## Gunster Strategies worldwide

Nationwide Voter Survey

- Report on Results -

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## Nationwide Voter Survey - Likely Voter Survey

## Report on results

From Thursday, November 16 through Monday, November 20, 2017 J. Wallin Opinion Research conducted a telephone survey of voters nationwide.

We interviewed 1,000 respondents using live, professional interviewers, speaking Spanish and English languages and calling both mobile and landlines ( $44 \%$ of this survey was completed on mobile phones). A survey of this size yields a margin of error of $+/-3.1 \%$ ( $95 \%$ confidence interval). Our sample is stratified, meaning that the demographic composition of our results matches the demographic composition of the voters nationwide.
J. Wallin Opinion Research performs research on behalf of business, government and political clients.


## General Themes



What is top of mind within the community? Highlights from the cloud



## Public safety, jobs/the economy and government

## Are the top issues to voters nationwide

Question: In your own words, what do you feel is the most important issue facing your community today?


## What do voters most want Congress

## To prioritized

Question: Now I am going to read a list of issues facing the United States. Please listen to each and then tell me which three THREE should be the top priorities of the United States Congress?


## Introducing Military Intervention

## 57.0\% feel military aid to foreign countries

## Is counterproductive

Question: The United States gives billions of dollars in weapons and other military aid to foreign countries, including Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iraq. Do you feel this is productive towards the goal of protecting American interests and ensuring the safety of our nation, or is it counterproductive?


## How should Congress prioritize

## Military engagement or military support from America?

Question: Now I have a list of various proposals that may be considered by the United States Congress regarding how the United States deploys our military and military aid overseas. Please listen to the following items and then tell me if you feel it should be a very high priority, a somewhat high priority, not a high priority or not a priority at all for Congress.


Require clearly defined goals to authorize military engagement overseas, including what will constitute victory or success and an authorized timeline

Require Congress to have both oversight and accountability regarding where troops are stationed around the world and what they are doing there

Require that any donation of military funds or equipment to a foreign country be matched by a pledge of that country to adhere to the rules of the Geneva Convention, which are designed to protect civilians - including children - from attack, injury or harm during combat or combat related activities

## 86.4\% feel that military intervention by the US

## Should only be used as a last resort

Question: Do you personally feel that military intervention by the United States should only be used as a last resort, after all diplomatic and other alternatives have been exhausted?


## 67.4\% disapprove of Congressional leadership

## Allowing our involvement in wars and other conflicts without formally approving

Question: Only Congress is authorized by the Constitution of the United States to declare war, fund war and regulate war. Congress hasn't used its constitutional power to formally issue a war declaration since World War II, some 75 years ago, yet the United States has fought in countless wars and military conflicts during that time, including most recently in Iraq and Afghanistan. Congressional leadership from both political parties won't even allow Congress to debate our involvement in foreign war conflicts. Do you approve or disapprove of this behavior by Congressional leadership?


# Introducing Potential Legislation Regarding Military Intervention 



## $70.8 \%$ would support Congress passing legislation That would restrain military action overseas in three specific ways

Question: Congress may consider passing legislation that would:
(1) Require clearly defined goals to authorize military action overseas, including what constitutes victory or success and a clear timeline
(2) Require Congress to have both oversight and accountability regarding where troops are stationed around the world and what they are doing there
(3) Require that any donation of military funds or equipment to a foreign country be matched by a pledge from that country to adhere to the rules of the Geneva Convention, which are designed to protect civilians from attack, injury or other harm during combat.
Would you support or oppose Congress passing such legislation?


## Support for this possible legislation

## Is shared across political parties



## Support for this possible legislation

## Is shared across political ideologies



## Support for this possible legislation

 Is shared across all age groups

## Both men and women

## Exhibit similar levels of support for this possible legislation



## Support for this possible legislation

## Is shared among voters from differing ethnic backgrounds



## Support for this possible legislation

Is shared by voters both with and without military histories


## Support for this possible legislation is shared

By voters who say they voted for Trump AND those who voted for Clinton


## Support for this possible legislation

Is shared across the nation's diverse geographic regions


## Message Testing

Preamble: "Now I am going to read you some more information about this possible legislation. Please listen, and then let me know if it makes you more likely or less likely to support such legislation. If it makes no difference to you, just say so."



## 64.9\% become more likely to support knowing

## Of the engagement in Yemen against the Houthis

Question: For nearly three years, our United States military forces have been participating in a war against a rebel group called the Houthis in a country called Yemen, alongside a military coalition led by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates. The Saudis have conducted widespread bombing that has led to thousands of civilians killed and maimed and the Saudi monarchy's total blockade of food and medicine to the people of Yemen mean that the country may soon experience a famine of "biblical proportions." Does knowing this make you more likely or less likely to support legislation that requires that any donation of military funds or equipment to a foreign country be matched by a pledge of that country to adhere to the rules of the Geneva Convention?


## 64.2\% become more likely to support knowing

## Of the status of the engagement in Iraq

Question: The United States formally withdrew American armed forces from Iraq in 2011, after eight years of combat that saw over 4,500 U.S. soldiers killed and over 30,000 wounded. American forces were redeployed to Iraq in 2014 to fight a new insurgency calling itself Islamic State that was overrunning large portions of the country. Islamic State is now nearly defeated in Iraq, but the Iraqi militias and government forces are starting to fight each other for control of Iraqi territory, while US military forces are still on the ground. Does knowing this make you more likely or less likely to support legislation that requires clearly defined goals to authorize military engagement overseas, including what will constitute victory or success and a clear timeline?


## 64.2\% become more likely to support knowing

## Of the nature of the military action in Niger

Question: Last month, four U.S. Special Forces were killed by Islamic State fighters in Niger. Even though there are at least 800 American troops in the country, many U.S. Senators - including the Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer and Senator Lindsay Graham, who sits on the Senate Armed Services Committee - did NOT know that we had any troops in the country until the four soldiers were killed. Does knowing this make you more likely or less likely to support legislation that requires Congress to have both oversight and accountability regarding where troops are stationed around the world and what they are doing there?


How does this affect those who initially opposed?


■ More likely to support 30.0\%
■ Less likely to support 53.9\%
$\square$ Makes no difference 11.3\%
■ Unsure/Refused 4.8\%

How does this affect those who were initially unsure?


■ More likely to support 45.2\%

- Less likely to support 27.4\%
- Makes no difference 6.5\%

■ Unsure/Refused 20.9\%

[^0]
## 61.1\% become more likely to support knowing <br> Of the status of the engagement in Afghanistan

Question: American armed forces have been in Afghanistan for sixteen years. Over 2,300 of our troops have died there and over 20,000 injured. Earlier this year, General John Nicholson told Congress that NATO and allied forces in Afghanistan are facing a "stalemate". Does knowing this make you more likely or less likely to support legislation that requires clearly defined goals to authorize military engagement overseas, including what will constitute victory or success and a clear timeline?



■ More likely to support 30.4\% - Less likely to support 50.4\%

- Makes no difference 11.3\%

■ Unsure/Refused 7.9\%

How does this affect those who were initially unsure?


■ More likely to support 40.3\%

- Less likely to support 30.6\%
- Makes no difference 6.5\%

■ Unsure/Refused 22.6\%

Mover Messages: What is most effective moving opinion? Mover Messages are those that shift opinions of opposition or those unsure


## Which messages generate the most Intensity of support?


#### Abstract

Question: Knowing what you do now, would you support or oppose Congress passing legislation that requires clearly defined goals to authorize military engagement


 overseas, including what will constitute victory or success and a clear timeline, requires Congress to have both oversight and accountability regarding where troops are stationed around the world and what they are doing there AND requires that any donation of military funds or equipment to a foreign country be matched by a pledge of that country to adhere to the rules of the Geneva Convention, which are designed to protect civilians from attack, injury or harm during combat?$$
\square \text { Much more likely to support } \quad \text { Somewhat more likely to support }
$$

For nearly three years, our United States military forces have been participating in a war against a rebel group called the Houthis in a country called Yemen,
alongside a military coalition led by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.
The Saudis have conducted widespread bombing that has led to thousands of civilians killed and maimed and the Saudi monarchy's total blockade of food and medicine to the people of Yemen mean that the country may soon experience a famine of "biblical proportions."
The United States formally withdrew American armed forces from Iraq in 2011, after eight years of combat that saw over 4,500 U.S. soldiers killed and over
30,000 wounded. American forces were redeployed to Iraq in 2014 to fight a new insurgency calling itself Islamic State that was overrunning large portions of the country. Islamic State is now nearly defeated in Iraq, but the Iraqi militias and government forces are starting to fight each other for control of Iraqi territory, while US military forces are still on the ground.
Last month, four U.S. Special Forces were killed by Islamic State fighters in Niger. Even though there are at least 800 American troops in the country, many U.S. Senators - including the Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer and Senator Lindsay Graham, who sits on the Senate Armed Services Committee - did NOT know that we had any troops in the country until the four soldiers were killed.

American armed forces have been in Afghanistan for sixteen years. Over 2,300 of our troops have died there and over 20,000 injured. Earlier this year, General John Nicholson told Congress that NATO and allied forces in Afghanistan are facing a "stalemate".


[^1]
## Post-Messaging Support



## Support for the possible legislation decreases slightly

## But only because uncertainty increases

Question: Knowing what you do now, would you support or oppose Congress passing legislation that requires clearly defined goals to authorize military engagement overseas, including what will constitute victory or success and a clear timeline, requires Congress to have both oversight and accountability regarding where troops are stationed around the world and what they are doing there AND requires that any donation of military funds or equipment to a foreign country be matched by a pledge of that country to adhere to the rules of the Geneva Convention, which are designed to protect civilians from attack, injury or harm during combat?


## The intensity of support increases

## To nearly a majority (46.1\%)

Question: And would you say that you strongly (support/oppose) or somewhat (support/oppose)?


## Support for the possible legislation

## Remains shared among different political parties



## Support for the possible legislation

## Remains shared among political ideologies



## Support for the possible legislation

## Remains shared across all age groups



## Support for the possible legislation

Remains shared among men and women


## Support for the possible legislation

## Remains shared among differing ethnic backgrounds



## Support for the possible legislation

Remains high among those with and without military histories


## Support for the possible legislation

Remains high among those who voted for Trump AND Clinton


## Support for the possible legislation

Remains high among the nation's diverse geographic regions


## WHY do voters support

## The possible legislation?

Question: Thinking specifically, why would you support legislation like this?*


## WHY do voters oppose <br> The possible legislation?

Question: Thinking specifically, why would you oppose legislation like this?*


## Introducing the Bi-Partisan Bill to Withdraw from Yemen

## A majority (51.9\% - over twice those who oppose) supports

 A bi-partisan bill to withdraw U.S. forces from YemenQuestion: Congress is considering a bi-partisan bill to withdraw U.S. forces from the Saudi-led war in Yemen. Would you say that you support or oppose this bill?


## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

Is slightly greater among Democratic and DTS voters than Republicans


## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

Is slightly greater among Progressives and Moderates than Conservatives


## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

 Is slightly less among older voters (65+)

## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

Is slightly greater among men than among women


## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

Is slightly greater among Black/African American voters


## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

Is shared similarly among those with and without military experience


## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

Is greater among those who voted for Clinton than those who voted for Trump


## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

Is slightly less within the Southeast


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## Message Testing

Preamble: "I am going to read you some information about the bi-partisan bill to withdraw U.S. forces from the Saudi-led war in Yemen. Please listen, and then let me know if it makes you more likely or less likely to support the bill. If it makes no difference to you, just say so."


## 53.5\% become more likely to support the legislation Knowing our military's actions remain unapproved by Congress

Question: America's constitution requires that Congress approve military actions such as this. While President Obama began our military involvement in Yemen, our military's actions remain unapproved by Congress. Does knowing this make you more likely or less likely to support the bi-partisan bill to withdraw U.S. forces from the Saudi-led war in Yemen?


## 51.3\% become more likely to support the legislation Knowing the war in Yemen may be threatening our national security

Question: There are many who argue that the U.S.-Saudi war in Yemen is threatening our national security rather than improving it. In addition to opposing widespread bombing that has led to thousands of civilians killed and maimed, they oppose the Saudi monarchy's total blockade of food and medicine to the people of Yemen, which is being done with U.S. support. They say the actions of the Saudis in Yemen undercut our national security interests and our moral values. Aid experts warn that Yemen may soon experience "a famine of Biblical proportions" as a direct consequence of the Saudi blockade of food and medicine into the country. Does knowing this make you more likely or less likely to support the bi-partisan bill to withdraw U.S. forces from the Saudi-led war in Yemen?


How does this affect those who initially opposed?


■ More likely to support 26.5\%

- Less likely to support 55.8\%
- Makes no difference 13.0\%

■ Unsure/Refused 4.7\%

How does this affect those who were initially unsure?


■ More likely to support 41.0\%

- Less likely to support 18.8\%
$\square$ Makes no difference $10.2 \%$
■ Unsure/Refused 30.0\%

[^2]
## 49.1\% become more likely to support the legislation

 Knowing the US has become a "de-facto ally" of Al Qaeda in YemenQuestion: In addition to the civilian crisis that has already been described in Yemen, driven by widespread bombing and the Saudi monarchy's total blockade of food and medicine, news outlets have reported that Saudi Arabia - and therefore the United States - have become "de facto allies" of Al Qaeda in Yemen in their battle against the Houthis, and that the Saudi-led war has strengthened Al Qaeda, giving them safe-haven within Yemen and allowing them to set up a thriving city-state under Sharia law. Does knowing this make you more likely or less likely to support the bi-partisan bill to withdraw U.S. forces from the Saudi-led war in Yemen?

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## 46.6\% become more likely to support the legislation Knowing the Houthi's are opponents of terrorist groups

Question: The Houthi rebels are fierce opponents of terrorist groups, and their demands of the Yemeni government focus solely on accusing the government of corruption and demanding a greater role in the Yemeni government. Does knowing this make you more likely or less likely to support the bi-partisan bill to withdraw U.S. forces from the Saudi-led war in Yemen?


How does this affect those who initially opposed?


How does this affect those who were initially unsure?

$\square$ More likely to support 31.6\%
■ Less likely to support 21.4\%

- Makes no difference 12.8\%

■ Unsure/Refused 34.2\%

■ More likely to support 28.4\% - Less likely to support 47.9\%
$\square$ Makes no difference 17.2\%
■ Unsure/Refused 6.5\%

## Mover Messages: What is most effective moving opinion?

 Mover Messages are those that shift opinions of opposition or those unsure

## Which messages generate <br> The most intensity of emotion?

Question: Knowing what you do now, this make you more likely or less likely to support legislation that requires Congress to have both oversight and accountability regarding where troops are stationed around the world and what they are doing there?

■ Much more likely to support
$\square$ Somewhat more likely to support

America's constitution requires that Congress approve military actions such as this. While President Obama began our military involvement in Yemen, our military's actions remain unapproved by Congress.
There are many who argue that the U.S.-Saudi war in Yemen is threatening our national security rather than improving it. In addition to opposing widespread bombing that has led to thousands of civilians killed and maimed, they oppose the Saudi monarchy's total blockade of food and medicine to the people of Yemen, which is being done with U.S. support. They say the actions of the Saudis in Yemen undercut our national security interests and our moral values. Aid experts warn that Yemen may soon experience "a famine of Biblical proportions" as a direct consequence of the Saudi blockade of food and medicine into the
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The Houthi rebels are fierce opponents of terrorist groups, and their demands of the Yemeni government focus solely on accusing the government of corruption and demanding a greater role in the Yemeni government.


## Support for the bi partisan legislation

## To halt our involvement in Yemen increases to 55.5\%

Question: Knowing what you do now, would you support or oppose the bi-partisan bill to withdraw U.S. forces from the Saudi-led war in Yemen?


## The intensity of support for legislation

## To withdraw our involvement in Yemen remains at about 1/3 of voters

Question: And would you say that you strongly (support/oppose) or somewhat (support/oppose)?


## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

Remains greater among Democratic voters


## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

Is greater among Liberal/Progressive voters


## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

 Is less among older (65+) voters

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## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

Is slightly greater among men than among women


## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

Is high among those with differing ethnic backgrounds


## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

Is shared similarly among those with and without military experience


## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

Is greater among those who voted for Clinton than those who voted for Trump


## Support for the bi-partisan legislation

 Is slightly less in the Southwest and Northeast

## WHY do voters support

## The bi-partisan legislation to withdraw from Yemen?

Question: Thinking specifically, why would you support the bi-partisan bill to withdraw U.S. forces from the Saudi-led war in Yemen?*


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## WHY do voters oppose

## The bi-partisan legislation to withdraw from Yemen?

Question: Thinking specifically, why would you oppose the bi-partisan bill to withdraw U.S. forces from the Saudi-led war in Yemen?*


[^3]
# Neighbor-to-Neighbor Conversations: Can America be Strong and Safe Without Military Intervention? 

Preamble: "Now I am going to read to you some statements of residents in your community. Please listen to each statement and tell me with whom you agree more. "

## 56.0\% agree with Jones who says

## It's possible to be strong and safe without overseas military intervention

Question: SMITH says: "It's just not possible for America to be strong and safe without intervening overseas with our military. If we don't fight those that want to do us harm over there, in their own countries, we'll just end up getting them over here."
JONES says: "America can be both strong and safe without intervening overseas with our military, especially when these wars are in countries that are far from our own backyard. Even when we do get involved, regardless of our best intentions, things never seem to get fixed there, and they often end up much worse after we leave. There are other ways we can keep our country strong and safe." With whom do you agree more:



## Military Aid to Countries Like Saudi Arabia

## $63.9 \%$ say that military aid - including money and weapons

 Should NOT be provided to countries like Saudi ArabiaQuestion: Do you feel that American military aid - including money and weapons - should be provided to countries like Saudi Arabia?


## Does a Congressional Representative's Failure to Vote to Withdraw from Yemen Affect His/Her Re-Election Prospects?

## $51.3 \%$ say they would be less likely to vote for

## Their Congressional Representative if they did not act to withdraw from Yemen

Question: Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for your Representative in Congress if you knew that they did not act to withdraw U.S. forces from the Saudi-led war in Yemen?


## Democratic voters are somewhat more less likely to vote

 For their Congressional Representative if they do not vote to withdraw

## Progressive voters are somewhat more less likely to vote

## For their Congressional Representative if they do not vote to withdraw



## Democratic voters are more less likely to vote

## For their Congressional Representative if they do not vote to withdraw



## Men are more less likely to vote

For their Congressional Representative if they do not vote to withdraw


## White voters are slightly more likely to vote

## For their Congressional Representative if they do not vote to withdraw



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Those with military backgrounds and without are nearly

## Equally likely to vote against their Representative if they don't vote to withdraw



Those who voted for Clinton are more likely to vote against Their Congressional Representative if they do not vote to withdraw from Yemen


## Voters from different geographic regions are similarly

## Disinclined to vote for their Representative if they do not vote to withdraw



# OGunster <br> Strategies WORLDWIDE 

Thank you


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