

**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/Naïve 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	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>	----- <i>If shared leadership</i> -----			No <u>leadership</u>	No <u>answer</u>
			<u>Most assertive</u>	<u>No more or less assertive</u>	<u>No 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:							
<i>General public</i> 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

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	Egypt
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

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

Q.14 CONTINUED...

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

ASK IF Q.15 IS "LESS SUPPORTIVE":

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

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

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>
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
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]

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

Q.18 CONTINUED...

	Increase <u>defense spending</u>	Cut back on <u>defense spending</u>	Keep defense spending <u>about the same</u>	No <u>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?

	Right <u>decision</u>	Wrong <u>decision</u>	No <u>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?

	Right <u>decision</u>	Wrong <u>decision</u>	No <u>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>	No <u>answer</u>
CFR members			
2013	77	21	2

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.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

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

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.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

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

¹⁶ In 2005, the response options were not randomized.

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

ASK ALL:

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

	They have gone too far in restricting the average person's <u>civil liberties</u>	They have not gone far enough to adequately protect <u>the country</u>	(VOL.) <u>Both</u> ¹⁸	(VOL.) <u>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
<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

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

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.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

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	<i>April 8, 2003</i>	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

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>
March, 2001	47	45	8	March, 1996	28	70	2
February, 2001	46	43	11	October, 1995	23	73	4
January, 2001	55	41	4	June, 1995	25	73	2
October, 2000 (RVs)	54	39	7	April, 1995	23	74	3
September, 2000	51	41	8	July, 1994	24	73	3
June, 2000	47	45	8	March, 1994	24	71	5
April, 2000	48	43	9	October, 1993	22	73	5
August, 1999	56	39	5	September, 1993	20	75	5
January, 1999	53	41	6	May, 1993	22	71	7
November, 1998	46	44	10	January, 1993	39	50	11
Early September, 1998	54	42	4	January, 1992	28	68	4
Late August, 1998	55	41	4	November, 1991	34	61	5
Early August, 1998	50	44	6	<i>Gallup</i> : Late Feb, 1991	66	31	3
February, 1998	59	37	4	August, 1990	47	48	5
January, 1998	46	50	4	May, 1990	41	54	5
September, 1997	45	49	6	January, 1989	45	50	5
August, 1997	49	46	5	September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5
January, 1997	38	58	4				
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) Al Qaeda/Terrorist groups	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	8	--	6	4
2	Israel	--	--	--	2	3	1	4	2	--	--	--	--
1	None/Not just one country	--	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
3	Other	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) Al Qaeda/Terrorist groups	6	5
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.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
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.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
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

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.)</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Jan 6-10, 2010	42	51	7
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

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.)</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	36	49	15
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
l.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/ Ref
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, 1990</i> ¹⁰	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 -----			No <u>leadership</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
			<u>Most active</u>	<u>About as active</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref		
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 leader	Shared leadership	----- If shared leadership -----			No leadership	(VOL.) DK/Ref
			Most active	About as active	(VOL.) DK/Ref		
October, 1993	9	78	23	53	2	9	4
September, 1993	10	81	27	52	2	7	2

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:

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

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

NO QUESTION 27

ASK ALL:

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

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

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

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

BASED ON THOSE WHO SAY THE U.S. DOES TOO MUCH [N=1,003]:

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 U.S. 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				
<i>Global environmental problems</i>				
May, 2001	53	32	6	9
f.F1 Islamic extremist groups like al Qaeda				
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	75	18	4	3
May, 2012 (C)	70	21	4	5
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	76	18	2	3
June 10-14, 2009	78	14	4	4
January 7-11, 2009	77	15	4	4
September, 2008	72	21	3	4
Late May, 2008	72	18	4	6
NO ITEMS g AND h				
i.F1. Cyber attacks from other countries				
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	70	23	4	4
j.F1. Economic problems in the European Union				
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	37	41	12	10

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:

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

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

Q.33F2 CONTINUED...

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

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

Q.33F2 CONTINUED...

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

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

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=996]:

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

	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Keep same</u>	<u>Cut back</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
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.) DK/Ref
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>	<u>(VOL.) 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...

	Right <u>decision</u>	Wrong <u>decision</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
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?

	Right <u>decision</u>	Wrong <u>decision</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
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 2013		Oct 4-7 2012	Mar 8-14 2011 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 2013		(GA) May 2012
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	
<u>2013</u>	
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	
<u>2013</u>	
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>(VOL.)</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	34	36	29	2
Aug 17-21, 2011	23	39	35	3
Oct 13-18, 2010	30	41	25	4
Jan 6-10, 2010	33	35	29	3
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	29	38	29	4
Feb 4-8, 2009	17	44	35	4
Mid September, 2008	18	43	36	3
Late February, 2008	16	41	39	4
December, 2006	23	41	31	5
August, 2006	25	37	33	5
January, 2006	17	39	39	5
Late October, 2005	26	41	29	4
July, 2005	28	40	29	3
July, 2004	24	39	34	3
Late August, 2002	22	39	34	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</u> <u>well</u>	<u>Fairly</u> <u>well</u>	<u>Not</u> <u>too well</u>	<u>Not at</u> <u>all well</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
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 country</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...

	Republican	Democrat	Independent	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	Lean Rep	Lean Dem
				No preference	Other party			
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]:

	Agree	Disagree	No opinion either way	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	Not heard of/ DK
				Haven't heard of	Refused	
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, 2013	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>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a. The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations			
October 31-November 3, 2013	56	34	10
May 26-29, 2011	58	36	6
November 12-15, 2009	51	38	11
December, 2006	57	35	8
October, 2005	54	39	7
August, 2004	60	30	10
December, 2002	67	28	5
Early September, 2001	58	31	11
March, 1999	65	26	9
September, 1997	59	30	11
June, 1995	62	30	8
February, 1995	65	29	6
October, 1993	64	28	8
April, 1993	71	22	7
Gallup: 1991 ¹	77	17	6
Gallup: 1985	56	35	9
Gallup: 1980	59	28	13
Gallup: 1976	47	40	13
Gallup: 1972	63	28	9
Gallup: 1968	72	21	7
Gallup: 1964	73	16	11
b. In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies			
October 31-November 3, 2013	77	15	8
May 26-29, 2011	79	16	5
Nov 12-15, 2009	78	14	8
December, 2006	82	12	6
October, 2005	79	16	5
August, 2004	76	14	10
December, 2002	85	10	5
Early September, 2001	80	11	9
March, 1999	82	12	6
September, 1997	72	18	10
June, 1995	74	18	8
April, 1993	80	13	7
Gallup: 1991	86	10	4
Gallup: 1985	82	12	6
Gallup: 1980	79	13	8
Gallup: 1976	71	18	11
Gallup: 1972	80	12	8
Gallup: 1968	84	9	7
Gallup: 1964	81	8	11

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

PEW.2 CONTINUED...

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
c. Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not			
October 31-November 3, 2013	38	56	6
May 26-29, 2011	35	62	3
November 12-15, 2009	44	51	5
December, 2006	28	68	4
October, 2005	32	63	5
August, 2004	28	65	7
December, 2002	25	72	3
Early September, 2001	32	62	6
March, 1999	26	69	5
September, 1997	32	62	6
June, 1995	34	60	6
April, 1993	34	63	3
<i>Gallup: 1991</i>	29	66	5
<i>Gallup: 1985</i>	26	70	4
<i>Gallup: 1980</i>	26	66	8
<i>Gallup: 1976</i>	30	61	9
<i>Gallup: 1972</i>	22	72	6
<i>Gallup: 1968</i>	23	72	5
<i>Gallup: 1964</i>	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
<i>Gallup: 1991</i>	33	60	7
<i>Gallup: 1985</i>	34	59	7
<i>Gallup: 1980</i>	30	61	9
<i>Gallup: 1976</i>	43	47	10
<i>Gallup: 1972</i>	35	56	9
<i>Gallup: 1968</i>	27	66	7
<i>Gallup: 1964</i>	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

PEW.2 CONTINUED...

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
September, 1997	72	24	4
June, 1995	78	18	4
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