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# Transatlantic Dialogues: In Europe and North America, Publics More Supportive Than Experts of Direct Democracy

Experts share public's concern about international threats, worry more about transatlantic relations in Trump era

BY Katie Simmons, Laura Silver and Courtney Johnson

CORRECTION (Feb. 2018): A previous version of the section "Experts critical of Trump, see challenges for transatlantic relations" and the chart "Foreign policy experts and publics lack confidence in Trump and Putin" misstated Vladimir Putin's confidence rating among foreign policy experts. These were revised on Feb. 27, 2018, to reflect Putin's actual rating (8%).

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### Transatlantic Dialogues: In Europe and North America, Publics More Supportive Than Experts of Direct Democracy

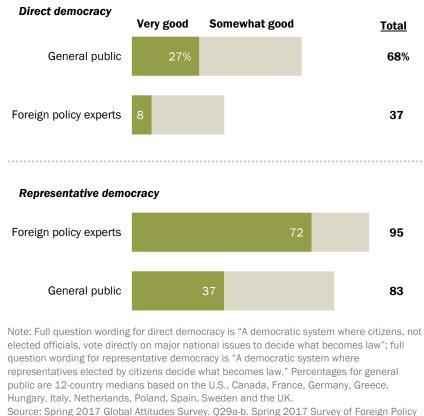
Experts share public's concern about international threats, worry more about transatlantic relations in Trump era

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Recent years have witnessed a groundswell of populist sentiment in Western liberal democracies. On both sides of the Atlantic, elections and referenda have highlighted public dissatisfaction with the status quo, rejection of the establishment and desire to "take back control."

## Public supports direct democracy more than experts; experts more strongly back representative democracy

\_ would be a very/somewhat good way of governing our country



Experts.

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of transatlantic experts and general publics in North America and Europe reveal a division between these two groups over the role of the people's voice in governing. While a median of 68% of the 12 publics surveyed say allowing citizens to vote directly on major national issues would be a good way to govern their country, just 37% of foreign policy experts surveyed agree.

When it comes to the most common form of government in Western nations – representative democracy – both experts and the general public are broadly supportive. But the depth of public support is limited: A median of only 37% across the 12 nations polled describe representative democracy as a *very good* form of governance. In only one country – Sweden (54%) – do more than half express this view. Foreign policy experts convey a much higher level of commitment to representative democracy (72% say "very good").

These expert views emerge from polling of policymakers and opinion shapers who belong to the German Marshall Fund's alumni network or who were invited to participate in GMF's 2017 Brussels Forum. This survey sought to address the divide between the worldviews of experts and publics in Europe and North America. (For more details concerning the samples, please see sidebar at right.)

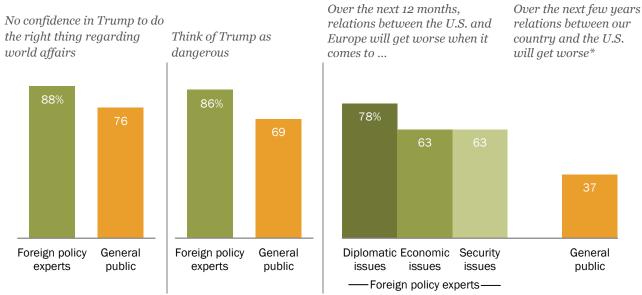
Populist movements have ushered in new political actors on both sides of the Atlantic. Perhaps none is better known than the 45th president of the United States, Donald Trump. Among the foreign policy experts polled by Pew Research Center, nearly ninein-ten (88%) say they lack confidence in Trump to do the right thing regarding world affairs. A median of 76% among the European and North American publics agree. Nearly as many foreign policy experts describe Trump as "dangerous." A median of roughly seven-in-ten across the publics surveyed share this view.

### Surveying experts and the public

**Foreign policy experts:** The expert survey findings in this report are based on one institutionally defined expert community. The survey was conducted among invitees of the German Marshall Fund's annual Brussels Forum and alumni of GMF's fellowship and educational programs. These programs focus on the pressing global challenges facing both sides of the Atlantic. The survey was administered online from Jan. 18 to March 16, 2017, among 547 experts from Europe, the U.S. and Canada.

**General public:** The results for the general public come from the 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. The medians cited are from the 12 transatlantic countries included: the U.S., Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden and the UK. The survey was conducted via telephone or face-to-face interviews from Feb. 16 to April 17 among 12,462 adults.

For more details, please see Methodology section.



### Foreign policy experts more pessimistic about Trump than the general public

\* Full question wording: "Now that Donald Trump is the president of the United States, over the next few years do you think that relations between (survey country) and the U.S. will get better, get worse or stay about the same?" Not asked in the U.S. Note: Percentages for general public are 12-country medians based on the U.S., Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden and the UK.

Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q30a, Q36 & Q37c. Spring 2017 Survey of Foreign Policy Experts.

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But experts and the general public diverge on the consequences of Trump's presidency. Many among the public (median of 51%) believe their country's relationship with America will stay about the same over the next few years. Only 37% say it will get worse. Foreign policy experts are less sanguine: More than six-in-ten think that over the next year relations between Europe and the U.S. will worsen in the three areas asked about: diplomacy, the economy and security.

On the specific issue of mutual security, the publics and experts polled – many of whom live in NATO member countries – also diverge. A median of 64% across the 10 NATO publics surveyed, excluding the U.S., expect that if Russia got into a serious military conflict with one of its neighbors that is a NATO ally, the U.S. would militarily defend that country. Foreign policy experts are more skeptical: 50% believe Washington would live up to its <u>Article 5 obligation</u>, but nearly as many (46%) think it would not.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The survey was conducted before President Donald Trump publicly stated that the U.S. is committed to Article 5 of the NATO treaty.

More broadly, experts and the public see some of the same global threats confronting their nations. Of the eight international issues asked about, the public points to ISIS, climate change, and cyberattacks as their leading concerns, with the threat posed by the Islamic State topping the list. Foreign policy experts also express strong concern about ISIS, but fewer see the extremist group as a major threat than say the same about climate change, cyberwarfare or Russia's power and influence.

These are among the key findings from a survey of foreign policy experts and a large cross-national survey of 12 transatlantic publics, both conducted in the spring of 2017. The survey of foreign policy experts was a Pew Research Center study conducted in association with The German Marshall Fund of the United States.

## Experts, public agree on many approaches to governing, but disagree over direct democracy

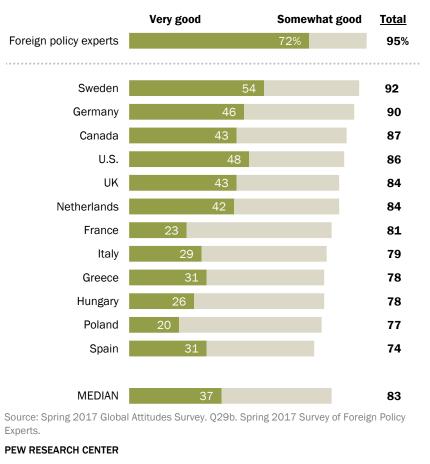
Nearly all foreign policy experts surveyed think that a democratic system where representatives, elected by citizens, decide what becomes law is a good way of governing their countries.

Publics, too, generally embrace representative democracy. Positive evaluations of the system range from a high of 92% in Sweden to a low of 74% in Spain. In many of the 12 countries, people with more than a secondary education are more supportive of representative democracy.

But while experts and publics are largely united in their support of representative democracy, they differ substantially with regard to the depth of support. Whereas 72% of foreign policy experts say it is a *very* 

## Representative democracy supported by experts and general public

A democratic system where representatives elected by citizens decide what becomes law would be a \_\_\_\_ way of governing our country



good system of government, a median of only 37% among the public say the same.

### Put it to the people

Disagreement between experts and the public arises when it comes to direct democracy. Only a minority of foreign policy experts (37%) think a democratic system where citizens vote directly on major national issues to decide what becomes law would be a good way to govern their country.

In contrast, a median of 68% among transatlantic publics think direct democracy would be a good governance system. This ranges from a high of 74% in France and Germany to less than six-in-ten in the Netherlands (55%) and the United Kingdom (56%) – a country that is still adjusting to changes wrought by the Brexit referendum of June 2016. In about half of the surveyed countries, those with higher education levels are more likely to think direct democracy is a bad option for their country – bringing their views more in line with the experts surveyed.

### Experts running the government

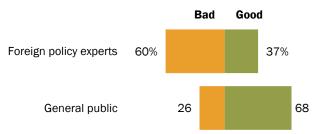
Among foreign policy experts, a minority (30%) supports a system of government in which experts make decisions according to what they think is best for the country.

Public opinion on the benefits of government by experts largely mirrors the views of these experts. A median of 42% think it would be a good way to run their country. However, support varies considerably across Europe, ranging from a high of 68% in Hungary to a low of 31% in Greece. The U.S. stands out as the country in which the public is most likely to see this option as *very* bad for the country (31%).

In most transatlantic countries, education has no effect on support for a technocracy. The U.S and Germany are the only two places surveyed in which those with higher levels of education are more opposed to rule by experts.

## Support for direct democracy lower among experts than general public

A democratic system where citizens, not elected officials, vote directly on major national issues to decide what becomes law would be a <u>way of governing our</u> country

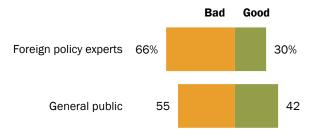


Note: Percentages for general public are 12-country medians based on the U.S., Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden and the UK. Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q29a. Spring 2017 Survey of Foreign Policy Experts.

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## Minorities of experts and public favor leaving decision-making to experts

A system in which experts, not elected officials, make decisions according to what they think is best for the country would be a \_\_\_\_ way of governing our country



Note: Percentages for general public are 12-country medians based on the U.S., Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden and the UK. Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q29d. Spring 2017 Survey of Foreign Policy Experts.

### **Rule by strong leaders**

Few transatlantic experts surveyed (4%) think their country would benefit from having a strong leader who makes decisions without interference from parliament or courts. Publics across Western Europe and North America are largely similar to the experts in their view that such an

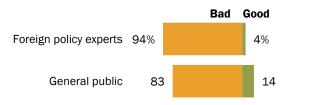
approach to government would be inappropriate; a median of 14% say rule by a strong leader would be good for their country. However, public support varies markedly across countries, ranging from a high of 29% of Italians who think an unchecked executive is very or somewhat good to a low of 6% in Germany. Across most of the countries surveyed, those with more education are more opposed to rule by strong leaders.

### **Military might**

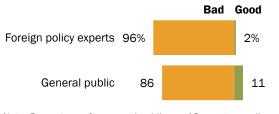
Only 2% of foreign policy experts think military rule would be appropriate for governing their countries. Publics across Western Europe and North America roughly mirror experts, with a median of 11% saying they think a military government would be a good thing. Again, though, support varies across countries. Germany and Sweden are the least positive (4% each), while Americans, the French and Italians are the most (17% each).

### Few favor rule by strong leader, military

A system in which a strong leader can make decisions without interference from parliament or the courts would be a \_\_\_\_ way of governing our country



A system in which the military rules the country would be a <u>way of governing our country</u>



Note: Percentages for general public are 12-country medians based on the U.S., Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden and the UK. Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q29c, e. Spring 2017 Survey of Foreign Policy Experts.

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As with opposition to a strong leader, those with more education tend to be more opposed to rule by the military across most of the countries surveyed.

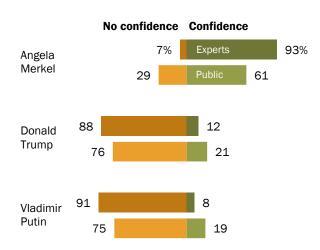
### Experts critical of Trump, see challenges for transatlantic relations

CORRECTION (Feb. 2018): A previous version of the section "Experts critical of Trump, see challenges for transatlantic relations" and the chart "Foreign policy experts and publics lack confidence in Trump and Putin" misstated Vladimir Putin's confidence rating among foreign policy experts. These were revised on Feb. 27, 2018, to reflect Putin's actual rating (8%).

Across Europe and North America, foreign policy experts express little confidence in the world leadership of U.S. President Donald Trump. Just 12% say they have *a lot* (1%) or *some* (11%) confidence in Trump to do the right thing regarding world affairs. Among the 12 transatlantic publics surveyed, a median of 21% say the same.

Experts have similarly low confidence in Russian President Vladimir Putin. Nine-in-ten foreign policy experts (91%) say they have little or no confidence in Putin's handing of world affairs. Only 8% say they have *a lot* (1%) or *some* (7%) confidence in Putin to do the right thing regarding world affairs. The general public is also relatively negative toward Putin, though slightly less than the foreign policy experts. A median of just 19% say they trust the Russian president, while 75% say they have no confidence in his decision-making. Most publics surveyed share this criticism of Putin, with the exception of Greece, where 50% say they have confidence in Putin's foreign policy.

## Foreign policy experts and publics lack confidence in Trump and Putin



Confidence in \_\_\_\_ to do the right thing regarding world affairs

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German Chancellor Angela Merkel is the most highly rated among the three world leaders, with 93% of foreign policy experts expressing confidence in her decisions on foreign affairs, including 65% who say they have *a lot* of confidence.

The publics surveyed also rate Merkel the highest for her world leadership, though their level of confidence is much lower than that of experts. A median of 61% across the 12 publics say they trust

Note: Percentages for general public are 12-country medians based on the U.S., Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden and the UK. Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q30a,c-d. Spring 2017 Survey of Foreign Policy Experts.

Merkel to do the right thing in world affairs, while 29% say they do not. Again, the Greeks stand out – just 16% have confidence in Merkel.

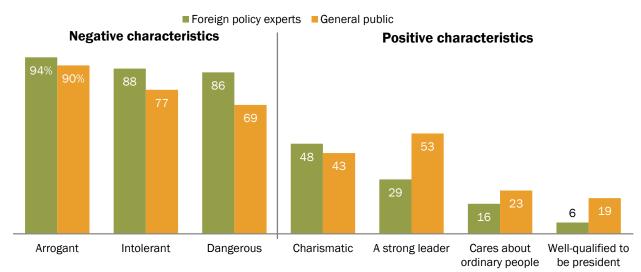
### **Negative views of Trump**

While foreign policy experts and publics express similarly low levels of confidence in President Trump, experts tend to be less forgiving than the general public when it comes to describing the American leader's key characteristics. Majorities of both the experts and publics surveyed believe that each of the negative traits asked about applies to Trump. Still, an overwhelming percentage of foreign policy experts are critical of the president, with more than eight-in-ten describing him as arrogant (94%), intolerant (88%) and dangerous (85%). Smaller majorities within the general public agree. In many countries, respondents with more than a secondary education tend to be more negative about Trump's characteristics than respondents with less education.

When it comes to positive traits, few foreign policy experts surveyed say Trump is a strong leader (29%), cares about ordinary people (16%) or is well-qualified to be president (6%). Among the attributes asked about, the positive one that foreign policy experts most think Trump exhibits is that he is charismatic (48%). A higher percentage of the general public assigns Trump each of

### Experts, publics see Trump as arrogant, intolerant and dangerous

Do you think of U.S. President Donald Trump as \_\_\_?



Note: Percentages for general public are 12-country medians based on the U.S., Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden and the UK.

Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q37a-g. Spring 2017 Survey of Foreign Policy Experts.

these positive traits, with the exception of charisma. The most commonly cited positive

characteristic among the general public is that the U.S. president is a strong leader (53% median).

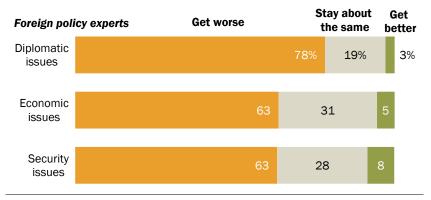
## Future of the transatlantic relationship in doubt

Concerns about President Trump's leadership appear to have taken a greater toll on foreign policy experts' views of the future than on the publics'. A majority of the foreign policy experts surveyed say that relations between the U.S. and Europe will get worse over the next 12 months when it comes to the areas of diplomacy (78% worse), economics (63%) and security (63%).

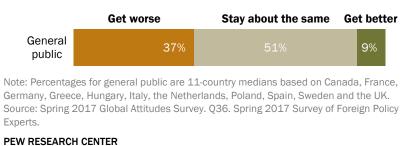
Transatlantic publics, on the other hand, are much less

### Foreign policy experts more likely than public to think relations with U.S. will worsen

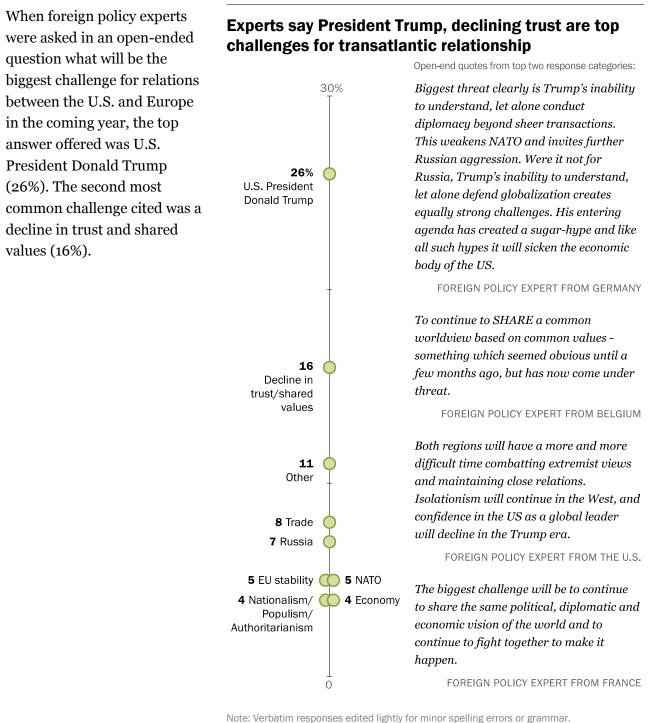
Over the next 12 months, relations between Europe and the U.S. will \_\_\_\_ when it comes to ...



Now that Donald Trump is president of the United States, over the next few years, do you think that relations between our country and the U.S. will ...



worried about the future of relations with the U.S. Pluralities or majorities of nine of the 11 publics surveyed outside the U.S. think that now that Trump is president, relations between their country and the U.S. will stay the same over the next few years. A median of 37% across all 11 countries expect relations to worsen, while just 9% believe things will get better. Germans are the most pessimistic (56% expect worsening).

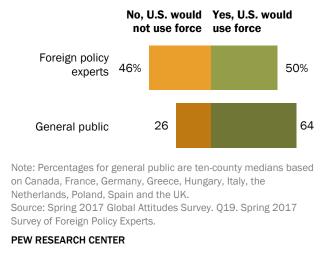


Source: 2017 Survey of Foreign Policy Experts.

One of the biggest foreign policy challenges that Europe and the U.S. have faced in recent years has been Russia's role in Europe. With the annexation of Crimea in 2014 and subsequent tensions with Ukraine, NATO member countries that border Russia, such as Poland, were concerned about the threat posed by Moscow's actions. Article 5 of the NATO treaty requires member countries to come to the aid of a NATO ally if they are attacked by a foreign power. In 2015, a majority across the seven NATO publics surveyed were confident that the U.S. would fulfill its duty to Article 5 if a military conflict with Russia arose (median of 68%). Today, a similar majority across 10 NATO countries (median of 64%) say the same.

## Experts more skeptical than public that U.S. would honor Article 5

If Russia got into a serious military conflict with one of its neighboring countries that is a NATO ally, do you think the United States would or would not use military force to defend that country?



Foreign policy experts, however, are less

optimistic about the American commitment to Article 5. Half of the experts surveyed say the U.S. would use military force to defend a NATO ally in a conflict with Russia. But a nearly similar percentage (46%) think the U.S. would not do so.

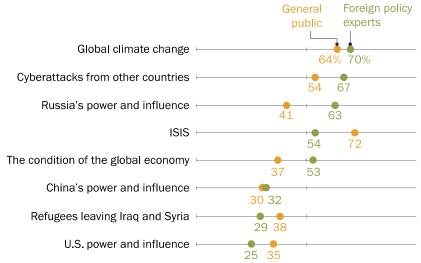
### Experts and public share top international concerns

Experts and the public alike are worried about the impact of global climate change, cyberattacks from other countries and the militant group ISIS.

Climate change is the top concern among the foreign policy experts surveyed, with 70% describing it as a "major threat" to their country. These experts are similarly concerned about cyberattacks from other countries: 67% say digital attacks are a major threat. Rounding out foreign policy experts' top three concerns is the impact of Russia's power and influence on their countries, with more than six-in-ten (63%)

## Foreign policy experts see climate change, cyberattacks as greatest threats

\_\_\_\_ is a major threat to our country



Note: Percentages for general public are 12-country medians based on the U.S., Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden and the UK. United States' power and influence not asked in the U.S. Source: Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. Q17a-h. Spring 2017 Survey of Foreign Policy Experts.

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describing Russia as a major threat. The public is much less concerned about the impact of Russia on their country (median of 41%).

For the public, the top concern is ISIS, with a median of nearly three-quarters (72%) describing the group as a major threat.

The public also ranks climate change as a top threat (median of 64%). The southern European countries of Spain and Greece are particularly concerned: Large majorities of the Spanish (89%) and Greeks (79%) describe climate change as a major threat to their country.

Transatlantic publics' third-highest concern is cyberattacks from other countries, which 54% consider a major threat. Still, this is 13 percentage points less than foreign policy experts. Concern about cyberattacks is strongest among the U.S. public, where 71% describe such attacks as a major threat.

Experts and the general public differ over the impact of the global economy. More than half of the foreign policy experts (53%) express major concern about the potential for the condition of the global economy to negatively impact their country. In contrast, just over one-third of the public (37%) holds similar concerns. The biggest exception is Greece, where 88% of the public sees the international economy as a major threat.

### **Acknowledgments**

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### Methodology

### About Pew Research Center's survey of foreign policy experts

The survey of foreign policy experts was conducted among invitees of the German Marshall Fund's annual Brussels Forum and alumni of the GMF's fellowship and educational programs, including: the Marshall Memorial Fellowship, the Transatlantic Inclusion Leaders Network, the Manfred Wörner Seminar and the American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship. The survey was self-administered online via SurveyMonkey from Jan. 18 to March 16, 2017.

GMF sent requests for survey participation via email to a total of 3,109 individuals. These requests were on official letterhead and signed by Pew Research Center President Michael Dimock and German Marshall Fund President Karen Donfried. To encourage participation, all individuals were sent survey reminders every two weeks during February and every week in March up until the conference, for a total of six reminders throughout the fieldwork period. A total of 585 experts completed the survey; for purposes of analysis, responses were restricted to only respondents from North America and Europe, for a final total of 547 respondents. Surveys were considered valid responses when a respondent completed at least half of the closed-ended, substantive questions. The overall response rate for the survey was 19%.

The survey is weighted according to three demographic variables: (1) gender, (2) employment sector and (3) nationality. The weighting information was provided by GMF, based on the organization's membership lists. Results are similar with or without weights. The overall design effect of the survey is 1.14, yielding a margin of error of  $\pm 4.5$  percentage points for the North American and European sample (N=547) and an effective sample size of 481.

The open-ended survey responses were coded by two Pew Research Center researchers. The unit of analysis was each participant's full response to the question "And over the next 12 months, in your opinion, what will be the biggest challenge for relations between Europe and the U.S.?" The question was posed in an open-ended format and respondents could write as much or as little as they wished. The researchers worked together using early responses to generate and revise the list of coding categories. They then separately coded the responses and achieved high levels of intercoder reliability (Krippendorff's alpha = 0.89).

### About Pew Research Center's Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey

Results for the general public come from Pew Research Center's Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey. The medians cited in the text are from the 12 transatlantic countries included in the Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey: the United States, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom. The surveys for these 12 countries were conducted by telephone and face-to-face interviews from Feb. 16 to April 17, 2017, among 12,462 adults under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International and Kantar Public UK. The results are based on national samples. More details about our international survey methodology and country-specific sample designs are available <u>here</u>.

### **Topline Questionnaire**

### Pew Research Center November 7, 2017 Release

Methodological notes for the survey of foreign policy experts:

- Survey conducted among invitees of the German Marshall Fund's annual Brussels Forum and alumni of the GMF's fellowship and educational programs, including: the Marshall Memorial Fellowship, the Transatlantic Inclusion Leaders Network, the Manfred Wörner Seminar and the American Political Science Association Congressional Fellowship. For further details on the sample, see the Methodology section.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline "total" columns show 100% because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Questions are listed in the order that they were presented to the general public as part of the Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey; the order for the foreign policy experts was different.
- A previous version of this topline misstated Vladimir Putin's confidence rating among foreign policy experts. It was revised on Feb. 27, 2018 to reflect Putin's actual ratings.

Methodological notes for the Spring 2017 Global Attitudes Survey:

- Survey results are based on national samples. For further details on sample designs, see Methodology section and our <u>international survey methods database</u>.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline "total" columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2017 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

					e international c for threat or not r and influence		
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total	N=
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	32	56	12	0	100	547
United States	Spring, 2017	41	45	11	3	100	1505
Canada	Spring, 2017	25	48	21	7	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	37	40	20	2	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	21	57	17	5	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	31	27	37	4	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	26	40	27	7	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	39	35	19	8	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	19	54	23	4	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	29	34	25	12	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	51	26	16	8	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	13	55	28	4	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	32	46	14	8	100	1066

			hat is a ma	jor threat, a mir	e international co for threat or not power and influe	a threat to (surv	
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total	N=
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	25	30	44	1	100	547
Canada	Spring, 2017	38	36	23	3	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	36	43	20	1	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	35	45	17	3	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	44	22	31	3	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	22	39	33	6	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	20	35	39	6	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	26	48	25	2	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	15	29	50	6	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	59	20	17	4	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	22	54	21	2	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	35	39	23	4	100	1066

		Q17c. I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns for (survey country). Do you think that is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to (survey country)? c. Russia's power and influence								
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total	N=			
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	63	34	4	0	100	547			
United States	Spring, 2017	47	41	9	3	100	1505			
Canada	Spring, 2017	30	47	17	7	100	1022			
France	Spring, 2017	45	39	14	2	100	1000			
Germany	Spring, 2017	33	53	12	2	100	1002			
Greece	Spring, 2017	24	24	50	3	100	852			
Hungary	Spring, 2017	28	45	22	6	100	944			
Italy	Spring, 2017	31	35	25	9	100	905			
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	44	44	10	2	100	1006			
Poland	Spring, 2017	65	25	5	5	100	1160			
Spain	Spring, 2017	47	28	18	6	100	1000			
Sweden	Spring, 2017	39	52	8	1	100	1000			
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	43	41	10	6	100	1066			

					e international c for threat or not nate change		
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total	N=
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	70	26	4	0	100	547
United States	Spring, 2017	56	26	16	2	100	1505
Canada	Spring, 2017	60	28	11	2	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	72	20	7	0	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	63	30	5	1	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	79	14	6	1	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	59	33	6	2	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	65	25	6	5	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	64	29	6	1	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	42	37	13	7	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	89	7	4	1	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	64	32	3	1	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	59	30	7	4	100	1066

			hat is a ma	ijor threat, a mii	e international c nor threat or not group known as	a threat to (surv	
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total	N=
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	54	41	4	0	100	547
United States	Spring, 2017	74	21	4	2	100	1505
Canada	Spring, 2017	55	34	8	3	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	88	10	2	1	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	77	19	3	2	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	79	11	8	2	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	64	26	5	5	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	85	10	2	2	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	67	29	3	1	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	66	23	8	4	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	88	7	3	3	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	54	40	5	1	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	70	22	4	3	100	1066

			hat is a ma	ijor threat, a mir	e international co or threat or not m other countrie	a threat to (surv	
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total	N=
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	67	29	3	1	100	547
United States	Spring, 2017	71	23	3	2	100	1505
Canada	Spring, 2017	47	40	8	6	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	64	28	6	1	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	66	28	3	3	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	51	23	11	15	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	36	39	10	14	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	43	25	12	20	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	57	36	5	2	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	47	28	11	14	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	65	21	7	7	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	44	44	8	5	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	61	29	5	5	100	1066

		Do you think t	hat is a ma	jor threat, a mir	e international co for threat or not ring countries su	a threat to (surv	vey country)?
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total	N=
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	29	45	26	0	100	547
United States	Spring, 2017	36	36	26	2	100	1505
Canada	Spring, 2017	25	38	34	2	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	39	41	20	1	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	28	49	22	1	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	67	19	14	1	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	66	26	6	2	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	65	23	7	4	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	31	44	25	0	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	60	28	10	2	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	42	23	33	2	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	22	48	30	1	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	36	36	24	4	100	1066

			hat is a ma	jor threat, a mir	e international c for threat or not the global econor	a threat to (surv	
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total	N=
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	53	39	7	0	100	547
United States	Spring, 2017	37	45	14	4	100	1505
Canada	Spring, 2017	33	48	14	5	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	45	39	14	2	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	22	53	20	5	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	88	5	6	1	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	37	45	12	6	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	56	29	8	8	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	21	52	23	5	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	25	39	23	13	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	72	16	9	3	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	20	60	14	5	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	37	44	11	8	100	1066

		Q19. If Russia got into a serious military conflict with one of its neighboring countries that is a NATO ally, do you think the United States would or would not use military force to defend that country?								
		Yes, would use military force	No, would not use military force	DK/Refused	Total	N=				
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	50	46	4	100	547				
Canada	Spring, 2017	68	21	11	100	1022				
France	Spring, 2017	60	36	4	100	1000				
Germany	Spring, 2017	65	27	7	100	1002				
Greece	Spring, 2017	62	31	7	100	852				
Hungary	Spring, 2017	55	28	17	100	944				
Italy	Spring, 2017	62	23	15	100	905				
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	69	25	6	100	1006				
Poland	Spring, 2017	57	26	17	100	1160				
Spain	Spring, 2017	70	20	10	100	1000				
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	66	25	9	100	1066				

				ic system where		good, somewhat cted officials, vo omes law		
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total	N=
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	8	29	41	19	4	100	547
United States	Spring, 2017	29	38	19	12	2	100	1505
Canada	Spring, 2017	25	42	21	9	3	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	28	46	18	7	1	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	32	42	21	2	2	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	39	39	15	5	1	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	20	47	21	5	7	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	31	40	16	4	9	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	17	38	27	16	2	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	22	47	15	2	14	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	38	37	13	9	4	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	15	42	29	12	2	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	19	37	26	12	5	100	1066

				Q29b. For each one, would it be a very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad way of governing this country? [SHORTENED] b. a democratic system where representatives elected by citizens decide what becomes law										
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total	N=						
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	72	23	2	0	3	100	547						
United States	Spring, 2017	48	38	8	5	1	100	1505						
Canada	Spring, 2017	43	44	8	2	3	100	1022						
France	Spring, 2017	23	58	14	4	1	100	1000						
Germany	Spring, 2017	46	44	7	1	2	100	1002						
Greece	Spring, 2017	31	47	14	6	3	100	852						
Hungary	Spring, 2017	26	52	15	2	5	100	944						
Italy	Spring, 2017	29	50	9	4	7	100	905						
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	42	42	10	4	2	100	1006						
Poland	Spring, 2017	20	57	12	3	9	100	1160						
Spain	Spring, 2017	31	43	15	7	4	100	1000						
Sweden	Spring, 2017	54	38	6	1	1	100	1000						
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	43	41	9	3	4	100	1066						

			29c. For each one, would it be a very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad way of governing his country? [SHORTENED] c. a system in which a strong leader can make decisions without interference from parliament or the courts								
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total	N=			
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	1	3	12	82	3	100	547			
United States	Spring, 2017	5	17	21	55	2	100	1505			
Canada	Spring, 2017	3	14	27	54	2	100	1022			
France	Spring, 2017	2	10	36	52	0	100	1000			
Germany	Spring, 2017	1	5	30	63	1	100	1002			
Greece	Spring, 2017	5	7	24	63	1	100	852			
Hungary	Spring, 2017	4	20	26	45	5	100	944			
Italy	Spring, 2017	6	23	28	38	6	100	905			
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	1	9	16	73	1	100	1006			
Poland	Spring, 2017	2	13	32	44	9	100	1160			
Spain	Spring, 2017	4	9	26	58	3	100	1000			
Sweden	Spring, 2017	1	8	20	70	1	100	1000			
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	7	19	26	45	3	100	1066			

				experts, not ele		somewhat bad o ake decisions ac ry		
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total	N=
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	3	27	34	32	3	100	547
United States	Spring, 2017	9	31	27	31	2	100	1505
Canada	Spring, 2017	8	33	32	23	3	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	6	38	38	17	1	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	7	37	38	15	3	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	5	26	37	25	6	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	20	48	17	6	9	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	7	33	31	18	10	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	5	34	34	25	2	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	9	41	25	9	16	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	17	32	29	20	2	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	8	32	36	20	3	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	8	34	30	24	4	100	1066

		Q29e. For eac				somewhat bad o tary rules the co		of governing
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total	N=
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	1	1	4	92	3	100	547
United States	Spring, 2017	4	13	19	64	1	100	1505
Canada	Spring, 2017	3	7	20	67	2	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	5	12	34	48	1	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	1	3	24	71	1	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	1	7	15	76	1	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	2	12	16	68	3	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	2	15	23	56	5	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	1	7	14	77	1	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	1	8	30	55	6	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	5	6	26	60	3	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	1	3	19	76	1	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	5	10	23	58	4	100	1066

				e, some confiden	you have in each ce, not too much sident Donald Tru	n confidence or n		
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total	N=
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	1	11	25	63	0	100	547
United States	Spring, 2017	25	21	16	38	1	100	1505
Canada	Spring, 2017	6	16	21	54	3	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	2	12	24	62	1	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	1	10	34	53	1	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	3	16	34	42	5	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	3	26	30	27	14	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	4	21	33	33	9	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	2	15	33	48	1	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	3	20	36	21	21	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	2	5	21	71	2	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	1	9	24	66	1	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	5	17	21	54	3	100	1066

			30c. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world ffairs — a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence or no confidence at all. c. Russian President Vladimir Putin									
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total	N=				
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	1	7	25	66	0	100	547				
United States	Spring, 2017	2	21	26	48	3	100	1505				
Canada	Spring, 2017	3	16	25	49	7	100	1022				
France	Spring, 2017	2	16	28	52	1	100	1000				
Germany	Spring, 2017	5	20	39	35	1	100	1002				
Greece	Spring, 2017	13	37	27	18	5	100	852				
Hungary	Spring, 2017	4	30	33	24	9	100	944				
Italy	Spring, 2017	3	23	37	27	10	100	905				
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	2	10	28	59	1	100	1006				
Poland	Spring, 2017	0	4	27	62	7	100	1160				
Spain	Spring, 2017	0	0 8 38 50 3 100 1000									
Sweden	Spring, 2017	1	11	29	58	1	100	1000				
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	4	15	29	47	6	100	1066				

			Q30d. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs — a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence or no confidence at all. d. German Chancellor Angela Merkel								
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total	N=			
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	65	28	6	1	0	100	547			
United States	Spring, 2017	16	40	15	16	14	100	1505			
Canada	Spring, 2017	20	46	8	7	18	100	1022			
France	Spring, 2017	18	61	12	8	1	100	1000			
Germany	Spring, 2017	43	38	12	7	0	100	1002			
Greece	Spring, 2017	2	14	27	57	1	100	852			
Hungary	Spring, 2017	7	30	34	23	6	100	944			
Italy	Spring, 2017	4	35	34	20	7	100	905			
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	49	40	6	3	1	100	1006			
Poland	Spring, 2017	7	39	30	15	9	100	1160			
Spain	Spring, 2017	8	44	29	16	2	100	1000			
Sweden	Spring, 2017	44	45	5	4	2	100	1000			
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	22	46	13	13	7	100	1066			

		Q36. Now that Donald Trump is the president of the United States, over the next few years do you think that relations between (survey country) and the U.S. will get better, get worse or stay about the same?								
		Get better	Get worse	Stay about the same	DK/Refused	Total	N=			
Canada	Spring, 2017	9	37	52	2	100	1022			
France	Spring, 2017	6	38	56	1	100	1000			
Germany	Spring, 2017	2	56	40	2	100	1002			
Greece	Spring, 2017	15	25	53	7	100	852			
Hungary	Spring, 2017	26	20	42	13	100	944			
Italy	Spring, 2017	10	35	43	12	100	905			
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	2	42	54	1	100	1006			
Poland	Spring, 2017	13	20	50	17	100	1160			
Spain	Spring, 2017	4	41	51	4	100	1000			
Sweden	Spring, 2017	2	48	49	0	100	1000			
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	17	26	54	4	100	1066			

					hat relations betw when it comes c issues						
		Get better Get worse Stay about the same DK/Refused Total N=									
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	5	5 63 31 1 100 547								

				about the sam	hat relations bet e when it comes tic issues						
		Get better Get worse Stay about the same DK/Refused Total N=									
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	3	3 78 19 1 100 547								

					at relations betw when it comes issues					
Get better Get worse Stay about DK/Refused Total N=							N=			
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	8 63 28 1 100 547								

			. Please tell me whether you think the following describes U.S. President Id Trump. Do you think of Donald Trump as? a. well-qualified to be president					
		Yes	No	DK/Refused	Total	N=		
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	6	93	2	100	547		
United States	Spring, 2017	38	60	2	100	1505		
Canada	Spring, 2017	16	79	5	100	1022		
France	Spring, 2017	21	79	1	100	1000		
Germany	Spring, 2017	6	90	4	100	1002		
Greece	Spring, 2017	33	57	10	100	852		
Hungary	Spring, 2017	39	38	23	100	944		
Italy	Spring, 2017	25	63	12	100	905		
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	12	84	4	100	1006		
Poland	Spring, 2017	24	50	27	100	1160		
Spain	Spring, 2017	13	83	4	100	1000		
Sweden	Spring, 2017	10	88	2	100	1000		
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	16	80	4	100	1066		

			Q37b. Please tell me whether you think the following describes U.S. President Donald Trump. Do you think of Donald Trump as? b. a strong leader								
		Yes	No	DK/Refused	Total	N=					
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	29	69	1	100	547					
United States	Spring, 2017	52	46	2	100	1505					
Canada	Spring, 2017	38	57	5	100	1022					
France	Spring, 2017	54	44	1	100	1000					
Germany	Spring, 2017	44	53	3	100	1002					
Greece	Spring, 2017	55	39	6	100	852					
Hungary	Spring, 2017	60	22	17	100	944					
Italy	Spring, 2017	62	30	7	100	905					
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	32	66	3	100	1006					
Poland	Spring, 2017	62	17	21	100	1160					
Spain	Spring, 2017	58	39	4	100	1000					
Sweden	Spring, 2017	41	58	2	100	1000					
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	39	56	5	100	1066					

		Q37c. Please tell me whether you think the following describes U.S. President Donald Trump. Do you think of Donald Trump as? c. dangerous				
		Yes	No	DK/Refused	Total	N=
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	86	12	2	100	547
United States	Spring, 2017	53	45	2	100	1505
Canada	Spring, 2017	72	25	3	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	78	22	0	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	76	22	2	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	55	37	8	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	42	40	18	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	58	32	10	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	69	30	2	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	45	32	23	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	76	20	4	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	74	24	2	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	69	27	4	100	1066

		Q37d. Please tell me whether you think the following describes U.S. President Donald Trump. Do you think of Donald Trump as? d. charismatic				
		Yes	No	DK/Refused	Total	N=
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	48	51	1	100	547
United States	Spring, 2017	49	46	4	100	1505
Canada	Spring, 2017	37	59	4	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	52	45	3	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	37	57	6	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	35	58	7	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	58	26	16	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	43	46	11	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	31	66	3	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	53	23	25	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	47	48	5	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	42	54	4	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	39	55	6	100	1066

		Q37e. Please tell me whether you think the following describes U.S. President Donald Trump. Do you think of Donald Trump as? e. intolerant				
	Yes	No	DK/Refused	Total	N=	
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	88	11	1	100	547
United States	Spring, 2017	60	36	4	100	1505
Canada	Spring, 2017	78	18	4	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	83	15	1	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	81	15	4	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	70	22	8	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	50	26	24	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	72	20	8	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	77	21	3	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	57	20	23	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	84	13	2	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	81	15	5	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	77	19	4	100	1066

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		Q37f. Please tell me whether you think the following describes U.S. President Donald Trump. Do you think of Donald Trump as? f. caring about ordinary people				
		Yes No DK/Refused Total N=				
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	16	83	1	100	547
United States	Spring, 2017	42	56	2	100	1505
Canada	Spring, 2017	23	73	4	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	18	81	1	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	13	83	4	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	20	70	10	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	33	41	26	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	23	68	9	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	23	74	3	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	29	39	32	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	14	82	4	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	13	86	1	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	28	67	5	100	1066

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		Q37g. Please tell me whether you think the following describes U.S. President Donald Trump. Do you think of Donald Trump as? g. arrogant				
		Yes	No	DK/Refused	Total	N=
Foreign policy experts	Spring, 2017	94	4	2	100	547
United States	Spring, 2017	81	17	2	100	1505
Canada	Spring, 2017	93	6	2	100	1022
France	Spring, 2017	93	6	1	100	1000
Germany	Spring, 2017	91	7	3	100	1002
Greece	Spring, 2017	78	15	7	100	852
Hungary	Spring, 2017	66	19	15	100	944
Italy	Spring, 2017	77	15	8	100	905
Netherlands	Spring, 2017	92	8	1	100	1006
Poland	Spring, 2017	71	12	16	100	1160
Spain	Spring, 2017	94	5	2	100	1000
Sweden	Spring, 2017	93	5	2	100	1000
United Kingdom	Spring, 2017	89	8	3	100	1066

	PEW RESEARCH CENTER			
		Foreign policy experts		
Q8. And over the next	Decline in trust/shared values	16		
12 months, in your opinion, what will be	Economy	4		
the biggest challenge	Environment	0		
for relations between Europe and the U.S.?	EU stability	5		
	Isolationism	1		
	Nationalism/Populism/Authoritarianism	4		
	ΝΑΤΟ	5		
	Refugee/migrant crisis	2		
	Russia	7		
	Security	3		
	Terrorism	2		
	Trade	8		
	U.S. President Donald Trump	26		
	Other	4		
	DK/Refused	13		
	Total	100		

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Open end responses coded into topical categories. Share of first mentions.