DPRK SURVEY – 01-24-2019

BLOCK: PRE TEST DEMOGRAPHICS [ALL CONDITIONS]

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this anonymous survey about American views on foreign policy. Please answer the following questions carefully. The views that you express will be kept completely confidential.

Q### [US_citizen] Are you a citizen of the United States? BUMP IF NO
1. Yes
2. No

Q### [year_born] In what year were you born? BUMP IF YOUNGER THAN 18 (BORN AFTER 2001)
Drop down menu of years.

Q### [gender] What is your gender?
1. Male
2. Female
3. Other

Q### [US_state] In what state do you currently reside?
Drop down menu of U.S. states.

Q### [edu] What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?
1. Did not graduate from high school
2. High school diploma or the equivalent (GED)
3. Some college
4. Associate degree
5. Bachelor's degree
6. Master's degree
7. Professional or doctorate degree

Q### [income] What was your total household income before taxes during the past 12 months?
1. Less than $25,000
2. $25,000 to $34,999
3. $35,000 to $49,999
4. $50,000 to $74,999
5. $75,000 to $99,999
6. $100,000 to $149,999
7. $150,000 to $199,999
8. $200,000 or more
9. Prefer not to answer

Q### [race] Please check one or more categories below to indicate what race(s) you consider yourself to be.

1. White
2. Black or African American
3. Hispanic or Latino
4. American Indian or Alaska Native
5. Asian
6. Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
7. Other (*fill in option*)

Q### [military_service] Have you or any of your immediate family members (spouse, siblings, or parents only) ever served in the United States military? Check all that apply.

1. I have served or am serving in the United States military.
2. I have an immediate family member who is serving or has served in the United States military.
3. Neither I nor any of my immediate family members have served in the United States military.

BLOCK: NEWS STORY INTRO PAGE [EXCLUDE CONDITION D (CONTROL)]

NEW PAGE

Q### [story_intro] **Next, we would like you to read a fictional news article about a U.S. military crisis. Read this news article carefully, as you will be asked some specific questions about it later. If you fail to answer the questions about the article correctly, you will be ineligible to complete this survey.**

BLOCK: STORIES RANDOMIZED [EXCLUDE CONDITION D (CONTROL)]

A1 - CONUS at Risk
A2 - CONUS No Risk
A3 - U.S. Strike 50%
A4 - Nuclear Strike 15k NK Deaths
A5 - Nuclear Strike 1.1 mil NK Deaths
B1 - NK Attack on U.S. Ship

BLOCK: MANIPULATION CHECKS

Q### [A1_5_mcheck1] In the news article you read, North Korea conducted a surprise test of a new long range missile. According to the article, which of the following statements about the missile's capabilities is correct?

1. The missile test failed.
2. The missile detonated a nuclear warhead near Hawaii.
3. North Korea can now strike the continental United States with nuclear weapons.
4. North Korea will not be able to strike the continental United States with nuclear weapons for at least 1 year.

5. North Korea will not be able to strike the continental United States with nuclear weapons for at least 5 years.
6. North Korea will not be able to strike the continental United States with nuclear weapons for at least 10 years.

CORRECT ANSWERS: A1=3 A2=4 A3=3 A4=3 A5=3

IF ANSWER IS INCORRECT DISPLAY THIS TEXT AND RETURN SUBJECT TO NEWS ARTICLE

That answer is not correct. Please re-read the news article carefully. You will have one more chance to answer the question about the article after re-reading.

Q### [A1_5_mcheck2] In the news article you read, the president's military advisers produced a report estimating the probability that the U.S. strike would successfully destroy all of North Korea's nuclear weapons. The report concluded that:

1. the U.S. strike had a 10% probability of destroying the weapons
2. the U.S. strike had a 25% probability of destroying the weapons
3. the U.S. strike had a 50% probability of destroying the weapons
4. the U.S. strike had a 75% probability of destroying the weapons
5. the U.S. strike had a 90% probability of destroying the weapons
6. the U.S. strike had a 100% probability of destroying the weapons

CORRECT ANSWERS: A1=5 A2=5 A3=3 A4=5 A5=5

IF ANSWER IS INCORRECT DISPLAY THIS TEXT AND RETURN SUBJECT TO NEWS ARTICLE

That answer is not correct. Please re-read the news article carefully. You will have one more chance to answer the question about the article after re-reading.

If subjects fail check a second time, bump from survey.

Q### [B1_mcheck1] In the news article you read, North Korea conducted a surprise test of a new long range missile. According to the article, which of the following statements about the missile's capabilities is correct?

1. The missile test failed.
2. The missile detonated a nuclear warhead near Hawaii.
3. North Korea can now strike the continental United States with nuclear weapons.
4. North Korea will not be able to strike the continental United States with nuclear weapons for at least 1 year.
5. North Korea will not be able to strike the continental United States with nuclear weapons for at least 5 years.
6. North Korea will not be able to strike the continental United States with nuclear weapons for at least 10 years.

CORRECT ANSWER: B1=3

IF INCORRECT DISPLAY THIS TEXT AND RETURN SUBJECT TO NEWS ARTICLE

That answer is not correct. Please re-read the news article carefully. You will have one more chance to answer the question about the article after re-reading.

If subjects fail check a second time, bump from survey.

Q### [B1_mcheck2] In the news article you read North Korea carried out a torpedo attack against which of the following targets?

1. An American fishing boat.
2. An American Navy ship.
3. An American oil tanker.
4. A South Korean fishing boat.
5. A South Korean Navy ship.
6. A South Korean oil tanker

CORRECT ANSWERS: B1=2

IF INCORRECT DISPLAY THIS TEXT AND RETURN SUBJECT TO NEWS ARTICLE

That answer is not correct. Please re-read the news article carefully. You will have one more chance to answer the question about the article after re-reading.

If subjects fail check a second time, bump from survey.

BLOCK: PRIMARY DVS [EXCLUDE CONDITION D (CONTROL)]

FOR CONDITION A1 (CONUS at risk)

In the news article you just read, the United States is considering a military strike against North Korea. The expected chances of success and estimated fatalities if the strike is successful or not successful in destroying North Korea's nuclear weapons are summarized in this table from the news article.

	Expected Fatalities
IF U.S. AIR STRIKE IS SUCCESSFUL • 90% chance •	• North Korea: 5,000 civilians & 10,000 military in U.S. strike • South Korea: 30,000 from N. Korean conventional retaliation
IF U.S. AIR STRIKE IS NOT SUCCESSFUL • 10% chance •	• North Korea: 5,000 civilians & 10,000 military in U.S. strike • South Korea: 30,000 from N. Korean conventional retaliation • United States: 300,000 from N. Korean nuclear retaliation

Table Reproduced from JCS Report to the President

FOR CONDITION A2 (CONUS No Risk)

In the news article you just read, the United States is considering a military strike against North Korea. The expected chances of success and estimated fatalities if the strike is successful or not successful in destroying North Korea's nuclear weapons are summarized in this table from the news article.

	Expected Fatalities
IF US AIR STRIKE IS SUCCESSFUL • 90% chance •	• North Korea: 5,000 civilians & 10,000 military in U.S. strike • South Korea: 30,000 South Koreans (plus 500 Americans) from N. Korean conventional retaliation
IF US AIR STRIKE IS NOT SUCCESSFUL • 10% chance •	• North Korea: 5,000 civilians & 10,000 military in U.S. strike • South Korea: 275,000 from N. Korean nuclear retaliation (plus 12,000 Americans troops & 1,000 American civilians living in S. Korea)

Table Reproduced from JCS Report to the President

FOR CONDITION A3 (U.S. Strike 50%)

In the news article you just read, the United States is considering a military strike against North Korea. The expected chances of success and estimated fatalities if the strike is successful or not successful in destroying North Korea's nuclear weapons are summarized in this table from the news article.

	Expected Fatalities
IF U.S. AIR STRIKE IS SUCCESSFUL • 50% chance •	• North Korea: 5,000 civilians & 10,000 military in U.S. strike • South Korea: 30,000 from N. Korean conventional retaliation
IF U.S. AIR STRIKE IS NOT SUCCESSFUL • 50% chance •	• North Korea: 5,000 civilians & 10,000 military in U.S. strike • South Korea: 30,000 from N. Korean conventional retaliation • United States: 300,000 from N. Korean nuclear retaliation

Table Reproduced from JCS Report to the President

FOR CONDITION A4 (US Nuclear Strike 15k NK Deaths)

In the news article you just read, the United States is considering a military strike against North Korea. The expected chances of success and estimated fatalities if the strike is successful or not successful in destroying North Korea's nuclear weapons are summarized in this table from the news article.

	Expected Fatalities
IF U.S. NUCLEAR STRIKE IS SUCCESSFUL • 90% chance •	• North Korea: 5,000 civilians & 10,000 military in U.S. nuclear strike • South Korea: 30,000 from N. Korean conventional retaliation
IF U.S. NUCLEAR STRIKE IS NOT SUCCESSFUL • 10% chance •	• North Korea: 5,000 civilians & 10,000 military in U.S. nuclear strike • South Korea: 30,000 from N. Korean conventional retaliation • United States: 300,000 from N. Korean nuclear retaliation

Table Reproduced from JCS Report to the President

FOR CONDITION A6 (US Nuclear Strike 1.1 mil NK Deaths)

In the news article you just read, the United States is considering a military strike against North Korea. The expected chances of success and estimated fatalities if the strike is successful or not successful in destroying North Korea's nuclear weapons are summarized in this table from the news article.

	Expected Fatalities
IF U.S. NUCLEAR STRIKE IS SUCCESSFUL • 90% chance •	• North Korea: 1 million civilians & 100,000 military in U.S. nuclear strike • South Korea: 30,000 from N. Korean conventional retaliation
IF U.S. NUCLEAR STRIKE IS NOT SUCCESSFUL • 10% chance •	• North Korea: 1 million civilians & 100,000 military in U.S. nuclear strike • South Korea: 30,000 from N. Korean conventional retaliation • United States: 300,000 from N. Korean nuclear retaliation

Table Reproduced from JCS Report to the President

FOR CONDITION B1 (NK Attack on U.S. Ship)

In the news article you just read, the United States is considering a military strike against North Korea. The expected chances of success and estimated fatalities if the strike is successful or not successful in destroying North Korea's nuclear weapons are summarized in this table from the news article.

	Expected Fatalities
IF U.S. AIR STRIKE IS SUCCESSFUL • 90% chance •	• North Korea: 5,000 civilians & 10,000 military in U.S. strike • South Korea: 30,000 from N. Korean conventional retaliation
IF U.S. AIR STRIKE IS NOT SUCCESSFUL • 10% chance •	• North Korea: 5,000 civilians & 10,000 military in U.S. strike • South Korea: 30,000 from N. Korean conventional retaliation • United States: 300,000 from N. Korean nuclear retaliation

Table Reproduced from JCS Report to the President

Q### [strike_pref]: If you had to choose, would you prefer that the United States conduct the military strike described in the news article or not?

1. Strongly prefer to conduct the strike
2. Somewhat prefer to conduct the strike
3. Somewhat prefer not to conduct the strike
4. Strongly prefer not to conduct the strike

if "somewhat prefer" or "strongly prefer" the strike are selected in [strike_pref]:
Q### [strike_reason_open] In your own words, please briefly describe the single most important reason you preferred to conduct the strike. [open response] [require at least 10 seconds before subjects can advance]

if "somewhat prefer" or "strongly prefer" NOT TO CONDUCT THE STRIKE are selected in [strike_pref]:
Q### [no_strike_reason_open] In your own words, please briefly describe the single most important reason you preferred NOT to conduct the strike. [open response] [require at least 10 seconds before subjects can advance]

Q### [strike_approve] Regardless of whether or not you preferred the strike, if the president decided to conduct the strike against North Korea, how much would you approve or disapprove of the U.S. military action?

1. Strongly approve conducting the strike
2. Somewhat approve conducting the strike
3. Somewhat disapprove conducting the strike
4. Strongly disapprove conducting the strike

if "somewhat prefer" or "strongly prefer" the strike are selected in [strike_pref]:
Q### [strike_approve_reason] Which of the following reasons is closest to the reason you preferred to conduct the strike against North Korea? **ROTATE**

1. To physically eliminate North Korea's ability to threaten the United States and South Korea in the future.
2. To send a message to North Korea and other countries not to build weapons.
3. Because North Korea deserves to be punished for its behavior.

if "somewhat prefer" or "strongly prefer" **not** to conduct the strike are selected in [strike_pref]:
Q### [strike_disapprove_reason] Which of the following reasons is closest to the reason you preferred not to conduct the strike against North Korea? **ROTATE**

1. North Korea is deterrable, we can live with a nuclear-armed North Korea.
2. The strike would cause too many deaths.
3. The strike is likely to escalate into a wider war.
4. Peaceful diplomacy and negotiations can convince North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons and missiles.

Q### [dprk_nuke_us_rok] If the United States launched the military strike described in the news article, how likely do you think it is that North Korea would attempt to retaliate using nuclear weapons against the United States or South Korea?

1. highly likely
2. somewhat likely
3. somewhat unlikely
4. not at all likely

Q### [dprk_conv_rok] If the United States launched the military strike described in the news article, how likely do you think it is that North Korea would launch a full-scale conventional war against South Korea?

1. highly likely
2. somewhat likely
3. somewhat unlikely
4. not at all likely

BLOCK: PROBABILITY QUESTIONS [EXCLUDE CONDITION D (CONTROL)]

Q### [missile_defense] If North Korea launched its nuclear missiles as described in the news article, how likely do you think it is that current U.S. missile defenses would successfully destroy all the North Korean missiles before they reached their targets?

1. highly likely
2. somewhat likely
3. somewhat unlikely
4. not at all likely

Q### [dprk_nuke10yrs] Regardless of what you read in the news article, how likely do you think it is that North Korea will use nuclear weapons against the United States or South Korea within the next ten years?

1. highly likely
2. somewhat likely
3. somewhat unlikely
4. not at all likely

BLOCK: DPRK AND FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDES [ALL CONDITIONS]

Q### [live_with_dprk] How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “If necessary, the United States can learn to live with a nuclear armed North Korea.”

STRONGLY DISAGREE					STRONGLY AGREE
1	2	3	4	5	6

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF NEXT TWO QUESTIONS (trust_trump, trust_kju)

Q### [trust_trump] When it comes to the use of military force, how much do you trust U.S. President Donald Trump to make rational decisions?

1. completely trust
2. somewhat trust
3. somewhat distrust
4. completely distrust

Q### [trust_kju] When it comes to the use of military force, how much you trust North Korean leader Kim Jong Un to make rational decisions?

1. completely trust
2. somewhat trust
3. somewhat distrust
4. completely distrust

Q### [kju_deterrable] How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “North Korean leader Kim Jong Un can be deterred from using nuclear weapons against the United States or South Korea by the threat of devastating U.S. retaliation against North Korea.”

STRONGLY DISAGREE					STRONGLY AGREE
1	2	3	4	5	6

Q### [kju_threats] Which of the following threats do you think is most likely to deter North Korean leader Kim Jong Un from using nuclear weapons against the United States. [rotate]

1. threatening his personal survival and political power.
2. threatening to use nuclear weapons against North Korean cities.
3. threatening to destroy the North Korean economy.
4. threatening his status and prestige with other countries.

Q### [us_no_deal] How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “The United States cannot accept any deal with North Korea that allows North Korea to keep nuclear weapons.”

STRONGLY DISAGREE						STRONGLY AGREE
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Q### [nuke_shield] If North Korea develops the ability to strike the United States with nuclear weapons and then invaded South Korea, how strongly would you favor or oppose attacking North Korea to help defend South Korea?

STRONGLY OPPOSE						STRONGLY FAVOR
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Q### [accident_dprk] In the next ten years, how likely do you think it is that North Korea might experience an accident or unauthorized use of its nuclear weapons involving a nuclear explosion?

1. highly likely
2. somewhat likely
3. somewhat unlikely
4. not at all likely

BLOCK – QUESTIONS FOR ALL CONDITIONS

Q### [2016_election] Whether or not you voted in the 2016 election for President, which candidate, if any, did you support?

1. Hillary Clinton
2. Donald Trump
3. I supported someone else
4. I did not support any candidate
5. No opinion

Q### [opinion_trump] Is your overall opinion of Donald Trump very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

1. Very favorable
2. Mostly favorable
3. Mostly unfavorable
4. Very unfavorable
5. I have not heard enough about him

Q### [death_penalty] Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

1. Strongly favor
2. Favor
3. Oppose
4. Strongly oppose

BLOCK - QUESTIONS FOR CONDITION D (CONTROL) ONLY

Q### [D_dprk_capabilities] Which of the following statements do you think most accurately describes North Korea's nuclear capabilities?

1. North Korea can now strike the United States with long range nuclear missiles.
2. North Korea cannot strike the United States with long range nuclear missiles now, but it will be able to do so within one year.
3. North Korea cannot strike the United States with long range nuclear missiles now, but it will be able to do so within five years.
4. It will take longer than five years for North Korea to develop the ability to strike the United States with long range nuclear missiles.

Q### [D_us_have_mdefense] To the best of your knowledge, does the United States currently have an operational missile defense system designed to destroy missiles targeted at the United States by North Korea?

1. yes
2. no
3. don’t know

Q### [D_missile_defense] If North Korea launched three missiles with nuclear warheads at the United States, how likely do you think it is that current U.S. missile defenses would successfully destroy all the North Korean missiles before they reached their targets?

1. highly likely
2. somewhat likely
3. somewhat unlikely
4. not at all likely