The Berlin Pulse Survey 2021/22
A representative survey on German attitudes to foreign policy commissioned by Körber-Stiftung in September and October 2021

All US results by Pew Research Center

1
International responsibility: Should Germany become more strongly involved in international crises?

50% Restraint

Become more strongly involved

45% 2021

Restraint

Become more strongly involved

44% 2020

2021: don’t know 4%, no answer 1% | 2020: don’t know 5%, no answer 2%

German respondents:
Which country currently is the most important partner for Germany?

US respondents:
Which country currently is the most important partner for the United States?

2021: don’t know 14%, no answer 2%
What are the greatest challenges currently facing German foreign policy?

- Climate and Environment: 40%
- Refugees and migration policy: 35%
- Relations with Russia/Putin: 30%
- Afghanistan: 25%
- Relations with the United States: 20%
- 15% and below for other issues

- 2017: 20% Climate and Environment, 15% Refugees and migration policy
- 2018: 25% Climate and Environment, 20% Refugees and migration policy
- 2019: 30% Climate and Environment, 25% Refugees and migration policy
- 2020: 35% Climate and Environment, 30% Refugees and migration policy
- 2021: 40% Climate and Environment, 35% Refugees and migration policy

Would Olaf Scholz as a Chancellor represent Germany’s interests in the world rather better, rather worse or as well as Angela Merkel?

- Rather better: 14%
- Rather worse: 27%
- As well as Angela Merkel: 51%

Should the German Bundeswehr/the US military be involved in foreign conflicts to...

- US respondents:
  - Protect the security of the United States: 77%
  - Protect the security of US allies: 76%
  - Protect minorities: 71%
  - Build democracy: 55%
  - Fight against terrorism: 42%

- German respondents:
  - Protect the security of Germany: 83%
  - Protect the security of Germany’s allies: 79%
  - Build democracy: 19%
  - Protect minorities: 14%
  - Fight against terrorism: 12%

Which of the following goals should Germany’s next chancellor particularly promote within the EU?

- Strengthening the common foreign and security policy: 65%
- Reaching the temperature goals of the Paris Climate Agreement: 58%
- Introducing an EU-wide minimum wage: 40%
- Enforcing values and rule of law throughout the EU: 50%
- Equally distributing refugees within the EU: 51%
When dealing with migration and refugees, which measures should Germany and the EU increasingly focus on?

- Taking in more migrants: 10%
- Extending the possibilities for legal migration: 26%
- Protecting the external borders of the EU: 34%
- Improving economic perspectives in countries of origin: 71%
- Promoting integration: 46%

2021: don’t know 1%, no answer 1%

How would you rate the current relationship between Germany and the United States?

- German respondents:
  - Bad 10%
  - Good 90%

- US respondents:
  - Bad 10%
  - Good 90%

Not a partner | Partner
---|---

- Protecting European security: 73%
- Promoting free trade: 64%
- Protecting democracy and human rights worldwide: 63%

For each of the following issues, do you see the United States as a partner or not?

- Protecting European security: 73%
- Promoting free trade: 64%
- Protecting democracy and human rights worldwide: 63%

- Dealing with Afghanistan: 50%
- Dealing with China: 41%
- Protecting the environment: 41%
- Dealing with the coronavirus outbreak: 35%

Note: The answer 'neither' ranged from 1 to 2 per cent for all issues.
US respondents:
For each of the following issues, do you see Germany as a partner or not?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Partner</th>
<th>Not a partner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with the coronavirus outbreak</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protecting European security</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protecting democracy and human rights worldwide</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealing with China</td>
<td>59%</td>
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answer ‘neither’ ranged from 2 to 5 per cent for all issues

German respondents:
What is more important for Germany ...?

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<tr>
<th>German respondents:</th>
<th>2021</th>
<th>2020</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Having close relations with the United States</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spontaneous response: equidistance</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having close relations with China</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>28%</td>
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</table>

US respondents:
What is more important for the United States ...?

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<tr>
<td>Having close relations with Germany</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spontaneous response: equidistance</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having close relations with China</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>38%</td>
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answer ‘neither’ ranged from 2 to 5 per cent for both respondents for both issues

Does China/Does Russia represent a major threat, a minor threat, or no threat to German/American values?

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<td>China</td>
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US respondents:

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answer ‘don’t know’ ranged from 1 to 2 per cent for both respondents for both issues
When faced with a cyberattack, should Germany react with offensive countermeasures (‘Hackback’)?

2021: don’t know 8 %, no answer 1 %

Is an increasingly digital world a threat or an opportunity for democracy around the world?

2021: don’t know 6 %, no answer 2 %

In the future, will Europe be able to compete against China and the United States in technological innovation and digitalization?

2021: don’t know 1 %, no answer 1 %

What is your view of China’s growing influence?

2021: don’t know 1 %, no answer 1 %

Germany respondents:

Opportunity for democracy: 51 %
Threat to democracy: 41 %

US respondents:

Opportunity for democracy: 57 %
Threat to democracy: 40 %
Which possible consequences of climate change worry you the most?

- Extreme weather phenomena: 70%
- Increasing flow of refugees: 38%
- Increasing inequality and economic crises: 35%
- International conflicts and wars: 32%
- Personal restrictions, e.g. due to travel bans or consumer restrictions: 12%

Concerning climate policy, do you see Germany as a forerunner or a laggard in the EU?

- Forerunner: 53%
- Laggard: 34%
- Neither: 5%
- Both: 7%

How strongly engaged are the following countries or actors in the fight against climate change?

- United States: 68% Very strongly, 13% Strongly, 13% Not strongly, 1% Not at all committed
- China: 44% Very strongly, 42% Strongly, 7% Not strongly, 6% Not at all committed
- The EU: 33% Very strongly, 55% Strongly, 2% Not strongly, 6% Not at all committed
- Civil society: 23% Very strongly, 59% Strongly, 10% Not strongly, 3% Not at all committed
- Companies: 37% Very strongly, 39% Strongly, 5% Not strongly, 7% Not at all committed
- International Organizations, like the UN: 37% Very strongly, 39% Strongly, 5% Not strongly, 7% Not at all committed

2021: don’t know 2%, no answer 1%

2021: don’t know 1%, no answer 1%

answer ‘don’t know’ ranged from 2 to 14 per cent for all issues
The survey for Germany was commissioned by Körber-Stiftung and carried out by KANTAR PUBLIC Germany in September 2021 or as indicated in October 2021. Telephone interviews conducted with a representative random sample of 1,162 participants in September and 1,113 participants in October. (Margin of error: < 1.4 per cent for unit values of 5 per cent; < 3.1 per cent for unit values of 50 per cent). German data and results available at www.theberlinpulse.org.

The survey for the United States was conducted by SSRS for Pew Research Center in September 2021. Telephone interviews conducted with a representative random sample of 1,008 participants. (Margin of error: +/- 3.98 per cent at the 95 per cent confidence level.)

**German respondents:**

What would you expect once the COVID-19 crisis is over?

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>States will increase their focus on national interests</th>
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</tr>
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<td>24%</td>
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**US respondents:**

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States will cooperate more

- German respondents: 50%
- US respondents: 30%

answer ‘don’t know’ ranged from 2 to 4 per cent for both respondents