



TRIP Snap Poll 21 Report

Teaching, Research & International Policy (TRIP) Project
Global Research Institute (GRI)
<https://trip.wm.edu/home>

Irene Entringer Garcia Blanes
William & Mary

Susan Peterson
William & Mary

Ryan Powers
School of Public and International Affairs
University of Georgia

Michael J. Tierney
William & Mary

October 2024

Introduction

We are pleased to share the results of the 21th Teaching, Research and International Policy (TRIP) Snap Poll, fielded 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. In this survey, we cover the U.S. presidential election.

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 5026 scholars across the United States that we contacted, 705 responded to at least one question. The resulting response rate is approximately 14 percent. The poll was open from October 9 to October 18 of 2024.

Data contacts: Irene Entringer Garcia Blanes. Email: irsurvey@wm.edu

Sample vs. Population Comparison

Table 1: Sample vs. Population Comparison: Gender

Gender	Respondents Count	Respondents Percentage	Population Count	Population Percentage
Female	182	26.61	1556	31.49
Male	502	73.39	3385	68.51

Chi-squared test results: X-squared= 6.48, p-value=0.011

Table 2: Sample vs. Population Comparison: Academic Rank

Academic Rank	Respondents Count	Respondents Percentage	Population Count	Population Percentage
Adjunct	15	2.13	222	4.42
Assistant Professor	58	8.23	583	11.62
Associate Professor	213	30.21	1301	25.93
Emeritus	45	6.38	379	7.55
Full Professor	316	44.82	2029	40.44
Lecturer or Senior Lecturer	27	3.83	158	3.15
Other	25	3.55	265	5.28
Visiting Instructor/Visiting Assistant Professor	6	0.85	80	1.59

Chi-squared test results: X-squared= 29.39, p-value=0.0001

Table 3: Sample vs. Population Comparison: University Type

University Type	Respondents Count	Respondents Percentage	Population Count	Population Percentage
National Liberal Arts College	71	10.61	525	11.08
National Research University	469	70.10	3128	66.02
Regional Liberal Arts College	21	3.14	145	3.06
Regional Research University	108	16.14	940	19.84

Chi-squared test results: X-squared=6.50, p-value=0.689

Results

We would like you to put your personal political views aside and use your expert knowledge of politics, foreign policy, or international relations as you reflect on these questions.

U.S. presidential election

Table 4: Mean response: On the scale from 0 to 100 below, indicate the probability that each of the following events will occur under a Trump or a Harris Administration (0 = Definitely will not happen, 100 = Definitely will happen)

Question	Mean Response
U.S. defense spending will increase. - Trump Administration	75.56
U.S. defense spending will increase. - Harris Administration	66.91
U.S. foreign aid will increase. - Trump Administration	19.69
U.S. foreign aid will increase. - Harris Administration	55.64
U.S. military assistance to Israel will increase. - Trump Administration	74.65
U.S. military assistance to Israel will increase. - Harris Administration	53.64
U.S. military assistance to Ukraine will increase. - Trump Administration	15.95
U.S. military assistance to Ukraine will increase. - Harris Administration	62.92
The U.S. will sign a new nuclear agreement with Iran. - Trump Administration	7.05
The U.S. will sign a new nuclear agreement with Iran. - Harris Administration	34.89
China will use military force against Taiwan. - Trump Administration	31.80
China will use military force against Taiwan. - Harris Administration	24.59
Russia will use nuclear weapons in its conflict with Ukraine. - Trump Administration	16.60
Russia will use nuclear weapons in its conflict with Ukraine. - Harris Administration	13.21
The U.S will raise average tariff levels. - Trump Administration	80.45
The U.S will raise average tariff levels. - Harris Administration	30.50
More states will become involved in direct military conflict in the Middle East. - Trump Administration	49.93
More states will become involved in direct military conflict in the Middle East. - Harris Administration	40.92
The U.S. will withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement. - Trump Administration	79.80
The U.S. will withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement. - Harris Administration	4.39
The U.S. will withdraw from NATO. - Trump Administration	38.16
The U.S. will withdraw from NATO. - Harris Administration	1.46

Table 5: On the scale from 0 to 100 below, indicate the probability that each of the following events will occur under a Trump or a Harris Administration (0 = Definitely will not happen, 100 = Definitely will happen).

Response option	0	1-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-99	100	Total
China will use military force against Taiwan. - Harris Administration	35 (5.23%)	94 (14.05%)	141 (21.08%)	150 (22.42%)	87 (13.00%)	50 (7.47%)	81 (12.11%)	12 (1.79%)	6 (0.90%)	11 (1.64%)	2 (0.30%)	0 (0.00%)	669 (100.00%)
China will use military force against Taiwan. - Trump Administration	31 (4.65%)	68 (10.21%)	107 (16.07%)	131 (19.67%)	82 (12.31%)	54 (8.11%)	102 (15.32%)	24 (3.60%)	33 (4.95%)	16 (2.40%)	14 (2.10%)	4 (0.60%)	666 (100.00%)
More states will become involved in direct military conflict in the Middle East. - Harris Administration	9 (1.32%)	29 (4.25%)	63 (9.24%)	100 (14.66%)	95 (13.93%)	85 (12.46%)	165 (24.19%)	56 (8.21%)	32 (4.69%)	28 (4.11%)	9 (1.32%)	11 (1.61%)	682 (100.00%)
More states will become involved in direct military conflict in the Middle East. - Trump Administration	8 (1.18%)	17 (2.50%)	51 (7.51%)	72 (10.60%)	65 (9.57%)	59 (8.69%)	143 (21.06%)	79 (11.63%)	76 (11.19%)	65 (9.57%)	17 (2.50%)	27 (3.98%)	679 (100.00%)
Russia will use nuclear weapons in its conflict with Ukraine. - Harris Administration	79 (12.42%)	203 (31.92%)	182 (28.62%)	78 (12.26%)	41 (6.45%)	17 (2.67%)	29 (4.56%)	4 (0.63%)	3 (0.47%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	636 (100.00%)
Russia will use nuclear weapons in its conflict with Ukraine. - Trump Administration	77 (12.38%)	190 (30.55%)	145 (23.31%)	80 (12.86%)	51 (8.20%)	14 (2.25%)	29 (4.66%)	14 (2.25%)	12 (1.93%)	5 (0.80%)	5 (0.80%)	0 (0.00%)	622 (100.00%)
The U.S will raise average tariff levels. - Harris Administration	21 (3.18%)	64 (9.70%)	115 (17.42%)	135 (20.45%)	92 (13.94%)	60 (9.09%)	105 (15.91%)	29 (4.39%)	24 (3.64%)	8 (1.21%)	2 (0.30%)	5 (0.76%)	660 (100.00%)
The U.S will raise average tariff levels. - Trump Administration	0 (0.00%)	2 (0.29%)	7 (1.00%)	8 (1.15%)	10 (1.43%)	18 (2.58%)	30 (4.30%)	74 (10.62%)	95 (13.63%)	145 (20.80%)	130 (18.65%)	178 (25.54%)	697 (100.00%)
The U.S. will sign a new nuclear agreement with Iran. - Harris Administration	18 (2.72%)	41 (6.20%)	96 (14.52%)	124 (18.76%)	102 (15.43%)	66 (9.98%)	105 (15.89%)	52 (7.87%)	35 (5.30%)	13 (1.97%)	4 (0.61%)	5 (0.76%)	661 (100.00%)
The U.S. will sign a new nuclear agreement with Iran. - Trump Administration	178 (34.30%)	188 (36.22%)	91 (17.53%)	31 (5.97%)	17 (3.28%)	5 (0.96%)	6 (1.16%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (0.19%)	2 (0.39%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	519 (100.00%)
The U.S. will withdraw from NATO. - Harris Administration	334 (71.83%)	111 (23.87%)	17 (3.66%)	1 (0.22%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (0.22%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (0.22%)	465 (100.00%)
The U.S. will withdraw from NATO. - Trump Administration	32 (4.75%)	48 (7.12%)	84 (12.46%)	99 (14.69%)	87 (12.91%)	61 (9.05%)	105 (15.58%)	52 (7.72%)	49 (7.27%)	31 (4.60%)	15 (2.23%)	11 (1.63%)	674 (100.00%)
The U.S. will withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement. - Harris Administration	270 (50.85%)	166 (31.26%)	66 (12.43%)	15 (2.82%)	7 (1.32%)	1 (0.19%)	3 (0.56%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (0.19%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	2 (0.38%)	531 (100.00%)
The U.S. will withdraw from the Paris Climate Agreement. - Trump Administration	0 (0.00%)	2 (0.29%)	5 (0.72%)	17 (2.45%)	22 (3.17%)	15 (2.16%)	45 (6.49%)	50 (7.22%)	83 (11.98%)	112 (16.16%)	168 (24.24%)	174 (25.11%)	693 (100.00%)
U.S. defense spending will increase. - Harris Administration	0 (0.00%)	11 (0.79%)	55 (3.97%)	71 (5.12%)	76 (5.48%)	92 (6.63%)	272 (19.61%)	237 (17.09%)	211 (15.21%)	155 (11.18%)	84 (6.06%)	123 (8.87%)	1,387 (100.00%)
U.S. defense spending will increase. - Trump Administration	72 (5.48%)	109 (8.29%)	153 (11.63%)	146 (11.10%)	73 (5.55%)	74 (5.63%)	108 (8.21%)	82 (6.24%)	103 (7.83%)	138 (10.49%)	117 (8.90%)	140 (10.65%)	1,315 (100.00%)
U.S. military assistance to Israel will increase. - Harris Administration	7 (1.03%)	18 (2.66%)	33 (4.87%)	58 (8.57%)	57 (8.42%)	61 (9.01%)	156 (23.04%)	80 (11.82%)	83 (12.26%)	44 (6.50%)	25 (3.69%)	55 (8.12%)	677 (100.00%)
U.S. military assistance to Israel will increase. - Trump Administration	3 (0.43%)	4 (0.58%)	12 (1.73%)	22 (3.17%)	21 (3.03%)	16 (2.31%)	65 (9.37%)	72 (10.37%)	102 (14.70%)	120 (17.29%)	94 (13.54%)	163 (23.49%)	694 (100.00%)
U.S. military assistance to Ukraine will increase. - Harris Administration	1 (0.14%)	3 (0.43%)	10 (1.43%)	36 (5.16%)	38 (5.44%)	42 (6.02%)	144 (20.63%)	107 (15.33%)	138 (19.77%)	83 (11.89%)	38 (5.44%)	58 (8.31%)	698 (100.00%)
U.S. military assistance to Ukraine will increase. - Trump Administration	95 (15.86%)	134 (22.37%)	159 (26.54%)	96 (16.03%)	37 (6.18%)	31 (5.18%)	35 (5.84%)	5 (0.83%)	1 (0.17%)	2 (0.33%)	2 (0.33%)	2 (0.33%)	599 (100.00%)

Table 6: How confident are you in [Donald Trump’s/Kamala Harris’] ability to be an effective commander in chief of the nation’s military?

Response option	Very confident	Somewhat confident	Not too confident	Not at all confident	Not sure	Total
Donald Trump’s	8 (1.14%)	34 (4.86%)	62 (8.87%)	593 (84.84%)	2 (0.29%)	699 (100.00%)
Kamala Harris’	321 (45.92%)	284 (40.63%)	50 (7.15%)	42 (6.01%)	2 (0.29%)	699 (100.00%)

Table 7: Which of the following presidential candidates do you think would most effectively manage foreign policy issues facing the United States today?

Response option	Count	Valid percentage
Donald Trump	55	7.97%
Kamala Harris	635	92.03%
Total	690	100.00%

Table 8: Which presidential candidate, if elected, would use military force abroad more often?

Response option	Count	Valid percentage
Donald Trump	95	13.55%
Kamala Harris	180	25.68%
The outcome of the election will not affect the frequency with which the United States uses military force abroad	311	44.37%
I do not know	115	16.41%
Total	701	100.00%

Table 9: In your opinion, which of the following statements best describes how the outcome of the 2024 presidential election might shape the willingness of foreign governments to cooperate with the United States.

Response option	Count	Valid percentage
Foreign governments would be more willing to cooperate with the United States under a Trump Administration	14	2.00%
Foreign governments would be more willing to cooperate with the United States under a Harris Administration	587	83.86%
Foreign governments would be equally likely to cooperate with the United States irrespective of who wins the November election	87	12.43%
I do not know	12	1.71%
Total	700	100.00%

Table 10: Mean response: Regardless of your thoughts about the substance of the presidential candidates’, foreign policy agendas, how effective do you believe each candidate would be in achieving their respective foreign policy goals over the next four years. If you think the candidate would be completely ineffective in achieving their foreign policy goals, please select a value of 0. If you think the candidate would be perfectly effective, then select 100

Question	Mean Response
Kamala Harris	51.53
Donald Trump	31.85

Table 11: Regardless of your thoughts about the substance of the presidential candidates', foreign policy agendas, how effective do you believe each candidate would be in achieving their respective foreign policy goals over the next four years. If you think the candidate would be completely ineffective in achieving their foreign policy goals, please select a value of 0. If you think the candidate would be perfectly effective, then select 100.

Response option	0	1-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	80-89	90-99	100	Total
Donald Trump	22 (3.47%)	49 (7.73%)	105 (16.56%)	126 (19.87%)	102 (16.09%)	66 (10.41%)	70 (11.04%)	43 (6.78%)	34 (5.36%)	13 (2.05%)	2 (0.32%)	2 (0.32%)	634 (100.00%)
Kamala Harris	3 (0.45%)	9 (1.36%)	12 (1.82%)	52 (7.88%)	65 (9.85%)	76 (11.52%)	164 (24.85%)	148 (22.42%)	87 (13.18%)	31 (4.70%)	7 (1.06%)	6 (0.91%)	660 (100.00%)

Now, we would like to ask you a couple questions about your personal political views.

Table 12: If the 2024 presidential election were held today, for whom would you vote?

Response option	Count	Valid percentage
Donald Trump	29	4.34%
Kamala Harris	604	90.42%
Neither/I would not vote	35	5.24%
Total	668	100.00%

Demographics

The demographic information provided comprises responses from both this survey and surveys conducted in the previous year.

Table 13: With which of the following gender identities do you most identify?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Female	183	25.99%
Male	502	71.31%
Non-binary	1	0.14%
Prefer not to answer	18	2.56%
Total	704	100.00%

Table 14: What is your age?

Response option	Count	Valid percentage
25-34	10	1.49%
35-44	92	13.71%
45-54	200	29.81%
55-64	201	29.96%
65-74	113	16.84%
75-84	50	7.45%
85-94	4	0.60%
95+	1	0.15%
Total	671	100.00%

Table 15: What is your race/ethnicity? Please select all that apply

Response option	Count	Percentage
American Indian or Alaska Native	3	0.45
Asian Indian	15	2.23
Black/African-American	15	2.23
Chinese	6	0.89
Filipino	1	0.15
Hispanic and/or Latino	21	3.12
Japanese	3	0.45
Korean	7	1.04
Vietnamese	1	0.15
White (not of Hispanic origin)	548	81.43
Other	28	4.16
Prefer not to say	46	6.84
Total	694	-

^a Full response option: 'Hispanic and/or Latino (Chicano, Mexican, Mexican-American, or of other Latin American descent)'

Table 16: What is your current status within your home department?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Chaired Full Professor	63	9.16%
Full Professor	251	36.48%
Associate Professor	213	30.96%
Assistant Professor	58	8.43%
Lecturer or Senior Lecturer	21	3.05%
Visiting Instructor/Visiting Assistant Professor	6	0.87%
Adjunct	15	2.18%
Emeritus	45	6.54%
Other	16	2.33%
Total	688	100.00%

Table 17: What is your main area of research within IR?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Comparative Foreign Policy	26	3.80%
Development Studies	32	4.67%
European Studies/European Integration	21	3.07%
Gender in IR	6	0.88%
Global Civil Society	3	0.44%
Human Security	13	1.90%
Human Rights	25	3.65%
History of the international relations discipline	2	0.29%
International/Global Security	189	27.59%
International/Global Political Economy	83	12.12%
International Law	16	2.34%
International/Global Ethics	7	1.02%
International/Global Health	5	0.73%
International/Global Environmental Politics	24	3.50%
International Organization(s)	30	4.38%
International/Global History	8	1.17%
International Relations of a particular region/country	40	5.84%
International Relations Theory	30	4.38%
Religion in IR	2	0.29%
U.S. Foreign Policy	60	8.76%
Other	49	7.15%
I am not an IR scholar	14	2.04%
Total	685	100.00%

Table 18: What are your secondary areas of research within IR? Please select all that apply.

Response option	Count	Percentage
Comparative Foreign Policy	18	2.93
Development Studies	15	2.44
European Studies/European Integration	8	1.3
Gender in IR	7	1.14
Global Civil Society	9	1.47
Human Security	6	0.98
Human Rights	18	2.93
History of the international relations discipline	4	0.65
International/Global Security	36	5.86
International/Global Political Economy	16	2.61
International Law	13	2.12
International/Global Ethics	5	0.81
International/Global Health	5	0.81
International/Global Environmental Politics	10	1.63
International Organization(s)	22	3.58
International/Global History	12	1.95
International Relations of a particular region/country	12	1.95
International Relations Theory	32	5.21
Religion in IR	12	1.95
U.S. Foreign Policy	46	7.49
Other	19	3.09
I am not an IR scholar	4	0.65
Total	329	-

Table 19: In your research, what is the main region of the world that you study, if any?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Arctic	2	0.29%
Central and Eastern Europe (including the Baltic states)	27	3.91%
East Asia (including China)	64	9.28%
Global/Use cross-regional data	142	20.58%
Latin America (including Mexico and the Caribbean)	49	7.10%
Middle East and North Africa (including Turkey)	55	7.97%
North America (not including Mexico)	51	7.39%
Oceania	2	0.29%
Russia/Former Soviet Union (excluding Baltic states)	38	5.51%
South Asia (including Afghanistan)	14	2.03%
Southeast Asia	9	1.30%
Sub-Saharan Africa	30	4.35%
Transnational Actors/International Organizations/International NGOs	56	8.12%
Western Europe	68	9.86%
None	83	12.03%
Total	690	100.00%

Table 20: In your research, what other regions of the world do you study, if any? Please select all that apply.

Response option	Count	Percentage
Arctic	8	1.83
Central and Eastern Europe (including the Baltic states)	64	14.65
Central Asia (not including Afghanistan)	22	5.03
East Asia (including China)	63	14.42
Global/Use cross-regional data	74	16.93
Latin America (including Mexico and the Caribbean)	47	10.76
Middle East and North Africa (including Turkey)	67	15.33
North America (not including Mexico)	79	18.08
Oceania	7	1.6
Russia/Former Soviet Union (excluding Baltic states)	58	13.27
South Asia (including Afghanistan)	41	9.38
Southeast Asia	34	7.78
Sub-Saharan Africa	43	9.84
Transnational Actors/International Organizations/International NGOs	94	21.51
Western Europe	97	22.2
None	50	11.44
Total	848	-

Table 21: Which of the following best describes your approach to the study of IR?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Constructivism	142	20.40%
English school	17	2.44%
Feminism	13	1.87%
Liberalism	89	12.79%
Marxism	10	1.44%
Realism	117	16.81%
Other	37	5.32%
Do not use	271	38.94%
Total	696	100.00%

Table 22: Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Republican	24	3.58%
Democrat	448	66.77%
Independent	165	24.59%
Other	34	5.07%
Total	671	100.00%