

2ND EDITION







AsiaMattersforAmerica.org

FOREWORD



The East-West Center is pleased to present the second edition of this report assessing and analyzing US public and elite opinion at the state and local levels regarding America's interactions with the Indo-Pacific region. Questions addressed in this survey include issues pertaining to economy, security, climate change, and people-to-people connections as well as the extent to which Americans believe Asia matters to the United States.

The objective of this ongoing project is to gain insights both on American opinion of US-Asia relations but also on comparative differences between US citizens and those of US decision makers in the private and public sectors, or elites in this analysis. By taking the measure of these two groups' perspectives, this report sheds light on areas in which domestic attention can be drawn to the importance of Asia in US policy and public diplomacy.

This project is part of the East-West Center's flagship *Asia Matters for America* initiative, which maps the trade, investment, employment, business, diplomacy, security, education, tourism, and people-to-people connections between the United States and the Indo-Pacific region at the national, state, and local levels. This public opinion survey component of the initiative complements the data, analysis, and stories of our numerous Asia Matters publications and website and comes three years after the previous poll in 2021 and on the eve of the 2024 elections.

We thank the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) of the University of Chicago for conducting this excellent survey and for providing their expert analysis of the results, and we are grateful to the more than two thousand respondents who took part from all 50 states and the District of Columbia. I particularly wish to thank **East-West Center in Washington** staff members Ms. Amy Namur for coordinating this project, Ms. Jeanette Simmons for providing the design and graphic expertise, and Ms. Charissa Yong and Ms. Lilah Connell for their skilled research and editorial support.

Sincerely,

Satu P. Limaye, PhD Vice President, East-West Center Director, Research and East-West Center in Washington & Asia Matters for America Initiative

AMERICAN PUBLIC & ELITE OPINION ON ASIA MATTERS FOR AMERICA 2ND EDITION

The American Public & Elite Opinion Poll explores differences in attitudes between public and elite opinion regarding the significance of Asia for their state and local communities. This poll complements the Asia Matters for America initiative, which examines trade, investment, employment, business, diplomacy, security, education, tourism, and people-to-people connections between the United States and the Indo-Pacific at national, state, and local levels. Together with the Asia Matters for America publications, one-page state summaries, and the AsiaMattersforAmerica.org website, these resources provide valuable insights into the robust and dynamic US-Indo-Pacific relationship through a comprehensive collection of data, stories, opinions, and perspectives.

Established by the US Congress in 1960, the East-West Center serves as a resource for information and analysis on critical issues of common concern, bringing people together to exchange views, build expertise, and develop policy options. The Center is an independent, public, nonprofit organization with funding from the US government, and additional support provided by private agencies, individuals, foundations, corporations, and governments in the region. The East-West Center in Washington provides US and regional government stakeholders and program partners with innovative training, analytical and dialogue exchange, and public diplomacy products to meet US policy priorities and expressed needs in the Indo-Pacific region.

AsiaMattersforAmerica.org

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Executive Summary

The 2024 poll updates the 2021 report, which assessed public and elite opinions on the increasing interactions between countries in Asia and the United States, focusing particularly on areas such as the economy, trade and investment, national security, climate change, tourism, educational exchange, and immigration. The 2024 Poll report reviews and updates issues from 2021 and also includes new findings on technology, trade agreements and partnerships, and the impacts of COVID-19. The general population and elite polls, conducted with adults in the United States age 18 and older, dive into perceptions of state and local interactions with Asia within the four main categories of: economy, trade, jobs and investment; politics, good governance, and national security; people-to-people connections; and climate change and the environment.

Economy, Trade, Jobs, and Investment

Trade

The General Public and Elites View Trade with Asia as Beneficial for Their State

Fifty percent of elites find trade with Asia to be very or extremely beneficial; however, only 25% of general public respondents feel the same.

Trade Competitiveness

Elites Are More Concerned than the General Public That the United States May Be Losing Competitiveness Due to Trade with Asia

Fifty-three percent of elites are moderately or extremely concerned that the United States is losing competitiveness due to trade with China, as compared to 36% of the general public.

Agriculture

In 2024, 48% of Elites Find Agricultural Trade with Asia to Be Beneficial for Their State as Compared to 39% in 2021

However, less than 10% of elites believe that agriculture is the sector of their states economy which has benefited the most from trade with Asia.

Jobs

The General Public Remains Unsure About the Number of Jobs Trade with Asia Creates in Their State

When asked which countries in Asia have created the most jobs in their state or locality, China and Japan rank highest for both the general public and elites.

Investment

Elites Identify China, Japan, and South Korea as the Top Three Countries Investing in Their State

When evaluating the benefits of investment for their state, elites view investments from China and investments from other countries in Asia as having similar benefits.

Politics, Good Governance, and National Security

Democracy in Asia

Most Elites and the General Public Believe the State of Democracy in Asia Affects Their State

Forty-three percent of elites believe the state of democracy in Asia affects their state a lot or a great deal.

Ties with Pacific Island Countries

Elites Overwhelmingly Think Strengthening Ties with Pacific Island Countries Would Benefit Their State

Those from states in the West are more likely than their counterparts elsewhere to say building these relationships would be extremely or very advantageous for their state.

Promoting Values Abroad

Elites Feel More Strongly Than the General Public About the Importance of the United States Promoting Values in Asia However, promoting human rights, religious freedom, and democratic values still has broad support which remains unchanged since the 2021 survey.

National Security

Elites Are More Likely than the General Public to View National Security in Asia as Important for Their State

Elites place more importance on national security measures like strengthening diplomatic alliances, militarily protecting allies, and economically protecting allies.

US Military Presence in Asia

The General Public Continues to Prefer No Change to US Troops in Asia

Elites are ambivalent about increasing the US military presence in Asia, with 42% wanting an increase and 41% preferring to hold steady.

Technology and Cyber Threats

More Elites than the General Public See Impacts in Their State from Technological Advances in Asia

Cyber threats from Asia to business and infrastructure in the United States continues to be seen as a somewhat serious problem.

Executive Summary (cont'd)

People-to-People Connections

Students

Elites and the General Public Believe International Students from Asia Have a Positive Impact on Universities and the Surrounding Communities in Their State

Elites believe more strongly in the benefits of students for their state's culture, economy, research, and people-topeople ties.

Tourism

Elites Are More Likely to View Asian Tourism as Beneficial for Their State's Economy than the General Public

The general public in metropolitan areas and states in the West, which receive more Asian tourist spending, are more likely to see Asian tourism as beneficial.

Immigration

Elites Believe in Benefits from Asian Immigration, but the General Public is Unsure

Elites in the West, South, and Northeast see immigration as more beneficial to their state's economy, than those in the Midwest.

Climate Change and the Environment

State of the Environment in Asia

Seventy-One Percent of Elites and 51% of the General Public Say that the State of the Environment in Asia Affects Their State

However, twice as many elites (44%) find the state of the environment in Asia to matter a lot or a great deal to their state as compared to the general public (20%).

Climate Measures

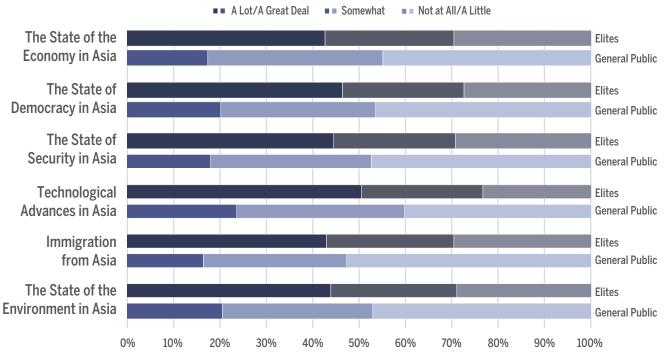
Eighty-Seven Percent of Elites Find It Important for the United States to Promote Clean Energy and Climate Change Adaptation and Resilience in Asia

Similarly, 80% of the general public also feels it is important for the United States to support climate change adaption and resilience in Asia.

Climate Cooperation with Asia

Nearly Half of Elites Say the United States Should Increase Its Cooperation with Countries in Asia to Combat Climate Change The general public is evenly split on whether the United States should retain or boost its cooperation with China and other Asian countries on climate change.

HOW MUCH DO EACH OF THE FOLLOWING MATTER TO YOUR STATE?

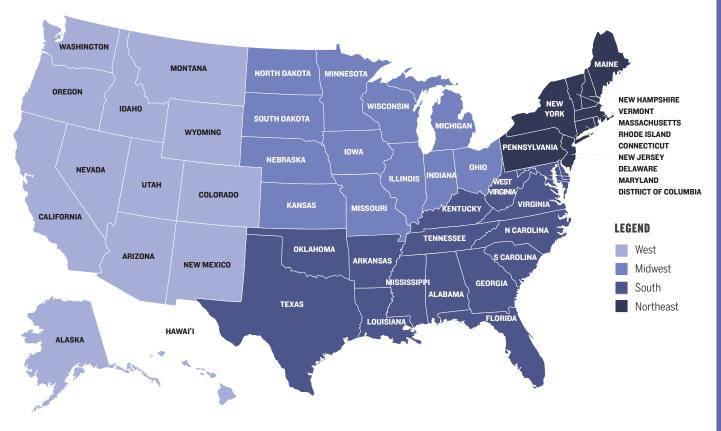


Question: How much do each of the following matter to your state? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 12-14, 2024, with 1,102 adults aged 18 and older nationwide.

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Definitions & Notes

REGIONAL GROUPINGS IN THE UNITED STATES: WEST, MIDWEST, SOUTH, AND NORTHEAST



General Public

General population data was collected using the AmeriSpeak Omnibus[®], a monthly multi-client survey using NORC's probabilitybased panel designed to be representative of the US household population. A total of 1,102 panel members completed the survey—982 via the internet and 120 over the phone. The panel provides sample coverage of approximately 97% of the US household population. General population respondents were then further analyzed by demographics, including gender, age, race, geographic sub-region, and political affiliation. The overall margin of sampling error is +/-4.1 percentage points at the 95% confidence level, including the design effect. The margin of sampling error may be higher for subgroups.

Elites

For the purposes of this poll "elites" is defined as elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders. A total of 1,162 people representing these three subcategories answered the survey. Elite population respondents were then further analyzed by demographics, including gender, age, race, geographic sub-region, political affiliation, industry, seniority, and experience working with Asia. While there is no way to quantify the size of the non-covered population for an opt-in panel, the primary population least likely to be included was those without internet access. A response rate cannot be calculated for nonprobability samples.

Rounding & Omissions

Many sections of the general population survey do not total 100% due to respondents choosing not to answer every question in some instances. Some responses in the elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders sections do not total 100% due to rounding.

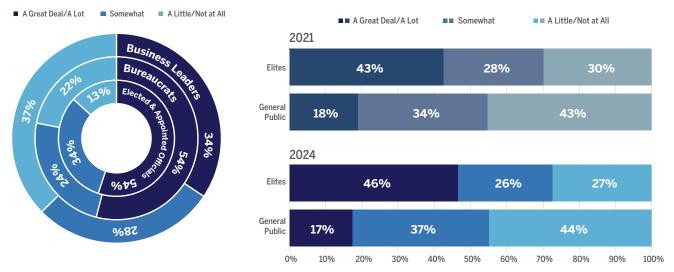
Economy, Trade, Jobs, and Investment

46% of elites and 17% of the general public believe the state of the economy

in Asia matters a lot or a great deal to their state

American views about the impact of the Asian economy and trade with Asian partners have been consistent since 2021. While elites believe trade with Asia has led to investment and job creation in their state, there is apprehension about declining US competitiveness as a result of this trade. Meanwhile, the general public sees some benefits to trade with Asia but does not see its effects in terms of job creation in their state.

MOST ELITES AND GENERAL PUBLIC FEEL THE STATE OF THE ASIAN ECONOMY MATTERS TO THEM

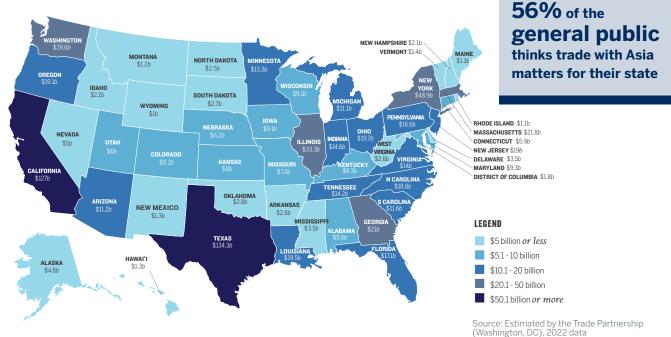


Question: [The state of the economy in Asia] How much do each of the following matter to your state? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders.

Since 2021, public and elite opinion on the importance of Asia's economy has remained consistent. Only 17% of respondents from the general public found the state of Asia's economy to have a significant impact on their state, while 43% found it to matter only a little or not at all. Regional and demographic differences further highlight these varying perceptions for the general public. Residents of states in the West¹ and those with a college degree are more likely to regard Asia's economy as having a significant impact on their state. Political affiliation also plays a role, with Democrats generally perceiving a greater impact of Asia's economy on their state than Republicans or independent respondents.

Conversely, nearly half of the elites found the state of Asia's economy to have a significant impact on their state. Elites who identify as Democrats generally perceive Asia's economy as having a greater impact on their state compared to Republicans and independents. Additionally, men are more likely than women to view the state of Asia's economy as having a significant impact on their state. Over half of elected officials and bureaucrats regarded the state of Asia's economy as having a significant impact on their state, compared to 34% of business leaders. Business leaders were much more likely to view Asia's economy as having little to no impact on their state, with 37% of respondents holding this view, compared to 13% of elected officials and 22% of bureaucrats.

AMERICAN PUBLIC & ELITE OPINION ON ASIA MATTERS FOR AMERICA



US GOODS AND SERVICES EXPORTS TO ASIA AND OCEANIA BY STATE

Trade

The Indo-Pacific is the United States' largest trading partner, a relationship with an annual value of almost \$2.27 trillion in 2023.² This represents a 17% increase from an annual value of \$1.94 trillion in 2019. demonstrating the resilience of the economic relationship despite the massive economic disruption caused by COVID-19.

As in 2021, this 2024 poll finds that a majority of both the general public and elites view trade with Asia as beneficial for their state, with only 16% of respondents or less believing that trade with Asia offers little or no benefit.

However, while 50% of elites find trade with Asia to be very or extremely beneficial, only 25% of general public respondents feel the same. There is little to no difference in public and elite opinion regarding the benefits of trade with China versus trade with other countries in Asia excluding China. Male respondents and respondents with a bachelor's degree or higher are more likely to view trade with Asia as being very or extremely beneficial for their state. Additionally, elites who work with Asia are more likely than those who rarely or never work with Asia to consider trade with Asia as beneficial.

Engage with Asia Often/Sometimes

61%

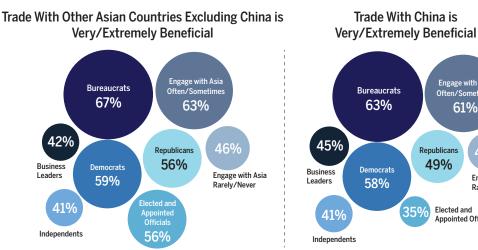
Elected and

Appointed Officials

110

Engage with Asia

Rarely/Never



ELITES' VIEWS ON TRADE WITH ASIA VARY ACCORDING TO THEIR JOB AND **POLITICAL AFFILIATION**

Question: How beneficial has trade with each of the following been for vour state?

Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 -February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders

2. U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, Regional Economic Accounts: Table 1.1. Personal Income by State, accessed September 4, 2024

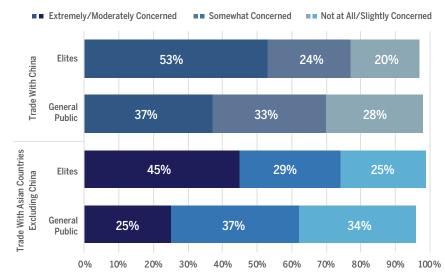
Trade Competitiveness

Results of this 2024 poll show that the United States losing trade competitiveness due to trade with Asia is more concerning to elites than the general public. More than half of elites (53%) are moderately or extremely concerned that the United States is losing competitiveness due to trade with China as compared to 36% of the general public. Additionally, 44% of elites share the same concern for trade with Asian countries excluding China as compared to 25% of the general public. Over a quarter of the general public is not at all or only slightly concerned about the United States losing trade competitiveness due to trade with China (34%) and trade with the rest of Asia (28%).

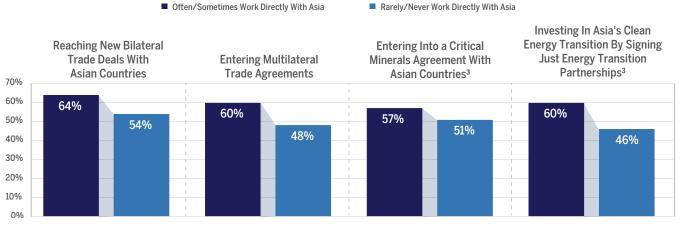
55% of **elites** support entering into a Critical Minerals Agreement with Asian countries and **54%** support investing in Asia's clean energy transition

Question: How concerned are you that the United States is losing its competitiveness because of trade with each of the following? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders.

ELITES MORE CONCERNED THAN GENERAL PUBLIC OVER LOSS OF US TRADE EDGE TO ASIA



ELITES SUPPORT MAKING MORE DEALS WITH ASIA



Question: Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the United States taking the following actions with Asia? Source: : Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders.

3. The following items were new for 2024: Entering into a Critical Minerals Agreement with Asian countries and investing in Asia's clean energy transition by signing Just Energy Transition Partnerships with Asian countries.

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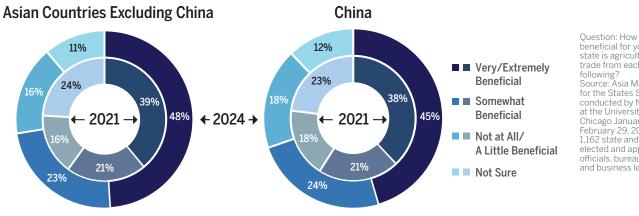
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Agriculture

The 2024 survey saw an increase in elite opinion on the benefits of agricultural trade with Asia. In 2024, 48% of elites found agricultural trade with China to be very or extremely beneficial, an increase from 39% in 2021. Additionally, 45% of elites found agricultural trade with countries in Asia excluding China to be very or extremely beneficial to their state, a 7% increase from 2021. Elites who work in a professional capacity with Asia are more likely than elites who rarely or never interact with Asian countries to view trade with Asia as being very or extremely beneficial. Men are also more likely than women to describe agricultural trade with Asia as being very or extremely beneficial.

While elite opinion on the benefits of agriculture has increased from 2021 to 2024, less than 10% of elite respondents say the agriculture sector in their state has benefited the most from trade with Asia. Opinion was generally split between sectors with respondents viewing technology (22%) and manufacturing (21%) as the sectors of their state's economy which benefit most from trade with Asia. Less than 5% of elites say that the tourism (5%), education (3%), health services (3%), and real estate (3%) sectors have benefited most from trade with Asia in 2024.

MORE ELITES NOW SAY AGRICULTURAL TRADE WITH ASIA IS BENEFICIAL



beneficial for your state is agricultural trade from each of the following? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders

Selected Story

Indiana's Soybean Delegation Navigating Trade Opportunities in Indonesia

Indiana's state delegation's trip to Indonesia for a trade mission highlights the importance of selling soybeans to boost Indiana's exports and build trade partnerships between the two regions.



TECHNOLOGY AND MANUFACTURING ARE SECTORS SEEN TO BENEFIT THE MOST FROM TRADE WITH ASIA

22% Technology	15% Retail		11% Not Sure		
Technology		7% Financial Service	s	3% Health Services	3% Education
21% Manufacturing	9% Agriculture	5% Tourism		3% Real Estate	2% Other

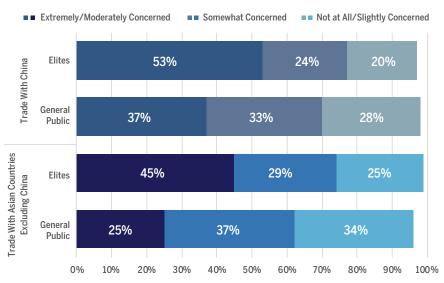
22% of elites say the technology sector in their state have benefited most from trade with Asia

Question: What sector of your state's economy benefits most from trade with Asia? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders. Photo credit: FrancoNadalin, Canva

49% of **elites** say the COVID-19 pandemic had a major impact on trade with their state and Asia

The COVID-19 pandemic exposed weaknesses in global supply chains as major disruptions in manufacturing and logistics reverberated throughout the global economy. Elite opinion is split on the impact these supply chain disruptions had on trade between their state and Asia. Overall, 49% of elites say COVID-19 had a major impact on trade with their state, while 42% said the impact was minor. Both Democrats and Republicans are more likely than independents to say that supply chain disruptions due to the COVID-19 pandemic had a major impact on trade between Asia and their state.

WIDESPREAD CONCERN OVER COVID-19 SUPPLY CHAIN DISRUPTIONS TO TRADE WITH ASIA



Question: How have supply chain disruptions brought on by the COVID-19 pandemic impacted trade between Asia and your state?

Source: Ásia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1.162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders.

Selected Story

Wisconsin Trade Trip to South Korea Increases Potential for Partnership

The Wisconsin Economic Development Corporation (WEDC) led a trade trip to South Korea that offered Wisconsin exporters the opportunity to meet South Korean companies and forge mutually beneficial trade partnerships.



Jobs

In 2022, over 4 million jobs in the United States were supported by exports to and investment from Asia and Oceania. However, a majority of the general public remains unsure about how many jobs in their state are created by trade with China (56%) and other Asian countries (55%). While one in four general public

respondents say trade with Asia creates some jobs in their state, fewer than 10% believe that trade with Asia creates a lot of jobs or none at all. For elites, many find that trade with China (38%) and other Asian countries (41%) creates some jobs in their state. Ten percent of elites say trade with Asia creates no jobs in their state, while 21%

JOBS SUPPORTED BY EXPORTS TO THE INDO-PACIFIC



Source: Estimated by the Trade Partnership (Washington, DC), 2022 data

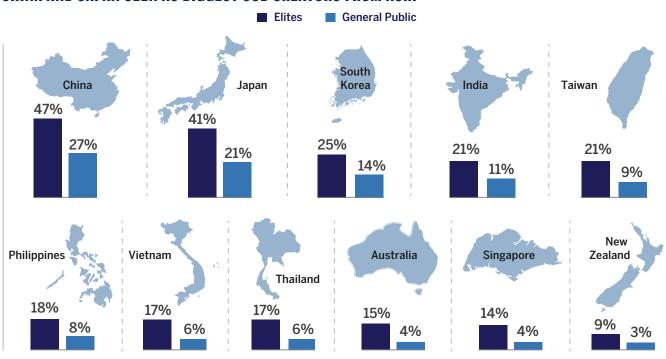
Photo credits: Sean Pavone from Getty Images, Canva; Kamponwarit from Getty Images Getty Images, Canva.

ECONOMY, TRADE, JOBS, AND INVESTMENT

are unsure if trade with Asia creates any jobs at all. Overall, elites are more likely than the general public to perceive trade with Asia as creating some or a lot of jobs in their state, while a majority of the general public remains unsure about the number of jobs trade with Asia creates in their state.

China and Japan rank highest for both the general public and elites when asked which countries in Asia have created the most jobs in their state or locality. South Korea ranks third, followed closely by India and Thailand for elites and Vietnam and the Philippines for the general public. In 2022, it is estimated that exports from Asia and Oceania supported over 4 million jobs in the United States, with exports to China supporting 1.1 million jobs, exports to Japan supporting 566,000 jobs, and exports to South Korea supporting 432,000 jobs.⁴

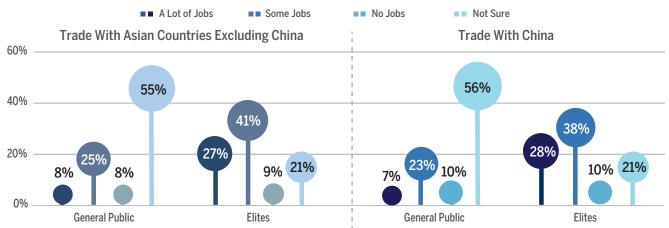
30% of the **general public** say trade with China has created some or a lot of jobs in their state



CHINA AND JAPAN SEEN AS BIGGEST JOB CREATORS FROM ASIA

Question: Which countries in Asia have created the most jobs in your state or locality? [Check all that apply.] Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 12-14, 2024, with 1,102 adults age 18 and older nationwide.

MOST ARE UNSURE ABOUT IMPACT OF TRADE WITH ASIA ON JOB CREATION



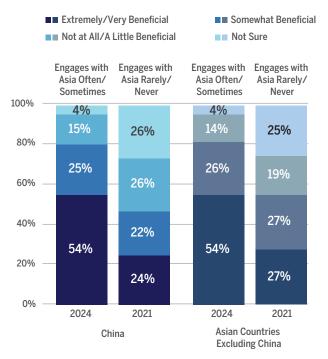
Question: How many jobs has trade with each of the following created in your state? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders.

4. Estimated by the Trade Partnership (Washington, DC), 2022 data

Investment

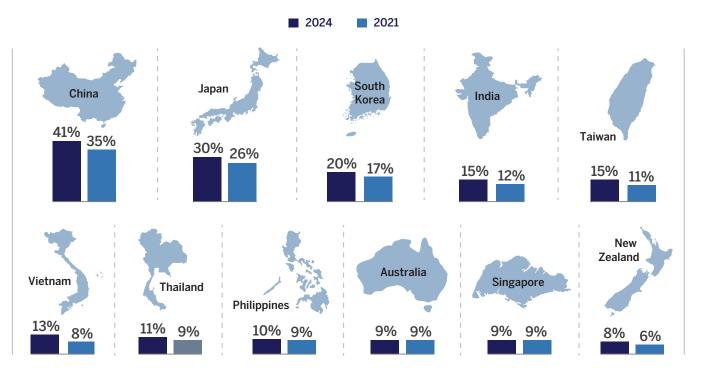
Elites view investments from China and other countries in Asia as having similar benefits. Forty percent of elites find investments from China to be very or extremely beneficial, compared to 42% who see investments from other Asian countries excluding China in the same light. Conversely, 20% of elites find investments from China to be not at all or only a little beneficial, while 16% have the same view on investments from other Asian countries. A smaller percentage of elites consider investments from China (8%) as not at all beneficial compared to those who view investments from other Asian countries similarly (5%). Both types of investment have a similar level of uncertainty, with 14% of elites unsure about their benefits. When asked to choose all countries in Asia that invest most in their state, China (41%), Japan (30%), and South Korea (20%) were the top three picks. An additional 26% of respondents are unsure of which countries in Asia have invested most in their state. However, Japan, ASEAN, and Australia are the top economies for two-way investment between the United States and the Indo-Pacific. The value of foreign direct investment from Asia and Oceania into the United States increased to over \$2 trillion in 2022.5

CHINA AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN ASIA SEEN TO PROVIDE SIMILARLY BENEFICIAL INVESTMENT



 $\ensuremath{\mathsf{Question}}$: How beneficial has investment from each of the following been for your state?

Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders.



ELITES VIEW CHINA AND JAPAN AS TOP INVESTORS FROM ASIA

Question: Which countries in Asia have invested the most in your state? [Check all that apply.]

Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders.

5. U.S. Department of State, "The United States' Enduring Commitment to the Indo-Pacific: Marking Two Years Since the Release of the Administration's Indo-Pacific Strategy," last modified February 11, 2023 https://www.state.gov/the-united-states-enduring-commitment-to-the-indo-pacific-marking-two-years-since-the-release-of-the-administrations-indo-pacific-strategy/#:-:text=Trade%20between%20the%20United%20States,investment%20from%20the%20Indo%2DPacific.

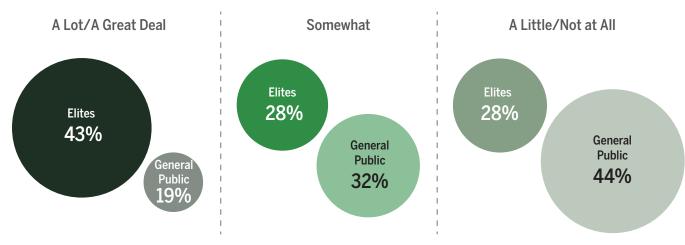
12

Politics, Good Governance, and National Security

Most elites and the general public view democracy in Asia as something that impacts them. Forty-three percent of elites say that the state of democracy in Asia matters a great deal or a lot, compared to 19% of the general public who say the same. Similarly, while 29% of elites say that democracy in Asia matters a little or not at all, many more among the general population share this opinion, with 44% saying the same. There are some slight geographical, demographic and political differences in these trends as well. Those elites living in the western part of the country, who tend to be more professionally engaged in Asia, as well as Democrats and men are more likely than others to say the state of democracy in Asia matters a great deal. Similarly, the general public from states in the West are more likely than their Northeast, South or Midwest counterparts to rate the importance of democracy in Asia highly. This mirrors the high concentration of Asian Americans in states in the West, particularly California, as shown in US census data.

There is a similar gap between elites and the general public over the importance of the United States

LESS CONCERN AMONG THE GENERAL PUBLIC THAN ELITES ON THE STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN ASIA

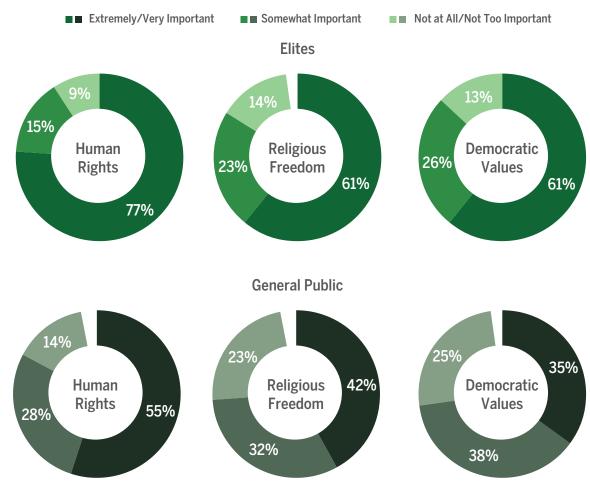


Question: [The state of democracy in Asia] How much do each of the following matter to your state? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders.

promoting values in Asia, whether it be human rights, religious freedom, or democratic norms. Promoting human rights is the most popular option, with 77% of elites and 55% of the general public deeming it very important to promote them in Asia. Fewer think it is important to promote religious freedom (61% of elites and 42% of the general public) and democratic values (61% and 35% of the general public). These attitudes have held steady since the 2021 survey.

Among the general public, Democrats are more likely than Republicans or independents to place a high premium on promoting human rights (68% vs. 44% and 51%) or democratic values (46% vs. 29% and 21%) in Asia. College graduates are also more likely than nongraduates to place more importance on promoting human rights (64% vs. 50%), religious freedom (49% vs. 38%) and democratic values (44% vs. 30%). Similar trends are also seen among elites. Democrats are more likely than Republicans or independents to say it is important that the United States promote human rights in Asia (82% vs. 75% and 67%, respectively). However, when it comes to promoting religious freedom in Asia, Republicans take the lead, with 64% deeming it very important, compared to 51% of independents and 62% of Democrats. Additionally, men are more likely than women to say it is important for the United States to promote values in Asia.

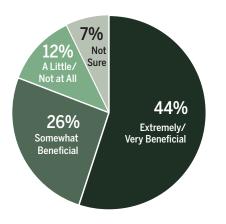
77% of elites vs 55% of the general public strongly support promoting human rights in Asia



MORE SUPPORT AMONG ELITES FOR PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS, RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, AND **DEMOCRATIC VALUES IN ASIA**

Question: [Clean energy and climate change adaptation and resilience] How important is it for the United States to promote each of the following in Asia? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders

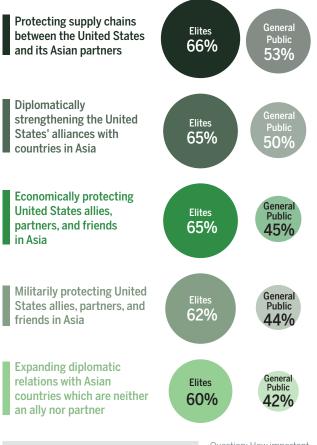
STRONG SUPPORT AMONG ELITES FOR GREATER TIES WITH PACIFIC ISLAND COUNTRIES



There is strong support among elites for their state to build better relationships with Pacific Island countries. Almost all elites (93%) think relationships with Pacific Island countries would be beneficial to their state, including 55% who say it would be extremely or very beneficial. Elites from states in the West are more likely than those in other parts of the country to say building relationships with Pacific Island countries would be extremely or very advantageous for their state. This is in line with how states in the West are geographically closer to Pacific Island countries and have larger populations of Pacific Islander Americans than the rest of the country. Elites who interact with Asian countries or companies are more likely to hold this view than their peers with rare or no interaction with Asia, as well as Democrats compared to Republicans and independents.

Question: Would it be beneficial for your state to build relationships with Pacific Island Countries? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders

PROTECTING SUPPLY CHAINS A TOP CONCERN FOR ELITES AND GENERAL PUBLIC



45% of the general public say the state of security in Asia has little or no impact on their state

Question: How important are each of the following for national security? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders.

National Security

Elites are more likely than the general public to see national security in Asia as important to their state. While 44% of elites say that national security in Asia matters a great deal, only 17% of the general public holds the same view. Notably, almost half (45%) of the general public draw no link between security in Asia and their state, saying that national security in Asia barely matters for their state, if at all.

For the general public, one issue was clearly a top concern: protecting supply chains between the United States and its Asian partners. Just over half of the general public see protecting such supply chains as extremely or very important to national security (53%), which reflects how the COVID-19 pandemic disrupted supply chains that affected many aspects of daily life, from medical supplies to semiconductor chips and even clothes and snacks.

Elites were more likely than the general public to see traditional national security measures as key. Similar to 2021, at least six in 10 elites say that economically protecting US allies working in Asia, diplomatically strengthening US alliances with Asian countries, and militarily protecting US allies are very or extremely important for national security. Similar numbers say that expanding diplomatic relations with Asian countries and protecting supply chains between the United States and its Asian partners are important, both options that were not asked in 2021.

There are similar political differences for both the general public and elites. For the general public, Democrats are more likely to cite diplomatically strengthening US alliances—and economically protecting US allies,

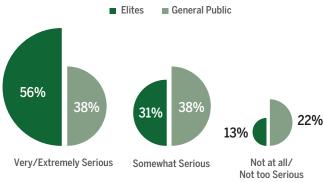
US NATIONAL GUARD STATE PARTNERSHIP PROGRAMS WITH INDO-PACIFIC COUNTRIES

HAWAI'I AND PHILIPPINES	GUAM AND PHILIPPINES	WASHINGTON AND THAILAND	ALASKA AND Mongolia	HAWAI'I AND INDONESIA	OREGON AND BANGLADESH	IDAHO AND Cambodia	OREGON AND VIETNAM	NEVADA AND Tonga
2000	2000	2002	2003	2006	2008	2008	2012	2014
	•	(?)			STATE OF OREON	<u>()</u>	STATE OF ORLGON BSS9	÷
WASHINGTON AND MALAYSIA	NEVADA AND FIJI	UTAH AND NEPAL	WISCONSIN AND PAPUA NEW GUINEA	MONTANA AND SRI LANKA	RHODE ISLAND AND TIMOR-LESTE	MONTANA AND MALDIVES	NEVADA AND Samoa	GUAM AND PALAU
0.017								
2017	2018	2019	2020	2020	2020	2022	2023	2024
2017	2018	2019	2020 VIISCONSIN IB48	2020	2020	2022		2024 🌻

Countries, territories, and states listed with partnership start dates

Source: East-West Center, The Pacific Islands Matter for America/America Matters for The Pacific Islands, 2022

ELITES AND GENERAL PUBLIC BOTH SEE CYBER THREATS FROM ASIA AS A SERIOUS PROBLEM



Question: How serious a problem are cyber threats from Asia to businesses and infrastructure in your state?

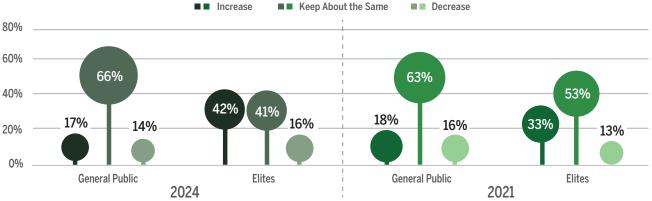
Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders.

partners, and friends in Asia as extremely or very important. For elites, Democrats and Republicans are more likely than independents to consider militarily protecting US allies in Asia, economically protecting US allies in Asia, and protecting supply chains between the United States and its Asian partners to be very or extremely important for national security. For the general public, those with higher household incomes are more likely than those with lower incomes to say ensuring supply chains, diplomatically strengthening, and militarily protecting the United States are extremely or very important. Regarding the US military presence in Asia, a slight gap has emerged over the last three years—more elites now want to increase troops in Asia, while the general public strongly prefers no change. The general public continues to prefer keeping US military presence in Asia the same (66%), similar to 2021. In contrast, elites are now more ambivalent about increasing or maintaining US military presence in Asia. They are almost evenly split between both options, with 42% wanting an increase and 41% preferring to hold steady, compared to in 2021, when a clearer majority (53%) wanted no change to the US military presence in Asia. Republicans are twice as likely as Democrats to indicate they would like an increase in the presence of the US military in Asia.

When it comes to technology, more elites than the general public view technological advances in Asia as having an impact on their state. Half (50%) of elites say the technological advances in Asia matter a lot or a great deal, compared to 23% of the general public who say the same. For the general public, 39% do not think it matters at all, compared to 23% of elites who hold the same view.

Cyber threats from Asia to business and infrastructure continue to be seen as a somewhat serious problem, according to 74% of the general public. This includes 37% who found these threats to be very serious. Similar to 2021 results, most elites (87%) see cyber threats from Asia as a serious problem for businesses and infrastructure, including 56% who see it as very serious. Men are more likely to see cyber threats as a very serious problem at 63%, compared with women at 50%.

MORE ELITES PREFER A GREATER US MILITARY PRESENCE IN ASIA BUT GENERAL PUBLIC WANTS NO CHANGE



Question: Should the United States increase, decrease, or keep about the same its military presence in Asia?

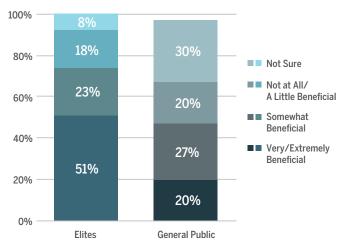
Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders.

People-to-People Connections

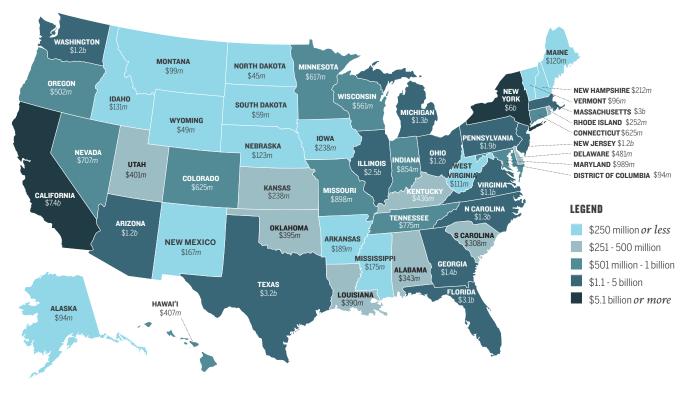
1 in 5 of the general public think tourism from Asia is extremely or very beneficial to the economy

Overall, elites are more likely than the general public to believe that people-to-people connections with Asia be it students, tourism, or immigration—bring benefits to their state. Most elites see the benefits that students and tourism from Asia bring to their state. Most of the general public see benefits in having students from Asia participating in study abroad programs at their universities and living in their communities. Fewer are convinced of the benefits of tourism, and even fewer of the benefits of immigration.

ELITES VIEW THE BENEFITS OF TOURISM FROM ASIA MORE POSITIVELY THAN DOES THE GENERAL PUBLIC



Question: How beneficial is tourism from Asia to the economy of your state? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders.



VISITOR SPENDING FROM ASIA AND OCEANIA IN THE UNITED STATES

Source: Trade Partnership (Washington, DC), 2022 data.

51% of elites vs 20% of the general public

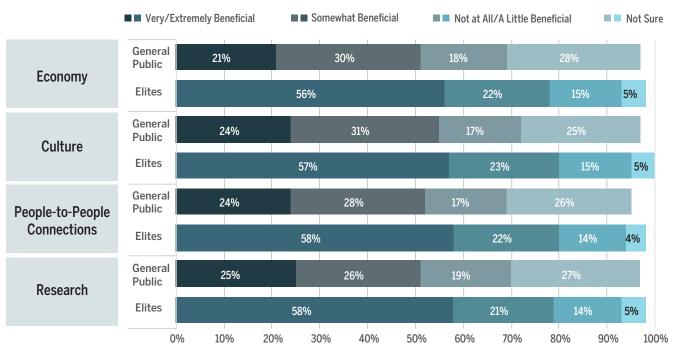
think tourism from Asia is very or extremely beneficial to the economy

Tourism

Elites are more convinced than the general public of the benefits of tourism from Asia for the economy. Just 20% of the general public think tourism from Asia is extremely or very beneficial to the economy of their state, while 30% are not sure about its effect on their state's economy. In contrast, 51% of elites consider tourism from Asia to be very or extremely beneficial to their state's economy, and 23% consider it to be somewhat beneficial. Eighteen percent of elites say tourism from Asia is a little or not at all beneficial.

Those among the general public who live in metropolitan areas of the country and states in the West are more likely to believe tourism from Asia is beneficial to their state's economy, mirroring where more tourists tend to visit and spend money. Likewise, elites from parts of the country that receive more visitor spending from Asia also appear to view tourism from Asia more positively. Fewer elites living in the Midwest say tourism from Asia is beneficial, compared with those in the South, Northeast, and West. Democrats and those who engage with Asia often or sometimes are more likely than others to say tourism from Asia is beneficial to their state's economy. These views are similar to those expressed in the survey conducted in 2021, which experienced a large drop in tourists from Asia amid the COVID-19 pandemic. Views have held steady throughout the recovery in tourist numbers.

ELITES AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC LARGELY BELIEVE HAVING ASIAN STUDENTS IN THEIR STATE IS BENEFICIAL



Question: How beneficial is the presence of students from Asia for each of the following for universities and surrounding communities in your state? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 12-14, 2024, with 1,102 adults age 18 and older nationwide.

Educational Exchange

Both elites and the general public largely perceive the presence of students from Asia as beneficial for universities and the surrounding communities in their state, but elites believe more strongly in the benefits of having students from Asia. At least half of the general public think these programs benefit their universities and communities at least somewhat when it comes to culture (55%), people-to-people connections (52%), the economy (51%), and research (51%). However, across each category about a quarter of the general public are unsure of the benefits of students from Asia. More than half of elites say the presence of students from Asia is very or extremely beneficial to universities and surrounding communities when it comes to personal connections, research, culture, and the economy. Democrats are more likely than Republicans or independents to see the presence of Asian students as very or extremely beneficial to their state. Those among the general public with higher levels of education and income, as well as elites who interact with Asia on a regular basis, are also more convinced of the benefits of having Asian students in their state.

More elites in 2024, compared to 2021, say that Asian students at local universities are very beneficial to the culture and economy of their state. This comes despite a slight drop in international students in the United States at the start of the pandemic, suggesting the possibility of their absence having been felt. Democrats are more likely than Republicans or independents to see the presence of Asian students as very or extremely beneficial to their state. Those among the general public with higher levels of education and income, as well as elites who interact

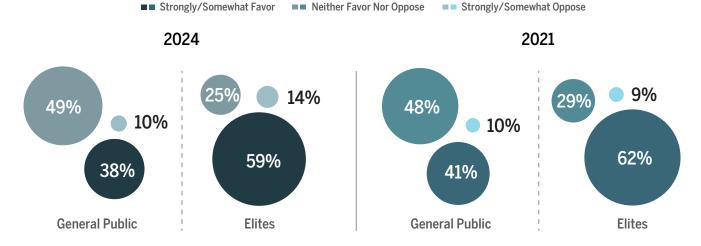
A quarter of the general public

is unsure of the benefits students from Asia bring to their state

with Asia on a regular basis, are also more convinced of the benefits of having Asian students in their state. These differences were also apparent between elites who interact with Asia on a regular basis and those who do not when it comes to research (65% vs. 49%), culture (65% vs. 46%), people-to-people connections (63% vs. 52%), and the economy (63% vs. 47%).

Encouraging American students to study abroad in Asia has lukewarm support among the general public, with 49% neither favoring nor opposing and 38% favoring such programs, similar to 2021. Ten percent of the general public oppose programs that encourage students to study in Asia. Democrats are more likely to favor these programs compared to Republicans, as well as those with college degrees and those living in metropolitan areas.

Overall, elites are more encouraging of study abroad programs in Asian countries than the general public. Fifty-nine percent of elites strongly or somewhat favor study abroad programs that encourage students from their state to study abroad in countries throughout Asia, similar to the 62% who said the same in 2021. Democrats and Republicans, as well as men and elites engaging with Asia on a regular basis, are more supportive of study abroad programs than their counterparts.



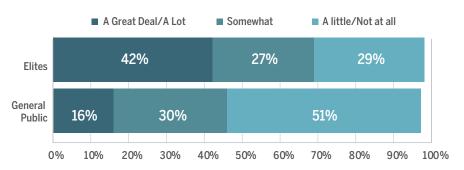
LESS SUPPORT FROM GENERAL PUBLIC FOR STUDY ABROAD PROGRAMS FOR AMERICAN STUDENTS

Question: Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose programs that encourage students in your state to study abroad in countries throughout Asia? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders.

42% of elites vs 12% of the general public see immigration from Asia as very beneficial for the economy

Question: [Immigration from Asia] How much do each of the following matter to your state? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 -February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business

THE GENERAL PUBLIC LARGELY SEES IMMIGRATION FROM ASIA AS INCONSEQUENTIAL FOR THEIR STATE



Immigration

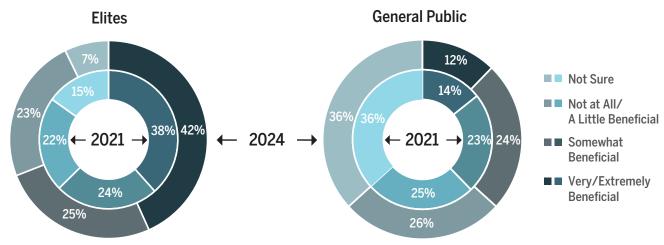
leaders

Immigration was the issue that saw one of the widest divides between elites and the general public. Forty-two percent of elites say immigration matters a lot or a great deal to their state, compared to 16% of the general public who hold the same view. Most of the general public (51%) find that immigration from Asia does not matter at all or barely matters to their state, a clear difference from the 29% of elites who say the same.

Respondents from areas that are home to more immigrants from Asia are more likely to see the relevance and benefits of immigration for their state. Those in the South, Midwest, and Northeast tend to say immigration matters a little or not at all to their state, compared with those in the West, whose populations have a higher proportion of Asian Americans. Similar to the 2021 poll, 42% of elites believe immigration from Asia is very or extremely beneficial to their state's economy, few among the general public (12%) hold that position. Furthermore, 35% of the general public is unsure of the economic benefits of immigration. This uncertainty is not seen among elites, of whom only 7% are unsure of immigration's economic advantages.

Elites in the West, South, and Northeast see immigration as more beneficial to their state's economy than those in the Midwest. Democrats (50%) and Republicans (39%) are also more likely to indicate that immigration from Asia is very or extremely beneficial to their state's economy compared with independents (27%). Those who have regular interactions with Asian countries or companies are more likely to say immigration from Asia is beneficial to the economy of their state compared with those who seldom or never interact with Asian countries or companies.

ELITES ARE MORE LIKELY TO SEE THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF IMMIGRATION FROM ASIA THAN THE GENERAL PUBLIC

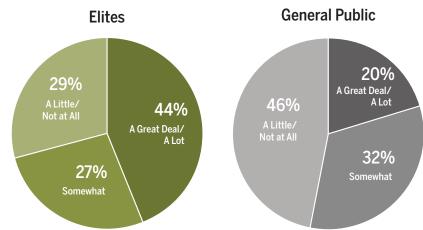


Question: [Immigration from Asia] How much do each of the following matter to your state?

Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders.

Climate Change and the Environment

MOST ELITES AND GENERAL PUBLIC BELIEVE THE STATE OF THE **ENVIRONMENT IN ASIA MATTERS TO THEIR STATE**



The State of the **Environment in Asia**

80% of the general public finds it important

to promote clean energy and climate change adaptation and resilience in Asia

A majority of elites (71%) and the general public (51%) believe the state of the environment in Asia matters for their home state. However, twice as many elites (44%) find the state of the environment in Asia to matter a lot or a great deal to their state as compared to the general public (20%). Likewise, nearly 30% of the general public feels that the state of the environment in Asia does not matter at all for their state

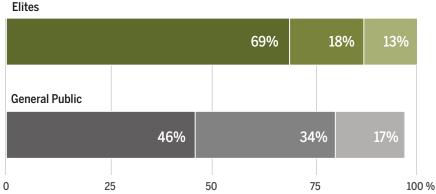
as compared to 15% of elites. While 71% of elites find the state of the environment in Asia matters, even more elites (87%) believe it is important for the United States to promote clean energy and climate change adaptation and

Question: [The state of the environment in Asia] How much do each of the following matter to your state? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders

> resilience in Asia. Similarly, 80% of the general public also feels it is important for the United States to support adaption and resilience in Asia, despite only 51% of the general public believing the state of the environment in Asia has an impact on their home state.

ELITES MORE LIKELY THAN GENERAL PUBLIC TO PROMOTE **CLIMATE MEASURES IN ASIA**

Extremely/Very Important Somewhat Important Not at All/Not too Important



Question: [Clean energy and climate change adaptation and resilience] How important is it for the United States to promote each of the following in Asia? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22

February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders

Climate Measures

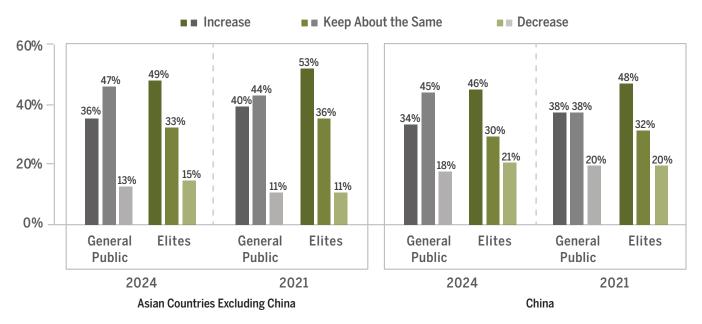
The majority of both the general public and elites say it is important to promote clean energy and climate change adaptation and resilience in Asia. Among these respondents, 46% of the general public consider it very or extremely important to advance these values in Asia and 69% of elites share this same view. Respondents from the Midwest believe that the state of the environment in Asia impacts their state less than it does for those from the Northeast, South, or West, and they are less likely to support US initiatives to promote clean energy and climate change measures in Asia.

Climate Cooperation with Asia

There is no consensus among the general public regarding whether the United States should maintain or increase its level of cooperation with China and other countries in Asia when it comes to addressing climate change. About one-third of the general public believes the United States should increase its efforts with China and other Asian countries, both showing a 4% decrease as compared to 2021 survey results. Nearly half of elites say the United States should increase its cooperation with China and other Asian countries to combat climate change, similar to results from the 2021 survey. While only half of elites say the United States should increase its cooperation with Asia to address climate change, 87% of elites say it is important for the United States to promote clean energy and climate change adaptation and resilience in Asia.

Eighteen percent of the general public say they would like the United States to decrease cooperation with China and 45% say to keep current levels of cooperation. This compares to 21% of elites that feel the United States should decrease cooperation with China and 30% who say to keep current levels of cooperation. When it comes to cooperating with other Asian countries besides China, 13% of the general public would like the United States to decrease cooperation to address climate change and 47% would like to keep the same levels of cooperation. For elites, 15% would like the United States to decrease cooperation that addresses climate change and 33% would like to keep the same levels of cooperation.

For the general public, Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say that the United States should increase cooperation with China and other Asian countries to combat climate change. Fifty-six percent of Democrats want to increase cooperation with China compared with 40% of Republicans and 32% of independents. Sixty percent of Democrats want to increase cooperation with other Asian countries, versus 42% of Republicans and 36% of independents who say the same. For elites, Democrats are more likely to favor increasing cooperation to combat climate change with China and other Asian countries. Among Republicans, 18% in 2024 favor increasing cooperation with China compared to 30% in 2021, and 23% in 2024 with other Asian countries down from 29% in 2021.



MIXED OPINIONS ON WHETHER TO CHANGE US CLIMATE COOPERATION WITH ASIA

Question: Should the United States increase, decrease, or keep about the same in its cooperation with each of the following to combat climate change? Source: Asia Matters for the States Survey conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago January 22 - February 29, 2024, with 1,162 state and local elected and appointed officials, bureaucrats, and business leaders.

Methodology

This study was conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago with funding from the East-West Center.

The target population for this study was two-fold: the general public comprised of adults aged 18 and over representing the 50 states and the District of Columbia and "elites" comprised of elected and appointed officials, business leaders, and bureaucrats in the United States. Interviews for the general public portion of the study were conducted between January 12 and 14, 2024. Interviews for the elite portion of the study were conducted between January 22nd and February 29th, 2024. General public data was collected using a multimode approach that allowed respondents to complete the interview via web or with a NORC telephone interviewer. Elites survey data was collected via web only. The survey was offered in English.

General Public

General population data was collected using the AmeriSpeak Omnibus[®], a monthly multi-client survey using NORC's probability-based panel designed to be representative of the US household population. The survey was part of a larger study that included questions about other topics not included in this report. During the initial recruitment phase of the panel, randomly selected US households were sampled with a known, non-zero probability of selection from the NORC National Sample Frame and then contacted by US mail, email, telephone, and field interviewers (face-to-face). The panel provides sample coverage of approximately 97% of the US household population. Those excluded from the sample include people with PO Box-only addresses, some addresses not listed in the USPS Delivery Sequence File, and some newly constructed dwellings.

Panel members were randomly drawn from AmeriSpeak, and 1,102 completed the survey—982 via the web and 120 via telephone. Panel members were invited by email or by phone from an NORC telephone interviewer. Respondents were offered a small monetary incentive for completing the survey. The final stage completion rate is 17.1%, the weighted household panel response rate is 19.1%, and the weighted household panel retention rate is 79%, for a cumulative response rate of 3%. The overall margin of sampling error is +/-4.1 percentage points at the 95% confidence level, including the design effect. The margin of sampling error may be higher for subgroups.

Quality assurance checks were conducted to ensure data quality. In total, 60 interviews were removed for nonresponse to at least 50% of the questions asked of them, for completing the survey in less than one-third the median interview time for the full sample, or for straightlining all grid questions asked of them. These interviews were excluded from the data file prior to weighting.

Once the sample was selected and fielded, and all the study data collected and made final, a poststratification process is used to adjust for any survey nonresponse as well as any noncoverage or under and oversampling resulting from the study-specific sample design. Poststratification variables included age, gender, census division, race/ethnicity, and education. Weighting variables were obtained from the 2021 Current Population Survey. The weighted data reflects the US population of adults aged 18 and over.

Elites

Nonprobability sample from the elite survey was compiled from three sources. Elected and appointed officials were compiled from a database of state and local government provided by Leadership Connect. A portion of the business leader segment was compiled from database provided by D&B Hoovers. Both elected and appointed officials and a portion of the business leader segment were sent an initial email invitation and a reminder email inviting them to participate in the survey. Bureaucrats and a portion of the business leaders were contacted and invited through Cint including members of their third-party panels. Digital fingerprint software and panel-level ID validation were used to prevent respondents from completing the survey multiple times. While there is no way to quantify the size of the noncovered population for an opt-in panel, the primary population least likely to be included was those without internet access.

Cint's suppliers invited respondents to the survey using email invites and panelist recruitment. Before sending them into the survey, Cint targeted and pre-screened respondents aged 18 and older on the basis of registered voter status and state location using zip codes. Among the 1,533 panelists who touched the pre-screener instrument, 1,000 went on to complete the full survey. In order to ensure the final sample did not include any respondents who completed the survey more than once, Cint removed duplicates by IP address, participant ID, and cookies.

Quality assurance checks were conducted to ensure data quality. In total, 73 interviews were removed for nonresponse to at least 50% of the questions asked of them, for completing the survey in less than one-third the median interview time for the full sample, or for straightlining all grid questions asked of them. A response rate cannot be calculated for nonprobability samples.

About The East-West Center

The East-West Center promotes better relations and understanding among the people and nations of the United States, Asia, and the Pacific through cooperative study, research, and dialogue. Established by the US Congress in 1960, the Center serves as a resource for information and analysis on critical issues of common concern, bringing people together to exchange views, build expertise, and develop policy options.

The Center's 21-acre Honolulu campus, adjacent to the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, is located midway between Asia and the US mainland and features research, residential, and international conference facilities. The Center's Washington, DC, program focuses on preparing the United States for an era of growing Indo-Pacific prominence and is home to the Asia Matters for America initiative.

For more information, visit EastWestCenter.org

About NORC at the University of Chicago

NORC at the University of Chicago conducts research and analysis that decision-makers trust. As a nonpartisan research organization and a pioneer in measuring and understanding the world, we have studied almost every aspect of the human experience and every major news event for more than eight decades. Today, we partner with government, corporate, and nonprofit clients around the world to provide the objectivity and expertise necessary to inform the critical decisions facing society.

For more information, visit NORC.org



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The Asia Matters for America Series





REGIONS



PUBLICATION DESIGN AND ILLUSTRATION

JEANETTE SIMMONS Infographic and Design Specialist East–West Center in Washington

THE ASIA MATTERS FOR AMERICA INITIATIVE

Asia Matters for America/America Matters for Asia is an interactive resource for credible and nonpartisan information, graphics, analysis, and news on US-Indo-Pacific relations at the national, state, and local levels.

AsiaMattersforAmerica.org

Sources and Methodology:

AsiaMattersforAmerica.org/Sources-And-Methodology

ORGANIZATIONS



OPINION POLLS





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AMERICAN PUBLIC & ELITE OPINION ON ASIA MATTERS FOR AMERICA

The Asia Matters for America initiative maps the trade, investment, employment, business, diplomacy, security, education, tourism, and people-to-people connections between the United States and Indo-Pacific at the national, state, and local levels. This initiative comprises of country and regional publications, one-page state connection summaries, and the AsiaMattersforAmerica.org website as resources for understanding the robust and dynamic US-Indo-Pacific relationship. This special publication is the second in this series of opinion surveys and is made possible through the East-West Center's 2024 poll on public and elite opinions on the importance of Asia at a state and local level.

The Asia Matters for America initiative is managed by the East-West Center in Washington and can be contacted at:

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