Public Opinion: U.S. Engagement with the World and the U.S. Election

Bruce Stokes German Marshall Fund

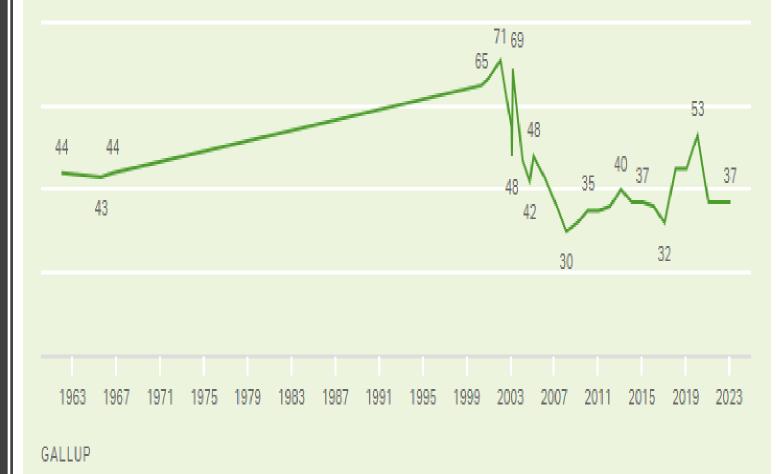
October 1, 2024

How Americans See Engagement With the World

Americans Are Less and Less Satisfied with the U.S. Position in the World

On the whole, would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the position of the United States in the world today?

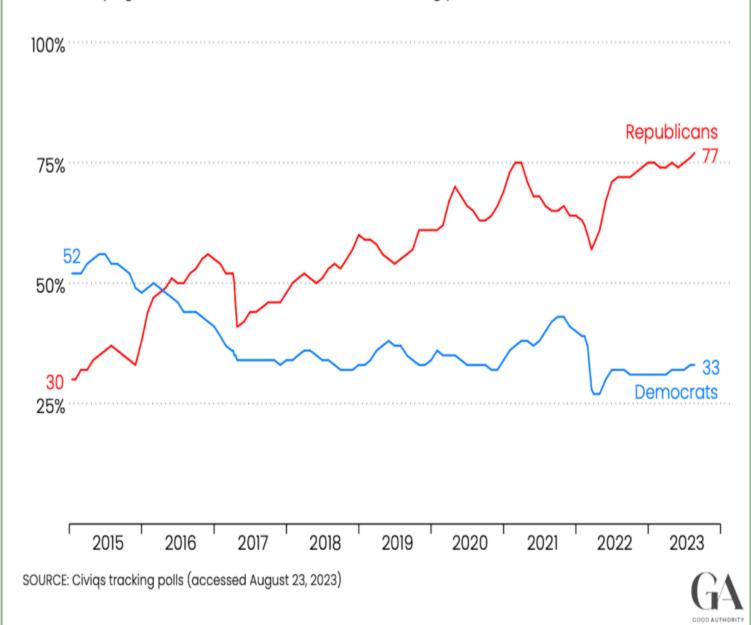
— % Satisfied



Starting With President Trump, Isolationism Among Republicans Has Grown

Republicans are becoming increasingly isolationist

Percent saying the U.S. should be less involved in solving problems overseas



Eight-in-ten Harris Supporters Back Comprise With Allies, Only Four-in-ten Trump Supporters Agree

Harris and Trump supporters on the importance of working with U.S. allies, America's superpower role

All

voters

59

65

Harris

supporters

• 79

• 76

Trump

supporters

40

55 .

50

% of registered voters who say ...

The U.S. should take into account the interests of its allies, even if it means making compromises with them

U.S. policies should try to keep it so America is the only military superpower

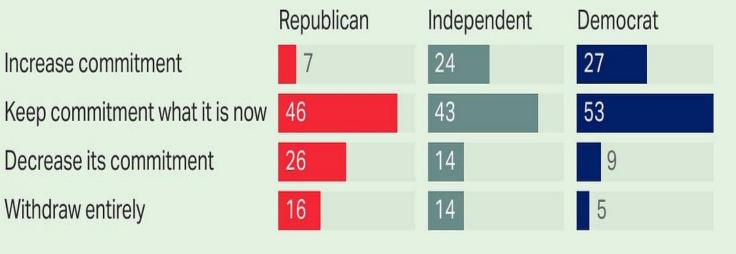
Note: Based on registered voters.

Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted April 8-14 and Aug. 5-11, 2024.

Three Times as Many Republicans as Democrats Back Decreasing or Ending U.S. NATO Commitments

Partisan Perspectives on U.S. NATO Commitment

7% of Republicans, 24% of independents and 27% of Democrats support increasing NATO commitment



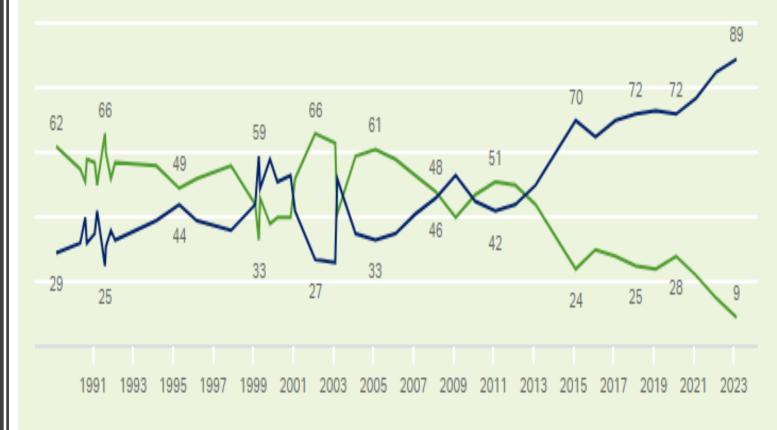
Do you feel the U.S. should increase its commitment to NATO, keep its commitment what it is now, decrease its commitment but still remain in NATO, or withdraw from NATO entirely?

GALLUP

American Views of Russia Are More Unfavorable Than at Any Time Since the Collapse of the Soviet Union

Is your overall opinion of Russia very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable?

- Total % favorable - Total % unfavorable

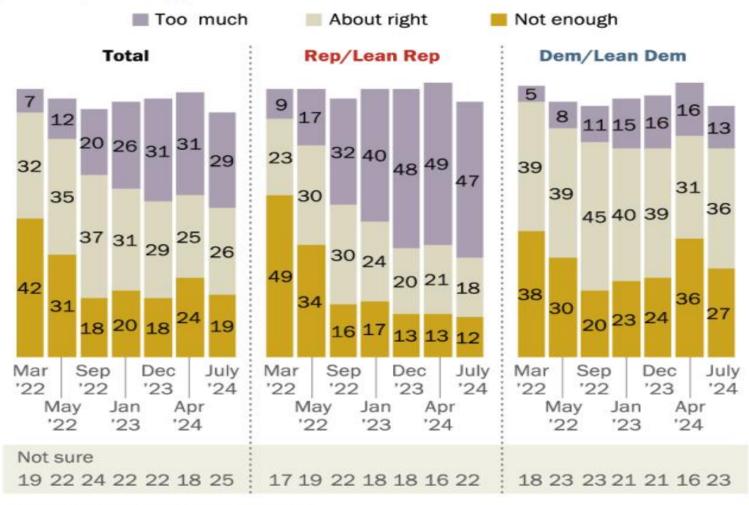


1989-1992 wording: The Soviet Union

Yet, With Another Ukraine Aid Bill Needed From Congress Next Year, Nearly Half of Republican Voters Say the U.S. is Already Giving Too Much

Republicans and Democrats remain divided over U.S. aid to Ukraine

% who say that when it comes to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the U.S. is providing _____ support to Ukraine



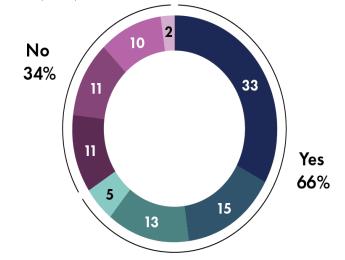
Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 1-7, 2024.

By Two-to-One Voters Believe That the U.S. Should Push for a Negotiated Settlement in Ukraine

Should the NATO member countries, including the US, push for a negotiated settlement for the war in Ukraine?

Pick the response option that best matches your opinion.



- No, Russia must be further weakened militarily before Ukraine can get as much leverage as it can in a negotiation.
- No, this is Ukraine's fight so the West should not seek to influence how it seeks to win or end the war.
- No, Ukraine should never negotiate with Russia, and focus instead on a complete military victory.
- No, Russia's claims to Ukrainian territory are legitimate and it must not concede its gains.

Numbers shown as percentages

Source: Institute for Global Affairs

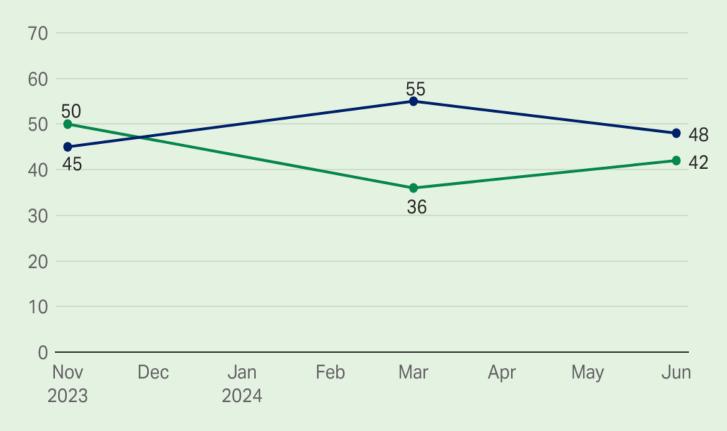
- Yes, the war has killed or injured hundreds of thousands of people, and it needs to stop.
- Yes, the West can't afford to keep supporting this war indefinitely, so Ukraine should keep what it can now.
- Yes, while Ukraine still has leverage, the West should urge it to settle for an imperfect victory.
- Yes, the West does not have the industrial capacity to protect itself while also supplying the Ukrainian war effort.

Disapproval of Israeli Military Action in Gaza Has Ebbed Somewhat

Americans' Opinions of Israeli Military Action, 2023-2024

Do you approve or disapprove of the military action Israel has taken in Gaza?

— % Approve — % Disapprove



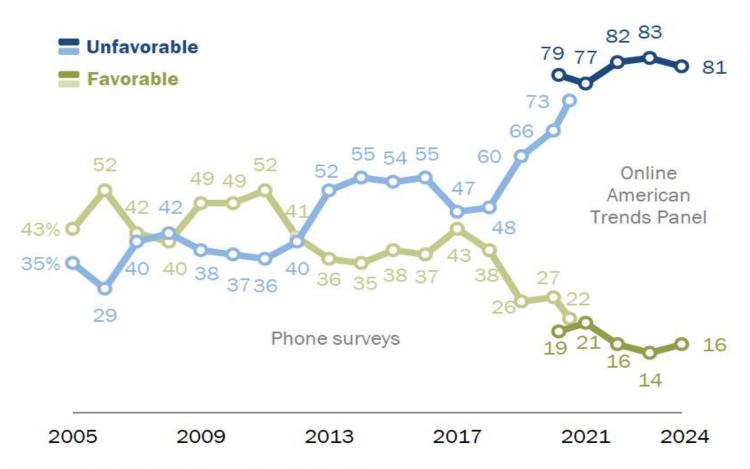
Those with no opinion are not shown.

GALLUP

Americans' Negative Views of China Have Never Been Worse, They Are Now More Negative Than After Tiananmen

Most Americans hold an unfavorable view of China

% who have a(n) ____ opinion of China



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted April 1-7, 2024. Q4b.

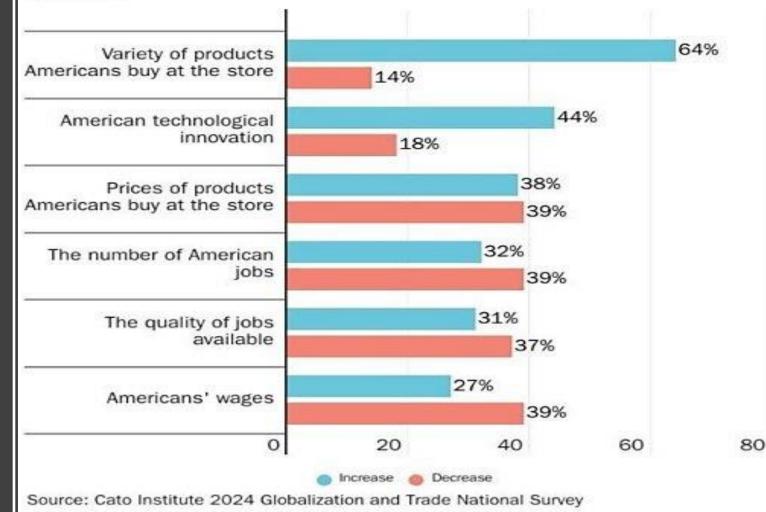
"Americans Remain Critical of China"

Figure 2

Americans Believe Trade Has Boosted Consumer Choice and Innovation, But That It Has Also Destroyed Jobs and Lowered Wages

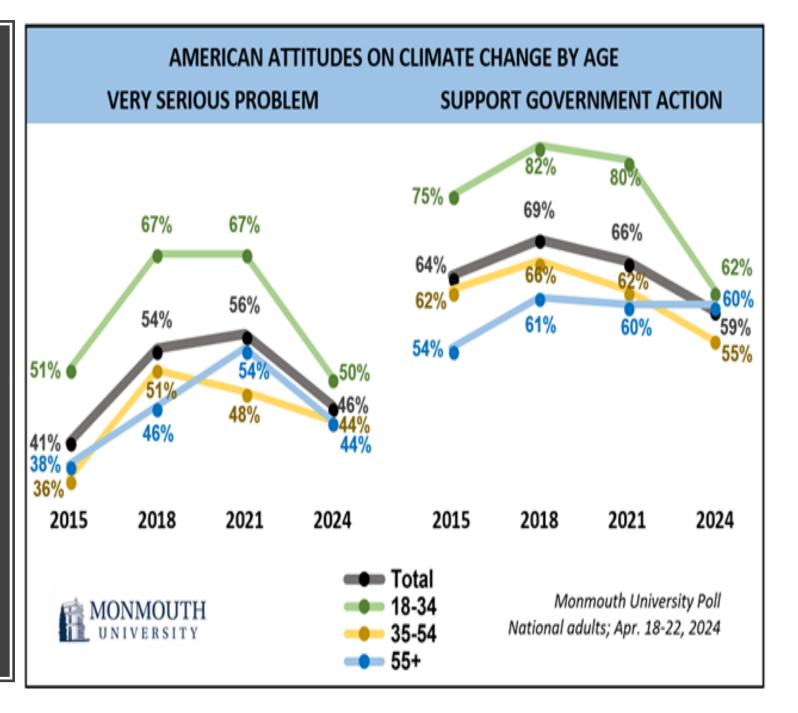
Most Say Global Trade Has Increased the Variety of Products Americans Can Buy

Do you think free trade agreements with other countries generally increase or decrease...



Note: Share saying "no difference" not shown

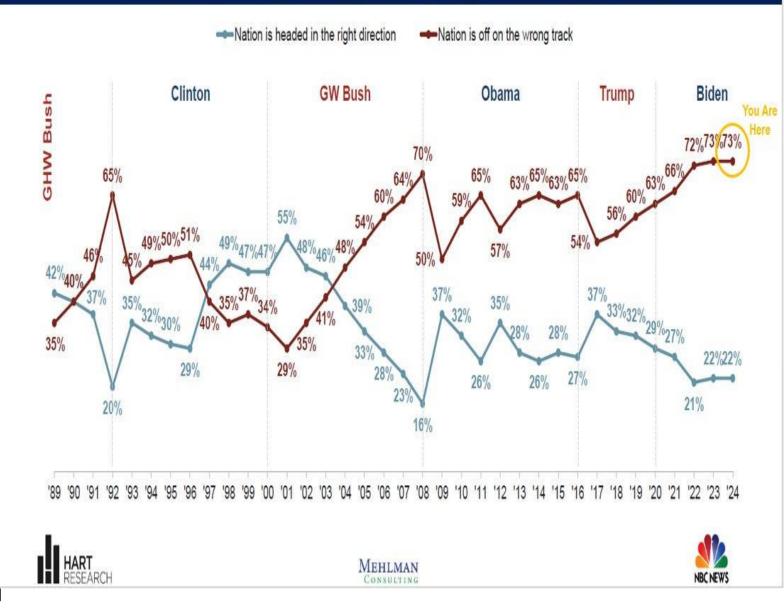
Concern About Climate Change and Support for the Government Doing Something About It Has Waned Significantly



The 2024 Election

A Record High Percentage of People Think the Nation is on the Wrong Track, But They Have Felt This Way for 28 of the Last 36 Years

PERCEIVED DISORDER IS DRIVING DISCONTENT IN 2024



Polarization Over Priorities is Stark: 51 Points on Climate, 43 Points on Immigration, 32 Points on Abortion

The economy is the top issue for voters in the 2024 election

% of registered voters who say each is **very important** to their vote in the 2024 presidential election

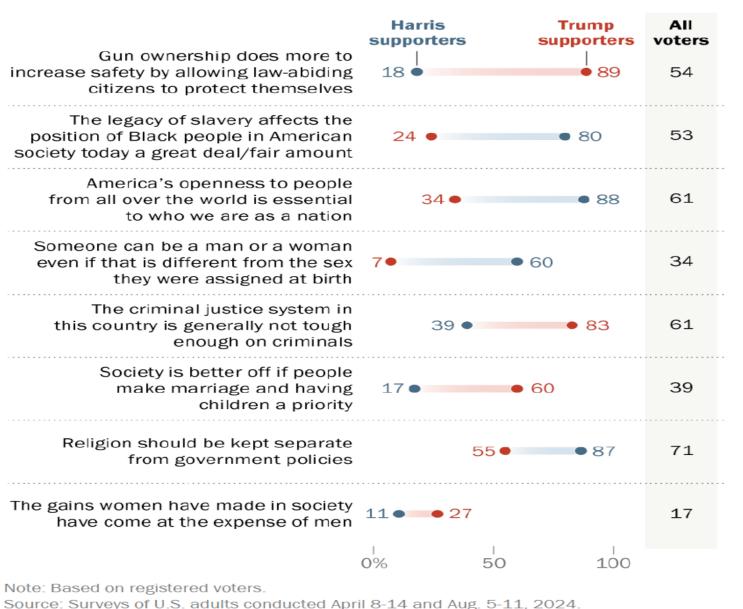
		Harris supporters	Trump supporters	All voters
Economy		68 •	• 93	81
Health care		55 •	• 76	65
Supreme Court appointments		54 • •	73	63
Foreign policy		54 • •	70	62
Violent crime	46	•	• 76	61
Immigration	39 •		• 82	61
Gun policy		53 • • 59		56
Abortion	35 🗨	• 6	7	51
Racial and ethnic inequality	18 •	• 56		37
Climate change	11 •	• 62		37
C)%	50	100	
Note: Based on registered voters.				

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Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 26-Sept. 2, 2024.

How Harris, Trump supporters view key cultural issues

% of registered voters who say ...



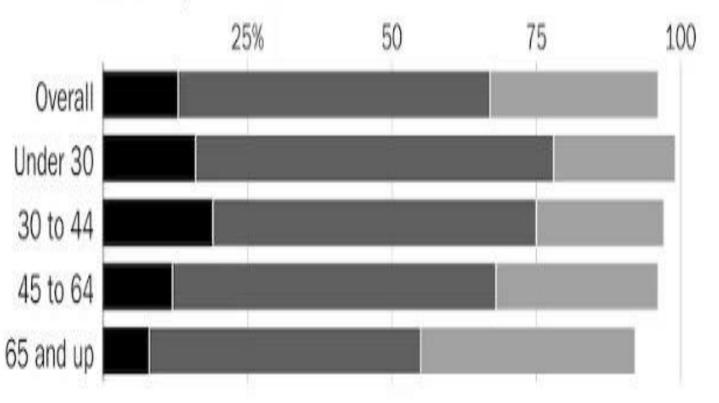
Cultural Polarization Also Could Not Be Starker: 71 Points on Guns, 56 Points on the Legacy of Slavery, 53 Points on Sexual Identity

Two-Thirds of Americans Say The U.S. Political and Economic System Needs Major Change or To Be Torn Down

When it comes to the political and economic system... Needs major changes Needs minor changes

Tear it down completely

All battleground states



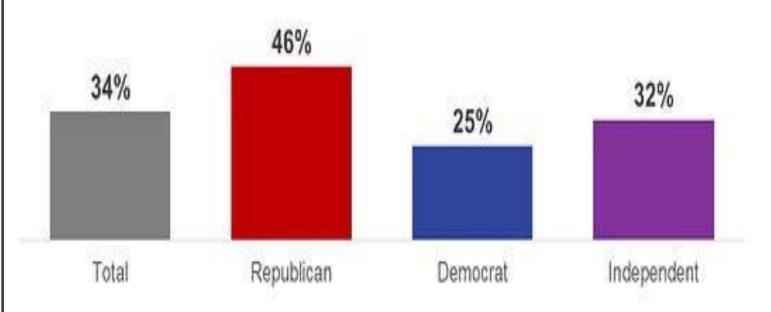
Source: Times-Inquirer-Siena College, May 2024



And Nearly Half of Republicans and a Quarter of Democrats Want a Strong Leader Not Impeded by the Courts and Congress

Republicans are more receptive to a leader with fewer limitations

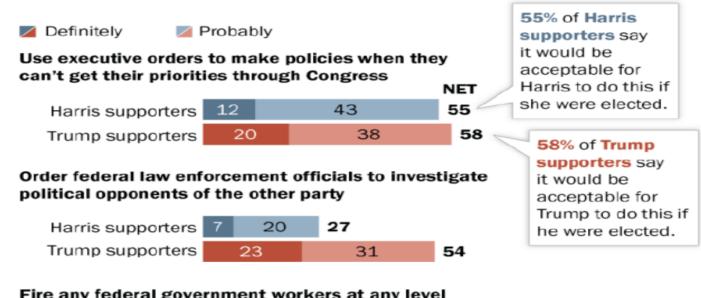
The country is in a crisis and needs a strong president who should be allowed to rule without too much interference from courts and Congress % Agree



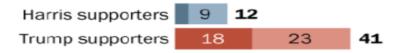
What Does That Mean in Practice? Support for More Governing by Executive Order, Investigations of Political Opponents, Firing of Government Workers

Harris, Trump supporters differ widely on acceptability of several presidential actions if their candidate wins

% of each candidate's supporters who say it would _____ be acceptable **for their candidate** to do each of the following if they were elected president



Fire any federal government workers at any level who are not personally loyal to them



Pardon friends, family or political supporters who have been convicted of a crime



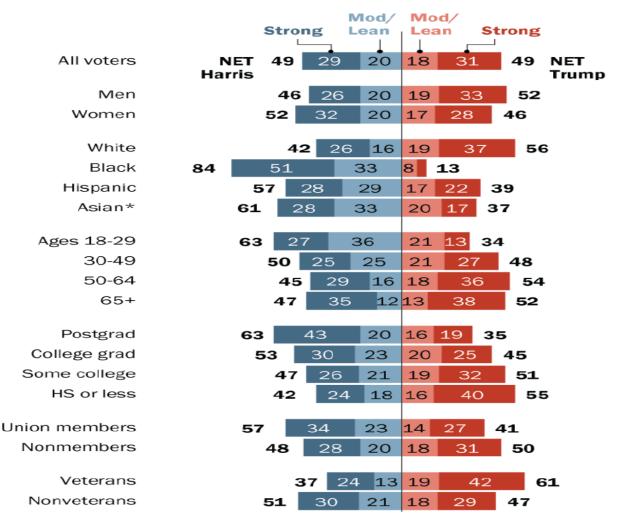
Note: Based on registered voters. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 26-Sept. 2, 2024.

The Horse Race

Trump's Support is Strongest Among White Men With No More Than a High School Education, Harris' Among Blacks, the Highly Educated and Young People

In a closely divided race, wide differences in vote preferences by race and ethnicity, age, education

% of registered voters who say that if the 2024 presidential election were held today, they would vote for ...



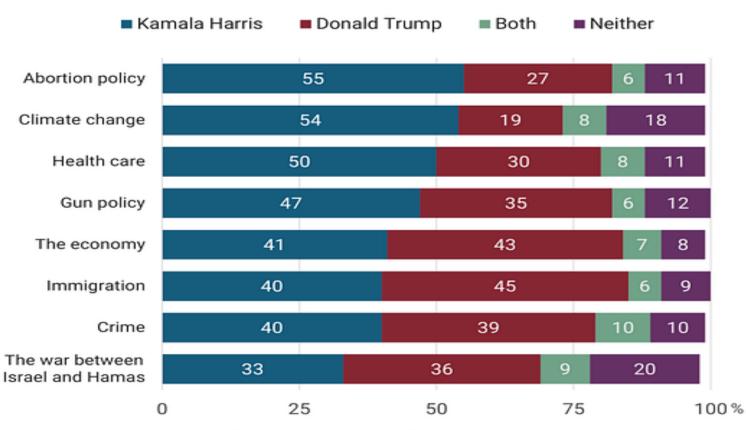
* Estimates for Asian voters are representative of English speakers only. Note: Based on registered voters. White, Black, and Asian voters include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanic voters are of any race. No answer responses are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Aug. 26-Sept. 2, 2024.

Voters Trust Harris on Abortion and Climate Change, Trump by Less of a Margin on Immigration. Note They Are Divided on Who to Trust on the Economy and Crime

Voters trust Trump and Harris equally on the economy, crime, immigration, and the war in Gaza

Percent of registered voters

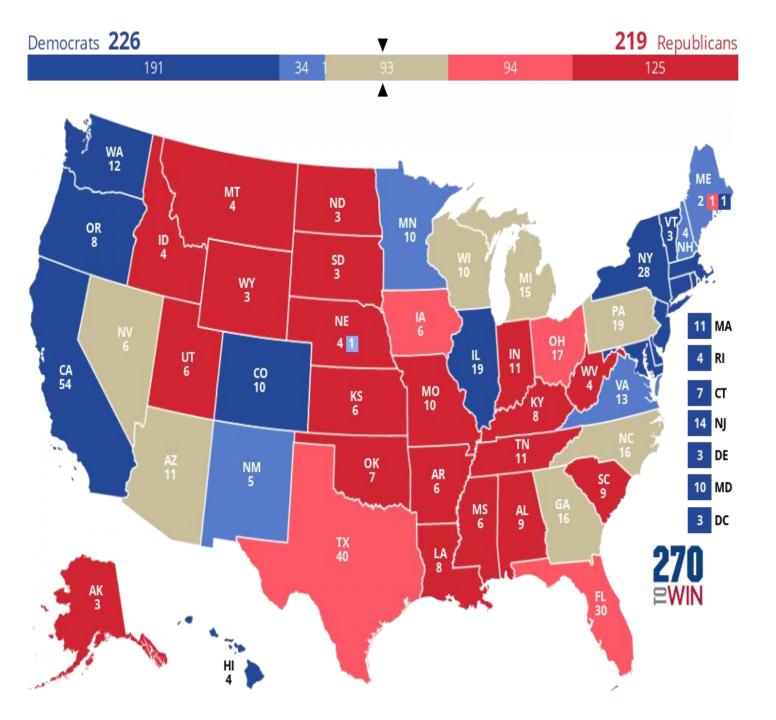


Questions: Regardless of who you support, which candidate do you trust to do a better job of handling:

Source: AP-NORC poll conducted September 12-16, 2024 with 2,028 adults nationwide, including 1,771 who say they are registered to vote.

AP +NORC

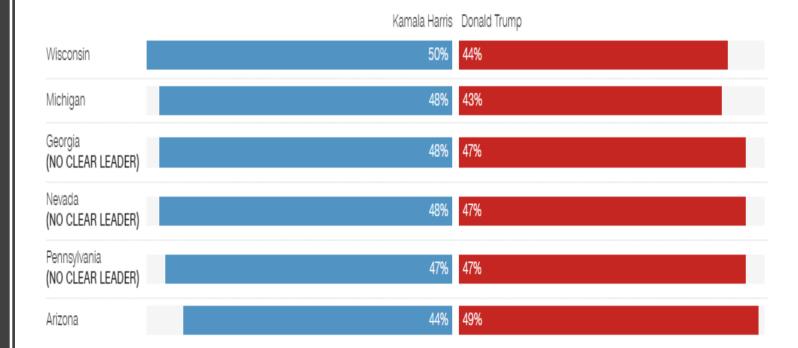
The Election Will Be Determined by These Seven Swing States



In These Battleground States That Will Determine the Electoral College Outcome, Harris Leads in Two, Trump in One, and Three Are Tied

New polling shows a close race in several key swing states

In a set of CNN polls conducted by SSRS, likely voters say they're currently supporting:



Methodology: The CNN polls were conducted by SSRS from August 23-29 using representative samples of registered voters in Arizona (n=682), Georgia (n=617), Michigan (n=708), Nevada (n=626), Pennsylvania (n=789) and Wisconsin (n=976). Results for likely voters include all registered voters interviewed for the poll weighted by their predicted probability of voting in the 2024 general election.

Results among the full sample in each state have a margin of sampling error of up to ±4.9 percentage points.

Source: CNN/SSRS polling Graphic: Ariel Edwards-Levy, CNN

And in These Swing States, Voters Think Trump Will Better Advance U.S. Interests And End the Wars in Gaza and Ukraine, Harris Will Send U.S. Troops Into Unnecessary Wars

Pick which of the two major party presidential candidates you think is most likely to... ald Kamala

	be a strong leader who advances America's interests internationally		
National	48 🔴	• 52	
Swing States	46 🔵	• 54	
Rust Belt	45 🔴	• 55	
Sun Belt	47 ●	• 53	
Pennsylvania	46 🔵	• 54	
Georgia	47 🔵	• 53	

system for the better			
National	49 • 51		
Swing States	44 •	•56	
Rust Belt	44 •	• 56	
Sun Belt	45 •	•55	
Pennsylvania	43 🔵	• 57	
Georgia	47●	•53	

...reform America's immigration

	improve America's internation		
National	47●	• 53	
Swing States	49●	• <i>5</i> 1	
Rust Belt	49●	• <i>5</i> 1	
Sun Belt	49 🔵	● <i>5</i> 1	
Pennsylvania	48●	• 52	
Georgia	49 🛡	● <i>5</i> 1	

Numbers shown as percentages

Source: Institute for Global Affairs

1 3	3	Dona
ē,	5	Trum

respond effectively to a pandemic, mass migration, or similar international crisis			
48 🔴	•52		
49 🔵	• 5 1		
(• 50		
	• 50		
47 🗨	• 53		
49 🔴 🔵 51			

larris

...pursue a foreign policy which benefits people like you

47 🔴	• 53
47 🔵	5 3
49 🔵	• 51
48 🔵	• 52
49 🔴	• 51
48 🔵	• 52

...respond effectively if China

•53

•58

•58

•57

•57

•57

attacks Taiwan

• 42

•42

43

43

43

47

send US troops to an
unnecessary war

48 🔵	• 52
47 🔴	• 53
49 ●	• 51
47●	5 3
48 🔵	• 52
49 🔴	• 51

...end the wars in Ukraine and Gaza

49 • • 51	
• 42	•58
43 •	•57
•42	•58
44 ●	• 56
•41	59 ●

...effectively lead an international response to an invasion of Earth by aliens from outer space

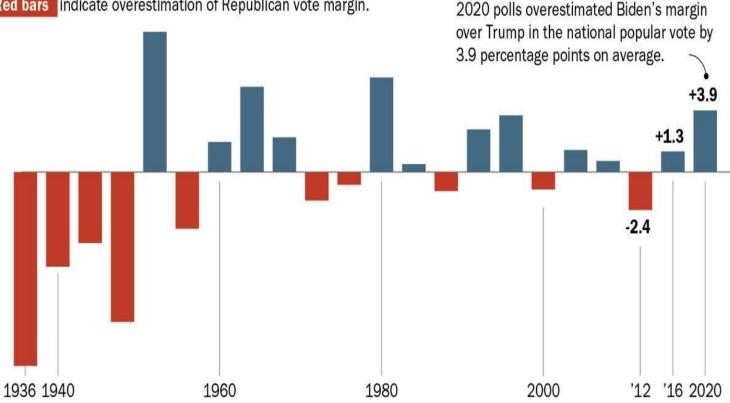
	50
47 •	•53
45 🔵	•55
47 •	•53
46	•54
48●	•52

Going Back to 1952, Polls Have Been More Likely to Overestimate the Democratic Vote Margin in Presidential Elections

Polling errors in U.S. presidential elections

Bars represent average signed error

Blue barsindicate overestimation of Democratic vote margin.Red barsindicate overestimation of Republican vote margin.

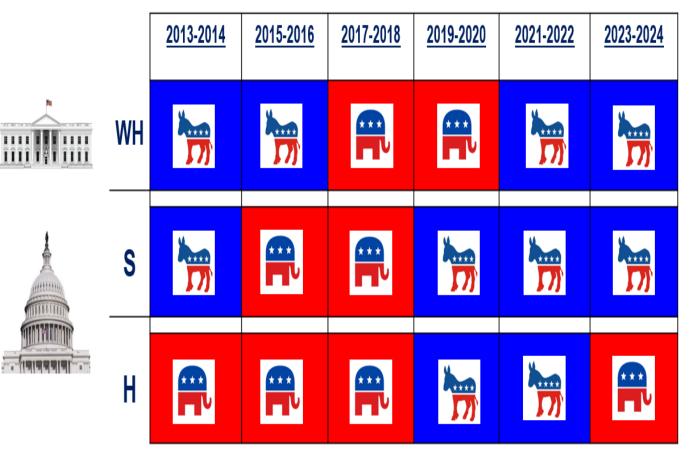


Note: The average signed error is the difference between the actual margin separating the candidates in the general election and the average margin in the polls. A negative error means that the Republican candidate's margin was overstated and a positive error means the Democratic candidate's margin was overstated.

Source: American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) Task Force on 2020 Pre-Election Polling: An Evaluation of the 2020 General Election Polls

Whoever Wins the White House However, Americans Increasingly Prefer Divided Government, So Such an Outcome May Be the Most Likely

No Consistent Governing Alignment >2 Years Since 2014



MEHLMAN Consulting Average Duration of Control

	House	Senate
20 th Century	11.1 yrs	9.0 <u>yrs</u>
21 st Century	4.8 yrs	4.0 yrs

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