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European Public Opinion Three Decades After the Fall of Communism

Most embrace democracy and the EU, but many worry about the political and economic future

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European Public Opinion Three Decades After the Fall of Communism

Most embrace democracy and the EU, but many worry about the political and economic future

Thirty years ago, a wave of optimism swept across Europe as walls and regimes fell, and long-oppressed publics embraced open societies, open markets and a more united Europe. Three decades later, a new Pew Research Center survey finds that few people in the former Eastern Bloc regret the monumental changes of 1989-1991. Yet, neither are they entirely content with their current political or economic circumstances. Indeed, like their Western European counterparts, substantial shares of Central and Eastern European citizens worry about the future on issues like inequality and the functioning of their political systems.

Most in former Eastern Bloc approve of shift to multiparty and free market systems

% who approve/disapprove of the change to a multiparty system/market economy



^{*} Respondents in areas corresponding to former German Democratic Republic. Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q15a,b,e, Q16a-c.

Those in Central and Eastern European nations that joined the European Union generally believe membership has been good for their countries, and there is widespread support in the region for many democratic values. Still, even though most broadly embrace democracy, the intensity of people's commitment to specific democratic principles is not always strong.

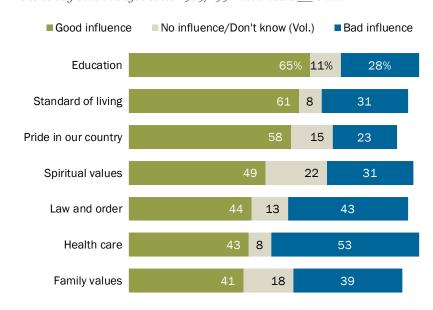
When asked about the shifts to multiparty democracy and a market economy that occurred following the collapse of communism, former Eastern Bloc publics surveyed largely approve of these changes. For instance, 85% of Poles support the shifts to both democracy and capitalism. However, support is not uniform – more than a third of Bulgarians and Ukrainians disapprove, as do roughly half in Russia.

These questions about democracy and a market economy were <u>first asked in 1991</u>, and then again in 2009. In a few nations – Hungary, Lithuania and Ukraine – support for both declined between 1991 and 2009 before bouncing back significantly over the past decade. Russia is the only country where support for multiparty democracy and capitalism is down significantly from 2009.

The varying levels of enthusiasm for democracy and free markets may be driven in part by different perspectives about the degree to which societies have made progress over the past three decades. Most Poles, Czechs and Lithuanians, and more than four-in-ten Hungarians and Slovaks, believe the economic situation for most people in their country today is better than it was under communism. And in these five nations, people are more likely to hold this view now than was the case in 2009, when Europe was struggling with the effects of the global financial crisis.

Most in Central, Eastern Europe say post-communist era has been good for education, living standards and national pride

% who say that changes since 1989/1991 have had a on ...



Note: Percentages are nine-country medians based on Germany, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Russia and Ukraine. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q21a-g.

However, in Russia, Ukraine and Bulgaria, more than half currently say things are worse for most people now than during the communist era.

When asked whether their countries have made progress over the past three decades across a range of issues, the Central and Eastern European publics surveyed feel most positive about issues like education and living standards. But opinions are more divided about progress on law and order and family values, and most say the changes have had a negative impact on health care.

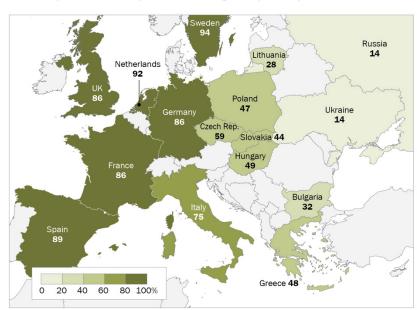
There is widespread agreement that elites have gained more from the enormous changes of the past 30 years than average citizens have. Large majorities in all Central and Eastern European nations polled think politicians and business leaders have benefited, but fewer say this about ordinary people.

Just as there are different views about the progress nations have made in the recent past, opinions differ about the future as well. Across the former communist nations included in the survey, people are relatively optimistic about the future of their country's relations with other European nations, but mostly pessimistic about the functioning of the political system and specific economic issues like jobs and inequality.

Across Europe, attitudes on some topics reflect a sharp East-West divide. On social issues like homosexuality and the role of women in society, opinions differ sharply between West and East, with Western Europeans expressing much more progressive attitudes.

Homosexuality more accepted in Western Europe

% who say homosexuality should be accepted by society

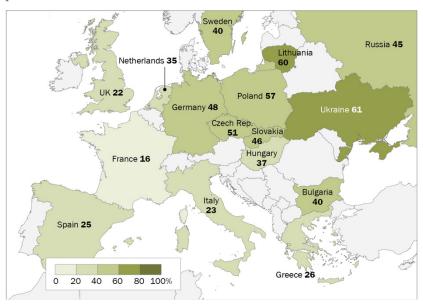


Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q31.

There is also a divide on views about the economic future. Regarding the economic prospects for the next generation, hope is somewhat more common in former Eastern Bloc nations. Around six-in-ten Ukrainians, Poles and Lithuanians believe that when children in their country grow up, they will be financially better off than their parents. In contrast, roughly a quarter or fewer hold this view in Greece, Spain, Italy, the United Kingdom and France.

More optimism about the economic prospects for the next generation in Central and Eastern Europe

% who say children today will be better off financially compared to their parents



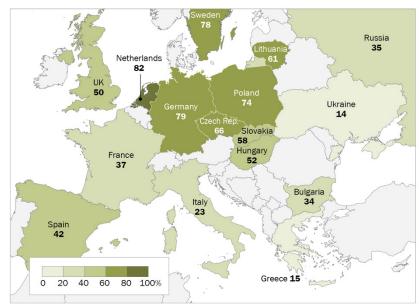
Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4.

On views about the state of the current economy, however, the main division is often between a relatively satisfied northern Europe and a mostly unhappy south, where many people have not recovered from the economic crisis of a decade ago.

EU member states are mostly united in their support for the broad European project. The EU gets largely favorable ratings, most say membership has been good for their countries, and most believe their countries have benefited economically from being a part of the EU, although positive reviews for the institution are hardly universal. The most

More positive views about the current economic situation in northern European nations

% who say the economic situation in their country is good



Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3.

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favorable ratings for the EU are found in former communist nations Poland and Lithuania, both of which became member states in 2004.

As <u>previous Pew Research Center studies</u> have shown, Europeans tend to believe in the ideals of the EU, but they have complaints about how it functions. Most have said the EU stands for peace, democracy and prosperity, but most also believe it is intrusive and inefficient and that Brussels does not understand the needs of average citizens.

The two former communist nations in the survey that have not joined the EU – Russia and Ukraine, both of which were part of the Soviet Union – look very different from the EU nations surveyed on a number of measures. They are less approving of the shifts to democracy and capitalism, less supportive of specific democratic principles and less satisfied with their lives.

These are among the key findings from a new Pew Research Center survey of 17 countries, including 14 EU nations, Russia, Ukraine and the United States. The survey covers a broad array of topics, including views about the transition to multiparty politics and free markets, democratic values, the EU, Germany, political leaders, life satisfaction, economic conditions, gender equality, minority groups and political parties.

The survey was conducted among 18,979 people from May 13 to Aug. 12, 2019. This study builds upon two previous surveys by Pew Research Center and its predecessor. The first was conducted by the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press (a forerunner of Pew Research Center) from April 15 to May 31, 1991. The second was a poll conducted by Pew Research Center from Aug. 27 through Sept. 24, 2009, just prior to the 20th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall.

The 1991 survey took place prior to the dissolution of both Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. Even though Czechoslovakia was a single country in 1991, we show 1991 results for geographic areas that correspond to the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia. In 1991, Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine were surveyed as republics of the Soviet Union. In Ukraine in 2019, we do not survey in Crimea or areas under conflict in the eastern oblasts of Luhansk and Donetsk. For more information, see the Methodology.

Most Europeans support democratic values, but many worry about how democracy is working

Across all 14 EU countries included in the study, as well Russia, Ukraine and the United States, there is broad support for specific democratic rights and institutions. Respondents were presented with nine different features of liberal democracy, then asked how important it is to have each one in their country. Majorities in every nation polled said all of these nine factors are at least *somewhat* important, and in most countries, large majorities expressed this view.

However, attitudes differ regarding whether these principles are *very* important. Large majorities typically consider having a fair judicial system and gender equality very important, but support for religious freedom and allowing civil society groups to operate freely is in some cases less enthusiastic.

And there are notable differences across countries. Western Europeans are generally more likely than Central and Eastern Europeans to rate these rights and institutions as very important. Russians consistently express the lowest levels of support. Americans, meanwhile, are often especially likely to consider these principles very important.

This is consistent with other <u>Pew Research Center surveys</u>, which have found that while democracy is a popular idea around the world, the intensity of people's commitment to it is not always strong. For instance, representative democracy is widely embraced, but significant shares of the public in many nations are open to nondemocratic forms of government as well. People support free expression, but there are strong differences across nations regarding the appropriate boundaries of permissible speech. And, as the current survey shows, fundamental democratic rights and institutions are widely embraced, but some give those principles a less than full-throated endorsement.

Judicial fairness, gender equality seen as very important priorities across Europe

% who say ___ is very important

Slovakia

Lithuania

EU Median

Ukraine

Russia

- Most common response
- Second most common response

60

64

74

59

45

61

57

70

62

40

67

62

85

57

54

Least common response

	Fair judiciary	Gender equality	Free speech	Regular elections	Free internet	Free media	opposition parties	Free civil society	Free religion
Greece	95%	85%	87%	85%	71%	89%	75%	55%	83%
Hungary	95	85	87	87	77	76	68	63	70
Sweden	93	96	83	85	80	82	73	66	53
UK	92	92	68	78	66	77	72	68	75
France	91	90	83	78	70	65	60	72	52
Netherlands	89	92	69	70	70	64	69	60	58
Spain	87	84	79	80	77	79	67	72	54
Germany	86	90	86	70	74	67	60	66	72
Bulgaria	86	73	74	70	61	67	58	57	58
Czech Rep.	82	70	73	67	67	67	58	46	47
Italy	72	74	63	59	52	56	42	35	61
Poland	72	69	61	63	60	64	49	57	56

59

53

69

54

40

56

59

67

63

38

Central and Eastern Europe

Free

51

47

60

49

55

59

48

31

52

48

57

59

42

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q55a-f. Q57a-c.

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There are also large cross-national differences on how people view the current state of democracy in their country. In Sweden, the Netherlands, Poland and Germany, 65% or more are satisfied with the way democracy is working, while in Greece, Bulgaria, the UK, Italy and Spain two-thirds or more are dissatisfied.

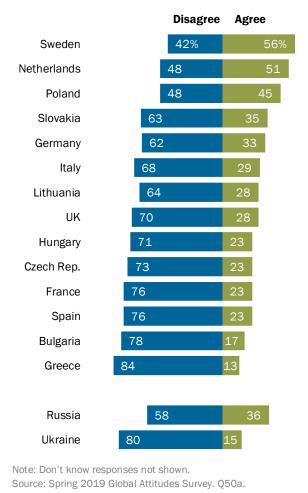
One factor <u>driving dissatisfaction</u> with the way democracy is working is frustration with political elites, who are often perceived as out of touch with average citizens. Across the EU nations polled, a median of 69% disagree with the statement "Most elected officials care about what people like me think." Majorities also share this perspective in Russia, Ukraine and the U.S.

In former Eastern Bloc nations, there is a widespread perception that politicians — and to a somewhat lesser extent, business people — have benefited greatly from the changes that have taken place since the end of the communist era. The belief that ordinary people have benefited is much less common, although the share of the public expressing this view has increased in many countries since 2009.

Another sign of frustration with political elites and institutions is the poor ratings for most European political parties. The survey asked respondents whether they have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of major parties in their country. In total, we asked about 59 parties across the 14 EU nations surveyed – but only six of these parties receive a favorable rating from half or more of the public.

Few believe elected officials care what they think

% who ___ that most elected officials care about what people like them think



Despite the misgivings many have about the way democracy is working, most still believe they can have an influence on the direction of their country. In every nation surveyed, roughly half or more agree with the statement "Voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things." And about seven-in-ten or more express this view in Spain, Sweden, Slovakia, Ukraine, the Czech Republic and Poland, as well as in the U.S.

Mostly positive attitudes toward the EU

One of the most significant political developments of the past three decades has been the integration of many Central and Eastern European nations into the European Union. Of course, another major development in recent years has been the rise of populist political parties and movements throughout Europe that have questioned the value of European integration and railed against Brussels on a variety of fronts. The United Kingdom has gone so far as to vote to leave the EU.

Overall, attitudes toward the EU are positive. Roughly half or more in every member state surveyed express a favorable opinion of the institution. The EU gets its highest ratings in Poland and Lithuania, two nations that did not join the union until 2004, and its third highest rating is in Bulgaria, which didn't join until 2007. In the UK, Greece, Czech Republic and France, attitudes toward the EU are less positive, though still on balance favorable.

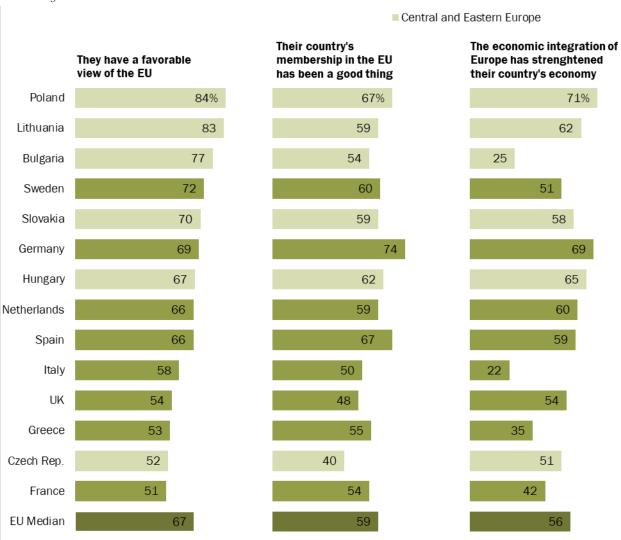
When asked to reflect on their country's EU membership, respondents mostly say it has been a good thing, especially in Germany, Poland and Spain, where at least two-in-three express this view. In contrast, only half or fewer believe membership has been good in Italy, the UK and the Czech Republic.

Publics are somewhat more lukewarm about the economic impact of EU membership. When asked whether the economic integration of Europe has strengthened or weakened their country's economy, a median of 56% across the 14 member states surveyed say it has strengthened it. However, just 42% in France, 35% in Greece, 25% in Bulgaria and 22% in Italy share this opinion.

Overall, views about the general impact of EU membership, and the specific economic impact of membership, have improved in recent years as economic concerns have eased somewhat in many nations. Even, for example, in a country like France, where there is still a lot of skepticism about the value of economic integration, opinions have improved – in 2015, just 31% felt integration had helped their economy, compared with the 42% registered in the current survey.

Largely positive views about the EU and its impact on member states

% who say ...



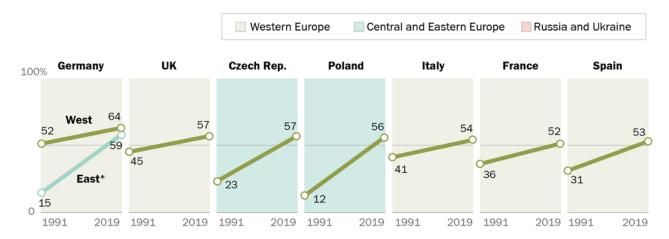
Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q8d, Q13 & Q14.

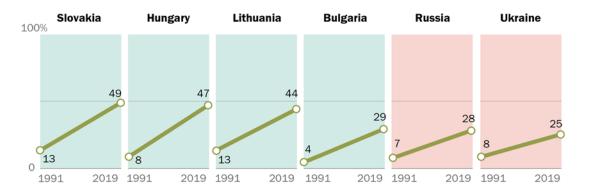
Life satisfaction is up significantly over the past three decades

Among the survey's most positive findings is that people in former communist nations, as well as in Western Europe and the United States, are feeling better about their own lives than was the case when these countries were surveyed in 1991. The improvement in several of the Central and Eastern European countries that have joined the EU is dramatic. In 1991, as Poland was still coming to grips with the transition to democracy and capitalism, just 12% of Poles rated their lives a 7, 8, 9 or 10 on a 0-10 scale, where 10 represents the best possible life and 0 the worst possible life. Today, 56% do so.

Since 1991, life satisfaction has improved across Europe

% who say 7, 8, 9 or 10 on a ladder of life where the top of the ladder represents the best possible life (10) and the bottom the worst possible life (0)





^{*} East and West Germany respondents live in former German Democratic Republic and pre-1990 Federal Republic of Germany, respectively. Note: To measure respondents' well-being, we used the Cantril Ladder question that asks where respondents place themselves on the "ladder of life" with a scale from 0 to 10. The question wording is: "Here is a ladder representing the 'ladder of life.' Let's suppose the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom, the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?" 1991 data for the Czech Republic and Slovakia correspond to regions in the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q1.

However, improvements are not limited to the former Eastern Bloc. Even though their countries have experienced economic challenges in recent years, people in France and Spain are much more positive about their lives than they were almost three decades ago.

Overall, life satisfaction tends to be higher in wealthier nations. The four countries with the highest per capita incomes in this study – the U.S., the Netherlands, Germany and Sweden – also have the highest levels of life satisfaction, while the nation with the lowest per capita income, Ukraine, has the lowest level.

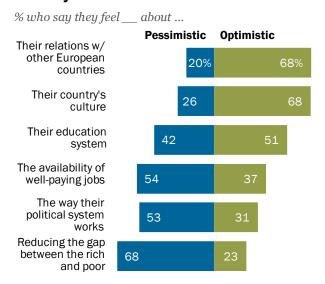
Europeans are both hopeful and apprehensive about the future

When thinking about the future of their countries, Europeans express a mixture of optimism and pessimism. Regarding the economic prospects for the next generation, hope is more common in

Central and Eastern Europe. Around six-in-ten Ukrainians, Poles and Slovaks believe that when children in their country grow up, they will be financially better off than their parents. In contrast, roughly a quarter or fewer hold this view in Greece, Spain, Italy, the UK and France.

When asked how they feel about the future of different topics in their countries, opinions vary widely across issues. People are largely optimistic about the future of their country's relations with other European nations, and they feel the same way about their country's culture. However, there is considerably less optimism about the future regarding well-paying jobs and the way the political system works. European publics are especially pessimistic about reducing economic inequality – across the 14 EU nations surveyed, a median of just 23% are optimistic about reducing the gap between rich and poor in their country.

Most are optimistic about relations with other European nations and their own country's culture



Note: Percentages are medians based on 14 European Union countries. Volunteered responses of "Don't know" and "Neither" not shown.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q12a-e,g.

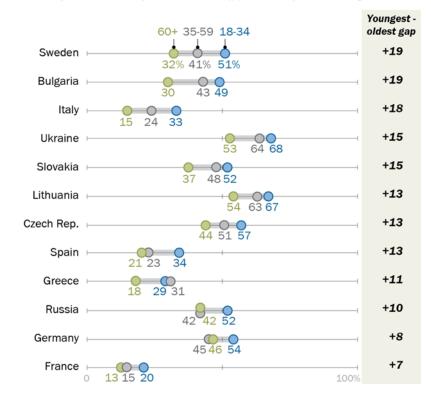
More optimism among young people

On a host of issues, young people have a relatively positive outlook about the past, present and future of their countries. In former communist nations, 18- to 34year-olds are generally more likely than their older counterparts to believe the shift to a market economy has been good for their country, and they are also more likely to think the changes that have taken place over the past three decades have benefited ordinary people.

Across many European countries, those under 35 are more satisfied with the current direction of their countries. They also express more favorable opinions of the EU, more positive attitudes toward Muslims and are more accepting of homosexuality.

Younger groups are more optimistic about children's financial future

% who say children today will be better off financially than their parents



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4.

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And there is greater optimism about the long-term economic future among young people. In 12 nations, those ages 18 to 34 are more likely than those 60 and older to believe that children in their country will be better off financially than their parents when they grow up.

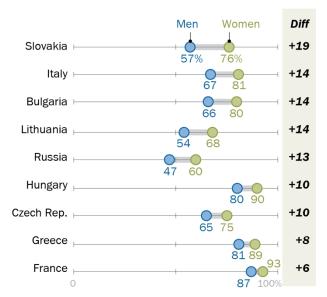
Perceptions of gender equality

Although Europeans tend to place a high priority on having gender equality in their countries, in several nations women are more likely than men to hold this view. In nine of the nations surveyed, women are especially likely to say it is *very* important that women have the same rights as men in their country. Double-digit gender gaps on this question are found in Slovakia, Italy, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Russia, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

In many European nations, attitudes toward gender roles and marriage have shifted since 1991, with more people now preferring a marriage where both the husband and wife have jobs and take care of the household, rather than one where the husband provides for the family and the wife takes care of home and children. For instance, in 1991, 57% of Poles preferred traditional marriage roles, compared with just 27% today.

Women more likely than men to view gender equality as very important

% of __ who say that it is very important that women have the same rights as men in their country



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q55c.

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When it comes to gender and the economic sphere, majorities in most countries disagree with the statement "When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women." Still, substantial shares of the public agree with this statement in several nations, including roughly six-in-ten in Slovakia and four-in-ten or more in Greece, Poland, Bulgaria and Italy.

Right-wing populists more distrustful of EU, minorities

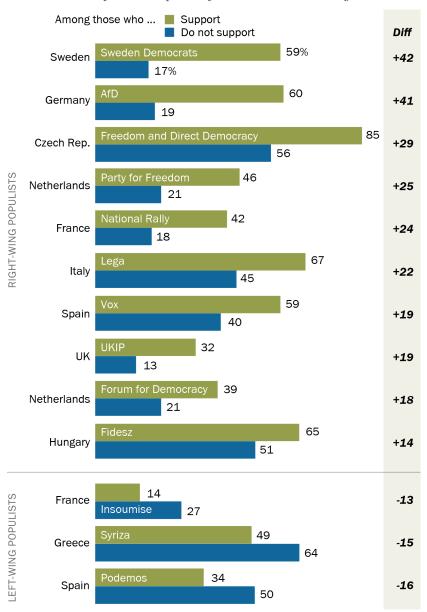
Political systems in Europe and elsewhere have been disrupted over the past few years by the growth of anti-elite sentiments and the rise of populist parties, leaders and movements — mostly, but not exclusively, on the political right. Numerous issues have fueled the spread of populism, and the current survey highlights a variety of topics where supporters of populist parties stand out.

People who express a favorable opinion of right-wing populist parties are generally more likely to hold unfavorable views of the EU and to believe the economic integration of Europe has been bad for their countries. For more on how this survey defines populist parties in Europe, see Appendix A.

They are also less accepting of homosexuality and more negative toward minority groups. For instance, 59% of Swedes with a positive opinion of the right-wing populist Sweden Democrats express an unfavorable opinion of Muslims in their country; among those with a negative view of the Sweden Democrats, just 17% see Muslims

Views of Muslims more unfavorable among supporters of right-wing populist parties

% who have an <u>unfavorable</u> opinion of Muslims in their country



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant. "Support" percentages represent respondents who have a favorable view of each party. "Do not support" percentages represent respondents who have an unfavorable view of each party. For more information on European populist parties, see Appendix A.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. 048c.

negatively. How people feel about right-wing populist parties also shapes attitudes toward Muslims in Germany, the Czech Republic, the Netherlands, France, Italy, Spain, the UK and Hungary.

A different pattern emerges, however, regarding left-wing populist parties. In France, Greece and Spain, people with favorable views of left-wing populist parties tend to have more positive attitudes toward Muslims in their country.

East and West Germany

This report analyzes data from three surveys (1991, 2009 and 2019) in which we compare results for geographic areas that correspond to former East Germany (officially called the German Democratic Republic) and pre-1990 West Germany (Federal Republic of Germany). As was the case during the period in which Germany was divided, East Germany includes East Berlin, while West Germany includes West Berlin. This map shows the boundaries between East and West Germany.



Country Spotlights:

Germany

The survey has certain questions that were asked only in former East Germany, and on many other questions there are substantial differences between those Germans living in the East and the West.

- Around nine-in-ten Germans living in both the West and East say that German unification
 was a good thing for Germany. However, majorities on both sides of the former Iron
 Curtain say that since unification, East and West have not achieved the same standard of
 living.
- East Germans are less satisfied with the way democracy is working in Germany and the overall direction of the country than those in the West. And fewer East Germans have a favorable view of the European Union.
- Life satisfaction in East Germany has skyrocketed since 1991 and now is closing in on opinions in the West. In 1991, 15% of those living in former East Germany said their life was a 7, 8, 9, or 10 on a 0-10 scale, but in 2019 that ballooned to 59%. Meanwhile, life satisfaction in the West has also increased since 1991, from 52% to 64% today.

United States

While American and European attitudes are similar on some key issues, there are others where the two sides of the Atlantic have less in common.

- Americans are more likely than Europeans to say most tenets of democracy are very important for the country, but especially the ability for the media to report without government censorship and freedom of religion. Americans are about as likely as Western Europeans to say that honest, regular elections with at least two parties are very important for their country, and both see this as more important than most in Eastern Europe.
- When it comes to attitudes about LGBT rights, Americans are generally more progressive than Central and Eastern Europeans. For example, today 72% of Americans say homosexuality should be accepted by society. While lower than the median of 86% in Western Europe, this is much higher than the median of 46% who say the same in Central and Eastern Europe.
- Regarding attitudes about individualism, Americans are less likely than Europeans to say forces outside of people's control determine success in life.

Roadmap to the report

The chapters that follow discuss these findings and others in more detail:

- Chapter 1 examines attitudes in Central and Eastern Europe toward the political and economic changes that occurred following the fall of communism as well as how these changes have influenced different groups and aspects of society.
- Chapter 2 explores the democratic institutions and rights that people across Europe view as important for their country.
- Chapter 3 looks at satisfaction with the way democracy is working, including whether voting gives people a say in what happens in their country.
- Chapter 4 reviews attitudes toward the European Union and major European leaders, and examines people's optimism, or pessimism, about various aspects of their society.
- Chapter 5 explores national conditions, such as views about the current economic situation, as well as life satisfaction.
- Chapter 6 considers European attitudes toward minority groups such as Muslims, Jews and Roma.
- Chapter 7 reviews beliefs about gender equality in society, marriage and employment.
- Chapter 8 examines ratings of European political parties.

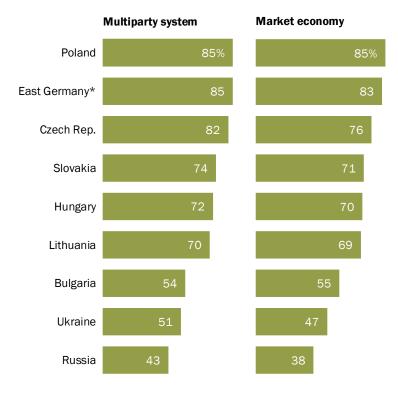
1. Political and economic changes since the fall of communism

When asked about changes that have taken place since the end of the communist era, people across the former Eastern Bloc express support for the shift from one-party rule and a state-controlled economy to a multiparty system and a market economy. However, Russians in particular are less supportive of these changes.

The move to a multiparty system garners the strongest approval from Poles (85%), those in former East Germany (85%) and Czechs (82%). But majorities in Slovakia, Hungary and Lithuania also approve. Roughly half or more in Bulgaria and Ukraine also support the change, even though there are more who disapprove in those countries. Only in Russia do fewer than half express support for the change to a multiparty system.

Generally, Central and Eastern Europeans approve of shift to multiparty system and a free market economy

% who approve of the change to a ...



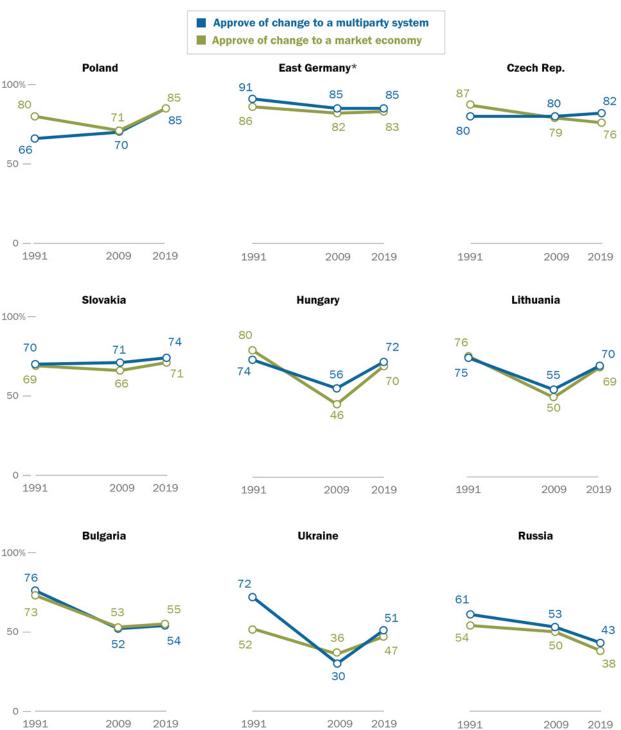
^{*} Respondents in areas corresponding to former German Democratic Republic. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q15a-b, e & Q16a-c.

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Support for the shift to a market economy is also robust in most of the countries surveyed, with majority support for the economic change found in many countries where majorities also favor the change to the political system. However, only 38% in Russia approve of the economic change, while 51% disapprove.

In some countries, support for the transition to a multiparty system and a free-market economy has rebounded, although support in Russia has declined





^{*} Respondents in areas corresponding to former German Democratic Republic.

Note: 1991 data for the Czech Republic and Slovakia correspond to regions in the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q15a-b,e & Q16a-c.

People in many of the countries surveyed are less supportive of the changes to the political and economic systems now than they were in 1991. However, since 2009, there has been a notable uptick in positive sentiment toward these changes in about half of the countries surveyed. Russia, a notable exception, is the only country where support has decreased since 2009.

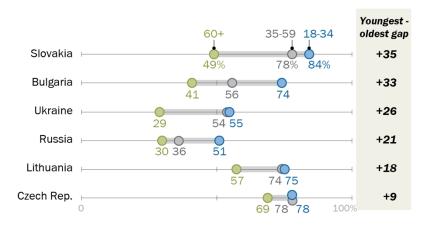
For example, in Hungary, 74% in 1991 said they approved of the change to a multiparty system, and 80% liked the movement to a market economy. But when surveyed again in 2009, only 56% approved of the change to the political system since 1989 and 46% were positive on the change to the economic system. Now, however, 72% of Hungarians approve of the multiparty system and 70% like the capitalist system.

Russians, however, are even more pessimistic than they were in in the past about these changes. In 1991, 61% of Russians welcomed the multiparty system, but that figure is 43% today, an 18 percentage point decline. And positive views toward the market economy are also down significantly since 1991.

Young people in general are keener on the movement away from a state-controlled economy in many of the countries surveyed. For example, in Slovakia, 84% of 18- to 34-year-olds are in favor of this change, compared with 49% of those ages 60 and older. Double-digit age gaps also appear in Bulgaria, Ukraine, Russia and Lithuania.

Young people are more likely to approve of movement to a capitalist economy than older generations

% who approve of the change to a market economy



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. 016a-b.

In most of the countries surveyed, those with more education are more likely to favor the movement to a capitalist economy than are those with less education. In Bulgaria, 78% of those with more than a secondary education favor the change to a capitalist economy, while only 49% of those with less education do. These differences are also significant for the change to a multiparty system.

Similar differences appear when it comes to income, not just for the movement to a free-market economy but also for the change to a multiparty system. In all countries, those with incomes at or higher than the country median are more likely to approve of these changes than are those with incomes below the country medians.

The transition from a state-controlled economy to a capitalist one is much more highly regarded now than in 2009, during the recession. Perhaps because of an improved economic outlook (see Chapter 5), many more now see the economic benefits of the new system compared with communism. However, there are sharp divides across countries on how the change affected most people.

People with more education favor shift to a market economy

% who approve of the change to a market economy

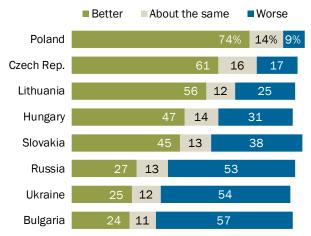
	Less education %	More education %	Diff
Bulgaria	49	78	+29
Czech Rep.	71	94	+23
Hungary	65	85	+20
Lithuania	65	85	+20
Ukraine	44	60	+16
Slovakia	69	82	+13

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. For the purpose of comparing educational groups across countries, we standardize education levels based on the UN's International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). The lower education category is below secondary education and the higher category is secondary or above in Ukraine. The lower education category is secondary education or below and the higher category is postsecondary or above in the other countries listed. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q16a-b.

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Mixed views on whether the economic situation changed for the better after communism

% who say the economic situation for most people today is ___ than it was under communism



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Question not asked in Germany.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q17.

Despite no universal agreement on whether the economic situation is better today than it was under communism, the belief that it is better has become more common in every country since 2009, except Russia. In Poland, 47% held this view in 2009, but today that figure has jumped to 74%. However, in Russia fewer people now say the economic situation is better than under communism.

In Poland, the Czech Republic and Lithuania, majorities say the economic situation for most people is better today than it was under communism. In Hungary and Slovakia, more people say it is better, but substantial minorities still say it is worse. And in Bulgaria, Ukraine and Russia, more than half believe the economic situation is worse today than it was under communism. (This question was not asked in Germany.)

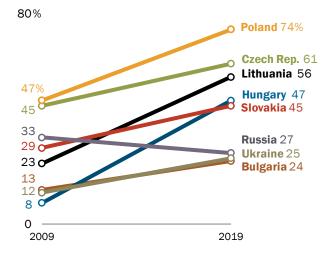
Most Russians characterize end of USSR as great misfortune

More than six-in-ten Russians agree with the statement "It is a great misfortune that the Soviet Union no longer exists." This represents an increase of 13 percentage points since 2011. Only three-in-ten disagree with the statement.

Russians who lived most of their lives under the Soviet Union are more likely to say its dissolution was a great misfortune than are those who grew up under the new system. Among Russians ages 60 and older, roughly seven-in-ten (71%) agree it is unfortunate that the USSR no longer exists, compared with half of Russians ages 18 to 34.

Except in Russia, uptick in those saying economic situation is better than under communism

% who say that the economic situation for most people today is better than it was under communism



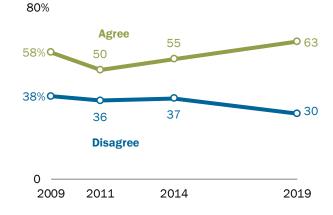
Note: In 2009, question asked "as it was prior to 1989 when we were under communist rule" in Lithuania. Question not asked in Germany.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q17.

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Most Russians see great misfortune in dissolution of Soviet Union

% who ____ "it is a great misfortune that the Soviet Union no longer exists"



Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q50i.

Germans view unification positively but feel the East has been left behind economically

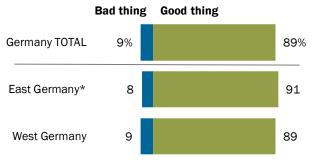
Germans are in strong agreement that the 1990 unification of East and West was a good thing for Germany. Roughly nine-in-ten Germans, living in both the regions that correspond with the former West Germany and East Germany, agree with this statement.

However, when asked whether East and West Germany have achieved the same standard of living since unification, only three-in-ten Germans say this is the case.

Since 2009 there has not been much overall movement on this question in Germany as a whole. In former East Germany, however, people are about twice as likely now to say the standard of living is equal to that of the West than they were the last time this question was asked. Still, majorities of Germans from both regions say the East has not yet achieved equal economic footing with the West.

Most in both East and West Germany view unification favorably

% who say German unification in 1990 was a ___ for Germany



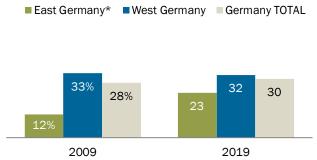
* East and West Germany respondents live in former German Democratic Republic and pre-1990 Federal Republic of Germany, respectively.

Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q18.

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Few Germans believe living standards of East and West Germany are equal

% saying since unification, East Germany has achieved the same standard of living as those in West Germany



* East and West Germany respondents live in former German Democratic Republic and pre-1990 Federal Republic of Germany, respectively.

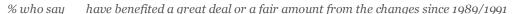
Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q19.

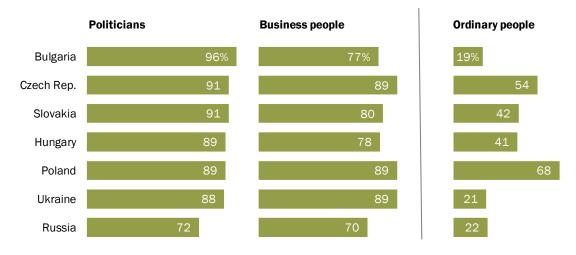
Politicians and business people seen as gaining from changes since the end of communism, more so than ordinary people

Majorities in all the former Soviet orbit countries surveyed say politicians and business people have benefited a great deal or fair amount since the fall of communism. And in all cases, more people say political and business leaders have prospered than say changes have benefited ordinary people.

People are especially inclined to believe politicians have benefited. Roughly nine-in-ten or more express this view in every nation where the question was asked, with the exception of Russia (still, 72% of Russians agree). Roughly three-quarters or more in every country also say business people have profited from the changes at least a fair amount, including 89% of those in the Czech Republic, Poland and Ukraine.

Most see politicians and business people benefiting from changes since end of communism, more so than ordinary people





Note: Question not asked in Germany. In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked "since 1989." In Russia and Ukraine, question asked "since 1991." Lithuania not included due to translation error.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q20a-c.

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Publics are less inclined to believe ordinary people have been the beneficiaries of such changes. In Bulgaria, Ukraine and Russia, about one-in-five say this. On the other hand, nearly seven-in-ten Poles think ordinary people have prospered under the new system, as well as 54% of Czechs.

Nonetheless, more now say ordinary people have benefited than was the case 10 years ago. In 2009, a median of 21% across the seven countries surveyed said ordinary people were helped by the changes, while 77% said they were not. Now, a median of 41% across these same countries say ordinary people have benefited from the change, with 56% saying they have benefitted little or not at all.

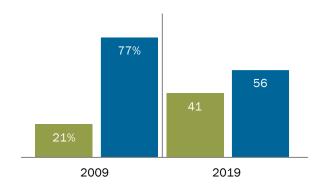
Within countries, there are divides on how people see average citizens making out in the change from communism to a free market. In every country where the question was asked, those with higher incomes are more likely than those with lower incomes to say the changes have benefited ordinary people. For example, in Hungary, those with an income at or above the national median are 20 percentage points more likely than those with lesser means to hold this view.

Education is also a dividing line on this question. In every country but Russia, those with more education are generally more likely to say regular people have prospered in the post-Soviet era than are those with less education.

Increased optimism that changes in 1989/1991 benefited ordinary people

% who say ordinary people have benefited ___ from the changes since 1989/1991

■ A great deal/a fair amount ■ Not too much/not at all



Note: Percentages are seven-country medians. In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked "since 1989." In Russia and Ukraine, question asked "since 1991." Lithuania not included due to translation error. Question not asked in Germany.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q20a.

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Those with higher incomes more likely to say ordinary people benefited from changes since end of communism

% who say ordinary people have benefited <u>a great deal</u> or <u>a fair amount from changes since 1989/1991</u>

	Lower income	Higher income %	Diff
Hungary	32	52	+20
Czech Rep.	41	60	+19
Slovakia	30	43	+13
Poland	63	74	+11
Bulgaria	15	26	+11
Ukraine	15	24	+9
Russia	19	26	+7

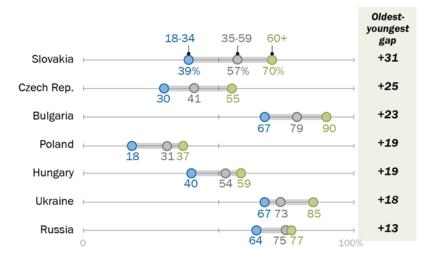
Note: All differences shown statistically significant. In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked "since 1989." In Russia and Ukraine, question asked "since 1991." Lithuania not included due to translation error. Question not asked in Germany. Respondents with a household income below the approximate country median are considered lower income. Those with an income at or above the approximate country median are considered higher income.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q20a.

Additionally, those who lived through the communist era are much more likely to say the changes that took place have had not too much or no influence on ordinary people compared with those who were born near or after the changes took place. For example, in Slovakia, 70% of those ages 60 and older say ordinary people did not benefit from the change to capitalism and a multiparty system, compared with 39% who say this among 18- to 34year-olds. Double-digit differences of this nature appear in every country surveyed, highlighting how those who lived through communism have a more negative view of the postcommunist era.

People who lived under communism more convinced ordinary people did not benefit from societal changes

% who say ordinary people have benefited <u>not too much or not at all</u> from the changes since 1989/1991



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant. In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked "since 1989." In Russia and Ukraine, question asked "since 1991." Lithuania not included due to translation error. While the difference in Hungary is significant, the youngest age group was more likely than the oldest to respond "Don't know." Question not asked in Germany.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q20a.

Central and Eastern Europeans say post-communist era has had both positive and negative effects on society

When asked whether the changes since 1989 and 1991 have benefited specific aspects of life in the post-communist era, people tend to believe education, the standard of living and pride in their country has improved. But they see downsides as well, and there are sharp differences between countries on the overall benefits of these changes.

Many say education, standard of living and national pride have improved in postcommunist era, worry about effects on law and order, health care and family values

% who say changes that have taken place since 1989/1991 have had a good influence on ...

- Most common response
- Least common response

	Education	Standard of living	Pride in our country	Spiritual values	Law and order	Health care	Family values
Poland	72%	81%	72%	59 %	72%	63%	60%
Czech Rep.	71	78	50	37	44	72	40
Lithuania	66	70	80	61	69	69	62
Germany	66	75	71	64	64	69	67
Slovakia	65	61	64	51	48	43	47
Hungary	45	55	58	37	42	30	41
Ukraine	43	28	52	40	20	26	33
Russia	34	37	54	49	36	29	38
Bulgaria	27	32	31	27	20	17	26
Median	65	61	58	49	44	43	41

Note: In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked "since 1989." In Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine, question asked "since 1991."

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q21a-g.

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For example, majorities of Poles, Lithuanians and Germans say the changes have had a good influence across every category asked, including education, standard of living, pride in their country, spiritual values, law and order, health care and family values. On the other end, roughly half or fewer Bulgarians, Ukrainians and Russians say the changes have had a good influence on these various issues, with the exception of the positive influence on pride in their country among Russians (54%) and Ukrainians (52%).

Sentiment is more mixed in Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Hungary, with people generally seeing the benefits of the changing standard of living and pride in their country. But worries persist about spiritual values in the Czech Republic and health care in Slovakia and Hungary.

Since 1991, there have been significant increases in those in each survey country who say the changes taking place have had a good influence on various aspects of life. This is fairly consistent across countries and issues surveyed, but the *degree* of change varies from country to country and question to question.

The most prominent increase is in the percentage of people who think the changes in 1989 and 1991 have had a good influence on the standard of living within each country. In many of the countries surveyed, there have been multifold increases in this sentiment from 1991 to today. For example, in Lithuania, only 9% of people in 1991 said that the recent changes had a positive influence on the standard of living for people in the country at the time. But in 2019, that figure has shot up to 70%, more than a sevenfold increase.

Large changes of this nature occurred in all the countries surveyed on this question from 1991 to 2019, even though there are still skeptics of the positive effect these changes have had on economic prosperity in Ukraine, Bulgaria and Russia.

On law and order, the changes are also more welcome now than in 1991 in every country

surveyed. For example, 27% of Germans in 1991 said that recent events had had a positive influence on law and order in the country, compared with 64% who say this now.

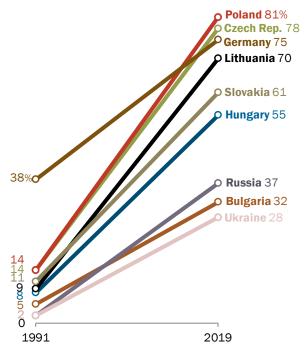
And on pride in their country, there have been strikingly large increases in the share who believe changes have had a good influence in Russia and Ukraine. In 1991, around one-in ten said the changes to the political and economic systems were good for civic pride in Russia (9%) and Ukraine (11%), but now 54% and 52% say this, respectively.

The only instances where significantly fewer now say these changes have had a good influence on society for any of these various aspects tested are in the Czech Republic, Lithuania and Slovakia on spiritual values and in Lithuania on national pride.

Large increase in people saying the standard of living has improved after 1989/1991 changes

% who say the changes that have taken place since 1989/1991 have had a good influence on <u>standard of</u> <u>living</u>

90%



Note: In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked "since 1989." In Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine, question asked "since 1991." In 1991, this question asked "over the past year or so."

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q21d.

On views of the standard of living, people with higher incomes and more education are more likely to say the changes since 1989 and 1991 have had a good influence in their countries. In Slovakia, those who have an income at or above the country median are 30 percentage points more likely to say the changes since 1989 have had a good influence on the standard of living compared with those who have a household income below the median. Significant differences of this nature appear in eight of the nine countries where this question was asked.

A similar pattern applies for education. Those with more education are more likely than those with less to say the changes that have taken place since 1989 and 1991 had a good influence on standard of living in all countries besides Russia.

Young people are more likely to say the changes to a capitalist economy and a multiparty system have had a positive effect on health care in their country. In Slovakia, 56% of 18- to 34-year-olds say the societal changes had a good influence on the health care system, compared with only 27% of those ages 60 and older. Significant double-digit age gaps of this nature appear in seven of the nine countries where this question was asked.

Perceptions about changing standard of living differ by income level

% who say changes that have taken place since 1989/1991 have had a good influence on the <u>standard of living</u>

	Lower income %	Higher income %	Diff
	70	70	
Slovakia	37	67	+30
Bulgaria	24	52	+28
Hungary	49	71	+22
Lithuania	68	81	+13
Czech Rep.	72	84	+12
Ukraine	23	33	+10
Germany	73	81	+8
Russia	34	42	+8

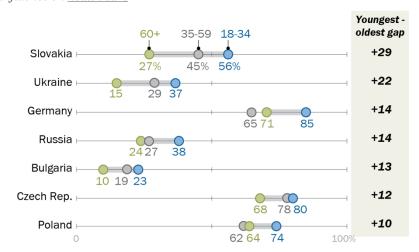
Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked "since 1989." In Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine, question asked "since 1991." Respondents with a household income below the approximate country median are considered lower income. Those with an income at or above the approximate country median are considered higher income.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q21d.

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Young people see benefits of changes to health care system since 1989/1991

% who say changes that have taken place since 1989/1991 have had a good influence on health care



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked "since 1989." In Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine, question asked "since 1991." Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q21f.

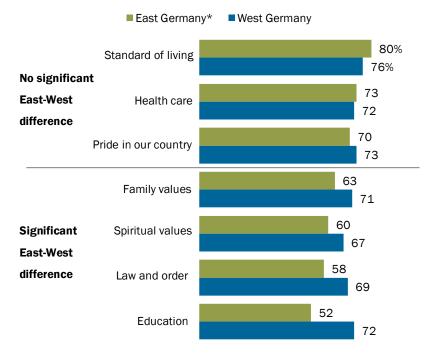
In Ukraine, those who only speak Ukrainian generally see a more positive influence of the societal changes on each issue than Russian-only speakers or those who speak both languages at home.

In Germany, there are many divides on whether the changes since 1989 have had a good influence on national conditions among those who currently live in the West versus those in the East, though overall sentiment in Germany toward these changes is quite positive.

For example, those in the West are 20 percentage points more likely than those in the East to say the changes have had a good effect on the education system. Western Germans are also more likely to see the changes as a good influence on law and order and spiritual and family values compared with the East. However, there are no real differences of opinion between the West and East on how changes have benefited standard of living, health care and pride in their country.

Those in West and East Germany differ on whether some changes to society and culture were good

% who say changes that have taken place since 1989 have had a good influence on ...



^{*} East and West Germany respondents live in former German Democratic Republic and pre-1990 Federal Republic of Germany, respectively. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q21a-f.

2. Democratic values

Across Europe, there is relative agreement about which political institutions and rights are most important to have. When presented with nine different factors that people may or may not see as important to their country, majorities in every country polled – in most cases, large majorities – say each one of the nine factors is at least *somewhat* important.

Judicial fairness, gender equality top priorities for most of Europe

% who say it is very important to have ___ in their country

- Most common response
- Second most common response

Central and Eastern Europe

	Fair judiciary	Gender equality	Free speech	Regular elections	Free internet	Free media	Free opposition parties	Free civil society	Free religion
Greece	95%	85%	87%	85%	71%	89%	75%	55%	83%
Hungary	95	85	87	87	77	76	68	63	70
Sweden	93	96	83	85	80	82	73	66	53
UK	92	92	68	78	66	77	72	68	75
France	91	90	83	78	70	65	60	72	52
Netherlands	89	92	69	70	70	64	69	60	58
Spain	87	84	79	80	77	79	67	72	54
Germany	86	90	86	70	74	67	60	66	72
Bulgaria	86	73	74	70	61	67	58	57	58
Czech Rep.	82	70	73	67	67	67	58	46	47
Italy	72	74	63	59	52	56	42	35	61
Poland	72	69	61	63	60	64	49	57	56
Slovakia	69	67	60	61	59	56	51	49	52
Lithuania	69	62	64	57	53	59	47	55	48
EU Median	87	85	74	70	69	67	60	59	57
Ukraine	81	57	59	62	54	63	36	48	59
Russia	63	54	45	40	40	38	23	31	42
U.S.	93	91	77	84	71	80	67	68	86

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q55a-f, Q57a-c.

When it comes to what people deem to be *very* important, though, certain factors stand out. Across every country surveyed, having a judicial system that treats everyone equally is always named as one of the two most important facets. In most countries, women having the same rights as men is also one of the top two things people consider "very important" for their country to have.

But, while the relative ranking of the preferred factors varies little across the European continent, Western Europeans generally are more likely to see each factor as very important for their country than are Central and Eastern Europeans. And, by and large, Americans stand out for the relative import they place on most of these elements of democracy — even compared with Western Europeans. Russians stand out in the opposite direction, often being the least likely of all countries surveyed to say each factor is very important for their country.

Generally, people with higher levels of education are more likely than those with less education to say almost all of these factors are very important for their country. In contrast, younger and older people largely agree on the relative importance of most of these elements, as do men and women.

Fair judiciary seen as more important than regular elections

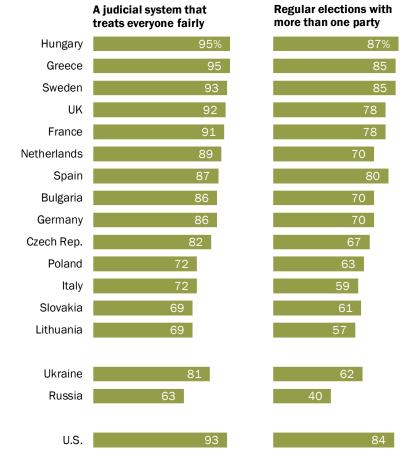
When it comes to two institutional factors that many would consider crucially important to democracy – a fair judiciary and free, regular elections – publics largely prioritize the former. More than six-in-ten in every country surveyed say a fair judiciary is very important for their country. This opinion ranges from 63% in Russia to 95% who say the same in Greece and Hungary.

In contrast, while majorities in most countries say honest elections being held regularly with a choice of at least two political parties is very important for their country, outside of Hungary it is not one of the top two issues in any country surveyed.

Among the countries asked this question in 2015 or 2016 and 2019, the perceived importance of regular

Across Europe, many view a fair judiciary as a crucial democratic institution

% who say it is very important to have ___ in their country



Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q55e, Q57a & Q57c.

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elections has decreased in some but risen in others. Fewer now say regular elections are very important in Russia (down 17 percentage points since 2015), Italy (-14 points), Ukraine (-7) and Germany (-6), while more cite them as very important in both Hungary (+8 points since 2016) and France (+12 since 2015).

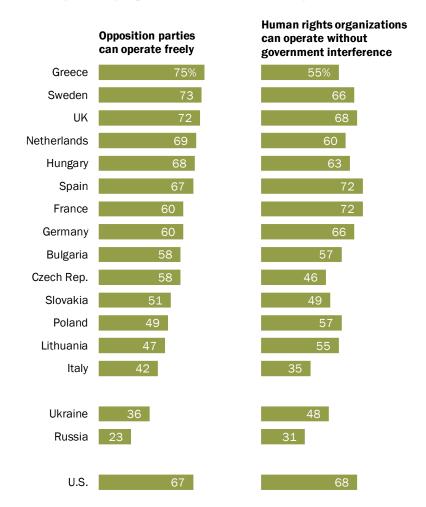
Most say it is very important that opposition parties, civil society can operate freely

In many countries surveyed, majorities say opposition parties operating freely in their country is critical. But people in Central and Eastern Europe are somewhat less likely to say it is very important for opposition parties to operate unencumbered. For example, roughly half or fewer in Slovakia, Poland and Lithuania say this facet of democracy is crucial. In Russia and Ukraine, this tenet is even less revered; only 36% and 23%, respectively, see opposition parties operating freely to be very important for their country.

Many also see human rights organizations operating without government interference as very important. Western Europeans appear to prize civil society's ability to act freely at somewhat higher rates than Central and Eastern Europeans (medians of 66% and 56%, respectively). But there is a great deal of variation across these EU member

Majorities in most countries value freedom for opposition parties, human rights organizations

% who say it is very important that ___ in their country



Note: Q57b asked about state interference in the Czech Republic, Germany, Russia and Ukraine. Question asked about government or state interference in Slovakia. In all other countries, question asked about government interference.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q57b & Q57c.

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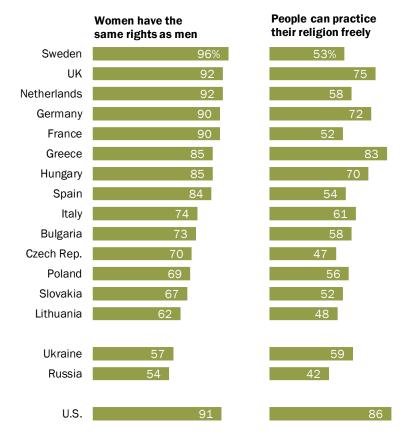
states, ranging from a high of 72% in Spain and France to a low of 35% in Italy. Russians (31%) are the least likely to say civil society groups operating freely is "very" important among all of the countries surveyed.

Equal rights for women are prized; less so religious freedoms

Women having the same rights as men is seen as one of the most important elements for a country across most of the countries surveyed. In fact, in Sweden (96%), the Netherlands (92%), the UK (92%), Germany (90%) and Italy (74%) it is the one facet of democracy of nine tested in the survey that garners the most people saying it is "very important" for their country. While generally seen as somewhat less important across Central and Eastern Europe, as well as in Russia and Ukraine, at least half or more still say gender equality is very important in every country surveyed.

Most see gender equality as crucial for their country

% who say it is very important that ___ in their country



Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q55a & Q55c.

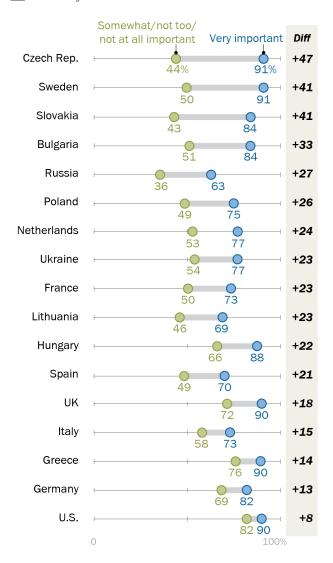
Fewer people say it is very important for people to be able to practice their religion freely. This varies widely across Europe, however, with around three-quarters or more in Greece, the UK and Germany saying free religious practice is very important, compared with only around half saying the same in Sweden, France and the Czech Republic. Russia and the U.S. again stand out at opposite ends of the spectrum, with Americans being most likely to say it is very important for people to be able to practice their religion freely (86%) and Russians being the least likely (42%).

In most countries that were also asked this question in 2015, opinions are relatively unchanged. The notable exceptions are Russia and Italy, where the percentage saying it is very important fell 18 and 14 points, respectively. Over the same period, Britons grew more likely to say religious freedoms are very important.

In each of the countries surveyed, those who say religion is very important to them are also more likely to say it is very important for people to be able to practice religion freely.

Across Europe, the more religious are more likely to value religious freedom

% who say it is very important for people to be able to practice religion freely, among those who say religion is in their life



Note: Statistically significant differences shown in **bold**. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q55a.

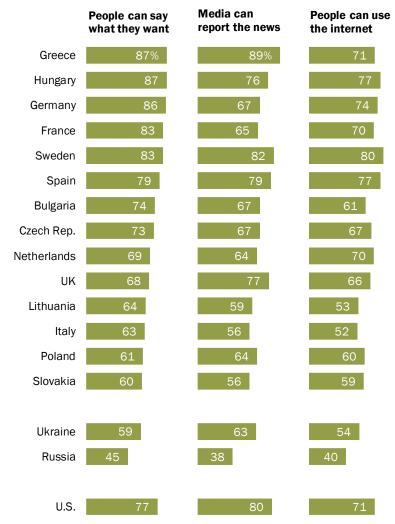
Most see freedom of expression – especially free speech – as crucial

People's right to say what they want without state or government censorship is a key issue for many across the continent. With the exception of Russia, around six-in-ten or more in all nations polled say it is very important that people can speak freely – including more than eight-in-ten in Greece, Hungary, Germany, France and Sweden. In most countries, more people say it is very important that people can speak without government censorship than say the same of the media reporting news or people using the internet without censorship - even though all three are generally seen to be important. In France, Hungary and the UK, freedom of speech has increased as a key value since 2015 or 2016 when the question was last asked (up 16, 13 and 11 percentage points, respectively).

The ability for the media to report the news without state or government interference is also very important for many of the publics polled. In Greece, the U.S., Spain, the UK, Poland

Most say free speech, uncensored media and internet freedom are very important

% who say it is very important that __ without state/government censorship



Note: Questions asked about state censorship in Czech Republic, Germany, Russia and Ukraine. Questions asked about government or state censorship in Slovakia. In all other countries, questions asked about government censorship.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q55b, Q55d & Q55f.

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and Ukraine, publics rate media censorship as most crucial to avoid of the three censorship types asked about. And, outside of Russia, majorities in every country say press freedom is very important.

The relative importance of this issue, though, has shifted somewhat among the countries that were also asked this in 2015 and 2016. In the UK and France, the shifts have been dramatic: In each country, the percentage saying it is very important that the media can report freely has increased 19 points. In the U.S. and Poland, there has been a double-digit increase in people saying that this is crucial (+13 and +10 points, respectively). But in Russia (-8 points), Italy (-8) and Germany (-6), fewer now say censorship-free reporting is very important for their country.

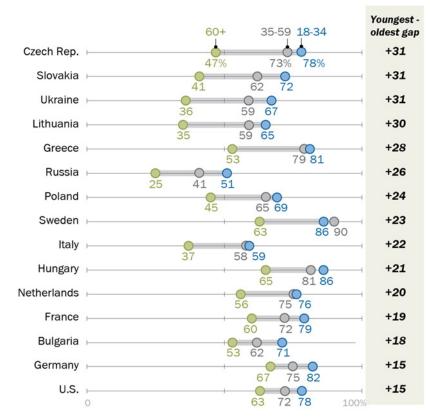
Only in the Netherlands does the ability to use the internet without state or government interference the type of censorship rank as most important for the public. But, in all but Russia, around half or more still say the ability to use the internet freely is very important. As with the other forms of censorship, Western Europeans are more likely than Central and Eastern Europeans to prioritize an open internet. The relative importance of this issue has risen in France (up 20 percentage points), the UK (+13 points), Hungary (+9) and Spain (+8) since these countries were last asked in 2015 and 2016, even while it has fallen in Italy (-9).

In most countries, internet users are much more likely than non-users to say it is very important that people can use the internet without censorship. For example, in Greece, 83% of internet users say it is very important that people can use the internet freely, compared with only around half (47%) of non-users. In general, non-users are less likely to offer an opinion on the importance of an unrestricted internet across most of the countries surveyed.

Notably, across most of the facets asked about in the survey, younger people diverge little from older people in their assessments of which institutions or freedoms are very important. But, when it comes to the freedom to use the internet without state or government censorship, younger people are much more likely than older people to say it is very important in almost every country surveyed. For example, in the Czech Republic, around threequarters of those ages 18 to 34 say it is very important that people can use the internet without interference, compared with only around half of those ages 60 and older. In many of these same countries, older people are less likely to give a response than younger people.

Younger generations give more value to internet freedom than older generations do

% who say it is very important that people can use the internet without state/government censorship



Note: Question asked about state censorship in Czech Republic, Germany, Russia and Ukraine. Question asked about government or state censorship in Slovakia. In all other countries, question asked about government censorship. Only statistically significant differences shown.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q55f.

3. Democratic satisfaction

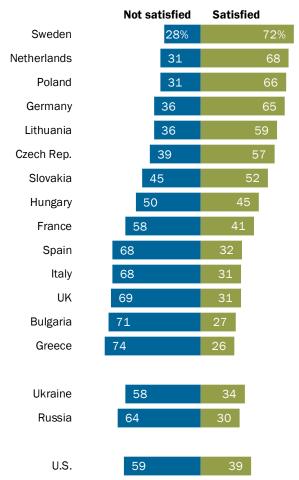
Across Europe, satisfaction with democracy is mixed. In Sweden, the Netherlands, Poland and Germany, roughly two-thirds or more are satisfied with the state of democracy in their country (72%, 68%, 66% and 65%, respectively). By contrast, in Greece, the UK, Italy, Spain and France, majorities are dissatisfied with how democracy is functioning. By a more than two-to-one margin, Greeks, Britons, Italians and Spaniards are also more dissatisfied with democracy in their country than satisfied.

Across the six Central and Eastern European countries surveyed, satisfaction is somewhat higher. But this varies from a high in Poland, where about two-thirds are satisfied, to a low of 27% in Bulgaria. Relatively few Ukrainians (34%) or Russians (30%) are satisfied.

Within Germany, those who live in West Germany are somewhat more satisfied (66%) with the way democracy is working than those who live in East Germany (55%).

Dissatisfaction with democracy is common in Europe

% who say they are ___ with the way democracy is working in their country



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q5.

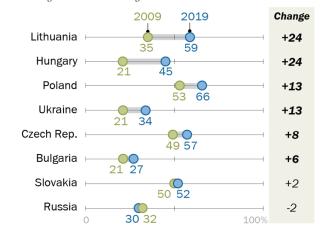
Democratic satisfaction has increased across Central and Eastern Europe

Across most of Central and Eastern Europe, satisfaction with democracy is significantly higher than a decade ago. Changes are most pronounced in Lithuania, where around six-inten are satisfied with democracy today, up from about a third (35%) in 2009. Similarly, in Hungary, more than twice as many are satisfied with democracy now (45%) than reported so a decade ago (21%). Satisfaction also increased over this time in Poland and Ukraine (+13 percentage points), the Czech Republic (+8 points) and Bulgaria (+6 points).

Elsewhere, even since last year, there have been some marked shifts in democratic satisfaction. For example, in Greece, although satisfaction remains relatively low overall (26%), it increased 9 percentage points since last year. In Spain, which had an election in April of this year, satisfaction with democracy has increased 12 points.

Satisfaction with democracy higher than a decade ago in most of former Eastern Bloc

% who say they are satisfied with the way democracy is working in their country



Note: Significant changes in **bold**.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q5.

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Elsewhere, satisfaction with democracy has declined. Since UK voters approved a referendum in 2016 to leave the European Union, satisfaction has dropped from 52% in 2017, to 42% in 2018, to the current 31%. In France, too, which was roiled by weeks of "yellow vest" protests, satisfaction with democracy has fallen, from 48% to 41% since 2018.

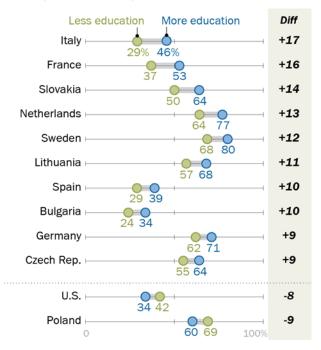
Across these and many other countries surveyed in prior years, those who express positive views of political parties that are in power tend to be more satisfied with democracy than those who have unfavorable views of those parties. (For more information on which parties are in power in the countries surveyed, see Appendix B.) For example, in France, 85% of those who support President Emmanuel Macron's En Marche party are satisfied with democracy, compared with 34% of those who do not support it. Similarly, in the UK, Conservative Party supporters are more satisfied (44%) than those who are partisans of other parties (28%). The difference is largest in Hungary, where more than three-quarters of those who support Prime Minister Viktor Orban's Fidesz Party are satisfied with democracy, compared with only around a quarter (26%) of those who do not.

Across most of the countries surveyed, those with more education tend to be more satisfied with democracy than those with less education. For example, 37% of French with a secondary degree or less say they are satisfied with democracy, compared with roughly half (53%) of those with more schooling.

The United States and Poland stand out, though, for being the only countries surveyed where this pattern reverses. In the U.S., 42% of those with lower levels of education are satisfied with democracy, compared with 34% of those with higher levels.

Those with more education tend to be more satisfied with democracy

% who say they are satisfied with the way democracy is working in their country



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. For the purpose of comparing educational groups across countries, we standardize education levels based on the UN's International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). The lower education category is secondary education or below and the higher category is postsecondary or above.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q5.

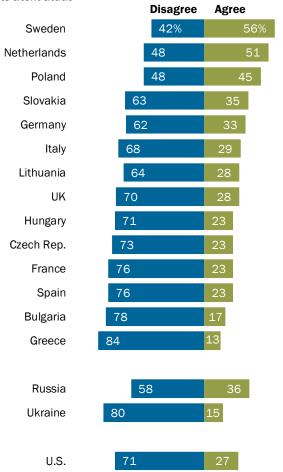
Few think elected officials care about people like them

One factor that corresponds with democratic dissatisfaction and unites most EU nations – as well as the U.S., Russia and Ukraine – is a shared sense that elected officials do not care about their constituents. Only in Sweden does a majority say elected officials care what people like them think. The Dutch and Polish publics are roughly split on this question, but elsewhere majorities do not believe politicians care what they think. Greeks are the most negative when it comes to evaluations of their politicians: Only 13% say elected officials in their country care about people like them.

People with favorable views of six right-wing populist parties (Lega in Italy, PiS and Kukiz'15 in Poland, SNS in Slovakia, and Jobbik and Fidesz in Hungary) are more likely to agree that elected officials care what people like them think. For example, people with a favorable view of Fidesz in Hungary are more likely to say elected officials care (36%) than those who dislike the party (13%). But, among those with favorable opinions of the PVV and FvD in the Netherlands and the Sweden Democrats in Sweden, the opposite is true.

Most across Europe are skeptical of their governing elite

% who $_$ that most elected officials care what people like them think



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q50a.

In post-communist countries, Poles, Russians and Slovaks have become more likely to say elected officials care about people like them since 1991. For example, 45% of Poles hold this view today, compared with 24% in 1991. In contrast, Czechs, Hungarians and Ukrainians are less likely now than in 1991 to see their politicians as caring about the ordinary person.

Post-communist countries split in their view of ruling elites over time

% who agree that most elected officials care what people like them think

	1991	2009 %	2019 %	'91-'19 Change
	, ,	,,		
Poland	24	37	45	+21
Russia	18	26	36	+18
Italy	14	33	29	+15
Slovakia	21	22	35	+14
Ukraine	22	23	15	-7
UK	35	39	28	-7
Hungary	32	22	23	-9
Czech Rep.	34	18	23	<i>-11</i>

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. 1991 data for the Czech Republic and Slovakia correspond to regions in the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q50a.

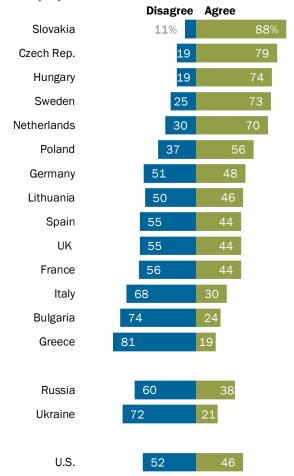
Europeans disagree about whether states are run for everyone's benefit

While relatively united in their skepticism of elected officials, publics across Europe diverge in their assessments of whether the state is run for the benefit of all the people in the country. Generally, Central and Eastern Europeans stand out as more likely to agree than Western Europeans.

But, within each region, there is substantial variation. For example, across Central and Eastern Europe, agreement ranges from a high of 88% in Slovakia to a low of 24% in Bulgaria. And, in Western Europe, northern countries tend to be relatively more sanguine – Sweden (73%) and the Netherlands (70%) in particular – and southern European countries more negative. The sense that the state benefits everyone is particularly low in Greece (19%) and Italy (30%). Similarly, in Ukraine (21%) and Russia (38%), only minorities agree that the state benefits everyone.

More Central, Eastern Europeans see state governed for benefit of all

% who __ that, generally, the state is run for the benefit of all the people



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q50e.

To the degree that opinions have shifted, many increasingly see benefits flowing to everyone. For example, in Hungary, whereas only around a third (34%) thought the state was run for the benefit of all in 1991, today, roughly three-quarters (74%) express this view. Change has also been positive and pronounced in Poland (+25 percentage points), the Czech Republic (+18 points) and Slovakia (+17 points). In Russia, agreement is up 11 percentage points. In Lithuania, while opinion is unchanged since 1991, it nonetheless is up markedly since a relative low point in 2009. Among Central and Eastern Europeans, only Bulgarians are significantly less likely to agree that the state is run for the benefit of all now than in 1991 (-31 points).

In Western Europe, opinion is more mixed. In Spain and the UK, fewer agree the state is run for the benefit of all now than in 1991. Germans and Italians, in contrast, are now more likely to agree.

With regard to right-wing populist sympathies, supporters are split. Those with favorable views of five right-wing populist parties – UKIP in the UK, PiS and Kukiz'15 in Poland, SNS in Slovakia and Fidesz in Hungary – are more likely to say the

In many post-communist countries, more now say state acts in their interest

% who agree that generally, the state is run for the benefit of all the people

	1991	2009	2019	'91-'19 Change
	%	%	%	J
Hungary	34	67	74	+40
Poland	31	40	56	+25
Czech Rep.	61	70	79	+18
Italy	12	33	30	+18
Slovakia	71	33	88	+17
Russia	27	37	38	+ 11
Germany	42	41	48	+6
Spain	52	51	44	-8
UK	52	52	44	-8
Bulgaria	55	16	24	<i>-31</i>

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. 1991 data for the Czech Republic and Slovakia correspond to regions in the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. 050e.

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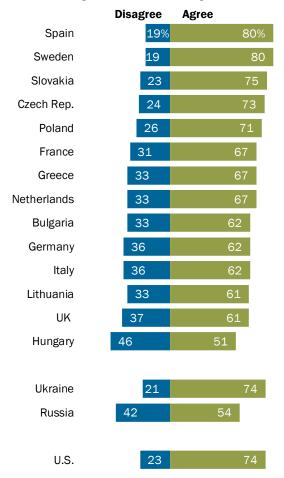
state is run for the benefit of all. For supporters of AfD in Germany, PVV and FvD in the Netherlands, Sweden Democrats in Sweden, and SPD in the Czech Republic, this pattern reverses.

Most see value to voting

Despite mixed assessments about whether government is run for the benefit of all citizens, in every country surveyed, most people agree voting gives people like them some say in how the government runs things. A median of two-thirds in Europe generally think voting gives them a voice in their country's politics, though levels of agreement range from a low of 51% in Hungary to a high of 80% in Spain and Sweden.

Most Europeans think voting gives people like them a say

% who __ that voting gives people like them some say about how the government runs things



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q50b.

In most post-communist countries, people generally are *more* likely to agree today that voting affords them some influence than almost 30 years ago. Poles and Slovaks, for example, are around 30 percentage points more likely to say voting gives people like them a say than they were in 1991. Only in Lithuania and Bulgaria do fewer people say voting gives them a say now than said the same in 1991. In Russia and Ukraine, more now say voting gives them a voice – up 7 and 27 percentage points, respectively.

Across Western Europe, only the French are less likely to agree now that voting gives people like them a say than said the same in 1991, though most shifts in opinion have been relatively modest. For example, in Germany, whereas 54% agreed that voting gave them a say in 1991, today that number has climbed 8 percentage points to 62%.

Across most of the countries polled, people with higher levels of education are more likely to agree that voting allows them a say in their countries.

For supporters of five right-wing populist parties (AfD in Germany, PVV and FvD in the Netherlands, Vox in Spain and Sweden Democrats in Sweden), those who have favorable views of these right-wing populist parties are *less* likely to agree,

Many in post-communist countries now see more value in voting

% who agree that voting gives people like them some say about how the government runs things

		2009		'91-'19 Change
	%	%	%	
Poland	41	47	71	+30
Slovakia	46	60	75	+29
Ukraine	47	46	74	+27
Italy	49	59	62	+13
Czech Rep.	64	61	73	+9
Spain	72	72	80	+8
Germany	54	55	62	+8
Russia	47	44	54	+7
UK	55	56	61	+6
France	77	75	67	-10
Lithuania	74	52	61	-13
Bulgaria	76	66	62	-14

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. 1991 data for the Czech Republic and Slovakia correspond to regions in the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q50b.

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though supporters of both populist parties in Poland, Fidesz supporters in Hungary and OLaNO-NOVA supporters in Slovakia stand apart as exceptions.

4. The European Union

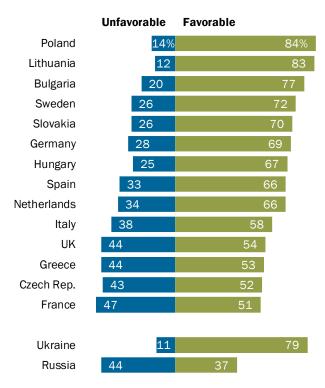
The European Union gets mostly favorable marks from the countries surveyed, but not everyone is happy with the Brussels-based institution. Across the 14 EU member countries surveyed, a median of 67% hold favorable views of the European Union while 31% have an unfavorable view.

Many of the Central and Eastern European countries surveyed hold strongly positive views of the political union. Roughly seven-in-ten or more in Poland, Lithuania, Bulgaria, Slovakia and nonmember Ukraine give the EU favorable marks, including at least two-in-ten among these countries who say they have a *very* favorable view. Likewise, majorities in Sweden, Germany, Hungary, Spain, the Netherlands and Italy hold a positive outlook toward the EU.

While more people see the EU in a positive light than not in the UK, Greece, the Czech Republic and France, these countries also have sizable portions of the public – more than four-in-ten – that voice negative opinions. In Russia, 44% have a negative view of the EU, while 37% give it a thumbs-up.

Most in member nations hold favorable views of EU

% who have a ___ opinion of the European Union



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q8d.

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Views of the European Union over time

% who have a favorable opinion of the European Union

	2004	2007	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	'07-'19 Change	'16-'19 Change
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%		
Greece			-	_	_	37	33	34		27	34	37	53	-	+26
Germany	58	68	65	62	66	68	60	66	58	50	68	63	69	+1	+19
Spain		80	77	77	72	60	46	50	63	47	62	67	66	-14	+19
Sweden		59	-	_	_	-	_	_		54	65	62	72	+13	+18
Netherlands				-	-	-	-	-		51	64	63	66	-	+15
France	69	62	62	64	63	60	41	54	55	38	56	62	51	- 11	+13
Poland		83	77	81	74	69	68	72	72	72	74	72	84	+1	+12
UK	54	52	50	49	51	45	43	52	51	44	54	48	54	+2	+10
Hungary				-	-	-	-	-		61	67	57	67	-	+6
Italy		78		-	-	59	58	46	64	58	57	58	58	-20	0
Lithuania			-	_	78	-	_	_					83	-	-
Bulgaria		81		-	-	-	-	-					77	-4	_
Slovakia		79		-	-	-	-	-					70	-9	-
Czech Rep.		54	-	-	-	34	-	-					52	-2	_
Ukraine	_	77	_	_	72	_	_	63	72				79	+2	-
Russia	62	62	69	69	64	59	63	39	31				37	-25	_

Note: Statistically significant changes in **bold**. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q8d.

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In recent years, even as euroskeptic parties have gained political momentum and British voters passed the 2016 referendum to leave the EU, short-term views of the European Union have rebounded in several countries. Greece has seen a 26 percentage point surge in favorable views of the EU from 2016 to 2019. Spain (+19 points) and France (+13) have seen large upticks in the last three years despite publics being less positive than in 2007. Among EU countries surveyed, Germany, Sweden, the Netherlands, Poland, the UK, Hungary and Italy also increasingly expressed affirmative views of the EU from 2016 to 2019.

However, long-term favorable views of the EU have not changed much in several nations polled since 2007. Germany, Poland, the UK, Ukraine, Bulgaria and the Czech Republic hold similarly positive views of the EU today compared with 12 years ago. Swedes are now 13 points more favorable toward the EU than when first asked in 2007.

But five nations have deteriorating opinions of the EU. Italy (where favorability has fallen 20 points), Spain (-14), France (-11) and Slovakia (-9) have become less pleased with the EU in the past 12 years. And non-EU member Russia shows the greatest decrease in favorable views of the European economic area, down 25 points since 2007. Still, despite some of these long-term

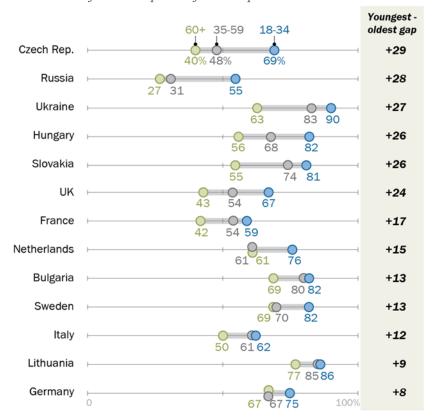
trends, in almost every country surveyed since 2016 there has been a significant increase in favorable views of the EU.

In 13 countries, younger people (ages 18 to 34) have more favorable views than older counterparts (ages 60 and older) when it comes to the EU. For example, while two-thirds of young adults in the UK have a positive view of the EU, just 43% of those 60 and older share that perspective, a 24 percentage point gap.

Large gaps also exist in the Czech Republic (29-point gap between youngest and oldest), Russia (+28 points), Ukraine (+27), Hungary (+26) and Slovakia (+26). However, in several of these nations, those ages 60 and older are less likely to offer any opinion about the EU. For example, 26% of older Russians give no response.

Young Europeans more keen on the EU

% who have a favorable opinion of the European Union



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q8d.

In most of the EU countries surveyed with right-wing populist parties, people with positive views of these parties tend to be much less favorable toward Brussels. The starkest difference appears in Germany, where favorable views of the EU are 34 percentage points higher among those who *do not* support the right-wing Alternative for Germany (AfD) party.

In 10 countries included in this survey, those with more education have more positive opinions of the EU; the same is true of those with higher incomes in 11 of the nations surveyed. However, in many of these countries, those with less education and lower incomes are less likely to answer the question. In six countries, people in urban areas are more likely than those outside of urban centers to have favorable views of the EU.

Those living in pre-1990 West Germany (71%) see the EU more favorably than those living in former East Germany (59%). People in Ukraine who only speak Ukrainian at home more frequently voice enthusiasm for the EU (88%), although 71% of those who speak only Russian also express a positive opinion.

Many with a favorable view of right-wing populist parties less happy with EU

% who have a favorable opinion of the European Union

Among t	hose who	Support	Do not support	Diff
		%	%	
Germany	AfD	42	76	+34
Sweden	Sweden Democrats	52	81	+29
France	National Rally	29	58	+29
Czech Rep.	SPD	35	62	+27
UK	UKIP	34	61	+27
Netherlands	PVV	51	71	+20
Netherlands	FvD	57	71	+14
Hungary	Fidesz	62	73	+ <u>11</u>
Italy	Lega	53	63	+10
Hungary	Jobbik	82	66	-16
Slovakia	OLaNO-NOVA	84	64	-20

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. "Support" percentages represent respondents who have a favorable view of each party. "Do not support" percentages represent respondents who have an unfavorable view of each party. For more information on European populist parties, see Appendix A. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q8d.

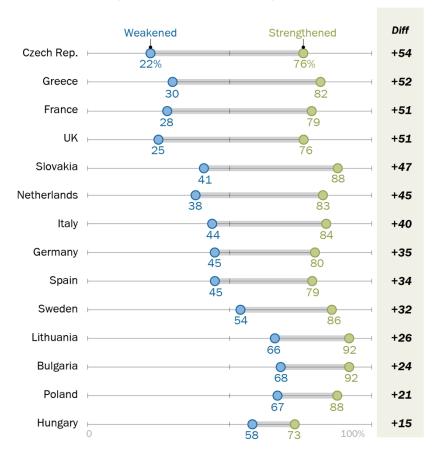
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Views of the economy play a large role in how people generally view the European Union. Those who think their country's economic situation is good are more likely to have a favorable opinion of the EU in most countries surveyed. In Sweden, for example, 81% of those who think the Swedish economy is in good shape also have a positive view of the EU; just 42% of those who think the economy is functioning poorly share that sentiment.

Likewise, those who think their country has benefited economically from European economic integration have more positive opinions of the Brussels-based institution. In the Czech Republic, 76% of those who think their national economy has strengthened because of economic integration have a favorable view of the EU. Among Czechs who think joining the EU has weakened their economy, just 22% are satisfied with the EU, a 54 percentage point difference. Similarly wide margins can be found in Greece (+52 points), France (+51), the UK (+51), Slovakia (+47), the Netherlands (+45)and Italy (+40).

People who think EU membership has strengthened economy are more positive about EU

% who have a favorable opinion of the European Union among those who think economic integration has ___ their economy



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q8d.

Many see benefits to EU membership

Among the 14 European Union member nations in the survey, most say joining the EU was a good thing for their country.

Nearly three-quarters of Germans hold this view.

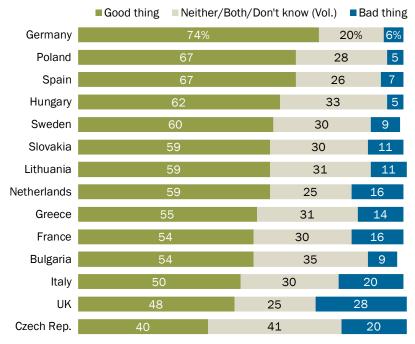
Roughly half or more in all but the Czech Republic concur that EU membership has been a net positive for their country.

Despite generally positive reactions to their country's EU membership, sizable groups in each country say European integration has been "neither good nor bad" or "both good and bad," or didn't give an answer.

In the United Kingdom, a nation <u>embroiled in a fierce</u> <u>debate</u> about Brexit, more than

Most believe EU membership has generally benefited their country

% who say their country's membership in the European Union has been a \dots



Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q13.

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a quarter (28%) say their country's membership in the EU has been a bad thing, the highest negative measure on this issue of all countries surveyed. This negative view is more prominent among Britons in rural and suburban areas (34% and 30%, respectively) than with those in UK cities (14%). British people ages 60 and older are more than three times as negative as those ages 18 to 34 about EU membership (37% bad vs. 11%). Likewise, those in the UK with less education are more likely to feel EU membership has set their country back.

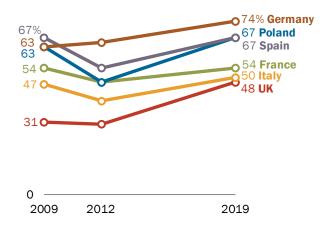
Several EU countries have become more positive about joining the EU over the past few years after some fluctuation amid economic uncertainty. Poland, Spain, Italy and France each saw a significant drop between 2009 and 2012 in those saying EU membership was good, as many nations were feeling the full effects of the European sovereign debt crisis. In these four countries, attitudes toward joining the EU have since rebounded to mirror acceptance levels prior to austerity and the euro crisis.

In Germany, contentment with EU membership has gained steadily since 2009, increasing by 11 percentage points over the past decade from 63% to 74%. The UK's attitudes toward participation in the European Union started at much lower levels than in other Western European nations. Today, the UK still has the lowest level measured among Western European countries in the survey, though positive feelings about joining the EU have climbed by 17 points since 2009.

Western Europeans more content with EU membership now than during euro crisis

% who say their country's membership in the European Union has been a good thing

100%



Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q13.

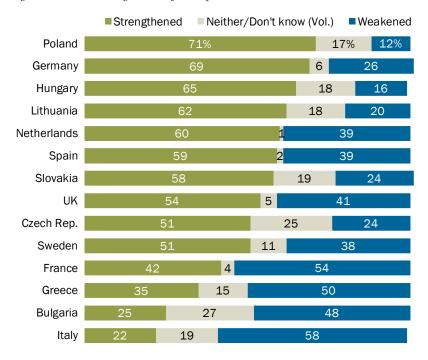
When it comes to the longterm economic effects of EU integration in their own nation, at least half of publics in 10 EU countries say their country's overall economy has been strengthened by the economic integration of Europe; Poland, Germany, Hungary and Lithuania top this list.

While most people in the Netherlands, Spain, the UK and Sweden see positive economic effects from joining the EU, sizable groups in each of these countries – roughly four-in-ten – believe their economy has suffered due to economic integration.

Most in Slovakia and the Czech Republic think their country has prospered, but smaller groups in both believe joining

Many people say EU membership has strengthened their national economies

% who say that in the long run, their country's overall economy has been __ by the economic integration of Europe



Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q14.

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the EU has had a negative economic effect or has been neither good nor bad overall.

In France, Greece and Bulgaria, roughly half think European integration has *weakened* their national economy, and a majority in Italy agree.

Those with more education are especially prone to say integration has helped their economy in most countries, as are those with incomes at or above the national median.

In many countries, those who support rightwing populist parties are more likely to think joining the EU has weakened their national economy. Those with favorable views of Hungary's Fidesz party, and OLaNO-NOVA supporters in Slovakia, buck this trend and tend to think their countries have benefited economically from European integration.

Many who support right-wing parties think European integration has hurt their nation's economy

% who say the economic integration of Europe has weakened their country's overall economy

Among ti	hose who	Support	Do not support	Diff
		%	%	
France	National Rally	83	46	-37
Sweden	Sweden Democrats	65	28	-37
UK	UKIP	64	34	-30
Germany	AfD	49	21	-28
Czech Rep.	SPD	44	17	-27
Netherlands	PVV	58	32	-26
Netherlands	FvD	52	30	-22
Italy	Lega	68	52	-16
Hungary	Jobbik	27	15	-12
Slovakia	OLaNO-NOVA	17	29	+12
Hungary	Fidesz	8	27	+19

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. "Support" percentages represent respondents who have a favorable view of each party. "Do not support" percentages represent respondents who have an unfavorable view of each party. For more information on European populist parties, see Appendix A. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q14.

Many of the nations surveyed are more positive about the economic benefits of the EU now than they were a decade ago. This is especially true in several Central and Eastern European countries.

Since 2009, more say European integration has helped individual economies

% who say their country's overall economy has been <u>strengthened</u> by the economic integration of Europe

	1991	2009	2010	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2019	'09-'19 Change
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	onango
Hungary		9							65	+56
Lithuania		28		-	-	-	-	_	62	+34
UK	44	29	32	30	26	41	49	-	54	+25
Czech Rep.		31		31	29	-	-	_	51	+20
Germany		50	48	59	54	63	59	_	69	+19
Poland		53	68	48	41	53	53	-	71	+18
Slovakia		41		-	-	-	-	-	58	+17
Bulgaria		14		-	-	-	-	_	25	+9
Spain	53	53	51	46	37	38	43	-	59	+6
France	31	43	37	36	22	26	31	_	42	-1
Italy	43	31		22	11	9	11	_	22	-9
Netherlands		-		-	-	-	-	-	60	-
Sweden		-		-	-	-	-	-	51	-
Greece		_		18	11	17	-	8	35	-

Note: Statistically significant differences in **bold.** Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q14.

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For example, in 2009, just 9% of Hungarians said joining the EU had benefited their economy. By 2019 that number ballooned to 65%, a 56 percentage point increase. Double-digit increases can also be found in Lithuania, the UK, the Czech Republic, Germany, Poland and Slovakia.

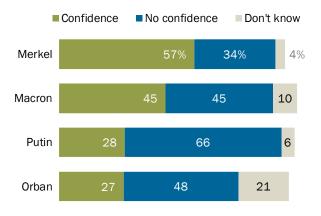
Since 2013, some nations have seen a resurgence in positive attitudes about the EU's effects on the national economy. French attitudes about their economy benefiting from European integration dipped down to 22% in 2013 but have since rebounded by 20 points to 42% today. Italy, likewise, dropped to 11% in 2013 but in the last six years has doubled to 22%. The six other countries surveyed in both 2013 and 2019 – Poland, the UK, Greece, the Czech Republic, Spain and Germany – have all seen significant increases over the same period.

Angela Merkel more trusted in world affairs than other European leaders

German Chancellor Angela Merkel fares the best among the four leaders asked about in the survey when it comes to public confidence. A median of more than half across the 14 EU members surveyed have confidence in Merkel, who has said she will leave politics after Germany's 2021 federal election, while a median of around a third voice no confidence. Similar to last year, Merkel's strongest support comes from Sweden, the Netherlands and France, which rate her higher than those in her native Germany. Still, nearly three-quarters of Germans have confidence in Merkel to do the right thing when it comes to world affairs, including 75% of those who live in former West Germany and 68% in former East Germany, where Merkel grew up. Majorities in Spain, the UK, Ukraine and Lithuania also voice confidence in the German leader.

Only German leader Angela Merkel earns positive ratings across EU

% who have __ in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs



Note: Percentages are medians based on 14 EU countries. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q38c,d,e,h.

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Merkel fares worse in other countries: Fewer than four-in-ten give her positive ratings in Slovakia, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Greece. And only about one-in-three Russians have confidence while roughly half do not.

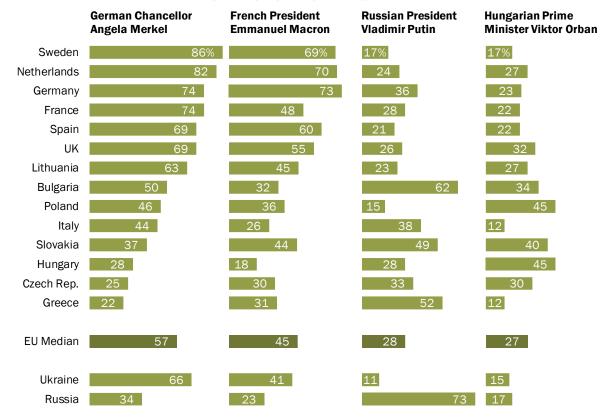
French President Emmanuel Macron receives mixed reviews from the surveyed nations: A median of 45% across the 14 EU member countries have confidence in him, while 45% say they do not. Majorities in Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, Spain and the UK all rate the French leader favorably. In his home country of France, 48% voice confidence in Macron.

Among EU nations surveyed, Macron's largest detractors outside of France can be found in Italy and Greece (65% and 58% lack confidence in him, respectively). The French president also does not fare well in some Central and Eastern European countries, such as Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and the Czech Republic, where about half say they have no confidence in Macron, but roughly one-in-five respondents or more in these nations do not give any opinion of the French leader.

A median of 28% in the 14 EU countries surveyed have confidence in Russian President Vladimir Putin. Putin receives the highest marks in Russia, where nearly three-quarters have confidence in their leader. About half or more Bulgarians, Greeks and Slovaks also view the Russian leader positively. One-quarter or fewer have confidence in Putin in Lithuania, Sweden, Spain, Poland and the Netherlands. And in neighboring Ukraine, only a scant 11% have confidence in Putin.

Merkel garners more confidence than other European leaders

% who have confidence in ___ to do the right thing regarding world affairs



Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q38c,d,e,h.

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Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban garners the lowest median confidence across the 14 EU nations when it comes to world affairs, with just 27%. Orban fares best in his home nation of Hungary, Poland and neighboring Slovakia. Hungarians ages 60 and older have more confidence in Orban's ability to handle world affairs. The Hungarian leader comes off poorly in Sweden, Russia, Ukraine, Italy and Greece, with fewer than 20% voicing confidence in each nation.

However, a median of 21% across the 14 countries surveyed offer no opinion about Orban. Six-inten or more in Ukraine (67%) and Russia (60%) also give no opinion of the Hungarian leader.

Support for a right-wing populist party and views of European leaders are related. In 10 countries, those with favorable views of a right-wing populist party are also more likely to have confidence in Putin when it comes to world affairs; the same pattern appears for Orban. At the same time, those who dislike a right-wing group tend to hold positive views of Angela Merkel (seven countries) and Emmanuel Macron (eight countries).

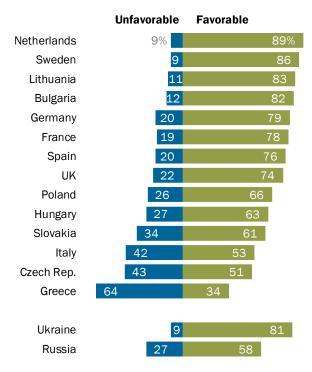
Views of Germany positive except in Greece

Germany, the <u>largest economy in the EU</u>, enjoys favorable reviews from most other European publics surveyed. Majorities in 11 EU nations have a positive outlook toward Germany, as do Ukrainians and Russians. While roughly half of those in the Czech Republic and Italy share favorable views of Germany, about four-in-ten voice negative opinions.

The main dissenters when it comes to views of Germany are the Greeks: Roughly two-thirds (64%) have a negative opinion of Germany, while just 34% hold positive opinions. This frustration is not new. As far back as 2012, Greece most frequently named Germany as the least trustworthy, most arrogant and least compassionate country in the EU. However, overall favorable views of Germany among the Greeks are up 13 percentage points from 2012, when just 21% gave Germany a favorable rating amid austerity and the Greek debt crisis.

Most like Germany, except in Greece

% who have a ___ opinion of Germany



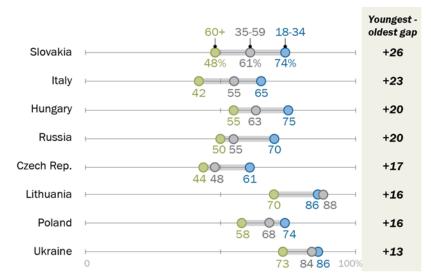
Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q8f.

Views of Germany in several former Eastern Bloc nations diverge across age groups. In seven of eight of these nations, younger people ages 18 to 34 are more positive than those ages 60 and older when it comes to Germany. One of the largest gaps can be found in Slovakia, where 74% of younger Slovaks see Germany favorably compared with just 48% of their older counterparts. Older Lithuanians and Russians are also more likely to not provide a response.

In Western Europe, an age divide exists only in Italy: 65% of the younger generation has

Young adults in the former Eastern Bloc and Italy see Germany favorably

% who have a favorable opinion of Germany



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q8f.

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positive opinions about Germany while just 42% of older Italians agree.

Education also plays a role in perceptions of Germany: In 13 nations, those with more education are more favorable toward Germany than those with less education. In Hungary, those with less education are also less likely to provide a response.

In several countries, attitudes toward Germany have soured a bit over the past decade or so. There have been double-digit declines in positive views since 2007 in Italy, the Czech Republic, Russia, Slovakia and France.

Assessments of Germany have remained largely unchanged – and overwhelmingly positive – in Poland, Spain, the UK and Ukraine over the last 12 years. The only country that has become more positive toward Germany over the same time frame is Sweden, where favorable views have increased by 8 percentage points.

In six European countries, those with favorable views of a right-wing populist party have less favorable views of Germany. For instance, in the Czech Republic, only 45% of those who sympathize with the Freedom and Direct Democracy (SPD) party offer up a favorable view of Germany, compared with 55% of those who do not support SPD.

Attitudes toward Germany positive but falling in some European countries

% who have a favorable opinion of Germany

					<i>'07-'19</i>
	2007	2012	2017	2019	Change
	%	%	%	%	
Italy	75	67	53	53	-22
Czech Rep.	73	80	-	51	-22
Russia	77		_	58	-19
Slovakia	78			61	-17
France	90	84	82	78	<i>-12</i>
Poland	67	78	69	66	-1
Spain	76	75	71	76	0
UK	74	72	72	74	0
Bulgaria	81	-	-	82	+1
Ukraine	79			81	+2
Sweden	78	-	90	86	+8

Note: Statistically significant differences in **bold**. Netherlands, Lithuania, Hungary and Greece not surveyed in 2007. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. 08f.

Europeans most optimistic about their culture, relations with other European nations

Most Europeans optimistic about relations with other European nations, pessimistic about reducing inequality

% who say they feel optimistic about ...

Most comm	non response S	econd most comm	on response	Least common	response	
	Their country's relations with other European countries	Their country's culture	Their country's education system	The availability of well-paying jobs	The way their political system works	Reducing the gap between the rich and poor
Sweden	90%	75 %	60%	68%	55%	42%
Netherlands	80	71	58	69	56	35
Germany	80	71	56	52	51	17
Spain	75	63	42	24	25	16
Slovakia	71	68	56	37	31	27
Czech Rep.	70	61	59	49	30	24
Bulgaria	69	37	30	32	16	18
Poland	67	69	52	44	47	41
Lithuania	67	68	49	30	36	23
France	64	66	37	29	23	14
Greece	62	69	27	17	19	12
Hungary	56	69	38	36	34	22
Italy	49	60	54	24	20	25
UK	42	62	46	42	27	22
EU Median	68	68	51	37	31	23
Ukraine	69	67	50	45	26	31
		67	43	28	31	24

A median of 68% across 14 EU member countries say that, when thinking about the future of their country, they are optimistic when it comes to their country's relations with other European nations as well as their national culture. In fact, their own country's culture was the first- or second-most named area for optimism in every nation surveyed; all but Italy and the UK also chose relations with other countries in Europe as a source of optimism.

For 54% of Italians and 46% of Britons, their nation's education system was the second most commonly cited reason for feeling optimistic about the future. While not a top choice elsewhere, at least half of publics in seven other countries also felt hopeful about their education system.

When it comes to the availability of well-paying jobs, a median of just 37% feel a sense of optimism. And while the EU's overall unemployment rate has fallen to its lowest point in almost a decade, the job situation is not equally hopeful in each individual EU member country. In Greece, for example, where only 17% voice optimism about their country's job prospects, the unemployment rate was 19.3% in 2018, the highest such rate in the EU by far. Fellow employment pessimists in Spain and Italy have relatively high unemployment rates of 15.4% and 10.8%, respectively. Across the 14 EU member nations in the survey, nations with higher unemployment rates tend to voice more pessimism about their prospects for well-paying jobs.

People also expressed a lack of confidence when it comes to politics: A median of 31% across the 14 EU countries said they were optimistic about the way their country's political system functions. In most countries, supporters of the current governing party or coalition of their government are more optimistic about their political system than nonsupporters.

Only 23% across the 14 EU countries are optimistic about reducing inequality, and in most countries surveyed, people are the least optimistic about this issue.

5. National conditions

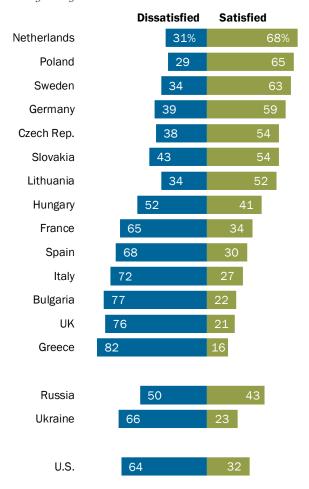
Half or more say they are dissatisfied with the way things are going in their country today in nine of the countries surveyed, a pattern that is mirrored in the U.S. In Greece, Bulgaria and the UK, about three-quarters or more are dissatisfied with the direction of their country, and roughly two-thirds or more are similarly dissatisfied in Italy, Spain and France.

In the former Soviet republics of Russia and Ukraine, 50% and 66% are dissatisfied, respectively.

In contrast, roughly two-thirds in the Netherlands and Poland and majorities in Sweden and Germany are satisfied with the direction of the country today.

Differing perspectives on country direction across Europe

% who are __ with the way things are going in their country today



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q2.

In most European countries, those ages 18 to 34 are more satisfied with the direction of their country than those 60 and older. As an example, younger Lithuanians are 27 percentage points more satisfied with the direction of their country than those over 60. In Russia, however, the pattern is reversed: Russians 60 and older are more satisfied with the way things are going in their country than their younger counterparts.

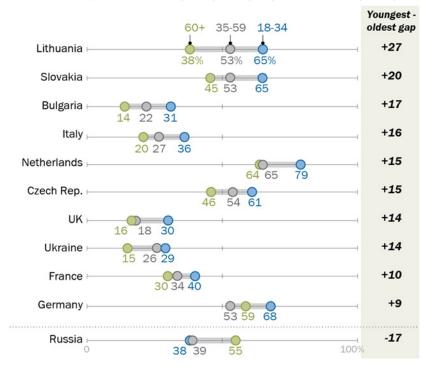
Similarly, in most countries, those with more education, people with higher incomes and supporters of their country's governing party are more satisfied with the direction of their country.

Those living in areas

corresponding to pre-1990 West Germany (61%) are more satisfied with the country's direction than those living in former East Germany (50%).

Younger people are more satisfied with direction of country, except in Russia

% who are satisfied with the way things are going in their country today



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q2.

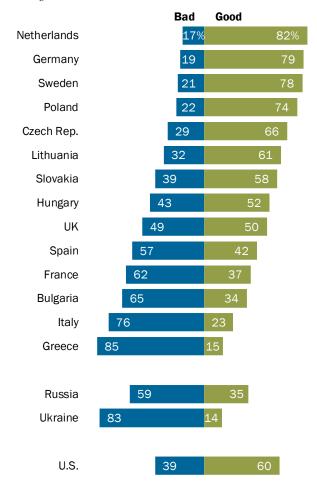
Unlike in previous years, many Europeans say the current economic situation is good

Around half or more say the current economic situation is good in nine of the 16 European countries surveyed. Roughly three-quarters or more describe the current economic situation as good in the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden and Poland. U.S. views of the economic situation are also positive.

However, around three-quarters or more in Greece and Italy describe the current economic situation as bad. Publics in Russia and Ukraine agree with this sentiment. Roughly four-in-ten Ukrainians (39%) even describe the current economic situation as *very* bad.

Half or more in many European countries say the current economic situation is good

% who say the current economic situation in their country is ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3.

Since the global economic crisis of 2009, evaluations of the economic situation have grown rosier in most countries. Larger shares describe the economic situation as good today than in 2009 in 13 of 14 countries polled in both years. This includes a 58 percentage point increase in Lithuania and a 51-point jump in Germany. In Italy, there has been no significant change.

In much of Europe, views of the economy have improved since 2009

% who say the current economic situation in their country is good

	2002 %	2007 %	2008 %	2009 %	2010 %	2011 %	2012 %	2013 %	2014 %	2015 %	2016 %	2017 %	2018 %	2019 %	'09-'19 Change
Lithuania	-	-	-	3	-	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	61	+58
Germany	27	63	53	28	44	67	73	75	85	75	75	86	78	79	+5 1
Czech Rep.	-	-	-	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66	+48
Hungary	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	37	42	50	52	+46
Poland	7	36	52	38	53	26	29	27	29	38	49	64	69	74	+36
UK	65	69	30	16	20	15	15	15	43	52	47	51	46	50	+34
Slovakia	-	-	-	25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	58	+33
Spain	-	65	35	12	13	10	6	4	8	18	13	28	30	42	+30
France	45	30	19	16	13	17	19	9	12	14	12	21	43	37	+21
Bulgaria	8	19	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34	+20
Italy	36	25	-	22	-	-	6	3	3	12	33	15	15	23	+1
Netherlands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	62	87	85	82	
Sweden	-	84	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	76	84	81	78	
Greece	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	-	2	2	4	15	
Ukraine	10	19	-	5	_	6	_	_	5	3	-	_	-	14	+9
Russia	13	38	52	28	33	29	32	33	44	24	-	46	42	35	+7
U.S.	46	50	20	20	24	18	31	33	40	40	44	58	65	60	+40

Note: Statistically significant differences shown in **bold**. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q3.

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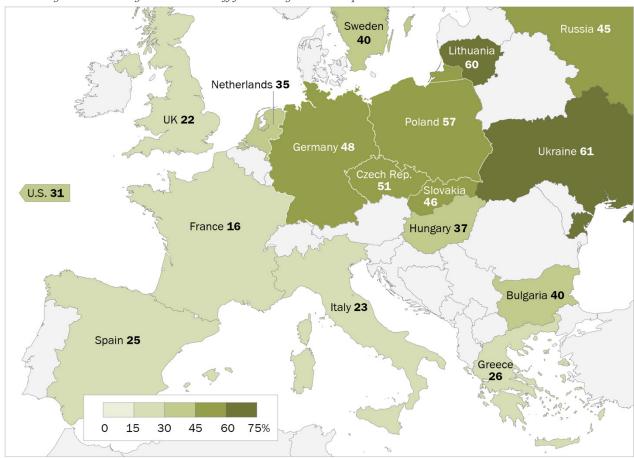
Those with more education are more likely to describe the current economic situation as good in most countries. For instance, in France, 50% of people with a postsecondary education or more say the economic situation is good, compared with only 32% among those with less education. In Russia, however, those with less education are more likely to describe the economic situation as good.

Regional differences about whether children will be better off financially than their parents

By and large, publics in Central and Eastern Europe as well as in former Soviet republics are more optimistic about the financial future of children today than Western Europeans and Americans. Roughly six-in-ten Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Poles say children today will be better off financially than their parents. On the other end of the spectrum, about one-quarter of Greeks, Spaniards, Italians and Britons, along with 16% of the French, share this optimism.

Former Eastern Bloc countries are generally more optimistic about financial future of children





Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4.

Of the countries surveyed in both 2013 and 2019, shares who say children today will be better off financially than their parents have greatly increased in Poland (+31 percentage points) and Germany (+20 points), while Italy (+9) and France (+7) have seen modest upticks. Ukrainians, who were first asked this question in 2014, have also seen a 10-point increase in those saying children will be better off. Opinion has not significantly changed in the other countries.

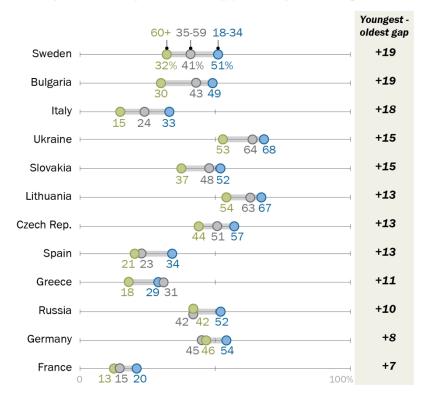
In a majority of countries, those ages 18 to 34 are more positive about the financial future of children than those ages 60 and older. In Sweden and Bulgaria, this gap is 19 percentage points.

Those who support the governing party are more optimistic about the financial status of children than those who do not support the governing party.

In most countries, those with lower incomes are more likely to say that when children today grow up, they will be *worse off* financially than their parents.

Younger groups are more optimistic about children's financial future

% who say children today will be better off financially than their parents



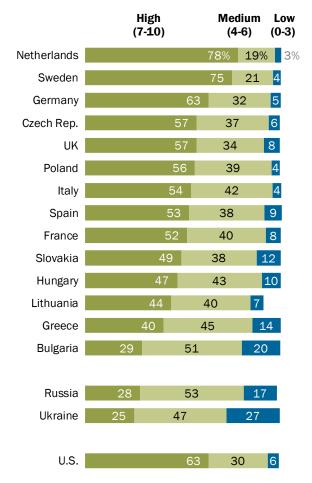
Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4.

Life satisfaction has improved for Europeans

Most Europeans are relatively satisfied with their lives. More than half in nine of the 16 countries surveyed place themselves as a 7, 8, 9 or 10 on a ladder of life, where the top of the ladder represents the best possible life. Three-quarters or more place themselves on the top rungs of the ladder in the Netherlands and Sweden, while only one-quarter say the same in Ukraine.

Life satisfaction varies substantially throughout Europe

% who say ___ on a ladder of life where the top of the ladder represents the best possible life (10) and the bottom the worst possible life (0)



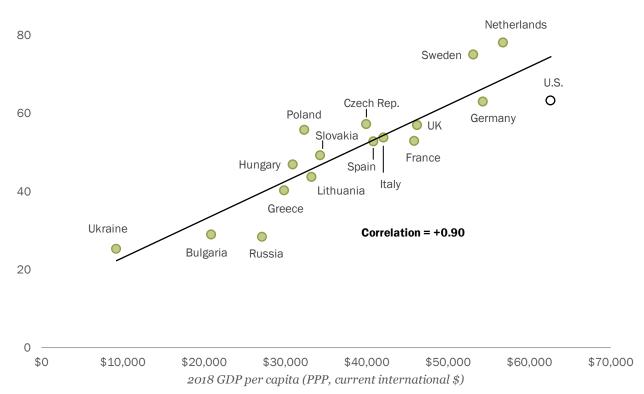
Note: Don't know responses not shown. To measure respondents' well-being, we used the Cantril Ladder question that asks where respondents place themselves on the "ladder of life" with a scale from 0 to 10. The question wording is: "Here is a ladder representing the 'ladder of life.' Let's suppose the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom, the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?"

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q1.

As has been found in previous Pew Research Center analyses, <u>life satisfaction</u> continues to be strongly related with economic factors. For example, the Netherlands has the highest per capita income of the European countries surveyed, and 78% of the Dutch say their life is a 7 or higher on a 0-10 scale. On the other end of the spectrum, Ukrainians have the lowest national income per capita and the lowest share who rate their quality of life highly.

Strong association between GDP per capita and life satisfaction

% who say 7, 8, 9 or 10 on a ladder of life where the top of the ladder (10) represents the best possible life 100 %



Note: To measure respondents' well-being, we used the Cantril Ladder question that asks where respondents place themselves on the "ladder of life" with a scale from 0 to 10. The question wording is: "Here is a ladder representing the 'ladder of life.' Let's suppose the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom, the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?"

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q1. Figures for gross domestic product per capita from World Bank Database, August 2019.

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Life satisfaction is also strongly associated with positive views about the nation's economic situation.

In all countries originally surveyed in 1991, life satisfaction has improved, sometimes dramatically. The largest changes have occurred in Central and Eastern European countries such as Poland, where the percentage of people placing themselves as a 7 or higher on the ladder of life has increased by 44 percentage points since 1991. Whereas only 12% of Poles rated themselves highly nearly 30 years ago, now 56% do so.

Those who live in former East Germany have also experienced a considerable increase in life satisfaction. In 1991, only 15% of East Germans rated their life highly; today around six-in-ten say their life is a 7 or higher on the ladder of life. West Germans — those in pre-1990 Federal Republic of Germany — have also seen an increase in the share who rate their life highly (+12 percentage points).

In the three former Soviet republics surveyed, life satisfaction has improved, but fewer than half place themselves high on the ladder of life. Russians are 21 percentage points more likely to rate themselves highly in 2019 than in 1991. Despite this improvement, though, only around one-quarter of Russians say they are a 7 or higher on the ladder today. Russians were the only group to see a significant decline in life satisfaction from 2009 to 2019: More Russians placed themselves highly on the ladder of life in 2009 than in 2019 (35% vs. 28%).

Life satisfaction has increased in many countries since 1991

% who say 7, 8, 9 or 10 on a ladder of life where the top of the ladder (10) represents the best possible life

	1991 %	2009 %	2019 %	'91-'19 Change
Poland	12	44	56	+44
Hungary	8	15	47	+39
Slovakia	13	43	49	+36
Czech Rep.	23	49	57	+34
Lithuania	13	35	44	+31
Bulgaria	4	15	29	+25
Spain	31	-	53	+22
Russia	7	35	28	+21
Germany	44	47	63	+19
East Germany*	<i>15</i>	43	59	+44
West Germany	52	48	64	+12
Ukraine	8	26	25	+17
France	36	-	52	+16
Italy	41	-	54	+13
UK	45	-	57	+12
U.S.	53**	59	63	+10

^{*}East and West Germany respondents live in former German Democratic Republic and pre-1990 Federal Republic of Germany, respectively.

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Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q1.

Younger populations, those ages 18 to 34, rate themselves higher on life satisfaction than older populations, those ages 60 and older, in 13 of the 16 European countries surveyed. Those with more education and higher incomes are also more likely to say that their quality of life is a 7 or higher in all countries.

^{**}In U.S., the survey was conducted in May 1990.

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. 1991 data for the Czech Republic and Slovakia correspond to regions in the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia. To measure respondents' well-being, we used the Cantril Ladder question that asks where respondents place themselves on the "ladder of life" with a scale from 0 to 10. The question wording is: "Here is a ladder representing the 'ladder of life.' Let's suppose the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you and the bottom, the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?"

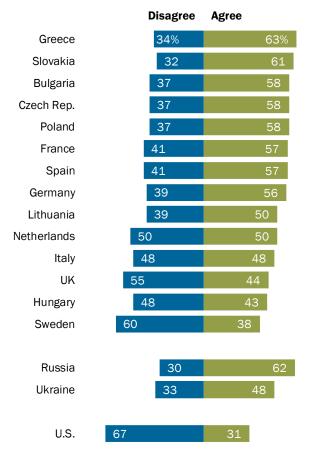
Europeans generally agree success in life is determined by forces outside their control

When it comes to whether success in life is determined by forces outside their control, publics across Europe are largely in agreement. Around half or more agree success in life is determined by outside forces in most of the countries surveyed. The UK and Sweden are the exceptions, with majorities disagreeing that success is determined by forces outside their control. These publics are like that of the U.S., where two-thirds disagree with the statement.

While one-quarter or more in Spain and Russia *completely* agree success is determined by outside forces, around three-in-ten in the U.S. and Sweden completely disagree.

European publics tend to think success in life is determined by outside forces; Americans disagree

% who __ success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside their control



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. 050d.

In most countries surveyed, more *disagree* that success in life is determined by forces beyond their control today than was the case in 1991.

For example, people in Bulgaria and Hungary increasingly disagree that success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside their control (+22 and +21 percentage points, respectively, since 1991). Lithuanians are 19 points more likely to disagree that success in life is determined by outside forces in 2019 than in 1991, whereas Ukrainians have seen an 8-point change over time.

Those with higher levels of education are more likely to disagree that success in life is determined by forces beyond their control in most countries.

More disagree that success in life determined by outside forces today

% who <u>disagree</u> that success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside their control

	1991	2019	Change
	%	%	
Bulgaria	15	37	+22
Hungary	27	48	+21
Lithuania	20	39	+19
Italy	31	48	+17
UK	42	55	+13
Spain	29	41	+12
Poland	26	37	+11
U.S.	57*	67	+10
Ukraine	25	33	+8
Germany	33	39	+6
Slovakia	26	32	+6
France	36	41	+5
Russia	29	30	+1
Czech Rep.	38	37	-1

*In U.S., the survey was conducted in May 1990.

Note: Statistically significant changes in **bold**. 1991 data for the Czech Republic and Slovakia correspond to regions in the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q50d.

6. Minority groups

There is a wide divergence across Europe in attitudes toward Muslims. Generally, more favorable views of Muslims exist in Western Europe, Russia and Ukraine while more negative attitudes persist in Southern, Central and Eastern Europe.

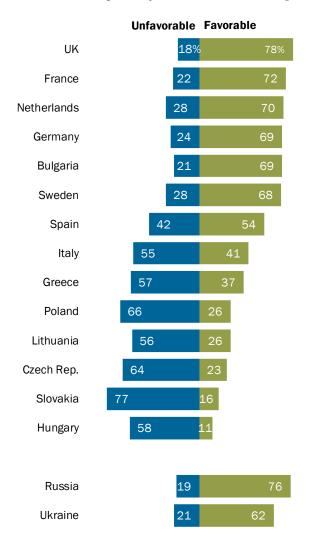
Solid majorities of people in the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Germany and Sweden have positive opinions of Muslims in their country. And attitudes toward Bulgarian Muslims, who constitute around 12% to 14% of the country's population, are also favorable. (In Bulgaria, the question specifically asked about "Bulgarian Muslims.")

However, majorities in Slovakia, Poland, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Lithuania, Greece and Italy have unfavorable views of Muslims.

Meanwhile, views in Russia and Ukraine are mostly positive, and similar to attitudes in Western and Northern Europe.

Positive views of Muslims more common in Western Europe and Russia

% who have a ___ opinion of Muslims in their country



Note: In Bulgaria, question asked about "Muslim Bulgarians." Don't know responses not shown. Question not asked in the U.S. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. 048c-d.

Despite these negative views of Muslims in Eastern and Southern Europe, unfavorable opinions have actually decreased in a number of nations since the question was asked in 2016, when millions of refugees from the Middle East and North Africa poured onto the continent. For example, in Hungary, where the current government has issued strict immigration controls, unfavorable views of Muslims have actually declined 14 percentage points since 2016. The same is true in Italy, where the antimmigrant Lega party was part of a governing coalition during the period when this survey was fielded.

In many European countries, unfavorable opinions of Muslims have become less common

% who have an $\underline{\it unfavorable}$ opinion of Muslims in their country

	2016 %	2019 %	Change
Hungary	72	58	-14
Italy	69	55	-14
UK	28	18	-10
Spain	50	42	-8
Greece	65	57	-8
Netherlands	35	28	-7
Sweden	35	28	-7
France	29	22	-7

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q48c.

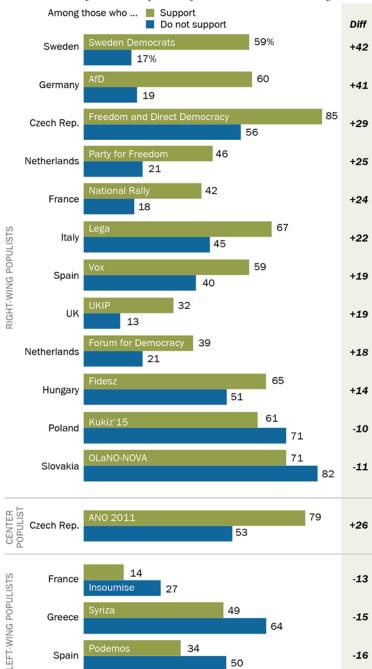
Despite the decline in negative sentiments toward Muslims, there are still sharp divides across the continent on favorability of the religious minority depending on support for populist parties.

In Sweden, for example, those with a favorable view of the Sweden Democrats, a party that opposed increased multiculturalism and especially immigration, are 42 percentage points more likely to have an unfavorable opinion of Muslims than those with a negative view of the Sweden Democrats. And supporters of AfD in Germany are 41 points more likely to have an unfavorable view of Muslims than nonsupporters. Similar divisions apply to supporters and nonsupporters of the Freedom and Direct Democracy party (SPD) in the Czech Republic, PVV and FvD in the Netherlands, National Rally in France, Lega in Italy, Vox in Spain, UKIP in the UK and the ruling Fidesz in Hungary.

On the other hand, those who support more left-leaning populist parties in France (Insoumise), Greece (Syriza) and Spain (Podemos) are more favorable toward Muslims. The

Supporters of populist parties and their views of Muslims

% who have an <u>unfavorable</u> opinion of Muslims in their country



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. "Support" percentages represent respondents who have a favorable view of each party. "Do not support" percentages represent respondents who have an unfavorable view of each party. For more information on European populist parties, see Appendix A.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q48c.

only centrist populist party tested whose supporters show less positive attitudes toward Muslims than its detractors is ANO 2011 in the Czech Republic.

In addition, those who have less education in many of the countries surveyed are more likely to have unfavorable views of Muslims. In the Czech Republic, 71% who have a secondary education or less have a negative opinion of Muslims, compared with 42% among those with more education. These educational divides exist in nine of the countries surveyed.

In Europe, those with less education are more likely to view Muslims unfavorably

% who have an $\underline{\it unfavorable}$ opinion of Muslims in their country

	More education %	Less education %	Diff
Czech Rep.	42	71	+29
Netherlands	16	34	+18
Poland	55	70	+15
Italy	43	57	+14
Greece	49	60	+11
France	15	25	+10
Spain	36	45	+9
UK	13	21	+8
Germany	20	26	+6

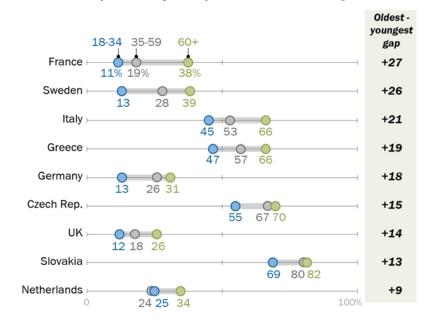
Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. For the purpose of comparing educational groups across countries, we standardize education levels based on the UN's International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). The lower education category is secondary education or below and the higher category is postsecondary or above.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q48c.

In Western Europe especially, negative attitudes toward Muslims are much more common among older people. In Sweden and France, people ages 60 and older are over 25 percentage points more likely to have an unfavorable opinion of Muslims than those ages 18 to 34. This pattern is also evident in Italy, Greece, Germany, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, the UK and the Netherlands. But there are few differences by age in most of the surveyed countries that lie in the eastern half of the continent.

Older Europeans view Muslims more unfavorably than younger adults

% who have an <u>unfavorable</u> opinion of Muslims in their country



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q48c.

Favorable views of Jews prevail across Europe

Across the European countries surveyed, half or more express favorable views of Jews in their country. This includes roughly nine-in-ten or more in the Western European nations of the Netherlands (92%), Sweden (92%), the UK (90%) and France (89%).

Among the countries surveyed, only in Greece do more than a third have an unfavorable opinion of Jews in their country, where 38% say this.

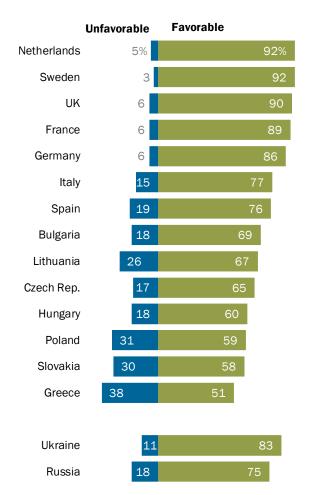
In Ukraine and Russia, at least three-quarters of the population has a favorable view of Jews in their country – increases of 15 and 16 percentage points since 2009, respectively.

Other countries that have seen a change in favorable views of Jews in their country since 2009 include Italy (+25 points), Lithuania (+19), Poland (+12) and Germany (+8). And in Germany, the share of the public with favorable views of Jews has risen 33 percentage points, from just over half (53%) in 1991 to 86% in 2019. The rise in positive views of Jews in Germany comes from people living in both pre-1990 West Germany and former East Germany.

There are few demographic differences in attitudes toward Jews. However, in many of these countries, those with more education tend to have more positive attitudes than do those with less education, though majorities at both levels have favorable views. The biggest such difference is in the Czech Republic, where 81% of those with more education have a favorable view of Jews, compared with 60% among those with less education.

Half or more in all European countries surveyed have a favorable view of Jews

% who have a ___ opinion of Jews in their country



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Question not asked in U.S. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q48a.

Many in Europe view Roma unfavorably

Of the minority groups tested on the survey, Roma stand out for the negative sentiments expressed toward them. In 10 of the 16 countries polled, half or more have an unfavorable view of Roma. The strongest such anti-Roma sentiment is in Italy, where roughly eight-in-ten (83%) say they have unfavorable views of Roma.

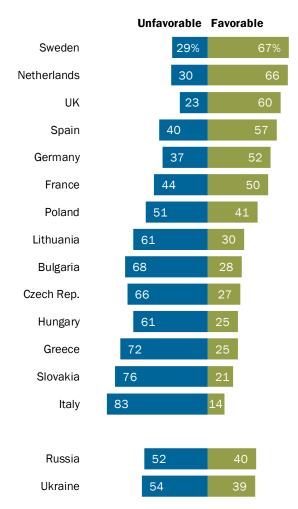
Positive attitudes toward Roma are more common in northern Europe. Around twothirds in Sweden and the Netherlands have a favorable view of the group, as do around sixin-ten in the UK and Spain.

In many nations, ratings for Roma have actually improved from when this question was last asked in 2016. For example, in 2016, only a third of French people had a positive view of Roma vs. 50% who do now. Double-digit increases in favorability have also occurred in the UK (+14 points), Sweden (+13), the Netherlands (+13) and Spain (+12).

In general, those with more education and who are left-leaning in ideology tend to have more favorable opinions of Roma than those with less education or who are more right-leaning ideologically.

Unfavorable views of Roma are widespread in Central, Eastern Europe

% who have a ___ opinion of Roma in their country



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Question not asked in U.S. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q48b.

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In addition, those who express favorable views of right-wing populist parties in Sweden, Germany, the Czech Republic, France and Italy are significantly more likely to have a negative view of Roma than those who have unfavorable views of these parties. For example, in Germany, supporters of AfD are 19 percentage points more likely to have a negative opinion of Roma than are those who do not support AfD.

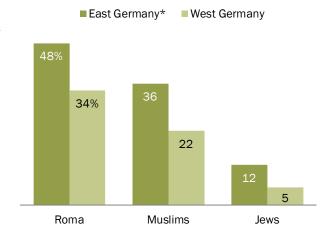
East-West divide in Germany

On many of these questions, there are sharp divides between those living in former West Germany and those in the former East. For instance, on views of Roma, those in the East are 14 percentage points more likely to have an unfavorable opinion of the minority group than are those in the West. And on views of Muslims, more than a third in the East (36%) say they have an unfavorable view of Muslims in their country, compared with 22% who say this in the West.

Views of Jews are more closely aligned, with few in either the West or East saying they have an unfavorable opinion of Jews in their country.

Unfavorable views of minority groups more common in East Germany than West Germany

% who have an <u>unfavorable</u> opinion of __ in their country



^{*} East and West Germany respondents live in former German Democratic Republic and pre-1990 Federal Republic of Germany, respectively.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q48a-d.

Acceptance of homosexuality is common in Western Europe, but more divided elsewhere

When asked whether homosexuality should be accepted by society or not, there is a sharp divide between Western Europe and the post-Soviet countries. Three-quarters or more in Sweden, the Netherlands, Spain, Germany, France, the UK and Italy say homosexuality should be accepted by society. But roughly three-quarters in Russia and about seven-in-ten in Ukraine say homosexuality should *not* be accepted by society.

Sentiment is more mixed in many of the Central and Eastern European countries surveyed, with the Czech Republic and Hungary on balance accepting of homosexuality and Bulgaria and Lithuania not accepting.

In the U.S., about seven-in-ten say homosexuality should be accepted by society.

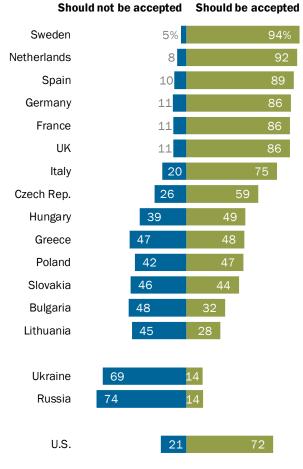
One of the sharpest demographic divides on this question has to do with religiosity. In 14 of the European countries surveyed, those who say religion is very or somewhat important in their lives are less likely to say homosexuality should be accepted by society. This extends to the U.S. as well.

In Greece, for example, 75% of those who say religion is not too or not important at all to

as well.

Homosexuality more widely accepted in Western Europe

% who say homosexuality ___ by society



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q31.

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them personally say homosexuality should be accepted by society, compared with 41% among those who say religion is very or somewhat important, a 34 percentage point difference.

And in 12 of the surveyed countries, including the U.S., those ages 18 to 34 are far more accepting of homosexuality than those 60 and older. These differences are especially acute in Central and Eastern Europe. In Lithuania, for example, 18- to 34-year-olds are 36 percentage points more likely to say that homosexuality should be accepted by society than are those ages 60 and older.

There is also a political divide when it comes to views of homosexuality. In Poland, the Czech Republic, the UK, Sweden, Spain, Germany and France, those who support right-wing populist parties are more likely to say homosexuality should not be societally accepted than are those who do not support such parties.

For example, in Poland, supporters of Law and Justice (PiS) are 21 percentage points more likely to say homosexuality should not be

Young people in Europe are more accepting of homosexuality

% who say homosexuality should be accepted by society

	18-34	35-59	60+	Youngest- oldest gap
	%	%	%	
Lithuania	45	29	9	+36
Czech Rep.	77	59	42	+35
Slovakia	56	49	23	+33
Greece	62	52	32	+30
Hungary	62	54	33	+29
Poland	57	54	28	+29
Bulgaria	45	35	19	+26
Russia	25	11	6	+19
Italy	78	82	62	+16
France	92	88	80	+12
Sweden	96	97	88	+8
U.S.	80	72	63	+17

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q31.

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accepted by society than are those who do not support PiS. And in Germany and France, supporters of National Rally and AfD, respectively, are about three times more likely than nonsupporters to say they do not accept homosexuality. But, even among these right-wing populist supporters in Western Europe, majorities still support the acceptance of homosexuality in society.

7. Gender equality

There is near unanimity in each of the countries surveyed that it is important for women to have the same rights as men. Nearly all people in Sweden, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Greece, Spain, the UK and Hungary hold this view. Even in the countries with the smallest share saying gender equality is important – Lithuania and Ukraine – roughly nine-in-ten (88%) believe this.

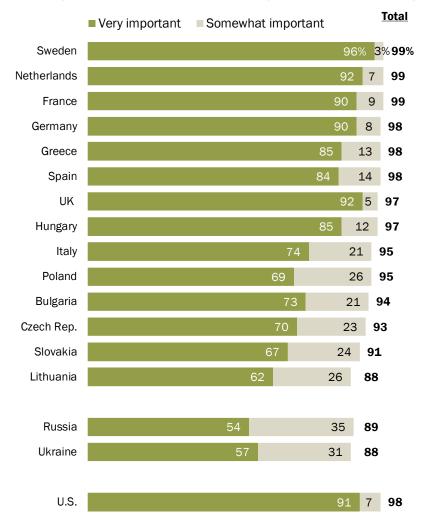
Although most publics think men and women having equal rights is important, the strength of this sentiment varies across the countries surveyed. At least nine-in-ten in Sweden, the Netherlands, the UK, France and Germany – as well as the U.S. – believe gender quality is *very* important.

By comparison, roughly sevenin-ten in Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Poland and Slovakia say it is very important for women to have the same rights as men in their country.

The former Soviet nations of Lithuania, Ukraine and Russia are the least likely to believe gender equality is very important, though more than half in each country hold this view.

Widespread belief that gender equality is important

% who say it is ___ that women have the same rights as men in their country



Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q55c.

Gender equality since the fall of communism

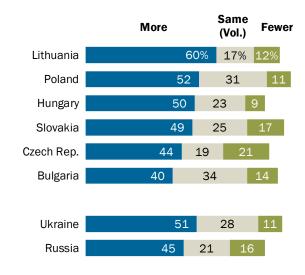
In former Eastern Bloc nations, at least four-inten in each country say women have more social and legal rights now than they had under communism.

Yet, substantial minorities in several of the nations surveyed believe women's rights remain unchanged, even though nearly 30 years have passed. Roughly a quarter or more in Hungary, Slovakia, Ukraine, Poland and Bulgaria believe women have the same rights now as they had under communism.

Since 1991, the share of people saying women's rights have improved since the regime change has increased significantly in every country where trend data is available. However, few people saw any improvement in women's social and legal rights immediately following the fall of communism.

Women's rights seen as improved in many countries since fall of communism

% who say women now have ___ social and legal rights than they had under communism



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q63.

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More say women gained rights after regime change

% who say women have more legal and social rights in their country now than they had under communism

	1991	2019	Change
	%	%	
Poland	12	52	+40
Slovakia	11	49	+38
Czech Rep.	15	44	+29
Bulgaria	20	40	+20
Hungary	37	50	+13

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. In 1991, question was asked "under the old regime" and was not asked in Lithuania, Russia or Ukraine. 1991 data for the Czech Republic and Slovakia correspond to regions in the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q63.

Many Europeans prefer egalitarian marriage

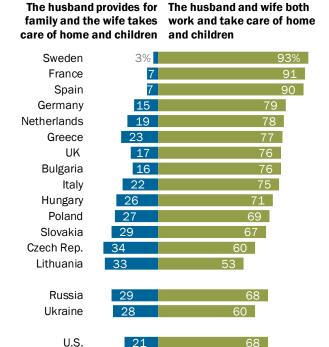
At least half in each surveyed country say a marriage where both the husband and wife have jobs and take care of the household is a more satisfying way of life than one where the husband provides and the wife takes care of the house and children.

Publics in Sweden, France and Spain are the most likely to believe an egalitarian marriage is satisfying. And roughly eight-in-ten in Germany, the Netherlands and Greece share this preference.

Though preference for an egalitarian marriage is high in Central and Eastern Europe, roughly a quarter or more in Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Lithuania believe a traditional marriage would be more satisfying. Roughly three-in-ten in Russia (29%) and Ukraine (28%) agree.

Most Europeans view an egalitarian marriage as a more satisfying way of life

% who prefer a marriage where __ as a more satisfying way of life



Note: Volunteered "other," "neither" and don't know responses not shown.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q61.

Since 1991, preference for a marriage with more traditional gender roles has dropped substantially in most countries. This change over time is especially pronounced in Central and Eastern European countries, where over half in most countries expressed a preference for this type of marriage in 1991.

For example, six-in-ten in Hungary preferred a traditional marriage in 1991. This year, 25% hold the same view, a 35 percentage point drop. Similar patterns can be seen in Poland, Lithuania, Slovakia and Ukraine.

Preference for traditional marriage roles has dropped since 1991

% who prefer a marriage where the husband provides for the family and the wife takes care of the house and children

	1991 %	2019 %	Change
Hungary	60	25	-35
Poland	57	27	-30
Lithuania	62	33	-29
Slovakia	54	29	-25
Ukraine	53	28	-25
Bulgaria	40	16	-24
France	30	7	-23
Spain	30	7	-23
Czech Rep.	55	34	-21
Germany	36	15	-21
Russia	48	29	-19
Italy	35	22	-13
UK	28	17	<i>-11</i>

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. 1991 data for the Czech Republic and Slovakia correspond to regions in the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q61.

In most countries, adults ages 60 and older are more likely than those ages 18 to 34 to think a marriage in which the husband provides and the wife cares for the home and children is a satisfying way of life. For example, 47% of adults 60 and older in the Czech Republic prefer a marriage with more traditional gender roles, compared with only 23% of younger adults.

Russia is the only country where the opposite pattern emerges. Roughly a third (32%) of younger adults say a traditional marriage is a more satisfying way of life, compared with only 19% of older adults.

Education is also related to preferences for a traditional marriage in the Czech Republic, Greece, the Netherlands, Hungary, Lithuania,

Younger adults less likely to prefer a marriage with traditional roles

% who prefer a marriage where the husband provides for the family and the wife takes care of the house and children

	18-34 %	35-59 %	60+ %	Youngest-oldest gap
Czech Rep.	23	33	47	-24
Poland	16	25	40	-24
Italy	16	17	33	-17
Lithuania	22	37	39	-17
Slovakia	23	26	40	-17
Greece	17	20	30	<i>-13</i>
UK	9	21	19	-10
U.S.	15	24	24	<i>-9</i>
Spain	4	5	13	-9
Russia	32	33	19	+13

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. 061.

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Italy, Poland, Slovakia, the UK, Bulgaria and Spain. People with lower educational attainment in these countries are significantly more likely than those with higher educational attainment to prefer a traditional marriage.

Gender and employment

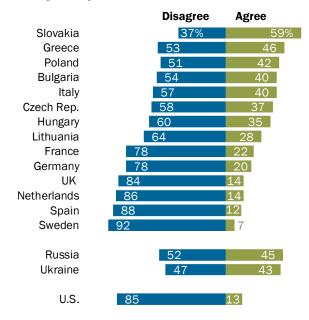
The view that men have more right to a job than women in tough economic times is a minority position in nearly all countries polled. Yet, notable shares of the public express the opinion in many Central and Eastern European countries, as well as Greece and Italy, where overall employment rates are relatively low.

Slovakia is the only country where a majority says men deserve preferential treatment when jobs are scarce. But four-in-ten or more share this view in Italy, Bulgaria, Poland, Ukraine, Russia and Greece.

By comparison, fewer than a quarter in most Western European countries, as well as the U.S., think men have more right to a job than women during economic hardship. In Sweden – the European Union's most gender-egalitarian country, according to the European Institute for Gender Equality – only 7% say men should be given priority for jobs when jobs are scarce.

Most do not think men have more right to a job than women when jobs are scarce

% who ___ that, when jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q62.

Those who earn a lower income – less than the median for their country – are more likely than those with higher incomes to believe men have more right to a job than women in nearly every country surveyed. For example, roughly half (48%) of Italians with a lower income think men should receive preferential treatment when jobs are scarce, compared with one-third of Italians who make an income higher than the national median. Similar income differences can be found in the U.S., as well as other countries across Europe: Bulgaria, Hungary, the UK, the Czech Republic, France, the Netherlands, Spain and Germany.

A similar educational difference can be found in all countries except Sweden and Lithuania. Compared with people with more education, those with less education are more likely to agree that men have more right to a job than women when jobs are scarce.

The largest educational differences on this issue – more than 20 percentage points – are in Greece, Italy, the Czech Republic and Bulgaria.

People with lower incomes say men have more right to a job than women during times of economic hardship

% who agree that, when jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women

	Higher income	Lower income	Diff
	%	%	
Italy	33	48	+15
Bulgaria	31	46	+15
Hungary	30	45	+15
France	13	27	+14
UK	8	23	+15
Czech Rep.	32	46	+14
Netherlands	6	20	+14
Spain	6	20	+14
Germany	13	26	+13
U.S.	7	20	+13
Lithuania	23	34	+11
Greece	42	51	+9
Russia	40	49	+9
Sweden	4	9	+5

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. Respondents with a household income below the approximate country median are considered lower income. Those with an income at or above the approximate country median are considered higher income. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q62.

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Roughly half of Greeks with less education (51%) think men should be given preferential treatment for jobs during tough economic times. Only around a quarter of Greeks with more education (24%) share this opinion.

Men and women's views of gender equality

Overall, men and women tend to have similar opinions about gender equality in their society, but some gender differences emerge.

In most of the Central and Eastern European countries surveyed, women are more likely than men to say that it is *very* important for women to have equal rights in their country. The largest gender difference is found in Slovakia, where roughly three-quarters (76%) of women view gender equality as very important, compared with 57% of men. The U.S. public follows a different pattern; men are slightly more likely than women to think it is very important for women to have the same rights as men (93% vs. 89%).

Notably, men and women generally agree on their preference for a marriage where both the husband and wife work and take care of the house and children. There are only a few countries, mostly in Western Europe, where

Women more likely than men to view gender equality as very important

% who say it is <u>very important</u> that women have the same rights as men in their country

	Men	Women	Diff
	%	%	
Slovakia	57	76	+19
Italy	67	81	+14
Bulgaria	66	80	+14
Lithuania	54	68	+14
Russia	47	60	+13
Hungary	80	90	+10
Czech Rep.	65	75	+10
Greece	81	89	+8
France	87	93	+6

Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q55c.

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women show a greater preference than men for an egalitarian marriage. For example, 82% of women in the Netherlands think an egalitarian marriage is the more satisfying way of life, compared with 74% of Dutch men. Similar differences can also be found in France (94% of women vs. 88% of men) and Germany (82% vs. 77%).

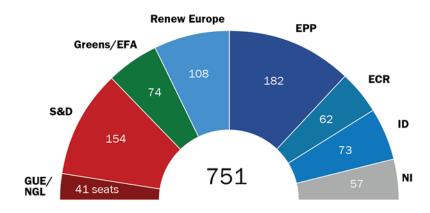
Men and women also tend to be similarly opposed to giving men preferential treatment in employment when jobs are scarce. Men are more likely than women to think men have more right to a job in only five countries: Bulgaria, Italy, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Lithuania.

8. Political parties

Across the 14 European Union countries surveyed, few express positive views of political parties. Only six parties (of the 59 tested) are seen favorably by half or more of the population. Populist parties across Europe also receive largely poor reviews. Of the 21 populist parties asked about in the survey, only six receive positive reviews by four-in-ten or more of the population; all six were also part of the government in their respective countries when the survey was fielded.

Parties in the European Parliament are grouped into supranational political groups based on political affiliation. In the current legislative period, which will continue until 2024, there are seven political groups: the Group of the European People's Party (EPP), the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats in the European Parliament (S&D), the European Conservatives and Reformists Group (ECR), Renew Europe Group (RE), the Confederal Group of the

EPP holds largest share of seats in the European Parliament



Source: European Parliament in collaboration with Kantar as of September 2019. (http://bit.ly/2nT4le9)

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European United Left/Nordic Green Left (GUE/NGL), the Group of the Greens/European Free Alliance (Greens/EFA) and Identity and Democracy (ID). There are also non-attached members of parliament (NI) who are not affiliated with any of the political groups.

Political party favorability in Western European countries

Compared with other nations, political parties in the Netherlands receive relatively positive reviews. The Labour Party (PvdA) is seen favorably by 60% of the public, and majorities give favorable ratings for the governing parties Democrats 66 (D66) and the People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD), with 57% and 55%, respectively. About half (48%) hold a positive view of the Socialist Party (SP). In contrast, the right-wing populist Forum for Democracy (FvD), which won the largest share of seats in the 2019 provincial elections, is seen favorably by 35%. Geert Wilders' right-wing populist Party for Freedom (PVV) receives positive evaluations from about a quarter of the Dutch.

Sweden's governing party, the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP), is seen favorably by 54% of the country's population, a 9 percentage point increase from 2018. The Moderate Party is viewed positively by roughly half of Swedes, and the right-wing populist Sweden Democrats get positive reviews from about a quarter of Swedes (26%).

In Germany, a majority of 63% say they have a favorable view of Alliance 90/The Greens, making it the top-rated party in Germany and in the EU. This is a 10 percentage point increase from the share who said the same last year. The two governing parties asked about are seen favorably by about four-in-ten or more Germans, with 47% expressing positive views of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and 42% saying the same of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). The Left is seen positively by 37%, and the right-wing populist Alternative for Germany (AfD) by only 15% of Germans.

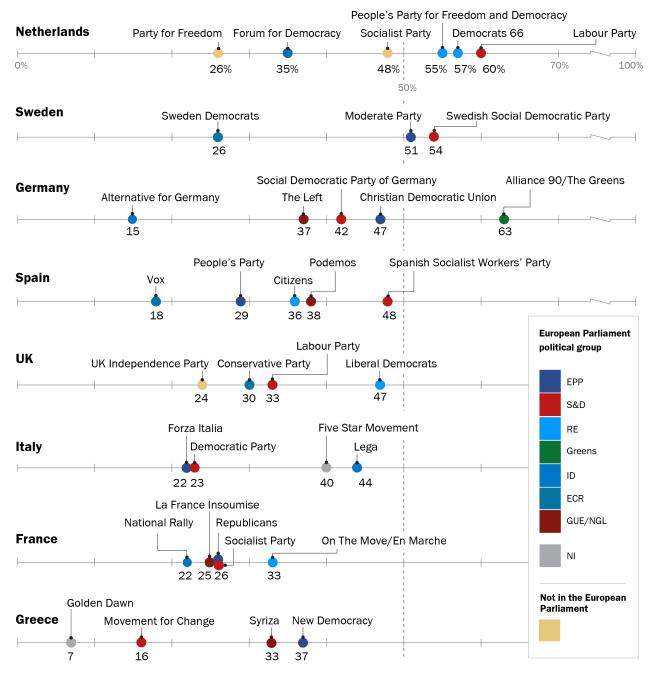
Spain's governing Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE), which won the April elections but failed to form a government, receives the most positive reviews in Spain. Roughly half (48%) see the party favorably, a 9-point increase from 2018. Podemos, a left-wing populist party, saw a similar increase, with 38% saying they have a favorable view of the party today compared with 30% last year. The Citizens party is seen positively by a similar share (36%). Vox and the former governing party, the People's Party (PP), are held in a positive light by 29% and 18%, respectively.

The Liberal Democrats are seen favorably by 47% of Britons, making it the party with the greatest share of positive evaluations in the UK, up 13 percentage points from last year. The Labour Party is seen positively by 33% of Britons, a 12-point drop, and only three-in-ten have positive views of the governing Conservative Party. The right-wing populist UK Independence Party (UKIP) is seen positively by about a quarter of Britons, an increase of 7 points.

Before Italy's right-wing populist Lega withdrew from a governing coalition with the Five Star Movement (M₅S), the party was seen favorably by 44% of Italians. M₅S received favorable ratings from four-in-ten. These ratings make the two parties among the most favorably seen populist parties in Europe. Still, this marks a 9 percentage point decline from 2018 for M₅S. The other two parties included in the survey, the Democratic Party (PD) and Forza Italia (FI), are seen favorably by only about a fifth of the population (23% and 22%, respectively).

Few political parties in Western Europe seen favorably by more than half

% of adults with a favorable view of ...



Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q9FRAa-e, Q9GREa-d, Q9NETa-f, Q9SPAa-e, Q9SWEa-c, Q9BRIa-d. European Parliament in collaboration with Kantar as of September 2019. (http://bit.ly/2nT4le9)

Among the French political parties tested, President Emmanuel Macron's On the Move/En Marche receives the most positive reviews. A third say they have a favorable view of the party, but this marks a 14 percentage point decline since 2018, when 47% held that view. The Socialist Party and the Republicans (LR) both receive positive evaluations from 26% of the public. Left-wing populist party La France Insoumise receives favorable ratings from a quarter of the French, while Marine Le Pen's right-wing populist National Rally (FN, formerly known as National Front) is seen positively by 22% of the French, a 10-point increase from 2018. This makes FN the only French party that has seen an increase in the share of people who see it positively.

In Greece, New Democracy (ND) – the party of newly elected Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis – is perceived positively by the largest share of people, albeit still under half the public.¹ With nearly four-in-ten saying they have a favorable view of ND, this is a 15 percentage point increase from 2018. The former governing party, Syriza, saw a similar increase, with 33% of Greeks holding a positive view of the party this year compared with only 16% last year. Movement for Change (Kinima Allagis-KINAL) is seen favorably by 16% of Greeks, and the right-wing populist Golden Dawn (XA) by only 7%.

Political party favorability in Central and Eastern European countries

Slovaks feel most positively about the right-wing populist Slovak National Party (SNS), one of the country's governing parties. This party is seen favorably by 41% of the population. Freedom and Solidarity (SaS) is similarly seen favorably by around four-in-ten (39%). In contrast, two other parties asked about in the survey are only viewed in a positive light by around one-third of Slovaks: the right-wing populist Ordinary People and Independent Personalities (OLaNo-NOVA), and Direction—Social Democracy (Smer-SD).

Ahead of parliamentary elections in fall 2019, 45% of Poles express favorable views of Law and Justice (PiS), the current right-wing populist governing party. Civic Platform (PO), founded by former prime minister Donald Tusk, comes second with 36% of Poles seeing it favorably, a 7 percentage point increase from 2018. Nowoczesna has also seen a large increase in its favorability rating, with 32% of Poles having a favorable view of the party now compared with 22% in 2018. The other two parties, Polish People's Party (PSL) and Kukiz'15, both members of the Polish Coalition, receive similar shares of positive evaluations (36% and 35%, respectively).

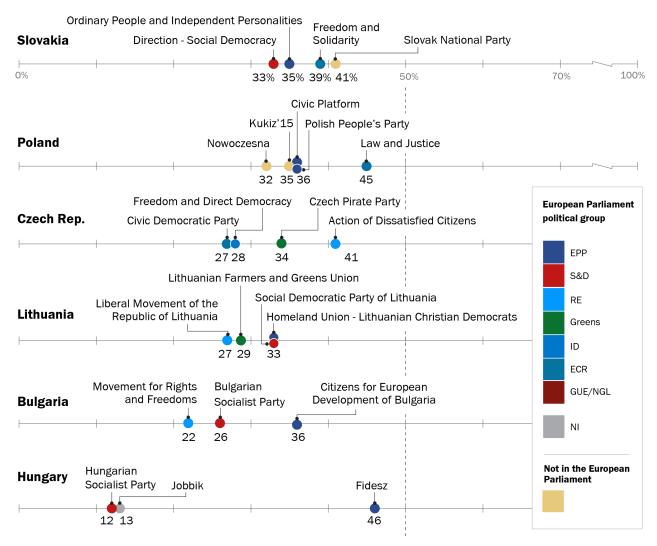
The share of Czechs with favorable opinions of each political party is also relatively low. The governing party Action of Dissatisfied Citizens (ANO 2011) – a centrist populist party that is part of Renew Europe in the European Parliament – receives the largest proportion of positive views (41%). The Czech Pirate Party (Pirati) is seen positively by 34%, while the right-wing populist

¹ The July 7 general election took place during the fieldwork period in Greece, which took place from June 7 to July 19, 2019.

Freedom and Direct Democracy (SPD) and liberal-conservative Civic Democratic Party (ODS) are viewed similarly (28% and 27%, respectively).

All Central and Eastern European political parties rated favorably by fewer than half

% of adults with a favorable view of ...



Source: Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey. Q9BULa-c, Q9CZECHa-d, Q9HUNa-c, Q9LITHa-d, Q9POLa-e, Q9SLOVa-d. European Parliament in collaboration with Kantar as of September 2019. (http://bit.ly/2nT4le9)

Views of the political parties show little variation in Lithuania; the shares of Lithuanians expressing favorable views of each party fall within a 6 percentage point range. The Social Democratic Party of Lithuania (LSDP) and center-right Homeland Union—Lithuanian Christian Democrats (TS-LKD) are tied, with both being seen favorably by 33% of Lithuanians. The Lithuanian Farmers and Greens Union (LVŽS), which is also in the governing coalition, is seen positively by 29%, and the Liberal Movement of the Republic of Lithuania (LRLS) by 27%.

In Bulgaria, few see the three parties included in the survey favorably. The governing party Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB) is seen favorably by only 36% of the population. The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) comes in second (26% favorable), and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) receives the smallest share of positive evaluations (22%).

The governing party in Hungary, Fidesz, is seen far more positively than the two other Hungarian political parties asked about in the survey. Led by Prime Minister Viktor Orban, the right-wing populist party garners favorable views from 46% of Hungarians, a rating that is unchanged from last year. In comparison, 13% and 12% of Hungarians have positive views of the right-wing populist Jobbik (Movement for a Better Hungary) and social-democratic Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP), respectively. For Jobbik, this is a 6 percentage point decline from the share who saw it favorably in 2018.

Acknowledgments

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Methodology

About Pew Research Center's Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey

Results for the survey are based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of Gallup and Abt Associates. The results are based on national samples, unless otherwise noted. More details about our international survey methodology and country-specific sample designs are <u>available here</u>.

About Times Mirror Center's Spring 1991 Pulse of Europe Survey

This report reexamines many key questions included in a survey conducted April 15 to May 31, 1991, by the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press (the forerunner of Pew Research Center). For that survey, interviews were conducted in local languages with 12,569 people in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom, as well as three republics of the Soviet Union: Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine. All samples were nationally representative, with the exception of Russia, which did not include respondents living east of the Ural Mountains.

Methodological notes:

- Even though in 1991 Czechoslovakia was surveyed as a single country, for the purposes of this report, we show the 1991 results for the geographic areas that correspond to the present-day Czech Republic and Slovakia. The 1991 survey included 638 responses from geographic areas corresponding to the present-day Czech Republic and 282 responses from areas corresponding to present-day Slovakia.
- Survey coverage in Ukraine since 2015 has excluded Crimea, as well as areas under conflict in the eastern districts of Luhansk and Donetsk. These areas were included in the survey in 2014 and earlier. Throughout this report, we include all years for comparison, even as these deviations reflect changes in the composition of the Ukrainian population. In all years when Crimea was included, it represented less than 10% of the total weighted sample, limiting the effect of its exclusion on survey estimates for Ukraine as a whole.
- In 1991, Germany was a reunited country. Analysis in this report compares results for geographic areas that correspond to the former East Germany, including East Berlin, and former West Germany, including West Berlin.
- In 1991, the adult population was defined as ages 16 years and older in Lithuania and the UK. The Hungarian sample from that year also includes a small number of 17-year-old respondents. The total number of respondents under 18 years old in the 1991 survey is as follows:

Hungary: 2Lithuania: 20

o UK: 12

In all other countries and survey years, the adult population is defined as ages 18 and older.

The following pages present the details on the methodology for the 1991 survey, including information on sample design, survey mode, the languages in which the interviews were conducted, fieldwork dates, sample sizes and the margins of sampling error based on all interviews conducted in that country.

Country: **Bulgaria**Sample design: Probability

Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus

Languages: Bulgarian

Fieldwork dates: May 8 – May 16, 1991

Sample size: 1,267

Margin of error: ±4.0 percentage points Representative: Adult population

Country: Czechoslovakia

Sample design: Probability

Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus

Languages: Czech

Fieldwork dates: May 10 - May 31, 1991

Sample size: 920 (Czech Republic = 638, Slovak Republic = 282)

Margin of error ±4.0 percentage points total sample, ±5.0 percentage points in the Czech Republic, ±7.0

percentage points in the Slovak Republic

Representative: Adult population (of Czechoslovakia)

Country: **France** Sample design: Quota

Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus

Languages: French

Fieldwork dates: April 22 - May 4, 1991

Sample size: 1,035 (Form A = 518, Form B = 517)

Margin of error: ±4.0 percentage points total sample, ±5.5 percentage points each form

Representative: Adult population

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Country: **Germany**

Sample design: Probability (east Germany oversample)

Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus

Languages: German

Fieldwork dates: April 22 - May 31, 1991

Sample size: 1,480 (West = 760, East = 720)

Margin of error: ±3.0 percentage points total sample, ±4.0 percentage points in the west and the east

Representative: Adult population

Country: **Hungary**Sample design: Probability

Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus

Languages: Hungarian

Fieldwork dates: May 10 - May 16, 1991

Sample size: 1,000

Margin of error: ±4.0 percentage points Representative: Adult population

Country: **Italy**Sample design: Quota

Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus

Languages: Italian

Fieldwork dates: April 30 - May 8, 1991

Sample size: 1,051 (Form A = 536, Form B = 515)

Margin of error: ±4.0 percentage points total sample, ±5.5 percentage points each form

Representative: Adult population

Country: Lithuania

Sample design: Probability; oversamples of Russians (68) and Poles (87)

Mode: Face-to-face adults 16 plus

Languages: Lithuanian, Russian

Fieldwork dates: April 26 – May 23, 1991

Sample size: 501

Margin of error: ±6.0 percentage points

Representative: Adult population

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Country: **Poland**Sample design: Probability

Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus

Languages: Polish

Fieldwork dates: May 10 – May 20, 1991

Sample size: 1,496

Margin of error: ±3.0 percentage points Representative: Adult population

Country: Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic

Sample design Probability; oversamples in Moscow (378) and Leningrad (215)

Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus

Languages: Russian

Fieldwork dates: April 15 – May 5, 1991

Sample size: 1,123

Margin of error: ±4.0 percentage points

Representative: Adult population in the European part of the Russian Republic

Country: **Spain**Sample design: Quota

Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus

Languages: Spanish

Fieldwork dates: April 25 - May 26, 1991

Sample size: 1,003 (Form A = 503, Form B = 500)

Margin of error: ±4.0 percentage points total sample, ±5.5 percentage points each form

Representative: Adult population

Country: Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

Sample design: Probability

Mode: Face-to-face adults 18 plus

Languages: Russian, Ukrainian Fieldwork dates: April 15 – May 5, 1991

Sample size: 586

Margin of error: ±5.0 percentage points

Representative: Adult population

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Country: United Kingdom

Sample design: Quota

Mode: Face-to-face adults 16 plus

Languages: English

Fieldwork dates: May 2 – May 13, 1991

Sample size: 1,107 (Form A = 549, Form B = 558)

Margin of error: ±4.0 percentage points total sample, ±5.5 percentage points each form

Representative: Adult population

Appendix A: Classifying European populist parties

Classifying parties as populist

Although experts generally agree that populist political leaders or parties display high levels of anti-elitism, definitions of populism vary. We use three measures to classify populist parties: anti-elite ratings from the 2017 Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES), Inglehart and Norris's populism party scale and The PopuList. We define a party as populist when at least two of these three measures classify it as such.

CHES, which was carried out in January and February 2018, asked 228 regional experts to evaluate the 2017 positions of 132 European political parties across 14 European Union member states. CHES results are regularly used by academics to classify parties with regard to their left-right ideological leanings, their key party platform positions and their degree of populism, among other things.

We measure anti-elitism using an average of two variables in the CHES data. First, we used "PEOPLE_VS_ELITE," which asked the experts to measure the parties with regard to their position on direct vs. representative democracy, where o means that the parties support elected officeholders making the most important decisions and 10 means that "the people," not politicians, should make the most important decisions. Second, we used "ANTIELITE_SALIENCE," which is a measure of the salience of anti-establishment and anti-elite rhetoric for that particular party, with o meaning not at all salient and 10 meaning extremely salient. The average of these two measures is shown in the table below as "anti-elitism." In all countries, we consider parties that score above a 7.0 as "populist."

We also used CHES's "FAMILY" variable to further classify populist groups. Per CHES, family attribution is based on a combination of "a) membership or affiliation with [European Parliament] party families, b) Parlgov classifications and c) self-identification."

Inglehart and Norris emphasize the cultural views of populist parties and created a populist party scale using the <u>2014 CHES data</u> for classification.² This scale aggregates expert ratings of the party on the following positions and attitudes: 1) support for traditional social values, 2) opposition to liberal lifestyles, 3) promotion of nationalism, 4) favorable toward tough law and order, 5) favorable toward assimilation for immigrants and asylum seekers, 6) support for restrictive immigration policies, 7) opposition to more rights for ethnic minorities, 8) support for religious principles in politics and 9) support for rural interests. The scale ranges from 0 to 100, and parties with a score of more than 80 are classified as populist.

² Inglehart, Ronald F., and Pippa Norris. 2016. "Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash." HKS Faculty Research Working Paper Series.

The PopuList is an ongoing project to classify European political parties as populist, far right, far left and/or euroskeptic. The project specifically looks at parties that "obtained at least 2% of the vote in at least one national parliamentary election since 1998." It is based on collaboration between academic experts and journalists. The PopuList classifies parties that emphasize the will of the people against the elite as populist.³

Two parties are missing data for at least two of the measures used for classification but are still included for analysis in the report. Vox in Spain is considered a <u>right-wing populist party</u> by experts, but was not included in any of the measures used due to its relatively <u>recent rise</u> in popularity. Similarly, <u>Forum for Democracy (FvD)</u> in the Netherlands did not achieve a large enough share of the votes to be included in the PopuList analysis and was founded in 2016, after data collection for the Inglehart and Norris analysis. Experts in the most recent round of CHES classify this party as a right-wing populist party, and its score on the anti-elitism scale exceeds the cut-off.

Classifying parties as left, right or center

We can further classify these traditional and populist parties into three groups: left, right and center. When classifying parties based on ideology, we relied on the variable "LRGEN" in the CHES dataset, which asked experts to rate the positions of each party in terms of its overall ideological stance, with 0 meaning extreme left, 5 meaning center and 10 meaning extreme right. We define left parties as those that score below 4.5 and right parties as those above 5.5. Center parties have ratings between 4.5 and 5.5.

³ Mudde, Cas. 2004. "The Populist Zeitgeist." Government and Opposition.

European populist party classifications

Party	Country	Family	Left-right	Anti-elitism	Inglehart & Norris	The PopuList
Populist parties on the left						
La France Insoumise	France	Radical left	1.0	8.9	-	Populist
Podemos	Spain	Radical left	2.4	8.7	Populist	Populist
Syriza	Greece	Radical left	2.6	7.4	Populist	Populist
Populist parties in the center						
Action of Dissatisfied Citizens (ANO 2011)	Czech Rep.	No family	4.9	7.7	Not populist	Populist
Five Star Movement (M5S)	Italy	No family	5.2	9.9	Populist	Populist
Populist parties on the right						
Ordinary People and Independent Personalities (OLaNO-NOVA)	Slovakia	Conservative	6.9	7.2	Not populist	Populist
Slovak National Party (SNS)	Slovakia	Radical right	7.6	4.1	Populist	Populist
Sweden Democrats	Sweden	Radical right	8.0	8.0	Populist	Populist
Freedom and Direct Democracy (SPD)	Czech Rep.	Radical right	8.2	9.8		Populist
Lega	Italy	Regionalist	8.3	7.8	Populist	Populist
Law and Justice (PiS)	Poland	Radical right	8.3	6.2	Populist	Populist
Kukiz'15	Poland	Radical right	8.3	8.8		Populist
Jobbik	Hungary	Radical right	8.5	7.8	Populist	Populist
UK Independence Party (UKIP)	UK	Radical right	8.6	8.2	Populist	Populist
Fidesz	Hungary	Conservative	8.7	5.7	Populist	Populist
Alternative for Germany (AfD)	Germany	Radical right	9.2	8.7	Populist	Populist
Party for Freedom (PVV)	Netherlands	Radical right	9.3	9.5	Populist	Populist
Forum for Democracy (FvD)	Netherlands	Radical right	9.5	9.5	-	-
National Rally	France	Radical right	9.7	8.9	Populist	Populist
Vox	Spain	_	_		-	-

Notes: Golden Dawn (XA) in Greece not included in analysis due to insufficient sample size. Questions about populist parties were not asked in Bulgaria or Lithuania. Left-right indicates the average score CHES experts gave each party on an 11-point left-right scale. Scores for anti-elitism are an average of party position on direct vs. representative democracy and the salience of anti-elite rhetoric within the party. Source: 2017 CHES. Inglehart and Norris (2016). The PopuList (2019).

Appendix B: Governing party categorization

For this report, we grouped people into two political categories: those who support the governing political party (or parties) and those who do not. These categories were coded based on the party or parties in power at the time the survey was fielded, and on respondents' answers to a question asking them which political party, if any, they identified with in their country.⁴

In countries where multiple political parties govern in coalition, survey respondents who indicated support for any party in the coalition were grouped together. In Germany, for example, where the center-right CDU/CSU governed with the center-left SPD at the time of the survey, supporters of each of the three parties were grouped together. In countries where different political parties occupy the executive and legislative branches of government, the party holding the executive branch was considered the governing party.

Survey respondents who did not indicate support for any political party, or who refused to identify with one, were considered as *not* supporting the government in power. Below is a table that outlines the governing political parties in each country.

⁴ Governing parties were not updated to account for elections that occurred after the survey was fielded and resulted in a new party (or parties) serving in government. Language used to measure party identification varies country by country.

Appendix: Political categorization

Countries Governing political party(ies)

Citizens for European Development of Bulgaria (GERB), United Patriots: Bulgarian National Movement

Bulgaria (IMRO), National Front for the Salvation of Bulgaria (NFSB), Attack*

Action of Dissatisfied Citizens (ANO 2011), Czech Social Democratic Party (ČSSD) Czech Republic

France On the Move/En Marche

Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Christian Social Union in Bavaria (CSU), Social Democratic Party of

Germany Germany (SPD)

Greece** Syriza, Independent Greeks (ANEL), New Democracy (ND) Fidesz, Christian Democratic People's Party (KDNP) Hungary

Five Star Movement (M5S), Lega Italy

Lithuanian Farmers and Greens Union (LVŽS), Social Democratic Labour Party of Lithuania (LSDDP), Electoral Action of Poles in Lithuania (LLRA)***, Order and Justice (TT)

Lithuania

People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD), Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Democrats 66 (D66),

Netherlands Christian Union (CU) Poland Law and Justice (PiS)

Russia United Russia

Slovakia Direction-Social Democracy (Smer-SD), Slovak National Party (SNS), Most-Híd

Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) Spain

Sweden Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP), Green Party (MP)

UK Conservative Party Ukraine Servant of the People U.S. Republican Party

^{*}Attack left the United Patriots coalition on July 25, 2019. It is not considered part of the governing coalition after this date.

^{**}In Greece, snap legislative elections were held during fieldwork, causing a transition to a government led by New Democracy. Supporters of SYRIZA are considered supporters of the governing party until July 6, 2019; supporters of New Democracy are considered supporters of the ruling party from July 7, 2019, onward.

^{***} In Lithuania, a new coalition agreement was signed on July 5, 2019, resulting in the LLRA joining the government. Supporters of LLRA are considered supporters of the ruling parties from July 5, 2019, onward.

Topline questionnaire

Pew Research Center Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey October 15, 2019 Release

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples. For further details on sample designs, see Methodology section and our <u>international survey methods database</u>.
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline "total" columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Since 2007, Pew Research Center has used an automated process to generate toplines for its Global Attitudes surveys. As a result, numbers may differ slightly from those published prior to 2007.
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2019 Global Attitudes Survey are presented in this
 topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in
 future reports.

Topline questionnaire

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 topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in
 future reports.

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		Q1. Here is a	ladder representi	ing the ladder of	life. Let's suppo	se the top of the	e ladder represer	nts the best poss	ible life for you;	and the bottom,	the worst possil	ble life for you.	On which step of	he ladder do
			I				you feel you per:	sonally stand at t	the present time	i? T				
United States	Spring, 2019	0	1	1	3	5	13	12	7 22	8 25	9 8	10 9	DK/Refused	Total 100
Jilled States	Spring, 2014	1	0	1	2	4	14	12	20	25	11	9	1	100
	Spring, 2010	1	1	1	2	3	14	12	18	26	9	11	1	100
	Fall, 2009	1	1	1	3	8	15	12	22	23	7	8	0	100
	Spring, 2007	0	0	1	2	4	16	10	19	27	9	11	1	100
	Spring, 2005	1	1	1	4	5	18	11	18	22	10	9	2	100
	Summer, 2002	1	1	1	2	3	16	10	22	26	8	8	2	100
	January, 1989	1	0	2	4	6	20	14	21	19	7	5	0	100
France	Spring, 2019	1	0	1	5	6	20	14	26	18	5	3	0	100
	Spring, 2014	1	1	1	2	7	22	14	21	22	4	4	0	100
	Spring, 2010	0	0	1	3	8	20	15	25	20	5	2	0	100
	Spring, 2007	0	0	1	2	4	20	16	27	23	4	3	0	100
	Summer, 2002	0	0	2	1 5	5 8	21 31	14	28 15	23 14	3	2	0	100
Germany	Spring, 1991	1	1	1	3	5	16	11	21	28	8	6	0	100
sermany	Spring, 2019 Spring, 2014	1	1	1	3	6	14	14	27	25	4	4	0	100
	Spring, 2010	0	1	2	4	5	21	15	25	21	4	2	0	100
	Fall, 2009	1	1	2	2	8	20	18	23	17	4	3	0	100
	Spring, 2007	2	1	2	5	8	20	14	24	16	4	3	0	100
	Summer, 2002	1	1	2	4	6	23	15	22	19	5	4	1	100
	Spring, 1991	1	1	2	5	7	22	14	16	17	6	5	3	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	3	2	4	6	8	22	15	21	13	3	3	0	100
	Spring, 2014	1	3	8	9	10	20	13	17	13	4	3	0	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	1	1	1	2	6	13	22	27	19	3	4	0	100
	Spring, 2014	1	1	2	4	7	15	22	25	15	4	4	1	100
	Spring, 2007	0	1	1	3	6	16	25	24	18	4	2	1	100
	Summer, 2002	0	1	1	3	4	15	22	28	16	3	6	0	100
	Spring, 1991	1	1	2	4	6	22	22	21	13	3	4	0	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	1	0	0	2	2	8	8	26	40	9	2	0	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	2	1	2	4	8	17	14	26	17	6	4	0	100
	Spring, 2014	2	2	1	3	4	18	15	25	19	4	6	0	100
	Spring, 2010	1	1	1	3	4	18	15	25	21	4	5	0	100
	Spring, 2007	0	1	1	1	3	12	16	26	27	8	5	0	100
	Spring, 1991	0	1	1	4	7	35	18	14	10	2	4	2	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	0	1	1	2	4	8	9	26	33	11	5	0	100
	Spring, 2007	0	0	1	2	3	10	11	28	30	8	6	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	1	1	1	5	6	15	13	25	22	6	4	1	100
	Spring, 2014	1	1	2	3	7	16	16	25	23	6	4	1	100
	Spring, 2010	0	0		4		20	13	22	20	6	5	1 1	100
	Spring, 2007	1	0	2	3	6 7	15 21	13 11	22 22	27 20	7	5 5	0	100
	Summer, 2002 Spring, 1991	0	1	2	6	8	20	17	20	15	5	5	0	100
Bulgaria		3	2	5	11	11	26	14	16	9	2	1	1	100
bulgaria	Spring, 2019 Fall, 2009	1	5	9	14	17	27	10	7	5	2	2	1	100
	Spring, 2007	3	6	9	11	13	27	13	9	4	1	2	0	100
	Summer, 2002	6	8	12	19	17	21	7	4	3	1	0	2	100
	Spring, 1991	5	9	13	21	19	22	6	2	1	0	0	2	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	1	1	1	3	5	19	12	26	19	8	5	1	100
•	Fall, 2009	1	0	1	4	7	18	19	23	16	6	5	0	100
	Spring, 2007	1	0	1	5	8	28	15	18	17	4	2	0	100
	Summer, 2002	1	0	1	4	9	27	16	23	13	3	2	0	100
	Spring, 1991	0	1	6	11	17	26	15	11	8	2	2	1	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	0	0	3	7	6	22	15	20	17	7	3	0	100
	Fall, 2009	2	3	10	17	19	23	10	8	5	0	2	0	100
	Spring, 1991	0	6	10	17	19	30	10	3	2	1	2	0	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	0	0	1	5	7	16	17	20	16	5	4	9	100
	Fall, 2009	0	2	6	11	11	17	15	17	13	3	2	3	100
D-1d	Spring, 1991	1	3	6	14	18	32	11 17	8	3	2	1	1	100
Poland	Spring, 2014	0	0	3	3 5	8	18 21	20	25 19	19 12	3	4	2	100
	Spring, 2014	1	2	3	7	8	21	17	22	12	2	3	1	100
	Spring, 2010 Fall, 2009	1	1	1	4	7	23	18	19	16	6	4	0	100
	Spring, 2007	0	2	2	6	8	24	18	18	15	3	3	1	100
	Summer, 2002	0	5	2	7	11	27	16	15	9	2	2	5	100
	Spring, 1991	3	6	10	18	15	25	9	7	3	1	1	2	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	0	0	3	8	9	16	14	19	18	6	5	0	100
	Fall, 2009	0	1	3	5	8	23	16	19	15	6	3	1	100
	Spring, 2007	1	1	1	3	10	33	14	19	11	3	3	0	100
	Summer, 2002	2	1	2	10	9	34	13	16	8	2	3	0	100
	Spring, 1991	1	2	4	14	22	31	11	7	5	0	1	2	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	3	3	2	9	12	30	12	12	7	3	6	2	100
	Spring, 2014	0	1	2	6	7	22	18	20	15	5	3	1	100
	Spring, 2010	1	3	4	10	11	25	15	14	11	5	2	1	100
	Fall, 2009	1	1	2	9	10	26	14	16	11	5	3	1	100
	Spring, 2007	2	3	4	13	13	27	14	11	7	2	3	2	100
	Spring, 2005	4	5	7	15	14	28	9	8	4	2	2	1	100
	Summer, 2002	2	5	7	14	14	29	11	10	5	2	2	1	100
	Spring, 1991	5	7	13	21	18	22	5	5	1	0	0	2	100
Jkraine	Spring, 2019	3	4	7	12	12	24	11	14	7	3	2	1	100
	Spring, 2014	2	3	5	12	14	24	15	14	7	1	1	1	100
	Fall, 2009	1	3	6	12	12	27	13	11	9	3	3	1	100
	Spring, 2007	2	2	4	10	16	21	13	14	10	4	4	2	100
	Summer, 2002	3	5 8	8	12 24	11 20	31 17	11 6	11	4	2	2	2	100
	Spring, 1991			12	24	20		. 6	5	2	0			

Spring, 1991

			are you satisfied ings are going in		
		Satisfied	Dissatisfied	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2019	32	64	3	100
	Spring, 2014	33	62	4	100
	Spring, 2013	31	65	4	100
	Spring, 2012	29	64	7	100
	Spring, 2011	21	73	6	100
	Spring, 2010	30	62	8	100
	Fall, 2009	30	64	7	100
	Spring, 2009	36	61	3	100
	Spring, 2008	23	70	6	100
	Spring, 2007	25	71	4	100
	Spring, 2006	29	65	6	100
	Spring, 2005	39	57	5	100
	Spring, 2004	39	55	6	100
	Summer, 2002	41	55	4	100
France	Spring, 2019	34	65	1	100
	Spring, 2014	22	77	0	100
	Spring, 2013	19	80	0	100
	Spring, 2012	29	71	0	100
	Spring, 2011	25	75	0	100
	Spring, 2010	26	74	0	100
	Fall, 2009	32	67	0	100
	Spring, 2009	27	73	0	100
	Spring, 2008	29	71	0	100
	Spring, 2007	22	78	0	100
	Spring, 2006	20	80	0	100
	Spring, 2005	28	71	0	100
	Spring, 2004	32	68	0	100
	May, 2003	44	56	0	100
	March, 2003	31	67	2	100
	Summer, 2002	32	67	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	59	39	2	100
	Spring, 2014	59	38	3	100
	Spring, 2013	57	41	2	100
	Spring, 2012	53	45	2	100
	Spring, 2011	43	54	3	100
	Spring, 2010	39	59	2	100
	Fall, 2009	48	50	2	100
	Spring, 2009	43	54	3	100
	Spring, 2008	34	63	3	100
	Spring, 2007	33	66	2	100
	Spring, 2006	29	67	5	100
	Spring, 2005	25	73	2	100
	Spring, 2004	20	78	2	100
	May, 2003	25	73	2	100
	March, 2003	18	79	3	100
	Summer, 2002	31	66	3	100

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		· ·	are you satisfiedings are going in		
		Satisfied	Dissatisfied	DK/Refused	Total
Greece	Spring, 2019	16	82	2	100
	Spring, 2016	5	95	0	100
	Spring, 2014	5	95	0	100
	Spring, 2013	2	97	0	100
	Spring, 2012	2	98	0	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	27	72	2	100
	Spring, 2014	9	90	2	100
	Spring, 2013	3	96	1	100
	Spring, 2012	11	87	2	100
	Fall, 2009	25	72	4	100
	Spring, 2007	16	79	4	100
	May, 2003	29	67	3	100
	March, 2003	20	74	7	100
	Summer, 2002	24	70	6	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	68	31	1	100
	Spring, 2005	49	50	2	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	30	68	2	100
	Spring, 2014	8	91	1	100
	Spring, 2013	5	94	1	100
	Spring, 2012	10	88	2	100
	Spring, 2011	15	83	2	100
	Spring, 2010	22	76	2	100
	Fall, 2009	21	75	3	100
	Spring, 2009	21	77	2	100
	Spring, 2008	50	43	7	100
	Spring, 2007	51	45	4	100
	Spring, 2006	50	46	4	100
	Spring, 2005	51	44	5	100
	May, 2003	45	52	3	100
	March, 2003	41	47	12	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	63	34	3	100
	Spring, 2007	66	27	8	100

			are you satisfied lings are going in		
		Satisfied	Dissatisfied	DK/Refused	Total
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	21	76	3	100
	Spring, 2014	40	55	5	100
	Spring, 2013	26	68	5	100
	Spring, 2012	30	65	5	100
	Spring, 2011	32	61	7	100
	Spring, 2010	31	63	7	100
	Fall, 2009	29	64	7	100
	Spring, 2009	21	76	4	100
	Spring, 2008	30	65	5	100
	Spring, 2007	30	66	4	100
	Spring, 2006	35	58	6	100
	Spring, 2005	44	51	5	100
	Spring, 2004	38	58	4	100
	May, 2003	46	49	5	100
	March, 2003	30	63	6	100
	Summer, 2002	32	64	4	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	22	77	2	100
	Fall, 2009	18	79	4	100
	Spring, 2007	9	88	3	100
	Summer, 2002	4	91	4	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	54	38	8	100
	Spring, 2013	16	80	4	100
	Spring, 2012	14	83	4	100
	Fall, 2009	28	70	1	100
	Spring, 2007	23	74	2	100
	Summer, 2002	36	60	4	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	41	52	7	100
	Spring, 2016	40	59	1	100
	Fall, 2009	6	91	3	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	52	34	14	100
	Spring, 2011	14	81	5	100
	Fall, 2009	7	90	3	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	65	29	6	100
	Spring, 2016	43	50	7	100
	Spring, 2014	27	69	4	100
	Spring, 2013	27	70	3	100
	Spring, 2012	33	62	6	100
	Spring, 2011	30	66	4	100
	Spring, 2010	47	47	6	100
	Fall, 2009	36	59	5	100
	Spring, 2009	20	67	12	100
	Spring, 2008	42	47	11	100
	Spring, 2007	18	74	8	100
	Spring, 2005	13	82	5	100
	Summer, 2002	9	87	4	100

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				or dissatisfied our country tod	
		Satisfied	Dissatisfied	DK/Refused	Total
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	54	43	3	100
	Fall, 2009	37	56	7	100
	Spring, 2007	46	49	5	100
	Summer, 2002	11	87	2	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	43	50	7	100
	Spring, 2018	57	40	3	100
	Spring, 2017	58	37	5	100
	Spring, 2014	56	36	7	100
	Spring, 2013	37	57	6	100
	Spring, 2012	46	45	9	100
	Spring, 2011	32	60	8	100
	Spring, 2010	34	59	7	100
	Fall, 2009	34	60	6	100
	Spring, 2009	27	65	9	100
	Spring, 2008	54	43	4	100
	Spring, 2007	36	56	9	100
	Spring, 2006	32	62	7	100
	Spring, 2005	23	71	6	100
	Spring, 2004	26	69	5	100
	May, 2003	27	64	9	100
	Summer, 2002	20	71	9	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	23	66	10	100
	Spring, 2014	15	80	5	100
	Spring, 2011	9	87	5	100
	Fall, 2009	7	88	4	100
	Spring, 2007	9	88	3	100
	Summer, 2002	9	89	3	100

			•	onomic situation, – is it very good,	•		
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2019	20	40	26	13	1	100
	Spring, 2018	17	48	20	12	3	100
	Spring, 2017	9	49	27	13	2	100
	Spring, 2016	5	39	33	21	2	100
	Spring, 2015	4	36	32	24	4	100
	Spring, 2014	2	38	34	24	2	100
	Spring, 2013	2	31	35	30	2	100
	Spring, 2012	3	28	38	30	2	100
	Spring, 2011	1	17	38	42	1	100
	Spring, 2010	1	23	41	34	1	100
	Fall, 2009	1	19	44	34	2	100
	Spring, 2009	2	15	42	41	1	100
	Spring, 2009	2	18	41	36	3	100
	Spring, 2007	9	41	32	16	3	100
		4	42	39	13	2	100
rance	Summer, 2002	2	35	44	18	1	100
Talle	Spring, 2019	1	42	42	15	1	100
	Spring, 2018			+			
	Spring, 2017	0	21	55	23	0	100
	Spring, 2016	2	10	50	36	1	100
	Spring, 2015	1	13	56	29	1	100
	Spring, 2014	1	11	54	34	0	100
	Spring, 2013	0	9	53	38	0	100
	Spring, 2012	1	18	52	29	0	100
	Spring, 2011	0	17	52	31	0	100
	Spring, 2010	1	12	56	31	0	100
	Fall, 2009	1	15	60	24	0	100
	Spring, 2009	0	14	58	27	0	100
	Spring, 2008	0	19	61	20	0	100
	Spring, 2007	1	29	53	17	0	100
	Summer, 2002	1	44	47	6	2	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	21	58	16	3	1	100
	Spring, 2018	21	57	16	4	1	100
	Spring, 2017	31	55	12	1	1	100
	Spring, 2016	15	60	18	4	3	100
	Spring, 2015	15	60	20	3	2	100
	Spring, 2014	14	71	13	2	1	100
	Spring, 2013	10	65	22	3	1	100
	Spring, 2012	12	61	22	5	0	100
	Spring, 2012	9	58	27	5	1	100
	Spring, 2010	2	42	47	8	1	100
	Fall, 2009	1	27	58	12	1	100
	Spring, 2009	1	27	54	16	2	100
		4	49	39		1	100
	Spring, 2008	8	55	25	/ 11	1	100
	Spring, 2007		+	55	16	 	
\	Summer, 2002	1	26	+		1	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	1	14	51	34	1	100
	Spring, 2018	0	4	32	64	0	100
	Spring, 2017	0	2	26	72	0	100
	Spring, 2016	0	2	20	77	0	100
	Spring, 2014	0	2	30	67	0	100
	Spring, 2013	0	1	27	72	0	100
	Spring, 2012	0	2	20	78	0	100

			9	onomic situation – is it very good,	•		
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Italy	Spring, 2019	1	22	51	25	1	100
	Spring, 2018	2	13	50	34	1	100
	Spring, 2017	1	14	51	32	1	100
	Spring, 2016	4	29	34	32	1	100
	Spring, 2015	1	11	45	43	0	100
	Spring, 2014	0	3	38	58	0	100
	Spring, 2013	0	3	38	58	0	100
	Spring, 2012	1	5	37	56	1	100
	Fall, 2009	3	19	48	28	2	100
	Spring, 2007	1	24	56	14	5	100
	Summer, 2002	0	36	51	11	2	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	20	62	12	5	0	100
- Curior Idrias	Spring, 2018	18	67	9	4	2	100
		19	68	9	3	1	100
	Spring, 2017	5	57	28	10	<u>'</u> 1	100
enoin.	Spring, 2016	3	39	37	20	<u> </u>	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	3	27		33	<u> </u>	
	Spring, 2018			36			100
	Spring, 2017	3	25	37	34	1	100
	Spring, 2016	1	12	36	50	1	100
	Spring, 2015	2	16	37	44	1	100
	Spring, 2014	1	7	30	63	0	100
	Spring, 2013	1	3	17	79	1	100
	Spring, 2012	1	5	22	72	0	100
	Spring, 2011	1	9	27	62	0	100
	Spring, 2010	1	12	40	48	0	100
	Fall, 2009	1	11	43	45	1	100
	Spring, 2009	1	12	38	47	2	100
	Spring, 2008	1	34	43	19	3	100
	Spring, 2007	9	56	29	5	1	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	14	64	16	5	2	100
	Spring, 2018	15	66	14	4	1	100
	Spring, 2017	17	67	10	5	1	100
	Spring, 2016	9	67	17	6	1	100
	Spring, 2007	25	59	11	2	3	100
Jnited Kingdom	Spring, 2019	7	43	33	16	1	100
Sinted Kingdom	Spring, 2018	4	42	35	15	4	100
	Spring, 2017	6	45	33	12	3	100
		4	43	33	14	5	100
	Spring, 2016			29			
	Spring, 2015	5 2	47	37	16	2	100
	Spring, 2014		41		18		100
	Spring, 2013	2	13	44	39	2	100
	Spring, 2012	1	14	47	37	1	100
	Spring, 2011	1	14	45	40	1	100
	Spring, 2010	2	18	40	39	1	100
	Fall, 2009	2	14	45	38	2	100
	Spring, 2009	1	10	38	49	2	100
	Spring, 2008	2	28	47	20	2	100
	Spring, 2007	13	56	20	8	3	100
	Summer, 2002	8	57	24	8	4	100

			•	conomic situation, – is it very good,	•		
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	2	32	32	33	2	100
3	Fall, 2009	0	14	40	44	2	100
	Spring, 2007	0	19	40	37	4	100
	Summer, 2002	0	8	29	62	1	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	9	57	25	4	4	100
ozcom nopublic	Spring, 2013	2	18	52	28	1	100
	Spring, 2012	1	15	39	45	0	100
	Fall, 2009	1	17	49	32	0	100
		4	37	43	15	1	100
	Spring, 2007	1	39	48	11	1	100
	Summer, 2002	5					
Hungary	Spring, 2019		47	32	11	4	100
	Spring, 2018	3	47	40	8	2	100
	Spring, 2017	1	41	43	13	3	100
	Spring, 2016	2	35	47	15	1	100
	Fall, 2009	1	5	44	50	1	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	7	54	26	6	7	100
	Spring, 2011	0	9	58	32	1	100
	Fall, 2009	0	3	50	43	2	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	12	62	19	3	3	100
	Spring, 2018	5	64	20	6	4	100
	Spring, 2017	3	61	25	6	5	100
	Spring, 2016	3	46	38	8	6	100
	Spring, 2015	1	37	46	13	3	100
	Spring, 2014	1	28	52	16	3	100
	Spring, 2013	2	25	51	19	2	100
	Spring, 2012	3	26	46	23	3	100
	Spring, 2011	1	25	49	22	3	100
	Spring, 2010	5	48	36	8	3	100
	Fall, 2009	2	36	47	12	3	100
	Spring, 2009	2	27	50	15	6	100
	Spring, 2008	3	49	36	6	6	100
		0	36	48	13	3	100
	Spring, 2007					2	
01	Summer, 2002	7	51	40	51 8	3	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019			31			100
	Fall, 2009	2	23	53	20	2	100
	Spring, 2007	2	51	38	7	1	100
	Summer, 2002	0	7	53	39	0	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	2	33	45	14	6	100
	Spring, 2018	5	37	38	14	5	100
	Spring, 2017	6	40	39	10	5	100
	Spring, 2015	1	23	54	19	3	100
	Spring, 2014	3	41	41	9	6	100
	Spring, 2013	2	31	46	15	6	100
	Spring, 2012	4	28	49	15	5	100
	Spring, 2011	5	24	46	19	6	100
	Spring, 2010	3	30	49	16	4	100
	Fall, 2009	3	25	50	18	4	100
	Spring, 2009	2	18	55	21	5	100
	Spring, 2008	5	47	37	6	4	100
	Spring, 2007	3	35	45	11	6	100
	Summer, 2002	0	13	57	26	4	100

				onomic situation – is it very good,			
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	1	13	44	39	3	100
	Spring, 2015	1	2	28	66	2	100
	Spring, 2014	2	3	31	62	2	100
	Spring, 2011	1	5	36	56	2	100
	Fall, 2009	2	3	32	59	3	100
	Spring, 2007	3	16	46	29	6	100
	Summer, 2002	0	10	41	47	1	100

		Q4. When child	lren today in (su	rvey country) grose off financially t	ow up, do you th	ink they will be
		Better off	Worse off	Same (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2019	31	60	2	7	100
	Spring, 2018	33	57	3	7	100
	Spring, 2017	37	58	2	3	100
	Spring, 2015	32	60	4	3	100
	Spring, 2014	30	65	2	3	100
	Spring, 2013	33	62	1	4	100
France	Spring, 2019	16	79	3	2	100
	Spring, 2018	15	80	3	2	100
	Spring, 2017	9	71	18	2	100
	Spring, 2015	14	85	1	0	100
	Spring, 2014	13	86	1	0	100
	Spring, 2013	9	90	1	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	48	42	7	3	100
	Spring, 2018	37	52	7	4	100
	Spring, 2017	36	52	6	6	100
	Spring, 2015	34	58	3	4	100
	Spring, 2014	38	56	2	4	100
	Spring, 2013	28	64	3	5	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	26	61	8	5	100
	Spring, 2018	18	69	8	4	100
	Spring, 2017	20	72	4	3	100
	Spring, 2014	25	65	8	3	100
	Spring, 2013	21	67	8	5	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	23	61	11	5	100
	Spring, 2018	19	61	12	8	100
	Spring, 2017	23	65	5	7	100
	Spring, 2015	15	66	13	5	100
	Spring, 2014	15	67	10	7	100
	Spring, 2013	14	73	6	7	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	35	59	3	2	100
	Spring, 2018	35	54	5	6	100
	Spring, 2017	35	54	7	5	100

		b	etter off or wor	urvey country) grose off financially t	han their parent	s?
		Better off	Worse off	Same (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
Spain	Spring, 2019	25	72	1	2	100
	Spring, 2018	24	72	1	3	100
	Spring, 2017	24	69	2	5	100
	Spring, 2015	31	61	4	4	100
	Spring, 2014	30	62	5	3	100
	Spring, 2013	28	65	3	4	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	40	52	6	2	100
	Spring, 2018	35	50	12	3	100
	Spring, 2017	44	46	7	3	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	22	74	3	1	100
	Spring, 2018	23	70	2	5	100
	Spring, 2017	24	68	3	5	100
	Spring, 2015	25	68	3	4	100
	Spring, 2014	23	72	2	3	100
	Spring, 2013	17	74	2	7	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	40	39	8	12	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	51	29	13	8	100
	Spring, 2013	28	58	4	10	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	37	40	14	9	100
	Spring, 2018	35	41	20	4	100
	Spring, 2017	41	46	3	10	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	60	15	12	12	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	57	23	13	6	100
	Spring, 2018	59	25	7	9	100
	Spring, 2017	48	39	4	8	100
	Spring, 2015	34	53	7	7	100
	Spring, 2014	28	58	6	8	100
	Spring, 2013	26	61	5	8	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	46	31	13	9	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	45	37	6	13	100
	Spring, 2018	51	29	9	11	100
	Spring, 2017	52	24	14	9	100
	Spring, 2015	48	19	22	11	100
	Spring, 2014	44	21	23	12	100
	Spring, 2013	40	24	23	13	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	61	15	8	16	100
	Spring, 2015	48	19	16	17	100
	Spring, 2014	51	13	18	18	100

United States	Spring, 2019		0			Q5. How satisfied are you with the way democracy is working in our country – very satisfied somewhat satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied?						
United States	Spring 2010	Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Not too satisfied	Not at all satisfied	DK/Refused	Total					
	3pring, 2019	9	30	32	27	2	100					
	Spring, 2018	11	29	31	27	2	100					
	Spring, 2017	11	35	28	23	3	100					
France	Spring, 2019	5	36	29	29	1	100					
	Spring, 2018	5	43	29	22	1	100					
	Spring, 2017	3	31	37	28	1	100					
Germany	Spring, 2019	17	48	21	15	0	100					
	Spring, 2018	13	43	27	16	1	100					
	Spring, 2017	24	49	19	7	1	100					
Greece	Spring, 2019	5	21	41	33	1	100					
	Spring, 2018	1	15	42	42	1	100					
	Spring, 2017	3	18	43	36	0	100					
Italy	Spring, 2019	3	28	41	27	1	100					
,	Spring, 2018	2	27	46	24	1	100					
	Spring, 2017	2	29	43	24	2	100					
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	18	50	20	11	0	100					
	Spring, 2018	12	52	24	10	1	100					
	Spring, 2017	25	52	16	6	2	100					
Cmain		8	24	41	27	1	100					
Spain	Spring, 2019	7	13	45	36	0	100					
	Spring, 2018	7	18	44	30	0	100					
0	Spring, 2017	20	52	19	9	1	100					
Sweden	Spring, 2019		_	21	9	0						
	Spring, 2018	18	51				100					
	Spring, 2017	23	56	14	6	1	100					
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	5	26	32	37	0	100					
	Spring, 2018	7	35	32	23	2	100					
	Spring, 2017	12	40	31	16	2	100					
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	2	25	42	29	3	100					
	Fall, 2009	0	21	44	32	3	100					
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	8	49	28	11	5	100					
	Fall, 2009	4	45	37	12	1	100					
Hungary	Spring, 2019	7	38	26	24	6	100					
	Spring, 2018	5	40	34	19	2	100					
	Spring, 2017	3	41	36	17	3	100					
	Fall, 2009	2	19	46	31	1	100					
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	9	50	26	10	5	100					
	Spring, 2011	1	24	43	29	3	100					
	Fall, 2009	2	33	38	22	5	100					
Poland	Spring, 2019	15	51	22	9	3	100					
	Spring, 2018	9	42	31	13	6	100					
	Spring, 2017	8	43	31	13	6	100					
	Fall, 2009	6	47	32	7	7	100					
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	9	43	30	15	2	100					
	Fall, 2009	6	44	36	10	4	100					
Russia	Spring, 2019	2	28	40	24	7	100					
	Spring, 2018	4	40	32	17	8	100					
	Spring, 2012	5	26	45	18	6	100					
	Spring, 2011	4	23	37	26	9	100					
	Fall, 2009	3	29	38	23	7	100					
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	5	29	35	23	8	100					
	Spring, 2011	1	12	41	40	6	100					
	Fall, 2009	4	17	38	32	10	100					

		Q8d. Please tel		a very favorable orable opinion o		orable, somewha uropean Union	at unfavorable,
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2019	11	40	32	15	1	100
	Spring, 2018	13	49	23	14	1	100
	Spring, 2017	9	47	27	17	0	100
	Spring, 2016	6	32	37	24	2	100
	Spring, 2015	8	47	32	13	0	100
	Spring, 2014	6	48	28	18	0	100
	Spring, 2013	5	36	38	20	0	100
	Spring, 2012	10	50	28	12	0	100
	Spring, 2011	14	49	26	11	0	100
	Spring, 2010	13	51	28	9	0	100
	Spring, 2009	12	50	28	9	0	100
	Spring, 2007	9	53	27	11	0	100
	Spring, 2007	12	57	22	9	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2004	18	51	23	5	3	100
Germany		10	53	30	6	1	100
	Spring, 2018	16	52	24	6	2	100
	Spring, 2017	 			 		100
	Spring, 2016	8	42	38	10	2	
	Spring, 2015	7	51	34	6	2	100
	Spring, 2014	7	59	27	4	2	100
	Spring, 2013	7	53	29	6	4	100
Spr	Spring, 2012	12	56	27	4	1	100
	Spring, 2011	8	58	27	5	1	100
	Spring, 2010	11	51	28	7	3	100
	Spring, 2009	8	57	26	6	3	100
	Spring, 2007	12	56	24	6	2	100
	Spring, 2004	13	45	33	6	3	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	7	46	32	12	3	100
	Spring, 2018	5	32	37	25	1	100
	Spring, 2017	5	29	36	29	1	100
	Spring, 2016	2	25	39	32	2	100
	Spring, 2014	3	31	35	30	2	100
	Spring, 2013	4	29	37	28	2	100
	Spring, 2012	5	32	33	29	2	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	14	44	26	12	4	100
	Spring, 2018	10	48	27	10	5	100
	Spring, 2017	8	49	25	13	4	100
	Spring, 2016	9	49	25	14	4	100
	Spring, 2015	10	54	24	8	3	100
	Spring, 2014	5	41	34	16	4	100
	Spring, 2013	10	48	26	10	6	100
	Spring, 2012	10	49	25	10	6	100
	Spring, 2007	18	60	10	3	8	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	18	48	20	14	1	100
	Spring, 2018	14	49	24	12	2	100
	Spring, 2017	16	48	23	10	2	100
	Spring, 2016	11	40	30	16	2	100
	Spring, 2010			+	 .	_	.50

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		Q8d. Please tell		e a very favorable orable opinion of		orable, somewha uropean Union	at unfavorable,
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Spain	Spring, 2019	23	43	25	8	1	100
	Spring, 2018	24	43	20	12	2	100
	Spring, 2017	18	44	21	14	3	100
	Spring, 2016	13	34	30	19	4	100
	Spring, 2015	15	48	22	12	4	100
	Spring, 2014	8	42	34	14	3	100
	Spring, 2013	14	32	35	17	2	100
	Spring, 2012	18	42	24	14	2	100
	Spring, 2011	23	49	17	7	3	100
	Spring, 2010	15	62	15	3	4	100
	Spring, 2009	15	62	14	2	6	100
	Spring, 2007	16	64	12	3	5	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	21	51	18	8	1	100
	Spring, 2018	16	46	24	12	1	100
	Spring, 2017	17	48	23	10	2	100
	Spring, 2016	14	40	32	12	2	100
	Spring, 2007	16	43	26	11	4	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	24	30	18	26	2	100
J	Spring, 2018	15	33	23	22	7	100
	Spring, 2017	20	34	19	21	6	100
	Spring, 2016	15	29	23	25	7	100
	Spring, 2015	13	38	24	17	8	100
	Spring, 2014	12	40	22	19	7	100
	Spring, 2013	7	36	26	22	9	100
	Spring, 2012	9	36	26	20	8	100
	Spring, 2011	13	38	22	19	8	100
	Spring, 2010	9	40	21	21	10	100
	Spring, 2009	8	42	21	18	10	100
	Spring, 2007	10	42	21	16	10	100
	Spring, 2004	13	41	21	15	9	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	31	46	12	8	3	100
guu	Spring, 2007	36	45	7	2	9	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2007	13	39	31	12	6	100
223011 Kopublic	Spring, 2013	4	34	42	16	3	100
	Spring, 2012	4	30	38	25	3	100
	Spring, 2007	8	46	33	11	2	100
Hungary	Spring, 2007	16	51	18	7	8	100
	Spring, 2019	11	46	30	9	4	100
	Spring, 2017	12	55	21	7	5	100
	Spring, 2017	8	53	27	10	2	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	35	48	10	2	4	100
Littiuariia		11	67	14	1	7	100
	Spring, 2011	 ''	07	14	1	/	100

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		Q8d. Please tel		a very favorable orable opinion o			at unfavorable,
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Spring, 2019	27	57	10	4	3	100
	Spring, 2018	19	53	15	6	7	100
	Spring, 2017	17	57	15	4	7	100
	Spring, 2016	11	61	18	4	6	100
	Spring, 2015	9	63	19	3	6	100
	Spring, 2014	13	59	18	4	7	100
	Spring, 2013	8	60	24	4	5	100
	Spring, 2012	10	59	20	5	6	100
	Spring, 2011	14	60	16	3	7	100
	Spring, 2010	21	60	12	2	5	100
	Spring, 2009	15	62	12	3	7	100
	Spring, 2007	23	60	10	1	7	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	20	50	21	5	3	100
	Spring, 2007	17	62	14	3	3	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	6	31	30	14	19	100
	Spring, 2015	7	24	40	20	9	100
	Spring, 2014	9	30	35	17	9	100
	Spring, 2013	12	51	16	6	15	100
	Spring, 2012	12	47	15	4	22	100
	Spring, 2011	15	49	14	5	17	100
	Spring, 2010	19	50	12	3	16	100
	Spring, 2009	16	53	13	4	15	100
	Spring, 2007	15	47	15	3	20	100
	Spring, 2004	11	51	13	5	21	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	22	57	9	2	11	100
	Spring, 2015	27	45	15	4	9	100
	Spring, 2014	20	43	18	12	8	100
	Spring, 2011	17	55	11	3	14	100
	Spring, 2007	21	56	8	3	12	100

		Q8f. Please tell		a very favorable unfavorable			at unfavorable,
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2019	16	62	14	5	4	100
	Spring, 2017	18	64	12	6	0	100
	Spring, 2012	22	62	11	5	0	100
	Spring, 2011	26	64	7	3	0	100
	Spring, 2010	21	70	7	2	0	100
	Spring, 2007	21	69	7	3	0	100
	Spring, 2006	20	69	8	3	0	100
	Spring, 2005	18	71	8	4	0	100
	Summer, 2002	13	75	6	1	4	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	24	55	17	3	2	100
Cermany	Spring, 2017	28	57	12	2	1	100
	Spring, 2012	23	59	15	3	0	100
		15	58	23	3	1	100
	Spring, 2011	12	64	19	5	0	100
	Spring, 2010	17	56	21	6	1	100
	Spring, 2007	17	53	25	8	2	100
	Spring, 2006	10	54	28	6	1	100
C	Spring, 2005						
Greece	Spring, 2019	6	28	37	27	0	100
	Spring, 2017	3	21	33	43		100
	Spring, 2012	4	17	29	49	1	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	8	45	28	14	5	100
	Spring, 2017	7	46	29	13	5	100
	Spring, 2012	17	50	20	7	6	100
	Spring, 2007	10	65	13	3	9	100
	Summer, 2002	13	57	15	2	12	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	33	56	7	2	1	100
	Spring, 2017	47	46	5	1	1	100
	Spring, 2005	19	69	9	3	1	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	27	49	14	6	5	100
	Spring, 2017	25	46	13	9	7	100
	Spring, 2012	34	41	12	8	4	100
	Spring, 2011	34	51	8	4	4	100
	Spring, 2010	18	60	9	1	12	100
	Spring, 2007	11	65	12	3	8	100
	Spring, 2006	14	58	11	4	13	100
	Spring, 2005	27	50	8	2	14	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	21	65	8	1	4	100
	Spring, 2017	32	58	6	1	3	100
	Spring, 2007	16	62	10	1	11	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	23	51	14	8	5	100
	Spring, 2017	22	50	11	5	12	100
	Spring, 2012	18	54	13	6	10	100
	Spring, 2011	22	56	7	3	12	100
	Spring, 2010	19	53	8	4	16	100
	Spring, 2007	14	60	8	4	13	100
	Spring, 2006	20	54	9	3	14	100
	Spring, 2005	18	57	10	2	13	100
	Summer, 2002	18	50	12	4	16	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	33	49	10	2	6	100
3	Spring, 2007	27	54	4	1	15	100
	Summer, 2002	48	40	4	0	9	100

		Q8f. Please tel		a very favorable unfavorable opir			nt unfavorable,
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	10	41	30	13	6	100
	Spring, 2012	21	59	12	4	4	100
	Spring, 2007	9	64	19	4	3	100
	Summer, 2002	8	64	22	3	2	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	16	47	18	9	9	100
	Spring, 2017	16	53	21	5	6	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	33	50	9	2	7	100
	Spring, 2011	10	72	10	1	7	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	13	53	20	6	7	100
	Spring, 2017	11	58	16	5	9	100
	Spring, 2012	16	62	14	4	4	100
	Spring, 2011	11	65	16	3	6	100
	Spring, 2010	16	62	16	2	4	100
	Spring, 2007	9	58	19	5	9	100
	Spring, 2005	11	53	19	4	13	100
	Summer, 2002	15	61	13	2	8	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	11	50	26	8	5	100
	Spring, 2007	14	64	15	2	4	100
	Summer, 2002	8	72	15	2	2	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	11	47	20	7	14	100
	Spring, 2015	7	28	37	19	8	100
	Spring, 2014	11	42	28	11	8	100
	Spring, 2011	20	58	9	3	10	100
	Spring, 2010	22	53	10	2	12	100
	Spring, 2007	22	55	10	2	12	100
	Spring, 2006	22	55	10	4	9	100
	Spring, 2005	21	58	10	3	8	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	23	58	7	2	10	100
	Spring, 2015	26	51	12	3	9	100
	Spring, 2014	22	49	14	9	6	100
	Spring, 2011	15	63	8	2	12	100
	Spring, 2007	21	58	7	3	12	100

	Q9FRAa. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? a. The Republicans (LR)								
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
France	Spring, 2019	4	22	37	32	5	100		
	Spring, 2018	4	26	39	26	5	100		
	Spring, 2017	5	30	30	32	4	100		
	Spring, 2016	3	24	36	32	5	100		

Q9FRAb. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? b. Socialist Party (PS)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2019	3	23	38	32	5	100
	Spring, 2018	2	27	40	27	4	100
	Spring, 2017	3	24	34	37	2	100
	Spring, 2016	3	13	37	44	3	100

			Q9FRAc. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? c. National Front / National Rally (FN)						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
France	Spring, 2019	7	15	20	54	4	100		
	Spring, 2018	3	9	22	63	3	100		
	Spring, 2017	5	16	22	54	3	100		
	Spring, 2016	6	17	22	52	2	100		

				you have a very favorable opinio			
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2019	7	26	32	30	5	100
	Spring, 2018	7	40	28	19	6	100
	Spring, 2017	3	36	30	19	12	100

				you have a very ble opinion of			
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2019	3	22	34	37	4	100
	Spring, 2018	8	24	34	30	4	100

	Q9GERa. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? a. Christian Democratic Union (CDU)									
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total			
Germany	Spring, 2019	8	39	38	11	4	100			
	Spring, 2018	7	42	38	10	4	100			
	Spring, 2017	8	50	30	7	5	100			
	Spring, 2016	8	44	34	10	4	100			

		Q9GERb. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? b. Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Germany	Spring, 2019	5	37	43	10	5	100		
	Spring, 2018	7	43	37	9	4	100		
	Spring, 2017	10	58	21	4	6	100		
	Spring, 2016	5	47	40	6	2	100		

				you have a very vorable opinion			
Very favorable Somewhat Somewhat Very unfavorable DK/R						DK/Refused	Total
Germany	Spring, 2019	4	11	23	55	7	100
	Spring, 2018	3	14	25	53	6	100
	Spring, 2017	1	11	28	55	6	100
	Spring, 2016	3	9	28	54	5	100

		Q9GERd. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? d. The Left							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Germany	Spring, 2019	5	32	40	16	7	100		
	Spring, 2018	5	35	37	17	5	100		
	Spring, 2017	4	33	40	15	8	100		
	Spring, 2016	3	25	45	23	4	100		

				you have a very nfavorable opini			
	Somewhat Somewhat Very Very favorable favorable unfavorable unfavorable DK/Refused Total						Total
Germany Spring, 2019 17 46 21 11 5 10						100	
	Spring, 2018	6	47	29	13	4	100

		Q9GREa. P		you have a very or very unfavora			somewhat
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Greece	Spring, 2019	9	24	29	34	5	100
	Spring, 2018	2	14	26	56	2	100
	Spring, 2017	2	11	26	57	3	100
	Spring, 2016	3	14	23	56	3	100

		Q9GREb. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? b. New Democracy (ND)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Greece	Spring, 2019	10	27	27	29	7	100		
	Spring, 2018	5	17	28	48	3	100		
	Spring, 2017	5	18	28	46	3	100		
	Spring, 2016	6	17	25	49	3	100		

				you have a very able opinion of _ KIN					
Somewhat Somewhat Very Very favorable favorable unfavorable unfavorable DK/Refused To							Total		
Greece	Spring, 2019	2	14	41	31	12	100		
	Spring, 2018	1	8	27	43	21	100		
	Spring, 2017	1	7	30	59	3	100		
	Spring, 2016 0 7 24 65 3 100								

		Q9GREd. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? d. Golden Dawn (XA)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Greece	Spring, 2019	2	5	14	74	5	100		
	Spring, 2018	1	6	14	76	2	100		
	Spring, 2017	2	6	14	75	3	100		
	Spring, 2016	2	6	11	79	2	100		

		Q91TAa. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? a. Forza Italia (FI)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Italy	Spring, 2019	3	19	28	41	9	100		
	Spring, 2018	4	22	27	36	12	100		
	Spring, 2017	4	21	30	31	13	100		
	Spring, 2016	6	24	29	31	10	100		

		Q9ITAb. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? b. Democratic Party (PD)						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
Italy	Spring, 2019	5	18	31	38	8	100	
	Spring, 2018	5	21	27	34	13	100	
	Spring, 2017	5	24	30	28	13	100	
	Spring, 2016	7	25	26	29	13	100	

		Q9ITAc. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? c. Five Star Movement (M5S)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Italy	Spring, 2019	9	31	26	25	9	100		
	Spring, 2018	14	35	20	17	14	100		
	Spring, 2017	10	31	23	21	15	100		
	Spring, 2016	10	32	26	19	14	100		

			Q9ITAd. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? d. Lega, formally known as Lega Nord							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total			
Italy	Spring, 2019	14	30	21	28	7	100			
	Spring, 2018	13	27	23	24	13	100			
	Spring, 2017	3	20	27	37	12	100			
	Spring, 2016	8	20	23	37	12	100			

			Q9NETa. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? a. People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD)						
					Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	11	44	24	18	4	100		
	Spring, 2018	7	44	26	17	7	100		
	Spring, 2017	12	50	24	10	3	100		
	Spring, 2016	5	41	31	17	6	100		

		Q9NETb. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? b. Labour Party (PvdA)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	13	47	23	14	3	100		
	Spring, 2018	6	43	32	12	6	100		
	Spring, 2017	5	44	33	14	4	100		
	Spring, 2016	5	38	33	20	5	100		

		Q9NETc. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? c. The Party for Freedom (PVV)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	8	18	26	44	4	100		
	Spring, 2018	4	26	26	39	5	100		
	Spring, 2017	5	19	23	49	3	100		
	Spring, 2016	8	20	26	42	4	100		

			Q9NETd. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? d. Socialist Party (SP)							
Somewhat Somewhat Very Very favorable favorable unfavorable unfavorable DK/Refused Tot						Total				
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	7	41	33	14	5	100			
	Spring, 2018	6	49	28	9	9	100			
	Spring, 2017	10	47	31	6	6	100			

				you have a very avorable opinior			
	Somewhat Somewhat Very Very favorable favorable unfavorable unfavorable DK/Refused Total						Total
Netherlands Spring, 2019 10 25 24 36 5						5	100
	Spring, 2018	6	29	25	21	18	100

				ou have a very to unfavorable op			
	Somewhat Somewhat Very Very favorable favorable unfavorable unfavorable DK/Refused Total						Total
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	9	48	22	15	5	100
	Spring, 2018	8	50	23	10	9	100

		Q9SPAa. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? a. People's Party (PP)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Spain	Spring, 2019	12	17	29	40	2	100		
	Spring, 2018	7	14	26	51	2	100		
	Spring, 2017	8	19	24	46	3	100		
	Spring, 2016	7	13	22	55	3	100		

		Q9SPAb. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? b. Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Spain	Spring, 2019	18	30	26	22	3	100		
	Spring, 2018	11	28	30	29	3	100		
	Spring, 2017	8	18	40	30	3	100		
	Spring, 2016	9	24	35	27	5	100		

		Q9SPAc. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? c. We can / Podemos							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Spain	Spring, 2019	13	25	27	31	3	100		
	Spring, 2018	8	22	28	39	3	100		
	Spring, 2017	9	22	27	38	4	100		
	Spring, 2016	9	23	26	38	4	100		

		Q9SPAd. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? d. Citizens (C's)						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
Spain	Spring, 2019	12	24	28	32	3	100	
	Spring, 2018	12	29	23	32	4	100	
	Spring, 2017	12	31	26	24	6	100	
	Spring, 2016	10	31	29	21	8	100	

		Q9SPAe. P		you have a very or very unfavor			somewhat		
	Somewhat Somewhat Very Very favorable favorable unfavorable unfavorable DK/Refused Total								
Spain	Spring, 2019 8 10 18 60 4 100								

		Q9SWEa. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? a. Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Sweden	Spring, 2019	9	45	29	15	2	100		
	Spring, 2018	10	35	37	16	3	100		
	Spring, 2017	11	44	32	12	1	100		
	Spring, 2016	9	40	36	13	2	100		

			Q9SWEb. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? b. Moderate Party								
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total				
Sweden	Spring, 2019	8	43	32	15	2	100				
	Spring, 2018	7	45	33	11	4	100				
	Spring, 2017	6	40	38	13	3	100				
	Spring, 2016	9	49	29	11	2	100				

		Q9SWEc. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? c. Swedish Democrats (SD)								
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total			
Sweden	Spring, 2019	6	20	21	51	2	100			
	Spring, 2018	10	23	24	40	3	100			
	Spring, 2017	6	17	24	51	2	100			
	Spring, 2016	5	19	20	54	2	100			

		Q9BRIa. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? a. The Conservative Party							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	8	22	30	38	3	100		
Spring, 2018 Spring, 2017		9	26	27	30	8	100		
		12	33	23	25	6	100		
	Spring, 2016	8	27	27	34	5	100		

		Q9BRIb. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? b. The Labour Party							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	8	25	30	35	3	100		
	Spring, 2018	12	33	23	24	8	100		
	Spring, 2017	11	28	31	24	7	100		
	Spring, 2016	12	27	28	27	6	100		

		Q9BRIc. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? c. The UK Independence Party (UKIP)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	6	18	22	51	3	100		
	Spring, 2018	4	13	23	49	10	100		
	Spring, 2017	7	19	22	43	9	100		
	Spring, 2016	10	22	20	40	8	100		

		Q9BRId. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? d. The Liberal Democrats							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	9	38	28	21	5	100		
	Spring, 2018	6	28	33	20	12	100		
Spring, 2017		6	29	31	22	12	100		
	Spring, 2016	4	26	34	25	11	100		

				you have a very ble opinion of Bulgaria							
Somewhat Somewhat Very Very favorable favorable unfavorable unfavorable DK/Refused T						Total					
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	11	11 25 24 31 9 100								

				you have a very vorable opinion o						
Somewhat Somewhat Very Very favorable favorable unfavorable unfavorable DK/Refused						Total				
Bulgaria	Sulgaria Spring, 2019 9 17 28 33 13 100									

			•	you have a very	•	•	
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	10	12	20	48	10	100

				you have a very e opinion of			
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	14	27	25	22	11	100

				you have a very			
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	3	24	35	24	14	100

					favorable, some			
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
Czech Republic								

		Q9CZECHd. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? d. Freedom and Direct Democracy (SPD)						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	5	23	28	32	12	100	

		Q9HUNa. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? a. Fidesz						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
Hungary	Spring, 2019	15	31	15	29	10	100	
	Spring, 2018	15	32	23	20	10	100	
	Spring, 2017	10	38	23	19	10	100	
	Spring, 2016	9	32	29	24	6	100	

			Q9HUNb. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? b. Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total			
Hungary	Spring, 2019	2	10	26	45	16	100			
	Spring, 2018	2	14	31	42	11	100			
	Spring, 2017	2	17	35	31	16	100			
	Spring, 2016	2	26	33	31	9	100			

			Q9HUNc. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? c. Jobbik (Movement for a Better Hungary)					
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
Hungary	Spring, 2019	2	11	26	44	17	100	
	Spring, 2018	3	16	33	36	12	100	
	Spring, 2017	4	23	33	25	15	100	
	Spring, 2016	6	30	34	24	7	100	

			Q9LITHa. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? a. Lithuanian Farmers and Greens Union (LVŽS)						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	5	24	23	26	22	100		

			Q9LITHb. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? b. Homeland Union - Lithuanian Christian Democrats (TS-LKD)						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	9	24	22	19	25	100		

			Q9LITHc. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? c. Social Democratic Party of Lithuania (LSDP)						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	6	27	23	21	24	100		

			Q9LITHd. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? d. Liberal Movement of the Republic of Lithuania (LRLS)						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	3	24	25	21	27	100		

	Q9POLa. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? a. Law and Justice (PiS)						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Spring, 2019	13	32	21	27	7	100
	Spring, 2018	12	30	21	25	11	100
	Spring, 2017	11	27	21	29	11	100
	Spring, 2016	10	32	25	20	13	100

		Q9POLb. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? b. Civic Platform (PO)							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Poland	Spring, 2019	9	27	29	26	9	100		
	Spring, 2018	3	26	29	26	15	100		
	Spring, 2017	4	30	30	21	15	100		
	Spring, 2016	3	27	36	22	13	100		

		Q9POLc. P	Q9POLc. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? c. Kukiz'15						
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Poland	Spring, 2019	3	32	31	17	16	100		
	Spring, 2018	2	31	28	16	23	100		
	Spring, 2017	4	35	27	13	21	100		
	Spring, 2016	5	35	28	14	18	100		

		Q9POLd. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? d. Nowoczesna							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total		
Poland	Spring, 2019	4	28	25	26	17	100		
	Spring, 2018	0	22	31	24	24	100		
	Spring, 2017	2	26	29	19	23	100		
	Spring, 2016	3	30	26	18	22	100		

				you have a very avorable opinion			
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Spring, 2019	3	33	28	20	17	100
	Spring, 2018	1	29	28	15	26	100
	Spring, 2017	2	28	33	12	26	100
	Spring, 2016	1	28	35	16	20	100

Q9SLOVa. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, som unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? a. Direction - Social Democracy (
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	7	26	32	31	4	100

Q9SLOVb. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somew unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? b. Freedom and Solidarity (SaS							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	6	33	33	21	7	100

		Q9SLOVc. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? c. Ordinary People and Independent Personalities (OL'aNO-NOVA)						
Very favorable Somewhat Somewhat unfavorable					Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	5	30	36	22	7	100	

Q9SLOVd. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somew unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of? d. Slovak National Party (SNS							
		Very favorable	Somewhat favorable	Somewhat unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	6	35	34	19	6	100

			Ily optimistic or	re of (survey co generally pessin Our country's cul	nistic about the	
		Optimistic	Pessimistic	Neither (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2019	66	33	0	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	71	26	2	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	69	25	4	1	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	60	30	7	3	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	71	28	0	1	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	63	37	0	0	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	75	22	0	2	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	62	36	1	1	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	37	45	8	10	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	61	24	9	6	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	69	20	5	6	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	68	19	9	4	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	69	18	11	3	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	68	21	9	2	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	67	26	3	4	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	67	15	12	5	100

			ng about the futu ally optimistic or b. Reducing the		nistic about the f	
		Optimistic	Pessimistic	Neither (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2019	14	86	0	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	17	79	2	2	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	12	82	4	2	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	25	65	7	3	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	35	64	0	1	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	16	84	1	0	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	42	55	1	2	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	22	76	1	1	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	18	74	6	2	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	24	60	11	5	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	22	70	5	3	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	23	61	9	7	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	41	41	16	2	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	27	65	6	1	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	21	67	4	8	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	31	53	9	7	100

			g about the futu Illy optimistic or c. The ava		nistic about the f	
		Optimistic	Pessimistic	Neither (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2019	29	69	0	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	52	44	2	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	17	80	2	1	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	24	68	6	2	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	69	30	0	1	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	24	76	0	0	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	68	28	1	3	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	42	57	0	1	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	32	59	4	4	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	49	36	10	4	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	36	55	5	4	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	30	52	10	8	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	44	35	17	4	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	37	53	7	3	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	28	63	4	5	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	45	41	10	4	100

			ng about the futu Illy optimistic or d. Our co		nistic about the f	
		Optimistic	Pessimistic	Neither (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2019	37	62	0	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	56	43	1	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	27	64	4	5	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	54	36	8	2	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	58	41	0	1	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	42	57	0	1	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	60	39	1	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	46	52	1	1	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	30	58	5	7	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	59	27	10	5	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	38	49	4	9	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	49	34	11	6	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	52	32	12	4	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	56	32	10	3	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	43	49	3	5	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	50	28	14	9	100

			g about the futu Illy optimistic or e. The way		nistic about the f	
		Optimistic	Pessimistic	Neither (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2019	23	76	0	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	51	46	1	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	19	75	5	1	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	20	68	10	2	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	56	43	0	1	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	25	74	0	0	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	55	42	2	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	27	71	1	1	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	16	69	9	6	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	30	51	13	6	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	34	51	8	7	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	36	44	13	7	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	47	35	14	4	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	31	55	11	3	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	31	52	6	10	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	26	53	12	9	100

		Q12g. Thinking about the future of (survey country), please tell me whether you feel generally optimistic or generally pessimistic about the following areas. g. Our country's relations with other European countries						
		Optimistic	Pessimistic	Neither (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total		
France	Spring, 2019	65	34	0	1	100		
Germany	Spring, 2019	80	17	2	1	100		
Greece	Spring, 2019	62	29	7	3	100		
Italy	Spring, 2019	49	36	11	4	100		
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	80	19	0	1	100		
Spain	Spring, 2019	75	24	1	0	100		
Sweden	Spring, 2019	90	9	0	1	100		
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	42	57	0	1	100		
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	69	15	6	10	100		
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	70	13	8	9	100		
Hungary	Spring, 2019	56	28	7	9	100		
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	67	16	10	7	100		
Poland	Spring, 2019	67	20	12	2	100		
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	71	16	9	4	100		
Russia	Spring, 2019	54	32	5	10	100		
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	69	12	11	8	100		

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		Q13. Generall			untry's members or neither good		ean Union is a
		Good thing	Bad thing	Neither	Both (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2019	54	16	30	0	0	100
	Spring, 2012	48	18	34	0	0	100
	Fall, 2009	54	15	30	0	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	74	6	20	0	0	100
	Spring, 2012	65	11	24	0	0	100
	Fall, 2009	63	10	25	0	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	55	14	28	2	1	100
	Spring, 2012	43	27	28	2	1	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	50	20	24	4	2	100
	Spring, 2012	40	19	33	4	3	100
	Fall, 2009	47	13	29	4	6	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	59	16	25	0	0	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	67	7	26	0	0	100
	Spring, 2012	54	16	28	0	1	100
	Fall, 2009	67	7	21	1	4	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	60	9	30	0	0	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	48	28	24	0	1	100
	Spring, 2012	30	34	33	0	2	100
	Fall, 2009	31	31	32	2	4	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	54	9	31	2	2	100
	Fall, 2009	54	11	30	2	3	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	40	20	33	5	3	100
	Spring, 2012	28	29	40	1	2	100
	Fall, 2009	45	15	37	2	1	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	62	5	26	4	3	100
	Fall, 2009	20	28	43	5	4	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	59	11	21	6	4	100
	Spring, 2011	49	8	31	8	4	100
	Fall, 2009	44	8	30	13	5	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	67	5	15	12	1	100
	Spring, 2012	48	16	28	5	3	100
	Fall, 2009	63	9	20	5	3	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	59	11	27	2	1	100
	Fall, 2009	58	7	30	3	2	100

In 2009, the question asked 'of the European Union.'

			Q14. In the long run, do you think that (survey country's) overall economy has been strengthened or weakened by the economic integration of Europe?							
		Strengthened	Weakened	Neither (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total				
France	Spring, 2019	42	54	1	3	100				
	Spring, 2015	31	68	0	0	100				
	Spring, 2014	26	73	0	0	100				
	Spring, 2013	22	77	0	0	100				
	Spring, 2012	36	63	1	0	100				
	Spring, 2010	37	63	0	0	100				
	Fall, 2009	43	55	1	0	100				
	Spring, 1991	31	44	11	13	100				
Germany	Spring, 2019	69	26	3	3	100				
	Spring, 2015	59	37	1	3	100				
	Spring, 2014	63	34	1	2	100				
	Spring, 2013	54	43	1	2	100				
	Spring, 2012	59	39	1	2	100				
	Spring, 2010	48	48	1	2	100				
	Fall, 2009	50	43	2	4	100				
Greece	Spring, 2019	35	50	13	2	100				
Greece	Spring, 2016	8	86	6	1	100				
	Spring, 2014	17	73	9	2	100				
	Spring, 2013	11	78	10	1	100				
	Spring, 2012	18	70	10	1	100				
Italy	Spring, 2019	22	58	15	4	100				
Italy		11	69	18	2	100				
	Spring, 2015 Spring, 2014	9	74	15	2	100				
	Spring, 2013	11	75	10	5	100				
	Spring, 2012	22	61	13	4	100				
		31	41	21	6	100				
	Fall, 2009	43	32	15	10	100				
Nothernon	Spring, 1991	60	39	0	10	100				
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	59	39							
Spain	Spring, 2019	43	53	3	2	100				
	Spring, 2015	38	56		2	100				
	Spring, 2014			4 0		100				
	Spring, 2013	37	60 50		2	100				
	Spring, 2012	46		1		100				
	Spring, 2010	51	41	3	5	100				
	Fall, 2009	53	32	6	9	100				
	Spring, 1991	53	18	7	22	100				
Sweden	Spring, 2019	51	38	3	8	100				
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	54	41	2	3	100				
	Spring, 2015	49	40	3	8	100				
	Spring, 2014	41	49	2	8	100				
	Spring, 2013	26	66	2	6	100				
	Spring, 2012	30	61	3	6	100				
	Spring, 2010	32	57	4	6	100				
	Fall, 2009	29	54	5	12	100				
	Spring, 1991	44	38	3	14	100				

				ink that (survey ened by the ecor		
		Strengthened	Weakened	Neither (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	25	48	14	13	100
	Fall, 2009	14	63	16	7	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	51	24	11	14	100
	Spring, 2013	29	59	3	9	100
	Spring, 2012	31	59	4	7	100
	Fall, 2009	31	37	25	7	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	65	16	8	10	100
	Fall, 2009	9	71	15	4	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	62	20	10	8	100
	Fall, 2009	28	34	27	11	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	71	12	13	4	100
	Spring, 2015	53	29	14	4	100
	Spring, 2014	53	26	16	5	100
	Spring, 2013	41	38	15	6	100
	Spring, 2012	48	29	15	8	100
	Spring, 2010	68	16	9	6	100
	Fall, 2009	53	28	15	4	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	58	24	12	7	100
	Fall, 2009	41	33	21	6	100

In 1991, the question asked 'In the long run, do you think that (survey country)'s overall economy will be strengthened or weakened by the economic integration of Western Europe?'.

		Q15a. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, we changed from a country where there was just one party to a country with a multiparty system. Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of this change in (survey country)							
		Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	Total		
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	30	40	14	5	10	100		
	Spring, 2011	13	39	26	5	16	100		
	Fall, 2009	11	44	20	5	20	100		
	Spring, 1991	30	45	12	5	9	100		
Russia	Spring, 2019	10	33	32	16	9	100		
	Spring, 2011	13	37	26	7	17	100		
	Fall, 2009	12	41	27	8	12	100		
	Spring, 1991	21	40	19	7	13	100		
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	16	35	23	12	14	100		
	Spring, 2011	6	29	37	14	14	100		
	Fall, 2009	9	21	38	17	15	100		
	Spring, 1991	21	51	14	3	10	100		

In 1991, the question asked 'Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of efforts to establish a multiparty system in our country?'

			Q15b. Starting in late 1989, we changed from a country where there was just one party to a country with a multiparty system. Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of this change in (survey country)?							
		Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	Total			
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	14	40	28	9	9	100			
	Fall, 2009	12	40	32	8	7	100			
	Spring, 1991	27	49	14	2	9	100			
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	45	37	9	2	7	100			
	Fall, 2009	34	46	12	4	4	100			
	Spring, 1991	41	39	9	5	6	100			
Hungary	Spring, 2019	36	36	12	8	8	100			
	Spring, 2016	21	46	19	9	5	100			
	Fall, 2009	14	42	22	13	10	100			
	Spring, 1991	18	56	15	4	7	100			
Poland	Spring, 2019	40	45	7	1	7	100			
	Spring, 2016	25	50	10	2	13	100			
	Fall, 2009	25	45	12	4	13	100			
	Spring, 1991	23	43	13	6	16	100			
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	34	40	15	7	4	100			
	Fall, 2009	22	49	18	5	6	100			
	Spring, 1991	28	42	19	4	6	100			

Q15e. ASK IN EAST GERMANY ONLY: Starting in late 1989, East Germany moved from having one-par a multiparty system. Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove change in East Germany?								
		Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	Total	N=
East Germany	Spring, 2019	42	43	10	2	2	100	295
	Fall, 2009	34	51	9	1	5	100	800
	Spring, 1991	52	39	4	1	5	100	720

East Germany refers to respondents in areas corresponding to former German Democratic Republic.

		Q16a. Again, thinking back to 1991, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove that our country moved from having a state-controlled economy to having a market economy?								
		Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	Total			
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	30	39	15	5	11	100			
	Spring, 2011	9	36	29	6	20	100			
	Fall, 2009	9	41	23	5	22	100			
	Spring, 1991	26	50	8	2	13	100			
Russia	Spring, 2019	7	31	33	18	10	100			
	Spring, 2011	9	33	33	12	14	100			
	Fall, 2009	10	40	32	9	10	100			
	Spring, 1991	15	39	24	9	13	100			
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	13	34	26	12	16	100			
	Spring, 2011	5	29	37	14	15	100			
	Fall, 2009	11	25	33	14	17	100			
	Spring, 1991	12	40	26	8	13	100			

In 1991, the question asked 'Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of efforts to establish a free market economy in...?'

			Q16b. Again, thinking back to 1989, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove that our country moved from having a state-controlled economy to having a market economy?							
		Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	Total			
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	14	41	26	10	9	100			
	Fall, 2009	10	43	31	8	8	100			
	Spring, 1991	23	50	13	2	12	100			
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	37	39	13	3	9	100			
	Fall, 2009	28	51	12	3	5	100			
	Spring, 1991	42	45	4	3	6	100			
Hungary	Spring, 2019	29	41	13	6	12	100			
	Spring, 2016	16	49	19	9	6	100			
	Fall, 2009	9	37	27	15	13	100			
	Spring, 1991	22	58	9	1	10	100			
Poland	Spring, 2019	40	45	6	2	7	100			
	Spring, 2016	24	50	11	2	13	100			
	Fall, 2009	26	45	11	4	13	100			
	Spring, 1991	25	55	7	4	9	100			
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	33	38	16	7	6	100			
	Fall, 2009	18	48	20	4	10	100			
	Spring, 1991	19	50	11	3	17	100			

Q16c. ASK IN EAST GERMANY ONLY: Again thinking back to 1989, do you strong disapprove or strongly disapprove that East Germany moved from having a state-cora market economy?								
		Strongly approve	Approve	Disapprove	Strongly disapprove	DK/Refused	Total	N=
East Germany	Spring, 2019	37	46	11	2	4	100	295
	Fall, 2009	34	48	11	1	6	100	800
	Spring, 1991	36	50	8	1	5	100	720

East Germany refers to respondents in areas corresponding to former German Democratic Republic.

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		Q17. Would you say that the economic situation for most (survey country nationality) people today is better, worse, or about the same as it was under communism?							
		Better	Worse	About the same	DK/Refused	Total			
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	24	57	11	7	100			
	Fall, 2009	13	62	18	7	100			
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	61	17	16	6	100			
	Fall, 2009	45	39	12	3	100			
Hungary	Spring, 2019	47	31	14	7	100			
	Fall, 2009	8	72	16	5	100			
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	56	25	12	6	100			
	Fall, 2009	23	48	15	14	100			
Poland	Spring, 2019	74	9	14	3	100			
	Fall, 2009	47	35	12	6	100			
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	45	38	13	5	100			
	Fall, 2009	29	48	18	5	100			
Russia	Spring, 2019	27	53	13	7	100			
	Fall, 2009	33	45	15	7	100			
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	25	54	12	9	100			
	Fall, 2009	12	62	13	12	100			

In Fall 2009, the question asked 'as it was prior to 1989 when we were under communist rule?' in Lithuania.

		Q18. Was German unification in 1990 a good thing or a bad thing for Germany?					
		Good thing	Bad thing	DK/Refused	Total		
Germany	Spring, 2019	89	9	2	100		

			unification, do y ne same standar Gern		
		Yes	No	DK/Refused	Total
Germany	Spring, 2019	30	67	3	100
	Fall, 2009	28	68	4	100

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		Q20a. How much have benefited from the changes since 1989 / 1991 – a great deal, a fair amount, not too much, or not at all? a. Ordinary people								
		Great deal	Fair amount	Not too much	Not at all	DK/Refused	Total			
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	2	17	25	55	2	100			
	Fall, 2009	1	10	22	67	1	100			
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	16	38	30	11	4	100			
	Fall, 2009	11	42	33	13	1	100			
Hungary	Spring, 2019	9	32	32	20	7	100			
	Fall, 2009	4	13	36	44	3	100			
Poland	Spring, 2019	21	47	24	6	3	100			
	Fall, 2009	9	33	36	19	2	100			
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	12	30	37	19	2	100			
	Fall, 2009	3	18	48	29	2	100			
Russia	Spring, 2019	5	17	22	50	6	100			
	Spring, 2011	7	19	19	50	5	100			
	Fall, 2009	3	18	22	54	3	100			
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	6	15	19	56	4	100			
	Spring, 2011	1	10	15	72	2	100			
	Fall, 2009	1	9	20	65	5	100			

In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked 'since 1989.' In Russia and Ukraine, question asked 'since 1991.' Due to an administrative error, results for Lithuania are not shown.

		Q20b. How much have benefited from the changes since 1989 / 1991 – a great deal, a fair amount, not too much, or not at all? b. Business people								
		Great deal	Fair amount	Not too much	Not at all	DK/Refused	Total			
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	29	48	14	3	5	100			
	Fall, 2009	27	55	12	3	3	100			
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	50	39	6	1	5	100			
	Fall, 2009	38	48	10	2	3	100			
Hungary	Spring, 2019	32	46	9	3	10	100			
	Fall, 2009	18	45	23	9	5	100			
Poland	Spring, 2019	49	40	5	1	5	100			
	Fall, 2009	38	47	8	1	7	100			
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	33	47	13	2	5	100			
	Fall, 2009	29	52	14	2	3	100			
Russia	Spring, 2019	43	27	10	5	14	100			
	Spring, 2011	40	40	10	3	8	100			
	Fall, 2009	49	36	7	4	4	100			
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	64	25	3	1	6	100			
	Spring, 2011	42	34	16	3	5	100			
	Fall, 2009	46	36	10	3	6	100			

In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked 'since 1989.' In Russia and Ukraine, question asked 'since 1991.' In 2009 and 2011, the question asked 'People who own businesses.' Due to an administrative error, results for Lithuania are not shown.

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		Q20c. How mu		enefited from th			a great deal, a
		Great deal	Fair amount	Not too much	Not at all	DK/Refused	Total
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	82	14	2	1	2	100
	Fall, 2009	86	8	2	1	2	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	65	26	3	2	5	100
	Fall, 2009	72	22	4	1	2	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	66	23	4	2	5	100
	Fall, 2009	70	19	4	3	4	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	59	30	5	1	4	100
	Fall, 2009	74	18	4	0	4	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	62	29	6	2	1	100
	Fall, 2009	68	29	2	0	1	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	49	23	9	7	12	100
	Spring, 2011	54	28	5	4	9	100
	Fall, 2009	61	25	4	3	7	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	68	20	3	2	7	100
	Spring, 2011	74	21	3	1	2	100
	Fall, 2009	76	16	2	1	6	100

In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked 'since 1989.' In Russia and Ukraine, question asked 'since 1991.' Due to an administrative error, results for Lithuania are not shown.

			the changes tha od influence, a g					
		Very good influence	Good influence	Bad influence	Very bad influence	No influence (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
Germany	Spring, 2019	10	54	27	4	4	2	100
	Spring, 1991	5	22	43	9	15	6	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	2	18	45	25	4	7	100
	Spring, 1991	1	12	52	25	2	9	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	11	33	29	14	4	9	100
	Spring, 1991	2	14	48	23	10	2	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	6	36	28	15	8	6	100
	Spring, 1991	3	32	46	10	0	9	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	26	43	14	4	4	9	100
	Spring, 2011	2	25	41	14	8	9	100
	Spring, 1991	2	26	53	9	5	6	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	17	55	15	4	5	4	100
	Spring, 1991	2	39	32	8	9	9	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	11	37	32	14	2	4	100
	Spring, 1991	2	15	43	20	15	5	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	3	33	40	11	3	10	100
	Spring, 2011	5	20	35	26	4	9	100
	Spring, 1991	1	7	48	32	9	4	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	4	16	34	26	9	11	100
	Spring, 2011	2	10	31	48	5	5	100
	Spring, 1991	0	7	62	24	6	2	100

In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked 'since 1989.' In Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine, question asked 'since 1991.' In 1991, this question was worded "...over the past year or so..."

			the changes tha d influence, a go					
		Very good influence	Good influence	Bad influence	Very bad influence	No influence (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
Germany	Spring, 2019	11	56	21	3	5	4	100
	Spring, 1991	7	38	19	4	21	11	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	2	24	34	15	17	8	100
	Spring, 1991	3	25	33	9	11	19	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	8	32	31	10	9	9	100
	Spring, 1991	7	36	21	4	24	8	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	8	33	26	10	14	9	100
	Spring, 1991	3	26	46	10	0	15	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	26	36	13	3	11	11	100
	Spring, 2011	1	28	39	11	17	4	100
	Spring, 1991	3	52	19	4	14	9	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	16	44	21	5	9	5	100
	Spring, 1991	5	42	20	4	18	11	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	13	34	31	13	4	4	100
	Spring, 1991	5	32	33	5	16	8	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	4	34	37	7	7	11	100
	Spring, 2011	7	21	38	19	7	8	100
	Spring, 1991	1	13	39	14	23	10	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	6	27	29	10	16	11	100
	Spring, 2011	4	17	30	23	19	8	100
	Spring, 1991	0	13	49	10	17	10	100

In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked 'since 1989.' In Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine, question asked 'since 1991.' In 1991, this question was worded "...over the past year or so..."

			Q21c. Think of the changes that have taken place in (survey country) since 1989 / 1991. Have those changes had a very good influence, a good influence, a bad influence or a very bad influence on the following? c. Spiritual values							
		Very good influence	Good influence	Bad influence	Very bad influence	No influence (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total		
Germany	Spring, 2019	8	56	25	3	4	5	100		
	Spring, 1991	6	36	16	5	22	15	100		
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	4	23	33	15	12	12	100		
	Spring, 1991	4	26	35	9	4	22	100		
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	8	29	23	8	14	17	100		
	Spring, 1991	14	49	9	4	11	12	100		
Hungary	Spring, 2019	7	30	7	4	10	43	100		
	Spring, 1991	4	35	34	9	0	19	100		
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	25	36	12	5	11	11	100		
	Spring, 2011	2	31	32	8	18	9	100		
	Spring, 1991	13	57	12	4	5	8	100		
Poland	Spring, 2019	13	46	19	5	12	5	100		
	Spring, 1991	6	39	21	5	15	14	100		
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	13	38	24	7	9	9	100		
	Spring, 1991	12	50	15	2	12	10	100		
Russia	Spring, 2019	7	42	28	8	3	11	100		
	Spring, 2011	7	24	34	19	6	10	100		
	Spring, 1991	3	24	30	19	13	11	100		
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	8	32	23	11	13	13	100		
	Spring, 2011	6	25	27	22	14	7	100		
	Spring, 1991	2	25	41	15	6	10	100		

In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked 'since 1989.' In Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine, question asked 'since 1991.' In 1991, this question was worded "...over the past year or so..."

			21d. Think of the changes that have taken place in (survey country) since 1989 / 1991. Have those change and a very good influence, a good influence, a bad influence or a very bad influence on the following? d. The standard of living							
		Very good influence	Good influence	Bad influence	Very bad influence	No influence (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total		
Germany	Spring, 2019	13	62	18	3	3	2	100		
	Spring, 1991	5	33	32	9	14	7	100		
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	4	28	39	21	3	5	100		
	Spring, 1991	0	5	56	31	2	5	100		
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	23	55	11	2	4	5	100		
	Spring, 1991	1	13	52	22	8	3	100		
Hungary	Spring, 2019	14	41	22	11	5	6	100		
	Spring, 1991	1	7	48	40	0	4	100		
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	26	44	17	5	3	5	100		
	Spring, 2011	4	29	34	22	5	6	100		
	Spring, 1991	0	9	62	25	3	1	100		
Poland	Spring, 2019	18	63	11	2	3	3	100		
	Spring, 1991	1	13	41	34	4	8	100		
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	12	49	25	6	3	5	100		
	Spring, 1991	1	10	51	33	4	1	100		
Russia	Spring, 2019	2	35	40	14	2	6	100		
	Spring, 2011	6	23	32	29	3	7	100		
	Spring, 1991	0	2	34	56	3	4	100		
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	5	23	32	26	6	9	100		
	Spring, 2011	1	9	27	55	4	6	100		
	Spring, 1991	0	2	37	57	2	2	100		

In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked 'since 1989.' In Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine, question asked 'since 1991.' In 1991, this question was worded "...over the past year or so..."

			21e. Think of the changes that have taken place in (survey country) since 1989 / 1991. Have those chang d a very good influence, a good influence, a bad influence or a very bad influence on the following? e. Pridour country								
		Very good influence	Good influence	Bad influence	Very bad influence	No influence (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total			
Germany	Spring, 2019	16	55	18	4	3	4	100			
	Spring, 1991	8	44	20	5	14	9	100			
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	4	27	28	14	15	12	100			
	Spring, 1991	5	31	33	10	4	18	100			
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	14	36	22	7	7	15	100			
	Spring, 1991	8	43	18	7	17	8	100			
Hungary	Spring, 2019	18	40	10	6	13	13	100			
	Spring, 1991	3	32	34	10	0	22	100			
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	38	42	9	2	4	4	100			
	Spring, 2011	10	39	24	6	11	10	100			
	Spring, 1991	39	47	4	3	2	6	100			
Poland	Spring, 2019	18	54	11	3	8	7	100			
	Spring, 1991	9	39	16	4	11	21	100			
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	20	44	18	5	7	5	100			
	Spring, 1991	8	45	19	2	14	12	100			
Russia	Spring, 2019	13	41	28	7	3	9	100			
	Spring, 2011	7	18	34	22	6	12	100			
	Spring, 1991	2	7	41	28	14	9	100			
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	17	35	19	10	9	10	100			
	Spring, 2011	4	14	28	33	10	11	100			
	Spring, 1991	1	10	44	29	8	8	100			

In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked 'since 1989.' In Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine, question asked 'since 1991'. In 1991, this response was worded 'civic pride.' In 1991, this question was worded "...over the past year or so..."

		O21f. Think of the changes that have taken place in (survey country) since 1989 / 1991. Have those changes had a very good influence, a good influence, a bad influence or a very bad influence on the following? f. Health care									
		Very good influence	Good influence	Bad influence	Very bad influence	No influence (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total			
Germany	Spring, 2019	16	53	22	3	4	2	100			
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	2	2 15 42 37 2 3 100								
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	24	48	14	3	5	7	100			
Hungary	Spring, 2019	3	27	30	29	5	6	100			
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	26	43	15	4	4	8	100			
Poland	Spring, 2019	12	51	21	9	5	3	100			
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	8	8 35 36 17 1 4 100								
Russia	Spring, 2019	2	27	43	21	1	6	100			
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	4	22	30	33	4	7	100			

In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked 'since 1989.' In Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine, question asked 'since 1991.' In 1991, this question was worded "...over the past year or so..."

		Q21g. Think of the changes that have taken place in (survey country) since 1989 / 1991. Have those changes had a very good influence, a good influence, a bad influence or a very bad influence on the following? g. Education								
		Very good influence	Good influence	Bad influence	Very bad influence	No influence (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total		
Germany	Spring, 2019	12	54	24	4	4	2	100		
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	5	22	41	21	5	6	100		
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	23	48	14	4	4	7	100		
Hungary	Spring, 2019	10	35	25	15	5	9	100		
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	24	42	14	4	5	11	100		
Poland	Spring, 2019	16	56	14	4	4	6	100		
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	12	12 53 20 7 3 5 100							
Russia	Spring, 2019	4	30	45	14	2	5	100		
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	7	36	29	11	3	13	100		

In Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia, question asked 'since 1989.' In Lithuania, Russia and Ukraine, question asked 'since 1991.' In 1991, this question was worded "...over the past year or so..."

		Q31. And which one of these comes closer to your opini Homosexuality should be accepted by society OR Homosexuality should not be accepted by society						
		Homosexuality should be accepted by society	Homosexuality should not be accepted by society	DK/Refused	Total			
United States	Spring, 2019	72	21	7	100			
	Spring, 2013	60	33	7	100			
	Spring, 2011	60	33	7	100			
	Spring, 2007	49	41	10	100			
	Summer, 2002	51	42	7	100			
France	Spring, 2019	86	11	3	100			
	Spring, 2013	77	22	0	100			
	Spring, 2011	86	14	0	100			
	Spring, 2007	83	17	0	100			
	Summer, 2002	77	21	2	100			
Germany	Spring, 2019	86	11	2	100			
	Spring, 2013	87	11	3	100			
	Spring, 2011	87	12	1	100			
	Spring, 2007	81	17	2	100			
	Summer, 2002	83	15	2	100			
Greece	Spring, 2019	48	47	5	100			
	Spring, 2013	53	40	7	100			
Italy	Spring, 2019	75	20	5	100			
	Spring, 2013	74	18	8	100			
	Spring, 2007	65	23	12	100			
	Summer, 2002	72	20	8	100			
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	92	8	1	100			
Spain	Spring, 2019	89	10	1	100			
	Spring, 2013	88	11	1	100			
	Spring, 2011	91	8	1	100			
	Spring, 2007	82	9	9	100			
Sweden	Spring, 2019	94	5	2	100			
	Spring, 2007	86	9	5	100			
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	86	11	4	100			
3	Spring, 2013	76	18	6	100			
	Spring, 2011	81	15	3	100			
	Spring, 2007	71	21	8	100			
	Summer, 2002	74	22	4	100			
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	32	48	20	100			
	Spring, 2007	39	38	23	100			
	Summer, 2002	38	36	27	100			
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	59	26	14	100			
, J.	Spring, 2013	80	16	4	100			
	Spring, 2007	83	16	1	100			
	Summer, 2002	83	16	1	100			
Hungary	Spring, 2019	49	39	12	100			
i luligal y	Johnny, 2019	ļ <u>''</u>	3,	14	100			

		Homose	ch one of these oxuality should be xuality should no	accepted by so	ciety OR
		Homosexuality should be accepted by society	Homosexuality should not be accepted by society	DK/Refused	Total
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	28	45	27	100
	Spring, 2011	21	67	12	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	47	42	10	100
	Spring, 2013	42	46	12	100
	Spring, 2011	34	55	11	100
	Spring, 2007	45	41	13	100
	Summer, 2002	40	48	12	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	44	46	10	100
	Spring, 2007	66	29	6	100
	Summer, 2002	68	30	2	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	14	74	12	100
	Spring, 2013	16	74	10	100
	Spring, 2011	15	74	11	100
	Spring, 2007	20	64	16	100
	Summer, 2002	22	60	18	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	14	69	17	100
	Spring, 2011	15	74	11	100
	Spring, 2007	19	69	12	100
	Summer, 2002	17	77	6	100

			Q38c. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing regarding world affairs – a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all. c. Russian President Vladimir Putin						
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total		
France	Spring, 2019	5	23	24	47	2	100		
	Spring, 2018	5	15	32	47	1	100		
	Spring, 2017	2	16	28	52	1	100		
	Spring, 2016	4	16	30	48	2	100		
	Spring, 2015	3	12	29	56	0	100		
	Spring, 2014	4	12	26	59	0	100		
	Spring, 2012	2	10	31	57	0	100		
	Spring, 2008	1	16	30	52	1	100		
	Spring, 2007	2	17	36	45	0	100		
	Spring, 2006	2	22	33	43	1	100		
	May, 2003	5	43	27	25	1	100		
	August, 2001	2	12	39	38	9	100		
Germany	Spring, 2019	8	28	30	31	2	100		
	Spring, 2018	7	28	33	30	2	100		
	Spring, 2017	5	20	39	35	1	100		
	Spring, 2016	6	25	36	32	1	100		
	Spring, 2015	5	18	36	40	2	100		
	Spring, 2014	3	19	33	44	1	100		
	Spring, 2012	4	18	39	38	2	100		
	Spring, 2008	7	31	31	29	2	100		
	Spring, 2007	5	27	37	29	2	100		
	Spring, 2006	5	45	29	17	4	100		
	May, 2003	24	51	18	6	1	100		
	August, 2001	4	37	31	24	4	100		
Greece	Spring, 2019	9	43	30	13	5	100		
	Spring, 2018	9	36	32	23	1	100		
	Spring, 2017	13	37	27	18	5	100		
	Spring, 2016	15	38	26	18	3	100		
	Spring, 2014	9	32	31	26	2	100		
	Spring, 2012	7	32	29	29	3	100		
Italy	Spring, 2019	8	30	33	20	8	100		
	Spring, 2018	4	27	36	24	10	100		
	Spring, 2017	3	23	37	27	10	100		
	Spring, 2016	9	22	34	24	11	100		
	Spring, 2015	2	16	43	34	5	100		
	Spring, 2014	2	16	40	38	4	100		
	Spring, 2012	2	15	38	35	10	100		
	Spring, 2007	2	24	36	24	14	100		
	May, 2003	5	39	35	12	8	100		
	August, 2001	3	21	36	13	28	100		
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	3	21	24	51	2	100		
	Spring, 2018	2	12	35	50	1	100		
	Spring, 2017	2	10	28	59	1	100		
	Spring, 2016	1	12	27	58	2	100		

			Q38c. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thin egarding world affairs – a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or confidence at all. c. Russian President Vladimir Putin						
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total		
Spain	Spring, 2019	6	15	40	37	2	100		
	Spring, 2018	1	9	35	53	2	100		
	Spring, 2017	0	8	38	50	3	100		
	Spring, 2016	2	6	35	53	5	100		
	Spring, 2015	1	5	44	48	3	100		
	Spring, 2014	1	6	29	58	5	100		
	Spring, 2012	2	8	42	45	4	100		
	Spring, 2008	1	9	32	48	11	100		
	Spring, 2007	2	5	33	43	17	100		
	Spring, 2006	1	9	31	46	13	100		
	May, 2003	5	26	24	33	13	100		
Sweden	Spring, 2019	2	15	31	50	2	100		
2.7000.	Spring, 2018	3	15	30	50	2	100		
	Spring, 2017	1	11	29	58	1	100		
	Spring, 2016	2	10	23	64	1	100		
	Spring, 2007	1	22	37	31	9	100		
United Kingdom	1 0	7	19	24	49	2	100		
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	6	16	26	49	4	100		
	Spring, 2018		15						
	Spring, 2017	4		29	47	6	100		
	Spring, 2016	3	17	26	46	7	100		
	Spring, 2015	2	12	27	53	6	100		
	Spring, 2014	5	15	32	40	7	100		
	Spring, 2012	3	18	34	36	9	100		
	Spring, 2008	3	25	24	32	16	100		
	Spring, 2007	3	34	26	21	16	100		
	Spring, 2006	3	30	27	24	16	100		
	May, 2003	10	43	23	13	10	100		
	August, 2001	1	25	35	22	17	100		
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	23	39	18	12	8	100		
	Spring, 2007	6	38	24	14	18	100		
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	11	22	27	33	6	100		
	Spring, 2012	3	21	34	38	4	100		
	Spring, 2007	3	26	42	28	1	100		
Hungary	Spring, 2019	3	25	24	33	14	100		
	Spring, 2018	4	26	38	24	8	100		
	Spring, 2017	4	30	33	24	9	100		
	Spring, 2016	6	32	33	19	10	100		
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	4	19	26	44	8	100		
Poland	Spring, 2019	2	13	31	48	7	100		
	Spring, 2018	1	6	31	58	4	100		
	Spring, 2017	0	4	27	62	7	100		
	Spring, 2016	1	6	26	60	7	100		
	Spring, 2015	1	8	26	61	3	100		
	Spring, 2014	1	7	29	57	4	100		
	-	3	16	37	37	8	100		
	Spring, 2012				40		100		
	Spring, 2008	1	13	38		7			
	Spring, 2007	0	7	37	44	12	100		
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	9	40	27	16	8	100		
	Spring, 2007	7	33	35	19	5	100		

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			238c. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing garding world affairs – a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or r confidence at all. c. Russian President Vladimir Putin						
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total		
Russia	Spring, 2019	42	31	13	8	6	100		
	Spring, 2018	58	23	9	5	5	100		
	Spring, 2017	58	29	8	4	2	100		
	Spring, 2015	66	22	7	2	2	100		
	Spring, 2014	52	31	11	3	3	100		
	Spring, 2012	37	32	16	8	7	100		
	Spring, 2011	36	39	14	5	6	100		
	Spring, 2010	45	32	12	4	7	100		
	Spring, 2009	39	42	11	3	4	100		
	Spring, 2008	53	30	10	3	4	100		
	Spring, 2007	46	38	8	2	6	100		
	Spring, 2006	27	48	13	4	8	100		
	May, 2003	28	48	19	3	1	100		
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	2	9	15	63	11	100		
	Spring, 2015	3	7	19	65	5	100		
	Spring, 2014	12	11	16	57	5	100		
	Spring, 2007	24	32	21	12	10	100		

Between 2009 and 2011, asked 'Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin' (asked in Russia only).

			Q38d. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing egarding world affairs – a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all. d. German Chancellor Angela Merkel							
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total			
France	Spring, 2019	18	56	11	13	2	100			
	Spring, 2018	18	60	13	8	1	100			
	Spring, 2017	18	61	12	8	1	100			
	Spring, 2016	18	53	14	14	2	100			
	Spring, 2014	24	54	11	11	0	100			
Spring Spring	Spring, 2012	22	48	17	13	0	100			
	Spring, 2011	23	57	13	8	0	100			
	Spring, 2010	20	61	11	8	0	100			
	Spring, 2009	16	61	14	8	0	100			
	Spring, 2008	21	63	9	6	1	100			
	Spring, 2007	21	66	7	5	1	100			
	Spring, 2006	12	68	12	7	1	100			
Germany	Spring, 2019	38	36	13	12	1	100			
	Spring, 2018	30	38	18	13	0	100			
	Spring, 2017	43	38	12	7	0	100			
	Spring, 2016	43	30	16	10	0	100			
	Spring, 2014	41	40	11	6	1	100			
	Spring, 2012	39	38	17	6	0	100			
	Spring, 2011	26	43	21	10	0	100			
	Spring, 2010	32	40	18	9	0	100			
	Spring, 2009	31	44	14	9	1	100			
	Spring, 2008	35	41	16	8	0	100			
	Spring, 2007	43	42	9	6	1	100			
	Spring, 2006	34	43	13	9	1	100			

			d affairs - a lot	of confidence, so	e you have in eac ome confidence, in Chancellor And	not too much co	
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total
Greece	Spring, 2019	4	18	34	42	2	100
	Spring, 2018	2	13	28	56	1	100
	Spring, 2017	2	14	27	57	1	100
	Spring, 2016	1	9	22	67	1	100
	Spring, 2014	1	8	22	69	1	100
	Spring, 2012	1	6	17	76	1	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	8	36	27	23	5	100
	Spring, 2018	7	33	34	20	5	100
	Spring, 2017	4	35	34	20	7	100
	Spring, 2016	5	28	33	26	8	100
	Spring, 2014	6	26	38	26	4	100
	Spring, 2012	9	40	31	14	6	100
	Spring, 2007	13	44	15	9	19	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	48	34	7	9	2	100
	Spring, 2018	34	51	8	4	3	100
	Spring, 2017	49	40	6	3	1	100
	Spring, 2016	41	42	7	6	3	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	30	39	18	11	1	100
-	Spring, 2018	9	45	30	15	2	100
	Spring, 2017	8	44	29	16	2	100
	Spring, 2016	6	34	33	24	3	100
	Spring, 2014	7	27	32	32	1	100
	Spring, 2012	12	41	28	19	1	100
		18	51	21	7	3	100
	Spring, 2011	12	45	21	11	11	100
	Spring, 2010	7	42	23	14	14	100
	Spring, 2009	8	43	22	11	17	100
	Spring, 2008	5	31	24	14	26	100
	Spring, 2007	5		19	19	25	100
0	Spring, 2006		32				
Sweden	Spring, 2019	37	49	8	4	3	100
	Spring, 2018	36	46	9	6	2	100
	Spring, 2017	44	45	5	4	2	100
	Spring, 2016	37	47	8	5	2	100
	Spring, 2007	13	52	7	4	24	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	24	45	14	15	3	100
	Spring, 2018	19	43	18	13	7	100
	Spring, 2017	22	46	13	13	7	100
	Spring, 2016	21	38	13	18	11	100
	Spring, 2014	27	42	13	8	10	100
	Spring, 2012	16	42	17	14	11	100
	Spring, 2011	17	47	12	8	17	100
	Spring, 2010	11	49	12	9	20	100
	Spring, 2009	7	44	16	10	23	100
	Spring, 2008	6	47	11	9	27	100
	Spring, 2007	14	48	11	5	22	100
	Spring, 2006	6	45	15	11	23	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	13	37	21	18	12	100
	Spring, 2007	9	44	12	8	27	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	4	21	34	31	10	100
	Spring, 2012	21	45	16	10	8	100
	Spring, 2007	16	57	16	7	5	100

			d affairs - a lot	of confidence, so	e you have in eac ome confidence, in Chancellor Ang	not too much co	
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total
Hungary	Spring, 2019	5	23	27	34	11	100
	Spring, 2018	7	24	33	30	6	100
	Spring, 2017	7	30	34	23	6	100
	Spring, 2016	5	24	34	29	7	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	24	39	13	8	16	100
	Spring, 2011	8	56	20	3	13	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	8	38	29	17	9	100
	Spring, 2018	6	31	34	21	8	100
	Spring, 2017	7	39	30	15	9	100
	Spring, 2016	5	28	33	22	13	100
	Spring, 2014	6	44	31	10	9	100
	Spring, 2012	8	44	29	9	10	100
	Spring, 2011	5	46	27	9	13	100
	Spring, 2010	9	49	23	7	12	100
	Spring, 2009	4	35	31	16	14	100
	Spring, 2008	4	41	31	10	14	100
	Spring, 2007	5	37	28	14	16	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	6	31	29	30	5	100
	Spring, 2007	16	51	15	8	10	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	5	29	34	15	17	100
	Spring, 2018	8	19	32	22	18	100
	Spring, 2017	12	19	34	28	7	100
	Spring, 2015	6	22	38	28	6	100
	Spring, 2014	7	24	35	21	13	100
	Spring, 2012	16	32	16	7	29	100
	Spring, 2011	16	31	19	6	28	100
	Spring, 2010	11	31	18	4	35	100
	Spring, 2009	7	33	20	5	34	100
	Spring, 2008	14	35	20	8	24	100
	Spring, 2007	12	32	19	6	31	100
	Spring, 2006	9	31	18	5	37	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	25	41	15	3	16	100
	Spring, 2015	21	35	25	8	11	100
	Spring, 2014	13	37	24	16	9	100
	Spring, 2011	15	34	16	4	30	100
	Spring, 2007	8	33	22	5	32	100

			Q38e. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing garding world affairs – a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all. e. French President Emmanuel Macron							
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total			
France	Spring, 2019	13	35	16	36	1	100			
	Spring, 2018	15	49	18	18	0	100			
Germany	Spring, 2019	24	49	14	9	4	100			
	Spring, 2018	30	47	13	6	5	100			
Greece	Spring, 2019	2	29	36	22	11	100			
	Spring, 2018	4	26	39	24	7	100			
Italy	Spring, 2019	2	24	37	28	9	100			
	Spring, 2018	1	27	39	20	12	100			
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	17	53	15	12	4	100			
	Spring, 2018	11	62	17	5	5	100			
Spain	Spring, 2019	15	45	25	11	3	100			
	Spring, 2018	6	40	33	16	6	100			
Sweden	Spring, 2019	9	60	15	8	8	100			
	Spring, 2018	15	57	18	4	5	100			
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	9	46	21	20	4	100			
	Spring, 2018	10	45	21	15	9	100			
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	4	28	24	23	21	100			
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	5	25	27	20	24	100			
Hungary	Spring, 2019	1	17	25	24	32	100			
	Spring, 2018	3	31	29	17	20	100			
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	10	35	14	9	31	100			
Poland	Spring, 2019	4	32	27	21	17	100			
	Spring, 2018	2	25	30	20	23	100			
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	6	38	28	15	13	100			
Russia	Spring, 2019	3	20	34	15	28	100			
	Spring, 2018	6	20	27	17	30	100			
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	10	31	13	4	42	100			

			Q38h. For each, tell me how much confidence you have in each leader to do the right thing garding world affairs – a lot of confidence, some confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all. h. Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban							
		A lot of confidence	Some confidence	Not too much confidence	No confidence at all	DK/Refused	Total			
France	Spring, 2019	3	19	20	39	19	100			
Germany	Spring, 2019	4	19	27	36	14	100			
Greece	Spring, 2019	1	11	18	26	44	100			
Italy	Spring, 2019	1	11	23	26	39	100			
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	3	24	21	30	20	100			
Spain	Spring, 2019	3	19	33	24	21	100			
Sweden	Spring, 2019	2	15	21	40	21	100			
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	3	29	21	24	23	100			
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	9	25	14	13	40	100			
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	7	23	22	15	32	100			
Hungary	Spring, 2019	15	30	17	30	8	100			
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	6	21	16	11	46	100			
Poland	Spring, 2019	6	39	20	13	21	100			
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	10	30	30	19	12	100			
Russia	Spring, 2019	2	15	16	8	60	100			
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	2	13	9	9	67	100			

			48a. I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion of them is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable. a. Jews							
		Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total			
France	Spring, 2019	37	52	4	2	5	100			
	Spring, 2016	30	55	7	3	5	100			
	Spring, 2015	39	53	5	2	1	100			
	Spring, 2014	25	64	6	4	1	100			
	Fall, 2009	21	66	7	3	3	100			
	Spring, 1991	14	58	11	3	14	100			
Germany	Spring, 2019	31	55	5	1	8	100			
	Spring, 2016	30	58	4	1	8	100			
	Spring, 2015	28	52	6	3	11	100			
	Spring, 2014	25	57	4	1	13	100			
	Fall, 2009	20	58	7	2	14	100			
	Spring, 1991	6	47	18	6	24	100			
Greece	Spring, 2019	9	42	25	13	11	100			
	Spring, 2016	4	33	26	29	7	100			
	Spring, 2014	9	38	31	16	7	100			
Italy	Spring, 2019	24	53	11	4	7	100			
	Spring, 2016	12	50	17	7	14	100			
	Spring, 2015	22	49	15	6	8	100			
	Spring, 2014	16	49	14	10	11	100			
	Fall, 2009	6	46	21	8	19	100			
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	40	52	3	2	3	100			
	Spring, 2016	23	67	2	1	7	100			
Spain	Spring, 2019	26	50	12	7	5	100			
	Spring, 2016	22	44	13	8	12	100			
	Spring, 2015	18	57	13	4	8	100			
	Spring, 2014	14	58	13	5	10	100			
Sweden	Spring, 2019	47	45	2	1	4	100			
	Spring, 2016	40	52	3	2	3	100			

			48a. I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion of them is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable. a. Jews							
		Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total			
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	50	40	3	3	4	100			
	Spring, 2016	33	52	5	2	8	100			
	Spring, 2015	36	50	5	2	7	100			
	Spring, 2014	29	54	5	2	10	100			
	Fall, 2009	24	57	4	2	13	100			
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	21	48	14	4	13	100			
	Fall, 2009	22	46	11	4	17	100			
	Spring, 1991	11	52	8	1	27	100			
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	23	42	13	4	19	100			
	Fall, 2009	15	56	12	3	14	100			
	Spring, 1991	7	45	10	4	34	100			
Hungary	Spring, 2019	10	50	13	5	22	100			
	Spring, 2016	7	43	21	11	18	100			
	Fall, 2009	10	46	20	9	15	100			
	Spring, 1991	10	58	9	2	21	100			
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	19	48	17	9	7	100			
	Fall, 2009	5	43	26	11	15	100			
	Spring, 1991	9	72	9	1	9	100			
Poland	Spring, 2019	9	50	22	9	9	100			
	Spring, 2016	10	50	18	6	17	100			
	Fall, 2009	6	41	23	6	23	100			
	Spring, 1991	2	38	26	8	26	100			
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	11	47	19	11	12	100			
	Fall, 2009	14	42	21	6	17	100			
	Spring, 1991	10	33	23	10	24	100			
Russia	Spring, 2019	50	25	8	10	7	100			
	Fall, 2009	10	50	17	10	13	100			
	Spring, 1991	10	50	18	8	15	100			
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	22	61	9	2	5	100			
	Spring, 2014	38	49	7	2	4	100			
	Fall, 2009	16	51	10	3	20	100			
	Spring, 1991	8	61	18	4	9	100			

			t them. Please t	ell me whether	of people in (su your opinion of t or very unfavo	hem is very favo	
		Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total
France	Spring, 2019	14	36	31	13	5	100
	Spring, 2016	8	25	40	21	5	100
	Spring, 2015	8	31	42	18	1	100
	Spring, 2014	4	29	42	24	2	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	11	41	31	6	11	100
	Spring, 2016	7	41	35	5	13	100
	Spring, 2015	9	43	29	5	14	100
	Spring, 2014	7	37	36	6	14	100
	Fall, 2009	6	40	27	4	23	100
	Spring, 1991	2	17	36	24	21	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	3	22	41	31	3	100
	Spring, 2016	3	27	33	34	2	100
	Spring, 2014	7	38	34	19	3	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	2	12	28	55	3	100
	Spring, 2016	2	12	27	55	5	100
	Spring, 2015	1	8	30	56	4	100
	Spring, 2014	1	9	32	53	5	100
	Fall, 2009	0	9	28	56	7	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	16	50	24	6	5	100
	Spring, 2016	8	45	30	8	10	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	20	37	28	12	3	100
•	Spring, 2016	15	30	34	15	6	100
	Spring, 2015	12	46	22	13	6	100
	Spring, 2014	10	46	30	11	4	100
	Fall, 2009	2	42	36	9	11	100
	Spring, 1991	8	29	29	21	14	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	24	43	22	7	4	100
	Spring, 2016	15	39	33	9	4	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	23	37	16	7	17	100
3	Spring, 2016	11	35	32	13	9	100
	Spring, 2015	14	40	25	12	10	100
	Spring, 2014	9	29	32	18	12	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	7	20	40	26	6	100
·	Fall, 2009	1	13	41	43	2	100
	Spring, 1991	1	5	25	66	3	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	5	20	36	25	15	100
	Spring, 2016	5	20	37	27	11	100
	Fall, 2009	7	18	33	36	6	100
	Spring, 1991	1	13	32	47	6	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	5	25	41	20	9	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	4	37	33	18	8	100
	Spring, 2016	4	36	39	8	13	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	3	18	41	35	4	100
	Fall, 2009	3	13	38	40	6	100
	Spring, 1991	2	5	15	75	2	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	23	17	23	29	8	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	5	34	32	22	7	100
	- Pg, 2017			·		I	

In Spain, the question asked about 'gypsies'. In the UK, the question asked about 'gypsies or Roma.'

			48c. I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to how you feel about them. Please tell me whether your opinion of them is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable. c. Muslims							
		Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total			
France	Spring, 2019	21	51	16	6	5	100			
	Spring, 2016	18	49	20	9	4	100			
	Spring, 2015	25	51	17	7	1	100			
	Spring, 2014	14	58	18	9	1	100			
Germany	Spring, 2019	17	52	19	5	6	100			
	Spring, 2016	10	55	23	6	6	100			
	Spring, 2015	15	54	20	4	7	100			
	Spring, 2014	11	47	28	5	10	100			
Greece	Spring, 2019	6	31	35	22	6	100			
	Spring, 2016	5	26	33	32	5	100			
	Spring, 2014	9	34	34	19	4	100			
Italy	Spring, 2019	7	34	33	22	5	100			
	Spring, 2016	3	22	33	36	6	100			
	Spring, 2015	3	28	32	29	7	100			
	Spring, 2014	2	26	34	29	8	100			
	Fall, 2009	2	19	37	32	10	100			
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	15	55	22	6	2	100			
	Spring, 2016	6	54	24	11	5	100			
Spain	Spring, 2019	18	36	25	17	4	100			
	Spring, 2016	10	30	29	21	10	100			
	Spring, 2015	12	40	26	16	7	100			
	Spring, 2014	9	40	29	17	6	100			
	Fall, 2009	2	38	37	9	13	100			
Sweden	Spring, 2019	26	42	19	9	4	100			
	Spring, 2016	17	44	25	10	4	100			
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	33	45	11	7	4	100			
	Spring, 2016	15	48	17	11	8	100			
	Spring, 2015	22	50	11	8	9	100			
	Spring, 2014	17	47	16	10	9	100			
	Fall, 2009	15	46	17	10	12	100			
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	6	17	30	34	12	100			
Hungary	Spring, 2019	1	10	28	30	31	100			
	Spring, 2016	2	12	37	35	14	100			
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	4	22	34	22	17	100			
Poland	Spring, 2019	3	23	29	37	9	100			
	Spring, 2016	3	16	38	28	16	100			
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	1	15	36	41	7	100			
Russia	Spring, 2019	48	28	8	11	6	100			
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	8	54	16	5	17	100			

Q48d. I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in (survey country) according to he you feel about them. For each group, please tell me whether your opinion of them is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable. d. Muslim Bulgarian								
		Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	DK/Refused	Total	
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	23	46	15	6	10	100	
	Fall, 2009	24	45	15	6	10	100	
	Spring, 1991	14	48	17	4	17	100	

			ase tell me wheth sagree with the fo	ollowing statem			
		Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2019	4	23	43	28	3	100
	Spring, 1990	7	38	39	14	2	100
France	Spring, 2019	5	18	33	43	2	100
	Fall, 2009	6	25	39	29	0	100
	Spring, 1991	6	21	37	33	3	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	5	28	39	23	5	100
	Fall, 2009	4	33	49	14	1	100
	Spring, 1991	6	24	47	16	7	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	2	11	38	46	2	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	5	24	36	32	3	100
•	Fall, 2009	5	28	33	30	4	100
	Spring, 1991	3	11	35	49	3	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	8	43	32	16	1	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	8	15	37	39	1	100
	Fall, 2009	2	26	48	20	3	100
	Spring, 1991	7	18	33	34	7	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	9	47	23	19	2	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	4	24	42	28	2	100
Omica kingaom	Fall, 2009	4	35	40	18	3	100
	Spring, 1991	3	32	38	23	4	100
Rulgaria	Spring, 2019	3	14	32	46	4	100
Bulgaria	Fall, 2009	3	11	36	46	3	100
	Spring, 1991	5	16	40	25	14	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	5	18	40	33	4	100
czech kepublic	Fall, 2009	2	16	34	46	2	100
		6	28	46	18	3	100
Llummomi	Spring, 1991	4	19	25	46	5	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	8	14	31	47	1	100
	Fall, 2009	7	25	44	19	5	100
1.141	Spring, 1991	5	23		35	7	
Lithuania	Spring, 2019			29	1		100
	Fall, 2009	1	14	25	58	2	100
	Spring, 1991	4	26	38	27	5	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	9	36	30	18	6	100
	Fall, 2009	9	28	34	25	5	100
	Spring, 1991	6	18	49	20	8	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	8	27	31	32	2	100
	Fall, 2009	2	20	39	34	4	100
	Spring, 1991	2	19	51	24	4	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	13	23	29	29	7	100
	Spring, 2012	4	29	32	28	7	100
	Fall, 2009	6	20	36	35	4	100
	Spring, 1991	4	14	46	26	10	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	3	12	26	54	5	100
	Fall, 2009	8	15	28	44	6	100
	Spring, 1991	3	19	54	17	7	100

			ase tell me wheth isagree with the f abo	following stater		gives people like	
		Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2019	27	47	16	7	2	100
	Spring, 1990	23	50	18	7	2	100
France	Spring, 2019	30	37	15	16	1	100
	Fall, 2009	32	43	14	11	0	100
	Spring, 1991	35	42	13	8	3	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	19	43	22	14	2	100
	Fall, 2009	13	42	29	13	2	100
	Spring, 1991	11	43	28	11	7	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	26	41	18	15	0	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	24	38	22	14	2	100
	Fall, 2009	16	43	26	14	1	100
	Spring, 1991	18	31	22	25	4	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	23	44	20	13	1	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	48	32	9	10	2	100
•	Fall, 2009	16	56	18	8	2	100
	Spring, 1991	39	33	11	9	7	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	41	39	10	9	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	18	43	23	14	1	100
3	Fall, 2009	13	43	29	13	3	100
	Spring, 1991	15	40	27	16	2	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	27	35	17	16	5	100
Duigaria	Fall, 2009	23	43	18	12	4	100
	Spring, 1991	44	32	8	4	12	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	25	48	17	7	4	100
020011110	Fall, 2009	17	44	22	15	2	100
	Spring, 1991	23	41	22	10	4	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	19	32	21	25	3	100
Tidingai y	Fall, 2009	14	24	27	34	1	100
	Spring, 1991	17	32	29	15	7	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	20	41	21	12	6	100
	Fall, 2009	10	42	23	21	4	100
	Spring, 1991	35	39	13	8	6	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	23	48	16	10	3	100
· Ciaria	Fall, 2009	11	36	29	20	3	100
	Spring, 1991	6	35	36	16	7	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	26	49	15	8	2	100
JiJVakia	Fall, 2009	14	46	25	13	2	100
		14	32	31	16	7	100
Duccia	Spring, 1991 Spring, 2019	23	31	20	22	4	100
Russia		12	44	23	14	6	100
	Spring, 2012		34	28	26	3	100
	Fall, 2009	10				9	
Lillenging	Spring, 1991	13	34	21	22		100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	29	45	13	8	5	100
	Fall, 2009	15	31	23	27	4	100
	Spring, 1991	13	34	35	12	6	100

				llowing stateme	ely agree, mostly ents. d. Success i side our control		
		Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2019	6	25	39	28	2	100
	Spring, 2014	11	29	36	21	3	100
	Spring, 2011	9	27	39	23	3	100
	Fall, 2009	6	23	43	25	3	100
	Spring, 2009	10	29	38	22	2	100
	Spring, 2007	7	26	41	23	3	100
	Summer, 2002	9	23	39	26	3	100
	Spring, 1990	11	29	39	18	3	100
France	Spring, 2019	17	40	21	20	2	100
	Spring, 2014	17	33	26	24	0	100
	Spring, 2011	19	38	25	18	0	100
	Fall, 2009	20	32	27	20	0	100
	Spring, 2009	16	37	31	17	0	100
	Spring, 2007	18	34	26	22	0	100
	Summer, 2002	20	35	30	14	2	100
	Spring, 1991	23	34	23	13	7	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	14	42	27	12	5	100
,	Spring, 2014	18	49	25	6	2	100
	Spring, 2011	22	50	22	5	1	100
	Fall, 2009	18	48	22	9	3	100
	Spring, 2009	21	48	21	8	2	100
	Spring, 2007	23	47	24	7	0	100
		23	45	25	7	1	100
	Summer, 2002	12	47	29	4	8	100
C	Spring, 1991	17	46	24	10	3	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	20	48	27	10	2	100
14-l-	Spring, 2014		37			5	
Italy	Spring, 2019	11	+	33	15 9	3	100
	Spring, 2014	16	50	23			100
	Fall, 2009	15	56	20	6	4	100
	Spring, 2007	22	49	20	4	5	100
	Summer, 2002	17	49	25	6	3	100
	Spring, 1991	15	49	18	13	5	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	14	36	36	14	1	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	28	29	24	17	2	100
	Spring, 2014	15	36	36	11	2	100
	Spring, 2011	10	40	37	10	3	100
	Fall, 2009	10	41	32	10	8	100
	Spring, 2009	13	39	33	9	5	100
	Spring, 2007	14	39	29	10	8	100
	Spring, 1991	27	29	19	10	15	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	11	27	30	30	2	100
	Spring, 2007	7	26	25	37	5	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	10	34	38	17	2	100
	Spring, 2014	12	31	37	18	2	100
	Spring, 2011	9	32	37	18	4	100
	Fall, 2009	10	31	38	17	4	100
	Spring, 2009	13	34	36	15	2	100
	Spring, 2007	11	31	40	16	3	100
	Summer, 2002	14	34	31	17	4	100
	Spring, 1991	16	35	30	12	7	100

			ase tell me wheth agree with the fo	llowing stateme			
		Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	21	37	29	8	6	100
	Fall, 2009	22	39	24	8	7	100
	Spring, 2007	20	38	25	6	11	100
	Summer, 2002	13	40	22	6	19	100
	Spring, 1991	42	32	12	3	12	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	17	41	27	10	6	100
	Fall, 2009	11	43	31	10	5	100
	Spring, 2007	11	38	39	9	3	100
	Summer, 2002	10	37	37	11	5	100
	Spring, 1991	12	40	27	11	10	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	14	29	26	22	8	100
	Fall, 2009	23	31	21	21	5	100
	Spring, 1991	28	39	19	8	5	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	12	38	24	15	11	100
	Spring, 2011	13	52	23	6	6	100
	Fall, 2009	8	37	27	13	14	100
	Spring, 1991	23	41	14	6	16	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	13	45	25	12	5	100
	Spring, 2014	16	47	28	6	3	100
	Spring, 2011	18	44	24	4	10	100
	Fall, 2009	16	46	24	7	7	100
	Spring, 2009	18	50	24	5	4	100
	Spring, 2007	17	51	24	6	3	100
	Summer, 2002	20	43	21	8	9	100
	Spring, 1991	24	41	22	4	8	100
Slovakia		16	45	24	8	7	100
Siovakia	Spring, 2019 Fall, 2009	12	43	32	6	7	100
	Spring, 2007	12	32	40	12	4	100
	Summer, 2002	10	39	35	13	4	100
	-	14	45	19	7	14	100
Dunnin	Spring, 1991	25	37	20	10	8	100
Russia	Spring, 2014	14	36	32	9	9	100
	Spring, 2014				-		
	Spring, 2011	17	36 43	26	13 12	9 8	100
	Fall, 2009			20			100
	Spring, 2009	18	43	25	8	6	100
	Spring, 2007	20	39	26	7	8	100
	Summer, 2002	16	36	27	9	12	100
	Spring, 1991	18	41	20	9	12	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	14	34	22	11	19	100
	Spring, 2014	19	36	26	8	11	100
	Spring, 2011	17	37	27	10	9	100
	Fall, 2009	15	34	23	13	16	100
	Spring, 2007	17	40	26	12	5	100
	Summer, 2002	27	35	22	13	4	100
	Spring, 1991	20	45	22	3	10	100

			Q50e. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree o completely disagree with the following statements. e. Generally, the state is run for the bot of all the people						
		Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total		
United States	Spring, 2019	10	36	33	19	2	100		
	Fall, 2009	11	40	33	14	2	100		
	Summer, 2002	17	48	25	9	2	100		
	Spring, 1990	10	42	35	10	3	100		
France	Spring, 2019	13	31	26	30	1	100		
	Fall, 2009	13	33	30	24	0	100		
	Summer, 2002	7	33	43	17	0	100		
	Spring, 1991	13	35	33	17	2	100		
Germany	Spring, 2019	10	38	32	19	1	100		
	Fall, 2009	5	36	44	14	2	100		
	Summer, 2002	36	50	11	2	1	100		
	Spring, 1991	7	35	39	10	10	100		
Greece	Spring, 2019	3	16	39	42	0	100		
Italy	Spring, 2019	6	24	41	27	2	100		
rtary	Fall, 2009	5	28	39	25	4	100		
	Summer, 2002	41	47	9	25	2	100		
		2	10	34	52	2	100		
	Spring, 1991				+				
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	19	51	21	9	1	100		
Spain	Spring, 2019	14	30	28	27	1	100		
	Fall, 2009	6	45	35	11	2	100		
	Spring, 1991	19	33	23	18	8	100		
Sweden	Spring, 2019	24	49	13	12	3	100		
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	8	36	33	22	1	100		
	Fall, 2009	9	43	30	15	3	100		
	Summer, 2002	16	50	24	9	1	100		
	Spring, 1991	9	43	30	17	2	100		
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	3	21	31	43	2	100		
	Fall, 2009	3	13	39	44	2	100		
	Summer, 2002	14	23	34	24	5	100		
	Spring, 1991	20	35	28	12	6	100		
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	39	40	12	7	2	100		
	Fall, 2009	24	46	22	6	2	100		
	Summer, 2002	19	37	33	9	2	100		
	Spring, 1991	28	33	28	9	2	100		
Hungary	Spring, 2019	34	40	11	8	5	100		
	Fall, 2009	32	35	17	15	2	100		
	Spring, 1991	7	27	41	16	10	100		
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	7	39	29	21	5	100		
	Fall, 2009	3	20	29	44	4	100		
	Spring, 1991	12	36	30	15	6	100		
Poland	Spring, 2019	11	45	24	13	6	100		
	Fall, 2009	8	32	40	15	4	100		
	Summer, 2002	48	40	8	1	3	100		
	Spring, 1991	4	27	43	12	13	100		
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	48	40	8	3	1	100		
J.JVailla	Fall, 2009	5	28	40	23	4	100		
	Summer, 2002	24	30	32	12	1	100		
		33	38	23	3	3	100		
Duccio	Spring, 1991	13	25	35	25	2	100		
Russia	Spring, 2019								
	Fall, 2009	7	30	35	23	4	100		
	Summer, 2002	8	42	37	7	6	100		
	Spring, 1991	7	20	39	27	7	100		

		Q50e. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements. e. Generally, the state is run for the benefit of all the people						
Completely agree Mostly Completely disagree DK/Refused To						Total		
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	3	18	30	42	6	100	
	Fall, 2009	8	12	30	45	5	100	
	Summer, 2002	8	24	36	31	1	100	
	Spring, 1991	4	18	47	25	5	100	

In Fall 2009 and 1991, the question asked about the government rather than the state in the U.S. In Spring 2002, the question asked about 'the (state or government).'

		Q50i. Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements. i. It is a great misfortune that the Soviet Union no longer exists							
Completely Mostly Completely agree Mostly agree disagree DK/Refused T							Total		
Russia	Spring, 2019	36	27	19	11	6	100		
	Spring, 2014	27	28	26	11	8	100		
	Spring, 2011	23	27	22	14	14	100		
	Fall, 2009	30	28	23	15	5	100		

				important or no	ng things in our out important at all n freely		
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not important at all	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2019	86	11	1	1	1	100
	Spring, 2015	84	12	1	1	1	100
France	Spring, 2019	52	32	8	7	0	100
	Spring, 2015	52	34	7	6	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	72	21	4	2	1	100
	Spring, 2015	71	22	4	3	0	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	83	13	4	1	0	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	61	32	5	2	1	100
	Spring, 2015	75	20	4	1	1	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	58	29	8	4	0	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	54	33	8	5	0	100
	Spring, 2015	58	29	7	5	1	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	53	34	9	4	0	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	75	18	3	4	0	100
	Spring, 2015	68	22	6	4	1	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	58	33	6	2	2	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	47	37	9	2	4	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	70	26	3	1	0	100
	Spring, 2016	67	25	5	2	1	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	48	34	8	4	5	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	56	36	5	2	2	100
	Spring, 2016	64	33	2	0	0	100
	Spring, 2015	55	37	6	0	2	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	52	38	8	1	0	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	42	42	9	5	3	100
	Spring, 2015	60	34	3	1	1	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	59	32	5	2	2	100
	Spring, 2015	62	28	6	1	3	100

			Q55b. How important is it to have the following things in our country? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? b. the media can report the news without <state government="" or=""> censorship</state>								
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not important at all	DK/Refused	Total				
United States	Spring, 2019	80	15	2	2	2	100				
	Spring, 2015	67	27	3	2	1	100				
France	Spring, 2019	65	24	6	4	1	100				
	Spring, 2015	46	42	8	4	0	100				
Germany	Spring, 2019	67	20	6	5	2	100				
	Spring, 2015	73	20	4	1	2	100				
Greece	Spring, 2019	89	9	1	1	1	100				
Italy	Spring, 2019	56	33	6	1	3	100				
	Spring, 2015	64	27	6	2	0	100				
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	64	24	6	4	2	100				
Spain	Spring, 2019	79	19	1	2	0	100				
	Spring, 2015	75	20	3	1	0	100				
Sweden	Spring, 2019	82	14	3	1	1	100				
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	77	13	5	4	1	100				
	Spring, 2015	58	29	5	3	5	100				
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	67	23	3	1	6	100				
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	67	25	3	1	4	100				
Hungary	Spring, 2019	76	19	2	1	2	100				
	Spring, 2016	70	21	5	2	2	100				
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	59	31	5	1	3	100				
Poland	Spring, 2019	64	29	5	1	2	100				
	Spring, 2016	60	34	3	1	2	100				
	Spring, 2015	54	37	6	0	2	100				
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	56	36	6	1	1	100				
Russia	Spring, 2019	38	39	11	5	7	100				
	Spring, 2015	46	40	11	1	3	100				
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	63	29	4	1	3	100				
	Spring, 2015	65	29	4	0	1	100				

Q55c. How important is it to have the following things in our country? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? c. women have the same rights as men Not important Very Somewhat Not too DK/Refused important important important at all **Total United States** Spring, 2019 Spring, 2015 **France** Spring, 2019 Spring, 2015 Germany Spring, 2019 Spring, 2015 Greece Spring, 2019 Italy Spring, 2019 Spring, 2015 Netherlands Spring, 2019 Spain Spring, 2019 Spring, 2015 Sweden Spring, 2019 **United Kingdom** Spring, 2019 Spring, 2015 Bulgaria Spring, 2019 Czech Republic Spring, 2019 Hungary Spring, 2019 Spring, 2016 Lithuania Spring, 2019 **Poland** Spring, 2019 Spring, 2016 Spring, 2015 Slovakia Spring, 2019 Russia Spring, 2019 Spring, 2015 Ukraine Spring, 2019 Spring, 2015

			Q55d. How important is it to have the following things in our country? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? d. people can say what they want without <state government="" or=""> censorship</state>							
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not important at all	DK/Refused	Total			
United States	Spring, 2019	77	19	2	2	1	100			
	Spring, 2015	71	24	2	1	2	100			
France	Spring, 2019	83	14	2	1	0	100			
	Spring, 2015	67	28	3	2	0	100			
Germany	Spring, 2019	86	12	1	0	0	100			
	Spring, 2015	86	12	1	0	1	100			
Greece	Spring, 2019	87	12	1	0	0	100			
Italy	Spring, 2019	63	29	4	1	2	100			
	Spring, 2015	62	28	7	2	2	100			
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	69	25	3	2	0	100			
Spain	Spring, 2019	79	18	2	0	1	100			
	Spring, 2015	76	20	3	0	1	100			
Sweden	Spring, 2019	83	13	3	1	1	100			
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	68	26	4	1	1	100			
	Spring, 2015	57	33	5	2	3	100			
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	74	20	2	0	3	100			
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	73	23	2	0	1	100			
Hungary	Spring, 2019	87	12	0	0	1	100			
	Spring, 2016	74	20	4	2	1	100			
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	64	27	4	2	3	100			
Poland	Spring, 2019	61	32	5	0	1	100			
	Spring, 2016	57	37	3	1	2	100			
	Spring, 2015	57	34	6	1	2	100			
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	60	33	5	1	1	100			
Russia	Spring, 2019	45	37	8	5	6	100			
	Spring, 2015	43	41	12	1	2	100			
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	59	32	5	1	3	100			
	Spring, 2015	61	31	5	1	2	100			

			Q55e. How important is it to have the following things in our country? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important or not important at all? e. honest elections are held regularly with a choice of at least two political parties							
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not important at all	DK/Refused	Total			
United States	Spring, 2019	84	11	2	1	1	100			
	Spring, 2015	79	15	2	3	1	100			
France	Spring, 2019	78	16	3	2	1	100			
	Spring, 2015	66	25	4	4	1	100			
Germany	Spring, 2019	70	22	4	2	2	100			
	Spring, 2015	76	18	2	2	2	100			
Greece	Spring, 2019	85	10	3	1	1	100			
Italy	Spring, 2019	59	28	6	4	2	100			
	Spring, 2015	73	19	5	2	1	100			
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	70	23	4	3	1	100			
Spain	Spring, 2019	80	15	2	2	0	100			
	Spring, 2015	79	16	4	1	0	100			
Sweden	Spring, 2019	85	11	1	2	1	100			
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	78	16	3	1	2	100			
	Spring, 2015	76	17	2	2	3	100			
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	70	20	4	1	6	100			
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	67	24	4	1	4	100			
Hungary	Spring, 2019	87	10	1	0	2	100			
	Spring, 2016	79	16	3	1	1	100			
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	57	29	6	3	5	100			
Poland	Spring, 2019	63	29	4	1	3	100			
	Spring, 2016	58	36	3	0	2	100			
	Spring, 2015	58	32	6	0	4	100			
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	61	30	6	1	1	100			
Russia	Spring, 2019	40	33	10	8	9	100			
	Spring, 2015	57	34	6	2	1	100			
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	62	28	5	2	4	100			
	Spring, 2015	69	24	3	1	2	100			

			ortant, not too i	mportant or not	ng things in our or in important at all'	? f. people can u	
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not important at all	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2019	71	20	3	3	3	100
	Spring, 2015	69	22	4	3	2	100
France	Spring, 2019	70	21	4	3	2	100
	Spring, 2015	50	33	8	9	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	74	17	5	1	2	100
	Spring, 2015	69	21	4	2	3	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	71	17	4	1	6	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	52	30	10	2	7	100
	Spring, 2015	61	24	10	3	2	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	70	23	5	2	1	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	77	17	2	2	1	100
	Spring, 2015	69	22	5	2	2	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	80	15	3	2	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	66	24	6	2	2	100
	Spring, 2015	53	29	7	5	6	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	61	22	5	1	10	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	67	23	4	1	5	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	77	16	3	1	4	100
	Spring, 2016	68	23	5	3	2	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	53	26	6	4	10	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	60	26	7	1	6	100
	Spring, 2016	57	32	4	1	5	100
	Spring, 2015	55	33	7	1	4	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	59	27	6	3	6	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	40	34	10	7	9	100
	Spring, 2015	44	35	11	3	7	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	54	26	8	2	10	100
	Spring, 2015	56	28	7	2	6	100

			portant, not too	important or no	ng things in our out important at al ne in the same w	l? a. there is a ju	
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not important at all	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2019	93	5	1	1	1	100
France	Spring, 2019	91	7	1	1	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	86	11	1	1	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	95	4	0	0	0	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	72	19	3	4	2	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	89	9	1	1	0	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	87	12	0	0	0	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	93	6	0	0	0	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	92	6	1	0	0	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	86	9	2	0	2	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	82	14	2	0	2	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	95	4	1	0	0	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	69	21	6	2	2	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	72	23	3	1	2	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	69	23	5	1	2	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	63	24	6	3	4	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	81	15	2	1	1	100

		somewhat imp	ortant, not too ir	mportant or not	ng things in our important at all? state or governm	b. human right:	s organizations
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not important at all	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2019	68	23	3	3	3	100
France	Spring, 2019	72	23	3	2	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	66	25	6	2	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	55	25	11	5	5	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	35	39	12	7	7	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	60	31	6	3	1	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	72	22	4	2	0	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	66	23	6	2	3	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	68	24	4	2	1	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	57	28	3	3	9	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	46	29	8	4	13	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	63	22	4	1	10	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	55	30	6	2	6	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	57	32	5	1	4	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	49	38	7	1	6	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	31	38	11	7	12	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	48	27	7	4	14	100

				o important or n	ng things in our out in out important at a e freely		
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not important at all	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2019	67	23	3	2	4	100
France	Spring, 2019	60	28	7	3	2	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	60	27	7	2	3	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	75	18	4	2	1	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	42	36	12	5	5	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	69	23	4	3	1	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	67	23	5	4	1	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	73	20	4	1	2	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	72	22	3	1	1	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	58	24	5	2	11	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	58	28	5	1	8	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	68	22	3	2	4	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	47	31	8	4	9	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	49	39	7	2	3	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	51	38	7	2	2	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	23	37	18	9	14	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	36	36	10	4	14	100

		Q61. Now I'd li	ke to ask you ab	out your prefere	nce – what kind way of life?	of marriage do	you think is the	more satisfying
		One where the husband provides for the family and the wife takes care of the house and children	One where the husband and wife both have jobs and together take care of the house and children	One where the wife provides for the family and the husband takes care of the house and children (DO NOT READ)	Other (DO NOT READ)	Neither (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2019	21	68	1	4	2	4	100
	Spring, 2010	25	71	0	0	0	4	100
	Summer, 2002	37	58	0	0	0	5	100
France	Spring, 2019	7	91	0	0	0	1	100
	Spring, 2010	9	91	0	0	0	0	100
	Summer, 2002	13	86	0	0	0	1	100
	Spring, 1991	30	64	0	3	0	3	100
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	Spring, 2019	15	79	1	1	1	3	100
	Spring, 2010	12	85	0	0	0	3	100
	Summer, 2002	18	80	0	0	0	2	100
	Spring, 1991	36	58	0	2	0	3	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	23	77	0	0	0	0	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	22	75	2	1	1	1	100
	Summer, 2002	24	74	0	0	0	2	100
	Spring, 1991	35	62	0	3	0	1	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	19	78	1	0	1	2	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	7	90	0	1	0	1	100
	Spring, 2010	7	91	0	0	0	2	100
	Spring, 1991	30	67	0	1	0	2	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	3	93	1	2	0	2	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	17	76	1	1	3	2	100
	Spring, 2010	22	71	0	0	0	7	100
	Summer, 2002	23	71	0	0	0	6	100
	Spring, 1991	28	64	0	5	0	3	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	16	76	4	0	1	2	100
	Summer, 2002	23	74	0	0	0	3	100
	Spring, 1991	40	54	0	1	0	5	100

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		Q61. Now I'd li	ke to ask you ab	out your prefere	nce – what kind way of life?	of marriage do	you think is the	more satisfying
		One where the husband provides for the family and the wife takes care of the house and children	One where the husband and wife both have jobs and together take care of the house and children	One where the wife provides for the family and the husband takes care of the house and children (DO NOT READ)	Other (DO NOT READ)	Neither (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	34	60	1	2	1	2	100
	Summer, 2002	28	70	0	0	0	2	100
	Spring, 1991	55	40	0	2	0	3	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	25	71	1	0	1	1	100
	Spring, 1991	60	36	0	3	0	1	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	33	53	4	1	3	7	100
	Spring, 1991	62	36	0	0	0	2	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	27	69	2	0	0	1	100
	Spring, 2010	28	68	0	0	0	4	100
	Summer, 2002	39	60	0	0	0	1	100
	Spring, 1991	57	41	0	1	0	2	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	29	67	3	0	1	1	100
	Summer, 2002	25	74	0	0	0	1	100
	Spring, 1991	54	42	0	1	0	3	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	29	68	0	0	1	2	100
	Spring, 2010	25	74	0	0	0	1	100
	Summer, 2002	42	56	0	0	0	2	100
	Spring, 1991	48	46	0	2	0	4	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	28	60	3	1	1	7	100
	Summer, 2002	36	64	0	0	0	1	100
	Spring, 1991	53	44	0	1	0	2	100

In 2010 and 2002, no volunteered categories were specified. In 1991, a volunteered 'other' category was specified.

			se tell me whether isagree with the	following states		are scarce, mer	
		Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2019	5	8	18	67	2	100
	Spring, 2010	4	10	21	64	2	100
France	Spring, 2019	10	12	21	57	1	100
	Spring, 2010	8	12	16	64	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2019	9	11	15	63	2	100
	Spring, 2010	4	15	19	61	2	100
Greece	Spring, 2019	17	29	30	23	1	100
Italy	Spring, 2019	15	25	23	34	3	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	6	8	17	69	0	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	7	5	22	66	0	100
	Spring, 2010	2	10	34	53	1	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	3	4	9	83	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	5	9	19	65	1	100
	Spring, 2010	4	8	16	69	3	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	12	28	26	28	5	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	12	25	23	35	5	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	13	22	18	43	4	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	8	20	20	44	8	100
Poland	Spring, 2019	12	30	22	29	7	100
	Spring, 2010	16	28	27	24	4	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	20	39	22	15	4	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	29	16	28	24	3	100
	Spring, 2010	25	22	21	28	3	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	13	30	17	30	9	100

		Q63. Do wom	en now have m	ore social and leg they had unde	gal rights or fewore Communism?	er social and leg	al rights than
		More rights	Fewer	Same (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total	N=
East Germany	Spring, 2019	55	29	5	10	100	295
	Spring, 1991	6	68	15	11	100	720
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	40	14	34	11	100	1045
	Spring, 1991	20	14	49	17	100	1266
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	44	21	19	16	100	1022
	Spring, 1991	15	24	51	10	100	638
Hungary	Spring, 2019	50	9	23	18	100	1030
	Spring, 1991	37	16	39	8	100	991
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	60	12	17	10	100	1026
Poland	Spring, 2019	52	11	31	6	100	1030
	Spring, 1991	12	31	46	11	100	1496
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	49	17	25	9	100	1012
	Spring, 1991	11	33	43	13	100	282
Russia	Spring, 2019	45	16	21	18	100	1039
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	51	11	28	10	100	1046

In 1991, the question asked 'under the old regime.' In 2019, not asked in pre-1990 West Germany. East Germany refers to respondents in areas corresponding to former German Democratic Republic. The survey was conducted by phone in Germany and in person in the rest of the countries where this question was asked. In addition to variability in opinions across countries, respondents taking part in the survey in person are more likely than those on the phone to provide volunteered responses. These potential mode effects should be considered when comparing findings across countries. For the purposes of this report, the East Germany data for this question is not included in the analysis.

		Q85. How important is religion in your life: very important, somewhat important, not important, or not at all important?							
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total		
United States	Spring, 2019	47	23	13	16	1	100		
	Spring, 2018	47	26	11	15	1	100		
	Spring, 2016	52	25	10	12	1	100		
	Spring, 2015	53	22	11	13	1	100		
	Spring, 2012	54	24	11	9	2	100		
	Spring, 2011	50	27	10	11	1	100		
	Spring, 2010	56	25	9	9	1	100		
	Fall, 2009	55	27	8	9	1	100		
	Spring, 2009	53	29	8	9	1	100		
	Spring, 2008	55	27	9	7	2	100		
	Spring, 2007	56	26	9	8	1	100		
	Spring, 2006	54	29	10	6	1	100		
	Summer, 2002	59	25	8	6	1	100		
France	Spring, 2019	11	22	22	44	1	100		
	Spring, 2018	12	18	28	42	0	100		
	Spring, 2016	14	24	26	36	0	100		
	Spring, 2015	14	26	24	37	0	100		
	Spring, 2011	13	23	25	38	0	100		
	Spring, 2010	12	22	24	43	0	100		
	Fall, 2009	13	24	27	36	0	100		
	· ·	13	24	23	39	1	100		
	Spring, 2009	10	27	26	36	0	100		
	Spring, 2008	12	26	27	36	0	100		
	Spring, 2007					 			
	Spring, 2006	13	31	25	30	0	100		
_	Summer, 2002	11	27	28	33	1	100		
Germany	Spring, 2019	24	31	15	29	1	100		
	Spring, 2018	21	32	19	28	1	100		
	Spring, 2016	21	35	21	23	0	100		
	Spring, 2015	21	33	20	26	0	100		
	Spring, 2011	21	31	23	24	1	100		
	Spring, 2010	25	32	20	23	1	100		
	Fall, 2009	25	32	18	24	1	100		
	Spring, 2009	24	32	18	25	1	100		
	Spring, 2008	22	35	21	21	0	100		
	Spring, 2007	24	32	20	24	1	100		
	Spring, 2006	30	30	20	21	0	100		
	Summer, 2002	21	28	25	25	0	100		
Greece	Spring, 2019	50	30	14	6	0	100		
	Spring, 2018	48	33	14	5	0	100		
	Spring, 2017	46	34	14	5	1	100		
	Spring, 2016	47	35	13	5	0	100		
	Spring, 2013	35	42	16	5	1	100		
	Spring, 2012	38	42	14	6	1	100		
Italy	Spring, 2019	24	37	22	15	2	100		
	Spring, 2018	19	45	23	10	4	100		
	Spring, 2017	16	41	27	12	4	100		
	Spring, 2016	26	47	19	6	1	100		
	Spring, 2015	26	39	19	13	3	100		
	Spring, 2013	30	39	17	10	4	100		
	Spring, 2012	26	40	20	12	3	100		
	Fall, 2009	24	47	20	8	2	100		
	Spring, 2007	25	45	19	8	3	100		
	3pi iiig, 2007	27	42	21	8	1	100		

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		Q85. How in		ion in your life: \important, or no		somewhat import t?	ant, not too
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total
Netherlands	Spring, 2019	19	20	20	40	0	100
	Spring, 2018	17	23	23	36	1	100
	Spring, 2016	16	22	23	39	0	100
Spain	Spring, 2019	24	26	21	29	1	100
	Spring, 2018	21	25	21	33	1	100
	Spring, 2016	18	23	19	39	1	100
	Spring, 2015	21	26	20	31	1	100
	Spring, 2011	22	27	19	31	1	100
	Spring, 2010	24	30	16	30	0	100
	Fall, 2009	23	32	21	24	1	100
	Spring, 2009	23	29	19	28	1	100
	Spring, 2008	19	27	23	30	1	100
	Spring, 2007	18	26	24	31	1	100
	Spring, 2006	25	23	24	27	1	100
Sweden	Spring, 2019	7	15	30	48	0	100
	Spring, 2018	7	17	29	46	0	100
	Spring, 2016	9	15	31	45	0	100
	Spring, 2007	8	17	27	47	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2019	20	19	21	39	1	100
3	Spring, 2018	21	20	23	34	1	100
	Spring, 2016	16	23	26	34	1	100
	Spring, 2015	21	23	20	34	2	100
	Spring, 2011	17	21	21	40	1	100
	Spring, 2010	17	25	23	34	1	100
	Fall, 2009	19	26	23	31	1	100
	Spring, 2009	21	25	22	31	1	100
	Spring, 2008	18	24	23	34	1	100
	Spring, 2007	18	24	24	34	1	100
	Spring, 2006	25	37	26	13	1	100
Bulgaria	Spring, 2019	22	37	28	11	2	100
9	Fall, 2009	15	36	26	19	3	100
	Spring, 2007	13	37	32	15	3	100
	Summer, 2002	13	38	27	20	3	100
Czech Republic	Spring, 2019	9	14	24	48	6	100
con Republic	Spring, 2013	10	16	30	43	1	100
	Fall, 2009	7	11	25	56	1	100
	Spring, 2007	10	14	28	47	0	100
	Summer, 2002	11	17	33	38	1	100
Hungary	Spring, 2019	16	23	25	32	4	100
yui y	Spring, 2019	11	29	35	22	2	100
	Spring, 2017	9	24	35	26	5	100
	Spring, 2016	14	31	34	20	1	100
	Fall, 2009	15	22	30	31	1	100
Lithuania	Spring, 2019	15	40	26	17	3	100
Littidatiia	Spring, 2011	16	43	28	11	2	100
	Fall, 2009	19	42	27	10	2	100
	Fall, 2009	17	444	21	10		100

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		Q85. How in		ion in your life: v important, or not		somewhat import t?	ant, not too
		Very important	Somewhat important	Not too important	Not at all important	DK/Refused	Total
Poland	Spring, 2019	25	44	21	6	3	100
	Spring, 2018	26	46	19	6	3	100
	Spring, 2017	33	43	16	6	3	100
	Spring, 2016	34	50	11	3	2	100
	Spring, 2015	28	47	16	6	4	100
	Spring, 2013	24	48	16	5	6	100
	Spring, 2012	29	46	15	6	4	100
Spring,	Spring, 2011	27	49	17	4	3	100
	Spring, 2010	25	54	13	5	3	100
	Fall, 2009	33	46	14	3	4	100
	Spring, 2009	30	50	14	3	3	100
	Spring, 2008	29	50	14	2	4	100
Sp	Spring, 2007	38	44	13	3	3	100
Slovakia	Spring, 2019	23	32	30	14	2	100
	Fall, 2009	19	34	26	18	3	100
	Spring, 2007	27	29	24	20	0	100
	Summer, 2002	29	36	20	15	0	100
Russia	Spring, 2019	22	41	23	11	3	100
	Spring, 2018	24	40	23	11	3	100
	Spring, 2017	21	38	22	13	6	100
	Spring, 2015	19	42	21	11	7	100
	Spring, 2013	18	38	25	11	9	100
	Spring, 2012	19	40	22	12	8	100
	Spring, 2011	18	39	24	10	9	100
	Spring, 2010	15	35	28	15	7	100
	Fall, 2009	21	32	25	17	5	100
	Spring, 2009	20	40	24	9	6	100
	Spring, 2008	18	39	24	14	5	100
	Spring, 2007	16	34	33	14	4	100
	Spring, 2006	17	43	29	11	2	100
	Summer, 2002	14	33	28	21	4	100
Ukraine	Spring, 2019	23	38	24	9	6	100
	Spring, 2015	22	42	21	8	6	100
	Spring, 2011	20	45	19	7	9	100
	Fall, 2009	20	41	22	12	6	100
	Spring, 2007	24	40	20	9	8	100
	Summer, 2002	35	38	16	11	1	100