

*Foreign Policy Views of New
Jerseyans*

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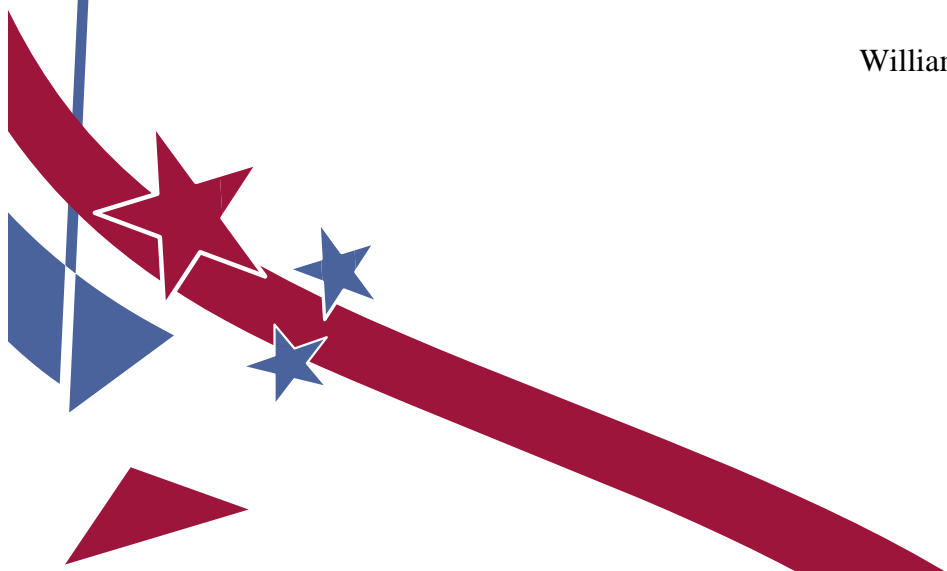




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New Jerseyans Clash with Experts on Limiting Refugees and Increasing Border Controls to Fight Terrorism.....

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Summary of Findings

The Role of the U.S. as a World Leader:

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overwhelming majority of Democrats (91.6% and 86.2%) in contrast to a minority of Republicans (32.7% and 36.6%) support of both measures.

Options to Fight Terrorism: New Jerseyans agree with experts that sending U.S. trainers and special forces and blocking financing of suspected terrorists are always or mostly effective to fight terrorism. However, New Jerseyans depart sharply from experts on whether drone strikes, limiting flows of refugees, increasing border controls, and enhanced interrogation are effective with New Jerseyans lending much greater support. A partisan and gender gap is observed for enhanced interrogation with a majority of men (54.6%) and Republicans (74.5%) in contrast to a minority of women (41.9%) and Democrats (30.9%) identifying this as always or mostly effective; experts overwhelmingly agree this is rarely or never effective. Blacks are split with a plurality (36.8%) saying it is never effective, though 44.1% say it is sometimes or always effective.

Syrian Refugees: Views are mixed with more

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The Role of the U.S. as a World Leader

While all Americans' views on the position of the U.S. as a world leader hit a 10-year low in 2013 with 53% viewing it as less important and powerful than 10 years ago (Pew 2013), that outlook has since improved. Today, a majority (53.2 %) of

New Jerseyans think that the U.S. either retains its current position or has a more important and powerful role while a minority (44.5 %) view it as less important and powerful.⁶ This is comparable to the views of all Americans, while a majority (62%) of

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Therefore, it is critical to avoid making assumptions that these views necessarily reflect what is “good” or “bad” for the U.S. or for the rest of the world. Experts in foreign affairs are likely to diverge from the American public in their assessment of the U.S. role in the world precisely because of differences in the normative assumption of whether it is “good” or “bad” for the U.S. to be a less powerful leader or more powerful leader and the depth of knowledge they have about the features of the current world system that would influence or hard or soft landing for a declining American hegemony.

Republicans see a Less Important and Powerful U.S. in the World Today

Aside from differences in expert opinions, there are deep divides in partisan views on the question of current American leadership in the world. A majority (65%) of Republicans and exactly half (50%) of independents view the

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the time that the end of the Cold War was evidence of the dominance and superiority of western liberal democracy exemplified by the U.S. “We” had finally prevailed and the ideological clashes of the past were now over. This perspective also implied that authoritarianism (i.e., non-democratic policies or forms of governance) was no longer a legitimate threat to a new peaceful world order

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Public More Concerned than Experts about Major Threats to the U.S.

Note that Council
on Foreign
Relations (CFR)
members are
consistently less
likely to identify
specific trends as
threats to the well-
being of the U.S.

Where there is data
to compare, fewer
CFR members rank
these as being

major threats; the exception is cyber attacks where there is no significant difference in their views versus those of all Americans or New Jerseyans. While the time lag between polling of CFR members in 2013 and this poll in 2016 may explain some of these differences, notable is the large gap between CFR members concerned about North Korea's nuclear program (39%) as a major threat compared to all Americans (67%) and New Jerseyans (71.5%).¹¹ CFR

members clearly do not take the threat of North Korea as seriously as the public, a gap that may cause divisions in public opinion versus expert input on foreign policy strategies towards limiting North Korea's nuclear capabilities and/or reach in their region and beyond.

¹¹ Source for American and CFR: Pew Research Center (April 2016) Q.34.b,d,e and Pew Research Center

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Republicans More Likely to Identify Major Threats.

While more New Jerseyans (77.6%) rank cyber attacks as a major threat in comparison to nuclear programs in Iran (68.1%) and North Korea (71.5%), the opposite is true for Republicans. More Republicans rank nuclear programs in Iran (87.7%) and North Korea (82.1%) as major threats compared to Democrats. Still, a majority of Democrats rank Iran's nuclear program (59.1%) as a major threat while more rank North Korea (70.7%) as a major threat. A minority (41.1%) of Democrats compared to a slight majority (53%) of Republicans who identify the conflict between Israel and Palestine as a major threat and more Republicans (44%) compared to Democrats (30.7%) see growing authoritarianism in Russia as a major threat. The partisan divisions on threats to the U.S. aligns with views on the role of the U.S. in the world; Republicans are more likely to see the trends identified here as major threats to the well-being of the U.S. and are much more likely to see the U.S. as having a less important and powerful role in the world. Independents depart from Democrats and Republicans in identifying several of these trends as major threats to the well-being of the U.S. Cyber attacks are perceived as a major threat by more Independents (83.7%) than either Republicans or Democrat while a minority of Independents (35.3%) rank the conflict between Israel and Palestine as a major threat compared to either party, something that a majority of Republicans (53%) identify as such. Independents' views on ISIS, Iran's nuclear program, North Korea's nuclear program, and growing authoritarianism in Russia fall either in between Democrats or Republicans or are statistically indistinguishable from the opinions of those affiliated with a major party.

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Point Difference Across Party on Very Effective Strategies				
Overall %	Dem %	Rep %	Ind %	<i>Dem-Rep diff</i>



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Democrats (2016) stress that “we believe we should strengthen alliances, not weaken them” while Republicans (2016) are clear to note the limits of this strategy and “Avoid...unnecessary alliances”.

In regards to *maintaining U.S. military superiority*, there is no mention of this phrase or variations in the Democratic platform while Republicans explicitly identify U.S. military superiority as a “cornerstone” strategy with much more detailed proposals for what that means (e.g., “Reagan-era force that can fight and win 2 ! wars ranging from counterterrorism to deterring maiarstng m-0.3 (c) gg 0.2(t) .2 (t) 0-0.5 (or o) 02 (nt) ”2 (h m);2 (t) 00.2 (ng 0.2 (c) 0.2 (i) 0.2 (

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Gender Gap on Effectiveness of Foreign Policy Strategies

Perhaps even more striking are gender differences in evaluating the effectiveness of foreign policy strategies. The observed gender gap in this poll reflect current research on the widening gender gap in foreign policy preferences in the U.S.; women are less likely to support use of force and military intervention, for example (Caughell 2016), and this difference has increased over time.¹⁸ Gender divisions are not perfectly congruent with partisan vi

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That more women than men favor a *strengthened U.N.* while more men than women favor *military superiority* should be interpreted in context of the notion that women are likely to make different decisions in international affairs if they



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Ethnic/Racial Divides on Foreign Policy Strategies

There are divides in views based on ethnicity/race. *U.S. military superiority* is viewed as very effective by a strong majority

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effectiveness of foreign aid



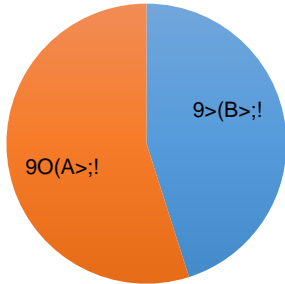
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and older, the younger generation more strongly supports a variety of multilateral approaches as very effective in contrast to the set of strategies emphasized as very effective by older generations.

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A plurality of New Jerseyans Support Rejecting U.N. Decisions that the U.S. Disagrees With

A plurality of New Jerseyans (49.7%) think that the U.S. should reject decisions of the United Nations while 40.8% think that the U.S. should accept decisions of the United Nations even it when it disagrees with them; 9 % don't know or aren't sure.²⁴



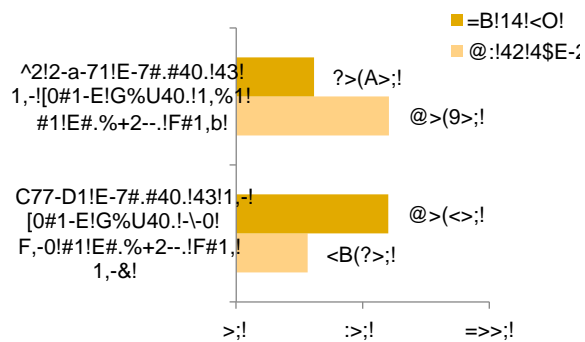
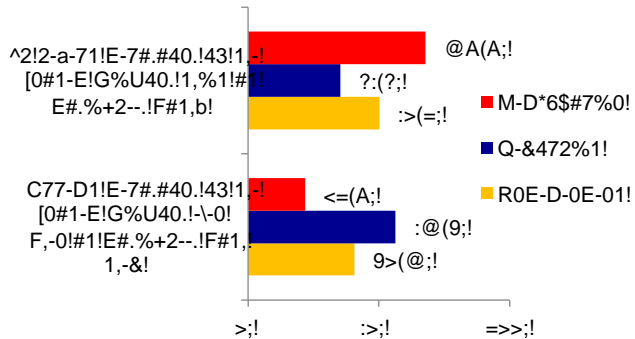
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decisions that it disagrees with while a majority (60.2%) of people ages 18 to 29 think the opposite. A majority of whites (51.3%) also say that the U.S. should reject U.N. decisions that it disagrees with while more blacks (47.5%) and Hispanics (49.9%) say the that the U.S. should accept those decisions.

These sharp divides on views of the U.S. in the U.N. exists despite the high degree of formal influence the U.S. has through its permanent seat in the Security Council. In addition, the U.S. has informal influence in this and other international organizations through mechanisms that include locations of headquarters (New York, for the U.N.) (Stone 2013). It is also known that the U.S. has increased foreign aid to countries serving as non-permanent members on the Security Council, viewed as an additional attempt to exert influence (Kuziemko and Werker 2004). Despite these and other criticisms of U.S. power in the U.N., it is also the forum where

More Democrats, Young People, Blacks, and Hispanics say the U.S. Should Accept Decisions of the U.N.

A strong majority (67.7%) of Republicans think that the U.S. should reject decisions of the U.N. that it disagrees with while a majority of Democrats (56.4%) think that the U.S. should accept decisions of the U.N. that it disagrees with. There is also a clear generational gap on whether the U.S. should accept or reject decisions of the U.N.; a majority (60.4%) of people ages 65 or older think that the U.S. should reject U.N.



²⁴ Stockton Q15. Source: Adapted from Pew Research Center (December 2013) PEW1.a.

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explain the departure of New Jerseyans from fellow Americans on their views on climate change

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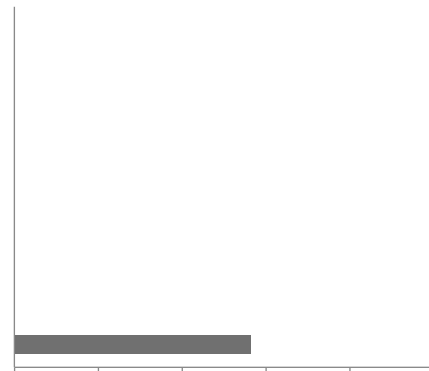
New Jerseyans Agree that Climate Change is a Very Serious Problem

Overall, a majority (56.3%) of New Jerseyans view climate change as a very serious problem with a minority of only 20% viewing it as not too serious or

not a problem at all.³² In comparing regional differences on this question, the views of New Jerseyans are more closely aligned with Europeans than all Americans and are 2.3 points above the global median of 54%.³³

Aside from conservatives with only 20.8%, Republicans with 22%, and high school graduates with 47%, a majority of everyone else says that it is a very serious problem including slim majorities of men (54.1%), whites (54.1%), and independents (51.4%) and a strong majority of Democrats (86.7%), those from Asian or Pacific descent (84.8%), Hispanics (78.1%), and liberals (91.4%), and liberals (81.2%) The gender gap is 5% where more women than men see climate change as a very serious problem. Overall, conservatives, Republicans, whites, males, and less educated are less inclined to see climate change as a serious problem than everyone else

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Strong Support for U.S. Participation in 2015 Paris Agreement

On the question of what to do about climate change, if anything, New Jerseyans were asked about the United States participating in the 2015 Paris Agreement that came out of the COP21 meeting.³⁴ The Paris Agreement set a goal to limit the rise of global temperature to 2 degrees Celsius above pre-industrial levels over the next century, allowing individual countries to determine their own nationally determined contributions (NDCs); the agreement does not

³¹ See the following article and interview with students and Patrick Hossay (coordinator for SUST) here: Damico, Diane. 2016. What kind of job does a sustainability major get you? Atlantic City Press, July 16. Accessed July 30. http://www.pressofatlanticcity.com/education/whakind-of-job-does-a-sustainability-major-get-you/article_66703614ac611e6ba403b9c4a2c8721.html

Go here for an interview with Stockton Sustainability majors: Damico, D. 2016. Stockton grads explain how they use their sustainability degrees. Atlantic City Press, July 17. Last modified August 7. http://www.pressofatlanticcity.com/edition/news/stocktongradsexplain-how-they-use-their-sustainability-degrees/article_19d889229415c188587f9f78689590e.html

³² Stockton Q20. Source: Pew Research Center (November 2015) Q.32.

³³ Source for global data in text and chart: Pew Research Center (November 2015).

³⁴ Stockton Q21. Source: Adapted from Pew Research Center (2015b). They were provided the following information: the Paris 2015 international agreement to limit the release of greenhouse gas emissions that contribute to climate change.

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enter into force until countries with a total of 55% of emissions have ratified the agreement (UNFCCC 2015).

Median global support for “our country should limit greenhouse gas emissions as part of an international agreement” is 78% (Pew November 2015). A similar majority of 75.8% of New Jerseyans strongly or somewhat support U.S. participation in the Paris Agreement, which is higher than 69% of the American public (ibid). Again, New Jerseyans attitudes are more in line with the rest of the world compared to their fellow Americans.

As expected, in New Jersey there is a partisan divide with 74.7% Democrats in strongly support in contrast to 22.3% of Republicans. However, a majority of 54% Republicans either strongly or somewhat support U.S. participation.

New Jerseyans Want Developing Countries to Contribute More while Rest of World wants Wealthy Countries to Contribute More

New Jerseyans were also asked who should contribute more to reducing greenhouse gas emissions that contribute to climate change – wealthy countries such as the U.S., Japan, and Germany that have released more greenhouse gases in the past, or poorer countries such as China or India that will be releasing more greenhouse gases in the future?³⁵ All Americans depart from the rest of the world on this question with 40% saying that wealthy countries should “do more” compared to the global median of 54% (Pew November 2015). On whether developing countries should “do just as much”, 50% of all Americans agree while the global median is only 38% (ibid). A plurality of New Jerseyans (34.5%) say that developing countries should contribute more while fewer (31.9%) say “they should contribute the same”. So while the rest of the world favors a system where wealthy countries do more, people within thosetore

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reductions compared to other countries. Coupled with support for the Paris 2015 agreement, it also reflects a lack of public understanding of how the U.S. needs to adapt in order to meet targets set in that agreement. Underpinning this debate is the fact that global emissions is uneven:

Six largest emitting countries/regions in 2014 were: China (with 30%), the United States (15%), the European Union (EU-28) (9.6%), India (6.6%), the Russian Federation (5.0%) and Japan (3.6%). Remarkable trends were seen in the top three emitting countries/regions, which account for 54% of total global emissions. In China and the United States, emissions increased by ‘only’ 0.9%. The European Union saw a large decrease of 5.4% in 2014, compared to 2013, which offset the 7.8% growth in India. The Russian Federation and Japan saw their CO2 emissions decline by 1.5% and 2.6%, respectively (PBL Netherlands Environmental Assessment Agency 2014, 10)

The expired Kyoto Protocol relied on Annex I and non-Annex I countries to delineate individual commitments to meet the agreements goals. Under this “old” system of Annex I and non-Annex I countries³⁶, those who emit the most greenhouse gases (e.g., the U.S.,



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has 1.96 million immigrants, 21.9 % of its total population, and within that group, 54.4% are naturalized U.S. citizens (U.S. Census Bureau 2016c). This is a higher percentage than the national average and in 2014, New Jersey was one of the top-five states for number of immigrants with a total of 2 million compared to 10.5 million in the #1 state of California (Migration Policy 2016a). Between 2000-2014, New Jersey was a top five state for its increase in the number of immigrants, though it was not in the top-five based on percentage increase (ibid).³⁹ New Jersey is estimated to have an unauthorized immigrant population of 550,000 compared to the 11.02 million unauthorized estimated to be in the U.S. (Migration Policy Institute 2016b).⁴⁰

New Jerseyans express slightly more favorable views than all Americans towards immigrants being allowed to stay in the U.S., if certain requirements are met.⁴¹ A strong majority of 76.8% of New Jerseyans say there should be a way for undocumented immigrants to stay legally, in certain requirements are met; 72% of Americans agree with this statement (Pew Research Center August 2015). While there are partisan, ethnic/racial, and other differences in views on immigration, across every category except “very conservative” (n = 17), a majority of all New Jerseyans say that there should be a way for undocumented immigrants to stay legally, if certain requirements are met. Of those in favor of a path for undocumented

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New Jerseyans Sensitive to the Effects of Trade Agreements

Trade in New Jersey accounted for approximately 5.4% of total U.S. imports in 2015 (U.S. Census Bureau 2016a), while as of May 2016 it accounted for 2.1% of total U.S. exports (U.S. Census Bureau 2016b). New Jersey is therefore, like the U.S., a net importer of goods and services from abroad and many of its counties have been directly affected by changes in rules of trade. Meanwhile trade agreements, namely the **Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)**, have become a significant issue in the 2016 presidential election season. While trade agreements are being vilified by candidates in both parties, a recent NBC News and Wall Street Journal poll found that most Americans (55%) think that “free trade with foreign countries is good for America, because it opens up new markets and because the United States can't avoid it in a global economy” (Murray 2016). New Jerseyans, however, have more negative view than all Americans on the effect of trade agreements in three areas: their personal or financial situation, jobs, and consumer prices. Exploring why, original research on whether a decline in manufac

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trade, public opinion on trade is more sensitive to local effects and ethnic or racial (and perhaps other) identities.

Background: The U.S. and the Current World Trade System

Setting aside public opinion, what is the current status of the U.S. and the global trade system? Recent evidence suggesting that the U.S. has been successful in negotiating trade provisions that benefit its interests (Allee and Lugg 2016, Busch and Pelc 2016). The US and

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This growth of trade agreements coupled with a de facto relaxation of the WTO review process for RTAs (Mavroidis 2011) translates into an elevated role for trade agreements, instead of the WTO, in shaping and/or serving as the primary mechanism for the substantive rules of the global trade system in the future. And given the primary role the U.S. has taken in this process, it is influential in determining the rules of trade in today's global economy.

Trade Agreements and Personal or Family Financial Situation

When asked to think about the financial situation of them and their family, fewer New Jerseyans than all Americans, 36.8% compared to 49%, think that trade agreements such as NAFTA have definitely or probably helped.⁴⁷ More 41.6% New Jerseyans compared to 36% of all Americans think they have probably or definitely hurt (Pew May 2015).

Effects of Trade Agreements on Personal or Family's Financial Situation

A plurality of Democrats, 34.8%,

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A strong majority of both Republicans (61.5%) and Independents (66.9%) say that trade agreements lead to job losses while a minority (47.9%) of Democrats feel the same. Though more Democrats are skeptical of trade agreements than not, as only 14.2% think they lead to job creation. So while there are partisan differences, overall a plurality of New

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Results in column 3 of the table below show that in New Jersey between 1990-2007, for every \$1,000 increase in imports per worker over each decade manufacturing unemployment is predicted to decrease by .76%.⁵⁰ Column 1 shows that between 1990-2000, the predicted effect of increased trade with China by the same amount (\$1,000 per worker) is 1.13% (a stronger and more significant effect). In 1990-2007, what happened in New Jersey was not unique; the same effect was observed at the national level in the original study. However in 1990-2000, the effect of trade on manufacturing employment was greater.

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In Support of Trade Agreements as a Development Strategy

One potential benefit of trade agreements is that they hold the promise to advance global economic development by bringing developing countries into the global market with fewer restrictions. A majority, 62%, of New Jerseyans say that trade agreements are good for the people of developing countries, 8.9% say they are bad for people of developing countries, and 16.8% say they don't make a difference.⁵² A significant minority of 12.2% say mixed, it depends, or are not sure. There is little to no partisan divide with a majority of Democrats (64.2%), Republicans (59.9%), and Independents (64.2%) all agreeing

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China presented below demonstrate a concern for the relative position of China vis-à-vis the U.S.; Americans, generally, are likely to be very concerned about China's economic relationship with the U.S. or its military power if they view China's rise as a threat to U.S. power. If the rise of China, however, is not viewed as a threat to U.S. power, we would likely observe New Jerseyans and Americans being less concerned about these dimensions of Chinese soft power (i.e., economic power and influence) and hard power (i.e., military capability).

Chinese Investment and Trade Positions

Chinese ownership of American debt is frequently referenced in speeches about the Chinese-U.S. relationship. The truth is that increasing demand since 1995 has made the U.S. an attractive economy for investment from all countries, including China (BEA 2016), and that continued investment is what supports high levels of imports. What is unique is the strong investment position of China relative to others and the continuation of a U.S. balance of payments characterized by a historically high trade deficit and investment surplus. In 2015, China was the #3 importer of U.S. goods and services accounting for 14.8% of U.S. exports while it was the #1 exporter to the U.S. accounting for 7.2% of American imports (U.S. Census 2016d). Canada and Mexico are also in the top three, though when countries are grouped together the E.U. is America's largest trade partner (ibid).

A strong majority of New Jerseyans (70.5%) think that the large amount of debt held by China is a very serious problem for the U.S.; 67% of all Americans feel the same. Only a small minority of 9.1% think that it is either not too serious or not a problem at all,

! with Cuba⁵⁸ while legislators from Bergen County were criticized by local Cuban-Americans and police unions after returning from travel to Cuba in early 2016⁵⁹.

Still, a 65.5% majority of New Jerseyans favor establishing diplomatic relations and 67.4% support ending the trade embargo with Cuba, though this is less favorable than all Americans' views (Pew July 2015).⁶⁰ An even stronger majority of 73% of all Americans are for the U.S. establishing diplomatic relations with Cuba while 72% are for ending the trade embargo, an increase in support from January 2015 by 10 and 6 points, respectively (ibid). However, there is a deep partisan divide on this question with 60.2% Republicans opposing re-establishing diplomatic ties and 52.9% opposing ending the U.S. trade embargo (this requires Congressional approval). As of June 2016, the U.S. had exported 104.2 million USD of goods and services to Cuba while there were 0\$ in imports (U.S. Census Bureau 2016e); restrictions that have been lifted since late 2014 have been mostly limited to travel and business regulations.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Salant, Jonathan. 2015. "Menendez: Diplomatic relations with Cuba 'not in our national interest'" NJ.com, July 1. Updated July 2.

http://www.nj.com/politics/index.ssf/2015/07/menendez_establishing_relations_with_cuba_is_not_i.html

⁵⁹ Ensslin, John C. and Todd South, 2016. "Bergen lawmakers under fire for trip to Cuba." NorthJersey.com, February 1. Updated February 1. <http://www.northjersey.com/news/bergen-lawmakers-under-fire-for-trip-to-cuba-1.1503534?page=all>

⁶⁰ Stockton Q31-32. Source for questions and results for American views: Pew Research Center (July 2015).

⁶¹ Go here for more on the U.S.-Cuban relationship: Renwick, Danielle. 2016. "U.S.-Cuba Relations."

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New Jerseyans Clash with Experts on Drones to Fight Terrorism

Overall, New Jerseyans depart sharply from experts on whether drone strikes or limiting flows of refugees and increasing border controls are effective.

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There is a sharp partisan gap with only 30.9% Democrats saying it is always or mostly effective in contrast to a strong majority of 74.5% Republicans. A large minority of 45.3% of Democrats think it is never effective while only 11.9% of Republicans agree.

There is also a gender gap, though not as strong as the partisan divide. A majority of 54.6% men agree that enhanced interrogation is either very or mostly effective while 41.9% of women say the same; in addition, only 14.% of women say it is very effective compared to 26.4% of men. Blacks are split with a plurality (36.8%) saying it is never effective, though 44.1% say it is sometimes *or* always effective. A majority (55.7%) of Hispanics, on the other hand, think enhanced interrogation is always or mostly effective.

Enhanced interrogation techniques were part of the Extraordinary Rendition Program (ERP) run by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to interrogate enemy combatants following 09/11 attacks and throughout the 2003 U.S. invasion in Iraq in “black sites” around the world that were outside of U.S. sovereign territory. Human rights groups, lawyers, and legal scholars have since criticized the ERP, labeling specific enhanced interrogation techniques as *torture* and finding both these techniques and the process of rendition incompatible with international law.⁶⁹ Former CIA directors and other officials remain split on the legality and



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New Jerseyans Clash with Experts on Limiting Refugees and Increasing Border Controls to Fight Terrorism

On limiting refugees and increasing border controls, an overwhelming majority of 85.2% of experts agree they are rarely or never effective while 67.1% of New Jerseyans say the opposite, that they are always or mostly effective. The public, the

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A plurality of New Jerseyans (41.7%) say not to accept any Syrian refugees into the U.S., compared to 36.4% who want to proceed with Obama's late-2015 plan to resettle 10,000 refugees without religious screening and 9.7% who want to resettle only Christians from Syria.⁷³ However, this is a more generous than the views expressed by the American public in November 2015 (Bloomberg), where a majority of all Americans (53%) say not to accept refugees and only 28% are in favor of proceeding with the plan to settle 10,000 without religious screening.

There is a deep partisan divide on whether the U.S. should accept Syrian refugees with a strong majority (70.6%) of Republicans against and 62.5% of Democrats in favor of the plan to accept 10,000 refugees.

Plurality Oppose Sending Ground Troops to Syria

A plurality of New Jerseyans (42.9%) oppose sending ground troops to fight Islamic militants in Iraq and Syria though only by a margin of 5.5%.⁷⁴ All Americans are more closely split with 44% in support and 45% in opposition of sending ground troops (Bloomberg 2015).

However for both New Jersey and the American public, there is a deep divide among parties on this decision. A strong majority of New Jersey Republicans (65.4%) compared to a minority of Democrats (32.8%) and Independents (42.8%) oppose sending ground troops. This is in line with the high number of Republicans that deemed military superiority as a very effective military strategy and those that thought the U.S. relied on its military strength to achieve its foreign policy goals too little; Republicans,

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Conclusion

Overall, New Jerseyans views on foreign policy issues relevant in the 2016 presidential

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Q4. Iran's nuclear program

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid MAJOR THREAT				

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Q27. Thinking about the financial situation of you and your family, do you think trade agreements such as NAFTA have definitely helped, probably helped, probably hurt, or definitely hurt your family's financial situation?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative
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Q30. Are trade agreements good for the people of developing countries, bad for the people of developing countries, or don't they make a difference?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
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Q36. Shifting to the current civil war in Syria, which of the following do you think is the best approach for the United States to take:

	Frequency	Percent
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Q45. Using enhanced interrogation or torture against suspected terrorists who are captured

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Q48. We have two questions not related to foreign policy. Prior to this interview, had you ever heard of the Stockton Polling Institute?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
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Appendix B. Frequency Distributions for Demographic Data, Partisan Affiliation, and Ideology

PARTY. In politics today, do you consider yourself a:				
	Frequency	Percent		Cumulative Percent

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aid to other countries	essential instrument of American power. It can prevent threats, enhance stability, and reduce the need for military force.	America's interests first"; cites Millenium Challenge Corporation (MCC) as model for aid; aid is to be used to "catalyze private sector investment and expertise" to "build a more stable world and advance America's national security and economic interests"; seeks to lift limits on some faith-based aid organizations	Democrats (+17.1%)
Providing military aid to other countries	No explicit mention of military aid	No explicit mention of military aid	Favored by Democrats (+7.2%)