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Partisan Divides in Views of Many Countries – but Not North Korea

Republicans more negative than Democrats on Mexico, less negative on Russia

FOR MEDIA OR OTHER INQUIRIES:

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Partisan Divides in Views of Many Countries – but Not North Korea

Republicans more negative than Democrats on Mexico, less negative on Russia

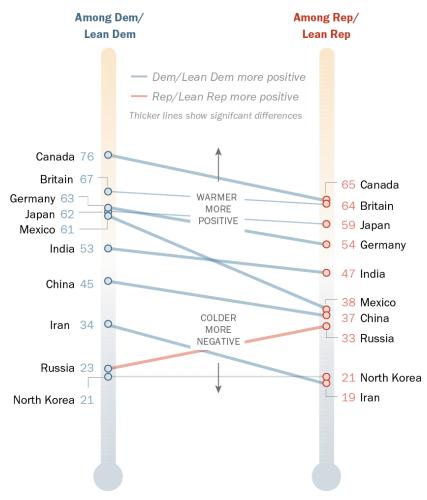
Republicans and Democrats express overwhelmingly negative views of North Korea, but they diverge in opinions of several other countries – including Mexico, Iran, Russia and several U.S. allies.

Asked to rate their feelings toward 10 countries on a "feeling thermometer," Republicans are more likely than Democrats to have "warmer" feelings toward just one: Russia. For six other countries – Canada, Germany, Mexico, India, China and Iran – Democrats offer warmer feelings than Republicans. Partisans give three countries – Britain, Japan and North Korea – similar ratings.

The new national survey by Pew Research Center, conducted July 30 to Aug. 12 among 4,581 adults, asks respondents for their feelings toward 10 foreign countries on a feeling thermometer ranging from 0 to 100. A rating of 51 or higher is "warm"; a rating

Democrats and Republicans diverge in opinions of Mexico, Iran, Russia and several other countries

Average ratings for ____on a "feeling thermometer" from 0 (coldest) to 100 (warmest)



Notes: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0-24), somewhat cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Don't know/no answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

below 50 is "cold"; a rating of 50 is neutral.

Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents give Canada an average rating of 76 on the o-to-100 scale, highest among the 10 countries. On average, Republicans and Republican leaners rate Canada at 65, about the same rating they give to Britain (64). (For more on the public's views of Canada and Mexico, see "Americans have mixed feelings toward Mexico, 'warmer' feelings toward Canada.")

Republicans give four countries average ratings of 51 or higher: Canada (65), Britain (64), Japan (59) and Germany (54). Democrats give positive average ratings to six countries, including Mexico and India.

The widest partisan differences are in opinions about Mexico. The average thermometer rating for Mexico is 61 among Democrats and just 38 among Republicans.

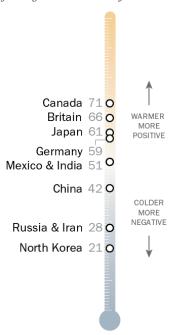
And while Republicans and Democrats generally give both Iran and Russia "cold" ratings, there are sizable differences in views of both countries. The average rating for Iran is substantially higher among Democrats (34 average rating) than among Republicans (19), while the reverse is true for Russia (33 among Republicans, 23 among Democrats).

In opinions about North Korea, however, the two parties are in sync. Republicans, on average, give North Korea a rating of 21; the average rating for North Korea among Democrats also is 21.

Among the public overall, the average thermometer rating is highest for Canada (an average of 71), followed by Britain (66), Japan (61) and Germany (59). Ratings for Mexico and India are mixed (51 for each), and negative for China (42), Russia, Iran (both 28) and North Korea (21).

Public is warmest on Canada, coldest on North Korea

Average ratings for ____on a "feeling thermometer" from 0 to 100



Notes: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0-24), somewhat cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Don't know/no answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

'Cold feelings' toward Russia increase among members of both parties

Overall, the public is decidedly cold toward Russia. Approximately two-thirds of Americans (67%)

feel *coldly* toward Russia (rating it below 50 on the 0-to-100 scale), with nearly half (46%) saying they feel *very* coldly (rating it below 25).

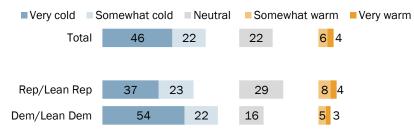
A much larger share of Democrats than Republicans feel very coldly toward Russia – 54% of Democrats compared with just 37% of Republicans. Nearly identical shares in both parties say they feel somewhat coldly toward Russia (23% of Republicans; 22% of Democrats).

Republicans also are nearly twice as likely as Democrats to have neutral feelings toward Russia (29% of Republicans vs. 16% of Democrats). Relatively small shares in each party feel warmly toward Russia (12% of Republicans, 8% of Democrats).

Among members of both parties, especially Democrats, very cold feelings toward Russia have increased since 2016. Currently, more than half of Democrats (54%) give Russia very cold ratings, up 15 percentage points compared with two years ago. More Republicans also feel very coldly toward Russia but the change has been more modest (37% now, 30% then).

Democrats much more likely than Republicans to feel very coldly toward Russia

% who rate Russia ____ on a "feeling thermometer" from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)

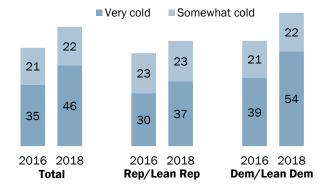


Notes: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0-24), somewhat cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Don't know/no answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

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Among Democrats, a sharp rise in 'very cold' feelings toward Russia since 2016

% who rate Russia ____ on a "feeling thermometer" from o (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)



Notes: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0-24), somewhat cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Don't know/no answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

Republicans are colder than Democrats toward China, India

Republicans are more likely than Democrats to express cold feelings toward China and India. And while overall partisan views of Japan do not differ significantly, more Democrats than Republicans feel very warmly toward Japan.

In views of China, far more Republicans give cold (57%) ratings than neutral (24%) or warm ratings (16%). Democrats' views of China are more divided: 38% feel coldly, 35% have neutral

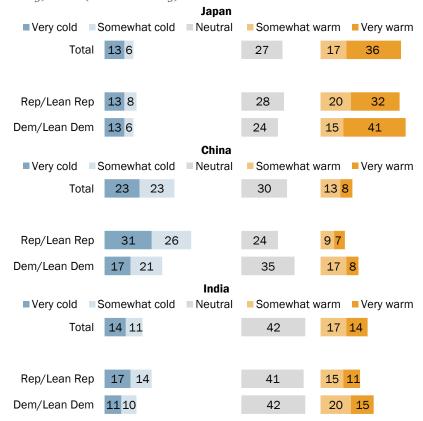
feelings and 25% express warm feelings.

While comparable shares in both parties have neutral feelings about India (42% of Democrats, 41% of Republicans), more Republicans feel coldly toward India (31% vs. 21% of Democrats).

In both parties, half or more express warm feelings toward Japan. Democrats are 9 percentage points more likely than Republicans to feel very warm (41% vs. 32%).

Half or more in both parties feel warmly toward Japan; wider differences on China, India

% who rate each country as ____ on a "feeling thermometer" from o (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating)...



Notes: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0-24), somewhat cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Don't know/no answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

No partisan differences in views of North Korea, sizable differences on Iran

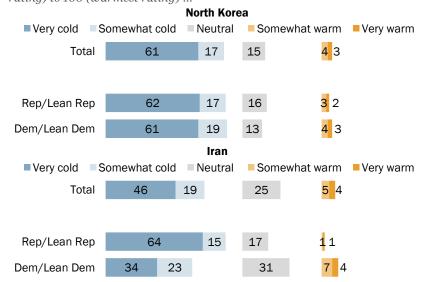
Overall, a substantial majority of Americans (78%) feel very coldly (61%) or somewhat coldly (17%) toward North Korea. Just 6% of the public feels very warmly (3%) or somewhat warmly (4%).

Partisans are in agreement in their sentiments toward North Korea; nearly identical shares of Republicans (62%) and Democrats (61%) express very cold feelings toward North Korea.

On Iran, by contrast, there are major differences. While majorities in both parties have cold feelings, these views are much more widespread – and more intensely negative – among Republicans. A 64% majority of Republicans have very cold feelings toward Iran, compared with only 34% of Democrats.

Across party lines, most have very cold feelings toward North Korea; Democrats are less negative toward Iran

% who rate each country as ____ on a "feeling thermometer" from 0 (coldest rating) to 100 (warmest rating) ...



Notes: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0-24), somewhat cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Don't know/no answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

Wider partisan differences over Germany than Britain

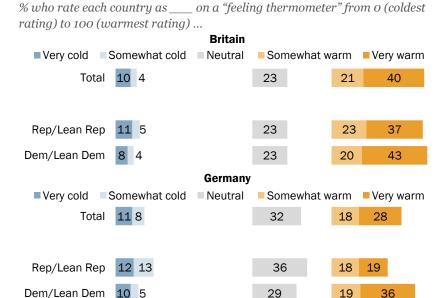
Republicans and Democrats are in general agreement on their feelings about Britain. Majorities in

both parties (63% of Democrats and 59% of Republicans) feel warmly toward Britain, with about four-in-ten in both saying they feel very warmly.

These feelings are little changed since 2016, although Republicans are slightly less likely to feel very warmly toward Britain (46% in 2016, 37% now); Democrats are somewhat more likely to feel very warmly (37% in 2016, 43% now).

There are larger partisan differences in views of Germany. (For more on how Americans and Germans view relations between the two countries, see

Majorities in both parties give Britain positive ratings; Republicans feel less warmly toward Germany



Notes: Feeling thermometer ratings: very cold (0-24), somewhat cold (25-49), neutral (50), somewhat warm (51-75), very warm (76-100). Don't know/no answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 30-Aug. 12, 2018.

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"Americans Say U.S.-German Relations Are in Good Shape, but Germans Disagree.")

A 55% majority of Democrats express warm feelings toward Germany, compared with 37% of Republicans. Virtually all of the partisan difference in feelings toward Germany is in the share of those who feel very warmly: 36% of Democrats, compared with 19% of Republicans.

Acknowledgements

This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals:

Research team

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Methodology

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by the Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults recruited from landline and cell phone random digit dial surveys. Panelists participate via monthly self-administered Web surveys. Panelists who do not have internet access are provided with a tablet and wireless internet connection. The panel is being managed by GfK.

Data in this report are drawn from the panel wave conducted July 30-August 12, 2018 among 4,581 respondents. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 4,581 respondents is plus or minus 2.4 percentage points.

Members of the American Trends Panel were recruited from several large, national landline and cellphone random digit dial (RDD) surveys conducted in English and Spanish. At the end of each survey, respondents were invited to join the panel. The first group of panelists was recruited from the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey, conducted January 23 to March 16, 2014. Of the 10,013 adults interviewed, 9,809 were invited to take part in the panel and a total of 5,338 agreed to participate.¹ The second group of panelists was recruited from the 2015 Pew Research Center Survey on Government, conducted August 27 to October 4, 2015. Of the 6,004 adults interviewed, all were invited to join the panel, and 2,976 agreed to participate.² The third group of panelists was recruited from a survey conducted April 25 to June 4, 2017. Of the 5,012 adults interviewed in the survey or pretest, 3,905 were invited to take part in the panel and a total of 1,628 agreed to participate³.

The ATP data were weighted in a multi-step process that begins with a base weight incorporating the respondents' original survey selection probability and the fact that in 2014 some panelists were subsampled for invitation to the panel. Next, an adjustment was made for the fact that the propensity to join the panel and remain an active panelist varied across different groups in the sample. The final step in the weighting uses an iterative technique that aligns the sample to population benchmarks on a number of dimensions. Gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and region parameters come from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2016 American Community Survey. The county-level population density parameter (deciles) comes from the 2010 U.S. Decennial Census.

¹ When data collection for the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey began, non-internet users were subsampled at a rate of 25%, but a decision was made shortly thereafter to invite all non-internet users to join. In total, 83% of non-internet users were invited to join the panel.

² Respondents to the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey who indicated that they are internet users but refused to provide an email address were initially permitted to participate in the American Trends Panel by mail, but were no longer permitted to join the panel after February 6, 2014. Internet users from the 2015 Pew Research Center Survey on Government who refused to provide an email address were not permitted to join the panel.

³ White, non-Hispanic college graduates were subsampled at a rate of 50%.

The telephone service benchmark comes from the July-December 2016 National Health Interview Survey and is projected to 2017. The volunteerism benchmark comes from the 2015 Current Population Survey Volunteer Supplement. The party affiliation benchmark is the average of the three most recent Pew Research Center general public telephone surveys. The Internet access benchmark comes from the 2017 ATP Panel Refresh Survey. Respondents who did not previously have internet access are treated as not having internet access for weighting purposes. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish, but the Hispanic sample in the American Trends Panel is predominantly native born and English speaking.

The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

Survey conducted July 30-	August 12, 2018			
Group Total sample	Unweighted sample size 4,581	Plus or minus 2.4 percentage points	% of weighted sample 100%	
Half form	2,275 (min)	3.4 percentage points		
Rep/Lean Rep	1,944	3.7 percentage points	43%	
Half form	971 (min)	5.2 percentage points		
Dem/Lean Dem	2,534	3.2 percentage points	53%	
Half form	1,250 (min)	4.6 percentage points		

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other 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.

The July 2018 wave had a response rate of 84 % (4,581 responses among 5,475 individuals in the panel). Taking account of the combined, weighted response rate for the recruitment surveys (10.1%) and attrition from panel members who were removed at their request or for inactivity, the cumulative response rate for the wave is 2.4%⁴.

⁴ Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves are removed from the panel. These cases are counted in the denominator of cumulative response rates.

2018 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL WAVE 37 JULY FINAL TOPLINE JULY 30 - AUGUST 12, 2018 TOTAL N=4,581

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

THERMO

We'd like to get your feelings toward some different countries in the world on a "feeling thermometer." A rating of zero degrees means you feel as cold and negative as possible. A rating of 100 degrees means you feel as warm and positive as possible. You would rate the country at 50 degrees if you don't feel particularly positive or negative toward the country.

How do you feel toward [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]?

[Enter the number in the box between 0 and 100 that reflects your feelings]

ASK FORMS 1 AND 3 [N=2,275]:	Rating of 0 to 24	Rating of 25 to 49	Rating of <u>50</u>	Rating of 51 to 75	Rating of 76 to 100	No <u>answer</u>	Mean <u>rating</u>
Britain Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018 Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	10 10	4 3	23 23	21 19	40 41	2 4	66 66
Germany Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018 Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	11 12	8 6	32 31	18 20	28 27	2 4	59 58
Iran Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018	46	19	25	5	4	2	28
China Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018 Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	23 27	23 23	30 28	13 11	8 7	2 4	42 39
India Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018	14	11	42	17	14	2	51
ASK FORMS 2 AND 4 [N=2,306]:							
Canada Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018	9	3	21	15	52	1	71
Japan Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018 Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	13 13	6 9	27 31	17 17	36 27	1 4	61 57

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THERMO CONTINUED							
	Rating of 0 to 24	Rating of 25 to 49	Rating of 50	Rating of 51 to 75	Rating of 76 to 100	No answer	Mean <u>rating</u>
North Korea	<u> </u>			<u>0 = 00 , 0</u>	<u>, </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018							
	61	17	15	4	3	1	21
Russia							
Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018							
Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	46	22	22	6	4	1	28
	35	21	26	10	5	4	35
Mexico							
Jul 30-Aug 12, 2018							
Oct 25-Nov 8, 2016	21	13	26	17	23	1	51

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Note: Results for Canada and Mexico previously released.

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE