

Public Opinion in Germany

August 10-28, 2017



Detailed Methodology

- Interviews in Germany were conducted on behalf of the [Center for Insights in Survey Research](#) by [Ipsos GmbH](#).
- Data was collected between August 10 and 28, 2017 through face-to-face interviews.
- The total number of interviews was 1,630, including an oversample of 200 in East Germany only.
- Margin of Error: plus or minus 2.6 percent with a 95 percent confidence level for the main sample (n=1,400).
- The sample is comprised of German-speaking residents, aged 18 years and older.
- The sample included all regions/federal states in Germany and both urban and rural inhabitants. The oversample of East-Germany (n=200) included the following federal states: Thüringen; Sachsen-Anhalt; Sachsen; Mecklenburg-Vorpommern; Brandenburg; Berlin.
- Areas of the population excluded from the sample: None.*
- The sample design was a three-stage random representative sample.
 - Stage One: PSU - sampling points
 - Stage Two: SSU - household (selected by random walk from starting point)
 - Stage Three: TSU - respondent aged 18+ years (selection of individuals using last birthday method)
- 10 percent of interviews are controlled through the field after ISO 20252.
- Figures in charts and tables may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding and/or multiple choice answers.

**In the data analysis, Berlin was excluded from the Former Eastern Germany variable due to its specific population today and because it is difficult to exclude Former East Berlin from Berlin's territorial structure as it is today. In data collection, Berlin was included in the oversample as part of Eastern Germany.*

Glossary of German Political Parties

- **CDU:** German Christian Democratic Party
- **SPD:** Social Democratic Party of Germany
- **AfD:** Alternative for Germany
- **Die Linke:** The Left
- **Grüne:** Green Party
- **FDP:** Free Democratic Party
- **CSU:** Christian Social Union in Bavaria
- **Die Freien Wähler:** Free Voters

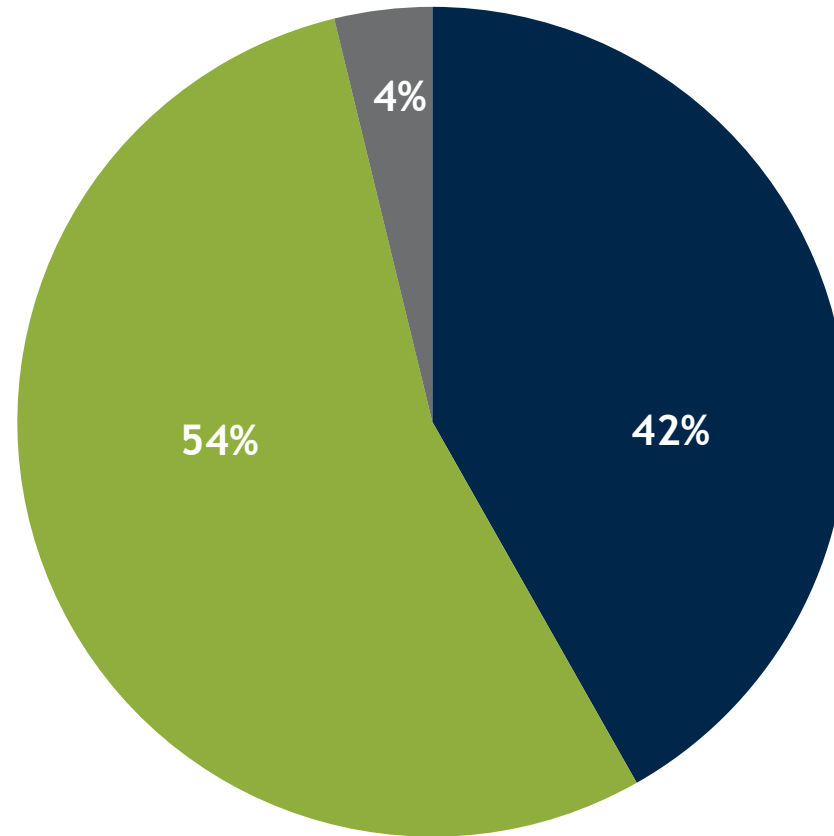
Glossary of German Media Outlets

- **Öffentlich-rechtliche Regionalsender** (Regional Public Broadcasters): rbb, BR
- **Öffentlich-rechtliche regionale Musik-Radiosender** (Regional Public Music Stations): Antenne Brandenburg, Bayern 3, NDR2
- **Öffentlich-rechtliche Radiosender zur Information** (Public Broadcasters for Information): Deutschlandfunk
- **Private regionale Musik-Sender** (Private Regional Music Stations): Antenne Bayern, Radio Charivari, Spreeradio, Alsterradio

Opinions of the National and Regional Context

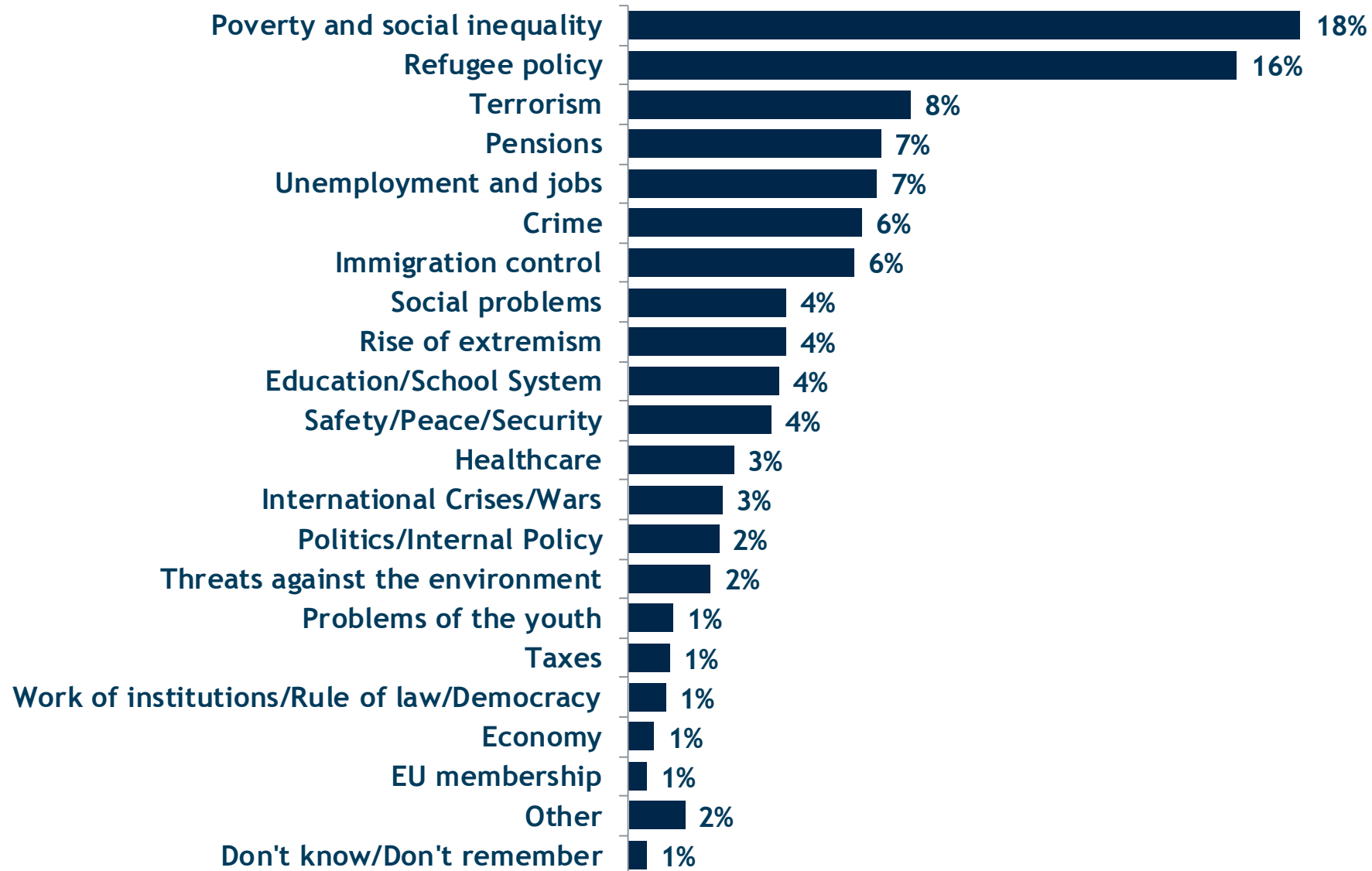


Generally speaking, would you say that Germany is heading in the right or wrong direction?

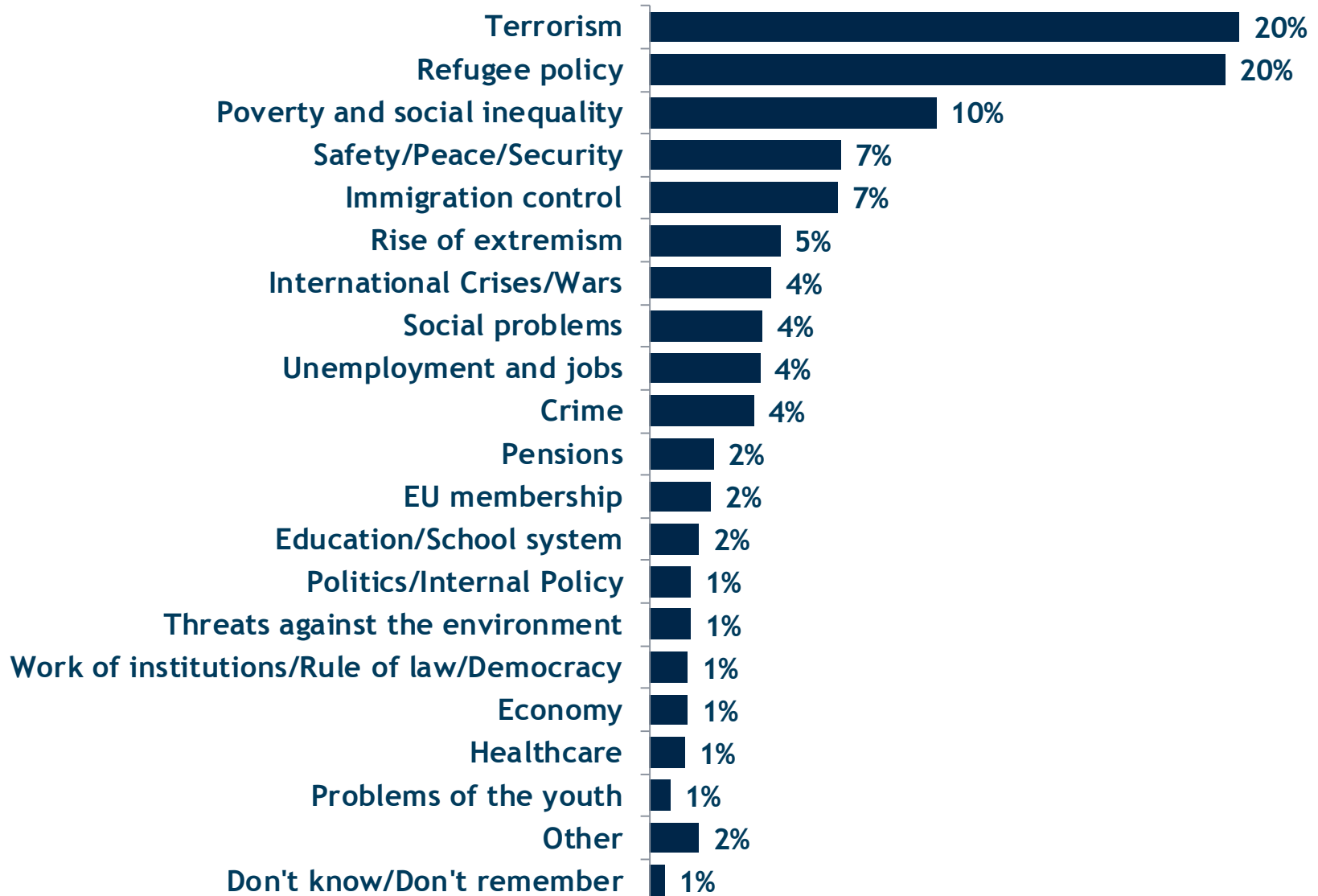


■ In the right direction ■ In the wrong direction ■ Don't know/Refused to answer

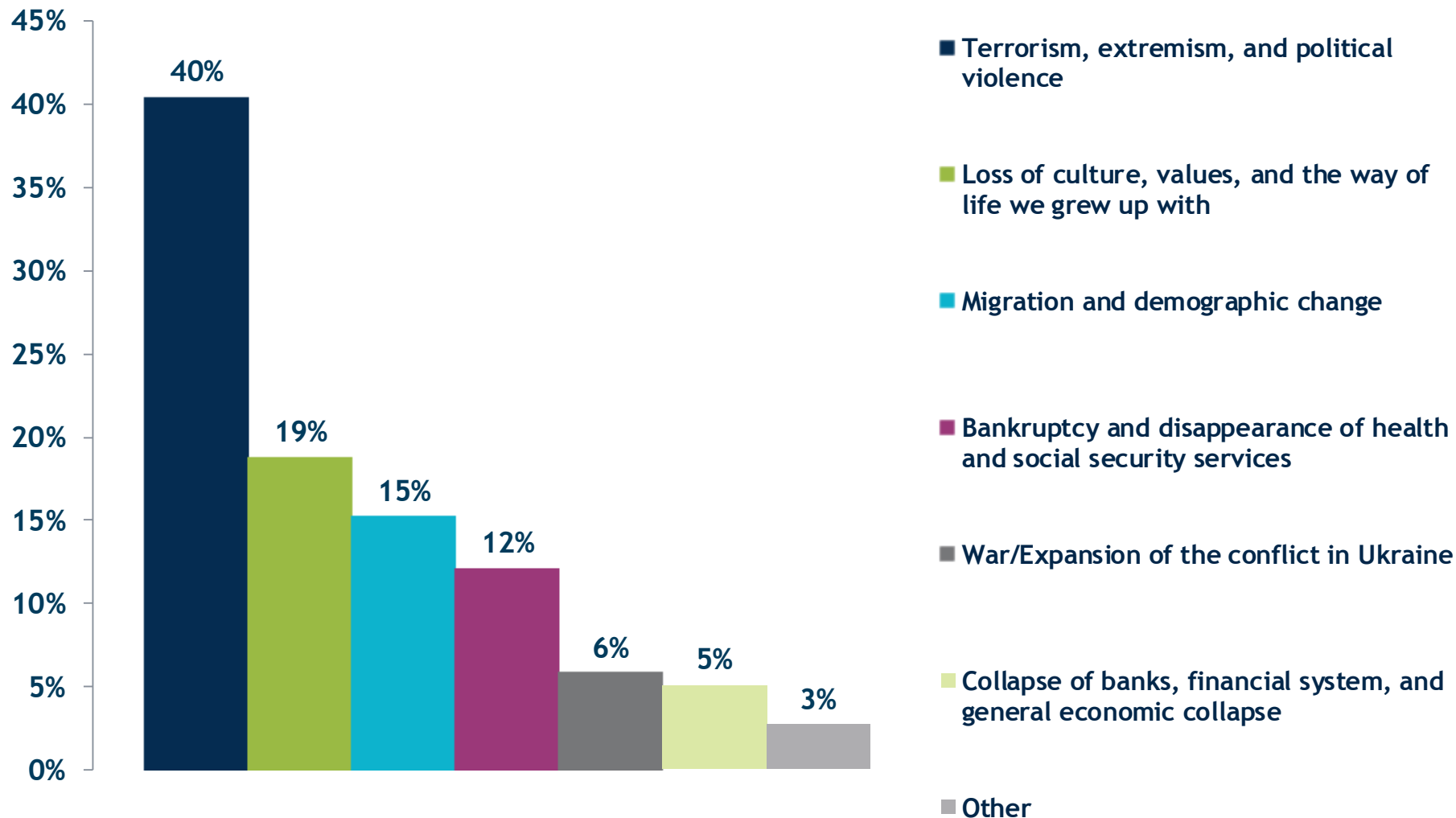
What would you say is the single biggest problem facing Germany today; that is, the one that you are most concerned about? (Spontaneous answers)



What is the single biggest problem facing Europe today; that is, the one that you are most concerned about? (Spontaneous answers)



What has the greatest likelihood of threatening our way of life and our children's future?



Do you think that the process of globalization has benefited or hurt your family?



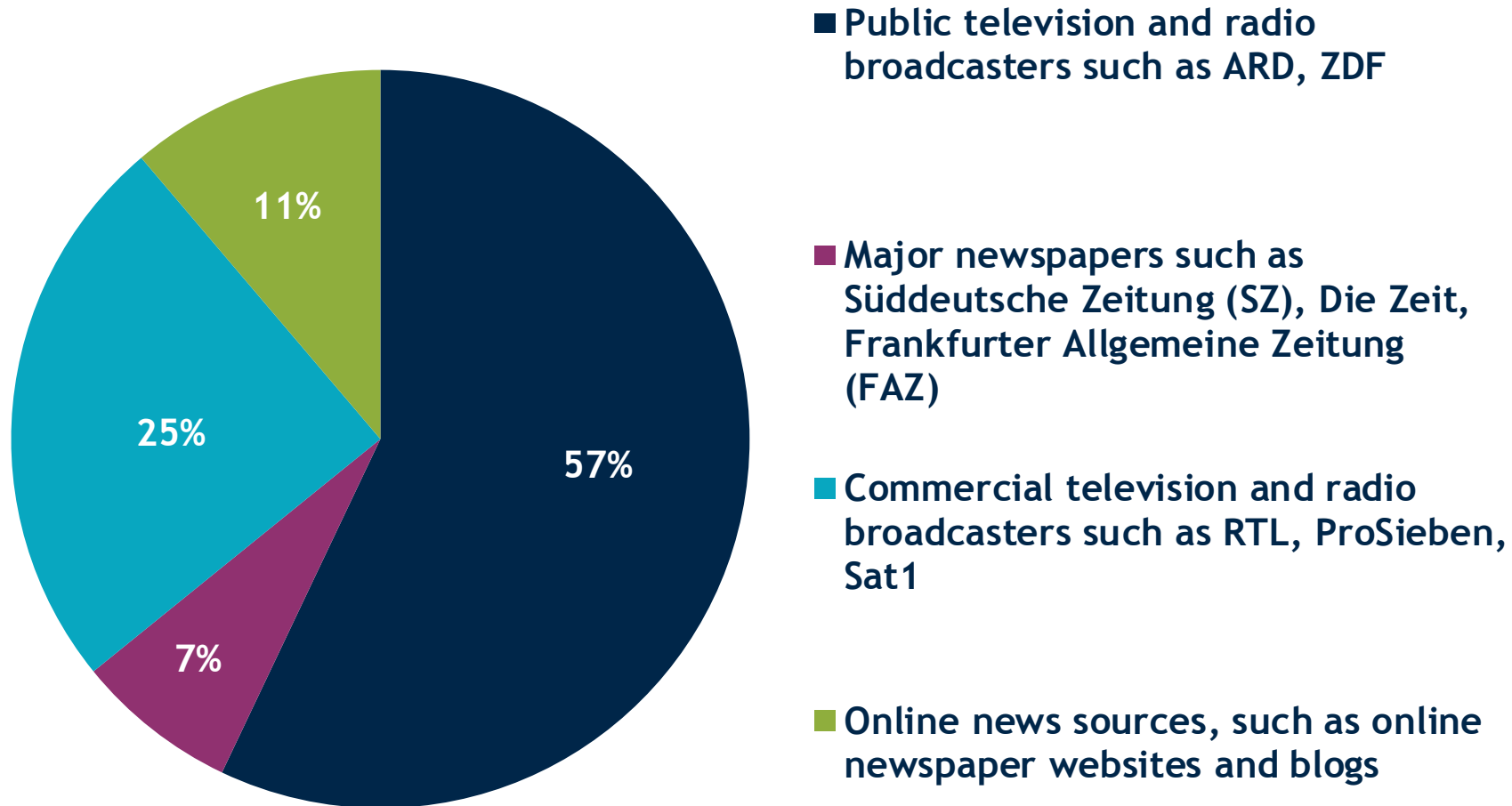


Sources of Political News



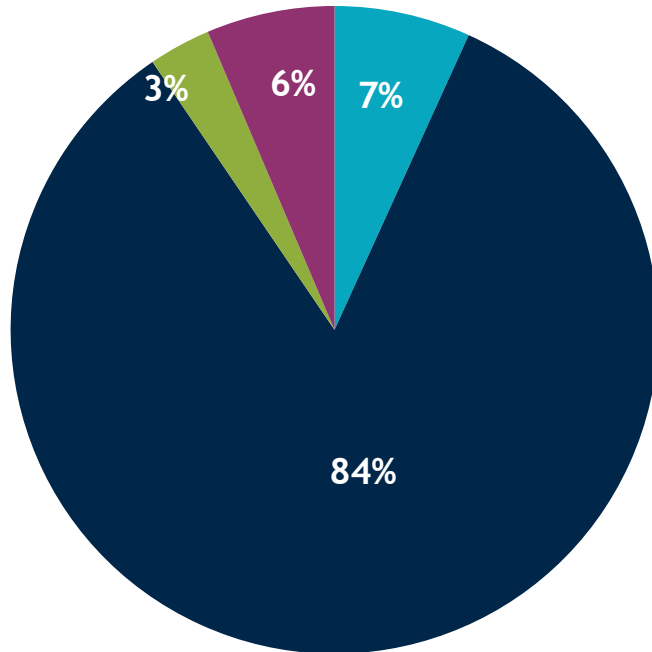
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From which source do you get most of your daily social and political news?

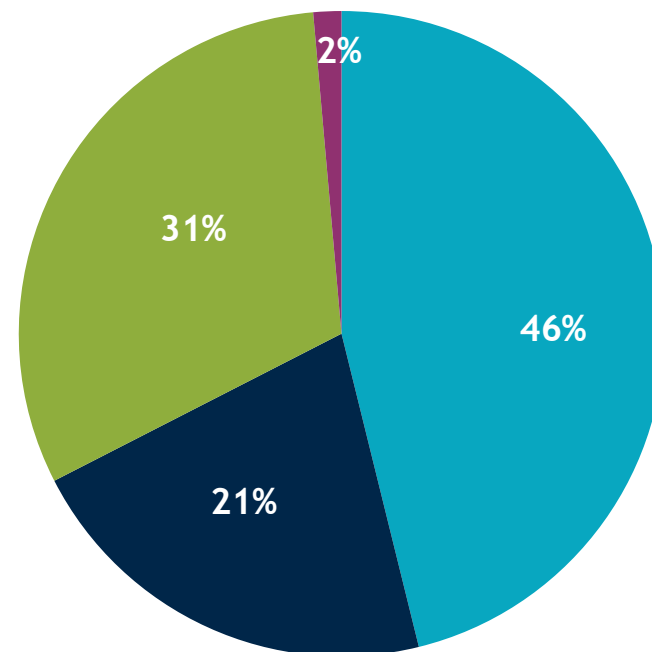


From which source do you get most of your daily social and political news?

Age:60+

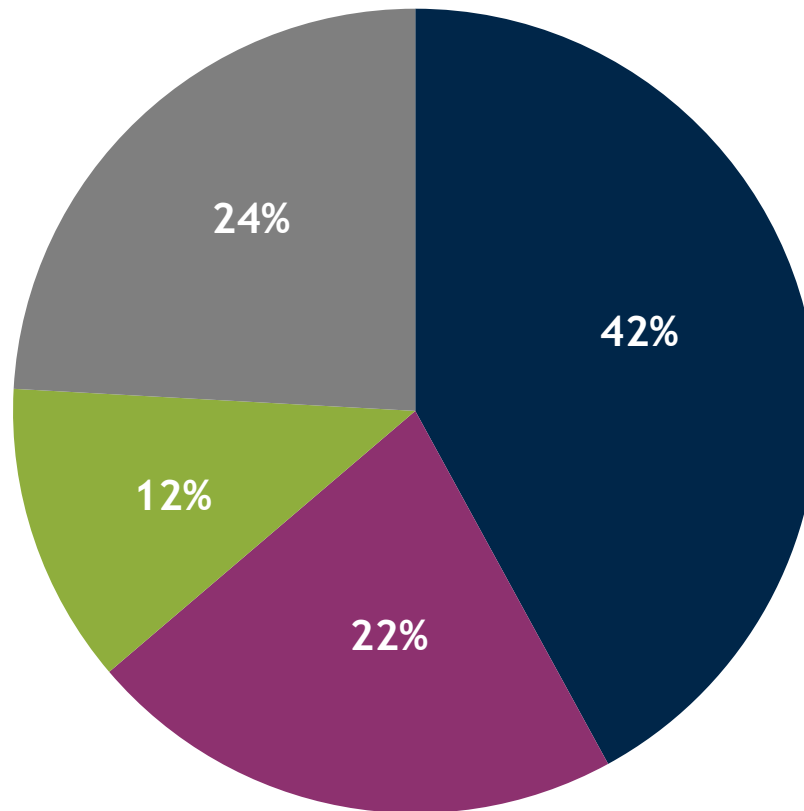


Age:18-29



- Commercial television and radio broadcasters
- Public television and radio broadcasters
- Online news sources (e.g. online newspapers, websites, blogs)
- Major newspapers

How often do you use social media as a source of daily news?



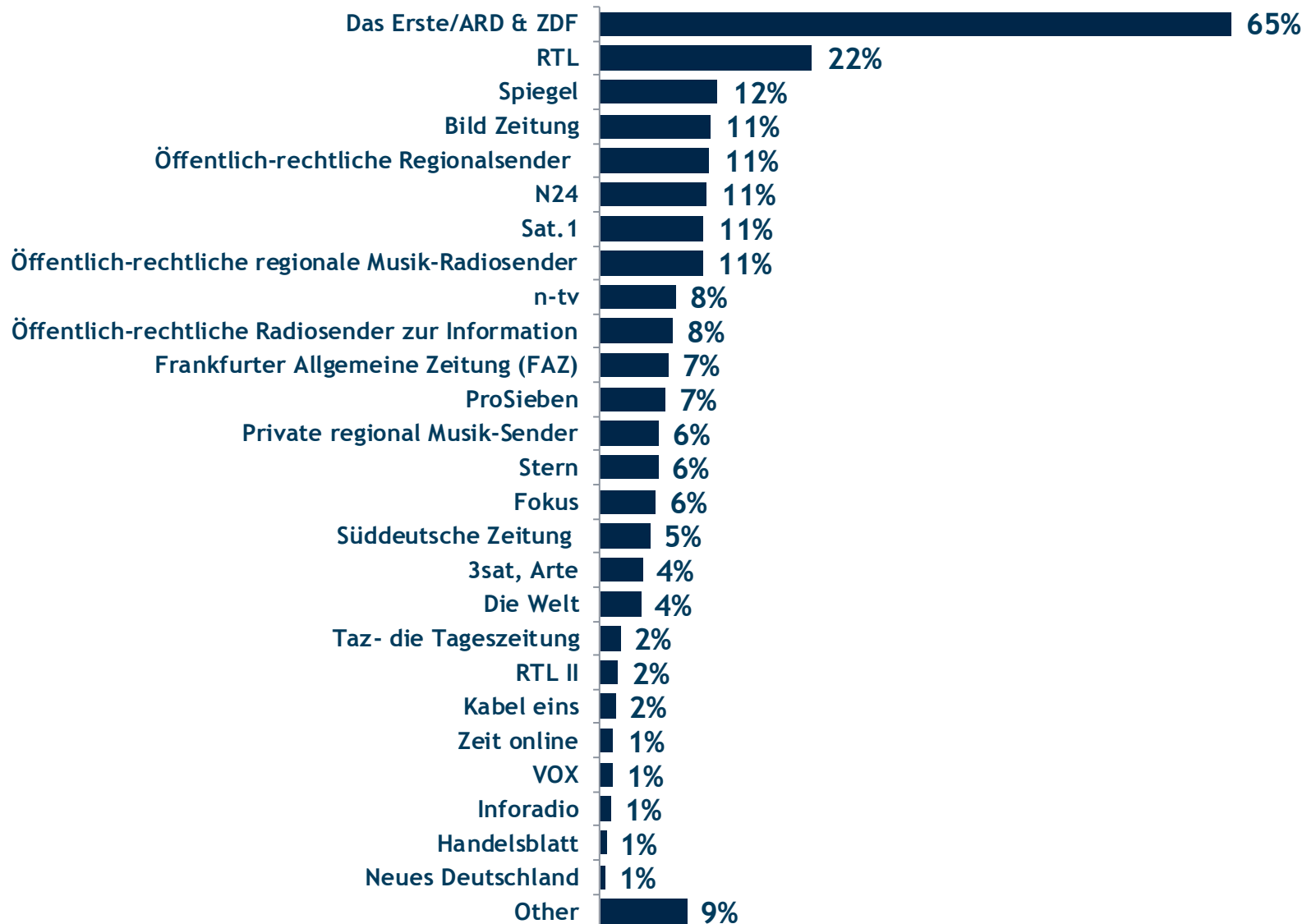
■ Every day

■ Occasionally - once or twice per week

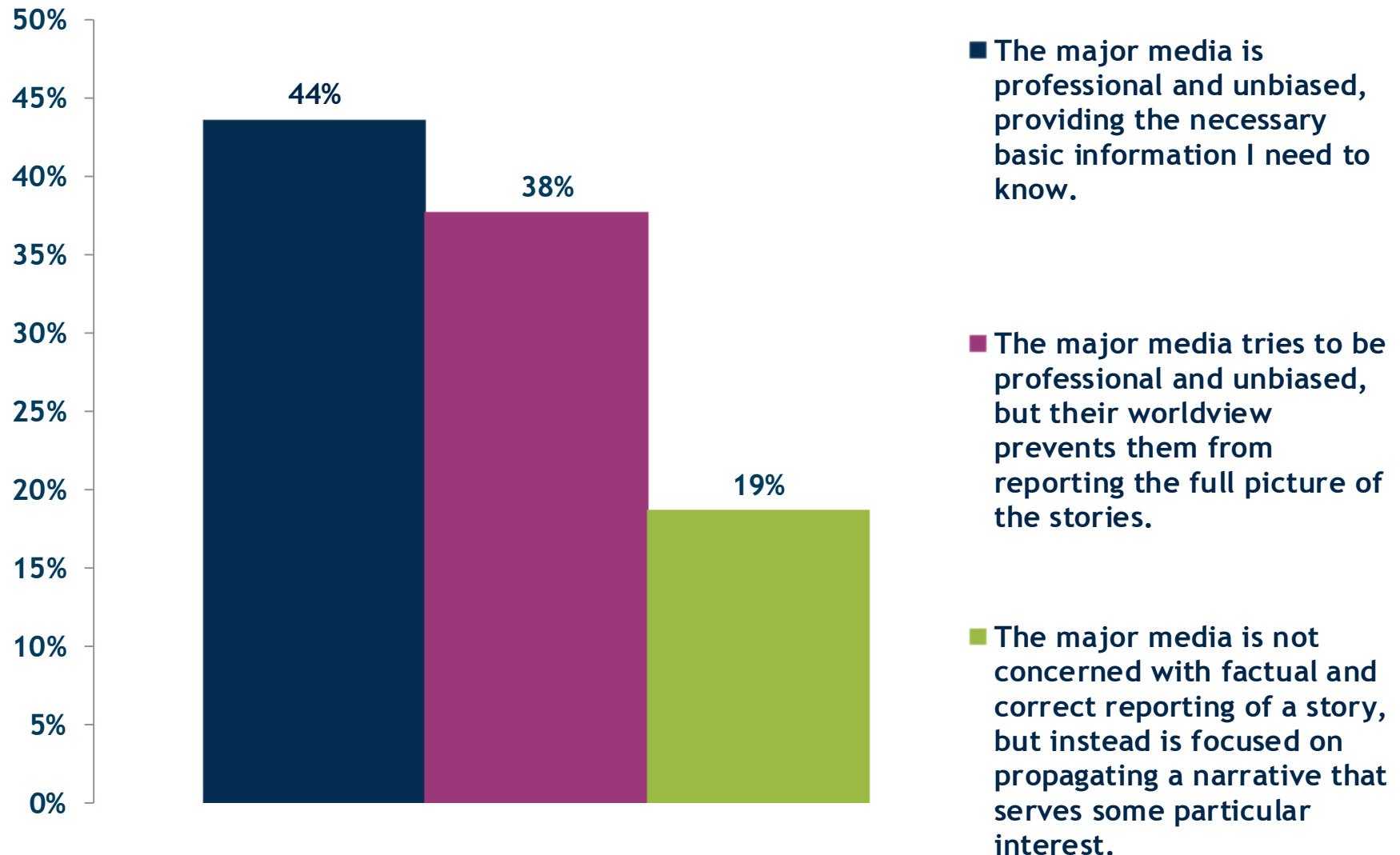
■ Rarely - once or twice per month

■ Never

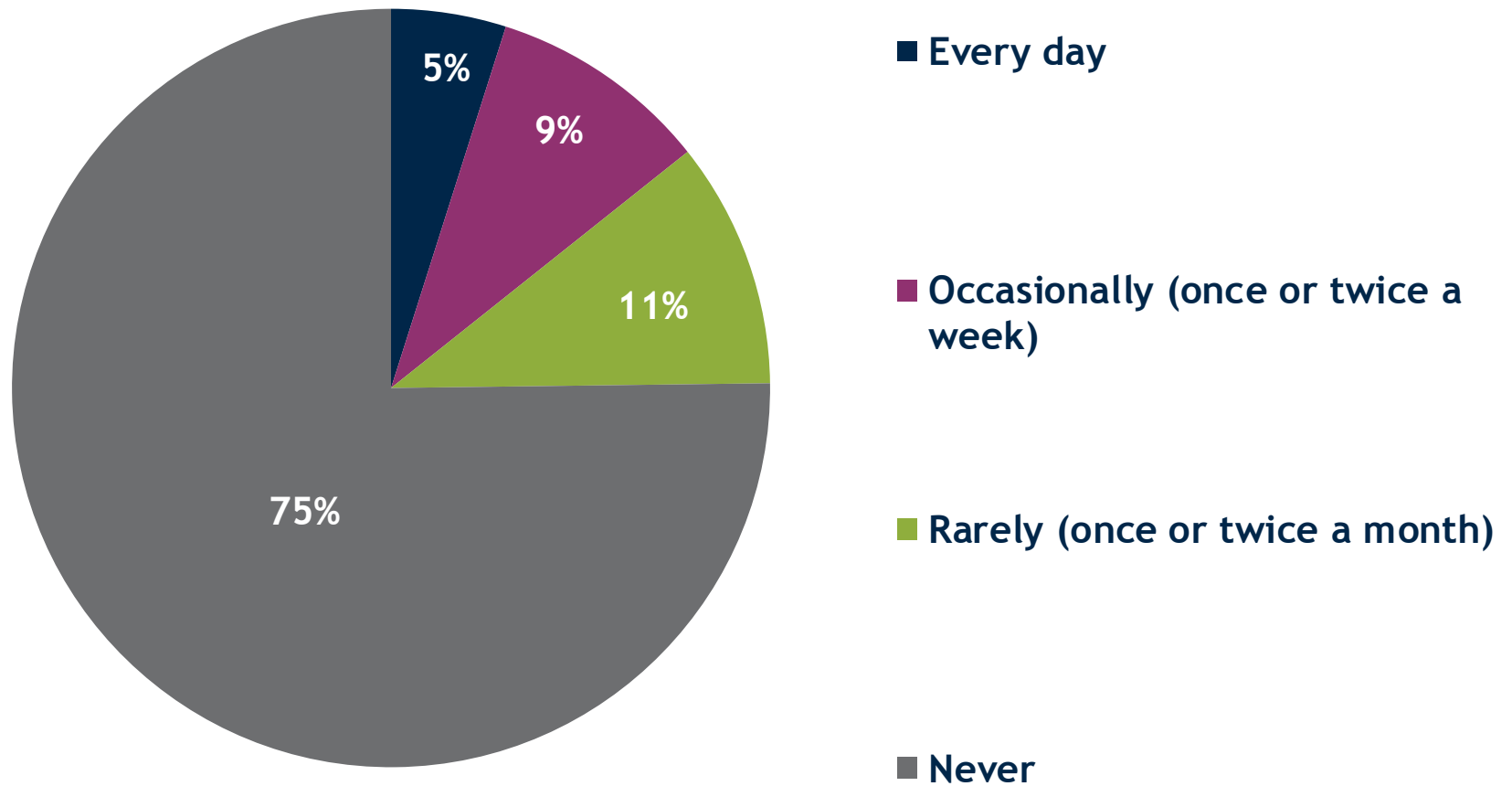
Which specific media outlet do you trust the most for your news?



Thinking about major media broadcasters, newspapers, and similar media outlets, which statement is closest to your opinion?

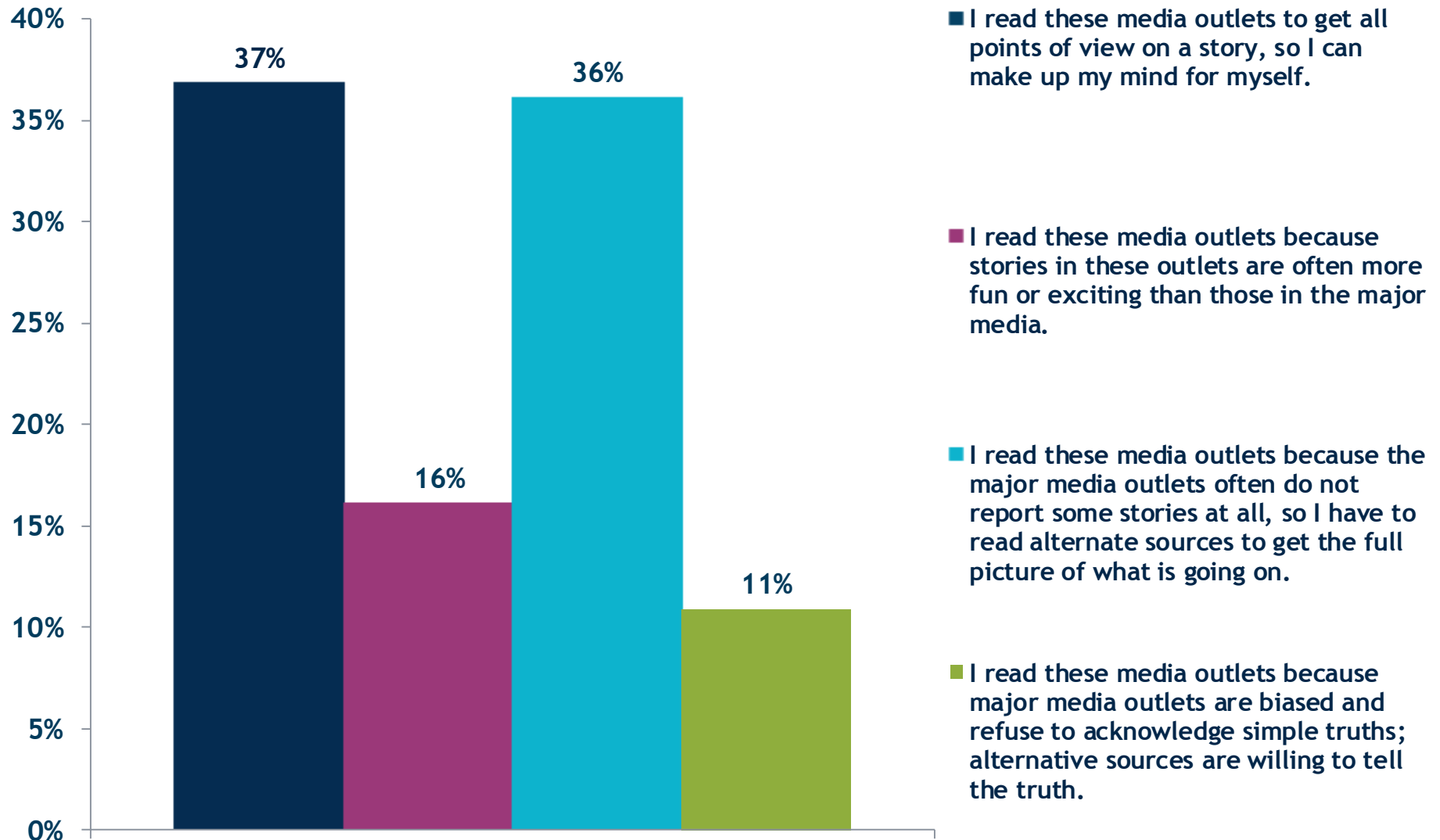


Do you watch or read other media outlets that often have a different point of view than major media outlets, such as Krautreporter, Journalistenwatch e. V., Deutsche Wirtschaftsnachrichten, Junge Freiheit, NEOPresse, Kopp Online, RT Deutschland, Sputnik Deutschland, and/or COMPACT?



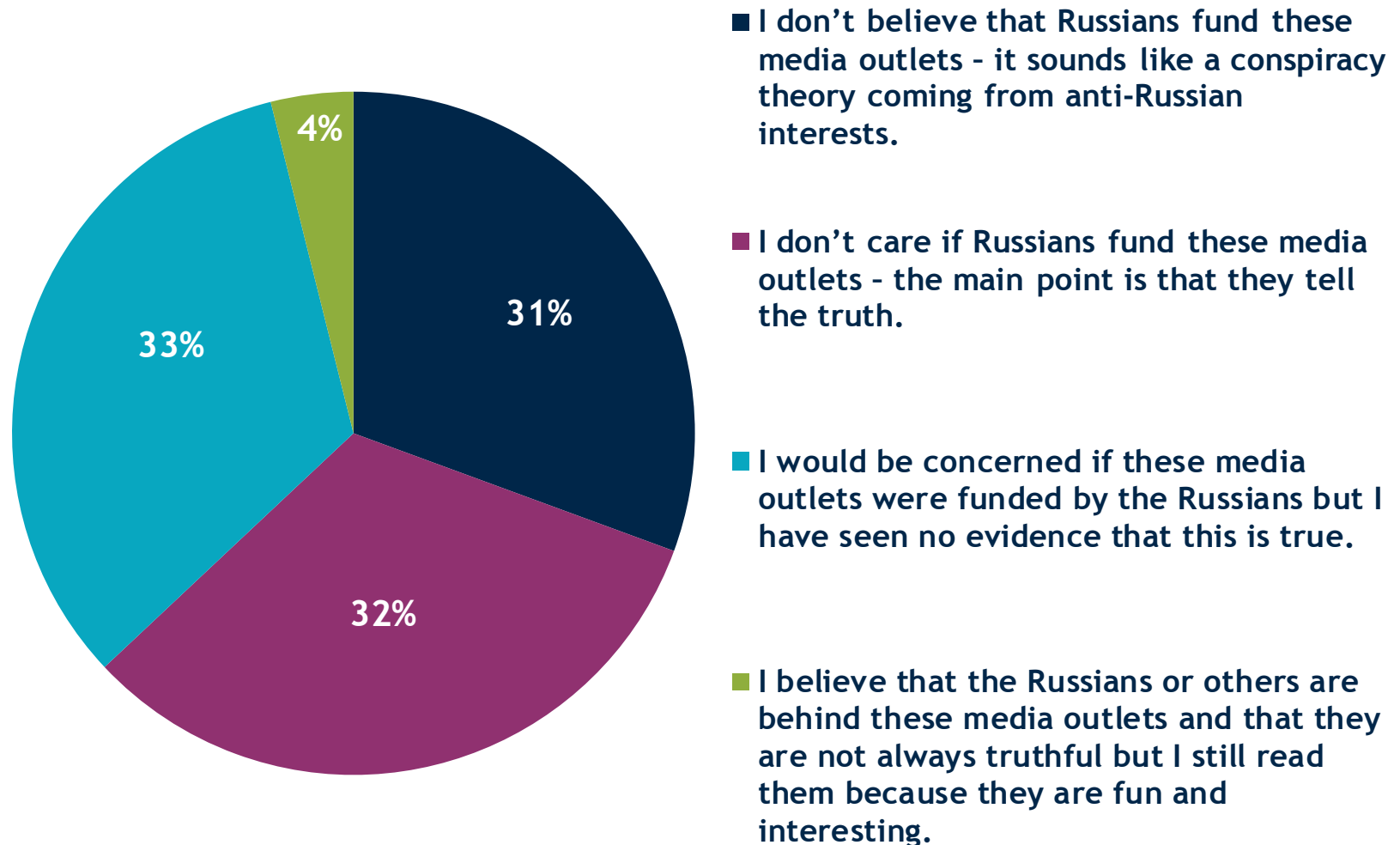
Why do you think it is worthwhile to watch/read these alternative sources of news?

(Respondents who watch or read alternative media outlets: n=404)

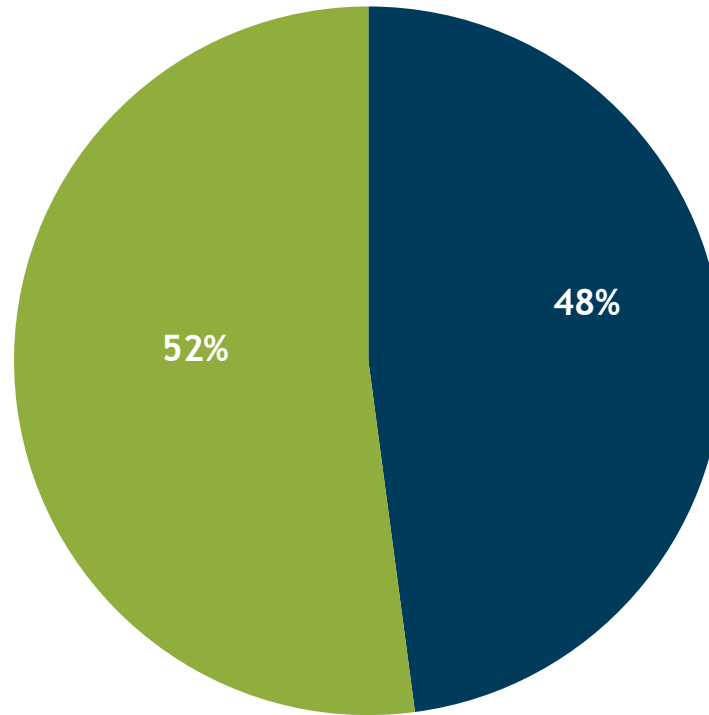


Some people say that these media outlets are funded by obscure sources related to Russia or the Russian government and are engaged in efforts to mislead people. What is your response to this charge?

(Respondents who watch or read alternative media outlets: n=404)

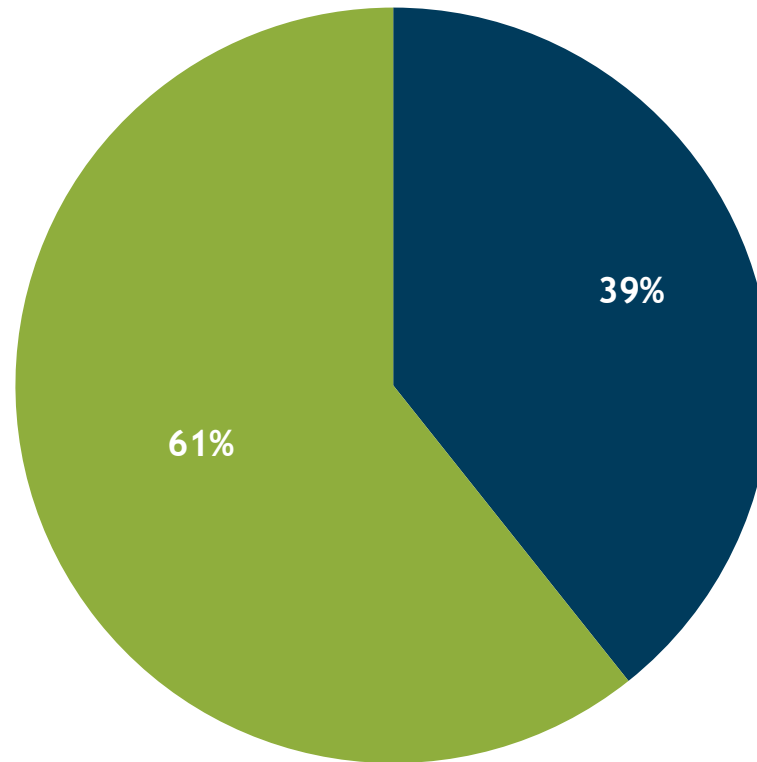


Some political observers claim that Russia is actively trying to influence German media stories and the political debate ahead of the upcoming parliamentary elections. What is your opinion about this issue?



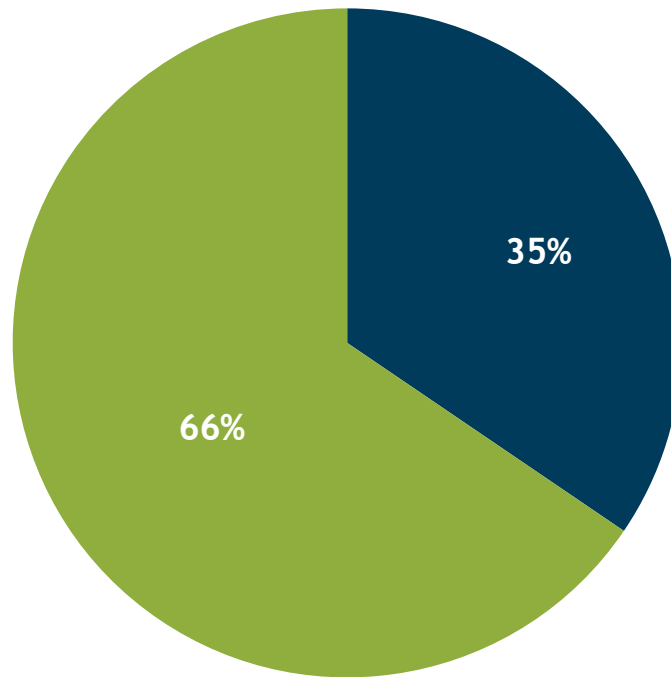
- I trust the analysis of government officials, journalists, scholars, and other experts who say that the Russians are interfering.
- I believe that the analysis of government officials, journalists, scholars, and other experts who say that the Russians are interfering is itself a form of misinformation, meant to distract us from other domestic issues.

If it were proven that the Russians were interfering in the German election, which statement would be closer to your opinion?



- The Russian interference is a major threat to German democracy, German and European independence, and our way of life.
- German democracy is strong and Russian interference has little measurable effect on German or European elections. It is more of a nuisance than a threat.

If it were proven that the Russians were interfering in the German election, which statement would be closer to your opinion?



- Russian interference is an insult to Germany and to Europe, it is an unprecedented violation of our sovereignty.
- Russian interference is similar to the actions of other major powers - Americans, Europeans, and others have always tried to spy on or interfere with neighbors, so we should not be surprised by these latest charges.

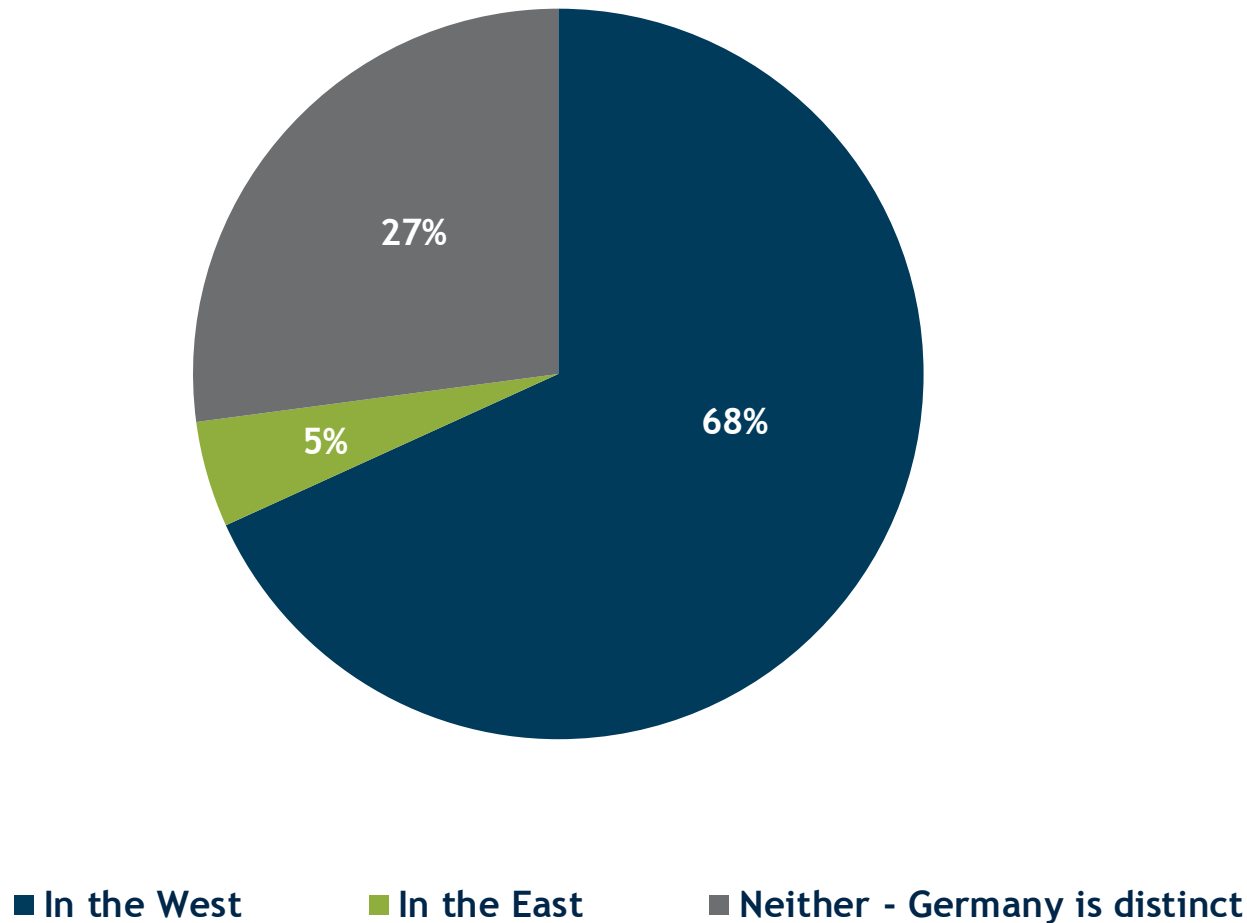


Issues of Identity

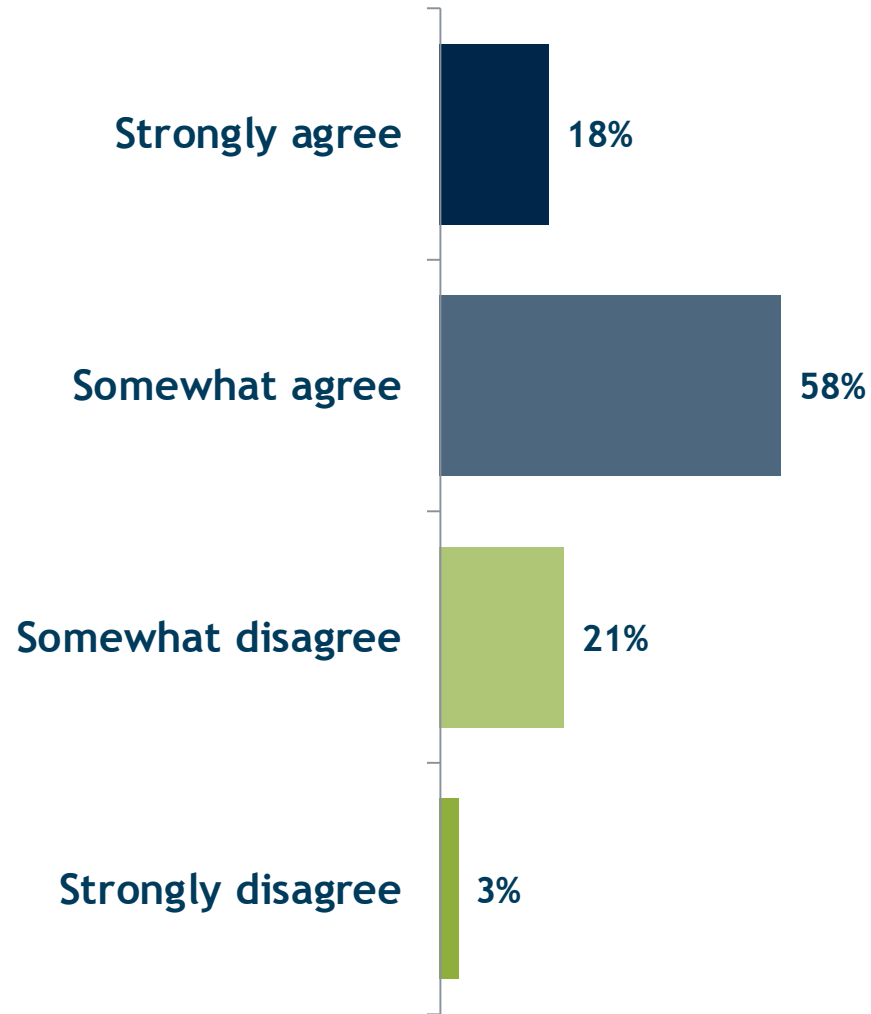


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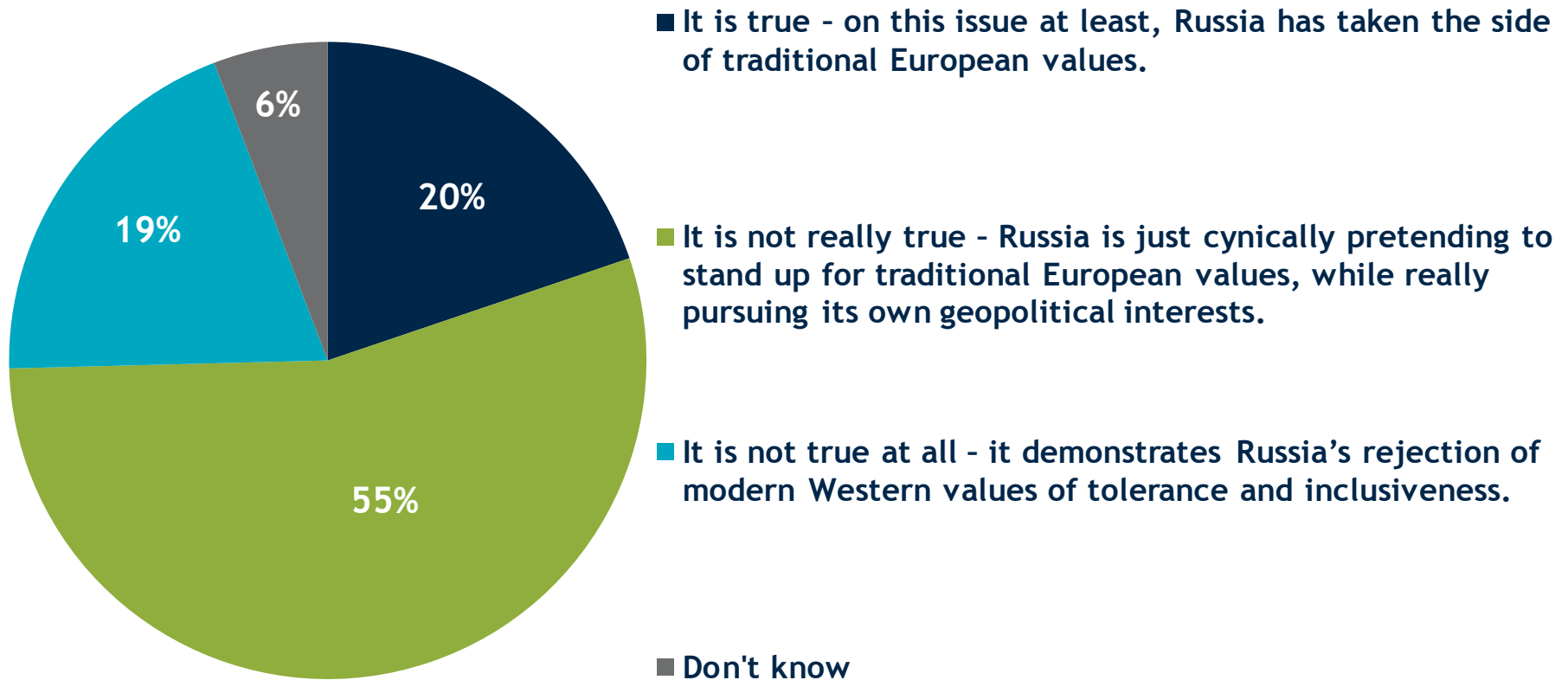
Historically, there has been a debate about whether Germany is part of the East, part of the West, or whether it is something distinct between the two. Where do you believe Germany lies?



Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “Despite the current political difficulties, Germans have long had deep cultural and historic ties to Russia and these ties must be maintained.”

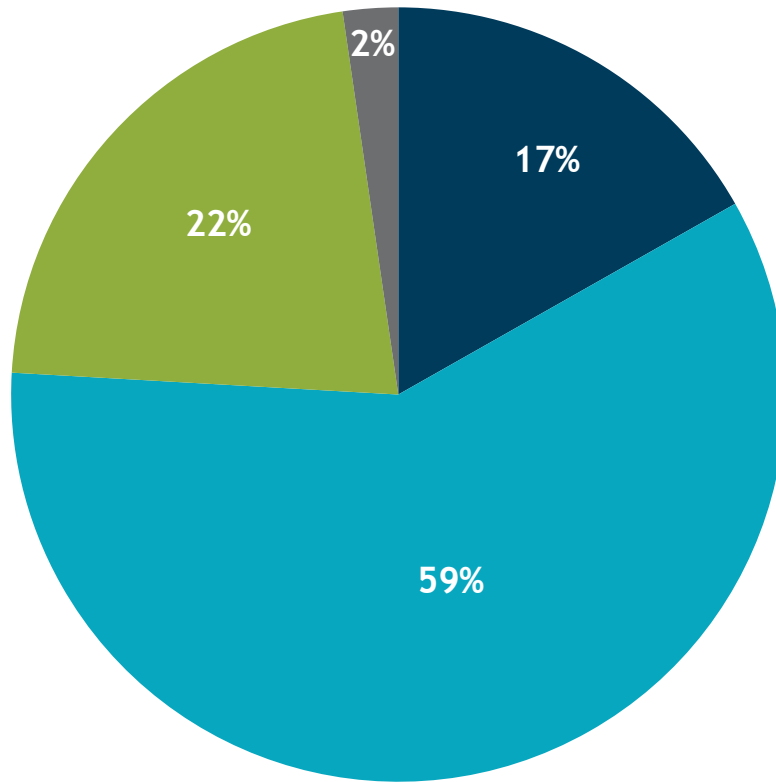


Vladimir Putin's Russia has tried to portray itself as a defender of Christendom and traditional European values in areas ranging from the protection of the family unit to defending against Islamic and other non-European cultures. What is your opinion of this view of Russia?



How then do you view Russia and Putin as you try to address these changes in European culture and practice?

(Respondents who believe that Russia is defending European values: n=322)



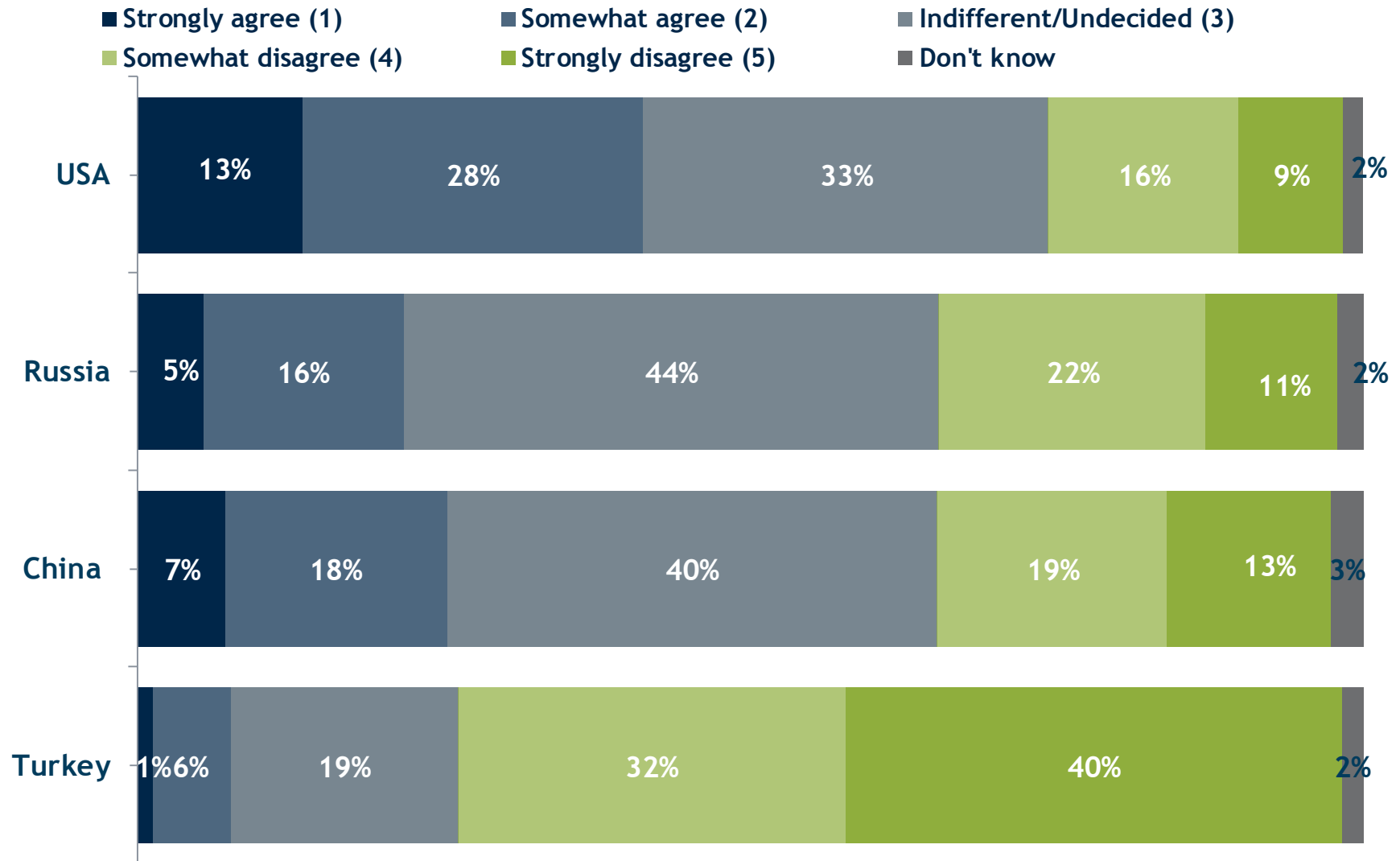
■ Russia and Putin can be allies against an EU that is pushing us to abandon our values.

■ I wish Russia could be an ally, but I don't trust Putin. Some cooperation would be possible, but I would be very careful.

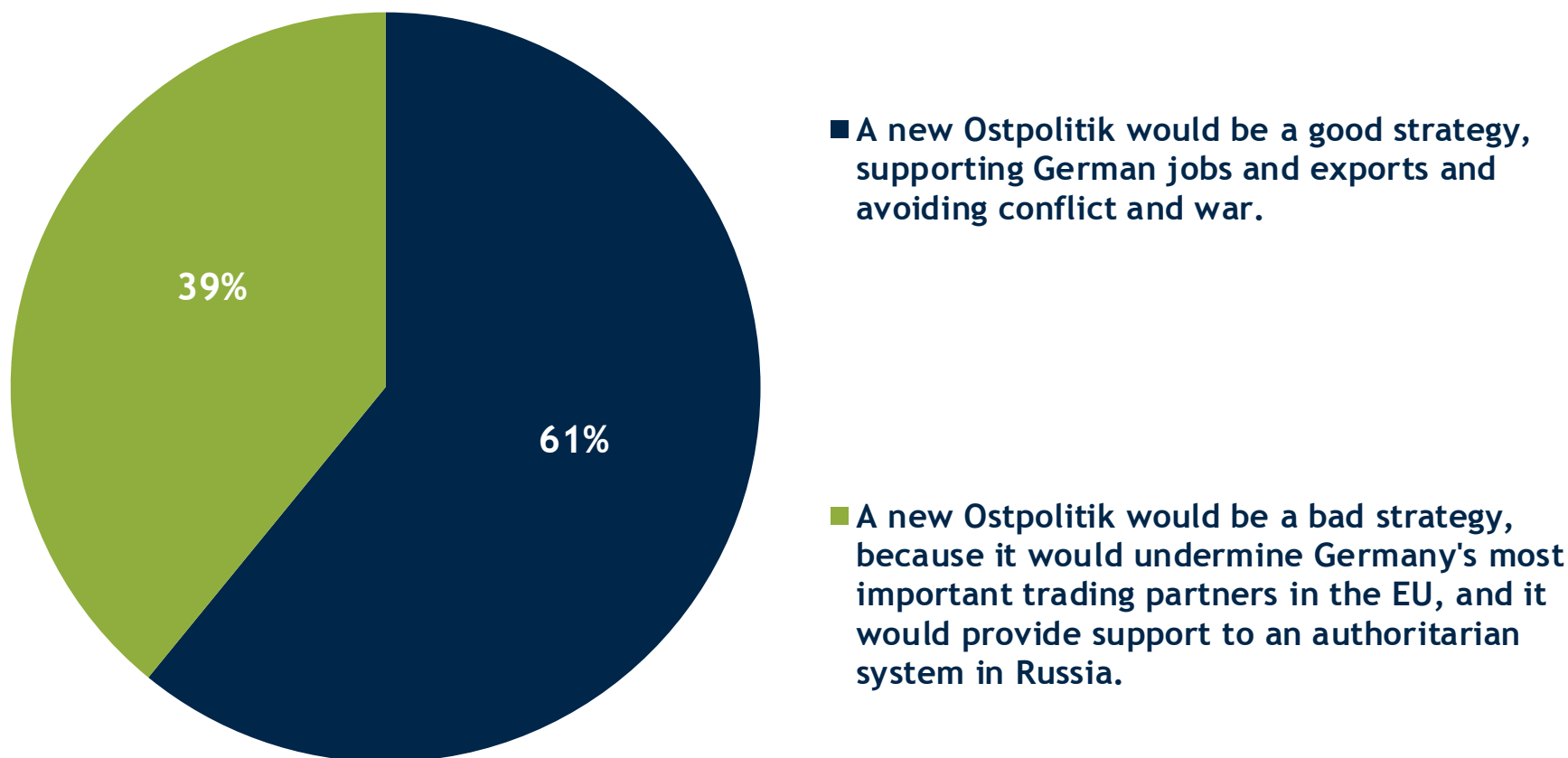
■ Regardless of my disagreement with some EU policies, I don't think Russia should have any influence over how EU policies are made.

■ Don't know

On a scale of 1 to 5, how strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements? “Germany’s interests are best served by maintaining strong relations with...”

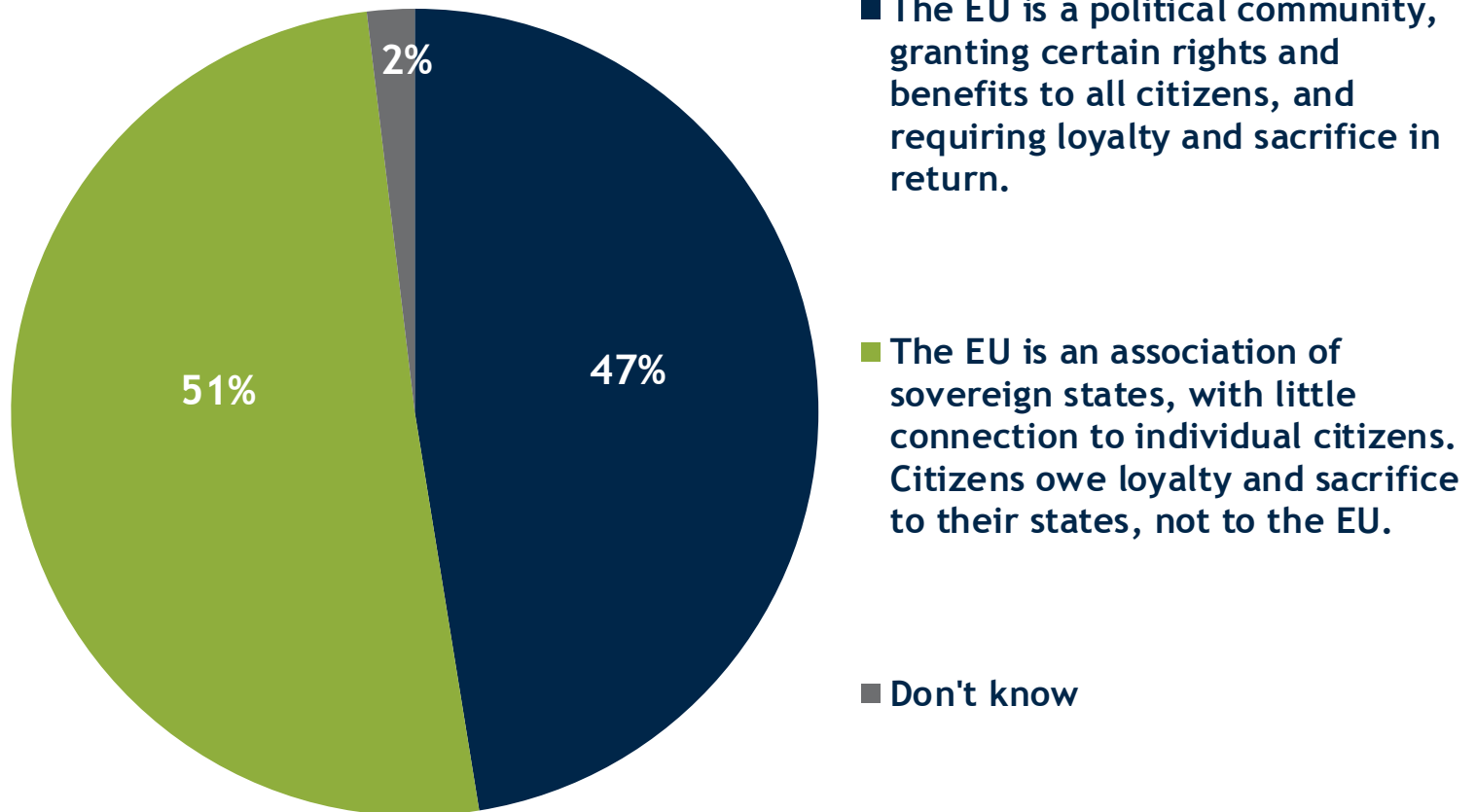


**Some German politicians and intellectuals are advocating a new Ostpolitik*, arguing we should be building economic and political ties with Russia rather than engaging in confrontation and sanctions.
Which statement is closest to your opinion?**

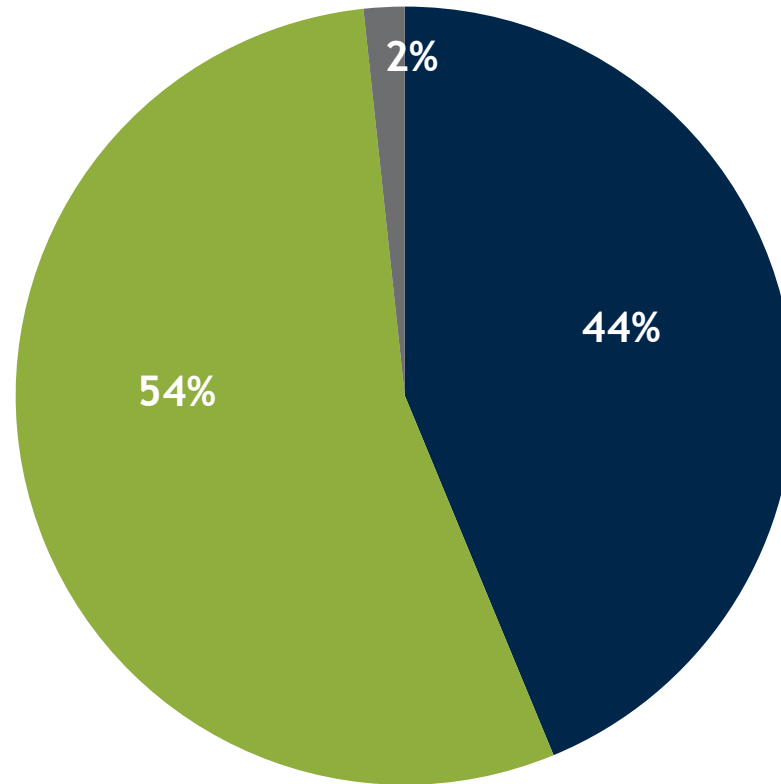


*The term Ostpolitik (German for “eastern policy”) refers to the normalization of relations between East and West Germany that began in 1969.

Opinions of the European Union: Which statement is closest to your opinion?

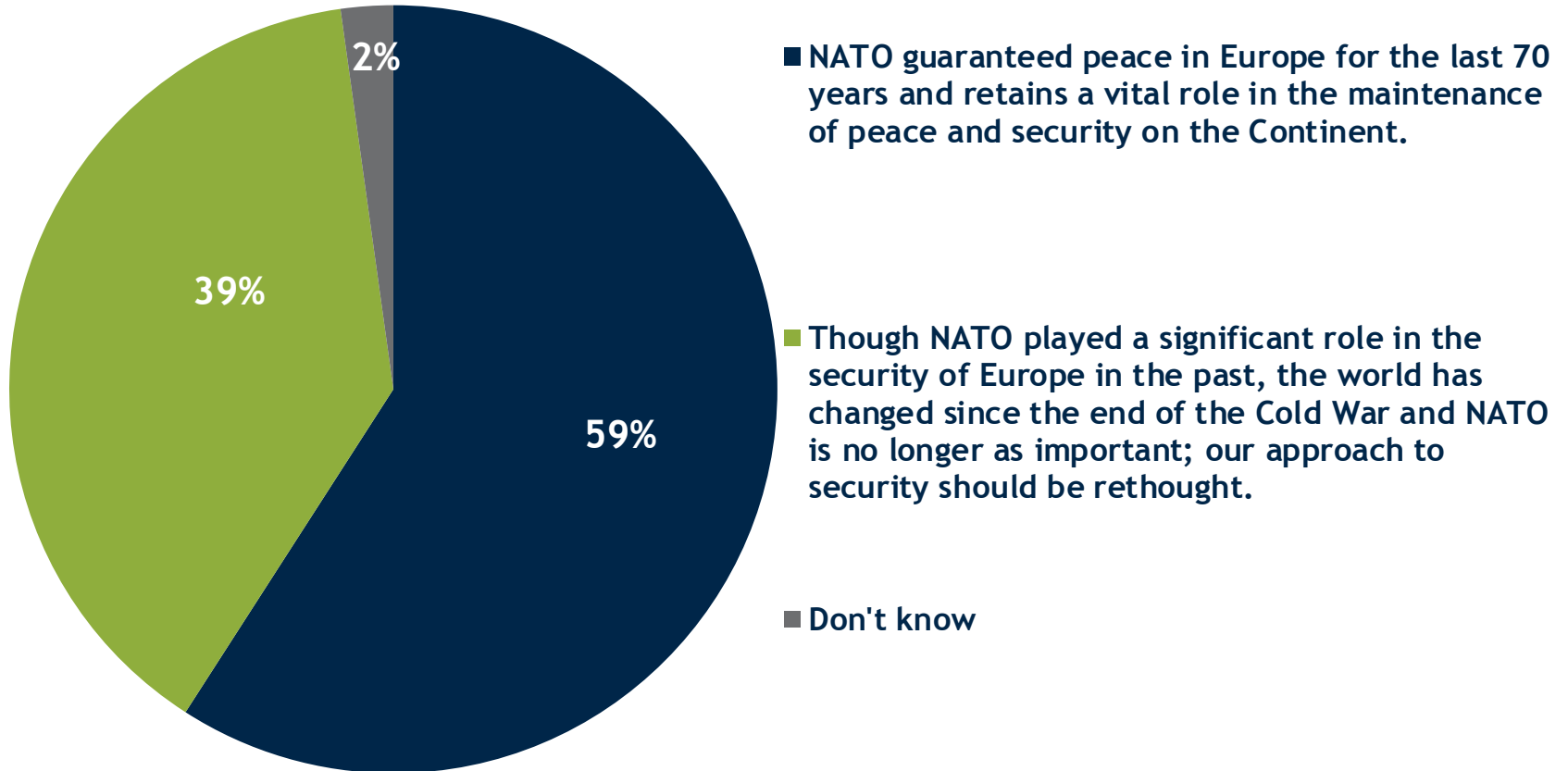


Opinions of the European Project: Which statement is closest to your opinion?

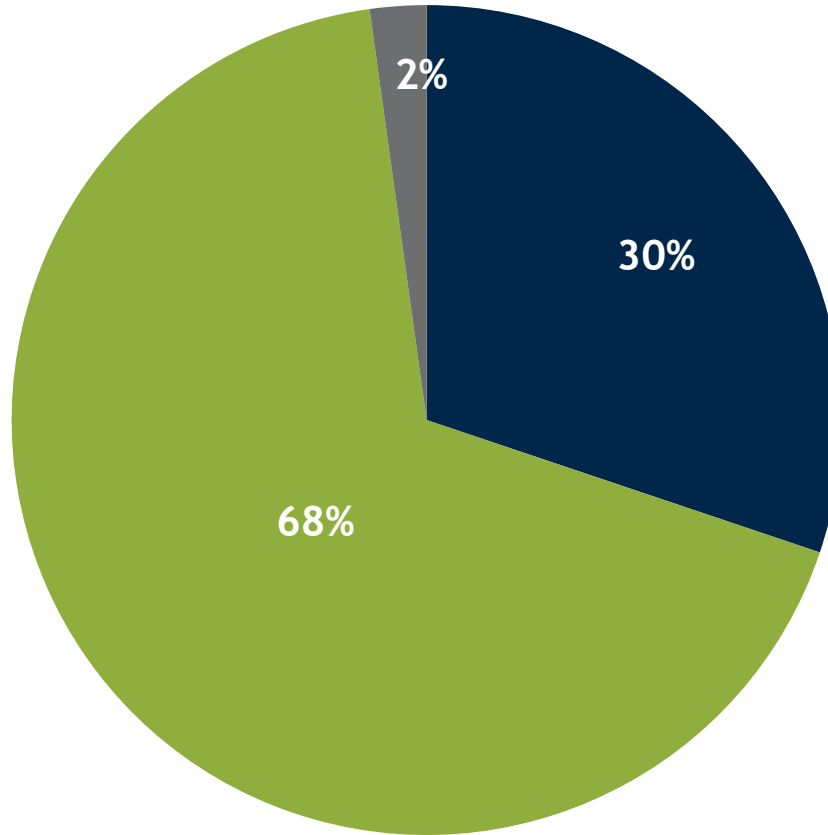


- The European Project has been a success, ensuring peace, economic growth, and the reintegration of Eastern Europe; its important work must continue.
- The European Project played a major role in creating modern Europe, but the world has changed; the Project needs to be rethought.
- Don't know

Opinions of NATO: Which statement is closest to your opinion?

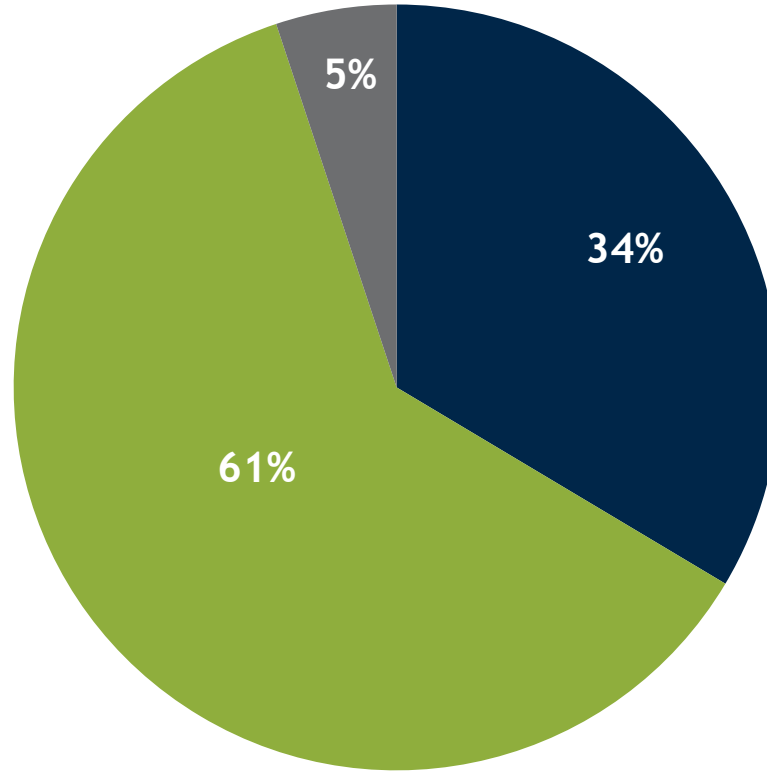


Opinions of peace in Europe: Which statement is closest to your opinion?



- Europe is at peace, and there are no significant threats to peace on the horizon.
- The peace of Europe is threatened on multiple fronts, such as terrorism, a resurgent Russia, and increased migration.
- Don't know

Opinions of Russia's role in Europe: Which statement is closest to your opinion?

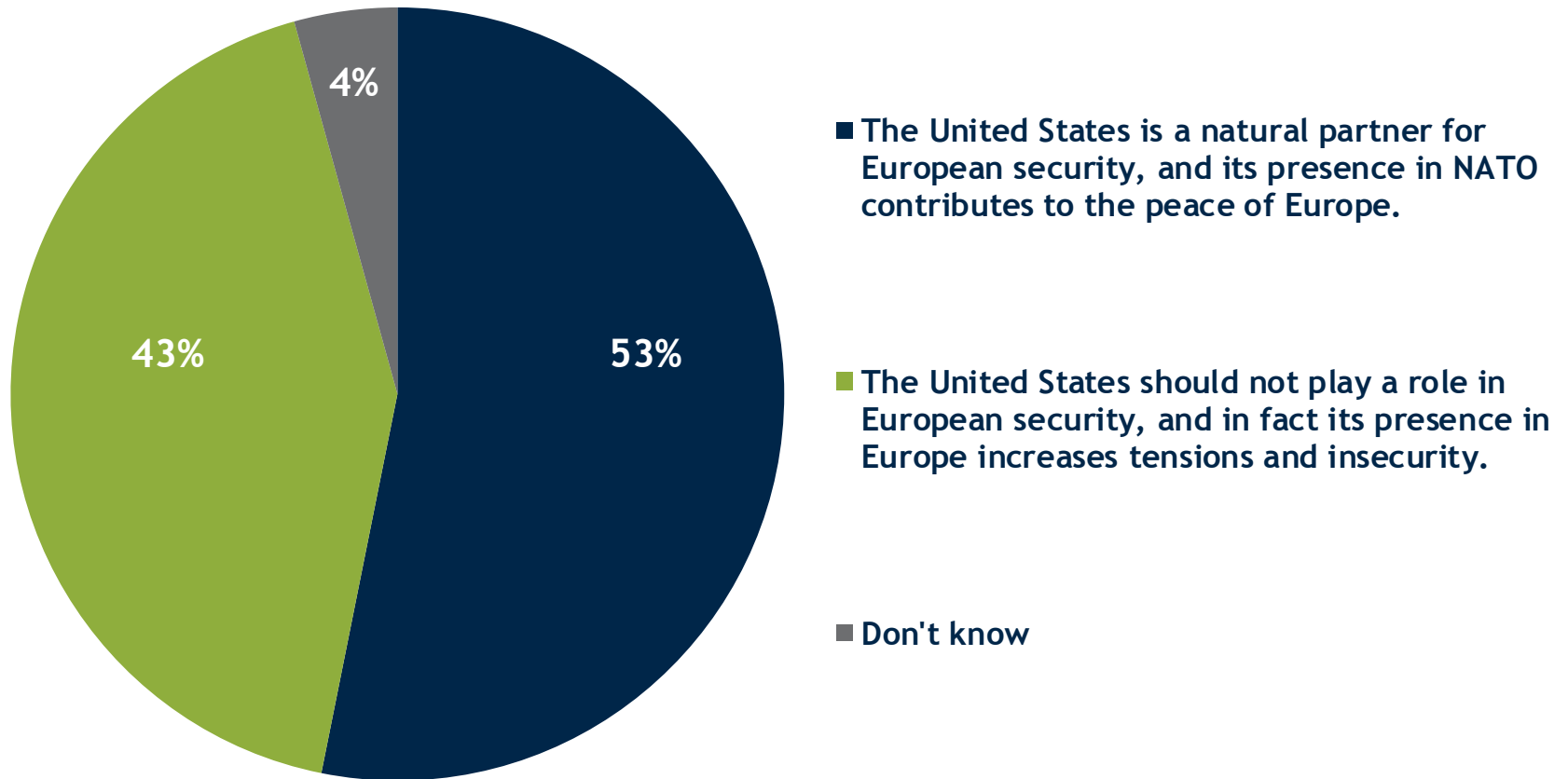


■ Russia is a continuous external threat to Europe, and must be countered by a strong security alliance.

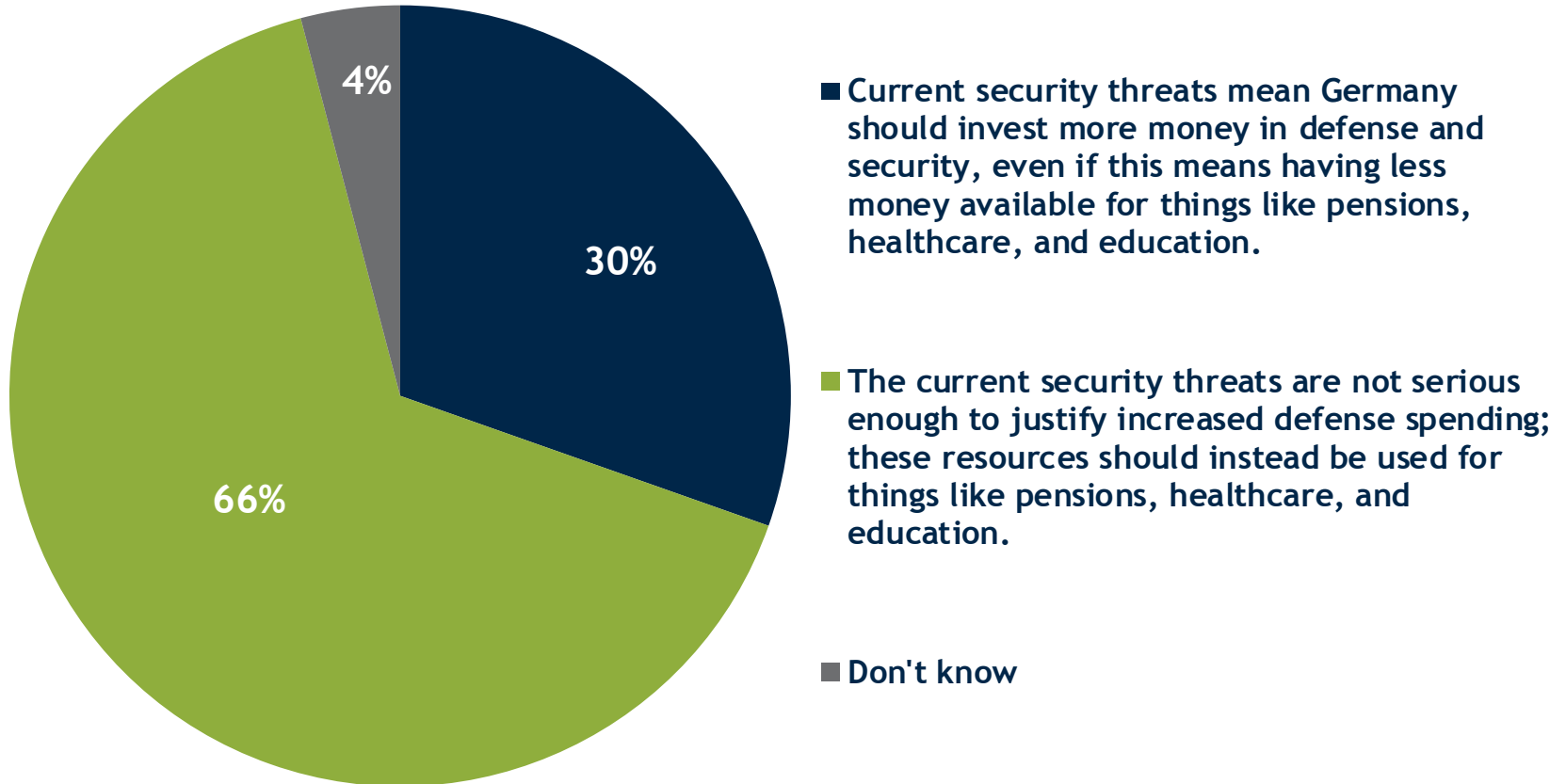
■ Russia should be considered a partner in European security, and brought into European security structures; keeping Russia out makes us less secure.

■ Don't know

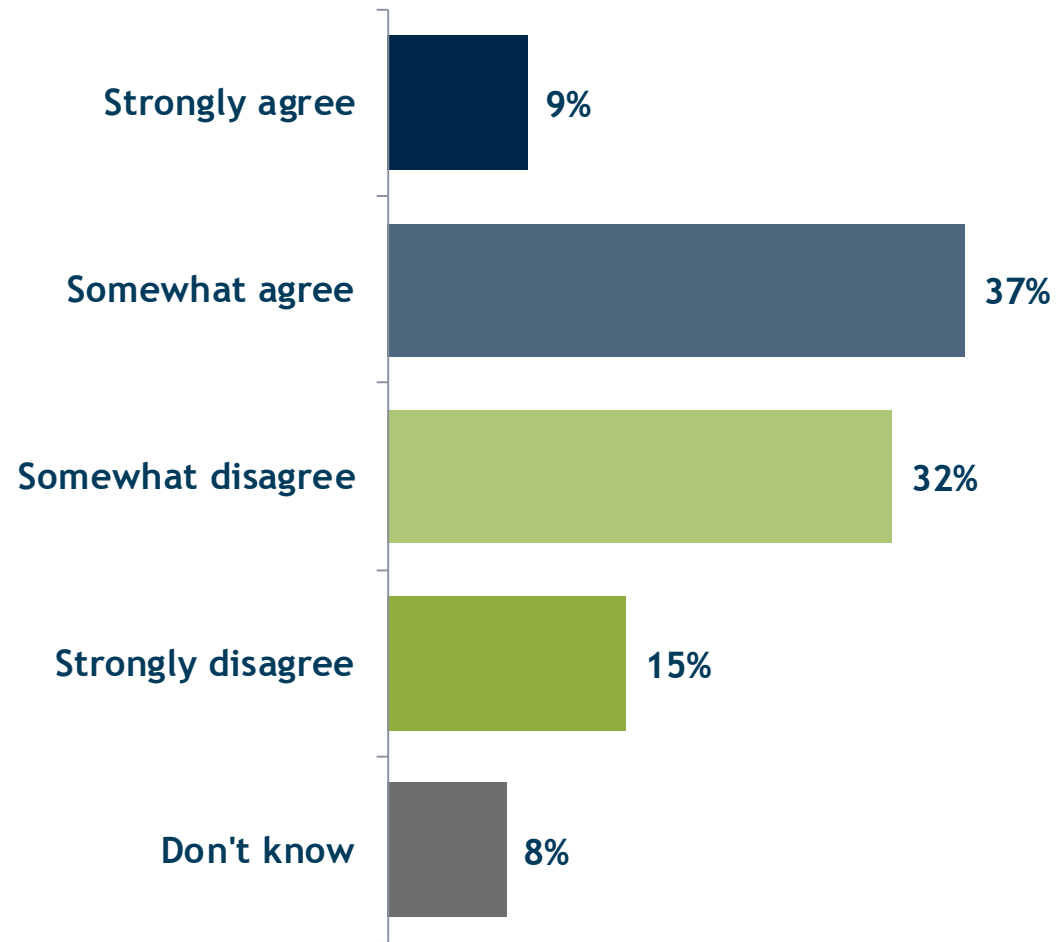
Opinions of U.S. partnership in Europe: Which statement is closest to your opinion?



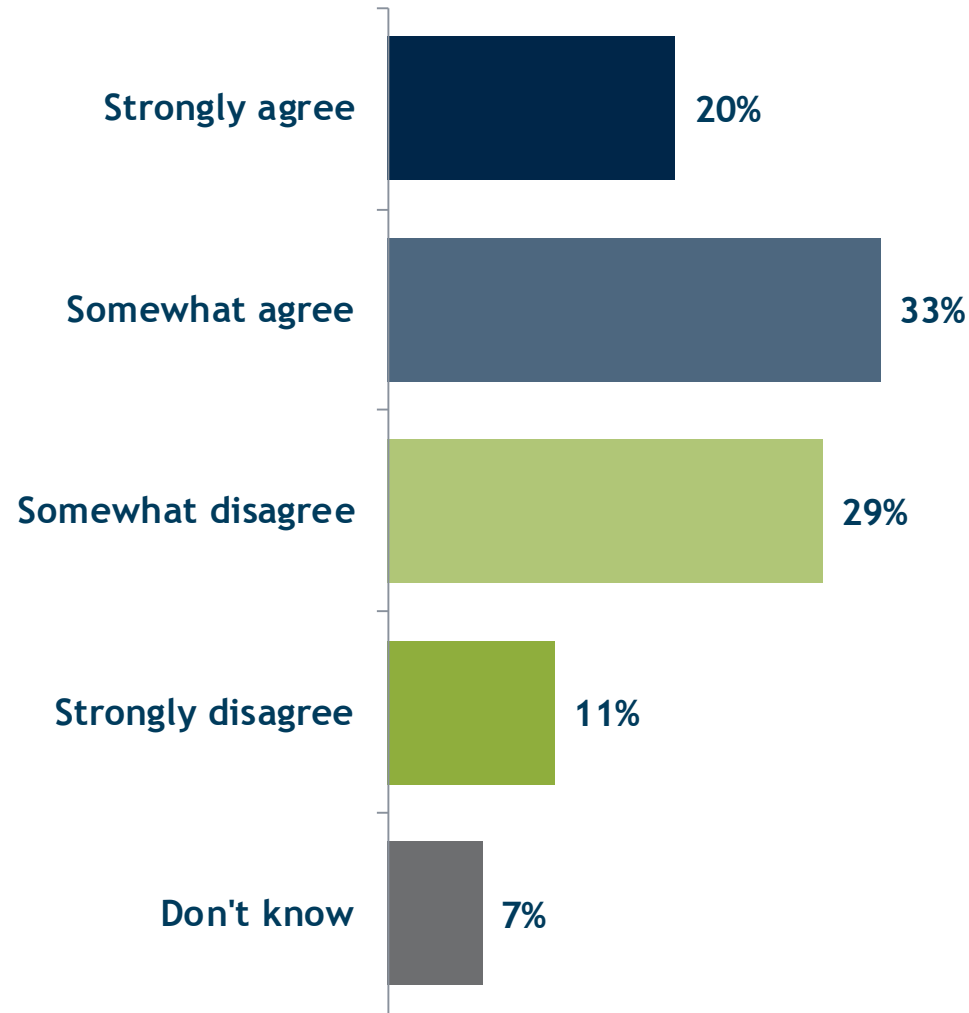
Opinions of investing in security: Which statement is closest to your opinion?



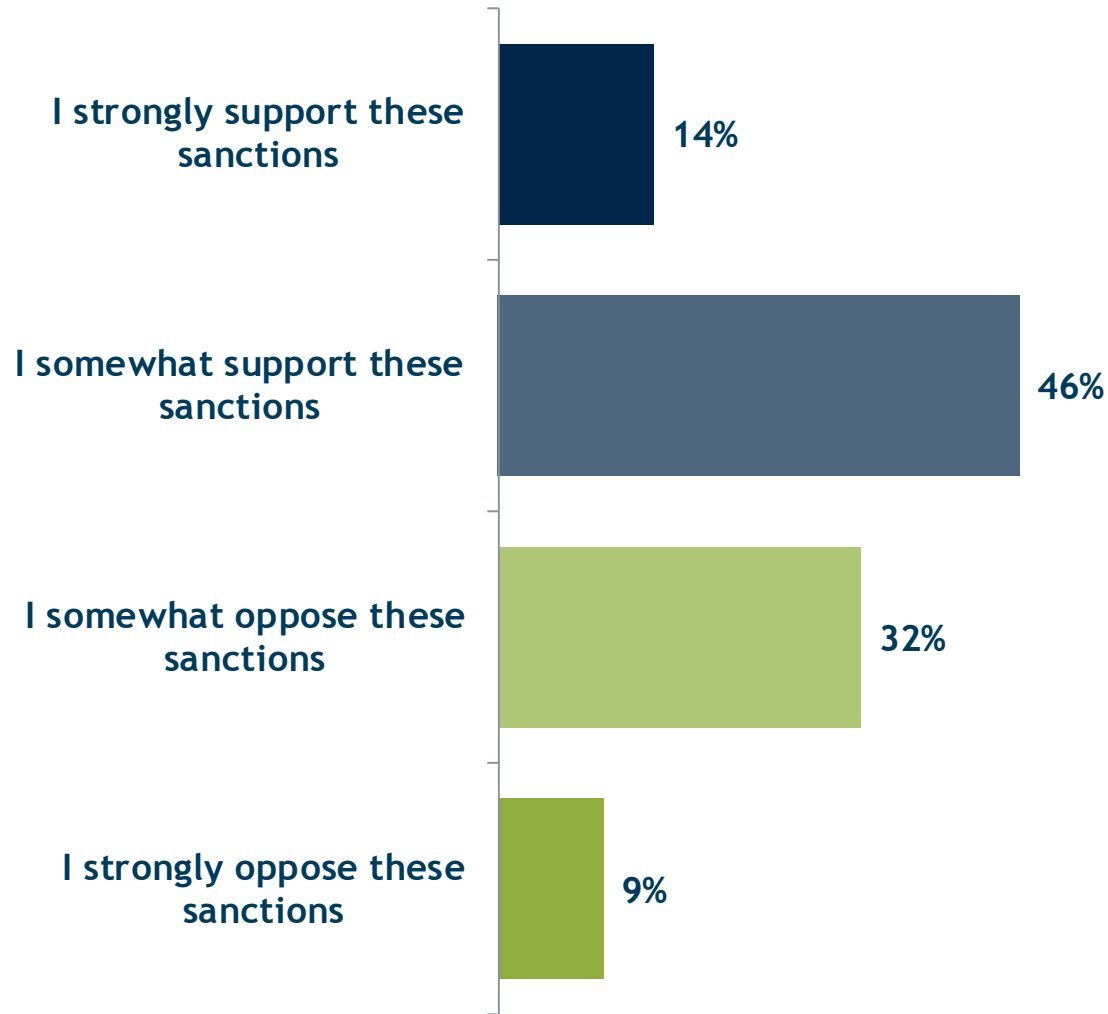
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
“Ukraine is a part of Russia’s sphere of influence, thus Russia has a right to
have a role in decisions made in Ukraine.”



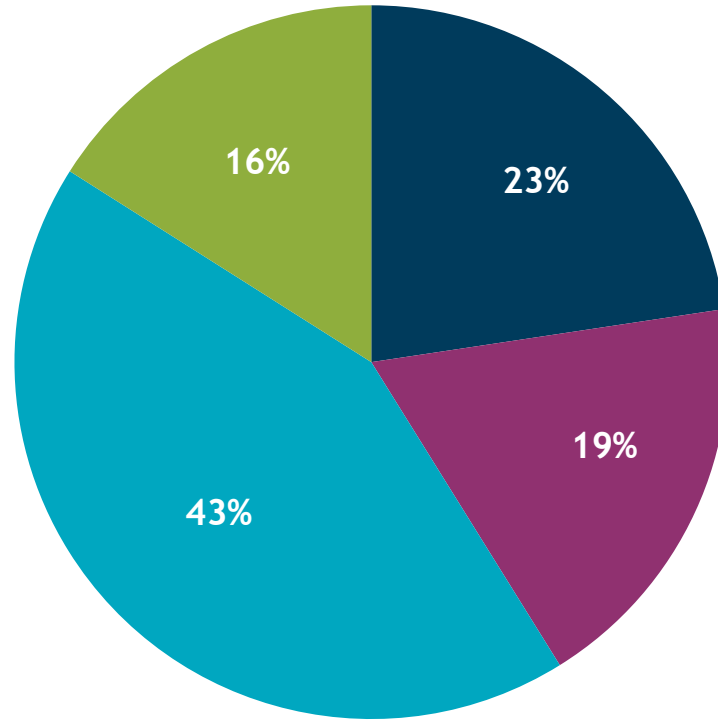
**To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
“The security of Germany would be better protected by remaining neutral, rather
than being forced to choose sides between NATO and Russia.”**



Following the Russian intervention in Eastern Ukraine and the annexation of Crimea, the EU and the U.S. imposed sanctions on Russia. What is your opinion on these sanctions?



Most analysts say Russian behavior in Ukraine has not changed as a result of the sanctions. What, then, should be the response of the West going forward?



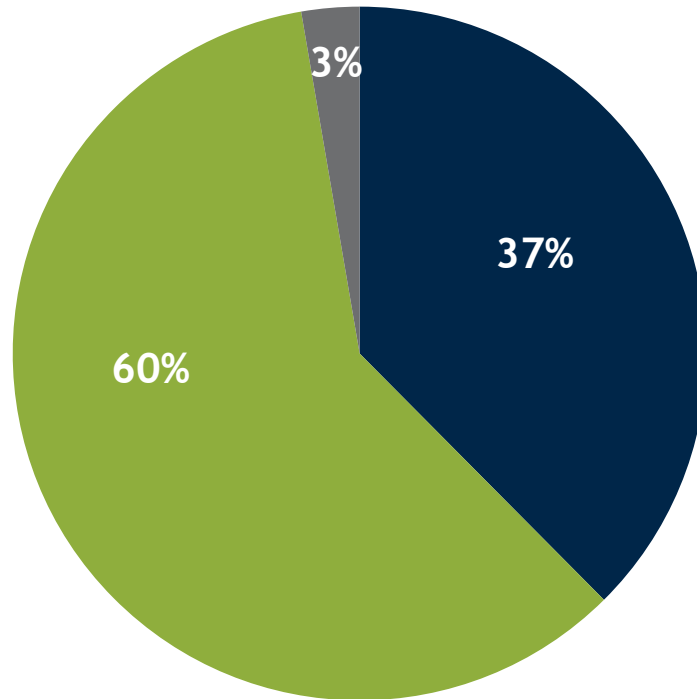
- Keep sanctions as they are until Russia changes its behavior.
- Increase sanctions in an attempt to make Russian actions more costly and get them to change their behavior.
- Look for other methods to change Russian behavior, and perhaps reduce sanctions in the process.
- End the sanctions and look for a new way of coexistence with Russia.



Opinions of Migration in Europe

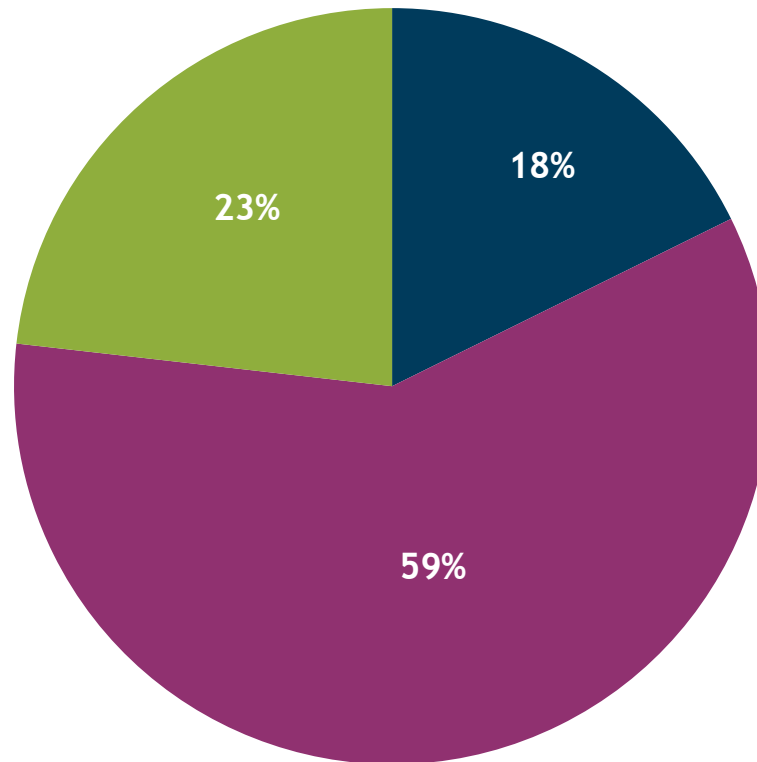


Opinions of border security: Which statement is closest to your opinion?



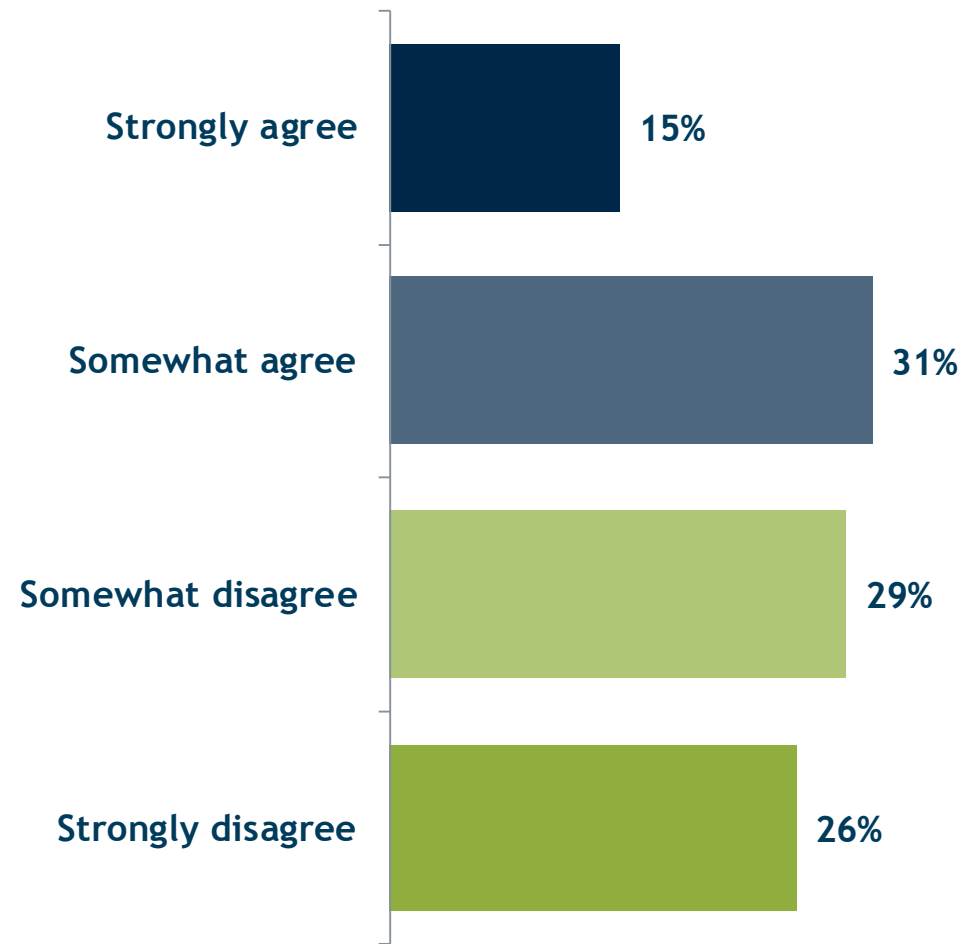
- The only way to address the problems of migrants and terrorism is to close the borders of Germany, regardless of the effect such a move would have on the free movement of people in the European Union.
- Closing national borders is a bad idea, because no country has the ability to address the problem on its own. Instead, collective organizations like NATO and the EU must be engaged in intercepting migrants and coordinating anti-terror efforts.
- Don't know

Which statement is closest to your opinion?

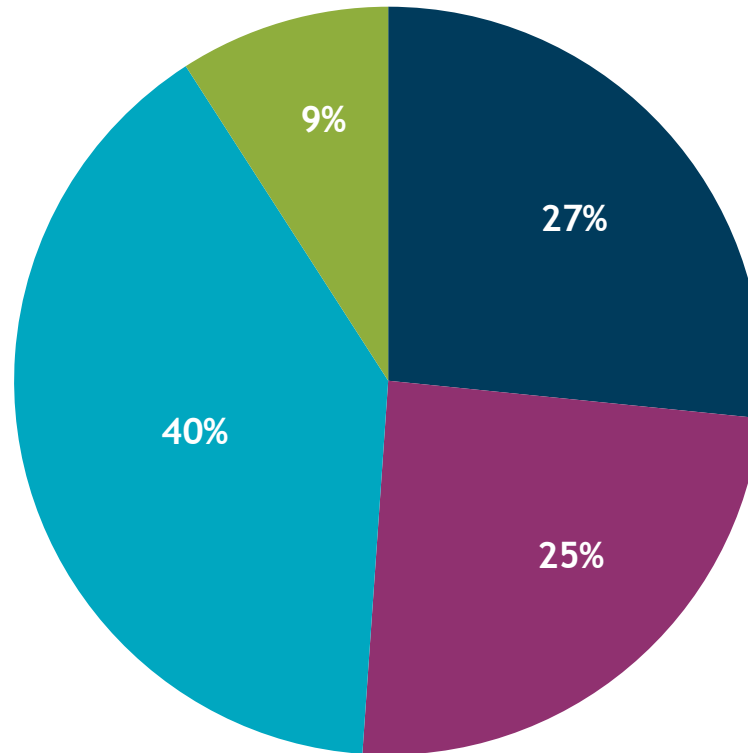


- Germany and Europe have a responsibility to help those in need by taking in migrants, regardless of the costs in financial, social, and security realms.
- Germany and Europe have a responsibility to help those in need by taking in migrants, but only after certain steps have been taken to ensure that those migrants will not place a financial, social, or security burden on the host countries.
- The cost of taking in migrants is too high, regardless of efforts of governments to mitigate them. Germany and Europe should not take in any more migrants.

The Visegrad Four countries of Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia have resisted EU directives to welcome a portion of the migrants that enter Europe. Do you agree or disagree with the stance of these countries?

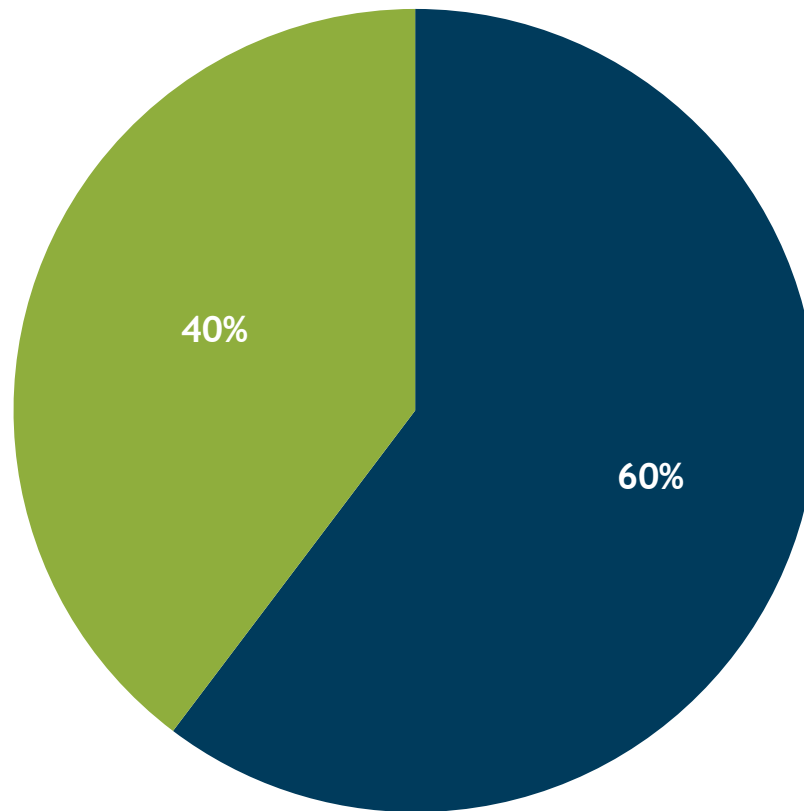


Regardless of whether you agree or disagree with this decision, why do you think these countries have resisted taking on refugees?



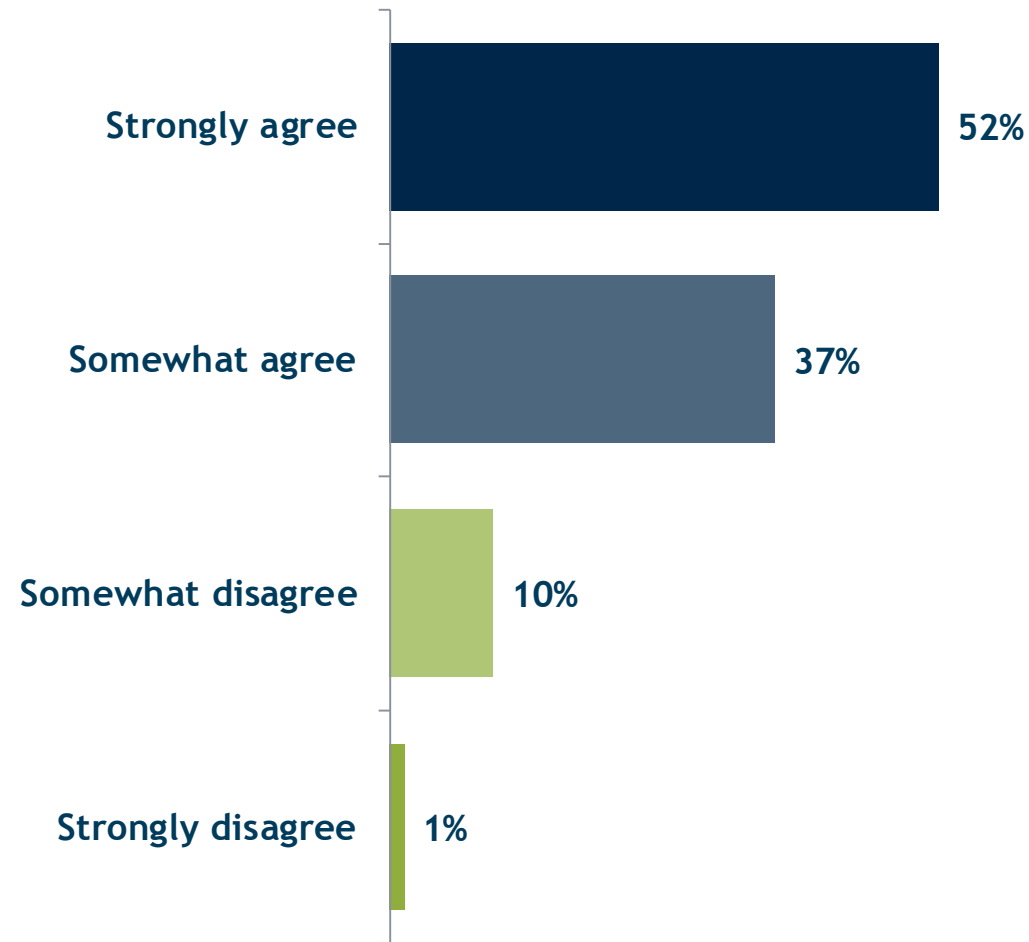
- The V4 countries have legitimate concerns about the costs of taking in migrants and the social and security problems this might cause.
- The V4 countries have legitimate objections that they were not consulted about the arrival of migrants and feel they are now being forced to resolve the problem.
- The V4 countries are unwilling to accept the costs of European solidarity, despite the fact that they have benefitted from EU assistance for the past 25 years.
- The V4 countries hold racist and xenophobic beliefs which stop them from welcoming this particular group of people.

Which statement is closest to your opinion?

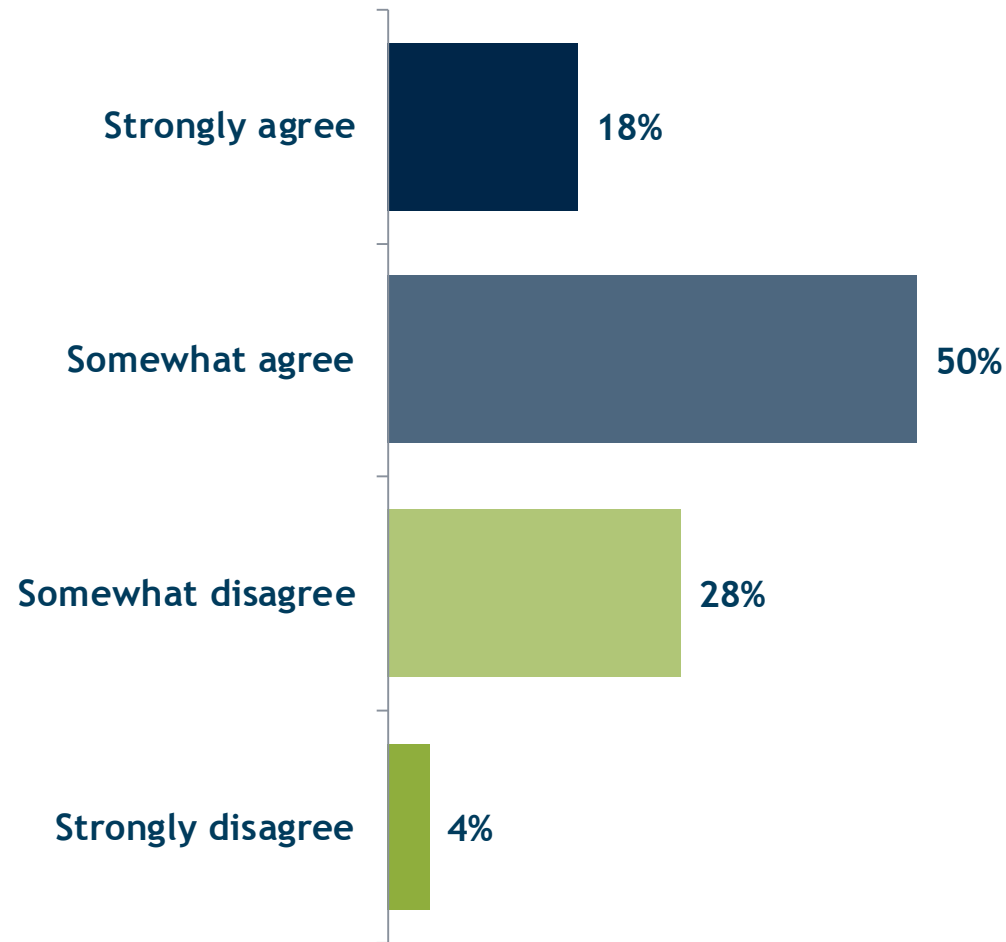


- Now that the Balkan route has been closed to migrants by the EU agreement with Turkey, the flow of migrants has shifted to Italy, and Italy needs help in dealing with this problem. Germany and Europe must help Italy.
- Germany and Europe are doing their part to assist migrants, and the EU treaties make clear that Italy is responsible for those who enter into its territory. Italy must fulfill its obligations under the treaties without expecting further help.

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
“Instead of welcoming more and more migrants into our countries, Europe should
instead focus on providing safe and healthy living environments to the migrants
who have already arrived.”



In response to criticism from the EU that they are not accepting their quota of migrants, some countries counter that they are providing large amounts of aid to migrants in refugee camps in Turkey, North Africa, and other areas and that this assistance is as important or more important than taking in a small number of migrants. What is your opinion of this argument?



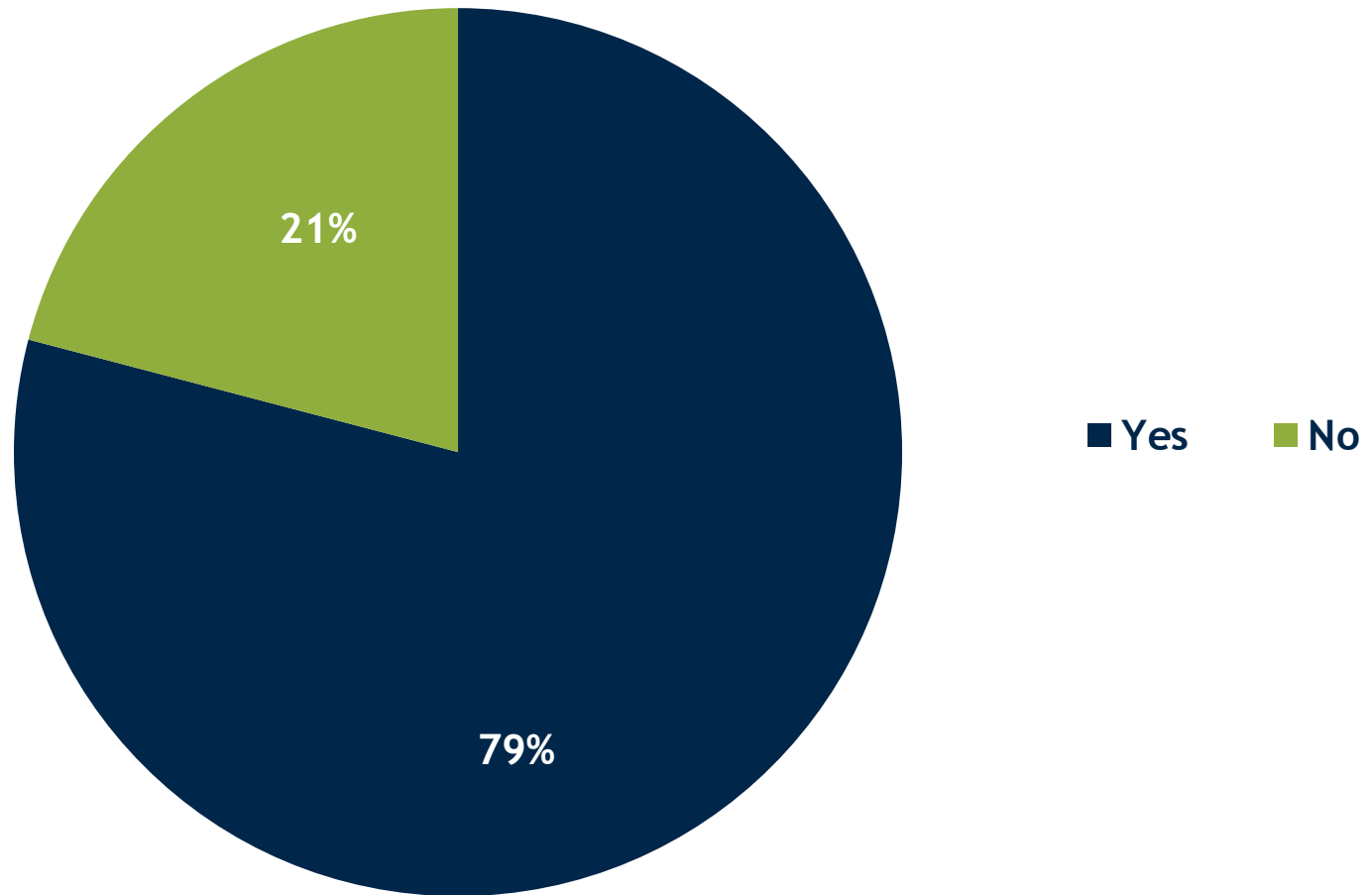


Election Outlook



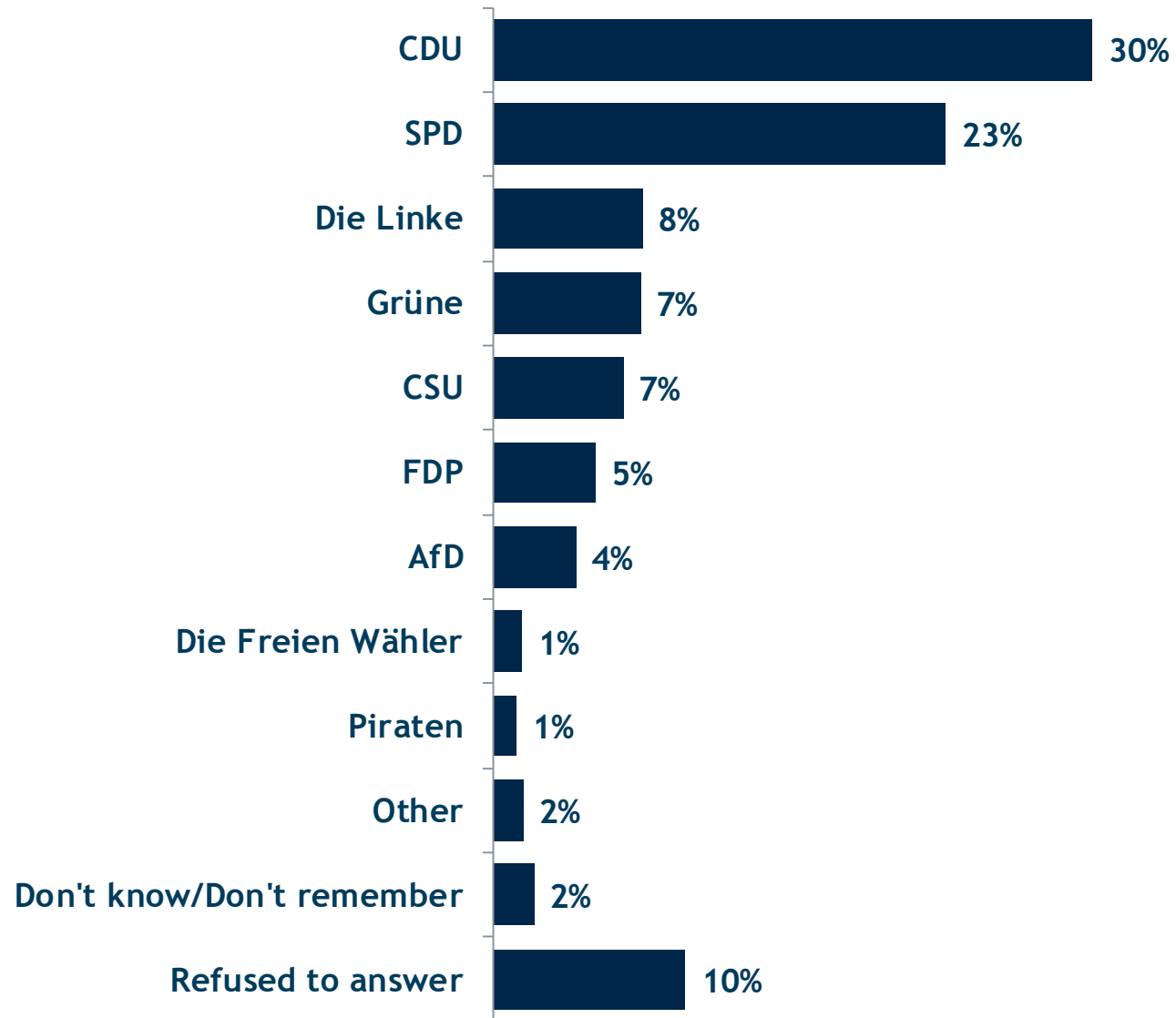
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Did you vote in the German parliamentary elections in 2013?



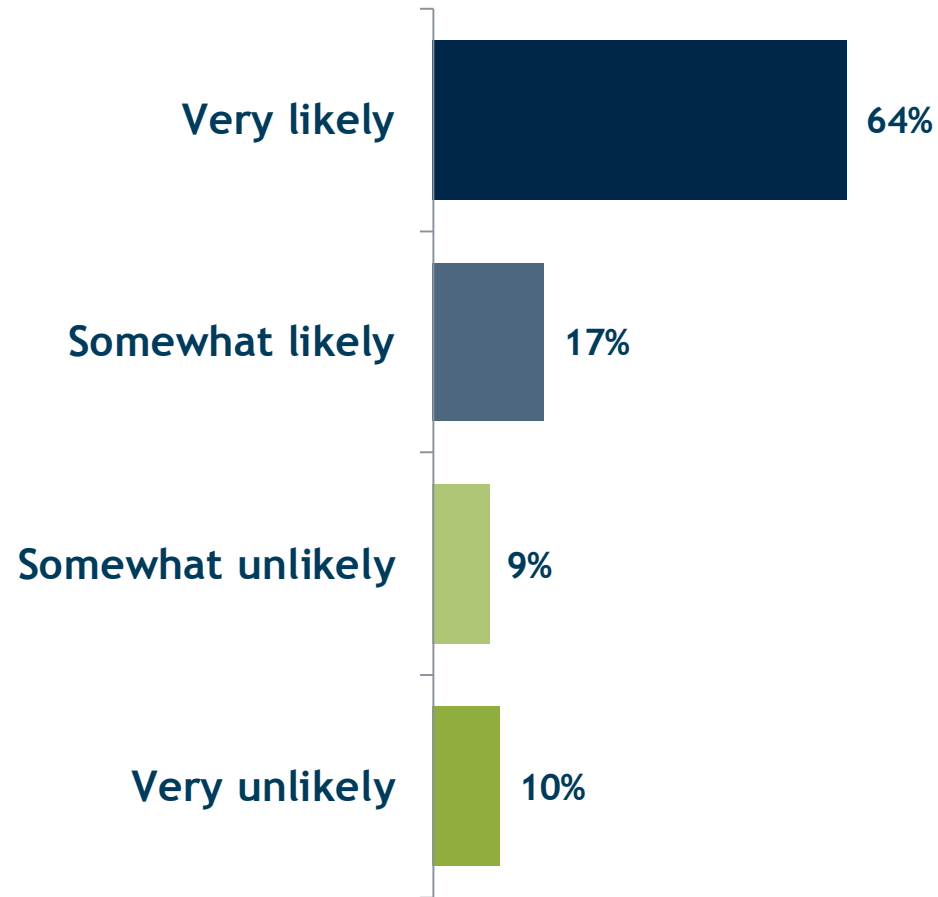
If so, for which party did you vote?

(Respondents who specified a choice: n=1,288)



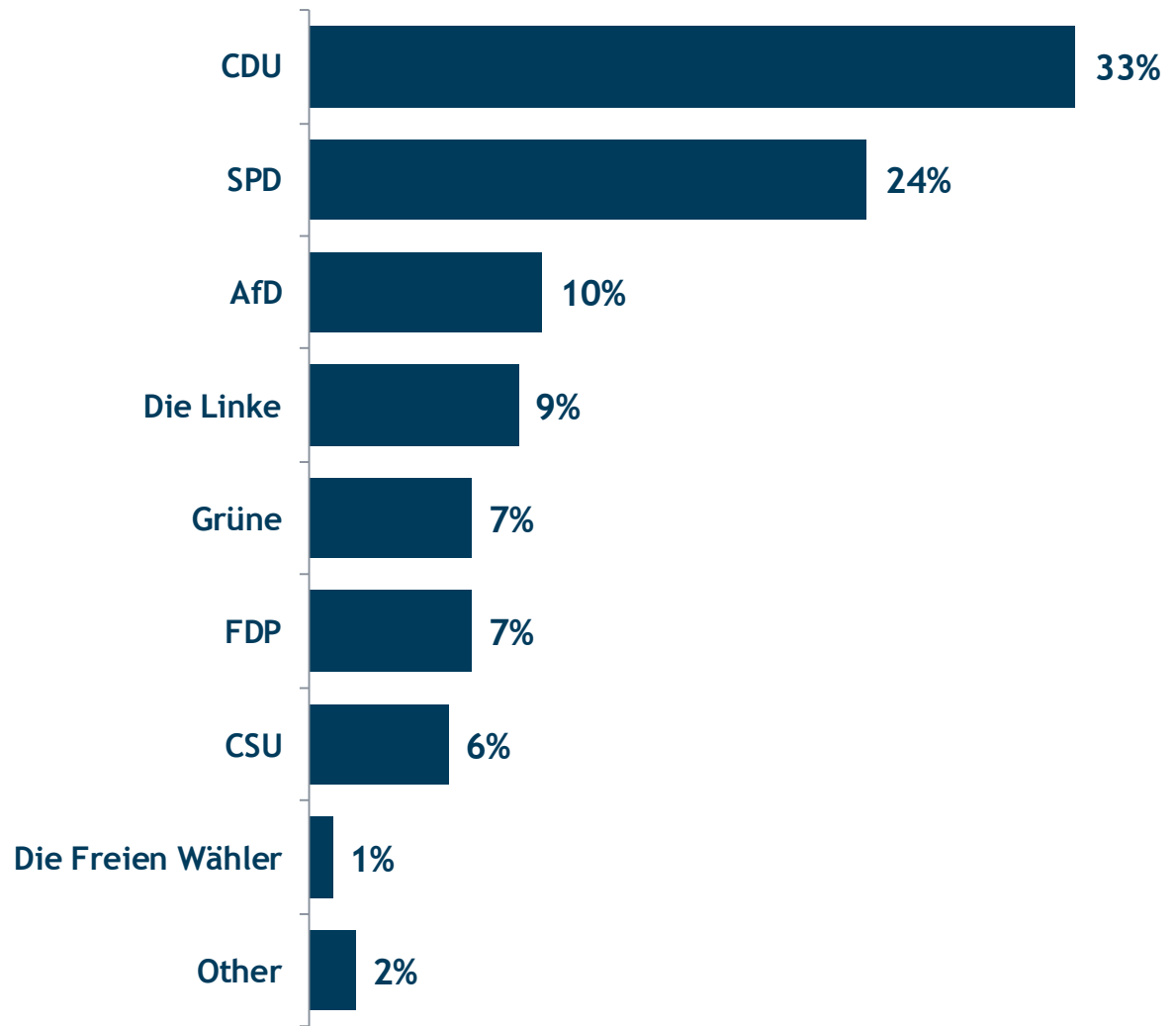
*See glossary of political parties on Slide 3.

How likely, if at all, are you to vote in the next elections?



If elections were held this coming Sunday, for which party would you vote?

(Decided population; excluding those who said they don't know or they will not vote: n=1,225)





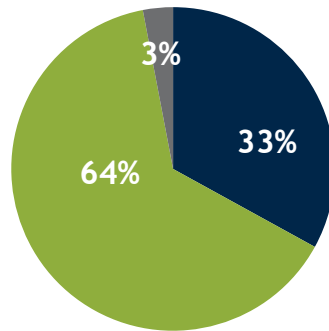
Close-Up: Right/Wrong Track



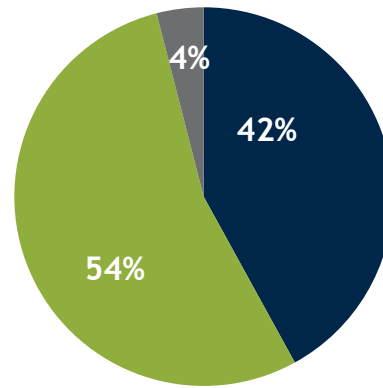
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Generally speaking, would you say that Germany is heading in the right or wrong direction?

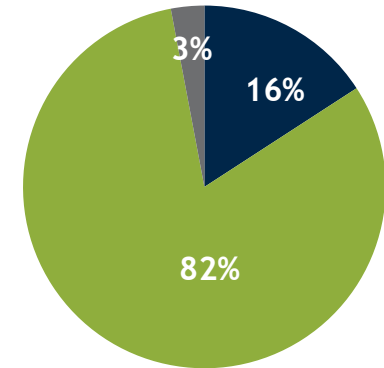
Residents of the former East Germany
n=279



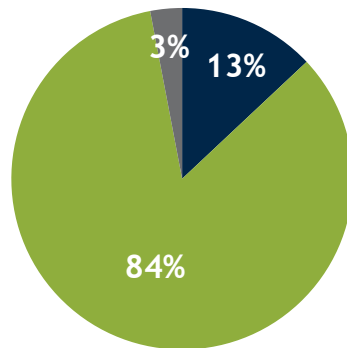
Total Sample



Respondents who say that globalization has very much hurt their family
n=254

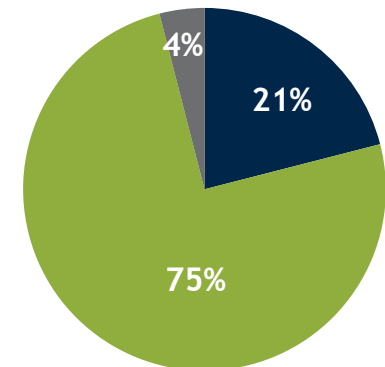


Respondents who would vote for AfD
n=120



■ Right direction
■ Wrong direction
■ Don't know/Refused to answer

Respondents who say the cost of taking in migrants is too high
n=378



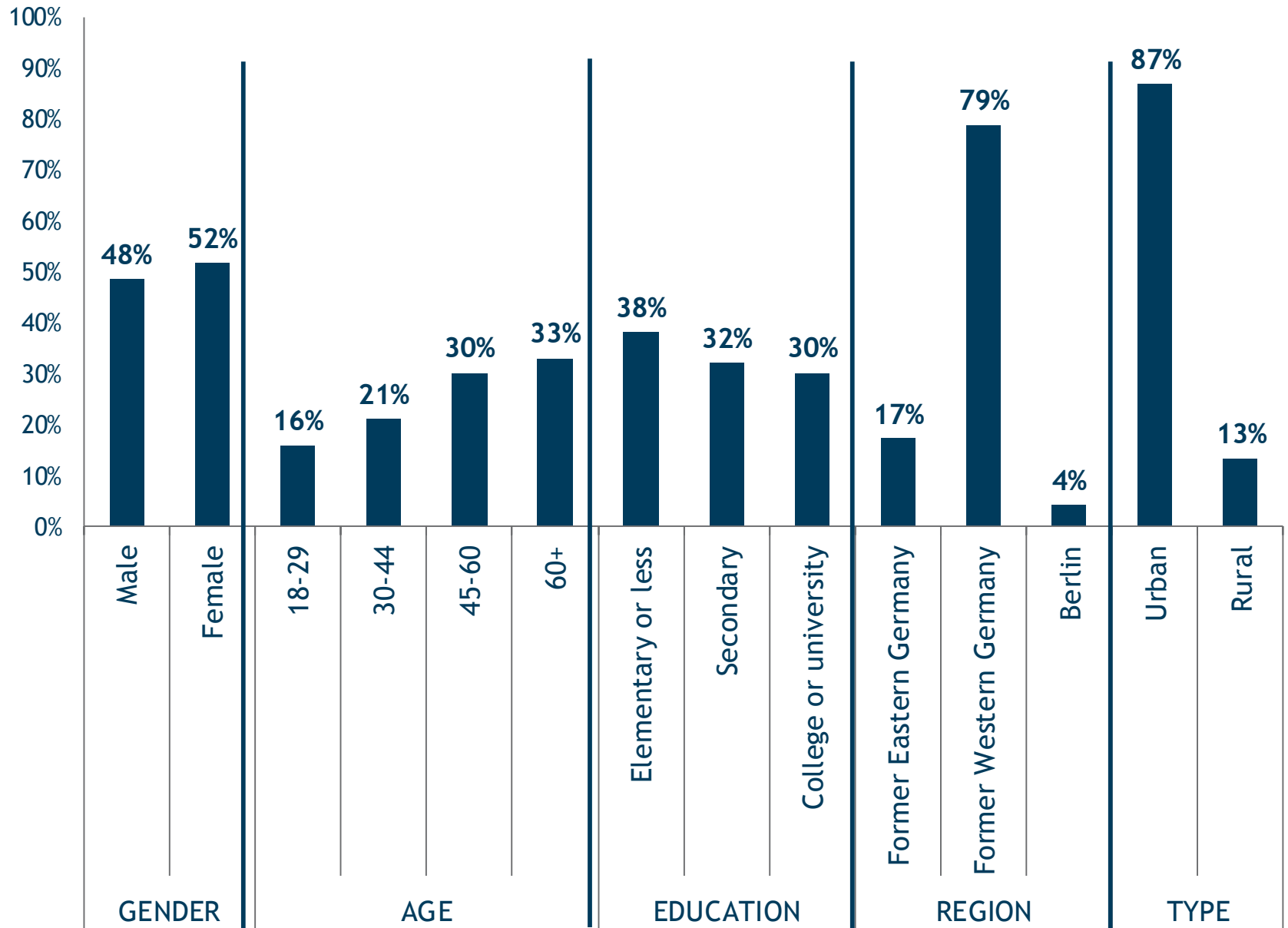


Demographics

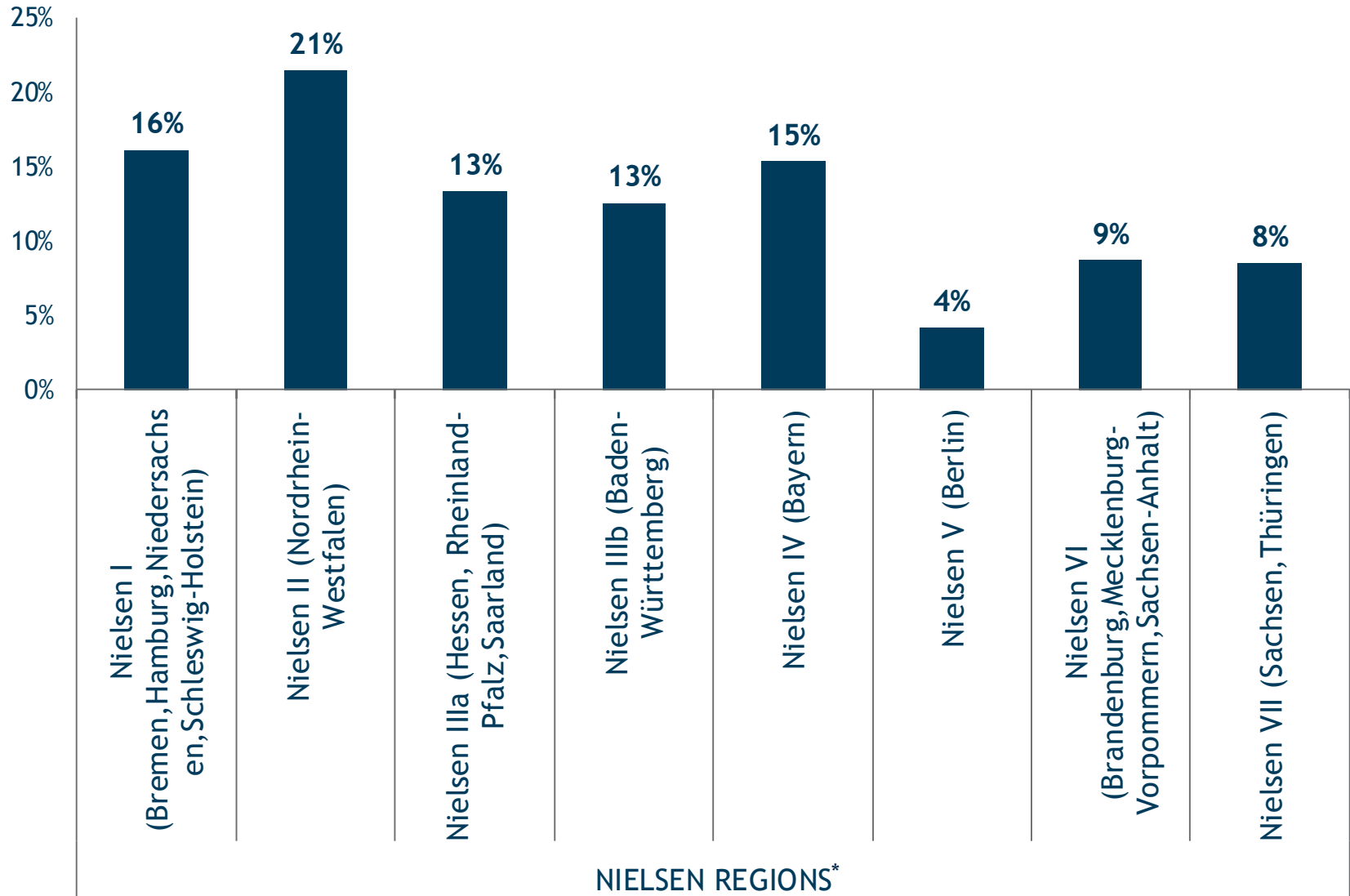


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Demographics

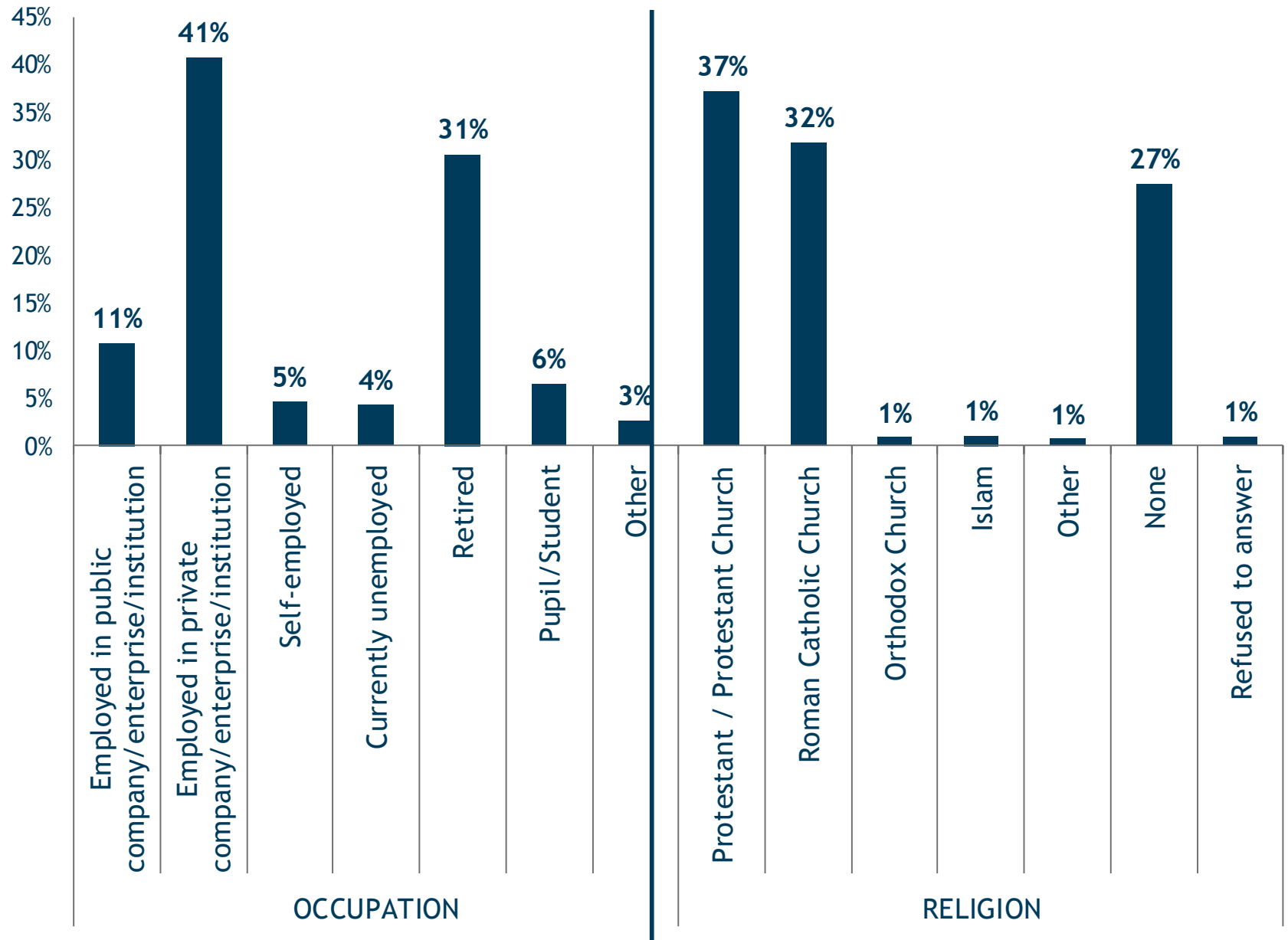


Demographics



*These regions group geographic areas according to similar patterns of consumer behavior and are used for market research in Germany.

Demographics



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