26 | 23 |

Q.13 CONTINUED...

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u> |
|----------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| G.W. Bush | | | |
| August, 2006 | 31 | 54 | 15 |
| March, 2006 | 26 | 57 | 17 |
| February, 2006 | 28 | 57 | 15 |
| February, 2005 | 36 | 51 | 13 |
| <i>Gallup</i> : November, 2004 | 37 | 57 | 6 |
| <i>Gallup</i> : January, 2004 | 43 | 49 | 8 |
| September, 2003 | 33 | 46 | 21 |
| <i>Gallup</i> : January, 2003 | 41 | 44 | 15 |
| June, 2002 | 37 | 46 | 17 |
| Clinton | | | |
| July, 1994 | 39 | 54 | 7 |
| Bush, Sr | | | |
| May, 1990 ⁵ | 30 | 59 | 11 |
| b.F1 The threat of terrorism | | | |
| Obama | | | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 51 | 44 | 5 |
| Jun 12-16, 2013 | 56 | 35 | 9 |
| Jan 11-16, 2012 | 65 | 28 | 7 |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 56 | 33 | 12 |
| May 2, 2011 | 69 | 21 | 10 |
| Jan 6-9, 2011 | 55 | 33 | 12 |
| May 6-9, 2010 ⁶ | 49 | 37 | 13 |
| Jan 6-10, 2010 | 51 | 39 | 10 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 52 | 34 | 14 |
| April 14-21, 2009 | 57 | 26 | 17 |
| February 4-8, 2009 | 50 | 21 | 29 |
| G.W. Bush | | | |
| April, 2007 | 46 | 43 | 11 |
| December, 2006 | 48 | 44 | 8 |
| August, 2006 | 50 | 39 | 11 |
| June, 2006 | 47 | 41 | 12 |
| March, 2006 | 42 | 49 | 9 |
| February, 2006 | 53 | 40 | 7 |
| December, 2005 | 49 | 44 | 7 |
| Late October, 2005 | 52 | 40 | 8 |
| Early September, 2005 | 49 | 41 | 10 |
| July, 2005 | 49 | 40 | 11 |
| Mid-May, 2005 | 57 | 35 | 8 |
| February, 2005 | 59 | 34 | 7 |
| January, 2005 | 62 | 33 | 5 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 49 | 40 | 11 |
| Early September, 2004 | 62 | 32 | 6 |
| August, 2004 | 58 | 37 | 5 |
| July, 2004 | 54 | 40 | 6 |
| June, 2004 | 56 | 35 | 9 |
| Late April, 2004 | 55 | 36 | 9 |
| Early April, 2004 | 53 | 38 | 9 |
| <i>Gallup</i> : December, 2003 | 65 | 33 | 2 |
| September, 2003 | 64 | 28 | 8 |
| February, 2003 | 67 | 25 | 8 |
| January, 2003 | 69 | 23 | 8 |
| Early October, 2002 | 71 | 22 | 7 |
| June, 2002 | 74 | 18 | 8 |
| Mid-September, 2001 ⁷ | 85 | 6 | 9 |

⁵ In May 1990, the question asked about "health care."

⁶ In May 6-9, 2010, Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009, April, 2007 and earlier, the item was worded "terrorist threats."

Q.13 CONTINUED...

| | | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u> |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Clinton | | | | |
| | Early September, 1998 | 72 | 20 | 8 |
| c.F1 | Global climate change | | | |
| Obama | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 38 | 46 | 17 |
| | Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 44 | 32 | 24 |
| d.F1 | International trade issues | | | |
| Obama | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 36 | 47 | 17 |
| | Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 36 | 35 | 28 |
| G.W. Bush | | | | |
| | July, 2004 | 33 | 45 | 22 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 38 | 34 | 28 |
| Clinton | | | | |
| | September, 1997 | 44 | 38 | 18 |
| | September, 1993 | 38 | 39 | 23 |
| | August, 1993 | 49 | 25 | 26 |
| e.F1 | Dealing with Iran | | | |
| Obama | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 37 | 53 | 10 |
| | Jun 12-16, 2013 | 45 | 41 | 13 |
| | Mar 7-11, 2012 | 47 | 40 | 14 |
| | Jan 11-16, 2012 | 48 | 41 | 11 |
| | Jan 6-9, 2011 | 42 | 39 | 19 |
| | Apr 21-26, 2010 | 38 | 43 | 19 |
| | Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 43 | 40 | 17 |
| G.W. Bush | | | | |
| | April, 2007 | 30 | 56 | 14 |
| f.F1 | Dealing with Russia | | | |
| Obama | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 37 | 47 | 16 |
| ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]: | | | | |
| g.F2 | The economy | | | |
| Obama | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 31 | 65 | 3 |
| | Sep 4-8, 2013 (U) | 43 | 52 | 5 |
| | Jun 12-16, 2013 | 44 | 50 | 5 |
| | Feb 13-18, 2013 (U) | 40 | 56 | 4 |
| | Mar 7-11, 2012 | 43 | 53 | 4 |
| | Jan 11-16, 2012 | 38 | 59 | 4 |
| | Nov 9-14, 2011 | 35 | 58 | 6 |
| | Aug 17-21, 2011 | 34 | 60 | 6 |
| | May 2, 2011 | 40 | 55 | 4 |
| | Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 | 39 | 56 | 6 |
| | Jan 6-9, 2011 | 42 | 51 | 7 |
| | Jun 16-20, 2010 | 43 | 51 | 5 |
| | May 6-9, 2010 | 41 | 51 | 8 |
| | Apr 21-26, 2010 | 38 | 54 | 8 |
| | Mar 10-14, 2010 | 41 | 52 | 7 |
| | Jan 6-10, 2010 | 42 | 51 | 7 |

7

In Mid-September, 2001 the question was worded: "...dealing with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington." In Early September 1998 the question was worded: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling current threats from international terrorist groups?"

Q.13 CONTINUED...

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u> |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 42 | 52 | 5 |
| Jul 22-26, 2009 | 38 | 53 | 9 |
| Jun 10-14, 2009 | 52 | 40 | 8 |
| Apr 14-21, 2009 | 60 | 33 | 7 |
| Feb 4-8, 2009 | 56 | 24 | 20 |
| G.W. Bush | | | |
| April, 2007 | 38 | 52 | 10 |
| December, 2006 | 39 | 53 | 8 |
| August, 2006 | 33 | 59 | 8 |
| June, 2006 | 33 | 57 | 10 |
| March, 2006 | 34 | 57 | 9 |
| February, 2006 | 38 | 55 | 7 |
| December, 2005 | 38 | 55 | 7 |
| Late October, 2005 | 36 | 56 | 8 |
| Early September, 2005 | 33 | 60 | 7 |
| July, 2005 | 38 | 53 | 9 |
| Mid-May, 2005 | 35 | 57 | 8 |
| February, 2005 | 43 | 50 | 7 |
| January, 2005 | 45 | 50 | 5 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 38 | 55 | 7 |
| Early September, 2004 | 44 | 49 | 7 |
| August, 2004 | 42 | 52 | 6 |
| July, 2004 | 42 | 52 | 6 |
| June, 2004 | 43 | 50 | 7 |
| Early April, 2004 | 39 | 53 | 8 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 47 | 47 | 6 |
| September, 2003 | 43 | 48 | 9 |
| February, 2003 | 43 | 48 | 9 |
| January, 2003 | 47 | 45 | 8 |
| Early October, 2002 | 49 | 40 | 11 |
| June, 2002 | 53 | 36 | 11 |
| January, 2002 | 60 | 28 | 12 |
| Early September, 2001 | 47 | 44 | 9 |
| February, 2001 | 50 | 22 | 28 |
| Clinton | | | |
| January, 1996 | 50 | 42 | 8 |
| June, 1995 | 46 | 46 | 8 |
| October, 1994 ⁸ | 45 | 46 | 9 |
| July, 1994 | 38 | 56 | 6 |
| Bush, Sr | | | |
| August, 1992 | 40 | 52 | 8 |
| May, 1990 | 42 | 47 | 11 |
| h.F2 The situation in Afghanistan | | | |
| Obama | | | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 34 | 57 | 9 |
| Feb 13-18, 2013 (U) | 46 | 42 | 12 |
| Mar 7-11, 2012 | 49 | 42 | 9 |
| Jan 11-16, 2012 | 56 | 37 | 7 |
| May 2, 2011 | 60 | 29 | 11 |
| Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 | 43 | 45 | 11 |
| Jan 6-9, 2011 | 44 | 42 | 13 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 45 | 46 | 9 |
| Apr 21-26, 2010 | 41 | 42 | 17 |
| Mar 10-14, 2010 | 51 | 35 | 15 |
| Jan 6-10, 2010 | 45 | 43 | 12 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 36 | 49 | 15 |

⁸ Item wording in October, 1994 and in previous surveys was "Economic conditions in this country."

Q.13 CONTINUED...

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u> |
|----------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Jul 22-26, 2009 | 47 | 33 | 19 |
| i.F2 The nation's foreign policy | | | |
| Obama | | | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 34 | 56 | 10 |
| Sep 4-8, 2013 (U) | 33 | 57 | 11 |
| Jan 11-16, 2012 | 46 | 45 | 10 |
| Nov 9-14, 2011 | 46 | 40 | 13 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 45 | 40 | 15 |
| Mar 10-14, 2010 | 42 | 40 | 18 |
| Jan 6-10, 2010 | 44 | 40 | 16 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 44 | 38 | 18 |
| July 22-26, 2009 | 47 | 32 | 21 |
| June 10-14, 2009 | 57 | 31 | 12 |
| April 14-21, 2009 | 61 | 22 | 17 |
| February 4-8, 2009 | 52 | 17 | 31 |
| G.W. Bush | | | |
| April, 2007 | 30 | 55 | 15 |
| December, 2006 | 30 | 59 | 11 |
| August, 2006 | 37 | 49 | 14 |
| June, 2006 | 37 | 51 | 12 |
| Late October, 2005 | 36 | 51 | 13 |
| July, 2005 | 36 | 49 | 15 |
| Mid-May, 2005 | 38 | 46 | 16 |
| February, 2005 | 43 | 46 | 11 |
| January, 2005 | 48 | 43 | 9 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 37 | 49 | 14 |
| Early September, 2004 | 47 | 42 | 11 |
| August, 2004 | 42 | 49 | 9 |
| July, 2004 | 40 | 48 | 12 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 53 | 36 | 11 |
| March, 2003 | 53 | 36 | 11 |
| Early April, 2002 | 69 | 20 | 11 |
| <i>Gallup</i> : October, 2001 | 81 | 14 | 5 |
| Early September, 2001 | 46 | 34 | 20 |
| August, 2001 ⁹ | 45 | 32 | 23 |
| June, 1999 | 52 | 37 | 11 |
| Clinton | | | |
| May, 1999 | 46 | 43 | 11 |
| April, 1999 | 51 | 39 | 10 |
| March, 1999 | 56 | 34 | 10 |
| September, 1998 | 61 | 30 | 9 |
| September, 1997 | 54 | 34 | 12 |
| January, 1996 | 52 | 39 | 9 |
| June, 1995 | 39 | 52 | 9 |
| October, 1994 | 50 | 42 | 8 |
| July, 1994 | 38 | 53 | 9 |
| October, 1993 | 39 | 46 | 15 |
| September, 1993 | 47 | 33 | 20 |
| August, 1993 | 52 | 25 | 23 |
| <i>Newsweek</i> : | | | |
| June 30-July 1, 1993 | 49 | 35 | 16 |
| Bush, Sr | | | |
| May, 1990 | 58 | 30 | 12 |

⁹ In August 2001 roughly half of the U.S. sample was asked about George W. Bush's handling of international policy, while the other half was asked about the handling of the nation's foreign policy. Results did not differ between question wordings and are combined.

Q. 13 CONTINUED...

| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u> | |
|------|---------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|----|
| j.F2 | The nation's immigration policy | | | |
| | Obama | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 32 | 60 | 7 |
| | Jun 12-16, 2013 | 43 | 47 | 11 |
| | Feb 13-18, 2013 (U) | 44 | 43 | 13 |
| | Nov 9-14, 2011 | 32 | 49 | 20 |
| | Jan 6-9, 2011 | 35 | 50 | 16 |
| | Jun 16-20, 2010 | 33 | 54 | 12 |
| | May 6-9, 2010 | 25 | 54 | 21 |
| | Apr 21-26, 2010 | 29 | 47 | 24 |
| | Jan 6-10, 2010 | 30 | 50 | 21 |
| | Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 31 | 48 | 21 |
| | G.W. Bush | | | |
| | April, 2007 | 26 | 59 | 15 |
| | June, 2006 | 32 | 52 | 16 |
| | April, 2006 | 25 | 62 | 13 |
| | February, 2006 | 23 | 57 | 20 |
| | Late October, 2005 | 24 | 54 | 22 |
| k.F2 | Dealing with China | | | |
| | Obama | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 30 | 52 | 18 |
| | Jun 12-16, 2013 | 39 | 37 | 24 |
| | Jan 6-9, 2011 | 39 | 37 | 24 |
| | Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 33 | 34 | 33 |
| | GW Bush | | | |
| | Early September, 2001 | 38 | 31 | 31 |
| | Clinton | | | |
| | September, 1997 | 37 | 37 | 26 |
| | Bush, Sr | | | |
| | May, 1990 | 44 | 29 | 27 |
| I.F2 | The situation in Syria | | | |
| | Obama | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 30 | 57 | 13 |
| | Sep 4-8, 2013 (U) | 29 | 56 | 15 |

ASK ALL:

Now, thinking about foreign policy and national security...

Q.14 Do you think Barack Obama is too tough, not tough enough or about right in his approach to foreign policy and national security issues?

| Oct 30- Nov6 <u>2013</u> | | Sept 13-16 <u>2012</u> | Apr 21-26 <u>2010</u> | Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u> | June 10-14 <u>2009</u> |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 5 | Too tough | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| 51 | Not tough enough | 41 | 47 | 47 | 38 |
| 37 | About right | 42 | 41 | 43 | 51 |
| 6 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 15 | 10 | 7 | 8 |

Q.14 CONTINUED...

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Thinking about foreign policy and national security... Do you think Barack Obama [ROTATED WITH JOHN MCCAIN] would be too tough, not tough enough, or about right in his approach to foreign policy and national security issues?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

| | Mid-Sept <u>2008</u> | Late May <u>2008</u> | Late Feb <u>2008</u> |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Too tough | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Not tough enough | 45 | 43 | 43 |
| About right | 44 | 43 | 39 |
| Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 8 | 11 | 15 |

QUESTIONS 15-18 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,007]:**

Thinking about the economy...

Q.19 Looking forward, do you think [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE ITEMS a AND b IN BLOCK; RANDOMIZE ITEMS c AND d IN BLOCK; RANDOMIZE BLOCKS] would mostly help or mostly hurt the U.S. economy? What about [INSERT ITEM]? [REPEAT IF NECESSARY: Do you think this would mostly help or mostly hurt the U.S. economy]

| | Mostly <u>help</u> | Mostly <u>hurt</u> | (VOL.) <u>No effect</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. More foreign companies setting up operations in the U.S. Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 62 | 32 | * | 5 |
| b. More U.S. companies setting up operations overseas Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 23 | 73 | 1 | 3 |
| c. More people from other countries coming here to work in high-skilled jobs Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 46 | 50 | 1 | 3 |
| d. More people from other countries coming here to work in low-skilled jobs Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 43 | 52 | 1 | 4 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:

Q.20F2 Which of these two statements comes closer to your own views -- even if neither is exactly right
[READ IN ORDER]:

| | Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard <u>work and talents</u> | Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, <u>housing and health care</u> | (VOL.) Neither/DK/ <u>Ref</u> |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 49 | 40 | 11 |
| Mar 13-17, 2013 | 49 | 41 | 10 |
| Jan 4-8, 2012 | 48 | 37 | 15 |
| Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 45 | 44 | 12 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs) | 44 | 42 | 14 |
| Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 | 42 | 45 | 13 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 39 | 50 | 11 |
| Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009 | 46 | 40 | 14 |
| October, 2006 | 41 | 41 | 18 |
| March, 2006 | 41 | 52 | 7 |

Q.20F2 CONTINUED...

| | Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard <u>work and talents</u> | Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, <u>housing and health care</u> | (VOL.) Neither/DK/ <u>Ref</u> |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| December, 2005 | 45 | 44 | 11 |
| December, 2004 | 45 | 44 | 11 |
| June, 2003 | 46 | 44 | 10 |
| September, 2000 | 50 | 38 | 12 |
| August, 1999 | 46 | 44 | 10 |
| October, 1997 | 41 | 48 | 11 |
| June, 1997 | 41 | 48 | 11 |
| April, 1997 | 38 | 52 | 10 |
| June, 1996 | 37 | 54 | 9 |
| July, 1994 | 31 | 63 | 6 |

NO QUESTIONS 21-22

On another subject...

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,007]:

Q.23F1 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?

| | More <u>important</u> | Less <u>important</u> | As <u>important</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|-------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 17 | 53 | 27 | 3 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 25 | 41 | 30 | 4 |
| July, 2004 | 45 | 20 | 31 | 4 |
| Early September, 2001 | 33 | 26 | 38 | 3 |
| September, 1997 | 35 | 23 | 40 | 2 |
| December, 1994 | 40 | 27 | 29 | 4 |
| October, 1993 | 37 | 26 | 33 | 4 |
| September, 1993 | 37 | 30 | 31 | 2 |
| <i>Chicago CFR: November, 1990¹⁰</i> | 37 | 35 | 24 | 4 |
| <i>Chicago CFR: November, 1986</i> | 41 | 26 | 29 | 4 |
| <i>Chicago CFR: November, 1982</i> | 27 | 25 | 44 | 5 |
| <i>Chicago CFR: November, 1978</i> | 29 | 41 | 24 | 6 |
| <i>Chicago CFR: December, 1974</i> | 28 | 39 | 27 | 6 |

ASK ALL:

Q.24 What kind of leadership role should the United States play in the world? Should it be the SINGLE world leader, or should it play a SHARED leadership role, or should it not play any leadership role?

IF "SHARED LEADERSHIP ROLE" IN Q.24 (Q.24=2), ASK:

Q.25 Should the United States be the most active of the leading nations, or should it be about as active as other leading nations?

| | Single <u>leader</u> | Shared <u>leadership</u> | ----- If shared leadership ----- | | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> | No <u>leadership</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| | | | <u>Most active</u> | <u>About as active</u> | | | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 12 | 72 | 20 | 51 | 1 | 12 | 4 |
| May, 2012 (C) | 9 | 74 | 25 | 46 | 3 | 11 | 5 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 14 | 70 | 19 | 48 | 2 | 11 | 6 |
| Late October, 2005 | 12 | 74 | 25 | 47 | 2 | 10 | 4 |
| July, 2004 | 11 | 74 | 27 | 44 | 3 | 9 | 6 |
| June, 2003 | 13 | 76 | 30 | 44 | 2 | 7 | 4 |
| Mid October, 2001 | 12 | 79 | 33 | 45 | 1 | 3 | 6 |
| Early September, 2001 | 13 | 75 | 25 | 49 | 1 | 8 | 4 |
| September, 1997 | 12 | 73 | 22 | 50 | 1 | 11 | 4 |
| June, 1995 | 13 | 74 | 25 | 47 | 2 | 9 | 4 |

¹⁰ Surveys conducted December 1974 through November 1990 by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

Q24/Q25 CONTINUED...

| | Single <u>leader</u> | Shared <u>leadership</u> | ----- <i>If shared leadership</i> ----- | | | No <u>leadership</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| | | | <i>Most active</i> | <i>About as active</i> | (VOL.) DK/Ref | | |
| October, 1993 | 9 | 78 | 23 | 53 | 2 | 9 | 4 |
| September, 1993 | 10 | 81 | 27 | 52 | 2 | 7 | 2 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:

Q.26F2 In the future, should U.S. policies try to keep it so America is the only military superpower, OR would it be acceptable if China, another country or the European Union became as militarily powerful as the U.S.?

| Oct 30- Nov 6 <u>2013</u> | | Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u> | Late Oct <u>2005</u> |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 56 | U.S. policies should keep U.S. as the only superpower | 57 | 50 |
| 32 | OK if China/another country/EU became as powerful | 29 | 35 |
| 11 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 14 | 15 |

NO QUESTION 27**ASK ALL:**

Q.28 In terms of solving world problems, does the United States do too much, too little, or the right amount in helping solve world problems?

| Oct 30- Nov 6 <u>2013</u> | | (GA) Summer <u>2002</u> |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 51 | Does too much | 47 |
| 17 | Does too little | 17 |
| 28 | Does right amount | 31 |
| 1 | United States does nothing (VOL.) | * |
| 3 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 5 |

IF "TOO MUCH" OR "TOO LITTLE" IN Q.28 (Q.28=1,2), ASK:

Q.29 Why do you feel that way? **[IF NECESSARY: Why do you feel the United States does [too much/too little] in helping solve world problems?]** **[OPEN END; RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY – DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD IN ORDER OF MENTION]**

BASED ON THOSE WHO SAY THE US DOES TOO MUCH [N=1003]:

Oct 30-

Nov 6

2013

| | |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 47 | Domestic concerns should be the priority/U.S. economic problems/Can't afford it |
| 19 | Overreach/Not in our interest/Not our responsibility |
| 16 | We should mind our own business/We impose on others/Nosey/Arrogant |
| 7 | War fatigue/Cost of involvement in Iraq/Afghanistan/Wars ineffective |
| 3 | Other nations and/or UN don't help enough |
| 2 | Efforts aren't appreciated |
| 10 | Other |
| 3 | Don't know |

BASED ON THOSE WHO SAY THE US DOES TOO LITTLE [N=350]:

Oct 30-

Nov 6

2013

| | |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 23 | U.S. should/could do more/Large number of problems in the world (eg hunger, poverty) |
| 16 | Focused on wrong countries/Wrong priorities |
| 15 | US goes about aid the wrong way/Causes problems which U.S. should fix |
| 13 | Congress/President not providing leadership |
| 7 | Domestic concerns should be the priority/U.S. economic problems/Can't afford it |
| 6 | U.S. isn't leading world now/U.S. should act as a world leader |
| 3 | U.S. has resources/responsibility to make a big difference |
| 3 | War fatigue/Cost of involvement in Iraq/Afghanistan/Wars ineffective |
| 1 | We impose on others/Seen as nose/arrogant |
| 9 | Other |
| 9 | Don't know |

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.

NO QUESTION 30

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:

Q.31F2 The United States has had strong political, economic and military ties with the nations of [INSERT, RANDOMIZE] on the one hand and the nations of [NEXT ITEM] on the other hand. Which area do you think is most important to the United States [READ IN ORDER OF ABOVE]

| Oct 30- Nov 6 2013 | | Jan 5-9 2011 | Sep 2001 ¹¹ | Sep 1997 | Sep 1993 |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| 50 | Europe | 37 | 44 | 49 | 50 |
| 35 | Asia | 47 | 34 | 31 | 31 |
| 7 | Equally important (VOL.) | 7 | 9 | 6 | 8 |
| 8 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 9 | 13 | 14 | 10 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,007]:

Q.32F1 I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns for the U.S. Do you think that [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to the well being of the United States? What about [INSERT ITEM]? [READ THE ANSWER CHOICES AS NECESSARY AFTER THE FIRST TIME]

| | | Major threat | Minor threat | Not a threat | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|------|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| a.F1 | China's emergence as a world power | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 54 | 31 | 11 | 4 |
| | May, 2012 (C) | 52 | 35 | 9 | 5 |
| | Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 53 | 30 | 10 | 7 |
| | Jun 10-14, 2009 | 52 | 31 | 11 | 6 |
| | Jan 7-11, 2009 | 46 | 36 | 13 | 5 |
| | September, 2008 | 48 | 35 | 11 | 6 |
| | Late May, 2008 | 50 | 31 | 10 | 9 |
| | February, 2006 | 47 | 34 | 12 | 7 |
| | Late October, 2005 | 52 | 31 | 10 | 7 |
| | May, 2001 | 51 | 30 | 10 | 9 |
| | July, 1999 | 53 | 33 | 10 | 4 |
| b.F1 | Growing authoritarianism in Russia | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 32 | 41 | 13 | 14 |
| | Late May, 2008 | 24 | 46 | 12 | 18 |
| | February, 2006 | 22 | 45 | 16 | 17 |
| | Late October, 2005 | 23 | 44 | 13 | 20 |
| | TRENDS FOR COMPARISON: | | | | |
| | <i>Growing tension between Russia and its neighbors</i> | | | | |
| | Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 38 | 44 | 9 | 9 |
| | Jan 7-11, 2009 | 37 | 48 | 8 | 7 |
| | September, 2008 | 44 | 41 | 10 | 5 |
| | <i>Political and economic instability in Russia</i> | | | | |
| | May, 2001 | 27 | 46 | 12 | 15 |
| | July, 1999 | 40 | 42 | 14 | 4 |
| c.F1 | North Korea's nuclear program | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 67 | 24 | 6 | 3 |
| | May, 2012 (C) | 69 | 22 | 5 | 5 |
| | October 28-November 8, 2009 | 69 | 23 | 3 | 5 |
| | June 10-14, 2009 | 72 | 19 | 5 | 5 |
| | January 7-11, 2009 | 53 | 32 | 8 | 7 |
| | September, 2008 | 55 | 33 | 7 | 5 |
| | Late May, 2008 | 55 | 32 | 7 | 6 |

¹¹ In Sept. 2001 and before the question read "...with the nations of Europe on the one hand, and with Japan and the Pacific rim nations of Asia, on the other hand," and the answer choices were not randomized. In Sept. 1993 Europe was described as "... friendly nations of Europe."

Q.32F1 CONTINUED...

| | | Major <u>threat</u> | Minor <u>threat</u> | Not a <u>threat</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| | February, 2006 | 60 | 27 | 6 | 7 |
| | Late October, 2005 | 66 | 24 | 4 | 6 |
| d.F1 | Iran's nuclear program | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 68 | 23 | 5 | 3 |
| | May, 2012 (C) | 70 | 21 | 4 | 5 |
| | Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 72 | 20 | 3 | 6 |
| | June 10-14, 2009 | 69 | 20 | 5 | 5 |
| | January 7-11, 2009 | 65 | 23 | 6 | 6 |
| | September, 2008 | 60 | 29 | 6 | 5 |
| | Late May, 2008 | 62 | 25 | 8 | 5 |
| | February, 2006 | 65 | 24 | 5 | 6 |
| | Late October, 2005 | 61 | 27 | 5 | 7 |
| e.F1 | Global climate change | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 45 | 30 | 20 | 4 |
| | May, 2012 (C) | 45 | 32 | 19 | 3 |
| | Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 44 | 36 | 15 | 5 |

TREND FOR COMPARISON*Global environmental problems*

| | | | | | |
|------|----------------------------------------|----|----|---|---|
| | May, 2001 | 53 | 32 | 6 | 9 |
| f.F1 | Islamic extremist groups like al Qaeda | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 75 | 18 | 4 | 3 |
| | May, 2012 (C) | 70 | 21 | 4 | 5 |
| | Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 76 | 18 | 2 | 3 |
| | June 10-14, 2009 | 78 | 14 | 4 | 4 |
| | January 7-11, 2009 | 77 | 15 | 4 | 4 |
| | September, 2008 | 72 | 21 | 3 | 4 |
| | Late May, 2008 | 72 | 18 | 4 | 6 |

NO ITEMS g AND h

| | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------------|----|----|----|----|
| i.F1. | Cyber attacks from other countries | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 70 | 23 | 4 | 4 |
| j.F1. | Economic problems in the European Union | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 37 | 41 | 12 | 10 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:

Q.33F2 As I read a list of possible LONG-RANGE foreign policy goals which the United States might have, tell me how much priority you think each should be given. (First,) **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**, do you think this should have top priority, some priority, or no priority at all? What about **[INSERT ITEM]**? **[READ THE ANSWER CHOICES AS NECESSARY AFTER THE FIRST TIME]**

| | | Top <u>priority</u> | Some <u>priority</u> | No <u>priority</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|------|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| a.F2 | Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction | | | | |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 73 | 21 | 4 | 2 |
| | Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 74 | 20 | 5 | 2 |
| | Mid-September, 2008 | 62 | 32 | 4 | 2 |
| | Late October, 2005 | 75 | 19 | 4 | 2 |
| | July, 2004 | 71 | 23 | 4 | 2 |
| | Mid-October, 2001 | 81 | 14 | 2 | 3 |
| | Early September, 2001 | 78 | 16 | 5 | 1 |
| | September, 1997 | 70 | 23 | 6 | 1 |
| | June, 1995 | 68 | 21 | 9 | 2 |
| | September, 1993 | 69 | 24 | 5 | 1 |

Q.33F2 CONTINUED...

| | <u>Top</u> <u>priority</u> | <u>Some</u> <u>priority</u> | <u>No</u> <u>priority</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| b.F2 Taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks | | | | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 83 | 14 | 2 | 1 |
| May 25-30, 2011 | 81 | 17 | 1 | 1 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 85 | 13 | 1 | 1 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 82 | 16 | 1 | 1 |
| Late October, 2005 | 86 | 12 | 1 | 1 |
| July, 2004 | 88 | 10 | 1 | 1 |
| Mid-October, 2001 | 93 | 6 | * | 1 |
| Early September, 2001 | 80 | 16 | 3 | 1 |
| c.F2 Protecting the jobs of American workers | | | | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 81 | 16 | 2 | 2 |
| May 25-30, 2011 | 84 | 13 | 2 | 1 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 85 | 13 | 1 | 1 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 82 | 16 | 1 | 1 |
| Late October, 2005 | 84 | 14 | 1 | 1 |
| July, 2004 | 84 | 13 | 2 | 1 |
| Mid-October, 2001 | 74 | 24 | 1 | 1 |
| Early September, 2001 | 77 | 19 | 3 | 1 |
| September, 1997 | 77 | 20 | 2 | 1 |
| June, 1995 | 80 | 17 | 2 | 1 |
| September, 1993 | 85 | 13 | 2 | * |
| d.F2 Strengthening the United Nations | | | | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 37 | 42 | 18 | 2 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 37 | 44 | 17 | 2 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 32 | 46 | 19 | 3 |
| Late October, 2005 | 40 | 43 | 14 | 3 |
| July, 2004 | 48 | 38 | 11 | 3 |
| Mid-October, 2001 | 46 | 46 | 7 | 1 |
| Early September, 2001 | 42 | 43 | 13 | 2 |
| September, 1997 | 30 | 53 | 14 | 3 |
| June, 1995 | 36 | 45 | 17 | 2 |
| September, 1993 | 41 | 46 | 11 | 2 |
| e.F2 Dealing with global climate change | | | | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 37 | 37 | 23 | 2 |
| May 25-30, 2011 | 29 | 43 | 23 | 4 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 40 | 39 | 19 | 3 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 43 | 41 | 14 | 2 |
| Late October, 2005 | 43 | 43 | 10 | 4 |
| July, 2004 ¹² | 36 | 46 | 12 | 6 |
| Mid-October, 2001 | 31 | 51 | 13 | 5 |
| Early September, 2001 | 44 | 39 | 12 | 5 |
| September, 1997 | 50 | 42 | 6 | 2 |
| June, 1995 | 56 | 36 | 6 | 2 |
| September, 1993 | 56 | 37 | 6 | 1 |
| f.F2 Combating international drug trafficking | | | | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 57 | 33 | 8 | 1 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 56 | 35 | 8 | 2 |
| Late October, 2005 | 59 | 33 | 6 | 2 |
| July, 2004 | 63 | 29 | 7 | 1 |
| Mid-October, 2001 | 55 | 38 | 5 | 2 |
| Early September, 2001 | 64 | 26 | 9 | 1 |
| September, 1997 | 67 | 24 | 7 | 2 |

¹² In 2004 and 2001, the item was worded "Dealing with global warming" and in September 1993, June 1995 and September 1997 the item was worded "Improving the global environment."

Q.33F2 CONTINUED...

| | <u>Top</u> <u>priority</u> | <u>Some</u> <u>priority</u> | <u>No</u> <u>priority</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| g.F2 Helping improve the living standards in developing nations | | | | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 23 | 60 | 16 | 1 |
| October 28-November 8, 2009 | 26 | 57 | 14 | 2 |
| Late October, 2005 | 31 | 57 | 10 | 2 |
| July, 2004 | 23 | 63 | 12 | 2 |
| Mid-October, 2001 | 20 | 67 | 12 | 1 |
| Early September, 2001 | 25 | 61 | 12 | 2 |
| September, 1997 | 23 | 63 | 13 | 1 |
| June, 1995 | 16 | 59 | 22 | 3 |
| September, 1993 | 19 | 60 | 20 | 1 |
| h.F1 Promoting democracy in other nations | | | | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 18 | 55 | 24 | 3 |
| May 25-30, 2011 | 13 | 58 | 27 | 2 |
| October 28-November 8, 2009 | 21 | 54 | 22 | 3 |
| Late October, 2005 | 24 | 54 | 19 | 3 |
| July, 2004 | 24 | 57 | 15 | 4 |
| Mid-October, 2001 | 24 | 61 | 12 | 3 |
| Early September, 2001 | 29 | 52 | 16 | 3 |
| September, 1997 | 22 | 57 | 18 | 3 |
| June, 1995 | 16 | 57 | 24 | 3 |
| September, 1993 | 22 | 52 | 24 | 2 |
| i.F2 Promoting and defending human rights in other countries | | | | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 33 | 54 | 12 | 2 |
| May 25-30, 2011 | 24 | 56 | 18 | 2 |
| October 28-November 8, 2009 | 29 | 54 | 14 | 3 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 25 | 58 | 15 | 2 |
| Late October, 2005 | 37 | 50 | 11 | 2 |
| July, 2004 | 33 | 53 | 12 | 2 |
| Mid-October, 2001 | 27 | 61 | 10 | 2 |
| Early September, 2001 | 29 | 54 | 14 | 3 |
| September, 1997 | 27 | 56 | 15 | 2 |
| June, 1995 | 21 | 56 | 20 | 3 |
| September, 1993 | 22 | 54 | 22 | 2 |
| j.F1 Reducing our dependence on imported energy sources | | | | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 61 | 32 | 4 | 3 |
| May 25-30, 2011 | 67 | 24 | 6 | 2 |
| October 28-November 8, 2009 | 64 | 28 | 3 | 5 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 76 | 20 | 2 | 2 |
| Late October, 2005 | 67 | 28 | 2 | 3 |
| July, 2004 ¹³ | 63 | 30 | 4 | 3 |
| k.F2 Reducing illegal immigration | | | | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 48 | 40 | 9 | 2 |
| October 28-November 8, 2009 | 46 | 43 | 9 | 2 |
| Late October, 2005 | 51 | 39 | 8 | 2 |
| September, 1997 | 42 | 47 | 9 | 2 |

¹³ In July 2004, the item referred to "imported oil sources."

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:

Q.34F2 Do you think that we should increase our spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?

| | <u>Increase</u> | <u>Keep same</u> | <u>Cut back</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 23 | 47 | 28 | 3 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 13 | 53 | 30 | 4 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 26 | 46 | 23 | 5 |
| December, 2004 | 20 | 54 | 19 | 7 |
| July, 2004 | 25 | 53 | 18 | 4 |
| Mid-October, 2001 | 50 | 41 | 7 | 2 |
| Early September, 2001 | 32 | 44 | 20 | 4 |
| September, 2000 (RVs) | 34 | 48 | 14 | 4 |
| August, 1999 | 27 | 54 | 16 | 3 |
| June, 1999 | 31 | 47 | 19 | 3 |
| September, 1997 | 17 | 57 | 24 | 2 |
| February, 1995 ¹⁴ | 19 | 56 | 24 | 1 |
| <i>Chicago CFR</i> : October, 1994 | 18 | 53 | 26 | 3 |
| September, 1993 | 10 | 52 | 36 | 2 |
| <i>Chicago CFR</i> : November, 1990 | 12 | 53 | 32 | 3 |
| <i>Chicago CFR</i> : November, 1986 | 21 | 55 | 23 | 3 |
| <i>Chicago CFR</i> : November, 1982 | 22 | 52 | 24 | 3 |
| <i>Chicago CFR</i> : November, 1978 | 32 | 45 | 16 | 7 |
| <i>Chicago CFR</i> : December, 1974 | 13 | 47 | 33 | 8 |

NO QUESTIONS 35-39**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,007]:**

Next...

Q.40F1 What do you think about the growing trade and business ties between the U.S. and other countries do you think it is a very good thing, somewhat good, somewhat bad or a very bad thing for our country?

| | <u>Very good</u> | <u>Somewhat good</u> | <u>Somewhat bad</u> | <u>Very bad</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|--------------------|------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 23 | 54 | 12 | 6 | 5 |
| Spring, 2011 (GA) | 18 | 49 | 19 | 10 | 4 |
| Spring, 2010 (GA) | 17 | 49 | 19 | 8 | 7 |
| Spring, 2009 (GA) | 16 | 49 | 20 | 10 | 5 |
| Spring, 2008 (GA) | 15 | 38 | 26 | 15 | 6 |
| Spring, 2007 (GA) | 14 | 45 | 21 | 15 | 5 |
| Spring, 2002 (GA) | 21 | 57 | 14 | 4 | 4 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:

Next...

Q.41F2 Which comes closer to your view about greater U.S. involvement in the global economy?

[READ AND RANDOMIZE]

Oct 30-
Nov 6
2013

| | |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 66 | It is a good thing because it exposes the U.S. to new markets and opportunities for growth [OR] |
| 25 | It is a bad thing because it exposes the U.S. to greater economic risks and uncertainty |
| 8 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

¹⁴ In 1995 and previous years, the question was worded: "Do you think that we should expand our spending on national defense, keep it about the same or cut it back?"

RANDOMIZE Q.42F1 AND Q.43F1**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,007]:**

Thinking about Iraq...

Q.42F1 Do you think the United States made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Iraq?

| | <u>Right decision</u> | <u>Wrong decision</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 49 | 45 | 6 |
| Mar 14-17, 2013 | 41 | 44 | 14 |
| Nov 9-14, 2011 | 48 | 46 | 6 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 41 | 51 | 7 |
| January, 2009 | 43 | 49 | 8 |
| November, 2008 | 39 | 50 | 11 |
| Late October, 2008 | 38 | 56 | 6 |
| Mid-October, 2008 | 40 | 54 | 6 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 43 | 50 | 7 |
| June, 2008 | 39 | 55 | 6 |
| April, 2008 | 37 | 57 | 6 |
| Late February, 2008 | 38 | 54 | 8 |
| Late December, 2007 | 36 | 56 | 8 |
| October, 2007 | 39 | 54 | 7 |
| September, 2007 | 42 | 50 | 8 |
| July, 2007 | 41 | 53 | 6 |
| June, 2007 | 40 | 51 | 9 |
| April, 2007 | 45 | 47 | 8 |
| March, 2007 | 43 | 49 | 8 |
| February, 2007 | 40 | 54 | 6 |
| Mid-January, 2007 | 40 | 51 | 9 |
| Early January, 2007 | 40 | 53 | 7 |
| December, 2006 | 42 | 51 | 7 |
| Mid-November, 2006 | 41 | 51 | 8 |
| Early November, 2006 (RVs) | 45 | 48 | 7 |
| Late October, 2006 | 43 | 47 | 10 |
| Early October, 2006 | 45 | 47 | 8 |
| Early September, 2006 | 49 | 43 | 8 |
| August, 2006 | 45 | 46 | 9 |
| July, 2006 | 44 | 50 | 6 |
| June, 2006 | 49 | 44 | 7 |
| April, 2006 | 47 | 46 | 7 |
| March, 2006 | 45 | 49 | 6 |
| February, 2006 | 51 | 44 | 5 |
| January, 2006 | 45 | 47 | 8 |
| December, 2005 | 47 | 48 | 5 |
| Late October, 2005 | 48 | 45 | 7 |
| Early October, 2005 | 44 | 50 | 6 |
| Mid-September, 2005 | 49 | 44 | 7 |
| July, 2005 | 49 | 44 | 7 |
| June, 2005 | 47 | 45 | 8 |
| February, 2005 | 47 | 47 | 6 |
| January, 2005 | 51 | 44 | 5 |
| December, 2004 | 49 | 44 | 7 |
| November, 2004 (RVs) | 48 | 41 | 11 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 46 | 42 | 12 |
| Early October, 2004 | 50 | 39 | 11 |
| September, 2004 | 53 | 39 | 8 |
| August, 2004 | 53 | 41 | 6 |
| July, 2004 | 52 | 43 | 5 |
| June, 2004 | 55 | 38 | 7 |
| May, 2004 | 51 | 42 | 7 |
| Late April, 2004 | 54 | 37 | 9 |
| Early April, 2004 | 57 | 35 | 8 |

Q.42F1 CONTINUED...

| | <u>Right decision</u> | <u>Wrong decision</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Mid-March, 2004 | 55 | 39 | 6 |
| Late February, 2004 | 60 | 32 | 8 |
| Early February, 2004 | 56 | 39 | 5 |
| Mid-January, 2004 | 65 | 30 | 5 |
| Early January, 2004 | 62 | 28 | 10 |
| December, 2003 | 67 | 26 | 7 |
| October, 2003 | 60 | 33 | 7 |
| September, 2003 | 63 | 31 | 6 |
| August, 2003 | 63 | 30 | 7 |
| Early July, 2003 | 67 | 24 | 9 |
| May, 2003 | 74 | 20 | 6 |
| April 10-16, 2003 | 74 | 19 | 7 |
| April 8-9, 2003 | 74 | 19 | 7 |
| April 2-7, 2003 | 72 | 20 | 8 |
| March 28-April 1, 2003 | 69 | 25 | 6 |
| March 25-27, 2003 | 74 | 21 | 5 |
| March 23-24, 2003 | 74 | 21 | 5 |
| March 20-22, 2003 | 71 | 22 | 7 |
| Late January, 1991 | 77 | 15 | 8 |

RANDOMIZE Q.42F1 AND Q.43F1**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,007]:**

Now thinking about Afghanistan...

Q.43F1 Do you think the United States made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Afghanistan?

| | <u>Right decision</u> | <u>Wrong decision</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 56 | 37 | 8 |
| Jun 15-19, 2011 | 57 | 35 | 8 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 52 | 38 | 10 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 ¹⁵ | 56 | 34 | 10 |
| Jan 7-11, 2009 | 64 | 25 | 11 |
| Feb, 2008 | 65 | 24 | 11 |
| Dec, 2006 | 61 | 29 | 10 |
| Jan, 2006 | 69 | 20 | 11 |

RANDOMIZE Q.44F2 AND Q.46F2**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:**Q.44F2 In terms of resolving the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, do you think the United States should be **[RANDOMIZE: more involved than it is now, less involved than it is now]**, or as involved as it currently is?

| | | TRENDS FOR COMPARISON: | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | | <i>Israel/Hamas conflict</i> | <i>Israel/Hezbollah conflict</i> |
| Oct 30- Nov 6 2013 | | Jan 7-11 2009 ¹⁶ | Aug 2006 |
| 21 | More involved | 17 | 15 |
| 39 | Less involved | 27 | 28 |
| 36 | As involved as it currently is | 48 | 49 |
| 4 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 8 | 8 |

NO QUESTION 45

¹⁵ In October 2009, the question was worded: "Do you think the United States' initial decision to use force in Afghanistan was the right decision or the wrong decision?"

¹⁶ In January 7-11, 2009 and August, 2006 surveys, question read, "In terms of resolving this conflict, do you think the United States should be more involved than it is now, less involved than it is now, or is it as involved as it should be?"

RANDOMIZE Q.44F2 AND Q.46F2**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:**

Q.46F2 Thinking about the political situation in the Middle East, which is more important **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

| Oct 30- Nov 6 <u>2013</u> | | Oct 4-7 <u>2012</u> | Mar 8-14 <u>2011</u> ¹⁷ |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 28 | Democratic governments, even if there is less stability in the region | 30 | 37 |
| 63 | Stable governments, even if there is less democracy in the region | 54 | 52 |
| 9 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 15 | 11 |

QUESTIONS 47-49 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,007]:**

And back to foreign policy...

Q.50F1 In general, does the United States rely on military strength too much, too little or about the right amount to achieve its foreign policy goals?

| Oct 30- Nov 6 <u>2013</u> | | (GA) May <u>2012</u> |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 38 | Too much | 40 |
| 15 | Too little | 10 |
| 43 | About the right amount | 44 |
| 4 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 6 |

RANDOMIZE Q.51F2 AND Q.52F2**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:**

Q.51F2 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of China today... Do you think China is **[READ IN ORDER]**:

| | <u>An adversary</u> | <u>A serious problem but not an adversary</u> | <u>Not much of a problem</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 23 | 43 | 28 | 6 |
| Jan 5-9, 2011 | 22 | 43 | 27 | 9 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 19 | 41 | 30 | 9 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 19 | 49 | 26 | 6 |
| October, 2005 | 16 | 45 | 30 | 9 |
| July, 2004 | 14 | 40 | 36 | 10 |
| February, 2002 | 17 | 39 | 33 | 11 |
| Early September, 2001 | 23 | 48 | 23 | 6 |
| May, 2001 | 19 | 51 | 22 | 8 |
| March, 2000 | 17 | 44 | 26 | 13 |
| June, 1999 | 18 | 53 | 22 | 7 |
| March, 1999 | 20 | 48 | 25 | 7 |
| September, 1997 | 14 | 46 | 32 | 8 |

RANDOMIZE Q.51F2 AND Q.52F2**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:**

Q.52F2 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of Russia today... Do you think Russia is **[READ IN ORDER]**:

| | <u>An adversary</u> | <u>A serious problem but not an adversary</u> | <u>Not much of a problem</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 18 | 36 | 40 | 6 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 15 | 32 | 42 | 11 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 18 | 48 | 28 | 6 |

¹⁷

In March 2011, question began "Thinking about recent events in the Middle East..."

ASK ALL:

Q.53 How much, if anything, have you heard about recent international talks regarding Iran's nuclear enrichment program? Have you heard **[READ IN ORDER]**

Oct 30-
Nov 6
2013
24 A lot
49 A little [OR]
26 Nothing at all
1 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

ASK IF HEARD A LOT OR A LITTLE (Q.53=1,2):

Q.54 Do you think Iranian leaders are serious about addressing international concerns about their country's nuclear enrichment program, or not?

BASED ON THOSE WHO HAVE HEARD A LOT OR A LITTLE [N=1,568]:

Oct 30-
Nov 6
2013
33 Serious
60 Not serious
7 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,007]:

Thinking about terrorism...

Q.55F1 Overall, do you think the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. is greater, the same, or less than it was at the time of the September 11th terrorist attacks?

| | <u>Greater</u> | <u>The same</u> | <u>Less</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> | (VOL.) |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 34 | 36 | 29 | 2 | 2 |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 23 | 39 | 35 | 3 | 3 |
| Oct 13-18, 2010 | 30 | 41 | 25 | 4 | 4 |
| Jan 6-10, 2010 | 33 | 35 | 29 | 3 | 3 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 29 | 38 | 29 | 4 | 4 |
| Feb 4-8, 2009 | 17 | 44 | 35 | 4 | 4 |
| Mid September, 2008 | 18 | 43 | 36 | 3 | 3 |
| Late February, 2008 | 16 | 41 | 39 | 4 | 4 |
| December, 2006 | 23 | 41 | 31 | 5 | 5 |
| August, 2006 | 25 | 37 | 33 | 5 | 5 |
| January, 2006 | 17 | 39 | 39 | 5 | 5 |
| Late October, 2005 | 26 | 41 | 29 | 4 | 4 |
| July, 2005 | 28 | 40 | 29 | 3 | 3 |
| July, 2004 | 24 | 39 | 34 | 3 | 3 |
| Late August, 2002 | 22 | 39 | 34 | 5 | 5 |

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:

Thinking about terrorism ...

Q.56F2 In general, how well do you think the U.S. government is doing in reducing the threat of terrorism?
[READ IN ORDER]

| | <u>Very well</u> | <u>Fairly well</u> | <u>Not too well</u> | <u>Not at all well</u> | (VOL.) |
|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 26 | 47 | 18 | 8 | 2 |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 | 20 | 47 | 21 | 9 | 3 |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 27 | 49 | 16 | 6 | 2 |
| Oct 13-18, 2010 | 15 | 54 | 17 | 10 | 4 |
| Jan 6-10, 2010 | 15 | 50 | 21 | 12 | 2 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 20 | 53 | 14 | 8 | 4 |
| Feb 4-8, 2009 | 22 | 49 | 16 | 6 | 7 |

Q.56F2 CONTINUED...

| | Very <u>well</u> | Fairly <u>well</u> | Not <u>too well</u> | Not at <u>all well</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| Late February, 2008 | 21 | 45 | 19 | 12 | 3 |
| January, 2007 | 17 | 37 | 27 | 17 | 2 |
| December, 2006 | 17 | 48 | 21 | 11 | 3 |
| August, 2006 | 22 | 52 | 16 | 8 | 2 |
| February, 2006 | 16 | 52 | 20 | 10 | 2 |
| January, 2006 | 16 | 50 | 20 | 9 | 5 |
| Late October, 2005 | 17 | 50 | 22 | 9 | 2 |
| July, 2005 | 17 | 53 | 19 | 8 | 3 |
| July, 2004 | 18 | 53 | 17 | 8 | 4 |
| August, 2003 | 19 | 56 | 16 | 7 | 2 |
| Early November, 2002 (RVs) | 15 | 54 | 19 | 8 | 4 |
| June, 2002 | 16 | 60 | 16 | 4 | 4 |
| Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009 | 19 | 56 | 15 | 5 | 5 |
| Early November, 2001 | 35 | 46 | 9 | 5 | 5 |
| October 15-21, 2001 | 38 | 46 | 9 | 4 | 3 |
| October 10-14, 2001 | 48 | 40 | 6 | 2 | 4 |

ASK ALL:

Q.57 What concerns you more about the government's anti-terrorism policies? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

| | They have gone too far in restricting the average <u>person's civil liberties</u> | They have not gone far enough to adequately <u>protect the county</u> | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ Approve <u>of policies</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 44 | 39 | 9 | 7 |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 | 47 | 35 | 11 | 7 |
| Oct 13-18, 2010 | 32 | 47 | 11 | 10 |
| Jan 6-10, 2010 | 27 | 58 | 8 | 8 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 36 | 40 | 13 | 11 |
| Feb 4-8, 2009 ¹⁸ | 36 | 42 | 9 | 13 |
| Late February, 2008 | 36 | 47 | 9 | 8 |
| August, 2006 | 26 | 55 | 11 | 8 |
| February, 2006 | 33 | 50 | 10 | 7 |
| January, 2006 | 33 | 46 | 12 | 9 |
| Late October, 2005 | 34 | 48 | 10 | 8 |
| July, 2005 | 31 | 52 | 10 | 7 |
| July, 2004 | 29 | 49 | 11 | 11 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,007]:

Q.58F1 Do you think Edward Snowden's leak of classified information about the U.S. government's phone and internet surveillance programs has served the public interest or harmed the public interest?

| | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Oct 30- Nov 6 <u>2013</u> | |
| 34 | Has served the public interest |
| 55 | Has harmed the public interest |
| 11 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

¹⁸ In February 4-8, 2009, the question asked whether the policies "go too far in restricting the average person's civil liberties" or "do not go far enough to adequately protect the country."

Q.58F1 TRENDS FOR COMPARISON...

As you may know, news organizations found out about this [the government's collection of telephone and internet data] program through the leak of classified information. Do you think the release of this classified information [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

(U)
 Jun 12-16
2013
 49 Has served the public interest
 44 Has harmed the public interest
 3 Neither/Both (VOL.)
 5 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

From what you've read and heard, do you think the release of classified documents about U.S. diplomatic relations by WikiLeaks [READ AND RANDOMIZE]:

Dec 2-5
2010
 29 Has served the public interest
 53 Has harmed the public interest
 7 Neither/Both (VOL.)
 11 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:

Q.59F2 Overall, do you think [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] has made the United States [RANDOMIZE: safer from terrorism, less safe from terrorism], or hasn't it made a difference? What about [INSERT ITEM]? [READ THE ANSWER CHOICES AS NECESSARY AFTER THE FIRST TIME]

| | <u>Safer</u> | <u>Less safe</u> | <u>Has not made a difference</u> | <u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| a. The war in Afghanistan Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 31 | 21 | 43 | 6 |
| b. The U.S government's phone and internet surveillance programs Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 39 | 14 | 38 | 8 |
| c. The use of military drones to target extremists in countries such as Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 50 | 14 | 27 | 9 |

ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent?

ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF (PARTY=3,4,5,9):

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

| | <u>Republican</u> | <u>Democrat</u> | <u>Independent</u> | <u>(VOL.) No preference</u> | <u>(VOL.) Other party</u> | <u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u> | <u>Lean Rep</u> | <u>Lean Dem</u> |
|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 24 | 32 | 38 | 4 | * | 2 | 16 | 14 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 25 | 32 | 37 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 16 | 18 |
| Sep 4-8, 2013 | 26 | 32 | 38 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 17 | 15 |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 | 19 | 29 | 46 | 3 | * | 2 | 19 | 18 |
| Jun 12-16, 2013 | 23 | 33 | 39 | 3 | * | 2 | 17 | 15 |
| May 1-5, 2013 | 25 | 32 | 37 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 14 | 16 |
| Mar 13-17, 2013 | 26 | 33 | 34 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 14 | 15 |
| Feb 13-18, 2013 | 22 | 32 | 41 | 2 | * | 2 | 15 | 19 |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 25 | 32 | 38 | 2 | * | 2 | 15 | 16 |
| Dec 17-19, 2012 | 21 | 32 | 38 | 4 | * | 4 | 15 | 14 |
| Dec 5-9, 2012 | 23 | 33 | 38 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 14 | 19 |
| Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012 | 26 | 34 | 34 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 13 | 16 |
| Oct 24-28, 2012 | 28 | 33 | 33 | 4 | * | 2 | 12 | 16 |

PARTY/PARTYLN CONTINUED...

| | <u>Republican</u> | <u>Democrat</u> | <u>Independent</u> | (VOL.) | (VOL.) | (VOL.) | <u>Lean Rep</u> | <u>Lean Dem</u> |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | | | | <u>No preference</u> | <u>Other party</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> | | |
| Yearly Totals | | | | | | | | |
| 2012 | 24.7 | 32.6 | 36.4 | 3.1 | .5 | 2.7 | 14.4 | 16.1 |
| 2011 | 24.3 | 32.3 | 37.4 | 3.1 | .4 | 2.5 | 15.7 | 15.6 |
| 2010 | 25.2 | 32.7 | 35.2 | 3.6 | .4 | 2.8 | 14.5 | 14.1 |
| 2009 | 23.9 | 34.4 | 35.1 | 3.4 | .4 | 2.8 | 13.1 | 15.7 |
| 2008 | 25.7 | 36.0 | 31.5 | 3.6 | .3 | 3.0 | 10.6 | 15.2 |
| 2007 | 25.3 | 32.9 | 34.1 | 4.3 | .4 | 2.9 | 10.9 | 17.0 |
| 2006 | 27.8 | 33.1 | 30.9 | 4.4 | .3 | 3.4 | 10.5 | 15.1 |
| 2005 | 29.3 | 32.8 | 30.2 | 4.5 | .3 | 2.8 | 10.3 | 14.9 |
| 2004 | 30.0 | 33.5 | 29.5 | 3.8 | .4 | 3.0 | 11.7 | 13.4 |
| 2003 | 30.3 | 31.5 | 30.5 | 4.8 | .5 | 2.5 | 12.0 | 12.6 |
| 2002 | 30.4 | 31.4 | 29.8 | 5.0 | .7 | 2.7 | 12.4 | 11.6 |
| 2001 | 29.0 | 33.2 | 29.5 | 5.2 | .6 | 2.6 | 11.9 | 11.6 |
| 2001 Post-Sept 11 | 30.9 | 31.8 | 27.9 | 5.2 | .6 | 3.6 | 11.7 | 9.4 |
| 2001 Pre-Sept 11 | 27.3 | 34.4 | 30.9 | 5.1 | .6 | 1.7 | 12.1 | 13.5 |
| 2000 | 28.0 | 33.4 | 29.1 | 5.5 | .5 | 3.6 | 11.6 | 11.7 |
| 1999 | 26.6 | 33.5 | 33.7 | 3.9 | .5 | 1.9 | 13.0 | 14.5 |
| 1998 | 27.9 | 33.7 | 31.1 | 4.6 | .4 | 2.3 | 11.6 | 13.1 |
| 1997 | 28.0 | 33.4 | 32.0 | 4.0 | .4 | 2.3 | 12.2 | 14.1 |
| 1996 | 28.9 | 33.9 | 31.8 | 3.0 | .4 | 2.0 | 12.1 | 14.9 |
| 1995 | 31.6 | 30.0 | 33.7 | 2.4 | .6 | 1.3 | 15.1 | 13.5 |
| 1994 | 30.1 | 31.5 | 33.5 | 1.3 | -- | 3.6 | 13.7 | 12.2 |
| 1993 | 27.4 | 33.6 | 34.2 | 4.4 | 1.5 | 2.9 | 11.5 | 14.9 |
| 1992 | 27.6 | 33.7 | 34.7 | 1.5 | 0 | 2.5 | 12.6 | 16.5 |
| 1991 | 30.9 | 31.4 | 33.2 | 0 | 1.4 | 3.0 | 14.7 | 10.8 |
| 1990 | 30.9 | 33.2 | 29.3 | 1.2 | 1.9 | 3.4 | 12.4 | 11.3 |
| 1989 | 33 | 33 | 34 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1987 | 26 | 35 | 39 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |

ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS ONLY (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1):

TEAPARTY3 From what you know, do you agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either way?

BASED ON REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS [N=876]:

| | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>No opinion either way</u> | (VOL.) | (VOL.) | <u>Not heard of/DK</u> |
|--------------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| | | | | <u>Haven't heard of</u> | <u>Refused</u> | |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 40 | 9 | 48 | 2 | 1 | -- |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 41 | 11 | 45 | 2 | 1 | -- |
| Sep 4-8, 2013 | 35 | 9 | 54 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 | 37 | 10 | 50 | 2 | 1 | -- |
| Jun 12-16, 2013 | 44 | 9 | 46 | 1 | 2 | -- |
| May 23-26, 2013 | 41 | 7 | 48 | 1 | 3 | -- |
| May 1-5, 2013 | 28 | 8 | 61 | 2 | 1 | -- |
| Mar 13-17, 2013 | 43 | 7 | 47 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| Feb 13-18, 2013 | 36 | 9 | 52 | 1 | 3 | -- |
| Feb 14-17, 2013 | 43 | 9 | 45 | 1 | 2 | -- |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 35 | 10 | 51 | 2 | 2 | -- |
| Dec 5-9, 2012 | 37 | 11 | 51 | 1 | * | -- |
| Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012 (RVs) | 40 | 8 | 49 | 1 | 2 | -- |
| Oct 4-7, 2012 | 38 | 9 | 50 | 1 | 3 | -- |
| Sep 12-16, 2012 | 39 | 7 | 52 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 | 40 | 9 | 47 | 2 | 1 | -- |
| Jun 7-17, 2012 | 42 | 8 | 48 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| May 9-Jun 3, 2012 | 36 | 9 | 53 | 1 | 2 | -- |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 42 | 8 | 48 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| Mar 7-11, 2012 | 38 | 10 | 49 | 2 | 1 | -- |

TEAPARTY3 CONTINUED...

| | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>No opinion either way</u> | <u>(VOL.) Haven't heard of</u> | <u>(VOL.) Refused</u> | <u>Not heard of/ DK</u> |
|-----------------------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Feb 8-12, 2012 | 40 | 7 | 51 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| Jan 11-16, 2012 | 42 | 8 | 47 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| Jan 4-8, 2012 | 37 | 8 | 52 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| Dec 7-11, 2011 | 40 | 9 | 48 | 2 | 1 | -- |
| Nov 9-14, 2011 | 41 | 9 | 49 | * | 1 | -- |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 37 | 11 | 51 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 43 | 7 | 49 | * | 1 | -- |
| Jul 20-24, 2011 | 40 | 7 | 51 | * | 1 | -- |
| Jun 15-19, 2011 | 42 | 9 | 47 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| May 25-30, 2011 | 37 | 7 | 52 | 1 | 3 | -- |
| Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 | 45 | 9 | 46 | * | 1 | -- |
| Mar 8-14, 2011 | 37 | 7 | 54 | 1 | * | -- |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 41 | 9 | 48 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| Feb 2-7, 2011 ¹⁹ | 43 | 8 | 47 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| Jan 5-9, 2011 | 45 | 6 | 47 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| Dec 1-5, 2010 | 48 | 5 | 45 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| Nov 4-7, 2010 | 51 | 5 | 42 | 1 | 1 | -- |
| Oct 27-30, 2010 (RVs) | 58 | 5 | 27 | -- | 1 | 9 |
| Oct 13-18, 2010 (RVs) | 54 | 5 | 30 | -- | 1 | 10 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs) | 56 | 6 | 29 | -- | * | 9 |
| Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 | 46 | 5 | 36 | -- | 1 | 13 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 46 | 5 | 30 | -- | * | 19 |
| May 20-23, 2010 | 53 | 4 | 25 | -- | 1 | 16 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 48 | 4 | 26 | -- | 1 | 21 |

Key to Pew Research trends noted in the topline:

| | |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| (U) | Pew Research Center/USA Today polls |
| (GA) | Pew Research Global Attitudes Project |
| (WP) | Pew Research Center/Washington Post polls |
| (C) | Pew Research Center/Carnegie Endowment for International Peace |
| (SDT) | Pew Research Social and Demographic Trends |

¹⁹ In the February 2-7, 2011, survey and before, question read "...do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the Tea Party movement..." In October 2010 and earlier, question was asked only of those who had heard or read a lot or a little about the Tea Party. In May 2010 through October 2010, it was described as: "the Tea Party movement that has been involved in campaigns and protests in the U.S. over the past year." In March 2010 it was described as "the Tea Party protests that have taken place in the U.S. over the past year."

PEW RESEARCH CENTER
October 31-November 3, 2013 OMNIBUS
FINAL TOPLINE
N=1,002

PEW.1 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**ASK ALL:**

Now a few questions about America's place in the world...

PEW.2 Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements [**RANDOMIZE**].

| | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>(VOL.)</u> <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| a. The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations | | | |
| October 31-November 3, 2013 | 56 | 34 | 10 |
| May 26-29, 2011 | 58 | 36 | 6 |
| November 12-15, 2009 | 51 | 38 | 11 |
| December, 2006 | 57 | 35 | 8 |
| October, 2005 | 54 | 39 | 7 |
| August, 2004 | 60 | 30 | 10 |
| December, 2002 | 67 | 28 | 5 |
| Early September, 2001 | 58 | 31 | 11 |
| March, 1999 | 65 | 26 | 9 |
| September, 1997 | 59 | 30 | 11 |
| June, 1995 | 62 | 30 | 8 |
| February, 1995 | 65 | 29 | 6 |
| October, 1993 | 64 | 28 | 8 |
| April, 1993 | 71 | 22 | 7 |
| Gallup: 1991 ¹ | 77 | 17 | 6 |
| Gallup: 1985 | 56 | 35 | 9 |
| Gallup: 1980 | 59 | 28 | 13 |
| Gallup: 1976 | 47 | 40 | 13 |
| Gallup: 1972 | 63 | 28 | 9 |
| Gallup: 1968 | 72 | 21 | 7 |
| Gallup: 1964 | 73 | 16 | 11 |
| b. In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies | | | |
| October 31-November 3, 2013 | 77 | 15 | 8 |
| May 26-29, 2011 | 79 | 16 | 5 |
| Nov 12-15, 2009 | 78 | 14 | 8 |
| December, 2006 | 82 | 12 | 6 |
| October, 2005 | 79 | 16 | 5 |
| August, 2004 | 76 | 14 | 10 |
| December, 2002 | 85 | 10 | 5 |
| Early September, 2001 | 80 | 11 | 9 |
| March, 1999 | 82 | 12 | 6 |
| September, 1997 | 72 | 18 | 10 |
| June, 1995 | 74 | 18 | 8 |
| April, 1993 | 80 | 13 | 7 |
| Gallup: 1991 | 86 | 10 | 4 |
| Gallup: 1985 | 82 | 12 | 6 |
| Gallup: 1980 | 79 | 13 | 8 |
| Gallup: 1976 | 71 | 18 | 11 |
| Gallup: 1972 | 80 | 12 | 8 |
| Gallup: 1968 | 84 | 9 | 7 |
| Gallup: 1964 | 81 | 8 | 11 |

¹ Trends for this series in 1991 and earlier are from public opinion surveys conducted by Potomac Associates, The Gallup Organization and the Institute for International Social Research.

PEW.2 CONTINUED...

| | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>(VOL.)</u> <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|
| c. Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not | | | |
| October 31-November 3, 2013 | 38 | 56 | 6 |
| May 26-29, 2011 | 35 | 62 | 3 |
| November 12-15, 2009 | 44 | 51 | 5 |
| December, 2006 | 28 | 68 | 4 |
| October, 2005 | 32 | 63 | 5 |
| August, 2004 | 28 | 65 | 7 |
| December, 2002 | 25 | 72 | 3 |
| Early September, 2001 | 32 | 62 | 6 |
| March, 1999 | 26 | 69 | 5 |
| September, 1997 | 32 | 62 | 6 |
| June, 1995 | 34 | 60 | 6 |
| April, 1993 | 34 | 63 | 3 |
| Gallup: 1991 | 29 | 66 | 5 |
| Gallup: 1985 | 26 | 70 | 4 |
| Gallup: 1980 | 26 | 66 | 8 |
| Gallup: 1976 | 30 | 61 | 9 |
| Gallup: 1972 | 22 | 72 | 6 |
| Gallup: 1968 | 23 | 72 | 5 |
| Gallup: 1964 | 19 | 71 | 10 |
| d. The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own | | | |
| October 31-November 3, 2013 | 52 | 38 | 10 |
| May 26-29, 2011 | 46 | 50 | 4 |
| November 12-15, 2009 | 49 | 44 | 7 |
| December, 2006 | 42 | 53 | 5 |
| October, 2005 | 42 | 51 | 7 |
| August, 2004 | 34 | 59 | 7 |
| December, 2002 | 30 | 65 | 5 |
| Early September, 2001 | 37 | 55 | 8 |
| March, 1999 | 35 | 57 | 8 |
| September, 1997 | 39 | 54 | 7 |
| June, 1995 | 41 | 51 | 8 |
| April, 1993 | 37 | 58 | 5 |
| Gallup: 1991 | 33 | 60 | 7 |
| Gallup: 1985 | 34 | 59 | 7 |
| Gallup: 1980 | 30 | 61 | 9 |
| Gallup: 1976 | 43 | 47 | 10 |
| Gallup: 1972 | 35 | 56 | 9 |
| Gallup: 1968 | 27 | 66 | 7 |
| Gallup: 1964 | 20 | 69 | 11 |
| e. We should not think so much in international terms but concentrate more on our own national problems and building up our strength and prosperity here at home | | | |
| October 31-November 3, 2013 | 80 | 16 | 4 |
| May 26-29, 2011 | 76 | 21 | 3 |
| November 12-15, 2009 | 76 | 19 | 4 |
| December, 2006 | 69 | 26 | 5 |
| October, 2005 | 71 | 23 | 6 |
| August, 2004 | 69 | 25 | 6 |
| December, 2002 | 65 | 31 | 4 |
| Early September, 2001 | 68 | 25 | 7 |
| March, 1999 | 68 | 27 | 5 |
| September, 1997 | 72 | 24 | 4 |
| June, 1995 | 78 | 18 | 4 |

PEW.2 CONTINUED...

| | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u> |
|--------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| April, 1993 | 79 | 18 | 3 |
| Gallup: 1991 | 78 | 16 | 6 |
| Gallup: 1985 | 60 | 34 | 6 |
| Gallup: 1980 | 61 | 30 | 9 |
| Gallup: 1976 | 73 | 22 | 5 |
| Gallup: 1972 | 73 | 20 | 7 |
| Gallup: 1968 | 60 | 31 | 9 |
| Gallup: 1964 | 54 | 32 | 13 |

ASK ALL:

PEW.3 Compared with the past, would you say the U.S. is MORE respected by other countries these days, LESS respected by other countries, or AS respected as it has been in the past?

ASK IF LESS RESPECTED (PEW.3=2):

PEW.4 Do you think less respect for America is a major problem, a minor problem, or not a problem at all?

| Oct 31-Nov 3 <u>2013</u> | | (RV) | | | | | | | Newsweek | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|
| | | Jan 11-16 <u>2012</u> | Nov 12-15 <u>2009</u> | Mid- Sep <u>2008</u> | May <u>2008</u> | Aug <u>2006</u> | Late Oct <u>2005</u> | July <u>2004</u> | May <u>1987</u> ² | Jan <u>1984</u> |
| 7 | More respected | 13 | 21 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 9 | 10 | 19 | 27 |
| 70 | Less respected | 56 | 56 | 70 | 71 | 65 | 66 | 67 | 55 | 36 |
| 46 | Major problem | 40 | 38 | 48 | 56 | 48 | 43 | 43 | -- | -- |
| 20 | Minor problem | 12 | 14 | 19 | 11 | 14 | 18 | 19 | -- | -- |
| 3 | Not a problem | 4 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 4 | -- | -- |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | * | * | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | -- | -- |
| 19 | As respected as in the past | 27 | 20 | 22 | 18 | 23 | 21 | 20 | 23 | 29 |
| 3 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 8 |

RANDOMIZE PEW.5 AND PEW.6**ASK ALL:**

PEW.5 Today, which ONE of the following do you think is the world's leading ECONOMIC power [READ AND RANDOMIZE]?

| Oct 31-Nov 3 <u>2013</u> | | Jan 6-9 <u>2011</u> | Nov 12-15 <u>2009</u> | Jan 30-Feb 2 <u>2008</u> |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 48 | China | 47 | 44 | 30 |
| 31 | The United States | 31 | 27 | 41 |
| 8 | Japan [OR] | 9 | 13 | 10 |
| 5 | The countries of the European Union | 6 | 5 | 9 |
| * | Other (VOL.) | 1 | * | * |
| * | None/There is no leading economic power (VOL.) | * | 1 | * |
| 7 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 6 | 10 | 10 |

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Today, which one of the following do you think is the world's leading economic power?

| | May <u>1990</u> | Jan <u>1989</u> |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| The United States | 41 | 29 |
| The Soviet Union | 4 | 2 |
| Japan [OR] | 46 | 58 |
| The countries of the European Economic Community | 4 | 4 |
| Don't know (VOL.) | 5 | 7 |

²

In May 1987 the question asked, "Compared to five years ago, would you say the U.S. is more respected by other countries, less respected by other countries, or as respected as it was five years ago by other countries?" In January 1984, the Newsweek question asked, "Compared to four years ago..."

RANDOMIZE PEW.5 AND PEW.6**ASK ALL:**

PEW.6 Today, which ONE of the following do you think is the world's leading MILITARY power **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

| Oct 31-Nov 3 <u>2013</u> | | Jan 6-9 <u>2011</u> | Nov 12-15 <u>2009</u> |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 68 | The United States | 67 | 63 |
| 14 | China | 16 | 18 |
| 6 | Russia [OR] | 5 | 6 |
| 2 | The countries of the European Union | 3 | 2 |
| 1 | Other (VOL.) | 1 | * |
| * | None/There is no leading military power (VOL.) | * | 1 |
| 7 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 8 | 10 |

PEW.7 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED