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Public Sees U.S. Power Declining as Support for Global Engagement Slips

America's Place in the World 2013

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About This Report

This is the sixth edition of the Pew Research Center's quadrennial "America's Place in the World" survey, which was first conducted in 1993. This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals. Find related reports online at pewresearch.org/politics.

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Overview: Public Sees U.S. Power Declining as Support for Global Engagement Slips

America's Place in the World 2013

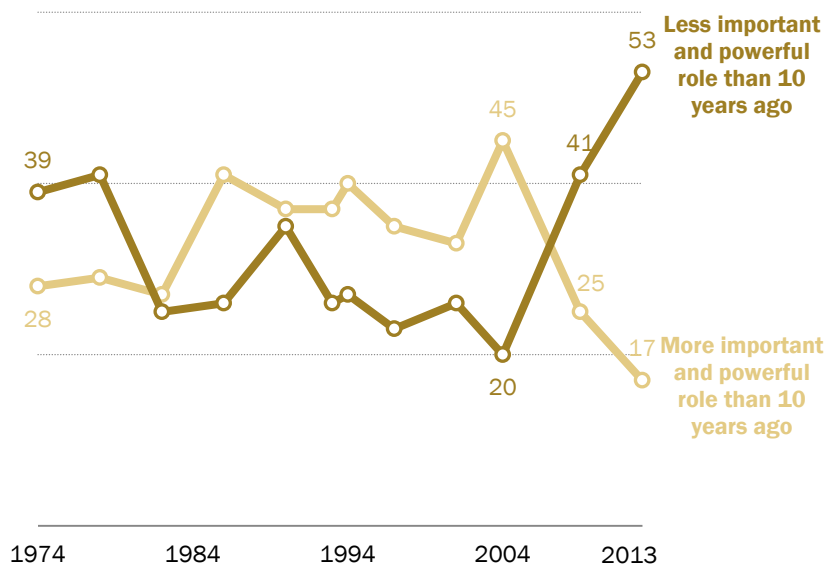
Growing numbers of Americans believe that U.S. global power and prestige are in decline. And support for U.S. global engagement, already near a historic low, has fallen further. The public thinks that the nation does too much to solve world problems, and increasing percentages want the U.S. to “mind its own business internationally” and pay more attention to problems here at home.

Yet this reticence is not an expression of across-the-board isolationism. Even as doubts grow about the United States' geopolitical role, most Americans say the benefits from U.S. participation in the global economy outweigh the risks. And support for closer trade and business ties with other nations stands at its highest point in more than a decade.

These are among the principal findings of America's Place in the World, a quadrennial survey of foreign policy attitudes conducted in partnership with the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), a nonpartisan membership organization and think tank specializing in U.S. foreign policy.

Views of U.S. Global Power Fall to 40-Year Low

U.S. role today as world leader is ...



Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public. "About as important a role as world leader" responses not shown. 1974-1990 data from Chicago Council on Foreign Relations.

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The survey of the general public, conducted Oct. 30-Nov. 6 among 2,003 adults, finds that views of U.S. global importance and power have passed a key milestone. For the first time in surveys dating back nearly 40 years, a majority (53%) says the United States plays a less important and powerful role as a world leader than it did a decade ago. The share saying the U.S. is less powerful has increased 12 points since 2009 and has more than doubled – from just 20% – since 2004.

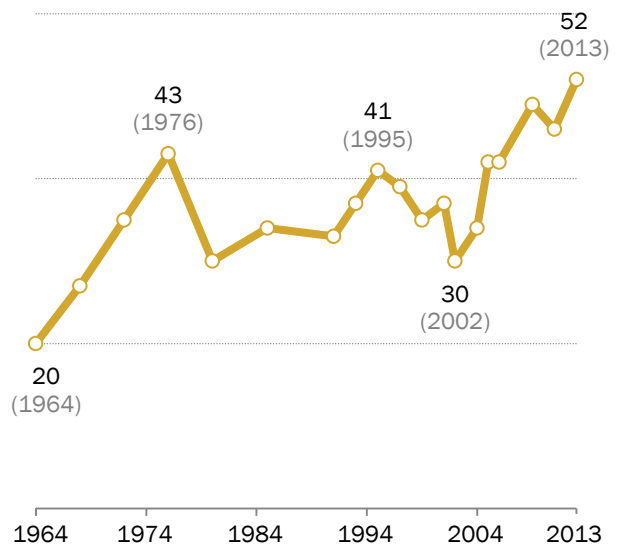
An even larger majority says the U.S. is losing respect internationally. Fully 70% say the United States is less respected than in the past, which nearly matches the level reached late in former President George W. Bush's second term (71% in May 2008). Early last year, fewer Americans (56%) thought that the U.S. had become less respected globally.

Foreign policy, once a relative strength for President Obama, has become a target of substantial criticism. By a 56% to 34% margin more disapprove than approve of his handling of foreign policy. The public also disapproves of his handling of Syria, Iran, China and Afghanistan by wide margins. On terrorism, however, more approve than disapprove of Obama's job performance (by 51% to 44%).

The public's skepticism about U.S. international engagement – evident in America's Place in the World surveys [four](#) and [eight](#) years ago – has increased. Currently, 52% say the United States "should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own." Just 38% disagree with the statement. This is the most lopsided balance in favor of the U.S. "minding its own business" in the nearly 50-year history of the measure.

Majority Says U.S. Should 'Mind Its Own Business Internationally'

% agreeing that 'the U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own'



Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: PEW2d (Omnibus). 1964-1991 data from Gallup.

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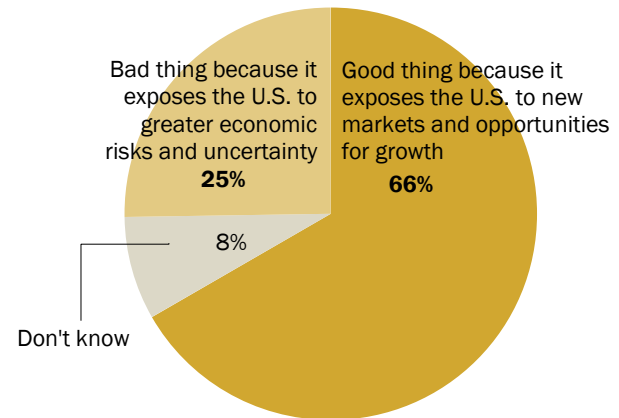
After the recent near-miss with U.S. military action against Syria, the NATO mission in Libya and lengthy wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, about half of Americans (51%) say the United States does too much in helping solve world problems, while just 17% say it does too little and 28% think it does the right amount. When those who say the U.S. does “too much” internationally are asked to describe in their own words why they feel this way, nearly half (47%) say problems at home, including the economy, should get more attention.

But the public expresses no such reluctance about U.S. involvement in the global economy. Fully 77% say that growing trade and business ties between the United States and other countries are either very good (23%) or somewhat good (54%) for the U.S. Just 18% have a negative view. Support for increased trade and business connections has increased 24 points since 2008, during the economic recession.

By more than two-to-one, Americans see more benefits than risks from greater involvement in the global economy. Two-thirds (66%) say greater involvement in the global economy is a good thing because it opens up new markets and opportunities for growth. Just 25% say that it is bad for the country because it exposes the U.S. to risk and uncertainty. Large majorities across education and income categories – as well as most Republicans, Democrats and independents – have positive views of increased U.S. involvement in the world economy.

Two-Thirds Say Greater U.S. Involvement In Global Economy Is a Good Thing

Greater U.S. involvement in global economy is a ...



Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q41.

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Mixed Views of Specific Impact of Global Economic Engagement

Would each mostly help or mostly hurt the U.S. economy?

	Mostly help %	Mostly hurt %	Other/ DK %
More foreign companies setting up operations in the U.S.	62	32	5=100
More U.S. companies setting up operations overseas	23	73	4=100
More people from other countries coming to the U.S. to work in high-skilled jobs	46	50	4=100
More people from other countries coming to the U.S. to work in low-skilled jobs	43	52	5=100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General Public: Q19.

Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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To be sure, the public sees some harmful consequences from the movement of companies and people across borders. A majority (62%) says that more foreign companies setting up operations in the United States would mostly help the economy. But 73% think that the economy would be hurt if more U.S. companies move their operations abroad.

The public has mixed views of the impact of attracting more high-skilled and low-skilled people from other countries to work in the United States: 46% say more high-skilled workers from abroad would mostly help the economy while 43% see benefits from increasing the number of low-skilled workers from other countries.

Views of Council on Foreign Relations Members

A companion survey of 1,838 members of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), conducted online from Oct. 7-Nov. 11, provides a unique perspective on public attitudes about America's place in the world. The organization's members have a decidedly internationalist outlook: For example, majorities see benefits for the United States from possible effects of increased globalization, including more U.S. companies moving their operations overseas.

The CFR members, who were enthusiastic about Barack Obama's presidency four years ago, offer some significant criticism today. More than four-in-ten (44%) say Obama's handling of foreign policy is worse than they expected, while just 16% say it is better than expected; 40% say it met their expectations. A particular area of disappointment stands out among the CFR members: that Obama's handling of the situation with Syria weakened America's reputation around the world.

Notably, there is consensus among the organization's members that the public has become less internationalist. Fully 92% say that in recent years "the American public has become less supportive of the U.S. taking an active role in world affairs."

Why Has the Public Turned Inward? Many CFR Members Cite 'War Fatigue'

<i>What is the main reason Americans have become less supportive of the U.S. taking an active role in world affairs?</i>	CFR Members %
War fatigue; Involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq	42
U.S. economy; Cost of involvement	28
Recent efforts have been ineffective	19
U.S. lacks political leadership	17
People don't understand the importance [of U.S. taking an active role]	8
Americans concerned about domestic priorities	7

Source: America's Place in the World November 2013. CFR members: Q15-16. Based on the 92% of CFR members who say the public has become less supportive. Open-ended question, multiple responses accepted.

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When asked why the public has become less supportive of global engagements, 42% of CFR members point to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, or explicitly cite “war fatigue.” About a quarter (28%) mention the struggling U.S. economy or the costs of international engagement. Other factors cited are the ineffectiveness of recent U.S. interventions (mentioned by 19%) and failures of U.S. leadership (17%). *(For more on how members of the Council on Foreign Relations view America’s Place in the World, see page 38).*

Opinion about Iran and Views of Global Security Threats

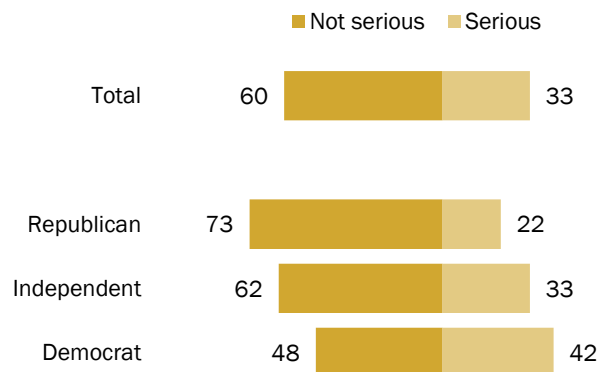
The surveys, which were completed before the multilateral agreement aimed at freezing Iran’s nuclear development program, find that most Americans do not believe that Iranian leaders are serious about addressing concerns over its nuclear program. Among those who heard at least a little about the nuclear talks, just 33% say they think Iranian leaders are serious about addressing international concerns about the country’s nuclear enrichment program, while 60% say they are not.

Members of the Council on Foreign Relations have more positive views of Iranian leaders’ intentions. Still, just half (50%) of the organization’s members say Iranian leaders are serious about addressing concerns over its nuclear program, while 44% disagree.

Among the public, there are partisan differences over whether Iranian leaders are serious about addressing concerns over the country’s nuclear program. Majorities of Republicans (73%) and independents (62%) who have heard at least a little about the nuclear talks say Iranian leaders are not serious in addressing nuclear concerns. Democrats who have heard about this issue offer more mixed evaluations; 42% say Iranian leaders are serious and 48% say they are not.

Most Doubt Iranian Leaders Are Serious in Addressing Nuclear Concerns

*Are Iranian leaders serious about addressing international concerns about their country’s nuclear enrichment program, or not?**



Source: America’s Place in the World 2013. General public: Q54. Don’t know responses not shown.

*Based on those who have heard at least a little about recent talks.

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Iran's nuclear program continues to be one of the top global threats to the United States in the public's view. Nearly seven-in-ten Americans (68%) say that Iran's nuclear program is a major threat to the well-being of the United States, which is changed only modestly from America's Place in the World surveys in [2009](#) and [2005](#).

Views of other long-standing global threats, such as Islamic extremist groups like al Qaeda (75% major threat), North Korea's nuclear program (68%) and China's emergence as a world power (54%), also have changed little in recent years.

However, the public now is deeply concerned by an emerging security threat, possible cyber-attacks against the United States. Seven-in-ten (70%) say that cyber-attacks represent a major threat, placing this on par with Islamic extremist groups and Iran's nuclear ambitions.

In terms of China and Russia, in particular, the public does not view either country very favorably – just 33% have a favorable opinion of China while 32% view Russia favorably.

Yet there is no evidence of growing public alarm about either China or Russia. Only about one-in-five Americans (23%) regard China as an adversary, while 43% see the country as a serious problem but not an adversary; 28% say China is not much of a problem. That opinion has held fairly steady for more than a decade. Similarly, relatively few (18%) view Russia as an adversary; 36% say Russia is a serious problem but not an adversary and 40% think the country is not much of a problem.

When asked which country represents the greatest danger to the United States, identical percentages volunteer Iran and China (16%). Nearly one-in-ten (9%) say that the United States itself represents the greatest danger, while 7% each cite North Korea and Iraq.

Emerging Security Threat: Possible Cyber-Attacks

% saying each is a major threat to the U.S.

	Oct 2005	Nov 2009	Nov 2013
	%	%	%
Islamic extremist groups like al Qaeda	--	76	75
Cyber-attacks from other countries	--	--	70
Iran's nuclear program	61	72	68
N. Korea's nuclear program	66	69	67
China's emergence as a world power	52	53	54
Global climate change	--	44	45
Economic problems in the EU	--	--	37
Growing authoritarianism in Russia	23	--	32

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q32.

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Public's Top Foreign Policy Priorities: Terrorism and Jobs

As in the past, many leading foreign policy priorities reflect domestic concerns. While 83% say that protecting the United States from terrorist attacks should be a top long-range foreign policy goal, about as many (81%) rate protecting the jobs of American workers as a top priority.

Majorities also say that reducing the country's dependence on imported energy sources (61%) and combating international drug trafficking (57%) should be top priorities, while nearly half say the same about reducing illegal immigration (48%).

Many of the public's domestically oriented goals are not shared by most members of the Council on Foreign Relations: Just 29% say protecting the jobs of American workers should be top policy priority, compared with 81% of the public. And only about one-in-ten CFR members (11%) sees reducing illegal immigration as a top long-range policy goal; 48% of the public views reducing illegal immigration as a top priority.

Climate change stands out as an issue of greater priority to CFR members than the public: A majority of the organization's members (57%) say that dealing with global climate change should be a top foreign policy goal, compared with 37% of the public.

Promoting human rights abroad, helping improve living standards in developing countries and promoting democracy rate as relatively low priorities for both the public and CFR members. These views have changed only modestly in recent years.

Many of Public's Top Foreign Policy Goals Reflect Domestic Concerns

% saying each should be a top policy priority ...

	General Public %	CFR Members %
Protecting U.S. from terrorist attacks	83	76
Protecting jobs of American workers	81	29
Preventing spread of weapons of mass destruction	73	81
Reducing dependence on imported energy sources	61	47
Combating international drug trafficking	57	17
Reducing illegal immigration	48	11
Strengthening the United Nations	37	17
Dealing w/ global climate change	37	57
Promoting and defending human rights in other countries	33	19
Helping improve living standards in developing nations	23	25
Promoting democracy in other nations	18	12

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q33. CFR: Q17.

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Perceptions of U.S. Global Power

In the public's view, China long ago surpassed the United States as the world's top economic power. In the new survey, 48% say China is the world's leading economic power while just 31% say it is the United States. That is little changed from recent years.

Yet, most Americans (68%) continue to say that the United States is the world's leading military power. Just 14% think China has overtaken the United States in military strength.

In general terms, however, an increasing share of Americans think that the United States plays a less important and powerful role as world leader than it did 10 years ago. Currently 53% see the U.S. as a less powerful world leader, up from 41% in 2009.

Members of the Council on Foreign Relations also believe that U.S. power has declined. A majority of the organization's members (62%) express this view, compared with 44% in 2009.

Partisanship is a major factor in changing public opinion about U.S. global power. Nearly three-quarters of Republicans (74%) say the United States plays a less important and powerful role than it did 10 years ago, up from 50% four years ago and just 8% in July 2004.

Public Views China as Top Economic Power, U.S. as Leading Military Power

<i>Which is the world's leading <u>economic</u> power?</i>	Feb 2008	Nov 2009	Jan 2011	Nov 2013
	%	%	%	%
China	30	44	47	48
United States	41	27	31	31
Japan	10	13	9	8
EU countries	9	5	6	5
Other (Vol.)/DK	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Which is the leading <u>military</u> power?</i>				
United States	--	63	67	68
China	--	18	16	14
Russia	--	6	5	6
EU countries	--	2	3	2
Other (Vol.)/DK	--	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
		100	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General Public: PEW 5-6 (Omnibus). Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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Yet, the percentage of political independents who view the U.S. as less powerful also has grown, from 23% in 2004 to 45% in 2009 and 55% today. Democrats' views have changed little over this period; in the current survey, 33% of Democrats say the U.S. is less powerful than it was a decade ago.

Partisan differences are not as pronounced in opinions about whether the United States is respected internationally. Majorities of Republicans (80%), independents (74%) and Democrats (56%) say the United States is less respected by other nations than in the past.

Wide Partisan Gap in Views of U.S. Global Power; Most Democrats Say U.S. Is Less Respected

<i>% saying U.S. plays less important and powerful role as world leader than 10 years ago ...</i>	Early Sept 2001	July 2004	Nov 2009	Nov 2013
	%	%	%	%
Total	26	20	41	53
Republican	21	8	50	74
Democrat	28	27	29	33
Independent	27	23	45	55
Rep-Dem diff.	-7	-19	+21	+41
<i>% saying U.S. is less respected by other countries than in the past ...</i>	July 2004	May 2008	Nov 2009	Nov 2013
Total	67	71	56	70
Republican	47	60	68	80
Democrat	80	81	49	56
Independent	74	72	59	74
Rep-Dem diff.	-33	-21	+19	+24

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: PEW 3. (Omnibus). Q23.

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In contrast with attitudes about America's global power, there is more partisan agreement that the United States should be less active internationally. About half of independents (55%) and Republicans (53%) and 46% of Democrats say the United States should mind its own business internationally. In 2002, following the 9/11 attacks, 27% of independents, 22% of Republicans and 40% of Democrats wanted the United States to mind its own business internationally.

Obama and Foreign Policy

Barack Obama's overall job approval rating has fallen over the past year, and he gets low ratings for his handling of number of foreign policy issues. His job rating is below 40% for nine of 10 foreign policy issues tested, including his overall handling of the nation's foreign policy. Terrorism is the only issue on which more approve of the job he is doing (51%) than disapprove (44%).

Views of Obama's job performance in handling foreign policy issues are mostly on par with ratings of his performance on some domestic issues. The survey finds that 37% approve of the way Obama is handling health care and just 31% approve of his handling of the economy.

About half of Americans (51%) say that Obama is not tough enough in his approach to foreign policy and national security issues; 37% say his approach is about right while 5% say he is too tough. The share saying Obama is not tough enough has risen 10 points since September (from 41%), though it is only slightly higher than the percentage describing him this way in April 2010 (47%).

Obama's Job Ratings on Foreign Policy

	Approve %	Disapprove %	DK %
Overall job approval	41	53	6=100
<i>Job rating for handling...</i>			
Threat of terrorism	51	44	5=100
Global climate change	38	46	17=100
Russia	37	47	16=100
Iran	37	53	10=100
International trade	36	47	17=100
Afghanistan	34	57	9=100
Nation's foreign policy	34	56	10=100
Immigration policy	32	60	7=100
China	30	52	18=100
Syria	30	57	13=100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q2, Q13
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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On Foreign Policy, More Say Obama Is 'Not Tough Enough'

Is Barack Obama _____ when it comes to foreign policy and national security	June 2009	April 2010	Sept 2012	Nov 2013
	%	%	%	%
Too tough	2	2	2	5
Not tough enough	38	47	41	51
About right	51	41	42	37
Don't know	8	10	15	6
	100	100	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q14.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

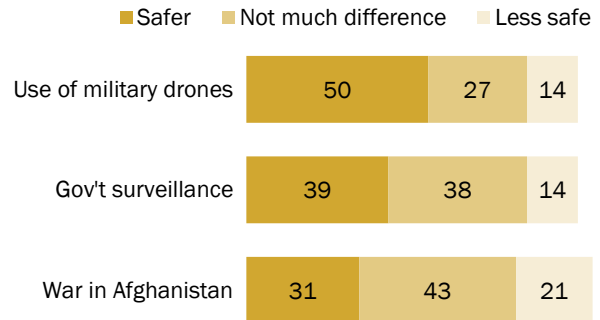
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With regard to specific security policies, 50% say the use of military drones to target extremists in Pakistan and other countries in the region has made the United States safer from terrorism, just 14% say it has made the U.S. less safe, while 27% say it has not made a difference.

The government's phone and internet surveillance programs get mixed grades: 39% say they have made the nation safer from terrorism, 14% less safe and 38% say they have not made a difference. Finally, as the war in Afghanistan is winding down, just 31% of the public say the 12-year-long conflict has made the country safer from terrorism, 21% say it has made the U.S. less safe, and the plurality view (43%) is that it has not made a difference in U.S. security.

50% Say Drones Have Made U.S. Safer; Just 31% Say Same about Afghan War

Has each made U.S. safer from terrorism, less safe or hasn't it made a difference?



Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q59.

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Section 1: America's Global Role

For the first time in surveys dating to 1974, more than half of the public (53%) says the United States plays a less important and powerful role as a world leader than it did a decade ago. Just 17% say it plays a more important role, while 27% say it is about as important as it was in the past.

In 2009, 41% said the U.S. was less important as a world leader than it had been 10 years earlier, while 25% said it was more important (30% said it was about as important). From 1993 to 2004, higher percentages said the U.S. was more important than less important than it had been 10 years earlier.

Members of the Council on Foreign Relations are also far more likely to see the U.S. as a less important and powerful world leader: 62% express this view, compared with 44% in 2009 and 25% in early September 2001, shortly before the 9/11 attacks.

U.S. Viewed as Less Important and Powerful World Leader

Compared with 10 years ago, the U.S. is...

	Sept 1993	Sept 1997	Early Sept 2001	July 2004	Nov 2009	Nov 2013	09-13 change
<i>General public</i>							
More important	37	35	33	45	25	17	-8
Less important	30	23	26	20	41	53	+12
As important	31	40	38	31	30	27	-3
<i>Republicans</i>							
More important	35	30	38	63	17	5	-12
Less important	32	29	21	8	50	74	+24
As important	31	38	39	27	31	19	-12
<i>Democrats</i>							
More important	39	41	32	32	36	26	-10
Less important	26	14	28	27	29	33	+4
As important	32	43	38	37	30	38	+8
<i>Independents</i>							
More important	37	33	34	44	21	17	-4
Less important	30	28	27	23	45	55	+10
As important	32	39	37	30	30	25	-5

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q23. Don't know responses not shown.

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Among the public, the change in attitudes about America's global role – both between 2004 and 2009 and between 2009 and now – reflects, for the most part, changes in opinion among Republicans and independents. Currently, 74% of Republicans say the U.S. plays a less important role as a world leader, compared with 50% in 2009 and just 8% in 2004, during the George W. Bush administration. Among independents, 55% now say the U.S. plays a less important role; 45% said the same in 2009 and 23% did so in 2004.

Democrats' views about America's importance as a world leader have been more stable, although fewer see the U.S. as more important and powerful than did so in 2009. Currently, 26% of Democrats say the U.S. plays a more important role as a world leader, 33% say it is less important, and 38% say it is as important as a decade ago. In 2009, 36% said the U.S. played a more important role, while 29% said it was less important and 30% said it was as important as it had been.

U.S. Widely Seen as Less Respected

Impressions of how the U.S. is perceived abroad improved soon after Barack Obama took office, but are now as negative as they

were during the Bush administration. Seven-in-ten (70%) believe the U.S. is less respected by other countries than in the past; just 7% say the U.S. is more respected and 19% say it is as respected as in the past.

The percentage saying the United States is less respected is higher than in 2012 or 2009 (56% in each year) and is about as high as in May 2008, during George W. Bush's final year in office (71%).

Public Sees Global Loss of Respect for U.S.

Compared to the past, the U.S. is ____ by other countries these days ...

	July 2004	Oct 2005	Aug 2006	May 2008	Nov 2009	Jan 2012	Nov 2013
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
More respected	10	9	7	7	21	13	7
Less respected	67	66	65	71	56	56	70
<i>Is less respect a ...</i>							
Major problem	43	43	48	56	38	40	46
Minor/Not a problem	23	22	16	14	18	16	23
Don't know	1	1	1	1	*	*	1
As respected	20	21	23	18	20	27	19
Don't know	3	4	5	4	3	3	3
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: PEW3 & PEW4 (omnibus). Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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Most of those who say the

United States is less respected than in the past – 46% of the public, overall – say this is a major problem. Just 23% of the public views the lack of respect as a minor problem or say it is not a problem.

Republicans are now more likely to say the U.S. is less respected internationally – and to view this as a major problem – than during the Bush administration. Democrats, by contrast, are now less likely to see a loss of respect for the United States and to say it is a major problem than in 2008.

Currently, 80% of Republicans say the United States is less respected internationally and 59% see it as a major problem. In May 2008, 60% of Republicans said the U.S. was less respected and fewer than half (43%) viewed this as a major problem.

Democrats' opinions have moved in the opposite direction. Today, 56% of Democrats say the U.S. is less respected internationally; only about third (32%) say the loss of respect is a major problem. Five years ago, 81% of Democrats said the U.S. was less respected, and two-thirds (67%) said the erosion of respect for the U.S. was a major problem.

A Reversal in Partisan Views of U.S. Global Respect Since Bush's Presidency

% saying the U.S. is _____ than in the past ...	Total %	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %
November 2013				
More respected	7	6	13	4
Less respected	70	80	56	74
<i>Is less respect a ...</i>				
Major problem	46	59	32	49
Minor/Not a problem	23	21	24	24
As respected	19	13	28	18
May 2008				
More respected	7	9	6	8
Less respected	71	60	81	72
<i>Is less respect a ...</i>				
Major problem	56	43	67	57
Minor/Not a problem	14	15	13	15
As respected	18	26	10	18

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: PEW3 & PEW4 (omnibus). Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. Don't know responses not shown.

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U.S. Leadership Role

Consistent with past surveys, a large majority of Americans (72%) favor a shared leadership role for the United States. Far fewer say the U.S. should be the single world leader or play no leadership role (12% each).

Of those who say the U.S. should play a shared leadership role, 70% (51% of the total public) think the U.S. should be about as active as other leading nations; 28% (20% overall) say it should be the most active of the leading nations.

Members of the Council on Foreign Relations also overwhelmingly favor a shared leadership role for the U.S. – 86% express this view. CFR members were then asked if the U.S. should be the most

assertive of leading nations (the public was asked if the U.S. should be the most active). A majority of CFR members (55%) would like the U.S. to be the most assertive of the leading nations, while 24% say the U.S. should be no more or less assertive than other leading nations.

Most Favor Shared World Leadership

U.S. leadership role should be...

	Sept 1993	Sept 1997	Early Sept 2001	Oct 2005	Nov 2009	Nov 2013
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Single world leader	10	12	13	12	14	12
Shared leadership role	81	73	75	74	70	72
Most active	27	22	25	25	19	20
As active as others	52	50	49	47	48	51
No leadership role	7	11	8	10	11	12
Don't know	2	4	4	4	6	4
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q24 & Q25. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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U.S. Role in Solving World Problems

About half of the public (51%) say the U.S. does too much in terms of helping solve world problems, while 17% think the U.S. does too little and 28% think it does the right amount. This is virtually unchanged from 2002, when 47% said the U.S. did too much, 17% said it did too little and 31% said the U.S. did about the right amount in helping solve world problems

By contrast, about twice as many CFR members say the U.S. does too little internationally as say it does too much (41% vs. 21%); 35% say the U.S. does the right amount.

The survey of the general public finds modest differences in opinions about the U.S. role in helping to solve world problems. Comparable percentages of Republicans (52%) and Democrats (46%) say the United States does too much to solve world problems; among independents, 55% express this view. Democrats are more likely to say that the United States does the right amount to solve global problems (36% vs. 26% of Republicans and 24% of independents).

Tea Party Republicans hold about the same views as non-Tea Party Republicans about America's role in solving world problems. About half of Republicans and Republican leaners who agree with Tea Party (54%) say the U.S. does too much to solve problems internationally, as do 52% of Republicans and GOP leaners who do not agree with the Tea Party.

Public, CFR Members Differ on U.S. Involvement

In terms of helping solve world problems, the U.S. does...

	Public %	CFR %
Too much	51	21
Too little	17	41
Right amount	28	35
Don't know/No answer	4	3
	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q28. CFR: Q12. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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Modest Partisan Differences in Views of U.S. Role in Solving World Problems

% of public saying the U.S. does...

	Too much %	Too little %	Right amount %	Don't know %
Republican	52	18	26	4=100
Democrat	46	15	36	3=100
Independent	55	18	24	3=100
<i>Among Reps/Rep leaners</i>				
Tea Party	54	22	20	4=100
Non-Tea Party	52	17	28	3=100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q28. Don't know responses not shown.

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Views of International Engagement

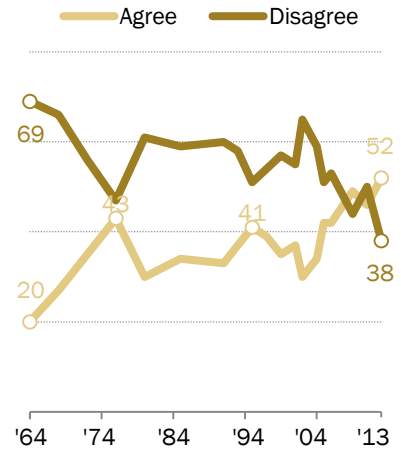
The public's inclination toward less global engagement is also visible in answers to two questions that have been asked for nearly half a century. For the first time since 1964, more than half (52%) agree that the U.S. should “mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own;” 38% disagree. Two years ago, the public was nearly evenly divided (46% agreed and 50% disagreed in May 2011) and, as recently as 2006, more disagreed than agreed that the U.S. should mind its own business internationally (53% vs. 42%).

Similarly, 80% agree with the statement, “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,” up slightly from 76% in 2011. The level of support for this statement, which has been tested since 1964, now rivals the previous high set in the early 1990s.

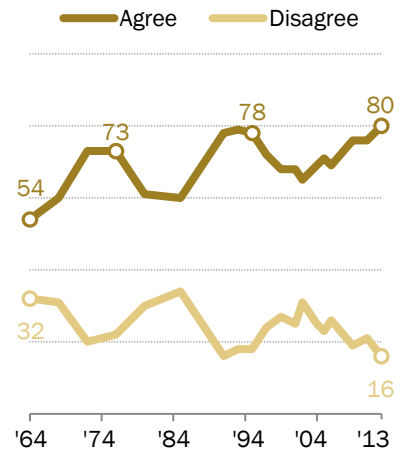
Views on global engagement do not vary much across party lines. Majorities or pluralities of Republicans (52%), Democrats (46%) and independents (55%) think the U.S. does too much to try to help solve world problems, and agree that the U.S. should mind its own business internationally (53%, 46% and 55%, respectively). And close to eight-in-ten among each group agree that the U.S. should concentrate more on our own national problems, rather than thinking so much in international terms (82% of Republicans, 76% of Democrats and 79% of independents).

Public Wants to Keep Focus at Home

The U.S. should **mind its own business** internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own



We should not think so much in international terms but **concentrate more on our own national problems** and building up our own strengths and prosperity here at home.



Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: PEW2d-e (omnibus).

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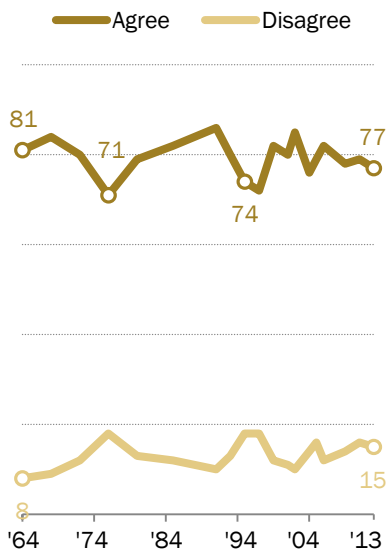
Working with Allies and the United Nations

Nearly eight-in-ten Americans (77%) agree that “in deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies,” virtually unchanged from 79% in 2011 and 78% in 2009. And most (56%) disagree that “since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters,” although more agree with the statement now (38%) than at any time in nearly half a century, with the exception of 2009, when 44% agreed that the U.S. should go its own way internationally.

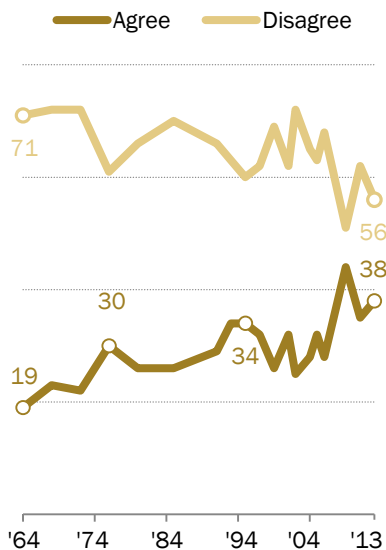
When it comes to working with the United Nations, 56% of the public agrees that the U.S. should cooperate fully with the international organization, which is virtually unchanged from 2011 (58%). The percentage of Americans saying the U.S. should cooperate with the United Nations reached its peak in 1991, when 77% of Americans agreed with this notion. In 2002, 67% said the U.S. should work with the institution.

A Role for Our Allies and the United Nations

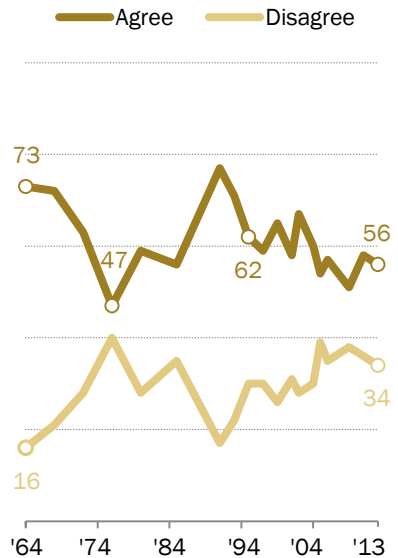
In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should **take into account the views of its major allies**



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



The United States should **cooperate fully with the United Nations**



Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: PEW2a-c (omnibus).

Republicans are more likely than Democrats and independents to say the U.S. should go its own way in international matters, regardless of what other countries think; 47% of Republicans express this view, compared with 30% of Democrats and 37% of independents. Conversely, Republicans are less likely than other groups to say the U.S. should cooperate fully with the United Nations (46% vs. 69% of Democrats and 57% of independents).

Most Favor Keeping U.S. as Only Superpower

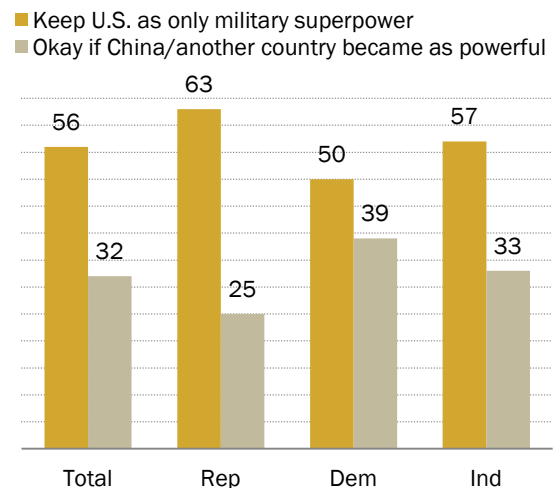
More than half of the public (56%) say U.S. policies should try to keep it so America is the only military superpower, while 32% say it would be acceptable if China, another country or the European Union became as militarily powerful as the United States. This view is virtually unchanged from 2009.

Republicans are especially inclined to say U.S. policies should ensure America's position as the only military superpower. About six-in-ten (63%) say this is the case, compared with half of Democrats; 57% of independents also favor policies aimed at keeping the U.S. as the only superpower.

There is no evidence that the public sees America's status as the world's military superpower as eroding. About two-thirds (68%) name the U.S. as the world's leading military power; 14% name China. In 2011, 67% said the U.S. was the world's leading military power, and 63% shared this view in 2009.

In contrast, more Americans cite China as the world's leading economic power than name the U.S. (48% vs. 31%), also largely unchanged from 2011 (47% China vs. 31% U.S.) and 2009 (44% vs. 27%). In early 2008, however, more named the U.S. as the world's leading economic power than named China (41% vs. 30%).

Public Wants U.S. to Remain Sole Military Superpower



Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q26.

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Section 2: Views of Trade and the Global Economy

While Americans remain reluctant about U.S. global engagement, most see benefits to greater economic integration, even when presented with potential drawbacks such as the possibility of risk and instability in the global economy.

About three-quarters of the public (77%) say the growing trade and business ties between the U.S. and other countries is a good thing, a view that is shared by 99% of Council on Foreign Relations members, including 86% who see it as a *very good thing*. Among the public, solid majorities of Republicans (74%), Democrats (83%) and independents (74%) describe increased international trade and business ties as good for the U.S.

Opinions on this issue are now as positive as they were when this question was first asked in 2002; at that time, 78% said that growing trade and business ties between the U.S. and other countries were a good thing. The percentage describing increased international trade and business ties in positive terms declined considerably during the economic downturn (59% in 2007 and 53% in 2008), before bouncing back to 65% in 2009, 66% in 2010 and 67% in 2011.

When asked whether greater U.S. involvement in the global economy is a good thing because it exposes the U.S. to new markets and opportunities for growth or a bad thing because it exposes the country to greater risks and uncertainty, 66% choose the former. One-quarter say greater participation in the global economy is a bad thing for the U.S.

As is the case with views about increased international trade and business ties, opinions about greater U.S. involvement in the global economy do not vary considerably across party line. About seven-in-ten Democrats (70%) and Republicans (69%) see greater involvement in the global economy as a good thing because it exposes the U.S. to new markets and opportunities for growth; 63% of independents agree.

Support for U.S. Participation in Global Economy

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
<i>Growing trade and business ties are...</i>	%	%	%	%
Good for the U.S.	77	74	83	74
Bad for the U.S.	18	21	14	20
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Greater involvement in the global economy is...</i>				
Good because it exposes the U.S. to new markets and opportunities	66	69	70	63
Bad because it exposes the U.S. to risk and uncertainty	25	23	22	30
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q40 & Q41. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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The Economic Impact of Globalization

About six-in-ten Americans (62%) say more foreign companies setting up operations in the U.S. would mostly help the U.S. economy, while 32% say this would mostly hurt. In contrast, 73% say more U.S. companies setting up operations overseas would hurt the economy, while 23% say it would help.

Views about the impact of immigration are more mixed. About as many think more people from other countries coming to the U.S. to work in high-skilled jobs would help the economy as say it would hurt (46% vs. 50%). Opinions are somewhat more negative when it comes to more people from other countries coming to the U.S. to work in low-skilled jobs: 43% say this would help and 52% say it would hurt the U.S. economy.

For the most part, opinions do not vary considerably across party lines, but Democrats are more likely than Republicans and independents to say more immigrants coming to the U.S. to work in low-skilled jobs would help the economy. More than half of Democrats (53%) say this is the case, compared with 31% of Republicans and 42% of independents.

Public Has Mixed Views of Globalization

	Public	CFR
<i>More foreign companies setting up operations in the U.S.</i>	%	%
Mostly help the economy	62	96
Mostly hurt the economy	32	3
Other/Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100
<i>More U.S. companies setting up operations overseas</i>		
Mostly help the economy	23	73
Mostly hurt the economy	73	25
Other/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100
<i>More people from other countries coming to the U.S. to work in high-skilled jobs</i>		
Mostly help the economy	46	95
Mostly hurt the economy	50	4
Other/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100
<i>More people from other countries coming to the U.S. to work in low-skilled jobs</i>		
Mostly help the economy	43	72
Mostly hurt the economy	52	25
Other/Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013; General public: Q19a-d. CFR: Q7a-d. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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College graduates are more likely than those with less education to say that more foreign companies and workers coming to the U.S. would mostly help the nation's economy. Relatively small percentages across all education groups say that more American companies moving overseas would mostly help the U.S. economy.

Better Educated More Likely to See More Foreign Companies and Workers as Good for U.S. Economy

% saying each would "mostly help" the U.S. economy

	More foreign companies in US %	More US companies overseas %	More high-skilled workers in US %	More low-skilled workers in US %
Total	62	23	46	43
College grad+	75	21	60	54
Some college	63	16	45	38
High school or less	54	28	38	39

Source: America's Place in the World 2013: General public: Q19a-d.

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Unlike the public, members of the Council on Foreign Relations offer decidedly positive views of each of the four items tested. More than nine-in-ten say more foreign companies setting up operations in the U.S. and more people from other countries coming to the U.S. to work in high-skilled jobs would help the economy (96% and 95% respectively); smaller but substantial majorities say the same about more U.S. companies setting up operations overseas and more immigrants coming to the U.S. to work in low-skilled jobs (73% and 72% respectively).

Unchanged Opinions of Immigrants' Impact

While Americans offer somewhat mixed views of the economic impact of increased low-skilled and high-skilled immigration, there is no evidence of a backlash against immigrants.

About half (49%) agree with the statement "immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents," while 40% say immigrants "are a burden on our country because they take

More View Immigrants as a Strength than as a Burden

% saying immigrants today...

	Jul 1994 %	Sep 2000 %	Dec 2004 %	Mar 2006 %	Jun 2010 %	Mar 2011 %	Mar 2013 %	Nov 2013 %
Strengthen the U.S. with their hard work and talents	31	50	45	41	39	45	49	49
Are a burden because they take jobs, health care	63	38	44	52	50	44	41	40
Both/Neither/DK	<u>6</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q20. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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our jobs, housing and health care.” This is unchanged from earlier this year.

In March 2011, about as many said immigrants were a strength as said they were a burden for the United States, while the opinion that immigrants were a burden prevailed in March 2006 and June 2010. Anti-immigrant sentiment was especially widespread in July 1994, when 63% described immigrants as a burden and 31% said immigrants strengthened the country.

Section 3: Long-Range Foreign Policy Goals

The long-range foreign policy priorities of the American public have remained largely consistent since the 1990s – a period covering three presidencies, two major wars and the worst terrorist attack in the nation’s history.

Fully 83% say that taking measures to protect against terrorist attacks should be a top priority of the United States. This is little changed from the most recent America’s Place in the World surveys in 2009 (85% top priority) and 2005 (86%).

Even in September 2001, before the 9/11 terrorist attacks, 80% rated protecting the nation from terrorism as top priority.

Public’s Long-Range Foreign Policy Goals Have Remained Generally Consistent Since the ‘90s

% saying each should be a top policy priority...

	Sept 1997	Early Sept 2001	Oct 2005	Nov 2009	Nov 2013
	%	%	%	%	%
Protecting U.S. from terrorist attacks	--	80	86	85	83
Protecting American jobs	77	77	84	85	81
Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction	70	78	75	74	73
Reducing dependence on imported energy	--	--	67	64	61
Combating international drug trafficking	67	64	59	56	57
Reducing illegal immigration	42	--	51	46	48
Strengthening the United Nations	30	42	40	37	37
Dealing w/ global climate change	50	44	43	40	37
Promoting and defending human rights in other countries	27	29	37	29	33
Helping improve living standards in developing nations	23	25	31	26	23
Promoting democracy in other nations	22	29	24	21	18

Source: America’s Place in the World 2013. General Public: Q33a-k. Early September 2001 conducted before 9/11 attacks.

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Protecting American jobs also continues to be one of the public’s leading policy goals. Currently, 81% rate protecting U.S. jobs as a top priority, which has remained stable since the 1990s. Nearly three-quarters of Americans (73%) say that preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction should be a top long-range policy objective.

About six-in-ten (61%) say that reducing U.S. dependence on imported energy sources is a top priority, which is slightly lower than 2005 (67%). And (57%) say the same of combatting international drug trafficking; that is little changed from recent years, though 10 points lower than in the 1997 America’s Place in the World survey.

Currently, 48% say that reducing illegal immigration should be a top foreign policy priority, compared with 46% in 2009 and 51% in 2005. Nearly four-in-ten (37%) cite strengthening the United Nations as an important objective, which has little changed from 2009 (37%) and 2005 (40%), and is slightly lower from 2001 (42%). About as many (37%) say that dealing with global climate change should be a top priority, which has declined from 50% in 1997.

The goals rated lowest by the public are promoting human rights in other countries (33% top priority), helping improve the living standards in developing nations (23%) and promoting democracy in other nations (18%). These objectives have never been viewed as important by most Americans, though in the early September 2001 survey, 29% said promoting democracy abroad should be a top policy priority.

CFR Members' Policy Priorities

The long range policy goals of Council on Foreign Relations members are similar to the public's in several respects. Large percentages of CFR members rate preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction (81%) and protecting the U.S. from terrorism (76%) as top policy priorities.

And CFR members, like the public, view improving living standards in developing countries (25%), and the promotion of human rights (19%) and democracy (12%) as much lower policy priorities.

However, a much higher percentage of the public (81%) than CFR members (29%) say that protecting American jobs should be a top priority of the nation's foreign policy. Conversely, a majority of CFR members (57%) rate dealing with climate change as a top priority, compared with 37% of the public.

Protecting Jobs Seen as Higher Priority by the Public; Climate Change a Higher Priority for CFR Members

% saying each should be a top policy priority ...

General Public	Council on Foreign Relations members
83 Protecting U.S. from terrorism	81 Preventing spread of WMD
81 Protecting American jobs	76 Protecting U.S. from terrorism
73 Preventing spread of WMD	57 Dealing w/ global climate change
61 Reducing dependence on imported energy	47 Reducing dependence on imported energy
57 Combating int'l drug trafficking	29 Protecting American jobs
48 Reducing illegal immigration	25 Improving living standards in developing nations
37 Strengthening the U.N.	19 Promoting human rights abroad
37 Dealing w/ climate change	17 Strengthening the U.N.
33 Promoting human rights abroad	17 Combating int'l drug trafficking
23 Improving living standards in developing nations	12 Promoting democracy abroad
18 Promoting democracy abroad	11 Reducing illegal immigration

Source: America's Place in the World 2013; General public: Q33a-k; CFR: Q17a-k.

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Reducing illegal immigration and strengthening the U.N. are much higher priorities for the public than CFR members. About half of the public (48%) says that reducing illegal immigration should be a top priority and 37% say the same of strengthening the U.N. Among CFR members, just 11% see reducing illegal immigration as a top policy objective and just 17% rate strengthening the U.N. as a top priority.

Wide Partisan Differences over Climate Change, Illegal Immigration

There continue to be wide partisan disagreements over the importance of a number of foreign policy priorities. More than three times as many Democrats (57%) as Republicans (16%) say that dealing with global climate change should be a top foreign policy priority. This reflects the [deep partisan divide](#) over whether there is solid evidence that the earth is warming.

And while goals such as strengthening the U.N., improving living standards in developing countries, and promoting human rights and democracy are not among Democrats' leading priorities overall, more Democrats than Republicans view each as top policy goals.

Partisan Gaps over Long-Range Policy Priorities

% saying each should be a top policy priority ...

	Rep	Dem	Ind	R-D diff
<i>Foreign policy priorities rated as more important by <u>Republicans</u></i>				
	%	%	%	
Reducing illegal immigration	62	38	49	+24
Protecting U.S. from terrorism	93	81	78	+12
<i>Foreign policy priorities on which <u>Republicans, Democrats generally agree</u></i>				
Reducing dependence on imported energy	64	59	60	+5
Combating international drug trafficking	59	60	52	-1
Preventing spread of WMD	76	78	68	-2
Protecting American jobs	81	84	80	-3
<i>Foreign policy priorities rated as more important by <u>Democrats</u></i>				
Promoting democracy abroad	16	27	13	-11
Promoting human rights abroad	27	41	30	-14
Improving living standards in developing nations	13	32	23	-19
Strengthening the United Nations	25	50	35	-25
Dealing with global climate change	16	57	35	-41
	N=284	N=286	N=366	

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General Public. Q33a-k.

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By contrast, reducing illegal immigration is rated as much more important by Republicans than Democrats. About six-in-ten (62%) Republicans say that reducing illegal immigration is a top foreign policy objective, compared with 49% of independents and just 38% of Democrats. In addition, protecting against terrorism is viewed as top priority by more Republicans (93%) than Democrats (81%) or independents (78%).

The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

When it comes to resolving the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, nearly as many say the U.S. should be less involved (39%) as say it should be as involved as it currently is (36%). About one-in-five (21%) say the U.S. should be more involved in resolving this dispute.

By comparison, 46% of CFR members say the U.S. should be as involved as it currently is, closely followed by 39% who would like the U.S. to be more involved; just 14% want less U.S. involvement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Opinions about U.S. involvement in resolving the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians do not vary widely across party lines. However, Tea Party Republicans are considerably more likely than non-Tea Party Republicans to favor a greater role for the U.S.; 38% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents who agree with the Tea Party say the U.S. should be more involved in resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, compared with 21% of Republicans and GOP-leaners who do not agree with the Tea Party.

Stability vs. Democracy

Regarding the political situation in the Middle East, about six-in-ten Americans (63%) say stable governments are more important, even if there is less democracy in the region; fewer expressed this view in 2011 (52%) and 2012 (54%). Just 28% say democracy is more important than stability in the Middle East.

While the balance of opinion among all partisan groups is in favor of stable governments, Democrats are more likely than Republicans and independents to endorse democracy over stability; 39% of Democrats say democratic governments are more important, compared with 25% of Republicans and 23% of independents.

Public Doesn't Want More Israel Involvement

How involved should the US be in resolving the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians?

	Nov 2013	
	GP	CFR
	%	%
More involved	21	39
Less involved	39	14
As involved as it is now	36	46
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q44. CFR: Q23.

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Democracy or Stability in Middle East?

For Middle East, which is more important?

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Democratic gov'ts, even if less stability in region	28	25	39	23
Stable gov'ts, even if there is less democracy in region	63	67	53	69
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General Public: Q46.

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Section 4: The Threat of Terrorism and Civil Liberties

Most Americans say the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the United States is at least the same (36%) or greater (34%) than at the time of the September 11th attacks. This view is reflected in the public's assessments of key policies in the fight against terrorism.

For example, just 31% believe the war in Afghanistan has made the U.S. safer, while 21% say it has made the country less safe and 43% say it has made no difference. Similarly, 39% think the government's phone and internet surveillance programs have made the U.S. safer from terrorism, but more than half (52%) say these programs have either made it less safe (14%) or have not made a difference (38%).

Evaluations of the use of military drones to target extremists are somewhat more positive, with half saying it has made the U.S. safer, but a substantial minority does not think that is the case; 14% say the use of drones has made the country less safe and 27% say it has not made a difference.

The public's perception of a terrorist threat and its evaluations of anti-terrorism policies differ considerably from that of CFR members. Two-thirds (67%) of Council members believe a major terrorist attack on the U.S. is less likely than it was in 2001; about as many say the use of drones and the NSA's surveillance programs have made the country safer (70% and 68%, respectively). And while most say the war in Afghanistan has, at best, not made a difference, more than four-in-ten (43%) believe it has made the U.S. safer from terrorism.

Among the public, assessments of whether the use of drones and the government phone and internet surveillance programs have made the U.S. safer from terrorism do not vary considerably across partisan groups. However, Republicans are more likely than Democrats and independents

Views of Anti-Terrorism Policies

	Public	CFR
	%	%
<i>War in Afghanistan</i>		
Safer	31	43
Less safe	21	26
No difference	43	30
Don't know/No answer	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100
<i>Gov't phone and internet surveillance</i>		
Safer	39	68
Less safe	14	9
No difference	38	21
Don't know/No answer	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100
<i>Use of military drones to target extremists</i>		
Safer	50	70
Less safe	14	18
No difference	27	10
Don't know/No answer	<u>9</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013: General public: Q59a-c. CFR: Q36a-c. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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to say the war in Afghanistan – begun by Republican president George W. Bush – has made the country safer; 41% of Republicans offer this view, compared with 27% of Democrats and 28% of independents.

Snowden Leaks Seen as Harming the Public Interest

Among the public and CFR members, majorities say the leak of classified information about the government's surveillance programs by former NSA contractor Edward Snowden has harmed the public interest. Fully 55% of the public say the leak has been harmful, while 34% say it has served the public interest. Opinions are even more negative among Council members; 69% say the leak has harmed the public interest, while 28% believe it has served the public interest.

While there is little difference on public attitudes about the Snowden leak across party lines, the views of Tea Party Republicans differ considerably from those of non-Tea Party Republicans. Republicans and Republican-leaning independents who do not agree with the Tea Party are twice as likely to say the leak has harmed as to say it has served the public interest (61% vs. 30%). Among Republicans and GOP-leaners who agree with the Tea Party, about as many see the leak of classified documents as harmful (45%) as say they have served the public interest (43%).

Snowden Leak Seen as Harmful

Snowden's leak of classified info about NSA programs...

	Public	CFR
	%	%
Served the public interest	34	28
Harmed the public interest	55	69
Don't know/No answer	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q58. CFR: Q37. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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Terrorism and Civil Liberties

A 44% plurality of Americans are concerned that the government's anti-terrorism policies have gone too far in restricting civil liberties of average people, while 39% are more concerned that these policies have not gone far enough to adequately protect the country. In July 2013, about half (47%) expressed concern that the government was restricting civil liberties too much, while 35% worried that it was not going far enough to protect the country.

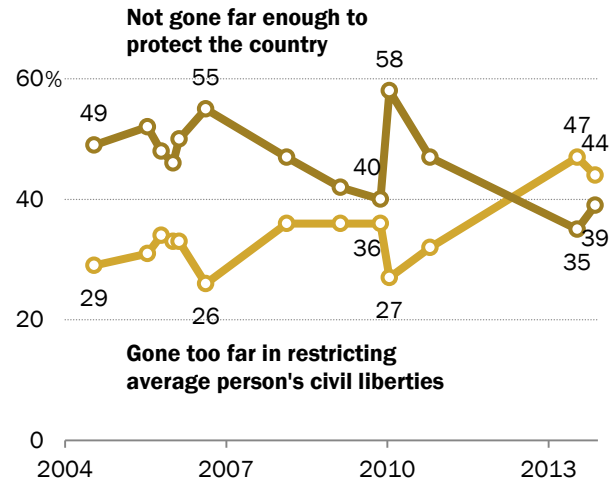
As recently as January 2010, a majority (58%) expressed greater concern that government policies had not gone far enough to provide protection from terrorism than that they had gone too far in restricting civil liberties (27%).

CFR member are also concerned about civil liberties; 52% say the government has restricted civil liberties too much, compared with 46% in 2009. About one-third of CFR members (32%) say the government has not gone far enough to protect the country, virtually unchanged from four years ago.

Republicans and Democrats are equally divided on this question. About four-in-ten Democrats (43%) say the government's anti-terrorism policies have not gone far enough to adequately protect the country, while about as

Balancing Civil Liberties and Security

What concerns you more about the government's anti-terrorism programs?



Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q57.

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Both Parties Divided over Whether Anti-Terrorism Policies Go Too Far in Restricting Civil Liberties

Government anti-terrorism policies have ...

	Gone too far in restricting civil liberties (%)	Not gone far enough to protect the country (%)	Other/DK (%)
Republicans	43	41	16=100
Democrats	39	43	18=100
Independents	49	37	15=100
<i>Among Reps/Rep-leaners</i>			
Tea Party	51	33	15=100
Not Tea Party	42	44	14=100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013; General public: Q57. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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many (39%) are concerned that that these policies have gone too far in restricting civil liberties.

Similarly, among Republicans, 41% say the government's policies have not gone far enough to protect the country and 43% believe they have gone too far in restricting civil liberties. Among independents, about half (49%) say anti-terrorism policies have restricted civil liberties too much, while somewhat fewer (37%) express concern that they have not gone far enough to protect the public.

Tea Party Republicans are more concerned than non-Tea Party Republicans about the impact of anti-terrorism policies on civil liberties. About half (51%) of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents say the government has gone too far in restricting civil liberties, while a third say these policies have not gone far enough to provide adequate protection. Republicans and GOP-leaning independents who do not agree with the Tea Party are about evenly divided; 44% are concerned that the government's policies do not go far enough to protect the country and 42% think they restrict civil liberties too much.

Section 5: Public Views of Selected Countries

The public continues to express favorable opinions of a number of long-standing U.S. allies: Fully 81% have a favorable view of Canada while nearly as many (79%) have a favorable impression of Great Britain. Substantial majorities also express favorable views of Japan (70%) and Germany (67%).

In contrast, only about a third view China (33%) and Russia (32%) favorably and just 27% have a favorable view of Saudi Arabia.

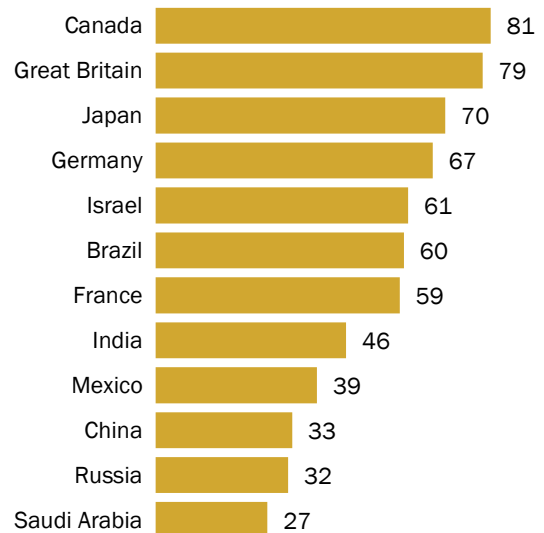
Opinions about most of the 12 countries included in the survey have not changed a great deal in recent years. Favorable ratings for France, Germany and Canada are much higher than they were a decade ago, amid tensions over the U.S. war in Iraq. Currently, 59% view France favorably, which is little changed from a 2009 Pew Global Attitudes Project survey (62%). In 2003, just 29% viewed France favorably.

However, the balance of opinion toward India, Russia and Mexico has turned more negative. Fewer than half (46%) have a favorable impression of India while 33% have an unfavorable opinion. Four years ago, 56% had a favorable opinion of India and 24% had an unfavorable view.

Over the past few years, unfavorable opinions of both Russia and Mexico also have risen substantially. Currently, 39% view Mexico favorably while 52% have an unfavorable opinion; in 2007, the balance of opinion toward Mexico was positive (47% favorable, 37% unfavorable). A majority of Americans (54%) view Russia unfavorably, up from 43% last year and 35% in 2007.

U.S. Allies Viewed Favorably; Low Ratings for China, Russia, Saudi Arabia

% with a favorable view of each country



Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General Public: Q12a-n.

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There are no significant partisan differences in views of many of these countries, including Great Britain, Brazil, Saudi Arabia and Russia. However, more Republicans than Democrats have a favorable impression of Israel (74% of Republicans vs. 55% of Democrats).

Tea Party Republicans have especially positive views of Israel: 86% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents who agree with the Tea Party view Israel favorably, compared with 68% of Republicans and GOP leaners who do not agree with the Tea Party.

Democrats are more likely than Republicans to view China, Mexico and France favorably. Roughly a third of Democrats (36%) have a favorable opinion of China compared with 23% of Republicans. The gap is about as large in favorable opinions of Mexico (14 points) and France (17 points).

Partisan Differences in Countries' Favorable Ratings

% expressing favorable view of each country ...

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	Rep-Dem diff
	%	%	%	%	
Israel	61	74	55	61	+19
Japan	70	75	66	74	+9
Great Britain	79	84	78	80	+6
Brazil	60	63	58	62	+5
Canada	81	83	79	84	+4
Saudi Arabia	27	26	25	29	+1
Germany	67	70	68	67	+2
India	46	46	48	47	-2
Russia	32	29	33	35	-4
China	33	23	36	37	-13
Mexico	39	30	44	43	-14
France	59	50	67	60	-17

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General Public: Q12a-n. Statistically significant differences in **bold**.

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Europe Makes a Comeback

Thinking about the relationships the United States has with Europe and Asia, 50% of the public sees ties with Europe as most important for the U.S., compared with 35% who say relations with Asian nations are most important.

This is a shift from two years ago, when more viewed ties with Asia as most important, by 47% to 37%. In two surveys in the 1990s, Europe was viewed as more important for the U.S. than Asia.

Across most demographic and partisan groups, more see political, economic and military ties with Europe as more important than did so in [January 2011](#). Older Americans, in particular, are now much more likely to say that Europe is more important to the U.S. than two years ago.

Majorities of those 65 and older (60%) and 50-64 (57%) now say ties with Europe are most important for the U.S., up from 33% and 38%, respectively, in 2011. Young people's views are virtually unchanged; as in 2011, more young people say Asia (52%) is more important than Europe (37%) in terms of U.S. interests.

Republicans (58%) are more likely than Democrats (48%) or independents (45%) to say that Europe is more important for the U.S. than Asia. In all three groups, higher percentages see Europe as more important to the U.S. than did so in 2011.

In Reversal of Opinion, Europe Seen as More Important for the U.S. than Asia

Which area do you think is most important for the U.S.?	Sept 1993	Sept 1997	Early Sept 2001	Jan 2011	Nov 2013
Europe	50	49	44	37	50
Asia	31	31	34	47	35
Equally important (Vol.)	8	6	9	7	7
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World. 2013. General Public: Q31. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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A Wider Age Gap in Views of Which Region is More Important for the U.S.

% saying each is most important to the U.S.

	Jan 2011		Nov 2013	
	Europe	Asia	Europe	Asia
	%	%	%	%
Total	37	47	50	35
18-29	39	52	37	52
30-49	36	47	46	40
50-64	38	43	57	26
65+	33	45	60	21
College grad+	31	55	41	44
Some college	34	54	50	34
High school or less	41	39	54	31
Republican	43	46	58	29
Democrat	34	46	48	37
Independent	34	52	45	40

Source: America's Place in the World. 2013. General Public: Q31.

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Section 6: Views of Council on Foreign Relations Members

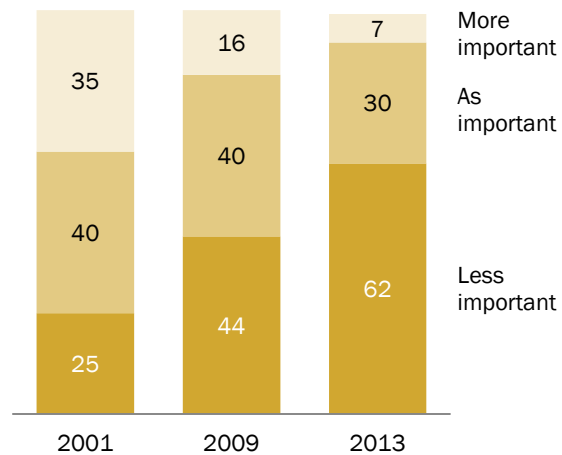
Members of the Council on Foreign Relations, like the general public, believe that the U.S. global power has declined; 62% say the United States plays a less powerful and important role than it did a decade ago. Four years ago, 44% said the United States had become less powerful and in 2001, just before 9/11, just 25% expressed this view.

But the organization's members – unlike the public – continue to support an activist U.S. foreign policy. An overwhelming majority (86%) favors a shared global leadership role for the U.S., and 55% think the country should be the *most* assertive of the world's leading nations.

The survey of 1,838 members of the Council on Foreign Relations, conducted Oct.7-Nov. 11, finds that the organization's members are much more critical of the Obama administration's foreign policy than in the previous [America's Place in the World](#) survey, conducted in October and November 2009.

CFR Members, Like the Public, Say U.S. Global Power Has Declined

Compared with 10 years ago, the U.S. is...



Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q8.

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Who are the members of the Council on Foreign Relations?

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization and think tank with more than 4,700 members. They include government officials, scholars, business executives, journalists, lawyers and nonprofit professionals in the field of international affairs.

Overall, 44% of CFR members say Obama's handling foreign policy has been worse than they expected, while just 16% it has surpassed their expectations; 40% say Obama has done about as well as they expected. Roughly half of CFR members (52%) say the Obama administration's approach to foreign policy is not assertive enough, up from just 31% four years ago.

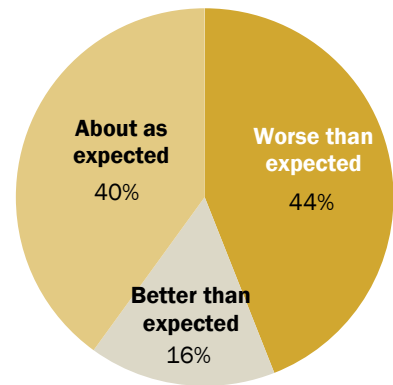
Nevertheless, Obama gets positive job ratings from CFR members for his handling of several issues, including terrorism (73% approve), Iran (72%), China (69%) and international trade (66%). And a higher percentage of CFR members approve of Obama's handling of Afghanistan than did so four years ago (56% now, 42% then).

The survey finds that about half of members of the Council on Foreign Relations (52%) express concern that the government's anti-terrorism efforts have gone too far in eroding civil liberties; far fewer (32%) say their greater concern is that they have not gone far enough in protecting the country.

However, a large majority (68%) says that the NSA's surveillance program has made the country safer from terrorism, and roughly as many (69%) say that Edward Snowden's leak of classified information about the program has harmed the public interest.

When it comes to the Middle East, most CFR members (64%) share the public's preference for stable governments even if there is less democracy in the region. Half of CFR members want the U.S. to be as involved in political changes in the Middle East as it currently is, but of the remainder, about as many want less U.S. involvement as more.

Obama's Handling of Foreign Policy ...



Source: America's Place in the World 2013.
CFR: Q1b.

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Many Fault Obama's Handling of Syria

The crisis in Syria was very much on the minds of CFR members as they evaluated the Obama administration's foreign policy. The survey was conducted shortly after the administration reached a last-minute deal with Russia requiring Syria to destroy its chemical weapons. The president had publicly threatened U.S. military action against Bashar al-Assad's regime in response to its alleged use of chemical weapons.

About seven in-ten (72%) CFR members say the reputation of the United States has been weakened by the way it has handled the situation in Syria; 12% say the U.S. reputation has been strengthened and 14% say it has not been affected.

By contrast, 74% of CFR members say Russia's reputation has been strengthened by the way it handled the situation in Syria, while 14% say it has been weakened and 10% say Russia's reputation has not been affected. Opinions about the effect on the reputation of the UN are mixed. About as many say the UN's image has been weakened (38%) as say it has not been affected (42%) by the way it has handled the situation in Syria; 18% say the UN has been strengthened.

Just 38% of CFR members approve of Obama's handling of Syria while 59% disapprove; these are by far the lowest ratings for the president on 10 foreign policy issues tested. And on Russia, Obama gets mixed ratings (49% approve, 46% disapprove).

Most CFR Members Say Syria Crisis Left U.S. Weaker, Russia Stronger

Impact of events in Syria on reputations of each ...

	U.S. %	Russia %	UN %
Strengthened	12	74	18
Weakened	72	14	38
Not affected	14	10	42
No answer	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q38a-c. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding

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CFR Members Approve of Obama's Handling of Terrorism, Iran — Not Syria

Views of Obama's handling of ...

	Approve %	Disapprove %	No answer %
Terrorism	73	24	4=100
Iran	72	25	3=100
Relations w/China	69	26	4=100
Immigration policy	67	29	3=100
Int'l trade issues	66	26	8=100
Afghanistan	56	41	4=100
Global climate change	53	42	5=100
Pakistan	52	40	8=100
Relations w/ Russia	49	46	4=100
Syria	38	59	3=100
Overall job rating	60	39	1=100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q1, Q4a-j.

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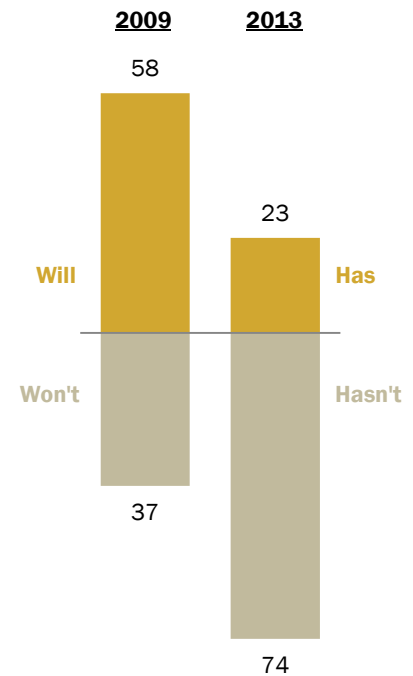
Among Obama's best ratings are for his handling of terrorism (73% approve) and Iran (72%). About two-thirds also give the president a positive review for his handling of relations with China, immigration policy and international trade.

CFR members' views of Obama's handling of trade policy have improved considerably since Obama's first year in office; 66% currently approve of the president's handling of trade, compared with 49% in 2009. His job rating on Afghanistan, which was among his lowest in 2009 (42%), has increased to 56%.

However, CFR members express less positive views of Obama's handling of global climate change, Pakistan and China than they did four years ago. About half (53%) approve of his handling of climate change, down 20 points from 2009. Obama's approval on Pakistan has fallen 14 points (from 66% to 52%) and 10 points on China (from 79% to 69%).

On climate change, most CFR members (58%) said in 2009 that they expected Obama to get the United States to take significant steps to reduce carbon emissions. But in the current survey, most say he has failed to do so. Only about a quarter of CFR members (23%) say Obama has gotten the U.S. take significant action in reducing carbon emissions, while 74% say he has not.

Views of Obama on Cutting Carbon Emissions



Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q32.

In 2013, the question asked, whether Obama "has or has not" gotten the U.S. to reduce carbon emissions; 2009 question asked if he "will or will not" do this.

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Best and Worst of Obama's Foreign Policy

Unlike four years ago, when Council members overwhelmingly named Obama's emphasis on engagement and diplomacy as the best thing about his handling of foreign policy, no clear theme emerges when members are asked the same question in the current survey.

About a quarter (24%) mention the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq and Afghanistan as the best thing about Obama's handling of foreign policy, while 18% cite Obama's focus on engagement and diplomacy and 14% point to Obama's focus on Asia. The president's handling of terrorism and national security is named by 12% of CFR members, with another 7% specifically mentioning the raid that killed Osama bin Laden.

Obama's handling of Syria stands out as the worst aspect of his foreign policy in the view of CFR members; 29% cite this as the worst thing. Others mention the president's general indecision and lack of action (16%), lack of clear foreign policy goals (12%), his handling of the Middle East and the Arab Spring (12%) and failure to work with allies (12%).

Best Things about Obama's Foreign Policy

%	
24	Withdrawal from Iraq/Afghanistan
18	Multilateralism/Engagement/Diplomacy
14	Asia-Pacific pivot/Focus on Asia
13	Handling of Iran
12	Handling of terrorism and national security/Drones
11	Handling of Syria
10	Caution about use of military force/Understands limits of military power
9	Flexible/Pragmatic/Thoughtful approach and style
7	Osama bin Laden raid
6	Clinton/Kerry/Other appointments

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q2 (open-ended question). Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses. See topline for full results.

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Worst Things about Obama's Foreign Policy

%	
29	Handling of Syria
16	Indecision/Inaction
12	Lack of clear foreign policy goals
12	Handling of the Middle East/Arab Spring
12	Failure to work with allies/Weakened credibility
8	Withdrawal from Afghanistan
7	Mishandling of NSA surveillance program
7	Handling of terrorism & national security/Drones
7	Handling of Egypt
6	Handling of relations with Russia
5	Handling of Israeli-Palestinian conflict/U.S.-Israel relations

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q3 (open-ended question). Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses. See topline for full results.

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CFR Members Prioritize Stability over Democracy in Middle East

Nearly three years after start of the Arab Spring, most members of the Council on Foreign Relations prioritize stability over democracy in the Middle East. Nearly two-thirds (64%) say stable governments are more important, even if there is less democracy in the region, while 32% say democratic governments are more important, even if there is less stability.

In this regard, the opinions of CFR members are similar to those of the public: 63% of the public views stable governments as more important in the Middle East, while just 28% say democratic governments are more important.

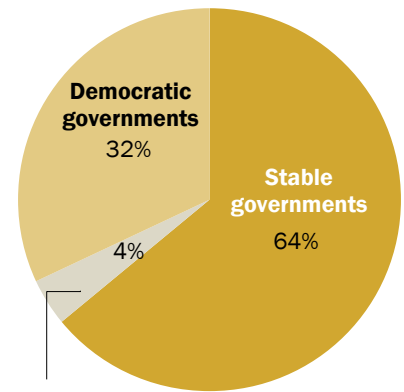
CFR members are reluctant to see the United States become more deeply involved in changes in political leadership in the region. Just 24% say the U.S. should be more involved in changes in political leadership in Middle East countries such as Egypt or Libya. About as many (25%) say it should be less involved, while 50% say it should stay as involved as it is currently.

There is more support for the United States becoming more involved in resolving the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians. About four-in-ten CFR members (39%) say the United States should become more involved in resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, while 46% want the U.S. to maintain its current level of involvement; just 14% say it should be less involved.

Most CFR members are optimistic that a two-state solution is possible in the Middle East. Roughly three-in-four (77%) think a way can be found for Israel and an independent Palestinian state to coexist peacefully with each other,

Democracy vs. Stability in the Middle East

More important to have democratic gov'ts even w/ less stability, or stable gov'ts even w/ less democracy?



No answer

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q25.

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CFR Members' Views of U.S. Involvement in the Middle East

% saying U.S. should be...

	In changes in Middle East political leadership	In resolving Israeli-Palestinian conflict
	%	%
More involved	24	39
Less involved	25	14
As involved as it is	50	46
No answer	1	1
	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q23-Q24. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding

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compared with just 21% who say this is not possible.

Assessing Prospects for Democracy

CFR members are pessimistic about the potential for increased democracy in Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Russia. However, they are more upbeat about the long-term prospects for greater democracy in China and Iran.

Roughly half of CFR members say they expect China (52%) and Iran (50%) to become more democratic over the next decade. About four-in-ten expect both countries to be about the same as they are today (40% China, 41% Iran), while relatively few predict that China and Iran will become less democratic.

Far fewer CFR members expect Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Russia to become more democratic over the next decade. A third (33%) say Egypt will become more democratic, 30% say it will become less democratic while 35% think that Egypt will be about the same as it is today.

Two-thirds of CFR members (66%) predict little democratic movement in Saudi Arabia over the next decade; 24% say the kingdom will become more democratic while 8% think it will become less democratic.

Finally, more than two decades after the fall of the Soviet Union, CFR members are quite pessimistic about the prospects for democracy in Russia. Only about one-in-five (19%) think Russia will become more democratic, while nearly twice as many (35%) expect it to become less democratic and 44% expect things to be the same as they are now.

China, Iran Expected to Become More Democratic over the Next Decade

% saying each country will become...

	More democratic %	Less democratic %	About the same %	No answer %
China	52	6	40	2=100
Iran	50	7	41	2=100
Egypt	33	30	35	3=100
Saudi Arabia	24	8	66	2=100
Russia	19	35	44	2=100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q40a-e. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding

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Changing Views of Possible Future U.S. Allies

When asked to name which countries will become more important U.S. allies in the future, more CFR members name India (37%) and China (34%). But far fewer see these countries as key future allies than did so four years ago (55% India, 58% China).

Mexico and Germany are increasingly seen as more important U.S. allies in the future. Currently, 21% say Mexico will be a more important U.S. ally in the future and 19% say the same about Germany; in 2009, only 8% named Mexico and 9% named Germany.

European nations – and the EU itself – continue to top the list of countries that CFR members say will be less important future allies. About one-in-five say Europe or the EU will be less important to the U.S., 19% name France and 17% Great Britain. Another 15% say they expect Saudi Arabia to be a less important U.S. ally in years to come; that is up from just 5% in 2009.

Views of Future U.S. Allies and Partners

	Oct 2005	Nov 2009	Nov 2013
<i>U.S. allies and partners that will be <u>more</u> important in the future...</i>	%	%	%
India	43	55	37
China	31	58	34
Brazil	17	37	28
Japan	32	16	25
Mexico	7	8	21
Germany	3	9	19
<i>U.S. allies and partners that will be <u>less</u> important in the future</i>			
EU/Europe	5	16	20
France	31	18	19
Great Britain	2	17	17
Saudi Arabia	9	5	15
Israel	8	9	11

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q13 & Q14. Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses. See topline for full results.

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Long-Range Policy Goals

In assessing the country's long-term policy priorities, CFR members continue to place greater emphasis on security goals than on promoting democracy or human rights, or improving living standards in poor countries.

Consistent with past Pew Research surveys of foreign affairs experts, stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction tops the list of what CFR members say should be a top priority for the U.S. About eight-in-ten (81%) currently say this should be a top priority; at least as many said the same in surveys conducted between 1993 and 2009.

CFR Members' Top Foreign Policy Priorities: Preventing Spread of WMD, Terrorism

% saying each should be a top policy priority ...

	Early Sept 2001	Oct 2005	Nov 2009	Nov 2013
	%	%	%	%
Preventing the spread of WMD	83	89	88	81
Protect against terror attacks	62	84	81	76
Deal with global climate change*	56	56	57	57
Reduce dependence on imported energy	--	67	65	47
Protect jobs of American workers	17	19	21	29
Improve living standards in poor nations	48	47	35	25
Promote human rights abroad	43	22	21	19
Strengthen the United Nations	37	29	18	17
Combat international drug-trafficking	35	21	22	17
Promote democracy abroad	44	18	10	12
Reduce illegal immigration	--	12	11	11

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q17a-k. *In 2001, the item was worded "dealing with global warming." Early September 2001 conducted before 9/11 attacks.

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Taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks also remains a top priority; 76% see this as a top goal, as did 81% in 2009 and 84% in 2005. Just before the 2001 attacks, fewer (62%) said protecting the U.S. from terrorism should be a top priority.

A majority of CFR members (57%) also view dealing with global climate change as a top policy priority. The public is far less likely to say that addressing climate change should be a major objective (37% top priority). Conversely, just 29% of CFR members view the protection of jobs as a top goal of American foreign policy. A large majority (81%) of the public thinks that the protection of jobs at home should be a major foreign policy objective.

The goal of improving living standards in developing countries is viewed as a less important long-range policy than in previous America's Place in the World surveys. Just 25% of CFR members say it should be a top priority; in both 2001 and 2005, nearly half of the foreign policy experts rated this as a top priority (48% in 2001, 47% in 2005).

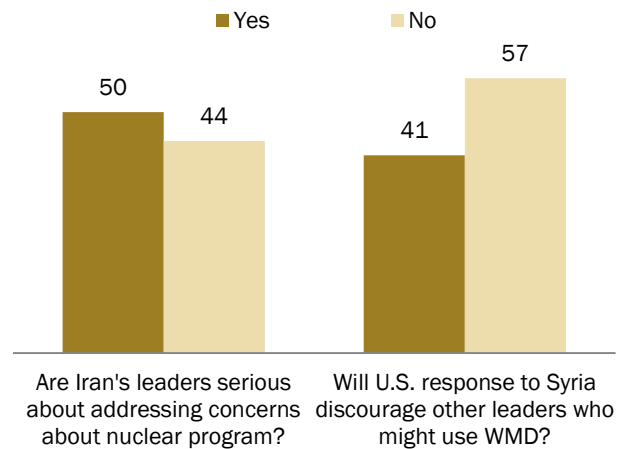
Just 19% of CFR members see the promotion of human rights as a top policy goal and just 12% say the same about promoting democracy abroad. These opinions are little changed from recent years, but in 2001, shortly before the 9/11 attacks, more than four-in-ten rated each as top policy priorities (43% human rights, 44% democracy).

Iran's Nuclear Intentions, Possible Lessons from Syria

CFR members express mixed views about two current foreign policy issues that have raised concerns over the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Amid multilateral negotiations over persuading Iran to abandon some of its nuclear development goals, 50% of CFR members believe that Iranian leaders are serious about addressing international concerns about Iran's nuclear enrichment program, but nearly as many (44%) say Iranian leaders are not serious. (The survey was completed before the multilateral agreement aimed at freezing Iran's nuclear development program.)

Council members are even more skeptical that 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. More than half (57%) do not think other leaders will be dissuaded, although a substantial minority (41%) is optimistic that the U.S. response to events in Syria will discourage other leaders who might consider using such weapons.

Skepticism about Iran's Intentions, Impact of U.S. Response to Syria



Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q31 & Q39.

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Threat of Terrorism and Impact on Civil Liberties

Concerns about possible terrorist attacks in the United States have declined among CFR members in recent years. Currently, two-thirds believe the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. is less than at the time of the 9/11 attacks; 23% say terrorists are as capable of launching a major attack as they were in 2001, and 8% say the risk of an attack is greater now.

Four years ago, a narrower majority (56%) said the ability of terrorists to launch a major attack on the U.S. was less than at the time of the 9/11 attacks. In 2005, however, CFR members were not as convinced; about the same number said terrorists were less able to launch a major attack (44%) as said their ability was the same as in 2001 (43%).

Most CFR members say the use of military drones and the NSA's surveillance programs have made the United States safer from terrorism. Fully 70% say the use of military drones to target extremists in Pakistan, Yemen and elsewhere has made the U.S. safer; 69% say the NSA's phone and internet surveillance programs have made the nation safer.

However, opinions are more mixed regarding the impact of the war in Afghanistan on America's security. Just 43% of CFR members say the war in Afghanistan has made the U.S. safer from terrorism, while 26% say it has made the country less safe and 30% say it has not made a difference.

Perhaps not surprisingly, considering the share who say the NSA's surveillance programs have made the country safer from terrorism, most CFR members (69%) believe that Edward Snowden's leak of classified information about these programs have harmed the public interest.

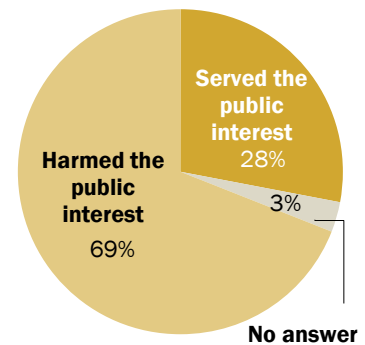
Most Say U.S. Safer Because of NSA Surveillance and Use of Drones

	Safer %	Less safe %	No difference %	No answer
Use of military drones	70	18	10	2=100
NSA's surveillance	68	9	21	3=100
War in Afghanistan	43	26	30	2=100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q36a-c. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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Views of Snowden Leak of Classified Information



Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q37.

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This view is particularly common among those who say the NSA's programs have made the country safer; 82% in that group think Snowden's leak of classified information has harmed the public interest, compared with 40% of those who say the programs have made the country less safe or have not made a difference.

Still, despite the widespread belief that the NSA's surveillance programs have made the country safer, about half of CFR members (52%) are concerned that the government's anti-terrorism policies have gone too far in restricting the average person's civil liberties, up from 46% in 2009 and 33% in 2005.

Those who say the NSA's surveillance programs have made the country less safe or have not made a difference are nearly twice as likely as those who think these programs have made the country safer to express concern that government anti-terrorism policies have gone too far in restricting civil liberties (79% vs. 40%)

CFR Members Favor Defense Cuts

About half of Council members (53%) say the U.S. tends to rely on military strength too much to achieve its foreign policy goals; 5% say the U.S. relies on military strength too little, and 40% say it does so about the right amount.

Notably, CFR members also are more supportive of reductions in defense spending than they were four years ago. Currently, 51% say defense spending should be decreased, compared with 40% in 2009.

The general public has more mixed opinions about whether the United States relies too much on military strength and about levels of U.S. spending. Only about four-in-ten (38%) believe the U.S. relies too much on its military strength. Among the public,

Increased Concern about Civil Liberties

% saying government anti-terror policies have...

	Oct 2005	Nov 2009	Nov 2013
	%	%	%
Gone too far in restricting civil liberties	33	46	52
Not gone far enough to protect country	46	33	32
Both/Neither/No answer	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q35. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding

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CFR Members More Likely to Say U.S. Relies Too Much on Military Strength

	General public	CFR members
<i>U.S. relies on military strength...</i>	%	%
Too much	38	53
Too little	15	5
About the right amount	43	40
No answer	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100
<i>Defense spending should be...</i>		
Decreased	28	51
Increased	23	9
Kept about the same	47	39
No answer	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. General public: Q34, Q50, CFR: Q18, Q33. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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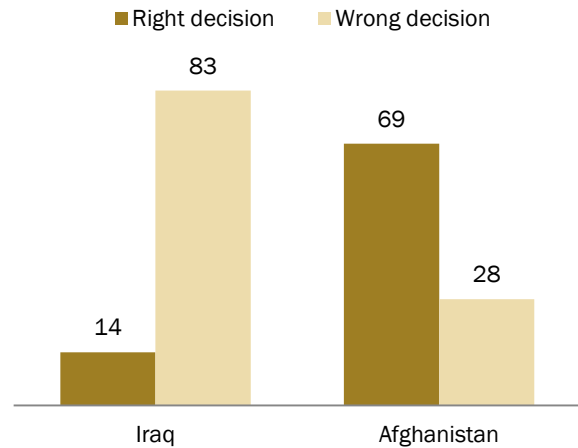
there is nearly as much support for increasing defense spending (23%) as for decreasing it (28%); 47% say it should be kept about the same.

Despite CFR members' support for defense cuts, 64% say U.S. policies should try to keep it so America is the only military superpower; 29% think it would be acceptable if China or another country became as militarily powerful as the U.S.

When asked about the decisions to take military action in Iraq and Afghanistan, CFR members offer widely divergent opinions. An overwhelming majority (83%) believes the decision to use military force in Iraq was the wrong one; just 14% say the U.S. made the right decision. In contrast, 69% say the U.S. was right to use military force in Afghanistan, while 28% say this was the wrong decision.

By contrast, the public has more similar opinions about the decisions to use military force in Afghanistan and Iraq: 56% have a positive view of the decision to use force in Afghanistan while 49% say the same about the decision to take military action in Iraq.

Contrasting Views of Use of U.S. Military Force in Iraq and Afghanistan



Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q20& Q21.

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Trade and Globalization

Council on Foreign Relations members are virtually unanimous in saying that the growing trade and business ties between the U.S. and other countries is a good thing for the country; 99% offer this view, including 86% who say increased international trade and business ties are *very good* for the U.S.

In particular, CFR members endorse two proposed free trade agreements: the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), which the U.S. is negotiating with the European Union, and the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), which the U.S. is negotiating with eleven countries in Asia and Latin America. Fully 93% say the TTIP would be good for the U.S. while an identical percentage has a positive opinion about the TPP.

CFR members, unlike the public, believe that the potential upside from the cross-border movement of companies and people far outweighs the downside. More than nine-in-ten (96%) say it would mostly help the U.S. economy if more foreign companies set up operations in the U.S., and 73% think more U.S. companies moving overseas would be mostly beneficial for the economy.

Nearly all CFR members (95%) say that more people from other countries coming to the U.S. to work in high-skilled jobs would mostly help the economy, while 72% say the same about increasing numbers of people coming to the U.S. to work in low-skilled jobs.

While the public generally thinks that more foreign companies coming to the U.S. would mostly help the economy (62%), just 23% have a positive view of the impact of more U.S. companies moving overseas. And fewer than half expect positive economic effects from more people coming to the U.S. to work in high-skilled (46%) and low-skilled (43%) jobs.

CFR Members Strongly Back TTIP, TPP

<i>Would the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) be a good thing or bad thing for the U.S.?</i>	Nov 2013
	%
Good thing	93
Bad thing	2
No answer	5
	100

<i>Would the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) be a good thing or bad thing for the U.S.?</i>	
	%
Good thing	93
Bad thing	3
No answer	4
	100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q27 & Q28. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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Most See Little Downside from Global Movement of Companies, People

	Mostly help	Mostly hurt	No answer
	%	%	%
More foreign companies setting up operations in the U.S.	96	3	1=100
More U.S. companies setting up operations overseas	73	25	3=100
More people coming to the U.S. to work in high-skilled jobs	95	4	1=100
More people coming to the U.S. to work in low-skilled jobs	72	25	3=100

Source: America's Place in the World 2013. CFR: Q7a-d. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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The Public's Mixed Message on America's Role in the World

James M. Lindsay and Rachael Kauss
Council on Foreign Relations

Americans are conflicted about the U.S. role in the world. On one hand, record numbers of Americans think the United States should mind its own business internationally and focus on problems at home. On the other hand, they want the United States to play a leading role in world affairs, and they see the benefits of greater involvement in the global economy.

That is the mixed message that emerges from the latest nationwide poll by the Pew Research Center and the Council on Foreign Relations. Which interpretation gains favor could have significant implications for how presidential candidates frame their foreign policy positions come 2016.

The headline-grabbing poll result is that 52 percent of the public thinks the United States should mind its own business internationally. That is the highest number recorded in response to a question pollsters have been asking since 1964. A decade ago only about one-in-three Americans said the United States should mind its own business abroad.

Americans are similarly skeptical that Washington is striking the right balance between domestic and foreign policy. A record 80 percent of the public says the United States should focus on problems at home rather than ones abroad. This year's response is eleven points higher than a decade ago.

Explanations for the rise in isolationist sentiment abound. Skepticism of internationalism typically grows during tough economic times. Intervention fatigue after a dozen years of military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan is also at play. A majority (51 percent) of the public believes the United States does too much in the world, a far higher number than thinks it does too little (17 percent) or the right amount (28 percent). And Americans believe Washington is less respected (70 percent) and less important (53 percent) in the world today.

But responses to other questions in the poll suggest that as frustrated as the public is with foreign policy, it isn't ready to abandon internationalism or to embrace unilateralism. When asked what kind of role the United States should play in the world, 72 percent opt for shared leadership. That is in line with past responses. Fifty-six percent reject the idea that the United States should go its own way in the world, while 77 percent say the United States should take the views of its major allies into account when making foreign policy decisions.

Americans also are not ready to cede their number one spot as a military power to China, even if a near majority (48 percent) mistakenly believes it has become the world's leading economic power. Majorities of the public and CFR members (56 and 64 percent respectively) agree the United States should try to maintain its military supremacy. Indeed, views of China have darkened. Its favorability among the public has fallen to a low of 33 percent, while 78 percent of CFR members surveyed see it as an adversary or a serious problem, up from 63 percent four years ago.

The public also remains relatively positive about globalization. Two out of three Americans believe greater involvement in the global economy benefits the United States by creating new markets. The public sees growing trade and business ties as either very good (23 percent) or somewhat good (54 percent). Nearly two in three think foreign companies setting up shop in the United States mostly helps the U.S. economy. Nearly three in four, however, see U.S. companies setting up operations overseas as mostly bad.

The broader public and the CFR members surveyed generally agree on which foreign policy issues should be first and second tier priorities for Washington. Both groups see preventing terrorist attacks and stopping nuclear proliferation as top priorities. Neither group considers promoting democracy, defending human rights, or improving living standards in the developing world to be top priorities, though majorities of both groups say all three issues merit some priority.

The public and CFR members disagree on the relative priority that should be given to protecting the jobs of American workers; 81 percent of the public regards it as a top priority while 56 percent of CFR members surveyed give it some priority. CFR members (57 percent) are more inclined than the public (37 percent) to make climate change a top priority, while the public (37 percent) is more inclined than CFR members (17 percent) to make strengthening the United Nations a top priority.

The poll does not contain much good news for the White House. More Americans now disapprove of the job President Obama is doing overseas (56 percent) than approve (34 percent). Disapproval of Obama's handling of specific issues like Afghanistan, China, and immigration has jumped by more than ten percentage points since he started his second term.

Nearly identical percentages of the public (57 percent) and CFR members surveyed (59 percent) pan the president's handling of Syria. Seventy-two percent of CFR members surveyed think events in Syria have weakened the United States, and seventy-four percent believe they have strengthened Russia. And 57 percent of CFR members surveyed say the U.S. response to Syria's use of chemical weapons will not discourage other leaders from using weapons of mass destruction.

More broadly, 51 percent of the public and 52 percent of CFR members surveyed doubt President Obama is tough enough on foreign policy. Four years ago, just under half of the public and about a third of CFR members surveyed held this view. The perception of weakness could hurt Obama's ability to persuade Congress to cooperate with his diplomacy toward Tehran. Six out of ten Americans believe Iran is not serious about addressing concerns about its nuclear program.

As President Obama tries to regain momentum in foreign policy, the politically minded will increasingly be looking to the 2016 presidential campaign. The results of the Pew Research-CFR poll suggest that votes can be had by tapping either the isolationist or internationalist impulses in the American public. The most successful candidate, however, is likely to be the one who taps both.

James M. Lindsay is Senior Vice President, Director of Studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair at the Council on Foreign Relations, where Rachael Kauss is a Research Associate.

About the Surveys

General Public Survey

Results for the general public survey are based on telephone interviews conducted October 30-November 6, 2013 among a national sample of 2,003 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (1,001 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 1,002 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 524 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see <http://people-press.org/methodology/>

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and nativity and region to parameters from the 2011 Census Bureau's American Community Survey and population density to parameters from the Decennial Census. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2012 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size among respondents with a landline phone. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

Group	Unweighted sample size	Plus or minus...
Total sample	2,003	2.5 percentage points
Form 1	1,007	3.6 percentage points
Form 2	996	3.6 percentage points
Republican (F1/F2)	530 (246/284)	5.0 (7.3/6.8) percentage points
Democrat (F1/F2)	607 (321/286)	4.6 (6.4/6.7) percentage points
Independent (F1/F2)	746 (380/366)	4.2 (5.9/6.0) percentage points

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Survey of Council on Foreign Relations Members

Results for the survey on Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) members are based on online interviews conducted October 7-November 11, 2013 with 1,838 CFR members, under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. All 4,747 members of the Council on Foreign Relations were invited to participate in the survey. The overall response rate for the survey is 39%.

Founded in 1921, the Council on Foreign Relations is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, think tank and publisher dedicated to helping its members, government officials, journalists and others better understand the world of foreign policy. CFR publishes *Foreign Affairs*, a journal of international affairs and U.S. foreign policy. Individual membership is limited to U.S. citizens and U.S. residents in the process of becoming citizens. New members must be nominated by a current member. For more information about CFR, see <http://www.cfr.org>.

Each member was mailed a letter describing the nature and purpose of the survey and encouraging their participation. This letter contained a URL and a password for a secure website where the survey could be completed. CFR members who did not participate in the first week after the mailing were sent follow-up e-mails to encourage them to participate in the survey.

In estimating the overall balance of opinion among Council on Foreign Relations members based on the total sample of 1,838 interviews completed, the margin of error attributable to sampling is plus or minus 2.3 percentage points. The sample characteristics of survey participants closely match the demographic profile of all CFR members in terms of age, gender and type of membership. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Additional Data Source

In addition to the main surveys described above, this report is supplemented with public opinion data from an omnibus survey conducted October 31-November 3, 2013 among a national sample of 1,002 adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States (501 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 501 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 228 who

had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at MKTG under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

Group	Unweighted sample size	Plus or minus...
Total sample	1,002	3.7 percentage points
Republican	268	7.2 percentage points
Democrat	308	6.7 percentage points
Independent	330	6.5 percentage points

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

**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

Q.7 CONTINUED...

		Mostly <u>help</u>	Mostly <u>hurt</u>	No <u>answer</u>
b.	More U.S. companies setting up operations overseas			
	CFR members			
	2013	73	25	3
	<i>General public</i>	23	73	4
c.	More people from other countries coming here to work in high-skilled jobs			
	CFR members			
	2013	95	4	1
	<i>General public</i>	46	50	4
d.	More people from other countries coming here to work in low-skilled jobs			
	CFR members			
	2013	72	25	3
	<i>General public</i>	43	52	5

ASK ALL:

Q.8 Compared to 10 years ago, do you think the United States plays...?

	A more important and powerful role as a <u>world leader today</u>	A less important and powerful role as a <u>world leader today</u>	About as important a role as it did <u>answer</u>	No <u>answer</u>
CFR members				
2013	7	62	30	*
2009	16	44	40	*
2001	35	25	40	0
1997	48	17	35	0
1993	26	41	32	1
<i>General public</i>	17	53	27	3

ASK ALL:

Q.9 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 RESPONDENT SELECTS "SHARED LEADERSHIP ROLE" IN Q.9:

Q.10 Would you say the United States should be the most assertive of the leading nations or no more or less assertive than other leading nations?

	Single <u>leader</u>	Shared <u>leadership</u>	----- If shared leadership -----			No <u>leadership</u>	No <u>answer</u>
			<u>Most</u> <u>assertive</u>	<u>No more or</u> <u>less assertive</u>	<u>No</u> <u>answer</u>		
CFR members							
2013	13	86	55	24	7	*	1
2009	7	92	62	25	5	*	1
2005	13	85	55	26	4	0	2
2001	9	91	55	22	14	0	0
1997	15	84	54	24	6	1	0
1993	7	92	68	16	7	*	1

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

*General public*⁹ 12 72 20 51 1 12 4

⁹ The follow-up question in the general public questionnaire read, "Should the United States be the most active of the leading nations, or should it be about as active as other leading nations?"

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?

	<u>Less supportive</u>	<u>Not less supportive</u>	<u>No answer</u>
CFR members			
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...

		<u>Top priority</u>	<u>Some 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.) Both</u> ¹⁸	<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]**?"**

		Very <u>favorable</u>	Somewhat <u>favorable</u>	Somewhat <u>unfavorable</u>	Very <u>unfavorable</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
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- Nov 6 <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.) DK/Ref
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.) DK/Ref	No <u>leadership</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
			<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 <u>active</u></i>	<i>About <u>as active</u></i>	<i>(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u></i>		
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 priority</u>	<u>Some priority</u>	<u>No priority</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
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 <u>2013</u>		Jan 7-11 <u>2009</u> ¹⁶	Aug <u>2006</u>
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.) 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>	(VOL.) <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