### About the Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Telephone survey conducted by trained professional interviewers from a central, monitored location. Respondents were interviewed on landlines (46%) and cellphones (54%).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sample</td>
<td>1,202 U.S. Adults.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewing Dates</td>
<td>November 11-14, 2018.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weights</td>
<td>Slight weights were applied to ensure the sample accurately reflects the demographic profile of the U.S. population.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margin of Error</td>
<td>±2.8% at the 95% confidence level for the entire sample; the margin of error for subgroups is higher.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note</td>
<td>Some data may not add to 100% due to rounding.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mood of the country
A majority of Americans think the United States is heading in the wrong direction.

Q2: Would you say things in the United States today are:

- Generally headed in the right direction: 37%
- Off in the wrong direction: 54%
- (Don’t know): 9%

Men 44%, Women 30%
White 41%, Nonwhite 21%
Democrat 12%, Independent 25%, Republican 69%
There is bipartisan agreement that partisanship is the top problem facing the country.

**Overall**
- Politics/Partisanship: 22%
- Immigration: 12%
- Corruption/Incompetent leaders: 10%
- Health care: 9%
- Economy and jobs: 8%
- Crime/Safety: 3%
- Inequality/Racism: 3%
- Division/Hatred: 3%
- Border Security: 2%
- Education/Schools: 2%
- The environment/Climate change: 2%
- Lack of morals: 2%
- The federal deficit: 2%

**Democrats**
- Politics/Partisanship: 25%
- Immigration: 4%
- Corruption/Incompetent leaders: 15%
- Health care: 12%
- Economy and jobs: 8%
- Crime/Safety: 4%
- Inequality/Racism: 6%
- Division/Hatred: 2%
- Border Security: 0%
- Education/Schools: 2%
- The environment/Climate change: 4%
- Lack of morals: 1%
- The federal deficit: 1%

**Republicans**
- Politics/Partisanship: 20%
- Immigration: 6%
- Corruption/Incompetent leaders: 5%
- Health care: 5%
- Economy and jobs: 4%
- Crime/Safety: 1%
- Inequality/Racism: 1%
- Division/Hatred: 3%
- Border Security: 5%
- Education/Schools: 1%
- The environment/Climate change: 1%
- Lack of morals: 3%
- The federal deficit: 2%

Note: Asked as an open-ended question. Responses under 2% (overall) not shown. Remainder Other / Don’t know
Confidence in the Military, Institutions, and Professions
The military is a very highly trusted institution; Congress is not.

- **The military**: 70% Great / Some confidence, 23% Not much / A little confidence.
- **Police and law enforcement**: 50% Great / Some confidence, 33% Not much / A little confidence.
- **The Supreme Court**: 27% Great / Some confidence, 43% Not much / A little confidence.
- **Public Schools**: 21% Great / Some confidence, 40% Not much / A little confidence.
- **The Presidency**: 28% Great / Some confidence, 16% Not much / A little confidence.
- **The news media**: 16% Great / Some confidence, 26% Not much / A little confidence.
- **Congress**: 5% Great / Some confidence, 34% Not much / A little confidence.
While all Americans have confidence in the military, older citizens and Republicans are particularly likely to have a great deal of confidence.

Q8: For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell me how much trust and confidence you have in them?

[The Military]
Military leaders are even more trusted than doctors and teachers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Great / Some confidence</th>
<th>Not much / A little confidence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Military officer</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergyman</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>43%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lawyer</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News reporter</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congressman</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall Street executive</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three-quarters favor increased government spending on the military.

**Chart:**
- **Education:** 67% favor, 20% oppose, 6% strongly oppose, 5% somewhat oppose.
- **Health care:** 55% favor, 21% oppose, 10% strongly oppose, 11% somewhat oppose.
- **The military:** 48% favor, 27% oppose, 12% strongly oppose, 11% somewhat oppose.
- **Border security:** 40% favor, 22% oppose, 18% strongly oppose, 18% somewhat oppose.
- **Foreign aid:** 13% favor, 34% oppose, 25% strongly oppose, 24% somewhat oppose.

Q19 – Q23: Please tell me if you favor or oppose increasing government spending in each of the following areas.
Younger citizens and Democrats are among the least likely to favor increased military spending.

Q19: Please tell me if you favor or oppose increasing government spending on the military?
Assessments of U.S. Military Effectiveness and Efficiency
Americans believe that all four branches of the military are extremely effective.

Q24 – Q27: How effective are each of the branches of the U.S. military?

- Marines: 69% Extremely, 22% Somewhat, Total effective 91%
- Army: 63% Extremely, 27% Somewhat, Total effective 90%
- Navy: 63% Extremely, 27% Somewhat, Total effective 90%
- Air Force: 64% Extremely, 26% Somewhat, Total effective 90%
When forced to choose, Marines are rated the most effective.

Q28: Which branch of the military do you think is MOST effective?
U.S. military is viewed as among the best in emergent technologies.

Q30 – Q32: For each of the following, please tell us how you think the U.S. military is doing compared to the military in other countries. Are we the best in the world, one of the best, or are we not one of the best?

- **Space technology**
  - Best in the world: 27%
  - One of the best: 57%
  - Not one of the best: 10%

- **Artificial intelligence**
  - Best in the world: 18%
  - One of the best: 56%
  - Not one of the best: 13%

- **Cyber security**
  - Best in the world: 15%
  - One of the best: 51%
  - Not one of the best: 26%
Partisans agree on evaluations of US space and AI capabilities – but disagree on cyber security.

Q30 – Q32: For each of the following, please tell us how you think the U.S. military is doing compared to the military in other countries. Are we the best in the world, one of the best, or are we not one of the best?
Q29: Do you support or oppose the creation of the Space Force, which would be dedicated to protecting and defending U.S. interests in space?

Creation of a Space Force lacks broad support.

- Support: 48%
- Oppose: 43%
- (Don’t know): 9%
Support for creation of a Space Force tracks closely with views of President Trump.

Q29: Do you support or oppose the creation of the Space Force, which would be dedicated to protecting and defending U.S. interests in space?
Most Americans think the current size of the military is about right.

- Too big: 13%
- About right: 55%
- Too small: 28%

Under 30: 27%
College+ men: 24%
Democrat: 23%
Republican: 48%
Active duty HH: 28%
Veterans: 36%

Note: Remainder Don’t know

Q33: Do you think the U.S. military is currently too big, too small, or just about right?
Most Americans see waste and fraud in the U.S. military budget.

Q35: How much waste and fraud do you think there is in the U.S. military budget?

- A great deal: 33%
- Some: 45%
- Not very much: 9%
- Not much at all: 5%

Total: 78%
- Active duty HH: 74%
- Veterans: 86%

Total: Not Much 14%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Few believe Congress provides adequate oversight of Defense spending.

Q36: Does Congress provide adequate oversight of Defense spending?

- Yes: Active duty HH 37%, 25%
- No: Democrat 65%, Independent 59%, Republican 58%
- (Don’t know) 14%
A large majority of Americans think U.S. troops are underpaid.

Q34: Do you think U.S. troops are overpaid, underpaid, or is their pay about right?

- Overpaid: 1%
- About right: 20%
- Underpaid: 72%

Note: Remainder Don’t know

Men 67%, Women 76%
Assessments of Other Countries
Q38 – Q58: For each of the following countries, please tell us whether you see them as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy?
Key Allies
Strong views on Britain and Israel, more nuanced views of NATO

Q38 – Q58: For each of the following countries, please tell us whether you see them as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy?
### Partisans view Israel and Mexico differently.

Q38 – Q58: For each of the following countries, please tell us whether you see them as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Strong ally</th>
<th>Something of an ally</th>
<th>Something of an enemy</th>
<th>Strong / Something of an enemy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>94%</td>
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<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td></td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td></td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td></td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td></td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q78: Do you have a favorable or an unfavorable view of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, also known as NATO?

A majority of Americans are favorable towards NATO.
Republicans have the least favorable views of NATO.

Q78: Do you have a favorable or an unfavorable view of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, also known as NATO?
Q79: Do you think our NATO allies pay their fair share or should they do more?

- **They do their fair share**: 26%
- **They should do more**: 61%
- **(Don’t know)**: 13%

Majority thinks NATO allies should be doing more.
Even a majority of those with a favorable view of NATO think our allies should do more.

Q79: Do you think our NATO allies pay their fair share or should they do more?
Friends or Foes?
Views toward strategic partners in the Middle East are decidedly mixed; high-level evaluations of Saudi Arabia and China are strikingly similar.

Q38 – Q58: For each of the following countries, please tell us whether you see them as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy?
Younger citizens see China as more of an ally; older citizens and Republicans see China as an enemy.

Q53: For each of the following countries, please tell us whether you see them as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy? [China]

- Overall: 38% Ally, 54% Enemy
- Men: 35% Ally, 59% Enemy
- Women: 42% Ally, 50% Enemy
- Under 30: 55% Ally, 40% Enemy
- 30-44: 41% Ally, 52% Enemy
- 45-64: 35% Ally, 60% Enemy
- 65+: 28% Ally, 60% Enemy
- Democrat: 43% Ally, 51% Enemy
- Independent: 41% Ally, 51% Enemy
- Republican: 33% Ally, 61% Enemy
Women, Democrats, and younger citizens are more likely to see Saudi Arabia as an enemy.

Q42: For each of the following countries, please tell us whether you see them as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy? [Saudi Arabia]
Nearly 9-in-10 oppose arms sales to authoritarian countries that are not strong allies.

Q60: Would you be willing to consider selling arms to an authoritarian country that is not a strong ally?

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Q38 – Q58: For each of the following countries, please tell us whether you see them as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy?
Younger Americans and Republicans are less likely to see Russia as an enemy.

Q58: For each of the following countries, please tell us whether you see them as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy? [Russia]
Americans see the biggest regional challenges in the Middle East and East Asia.

Q37: Thinking about American interests and the threats that exist in the world today, where do you think the U.S. should focus its military forces?

- Middle East: 27%
- East Asia: 24%
- South Asia: 15%
- Europe: 5%
- Central America: 4%
- South America: 3%
- Africa: 3%
- (Don’t know): 19%

Active duty HH:
- Middle East: 17%
- East Asia: 28%
- South Asia: 14%
- Europe: 8%
- Central America: 3%
- South America: 2%
- Africa: 8%
- (Don’t know): 19%
Russia and China are seen as the greatest threats to the U.S.

Q59: Which country do you see as the greatest threat to the U.S.? [OPEN-END]

Note: Asked as an open-ended question. Responses under 2% included in “other”
Partisans agree about the threat from North Korea, but diverge on the threat posed by Russia and China.

Q59: Which country do you see as the greatest threat to the U.S.? [OPEN-END]
Q72: Which of the following most concerns you about Russia?

- Aiding Iran and other rogue regimes: 30% (Democrat 13% Republican 49%)
- Sponsoring cyber-attacks on the U.S.: 24% (Democrat 29% Republican 19%)
- Interfering in our elections: 16% (Democrat 30% Republican 3%)
- Launching a thermo-nuclear attack on the U.S.: 12%
- Invading other former Soviet republics: 11%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Biggest concerns with China

- China holding $1.2 trillion in U.S. government debt: 36%
- China over-taking the U.S. as the world’s number one super power: 17%
- Unfair trading practices: 15%
- Technology theft: 14%
- Chinese military build-up: 8%
- The isolation of Taiwan: 3%

Note: Remainder Don’t know

Q71: Thinking now about China, which of the following most concerns you about U.S. relations with China?
Q67: If the U.S. suspected that North Korea was going to launch an attack against the U.S. and its allies, South Korea and Japan, which of the following options would you prefer?
Non-college citizens, Republicans, and military families favor preemptive strikes.

Q67: If the U.S. suspected that North Korea was going to launch an attack against the U.S. and its allies, South Korea and Japan, which of the following options would you prefer?
Americans are extremely concerned about cyber-attacks.

- Cyber-attacks on government computers and the grid: 66% extremely concerned, 26% somewhat concerned, total 92% concerned.
- Cyber-attacks on personal computers and accounts: 61% extremely concerned, 31% somewhat concerned, total 92% concerned.
- Terrorist attacks on the homeland: 48% extremely concerned, 37% somewhat concerned, total 85% concerned.
- Thermo-nuclear war: 24% extremely concerned, 36% somewhat concerned, total 60% concerned.
- An attack on our space assets, such as satellites: 23% extremely concerned, 41% somewhat concerned, total 64% concerned.
- Conventional military attack: 16% extremely concerned, 34% somewhat concerned, total 50% concerned.

Q61 – Q66: How concerned are you about the threat of each of the following in the next five years?
Nuclear Issues
Most Americans have at least some confidence in the military’s ability to shoot down nuclear missiles launched by another country.

Q68: How much confidence do you have that the U.S. can shoot down nuclear missiles launched by another country?

- A great deal of confidence: 42%
- Some confidence: 43%
- Not very much confidence: 10%
- No confidence at all: 3%

Total Confident 85%
Total Not Confident 13%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Just half of Americans think they would survive a nuclear attack on the U.S.

Q69: How likely do you think it is that you personally would survive a nuclear attack on the U.S. from another country?

- 13% Extremely likely
- 38% Somewhat likely
- 25% Not very likely
- 21% Not at all likely

Note: Remainder Don’t know

Total Likely Survive 51%
- Northeast 48%
- South 49%
- West 50%
- Midwest 57%

Total Not Likely Survive 46%
Most Americans think the U.S. would win a war against a nuclear power.

Q70: Do you think the U.S. would win a war against a nuclear power?
Iraq and Afghanistan
More Americans see failure than success in Afghanistan and Iraq wars.

**War in Afghanistan**
- Mostly a success: 38%
- Mostly a failure: 49%

**Iraq War**
- Mostly a success: 40%
- Mostly a failure: 51%

Note: Remainder Don’t know

Q76/77: Do you think the war in (Afghanistan/Iraq) has been mostly a success or mostly a failure?
Few want to see additional U.S. troops in Afghanistan.

Q73: In Afghanistan, would you prefer that the U.S.:

- Increase troop levels: 11%
- Keep troop levels about the same: 45%
- Decrease troop levels: 35%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
4-in-10 view illegal immigration on the southern border as a major threat.

- 40% view it as a major threat.
- 29% view it as a minor threat.
- 29% do not view it as a threat.

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Older, noncollege, white citizens and Republicans are particularly likely to see illegal immigration as a threat.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Threat</th>
<th>Not a threat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Overall</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under age 30</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-44</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 65+</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College+</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noncollege</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>72%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nonwhite</td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>38%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwest</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
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<td>Independent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Active duty HH</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>24%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-active duty HH</td>
<td>69%</td>
<td>29%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Veteran</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-veteran</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q74: In your view, how much of a security threat is illegal immigration across our southern border?
Less than 3-in-10 think a border wall would have a substantial positive effect on U.S. security.

- A substantial positive effect: 28%
- A minor positive effect: 21%
- No effect at all: 26%
- A negative effect: 23%

Note: Remainder Don’t know
Only those who see illegal immigration as a major threat think a border wall would have a substantial positive effect.

Q74: In your view, how much of a security threat is illegal immigration across our southern border? AND Q75: What effect would building a wall across our southern border have on U.S. security?
Evaluations of Presidents
Ronald Reagan viewed most favorably among recent past presidents.

Q80 – Q85: Thinking now about recent presidents, please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of each one I mention.

- **Ronald Reagan**: 44% Very / Somewhat favorable, 33% Very / Somewhat unfavorable
- **George H.W. Bush**: 18% Very / Somewhat favorable, 47% Very / Somewhat unfavorable
- **Bill Clinton**: 24% Very / Somewhat favorable, 39% Very / Somewhat unfavorable
- **George W. Bush**: 13% Very / Somewhat favorable, 44% Very / Somewhat unfavorable
- **Barack Obama**: 40% Very / Somewhat favorable, 20% Very / Somewhat unfavorable
- **Donald Trump**: 25% Very / Somewhat favorable, 19% Very / Somewhat unfavorable
## Profile of the Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>% of Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
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<td>Female</td>
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<td>Age</td>
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<td>College graduate</td>
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<td>Graduate degree</td>
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<td>$50K-$100K</td>
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<td></td>
<td>$100K+</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>Registered Voter</td>
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<td></td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>2016 Vote</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Clinton</td>
<td>36</td>
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<td>Party Identification</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Independent</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Republican</td>
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<td>Political Philosophy</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somewhat liberal</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moderate</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Somewhat conservative</td>
<td>23</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very conservative</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Midwest</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>South</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>West</td>
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</table>
FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT

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