Ronald Reagan
Presidential Foundation & Institute
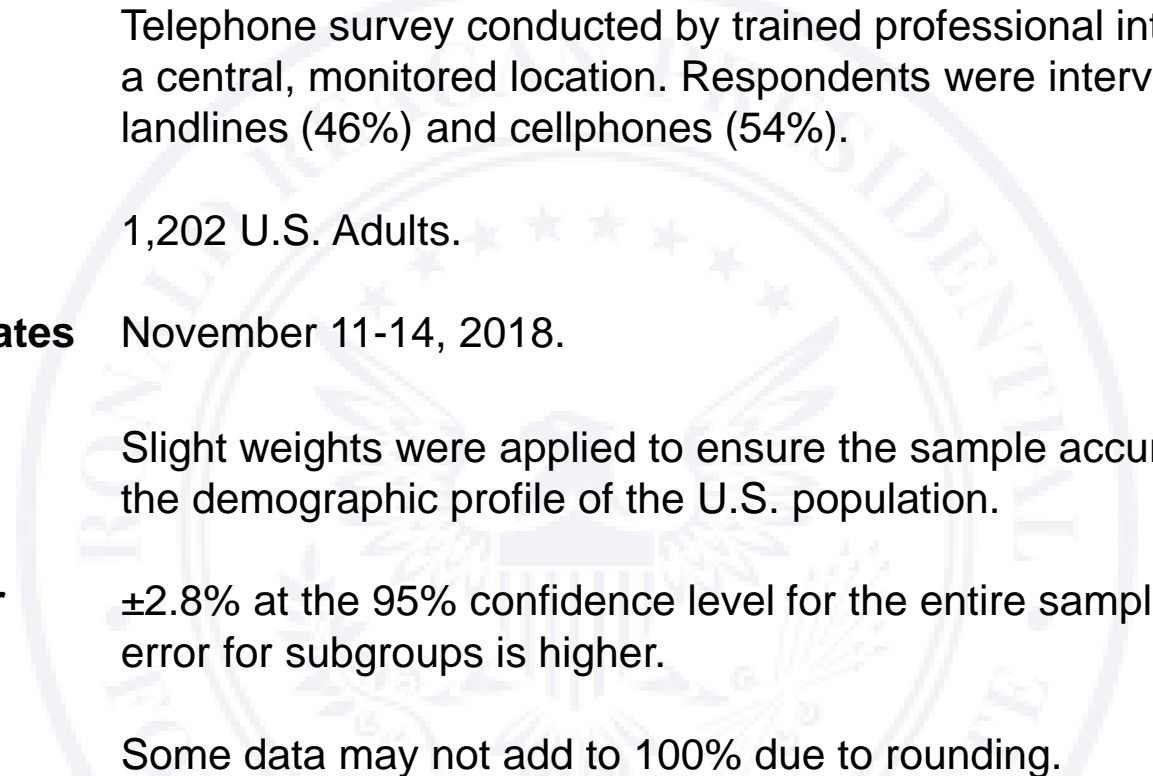
ANDERSON ROBBINS
R E S E A R C H

SHAW & Company
research

2018 National Defense Survey
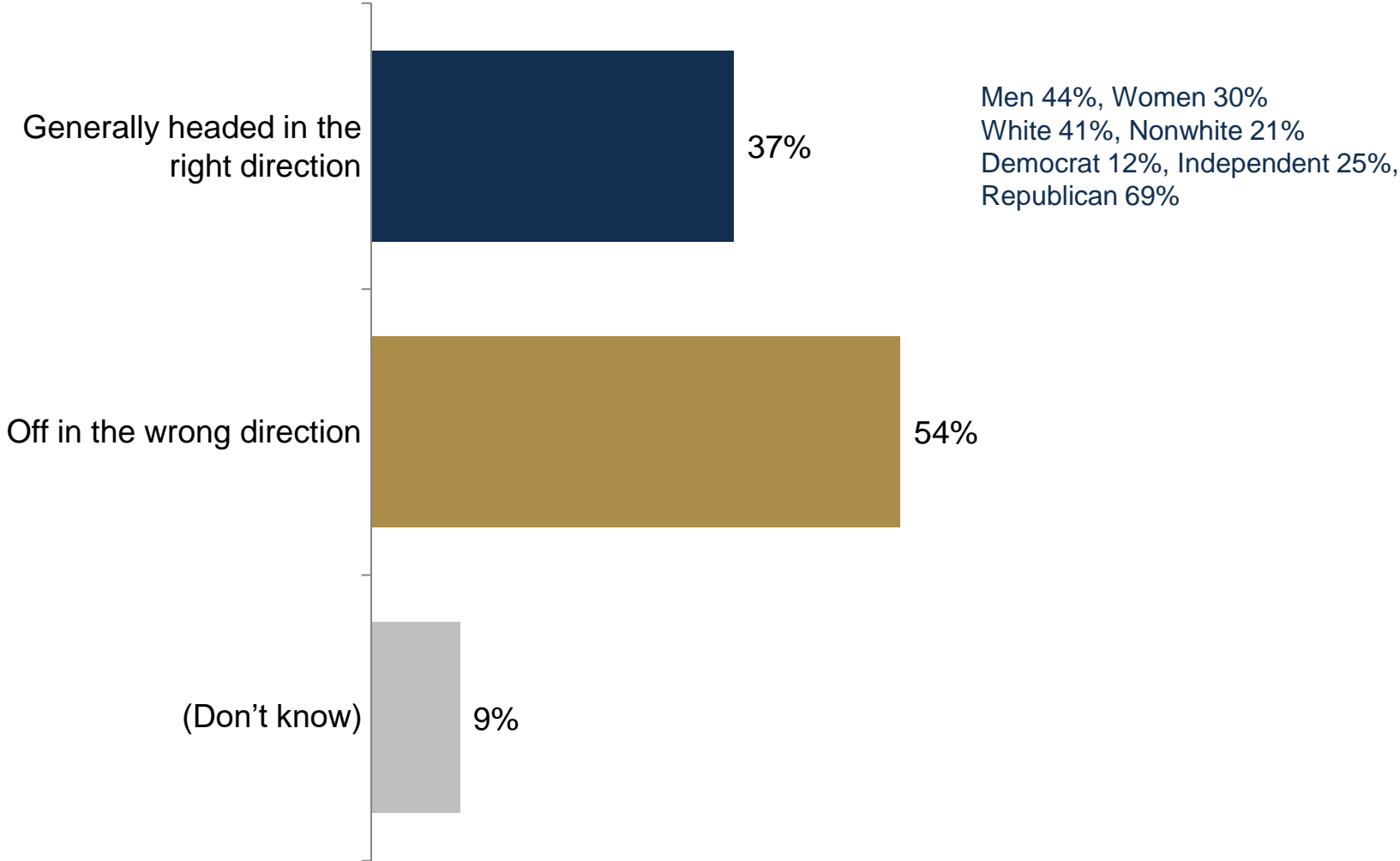
About the Survey

Mode   Telephone survey conducted by trained professional interviewers from a central, monitored location. Respondents were interviewed on landlines (46%) and cellphones (54%).

Sample   1,202 U.S. Adults.

Interviewing Dates November 11-14, 2018.

Weights   Slight weights were applied to ensure the sample accurately reflects the demographic profile of the U.S. population.

Margin of Error   ±2.8% at the 95% confidence level for the entire sample; the margin of error for subgroups is higher.

Note   Some data may not add to 100% due to rounding.

Mood of the country

A majority of Americans think the United States is heading in the wrong direction.

Generally headed in the right direction — 37%

Men 44%, Women 30%
White 41%, Nonwhite 21%
Democrat 12%, Independent 25%, Republican 69%

Off in the wrong direction — 54%

(Don't know) — 9%

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

There is bipartisan agreement that partisanship is the top problem facing the country.

	Overall	Democrats	Republicans
Politics/Partisanship	22%	25%	20%
Immigration	12%	4%	24%
Corruption/Incompetent leaders	10%	15%	6%
Health care	9%	12%	5%
Economy and jobs	8%	8%	5%
Crime/Safety	3%	4%	4%
Inequality/Racism	3%	6%	1%
Division/Hatred	3%	2%	3%
Border Security	2%	0%	5%
Education/Schools	2%	2%	1%
The environment/Climate change	2%	4%	1%
Lack of morals	2%	1%	3%
The federal deficit	2%	1%	2%
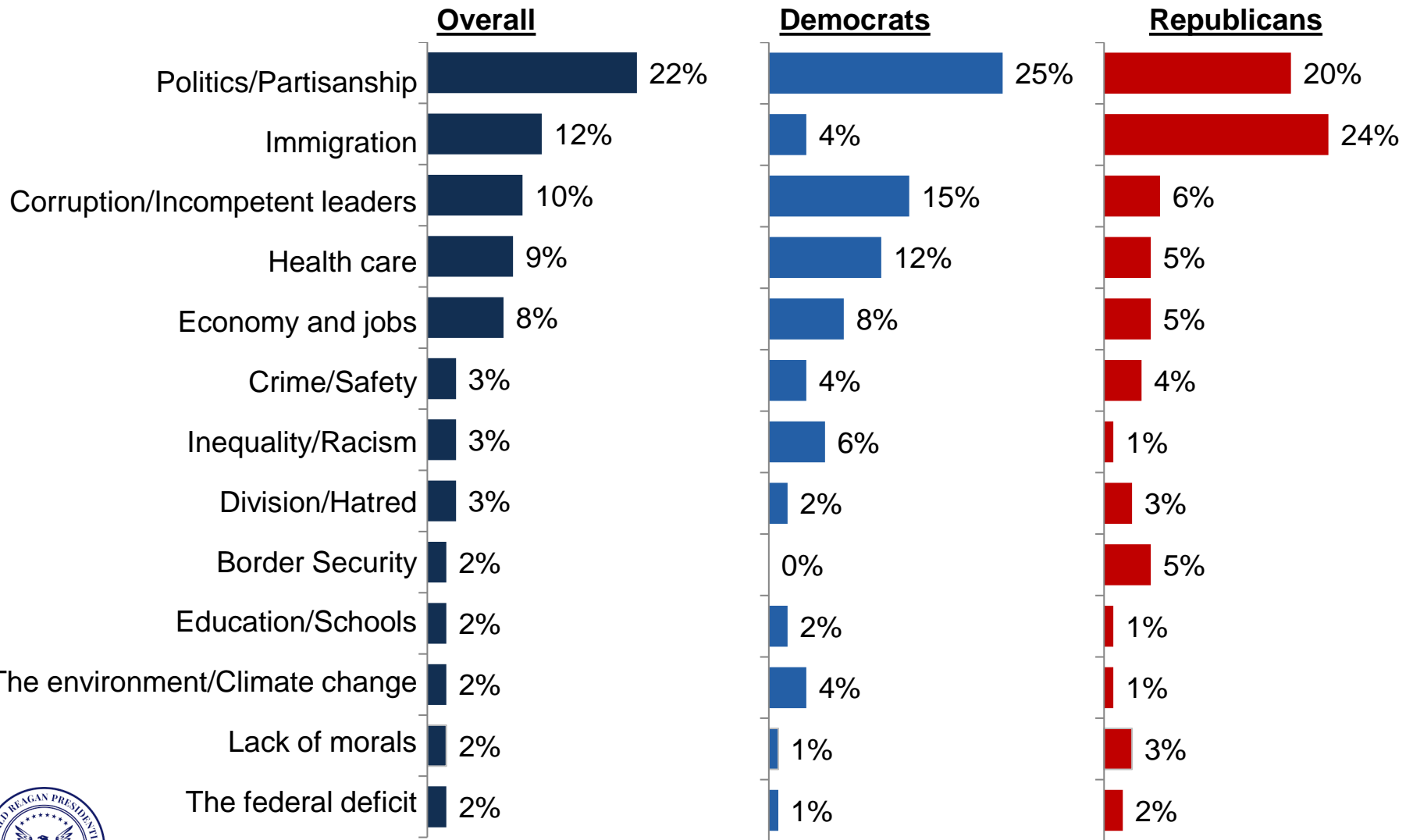
Note: Asked as an open-ended question. Responses under 2% (overall) not shown. Remainder Other / Don't know

Q3: What would you say is the most important problem facing this country today? [RECORD VERBATIM]
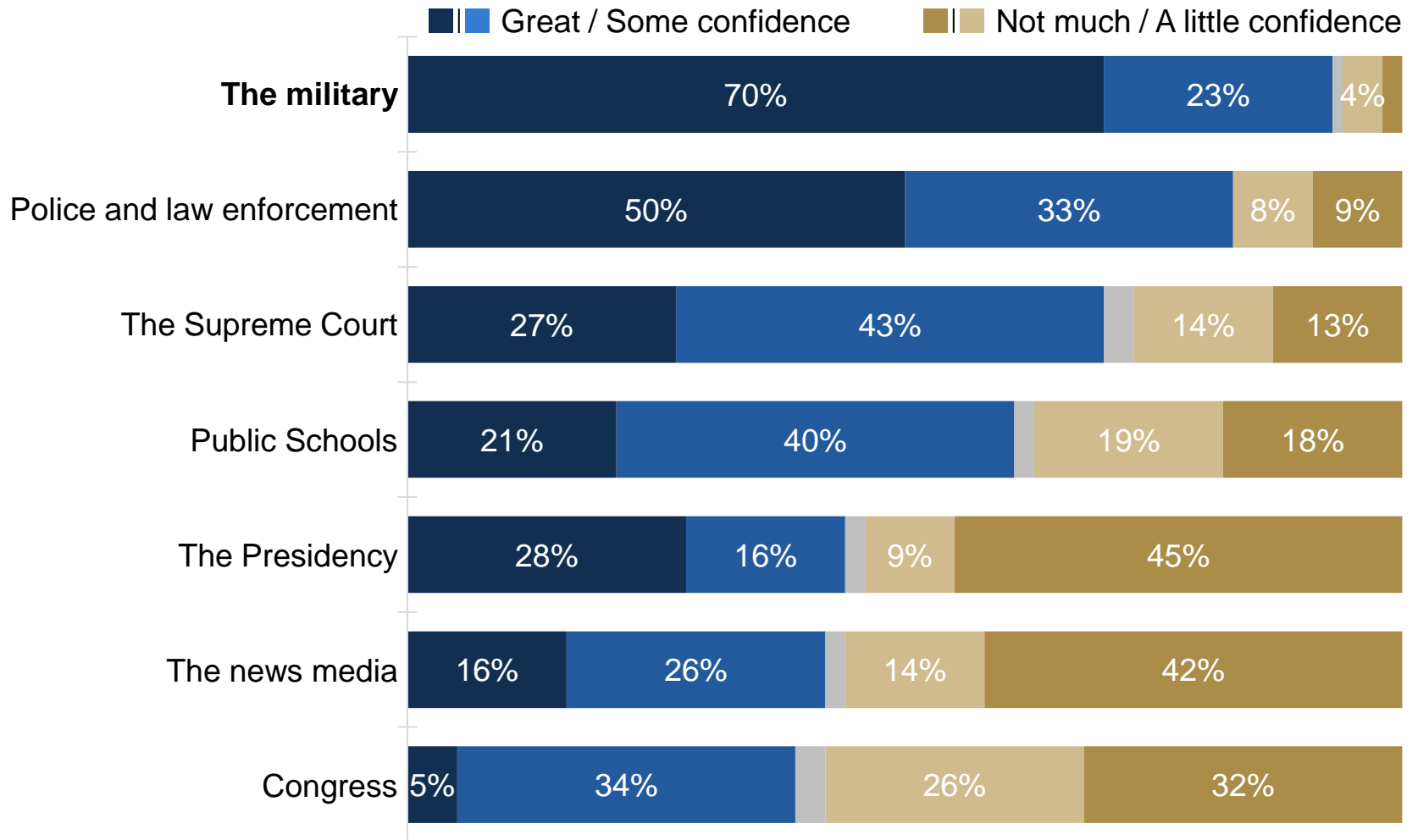
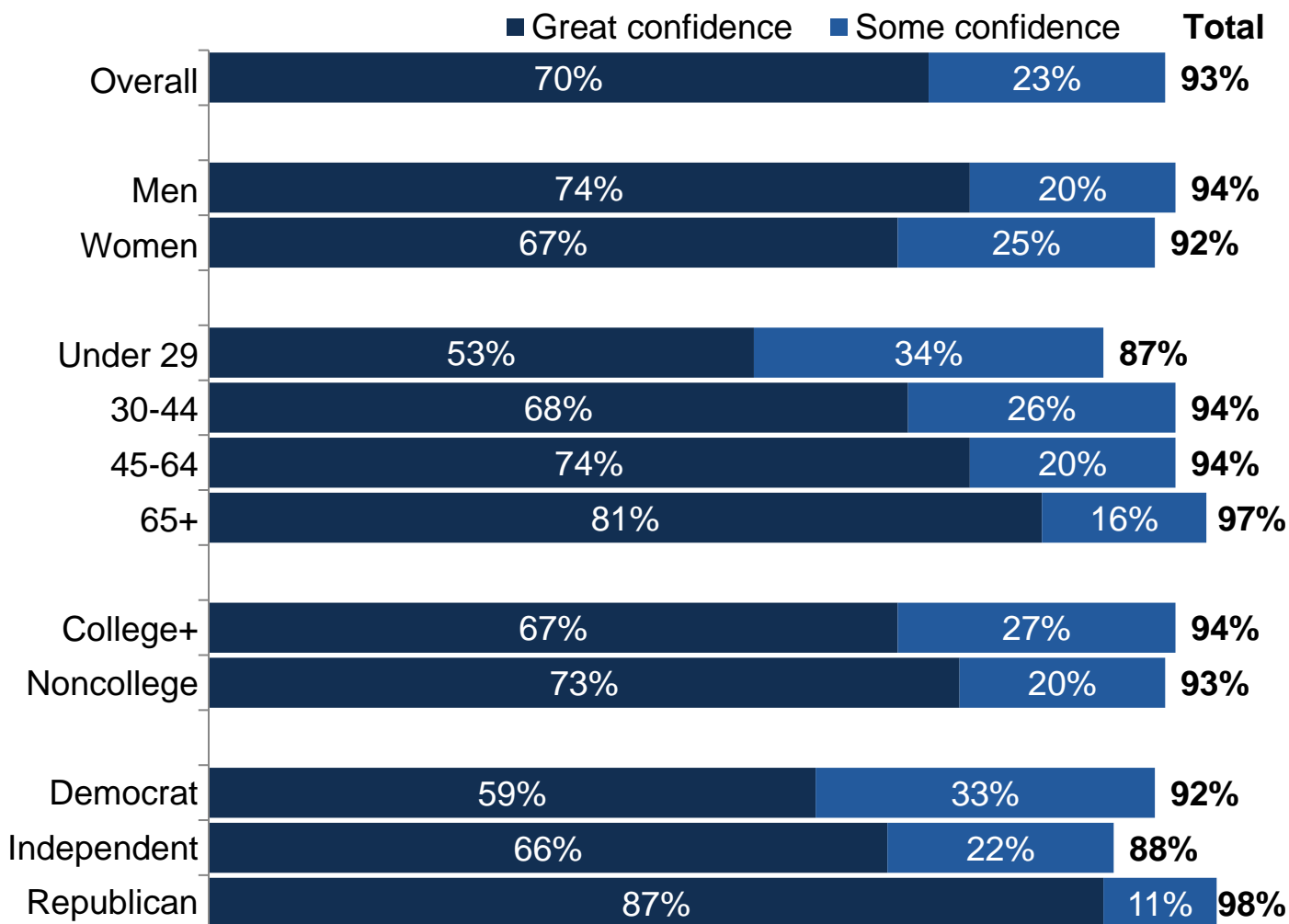# Confidence in the Military, Institutions, and Professions

The military is a very highly trusted institution; Congress is not.

Legend: Great / Some confidence · Not much / A little confidence

Institution	Great confidence	Some confidence	Not much confidence	A little confidence
The military	70%	23%		4%
Police and law enforcement	50%	33%	8%	9%
The Supreme Court	27%	43%	14%	13%
Public Schools	21%	40%	19%	18%
The Presidency	28%	16%	9%	45%
The news media	16%	26%	14%	42%
Congress	5%	34%	26%	32%

Q4 – Q10: For each of the following groups or institutions, please tell me how much trust and confidence you have in them?
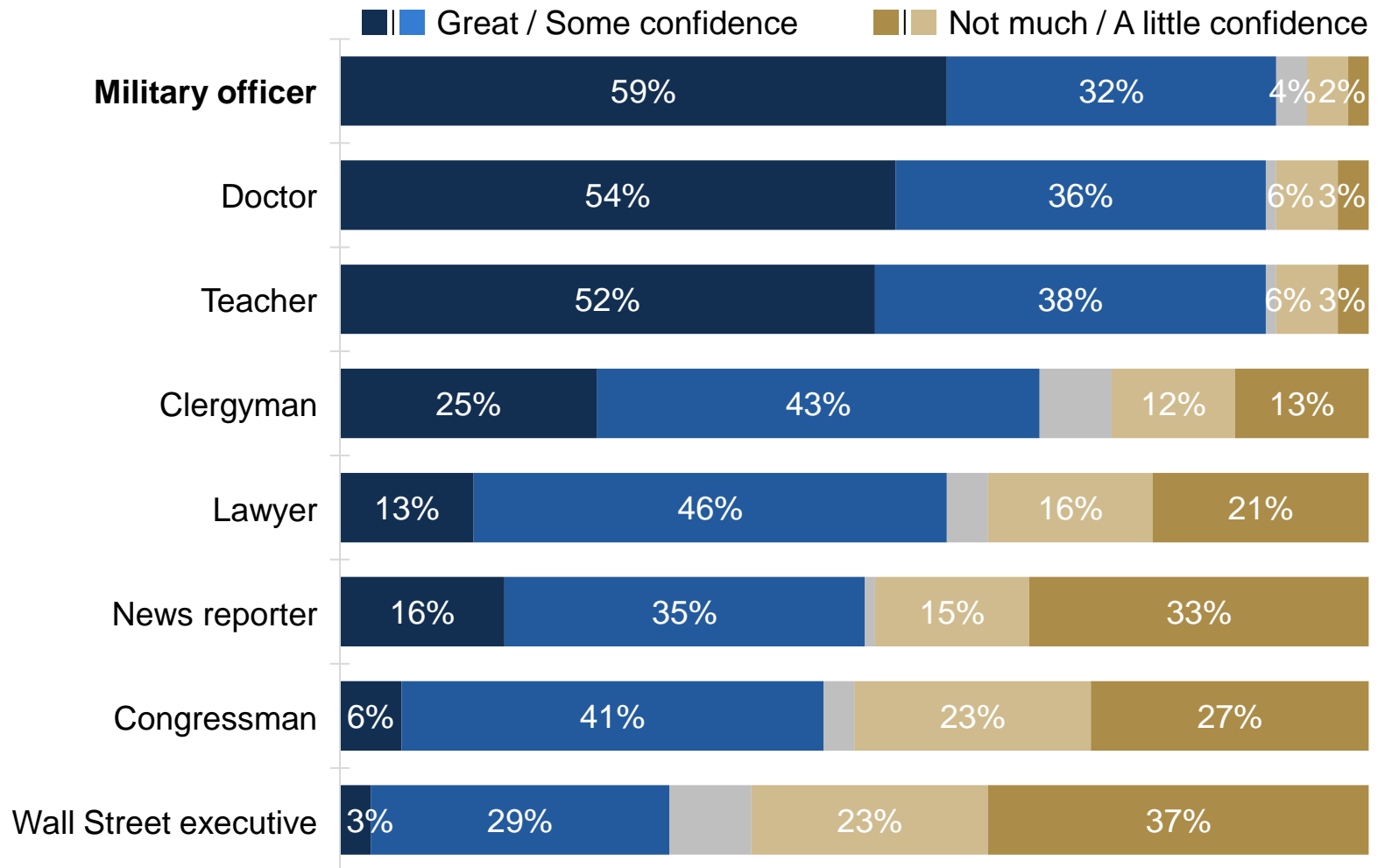
While all Americans have confidence in the military, older citizens and Republicans are particularly likely to have a great deal of confidence.

	Great confidence	Some confidence	Total
Overall	70%	23%	93%
Men	74%	20%	94%
Women	67%	25%	92%
Under 29	53%	34%	87%
30-44	68%	26%	94%
45-64	74%	20%	94%
65+	81%	16%	97%
College+	67%	27%	94%
Noncollege	73%	20%	93%
Democrat	59%	33%	92%
Independent	66%	22%	88%
Republican	87%	11%	98%

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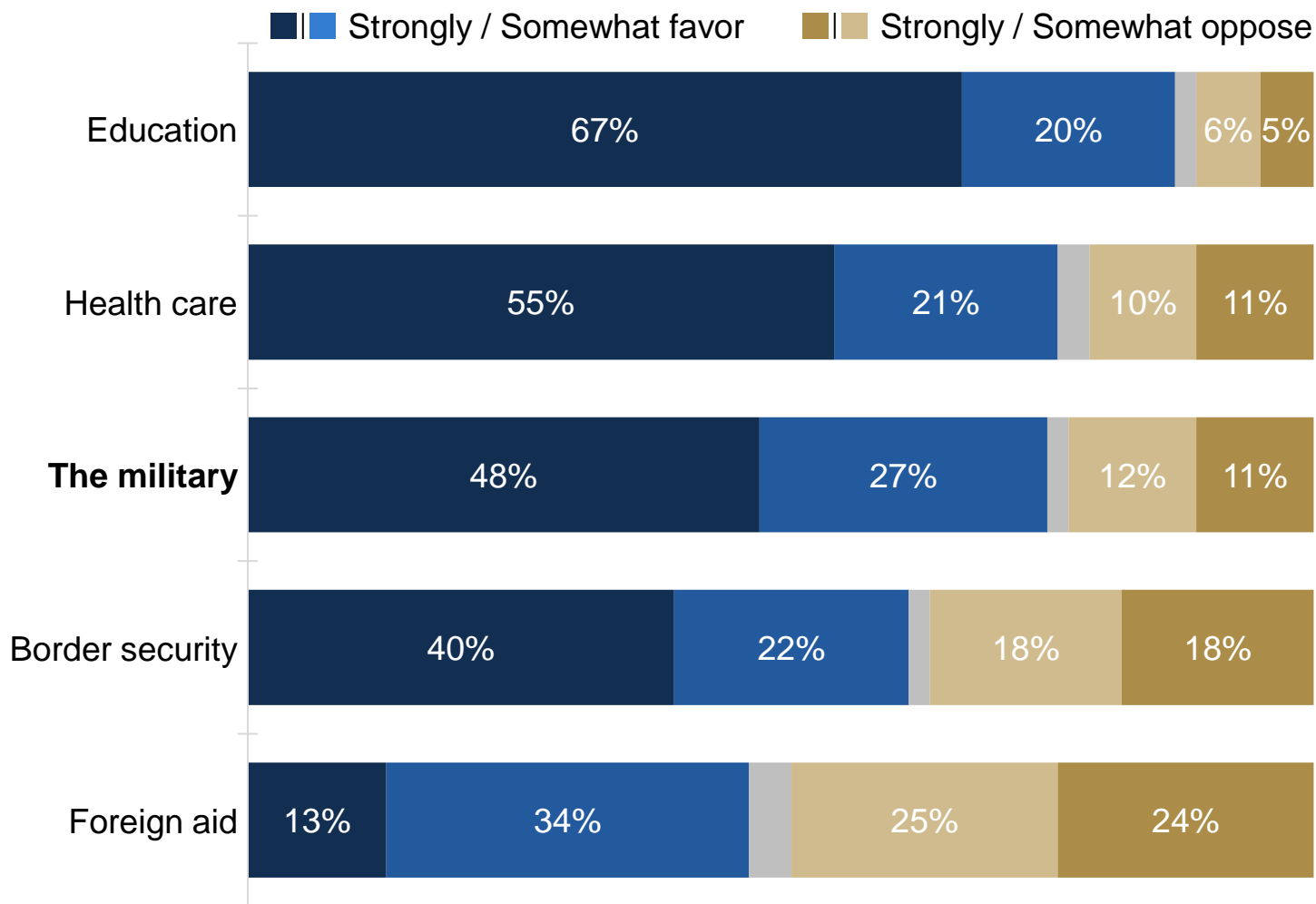*[The Military]*

Military leaders are even more trusted than doctors and teachers.

| | Great / Some confidence | | | Not much / A little confidence | |

Legend: ■ Great / Some confidence   ■ Not much / A little confidence

	Great / Some confidence				Not much / A little confidence	
Military officer	59%	32%		4%	2%	
Doctor	54%	36%		6%	3%	
Teacher	52%	38%		6%	3%	
Clergyman	25%	43%		12%	13%	
Lawyer	13%	46%		16%	21%	
News reporter	16%	35%		15%	33%	
Congressman	6%	41%		23%	27%	
Wall Street executive	3%	29%		23%	37%	

Q11 – Q18: For each of the following individuals, please tell me how much trust and confidence you have in them?

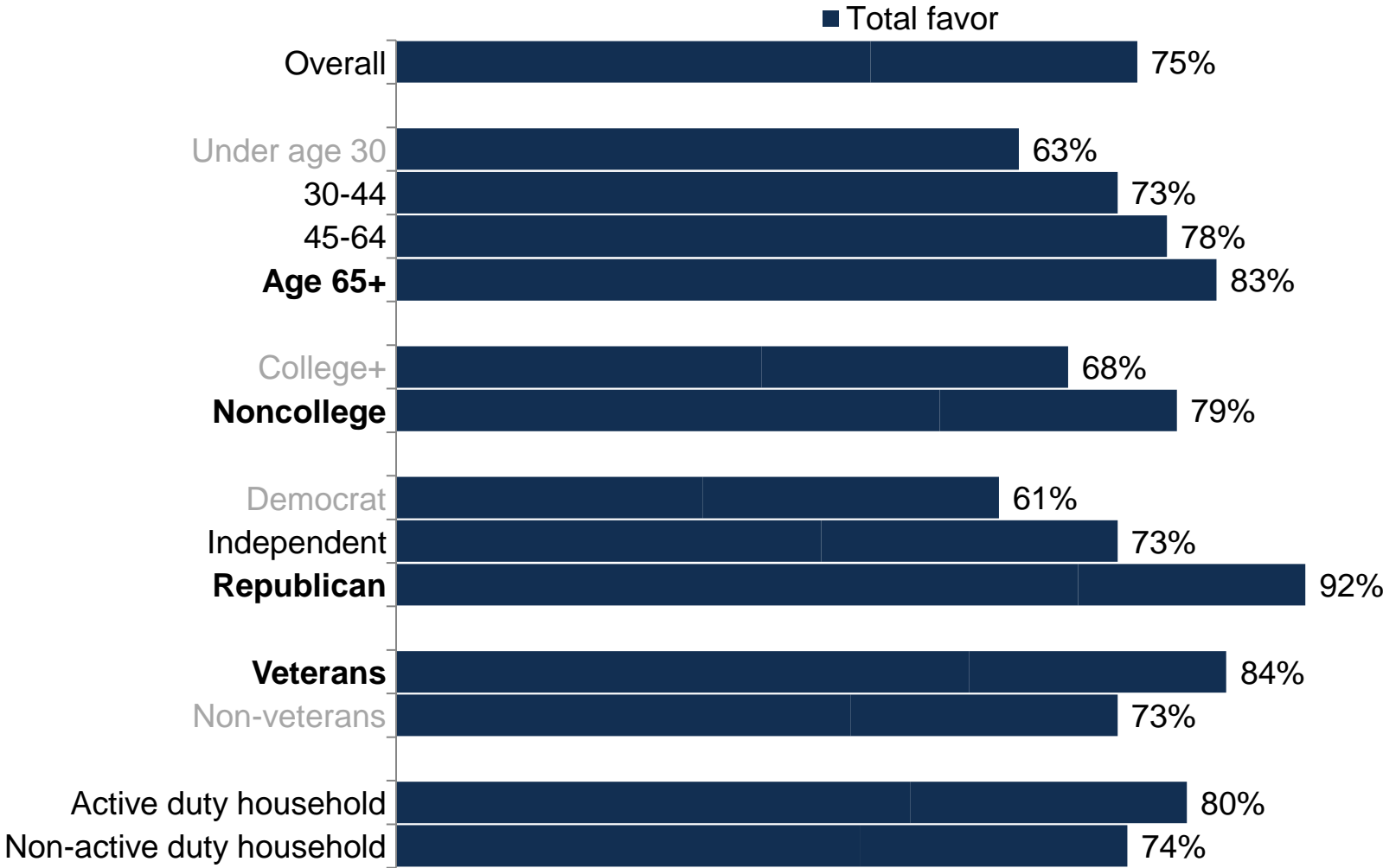# Three-quarters favor increased government spending on the military.

Legend: ◼◼ Strongly / Somewhat favor   ◼◼ Strongly / Somewhat oppose

	Strongly/Somewhat favor (dark)	Strongly/Somewhat favor (light)		Strongly/Somewhat oppose (light)	Strongly/Somewhat oppose (dark)
Education	67%	20%		6%	5%
Health care	55%	21%		10%	11%
The military	48%	27%		12%	11%
Border security	40%	22%		18%	18%
Foreign aid	13%	34%		25%	24%

Q19 – Q23: Please tell me if you favor or oppose increasing government spending in each of the following areas.

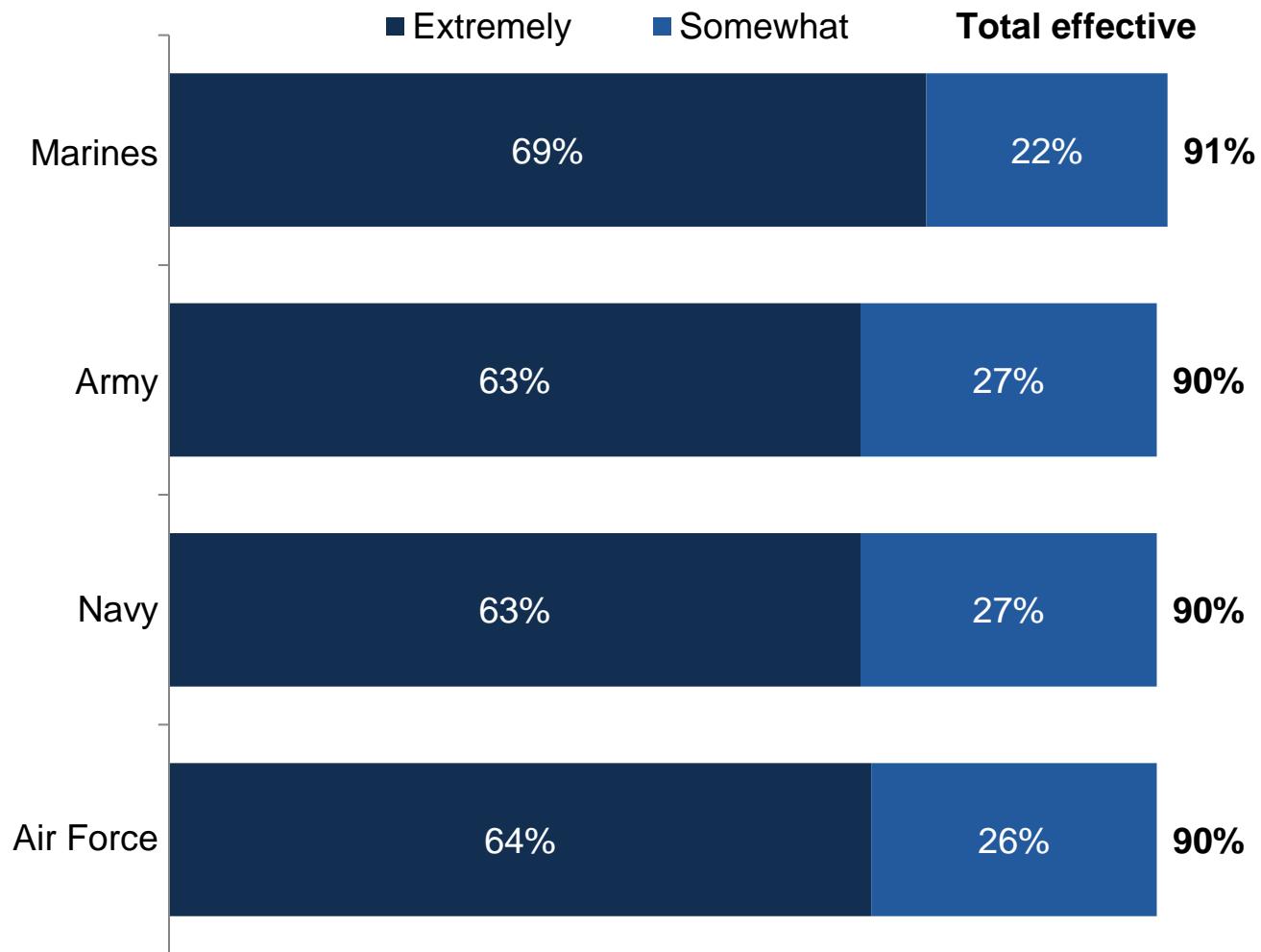# Younger citizens and Democrats are among the *least* likely to favor increased military spending.

■ Total favor

Category	Value
Overall	75%
Under age 30	63%
30-44	73%
45-64	78%
Age 65+	83%
College+	68%
Noncollege	79%
Democrat	61%
Independent	73%
Republican	92%
Veterans	84%
Non-veterans	73%
Active duty household	80%
Non-active duty household	74%

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.

Legend: ■ Extremely ■ Somewhat **Total effective**

Branch	Extremely	Somewhat	Total effective
Marines	69%	22%	**91%**
Army	63%	27%	**90%**
Navy	63%	27%	**90%**
Air Force	64%	26%	**90%**

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

When forced to choose, Marines are rated the most effective.

Marines ▮ 27%

Army ▮ 22%

Air Force ▮ 18%

Navy ▮ 13%
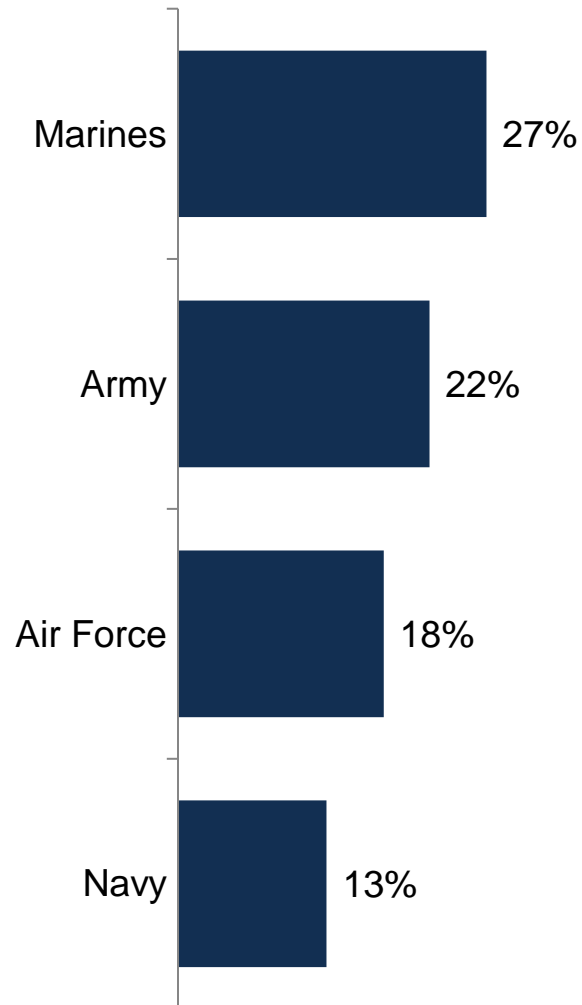
Note: Remainder Don't know

Q28: Which branch of the military do you think is <u>MOST</u> effective?

U.S. military is viewed as among the best in emergent technologies.
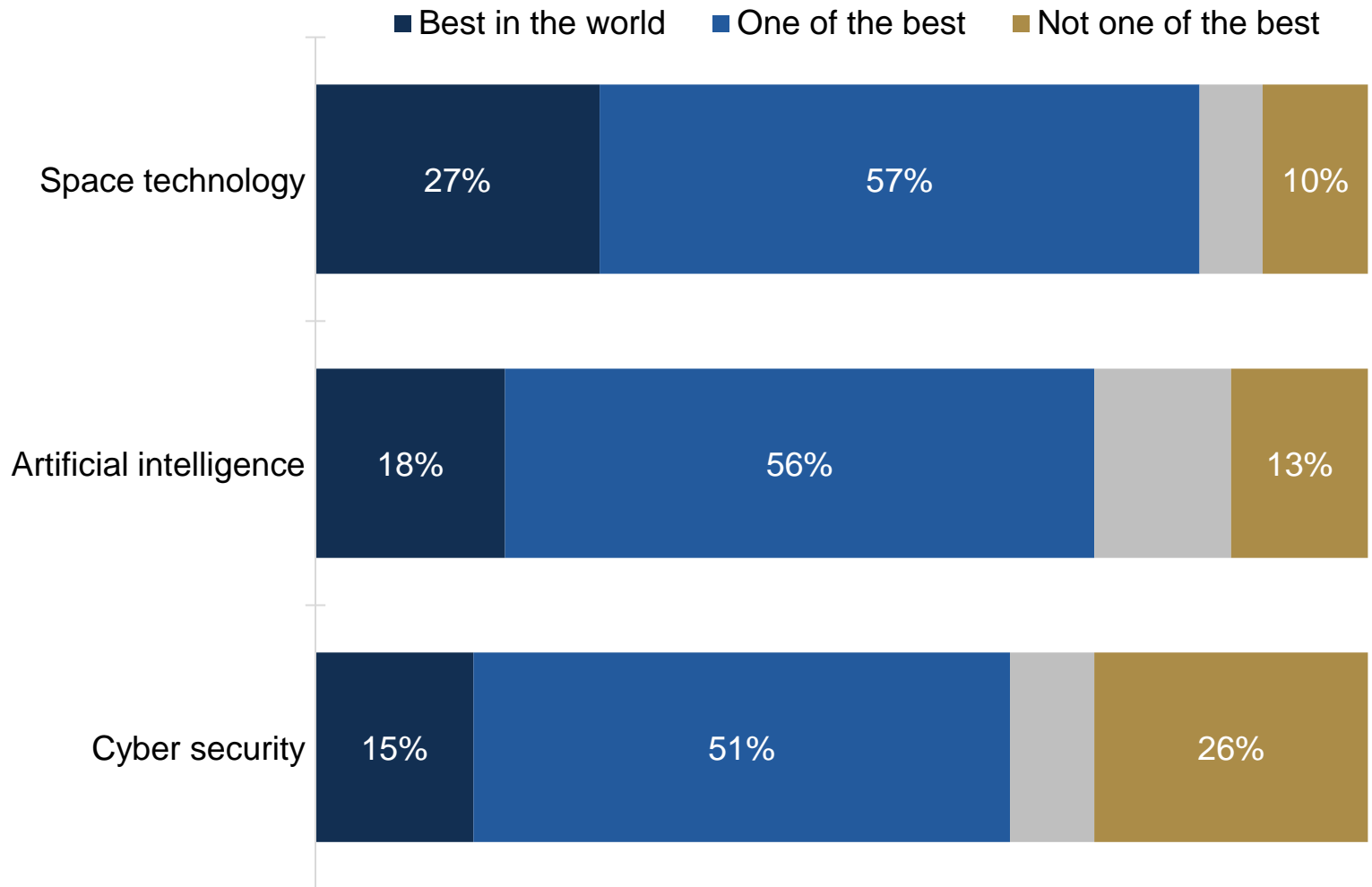
Legend: Best in the world | One of the best | Not one of the best

Category	Best in the world	One of the best	Not one of the best
Space technology	27%	57%	10%
Artificial intelligence	18%	56%	13%
Cyber security	15%	51%	26%

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?

Partisans agree on evaluations of US space and AI capabilities – but disagree on cyber security.
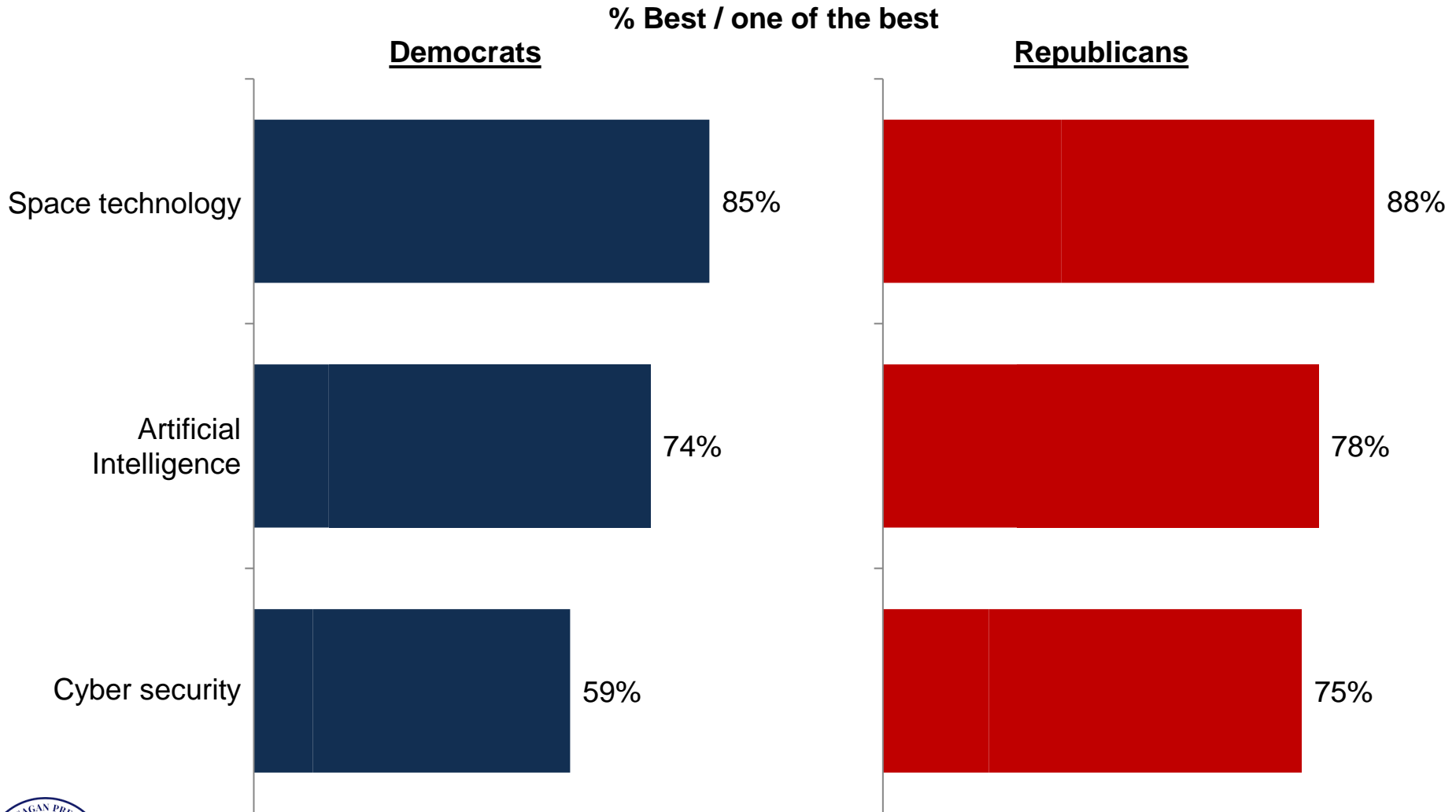
% Best / one of the best

	Democrats	Republicans
Space technology	85%	88%
Artificial Intelligence	74%	78%
Cyber security	59%	75%

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?
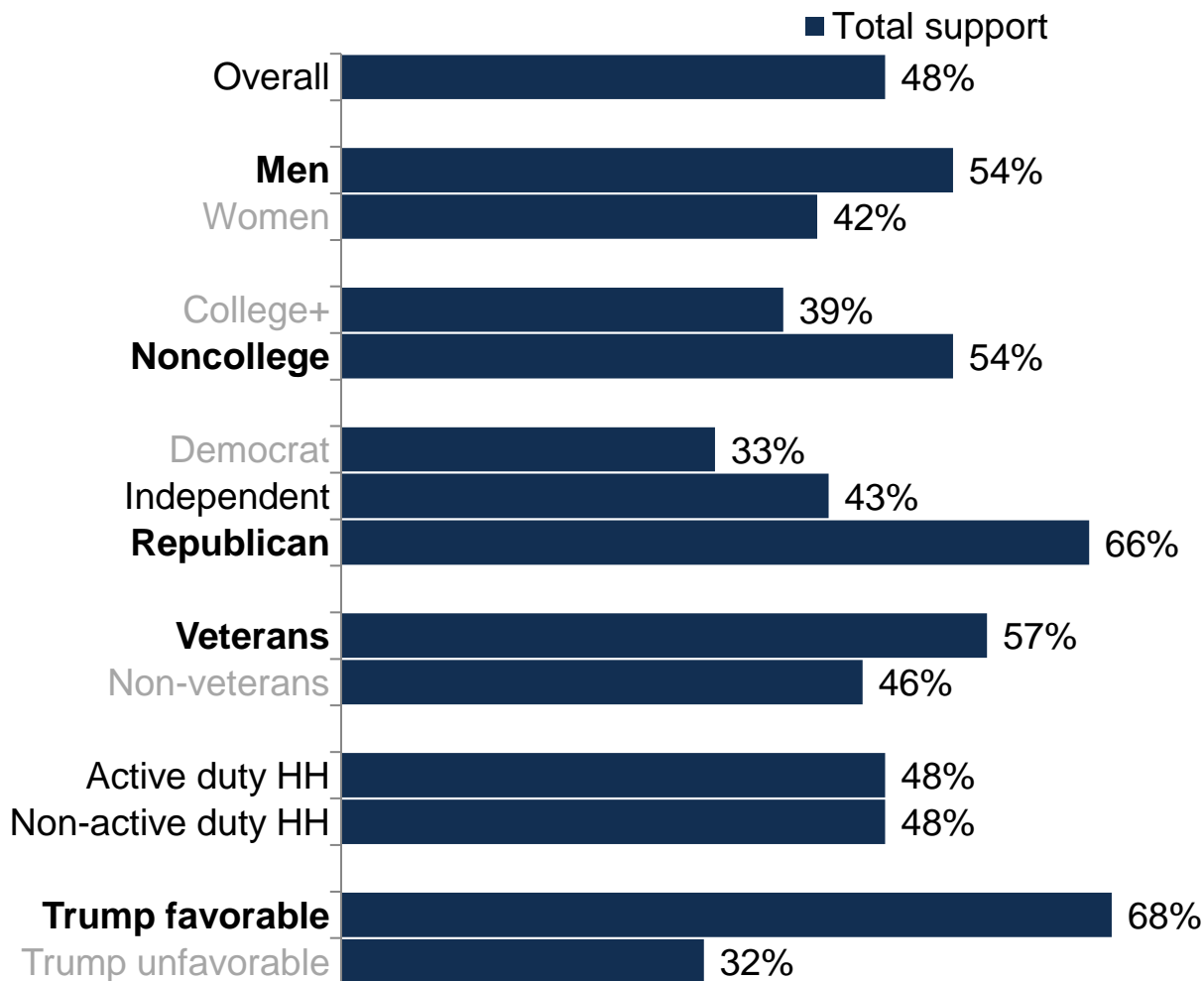
Creation of a Space Force lacks broad support.
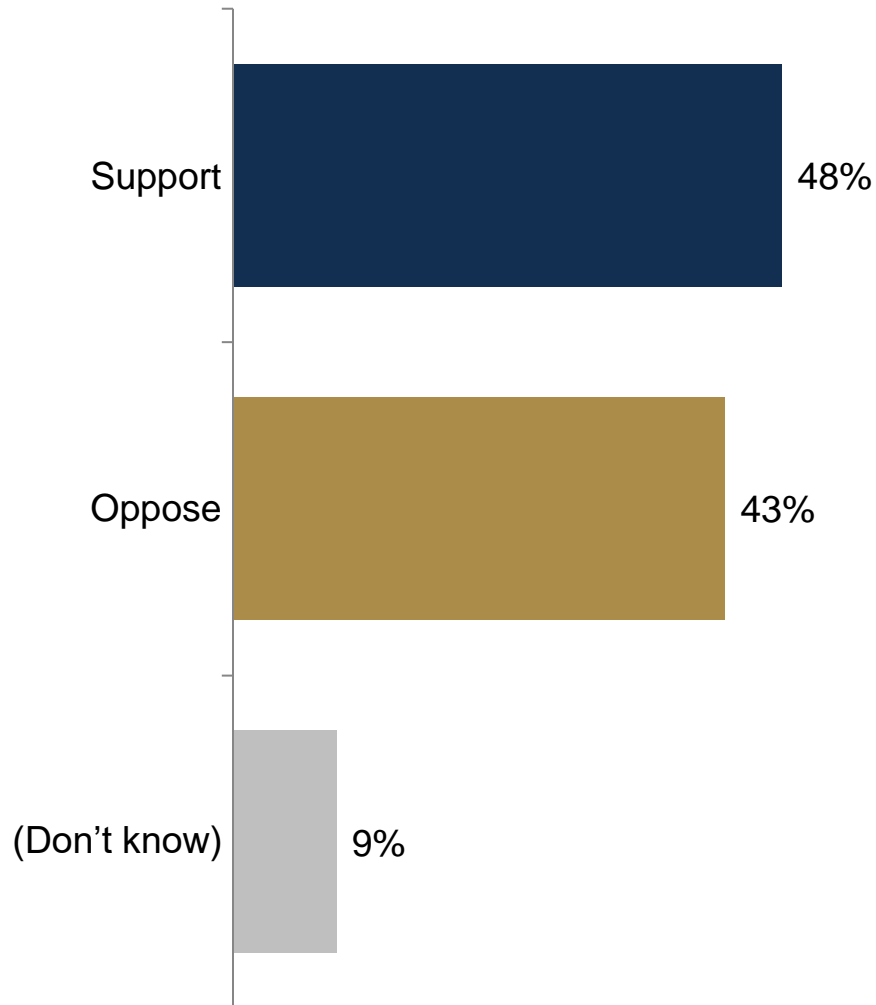
Support — 48%

Oppose — 43%

(Don't know) — 9%

*Q29: Do you support or oppose the creation of the Space Force,
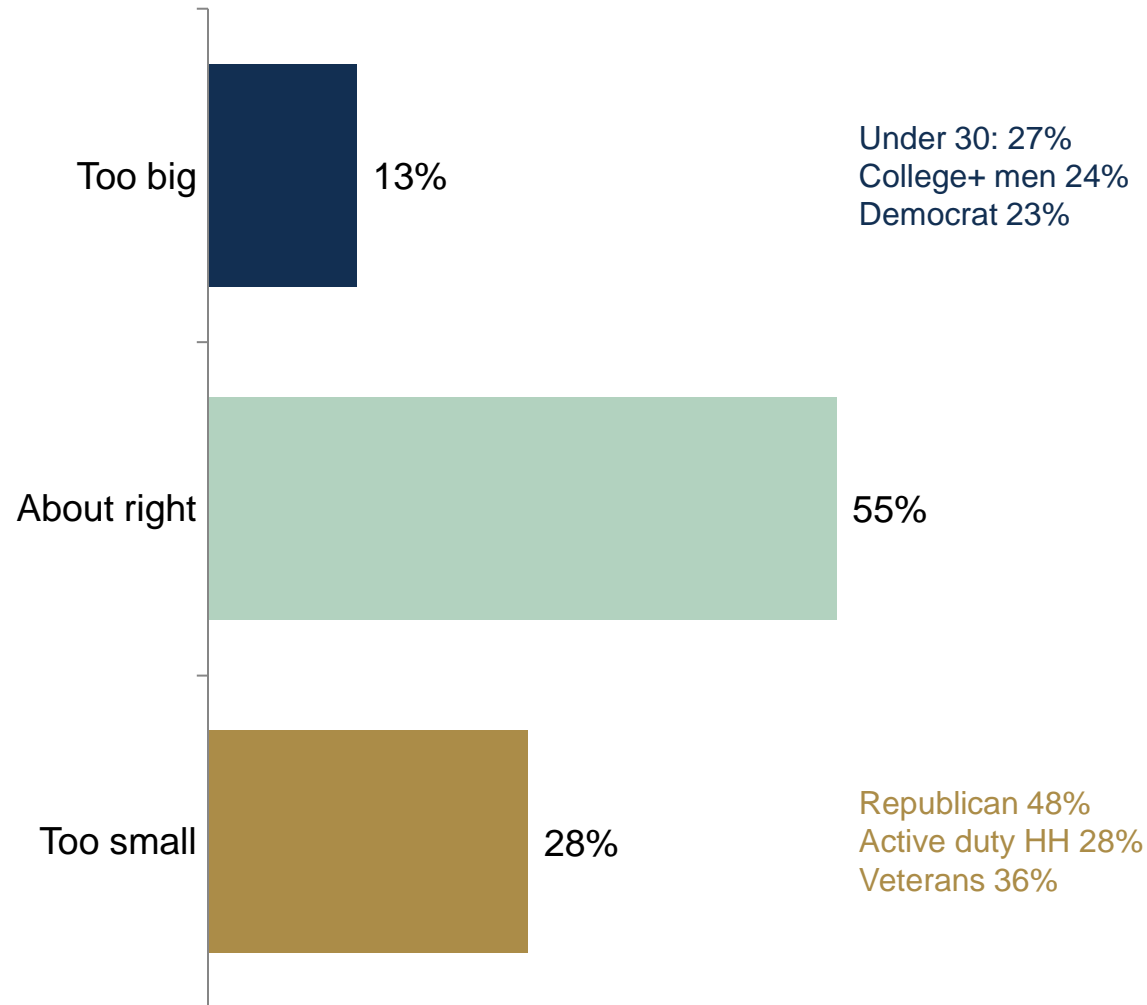which would be dedicated to protecting and defending U.S. interests in space?*

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?

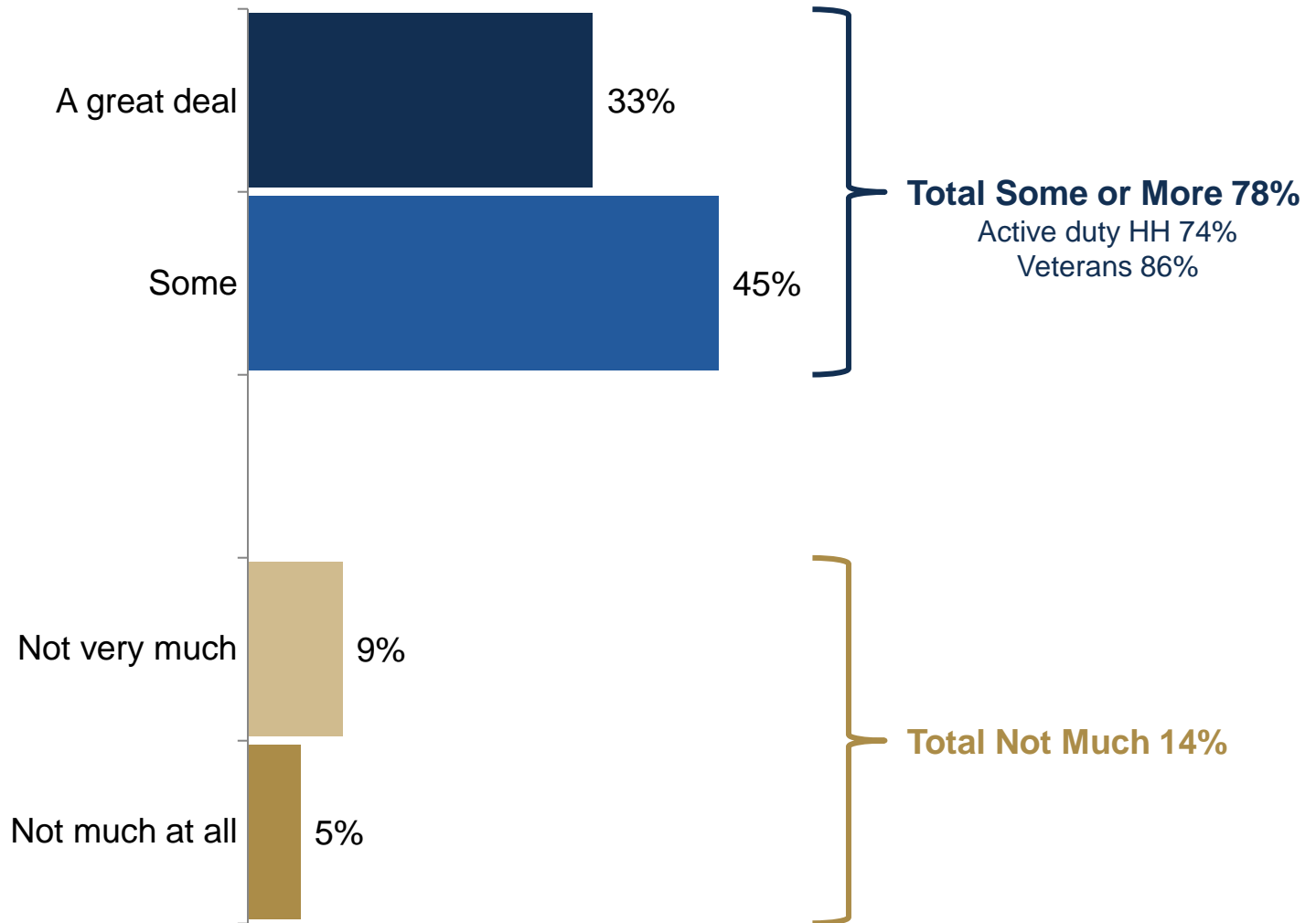# Most Americans think the current size of the military is about right.

Too big — 13%

Under 30: 27%
College+ men 24%
Democrat 23%

About right — 55%

Too small — 28%

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.

A great deal — 33%

Some — 45%

Total Some or More 78%
Active duty HH 74%
Veterans 86%

Not very much — 9%

Not much at all — 5%

Total Not Much 14%

Note: Remainder Don't know

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

Few believe Congress provides adequate oversight of Defense spending.

Yes — Active duty HH 37% — 25%

No — Democrat 65% / Independent 59% / Republican 58% — 61%
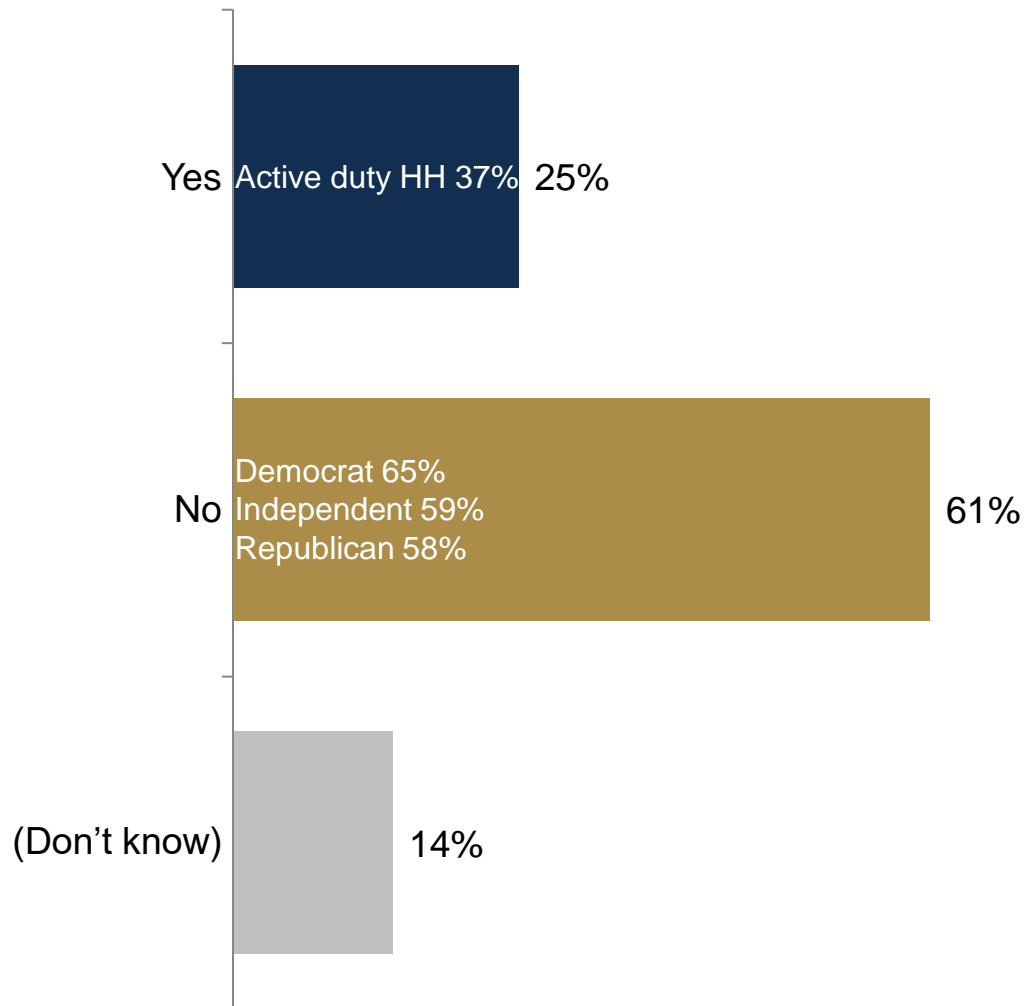
(Don't know) — 14%

Q36: Does Congress provide adequate oversight of Defense spending?

A large majority of Americans think U.S. troops are underpaid.

Overpaid | 1%

About right | 20%

Underpaid | Men 67%, Women 76% | 72%
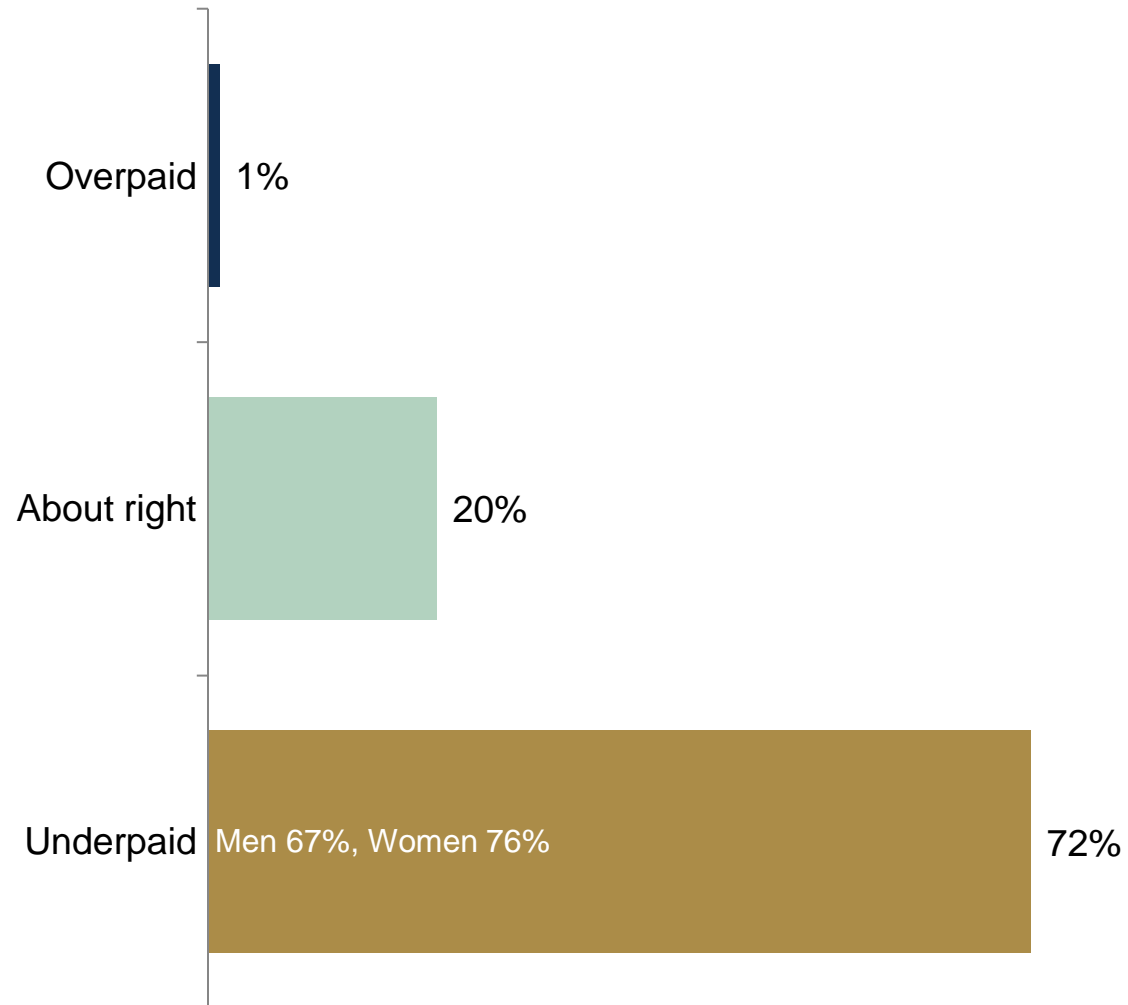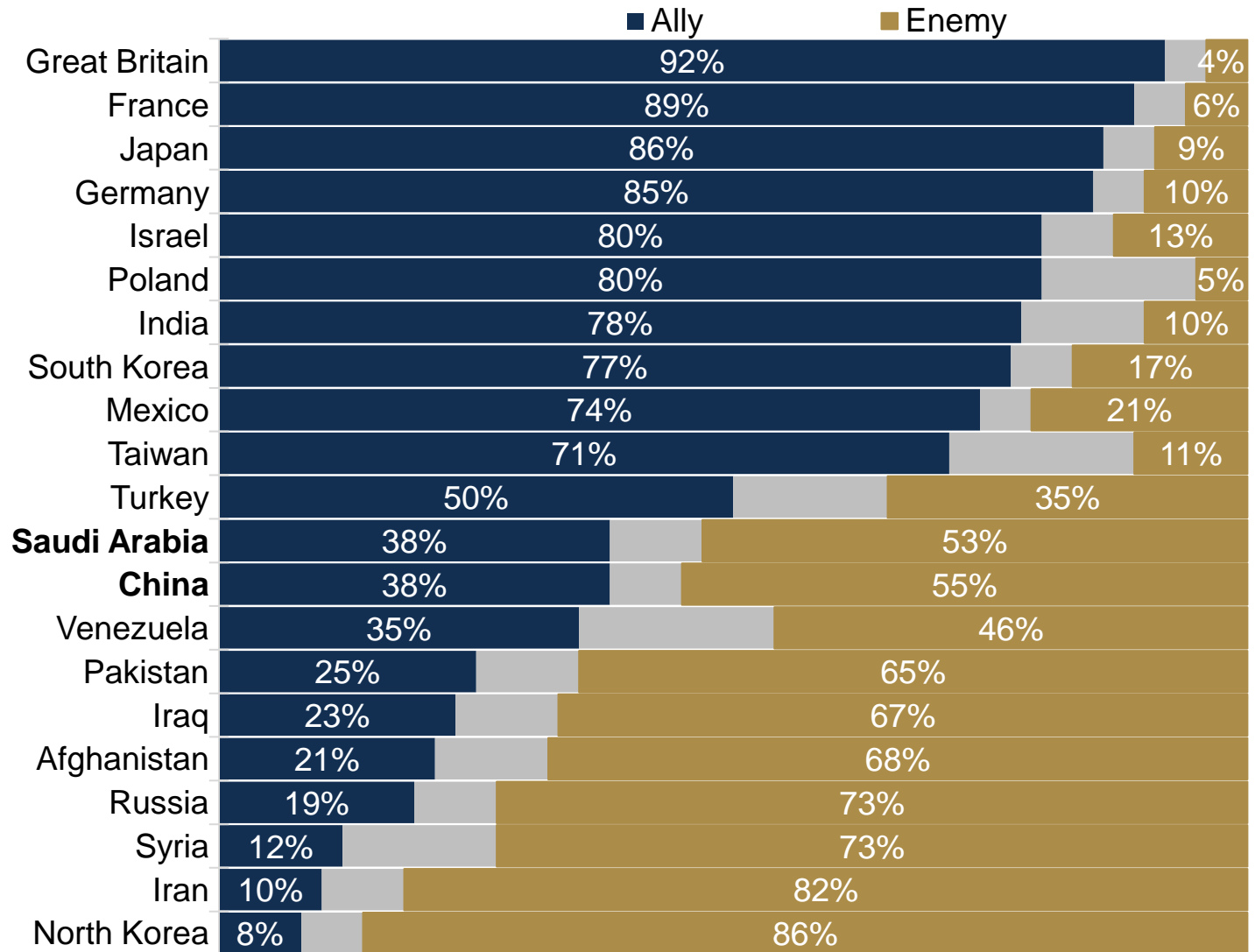
Note: Remainder Don't know

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

Assessments of Other Countries

Summary of Views on Allies and Enemies

Legend: ■ Ally   ■ Enemy

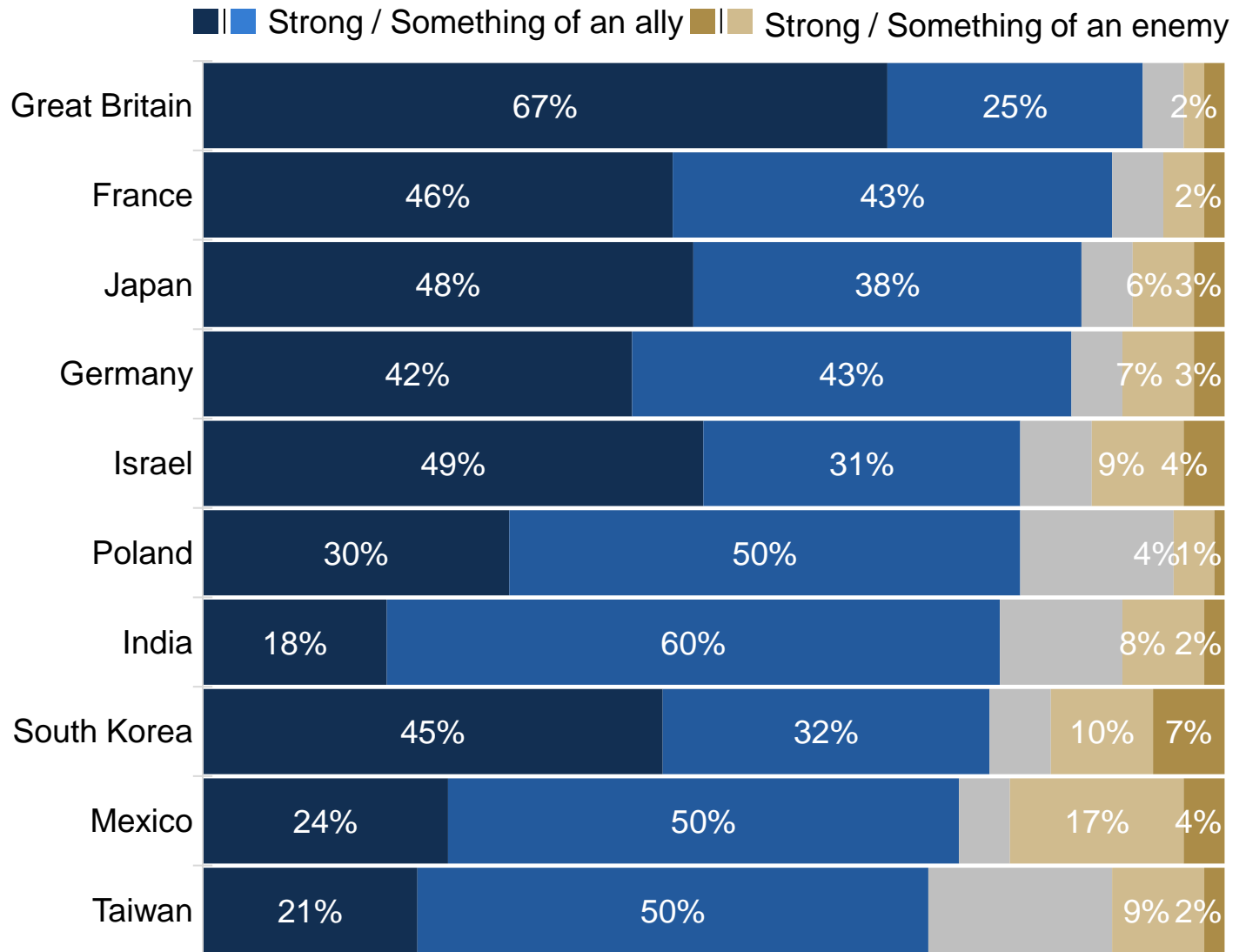| Country	Ally	Enemy
Great Britain	92%	4%
France	89%	6%
Japan	86%	9%
Germany	85%	10%
Israel	80%	13%
Poland	80%	5%
India	78%	10%
South Korea	77%	17%
Mexico	74%	21%
Taiwan	71%	11%
Turkey	50%	35%
Saudi Arabia	38%	53%
China	38%	55%
Venezuela	35%	46%
Pakistan	25%	65%
Iraq	23%	67%
Afghanistan	21%	68%
Russia	19%	73%
Syria	12%	73%
Iran	10%	82%
North Korea	8%	86%

*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

Legend: ■■ Strong / Something of an ally ■■ Strong / Something of an enemy

Country	Strong ally	Something of an ally	(gray)	Something of an enemy	Strong enemy
Great Britain	67%	25%		2%	
France	46%	43%		2%	
Japan	48%	38%		6%	3%
Germany	42%	43%		7%	3%
Israel	49%	31%		9%	4%
Poland	30%	50%		4%	1%
India	18%	60%		8%	2%
South Korea	45%	32%		10%	7%
Mexico	24%	50%		17%	4%
Taiwan	21%	50%		9%	2%

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?
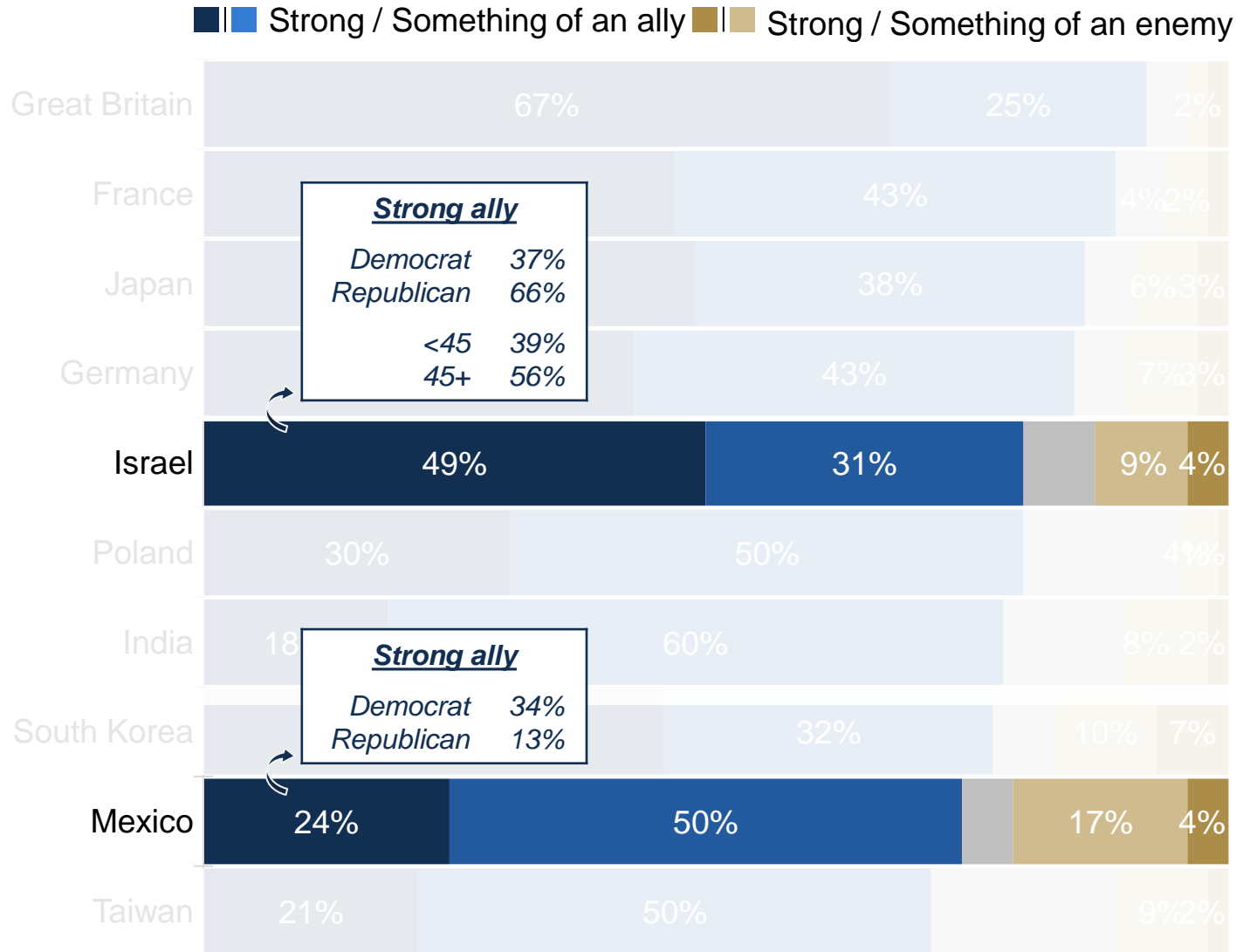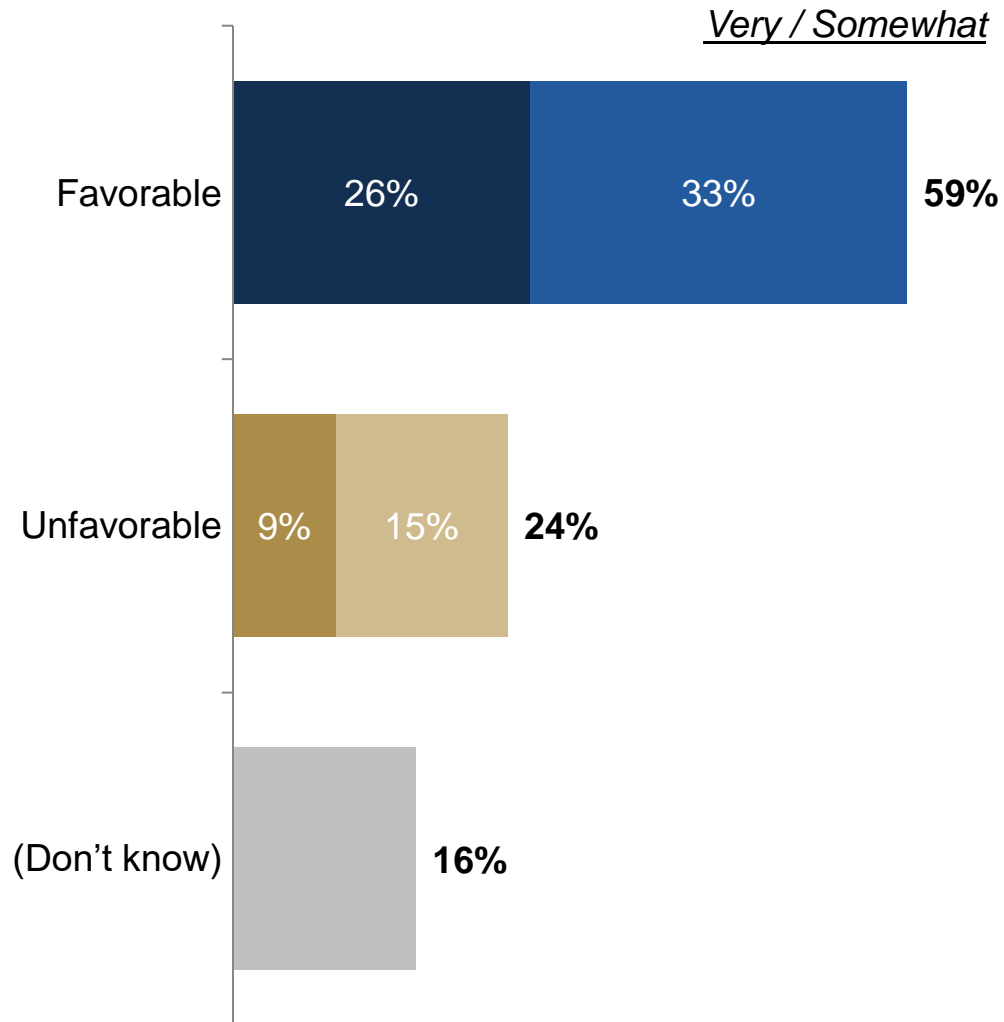
Partisans view Israel and Mexico differently.

Legend: ■■ Strong / Something of an ally ■■ Strong / Something of an enemy

Country	Strong/Something of an ally		Strong/Something of an enemy	
Great Britain	67%	25%	2%	
France	43%	4%	2%	
Japan	38%	6%	3%	
Germany	43%	7%	3%	
Israel	**49%**	**31%**	**9%**	**4%**
Poland	30%	50%	4%	1%
India	18	60%	8%	2%
South Korea	32%	10%	7%	
Mexico	**24%**	**50%**	**17%**	**4%**
Taiwan	21%	50%	9%	2%

Callout (Israel):
Strong ally
Democrat	37%
Republican	66%
<45	39%
45+	56%

Callout (Mexico):
Strong ally
Democrat	34%
Republican	13%

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?
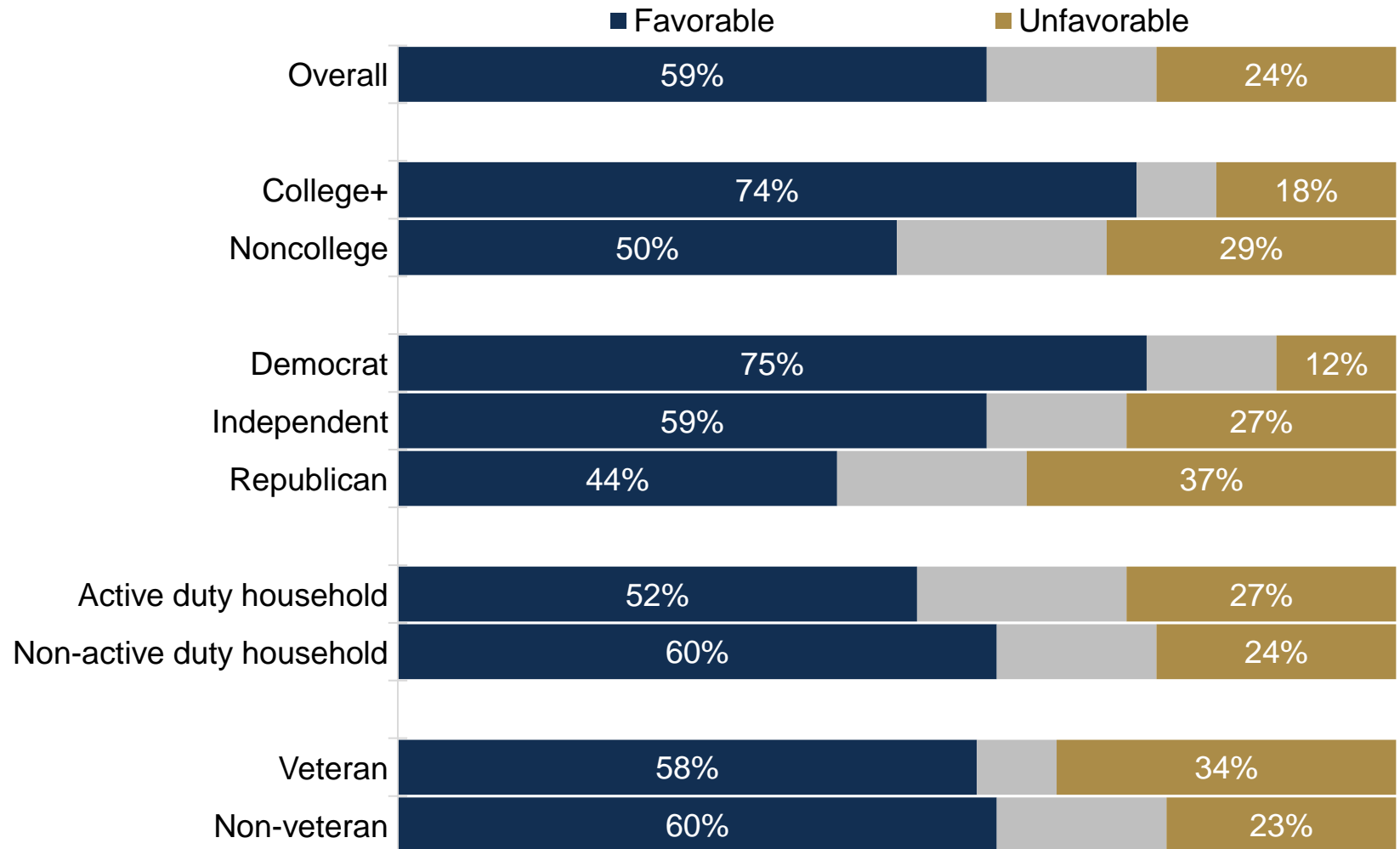
A majority of Americans are favorable towards NATO.

Very / Somewhat

Favorable	26%	33%	**59%**
Unfavorable	9%	15%	**24%**
(Don't know)		**16%**

Republicans have the least favorable views of NATO.

Legend: ■ Favorable ■ Unfavorable

Category	Favorable	Unfavorable
Overall	59%	24%
College+	74%	18%
Noncollege	50%	29%
Democrat	75%	12%
Independent	59%	27%
Republican	44%	37%
Active duty household	52%	27%
Non-active duty household	60%	24%
Veteran	58%	34%
Non-veteran	60%	23%

Q78: Do you have a favorable or an unfavorable view of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, also known as NATO?

Majority thinks NATO allies should be doing more.
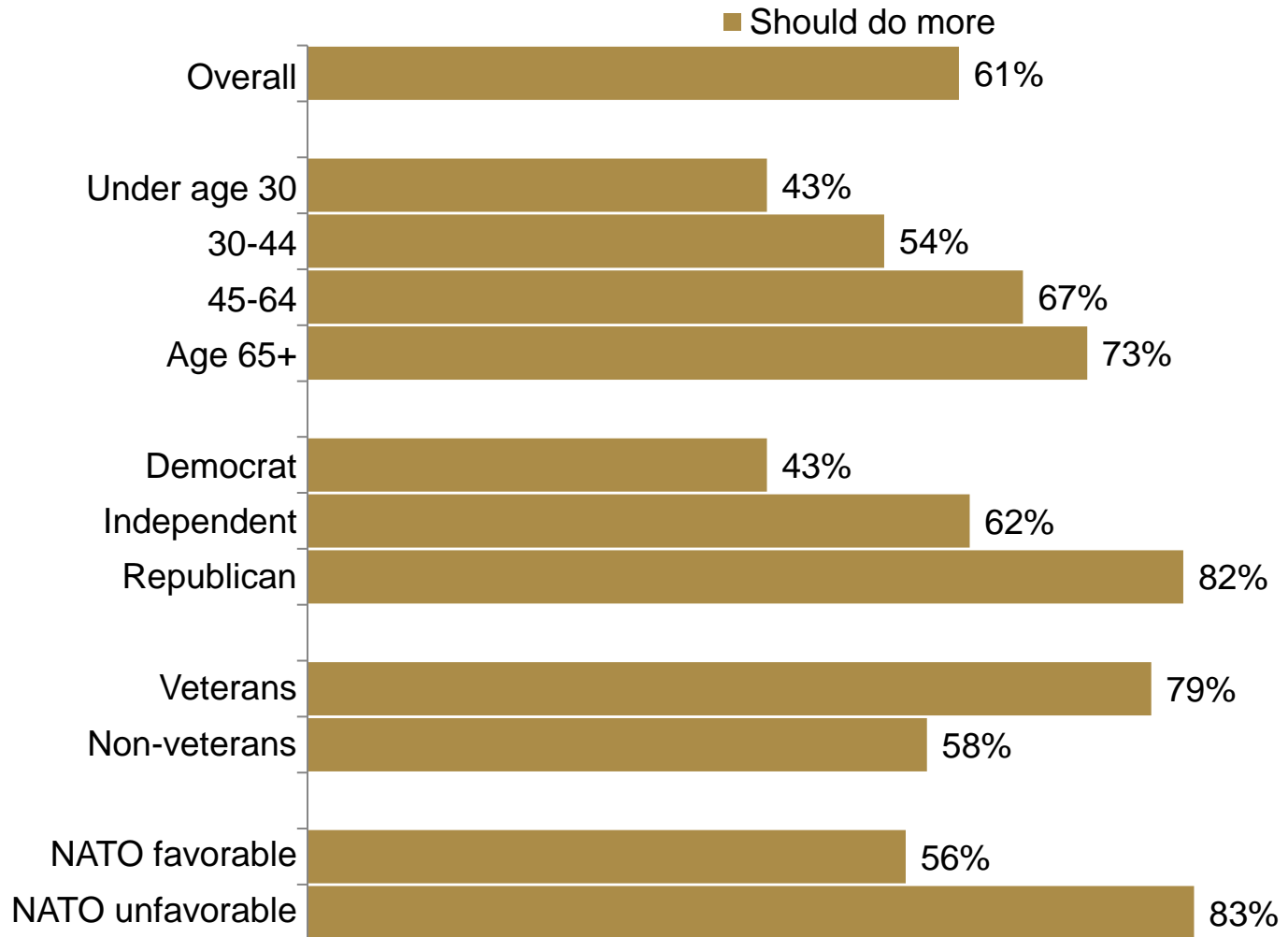

They do their fair share — 26%

They should do more — 61%

(Don't know) — 13%
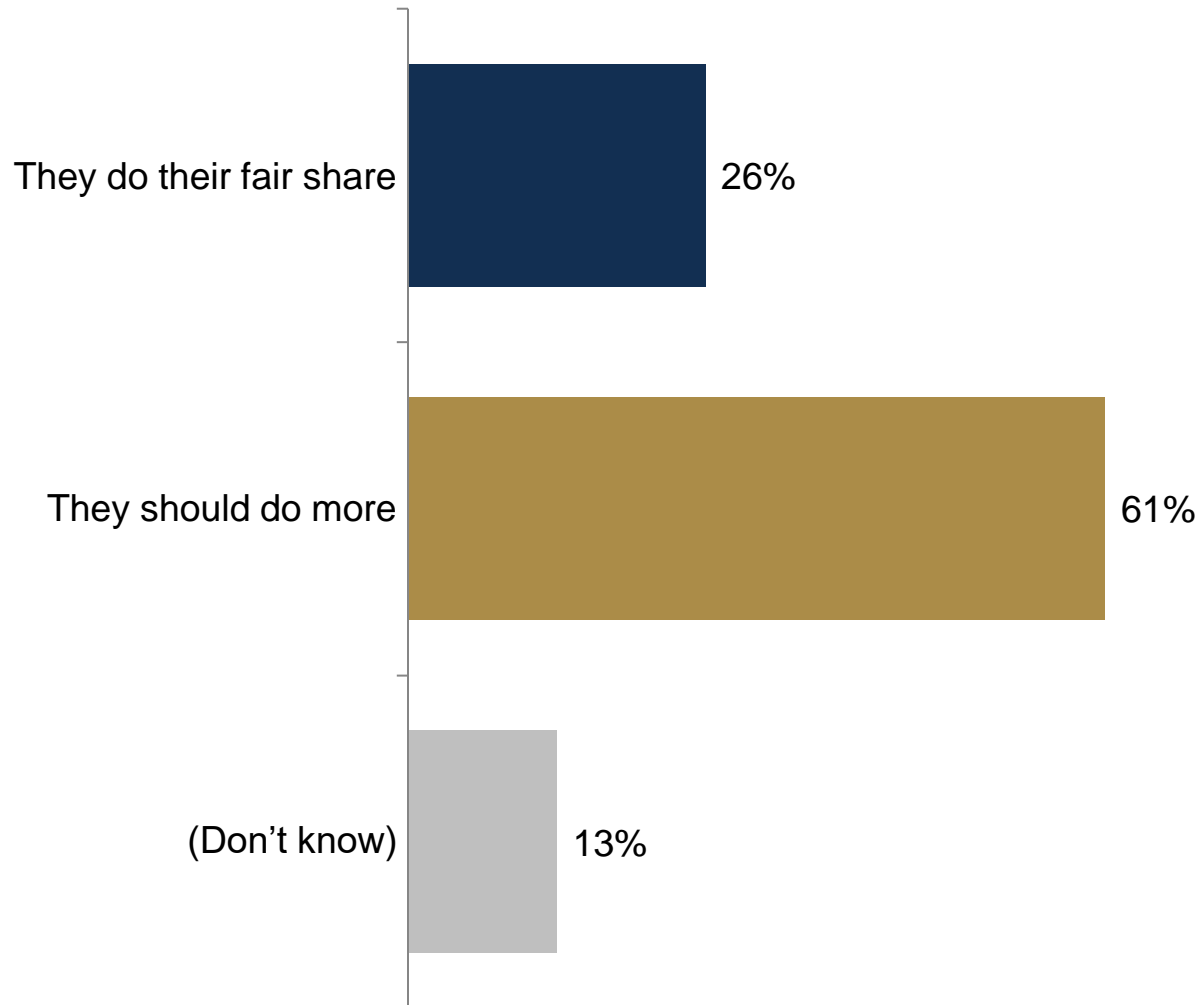
Q79: Do you think our NATO allies pay their fair share or should they do more?

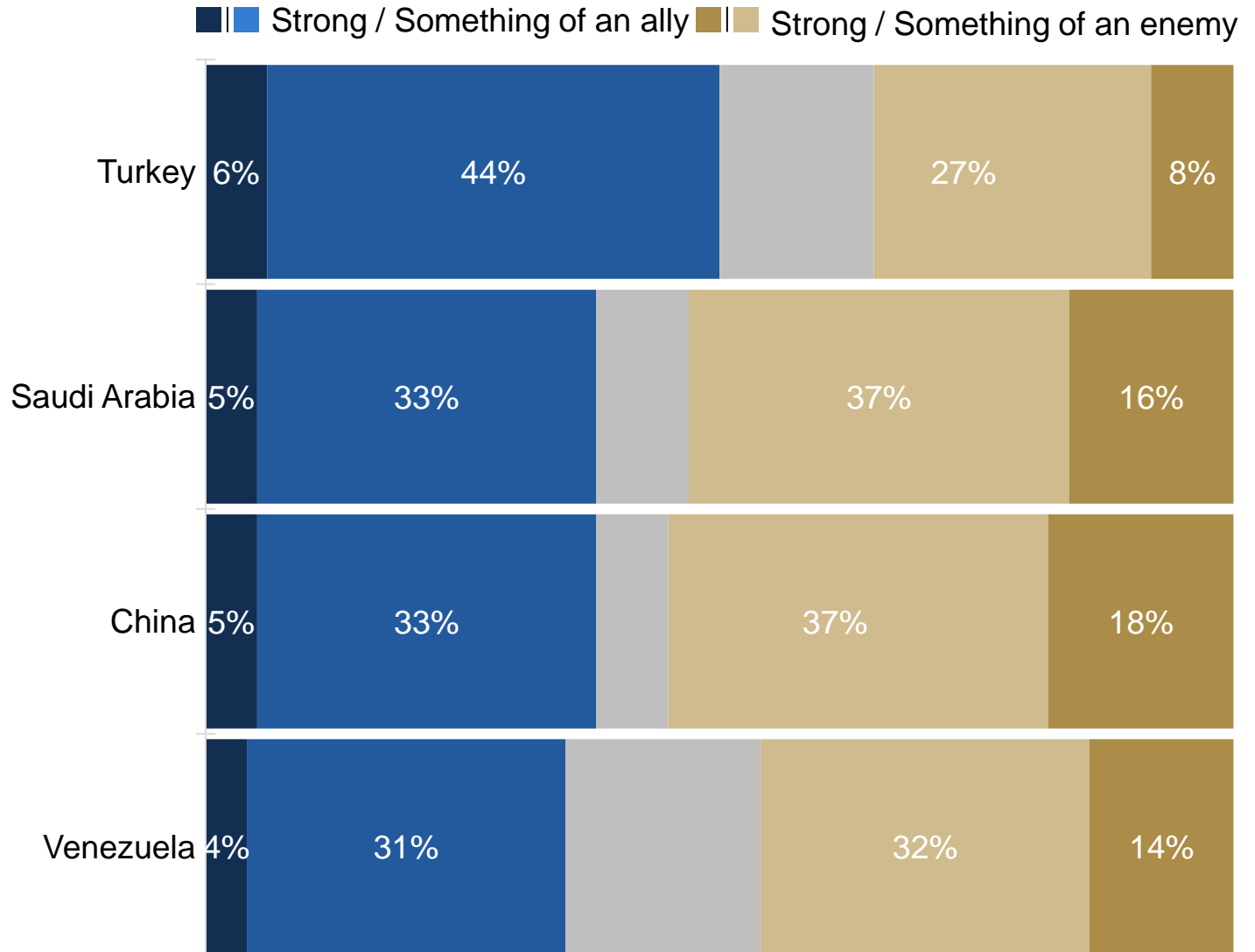# Even a majority of those with a *favorable* view of NATO think our allies should do more.

■ Should do more

Category	Percentage
Overall	61%
Under age 30	43%
30-44	54%
45-64	67%
Age 65+	73%
Democrat	43%
Independent	62%
Republican	82%
Veterans	79%
Non-veterans	58%
NATO favorable	56%
NATO unfavorable	83%

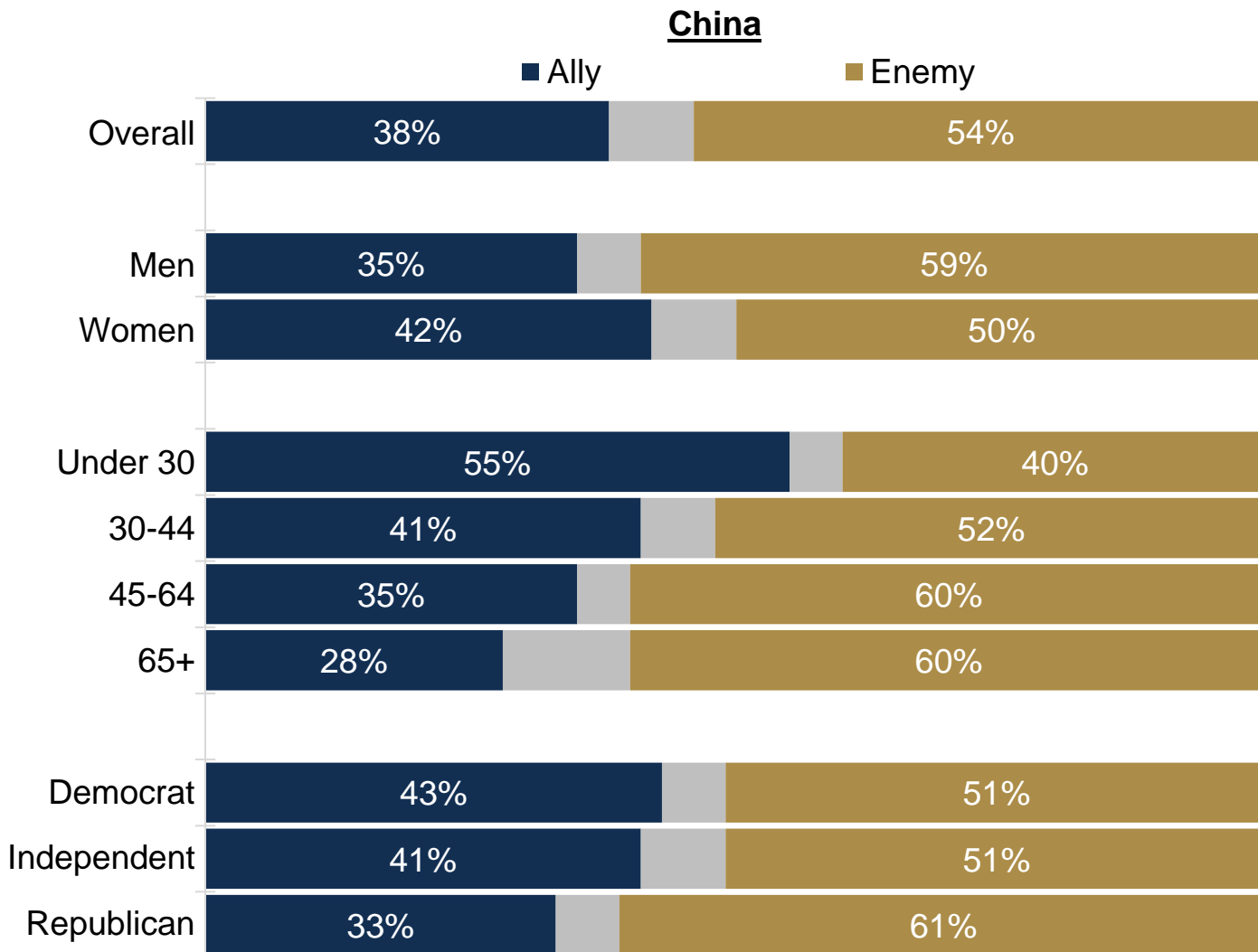*Q79: Do you think our NATO allies pay their fair share or should they do more?*

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

Legend: ■■ Strong / Something of an ally   ■■ Strong / Something of an enemy

Country	Strong / Something of an ally		(neutral)	Strong / Something of an enemy	
Turkey	6%	44%		27%	8%
Saudi Arabia	5%	33%		37%	16%
China	5%	33%		37%	18%
Venezuela	4%	31%		32%	14%

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?
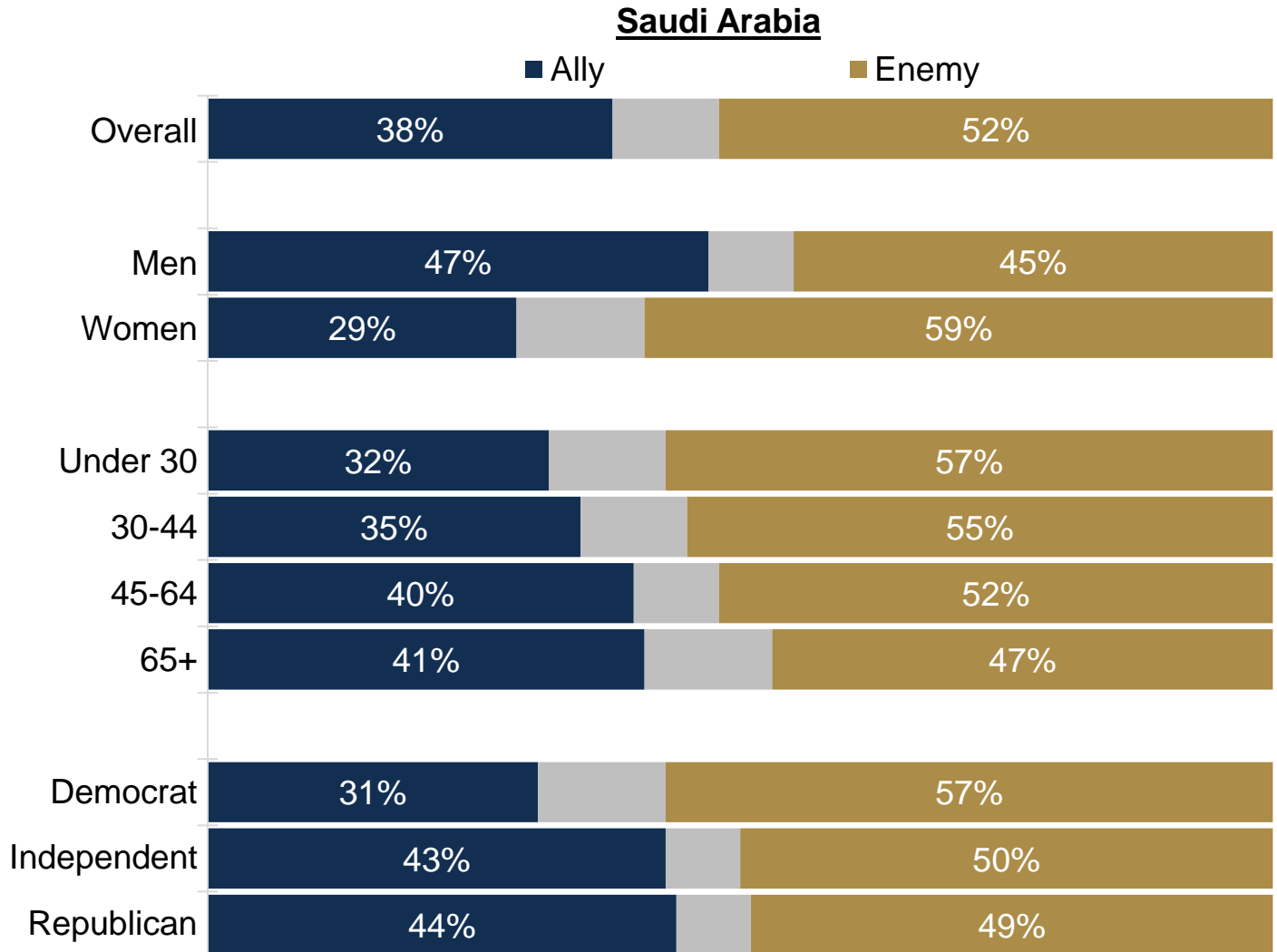
Younger citizens see China as more of an ally; older citizens and Republicans see China as an enemy.

China

■ Ally   ■ Enemy

	Ally	Enemy
Overall	38%	54%
Men	35%	59%
Women	42%	50%
Under 30	55%	40%
30-44	41%	52%
45-64	35%	60%
65+	28%	60%
Democrat	43%	51%
Independent	41%	51%
Republican	33%	61%

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]

Women, Democrats, and younger citizens are more likely to see Saudi Arabia as an enemy.

Saudi Arabia

■ Ally   ■ Enemy

Group	Ally	Enemy
Overall	38%	52%
Men	47%	45%
Women	29%	59%
Under 30	32%	57%
30-44	35%	55%
45-64	40%	52%
65+	41%	47%
Democrat	31%	57%
Independent	43%	50%
Republican	44%	49%

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]

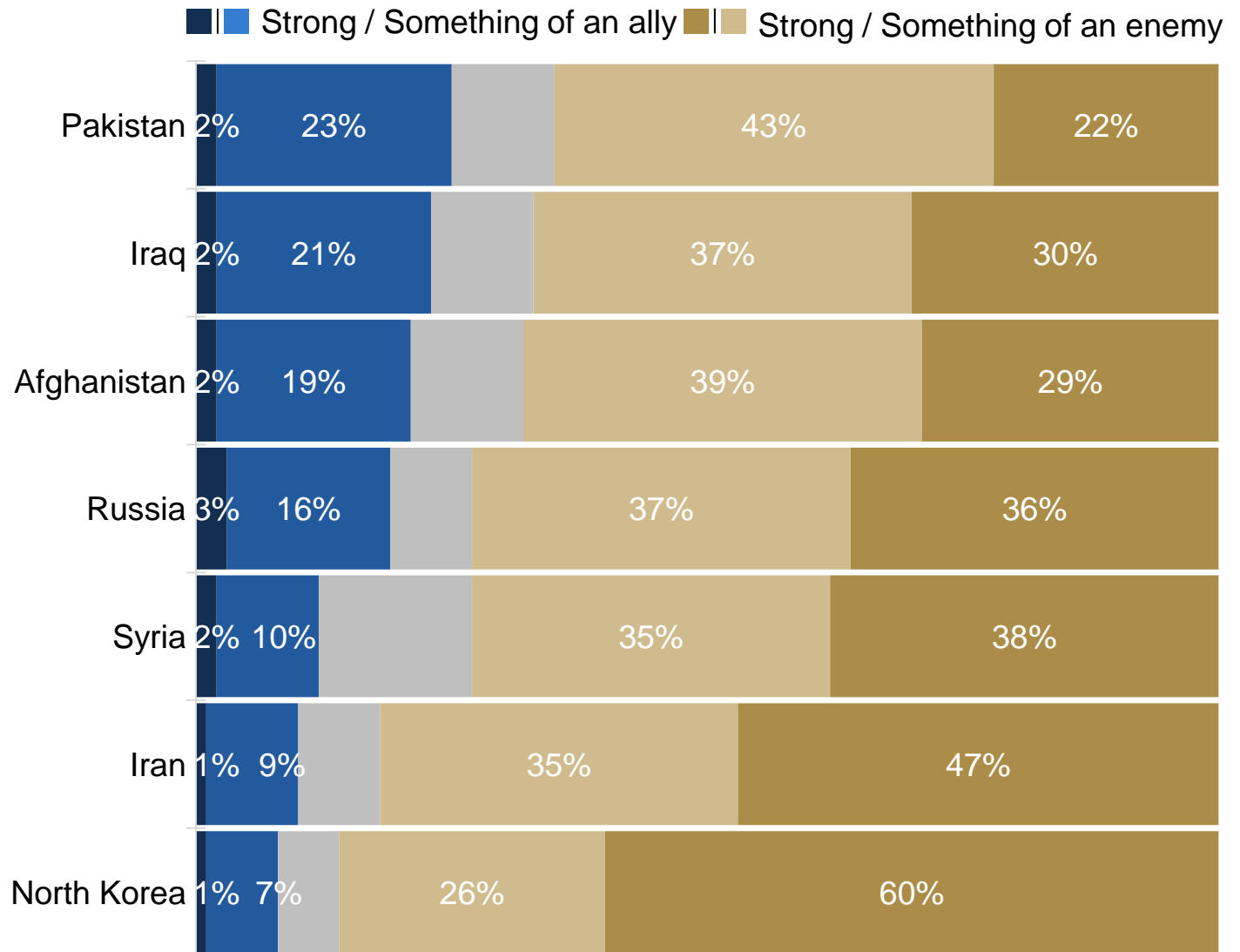# Nearly 9-in-10 oppose arms sales to authoritarian countries that are not strong allies.

Yes — 8%

No — 87%

(Depends) — 3%
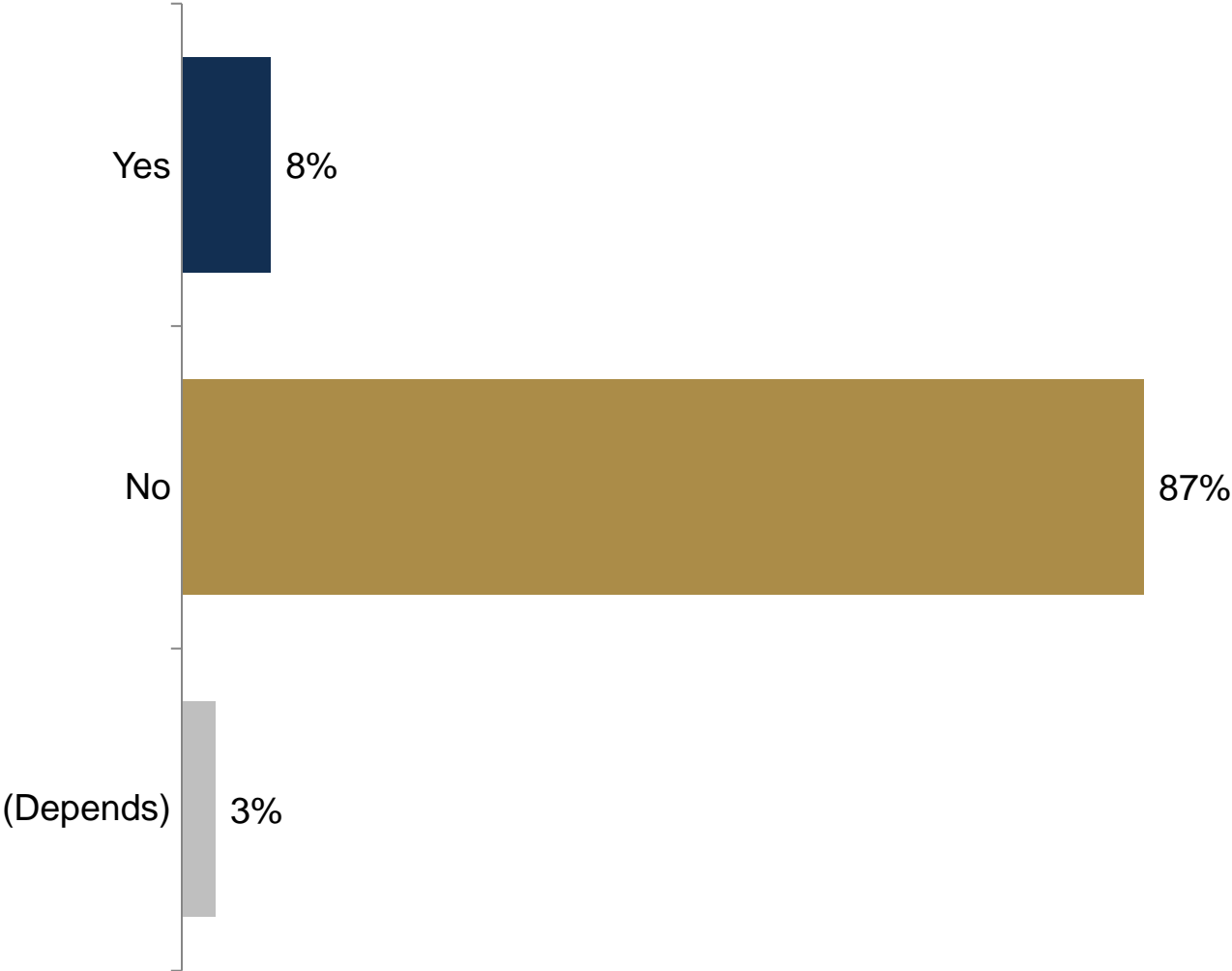
Note: Remainder Don't know

Q60: Would you be willing to consider selling arms to an authoritarian country that is not a strong ally?
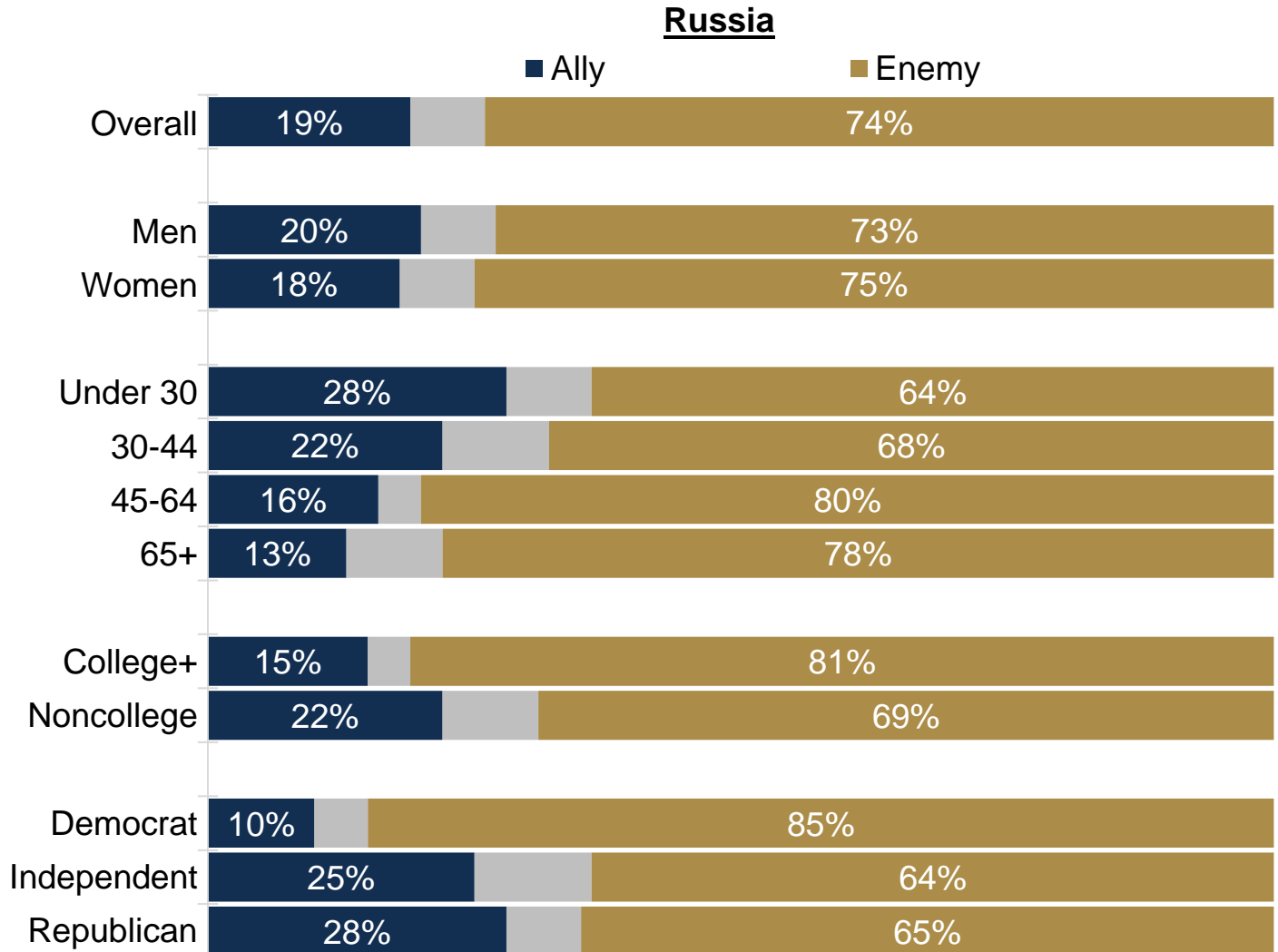
Enemies and Threats
North Korea seen as a primary adversary; partisan disagreement about Russia

Strong / Something of an ally   Strong / Something of an enemy

Country	Strong ally	Something of an ally	(neutral)	Something of an enemy	Strong enemy
Pakistan	2%	23%		43%	22%
Iraq	2%	21%		37%	30%
Afghanistan	2%	19%		39%	29%
Russia	3%	16%		37%	36%
Syria	2%	10%		35%	38%
Iran	1%	9%		35%	47%
North Korea	1%	7%		26%	60%

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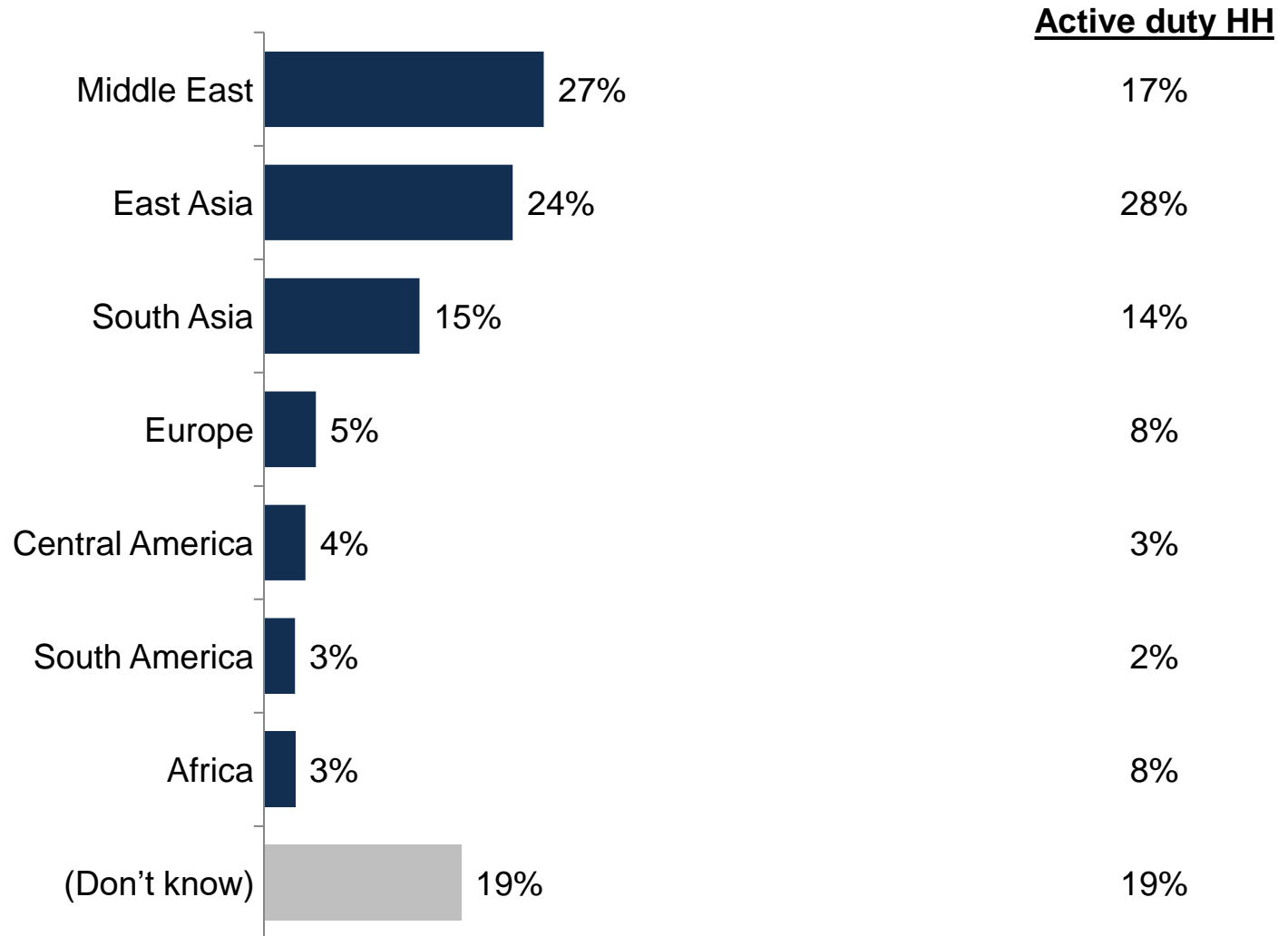*as a strong ally, something of an ally, something of an enemy, or a strong enemy?*

Younger Americans and Republicans are less likely to see Russia as an enemy.

Russia

■ Ally   ■ Enemy

	Ally	Enemy
Overall	19%	74%
Men	20%	73%
Women	18%	75%
Under 30	28%	64%
30-44	22%	68%
45-64	16%	80%
65+	13%	78%
College+	15%	81%
Noncollege	22%	69%
Democrat	10%	85%
Independent	25%	64%
Republican	28%	65%

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]
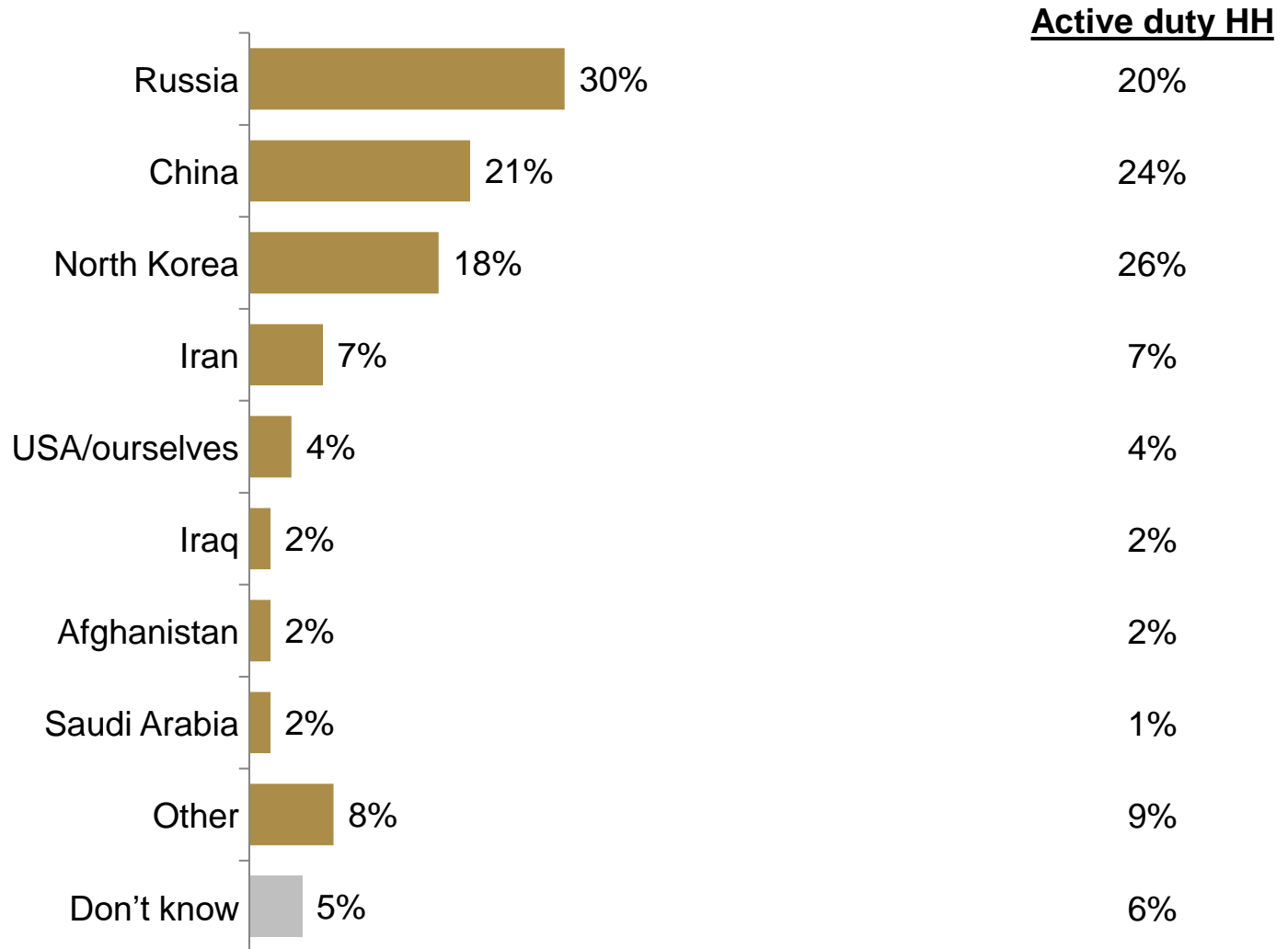
Americans see the biggest regional challenges in the Middle East and East Asia.

	Active duty HH
Middle East	27%	17%
East Asia	24%	28%
South Asia	15%	14%
Europe	5%	8%
Central America	4%	3%
South America	3%	2%
Africa	3%	8%
(Don't know)	19%	19%

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?

# Russia and China are seen as the greatest threats to the U.S.

		Active duty HH
Russia	30%	20%
China	21%	24%
North Korea	18%	26%
Iran	7%	7%
USA/ourselves	4%	4%
Iraq	2%	2%
Afghanistan	2%	2%
Saudi Arabia	2%	1%
Other	8%	9%
Don't know	5%	6%

Note: Asked as an open-ended question. Responses under 2% included in "other"

Q59: Which country do you see as the greatest threat to the U.S.? [OPEN-END]
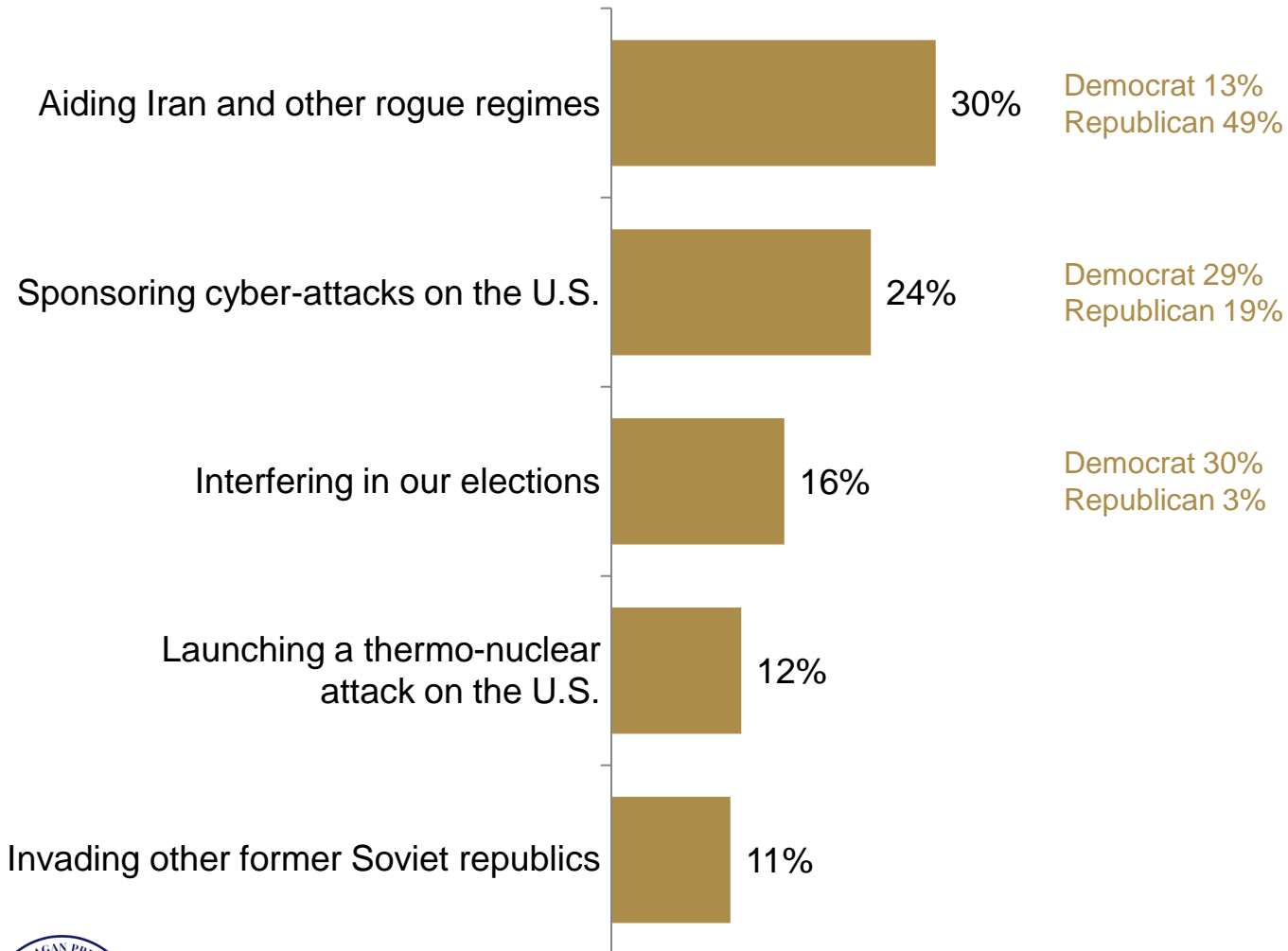
Partisans agree about the threat from North Korea, but diverge on the threat posed by Russia and China.
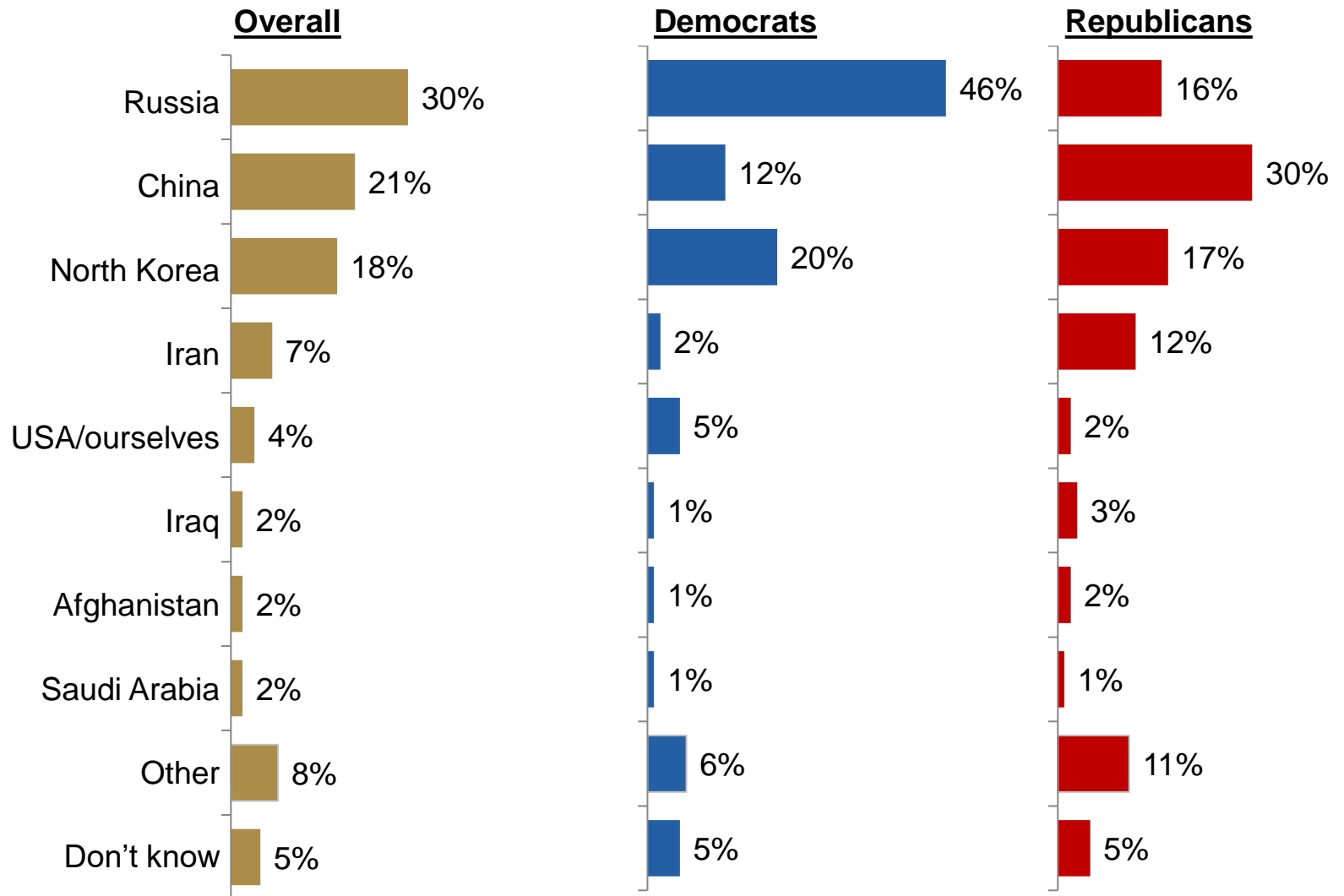
Q59: Which country do you see as the greatest threat to the U.S.? [OPEN-END]
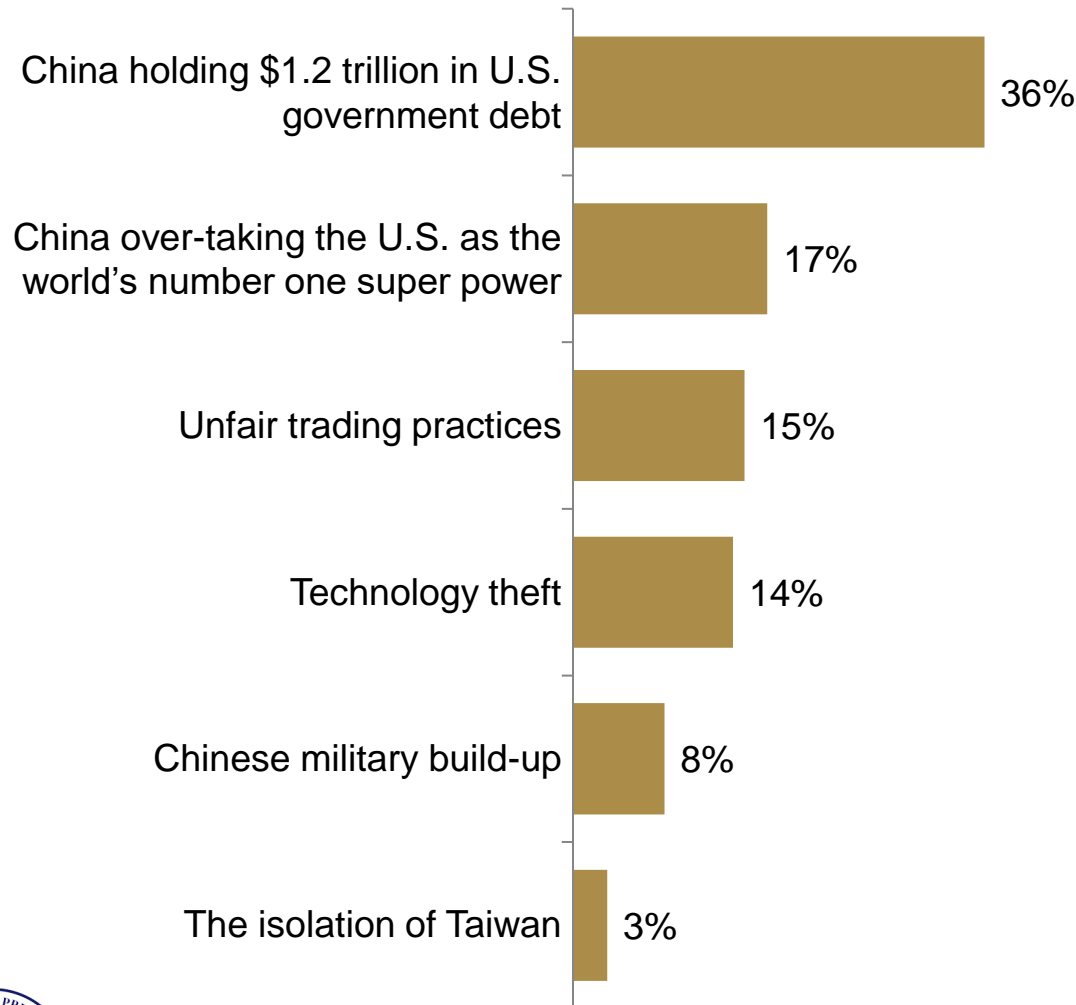
Biggest concerns with Russia

Concern	%	Party Breakdown
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

Q72: Which of the following most concerns you about Russia?

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%**

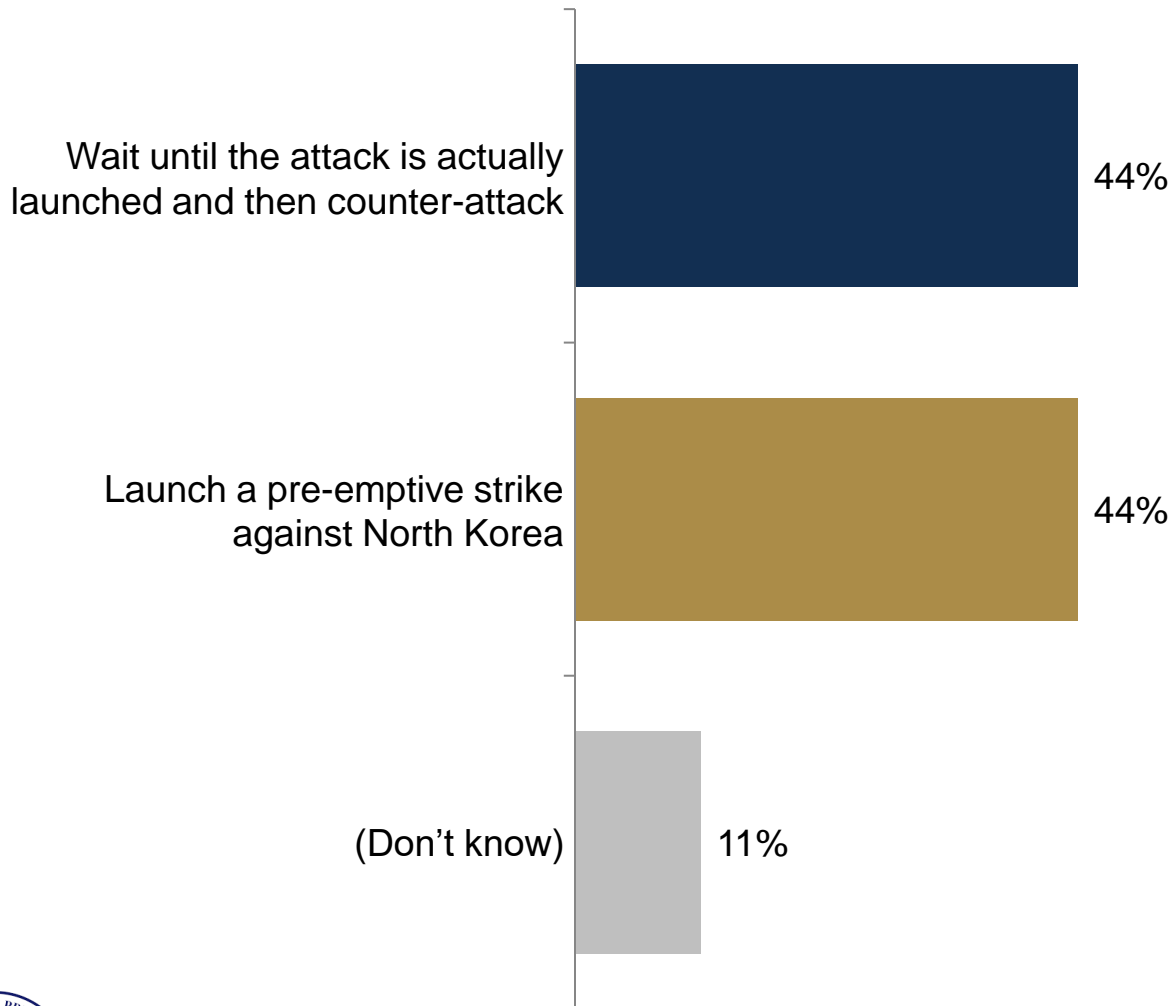Chinese military build-up — **8%**

The isolation of Taiwan — **3%**

Note: Remainder Don't know

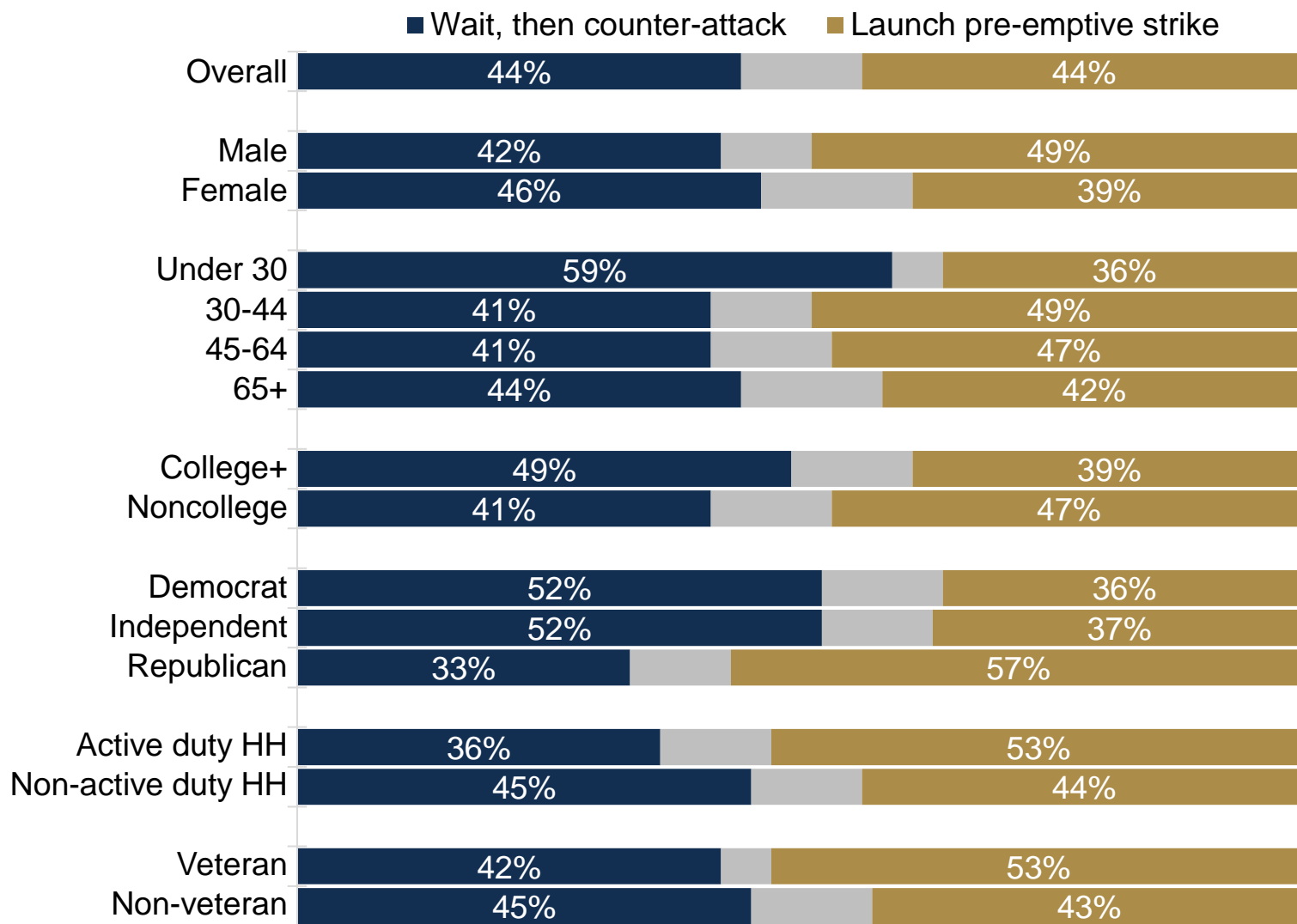*Q71: Thinking now about China, which of the following most concerns you about U.S. relations with China?*

Split decision about how the U.S. should respond to an imminent North Korean attack.

Wait until the attack is actually launched and then counter-attack **44%**

Launch a pre-emptive strike against North Korea **44%**

(Don't know) **11%**

Non-college citizens, Republicans, and military families favor preemptive strikes.

Legend: ■ Wait, then counter-attack   ■ Launch pre-emptive strike

Group	Wait, then counter-attack	Launch pre-emptive strike
Overall	44%	44%
Male	42%	49%
Female	46%	39%
Under 30	59%	36%
30-44	41%	49%
45-64	41%	47%
65+	44%	42%
College+	49%	39%
Noncollege	41%	47%
Democrat	52%	36%
Independent	52%	37%
Republican	33%	57%
Active duty HH	36%	53%
Non-active duty HH	45%	44%
Veteran	42%	53%
Non-veteran	45%	43%

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?
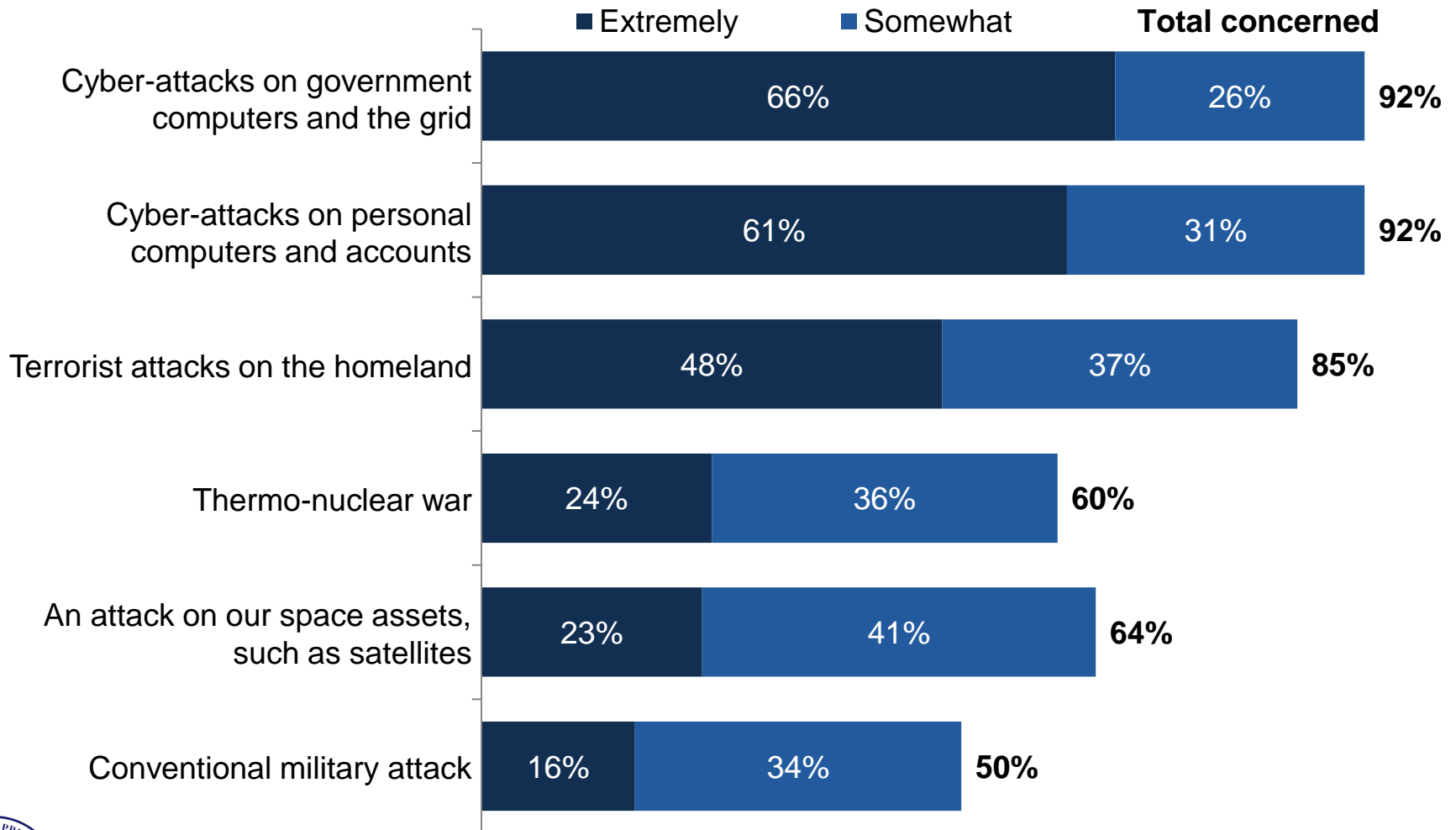
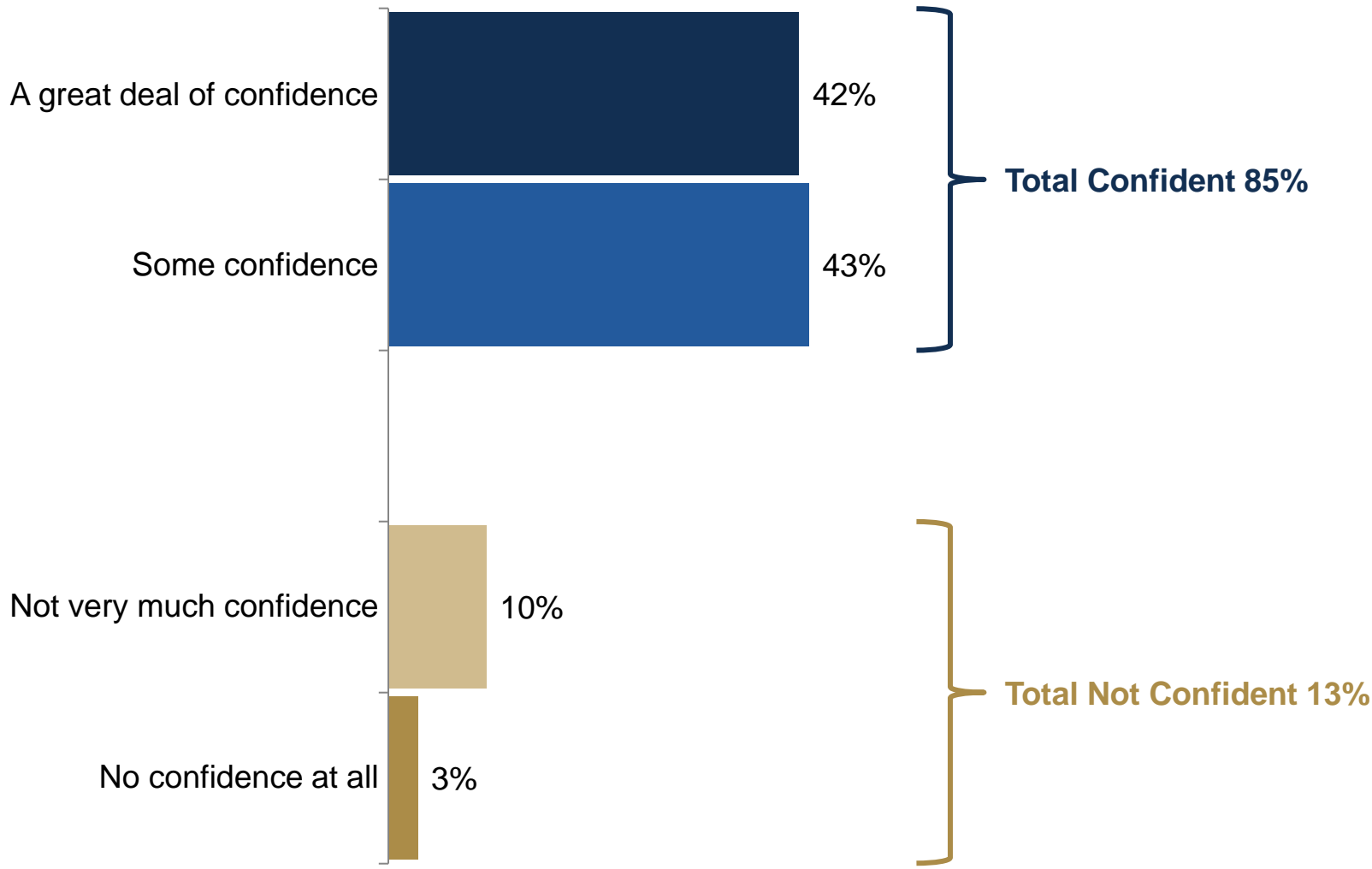# Americans are <u>extremely</u> concerned about cyber-attacks.

■ Extremely   ■ Somewhat   **Total concerned**

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

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.
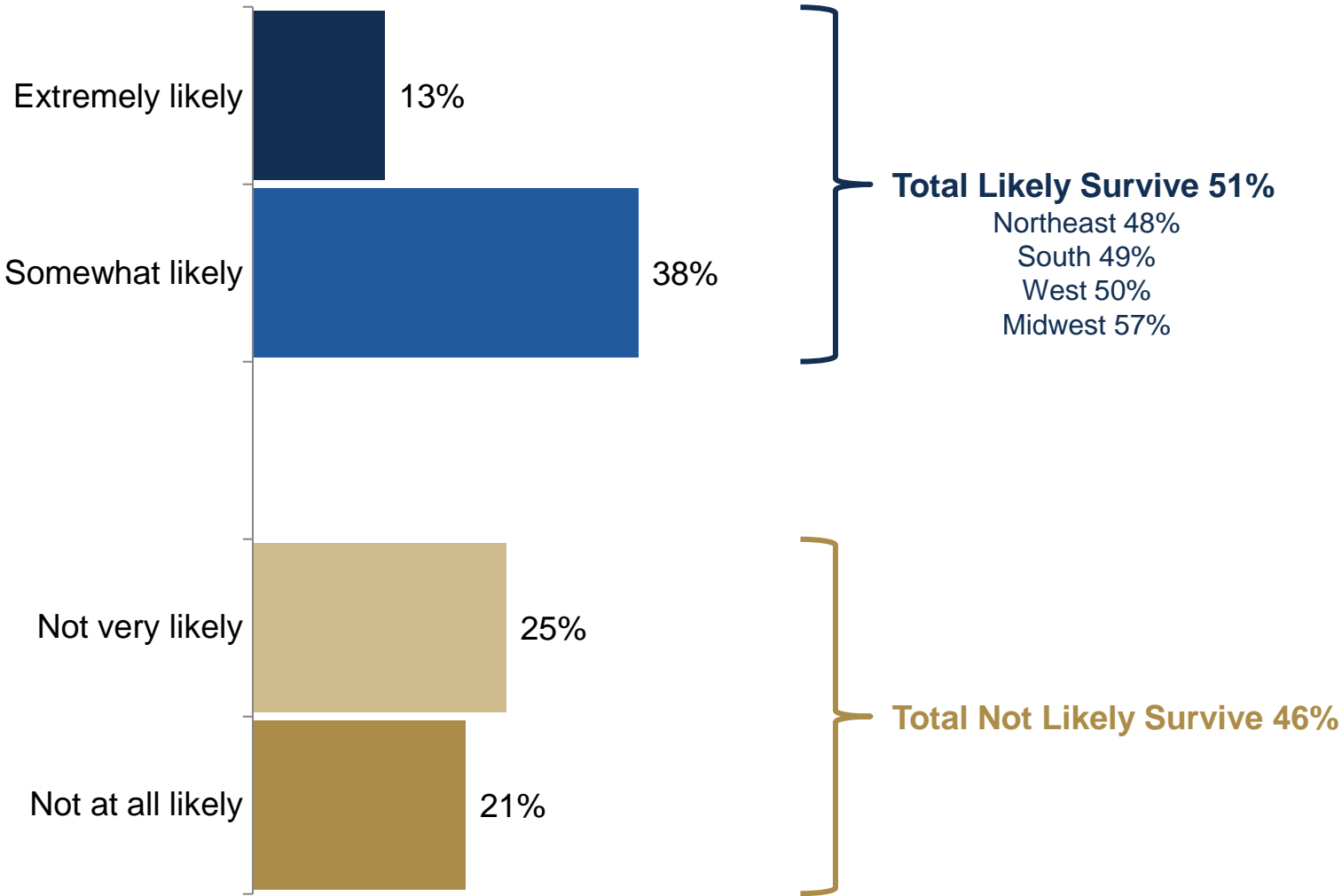
A great deal of confidence — 42%

Some confidence — 43%

Total Confident 85%

Not very much confidence — 10%

No confidence at all — 3%

Total Not Confident 13%

Note: Remainder Don't know

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

Just half of Americans think they would survive a nuclear attack on the U.S.

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

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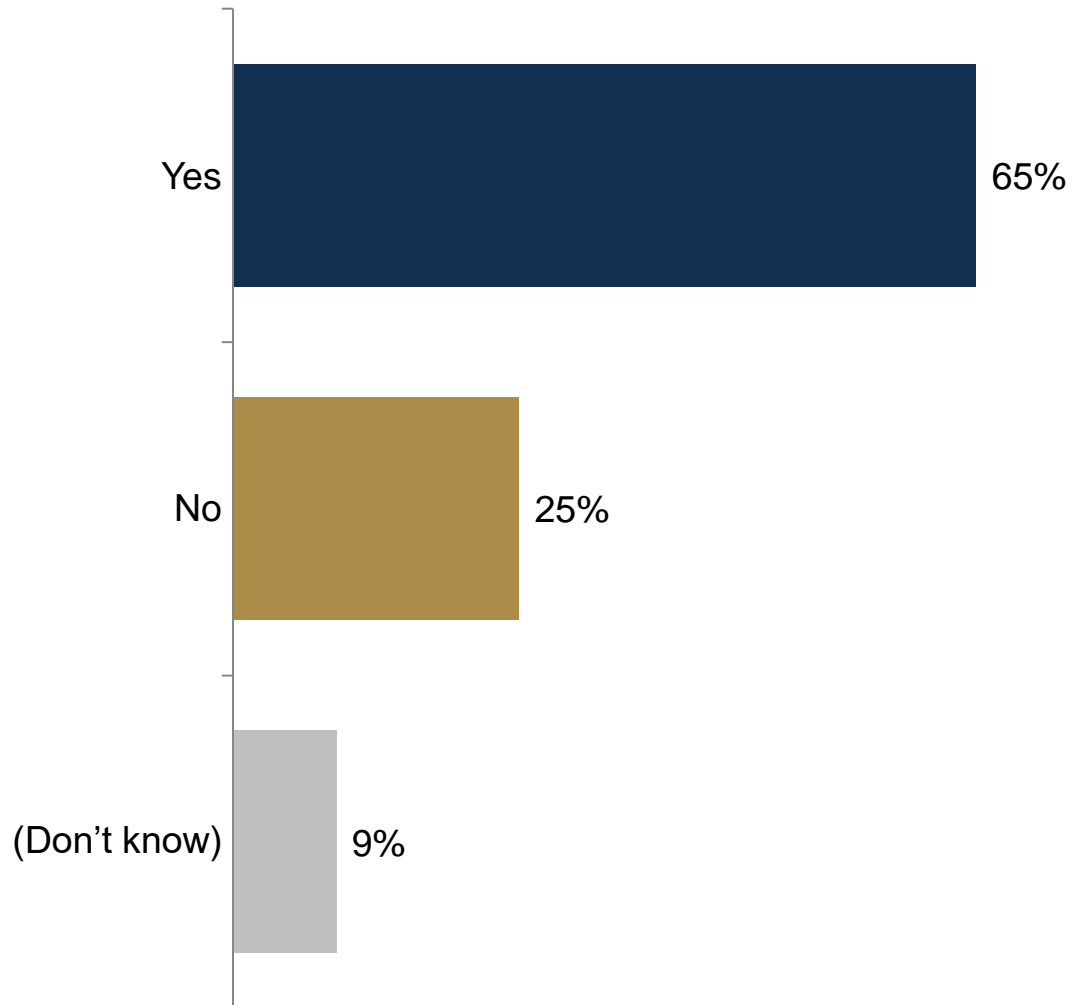West 50%
Midwest 57%

Total Not Likely Survive 46%

Note: Remainder Don't know

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

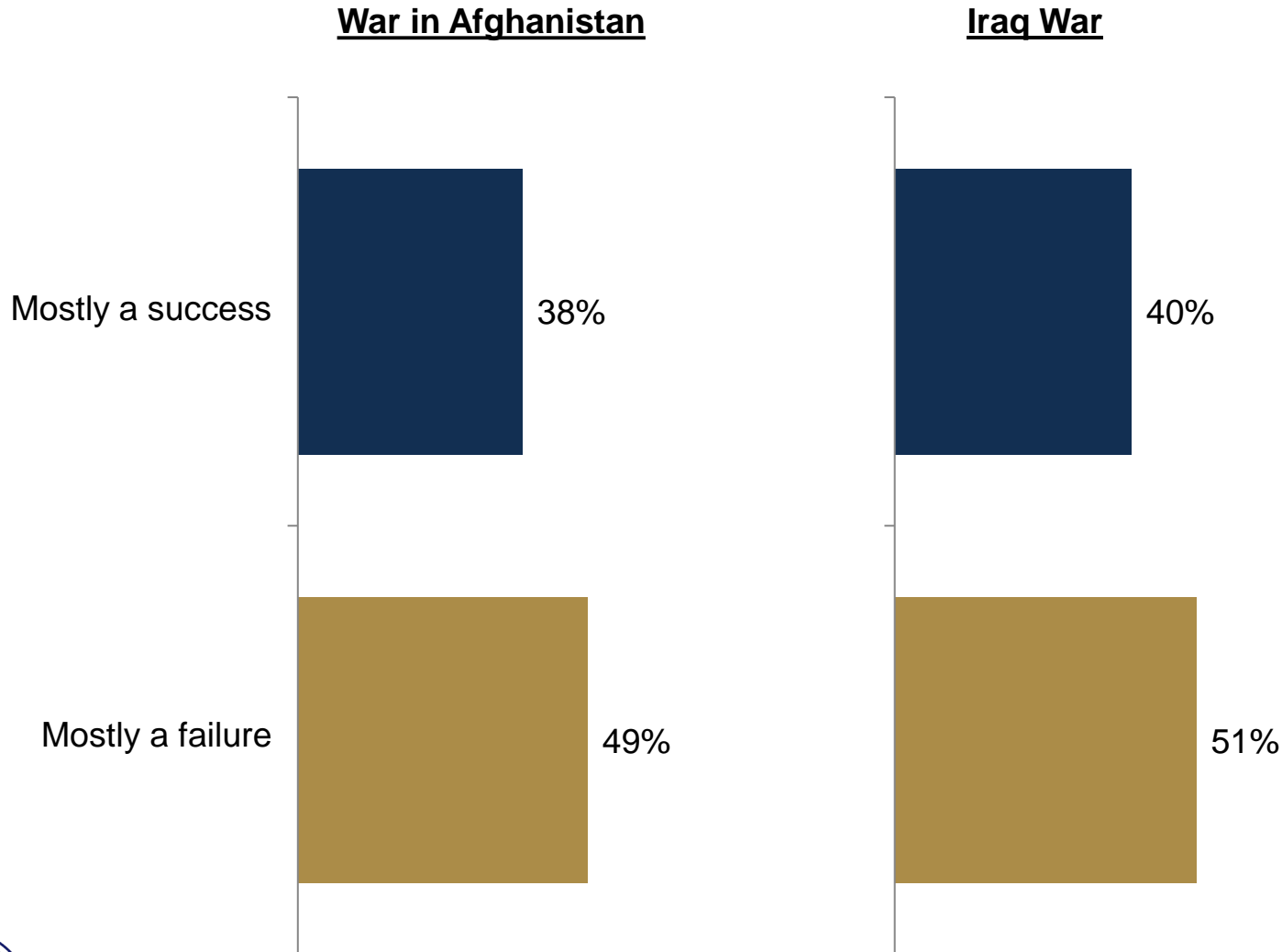# Most Americans think the U.S. would win a war against a nuclear power.

Yes — 65%

No — 25%

(Don't know) — 9%

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

Iraq War

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

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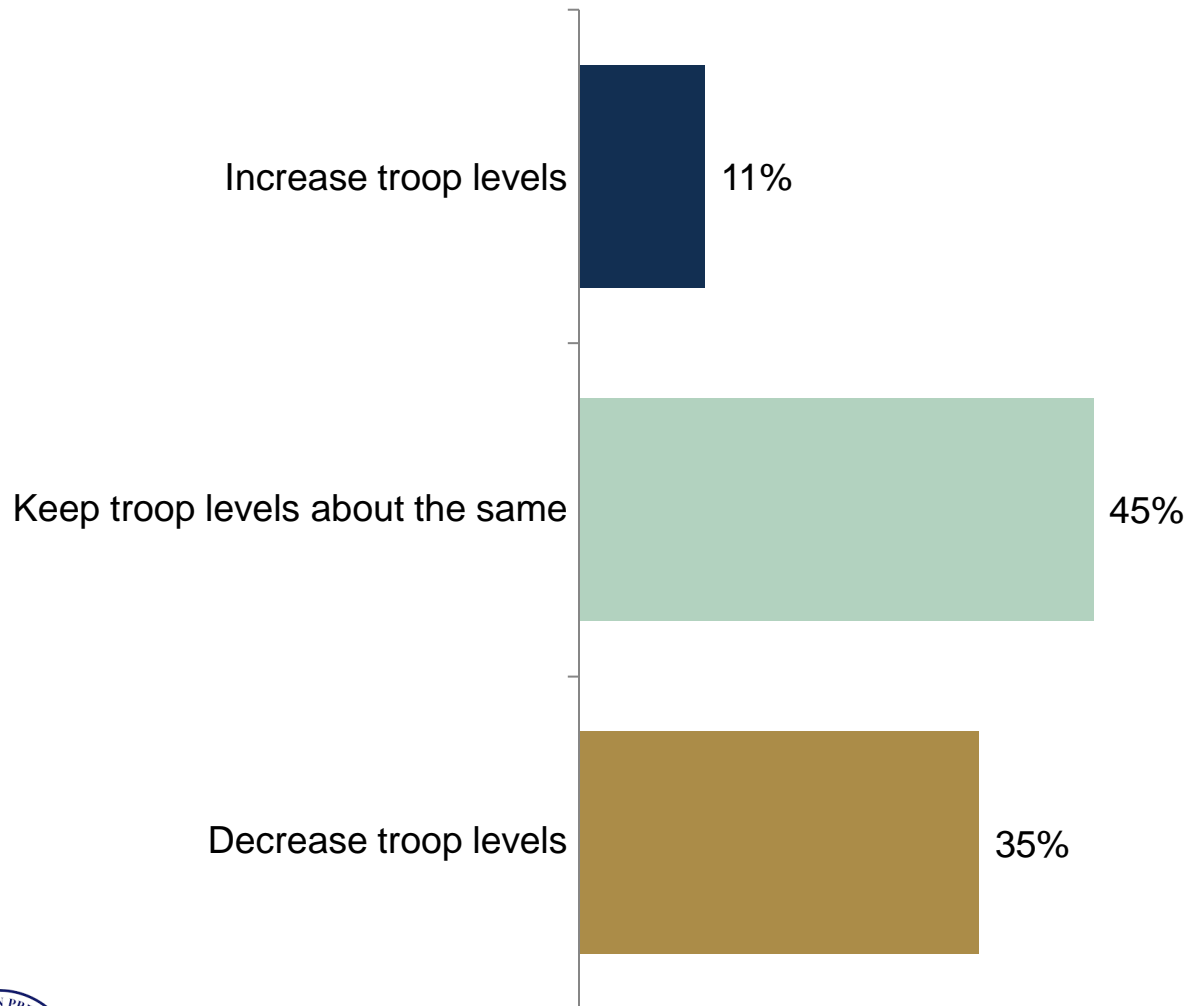- Mostly a success: 40%
- Mostly a failure: 51%

Note: Remainder Don't know

Q76/77: Do you think the war in (Afghanistan/Iraq) has been mostly a success or mostly a failure?

Views on U.S. Troop Levels in Afghanistan

Increase troop levels — 11%

Keep troop levels about the same — 45%

Decrease troop levels — 35%

Note: Remainder Don't know

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

Immigration

4-in-10 view illegal immigration on the southern border as a major threat.

A major threat — 40%

A minor threat — 29%
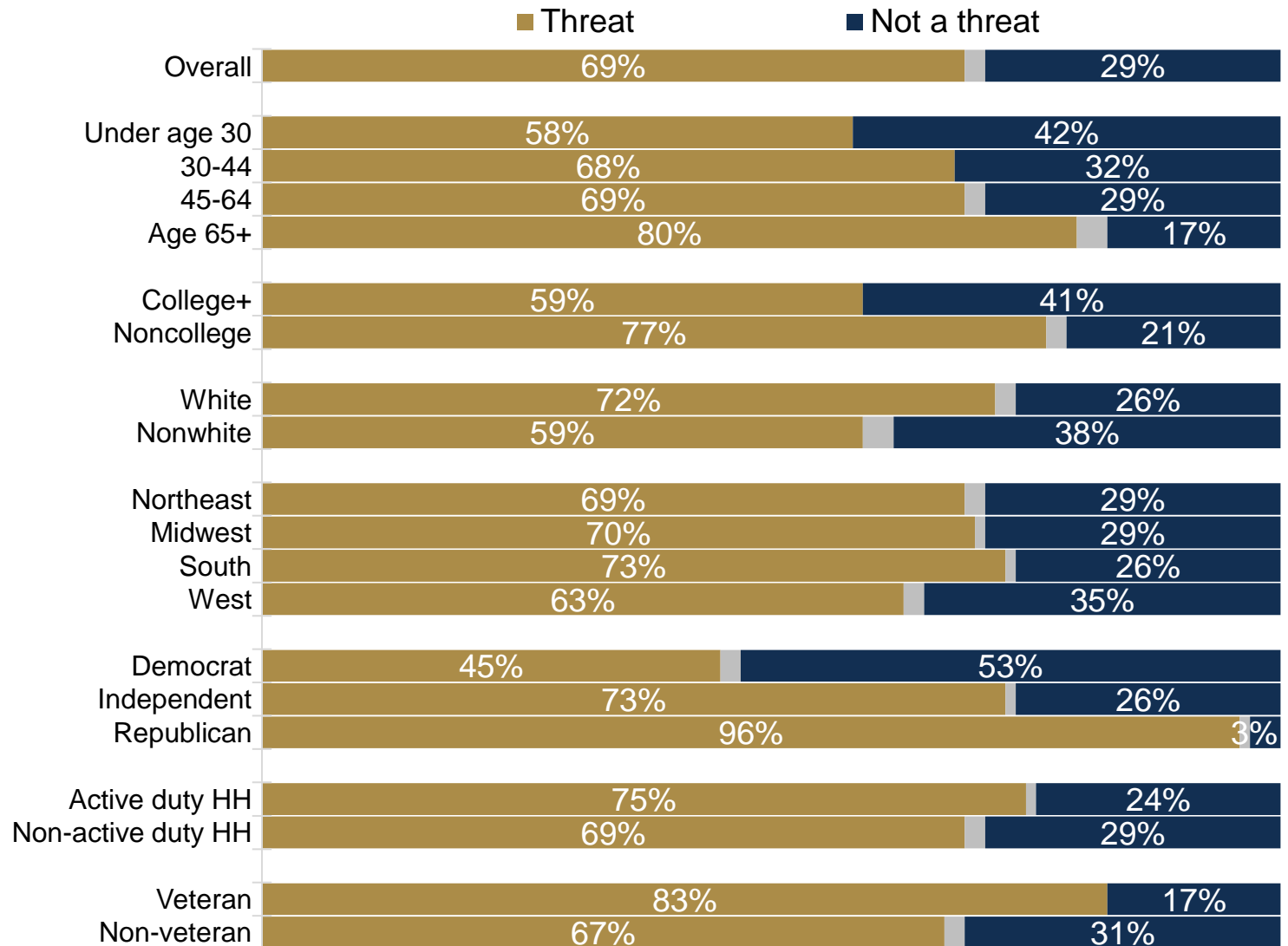
Not a threat — 29%
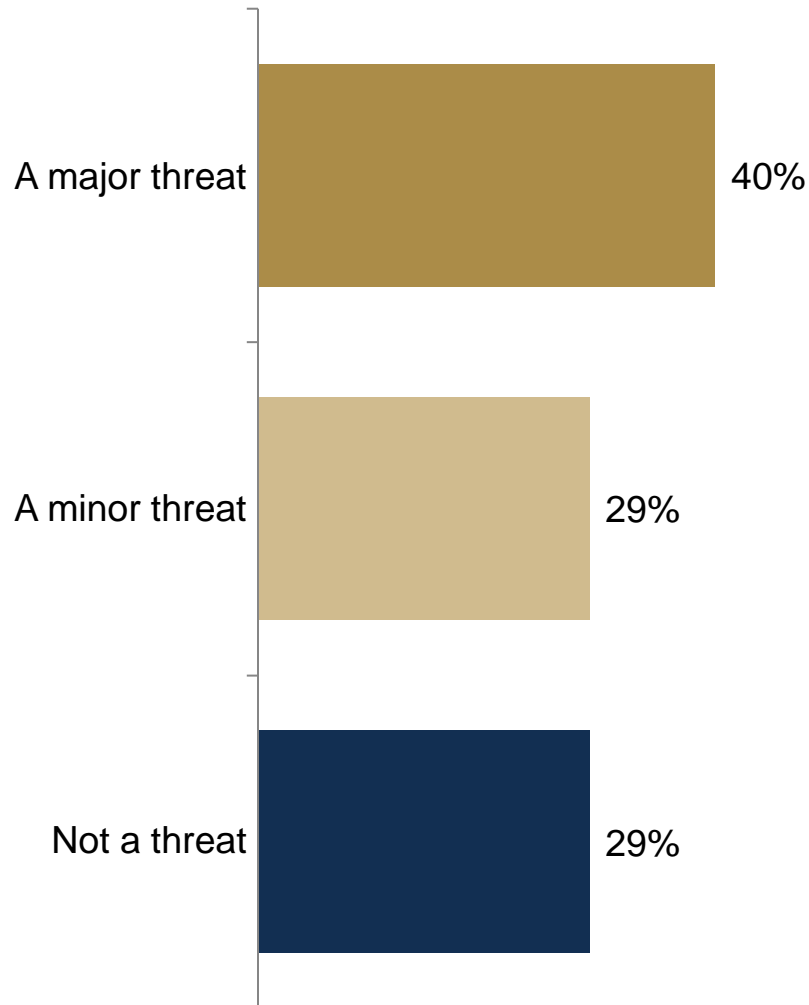
Note: Remainder Don't know

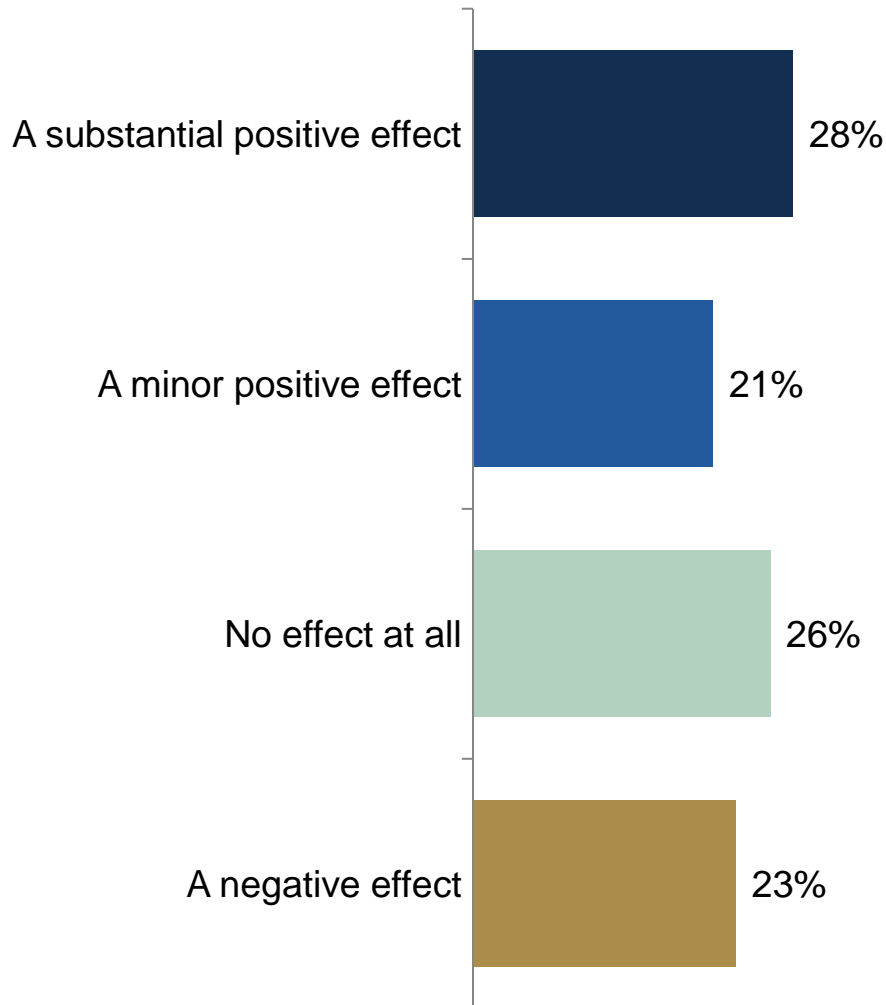*Q74: In your view, how much of a security threat is illegal immigration across our southern border?*

Older, noncollege, white citizens and Republicans are particularly likely to see illegal immigration as a threat.

Legend: ■ Threat   ■ Not a threat

Group	Threat	Not a threat
Overall	69%	29%
Under age 30	58%	42%
30-44	68%	32%
45-64	69%	29%
Age 65+	80%	17%
College+	59%	41%
Noncollege	77%	21%
White	72%	26%
Nonwhite	59%	38%
Northeast	69%	29%
Midwest	70%	29%
South	73%	26%
West	63%	35%
Democrat	45%	53%
Independent	73%	26%
Republican	96%	3%
Active duty HH	75%	24%
Non-active duty HH	69%	29%
Veteran	83%	17%
Non-veteran	67%	31%

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.
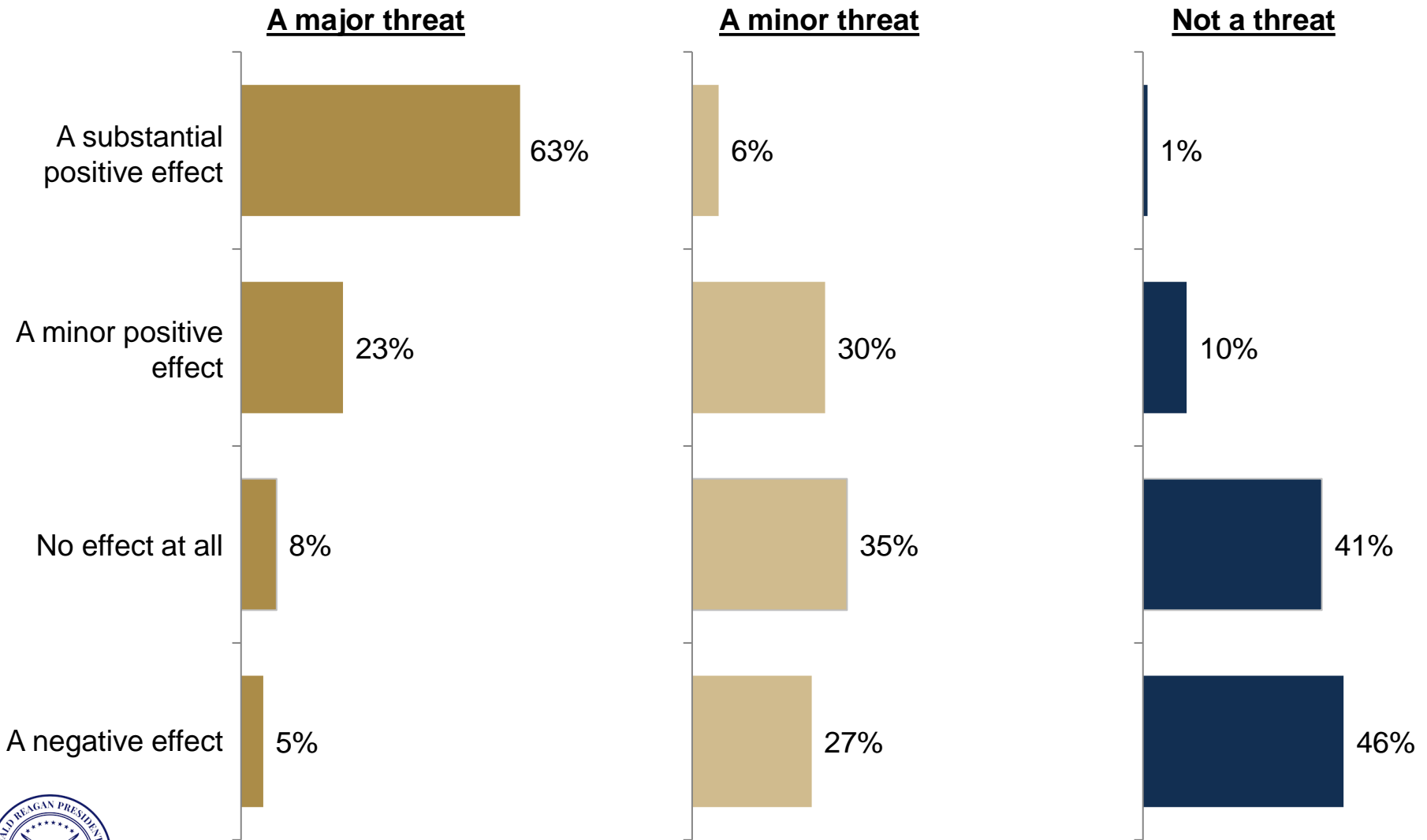
A substantial positive effect — 28%

A minor positive effect — 21%

No effect at all — 26%

A negative effect — 23%

Note: Remainder Don't know

Q75: What effect would building a wall across our southern border have on U.S. security?

Only those who see illegal immigration as a major threat think a border wall would have a substantial positive effect.

A major threat

A substantial positive effect	63%
A minor positive effect	23%
No effect at all	8%
A negative effect	5%

A minor threat

A substantial positive effect	6%
A minor positive effect	30%
No effect at all	35%
A negative effect	27%

Not a threat

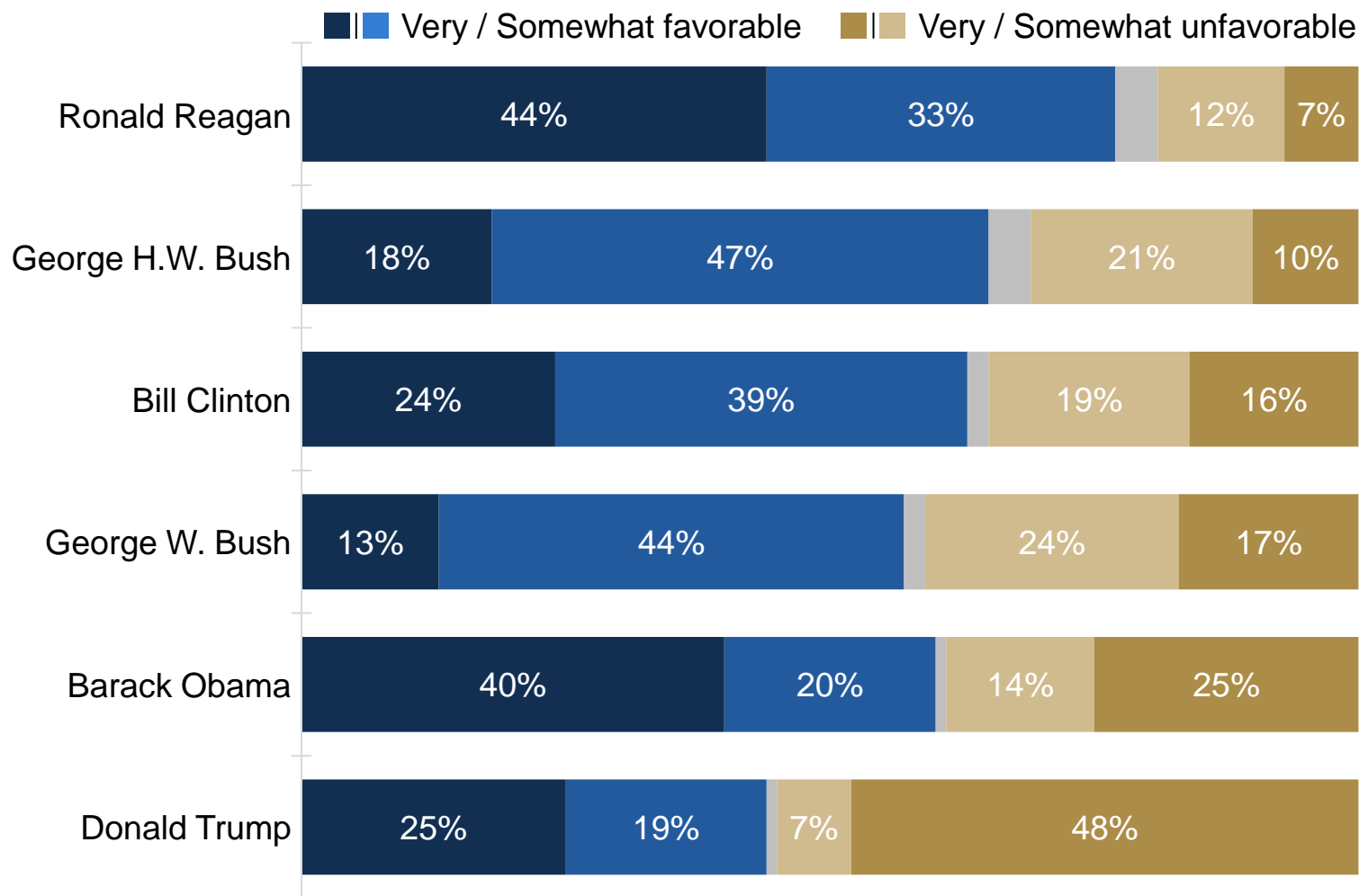|	
A substantial positive effect	1%
A minor positive effect	10%
No effect at all	41%
A negative effect	46%

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.

Very / Somewhat favorable   **Very / Somewhat unfavorable**

President				
Ronald Reagan	44%	33%	12%	7%
George H.W. Bush	18%	47%	21%	10%
Bill Clinton	24%	39%	19%	16%
George W. Bush	13%	44%	24%	17%
Barack Obama	40%	20%	14%	25%
Donald Trump	25%	19%	7%	48%

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.

Profile of the Sample

Category	Group	% of Sample
Gender	Male	47
	Female	53
Age	18-29	17
	30-44	24
	45-64	39
	65+	20
Ethnicity	White	74
	Black	12
	Hispanic	5
Education	Noncollege	59
	College graduate	25
	Graduate degree	15
Income	Under $50K	30
	$50K-$100K	31
	$100K+	30

Category	Group	% of Sample
Registered Voter	Yes	91
	No	9
2016 Vote	Trump	36
	Clinton	36
Party Identification	Democrat	43
	Independent	15
	Republican	39
Political Philosophy	Very liberal	11
	Somewhat liberal	18
	Moderate	26
	Somewhat conservative	23
	Very conservative	18
Region	Northeast	18
	Midwest	22
	South	37
	West	22

ANDERSON ROBBINS RESEARCH
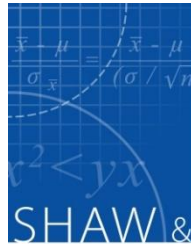
SHAW & Company research

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT

Chris Anderson
6 Beacon Street, Suite 312
Boston, MA 02108
617.742.3766
Chris@AndersonRobbins.com

Daron Shaw
Government Department
1 University Station A1800
University of Texas at Austin
Austin, TX 78712
512.232.7275
dshaw@austin.utexas.edu