

February 2022

## Introduction

We are pleased to share the results of the 16th Teaching, Research and International Policy (TRIP) Snap Poll, fielded in collaboration with the Sié Center for International Security and Diplomacy at the University of Denver's Josef Korbel School of International Studies, and with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Our polls provide real-time data in the wake of significant policy proposals, during international crises, and on emerging foreign policy debates.

## Methodology

We attempted to contact all international relations (IR) scholars in the United States. We define IR scholars as individuals who are employed at a college or university in a political science department or professional school and who teach or conduct research on issues that cross international borders. Of the 4,798 scholars across the United States that we contacted, 760 responded to at least one question. The resulting response rate is approximately 16 percent. The poll was open from December 16 of 2021 to January 31 of 2022. Our sample is roughly similar to the broader population of International Relations scholars in terms of gender, academic rank, and university type.

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## Sample vs. Population Comparison

Table 1: Sample vs. Population Comparison: Gender

| Gender | Respondents Count | Respondents Percentage | Population Count | Population Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Female | 223 | 30.51 | 1438 | 32.1 |
| Male | 508 | 69.49 | 3042 | 67.9 |

Chi-squared test results: X-squared $=0.66, \mathrm{p}$-value $=0.42$

Table 2: Sample vs. Population Comparison: Academic Rank

| Academic Rank | Respondents Count | Respondents Percentage | Population Count | Population Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Adjunct | 13 | 1.73 | 279 | 5.89 |
| Assistant Professor | 112 | 14.93 | 18.35 |  |
| Associate Professor | 245 | 32.67 | 269 |  |
| Emeritus | 22 | 2.93 | 241 | 5.09 |
| Full Professor | 310 | 41.33 | 1616 | 34.12 |
| Instructor | 12 | 4.60 | 5.15 |  |
| Other | 32 | 4.27 | 131 | 2.77 |
| Visiting Instructor/Visiting Assistant Professor | 4 | 0.53 | 2.47 |  |

Chi-squared test results: X-squared $=84.68$, p-value $<0$

Table 3: Sample vs. Population Comparison: University Type

| University Type | Respondents Count | Respondents Percentage | Population Count | Population Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| National Liberal Arts College | 92 | 12.80 | 618 | 13.75 |
| National Research University | 475 | 66.06 | 2704 | 60.14 |
| Regional Liberal Arts College | 22 | 3.06 | 158 | 3.51 |
| Regional Research University | 130 | 18.08 | 1016 | 22.60 |

Chi-squared test results: X -squared $=11.34$, p-value $=0.25$

## Results

Respondents were asked to put their personal political views aside and use their expert knowledge of politics, foreign policy, or international relations as they reflected on these questions.

## Experiment: Russia and Ukraine | China and Taiwan

$52.11 \%$ of respondents answered two questions on Russia and Ukraine, and $47.89 \%$ of respondents answered two questions on China and Taiwan

Table 4: Respondents by Treatment

| Country | Count | Percentage (\%) |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| China | 364 | 47.89 |
| Russia | 396 | 52.11 |
| Total | 760 | 100.00 |

## Russia and Ukraine

Table 5: In the next year, will Russia use military force against Ukrainian military forces or additional parts of the territory of Ukraine where it is not currently operating?

| Response option | Count | Valid percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Yes | 211 | $55.82 \%$ |
| No | 76 | $20.11 \%$ |
| Do not know | 91 | $24.07 \%$ |
| Total | 378 | $100.00 \%$ |

Table 6: Please indicate your level of confidence in your previous answer on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 indicates the lowest level of confidence and 10 indicates that you are very confident in your answer.

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| 0 | 2 | $0.55 \%$ |
| 1 | 4 | $1.10 \%$ |
| 2 | 16 | $4.38 \%$ |
| 3 | 31 | $8.49 \%$ |
| 4 | 24 | $6.58 \%$ |
| 5 | 47 | $12.88 \%$ |
| 6 | 59 | $16.16 \%$ |
| 7 | 82 | $22.47 \%$ |
| 8 | 35 | $9.59 \%$ |
| 9 | 17 | $4.66 \%$ |
| 10 | 48 | $13.15 \%$ |
| Total | 365 | $100.00 \%$ |

Table 7: If Russia uses direct military force against Ukraine in the coming months, the United States should:

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Place sanctions on the Russian government and/or its leaders | 332 | 89.97 |
| Deploy U.S. military forces to the region | 100 | 27.1 |
| Send additional arms and military supplies to Ukraine | 268 | 72.63 |
| Initiate direct military operations against Russian military forces | 9 | 2.44 |
| Initiate cyber attacks against Russian military forces | 151 | 40.92 |
| Formally guarantee the territorial integrity of Ukraine | 81 | 21.95 |
| None of the above | 20 | 5.42 |
| Total | 961 | - |

## China and Taiwan

Table 8: In the next year, will China use military force against the territory of Taiwan or Taiwanese military forces?

| Response option | Count | Valid percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Yes | 36 | $10.56 \%$ |
| No | 234 | $68.62 \%$ |
| Do not know | 71 | $20.82 \%$ |
| Total | 341 | $100.00 \%$ |

Table 9: Please indicate your level of confidence in your previous answer on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 indicates the lowest level of confidence and 10 indicates that you are very confident in your answer.

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| 0 | 2 | $0.63 \%$ |
| 1 | 3 | $0.94 \%$ |
| 2 | 8 | $2.51 \%$ |
| 3 | 18 | $5.64 \%$ |
| 4 | 14 | $4.39 \%$ |
| 5 | 33 | $10.34 \%$ |
| 6 | 39 | $12.23 \%$ |
| 7 | 73 | $22.88 \%$ |
| 8 | 51 | $15.99 \%$ |
| 9 | 36 | $11.29 \%$ |
| 10 | 42 | $13.17 \%$ |
| Total | 319 | $100.00 \%$ |

Table 10: If China uses direct military force against Taiwan in the coming months, the United States should:

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Place sanctions on the Chinese government and/or its leaders | 290 | 87.88 |
| Deploy U.S. military forces to the region | 208 | 63.03 |
| Send additional arms and military supplies to Taiwan | 232 | 70.3 |
| Initiate direct military operations against Chinese military forces | 27 | 8.18 |
| Initiate cyber attacks against Chinese military forces | 140 | 42.42 |
| Formally guarantee the territorial integrity of Taiwan | 82 | 24.85 |
| None of the above | 16 | 4.85 |
| Total | 995 | - |

## Boycott

The Biden administration announced a diplomatic boycott of the 2022 Winter Olympics in China. For the 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics and the 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar, do you support a diplomatic boycott, a full boycott (diplomatic and athletic), or no boycott?

Table 11: The 2022 Beijing Winter Olympics

| Response option | Strongly support | Support | Neither support nor oppose | Oppose | Strongly oppose | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Diplomatic boycott | $284(40.40 \%)$ | $217(30.87 \%)$ | $132(18.78 \%)$ | $47(6.69 \%)$ | $23(3.27 \%)$ | $703(100.00 \%)$ |
| Full boycott (diplomatic and athletic) | $72(10.30 \%)$ | $80(11.44 \%)$ | $177(25.32 \%)$ | $260(37.20 \%)$ | $110(15.74 \%)$ | $699(100.00 \%)$ |
| No boycott | $27(4.03 \%)$ | $69(10.30 \%)$ | $197(29.40 \%)$ | $203(30.30 \%)$ | $174(25.97 \%)$ | $670(100.00 \%)$ |

Table 12: The 2022 FIFA World Cup in Qatar

| Response option | Strongly support | Support | Neither support nor oppose | Oppose | Strongly oppose | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Diplomatic boycott | $125(18.06 \%)$ | $151(21.82 \%)$ | $268(38.73 \%)$ | $103(14.88 \%)$ | $45(6.50 \%)$ | $692(100.00 \%)$ |
| Full boycott (diplomatic and athletic) | $47(6.85 \%)$ | $60(8.75 \%)$ | $240(34.99 \%)$ | $215(31.34 \%)$ | $124(18.08 \%)$ | $686(100.00 \%)$ |
| No boycott | $50(7.51 \%)$ | $109(16.37 \%)$ | $288(43.24 \%)$ | $123(18.47 \%)$ | $96(14.41 \%)$ | $666(100.00 \%)$ |

## President Biden's approval

Table 13: How has President Biden performed in the area of foreign policy during his first year in office?

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Very well | 38 | $5.34 \%$ |
| Well | 325 | $45.65 \%$ |
| Neither well nor poorly | 211 | $29.63 \%$ |
| Poorly | 94 | $13.20 \%$ |
| Very poorly | 44 | $6.18 \%$ |
| Total | 712 | $100.00 \%$ |

Table 14: Do you approve or disapprove of President Biden's handling of:

| Response option | Strongly approve | Somewhat approve | Somewhat disapprove | Strongly disapprove | Do not know | Total |
| :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Climate change | $153(21.58 \%)$ | $404(56.98 \%)$ | $102(14.39 \%)$ | $43(6.06 \%)$ | $7(0.99 \%)$ | $709(100.00 \%)$ |
| Coronavirus | $212(29.78 \%)$ | $383(53.79 \%)$ | $74(10.39 \%)$ | $42(5.90 \%)$ | $1(0.14 \%)$ | $712(100.00 \%)$ |
| Human rights | $47(6.61 \%)$ | $409(57.52 \%)$ | $154(21.66 \%)$ | $57(8.02 \%)$ | $44(6.19 \%)$ | $711(100.00 \%)$ |
| Immigration | $24(3.38 \%)$ | $248(34.88 \%)$ | $283(39.80 \%)$ | $134(18.85 \%)$ | $22(3.09 \%)$ | $711(100.00 \%)$ |
| International trade | $51(7.21 \%)$ | $357(50.50 \%)$ | $203(28.71 \%)$ | $40(5.66 \%)$ | $56(7.92 \%)$ | $707(100.00 \%)$ |
| National security | $83(11.66 \%)$ | $437(61.38 \%)$ | $107(15.03 \%)$ | $69(9.69 \%)$ | $16(2.25 \%)$ | $712(100.00 \%)$ |

## Afghanistan

The following two questions have previously been asked on a public opinion survey by Monmouth University Polling Institute. The original questions and data can be found here. The Monmouth University Poll was conducted by telephone from September 9 to 13, 2021 with 802 adults in the United States.

Table 15: Regardless of how it was handled, do you approve or disapprove of the decision to withdraw the U.S. presence in Afghanistan?

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Approve | 576 | $81.01 \%$ |
| Disapprove | 115 | $16.17 \%$ |
| Do not know | 20 | $2.81 \%$ |
| Total | 711 | $100.00 \%$ |
| * |  |  |

${ }^{*}$ The Monmouth University Polling Institute Public Poll: Approve $66 \%$, Disapprove 27\%, Don't know 7\%

Table 16: Do you think the current situation in Afghanistan would have been better if the U.S. had postponed the deadline for withdrawal until later in the year, or do you think that the situation in Afghanistan would be the same no matter when we withdrew?

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Better if postponed | 221 | $31.04 \%$ |
| Same no matter when | 441 | $61.94 \%$ |
| Do not know | 50 | $7.02 \%$ |
| Total | 712 | $100.00 \%$ |

* The Monmouth University Polling

Institute Public Poll: Better if
postponed $29 \%$, Same no matter when
$62 \%$, Don't know $9 \%$

Table 17: Relative to a hypothetical world in which the U.S. did not withdraw from Afghanistan, does the fact of the U.S. withdrawal increase or decrease the probability that a foreign terrorist attack will occur on U.S. soil in the next few years?

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Significantly increase | 22 | $3.09 \%$ |
| Increase | 102 | $14.35 \%$ |
| No effect | 454 | $63.85 \%$ |
| Decrease | 64 | $9.00 \%$ |
| Significantly decrease | 10 | $1.41 \%$ |
| Do not know | 59 | $8.30 \%$ |
| Total | 711 | $100.00 \%$ |

## Demographics

Table 18: What is your current status within your home department?

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Chaired Professor | 96 | $12.63 \%$ |
| Full Professor | 249 | $32.76 \%$ |
| Associate Professor | 253 | $33.29 \%$ |
| Assistant Professor | 78 | $10.26 \%$ |
| Instructor or Lecturer | 28 | $3.68 \%$ |
| Adjunct or Visiting Instructor/Professor | 15 | $1.97 \%$ |
| Other | 41 | $5.39 \%$ |
| Total | 760 | $100.00 \%$ |

Table 19: Which gender do you identify with?

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Female | 209 | $30.12 \%$ |
| Male | 471 | $67.87 \%$ |
| Non-binary or other | 5 | $0.72 \%$ |
| Prefer not to answer | 9 | $1.30 \%$ |
| Total | 694 | $100.00 \%$ |

Table 20: What is your race/ethnicity? Please select all that apply.

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| American Indian or Alaska Native | 3 | 0.43 |
| Asian | 34 | 4.91 |
| Black/African-American | 16 | 2.31 |
| Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander | 3 | 0.43 |
| White (non-Hispanic) | 571 | 82.51 |
| White (Hispanic) | 46 | 6.65 |
| Other | 38 | 5.49 |
| Total | 711 | - |

Table 21: What is your main area of research within IR?

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Comparative Foreign Policy | 29 | $4.04 \%$ |
| Development Studies | 36 | $5.02 \%$ |
| European Studies/European Integration | 27 | $3.77 \%$ |
| Gender in IR | 6 | $0.84 \%$ |
| Global Civil Society | 6 | $0.84 \%$ |
| Human Security | 8 | $1.12 \%$ |
| Human Rights | 29 | $4.04 \%$ |
| History of the international relations discipline | 3 | $0.42 \%$ |
| International/Global Security | 182 | $25.38 \%$ |
| International/Global Political Economy | 84 | $11.72 \%$ |
| International Law | 18 | $2.51 \%$ |
| International/Global Ethics | 6 | $0.84 \%$ |
| International/Global Health | 5 | $0.70 \%$ |
| International/Global Environmental Politics | 34 | $4.74 \%$ |
| International Organization(s) | 24 | $3.35 \%$ |
| International/Global History | 8 | $1.12 \%$ |
| International Relations of a particular region/country | 33 | $4.60 \%$ |
| International Relations Theory | 41 | $5.72 \%$ |
| Religion in IR | 8 | $1.12 \%$ |
| U.S. Foreign Policy | 67 | $9.34 \%$ |
| Other: | 27 | $3.77 \%$ |
| I am not an IR scholar | 36 | $5.02 \%$ |
| Total | 717 | $100.00 \%$ |

Table 22: What are your secondary areas of research within IR? Please select all that apply.

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Comparative Foreign Policy | 76 | 11.09 |
| Development Studies | 60 | 8.76 |
| European Studies/European Integration | 50 | 7.3 |
| Gender in IR | 28 | 4.09 |
| Global Civil Society | 31 | 4.53 |
| Human Security | 56 | 8.18 |
| Human Rights | 71 | 10.36 |
| History of the international relations discipline | 20 | 2.92 |
| International/Global Security | 123 | 17.96 |
| International/Global Political Economy | 90 | 13.14 |
| International Law | 46 | 6.72 |
| International/Global Ethics | 25 | 3.65 |
| International/Global Health | 12 | 1.75 |
| International/Global Environmental Politics | 26 | 3.8 |
| International Organization(s) | 99 | 14.45 |
| International/Global History | 44 | 6.42 |
| International Relations of a particular region/country | 77 | 11.24 |
| International Relations Theory | 97 | 14.16 |
| Religion in IR | 20 | 2.92 |
| U.S. Foreign Policy | 160 | 23.36 |
| Other: | 68 | 9.93 |
| I am not an IR scholar | 9 | 1.31 |
| Total | 1288 | - |

Table 23: Which of the following best describes your positions generally on economic issues?

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Very liberal | 163 | $23.55 \%$ |
| Somewhat liberal | 317 | $45.81 \%$ |
| Middle of the road | 151 | $21.82 \%$ |
| Somewhat conservative | 53 | $7.66 \%$ |
| Very conservative | 8 | $1.16 \%$ |
| Total | 692 | $100.00 \%$ |

Table 24: Which of the following best describes your positions generally on social issues?

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Very liberal | 373 | $53.13 \%$ |
| Somewhat liberal | 228 | $32.48 \%$ |
| Middle of the road | 64 | $9.12 \%$ |
| Somewhat conservative | 27 | $3.85 \%$ |
| Very conservative | 10 | $1.42 \%$ |
| Total | 702 | $100.00 \%$ |

Table 25: Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?

| Response option | Count | Percentage |
| :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Republican | 13 | $1.84 \%$ |
| Lean Republican | 18 | $2.54 \%$ |
| Independent | 109 | $15.40 \%$ |
| Lean Democrat | 110 | $15.54 \%$ |
| Democrat | 424 | $59.89 \%$ |
| Other | 34 | $4.80 \%$ |
| Total | 708 | $100.00 \%$ |

