Pew Research Center

FOR RELEASE NOVEMBER 27, 2023

U.S.-Germany Relationship Remains Solid, but Underlying Policy Differences Begin to Show

Americans more likely than Germans to see China as security threat

BY *Jacob Poushter, Sneha Gubbala and Jordan Lippert*

FOR MEDIA OR OTHER INQUIRIES:

Jacob Poushter, Associate Director, Global Attitudes Research

Gar Meng Leong, Communications Manager

202.419.4372

www.pewresearch.org

RECOMMENDED CITATION

Pew Research Center, November, 2023, "U.S.-Germany Relationship Remains Solid, but Underlying Policy Differences Begin to Show"

About Pew Research Center

Pew Research Center is a nonpartisan, nonadvocacy fact tank that informs the public about the issues, attitudes and trends shaping the world. It does not take policy positions. The Center conducts public opinion polling, demographic research, computational social science research and other data-driven research. It studies politics and policy; news habits and media; the internet and technology; religion; race and ethnicity; international affairs; social, demographic and economic trends; science; research methodology and data science; and immigration and migration. Pew Research Center is a subsidiary of The Pew Charitable Trusts, its primary funder.

How we did this

In 2017, Pew Research Center and Körber-Stiftung began collaborating on joint public opinion surveys to gauge the state of relations between the United States and Germany. The questions were developed together, and each organization fielded a survey within its own country starting that year. Some of the questions have been repeated annually to allow both organizations to track attitudes over time. Topics surveyed include relations with other countries, the state of the transatlantic partnership on a variety of foreign policy issues, views of China and Russia, democracy, the rise of emerging economies and the state of international relations.

The results have been published in both countries, and the previous reports from Pew Research Center can be found here for October 2022, November 2021, September 2020, May 2020, March 2020, 2019 and February 2018.

The Körber-Stiftung findings are contained within their larger "Berlin Pulse" report and can be found here for 2023 and prior years.

For the U.S. findings, Pew Research Center surveyed 1,014 U.S. adults from Sept. 15 to Sept. 24, 2023. The survey was conducted by Ipsos for Pew Research Center on the Ipsos KnowledgePanel Government & Academic Omnibus. Ipsos' KnowledgePanel is an online survey panel recruited using address-based sampling. The survey is weighted by gender, age, race, ethnicity, education, income and other categories.

German findings are from a Körber-Stiftung survey conducted by Kantar Public from Sept. 6 to Sept. 12, 2023, among 1,057 respondents via telephone.

Here are the questions used for this report, along with responses, and the U.S. survey methodology.

U.S.-Germany Relationship Remains Solid, but Underlying Policy Differences Begin to Show

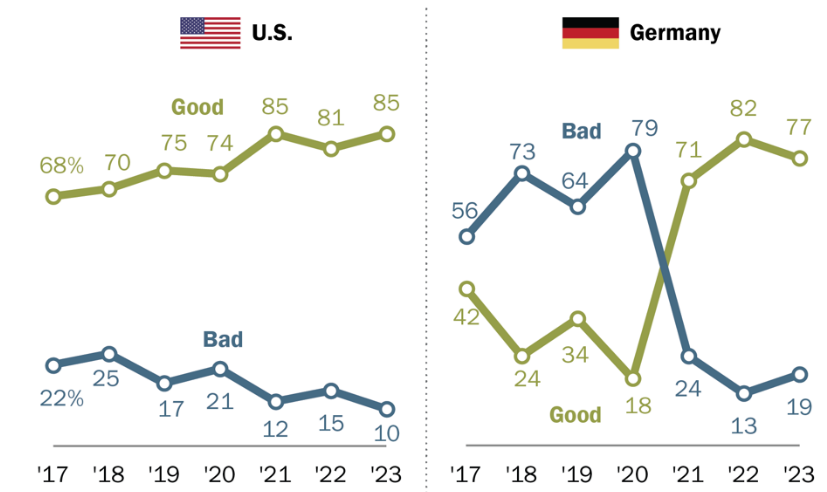
Americans more likely than Germans to see China as security threat

Findings from the seventh joint survey between Pew Research Center and Körber-Stiftung demonstrate that Americans and Germans see the relationship between their countries in a positive light, even as major world events test the limits of the trans-Atlantic alliance.

With the war between Ukraine and Russia stretching almost two years and the more recent explosion in violence between Hamas and Israel threatening to escalate into a regional conflict, the stakes of foreign policy for the two allies remain critical. And each country's relationship with a more assertive China remains a major topic in world affairs.

Americans and Germans continue to see bilateral relations as good

% who say relations today between the U.S. and Germany are ...



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. Prior to 2022, U.S. surveys were conducted over the phone. German results are all from telephone surveys.
Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 15-24, 2023. Q2. Körber-Stiftung survey of German adults conducted Sept. 6-12, 2023.
"U.S.-Germany Relationship Remains Solid, but Underlying Policy Differences Begin to Show"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Here are some key takeaways from the joint survey, conducted in September 2023 among 1,014 American and 1,057 German adults:

The U.S.-Germany relationship

- 85% of Americans and 77% of Germans see the relationship between their countries as good. This is consistent with recent years, though prior to President Joe Biden's election in 2020, German views of the relationship were much more negative.

- A majority of Americans see Germany as a partner on key issues, including dealing with China and the war in Ukraine. But Germans are less confident about partnering with the

United States on China policy and on climate protection, though most affirm that the U.S. is a partner in free trade, democracy promotion and dealing with the war in Ukraine.

- In the U.S., Democrats and those who lean toward the Democratic Party are more likely to see Germany as a partner on key issues than are Republicans and Republican-leaning independents. But in general, positive sentiment toward Germany is bipartisan.

- Americans see the United Kingdom as their most important foreign policy partner, even as Germans see the U.S. filling that role. France is Germany's second choice as the most important foreign policy partner, while Americans see China as second-most important.

- 57% of Germans see their country's international power as diminishing in recent years, even as most Americans think German power has not changed much in that time.

American and German views of Russia

- Many Americans and Germans see Russia as a military threat, but Americans are much more convinced of this – 68% say Russia is a *major* threat, compared with 36% of Germans. Concerns about Russia's military as a major threat are up 14 percentage points in Germany since last year.

- People in both countries see the U.S.-Germany relationship as more important than their respective relationships with Russia. But among Germans, supporters of the right-wing populist party Alternative for Germany (AfD) are keener on Russian ties than supporters of other parties.

American and German views of China and other emerging economies

- Seven-in-ten Americans see China as a major economic and security threat. But only 13% of Germans say China is a major threat to Germany's security, and 49% say the same about China as an economic threat. Majorities in both the U.S. and Germany see China's growing influence as a bad thing for their countries.

- There is less concern among Americans and Germans about the rise of other emerging economies such as Brazil, India and South Africa. In fact, 51% of Germans say the rise of emerging economies is a good thing for their country. Americans are more divided on this; 39% say it is a good thing, 23% say it is a bad thing and 35% say it does not make a difference.

- There is strong agreement in both countries that democratic nations are best equipped to deal with major international catastrophes such as military tensions, climate change and the COVID-19 pandemic. Around eight-in-ten Americans and Germans hold this view.

These are among the findings from a Pew Research Center survey of 1,014 U.S. adults conducted Sept. 15-24, 2023, as well as a Körber-Stiftung survey of 1,057 German adults conducted Sept. 6-12, 2023.

As in 2022, the survey of Americans was conducted online. From 2017 to 2021, Pew Research Center's U.S. surveys on this topic were conducted via telephone. The surveys of Germans were conducted entirely via phone in all years, including 2023. Additional results from the Körber-Stiftung survey can be found in the newly released "Berlin Pulse" publication.

How Americans and Germans see bilateral relations

People in the United States and Germany continue to say that relations between their countries are good: 85% of Americans see relations between the U.S. and Germany as somewhat or very good. Meanwhile, 77% of Germans say the same.

Since 2021, German views of the trans-Atlantic relationship have been positive, as have overall attitudes toward the U.S. and toward President Joe Biden. However, prior to 2021, when President Donald Trump was in office, most Germans saw relations with the U.S. in a negative light as America's image crumbled across Europe.

- In the U.S., there are relatively few differences across demographic and political groups on views of Germany.

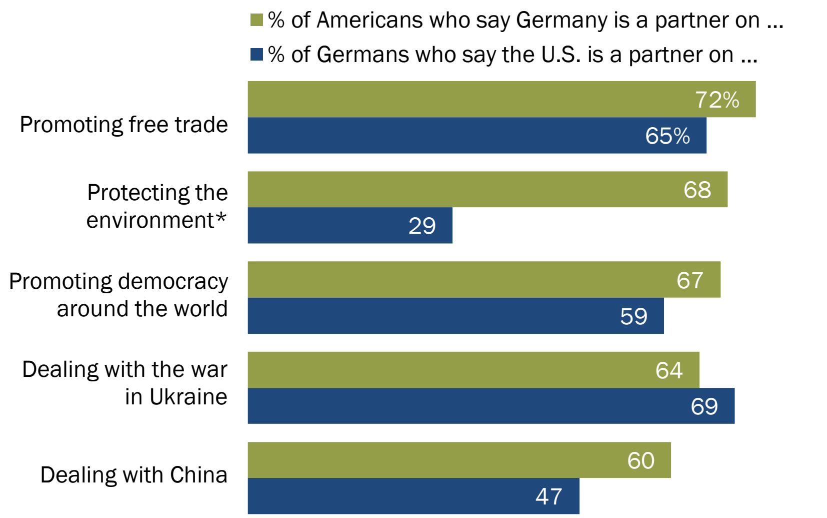
- In Germany, however, AfD supporters tend to be more skeptical of U.S.-Germany relations than supporters of other parties.

Americans tend to view Germany as a partner on a variety of international issues. A majority of Americans see Germany as a partner on promoting free trade, protecting the environment, promoting democracy around the world, dealing with the war in Ukraine and relations with China.

Similar shares of Germans also see the U.S. as a partner on Ukraine, trade and democracy promotion. However, only about half of Germans see the U.S. as a partner on China, and even fewer see the U.S. as a partner on protecting the environment (29%). In the 2022 survey, four-in-ten Germans considered the U.S. a partner on climate protection.

- For all the issues asked about, Democrats are more likely than Republicans to see Germany as a partner. This difference is most apparent on the issue of protecting the environment. But majorities of Republicans still see Germany as a

Americans and Germans see each other as partners on trade and the war in Ukraine, but less so on environmental protection and dealing with China

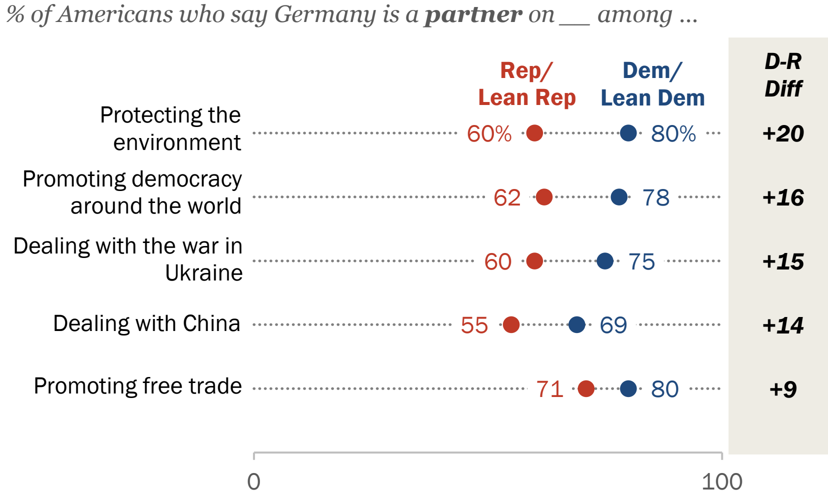


* In Germany, the survey asked about "climate protection."
Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 15-24, 2023. Q3a-e. Körber-Stiftung survey of German adults conducted Sept. 6-12, 2023.
"U.S.-Germany Relationship Remains Solid, but Underlying Policy Differences Begin to Show"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say Germany is a partner on various issues

*% of Americans who say Germany is a **partner** on __ among ...*



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant.
Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 15-24, 2023. Q3a-e.
"U.S.-Germany Relationship Remains Solid, but Underlying Policy Differences Begin to Show"

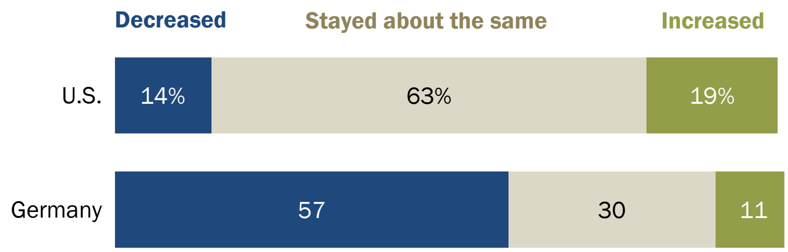
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

partner on all the issues in the survey.

Germans and Americans do disagree on whether Germany has lost international influence in recent years. A majority of Germans say that their country's influence has decreased in the past two years, rather than increased or stayed the same. However, a majority of Americans say that Germany's influence has remained the same. This two-year period roughly corresponds to the post-Angela Merkel era: Merkel left office in December 2021 after 16 years as chancellor of Germany.

Germans see Germany losing international influence, but Americans see German power holding steady

% who say Germany's international influence in the world over the last two years has …



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.
Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 15-24, 2023. Q10.
Körber-Stiftung survey of German adults conducted Sept. 6-12, 2023.
"U.S.-Germany Relationship Remains Solid, but Underlying Policy Differences Begin to Show"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

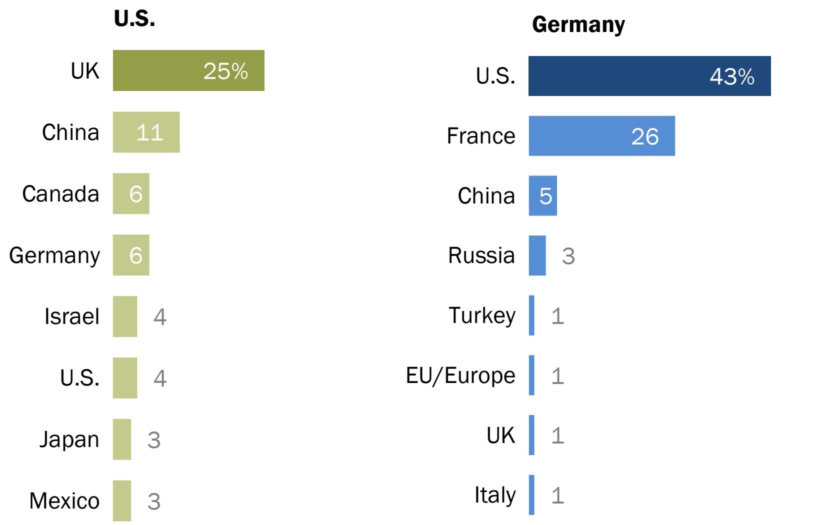
- Germans who support the parties in opposition to the ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD) coalition are more likely to see Germany's international influence in decline.

Most important foreign policy partner for U.S. and Germany

While Americans and Germans both view the relationship between their countries as generally positive, they have differing views on their countries' most important partners for foreign policy.

Germans say the U.S. is their most important partner in foreign policy, while Americans name the UK

% who say __ is the most important partner for American/German foreign policy



Note: Open-ended question. In the U.S., responses that were given by fewer than 3% of respondents are not shown. In Germany, responses that were given by fewer than 1% of respondents are not shown. Those who did not answer are not shown.
Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 15-24, 2023. Q1. Körber-Stiftung survey of German adults conducted Sept. 6-12, 2023.
"U.S.-Germany Relationship Remains Solid, but Underlying Policy Differences Begin to Show"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Germans generally name the United States as their most important foreign policy partner, with 43% saying this. Far fewer Americans say the same of Germany (6%). Instead, a quarter of Americans name the United Kingdom as the most important partner for American foreign policy. These findings are consistent with those from similar surveys in recent years.

The next largest share of Americans (11%) say that China is the most important foreign policy partner for the U.S. Another 6% say Canada, while smaller shares name Israel, Japan, Mexico or the U.S. itself.

Among Germans, about a quarter (26%) name France as the most important partner for German foreign policy, while another 5% choose China. Since last year, the percentage of German respondents who refer to the U.S. as their country's most vital foreign policy partner has grown seven percentage points, while those who opt for France has diminished by six points.

- While there are no major partisan differences among those who name the UK as America's most important partner, Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say that Canada is the most important partner to the U.S.

- Republicans are far more likely than Democrats to see Israel as their country's most important partner. (The survey was conducted before the latest Israel-Hamas war.)

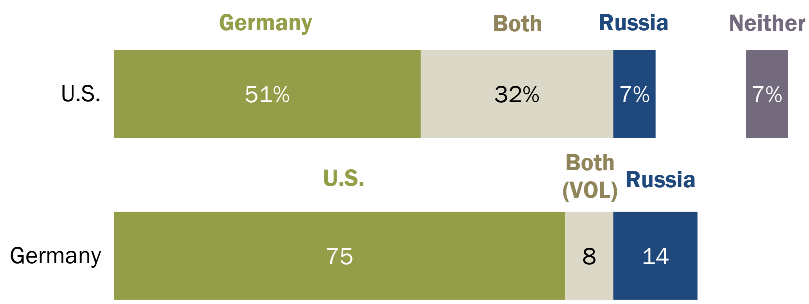
- In Germany, 14% of AfD supporters name Russia as their country's most important partner, a significantly larger share than any other party.

American and German views on Russia and Ukraine

Both Americans and Germans prioritize their country's relationship with each other over relations with Russia. About half of Americans (51%) say it is more important for the United States to have a close relationship with Germany, while about a third (32%) say relationships with both Germany and Russia are equally important. Another 7% say that it is more important for the U.S. to prioritize a close relationship with Russia over one with Germany. And a similar share says that neither relationship is important.

Americans and Germans alike prioritize their bilateral relations over relationships with Russia

% who say it is more important for their country to have a close relationship with …



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. "Neither" was a response option only in the U.S. "Both" was a volunteered category in Germany.
Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 15-24, 2023. Q9. Körber-Stiftung survey of German adults conducted Sept. 6-12, 2023.
"U.S.-Germany Relationship Remains Solid, but Underlying Policy Differences Begin to Show"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Among Germans, three-quarters say a close relationship with the U.S. is more important than a relationship with Russia. Conversely, 14% prioritize a relationship with Russia over one with the U.S., and another 8% volunteer that both relationships are important.

In both countries, views are divided along party lines:

- In the U.S., Democrats are more likely than Republicans to prioritize a relationship with Germany over Russia (62% vs. 49%).

- In Germany, supporters of AfD are divided on whether it is more critical for Germany to have a close relationship with the U.S. (44%) or Russia (39%).

- Americans with a bachelor's degree or more education are 22 percentage points more likely than those with less education to say the relationship with Germany is more important than the relationship with Russia.

Echoing their relatively similar views on the relationship between the U.S. and Germany, as well as their country's relations with Russia, Americans and Germans also are aligned when it comes to seeing each other as a partner in addressing the situation in Ukraine. Over six-in-ten (64%) in the U.S. say that Germany is a partner in dealing with the war in Ukraine, and a similar share of Germans (69%) say the same of the U.S.

- Views in the U.S. vary by age, with adults ages 65 and older being more likely than their younger counterparts to see Germany as a partner in dealing with the war in Ukraine.

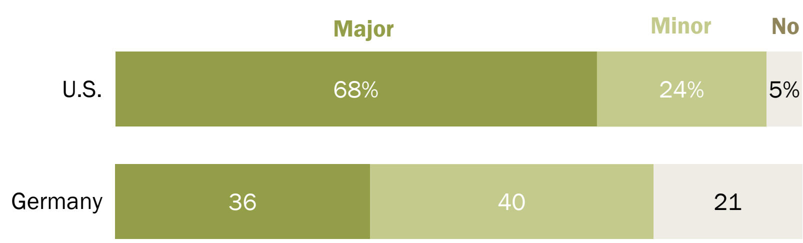
- In Germany, while there are no significant differences between the oldest and youngest age groups, AfD supporters are much less likely to see the U.S. as a partner on Ukraine than supporters of other parties.

At the same time, Americans and Germans diverge on the severity of Russia's military threat. Those in the U.S. are far more likely than those in Germany to say Russia represents a major military threat to their country's security.

Nearly seven-in-ten Americans (68%) view Russia as a major military threat, while about a quarter consider Russia a minor threat. Only 5% say Russia constitutes *no* threat at all to American security.

Americans are more likely than Germans to view Russia as a major military threat

% who say Russia represents (a) __ military threat to American/German security



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.
Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 15-24, 2023. Q7. Körber-Stiftung survey of German adults conducted Sept. 6-12, 2023.
"U.S.-Germany Relationship Remains Solid, but Underlying Policy Differences Begin to Show"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

In contrast, 36% of Germans say that Russia represents a major military threat to German security. Four-in-ten Germans say that Russia represents a minor threat, while about two-in-ten (21%) do not view Russia as a threat to Germany security at all.

Both American and German views are largely consistent with findings from last year, with Americans being significantly more likely than Germans to say Russia represents a major threat to their country's security. The share of Germans who say Russia is a major threat has increased somewhat from last year (from 22% in 2022 to 36% in 2023).

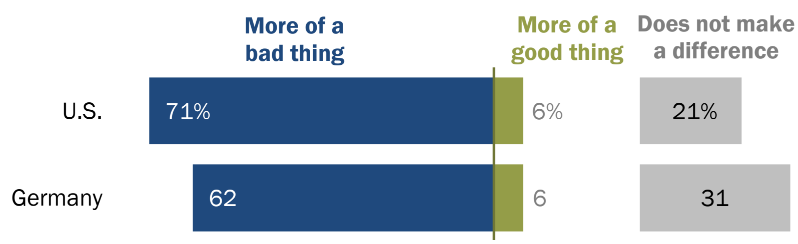
- In the U.S., older adults are more likely than their younger counterparts to view Russia as a major military threat. About three-quarters (74%) of those 65 and older say this, compared with roughly six-in-ten adults under 30 (59%).

Views of China's rise and its economic and military threat

Americans overwhelmingly see China's gain in global influence in recent years as more of a bad thing for the United States. A majority of Germans say the same regarding their country.

How Americans and Germans assess China's rise

% who say China's gain in global influence in recent years is __ for their country



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.
Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 15-24, 2023. Q4. Körber-Stiftung survey of German adults conducted Sept. 6-12, 2023.
"U.S.-Germany Relationship Remains Solid, but Underlying Policy Differences Begin to Show"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

- More Republicans than Democrats hold the opinion that China's rise is bad for the U.S. (82% vs. 70%).

- In Germany, AfD supporters are less concerned about China's rise: Nearly equal shares say China's rise is more of a bad thing (42%) as say it does not make a difference (38%). Another 19% say it is a good thing.

- Americans ages 50 and older are more convinced than Americans ages 18 to 49 that China's rise is a bad thing for the U.S. (81% vs. 62%), as are Americans who have at least a bachelor's degree compared with those who have less education (79% vs. 67%).

- In Germany, majorities across age groups and education levels see China's rise as more of a bad thing.

Americans also see China as both a military threat to U.S. security and an economic threat to the U.S. economy, with seven-in-ten saying so on each question.

How different demographic groups see China as a military and economic threat largely mirrors opinions on China's rise:

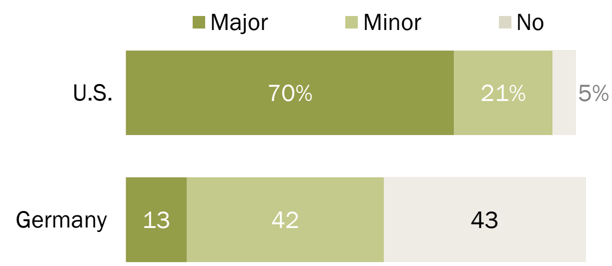
- Republicans and Democrats agree that China is both a major military threat (81% vs. 67%) and a major economic threat (79% vs. 69%), but Republicans feel this more acutely.

- Americans ages 50 and older are more likely to see China as both a major military threat (79%) and major economic threat (75%) than Americans ages 18 to 49 (62% and 67%, respectively).

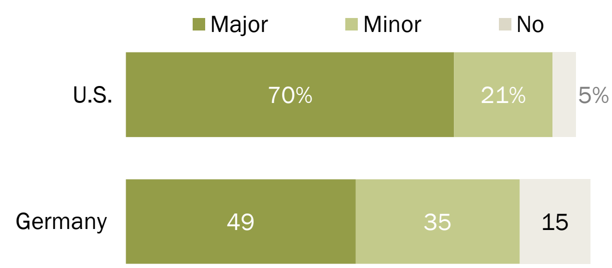
Germans do not see China as an equal military and economic threat. Instead, Germans are much more worried about China as an economic threat.

Americans see China as a military and economic threat to U.S.; Germans are more skeptical of military threat

*% who say China represents (a) __ **military** threat to their country*



*% who say China represents (a) __ **economic** threat to their country*



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.
Source: Pew Research Century survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 15-24, 2023. Q6a & Q8. Körber-Stiftung survey of German adults conducted Sept. 6-12, 2023.
"U.S.-Germany Relationship Remains Solid, but Underlying Policy Differences Begin to Show"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Over eight-in-ten Germans see China as a major or minor economic threat, with 49% saying the country presents a *major* economic threat. Supporters of the Greens are especially likely to say this.

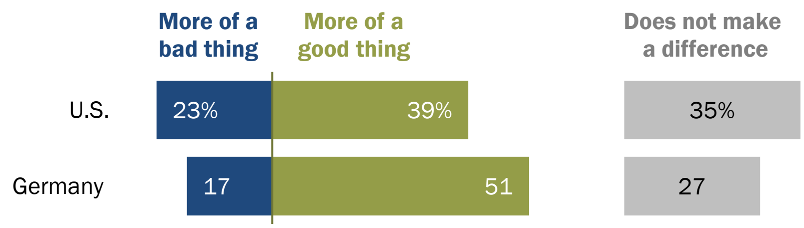
Although 55% of Germans do consider China a major or minor military threat, just 13% consider it a *major* threat to German security.

Views on the rise of emerging economies

When asked about the rise of emerging economies such as Brazil, India and South Africa, Americans are less concerned than they are about China's rise. Around four-in-ten say that if these types of countries gained global influence in future years, it would be *more of a good thing* for the United States. A similar share says it does not make a difference (35%). Roughly one-in-four Americans say it would be *more of a bad thing* for the U.S.

Many in the U.S. and Germany see rise of emerging economies in a positive light

% who say, in future years, if emerging economies such as Brazil, India and South Africa gained influence globally, it would be __ for their country



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.
Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 15-24, 2023. Q5. Körber-Stiftung survey of German adults conducted Sept. 6-12, 2023.
"U.S.-Germany Relationship Remains Solid, but Underlying Policy Differences Begin to Show"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Overall, German respondents viewed the rise of emerging economies more positively than Americans: Some 51% of Germans said it would be *more of a good thing* for Germany, while 17% said it would be *more of a bad thing* and 27% see it neutrally.

- Supporters of the Greens in Germany are most likely to see rise of emerging economies as a good thing, with three-quarters saying so.

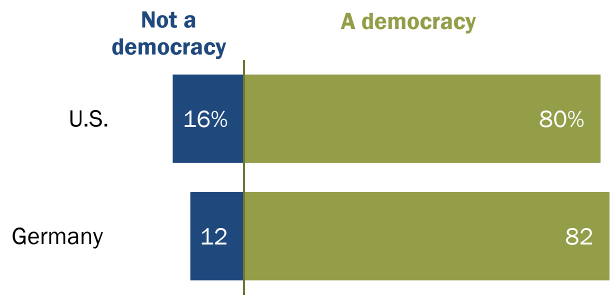
Views of whether democracies or non-democracies are better equipped for global problems

Americans and Germans overwhelmingly say democratic governments are better than non-democracies at dealing with long-term global challenges such as pandemics, climate change and military tensions, with roughly eight-in-ten holding this opinion in each country.

- Overwhelming majorities of Republicans and Democrats agree that a democracy is the system of government best able to deal with global issues. However, Republicans are more open to non-democratic governance (19%) than Democrats (10%).
- In Germany, 62% of AfD supporters say democracies are better able to solve global issues, while 28% say non-democracies are better equipped to deal with these problems.

Large majorities think democracies are better global problem solvers than non-democratic governments

% who say a government that is __ is better able to deal with long-term global challenges such as pandemics, climate change and military tensions



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown.
Source: Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults conducted Sept. 15-24, 2023. Q11. Körber-Stiftung survey of German adults conducted Sept. 6-12, 2023.
"U.S.-Germany Relationship Remains Solid, but Underlying Policy Differences Begin to Show"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Acknowledgments

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

Jacob Poushter, *Associate Director, Global Attitudes Research*
Sneha Gubbala, *Research Assistant*
Jordan Lippert, *Research Assistant*

Laverne Acheampong, *Administrative Associate*
Dorene Asare-Marfo, *Panel Manager*
Sarah Austin, *Research Assistant*
Peter Bell, *Associate Director, Digital Production*
Janakee Chavda, *Assistant Digital Producer*
Laura Clancy, *Research Analyst*
Moira Fagan, *Research Associate*
Janell Fetterolf, *Senior Researcher*
Christine Huang, *Research Associate*
Anna Jackson, *Editorial Assistant*
David Kent, *Senior Copy Editor*
Hannah Klein, *Senior Communications Manager*
Gar Meng Leong, *Communications Manager*
Rebecca Leppert, *Copy Editor*
Carolyn Lau, *International Research Methodologist*
John Carlo Mandapat, *Information Graphics Designer*
Patrick Moynihan, *Associate Director, International Research Methods*
Laura Silver, *Associate Director, Global Attitudes Research*
Sofi Sinozich, *International Research Methodologist*
Richard Wike, *Director, Global Attitudes Research*

Methodology

Ipsos KnowledgePanel and Omnibus methodology

Introduction

Ipsos delivers affordable, statistically valid online research through KnowledgePanel®. KnowledgePanel is the first and largest online research panel that is representative of the entire U.S. population. Panel members are randomly recruited through probability-based sampling, and households are provided with access to the Internet and hardware if needed.

Ipsos recruits panel members using address-based sampling (ABS) methods to ensure full coverage of all households in the nation. Once household members are recruited for the panel and assigned to a study sample, they are notified by email for survey taking, or panelists can visit their online member page for survey taking (instead of being contacted by telephone or postal mail). This allows surveys to be fielded quickly and economically. In addition, this approach reduces the burden placed on respondents, since email notification is less intrusive than telephone calls and the self-administered mode minimizes social desirability bias and positivity effects that can be present with an interviewer. Many respondents find answering online questionnaires more interesting and engaging than being questioned by a telephone interviewer. Furthermore, respondents have the convenience to choose what day and time to complete their assigned survey.

KnowledgePanel methodology

KnowledgePanel provides probability-based samples with an "organic" representation of the study population for measurement of public opinions, attitudes and behaviors. The panel was first developed in 1999 by Knowledge Networks, an Ipsos company. Panel members are randomly selected so that survey results can properly represent the U.S. population with a measurable level of accuracy and a calculable response rate, features that are not obtainable from nonprobability or opt-in online panels.

KnowledgePanel's recruitment process was originally based exclusively on a national random-digit dial (RDD) sampling methodology. In 2009, in light of the growing proportion of cellphone-only households, Ipsos migrated to an ABS recruitment methodology via the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File. ABS not only improves population coverage, but also provides a more effective means for recruiting hard-to-reach individuals, such as cellphone-only households, non-internet households, young adults and persons of color. Households without an internet connection are provided with a web-enabled device and free internet service.

After initially accepting the invitation to join the panel, participants are asked to complete a short demographic survey (the initial Core Profile Survey); answers to this survey allow efficient panel sampling and weighting for future surveys. Upon completing the Core Profile Survey, participants become active panel members. All panel members are provided privacy and confidentiality protections.

Adults from sampled households are invited to join KnowledgePanel through a series of mailings, including an initial invitation letter, a reminder postcard and a subsequent follow-up letter. Moreover, telephone refusal-conversion calls are made to nonresponding households for which a telephone number could be matched to a physical address. Invited households can join the panel by:

- Completing and mailing back a paper form in a postage-paid envelope
- Calling a toll-free hotline phone number maintained by Ipsos
- Going to a designated Ipsos website and completing the recruitment form online

KnowledgePanel Latino℠ recruitment

In 2008, KnowledgePanel Latino℠ was developed to provide researchers with the capability to conduct representative online surveys with U.S. Hispanics, including both English- and Spanish-dominant Hispanics. With the advent of KnowledgePanel Latino, the first U.S. online panel representative of Hispanics was established to include those without internet access and those who only speak Spanish. Hispanic members recruited through KnowledgePanel's traditional ABS sampling methodology described above are supplemented with recruitment using a custom dual-frame RDD sampling methodology targeting telephone exchanges associated with census blocks that have a 65% or greater Latino population density (this density level covers just over 50% of the U.S. Hispanic population). Moreover, cellular numbers from rates centers with high concentration of Hispanics are also used to improve the representation of samples. With this telephone recruitment, households are screened in the Spanish language to only recruit those homes where Spanish is spoken at least half the time.

Household member recruitment

During the initial recruitment survey, all household members are enumerated. Following enumeration, attempts are made to recruit every household member who is at least 13 years old to participate in KnowledgePanel surveys. For household members ages 13 to 17, consent is collected from the parents or the legal guardian during the initial recruitment interview. No direct communication with teenagers is attempted before obtaining parental consent.

Survey sampling from KnowledgePanel

Once panel members are recruited and profiled by completing KnowledgePanel's Core Profile Survey, they become eligible for selection for client surveys. Typically, specific survey samples are based on an equal probability selection method (EPSEM) for general population surveys. Customized stratified random sampling based on "profile" data can also be implemented as required by the study design. Profile data can also be used when a survey calls for pre-screening – that is, members are drawn from a subsample of the panel, such as females, Republicans, grocery shoppers, etc. (This can reduce screening costs, particularly for lower incidence subgroups.) In such cases, Ipsos ensures that all subsequent survey samples drawn that week are selected in such a way as to result in a sample that remains representative of the population distributions.

As detailed above, significant resources and infrastructure are devoted to the recruitment process for KnowledgePanel so that its active panel members can properly represent the adult population of the U.S. This representation is achieved not only with respect to a broad set of geodemographic indicators, but also for hard-to-reach adults (such as those without internet access or Spanish-language-dominant Hispanics) who are recruited in proper proportions. Consequently, the raw distribution of KnowledgePanel mirrors that of the U.S. adults fairly closely, barring occasional disparities that emerge for certain subgroups due to differential recruitment and attrition.

For selection of general population samples from KnowledgePanel, a patented methodology has been developed such that samples from the panel behave as EPSEM samples. Briefly, this methodology starts by weighting the pool of active members to the geodemographic benchmarks secured from a combination of the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) and the latest March supplement of the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (CPS) along several dimensions. Typically, the geodemographic dimensions used for weighting the entire KnowledgePanel include the following dimensions, with additional nesting of dimensions as well:

- Gender (male/female)
- Age (18-29, 30-44, 45-59, and 60+)
- Race/Hispanic ethnicity (White/non-Hispanic, Black/non-Hispanic, Other or 2+ races/non-Hispanic, Hispanic)
- Education (less than high school, high school, some college, bachelor and beyond)
- Census Region (Northeast, Midwest, South, West)
- Household income (under $10K, $10K to <$25K, $25K to <$50K, $50K to <$75K, $75K to <$100K, $100K to <$150K, and $150K+)
- Home ownership status (own, rent/other)
- Household size (1, 2, 3, 4+)

- Metropolitan area (yes, no)
- Hispanic origin (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, other, non-Hispanic)
- Language dominance (non-Hispanic and English dominant, bilingual, and Spanish dominant Hispanic) when survey is administered in both English and Spanish

Using the resulting weights as measures of size, a probability-proportional-to-size (PPS) procedure is used to select study specific samples. It is the application of this PPS methodology with the imposed size measures that produces demographically balanced and representative samples that behave as EPSEM. Moreover, in instances where a study design requires any form of oversampling of certain subgroups, such departures from an EPSEM design are accounted for by adjusting the design weights in reference to the census benchmarks for the population of interest.

Survey administration

Once assigned to a survey, members receive a notification email letting them know there is a new survey available for them to complete. This email notification contains a link that sends them to the survey. No login name or password is required. The field period depends on the client's needs and can range anywhere from a few hours to several weeks.

Typically, after three days, automatic email reminders are sent to all nonresponding panel members in the sample. Additional email reminders are sent and custom reminder schedules are set up as needed. To assist panel members with their survey taking, each individual has a personalized member portal listing all assigned surveys that have yet to be completed.

Ipsos also operates an ongoing modest incentive program to encourage participation and create member loyalty. The incentive program includes special raffles and sweepstakes with both cash rewards and other prizes to be won. On average, panel members complete three to four surveys per month with durations of about 10 to 15 minutes per survey. An additional incentive is usually provided for longer surveys.

Response rates

As a member of the American Association of Public Opinion Research (AAPOR), Ipsos follows the AAPOR standards for response rate reporting. While the AAPOR standards were established for single survey administrations and not for multistage panel surveys, Ipsos uses the Callegaro-DiSogra (2008) algorithms for calculating KnowledgePanel survey response rates.

Omnibus survey completion rates

The field period and completion and qualification rates for this survey are presented below:

Omnibus survey completion rates

Field start	Field end	N fielded	N completed	Completion rate	N qualified	Qualification rate
Sept. 15, 2023	Sept. 24, 2023	1,637	1,014	62%	1,014	100%

Ipsos KnowledgePanel weighting

Study-specific post-stratification weights

Once all survey data have been collected and processed, design weights are adjusted to account for any differential nonresponse that may have occurred. Depending on the specific target population for a given study, geodemographic distributions for the corresponding population are obtained from the CPS, the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS), or in certain instances from the weighted KnowledgePanel profile data. For this purpose, an iterative proportional fitting (raking) procedure is used to produce the final weights. In the final step, calculated weights are examined to identify and, if necessary, trim outliers at the extreme upper and lower tails of the weight distribution. The resulting weights are then scaled to aggregate to the total sample size of all eligible respondents.

For this study, the following benchmark distributions of U.S. adults age 18 and over from the 2022 CPS were used for the raking adjustment of weights:

- Gender (male, female) by Age (18-29, 30-44, 45-59, and 60+)
- Race/ethnicity (White/other non-Hispanic, Black non-Hispanic, Hispanic)
- Education (less than high school or high school graduate, some college, bachelor and beyond)
- Census region (Northeast, Midwest, South, West)
- Household income (under $25K, $25K to <$50K, $50K to <$75K, $75K to <$100k, $100K to <$150K, and $150K+)

The margin of sampling error is plus or minus 3.2 percentage points at the 95% confidence level, for results based on the entire sample of adults. The margin of sampling error takes into account the design effect, which was 1.05. The margin of sampling error is higher and varies for results based on subsamples. In reporting of the findings, percentage points are rounded off to the nearest whole number. As a result, percentages in a given table column may total slightly higher or lower than 100%. In questions that permit multiple responses, columns may total substantially more than 100%, depending on the number of different responses offered by each respondent.

Topline questionnaire

Pew Research Center
September 2023 Survey
November 27, 2023 Release

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on a national sample of the United States. For further details on sample designs, see Methodology section.

- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline "total" columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.

- The U.S. survey was conducted by Ipsos for Pew Research Center on the Ipsos KnowledgePanel G&A Omnibus. Many questions have been asked in previous surveys on Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel and on the phone. Web and phone trends for comparison are provided in separate tables throughout the topline. The extent of the mode differences varies across questions; while there are negligible differences on some questions, others have more pronounced differences. Caution should be taken when evaluating online and phone estimates.

- German results, based on a nationally representative telephone sample, can be found through Körber-Stiftung.

		September, 2023
		United States
Q1. Which country currently is the most important partner for American foreign policy?	UK	25
	U.S.	4
	Canada	6
	China	11
	Europe	2
	Russia	1
	France	1
	Germany	6
	Israel	4
	Japan	3
	Mexico	3
	Ukraine	1
	India	2
	Other	3
	All	0
	None	1
	DK/Refused	24
	Total	100
	N=	1014

Data is displayed vertically.

U.S. WEB TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

		July-August, 2022
		United States
Q1. Which country currently is the most important partner for American foreign policy?	Asia	0
	Africa	0
	Canada	5
	China	11
	Europe	2
	European Union	1
	France	1
	Germany	3
	Israel	6
	Japan	2
	Mexico	2
	NATO	0
	Russia	1
	Saudi Arabia	0
	South America	0
	South Korea	0
	Ukraine	1
	United Kingdom	24
	United States	2
	Other	2
	All	0
	None	1
	DK/Refused	36
	Total	100
	N=	12147

Data is displayed vertically.

U.S. PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

		September, 2021	September, 2020	April, 2020	September, 2019	September, 2018	October, 2017
		United States	United States	United States	United States	United States	United States
Q1. Which country currently is the most important partner for American foreign policy?	**Australia**	2	0	0	1	0	0
	Canada	13	7	10	9	12	3
	China	9	14	18	16	18	15
	France	4	2	1	1	1	3
	Germany	7	10	6	4	3	5
	United Kingdom	31	27	26	22	21	20
	Israel	9	10	3	9	8	9
	Italy	0	0	1	0	1	0
	Japan	1	1	1	2	1	3
	Mexico	6	5	4	6	4	2
	North Korea	0	1	1	1	0	1
	Poland	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Russia	3	4	4	2	5	4
	South Korea	1	1	0	0	0	1
	Turkey	0	0	0	0	0	0
	The European Union (EU)	3	5	2	4	3	1
	Other	2	2	3	2	2	4
	DK/Refused	10	11	20	22	19	29
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
	N=	1008	1007	1008	1004	1006	1012

Data is displayed vertically.

		Q2. In general, how would you describe relations today between the United States and Germany?					
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**September, 2023**	22	63	8	2	4	100

U.S. WEB TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

		Q2. In general, how would you describe relations today between the United States and Germany?					
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**July-August, 2022**	16	65	13	2	5	100

U.S. PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

		Q2. In general, how would you describe relations today between the United States and Germany?					
		Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**September, 2021**	23	62	10	2	3	100
	September, 2020	19	55	17	4	5	100
	September, 2019	13	62	14	3	9	100
	September, 2018	12	58	21	4	6	100
	October, 2017	9	59	18	4	10	100

		Q3a. For each of the following issues, do you see Germany as a partner or not? a. Protecting the environment			
		Yes, as a partner	No, not a partner	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**September, 2023**	68	25	6	100

U.S. WEB TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

		Q3a. For each of the following issues, do you see Germany as a partner or not? a. Protecting the environment			
		Yes, as a partner	No, not a partner	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**July-August, 2022**	63	29	8	100

U.S. PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

		Q3a. For each of the following issues, do you see Germany as a partner or not? a. Protecting the environment			
		Yes, as a partner	No, not a partner	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**September, 2021**	80	17	3	100
	September, 2020	76	21	3	100

		Q3b. For each of the following issues, do you see Germany as a partner or not? b. Dealing with China			
		Yes, as a partner	No, not a partner	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**September, 2023**	60	34	6	100

U.S. WEB TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

		Q3b. For each of the following issues, do you see Germany as a partner or not? b. Dealing with China			
		Yes, as a partner	No, not a partner	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**July-August, 2022**	52	40	8	100

U.S. PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

		Q3b. For each of the following issues, do you see Germany as a partner or not? b. Dealing with China			
		Yes, as a partner	No, not a partner	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**September, 2021**	59	39	2	100
	September, 2020	60	35	5	100

		Q3c. For each of the following issues, do you see Germany as a partner or not? c. Promoting democracy around the world			
		Yes, as a partner	No, not a partner	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**September, 2023**	67	27	6	100

		Q3d. For each of the following issues, do you see Germany as a partner or not? d. Promoting free trade			
		Yes, as a partner	No, not a partner	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**September, 2023**	72	21	6	100

U.S. PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

		Q3d. For each of the following issues, do you see Germany as a partner or not? d. Promoting free trade			
		Yes, as a partner	No, not a partner	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**September, 2021**	78	19	3	100
	September, 2020	76	21	3	100

		Q3e. For each of the following issues, do you see Germany as a partner or not? e. Dealing with the war in Ukraine			
		Yes, as a partner	No, not a partner	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**September, 2023**	64	30	6	100

		Q4. In recent years, China has gained a lot of influence globally. Do you see this as more of a good thing, more of a bad thing or does it not make a difference for our country?				
		More of a good thing for our country	More of a bad thing for our country	Does not make a difference	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**September, 2023**	6	71	21	3	100

		Q5. In future years, if emerging economies such as Brazil, India and South Africa gained influence globally, do you see this as more of a good thing, more of a bad thing or does it not make a difference for our country?				
		More of a good thing for our country	More of a bad thing for our country	Does not make a difference	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**September, 2023**	39	23	35	3	100

		Q6. Do the following countries represent a major military threat, minor military threat or no military threat to American security? a. China				
		Major military threat	Minor military threat	No military threat	DK/Refused	Total
United States	**September, 2023**	70	21	5	4	100

U.S. WEB TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

		Q6. Do the following countries represent a major military threat, minor military threat or no military threat to American security? a. China				
		Major military threat	Minor military threat	No military threat	DK/Refused	Total
United States	July-August, 2022	64	26	7	3	100

		Q7. Do the following countries represent a major military threat, minor military threat or no military threat to American security? b. Russia				
		Major military threat	Minor military threat	No military threat	DK/Refused	Total
United States	September, 2023	68	24	5	3	100

U.S. WEB TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

		Q7. Do the following countries represent a major military threat, minor military threat or no military threat to American security? b. Russia				
		Major military threat	Minor military threat	No military threat	DK/Refused	Total
United States	July-August, 2022	66	26	5	3	100

		Q8. Does China represent a major economic threat, minor economic threat or no economic threat to the American economy?				
		Major economic threat	Minor economic threat	No economic threat	DK/Refused	Total
United States	September, 2023	70	21	5	4	100

		Q9. Which is more important for the United States? Having a close relationship with Germany or having a close relationship with Russia?					
		Having a close relationship with Germany	Having a close relationship with Russia	Both relationships are equally important	Neither relationship is important	DK/Refused	Total
United States	September, 2023	51	7	32	7	3	100

U.S. PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

		Q9. Which is more important for the United States? Having a close relationship with Germany or having a close relationship with Russia?					
		Having a close relationship with Germany	Having a close relationship with Russia	Both relationships are equally important (DO NOT READ)	Neither relationship is important (DO NOT READ)	DK/Refused	Total
United States	September, 2021	59	33	5	2	1	100
	September, 2020	61	26	10	1	3	100
	September, 2019	61	26	8	3	4	100

		Q10. Has Germany's international influence in the world over the last two years increased, decreased or stayed about the same?				
		Increased	Decreased	Stayed about the same	DK/Refused	Total
United States	September, 2023	19	14	63	5	100

		Q11. Which is better able to deal with long-term global challenges such as pandemics, climate change and military tensions?			
		A government that is a democracy	A government that is NOT a democracy	DK/Refused	Total
United States	September, 2023	80	16	4	100