

TO: INTERESTED PARTIES
FR: BILL McINTURFF/ELIZABETH HARRINGTON/KAROLINE McGRIL/GEOFF GARIN
DT: OCTOBER 18, 2017
**RE: BETTER WORLD CAMPAIGN – INDEX OF PUBLIC OPINION ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES
AND THE UNITED NATIONS**

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY:

National research conducted from September 30-October 3, 2017 by Public Opinion Strategies and Hart Research Associates, on behalf of the Better World Campaign, shows:

- More voters than at any point since 2009 say the United Nations is an organization that is still needed today (79% still needed/20% outlived usefulness). This belief about the UN is true across party lines and among Trump voters (58% UN still needed).
- A large majority of Trump voters (75%) say it is important for the United States to maintain an active role in the United Nations. Among voters overall, 88% say that is “very important” or “somewhat important” for the U.S. to maintain an active role in the UN, with a substantial majority (68%) saying it is “very important” for the United States do so. Majorities of Republicans (80%), Democrats (98%), and Independents (83%) believe it is “very or somewhat important.”
- A majority of Trump voters believe it is better for the United States to work with allies and through international organizations (67%) than to act mainly on our own (28%). Among all voters, 83% say it is better for the U.S. to work through allies and international organization than to act mainly on our own.
- Generally across the survey data, Millennial voters (ages 18-35) are more positive than other voters about the United Nations:
 - 86% believe the UN is still needed today
 - 92% say it is important for the U.S. to maintain an active role in the UN (73% say it is very important)
 - 88% believe the U.S. should work through international organizations vs. 10% who say we should act mainly on our own
 - 72% have a favorable image of the UN
 - 84% favor paying our UN dues on time and in full, and 83% favor paying our peacekeeping dues on time and in full

- Overall, more than six in ten voters have a favorable image of the United Nations (65% favorable/6% neutral/28% unfavorable). This is the highest favorable rating of the UN since our tracking started in 2009. As we have witnessed in our years of tracking, partisanship impacts voters' perception of the United Nations. Democrats (88% favorable/6% unfavorable) have very favorable impressions of the UN and majorities of Independents have favorable views (57% favorable/33% unfavorable), while slight majorities of Republicans and Trump voters have an unfavorable image of the United Nations (42% favorable/51% unfavorable among Republicans and 37% favorable/55% unfavorable among Trump voters).
- More than seven in ten voters support the United States paying our dues to the United Nations on time and in full (71% favor/27% oppose) and support the United States paying our peacekeeping dues to the United Nations on time and in full (73% favor/23% oppose).
 - Majorities of Republicans, Independents, and Democrats support the U.S. paying our UN general and peacekeeping dues on time and in full. A majority of Trump voters support paying our UN peacekeeping dues on time and in full.
- Two-thirds of voters believe the United Nations supports America's goals and objectives around the world (66% UN supportive/30% UN not supportive). This is especially true among Millennials (75% UN supportive/20% UN not supportive) and Democrats (83% UN supportive/13% UN not supportive). Republicans (46% UN supportive/51% UN not supportive) and Trump voters (45% UN supportive/52% UN not supportive) are more closely divided, with just over half disagreeing.
- A majority of voters (54%) believe the new sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council will help toward preventing North Korea from continuing to develop its nuclear weapons program, 43% say they will not help, and 3% are not sure. Majorities of Democrats (62%) and Millennials (55%) believe these new sanctions will help, while Independents (47% help/51% not), Republicans (48% help/50% not), and Trump voters (48% help/49% not) are more divided.
- Nearly four in ten (38%) voters say they would have a more favorable impression of their Member of Congress if they learned their Member supports the UN. Only 13% say they would have a less favorable impression, and nearly half say it would not make a difference (48%).
- We tested a series of recent quotes about the United Nations from President Trump and Ambassador Haley. Voters overall give positive ratings to each quote, and not surprisingly, Trump voters and Republicans are more enthusiastic about the quotes we tested. Importantly, hearing what President Trump and Nikki Haley have said about the UN recently positively impacts perceptions about the United Nations, particularly among Republicans and Trump voters. In addition, it did not hurt the UN's image among Independents and Democrats. After hearing the quotes we tested, strong Republicans go from 39% having a favorable opinion to 63% having a favorable opinion of the UN (from a -15 net unfavorable image to a +29 net favorable image) and Trump voters go from 37% favorable to 54% favorable opinion of the UN (from a -18 net unfavorable image to a +15 net favorable image).

DETAILED FINDINGS:

1. More voters than at any point since 2009 say the United Nations is an organization that is still needed today.

- We asked the following question: *“Thinking about the United Nations overall as an organization... do you think...it is an organization that is still needed today...or...it is an organization that has outlived its usefulness?”*

	<u>Still Needed Today</u>	<u>Outlived Usefulness</u>
June 2009	69%	27%
October 2009	67%	26%
April 2010	67%	26%
October 2010	68%	24%
May 2011	67%	28%
October 2011	68%	24%
April 2012	70%	25%
January 2013	72%	22%
October 2013	71%	23%
April 2014	67%	24%
October 2014	74%	22%
October 2015	69%	26%
December 2016	73%	23%
October 2017	79%	20%

- Majorities of Republicans, Independents, Democrats, Millennials, and Trump voters agree the UN is an organization that is still needed today.

	<u>Still Needed Today</u>	<u>Outlived Usefulness</u>
Republicans	65%	33%
Independents	76%	22%
Democrats	91%	8%
Millennials	86%	13%
Trump voters	58%	40%

2. A large majority of Trump voters say it is important for the United States to maintain an active role in the United Nations. Among voters overall, 88% say that is “very important” or “somewhat important” for the US to maintain an active role in the UN, with a substantial majority (68%) saying it is “very important” for the United States do so. Majorities of Trump voters (75%), Republicans (80%), Democrats (98%), and Independents (83%) believe it is “very or somewhat important.”

- We asked the following question: *“How important do you think it is for the United States to maintain an active role within the United Nations? Would you say...it is very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?”*

	<u>Total Important</u>	<u>Total Not Important</u>
June 2009	85%	15%
May 2011	85%	15%
October 2011	86%	13%
April 2012	83%	17%
January 2013	86%	13%
October 2013	88%	12%
April 2014	86%	13%
October 2014	87%	11%
October 2015	89%	11%
December 2016	88%	11%
October 2017	88%	12%

Significant majorities of Republicans, Independents, and Democrats agree with this point of view, as well as Millennials and Trump voters.

	<u>Total Important</u>	<u>Total Not Important</u>
Republicans	80%	20%
Independents	83%	17%
Democrats	98%	2%
Millennials	92%	8%
Trump voters	75%	25%

3. More than eight in ten voters continue to believe it is better for the United States to work with allies and through international organizations (83%) than to act mainly on our own (15%). This viewpoint is strongly held across partisan lines. Republicans (71% through international orgs/25% on own), Independents (87%/10%), and Democrats (91%/8%) agree with this point of view about U.S. foreign policy. A majority of Trump voters agree (67%/28%).

- We asked the following question: *“Now, thinking about the United States foreign policy in general...To achieve our foreign policy goals, do you think it is better for the United States to work with allies and through international organizations or act mainly on our own?”*

	<u>Work with major allies/through international organizations</u>	<u>Act mainly on own</u>
October 2012	78%	18%
October 2013	78%	18%
October 2014	79%	16%
October 2015	82%	15%
December 2016	81%	14%
October 2017	83%	15%

4. Overall, more than six in ten voters have a favorable image of the United Nations (65% favorable/6% neutral/28% unfavorable). This is the highest favorable rating in our tracking since 2009. Among registered voters overall, image of the United Nations has been trending upward in recent years.

	<i>United Nations Image</i>	
	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>
June 2009	54%	35%
October 2009	50%	36%
April 2010	60%	30%
October 2010	59%	29%
May 2011	59%	28%
October 2011	56%	30%
April 2012	58%	30%
October 2012	50%	32%
January 2013	57%	28%
October 2013	60%	28%
April 2014	59%	28%
October 2014	58%	28%
October 2015	63%	26%
December 2016	61%	26%
October 2017	65%	28%

The United Nations maintains high favorables with Democrats, Independents, and Millennials, while slight majorities of Republicans and Trump voters have an unfavorable view of the organization.

	<u>Total Favorable</u>	<u>Total Unfavorable</u>
Republicans	42%	51%
Independents	57%	33%
Democrats	88%	6%
Millennials	72%	19%
Trump voters	37%	55%

Overall, only NATO has a higher image rating than the United Nations among the organizations, institutions, and people we tested in this survey.

Image	% Total Favorable	% Total Unfavorable	% Total Heard Of
NATO	67%	14%	91%
The United Nations	65%	28%	99%
Barack Obama	60%	33%	99%
UNICEF	54%	14%	85%
The United Nations Security Council	50%	29%	91%
Nikki Haley, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations (asked of half of the sample)	43%	18%	74%
The United Nations Refugee Agency	41%	24%	77%
Donald Trump	41%	55%	100%
Nikki Haley (asked of half of the sample)	31%	13%	53%
The World Bank	30%	31%	83%
The United States Congress	24%	69%	100%
Antonio Guterres, the new Secretary-General of the United Nations (asked of half of the sample)	16%	14%	51%
Antonio Guterres (asked of half of the sample)	6%	9%	27%

5. Voters continue to support the U.S. paying our dues for the UN regular budget and for UN peacekeeping on time and in full. This remains strong and consistent with past tracks, with more than seven in ten supporting each.
- Respondents were read the following information and asked the following question: *“Each member-nation of the United Nations pays a portion of the UN regular budget in the form of dues. These dues are based on a member-nation's capacity to pay or its share of world income. The United States represents approximately twenty-five percent of the world's income, and is assessed to pay twenty-two percent of the UN's budget. Knowing this, do you... favor...or...oppose...the United States paying our dues to the UN on time and in full?”*

Pay UN General Dues On Time/In Full

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
October 2010	63%	31%
May 2011	60%	34%
October 2011	64%	31%
April 2012	64%	32%
January 2013	67%	28%
October 2013	63%	31%
April 2014	65%	31%

October 2014	66%	27%
October 2015	67%	30%
December 2016	67%	28%
October 2017*	71%	27%

**Note: Compared to question language in previous surveys, U.S. income as a percentage of the world’s income was changed from 26% to 25%, and “is assessed to pay” was changed from “currently pays.”*

- Majorities of Republicans, Independents, and Democrats favor paying our general UN dues on time and in full. Millennials are more likely to favor paying our dues on time and in full than the general public overall, and Trump voters are divided.

Pay UN General Dues On Time/In Full – By Sub-groups

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
Republicans	52%	46%
Independents	70%	26%
Democrats	89%	10%
Millennials	84%	15%
Trump voters	47%	51%

More than seven out of ten voters support the United States paying our peacekeeping dues to the United Nations on time and in full.

- Respondents were read the following information and asked the following question: *“As you may know, the United Nations organizes peacekeeping operations around the world. Each member-nation of the United Nations pays for a portion of the United Nations peacekeeping missions in the form of dues. The United States represents approximately twenty-five percent of the world’s income, and is assessed to pay twenty-eight percent of the UN’s peacekeeping budget. Do you favor or oppose the United States paying our peacekeeping dues to the UN on time and in full?”*

Pay UN Peacekeeping Dues On Time/In Full

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>
April 2012	68%	30%
January 2013	67%	29%
October 2013	71%	27%
April 2014	66%	31%
October 2014	72%	24%
October 2015	73%	24%
December 2016	70%	25%
October 2017*	73%	23%

**Note: Compared to question language in previous surveys, U.S. income as a percentage of the world’s income was changed from 26% to 25%, and “is assessed to pay” was changed from “currently pays.”*

- Majorities of Republicans, Independents, Democrats, Millennials, and Trump voters support the U.S. paying our UN peacekeeping dues on time and in full.

Pay UN Peacekeeping Dues On Time/In Full – By Sub-groups

	Favor	Oppose
Republicans	57%	38%
Independents	67%	26%
<u>Democrats</u>	<u>89%</u>	<u>9%</u>
Millennials	83%	14%
Trump voters	53%	41%

6. Two-thirds of voters believe the United Nations supports America’s goals and objectives around the world (66% UN supportive/30% UN not supportive).
- We asked the following question: *“Thinking about the UN’s support for America’s objectives around the world, would you say the UN has been very supportive, somewhat supportive, not too supportive, or not at all supportive of America’s goals and objectives around the world?”*

Slight majorities of Republicans and Trump voters disagree on this question, while majorities of Independents, Democrats, and Millennials agree with this premise.

	Total Supportive	Total Not Supportive
Republicans	46%	51%
Independents	71%	25%
<u>Democrats</u>	<u>83%</u>	<u>13%</u>
Millennials	75%	20%
Trump voters	45%	52%

7. A majority of voters (54%) believe the new sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council will help toward preventing North Korea from continuing to develop its nuclear weapons program, 43% say they will not help, and 3% are not sure. Majorities of Democrats (62%) and Millennials (55%) believe these new sanctions will help, while Independents (47% help/51% not), Republicans (48% help/50% not), and Trump voters (48% help/49% not) are more divided.

- Respondents were read the following information and asked the following question: *“As you may be aware, the United Nations Security Council voted (earlier this month/in September) to impose a new set of tougher sanctions on North Korea, do you think these new sanctions will help a lot toward preventing North Korea from continuing to develop its nuclear weapons program, help some, or not help at all?”*

54% TOTAL HELP

- 6% A Lot
- 48% Some
- 43% No Help
- 3% Don’t Know/Refused (**DO NOT READ**)

8. Nearly four in ten voters (38%) say that learning their Member of Congress supports the United Nations would give them a more favorable impression of their Member of Congress, though almost half (48%) say it would make no difference one way or the other. Thirteen (13%) say it would give them a less favorable impression of their Member of Congress.

- Respondents were read the following information and asked the following question: *“If you learned that your Member of Congress supports the United Nations and what it stands for, would this give you a...more favorable...or...less favorable opinion of your Member of Congress, or would it not make much of a difference in your opinion of them one way or the other?”*

Democrats, Independents, and Millennials are more likely to say this information would give them a more favorable impression of their Member of Congress than Republicans and Trump voters.

	<u>More Favorable</u>	<u>Less Favorable</u>	<u>No Difference</u>
Republicans	18%	21%	61%
Independents	37%	12%	51%
Democrats	57%	7%	36%
Millennials	43%	8%	48%
Trump voters	16%	23%	61%

9. Voters, particularly Republicans and Trump voters, respond favorably to recent quotes we tested from President Trump and Ambassador Haley about the United Nations.

- Respondents were read the following instructions: *“I would like to read you a few quotes from different American leaders’ speeches. After I read each quote please rate the statement on a scale of one to one hundred, where one means you have a very unfavorable opinion about the statement, one hundred means you have a very favorable opinion about the statement and fifty is neutral. You can rate each statement any number between one and one hundred depending on how it makes you feel.”*

Republicans and Trump voters give the highest ratings to these quotes, while Independents, Democrats, and Millennials have a more lukewarm response. Please see the table on the following page.

Quotation Ratings by Sub-Groups - %80-100/Mean Scores – Ranked by All Voters Mean Score

Quote	All Voters	GOP	IND	DEM	MIL	TRUMP
Nikki Haley, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations said quote: It's a new day at the UN. You've got a United Nations that's action-orientated passing two resolutions on North Korea in the last month. And you have a UN. that is totally moving towards reform with a UN. Secretary-General coming out with a massive reform package. We said the United States' needed to get value for our dollar. And we're finding the international community is right there with us in support. :End Quote.	35% 66	46% 72	39% 66	24% 60	28% 62	47% 72
President Trump said quote: We thank the UN Secretary-General for recognizing that the United Nations must reform if it is to be an effective partner in confronting threats to sovereignty, security, and prosperity. :End Quote.	38% 65	63% 82	33% 61	19% 52	29% 59	65% 83
President Trump said quote: The United States bears an unfair cost burden for the United Nations' budget, but, to be fair, if the United Nations could actually accomplish all of its stated goals, especially the goal of peace, this investment would easily be well worth it. :End Quote.	42% 63	66% 81	36% 57	23% 51	26% 53	70% 83
President Trump said quote: The United Nations has tremendous potential. We're working very hard to solve world problems. But there is no better forum; there can be no better forum. And certainly there can be no better location where everybody comes together. The potential of the United Nations is unlimited, and I really believe you are going to do things that will be epic, and I certainly hope you will. But I feel very, very confident. :End Quote.	37% 63	51% 73	33% 60	25% 56	30% 58	51% 74
Nikki Haley, the United States Ambassador to the United Nations said quote: I don't believe in the slash-and-burn approach. I think it's important that we are strategic in the way that we hold back U.S. dues to the United Nations. I don't think you should slash and cut across the board because I don't think that will accomplish our goals. :End Quote.	25% 58	35% 66	25% 56	17% 53	21% 56	33% 66

10. After hearing these statements from President Trump and Ambassador Haley, voters' impression of the United Nations is more favorable, with significant shifts among Republicans and Trump voters.

Initial Image of United Nations Before Hearing Quotes – By Sub-groups

	<u>Total Favorable</u>	<u>Total Unfavorable</u>
ALL Voters	65%	28%
Republicans	42%	51%
Independents	57%	33%
Democrats	88%	6%
Millennials	72%	19%
Trump voters	37%	55%

Image of United Nations After Hearing Quotes – By Sub-groups

	<u>Total Favorable</u>	<u>Total Unfavorable</u>
ALL Voters	73%	19%
Republicans	58%	35%
Independents	66%	20%
Democrats	89%	5%
Millennials	77%	15%
Trump voters	54%	39%

METHODOLOGY:

Public Opinion Strategies and Hart Research Associates conducted a national telephone survey of 800 registered voters (440 landline; 360 cell phone), from September 30-October 3, 2017 on behalf of the Better World Campaign. The purpose of the survey was to measure American attitudes toward international issues and the United Nations. The margin of error on a sample of 800 interviews is $\pm 3.46\%$.