Sample: 2,506 US adults
Interviewing dates: October $27^{\text {th }}$ - November $5^{\text {th }}, 2023$

## US NATIONAL SURVEY OF FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDES ON BEHALF OF THE RONALD REAGAN INSTITUTE

## FINAL TOPLINE RESULTS

## MOOD OF THE COUNTRY

1. Are you registered to vote?

Nov 2023
June 2023
Nov 2022
Nov 2021
Feb 2021
Oct 2019
Nov 2018

| $\underline{\text { Yes }}$ |  | No | (DK) |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{8 8 \%}$ | $\mathbf{1 1}$ | $\mathbf{1}$ |  |
| $88 \%$ | 11 | 1 |  |
| $88 \%$ | 10 | 2 |  |
| $87 \%$ | 11 | 2 |  |
| $96 \%$ | 4 | $*$ |  |
| $89 \%$ | 9 | 1 |  |
| $91 \%$ | 9 | $*$ |  |

## [SAMPLE B ONLY]

2. Would you say things in the United States today are:

Nov 2023
June 2023
Nov 2022
Nov 2021
Feb 2021
Oct 2019
Nov 2018

| Generally headed in <br> the right direction | Off in the <br> wrong direction | (Don't <br> know) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{2 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{7 0}$ | $\mathbf{6}$ |
| $25 \%$ | 69 | 6 |
| $28 \%$ | 62 | 10 |
| $33 \%$ | 59 | 8 |
| $42 \%$ | 51 | 6 |
| $40 \%$ | 53 | 7 |
| $37 \%$ | 54 | 9 |

## [SAMPLE A ONLY]

3. What would you say is the most important problem facing this country today? [OPEN ENDED, USE PRE-CODES FOR PHONE VERSION. ACCEPT ONE ANSWER]

|  | Nov 2023 | Nov 2022 | Nov 2021 | Feb 2021 | Oct 2019 | Nov 2018 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Inflation/Gas prices/Grocery prices | 16\% | 15\% | 4\% | NA | NA | NA |
| Economy and jobs | 16 | 14 | 16 | 15 | 11 | 8 |
| Politics/Partisanship | 10 | 6 | 13 | 17 | 25 | 22 |
| Corruption/Incompetent leaders | 9 | 14 | 12 | 8 | 14 | 10 |
| Immigration | 5 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 8 | 12 |
| Guns/Gun policy | 4 | 2 | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| Border security | 4 | * | 3 | * | 3 | 2 |
| Systemic racism/White supremacy | 3 | 5 | 5 | 7 | NA | NA |
| Crime/Safety | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 3 |
| The environment/Climate change | 3 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 6 | 2 |
| Homelessness / Poverty | 3 | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| National defense | 3 | 1 | * | * | 1 | 1 |
| Health care | 2 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 8 | 9 |
| Foreign policy | 2 | 1 | * | * | 1 | 1 |
| The federal deficit | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Democracy | 2 | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| Education/Schools | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Terrorism | 1 | 1 | * | * | 2 | 1 |
| Abortion | * | 4 | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| Taxes | * | * | 1 | * | 2 | 1 |
| Coronavirus/COVID | * | 1 | 12 | 29 | NA | NA |
| Police brutality | * | * | * | - | NA | NA |
| Socialism | * | 2 | 1 | 1 | NA | NA |
| Domestic terrorism | * | * | * | 1 | NA | NA |
| Trade/Tariffs | - | 7 | 1 | * | 1 | 1 |
| Energy/Energy policy | - | 1 | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| Other | 9 | 11 | 6 | 7 | 7 | 11 |
| Don't know | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

## CONFIDENCE IN MILITARY AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS

For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell us how much trust and confidence you have in them. [RANDOMIZE. ASK ALL Q4, Q5-7 SAMPLE A ONLY, Q8-9 SAMPLE B ONLY]

| 4. | The military |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { A } \\ \text { great deal } \end{gathered}$ | Some | A little | Not much at all | (Don't know) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Nov 2023 | 46\% | 32 | 12 | 8 | 1 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 48\% | 33 | 10 | 8 | 2 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 45\% | 33 | 11 | 10 | 2 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 56\% | 27 | 9 | 6 | 2 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 63\% | 23 | 8 | 5 | 1 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 70\% | 23 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| 5. | The Presidency | Nov 2023 | 16\% | 20 | 17 | 47 | 1 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 16\% | 24 | 13 | 45 | 2 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 19\% | 21 | 15 | 43 | 2 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 30\% | 20 | 12 | 35 | 2 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 27\% | 18 | 11 | 43 | 1 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 28\% | 16 | 9 | 45 | 1 |
| 6. | Congress | Nov 2023 | 5\% | 21 | 28 | 43 | 2 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 9\% | 24 | 25 | 39 | 3 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 6\% | 24 | 25 | 41 | 3 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 10\% | 24 | 21 | 43 | 2 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 8\% | 25 | 24 | 39 | 2 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 5\% | 34 | 26 | 32 | 3 |
| 7. | The Supreme Court | Nov 2023 | 16\% | 30 | 23 | 29 | 2 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 16\% | 29 | 21 | 30 | 3 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 18\% | 36 | 21 | 21 | 4 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 23\% | 34 | 22 | 19 | 2 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 26\% | 36 | 20 | 14 | 3 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 27\% | 43 | 14 | 13 | 3 |
| 8. | The news media | Nov 2023 | 8\% | 25 | 22 | 43 | 1 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 9\% | 26 | 20 | 43 | 2 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 10\% | 23 | 19 | 45 | 3 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 14\% | 22 | 18 | 45 | 1 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 15\% | 26 | 17 | 38 | 2 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 16\% | 26 | 14 | 42 | 1 |
| 9. | Police and law enforcement | Nov 2023 | 27\% | 37 | 19 | 17 | 1 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | $33 \%$ | 37 | 14 | 15 | 1 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | $33 \%$ | 33 | 16 | 16 | 2 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 39\% | 30 | 15 | 14 | 1 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 40\% | 34 | 14 | 10 | 1 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 50\% | 33 | 8 | 9 | - |

## [Q10-14 SAMPLE A ONLY]

10. Do you think the US military is: [ROTATE 1 AND 3]
Too focused on social issues at the expense of a focus on warfighting $\quad 23 \%$
Appropriately balancing a focus on warfighting and social issues 39
Too focused on warfighting at the expense of a focus on social issues 24
(Don't know)
15
11. As you may know, the Senate confirms nominees for senior military positions, and these positions are left unfilled if the Senate does not vote on them. Do you think it is appropriate or inappropriate for a senator to block votes on these nominees in order to protest Defense Department policies unrelated to warfighting?

Appropriate 22\%
Inappropriate 63
(Don't know) 15
12. If a close friend or family member were considering joining the military, would you encourage them or discourage them?

Encourage 51\%
Discourage 33
(Don't know) 16

## [IF ENCOURAGE. N=605]

13. What is the primary reason you would encourage them?

Patriotism / Serve the country / Honorable 31\%
Supportive of others (general) 13
Military needs people 12
Career opportunities / Well paid / Skills training 11
Builds character / Teaches discipline 10
Veteran / Military family / Know someone in the military 10
Good benefits (GI bill, college, retirement) 7
Other 3
Not sure / Refused 3

## [IF DISCOURAGE. N=419]

14. What is the primary reason you would discourage them?
```
Too dangerous / Not worth the risks (death, injury, trauma) 21\%
Anti-war / Pro-peace / Potential to go to war 20
Would not serve given current political climate / Distrust politicians 15
Not worth it (general) 13
Do not take care of veterans / Poor treatment 8
Too woke / View social policies negatively 8
Corruption in Military / Distrust leadership 6
Veteran / Personal connection to military member with bad
experience
Other
4
Not sure / Refused 2
```

POLICY PRIORITIES
[Q15-19 SAMPLE B ONLY]

Thinking now about the different areas in which the federal government spends money...
Please tell me if you favor or oppose increasing government spending in each of the following areas.
[IF FAVOR/OPPOSE: Is that strongly or just somewhat (favor/oppose)?] [RANDOMIZE]

19. How concerned are you that budget cuts by Congress will reduce the military's capabilities?

| TOTAL CONCERNED | $67 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| TOTAL NOT CONCERNED | 29 |
|  |  |
| Extremely concerned | $32 \%$ |
| Somewhat concerned | 35 |
| Not very concerned | 19 |
| Not at all concerned | 10 |
| (Don't know) | 3 |

How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?
[RANDOMIZE. Q20-23 SAMPLE A ONLY, Q24-27 SAMPLE B ONLY]

|  |  |  | -------Con | ncerned | ------- | ------Not | concern | d------ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | TOTAL | Extremely | Somewhat | TOTAL | Not very | Not <br> at all | (DK) |
| 20. | Conventional military attacks | Nov 2023 | 62\% | 24 | 39 | 35 | 25 | 10 | 3 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 57\% | 21 | 36 | 40 | 27 | 12 | 3 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 55\% | 20 | 35 | 41 | 28 | 13 | 4 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 56\% | 21 | 35 | 39 | 27 | 12 | 5 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 56\% | 20 | 36 | 42 | 31 | 11 | 3 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 50\% | 16 | 34 | 47 | 29 | 18 | 3 |
| 21. | Cyber-attacks | Nov 2023 | 85\% | 51 | 35 | 13 | 10 | 3 | 2 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 85\% | 48 | 37 | 13 | 9 | 4 | 2 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 88\% | 56 | 32 | 9 | 6 | 2 | 4 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 88\% | 57 | 30 | 9 | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| 2018 | 19 wording: Cyber-attacks on government | Oct 2019 | 89\% | 57 | 32 | 10 | 8 | 2 | 1 |
| compu | and the grid | Nov 2018 | 92\% | 66 | 26 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| 22. | An attack on our space assets, | Nov 2023 | 61\% | 25 | 36 | 36 | 26 | 11 | 2 |
|  | such as satellites | Nov 2022 | 66\% | 29 | 38 | 33 | 24 | 9 | 1 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 61\% | 24 | 37 | 34 | 24 | 10 | 4 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 60\% | 24 | 36 | 36 | 25 | 10 | 4 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 62\% | 25 | 37 | 35 | 25 | 10 | 3 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 64\% | 23 | 41 | 33 | 21 | 12 | 2 |
| 23. | Terrorist attacks on the | Nov 2023 | 81\% | 47 | 34 | 17 | 13 | 5 | 1 |
|  | homeland | Nov 2022 | 76\% | 39 | 37 | 23 | 16 | 7 | 1 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 82\% | 45 | 37 | 15 | 11 | 4 | 3 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 83\% | 43 | 39 | 15 | 12 | 3 | 2 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 84\% | 42 | 42 | 15 | 11 | 4 | 1 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 85\% | 48 | 37 | 14 | 10 | 4 | 1 |


|  |  |  | -------C | ncerne | ------- | ------Not | concer | -d----- |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | TOTAL | Extremely | Somewhat | TOTAL | Not very | Not at all | (DK) |
| 24. | Political divisions in the | Nov 2023 | 87\% | 54 | 33 | 12 | 8 | 4 | 1 |
|  | United States leading to | Nov 2022 | 85\% | 52 | 33 | 15 | 10 | 5 | * |
|  | violence | Nov 2021 | 85\% | 55 | 30 | 11 | 8 | 3 | 4 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 88\% | 63 | 25 | 9 | 6 | 3 | 3 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 84\% | 51 | 33 | 13 | 9 | 4 | 2 |
| 25. | Climate change | Nov 2023 | 66\% | 40 | 26 | 33 | 13 | 20 | 1 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 65\% | 41 | 23 | 34 | 15 | 19 | 1 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 65\% | 41 | 25 | 30 | 14 | 16 | 4 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 66\% | 40 | 26 | 31 | 13 | 18 | 3 |
| 26. | Rising authoritarianism around | Nov 2023 | 79\% | 41 | 39 | 17 | 11 | 5 | 4 |
|  | the world | Nov 2022 | 81\% | 43 | 38 | 16 | 11 | 5 | 4 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 75\% | 39 | 37 | 16 | 13 | 3 | 9 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 76\% | 40 | 36 | 17 | 12 | 4 | 7 |
| 27. | War between the US and | Nov 2023 | 74\% | 37 | 38 | 25 | 16 | 8 | 1 |
|  | China | Nov 2022 | 69\% | 33 | 36 | 30 | 21 | 9 | 1 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 71\% | 33 | 37 | 25 | 18 | 7 | 4 |

## DEFENSE / FOREIGN POLICY POSTURE

Most of this survey will focus on your views about the US military, national defense, and foreign policy.

## [Q28 PHONE RESPONDENTS ONLY]

28. Thinking about American interests and the threats that exist in the world today, where do you think the US should focus its military forces? [RANDOMIZE]

Nov 2023 Nov 2022 Nov 2021 Feb 2021 Oct 2019 Nov 2018

| The Middle East, such as Iran and <br> Syria <br> East Asia, such as China, Japan, | $\mathbf{3 1 \%}$ | $11 \%$ | $17 \%$ | $21 \%$ | $37 \%$ | $27 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $\quad$ North Korea and South Korea | $\mathbf{2 5}$ | 31 | 37 | 28 | 16 | 24 |
| Europe, including Russia | $\mathbf{1 9}$ | 18 | 5 | 8 | 9 | 5 |
| Central America | $\mathbf{3}$ | 5 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| South America <br> Africa | $\mathbf{2}$ | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| South Asia, such as India, <br> $\quad$ Pakistan, and Afghanistan | $\mathbf{2}$ | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| (Don't know) | $\mathbf{2}$ | 6 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 15 |

*Note: 2018 survey did not specify "including Russia" and "such as Iran and Syria"

## [Q29 ONLINE RESPONDENTS ONLY]

29. What percentage of military resources, forces, and attention do you think the US should allocate to each of the following areas? Please enter a percentage in each text box, with the total equal to 100. [RANDOMIZE] [CONTINUOUS SUM, MAX 100\%]

|  | Average <br> Percentage |
| :--- | :---: |
| The Middle East, such as Iran and Syria | $19 \%$ |
| East Asia, such as China, Japan, North Korea and South Korea | 18 |
| Europe, including Russia | 17 |
| South Asia, such as India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan | 13 |
| Central America | 13 |
| South America | 10 |
| Africa | 10 |

[Q30-33 SAMPLE A ONLY]
30. When it comes to international events, do you think it is better for the United States to be more engaged and take the lead, or to be less engaged and react to events?

More engaged and take the lead
Less engaged and react to events (Depends)
(Don't know)

| Nov 2023 | Nov 2022 | Nov 2021 | Feb 2021 | Oct 2019 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 42\% | 40\% | 42\% | 51\% | 50\% |
| 32 | 32 | 30 | 27 | 33 |
| 23 | 24 | 22 | 19 | 11 |
| 3 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 5 |

31. In general, do you think it is better for the US to maintain military bases around the world to deter attacks and respond quickly if something happens, or do you think the US should reduce our military presence overseas and only deploy troops in response to aggression?

|  | Nov 2023 | Nov 2022 | Nov 2021 | Feb 2021 | Oct 2019 |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Maintain bases | $\mathbf{6 6 \%}$ | $65 \%$ | $65 \%$ | $63 \%$ | $65 \%$ |
| Reduce presence overseas | $\mathbf{2 8}$ | 27 | 27 | 31 | 28 |  |
| (Don't know) | $\mathbf{7}$ | 7 | 9 | 6 | 7 |  |

32. Do you think the US would win a war with a nuclear power?

|  | Nov 2023 | Nov 2022 | Feb 2021 |  | Oct 2019 | Nov 2018 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Yes | $\mathbf{4 4 \%}$ | $53 \%$ | $53 \%$ | $57 \%$ | $65 \%$ |  |
| No | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | 22 | 22 | 28 | 25 |  |
| (Don't know) | $\mathbf{2 6}$ | 24 | 24 | 15 | 9 |  |

33. Do you favor or oppose sending the US military into Mexico to counter, and if necessary attack, drug cartels?

| Favor | $41 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Oppose | 46 |
| (Don't know) | 14 |

## SKILLED IMMIGRATION AND DEFENSE PRODUCTION

[Q34-40 SAMPLE B ONLY]
34. In general, when it comes to manufacturing the materials necessary for national security, do you think the US relies too much on countries that are not our allies?

|  | Nov 2023 | Feb 2021 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| We rely too much on non-allies | $\mathbf{5 5 \%}$ | $55 \%$ |
| We do not rely too much on non-allies | $\mathbf{1 6}$ | 18 |
| (Depends) | $\mathbf{1 8}$ | 15 |
| (Don't know) | $\mathbf{1 0}$ | 12 |

35. Do you think the US currently has enough domestic manufacturing capacity to produce the materials, equipment, and weapons needed for national defense, or do we need more manufacturing capacity? [IF MORE: Do we need a lot more or only a little more?]

A lot more
38\%
A little more 31
Enough as is
21
(Too much) [OMITTED ONLINE]
(Don't know)
10
36. Do you think the US has enough manufacturing capacity to ramp up quickly to meet our needs in a crisis, or do we need more? [IF MORE: Do we need a lot more or only a little more?]

| A lot more | $39 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| A little more | 31 |
| Enough as is | 21 |
| (Too much) [OMITTED ONLINE] | - |
| (Don't know) | 9 |

37. The US military and companies in the defense sector believe more skilled immigrantsmeaning those with advanced degrees working in science and technology-are needed to fill high-tech national security jobs. Knowing this, do you support or oppose increasing the number of skilled immigrants legally allowed to come to the US? [IF SUPPORT /
OPPOSE: Is that strongly (support/oppose), or only somewhat?]
TOTAL SUPPORT ..... 62\%
TOTAL OPPOSE ..... 33
Strongly support ..... 27\%
Somewhat support ..... 35
Somewhat oppose ..... 18
Strongly oppose ..... 15
(Don't know) ..... 6

For reference: Ifyou knew that the US military and companies in the defense sector believe more skilled immigrants are needed to fill high-tech national security jobs, would you support or oppose increasing the number of skilled immigrants legally allowed to come to the US?

|  | Lune 2023 |
| :--- | :---: |
| Support | $62 \%$ |
| Oppose | 28 |
| (Don't know) | 10 |

Next, I would like to read you a few reasons some people think it is important to increase the number of skilled immigrants who are legally allowed to come to the US and work in national security and defense. Please tell me whether you think each one is a very good reason to increase skilled immigration, a somewhat good reason, or not a good reason. [RANDOMIZE]

| 38. | Our intelligence agencies have decades of experience ensuring that highly skilled immigrants who work in national security jobs are vetted and trustworthy. | --------Total good reason-------- |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | TOTAL | Very | Somewhat | Not <br> good | (Don't know) |
|  |  | 73\% | 31 | 41 | 22 | 5 |
| 39. | Increasing skilled immigration gives us an advantage over our rivals. Ensuring highly skilled people immigrate to the US rather than China or Russia means the best and brightest are working for us rather than against us. | 76\% | 36 | 40 | 19 | 5 |
| 40. | The US has a long history of skilled immigrants working in national defense. Increasing skilled immigration gives us the best chance of the next Einstein working in the US. | 73\% | 29 | 43 | 22 | 5 |

## [Q41-46 SAMPLE A ONLY]

Thinking specifically about materials and technologies that are important for national security - how do you think the US is doing when it comes to developing and producing each of the following? Is the US the best in the world, one of the best, or not one of the best? [RANDOMIZE]

|  |  |  | Best in the world | One of the best | Not one of the best | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (Don' } \\ & \text { know) } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 41. | Computer and cellular | Nov 2023 | 20\% | 59 | 14 | 7 |
|  | technologies, like 5G | Feb 2021 | 21\% | 54 | 18 | 7 |
| 42. | Satellites and rockets | Nov 2023 | 28\% | 52 | 12 | 8 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 30\% | 50 | 11 | 9 |
| 43. | Robotics | Nov 2023 | 14\% | 55 | 21 | 11 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 14\% | 51 | 22 | 13 |
| 44. | Artificial intelligence, or AI | Nov 2023 | 16\% | 52 | 20 | 12 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 17\% | 51 | 18 | 14 |

45. At present, the military spends roughly $1 \%$ of its budget on artificial intelligence. Knowing this, do you favor or oppose increasing military spending on AI?

| Favor | $52 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Oppose | 32 |
| (Don't know) | 16 |

46. Some say the use of AI in military technology can provide life-saving safety to soldiers and improve decision-making. Others say it poses ethical concerns and could lead to unpredictable consequences. Knowing this, do you favor or oppose increasing military spending on AI?

| Favor | $52 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Oppose | 32 |
| (Don't know) | 15 |

## [Q47-49 SAMPLE B ONLY]

Thinking now about artificial intelligence, or AI...
47. In general, do you think more integration of AI into our military systems is a good idea, a bad idea, or is it too soon to say?

| Good idea | $20 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Bad idea | 27 |
| Too soon to say | 49 |
| (Don't know) | 4 |

48. Military experts say incorporating AI into US military systems can provide a strategic advantage over China. Knowing this, do you think more integration of AI into military systems is a good idea, a bad idea, or is it too soon to say?

$$
\text { Good idea } \quad 29 \%
$$

Bad idea 19
Too soon to say 47
(Don't know) 5
49. US military policy around artificial intelligence often requires safeguards, such as ensuring that human decision-makers retain oversight over AI systems to prevent uncontrolled actions, especially in lethal situations. Knowing this, do you think more integration of AI into military systems is a good idea, a bad idea, or is it too soon to say?

| Good idea | $28 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Bad idea | 21 |
| Too soon to say | 47 |
| (Don't know) | 4 |

## ASSESSMENTS OF ALLIES AND ENEMIES

[Q50 SAMPLE B ONLY]
50. Which country do you see as the greatest threat to the US? [RECORD VERBATIM]

|  | Nov 2023 | Nov 2022 | Nov 2021 | Feb 2021 | Oct 2019 | Nov 2018 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| China | 51\% | 43\% | 52\% | 37\% | 28\% | 21\% |
| Russia | 24 | 31 | 14 | 16 | 25 | 30 |
| Iran | 5 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 9 | 7 |
| USA / Ourselves | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| North Korea | 3 | 7 | 12 | 15 | 14 | 18 |
| Israel | 1 | NA | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| Ukraine | * | 1 | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| Afghanistan | * | 1 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Mexico | * | 1 | * | 1 | * | 1 |
| Iraq | * | 1 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 2 |
| All / Too many | * | 1 | NA | NA | NA | NA |
| None | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Other | 4 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Not sure / Refused | 4 | 5 | 9 | 8 | 5 | 5 |

[Q51-57 SAMPLE A1 ONLY, Q58-63 SAMPLE A2 ONLY]
Do you see each of the following countries as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy? [RANDOMIZE]

|  |  |  |  | -Ally---- |  | ------ | Enemy- | ----- |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  | Some- |  | Some- |  |  |
|  |  |  | TOTAL | Strong | thing | TOTAL | thing | Strong | (DK) |
| 51. | Australia | Nov 2023 | 83\% | 48 | 35 | 6 | 5 | , | 11 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 84\% | 46 | 37 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 9 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 84\% | 47 | 36 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 13 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 84\% | 54 | 30 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 12 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 93\% | 54 | 39 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
| 52. | China | Nov 2023 | 15\% | 4 | 12 | 77 | 36 | 41 | 8 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 19\% | 5 | 14 | 75 | 37 | 38 | 6 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 23\% | 7 | 16 | 65 | 32 | 33 | 12 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 21\% | 5 | 16 | 67 | 30 | 38 | 11 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 36\% | 7 | 29 | 60 | 40 | 20 | 3 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 38\% | 5 | 33 | 55 | 37 | 18 | 7 |
| 53. | Finland | Nov 2023 | 75\% | 33 | 42 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 18 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 74\% | 28 | 46 | 10 | 8 | 2 | 16 |
| 54. | Russia | Nov 2023 | 9\% | 3 | 6 | 82 | 28 | 54 | 8 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 13\% | 3 | 10 | 82 | 31 | 51 | 5 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 20\% | 5 | 15 | 65 | 36 | 29 | 15 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 19\% | 6 | 13 | 69 | 35 | 35 | 12 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 28\% | 5 | 23 | 71 | 38 | 33 | 2 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 19\% | 3 | 16 | 73 | 37 | 36 | 7 |


|  |  |  |  | --Ally--- |  | ------ | Enemy- | ------ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  | Some- |  | Some- |  |  |
|  |  |  | TOTAL | Strong | thing | TOTAL | thing | Strong | (DK) |
| 55. | Saudi Arabia | Nov 2023 | 36\% | 5 | 32 | 46 | 30 | 15 | 18 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 33\% | 5 | 28 | 54 | 40 | 14 | 14 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 40\% | 6 | 33 | 40 | 27 | 13 | 20 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 45\% | 8 | 37 | 39 | 28 | 11 | 15 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 47\% | 9 | 38 | 48 | 34 | 14 | 5 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 38\% | 5 | 33 | 53 | 37 | 16 | 10 |
| 56. | Taiwan | Nov 2023 | 64\% | 27 | 37 | 15 | 12 | 3 | 21 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 69\% | 26 | 43 | 16 | 13 | 4 | 15 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 62\% | 21 | 41 | 14 | 11 | 2 | 24 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 60\% | 22 | 38 | 16 | 11 | 5 | 24 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 73\% | 21 | 52 | 17 | 14 | 3 | 9 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 71\% | 21 | 50 | 11 | 9 | 2 | 18 |
| 57. | Ukraine | Nov 2023 | 74\% | 28 | 46 | 16 | 11 | 5 | 10 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 76\% | 32 | 44 | 16 | 11 | 5 | 8 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 49\% | 11 | 38 | 26 | 20 | 7 | 24 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 61\% | 10 | 51 | 29 | 25 | 4 | 9 |
| 58. | United Kingdom | Nov 2023 | 85\% | 56 | 29 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 9 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 86\% | 58 | 28 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 7 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 86\% | 62 | 25 | 4 | 3 | * | 10 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 84\% | 61 | 23 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 10 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 93\% | 61 | 32 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 2 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 92\% | 67 | 25 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| 59. | Israel | Nov 2023 | 71\% | 41 | 30 | 18 | 11 | 7 | 11 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 66\% | 38 | 28 | 17 | 12 | 5 | 17 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 70\% | 43 | 27 | 16 | 10 | 6 | 14 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 78\% | 43 | 35 | 19 | 14 | 5 | 4 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 80\% | 49 | 31 | 13 | 9 | 4 | 7 |
| 60. | India | Nov 2023 | 63\% | 13 | 50 | 17 | 13 | 4 | 20 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 66\% | 19 | 47 | 14 | 10 | 4 | 20 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 80\% | 16 | 64 | 14 | 11 | 3 | 6 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 78\% | 18 | 60 | 10 | 8 | 2 | 11 |
| 61. | Iran | Nov 2023 | 13\% | 4 | 9 | 76 | 29 | 47 | 11 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 11\% | 4 | 8 | 75 | 28 | 48 | 13 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 13\% | 3 | 10 | 82 | 37 | 45 | 5 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 10\% | 1 | 9 | 82 | 35 | 47 | 8 |


|  |  |  |  | Ally- |  | ------E | Enemy- |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  | Some- |  | Some- |  |  |
|  |  |  | TOTAL | Strong | thing | TOTAL | thing | Strong | (DK) |
| 62. | Mexico | Nov 2023 | 63\% | 14 | 49 | 24 | 18 | 6 | 13 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 70\% | 27 | 43 | 17 | 13 | 4 | 13 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 77\% | 23 | 54 | 21 | 17 | 4 | 2 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 74\% | 24 | 50 | 21 | 17 | 4 | 6 |
| 63. | Turkey | Nov 2023 | 46\% | 8 | 38 | 30 | 25 | 5 | 24 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 42\% | 8 | 34 | 32 | 25 | 7 | 26 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 47\% | 6 | 41 | 47 | 36 | 11 | 7 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 50\% | 6 | 44 | 35 | 27 | 8 | 16 |

## [Q64-66 SAMPLE B ONLY]

The US has historically provided security assistance to help its allies and friends defend themselves if they are willing to fight aggression against their own countries. Thinking about current cases, do you support or oppose the US assisting each of the following?
[RANDOMIZE]

|  |  |  | --------Oppose------- |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Some- | Some- |  |  |  |
| TOTAL | Strongly | what | TOTAL | what | Strong | DK) |
| 67\% | 36 | 31 | 27 | 12 | 14 | 6 |
| 71\% | 40 | 31 | 23 | 12 | 11 | 6 |
| 65\% | 32 | 33 | 23 | 14 | 9 | 13 |

## [Q67-68 SAMPLE A ONLY]

67. How much, if anything, have you heard about the recent security agreement between Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States-sometimes called the AUKUS security pact?

## TOTAL AWARE <br> TOTAL NOT AWARE

Quite a bit 6\%
Some 15
Not much 29
Nothing at all 45
(Don't know) 5
68. As part of the AUKUS security pact, designed to counter growing Chinese power, the US is working with the UK and Australia to develop advanced defense technologies like nuclearpowered submarines. This will require changing US export regulations, which currently make it difficult to share defense technologies with these countries. Do you support or oppose changing US regulations to make it easier to share these sensitive technologies with the UK and Australia?

| Support | $58 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Oppose | 22 |
| (Don't know) | 20 |

## CHINA

[Q69 SAMPLE A ONLY]
69. Which of the following most concerns you about China? [RANDOMIZE]

|  | Nov 2023 | Nov 2022 | Nov 2021 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Chinese military buildup, including naval activity in the South China Sea | 20\% | 18\% | 19\% |
| Chinese human rights abuses, including the treatment of Hong Kong and the Uyghur ethnic group | 20 | 17 | 17 |
| Chinese foreign policy, including efforts to expand its influence throughout South Asia, Africa and South America | 17 | 11 | 13 |
| Chinese economic practices, including technology theft and its trade relationships with other countries | 15 | 22 | 20 |
| China invading Taiwan | 10 | 13 | 7 |
| (All / Mix) [OMITTED ONLINE] | 8 | 7 | 10 |
| (Don't know) | 10 | 12 | 14 |

[Q70-76 SAMPLE B ONLY]
Thinking specifically about China, how concerned are you about each of the following?
[RANDOMIZE]
70. Chinese military build-up overall
71. China overtaking the US as the world's number one superpower
72. The potential invasion of Taiwan

Nov 2023 73\%
3\%
31
42
21
$\begin{array}{lll}13 & 7 & 6\end{array}$
For reference: The isolation of Taiwan
$\begin{array}{llllllll}\text { Feb } 2021 & 66 \% & 31 & 34 & 20 & 13 & 7 & 14\end{array}$
73. China surpassing the United

States as the world's biggest economy

| Nov 2023 | $\mathbf{7 2 \%}$ | $\mathbf{3 7}$ | $\mathbf{3 6}$ | $\mathbf{2 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 7}$ | $\mathbf{8}$ | $\mathbf{3}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Feb 2021 | $75 \%$ | 45 | 30 | 20 | 13 | 8 | 5 |

74. China spying on the United States

| Nov 2023 | $85 \%$ | 57 | 28 | 13 | 8 | 5 | 3 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

75. Chinese influence with countries in Central and South America

| Nov 2023 | $74 \%$ | 32 | 42 | 22 | 14 | 7 | 4 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

76. As you may know, the Chinese government has a policy designed to achieve technological supremacy over the US when it comes to artificial intelligence by the year 2030. Knowing this, how concerned are you about the possibility of the US falling behind China technologically?

|  | Nov 2023 | Feb 2021 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| TOTAL CONCERNED | 79\% | 79\% |
| TOTAL NOT CONCERNED | 18 | 17 |
| Extremely | 41\% | 48\% |
| Somewhat | 39 | 31 |
| Not very | 13 | 11 |
| Not at all | 5 | 6 |
| (Don't know) | 3 | 5 |
| 2021 W ording: ". . . when it comes to artificial intelligence, and recent estimates suggest Cbina could achieve superiority in artificial intelligence as soon as 2022." |  |  |

[Q77-79 ALL OF SAMPLE A. Q80-83 SAMPLE A1 ONLY, Q84-86 SAMPLE A2 ONLY] In each of the following areas, do you think the US has superiority over China, are the two countries about equal, or does China have superiority over the US? [RANDOMIZE Q77-79 FIRST, THEN RANDOMIZE REMAINDER]
77. Overall military capabilities
78. Economic strength
79. Diplomatic influence
80. Ground forces
81. Air forces
82. Naval forces
83. Space forces and capabilities
84. Cyber capabilities
85. Artificial intelligence
86. Autonomous capabilities, like certain kinds of drones and other weapons, that can operate without human guidance

| US has <br> superiority | About <br> equal | China has <br> $50 \%$ | superiority |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (Don't |  |  |  |
| $34 \%$ | 30 |  | know) |
| $44 \%$ | 31 | 28 | 7 |
| $40 \%$ | 24 | 15 | 7 |
| $65 \%$ | 18 | 26 | 10 |
| $57 \%$ | 22 | 6 | 10 |
| $52 \%$ | 25 | 10 | 11 |
| $24 \%$ | 32 | 33 | 12 |
| $26 \%$ | 30 | 29 | 11 |
| $36 \%$ | 31 | 22 | 11 |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |

## [Q87-89 SAMPLE A ONLY]

For each of the following, do you think China will gain power compared to the US over the next 10 years or lose power compared to the US? [RANDOMIZE]
87. Military power
88. Economic strength

| Gain <br> power | Lose <br> power | (Stay the <br> same) | (Don't <br> know) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $53 \%$ | 26 | 4 | $\frac{17}{\text { know }}$ |
| $50 \%$ | 29 | 2 | 15 |
| $40 \%$ | 39 | 3 | 19 |

## [Q90-96 SAMPLE B ONLY]

As you may know, although official Chinese policy is that Taiwan is part of China, Taiwan has operated relatively independently for decades. If China invaded Taiwan, please tell me if you would support or oppose the United States coming to Taiwan's defense in each of the following ways. [DO NOT RANDOMIZE]
90. Officially recognizing Taiwan as an independent country
91. Imposing economic sanctions against China

|  | Support | Oppose | (DK) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nov 2023 | 72\% | 15 | 13 |
| Nov 2022 | 73\% | 11 | 15 |
| Nov 2021 | 71\% | 10 | 19 |
| Oct 2019 | 76\% | 11 | 13 |
| Nov 2023 | 69\% | 16 | 15 |
| Nov 2022 | 60\% | 23 | 17 |
| Nov 2021 | 66\% | 15 | 19 |
| Oct 2019 | 64\% | 23 | 13 |

92. Sending more military equipment to Taiwan
93. Moving US military assets, such as aircraft carriers, into the region
94. Establishing a no-fly zone over the area, which could involve shooting down Chinese warplanes

| Nov 2023 | $\mathbf{5 6 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 8}$ | $\mathbf{1 6}$ |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Nov 2022 | $56 \%$ | 26 | 18 |
|  |  |  |  |
| Nov 2023 | $\mathbf{5 8 \%} \%$ | $\mathbf{2 8}$ | $\mathbf{1 4}$ |
| Nov 2022 | $52 \%$ | 29 | 19 |
| Nov 2021 | $55 \%$ | 24 | 21 |
| Oct 2019 | $55 \%$ | 32 | 13 |


| Nov 2023 | $\mathbf{5 3 \%}$ | $\mathbf{3 0}$ | $\mathbf{1 7}$ |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Nov 2022 | $46 \%$ | 34 | 20 |
| Nov 2021 | $50 \%$ | 25 | 25 |
| Oct 2019 | $42 \%$ | 42 | 16 |
|  |  |  |  |
| Nov 2023 | $\mathbf{4 6 \%}$ | $\mathbf{3 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 9}$ |
| Nov 2022 | $43 \%$ | 36 | 21 |
| Nov 2021 | $40 \%$ | 35 | 25 |
| Oct 2019 | $39 \%$ | 45 | 16 |

96. As you may know, Taiwan has a democratically elected government. It is also a major manufacturer of electronics and is the world's largest producer of advanced semiconductors-components used in computers, cellphones, cars, and other devices. Does hearing this make you more or less likely to support committing US forces to the defense of Taiwan if China invades, or does it have no effect? [IF MORE / LESS LIKELY: Is that much (more/less) likely, or only somewhat?]

## TOTAL MORE LIKELY TOTAL LESS LIKELY

Much more likely to support
Somewhat more likely to support
No difference
Somewhat less likely to support
Much less likely to support
(Don't know)

Nov 2023 Nov 2022
52\% 46\%
56

Q97-98 SAMPLE A ONLY]
In an attempt to discourage China from invading Taiwan, do you support or oppose each of the following? [RANDOMIZE]
97. Increasing US military
presence near Taiwan
98. Increasing US arms sales to Taiwan

|  | Support | Oppose |  | (DK) |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Nov 2023 | $\mathbf{6 0 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 5}$ | $\mathbf{1 5}$ |
| June 2023 | $56 \%$ | 30 | 14 |  |
| Nov 2022 | $61 \%$ | 26 |  | 14 |


| Nov 2023 | $\mathbf{5 5 \%}$ | $\mathbf{2 8}$ | $\mathbf{1 7}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| June 2023 | $52 \%$ | 31 | 17 |
| Nov 2022 | $58 \%$ | 26 | 16 |

## UKRAINE

## [Q99-107 SAMPLE A ONLY]

On another subject...
99. Who do you think is currently winning the war between Russia and Ukraine?

|  | Nov 2023 | June 2023 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\mathbf{3 1 \%}$ | $27 \%$ |
| Ukssia | $\mathbf{3 4}$ | 31 |
| Ukraine | $\mathbf{2 3}$ | 25 |
| (Neither) | $\mathbf{1 2}$ | 17 |

100. How important do you think it is to the US that Ukraine win the war?

## TOTAL IMPORTANT <br> TOTAL UNIMPORTANT

| Very | $\mathbf{4 8 \%}$ | $46 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Somewhat | $\mathbf{2 8}$ | 30 |
| Not very | $\mathbf{1 0}$ | 9 |
| Not at all | $\mathbf{7}$ | 8 |
| (Don't know) | $\mathbf{8}$ | 8 |

101. Overall, do you support or oppose sending US military aid to Ukraine?

Nov 2023 June 2023
59\% 59\%
$30 \quad 30$
$11 \quad 11$
102. The US has spent roughly $\$ 44$ billion on military aid to Ukraine, which is roughly $6 \%$ of the US military's own budget. Ukraine remains in control of roughly $83 \%$ of its territory and US intelligence believes the war has severely degraded Russia's military power and its ability to threaten NATO allies. Knowing this, do you support or oppose sending US military aid to Ukraine?

| Support | $60 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Oppose | 30 |
| (Don't know) | 10 |

Regarding the war in Ukraine, how concerned are you about each of the following occurring?
[RANDOMIZE]

|  | Russia using a nuclear weapon |  | -------C | oncerne | ------ | ------Not | oncer | d--- |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | TOTAL | Extre- <br> mely | Somewhat | TOTAL | Not <br> very | Not <br> at all | (DK) |
| 103. |  | Nov 2023 | 74\% | 41 | 33 | 23 | 16 | 7 | 3 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 77\% | 45 | 32 | 21 | 14 | 7 | 2 |
| 104. | The Russian invasion of | Nov 2023 | 71\% | 32 | 38 | 24 | 17 | 8 | 5 |
|  | Ukraine inspiring other authoritarian countries to invade their democratic neighbors | Nov 2022 | 71\% | 37 | 35 | 25 | 18 | 8 | 3 |
| 105. | The war expanding to NATO countries in Eastern Europe, forcing the US to get directly involved | Nov 2023 | 70\% | 31 | 39 | 25 | 18 | 7 | 5 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 74\% | 35 | 39 | 22 | 15 | 7 | 3 |
| 106. | US military aid to Ukraine causing the US to deplete its weapons stockpile | Nov 2023 | 63\% | 29 | 34 | 32 | 21 | 11 | 5 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 59\% | 29 | 30 | 37 | 23 | 14 | 4 |
| 107. | American focus on Ukraine distracting policymakers from the threat posed by China | Nov 2023 | 65\% | 27 | 38 | 30 | 21 | 9 | 6 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 70\% | 29 | 41 | 25 | 17 | 8 | 5 |

## GREATER MIDDLE EAST

[Q108-116 SAMPLE B ONLY]
Thinking now about the Middle East...
When it comes to each of the following, do you think the US is doing too much, too little, or is the current level of activity about right? [RANDOMIZE]

|  |  | Doing too much | Doing too little | About right | (Don't know) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 108. | Supporting Israel | 20\% | 26 | 43 | 11 |
| 109. | Supporting Palestinians | 19\% | 30 | 35 | 17 |
| 110. | Working to calm tensions and stop the spiral of violence in the region | 10\% | 43 | 35 | 12 |
| 111. | Countering Hamas | 11\% | 39 | 33 | 18 |
| 112. | Countering Hezbollah | 9\% | 34 | 30 | 27 |
| 113. | Countering Iranian influence in the Middle East | 11\% | 39 | 32 | 18 |
| 114. | Disrupting Iran's nuclear weapons development | 8\% | 47 | 27 | 18 |
| 115. | Advocating for humanitarian aid to residents of the Gaza Strip | 14\% | 34 | 38 | 14 |
| 116. | Working for the release of Americans taken hostage by Hamas | 7\% | 47 | 32 | 14 |

## EVALUATIONS OF PRESIDENTS

## [Q117-124 SAMPLE B ONLY]

Finally, on a different subject...
Thinking now about recent presidents, please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of each one I mention. [DO NOT RANDOMIZE]

|  |  | ----Favorable---- |  |  |  | ----Unfavorable---- |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | TOTAL | Very | Somewhat | TOTAL | Somewhat | Very | (DK) |
| 117. | Jimmy Carter | Nov 2023 | 57\% | 21 | 35 | 27 | 16 | 11 | 16 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 57\% | 26 | 31 | 31 | 19 | 12 | 13 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 50\% | 20 | 30 | 34 | 19 | 15 | 15 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 57\% | 23 | 33 | 31 | 18 | 13 | 13 |
| 118. | Ronald Reagan | Nov 2023 | 65\% | 36 | 29 | 27 | 16 | 11 | 8 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 67\% | 35 | 32 | 26 | 17 | 9 | 7 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 69\% | 42 | 27 | 22 | 12 | 10 | 9 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 71\% | 42 | 28 | 22 | 12 | 10 | 7 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 76\% | 46 | 30 | 20 | 13 | 7 | 4 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 77\% | 44 | 33 | 19 | 12 | 7 | 4 |
| 119. | George H. W. Bush | Nov 2023 | 59\% | 17 | 42 | 35 | 21 | 14 | 6 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 60\% | 20 | 39 | 35 | 24 | 12 | 5 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 62\% | 21 | 41 | 31 | 20 | 11 | 7 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 63\% | 19 | 44 | 31 | 20 | 11 | 6 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 71\% | 23 | 48 | 25 | 17 | 8 | 3 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 65\% | 18 | 47 | 31 | 21 | 10 | 4 |
| 120. | Bill Clinton | Nov 2023 | 55\% | 20 | 35 | 40 | 23 | 17 | 5 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 55\% | 20 | 34 | 41 | 24 | 17 | 5 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 55\% | 23 | 33 | 38 | 22 | 16 | 6 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 56\% | 24 | 32 | 39 | 21 | 18 | 5 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 60\% | 21 | 39 | 39 | 19 | 20 | 2 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 63\% | 24 | 39 | 35 | 19 | 16 | 2 |
| 121. | George W. Bush | Nov 2023 | 55\% | 16 | 39 | 40 | 23 | 17 | 5 |
|  |  | Nov 2022 | 57\% | 18 | 39 | 39 | 25 | 14 | 4 |
|  |  | Nov 2021 | 57\% | 18 | 39 | 38 | 23 | 15 | 5 |
|  |  | Feb 2021 | 62\% | 20 | 42 | 33 | 22 | 12 | 5 |
|  |  | Oct 2019 | 63\% | 18 | 45 | 35 | 21 | 14 | 2 |
|  |  | Nov 2018 | 57\% | 13 | 44 | 41 | 24 | 17 | 2 |



## DEMOGRAPHICS

We're almost done. Now we just have a few basic questions for statistical purposes. [ASK ALL
DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS OF ALL RESPONDENTS]
125. What is your age?

| $18-29$ | $18 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| $30-44$ | 25 |
| $45-64$ | 38 |
| 65 and up | 19 |
| (Refused) | 1 |

126. What is your primary race or ethnicity?

| White | $71 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Black or African-American | 13 |
| Hispanic or Latino | 8 |
| Asian or Asian-American | 3 |
| Native American | 1 |
| Middle Eastern | 2 |
| Mixed Race | $*$ |
| Other [RECORD VERBATIM] | 1 |

## [SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF HISPANIC OR LATINO]

127. Are you of Spanish, Latino, or Hispanic origin or descent?
Yes 13\%

No 85
(Don't know / Refused) 1
128. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?

Did not graduate from high school 3\%
High school degree 23
Some college/2-year college degree 34
4 -year college degree 25
Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.)

15
(Not sure) *
129. Would you describe yourself as a born-again or evangelical Christian, or not?
Yes 34\%
No 62
(Don’t know) 4
130. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as... [ROTATE 1-2]

| A Democrat | $31 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| A Republican | 31 |
| An independent | 33 |
| (Don't know) | 5 |

[IF INDEPENDENT OR (DON'T KNOW)]
131. Do you lean more to the [ROTATE FIRST TWO OPTIONS] Democrats, to the Republicans, or don't lean either way?

## Democrats <br> 25\%

Republican 24
Neither way 45
(Don’t know) 6

## PID-3 (with independents leaned)

Democrat
41\%
Republican
40
Independent 19

## [IF REPUBLICAN / LEAN REPUBLICAN]

132. How likely are you to vote in the Republican presidential primary, to pick the Republican nominee for president in 2024? Will you...
TOTAL WILL VOTE ..... 86\%
TOTAL WILL NOT VOTE ..... 11
Definitely vote in the primary ..... 70\%
Probably vote ..... 17
Probably not vote ..... 7
Definitely not vote in the primary ..... 4
(Don't know) ..... 3
[IF DEFINITELY / PROBABLY. N=866]
133. I'm going to read a list of potential candidates for the 2024 Republican nomination forpresident. Please tell me which one you would like to see as the Republican presidentialnominee. [RANDOMIZE]
Donald Trump ..... 63\%
Ron DeSantis ..... 10
Nikki Haley ..... 8
Vivek Ramaswamy ..... 4
Mike Pence ..... 3
Tim Scott ..... 2
Chris Christie ..... 1
Asa Hutchinson ..... *
Larry Elder ..... *
Perry Johnson ..... *
Doug Burgum ..... *
(Other) [RECORD VERBATIM] ..... *
(None of the above) ..... *
(Don't know) ..... 7
134. In general, how would you describe your own political viewpoint?
TOTAL LIBERAL ..... 27\%
TOTAL CONSERVATIVE ..... 35
Very liberal ..... 10\%
Somewhat liberal ..... 17
Moderate ..... 33
Somewhat conservative ..... 21
Very conservative ..... 14
(Don't know) ..... 5
135. Thinking about the 2020 presidential elections, did you vote for [ROTATE 1-2] Donald Trump, Joe Biden, for another candidate, or did you not vote?

Donald Trump 37\%
Joe Biden 40
Other 4
Didn't vote 15
(Not sure / Refused) 4
136. If Donald Trump and Joe Biden are the candidates in the 2024 presidential election, would you vote for: [ROTATE 1-2]

Donald Trump 42\%
Joe Biden 36
(Other) 9
Or, would you not vote 9
(Not sure / Refused) 4
137. Are you currently a member of the armed services?

Yes, service member 3\%
Not 96
(Don't know) 1
[SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF YES ABOVE]
138. Is anyone in your household currently a member of the armed services?

| Yes, service member household | $7 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Not | 91 |
| (Don't know) | 2 |

## [SKIP AND CODE AS NOT IF SERVICE MEMBER]

139. Are you a veteran of the armed services?

| Yes, veteran | $9 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Not | 90 |
| (Don't know) | 1 |

## [SKIP AND CODE AS YES IF YES ABOVE]

140. Is anyone in your household a veteran of the armed services?
Yes, veteran household 23\%
Not 75
(Don't know)2

## [IF AGE 18-29 ONLY. SKIP IF SERVICE MEMBER OR VETERAN]

141. How willing would you, personally, be to serve in the US military?
TOTAL WILLING
10\%
TOTAL NOT WILLING 56
Extremely willing 6\%
Very willing 5
Somewhat willing 21
Not very willing 22
Not willing at all 35
(Depends) 9
(Don't know) 3
142. SEX [BASED ON OBSERVATION ON PHONE]

Male $47 \%$
Female 53
Non-binary [ONLINE ONLY] 1
I'd rather not say [ONLINE ONLY] *
143. REGION1 [BASED ON AREA CODE / IP ADDRESS]

| New England | $5 \%$ |
| :--- | :---: |
| Mid-Atlantic | 14 |
| Upper Mid-East | 14 |
| Upper Mid-West | 6 |
| Deep South | 26 |
| Border South | 12 |
| Rocky Mountain West | 7 |
| Pacific | 16 |

144. REGION2 [BASED ON AREA CODE / IP ADDRESS]

| East | $18 \%$ |
| :--- | :--- |
| Midwest | 20 |
| South | 38 |
| West | 23 |

