# 2024 CCS Final Programmed Main Survey Questionnaire

Base: All respondents

**introduction. [display]**

In this survey, we're interested to hear about your opinions on the big foreign policy issues of today. There are no right or wrong answers to the following questions, so please respond to them based on your knowledge. If you prefer to skip a question for any reason, you may move on to the next one.

Base: All respondents

**q2f. [grid]**

How closely are you following news about the following issues?

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements*

Statements per row:

Q2F/1. The US economy

Q2F/2. The 2024 US presidential election

Q2F/3. The Ukraine-Russia conflict

Q2F/4. The conflict between Israel and Hamas

Q2F/5. US relations with China

Q2F/6. Climate change

Q2F/7. Immigration

Answers in column:

1. Very closely

2. Somewhat closely

3. Not too closely

4. Not at all

Base: All respondents

**q131. [grid, accordion]**

Do you think US leaders are giving each of the following issues too much attention, not enough attention, or about the right amount of attention?

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements per row:*

Q131/1. The Ukraine-Russia conflict

Q131/6. The conflict between Israel and Hamas

Q131/2. US competition with China

Q131/5. Climate change

Q131/7. Immigration

*Answers in column:*

1. Too much attention

2. Not enough attention

3. About the right amount of attention

Base: All respondents

**q3. [s]**

Do you think it will be best for the future of the country if we take an active part in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs?

1. Active part

2. Stay out

Base: All respondents

**q3\_1. [s]**

In order to make sure that your browser is working correctly, please select number 4 from the below list.

1. 1

2. 2

3. 3

4. 4

5. 5

*Programming Notes: Please create DOV\_Q5\_Q7 and use variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q5 or Q7. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q5’, 2 ‘Shown Q7’*

Base: Show if DOV\_Q5\_Q7=1

**q5. [grid, accordion]**

Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all:

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below.*

*Please create DOV\_Q5\_20\_Q5\_20B and use the variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q5\_20 or Q5\_20B. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q5\_20’, 2 ‘Shown Q5\_20B’*

*Please create DOV\_Q5\_38\_Q5\_38B and use the variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q5\_38 or Q5\_38B. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q5\_38’, 2 ‘Shown Q5\_38B’*

*Please create DOV\_Q5\_45\_Q5\_45B and use the variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q5\_45 or Q5\_45B. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q5\_45’, 2 ‘Shown Q5\_45B’*

*Please create DOV\_Q5\_34B\_Q5\_34C and use the variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q5\_34B or Q5\_34C. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q5\_34B’, 2 ‘Shown Q5\_34C’*

*Statements in row:*

Q5/6a. Large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the US

Q5/8a. Climate change

Q5/10. International terrorism

Q5/29. North Korea’s nuclear program

Q5/15. Iran’s nuclear program

Q5/20. **[show if q5\_20\_q5\_20b=1]** Lack of a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians

Q5/20B. **[show if q5\_20\_q5\_20b=2]** The war between Israel and Hamas escalating into a wider war in the Middle East

Q5/38b. **[show if q5\_38\_q5\_38b=2]** Weakening democracy in the United States

Q5/38. **[show if q5\_38\_q5\_38b=1]** The decline of democracy around the world

Q5/21. Russia’s territorial ambitions

Q5/45. **[show if q5\_45\_q5\_45b=1]** China’s territorial ambitions

Q5/45B. **[show if q5\_45\_q5\_45b=2]** Economic competition with China

Q5/34C. **[show if q5\_34b\_q5\_34c=2]** Political violence around the 2024 election

Q5/34B. **[show if q5\_34b\_q5\_34c=1]** Foreign interference in American elections

*Responses in column:*

1. Critical threat

2. Important but not critical threat

3. Not an important threat

Base: Show if DOV\_Q5\_Q7=1

**q7. [grid, accordion]**

Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all:

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

Statements per row:

Q7/1. Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression

Q7/5. Protecting the jobs of American workers

Q7/2. Strengthening the United Nations

Q7/11. Promoting and defending human rights in other countries

Q7/10. Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons

Q7/9a. Limiting climate change

Q7/23. Improving America's standing in the world

Q7/20. Protecting the interests of American business abroad

Answers in column:

1. Very important

2. Somewhat important

3. Not important at all

Base: All respondents

**q13. [s]**

Overall, when it comes to maintaining the US role in the world, do you think:

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of the response options below*

1. The costs outweigh the benefits

2. The benefits outweigh the costs

*Programming Notes: Please create DOV\_Q8\_9\_Q8\_15 and use variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q8\_9 or Q8\_15. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q8\_9’, 2 ‘Shown Q8\_15’*

Base: All respondents

**q8. [grid, sp across mp down]**

How effective do you think each of the following approaches are to achieving the foreign policy goals of the United States – very effective, somewhat effective, not very effective, or not effective at all?

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of the responses below*

Statements in row:

Q8/2. Maintaining US military superiority

Q8/3. Placing sanctions on other countries

Q8/5. Maintaining existing alliances

Q8/7. Economic aid to other countries

Q8/8. Military aid to other countries

Q8/9. **[show if q8\_9\_q8\_15=1]** International agreements

Q8/15. **[show if q8\_9\_q8\_15=2]** Participating in international organizations

Q8/16. Placing tariffs against other countries' goods

Answers in column:

1. Very effective

2. Somewhat effective

3. Not very effective

4. Not effective at all

*Programming Notes: Please create DOV\_Q384\_Q385 and use variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q384 or Q385. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q384’, 2 ‘Shown Q385’*

Base: Show if DOV\_Q384\_Q385=1

**q384. [s]**

Which of these statements comes closest to your own view?

1. Because the United States is the world’s strongest and richest country, it has the responsibility to take a leading role in world affairs.

2. Because the United States has limited resources and its own problems at home, it needs to reduce its involvement in world affairs.

3. The United States has enough resources to take care of its own problems at home as well as take a leading role in world affairs.

Base: Show if DOV\_Q384\_Q385=2

**Q385. [s]**

Which of the following do you think is more important in determining a country’s overall power and influence in the world – **[*Scripter: if ‘Economic strength’ is the first response listed insert*** a country’s economic strength, or its military strength , ***if ‘Military strength’ is the first response listed insert*** a country’s military strength, or its economic strength**]**?

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of the statements in row and the question text insert.*

1. Economic strength

2. Military strength

Base: All respondents

**q452. [grid, accordion]**

When you think about the future of the United States, what region of the world do you think will be the most important to its…

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements per row:*

Q452/1. Economic growth

Q452/2. Military security

*Answers in column:*

1. Europe

2. Asia

3. Africa

4. Latin America

5. Middle East

Base: All respondents

**q25 [Grid, Accordion]**

Below is a list of present federal government programs. For each, please select whether you feel it should be expanded, cut back or kept about the same.

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements in row:*

Q25/1. Education

Q25/2. Defense spending

Q25/3. Social Security

Q25/4. Military aid to other nations

Q25/5. Economic aid to other nations

Q25/6. Healthcare

Q25/9. Improving public infrastructure such as highways, bridges, and airports

*Answers in column:*

1. Expanded

2. Cut back

3. Kept about the same

4. Not sure

*Programming Notes: Please create DOV\_Q145 and use variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown ‘within the United Nations’ or ‘with US allies’ in Q145. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown ‘within the United Nations’’, 2 ‘Shown ‘with US allies’’*

Base: All respondents

**q145 [s]**

**Please select whether you agree or disagree with the following statement:** When dealing with international problems, the US should be more willing to make decisions **[show if q145=1** within the United Nations ; **show if q145=2** with US allies**]** even if this means that the United States will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice.

1. Agree

2. Disagree

*Programming Notes: Please create DOV\_Q30 and use variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q30\_8 or Q30\_8A in Q30. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q30\_8’, 2 ‘Shown Q30\_8A’*

Base: All respondents

**q30. [grid, accordion]**

There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using US troops in other parts of the world. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose the use of US troops:

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements in row:*

Q30/1. If North Korea invaded South Korea

Q30/2. If China invaded Taiwan

Q30/3. To be part of an international peacekeeping force to enforce a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians

Q30/8. **[show if q30=1]** If Israel were attacked by its neighbors

Q30/8A. **[show if q30=2]** If Israel were attacked by Iran

Q30/14. If China initiates a military conflict with Japan over disputed islands

Q30/13. If Russia invades a NATO ally like Latvia, Lithuania, or Estonia

Q30/13G. If Russia invades a NATO ally like Germany

Q30/21. To stop immigrants from coming into the US from Mexico

*Responses in column:*

1. Favor

2. Oppose

Base: All respondents

**q451s. [grid, accordion]**

Does the US security relationship with the following countries do more to strengthen US national security or weaken US national security?

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below.*

*Statements per row:*

Q451S/2. Saudi Arabia

Q451S/3. Israel

Q451S/4. Japan

Q451S/5. South Korea

Q451S/9. Mexico

Q451S/10. Germany

Q451S/11. Taiwan

Q451S/12. Ukraine

*Answers in column:*

1. More to strengthen

2. More to weaken

Base: All respondents

**q200. [s]**

Do you feel we should increase our commitment to NATO, keep our commitment what it is now, decrease our commitment to NATO, or withdraw from NATO entirely?

1. Increase commitment

2. Keep commitment same

3. Decrease commitment

4. Withdraw entirely

*Programming Notes: Please create DOV\_Q40\_Q491 and use variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q40 or Q491. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q40’, 2 ‘Shown Q491’*

Base: Show if DOV\_Q40\_Q491=1

**q40. [grid, accordion]**

Do you think the United States should or should not have long-term military bases in the following places?

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements in row:*

Q40/1. Japan

Q40/3. South Korea

Q40/6. Germany

Q40/7. Turkey

Q40/8. Australia

Q40/10. Poland

Q40/12. The Philippines

Q40/15. NATO allies like Latvia, Lithuania, or Estonia

Answers in column:

1. Should have

2. Should not have

Base: Show if DOV\_Q40\_Q491=2

**q491. [grid, accordion]**

Do you think that the US military presence increases or decreases stability in the following regions—or does it not have an effect either way?

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements in row:*

Q491/1. Asia-Pacific

Q491/2. Middle East

Q491/3. Europe

Q491/4. Africa

Q491/5. Latin America

Answers in column:

1. Increases stability

2. Decreases stability

3. No effect

Base: All respondents

**q44. [grid, accordion]**

Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable view of the following world leaders?

*Programming Notes:* *Randomize and record the order of the responses below.*

Statements in row:

Q44/1. Russian President Vladimir Putin

Q44/2. Chinese President Xi Jinping

Q44/5a. Former US President Donald Trump

Q44/5b. US President Joe Biden

Q44/3b. South Korean President Yoon Seok-yeol

Q44/7b. Japanese Prime Minister Kishida Fumio

Q44/12. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy

Q44/13. Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu

Answers in columns:

1. Very favorable

2. Somewhat favorable

3. Somewhat unfavorable

4. Very unfavorable

Base: All respondents

**q33s [s]**

As you may know, the United States has security alliances with countries around the world. Which of the following comes closest to your view. Do they:

1. Mostly benefit the United States

2. Mostly benefit our allies

3. Benefit both the US and our allies

4. Benefit neither

Base: Show if Q33S=1 OR 3

**q34a [m]**

You said that alliances either benefit the United States or benefit both the United States and our allies. Among the following, which represents your view?

1. Alliances decrease the cost of defense for the United States

2. Alliances strengthen US military efforts around the world

3. Alliances strengthen US diplomatic efforts around the world

4. Alliance strengthen US security at home

5. Alliances make it less likely that the United States will be attacked

6. None of the above

Base: Show if Q33S=2 OR 4

**q34b [m]**

You said that alliances either mostly benefit our allies or benefit neither. Among the following, which represents your view?

1. Alliances increase the cost of defense for the United States

2. Allies don’t pay their fair share

3. The United States shouldn’t be constrained by other countries

4. Allies draw the United States into conflicts

5. None of the above

Base: All respondents

**q201 [s]**

When it comes to US alliances, which view is closer to your own?

1. The United States should work to expand existing US alliances and increase security commitments with other countries.

2. The United States should strengthen our current alliances but not get tied up in any new alliances or security commitments with other countries.

3. The United States should reduce the number of security commitments and alliances it has with other countries.

4. The United States should aim to get out of as many alliances and security commitments as we can, and as soon as we can.

Base: All respondents

**intro\_trade [d]**

***This next series of questions is about international trade.***

Base: All respondents

**q190. [grid, accordion]**

Overall, do you think international trade is good or bad for:

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements in row:*

Q190/1. The US economy

Q190/3. Consumers like you

Q190/4. Creating jobs in the US

Q190/7. Your own standard of living

*Responses in column:*

1. Good

2. Bad

Base: All respondents

**q189B [s]**

Which of the following comes closest to your view on trade between the US and other countries. Does it:

1. Mostly benefit the US

2. Mostly benefit other countries

3. Benefit both the US and other countries

4. Benefit neither

Base: All respondents

**qibd2. [s]**

Generally speaking, do you think US trade policy should have restrictions on imported foreign goods to protect American jobs, or have no restrictions to enable American consumers to have the most choices and the lowest prices?

1. US trade policy should have restrictions on imported foreign goods to protect American jobs

2. US trade policy should have no restrictions to enable American consumers to have the most choices and the lowest prices

Base: All respondents

**q193 [s]**

Which of the following comes closest to your preferred US trade policy. Should the United States:

1. Pursue a policy of global free trade

2. Create a trade bloc of friends and partners while excluding other nations

3. Reduce international trade and seek greater self-sufficiency in all areas

*Programming Notes: Please create DOV\_Q86 and use variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q86\_6A or Q86\_6B. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q86\_6A’, 2 ‘Shown Q86\_6B’*

Base: All respondents

**q86 [grid]**

How important are the following industries to the competitiveness of the United States in the world economy?

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements in row:*

Q86/1. Steel industry

Q86/2. Automotive industry

Q86/3. Mining industry

Q86/4. Semiconductor industry

Q86/5. Agricultural industry

Q86/6A. **[show if dov\_q86=1]** Battery manufacturing industry

Q86/6B. **[show if dov\_q86=2]** Green energy industry

*Responses in column:*

1. Very important

2. Somewhat important

3. Not very important

4. Not at all important

Base: All respondents

**qta2. [s]**

Compared to ten years ago, do you think the United States is more competitive, less competitive, or equally competitive in the global economy?

1. More competitive

2. Less competitive

3. Equally competitive

Base: All respondents

**intro\_mideast [d]**

***And now, a few questions about the Middle East and the Israel-Gaza war.***

Base: All respondents

**q325 [grid]**

In your opinion, are the following countries and groups playing a very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative or very negative role in resolving the key problems facing the Middle East?

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements in row:*

Q325/3. Israel

Q325/1. United States

Q325/2. Iran

Q325/4. Saudi Arabia

Q325/7. Egypt

Q325/8. Qatar

Q325/9. Hamas

*Responses in column:*

1. Very positive

2. Somewhat positive

3. Somewhat negative

4. Very negative

Base: All respondents

**q704 [s]**

Thinking about the Israel-Gaza war, do you think the United States is:

1. Supporting Israel too much

2. Not supporting Israel enough

3. Striking about the right balance

4. Not sure

Base: All respondents

**q36n [s]**

And thinking about the Israeli military action in Gaza, which statement best describes what you think...or are you unsure?

1. Israel is defending its interests and their military actions are justified.

2. Israel has gone too far and their military actions aren't justified.

3. Not sure

*Programming Notes: Please create DOV\_Q706A\_Q706B and use variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q706A or Q706B. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q706A’, 2 ‘Shown Q706B’*

Base: Show if DOV\_Q706A\_Q706B=1

**q706A [s]**

Regarding the Hamas October 7th attack against Israel, do you think Hamas’ actions were justified or unjustified?

1. Justified

2. Unjustified

3. Not sure

Base: Show if DOV\_Q706A\_Q706B=2

**q706B [s]**

Regarding the Hamas October 7th attack against Israel, do you consider Hamas’ actions an act of terrorism or not?

1. Yes, it was an act of terrorism

2. No, it was not an act of terrorism

3. Not sure

Base: All respondents

**q707 [s]**

In its military campaign in Gaza, how much do you think Israel is doing the following:

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements in row:*

Q707/1. Targeting members of the Hamas militant group

Q707/2. Intentionally targeting all Palestinians, including civilians

Q707/3. Taking measures to protect Palestinian civilians

*Responses in column:*

1. A great deal

2. A fair amount

3. Not very much

4. Not much at all

Base: All respondents

**q726 [s]**

Do you think the United States is providing too much, not enough or the right amount of military aid to Israel?

1. Too much

2. Not enough

3. Right amount

4. Not sure

Base: All respondents

**q727 [s]**

And do you think the United States is providing too much, not enough or the right amount of humanitarian aid to civilians in Gaza?

1. Too much

2. Not enough

3. Right amount

4. Not sure

Base: All respondents

**q725b. [s]**

Do you support or oppose putting restrictions on US military aid to Israel so that it cannot use that aid toward military operations against Palestinians?

1. Support

2. Oppose

Base: All respondents

**q728 [s]**

Do you favor or oppose the United States …?

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements in row:*

Q728/1. Supporting Israel militarily until the hostages are returned

Q728/2. Supporting Israel militarily until Hamas’ military capability is destroyed

Q728/4. Playing a leading role in the reconstruction of Gaza

Q728/5. Officially recognizing a Palestinian state

*Responses in column:*

1. Favor

2. Oppose

*Programming Notes: Please create DOV\_Q700D\_Q700 and use variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q700D or Q700. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q700D’, 2 ‘Shown Q700’*

Base: Show if DOV\_Q700D\_Q700=1

**q700d [s]**

Do you favor or oppose the establishment of an independent Palestinian state alongside the state of Israel?

1. Favor

2. Oppose

3. Not sure

Base: Show if DOV\_Q700D\_Q700=2

**q700. [s]**

Do you favor or oppose the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip?

1. Favor

2. Oppose

Base: All respondents

**introductionc. [text]**

***Now a few questions about the situation in Ukraine.***

Base: All respondents

**q250. [grid, accordion]**

In response to the situation involving Russia and Ukraine, would you support or oppose the United States:

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements in row:*

Q250/5. Providing economic assistance to Ukraine

Q250/2. Increasing economic and diplomatic sanctions on Russia

Q250/3. Sending additional arms and military supplies to the Ukrainian government

Q250/8. Sending US troops to Ukraine to help the Ukrainian government defend itself against Russia

*Responses in column:*

1. Support

2. Oppose

Base: All respondents

**qukr5b [s]**

Which of the following policy options would you prefer…:

1. The United States and its NATO allies maintain military support for Ukraine indefinitely without getting US or NATO troops involved in the conflict

2. The United States and its allies should intervene militarily to help Ukraine end its war with Russia as quickly as possible so that military aid is no longer necessary

3. The United States should end its assistance to Ukraine and keep US and NATO troops out of the conflict

*Programming Notes: Please create DOV\_Q256\_Q257 and use variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q256 or Q257. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q256’, 2 ‘Shown Q257’*

Base: Show if DOV\_Q256\_Q257=1

**q256 [grid]**

If Ukraine loses its war against Russia and is forced to give up part of its territory, what impact would this have on:

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements in row:*

Q256/1. US security

Q256/2. European security

Q256/3. US standing in the world

Q256/4. Russian standing in the world

*Responses in column:*

1. Very positive impact

2. Somewhat positive impact

3. No impact

4. Somewhat negative impact

5. Very negative impact

Base: Show if DOV\_Q356\_Q257=2

**q257 [grid]**

If Russia wins in the war against Ukraine, how likely is it that the following will occur?

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements in row:*

Q257/1. A major migration of Ukrainian refugees to Europe and the United States

Q257/2. Significant violence and human rights abuses against Ukrainian civilians

Q257/3. The deployment of more US forces to bases in Europe

Q257/4. A military confrontation between Russia and NATO allies in Eastern Europe

Q257/5. China follows Russia’s example and invades Taiwan

Q257/6. Russia takes military action against Moldova, Georgia, or other countries formerly part of the Soviet Union

*Responses in column:*

1. Very likely

2. Somewhat likely

3. Not very likely

4. Not at all likely

Base: All respondents

**introductiond. [text]**

***Next, a few questions about Asia.***

Base: All respondents

**qtw2. [grid, accordion]**

If China were to invade Taiwan, would you support or oppose the United States:

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements in row:*

QTW2/2. Imposing economic and diplomatic sanctions on China

QTW2/3b. Using the US Navy to break a Chinese blockade around Taiwan, even if this might trigger a direct conflict between the United States and China

QTW2/4. Sending US troops to Taiwan to help the Taiwanese government defend itself against China

QTW2/5. Sending additional arms and military supplies to the Taiwanese government

QTW2/6. Using the US military to airlift food and medical supplies to Taiwan

*Responses in column:*

1. Support

2. Oppose

*Programming Notes: Please create DOV\_Q350A\_Q350AN and use variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q350A or Q350AN. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q350A’, 2 ‘Shown Q350AN’*

Base: Show if DOV\_Q350A\_Q350AN=1

**Q350A [S]**

In dealing with the rise of China’s power, do you think the US should:

1. Undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with China

2. Actively work to limit the growth of China’s power

Base: Show if DOV\_Q350A\_Q350AN=2

**Q350AN [S]**

In dealing with the rise of China’s power, do you think the US should:

1. Undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with China

2. Actively work to limit the growth of China’s power

3. Undertake friendly cooperation when appropriate and actively limit China’s growth when appropriate

Base: All respondents

**q354a. [s]**

Does trade between the US and China do more to strengthen US national security or weaken US national security?

1. More to strengthen

2. More to weaken

Base: All respondents

**intro\_immigration. [display]**

***And finally, a few questions on immigration.***

Base: All respondents

**q392 [s]**

Overall, do you think immigrants from other cultures have a mainly positive or mainly negative impact on American society?

1. Mainly positive

2. Mainly negative

Base: All respondents

**q390. [s]**

Should legal immigration into the United States be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

1. Kept at present level

2. Increased

3. Decreased

*Programming Notes: Please create DOV\_Q405 and use variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q405 or Q405b. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown 405’, 2 ‘Shown Q405b’*

Base: Show if DOV\_Q405=1

**q405. [s]**

When it comes to immigration, which comes closest to your view aboutillegalimmigrants who are currently working in the US?

1. They should be allowed to stay in their jobs and to apply for US citizenship

2. They should be allowed to stay in their jobs and to eventually apply for US citizenship only if they pay a penalty and wait a number of years

3. They should be allowed to stay in their jobs with work permits, but not apply for US citizenship

4. They should be required to leave their jobs and leave the US

Base: Show if DOV\_Q405=2

**q405b. [s]**

When it comes to immigration, which comes closest to your view about illegal immigrants who are currently in the US?

1. They should be allowed to stay in the US and to apply for US citizenship

2. They should be allowed to stay in the US and to eventually apply for US citizenship only if they pay a penalty and wait a number of years

3. They should be allowed to stay in the US, but not apply for US citizenship

4. They should be required to leave the US

*Programming Notes: Please create DOV\_Q405D\_Q405C and use variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q405D or Q405C. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q405D’, 2 ‘Shown Q405C’*

Base: Show if DOV\_Q405D\_Q405C=1

**q405d [s]**

Do you think immigrants living illegally in the United States mostly take jobs that nobody wants or do they mostly take jobs away from Americans who need them?

1. Mostly take jobs that nobody wants

2. Mostly take jobs from Americans who need them

Base: Show if DOV\_Q405D\_Q405C=2

**q405c [s]**

Do you think illegal immigrants mostly take jobs that nobody wants or do they mostly take jobs away from Americans who need them?

1. Mostly take jobs that nobody wants

2. Mostly take jobs away from Americans who need them

*Programming Notes: Please create DOV\_Q410A\_Q411 and use variable label ‘Data Only Variable: Indicates if respondent was shown Q410A or Q411. Please randomly assign and record respondents to a value of 1 ‘Shown Q410A’, 2 ‘Shown Q411’*

Base: Show if DOV\_Q410A\_Q411=1

**q410a [s]**

Do you favor or oppose a wall expanding the 700 miles of border wall and fencing with Mexico to reduce illegal immigration into the United States?

1. Favor

2. Oppose

Base: Show if DOV\_Q410A\_Q411=2

**q411 [s]**

Do you favor or oppose the US detaining millions of undocumented immigrants in mass camps as they await their immigration hearings?

1. Favor

2. Oppose

Base: All respondents

**qvote [s]**

How likely are you to vote in the upcoming 2024 presidential election?

1. Very likely

2. Somewhat likely

3. Not very likely

4. Not likely at all

Base: All respondents

**qvoteissue [grid]**

How much of a role will the following issues play in your decisions for whom to vote in the 2024 presidential elections?

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of statements below*

*Statements in row:*

QVOTEISSUE/1. Inflation

QVOTEISSUE/2. Immigration

QVOTEISSUE/3. Abortion policies

QVOTEISSUE/4. Crime

QVOTEISSUE/5. Israel-Gaza war

QVOTEISSUE/6. Russia-Ukraine war

QVOTEISSUE/7. Economy in general

QVOTEISSUE/8. Protecting US democracy

*Responses in column:*

1. A great deal

2. A fair amount

3. Not very much

4. Not at all

Base: All respondents

**Q1000 [S]**

If the presidential election were being held today, for whom would you vote?

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of 1 ‘Joe Biden’ and 2 ‘Donald Trump’*

1. Joe Biden

2. Donald Trump

5. Robert Kennedy Jr.

6. Another candidate (specify) **[insert small text box]**

7. I would not vote

Base: All respondents

**q2020vote. [s]**

Who did you vote for in the 2020 elections?

*Programming Notes: Please randomize and record the order of the first two response options ‘Joe Biden’ and ‘Donald Trump’*

1. Joe Biden

2. Donald Trump

3. Another candidate (specify) **[insert medium text box]**

4. Didn’t vote

5. Don’t remember

Base: All respondents

**q1005. [s]**

In general, do you think of yourself as:

1. Extremely liberal

2. Liberal

3. Slightly liberal

4. Moderate, middle of the road

5. Slightly conservative

6. Conservative

7. Extremely conservative

Base: All respondents

**q1010. [s]**

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

1. Republican

2. Democrat

3. Independent

4. Other

Base: Show if Q1010=1

**q1015. [s]**

Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

1. Strong

2. Not strong

Base: Show if Q1010=2

**q1020. [s]**

Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

1. Strong

2. Not strong

Base: Show if Q1010=3 OR 4

**q1025. [s]**

Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

1. Republican

2. Democratic

3. Neither

Base: Show if XPPA1648=14 ‘Missing’

**qppa1648. [s]**

What is your religion?

1. Catholic

2. Evangelical or Protestant Christian (Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Pentecostal, Church of Christ, etc.)

3. Jehovah’s Witness

4. Mormon

5. Jewish

6. Islam/Muslim

7. Orthodox Church (Greek or Russian)

8. Hindu

9. Buddhist

10. Unitarian (Universalist)

11. Other Christian religion, please specify: **[insert small text box]**

12. Other non-Christian religion, please specify: **[insert small text box]**

13. No religion, not a believer, atheist, agnostic

*Programming Notes: Please create DOV\_REL1 and use the variable name ‘Religious Denomination of Respondent’ Merge coding of XPPA1648 and PPA1648 with the following values:*

*1. Catholic*

*2. Evangelical or Protestant Christian (Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Pentecostal, Church of Christ, etc.)*

*3. Jehovah’s Witness*

*4. Mormon*

*5. Jewish*

*6. Islam/Muslim*

*7. Orthodox Church (Greek or Russian)*

*8. Hindu*

*9. Buddhist*

*10. Unitarian (Universalist)*

*11. Other Christian religion, please specify: [Scripter: Please insert small text box]*

*12. Other non-Christian religion, please specify: [Scripter: Please insert small text box]*

*13. No religion, not a believer, atheist, agnostic*

*-1. Refused*

*Please use the following merging criteria, IF XPPA1648≠14 ‘ Missing’ THEN DOV\_REL1= XPPA1648; IF XPPA1648=14 ‘Missing’ THEN DOV\_REL1= PPA1648.*

Base: Show if xpp20071=8 ‘Missing’ OR **qppa1648=**1 OR 2 OR 3 OR 4 OR 7 OR 11

**qpp20071. [s]**

Would you describe yourself as a born-again or evangelical Christian?

1. Yes

2. No

Base: All respondents

**qimma. [s]**

Which of the following categorizations do you feel best applies to you?

1. First generation immigrant (born outside of the United States, immigrated and obtained US citizenship)

2. Second generation immigrant (one or both of your parents were born outside of the country and obtained US citizenship but you were born here and have birthright citizenship)

3. Third or fourth generation immigrant or more (both you and your parents were born in the United States but your grandparents/earlier generations of your family immigrated to the United States)

4. My family has been in the United States for more than four generations

5. None of the above

Base: Show if QIMMA=1 OR 2 OR 3

**qimmb. [o]**

Please specify which country or countries **[show if qimma=1** you ; **show if qimma=2** your parent(s) ; **show if qimma=3** your grandparent(s)**]** immigrated to the United States from:

**[small text box]**

**show kp closing qf1**