

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

Data is displayed vertically.

**U.S. WEB TRENDS FOR COMPARISON**

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

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

**U.S. PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON**

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

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

|                      |                        | <b>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?</b> |  |                                   |                   |              |
|----------------------|------------------------|--|--|-----------------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
|                      |                        | <b>More of a good thing for our country</b>  | <b>More of a bad thing for our country</b> | <b>Does not make a difference</b> | <b>DK/Refused</b> | <b>Total</b> |
| <b>United States</b> | <b>September, 2023</b> | 6  | 71   | 21                                | 3                 | 100          |

|                      |                        | <b>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?</b> |  |                                   |                   |              |
|----------------------|------------------------|--|--|-----------------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
|                      |                        | <b>More of a good thing for our country</b>  | <b>More of a bad thing for our country</b> | <b>Does not make a difference</b> | <b>DK/Refused</b> | <b>Total</b> |
| <b>United States</b> | <b>September, 2023</b> | 39   | 23   | 35                                | 3                 | 100          |

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

**U.S. WEB TRENDS FOR COMPARISON**

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

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

**U.S. WEB TRENDS FOR COMPARISON**

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

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

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

**U.S. PHONE TRENDS FOR COMPARISON**

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

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

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