



RIGHTSIZING DEFENSE

The Perspective of the People



An in-depth survey of the Citizen Cabinet, nationally and in California, Florida, Maryland, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Texas and Virginia

**Conducted by the Program for Public Consultation,
School of Public Policy, University of Maryland**

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March 2016



INTRODUCTION

The defense budget has been a major focus of discussion over the last few years and has been going through substantial changes. After reaching historical highs with the disengagement from Iraq and Afghanistan and the downward pressures of the sequester imposed by the 2011 Budget Control Act, the defense budget went through significant reductions. More recently this has turned around with greater pressures to raise it in Congress, pushing up against the limits of the sequester and prompting creative ways to find ways around it. The spending bill enacted by the Republican Congress in fall 2015 has allowed for an increase in defense spending, similar in size to the one President Obama had proposed earlier in the year and the administration's proposed budget for FY2017 calls for a slight increase.

In the current election campaign season, there has also been much discussion of the defense budget. All the Republican candidates have taken positions in favor of increasing defense spending. Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has called for a commission to reexamine the defense budget. Senator Bernie Sanders has declared against an increase, but has also argued that the share of defense spending that goes directly to fighting terrorist actors is too small.

All this raises the question: what would a majority of the American public decide if given the opportunity to make their own defense budget? Is there a wellspring of public support for increasing the defense budget, to which officials and presidential candidates are responding?

Another key question is how Americans would respond if they heard the key arguments that proponents and opponents of defense cuts make on the issue. If Americans were to effectively hear a debate on this issue --the kind that is played out on the floor of Congress--what effect would this have on attitudes about spending?

Finally, the defense budget is not just one big number. It consists of numerous programs that Americans may view quite differently. If Americans were presented the defense budget broken down into major areas, presented arguments in favor of spending and in favor of cutting for each area, and given the tools to make their own budget as they saw fit, what would this budget look like?

To find out, the Program for Public Consultation at the University of Maryland developed an in-depth survey instrument called a 'policymaking simulation.' The idea is to put the respondents in the shoes of a policymaker such that they get a briefing, hear competing arguments and ultimately make recommendations in a context where they must be aware of tradeoffs. To ensure that the policymaking simulation accurately reflects the current debates the content of the entire simulation is vetted with Congressional staffers from both parties.



DEVELOPING THE POLICYMAKING SIMULATION

Data sources: Budget numbers were drawn from the 2015 fiscal year national defense budget. "National defense" corresponds to the Office of Management and Budget's function 050, and includes the Pentagon and the Energy Department's nuclear weapons programs. Figures are budget authority--the amounts Congress appropriated. Compiling data directly from the enacted appropriations legislation, the budget was separated into costs for air, ground, and naval forces, plus the Marine Corps (which included funds in the Navy budget that are exclusive to the Corps). For nuclear forces, the Congressional Budget Office's January 2015 report was also consulted.

For special operations, nuclear weapons programs, and missile defense, budget figures were extracted from across the budget. For Special Operations Forces, active-component personnel costs were shifted into this category according to each service's ratio of special operators relative to their active end strength. Nuclear weapons program funding primarily represents the Pentagon's Strategic Forces figure and the weapons activity figure from the Energy Department (these two are mutually exclusive). The sub-budgets of the seven areas together allowed respondents to work in detail with an amount representing 90.4% of the base defense budget.

Vetting: The simulation was reviewed by and modified in response to comments from both Democratic and Republican Congressional staffers for the budget committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate to ensure accuracy and balance, and to ensure that the arguments presented were indeed the strongest ones in play in the Congressional discourse. For instance, having respondents consider the Marine Corps budget in a separate section, instead of including it in naval forces was a response to staffer review.

DESIGN OF POLICYMAKING SIMULATION

Briefing: Respondents were told about the current controversy in Congress over defense budget particularly in the context of current pressures to address the budget deficit. They were told: "Some people say the national defense budget should be reduced, while others say it should remain the same, or even be increased. Some people think it is important to reduce the deficit, while others think there are other priorities that are more important."

Understanding the Magnitude of the Defense Budget: They were then given more information about the current defense budget through perspectives on its size, and presented graphs that compared it to the rest of discretionary spending; to entitlement programs; to its historical ups and downs; to its historical share of US gross domestic product; and to the defense budgets of allies and enemies.

Evaluation of Arguments on Defense Spending in General: Respondents were then asked to evaluate four pairs of arguments that are often made in regard to the defense budget and asked how convincing each one was to them. Each pair began with an argument in favor of preserving or increasing spending, followed by an argument for reducing spending.



Budgeting Area by Area: Respondents were first shown the total current amount for the base defense budget, and asked to make an initial proposed amount by typing in their own number.

Respondents then considered seven areas: air power, ground forces, naval forces, nuclear forces, missile defense, the Marine Corps, and special operations forces. For each area they were shown its current budget allocation and offered two arguments to evaluate--one for preserving or increasing spending, and one for reducing spending. They then specified a spending amount for current capabilities and another for new capabilities. As they went along they saw a tally of the changes they were making, and also the level for defense spending overall that they had initially proposed for the budget as a whole.

Considering Specific Weapons Systems: After the budget exercise, respondents evaluated four different weapons systems that are currently controversial: the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter, the Next Generation stealth bomber, the aircraft carrier fleet, and the nuclear-armed submarine fleet. In each case they were presented arguments for and against cutting them and finally asked to make their recommendation.

Afghanistan Operations: Finally, respondents were asked to choose between the two major plans for the operation in Afghanistan under consideration: retaining a limited force or withdrawing entirely. They were briefed on the options, including costs, evaluated arguments for each option and then selected one.

FIELDING OF SURVEY

The policymaking simulation was fielded as a survey with the national Citizen Cabinet, a citizen advisory panel consisting of a probability-based representative sample of registered voters. The Citizen Cabinet panel was primarily recruited from the larger panel of Neilsen-Scarborough, which is recruited by telephone and mail. Additional recruiting by telephone and mail was conducted by Communication for Research. The survey itself was conducted on-line.

Field Dates: Dec. 20, 2015 – Feb. 1, 2016

TOTAL SAMPLE: 7,126 registered voters
(probability based)

National Sample: 4,789 registered voters

Margin of Error (MoE): 1.4%

Oversamples for specific states: total 2,339

State samples:

- California: 635 (MoE = 3.9%)
- Florida: 537 (MoE = 4.2%)
- Maryland: 410 (MoE = 4.8%)
- New York: 434 (MoE = 4.7%)
- Ohio: 520 (MoE = 4.3%)
- Oklahoma: 384 (MoE = 5.0%)
- Texas: 510 (MoE = 4.3%)
- Virginia: 471 (MoE = 4.5%)

The sample was subsequently weighted by age, income, gender, education and race with benchmarks from the Census' 2014 Current Population Survey of Registered Voters. Each of the eight states were weighted separately for its gender, race, education, income and age.



SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Responses to the Magnitude of National Defense Spending

When given information about size of the national defense budget from five different perspectives, it was far more common for respondents to say that the defense budget was more than they expected than to say it was less than they expected. In three of the five cases substantially more respondents said that the size of the national defense budget was more than they expected: when the national defense budget was presented in comparison to other items in the discretionary budget, to historical defense spending levels in constant dollars, and to the defense spending of potential enemies and allies. When presented in terms of historical trends as a percentage of GDP a majority said it was less than they expected. Though it is a perspective that advocates of defense spending promote, when national defense spending was presented in comparison to Social Security and Medicare, a slightly larger number still said that it was more than they expected.

Assessing Arguments About Defense Spending Levels

Respondents were presented and asked to evaluate a series of pairs of arguments, on one hand affirming substantial defense spending levels and on the other calling for reductions. In all cases majorities found both sets of arguments convincing, though the arguments in favor of cutting were found convincing by larger majorities. By far the strongest argument—endorsed by eight in ten—was that the defense budget can be cut because there is so much waste and corruption in the defense budget. The strongest argument for preserving spending—endorsed by two in three—was that national security is a top priority and only constitutes 3.5% of the economy.

Making Up a Base National Defense Budget, Area by Area

Nationally, majorities¹ made modest cuts in five of the seven areas for a total of \$12 billion. In no areas did a majority increase spending. In terms of percentages the deepest cuts were to nuclear weapons and missile defense. Majorities of Democrats cut \$36 billion and independents \$20 billion. Among Republicans kept the status quo, as in no area did majorities increase or decrease spending. In all states, overall majorities reduced spending, ranging from \$2 billion in Florida and Texas to \$23 billion in California and Ohio. In some states a majority of Republicans made small increases.

Air Power

Nationally a majority cut spending on air power \$2 billion or 2%. States ranged from making no change to cutting \$6 billion.

Ground Forces

Nationally a majority cut spending on ground forces \$4 billion, or 3 percent. States ranged from making no change to cutting \$10 billion.

¹ When it is reported that a certain degree of change in spending was supported by a majority, the amount is both the median and an amount of change supported by a majority. Some members of that majority may in fact make much greater changes than the median amount, but all members of the majority made a change of at least the reported amount.

**Naval Forces**

Nationally a majority cut spending on naval forces \$2 billion or 2 percent. States ranged from making no change to cutting \$6 billion.

Nuclear Weapons

Nationally a majority cut spending on nuclear weapons \$3 billion or 13%. States ranged from making no change to cutting \$4 billion.

Missile Defense

Nationally a majority cut missile defense \$1 billion or 13 percent. States ranged from making no change to cutting \$1 billion.

Marine Corps

Nationally a majority did not cut or increase spending on the Marine Corps, though 49% favored a \$1 billion cut, States ranged from making no change to cutting \$1 billion.

Special Operations Forces

Majorities did not cut or increase spending on Special Forces. All states made no changes.

Evaluating Specific Weapons Systems

Respondents were briefed on four specific weapons systems that are controversial. Majorities favored cutting or downsizing two of the systems and not cutting or downsizing the others.

F-35 Joint Strike Fighter

Majorities nationally and in all states endorsed cancelling the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter Program and instead upgrading current fighters, saving approximately \$6 billion in the near term and \$97 billion through 2037.

Next Generation Bomber

Majorities nationally and in all states endorsed proceeding with the development of a new long-range stealth bomber called "Next Generation" to replace the B-2.

Aircraft Carriers

Large majorities nationally and in all states favored reducing the number of nuclear-powered aircraft carriers from 11 to 10 (but not to 9), saving \$7 billion over the next decade.

Nuclear Submarines

Majorities nationally and in most states opposed a plan for reducing the number of nuclear-powered submarines for carrying nuclear weapons from 12 to 8.



Operations in Afghanistan

Respondents were presented the two key options being considered for Afghanistan: to maintain a presence of 5,500 US troops or to withdraw entirely and the costs for each for 2016. Arguments for both options were found convincing by large majorities, though the argument for maintaining a presence did a bit better. Asked for their final recommendation a majority favored a continued presence, including two thirds of Republicans. Democrats and independents were roughly divided.

Variations Between Supporters of Presidential Candidates

Supporters of different presidential candidates varied significantly on their proposed spending for defense. Majorities of supporters of all Republican candidates did not favor defense increases while supporters of Carson and Kasich favored small cuts. Supporters of Democratic candidates favored significant cuts. Supporters of Democratic candidates were inclined to cut most specific weapon systems, while supporters of Republican candidates concurred in only a few cases. Only a majority of Sanders supporters favored withdrawing all troops from Afghanistan.





FULL ANALYSIS

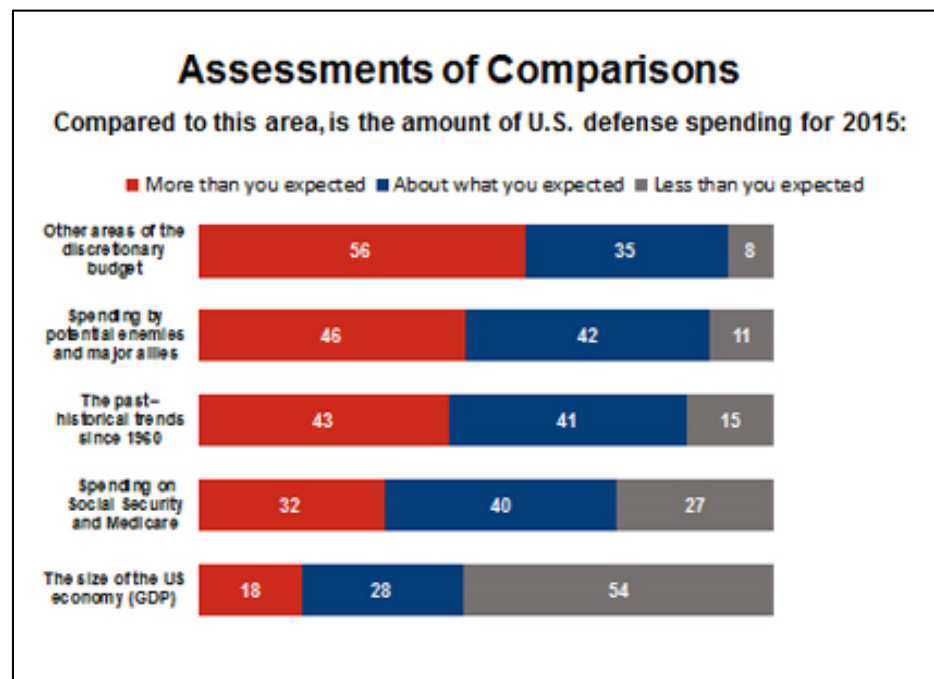
Responses to the Magnitude of National Defense Spending

When given information about size of the national defense budget from five different perspectives, it was more common for respondents to say that the defense budget was more than they expected than to say it was less than they expected. In three of the five cases substantially more respondents said that the size of the national defense budget was more than they expected: when the national defense budget was presented in comparison to other items in the discretionary budget, to historical defense spending levels in constant dollars, and to the defense spending of potential enemies and allies. When presented in terms of historical trends as a percentage of GDP a majority said it was less than they expected. Though it is a perspective that advocates of defense spending promote, when national defense spending was presented in comparison to Social Security and Medicare, a slightly larger number still said that it was more than they expected.

To begin the process of providing respondents the tools they would need to make their own national defense budget, they were given information about the size of national defense spending. Since magnitude is always relative, the defense budget can appear larger or smaller depending on what it is compared to, and thus its relative size alone can be a politically controversial subject. Five different perspectives on the defense budget that are prominent in debates about the defense budget were presented.

Each perspective was presented in the form of a graph. Respondents were asked to give their reaction to each perspective by selecting whether, from this perspective defense spending appeared more, less, or about the same as they expected.

For three perspectives more respondents said defense spending was more than they expected than said it was less; for one more said it was than they expected; and for one those saying it was more was roughly the same as those who said it was less.



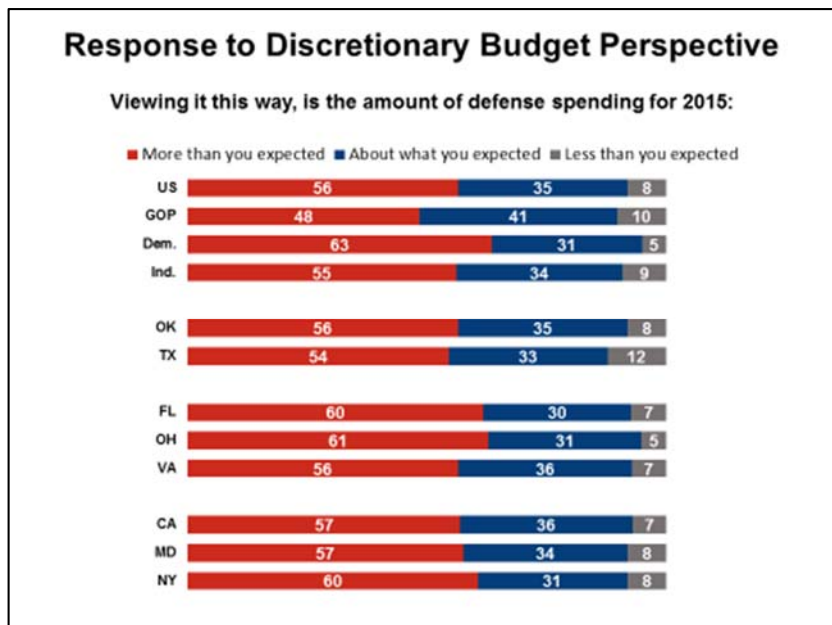
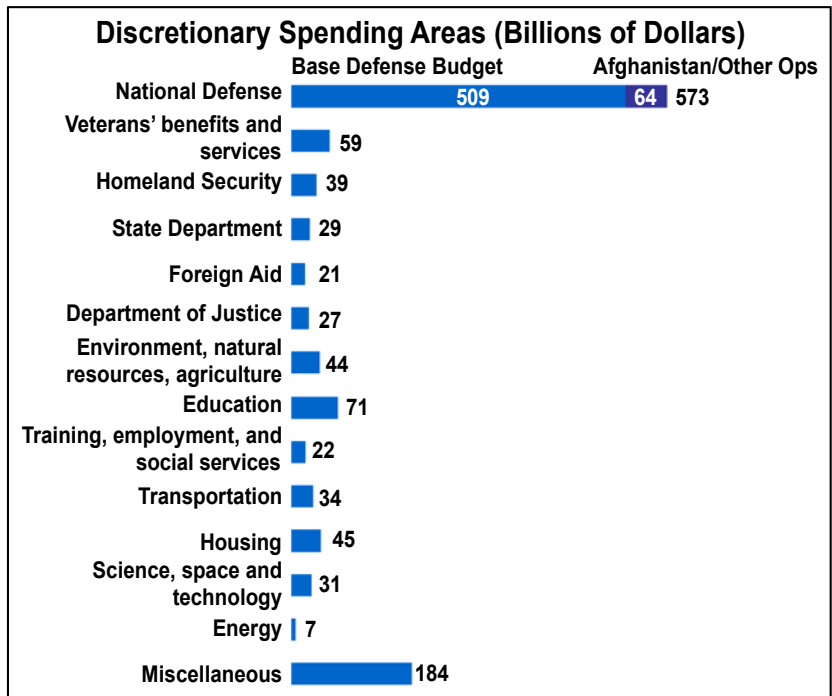


National Defense Spending and the Discretionary Budget

In the first perspective, respondents were shown the 2015 discretionary budget divided into 14 spending categories, including spending on national defense (all numbers are derived from the Office of Management and Budget). The nature of the discretionary budget had just been explained to them (see full text in questionnaire). Spending on national defense far outweighed all of the other areas.

A majority (56%) said that from this perspective defense spending was more than they expected (much more, 31%). Twenty-nine percent said it was about what they expected, and only 8 percent found it less than they expected (much less, 2%). Majorities in all states said that it was more than they expected.

There were partisan differences, but they were not pronounced. Majorities of both Democrats and independents were more likely to say defense spending was much more than they expected (63% and 55% respectively), while just under half of Republicans (48%) said this—far more than said it was less than they expected (10%).



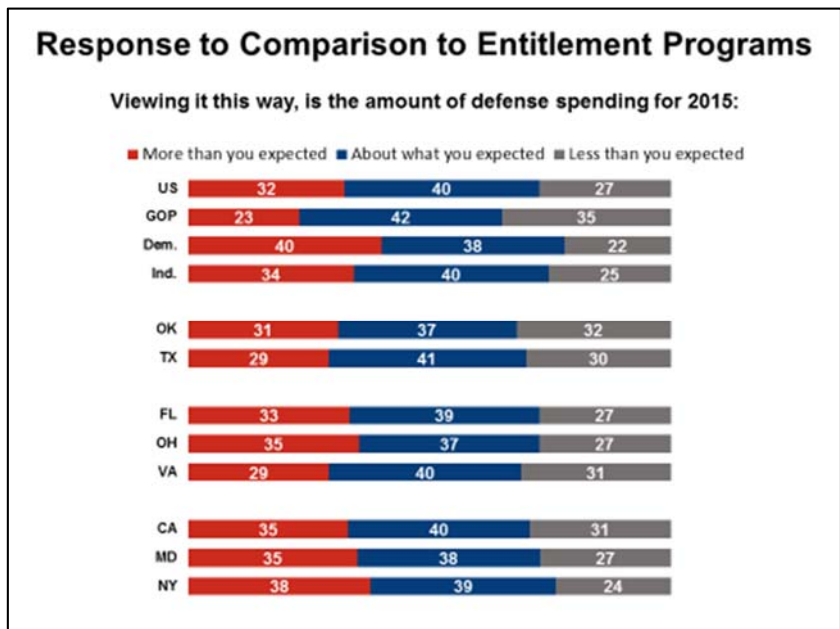


National Defense Spending Relative to Social Security and Medicare

A point that is frequently stressed in debates by defenders of the current levels of national defense spending is that it is eclipsed by spending on Social Security and Medicare.

Respondents were shown a graph with the amount of 2015 spending for Social Security (\$883 billion), Medicare (\$626 billion), and national defense (\$573 billion), making it clear that national defense was the smallest of the three.

Still, from this perspective, a bit more (32%) thought defense spending was more than they had expected, than said it was less than they expected (27%). The largest number said it was about what they had expected (40%). This pattern held in most states but in a few the number saying that it was more was about the same as the number saying that it was less than they expected.



Across Republicans, Democrats and independents, four in ten said that defense spending from this perspective was about what they had expected. However, more Republicans thought defense was less (35%) than thought it was more (23%), while a clearly larger number said it was larger than they expected among Democrats and independents.

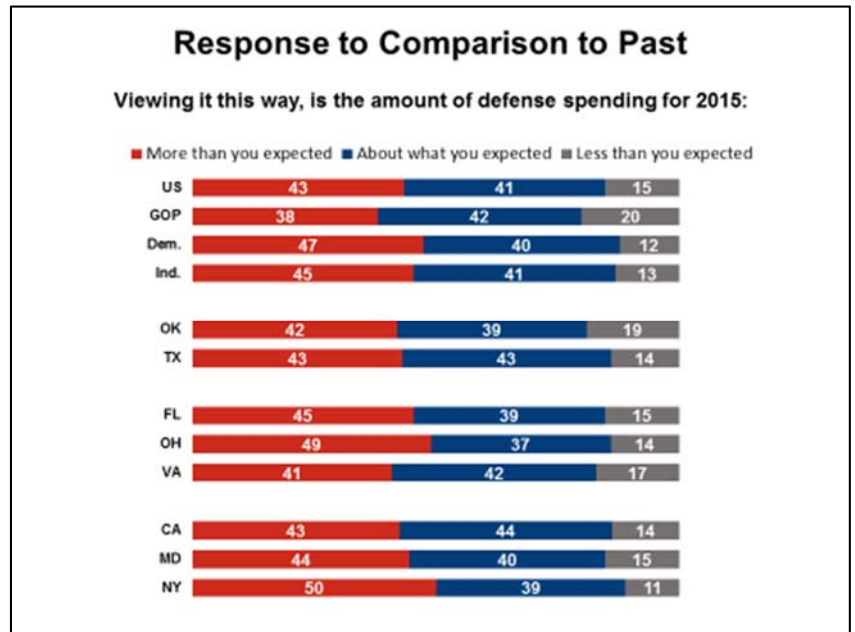
Historical Trends in National Defense Spending

Much of the debate about the defense budget tends to revolve around historical norms and levels that were set in the past and are often seen as customary and appropriate. Respondents were shown a graph of historical defense spending in 2015 dollars from 1960 to 2015, with markers indicating the various wars and presidencies: the Vietnam War expansion, the decrease in the Ford and Carter years, the Reagan-era buildup, the contraction after the end of the Cold War, the rise for wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and then declining in recent years, in conjunction with the 2011 Budget Control Act.

Substantially more—43%—said that 2015 defense spending was more than they had expected (much more, 19%) than said it was less than they expected—15%. About as many (41%) saw it as about what they had expected. In all states, those saying it was more than they expected outweighed those saying less by more than two to one, ranging from 42 to 19% in Oklahoma to 50 to 11% in New York.



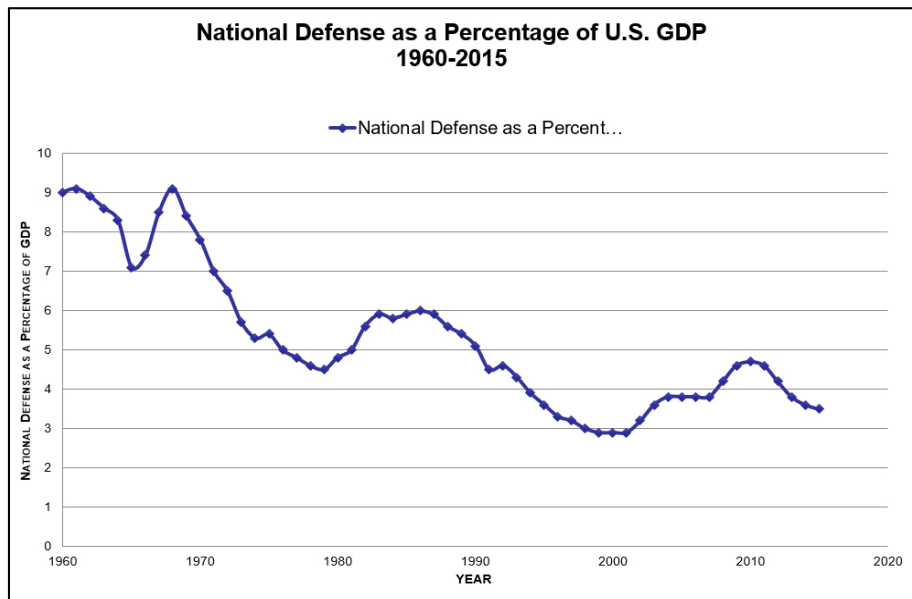
Roughly similar numbers of Republicans, Democrats and independents said defense was more than they expected—at 38%, 47% and 45% respectively. In all cases those saying it was more than they expected greatly outweighed those who said it was less, by a two-to-one margin among Republicans and four to one among Democrats.



National Defense Spending as a Percentage of GDP

In the debate over defense spending it is often argued, especially by opponents of defense cuts, that defense spending should not be viewed in constant dollars but in terms of the percentage of the US economy devoted to defense. It is argued that this is a better measure of the affordability of defense spending levels. So that respondents could understand this perspective as well, they were told that:

Although the absolute amount of spending has been going up, as you will see, the percentage of the economy devoted to national defense spending has been going down. That is because over this period the size of the US economy has grown five times larger—substantially more than defense spending.



They were then shown a graph of national defense spending as a percentage of GDP from 1960 to 2015 that indicated this decline in the proportion of the US economy devoted to defense. From percentages as high as 9 percent of GDP in the 1960s, or 6 percent in the height of the Reagan



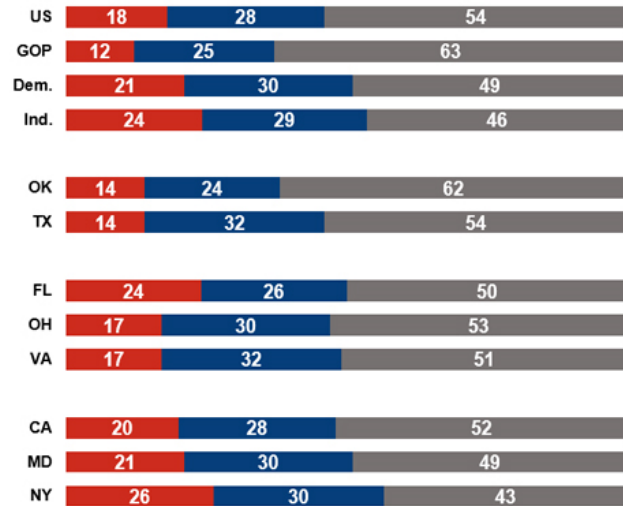
buildup, more recent fluctuations have remained within the 3-to-5 percent range, with approximately 3.5 percent as the most current level.

From this perspective, a 54% majority thought that defense spending was less than they had expected (38% somewhat less, 16% much less). Twenty-eight percent said it was about what they had expected and only 18% said it was more than they had expected. In six states a majority said this was less than they expected, led by Oklahoma at 62%. In three states this number dropped just below 50% — Maryland, Florida and New York (43%), though these numbers still greatly outweighed those saying it was more than they expected.

Response to Percent of GDP, Historically

Viewing it this way, is the amount of U.S. defense spending for 2015:

■ More than you expected ■ About what you expected ■ Less than you expected



Nationally almost two thirds of Republicans (63%) said that from this perspective, defense spending was below what they had expected, as did 49% of Democrats and 46% of independents. Twelve percent of Republicans, 21% of Democrats and 24% of independents saw defense spending from this perspective as more than they had expected. Between 25 and 30% in all three groups said the amount was about what they had expected.

National Defense Spending Compared to That of Potential Enemies, Major Allies

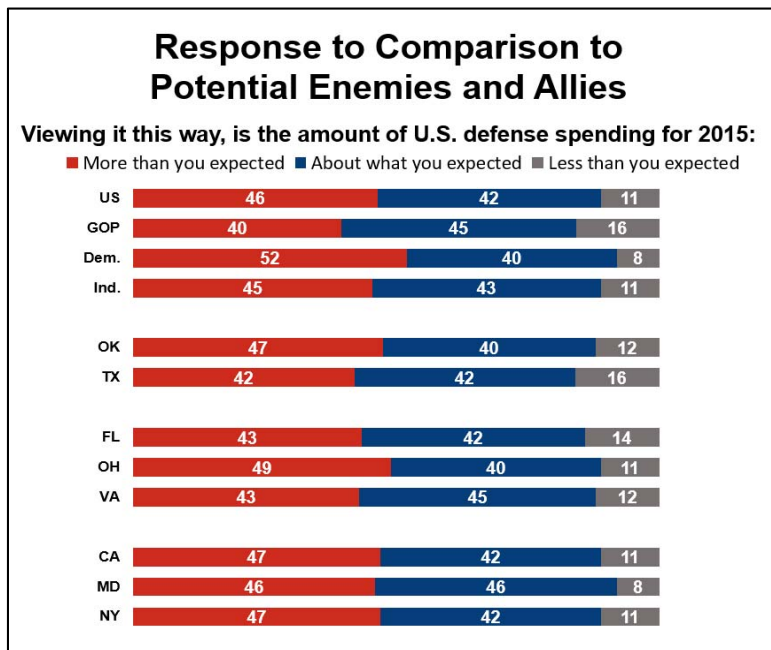
A final key element of the debate is the issue of how US spending on national defense stacks up to that of possible adversaries on one hand, and that of long-standing allies on the other. Some argue that the defense resources of potential enemies should serve as one of the benchmarks in evaluating US defense needs, as they offer some measure of the relative capabilities the US would face in a conflict with those countries. Additionally, many argue that burden-sharing with countries that have been US allies for decades should be admitted into the calculus because, given alliance commitments, their resources would arguably be contributed to collective defense efforts in the event of aggression.

Respondents were introduced to this perspective and told that “For this analysis we can consider as potential enemies Russia, China, Iran and North Korea.” They were also told that “labor costs are cheaper in these countries, so these numbers have been adjusted upward based on how much it would



cost to produce the same defense capabilities in the United States.” For allies they were told this included NATO members, Japan and South Korea. They then saw a graph indicating defense spending by the US (in 2015, \$573 billion), by its potential enemies (\$225.4 billion), and by its allies (\$370.4 billion).

From this perspective, almost half (46%) felt that the amount of defense spending was more than they had expected (19% much more)—far outweighing those who said it was less than they expected (11%) by a four to one margin. Four in ten (42%) said it was about what they had expected.



All states were quite similar with the percentage saying it was more than they expected ranging from 42% in Texas to 49% in Ohio and in all cases vastly outweighing those who said it was less than they expected.

Nationally a majority of Democrats (52%) perceived it as more than they had expected, four in ten Republicans, and 45% of independents. Those saying it was less ranged from 8% among Democrats to 16% among Republicans.

Assessing Arguments About Defense Spending Levels

Respondents were presented and asked to evaluate a series of pairs of arguments, on one hand affirming substantial defense spending levels and on the other calling for reductions. In all cases majorities found both sets of arguments convincing, though the arguments in favor of cutting were found convincing by larger majorities. By far the strongest argument—endorsed by eight in ten—was that the defense budget can be cut because there is so much waste and corruption in the defense budget. The strongest argument for preserving spending—endorsed by two in three—was that national security is a top priority and only constitutes 3.5% of the economy.

Respondents were presented a series of pairs of arguments, on one hand affirming substantial defense spending levels and on the other calling for reductions. Pairs of arguments were presented together, with each pair on a single screen. They were then asked to assess how convincing they found each argument. Majorities found both sets of arguments convincing, although the arguments in favor of reductions were found convincing by larger majorities. Overall, the four arguments for reducing defense spending were found convincing by 66% on average, while the four arguments affirming spending levels were found convincing by an average of 62%.



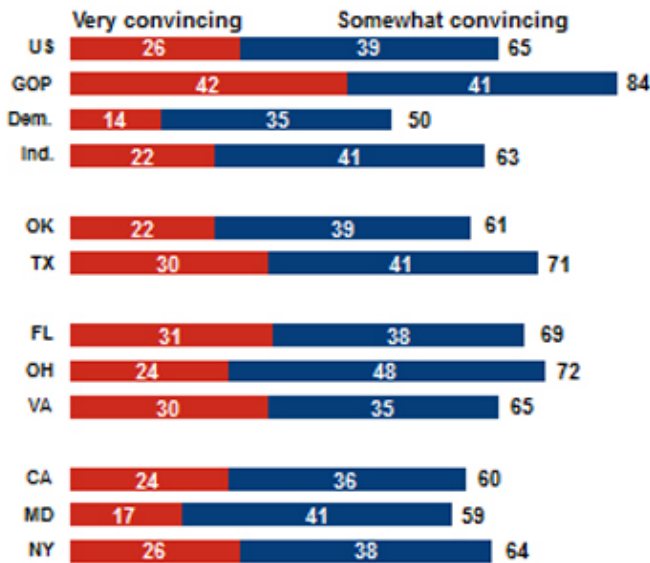
Arguments Related to US Role in the World

The first pro-spending argument insisted on the importance of the US leadership role for world stability, and the US' unique ability to project overwhelming military power. Almost two thirds (65%) found it convincing (very, 26%). It did extremely well with Republicans (84%) but was convincing to only half of Democrats (50%). Independents were very like the full sample.

The accompanying argument for reductions declared that the US has far more military power than what's sufficient for our own needs plus the needs of our allies, and that the US is overdoing the role of world policeman. This did as well as the preceding argument, with two thirds (67%) finding it convincing. The response by parties was almost a mirror image of the preceding argument, striking a chord with only half of Republicans (50%) but 82% of Democrats.

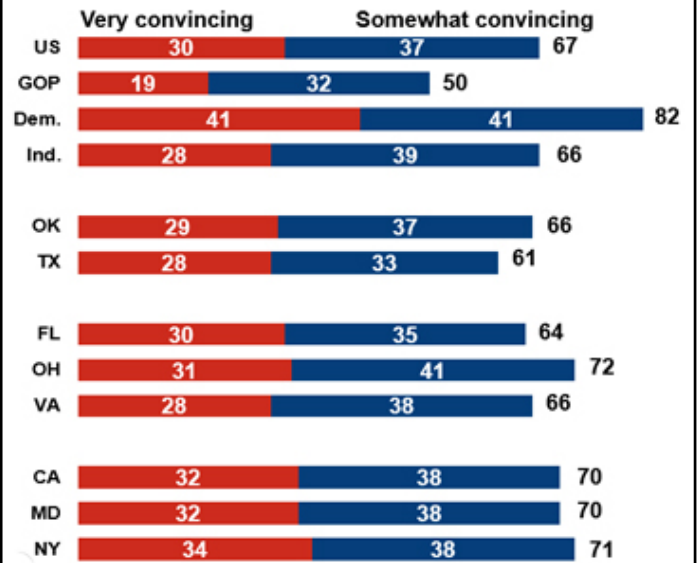
Pro Spending Argument: US is World Leader

The United States is exceptional and should be leading the world, not following it. The US should have the ability to quickly project overwhelming military power anywhere in the world. We have already cut defense spending, and cutting it further would undermine this ability. It would send a signal that we are no longer committed to playing our leadership role; our allies would lose confidence in us; and Asian countries might increasingly come under China's influence.



Pro Cut Argument: US Should Not Be World Policeman

The United States has far more military power than any other nation and more than enough to protect itself and its allies. But we are playing the role of world policeman too much, and we are building up our military power to project it everywhere in the world. We can deal with global threats by working together with our allies and sharing the burden. We don't have to have a military so big that we can do everything by ourselves.





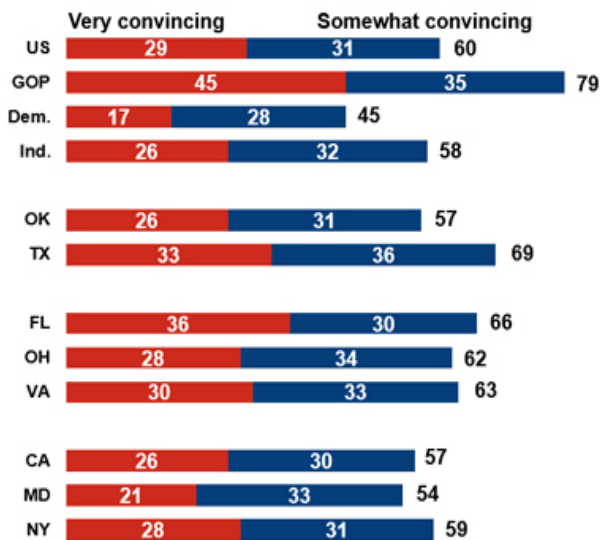
Arguments Related to Magnitude of Threats and Defense Capacities

The next argument for preserving spending held that threats to the US are emerging all over the world and this is no time to make military reductions that will lower our guard. This argument was convincing to 60% (29% very) and unconvincing to 39%. It was convincing to four in five Republicans (79%) but to less than half of Democrats (45%; 54% unconvincing). A majority of independents (58%) found it convincing. While majorities in every state said it was convincing, there was a considerable range, with Maryland at 54% and Texas at 69%.

The next argument for reductions pointed out that the US defense budget is greater than that of all our potential enemies combined, and was found convincing by 61% (very, 26%; 39% unconvincing). While Democrats (76%) and independents (62%) found it convincing, Republicans did not (42%; unconvincing, 57%).

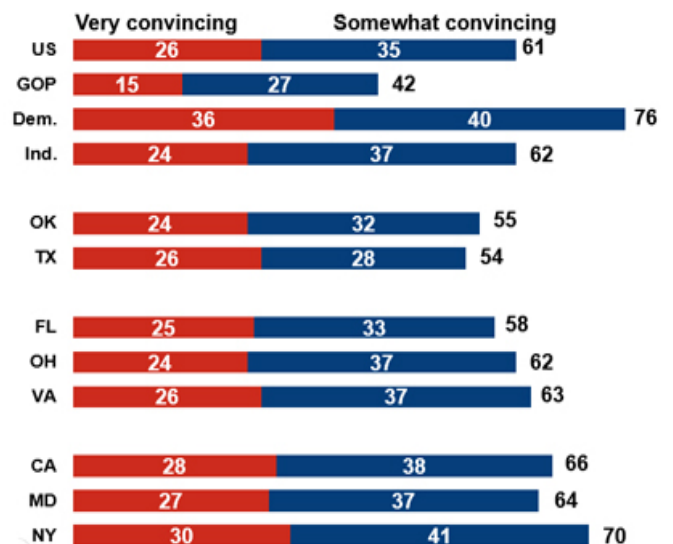
Pro Spending Argument: Threats Are Great

America is threatened by hostile forces in many corners of the world. Reducing our military power lowers our guard and makes us more vulnerable. If major conflicts were to break out in more than one place, we would not be able to deal with them all. Furthermore, cutting defense spending is a sign of weakness and emboldens our enemies to challenge our interests.



Pro Cut Argument: US Has More Than Enough

Even though there is no country in the world that can challenge us, the national defense budget is still enormous. We are spending more than we did at the height of the Cold War--almost three times as much as all of our potential enemies combined. This is way out of proportion to the real threats we face and doesn't buy us more security.





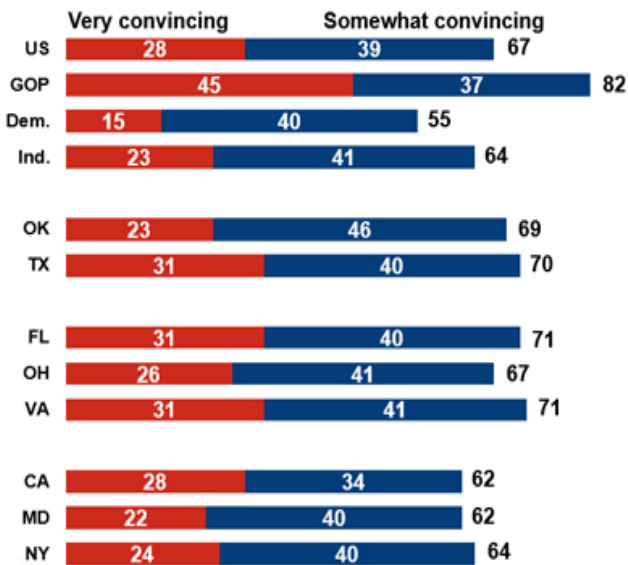
Arguments Related to Fiscal Considerations

The argument affirming spending levels based on the importance and the affordability of the defense budget, when considered as a percentage of the U.S. economy was the most effective of all pro-spending argument. Two thirds (67%) found this argument convincing (28% very) while only 32% found it unconvincing. While 81% of Republicans found it convincing, so did 64% of independents and a majority of Democrats (55%).

Interestingly, the least convincing argument of all arguments for reducing defense spending made the case that big defense budgets indirectly harm the economy. Fifty-nine percent found this argument convincing (25% very), and 40% unconvincing. However, while it was notably popular with Democrats (74%) and independents (63%), it was rejected by three in five Republicans (60%).

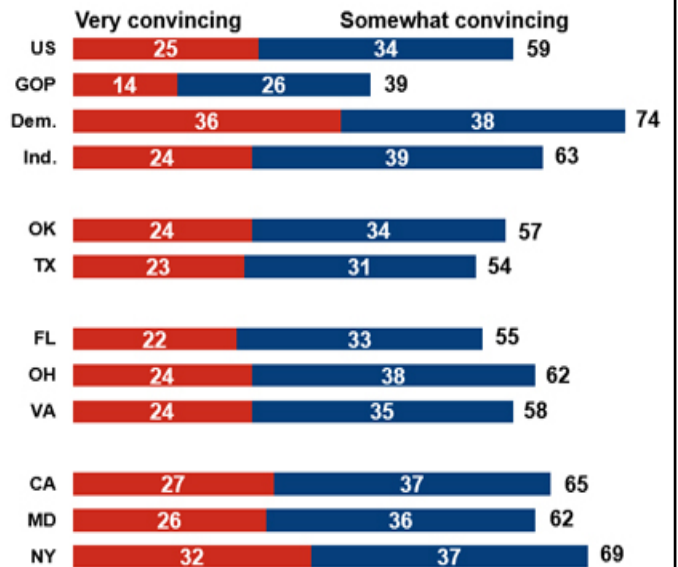
Pro Spending Argument: Current Levels Necessary, Affordable

We do have deficit problems, but national security cannot be shortchanged. National defense is the first responsibility of government and it is too important to let fiscal concerns dictate our level of spending on it. The US can clearly afford its current national defense budget--after all, it is just 3.5 percent of America's economy and this percentage has been going down for some years.



Pro Cut Argument: Big Spending Weakens the Economy

These enormous national defense budgets hurt us by adding to the deficit, weakening the economy, and obligating future generations to repay the debt. Other parts of the economy are short-changed, diverting talent and resources from other goals and weakening America's economic competitiveness--which hurts our security in the long run. We need to rebalance our priorities and rein in defense spending.





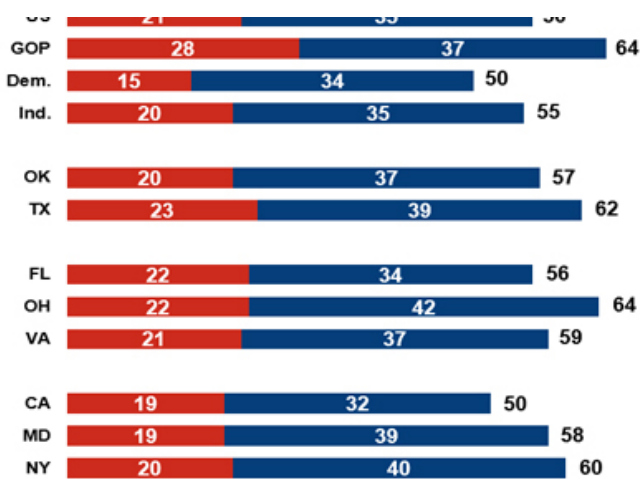
Arguments Related to Economic Considerations

The pro-spending argument that did least well of all pro-spending arguments was the one related to jobs. It said defense jobs would be lost through reductions, hurting the economy and eroding the industrial base for defense. This was found convincing by a relatively modest 56% (21% very), while 43% found it unconvincing. Almost two in three Republicans (64%) and a majority of independents (55%) found it convincing. Democrats did not reject the argument, but they were closely divided.

The most persuasive argument in favor of reducing the defense budget focused on the issue of waste and made the case that there was fat to cut away without seriously hurting defense capabilities. Four in five (79%) found this argument convincing (42% very), and there was little variation among parties: 71% of Republicans, 86% of Democrats, and 78% of independents all found it convincing.

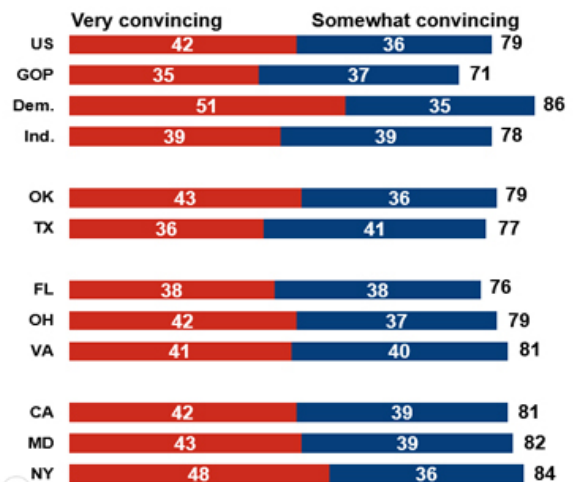
Pro Spending Argument: Cuts Would Cost Jobs

US government should not cut defense because many people would lose their jobs if defense factories and military bases were shut down. This would be a blow to working Americans and their families, hurt the economy, and drive up government costs to provide a social safety net for the jobless. Also, once this defense industrial base is lost, it is not easy to rebuild.



Pro Cut Argument: Much Waste, Unnecessary Spending

There is much waste in the national defense budget. Members of Congress often approve unnecessary spending for their districts or keep unneeded bases open, just to benefit their own supporters. The military branches buy duplicate weapons, and do a poor job of tracking where the money goes. Defense contractors persuade lawmakers to approve weapons that aren't needed by giving them large campaign contributions. Clearly there is room to cut the national defense budget without affecting US security.





Making Up Base National Defense Budget Area by Area

Nationally, majorities² made modest cuts in five of the seven areas for a total of \$12 billion. In no areas did a majority increase spending. In terms of percentages the deepest cuts were to nuclear weapons and missile defense. Majorities of Democrats cut \$36 billion and independents \$20 billion. Republicans kept the status quo: in no area did majorities increase or decrease spending. In all states, overall majorities reduced spending, ranging from \$2 billion in Florida and Texas to \$23 billion in California and Ohio. In some states a majority of Republicans made small increases.

Having reviewed information about the magnitude of the defense budget and considered the arguments, respondents began the actual budgeting part of the exercise. They were first presented the dollar amount of the base defense budget (\$509 billion, excluding war spending).

To create a reference point for their area-by-area budgeting process they were asked to make an initial proposal for the base defense budget for 2016. The overall majority cut \$9 billion, from \$509 billion to \$500 billion. Democrats cut \$59 billion to arrive at \$450 billion. Independents, like the overall majority cut \$9 billion. A Republican majority rounded spending up by a slight \$1 billion to \$510 billion. Among the states, in this initial question a majority in California cut the most (\$49 billion) while Florida cut the least, maintaining spending levels. All the other states cut \$9 billion.

Respondents were then presented the defense budget broken into seven major areas—air power, ground forces, naval power, nuclear weapons, missile defense, the Marine Corps and special operations forces. The spending on these areas constitutes 90% of the base defense budget.

Respondents read a paragraph-long description of each area. They then evaluated strongly-stated arguments affirming current or higher spending levels for that area, followed by an argument for why it is acceptable to cut it. All of the arguments for or against cutting spending across the various areas were found convincing by majorities, though the arguments affirming spending levels did substantially better. The seven arguments for preserving current spending were found convincing by majorities ranging from 67 to 85% (averaging 75%). The seven arguments for cutting spending were found convincing by majorities from 51 to 70% (averaging 60%). In every case, except for the nuclear weapons program, the argument against reductions was found convincing by a larger majority.

They were then presented the amount of spending for that area for 2015 and asked to propose a precise spending level for 2016. The amount could be increased, decreased or kept the same. For each area, this budget was broken into spending on maintaining current capabilities and on developing new capabilities. Thus respondents specified two spending amounts for each of these areas.

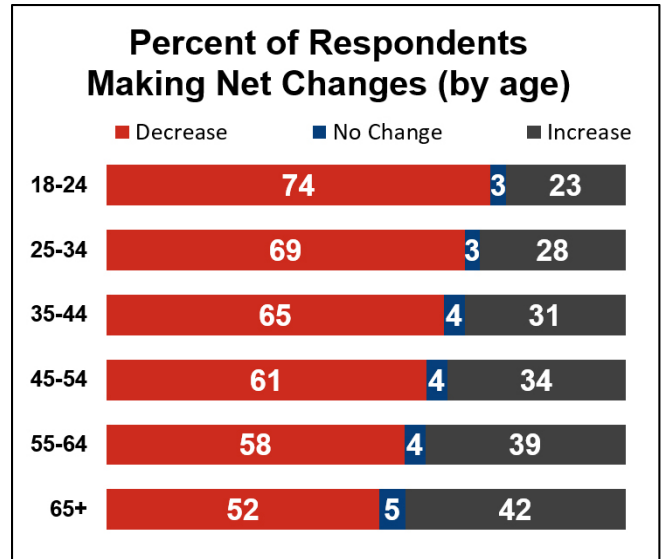
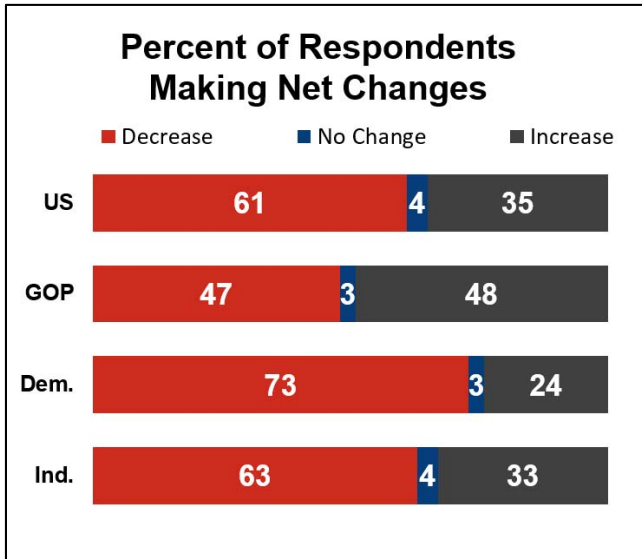
As they went along, a bubble followed them that showed a tally of the changes they were making and also the level for defense spending overall that they had initially proposed for the budget as a whole.

² When it is reported that a certain degree of change in spending was supported by a majority, the amount is both the median and an amount of change supported by a majority. Some members of that majority may in fact make much greater changes than the median amount, but all members of the majority made a change of at least the reported amount.



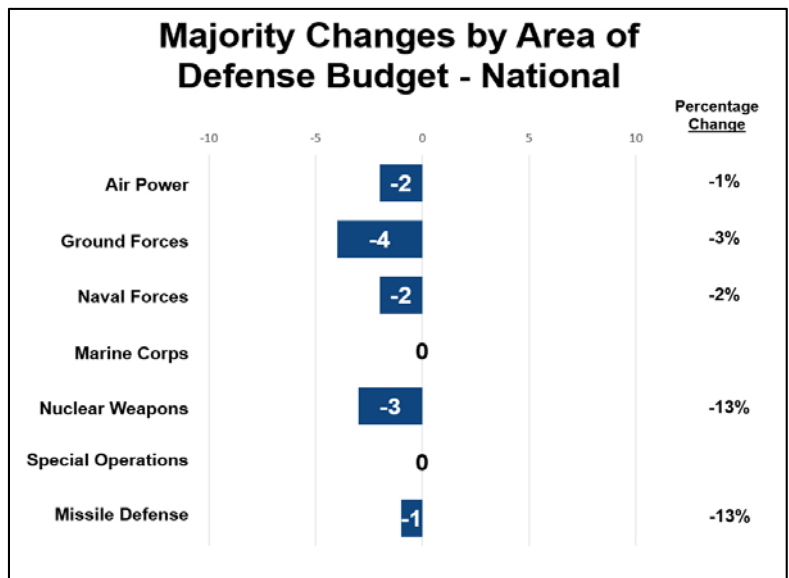
Overview of Budget Changes by Areas

Although arguments for preserving funding did better on average, overall a clear majority of 61% made a net reduction in spending, while 35% made a net increase. Republicans, though were divided with 47% making a net reduction and 48% making a net increase, while large majorities of Democrats and independents made net reductions. As is shown in the graph, young people were more likely to reduce (74%) with that number steadily declining with age and reaching 52% at age 65 and above.



Nationally, majorities made modest cuts in five of the seven areas—air power, ground forces, naval forces, nuclear forces and missile defense. The Marine Corps and special operations forces were maintained at current levels. No area was increased by a majority.

Overall, spending was cut in five of the seven areas by a total of \$12 billion. Majorities of Democrats cut \$36 billion and independents \$20 billion. Republicans kept the status quo, as in no area did majorities increase or decrease spending.



In dollar terms the deepest cut was to ground forces. In terms of percentages the deepest cuts were to funding for nuclear weapons and missile defense, which were both reduced by 13 percent. Democrats made some cut to each of the seven areas; their biggest cuts in dollar terms were to air power and



ground forces, \$11 billion each. Independents preserved spending for special operations but made cuts in the other six areas, with their largest cuts going to air power, ground forces, and naval forces at \$5 billion each. As mentioned, Republicans did not increase or decrease any area.

African-Americans made some cut to each area and cut a total of \$34 billion, with the largest cut to air power (\$13 billion). Hispanics made smaller cuts—no cut was larger than \$5 billion—but they did reduce six out of seven areas, sparing only special operations forces. In total Hispanics cut \$20 billion.

In all states majorities reduced spending, ranging from \$2 billion in Florida and Texas to \$24 billion in California and \$23 billion in Ohio. Four southern states (Oklahoma, Texas, Florida and Virginia) reduced funding by \$7 billion or less. Two eastern states, New York and Maryland, made middling reductions of \$16 and \$19 billion respectively.

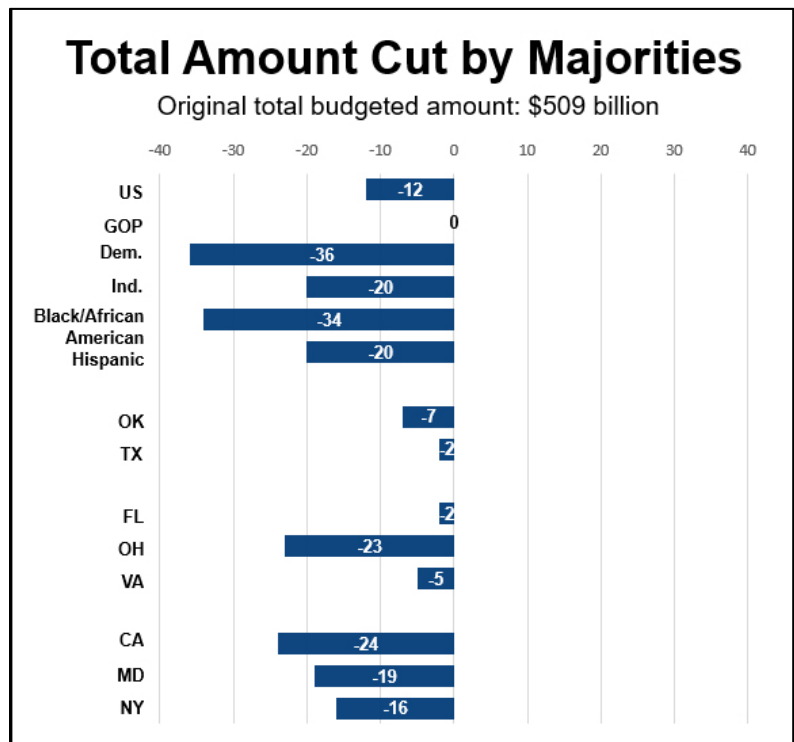
In some states a majority of Republicans made small increases: \$1 billion in Maryland, \$3 billion in New York and Texas, and \$7 billion in Florida. In all others they made no changes. In most **states** Democrats made cuts to similar to the national Democrats, but cuts were significantly greater in Ohio (\$44 billion) and in Texas (\$41 billion).

Is There Variation by State Defense Spending Levels?

A common assumption is that people who live in states with high levels of defense spending are more likely to favor higher levels of defense spending. In past studies we have found this to not be the case.

To determine if it was the case for this study we did the following analysis. Using a report by the US Department of Defense's Office of Economic Adjustment, we identified per capita spending by state, ordered them from highest to lowest, and then divided the 50 states into deciles of 5 states each. We then divided the sample according to which state they lived in and organized respondents according to the deciles. For each decile we calculated the median amount of defense spending budgeted.

There was no discernable relationship between the level of defense spending in the states and the level of proposed defense spending of the residents. For example in the five states with the highest level of defense spending the median respondent cut spending \$15 billion—a bit more than the \$12 billion for the sample as a whole.





COMPARISON OF 2016 AND 2012 SURVEYS

In 2012 the Program for Public Consultation conducted a survey with a national sample, taking them through a policymaking simulation almost exactly like the current study. For the 2016 survey minor changes were made in response to Congressional staff input. And of course the spending levels were different and substantially lower: in 2012 the base defense budget was \$562 billion, in 2016 it was \$509 billion, with corresponding differences in the seven subareas. This creates the opportunity to compare how attitudes about defense spending have changed over this period in response to changing levels of spending.

It is easy to assume that attitudes about defense spending are ideologically driven and thus people's attitudes about levels of defense spending are largely independent of the actual level of spending. However, comparing the responses in 2012 and 2016, the public shows a remarkable level of differentiated response to changing levels of defense spending.

Respondents cut spending substantially less in 2016 than 2012, but arrived at the same preferred base defense budget level. In 2012, respondents navigated through the major areas of the defense budget and a majority made cuts of \$65 billion, thus leaving \$497 billion. In 2016, respondents went through the same process, made much lighter cuts, amounting to \$12 billion—but which also resulted in a base budget of \$497 billion.

In 2012 majorities of Republicans, Democrats, and independents made cuts.

In 2016 only Democrats and independents did so. But looking at the levels of cuts shows respondents of different partisan persuasions shifted in parallel in response to the lower spending levels. While Democrats cut \$97 billion in 2012, in 2016 they cut \$36 billion. Independents went from cutting \$73 billion to \$20 billion. Republicans went from cutting \$29 billion to making no change.

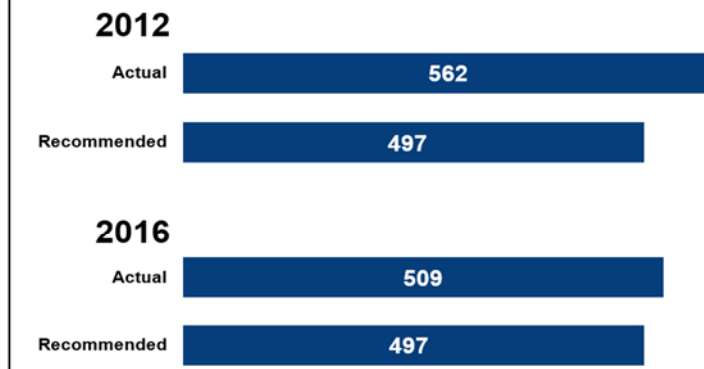
Comparing the responses to arguments for preserving or reducing spending that were evaluated in 2012 and 2016, it appears that these responses also shifted in the context of actual spending levels. Overall, arguments for preserving spending were found more convincing, while arguments for cutting were found less convincing.

For the *general* arguments, on average the arguments for reducing spending did better than the arguments for maintaining it—in both 2012 and 2016. But the percentage finding the arguments for maintaining spending went up an average of 4 points, while the arguments for reducing went down 4 points.

For the *specific* arguments about areas of the defense budget, on average the arguments for preserving spending did better than for cutting—in both 2012 and 2016. Similarly, the arguments for maintaining were found convincing by an additional 5 points and the arguments for cutting went down 5 points.

Also, as will be discussed below, almost exactly the same size majority of respondents in 2016 as in 2012 favored eliminating the F-35 program and reducing the number of aircraft carriers.

Comparing 2012 and 2016 Surveys Net Base National Defense Spending





Air Power

Nationally a majority cut spending on air power \$2 billion or 1%. States ranged from making no change to cutting \$6 billion.

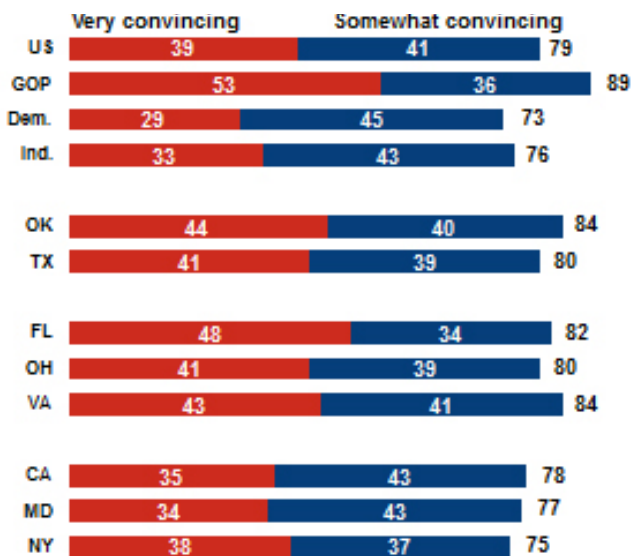
First respondents were given a brief summary of air power’s role:

This includes bombers, fighters, cargo planes, drones, and other aircraft, and the personnel to maintain and operate them. These forces give the US the capability to control airspace, strike hostile forces or other targets on the ground, and help protect U.S. ground forces. Planes and satellites also provide intelligence.

They were shown the 2015 spending level for maintaining existing capabilities—\$114 billion—and the level for developing new capabilities—\$22 billion.

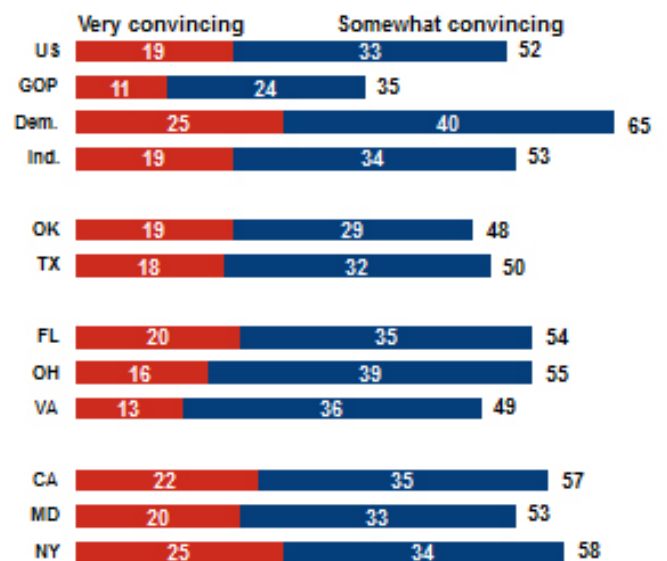
**Pro Spending Argument:
Air Power**

Reducing spending on air power capabilities could limit our ability to strike any target on short notice and with precision. It could limit U.S. military access in some regions, such as Asia where the US has growing interests, but has limited ground forces. Furthermore, the Air Force has played a key role in tracking and targeting al Qaeda. Clearly air power is critical and should not be compromised.



**Pro Cut Argument:
Air Power**

America’s air power is already by far the most powerful and advanced in the world. China’s air force is several decades behind the US, while Russia’s air force has been deteriorating for two decades. Nonetheless, the defense industry is always coming up with new, fancier, and more expensive technologies. We have more than enough to defend our own territory and that of key allies. Enough is enough.





When presented with arguments for maintaining or reducing spending on air power capabilities, both arguments were found convincing by majorities, but the argument for maintaining spending did much better, by a robust 27 points. The pro spending argument focused on the need to quickly reach any target if necessary. An overwhelming 79% majority found this argument convincing (39% very)—89% of Republicans and 73% of Democrats. Only 20% found it unconvincing.

The argument in favor of reducing spending focused on US superiority relative to possible rivals. Only a modest 52% majority found this argument convincing (very, 19%), while 48% did not. Republicans and Democrats reacted differently; 65% of Democrats found it convincing, while 64% of Republicans found it unconvincing. Independents were almost exactly like the full sample.

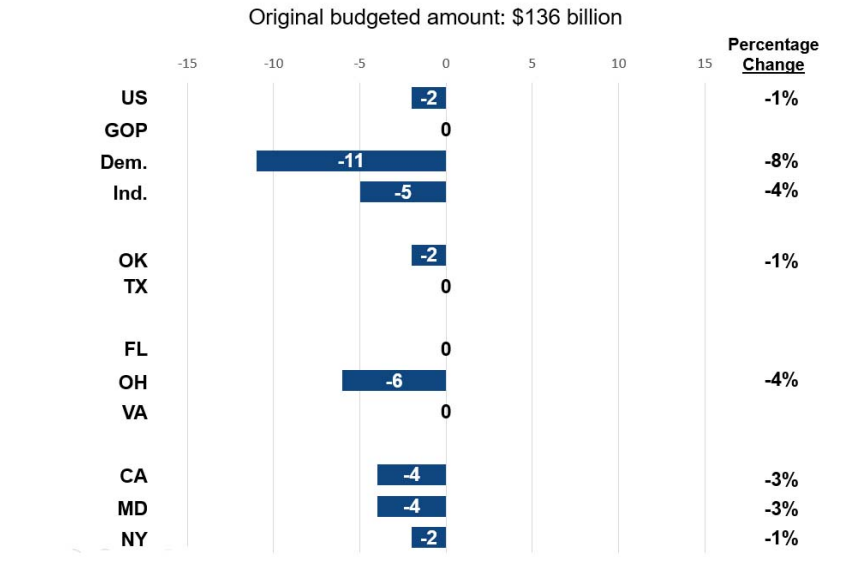
Respondents were then asked to specify spending levels for current and new air capabilities. A majority made a modest cut of at

least \$2 billion or 1.47 percent from current capabilities and no change for new capabilities for a total cut of \$2 billion. Among Democrats, a majority cut a total of \$11 billion (8%). Among independents, a majority cut \$5 billion. Among Republicans there was not a majority for reducing or increasing.

In the states, Ohioans cut the most at \$6 billion. For Florida, Texas and Virginia there was not majority support for increasing or decreasing. Cuts of \$2-4 billion were made by majorities in Oklahoma, New York, MD and California.

At the party level in the states, majorities of Republicans made slight increases in New York and Florida (\$2 billion) and in Texas (\$1 billion), while in the remaining states there was no majority for changes. Among Democrats in both Ohio and Texas cut air power spending by \$16 billion.

Changes Made by Majorities on Air Power Spending





Ground Forces

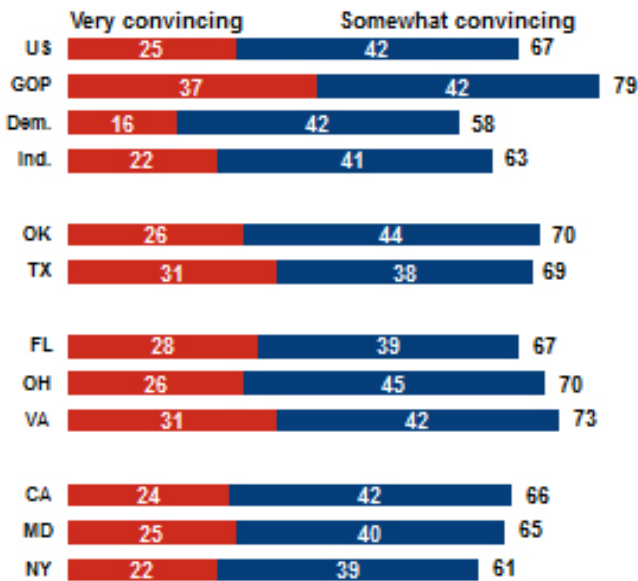
Nationally a majority cut spending on ground forces \$4 billion, or 3 percent. States ranged from making no change to cutting \$10 billion.

Respondents were introduced to the dimension of ground capabilities in the following way:

American ground forces are primarily the Army. In addition to the troops they include weapons, tanks, artillery, helicopters, and armored personnel carriers. They create the capability to put troops on the ground and to seize and hold territory. They also operate bases in other countries, adding to the US military’s worldwide presence.

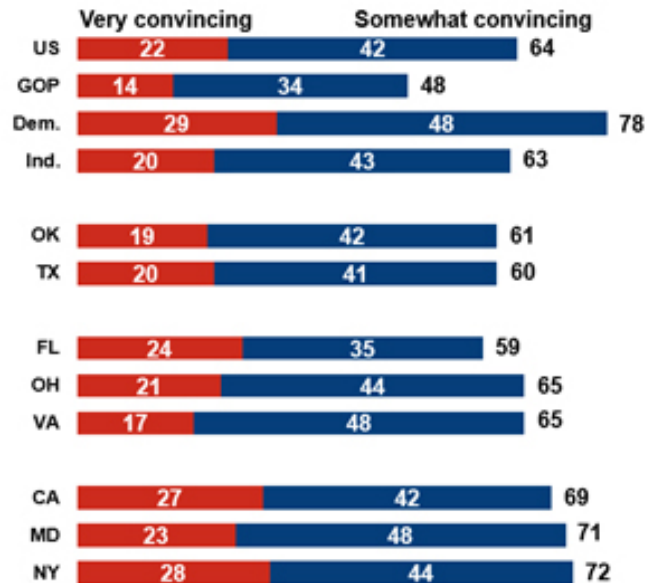
**Pro Spending Argument:
Ground Forces**

A large ground force contributes to the military’s ability to reassure allies and deter enemies. We still have many defense obligations around the world. Reducing ground forces now could limit our ability to meet these obligations and still respond on short notice to unforeseen emergencies that may arise elsewhere. Cutting back would overstretch our forces and strain troop morale.



**Pro Cut Argument:
Ground Forces**

The US has three quarters of a million soldiers and Marines on active duty and another quarter million in the reserves—troops that are the best trained and equipped in the world. The US built up our active ground forces for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and now that we are drawing them down, we can reduce our active duty ground forces and still have more than enough for whatever need may arise.





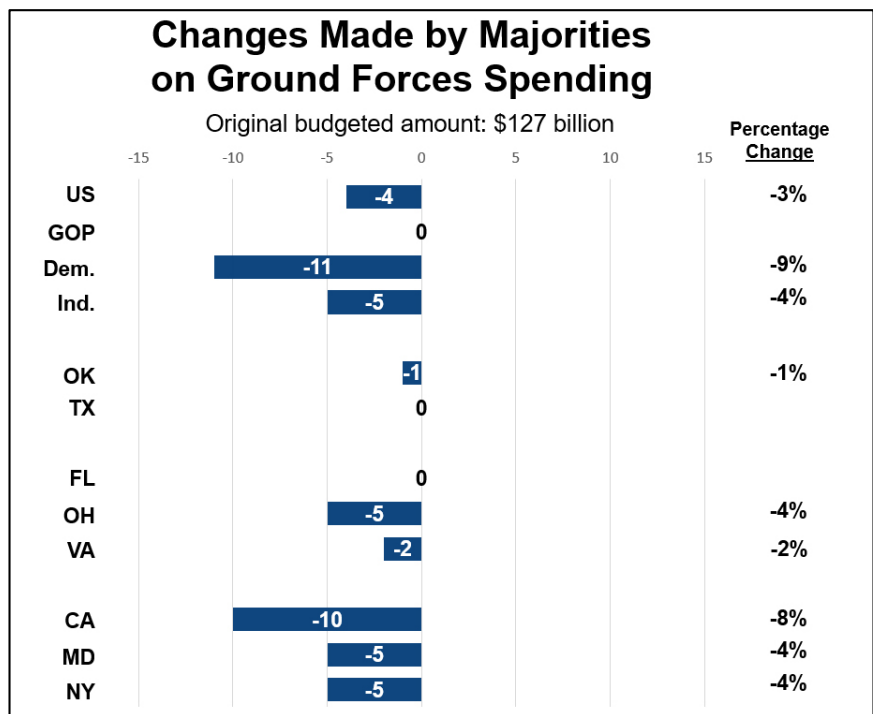
Respondents learned that “operating, maintaining and replacing” existing ground force capabilities cost \$120 billion in 2015, and developing new capabilities cost \$7 billion.

The argument in favor of spending did just slightly better than the argument in favor of cuts. The argument in favor of spending, which focused on the importance for deterrence of having capacity on hand to meet unforeseen emergencies was found convincing by a majority of 67% (very, 25%), including four in five Republicans (79%) and almost three in five Democrats (58%).

The argument in favor of reducing spending relied on the large number of soldiers and Marines on duty, and on the view that events like the Afghanistan and Iraq operations are not the norm. Almost two thirds (64%) found this argument convincing (very, 22%), while 36% did not. Four in five Democrats thought it convincing (78%). Independents were almost exactly like the full sample. Just under half of Republicans (48%) found it convincing.

Asked to specify their recommended level a 55% majority cut spending on ground forces, reducing funds in the current capabilities category but not for new capabilities. The total cut was \$4 billion, or 3%. A fifth (21%) kept funding the same and a quarter (24%) increased it.

Among Republicans there was not majority support for increasing or reducing. Among Democrats, a 67% majority cut \$10 billion or more. Among independents, a 57% majority cut at least \$5 billion. Future capabilities were left unchanged—overall and by Republicans and independents—while Democrats cut \$1 billion.



Majorities in six states made cuts, while in two there was no change. In California a majority cut \$10 billion; Maryland, New York and Ohio each cut \$5 billion; Virginia cut \$2 billion and Oklahoma \$1 billion. Florida and Texas made no changes.

At the party level Republicans in Florida and Texas made increases of \$1 billion, while Republicans in other states did not make a majority change. Among state Democrats, cuts in six states clustered around the national Democrats’ choice of \$11 billion (Florida, Maryland, New York and Virginia at \$10 billion, Ohio at \$11 billion, Texas at \$12 billion). California Democrats were higher at \$13 billion, and Oklahomans were lower at \$6 billion.



Naval Forces

Nationally, a majority cut spending on naval forces \$2 billion or 2 percent. States ranged from making no change to cutting \$6 billion.

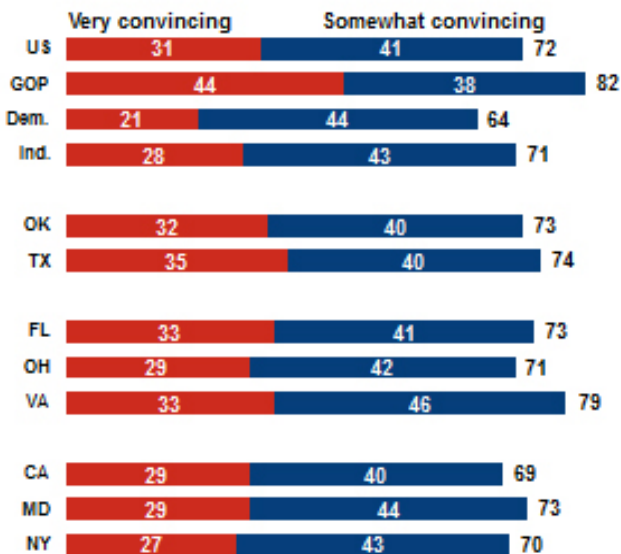
The role of US forces was introduced as follows:

Naval forces include ships, submarines, aircraft carriers and their jets, and the personnel who operate and maintain them. Their missions include projecting US power from the seas, patrolling commercial sea-lanes, gathering intelligence, and on occasion responding to humanitarian disasters. Naval forces are stationed in the US and in bases in East Asia, the Persian Gulf, and other parts of the world.

They were shown the amounts of 2015 spending on naval forces—\$117 billion (\$104 billion on current capabilities, \$13 billion on future capabilities).

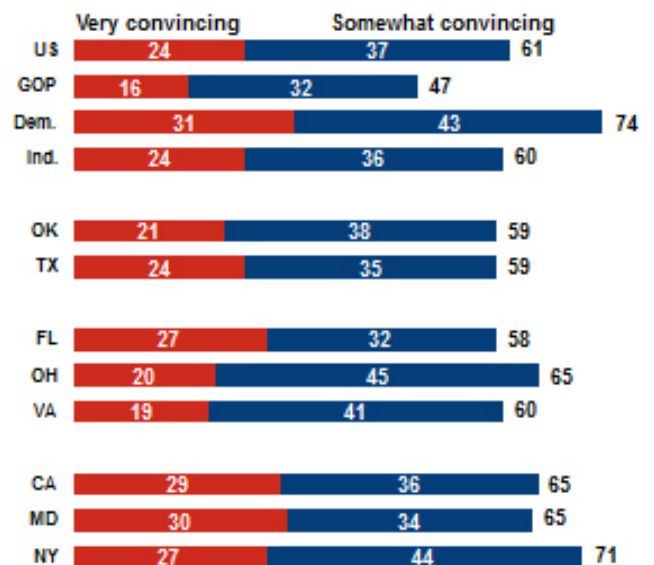
**Pro Spending Argument:
Naval Forces**

Any reduction in American naval power would be seen as a signal that the US is not committed to maintaining its preeminent global role. The Navy protects shipping lanes that are important for commerce, as well as for security, including lanes used to deliver oil from the Persian Gulf. As China continues to rise, we need to increase our naval force in East Asia to ensure that our Asian allies in the region do not draw closer to China and restrict our military or commercial access in the region.



**Pro Cut Argument:
Naval Forces**

America’s naval power is so much greater than that of all other countries that the US can safely trim these forces without any risk to US national security or its interests. Besides hundreds of ships, the US has 11 large aircraft carriers that roam the world, while China and Russia only have one each. Other countries can do their part, policing sea-lanes in their own areas and, in the event of a crisis, we can send our forces. We don’t need to be the cops on the beat everywhere at once.



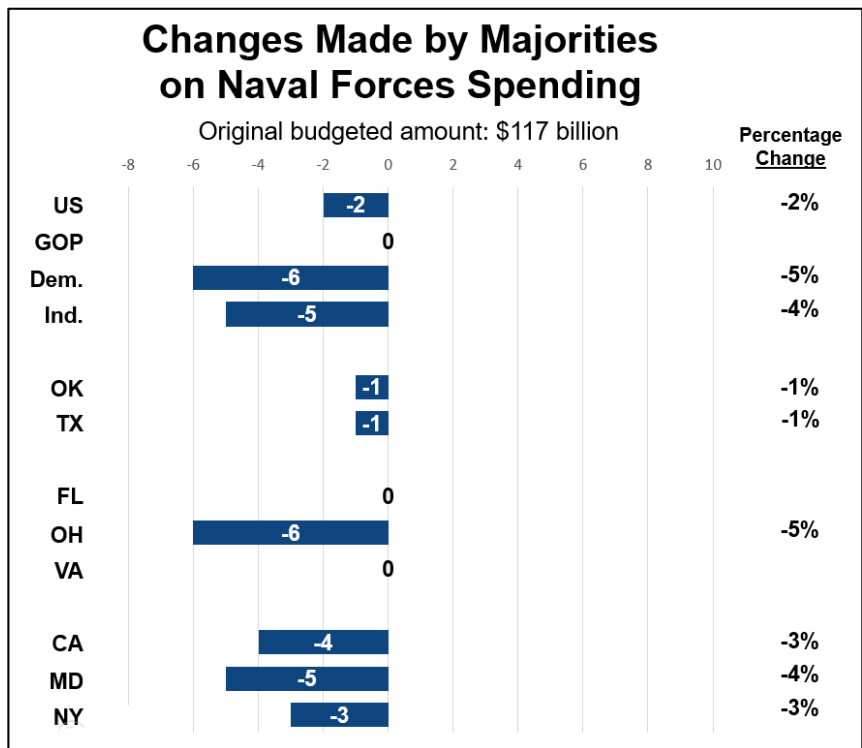


The argument in favor of spending did substantially better than the argument for cuts. The argument in favor of spending, which focused on the US global role on the high seas, was found convincing by a large, bipartisan 72% majority (very, 31%). It was convincing to 82% of Republicans and 64% of Democrats.

The argument in favor of reductions focused on the magnitude of US naval power compared to that of other countries viewed as potential threats. Three in five (61%) found this argument convincing, while 39% did not. Among Republicans more found it unconvincing, 53 to 47%. Among Democrats three quarters (74%) found it convincing.

A modest 52% majority made a cut of \$2 billion, taking it from current capabilities. A fifth (20%) kept the existing amount and 28% increased it. Funding for future capabilities was kept unchanged. Both Democrats (65%) and independents (56%) made cuts totaling \$6 and \$5 billion or more respectively. Republicans did not have a majority for increasing or decreasing.

Among the states, all made cuts except for Florida and Virginia, but no state made a cut higher than Ohio's \$6 billion. Maryland cut \$5 billion and California \$4 billion.



In state party groups, Republicans in Florida and New York made a \$1 billion increase; in all other states they kept spending the same. In all states majorities of Democrats made cuts in the \$5-7 billion range.





Nuclear Weapons

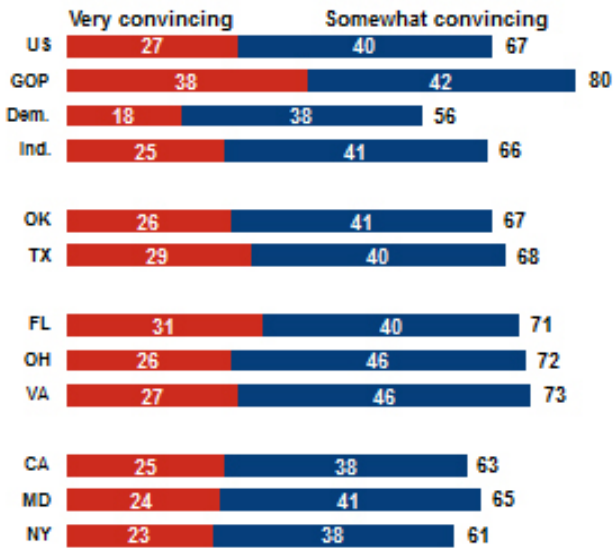
Nationally a majority cut spending on nuclear weapons \$3 billion or 13 percent. States ranged from making no change to cutting \$4 billion.

Respondents were introduced to the role of the nuclear arsenal and nuclear-armed forces with this description:

The United States has bombers, submarines, and land-based missiles, armed with nuclear weapons. Ballistic missile submarines are always on patrol, and nuclear-capable bombers are stationed at, or rotate through, bases around the world. Nuclear weapons are primarily meant to deter nuclear attacks by another state, by threatening nuclear retaliation after an attack. Some nuclear weapons are also designed for first use in highly limited circumstances.

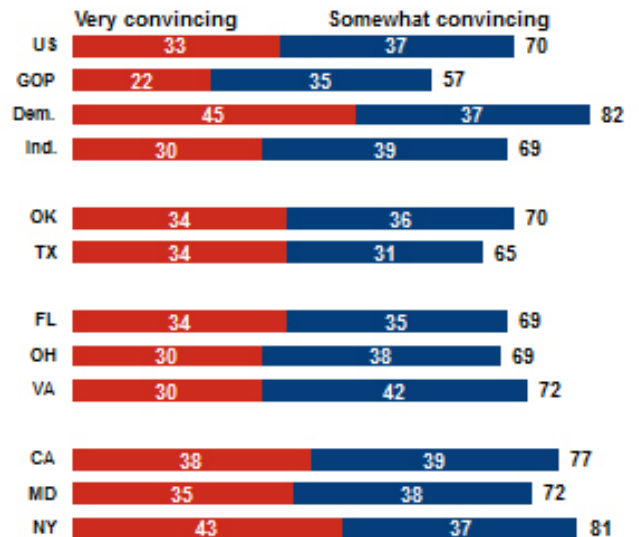
**Pro Spending Argument:
Nuclear Weapons**

A nuclear arsenal ensures the country’s survival and helps protect its influence in a world with many threats and at a relatively modest cost. It provides assurance to our allies and communicates our resolve to be a global power. It also deters threatening actions by our enemies. Developing newer models of nuclear warheads, as well as more modern bombers and submarines to carry them, ensures that the arsenal remains reliable and an impressive deterrent.



**Pro Cut Argument:
Nuclear Weapons**

America’s nuclear arsenal consists of thousands of weapons, most of them far more destructive than the one that obliterated Hiroshima. The idea that we need thousands of weapons to deter an adversary is absurd: We can effectively destroy a country with a small number of weapons. Their use is also highly unlikely against today’s foes—some of whom use crude road bombs. Advanced conventional arms can accomplish virtually every mission that nuclear arms can, without killing thousands of civilians and producing long-lasting nuclear fallout.





They were then informed of the total 2015 amount for these forces, which is \$24 billion: \$18 billion for maintaining current capabilities and \$6 billion toward future capabilities.

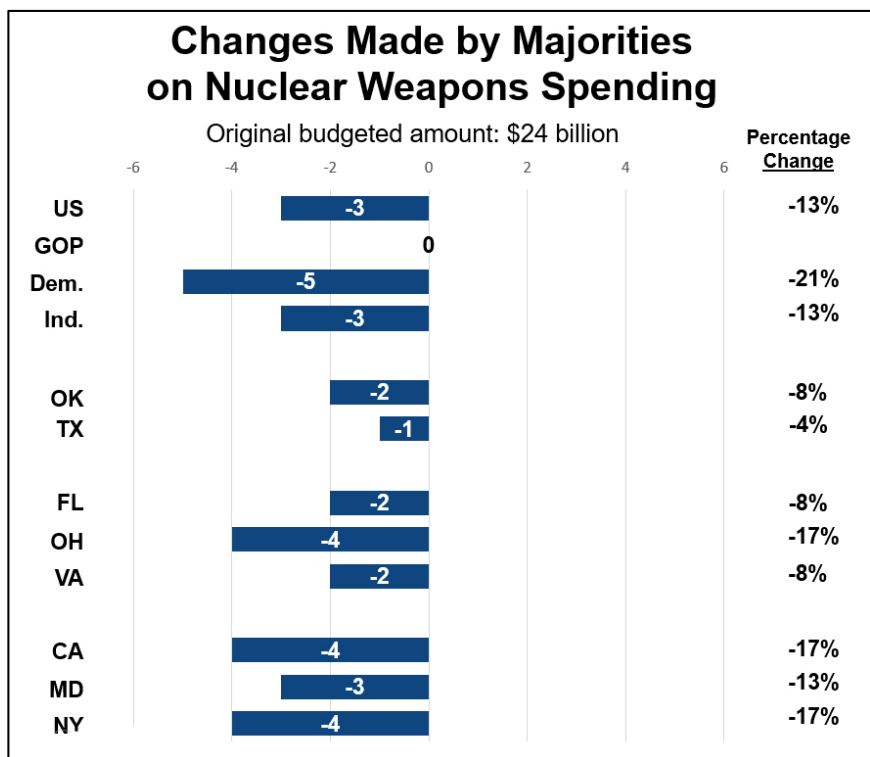
The argument for reducing spending on nuclear weapons did slightly better than the argument for preserving spending. The argument for maintaining this area’s budget relied on the strategic importance and low cost of such weapons. A bipartisan two-thirds majority (67%) found this argument convincing—80% of Republicans and 56% of Democrats. Thirty-two percent found it unconvincing.

The argument for reducing spending relied on the great magnitude of the US nuclear arsenal and its asymmetry with the kinds of enemies the US has faced in recent years. Seven in ten (70%) found this argument convincing—and in a bipartisan way that was the mirror image of responses to the first argument: 57% of Republicans and 82% of Democrats. Thirty percent found it unconvincing.

In setting their own budget, a 54% majority decreased existing capabilities by at least \$2 billion and 56% cut new capabilities by at least \$1 billion for a total cut of \$3 billion or more.

Two thirds of Democrats cut \$5 billion or more; while 55%-56% of independents cut at least \$3 billion. There was no majority position among Republicans as 41% made cuts, while 27% increased spending.

Majorities in all eight states cut funding for nuclear weapons, with California, New York and Ohio cutting more (\$4 billion). Texas cut the least (\$1 billion).



Among party groups in the states, the Republicans left funding unchanged, except for those in Ohio (\$1 billion cut). Majorities of Democrats cut more in Ohio and Oklahoma (\$5 billion) than they did in Maryland (\$3 billion) or the five other states (\$4 billion).



Missile Defense

Nationally a majority cut missile defense \$1 billion or 13 percent. States ranged from making no change to cutting \$1 billion.

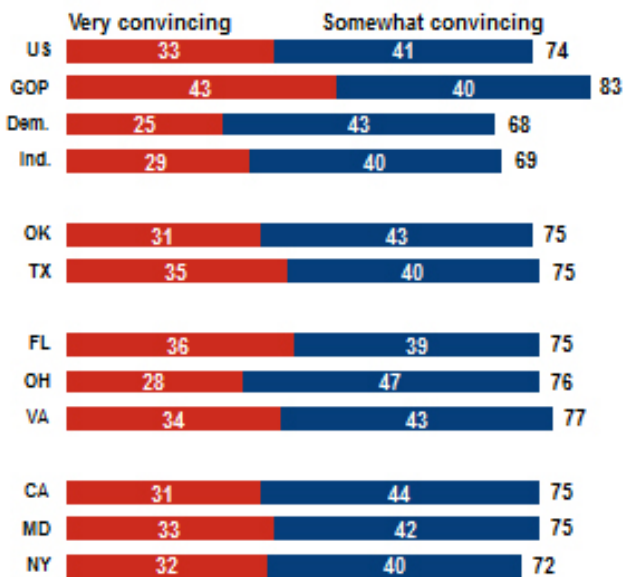
While many respondents were receptive to the concept of missile defense, a modest majority, including Democrats and independents, trimmed its budget, as did four in ten Republicans.

The missile defense program was explained to respondents in the following way:

Missile defense is a program that seeks to defend the US and allies in Europe from incoming missiles by creating the capacity to shoot them down before they land on their target.

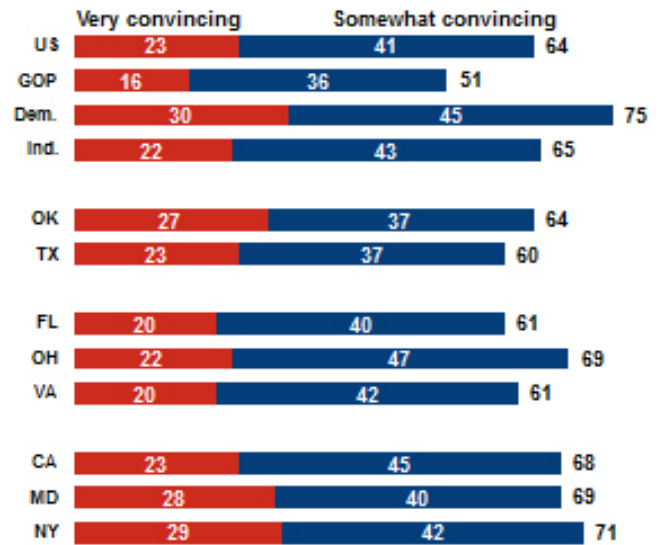
Pro Spending Argument: Missile Defense

Freeing the US from the threat of attack by missiles carrying nuclear warheads would mitigate, or even eliminate, the most catastrophic risk our country faces. This technology is fundamentally peaceful because it is defensive, and we could extend it to our allies as well. Even if we have not succeeded so far, we have made progress and should keep trying.



Pro Cut Argument: Missile Defense

After 28 years of research and spending \$150 billion, national missile defense systems have largely failed to stop ballistic missiles, even in tests conducted in ideal conditions. . And even if we succeeded with missile defense, it would not be effective against the most likely nuclear threats today. We are no longer facing the Soviet Union, but smaller nations or groups. Even if we had a defense against ballistic missiles, they could just use another delivery method, such as low-flying cruise missiles, small boats, or smuggled suitcases.





Respondents were then shown the 2015 budget figure for this area, \$8 billion (\$2 billion for current capacities and \$6 billion in R&D).

The argument in favor of spending did substantially better than the argument for cuts. The argument in favor of spending banked on the defensive purpose of the technology and the potential enemies that might be thwarted. Three quarters (74%) rated this argument as convincing (very, 33%). This included over four in five Republicans (83%) and a full two thirds of Democrats (68%). Only 26% found it unconvincing.

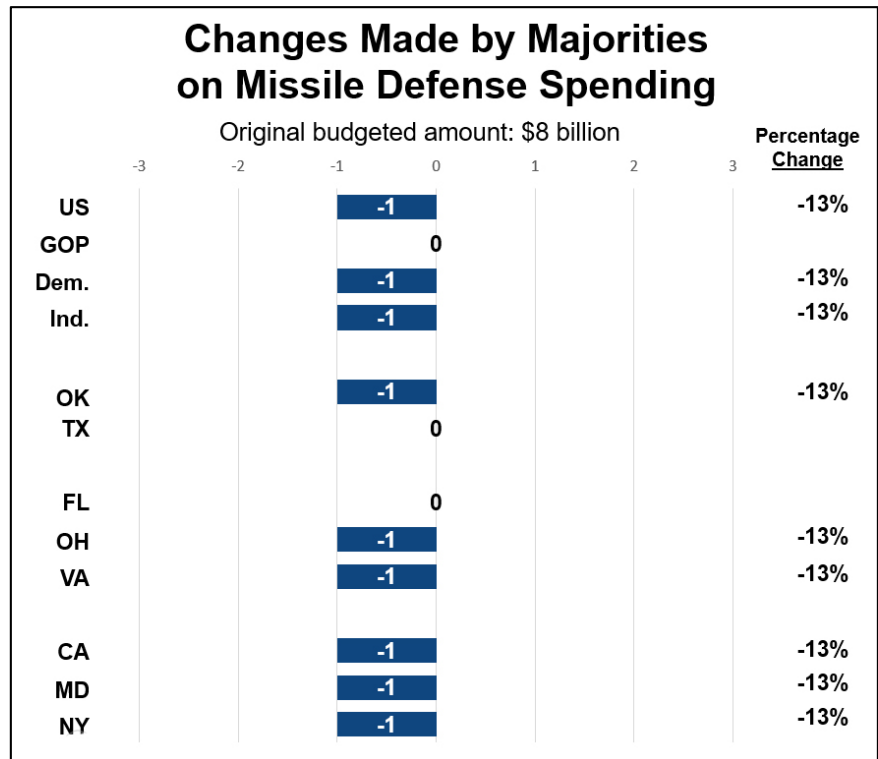
The argument for reducing spending on missile defense argued that extensive investment has so far yielded a low return and that missile defense is a poor fit for contending with the types of enemies the United States has now. Nearly two thirds (64%) found this convincing, while 36% did not. A bare majority of Republicans (51%) rated it as convincing. Among Democrats, though, three quarters did (75%).

In setting their own budget level there was not majority support for changing spending on current missile defense capacities but 53% cut \$1 billion (13%) or more from development of new

capabilities. Sixty-one percent of Democrats and 56% of independents reduced spending. Among Republicans there was not majority support for change.

Majorities in six of eight states made the same reduction as the national majority, \$1 billion. The exceptions were Florida and Texas, which maintained current spending.

In every state, Republican majorities preferred to maintain current spending. In six states Democrats cut by \$1 billion. In Ohio and Oklahoma, the Democrats' cut was \$2 billion.





Marine Corps

Nationally there was not majority support for cutting or increasing spending on the Marine Corps, though 49% favored a \$1 billion cut. States ranged from making no change to cutting \$1 billion.

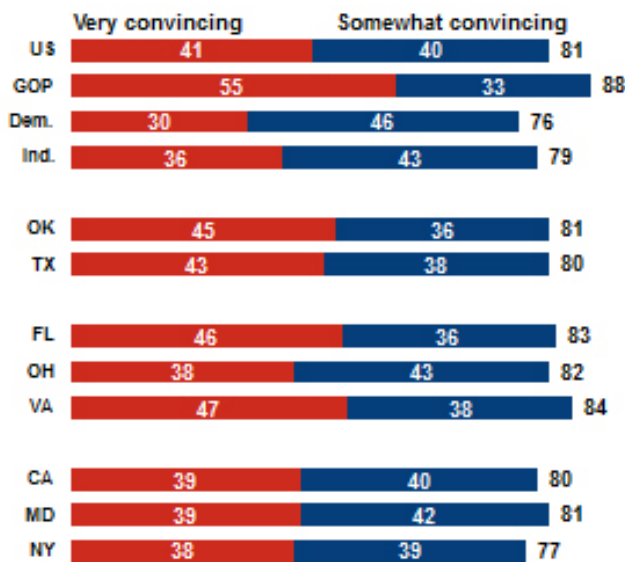
Respondents were next asked to evaluate the Marine Corps as a distinct branch of the military services. The Corps’ special function was described briefly as follows:

The Marine Corps is unique in that it is set up to act very quickly to deal with crises. Marines are expected to have a wide diversity of skills. They also have specialized equipment that allows them to move quickly and smoothly from sea to land.

Respondents then saw the size of the Marines’ current budget, \$33 billion (\$31 billion for current and \$2 billion for new capabilities).

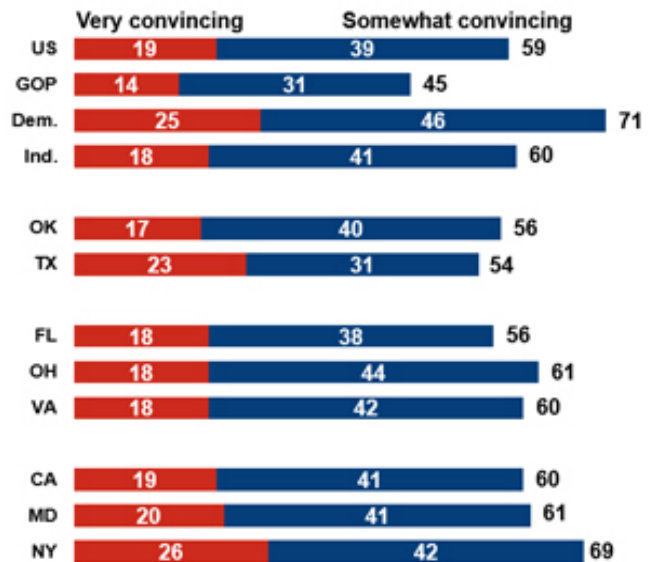
**Pro Spending Argument:
Marine Corps**

The Marine Corps has unique capabilities that are the kind that the US needs in today’s world. Big land and sea wars are largely part of the past. Today we mostly need to move swiftly into crisis areas, do the job and get out. Today’s Marine Corps can prevent the growth of potentially large crises by taking prompt and vigorous action. When the big lumbering services like the army come in they move slowly in getting and are slow in getting out. Thus the Marines are the part of the military that should be maintained fully.



**Pro Cut Argument:
Marine Corps**

While the flexibility of the Marine Corps is needed for some specific purposes, the size of the Marine Corps—184,000 Marines—is out of proportion to this need. To justify this size the Marine Corps has gotten away from its core function and tried to expand into areas that are better handled by other services. It is less expensive and better for the Marine Corps itself to keep it a trim fighting force for a specific type of purpose, rather than letting it grow into a force that is bloated and straying from its central mission.



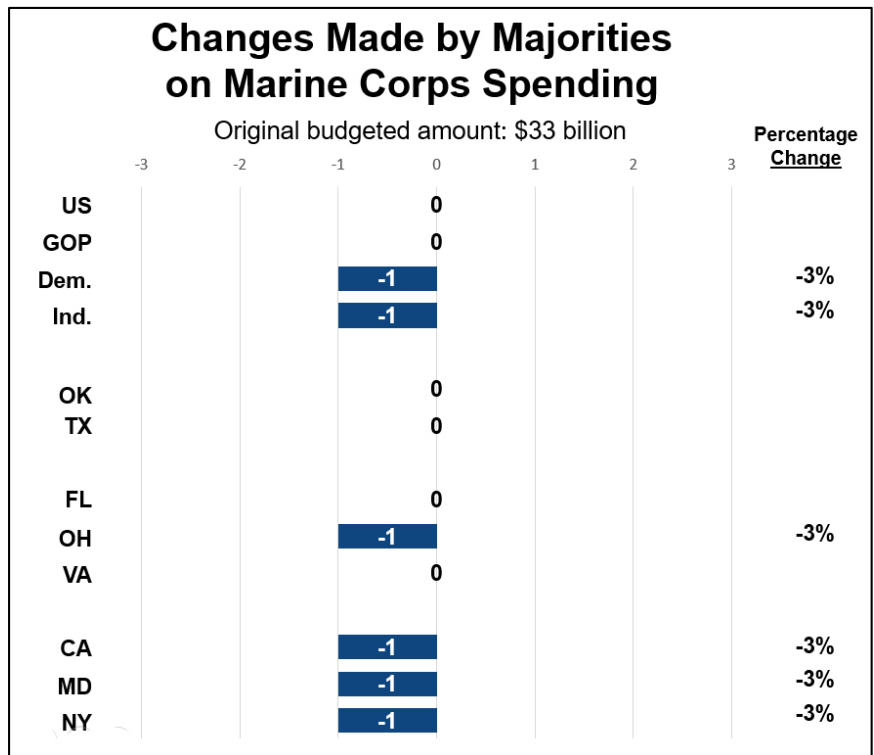


The argument in favor of spending did far better than that argument for cuts. The argument in favor of spending focused on the special abilities of the Corps and its good fit with the types of military action most frequently needed today. This argument was very well received, with four in five (81%) finding it convincing (very, 41%). This response was quite bipartisan, with Republicans at 88% and Democrats at 76%.

The argument in favor of making reductions declared that since the Marine Corps is indeed of value as a specialized force, it should not be allowed to expand further out of its specialized focus. This argument got a good hearing, with three in five (59%) finding it convincing and 41% unconvincing; however, only 45% of Republicans agreed. Seven in ten Democrats rated it as convincing; independents were almost identical to the full sample.

In making up their own budget, there was not majority support for cutting or increasing funding for the Marine Corps. While 49% cut \$1 billion to current capabilities, 51% either maintained it (23%) or increased it (28%). A majority of Democrats (61%) and independents (51%) made a cut of at least \$1 billion. Among Republicans, the numbers reducing (35%) were about the same as those increasing (37%). Funding for new capabilities was untouched by all groups.

In the states, four maintained funding (Florida, Oklahoma, Texas and Virginia) while four decreased it slightly (\$1 billion in California, Maryland, New York and Ohio).



Among party groups in the states there was one increase, by Florida Republicans (\$2 billion); Republicans in the other states left funding unchanged. In Ohio, Democrats made a slightly larger cut (\$2 billion); Democrats in the other states cut \$1 billion.



Special Operations Forces

Nationally and in all state there was not majority support for increasing or decreasing A majorities did not cut or increase spending on Special Forces. All states made no changes.

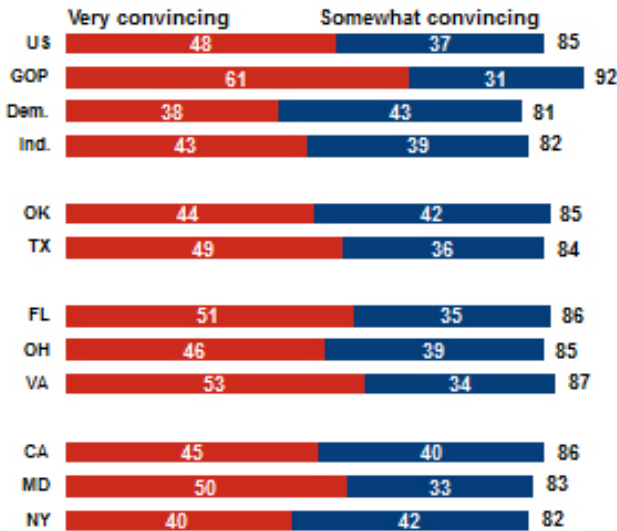
Respondents were introduced to the military roles played by Special Operations Forces (SOF) in the following language:

Special operations forces are highly trained forces that include the Green Berets, Army Rangers, Delta Force, and Navy SEALs, as well as elite aviators and Marines. They undertake covert missions (such as against terrorist groups), fight adversaries’ elite or irregular forces, and frequently train and advise other countries’ militaries.

They were shown the 2015 amount of SOF spending, \$15 billion (\$14 billion for current and \$1 billion for new capabilities).

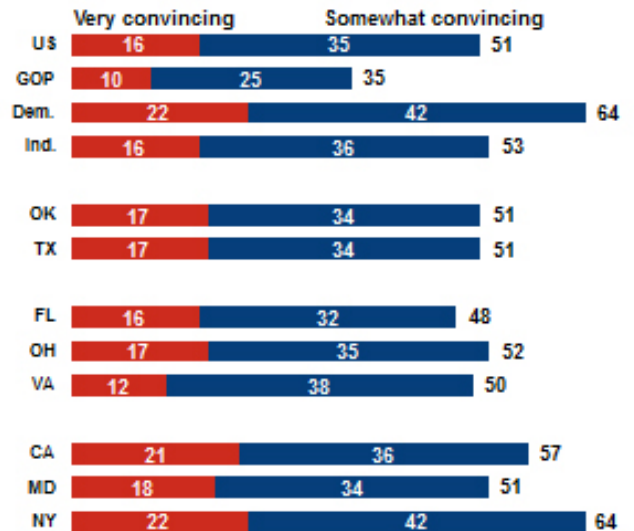
**Pro Spending Argument:
Special Operations Forces**

Special operations forces provide a less expensive and more precise way than regular soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines to counter terrorists, pirates, paramilitary criminal groups, and nuclear proliferators. Using them to train partner states’ militaries may help head off the need for U.S. military operations in the future. Reducing special operations forces could affect the U.S.’s ability to discreetly and precisely target adversaries’ leaders and military assets.



**Pro Cut Argument:
Special Operations Forces**

US special operations forces need to be used very selectively. They operate mostly out of the public eye and thus are less accountable. Some operations have been legally and morally questionable—such as assassinations and kidnappings-- and have provoked hostility toward the US. Additionally, special operations forces have recently been expanded to over 60,000 personnel, making it larger than the militaries of 100 countries. This is too big: it dilutes their quality and increases the likelihood that they will be overused.

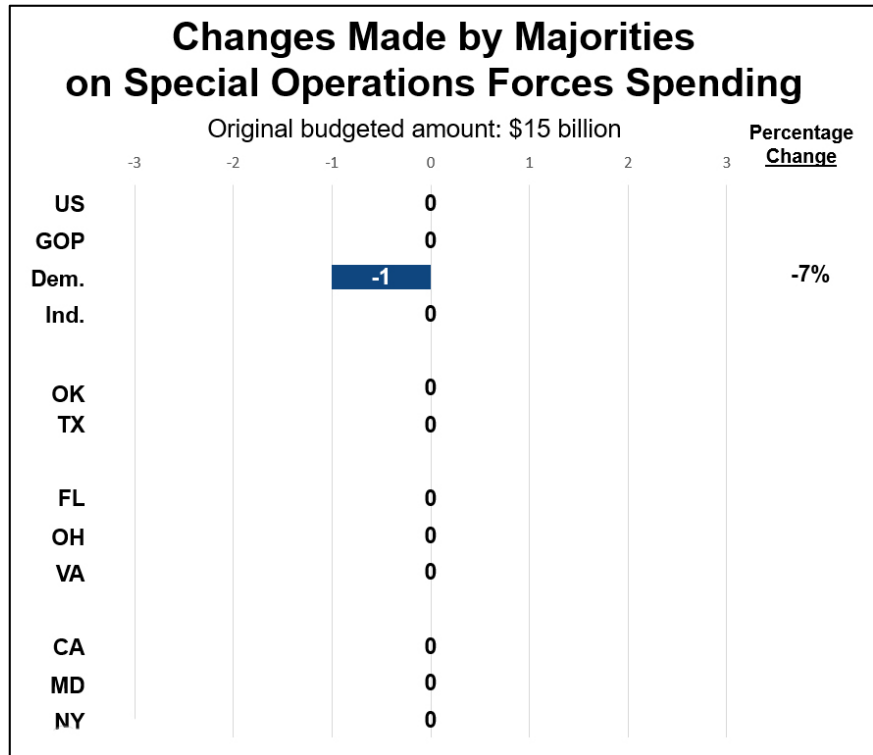




The argument in favor of spending did far better than the argument for cuts. The argument in favor of spending pointed out how SOF’s strengths are uniquely directed against unconventional enemies. This argument was found convincing by a very large and highly bipartisan majority of 85%, including 92% of Republicans and 81% of Democrats. Only 14% found it unconvincing.

The argument in favor of reducing spending focused on the issues of secrecy and accountability, and pointed out that recent expansions of SOF may have already made them unwieldy. This argument did not make strong headway, but evoked partisan differences. A bare majority of 51% found it convincing, while 49% did not.

Among Republicans, 64% said the argument was unconvincing, while a symmetrical 64% of Democrats did find it convincing. Among independents, 53% found it convincing and 47% unconvincing.



In setting their own budget for this area, there was not majority support for cutting or increasing for SOF. Just 40% made a cut while 33% increased it and 27% kept it the same. Republicans also kept funding stable, though over four in ten made increases. A bare majority of Democrats (51%) made a cut of \$1 billion or more; independents made no changes.

All the states left the SOF budget unchanged, neither reducing nor increasing it. Among party groups in the states, Republicans made increases in three states: Florida (\$2 billion), Maryland and Texas (both \$1 billion). Democrats cut \$1 billion in five states, but in Florida, Maryland and Virginia they left funding unchanged.





Evaluating Specific Weapons Systems

Respondents were briefed on four specific weapons systems that are controversial. Majorities favored cutting or downsizing two of the systems and not cutting or downsizing the others.

Once respondents had completed the budgeting by areas of the defense budget, they were asked a series of questions regarding four specific weapons systems: the F-35 fighter, the ‘Next Generation’ stealth bomber, the aircraft carrier fleet, and the nuclear-armed submarine fleet.

They were told that “because [these programs] are within areas that have been explored above, they will not affect your budget tally.” This was to avoid not only the possibility of real double-counting, but also any belief on respondents’ part that their area-by-area budget figure would be altered by responses to these questions. They were, however, given estimates of the specific systems’ costs.

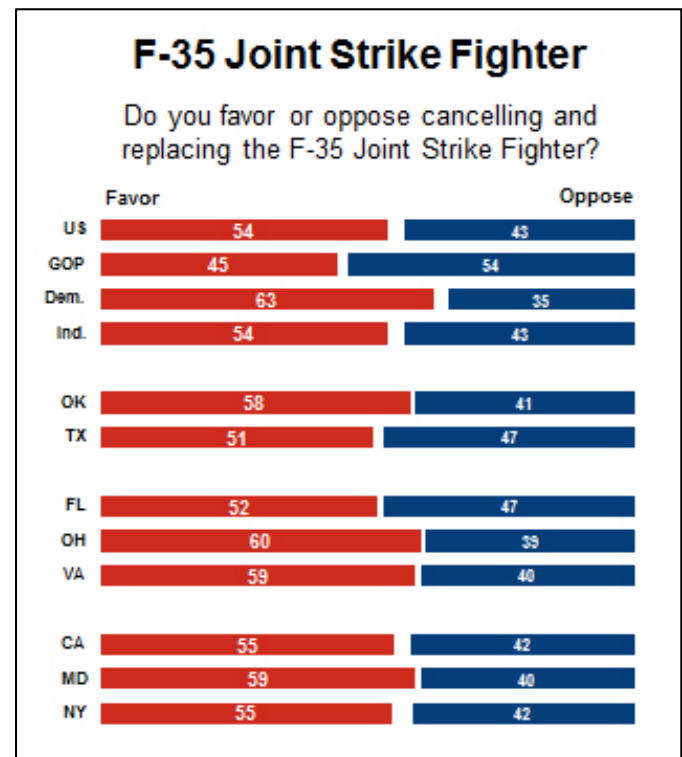
For each specific weapon system they were also presented a brief version of the primary argument for and against cutting or downsizing the system.

F-35 Joint Strike Fighter

Majorities nationally and in all states endorsed cancelling the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter Program and instead upgrading current fighters, saving approximately \$6 billion in the near term and \$97 billion through 2037.

Respondents were told the F-35 “is designed to produce a jet fighter with more advanced features, especially the ability to evade detection by some radar and a smart software system that gives the pilot much greater control over the aircraft and its weapons.” The proposal was explained as one of buying more of the current generation of fighters and upgrading them, instead of buying more F-35s. Respondents were presented a brief form of the primary arguments as follows:

Some say the F-35 is a more sophisticated plane than we need, that it has many design problems, and is way over budget already, with more overruns likely. Others say that alternative aircraft, even after upgrading, will not be stealthy enough and will have less capability in combat as other countries develop better fighters of their own.





Respondents also learned that this proposal is projected to save approximately \$6 billion in the current year, and \$97 billion through 2037.

A majority favored the proposal for cancelling the program, 54 to 43%. A large majority of Democrats (63%) and a lesser majority of independents (54%) took this position. Republicans opposed cancelling the program by 54% to 45%.

Majorities in all eight states agreed with cancelling the F-35 program, with the largest majority in Ohio (60%) and the slimmest majority in Texas (51%, 47% opposed).

Among state-level partisans, clear majorities of Democrats in every state wanted to cancel the program, with the highest in Virginia (68%) and the lowest in Texas (57%) as did majorities of Republicans in Oklahoma (56%) and Ohio (55%). On the other hand Republican majorities opposed cancelling in Florida (65%), California (59%), Maryland (58%), New York (57%), and Texas (53%). Virginia Republicans had 50% in favor, 49% opposed.

Next Generation Bomber

Majorities nationally and in all states endorsed proceeding with the development of a new long-range stealth bomber called “Next Generation” to replace the B-2.

Respondents were informed that “The Air Force is beginning the development of a new long-range stealth bomber (called ‘Next Generation’) that may carry nuclear weapons and operate either manned or unmanned. It is intended to go into service sometime in the 2020s.” They were exposed to arguments on this program:

Some argue that the Air Force has B-2 stealth bombers only 10-20 years old that are far more advanced than those of any other country and are more than adequate for the foreseeable future. Others argue that the B-2s’ technological advantage is slipping and that we don’t have enough of them, so we need a new bomber.

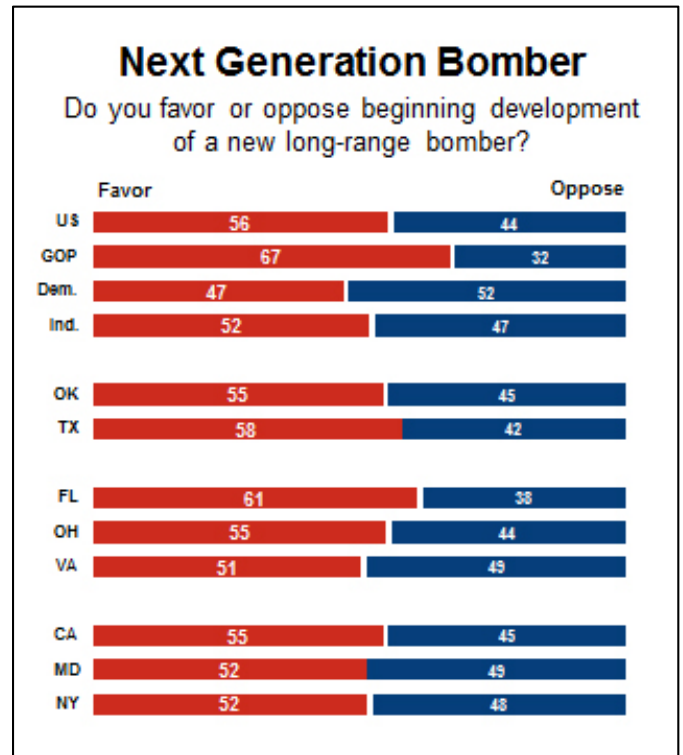
They were told that the program will cost about \$32 billion over the next ten years for research, development, testing and starting production.

Asked for their view on the program, a 56% majority favored continuing it. Two in three Republicans (67%) were for it, and a modest majority of independents (52%) joined them. Democrats opposed the program by a slim margin, 52 to 47%.

There was majority support for continuing the bomber program in all eight states, though some of the majorities were modest. The largest majorities were in Florida (61%), Texas (58%), and Ohio, California, and Oklahoma (all 55%). Support was slimmer in Maryland and New York at 52%, and Virginia at 51%.



Among state party groups, Republicans were enthusiastic with support for developing the bomber ranging from seven in ten or more (77% in New York, 72% in California, 70% in Florida) to two thirds (66% in Oklahoma and Ohio, 65% in Texas) to three in five (60% in Virginia and Maryland). Among state Democrats, there was opposition to development in five states and support for it in two. Opposition was highest in Virginia (58%), followed by Oklahoma (56%), Maryland and New York (both 54%), and Ohio (52%). But Florida and Texas Democrats supported the program (58% and 54%), respectively. California Democrats had 49% in favor, 50% opposed.



Aircraft Carriers

Large majorities nationally and in all states favored reducing the number of nuclear-powered aircraft carriers from 11 to 10 (but not to 9), saving \$7 billion over the next decade.

Respondents were told that the Navy is considering a reduction in the number of nuclear-powered aircraft carriers from 11 to 10 over the next five years, and that in a few more years an option will arise to cut another aircraft carrier, which could reduce the fleet to 9. The projected savings were explained as \$7 billion over the next ten years for cutting one aircraft carrier, and double that (\$14 billion) for cutting two.

Then respondents read arguments about this decision:

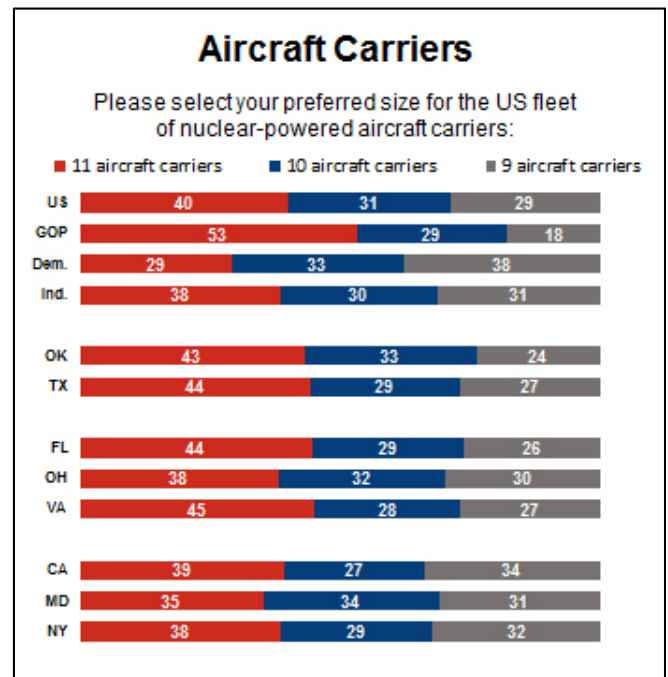
Some say we don't need large aircraft carriers as much as we did during the Cold War, and our current force of 11 carriers is already more than necessary—China and Russia have a total of two. Others say reducing America's force of aircraft carriers would limit our reach around the world, by cutting our ability to project air power into areas where we do not have bases.

Respondents were then asked to select their preferred size for the US fleet of nuclear-powered aircraft carriers—11, 10, or 9.



Sixty percent favored making some reduction in the fleet, with 31% choosing 10 carriers and 29% choosing 9. Forty percent wanted to retain the 11-carrier fleet. Among Democrats, seven in ten (71%) wanted reductions, with more choosing 9 carriers (38%) than choosing 10 (33%). Republicans diverged with a modest majority (53%) preferring 11 carriers, 29% choosing 10 and 18% 9 carriers. Independents were almost identical to the full sample.

Among the states, none had a majority wanting to retain the full 11 aircraft carriers, though Virginia came closest (45%). The largest majority for reducing the fleet to either 10 or 9 was in Maryland (65%). However, no state had more than a third wanting to reduce to 9 carriers (California was highest at 34%).



Among party groups in the states, majorities of Democrats in all states (in all cases two thirds or more) favored reducing by at least one carrier. Among Republicans in no state did clear majority favor a reduction but only in California, Virginia, and Texas did a clear majority (57-58%) favor maintaining 11 carriers.

Nuclear Submarines

Majorities nationally and in most states opposed a plan for reducing the number of nuclear-powered submarines for carrying nuclear weapons from 12 to 8.

Respondents were told about the current status of the submarine component of the nuclear deterrent, as follows:

The Navy is starting to develop a new model of nuclear-powered submarine whose function would be to carry missiles with nuclear warheads. This future submarine type would replace the existing subs that perform the same function of nuclear deterrence. These types of subs are not used for any other additional purpose.

There are 14 of these subs in the current fleet, and all of those will be retired. To replace them, the Navy plans to buy 12 of the new subs. This could be reduced even further to a fleet of 8 by retiring the old subs quicker and waiting longer to purchase new ones.

They then were presented the competing arguments for what should be the appropriate size of the nuclear submarine fleet:



Some people argue that 8 submarines are fully adequate for a robust sea-going nuclear deterrent, because they could still carry over 1,000 warheads when added together. Others argue that an eight-sub fleet would offer too little spare capacity if one is sunk, and that it would be stretched too thin to properly cover the vast geographic area covered by the current fleet.

Respondents also learned that four other countries currently have nuclear strike subs that are also nuclear-powered: Russia (11 subs), China (4), the United Kingdom (4), and France (4). They were told that the projected savings from reducing the planned fleet to 8 submarines would be \$16 billion over the next ten years.

A 54% majority opposed the reduction from 12 to 8 submarines, with 45% in favor of the proposal. Both Republicans (64%) and independents (54%) rejected the proposal, while Democrats had a modest majority in favor of it (53 to 46%).

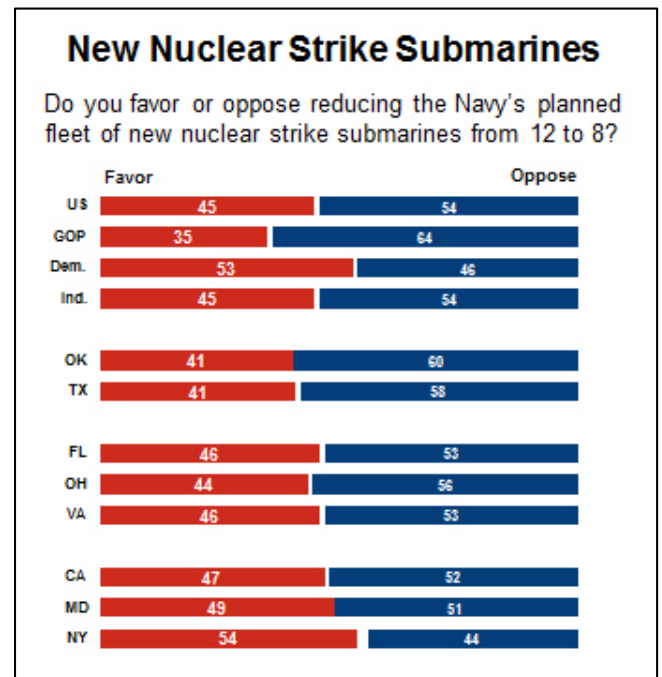
Among the states, Oklahoma had the largest majority opposing the reduction (60%). New York was the only state where a majority favored the reduction (54%).

Correspondingly, among state party groups, in every state Republicans clearly opposed ranging from 57% in New York to 73% in Oklahoma. Among state Democrats, clear majorities favored the smaller fleet size in New York (61%), Virginia and Ohio followed with 57%, and Maryland at 56% with other states having smaller majorities.

Operations in Afghanistan

Respondents were presented the two key options being considered for Afghanistan: to maintain a presence of 5,500 US troops or to withdraw entirely and the costs for each for 2016. Arguments for both options were found convincing by large majorities, though the argument for maintaining a presence did a bit better. Asked for their final recommendation a majority favored a continued presence, including two thirds of Republicans. Democrats and independents were roughly divided.

The funding for overseas contingency operations (OCO), of which Afghanistan makes up the largest part, is separate from the base budget for defense. To consider this aspect of defense spending, respondents were presented the current plan for the U.S. presence in Afghanistan versus a path toward withdrawal and shown the estimated cost of each, as follows:





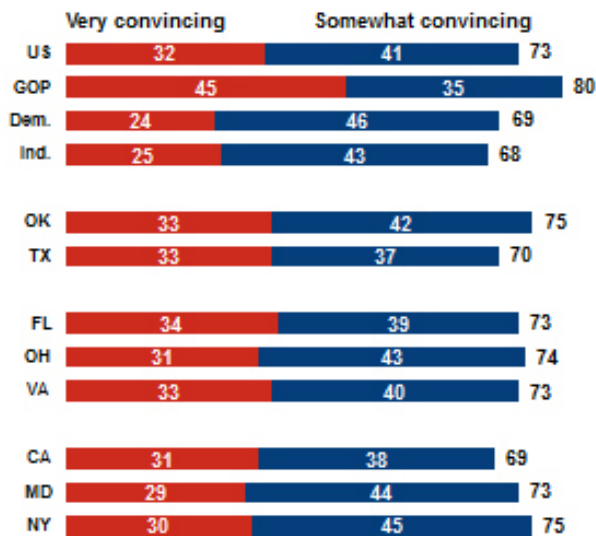
Because we are drawing down in Afghanistan, the amount that will be spent for this operation is expected to be reduced from \$58 billion in 2015. There are basically two options for Afghanistan that are being considered:

- a) for the US to maintain bases in Afghanistan, but reduce troop levels to a contingent of about 5,500 troops. This plan would cost \$50 billion in 2016.
- b) for the US to withdraw nearly all its troops and shut down its combat bases. This plan would cost about \$37 billion in 2016.

Respondents then considered an argument in favor of each option. The argument for the 5,500-troops option relied on the need for patience and the risk of seeing Afghanistan become a haven for international terrorists as it was before 9/11. Large bipartisan majorities found this argument convincing: 73% overall, 80% of Republicans, 69% of Democrats, and 68% of independents.

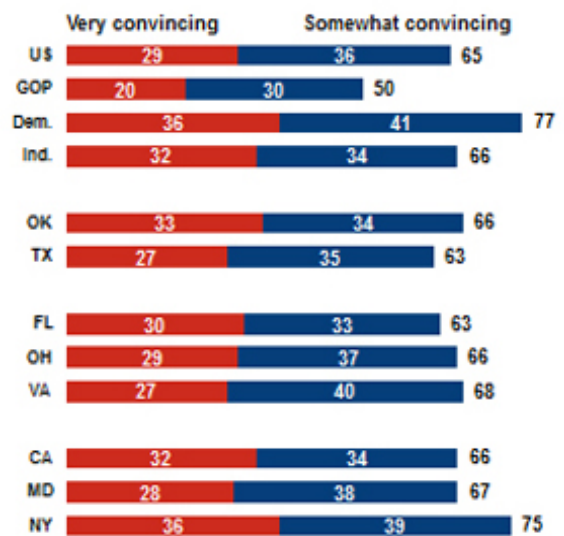
Argument re: Afghanistan Should Maintain Bases and Troops

We have been in Afghanistan for over 12 years. We have achieved our primary objective by breaking al Qaeda’s central organization and its connection to the Taliban, as well as killing Osama bin Laden. It is time for the Afghan people to manage their own country and for us to bring our troops home. Furthermore, our military presence in Afghanistan is resented throughout the Muslim world and breeds hostility toward the US.



Argument re: Afghanistan Should Withdraw Most Troops, Shut Down Combat Bases

We have already drawn down our forces a lot, and have largely turned over Afghan security to the Afghans themselves. But we can’t rush this. The Afghan military still needs training and advisors. The presence of US troops would also deter attacks. If we pull out too soon we could see a resurgence of extremists as has occurred in Iraq. The country could once again become a safe haven for terrorist groups like al Qaeda, as it was before 9/11. Furthermore, if we leave too hastily, America will be seen as lacking resolve.





The argument in favor of the withdrawal option stated that important objectives of the US have been achieved at this point, while continued US presence in Afghanistan is a sore point in the Muslim world. This argument was found convincing by a lesser, but still large majority—65%, which included majorities of Democrats (77%) and independents (66%); however, Republicans were divided.

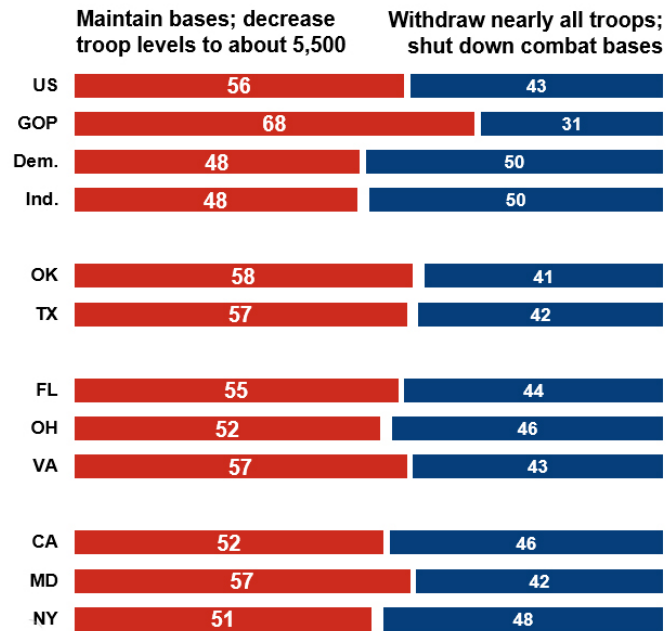
When respondents were asked to choose between the two options, a clear majority—56%—chose to maintain bases in Afghanistan with a contingent of 5,500 troops, while 43% chose the path toward withdrawal. This majority was primarily made up of Republicans (68%). Among Democrats and independents 50% opted for withdrawal while 48% chose maintain a presence.

Continuing a military presence in Afghanistan garnered at least a modest majority in all eight states. Majorities were most definite in Oklahoma (58%), Maryland, Virginia, Texas (all 57%) and Florida (55%). They were more slender in Ohio and California (both 52%) and New York (51%).

Among state party groups, Republican support for a continued presence was high—in the 60-72% range. There was no clear view, however, from state Democrats with no substantial majorities for either position.

Final Recommendations for Afghanistan

For 2016, do you think the US should:



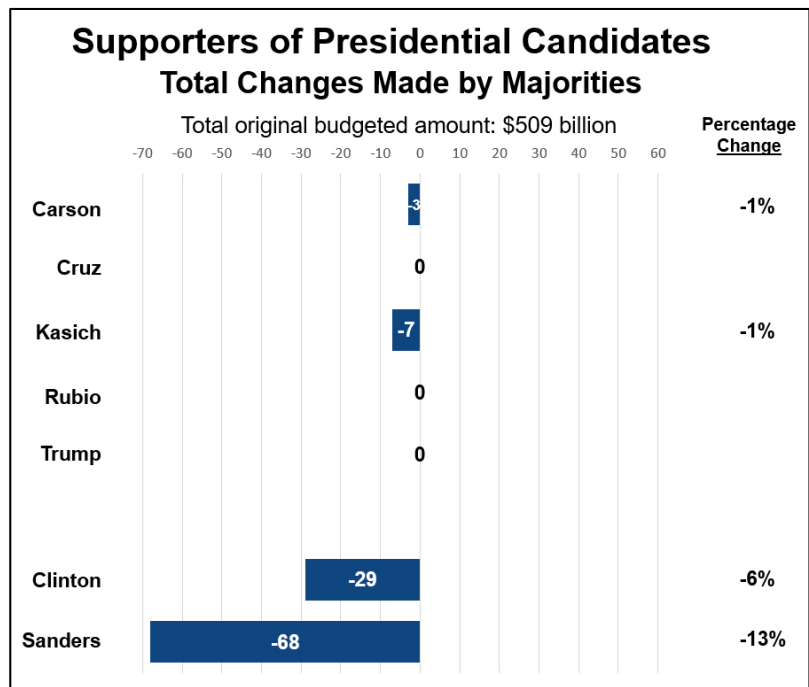


Variations Between Supporters of Presidential Candidates

Supporters of different presidential candidates varied significantly on their proposed spending for defense. Majorities of supporters of all Republican candidates did not favor defense increases while supporters of Carson and Kasich favored small cuts. Supporters of Democratic candidates favored significant cuts. Supporters of Democratic candidates were inclined to cut most specific weapon systems, while supporters of Republican candidates concurred in only a few cases. Only a majority of Sanders supporters favored withdrawing all troops from Afghanistan.

Respondents were asked which presidential candidate they supported for president. This afforded the possibility of comparing the proposed defense budgets of the supporters of the various candidates.

Although all Republican candidates themselves have called for defense spending increases, in no cases did a majority of supporters of Republican presidential candidates favor increases in defense spending. Majorities supported small cuts among supporters of Kasich (\$7 billion) and Carson (\$3 billion). For supporters of Trump, Rubio and Cruz there was not majority support for either increases or decreases.



Among supporters of Democratic candidates majorities supported substantial cuts. A majority of Clinton supporters favored \$29 billion in cuts, while a majority favored \$68 billion among Sanders supporters.

Changes made by majorities	US	Clinton	Sanders	Carson	Cruz	Kasich	Rubio	Trump
Air Power	-2	-6	-18			-1		
Ground Forces	-4	-10	-22			-1		
Naval Forces	-2	-6	-12			-1		
Marine Corps		-1	-3					
Nuclear Weapons	-3	-5	-9	-2		-3		
Special Operations			-2					
Missile Defense	-1	-1	-2	-1		-1		
Total:	-12	-29	-68	-3	0	-7	0	0



Large majorities of supporters of both Democratic candidates favored ending the F-35 program. Majorities of the supporters of Cruz, Rubio, and Trump opposed doing so. Carson and Kasich supporters were divided.

Large majorities of supporters of most Republican candidates favored the development of a new stealth bomber, though only by a modest majority among Kasich supporters. A large majority of Sanders supporters were opposed, while Clinton supporters were divided.

Majorities of supporters of Republican candidates opposed reducing the number of nuclear submarines, while this idea was favored by a large majority of Sanders supporters and a modest majority of Clinton supporters.

Majorities of Cruz and Trump supporters opposed reductions in the numbers of aircraft carriers, while Rubio supporters were divided. Majorities of Carson supporters and Kasich supporters, as well as Clinton supporters favored reducing the number from 11 to 10, while a slight majority of Sanders supporters favored going down to 9 carriers.

Specific Programs	US	Clinton	Sanders	Carson	Cruz	Kasich	Rubio	Trump
F-35								
Favor cancelling	54%	60%	71%	49%	43%	50%	44%	45%
Oppose cancelling	43%	38%	27%	48%	55%	49%	55%	53%
Next Generation Bomber								
Favor development	56%	48%	34%	64%	67%	53%	69%	67%
Oppose development	44%	51%	66%	36%	32%	47%	30%	33%
New Nuclear Strike Submarines								
Favor reducing to 8	45%	53%	63%	39%	31%	43%	33%	35%
Oppose reducing to 8	54%	46%	36%	61%	68%	56%	67%	65%
Aircraft Carriers								
Keep the same	40%	30%	17%	47%	55%	34%	50%	56%
Reduce to 10 or fewer	60%	71%	82%	53%	45%	66%	50%	44%

A large majority of supporters of all Republican candidates favored retaining 5,500 troops in Afghanistan as did slight majority of Clinton supporters. Six in ten Sanders supporters favored a full withdrawal.

Afghanistan	US	Clinton	Sanders	Carson	Cruz	Kasich	Rubio	Trump
Retain about 5,500 troops	56%	52%	40%	64%	77%	69%	77%	59%
Withdraw nearly all troops and shut down bases	43%	47%	59%	35%	22%	30%	22%	40%



APPENDIX

46. United States

47. States

48. Ethnicity

49. California

50. Florida

51. Maryland

52. New York

53. Ohio

54. Oklahoma

55. Texas

56. Virginia



UNITED STATES

Percentage making net changes	Decrease	Maintain	Increase
US	61%	4%	35%
GOP	47%	5%	48%
Democrats	73%	3%	24%
Independents	63%	4%	33%

Changes made by majorities	US	GOP	Dems	Ind.
Air Power	-2		-11	-5
Ground Forces	-4		-11	-5
Naval Forces	-2		-6	-5
Marine Corps			-1	-1
Nuclear Weapons	-3		-5	-3
Special Operations			-1	
Missile Defense	-1		-1	-1
Total:	-12	0	-36	-20

Specific Programs	US	GOP	Dems	Ind.
F-35				
Favor cancelling	54%	45%	63%	54%
Oppose cancelling	43%	54%	35%	43%
Next Generation Bomber				
Favor development	56%	67%	47%	52%
Oppose development	44%	32%	52%	47%
New Nuclear Strike Submarines				
Favor reducing to eight	45%	35%	53%	45%
Oppose reducing to eight	54%	64%	46%	54%
Aircraft Carriers				
Keep the same	40%	53%	29%	38%
Reduce to 10 or fewer	60%	47%	71%	61%

Afghanistan	US	GOP	Dems	Ind.
Retain about 5,500 troops	56%	68%	48%	48%
Withdraw nearly all troops and shut down bases	43%	31%	50%	50%



STATES

Changes made by majorities	US	NY	MD	CA	VA	OH	FL	TX	OK
Air Power	-2	-2	-4	-4		-6			-2
Ground Forces	-4	-5	-5	-10	-2	-5			-1
Naval Forces	-2	-3	-5	-4		-6		-1	-1
Marine Corps		-1	-1	-1		-1			
Nuclear Weapons	-3	-4	-3	-4	-2	-4	-2	-1	-2
Special Operations									
Missile Defense	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1			-1
Total:	-12	-16	-19	-24	-5	-23	-2	-2	-7

Specific Programs	US	NY	MD	CA	VA	OH	FL	TX	OK
F-35									
Favor cancelling	54%	55%	59%	55%	59%	60%	52%	51%	58%
Oppose cancelling	43%	42%	40%	42%	40%	39%	47%	47%	41%
Next Generation Bomber									
Favor development	56%	52%	52%	55%	51%	55%	61%	58%	55%
Oppose development	44%	48%	49%	45%	49%	44%	38%	42%	45%
New Nuclear Strike Submarines									
Favor reducing to eight	45%	54%	49%	47%	46%	44%	46%	41%	41%
Oppose reducing to eight	54%	44%	51%	52%	53%	56%	53%	58%	60%
Aircraft Carriers									
Keep the same	40%	38%	35%	39%	45%	38%	44%	44%	43%
Reduce to 10 or fewer	60%	61%	65%	61%	55%	62%	55%	56%	57%

Afghanistan	US	NY	MD	CA	VA	OH	FL	TX	OK
Retain about 5,500 troops	56%	51%	57%	52%	57%	52%	55%	57%	58%
Withdraw nearly all troops and shut down bases	43%	48%	42%	46%	43%	46%	44%	42%	41%



Changes Made to the Defense Budget by Race

Changes made by majorities	US	White/ Caucasian	Black/African- American	Hispanic
Air Power	-2		-13	-4
Ground Forces	-4	-2	-10	-5
Naval Forces	-2		-5	-5
Marine Corps			-1	-1
Nuclear Weapons	-3	-2	-3	-4
Special Operations			-1	
Missile Defense	-1	-1	-1	-1
Total:	-12	-5	-34	-20

Specific Programs	US	White/ Caucasian	Black/African- American	Hispanic
F-35				
Favor cancelling	54%	44%	57%	41%
Oppose cancelling	43%	54%	43%	55%
Next Generation Bomber				
Favor development	56%	67%	55%	69%
Oppose development	44%	32%	45%	30%
New Nuclear Strike Submarines				
Favor reducing to eight	45%	34%	45%	44%
Oppose reducing to eight	54%	65%	55%	55%
Aircraft Carriers				
Keep the same	40%	40%	42%	37%
Reduce to 10 or fewer	60%	60%	58%	63%

Afghanistan	US	White/ Caucasian	Black/African- American	Hispanic
Retain about 5,500 troops	56%	70%	49%	61%
Withdraw nearly all troops and shut down bases	43%	30%	51%	38%



CALIFORNIA

Percentage making net changes	Decrease	Maintain	Increase
California	66%	4%	30%

Changes made by majorities	US	California	CA GOP	CA Dems
Air Power	-2	-4		-11
Ground Forces	-4	-10		-13
Naval Forces	-2	-4		-5
Marine Corps		-1		-1
Nuclear Weapons	-3	-4		-4
Special Operations				-1
Missile Defense	-1	-1		-1
Total:	-12	-24	0	-36

Specific Programs	US	California	CA GOP	CA Dems
F-35				
Favor cancelling	54%	55%	40%	60%
Oppose cancelling	43%	42%	59%	36%
Next Generation Bomber				
Favor development	56%	55%	72%	49%
Oppose development	44%	45%	28%	50%
New Nuclear Strike Submarines				
Favor reducing to eight	45%	47%	35%	53%
Oppose reducing to eight	54%	52%	64%	46%
Aircraft Carriers				
Keep the same	40%	39%	58%	28%
Reduce to 10 or fewer	60%	61%	41%	72%

Afghanistan	US	California	CA GOP	CA Dems
Retain about 5,500 troops	56%	52%	65%	47%
Withdraw nearly all troops and shut down bases	43%	46%	34%	51%



FLORIDA

Percentage making net changes	Decrease	Maintain	Increase
Florida	51%	4%	46%

Changes made by majorities	US	Florida	FL GOP	FL Dems
Air Power	-2		+2	-6
Ground Forces	-4		+1	-10
Naval Forces	-2		+1	-6
Marine Corps			+2	-1
Nuclear Weapons	-3	-2		-4
Special Operations			+2	
Missile Defense	-1			-1
Total:	-12	-2	+7	-33

Specific Programs	US	Florida	FL GOP	FL Dems
F-35				
Favor cancelling	54%	52%	35%	61%
Oppose cancelling	43%	47%	65%	37%
Next Generation Bomber				
Favor development	56%	61%	70%	58%
Oppose development	44%	38%	28%	42%
New Nuclear Strike Submarines				
Favor reducing to eight	45%	46%	39%	49%
Oppose reducing to eight	54%	53%	61%	49%
Aircraft Carriers				
Keep the same	40%	44%	54%	36%
Reduce to 10 or fewer	60%	55%	46%	64%

Afghanistan	US	Florida	FL GOP	FL Dems
Retain about 5,500 troops	56%	55%	69%	48%
Withdraw nearly all troops and shut down bases	43%	44%	30%	52%



MARYLAND

Percentage making net changes	Decrease	Maintain	Increase
Maryland	65%	2%	32%

Changes made by majorities	US	Maryland	MD GOP	MD Dems
Air Power	-2	-4		-4
Ground Forces	-4	-5		-10
Naval Forces	-2	-5		-6
Marine Corps		-1		-1
Nuclear Weapons	-3	-3		-3
Special Operations			+1	
Missile Defense	-1	-1		-1
Total:	-12	-19	+1	-25

Specific Programs	US	Maryland	MD GOP	MD Dems
F-35				
Favor cancelling	54%	59%	42%	66%
Oppose cancelling	43%	40%	58%	32%
Next Generation Bomber				
Favor development	56%	52%	60%	46%
Oppose development	44%	49%	40%	54%
New Nuclear Strike Submarines				
Favor reducing to eight	45%	49%	36%	56%
Oppose reducing to eight	54%	51%	64%	44%
Aircraft Carriers				
Keep the same	40%	35%	49%	28%
Reduce to 10 or fewer	60%	65%	51%	73%

Afghanistan	US	Maryland	MD GOP	MD Dems
Retain about 5,500 troops	56%	57%	71%	54%
Withdraw nearly all troops and shut down bases	43%	42%	28%	45%



NEW YORK

Percentage making net changes	Decrease	Maintain	Increase
New York	63%	3%	34%

Changes made by majorities	US	New York	NY GOP	NY Dems
Air Power	-2	-2	+2	-6
Ground Forces	-4	-5		-10
Naval Forces	-2	-3	+1	-6
Marine Corps		-1		-1
Nuclear Weapons	-3	-4		-4
Special Operations				-1
Missile Defense	-1	-1		-1
Total:	-12	-16	+3	-29

Specific Programs	US	New York	NY GOP	NY Dems
F-35				
Favor cancelling	54%	55%	39%	58%
Oppose cancelling	43%	42%	57%	37%
Next Generation Bomber				
Favor development	56%	52%	77%	46%
Oppose development	44%	48%	23%	54%
New Nuclear Strike Submarines				
Favor reducing to eight	45%	54%	39%	61%
Oppose reducing to eight	54%	44%	57%	37%
Aircraft Carriers				
Keep the same	40%	38%	50%	36%
Reduce to 10 or fewer	60%	61%	51%	65%

Afghanistan	US	New York	NY GOP	NY Dems
Retain about 5,500 troops	56%	51%	61%	48%
Withdraw nearly all troops and shut down bases	43%	48%	38%	50%



OHIO

Percentage making net changes	Decrease	Maintain	Increase
Ohio	63%	3%	34%

Changes made by majorities	US	Ohio	OH GOP	OH Dems
Air Power	-2	-6		-16
Ground Forces	-4	-5		-11
Naval Forces	-2	-6		-7
Marine Corps		-1		-2
Nuclear Weapons	-3	-4	-1	-5
Special Operations				-1
Missile Defense	-1	-1		-2
Total:	-12	-23	-1	-44

Specific Programs	US	Ohio	OH GOP	OH Dems
F-35				
Favor cancelling	54%	60%	55%	67%
Oppose cancelling	43%	39%	45%	31%
Next Generation Bomber				
Favor development	56%	55%	66%	48%
Oppose development	44%	44%	33%	52%
New Nuclear Strike Submarines				
Favor reducing to eight	45%	44%	34%	57%
Oppose reducing to eight	54%	56%	66%	43%
Aircraft Carriers				
Keep the same	40%	38%	49%	30%
Reduce to 10 or fewer	60%	62%	51%	69%

Afghanistan	US	Ohio	OH GOP	OH Dems
Retain about 5,500 troops	56%	52%	60%	49%
Withdraw nearly all troops and shut down bases	43%	46%	39%	49%



OKLAHOMA

Percentage making net changes	Decrease	Maintain	Increase
Oklahoma	63%	3%	33%

Changes made by majorities	US	Oklahoma	OK GOP	OK Dems
Air Power	-2	-2		-6
Ground Forces	-4	-1		-6
Naval Forces	-2	-1		-6
Marine Corps				-1
Nuclear Weapons	-3	-2		-5
Special Operations				-1
Missile Defense	-1	-1		-2
Total:	-12	-7	0	-27

Specific Programs	US	Oklahoma	OK GOP	OK Dems
F-35				
Favor cancelling	54%	58%	56%	60%
Oppose cancelling	43%	41%	43%	39%
Next Generation Bomber				
Favor development	56%	55%	66%	43%
Oppose development	44%	45%	34%	56%
New Nuclear Strike Submarines				
Favor reducing to eight	45%	41%	27%	50%
Oppose reducing to eight	54%	60%	73%	50%
Aircraft Carriers				
Keep the same	40%	43%	53%	31%
Reduce to 10 or fewer	60%	57%	48%	70%

Afghanistan	US	Oklahoma	OK GOP	OK Dems
Retain about 5,500 troops	56%	58%	68%	52%
Withdraw nearly all troops and shut down bases	43%	41%	31%	46%



TEXAS

Percentage making net changes	Decrease	Maintain	Increase
Texas	57%	4%	39%

Changes made by majorities	US	Texas	TX GOP	TX Dems
Air Power	-2		+1	-16
Ground Forces	-4		+1	-12
Naval Forces	-2	-1		-6
Marine Corps				-1
Nuclear Weapons	-3	-1		-4
Special Operations			+1	-1
Missile Defense	-1			-1
Total:	-12	-2	+3	-41

Specific Programs	US	Texas	TX GOP	TX Dems
F-35				
Favor cancelling	54%	51%	45%	57%
Oppose cancelling	43%	47%	53%	42%
Next Generation Bomber				
Favor development	56%	58%	65%	54%
Oppose development	44%	42%	35%	46%
New Nuclear Strike Submarines				
Favor reducing to eight	45%	41%	35%	53%
Oppose reducing to eight	54%	58%	64%	46%
Aircraft Carriers				
Keep the same	40%	44%	57%	31%
Reduce to 10 or fewer	60%	56%	42%	69%

Afghanistan	US	Texas	TX GOP	TX Dems
Retain about 5,500 troops	56%	57%	72%	48%
Withdraw nearly all troops and shut down bases	43%	42%	27%	49%



VIRGINIA

Percentage making net changes	Decrease	Maintain	Increase
Virginia	64%	5%	31%

Changes made by majorities	US	Virginia	VA GOP	VA Dems
Air Power	-2			-3
Ground Forces	-4	-2		-10
Naval Forces	-2			-5
Marine Corps				-1
Nuclear Weapons	-3	-2		-4
Special Operations				
Missile Defense	-1	-1		-1
Total:	-12	-5	0	-24

Specific Programs	US	Virginia	VA GOP	VA Dems
F-35				
Favor cancelling	54%	59%	50%	68%
Oppose cancelling	43%	40%	49%	32%
Next Generation Bomber				
Favor development	56%	51%	60%	42%
Oppose development	44%	49%	39%	58%
New Nuclear Strike Submarines				
Favor reducing to eight	45%	46%	37%	57%
Oppose reducing to eight	54%	53%	62%	40%
Aircraft Carriers				
Keep the same	40%	45%	58%	30%
Reduce to 10 or fewer	60%	55%	42%	70%

Afghanistan	US	Virginia	VA GOP	VA Dems
Retain about 5,500 troops	56%	57%	67%	47%
Withdraw nearly all troops and shut down bases	43%	43%	33%	52%



Voice Of the People is a non-partisan organization that seeks to re-anchor our democracy in its founding principles by giving ‘We the People’ a greater role in government. VOP furthers the use of innovative methods and technology to give the American people a more effective voice in the policymaking process.

VOP is working to urge Congress to take these new methods to scale so that Members of Congress have a large, scientifically-selected, representative sample of their constituents—called a Citizen Cabinet—to be consulted on current issues and providing a voice that accurately reflects the values and priorities of their district or state.



PROGRAM FOR PUBLIC CONSULTATION

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

The **Program for Public Consultation** seeks to improve democratic governance by consulting the citizenry on key public policy issues governments face. It has developed innovative survey methods that simulate the process that policymakers go through—getting a briefing, hearing arguments, dealing with tradeoffs—before coming to their conclusion. It also uses surveys to help find common ground between conflicting parties. The Program for Public Consultation is part of the School of Public Policy at the University of Maryland.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project is supported by generous grants from the Democracy Fund, the Hewlett Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the Circle Foundation.

The survey was fielded to a national panel by Nielsen Scarborough, with thanks to Scott Willoth, Neil Schwartz and Robert O’Neill. Additional respondents were recruited in Virginia, Maryland and Oklahoma by Communications for Research, Inc., with thanks to Colson Steber and Chris Kreiling.

Richard Parsons, VOP’s Executive Director, and Rich Robinson, VOP’s Director of Communications, managed communications with U.S. Congressional offices and the press, and contributed to the writing of the report.

Allison Stettler managed the design and production of the report with assistance from Meaza Getachew, Sarah Reynolds and Evan Sweeney.