



## TRIP Snap Poll 17 Report

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

Irene Entringer Garcia Blanes  
William & Mary

Susan Peterson  
William & Mary

Ryan Powers  
School of Public and International Affairs  
University of Georgia

Michael J. Tierney  
William & Mary

March 2022

### **Introduction**

We are pleased to share the results of the 17th Teaching, Research and International Policy (TRIP) Snap Poll, fielded with the support of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Our polls provide real-time data in the wake of significant policy proposals, during international crises, and on emerging foreign policy debates. In this survey, we asked questions concerning Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the U.S. foreign policy response, and possible implications for China and Taiwan.

### **Methodology**

We attempted to contact all international relations (IR) scholars in the United States. We define IR scholars as individuals who are employed at a college or university in a political science department or professional school and who teach or conduct research on issues that cross international borders. Of the 4,598 scholars across the United States that we contacted, 866 responded to at least one question. The resulting response rate is approximately 19 percent. The poll was open from March 10 to March 14 of 2022. Our sample is roughly similar to the broader population of International Relations scholars in terms of gender, academic rank, and university type.

Data contacts: Irene Entringer Garcia Blanes. Email: [irsurvey@wm.edu](mailto:irsurvey@wm.edu)

## Sample vs. Population Comparison

Table 1: Sample vs. Population Comparison: Gender

Gender	Respondents Count	Respondents Percentage	Population Count	Population Percentage
Female	237	28.49	1384	32.22
Male	595	71.51	2911	67.78

Chi-squared test results: X-squared=4.33, p-value=0.03

Table 2: Sample vs. Population Comparison: Academic Rank

Academic Rank	Respondents Count	Respondents Percentage	Population Count	Population Percentage
Adjunct	21	2.46	266	5.85
Assistant Professor	118	13.80	847	18.64
Associate Professor	275	32.16	1197	26.34
Emeritus	28	3.27	222	4.88
Full Professor	355	41.52	1542	33.93
Instructor	22	2.57	230	5.06
Other	21	2.46	131	2.88
Visiting Instructor/Visiting Assistant Professor	15	1.75	110	2.42

Chi-squared test results: X-squared= 61.22 p-value<0

Table 3: Sample vs. Population Comparison: University Type

University Type	Respondents Count	Respondents Percentage	Population Count	Population Percentage
National Liberal Arts College	108	13.12	589	13.65
National Research University	514	62.45	2592	60.06
Regional Liberal Arts College	24	2.92	157	3.64
Regional Research University	177	21.51	978	22.66

Chi-squared test results: X-squared=2.46, p-value=0.98

## Results

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

Table 4: In response to the Russian use of military force in Ukraine, the United States should (or should continue to):

Response option	Count	Percentage
Place sanctions on the Russian government and/or its leaders	836	96.98
Deploy U.S. military forces to the region	531	61.6
Send additional arms and military supplies to Ukraine	757	87.82
Initiate direct military operations against Russian military forces	20	2.32
Initiate cyber attacks against Russian military forces	253	29.35
Impose a ‘no fly zone’ above Ukraine	61	7.08
Not buy oil or gas from Russia during this conflict even if it causes gas prices to increase	747	86.66
Take in Ukrainian refugees from the current conflict	834	96.75
None of the above	6	0.7

\* Reuters/Ipsos Public Poll - Impose a ‘no fly zone’ above Ukraine: Yes 74%, No 26%

\* Reuters/Ipsos Public Poll - Not buy oil or gas from Russia during this conflict, even if it causes gas prices to increase: Agree 80%, Disagree 20%

\* Reuters/Ipsos Public Poll - Take in Ukrainian refugees from the current conflict: Agree 74%, Disagree 26%

The following three response options have been previously asked on a public opinion survey by Reuters/Ipsos; (1)“Impose a ‘no fly zone’ above Ukraine”, (2)“Not buy oil or gas from Russia during this conflict, even if it causes gas prices to increase”, (3) “Take in Ukrainian refugees from the current conflict”. The original questions and data can be found here. The Reuters/Ipsos Poll was conducted between March 3-4, 2022, a sample of 831 adults age 18+ from the continental U.S., Alaska, and Hawaii were interviewed online in English.

Figure 1:

In response to the Russian use of military force in Ukraine, the United States should (or should continue to):

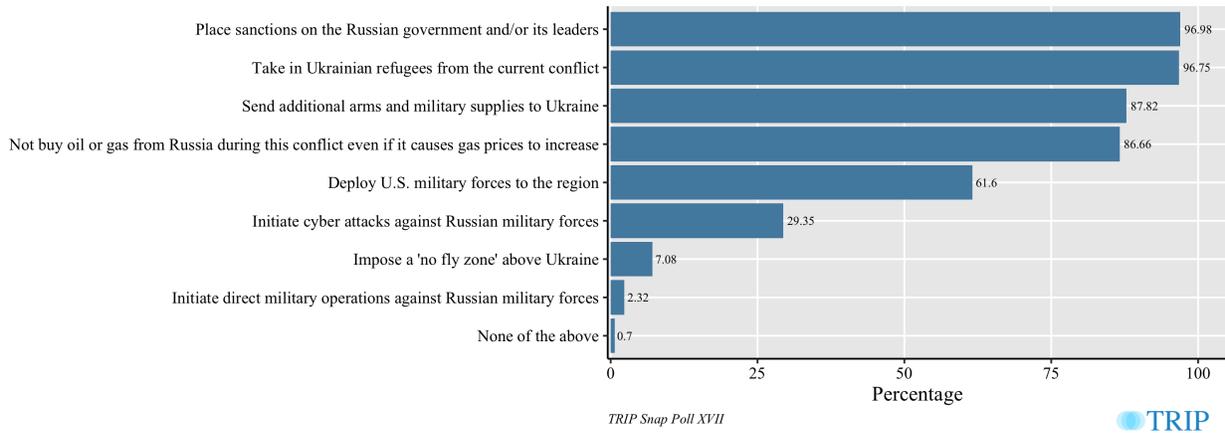


Figure 2:

How likely is Russia to adopt the following tactics in the next month?

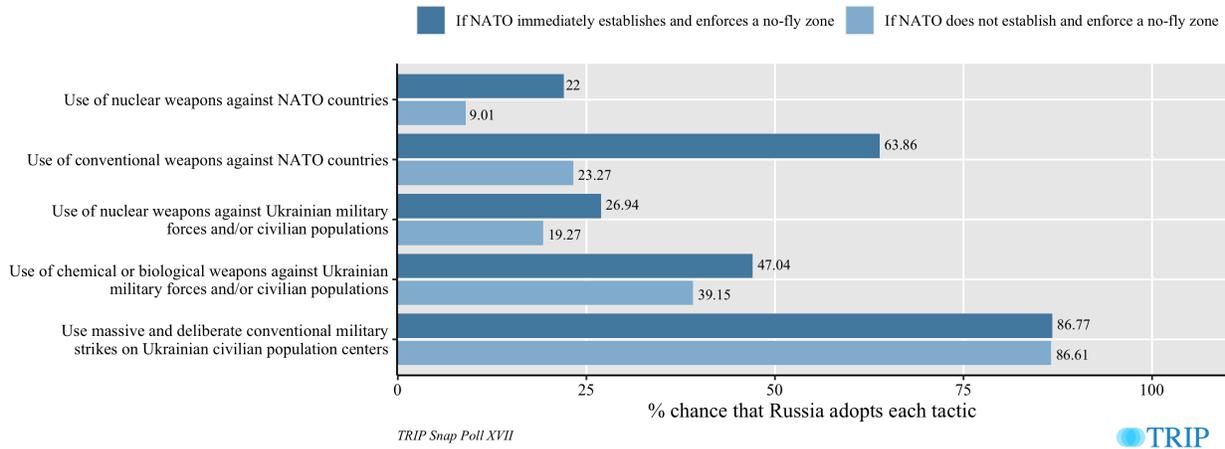


Table 5: Assuming that NATO does not establish and enforce a no-fly zone over Ukraine, how likely is Russia to adopt the following tactics in the next month:

Response option	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
Use massive and deliberate conventional military strikes on Ukrainian civilian population centers	4 (0.47%)	1 (0.12%)	8 (0.94%)	8 (0.94%)	12 (1.40%)	45 (5.26%)	30 (3.51%)	51 (5.96%)	127 (14.85%)	152 (17.78%)	417 (48.77%)	855 (100.00%)
Use of chemical or biological weapons against Ukrainian military forces and/or civilian populations	48 (5.97%)	89 (11.07%)	132 (16.42%)	118 (14.68%)	89 (11.07%)	139 (17.29%)	66 (8.21%)	42 (5.22%)	45 (5.60%)	20 (2.49%)	16 (1.99%)	804 (100.00%)
Use of conventional weapons against NATO countries	73 (9.73%)	217 (28.93%)	190 (25.33%)	117 (15.60%)	44 (5.87%)	73 (9.73%)	13 (1.73%)	11 (1.47%)	9 (1.20%)	1 (0.13%)	2 (0.27%)	750 (100.00%)
Use of nuclear weapons against NATO countries	258 (42.43%)	254 (41.78%)	52 (8.55%)	18 (2.96%)	11 (1.81%)	10 (1.64%)	1 (0.16%)	1 (0.16%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (0.16%)	2 (0.33%)	608 (100.00%)
Use of nuclear weapons against Ukrainian military forces and/or civilian populations	144 (20.31%)	225 (31.73%)	148 (20.87%)	77 (10.86%)	36 (5.08%)	47 (6.63%)	13 (1.83%)	5 (0.71%)	7 (0.99%)	4 (0.56%)	3 (0.42%)	709 (100.00%)

\* 0 to 10 scale where 0 indicates Russia definitely will not adopt the tactic and 10 indicates that Russia definitely will adopt the tactic.

Table 6: If NATO immediately establishes and enforces a no-fly zone over Ukraine, how likely is Russia to adopt the following tactics in the next month:

Response option	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
Use massive and deliberate conventional military strikes on Ukrainian civilian population centers	4 (0.47%)	1 (0.12%)	11 (1.29%)	7 (0.82%)	16 (1.88%)	46 (5.40%)	30 (3.52%)	56 (6.57%)	101 (11.85%)	125 (14.67%)	455 (53.40%)	852 (100.00%)
Use of chemical or biological weapons against Ukrainian military forces and/or civilian populations	39 (4.86%)	70 (8.73%)	78 (9.73%)	102 (12.72%)	88 (10.97%)	129 (16.08%)	89 (11.10%)	66 (8.23%)	30 (3.74%)	45 (5.61%)	802 (100.00%)	
Use of conventional weapons against NATO countries	17 (2.02%)	25 (2.97%)	39 (4.63%)	60 (7.12%)	50 (5.93%)	134 (15.90%)	81 (9.61%)	91 (10.79%)	136 (16.13%)	81 (9.61%)	129 (15.30%)	843 (100.00%)
Use of nuclear weapons against NATO countries	117 (15.79%)	235 (31.71%)	151 (20.38%)	93 (12.55%)	37 (4.99%)	57 (7.69%)	12 (1.62%)	20 (2.70%)	9 (1.21%)	3 (0.40%)	7 (0.94%)	741 (100.00%)
Use of nuclear weapons against Ukrainian military forces and/or civilian populations	109 (14.51%)	157 (20.91%)	161 (21.44%)	112 (14.91%)	61 (8.12%)	70 (9.32%)	24 (3.20%)	20 (2.66%)	16 (2.13%)	8 (1.07%)	13 (1.73%)	751 (100.00%)

\* 0 to 10 scale where 0 indicates Russia definitely will not adopt the tactic and 10 indicates that Russia definitely will adopt the tactic.

Table 7: Please indicate your level of support for NATO membership for each of the following countries on a 10 point scale where 0 indicates no support at all and 10 indicates extremely strong support.

Response option	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
Finland	36 (4.45%)	22 (2.72%)	22 (2.72%)	20 (2.47%)	12 (1.48%)	85 (10.51%)	34 (4.20%)	47 (5.81%)	105 (12.98%)	67 (8.28%)	359 (44.38%)	809 (100.00%)
Georgia	129 (17.84%)	87 (12.03%)	70 (9.68%)	66 (9.13%)	46 (6.36%)	129 (17.84%)	26 (3.60%)	35 (4.84%)	48 (6.64%)	17 (2.35%)	70 (9.68%)	723 (100.00%)
Moldova	105 (14.71%)	69 (9.66%)	61 (8.54%)	68 (9.52%)	45 (6.30%)	128 (17.93%)	32 (4.48%)	49 (6.86%)	51 (7.14%)	17 (2.38%)	89 (12.46%)	714 (100.00%)
Sweden	24 (2.93%)	14 (1.71%)	18 (2.20%)	19 (2.32%)	13 (1.59%)	80 (9.77%)	20 (2.44%)	40 (4.88%)	90 (10.99%)	76 (9.28%)	425 (51.89%)	819 (100.00%)
Ukraine	124 (17.59%)	77 (10.92%)	50 (7.09%)	58 (8.23%)	34 (4.82%)	112 (15.89%)	27 (3.83%)	42 (5.96%)	44 (6.24%)	26 (3.69%)	111 (15.74%)	705 (100.00%)

Table 8: Independent of your level of support for particular countries joining NATO, how likely are each of the following countries to become members of the NATO alliance within the next 5 years?

Response option	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
Finland	19 (2.31%)	37 (4.49%)	49 (5.95%)	66 (8.01%)	38 (4.61%)	181 (21.97%)	89 (10.80%)	113 (13.71%)	131 (15.90%)	37 (4.49%)	64 (7.77%)	824 (100.00%)
Georgia	126 (18.23%)	182 (26.34%)	115 (16.64%)	84 (12.16%)	47 (6.80%)	79 (11.43%)	27 (3.91%)	15 (2.17%)	9 (1.30%)	5 (0.72%)	2 (0.29%)	691 (100.00%)
Moldova	108 (15.36%)	156 (22.19%)	128 (18.21%)	91 (12.94%)	55 (7.82%)	92 (13.09%)	33 (4.69%)	19 (2.70%)	10 (1.42%)	4 (0.57%)	7 (1.00%)	703 (100.00%)
Sweden	11 (1.33%)	34 (4.13%)	47 (5.70%)	55 (6.67%)	51 (6.19%)	187 (22.69%)	85 (10.32%)	108 (13.11%)	130 (15.78%)	51 (6.19%)	65 (7.89%)	824 (100.00%)
Ukraine	124 (18.05%)	148 (21.54%)	121 (17.61%)	80 (11.64%)	44 (6.40%)	95 (13.83%)	11 (1.60%)	20 (2.91%)	18 (2.62%)	9 (1.31%)	17 (2.47%)	687 (100.00%)

## Experiment: China and Taiwan Question Position

50% of respondents answered the following three questions on China and Taiwan prior to answering two questions reflecting on the probability of China using military force against Taiwan or Taiwanese military forces relative to a month ago. And 50% received them after.

Table 9: Respondents by Treatment

	Count	Percentage (%)
Control	433	50
Treatment	433	50
Total	866	100

Table 10: In the next year, will China use military force against the territory of Taiwan or Taiwanese military forces?

Experiment	Yes	No	Do not know	Total
Control	37 (8.6%)	291 (68.0%)	100 (23.4%)	428 (100.0%)
Treatment	24 (5.7%)	312 (73.6%)	88 (20.8%)	424 (100.0%)
Total	61 (7.2%)	603 (70.8%)	188 (22.1%)	852 (100.0%)

Table 11: In the next year, will China use military force against the territory of Taiwan or Taiwanese military forces? By region of expertise

Response option	Yes	No	Do not know	Total
East Asia (including China)	7 (4.1%)	140 (82.4%)	23 (13.5%)	170 (100.0%)
Other	54 (8.0%)	461 (68.3%)	160 (23.7%)	675 (100.0%)
No data	0 (0.0%)	2 (28.6%)	5 (71.4%)	7 (100.0%)
Total	61 (7.2%)	603 (70.8%)	188 (22.1%)	852 (100.0%)

Table 12: Please indicate your level of confidence in your previous answer on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 indicates the lowest level of confidence and 10 indicates that you are very confident in your answer.

Experiment	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
Control	4 (1.0%)	8 (2.0%)	20 (4.9%)	32 (7.9%)	37 (9.1%)	59 (14.5%)	50 (12.3%)	81 (20.0%)	48 (11.8%)	21 (5.2%)	46 (11.3%)	406 (100.0%)
Treatment	7 (1.7%)	2 (0.5%)	14 (3.4%)	32 (7.7%)	21 (5.1%)	71 (17.2%)	51 (12.3%)	71 (17.2%)	63 (15.3%)	28 (6.8%)	53 (12.8%)	413 (100.0%)
Total	11 (1.3%)	10 (1.2%)	34 (4.2%)	64 (7.8%)	58 (7.1%)	130 (15.9%)	101 (12.3%)	152 (18.6%)	111 (13.6%)	49 (6.0%)	99 (12.1%)	819 (100.0%)

Table 13: If China uses direct military force against Taiwan in the coming months, the United States should:

Response option	Control	Treatment	Total
Place sanctions on the Chinese government and/or its leaders	402 ( 93.93 %)	396 ( 93.18 %)	798 ( 93.55 %)
Deploy U.S. military forces to the region	316 ( 73.83 %)	300 ( 70.59 %)	616 ( 72.22 %)
Send additional arms and military supplies to Taiwan	358 ( 83.64 %)	353 ( 83.06 %)	711 ( 83.35 %)
Initiate direct military operations against Chinese military forces	65 ( 15.19 %)	92 ( 21.65 %)	157 ( 18.41 %)
Initiate cyber attacks against Chinese military forces	215 ( 50.23 %)	205 ( 48.24 %)	420 ( 49.24 %)
Impose a 'no fly zone' above and in the direct vicinity of Taiwan	123 ( 28.74 %)	132 ( 31.06 %)	255 ( 29.89 %)
Not purchase computers or electrical machinery and equipment	343 ( 80.14 %)	351 ( 82.59 %)	694 ( 81.36 %)
Take in Taiwanese refugees	399 ( 93.22 %)	395 ( 92.94 %)	794 ( 93.08 %)
None of the above	4 ( 0.93 %)	6 ( 1.41 %)	10 ( 1.17 %)

\* Full response option: Not purchase computers or electrical machinery and equipment from China during the conflict, even if it causes prices to increase

Table 14: Relative to one month ago, is China more or less likely to use military force against Taiwan or Taiwanese military forces in the next year?

Response option	Count	Valid percentage
More likely	168	19.65%
No more or less likely	395	46.20%
Less likely	292	34.15%
Total	855	100.00%

## Experiment: Nuclear Taboo

49.88% of respondents answered the following question with respect to Russia, and 50.12% with respect to China. ‘How confident are you that the “nuclear taboo”–domestic and international norms against using nuclear weapons–constrains [China|Russia] from using nuclear weapons in a first strike? Are you. . .’

Table 15: Respondents by Country

	Count	Percentage (%)
China	434	50.12
Russia	432	49.88
Total	866	100.00

Table 16: How confident are you that the ‘nuclear taboo’–domestic and international norms against using nuclear weapons–constrains [Russia|China] from using nuclear weapons in a first strike? Are you

Response option	Very confident	Somewhat confident	Not very confident	Not confident at all	Do not know	Total
China	164 (38.2%)	189 (44.1%)	47 (11.0%)	19 (4.4%)	10 (2.3%)	429 (100.0%)
Russia	51 (12.0%)	191 (44.8%)	128 (30.0%)	55 (12.9%)	1 (0.2%)	426 (100.0%)
Total	215 (25.1%)	380 (44.4%)	175 (20.5%)	74 (8.7%)	11 (1.3%)	855 (100.0%)

## Demographics

Table 17: Which gender do you identify with?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Female	237	27.69%
Male	597	69.74%
Non-binary or other	6	0.70%
Prefer not to answer	16	1.87%
Total	856	100.00%

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

Response option	Count	Percentage
Chaired Professor	100	12.05%
Full Professor	299	36.02%
Associate Professor	269	32.41%
Assistant Professor	76	9.16%
Instructor or Lecturer	29	3.49%
Adjunct or Visiting Instructor/Professor	23	2.77%
Other	34	4.10%
Total	830	100.00%

Table 19: What is your main area of research within IR?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Comparative Foreign Policy	38	4.43%
Development Studies	36	4.20%
European Studies/European Integration	39	4.55%
Gender in IR	4	0.47%
Global Civil Society	7	0.82%
Human Security	9	1.05%
Human Rights	40	4.67%
History of the international relations discipline	2	0.23%
International/Global Security	220	25.67%
International/Global Political Economy	99	11.55%
International Law	22	2.57%
International/Global Ethics	11	1.28%
International/Global Health	8	0.93%
International/Global Environmental Politics	24	2.80%
International Organization(s)	33	3.85%
International/Global History	8	0.93%
International Relations of a particular region/country	43	5.02%
International Relations Theory	49	5.72%
Religion in IR	5	0.58%
U.S. Foreign Policy	84	9.80%
Other	44	5.13%
I am not an IR scholar	32	3.73%
Total	857	100.00%

Table 20: What are your secondary areas of research within IR? Please select all that apply.

Response option	Count	Percentage
Comparative Foreign Policy	95	11.31
Development Studies	63	7.5
European Studies/European Integration	57	6.79
Gender in IR	36	4.29
Global Civil Society	32	3.81
Human Security	65	7.74
Human Rights	79	9.4
History of the international relations discipline	25	2.98
International/Global Security	147	17.5
International/Global Political Economy	99	11.79
International Law	55	6.55
International/Global Ethics	27	3.21
International/Global Health	16	1.9
International/Global Environmental Politics	37	4.4
International Organization(s)	115	13.69
International/Global History	62	7.38
International Relations of a particular region/country	91	10.83
International Relations Theory	127	15.12
Religion in IR	29	3.45
U.S. Foreign Policy	181	21.55
Other	80	9.52
I am not an IR scholar	12	1.43
Total	1530	-

Table 21: In your research, what is the main region of the world that you study, if any?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Arctic	1	0.12%
Central and Eastern Europe (including the Baltic states)	38	4.52%
Central Asia (not including Afghanistan)	3	0.36%
East Asia (including China)	74	8.80%
Global/Use cross-regional data	184	21.88%
Latin America (including Mexico and the Caribbean)	57	6.78%
Middle East and North Africa (including Turkey)	62	7.37%
North America (not including Mexico)	59	7.02%
Oceania	2	0.24%
Russia/Former Soviet Union (excluding Baltic states)	58	6.90%
South Asia (including Afghanistan)	15	1.78%
Southeast Asia	14	1.66%
Sub-Saharan Africa	33	3.92%
Transnational Actors/International Organizations/International NGOs	91	10.82%
Western Europe	77	9.16%
None	73	8.68%
Total	841	100.00%

Table 22: In your research, what other regions of the world do you study, if any? Please select all that apply.

Response option	Count	Percentage
Arctic	23	2.89
Central and Eastern Europe (including the Baltic states)	136	17.11
Central Asia (not including Afghanistan)	43	5.41
East Asia (including China)	97	12.2
Global/Use cross-regional data	178	22.39
Latin America (including Mexico and the Caribbean)	73	9.18
Middle East and North Africa (including Turkey)	139	17.48
North America (not including Mexico)	153	19.25
Oceania	6	0.75
Russia/Former Soviet Union (excluding Baltic states)	107	13.46
South Asia (including Afghanistan)	78	9.81
Southeast Asia	61	7.67
Sub-Saharan Africa	79	9.94
Transnational Actors/International Organizations/International NGOs	208	26.16
Western Europe	204	25.66
None	66	8.3
Total	1651	-

Table 23: Which of the following best describes your approach to the study of IR?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Constructivism	135	16.09%
English school	9	1.07%
Feminism	14	1.67%
Liberalism	121	14.42%
Marxism	13	1.55%
Realism	154	18.36%
Other	90	10.73%
Do not use	303	36.11%
Total	839	100.00%

Table 24: Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Republican	31	3.63%
Democrat	567	66.32%
Independent	205	23.98%
Other	52	6.08%
Total	855	100.00%