

## **Deliberative Online Poll Phase 2 Follow Up Survey Experimental and Control Group**

Q1

Our first questions are about international affairs and foreign policy.

Thinking back on the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11th, 2001, how would you say America has changed as a result? Would you say it has changed...

a lot for the better,  
somewhat for the better,  
somewhat for the worse,  
a lot for the worse,  
not much in either direction,  
haven't thought much about this

Q2

Here are several possible long range foreign policy goals the U.S. might have. Please select how high a priority you feel we should give to each one by using a number from 0 to 10, where 0 is no priority at all, 5 is average priority, and 10 is the top priority.

On a scale from 0-10, how high a priority should each of the following be as a long range foreign policy goal?

protecting the global environment  
ensuring adequate energy supplies for the U.S.  
preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction  
aiding the interests of U.S. business abroad  
fighting terrorism  
providing food and medical help to poor countries  
protecting the U.S. from attack  
protecting human rights in other countries  
protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression  
reducing world poverty

INTROQ3

For each of the following statements, please select whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, fall somewhere in between, disagree somewhat, disagree strongly, or you haven't thought much about it.

Q3

"This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other areas of the world."

Do you...

agree strongly,  
agree somewhat,  
fall somewhere in between,  
disagree somewhat,  
disagree strongly,  
or haven't you thought much about this?

Q4

"It is the job of the U.S. as a global leader to protect the world from countries that are likely to use weapons of mass destruction."

Do you...

agree strongly,  
agree somewhat,  
fall somewhere in between,  
disagree somewhat,  
disagree strongly,  
or haven't you thought much about this?

Q5

"It is the job of the U.S. as a global leader to protect the world from countries that are likely to assist terrorists."

Do you...

agree strongly,  
agree somewhat,  
fall somewhere in between,  
disagree somewhat,  
disagree strongly,  
or haven't you thought much about this?

Q6

"The U.S. should intervene to protect the world from countries that are likely to use weapons of mass destruction ONLY if we have support from our key allies or the United Nations."

Do you...

agree strongly,  
agree somewhat,  
fall somewhere in between,  
disagree somewhat,  
disagree strongly,  
or haven't you thought much about this?

INTROQ7

If the U.S. succeeds in changing a government like Iraq's by military intervention, how important is it that we work to do each of the following.

Q7

How about "Build the Country's economy"

Is it...

very important,  
somewhat important,  
not very important,  
not important at all, or  
haven't you thought much about this?

Q8

How about "Make the new government friendly to U.S. interests"

Is it...

very important,  
somewhat important,  
not very important,  
not important at all, or  
haven't you thought much about this?

Q9

How about "Make the new government democratic"

Is it...

very important,  
somewhat important,  
not very important,  
not important at all, or  
haven't you thought much about this?

Q10

How about "Involve international organizations like the United Nations in accomplishing these goals"

Is it...

very important,  
somewhat important,  
not very important,  
not important at all, or  
haven't you thought much about this?

Q11

Now we would like to talk about global warming as a foreign policy issue. How serious a threat is global warming to the quality of life here in the U.S.? Would you say it is...

very serious,  
somewhat serious,  
not too serious,  
not serious at all,  
haven't thought much about this

Q12

Which of the following is closest to what you believe is true about global warming

it is caused mostly by human activities, like driving cars and burning fuel,

it is caused mostly by natural changes in the climate,  
it is not occurring at all, or  
haven't you thought much about this?

### INTROQ13

Here are a couple of ways that have been suggested for reducing greenhouse gases like carbon dioxide produced by burning fuel. For each one, please select whether you support it, oppose it, neither support nor oppose it, or you haven't thought much about it.

### Q13

How about "Requiring higher mileage from automobiles (as a way of reducing greenhouse gases) even if that means less powerful automobile engines."

Do you...

support,  
oppose,  
neither support nor oppose,  
or haven't you thought much about this?

### Q14

How about "Requiring cleaner production of electricity (as a way of reducing greenhouse gases), even if that means higher electricity rates."

Do you...

support,  
oppose,  
neither support nor oppose,  
or haven't you thought much about this?

### Q15

Some people think that global warming is not really a problem so there is no need to do anything about it. Others think it's a serious problem and we need to act now.

On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is doing nothing, 10 is acting now and 5 is midway between, where would you place...

yourself

the Democratic Party  
the Republican Party

#### INTROQ16

For each of the following statements about global warming, please select whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, fall somewhere in between, disagree somewhat, disagree strongly, or you haven't thought much about it.

#### Q16

"The only way to solve environmental problems like global warming is through international agreements, requiring countries to work together."

Do you...

agree strongly,  
agree somewhat,  
fall somewhere in between,  
disagree somewhat,  
disagree strongly,  
or haven't you thought much about this?

#### Q17

"An agreement on global warming with other countries would hurt the U.S. economy."

Do you...

agree strongly,  
agree somewhat,  
fall somewhere in between,  
disagree somewhat,  
disagree strongly,  
or haven't you thought much about this?

#### Q18

As far as you know, does President Bush support or oppose recent international agreements to control greenhouse gases, or haven't you heard anything about this?

Supports  
Opposes  
Haven't heard anything about this

Q19

The next topic is hunger around the world.

How serious a problem would you say world hunger is?  
Is it...

very serious,  
somewhat serious,  
not too serious,  
not serious at all,  
haven't thought much about this

Q20

Please read the two statements below.

(1) "As a global leader, the U.S. should spend more money to help fight world hunger in developing countries."

(2) "The U.S. should concentrate on dealing with problems at home first."

Which one of the two statements do you agree with more strongly, OR do you agree with them about equally?

Agree with (1) more strongly  
Agree with (2) more strongly  
Agree with both about equally  
Haven't thought much about this

Q21

Again, please read another pair of statements below.

(1) "As a global leader, the U.S. should spend more money to help fight the AIDS epidemic in developing countries,"

(2) "The U.S. should concentrate on dealing with problems at home first."

Which one of the two statements do you agree with more strongly, OR do you agree with them about equally?

Agree with (1) more strongly  
Agree with (2) more strongly  
Agree with both about equally  
Haven't thought much about this

Q22

Again, please read another pair of statements below.

(1) "The U.S. should be promoting democracy in other countries."

(2) "How other countries are governed is not our concern."

Which one of the two statements do you agree with more strongly, OR do you agree with them about equally?

Agree with (1) more strongly  
Agree with (2) more strongly  
Agree with both about equally  
Haven't thought much about this

Q23

Below is a list of possible ways the U.S. might promote democracy outside of the U.S. Please enter how much importance the U.S. should place on each, by using a number between 0 and 10 where 0 is no importance at all, 5 is average importance, and 10 is the most importance.

help with building democratic institutions?

increasing trade?

trade penalties for human rights violations?

foreign aid?

provide U.S. troops to help keep the peace?

increased support for organizations like the Peace Corps that send Americans abroad to help other countries?

Q24

Do you think the amount of money the U.S. is now devoting to foreign aid should be increased, reduced, or kept about the same?

Increased  
Reduced  
Kept about the same  
Haven't thought much about this

Q25

Below is a list of reasons why the U.S. may want to provide foreign aid to other countries. Again, by using a number between 0 and 10 where 0 is no priority at all, 5 is average priority, and 10 is the top priority, please enter how high a priority the U.S. should give to each.

increasing U.S. influence over other countries?  
discouraging countries from trying to develop nuclear weapons?  
helping newly democratic countries develop their democratic institutions?  
reducing hunger and disease in poor countries?  
helping poor countries develop their economies?

Q26

As far as you know, does President Bush want to increase foreign aid, decrease foreign aid, or keep it the same, OR haven't you heard anything about this?

Increase  
Decrease  
Keep it the same  
Haven't heard anything about this

INTROQ27

The following questions are going to describe some situations in which the U.S. might take military action in other countries. For each one, please select if you would support strongly, support somewhat, neither support nor oppose, oppose somewhat, oppose strongly, or haven't you thought much about this.

Q27

How about...  
"American military action WITH UNITED NATIONS SUPPORT to prevent mass killings in foreign countries."  
Do you...

support strongly,  
support somewhat,  
neither support nor oppose this,  
oppose somewhat,  
oppose strongly,  
or haven't you thought much about this?

Q28  
How about..

"American military action WITH UNITED NATIONS SUPPORT to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction to countries that might use them."

Do you...

support strongly,  
support somewhat,  
neither support nor oppose this,  
oppose somewhat,  
oppose strongly,  
or haven't you thought much about this?

Q29  
How about...

"American military action WITH UNITED NATIONS SUPPORT to disrupt networks of international terrorists."

Do you...

support strongly,  
support somewhat,  
neither support nor oppose this,  
oppose somewhat,  
oppose strongly,  
or haven't you thought much about this?

Q30

How about...

"American military action ACTING ALONE to prevent mass killings in foreign countries."

Do you...

support strongly,  
support somewhat,  
neither support nor oppose this,  
oppose somewhat,  
oppose strongly,  
or haven't you thought much about this?

Q31

How about...

"American military action ACTING ALONE to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction to countries that might use them."

Do you...

support strongly,  
support somewhat,  
neither support nor oppose this,  
oppose somewhat,  
oppose strongly,  
or haven't you thought much about this?

Q32A

Below are three different ways the U.S. might deal with international trade. Please select which you feel is the best option.

In dealing with international trade, is it better for the U.S. -

to work with other countries one by one to establish agreements,  
to work with groups of countries through international institutions like the World Trade Organization,  
to leave things as they are,  
haven't thought much about this

IF Q32A = 1,2,3

Q32B

Now of the remaining options, please select which you feel is the best.

In dealing with international trade, is it better for the U.S. -

[Display Items NOT selected in Q32A]

Q33

What do you think we should do about free trade in the Americas -

repeal the North American Free Trade Agreement, called NAFTA,  
leave NAFTA the way it is,  
adopt agreements like NAFTA but with more Latin American countries,  
haven't thought much about this

Q34

Do you think that making it easier to IMPORT foreign products into the U.S. means -

the LOSS OF many jobs in this country,  
some jobs,  
only a few jobs,  
the loss of no jobs,  
haven't thought much about this

Q35

Do you think that making it easier to EXPORT U.S. products to other countries means -

the CREATION OF many jobs in this country,  
some jobs,  
only a few jobs,  
the creation of no jobs,  
haven't thought much about this

Q36

When it comes to trade barriers, would you say that the U.S. has -

higher trade barriers (than most other countries),  
lower trade barriers (than most other countries),  
about the same, or  
haven't you heard anything about this?

Q37

Now we'd like you to think about reducing terrorism. Again using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is no importance at all, 10 is the most importance, and 5 is midway between, how much importance should the U.S. place on each of the following as ways of reducing FUTURE terrorism directed against the U.S.?

encouraging more democracy in Middle East countries like Egypt & Saudi Arabia?  
increased foreign aid to countries that may be breeding grounds for terrorism?  
adopting policies more favorable to the Palestinians?  
building up our military capabilities?  
working with other countries to identify & combat terrorism?  
building up our intelligence capabilities?

Q38

Generally speaking, who do you think should take the lead in trying to resolve international conflicts? Should...

the U.S. take the lead acting by itself,  
should the U.S. take the lead acting with close allies like NATO,  
should the U.S. & its close allies take the lead acting through the United Nations,  
should the United Nations take the lead,  
should nobody take the lead,  
haven't thought much about this

Q39

Generally speaking, who do you think should take the lead in providing foreign assistance to other countries? Should...

the U.S. take the lead acting by itself,  
should the U.S. take the lead acting with close allies like NATO,  
should the U.S. & its close allies take the lead acting through international organizations like the United Nations & the World Bank,  
should the United Nations & the World Bank take the lead,  
should nobody take the lead,  
haven't thought much about this

#### INTROQ40

Now here are some difficult factual questions. If you don't know the answer, please indicate you have no idea and move on to the next one.

#### Q40

Out of every \$100 in the federal budget, about how many dollars would you say goes to MILITARY SPENDING -

1 dollar,  
5 dollars,  
10 dollars,  
20 dollars,  
30 dollars or more, or  
don't you have much idea about that?

#### Q41

Out of every \$100 in the federal budget, about how many dollars would you say goes go to FOREIGN AID -

1 dollar,  
5 dollars,  
10 dollars,  
20 dollars,  
30 dollars or more, or  
don't you have much idea about that?

#### Q42

For every \$100 in goods & services produced by the U.S., how many dollars worth would you say are sold to customers abroad -

4 dollars worth,  
8 dollars,  
12 dollars,  
24 dollars or more, or  
don't you have much idea about that?

Q43

In those African countries with the highest rates of infection with the AIDS virus, roughly how many adults out of every 100 would you say have AIDS or the AIDS virus -

fewer than 5 out of 100,  
about 10 of 100,  
about 20 of 100,  
30 or more out of 100, or  
don't you have much idea about that?

INTROQ44

Please select whether you think the following statements are true or false.

Q44

"The U.S. has a veto on World Trade Organization decisions."

True  
False

Q45

"The U.S. has a veto on the United Nations Security Council."

True  
False

INTROQ47

The following questions are about how you feel about being American. For each statement, please select whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, fall somewhere in between, disagree somewhat, disagree strongly, or you haven't thought much about it.

Q47

"I consider myself a typical American."

Do you...

agree strongly,  
agree somewhat,  
fall somewhere in between,  
disagree somewhat,  
disagree strongly,  
or haven't you thought much about this?

Q48

How about -

"If someone said something bad about the American people, I'd feel almost as if they said something bad about me."

Do you...

agree strongly,  
agree somewhat,  
fall somewhere in between,  
disagree somewhat,  
disagree strongly,  
or haven't you thought much about this?

Q52

In the last 7 days, how many days did you watch the news on TV?

IF answer(Q52) > 0

Q53

In the last 7 days, how much attention did you pay to news on TV about foreign affairs -

a great deal,  
quite a bit,  
some,  
very little, or  
none?

INTROQ59

For each of the following statements, please select whether you agree, disagree, you fall somewhere in between, or haven't thought much about this.

Q59

"It is important to help other people even if it requires some sacrifice for your family."

Do you...

agree,  
disagree,  
do you fall somewhere in between,  
haven't thought much about this

Q60

"When voting, people should always put their own interests or the interests of their families ahead of the community or the country."

Do you...

agree,  
disagree,

do you fall somewhere in between,  
haven't thought much about this

Q61

"We should be willing to make sacrifices to help solve the world's problems."

Do you...

agree,  
disagree,  
do you fall somewhere in between,  
haven't thought much about this

Q62

"I have opinions about foreign policy that are worth listening to."

Do you...

agree,  
disagree,  
do you fall somewhere in between,  
haven't thought much about this

Q63

Now here are a pair of statements. Please indicate which one you agree with more strongly, OR if you agree with them about equally.

(1) "America's interests should ALWAYS come first."

(2) "The interests of people in other countries should be considered too."

Agree with (1) more strongly  
Agree with (2) more strongly  
Agree with both about equally  
Haven't thought much about this

IF Q63 = 1,2,3

Q64

Do you agree with this position strongly or somewhat?

Strongly  
Somewhat

Q65

Now we'd like you to think about people who completely disagree with you about foreign policy and why they see things so differently.

How much would you agree or disagree that it is because...

agree strongly  
agree somewhat  
neither agree nor disagree  
disagree somewhat  
disagree strongly

they don't know the facts  
they see the costs and benefits differently  
they haven't thought it through properly  
they are looking out for their own interest  
they aren't patriotic enough

QIR1

If the US invades Iraq, what importance should we place on each of the following goals?  
Please rate each on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents no importance at all, 10 represents the greatest possible importance, and 5 is average importance.

Preventing Saddam Hussein from having any weapons of mass destruction  
Removing Saddam Hussein from power  
Making Iraq a democracy

QIR2INTRO

How strongly would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

QIR2A

The US should invade Iraq if the UN inspectors find evidence that convinces both the US and the UN Security Council that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

QIR2B

The US should invade Iraq if the UN inspectors find evidence that convinces the US but not the UN Security Council that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

QIR3C

The US should invade Iraq if the US has reason to believe that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction, even though the UN inspectors have found no new evidence establishing that.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

QIR3D

The US should not invade Iraq under any circumstances but should rely on diplomacy and economic sanctions instead.

Strongly Agree

Agree

Neither Agree nor Disagree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

QQ QIR4

On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means no threat at all, 10 means the most serious possible threat, and 5 means an average threat, how would you rate the threat posed to the U.S. by:

Iran

Russia

Iraq

North Korea

China

Terrorists like those responsible for 9/11

QIR5

If the US successfully invades Iraq, how much would you say that will help or hurt the war against terrorists like those responsible for 9/11? Will it ...

help a lot

help a little

neither help nor hurt

hurt a little

hurt a lot

QIR6INTRO

And how strongly would you agree or disagree with the following statements?

QIR6A

The U.S. should focus less on Iraq and more on the war on terror.

Agree strongly

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Disagree strongly

QIR6B

The U.S. should focus less on Iraq and more on North Korea.

Agree strongly

Agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Disagree

Disagree strongly