



THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER  
For The People & The Press

FRIDAY, JUNE 10, 2011

Public Remains Wary of Global Engagement

---

## Views of Middle East Unchanged by Recent Events

---

**FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:**

**Andrew Kohut**

President, Pew Research Center

**Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock**

Associate Directors

**Scott Keeter**

Director of Survey Research

1615 L St, N.W., Suite 700

Washington, D.C. 20036

Tel (202) 419-4350

Fax (202) 419-4399

[www.people-press.org](http://www.people-press.org)

---

## Public Remains Wary of Global Engagement

### Views of Middle East Unchanged by Recent Events

Major events in the Middle East – including tensions between the U.S. and Israel, growing political unrest in many Arab countries, and the death of Osama bin Laden – have had little effect on public attitudes toward the region.

Regarding the Israeli-Palestinian dispute, far more Americans continue to say they sympathize with Israel rather than the Palestinians (by 48% to 11%). These opinions are little changed from recent years.

A plurality (50%) says Barack Obama is striking the right balance in the Middle East situation, while 21% say he favors the Palestinians too much. There has also been no change in these views over the past year; in April 2010, 47% said Obama struck the right balance and 21% said he favored the Palestinians too much.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted May 25-30 among 1,509 adults, finds that the public continues to cast a wary eye on the turmoil sweeping the Middle East.

Just (23%) say the changes occurring in the Middle East will be good for the United States; about as many (26%) say

---

#### No Change in Views of Israel-Palestinian Dispute

	April 21-26 2010	May 25-30 2011
<i>Sympathize more with...</i>	%	%
Israel	49	48
Palestinians	16	11
Neither (vol.)	12	15
Both (vol.)	4	4
Don't know	<u>19</u>	<u>21</u>
	100	100
<i>Barack Obama is...</i>		
Favoring Palestinians too much	21	21
Favoring Israel too much	7	6
Striking about the right balance	47	50
Don't know	<u>25</u>	<u>24</u>
	100	100

#### Little Enthusiasm for "Arab Spring"

	Mar 30-Apr 3 2011	May 25-30 2011
<i>Changes in Middle East will be...</i>		
Good for U.S.	24	23
Bad for U.S.	35	26
Will not have much effect	28	36
Other/Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100
<i>Will changes lead to lasting improvements for people in region?</i>		
Yes	42	37
No	43	45
Other/Don't know	<u>15</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER May 25-30, 2011. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

---

the changes will be bad and 35% say they will not have much effect.

There also is considerable skepticism that people in the Middle East will benefit from the protests and calls for change: 45% say these actions will not lead to lasting improvements for the people living in these countries while 37% say they will lead to lasting improvements. In early April, the public was split over whether the protests and calls for change would lead to lasting improvements for people in the region (42% will lead to lasting improvements, 43% will not).

The survey also finds few changes in the public's overall foreign policy goals.

As in the past, protecting the jobs of American workers and taking measures to protect the United States against terrorism are cited by substantial majorities as top long-range policy priorities; 84% say protecting U.S. jobs should be a top priority and 81% say the same about protecting the U.S. against terrorism.

---

### Long-Range Foreign Policy Priorities - Protect Jobs, Protect Nation from Terrorism

	Early Sept 2001	July 2004	Nov 2009	May 2011
<i>% rating each as a top long-range priority for U.S.</i>	%	%	%	%
Protect jobs of U.S. workers	77	84	85	84
Protect U.S. from terrorism	80	88	85	81
Reduce dependence on imported energy	--	63	64	67
Improve relations w/ allies	--	54	54*	46
Reduce U.S. military commitments overseas	26	35	45*	46
Destroy terrorist groups overseas	--	--	--	44
Deal w/ global climate change	44	36	40	29
Promote human rights abroad	29	33	29	24
Find solution to conflict between Israelis and Palestinians	--	28	25*	23
Promote democracy abroad	29	24	21	13

PEW RESEARCH CENTER May 25-30, 2011. Q21. \*From September 2008.

---

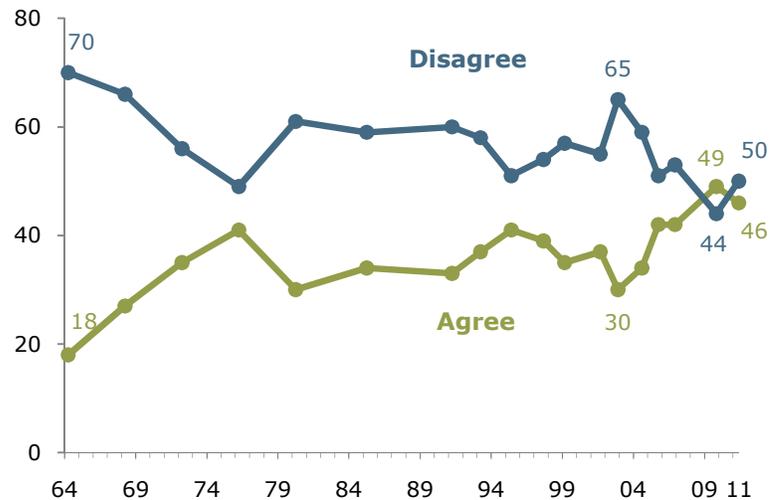
Consistent with other trend measures about dealing with global climate change, the percentage rating this objective as a top foreign policy priority has declined since 2009 (from 40% to 29%). And the goal of promoting democracy abroad – which was not widely viewed as a top priority even when former President Bush made it a centerpiece of his administration's foreign policy – draws even less support today. Just 13% say promoting democracy abroad should be a top priority, down from 21% two years ago and 24% in 2004.

More generally, the public continues to express reservations about the United States taking an active role in the world. A separate survey, conducted May 26-29, finds a nearly even division of opinion over whether the U.S. should “mind its own business internationally” – 46% say that it should, while 50% disagree.

These opinions are little changed since the Pew Research Center's major foreign policy study – *America's Place in the World* – was conducted in the fall of 2009. At that time, 49% agreed that the U.S. should mind its own business internationally and 44% disagreed.

Nonetheless, the current measure of isolationist sentiment is among the highest recorded in the more than half-century that the Pew Research Center and Gallup Org. have been tracking this question. In August 2004, just 34% said the U.S. should mind its own business internationally and in December 2002 just 30% expressed this sentiment.

### U.S. Should "Mind Its Own Business" Internationally



PEW RESEARCH CENTER May 26-29, 2011. 1964-1991 data from Gallup.

There are other indications of the public's reticence about U.S. global engagement. Fully 77% say that it is more important for President Obama to focus on domestic policy compared with just 9% who say Obama should focus more on foreign policy. This is little changed from January, but far higher than the percentage that said Bush should focus more on domestic policy than at any point during his presidency.

And in a report released on June 7, 65% approved of reducing overseas military commitments as a way to cut the budget deficit. Majorities of independents (72%), Democrats (63%) and Republicans (56%) approve of this proposal. (See "*More Blame Wars than Domestic Spending or Tax Cuts for Nation's Debt*," June 7, 2011.)

## Public's Sympathies Still with Israel

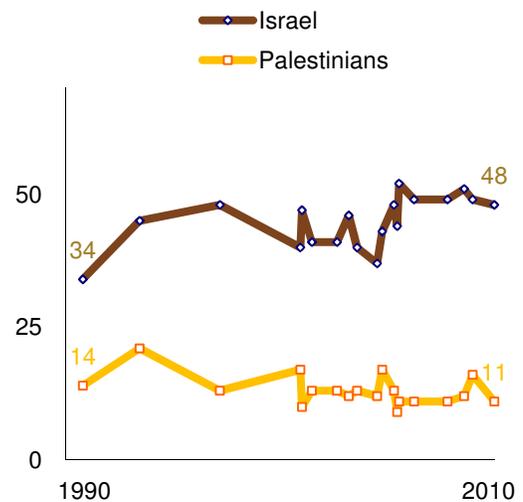
Nearly half of Americans (48%) say they sympathize more with Israel in its dispute with the Palestinians while just 11% sympathize more with the Palestinians; 15% volunteer that they sympathize with neither side. These opinions have fluctuated only modestly since the late 1970s; in 1993, the proportion sympathizing more with the Palestinians reached 21%, the highest percentage over this period.

There continue to be substantial partisan, ideological and religious differences in views of the Israel-Palestinian dispute. Fully 75% of conservative Republicans sympathize more with Israel – by far the highest percentage of any partisan group. At the other end of the ideological spectrum, just 32% of liberal Democrats sympathize more with Israel while 21% sympathize more with the Palestinians.

Among religious groups, white evangelical Protestants continue to stand out for their strong support for Israel: 70% say they sympathize more with Israel compared with just 3% who sympathize more with the Palestinians.

Members of other religious groups also side with Israel by less lopsided margins. About half of white Catholics (52%) sympathize more with Israel, as do 46% of white mainline Protestants; just 12% in each group sympathizes more the with Palestinians.

## Sympathize More With...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER May 25-30, 2011. Q45.

## Conservatives Overwhelmingly Sympathize with Israel

	Sympathize more with...			
	Israel	Palestinians	Neither (vol.)	Both/DK
	%	%	%	%
Total	48	11	15	25=100
Conserv Rep	75	5	8	11=100
Mod/Lib Rep	41	12	25	22=100
Independent	50	12	15	22=100
Conserv/Mod Dem	40	11	17	32=100
Liberal Dem	32	21	13	34=100
Protestant	56	9	12	23=100
White evangelical	70	3	12	15=100
White mainline	46	12	13	29=100
Catholic	43	14	15	28=100
White Catholic	52	12	13	24=100
Unaffiliated	32	14	25	29=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER May 25-30, 2011. Q45. Whites include only those who are not Hispanic. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

About a third (32%) of the religiously unaffiliated sympathize more with Israel while nearly as many (25%) volunteer than they sympathize with neither side; 14% say they sympathize more with the Palestinians.

Tensions between the United States and Israel rose last month after Obama called for Israel and the Palestinians to negotiate a two-state solution based on 1967 borders. But there is no evidence that the flap is affecting public views of Obama's handling of the situation.

Far more Americans say Obama is striking the right balance in the Middle East (50%) than say he favors the Palestinians too much (21%). Just 6% say he favors Israel too much. These opinions are virtually unchanged from April 2010.

---

### No Increase in Percentage Saying Obama Sides Too Much with Palestinians

	April 2010		May 2011	
	<i>Strikes right balance</i>	<i>Favors Palestinians too much</i>	<i>Strikes right balance</i>	<i>Favors Palestinians too much</i>
	%	%	%	%
Total	47	21	50	21
Republican	28	38	31	40
Democrat	66	7	67	8
Independent	47	21	49	21
Protestant	44	24	48	26
White evangelical	34	37	33	39
White mainline	48	19	45	26
Catholic	54	16	53	17
White Catholic	49	18	52	21
Unaffiliated	56	11	57	10

PEW RESEARCH CENTER May 25-30, 2011. Q46. Whites include only those who are not Hispanic. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

---

Even among Republicans and white evangelicals – who already were more likely to say that Obama tilts too much toward the Palestinians – there has been no significant increase in the percentages expressing this view since last year.

## No Consensus about Impact of Middle East Upheaval

There continues to be no public consensus about what the protests and calls for change in the Middle East will mean for the people in the region, or for the United States. Slightly more say the upheaval affecting the Middle East will not lead to lasting improvements for the region's peoples than say it will (45% vs. 37%). In early April, opinion on this issue was evenly divided (43% will not lead to improvements, 42% will lead to improvements).

Republicans continue to be far more pessimistic than Democrats about the likely impact of changes in the region. Only about a quarter of Republicans (24%) say the changes sweeping the region will lead to lasting improvements for its people; nearly twice as many Democrats (46%) express this view. Four-in-ten independents (40%) say the changes will result in lasting improvements for people in the Middle East.

Republicans also take a more negative view of what the changes in the region will mean for the United States: just 16% say they will be good for the U.S. compared with 32% of Democrats.

Over the past two months, however, increasing numbers in both parties say the changes in the Middle East will not have much of an effect on the U.S. Currently, 35% of Democrats say changes in the Middle East will not have much of an impact on the U.S., up from 25% in early April. Among Republicans, 36% say protests and changes in the Middle East will not have much effect on the U.S., compared with 28% two months ago.

### Public Uncertain about Impact of Middle East Changes on U.S.

<i>Protests and changes in Middle East will be ...</i>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>
	%	%	%	%
<b>May 25-30</b>				
Good for U.S.	23	16	32	22
Bad for U.S.	26	30	20	28
Won't have much effect	36	36	35	37
Other/Don't know	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100
<b>Mar 30-Apr 3</b>				
Good for U.S.	24	20	31	21
Bad for U.S.	35	40	32	36
Won't have much effect	28	28	25	31
Other/Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER May 25-30, 2011. Q25. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

## Long-Range Foreign Policy Goals

There is broad partisan agreement about what the country's top long-term foreign policy objectives should be: Protecting the jobs of American workers and protecting the country from terrorist attacks rank highest for Republicans, Democrats and independents alike. Protecting U.S. jobs is seen as a top priority by more than eight-in-ten Republicans (85%), Democrats (87%) and independents (81%); taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks ranks similarly high.

Smaller majorities of all three groups also prioritize reducing American dependence on foreign energy sources. And about half of Republicans, Democrats and independents say that improving relationships with our allies should be a top policy priority.

Far more Americans rate protecting the U.S. from terrorism as a top priority than say that about destroying terrorist groups

overseas (84% vs. 44%). There are virtually no partisan differences in views of the importance of destroying overseas terrorist groups – 47% of Republicans rate this as a top priority as do 43% of independents and 42% of Democrats.

This is consistent with findings from the Pew Research Center's [political typology, released May 4](#). The typology found that partisan differences in opinions about foreign assertiveness, which largely distinguished Republicans from Democrats during the Bush administration, have decreased as foreign policy issues have declined in importance.

---

### Modest Partisan Differences Over Many Foreign Policy Priorities

<i>% rating each as a top long-range priority for U.S.</i>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>	<b>R-D diff</b>
	%	%	%	%	
Protect jobs of U.S. workers	84	85	87	81	-2
Protect U.S. from terrorism	81	86	83	77	+3
Reduce dependence on imported energy	67	63	68	70	-5
Improve relations w/ allies	46	54	49	40	+5
Reduce U.S. military commitments overseas	46	44	50	43	-6
Destroy terrorist groups overseas	44	47	42	43	+5
Deal w/ global climate change	29	16	40	30	-24
Promote human rights abroad	24	15	31	23	-16
Find solution to conflict between Israelis and Palestinians	23	28	26	17	+2
Promote democracy abroad	13	10	16	13	-6

PEW RESEARCH CENTER May 25-30, 2011. Q21.

---

Finding a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a top priority for just 23% of the public, and Republicans (28%) and Democrats (26%) are about equally likely to say it should be (independents are less likely than either partisan groups to view this as a top priority). All three groups are in agreement that promoting democracy in other nations ranks as the lowest priority of the ten listed. Just 10% of Republicans, 16% of Democrats and 13% of independents say promoting democracy abroad should be a top priority.

But significant partisan differences do persist over the importance of promoting human rights abroad and dealing with global climate change. Democrats are about twice-as likely as Republicans to say promoting human rights abroad is a top priority (31% vs. 15%). And while four-in-ten Democrats (40%) say dealing with global climate change should be a top priority, just 16% of Republicans agree. The partisan gap over global climate change has narrowed over the last several years, as fewer Democrats now identify this as a top priority than in 2008 and 2009.

### More GOP Support for Cutting Military Commitments

Currently, 46% of the public says that reducing U.S. military commitments overseas should be a top priority. While this overall proportion is little changed since September 2008, partisan opinions have shifted over this period. In 2008, just 29% of Republicans said scaling back U.S. military commitments was a top priority, compared to 57% of Democrats and 43% of independents. Today, the partisan gap on this question is much narrower (44% of Republicans, 50% of Democrats and 43% of independents now rate reducing U.S. military commitments abroad as a top priority).

#### More Republicans See Reducing Military Commitments as Priority

	Jul 2004	Sep 2008	May 2011	'08-'11 change
<i>% top priority</i>	%	%	%	
Total	35	45	46	+1
Republican	27	29	44	+15
Democrat	39	57	50	-7
Independent	36	43	43	0
<b>R-D diff</b>	-12	-28	-6	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER May 25-30, 2011. Q21.

## No Partisan Gap in Views of Global Engagement

As was the case in 2009, the public is divided about whether the United States should scale back its international involvement. Currently, 46% agree with the statement “The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own.” Half (50%) disagree with that statement.

---

### Post-Bush, Increased Isolationist Sentiment among Republicans

<i>% agree "U.S. should mind its own business internationally"</i>	<b>Early Sept 2001</b>	<b>Dec 2002</b>	<b>Aug 2004</b>	<b>Oct 2005</b>	<b>Nov 2009</b>	<b>May 2011</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	37	30	34	42	49	46
Republican	38	22	20	27	43	45
Democrat	38	40	41	55	53	43
Independent	36	27	41	42	49	47
<b>R-D diff</b>	0	-18	-21	-28	-10	+2

PEW RESEARCH CENTER May 26-29, 2011. PEW4d.

---

For much of the Bush administration, Republicans

were far less likely than Democrats to agree that the United States should mind its own business internationally. But in November 2009, the proportion of Republicans saying the U.S. should mind its own business internationally rose sharply to 43%, from just 27% four years earlier. In the new survey, 45% of Republicans express this sentiment.

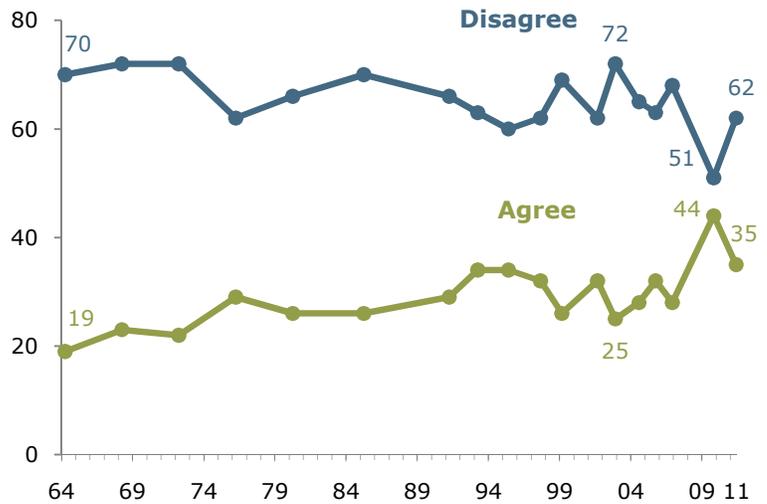
By contrast, the proportion of Democrats who say the U.S. should mind its own business internationally has fallen. Currently, 43% agree, down from 53% in 2009 and 55% in 2005. As a result, for the first time in a decade there is no partisan gap in isolationist sentiment.

## Fewer Say U.S. Should Go Its Own Way

Two years ago, Pew Research Center also found an increase in the proportion of Americans who agreed that “since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not.” The percentage agreeing jumped to 44%, from just 28% in 2006.

But in the new survey, the number saying the U.S. should go its own way in the world has fallen back to 35%, which is more in line with measures over the past few decades; 62% disagree with this statement, up from 51% in 2009.

### Since U.S. Is Most Powerful, It Should Go Its Own Way in International Matters



PEW RESEARCH CENTER May 26-29, 2011. PEW4c.

Democrats are less likely to agree that the U.S. should go its own way internationally: 25% of Democrats favor this approach, down from 45% in 2009. By contrast, there has been little change in these opinions among both independents and Republicans.

### Democrats, Independents Less Likely to Say U.S. Should Go Its Own Way

% <i>agree</i> "we should go our own way in international matters"	Dec 2006	Nov 2009	May 2011
	%	%	%
Total	28	44	35
Republican	32	50	43
Democrat	24	45	25
Independent	29	37	35

PEW RESEARCH CENTER May 26-29, 2011. PEW4c.

## Continued Division over Cooperating with U.N.

The proportion of Americans saying that the United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations has rebounded after declining in recent years. Nearly six-in-ten (58%) say the U.S. should cooperate with the U.N., up from 51% in 2009.

In the new survey, twice as many Democrats as Republicans say the United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations (72% vs. 36%). These opinions are little changed from 2009. Independents are much more likely to favor full cooperation with the U.N. than they were two years ago (60% today, 47% then).

---

### Long-Standing Partisan Divisions Over Cooperating with U.N.

	<b>Early Sept 2001</b>	<b>Dec 2002</b>	<b>Aug 2004</b>	<b>Oct 2005</b>	<b>Nov 2009</b>	<b>May 2011</b>
<i>% agree "U.S. should cooperate fully with the United Nations"</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	58	67	60	54	51	58
Republican	47	58	41	39	39	36
Democrat	65	80	75	68	65	72
Independent	63	65	62	52	47	60
<b>R-D diff</b>	-18	-22	-34	-29	-26	-36

PEW RESEARCH CENTER May 26-29, 2011. PEW4a.

---

Republicans have long been more skeptical of the U.N. than either Democrats or independents. Only once in the past decade – in December 2002 – has a majority of Republicans (58%) agreed that the U.S. should cooperate fully with the U.N. In that survey, even higher percentages of Democrats (80%) and independents (65%) favored full cooperation with the U.N.

## About the Surveys

Most of the analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted May 25-30, 2011 among a national sample of 1,509 adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States (1,004 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 505 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 255 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see <http://people-press.org/methodology/>

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2010 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2010 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size within the landline sample. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

<b>Group</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>Plus or minus ...</b>
Total sample	1,509	3.5 percentage points
Form 1	742	4.5 percentage points
Form 2	767	4.5 percentage points
Republicans	384	6.0 percentage points
Democrats	500	5.5 percentage points
Independents	552	5.0 percentage points

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.

Some of the analysis in this report is based on interviews conducted May 26-29, 2011, among a national sample of 1,000 adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States (670 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 330 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 125 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older.

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2010 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample is also weighted to match current patterns of telephone status based on extrapolations from the 2010 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size within the landline sample. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

<b>Group</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>Plus or minus ...</b>
Total sample	1,000	4.0 percentage points
Republicans	263	7.5 percentage points
Democrats	320	7.0 percentage points
Independents	330	6.5 percentage points

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

© Pew Research Center, 2011

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS**  
**MAY 2011 POLITICAL SURVEY**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
**May 25-30, 2011**  
**N=1509**

**QUESTIONS 1 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=742]:**

Q.2F1 What do you think is the most important problem facing the country today? **[RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY – DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD IN ORDER OF MENTION]**

May 25-30 2011		Jan <u>11</u>	Aug <u>10</u> <sup>1</sup>	Feb <u>10</u>	Aug <u>09</u>	Feb <u>09</u>	Oct <u>08</u>	Jul <u>08</u>	Jan <u>08</u>	Sep <u>07</u>	Jan <u>07</u>
28	Economy (general)	27	35	24	27	53	55	39	20	10	5
26	Unemployment/Lack of jobs	35	27	31	19	31	9	5	5	3	5
	Deficit/National debt/Balanced										
10	budget/Gov't spending	11	3	11	6	4	1	1	2	1	1
7	Energy costs	2	--	--	--	--	5	19	3	2	2
6	Health care/costs/accessibility	9	4	13	20	3	4	3	10	7	8
5	War/War in Iraq/War in Afghan.	3	3	4	5	3	11	17	27	37	42
5	Finances/money	2	2	--	--	--	4	--	--	--	--
	Dissatisfaction with gov't/politics/										
4	Obama	9	9	5	5	5	4	3	6	7	8
	Education/schools/affording										
2	education	3	1	1	2	1	--	4	4	3	4
2	Inflation	2	1	--	--	2	5	6	3	1	--
1	Morality/Ethics/Family values	2	4	3	3	1	1	3	2	3	3
1	U.S. foreign policy/U.S. image	*	*	*	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
1	Medicare	*	--	1	*	--	--	--	*	*	*
1	Social Security	*	--	*	1	*	1	*	1	1	1
1	Immigration	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	6	6	5
1	Too much foreign aid/Spend at home	*	*	*	*	*	1	*	*	1	*
1	Taxes	1	1	1	--	--	1	--	2	1	--
1	Crime/Violence	1	--	1	1	1	--	1	1	2	2
1	Jobs moving overseas/Trade	1	--	2	1	1	1	1	1	--	--
1	Terrorism	1	--	2	1	1	2	3	3	6	5
1	Recession/slowing economy	--	2	1	2	3	1	1	2	--	--
1	Housing market/foreclosures	1	2	--	--	--	5	--	--	--	--
1	National security	1	--	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	1
1	Poverty/Hunger/Starvation	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3
9	Other										
7	Don't know/No answer	5	7	6	5	3	4	4	5	5	7
	<b>(NET) FOREIGN ISSUES/</b>										
<b>9</b>	<b>INTERNATIONAL</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>68</b>	<b>(NET) ECONOMIC</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>

<sup>1</sup> Complete trend for Q2.F1 not shown; trends available to 1987.

**ASK ALL:**

Q.3 Right now, which is more important for President Obama to focus on... domestic policy or foreign policy?

	<u>Domestic policy</u>	<u>Foreign policy</u>	<b>(VOL.) Neither</b>	<b>(VOL.) Both</b>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
<b>Obama</b>					
May 25-30, 2011	77	9	1	9	5
Jan 5-9, 2011	78	11	1	7	3
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	73	12	1	10	3
January 7-11, 2009 <sup>2</sup>	71	11	*	14	4
<b>Next President</b>					
September, 2008 <sup>3</sup>	60	21	*	15	4
May, 2008	61	22	*	15	4
<b>G.W. Bush</b>					
January, 2008	56	31	1	8	4
January, 2007	39	40	1	15	5
August, 2006	50	32	1	12	5
January, 2006	57	25	1	13	4
October, 2005	64	20	1	12	3
Early January, 2005	53	27	1	16	3
January, 2002	52	34	*	11	3
<b>Clinton</b>					
Early September, 1998	56	30	0	11	3
January, 1997	86	7	*	5	2
December, 1994	85	7	2	4	2
October, 1993	76	13	*	7	4

**NO QUESTIONS 4-14****QUESTION 15-20 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED****ASK ALL:**

Thinking about foreign policy...

Q.21 As I read a list of possible LONG-RANGE foreign policy goals which the United States might have, tell me how much priority you think each should be given. (First,) **[READ AND RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]**, do you think this should have top priority, some priority, or no priority at all? What about **[INSERT ITEM]**? **[READ THE ANSWER CHOICES AS NECESSARY AFTER THE FIRST TIME]**

	<u>Top priority</u>	<u>Some priority</u>	<u>No priority</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
<b>ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=742]:</b>				
a.F1 Taking measures to seek out and destroy terrorist groups in other countries				
May 25-30, 2011	44	41	13	3
<b>ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=767]:</b>				
b.F2 Taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks				
May 25-30, 2011	81	17	1	1
October 28-November 8, 2009	85	13	1	1
Mid-September, 2008	82	16	1	1
Late October, 2005	86	12	1	1
July, 2004	88	10	1	1
Mid-October, 2001	93	6	*	1
Early September, 2001	80	16	3	1

<sup>2</sup> January 7-11, 2009, survey asked about "president-elect Obama."

<sup>3</sup> September and May 2008 surveys asked about priorities for the "next president."

**Q.21 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Top</u> <u>priority</u>	<u>Some</u> <u>priority</u>	<u>No</u> <u>priority</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
<b>ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=742]:</b>				
c.F1 Promoting democracy in other nations				
May 25-30, 2011	13	58	27	2
October 28-November 8, 2009	21	54	22	3
Late October, 2005	24	54	19	3
July, 2004	24	57	15	4
Mid-October, 2001	24	61	12	3
Early September, 2001	29	52	16	3
September, 1997	22	57	18	3
June, 1995	16	57	24	3
September, 1993	22	52	24	2
<b>ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=767]:</b>				
d.F2 Promoting and defending human rights in other countries				
May 25-30, 2011	24	56	18	2
October 28-November 8, 2009	29	54	14	3
Mid-September, 2008	25	58	15	2
Late October, 2005	37	50	11	2
July, 2004	33	53	12	2
Mid-October, 2001	27	61	10	2
Early September, 2001	29	54	14	3
September, 1997	27	56	15	2
June, 1995	21	56	20	3
September, 1993	22	54	22	2
<b>ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=742]:</b>				
e.F1 Reducing our dependence on imported energy sources				
May 25-30, 2011	67	24	6	2
October 28-November 8, 2009	64	28	3	5
Mid-September, 2008	76	20	2	2
Late October, 2005	67	28	2	3
July, 2004 <sup>4</sup>	63	30	4	3
<b>ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=767]:</b>				
f.F2 Dealing with global climate change				
May 25-30, 2011	29	43	23	4
October 28-November 8, 2009	40	39	19	3
Mid-September, 2008	43	41	14	2
Late October, 2005	43	43	10	4
July, 2004 <sup>5</sup>	36	46	12	6
Mid-October, 2001	31	51	13	5
Early September, 2001	44	39	12	5
September, 1997	50	42	6	2
June, 1995	56	36	6	2
September, 1993	56	37	6	1
<b>ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=742]:</b>				
g.F1 Improving relationships with our allies				
May 25-30, 2011	46	48	5	1
September, 2008	54	42	2	2
July, 2004	54	40	4	2

<sup>4</sup> In July 2004, the item referred to "imported oil sources."

<sup>5</sup> In 2004 and 2001, the item was worded "Dealing with global warming" and in September 1993, June 1995 and September 1997 the item was worded "Improving the global environment."

**Q.21 CONTINUED...**

		Top <u>priority</u>	Some <u>priority</u>	No <u>priority</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
<b>ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=767]:</b>					
h.F2	Reducing U.S. military commitments overseas				
	May 25-30, 2011	46	43	8	3
	September, 2008	45	45	7	3
	July, 2004	35	51	10	4
	Early September, 2001	26	58	14	2
<b>ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=742]:</b>					
i.F1	Finding a solution to the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians				
	May 25-30, 2011	23	47	27	3
	September, 2008	25	50	22	3
	July, 2004	28	46	22	4
	January, 2003 <sup>6</sup>	38	40	19	3
	March, 1999	35	42	19	4
	September, 1993	34	45	19	2
<b>ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=767]:</b>					
j.F2	Protecting the jobs of American workers				
	May 25-30, 2011	84	13	2	1
	October 28-November 8, 2009	85	13	1	1
	Mid-September, 2008	82	16	1	1
	Late October, 2005	84	14	1	1
	July, 2004	84	13	2	1
	Mid-October, 2001	74	24	1	1
	Early September, 2001	77	19	3	1
	September, 1997	77	20	2	1
	June, 1995	80	17	2	1
	September, 1993	85	13	2	*

**NO QUESTIONS 22-23****ASK ALL:**

Q.24 As you may know, there have been protests and calls for change in a number of Middle Eastern countries recently. From what you have read and heard, do you think these events will lead to lasting improvements for people living in these countries, or not?

May 25-30 <u>2011</u>		Mar 30-Apr 3 <u>2011</u>	
37	Yes, lasting improvements	42	
45	No, no lasting improvements	43	
5	Depends/Too soon to tell (VOL.)	3	
13	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	12	

<sup>6</sup> In January 2003 and earlier the question was worded "Bringing about a permanent settlement between Israel and the Arabs."

**ASK ALL:**

Q.25 Do you think the anti-government protests and changes in the Middle East will end up being **[RANDOMIZE: good for the United States, bad for the United States]** or won't have much effect on the United States?

**TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

May 25-30		Mar 30-Apr 3	<i>Egypt</i> Feb 2-7
<u>2011</u>		<u>2011</u>	<u>2011</u> <sup>7</sup>
23	Good	24	15
26	Bad	35	28
36	Won't have much effect	28	36
4	Depends/Too soon to tell <b>(VOL.)</b>	4	5
11	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	9	7

**NO QUESTION 26-28, 32, 34-35,40-44**  
**QUESTIONS 29-39 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

**ASK ALL:**

On another subject...

Q.45 In the dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, which side do you sympathize with more, Israel or the Palestinians?

	<u>Israel</u>	<u>Palestinians</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Both</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Neither</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
May 25-30, 2011	48	11	4	15	21
Apr 21-26, 2010	49	16	4	12	19
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	51	12	4	14	19
January 7-11, 2009	49	11	5	15	20
May, 2007	49	11	5	17	18
August, 2006	52	11	5	15	17
July, 2006	44	9	5	20	22
May, 2006	48	13	4	14	20
Late October, 2005	43	17	5	16	19
July, 2005	37	12	5	19	27
July, 2004	40	13	7	18	22
Late February, 2004	46	12	8	15	19
April, 2002	41	13	6	21	19
Mid-October, 2001	47	10	8	18	17
Early September, 2001	40	17	6	23	14
September, 1997	48	13	5	16	18
September, 1993	45	21	3	18	12
<i>Chicago CFR</i> 1990	34	14	7	26	20
<i>Chicago CFR</i> 1982	40	17	8	19	16
<i>Chicago CFR</i> 1978 <sup>8</sup>	45	14	9	18	15

<sup>7</sup> In February 2011, the question read "From what you've read and heard, do you think the anti-government protests and calls for political change in Egypt will end up being good for the United States, bad for the United States, or won't have much effect on the United States?"

<sup>8</sup> In the 1978 Chicago Council on Foreign Relations survey conducted by the Gallup Organization, results are based on respondents who said they had "heard or read about the situation in the Middle East", which represented 87% of the public. As a context note, in both the 1978 and 1982 CCFR/Gallup surveys, this question followed a broader question: "In the Middle East situation, are your sympathies more with Israel or more with the Arab nations?" and in 1982, a question regarding "U.S. military aid and arms sales to Israel".

**ASK ALL:**

Q.46 Thinking about the situation in the Middle East these days, do you think Barack Obama is **[RANDOMIZE: favoring Israel too much; favoring the Palestinians too much]** or striking about the right balance?

May 25-30 <u>2011</u>		Apr 21-26 <u>2010</u>	Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>	Jun 10-14 <u>2009</u>
6	Favoring Israel too much	7	7	6
21	Favoring the Palestinians too much	21	16	17
50	Striking about the right balance	47	51	62
24	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	25	26	14

**NO QUESTION 47-48****ASK ALL:**

REGIST These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register. Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district or haven't you been able to register so far? **[INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT VOLUNTEERS THAT THEY ARE IN NORTH DAKOTA AND DON'T HAVE TO REGISTER, PUNCH 1 FOR REGIST AND REGICERT]**

**ASK IF REGISTERED (REGIST=1):**

REGICERT Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote, or is there a chance that your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

May 25-30 <u>2011</u>	
77	Yes, Registered
74	Absolutely certain
3	Chance registration has lapsed
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>
22	No, not registered
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**ASK ALL:**

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent?

**ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF (PARTY=3,4,5,9):**

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

				(VOL.) No preference	(VOL.) Other party	(VOL.) DK/Ref	Lean Rep	Lean Dem
	Republican	Democrat	Independent					
May 25-30, 2011	24	33	38	3	*	2	15	17
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	25	32	37	3	*	3	17	16
Mar 8-14, 2011	24	33	38	3	*	2	17	15
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	24	33	37	3	*	3	15	16
Feb 2-7, 2011	24	31	39	3	*	2	16	16
Jan 5-9, 2011	27	32	35	4	*	2	15	14
Dec 1-5, 2010	25	33	34	5	1	2	13	14
Nov 4-7, 2010	26	30	37	4	*	2	17	13
Oct 27-30, 2010	25	34	31	6	1	4	13	11
Oct 13-18, 2010	25	31	36	4	*	3	16	13
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	24	32	39	2	*	2	15	17
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	26	33	34	4	*	3	14	14
Jun 16-20, 2010	27	34	34	3	1	2	15	15
Apr 21-26, 2010	26	33	36	3	1	3	16	13
<b>Yearly Totals</b>								
2010	25.2	32.7	35.2	3.6	.4	2.8	14.5	14.1
2009	23.9	34.4	35.1	3.4	.4	2.8	13.1	15.7
2008	25.7	36.0	31.5	3.6	.3	3.0	10.6	15.2
2007	25.3	32.9	34.1	4.3	.4	2.9	10.9	17.0

## PARTY/PARTLY CONTINUED...

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	Lean	Lean
	Republican	Democrat	Independent	No preference	Other party	DK/Ref	Rep	Dem
2006	27.8	33.1	30.9	4.4	.3	3.4	10.5	15.1
2005	29.3	32.8	30.2	4.5	.3	2.8	10.3	14.9
2004	30.0	33.5	29.5	3.8	.4	3.0	11.7	13.4
2003	30.3	31.5	30.5	4.8	.5	2.5	12.0	12.6
2002	30.4	31.4	29.8	5.0	.7	2.7	12.4	11.6
2001	29.0	33.2	29.5	5.2	.6	2.6	11.9	11.6
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	27.3	34.4	30.9	5.1	.6	1.7	12.1	13.5
2000	28.0	33.4	29.1	5.5	.5	3.6	11.6	11.7
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9	13.0	14.5
1998	27.9	33.7	31.1	4.6	.4	2.3	11.6	13.1
1997	28.0	33.4	32.0	4.0	.4	2.3	12.2	14.1
1996	28.9	33.9	31.8	3.0	.4	2.0	12.1	14.9
1995	31.6	30.0	33.7	2.4	.6	1.3	15.1	13.5
1994	30.1	31.5	33.5	1.3	--	3.6	13.7	12.2
1993	27.4	33.6	34.2	4.4	1.5	2.9	11.5	14.9
1992	27.6	33.7	34.7	1.5	0	2.5	12.6	16.5
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	0	1.4	3.0	14.7	10.8
1990	30.9	33.2	29.3	1.2	1.9	3.4	12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34	--	--	--	--	--
1987	26	35	39	--	--	--	--	--

## ASK ALL:

TEAPARTY2 From what you know, do you agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either way?

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)	Not heard of/
	Agree	Disagree	No opinion either way	Haven't heard of	Refused	DK
May 25-30, 2011	18	23	54	2	2	--
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	22	29	47	1	1	--
Mar 8-14, 2011	19	25	54	1	1	--
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	20	25	52	2	2	--
Feb 2-7, 2011 <sup>9</sup>	22	22	53	2	2	--
Jan 5-9, 2011	24	22	50	2	1	--
Dec 1-5, 2010	22	26	49	2	2	--
Nov 4-7, 2010	27	22	49	1	1	--
Oct 27-30, 2010 (RVs)	29	25	32	--	1	13
Oct 13-18, 2010 (RVs)	28	24	30	--	1	16
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	29	26	32	--	1	13
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	22	18	37	--	1	21
Jun 16-20, 2010	24	18	30	--	*	27
May 20-23, 2010	25	18	31	--	1	25
Mar 11-21, 2010	24	14	29	--	1	31

<sup>9</sup> In the February 2-7, 2011 survey and before, question read "...do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the Tea Party movement..." In October 2010 and earlier, question was asked only of those who had heard or read a lot or a little about the Tea Party. In May through October, it was described as: "the Tea Party movement that has been involved in campaigns and protests in the U.S. over the past year." In March it was described as "the Tea Party protests that have taken place in the U.S. over the past year."

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER  
MAY 26-29, 2011 OMNIBUS  
FINAL TOPLINE  
N=1,000**

**PEW.1-PEWWP.1 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

Now a few questions about America's place in the world...

**ASK ALL:**

PEW.4 Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. **[RANDOMIZE LIST]**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
a. The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations			
May 26-29, 2011	58	36	6
November 12-15, 2009	51	38	11
December, 2006	57	35	8
October, 2005	54	39	7
August, 2004	60	30	10
December, 2002	67	28	5
Early September, 2001	58	31	11
March, 1999	65	26	9
September, 1997	59	30	11
June, 1995	62	30	8
February, 1995	65	29	6
October, 1993	64	28	8
April, 1993	71	22	7
Gallup: 1991 <sup>10</sup>	77	17	6
Gallup: 1985	56	35	9
Gallup: 1980	59	28	13
Gallup: 1976	46	41	13
Gallup: 1972	63	28	9
Gallup: 1968	72	21	7
Gallup: 1964	72	16	12
b. In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies			
May 26-29, 2011	79	16	5
Nov 12-15, 2009	78	14	8
December, 2006	82	12	6
October, 2005	79	16	5
August, 2004	76	14	10
December, 2002	85	10	5
Early September, 2001	80	11	9
March, 1999	82	12	6
September, 1997	72	18	10
June, 1995	74	18	8
April, 1993	80	13	7
Gallup: 1991	86	10	4
Gallup: 1985	82	12	6
Gallup: 1980	79	13	8
Gallup: 1976	72	18	10
Gallup: 1972	80	12	8
Gallup: 1968	84	9	7
Gallup: 1964	81	7	12

<sup>10</sup> Trends for this series in 1991 and earlier are from public opinion surveys conducted by Potomac Associates, The Gallup Organization and the Institute for International Social Research.

**PEW.4 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
c. Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not			
May 26-29, 2011	35	62	3
November 12-15, 2009	44	51	5
December, 2006	28	68	4
October, 2005	32	63	5
August, 2004	28	65	7
December, 2002	25	72	3
Early September, 2001	32	62	6
March, 1999	26	69	5
September, 1997	32	62	6
June, 1995	34	60	6
April, 1993	34	63	3
Gallup: 1991	29	66	5
Gallup: 1985	26	70	4
Gallup: 1980	26	66	8
Gallup: 1976	29	62	9
Gallup: 1972	22	72	6
Gallup: 1968	23	72	5
Gallup: 1964	19	70	11
d. The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own			
May 26-29, 2011	46	50	4
November 12-15, 2009	49	44	7
December, 2006	42	53	5
October, 2005	42	51	7
August, 2004	34	59	7
December, 2002	30	65	5
Early September, 2001	37	55	8
March, 1999	35	57	8
September, 1997	39	54	7
June, 1995	41	51	8
April, 1993	37	58	5
Gallup: 1991	33	60	7
Gallup: 1985	34	59	7
Gallup: 1980	30	61	9
Gallup: 1976	41	49	10
Gallup: 1972	35	56	9
Gallup: 1968	27	66	7
Gallup: 1964	18	70	12
e. We should not think so much in international terms but concentrate more on our own national problems and building up our strength and prosperity here at home			
May 26-29, 2011	76	21	3
November 12-15, 2009	76	19	4
December, 2006	69	26	5
October, 2005	71	23	6
August, 2004	69	25	6
December, 2002	65	31	4
Early September, 2001	68	25	7
March, 1999	68	27	5
September, 1997	72	24	4
June, 1995	78	18	4
April, 1993	79	18	3
Gallup: 1991	78	16	6
Gallup: 1985	60	34	6

**PEW.4 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
<i>Gallup: 1980</i>	61	30	9
<i>Gallup: 1976</i>	73	22	5
<i>Gallup: 1972</i>	73	20	7
<i>Gallup: 1968</i>	60	31	9
<i>Gallup: 1964</i>	55	32	13