



RONALD  REAGAN
INSTITUTE

Reagan Institute Summer Survey

Prepared by Beacon Research and Shaw & Company Research, June 2024



About the Survey

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Mode | Combined telephone (n=463) and online panel (n=794) survey. Telephone interviews conducted by trained professionals calling landlines (50%) and cellphones (50%). |
| Sample | 1,257 US adults |
| Dates | May 20 – 27, 2024 |
| Weights | Slight weights were applied to ensure the sample accurately reflects the demographic profile of the US population. |
| Margin of Error | ±2.8% at the 95% confidence level for the entire sample, ±3.9% for split-sampled questions. The margin of error for subgroups is higher. |
| Research Partnership |   |
| Note | Some data may not add to 100% due to rounding. |

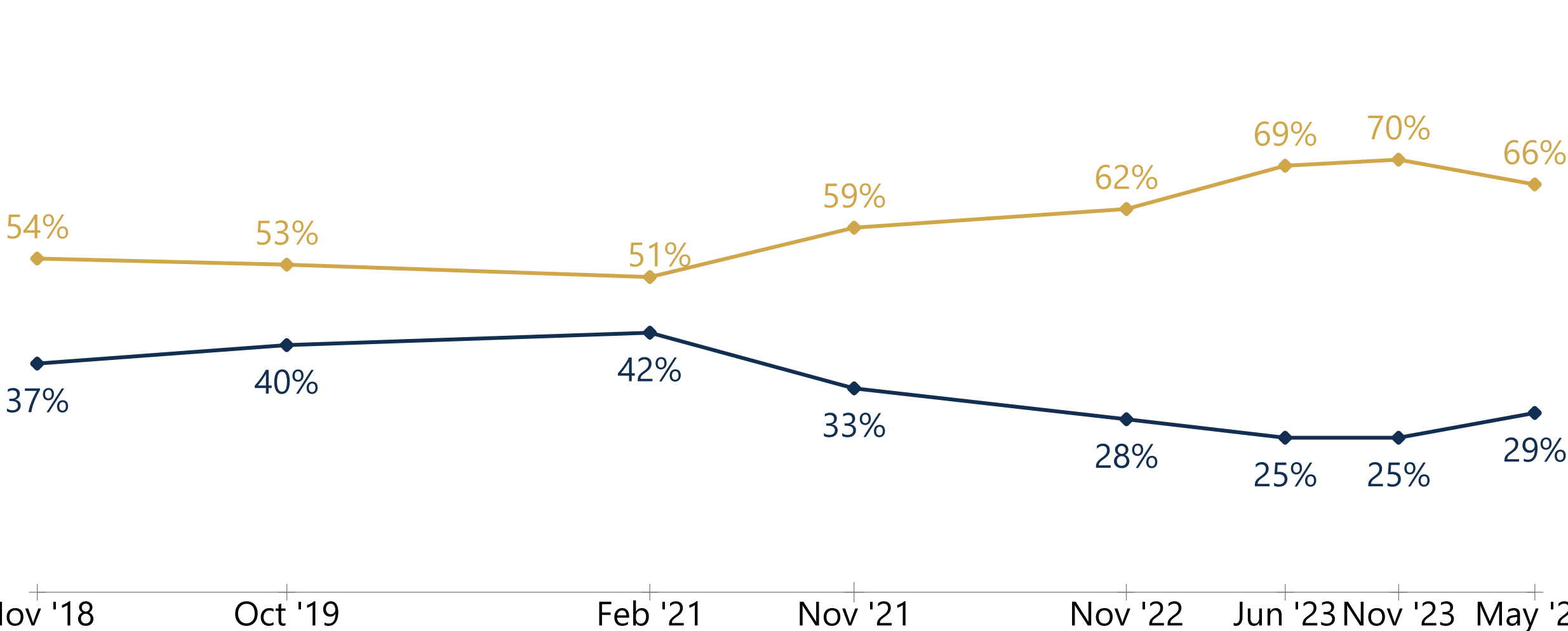
POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT



Wide majority remains pessimistic about the direction of country.



◆ Right direction ◆ Wrong track



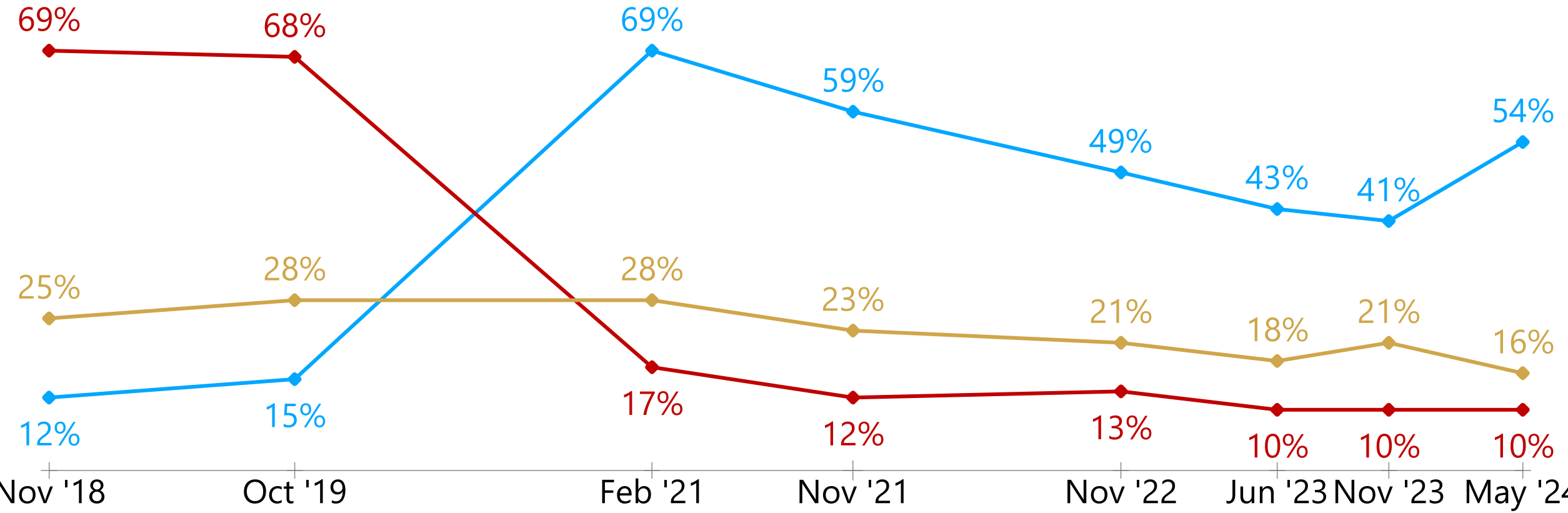
Q2. Would you say things in the United States today are heading in the...

Slight improvement in outlook driven entirely by Democrats.



Right Track

Democrat Republican Independent



Q2. Would you say things in the United States today are heading in the...

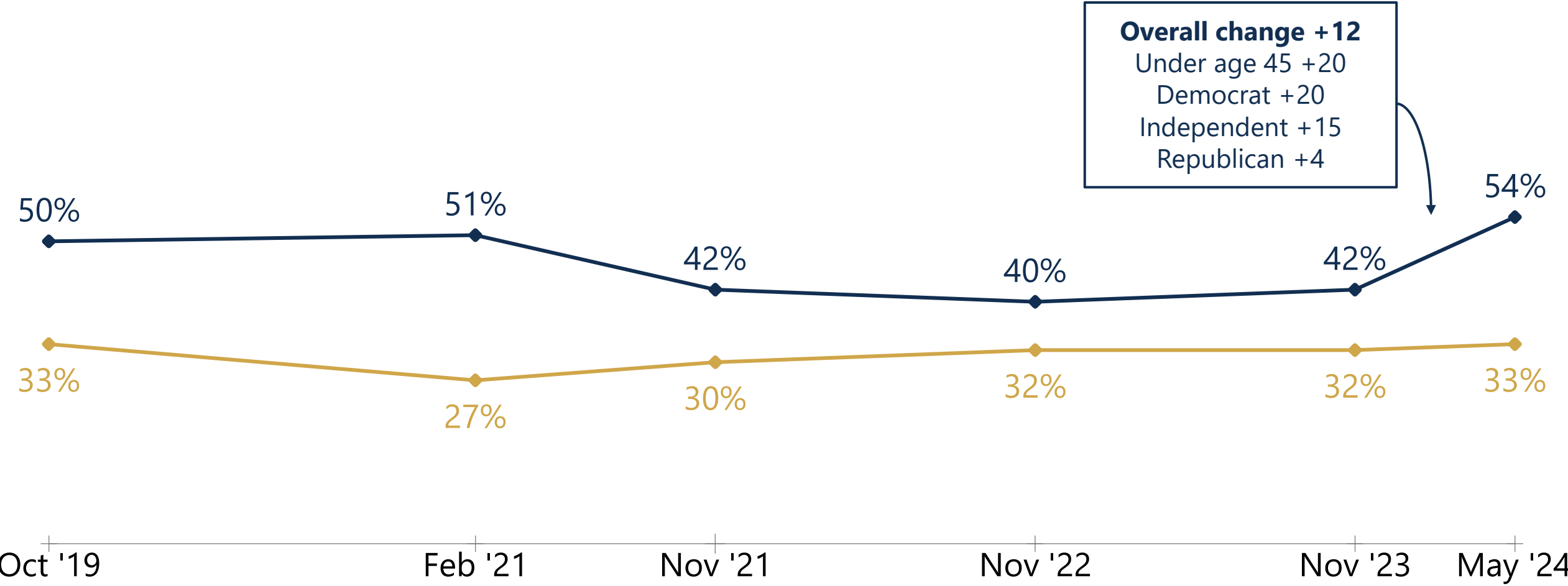
FOREIGN POLICY PHILOSOPHY



Notable increase in support for a more engaged foreign policy.



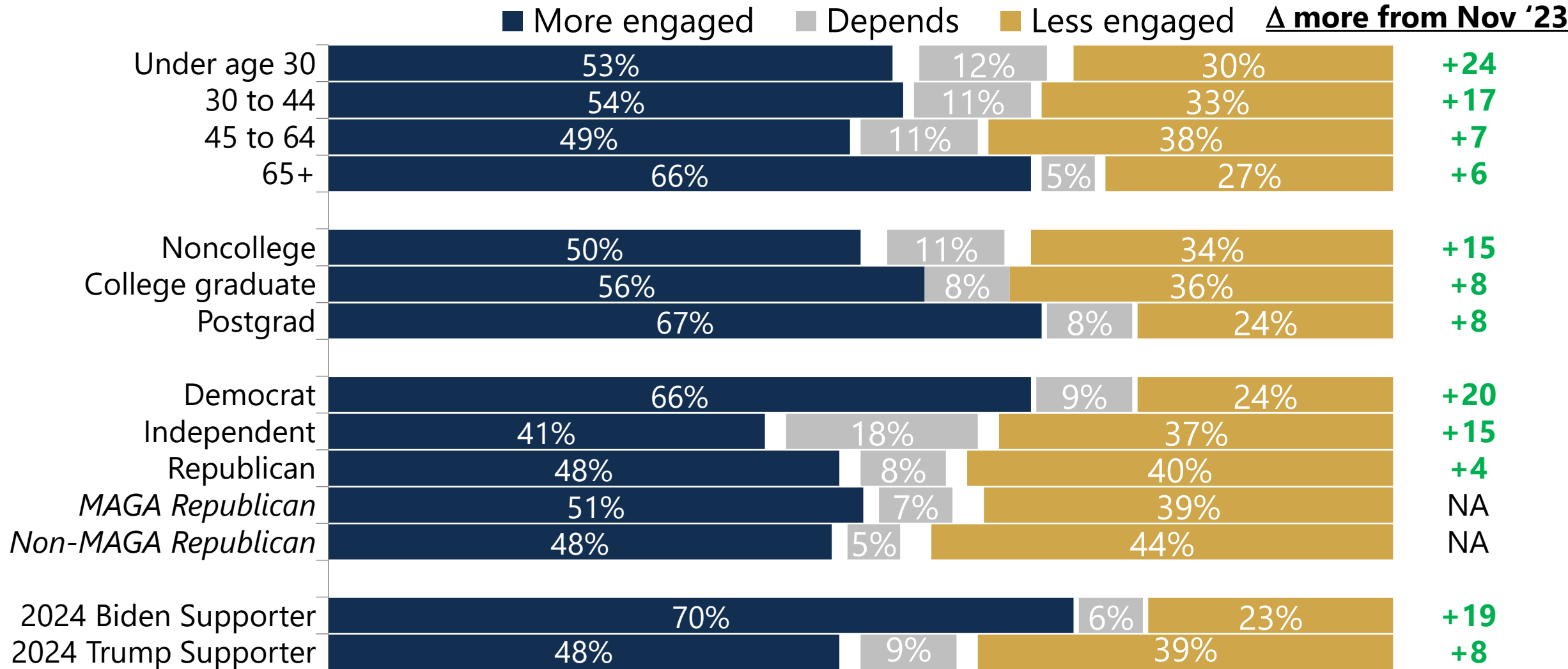
◆ More engaged, take lead ◆ Less engaged, react



Q3. When it comes to international events, do you think it is better for the United States to be more engaged and take the lead, or to be less engaged and react to events?

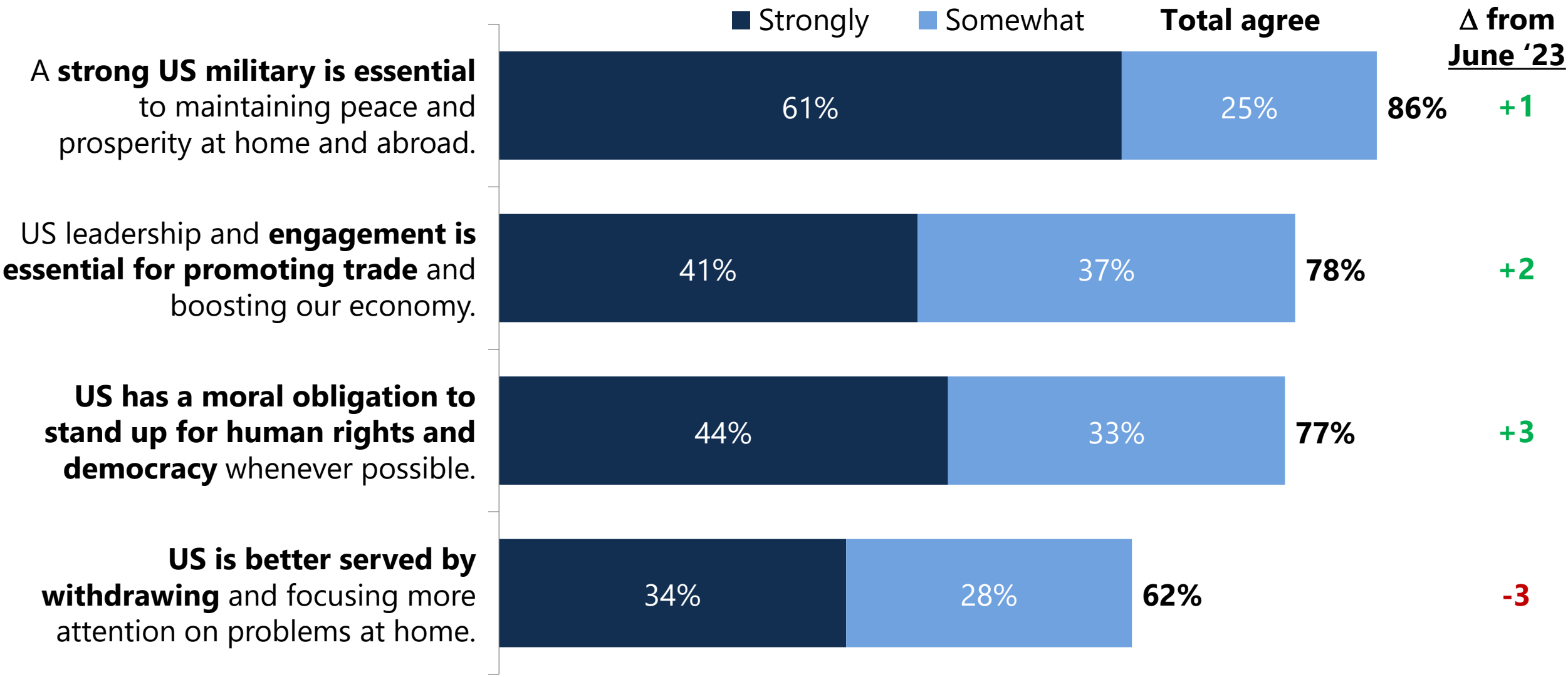


Preferred foreign policy posture, by subgroup.



Q3. When it comes to international events, do you think it is better for the United States to be more engaged and take the lead, or to be less engaged and react to events?

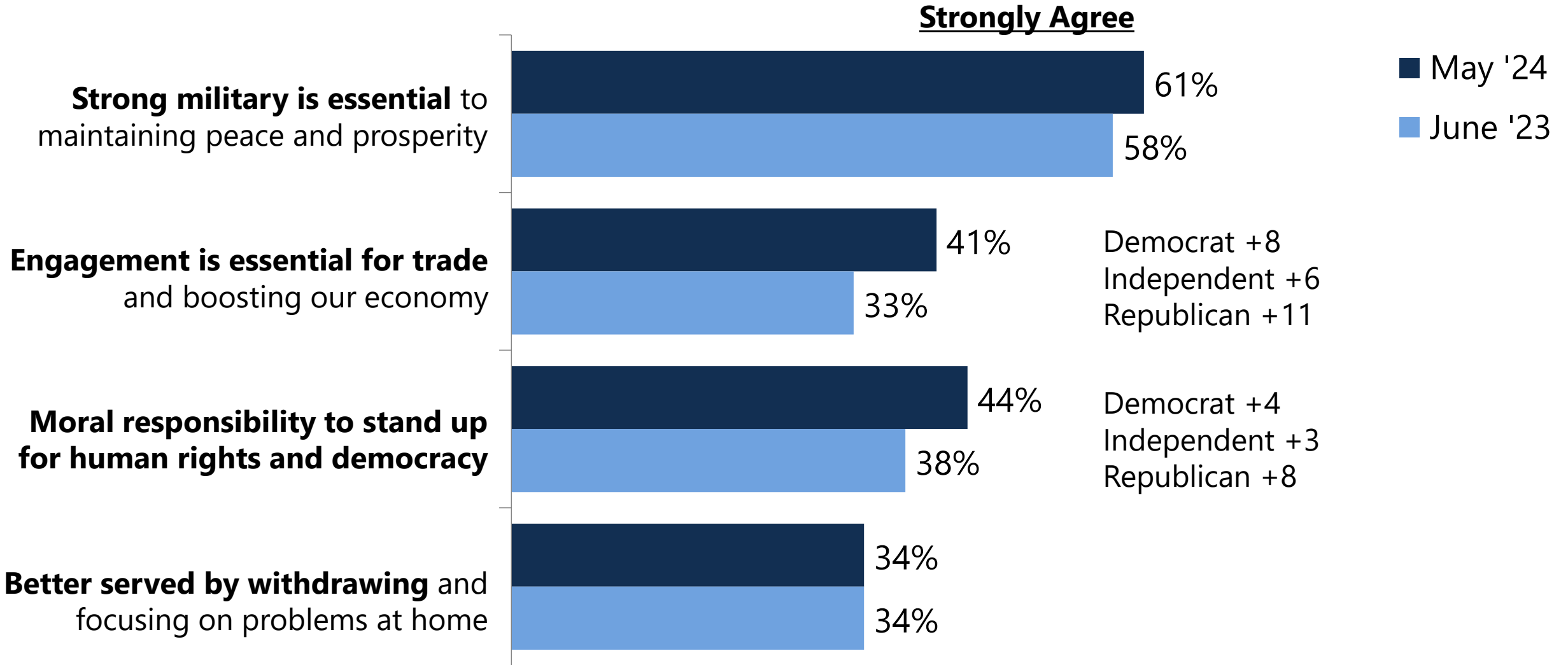
Majorities agree with several rationales for US international engagement—and with a rationale for withdrawal.



Q4-7. Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about US leadership and engagement in international events?



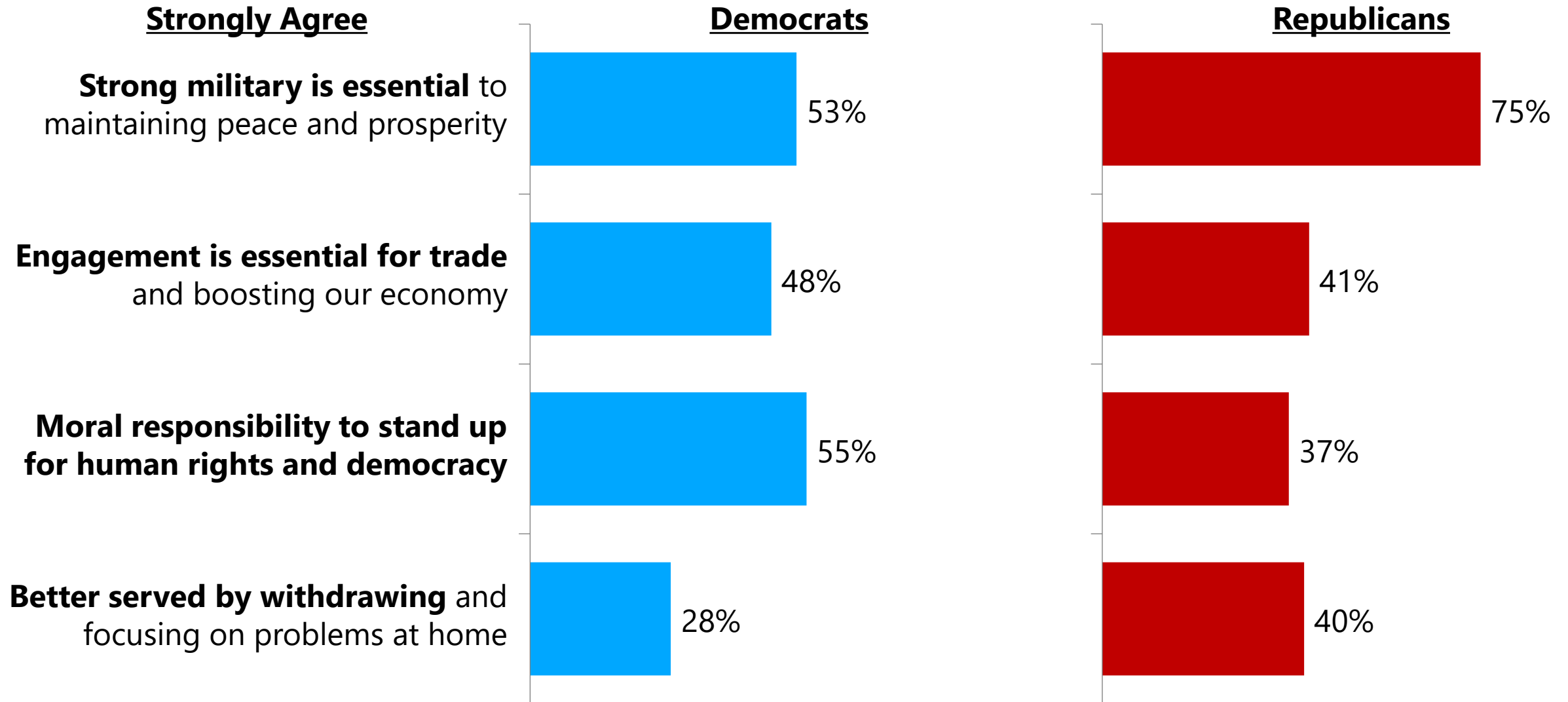
Increased *strong* agreement with human rights and economic rationales for engagement.



Q4-7. Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about US leadership and engagement in international events?



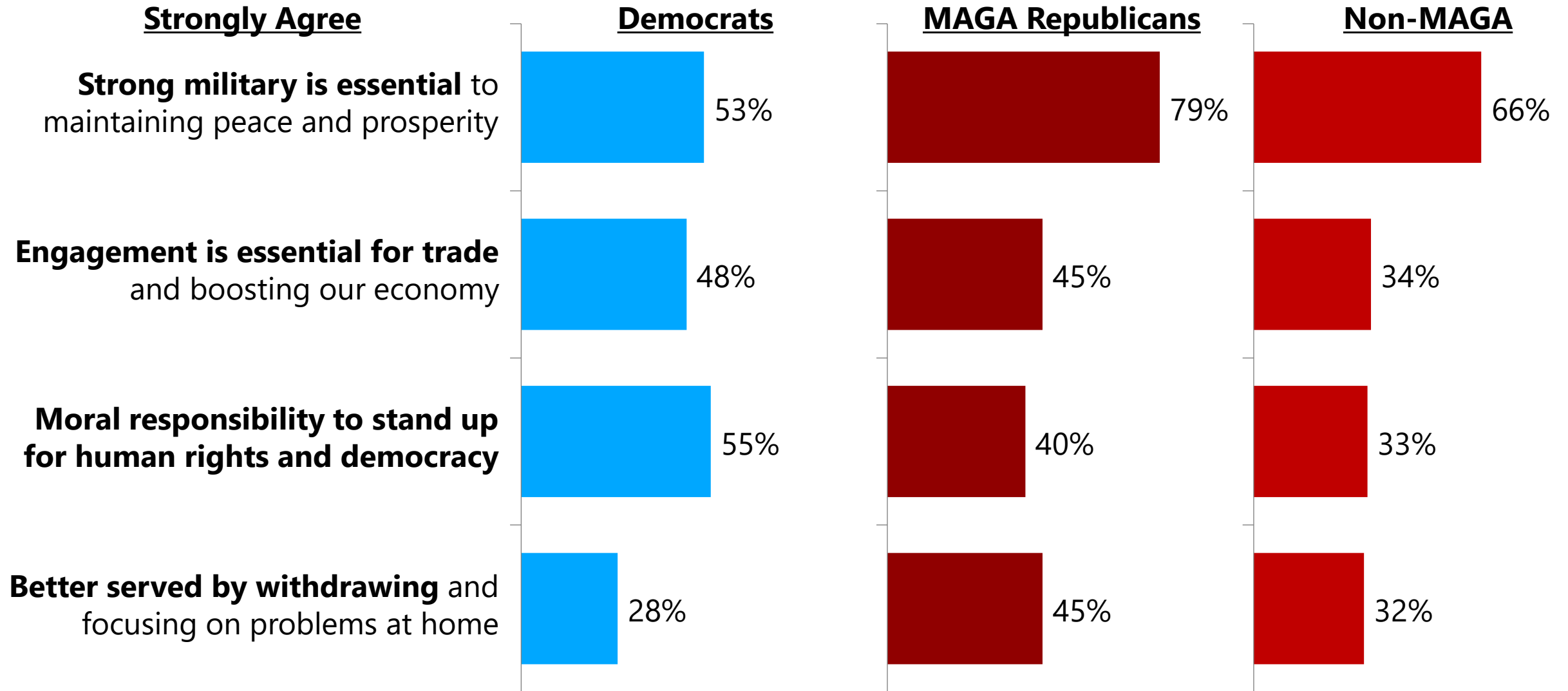
Views of foreign policy philosophy, by party ID.



Q4-7. Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about US leadership and engagement in international events?

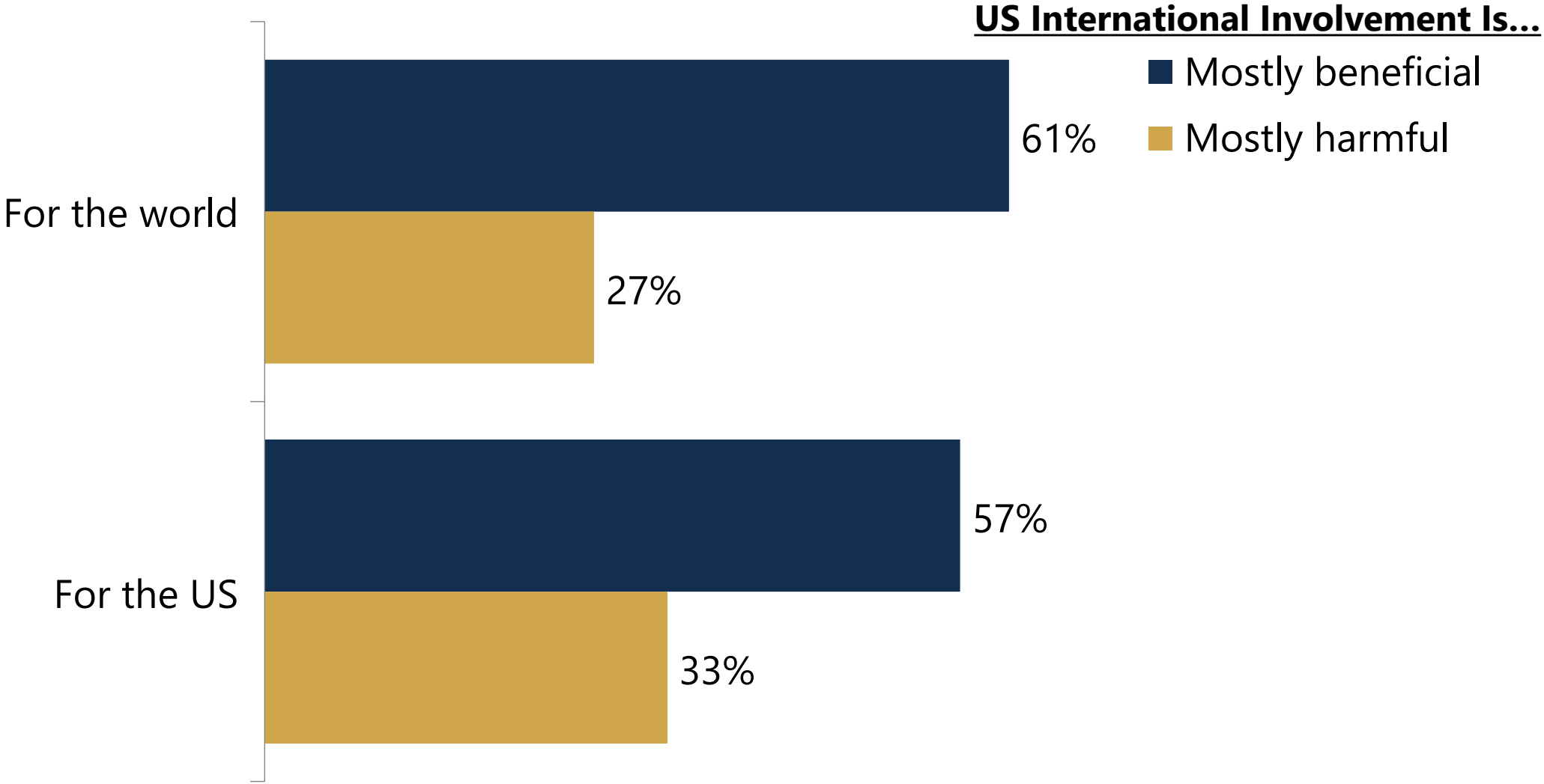


Views of foreign policy philosophy, by party ID.



Q4-7. Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about US leadership and engagement in international events?

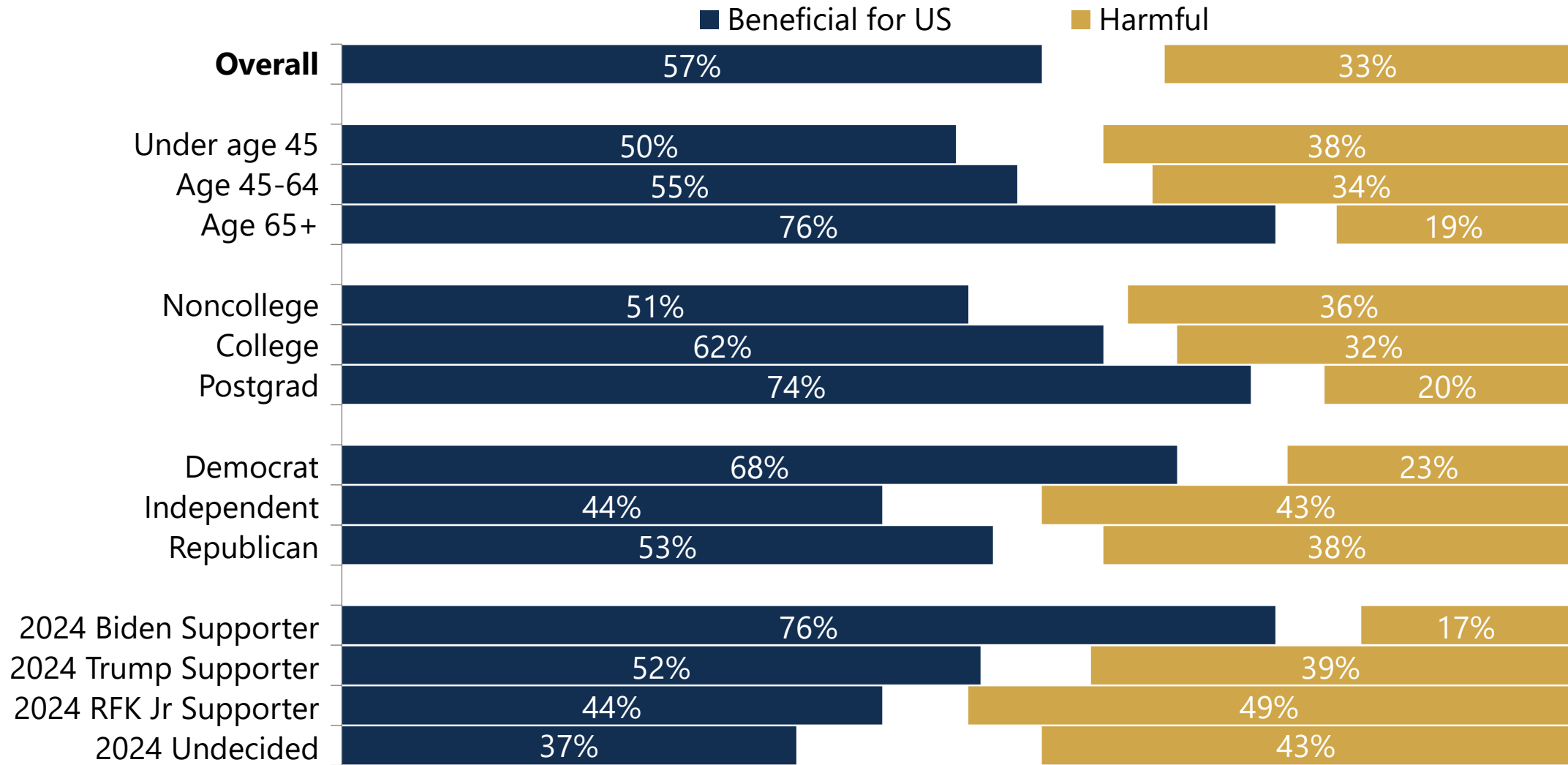
Six-in-ten think US involvement in world affairs is beneficial for the country and the world.



Q8-9. Overall, do you think US involvement with international events is mostly beneficial for the world / for the US, or mostly harmful?



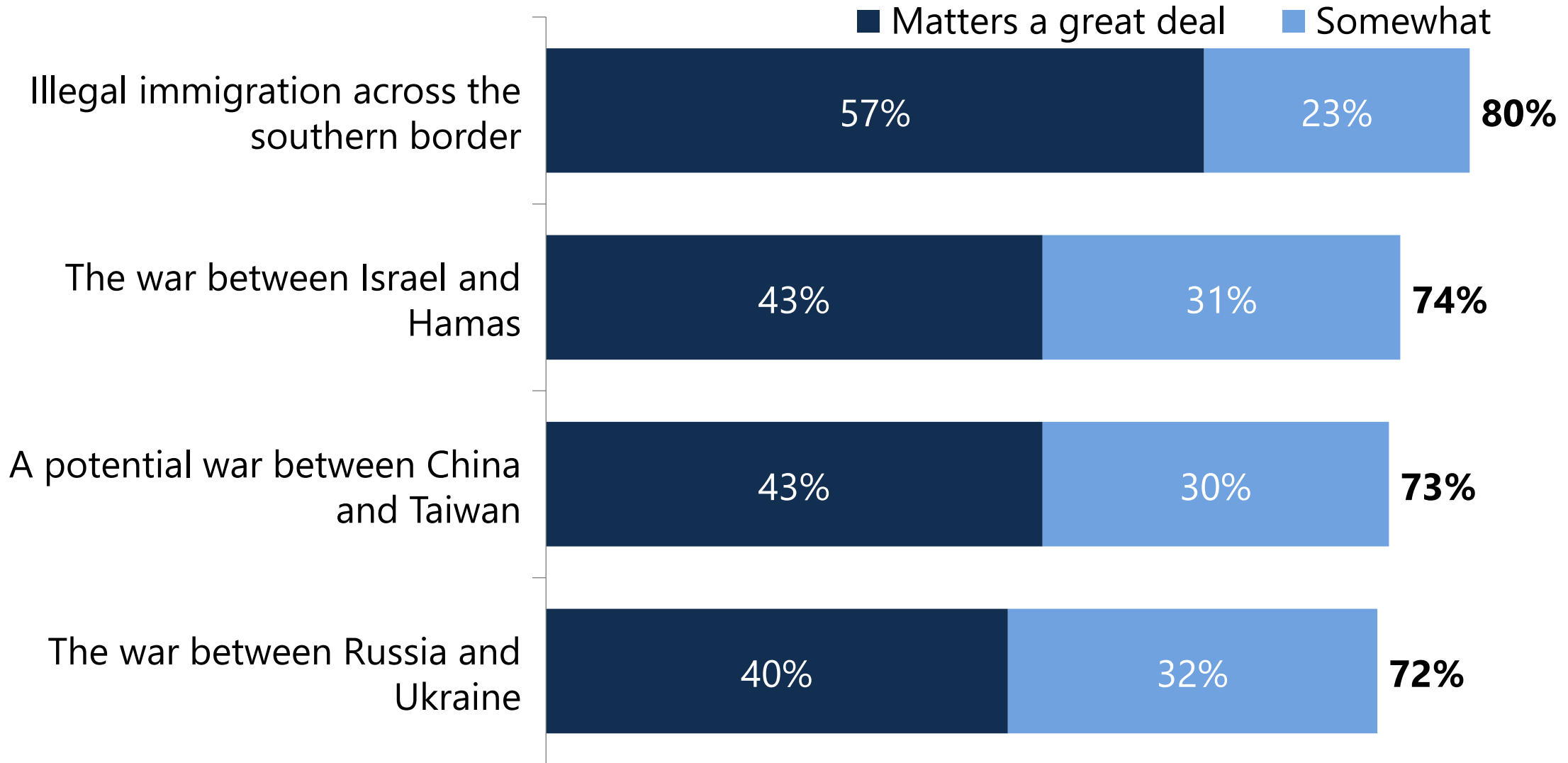
Views on impact of US engagement with international events, by subgroup.



Q9. Overall, do you think US involvement with international events is mostly beneficial for the US, or mostly harmful?



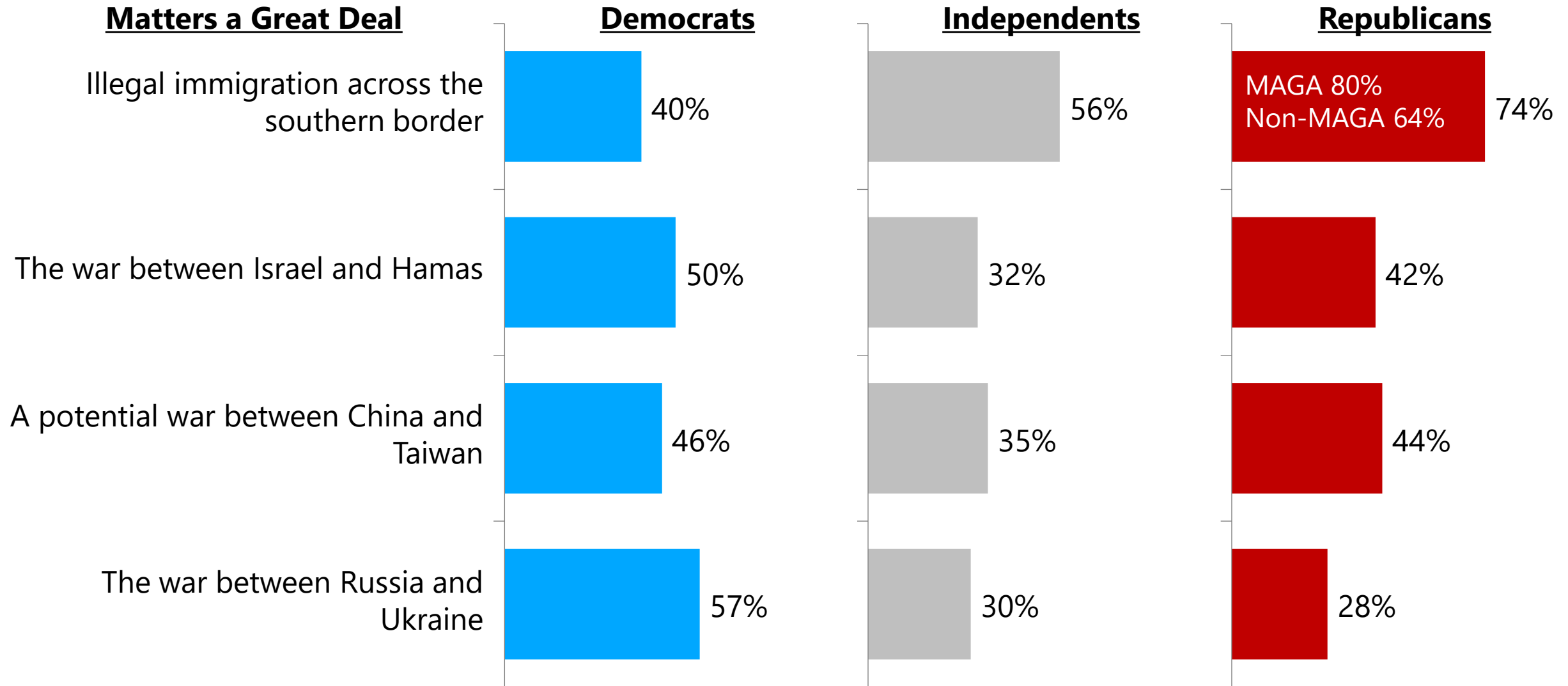
Most think illegal immigration and international conflict matters to US security and prosperity.



Q10-13. How much do you think each of the following matters to US security and prosperity?



Partisans diverge on how much key flash points matter.



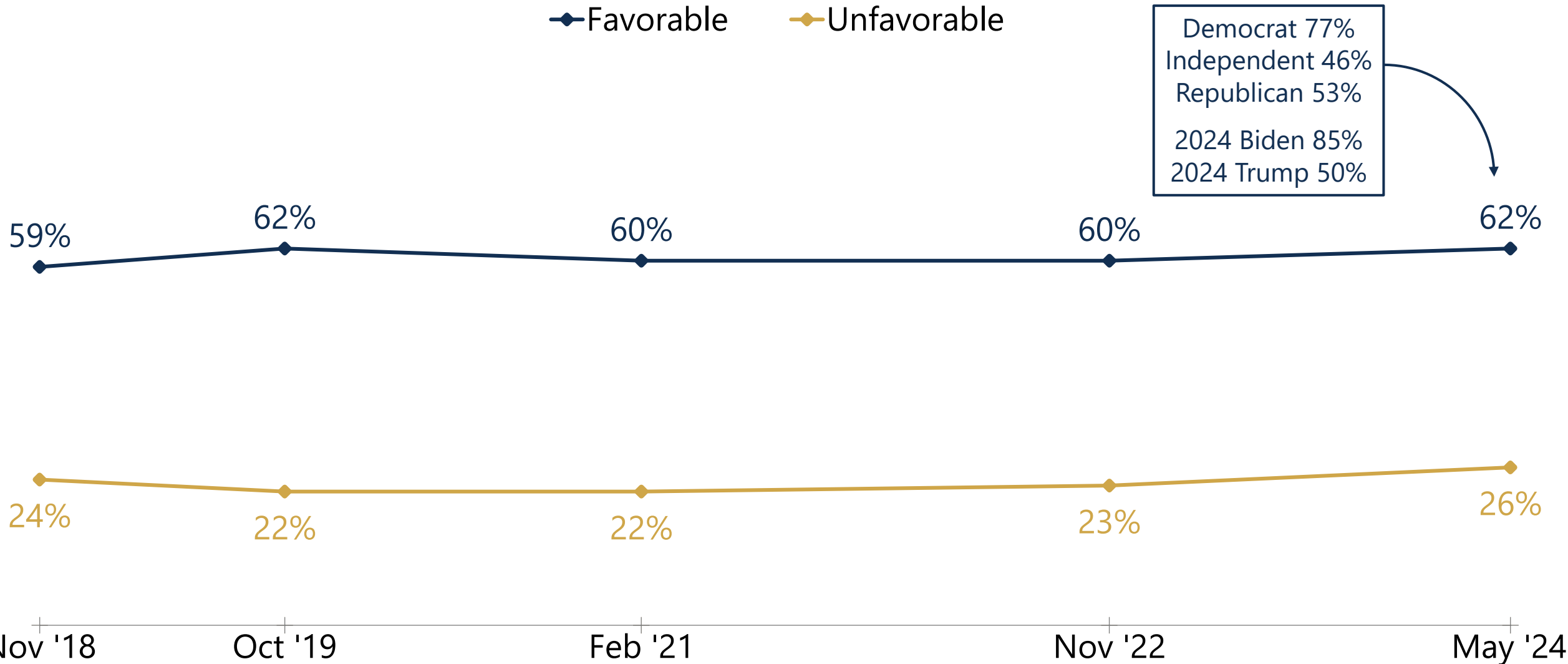
Q10-13. How much do you think each of the following matters to US security and prosperity?

NATO





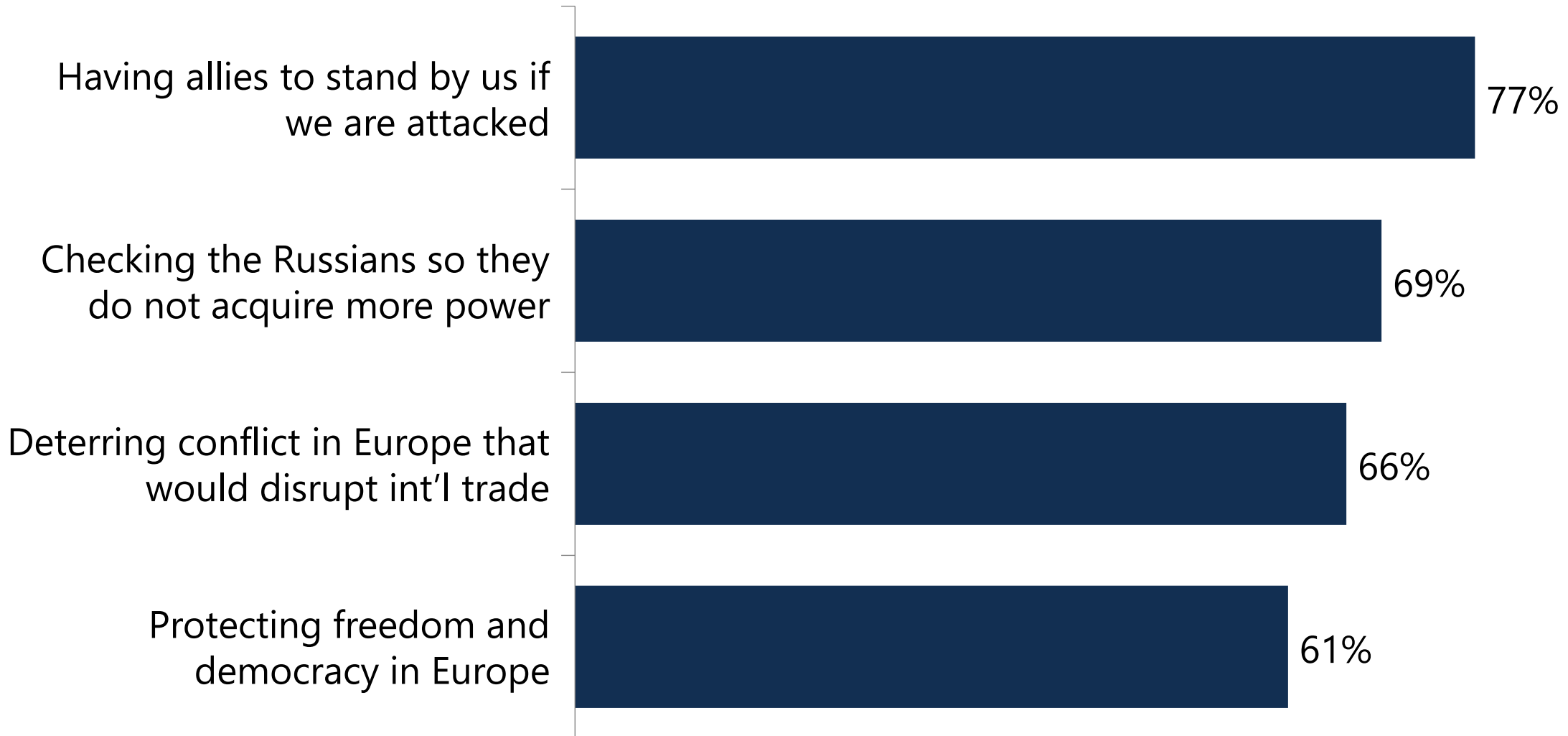
Views of NATO remain steadily favorable.



Q14. Do you have a favorable or an unfavorable view of NATO?



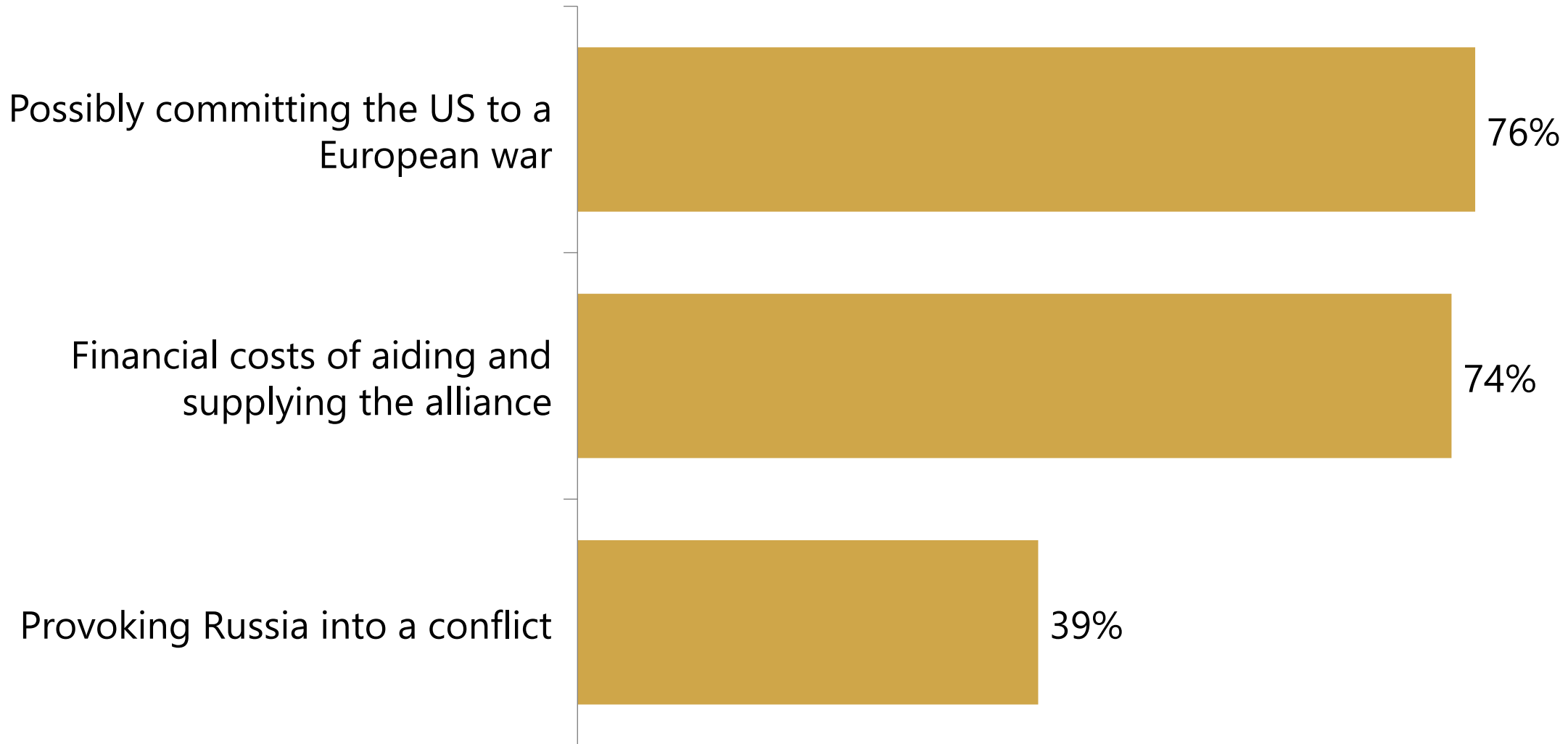
Perceived benefits of NATO.



Q15. Which of the following do you see as the main benefits of NATO for the US? **Select all that apply.**



Perceived drawbacks of NATO.



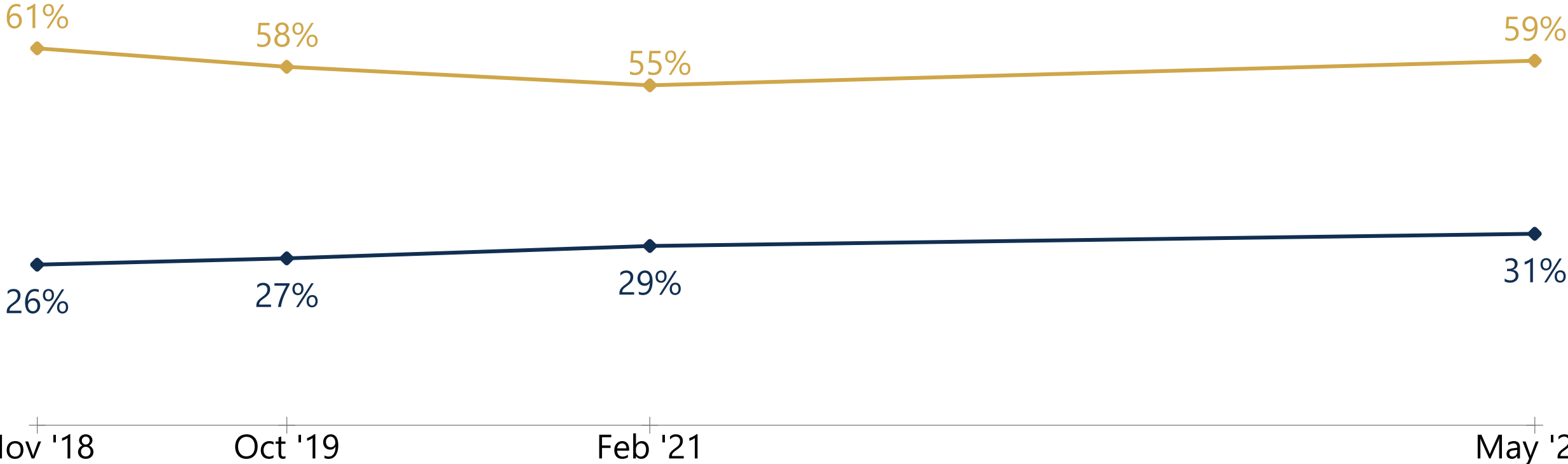
Q16. Which of the following do you see as the main drawbacks of NATO for the US? **Select all that apply.**

By two-to-one margin, Americans think NATO allies are not doing their fair share.



◆ NATO allies do their fair share ◆ Should do more

Democrat 47%
Independent 59%
Republican 73%
2024 Biden 47%
2024 Trump 74%

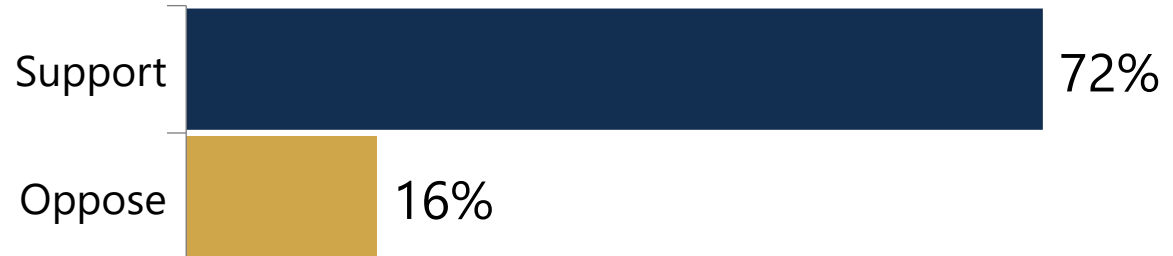


Q17. Do you think our NATO allies do their fair share or should they do more?



Nearly three-quarters support a US military response if a NATO ally is attacked.

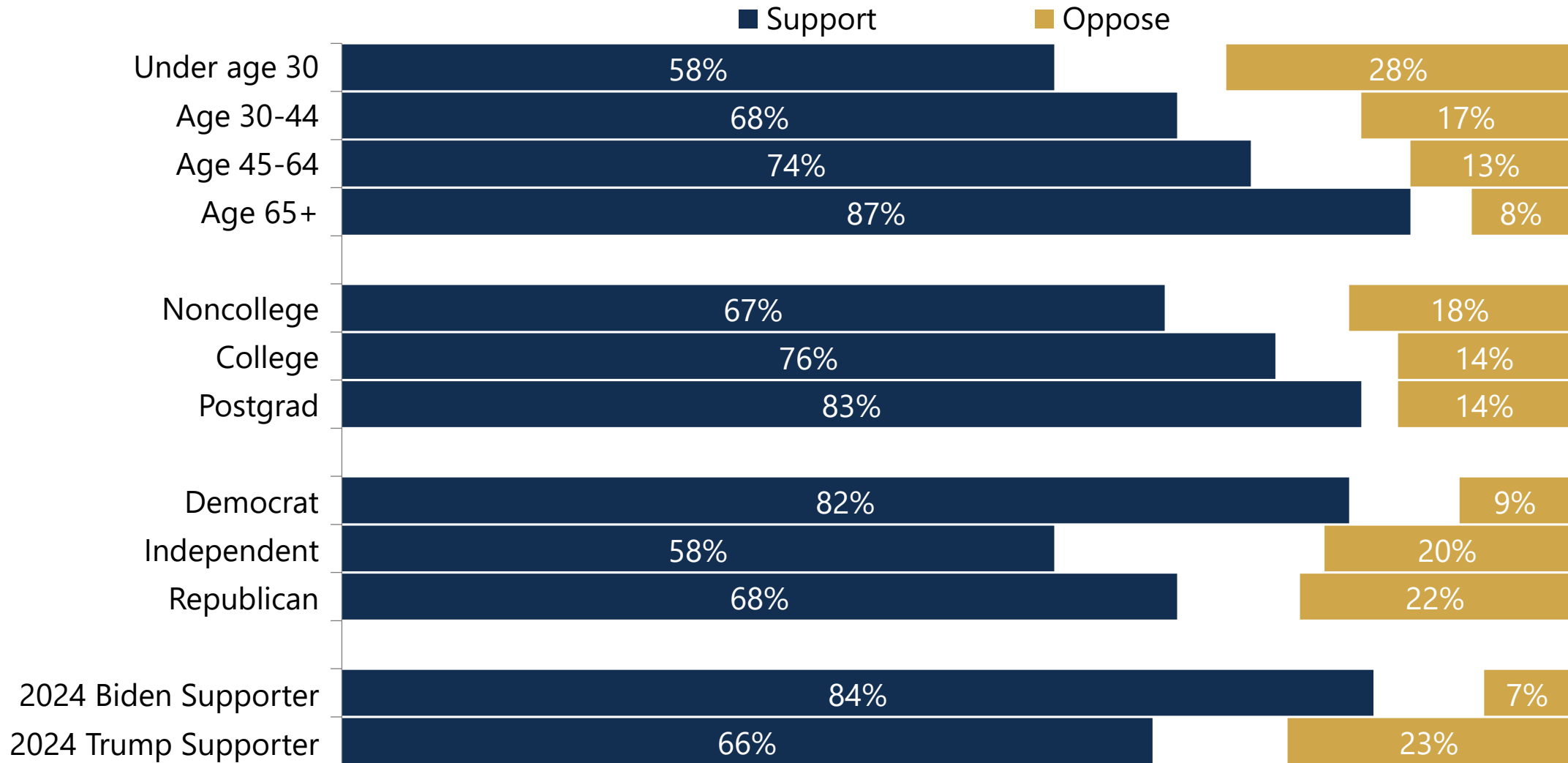
All NATO members are required to respond if one country in the alliance is attacked. This is called the collective defense principle. Do you support or oppose responding with military force if an ally was attacked?



Q18-20. Knowing this, would you support or oppose the US responding with military force if a NATO ally in Europe was attacked? AND If a NATO ally is not spending that much on defense and is attacked, should the US still come to that ally's defense, or not?



Views on NATO collective defense obligation, by subgroup.

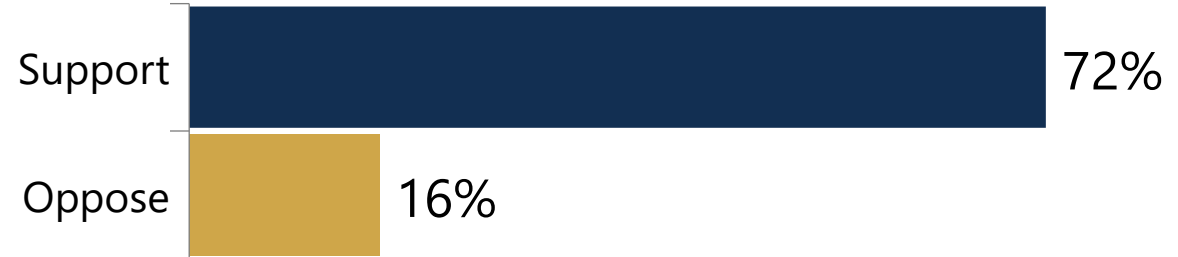


Q18. Do you support or oppose responding with military force if an ally was attacked?

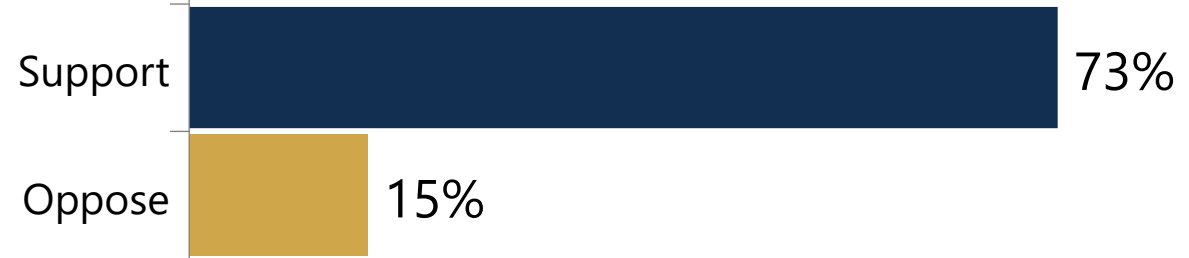


Invoking 9/11 does little to bolster support for collective defense.

All NATO members are required to respond if one country in the alliance is attacked. This is called the collective defense principle. Do you support or oppose responding with military force if an ally was attacked?



The only time the collective defense principle was used was after the September 11th attacks, when allies supported the US in the war against terrorism. Do you support or oppose responding with military force if an ally was attacked?

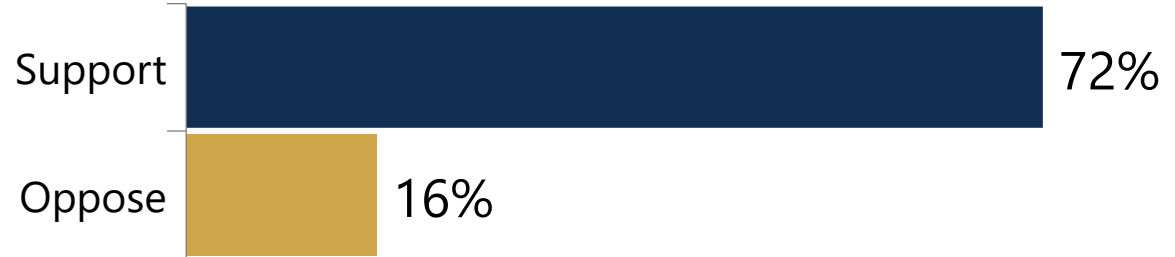


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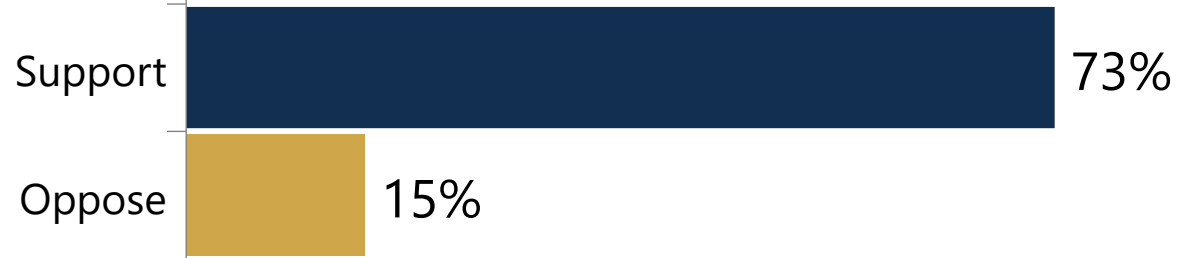


Support for US response drops 20 points if allies are not spending 2% on defense.

All NATO members are required to respond if one country in the alliance is attacked. This is called the collective defense principle. Do you support or oppose responding with military force if an ally was attacked?



The only time the collective defense principle was used was after the September 11th attacks, when allies supported the US in the war against terrorism. Do you support or oppose responding with military force if an ally was attacked?



NATO countries have pledged to each spend at least 2% of their GDP on their own defense. If a NATO ally is not spending that much and is attacked, should the US still come to that ally's defense?

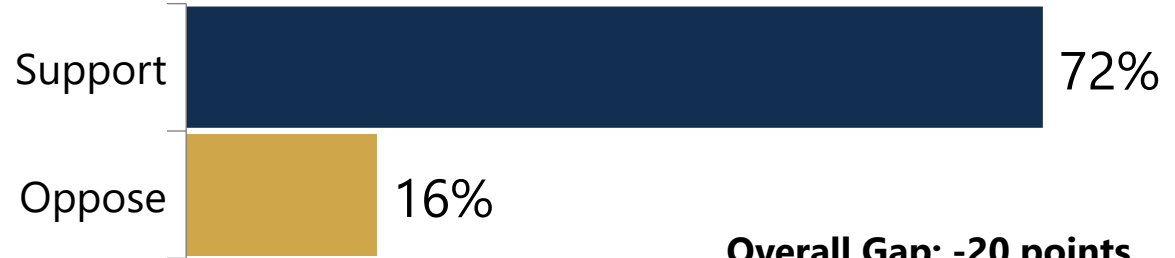


Q18-20. Knowing this, would you support or oppose the US responding with military force if a NATO ally in Europe was attacked? AND If a NATO ally is not spending that much on defense and is attacked, should the US still come to that ally's defense, or not?



Across-the-board decrease in support for military response if allies are not meeting 2% threshold.

All NATO members are required to respond if one country in the alliance is attacked. This is called the collective defense principle. Do you support or oppose responding with military force if an ally was attacked?



Overall Gap: -20 points

| | | | |
|------------------|-----|-------------------|-----|
| Under age 45 | -16 | Democrat | -18 |
| Age 45-64 | -23 | Independent | -21 |
| Age 65+ | -23 | Republican | -22 |
| Noncollege | -22 | MAGA Republican | -23 |
| College | -16 | Non-MAGA | -20 |
| Postgrad | -20 | Biden Supporter | -17 |
| NATO favorable | -20 | Trump supporter | -22 |
| NATO unfavorable | -17 | Int'l phil: lead | -16 |
| | | Int'l phil: react | -27 |

NATO countries have pledged to each spend at least 2% of their GDP on their own defense. If a NATO ally is not spending that much and is attacked, should the US still come to that ally's defense?



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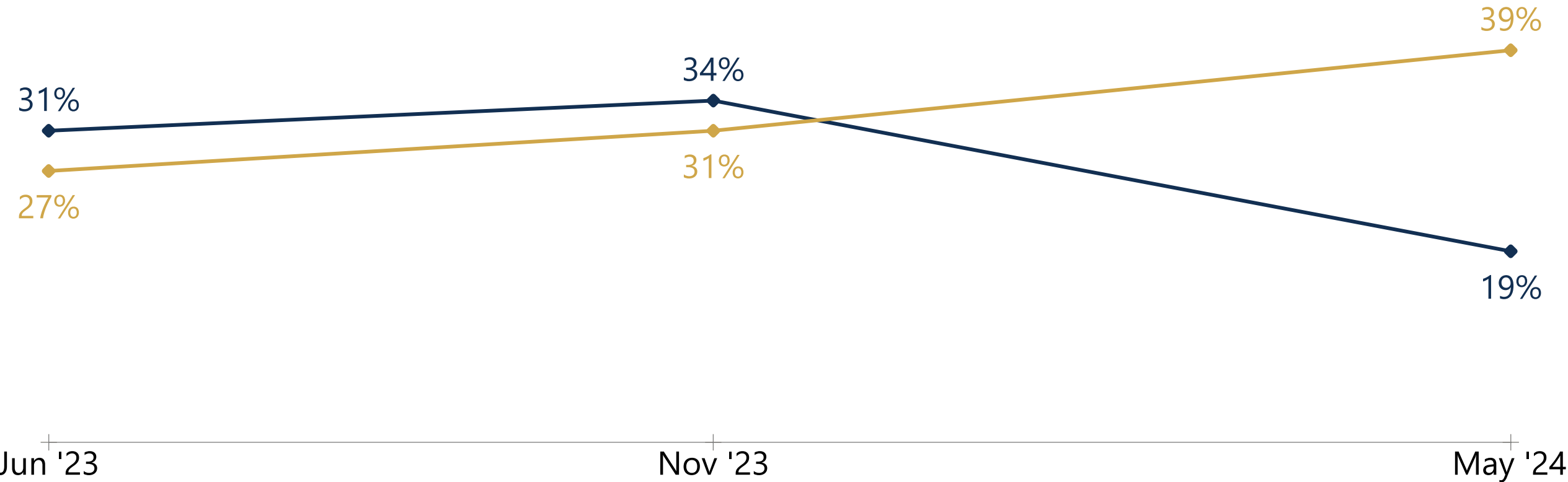
UKRAINE





Russia now seen as winning the war in Ukraine.

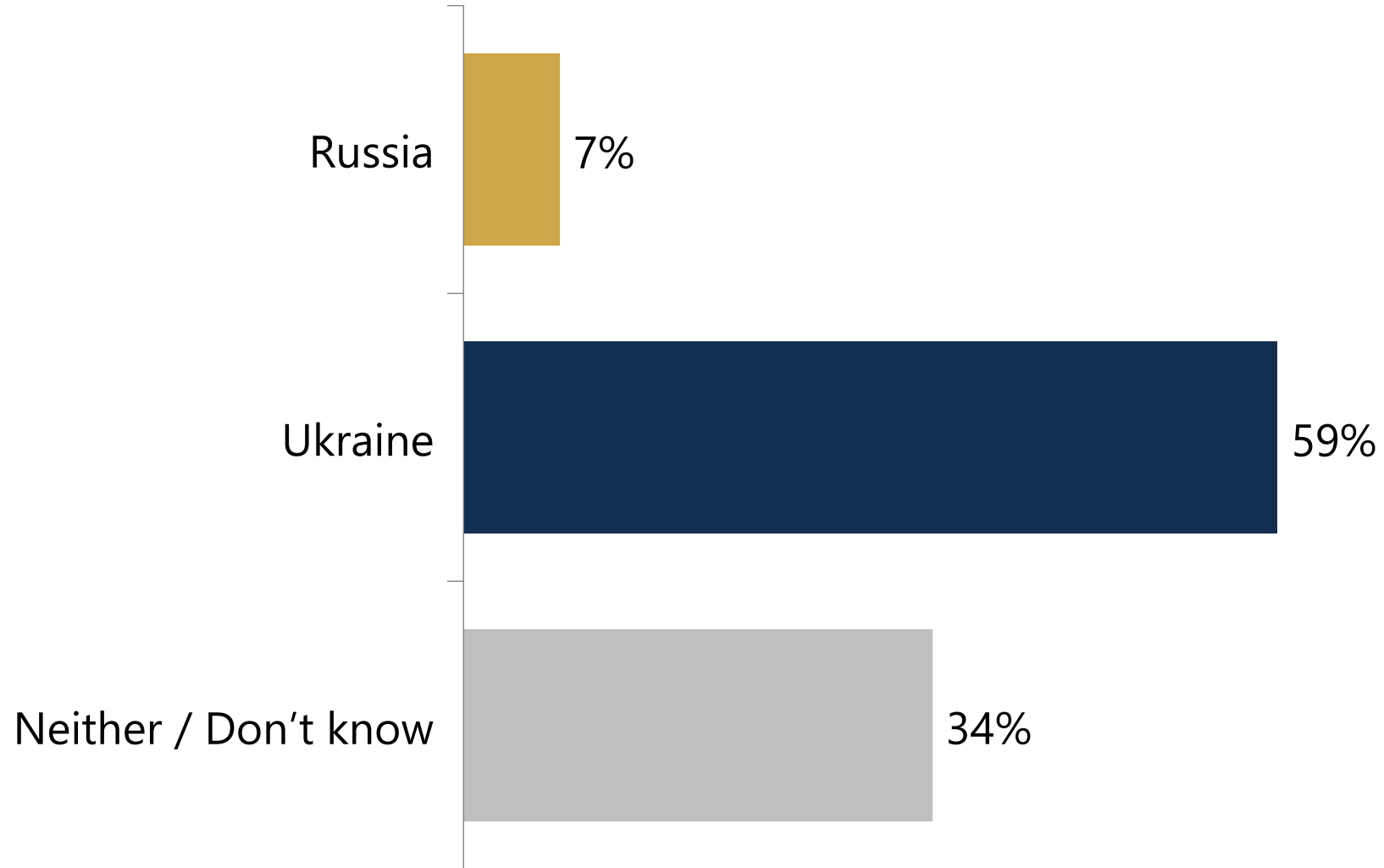
◆ Ukraine ◆ Russia



Q21. Who do you think is currently winning the war between Russia and Ukraine?



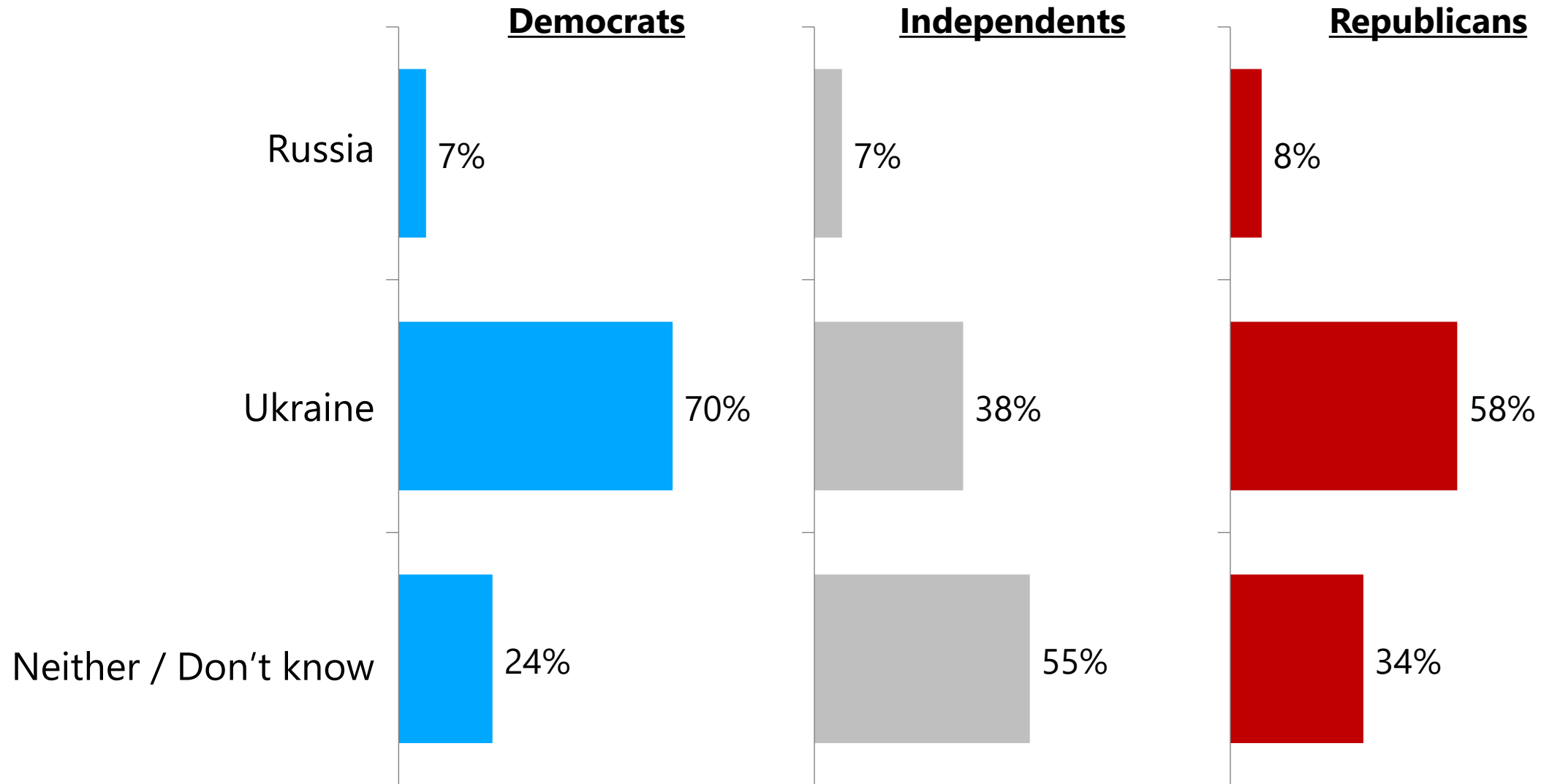
Americans either want Ukraine to win—or don't have a strong feeling one way or the other.



Q22. Who do you want to win the war between Russia and Ukraine?

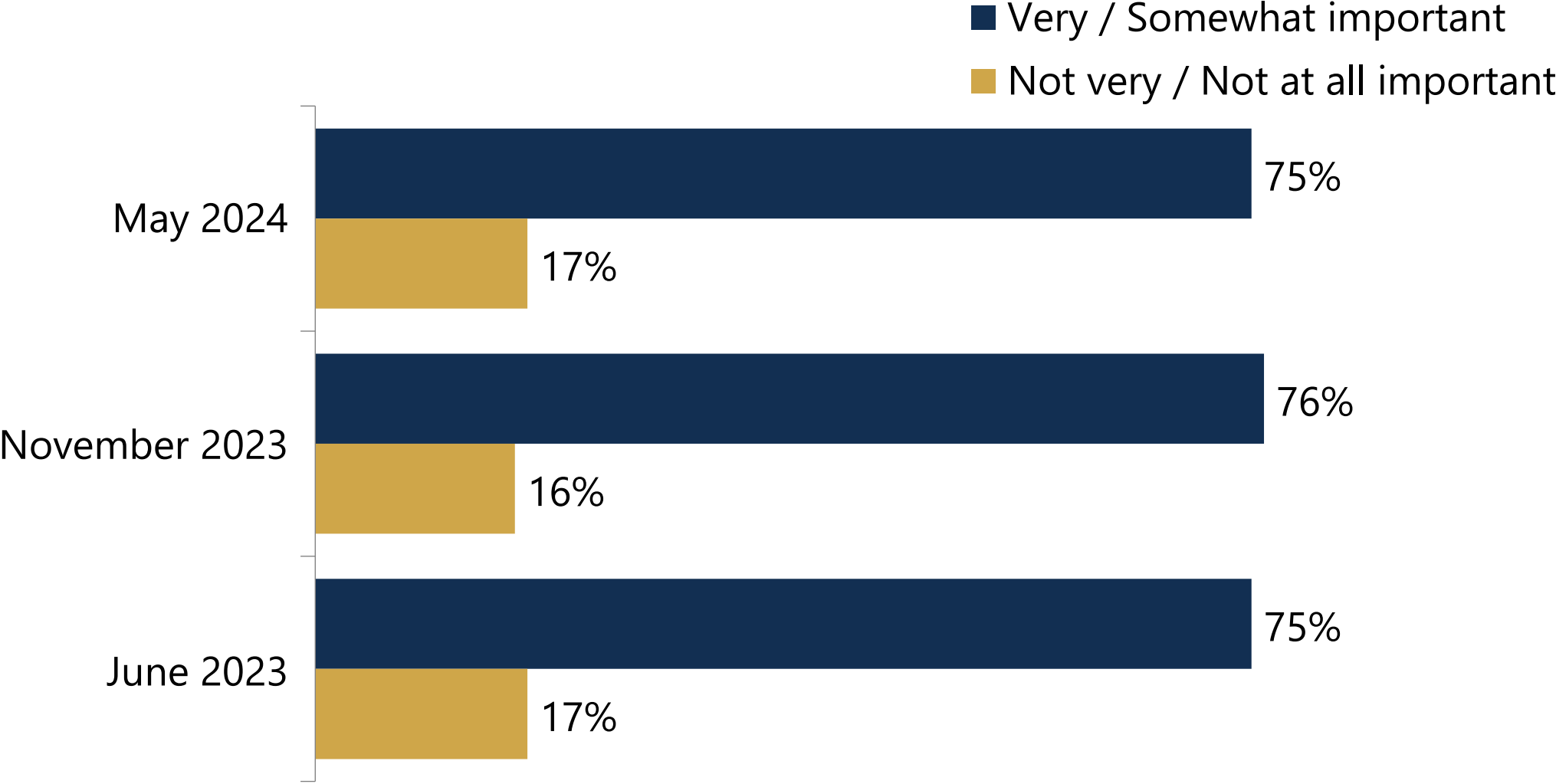


The trope of Republicans wanting Russia to win is a myth.



Q22. Who do you want to win the war between Russia and Ukraine?

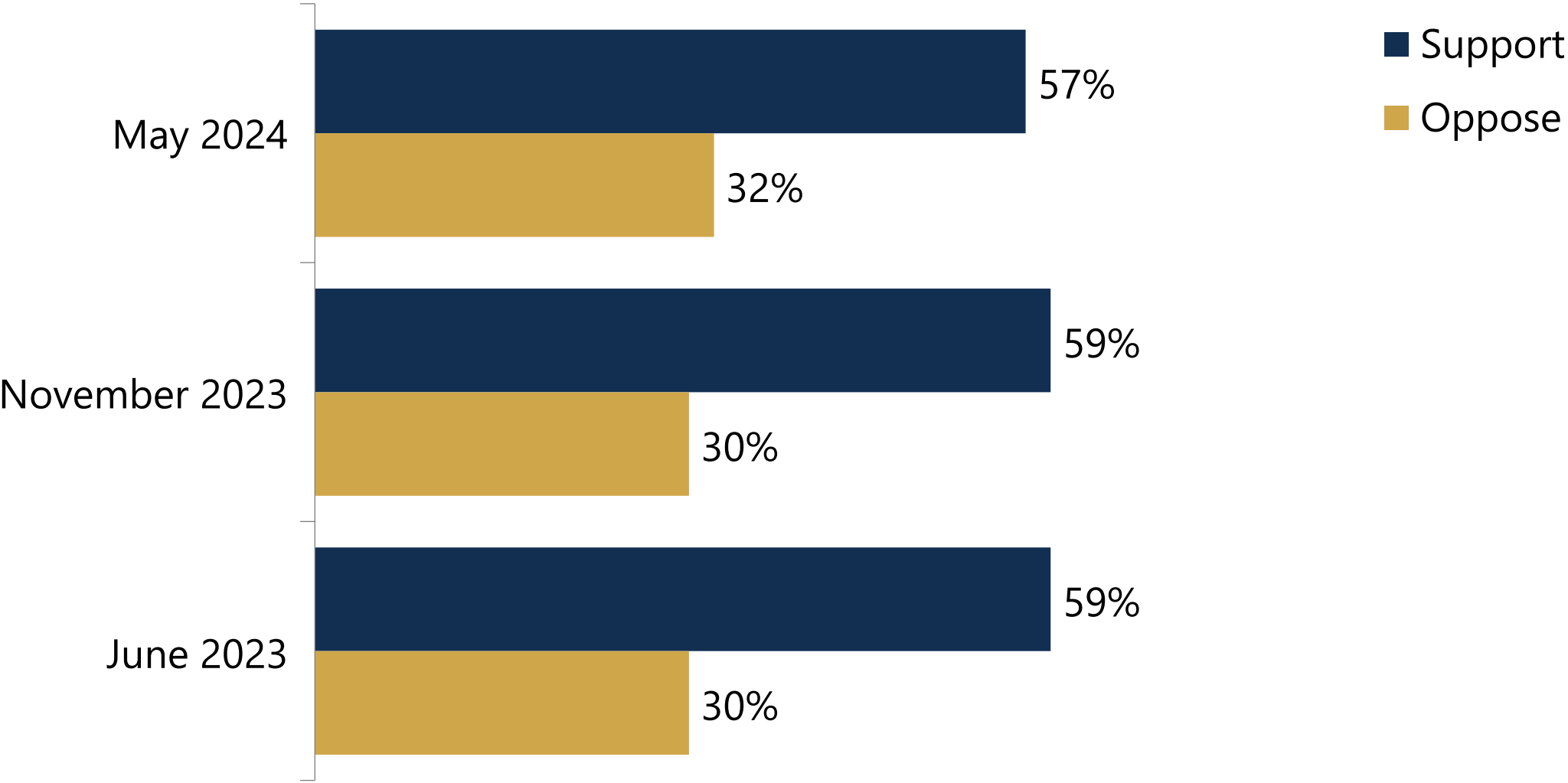
Three-quarters continue to think Ukrainian victory is important to the US.



Q23. How important do you think it is to the US that Ukraine win the war?



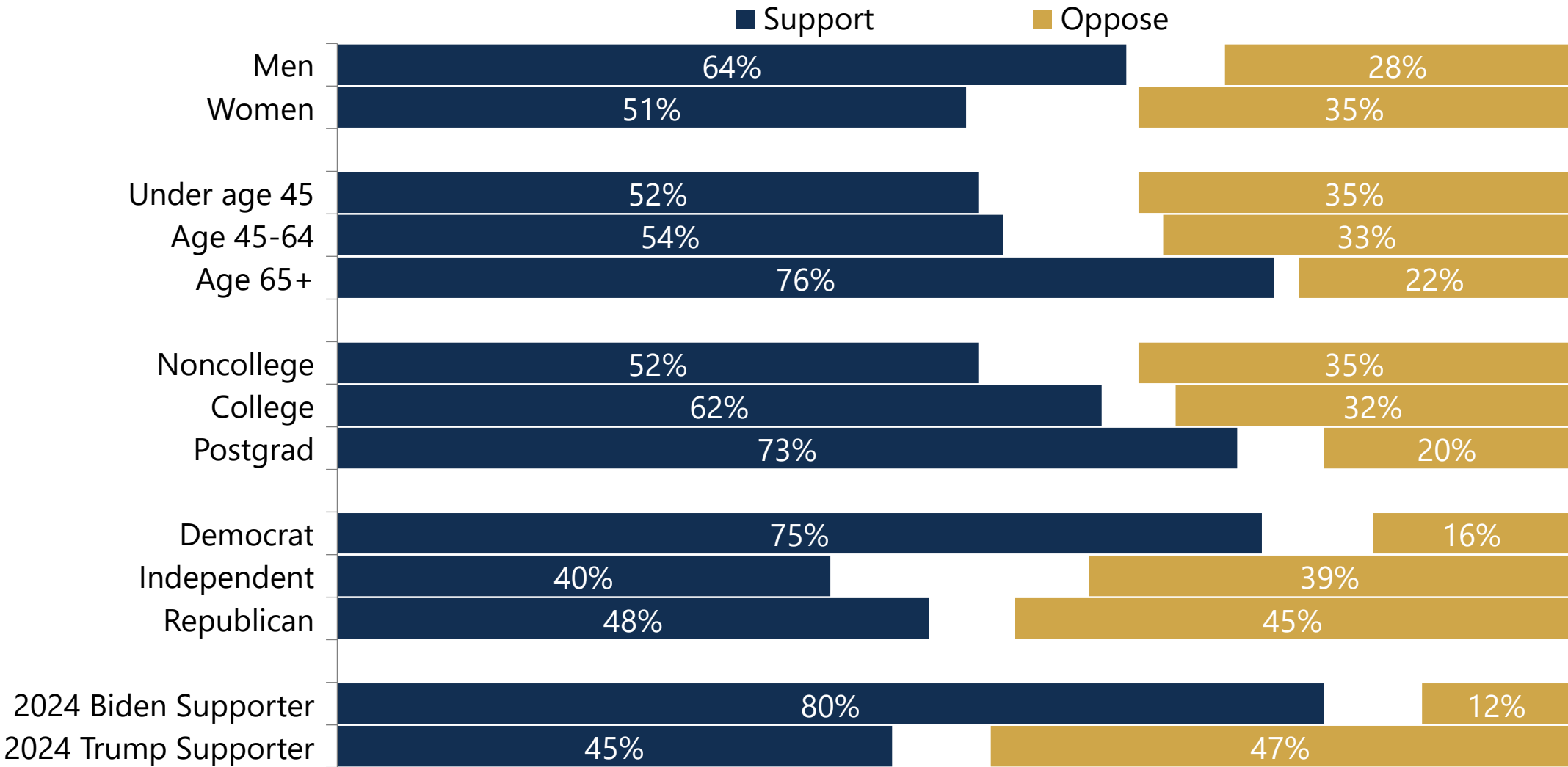
Steady support for sending weapons to Ukraine.



Q24. Overall, do you support or oppose sending US weapons to Ukraine?



Support for sending weapons to Ukraine, by subgroup.



Q24. Overall, do you support or oppose sending US weapons to Ukraine?



Top reasons to send weapons: helping Ukraine defend its sovereignty, countering Russia.

| Top Reasons to Support Sending Weapons to Ukraine | |
|--|-----|
| Ukraine needs help defending itself | 25% |
| Need to counter Russian power | 20 |
| Potential for conflict to expand if not checked | 16 |
| Do not want Russia to win | 15 |
| Support Ukrainian sovereignty | 13 |
| Supporting Ukraine is in US interests | 9 |
| Ukraine was unjustly attacked | 9 |
| Defending democracy / Support those fighting for freedom | 7 |
| General anti-Russian sentiment | 7 |

Note: Responses under 5% not shown

Q25. What is the main reason you support sending weapons to Ukraine? **OPEN END**



Top reasons to oppose sending weapons: cost, not in US interest to be engaged.

| Top Reasons to Oppose Sending Weapons to Ukraine | |
|--|----|
| Spending too much money | 18 |
| America First / Stay out of foreign conflict | 17 |
| The conflict does not concern the US | 16 |
| Money could be used for more important domestic issues | 13 |
| Dislike of war and violence | 10 |
| Potential for corruption / Lack of accountability | 10 |
| Will further provoke Russia | 9 |
| No exit plan, only perpetuates war | 8 |
| Can't trust Ukraine | 7 |
| US might need the weapons to fight our own war | 7 |

Note: Responses under 5% not shown

Q25. What is the main reason you oppose sending weapons to Ukraine? **OPEN END**



Messages Tested in Support of Arming Ukraine

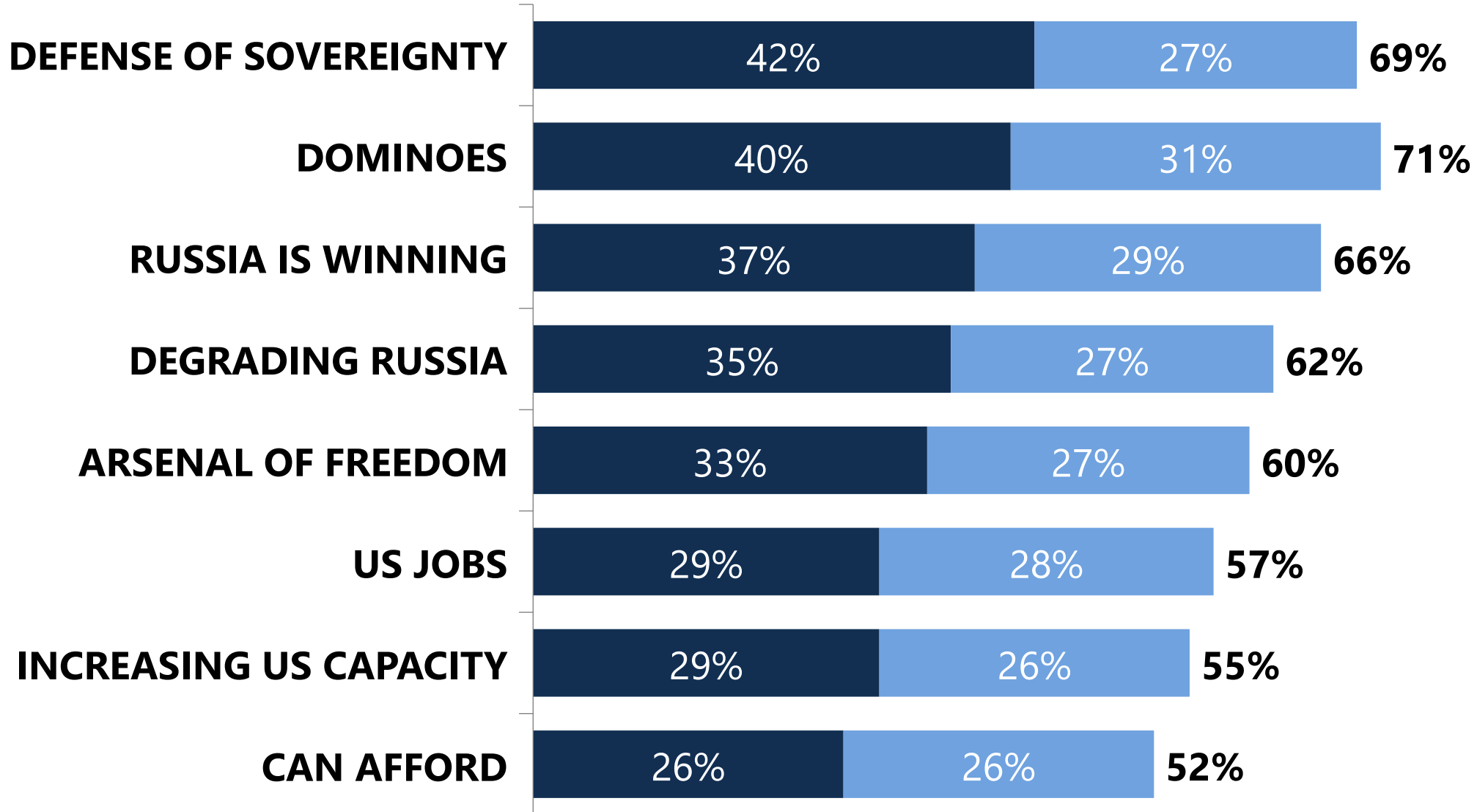
| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| DEGRADING RUSSIA | Providing aid to Ukraine allows us to weaken Russian military capabilities without risking American lives. Weakening Russia also allows our military to focus on other challenges, like countering Iran and China. |
| US JOBS | 90% of money we budget for aiding Ukraine is actually spent in the United States, building and replacing weapons we send to Ukraine from US stockpiles. This creates good manufacturing jobs at home and boosts the US economy. |
| CAN AFFORD | Military aid to Ukraine is very inexpensive compared to overall US military spending. Most aid proposals amount to 1 or 2% of the total yearly US military budget. This is something we can easily afford. |
| ARSENAL OF FREEDOM | The United States should be the arsenal of freedom. If Ukrainians and others around the world are willing to risk their lives to defend their freedom, we should get them the weapons they need to protect themselves. |
| RUSSIA IS WINNING | After two years of war, Russia appears to have the advantage on the ground, in large part because Ukraine is running out of the ammunition and weapons it needs to defend itself. Ukrainians are still willing to fight, but Russia could win if we do not provide aid. |
| INCREASING US CAPACITY | By providing aid to Ukraine, we are investing in our own capacity to produce weapons and ammunition here at home. We are building factories, restoring our own stockpiles, and increasing our capacity to defend against adversaries like China, Iran, and North Korea. |
| DOMINOES | If Russia wins in Ukraine, the rest of Europe will be at risk. US allies like Poland would be directly threatened, and the US would be obligated to join a war if Russia attacked a NATO ally. |
| DEFENSE OF SOVEREIGNTY | Supporting Ukraine is crucial for upholding the principle of national sovereignty. Ukraine, like any other nation, has the right to protect its borders and determine its own future without interference from external powers. |

Q27-34. Do each of the following messages make you much more likely to support aid to Ukraine, somewhat more likely, or make no difference. If you don't believe something, you can say that as well.



Most messages are broadly resonant.

■ Much more likely to support ■ Somewhat more likely



Top messages: Defense of Sovereignty, Dominoes, Russia is Winning



■ Much more likely to support

DEFENSE OF SOVEREIGNTY

42%

DOMINOES

40%

RUSSIA IS WINNING

37%

DEGRADING RUSSIA

35%

ARSENAL OF FREEDOM

33%

US JOBS

29%

INCREASING US CAPACITY

29%

CAN AFFORD

26%

Top-Tier
Messages
Overall

US Jobs, Degrading Russia, and Dominoes most impactful among those who move to support arming Ukraine.



Much More Likely to Support

Overall

Move to Support

DEFENSE OF SOVEREIGNTY

42%

32%

DOMINOES

40%

37% *

RUSSIA IS WINNING

37%

29%

DEGRADING RUSSIA

35%

37% *

ARSENAL OF FREEDOM

33%

30%

US JOBS

29%

39% *

INCREASING US CAPACITY

29%

23%

CAN AFFORD

26%

29%

***Top Tier Among Movers**



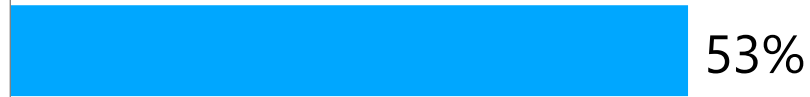
Messages are broadly more appealing to Democrats.

Much More Likely to Support

Democrats

Republicans

DEFENSE OF SOVEREIGNTY



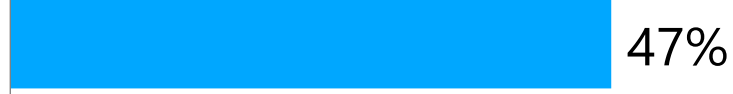
DOMINOES



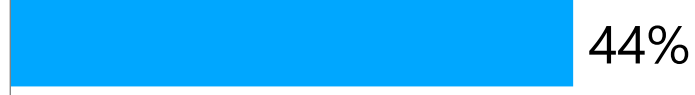
RUSSIA IS WINNING



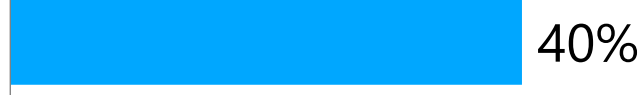
DEGRADING RUSSIA



ARSENAL OF FREEDOM



US JOBS



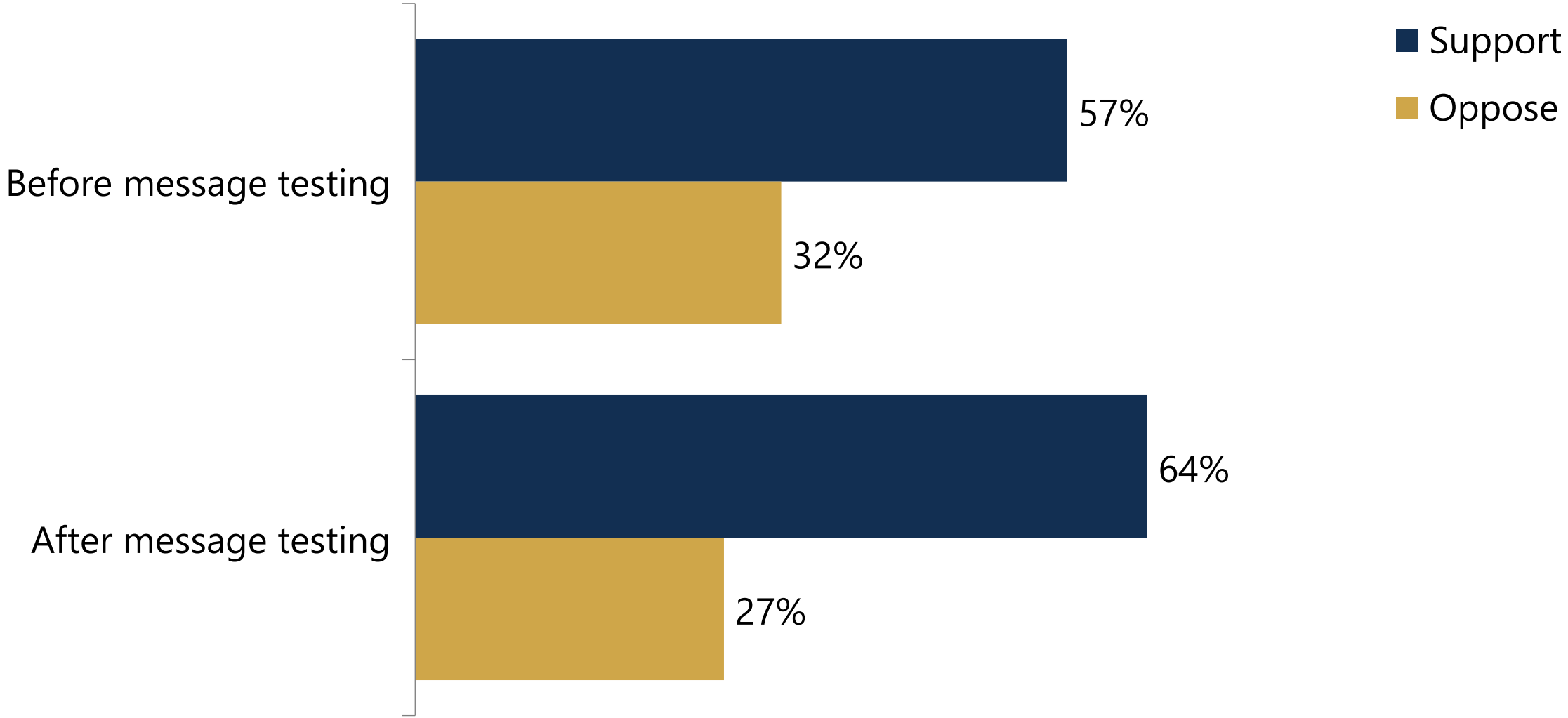
INCREASING US CAPACITY



CAN AFFORD



After messaging, support for arming Ukraine increase 7 points.



Q24/35. Now that we have discussed the issue in a bit more detail, would you say you support or oppose sending US weapons to Ukraine?



Shifts in support after messaging.

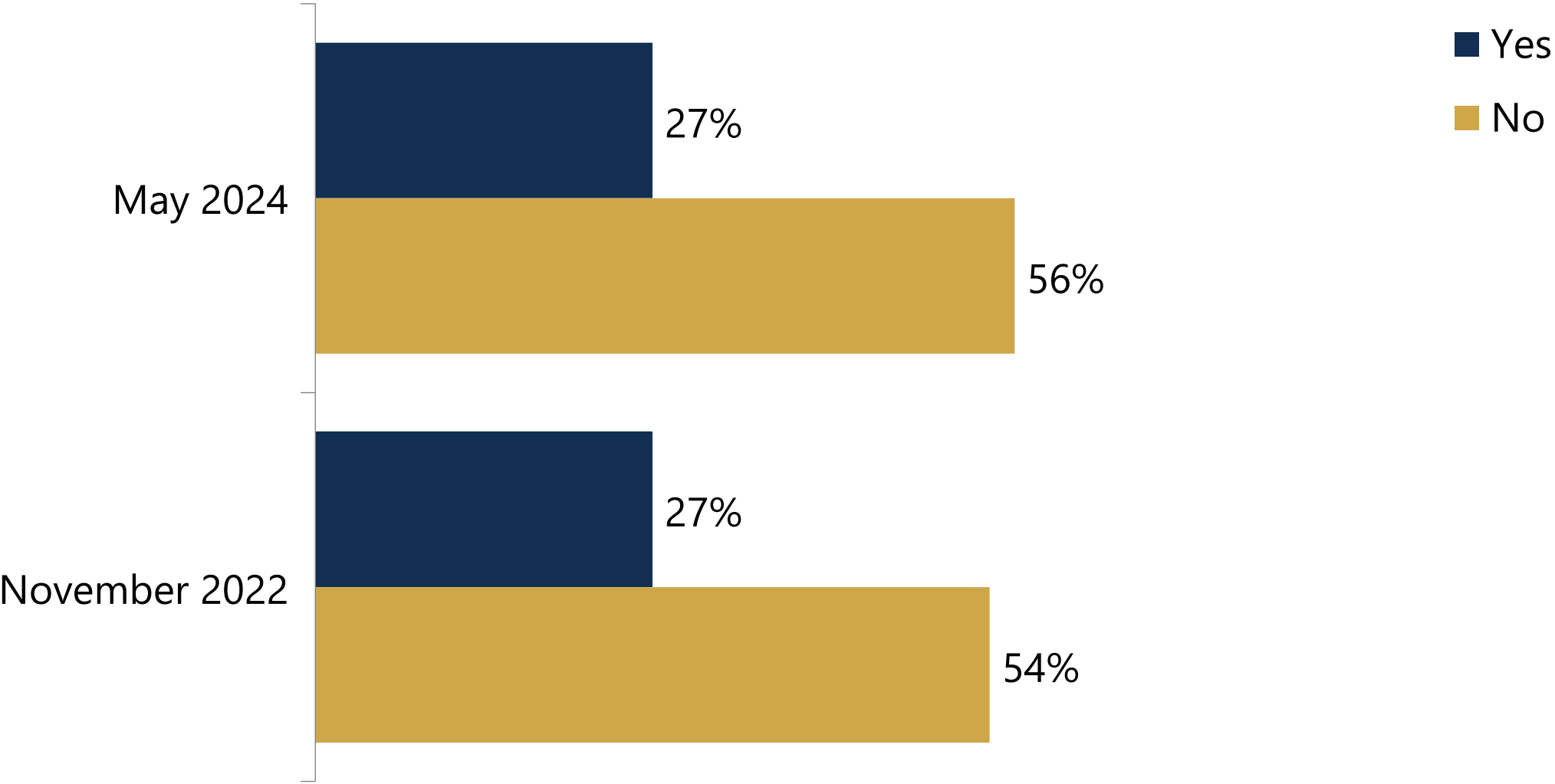
| Change in Support | |
|----------------------------|------------|
| Men | +2 |
| Women | +10 |
| Noncollege | +7 |
| College | +7 |
| Postgrad | +1 |
| Initially Supportive | -7 |
| Initially Opposed | +18 |
| Initially Undecided | +41 |

| Change in Support | |
|------------------------|------------|
| Democrat | +5 |
| Independent | +8 |
| Republican | +7 |
| MAGA Republican | +8 |
| Non-MAGA | +2 |
| Biden Supporter | +4 |
| Trump Supporter | +8 |
| Undecided | +10 |

CHINA



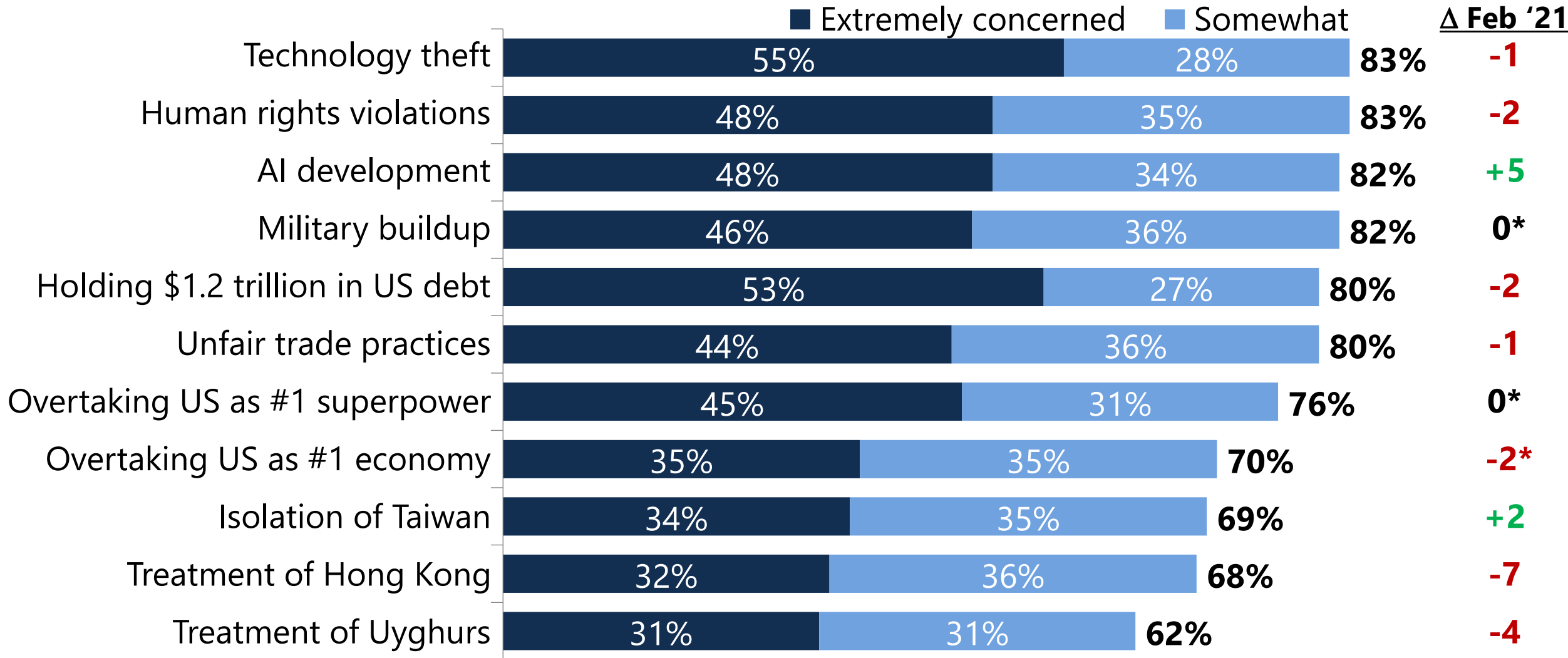
Just a quarter think US has a clear strategy for managing China.



Q36. Do you think the US has a clear strategy for managing its relationship with China?



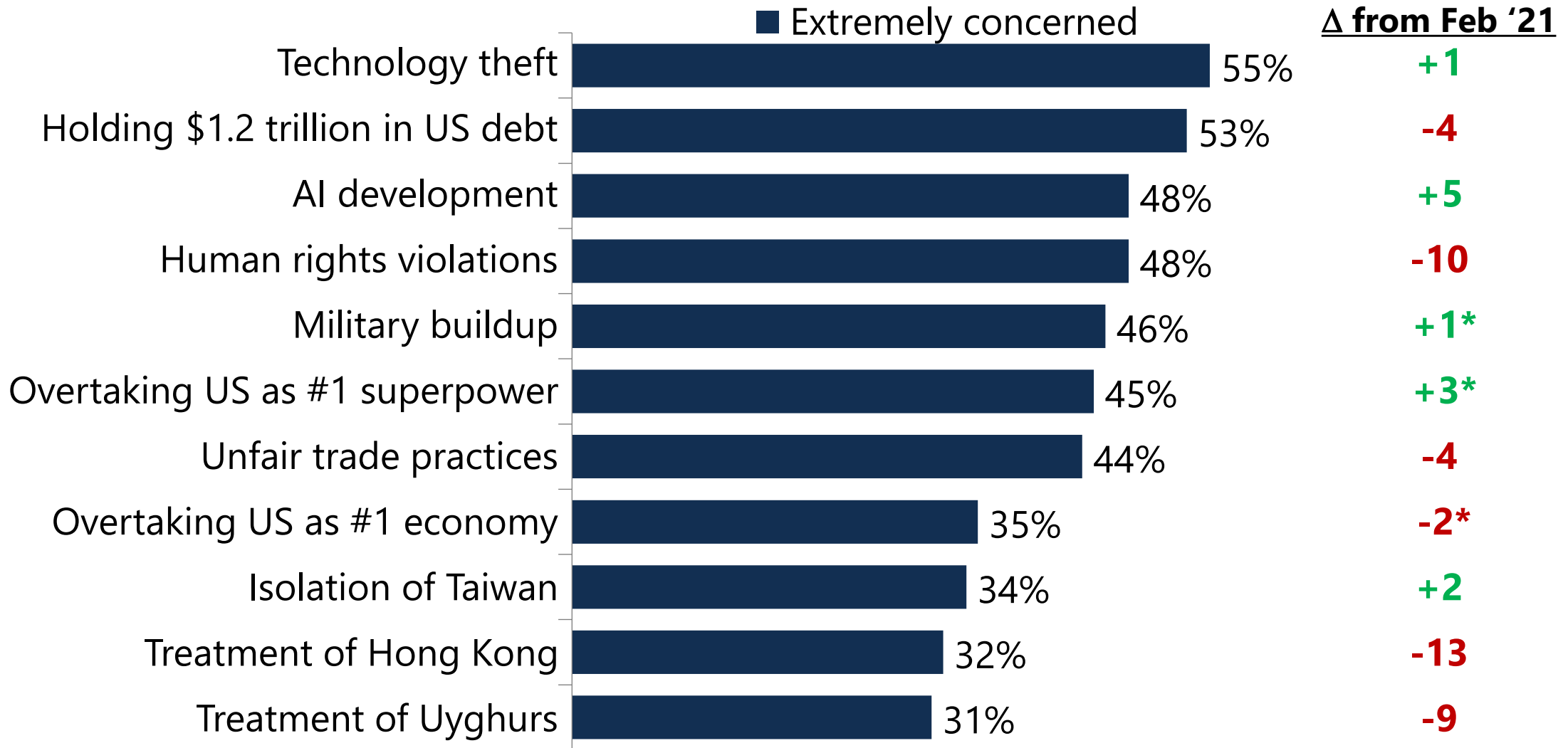
Eight-in-ten are concerned with a wide range of Chinese activities.



*Change from November 2023

Q37-47. Thinking specifically about China, how concerned are you about each of the following?

Decreases in top-level concerns about Chinese human rights record and economic activities.

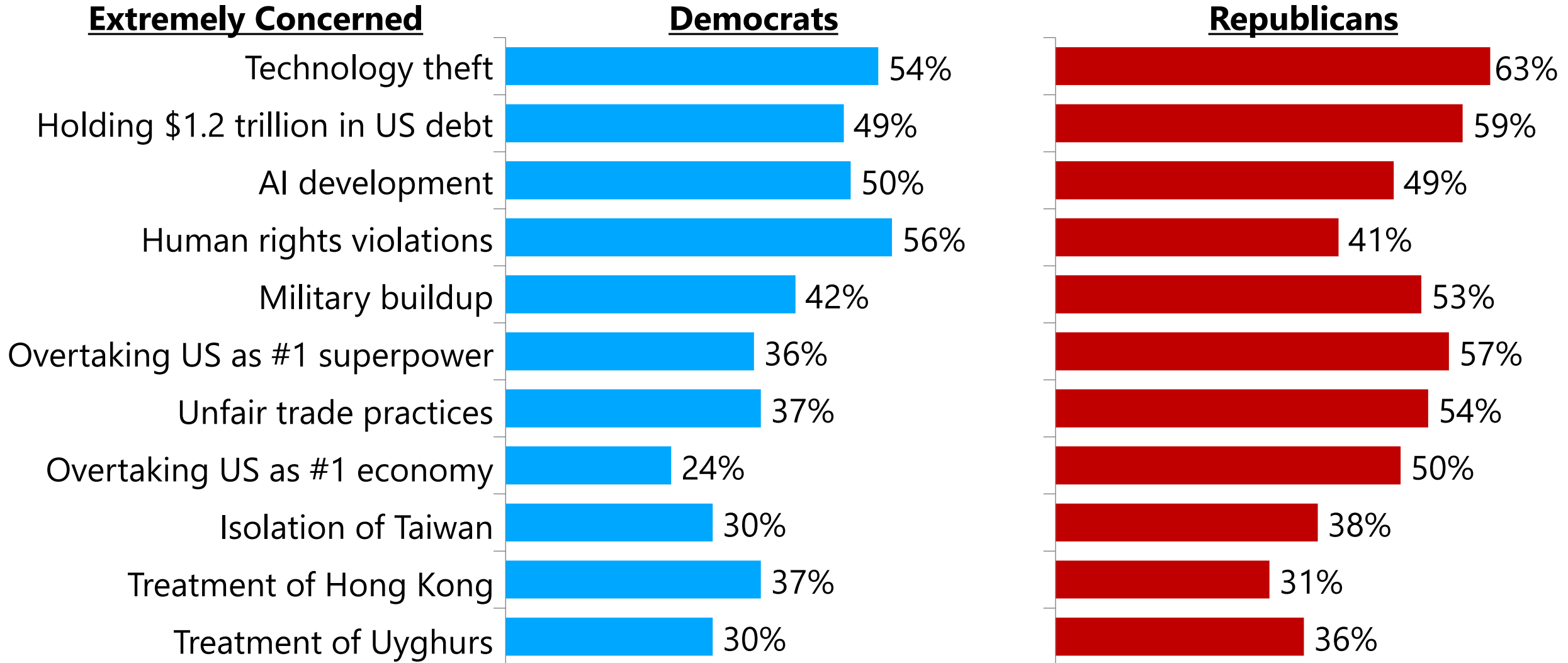


*Change from November 2023

Q37-47. Thinking specifically about China, how concerned are you about each of the following?



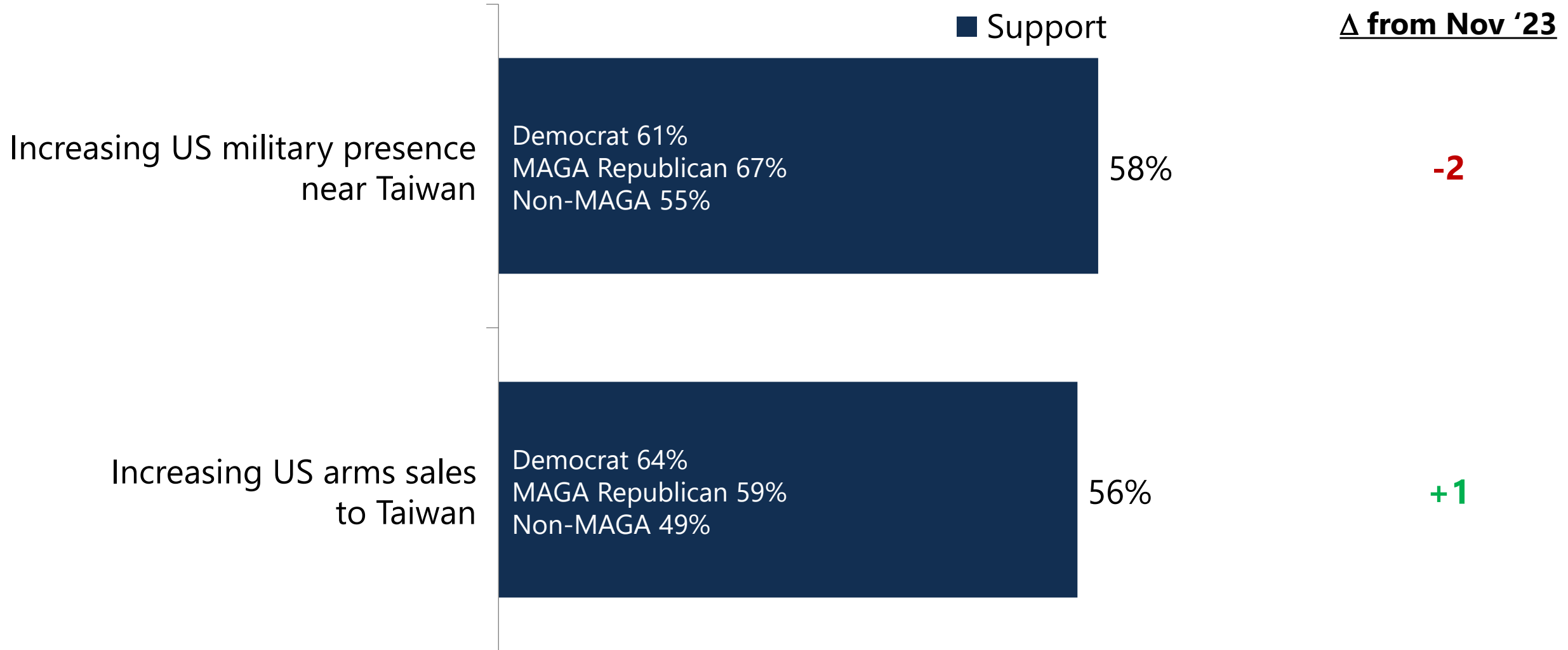
Concerns with China, by party ID.



Q37-47. Thinking specifically about China, how concerned are you about each of the following?



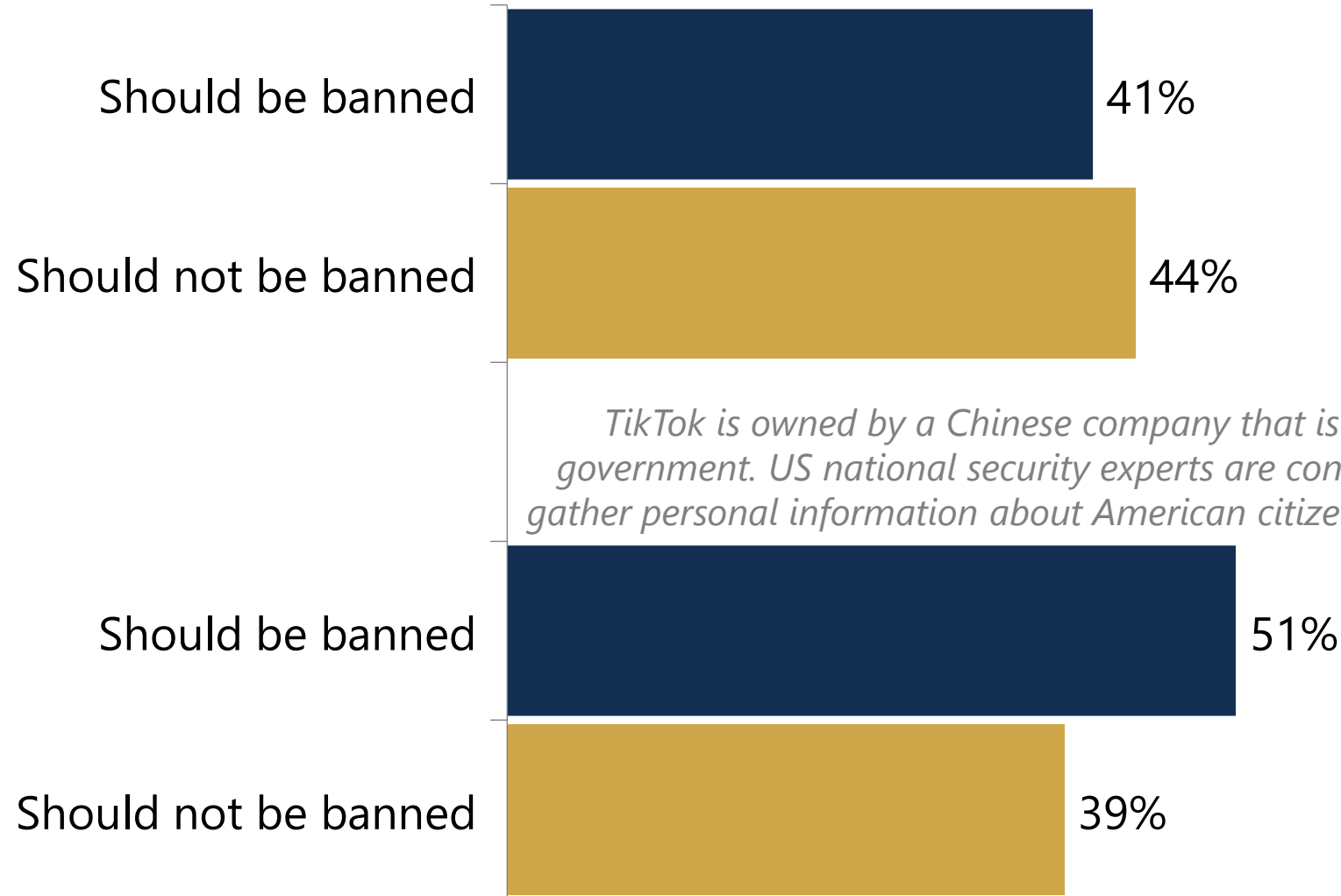
Majorities support measures to deter an invasion of Taiwan.



Q48-49. In an attempt to discourage China from invading Taiwan, do you support or oppose each of the following?



Views split on banning TikTok, but raising security concerns shifts opinion in favor of a ban.



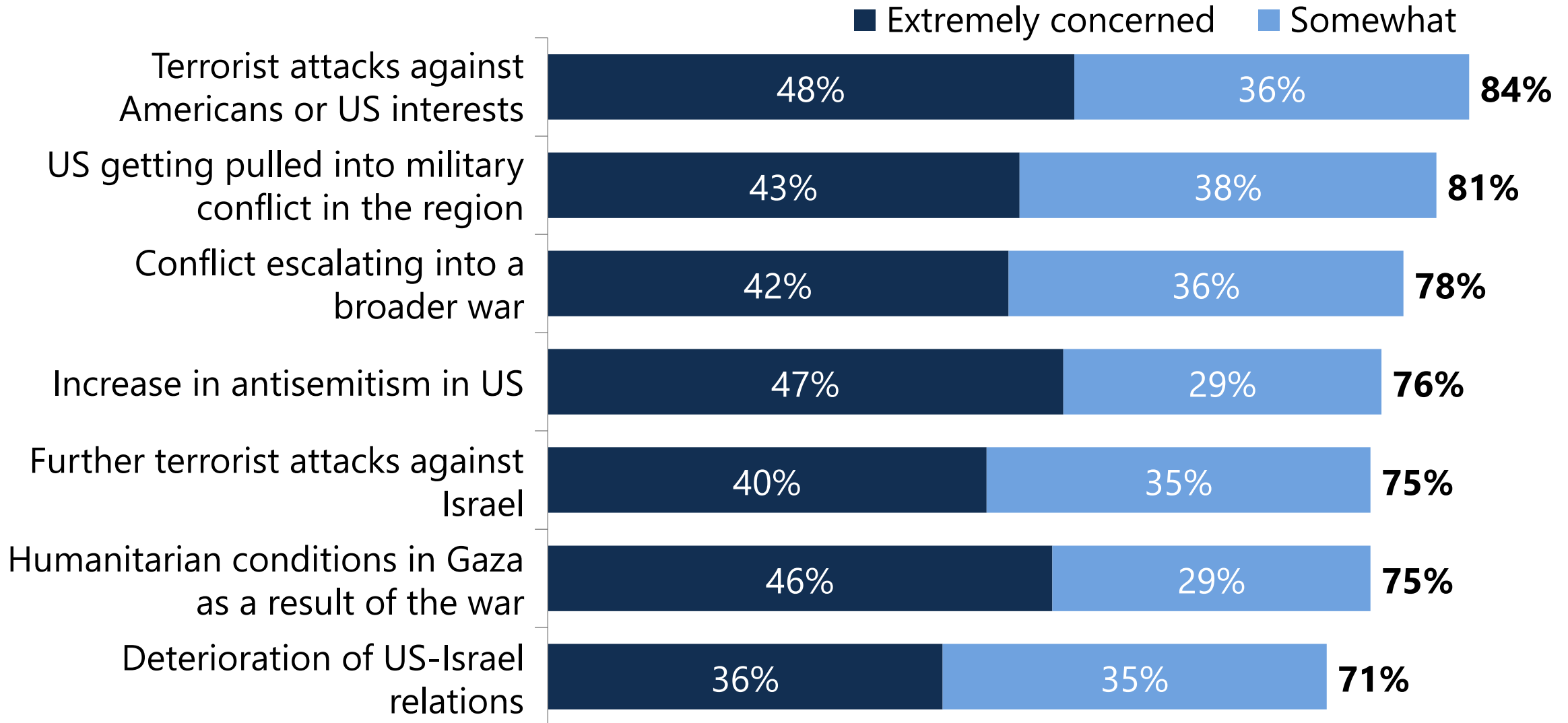
Q50. Do you think the social media app TikTok should be banned in the US, or not?

MIDDLE EAST



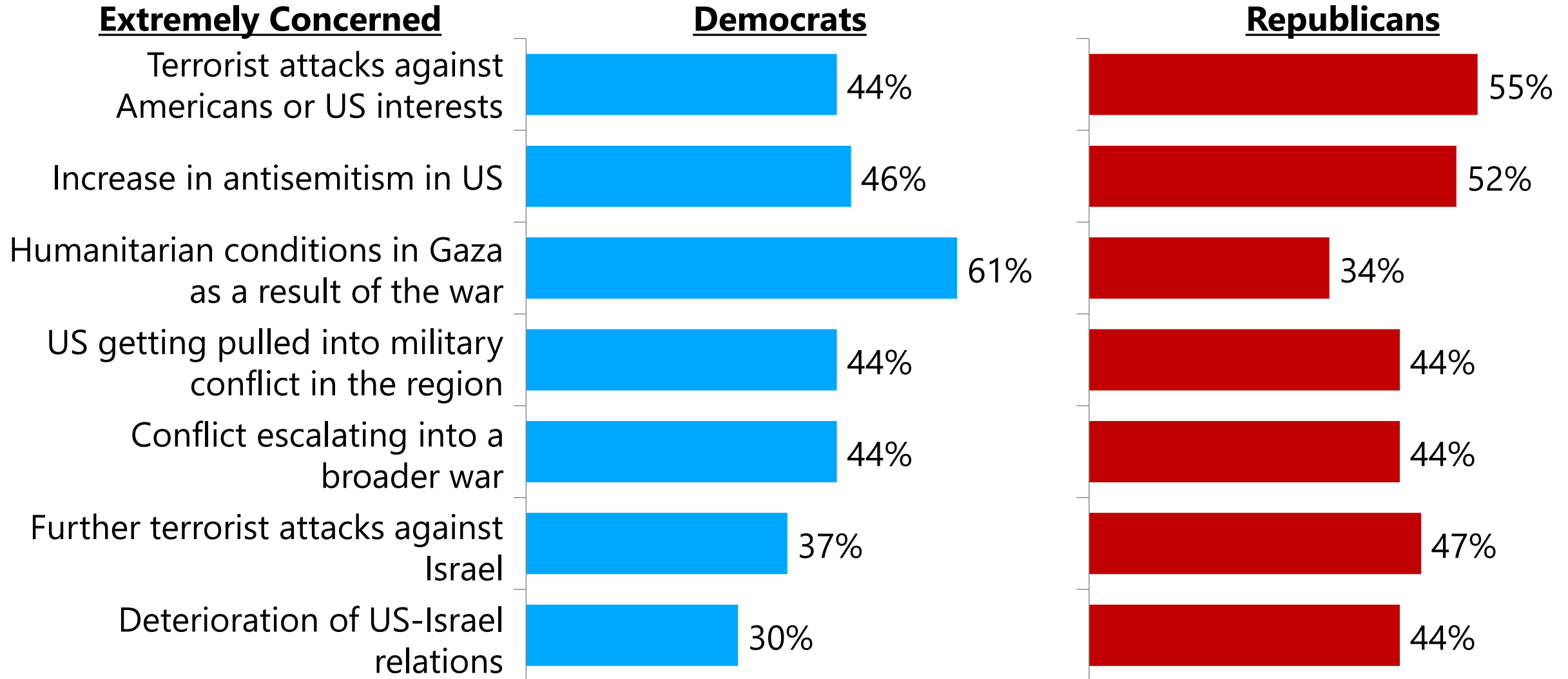


Top concerns with conflict in the Middle East: attacks against US interests, US getting pulled into war.



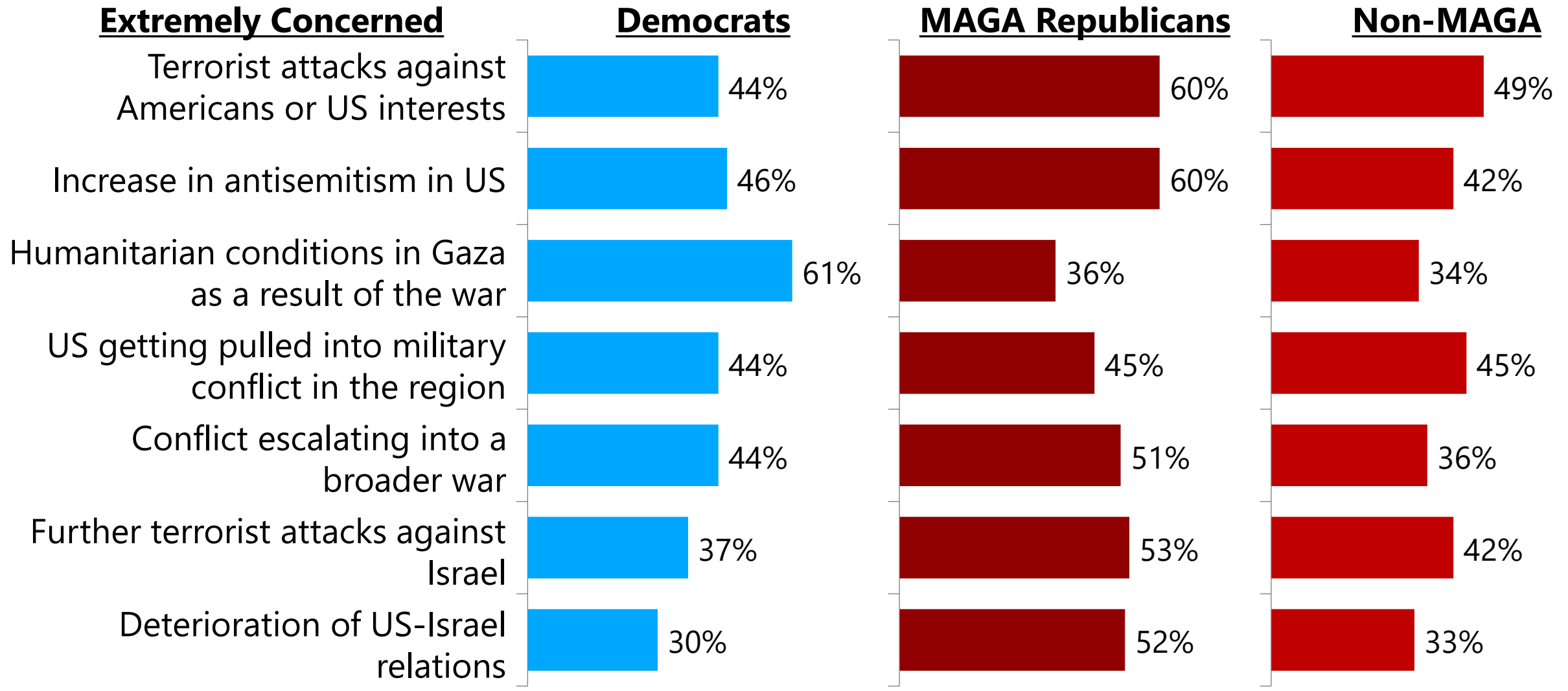
Q52-58. Thinking now about the conflict in the Middle East, how concerned are you about each of the following?

Partisans mostly agree on concerns—with the exception of humanitarian conditions in Gaza.



Q52-58. Thinking now about the conflict in the Middle East, how concerned are you about each of the following?

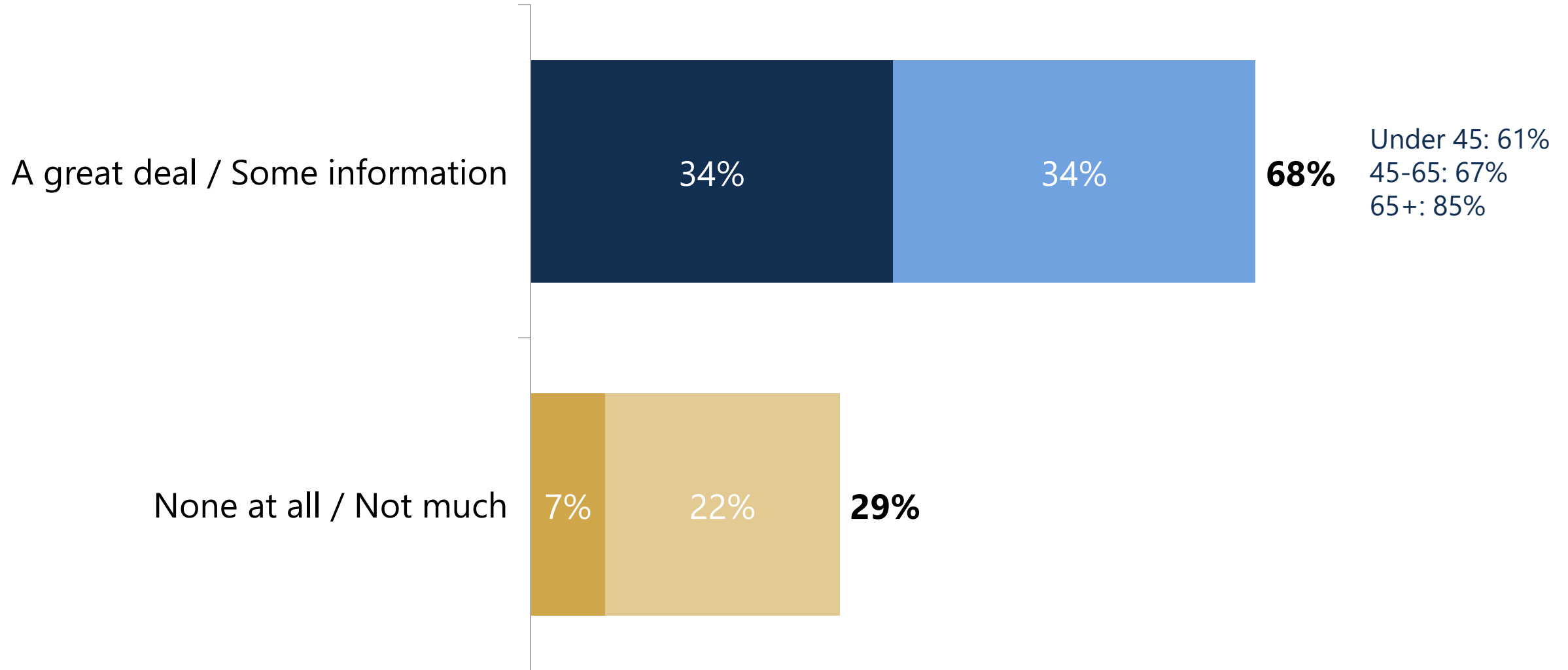
MAGA Republicans have notably different concerns about the conflict.



Q52-58. Thinking now about the conflict in the Middle East, how concerned are you about each of the following?



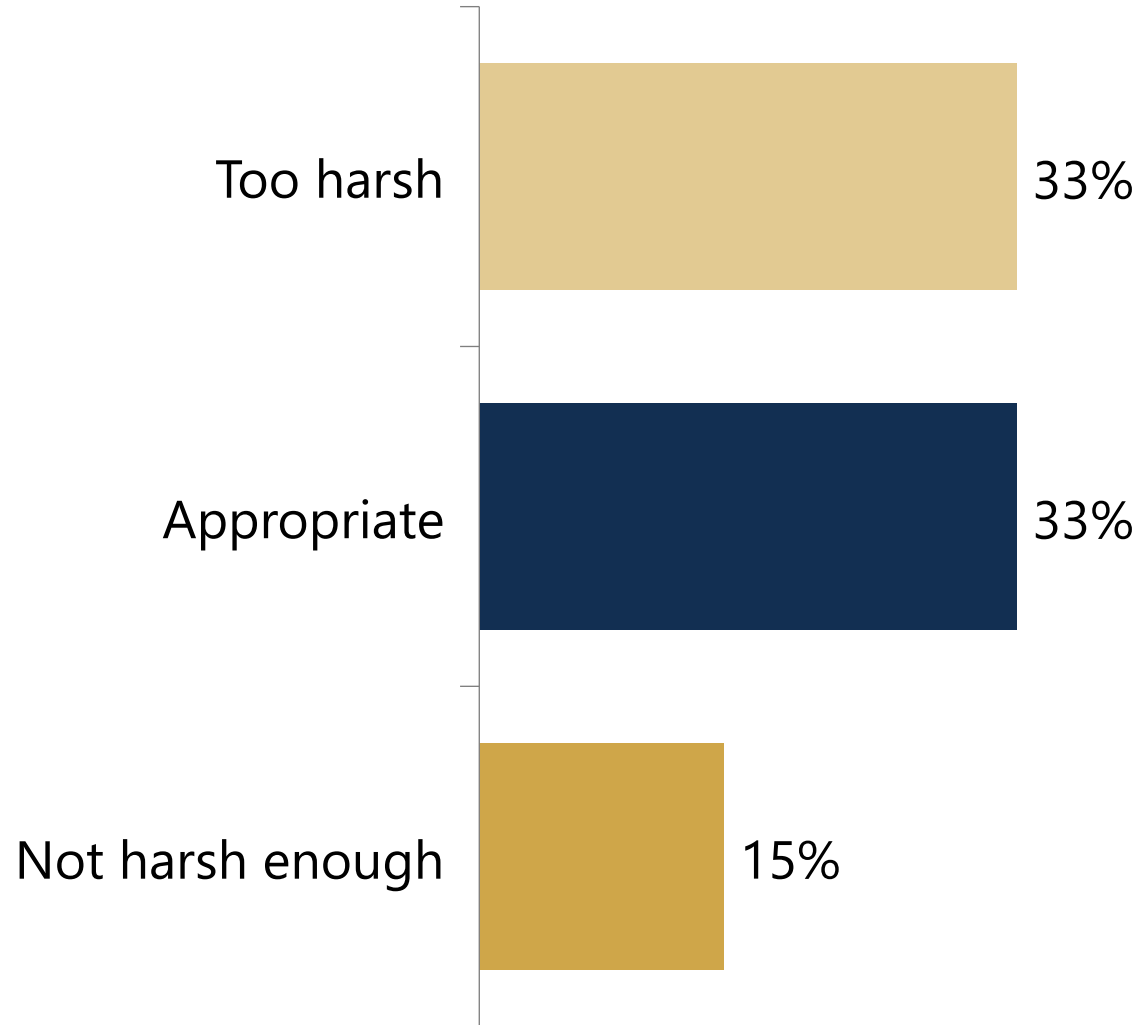
Two-thirds feel informed about 10/7 attack.



Q59. How much information would you say you have about Hamas's attack against Israel on October 7th of last year?



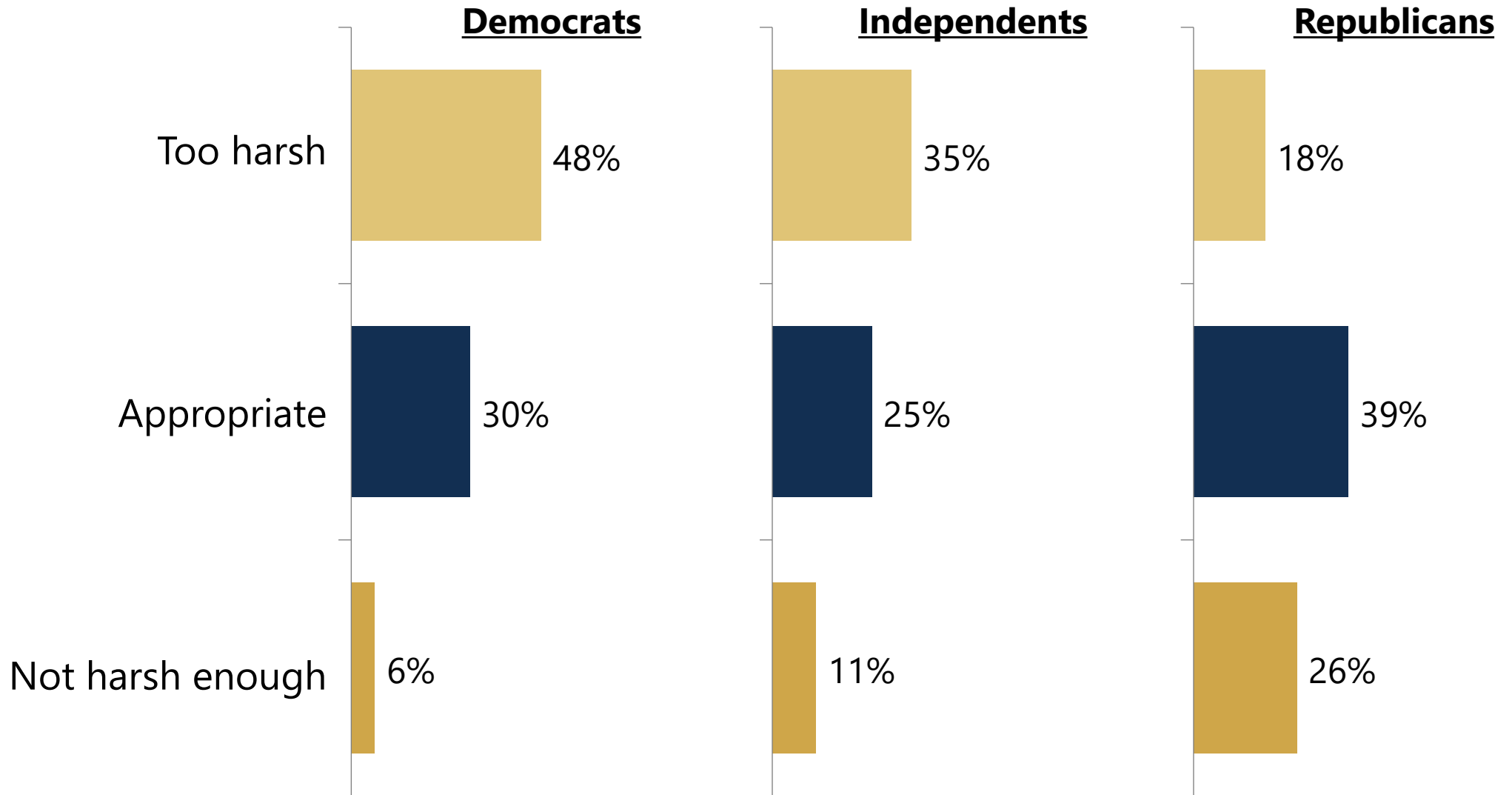
No consensus on Israel's response to Hamas attack.



Q60. Do you think Israel's response to the Hamas attack has been appropriate, too harsh, or not harsh enough?



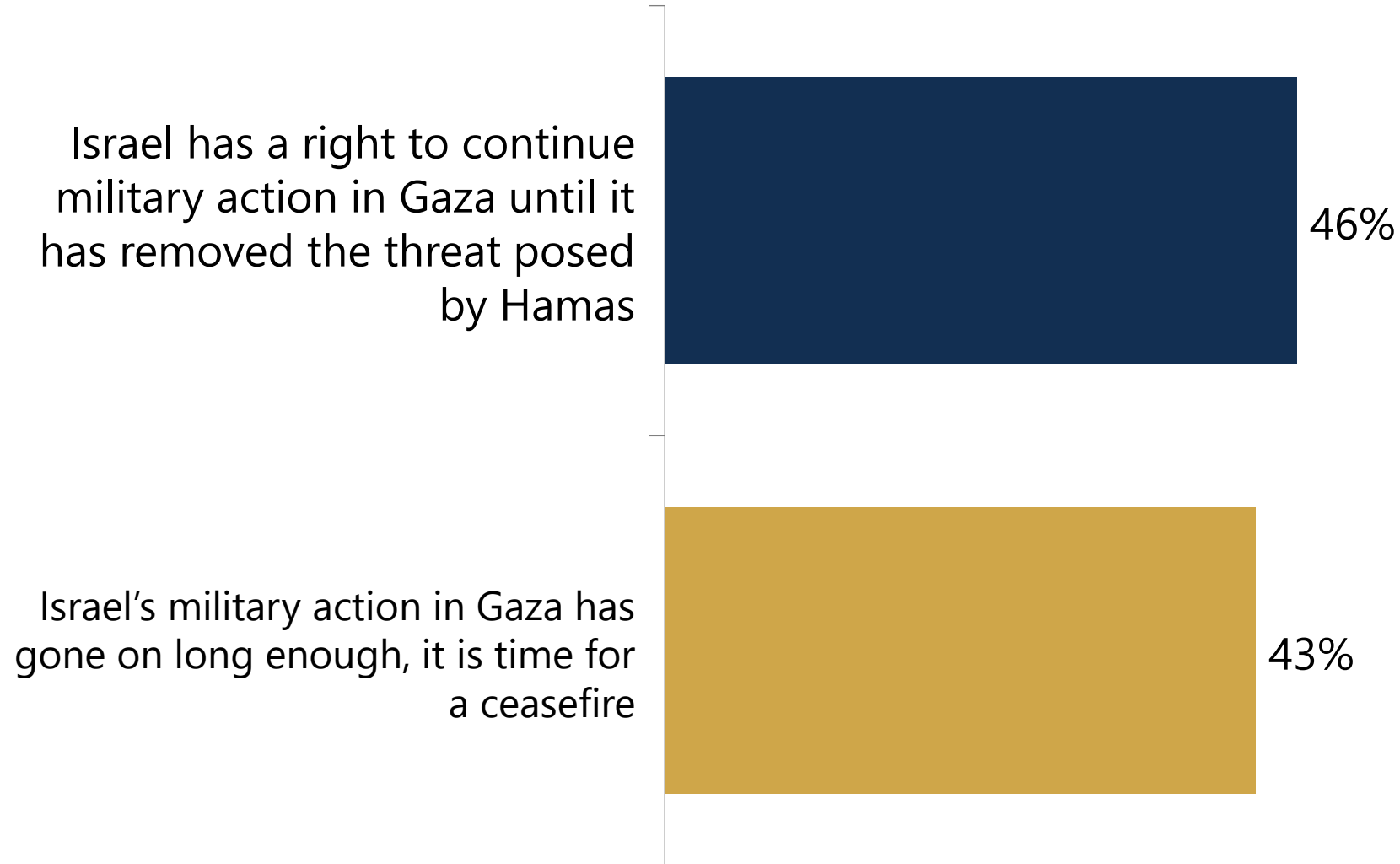
Views on Israeli response, by party ID.



Q60. Do you think Israel's response to the Hamas attack has been appropriate, too harsh, or not harsh enough?



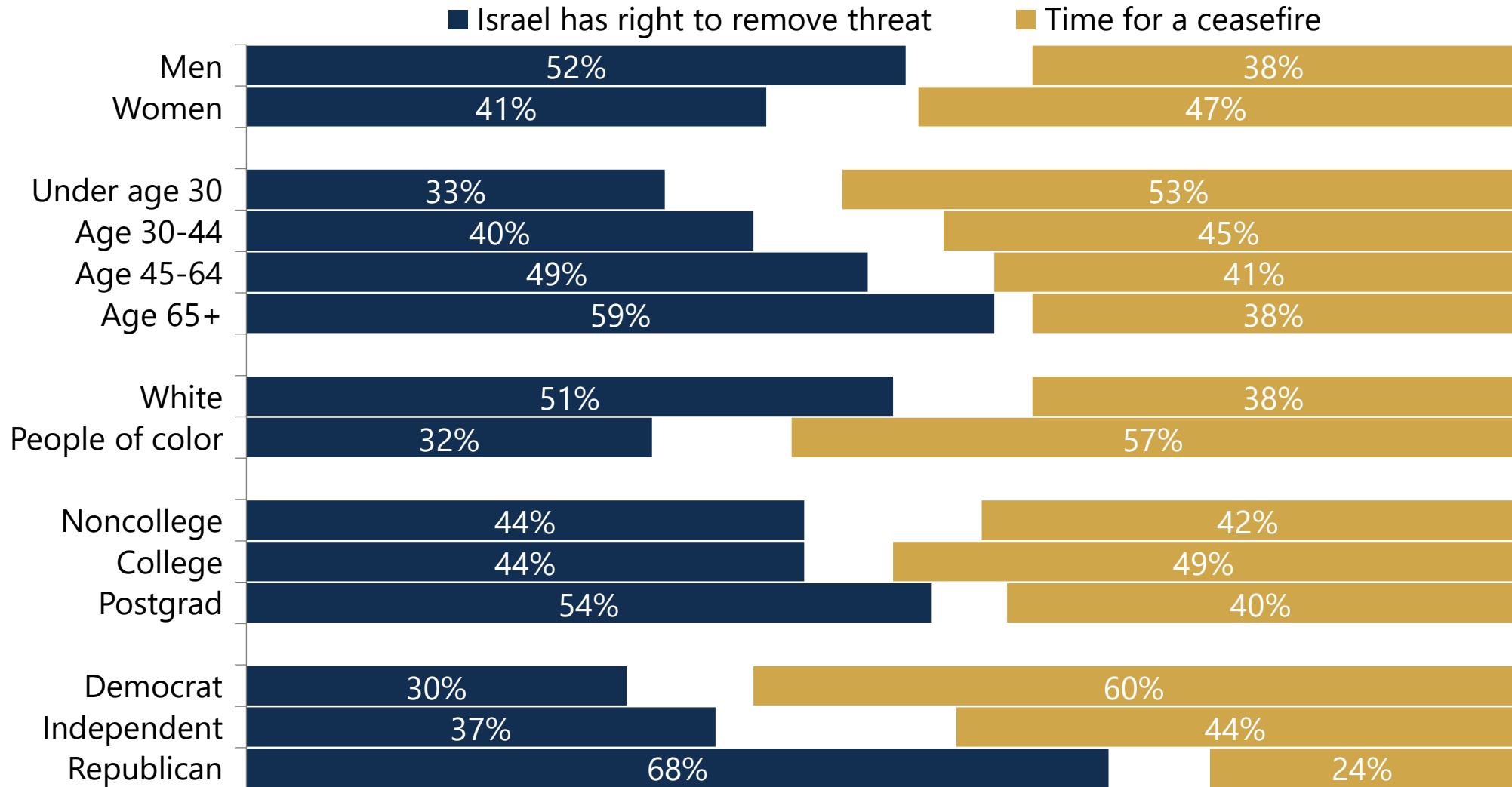
Views split evenly between Israeli right to remove Hamas as a threat and desire for a ceasefire.



Q61. Which comes closer to your view?



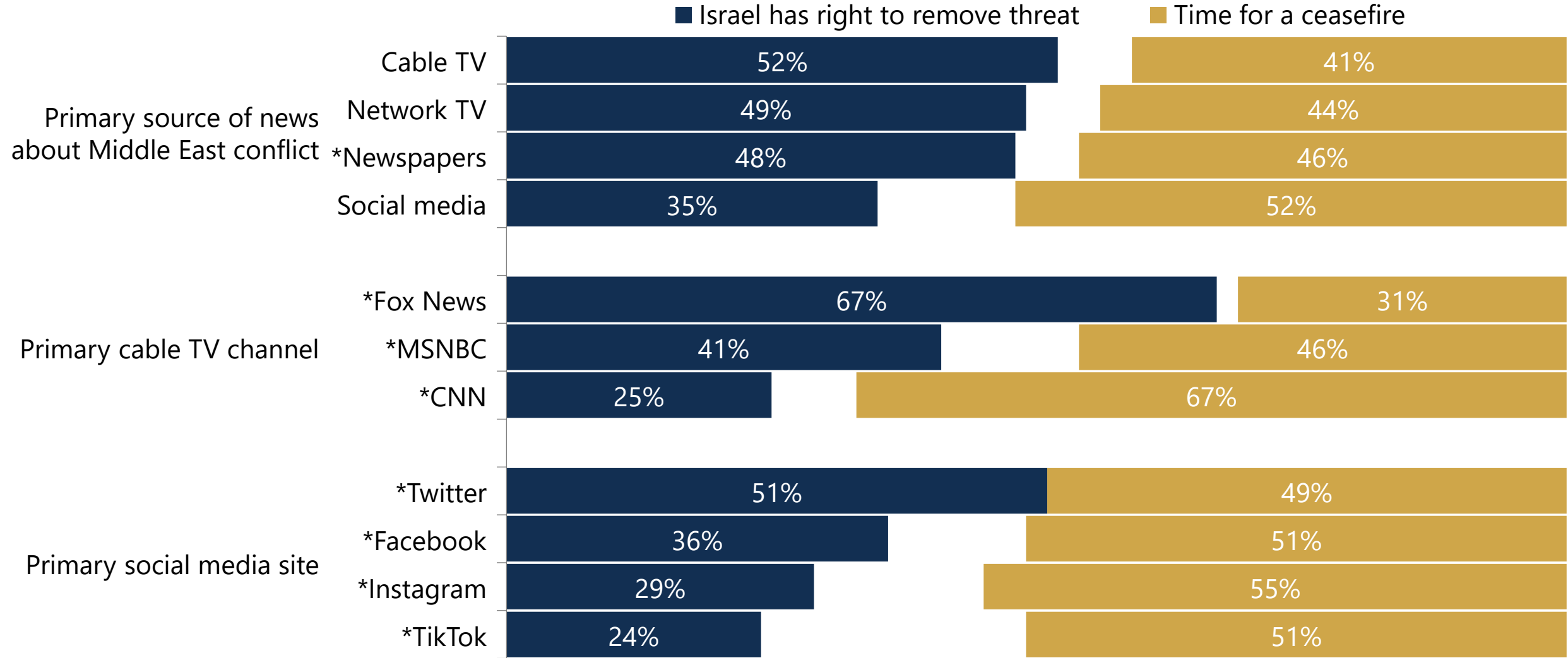
Views of conflict, by subgroup.



Q61. Which comes closer to your view?



Views of conflict, by news source about the conflict.

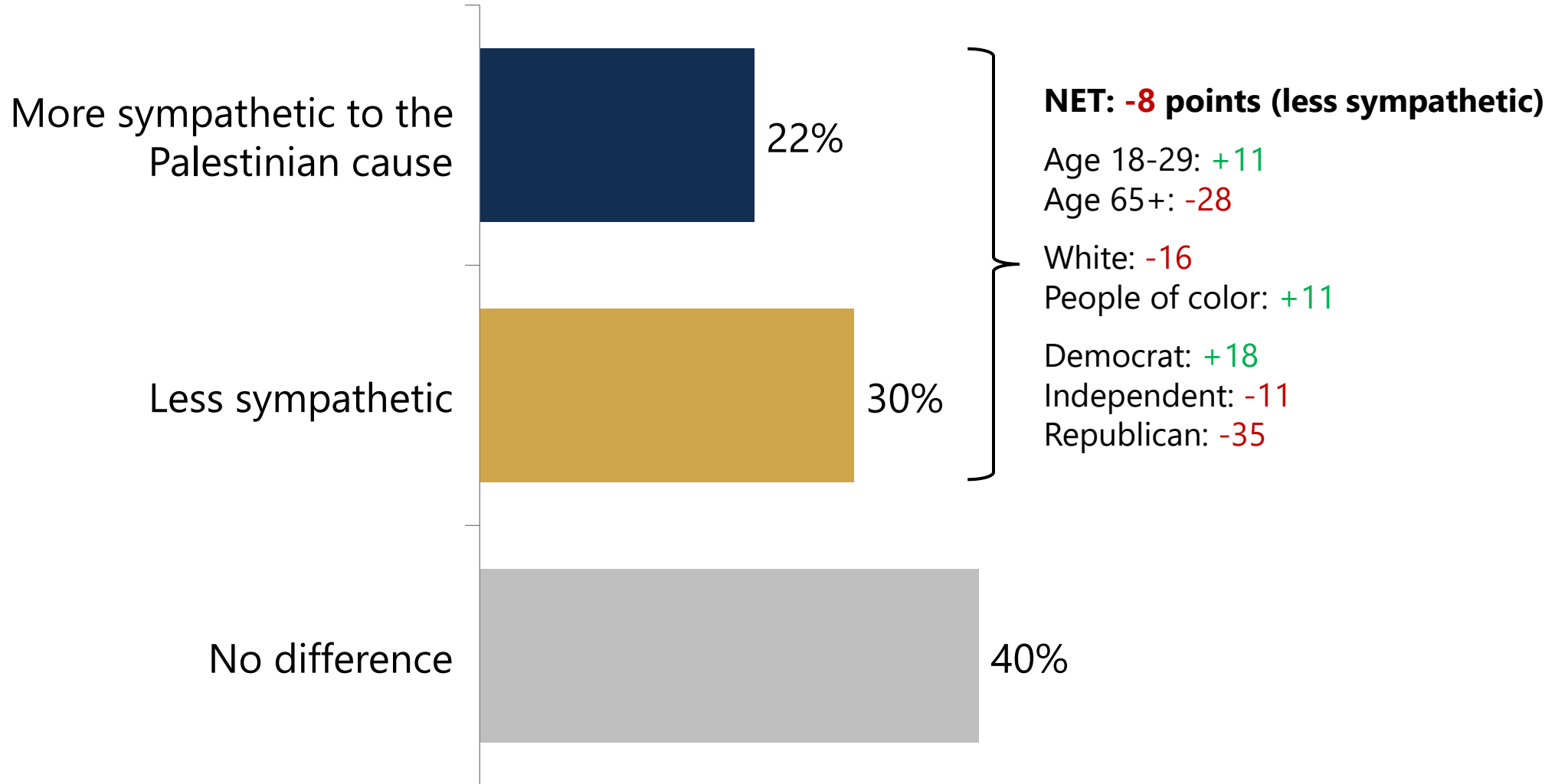


*Note: small sample sizes

Q61. Which comes closer to your view?



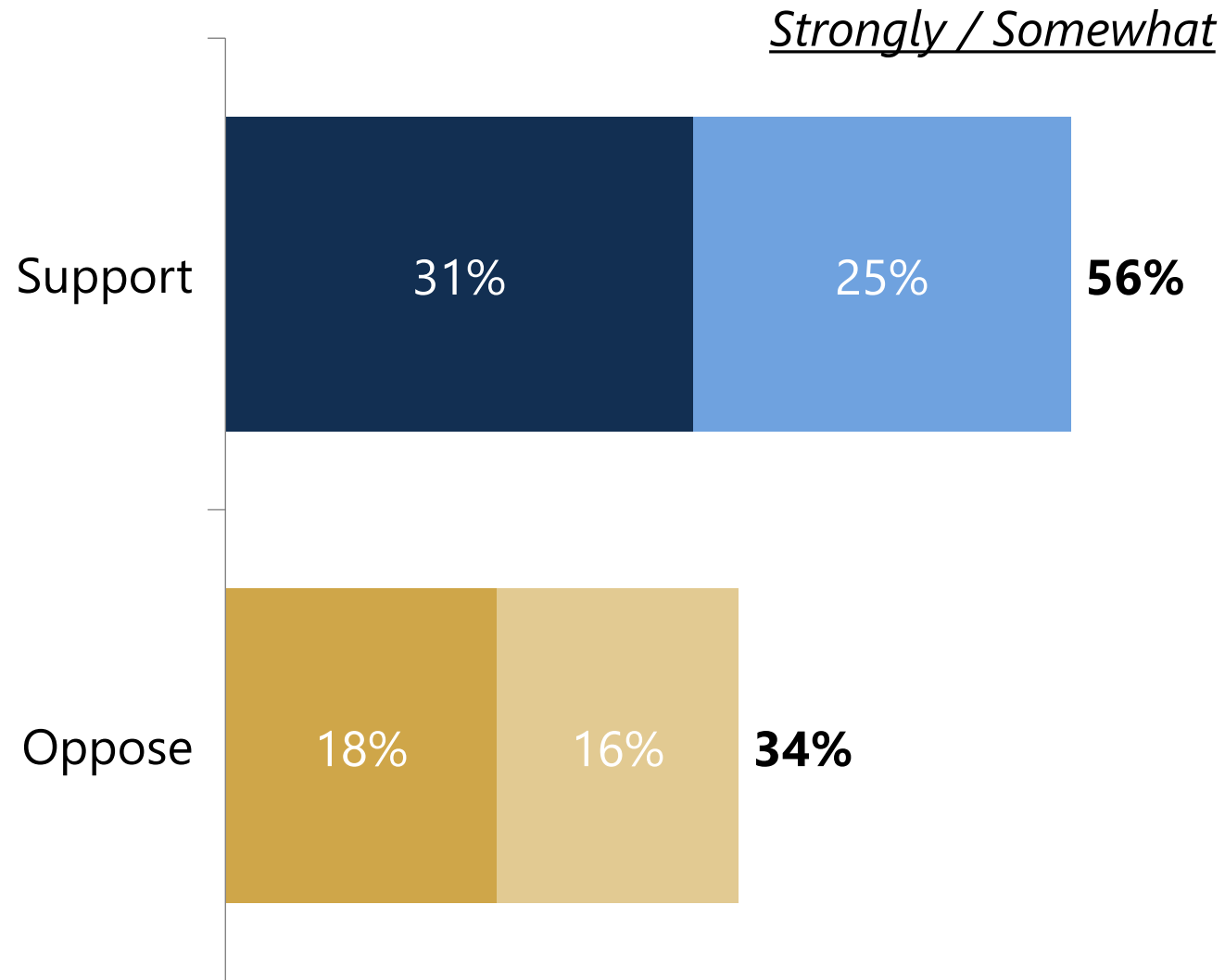
On balance, campus protests made people less sympathetic to the Palestinian cause.



Q62. Have the recent protests on college campuses made you more sympathetic or less sympathetic to the Palestinian cause?



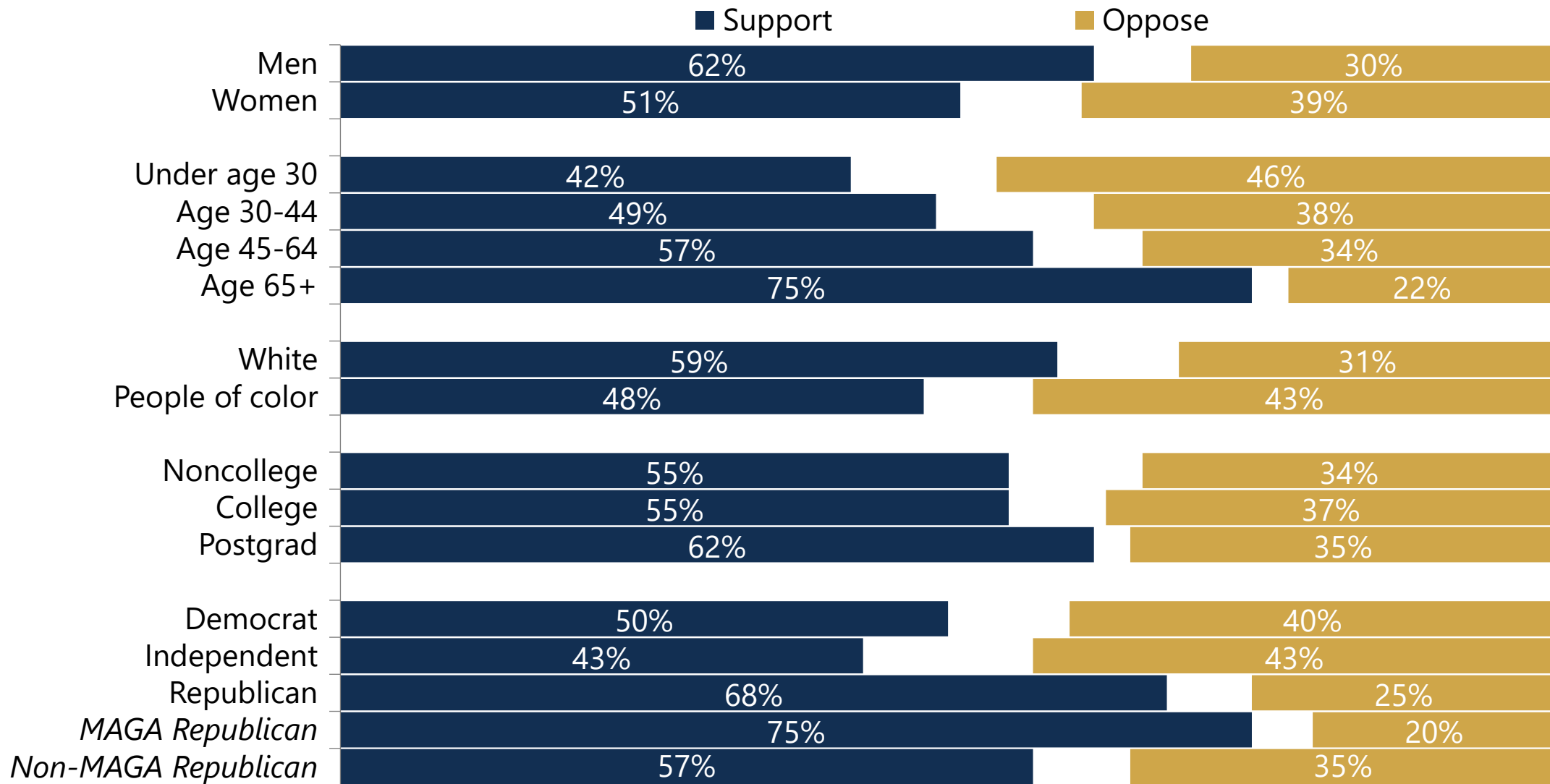
Majority support for sending weapons to Israel.



Q63. Do you support or oppose the US sending weapons to Israel?



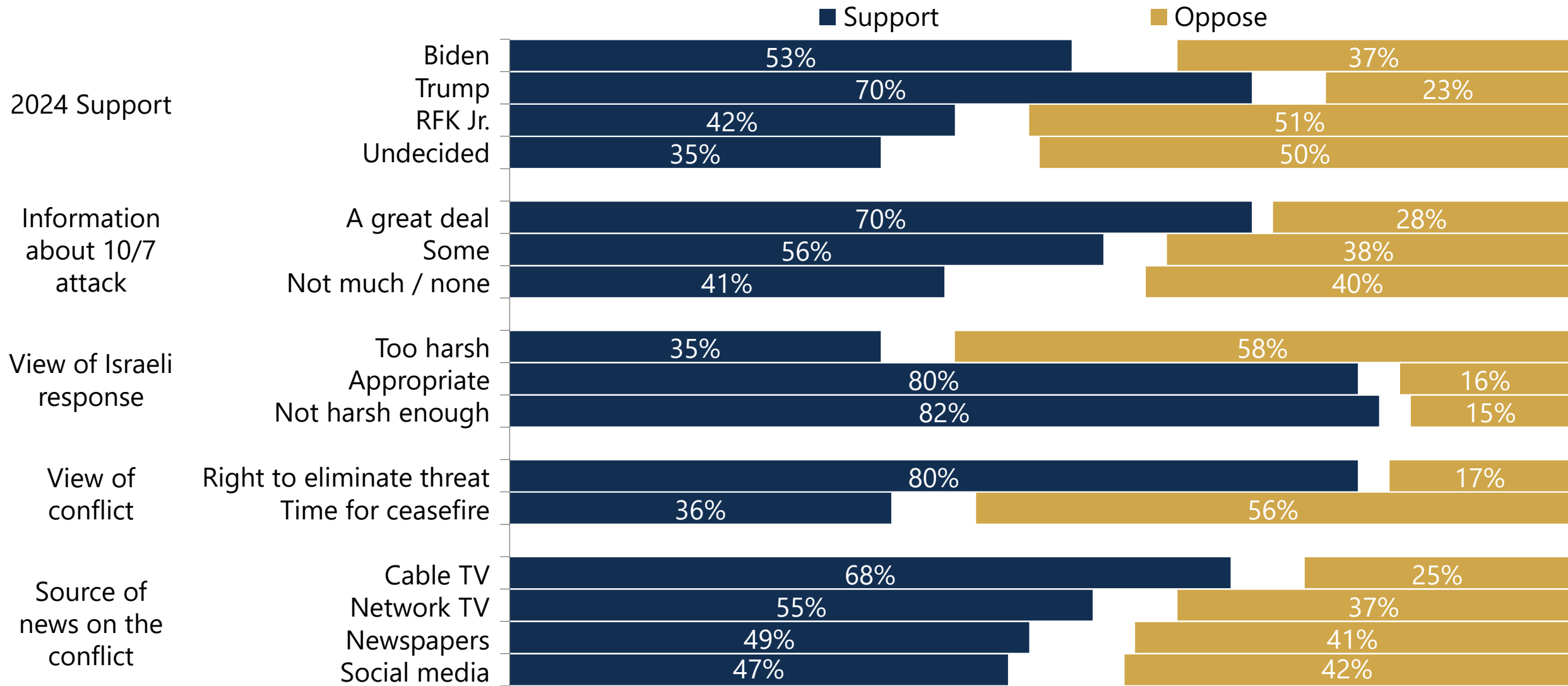
Views on sending weapons to Israel, by subgroup.



Q63. Do you support or oppose the US sending weapons to Israel?



Views on sending weapons to Israel, by subgroup (continued).

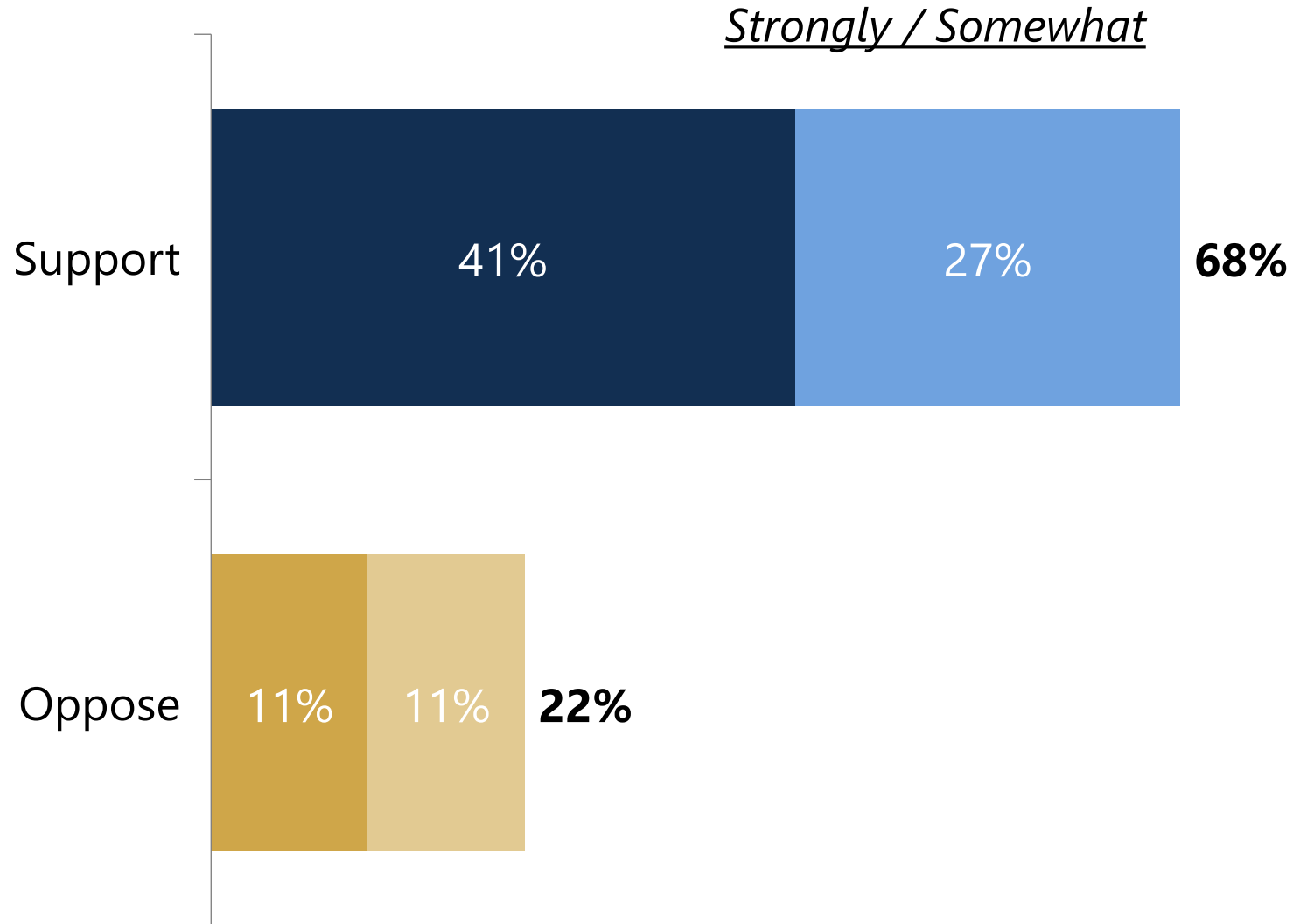


Q63. Do you support or oppose the US sending weapons to Israel?



Two-thirds support sending missile defense systems to Israel.

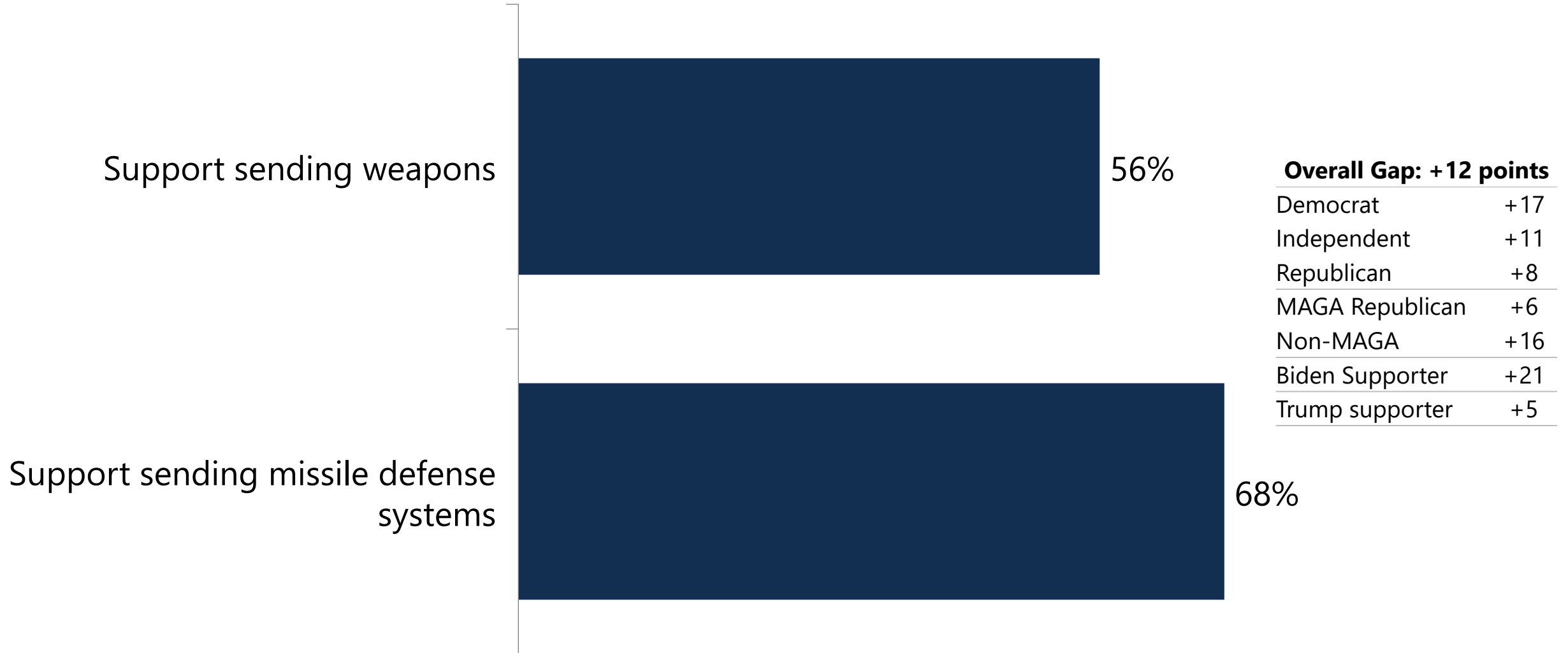
As you may know, Iran launched a drone and missile attack against Israel in April. Do you support or oppose the US sending missile defense systems to Israel to help it defend against these kinds of attacks?



Q64. Do you support or oppose sending missile defense systems to Israel?



Support for sending missile defense systems outpaces support for sending weapons, particularly on left and center.

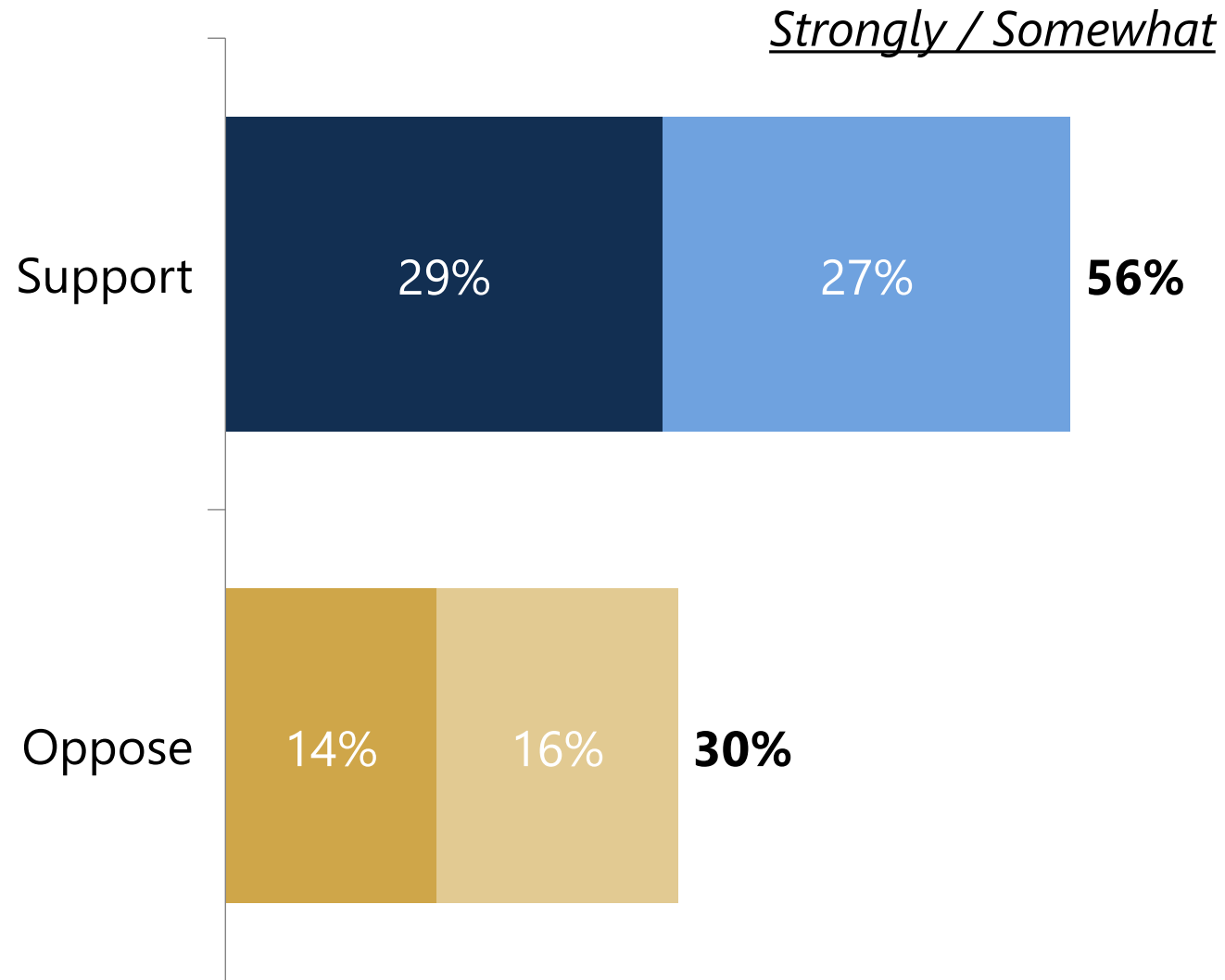


Q63. Do you support or oppose the US sending weapons to Israel? AND

Q64. Do you support or oppose the US sending missile defense systems to Israel to help it defend against these kinds of attacks?



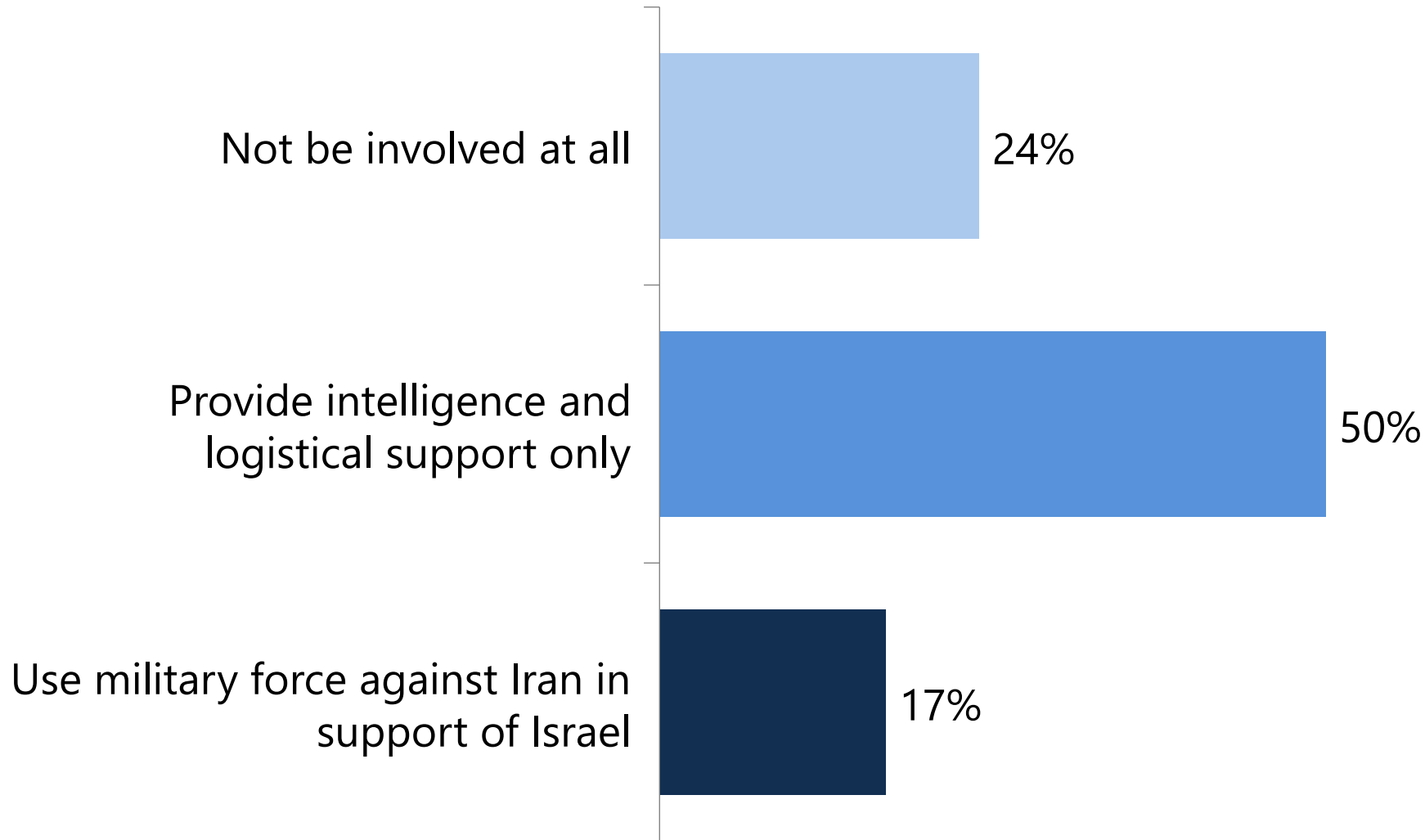
Majority would support an Israeli counterattack on Iran.



Q65. Would you support or oppose an Israeli counterattack against Iran in response to Iranian aggression?

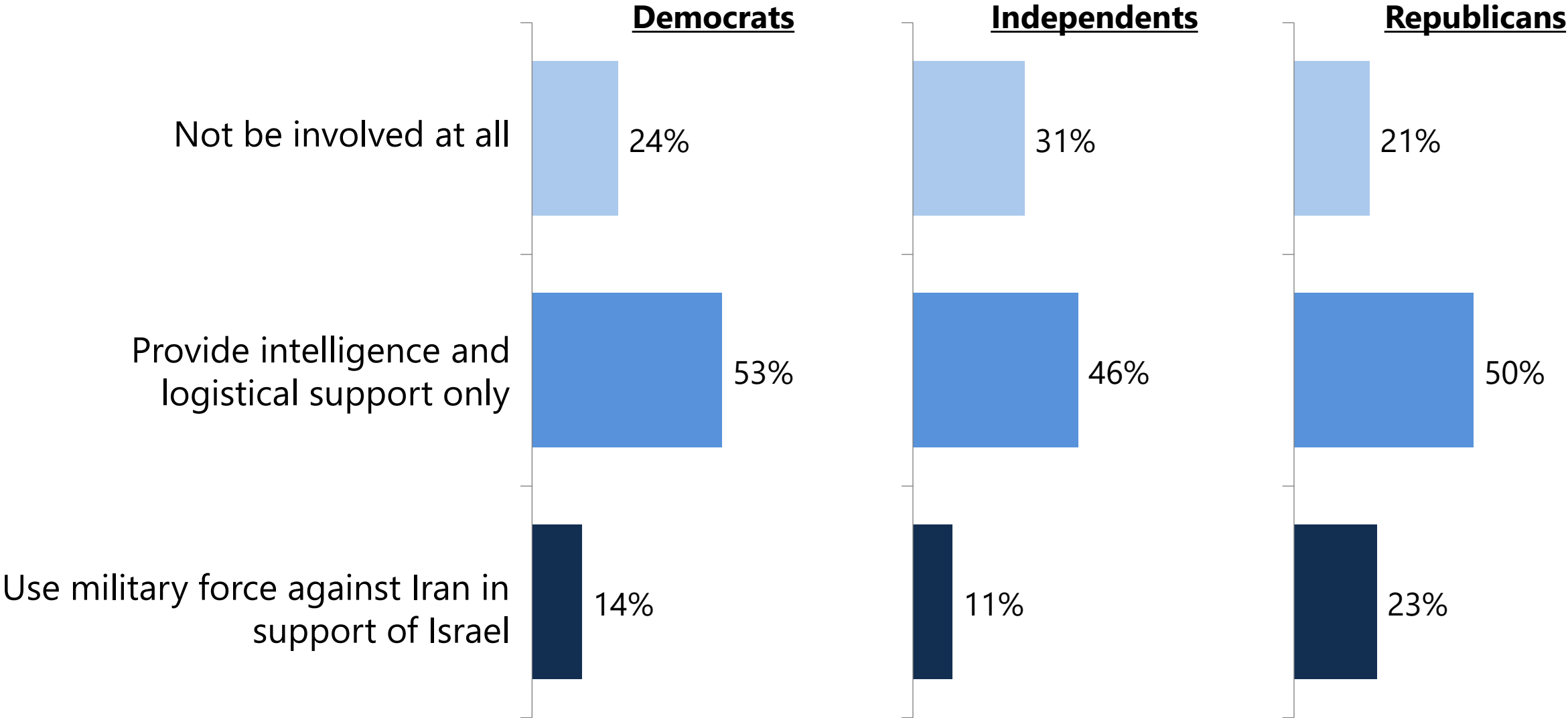


Few want the US to be directly involved in an Israeli counterattack on Iran.



Q66. If Israel did launch a counterattack in response to Iranian aggression, do you think the US should:

Partisans are largely aligned on US role in an Israeli counterattack against Iran.



Q66. If Israel did launch a counterattack in response to Iranian aggression, do you think the US should:

FOR MORE INFORMATION, CONTACT



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Profile of the Sample

| Category | Group | % of Sample |
|-----------|---------------------|-------------|
| Gender | Men | 47% |
| | Women | 53 |
| Age | 18-29 | 19 |
| | 30-44 | 25 |
| | 45-54 | 18 |
| | 55-64 | 19 |
| | 65+ | 19 |
| Race | White | 72 |
| | Black | 13 |
| | Hispanic or Latino | 13 |
| | Asian | 3 |
| Education | Noncollege | 60 |
| | College degree | 24 |
| | Postgraduate degree | 15 |

| Category | Group | % of Sample |
|----------------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| Region | East | 18% |
| | Midwest | 20 |
| | South | 38 |
| | West | 25 |
| Party Identification | Democrat | 33 |
| | Independent | 32 |
| | Republican | 31 |
| | <i>MAGA Republican</i> | 63 |
| | <i>Non-MAGA Republican</i> | 27 |
| Philosophy | Liberal | 28 |
| | Moderate | 32 |
| | Conservative | 34 |