



PROGRAM FOR PUBLIC CONSULTATION
 SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

**U.S. ROLE IN THE WORLD
 QUESTIONNAIRE**

January 2017

Sample Size: 2980 respondents

Survey Dates: Fielded December 22 – 28, 2016

Margin of Error: 1.8%

Half Sample A:

Sample Size: 1474 Respondents **Margin of Error:** 2.6%

Half Sample B:

Sample Size: 1506 Respondents **Margin of Error:** 2.5%

Note: Some questions fielded during this survey are being held for release in the future.

STATEMENT: First, here are a few general questions about America’s role in the world.

Q1. What kind of leadership role should the United States play in the world? Should it:

	Be the single world leader	Play a shared leadership role	Not play any leadership role	Refused/ Don't know
National	13.0%	81.7%	4.8%	0.5%
GOP	21.0%	74.7%	3.9%	0.4%
Dem.	6.7%	89.6%	3.4%	0.3%
Indep.	11.6%	76.3%	10.8%	1.3%

Trendline (Pew)	Be the single world leader	Play a shared leadership role	Not play any leadership role	Refused/ Don't know
2012	15.0%	73.0%	9.0%	3.0%

[If Answered “Play A Shared Leadership Role” (Q1=2); Ask Q1a Below]

Q1a. Should the United States be:

Results are Percent of total:

	The most active of leading nations	About as active as other leading nations	Refused/ Don't know
National	32.0%	47.0%	2.6%
GOP	38.3%	33.1%	3.4%

Dem.	30.0%	57.4%	2.3%
Indep.	23.3%	51.3%	1.7%
Trendline (Pew)	The most active of leading nations	About as active as other leading nations	Refused/ Don't know
2012	23.0%	48.0%	1.0%

Q3. Which statement comes closest to your position?

1. As the sole remaining superpower, the U.S. should continue to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems.
2. The U.S. should do its share in efforts to solve international problems together with other countries.
3. The U.S. should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems

	Statement 1	Statement 2	Statement 3	Refused/ Don't know
National	7.6%	83.3%	9.0%	0.2%
GOP	11.4%	79.5%	9.0%	0.1%
Dem.	5.6%	88.9%	5.4%	0.1%
Indep.	4.2%	77.0%	18.5%	0.3%

Trendline (CCGA)	Statement 1	Statement 2	Statement 3	Refused/ Don't know
2006	10.0%	75.0%	12.0%	0.0%
2004	8.0%	78.0%	10.0%	4.0%

[Half Sample A]

Q4a. Which is the more important principle for U.S. foreign policy?

1. The US should use its power to make the world be the way that best serves US interests and values
2. The US should coordinate its power together with other countries according to shared ideas of what is best for the world as a whole

	Statement 1	Statement 2	Refused/ Don't know
National	21.0%	78.1%	0.9%
GOP	36.7%	62.5%	0.8%
Dem.	8.3%	90.9%	0.8%
Indep.	18.3%	80.3%	1.4%

Trendline (WPO/PIPA)	Statement 1	Statement 2	Refused/ Don't know
2006	16.0%	79.0%	5.0%
2004	16.0%	83.0%	1.0%

[Half Sample B]

Q4b. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The United States should look beyond its own self-interest and do what's best for the world as a whole, because in the long run this will probably help make the kind of world that is best for the US.

	Agree	Disagree	Refused/ Don't know
National	69.8%	29.8%	0.4%
GOP	50.3%	49.5%	0.2%
Dem.	85.0%	14.3%	0.7%
Indep.	73.0%	27.0%	0.0%

Trendline (WPO)	Agree	Disagree	Refused/ Don't know
2006	71.0%	25.0%	5.0%

[Full Sample]

Q5. Overall, would you say that under the Obama administration the US has been:

1. too engaged in world affairs
2. not engaged enough in world affairs
3. engaged about the right amount in world affairs

	Statement 1	Statement 2	Statement 3	Refused/ Don't know
National	20.5%	32.0%	46.4%	1.2%
GOP	29.3%	54.5%	14.9%	1.3%
Dem.	8.6%	14.8%	75.8%	0.8%
Indep.	32.0%	26.1%	39.8%	2.1%

Q6. How important is each of the following to you personally as a reason for the US (United States) to be active in world affairs? Please use the scale presented below.

Q6a. I want to help people who have less than we do--no matter what country they live in.

	Mean	Not at all important reason (0-4)	5	Extremely important reason (6-10)	Refused / Don't know
National	6.2	25.0%	15.3%	59.4%	0.40%
GOP	5.2	37.3%	18.0%	44.3%	0.40%
Dem.	7.2	12.6%	13.7%	73.3%	0.40%
Indep.	5.9	29.8%	13.4%	56.6%	0.20%

Q6b. We have a moral obligation to help people in other countries who have less than we do.

	Mean	Not at all important reason (0-4)	5	Extremely important reason (6-10)	Refused / Don't know
National	6.2	26.3%	13.7%	59.5%	0.50%
 GOP	5.2	37.5%	16.2%	45.8%	0.30%
 Dem.	7.2	15.2%	10.8%	73.7%	0.80%
 Indep.	5.7	30.8%	15.9%	52.6%	0.80%

Q6c. I have a religious belief that we should try to help the disadvantaged wherever they are.

	Mean	Not at all important reason (0-4)	5	Extremely important reason (6-10)	Refused / Don't know
National	5.0	40.5%	13.3%	45.7%	0.0%
 GOP	5.2	36.4%	15.5%	47.8%	0.3%
 Dem.	4.9	41.8%	11.1%	46.5%	0.7%
 Indep.	4.6	46.6%	14.1%	39.0%	0.3%

Q6d. We have a responsibility to leave a better world for future generations.

	Mean	Not at all important reason (0-4)	5	Extremely important reason (6-10)	Refused / Don't know
National	8.3	6.2%	6.8%	86.9%	0.1%
 GOP	7.8	8.7%	7.9%	83.3%	0.1%
 Dem.	8.9	2.7%	4.4%	92.8%	0.1%
 Indep.	7.9	10.2%	10.4%	79.2%	0.2%

Q6e. It is a matter of pride to me as an American that the US be a respected leader.

	Mean	Not at all important reason (0-4)	5	Extremely important reason (6-10)	Refused / Don't know
National	7.0	18.3%	10.6%	70.7%	0.4%
 GOP	7.6	13.3%	7.1%	79.4%	0.2%
 Dem.	6.7	20.2%	12.5%	67.0%	0.3%
 Indep.	6.2	24.5%	13.8%	60.7%	1.0%

Q6f. Our national security depends on our being involved.

	Mean	Not at all important reason (0-4)	5	Extremely important reason (6-10)	Refused / Don't know
National	7.8	9.3%	9.1%	81.3%	0.3%
 GOP	8.1	7.8%	7.4%	84.8%	0.0%
 Dem.	7.8	8.0%	9.9%	81.4%	0.6%
 Indep.	7.1	16.2%	10.8%	72.8%	0.2%

Q6g. I want a stable world in which I can travel and appreciate other cultures.

	Mean	Not at all important reason (0-4)	5	Extremely important reason (6-10)	Refused / Don't know
National	8.0	8.3%	8.0%	83.1%	0.6%
 GOP	7.6	11.0%	8.9%	79.7%	0.4%
 Dem.	8.4	4.8%	6.4%	88.3%	0.5%
 Indep.	7.7	11.6%	10.0%	77.0%	1.4%

Q6h. We have to protect our economic interests.

	Mean	Not at all important reason (0-4)	5	Extremely important reason (6-10)	Refused / Don't know
National	7.8	8.3%	9.3%	81.8%	0.6%
 GOP	8.5	4.1%	4.5%	90.7%	0.6%
 Dem.	7.3	10.3%	12.3%	77.2%	0.3%
 Indep.	7.3	12.4%	12.1%	74.1%	1.4%

[Half Sample A]

Q7a. How important to our foreign policy should the following be: Taking into account the views and interests of other countries?

	Very important	Somewhat important	Total important	Not very important	Not important at all	Total unimportant	Refused / Don't know
National	46.0%	46.8%	92.8%	5.6%	1.2%	6.8%	0.4%
 GOP	33.1%	57.4%	90.5%	8.0%	0.8%	8.8%	0.7%
 Dem.	58.0%	39.1%	97.1%	1.9%	0.6%	2.5%	0.4%
 Indep.	44.4%	42.4%	86.8%	9.8%	3.4%	13.2%	0.0%
Trendline							
 2008	52.0%	40.0%	92.0%	4.0%	2.0%	6.0%	2.0%

[Half Sample B]

Q7b. In its foreign policy do you think the US should:

1. Think in terms of being a good neighbor with other countries, because cooperative relationships are ultimately in the best interests of the United States
2. Not worry about what others think, but just think in terms of what is best for the US, because the world is a rough place.

	Statement 1	Statement 2	Refused/ Don't know
National	82.8%	16.2%	1.0%
 GOP	73.7%	25.4%	0.9%
 Dem.	92.0%	6.8%	1.2%

Indep.	78.2%	21.1%	0.8%
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Trendline (WPO)	Statement 1	Statement 2	Refused/ Don't know
2006	79.0%	16.0%	5.0%

[Full Sample]

Q8. Please select if you agree or disagree with the following statement. The US (United States) is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be.

	Agree	Disagree	Refused/ Don't know
National	64.1%	35.0%	0.9%
GOP	61.3%	38.2%	0.4%
Dem.	60.9%	37.5%	1.6%
Indep.	79.1%	20.8%	0.1%

Trendline (CCGA)	Agree	Disagree	Refused/ Don't know
2012	78.0%	21.0%	1.0%

[Half Sample A]

Q9a. In recent efforts to solve world problems, as compared to other countries, do you think the US (United States) has generally done:

	More than its fair share	Its fair share	Less than its fair share	Refused/ Don't know
National	54.5%	29.5%	15.1%	0.8%
GOP	61.4%	17.2%	21.1%	0.4%
Dem.	47.1%	42.0%	10.2%	0.7%
Indep.	58.2%	25.1%	14.4%	2.3%

Trendline (PIPA)	More than its fair share	Its fair share	Less than its fair share	Refused/ Don't know
2000	71.0%	24.0%	3.0%	1.0%

[Half Sample B]

Q9b. Do you feel that countries that receive protection from US military capabilities:

	Are doing enough to protect themselves	Rely too much on the US	Refused/ Don't know
National	19.0%	78.8%	2.2%
GOP	10.0%	88.5%	1.5%
Dem.	28.4%	68.8%	2.9%
Indep.	13.9%	84.5%	1.6%

Trendline (PIPA)	Are doing enough to protect themselves	Rely too much on the US	Refused/Don't know
1995	8.0%	89.0%	3.0%

[Full Sample]

Q13. The U.N. (United Nations) was established on the principle of collective security which says that when a U.N. member is attacked by another country, U.N. members should help defend the attacked nation.

Some say the U.S. (United States) should contribute its military forces to such U.N. efforts because then potential aggressors will know that aggression will not succeed. Others say the U.S. should not contribute troops to such efforts because American troops may be put at risk in operations that are not directly related to U.S. interests.

Do you think the U.S. should or should not contribute troops to U.N. efforts to help defend U.N. members if they are attacked?

	Should	Should not	Refused/Don't know
National	69.5%	29.2%	1.4%
GOP	58.3%	40.3%	1.4%
Dem.	82.0%	16.9%	1.0%
Indep.	61.5%	36.4%	2.0%

Trendline (PIPA)	Should	Should not	Depends (vol)/Don't know
1995	69.0%	23.0%	8.0%

Q14. Right now, the U.S. (United States) has a world-wide military presence which protects its interests, such as oil in the Persian Gulf region. U.S. allies who share these interests, like the Europeans and Japan, also benefit from this U.S. military presence.

Some people feel that these allies should contribute more military forces to protect these interests so that the U.S. can reduce its burden. Others do not like this idea because, they say, we cannot be fully confident that allies will effectively protect shared interests.

Do you favor or oppose the idea of allies taking over some of these responsibilities so that the U.S. can reduce its presence abroad?

	Favor	Oppose	Refused/Don't know
National	83.0%	15.8%	1.2%
GOP	82.5%	16.6%	0.9%
Dem.	82.7%	16.2%	1.1%
Indep.	85.0%	12.8%	2.1%

Trendline (PIPA)	Favor	Oppose	Refused/Don't know
1995	79.0%	19.0%	3.0%

[Half Sample A]

Q15a. Right now, the size of US defense budget is based on the need for the US to have the capability to fulfill commitments it has made to protect a number of other countries if they are attacked.

Here are three positions people have taken on US defense spending. Please select which one you agree with most.

1. The US should only spend enough to protect itself, but not to protect other countries
2. The US should spend enough so that it can protect itself and other countries all on its own
3. The US should only spend enough to protect itself and to join in efforts to protect countries together with allies or through the UN

	Statement 1	Statement 2	Statement 3	Refused/ Don't know
National	10.3%	18.0%	70.9%	0.8%
GOP	11.0%	24.5%	63.4%	1.1%
Dem.	7.1%	10.3%	82.2%	0.5%
Indep.	17.1%	23.0%	59.0%	1.0%

Trendline (PIPA)	Statement 1	Statement 2	Statement 3	Refused/ Don't know
2005	11.0%	17.0%	69.0%	2.0%

[Half Sample B]

Q23b. As you may know, NATO is a military alliance that includes the U.S., 26 European countries, and Canada. Being a military alliance, this means that if any outside country, such as Russia, were to attack any member of NATO, all NATO members, including the US, would be obliged to contribute military forces to help defend the member attacked.

Do you:

1. Approve of the US being part of NATO
2. Think the US should withdraw from NATO

	Approve of the US being part of NATO	Think the US should withdraw from NATO	Refused/ Don't know
National	88.5%	10.9%	0.6%
GOP	85.1%	14.4%	0.6%
Dem.	93.2%	6.7%	0.1%
Indep.	83.4%	14.7%	1.8%

[Full Sample]

Q24. As you may know Poland is a member of NATO. What comes closer to your position?

1. If Russia were to attack Poland, I would be ready, if necessary, to support sending US and other NATO allies' troops to defend Poland.
2. If Russia were to attack Poland, I would not be ready to support sending US and other NATO allies' troops to defend Poland.

	Statement 1	Statement 2	Refused/ Don't know
National	79.2%	17.9%	3.0%
GOP	79.9%	17.7%	2.4%
Dem.	82.5%	15.0%	2.4%
Indep.	68.3%	25.9%	5.8%

Q25a. Please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion for each of the following: Russia

	Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Total favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	Total unfavorable	Refused / Don't know
National	3.1%	20.2%	23.3%	46.0%	29.3%	75.3%	1.4%
GOP	4.3%	27.9%	32.2%	49.2%	17.6%	66.8%	1.0%
Dem.	1.7%	10.8%	12.5%	44.1%	42.6%	86.7%	0.8%
Indep.	4.3%	27.6%	31.9%	43.9%	20.7%	64.6%	3.6%
Trendlines (Pew)							
2015	3.0%	19.0%	22.0%	40.0%	27.0%	67.0%	12.0%
2014	3.0%	16.0%	19.0%	34.0%	38.0%	72.0%	9.0%

Q26. As you may know, in 2014, the US and its European allies imposed economic sanctions on Russia for its annexation of Crimea, a region of the Ukraine, and its ongoing military activities in and around eastern Ukraine. Currently, there is some discussion about whether the U.S. should recognize Crimea as part of Russia and lift the sanctions, thus renewing economic relations.

Which do you favor?

	Recognize Crimea as part of Russia and lift the economic sanctions	Continue with the economic sanctions on Russia	Refused/ Don't know
National	25.2%	71.1%	3.7%
GOP	27.8%	68.7%	3.4%
Dem.	19.5%	77.5%	3.0%
Indep.	34.3%	59.6%	6.0%

STATEMENT: As you may know, the UN Security Council--including the US--plus Germany made a deal with Iran about its nuclear program. Currently, there is some debate about whether the US should continue with the deal or withdraw from it and seek to renegotiate and try to get better terms.

Here is some background. The primary focus of the deal was on limiting Iran’s capacity for enriching uranium. Uranium enriched at low levels is useful for nuclear energy. At high levels of enrichment it can be used for nuclear weapons. Keeping large amounts of low enriched uranium is also a concern, because this reduces the amount of time it would take to produce enough high enriched uranium for a nuclear weapon.

Here is what Iran agreed to do:

- Recommit to never build a nuclear weapon.
- Limit its uranium enrichment to the low level that is useful for nuclear energy, but well below the level needed for nuclear weapons. After 15 years Iran will be able to enrich to a somewhat higher level, such as for medical purposes, but not to develop a military capability.
- Reduce by 98 percent its stockpile of low-enriched uranium—and keep it that small for 15 years.
- Reduce its number of centrifuges (the devices that enrich uranium) by two-thirds--keeping only its older and slower centrifuge models--for 10 years. The other centrifuges will go into storage monitored by the UN’s International Atomic Energy Agency.
- Allow intrusive inspections of all nuclear facilities to ensure that the terms of the agreement are being met.
- Allow inspection of any site, including military bases, where inspectors have evidence of suspicious activity, although Iran can appeal to a commission of the signing countries.
- In exchange, the UN and the EU agreed to lift their nuclear-related sanctions on Iran. The US agreed to suspend its nuclear-related sanctions, but its other sanctions remain. If Iran is found to be in violation of the agreement, the nuclear-related sanctions will automatically come back into force.

To date, the UN has certified that Iran has fulfilled all of the requirements of the deal. The nuclear-related sanctions on Iran have been lifted, though other US sanctions on Iran remain.

Here is an argument in favor of the US **withdrawing** from the deal.

Q27. This was not a good deal because it allows Iran to still conduct some uranium enrichment, letting it get more skilled at the process. Furthermore, after 10-15 years many limits on Iran are ended, leaving it free to enrich uranium to a higher level. This makes it more possible that Iran will suddenly violate its agreement to not build nuclear weapons and try to quickly build a nuclear weapon. It is better for the US to withdraw from the deal, try to get other UN Security Council members to withdraw as well, and then renegotiate the deal to put greater limitations on Iran.

How convincing do you find this argument?

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
National	17.2%	34.9%	52.1%	25.7%	19.7%	45.4%	2.5%
GOP	31.4%	41.5%	72.9%	17.5%	8.2%	25.7%	1.3%
Dem.	6.5%	27.7%	34.2%	32.9%	30.2%	63.1%	2.8%
Indep.	13.5%	39.2%	52.7%	24.8%	18.0%	42.8%	4.5%

Here is an argument in favor of the US **continuing** with the deal.

Q28. Iran has dramatically reduced its nuclear program, making it impossible for it to build a nuclear weapon. We should keep a close watch to ensure that Iran is abiding by the deal, but as long as it does we should uphold our end of the bargain. Other UN members strongly oppose the US pulling out, so if we do others are not likely

to follow, leaving the US isolated. This will give Iran an excuse to say that the US acted in bad faith, pull out of the deal and renew its nuclear program at a higher level, increasing the danger that it will make a nuclear weapon.

How convincing do you find this argument?

	Very convincing	Somewhat convincing	Total convincing	Somewhat unconvincing	Very unconvincing	Total unconvincing	Refused / Don't know
National	24.1%	39.0%	63.1%	20.5%	14.3%	34.8%	2.2%
GOP	9.7%	37.1%	46.8%	25.9%	25.8%	51.7%	1.6%
Dem.	38.2%	40.5%	78.7%	15.6%	4.0%	19.6%	1.7%
Indep.	19.1%	39.3%	58.4%	21.2%	15.3%	36.5%	5.1%

Q29. If the US were to withdraw from the deal, how likely do you think it would be that other UN members would agree to withdraw from the deal and seek to renegotiate the deal with Iran?

	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Total likely	Not very likely	Not at all likely	Total unlikely	Refused / Don't know
National	15.1%	42.7%	57.8%	33.1%	7.1%	40.2%	1.9%
GOP	17.3%	45.9%	63.2%	31.0%	4.7%	35.7%	1.1%
Dem.	13.7%	38.2%	51.9%	36.8%	9.4%	46.2%	2.0%
Indep.	13.8%	47.5%	61.3%	28.2%	6.8%	35.0%	3.6%

Q30. If the US were to withdraw from the deal, how likely do you think it would be that Iran would agree to renegotiate the deal and make more concessions?

	Very likely	Somewhat likely	Total likely	Not very likely	Not at all likely	Total unlikely	Refused / Don't know
National	6.1%	23.3%	29.4%	43.8%	25.0%	68.8%	1.8%
GOP	7.5%	26.8%	34.3%	45.5%	18.9%	64.4%	1.2%
Dem.	4.7%	19.3%	24.0%	44.0%	30.6%	74.6%	1.5%
Indep.	6.5%	26.1%	32.6%	39.3%	24.0%	63.3%	4.2%

Q31. So now, in conclusion, in regard to the UN deal on Iran's nuclear program, do you think the US should:

1. Withdraw from the current deal and seek to negotiate a new deal
2. Continue with the deal as long as Iran complies with the terms

	Withdraw from the current deal and seek to negotiate a new deal	Continue with the deal as long as Iran complies with the terms	Refused/ Don't know
National	34.4%	63.7%	2.0%
GOP	58.1%	40.4%	1.5%
Dem.	13.2%	85.6%	1.2%
Indep.	36.5%	58.6%	4.9%