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Americans and Germans Disagree on the State of Bilateral Relations, but Largely Align on Key International Issues

Germans see ties worsening as Americans remain positive

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Americans and Germans Disagree on the State of Bilateral Relations, but Largely Align on Key **International Issues**

Germans see ties worsening as Americans remain positive

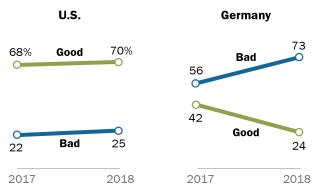
Americans and Germans have vastly different opinions of their bilateral relationship, but they tend to agree on issues such as cooperation with other European allies and support for NATO, according to the results of parallel surveys conducted in the United States by Pew Research Center and in Germany by Körber-Stiftung in the fall of 2018.

In the U.S., seven-in-ten say that relations with Germany are good, a sentiment that has not changed much in the past year. Germans, on the other hand, are much more negative: 73% say that relations with the U.S. are bad, a 17-

percentage-point increase since 2017.

Americans and Germans diverge sharply in their views of bilateral relations

Relations today between the U.S. and Germany are ...



Source: Pew Research Center survey conducted in the U.S. Sept. 11-16, 2018. 06. German results from Körber-Stiftung survey conducted Sept. 13-26, 2018.

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Nearly three-quarters of Germans are also

convinced that a foreign policy path independent from the U.S. is preferable to the two countries remaining as close as they have been in the past. But about two-thirds in the U.S. want to stay close to Germany and America's European allies. Similarly, while 41% of Germans say they want more cooperation with the U.S., fully seven-in-ten Americans want more cooperation with Germany. And Germans are about twice as likely as Americans to want more cooperation with Russia. All this is happening against a backdrop of previously released research showing a sharply negative turn in America's image among Germans.

Americans, for their part, are politically divided over tariffs on Germany (while Germans overwhelmingly support retaliatory tariffs), and few Americans see Germany as the most or second-most important foreign policy partner. About a third of Germans still rank the U.S. as one of their most important partners (35%), second only to France (61%).

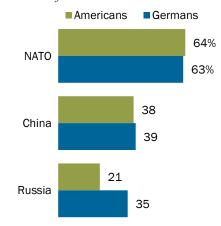
Despite the differences of opinion on the overall relationship, Americans and Germans have remarkably similar views when it comes to attitudes toward Russia and China, as well as opinions about the economy.

Both Germans and Americans still think highly of NATO, and Germans have become more inclined to believe their country must increase spending on defense. Americans and Germans also want to cooperate more with France, the United Kingdom and China.

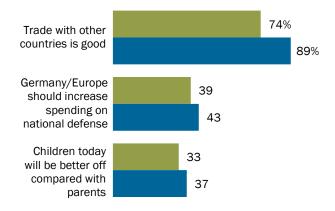
Americans and Germans share similar opinions on economic issues. People in both countries say that trade with other countries is good, but there is less agreement on the specific benefits of trade. And there is an overarching pessimism in each country about the economic future for children and the financial progress of average citizens over the last 20 years.

Americans and Germans have similar views on international, economic issues

Favorable views of ...



Americans/Germans who say ...

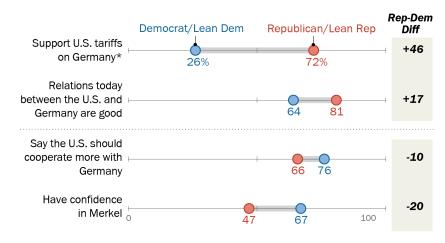


Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3, Q17b-c & Q25. Pew Research Center survey conducted in the U.S. Sept. 11-16, 2018. Q3 & Q4. German results from Körber-Stiftung survey conducted Sept. 13-26, 2018.

There is a distinct partisan divide in the U.S. on many aspects of the American-German relationship. For example, Republicans and Republican-leaning independents are 46 percentage points more likely than Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents to support the U.S. policy of tariffs on imported goods from Germany and other European countries. Republicans are also more likely to characterize America's relationship with Germany as good. Democrats, on the other hand, are more likely than Republicans to say the U.S. should cooperate more with Germany and more readily

Republicans and Democrats have differing views on relations with Germany and Angela Merkel

Americans who ...



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant.

*The full question was: "As you may know, the U.S. has recently increased tariffs or fees on imported goods from Germany and other European countries. In response, Germany and other European countries have increased tariffs on American goods. Do you support or oppose the U.S. policy of increased tariffs on Germany and other European countries?" Source: Pew Research Center survey conducted in the U.S. Sept. 11-16, 2018. Q2e, Q6 & Q8. Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q35d.

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name Germany as a top foreign policy partner.

On <u>confidence in German Chancellor Angela Merkel</u>, there is a 20-percentage-point partisan gap, with Democrats expressing more confidence in the German leader.

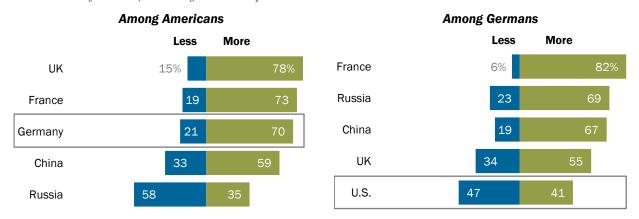
These are among the major findings from a Pew Research Center survey conducted among 1,006 American adults from Sept. 11-16, 2018, a <u>Körber-Stiftung survey</u> conducted among 1,002 German adults from Sept. 13-26, 2018, and from the Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey in the U.S. and Germany, conducted among 2,501 adults from May 14-June 30, 2018.

Americans want more cooperation with Germany, but Germans don't reciprocate

On the international stage, majorities of Americans and Germans align on their mutual desire for more cooperation with the United Kingdom, France and China. On Russia, however, differences emerge. Roughly one-third of Americans (35%) want more cooperation with Russia, while nearly twice as many Germans (69%) want the same. There are also stark contrasts between the U.S. and Germany on collaboration with each other: 70% of Americans say they want more cooperation with Germany, but only 41% of Germans share this sentiment toward the U.S. Rather, 47% of Germans want less cooperation with the U.S.

Americans want more cooperation with European allies – including Germany – but Germans are less likely to want cooperation with the U.S.

Please tell me if the U.S./Germany should cooperate more or less with ...



Source: Pew Research Center survey conducted in the U.S. Sept. 11-16, 2018. Q2a-e. German results from Körber-Stiftung survey conducted Sept. 13-26, 2018.

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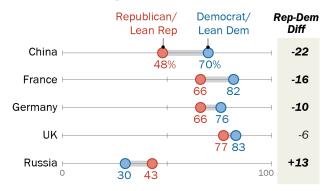
Opinion on U.S. cooperation with international allies is also divided by partisan affiliation. Democrats generally want to work more with other countries than Republicans do, except for Russia. To illustrate this point, 70% of Democrats want more cooperation with China compared with 48% of Republicans. However, Republicans are 13 percentage points more likely than Democrats to want increased cooperation with Russia, an issue shaped by partisan debates over Russian interference with the 2016 election.

Along with Democrats, men (76%) are more likely than women (65%) to want increased cooperation with Germany. Those with at least a completed college education or more (81%) agree with this sentiment more than those with some college education (67%) or a high school education or less (63%).

In Germany, backers of Angela Merkel's centerright coalition of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and Christian Social Union (CSU) rank U.S. cooperation last vis-à-vis the other countries evaluated on desired levels of cooperation. Views of collaboration with the U.S. varies greatly by party: 48% of CDU/CSU supporters want more cooperation with the U.S., while 52% of their center-left coalition partner the Social Democratic Party (SPD) want

Democrats want more cooperation with other countries than Republicans do, except on Russia

The U.S. should cooperate more with ...



Note: Statistically significant differences in **bold**. Source: Pew Research Center survey conducted in the U.S. Sept. 11-16, 2018. Q2a-e.

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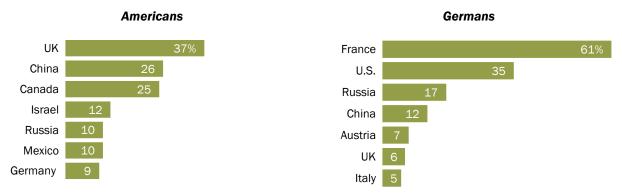
the same. Among supporters of the Left Party (Die Linke), 23% want more cooperation with the U.S., while 37% of backers of the Greens (Grüne) want the same.

Who do Americans and Germans see as their top foreign policy partners?

Roughly one-in-ten Americans name Germany as the United States' most or second-most important foreign policy partner, while about one-third of Germans say the U.S. is a top foreign policy partner. For Americans, the UK, China and Canada rank as the most important partners for foreign policy. Roughly six-in-ten Germans name France as their most or second-most important ally for foreign policy, followed by the U.S. and Russia.

Germans are about four times as likely as Americans to view the other country as an important partner for foreign policy

is the most or second-most important partner for American/German foreign policy



Note: Combined responses. Only top seven countries shown.

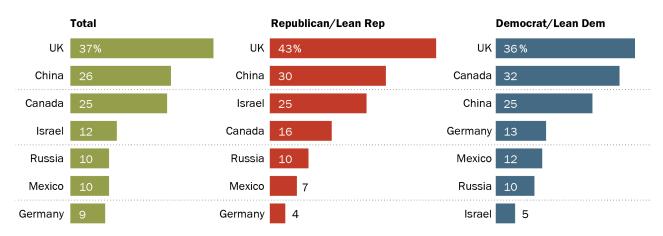
Source: Pew Research Center survey conducted in the U.S. Sept. 11-16, 2018. Q1a-b. German results from Körber-Stiftung survey conducted Sept. 13-26, 2018.

There is a partisan gap regarding countries Americans see as important foreign policy partners, with Democrats more likely than Republicans to name Germany as one of the two most important partners for the U.S.

And while the UK and China rank in the top three positions across party lines, more Republicans (25%) than Democrats (5%) name Israel as a top foreign policy partner for the U.S. There are also significant partisan differences in opinion on views about Canada and Mexico.

Partisan differences in the U.S. on top foreign policy partners

_ is the most or second-most important partner for American foreign policy



Note: Combined responses. Only top seven countries shown. Source: Pew Research Center survey conducted in the U.S. Sept. 11-16, 2018. Q1a-b.

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Older Americans (ages 50 and older) are more likely to name the UK as a top foreign policy partner than younger Americans (ages 18 to 29). This pattern is reversed for China, which younger Americans are more likely to say is a top foreign policy partner.

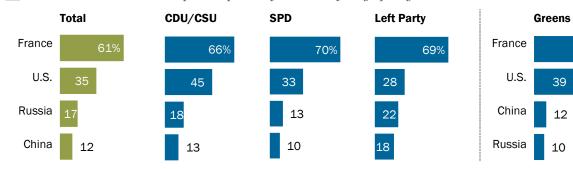
About six-in-ten Germans name France as one of their country's top two foreign policy partners, while roughly one-third name the U.S. These results are consistent across a range of political parties: Supporters of the CDU/CSU, their coalition partner the SPD, the Left Party and the Greens all rank France and the U.S. as Germany's most important foreign policy allies.

Russia and China rank third and fourth, respectively, as the most important foreign policy partner across selected political parties except for the Greens, where these countries' rankings are reversed.

76%

Germans agree that France and U.S. are top foreign policy partners

__ is the most or second-most important partner for German foreign policy



Note: Combined responses. Only top four countries shown. Source: German results from Körber-Stiftung survey conducted Sept. 13-26, 2018.

Germans want more independent foreign policy, but both publics rate NATO positively

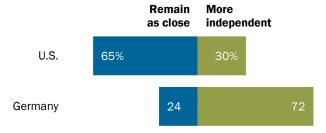
When asked about the future of U.S.-European relations, nearly two-thirds of Americans say they would like relations to remain as close as they have been (65%), while 30% think the U.S. should take a more independent approach to foreign policy. However, when Germans were asked specifically about U.S.-German relations, roughly seven-in-ten (72%) said they would like their country to pursue a more independent approach.

Democrats (77%) are more likely than Republicans (51%) to say the U.S. should remain as close as it has been with Europe on foreign policy.

Despite their differences, Americans and Germans are both favorable toward the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This convergence follows findings from Pew Research Center and Körber-Stiftung in 2017 in which roughly half of Americans said NATO was doing too little to help solve global problems, while about the same proportion of Germans said the organization was doing the right amount. NATO favorability continues to remain high in both countries even after U.S. President

Americans want to remain close to Europe, but Germans want more foreign policy independence from U.S.

Do you think the relationship between the U.S. and Europe/U.S. and Germany should remain as close as it has been, or do you think the U.S./Germany should take a more independent approach to foreign policy than it has in the past?



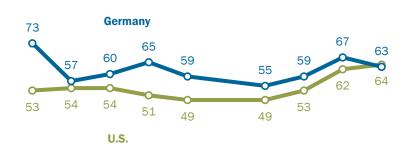
Source: Pew Research Center survey conducted in the U.S. Sept. 11-16, 2018. Q5. German results from Körber-Stiftung survey conducted Sept. 13-26, 2018.

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Both U.S. and Germany are positive toward NATO

Favorable views of NATO

100%



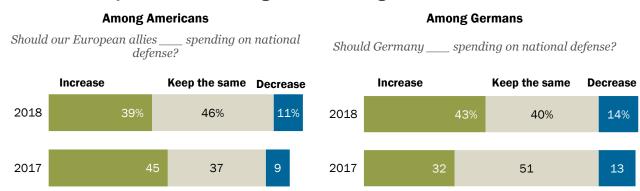


Source: Pew Research Center survey conducted in the U.S. Sept. 11-16, 2018. Q3. German results from Körber-Stiftung survey conducted Sept. 13-26, 2018. Trend data from the Global Attitudes Survey.

Donald Trump and Chancellor Merkel publicly clashed over <u>defense spending and Russian</u> <u>influence</u> at the NATO summit in Brussels in July 2018.

The two publics have moved in opposite directions regarding defense spending, which has been a contentious issue in relations between the U.S. and its NATO allies. The share of Americans who say their European allies should increase their defense spending dropped by 6 percentage points between 2017 and 2018, while the share saying European allies should keep their spending about the same rose 9 points. Germans, on the other hand, saw an 11-point increase in the share saying they wanted their own country to spend more on national defense.

Germans increasingly want to spend more on defense, even as fewer Americans see a need for European allies to enlarge defense budgets



Source: Pew Research Center survey conducted in the U.S. Sept. 11-16, 2018. Q4. German results from Körber-Stiftung survey conducted Sept. 13-26, 2018.

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In the U.S., Republicans (59%) are more likely than Democrats (27%) to say European allies should increase spending on national defense. American men (46%) are more supportive of increased spending than women (32%) are.

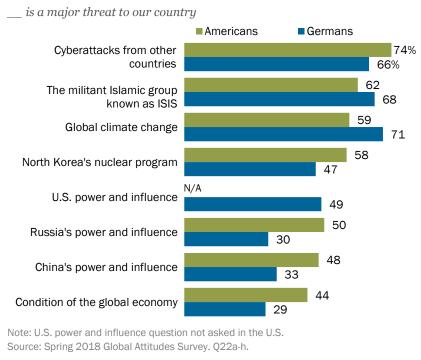
In terms of political affiliation, 40% and 44% of the CDU/CSU and SPD coalition partners, respectively, want increased spending, compared with 28% of Left Party backers and 29% of Greens supporters. In Germany, 47% of men say the country should spend more on national defense, while 39% of women agree.

German and American views of the world

When asked about the top international threats facing their countries, majorities of Americans and Germans say cyberattacks from other countries, the Islamic militant group known as ISIS and global climate change are major concerns.

Americans are slightly more concerned about cyberattacks (74% major threat) than are Germans (66%), and Germans are more likely to consider climate change as a major concern (71%) compared with Americans (59%). Americans also are generally more concerned about North Korea's weapons program, the power

Americans and Germans have similar concerns about global threats



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and influence of Russia and China and the condition of the global economy. (For more information on global views about cybersecurity, including among Americans and Germans, see the Center's report "International Publics Brace for Cyberattacks on Elections, Infrastructure, National Security.")

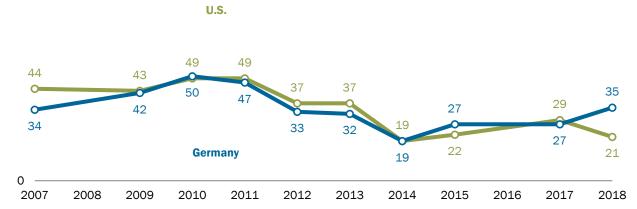
Germans' sentiment that U.S. power and influence is a major threat to their country has been rising in recent years. In 2013, only 19% of Germans said the U.S. was a major threat, but that rose to 35% in 2017, after the election of Donald Trump, and to 49% in 2018. Only around a third of Germans express similar concerns about China (33%) and Russia (30%).

Roughly one-in-three Germans (35%) have a positive view of Russia, compared with only about one-in-five Americans. Ratings for Russia in both the U.S. and Germany have fallen sharply since 2011, when massive protests swept across Russia <u>after accusations of ballot-rigging</u> in the December parliamentary elections. They reached a low point in 2014 after the annexation of Crimea (19% favorable in both countries).

Germans and Americans have low opinions of Russia

Favorable views of Russia

100%



Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q17c.

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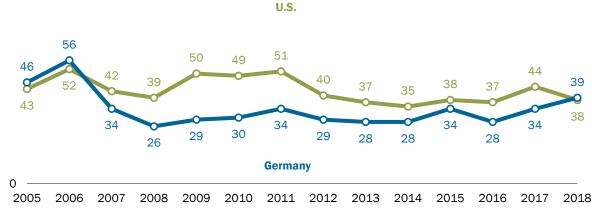
While opinion of Russia is low in both countries, Republicans in the U.S. are somewhat more favorable toward the country than are Democrats (27% favorable vs. 16%). And supporters of Alternative for Germany (AfD) are much more likely to see Russia favorably (50%) than are those with an unfavorable view of the right-wing party (31%). And Germans living in the East are 16 percentage points more favorable toward Russia than those living in the West (48% vs. 32%).

Germany and the U.S. also have similar attitudes toward China. Roughly four-in-ten in each country have a favorable view of the Asian economic giant. Over the past decade and a half, Americans' opinions of China have generally been more favorable than Germans' views, but a rise in German sentiment over the past few years and a <u>decline in American opinions</u> have pulled attitudes closer together.

As with views of Russia, German views of China differ by region. About half of those in the East have a favorable view toward China (49%), while only 39% of those in the West have a positive opinion of Germany's <u>largest importer</u>.

Germans previously viewed China less favorably than Americans did, but attitudes have converged of late

Favorable views of China 100%



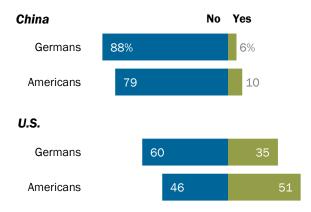
Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q17b.

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Germans and Americans are also skeptical of China's human rights record. Overwhelming majorities in each country say the Chinese government does not respect the personal freedoms of its people. This has been true for many years.

Germans and Americans both skeptical of China's commitment to personal freedoms; Germans also doubt U.S. commitment to civil liberties

Do you think the government of ____ respects the personal freedoms of its people?



Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q30a-b.

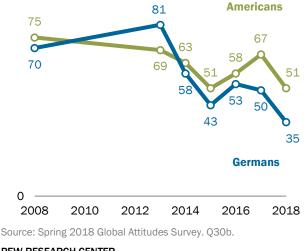
However, since 2013, there has been a steady decline in both Germany and America in the percentage of those saying the U.S. government respects the personal freedoms of its people. In that year, 81% of Germans and 69% of Americans said the U.S. government respected the personal freedoms of its people. But after multiple scandals involving the exposure of National Security Agency eavesdropping, confidence in American respect for civil liberties began to decline. Now, just 35% of Germans and 51% of Americans hold this view.

Americans and Germans diverge on who is the world's leading economic power. Roughly half of Americans (49%) name the U.S. as the world's economic leader, while only 19% of Germans say the same. Over half of Germans (53%) say China is the leading economy. A further 21% of Germans say the countries of the

Germans and Americans express diminishing confidence in U.S. government's treatment of rights

The U.S. government respects the personal freedoms of its people

100%

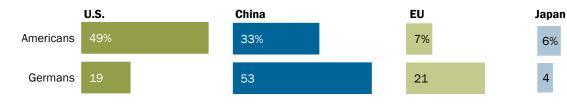


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European Union are the world's top economic power, while only 7% of Americans say this.

Americans say the U.S. is the world's leading economy, but Germans think China is

is the world's leading economic power

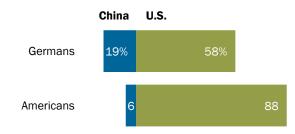


Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q29.

Despite their mixed feelings toward American power, Germans clearly prefer the U.S. as the world's leading power over China. Nearly sixin-ten Germans say having the U.S. as the top global power would be better for the world, with only 19% saying this about China. However, 17% in Germany volunteer "neither" when asked the question.

Germans prefer U.S. as world leader

Having __ as the world's leading power would be better for the world



Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q33.

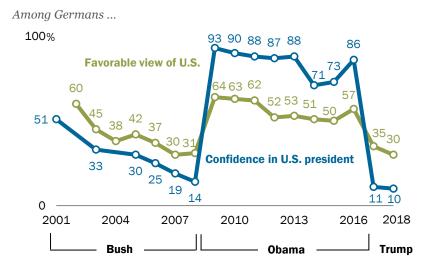
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U.S. image in Germany

America's current image in Germany is generally poor, but that has not always been the case. As recently as 2016, 86% of Germans had confidence in then-President Barack Obama and 57% had a favorable view of the United States.

With the election of Donald Trump, positive views of the U.S. and confidence in the U.S. president plummeted. As of 2018, only one-in-ten Germans had confidence in Trump and three-in-ten held a favorable view of the U.S., levels of

Negative ratings for Trump and U.S. in Germany



Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q17a & Q35a.

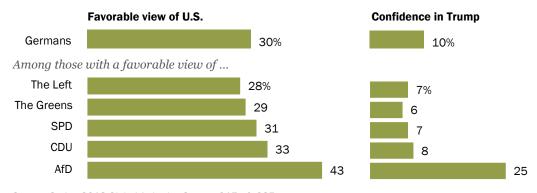
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antipathy not seen since the end of the George W. Bush administration.

Supporters of the right-leaning anti-immigration party AfD are more favorable toward the U.S. than those who do not support AfD (43% vs. 26%, respectively), and they are also more likely to express confidence in President Trump. People who look favorably on other German parties tested are more in line with the general population on U.S. image and confidence in Trump.

More positive views of the U.S. and confidence in Trump among AfD supporters

Among Germans ...



Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q17a & Q35a.

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While there is no corollary question asked in the U.S. about favorable views of Germany, on a O-100 feeling thermometer, where 100 is "warmest," Germany gets a mean rating of 59 from the American public, higher than Mexico and India (51) but lower than Japan (61), the UK (66) and Canada (71). And a majority of Americans (55%) have confidence in Chancellor Merkel to do the right thing regarding world affairs.

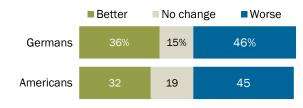
American and German views on the economy, trade and migration

Despite their differences, Americans and Germans have remarkably similar views on the fundamentals of the economy and the overall benefits of trade. There are differences, however, over tariffs and migration.

When asked about the financial situation of average people in their country, roughly equal pluralities of Germans and Americans say it is worse than it was 20 years ago (46% and 45%, respectively). And only about a third in each country believe the financial situation of ordinary people is better.

Americans and Germans worry about the financial situation of average people

The financial situation of average people in our country is __ than it was 20 years ago



Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q6.

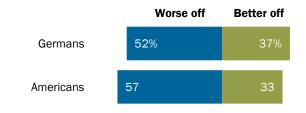
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In the U.S., 48% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents say the finances of average people are better, compared with only 22% of Democrats and Democratic leaners. Germans who back the AfD are much more likely than those who do not support the party to say that people are worse off compared with 20 years ago (64% vs. 42%).

There are also corresponding levels of pessimism about children's financial future in each country. Roughly half or more in both Germany and the U.S. say children will be worse off financially when they grow up than their parents were. And only about third in each country say children will be better off.

Pessimism about children's future is widespread in U.S. and Germany

When children today in our country grow up they will be ___ financially than their parents

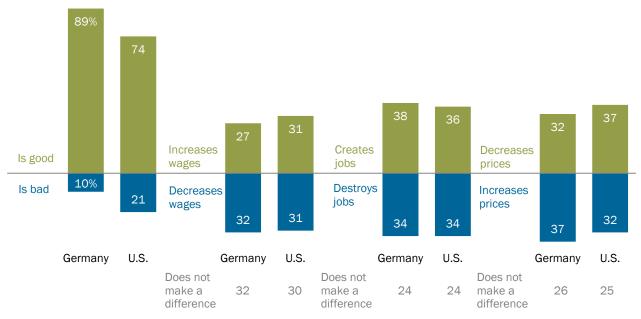


Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3.

When it comes <u>to trade</u>, in principle, overwhelming majorities in Germany and the U.S. say increased business ties and trade with other countries is good for their country. And both Americans and Germans believe free trade with other countries is generally beneficial to them personally: 68% of Americans say this, while 53% of Germans agree.

Germans, Americans share positive views of trade, as well as doubts about benefits

Trade with other countries ...



Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q25-Q28.

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But on the specific benefits of trade, Germans and Americans are less convinced. For example, only about three-in-ten Germans and Americans say that trade increases wages. Just under four-in-ten in each country say trade with other countries creates jobs. And 32% in Germany and 37% in the U.S. say trade decreases prices, which is supposed to be <u>one of the primary benefits</u> of international trade.

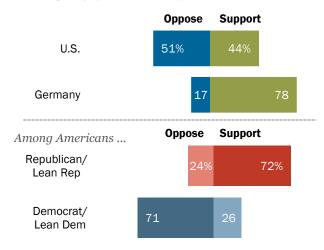
In May 2018, the Trump administration's tariffs on European steel and aluminum <u>went into</u> <u>effect</u>. In response, Germany and its European Union allies <u>placed tariffs</u> on American goods, ranging from bourbon to motorcycles.

Among Americans, there are sharp divisions on this policy. About half (51%) oppose the initial tariffs, while 44% support the measures. But almost three-quarters of Republicans (72%) support Trump's EU tariffs while about seven-in-ten Democrats (71%) oppose them.

In Germany, about eight-in-ten (78%) support the retaliatory tariffs. There are minimal differences by party in Germany on this question, as most agree with the policy across the political spectrum.

Americans are divided on initial tariffs for German products, but Germans strongly favor retaliatory tariffs

% who __ the U.S. policy of increased tariffs on Germany and other European countries/the German and EU policy of increased tariffs on the U.S.



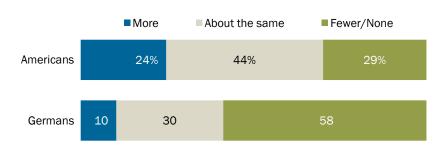
Note: The question was preceded by the statement, "As you may know, the U.S. has recently increased tariffs or fees on imported goods from Germany and other European countries. In response, Germany and other European countries have increased tariffs on American goods."

Source: Pew Research Center survey conducted in the U.S. Sept. 11-16, 2018. Q8. German results from Körber-Stiftung survey conducted Sept. 13-26, 2018.

Finally, on the topic of immigration, Americans and Germans diverge somewhat about whether they want more, less or about the same level of immigration to their country. A plurality of Americans want to keep immigration levels about the same as they have been, with 24% wanting more immigrants in their country and 29% wanting fewer immigrants or none at all ("None" is a volunteered category).

Germans want fewer immigrants in their country, while Americans want to keep levels the same

We should allow ___ immigrants to move to our country



Note: Responses of "Fewer" and "None" are combined. Responses of "None" are volunteered. Voluntary responses of "Don't know" and "Refused" not shown. Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q52.

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However, Germans are much more opposed to more immigration (<u>making them more aligned</u> <u>with other nations asked about this issue</u>), with a 58% majority saying that they want fewer or no immigrants in their country. Only one-in-ten want more immigrants.

In the U.S., those on the left are much more likely to say they want more immigration (46%) than those on the ideological right (10%). Similarly, Germans on the left are more likely to want immigration to remain about the same (49%), while those on the right favor fewer immigrants (77%).

Both Germans and Americans are <u>very supportive of high-skilled immigration</u>. Roughly eight-inten in both countries support encouraging highly skilled people to immigrate and work in their countries. This holds even for people who oppose allowing more people to immigrate into their countries.

Finally, when it comes to emigration, Germans and Americans are generally not worried about it as an issue (33% and 38%, respectively, say people leaving their country for jobs in other countries is a problem).

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Methodology – September 2018 Survey

This analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted September 11-16, 2018 among a national sample of 1,006 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in the United States (406 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 600 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 369 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted under the direction of SSRS. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/u-s-survey-research/. For more information about survey methodology in Germany, see: https://www.koerber-stiftung.de/en/the-berlin-pulse.

The combined landline and cellphone sample are weighted to provide nationally representative estimates of the adult population 18 years of age and older. The weighting process takes into account the disproportionate probabilities of household and respondent selection due to the number of separate telephone landlines and cellphones answered by respondents and their households, as well as the probability associated with the random selection of an individual household member. Following application of the above weights, the sample is post-stratified and balanced by key demographics such as age, race, sex, region, and education. The sample is also weighted to reflect the distribution of phone usage in the general population, meaning the proportion of those who are cellphone only, landline only, and mixed users.

The following table shows the unweighted sample size and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for the total sample:

Survey conducted September 11-16, 2018								
Group	Unweighted sample size	Plus or minus						
Total sample	1,006	3.8 percentage points						

Sample sizes and sampling errors for subgroups are available upon request.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

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Topline Questionnaire - September 2018 Survey

Pew Research Center September 2018 Survey

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on a national sample of the United States. For further details on sample design, see Methodology section.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline "total" columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.

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		September, 2018	October, 2017
		United States	United States
Q1a. Which country	Australia	0	0
currently is the most important partner for	Canada	12	3
American foreign	China	18	15
policy?	France	1	3
	Germany	3	5
	Great Britain (includes United Kingdom/England)	21	20
	Israel	8	9
	Italy	1	0
	Japan	1	3
	Mexico	4	2
	North Korea	0	1
	Poland	0	0
	Russia	5	4
	South Korea	0	1
	Turkey	0	0
	The European Union (EU)	3	1
	Other	2	4
	DK/Refused	19	29
	Total	100	100

Data is displayed vertically.

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		September, 2018	October, 2017
		United States	United States
Q1b. ASK IF	Australia	2	0
RESPONDED TO Q1a: And which country is	Canada	17	9
the second most	China	9	12
important partner for American foreign	France	7	8
policy?	Germany	7	11
	Great Britain (includes United Kingdom/England)	19	18
	Israel	5	4
	Italy	1	0
	Japan	3	6
	Mexico	7	4
	North Korea	1	1
	Poland	0	0
	Russia	7	5
	South Korea	2	1
	The European Union (EU)	3	3
	Other	3	5
	DK/Refused	8	12
	Total N=	100	100
		849	741

Data is displayed vertically.

		September, 2018	October, 2017
		United States	United States
Q1ab. Combined Q1a	Australia	2	0
and Q1b	Canada	25	10
	China	26	24
	France	7	8
	Germany	9	12
	Great Britain (includes United Kingdom/England)	37	33
	Israel	12	12
	Italy	1	1
	Japan	3	7
	Mexico	10	5
	North Korea	2	1
	Poland	0	0
	Russia	10	8
	South Korea	2	2
	Turkey	0	0
	The European Union (EU)	6	3
	Other	4	7
	DK/Refused	25	37
	Total	100	100

Data is displayed vertically.

		Q2a. Please tell me if the United States, in the future, should cooperate more or less with a. France					
		Cooperate more	Cooperate less	Cooperate the same as before	DK/Refused	Total	
United States	September, 2018	73	19	2	5	100	
	October, 2017	65	20	6	9	100	

		Q2b. Please tell me if the United States, in the future, should cooperate more or less with b. Great Britain					
		Cooperate more	Cooperate less	Cooperate the same as before	DK/Refused	Total	
United States	September, 2018	78	15	2	5	100	
	October, 2017	72	15	5	9	100	

		Q2c. Please tell me if the United States, in the future, should coopera more or less with c. Russia						
		Cooperate more	Cooperate less	Cooperate the same as before	DK/Refused	Total		
United States	September, 2018	35	58	2	5	100		
	October, 2017	43	44	4	9	100		

		Q2d. Please tell me if the United States, in the future, should cooperate more or less with d. China					
		Cooperate more	Cooperate less	Cooperate the same as before	DK/Refused	Total	
United States	September, 2018	59	33	2	5	100	
	October, 2017	59	28	5	8	100	

		Q2e. Please		nited States, in t	•	ld cooperate
		Cooperate more	Cooperate less	Cooperate the same as before	DK/Refused	Total
United States	September, 2018	70	21	3	7	100
	October, 2017	65	21	4	9	100

		Q3. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of NATO, that is, North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Very Somewhat Somewhat Very favorable favorable unfavorable unfavorable DK/Refused Total						
United States	September, 2018	30	34	14	9	14	100	
	Spring 2017	20	42	15	8	15	100	
	Spring, 2016	12	41	18	7	21	100	
	Spring, 2015	9	40	20	11	20	100	
	Spring, 2013	9	40	17	10	24	100	
	Spring, 2012	12	39	15	7	26	100	
	Spring, 2011	14	40	17	7	22	100	
	Spring, 2010	13	41	15	6	25	100	
	Fall, 2009	11	42	14	10	23	100	

		Q4. Now thinking about American allies in Europe, do you think that our European allies should increase their spending on national defense, keep it about the same or decrease it?				
		Increase	Keep the same	Decrease	DK/Refused	Total
United States	September, 2018	39	46	11	5	100
	October, 2017	45	37	9	9	100

		Q5. Do you think the relationship between the U.S. and Europe should remain as close as it has been or do you think that U.S. should take a more independent approach to foreign policy than it has in the past?					
		Remain as close	More independent	DK/Refused	Total		
United States	September, 2018	65	30	6	100		

Q6. In general, how would you describe relations today between the United States a Germany? Would you say they are very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very							
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
United States	September, 2018	12	58	21	4	6	100
	October, 2017	9	59	18	4	10	100

		Q7. Do you think free trade with other countries is generally beneficial or not beneficial for you personally?					
		Beneficial	Not beneficial	DK/Refused	Total		
United States	September, 2018	68	26	5	100		

		or fees on European co European co goods. Do you	y know, the U.S imported goods ountries. In res ountries have in support or oppo Germany and o	s from Germany ponse, Germany creased tariffs o se the U.S. polic	and other y and other on American cy of increased
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total
United States	September, 2018	44	51	6	100

Methodology - Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey

About the Pew Research Center's Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey

Results for the survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Kantar Public UK and Langer Research Associates. The results are based on national samples, unless otherwise noted. More details about our international survey methodology and country-specific sample designs are available here.

Detailed information on survey methods for this report

General information on international survey research

Topline Questionnaire - Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey

Pew Research Center Spring 2018 Survey March 4, 2019 Release

Methodological notes:

- 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.
- Since 2007, the Pew Research Center has used an automated process to generate toplines for its Global Attitudes surveys. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from those published prior to 2007.
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2018 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

			Q3. When children today in (survey country) grow up, do you think they will be better off or worse off financially than their parents?						
		Better off	Worse off	Same (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total			
United States	Spring, 2018	33	57	3	7	100			
	Spring, 2017	37	58	2	3	100			
	Spring, 2015	32	60	4	3	100			
	Spring, 2014	30	65	2	3	100			
	Spring, 2013	33	62	1	4	100			
Germany	Spring, 2018	37	52	7	4	100			
	Spring, 2017	36	52	6	6	100			
	Spring, 2015	34	58	3	4	100			
	Spring, 2014	38	56	2	4	100			
	Spring, 2013	28	64	3	5	100			

Q6. Compared with 20 years ago, do you think the financial situation of average people in (survey country) is better, worse, or do you think there has been no change?						
		Better	Worse	No change	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	32	45	19	4	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	36	46	15	3	100

		Q17a. Plea unfa	ase tell me if yo avorable, or ver	u have a very fa y unfavorable o	vorable, somew pinion of	hat favorable, s a. The United St	somewhat tates
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Germany	Spring, 2018	3	27	50	16	3	100
	Spring, 2017	3	32	50	12	3	100
	Spring, 2016	5	52	32	6	6	100
	Spring, 2015	2	48	36	9	4	100
	Spring, 2014	4	47	39	8	3	100
	Spring, 2013	5	48	36	4	6	100
	Spring, 2012	6	46	39	5	4	100
	Spring, 2011	4	58	32	3	3	100
	Spring, 2010	5	58	31	4	3	100
	Spring, 2009	4	60	26	7	3	100
	Spring, 2008	3	28	53	13	4	100
	Spring, 2007	2	28	47	19	4	100
	Spring, 2006	2	35	46	14	3	100
	Spring, 2005	4	38	44	10	5	100
	Spring, 2004	3	35	49	10	3	100
	May, 2003	6	39	42	12	1	100
	March, 2003	4	21	41	30	4	100
	Summer, 2002	9	51	31	4	4	100

		Q17b. Plea		u have a very fa or very unfavora		vhat favorable, s b. China	omewhat
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	5	33	32	15	14	100
	Spring, 2017	5	39	33	14	10	100
	Spring, 2016	6	31	36	19	9	100
	Spring, 2015	4	34	33	21	8	100
	Spring, 2014	7	28	34	21	10	100
	Spring, 2013	7	30	32	20	12	100
	Spring, 2012	6	34	25	15	19	100
	Spring, 2011	12	39	22	14	12	100
	Spring, 2010	10	39	24	12	14	100
	Spring, 2009	9	41	25	13	13	100
	Spring, 2008	9	30	26	16	19	100
	Spring, 2007	8	34	25	14	18	100
	Spring, 2006	12	40	19	10	19	100
	Spring, 2005	9	34	22	13	22	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	3	36	46	8	7	100
	Spring, 2017	3	31	46	7	14	100
	Spring, 2016	2	26	50	10	12	100
	Spring, 2015	3	31	47	13	7	100
	Spring, 2014	1	27	52	12	8	100
	Spring, 2013	2	26	53	11	8	100
	Spring, 2012	3	26	52	15	4	100
	Spring, 2011	3	31	48	11	7	100
	Spring, 2010	2	28	46	15	8	100
	Spring, 2009	2	27	50	13	8	100
	Spring, 2008	2	24	45	23	6	100
	Spring, 2007	5	29	42	12	12	100
	Spring, 2006	6	50	28	5	10	100
	Spring, 2005	5	41	33	4	16	100

		Q17c. Plea		u have a very fa or very unfavora			somewhat
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	3	18	33	31	15	100
	Spring, 2017	3	26	35	28	9	100
	Spring, 2015	3	19	40	27	12	100
	Spring, 2014	3	16	34	38	9	100
	Spring, 2013	4	33	29	14	20	100
	Spring, 2012	5	32	27	13	24	100
	Spring, 2011	8	41	22	10	19	100
	Spring, 2010	7	42	24	8	19	100
	Spring, 2009	7	36	27	12	18	100
	Spring, 2007	4	40	24	11	21	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	3	32	50	9	6	100
	Spring, 2017	4	23	53	14	6	100
	Spring, 2015	3	24	47	23	3	100
	Spring, 2014	1	18	59	20	2	100
	Spring, 2013	1	31	49	11	7	100
	Spring, 2012	3	30	55	9	3	100
	Spring, 2011	2	45	42	7	5	100
	Spring, 2010	3	47	38	7	5	100
	Spring, 2009	2	40	41	10	7	100
	Spring, 2007	2	32	52	10	4	100

		Q22a. 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)? a. China's power and influence						
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total		
United States	Spring, 2018	48	38	10	4	100		
	Spring, 2017	41	45	11	3	100		
	Spring, 2013	44	38	13	6	100		
Germany	Spring, 2018	33	53	11	3	100		
	Spring, 2017	21	57	17	5	100		
	Spring, 2013	38	45	13	3	100		

		Q22b. 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)? b. the United States' power and influence						
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total		
Germany	Spring, 2018	49	39	10	2	100		
	Spring, 2017	35	45	17	3	100		
	Spring, 2016	25	48	25	3	100		
	Spring, 2013	19	48	30	2	100		

		(survey count	Q22c. 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				
United States	Spring, 2018	50	36	9	4	100				
	Spring, 2017	47	41	9	3	100				
Germany	Spring, 2018	30	51	18	2	100				
	Spring, 2017	33	53	12	2	100				

		Q22d. 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)? d. global climate change						
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total		
United States	Spring, 2018	59	23	16	2	100		
	Spring, 2017	56	26	16	2	100		
	April, 2016	53	30	15	3	100		
	Spring, 2013	40	37	20	3	100		
	May, 2012	45	32	19	3	100		
Germany	Spring, 2018	71	23	4	2	100		
	Spring, 2017	63	30	5	1	100		
	Spring, 2016	65	28	6	1	100		
	Spring, 2013	56	37	7	1	100		

		(survey count	Q22e. 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)? e. the Islamic militant group known as ISIS							
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total				
United States	Spring, 2018	62	29	7	2	100				
	Spring, 2017	74	21	4	2	100				
	April, 2016	80	16	3	2	100				
Germany	Spring, 2018	68	26	5	1	100				
	Spring, 2017	77	19	3	2	100				
	Spring, 2016	85	14	1	1	100				

In 2016, item asked "the Islamic militant group in Iraq and Syria known as ISIS".

		(survey count	Q22f. 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)? f. cyberattacks from other countries							
		Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	DK/Refused	Total				
United States	Spring, 2018	74	20	4	2	100				
	Spring, 2017	71	23	3	2	100				
	April, 2016	72	22	3	3	100				
Germany	Spring, 2018	66	27	4	3	100				
	Spring, 2017	66	28	3	3	100				
	Spring, 2016	66	28	3	4	100				

		(survey count	Q22g. 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)? g. North Korea's nuclear program						
		Major threat Minor threat Not a threat DK/Refused Total							
United States	Spring, 2018	58	31	9	2	100			
	Spring, 2013	59	28	7	5	100			
Germany	Spring, 2018	47	35	16	3	100			
	Spring, 2013	55	33	9	3	100			

		(survey count	Q22h. 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)? h. the condition of the global economy						
		Major threat Minor threat Not a threat DK/Refused Total							
United States	Spring, 2018	44	36	16	4	100			
	Spring, 2017	37	45	14	4	100			
Germany	Spring, 2018	29	55	13	3	100			
	Spring, 2017	22	53	20	5	100			

			nd other countri	es – do you thi		iness ties betwe ood thing, some ur country?	
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	31	43	14	7	5	100
	Spring, 2014	18	50	19	9	4	100
	Spring, 2011	18	49	19	10	4	100
	Spring, 2010	17	49	19	8	7	100
	Spring, 2009	16	49	20	10	5	100
	Spring, 2008	15	38	26	15	6	100
	Spring, 2007	14	45	21	15	5	100
	Summer, 2002	21	57	14	4	4	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	33	56	8	2	1	100
	Spring, 2014	39	51	8	1	1	100
	Spring, 2011	40	55	4	0	1	100
	Spring, 2010	33	57	7	1	1	100
	Spring, 2009	32	53	12	2	1	100
	Spring, 2008	30	57	10	2	1	100
	Spring, 2007	30	55	8	5	1	100
	Summer, 2002	37	54	7	1	2	100

		_	Q26. Does trade with other countries lead to an increase in the wages of (survey country nationality) workers, a decrease in wages, or does it not make a difference?						
		Does not make a Increase Decrease difference DK/Refused Total							
United States	Spring, 2018	31	31	30	8	100			
	Spring, 2014	17	45	32	6	100			
Germany	Spring, 2018	27	32	32	9	100			
	Spring, 2014	28	31	33	8	100			

		Q27. Does trade with other countries lead to job creation in (survey country), job losses, or does it not make a difference?					
		Job creation	Job losses	Does not make a difference	DK/Refused	Total	
United States	Spring, 2018	36	34	24	6	100	
	Spring, 2014	20	50	25	4	100	
Germany	Spring, 2018	38	34	24	4	100	
	Spring, 2014	43	28	24	5	100	

			Q28. Does trade with other countries lead to an increase in the price of products sold in (survey country), a decrease in prices, or does it not make a difference?						
		Does not make a Increase Decrease difference DK/Refused Total							
United States	Spring, 2018	32	37	25	6	100			
	Spring, 2014	32	35	28	5	100			
Germany	Spring, 2018	37	32	26	4	100			
	Spring, 2014	34	26	33	7	100			

		Q29. T	oday, which	ONE of the	following do you	think is the wo	rld's leading ec	onomic power?	
		The United States	China	Japan	The countries of the European Union	Other (DO NOT READ)	None/There is no leading economic power (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	49	33	6	7	1	1	4	100
	Spring, 2017	51	35	5	5	0	0	2	100
	Spring, 2016	54	34	6	2	0	1	3	100
	Spring, 2015	46	36	7	7	0	1	3	100
	Spring, 2014	40	41	8	7	0	0	4	100
	Spring, 2013	39	44	7	4	0	1	6	100
	Spring, 2012	40	41	6	5	0	1	7	100
	Spring, 2011	38	43	6	6	0	0	6	100
	Spring, 2010	38	41	8	6	0	0	7	100
	Spring, 2009	48	33	7	5	0	1	6	100
	Spring, 2008	46	26	10	10	0	1	7	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	19	53	4	21	0	0	3	100
	Spring, 2017	24	41	5	25	0	1	4	100
	Spring, 2016	34	30	5	25	1	0	5	100
	Spring, 2015	27	39	5	25	1	1	3	100
	Spring, 2014	20	49	6	23	0	0	3	100
	Spring, 2013	19	59	4	14	0	1	3	100
	Spring, 2012	13	62	5	17	0	1	2	100
	Spring, 2011	22	48	6	21	0	1	3	100
	Spring, 2010	18	51	8	19	0	0	4	100
	Spring, 2009	20	28	8	36	1	0	5	100
	Spring, 2008	25	30	11	31	1	0	2	100

			think the gove doms of its peo Ch		
		Yes, respects personal freedoms	No, does not respect personal freedoms	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	10	79	10	100
	Spring, 2017	14	81	5	100
	Spring, 2016	13	80	8	100
	Spring, 2015	11	84	5	100
	Spring, 2014	14	78	8	100
	Spring, 2013	17	71	13	100
	Spring, 2008	14	74	12	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	6	88	6	100
	Spring, 2017	7	88	5	100
	Spring, 2016	4	93	3	100
	Spring, 2015	6	92	2	100
	Spring, 2014	6	91	4	100
	Spring, 2013	9	87	4	100
	Spring, 2008	13	84	3	100

			u think the gove oms of its peop United		
		Yes, respects personal freedoms	No, does not respect personal freedoms	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	51	46	3	100
	Spring, 2017	67	31	2	100
	Spring, 2016	58	40	1	100
	Spring, 2015	51	47	2	100
	Spring, 2014	63	34	2	100
	Spring, 2013	69	28	3	100
	Spring, 2008	75	22	4	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	35	60	5	100
	Spring, 2017	50	45	5	100
	Spring, 2016	53	42	5	100
	Spring, 2015	43	53	4	100
	Spring, 2014	58	38	4	100
	Spring, 2013	81	16	3	100
	Spring, 2008	70	26	4	100

		Q33. Thinkii	ng about the fut	ure, if you had to			ng scenarios
		The U.S. is the world's leading power	China is the world's leading power	Both (DO NOT READ)	Neither (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	88	6	1	2	3	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	58	19	2	17	5	100

		Q35a. 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. a. U.S. President Donald Trump							
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total		
Germany	Spring, 2018	2	8	21	69	0	100		
	Spring, 2017	1	10	34	53	1	100		
	Spring, 2016	1	5	15	74	5	100		

In 2016, asked 'U.S. presidential candidate Donald Trump.'

		Q35d. 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, on 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	
United States	Spring, 2018	17	38	16	14	15	100	
	Spring, 2017	16	40	15	16	14	100	
	Spring, 2012	10	35	15	9	31	100	
	Spring, 2011	7	39	15	10	29	100	
	Spring, 2010	6	37	12	10	35	100	
	Spring, 2009	6	41	14	10	29	100	
	Spring, 2008	5	34	10	10	41	100	
	Spring, 2007	6	38	11	9	35	100	
	Spring, 2006	5	33	14	10	38	100	
Germany	Spring, 2018	30	38	18	13	0	100	
	Spring, 2017	43	38	12	7	0	100	
	Spring, 2016	43	30	16	10	0	100	
	Spring, 2014	41	40	11	6	1	100	
	Spring, 2012	39	38	17	6	0	100	
	Spring, 2011	26	43	21	10	0	100	
	Spring, 2010	32	40	18	9	0	100	
	Spring, 2009	31	44	14	9	1	100	
	Spring, 2008	35	41	16	8	0	100	
	Spring, 2007	43	42	9	6	1	100	
	Spring, 2006	34	43	13	9	1	100	

		Q51. Do you think people leaving our country for jobs in other countries is a very big problem, a moderately big problem, a small problem, or not a problem at all for (survey country)?							
		Very big problem	Moderately big problem	Small problem	Not a problem at all	DK/Refused	Total		
United States	Spring, 2018	17	21	28	33	1	100		
	Summer, 2002	9	16	32	34	9	100		
Germany	Spring, 2018	12	21	45	21	1	100		
	Summer, 2002	33	31	22	12	2	100		

		Q52. In your opinion, should we allow more immigrants to move to our country, fewer immigrants, or about the same as we do now?						
		More	Fewer	About the same	No immigrants at all (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total	
United States	Spring, 2018	24	25	44	4	4	100	
Germany	Spring, 2018	10	54	30	4	3	100	
	Spring, 2014	14	44	40	0	2	100	

		Q53c. Thinking about immigration, would you support or oppose (survey country)? c. encouraging highly skilled people to immigrate and work in (survey country)					
		Support	Oppose	DK/Refused	Total		
United States	Spring, 2018	78	19	3	100		
Germany	Spring, 2018	81	18	2	100		