



12

Transatlantic Trends



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

KEY FINDINGS 2012

Transatlantic Trends 2012 Partners



LUSO-AMERICAN
FOUNDATION

Fundación **BBVA**



**Ministry for Foreign Affairs
Sweden**



TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Foreword</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>Executive Summary 2012</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Section One: Transatlantic Relations and Global Views</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Section Two: Economy and Eurocrisis</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Section Three: Obama’s First Term and the 2012 Elections</i>	<i>25</i>
<i>Section Four: Transatlantic Security</i>	<i>31</i>
<i>Section Five: Russia</i>	<i>43</i>



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Foreword

This year marks the eleventh anniversary of the *Transatlantic Trends* surveys, which started in 2002 as *World Views*. Over more than a decade, *Transatlantic Trends* has become the preeminent source of U.S. and European public opinion on a host of transatlantic issues, including common foreign policy challenges, support for NATO, the economy, and the rise of other world powers. The data provided by the surveys have become an invaluable tool for policymakers, the media, think tanks, and academics who have an impact on foreign policy decisions within their respective countries. In addition to producing original research, the survey's goal is also to foster debate on the strategic policy goals, objectives, and values of the United States and Europe as members of the transatlantic community.

The decade reflected by our polls has been a tumultuous one for both Europe and the United States, one that has been marred by a marked divide between the two sides of the Atlantic about the U.S. intervention in Iraq, the alliance's role in Afghanistan, and the global economic crisis. Nothing has been more emblematic of the transatlantic relationship than how Europeans related to the two U.S. presidents of this time. The low approval of George W. Bush's management of foreign policy quickly turned into euphoric optimism when Barack Obama was elected in 2008. This seemingly overnight change of public opinion toward the U.S. president demonstrated that the basics of transatlantic cooperation remained strong and had not eroded during Bush's presidency, despite his unpopularity among the European public.

Russia has been added to the *Transatlantic Trends* survey this year, and as you will see in the data, it makes a fascinating addition. It is the first non-Western country to be included in *Transatlantic Trends* and adds a new perspective and geographical diversity to the survey during a time of heightened interest in transatlantic relations in a globalized world.

Craig Kennedy
President, German Marshall Fund of the United States



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Executive Summary 2012

Over the past year, policymakers on both sides of the Atlantic have had to face grave economic and foreign policy challenges, heightened in a number of countries by the prospect of upcoming national elections. These challenges include the impact of half a decade of economic turmoil, concerns about the future of the political revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa, Iran's nuclear program, power transitions (or the lack thereof) in Asia and Russia, preparations for NATO winding down its mission in Afghanistan, and a looming civil war in Syria. *Transatlantic Trends* paints a picture of a complex relationship between the United States and Europe, and how they respond to global challenges.¹

In the context of mounting global challenges, the survey uncovered some remarkable findings. Among others, four stand out: EU respondents' steadfast support for the European Union (less so for the euro) in the midst of crisis, despite broad divergences of opinion across the EU; a broad disenchantment with domestic economic institutions and norms; Americans' renewed focus on Europe, despite the announced defense "pivot" to Asia; and the fact that the views of Russian respondents, included in *Transatlantic Trends* for the first time, differ from the perspectives of Americans and Europeans in some important ways.

Transatlantic relations: Majorities on both sides of the Atlantic continued to hold favorable views of each other and to feel that strong U.S. and EU leadership in world affairs was desirable. Two-in-three Americans and Europeans

agreed that both sides shared enough values and interests to enable cooperation on international problems. They also mirrored each other in the belief that the other side was more important for their national interest than the countries of Asia — unlike last year, when the U.S. respondents had shown a preference for Asia for the first time. Half of Americans and Europeans shared an unfavorable view of China, but they remained slightly divided about the opportunities and threats it presented. They shared a high and rising concern about Iran's efforts to acquire nuclear weapons, but disagreed markedly in their favorability toward Israel.

United States: Looking ahead to the November 2012 elections, a majority of U.S. respondents reported a favorable view of President Barack Obama, the incumbent Democratic candidate. A plurality reported an unfavorable view of the Republican challenger, former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney. A majority said they approved of the government's handling of international policies.

European Union: The European crisis did not seem to have undermined faith in the EU as an economic community. The majority of those polled in the EU felt that EU membership had helped their country's economy, and a plurality also approved of the way the EU had handled the economic crisis. Nevertheless, a plurality or majority in every EU country surveyed, with the exception of Germany, were reluctant to give the EU more power over national budgets and finances. While the EU was seen fairly positively, the majority of EU respondents agreed that using the euro either had been or would be a bad thing for their country's economy. The euro was particularly unpopular in those countries surveyed outside the eurozone, while opinions within the eurozone varied. On average, half of

¹ This year's survey includes the United States, Turkey, Russia, and 12 EU countries: Bulgaria, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. When the report refers to EU opinions, it is only meant to refer to the opinions of those in the 12 EU countries surveyed.

Europeans said they supported further decreases in spending. However, the spread of opinion across Europe was quite broad, with disapproval strongest in the troubled Southern European countries.

Leaders' approval: A majority of Americans and more than two-thirds of Europeans approved of U.S. President Barack Obama's handling of international policies. Still, his European approval ratings dropped substantially in some EU member countries, particularly in Eastern Europe. Meanwhile, a majority of Europeans said they supported German Chancellor Angela Merkel's handling of the European economic crisis, but there was a clear North-South split in her ratings within the EU.

Government approval: Transatlantic majorities approved of their governments' handling of international policies — but mostly (with the exception of Germany and Sweden) disapproved of their handling of economic policy, again with disagreement sharpest in troubled Southern European countries.

Economic policy: *Transatlantic Trends* asked for the first time this year whether respondents felt that their economic system worked fairly for everybody or whether they believed that most of the benefits of the system went to a few. Large majorities on both sides of the Atlantic answered that most of the benefits went to a few.

Security policy: While a transatlantic opinion gap continues to exist on some security topics, the survey also revealed a convergence of EU-U.S. opinion on the best way forward. Large majorities in the United States and the EU wanted to reduce troop levels or withdraw all troops from Afghanistan. Despite an ongoing transatlantic debate about burden-sharing in the alliance, a solid majority in the EU reported that they continued to see NATO as essential for their security. U.S. support for NATO dropped somewhat, but was still expressed by a majority. Only minorities in the EU supported increases in defense spending because of the U.S. "pivot" to Asia. Pluralities in the EU and the United States said they would prefer to see their governments maintain current defense spending levels.

Intervention, responsibility to protect, and Syria: While Americans and Europeans continued to disagree about whether intervention in Iraq and Afghanistan had been right, a plurality of Europeans and Americans agreed that intervention in Libya had been the right thing to do. Two-in-three respondents on both sides of the Atlantic agreed on the principle of the "responsibility to protect" (under which governments are responsible for protecting civilians in other countries from violence, including violence committed by their own government). However, transatlantic majorities felt that their countries should stay out of the Syria conflict.

Russia: Majorities on both sides of the Atlantic turned from favorable to unfavorable in their view of Russia. Yet half the Russians polled held a favorable view of the United States, while two-in-three thought favorably of the EU. At the same time, majorities or pluralities among the Russians felt that Asia was more important to their national interests than the United States or Europe, felt that U.S. and EU leadership on international problems was mostly undesirable, and took an unfavorable view of NATO. Still, pluralities or majorities thought that Russia, the United States, and Europe had enough common values and interests to be able to cooperate. On specific issues — such as China, Iran, intervention in Libya or Syria — however, Russian views were quite different from those polled in the United States and Europe. In particular, Russians said they would approve of a Russian UN Security Council veto on intervention in Syria. Russian views of their own institutions were very mixed. Two-in-three Russians (69%) expressed confidence in their president — more than in any other Russian institution.

Turkey: Although Turkish feelings for the EU and United States continued to warm somewhat over the past year, a majority of Turks still view the EU and the United States unfavorably. As in 2011, the plurality of Turks thought that working with Asia was more important to their national interests than working with the United States.

Sweden: Sweden's second year in the survey revealed that the country's public opinion stood apart from other EU countries on a number of issues. Compared to other European countries, Swedes were more likely to approve of their government's handling of foreign policies and less

likely to say that they were affected by the economic crisis. Moreover, the Swedes were also more willing to maintain troops in Afghanistan, more supportive of the intervention in Libya, and more likely to support intervention in Syria (particularly if mandated by the UN). Swedes were divided on the desirability of participating in NATO operations, but two-thirds of those who opposed a Syrian intervention said they would approve of Swedish participation if such an operation was mandated by the United Nations.

KEY FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

Transatlantic Relations and Global Views:

- A little more than half of EU citizens (52%) said it was desirable that the United States exert strong leadership in world affairs, representing little change from last year. Two-in-three Americans (63%) said it was desirable for the EU to exercise strong leadership as well, a trend that has also remained stable.
 - Three-in-four Europeans (74%) continued to hold favorable views of the United States, but views across Europe varied widely. The United States' ratings in France saw a 23-point rise to 81%. On the lower end of the scale, only 34% of Turks viewed the United States with favor (but that number is slowly on the rise, from only 22% in 2009).
 - Two-thirds of European respondents (and 57% of Americans) continue to think favorably of the EU; but in the U.K., for the first time, unfavorable views rose by 14 percentage points to a plurality of 49%. An EU majority of 58% displayed an unfavorable view of Greece.
 - Nearly two-thirds of EU respondents (61%) said that the United States was more important for their countries' national interests than Asia. Similarly, 55% of Americans felt that Europe was more important than Asia.
- ### Economy and the Eurocrisis
- People still felt hurt by the economy: 79% of the Americans and 65% of those in the EU reported being personally affected by the economic crisis, with numbers rising most sharply in the troubled Southern European economies.
 - Transatlantic majorities (U.S.: 52%; EU: 56%) disapproved of their governments' handling of economic policy. Only in Sweden (74% approval) and Germany (68% approval) did supporters outweigh the critics.
 - European respondents on average supported the spending cuts implemented by European governments in reaction to the economic crisis: half (50%) said they supported further decreases in spending. Fifty-eight percent of Americans also support further decreases in government spending.
 - The majority of EU respondents (61%) considered membership in the EU to be a good thing for their countries' economies. On the other hand, the majority of Europeans (57%) thought that using the euro had been or would be a bad thing for their economies.
 - When asked whether their country should leave the eurozone, one-in-four respondents in Spain (27%) and Germany (26%) agreed.
 - A majority of Europeans (52%) said they approved of the way German Chancellor Angela Merkel had handled the economic crisis. However, there was a clear North-South split in her ratings.
 - Fifty-four percent of EU respondents thought it acceptable that their countries contribute to the fund that aims to bail out member states with budgetary difficulties.
 - Three-in-four (76%) European respondents felt that their economic system did not work fairly for everybody, and that most of its benefits went to a few; 64% of Americans agreed.

Obama's First Term and the 2012 Elections

- Despite a 12-point decline from 2009 (President Obama's first year in office), 71% of people in the 12 EU countries polled still approved of his handling of international policies.
- Central and Eastern European countries showed somewhat lower support for Obama compared with the EU average.
- Seventy-one percent of the EU respondents approved of Obama's efforts to fight international terrorism.
- A plurality of 49% of Americans reported an unfavorable view of Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney, compared to 44% who hold a favorable view.
- When Europeans were asked if their view of Mitt Romney was favorable or unfavorable, a remarkable 38% of respondents either said they did not know or refused to answer, while a plurality of 39% said their view was unfavorable. Twenty-three percent reported a favorable view.
- While 57% of Americans reported a favorable view of Democratic incumbent President Barack Obama, 82% of Europeans said they had a favorable opinion of the president.

Transatlantic Security

- Pluralities of Americans (34%) and Europeans (39%) felt that they should take a more independent approach within the transatlantic partnership in security and diplomatic affairs.
- NATO was seen as "still essential" by 58% of EU respondents. The number of Americans who agreed dropped by six points to 56%.
- The Swedes were evenly split about participating in NATO operations, with 47% supporting such operations and 50% against. However, when asked next how they felt if an operation was carried out with a

mandate from the United Nations, 67% of Swedes said they would be in favor.

- When asked about defense spending, majorities or pluralities in 11 of the 15 countries surveyed wanted to maintain current spending levels.
- Americans and Europeans disagreed on whether intervention in Iraq (in the United States, a plurality of 49% approved; in the EU, 54% disapproved) and Afghanistan (in the United States, 53% approved; in the EU, 50% disapproved) had been the right thing to do.
- However, in the case of Libya, pluralities in the United States (49%) and the EU (48%) agreed that intervention had been the right thing to do.
- More than two-thirds of U.S. (68%) and EU (75%) respondents agreed that troop levels should be reduced or troops should be withdrawn altogether from Afghanistan.
- Majorities on both sides of the Atlantic preferred using economic sanctions or incentives — as opposed to military options — to stop Iran's nuclear program. A plurality of Turks preferred to accept that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons.
- Two-in-three Americans (62%) and Europeans (67%) agreed that members of the international community (including their own country) are responsible for protecting civilians in other countries from violence, including violence committed by their own government (the principle of "responsibility to protect").
- However, as far as the specific case of Syria was concerned, majorities in the EU (59%), the United States (55%), and Turkey (57%) said their countries should stay out of the Syria conflict completely.

Russia

- Views on Russia turned from favorable to unfavorable on both sides of the Atlantic this year.

- Fifty-two percent of Russians felt favorably toward Ukraine and 64% said the same about Belarus, but 60% expressed disfavor toward Georgia.
- Half of the Russian respondents (50%) had favorable views of the United States, while two-in-three (64%) thought favorably of the European Union.
- Seventy-one percent of Russians approved of their government's handling of international policies. However, they were split evenly (46%) on its economic policies. Fifty-eight percent of Russians said they had been affected by the economic crisis. Three-in-four Russians (75%) felt that their economic system benefitted only a few.
- Russians were evenly split on the principle of the "responsibility to protect," with 40% saying they agreed that this responsibility (to protect civilians in other countries from violence, including from their own governments) extended to Russia as well, while 41% thought it did not.
- When asked whether they would support or oppose a Russian government veto of an intervention in Syria in the United Nations Security Council, a majority of Russians polled (54%) said they would support such a veto.
- When respondents in this year's *Transatlantic Trends* were asked how much confidence they had that elections in Russia reflected the will of the voters, 75% of Europeans and 60% of Americans said they had little confidence.
- Meanwhile, a plurality of the Russians polled (46%) said they were not confident in their own elections; 43% said they were.
- As for Russians' confidence in their country's institutions, 69% said they had confidence in the president; only 37% felt confident in the national legislature.

Transatlantic Trends is a comprehensive annual survey of U.S. and European public opinion. Polling was conducted by TNS Opinion between June 2 and June 27, 2012, in the United States, Turkey, Russia, and 12 European Union member states: Bulgaria, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. The survey is a project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) and the Compagnia di San Paolo, with additional support from the Fundação Luso-Americana, the BBVA Foundation, the Communitas Foundation, the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and the Open Society Foundations.

The advisory committee for the survey included Pierangelo Isernia, Professor of Political Science, University of Siena (Italy); Philip Everts, Emeritus Director of the Institute of International Studies, University of Leiden (Netherlands); Richard Eichenberg, Associate Professor of Political Science, Tufts University (United States), and Nicoló Russo Perez, Program Manager, Compagnia di San Paolo (Italy). Zsolt Nyiri, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Montclair State University (United States) and former Director, *Transatlantic Trends*, led the advisory meeting. We wish to thank him here for his leadership of this important project since 2009.

The authors of the Key Findings Report were Constanze Stelzenmüller, Senior Transatlantic Fellow and project lead for *Transatlantic Trends*; Hamutal Bernstein, Program Officer and data management lead for *Transatlantic Trends*; and Josh Raisher, Program Assistant for *Transatlantic Trends*. The authors wish to acknowledge the invaluable help of Kaat Smets, Postdoctoral Researcher at the University of Siena, as well as Shelley Marshall and Benjamin Ledwon, who played a major role in creating the accompanying charts and provided other essential help during the preparation of this report.



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Section One: Transatlantic Relations and Global Views

The continuing economic crisis on both sides of the Atlantic has not affected the stability of the connections linking the transatlantic community. It has also reinforced appreciation of the need for both U.S. and European leadership in the face of difficult global policy questions, based on a sense of shared values and interests.

The United States remains popular internationally, buoyed by continued European support for President Obama, while Germany's leadership has earned admiration within the European Union. At the same time, the divergent responses of European countries that have been most affected by the crisis illustrate the growing tensions within Europe. Greece, in particular, having become the focus of intense discussions on the currency union's continued viability, finds itself increasingly seen in an unfavorable light.

Meanwhile, the rise of China presents the transatlantic community with a continued challenge. While the United States attempts to build a stronger regional presence as part of Obama's "pivot to Asia," there is little agreement on whether China presents a threat or an opportunity.

STATE OF TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS: GOOD OR MIXED, BUT NOT BAD

Across the board, perceptions of the general state of transatlantic relations remain similar across countries and mostly stable in the EU and the United States. In the United States, a slight plurality (44%) felt that relations are good, but are down 10 points from 54% in 2010. Forty-three percent said that relations were mixed. Respondents in the EU were evenly divided over whether relations were good (46%) or mixed (45%). The lowest favorable ratings in the EU were found in the U.K. (35%) and Poland (34%).

Nonetheless, very few people described the current state of relations between the two continents as "bad" — only 5% in the EU, and 7% in the United States said so.

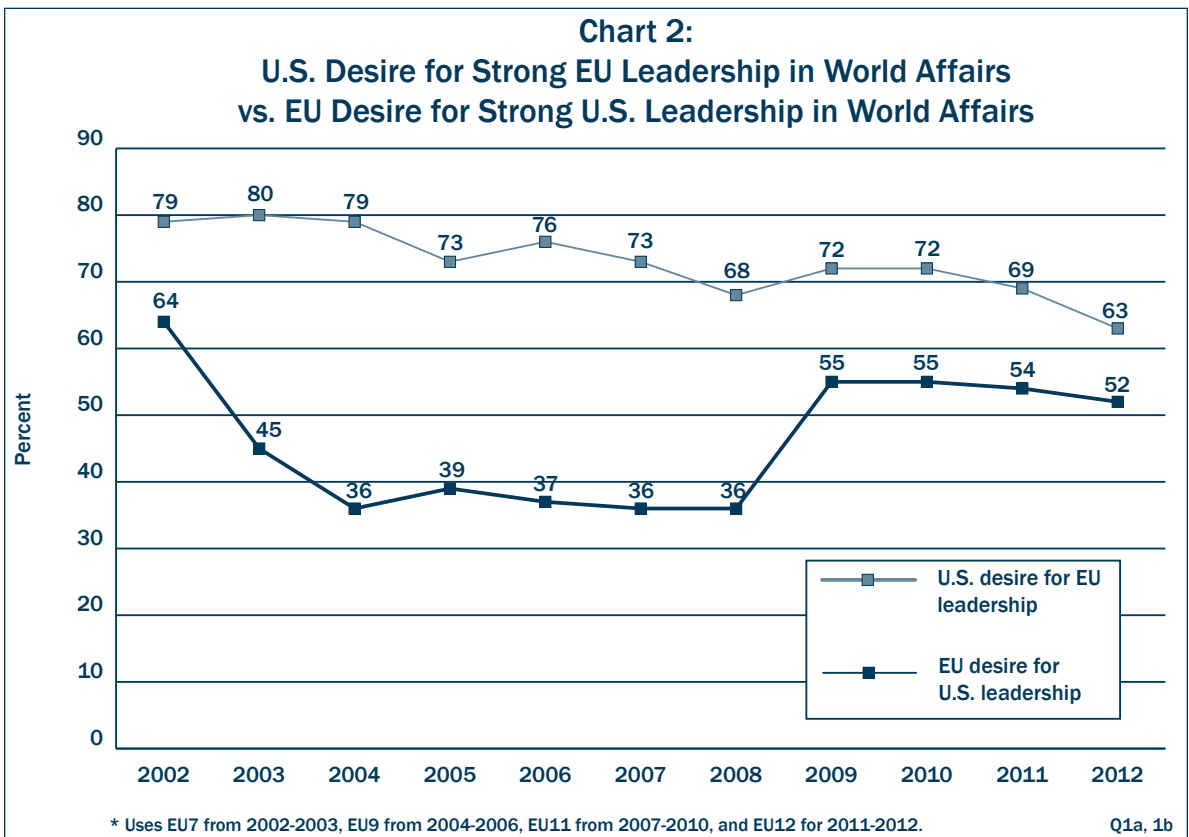
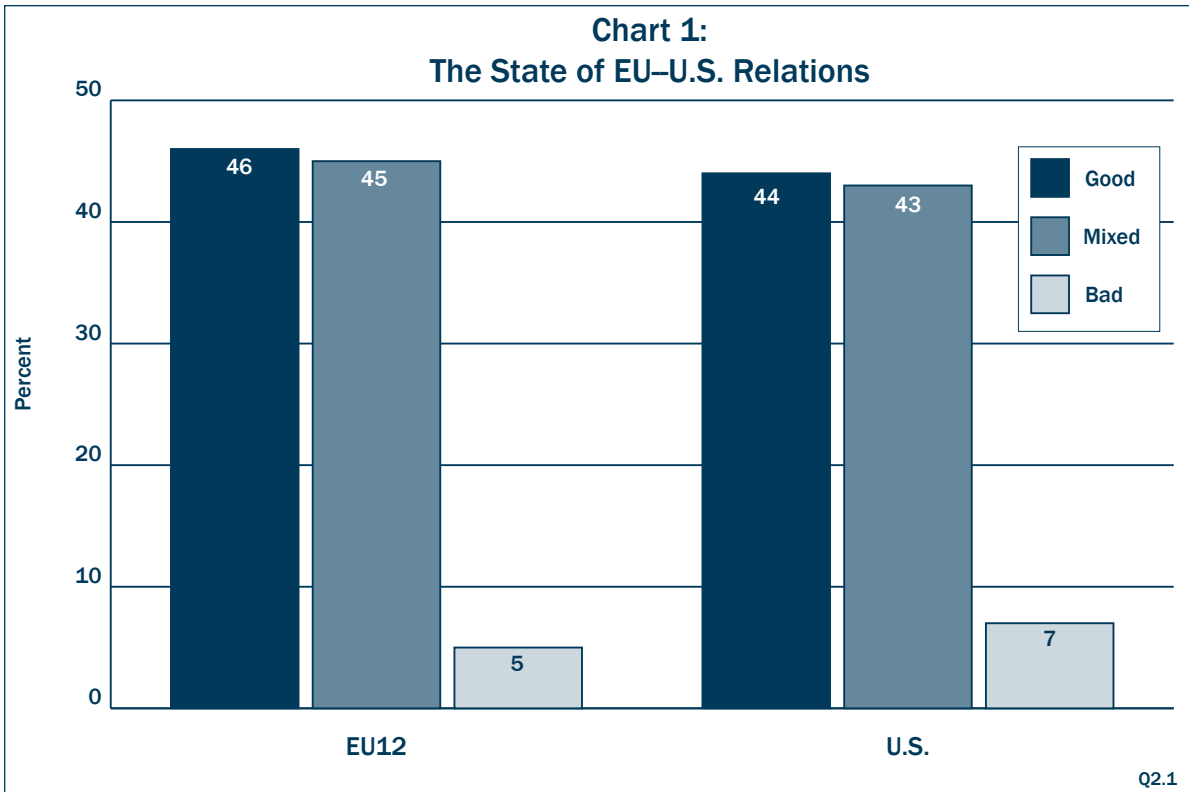
STABLE EU SUPPORT FOR STRONG U.S. LEADERSHIP IN WORLD AFFAIRS...

Just over half the EU respondents polled (52%) said it was desirable that the United States exercise strong leadership in world affairs.² This is a slight drop from the beginning of President Barack Obama's administration (it was 55% in 2009), but still much higher than it was during much of the Bush administration. The highest desirability rates for U.S. leadership were expressed in the Netherlands (65%), the U.K. (62%), and Germany (60%). The largest drop was in Poland (down 11 percentage points to 38% from 2011) — matched by a 13 percentage-point rise of Poles who find U.S. leadership "undesirable." An overwhelming 82% of Americans found strong U.S. leadership to be desirable.

... AND IN THE UNITED STATES FOR EUROPEAN LEADERSHIP

The majority of Americans (63%) also found it desirable that the EU exert strong leadership in world affairs. An even larger majority among the EU countries agreed with this (70%). Still, both numbers have declined slowly since this question was first asked (in 2006) from 76% in both the United States and the EU. Within the EU, Germans showed the most support for EU leadership (86%). Meanwhile, the largest rise in "undesirable" ratings was to be found among Italian (up 11 percentage points to 24%) and British (up 8 percentage points to 36%) respondents.

² Unless otherwise noted, approval rates are calculated by combining the percentage of respondents who approve "very much" and the percentage of those who approve "somewhat." The same is done for disapproval rates.



Only one-in-four Turks polled (26%) said U.S. leadership was desirable, whereas a slightly higher number (29%) said EU leadership was desirable.

COMMON VALUES AND INTERESTS SEEN BY MAJORITIES ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC

Two-thirds of Americans (63%) and Europeans (66%) said that the United States and the European Union have enough common *values* to be able to cooperate on international problems. French (77%) and German (75%) respondents felt most strongly about this, while those in the U.K. (57%) were more ambivalent.

Similarly, two-thirds of Americans (64%) and Europeans (67%) said that the United States and the European Union have enough common *interests* to enable such cooperation. More respondents agreed with this statement in France (75%) than anywhere else in the EU. Britain (54%) and Poland (59%) polled at the lower end of the scale.

In Turkey, pluralities thought that the United States and the European Union have enough common values (45%) or interests (47%) to enable international cooperation.

EU AND U.S. OPINIONS OF EACH OTHER SIMILAR, BUT VIEWS VARY GREATLY WITHIN EUROPE

Americans and EU residents polled by *Transatlantic Trends* in 2012 tended to have stable and comparable opinions of each other and of other countries in the world. Four-in-five Americans (84%), as in previous years, had a favorable opinion of their own country. A majority of Americans also had favorable views of Japan (68%), Germany (67%), Italy (63%), and Spain (53%). Majorities thought well of Israel (59%) and the European Union (57%). Americans looked less favorably on Greece (44%), Turkey (43%), Russia (42%), South Korea, and China (both 41%). Support was especially low for Iran (20%).

Respondents in the EU likewise had more favorable opinions of the United States (74%) and the EU (67%). The United States was seen especially favorably in Romania (84%) and France (81%, in another remarkable 23 percentage-point leap from last year). Russian respondents were divided about the United States, with 50% holding a favor-

able opinion and 41% saying their views were unfavorable. The lowest favorability of the United States was shown in Turkey (34%). On the other hand, the percentage of Turks favoring the United States has been increasing slowly but steadily since 2009 (22%).

The EU continued to be seen in the most favorable light by the newest members of the Union, Bulgaria (88%) and Romania (84%), who both joined in 2007. The next in line was Germany (75%). In all other EU member states, two-thirds majorities saw the EU favorably. The exception was the U.K., where favorable opinion dropped to 46% (from 58% in 2011), and unfavorable views rose by 14 percentage points to 49%. Sixty-four percent of Russians also held a favorable view of the EU — compared to only 36% of Turks, of whom a majority (53%) continued to hold an unfavorable view.

EU member states' opinions of each other varied more strongly. As for Greece, its ratings were significantly lower overall, with the highest favorability at 53% in Bulgaria. An EU majority of 58% held an unfavorable opinion of Greece, with highest disapproval in Slovakia (81%) and Germany (75%).

GERMANY TIED WITH THE UNITED STATES AS MOST POPULAR COUNTRY, NEGATIVE VIEWS ON TURKEY RISE

Germany, on the other hand, tied with the United States as the most favorably viewed country in the survey. It was rated favorably by 74% of EU respondents and 67% of Americans, as well as 71% of Russians. (Eighty-four percent of Germans rated themselves favorably.) Germany's highest ratings came among Dutch (90%), Bulgarian (88%), Romanian (86%), and French (83%) respondents. Its lowest ratings were found in Spain (60%), Portugal (55%), and Italy (53%) — still all majorities — but those polled in Portugal and Spain also showed the strongest disapproval of Germany (40% and 38%, respectively). In Turkey, a plurality of 48% held a favorable view of Germany, whereas 38% disapproved.

GERMANY IN THE WORLD

Germany tied with the United States as the most favorably viewed country in this year's *Transatlantic Trends*, but it was considerably less popular in the troubled southern periphery of Europe. Similarly, a majority in the EU (52%) approved of German Chancellor Angela Merkel's handling of the European economic crisis — but rates varied widely across Europe, dipping sharply in southern Europe.

Despite the European economic crisis, three-in-four Germans (73%) remained staunch supporters of their country's EU membership. Germans were, together with the Swedes, one of only two countries among the European countries surveyed where majorities approved of their own government's handling of economic policies (68% in Germany, 74% in Sweden). Germany was one of the few EU member states polled where a majority (53%) said membership in the euro had been beneficial to their economy. In absolute terms, only 26% of those polled wanted to leave the euro. On the European bailout fund, however, public opinion was neatly divided, with 49% approving and 48% rejecting the fund. Fifty-three percent of Germans polled were in favor of giving more power to the EU to manage national economic and fiscal policies — making Germany the only country among the EU member states polled where a majority did not disapprove of handing such authority to the EU.

Germans registered the highest approval rates in the survey (86%) for EU leadership in international affairs, but they were also among the strongest supporters (60%) of U.S. leadership in international politics, with three-in-four (75%) saying they felt the United States and Europe have enough common values to cooperate. Their take on the two U.S. presidential candidates was very different: President Obama's favorability (91%) as well as his approval rates for handling of international policies remained very high (79%) among Germans and a majority (51%) had an unfavorable view of Republican challenger Mitt Romney. If they could, 87% of Germans would vote for Obama in the November U.S. election.

Germans' pessimism regarding recent military interventions and the prospects for stability thereafter equaled and sometimes exceeded the European average. However, despite the fact that Germany's government had abstained from the UN Security Council vote on intervention in Libya and declined to participate in the subsequent NATO operation, 53% of Germans polled approved of the Libyan intervention. In general, 73% of polled Germans were content with their government's handling of international affairs.

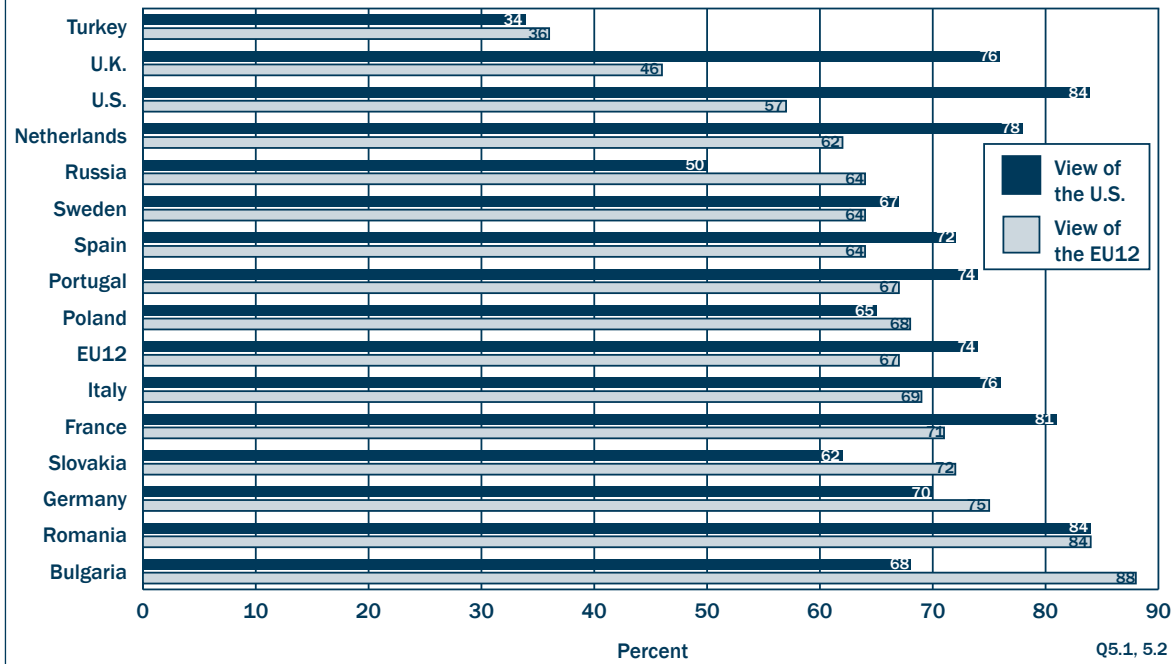
MARKED TRANSATLANTIC DIFFERENCES ON ISRAEL

In the case of Israel, there was a marked transatlantic split: 59% of Americans had a favorable opinion, compared to only 34% in the EU. (The unfavorability ratings were almost exactly reversed, with only 32% of Americans holding unfavorable views as opposed to 51% of EU respondents.) Favorable views in Europe were highest in Bulgaria (47%); unfavorable ratings were highest in Sweden (68%). Meanwhile, the favorable opinion of Israel was distinctly higher in Russia (48%) than in the EU, and lowest of all in Turkey (9%).

AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS HOLD EQUALLY NEGATIVE VIEWS ON CHINA

U.S. and European views on China moved into synch in 2012, with a majority in the United States (52%) and half of those polled in Europe (50%) holding unfavorable views on China. Forty-one percent of respondents on both sides of the Atlantic said they had a favorable view of China (down 6 percentage points in the EU, from 47% in 2011). Romania had the largest number of people with positive views of China in Europe (62%), in contrast to Germany (35%), Sweden (34%), and France (33%) at the lower end of the scale. A plurality of Turks (45%) held unfavorable views of China, whereas — in contrast — nearly two-thirds of the Russians polled (63%) said their opinions were positive.

**Chart 3:
Favorable Opinions of the EU and the U.S.**



U.S. AND EU: TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONS ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE RELATIONSHIP WITH ASIA

When asked whether the countries of the European Union or the countries of Asia, such as China, Japan, and South Korea, were more important to their countries’ national interests, a majority (55%) in the United States indicated that the EU was more important than Asia — a shift of 17 percentage points over last year’s survey.

This shift represents a return to U.S. attitudes registered in 2004, when a majority of U.S. respondents (54%) viewed the countries of Europe as more important to their vital interests than the countries of Asia (29%).³

Meanwhile, 61% of the Europeans polled said that the United States is more important for Europe than the countries of Asia, up 9 percentage points from last year. However, there were some important differences within Europe on this question: German respondents were most emphatic in their support for the importance of the United States (68%), followed by Romania (67%), the U.K. (64%),

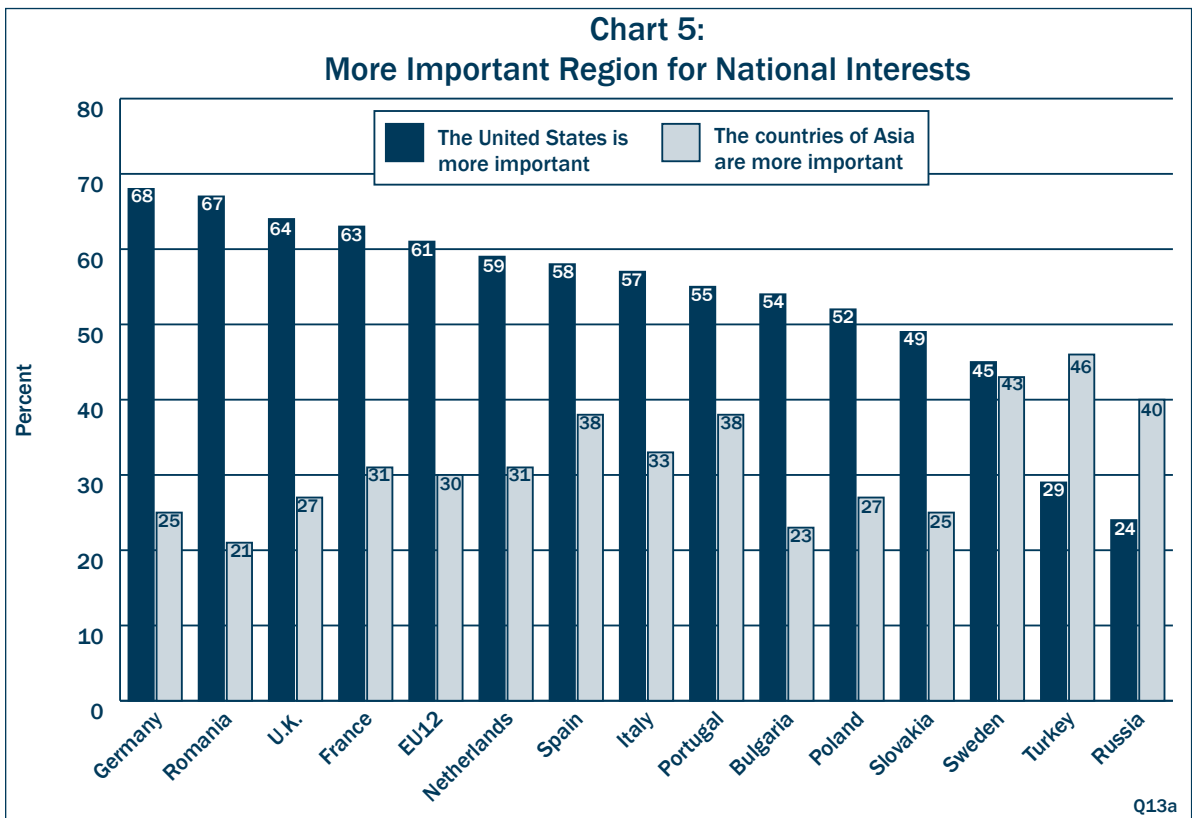
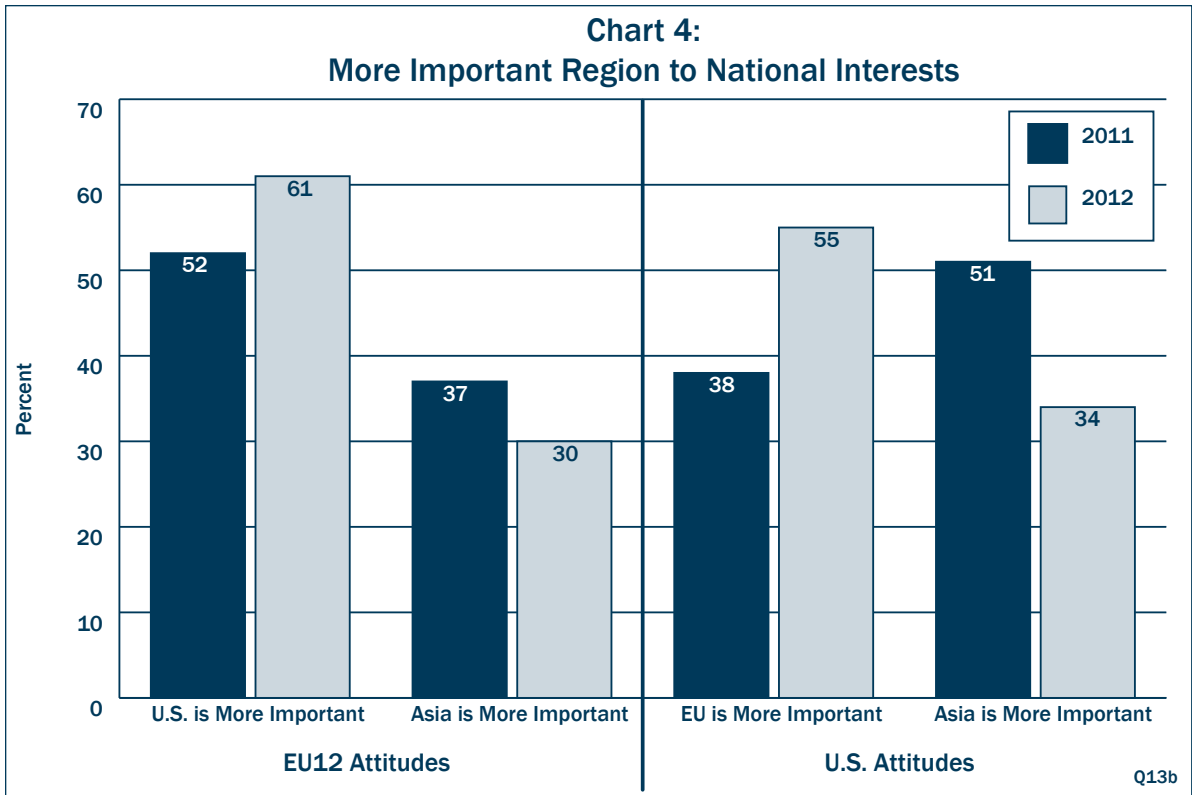
³ In 2004, the question inquired about “vital” interests, rather than the “national” interests referenced in 2012.

and France (63%, up 19 percentage points from the previous year). In contrast, Turks (46%) and Russians (40%) were most supportive of an orientation toward Asia.

AMERICANS SPLIT ON VALUES AND INTERESTS SHARED WITH CHINA; EUROPEANS SAY CHINA’S TOO DIFFERENT TO COOPERATE

Americans were evenly split on whether the United States and China share enough common *values* to be able to cooperate on international problems, with 46% finding enough common values and 45% disagreeing. However, a majority of Europeans (55%) said that the EU and China had such different values that it was impossible to cooperate. Respondents in France (71%), Germany (63%), and Sweden (62%) were most likely to emphasize the values divide, while 56% of Russians and 54% of Romanians saw enough common values to work together.

Americans were similarly split on the question of whether the United States and China shared enough common *interests* to be able to cooperate on international problems, with 46% finding enough common interests and 47% disagreeing. Fifty-two percent of Europeans felt there



were not enough common interests to cooperate; only 39% thought there were. Disagreement on interests was strongest in France (66%) and Germany (59%), whereas nearly two-thirds of the Portuguese respondents (60%) thought there were enough common interests for their country to work together with China.

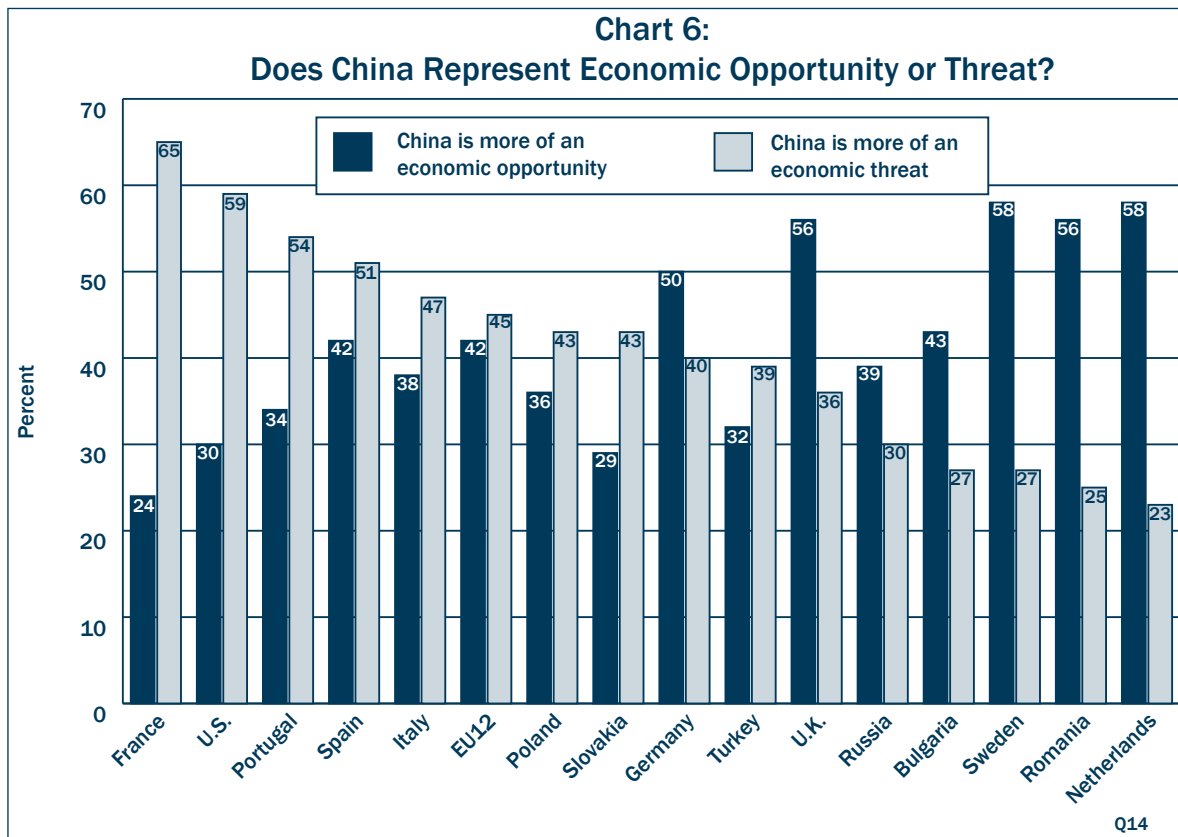
Russians were the most likely among all countries polled to perceive common interests with China (65%); Turks and French were the least likely (32%).

AMERICANS STILL MORE LIKELY THAN EUROPEANS TO SEE CHINA AS ECONOMIC, MILITARY THREAT

Nearly two-thirds of U.S. respondents (59%) thought that China is more of an economic threat, as opposed to only a third (30%) who saw it as an opportunity. Europeans

were more divided on China, with a plurality seeing it as an economic threat (45%) rather than as an opportunity (42%), in a reversal from the previous year. Respondents in the Netherlands and Sweden (58%), as well as in the U.K. (56%), were most likely to see opportunities in China, while the French agreed most strongly with the U.S. threat perception (65%), together with majorities in Portugal (54%) and Spain (51%).

While majorities in the United States saw China as a military threat (51%), majorities in Europe (53%) continued to disagree. Within the EU, France and the U.K. registered the highest concerns about China as a security threat (both 44%). Bulgaria (65%), Romania (61%), Germany, Italy, and Spain (all 56%) were least worried about a military threat from China.



U.S. SUPPORT FOR TRANSATLANTICISM DIVIDED ON PARTY LINE

While the transatlantic relationship still enjoyed firm U.S. support – 63% of Americans believed that the EU should play a leading role in international affairs, while the same number believed that the United States and EU have enough shared values to address international concerns – that support was less enthusiastic among those in the United States who identify with the Republican Party. When asked if they saw the EU favorably, 54% of self-identified Republicans did, compared to 70% of Democrats. Similarly, though less dramatically, 72% of Democrats preferred that the EU play a leading role in international affairs, compared to 66% of Republicans.

Seventy-four percent of Democrats believed the United States and the EU share enough values to work together to address international concerns, compared with only 60% of Republicans. Twenty-six percent of Democrats disagreed, as did 40% of Republicans. Further, when asked if relations should become closer, remain the same, or tend toward further independence, a plurality of Democrats (36%) said that Europe and the United States should become closer, while a plurality of Republicans (45%) said the United States should take a more independent approach to foreign policy.

The partisan divide was largely absent, however, when asked about defense cooperation: majorities of both Democrats and Republicans believe NATO is still essential (63% and 59%, respectively).



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

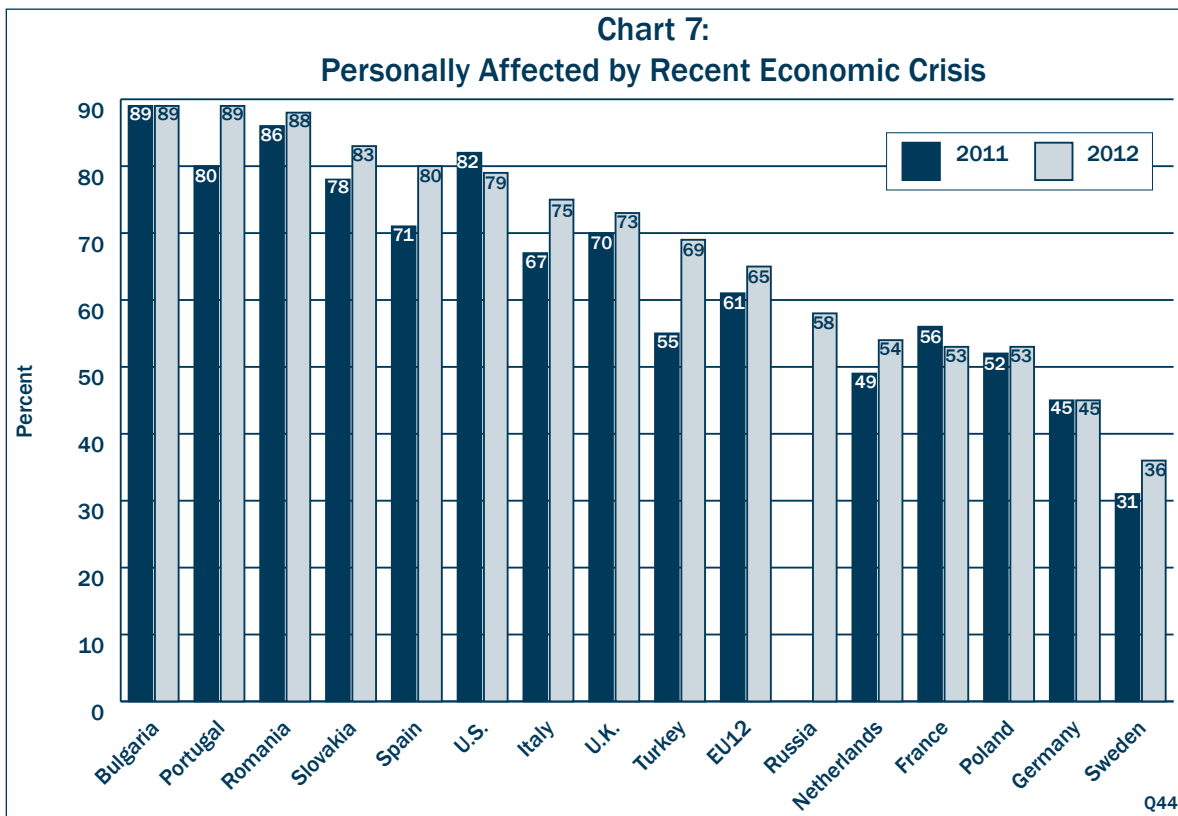
Section Two: Economy and Eurocrisis

The period since the last Transatlantic Trends survey in 2011 has been a turbulent one for the eurozone and for the global economy in general. Since European Commission President José Manuel Barroso warned last August that the sovereign debt crisis might spread beyond the periphery of Europe, no corner of the transatlantic community has remained unaffected. Greece, the most commonly cited epicenter of the emergency, had to accept painful reforms as the price of continued support, while both Italy and Spain show signs of trouble. Meanwhile, across the Atlantic, the U.S. economy — despite some signs of a mounting recovery — seems stalled, unable to substantially reduce unemployment or generate significant growth.

MORE PEOPLE AFFECTED BY THE ECONOMIC CRISIS ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC

While some economies in Europe have begun to recover after the implementation of strict austerity regimes, the number of respondents who claimed that their family's financial situation had been affected greatly or somewhat by the financial crisis has been steadily rising in most countries polled by Transatlantic Trends since the question was first asked in 2009.

In the United States, 79% of respondents (down very slightly from 82% in the previous year, a three-year high) said that they had been personally affected by the financial

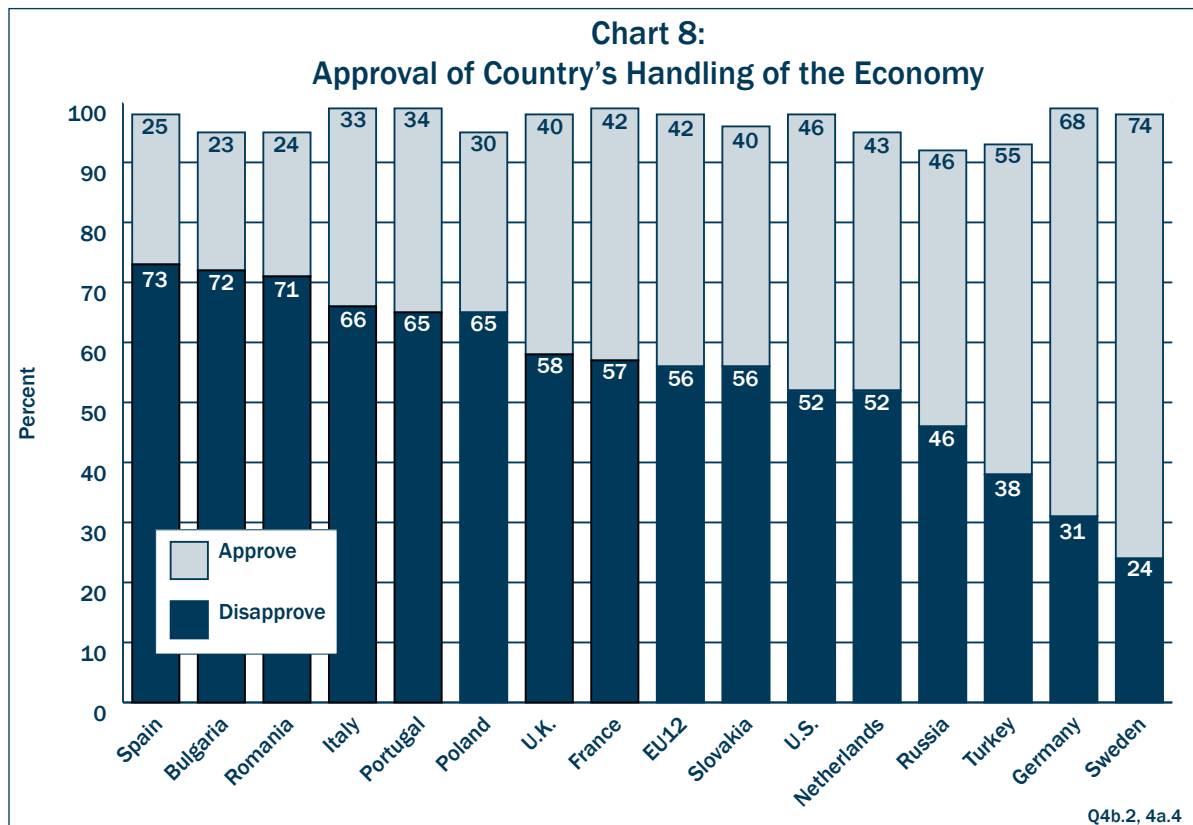


crisis, while the percentage of EU respondents stating that they had been affected rose by ten percentage points to 65% since 2009. For many of the EU member states, the numbers remained high, sometimes even increasing over last year: Bulgaria (stable at 89%), Portugal (89%, up by 9 points), Romania (almost stable at 88%), Slovakia (83%, up by 5 points), Spain (80%, up by 9 points), Italy (75%, up by 8 points), and the United Kingdom (73%, up by seven points). The numbers even rose in countries much less affected by the crisis, such as the Netherlands (up 5 points to 54%) and Sweden (up 5 points to 36%). In Turkey, where the numbers had dropped by 21% last year, they jumped upwards by 14 points to 69%.

Meanwhile, the numbers of those affected by the economic crisis remained more or less stable in France (53%, down by 3 points), in Poland (almost unchanged at 53%), and in Germany (unchanged at 45%).

TRANSATLANTIC MAJORITIES DISAPPROVE OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS' HANDLING OF ECONOMIC POLICY

Asked whether they approved or disapproved of the way President Barack Obama had been handling the U.S. economy, a majority (52%) of U.S. respondents disapproved, whereas 46% approved. Fifty-six percent of EU respondents disapproved when asked whether they agreed with their own governments' handling of the economy, whereas 42% said they approved. Approval rates were highest among Swedes (74%) and Germans (68%), the only two countries in the EU where supporters outweighed critics. Disapproval of European governments' economic policies registered most sharply in the troubled periphery economies of Europe: Spain (73%), Bulgaria (72%), Romania (71%), Italy (66%), and Portugal (65%). In the U.K., struggling economically as well, 58% disapproved of the David Cameron government's policies. Even in Poland, which had escaped the crisis better than most other EU member states participating in the survey — except perhaps Germany — 65% of respondents objected to their government's handling of the economy.



ITALIANS SOUR ON THE EUROPEAN UNION

In a tumultuous year following Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's resignation and the appointment of a technocratic government led by economist Mario Monti, the Italian public showed growing uneasiness and disapproval, not only of its own political leaders, but also of the leadership of the European Union. Showing the lowest level of confidence among all Europeans, 62% of Italians were not confident that elections reflect the will of voters. They were among the most pessimistic in Europe about the equity of their economic system, with 89% saying that most benefits of their system go to a few (second only to Portugal at 90%). They were not happy with their government's treatment of economic affairs, with 66% disapproving of how their government was handling the economy.

Their view of the EU has also soured. The highest discontent with EU membership was expressed by Italians, with 40% saying that EU membership had been a bad thing for their economy — a significant increase from 23% in the previous year — and a majority of 51% saying the euro had been bad for the Italian economy. In a similar pattern, 22% of Italian respondents strongly disapproved of how the EU had handled the economic crisis (a plurality of 48% disapproved overall). This was second only to Spanish (26%) and British (23%) strong disapproval, and far above the European average of 15%. Similar to respondents in Spain (63%) and Portugal (61%) and notably distinct from other European views, 63% of Italian respondents disapproved of how German Chancellor Angela Merkel had been handling the economic crisis in Europe. The overall favorability of the EU dropped among Italian respondents (69%, down eight points from 2011).

Russians — three-in-four of whom agreed with their government's international policies (71%) — were evenly split on its handling of economic issues (46% approved, while 46% disapproved). Meanwhile, a majority of Turks (55%) approved of the Recep Tayyip Erdoğan government's economic policies.

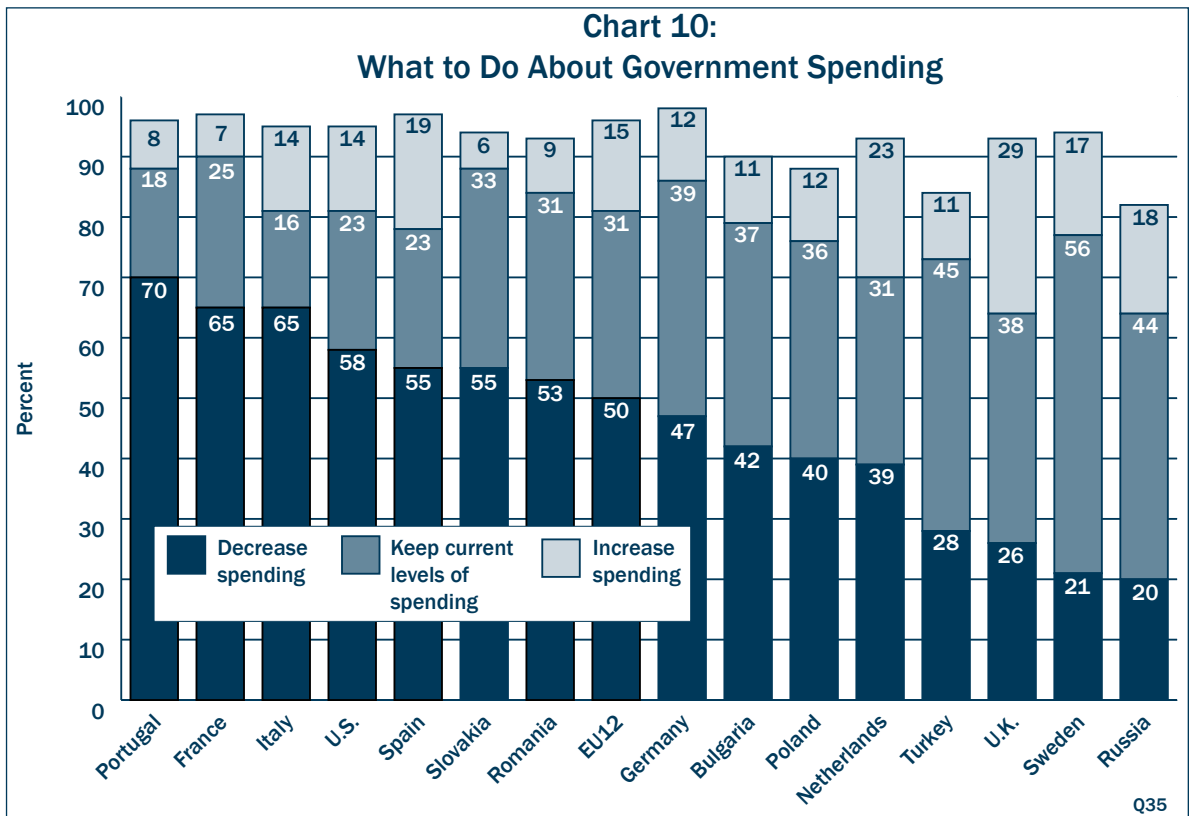
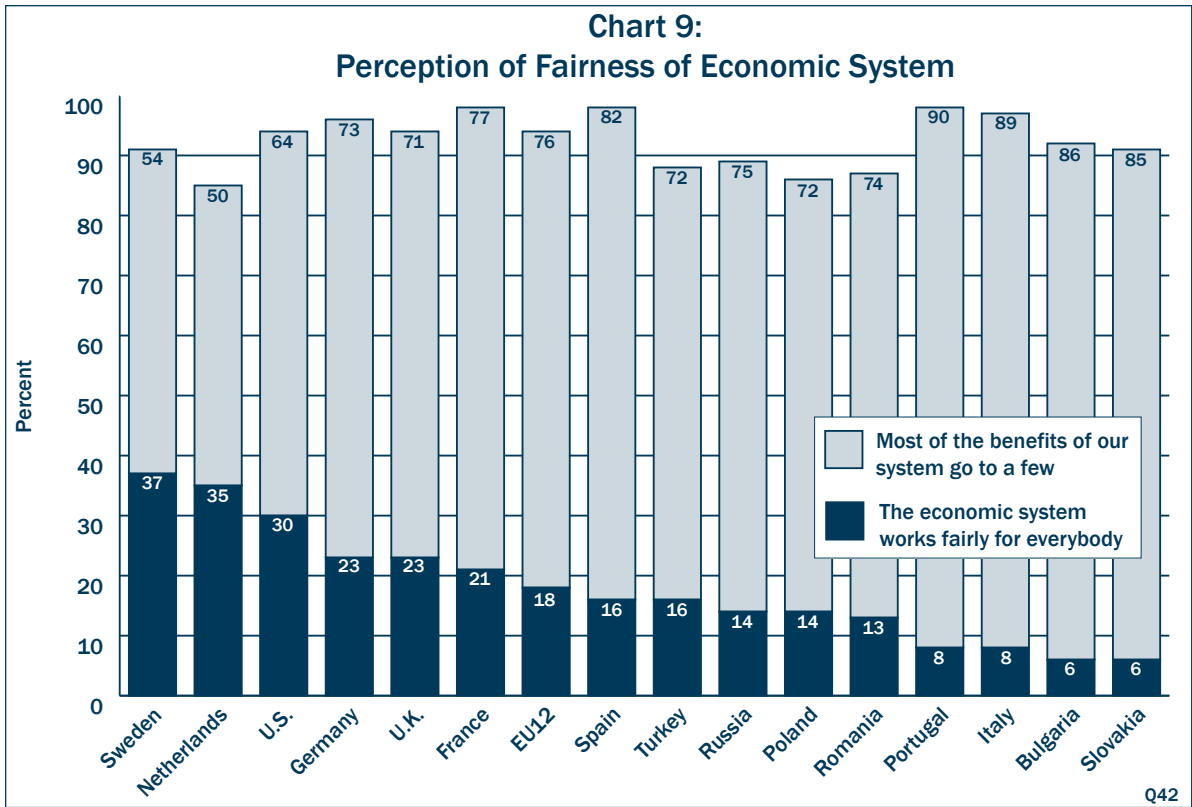
LARGE MAJORITIES ON BOTH SIDE OF THE ATLANTIC SAY THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM IS UNFAIR

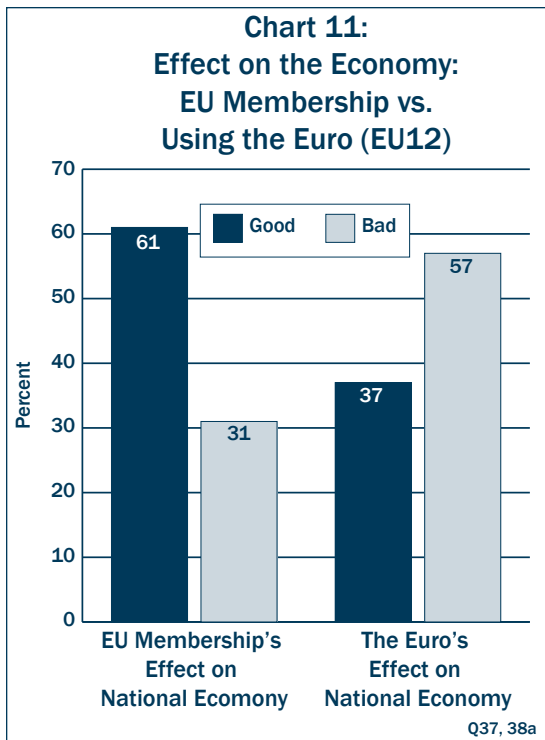
When respondents were asked whether they felt that their economic system worked fairly for everybody or whether they believed that most of the benefits of their system went to a few, three-in-four (76%) of those polled in Europe said most of the benefits go to a few; 64% of Americans agreed. Even in those countries where there was more optimism, approval rates were low, with the highest ratings in Sweden (37%), the Netherlands (35%), and the United States (30%). In Portugal, Italy, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Spain, Poland, and the United Kingdom, between 70% and 90% thought that most of the benefits go to a few.

EU OPINION VARIES GREATLY ON GOVERNMENT SPENDING

An increasing number of European governments have reacted to the crisis by implementing austerity measures. On average, respondents in European countries supported these measures. Asked whether they would prefer to decrease government spending, maintain current levels, or increase government spending, half of the respondents in the EU (50%) said they approved of further decreases in spending — the same number as in the previous year. However, there were notable differences across countries. The highest support for further spending cuts was registered in Portugal (70%), Italy, and France (both 65% — a 16 percentage-point jump in the case of Italy). Support for decreases was lowest in the U.K. (26%) and Sweden (21%).

The Swedes (56%) and the Germans (a plurality of 39%) were most likely to want to keep spending at current levels. The British were the most divided, with approximately one-third of respondents wanting to either decrease (26%) or increase (29%) spending, and a plurality (38%) wanting to keep it at current levels.





ECONOMIC IMPACT OF EU MEMBERSHIP AND EURO ARE CRITICIZED...

Despite another difficult year for most economies in the European Union, nearly two-thirds of Europeans still considered membership in the EU to be a good thing for their economies. However, that number went down six percentage points to 61% from 67% in 2011.

With what still remains the strongest economy in the EU, Germans (73%) were the most likely of all the respondents to say that their membership in the EU had been beneficial so far. This is noteworthy because of Germany's prominent role in bailing out other member countries with financial problems. Germans' belief that the EU had been good for their economy was closely followed by that of the French and the Portuguese (both 69%). The Bulgarians (47%) and the British (40%, down from 46%) were least likely to say that EU membership has had a positive effect on their economies. Italy (40%, up 17 percentage points from 2011) and Spain (38%, up 12 percentage points from 2011) saw a marked rise in those who felt EU membership had been bad. In Turkey, a plurality of respondents (44%) said that EU membership would be good for their economy.

...BUT FEW WANT TO LEAVE COMMON CURRENCY

Despite these still-high ratings for EU membership, the euro did not enjoy the same support. Only 37% of those polled in EU countries thought that using the euro *had been* (to those in the eurozone) or *would be* (to those outside the eurozone) a good thing for their country's economy, and a majority of 57% (up four percentage points from the previous year) thought it had been or would be a bad thing.

Germany (53%, up five percentage points), Slovakia (54%), and the Netherlands (47%), were the only countries where a

SPANISH AT ODDS WITH EUROPE AND THEIR GOVERNMENT

Spain has been one of the EU member states hardest hit by the financial crisis, with dramatic rates of youth unemployment. This is reflected in three-in-four Spanish respondents disapproving of their government's handling of economic policies — the highest such rate in Europe.

And while a majority of Spanish respondents (58%) continued to think that their country's membership in the EU has been good for their country, that majority has declined significantly from last year's (68%). A majority (57%) said that membership in the eurozone had been bad for Spain, and one-in-four respondents (27%) said their country should leave the eurozone.

Disapproval of the EU's handling of the economic crisis was higher than anywhere else in Europe (66%), and Spain tied with Italy as the country with the highest disapproval rates for German Chancellor Angela Merkel (63%). Four-in-five Spanish respondents were pessimistic about the equity of their economic system, with 82% saying that most benefits go to a few.

Chart 12:
Perception of Negative Effect of the Euro on the National Economy

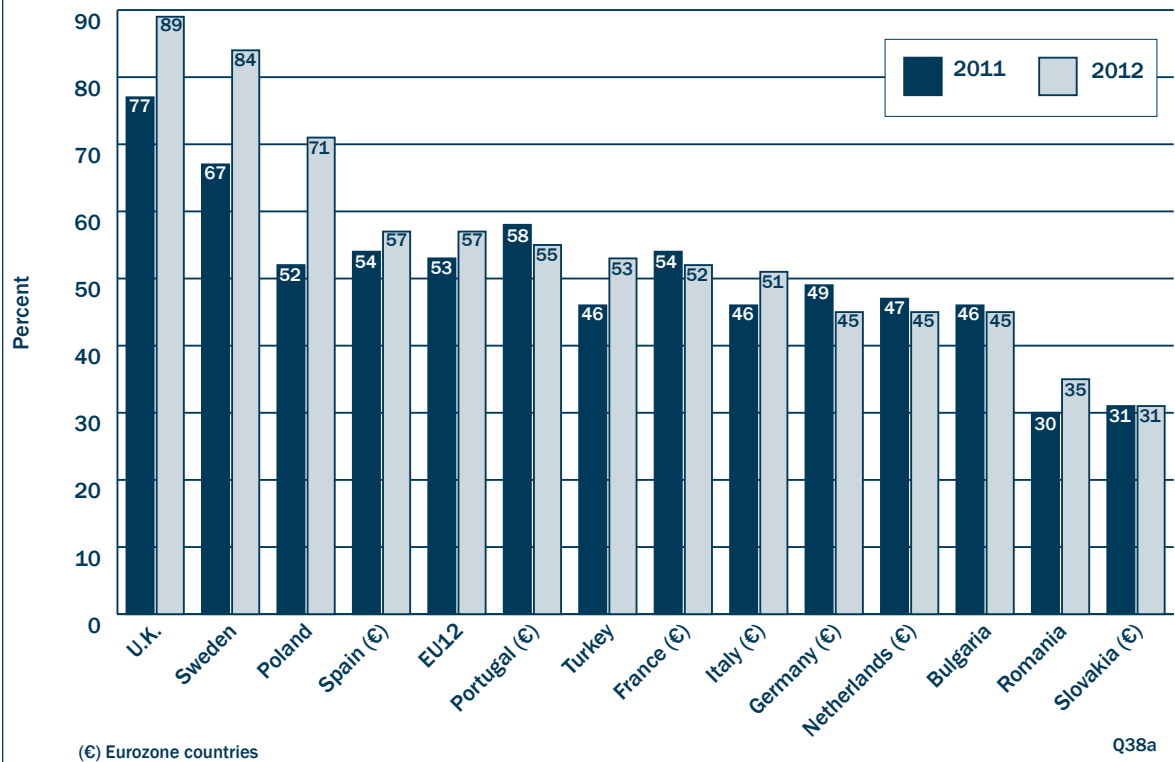
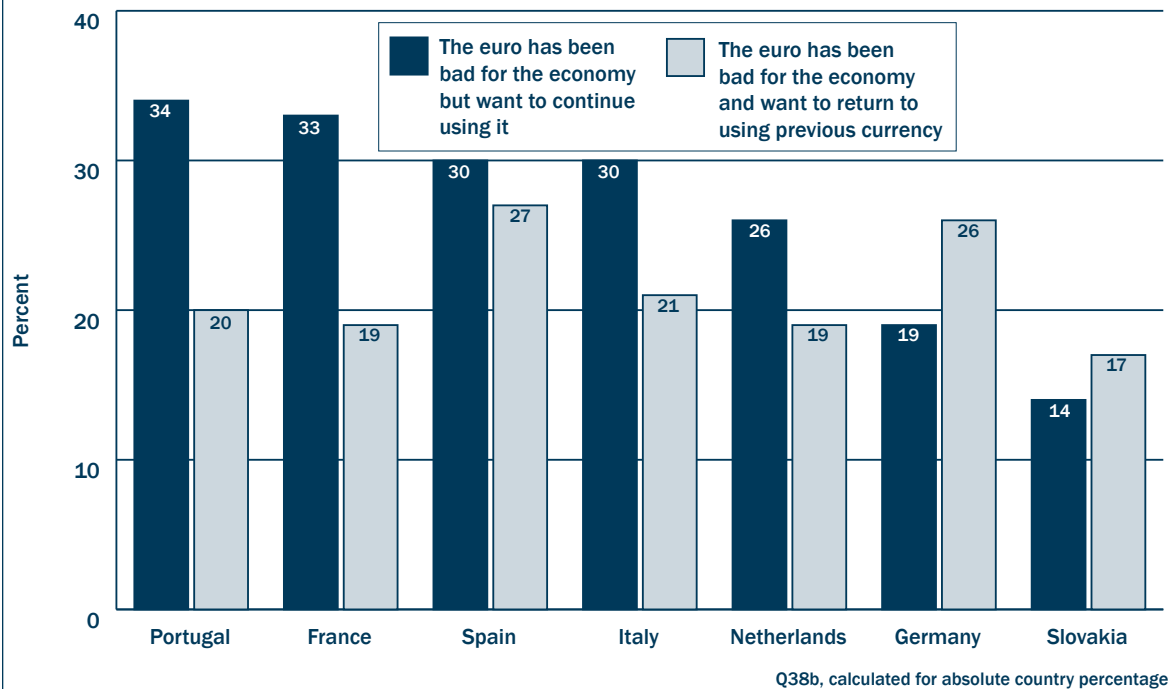


Chart 13:
Leave or Stay in the Eurozone?



majority or plurality of those polled said the effect of using the euro had been beneficial to their economies.

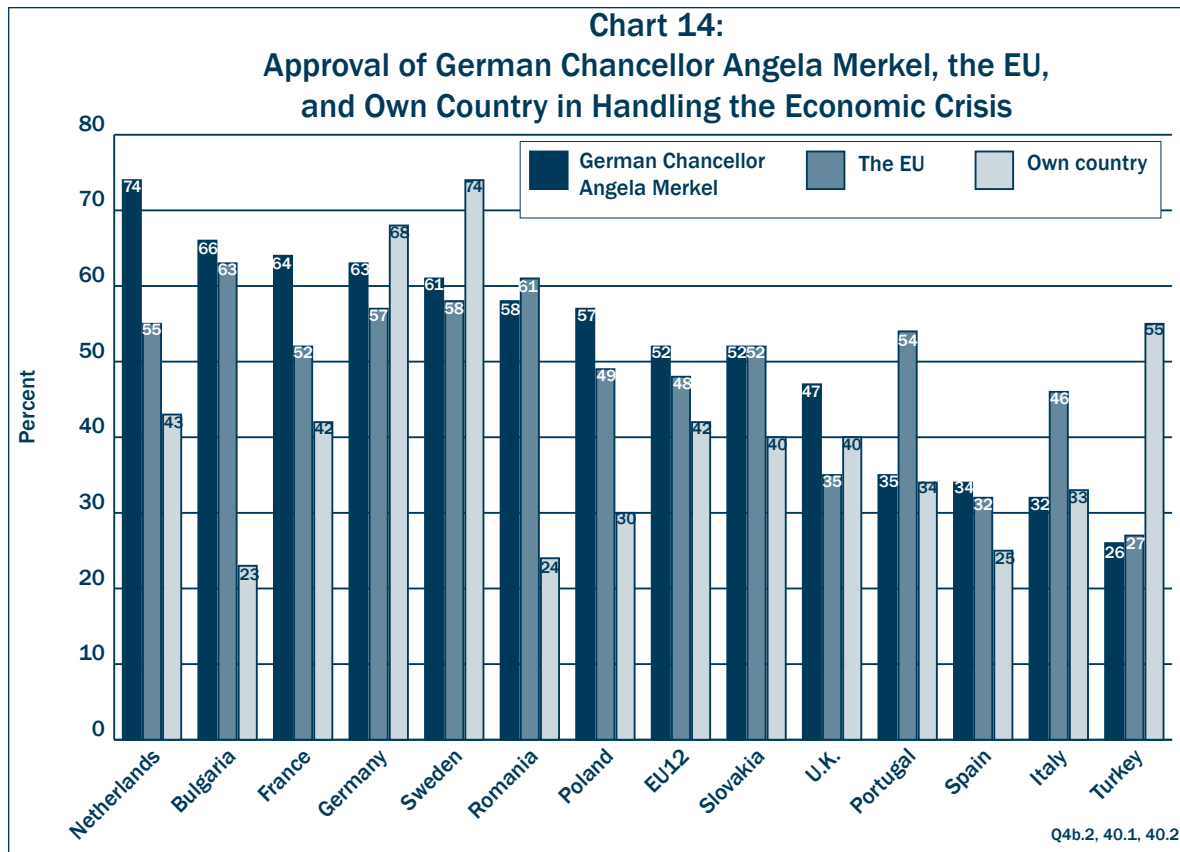
More than half of the Spanish (57%), the Portuguese (55%), the French (52%), and the Italians (51%) said that the euro had been a bad thing for their economies. With the exception of Romania, where a plurality of respondents (42%) continued to think the euro would be good for their economy, respondents outside the eurozone were increasingly likely to think it would be bad for them: the U.K. (89%, up 12 points), Sweden (84%, up 17 points), Poland (71%, up 19 points), and Bulgaria (a plurality of 45%, down 1 point).

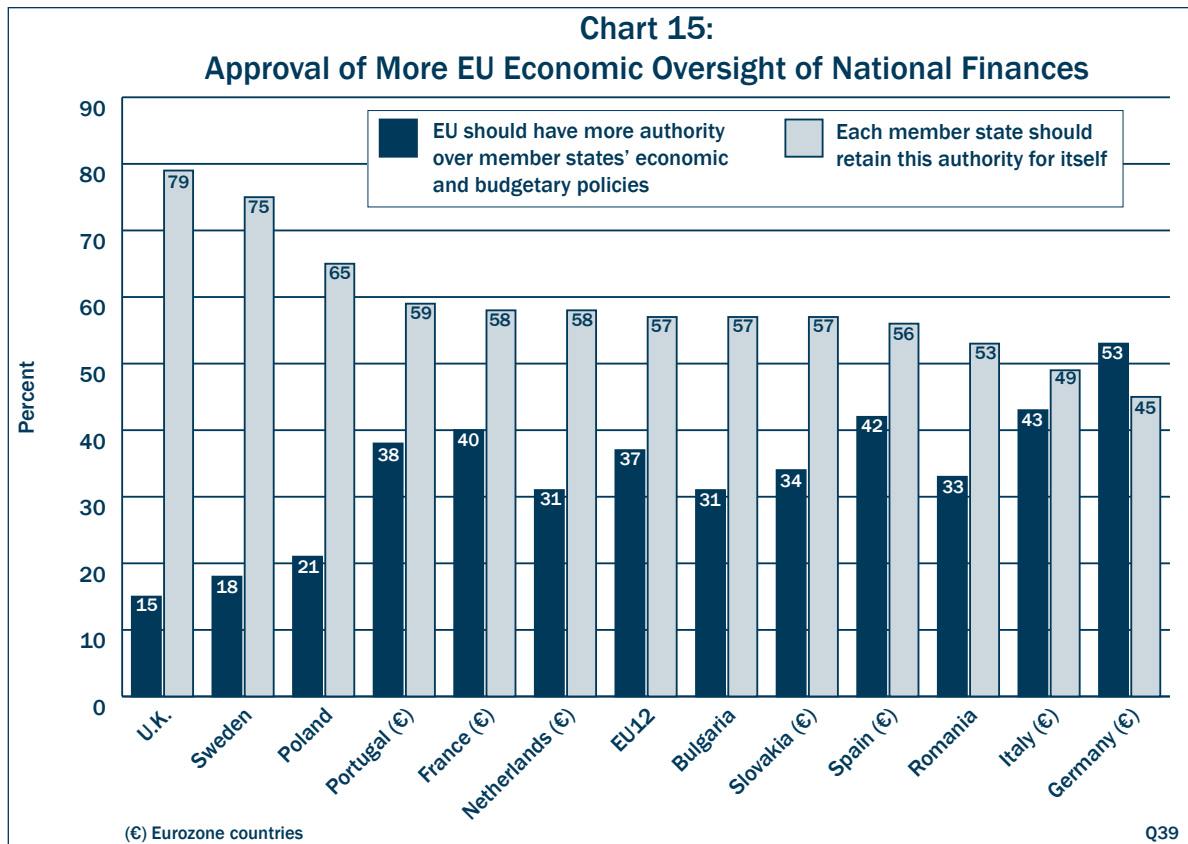
Fifty-eight percent of those dissatisfied with the euro in Germany and 56% of those dissatisfied with the euro in Slovakia would like to leave the euro entirely, representing absolute percentages of 26% and 17%, respectively. Those countries most in favor of leaving the euro in absolute terms were Spain (27%), Germany (26%), Italy (21%), and Portugal (20%).

HANDLING OF ECONOMIC CRISIS BY EU, MERKEL: APPROVAL IN EUROPE IS MIXED

A plurality of Europeans (48%) approved of the way the European Union had been handling the economic crisis in Europe. Almost two-thirds of respondents approved in Bulgaria (63%) and Romania (61%). Majorities approved in Sweden (58%) and Germany (57%). Majorities disapproved, however, in Spain (66%) and the U.K. (56%).

Meanwhile, when Europeans were asked whether they approved of the way German Chancellor Angela Merkel had handled the economic crisis, a majority (52%) said they approved of her actions. Her approval ratings were highest in the Netherlands (74%), Bulgaria (66%), France (64%), Germany (63%), and Sweden (61%). Disapproval rates, on the other hand, were highest in Italy and Spain (both 63%) and Portugal (61%), three of the countries hardest hit by the economic crisis. However, a majority in Poland (57%) and Slovakia (52%), and a plurality in the United Kingdom (47%) also supported her.





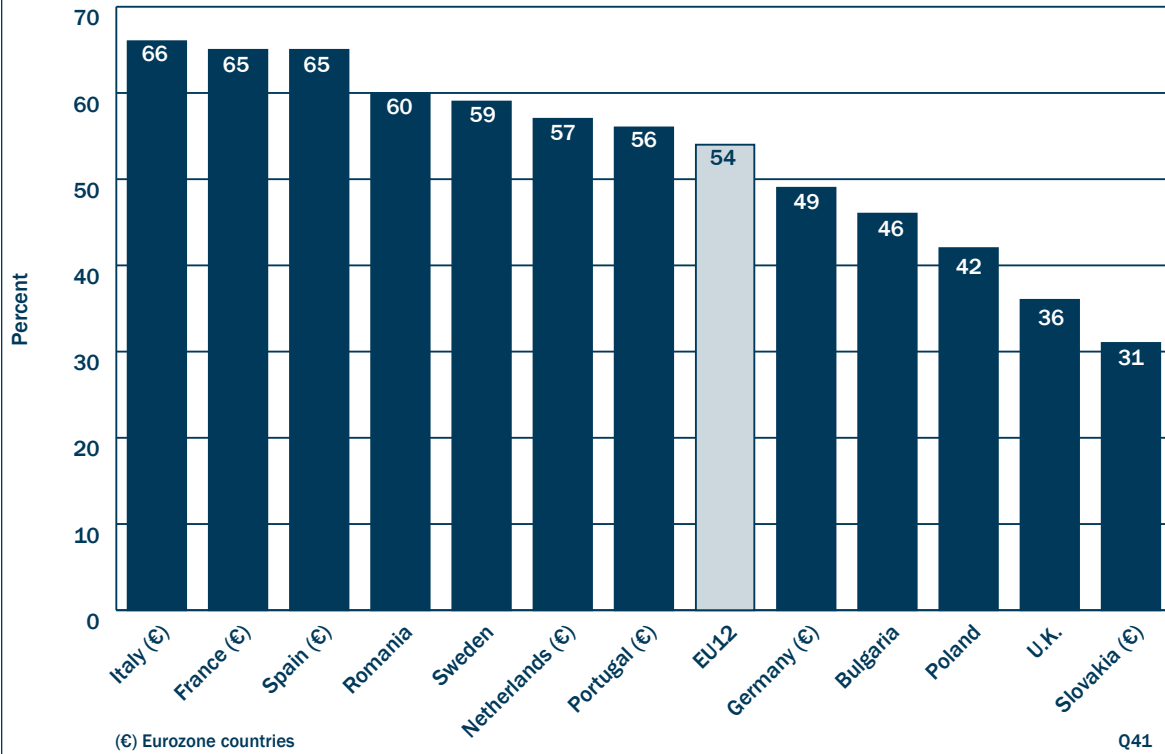
EU CONTROL OVER NATIONAL BUDGETS REMAINS UNPOPULAR

Some have suggested that the EU should have more authority over member states' economic and budgetary policies — which is already a prerequisite for bailouts from Brussels. An average of 57% of respondents from all EU member countries surveyed preferred, however, that each member state retain authority over its own economic and budgetary policies. The only exception was Germany, where a majority (53%) said that the EU should have greater authority on these questions. People in the U.K. (79%) and Sweden (75%) were the most likely to say that their countries should retain full control over national economic and budgetary policies.

CONTRIBUTING TO STABILITY FUND STILL SEEN POSITIVELY, BUT LESS SO

When Europeans were asked whether they approved of their country making contributions to a fund to assist member states that find themselves in budgetary difficulties, a majority of respondents (54%, down 6 percentage points from last year) approved of their country making contributions to such a fund, while 42% disapproved. The majority of respondents approved of this in all countries except for Poland (respondents were equally divided, with 42% in favor and 42% against), Slovakia (31%), and the U.K. (36%, both down 7 points compared to the previous year). In Germany, the biggest potential contributor to such a fund, respondents were equally divided, with 49% approving and 48% disapproving of a national contribution to the fund.

Chart 16:
Support for Contributing to a Special Assistance Fund
for Countries with Budgetary Difficulties



BRITONS INCREASINGLY SKEPTICAL OF THE EU, AND WEARY OF INTERVENTION

Anti-European sentiment was visibly on the rise in the U.K. this year. The number of British respondents with an unfavorable view of the EU rose by 14 points to 49%. Only 40% of British respondents believed that EU membership was good for the domestic economy, with 52% saying membership was bad. The U.K. was also more likely than most other EU member countries polled to see economic opportunities in China (56%, as opposed to an EU average of 42%). However, 44% of those polled saw China as a potential military threat (five points over the European average).

Seventy-three percent of Britons said the economic crisis had affected them personally. Fifty-eight percent disapproved of their government's handling of economic policies, a rate close to that of some of Europe's most troubled economies. The U.K. was one of two European countries where majorities disapproved of their country making a contribution to the European bailout fund. (The other was Slovakia; the Polish respondents were evenly split.) It was also the country where respondents insisted most strongly on retaining full control over the national budget (79%).

Despite their economic difficulties, 51% of those polled in the U.K. said they would approve of keeping military spending at current levels; two-in-three agreed (64%, the highest rate of agreement in Europe) that war is sometimes necessary to achieve justice. Only 37% of Britons otherwise opposed to military intervention as a means to prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons said they would support military action if all other means had failed (nine points below the European average of 46%). On the question of whether recent military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan had been right and contributed to stability in those countries, Britons were as skeptical as the European average. Nor was there any appetite for intervention in Syria (59% said the U.K. should stay out completely). Despite the fact that their government had led the 2011 Libya intervention together with France, only half (50%) of the Britons polled felt that the intervention in Libya had been the right thing to do.



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

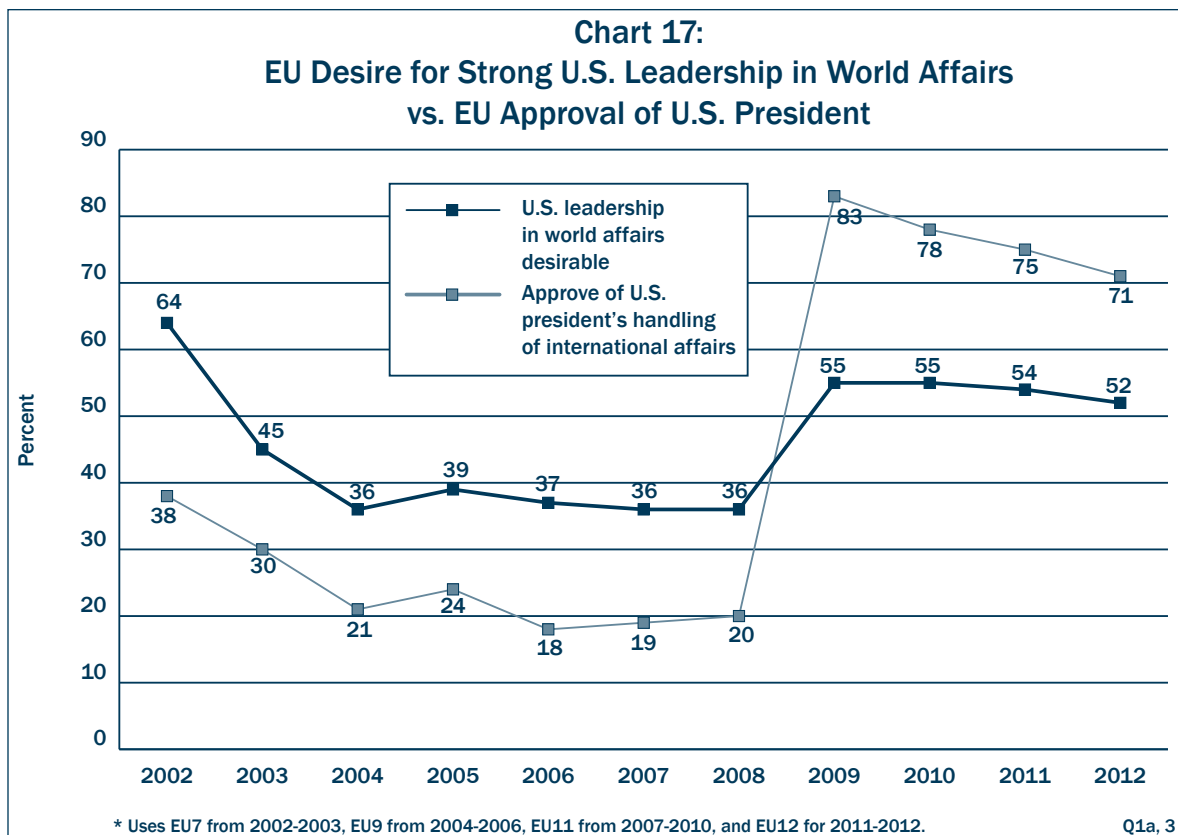
Section Three: Obama's First Term and the 2012 Elections

Beginning in earnest with the first Republican debate in May 2011, the 2012 presidential election has been vigorously contested for many months now, with neither side making any clear progress among a largely polarized electorate. The contest for the Republican nomination, fought by candidates representing very different visions for the party's future, ended effectively on April 10, 2012, when Rick Santorum's suspension of his campaign left the path to the nomination open to Mitt Romney. President Obama, meanwhile, struggled to right a troubled economy that has increasingly come to define his first term in office, an economy that reached a nadir in August 2011 when pro-

longed negotiations on the future of America's debt resulted in the downgrade of the United States' credit rating.

TRANSATLANTIC MAJORITIES STILL APPROVE OF OBAMA'S POLICIES, BUT FAVORABILITY CONTINUES TO DECREASE AMONG SOME EUROPEAN ALLIES

According to the findings of this year's *Transatlantic Trends* survey, approval of U.S. President Barack Obama's international role remained stable in the United States, with a majority of 54% saying that they approved of his handling of international policies. His ratings dropped somewhat in Europe, though he is still very popular — and considerably



more so than in the United States. On average, 71% of the population of the 12 EU member countries polled approved of his handling of international policies.

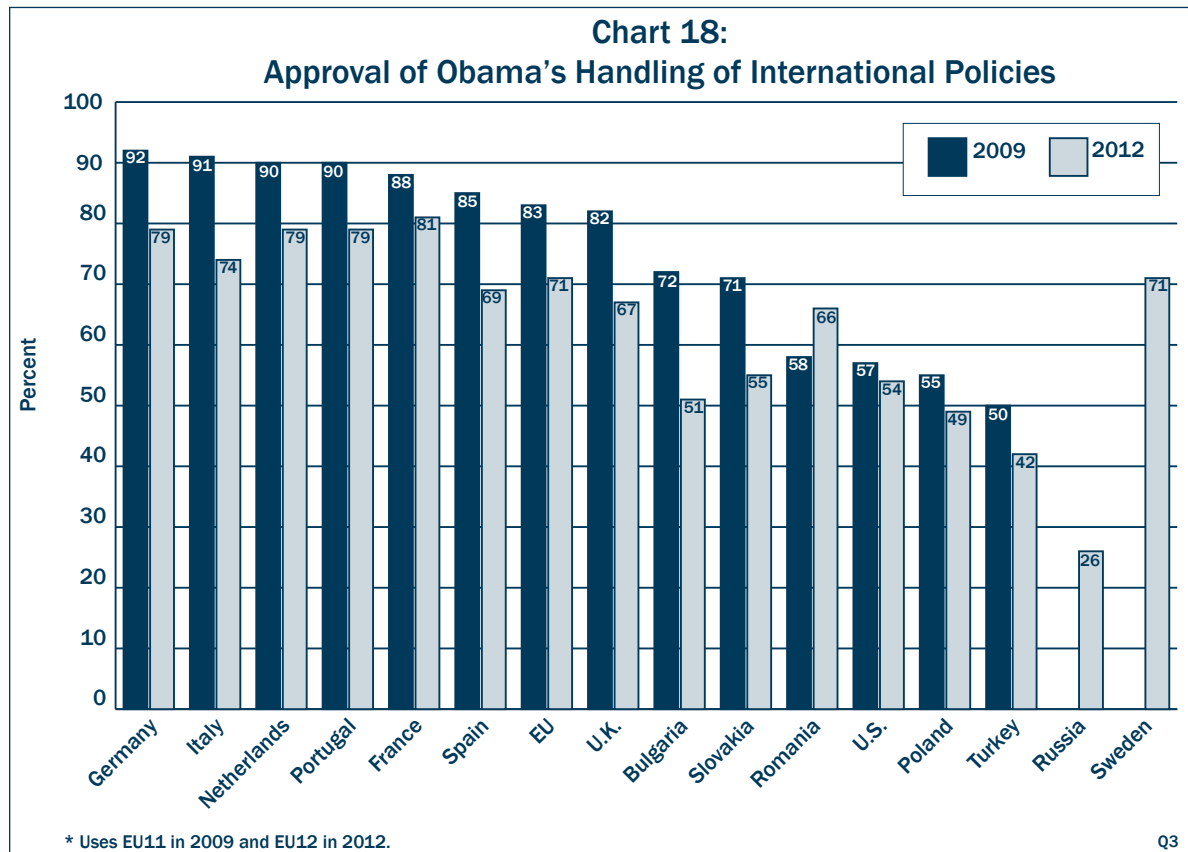
Nevertheless, in some countries, Obama's approval rating was not nearly as high as it was immediately following his election. From 2009, for example, the approval rate for Obama's international policies dropped only three percentage points in the United States (from 57%). But it dipped by 21 percentage points in Bulgaria (now 51%), 17 points in Italy (74%), 16 points in Slovakia (55%) and Spain (69%), 15 points in the U.K. (67%), 13 points in Germany (79%), and 11 points in the Netherlands and Portugal (both 79%). His policies were least popular in Russia (26%) and Turkey (42%), the only two countries where pluralities (48% and 43%, respectively) actually disapproved of his handling international policies. Still, these approval ratings are much higher than those accorded George W. Bush in 2008: about seven times as high in France and Germany, five times

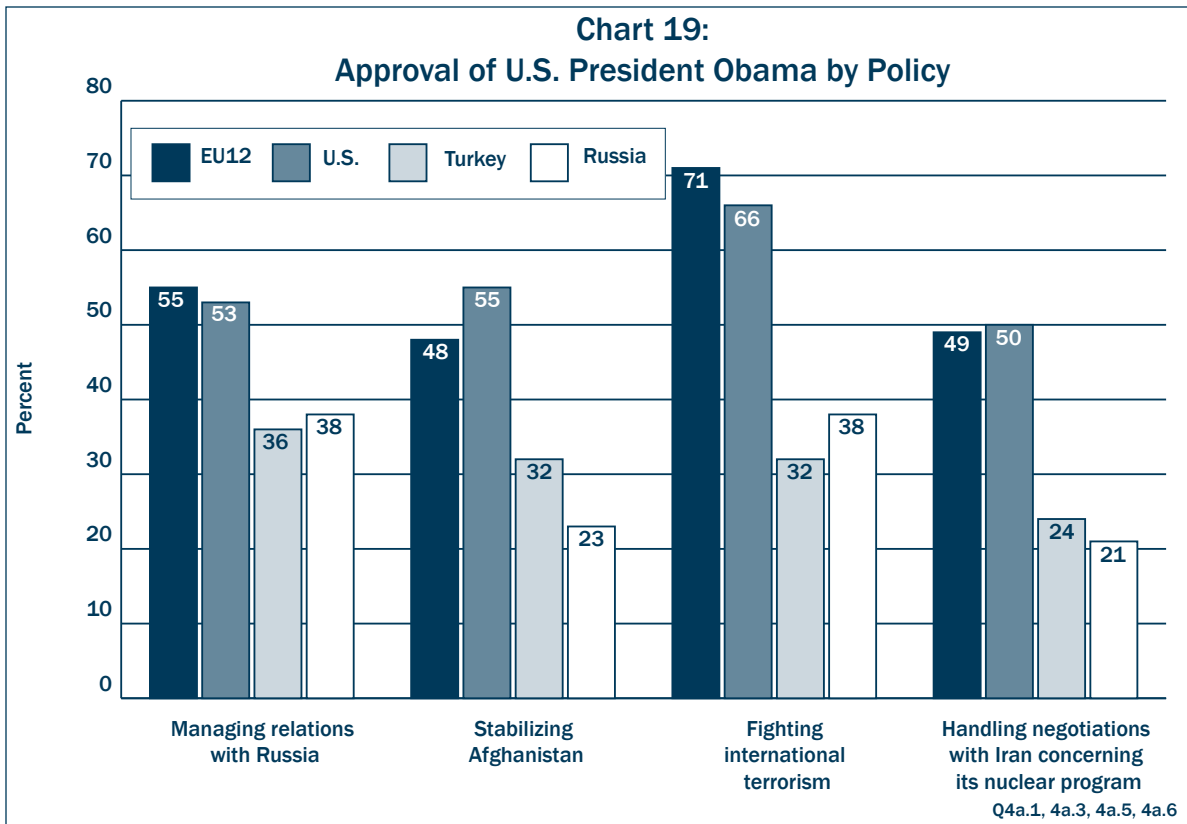
as high in Turkey, and four times as high in the United Kingdom.

Central and Eastern European countries showed somewhat lower support compared with the EU average, including Romania (66%), Slovakia (55%), and Bulgaria (51%). In Poland, public approval dropped by a marked 16 percentage points since last year to 49%.

OBAMA'S POLICIES AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM RECEIVED HIGHEST APPROVAL

Beyond general approval of Barack Obama's handling of international relations, the data showed that Americans' approval of specific international policies did not differ much from the 54% overall foreign policy approval rate, whether on handling nuclear negotiations with Iran (50%), managing relations with Russia (53%), or stabilizing Afghanistan (55%) — the sole exception being his policies on international terrorism, of which two-thirds of respon-





dents (66%) approved. On average in the EU, 71% approved of the U.S. president's fighting of international terrorism; this might be explained by his administration's success in eliminating al Qaeda leaders, such as Osama bin Laden.

Turks and Russians were more critical, however, of Obama's specific foreign policies than respondents in the EU. One-in-three Turks (32%) and fewer than one-in-four Russians (23%) approved of Obama's efforts to stabilize Afghanistan. One-in-four Turks (24%), and only one-in-five Russians (21%), approved of his handling of the situation in Iran. Thirty-eight percent of Russians and 36% of Turks approved of the U.S. president's management of relations with Russia. Thirty-eight percent of Russians and 32% of Turks approved of his fight against international terrorism.

MITT ROMNEY SEEN UNFAVORABLY IN THE UNITED STATES; IN EUROPE, HE IS UNKNOWN TO ONE-IN-THREE

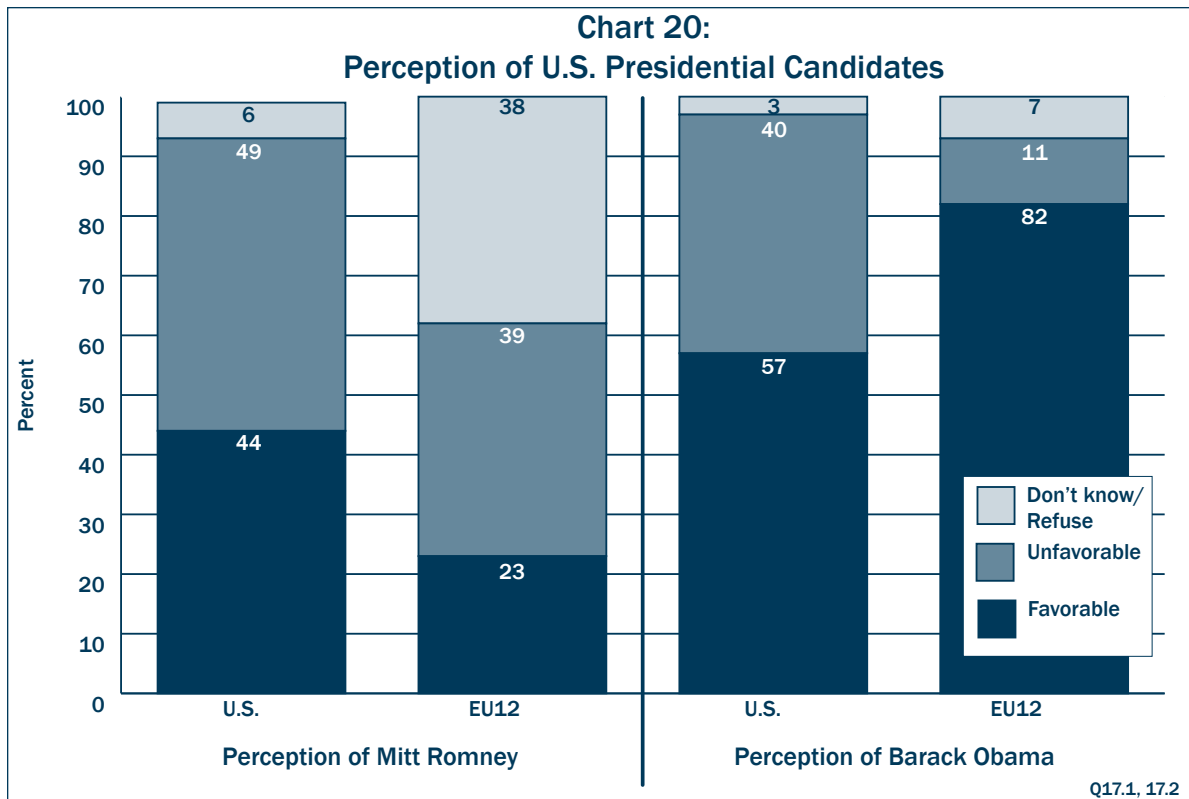
Asked to what extent their view of either of the two candidates for the U.S. presidential election in November was

favorable or unfavorable, a plurality of 49% of Americans said that their view of Mitt Romney was unfavorable; 44% reported a favorable view. In Europe, by contrast, only 23% said they held a favorable view, while 39% said their opinion of Romney was unfavorable. A remarkable 38% of respondents in the EU (with a high in Poland at 66%),⁴ as well as in Turkey (49%) and Russia (59%) either said they did not know or refused to answer, compared to 24% of respondents who did not know John McCain and 14% who did not know Barack Obama in 2008. French (52%) and German (51%) respondents registered their unfavorable views most strongly, followed by the Swedes (49%) and the Dutch (47%).

BARACK OBAMA SEEN SOMEWHAT FAVORABLY IN THE UNITED STATES, AND VERY MUCH SO IN EUROPE

As for the incumbent presidential candidate, a majority (57%) of Americans said their view of Barack Obama was favorable; 40% reported an unfavorable view. In Europe, by

⁴ The survey was conducted before Mitt Romney's trip to Europe in late July 2012.



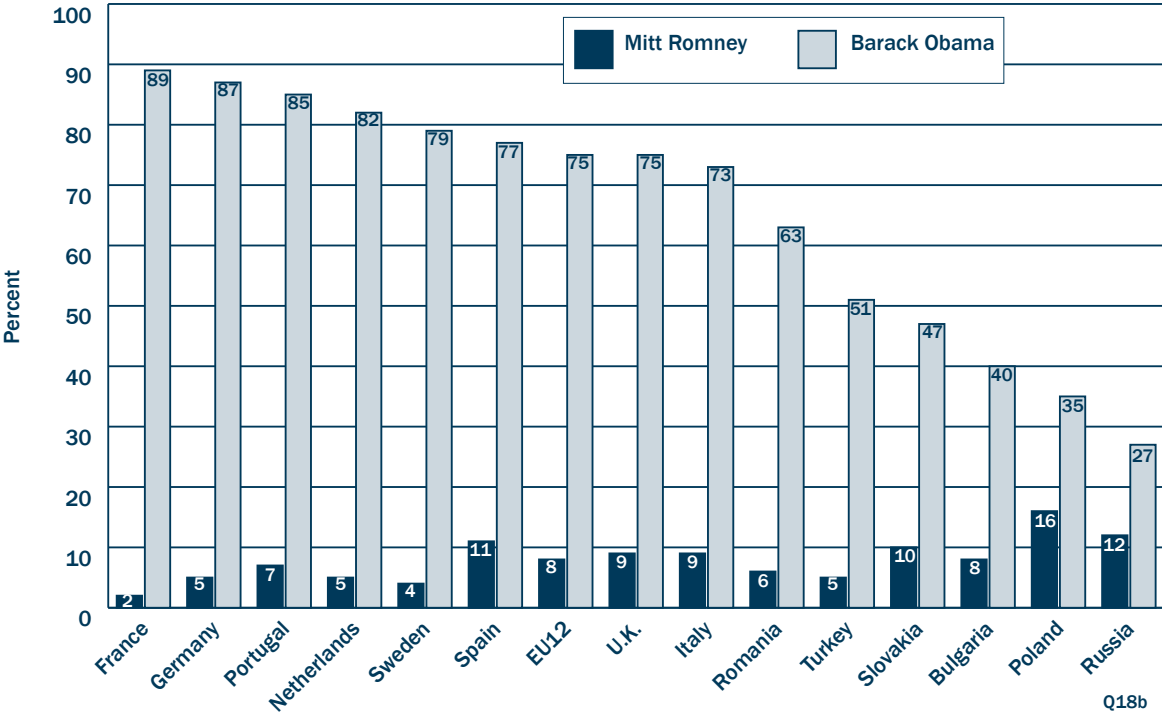
contrast, 82% said their opinion of Obama was favorable, with only 11% saying they disapproved. Enthusiasm for the president ran particularly high in France (93%), Germany (91%), and Sweden (90%); it was lowest in Poland (54%). Turks' feelings were lukewarm (50%), whereas only one-in-three Russians (36%) thought favorably of Obama.

IF EUROPEANS COULD VOTE, THEY WOULD VOTE FOR OBAMA

An overwhelming majority of Europeans (75%) said they would vote for Barack Obama if they were allowed to vote in the U.S. elections in November. Only 8% said they would

vote for Mitt Romney if they could. Within the EU, Romney got the most votes in Poland (16%), and the fewest in France (2%). Barack Obama's supporters were strongest in France (89%) and Germany (87%) and weakest in Bulgaria (40%) and Poland (35%). Despite their lukewarm feelings, 51% of Turks said they would vote for Obama while 5% responded they would cast their vote for Romney. Forty-five percent said they did not know, or refused to answer. Among the Russians, 27% preferred Obama, 12% would cast their vote for Romney, and 62% said they did not know or refused to answer.

Chart 21:
If Europeans Could Vote for the U.S. President...





TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

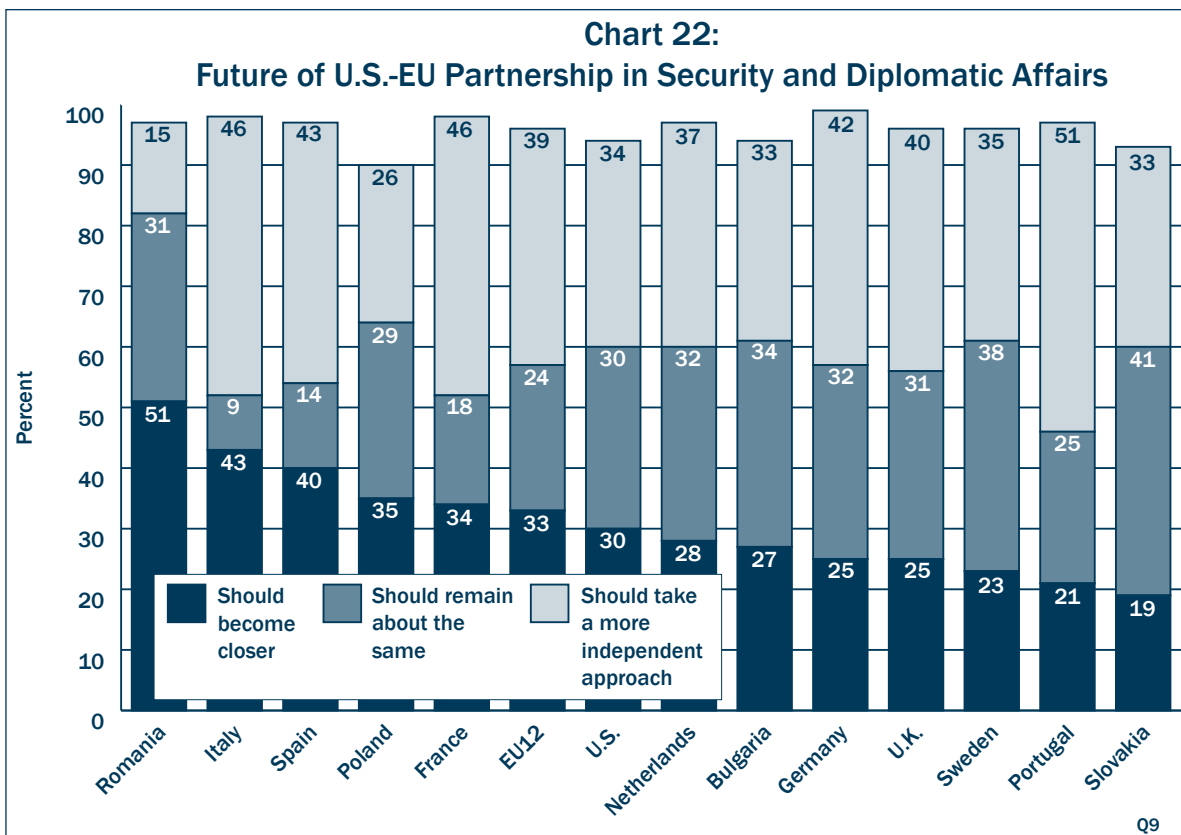
Section Four: Transatlantic Security

The past year has been one of mixed progress for transatlantic security. The death of Muammar Gaddafi last October concluded one of NATO's most successful out-of-area operations to date, one that ended without the mission creep, costs, or death tolls of which many had been wary. At the same time, this mission was by no means a unified effort, as a number of traditional allies — most notably Germany — declined to participate, while many that did showed a discomfiting lack of preparedness for any sort of sustained military operation. Last December also saw the official end of the war in Iraq, as the last troops and trainers left in accordance with the Status of Forces Agreement

negotiated in late 2008. Despite the NATO Summit in Chicago, allies continue to debate the future of the military alliance, as well as the necessary extent of burden-sharing between allies. Finally, as the Arab uprisings proceed and Syria appears to be increasingly embroiled in civil war, Western nations find themselves with very limited options.

OPINION ON THE SECURITY PARTNERSHIP REMAINS MIXED

As in earlier years, Transatlantic Trends asked whether the partnership in security and diplomatic affairs between the United States and the European Union should become



closer, remain about the same, or whether the respondents' side should take a more independent approach. Although opinion is closely divided, pluralities of both Europeans (39%) and Americans (34%) stated that their own side should take a more independent approach. The largest change was a six-point drop to 33% in the percentage of Europeans who felt the two sides should become closer. That was about the same as the U.S. response of 30% — which represents a 30-point drop since that question was first asked of them in 2004. The number of Europeans who felt relations should stay about the same increased correspondingly by three points, to 24%.

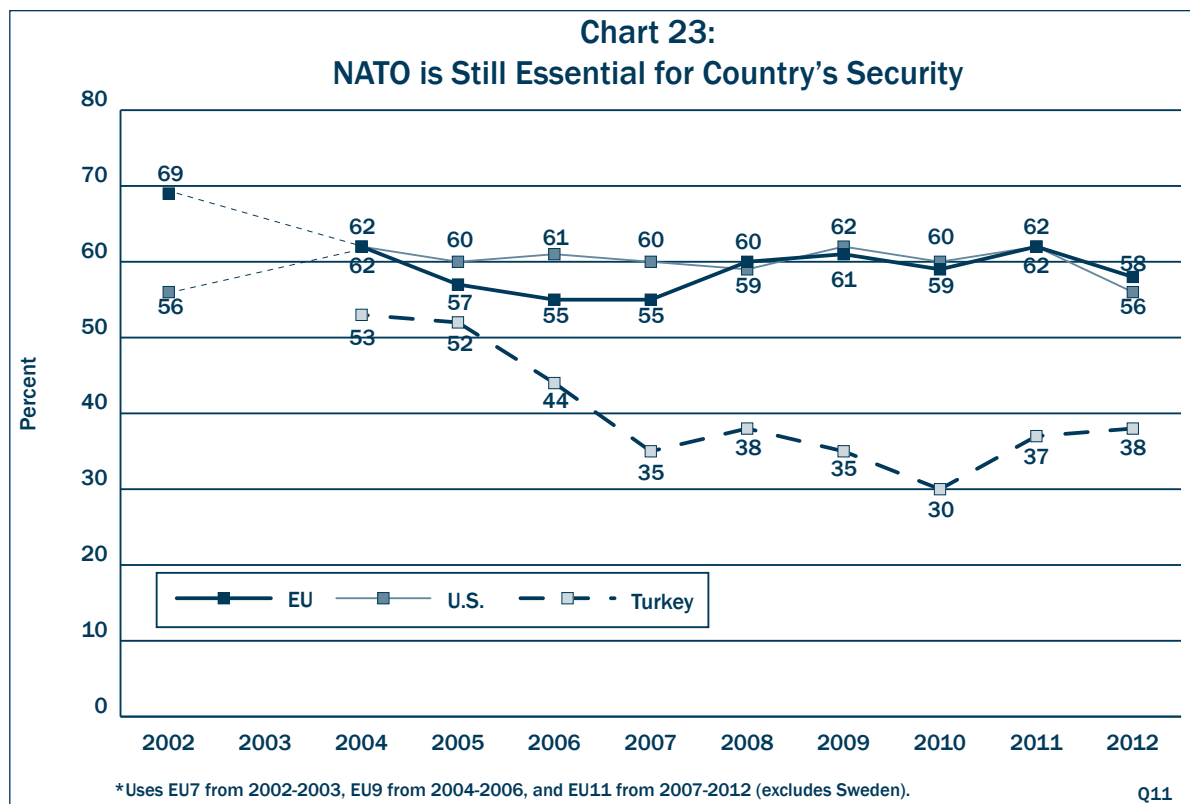
Among those who felt that their side should take a more independent approach, the highest percentages came from the Portuguese (51%), the French and Italians (both 46%), the Spanish (43%), and the Germans (42%). Romanians (15%) and Poles (26%) were least likely to approve of this option. As for those who wanted their side to move closer to its transatlantic partners, the highest percentages were registered in Romania (51%), Italy (43%), and Spain (40%). Respondents least interested in moving closer were

the Slovaks (19%), the Portuguese (21%), and the Swedes (23%). The Slovaks (41%) and the Swedes (38%) were the most likely to say that things should stay just as they were.

VIEWS ON NATO STABLE IN EUROPE, BUT THE UNITED STATES GROWS MORE SKEPTICAL

Despite growing pessimism about the ultimate success of the NATO mission in Afghanistan and continued debate about European contributions to allied burden-sharing, the institution was seen as “still essential” by majorities in all countries surveyed except for Turkey. Fifty-eight percent of EU respondents in NATO member countries felt this way, but the number of Americans who agreed dropped six percentage points to 56%.

There were considerable differences between countries, however. Figures ranged from a high of 71% in the Netherlands and the U.K. to a low of 45% in Poland (down by six points from the previous year). As in past years, Turkey was the NATO member with the lowest public support, with only 38% saying that NATO is still essential.



POLAND INCREASINGLY SKEPTICAL OF TRADITIONAL ALLIANCES

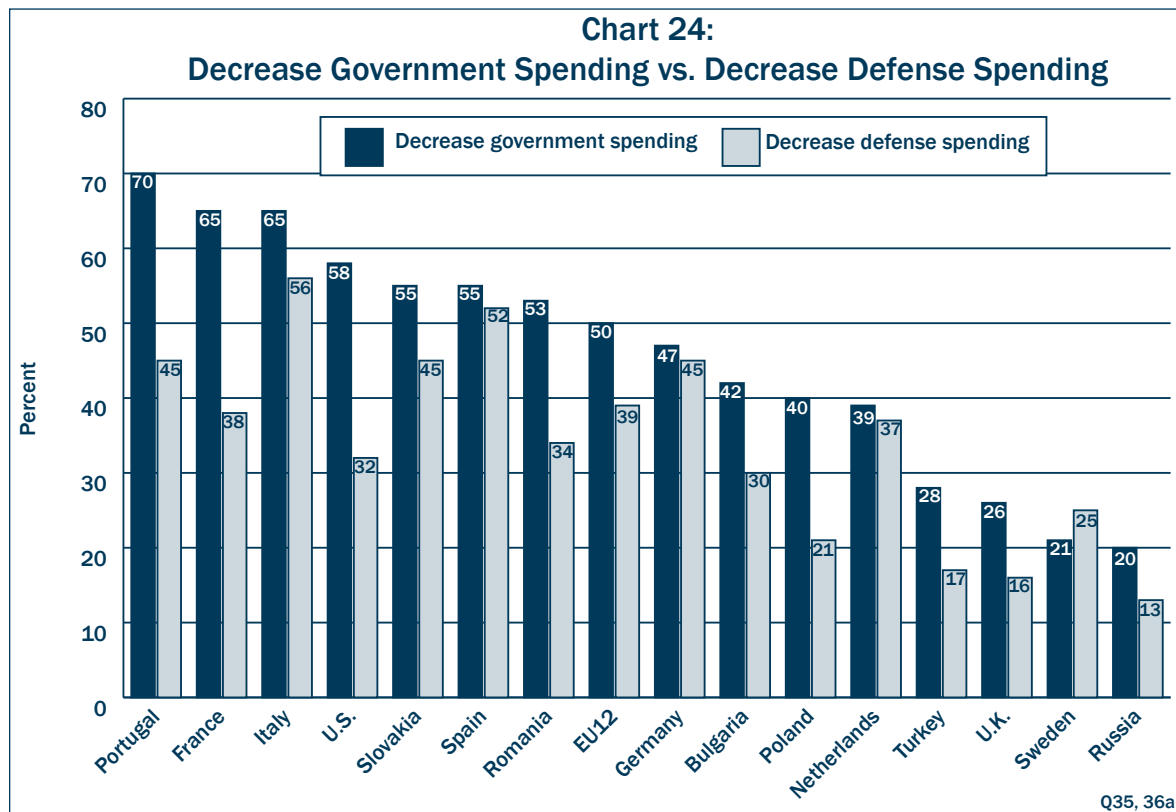
Though a member of NATO since 1999 and an active participant in the military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan, Poles grew increasingly dubious of both NATO and the United Nations this year. Asked whether NATO is still essential to their security, only 45% responded that it is – the lowest number in Europe, and a six percentage point drop from last year. Forty percent said that it is no longer essential, the second highest number in Europe (after Spain). This coincides with an overwhelming negativity about past interventions. Asked if the intervention in Iraq was the right thing to do, 55% said that it was not while only 26% said that it was, the latter representing the lowest number in Europe. Much the same held true when the Poles were asked about Afghanistan (55% disapproved; 27% approved).

This same sentiment extends to future interventions. Asked if nations had the responsibility to protect civilians from violence committed by their own governments – a responsibility endorsed by the UN – 42% of Poles, the lowest number in Europe, said that they did; 35%, the highest number in Europe, said that they did not. This conviction held true in practice, as 67% of Poles said that their country should not intervene in Syria. Of those, 71% maintained their position even in the case of a hypothetical UN mandate.

PUBLIC LESS LIKELY TO CUT DEFENSE SPENDING THAN GOVERNMENT SPENDING IN GENERAL

When asked whether their government should increase, maintain current levels, or reduce spending in general, most respondents chose either to maintain or reduce spending in

general. In fact, in 11 of the 15 countries surveyed, majorities or pluralities wanted to reduce government spending. However, when asked about *defense* spending in particular, in 11 of the 15 countries, majorities or pluralities wanted to maintain current levels of military outlays.



On average, 50% of those in the EU countries surveyed wanted to decrease government spending, 31% wanted to keep current levels, and 15% wanted to increase spending. But when asked about defense spending, 39% wanted to decrease spending, 46% wanted to keep current levels, and only 11% wanted to increase. However, majorities in Italy (56%) and Spain (52%) wanted to decrease defense spending.

A fairly similar pattern applied in the United States. Fifty-eight percent of Americans wanted to decrease government spending, 23% wanted to maintain current levels, and 14% wanted to increase spending. But when it came to defense spending, only 32% wanted to decrease, while 45% wanted to maintain current levels, and 20% wanted to increase defense spending.

NO CHANGE IN DEFENSE SPENDING IN REACTION TO U.S. “PIVOT” TO ASIA

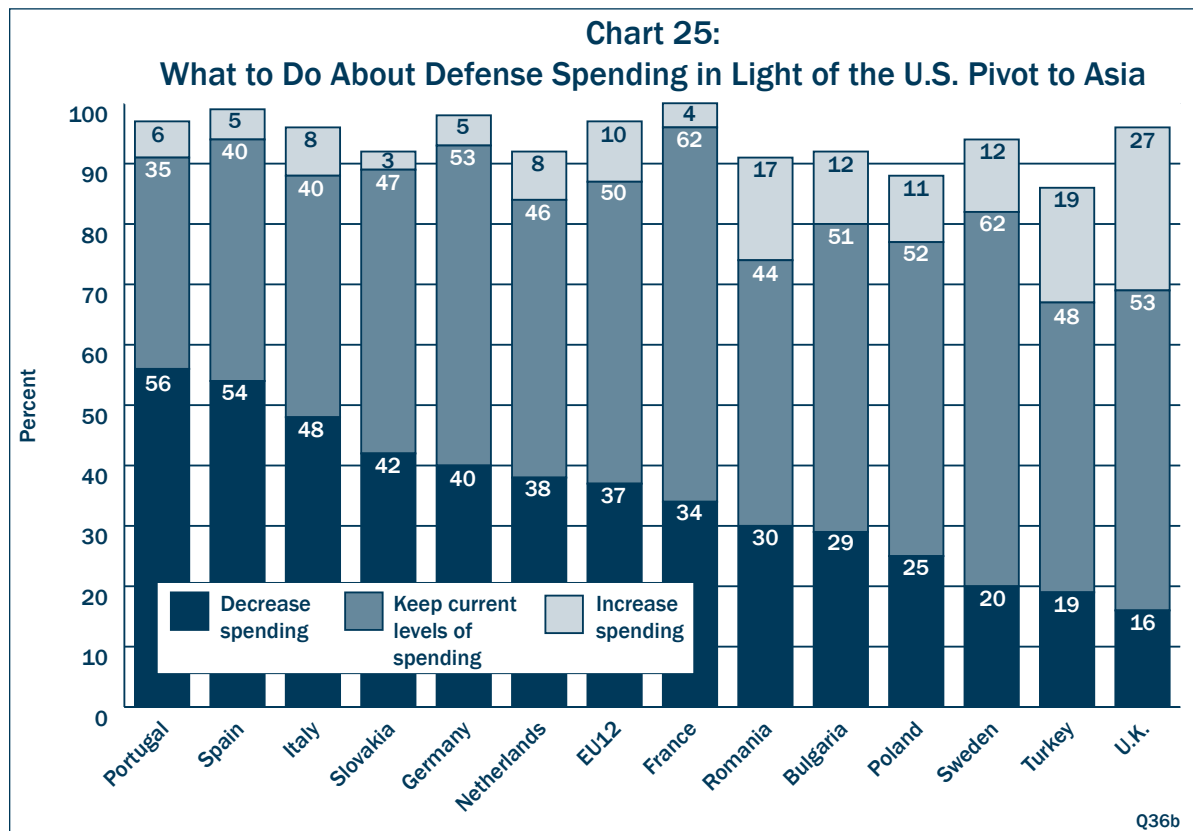
Transatlantic Trends asked half of each country’s respondents whether their government should increase defense

spending, maintain current levels, or reduce spending, in light of the recent U.S. government decision to increase military spending in East Asia and reduce U.S. troops in Europe. Despite this reminder, 50% of the EU respondents chose to maintain spending in general; 37% said it should be reduced.

AMERICANS, EUROPEANS DISAGREE SLIGHTLY ON IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN, BUT AGREE LIBYA INTERVENTION WAS RIGHT

Respondents were asked whether, taking everything into consideration, intervention in three cases — Iraq, Afghanistan, and Libya — had been the right thing or not.

In the case of Iraq (where a U.S.-led coalition intervened from 2003 to 2012), a plurality in the United States said intervention had been the right thing to do (49% vs. 45%), while a majority in the EU (54% vs. 38%) disagreed. Sweden (56%) and Bulgaria (55%) were the only countries among the 12 EU member states surveyed where majorities on balance approved of intervention in Iraq. Disapproval was



highest in Russia (64%), Spain (59%), Germany (58%), and Turkey (56%).

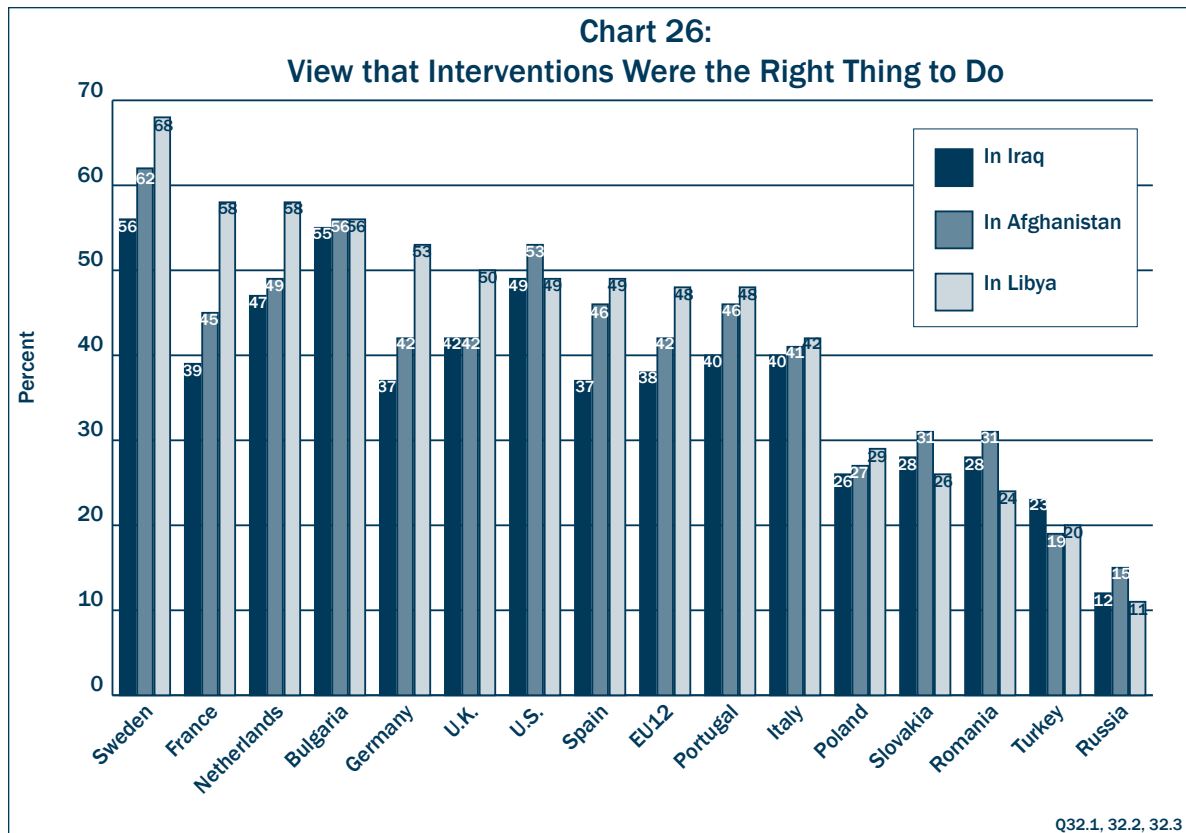
As for Afghanistan (where Western intervention began with an operation to remove the Taliban from power in 2001, and from which NATO troops are scheduled to withdraw by 2014), a majority in the United States said intervention had been the right thing to do (53%), while half of the EU respondents (50%) said it had not. Again, Sweden (62%) and Bulgaria (56%) were the only countries among the 12 EU member states surveyed where majorities on balance felt that intervention in Afghanistan had been the right thing to do. Disapproval was highest in Russia (62%), Turkey (57%), Poland (55%), Germany (53%), and the U.K. (52%).

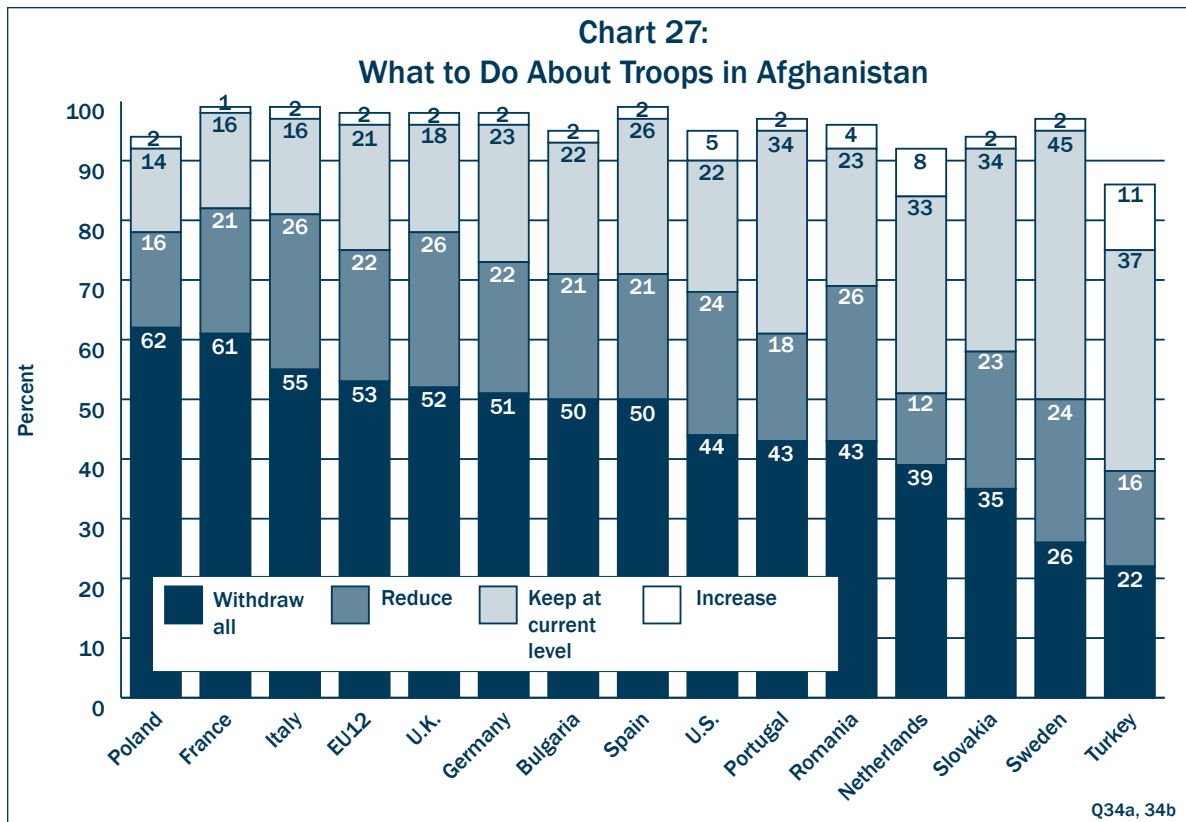
Finally, in the case of Libya, where a Western coalition led by the U.K. and France intervened amid much dispute over several months in 2011, pluralities in the United States (49%) and in the EU (48%) said intervention had been the right thing to do. Approval of the Libyan intervention ran highest in Sweden (68%), France, and the Netherlands

(both 58%). Conversely, 53% of the Germans polled approved of the Libyan intervention as well, despite the fact that their government had abstained from the UN Security Council resolution authorizing the intervention and had subsequently refused to participate in the mission. In the United Kingdom, only half of respondents (50%) felt that the intervention had been right, while the lowest rates of approval registered in Poland (29%), Slovakia (26%), and Romania (24%), none of which had participated militarily. Only in Russia (61%) and Turkey (54%) did majorities disapprove of the Libya intervention — with Turks disapproving despite the fact that their government had joined the military operations.

AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS INCREASINGLY WANT TROOPS TO LEAVE AFGHANISTAN

With pessimism about the success of the NATO operation in Afghanistan on the rise and the announcement of a 2014 withdrawal, the transatlantic divide on withdrawing troops appears to be shrinking. More than half of EU respondents





(53%) wanted to withdraw all troops, with an increasing number of Americans (44%, up from 35% in 2011) in agreement. Three-out-of-four European respondents (75%) polled supported either total withdrawal or troop reduction, nearly the same as the Americans polled (68%).

The number of Americans who preferred increasing troop levels in Afghanistan shrank from 30% in 2009 to only 5% this year, and those who wanted to keep the same number of troops the same decreased from 32% in 2009 to 22% this year. Meanwhile, the number of Americans who wanted to reduce the number of troops in Afghanistan dropped seven percentage points to 24%, and the portion of those who wanted to withdraw all troops increased by nine points since 2011 to 44%.

The majority of European respondents (53%) thought that their government should withdraw all troops, 22% thought troop levels should be reduced, 21% thought troop levels should remain the same, and very few (2%) thought their government should commit more troops.

Individual countries in Europe mostly reflected these EU averages, with a solid majority in each country preferring to reduce or withdraw troops. The top six European NATO members supplying troops in Afghanistan all had majorities preferring complete withdrawal: Germany (51%), the U.K. (52%), Italy (55%), France (61%), and Poland (62%). On the other end of the spectrum was Sweden, where 45% preferred to maintain troop levels. Of the respondents in the Netherlands, which has police trainers in Afghanistan, a total of 51% wanted to withdraw or reduce the trainers. The number of respondents who preferred complete withdrawal rose by 15 percentage points since 2011 to a plurality of 39%, whereas those who wanted to reduce their numbers dropped by 19 points to 12%.

LITTLE OPTIMISM REGARDING STABILITY IN AFGHANISTAN, LIBYA, IRAQ, EGYPT, AND SYRIA

On the question of prospects for stability in Afghanistan, last year's poll showed a reversal in U.S. optimism. This year, too, a majority of Americans (56%) remained pessimistic, whereas 38% were optimistic. (In 2009, when this

question was first asked by *Transatlantic Trends*, 56% were optimistic and 39% were pessimistic.) On the other hand, a solid majority of the EU public (70%) has been unenthusiastic about the situation in Afghanistan ever since the survey first asked this question in 2009 (63%). French (84%) and German (81%) respondents registered the highest levels of pessimism.

As for prospects for stability in Iraq, two-thirds of the Europeans (64%) and half of the Americans (50%) polled expressed a negative view. Pessimism ran highest in Germany (76%), Spain (75%), and France (72%). Even in the U.K., which had been the United States' principal ally in the Iraq operation, 57% of respondents said they saw little prospect for stability.

Regarding prospects for stability in Libya, a majority of Europeans (55%) and a plurality of Americans (47%) remained pessimistic. The highest levels of optimism about stabilizing Libya were to be found in Sweden (48%, though down from 59% in 2011) and Italy (46%). Meanwhile, the

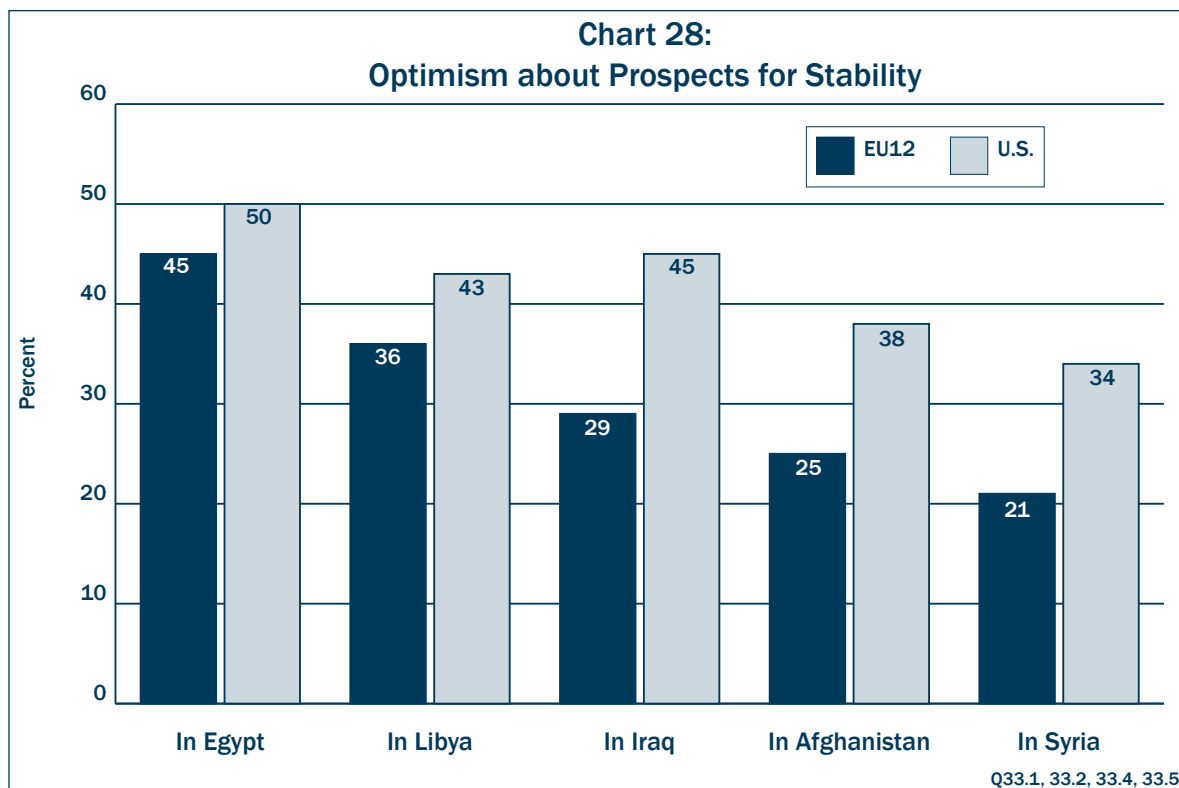
most pessimistic responses came from France (69%), Spain (65%), and Germany (61%).

On the prospects for stability in Egypt, half of the Americans (50%) polled expressed optimism, while Europeans were evenly divided (45% optimistic, 46% pessimistic). Swedes (55%) were the most optimistic on Egypt, while the French (55%) and Slovaks (54%) registered the greatest pessimism.

Meanwhile, pessimism ran much higher on Syria. A majority in the United States (55%) and two-thirds in Europe (69%) said their take on the prospects for stability in Syria was pessimistic. Romanians were the most optimistic (but at a low level of 38%), while the French (84%) and the Germans (79%) were the most deeply pessimistic on Syria.

FOUR-IN-FIVE AMERICANS, EUROPEANS CONCERNED ABOUT IRAN ACQUIRING NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Four-in-five Europeans (80%, up five points from the previous year) and Americans (79%, up three points) said they are concerned about Iran acquiring nuclear weapons.



In Russia, 61% of respondents also said they were concerned about Iran. As in past years, Turkey was the least worried about Iran acquiring a nuclear weapon. Only 48% of Turks were troubled by this possibility — but this still represented a ten-point increase over the previous year.

EU AND UNITED STATES PREFER SANCTIONS TO MILITARY ACTION IN IRAN

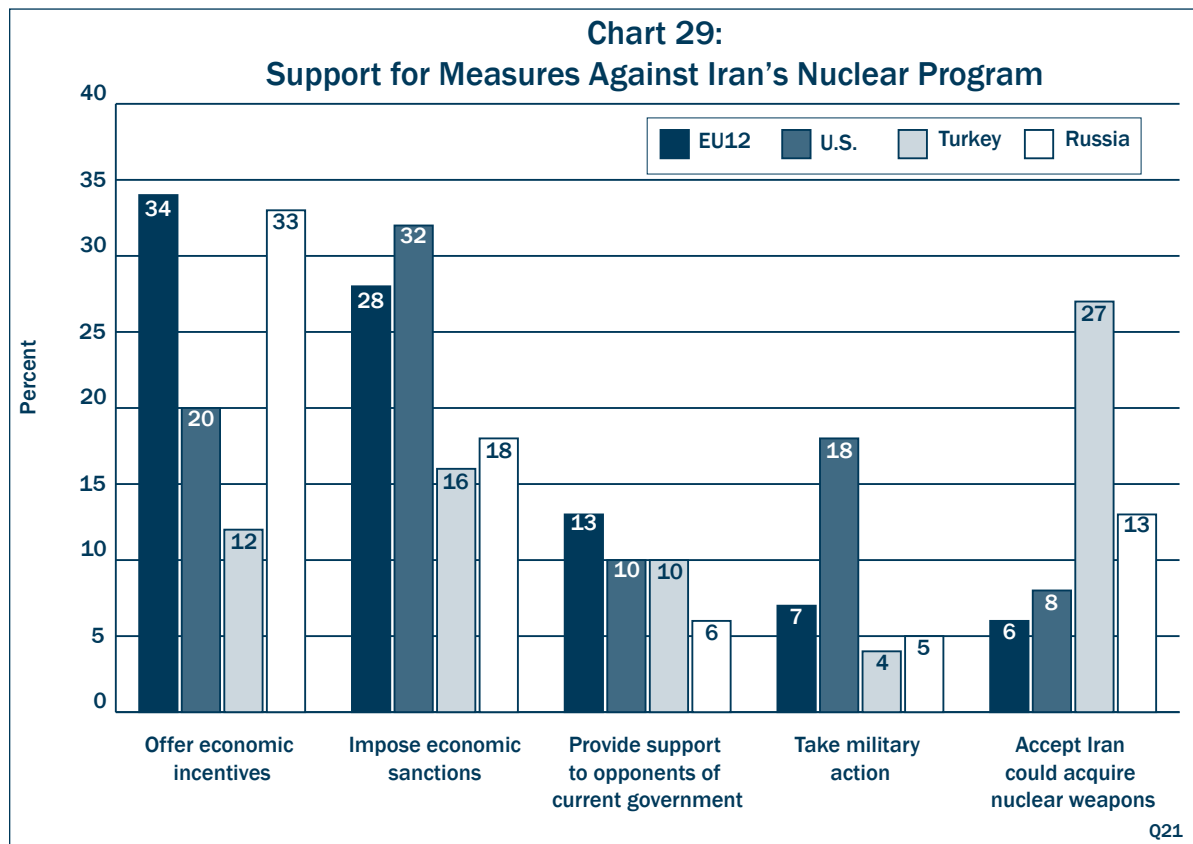
Despite similar high levels of concern in the United States and the EU, opinions differed about how best to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons. A plurality of those in the EU (34%) preferred offering economic incentives, while a plurality of Americans (32%) preferred imposing economic sanctions. The majority of EU and U.S. respondents chose one of those two options and were often fairly divided over which one was preferable. The percentage of Americans who preferred supporting the Iranian opposition dropped from 25% in 2010 to 10% in 2012 — matching EU levels of support (13%) for the same option.

There was little support in the EU countries polled (6%) or in the United States (8%) for simply accepting that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons while other options were on the table. A quarter of Turks, a plurality, said that accepting a nuclear Iran (27%) was the best option. Very few people in the EU (7%) and Turkey (4%) preferred military action over all other options.

In Russia, a plurality of respondents (33%) preferred economic incentives; the next largest group preferred sanctions (18%). Thirteen percent were willing to accept a nuclear Iran.

FORCE IN IRAN IF NOTHING ELSE WORKS?

However, while very few U.S. and EU respondents favored military action as their choice among many policy options, changing the context of the situation led to much different results. The respondents who chose a non-military option for dealing with Iran were next asked to imagine that all non-military options had been exhausted. They were then



TURKS REMAIN UNIMPRESSED BY WESTERN POLICIES

A high approval rate (55%) for the Erdoğan government's economic policies contrasted starkly with the generally high disapproval rates found in other EU member states. Nonetheless, Turks were increasingly likely to say that they felt affected by the economic crisis (69%); that number dropped by 21 points in 2011, and it jumped again this year by 14 points. Turkish respondents were also more supportive than any other country in the survey (surpassing even Russia) in saying that Asia was more important than the United States for their national interest (46%).

In contrast to other polled countries, Turkish respondents showed relatively low levels of approval of their own government's international policies (51%, higher only than those of Poland and Spain). Turkish respondents were also unimpressed by the Obama administration's handling of international policies (only 42% approved). Still, 51% of Turkish respondents said they would vote for Obama if they could, while only 5% would vote for Romney.

The civil war in Syria is a first-order security risk for Turkey. In June 2012, when the poll was conducted, only one-in-three Turks (32%) felt their country ought to intervene in Syria, while 57% thought their country should stay out completely. Turkish support for NATO remains the lowest of all countries polled, with only 38% saying it was essential. Turkey was also the country least worried about Iran acquiring nuclear weapons, though 48% expressed concern, an increase of ten points over 2011. Only 4% of Turks preferred military action over other possible solutions. If all non-military means failed to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons, 50% of those who opposed military action said they would accept a nuclear Iran rather than undertake military action.

given the choice between accepting a nuclear Iran or taking military action. In this scenario, a plurality of Europeans (46%) and a majority of Americans (57%) favored the use of force. In Germany (54%), Turkey (50%), Russia and the U.K. (both 49%), the Netherlands (43%), and Poland (42%), majorities or pluralities of respondents said they would accept a nuclear Iran over military action under these circumstances. However, this question also elicited very high refusal and "don't know" rates, which even formed a plurality in Bulgaria (39%).

Respondents *who approved of military action* were then asked whether they would approve of using their own country's aircraft to conduct airstrikes against Iran, or of sending their own country's ground troops. Of those who approved military action against Iran, 84% of Americans and 52% of Europeans said they would approve of the use of their own country's aircraft. Opinions in the EU differed widely, however, with high approval rates in the U.K. (71%), the Netherlands (63%), and Sweden (60%). In Russia, 64% approved as well. Disapproval rates were highest in Bulgaria (62%), Germany (59%), Poland (57%), Slovakia, and Turkey (both 55%).

As for the option of using ground troops, a majority (56%) *of those Americans who approved of military action* were willing to approve of sending their own country's troops to conduct military action against Iran. Meanwhile, a majority of Europeans who approved of military action (55%) disapproved. Here, too, the range of feelings in Europe was very broad. The highest approval rates were registered in the U.K. (57% approval) and the Netherlands (51%). The highest rates of disapproval were found in Germany (65%), Bulgaria and Romania (both 59%), as well as France and Poland (both 57%). In Turkey and Russia, majorities (52%) of those supporting military action approved of sending their own countries' troops.

HIGH TRANSATLANTIC APPROVAL FOR RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT

In this question, respondents were told that the United Nations had resolved that members of the international community (including their own country) had the responsibility to protect civilians in other countries from violence, including violence committed by their own government, and asked whether they agreed or disagreed with this principle. On both sides of the Atlantic, two-in-three agreed,

with slightly higher approval in the EU (67%) than in the United States (62%). Agreement was particularly high in Sweden (81%), France (76%), Portugal (75%), Italy (72%), and Spain (71%), and lowest in Poland (42%). Turks (42% vs. 39%) and Russians (40% vs. 41%) were about evenly split on whether they approve or disapprove of the responsibility to protect.

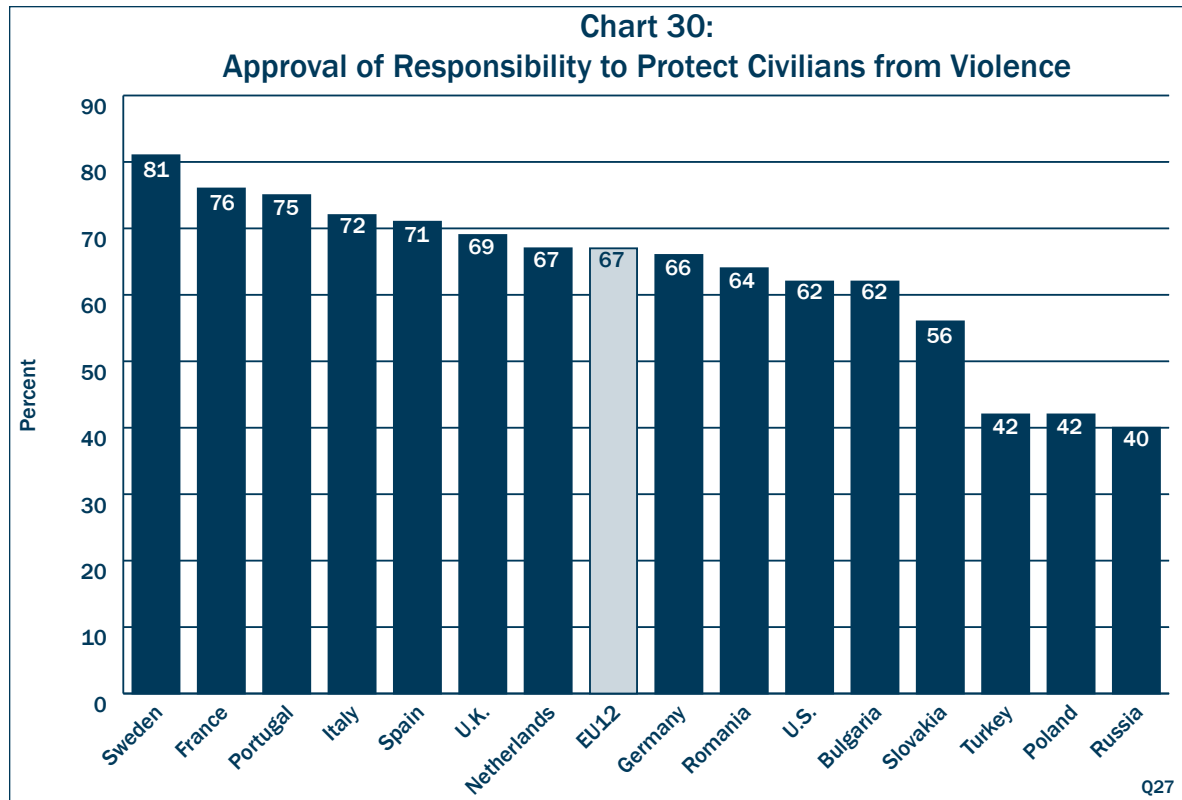
NO TRANSATLANTIC APPETITE FOR INTERVENTION IN SYRIA ...

On this question, *Transatlantic Trends* found a notable difference between theory and practice. Asked whether their country should intervene in the Syrian conflict or stay out completely, majorities in the EU (59%), the United States (55%), and Turkey (57%) said their own countries should stay out of the conflict completely. Only one-in-three respondents in the EU (33%), the United States (35%), and Turkey (32%) felt their countries ought to intervene. In this group, the highest approval rates were registered in France (45%) and Sweden (44%).⁵

...BUT WITH A UN MANDATE, AMERICANS AND SWEDES CHANGE THEIR MINDS

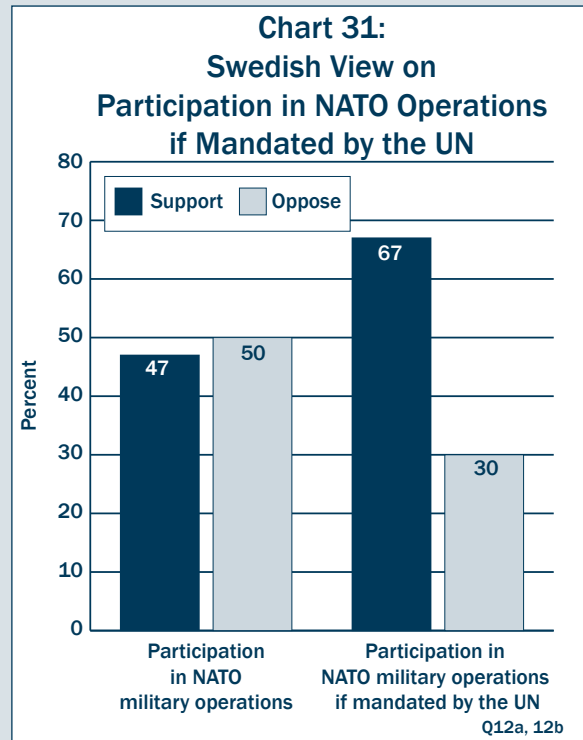
However, when respondents who opted to stay out of Syria were also asked whether they would change their minds if intervention in Syria were endorsed by the United Nations, half of the U.S. respondents (51%) who previously opposed intervention changed their minds. Seventy-one percent of Swedes previously opposed agreed. Among Europeans in general, however, 59% of those who had been against intervention remained unmoved by a UN mandate. Those against intervention in the U.K. were evenly split between approval (46%) and disapproval (47%) with the support of the UN; the same was true of Portugal (47%). Seventy-six percent of Turks who disapproved of intervention held to their previously stated position. So did 73% of Bulgarians, 71% of Poles, 79% of Romanians, 70% of Slovaks, and 65% of Germans.

⁵ This and the following question were not asked in Russia.



STRONG SUPPORT IN SWEDEN FOR INTERVENTION — ESPECIALLY WITH A UNITED NATIONS MANDATE

Sweden has long been known for its policy of military nonalignment. As the only European non-NATO member in the survey, respondents in Sweden were asked if they supported or opposed the participation of their country in military operations carried out by NATO. Despite the nation's history of being a "virtual" ally, there was no broad consensus



on the issue. The Swedes were almost evenly split, with 47% supporting and 50% opposing Swedish participation in NATO operations. However, among those asked about military operations in the context of a mandate from the United Nations, 67% of all Swedish respondents said they would be in favor of taking part in such an operation, whereas only 30% would oppose participation. Even so, 69% of Swedes opposed joining NATO, with only 24% in support.

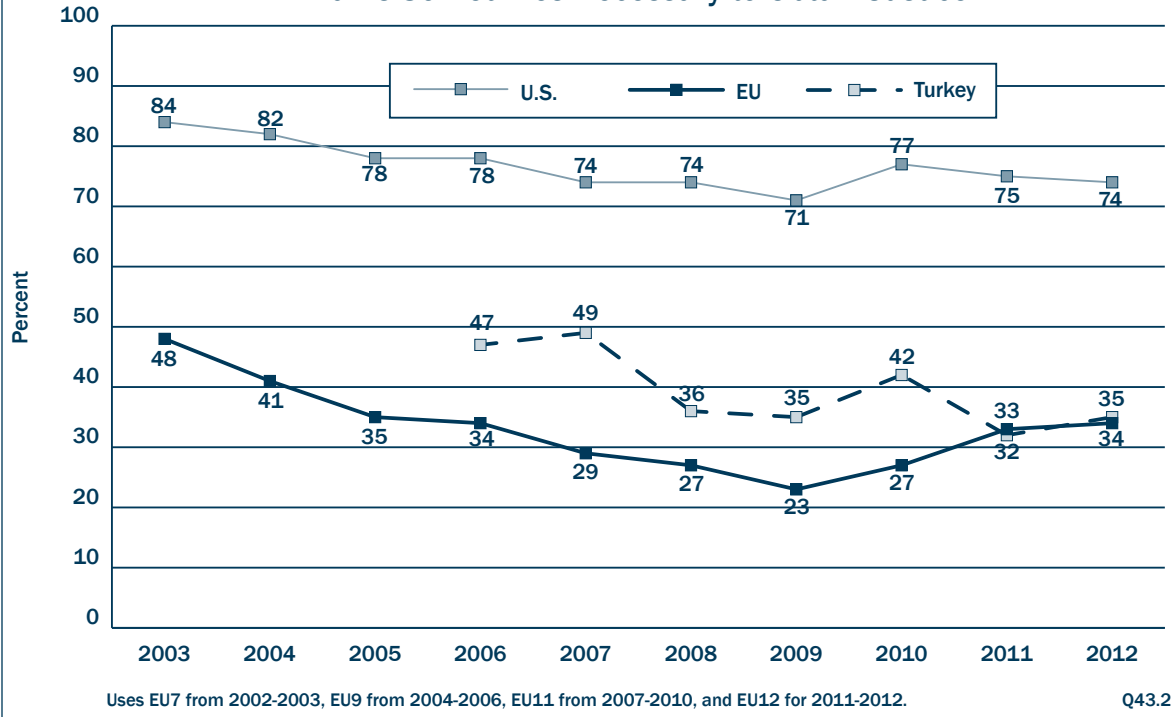
Swedes were also among the most likely to support intervention in Syria (44%, second only to France's 45%). Among those who were against intervention, 71% changed their minds when presented with a hypothetical UN mandate. Further, Swedes continued to believe that past interventions were "the right thing to do" — 56% said that about Iraq, 62% about Afghanistan, and 68% about Libya. Swedes were also the most likely to approve of their government's handling of foreign policy (74%) for the second year in a row.

THE USE OF FORCE: TRANSATLANTIC DIVIDE IN PRINCIPLE, CONVERGENCE IN POLICY

For a long time, the United States and Europe have not seen eye to eye on the use of force. Repeated surveys have shown that this difference in values is deeply held and unlikely to change despite day-to-day events and changing security environments. In 2012, there was a 40 percentage-point difference between those in the EU (34%) who felt war is sometimes necessary to obtain justice and those in the United States (74%) who felt so. The U.K., with 64% agreeing that war is sometimes necessary, was the only European country that looked more like the United States than like the rest of the EU.

However, despite these differences when it comes to justifying war, there are a number of security policies on which U.S. and European opinions seem to be moving closer together. Even on approval for the contentious international intervention in Libya, pluralities in the United States (49%) and Europe (48%) agreed that this was the right thing to do. These findings seem to suggest that although Americans and Europeans report vastly different opinions about whether war can be used to obtain justice in the abstract, when presented with actual security issues, they might share a common perspective.

**Chart 32:
War is Sometimes Necessary to Obtain Justice**





TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Section Five: Russia

Vladimir Putin's campaign to reclaim the Russian presidency following Dmitry Medvedev's four-year term drew international attention to Russia. Though he was generally predicted to win the March 4 elections, Putin's victory came after months of allegations of electoral irregularities following a poor United Russia Party showing in Duma elections last December, and questions regarding procedural transparency have prompted domestic and international discussion.

At the same time, Russia, together with China, has continued to oppose sanctions targeting the Syrian regime in the United Nations Security Council, a position that has engendered significant friction with other voting members.

This year's *Transatlantic Trends* survey, the first to include Russia, shows both how Russia differs from other countries making up the transatlantic community, and how it is similar in other respects. It also shows how it is perceived by other countries in the survey.

VIEWS ON RUSSIA DROP ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC, BUT MORE IN EUROPE

Within the series of questions where respondents were asked how favorably they felt about certain countries, the most pronounced drop in favorable opinion showed up in transatlantic views on Russia. U.S. majority opinion flipped from favorable to unfavorable for the first time, as Americans were six percentage points less likely to hold favorable views of Russia than in the previous year (42%, down from 48% in 2011 and 51% in 2010). European opinion reversed itself even further, by 13 percentage points (37% favorable toward Russia, down from 50% in 2011). Unfavorable opinion in Europe rose even more starkly, by 16 percentage points (to 55% from 39% in 2011). Within

Europe, majorities holding a favorable opinion of Russia were found only in Bulgaria (78%) and Slovakia (64%). Unfavorable ratings were highest in Sweden (68%), France (64%), and Germany (63%). In Turkey, too, majorities held unfavorable views of Russia (53%). Asked whether they favored strong Russian leadership in world affairs, 67% of Europeans disagreed (as opposed to 25% who agreed). Americans were nearly evenly split on this question, with 45% saying they were favorable, and 43% saying they were not. (69% of Russians polled thought a strong Russian leadership was desirable, while 20% disagreed.)

RUSSIANS LIKE UKRAINE AND BELARUS, BUT NOT GEORGIA

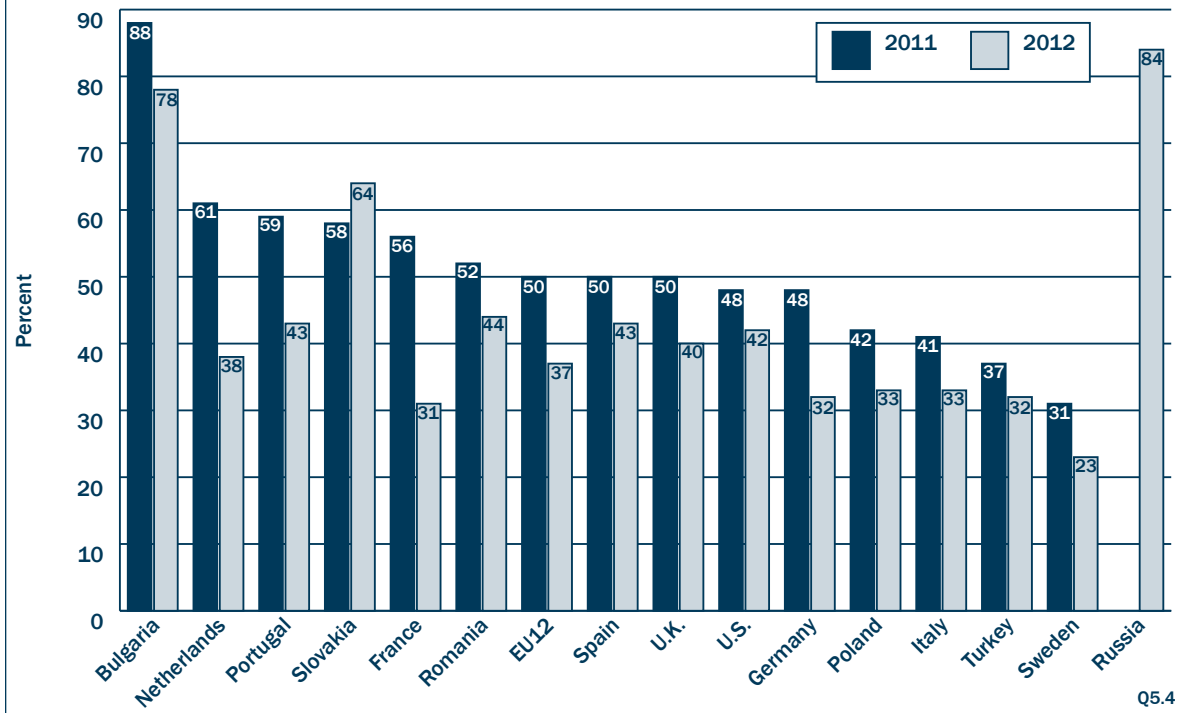
When Russians were asked their views of Ukraine, 52% said they felt favorably toward it; 39% disagreed. On Belarus, 64% felt favorably, with 27% disagreeing. This relationship was reversed in the case of Georgia, toward which 27% of Russians polled expressed favorable views, and 60% expressed disfavor.⁶

RUSSIANS PREFER EU AND CHINA TO THE UNITED STATES, BUT LIKE GERMANY MOST OF ALL

When Russians were asked their views of other countries, these tended to stand out compared with views in Europe and in the United States. Half of the Russian respondents (50%) had favorable views of the United States (as opposed to three-fourths, 74%, of those polled in the EU), while two-in-three (64%) thought favorably of the European Union. Sixty-three percent of Russians polled said they felt favorably toward China (as opposed to 41% of Europeans and Americans). Sixty-one percent thought favorably of Turkey (as opposed to 42% of Europeans and 43% of

⁶ The questions about Russia's neighbors were only asked in Russia.

**Chart 33:
Favorable Opinions of Russia**



Americans). Thirty-seven percent of Russians held favorable views of Iran, whereas only 12% of Europeans and 20% of Americans did so. In their degree of favorability toward Israel (48%), Russians lay in the middle between Europeans (34%) and Americans (59%). In their favorability toward Germany (71%), they fit right in with the EU average (74%; United States: 67%). And two-out-of-three Russians (65%) agreed with Europeans (66%) and Americans (68%) in their approval of Japan.

RUSSIANS DO NOT LIKE U.S. LEADERSHIP, BUT SEE ENOUGH SHARED VALUES AND INTERESTS

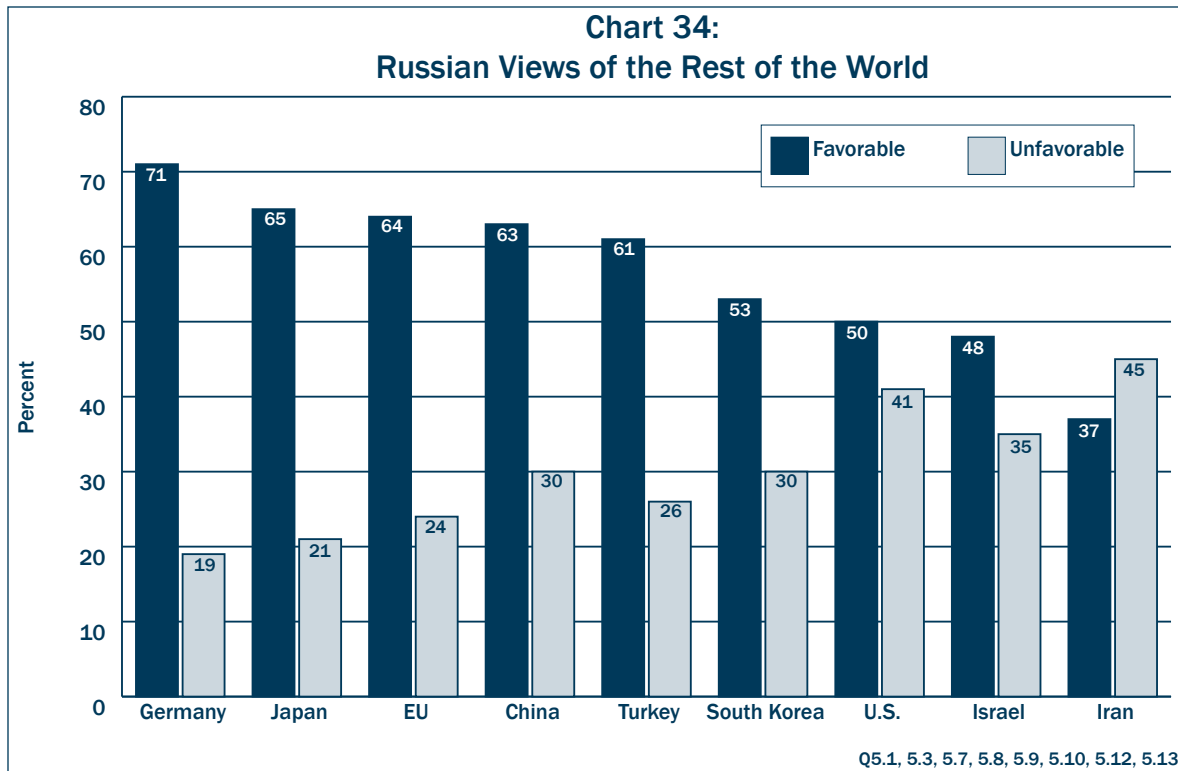
Two-thirds of Russians (64%) polled feel U.S. leadership in world affairs is undesirable. Still, nearly half the Russians polled (45%) said that the United States and Russia have enough common *values* to be able to cooperate on international problems. Thirty-nine percent, however, said that the values of the United States and Russia were so different as to make cooperation impossible. (Seventeen percent said they did not know or refused to answer.) Similarly, more than half of the Russians surveyed (52%) said that the

United States and Russia have enough common *interests* to be able to cooperate on international problems. Thirty-eight percent disagreed, while only 11% responded that they did not know or refused to answer.

Asked whether they felt that the upcoming U.S. elections would change relations between the United States and Russia, a plurality (31%) thought things would stay the same if Mitt Romney won (notably, 48% of respondents said they didn't know or refused to answer) — and a majority (51%) said that would be the case if Barack Obama won.

RUSSIANS HAVE MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT EU LEADERSHIP, BUT SEE MORE SHARED VALUES AND INTERESTS THAN WITH THE UNITED STATES

Russians' feelings about EU leadership in world affairs were more mixed, with 44% expressing disapproval and 37% saying they approved. Sixty percent of Russians said the EU and Russia have enough common *values* to be able to cooperate on international problems; only 22% disagreed. (Eighteen percent said they did not know or refused to



answer.) Similarly, nearly two-in-three Russians (63%) said that the EU and Russia have enough common *interests* to be able to cooperate on international problems.

RUSSIANS SEE BOTH OPPORTUNITY AND THREAT IN CHINA, BUT ALSO BROAD BASIS FOR COOPERATION

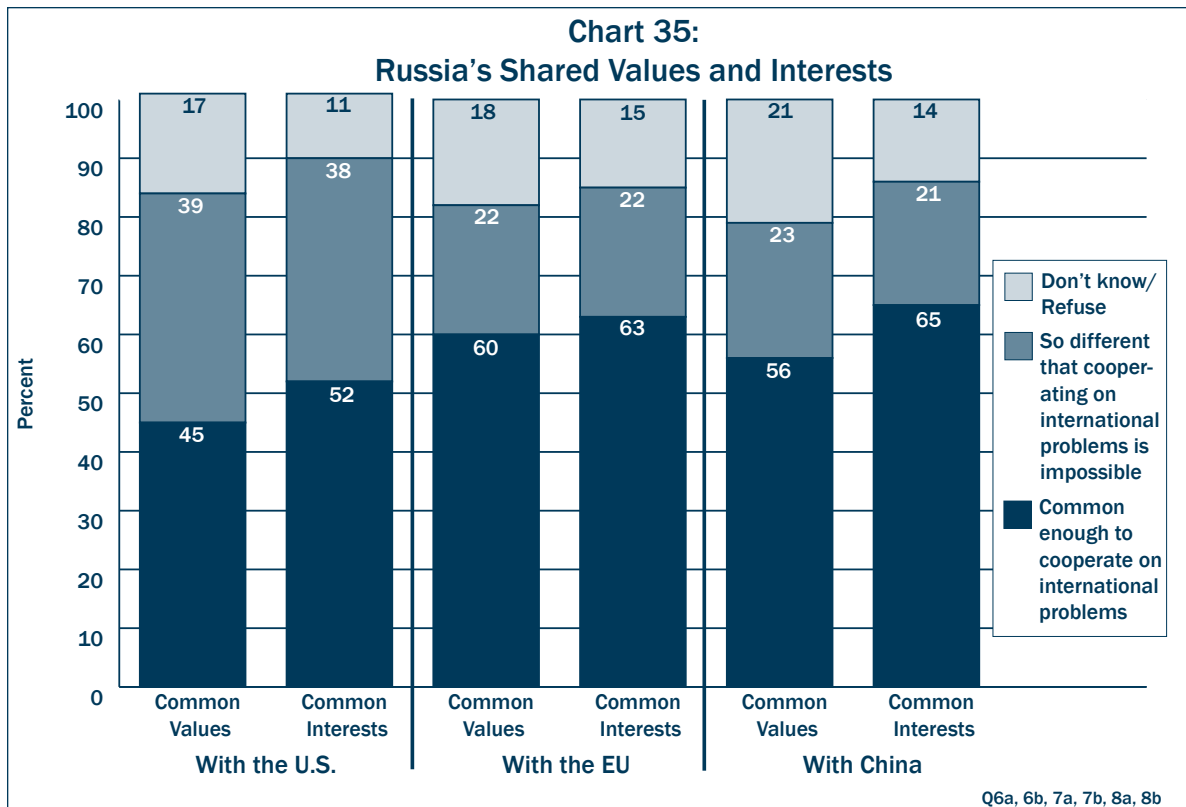
Unlike the Europeans (30%) in this survey, a plurality of Russian respondents (40%) said that the countries of Asia, such as China, Japan, or South Korea, were more important to Russia than the United States. Twenty-four percent said the United States was more important (a very high 36% responded, however, that they did not know or refused to answer).

Much like the European average, a plurality of Russians (39%) felt that China represents more of an economic opportunity than an economic threat; but 30% saw more of a threat than an opportunity. A plurality of Russians thought that China did not represent a military threat (46%); 33% disagreed. More than half the Russians polled (56%) said that China and Russia have enough common *values* to be able to cooperate on international problems.

Twenty-three percent, however, said that their values were so different as to make cooperation impossible. (Twenty-one percent said they did not know or refused to answer.) Two-in-three Russians (65%) said that China and Russia have enough common *interests* to be able to cooperate on international problems. Twenty-one percent disagreed, while 14% responded that they did not know or refused to answer.

RUSSIANS HAVE MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT NATO

Here *Transatlantic Trends* asked respondents how much they favored NATO. Fifty-seven percent of Russians answered that their views of the military arm of the transatlantic alliance was unfavorable. Twenty-one percent answered that they held favorable views of NATO. (Twenty-two percent answered “don’t know” or refused to answer.) Russians were also asked whether the partnership in security and diplomatic affairs between Russia and NATO should become closer, should remain about the same, or whether Russia should take a more independent approach. A plurality of Russian respondents (36%) stated that their country should take a more independent approach. Thirty



percent felt that relations should stay about the same, while 21% felt they should become closer.

RUSSIANS LESS CONCERNED ABOUT IRAN; NEARLY HALF WOULD ACCEPT NUCLEAR IRAN IF OTHER OPTIONS EXHAUSTED

Nearly two-thirds of the Russians polled (61%) said that they were concerned about Iran acquiring nuclear weapons — substantially fewer than in the United States and the EU, where four-in-five respondents were concerned. Thirty-three percent of Russians said they would support economic incentives, whereas only 18% would endorse sanctions. When those who favored using non-military means were asked whether they would support military action assuming all other options had been exhausted, nearly half (49%) responded that they would accept an Iran with nuclear weapons. Sixty-five percent of Russian respondents said they would disapprove of Israel taking military action against Iran.

RUSSIANS SKEPTICAL ON INTERVENTIONS IN THEORY AND PRACTICE, BUT ARE SPLIT ON “RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT”

Fifty-nine percent of Russians said they disagreed with the thesis that war is sometimes necessary to obtain justice. On past Western military interventions, 64% of Russians polled said the intervention in Iraq had not been the right thing to do, and 56% said they doubted prospects for stability there. Sixty-two percent said the same thing about Afghanistan, and 58% felt pessimistic about its future stability. Sixty-one percent concurred about Libya, with 53% feeling pessimistic about Libya’s stability. Forty-one percent of Russians felt that the relationship between Russia and the countries of the Arab uprisings will stay the same. Twenty-one percent believed the relationship will get worse, and only 11% believed it would improve. Russians were evenly split on the principle of a “responsibility to protect,” with 40% saying they agreed that this responsibility extended to Russia as well, while 41% thought it did not.

RUSSIANS WOULD SUPPORT A VETO ON SYRIA

When asked whether they would support or oppose a Russian government veto of an intervention in Syria in the United Nations Security Council, a clear majority of Russians polled (54%) said they would support a veto. Twenty-one percent said they would oppose it, and 26% said they did not know or refused to answer.

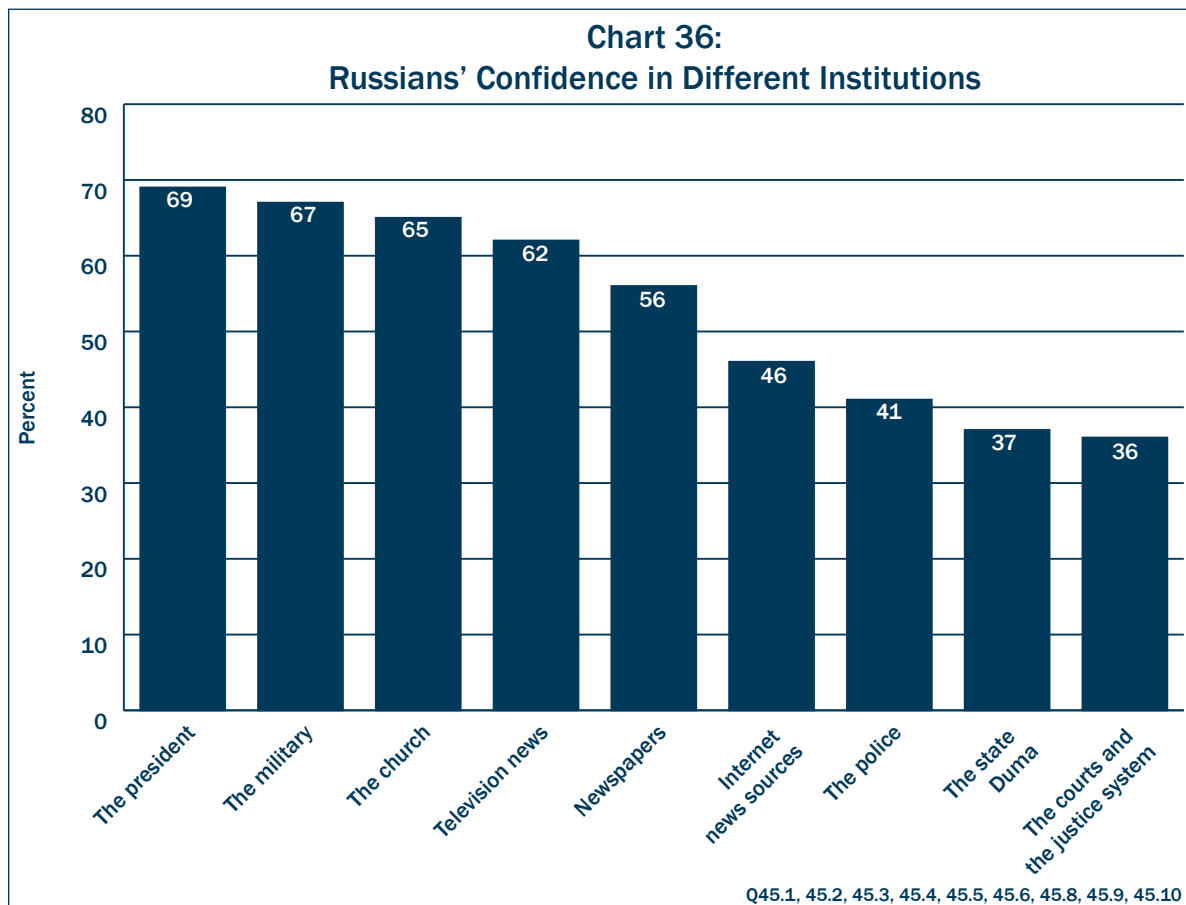
RUSSIANS APPROVE OF THEIR GOVERNMENT'S HANDLING OF INTERNATIONAL POLICIES, BUT SPLIT ABOUT ITS ECONOMIC POLICY

Seventy-one percent of Russians approved of their own government's handling of international policies. However, they were split evenly (46%) on their government's economic policies. Fifty-eight percent of Russians said they had been affected by the economic crisis; 38% said they had not. A plurality of Russians (44%) said they approved of current levels of government spending. Twenty percent would have

preferred a decrease in spending, and 18% an increase. Forty-three percent said they wanted defense spending kept at current levels, whereas 34% would support an increase in defense spending, and only 13% were in favor of decreasing defense spending, compared to a European average of 39%. Three-in-four Russians (75%) felt that their economic system benefitted only a few.

LITTLE CONFIDENCE IN RUSSIAN ELECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES OR EU; RUSSIANS MORE CONFIDENT IN U.S. ELECTIONS THAN IN THEIR OWN

When respondents in this year's *Transatlantic Trends* were asked how much confidence they had that elections in Russia reflected the will of the voters, three-out-of-four Europeans (75%) said they had little confidence, as opposed to 60% of Americans who expressed the same view. When Russians were asked how much confidence they had that U.S. elections reflected the views of U.S. voters, a plurality



of 47% said they felt confident, whereas 31% said they were not confident in the outcome. Asked the same question about elections in their own country, a plurality of the Russians polled (46%) said they were not confident, while 43% answered that they felt their elections did reflect the will of Russian voters. However, majorities or pluralities in much of Southern and South Eastern Europe concurred that their own elections did not reflect the will of the voters: Italy (62%), Spain (54%), Romania (51%), and Bulgaria (49%).

MIXED CONFIDENCE IN RUSSIAN INSTITUTIONS

Transatlantic Trends asked Russians how much confidence they had in certain Russian institutions. Sixty-nine percent

said they had confidence in the president (27% disagreed). Sixty-seven percent said they had confidence in the military (29% disagreed). Sixty-five percent said they had confidence in the Orthodox church (27% disagreed). Sixty-two percent felt confident in television news (34% disagreed). Fifty-six percent felt confident in newspapers (36% disagreed). Forty-six percent felt confident in internet news sources (29% disagreed, 25% said they did not know or refused to answer). Thirty-seven percent felt confident in the national legislature, the State Duma (57% disagreed). And only 36% felt confident in the court system (59% disagreed).



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

Methodology

TNS Opinion was commissioned to conduct the survey using Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews in all countries except Bulgaria, Poland, Slovakia, Romania, Russia, and Turkey, where lower telephone penetration necessitated the use of face-to-face interviews. Both landline and mobile phone numbers were included in countries with a high concentration of exclusively mobile phone users: Italy, Spain, Portugal, and the United States.

In all countries, a random sample of approximately 1,000 men and women, 18 years of age and older, was interviewed.¹ Interviews were conducted between June 2 and June 27, 2012.

For results based on the national samples in each of the 15 countries surveyed, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus three percentage points. For results based on the total European sample, the margin of error is plus or minus one percentage point. In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can also introduce error or bias into the findings of public opinion polls.

For trended questions first asked before 2010, averages were weighted on the basis of the size of the adult population in each country to maintain consistency with previous years' reports. For questions that started in 2010 or later, the results were also weighted so that the sample matches certain population characteristics, including age, gender, education, and region.²

When processing is complete, data from the survey are deposited with the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research at the University of Michigan (ICPSR), the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at the University of Connecticut, and the GESIS-Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences and are available to scholars and other interested parties.

For more detailed methodology and topline data, please visit www.transatlantictrends.org.

Note on European Averages

Over time, additional European countries have been added to the survey. While the addition of new countries has affected the Europe-wide average, the impact has usually not been statistically significant. Therefore, for ease of presentation, we have treated several different averages as if they were part of one average. When the EU average is reported for previous years, this is based on the EU7 average from 2002-2003, the EU9 average from 2004-2006, the EU11 average from 2007-2010, and the EU12 average for 2011 and 2012.

European Averages Reported

EU7	2002-2003	U.K., France, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Poland, and (2003) Portugal
EU9	2004-2006	EU7 countries plus Slovakia and Spain
EU11	2007-2010	EU9 countries plus Bulgaria and Romania
EU12	2011-2012	EU11 countries plus Sweden

Total Coverage

Year	Total Coverage	European Coverage
2002	U.S. + E6	France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, U.K.
2003	U.S. + E7	France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, U.K., Portugal
2004-2005	U.S. + E10	France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, U.K., Portugal, Turkey, Slovakia, Spain
2006-2010	U.S. + E12	France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, U.K., Portugal, Turkey, Slovakia, Spain, Bulgaria, Romania
2011	U.S. + E13	France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, U.K., Portugal, Turkey, Slovakia, Spain, Bulgaria, Romania, Sweden
2012	U.S. + E13 + Russia	France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, U.K., Portugal, Turkey, Slovakia, Spain, Bulgaria, Romania, Sweden

¹ A larger sample of 1,500 was collected in Russia.

² Questions asked before 2010: 1a, 1b, 3, 5.1, 5.2, 6a, 9, 11, 14, 15, 22, 33.1, 34a, 43.1, 43.2, 44. Questions not asked before 2010: 1c, 2, 4, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33.2, 33.3, 33.4, 33.5, 34b, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45.



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

www.transatlantictrends.org

A project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Compagnia di San Paolo, with additional support from Fundação Luso-Americana, the BBVA Foundation, the Communitas Foundation, the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and the Open Society Foundations.



12

Transatlantic Trends



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

TOPLINE DATA 2012

TECHNICAL NOTE

Transatlantic Trends Survey 2012 is a project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Compagnia di San Paolo (Italy) with additional support from the Luso-American Foundation (Portugal), Fundación BBVA (Spain), Communitas Foundation (Bulgaria), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Sweden) and the Open Society Foundation (U.S.).

Fieldwork

The fieldwork was coordinated by TNS opinion.

Interviews were conducted between 02/06/2012 and 27/06/2012 by the following institutes:

Germany	TNS EMNID	Bielefeld
France	Efficiencie 3	Reims
Italy	TNS Italy	Rome
Netherlands	Efficiencie 3	Reims
Portugal	TNS EUROTESTE	Lisbon
Spain	TNS Demoscopia	Madrid
United Kingdom	ICM	London
Poland	TNS OBOP	Warsaw
Slovakia	TNS SK s.r.o.	Bratislava
Turkey	TNS PIAR	Istanbul
Bulgaria	TNS BBSS	Sofia
Romania	TNS BBSS	Sofia
USA	TNS US and Universal Survey	New York
Sweden	TNS SIFO AB	Stockholm
Russia	Bashkirova & partners	Moscow

Each national sample is representative of the population aged 18 years and above.

The sample sizes amount to approximately 1000 respondents in each country, except for Russia 1500.

Countries	Sample sizes	Fieldwork dates (2012)	
		Start	End
Germany	1000	04/06	23/06
France	1000	05/06	20/06
Italy	1000	04/06	23/06
Netherlands	1000	04/06	27/06
Portugal	1000	04/06	19/06
Spain	1000	04/06	25/06
United Kingdom	1000	06/06	27/06
Poland	1000	05/06	22/06
Slovakia	1005	05/06	21/06
Turkey	1009	04/06	21/06
Bulgaria	1007	08/06	23/06
Romania	1025	02/06	18/06
USA	1001	04/06	24/06
Sweden	1000	04/06	26/06
Russia	1500	02/06	20/06

Methodology:

Computer Assisted Telephone Interviews (except in Poland, Slovakia, Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania and Russia where face-to-face interviews were conducted due to the low telephone penetration rate in these six countries). The basic sample design applied in all states is multi-stage random (probability). In each household, the respondent was drawn at random (following the "closest birthday rule"). Up to 5 call-backs for telephone interviews and 4 visits in total for face-to-face interviews were attempted before dropping a potential respondent.

NOTE TO READERS

The summary topline report shows results for each of the 15 countries surveyed. In 2012 Russia was also included:

- USA
- FR = France
- GER = Germany
- UK= The United Kingdom
- IT = Italy
- NL = The Netherlands
- PL = Poland
- PT = Portugal
- SP = Spain
- SK = Slovakia
- TR = Turkey
- BG = Bulgaria
- RO = Romania
- SE = Sweden
- RU = Russia

Results for Europe as a whole are also indicated. In order to compare with the previous results, we have processed 4 separate totals for the results of Europe:

- **EU 7:** Results for EU7 based on seven European Union member states: United Kingdom, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, Poland and Portugal.
- **EU 9:** Results for EU9 based on nine European Union member states: France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Spain and United Kingdom.
- **EU 11:** Results for EU11 based on eleven European Union member states: Europe 9 plus Bulgaria, Romania.
- **EU 12:** Results for EU12 based on twelve European Union member states: Europe 11 plus Sweden.

The figures given for Europe are weighted on the basis of the adult population in each of the European countries. In addition, for all countries, all new questions since 2010 are weighted using specified country demographic weights.

- **w1:** Stage 1 – selection probability weight applied to all countries
- **w2:** Stage 2 – Correction for dual frame countries Spain, Italy, Portugal and US
- **w3:** Stage 3 – Socio-demographic weights for all countries (gender/age, education, region)
- **w3capped:** Based on weight w3 but capped to 0.3 and 3.5

Where available, data from the "Transatlantic Trends 2009", "Transatlantic Trends 2008", "Transatlantic Trends 2007", "Transatlantic Trends 2006", "Transatlantic Trends 2005", "Transatlantic Trends 2004", "Transatlantic Trends 2003" surveys and the "Worldviews 2002" survey are provided. For purposes of comparison, figures are shown below the 2010 corresponding figure, in italic. The results of Worldviews 2002 are based on the 6 European countries surveyed (United Kingdom, France, Germany, The Netherlands, Italy and Poland). In order to simplify the presentation of the results, they have been included in the column Europe 7.

All figures are expressed in percentage terms. In questions where [Europe\the United States] or [European Union\the United States] figures, the former item is asked in Europe and the latter in the United States.

Due to the rounding off of the results, in certain tables the figures representing a sum of results can differ by +/- one point compared to the actual sum of individual results.

For the results based on the total sample in each of the fifteen countries, one can say with 95% confidence that the margin of error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus three percentage points. For results based on the total European sample, the margin of error is plus or minus one percentage point.

**Statistical Margins due to the sampling process
(at the 95% level of confidence)**

various sample sizes are in rows

various observed results are in columns

	5%	10%	15%	20%	25%	30%	35%	40%	45%	50%	
	95%	90%	85%	80%	75%	70%	65%	60%	55%	50%	
N=50	6,0	8,3	9,9	11,1	12,0	12,7	13,2	13,6	13,8	13,9	N=50
N=500	1,9	2,6	3,1	3,5	3,8	4,0	4,2	4,3	4,4	4,4	N=500
N=1000	1,4	1,9	2,2	2,5	2,7	2,8	3,0	3,0	3,1	3,1	N=1000
N=1500	1,1	1,5	1,8	2,0	2,2	2,3	2,4	2,5	2,5	2,5	N=1500
N=2000	1,0	1,3	1,6	1,8	1,9	2,0	2,1	2,1	2,2	2,2	N=2000
N=3000	0,8	1,1	1,3	1,4	1,5	1,6	1,7	1,8	1,8	1,8	N=3000
N=4000	0,7	0,9	1,1	1,2	1,3	1,4	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,5	N=4000
N=5000	0,6	0,8	1,0	1,1	1,2	1,3	1,3	1,4	1,4	1,4	N=5000
N=6000	0,6	0,8	0,9	1,0	1,1	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,3	1,3	N=6000
N=7000	0,5	0,7	0,8	0,9	1,0	1,1	1,1	1,1	1,2	1,2	N=7000
N=7500	0,5	0,7	0,8	0,9	1,0	1,0	1,1	1,1	1,1	1,1	N=7500
N=8000	0,5	0,7	0,8	0,9	0,9	1,0	1,0	1,1	1,1	1,1	N=8000
N=9000	0,5	0,6	0,7	0,8	0,9	0,9	1,0	1,0	1,0	1,0	N=9000
N=10000	0,4	0,6	0,7	0,8	0,8	0,9	0,9	1,0	1,0	1,0	N=10000
N=11000	0,4	0,6	0,7	0,7	0,8	0,9	0,9	0,9	0,9	0,9	N=11000
N=12000	0,4	0,5	0,6	0,7	0,8	0,8	0,9	0,9	0,9	0,9	N=12000
N=13000	0,4	0,5	0,6	0,7	0,7	0,8	0,8	0,8	0,9	0,9	N=13000
N=14000	0,4	0,5	0,6	0,7	0,7	0,8	0,8	0,8	0,8	0,8	N=14000
N=15000	0,3	0,5	0,6	0,6	0,7	0,7	0,8	0,8	0,8	0,8	N=15000
	5%	10%	15%	20%	25%	30%	35%	40%	45%	50%	
	95%	90%	85%	80%	75%	70%	65%	60%	55%	50%	

DETAILED METHODOLOGY

Country	Mode	Field Period (2012)	Representative	Sample Design	Sample Size	Average Length of Interview	Base for stratification	Number of PSUs (when face to face)	Was PSU allocated proportional to size?	Geographic Non-Coverage
France	Computer Assisted Telephone Interview	05 June-20 June	Adults 18 and older with access to landline telephone	Random Digit Dialing	1000	22 min	Departement			DOM-TOM (French territories such as French Guyana, Martinique, Guadeloupe and Reunion Island)
Germany	Computer Assisted Telephone Interview	04 June-23 June	Adults 18 and older with access to landline telephone	Random Digit Dialing	1000	24 min	Regions crossed by urbanisation levels			None
Italy	Computer Assisted Telephone Interview	04 June-23 June	Adults 18 and older with access to landline or mobile telephone	Random Digit Dialing	1000	21 min	Regions crossed by urbanisation levels			None
Netherlands	Computer Assisted Telephone Interview	04 June-27 June	Adults 18 and older with access to landline telephone	Random Digit Dialing	1000	25 min	Regions			None
Portugal	Computer Assisted Telephone Interview	04 June-19 June	Adults 18 and older with access to landline or mobile telephone	Random Digit Dialing	1000	25 min	Regions crossed by urbanisation levels			Islands (Azores, Madeira)
Spain	Computer Assisted Telephone Interview	04 June-25 June	Adults 18 and older with access to landline or mobile telephone	Random Digit Dialing	1000	20 min	Regions crossed by urbanisation levels			Ceuta and Melilla (autonomous cities in the north of Africa)
Sweden	Computer Assisted Telephone Interview	04 June-26 June	Adults 18 and older with access to landline telephone	Random Digit Dialing	1000	27 min	Regions			None
UK	Computer Assisted Telephone Interview	06 June-27 June	Adults 18 and older with access to landline telephone	Random Digit Dialing	1000	20 min	Regions			Isle of Man and the Channel Island
USA	Computer Assisted Telephone Interview	04 June-24 June	Adults 18 and older with access to landline or mobile telephone	Random Digit Dialing	1001	22 min	Regions			Alaska and Hawaii
Bulgaria	Face-to-face Interview	08 June-23 June	Adults 18 and older	Stratified multi-stage random sampling	1007	30 min	Regions crossed by urbanisation levels	130	Yes	None
Poland	Face-to-face Interview	05 June-22 June	Adults 18 and older	Stratified multi-stage random sampling	1000	23 min	Regions crossed by urbanisation levels	200	Yes	None
Romania	Face-to-face Interview	02 June-18 June	Adults 18 and older	Stratified multi-stage random sampling	1025	25 min	Regions crossed by urbanisation levels	154	Yes	None
Slovakia	Face-to-face Interview	05 June-21 June	Adults 18 and older	Stratified multi-stage random sampling	1005	22 min	Region and site size	168	Yes	None
Turkey	Face-to-face Interview	04 June-21 June	Adults 18 and older	Stratified multi-stage random sampling	1009	23 min	Regions	129	Yes	None
Russia	Face-to-face Interview	02 June-20 June	Adults 18 and older	Stratified multi-stage random sampling	1500	25 min	Regions	151	Yes	Chechen republic, extreme north

Q0A When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters...?

[DO NOT READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Frequently	26	27	26	26	27	13	15	18	28	33	43	27	13	27	12	14	15	48	21
2007	24	24			25	18		17	30	24	29	20	16	16	15		12	25	18
2006	23	22			26	13		16	20	23	33	20	19	16	13		15	22	18
Occasionally	54	53	53	53	50	49	52	51	57	57	43	56	55	52	59	65	63	43	52
2007	57	56			58	39		51	56	61	52	66	54	57	55		58	55	54
2006	57	57			57	41		52	58	64	52	63	54	58	58		63	54	53
Never	20	19	20	20	23	33	30	27	16	10	14	16	31	20	28	21	20	9	28
2007	19	19			16	40		31	14	14	18	14	30	27	27		29	19	27
2006	20	20			17	44		30	22	13	15	16	28	25	28		22	23	29
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	0	0	0	0	0	5	3	3	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
2007					0	3		1		1		1		1	2		1	1	1
2006					1	2		1		1				1	1		1	1	



Q1a How desirable is it that the United States exert strong leadership in world affairs? Very desirable, somewhat desirable, somewhat undesirable, or very undesirable?

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE Q1a and Q1b and Q1c - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very desirable	12	12	12	12	52	8	5	9	10	11	14	21	4	15	16	10	5	8	20
2011	12	11	12	12	50	6	5	9	9	8	14	17	7	12	19	14	7	8	20
2010	12	12	13		61	8		14	9	8	15	17	6	13	17		8	14	22
2009	12	11	11		49	5		5	10	10	13	14	5	15	17		8	8	16
2008	7	7	7		43	2		6	4	5	9	11	5	7	14		2	4	14
2007	8	7	7		53	1		5	5	5	9	12	5	7	11		2	4	14
2006	7	7	7		43	3		5	5	5	7	12	6	8	15		3	5	12
2005	8	8			45	7			4	5	8	11	7	11			7	6	17
2004	7	6				5			1	3	9	8	6	9			4	4	16
2003	8								2	4	12	8	10	9					15
2002	17				41				10	11	24	21	13						28
Somewhat desirable	41	40	40	40	30	17	14	29	46	50	34	44	35	40	41	48	31	30	42
2011	45	43	42	42	35	10	14	30	39	52	42	52	42	46	37	50	26	27	46
2010	45	43	43		23	9		28	37	51	40	51	40	46	42		27	30	52
2009	46	44	43		38	10		25	42	55	42	53	36	40	37		24	34	48
2008	31	29	29		37	5		18	24	34	31	41	37	26	34		17	14	34
2007	31	29	29		31	6		17	23	33	28	40	35	26	35		14	14	36
2006	33	30			41	11		16	25	39	27	39	33	29	31		16	14	36
2005	33	31			40	10			24	35	29	47	35	33			27	16	36
2004	32	30				11			23	34	32	51	33	23			17	14	38
2003	37								25	41	34	49	43	34					40
2002	47				42				38	57	39	54	51						44
Somewhat undesirable	28	30	29	29	8	20	43	28	29	30	29	17	35	25	17	28	37	44	20
2011	26	28	28	28	7	20	43	30	31	28	29	16	26	24	19	23	37	43	17
2010	29	30	29		11	14		24	35	33	32	20	34	25	18		38	37	14
2009	27	29	28		6	22		32	27	25	34	19	30	24	17		40	43	19
2008	37	38	37		10	11		35	41	43	37	29	37	30	20		40	45	27
2007	36	37	36		7	13		38	39	43	39	26	34	30	16		44	45	26
2006	36	37			9	13		28	39	40	38	28	35	28	19		42	41	28
2005	37	37			8	21			44	42	40	27	37	28			40	41	24
2004	36	37				22			43	44	34	25	37	25			41	42	23
2003	33								43	37	34	24	27	28					24
2002	22				9				33	21	21	17	19						18

Q1a How desirable is it that the United States exert strong leadership in world affairs? Very desirable, somewhat desirable, somewhat undesirable, or very undesirable?

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE Q1a and Q1b and Q1c - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
Very undesirable	13	13	13	13	6	38	21	17	14	8	20	10	8	14	14	10	15	16	12
2011	10	11	11	11	7	49		16	18	8	10	9	4	14	14	11	17	17	10
2010	9	10	10		4	53		15	16	6	10	8	7	12	11		15	16	7
2009	10	11	11		3	44		15	15	8	9	8	9	10	14		15	13	11
2008	19	21	21		6	60		23	27	16	22	16	10	24	17		24	33	19
2007	18	20	20		5	61		19	25	16	22	18	9	22	14		25	34	17
2006	18	21			5	56		29	26	14	24	16	9	24	16		27	37	17
2005	18	20			4	53			25	17	22	13	7	19			18	32	17
2004	19	21				47			30	16	22	15	10	24			27	34	14
2003	16								27	13	16	17	7	16					14
2002	9				5				15	6	12	6	3						7
[Neither or both equally]	1	1	2	2	1	2	9	11	0	1	1	2	3	1	4	0	6	1	2
2011	2	2	2	2	1	3		10	1	1	2	2	4	2	6		8	2	2
2010	1	1	2			3		10	1		1		2	1	5		9	2	2
2009	1	1	2		2	4		12			1	1	3	2	5		9	1	2
2008	1	1	2		2	4		8	1	1		1	3	4	5		9	2	1
2007	2	2	2		1	2		10	2	1		1	4	3	9		7	1	2
2006	1	1			1	2		11		1	2	2	2	2	6		6	2	1
2005	1	1			1	2				1	1	1	3	4			4	3	2
2004	2	2				2			1	2	2		4	7			6	3	2
2003	2									3	2	1	2	2					3
2002	2				1					3	2	1	6						1
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	4	4	4	4	2	14	8	6	1	1	2	7	15	4	8	3	4	2	5
2011	5	4	4	4	2	11		5	2	2	3	4	17	2	6	2	5	2	5
2010	3	3	4		1	12		9	2	3	2	2	11	3	8		4	1	2
2009	5	4	5		2	14		11	5	1	1	5	17	9	10		4	1	3
2008	4	4	5		2	18		9	3	2	1	2	16	9	11		8	2	5
2007	5	4	5		3	18		11	6	2	1	2	13	11	15		8	2	5
2006	5	4			2	15		12	5	2	1	3	15	8	13		5	1	6
2005	3	3			2	7			3	1	1	1	12	6			5	2	4
2004	4	4				13			2	2	2	1	10	12			5	4	6
2003	4								3	2	2	1	11	11					4
2002	3				2				4	2	2		9						2

Q1a How desirable is it that the United States exert strong leadership in world affairs? Very desirable, somewhat desirable, somewhat undesirable, or very undesirable?

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE Q1a and Q1b and Q1c - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
ST Desirable	54	52	52	52	82	26	19	39	56	60	49	65	38	56	57	59	37	39	62
2011	57	54	54	54	85	17		39	49	60	56	70	49	58	56	64	33	35	66
2010	57	56	55		84	18		42	46	59	55	69	46	59	58		35	44	74
2009	58	55	55		87	16		30	52	65	55	67	42	55	54		32	42	64
2008	39	36	36		80	8		25	28	39	41	52	34	33	48		19	18	48
2007	39	36	36		85	7		22	28	38	37	52	41	34	46		16	18	50
2006	40	37			83	14		21	30	43	35	51	39	37	47		19	19	48
ST Undesirable	41	43	42	42	14	59	64	44	42	38	48	27	43	39	31	38	53	59	32
2011	36	39	39	39	14	69		46	49	37	39	25	30	38	33	34	54	60	26
2010	38	40	39		15	67		39	51	38	42	29	41	37	28		52	53	21
2009	37	39	39		9	66		47	43	33	43	27	38	34	30		55	56	31
2008	56	59	57		16	70		58	68	58	59	44	46	54	36		64	78	46
2007	55	58	56		12	74		57	64	59	62	44	43	52	30		69	79	43
2006	54	57			14	69		56	65	54	62	44	44	52	35		70	78	45



Q1b How desirable is it that the European Union exert strong leadership in world affairs? Very desirable, somewhat desirable, somewhat undesirable, or very undesirable?

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE Q1a and Q1b and Q1c - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very desirable	25	25	25	25	26	8	5	32	28	33	34	30	10	35	24	22	19	26	20
2011	29	29	29	29	30	10		37	29	28	42	34	13	31	28	27	16	31	24
2010	29	30	30		36	9		40	24	34	41	31	13	41	30		21	36	21
2009	28	27	27		27	30		28	29	19	28	16	38	26			7	21	39
2008	27	27	27		24	8		35	24	30	37	32	14	29	32		13	28	21
2007	30	30	30		30	5		27	29	33	31	39	19	30	30		11	35	28
2006	27	27			30	7		20	24	31	31	36	12	32	25		9	29	23
2005	29	29			27	22			33	28	35	34	14	37			20	31	26
2004					37														
2003					43														
2002	34				31				40	27	53	42	16						32
Somewhat desirable	46	45	45	45	37	21	32	46	48	53	40	41	55	39	45	51	49	41	36
2011	49	48	47	47	40	18		39	46	59	43	45	56	46	41	51	41	40	39
2010	50	49	48		36	18		33	48	53	44	50	57	42	40		42	40	52
2009	49	49	49		42	18		40	44	59	43	52	52	41	42		44	52	42
2008	49	48	47		43	14		36	47	56	46	49	55	42	38		42	46	39
2007	49	48	47		43	16		38	43	53	50	45	58	45	37		41	40	44
2006	50	49			46	27		35	43	56	50	47	58	45	40		41	44	43
2005	50	50			46	28			49	59	47	52	55	44			45	51	41
2004					42														
2003					37														
2002	47				48				43	55	36	50	52						47
Somewhat undesirable	15	16	16	16	15	24	33	7	15	8	15	12	16	13	15	16	17	23	20
2011	11	12	12	12	11	21		7	13	7	9	11	13	12	14	14	23	20	16
2010	12	13	13		10	16		7	18	9	9	10	17	9	11		21	18	14
2009	13	13	13		10	17		9	15	7	13	9	14	9	10		17	16	17
2008	13	13	13		12	15		9	16	9	12	10	13	9	10		21	18	17
2007	11	12	12		10	15		11	13	8	15	7	12	8	8		27	19	13
2006	12	13			11	16		14	19	7	11	10	13	8	9		28	18	16
2005	12	12			11	16			10	9	13	8	16	7			22	10	14
2004					8														
2003					7														
2002	10				10				9	10	6	5	15						12

Q1b How desirable is it that the European Union exert strong leadership in world affairs? Very desirable, somewhat desirable, somewhat undesirable, or very undesirable?

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE Q1a and Q1b and Q1c - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK	
Very undesirable	8	9	8	8	10	31	11	4	7	4	9	10	4	10	6	7	5	8	16	
2011	6	6	6	6	10	39	11	3	9	3	3	7	2	8	7	6	7	4	4	13
2010	6	5	5	6	12	40	11	3	8	2	4	7	2	5	7	6	4	4	4	11
2009	6	6	6	6	8	39	11	2	8	3	2	6	2	4	7	6	6	3	3	17
2008	7	7	6	6	10	36	11	5	9	4	4	5	2	7	6	8	5	5	5	16
2007	5	5	5	5	6	39	11	2	7	3	3	5	2	4	5	7	7	5	5	9
2006	6	6	6	6	6	30	11	8	8	3	4	4	3	6	6	10	7	7	11	11
2005	5	5	5	5	7	25	11	7	6	4	3	5	4	3	6	5	5	3	3	12
2004					5															
2003					6															
2002	4				7				3	4	3	1	3							5
[Neither or both equally]	1	1	2	2	3	2	8	7	0	1	1	2	3	1	3	1	6	0	2	
2011	1	1	2	2	1	3	8	11	1	1	1	1	4	1	5	1	7	2	2	
2010	1	1	1	1	2	3	8	10		1	1		2	1	3	8	1	1	1	
2009	1	1	1	1	2	4	8	11			1		3	1	5	9	1	1	1	
2008	1	1	2	3	3	6	8	9	1			1	3	4	5	9	2	2	2	
2007	1	1	2	2	2	2	8	10	1	1		1	3	3	8	7	1	1	1	
2006	1	1	1	1	1	3	8	13			1	2	2	3	6	6	1	1	1	
2005	1	1			1	3	8						3	3		4	2	1	1	
2004					1															
2003					1															
2002	2				2				2	2	1	5							2	
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	4	4	4	4	9	14	11	4	1	1	2	6	12	2	6	3	4	2	7	
2011	4	4	4	4	9	10	11	4	2	2	2	2	12	2	5	2	6	2	6	
2010	3	2	3	4	6	14	11	6	2	1	1	3	9	1	8	4	1	2	2	
2009	4	4	4	4	8	15	11	8	5	1	1	4	12	7	9	3	1	4	4	
2008	4	4	4	4	8	21	11	7	3	1	1	4	13	10	10	7	2	5	5	
2007	4	4	5	5	9	22	11	11	6	2	1	3	8	10	12	8	2	6	6	
2006	5	4			6	16	11	9	5	2	2	2	12	8	13	6	2	7	7	
2005	3	3			8	6	11		2		1	1	9	6		4	2	6	6	
2004					7															
2003					7															
2002	3				4				4	2	1	1	8						3	

Q1b How desirable is it that the European Union exert strong leadership in world affairs? Very desirable, somewhat desirable, somewhat undesirable, or very undesirable?

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE Q1a and Q1b and Q1c - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
ST Desirable	71	70	70	70	63	29	37	78	76	86	73	71	65	74	69	73	69	67	55
2011	78	77	76	76	69	28		75	76	87	85	79	69	77	69	78	57	72	63
2010	79	78	78		72	27		74	72	87	85	80	70	84	70		63	76	73
2009	76	77	76		72	26		69	72	88	83	80	68	78	70		65	79	61
2008	76	75	75		68	22		71	71	86	83	81	69	70	70		55	74	60
2007	78	78	77		73	21		66	72	86	81	84	76	75	67		52	74	71
2006	76	76			76	35		56	67	88	82	82	70	77	66		50	73	65
ST Undesirable	23	25	24	24	25	55	44	11	22	12	24	21	20	23	21	23	22	31	36
2011	17	18	18	18	20	60		10	22	10	13	18	15	20	21	20	31	24	28
2010	18	18	18		22	56		10	26	12	13	17	19	14	18		25	22	25
2009	19	19	19		18	56		12	23	10	16	15	16	14	17		23	19	34
2008	19	20	19		21	51		13	25	12	16	15	15	16	15		29	22	33
2007	16	17	17		16	54		13	20	11	18	12	13	12	13		34	23	22
2006	18	19			17	47		22	28	10	15	14	16	13	15		38	24	26

Q1c How desirable is it that Russia exert strong leadership in world affairs? Very desirable, somewhat desirable, somewhat undesirable, or very undesirable?

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE Q1a and Q1b and Q1c - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very desirable	4	4	4	4	17	5	30	15	3	3	2	7	2	5	5	3	7	3	8
Somewhat desirable	22	21	21	21	28	11	38	32	23	30	17	26	11	25	18	21	34	9	23
Somewhat undesirable	38	40	39	39	24	26	17	20	38	45	34	29	46	37	27	43	32	50	30
Very undesirable	28	28	28	28	19	39	3	10	33	17	39	25	32	23	33	29	14	32	26
[Neither or both equally]	2	2	2	2	4	2	5	15	1	2	2	2	2	2	6	1	8	1	2
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	6	6	6	6	8	16	6	8	2	2	6	10	8	7	11	4	6	5	11
ST Desirable	26	25	25	25	45	16	69	47	26	33	19	33	12	31	23	24	40	12	31
ST Undesirable	66	68	67	67	43	65	20	30	71	63	73	55	77	60	60	72	46	82	56

Q2.1 Now I would like to ask you some questions about the relations between different countries and organizations. For each, can you tell me if the relations between those countries and organizations are good, bad, or mixed that is, good in some respects and bad in others? How about...?

[DO NOT ASK IN RUSSIA] The United States and the European Union

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Good	45	46	46	46	44	31	48	59	41	52	54	34	40	46	42	51	56	35
2011	45	46	46	45	42	30	49	38	55	47	40	40	40	46	40	33	54	38
2010	58	58	58		54	27	58	47	68	76	51	48	54	49		54	64	42
Bad	5	5	5	5	7	17	3	2	4	5	6	7	6	5	4	5	5	5
2011	4	4	4	4	5	28	3	3	5	2	4	5	6	7	3	8	7	3
2010	4	4	4		4	24	2	4	3	1	7	7	5	7		8	4	5
Mixed	47	45	45	45	43	35	39	38	52	40	35	48	52	40	49	40	37	56
2011	48	47	46	46	49	28	39	58	37	49	52	46	52	39	53	47	35	54
2010	36	36	36		41	29	34	47	28	22	40	40	40	33		33	32	51
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	4	3	4	4	6	17	9	0	3	3	6	12	2	9	5	4	1	3
2011	3	4	4	4	4	14	9	1	3	2	4	8	2	9	5	12	4	5
2010	2	2	2		1	20	6	1	2	1	2	5	1	10		5		2

Q2.2 Now I would like to ask you some questions about the relations between different countries and organizations. For each, can you tell me if the relations between those countries and organizations are good, bad, or mixed that is, good in some respects and bad in others? How about...?

[DO NOT ASK IN RUSSIA] [COUNTRY] and Russia

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Good	22	24	24	24	22	28	44	20	26	35	20	9	25	20	22	64	37	11
Bad	12	12	12	12	16	25	10	6	8	8	9	36	9	21	8	4	12	13
Mixed	61	59	58	58	57	29	40	70	64	49	57	49	55	49	63	28	43	71
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	5	5	6	6	6	18	6	4	2	7	13	6	10	10	7	4	8	4

Q2.3 Now I would like to ask you some questions about the relations between different countries and organizations. For each, can you tell me if the relations between those countries and organizations are good, bad, or mixed that is, good in some respects and bad in others? How about...?

[ASK ONLY IN TURKEY and RUSSIA] [COUNTRY] and the European Union

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

TOTAL	
Good	2011 2010
Bad	2011 2010
Mixed	2011 2010
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	2011 2010

TR	RU
100% (1009)	100% (1500)
24 25 22	33
25 35 35	9
38 32 28	46
14 9 16	12

Q2.4 Now I would like to ask you some questions about the relations between different countries and organizations. For each, can you tell me if the relations between those countries and organizations are good, bad, or mixed that is, good in some respects and bad in others? How about...?

[ASK ONLY IN TURKEY and RUSSIA] [COUNTRY] and the United States

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

TOTAL	
Good	
	2011
	2010
Bad	
	2011
	2010
Mixed	
	2011
	2010
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	
	2011
	2010

TR	RU
100% (1009)	100% (1500)
40	19
27	
25	
18	18
34	
33	
28	53
28	
27	
15	10
11	
14	



Q3 Do you approve or disapprove of the way the President of the United States Barack Obama (2002-2008: George Bush) is handling international policies?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Approve very much	15	14	14	14	27	12	2	11	13	18	18	29	2	13	14	9	8	11	12
2011	18	17	17	17	26	11		18	15	20	21	29	6	17	18	18	12	10	18
2010	22	22	21	17	29	7		20	18	27	32	35	4	30	14	18	19	16	17
2009	32	30	29	30	30	16		23	26	40	40	42	7	42	15	19	17	30	30
2008	2	2	3	13	13	3		3	2	2	3	1	4	3	10	2	2	3	3
2007	3	2	3	12	12	4		4	3	2	2	1	3	2	6	2	2	2	3
2006	3	3		19	19	1		3	3	2	3	3	3	3	7	2	2	2	4
2005	4	4		24	24	7		2	2	3	2	3	5	5	5	4	4	2	7
2004	4	3		28	28	4		1	3	6	2	2	3	4	4	4	4	2	6
2003	6			38	38			3	4	8	4	4	10	7					9
2002	4			13	13			1	3	10	1	1	7						3
Approve somewhat	58	57	56	56	28	30	23	40	68	62	56	51	47	66	52	63	47	58	55
2011	59	59	58	58	27	19		44	61	61	58	53	59	65	50	56	45	58	56
2010	57	57	56	23	23	20		49	64	60	52	44	54	59	50		57	58	56
2009	53	55	54	27	27	34		48	62	52	51	48	48	48	44		52	68	52
2008	17	16	17	23	23	6		18	9	10	24	17	40	17	35		17	9	14
2007	16	15	16	25	25	2		21	9	11	17	18	39	13	34		18	8	14
2006	16	15		21	21	6		17	9	10	17	21	38	17	34		21	8	16
2005	22	20		25	25	10			11	13	21	30	48	23			31	10	25
2004	19	18		23	23	9			11	9	24	28	39	18			18	8	21
2003	24			22	22				12	12	32	33	48	34					26
2002	34			40	40				20	33	47	27	55						27
Disapprove somewhat	15	16	16	16	16	20	37	20	12	15	14	10	24	11	14	18	21	20	17
2011	13	14	14	14	17	18		19	14	13	11	10	16	11	17	16	22	19	14
2010	12	12	13	14	14	18		19	11	9	8	12	19	7	16		13	15	18
2009	5	5	6	13	13	15		8	5	2	4	5	11	1	11		14	8	6
2008	36	36	35	15	15	7		32	37	43	33	36	31	23	22		31	37	34
2007	38	37	36	16	16	4		32	37	44	37	31	35	23	24		30	32	35
2006	36	36		17	17	7		30	33	47	32	35	34	26	26		29	35	32
2005	35	34		15	15	14			39	44	31	35	28	24			29	32	28
2004	36	36		12	12	11			40	41	31	35	36	23			25	33	33
2003	36			11	11				41	49	33	30	22	26					30
2002	42			31	31				53	50	28	58	22						44

Q3 Do you approve or disapprove of the way the President of the United States Barack Obama (2002-2008: George Bush) is handling international policies?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
Disapprove very much	6	6	6	6	27	22	12	7	3	4	9	5	5	5	5	5	8	5	7
2011	4	4	5	5	28	40		8	6	3	5	5	1	5	7	6	10	6	5
2010	3	3	3		34	40		2	3	2	2	3	4	3	4		3	4	5
2009	2	2	2		22	18		2	2	2	2	1	2	1	3		2	1	3
2008	40	41	39		44	65		34	49	44	38	44	11	51	15		39	46	44
2007	39	41	40		44	79		29	46	42	40	48	9	53	17		37	55	44
2006	40	41			41	74		38	52	39	45	39	12	47	21		41	51	40
2005	35	37			33	63			47	39	38	30	9	40			30	50	34
2004	38	40			35	62			46	45	35	35	15	49			47	52	37
2003	28				23				41	32	24	31	8	25					27
2002	14				13				21	12	9	12	4						22
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	7	7	8	8	3	15	26	22	4	3	4	5	23	5	15	6	16	7	9
2011	6	6	6	6	2	12		11	5	3	5	3	18	2	8	4	11	7	7
2010	6	6	7			14		10	5	2	6	5	19	2	16		8	8	5
2009	8	8	9		8	18		19	6	3	3	4	32	8	27		12	6	9
2008	4	4	5		4	21		13	3	1	2	2	15	6	19		12	5	5
2007	5	5	5		3	14		14	5	2	3	2	13	9	18		13	3	5
2006	5	5			3	12		12	3	3	3	3	14	7	12		7	5	7
2005	5	5			3	7			1	2	6	2	10	8			6	6	7
2004	3	4			2	13			2	2	4	1	8	7			7	5	4
2003	6				6				3	3	3	2	12	8					8
2002	5				3				4	3	5	3	12						4
ST Approve	72	71	71	71	54	42	26	51	81	79	74	79	49	79	66	71	55	69	67
2011	77	75	75	75	54	30		63	76	81	79	81	65	82	68	75	58	68	74
2010	79	79	78		52	28		69	82	87	84	79	58	88	64		76	74	72
2009	85	85	83		57	50		72	88	92	91	90	55	90	58		71	85	82
2008	20	19	20		37	8		22	11	12	27	18	44	20	44		19	11	17
2007	18	17	19		37	3		25	12	13	20	19	43	15	40		20	10	16
2006	19	18			40	7		20	12	12	20	24	40	20	42		23	10	20
ST Disapprove	21	22	22	22	42	43	48	27	16	18	23	15	28	17	19	22	29	25	24
2011	17	18	19	19	44	58		27	19	16	16	15	18	16	23	21	32	25	19
2010	15	15	16		48	58		21	13	12	10	15	23	10	20		16	19	23
2009	7	7	8		35	33		10	7	5	6	6	13	2	14		17	9	9
2008	76	77	75		59	71		66	87	87	71	80	42	75	36		69	83	78
2007	77	78	76		60	83		61	83	86	78	79	44	75	42		67	87	79
2006	76	77			58	81		68	85	85	77	74	46	73	47		70	85	72

Q4a.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way the President of the United States Barack Obama has been handling the following issues? How about....?

Managing relations with Russia

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Approve very much	10	10	10	10	17	8	5	12	9	9	15	21	3	12	11	9	9	10	7
2011	16	15	15	15	16	6		18	17	14	21	35	4	18	14	16	15	10	14
2010	16	15	15		21	6		17	13	14	29	21	4	16	15		22	13	12
Approve somewhat	46	46	46	46	36	28	33	44	50	49	45	40	37	53	45	45	42	44	44
2011	43	43	43	43	38	16		48	38	44	43	36	47	51	46	42	38	44	42
2010	50	50	50		39	15		46	46	53	47	42	48	61	42		43	48	58
Disapprove somewhat	19	19	19	19	18	24	28	18	15	25	12	11	26	12	16	14	19	22	19
2011	16	16	16	16	17	25		15	17	20	10	13	25	11	20	11	19	17	10
2010	17	17	17		20	17		12	20	19	8	18	25	11	15		17	16	15
Disapprove very much	6	6	6	6	16	20	14	7	7	3	8	6	6	5	4	8	6	7	6
2011	5	5	5	5	12	30		5	11	5	3	6	2	6	6	6	8	6	4
2010	4	5	5		18	40		3	8	4	2	8	3	5	5		5	6	3
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	20	19	20	20	13	20	20	19	19	13	21	22	28	18	24	24	24	17	23
2011	20	21	20	20	17	23		14	17	16	23	10	22	14	15	26	20	23	30
2010	13	13	14		1	22		21	14	10	15	10	20	7	23		13	17	12
ST Approve	56	55	55	55	53	36	38	56	59	59	59	62	40	65	56	54	51	54	51
2011	59	58	58	58	54	23		65	56	58	64	72	51	69	60	58	53	54	56
2010	66	65	65		61	21		63	59	67	75	64	52	77	57		65	61	70
ST Disapprove	25	25	25	25	34	44	42	25	23	28	20	17	32	17	20	22	25	29	26
2011	21	21	22	22	29	55		20	28	26	13	18	27	17	25	17	27	23	14
2010	21	21	21		38	57		15	27	23	10	26	28	16	20		22	22	19

Q4a.3 Do you approve or disapprove of the way the President of the United States Barack Obama has been handling the following issues? How about....?

Stabilizing Afghanistan

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100%
Approve very much	13	12	12	12	25	9	3	10	15	13	13	24	2	18	12	10	10	8	13
2011	15	14	14	14	17	6		13	18	12	17	27	2	22	16	13	10	10	17
2010	13	13	13		14	9		15	11	10	20	21	1	22	19		19	12	14
Approve somewhat	36	36	36	36	30	23	19	34	41	35	37	34	28	40	44	40	38	33	37
2011	37	37	37	37	38	11		37	40	32	39	40	34	41	38	41	33	37	39
2010	36	36	36		40	15		36	45	30	42	38	20	44	40		41	33	37
Disapprove somewhat	27	27	26	26	19	25	29	25	25	34	18	17	36	15	18	27	20	29	25
2011	24	25	25	25	21	33		22	18	33	18	14	37	19	24	25	25	29	19
2010	29	29	28		26	15		16	22	37	19	19	47	16	16		17	29	27
Disapprove very much	15	15	15	15	22	27	23	14	14	12	19	16	10	13	9	12	11	20	19
2011	14	14	14	14	18	32		17	14	16	16	12	7	12	10	13	16	13	18
2010	15	15	14		19	42		11	12	17	12	13	14	11	6		6	16	18
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	10	10	10	10	4	16	25	17	5	6	12	10	24	14	17	10	22	9	6
2011	10	10	10	10	6	18		11	9	7	11	7	20	6	12	8	16	11	7
2010	8	9	10		1	18		21	10	6	7	10	17	7	20		18	11	4
ST Approve	49	48	48	48	55	32	23	44	56	48	51	58	30	58	56	50	47	42	50
2011	52	51	51	51	55	17		50	59	44	56	68	36	63	54	54	43	47	56
2010	49	48	49		54	24		51	57	40	62	59	22	66	58		59	44	51
ST Disapprove	41	42	41	41	41	52	52	39	39	46	37	33	46	27	27	40	31	49	44
2011	39	39	39	39	39	65		38	32	49	33	26	44	31	34	38	41	41	37
2010	43	43	42		45	58		27	34	54	31	32	61	27	22		23	44	45

Q4a.4 Do you approve or disapprove of the way the President of the United States Barack Obama has been handling the following issues? How about....?

Dealing with the US economy

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	USA
TOTAL	100% (1001)
Approve very much <i>2011</i>	23 <i>18</i>
Approve somewhat <i>2011</i>	24 <i>27</i>
Disapprove somewhat <i>2011</i>	16 <i>16</i>
Disapprove very much <i>2011</i>	36 <i>37</i>
[DK]/[REFUSAL] <i>2011</i>	2 <i>2</i>
ST Approve <i>2011</i>	46 <i>45</i>
ST Disapprove <i>2011</i>	52 <i>53</i>

Q4a.5 Do you approve or disapprove of the way the President of the United States Barack Obama has been handling the following issues? How about....?

Fighting international terrorism

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Approve very much	32	31	31	31	35	10	9	25	36	33	40	40	7	45	30	23	24	26	31
2011	33	32	32	32	37	8		32	28	36	43	36	10	50	35	30	31	27	35
Approve somewhat	39	40	40	40	31	22	29	43	48	35	34	34	48	35	42	42	45	43	39
2011	40	41	40	40	31	15		40	41	37	37	36	59	31	37	42	35	45	37
Disapprove somewhat	15	14	14	14	15	22	26	13	8	20	11	10	22	7	11	20	13	13	15
2011	14	14	14	14	16	29		12	17	16	8	13	17	10	15	15	16	16	13
Disapprove very much	8	8	8	8	16	30	16	7	6	8	9	8	5	9	5	8	7	13	9
2011	7	7	7	7	14	32		7	9	8	6	9	3	8	6	9	8	8	8
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	6	6	7	7	3	16	21	12	3	3	6	8	17	4	12	6	11	5	6
2011	6	6	6	6	3	16		8	6	4	5	6	12	2	8	4	11	4	7
ST Approve	72	71	71	71	66	32	38	68	84	68	74	74	55	80	72	65	69	69	70
2011	73	73	73	73	68	23		73	68	73	81	72	69	81	72	72	65	72	73
ST Disapprove	22	23	22	22	31	52	42	21	13	28	20	18	27	16	16	28	20	26	24
2011	21	21	21	21	29	61		19	26	24	14	22	20	18	21	24	24	24	20

Q4a.6 Do you approve or disapprove of the way the President of the United States Barack Obama has been handling the following issues? How about....?

Handling negotiations with Iran concerning its nuclear program

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Approve very much	17	17	17	17	21	8	4	13	21	19	19	28	3	20	15	15	11	15	16
Approve somewhat	32	32	32	32	30	16	18	31	37	34	31	30	26	35	33	31	36	31	31
Disapprove somewhat	22	22	22	22	17	28	28	18	19	25	17	14	31	14	16	20	19	26	24
Disapprove very much	14	14	14	14	25	31	20	11	13	13	18	14	8	18	7	14	10	19	14
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	15	14	15	15	8	17	30	27	10	8	15	14	33	13	29	19	24	9	15
ST Approve	50	49	49	49	50	24	21	44	58	53	50	58	28	55	48	46	47	45	47
ST Disapprove	36	37	36	36	42	59	48	28	32	38	35	28	38	32	23	34	29	45	38

Q4b.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way [COUNTRY'S] government has been handling the following issues?

International policies

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Approve very much	17	16	16	16	15	23	21	14	21	25	19	13	4	13	8	19	9	13	10
2011	13	13	12	13	12	24		13	13	17	14	18	3	10	4	26	7	11	13
Approve somewhat	43	41	41	42	39	28	49	44	45	48	35	45	44	42	44	54	51	25	42
2011	43	41	41	41	38	21		42	40	49	33	47	49	47	40	48	51	28	42
Disapprove somewhat	22	23	23	23	23	22	15	20	20	20	19	21	30	20	23	17	23	31	26
2011	24	25	25	25	26	24		25	27	25	20	23	28	18	29	17	24	33	24
Disapprove very much	13	15	15	15	16	17	6	12	13	4	23	14	12	21	16	5	10	27	16
2011	15	17	17	16	18	22		11	18	7	29	8	12	21	22	7	12	24	15
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	5	5	5	5	6	10	8	10	1	3	5	7	10	4	8	4	7	3	7
2011	4	4	4	4	7	9		9	2	3	4	4	7	5	5	3	6	4	6
ST Approve	60	57	57	57	54	51	71	58	66	73	53	57	47	55	53	74	60	38	51
2011	56	54	54	54	50	45		55	54	65	47	65	52	57	44	74	58	39	55
ST Disapprove	35	38	38	38	40	39	21	32	33	24	42	35	43	41	39	22	33	59	42
2011	40	42	42	42	44	47		36	45	32	49	31	41	38	51	24	37	57	38

Q4b.2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way [COUNTRY'S] government has been handling the following issues?

[DO NOT ASK IN US] Dealing with [COUNTRY'S] economy

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Approve very much	14	13	13	13	27	10	6	14	27	8	12	2	9	4	30	7	10	11
2011	13	11	11	11	21		4	13	19	8	22	1	6	4	31	6	3	13
Approve somewhat	31	29	28	29	28	36	18	28	41	25	31	28	25	20	44	33	15	29
2011	31	29	28	28	26		19	29	44	20	40	30	23	14	36	24	15	26
Disapprove somewhat	27	26	26	26	19	27	29	31	25	19	24	41	18	35	18	26	22	25
2011	25	25	26	25	21		29	25	27	19	19	38	15	26	20	30	28	23
Disapprove very much	27	30	30	30	19	19	43	26	6	47	27	24	46	36	7	29	52	33
2011	27	30	31	31	24		46	26	7	50	14	26	54	51	10	30	50	33
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	2	2	2	2	7	8	5	1	1	1	5	5	1	5	2	4	1	2
2011	4	4	4	4	8		3	7	2	2	6	5	3	5	2	9	3	5
ST Approve	45	43	41	42	55	46	23	42	68	33	43	30	34	24	74	40	25	40
2011	44	41	39	40	47		23	42	63	28	62	31	29	18	68	31	18	39
ST Disapprove	53	55	57	56	38	46	72	57	31	66	52	65	65	71	24	56	73	58
2011	52	55	57	56	45		75	51	34	69	32	64	69	78	30	60	78	56

Q5.1 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

The United States

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very favorable	14	14	15	15	52	9	7	17	11	8	17	24	6	16	26	10	9	19	20
2011	14	15	16	16	53	6		20	11	10	22	14	6	9	25	13	11	22	21
2010	11	12	13		58	4		20	6	7	22	19	4	5	25		10	20	16
2009	11	12	12		61	6		12	9	8	21	11	4	9	21		6	17	15
Somewhat favorable	61	59	59	59	32	25	43	51	71	63	59	54	60	58	58	57	54	53	56
2011	58	57	57	57	31	23		56	46	62	58	48	68	72	56	56	52	48	57
2010	65	64	63		29	17		51	69	65	62	62	66	75	54		56	57	61
2009	62	61	61		29	16		50	66	63	58	62	66	69	53		46	56	58
Somewhat unfavorable	18	18	17	18	9	19	29	21	15	25	18	15	17	16	10	26	26	18	14
2011	18	18	18	18	11	25		16	26	22	13	20	13	14	14	22	25	18	12
2010	19	18	18		7	18		18	20	24	12	14	20	16	13		26	14	18
2009	19	19	19		4	22		24	19	24	19	19	15	8	12		37	17	17
Very unfavorable	4	5	5	5	5	39	12	7	3	3	4	3	3	6	2	3	9	9	6
2011	5	6	5	5	4	38		7	11	4	3	8	1	3	3	5	7	9	5
2010	3	3	4		5	49		5	4	3	2	3	2	2	4		4	7	5
2009	4	4	4		3	42		7	5	4	2	4	2	3	6		7	7	5
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	4	4	4	4	2	9	9	3	1	2	3	4	15	4	3	5	3	1	4
2011	5	5	5	5	2	8		2	5	3	3	10	12	3	2	4	5	3	5
2010	2	2	3		1	12		5	2	2	2	2	8	2	4		4	2	1
2009	4	4	4		2	15		7	3	2	1	4	13	11	8		4	2	6
ST Favorable	74	74	74	74	84	34	50	68	81	70	76	78	65	74	84	67	62	72	76
2011	72	72	72	72	83	30		75	58	72	81	62	74	81	81	69	63	70	78
2010	76	76	76		87	22		72	75	71	84	81	70	81	78		65	77	76
2009	73	73	73		90	22		63	74	70	79	74	70	77	74		52	74	73
ST Unfavorable	22	23	22	22	14	57	41	29	18	28	22	18	19	22	13	28	34	27	20
2011	23	23	23	23	15	62		23	37	26	16	28	15	16	17	27	32	27	17
2010	22	22	22		12	67		23	24	27	14	17	23	18	17		31	21	22
2009	23	23	23		8	64		31	23	28	20	22	18	12	19		44	24	21

Q5.2 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

The European Union

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very favorable	13	14	15	15	12	9	11	40	12	13	19	19	7	16	24	11	12	22	9
2011	14	17	18	18	15	8		43	10	15	23	16	10	10	31	17	25	30	13
2010	14	17	18		18	9		47	10	12	26	23	9	8	30		25	35	12
2009	14	17	18		12	10		43	11	11	28	15	9	18	33		27	33	11
Somewhat favorable	52	51	51	51	45	27	53	48	59	62	50	43	61	51	59	54	60	42	37
2011	54	53	53	53	50	31		47	49	60	54	45	67	67	56	51	55	43	45
2010	56	55	55		50	26		42	56	57	52	51	71	75	50		60	48	47
2009	55	55	54		50	22		44	55	61	52	58	66	70	51		60	51	38
Somewhat unfavorable	22	22	21	21	20	21	19	9	22	20	22	22	14	20	11	24	20	22	28
2011	19	19	18	18	19	21		6	26	20	17	20	13	16	10	20	15	18	18
2010	23	21	20		21	19		7	26	26	19	19	13	14	12		10	11	27
2009	21	20	19		13	22		7	27	23	19	19	12	5	8		9	10	25
Very unfavorable	8	9	8	8	11	32	5	2	6	4	7	11	4	11	2	8	4	13	20
2011	7	7	7	7	7	32		3	11	4	4	8	2	4	1	9	2	7	17
2010	5	5	5		10	36		1	7	4	2	5	2	2	4		1	4	12
2009	6	6	6		10	33		2	6	3	1	4	3	3	3		2	5	21
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	4	4	4	4	12	11	12	1	1	1	2	5	15	2	3	4	3	1	5
2011	5	4	4	4	10	8		1	4	2	3	10	9	2	1	3	4	2	7
2010	2	2	2		2	11		3	1	1	1	2	5	1	4		3	2	2
2009	3	3	3		14	14		4	1	2	1	4	10	5	5		3	2	6
ST Favorable	66	65	67	67	57	36	64	88	71	75	69	62	68	67	84	64	72	64	46
2011	69	69	71	71	65	39		90	59	74	77	61	76	77	87	68	80	73	58
2010	70	72	73		68	34		89	66	69	78	74	80	83	80		85	83	59
2009	69	71	72		63	32		87	66	72	80	73	75	88	84		86	83	48
ST Unfavorable	30	31	30	30	31	53	24	11	28	24	29	34	18	31	14	32	25	35	49
2011	27	26	25	25	26	53		9	37	24	21	29	15	21	12	29	17	25	35
2010	28	26	25		31	55		8	33	30	21	25	15	16	17		12	15	40
2009	27	26	25		23	54		9	33	26	20	24	15	7	11		11	15	46

Q5.3 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

China

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very favorable	6	6	7	7	9	10	11	10	3	3	8	12	3	9	14	3	3	12	9
2011	8	8	9	9	8	6		14	11	5	8	16	3	3	16	4	4	12	8
2010	4	5	6		10	15		11	3	3	4	7	2	1	20		5	11	11
Somewhat favorable	33	33	34	34	32	29	51	46	30	31	28	38	36	38	47	32	35	35	40
2011	37	37	38	38	34	28		52	42	30	33	44	40	50	53	32	31	36	44
2010	38	38	38		38	25		49	39	31	33	48	31	40	47		31	40	53
Somewhat unfavorable	37	35	35	35	30	21	24	25	44	48	35	25	30	25	23	40	36	22	25
2011	32	31	31	31	30	26		18	28	45	34	21	29	31	21	39	40	25	22
2010	41	40	38		34	20		22	43	54	44	29	36	47	19		42	26	23
Very unfavorable	15	16	15	15	23	24	6	5	19	11	21	11	7	20	5	17	16	26	13
2011	12	13	13	13	21	28		4	14	14	16	9	6	6	3	17	14	21	10
2010	10	11	11		17	21		6	11	8	16	6	9	7	3		12	18	9
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	9	9	9	9	7	16	8	14	3	6	7	14	24	7	11	9	11	4	13
2011	10	10	10	10	7	12		11	5	7	10	10	21	10	7	7	12	6	16
2010	6	6	7		1	20		12	4	3	4	10	22	5	11		10	5	4
ST Favorable	39	40	41	41	41	39	63	56	33	35	36	50	39	48	62	34	38	48	49
2011	45	45	47	47	42	34		67	53	35	40	59	43	53	69	36	35	49	52
2010	42	43	45		48	39		60	42	35	36	55	32	41	67		36	51	64
ST Unfavorable	52	51	50	50	52	45	30	30	63	60	56	36	37	46	27	57	52	48	38
2011	45	45	43	44	50	54		22	42	58	50	30	35	37	24	57	54	46	32
2010	52	51	49		51	40		28	54	62	60	35	45	54	22		54	44	32

Q5.4 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

Russia

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very favorable	3	4	4	4	6	5	37	30	2	2	5	5	2	5	7	1	7	6	5
2011	7	7	8	8	6	7		38	13	6	5	17	1	2	10	2	8	11	6
2010	4	4	5		6	12		34	3	4	4	6	7	2	11		11	6	5
Somewhat favorable	31	32	33	32	36	27	47	48	29	31	28	34	31	38	37	21	58	36	35
2011	42	42	42	42	41	30		50	43	42	37	44	41	57	43	29	50	39	44
2010	42	43	43		45	22		53	39	43	40	43	37	47	36		54	43	49
Somewhat unfavorable	44	42	41	41	29	23	10	13	49	50	44	37	38	32	34	50	25	30	35
2011	32	31	31	31	31	23		7	27	39	35	23	38	26	30	47	28	29	21
2010	40	39	38		36	20		7	40	45	41	34	40	41	35		24	31	33
Very unfavorable	14	14	14	14	19	30	3	5	15	12	16	13	13	14	11	18	4	19	12
2011	8	8	8	8	11	29		3	13	6	9	7	7	4	6	13	7	10	7
2010	8	8	8		13	26		2	10	5	9	8	9	3	8		6	12	7
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	8	8	8	8	11	15	3	5	5	5	7	12	16	11	10	9	6	8	12
2011	11	11	11	11	10	12		2	4	7	14	10	13	11	11	9	7	11	22
2010	6	6	7		7	20		4	8	3	6	9	13	7	11		5	7	6
ST Favorable	34	36	37	37	42	32	84	78	31	32	33	38	33	43	44	23	64	43	40
2011	49	49	50	50	48	37		88	56	48	41	61	42	59	52	31	58	50	50
2010	46	47	47		51	33		87	42	48	44	49	38	49	46		65	49	54
ST Unfavorable	57	56	55	55	48	53	13	17	64	63	60	50	52	46	45	68	29	49	47
2011	40	40	39	39	42	52		10	39	45	44	30	45	30	37	60	35	39	28
2010	48	47	46		49	46		10	50	50	50	43	49	44	43		30	44	40

Q5.5 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

[DO NOT ASK IN RUSSIA] [ASK ONLY SPLIT A1] Italy

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	50% (3451)	50% (4464)	50% (5467)	50% (5957)	50% (475)	50% (508)	50% (502)	50% (485)	50% (492)	50% (494)	50% (498)	50% (492)	52% (524)	50% (500)	50% (476)	50% (521)	50% (514)	50% (495)
Very favorable	8	8	9	9	19	6	28	4	4	16	10	3	10	15	4	7	12	10
Somewhat favorable	50	49	49	49	45	22	58	56	49	39	37	60	53	55	34	56	41	53
Somewhat unfavorable	28	28	27	27	14	24	6	30	39	30	33	15	19	17	42	26	27	17
Very unfavorable	7	8	7	7	6	29	1	7	4	13	12	3	7	4	10	5	14	5
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	8	7	7	7	16	19	7	2	5	2	8	19	12	9	9	5	6	15
ST Favorable	57	57	58	58	63	27	86	60	53	55	47	63	63	70	39	64	54	63
ST Unfavorable	35	36	34	35	20	54	7	38	42	43	45	18	26	21	53	31	40	22

Q5.6 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

[DO NOT ASK IN RUSSIA] [ASK ONLY SPLIT B1] Spain

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	50% (3549)	50% (4541)	50% (5570)	50% (6080)	52% (526)	50% (501)	50% (505)	50% (515)	50% (508)	50% (506)	50% (502)	50% (508)	50% (476)	50% (525)	52% (524)	50% (484)	50% (486)	50% (505)
Very favorable	9	11	11	11	13	7	25	7	8	12	11	7	20	12	7	4	25	9
Somewhat favorable	50	47	48	48	40	27	60	55	50	43	41	57	59	60	42	41	28	47
Somewhat unfavorable	28	27	26	26	19	18	7	29	33	31	33	14	10	14	32	34	20	24
Very unfavorable	5	7	7	7	12	22	1	6	3	6	7	2	7	5	7	10	27	5
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	9	8	8	8	17	26	8	2	6	8	8	20	5	8	13	11	0	14
ST Favorable	59	58	59	59	53	35	85	63	58	55	52	64	78	72	49	45	53	56
ST Unfavorable	32	34	33	33	30	40	7	35	36	37	40	16	17	19	39	43	47	30

Q5.7 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

Turkey

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very favorable	4	4	5	5	14	61	12	12	2	3	4	12	2	4	8	2	3	6	7
2011	6	6	6	6	6			10	10	5	4	16	2	1	7	4	3	8	6
2010	3	4	4		8			10	3	3	2	7	1	1	9		2	7	6
Somewhat favorable	37	37	37	37	29	24	49	38	36	43	21	47	41	38	48	28	34	34	41
2011	39	38	39	38	35			38	43	37	29	44	48	51	45	29	29	36	38
2010	35	36	36		42			35	38	31	23	43	37	40	47		25	39	48
Somewhat unfavorable	33	33	32	32	22	7	21	28	42	40	37	24	22	22	23	41	40	27	22
2011	31	31	30	31	24			31	31	42	36	23	19	29	27	43	34	26	22
2010	40	38	37		34			28	40	53	46	35	25	40	24		44	27	25
Very unfavorable	10	11	11	11	24	7	5	13	12	8	17	7	4	10	5	12	12	16	10
2011	9	9	9	9	9			15	11	9	13	8	3	3	6	11	16	13	6
2010	10	10	10		11			18	10	10	16	8	4	5	6		16	14	8
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	15	15	15	15	11	2	13	8	8	6	21	11	31	26	16	17	12	17	20
2011	15	15	15	15	26			6	5	7	19	9	29	16	15	14	17	16	27
2010	12	12	12		4			8	9	3	13	7	33	14	14		13	13	13
ST Favorable	41	41	42	42	43	85	61	51	38	47	25	58	43	42	56	30	37	40	48
2011	45	45	45	45	42			47	53	42	33	60	49	52	52	32	33	45	44
2010	39	39	40		50			45	41	34	25	50	39	41	56		28	46	54
ST Unfavorable	43	44	43	43	46	13	26	41	54	48	53	31	26	33	28	53	52	43	32
2011	40	40	40	40	32			46	42	51	49	31	22	32	33	54	50	39	28
2010	50	49	48		46			47	50	63	62	43	29	45	30		59	40	33

Q5.8 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

[ASK ONLY SPLIT A2] Japan

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	50% (3415)	50% (4407)	50% (5402)	50% (5895)	50% (503)	50% (501)	50% (769)	50% (499)	50% (485)	50% (474)	50% (482)	50% (498)	50% (511)	55% (552)	50% (500)	50% (503)	50% (521)	50% (498)	50% (488)
Very favorable	13	15	15	15	25	16	16	35	6	9	18	19	12	16	18	17	19	28	18
2011	16	18	18	18	32	16		35	13	12	22	15	14	8	18	19	15	33	22
Somewhat favorable	52	51	51	51	43	38	49	49	61	55	44	44	56	48	47	48	59	40	48
2011	50	49	49	50	43	38		54	48	50	48	45	59	65	49	56	49	44	49
Somewhat unfavorable	17	17	16	16	14	13	17	5	19	21	18	16	11	14	13	16	13	15	12
2011	18	17	17	17	13	15		3	25	27	15	22	6	14	14	13	18	11	7
Very unfavorable	5	5	5	5	10	15	4	1	6	3	7	3	2	7	3	4	3	7	5
2011	5	5	5	5	6	18		1	11	5	4	7	0	2	3	3	5	6	5
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	14	13	13	13	8	18	13	9	7	11	14	19	19	15	19	15	6	11	17
2011	11	10	10	10	6	13		7	3	7	12	10	21	11	16	10	13	6	17
ST Favorable	65	66	66	66	68	54	65	85	67	65	61	63	68	64	65	65	78	68	65
2011	66	67	68	68	75	54		88	61	62	69	60	73	73	67	75	64	77	71
ST Unfavorable	21	21	21	21	23	28	21	6	25	24	25	18	13	21	16	19	17	21	17
2011	23	22	22	22	19	33		4	36	32	19	30	6	16	18	15	24	17	12

Q5.9 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

[ASK ONLY SPLIT B2] South Korea

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	50% (3585)	50% (4598)	50% (5635)	50% (6142)	50% (498)	50% (508)	50% (731)	50% (508)	50% (515)	52% (526)	50% (518)	50% (502)	50% (489)	44% (448)	50% (525)	50% (497)	50% (484)	50% (502)	50% (512)
Very favorable	4	4	4	4	14	11	8	7	4	1	3	12	2	8	5	7	4	6	7
Somewhat favorable	32	33	33	33	27	31	45	32	39	41	17	36	27	27	35	36	25	38	30
Somewhat unfavorable	27	26	26	26	23	18	23	24	26	32	30	18	23	25	23	21	36	18	24
Very unfavorable	15	16	15	15	23	17	7	8	20	9	22	11	11	15	8	13	13	20	17
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	22	21	22	22	12	23	17	30	11	17	28	23	37	25	30	23	22	17	22
ST Favorable	36	37	37	37	41	41	53	39	43	42	19	48	29	34	40	43	30	44	37
ST Unfavorable	43	42	41	41	46	35	30	31	46	41	52	29	33	41	30	34	49	39	41

Q5.10 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

Germany

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very favorable	20	21	22	22	26	12	17	42	20	26	14	51	10	13	35	21	18	26	17
Somewhat favorable	54	51	51	51	40	36	54	46	63	58	39	39	64	42	50	58	62	34	53
Somewhat unfavorable	16	16	16	16	15	16	15	7	12	13	30	4	12	26	7	11	15	18	15
Very unfavorable	6	7	7	7	8	22	5	2	4	2	13	1	4	14	1	2	2	20	7
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	4	4	4	4	10	14	9	3	1	1	4	5	10	5	6	7	4	1	8
ST Favorable	74	72	73	74	67	48	71	88	83	84	53	90	74	55	86	79	80	60	70
ST Unfavorable	22	24	23	23	23	38	19	8	16	15	43	5	16	40	9	13	17	38	22

Q5.11 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

[DO NOT ASK IN RUSSIA] Greece

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very favorable	4	4	5	5	11	3	12	2	2	6	3	4	5	9	3	3	8	7
Somewhat favorable	30	30	31	30	34	15	41	30	20	33	17	35	32	38	22	13	34	40
Somewhat unfavorable	41	39	39	39	24	20	29	48	52	38	37	35	33	32	43	35	25	28
Very unfavorable	18	20	19	19	16	47	12	18	23	16	37	9	24	12	26	46	28	14
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	7	7	7	7	16	15	5	2	3	8	6	17	7	10	6	3	5	11
ST Favorable	34	34	35	35	44	17	53	32	22	38	21	39	37	46	25	16	42	47
ST Unfavorable	59	59	58	58	39	67	41	66	75	54	74	44	56	43	69	81	53	42

Q5.12 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

[ASK ONLY SPLIT A2bis] Israel

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	50% (3521)	50% (4560)	50% (5579)	50% (6088)	50% (500)	50% (508)	50% (769)	50% (515)	50% (485)	50% (508)	50% (498)	50% (498)	50% (505)	52% (523)	50% (500)	52% (520)	50% (521)	53% (530)	50% (518)
Very favorable	5	5	5	5	24	2	7	11	2	4	8	9	2	8	9	2	2	9	5
Somewhat favorable	28	28	28	28	35	7	42	37	32	27	26	30	28	28	36	17	22	24	29
Somewhat unfavorable	37	36	35	36	18	14	27	22	40	47	34	31	31	29	24	44	44	28	31
Very unfavorable	14	16	15	15	14	65	7	7	17	13	16	16	6	15	7	24	19	28	15
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	16	15	15	15	9	12	17	23	8	9	16	13	32	20	24	13	13	10	20
ST Favorable	33	33	34	34	59	9	48	47	35	31	34	39	30	36	45	19	24	34	34
ST Unfavorable	51	52	51	51	32	79	35	30	57	60	50	48	38	44	31	68	63	56	46

Q5.13 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

[ASK ONLY SPLIT B2bis] Iran

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	50% (3479)	50% (4445)	50% (5458)	50% (5949)	50% (501)	50% (501)	50% (731)	50% (492)	50% (515)	50% (492)	50% (502)	50% (502)	50% (495)	50% (477)	50% (525)	50% (480)	50% (484)	47% (470)	50% (482)
Very favorable	1	1	1	1	5	10	5	2	1	0	3	1	1	3	3	1	0	1	3
Somewhat favorable	10	10	11	10	15	20	31	15	8	8	6	12	17	12	21	6	7	12	12
Somewhat unfavorable	42	40	40	40	24	18	32	34	45	50	40	31	38	37	32	32	47	29	33
Very unfavorable	36	38	37	37	47	37	13	30	43	37	39	42	14	36	19	49	31	52	38
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	11	11	12	12	9	16	19	18	3	5	13	14	31	12	25	12	15	7	14
ST Favorable	11	11	12	12	20	30	37	18	9	8	9	13	18	14	24	8	7	13	14
ST Unfavorable	78	78	76	76	71	55	45	65	88	87	79	73	51	73	51	81	78	80	72

Q5.14 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

[ONLY ASK IN RUSSIA] Ukraine

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Very favorable	9
Somewhat favorable	43
Somewhat unfavorable	28
Very unfavorable	12
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	9
ST Favorable	52
ST Unfavorable	39

Q5.15 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

[ONLY ASK IN RUSSIA] Belarus

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Very favorable	14
Somewhat favorable	50
Somewhat unfavorable	19
Very unfavorable	8
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	9
ST Favorable	64
ST Unfavorable	27

Q5.16 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

[ONLY ASK IN RUSSIA] Georgia

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Very favorable	4
Somewhat favorable	23
Somewhat unfavorable	39
Very unfavorable	21
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	13
ST Favorable	27
ST Unfavorable	60

Q5.17 Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of...?

[ONLY ASK IN RUSSIA] NATO

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Very favorable	4
Somewhat favorable	17
Somewhat unfavorable	33
Very unfavorable	24
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	22
ST Favorable	21
ST Unfavorable	57

Q6a Some people say that the United States and the European Union [IN RUSSIA: Russia and the United States], have enough common values to be able to cooperate on international problems. Others say that the US and the EU [IN RUSSIA: Russia and the US] have such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible. Which view is closer to your own?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: ASK Q6a only to SPLIT A3

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	50% (3487)	50% (4505)	50% (5518)	50% (6019)	50% (483)	50% (488)	50% (750)	50% (501)	50% (501)	50% (498)	50% (498)	50% (500)	50% (483)	53% (532)	50% (513)	50% (494)	50% (489)	50% (516)	50% (500)
Enough common values to cooperate on international problems	66	66	66	66	63	45	45	70	77	75	68	69	59	70	70	65	66	73	57
2011	68	68	68	68	71	37		70	68	66	74	72	63	73	69	68	59	72	64
2010	71	71	71		77	39		71	67	74	78	76	65	77	71		66	76	64
2009	71	71	71		71	33		61	72	76	75	78	61	69	69		57	74	65
2008	57	57	58		67	27		57	60	54	63	59	56	57	72		59	59	52
2004	61	60			71	27			58	62	74	63	59	50			52	54	54
Such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible	29	29	28	28	28	35	39	18	22	24	28	26	25	26	19	28	24	25	38
2011	27	27	26	26	23	40		18	31	31	22	23	23	23	17	27	26	25	30
2010	26	25	24		23	31		11	31	24	19	21	24	22	14		23	22	34
2009	24	24	23		20	36		18	26	21	23	17	22	24	14		27	24	29
2008	38	37	36		23	33		24	38	43	35	37	28	36	12		25	36	41
2004	33	34			21	39			39	34	23	34	27	32			29	38	40
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	6	5	6	6	9	20	17	11	1	2	5	6	16	4	11	8	10	2	5
2011	5	5	5	5	6	23		12	2	3	4	5	15	3	14	5	15	3	6
2010	3	3	4			30		18	2	2	3	2	11	1	14		11	2	3
2009	5	5	6		9	31		20	3	3	2	4	17	7	17		16	3	6
2008	5	5	6		10	39		19	2	3	3	4	16	8	15		16	4	7
2004	6	6			8	34			3	4	2	4	15	19			19	8	6

Q6b Some people say that the United States and the European Union [IN RUSSIA: Russia and the United States] have enough common interests to be able to cooperate on international problems. Others say that the US and the EU [IN RUSSIA: Russia and the US] have such different interests that cooperating on international problems is impossible. Which view is closer to your own?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: ASK Q6b only to SPLIT B3

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	50% (3513)	50% (4500)	50% (5519)	50% (6018)	52% (527)	50% (508)	50% (731)	50% (498)	50% (508)	50% (491)	50% (516)	50% (504)	50% (519)	46% (461)	50% (520)	50% (495)	50% (515)	50% (483)	50% (490)
Enough common interests to cooperate on international problems	66	67	67	67	64	47	52	68	75	64	74	72	59	64	70	70	63	71	54
Such different interests that cooperating on international problems is impossible	28	28	27	27	27	33	38	21	23	31	22	20	25	31	15	22	25	27	40
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	6	5	6	6	9	20	11	11	2	4	4	8	16	5	15	7	12	2	6

Q7a Some people say that [IN EUROPE: the European Union and Russia / IN US: the United States and Russia/ IN TURKEY: Turkey and Russia / IN RUSSIA: the European Union and Russia] have enough common values to be able to cooperate on international problems. Others say that [IN EUROPE: the European Union and Russia/ IN US: the United States and Russia / IN TURKEY: Turkey and Russia / IN RUSSIA: the European Union and Russia] have such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible. Which view is closer to your own?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

[ASK Q7a only to SPLIT A4]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	50% (3511)	50% (4517)	50% (5533)	50% (6027)	50% (481)	50% (508)	50% (769)	50% (514)	50% (519)	50% (484)	50% (513)	50% (492)	50% (478)	53% (536)	50% (505)	50% (473)	52% (531)	50% (499)	50% (510)
Enough common values to cooperate on international problems	37	38	39	39	42	33	60	70	31	31	45	34	42	49	52	27	65	44	37
Such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible	56	55	53	53	48	45	22	20	65	64	47	55	44	43	32	63	23	51	54
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	7	7	8	8	10	22	18	10	4	5	8	11	14	8	17	10	13	5	9

Q7b Some people say that [IN EUROPE: the European Union and Russia / IN US: the United States and Russia/ IN TURKEY: Turkey and Russia / IN RUSSIA: the European Union and Russia] have enough common interests to be able to cooperate on international problems. Others say that [IN EUROPE: the European Union and Russia/ IN US: the United States and Russia / IN TURKEY: Turkey and Russia / IN RUSSIA: the European Union and Russia] have such different interests that cooperating on international problems is impossible. Which view is closer to your own?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

[ASK Q7b only to SPLIT B4]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	50% (3489)	50% (4488)	50% (5504)	50% (6010)	50% (520)	50% (501)	50% (731)	50% (493)	50% (481)	50% (516)	50% (487)	50% (508)	52% (522)	46% (464)	50% (520)	52% (527)	50% (474)	50% (501)	50% (490)
Enough common interests to cooperate on international problems	40	41	41	41	48	30	63	67	36	40	49	40	40	48	49	35	61	42	34
Such different interests that cooperating on international problems is impossible	52	52	50	51	43	48	22	20	61	56	43	49	43	42	29	55	26	55	57
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	8	7	8	8	8	21	15	13	3	4	8	11	17	11	22	10	13	3	9

Q8a Some people say that [IN EUROPE: the European Union and China/ IN US: the United States and China/ IN TURKEY: Turkey and China/ IN RUSSIA: Russia and China] have enough common values to be able to cooperate on international problems. Others say that the [IN EUROPE: the European Union and China/ IN US: the United States and China/ IN TURKEY: Turkey and China/ IN RUSSIA: Russia and China] have such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible. Which view is closer to your own?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

[ASK Q8a only to SPLIT A5]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	50% (3483)	50% (4476)	50% (5495)	50% (5995)	50% (500)	50% (501)	50% (769)	53% (539)	50% (515)	45% (456)	52% (520)	50% (488)	50% (501)	56% (560)	50% (512)	50% (505)	50% (483)	50% (495)	50% (507)
Enough common values to cooperate on international problems	34	34	36	36	46	33	56	44	28	31	37	36	35	52	54	30	33	41	35
<i>2010</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>13</i>		<i>35</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>37</i>		<i>23</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>41</i>
Such different values that cooperating on international problems is impossible	58	57	55	55	45	43	23	35	71	63	56	51	41	41	25	62	46	54	54
<i>2010</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>46</i>		<i>39</i>	<i>67</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>64</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>40</i>		<i>64</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>56</i>
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	9	8	9	9	9	23	21	22	2	6	8	13	24	7	22	8	20	5	11
<i>2010</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>41</i>		<i>26</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>24</i>		<i>13</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>3</i>

Q8b Some people say that [IN EUROPE: the European Union and China/ IN US: the United States and China/ IN TURKEY: Turkey and China/ IN RUSSIA: Russia and China] have enough common interests to be able to cooperate on international problems. Others say that [IN EUROPE: the European Union and China/ IN US: the United States and China/ IN TURKEY: Turkey and China/ IN RUSSIA: Russia and China] have such different interests that cooperating on international problems is impossible. Which view is closer to your own?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

[ASK Q8b only to SPLIT B5]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	50% (3517)	50% (4529)	50% (5542)	50% (6042)	50% (501)	50% (508)	50% (731)	46% (468)	50% (485)	54% (544)	50% (480)	50% (512)	50% (499)	44% (440)	50% (513)	50% (495)	50% (522)	50% (505)	50% (493)
Enough common interests to cooperate on international problems	38	38	39	39	46	32	65	39	32	35	46	41	37	60	53	34	36	40	37
<i>2010</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>14</i>		<i>41</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>43</i>		<i>24</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>44</i>
Such different interests that cooperating on international problems is impossible	53	53	52	52	47	45	21	34	66	59	45	46	39	33	24	56	43	58	53
<i>2010</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>46</i>		<i>35</i>	<i>57</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>47</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>51</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>31</i>		<i>62</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>49</i>
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	9	8	9	9	8	23	14	26	2	6	9	13	24	7	22	11	21	2	10
<i>2010</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>40</i>		<i>25</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>26</i>		<i>15</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>7</i>



Q9 Do you think that the partnership in security and diplomatic affairs between the United States and the European Union [IN RUSSIA: Russia and NATO] should become closer, should remain about the same, or should the [IN EUROPE: European Union / IN THE US: United States / IN RUSSIA: Russia] take a more independent approach from the [IN EUROPE: United States / IN US: European Union / IN RUSSIA: NATO]?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]
 FILTER: DO NOT ASK Q9 IN TURKEY

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Become closer	31	32	33	33	30	21	27	34	25	43	28	35	21	51	23	19	40	25
2011	38	39	39	39	33		32	42	33	50	30	40	29	50	25	28	47	28
2010	40	41	42		45		38	42	35	53	32	45	33	56		31	52	30
2009	40	42	42		48		27	36	41	51	23	46	30	54		34	53	33
2008	31	32	33		47		37	34	25	37	26	45	22	52		25	37	26
2006	28	28			45		24	30	23	35	17	41	19	51		17	34	19
2005	29	30			53			21	27	29	23	49	25			35	42	27
2004	33	33			60			32	31	30	32	44	24			25	38	35
Remain about the same	24	23	24	24	30	30	34	18	32	9	32	29	25	31	38	41	14	31
2011	21	20	20	21	31		31	14	25	10	25	26	25	31	35	34	8	29
2010	18	17	18		25		25	11	26	8	20	20	22	23		32	9	23
2009	20	19	19		19		32	12	25	10	26	25	28	21		28	8	27
2008	16	15	16		19		20	9	20	9	14	21	17	28		25	8	20
2006	15	14			18		19	10	20	7	16	18	15	16		25	7	19
2005	13	12			18			9	15	6	13	10	23			20	7	21
2004	14	13			17			11	16	10	10	12	17			15	8	17
Take a more independent approach	41	41	39	39	34	36	33	46	42	46	37	26	51	15	35	33	43	40
2011	39	39	38	38	33		33	44	41	36	44	27	44	15	36	32	43	39
2010	40	40	38		30		30	45	39	38	47	30	45	17		33	38	45
2009	37	37	36		27		33	49	34	37	49	20	37	17		30	38	36
2008	50	50	48		29		35	56	53	52	58	25	56	12		41	52	51
2006	54	55			30		42	57	56	57	65	33	58	23		51	57	57
2005	57	55			26			69	57	65	64	34	49			36	49	49
2004	51	50			20			55	51	59	56	38	48			54	48	44

Q9 Do you think that the partnership in security and diplomatic affairs between the United States and the European Union [IN RUSSIA: Russia and NATO] should become closer, should remain about the same, or should the [IN EUROPE: European Union / IN THE US: United States / IN RUSSIA: Russia] take a more independent approach from the [IN EUROPE: United States / IN US: European Union / IN RUSSIA: NATO]?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: DO NOT ASK Q9 IN TURKEY

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	4	4	4	4	6	13	6	2	1	3	4	10	4	4	4	7	3	4
2011	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	1	1	3	1	8	2	4	4	6	2	4
2010	2	2	2	2	1	1	7	2	1	1	2	5	1	5	4	4	2	2
2009	3	3	3	3	6	6	8	2	1	2	3	10	5	9	7	7	1	4
2008	3	3	3	3	5	5	8	1	1	1	3	8	5	9	9	9	3	3
2006	3	3	3	3	7	7	14	3	1	1	2	8	8	10	7	7	2	4
2005	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	1	1	1	1	7	4	4	8	8	2	3
2004	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	2	1	1	2	6	11	6	6	6	5	4



Q11 Some people say that NATO is still essential to our country's security. Others say it is no longer essential. Which of these views is closer to your own? [if respondent asks: "NATO is the Alliance among the USA, Canada, and many European states"]

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: DO NOT ASK Q11 IN RUSSIA and SWEDEN

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	USA	TR	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Still essential	59	58	58	56	38	58	60	60	52	71	45	66	68	61	56	71
2011	62	61	62	62	37	63	60	58	63	73	51	70	67	57	61	69
2010	59	59	59	60	30	60	60	56	54	72	52	67	65	64	57	68
2009	62	62	61	62	35	50	56	63	60	77	50	67	60	52	61	72
2008	61	60	60	59	38	54	62	62	55	70	51	60	57	47	60	68
2007	56	55	55	60	35	58	55	55	55	66	46	59	62	44	49	64
2006	56	55		61	44	58	59	56	52	66	48	56	63	45	49	62
2005	58	57		60	52		58	61	52	68	47	65		53	48	65
2004	64	62		62	53		57	70	60	71	52	67		47	55	70
2002	69			56			61	74	68	74	64					76
No longer essential	34	35	34	35	39	24	35	37	39	23	40	29	17	27	42	22
2011	32	32	31	31	43	24	36	38	28	23	35	27	20	28	36	22
2010	36	36	34	29	43	23	34	41	38	26	37	31	17	22	38	29
2009	32	33	32	29	37	27	38	34	35	20	36	25	19	28	36	24
2008	34	34	33	32	32	25	34	36	41	26	32	30	19	27	35	25
2007	36	37	35	29	34	19	36	41	39	27	39	28	16	30	45	26
2006	37	38		29	35	22	36	41	41	29	37	31	16	36	45	30
2005	34	35		26	32		34	36	43	27	36	25		27	40	24
2004	28	29		28	26		34	27	31	24	32	18		37	34	22
2002	25			30			33	22	27	25	26					20
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	7	7	8	9	23	18	5	3	10	7	15	6	15	13	2	7
2011	7	7	7	8	20	13	4	4	10	4	14	3	14	16	4	9
2010	5	5	6	11	27	16	6	3	9	3	11	3	18	14	4	3
2009	6	6	7	10	28	23	6	4	5	3	15	7	21	20	3	5
2008	6	6	7	9	31	21	4	2	4	4	18	10	24	26	5	7
2007	8	8	9	11	31	23	9	4	6	7	16	13	23	26	6	11
2006	7	7		10	21	20	5	3	7	5	15	13	22	19	6	8
2005	8	9		14	15		8	3	6	5	17	11		21	12	11
2004	8	9		11	21		9	3	9	5	16	15		16	11	9
2002	6			14			6	4	5	2	40					4

Q12a Thinking about the future, do you support or oppose the participation of Sweden in military operations carried out by NATO ? Is it strongly or somewhat?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: ASK Q12a, b and c in SWEDEN only/ ASK Q12a to SPLIT A6 ONLY

	SE
TOTAL	50% (519)
Strongly support	15
Somewhat support	32
Somewhat oppose	23
Strongly oppose	27
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	3
ST Support	47
ST Oppose	50

Q12b Thinking about the future, do you support or oppose the participation of Sweden in military operations carried out by NATO with the support of the United Nations? Is it strongly or somewhat?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: ASK Q12a, b and c in SWEDEN only/ ASK Q12b to SPLIT B6 ONLY

	SE
TOTAL	50% (481)
Strongly support	26
Somewhat support	40
Somewhat oppose	15
Strongly oppose	15
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	4
ST Support	67
ST Oppose	30

Q12c: Some people say that Sweden should become a member of the NATO alliance. Other people say that Sweden should not join NATO. Which view is closer to your own?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: ASK Q12a, b and c in SWEDEN only

	SE
TOTAL	100% (1000)
Sweden should join NATO	24
Sweden should not join NATO	69
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	7

Q13a Generally, in terms of [COUNTRY's] national interests today, which of the following is more important to [COUNTRY]: the United States, or the countries of Asia, such as China, Japan and South Korea?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]
 FILTER: [DO NOT ASK Q13A IN US]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
The United States	62	61	61	61	29	24	54	63	68	57	59	52	55	67	45	49	58	64
<i>2011</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>24</i>		<i>48</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>59</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>58</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>60</i>
Countries of Asia, such as China, Japan and South Korea	29	30	29	30	46	40	23	31	25	33	31	27	38	21	43	25	38	27
<i>2011</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>44</i>		<i>31</i>	<i>50</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>30</i>
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	10	9	10	10	26	36	23	6	7	10	10	21	7	11	12	26	4	9
<i>2011</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>32</i>		<i>21</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>10</i>

Q13b Generally, in terms of the United States' [IN RUSSIA: Russian] national interests today, which of the following is more important to the United States [IN RUSSIA: Russia]: the countries of the European Union, such as Britain, France and Germany, or the countries of Asia, such as China, Japan and South Korea?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]
 FILTER: ASK Q13B IN US ONLY AND RUSSIA

	USA	RU
TOTAL	100% (1001)	100% (1500)
Countries of the European Union, such as Britain, France and Germany <i>2011</i>	55 <i>38</i>	46
Countries of Asia <i>2011</i>	34 <i>51</i>	30
[DK]/[REFUSAL] <i>2011</i>	12 <i>10</i>	24



Q14 There are different views about the rise of China. In economic terms, some people see China as more of an opportunity for new markets and investment, while others see it as a threat to our jobs and economic security. Which view is closer to your own?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
China represents more of an economic opportunity	41	41	41	42	30	32	39	43	24	50	38	58	36	34	56	58	29	42	56
2011	46	45	46	46	31	26		49	32	57	37	67	31	38	51	65	23	46	58
2010	39	38	39		43	20		31	24	50	29	64	24	29	44		20	37	54
2007	37	37	37		36	19		34	28	41	30	61	25	24	43		17	41	51
China represents more of an economic threat	46	47	45	45	59	39	30	27	65	40	47	23	43	54	25	27	43	51	36
2011	43	43	42	41	63	39		27	56	36	47	22	48	54	23	24	37	47	34
2010	50	51	49		49	41		35	63	43	57	23	59	64	26		38	58	40
2007	50	50	48		54	48		30	57	51	55	30	54	55	22		40	50	40
[Both]	8	8	8	8	5	10	16	18	11	7	12	14	11	9	8	10	17	6	3
2011	7	7	8	8	3	15		14	11	5	11	7	9	5	10	7	24	6	2
2010	7	7	7		6	10		20	10	5	9	10	8	6	12		30	4	2
2007	8	8	9		5	6		14	12	5	11	6	10	13	12		24	6	4
[Neither]	2	1	2	2	1	2	7	5	1	2	2	2	2	1	6	0	4	1	1
2011	2	2	2	2	1	5		5	1	1	3	1	4	1	8	1	9		1
2010	2	2	2		2	7		5	2	2	2	1	3	1	9		5		1
2007	2	2	2		1	1		5	2	1	3	1	3	3	11		7	1	1
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	3	3	3	3	4	18	9	6	1	2	2	4	7	2	5	4	7	1	4
2011	3	3	3	3	3	16		5		1	2	3	8	2	9	3	8	1	5
2010	2	2	3			21		9	1	1	1	2	6	1	9		7	1	3
2007	3	3	4		4	26		16	1	2	1	2	9	4	12		12	1	4

Q15 There are also different views about China's military power. Some people see China as a military threat, while others do not. Which view is closer to your own?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
China is a military threat	41	40	39	39	51	24	33	14	44	40	35	27	38	41	22	42	28	41	44
2011	31	30	30	30	47	21		11	29	33	24	22	37	33	21	30	29	29	35
2010	35	36	35		48	15		16	39	33	30	24	44	41	26		37	39	39
2007	36	35	33		50	23		13	37	36	32	23	44	29	19		30	31	36
China is not a military threat	52	52	53	53	43	55	46	65	51	56	56	62	46	52	61	50	50	56	49
2011	62	62	62	62	49	57		70	67	64	64	71	44	61	61	64	48	67	60
2010	58	57	57		52	57		54	56	63	61	69	40	55	55		40	56	57
2007	56	57	57		44	47		60	56	57	62	69	39	56	56		40	63	57
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	8	7	8	8	6	21	21	21	5	4	10	11	17	7	17	8	22	3	7
2011	7	7	8	8	5	22		19	4	3	12	7	19	6	18	6	23	4	5
2010	7	7	8			27		30	5	4	9	6	16	4	19		23	5	5
2007	8	8	10		6	30		27	7	7	6	8	17	14	25		31	6	7

Q16.1 How much confidence do you have that the results of elections reflect the will of the voters in the following countries? Very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, not at all confident?

Russia [DO NOT ASK IN RUSSIA]

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very confident	2	2	2	2	7	7	7	1	1	4	2	3	2	6	0	4	2	2
Somewhat confident	13	13	14	14	23	22	23	13	10	15	15	11	14	29	10	36	9	14
Not too confident	39	39	39	39	31	30	33	29	47	39	39	45	43	31	42	34	40	33
Not at all confident	37	38	36	36	29	18	14	51	39	27	35	32	29	18	44	14	42	38
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	9	9	9	9	10	23	23	6	3	15	8	9	12	18	3	12	7	14
ST Confident	15	15	16	16	30	29	30	15	11	19	17	14	16	34	10	40	11	16
ST Not confident	76	77	75	75	60	48	48	80	86	66	74	77	72	48	87	48	82	71

Q16.2 How much confidence do you have that the results of elections reflect the will of the voters in the following countries? Very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, not at all confident?

The U.S. [ONLY ASK IN RUSSIA]

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Very confident	12
Somewhat confident	34
Not too confident	23
Not at all confident	9
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	22
ST Confident	47
ST Not confident	31

Q16.3 How much confidence do you have that the results of elections reflect the will of the voters in the following countries? Very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, not at all confident?

[COUNTRY]

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very confident	23	22	21	22	34	37	9	10	20	39	9	26	17	13	8	47	19	17	24
Somewhat confident	39	38	37	38	39	27	33	35	49	41	27	34	46	41	36	40	55	29	32
Not too confident	23	24	25	24	17	17	29	35	18	14	38	25	24	27	30	9	20	31	24
Not at all confident	13	14	14	14	8	10	16	14	12	6	24	12	6	16	21	3	5	23	18
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	2	2	2	2	2	10	12	6	1	1	2	3	7	3	6	1	2	1	2
ST Confident	62	60	59	59	73	64	43	45	69	79	36	60	63	54	44	87	74	45	56
ST Not confident	36	38	39	38	25	26	46	49	30	20	62	37	30	43	51	12	24	54	42

Q17.1 To what extent is your view of the following candidates for president of the United States favorable or unfavorable?

Mitt Romney

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very favorable	2	2	2	2	14	3	5	3	1	1	4	4	2	2	2	1	3	3	3
Somewhat favorable	20	21	21	21	31	8	19	18	17	23	15	21	23	29	21	16	18	25	21
Somewhat unfavorable	28	27	26	26	18	25	11	13	32	41	26	24	8	31	12	31	19	22	22
Very unfavorable	13	14	13	13	31	15	7	3	20	10	17	23	1	6	4	18	3	18	15
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	36	36	38	38	6	49	59	63	30	26	38	28	66	33	61	34	58	32	40
ST Favorable	22	23	23	23	44	11	23	22	18	24	19	25	25	31	22	17	20	29	24
ST Unfavorable	41	41	39	39	49	40	17	16	52	51	42	47	9	36	16	49	22	40	36

Q17.2 To what extent is your view of the following candidates for president of the United States favorable or unfavorable?

Barack Obama

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very favorable	30	30	30	30	33	14	5	14	33	30	36	49	5	23	26	36	8	32	35
Somewhat favorable	53	53	52	52	24	35	31	47	61	60	44	38	50	65	43	54	55	51	46
Somewhat unfavorable	8	8	8	8	12	11	19	15	3	6	11	4	15	7	8	5	16	9	9
Very unfavorable	3	3	3	3	28	11	9	4	2	2	4	2	3	2	2	2	3	5	4
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	6	6	7	7	3	28	36	20	2	1	5	6	27	3	21	4	18	3	5
ST Favorable	83	83	82	82	57	50	36	61	93	91	81	87	54	88	69	90	63	83	82
ST Unfavorable	11	11	11	11	40	23	28	19	5	8	14	7	19	9	10	7	19	14	13

Q18b Now, thinking of the U.S. Presidential election this year: if you had a chance to vote in this election, who would you vote for?

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: DO NOT ASK Q18b in US

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Mitt Romney	7	8	8	8	5	12	8	2	5	9	5	16	7	6	4	10	11	9
Barack Obama	76	76	75	75	51	27	40	89	87	73	82	35	85	63	79	47	77	75
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	16	16	18	18	45	62	52	9	7	18	13	49	8	30	16	43	11	16

Q19.1 If.....is elected, do you think that relations between the United States and Europe [IN TURKEY: replace "Europe" with "Turkey" / IN RUSSIA: replace "Europe" with "Russia"] will improve, get worse, or stay the same following this upcoming election?

Mitt Romney

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: DO NOT ASK Q19 in FR, DE, IT, NL, PT, ES, SE, UK

	USA	TR	RU	BG	PL	RO	SK
TOTAL	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1005)
Improve	19	3	9	9	13	8	9
Get worse	31	17	12	5	7	6	9
Stay the same	39	26	31	32	28	34	46
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	11	54	48	55	52	52	36

Q19.2 If.....is elected, do you think that relations between the United States and Europe [IN TURKEY: replace "Europe" with "Turkey" / IN RUSSIA: replace "Europe" with "Russia"] will improve, get worse, or stay the same following this upcoming election?

Barack Obama

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: DO NOT ASK Q19 in FR, DE, IT, NL, PT, ES, SE, UK

	USA	TR	RU	BG	PL	RO	SK
TOTAL	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1005)
Improve	29	29	8	18	17	28	15
Get worse	20	7	12	2	8	4	5
Stay the same	45	34	51	59	50	49	69
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	5	30	29	22	25	19	11



Q20 Thinking about Iran, are you concerned or not concerned about Iran acquiring nuclear weapons? Please tell me if you are very much concerned, somewhat concerned, a little concerned, or not at all concerned?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very much concerned	52	51	49	49	56	20	27	31	49	57	62	43	31	56	37	39	31	42	51
2011	46	45	44	44	56	14		24	40	50	57	44	24	57	32	33	25	45	45
2010	51	50	49		69	18		35	39	61	63	38	36	60	40		34	40	50
Somewhat concerned	29	30	31	31	23	28	34	43	35	25	26	25	44	24	34	42	33	41	24
2011	30	30	31	31	20	24		41	36	25	28	22	43	30	32	37	29	34	27
2010	28	30	31		17	21		41	37	22	24	29	38	25	35		32	41	28
A little concerned	12	12	12	12	9	11	20	14	10	13	7	18	14	12	15	13	21	11	14
2011	14	14	14	14	14	19		21	13	16	8	18	18	7	20	21	25	12	14
2010	12	12	12		4	12		11	13	12	8	21	15	7	11		19	11	12
Not at all concerned	6	6	6	6	10	30	11	5	5	5	3	11	4	7	9	5	10	5	9
2011	9	9	9	9	9	32		8	10	8	5	16	7	6	11	8	13	8	13
2010	7	7	7		10	36		4	10	5	4	12	7	6	9		9	7	10
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	2	2	2	2	2	11	8	6	0	0	2	3	7	1	5	1	6	0	1
2011	2	2	2	2	1	11		7		1	2	1	8		4	1	7	2	1
2010	1	1	1		1	13		8			1	1	5	1	5		5	2	
ST Concerned	81	81	80	80	79	48	61	74	84	82	89	68	74	80	71	81	64	83	76
2011	76	76	75	75	76	38		64	76	75	86	65	67	87	64	71	54	79	72
2010	80	80	79		86	40		77	76	83	88	67	73	86	75		66	81	78
ST Not concerned	17	17	18	18	19	41	31	19	15	18	10	29	18	19	23	18	31	16	23
2011	23	23	23	23	23	51		28	23	24	13	34	25	13	31	29	38	20	27
2010	19	19	19		13	48		15	24	17	12	32	21	14	20		29	17	22



Q21 As you may know, negotiations to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons are under way. There are different ways to address Iran's acquiring nuclear weapons. Which of the following do you think is the best option?

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Offer economic incentives to Iran in exchange for giving up nuclear weapons	36	35	34	34	20	12	33	25	33	44	31	33	32	36	27	26	29	25	38
2011	35	34	33	32	20	12		25	32	42	32	29	33	28	17	26	30	23	36
2010	38	36	35		16	12		29	33	44	34	33	41	36	25		32	21	37
Impose economic sanctions	27	28	28	28	32	16	18	34	28	27	27	26	27	31	30	30	19	34	27
2011	28	29	29	28	33	20		35	27	24	31	30	29	37	26	25	17	34	28
2010	26	28	28		40	24		32	24	28	25	31	24	32	31		20	37	28
Provide support to opponents of the current government in Iran	13	13	13	13	10	10	6	8	16	10	18	13	7	11	9	25	8	18	12
2011	15	16	15	15	13	9		6	20	13	19	14	7	14	5	31	7	23	12
2010	14	14	13		25	6		4	18	13	19	15	6	12	8		10	16	10
Take military action against Iran	7	7	7	7	18	4	5	4	10	7	7	6	4	5	5	2	4	7	6
2011	6	6	6	6	13	4		3	8	6	4	6	4	8	7	3	3	7	5
2010	6	6	6		9	3		4	10	5	6	6	4	6	3		3	10	5
Accept that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons	5	6	6	6	8	27	13	5	4	5	4	6	7	3	6	6	4	7	8
2011	6	6	6	6	8	25		5	3	6	3	8	8	5	9	5	7	5	11
2010	6	6	6		4	25		7	5	4	4	7	7	3	5		6	6	12
[More than one option]	3	3	3	3	2	5	2	2	4	2	6	6	4	1	1	2	15	1	1
2011	2	2	2	2	2	9		1	2	2	2	8	4	1	3	2	11	1	1
2010	2	3	3		3	6		5	2	1	6	2	5	1	2		12	2	1
[None of the above]	3	3	3	3	2	5	5	5	3	1	3	4	4	3	4	1	4	3	2
2011	4	4	4	4	4	6		4	5	2	8	3	2	2	8	1	7	3	2
2010	2	3	4		2	7		1	5	2	3	3	1	4	1		5	6	1
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	5	5	6	6	8	21	20	17	2	4	3	5	15	9	17	9	17	4	5
2011	5	5	6	6	7	15		20	2	5	2	3	12	5	25	7	17	5	6
2010	5	5	5		17			18	4	4	4	3	13	6	25		13	3	5



Q22 And now imagine that all of these non-military options have been tried and the only option left to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons is the use of military force. In that case, should the [European Union\ United States\Russia\Turkey] take military action against Iran, or should [it/they] simply accept that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

[IF CODES 1, 2 OR 3 IN Q21]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	76% (5373)	74% (6747)	73% (8127)	74% (8936)	64% (645)	38% (391)	57% (860)	67% (679)	78% (783)	83% (837)	78% (784)	73% (738)	64% (647)	80% (802)	68% (701)	80% (809)	57% (581)	79% (793)	78% (782)
Take military action against Iran	45	47	46	46	57	30	17	26	60	34	46	41	30	61	43	42	32	54	37
2011	46	47	47	47	54	24		29	60	39	46	51	34	66	47	50	31	57	43
2010	42	44	43		64	13		23	58	39	46	43	28	57	42		27	58	32
2006	45	45			53	31		25	54	40	46	48	39	50	29		23	45	46
Accept that Iran could acquire nuclear weapons	37	36	35	35	33	50	49	34	26	54	24	43	42	21	27	38	28	31	49
2011	38	36	36	36	35	50		38	28	50	24	39	41	19	20	34	28	27	46
2010	40	38	37		35	54		35	23	47	28	45	43	24	22		30	27	57
2006	37	37			32	33		32	32	46	27	43	38	24	15		30	37	38
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	18	17	18	18	10	21	35	39	14	12	30	16	28	18	30	20	40	14	14
2011	17	17	18	18	11	26		32	12	11	30	10	26	16	33	15	41	16	12
2010	18	18	19			33		42	18	14	26	12	28	19	36		43	15	11
2006	18	18			14	37		43	13	14	27	9	23	26	55		47	18	16

Q23a And what type of military action would you approve? How about the use of [COUNTRY] aircraft to conduct airstrikes against Iran?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: ASK Q23a and Q23b IF military action was chosen in Q21 OR IF military action was chosen in Q22

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	41% (2913)	42% (3825)	41% (4594)	41% (5002)	54% (543)	15% (152)	14% (213)	21% (216)	56% (566)	38% (381)	43% (437)	36% (361)	24% (245)	57% (572)	33% (347)	38% (384)	21% (219)	50% (515)	39% (394)
Strongly approve	17	16	16	16	52	22	22	5	18	4	21	26	6	11	7	18	9	13	33
Somewhat approve	37	36	36	36	33	21	42	32	40	37	35	37	34	37	33	42	29	33	38
Somewhat disapprove	24	24	24	24	7	38	24	28	27	36	14	18	32	16	28	23	16	27	13
Strongly disapprove	20	21	21	21	7	17	6	34	14	23	26	17	24	34	24	16	39	26	12
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	2	2	2	2	2	1	7	1	1	0	4	2	4	1	8	1	7	1	4
ST Approve	54	53	52	52	84	43	64	37	58	41	56	63	40	49	40	60	38	46	71
ST Disapprove	44	45	45	45	14	55	29	62	41	59	40	36	57	50	52	39	55	53	24

Q23b And what about sending [COUNTRY] ground troops to conduct military action against Iran?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: ASK Q23a and Q23b IF military action was chosen in Q21 OR IF military action was chosen in Q22

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	41% (2913)	42% (3825)	41% (4594)	41% (5002)	54% (543)	15% (152)	14% (213)	21% (216)	56% (566)	38% (381)	43% (437)	36% (361)	24% (245)	57% (572)	33% (347)	38% (384)	21% (219)	50% (515)	39% (394)
Strongly approve	10	10	10	10	23	21	14	5	9	2	15	16	4	12	7	13	6	10	17
Somewhat approve	34	34	33	33	34	31	38	32	33	32	31	35	35	35	28	30	33	33	40
Somewhat disapprove	27	27	27	27	19	27	23	28	34	37	16	24	29	17	32	28	19	28	17
Strongly disapprove	28	28	28	28	23	19	19	30	23	28	36	24	28	35	26	28	38	28	22
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	2	2	2	2	2	2	6	4	1	1	2	1	4	1	6	1	4	1	3
ST Approve	44	44	43	43	56	52	52	37	43	34	47	51	39	47	36	44	40	43	57
ST Disapprove	54	55	55	55	42	45	42	59	57	65	51	48	57	52	59	56	56	56	40

Q24 Israel may take military action to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons. Would you approve or disapprove of Israel taking military action?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: DO NOT ASK Q24 and Q25 in FR, DE, IT, NL, PT, ES, SE, UK

	USA	TR	RU	BG	PL	RO	SK
TOTAL	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1005)
Strongly approve	35	5	4	5	3	12	4
Somewhat approve	27	11	15	16	15	21	22
Somewhat disapprove	14	15	28	31	37	23	17
Strongly disapprove	17	57	38	39	29	29	44
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	7	12	16	9	16	16	13
ST Approve	62	16	19	21	18	32	27
ST Disapprove	31	72	65	70	66	52	60

Q25 As you may know, recent popular uprisings in a number of Middle Eastern and North African countries have removed their governments from power and are now in the process of replacing them.

In view of these developments, do you think relations between [COUNTRY] and the countries of the Middle East and North Africa are likely to improve, get worse, or stay the same?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: DO NOT ASK Q24 and Q25 in FR, DE, IT, NL, PT, ES, SE, UK

	USA	TR	RU	BG	PL	RO	SK
TOTAL	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1005)
Improve	28	31	11	19	16	19	15
Get worse	31	27	21	18	16	14	18
Stay the same	33	23	41	40	44	46	48
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	7	19	26	24	24	21	19

Q27 According to the United Nations, members of the international community, including [COUNTRY], have the responsibility to protect civilians in other countries from violence, including violence committed by their own government. Please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree that [COUNTRY] has this responsibility?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Strongly agree	27	27	27	27	25	12	11	21	25	25	33	31	9	39	26	41	14	32	31
Agree somewhat	40	40	40	40	37	30	29	41	51	40	39	35	33	37	39	39	42	39	38
Disagree somewhat	18	18	18	18	17	27	23	18	13	23	17	15	24	12	16	11	17	17	16
Strongly disagree	10	10	10	10	17	13	18	8	10	10	7	10	11	11	6	7	17	11	11
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	5	5	5	5	4	19	20	13	1	2	4	7	23	2	13	2	11	1	4
ST Agree	67	67	67	67	62	42	40	62	76	66	72	67	42	75	64	81	56	71	69
ST Disagree	28	28	28	27	34	39	41	25	23	32	24	26	35	23	22	17	34	27	27

Q28 Recently, there has been discussion of the desirability of intervening in Syria, where the government has been using military force to suppress an opposition movement which is fighting the Syrian government. In this situation, what do you think [COUNTRY] should do?

(READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

FILTER: DO NOT ASK Q28 IN RUSSIA

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100%
[COUNTRY] should stay out completely	58	59	59	59	55	57	69	50	63	56	48	67	68	68	48	70	58	59
[COUNTRY] should intervene	33	33	32	33	35	32	15	45	32	33	38	19	28	20	44	11	38	33
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	8	8	8	8	10	11	16	5	6	11	14	14	5	11	9	19	4	7

Q30 Would you support intervention if it was endorsed by the United Nations?

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

FILTER: ASK Q30 IF answer to Q28 was that [COUNTRY] should stay out completely/ DO NOT ASK Q28 IN RUSSIA

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	58% (4095)	58% (5274)	59% (6542)	59% (7104)	55% (555)	57% (576)	68% (693)	50% (502)	62% (626)	56% (562)	50% (481)	66% (667)	67% (678)	68% (701)	50% (477)	70% (704)	57% (576)	59% (592)
Yes, I would support intervention endorsed by the United Nations	36	37	35	35	51	18	14	45	32	37	42	18	47	12	71	17	42	46
No, I would not support intervention even if it were endorsed by the United Nations	58	58	60	59	44	76	73	54	65	56	53	71	47	79	24	70	56	47
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	5	5	6	6	5	6	13	1	4	6	6	11	6	9	5	13	2	6

Q31a As you may know, Russia and China may oppose intervention in Syria and can prevent any future United Nations action with their veto. If Russia or China should veto a future United Nations intervention, should [COUNTRY] ignore this veto and still intervene in Syria?

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

FILTER: DO NOT ASK Q31a in RU, FR, DE, IT, NL, PT, ES, SE, UK

	USA	TR	BG	PL	RO	SK
TOTAL	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1005)
Yes, [COUNTRY] should intervene even if Russia or China vetoes	37	22	12	13	12	9
No, [COUNTRY] should not intervene if Russia or China vetoes	53	63	68	64	68	71
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	10	15	20	23	20	20

Q31b As you may know, the Russian government may oppose intervention in Syria and can prevent any future United Nations action with this veto. Do you oppose or support such a veto by the Russian government to stop the United Nations from intervening in Syria?

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE]

FILTER: ASK Q31b IN RUSSIA

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Yes, I would support a veto by the Russian government to stop the United Nations from intervening in Syria	54
No, I would not support a veto by the Russian government to stop the United Nations from intervening in Syria	21
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	26

Q32.1 In recent years, there have been a number of military interventions in other countries. Taking everything into consideration, in each of the following cases, do you think the intervention was the right thing to do or not the right thing to do?

Iraq

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Right thing to do	38	38	38	38	49	23	12	55	39	37	40	47	26	40	28	56	28	37	42
Not the right thing to do	54	55	54	54	45	56	64	34	57	58	52	44	55	50	50	34	46	59	51
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	8	8	8	8	6	21	25	11	4	5	9	10	19	10	22	11	27	4	6

Q32.2 In recent years, there have been a number of military interventions in other countries. Taking everything into consideration, in each of the following cases, do you think the intervention was the right thing to do or not the right thing to do?

Afghanistan

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Right thing to do	41	42	41	42	53	19	15	56	45	42	41	49	27	46	31	62	31	46	42
Not the right thing to do	52	51	51	50	40	57	62	33	51	53	51	42	55	41	45	26	43	49	52
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	7	7	8	8	8	25	24	11	4	4	9	10	17	13	23	12	26	5	6

Q32.3 In recent years, there have been a number of military interventions in other countries. Taking everything into consideration, in each of the following cases, do you think the intervention was the right thing to do or not the right thing to do?

Libya

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Right thing to do	48	48	47	48	49	20	11	56	58	53	42	58	29	48	24	68	26	49	50
Not the right thing to do	42	42	42	41	39	54	61	33	38	41	48	30	47	38	46	16	45	44	40
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	10	10	11	11	12	26	28	10	4	7	11	12	24	14	30	16	29	7	9

Q33.1 And thinking about the future, do you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects of stability in...

Afghanistan

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very optimistic	3	4	4	4	9	14	4	3	1	1	5	2	2	2	8	1	1	4	5
2011	4	4	4	4	9	9		3	3	2	6	5	1	5	8	3	3	6	8
2010	3	4	4		19	10		4	1	1	6	5	1	3	8		4	6	8
2009	3	4	4		14	13		3	1	2	5	2	2	12	9		3	6	5
Somewhat optimistic	20	19	21	21	29	23	20	22	13	17	21	22	26	27	39	27	20	16	20
2011	23	23	24	24	31	26		34	20	18	26	22	27	31	37	31	21	22	28
2010	18	18	19		32	13		29	17	9	22	24	21	23	34		23	16	27
2009	28	28	28		41	18		28	28	21	34	34	29	21	35		24	26	33
Somewhat pessimistic	47	47	46	46	30	24	39	39	56	57	42	41	43	42	33	43	44	49	40
2011	46	46	45	45	33	31		36	53	54	42	44	46	41	32	43	41	49	32
2010	50	50	49		32	29		35	57	56	51	45	52	48	36		49	52	34
2009	48	48	47		25	24		31	53	58	46	49	43	33	36		47	48	34
Very pessimistic	24	25	24	24	27	20	19	23	28	24	25	29	12	22	9	24	21	29	30
2011	21	21	21	21	24	21		17	21	25	19	24	11	17	13	20	21	20	26
2010	26	26	24		17	33		16	23	33	19	23	19	23	8		15	25	31
2009	17	17	16		14	26		16	15	17	13	12	13	25	9		14	17	25
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	6	5	6	6	6	18	19	13	2	2	7	6	18	8	11	5	12	3	4
2011	5	5	6	6	3	13		10	3	2	6	5	15	7	10	2	13	3	6
2010	2	2	3			15		16	2	1	2	2	8	3	14		9	1	1
2009	4	4	4		6	19		21	3	2	1	3	14	9	11		12	2	3
ST Optimistic	24	23	24	25	38	38	24	24	14	17	26	24	28	29	47	28	22	20	25
2011	27	27	28	28	41	35		37	23	19	32	28	28	36	45	34	25	28	36
2010	22	22	23		51	24		32	18	10	28	29	22	26	42		27	22	34
2009	31	31	32		56	31		32	30	23	39	36	30	33	44		27	32	37
ST Pessimistic	71	71	70	70	56	44	58	63	84	81	67	70	54	64	42	67	66	78	70
2011	67	67	66	66	56	52		53	74	79	61	68	57	58	45	64	62	69	58
2010	76	76	74		49	61		52	80	89	70	68	71	71	44		64	77	65
2009	65	65	63		39	50		47	68	75	60	61	56	58	45		61	65	60

Q33.2 And thinking about the future, do you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects of stability in...

Libya

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very optimistic	5	5	5	5	10	14	3	4	1	2	10	4	3	3	7	2	1	6	10
2011	6	6	6	6	11	7		4	5	4	10	8	2	6	7	10	3	7	9
Somewhat optimistic	31	30	31	31	33	22	22	32	27	31	36	29	34	29	36	46	24	24	31
2011	33	32	32	33	34	23		35	35	26	37	31	34	29	37	49	21	27	37
Somewhat pessimistic	41	42	41	41	29	24	36	35	52	49	32	38	35	37	32	34	45	43	35
2011	39	39	39	39	27	33		37	41	48	35	39	37	37	32	27	39	43	28
Very pessimistic	14	15	14	14	18	19	17	14	17	12	14	18	6	20	8	9	15	22	16
2011	16	16	16	16	21	24		16	17	18	12	18	7	21	13	10	23	18	19
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	9	8	9	9	10	21	21	15	4	6	8	11	23	10	17	9	15	4	9
2011	6	6	7	7	6	14		9	2	4	5	5	20	6	11	4	14	6	7
ST Optimistic	36	35	36	36	43	36	26	37	27	33	46	33	36	32	43	48	25	31	41
2011	39	38	39	39	46	30		39	40	30	47	39	36	35	44	59	24	34	46
ST Pessimistic	55	57	55	55	47	44	53	49	69	61	46	56	41	57	40	43	60	65	51
2011	55	55	55	54	48	57		53	58	66	48	56	44	58	44	36	62	60	47

Q33.3 And thinking about the future, do you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects of stability in...

Iraq

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very optimistic	4	4	4	4	12	10	3	2	1	2	6	3	3	3	7	2	1	5	8
Somewhat optimistic	25	24	25	25	32	19	20	24	24	19	26	25	31	29	35	39	20	17	29
Somewhat pessimistic	47	47	46	46	28	26	37	38	53	57	42	41	40	39	36	39	49	48	37
Very pessimistic	18	19	18	18	22	27	19	20	19	19	19	23	7	20	9	14	17	27	21
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	7	6	7	7	5	18	22	17	2	4	8	8	19	9	12	5	13	3	6
ST Optimistic	29	28	29	29	45	29	23	26	26	20	32	29	34	32	42	41	21	22	37
ST Pessimistic	65	66	64	64	50	53	56	57	72	76	60	64	47	59	45	53	66	75	57

Q33.4 And thinking about the future, do you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects of stability in...

Egypt

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very optimistic	5	6	6	6	14	10	5	4	2	3	8	7	4	5	8	4	2	10	9
Somewhat optimistic	40	39	39	39	36	22	28	35	39	42	42	39	40	36	38	51	33	33	37
Somewhat pessimistic	36	36	36	36	25	24	32	27	45	43	29	32	29	31	31	32	41	36	33
Very pessimistic	10	10	10	10	15	23	13	10	11	7	12	13	6	16	7	7	13	16	9
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	9	9	9	9	10	21	22	24	4	4	8	10	22	12	16	6	11	5	13
ST Optimistic	45	45	45	45	50	32	33	39	41	46	50	45	43	40	46	55	35	44	45
ST Pessimistic	46	47	46	46	40	47	45	37	55	50	42	45	35	48	38	39	54	51	42

Q33.5 And thinking about the future, do you feel optimistic or pessimistic about the prospects of stability in...

Syria

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Very optimistic	3	3	3	3	8	7	4	2	1	1	6	3	2	3	6	2	1	7	5
Somewhat optimistic	18	17	18	18	26	14	21	17	12	14	22	13	26	22	31	21	19	14	19
Somewhat pessimistic	45	44	44	44	29	28	34	36	53	52	40	37	37	39	34	38	46	44	38
Very pessimistic	25	26	25	25	27	32	16	20	31	27	22	37	8	26	9	32	17	32	28
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	10	9	10	10	11	20	24	24	3	6	10	10	26	10	19	6	18	3	10
ST Optimistic	21	21	21	21	34	20	25	20	13	15	28	16	28	25	38	23	19	21	24
ST Pessimistic	70	70	69	69	55	59	50	56	84	79	62	74	45	65	43	71	63	75	66



Q34a As you may know, [COUNTRY] currently has troops stationed in Afghanistan. In your view, should [COUNTRY] increase the number of troops in Afghanistan, keep its troops at its current level, reduce the number of its troops or should it withdraw all troops from Afghanistan?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: DO NOT ASK Q34a IN RUSSIA and THE NETHERLANDS

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	BG	FR	GER	IT	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	95% (6651)	95% (8615)	95% (10594)	96% (11564)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Increase	2	2	2	2	5	11	2	1	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	2	2
2011	3	3	3	3	6	12	1	2	4	2	2	3	2	6	2	3	3
2010	5	5	5		25	16	2	4	7	4	2	2	6		3	6	7
2009	6	6	6		30	14	2	4	7	6	5	4	5		2	7	11
Keep at current level	18	20	20	21	22	37	22	16	23	16	14	34	23	45	34	26	18
2011	28	29	29	29	25	34	31	34	25	31	21	39	27	48	29	39	25
2010	29	29	29		33	22	21	37	24	34	16	45	22		31	35	27
2009	34	35	33		32	21	14	41	35	38	22	40	16		31	37	27
Reduce	22	22	22	22	24	16	21	21	22	26	16	18	26	24	23	21	26
2011	22	21	22	22	31	17	25	20	19	26	17	21	25	22	31	20	26
2010	20	19	20		22	12	19	17	17	24	18	15	22		30	16	25
2009	18	18	18		11	20	22	17	16	21	17	14	23		31	17	19
Withdraw all troops	55	54	53	53	44	22	50	61	51	55	62	43	43	26	35	50	52
2011	46	44	44	44	35	26	38	44	51	39	56	37	42	23	33	37	43
2010	44	44	44		19	35	49	40	50	35	59	37	44		32	42	40
2009	39	39	39		19	30	50	34	41	34	51	38	48		30	37	41
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	2	2	2	2	5	13	5	1	2	1	6	2	4	3	5	2	2
2011	2	2	2	2	3	12	5	1	1	3	5	1	3	2	5	1	2
2010	2	2	3		1	15	9	3	2	3	5	2	6		5	2	2
2009	3	3	3		8	14	12	3	1	1	6	4	8		6	2	3

Q34b As you may know, the Netherlands currently has police trainers stationed in Afghanistan. In your view, should the Netherlands increase the number of police trainers in Afghanistan, keep its police trainers at its current level, reduce the number of its police trainers, or should it withdraw all police trainers from Afghanistan?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: ASK Q14b ONLY IN THE NETHERLANDS

	NL
TOTAL	100% (1000)
Increase <i>2011</i>	8 <i>5</i>
Keep at current level <i>2011</i>	33 <i>35</i>
Reduce <i>2011</i>	12 <i>31</i>
Withdraw all police trainers <i>2011</i>	39 <i>24</i>
[DK]/[REFUSAL] <i>2011</i>	7 <i>6</i>



Q35 These days, some governments are cutting spending to reduce their debt. Other governments are maintaining or increasing their spending to stimulate economic growth. What is your view? Should the [COUNTRY] government...

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Increase spending	15	15	15	15	14	11	18	11	7	12	14	23	12	8	9	17	6	19	29
2011	17	16	16	16	17	14		17	11	9	22	22	15	6	10	13	11	13	29
Keep current levels of spending	31	30	30	31	23	45	44	37	25	39	16	31	36	18	31	56	33	23	38
2011	30	29	29	29	19	35		35	26	33	19	42	39	12	28	55	33	19	34
Decrease spending	50	50	50	50	58	28	20	42	65	47	65	39	40	70	53	21	55	55	26
2011	48	50	50	50	61	32		38	62	54	49	33	36	80	54	25	46	64	32
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	5	5	5	5	4	16	17	11	2	2	5	7	11	4	7	6	6	3	7
2011	5	5	5	5	4	19		9	1	4	10	3	9	2	9	7	9	5	4

Q36a And how about defense spending? Do you think the [COUNTRY] government should increase defense spending, keep defense spending at the current level, or decrease defense spending?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: [ASK Q36a to SPLIT A7] [IN RUSSIA and US ASK Q36a to ALL]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	50% (3498)	50% (4442)	50% (5447)	50% (5946)	100% (1001)	50% (501)	100% (1500)	50% (495)	50% (505)	50% (489)	50% (504)	50% (506)	50% (473)	54% (549)	50% (512)	50% (512)	50% (519)	44% (443)	50% (514)
Increase defense spending	12	11	11	11	20	29	34	12	8	6	5	7	19	8	14	17	7	5	29
2011	17	16	16	17	19	23		26	11	14	11	14	21	10	17	21	10	10	36
Keep defense spending at the current level	47	46	46	46	45	44	43	51	54	47	34	51	49	43	45	56	42	42	51
2011	47	46	46	46	45	38		44	55	47	40	47	55	38	44	52	42	37	45
Decrease defense spending	38	39	39	39	32	17	13	30	38	45	56	37	21	45	34	25	45	52	16
2011	33	35	35	34	34	24		24	33	36	45	38	19	49	32	24	43	50	18
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	4	4	4	4	3	10	10	7	0	3	5	5	10	3	7	3	6	1	4
2011	3	3	3	3	2	15		6	1	3	4	1	6	3	7	3	6	3	2

Q36b As you may know, the American government has decided to increase military spending in East Asia and reduce American troops in Europe. In light of this, should the [COUNTRY] government increase defense spending, keep defense spending at the current level, or decrease defense spending?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: [ASK Q36b to SPLIT B7] [DO NOT ASK IN RUSSIA and US]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	TR	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	50% (3502)	50% (4563)	50% (5590)	50% (6091)	50% (508)	50% (512)	50% (495)	50% (511)	50% (496)	50% (494)	52% (527)	45% (451)	50% (513)	50% (488)	50% (486)	55% (557)	50% (486)
Increase defense spending	10	9	10	10	19	12	4	5	8	8	11	6	17	12	3	5	27
2011	17	16	16	17	23	26	11	14	11	14	21	10	17	21	10	10	36
Keep defense spending at the current level	51	50	49	50	48	51	62	53	40	46	52	35	44	62	47	40	53
2011	47	46	46	46	38	44	55	47	40	47	55	38	44	52	42	37	45
Decrease defense spending	35	38	37	37	19	29	34	40	48	38	25	56	30	20	42	54	16
2011	33	35	35	34	24	24	33	36	45	38	19	49	32	24	43	50	18
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	4	4	4	4	14	8	0	1	4	7	12	3	9	5	8	1	4
2011	3	3	3	3	15	6	1	3	4	1	6	3	7	3	6	3	2



Q37 Generally speaking, do you think that [COUNTRY]'s membership in the European Union [IN EU COUNTRIES: has been / TURKEY: would be] a good thing or a bad thing for the [COUNTRY] economy?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: [ASK Q37 TO Q41 IN EUROPE ONLY, DO NOT ASK IN RUSSIA and US]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	TR	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1009)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Good	61	61	61	61	44	47	69	73	53	62	67	69	67	50	56	58	40
2011	68	68	67	67	48	46	69	76	69	73	74	68	63	58	56	68	46
2010	63	64	63		43	40	61	69	62	75	75	69	63		68	67	45
Bad	31	32	31	31	37	26	25	24	40	28	17	25	17	34	21	38	52
2011	24	24	24	24	30	28	23	19	23	18	12	26	16	29	19	26	43
2010	29	29	28		35	27	29	27	29	19	12	20	19		12	27	49
[It hasn't made a difference]	3	3	4	4	11	20	5	1	3	4	8	3	12	7	15	2	2
2011	5	5	6	6	14	21	7	2	5	5	8	2	20	8	19	3	3
2010	4	4	5		13	25	8	2	4	4	6	6	15		16	5	2
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	4	4	4	4	9	6	1	3	4	6	8	3	5	8	8	2	6
2011	4	3	3	3	8	6	1	2	3	4	6	4	2	6	7	3	7
2010	3	3	3		10	8	1	2	5	2	7	5	3		4	2	3



Q38a And how about the euro? Generally speaking, do you think that using the euro in [COUNTRY] [WITHIN THE EUROZONE: has been/ OUTSIDE THE EUROZONE: would be] a good thing or a bad thing for the [COUNTRY] economy?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: [ASK Q37 TO Q41 IN EUROPE ONLY, DO NOT ASK IN RUSSIA and US]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	TR	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1009)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Good	36	37	37	37	23	26	42	53	44	47	14	43	42	9	54	41	7
2011	39	40	40	40	20	30	39	48	49	47	33	39	46	26	55	41	18
2010	36	38	38			28	33	45	47	52	32	40	54		64	44	14
Bad	58	57	56	57	53	45	52	45	51	45	71	55	35	84	31	57	89
2011	55	54	53	53	46	46	54	49	46	47	52	58	30	67	31	54	77
2010	58	57	55			42	60	53	48	43	53	52	23		17	53	83
[WITHIN THE EUROZONE: It hasn't made a difference / OUTSIDE THE EUROZONE: It wouldn't make a difference]	2	2	3	3	11	12	6	1	2	3	5	1	10	2	8	1	1
2011	3	3	4	3	18	10	6		2	3	5	2	15	3	9	2	1
2010	3	3	3			11	7	1	1	2	3	4	12		15	2	3
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	3	3	4	4	13	16	1	2	3	5	10	2	12	5	7	1	3
2011	3	3	4	4	16	14	1	3	3	2	10	1	8	4	5	3	3
2010	3	3	4			19	1	1	4	3	13	3	11		4	1	

Q38b Some people say that [COUNTRY] should leave the euro-zone and return to using our previous currency while others say that [COUNTRY] should continue using the euro? Which one is closer to your own opinion?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: [ASK Q38b ONLY IN EURO ZONE COUNTRIES and IF answer to Q38a was that the euro has been a bad thing]

TOTAL
[COUNTRY] should leave the euro-zone and return to using our previous currency
[COUNTRY] should continue using the euro
[DK]/[REFUSAL]

FR	GER	IT	NL	PT	SK	SP
50% (518)	44% (447)	50% (507)	45% (454)	54% (548)	31% (313)	56% (570)
36	58	42	42	37	56	48
60	39	52	52	60	27	50
4	4	7	5	2	17	2

Q39 Some people say that because of recent economic difficulties, the EU should have more authority over member states' economic and budgetary policies. Other people say that each member state should retain this authority for itself. Which view is closer to your own?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: [ASK Q37 TO Q41 IN EUROPE ONLY, DO NOT ASK IN RUSSIA and US]/DO NOT ASK Q39 IN TURKEY

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
EU should have more authority over member states' economic and budgetary policies	37	38	37	37	31	40	53	43	31	21	38	33	18	34	42	15
2011	39	40	40	39	35	40	54	46	42	32	42	41	20	35	43	12
Each member state should retain this authority for itself	57	57	57	57	57	58	45	49	58	65	59	53	75	57	56	79
2011	56	56	55	56	58	55	44	47	55	58	56	47	75	58	53	84
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	6	5	6	6	12	3	2	7	11	14	3	14	7	10	2	6
2011	5	5	5	5	8	4	2	7	3	10	2	12	4	7	5	4

Q40.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way the following have been handling the economic crisis in Europe?

The European Union

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: [ASK Q37 TO Q41 IN EUROPE ONLY, DO NOT ASK IN RUSSIA and US]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	TR	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1009)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Strongly approve	6	6	7	7	12	13	5	6	7	17	6	7	12	5	7	6	3
Somewhat approve	43	41	42	42	15	50	47	51	39	38	43	47	49	53	45	26	32
Somewhat disapprove	30	31	30	30	28	21	34	30	26	22	27	24	22	26	25	40	34
Strongly disapprove	14	16	15	15	23	7	12	7	22	15	6	18	7	8	15	26	23
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	7	6	7	7	22	9	2	5	6	8	19	5	10	8	7	2	9
ST Approve	49	47	48	48	27	63	52	57	46	55	49	54	61	58	52	32	35
ST Disapprove	44	46	45	45	51	28	46	38	48	37	33	41	29	34	41	66	56

Q40.2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way the following have been handling the economic crisis in Europe?

German Chancellor Angela Merkel

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: [ASK Q37 TO Q41 IN EUROPE ONLY, DO NOT ASK IN RUSSIA and US]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	TR	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1009)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Strongly approve	14	13	13	13	7	21	16	17	7	34	9	6	20	15	10	8	11
Somewhat approve	40	38	38	39	19	45	48	46	25	40	48	29	38	47	42	26	36
Somewhat disapprove	23	24	23	23	28	11	22	23	28	8	16	29	16	18	21	30	24
Strongly disapprove	15	17	17	16	21	4	12	10	35	5	5	32	6	5	10	33	12
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	8	8	9	9	25	19	2	4	5	13	23	4	20	16	16	3	16
ST Approve	53	51	52	52	26	66	64	63	32	74	57	35	58	61	52	34	47
ST Disapprove	38	41	39	39	49	15	34	34	63	13	20	61	22	22	32	63	37



Q41 As you may know, the European Union has recently created a fund to assist member states that find themselves in budgetary difficulty. To what extent do you approve or disapprove of [COUNTRY] making a contribution to this fund? Do you...

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: [ASK Q37 TO Q41 IN EUROPE ONLY, DO NOT ASK IN RUSSIA and US]/DO NOT ASK Q41 IN TURKEY

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Approve very much	13	14	14	14	11	15	11	22	19	6	17	14	11	3	20	7
2011	17	18	18	18	16	32	10	27	19	8	20	16	15	7	23	9
Approve somewhat	40	40	40	41	35	50	38	44	38	36	39	46	48	28	46	29
2011	42	42	43	43	37	38	40	50	44	52	46	49	48	32	43	34
Disapprove somewhat	24	23	23	23	19	22	32	16	16	26	19	22	22	30	18	24
2011	20	20	20	20	20	15	29	14	19	18	21	19	21	32	19	22
Disapprove very much	19	19	19	18	25	12	16	15	21	16	22	10	15	29	15	37
2011	16	16	15	15	15	15	18	7	17	6	9	9	14	23	12	32
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	4	4	4	4	10	1	2	2	6	16	3	7	3	10	1	3
2011	4	4	4	4	11	1	3	3	1	16	3	7	2	6	3	2
ST Approve	53	54	54	54	46	65	49	66	57	42	56	60	59	31	65	36
2011	60	60	60	60	53	70	50	76	63	60	67	65	63	38	66	43
ST Disapprove	43	42	42	42	43	34	48	32	37	42	41	33	37	59	33	61
2011	36	36	36	36	35	29	47	21	36	24	31	28	36	56	31	55

Q42 Some people say that our economic system works fairly for everybody; other people say that most of the benefits of our system go to a few. Which view is closer to your own?

(READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER PER LINE)

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
The economic system works fairly for everybody	19	18	18	18	30	16	14	6	21	23	8	35	14	8	13	37	6	16	23
Most of the benefits of our system go to a few	76	77	77	76	64	72	75	86	77	73	89	50	72	90	74	54	85	82	71
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	5	5	5	5	6	11	11	7	2	4	3	15	14	2	12	10	10	1	6



Q43.1 Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following.

Economic power is more important in world affairs than military power

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Agree strongly	41	41	41	41	36	41	34	56	36	49	53	52	32	43	48	35	47	43	41
2011	45	45	45	45	31	30		52	44	49	50	56	32	45	40	41	56	43	43
2010	47	47	47		47	39		54	37	49	56	63	34	56	45		56	46	49
2009	45	44	44		30	28		48	40	50	46	40	38	55	38		46	39	42
2008	46	46	46		34	40		58	45	44	55	41	44	53	50		57	45	42
2007	45	45	45		33	39		51	43	49	46	43	41	52	44		52	43	42
2006	46	46			34	53		63	46	47	40	49	51	60	57		60	44	46
2005	43	43			32	48			44	48	36	43	43	54			61	35	43
2004	45	45			28	51			42	47	50	37	46	48			58	39	43
2003	40				31				37	44	44	31	36	46					39
Agree somewhat	40	40	40	40	38	22	36	34	51	42	31	31	44	34	37	49	40	42	39
2011	39	40	40	40	40	27	36	36	41	41	34	27	49	38	42	43	30	42	39
2010	40	40	39		31	21		29	51	42	31	24	47	32	34		30	40	36
2009	37	37	37		31	29		30	38	37	35	41	41	27	37		38	43	34
2008	40	40	39		36	22		28	43	42	34	46	42	32	31		31	41	39
2007	40	40	40		38	33		30	43	37	41	44	43	31	34		34	41	40
2006	41	41			38	22		24	43	42	47	38	38	27	30		29	44	38
2005	42	43			34	23			45	42	46	42	41	31			29	49	37
2004	39	39			36	22			43	40	38	47	36	28			31	41	36
2003	40				38				42	41	37	48	39	28					37
Disagree somewhat	8	9	8	8	12	17	16	6	7	4	8	6	10	10	7	6	6	8	9
2011	7	7	7	7	16	16		6	7	6	8	7	9	9	8	8	5	8	8
2010	7	7	7		15	20		7	6	5	8	5	8	6	10		9	7	8
2009	10	10	10		17	15		9	12	8	12	11	8	7	11		10	9	12
2008	8	8	8		15	10		5	6	8	7	7	7	5	10		7	8	11
2007	7	7	7		14	10		8	6	7	8	7	7	5	8		7	8	9
2006	7	7			15	9		6	7	7	9	8	6	5	5		6	7	7
2005	8	8			18	14			7	7	9	9	6	6			6	7	11
2004	8	8			19	11			7	7	7	9	7	7			5	8	10
2003	9				17				10	9	8	12	8	6					12
Disagree strongly	6	6	6	6	8	10	7	0	5	3	6	6	3	9	2	4	2	6	6
2011	4	4	4	4	8	15		1	6	4	4	7	1	7	3	5	3	5	4
2010	3	3	3		6	10		2	3	3	3	5	2	4	4		2	4	4
2009	5	5	4		10	13		4	6	3	5	4	2	5	2		2	5	6
2008	4	4	4		9	10		3	4	4	3	4	1	4	2		2	4	4
2007	4	4	4		9	6		2	5	5	3	5	2	4	2		3	6	4
2006	3	3			7	9		1	3	4	3	3	1	3	2		2	3	4
2005	3	3			9	10			4	3	4	4	3	3			2	5	3
2004	4	4			8	7			5	4	2	4	2	6			2	4	4
2003	5				7				7	4	5	4	3	7					5

Q43.1 Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following.

Economic power is more important in world affairs than military power

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	5	4	5	5	6	10	8	4	2	2	3	5	12	4	7	6	5	1	5
2011	4	4	4	4	5	13		5	2	1	5	3	10	2	7	3	6	3	6
2010	3	3	3		1	10		8	3	1	3	3	9	2	7		3	2	3
2009	4	4	5		11	16		10	3	1	2	4	12	5	13		4	3	6
2008	3	3	3		5	18		5	1	2	1	2	7	6	7		3	2	4
2007	3	3	4		6	12		9	2	2	2	2	6	8	12		5	3	5
2006	3	3			6	8		6	1	1	2	2	5	6	6		3	3	4
2005	3	3			7	5			1	1	5	2	7	6			3	5	6
2004	4	4			8	9			3	2	3	4	9	12			3	9	7
2003	6				7				4	2	6	5	14	13					7
ST Agree	81	81	81	82	74	63	70	90	87	91	83	83	76	77	84	84	86	85	80
2011	85	85	85	85	71	56		88	85	90	84	83	81	83	82	84	86	84	81
2010	87	87	86		78	60		84	88	91	86	87	81	88	80		86	87	85
2009	81	81	81		61	56		78	79	87	81	81	79	82	75		84	82	76
2008	86	86	86		70	62		86	89	86	89	87	85	85	81		88	86	81
2007	85	85	85		72	72		81	86	86	87	86	84	83	78		86	84	82
2006	87	87			72	74		87	89	88	87	87	88	87	87		89	88	84
ST Disagree	14	14	14	14	20	27	22	6	11	7	13	12	13	19	9	10	8	14	15
2011	11	11	11	11	24	30		7	13	9	12	14	9	16	11	13	8	13	12
2010	10	10	10		21	30		9	9	8	11	10	10	11	13		11	11	13
2009	15	15	15		27	28		12	18	12	17	15	10	12	12		12	15	18
2008	11	11	11		25	20		9	10	12	10	11	8	9	12		9	11	15
2007	12	12	12		23	16		10	12	12	11	12	10	9	10		9	13	14
2006	10	10			22	18		7	10	11	12	10	7	7	7		8	10	11



Q43.2 Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following.

Under some conditions, war is necessary to obtain justice

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Agree strongly	10	10	10	10	36	14	8	6	6	6	7	20	4	8	6	8	4	7	21
2011	11	10	10	10	35	11		6	9	7	7	21	7	8	7	13	6	7	23
2010	9	8	8		49	13		6	3	5	6	20	5	9	6		4	7	21
2009	8	7	7		37	11		3	5	6	4	10	4	10	5		3	4	20
2008	8	7	7		40	18		2	4	4	4	10	4	5	5		3	5	23
2007	9	9	8		39	29		4	6	6	5	12	7	7	8		6	6	23
2006	10	10			42	24		6	9	6	7	17	7	9	11		7	6	22
2005	10	10			42	18			7	7	5	14	7	10			7	7	23
2004	14	14			47	26			9	7	10	17	16	15			8	9	33
2003	18				55				12	12	15	22	18	16					35
Agree somewhat	25	24	24	24	38	21	22	23	24	25	18	28	24	20	17	29	22	19	43
2011	24	23	23	23	39	21		21	19	21	15	25	24	26	20	29	20	17	41
2010	20	20	19		28	29		14	13	18	13	21	21	19	16		17	15	40
2009	17	16	16		34	23		14	13	13	12	19	15	14	16		16	10	35
2008	21	20	20		35	18		13	17	16	18	28	17	23	21		16	14	39
2007	22	21	21		35	21		18	19	15	19	29	19	20	22		22	14	36
2006	25	24			36	23		20	22	20	21	30	20	24	23		28	15	42
2005	26	25			36	28			21	22	22	31	23	24			25	14	41
2004	28	27			35	24			24	24	25	36	31	23			29	16	36
2003	30				29				27	27	28	38	28	29					39
Disagree somewhat	25	25	25	25	12	25	26	23	29	27	26	16	31	23	29	25	27	28	15
2011	24	25	25	25	13	27		29	21	31	24	19	33	23	23	19	28	33	15
2010	22	23	23		12	19		19	21	25	23	14	31	21	21		26	28	14
2009	22	23	23		11	17		18	24	25	20	22	25	18	22		24	30	15
2008	26	26	25		7	15		21	27	29	23	25	37	17	23		20	26	15
2007	25	25	25		10	13		26	26	28	26	24	31	17	22		22	28	16
2006	27	27			11	17		27	32	31	27	25	30	13	20		21	29	14
2005	25	26			8	21			33	25	29	23	29	14			18	32	14
2004	25	26			8	19			28	30	27	23	27	18			21	36	13
2003	21				6				28	25	20	18	24	14					10
Disagree strongly	37	38	38	38	11	28	33	41	40	40	47	34	33	49	40	36	42	45	18
2011	39	39	39	39	11	28		38	51	40	50	34	30	44	43	38	34	42	17
2010	47	47	47		11	30		52	61	50	57	43	38	50	50		45	49	23
2009	51	51	51		14	34		60	57	55	64	47	50	55	50		50	55	25
2008	44	45	45		16	31		58	51	50	55	36	37	53	44		46	54	18
2007	43	44	43		13	27		44	47	50	50	34	40	52	39		43	52	21
2006	36	38			9	30		41	36	43	43	27	38	49	40		38	49	18
2005	36	37			11	28			37	45	43	31	36	48			46	45	16
2004	30	31			8	22			37	38	36	23	21	34			37	36	14
2003	28				7				32	35	35	21	20	36					13

Q43.2 Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following.

Under some conditions, war is necessary to obtain justice

[READ OUT - RANDOMLY ROTATE - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	3	2	3	3	3	11	11	6	1	1	1	3	8	1	8	2	5	0	3
2011	3	3	3	3	2	13		5	1	1	3	2	7	1	8	1	12	2	4
2010	2	2	2			8		8	2	1	2	2	6	1	7		7	1	2
2009	2	2	3		5	14		6	1	1		1	6	3	7		6	1	6
2008	2	2	2		3	19		6	1	1	1	1	4	3	8		15	1	5
2007	2	2	2		3	10		8	2	1	1	1	3	5	9		8	1	4
2006	2	2			2	7		7	1	1	2	2	5	4	6		6	1	4
2005	2	2			3	4			1	1	1	1	5	4			5	2	5
2004	3	2			3	8			2	1	2	1	5	9			5	3	4
2003	3				3				1	1	2	1	10	5					3
ST Agree	35	34	34	34	74	35	30	29	30	32	25	48	28	27	23	38	26	26	64
2011	34	33	32	33	75	32		28	28	28	22	45	30	33	26	42	25	24	64
2010	29	28	27		77	42		20	16	23	19	41	26	29	22		22	22	61
2009	25	24	23		71	35		16	18	19	16	29	19	24	21		20	15	55
2008	29	27	27		74	36		15	21	20	22	38	22	28	26		19	19	62
2007	30	29	29		74	49		23	25	21	23	41	27	27	30		28	20	59
2006	35	34			78	47		26	31	26	28	47	27	33	33		35	21	65
ST Disagree	62	63	64	63	23	53	59	64	69	67	74	49	64	72	69	61	69	74	33
2011	63	64	64	64	24	56		67	71	70	75	53	63	66	66	57	62	74	32
2010	69	70	70		22	50		71	82	76	80	57	69	70	71		71	77	37
2009	73	74	74		25	51		78	81	80	84	70	75	73	72		74	84	39
2008	69	71	71		23	46		80	78	80	78	61	75	70	67		66	80	33
2007	68	69	69		23	41		70	73	78	76	58	70	69	61		64	79	38
2006	63	64			20	46		68	68	74	70	52	68	62	60		59	78	32

Q44 And regarding the extent to which you or your family has been personally affected by the current economic crisis, would you say that your family's financial situation has been...

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	USA	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1001)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Greatly affected	18	21	23	22	31	22	17	51	14	9	23	18	12	41	46	6	36	36	21
2011	15	18	19	19	33	21		52	17	10	19	14	10	30	41	6	32	31	20
2010	15	16	19		25	46		46	13	13	21	9	7	26	49		27	25	19
2009	14	15	16		27	48		33	11	14	17	4	12	23	26		26	22	19
Somewhat affected	44	43	43	43	48	47	41	38	40	35	52	36	41	48	42	30	47	44	52
2011	42	42	42	41	49	34		37	40	35	48	35	42	49	45	25	46	40	49
2010	41	42	42		51	30		38	40	41	47	31	33	52	40		41	46	46
2009	38	38	39		48	30		40	31	43	42	17	34	24	47		47	42	44
Not really affected	27	25	24	24	12	18	24	8	35	36	22	30	29	8	9	37	12	15	19
2011	29	28	26	27	10	21		9	31	36	27	31	33	14	9	36	15	18	21
2010	30	29	27		19	11		11	34	32	27	36	36	14	8		23	19	24
2009	32	30	29		17	10		17	37	29	32	45	34	40	16		19	19	24
Not affected at all	10	9	9	9	7	9	15	1	11	18	3	13	13	3	2	26	3	5	8
2011	12	12	11	11	7	9		1	13	18	6	18	10	6	3	33	4	10	8
2010	12	12	11		5	6		2	13	14	5	23	18	8	2		8	10	11
2009	15	15	15		8	8		7	20	15	8	34	17	13	9		7	16	13
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	2	1	1	1	2	4	4	2	1	1	1	2	6	0	1	1	2	0	1
2011	1	1	1	1	1	15		1		1		2	6		2		2	1	1
2010	1	1	1		1	6		3			1	1	6		1		1	1	1
2009	1	1	1		1	4		2				1	4	1	2		1	1	1
ST Affected	61	64	66	65	79	69	58	89	53	45	75	54	53	89	88	36	83	80	73
2011	57	59	61	61	82	55		89	56	45	67	49	52	80	86	31	78	71	70
2010	56	58	60		75	76		84	53	54	67	40	40	78	89		68	71	64
2009	52	54	55		74	78		74	42	56	60	20	46	47	73		73	64	62
ST Not affected	37	35	33	34	19	27	38	9	46	54	25	44	42	10	11	63	16	20	27
2011	41	39	37	38	17	30		10	44	54	32	49	43	20	12	69	20	28	29
2010	42	41	38		24	18		13	47	46	32	59	53	22	10		31	29	35
2009	47	46	44		25	18		24	58	44	40	79	50	52	25		27	36	37

Q45.1 I would like to ask you a question about how much confidence you have in certain institutions in [COUNTRY]. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to be very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, not at all confident. How about ...
The military

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]
FILTER: ASK Q45 ONLY IN RUSSIA

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Very confident	27
Somewhat confident	40
Not too confident	20
Not at all confident	10
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	4
ST Confident	67
ST Not confident	29

Q45.2 I would like to ask you a question about how much confidence you have in certain institutions in [COUNTRY]. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to be very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, not at all confident. How about ...

The President

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: ASK Q45 ONLY IN RUSSIA

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Very confident	25
Somewhat confident	43
Not too confident	16
Not at all confident	11
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	4
ST Confident	69
ST Not confident	27

Q45.3 I would like to ask you a question about how much confidence you have in certain institutions in [COUNTRY]. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to be very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, not at all confident. How about ...
The police

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]
FILTER: ASK Q45 ONLY IN RUSSIA

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Very confident	12
Somewhat confident	29
Not too confident	35
Not at all confident	19
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	5
ST Confident	41
ST Not confident	54

Q45.4 I would like to ask you a question about how much confidence you have in certain institutions in [COUNTRY]. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to be very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, not at all confident. How about ...

The church

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: ASK Q45 ONLY IN RUSSIA

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Very confident	27
Somewhat confident	37
Not too confident	16
Not at all confident	11
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	8
ST Confident	65
ST Not confident	27

Q45.5 I would like to ask you a question about how much confidence you have in certain institutions in [COUNTRY]. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to be very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, not at all confident. How about ...

The state Duma

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: ASK Q45 ONLY IN RUSSIA

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Very confident	9
Somewhat confident	28
Not too confident	33
Not at all confident	24
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	7
ST Confident	37
ST Not confident	57

Q45.6 I would like to ask you a question about how much confidence you have in certain institutions in [COUNTRY]. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to be very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, not at all confident. How about ...
The courts and the justice system

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]
FILTER: ASK Q45 ONLY IN RUSSIA

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Very confident	9
Somewhat confident	27
Not too confident	34
Not at all confident	25
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	6
ST Confident	36
ST Not confident	59

Q45.7 I would like to ask you a question about how much confidence you have in certain institutions in [COUNTRY]. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to be very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, not at all confident. How about ...

Elections

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: ASK Q45 ONLY IN RUSSIA

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Very confident	11
Somewhat confident	30
Not too confident	31
Not at all confident	22
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	6
ST Confident	41
ST Not confident	53

Q45.8 I would like to ask you a question about how much confidence you have in certain institutions in [COUNTRY]. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to be very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, not at all confident. How about ...
Television news

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]
FILTER: ASK Q45 ONLY IN RUSSIA

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Very confident	15
Somewhat confident	47
Not too confident	24
Not at all confident	10
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	5
ST Confident	62
ST Not confident	34

Q45.9 I would like to ask you a question about how much confidence you have in certain institutions in [COUNTRY]. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to be very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, not at all confident. How about ...
Newspapers

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]
FILTER: ASK Q45 ONLY IN RUSSIA

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Very confident	12
Somewhat confident	44
Not too confident	26
Not at all confident	10
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	8
ST Confident	56
ST Not confident	36

Q45.10 I would like to ask you a question about how much confidence you have in certain institutions in [COUNTRY]. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to be very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, not at all confident. How about ...
Internet news sources

[READ OUT – RANDOMLY ROTATE – ONE ANSWER ONLY]
FILTER: ASK Q45 ONLY IN RUSSIA

	RU
TOTAL	100% (1500)
Very confident	14
Somewhat confident	32
Not too confident	18
Not at all confident	11
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	25
ST Confident	46
ST Not confident	29

D3 Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as...?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

		USA
TOTAL		100% (1001)
A Democrat		38
	2011	32
	2010	32
	2009	31
	2008	31
	2007	32
	2006	29
A Republican		25
	2011	24
	2010	27
	2009	26
	2008	26
	2007	29
	2006	26
An Independent		26
	2011	31
	2010	32
	2009	31
	2008	28
	2007	27
	2006	31
Something else		7
	2011	10
	2010	8
	2009	8
	2008	12
	2007	9
	2006	11
[DK]/[REFUSAL]		3
	2011	4
	2010	1
	2009	4
	2008	3
	2007	4
	2006	3

D4 Do you lean more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

[ASK D4 ONLY IF choose neither Democrat nor Republican IN D3]

		USA
TOTAL		34% (349)
More to the Republican Party		32
	2011	33
	2010	49
More to the Democratic Party		41
	2011	34
	2010	32
[DK]/[REFUSAL]		27
	2011	33
	2010	20

D6 In politics, people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on a scale from 1 to 7, where '1' means the extreme left and '7' means the extreme right?

[DO NOT READ SCALE. REPEAT IF NEEDED: "1 means the extreme left and 7 means the extreme right."]

[ASK D6 IN EUROPE ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
TOTAL	100% (7000)	100% (9005)	100% (11037)	100% (12037)	100% (1009)	100% (1500)	100% (1007)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)	100% (1025)	100% (1000)	100% (1005)	100% (1000)	100% (1000)
Extreme Left	3	4	4	4	2	4	1	4	3	6	4	1	5	1	1	2	6	3
2011	3	3	3	3	2	4	1	4	2	3	4	1	4	3	2	2	3	2
2010	3	3	3	3	2	4	1	3	3	3	4	1	4	1	2	1	4	3
2009	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	4	4	3	3	2	5	2	1	1	3	3
2008	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	4	3	3	2	4	1	1	1	3	3
2007	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	3	2	4	3	3	1	3	2	5	2
2006	3	3	3	3	1	2	4	4	4	1	1	2	3	2	2	2	5	4
Left	9	9	9	9	9	6	15	15	7	13	9	8	4	16	6	16	8	5
2011	9	9	10	10	12	6	14	16	8	12	7	6	4	15	3	13	11	4
2010	8	8	8	8	8	12	12	7	11	9	8	5	13	10	7	10	7	3
2009	7	8	8	8	10	17	8	8	7	9	8	7	16	11	12	12	4	
2008	6	7	7	7	6	16	6	7	7	7	8	9	13	9	9	9	4	
2007	7	7	8	8	6	18	9	7	9	7	7	10	9	8	7	7	3	
2006	7	7	7	7	5	20	7	7	10	7	7	9	9	13	8	8	8	3
Center Left	20	20	19	19	6	6	6	21	33	20	17	6	18	9	24	15	26	16
2011	21	21	20	20	5	6	6	19	29	22	17	6	15	7	20	15	25	22
2010	22	22	21	21	6	5	5	23	30	19	22	5	18	5	14	24	24	21
2009	22	22	20	20	4	5	5	27	28	22	20	5	17	6	16	22	18	
2008	21	22	21	21	4	6	6	26	28	22	23	7	15	7	14	25	16	
2007	20	21	20	20	6	7	7	20	28	21	22	8	14	8	13	28	18	
2006	22	23	20	20	4	5	5	28	27	25	22	6	16	10	16	28	17	
Center	26	26	25	25	18	19	22	20	35	20	27	14	30	15	32	26	29	33
2011	26	26	25	26	23	19	22	27	35	17	31	12	31	12	32	27	27	30
2010	27	27	26	26	35	27	26	34	16	28	15	31	14	14	29	29	35	
2009	26	27	26	26	19	25	26	33	19	28	11	28	13	27	30	34		
2008	29	29	28	28	21	20	30	36	19	29	14	29	14	31	33	37		
2007	27	27	26	26	21	21	24	35	15	28	16	30	11	30	30	37		
2006	28	28	25	25	30	18	28	33	13	35	16	35	15	32	29	40		
Center Right	16	16	16	16	13	7	11	18	13	14	19	8	22	7	28	11	18	23
2011	15	16	15	16	13	7	11	13	15	15	20	9	21	10	30	12	19	21
2010	16	16	16	16	11	12	14	16	15	21	10	20	7	12	19	22		
2009	17	17	17	17	10	13	20	15	18	23	12	18	9	10	17	20		
2008	18	18	18	18	9	9	23	16	19	21	13	14	12	9	16	20		
2007	18	18	17	17	12	9	24	15	19	22	10	11	15	11	16	20		
2006	16	16	16	16	13	10	18	17	19	20	10	11	12	14	14	15		

D6 In politics, people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on a scale from 1 to 7, where '1' means the extreme left and '7' means the extreme right?

[DO NOT READ SCALE. REPEAT IF NEEDED: "1 means the extreme left and 7 means the extreme right."]

[ASK D6 IN EUROPE ONLY]

	EU 7	EU 9	EU 11	EU 12	TR	RU	BG	FR	GER	IT	NL	PL	PT	RO	SE	SK	SP	UK
Right	8	8	8	8	15	8	10	11	4	7	12	19	6	11	5	10	5	5
2011	8	7	8	8	14		14	9	4	6	12	19	7	10	6	7	6	5
2010	8	8	8		14		10	7	4	8	8	23	7	10		9	5	4
2009	7	7	7		28		11	6	4	6	8	19	5	13		8	7	6
2008	8	7	8		28		12	5	4	10	9	20	8	13		5	4	6
2007	8	7	8		23		8	9	4	10	9	20	7	14		7	3	4
2006	7	6			22		11	6	4	4	7	19	6	12		7	3	5
Extreme Right	3	4	4	4	3	3	1	4	2	2	4	4	5	2	1	2	4	5
2011	3	3	3	3	8		2	3	2	4	4	4	7	2	2	1	4	4
2010	3	3	3	3	5		1	2	2	3	5	4	4	2		2	4	5
2009	4	4	4		7		1	3	3	5	4	3	4	5		1	3	5
2008	4	4	3		6		1	3	2	5	5	3	4	1			4	6
2007	4	4	4		7		2	4	4	3	5	4	4	3		1	5	5
2006	4	4			6		1	2	4	2	3	5	5	2		1	5	5
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	15	13	15	15	33	46	32	7	4	20	9	39	11	40	3	18	4	9
2011	15	14	16	15	24		26	11	5	20	6	44	10	42	4	24	6	12
2010	14	13	15		20		31	13	4	24	4	35	11	47		24	7	7
2009	14	13	14		21		25	7	5	20	5	40	15	37		26	6	11
2008	11	11	13		25		34	5	4	16	4	34	17	38		30	7	9
2007	13	12	14		24		32	7	4	20	3	32	20	39		28	6	11
2006	6	6			7		9	1	3	21	2	5	9	5		7	5	2

D7 In politics, people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on a scale from 1 to 7, where '1' means the extreme left and '7' means the extreme right?

[DO NOT READ SCALE. REPEAT IF NEEDED: "1 means the extreme left and 7 means the extreme right."]

		USA
TOTAL		100% (1001)
Extreme Left		4
	2011	2
	2010	5
	2009	4
	2008	3
	2007	4
	2006	2
Left		6
	2011	5
	2010	4
	2009	5
	2008	4
	2007	4
	2006	5
Center Left		14
	2011	17
	2010	16
	2009	14
	2008	14
	2007	13
	2006	15
Center		27
	2011	26
	2010	23
	2009	31
	2008	27
	2007	31
	2006	34
Center Right		23
	2011	22
	2010	26
	2009	20
	2008	23
	2007	21
	2006	20

D7 In politics, people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on a scale from 1 to 7, where '1' means the extreme left and '7' means the extreme right?

[DO NOT READ SCALE. REPEAT IF NEEDED: "1 means the extreme left and 7 means the extreme right."]

		USA
Right	2011	9
	2010	10
	2009	15
	2008	8
	2007	8
	2006	9
Extreme Right	2011	10
	2010	6
	2009	9
	2008	11
	2007	9
	2006	8
[DK]/[REFUSAL]	2011	8
	2010	9
	2009	4
	2008	10
	2007	10
	2006	9

D8 Do you consider yourself to be?
 [READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]
 FILTER: ASK ONLY IN TURKEY

	TR
TOTAL	100% (1009)
Islam/ Muslim <i>2011</i>	99 <i>99</i>
Roman Catholic <i>2011</i>	0 <i>0</i>
Protestant <i>2011</i>	0 <i>0</i>
Orthodox Church (Greek or Russian) <i>2011</i>	0 <i>0</i>
Jewish <i>2011</i>	0 <i>0</i>
Mormon <i>2011</i>	0 <i>0</i>
Other religion [SPECIFY] <i>2011</i>	0 <i>0</i>
No religion, not a believer, atheist, agnostic <i>2011</i>	0 <i>0</i>
[DK]/[REFUSAL] <i>2011</i>	1 <i>1</i>

D9 Do you pray five times a day regularly, sometimes or never?

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

FILTER: ASK ONLY IN TURKEY / ASK D9 ONLY IF CODE 1 IN D8

	TR
TOTAL	98% (997)
Regularly <i>2011</i>	32 33
Sometimes <i>2011</i>	45 45
Never <i>2011</i>	16 17
[DK]/[REFUSAL] <i>2011</i>	6 5

D10 To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement 'wearing a headscarf (Turban in Turkish language) at universities should be banned'? Do you...

[READ OUT - ONE ANSWER ONLY]

	TR
TOTAL	100% (1009)
Agree strongly 2011	9 15
Agree somewhat 2011	7 7
Disagree somewhat 2011	13 14
Disagree strongly 2011	66 58
[DK]/[REFUSAL] 2011	5 6
ST Agree 2011	17 22
ST Disagree 2011	78 72



TRANSATLANTIC TRENDS

www.transatlantictrends.org

A project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Compagnia di San Paolo, with additional support from Fundação Luso-Americana, the BBVA Foundation, the Communitas Foundation, the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and the Open Society Foundations.