

RESULTS OF THE 2017 CHICAGO
COUNCIL SURVEY OF AMERICAN PUBLIC
OPINION AND US FOREIGN POLICY

What Americans Think about America First





2017 Chicago Council Survey Team

Joshua Busby Associate Professor of Public Affairs, The University of Texas

Karl Friedhoff Fellow, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, Chicago Council on Global Affairs

Gregory Holyk Senior Research Analyst, Langer Research

Grace Kim Intern, Chicago Council on Global Affairs

Craig Kafura
Research Associate, Chicago
Council on Global Affairs

Dina Smeltz Senior Fellow, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, Chicago Council on Global Affairs

Karen Whisler Intern, Chicago Council on Global Affairs

Lily Wojtowicz Research Associate, Chicago Council on Global Affairs

Foreign Policy Advisory Board

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President, Chicago Council on
Global Affairs

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President Emeritus, Stimson
Center

Tod Lindberg Senior Fellow, Hudson Institute

James Lindsay Senior Vice President, Director of Studies, Council on Foreign Relations

Diana Mutz Samuel A. Stouffer Professor of Political Science and Communication, University of Pennsylvania

Kori Schake Distinguished Research Fellow, Hoover Institution

James Steinberg University Professor, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University The Chicago Council on Global Affairs is an independent, nonpartisan organization. All statements of fact and expressions of opinion contained in this report are the sole responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs or of the project funders.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

"FROM THIS DAY FORWARD, IT'S GOING TO BE ONLY AMERICA FIRST.

AMERICA FIRST. EVERY DECISION ON TRADE, ON TAXES, ON IMMIGRATION,

ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WILL BE MADE TO BENEFIT AMERICAN WORKERS

AND AMERICAN FAMILIES."

-PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP, INAUGURAL SPEECH, JANUARY 20, 2017

President Trump's inaugural address, like his campaign, signaled a major departure from the past seven decades of American foreign policy and engagement with the rest of the world. While never fully parsed, the slogans "Make America Great Again," "America First," and "Americanism, not Globalism," along with the president's speeches and tweets, prescribed greater protectionism in trade, a new financial reckoning with our security allies, and a withdrawal from major international agreements.

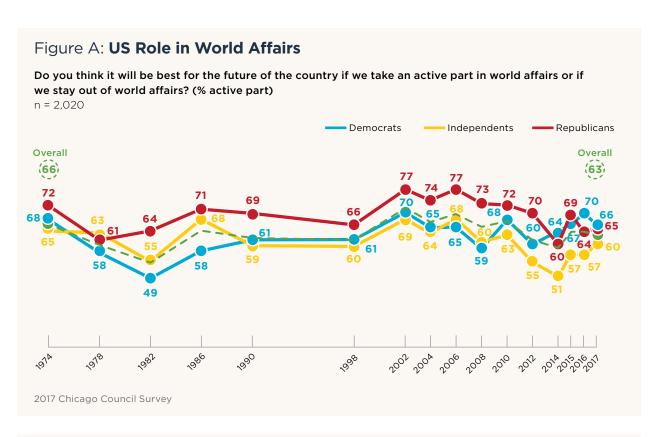
The 2017 Chicago Council Survey, conducted roughly six months into the Trump administration, tested the appeal of these ideas among the American public. The results suggest their attraction remains limited. For now, public criticism of trade deals, support for withholding US security guarantees from allies, and calls for restricting immigration mainly appeal to a core group of Trump supporters (defined in this report as those Americans with a very favorable view of President Trump). Yet, aside from the president's core supporters, most Americans prefer the type of foreign policy that has been typical of US administrations, be they Republican or Democrat, since World War II.

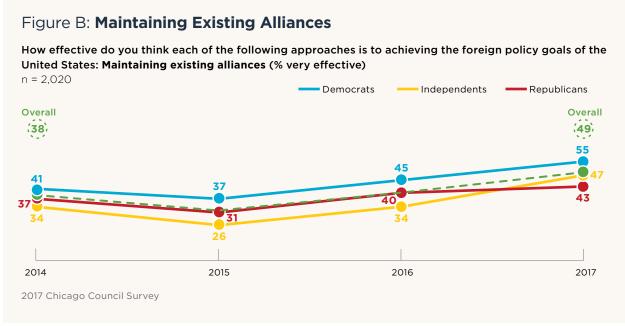
"CORE TRUMP SUPPORTERS" ARE THOSE IN THE SAMPLE WHO SAY THEY HAVE A "VERY FAVORABLE" VIEW OF US PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP. THIS GROUP CONSTITUTES 21 PERCENT OF THE OVERALL SAMPLE; 62 PERCENT SELF-IDENTIFY AS REPUBLICANS, 31 PERCENT AS INDEPENDENTS, AND 5 PERCENT AS DEMOCRATS.

Majorities continue to endorse sustaining American engagement abroad (Figure A) as well as maintaining alliances, supporting trade, and participating in international agreements. Indeed, in key instances, Americans have doubled down on these beliefs. Public support has risen to new highs when it comes to willingness to defend allies, the perceived benefits of trade, and a desire to grant undocumented workers a path to citizenship.

Americans Value Allies and Are More Willing Than Ever to Defend Them

During the 2016 campaign and into his presidency, Donald Trump has repeatedly criticized allies of freeriding on America's security guarantee and argued that US alliances were not serving American interests. But the US public disagrees. Americans have repeatedly rated alliances as one of the most effective ways for the United States to achieve its foreign policy goals since the question was first asked in 2014. Today, the US public is more convinced than ever of their importance. Americans rate maintaining existing alliances as the most effective foreign policy tool, with 49 percent responding "very effective" (Figure B), followed by maintaining US military superiority (47%) and building new alliances with other countries (36%).





Americans also express confidence in Asian and European allies to deal responsibly with world problems, and solid majorities favor maintaining or increasing the US military presence in the Asia-Pacific (78%), Europe (73%), and the Middle East (70%). A slightly larger majority now (69%) compared with a year ago (65%) say NATO is essential to US security. And for the first time, majorities of Americans are willing to use US troops to defend South Korea if it is invaded by North Korea (62%) or if NATO allies like Latvia, Lithuania, or Estonia are invaded by Russia (52%).

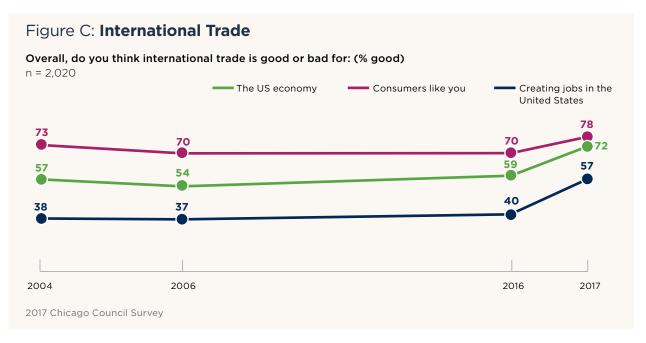
The most specific wish that President Trump has for NATO is for allied countries to contribute more to collective defense; he and other administration officials have advocated for withholding US commitment to defend allies until they have paid more. But a majority of Americans think that NATO allies should be convinced to do their part through persuasion and diplomatic channels (59%) rather than threatening to withhold the US security guarantee to NATO allies to get them to pay more for defense (38%).

Given these views, it is clear that Americans appreciate the advantages that alliances bring. Majorities say that alliances with Europe and East Asia (60% each) are either mutually beneficial or mostly benefit the United States, and 48 percent say the same about alliances in the Middle East.

Core Trump supporters are the most skeptical of the benefits regarding alliances for the United States. Perhaps taking their lead from the president, a majority favor withholding US security guarantee from NATO allies until they pay more (60%); 51 percent of overall Republicans agree. But even core Trump supporters do not seem to believe the alliance is "obsolete," given that a majority (54%) think NATO is still essential to US security.

A Record Percentage of Americans Recognize Benefits of Trade

Americans are feeling more optimistic about the positive impact of trade. Compared with a year ago, record numbers of Americans now say that international trade is good for US consumers (78%), for the US economy (72%), and for job creation (57%). (See Figure C.) Additionally, the perceived benefits of trade are up across all party affiliations.



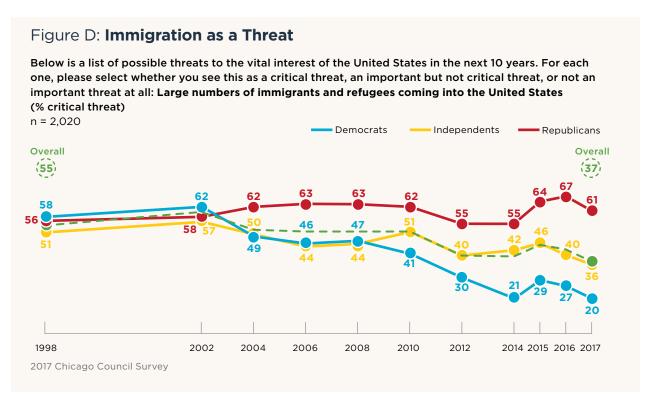
A majority of Americans believe that trade deals between the United States and other countries benefit both countries (50%) or mostly benefit the United States (7%). But a substantial percentage of Americans—including a majority of core Trump supporters and a plurality of Republicans overall—think other countries mostly benefit (34%) or neither country benefits (6%).

President Trump has blamed poor trade deals for the loss of American jobs, and on this point, Americans agree. A majority say that manufacturing job losses are due to outsourcing (56%) rather than increased automation (42%). Yet, more Americans say that the current administration's policies will harm (41%) rather than help (32%) US workers, and 24 percent say they will make no difference.

There are clear partisan divides on expectations for the new administration. Solid majorities of core Trump supporters (82%) and Republicans (64%) expect this administration's policies will do more to protect US workers, which may help explain why they are more optimistic about the overall benefits of international trade to the US economy, consumers, and job creation. For their part, Democrats may feel the need to underscore their support for international trade as a reaction against the trade-bashing rhetoric from both Republican and Democratic candidates in 2016.

Concern over Immigration at Lowest Point Yet

Immigration was a central issue during the 2016 presidential campaign, and it remains a key pillar in Donald Trump's America First platform. But the American public is less alarmed than last year by the potential threat of large numbers of immigrants and refugees entering the United States. Just 37 percent of Americans characterize immigration as a critical threat, down from 43 percent in 2016, marking a new low in concern for this issue (Figure D). There are, however, still large differences between Democrats (20%) and Republicans (61%), with core Trump supporters the most likely of all to consider immigration a critical threat (80%).



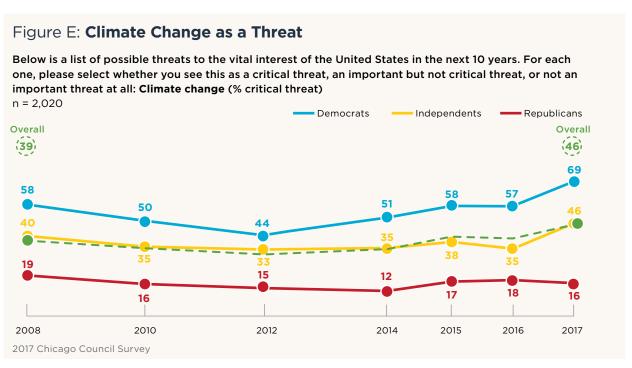
As the overall perceived threat from immigration has gone down, support for providing an opportunity for illegal workers in the United States to become citizens has gone up. Among all Americans, two-thirds (65%) support providing illegal immigrants a path to citizenship either immediately or with a waiting period and a financial penalty—an increase of 7 percentage points since last year. Conversely, fewer Americans now say that illegal immigrants should be required to leave their jobs and the United States (22%, down from 28% in 2016).

A clear majority of Democrats (77%, up from 71% in 2016) favor a pathway to citizenship either immediately or with conditions. A smaller majority of Republicans now also favor the same solution as Democrats (52%, up from 44%), although 36 percent of Republicans favor deportation (down from 42% in 2016). Even core Trump supporters are divided in their views, with equal numbers supporting deportation (45%) and a path to citizenship (45%) for illegal immigrants.

Majority Continue to Support Paris Agreement

Conducted just weeks after President Trump kept his campaign promise to withdraw from the Paris Agreement on climate change, the 2017 Chicago Council Survey reveals that 6 in 10 Americans (62%) continue to favor US participation in the agreement. However, overall public support of the Paris Agreement has declined since 2016 (when 71% favored participation) largely because of a 20-point drop in Republican support (37%, down from 57% in 2016), perhaps following the president's lead on this issue. Just 24 percent of core Trump supporters want the United States to participate in the agreement. In contrast, majorities of Democrats (83%) and Independents (60%) continue to support the Paris Accord, though also at slightly lower levels than in 2016 (when it was backed by 87% of Democrats and 68% of Independents).

Overall, 46 percent of Americans say that climate change is now a critical threat facing the United States; while still not a majority, this view reflects the highest point of concern recorded by the Chicago Council Survey. Yet, Republicans and Democrats markedly disagree on the gravity of this issue. Seven in 10 Democrats think that climate change is a critical threat, compared with just 16 percent of Republicans and 12 percent of core Trump supporters (Figure E).



REPUBLICANS REPRESENT **26 PERCENT** OF THE OVERALL SAMPLE, AND THEY ARE DIVIDED BETWEEN **TRUMP REPUBLICANS** (14% **OF OVERALL SAMPLE)** AND **NON-TRUMP REPUBLICANS** (12%). TRUMP REPUBLICANS ARE THOSE WHO SAY THEY HAVE A "VERY FAVORABLE" VIEW OF PRESIDENT TRUMP; NON-TRUMP REPUBLICANS ARE THOSE WHO HAVE A "SOMEWHAT FAVORABLE," "SOMEWHAT UNFAVORABLE," OR "VERY UNFAVORABLE" VIEW OF PRESIDENT TRUMP.

Fractures within the Republican Party Base

Headlines over the past year have proclaimed an internal battle within the Republican Party between President Trump's supporters and those who oppose his policies.¹ The 2017 Chicago Council Survey data illustrate these fissures between self-described Republicans who have a very favorable view of President Trump ("Trump Republicans") and those who do not ("non-Trump Republicans").²

Non-Trump Republicans align more with average US public opinion than they do with Trump Republicans. Non-Trump Republicans are closer to the overall public than to Trump Republicans in their views on NAFTA (53% overall public, 49% non-Trump Republicans, 20% Trump Republicans believe the agreement is good for the US economy). Non-Trump Republicans are also closer to the overall public when asked the best way to get US allies to pay more for their defense (61% Trump Republicans, 40% non-Trump Republicans, and 38% overall favor withholding the US security guarantee). And on immigration, the overall public (65%) and non-Trump Republicans (62%) are more aligned in supporting a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants than Trump Republicans (43%). Specific examples of other differences among Republicans are included in each chapter of this report (see the sidebars on pages 16, 23, and 29).

Conclusion

Despite the politically charged environment over the past year, Americans express remarkably enduring support for an active US role in world affairs, for security alliances, and for trade relationships. They also favor offering illegal immigrants an opportunity to earn citizenship, either immediately or with conditions—a fact often overlooked by political leaders. Even though a portion of Americans have some questions about how much the United States gets out of security alliances and trade agreements, the American public as a whole seems to recognize clear value in maintaining them.

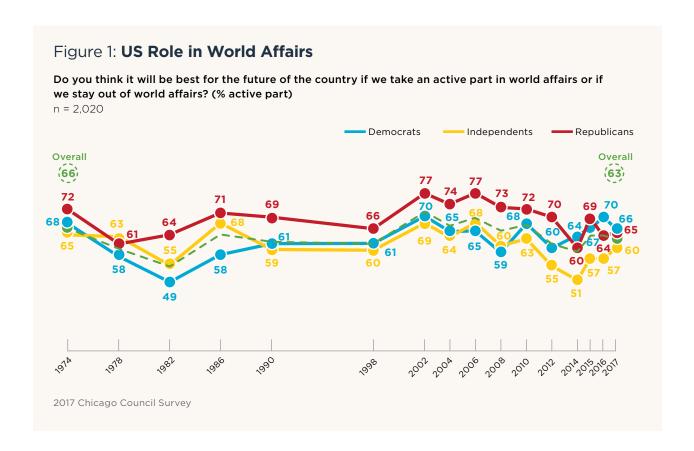
President Trump appears to have noticed, and he has begun to adjust some of his campaign positions since moving into the Oval Office. He has declared that NATO is no longer obsolete and has taken some steps to reassure allies that the United States will honor its defense commitments. Officials in Trump's administration, including the vice president and the secretaries of state and defense, hold more mainstream views on defense issues, and they have repeatedly traveled to allied nations to smooth ruffled feathers. President Trump has also moderated some of his anti-trade rhetoric, backing away from accusations of Chinese currency manipulation and seeking to renegotiate rather than abandon NAFTA. These moderated positions are closer to mainstream American views; they are also closer to the views of those Republicans who are not core supporters of Donald Trump.

INTRODUCTION

To many observers, the "America First" plank in Donald Trump's campaign described a policy vision that would overturn decades of bipartisan US foreign policy. President Trump outlined his vision for America First in his inaugural address: "Every decision on trade, on taxes, on immigration, on foreign affairs, will be made to benefit American workers and American families." This position has been interpreted by some as a return to isolationism that could radically reorient America's foreign policy and by others as a rejection of America's traditional security alliances, long-standing commitment to trade, and major international agreements.

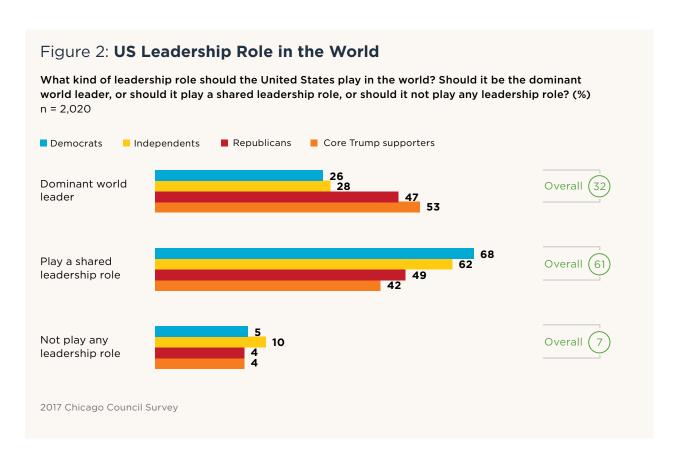
Whatever the particular perspective, the American public does not embrace a retreat or withdrawal of the United States from the world. A majority of the American public (63%) continue to support an active role for the United States in world affairs (Figure 1).

While Donald Trump's rallying cry is to "Make America Great Again," a majority of Americans believe it already is. Americans continue to say that the United States is the most influential country in the world; the public rates its influence as an average of 8.3 on a scale from 0 to 10, with 10 being the greatest



possible amount of influence. (See Appendix Figure 1 for full results.) Overall, a majority also say that because of its unique character, the United States is the greatest country in the world (63%).³ Core Trump supporters are, in fact, the most likely to say the United States is the greatest country (91%).

When it comes to the best way to project American influence abroad, an overall majority of Americans (61%) want the United States to play a shared leadership role, and majorities of Democrats (68%) and Independents (62%) agree. Republicans are divided: while 49 percent of Republicans prefer a shared leadership role, 47 percent want the United States to be the dominant world leader. And a majority of core Trump supporters (53%) say the United States should play a dominant leadership role in the world (Figure 2).



In the president's view—as stated in his inaugural address—the United States has "made other countries rich while the wealth, strength, and confidence of our country has disappeared over the horizon." While President Trump's core supporters agree with this view, the 2017 Chicago Council Survey data discussed in the following pages demonstrate that a majority of Americans reject the idea that we should question our security alliances, abandon trade agreements, or walk away from international agreements. Overall, Americans remain committed to engaging the world along the lines pursued by past administrations, Republican and Democrat alike.

AMERICANS AND ALLIANCES

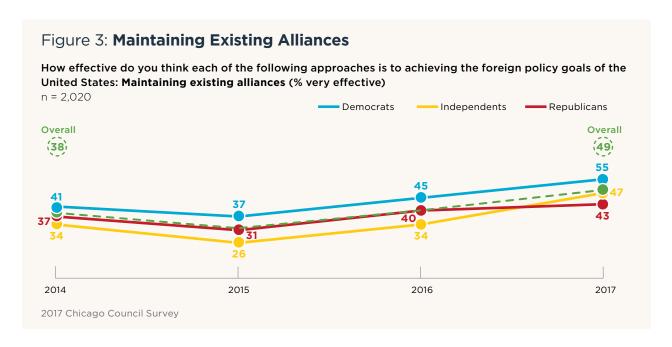
During the 2016 presidential campaign and into his presidency, Donald Trump repeatedly accused allies of free-riding on America's security guarantee and argued that US alliances were not serving American interests. Standing alongside NATO leaders last May, Trump bluntly told the assembled heads of state that they owed "massive amounts of money" to the United States and NATO.⁴

But the 2017 Chicago Council Survey shows that the American public continues to support many aspects of the traditional US alliance system in Europe and Asia, including US commitments to their defense. Views are more mixed on alliances with Middle Eastern countries. Still, only the core supporters of President Trump seem to share his views on alliances.

Effectiveness of Maintaining Alliances

When it comes to the most effective ways to achieve US foreign policy goals, maintaining existing alliances tops the list, with 49 percent of the American public saying this approach is very effective. Americans also believe maintaining US military superiority (47%) and building new alliances with other countries (36%) are effective approaches (See Appendix Figure 2).

In fact, Americans are more convinced now than they were in previous surveys that alliances are very effective. Democrats and Independents are responsible for much of this increase. A majority of Democrats (55%) now say that maintaining existing alliances is a very effective way to achieve US foreign policy goals, up from 45 percent in 2016. Independents have also become more convinced, increasing from 34 percent in 2016 to 47 percent in 2017. Meanwhile, Republicans have been relatively steady (Figure 3).



Mixed Views of Alliances among Republicans

President Trump sees US alliances as one-sided financial transactions, with allies largely free-riding on American commitments, draining US resources with no resulting benefit. But the US public is not buying this argument. While President Trump has derided traditional alliances in Europe and East Asia, the American public strongly supports these partnerships. And while the president has embraced several alliances in the Middle East, even choosing Saudi Arabia as his first overseas visit, the public is more divided on alliances in this region.

Combined, 6 in 10 Americans say that either both the United States and allies benefit from alliances in Europe and East Asia or that the United States benefits more. Americans are less enthusiastic about US alliances in the Middle East: while a plurality say both sides benefit (42%) or the United States mostly benefits (7%), significant portions of the public believe that US alliances there mostly benefit allies (25%) or that neither country benefits (23%). (See Figure 4.)

President Trump's core supporters are the most pessimistic about the benefits of alliances across all three regions. These attitudes fit well with the Trump narrative that NATO is too costly and unfair to the United States.⁵ Republicans (including some but not all core Trump supporters) tend to say that the benefits of alliances are mutual—although 4 in 10 say they mostly benefit allies or neither country. Whether this doubt about the benefits of alliances was created by Donald Trump or whether he merely picked up on an existing sentiment is unclear.

To be sure, the complaint about allies getting a free ride is not new. In 2016, President Obama griped to *The Atlantic* about how "free riders aggravate[d]" him;⁶ in 2011, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates voiced concern about future political leaders who had not lived through the Cold War, saying they "may not consider the return on America's investment in NATO worth the cost" without increased allied spending;⁷ and Secretary Madeleine Albright made sure to insist on fair burden sharing in her 1997 speech to Congress advocating for NATO expansion.⁸ Indeed, complaints about burden sharing are as old as the NATO alliance itself.



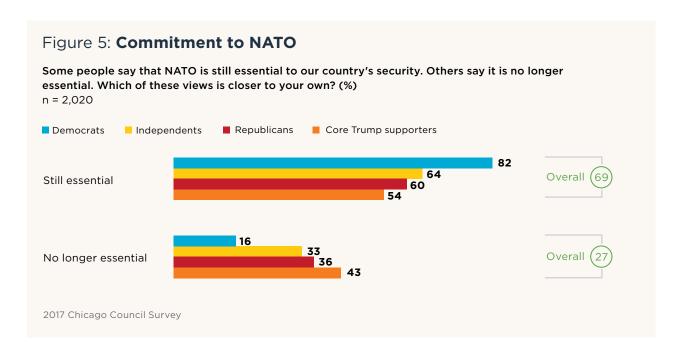
THE 2017 CHICAGO COUNCIL SURVEY SHOWS THAT THE AMERICAN PUBLIC CONTINUES TO SUPPORT MANY ASPECTS OF THE TRADITIONAL US ALLIANCE SYSTEM IN EUROPE AND ASIA, INCLUDING US COMMITMENTS TO THEIR DEFENSE.

Figure 4: Who Benefits from US Security Alliances?							
	Democrats	Independents	Republicans	Core Trump supporters	Overall		
Which of the following comes closest to your view on US security alliances in East Asia? (%) $n = 694$							
Mostly benefit the United States	1177	10	2	5	8		
Mostly benefit our allies	14**	17	31	32	19		
Benefit both the United States and our allies	55	50	50	43	51		
Benefit neither	17	19	10	12	16		
Which of the following comes closest to your view on US security alliances in Europe? (%) $n = 670$							
Mostly benefit the United States	10	8	5	4	8		
Mostly benefit our allies	15	33	35	45	27		
Benefit both the United States and our allies	62	47	50	42	53		
Benefit neither	112	11	7	7	10		
Which of the following comes closest to your view on US security alliances in the Middle East? (%) $n = 656$							
Mostly benefit the United States	6)	8	*6	6	7		
Mostly benefit our allies	22	22	34	33	25		
Benefit both the United States and our allies	45	37	44	38	42		
Benefit neither	24	29	13	18	23		
2017 Chicago Council Sui	rvey						

Support for NATO

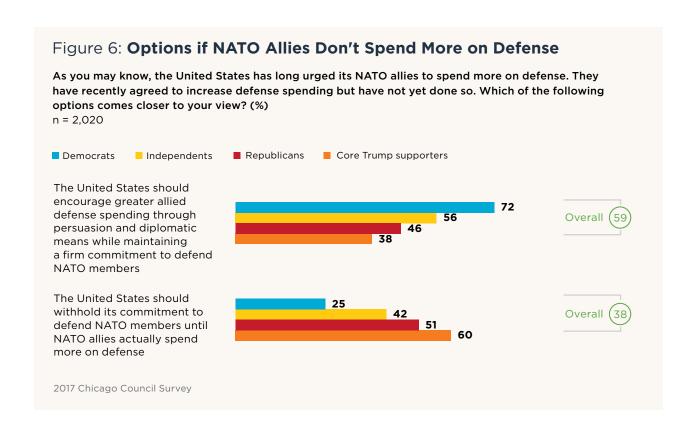
During the 2016 presidential campaign, NATO was a favorite target of criticism for Donald Trump, and that targeting carried over to the early part of his administration. His distaste for NATO is not shared by many other prominent Republicans; members of his own administration repeatedly sought to reassure NATO allies that the US commitment to their defense remained inviolable. After the president visited NATO headquarters and failed to explicitly endorse the collective defense provisions in Article 5, Senator Lindsay Graham proposed a resolution that aimed to "reassure our allies and give notice to our enemies that America stands firmly in support of NATO and our Article 5 commitment." The resolution passed unanimously in the Senate. Eventually, President Trump himself indicated his support for Article 5 and stated that NATO is "no longer obsolete."

Throughout this debate, the American public has been consistently supportive of NATO. In the 2017 Chicago Council Survey, 69 percent of Americans say NATO is still essential to US security, up slightly from 2016 (65%) and up significantly from 2002 (56%), when the question was first asked. Public support is also bipartisan, with majorities of Democrats (82%), Independents (64%), and Republicans (60%) describing NATO as essential, views largely unchanged from 2016. Even a majority of core Trump supporters (54%) agree that NATO is still essential to US security (Figure 5).



The biggest complaint Trump has about NATO is that the allies do not spend enough on defense. President Trump threatened that he would withhold US contributions—or even withdraw from NATO—if other NATO countries did not meet their commitments. Even Defense Secretary Mattis suggested the United States could reduce its commitments if NATO countries did not spend more on defense. The overall US public thinks that to encourage NATO allies to actually follow through on defense-spending increases, the United States should use persuasion and diplomacy (59%) rather than withholding its security commitment to NATO allies (38%).

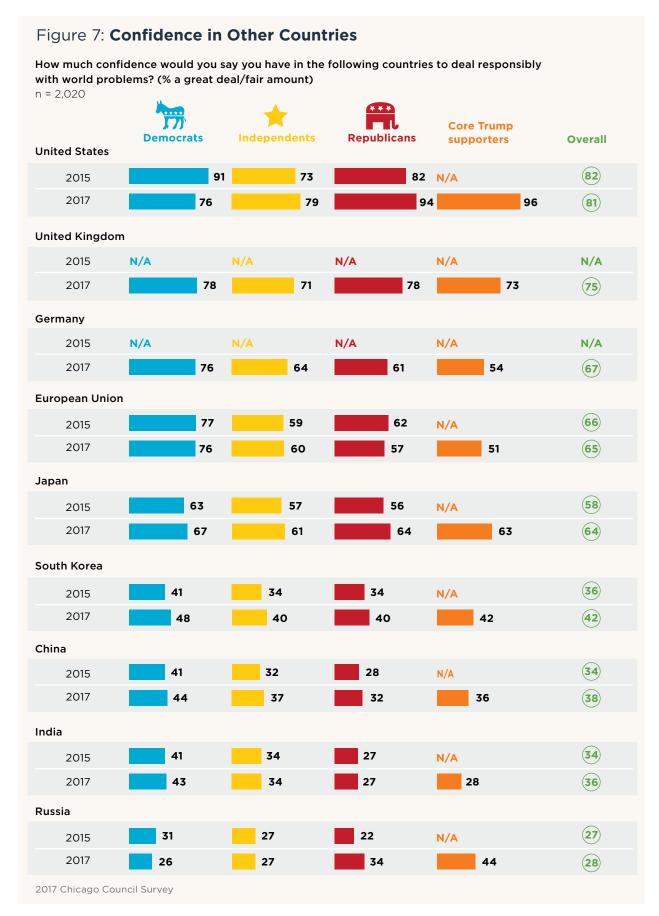
But there is a clear partisan divide on the best way to pressure allies on their spending commitments. Democrats (72%) and Independents (56%) think the United States should use persuasion and diplomacy. By a slim margin, Republicans prefer withholding the US security guarantee (51%) to using persuasion and diplomacy (46%). An even greater percentage of core Trump supporters (60%) says the United States should withhold the security commitment until allies actually increase defense spending (Figure 6).



Americans Trust Allies and Support a Global Military Footprint

America's global alliances often include maintaining US military bases overseas, and the 2017 Survey finds broad support for a continued US military presence abroad. Americans support increasing or maintaining the US military presence in the Asia-Pacific (78%), Europe (73%), and the Middle East (70%). (See Appendix Figure 3 for full results.)

Senior Trump administration officials have argued that "America First does not mean America Alone." On this particular statement, Americans agree. The public trusts allied nations around the globe, along with the United States, to handle world problems responsibly. Across party lines, and even among core Trump supporters, majorities have a great deal or a fair amount of confidence in the European Union, Germany, Japan, and the United Kingdom to deal responsibly with world problems. In fact, trust is on the rise: for both Japan and South Korea, more Americans now trust them to handle world problems than in 2015 when the question was last asked (Figure 7).



Public Ready to Come to Defense of NATO Allies, South Korea

At the core of a military alliance is the obligation to come to an ally's defense if it is attacked. For the first time in Chicago Council Survey history, a majority of the US public are willing to commit US troops to defend South Korea and the Baltic NATO allies if they come under attack.¹⁴ A majority of Americans (52%) support the use of US troops if Russia invades a NATO ally like Latvia, Lithuania, or Estonia, up from 45 percent in 2015. Six in 10 Americans (62%) also support defending South Korea from North Korean invasion, up from 47 percent in 2015. In both scenarios, cross-partisan majorities of Democrats, Independents, and Republicans—and a majority of core Trump supporters—favor using US troops to defend these allied nations. (See Appendix Figure 4 for full results.)

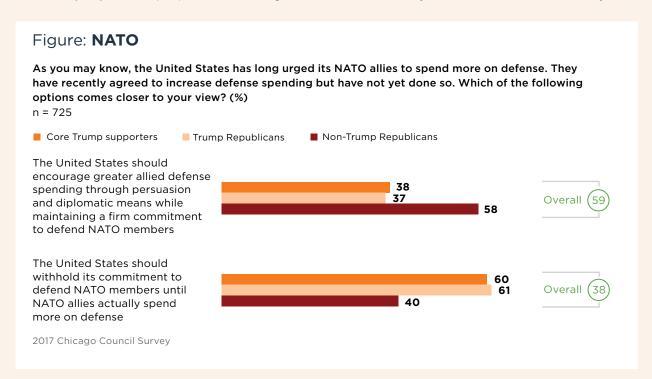
While Americans clearly value their ties to Japan, they remain more hesitant about intervening in a hypothetical confrontation between Japan and China. Although they are more likely now (40%) than they were in 2015 (33%) to support using US troops in a confrontation between Japan and China over disputed islands, a majority still oppose US military involvement (58%). Americans are also hesitant to get involved in a war against Russia on behalf of Ukraine, which is not a NATO member (59% oppose, 39% favor).

SIDEBAR

NOT ALL REPUBLICANS THINK ALIKE ON ALLIANCES

Many Trump and non-Trump Republicans see mutual benefits or more benefits for the United States from alliances in East Asia, Europe, and the Middle East.

But there are clear differences in how these two groups want to interact with those allies. A majority of Trump Republicans (61%) favor withholding America's NATO commitment until its allies spend more on defense, although 55 percent believe that NATO is still essential. Non-Trump Republicans, like the overall US public, are more consistently pro-NATO. They support using persuasion and diplomacy to get allies to pay more for defense, and two in three say NATO is essential to US security.



Making Existing Alliances Work

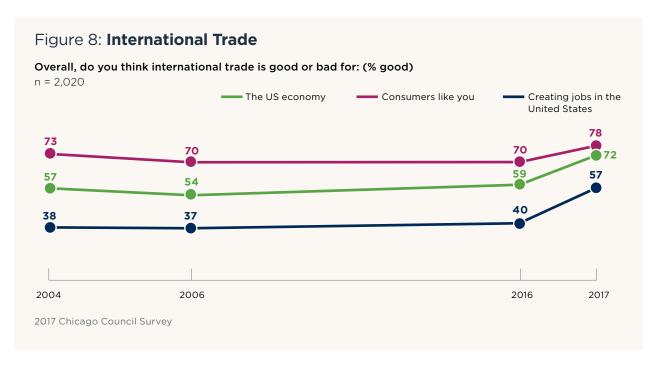
Underpinning this broad support for alliances is a view that the United States derives clear advantages from them. Analysis of the 2017 Chicago Council Survey data shows that even the minority of Americans who think that US security alliances mostly benefit our allies or neither country still support American military partnerships. They favor maintaining or increasing the US military presence abroad, express confidence in key allies, and believe that NATO is essential to US security. In short, Americans are more interested in making the existing relationships work than filing for divorce.

AMERICANS AND TRADE

Donald Trump placed American workers at the center of his domestic and foreign policy platforms. As a candidate and as president, he has criticized trade agreements for benefiting other countries at the direct expense of the US economy and American workers. The 2017 Survey finds that this message has clearly resonated with his base and with a portion of the broader public. But in general, Americans have begun to see the effects of trade on the overall US economy, consumers, and job creation more positively. Republicans are now more optimistic about the impact of trade, potentially because a Republican who promises to deliver better trade deals is now in the White House. At the same time, Democrats continue to express favorable attitudes toward trade, in some instances at even higher levels of support than in previous years—perhaps as a forceful rejection of the anti-trade message from a president they deeply dislike.

Positive Assessments of Trade Benefits Have Increased across Party Lines

In a speech before signing the "Buy American and Hire American" executive order on trade, Trump said that "jobs and wealth have been stripped from our country. Year after year, decade after decade, trade deficit upon trade deficit . . . and lots of jobs." Despite this rhetoric, American perceptions of the benefits of international trade are more positive now than they were a year ago. In fact, record numbers of Americans now say international trade is good for US consumers (78%) and the US economy (72%). Moreover, the 2017 results mark the first time since this question was asked that a majority of respondents claim international trade is beneficial to creating US jobs (57%). (See Figure 8.)

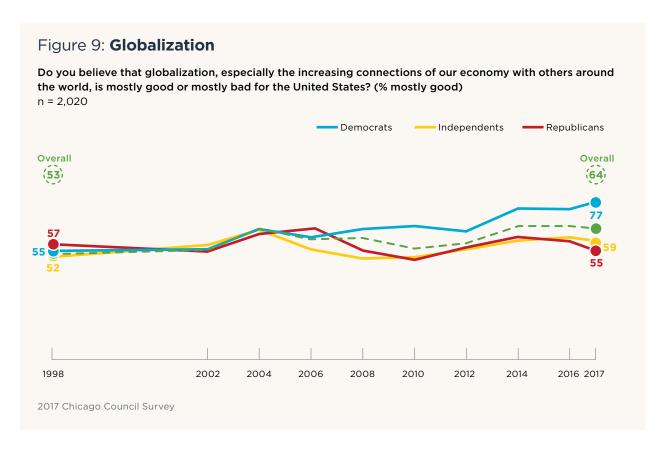


Previous surveys suggest that Democratic and Republican views on the effects of international trade on the US economy and consumers change based on the party occupying the White House. In 2004 and 2006—during the George W. Bush administration—Republicans were more likely than Democrats to say that international trade was good for the US economy. In the latter survey, Republicans were also more likely to say that trade is beneficial to consumers. In 2016, with Barack Obama in the White House, Democrats were more positive about international trade's impact on the US economy, American consumers, and job creation.

The 2017 Chicago Council Survey results go against the grain of that pattern, finding that, even with a Republican now president, Democrats remain the most likely to see the benefits of international trade for US consumers (83%), the US economy (80%), and creating jobs in the United States (69%). Democrats also remain the most favorable toward globalization, with 77 percent saying it is good for the United States, up from 55 percent when the question was first asked in 1998.

Still, favorable Republican attitudes on international trade have increased with a GOP White House. In 2017, a greater percentage of Republicans say that trade is good for consumers (77%), the US economy (68%), and job creation (48%) than ever before. Core Trump supporters are similar to Republicans in citing the benefits to consumers (69%), the US economy (62%), and job creation (48%).¹⁷

But Republican views have not become more favorable toward globalization over the years, with 55 percent saying globalization is good in 2017—essentially unchanged from the 57 percent who said the same in 1998 (Figure 9). The following sections will also demonstrate that Republicans overall are not nearly as positive about existing trade agreements.

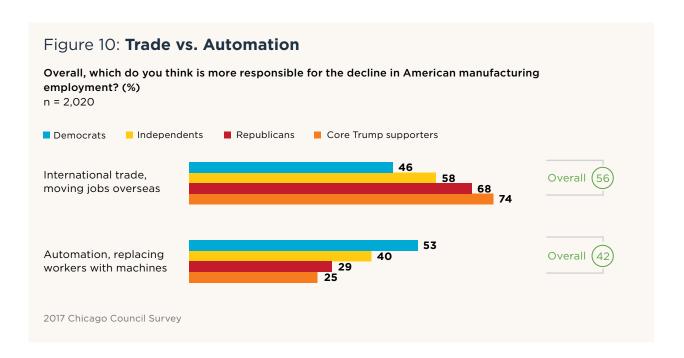


It's All about the Jobs

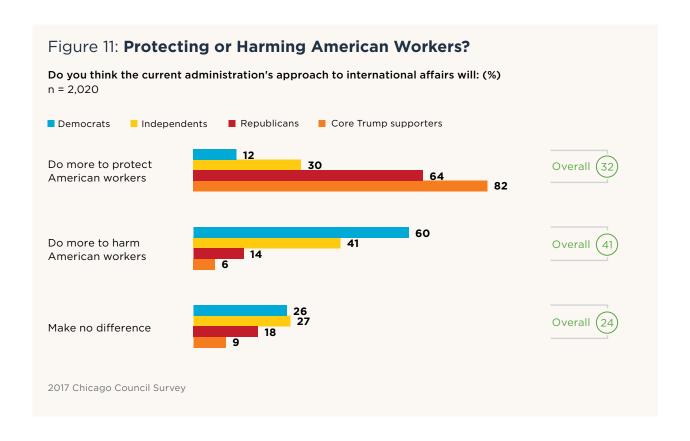
Jobs, as always, are at the heart of American concerns and priorities. Since the Council's first survey in 1974, Americans have consistently prioritized the protection of American jobs as one of the most important foreign policy goals, and that remains true in 2017. Three-quarters of Americans (73%) name it a very important goal, the same as in 2016. This assessment crosses partisan lines, with at least 7 in 10 respondents in agreement, and is the number-one priority of core Trump supporters (87%).

Donald Trump has attracted much support from his base due to his attention to the American working class. From 2000 to 2010, the United States lost more than 5 million manufacturing jobs. President Trump (and other presidential candidates) often linked the loss of these jobs to international trade and outsourcing. In contrast, economic experts attribute the loss of US manufacturing jobs to increased automation more than to outsourcing.¹⁸

Regardless, the American public broadly agrees with the president on this point. Nearly 6 in 10 say that international trade and moving jobs overseas is responsible for the decline in American manufacturing jobs, while only 4 in 10 blame automation. This view is particularly strong among core Trump supporters (74%) and Republicans (68%). A bare majority of Democrats (53%) say that automation is to blame for job losses, with 46 percent blaming trade (Figure 10).



Even though President Trump pledged to make protecting American jobs a priority in his administration¹⁹— and in trade negotiations in particular—the US public overall is deeply divided over the Trump administration's policies on workers. Those divisions fall neatly along partisan lines. Core Trump supporters (82%) and Republicans (64%) are largely convinced that the current administration's approach will do more to protect workers, while a majority of Democrats (60%) and a plurality of Independents (41%) say they will do more to harm US workers (Figure 11).



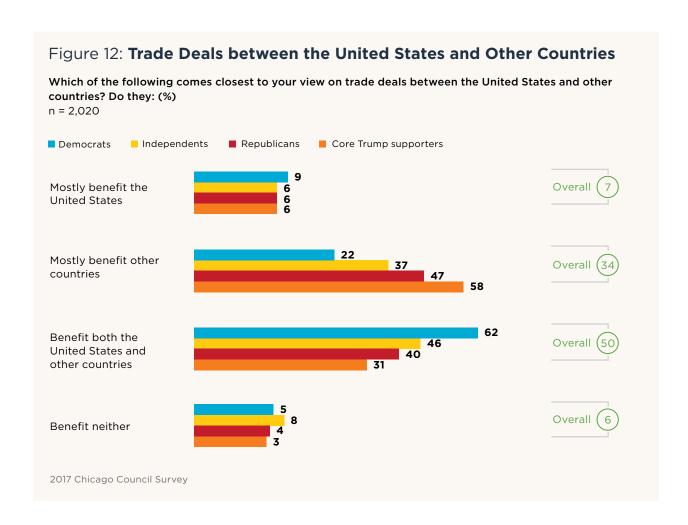
More Say Trade Deals Benefit All Partners Rather than Just One Side

Both Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton criticized trade agreements during their 2016 campaigns, and the president has continued to attack trade deals from the Oval Office. Americans overall tend to view trade agreements as being mostly beneficial to all countries involved (50%) or to the United States (7%). But 4 in 10 believe they mostly benefit other countries (34%) or benefit neither country (6%).

Democrats are especially pro-trade in their outlook, with 62 percent saying trade agreements are mutually beneficial. In sharp contrast, a majority of core Trump supporters (58%) say that trade deals mostly benefit other countries, and a plurality of Republicans (47%) agree (Figure 12).

Donald Trump has particularly targeted the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) as an example of a poorly negotiated accord, calling it "the worst trade deal ever made by any country."²⁰ But Americans overall lean slightly positive on the deal—53 percent say it is good for the economy. Democrats are especially supportive, with 7 in 10 saying it is good for the United States.²¹

However, Trump's criticism of NAFTA has found fertile ground among his base and a majority of Republicans. Core Trump supporters hold the most negative views of the 25-year-old trade deal, with 72 percent saying it is bad for the economy. Six in 10 Republicans agree. Independents, however, are divided, with half saying NAFTA is good for the economy.



Who Practices Fair Trade with the United States?

President Trump has often targeted the unfair trading practices of other countries as a reason the United States is not performing up to its economic potential. He has singled out China as the most egregious unfair trader among the trading partners of the United States, arguing in the first presidential debate that China is "using our country as a piggy bank to rebuild China . . . we've become a third-world country."²² On China, the American public agrees with the president. Unique among all countries included in the survey, China alone is identified by a majority of Americans (68%) as practicing unfair trade with the United States. Majorities of core Trump supporters (82%), Republicans (76%), Independents (71%), and Democrats (61%) agree.

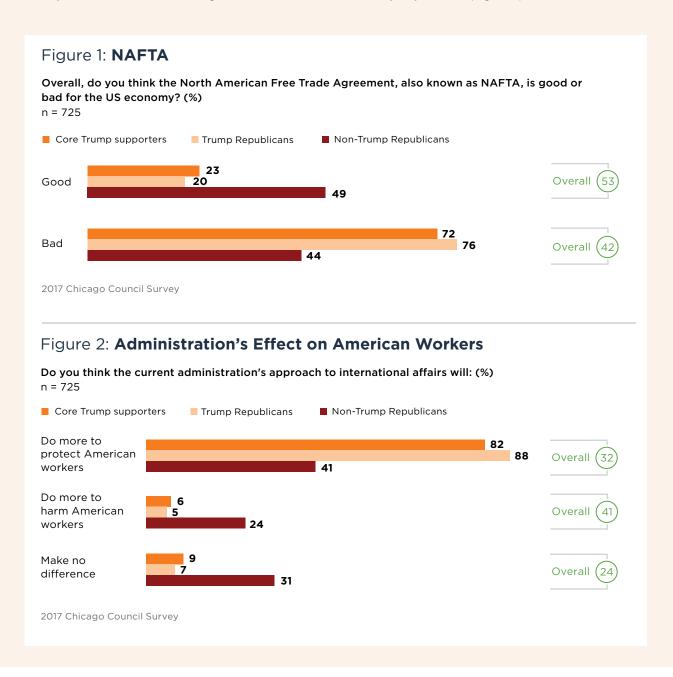
Mexico is also a frequent target of criticism by President Trump, but American attitudes about its trade practices are more divided. The public at large is nearly evenly split, with 47 percent saying Mexico practices fair trade and 46 percent identifying it as an unfair trader. Here, partisan divides are stark. Core Trump supporters (76%) and Republicans (65%) say Mexico practices unfair trade. A majority of Democrats (60%) and half of Independents (50%) disagree.

Other trading partners, however, fare better in public estimations. Majorities believe that Canada (79%), the European Union (66%), Japan (60%), and South Korea (52%), trade fairly with the United States. Still, Republicans are less likely than Democrats to describe each country as a fair trader, and core Trump supporters are the least likely of all. (See Appendix Figure 5 for full results.)

SIDEBAR NOT ALL REPUBLICANS THINK ALIKE ON TRADE

There are some striking contrasts between Trump Republicans and non-Trump Republicans on trade—although neither group is as pro-trade as Democrats. Six in 10 Trump Republicans view the United States as being on the losing side of trade agreements (60% say that trade agreements mostly benefit other countries) compared with one-third of non-Trump Republicans (34%). Half of non-Trump Republicans believe NAFTA is good for the US

economy (49%), closer to the views of the overall US public (53%) than to Trump Republicans (20%). (See Figure 1.) Non-Trump Republicans are also less optimistic about the new administration's policy impact on American workers. While a plurality, only 41 percent of non-Trump Republicans say the current administration's approach will do more to help American workers, compared with 88 percent of Trump Republicans (Figure 2).



Bipartisan Optimism on Trade

The 2017 survey results find Americans underscoring their optimism for the positive effects of trade on the US economy, for US consumers, and for job creation. Continuing recent trends, Democrats are the most pro-trade among the public. Republicans have become more positive over the past year, perhaps reflecting hope that a Republican administration will negotiate better terms for the United States. But this recent uptick in GOP optimism should not overshadow the fact that Republicans are consistently less likely to see trade and trade agreements as beneficial for all countries, and their critical views of NAFTA reflect that. Donald Trump's messages on trade, however, most clearly resonate with his base: it is core Trump supporters that invariably take the most negative views on trade.

AMERICANS ON IMMIGRATION AND CLIMATE CHANGE

Immigration and climate change are two major issues that have been put to the test in the first six months of America First policies. Under the Trump administration, Immigration and Customs Enforcement officers have greater leeway when it comes to detaining and deporting unauthorized immigrants.²³ Environmental Protection Agency officials have tried to eliminate or minimize references to climate change in policy documents, and they openly scorned the science behind climate change research.²⁴ The 2017 Chicago Council Survey results find that while the president's approach on these issues has appealed to core Trump supporters and many Republicans, Americans overall are moving in the opposite direction.

Public Threat Perceptions from Immigration at Lowest Level Yet

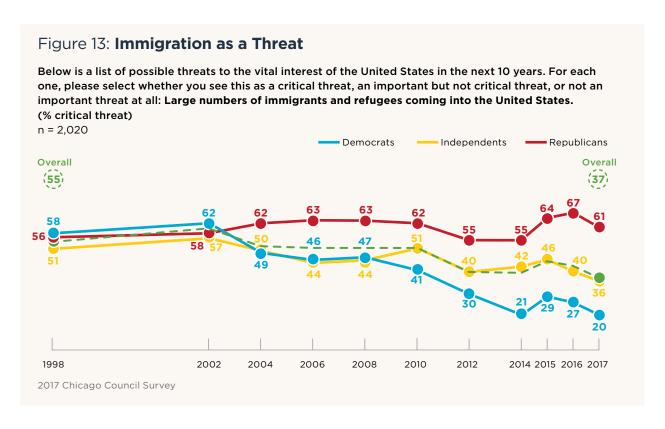
Immigration was a central issue during the 2016 presidential campaign and remains a key pillar in Donald Trump's America First platform. President Trump has continued to pledge to build a wall between the United States and Mexico, and he has made several attempts to ban travelers from six predominantly Muslim countries from entering the United States.

The anti-immigrant overtones of America First have struck a particular chord with core Trump supporters. Among this group, 80 percent perceive immigration as a critical threat to the United States, 19 percentage points higher than Republicans (61%) and 60 percentage points higher than Democrats (20%).

But those anti-immigrant overtones are not resonating with most Americans. Overall, only 37 percent of the US public now says that immigration is a critical threat, down from 43 percent in 2016 and marking an all-time low since this question was first asked in 1998 (Figure 13). And although Republican concern about the threat of immigration has been steady over the past two decades—roughly 6 in 10 have consistently said that large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the United States represent a critical threat—concern among Democrats and Independents has steadily declined. In fact, both groups reached historic lows on this question in 2017.



AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION ON IMMIGRATION HAS BECOME **MORE POLARIZED** OVER THE PAST 15 YEARS. THIS FACT SERVES AS A
STARK REMINDER THAT SHARPLY DIVIDED OPINION ON IMMIGRATION
WAS NOT CREATED BY DONALD TRUMP—HE SIMPLY EXPLOITED IT.



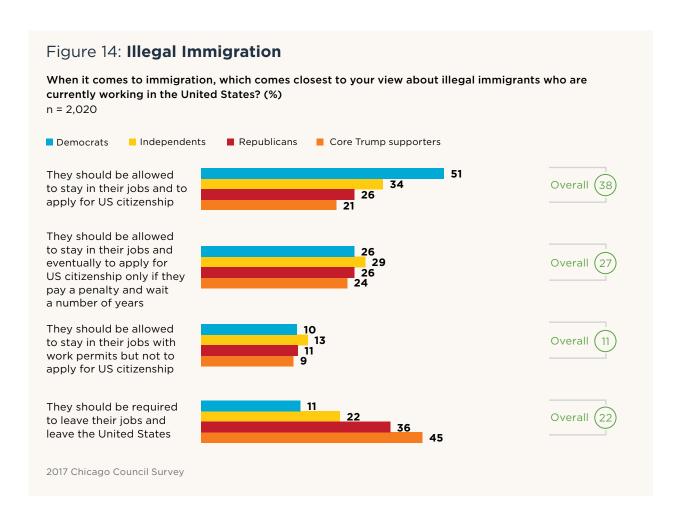
American public opinion on immigration has become more polarized over the past 15 years. This fact serves as a stark reminder that sharply divided opinion on immigration was not created by Donald Trump—he simply exploited it.

Increasing Percentages Agree on Path to Citizenship for Illegal Immigrants

Along with these overall declining concerns about immigrants and refugees coming into the country, there is a sizeable and growing consensus about the best way to deal with illegal immigrants currently working in the United States. Among all Americans, two-thirds (65%) support a path to citizenship with or without conditions, up from 58 percent in 2016. Conversely, fewer Americans now say that illegal immigrants should be required to leave their jobs and the United States (22% compared with 31% in 2013).²⁵

But that consensus still features deep partisan divides. A clear majority of Democrats (77%) and Independents (63%) favor a pathway to citizenship either immediately or after a waiting period and paying a penalty. A bare majority of Republicans (52%) also favor a pathway to citizenship with or without conditions while 36 percent of Republicans favor deportation.

Core Trump supporters are the most inclined to support deportation, but even they are divided in their views, with equal numbers supporting deportation (45%) and a path to citizenship (45%) for illegal immigrants (Figure 14). This places them largely in-line with Republicans overall but sets both Republicans and core Trump supporters far apart from overall American opinion.



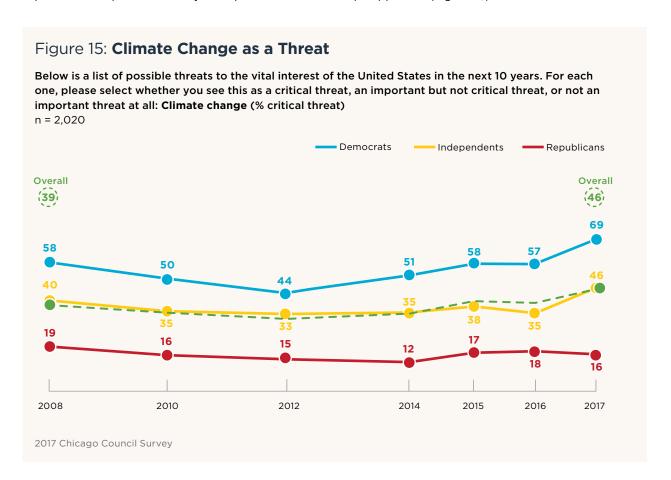
Majority Continue to Favor US Participation in Paris Agreement

The Trump administration has also pushed back against addressing climate issues. In June 2017, President Trump convened a press conference in the White House Rose Garden to announce the United States would "cease all implementation of the non-binding Paris Accord and the draconian financial and economic burdens the agreement imposes on our country" and instead "pursue a new deal." 26

Conducted just weeks after President Trump kept his campaign promise to withdraw from the Paris Agreement on climate change, the 2017 survey results show that 6 in 10 Americans (62%) favor US participation in the agreement. Yet overall support has declined since 2016 when 71 percent favored participation, largely due to a marked decrease in support from Republicans. Just 37 percent of this group (down from 57% in 2016) and 24 percent of core Trump supporters want the United States to participate. Majorities of Democrats (83%) and Independents (60%), meanwhile, continue to support the agreement, although at slightly lower levels than in 2016 (87% and 68%, respectively).

Republicans and Democrats also view the threat posed by climate change very differently. Overall, 46 percent of Americans say that climate change is now a critical threat facing the United States. While not a majority, it marks an all-time high for the measure and is mostly driven by increased concern

among Democrats. This year's survey results reveal the largest partisan divide yet on the threat from climate change—in fact, there is a dramatic 53 percentage point difference between Democrats and Republicans. Seven in 10 Democrats think that climate change is a critical threat, compared with just 16 percent of Republicans and just 12 percent of core Trump supporters (Figure 15).



America First at Odds with Public on Climate Change and Immigration

Immigration and climate change are two areas in which the Trump administration has pursued radically different paths from the Obama administration. Those decisions have elicited very different reactions across party lines. While Republicans and core Trump supporters back the president's decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement, Americans overall disagree—and overall concern about climate change is on the rise. In addition, the views among Republicans are not unanimous: a slight majority of Republicans who are not core Trump supporters back the Paris Agreement.

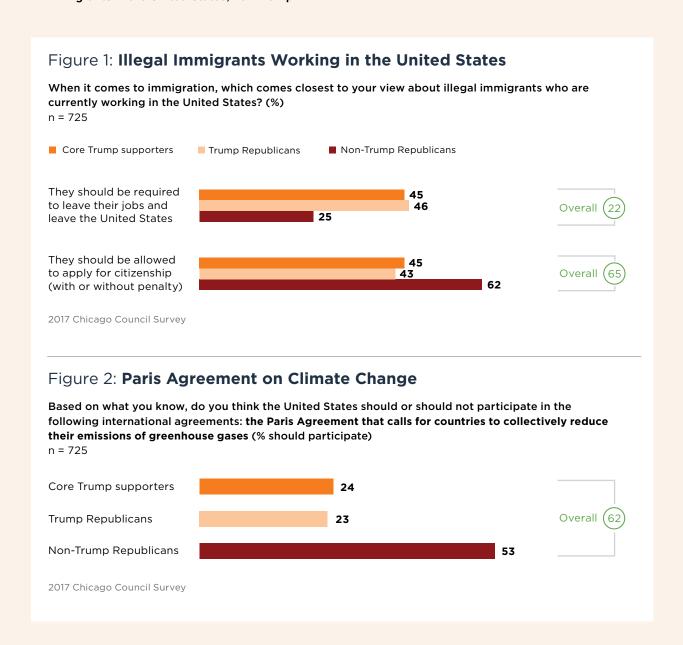
Similarly, although Republicans and core Trump supporters remain concerned about the possibility of large numbers of immigrants and refugees coming into the United States, American concern overall continues to decline. At the same time, a growing number of Americans support providing unauthorized immigrants a path to citizenship. On both climate change and immigration, Trump's America First policies are giving his base and many in his party what they want. These policies, however, run counter to the views of the overall American public.

SIDEBAR

NOT ALL REPUBLICANS THINK ALIKE ON IMMIGRATION AND CLIMATE CHANGE

On the controversial and very partisan issues of immigration and climate change, there are notable differences in opinion between Trump Republicans and non-Trump Republicans. While Trump Republicans are equally likely to favor deportation and oppose a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants in the United States, non-Trump

Republicans are decisively more likely to favor a path to citizenship (Figure 1). And while only 23 percent of Trump Republicans favor US participation in the Paris Agreement on climate change, a slight majority (53%) of non-Trump Republicans support it (Figure 2).

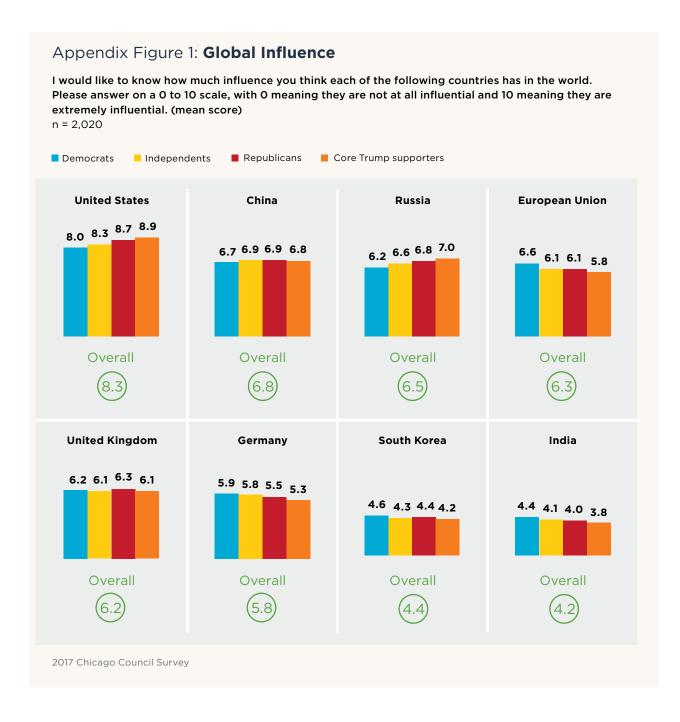


CONCLUSION

Since President Trump moved into the White House, he and his advisers have sometimes offered contrasting views on foreign policy. In a recent example, Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis openly differed with the president on the best way to deal with North Korea's nuclear program. Speaking with reporters, Secretary Mattis emphasized a diplomacy-first approach with Pyongyang, countering President Trump's tweet in which he proclaimed that "talking is not the answer!" Secretary of State Rex Tillerson reportedly favored the United States remaining in the Paris Agreement, and similar differences between the president and Congressional leaders toward NATO allies were described previously in this report.

The 2017 Chicago Council Survey data show that American public opinion similarly differs between core Trump supporters and others. While core Trump supporters seem to embrace the ideas behind America First, most Americans (including non-Trump Republicans) lean toward more mainstream foreign policy approaches. They express remarkably enduring support for an active US role in world affairs, for maintaining and guaranteeing US security alliances, and for America's international trade relationships. They also favor offering undocumented immigrants an opportunity to earn citizenship and support continued participation in the Paris Agreement. Even though a portion of Americans have some questions about how much the United States gets out of security alliances and existing trade agreements, the American public as a whole seems to recognize clear value in sustaining them.

APPENDIX



Appendix

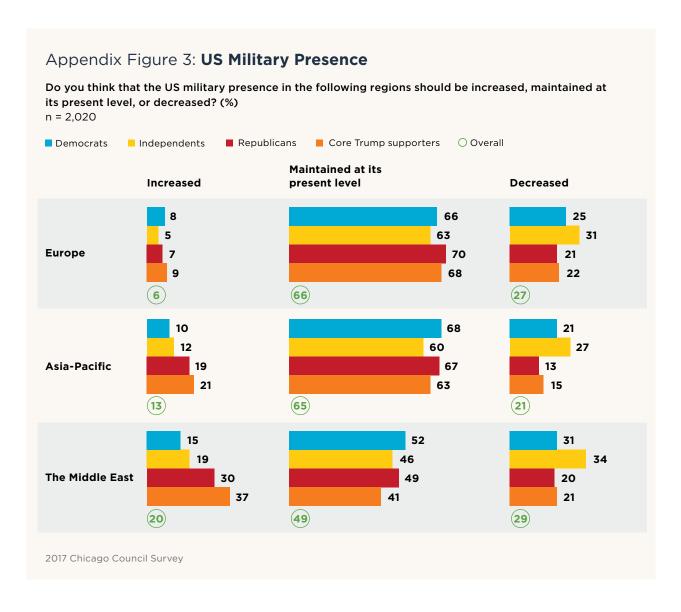
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Appendix Figure 2: Achieving US Foreign Policy Goals

How effective do you think each of the following approaches is to achieving the foreign policy goals of the United States? (% very effective)

n = 2,020

n = 2,020	Democrats	Independents	Republicans	Core Trump supporters	Overall		
Maintaining existing alliances	55	47	43	49	49		
Maintaining US military superiority	38	44	66	79	47		
Building new alliances with other countries	45	34	28	34	36		
International agreements	42	30	20	23	32		
Participating in international organizations	38	26	12	12	27		
Signing free trade agreements with other countries	27	21	15	18	21		
Placing sanctions on other countries	21.	17	22	30	20		
Economic aid to other countries	27	15	°ĕ*	8	18		
Military intervention	16	15	24	32	18		
Military aid to other countries	18	11	9	11	13		
2017 Chicago Council Survey							

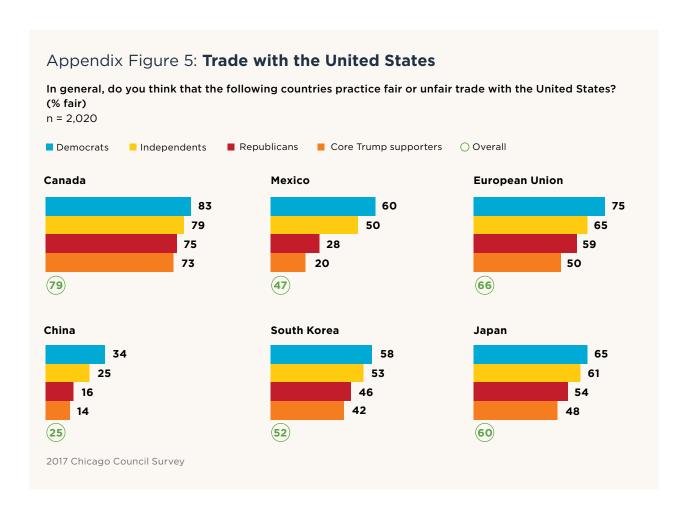


Appendix

Appendix Figure 4: The Use of US Troops Abroad

There has been some discussion about circumstances that might justify using US troops in other parts of the world. Would you favor or oppose the use of US troops in the following situations? (% favor) n = 2,020

	Democrats	Independents	Republicans	Core Trump supporters	Overall
To stop or prevent a government from using chemical or biological weapons against its own people	73	72	78	80	73
To deal with humanitarian crises	76	63	60	56	67
To fight against violent Islamic extremist groups in Iraq and Syria	58	58	76	76	63
If North Korea invaded South Korea	59	61	70	71	62
If Russia invades a NATO ally like Latvia, Lithuania, or Estonia	52	51	54	56	52
If China initiates a military conflict with Japan over disputed islands	35	41	46	47	40
If Russia invades the rest of Ukraine	39	38	41	39	39
2017 Chicago Council Surv	rey				



Appendix

METHODOLOGY

This report is based on the results of a survey commissioned by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs. The 2017 edition of the survey is the latest effort in a series of wide-ranging surveys on American attitudes toward US foreign policy. The 2017 Chicago Council Survey was made possible by the generous support of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Charles Koch Institute, the Korea Foundation, the Robert R. McCormick Foundation, and the personal support of Lester Crown and the Crown family.

The survey was conducted from June 27 to July 19, 2017, among a representative national sample of 2,020 adults. The margin of sampling error for the full sample is ± 2.4 , including a design effect of 1.1758. The margin of error is higher for partisan subgroups.

Partisan identification is based on respondents' answer to a standard partisan self-identification question: "Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?"

"Core Trump supporters" are defined as those respondents who answered "very favorable" to the question: "Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable view of the following world leaders: US President Donald Trump?" This group, 21 percent of the overall sample, self-identify primarily as Republicans (62%), but it also includes one-third that identify as Independents (31%) and a handful of Democrats (5%).

"Trump Republicans," 14 percent of the overall sample, are defined as those Republicans who answered "very favorable" to the question: "Do you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable view of the following world leaders: US President Donald Trump?" "Non-Trump Republicans," 13 percent of the overall sample, are defined as those Republicans who answered "somewhat favorable," "somewhat unfavorable," or "very unfavorable" to that same question. Among selfidentified Republicans, 51 percent are Trump Republicans and 47 percent are non-Trump Republicans.

A full listing of questions asked in the 2017 Chicago Council Survey, including details on which questions were administered to split samples, is available online at www.thechicagocouncil.org.

The survey was conducted by GfK Custom Research, a polling, social science, and market research firm in Palo Alto, California, using a randomly selected sample of GfK's large-scale nationwide research panel, KnowledgePanel® (KP). The survey was fielded to a total of 3,618 panel members yielding a total of 2,181 completed surveys (a completion rate of 60.3%). The median survey length was 22 minutes. Of the 2,181 total completed surveys, 161 cases were excluded for quality-control reasons, leaving a final sample size of 2,020 respondents.

Respondents were excluded if they failed at least one of three key checks:

- Respondents who completed the survey in eight minutes or less.
- Respondents who refused to answer half or more of the items in the survey.
- Respondents who failed two or three of the following checks:
 - Refused or skipped the question that was specifically designed to make sure respondents were paying attention. ("In order to make sure that your browser is working correctly, please select number 4 from the list below.")
 - Refused one or more full lists that included five items or more (of which there were 13 such lists).
 - Gave exactly the same answer for ("straight-lined") every item on one of the four longest lists in the survey (Q5, Q7, Q8, or Q12).

The GfK Knowledge Panel (KP) was originally based exclusively on a national Random Digit Dialing (RDD) sampling methodology. To improve the representation of the panel, GfK migrated to using an Address Based Sampling (ABS) methodology via the Delivery Sequence File (DSF) of the USPS for recruiting panel members in 2009. This probability-based sampling methodology improves population coverage and provides a more effective sampling infrastructure for recruitment of hard-to-reach individuals, such as young adults and those from various minority groups. It should be noted that under the ABS recruitment, individuals in households without an internet connection are provided with a web-enabled device and free internet service. Thus, the sample is not limited to those in the population who already have internet access.

Generally, the specific survey samples represent an equal probability selection method (EPSEM) sample from the panel for general population surveys. The raw distribution of KP mirrors that of US adults fairly closely, barring occasional disparities that may emerge for certain subgroups due to differential attrition.

To ensure selection of general population samples from KP behave as EPSEM, additional measures are undertaken, starting by weighting the pool of active members to the geodemographic benchmarks secured from the latest March supplement of the Current Population Survey (CPS) along several dimensions. Using the resulting weights as measure of size, in the next step a probability proportional to size (PPS) procedure is used to select study specific samples. It is the application of this PPS methodology with the imposed size measures that produces fully self-weighing samples from KP, for which each sample member can carry a design weight of unity. Moreover, in instances where a study design requires any form of oversampling of certain subgroups, such departures from an EPSEM design are accounted for by adjusting the design weights in reference to the CPS benchmarks for the population of interest.

The geodemographic benchmarks used to weight the active panel members for computation of size measures include:

- Gender (male, female)
- Age (18–29, 30–44, 45–59, 60 or older)
- Race/Hispanic ethnicity (white non-Hispanic, black non-Hispanic, other non-Hispanic, two-plus races non-Hispanic, Hispanic)
- Education (less than high school, high school, some college, bachelor's degree or higher)
- Census region (Northeast, Midwest, South, West)

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- Household income (less than \$10,000, \$10,000-\$24,999, \$25,000-\$49,999, \$50,000-\$74,999,
 \$75,000-\$99,999, \$100,000-\$149,999, \$150,000 or more)
- Home ownership status (own, rent/other)
- Metropolitan area (yes, no)

Once the study sample has been selected and the survey administered, and all the survey data are edited and made final, design weights are adjusted to account for any differential nonresponse that may have resulted during the field period. Depending on the specific target population for a given study, geodemographic distributions for the corresponding population are obtained from the CPS, the American Community Survey (ACS), or in certain instances from the weighted KP profile data. For this purpose, an iterative proportional fitting (raking) procedure is used to produce the final weights. In the final step, calculated weights are examined to identify and, if necessary, trim outliers at the extreme upper and lower tails of the weight distribution. The resulting weights are then scaled to aggregate to the total sample size of all eligible respondents.

For this study, the following benchmark distributions of the US adult general population (age 18 or older) from the most recent data (March 2015 Supplement) from the Current Population Survey (CPS) were used for the raking adjustment of weights:

- Gender (male, female) by age (18–29, 30–44, 45–59, 60 or older)
- Race/Hispanic ethnicity (white non-Hispanic, black non-Hispanic, other non-Hispanic, two or more races non-Hispanic, Hispanic)
- Census region (Northeast, Midwest, South, West) by metropolitan status (metro, nonmetro)
- Education (high school or less, some college, bachelor's degree or higher)
- Household income (less than \$25,000, \$25,000-\$49,999; \$50,000-\$74,999, \$75,000-\$99,999, \$100,000-\$149,999, \$150,000 or more)

For more information about the sample and survey methodology, please visit the GfK website at http://www.gfk.com/us/Solutions/consumer-panels/Pages/GfK-KnowledgePanel.aspx.

For more information about the Chicago Council Survey, please contact Craig Kafura, research associate, at ckafura@thechicagocouncil.org.

ABOUT THE SURVEY SAMPLE

	Democrat	Independent	Republican	Core Trump supporters
% of 2017 sample n = 2,020	36	27	26	21
Average age	47)	46)	50	53
Racial composition (%)				
White, non-Hispanic	48	68	84	84
Black, non-Hispanic	24	7	2	3
Hispanic	(19)	17)	9	8
Other, non-Hispanic	10	8	5	5
Gender (%)				
Female	(57)	49	49	44
Male	43	<u>(51)</u>	(51)	56
Education (%)				
High school or less	40	43	36	45
Some college/ associate's degree	<u>31</u>	30	34	32
College graduates	30	28	30	22

Ideology (%)

Conservative	10	29	74	72
Moderate	<u>36</u>	50	22	23
Liberal	53	19	3	3
Age (%)				
18-29	21)	22	17)	13
30-44	28	26	21)	16
45-59	24	27	31)	33
60+	28	24	(31)	37

2017 Chicago Council Survey

ABOUT THE CHICAGO COUNCIL SURVEY

The Chicago Council Survey, conducted every four years since 1974, biennially since 2002, and annually since 2014, is a trusted and widely cited source of longitudinal data on American public opinion about a broad range of US foreign policy and international issues. With its combination of time series and comprehensive coverage, the Chicago Council Survey is a valuable resource to policymakers, academics, media, and the general public because of its unique ability to capture the sense of particular eras—post-Vietnam, post-Cold War, post-9/11—and to define critical shifts in American public thinking. The Chicago Council Surveys are highly respected and widely used in policy circles and academic research both in the United States and abroad. Several scholarly works have drawn on Chicago Council survey data, including The Foreign Policy Disconnect (Page, Bouton), Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy (Holsti), Faces of Internationalism (Wittkopf), The Rational Public (Page, Shapiro), and The Domestic Sources of American Foreign Policy (ed. McCormick). All of the Chicago Council Survey data sets are available to the public via the Roper Center and ICPSR, and the 2017 data will be available soon on www.thechicagocouncil.org.

In addition to the annual Chicago Council Survey of American public opinion and US foreign policy, the Council's polling has often expanded to international polling in Asia, Europe, Mexico, and Russia. Recently, the Council has reintroduced a leaders' survey as an important component of the 2014 and 2016 Chicago Council Surveys. Besides these comprehensive reports, the Chicago Council Survey team publishes and disseminates short opinion briefs on topical issues such as international trade, immigration, North Korea's nuclear program, and terrorism. These short reports can be found on the Council's website and on the Chicago Council Survey blog www.thechicagocouncil.org/RunningNumbers.

ENDNOTES

Executive Summary

- For example, see Aaron Blake, "The Peril of Opposing Trump Is Very Real," Washington Post, September 1, 2017, www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/09/01/the-peril-of-opposingtrump-is-very-real-and-its-coming-into-focus-for-the-gop/?utm_term=.37f732991eb4.
- The different ideological compositions of these Trump Republicans and non-Trump Republicans may have some bearing on these internal Republican opinion differences. Non-Trump Republicans (about half of Republicans in this sample) are more likely to identify themselves as ideological moderates (31%) than are Trump Republicans (16%). But both groups tend to identify more as conservatives (85% among Trump Republicans and 64% among non-Trump Republicans).

Introduction

3 By contrast, 36 percent of Americans say that the United States is no greater than other nations.

Americans and Alliances

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- 8 Alison Mitchell, "Albright Seeks Early Vote In Senate on Larger NATO," New York Times, October 8, 1997, http://www.nytimes. com/1997/10/08/world/albright-seeks-early-vote-in-senate-on-larger-nato.html?mcubz=0.
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- ¹³ H.R. McMaster and Gary Cohn, "America First Doesn't Mean America Alone," Wall Street Journal, May 30, 2017, https://www.wsj.com/articles/america-first-doesnt-mean-america-alone-1496187426.
- 14 The Council first asked about defending Baltic NATO allies in 2014, and about defending South Korea from North Korea in 1990.
- 15 For example, see Chicago Council on Global Affairs, "Asia in the Age of Uncertainty," January 2017, www.thechicagocouncil.org/sites/ default/files/asia-age-of-uncertainty-report_20170201.pdf.

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Conclusion

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Additional reports based on the 2017 Chicago Council Survey are available at www.thechicagocouncil.org:

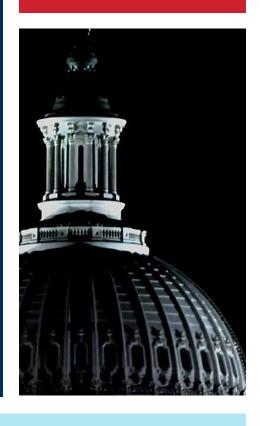
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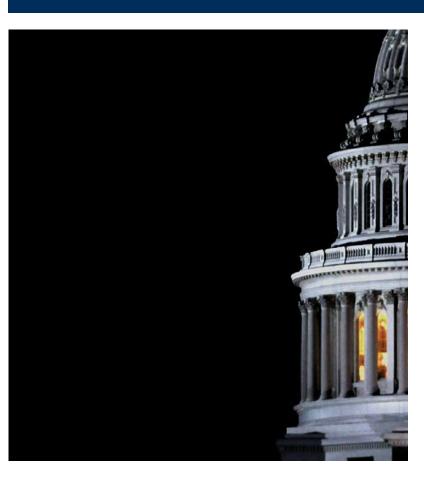
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