

TRANSWORLD

THE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP AND THE FUTURE GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

ISSN 2281-5252

WORKING PAPER 32 | JUNE 2014

This paper focuses on American and European attitudes towards the economy before and during the financial and economic crisis. The analysis concerns six main topics: the importance of the economy, perceptions of the economic situation, support for free-market, attitudes towards globalization, and support for both governmental and international regulation. Results confirm a remarkable effect of the financial and economic crisis on public

The Meaning of Economy: US and EU Attitudes Towards Economy in Time of Crisis

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opinion in Europe and the US for the most part of indicators analyzed. Particularly, people are more concerned with economic matters and pessimist about the economic situation. EU and US publics are less distant than expected, especially during the crisis. Most evident differences concern support for a stronger market regulation. From a first investigation, this seems linked to the trust of American conservatives in the power of "self-regulation" of the market.



The Meaning of Economy: US and EU Attitudes Towards Economy in Time of Crisis

Danilo Di Mauro*

EU US Public opinion Economy Eurozone crisis

Introduction

As far as economy is concerned, the United States and Europe are traditionally depicted as two antithetic worlds. Although they both share the principles of the capitalistic system, the US still represents the embodiment of the free-market economy, while Europe maintains its image of home of social democracies. Many analysts could confirm this opposition between the two transatlantic partners emphasizing legislative, institutional and behavioral differences. At the same time, *can we really claim that attitudes towards economy are different in American and European publics?*

The analyses here presented specifically aim at addressing this question. Particularly, the report will cover six main topics such as the importance attributed to economic matters (or saliency), views about the economic situation, support for free-market, attitudes towards globalization, and support for both governmental and international regulation. American and European public sentiments about those topics will be compared through the last decade, trying to understand whether opinions consistently differ in the two populations.

This comparative analysis comprehends a special examination of the effects of the economic crisis. An up-to-date observation of public sentiments towards economy, indeed, cannot exclude the outbreak of what it is considered the most serious economic crisis since the deep depression of 1930s. The economic and financial crisis of the late 2000s is having a deep negative impact on all the indicators of the economic performance. In a very short period, it affected almost all the strata of the population in the “western world”, with devastating repercussions on employment and social expenditures. Social scientists have already started to show that those effects had strong repercussions also in people’s attitudes towards economy and support for institutions. In some cases opposition become active participation with the rising of social movements and global protests.

As a result, this report will also aim to observe whether the crisis changed the US and European public perspectives about the above mentioned economic topics, reducing (or enlarging) the gaps between citizens in the two contexts. When those differences appear stronger (namely in opinions about regulation), I will do

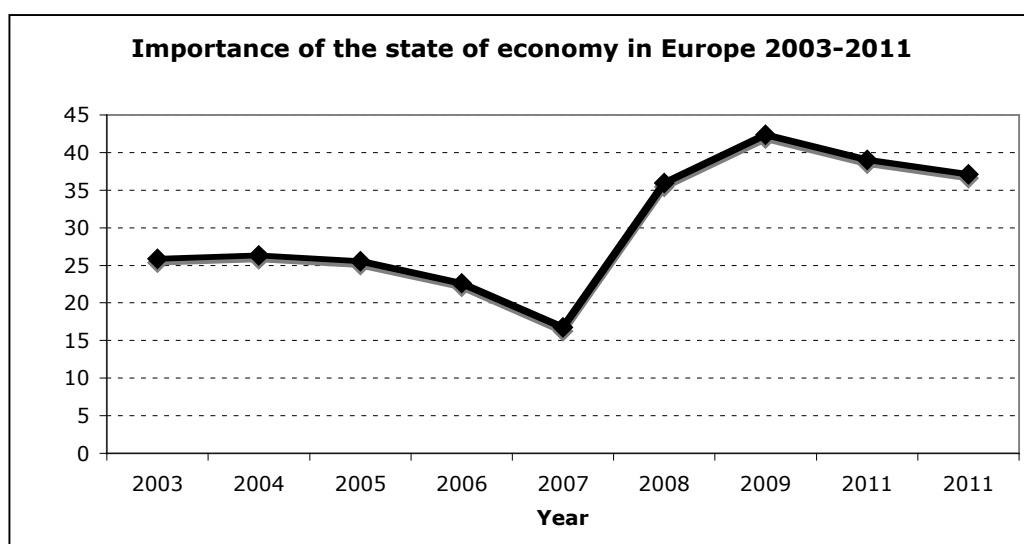
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preliminary analyses in order to investigate possible explanations.

1. Saliency and Concern

Is economy really important for both EU and US citizens? Economy is among the most important issues for EU citizens. The percentage of people mentioning this item within a list of national issues is one of the highest, demonstrating that the state of economy is a high priority. During the last decade this trend was strongly affected by the economic crisis. As showed in figure 1, the percentage of people mentioning economy as the most important thing for their country strongly grew since 2008. It registered a maximum peak in 2009, when 42 percent of respondents mentioned economic situation as “the most important thing facing their country”¹ (Table A1 in the Appendix).

• Figure 1 | **Importance of Economy, 2003-2011**



Source: Eurobarometers 60.3; 62; 63.4; 66.1; 68.1; 70.1; 72.4; 74.2; 75.3.

Note: Percentages represent those who mentioned “economic situation”; data concerns only EU member states in that specific year.

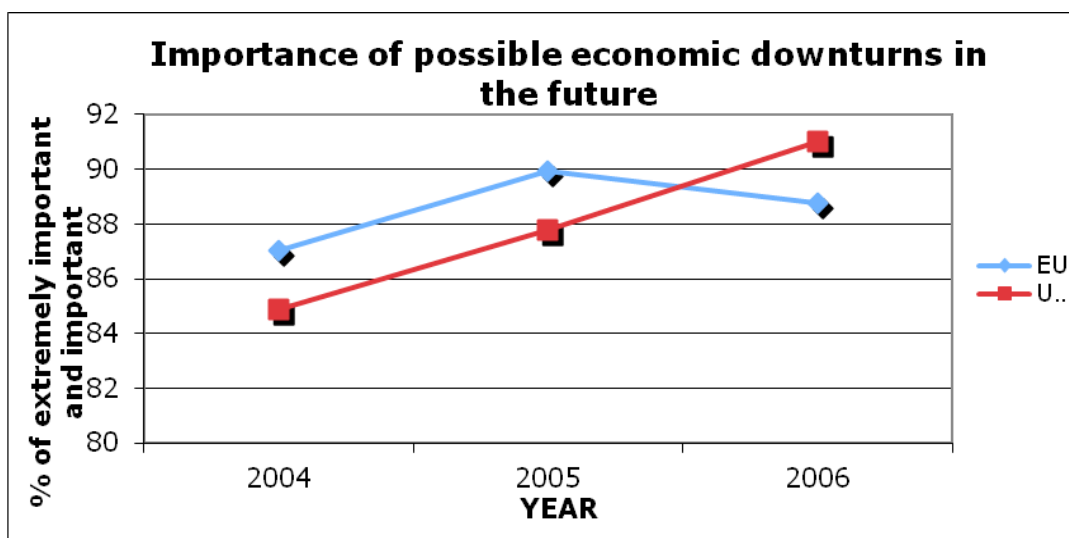
Something similar occurred in the United States. In two surveys conducted by the Pew Research Centre in 2005 and 2009 (Table A2 in the Appendix), US citizens were asked to mention the most important international problem of America in an open answer. In 2005 the highest percentages of people mentioned the situation in Iraq (23 percent) and “violence and conflict in general” (16 percent). The aspects related to economy on the whole were mentioned as a first international problem by the 5 percent of respondents. The same question made in 2009 shows different results: items related to economy (such as trade, crisis, job situation, etc.) were mentioned firstly by the 15 percent of US respondents; while situation in Afghanistan reached the 10 percent, was the 14 percent and international violence the 9 percent. Although the poll was mainly focused on foreign policy and the international system (and so forth possibly bringing to an overrepresentation of international/security problems) the raise of importance of economic issues was clearly marked.

¹ The exact question wording is “What do you think are the two most important issues facing (our country) at the moment?”.

In order to compare this raising of saliency in the US and European Union, I focused on a series of surveys including both European countries and the United States. American and EU citizens show high level of saliency for the possibility of an economic downturn in the period 2004-2006² (Table A4 in the Appendix). The US trend grows linearly, while EU saliency poorly decreases in 2006. In any case more than 85 percent of people in both Europe and the US have been concerned about an economic downturn in this period. The fact that the threat of the crisis was perceived firstly in the US (since also the crisis firstly affected the US) is also confirmed by the percentage of people indicating economic problems as a priority in the TTS survey of 2008 (Table A5 in the Appendix). In this year, the 39 percent of Americans indicated international economic problems as the top priority, while the 34 percent declared the same in Western Europe.³

In summary, citizens' sentiments in EU and US are particularly close since they attribute very similar levels of importance to economic problems before the crisis and during its first phase.

• Figure 2 | Importance of Possible Economic Downturns in the Future



Source: Author's own elaboration on TTS data 2004-2006.

Along with saliency, the evaluation of the present economic situation represents one of the first dimensions to analyze in order to have an immediate general idea of differences and similarities between Europeans and American views about economy. Particularly, I expect that perceptions of the economic situation vary across the two populations and show big differences between the early and the late 2000s, due to the effects of the economic crisis.

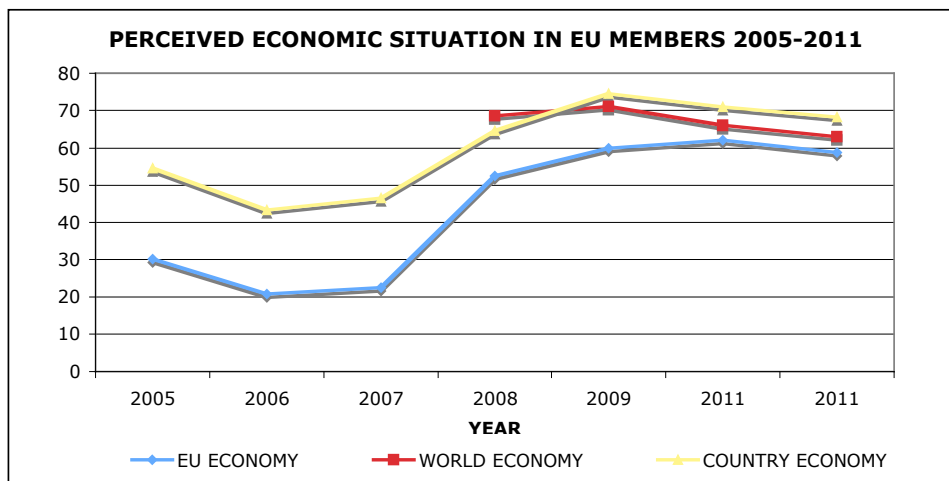
As far as the EU member states are concerned, it is possible to observe clear peaks of pessimism during the blowing of the economic and financial crisis. Figure 3 shows the trend (2005-2011) of the percentages of EU

2 The exact question reads as follow: "I am going to read you a list of possible international threats to [Europe/US] in the next 10 years- Please tell me if you think each one on the list is an extremely important threat, an important threat, or not an important threat at all: A major economic downturn" 1. Extremely important 2. Important 3. Not important (TTS data on Europe = Germany, Spain, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden and UK; and United States).

3 The exact question is: "Which among the following tasks should be the top priority for the American president and European leaders?" 2. (Managing) international economic problems (TTS data 2008 on Europe = Germany, Spain, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal and UK; and United States).

citizens considering the economic situation “bad” and “very bad” at the time of the interview⁴ (Tables A6-A8 in the Appendix). The three lines describe different subjects such as EU economy (blue), world economy (red) and national economy (yellow). The figure suggests at least two important results. First of all, the effect of the economic crisis is particularly evident: it creates a high increase in the percentage of people choosing “bad” and “very bad” to indicate the state of economy at the three different levels (national, European, world). Since 2008 the majority of Europeans become pessimist about the state of the economic situation at the EU, national and world levels. Secondly, as far as the perception became pessimistic the percentages of the three levels get narrowing. In other words, people perceive that the economic situation is problematic both at supranational and national level. Until 2007, indeed, there was a 20 percent of difference in the frequency of pessimism about the present economic situation between EU and national economy. Since 2008 this gap was dramatically reduced, and in 2011 the percentages of pessimism about the three economies (national, EU and world) appear very close. As a result, it is possible to claim that the second effect of the crisis has been a *mondialization* or *globalization* of (EU) public views about the state of economy.

• Figure 3 | **Perceived Economic Situation, 2005-2011: Pessimism**



Source: Author’s own elaboration on Eurobarometers data (75.3, 74.2, 72.4, 70.1, 68.1, 66.1, 63.4).

Note: Percentages represent the sum of “bad” and “very bad” answers. Only EU members were selected.

This conclusion is also shown by the perceived repercussions of the crisis in national, European and world economies. Table 1 shows that those Europeans indicating “very” and “fairly” important repercussions of the economic crisis on national and European economies are respectively 95 and 93 percent.

This picture is confirmed also by the perspectives on the future of economy at different levels. Table 2 shows very similar percentages for the three economic dimensions, indicating that Europeans perceive a common future for the effects of the crisis on national, European and world economies.

4 The exact question wording is “How would you judge the current situation in each of the following?” National, European and World economy.

• **Table 1 | Importance of the Repercussions of the Crisis**

To what extent do you consider that the current economic and financial crisis is or is not having repercussions on each of the following?

	European economy (%)	(National) economy (%)
Very important repercussions	50.05	53.11
Fairly important repercussions	45.10	40.92
Not really any repercussions	4.30	5.32
No repercussions at all	0.54	0.66
N	25,532	25,786

Source: Author's own elaboration on Eurobarometer 71.1 (2009).

Note: Only EU27 selected.

• **Table 2 | Importance of the Future Repercussions of the Crisis**

And when you think about the future, do you think that the current economic and financial crisis will or will not have, over the next five years, repercussions on each of the following?

	European economy (%)	(National) economy (%)	World economy (%)
Very important repercussions	37.54	34.54	36.56
Fairly important repercussions	49.96	52.65	51.17
Not really any repercussions	11.27	11.77	11.06
No repercussions at all	1.23	1.04	1.22
N	24,691	24,888	24,718

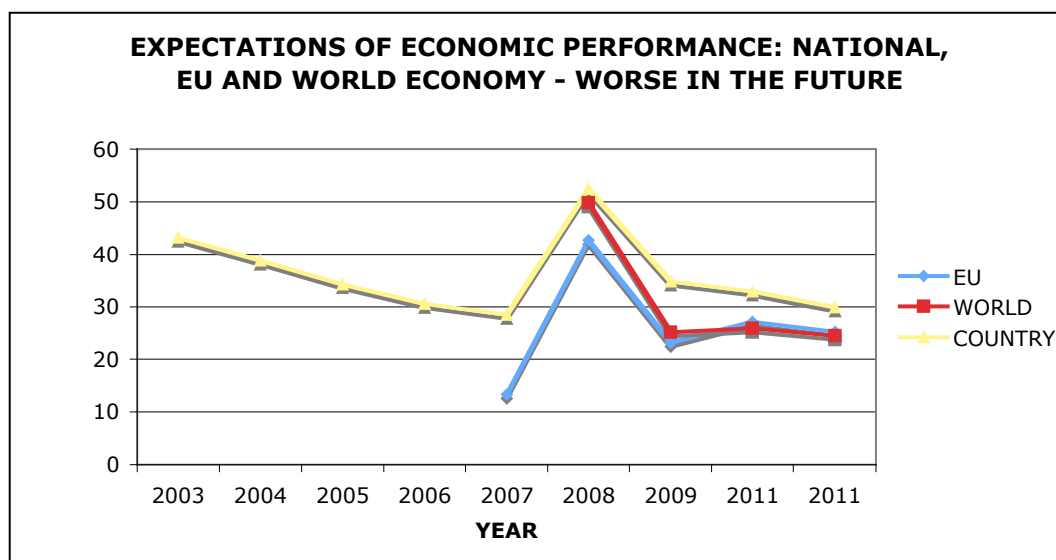
Source: Author's own elaboration on Eurobarometer 71.1 (2009).

Note: Only EU27 selected.

Another element of evidence of the *Europeanization* of economic perceptions is the trend of negative expectations on economic performance.⁵ Particularly since 2008 negative expectations about EU and world economy almost overlap. On the contrary, the gap of negative expectations between EU and national economy was reduced since 2011. Expectations tell a partial different story of concern about the present situation. Overall, they show that the threat represented by the economic crisis was perceived as a short-lived phenomenon in the future of Europeans: the most part of them saw a worse future only in 2008 and progressively started to return to the optimistic perspectives before the crisis. Worse expectations are still higher than 2007 for both EU and world economy but progressively returned to the pre-crisis percentages for the national economy (Tables A9-A11 in the Appendix).

⁵ The exact question wording is "What are your expectations for the next twelve months; will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same, when it comes to...?"

• Figure 4 | **Negative Perspectives About Economy, 2003-2011**



Source: Author's own elaboration on Eurobarometers data (60.3; 62; 63.4; 66.1; 68.1; 70.1; 72.4; 74.2; 75.3).

Note: Percentages indicate those answering "worse".

Percentages of negative views about the economic situation seem quite similar in the US. In the Pew/CFR survey of 2009 the percentage of US public indicating the rate of the economic situation as "good" and "excellent" is about the 7 percent, for the rest of interviewed people the economic condition was fair (40 percent) or poor (51 percent) (Table A12 in the Appendix).⁶ The LAPOP poll (Table A13 in the Appendix) shows more clearly the closeness to European sentiments: in 2008 the 66 percent of Americans declared to consider as "bad" and "very bad" the economic situation, while in 2010 this percentage grew to 71 percent.⁷ In 2012, according to a PEW Research report, "Less than a third of Americans (31 percent) say the U.S. economy is doing well. That figure is up 13 percentage points from 2011. But it is down 19 points from 2007, the year before the financial crunch began" (Pew Research 2012).

Also specific opinions about the crisis reflect a high level of concern in the US as well as in Europe. According to LAPOP 2010 data, the 81 percent of the American sample declares that Americans are suffering a "very serious crisis"⁸ (Table A14 in the Appendix). The TTS survey of 2009 shows even a higher concern of US citizens about the crisis: 93 percent declares to be "very" (70 percent) and "somewhat" (23 percent) concerned about the crisis; while Western Europeans concerned are totally the 85 percent of the interviewed (45 percent "very" concerned and 40 percent "somewhat" concerned; Table A15 in the Appendix).

6 The exact question wording is: "How would you rate economic conditions in this country today... as excellent, good, only fair, or poor?"

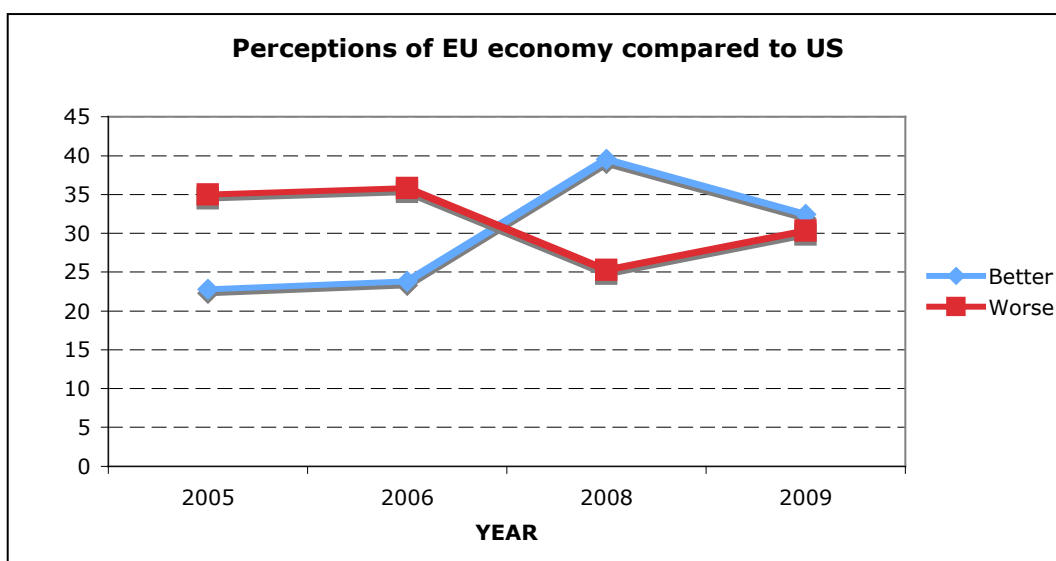
7 The exact question wording is: "How would you describe the country's economic situation? Would you say that it is very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad or very bad?" Sample size 1,500 US citizens.

8 The exact question wording is: "Some say that our country is suffering a very serious economic crisis; others say that we are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious, while others say that there isn't any economic crisis. What do you think?" Percentages are: very serious 81 percent, not serious 18 percent, no crisis 1 percent.

Also expectations appear quite similar in Europe and US: the 34 percent of Americans expect a “worse” economic situation in the future twelve months.⁹ At the same time, according to VOP data of 2009, the 43 percent Europeans (namely Austria, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, Romania, and UK) expected economic difficulties in the future year *vis à vis* the 35 percent of Americans.¹⁰ In this case along with some Eastern European states (Bulgaria 51 percent, Romania 50 percent) also Western European states appear pessimists about the future (namely Germany 48 percent and France 50 percent; Table A16 in the Appendix).

Are Americans and Europeans concerned by the transatlantic partner’s competition? Europeans traditionally recognize to the US the role of the strongest economic power, able to affect their own economy. In 2002 and 2003, according to TTS results, more than 50 percent of the sample of Europeans (Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal-2003, and UK) declared that the competition from the US is an “important” threat to European economy, while the 17 percent said was “extremely important”¹¹ (Table A17 in the Appendix). Percentages for the US sample are respectively 12 percent for “extremely important” and 37 percent for “important”. This gap was consistently reduced by the effects of the economic crisis. Figure 5 shows that the most part of Europeans consider their economy performing better than the US in 2008 (when the crisis was stronger in the latter); while percentages of “better” and “worse” are almost equal in 2009¹² (EB 72.4; 69.2; 65.2; 63.4; Table A19 in the Appendix). As a result, the effects of the crisis seem to change the traditional European view that US economy is more efficient than the European one.

• Figure 5 | Perceptions of European economy compared to US economy 2005-2009



Source: Author’s own elaboration on EB data (72.4; 69.2; 65.2; 63.4).

9 32 percent expects a *better* situation, while 34 percent expects the *same* situation.

10 The exact question wording is: “Compared with this year, in your opinion, will next year be a year of economic prosperity, economic difficulty or remain the same?”

11 “I am going to read you a list of possible threats to the vital interest of [Europe] in the next 10 years- For each one, please tell if you see this as an extremely important threat, an important threat, or not an important threat at all- Threat to [Europe] - Economic competition from the United States” 1. Extremely important 2. Important 3. Not important.

12 The question was: “Would you say that the European economy is performing better, performing worse or performing as well as the American economy?”

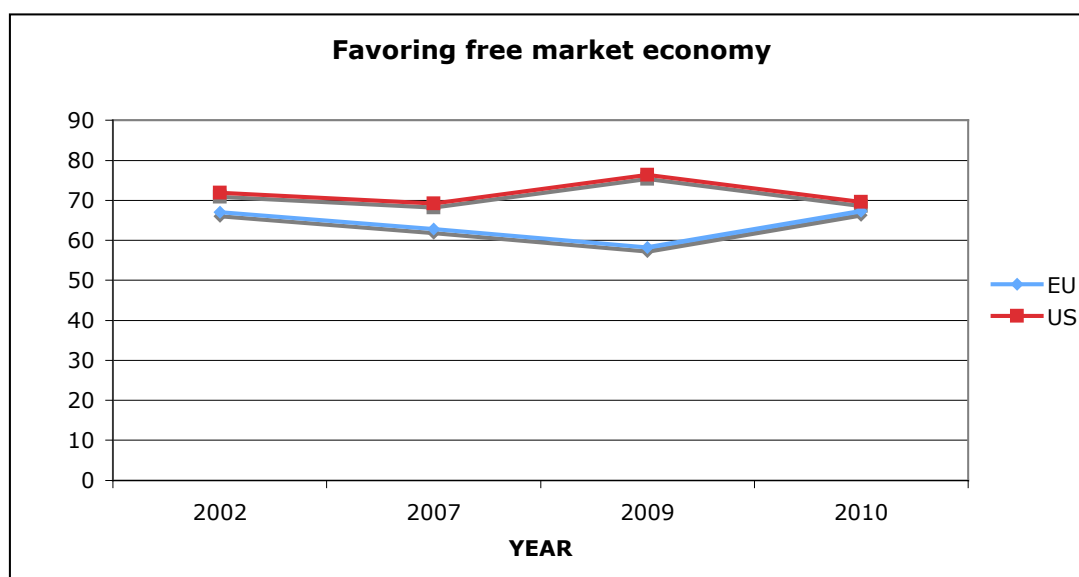
2. Supporting Free-Market Economy

The different perception of the freedom of the market is a traditional distinction between American and European societies. The US is traditionally depicted as the society where free-market is guaranteed and “protected” against governmental interference and a strong welfare system. On the contrary Europe maintained the image of a “social” economy where the state intervenes to regulate the economy also with national public companies aiming to provide essential services (healthcare, communication, etc.) and to limit social inequalities.

The empirical evidence of those deep differences between Europe and US are supported by institutional, legal and historical different paths of regulation and “philosophy” about the role of economy in the society. *At the same time, can we equally affirm that people in the US and EU have different views about free-market economy?*

A first test on support for free market economy suggests that there are some differences between Europe and US; but those are less strong than one would expect. Figure 6 shows that the line describing those supporting free market in Europe is closely below the US trend. Moreover, when the crisis started affecting European economy, support for free market decreased in Europe but not in the US (Table A20 in the Appendix).

• Figure 6 | **Support for Free-Market Economy**



Source: Author's own elaboration on GAP data (2002, 2007, 2009, 2010).

Note: Lines describe the percentages of people agreeing (strongly and somewhat) that “Most people are better off in a free market economy, even though some people are rich and some are poor”.¹³

At the same time, when respondents were asked to indicate their agreement on consumption of national products (namely on the sentence: “In times like these, we should buy more (Nationality) goods and not worry about our economic partners”; TTS 2009), the 67 percent of Europeans agreed on this form of nationalistic

13 European states covered by the survey are France, Germany, Italy (except 2010), Great Britain, Bulgaria (2007, 2009), Slovakia (2007, 2009), Poland (2007, 2009, 2010), Spain (2007, 2009, 2010) Sweden (2007) Lithuania (2009), Hungary (2009), Czech Republic (2009).

consumption against the 75 percent of US citizens (Table A21 in the Appendix). But other indicators show that protectionism, even if substantially grew because of the crisis, was still supported by a minority: 42 percent in the US, 36 percent in France, 25 percent in Germany and 29 percent in Great Britain.¹⁴

On the whole, the traditional view of Americans as strong supporters of a free market economy is confirmed. This sentiment demonstrated to be resilient also during the crisis. At the same time, the comparison with Europe showed that the two populations are not as far as expected both in the support of free market and in the protectionist sentiments during the crisis; although the crisis eroded support for a free market economy in most of EU countries (especially in those strongly affected by it).

3. Globalization

To what extent US and EU citizens differ in perceiving the effects of globalization? and, did the economic crisis change these perceptions? Globalization is a complex phenomenon that mainly concerns economy, but also involves cultural and political contexts. Europeans seem to moderately affirm a positive effect of globalization in their national economies. In 2006, 45 percent of the EU sample declared that globalization has a fairly positive effect on the economic growth of their countries¹⁵ (EB 66.1 2006; Table A22 in the Appendix). The majority of Europeans claimed the positive effect of globalization on economic growth also during the crisis. Between 2008 and 2010 this positive effect remained resilient in Europeans' minds: according to Eurobarometer data, respectively the 58 percent (2008), 63 percent (2009) and 59 percent (2010) of Europeans agreed that "globalization is an opportunity for economic growth"¹⁶ (EB 69.2, 72.4, 73.4; Table A23 in the Appendix).

This seems to be the case also for United States. Three Pew surveys in the period 2009/2010 confirm that a majority of US citizens (respectively the 65, 66 and 67 percent) agrees that "the growing trade and business ties between our country and other countries" is a good thing (CFR 2011). This percentage decreases a bit when the word "globalization" is used in the question. According to the results of a survey conducted by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs (CCFR 2010) the 55 percent of US citizens in 2010 declared that globalization is "mostly good" for their country¹⁷ (Table A25 in the Appendix).

At the same time, American support for globalization appears weaker than Europeans' ones. In a Voice of People (VoP) survey of 2006 the 24 percent of Americans declared that globalization is a good thing for the country, while another 25 percent of US citizens considered globalization a "bad" thing. On the contrary, in the same survey, the 29 percent of Europeans consider globalization a "good" thing for their countries¹⁸ (Table A24 in

14 The exact question reads as follow: "Do you think in the current economic crisis it is a good idea for our government to try to help [country] companies by making it harder for foreign companies to sell products here or do you think that would be a bad idea because other countries will then do the same thing to our companies?". Data: World Public Opinion, <http://worldpublicopinion.org>. See also Council on Foreign Relations 2011a:22-23.

15 The question reads: "Could you tell me whether you think that globalization has a rather positive or rather negative effect on each of the following domains?"

16 The results are the sum of "totally agree" and "tend to agree" answers given in the question: "Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree: Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth".

17 See also CFR 2011b:1.

18 The exact question was: "Overall, with regard to globalization, do you think that for our country it is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good, nor bad?" Respectively 38 percent of Europeans and 33 percent of Americans said that globalization was neither bad nor good. European states analyzed are Austria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and UK.

the Appendix). The same results could be reached by looking at the Pew survey data of 2011 where the US percentage (67 percent) of those considering “the growing trade and business ties between (survey country) and other countries” was lower than France (73 percent), Germany (95 percent), Spain (96 percent) and Great Britain (88 percent) (CFR 2011:8).

In 2010 the 55 percent of US citizens said that globalization, on the whole, is “mostly good” for United States¹⁹ (CCFR 2010) but, when in the same survey the question focus on the economic effects of globalization, the 52 percent declares that globalization is “bad” for US economy²⁰ (Tables A25-A26 in the Appendix). These apparently contrasting answers suggest that one should look at the different aspects of globalization, considering it as a complex phenomenon. According to CCFR (2010) results, the majority of Americans considers globalization as a bad thing for the “job security” (65 percent), for creating jobs (60 percent), the environment (55 percent), and for future generations (51 percent). Globalization, on the opposite, is good especially for consumers (59 percent). Americans recognize the benefit coming from a global market when assume the position of the customer, but perceive the competition at the global level – especially in the labor market – as a threat for the entire US economy.

4. Level of Governance and Regulation

As far as the role of the government in regulating the market is concerned, the gap between the US and the European publics is higher. In 2009 and 2010, respectively the 83 percent and the 81 percent of western Europeans²¹ agreed that “government has an essential role to play in regulating the market” (TTS Survey). The same survey reports different results for US citizens: the percentages are still strongly majoritarian but lower than European ones (namely the 70 percent in 2009 and the 75 percent in 2010; Table A27 in the Appendix).

Does it mean that Americans prefer a higher level of governance on economic matters? From a first look to attitudes towards international financial and economic organizations the answer is negative. A CCFR survey (2010) reveals that only a minority of US citizens wants to “straighten international institutions to deal with economic problems”. Particularly, percentages of those who agree to straighten international institutions vary between the 41 percent of the World Trade Organization, the 38 percent of the World Bank and the 35 percent of the International Monetary Fund (IMF).²² This is confirmed by another question of the same survey, asking whether respondents approve the institution of a global financial body aiming to regulate financial institutions in order to prevent economic instability. The 54 percent of the American sample declared that “A global financial regulating body is a bad idea because it would interfere in our economy and could make it less productive”²³

19 The exact question was: “Turning to something else, do you believe that globalization, especially the increasing connections of our economy with others around the world, is mostly good or mostly bad for the United States”. 42 percent of the sample said “mostly bad”.

20 The exact question was: “Overall, do you think globalization is good or bad for: The U.S. economy”. Note that only when the same question was asked about consumers’ interests the majority of respondents said that globalization was a good thing (56 percent). For all the other subjects of the same question (employment, environment, etc.) the majority of the sample considered globalization a bad thing.

21 European states are: Germany, Spain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal and UK.

22 The exact question is: “Some say that because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen international institutions to deal with shared problems. Others say that this would only create bigger, unwieldy bureaucracies. Here are some international institutions. For each one, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not.” 1. Yes, needs to be strengthened (41 percent) 2. No, doesn’t need to be strengthened (51 percent), 3. DK/Refusal (8 percent). See table A28 in the Appendix.

23 A WPO poll asking the same question in 2009, basically reached the same results: percentages in favor of regulating the bank system was even lower (43 percent). See CFR 2011b:4.

(Table A29 in the Appendix).

• **Table 3 | Best Actor to Regulate the Global Financial Market**

In your opinion, which of the following is the best placed to regulate and reform the global financial market?

	2010 (%)	2011 (%)
The (Nationality) Government	7.21	7.37
The European Union	22.52	21.20
The United States	6.37	7.06
The G20	19.56	17.49
The International Monetary Fund (IMF)	26.16	26.54
Other (Spontaneous)	0.90	1.03
None (Spontaneous)	3.88	4.96
DK	13.40	14.33
N	26,723	26,713

Source: Authors' own elaboration on EB data 75.3 (2011) and 74.2 (2010).

Europeans, on the contrary, started progressively to support a stronger regulation at international level. Table 3 shows this argument by using Eurobarometer data of 2010 and 2011. Only 7 percent of Europeans think that their own national government is the best place to regulate the global financial market. Global institutions such as the G20 and the IMF are mentioned by the 46 percent in 2010 and 44 percent in 2011. In European views, the EU "performs" better than their governments in regulating the global financial market.

Moreover, 77 percent of Europeans agree that European union "should take a more important role in developing new rules for The global financial market" (EB 71.1 2009; Table A30 in the Appendix).

On the whole during the early 2000s people in the US and Europe were not so distant about the necessity to regulate the market by international institutions.²⁴ Later on, after the economic crisis showed its effects, Americans turned to look at their own national institutions as the main actors to intervene in the regulation of the financial market. On the contrary, Europeans followed the opposite direction claiming that a supranational intervention is needed.

²⁴ According to TTS survey results in 2002-2003 on the need to strength international specific institutions, the US and EU sample have very close percentages claiming that those institutions (IMF, WB, WTO) need to be strengthened (or not).

5. Solutions to the Crisis

Also preferred solutions to the crisis reflect the distance between American and EU public opinion on international regulation. This sentence “The current economic crisis can only be solved with fundamental reforms in the way we run our economy” represents what the greatest majority of both Americans and Europeans think about the solutions of the current economic crisis. The 86 percent of Western European²⁵ and 80 percent of Americans agree at some level with this claim (TTS 2009). The differences between the two samples concern a 6 percent of people that in the US strongly disagree with this sentence (5 percent in Europe versus 11 percent in the US). Again, according to Eurobarometer data, Europeans require more regulation at international level as well as a more active role of international institutions and the European Union.

EB 75.2 (2011) shows some views on the importance of policies that the EU should pursue in order to exit from the crisis. The most popular and important interventions concern rising employment (84 percent) support green industries (81 percent) and promote training/education (77 percent), but also research and technologies are considered important by a large majority of EU citizens (see Table 4).²⁶

• **Table 4 | Importance of Some Political Measures to Face the Economic Crisis in Europe**

	Total 'Not important' (1-4) (%)	Total 'Fairly important' (5-6) (%)	Total 'Important' (7-10) (%)	N
To increase the support for research and development policies and turn inventions into products	10.05	23.77	66.18	25,613
To develop the e-economy by strengthening ultra fast Internet within the EU	16.54	28.70	54.76	24,806
To support an economy that uses less natural resources and emits less greenhouse gas	4.96	14.35	80.69	25,840
To help the EU's industrial base to be more competitive by promoting entrepreneurship and developing new skills	5.15	18.12	76.73	25,612
To modernise labour markets, with a view to raising employment levels	3.44	12.20	84.36	25,963

Source: Author's own elaboration on EB 75.2 (2011).

Note: Values are percentages of respondents grouped in three categories: not important (1 to 4), fairly important (5 to 6) and important (7 to 10); sum by row gives the totality for each item. See Table A32 in the Appendix.

Europeans want a stronger and more powerful role of the EU in setting the rules and control for compliance. Those measures appear to be effective for the great majority of Europeans and their support grew from 2009 to 2010 (see Table 5).²⁷

25 European countries: Germany, Spain, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal and UK.

26 For values for each country see Table A32 in the Appendix.

27 For frequencies per each country see Tables A33-A37 in the Appendix.

• **Table 5 | Perceived Effectiveness of EU Actions to Tackle the Crisis**

A range of measures to tackle the current financial and economic crisis is being discussed in the European institutions. For each, could you tell me whether you think it would be effective or not?

	2009 (%)	2010 (%)
A more important role for the EU in regulating financial services	66.98	71.44
A closer supervision by the EU of the activities of large financial groups/most important international financial groups	68.04	74.66
A stronger coordination of economic policy among all the EU member states	72.37	76.75
A closer supervision by the EU when public money is used to rescue banks and financial institutions	68.56	74.79
A stronger coordination of economic and financial policies aiming the countries of the euro area	-	75.56
N	26,731	26,723

Source: Author's own elaboration on EB 74.2 (2010) and 72.4 (2009).

Note: Values are sums of percentages of those indicating "very effective" and "fairly effective".

Still the US citizens appear less favoring international regulation: in 2009 a majority declared that American cannot exit alone from the crisis, but still a 43 percent thought that "the United States can recover from the recession on its own" (CFR 2011b:3).

6. Economy and its Internationalization

Why US and EU attitudes towards international regulation and institutions are different? By observing Europeans' concern for the state (present and future) of economy, I showed an "Europeanization" – or even a "mondialization" – of economic performance. In other words, after the beginning of the economic crisis, Europeans started to see national, European and world economies as strictly interrelated and, so forth, performing similarly (see also Di Mauro et al. 2011). This perspective seems bringing EU citizens to ask for more regulation at international level and a stronger EU role. People in Europe seem aware of the fact that economic interdependence weakened the role of nation-states in preventing and solving economic crises. Instead, since economy transcends nations, it needs a regulatory action at supranational level.

Although American concern is quite similar to the European one, US citizens do not support international regulation in general. A modest majority thinks that regulation at international level should be avoided because it could negatively affect American economy. Also the strength of international institutions, such as the World Bank and the IMF, are supported by a minority of US citizens. Regulation is strongly supported, however, when it concerns the labor market, because US citizens are really concerned about unemployment and think that concurrence from developing countries may raise the US unemployment rate. Why European and American views are different on international regulation?

The explanations of those differences – although on the whole differences between US and EU countries are smaller than one expected – could be numerous. Among them I chose to analyze three possibilities focusing respectively on the perception of the crisis, the role of US in the world, and on attitudes towards free-market.

A first hypothesis could be that *Americans perceive the recessions only in “US terms”* (H1). In other words, US public does not think that “we” (the world) are “on the same boat”. According to the CCFR survey, for instance, the 91 percent of the US sample wants to fix first problems at home rather than addressing them from abroad. This hypothesis, however, is poorly supported by empirical evidence. First of all, the majority of people seem aware of the fact that the US could not grow alone (CNN survey results, see previous paragraph). More importantly, a cross-tabulation between agreement on fixing problems at home and attitudes towards regulation shows that the two variables are not related (see Table 6).

• Table 6 | **Cross Tabulation: Fixing Problems and Support for Regulation**

	A global financial regulating body is a bad idea because it would interfere in our economy and could make it less productive	To prevent international economic instability, there should be a global body that regulates big financial institutions to make sure they follow international standards	Total
<i>At this time, what do you think is more important to the future of the United States?</i>			
Addressing challenges to the US from abroad	179	142	321
	55.76	44.24	100.00
	51.73	52.59	52.11
<i>At this time, what do you think is more important to the future of the United States?</i>			
Fixing pressing problems at home	167	128	295
	56.61	43.39	100.00
	48.27	47.41	47.89
Total	346	270	616
	56.17	43.83	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Author own elaboration on CCFR data (2010) Pearson $\chi^2(1) = 0.0448$ Pr = 0.832.

A second hypothesis could be that *Americans still see their country as the strongest economic power: US generated the crisis and US can solve it without international regulation* (H2). Also this perspective does not seem to be supported by empirical evidence. According to the CCFR data most of Americans think that US is the top influential country of the world but, compared to the past, its leadership was eroded: only 23 percent of the sample (CCFR 2010) declares that the US has a “more important role as world leader today” against the 42 percent that think it has a less important role (Table A38 in the Appendix). Moreover competition with China is nowadays very considered: in the same survey the 76 percent think that Chinese economy will grow as large as US economy (Table A39 in the Appendix). All in all, analyses do not show that perception of US economic power

is related to support for international regulation.²⁸

Finally, a third hypothesis is that part of Americans rejects regulation *tout court*, both at national and supranational level assuming *the principle that a free market economy is self-regulating* (H3). Data shows that the more respondents are conservative the more they are likely to oppose regulation. Particularly, the 75 percent of Republicans declare that a global financial regulating body is a “bad idea” along with the 62 percent of Independents; while Democrats support global regulation (68 percent, see Table 7).

• Table 7 | Party Choice and Support for Global Regulation

Which of these two positions is closer to yours?	A global financial regulating body is a bad idea because it would interfere in our economy and could make it less productive	To prevent international economic instability, there should be a global body that regulates big financial institutions to make sure they follow international standards	Total
Republican	259	84	343
% by row	75.51	24.49	100.00
%by column	36.22	14.76	26.71
Democrat	141	294	435
% by row	32.41	67.59	100.00
%by column	19.72	51.67	33.88
Independent	242	147	389
% by row	62.21	37.79	100.00
%by column	33.85	25.83	30.30
Other	63	33	96
% by row	65.62	34.38	100.00
%by column	8.81	5.80	7.48
Refused	10	11	21
% by row	47.62	52.38	100.00
%by column	1.40	1.93	1.64
Total	715	569	1,284
	55.69	44.31	100.00
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Author’s own elaboration on CCFR data 2010. Pearson $\chi^2(4) = 161.2057$ Pr = 0.000.

More clearly, when we use GAP data of the same year it is possible to find a relationship between support for free-market economy and support for international regulation. Both Republicans and Independents are

28 A Chi Square test conducted on the rank assigned to the US in the world (Q50, CCFR 2010) and support for regulation shows that the relationship is not significant for $p > .05$.

more likely to agree that “people are better off in a free market economy”. According to the third hypotheses, conservative people propend for a free market economy opposing regulation also at international level. In order to prove that, I tested this relationship through a binary logistical model in which the dependent variable is *support for regulation*²⁹ and the main independent variable is *support for a free-market economy*. I also added some socio-demographic variables and run two separate models for US and (some) European countries (France, Spain, Germany, UK).

Table 8 shows this relationship. US respondents thinking that “people are better off in a free market economy” are more likely (8 percent) to oppose a more strict regulation of banks and business.³⁰ On the opposite, Europeans supporting free market economy are more likely (6 percent) to support regulation.³¹ As a result, there are some evidence that the differences between US and EU respondents could be related to two different philosophies of trade and market: the American conservators remain linked to a classical “self-regulating” idea of capitalism while Europeans seem to still embrace the principles of social democracy.

• **Table 8 | Binary Logistical Models (for EU and US Sample): Support for International Regulation (DV) and Support for Free-Market Economy**

	US	EU^
Education	.079 (.053)	.052 (.044)
Income	-.049 (.037)	.194 (.033) ***
Age	-.010 (.004) *	-.002 (.003)
Support for free-market economy	-.362 (.189) *	.488 (.114) ***
Constant	1.316 (.345) ***	.578 (.296) *
N	758	2526

Source: Author’s own elaboration on GAP data (2010).

Note: Numbers represent coefficients, numbers in parentheses represent St. Errors; Asterisks indicate the significance: * p≤. 05, ** p< .01, *** p< .001.

7. Remarks

The analysis of attitudes towards economy in the United States and Europe during the last decade showed seven main results:

1. The trend of saliency in the US and the European member states is very similar since the early 2000s. It consistently grew for the effect of the economic crisis both in Europe and the US, showing very similar levels of importance.
2. Both the present and future economic situation showed very similar pessimism in Europe and the United States. Along with saliency, the level of pessimism strongly increased in the two observed contexts since the first effects of the crisis.

29 The question is: “All in all, do you think it is a good idea or a bad idea for the government to more strictly regulate the way large financial companies, such as banks, do business?” Where “good”=1; “bad”=0.

30 Holding other variables at their means. Note also that in this last question (“All in all, do you think it is a good idea or a bad idea for the government to more strictly regulate the way large financial companies, such as banks, do business?”) the majority of respondents (62 percent) approve a more strictly regulation.

31 Holding other variables at their means.

3. The raising of pessimism in Europe for the economic situation generated a Europeanization/mondialization of perceptions about economy: people rate similarly the state of economy at different levels (namely “country”, Europe and the world) showing to perceive economic relationship as strictly interdependent.
4. The effects of the crisis seem to change the traditional European view that US economy is more efficient than the EU one.
5. The traditional image of Americans as strong supporters of a free market economy is confirmed. This sentiment demonstrated to be resilient also during the crisis. At the same time, the comparison with Europe showed that the two populations are not as far as expected both in support of free market and in protectionism.
6. Respondents in US and European Union usually consider globalization as a positive phenomenon. At the same time, Americans’ support for globalization appears weaker than the Europeans’ one.
7. US and European citizens show higher differences about market regulation. The economic crisis increased those differences bringing the two populations to opposite positions. Americans (or at least a part of them) are concerned about negative repercussions of market regulation especially at the international level, while Europeans – due their economic interdependence – strongly support international regulation.

The last result (7) represents the most important difference observed between EU and American publics, and the only one increased by the economic crisis. In order to explain this difference I tested three hypotheses: H1) *Americans perceive the recessions only in “US terms”*; H2) *Americans still see their country as the strongest economic power: i.e. US generated the crisis and US can solve it without international regulation*; H3) *Part of Americans rejects regulation tout court, both at national and supranational level assuming the principle that a free market economy is self-regulating*. The analyses showed in the last paragraph provide some empirical evidence to reject the first two hypotheses (H1 and H2). On the contrary there are some evidence that the differences between US and EU respondents could be attributed to two different philosophies of trade and market: the American conservators remain linked to a classical “self-regulating” idea of capitalism while Europeans seem to still embrace the principles of social democracy. Those evidence, of course, should be not consider as a “final word” on the question, but rather an incentive for further research and empirical analyses.

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Annex

Data Sources

Survey	Sample	N	Coverage	Method
Eurobarometer				
2003	Mass	16,082	AT, BE, DK, FI, FR, DE, GR, IE, IT, LU, NL, GB-NIR, PT, ES, SE, GB	Face-to-face interviews with standardized questionnaire
2004	Mass	16,216	AT, BE, DK, FI, FR, DE, GR, IE, IT, LU, NL, GB-NIR, PT, ES, SE, GB	Face-to-face interviews with standardized questionnaire
2004	Mass	29,334	AT, BE, BG, HR, CY, TCC, CZ, DK, EE, FI, FR, DE, GR, HU, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, MT, NL, GB-NIR, PL, PT, RO, SK, SI, ES, SE, TR, GB	Face-to-face ; CAPI
2005	Mass	29,328	AT, BE, BG, HR, CY, TCC, CZ, DK, EE, FI, FR, DE, GR, HU, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, MT, NL, PL, PT, RO, SK, SI, ES, SE, TR, GB	Face-to-face interviews with standardized questionnaire in people's home.
2006	Mass	29,170	AT, BE, BG, HR, CY, CZ, DK, EE, FI, FR, DE, GR, HU, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, MT, NL, PL, PT, RO, SK, SI, ES, SE, TR, GB	Face-to-face interviews with standardized questionnaire
2006	Mass	29,152	AT, BE, BG, HR, CY, CZ, DK, EE, FI, FR, DE, GR, HU, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, MT, NL, PL, PT, RO, SK, SI, ES, SE, TR, GB	Face-to-face interviews with standardized questionnaire
2007	Mass	30,281	AT, BE, BG, HR, CY, TCC, CZ, DK, EE, FI, FR, DE, GR, HU, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, MK, MT, NL, GB-NIR, PL, PT, RO, SK, SI, ES, SE, TR, GB	Face-to-face interviews with standardized questionnaire
2008	Mass	30,170	AT, BE, BG, HR, CY, TCC, CZ, DK, EE, FI, FR, DE, GR, HU, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, MK, MT, NL, GB-NIR, PL, RO, SK, SI, ES, SE, TR, GB	Face-to-face interviews with standardized questionnaire
2008	Mass	30,130	AT, BE, BG, HR, CY, TCC, CZ, DK, EE, FI, FR, DE, GR, HU, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, MK, MT, NL, PL, PT, RO, SK, SI, ES, SE, TR, GB, GB-NIR	Face-to-face interviews with standardized questionnaire
2009	Mass	30,232	TCC, AT, BE, BG, HR, CZ, DK, EE, FI, FR, DE, GR, HU, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, MK, MT, NL, PL, PT, RO, SK, SI, ES, SE, TR, GB, GB-NIR	Face-to-face interviews with standardized questionnaire

2009	Mass	30,343	AT, BE, BG, HR, CY, (TCC), CZ, DK, EE, FI, FR, DE, GR, HU, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, MK, MT, NL, PL, PT, RO, SK, SI, ES, SE, TR, GB	Face-to-face interviews with standardized questionnaire
2009	Mass	30,238	AT, BE, BG, HR, CY, TCC, CZ, DK, EE, FI, FR, DE, GR, HU, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, MK, MT, NL, PL, PT, RO, SK, SI, ES, SE, TR, GB	Face-to-face interviews with standardized questionnaire
2010	Mass	30,715	AT, BE, BG, HR, CY, TCC, CZ, DK, EE, FI, FR, DE, GR, HU, IS, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, MK, MT, NL, PL, PT, RO, SK, SI, ES, SE, TR, GB	Face-to-face interviews with standardized questionnaire
2010	Mass	30,780	AT, BE, BG, HR, CY, TCC, CZ, DK, EE, FI, FR, DE, GR, HU, IS, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, MK, MT, NL, PL, PT, RO, SK, SI, ES, SE, TR, GB	Face-to-face interviews with standardized questionnaire
2011	Mass	31,768	AT, BE, BG, HR, CY, CZ, DK, FI, FR, DE, GB, GR, HU, IS, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, MK, MT, ME, NL, PL, PT, RO, SK, SI, ES, SE, TR	Face-to-face interviews with standardized questionnaire
2011	Mass	31,769	AT, BE, BG, HR, CY, CZ, DK, FI, FR, DE, GB, GR, HU, IS, IE, IT, LV, LT, LU, MK, MT, ME, NL, PL, PT, RO, SK, SI, ES, SE, TR	Face-to-face interviews with standardized questionnaire

Voice of the People

2009	Mass	36,581	AF, AL, AU, AT, AZ, BH, BA, BR, BG, CA, CN, CO, HR, CZ, EC, FR, DE, Global, IS, IQ, IT, JP, KR, MK, MY, NZ, PK, RO, RU, CS, CH, UK, US, VE.	Face-to-face interview, telephone interview, web-based survey, self-enumerated questionnaire.
2006	Mass	61,249	AL, AR, AT, BO, BG, CM, CA, CL, CO, CG, HR, CZ, DK, DO, FI, FR, GA, DE, GH, GR, HK, IS, IN, ID, IL, IT, JP, KE, KV, LX, MK, MY, MX, MD, MA, NL, NG, NO, PK, PA, PY, PE, PH, PL, PT, RO, RU, SN, CS, SG, ZA, KR, ES, SE, CH, TW, TH, TR, UA, UK, US, VE, VN, Global.	Face-to-face interview, telephone interview, web-based survey, self-enumerated questionnaire.
2011	Mass	53,433	AF, AR, AM, AU, AT, AZ, BE, BA, BR, BG, CM, CA, CN, CO, CZ, DK, EC, EG, FJ, FI, FR, GE, DE, GH, Global, HK, IS, IN, IQ, IR, IT, JP, KE, LE, LT, MK, MY, MD, NL, NG, PK, PS, PE, PL, RO, RU, SA, CS, ZA, KR, ES, Sudan, SE, CH, TN, TR, UA, US, UZ, VN.	Face-to-face interview, telephone interview, web-based survey.

Latin America Public Opinion Project (LAPOP)

2008	Mass	1,500 (USA)	MX, GT, SV, HN, NI, CR, PA, CO, EC, BO, PE, PY, CL, UY, BR, VN, AR, DO, HT, JM, GY, TT, US, CA	Phone
2010	Mass	1,500 (USA)	MX, GT, SV, HN, NI, CR, PA, CO, EC, BO, PE, PY, CL, UY, BR, VN, AR, DO, HT, JM, GY, TT, BZ, US, CA, SR.	Phone

Transatlantic Trends Survey (TTS)

2002	Mass	2,520	FR, DE, IT, NL, PL, UK, US	Face-to-Face (CAPI) and telephone interviews (CATI).
2003	Mass	8,013	DE, FR, IT, NL, PT, UK, PL, US	Face-to-Face (CAPI) interviews in PL. Telephone interviews (CATI) in all the other countries
2004	Mass	11,020	DE, FR, IT, NL, PT, SP, UK, PL, SK, TU, US	Face-to-Face (CAPI) interviews in PL, Face-to-Face Pen and Paper (PAPI) in SK and TR. Telephone interviews (CATI) in all the other countries.
2005	Mass	11,080	DE, FR, IT, NL, PT, SP, UK, PL, SK, TU, US	Face-to-Face (CAPI) interviews in PL, Face-to-Face Pen and Paper (PAPI) in SK and TR. Telephone interviews (CATI) in all the other countries.
2006	Mass	13,044	DE, FR, IT, NL, PT, SP, UK, PL, SK, TUR, BUL; ROM, USA	Face-to-Face (CAPI) interviews in PL, Face-to-Face Pen and Paper (PAPI) in BG, SK, RO and TR. Telephone interviews (CATI) in all the other countries.
2007	Mass	13,053	DE, FR, IT, NL, PT, SP, UK, PL, SK, TUR, BUL; ROM, USA	Face-to-Face (CAPI) interviews in PL, Face-to-Face Pen and Paper (PAPI) in BG, SK, RO and TR. Telephone interviews (CATI) in all the other countries.

2008	Mass	13,022	DE, FR, IT, NL, PT, SP, UK, PL, SK, TU, BU; RO, US	Face-to-Face (CAPI) interviews in PL, Face-to-Face Pen and Paper (PAPI) in BG, SK, RO and TR. Telephone interviews (CATI) in all the other countries.
2009	Mass	13,095	DE, FR, IT, NL, PT, SP, UK, PL, SK, TUR, BUL, ROM, USA	Face-to-Face (CAPI) interviews in PL, Face-to-Face Pen and Paper (PAPI) in BG, SK, RO and TR. Telephone interviews (CATI) in all the other countries.
2010	Mass	13,072	DE, FR, IT, NL, PT, SP, UK, PL, SK, TU, BU, RO, US	Face-to-Face (CAPI) interviews in PL, Face-to-Face Pen and Paper (PAPI) in BG, SK, RO and TR. Telephone interviews (CATI).
2011	Mass	14,042	DE, FR, IT, NL, PT, SP, UK, PL, SE, SK, TUR, BUL, ROM, USA	Face-to-Face (CAPI) interviews in PL, Face-to-Face Pen and Paper (PAPI) in BG, SK, RO and TR. Telephone interviews (CATI) in all the other countries. Only fixed telephone lines are included.
Pew Global Attitudes Project				
2005	Mass	11,516	US, CA, GB, FR, DE, ES, NL, RU, PL, TR, PK, IN, LB, JO, MA, ID, CN	Face-to-face and telephone
2005	Elite Mass	2,006	USA	Online (CAWI) and telephone (CATI) interviews
2009	Elite Mass	2,000	USA	Online (CAWI) and telephone (CATI) interviews
2005	Elite Mass	2,006	USA	Online (CAWI) and telephone (CATI) interviews
GAP				
2002	Mass	38,263	AO, AR, BD, BO, BR, BG, CA, CN, CZ, EG, FR, DE, GH, GB,	Face-to-face and telephone

2007	Mass	45,239	GT, HN, IN, ID, IT, CI, JP, JO, KE, LB, ML, MX, NG, PK, PE, PH, PL, RU, SN, SK, ZA, KR, TZ, UG, UA, US, UZ, VE, VN US, CA, AR, BO, BR, CL, MX, PE, VE, GB, FR, DE, IT, ES, SE, BG, CZ, PL, RU, SK, UA, TR, EG, JO, KW, LB, MA, PS, IL, PK, BD, ID, MY, CN, IN, JP, KR, ET, GH, CI, KE, ML, NG, SN, ZA, TZ, UG	Face-to-face and telephone
2009	Mass	14,76	PL, CZ, SK, HU, BG, LT, UA, RU, GB, FR, DE, IT, ES, US	Face-to-face and telephone
2009	Mass	26,397	US, CA, GB, FR, DE, ES, PL, RU, TR, EG, JO, LB, PS, IL, CN, IN, ID, JP, PK, KR, AR, BR, MX, KE, NG	Face-to-face and telephone
2010	Mass	24,790	US, GB, FR, DE, ES, PL, RU, TR, EG, JO, LB, CN, IN, ID, JP, PK, KR, AR, BR, MX, KE, NG	Face-to-face and telephone
CCFR 2010 - Global Views				
2002	Mass	38,263	AO, AR, BD, BO, BR, BG, CA, CN, CZ, EG, FR, DE, GH, GB, GT, HN, IN, ID, IT, CI, JP, JO, KE, LB, ML, MX, NG, PK, PE, PH, PL, RU, SN, SK, ZA, KR, TZ, UG, UA, US, UZ, VE, VN	Face-to-face and telephone
2010	Mass	2,717	USA	Phone

1. Saliency and Concern

Table A1. *What do you think are the two most important issues facing (our country) at the moment?*

	EB 75.3 (2011)	EB 74.2 (2011)	EB 72.4 (2009)	EB 70.1 (2008)	EB 68.1 (2007)	EB 66.1 (2006)	EB 63.4 (2005)	EB 62.0 (2004)	EB 60.3 (2003)
NOT MENTIONED	62.89	60.95	57.66	64.05	83.26	77.35	74.45	73.66	74.11
Economic situation	37.11	39.05	42.34	35.95	16.74	22.65	25.55	26.34	25.89
N	13,320	13,258	26,731	26,618	26,768	24,565	24,801	24,791	16,082

Note: Values are percentages referring the average values of EU members only.

Table A2. (First Mention) *What is America's most important international problem?*

	Freq.	Percent - 2005
All Trade/Economic mentions	51	5.08
Loss of trust/confidence in the U.S	1	0.10
Too big a role as peace keeper/too much [..]	19	1.89
What it means/responsibilities of being [..]	2	0.20
Loss of leadership/declining as a world Leader	1	0.10
Global image	31	3.09
Our/U.S. Credibility/Maintaining [..]	8	0.80
Balance being world power [..]	9	0.90
All other U.S. leadership role mentions	41	4.09
Middle East	12	1.20
Peace/Unrest in the Middle East/Middle	4	0.40
Situation in Israel/situation with Israel	4	0.40
Situation in Iraq	228	22.73
All other Middle East mentions (list)	7	0.70
Dealing with an emerging China/Presence	7	0.70
Mentions of North or South Korea	4	0.40
Maintaining world peace/peace keeper [..]	12	1.20
International violence/security problem	160	15.95
Nuclear proliferation/control of nuclear weapons	2	0.20
Support/Lack of support UN efforts	3	0.30
Developed vs. underdeveloped/Gap between	18	1.79
Islamic fundamentalism	3	0.30
All other peace/world unrest mentions	25	2.49
Population/Overpopulation	1	0.10
Immigration/controlling immigration [..]	11	1.10
Loss of jobs to foreign workers [..]	6	0.60
Human rights issues	3	0.30
AIDS/World health problems	2	0.20
Hunger	9	0.90
All other social issue mentions (list)	32	3.19
Environmental issues/Global warming/U.S	12	1.20
International drug trafficking mentions	5	0.50
U.S. Armed Forces mentions [..]	6	0.60
Maintaining/Repairing/Reestablishing [..]	16	1.60
Energy concerns/Dependence on foreign o	52	5.18
All other mentions (list)	53	5.28
Globalization/Adjusting to globalization	2	0.20
Isolationism	1	0.10
Too much foreign aid/Better to take care	27	2.69
Foreign policy/No clearly articulated	3	0.30
Domestic policy/problem	16	1.60
Nothing	1	0.10
Don't know/Refused	93	9.27
Total	1,003	100.00

Note: Data refer to US sample-PEW 2005.

Table A3. (First Mention) *What is America's most important international problem?*

	Freq.	Percent 2009
Deficit imbalance/Reduction of trade deficit	9	0.90
Trade agreements/Trade relationships	1	0.10
Trade agreements/relationships with Asia	2	0.20
Free trade for/with all countries	2	0.20
Reduce/Lower trade barriers/tariffs	1	0.10
Currency/Dollar Devaluation	6	0.60
Debt/Deficit	10	1.00
Trade/Global trade/Trade expansion	9	0.90
All other trade imbalance/deficit mention	4	0.40
Global economic relationships worldwide	1	0.10
Assisting/encouraging economic growth [..]	1	0.10
ECONOMY	64	6.41
JOBS/Unemployment	35	3.50
All other economic mentions	6	0.60
Too big a role as peace keeper/too much	33	3.30
Loss of leadership/declining as a world leader	7	0.70
Global image	20	2.00
Our/U.S. Credibility [..]	12	1.20
Balance being world power [..]	14	1.40
Iran	32	3.20
Middle East	27	2.70
Peace/Unrest in the Middle East/Middle	1	0.10
Situation in Israel/situation with Israel	4	0.40
Situation in Iraq	52	5.21
Situation in Pakistan	6	0.60
Situation in Afghanistan	104	10.41
Dealing with an emerging China/Presence	2	0.20
Mentions of North or South Korea	2	0.20
All other specific global areas	3	0.30
Maintaining world peace/peace keeper [..]	12	1.20
World conflicts/wars/chaos [..]	2	0.20
WAR/S	142	14.21
International violence/security problem	89	8.91
Nuclear proliferation/control of nuclear weapons	8	0.80
Support/Lack of support UN efforts	2	0.20
Developed vs. underdeveloped [..]	3	0.30
Islamic Fundamentalism/Islam	10	1.00
Population/overpopulation	1	0.10
Immigration/controlling immigration [..]	14	1.40
Loss of jobs to foreign workers [..]	4	0.40
Human rights issues	2	0.20
AIDS/World health problems/Healthcare	20	2.00
Hunger	3	0.30
All other social issue mentions	5	0.50
Environmental issues/Global warming	9	0.90
International drug trafficking mentions	5	0.50
U.S. Armed Forces mentions [..]	9	0.90
Energy crisis/concerns/Dependence [..]	22	2.20

All other miscellaneous mentions	2	0.20
Globalization/Adjusting to globalization	1	0.10
Isolationism	2	0.20
Too much foreign aid/Better to take care [..]	12	1.20
Foreign policy [..]	11	1.10
Obama/President	10	1.00
Morals/Religion/Ethics/Corruption	17	1.70
Domestic policy/problem	19	1.90
Nothing	2	0.20
Don't know	7	0.70
Refused	84	8.41
Total	999	100.00

Note: Data refer to US sample-PEW 2009. Highlighted categories refer to economy.

Table A4. I am going to read you a list of possible international threats to [EUROPE/ US] in the next 10 years- Please tell me if you think each one on the list is an extremely important threat, an important threat, or not an important threat at all-
A major economic downturn 1. Extremely important 2. Important 3. Not important

		Refuse to answer	Extremely Important	Important	Not an important	Total
EUROPE*						
	TTS 2004	205	3,06	3,043	706	7,014
		2.92	43.63	43.38	10.07	100.00
	TTS 2005	95	3,173	3,161	612	7,041
		1.35	45.06	44.89	8.69	100.00
	TTS and EES 2006	56	1,569	1,547	338	3,510
		1.60	44.70	44.07	9.63	100.00
	Total	356	7,802	7,751	1,656	17,565
		2.03	44.42	44.13	9.43	100.00
US						
	TTS 2004	37	406	443	114	1,000
		3.70	40.60	44.30	11.40	100.00
	TTS 2005	36	431	447	86	1,000
		3.60	43.10	44.70	8.60	100.00
	TTS and EES 2006	7	265	190	38	500
		1.40	53.00	38.00	7.60	100.00
	Total	80	1,102	1,08	238	2,500
		3.20	44.08	43.20	9.52	100.00

Note: percentages for European Countries (Germany, Spain, France, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, UK) represent averages.

*Germany, Spain, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden and UK.

Table A5. Which among the following tasks should be the top priority for the American president and European leaders?

2. (Managing) international economic problems

	No	Yes	Total
EUROPE*			
	4,773	2,46	7,233
	65.99	34.01	100.00
France	653	366	1,019
	64.08	35.92	100.00
Germany	748	272	1,020
	73.33	26.67	100.00
Italy	659	374	1,033
	63.79	36.21	100.00
The Netherlands	706	300	1,006
	70.18	29.82	100.00
Portugal	646	360	1,006
	64.21	35.79	100.00
Spain	569	457	1,026
	55.46	44.54	100.00
United Kingdom	792	331	1,123
	70.53	29.47	100.00
US	607	393	1,000
	60.70	39.30	100.00

Note: TTS 2008.

*Germany, Spain, France, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, UK.

Table A6. How would you judge the current situation in each of the following?
European Economy.

	EB 75.3 (2011)	EB 74.2 (2011)	EB 72.4 (2009)	EB 70.1 (2008)	EB 68.1 (2007)	EB 66.1 (2006)	EB 63.4 (2005)
Very good	1.31	1.10	1.40	2.21	6.61	6.67	4.94
Rather good	31.88	28.69	30.74	36.16	55.95	59.86	52.48
Rather bad	46.62	48.96	49.29	40.31	18.94	18.34	26.98
Very bad	12.23	13.12	10.67	12.24	3.47	2.38	3.13
DK	7.96	8.13	7.89	9.07	15.03	12.75	12.48
N	26,713	26,723	26,731	26,618	26,768	24,565	24,801

Note: only EU members.

Table A7. *How would you judge the current situation in each of the following?
World Economy.*

	EB 75.3 (2011)	EB 74.2 (2011)	EB 72.4 (2009)	EB 70.1 (2008)
Very good	1.17	0.93	1.00	1.31
Rather good	26.44	23.54	20.38	20.85
Rather bad	50.01	51.76	56.42	49.28
Very bad	13.03	14.25	14.62	19.24
DK	9.34	9.52	7.59	9.32
N	26,713	26,723	26,731	26,618

Note: only EU members.

Table A8. *How would you judge the current situation in each of the following?
National Economy.*

	EB 75.3 (2011)	EB 74.2 (2011)	EB 72.4 (2009)	EB 70.1 (2008)	EB 68.1 (2007)	EB 66.1 (2006)	EB 63.4 (2005)
Very good	2.82	1.92	1.20	2.26	7.22	7.87	4.64
Rather good	27.65	25.69	22.94	31.10	43.39	46.17	38.46
Rather bad	41.41	43.62	49.75	44.08	35.27	34.14	41.16
Very bad	26.78	27.30	24.75	20.51	11.22	9.21	13.45
DK	1.34	1.48	1.36	2.05	2.91	2.61	2.29
N	26,713	26,723	26,731	26,618	26,768	24,565	24,801

Note: only EU members.

Table A9. *What are your expectations for the next twelve months; will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same, when it comes to...?
The economic situation in the EU*

	EB 75.3 (2011)	EB 74.2 (2011)	EB 72.4 (2009)	EB 70.1 (2008)	EB 68.1 (2007)
Better	22.31	22.26	30.63	13.98	25.16
Worse	25.26	27.14	23.11	42.67	13.34
Same	41.81	40.19	36.15	30.82	43.75
DK	10.62	10.41	10.12	12.53	17.75
N	26,713	26,723	26,731	26,618	26,768

Note: only EU members.

Table A10. *What are your expectations for the next twelve months; will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same, when it comes to...?
The economic situation in the WORLD*

	EB 75.3 (2011)	EB 74.2 (2011)	EB 72.4 (2009)	EB 70.1 (2008)
Better	21.63	22.56	30.69	13.04
Worse	24.44	25.88	25.12	49.81
Same	42.13	40.37	33.76	24.87
DK	11.81	11.20	10.43	12.27
N	26,713	26,723	26,731	26,618

Note: only EU members.

Table A11. *What are your expectations for the next twelve months; will the next twelve months be better, worse or the same, when it comes to...? The economic situation in OUR COUNTRY*

	EB 75.3 (2011)	EB 74.2 (2011)	EB 70.1 (2008)	EB 68.1 (2007)	EB 66.1 (2006)	EB 63.4 (2005)	EB 62.0 (2004)	EB 61 (2004)	EB 60.3 (2003)
Better	23.32	22.99	13.27	21.75	23.81	19.75	19.72	19.60	16.48
Worse	29.85	32.87	52.43	28.46	30.56	34.34	38.84	38.47	43.14
Same	42.72	40.43	29.56	44.21	40.64	40.16	35.40	36.07	33.93
DK	4.11	3.71	4.74	5.58	4.98	5.76	6.04	5.86	6.45
N	26,713	26,723	26,618	26,768	24,565	24,801	24,791	16,216	16,082

Note: only EU members.

Table A12. *How would you rate economic conditions in this country today... as excellent, good, only fair, or poor?*

	Freq.	Percent
Excellent	8	0.40
Good	143	7.15
Only fair	809	40.45
Poor	1,018	50.90
(VOL) Don't know/Refused	22	1.10
Total	2,000	100.00

Note: US sample only; PEW 2009

Table A13. *How would you describe the country's economic situation? Would you say that it is very good, good, neither good nor bad, bad or very bad?*

	%
Very good	0.60
Good	5.74
Neither good nor bad	27.62
Bad	45.63
Very bad	20.41
N	1,499

Note: US sample only; LAPOP 2008

Table A14. *Some say that our country is suffering a very serious economic crisis; others say that we are suffering a crisis but it is not very serious, while others say that there isn't any economic crisis. What do you think?*

Very serious crisis	Not serious	No crisis	DK	TOT
80.53	18.33	1.13	0.00	100.00
N				1500

Note: US sample only; LAPOP 2010

Table A15. *To what extent are you concerned about: international economic crisis?*

	Very concerned	Somewhat	Not very	Not at all	N
EUROPE*	45.36	39.73	11.65	3.26	6,995
France	38.16	44.06	14.09	3.70	1,001
Germany	52.80	36.30	8.90	2.00	1,000
Italy	50.00	40.40	8.30	1.30	1,000
Netherlands	11.74	49.95	30.25	8.06	1,005
Portugal	60.99	30.65	5.85	2.52	992
Spain	51.10	41.30	6.20	1.40	1,000
UK	53.06	35.31	7.82	3.81	997
US	69.88	22.52	4.97	2.64	986

Note: TTS 2009.

* Germany, Spain, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal and UK.

Table A16. *Compared with this year, in your opinion, will next year be a year of economic prosperity, economic difficulty or remain the same?*

Country	Economic prosperity	Remain the same	Economic difficulty	Don't know	Total
Austria	8.89	55.79	33.07	2.25	889
Bulgaria	13.57	24.25	51.00	11.18	1,002
Czech Republic	11.10	41.30	42.70	4.90	1,000
France	8.93	35.21	49.55	6.32	997
Germany	9.56	41.43	47.61	1.39	502
Italy	10.39	47.95	39.36	2.30	1,001
Romania	13.64	29.54	49.76	7.06	1,063
UK	11.59	55.24	30.57	2.60	1,001
All EU*	11.11	41.02	42.84	5.03	7,455
US	26.64	38.37	34.99	0.00	1,006

*Austria, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Italy, Romania, and United Kingdom.

Note: VOP data 2009.

Table A17. *I am going to read you a list of possible threats to the vital interest of [EUROPE] in the next 10 years- For each one, please tell if you see this as an extremely important threat, an important threat, or not an important threat at all- Threat to [EUROPE] –
-Economic competition from the United States*

	Country	Refuse to answer	Extremely important	Important	Not important	Total
TTS 2002	France	1.22	25.96	61.66	11.16	493
	Germany	2.80	10.00	52.00	35.20	500
	Italy	1.86	19.83	46.49	31.82	484
	Netherlands	1.55	12.02	50.78	35.66	516
	United Kingdom	1.33	18.22	54.08	26.38	527
	All Europeans (average)*	2.26	17.37	52.40	27.97	2,520
TTS 2003	France	0.90	18.25	63.31	17.55	1,003
	Germany	2.60	11.50	52.90	33.00	1,000
	Italy	3.40	15.40	49.10	32.10	1,000
	Netherlands	4.06	9.22	42.91	43.81	1,009
	Portugal	10.90	21.80	51.40	15.90	1,000
	United Kingdom	5.80	14.90	46.70	32.60	1,000
	All Europeans (average)*	4.61	15.17	51.05	29.17	6,012

Note: Values are percentages (on average) of Germany, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal (2003) and UK.

Table A18. *I am going to read you a list of possible threats to the vital interest of the United States in the next 10 years- For each one, please tell me if you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all-
Economic competition from Europe -1. Critical threat 2. Important but not critical 3. Not important at all*

	TTS 2003
Refuse to answer	4.00
Extremely Important	11.99
Important	36.86
Not important	47.15
N	1,001

Note: Values are percentages (US sample only).

Table A19. *Would you say that the European economy is performing better, performing worse or performing as well as the American economy?*

	EB 72.4 (2009)	EB 69.2 (2008)	EB 65.2 (2006)	EB 63.4 (2005)
Performing better	32.46	39.56	23.82	22.76
Performing worse	30.32	25.26	35.82	35.04
Performing as well as	26.01	20.79	21.87	26.91
DK	11.20	14.40	18.48	15.29
N	26,731	26,661	24,693	24,801

Note: percentages represent average values for the EU member states in each year.

2. Supporting Free-Market Economy

Table A20. *Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements.*

Most people are better off in a free market economy, even though some people are rich and some are poor.

	GAP 2002*	GAP 2007**	GAP 2009f***	GAP 2010****
EU				
Agree	67.1	62.9	58.2	67.3
Disagree	27.4	31.2	36.9	28.2
DK	5.5	3.8	4.9	4.6
US				
Agree	71.9	69.2	76.4	69.7
Disagree	21	12.01	18.5	20.9
DK	7.1	3.2	5	9.5

*France, Germany, Italy, UK. **France, Germany, Italy, UK, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Poland, Spain and Sweden. ***France, Germany, Italy, UK, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Poland, Spain, Lithuania, Hungary, Czech Republic. ****France, Germany, UK, Poland and Spain.

Note: author's own elaboration on GAP data (2002, 2007, 2009, 2010): cumulative percentages of people agreeing (*strongly and somewhat*) and disagreeing (*strongly and somewhat*).

Table A21. *Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following.. In times like these, we should buy more (Nationality) goods and not worry about our economic partners*

Country	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree	Disagree strongly	Total N
France	25.66	29.01	29.82	15.52	986
Germany	32.59	31.47	27.29	8.66	982
Italy	35.56	38.08	19.39	6.97	990
Netherlands	15.60	32.02	33.13	19.25	987
Portugal	56.69	28.29	9.88	5.14	972
Spain	33.03	39.90	20.51	6.57	990
UK	42.39	27.58	19.20	10.83	979
All Europeans*	34.45	32.36	22.77	10.43	6,886
US	43.21	32.09	16.04	8.66	935

*Germany, Spain, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal and UK.

3. Globalization

Table A22. *Could you tell me whether you think that globalization has a rather positive or rather negative effect on each of the following domains?
Economic growth in our country*

Country	Fairly positive effect	Fairly negative effect	No effect (SPONT.)	DK	Total N
Austria	44.88	33.76	12.60	8.76	1,016
Belgium	45.06	43.57	7.48	3.89	1,003
Cyprus (Republic)	28.83	40.56	3.18	27.44	503
Czech Republic	51.88	30.16	8.62	9.35	1,091
Denmark	73.58	9.17	9.07	8.18	1,003
Estonia	55.50	11.50	6.60	26.40	1,000
EU 25	45.20	32.11	8.00	14.68	24,565
Finland	50.90	36.00	6.80	6.30	1,000
France	27.11	56.80	4.17	11.92	1,007
Germany East	33.93	47.14	11.64	7.30	507
Germany West	38.02	44.79	8.74	8.45	1,018
Great Britain	41.10	31.50	5.10	22.30	1,000
Greece	29.50	60.60	9.00	0.90	1,000
Hungary	25.17	46.07	15.32	13.43	1,005
Ireland	56.30	17.60	5.50	20.60	1,000
Northern Ireland	48.38	23.70	3.57	24.35	308
Italy	35.79	39.96	12.43	11.83	1,006
Latvia	37.44	34.48	6.60	21.48	1,015
Lithuania	50.40	12.70	7.20	29.70	1,000
Luxembourg	41.00	40.00	6.00	13.00	500
Malta	44.60	27.80	3.60	24.00	500
The Netherlands	63.75	19.94	7.27	9.04	1,018
Poland	53.20	21.60	8.50	16.70	1,000
Portugal	30.75	39.70	6.93	22.61	995
Slovakia	53.18	27.37	8.50	10.95	1,023
Slovenia	47.04	33.37	8.92	10.67	1,031
Spain	33.90	23.43	8.57	34.10	1,003
Sweden	64.36	21.52	7.11	7.01	1,013

Source: EB 66.1.

Table A23. Please tell me for each statement, whether you tend to agree or tend to disagree - Globalization is an opportunity for economic growth

	EB 73.4 (2010)	EB 72.4 (2009)	EB 69.2 (2008)
Totally agree	12.40	15.52	12.76
Tend to agree	46.19	47.95	45.04
Tend to disagree	19.31	18.46	18.92
Totally disagree	6.06	5.27	6.55
DK	16.04	12.80	16.73
N	26,641	26,731	26,661

NOTE: EU 27 only.

Table A24. Overall, with regard to globalization, do you think that for our country it is a good thing, a bad thing, or neither good, nor bad?

Countries	A good thing	A bad thing	Neither good nor bad	DK/NA	N
Austria	17.85	23.84	35.81	22.50	969
Czech Rep.	25.50	20.70	39.90	13.90	1,000
Denmark	58.80	12.40	27.20	1.60	500
Finland	26.74	19.62	34.99	18.65	1,249
France	20.36	30.14	41.90	7.61	1,012
Germany	28.91	23.56	45.54	1.98	505
Greece	15.10	43.80	39.50	1.60	1,000
Italy	36.54	20.45	36.03	6.98	988
Luxemburg	27.08	31.06	32.95	8.90	528
Netherlands	17.30	12.40	34.50	35.80	1,000
Poland	33.30	14.89	36.53	15.28	1,021
Portugal	33.20	16.90	35.90	14.00	1,000
Spain	24.70	24.40	42.10	8.80	1,000
Sweden	50.10	12.30	33.30	4.30	1,000
UK	30.54	18.24	44.10	7.12	1,025
					13,79
All EU	28.77	21.54	37.55	12.14	7
US	24.17	25.05	32.58	18.20	1,022

NOTE: values are percentages from VOP 2006.

Table A25. *Turning to something else, do you believe that globalization, especially the increasing connections of our economy with others around the world, is mostly good or mostly bad for the United States?*

	%	
Mostly good	55.45	
Mostly bad	42.01	
N		2,597

NOTE: US sample only, Source CCFR 2010.

Table A26. *Overall, do you think globalization is good or bad for: The US economy*

	Percentages	
Refused	3.66	
Good	44.43	
Bad	51.91	
N		1,283

4. Level of Governance and Regulation

Table A27. Please tell me to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following. The government has an essential role to play in regulating the market.

Country	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly	N
TTS 2009					
France	47.26	43.90	4.88	3.96	984
Germany	23.89	45.75	23.58	6.78	988
Italy	34.32	44.26	16.60	4.82	976
The Netherlands	24.26	51.57	17.77	6.40	985
Portugal	60.99	31.58	3.72	3.72	969
Spain	34.62	50.00	10.49	4.89	982
United Kingdom	50.76	37.74	6.71	4.78	983
All EU*	39.39	43.57	11.98	5.05	6,867
United States	37.01	33.44	11.99	17.56	951
TTS 2010					
France	35.36	53.75	7.19	3.70	1,001
Germany	28.22	46.86	18.74	6.18	1,003
Italy	34.13	39.21	18.26	8.40	964
The Netherlands	42.71	32.92	11.88	12.50	960
Portugal	50.81	35.80	8.22	5.17	986
Spain	35.29	43.24	14.51	6.96	1,006
United Kingdom	45.52	41.73	8.47	4.28	1,004
All EU*	38.84	42.01	12.45	6.70	6,924
United States	40.13	32.84	11.68	15.36	1,276

*Germany, Spain, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal, UK.

Table A28. Some say that because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen international institutions to deal with shared problems. Others say that this would only create bigger, unwieldy bureaucracies. Here are some international institutions. For each one, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not.

	The World Trade Organization (WTO)	IMF	The World Bank (WB)
Refused	7.69	8.62	7.62
Yes, needs to be strengthened	41.38	34.54	37.92
No, doesn't need to be strengthened	50.92	56.85	54.46
N		1,300	1,300

Source: CCFR 2010, US sample only.

Table A29. *Which of these two positions is closer to yours?*

	%
1. To prevent international economic instability, there should be a global body that regulates big financial institutions to make sure they follow international standards.	43.14
2. A global financial regulating body is a bad idea because it would interfere in our economy and could make it less productive.	54.21
DK	2.65
N	1,319

Source: CCFR 2010, US sample only.

Table A30. *Can you tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the role of the European Union in the economy?
The EUROPEAN UNION should take a more important role in developing new rules for the global financial market.*

Country	Totally agree	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	Totally disagree	DK	Total N
Austria	22.30	45.80	16.40	6.70	8.80	1,000
Belgium	44.79	44.20	6.78	1.18	3.05	1,018
Bulgaria	46.00	36.50	3.70	0.90	12.90	1,000
Cyprus	64.29	28.77	1.59	1.19	4.17	504
Czech Republic	21.62	54.86	10.19	2.29	11.05	1,050
Denmark	33.96	40.55	12.01	3.74	9.74	1,016
Estonia	29.81	41.77	9.97	2.09	16.35	1,003
EU	34	43	8	2	13	26,718
Finland	21.14	56.34	13.67	1.28	7.57	1,017
France	41.26	42.03	4.06	2.32	10.34	1,035
Germany East	53.38	34.24	8.12	1.55	2.71	517
Germany West	47.02	37.18	7.36	2.09	6.36	1,006
Great Britain	25.77	40.50	11.74	8.06	13.93	1,005
Greece	55.60	37.30	4.70	1.40	1.00	1,000
Hungary	35.00	47.61	8.41	1.47	7.53	1,023
Ireland	26.60	39.50	7.40	4.00	22.50	1,000
Italy	22.64	49.53	14.15	3.96	9.72	1,060
Latvia	23.28	41.96	11.59	3.70	19.48	1,001
Lithuania	24.65	47.62	7.13	2.48	18.12	1,010
Luxembourg	44.84	38.49	7.94	2.18	6.55	504
Malta	32.40	41.60	2.60	1.00	22.40	500
Netherlands	47.80	39.46	6.42	2.01	4.31	1,044
Northern Ireland	24.60	39.48	9.39	4.21	22.33	309
Poland	20.00	53.20	8.30	1.90	16.60	1,000
Portugal	18.40	48.30	8.70	1.60	23.00	1,000
Romania	36.24	41.90	5.94	1.73	14.19	1,043
Slovakia	30.34	53.46	7.90	0.68	7.61	1,025
Slovenia	49.70	37.20	6.85	1.19	5.06	1,008
Spain	28.71	44.37	5.18	1.50	20.24	1,003
Sweden	37.36	39.53	11.90	3.64	7.57	1,017

Source: EB 71.1 (2009).

5. Solutions to the Crisis

Table A31. *To what extent do you agree with the following statements about the current economic crisis?*

The current economic CRISIS can only be solved with fundamental reforms in the way we run our economy

Country	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree	Disagree somewhat	Total
France	46.65	38.01	8.43	6.91	984
Germany	44.77	38.52	12.30	4.41	976
Italy	52.01	36.32	8.55	3.12	994
The Netherlands	38.64	47.00	10.85	3.51	968
Portugal	51.00	33.89	7.97	7.14	953
Spain	33.16	49.23	12.77	4.84	971
United Kingdom	60.89	27.76	7.64	3.72	969
All EU*	46.74	38.78	9.79	4.80	6,815
United States	50.11	29.51	9.45	10.93	942

NOTE: data TTS 2009.

*Germany, Spain, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal, UK.

Table A32. For each of the following initiatives, please tell me how important or not you think they are in order for the EU to exit the present financial and economic crisis and prepare for the next decade. Please use a scale from 1 to 10, where '1' means that you think this initiative is "not at all important" and '10' means that it is "very important".

Country	To increase the support for research and development policies and turn inventions into products				To develop the economy by strengthening ultra fast Internet within the EU				To support an economy that uses less natural resources and emits less greenhouse gas				To help the EU's industrial base to be more competitive by promoting entrepreneurship and developing new skills				To modernise labour markets, with a view to raising employment levels				Total N
	Total 'Not imp. ' (1-4)	Total 'Fair imp. ' (5-6)	Total 'Imp. ' (7-10)	missi ng	Total 'Not imp. ' (1-4)	Total 'Fair imp. ' (5-6)	Total 'Imp. ' (7-10)	missi ng	Total 'No t imp. ' (1-4)	Total 'Fair ly imp. ' (5-6)	Total 'Imp. ' (7-10)	missi ng	Total 'Not imp. ' (1-4)	Total 'Fair ly imp. ' (5-6)	Total 'Imp. ' (7-10)	missi ng	Total 'No t imp. ' (1-4)	Total 'Fair ly imp. ' (5-6)	Total 'Imp. ' (7-10)	missi ng	
Austria	10.1	24.7	64.3		17.8	27.9	51.5		4.4	13.2	81.8			23.7	67.1		4.5	16.1	78.6		1,018
	2	5	4	0.79	8	0	7	2.65	2	6	3	0.49	7.27	7	9	1.77	2	1	8	0.69	
Belgium	9.80	3	8	0.29	0	3	0	1.57	6	3	3	0.69	5.98	8	5	0.39	0	3	8	0.29	1,02
		17.1	71.9			19.5	59.7		0.8		88.5				91.3		0.6		94.3		
Bulgaria	6.70	0	0	4.30	9.00	0	0	11.80	0	8.50	0	2.20	0.70	6.10	0	1.90	0	4.10	0	1.00	1
		23.9	63.4			16.5	64.8		3.7		80.2				87.0		1.2		92.8		
Cyprus	6.59	5	7	5.99	7.19	7	7	11.38	9	8.98	4	6.99	2.40	8.58	3	2.00	0	3.79	1	2.20	501
Czech Rep.		21.4	67.2		15.8	30.3	48.5		3.7	13.8	80.1			15.9	77.4		2.0		87.5		1,02
	8.51	3	2	2.84	5	3	3	5.28	2	0	4	2.35	4.60	5	0	2.05	5	8.90	7	1.47	2
		18.1	69.8		27.4	33.5	33.3		8.5	14.3	75.4			21.8	67.9		6.2	14.5	75.6		1,00
Denmark	9.63	7	1	2.38	1	7	7	5.66	4	0	7	1.69	7.35	5	2	2.88	6	0	7	3.57	7
		11.2	25.9	57.0		13.2	27.8	49.7		5.9	16.4	72.5			17.5	72.6		4.8	18.1	70.6	
Estonia	0	0	0	5.90	0	0	0	9.30	0	0	0	5.20	3.40	0	0	6.50	0	0	0	6.50	1
		11.4	25.5	62.1		13.7	29.5	51.8		3.1	13.1	83.2			12.3	85.2		1.3		91.0	
Finland	7	2	1	0.90	6	1	4	4.89	9	6	5	0.40	1.50	6	4	0.90	0	6.58	3	1.10	3
		14.6	28.4	50.2		25.1	33.5	32.2		5.4	15.9	74.3			20.9	65.5		3.9	18.2	72.1	
France	8	7	9	6.56	5	6	9	9.00	8	5	6	4.21	5.87	4	6	7.63	1	0	1	5.77	2

Germany E.	23.7	65.9		17.9	30.0	48.7		4.2	13.0	82.0		10.1	24.4	63.8		5.3	11.8	81.4			
	9.18	1	7	1.15	7	2	6	3.25	1	0	3	0.76	3	7	6	1.53	5	5	5	1.34	523
Germany W.	11.4	21.1	65.5		21.7	25.8	48.7		3.0	11.0	84.5			25.1	62.6		3.4	12.6	82.1		1,01
	6	5	1	1.88	4	9	2	3.66	6	7	8	1.28	8.79	0	5	3.46	6	5	1	1.78	2
		20.1	69.4																		
Greece	7.70	0	0	2.80	13.3	26.8	54.4	5.5	5.1	11.5	81.7	1.7	5.01	14.4	79.3	1.3	1.3	8.6	89.5	.6	1
		22.6	67.4		12.0	26.5	55.1		4.0	13.4	81.6			15.6	79.2		2.9	11.6	84.7		1,01
Hungary	7.36	7	2	2.55	7	9	5	6.18	2	4	5	0.88	4.02	0	9	1.08	4	8	9	0.59	9
		13.9	72.2			16.3	66.2		4.2	16.9	71.3			11.2	78.4		1.4		82.6		1,01
Ireland	5.71	9	2	8.08	6.80	5	1	10.64	4	5	3	7.49	2.66	3	2	7.68	8	9.36	6	6.50	5
	11.7	24.8	59.4		11.3	28.2	55.8		7.6	20.8	68.3			23.7	66.8		5.7	21.7	70.1		1,03
Italy	4	3	8	3.95	6	0	2	4.62	0	9	3	3.18	7.70	7	9	1.64	7	5	6	2.31	9
		25.3	62.2		10.6	24.6	57.8		5.2	16.9	73.8			11.0	82.4		1.3		89.1		1,00
Latvia	7.85	2	6	4.57	3	3	9	6.85	6	8	8	3.87	3.28	2	2	3.28	9	7.05	8	2.38	7
		20.5	70.1			18.1	65.7		1.7	10.6	84.0			10.3	82.3		2.2		84.2		1,02
Lithuania	5.95	7	8	3.31	8.48	3	9	7.60	5	2	2	3.61	2.83	3	6	4.48	4	9.06	1	4.48	6
Luxembu	15.1	30.9	50.9		25.3	34.9	34.9		5.7	16.7	75.0			24.5	65.0		5.7	17.5	73.2		
rg	7	4	0	2.99	5	3	3	4.79	9	7	5	2.40	6.99	5	7	3.39	9	6	5	3.39	501
		17.2	59.8			21.0	49.8		3.0		77.8			13.0	65.6		1.6		84.6		
Malta	5.80	0	0	17.20	7.20	0	0	22.00	0	7.20	0	12.00	2.20	0	0	19.20	0	7.60	0	6.20	500
Northern	13.3	28.0	52.0		16.3	28.6	43.6		5.0	15.0	75.3			20.0	69.0		3.6	11.6	79.6		
Ireland	3	0	0	6.67	3	7	7	11.33	0	0	3	4.67	5.67	0	0	5.33	7	7	7	5.00	300
		24.5	58.2			21.4	58.8		5.4	15.4	73.2			20.7	64.3		2.5	13.0	80.1		
Poland	9.10	0	0	8.20	8.00	0	0	11.80	0	0	0	6.00	5.20	0	0	9.80	0	0	0	4.40	1
		25.0	60.5		10.6	30.0	50.8		5.6	19.3	69.2			18.3	71.3		4.3	13.8	79.6		1,04
Portugal	8.02	0	0	6.49	9	6	6	8.40	3	7	7	5.73	5.44	2	7	4.87	9	4	8	2.10	8
	10.1	18.1	61.3		10.6	19.4	55.0		5.2	13.2	73.4			12.9	68.5		3.8		82.7		1,02
Romania	7	8	9	10.26	5	5	3	14.86	8	0	1	8.11	5.28	0	2	13.29	1	7.92	0	5.57	3
		17.9	73.4		12.1	19.8	64.4		3.3	12.9	82.0			13.1	83.3		0.7		93.2		
Slovakia	7.13	2	7	1.49	8	0	6	3.56	7	7	8	1.58	1.88	7	7	1.58	9	5.45	7	0.50	1,01
		20.1	68.3		13.5	22.7	58.6		6.1	12.2	79.8			11.1	83.5		2.3		90.5		1,01
Slovenia	9.63	4	7	1.87	6	9	4	5.01	9	8	6	1.67	4.22	0	0	1.18	6	5.80	7	1.28	8
		24.5	63.5				50.5		4.8	18.2	73.6				66.0						
Spain	7.72	5	6	4.16	15.3	27.3	9	7.3	5	2	6	3.27	6.1	23.9	1	.50	3.6	12.6	82.5	2.3	1,01
		20.6	68.7		34.6	36.7	24.8		3.0		89.3			20.2	71.7		6.8	17.8	73.2		1,04
Sweden	9.58	9	7	0.96	7	8	1	3.74	7	7.18	7	0.38	6.23	1	4	1.82	0	2	8	2.11	4
The	12.8	24.0	61.6	1.48	14.9	33.1	49.4	2.46	5.0	13.7	80.1	1.08	5.51	22.6	70.0	1.77	5.0	17.3	75.7	1.87	1,01

Netherlands	9	2	1		6	7	1		2	8	2		4	8		2	2	9		6	
	16.9	29.4	46.7		23.3	27.8	36.9		7.1	14.6	71.6		21.2	64.8		3.2	13.3	76.6		1,00	
UK	5	4	8	6.84	9	5	7	11.79	4	7	6	6.54	6.24	1	2	7.73	7	8	1	6.74	9

Source: EB 75.2 (2011).

Table A33. A range of measures to tackle the current financial and economic crisis is being discussed in the European institutions. For each, could you tell me whether you think it would be effective or not?
A more important role for the EU in regulating financial services

NATION (SAMPLE)	2009						2010					
	Very effective	Fairly effective	Not very effective	Not at all effective	DK	Total	Very effective	Fairly effective	Not very effective	Not at all effective	DK	Total
Austria	180	490	238	34	88	1,030	210	457	236	50	47	1,000
	17.48	47.57	23.11	3.30	8.54	100	21.00	45.70	23.60	5.00	4.70	100
Belgium	193	576	157	21	59	1,006	229	611	114	9	40	1,003
	19.18	57.26	15.61	2.09	5.86	100	22.83	60.92	11.37	0.90	3.99	100.
Bulgaria	248	460	84	8	208	1,008	272	505	72	4	147	1,000
	24.60	45.63	8.33	0.79	20.63	100	27.20	50.50	7.20	0.40	14.70	100
Cyprus	142	257	28	7	72	506	155	245	43	9	52	504
	28.06	50.79	5.53	1.38	14.23	100	30.75	48.61	8.53	1.79	10.32	100
Czech Rep.	118	605	206	21	106	1,056	159	537	185	23	120	1,024
	11.17	57.29	19.51	1.99	10.04	100	15.53	52.44	18.07	2.25	11.72	100
Denmark	95	520	242	45	104	1,006	109	454	318	60	108	1,049
	9.44	51.69	24.06	4.47	10.34	100	10.39	43.28	30.31	5.72	10.30	100
Estonia	55	509	207	20	211	1,002	135	503	148	8	206	1,000
	5.49	50.80	20.66	2.00	21.06	100	13.50	50.30	14.80	0.80	20.60	100

Finland	89	507	273	22	127	1,018	211	531	176	18	69	1,005
	8.74	49.80	26.82	2.16	12.48	100	21.00	52.84	17.51	1.79	6.87	100
France	182	549	113	32	129	1,005	231	566	87	35	117	1,036
	18.11	54.63	11.24	3.18	12.84	100	22.30	54.63	8.40	3.38	11.29	100
Germany W.	196	500	168	39	97	1,000	298	476	155	34	89	1,052
	19.60	50.00	16.80	3.90	9.70	100	28.33	45.25	14.73	3.23	8.46	100
Germany E.	83	258	115	24	34	514	201	241	66	15	34	557
	16.15	50.19	22.37	4.67	6.61	100	36.09	43.27	11.85	2.69	6.10	100
Great Britain	75	449	227	67	200	1,018	96	400	255	89	159	999
	7.37	44.11	22.30	6.58	19.65	100	9.61	40.04	25.53	8.91	15.92	100
Greece	292	522	137	14	35	1,000	258	493	153	45	51	1,000
	29.20	52.20	13.70	1.40	3.50	100	25.80	49.30	15.30	4.50	5.10	100
Hungary	170	486	226	48	93	1,023	220	477	254	17	63	1,031
	16.62	47.51	22.09	4.69	9.09	100	21.34	46.27	24.64	1.65	6.11	100
Ireland	211	460	74	19	247	1,011	401	406	60	17	123	1,007
	20.87	45.50	7.32	1.88	24.43	100	39.82	40.32	5.96	1.69	12.21	100
N. Ireland	28	138	60	11	67	304	46	144	46	16	49	301
	9.21	45.39	19.74	3.62	22.04	100	15.28	47.84	15.28	5.32	16.28	100
Italy	166	575	138	22	135	1,036	283	534	88	23	91	1,019
	16.02	55.50	13.32	2.12	13.03	100	27.77	52.40	8.64	2.26	8.93	100
Latvia	66	448	274	27	191	1,006	171	511	176	25	120	1,003
	6.56	44.53	27.24	2.68	18.99	100	17.05	50.95	17.55	2.49	11.96	100

Lithuania	115	471	203	31	203	1,023	150	507	127	14	207	1,005
	11.24	46.04	19.84	3.03	19.84	100	14.93	50.45	12.64	1.39	20.60	100
Luxembourg	140	261	46	3	52	502	125	281	65	7	35	513
	27.89	51.99	9.16	0.60	10.36	100	24.37	54.78	12.67	1.36	6.82	100
Malta	89	240	24	6	141	500	105	225	24	4	142	500
	17.80	48.00	4.80	1.20	28.20	100	21.00	45.00	4.80	0.80	28.40	100
The Netherlands	140	606	152	22	84	1,004	186	575	195	22	62	1,040
	13.94	60.36	15.14	2.19	8.37	100	17.88	55.29	18.75	2.12	5.96	100
Poland	77	512	147	24	240	1,000	107	541	136	14	202	1,000
	7.70	51.20	14.70	2.40	24.00	100	10.70	54.10	13.60	1.40	20.20	100
Portugal	117	561	150	16	181	1,025	221	492	181	24	100	1,018
	11.41	54.73	14.63	1.56	17.66	100	21.71	48.33	17.78	2.36	9.82	100
Romania	204	441	88	21	267	1,021	272	442	96	17	174	1,001
	19.98	43.19	8.62	2.06	26.15	100	27.17	44.16	9.59	1.70	17.38	100
Slovakia	149	648	126	12	105	1,040	271	597	110	5	48	1,031
	14.33	62.31	12.12	1.15	10.10	100	26.29	57.90	10.67	0.48	4.66	100
Slovenia	264	502	126	33	90	1,015	359	432	125	35	53	1,004
	26.01	49.46	12.41	3.25	8.87	100	35.76	43.03	12.45	3.49	5.28	100
Spain	289	513	101	12	105	1,020	399	412	62	8	120	1,001
	28.33	50.29	9.90	1.18	10.29	100	39.86	41.16	6.19	0.80	11.99	100
Sweden	115	552	215	34	116	1,032	160	457	253	49	101	1,020
	11.14	53.49	20.83	3.29	11.24	100	15.69	44.80	24.80	4.80	9.90	100
Total	4,288	13,616	4,345	695	3,787	26,73	6,04	13,052	4,006	696	2,929	26,723

16.04 50.94 16.25 2.60 14.17 100 22.60 48.84 14.99 2.60 10.96 100

Source: EB 72.4 and 74.2.

Table A34. A range of measures to tackle the current financial and economic crisis is being discussed in the European institutions. For each, could you tell me whether you think it would be effective or not?

A closer supervision by the EU of the activities of large financial groups/most important international financial groups

NATION (SAMPLE)	2009					2010						
	Very effective	Fairly effective	Not very effective	Not at all effective	DK	Total	Very effective	Fairly effective	Not very effective	Not at all effective	DK	Total
Austria	240	428	233	48	81	1,030	241	446	203	63	47	1,000
	23.30	41.55	22.62	4.66	7.86	100.00	24.10	44.60	20.30	6.30	4.70	100.00
Belgium	215	540	161	30	60	1,006	319	530	112	17	25	1,003
	21.37	53.68	16.00	2.98	5.96	100.00	31.80	52.84	11.17	1.69	2.49	100.00
Bulgaria	333	406	64	10	195	1,008	363	429	66	2	140	1,000
	33.04	40.28	6.35	0.99	19.35	100.00	36.30	42.90	6.60	0.20	14.00	100.00
Cyprus (REPUBLIC)	210	202	27	4	63	506	197	219	21	10	57	504
	41.50	39.92	5.34	0.79	12.45	100.00	39.09	43.45	4.17	1.98	11.31	100.00
Czech Rep.	185	588	180	23	80	1,056	247	512	153	22	90	1,024
	17.52	55.68	17.05	2.18	7.58	100.00	24.12	50.00	14.94	2.15	8.79	100.00
Denmark	169	487	230	54	66	1,006	259	476	204	33	77	1,049
	16.80	48.41	22.86	5.37	6.56	100.00	24.69	45.38	19.45	3.15	7.34	100.00
Estonia	71	499	189	25	218	1,002	177	489	126	8	200	1,000
	7.09	49.80	18.86	2.50	21.76	100.00	17.70	48.90	12.60	0.80	20.00	100.00
Finland	85	466	319	26	122	1,018	289	482	139	19	76	1,005
	8.35	45.78	31.34	2.55	11.98	100.00	28.76	47.96	13.83	1.89	7.56	100.00
France	240	498	105	30	132	1,005	265	532	87	42	110	1,036

	23.88	49.55	10.45	2.99	13.13	100.00	25.58	51.35	8.40	4.05	10.62	100.00
Germany W.	274	409	185	57	75	1,000	503	380	95	26	48	1,052
	27.40	40.90	18.50	5.70	7.50	100.00	47.81	36.12	9.03	2.47	4.56	100.00
Germany E.	142	186	141	27	18	514	303	184	39	19	12	557
	27.63	36.19	27.43	5.25	3.50	100.00	54.40	33.03	7.00	3.41	2.15	100.00
Great Britain	100	453	220	57	188	1,018	132	414	230	65	158	999
	9.82	44.50	21.61	5.60	18.47	100.00	13.21	41.44	23.02	6.51	15.82	100.00
Greece	365	466	133	12	24	1,000	378	405	125	44	48	1,000
	36.50	46.60	13.30	1.20	2.40	100.00	37.80	40.50	12.50	4.40	4.80	100.00
Hungary	237	429	220	53	84	1,023	284	416	230	43	58	1,031
	23.17	41.94	21.51	5.18	8.21	100.00	27.55	40.35	22.31	4.17	5.63	100.00
Ireland	266	393	81	23	248	1,011	518	303	54	15	117	1,007
	26.31	38.87	8.01	2.27	24.53	100.00	51.44	30.09	5.36	1.49	11.62	100.00
N. Ireland	33	127	61	15	68	304	62	160	28	8	43	301
	10.86	41.78	20.07	4.93	22.37	100.00	20.60	53.16	9.30	2.66	14.29	100.00
Italy	237	531	137	27	104	1,036	309	507	100	22	81	1,019
	22.88	51.25	13.22	2.61	10.04	100.00	30.32	49.75	9.81	2.16	7.95	100.00
Latvia	106	465	237	27	171	1,006	210	505	174	14	100	1,003
	10.54	46.22	23.56	2.68	17.00	100.00	20.94	50.35	17.35	1.40	9.97	100.00
Lithuania	137	483	175	29	199	1,023	160	468	142	23	212	1,005
	13.39	47.21	17.11	2.83	19.45	100.00	15.92	46.57	14.13	2.29	21.09	100.00
Luxembourg	160	233	49	9	51	502	149	257	68	8	31	513
	31.87	46.41	9.76	1.79	10.16	100.00	29.04	50.10	13.26	1.56	6.04	100.00

Malta	94	238	15	7	146	500	122	206	22	4	146	500
	18.80	47.60	3.00	1.40	29.20	100.00	24.40	41.20	4.40	0.80	29.20	100.00
The Netherlands	225	550	135	26	68	1,004	243	547	166	22	62	1,040
	22.41	54.78	13.45	2.59	6.77	100.00	23.37	52.60	15.96	2.12	5.96	100.00
Poland	95	509	149	24	223	1,000	155	517	124	10	194	1,000
	9.50	50.90	14.90	2.40	22.30	100.00	15.50	51.70	12.40	1.00	19.40	100.00
Portugal	158	546	158	18	145	1,025	272	457	201	20	68	1,018
	15.41	53.27	15.41	1.76	14.15	100.00	26.72	44.89	19.74	1.96	6.68	100.00
Romania	251	404	112	10	244	1,021	348	404	93	14	142	1,001
	24.58	39.57	10.97	0.98	23.90	100.00	34.77	40.36	9.29	1.40	14.19	100.00
Slovakia	221	612	120	10	77	1,040	434	476	82	5	34	1,031
	21.25	58.85	11.54	0.96	7.40	100.00	42.10	46.17	7.95	0.48	3.30	100.00
Slovenia	314	451	135	35	80	1,015	424	381	113	33	53	1,004
	30.94	44.43	13.30	3.45	7.88	100.00	42.23	37.95	11.25	3.29	5.28	100.00
Spain	396	412	96	21	95	1,020	445	379	51	6	120	1,001
	38.82	40.39	9.41	2.06	9.31	100.00	44.46	37.86	5.09	0.60	11.99	100.00
Sweden	172	446	269	48	97	1,032	256	407	245	28	84	1,020
	16.67	43.22	26.07	4.65	9.40	100.00	25.10	39.90	24.02	2.75	8.24	100.00
Total	5,731	12,457	4,336	785	3,422	26,731	8,064	11,888	3,493	645	2,633	26,723
	21.44	46.60	16.22	2.94	12.80	100.00	30.18	44.49	13.07	2.41	9.85	100.00

Source: EB 72.4 and 74.2.

Table A35. A range of measures to tackle the current financial and economic crisis is being discussed in the European institutions. For each, could you tell me whether you think it would be effective or not?

A stronger coordination of economic policy among all the EU member states

NATION (SAMPLE)	2009						2010					
	Very effective	Fairly effective	Not very effective	Not at all effective	DK	Total	Very effective	Fairly effective	Not very effective	Not at all effective	DK	Total
Austria	248 24.08	449 43.59	216 20.97	39 3.79	78 7.57	1,030 100.00	227 22.70	505 50.50	187 18.70	40 4.00	41 4.10	1,000 100.00
Belgium	250 24.85	563 55.96	129 12.82	17 1.69	47 4.67	1,006 100.00	241 24.03	632 63.01	97 9.67	6 0.60	27 2.69	1,003 100.00
Bulgaria	340 33.73	409 40.58	64 6.35	5 0.50	190 18.85	1,008 100.00	383 38.30	438 43.80	60 6.00	4 0.40	115 11.50	1,000 100.00
Cyprus (REPUBLIC)	233 46.05	203 40.12	17 3.36	3 0.59	50 9.88	506 100.00	248 49.21	200 39.68	27 5.36	6 1.19	23 4.56	504 100.00
Czech Rep.	201 19.03	614 58.14	146 13.83	24 2.27	71 6.72	1,056 100.00	182 17.77	543 53.03	181 17.68	23 2.25	95 9.28	1,024 100.00
Denmark	273 27.14	501 49.80	145 14.41	24 2.39	63 6.26	1,006 100.00	256 24.40	570 54.34	142 13.54	17 1.62	64 6.10	1,049 100.00
Estonia	99 9.88	515 51.40	179 17.86	14 1.40	195 19.46	1,002 100.00	188 18.80	503 50.30	132 13.20	8 0.80	169 16.90	1,000 100.00
Finland	111 10.90	534 52.46	227 22.30	19 1.87	127 12.48	1,018 100.00	275 27.36	508 50.55	138 13.73	18 1.79	66 6.57	1,005 100.00
France	230 22.89	540 53.73	85 8.46	23 2.29	127 12.64	1,005 100.00	233 22.49	609 58.78	70 6.76	30 2.90	94 9.07	1,036 100.00

Germany W.	321	452	121	29	77	1,000	335	518	113	23	63	1,052
	32.10	45.20	12.10	2.90	7.70	100.00	31.84	49.24	10.74	2.19	5.99	100.00
Germany E.	159	249	77	12	17	514	233	221	67	18	18	557
	30.93	48.44	14.98	2.33	3.31	100.00	41.83	39.68	12.03	3.23	3.23	100.00
Great Britain	115	476	186	48	193	1,018	110	450	221	48	170	999
	11.30	46.76	18.27	4.72	18.96	100.00	11.01	45.05	22.12	4.80	17.02	100.00
Greece	384	478	99	10	29	1,000	342	467	127	25	39	1,000
	38.40	47.80	9.90	1.00	2.90	100.00	34.20	46.70	12.70	2.50	3.90	100.00
Hungary	220	477	192	53	81	1,023	245	421	269	27	69	1,031
	21.51	46.63	18.77	5.18	7.92	100.00	23.76	40.83	26.09	2.62	6.69	100.00
IRELAND	246	417	67	21	260	1,011	432	359	60	15	141	1,007
	24.33	41.25	6.63	2.08	25.72	100.00	42.90	35.65	5.96	1.49	14.00	100.00
N. Ireland	35	139	48	11	71	304	58	149	34	8	52	301
	11.51	45.72	15.79	3.62	23.36	100.00	19.27	49.50	11.30	2.66	17.28	100.00
Italy	229	542	147	28	90	1,036	307	535	80	24	73	1,019
	22.10	52.32	14.19	2.70	8.69	100.00	30.13	52.50	7.85	2.36	7.16	100.00
Latvia	136	503	187	23	157	1,006	204	531	164	8	96	1,003
	13.52	50.00	18.59	2.29	15.61	100.00	20.34	52.94	16.35	0.80	9.57	100.00
Lithuania	153	518	133	30	189	1,023	158	501	130	12	204	1,005
	14.96	50.64	13.00	2.93	18.48	100.00	15.72	49.85	12.94	1.19	20.30	100.00
Luxembourg	163	225	57	7	50	502	138	306	39	6	24	513
	32.47	44.82	11.35	1.39	9.96	100.00	26.90	59.65	7.60	1.17	4.68	100.00
Malta	116	244	12	3	125	500	127	239	19	1	114	500
	23.20	48.80	2.40	0.60	25.00	100.00	25.40	47.80	3.80	0.20	22.80	100.00

The Netherlands	229	567	131	19	58	1,004	244	638	90	16	52	1,040
	22.81	56.47	13.05	1.89	5.78	100.00	23.46	61.35	8.65	1.54	5.00	100.00
Poland	130	536	105	11	218	1,000	132	603	86	5	174	1,000
	13.00	53.60	10.50	1.10	21.80	100.00	13.20	60.30	8.60	0.50	17.40	100.00
Portugal	141	514	176	19	175	1,025	222	500	184	20	92	1,018
	13.76	50.15	17.17	1.85	17.07	100.00	21.81	49.12	18.07	1.96	9.04	100.00
Romania	277	409	92	13	230	1,021	372	406	85	12	126	1,001
	27.13	40.06	9.01	1.27	22.53	100.00	37.16	40.56	8.49	1.20	12.59	100.00
Slovakia	248	618	91	9	74	1,040	280	636	70	8	37	1,031
	23.85	59.42	8.75	0.87	7.12	100.00	27.16	61.69	6.79	0.78	3.59	100.00
Slovenia	369	449	95	27	75	1,015	400	423	100	38	43	1,004
	36.35	44.24	9.36	2.66	7.39	100.00	39.84	42.13	9.96	3.78	4.28	100.00
Spain	385	442	81	10	102	1,020	386	456	48	7	104	1,001
	37.75	43.33	7.94	0.98	10.00	100.00	38.56	45.55	4.80	0.70	10.39	100.00
Sweden	191	530	188	40	83	1,032	204	480	219	50	67	1,020
	18.51	51.36	18.22	3.88	8.04	100.00	20.00	47.06	21.47	4.90	6.57	100.00
Total	6,232	13,113	3,493	591	3,302	26,731	7,162	13,347	3,239	523	2,452	26,723
	23.31	49.06	13.07	2.21	12.35	100.00	26.80	49.95	12.12	1.96	9.18	100.00

Source: EB 72.4 and 74.2.

Table A36. A range of measures to tackle the current financial and economic crisis is being discussed in the European institutions. For each, could you tell me whether you think it would be effective or not?

A closer supervision by the EU when public money is used to rescue banks and financial institutions

NATION (SAMPLE)	2009						2010					
	Very effective	Fairly effective	Not very effective	Not at all effective	DK	Total	Very effective	Fairly effective	Not very effective	Not at all effective	DK	Total
Austria	280 27.18	426 41.36	200 19.42	46 4.47	78 7.57	1,030 100.00	260 26.00	415 41.50	222 22.20	57 5.70	46 4.60	1,000 100.00
Belgium	259 25.75	500 49.70	176 17.50	25 2.49	46 4.57	1,006 100.00	313 31.21	515 51.35	129 12.86	23 2.29	23 2.29	1,003 100.00
Bulgaria	408 40.48	346 34.33	52 5.16	8 0.79	194 19.25	1,008 100.00	449 44.90	365 36.50	58 5.80	8 0.80	120 12.00	1,000 100.00
Cyprus (REPUBLIC)	237 46.84	196 38.74	20 3.95	6 1.19	47 9.29	506 100.00	246 48.81	183 36.31	33 6.55	6 1.19	36 7.14	504 100.00
Czech Rep.	255 24.15	577 54.64	142 13.45	25 2.37	57 5.40	1,056 100.00	258 25.20	506 49.41	141 13.77	27 2.64	92 8.98	1,024 100.00
Denmark	142 14.12	345 34.29	310 30.82	118 11.73	91 9.05	1,006 100.00	223 21.26	435 41.47	268 25.55	43 4.10	80 7.63	1,049 100.00
Estonia	127 12.67	400 39.92	235 23.45	36 3.59	204 20.36	1,002 100.00	205 20.50	399 39.90	199 19.90	25 2.50	172 17.20	1,000 100.00
Finland	142 13.95	450 44.20	266 26.13	41 4.03	119 11.69	1,018 100.00	349 34.73	453 45.07	122 12.14	34 3.38	47 4.68	1,005 100.00
France	269 26.77	458 45.57	118 11.74	32 3.18	128 12.74	1,005 100.00	307 29.63	466 44.98	104 10.04	67 6.47	92 8.88	1,036 100.00

Germany W.	353	366	166	51	64	1,000	514	370	98	32	38	1,052
	35.30	36.60	16.60	5.10	6.40	100.00	48.86	35.17	9.32	3.04	3.61	100.00
Germany E.	165	190	107	34	18	514	312	164	45	21	15	557
	32.10	36.96	20.82	6.61	3.50	100.00	56.01	29.44	8.08	3.77	2.69	100.00
Great Britain	116	403	238	70	191	1,018	172	378	231	65	153	999
	11.39	39.59	23.38	6.88	18.76	100.00	17.22	37.84	23.12	6.51	15.32	100.00
Greece	426	438	99	15	22	1,000	401	384	130	49	36	1,000
	42.60	43.80	9.90	1.50	2.20	100.00	40.10	38.40	13.00	4.90	3.60	100.00
Hungary	257	392	217	76	81	1,023	326	390	218	45	52	1,031
	25.12	38.32	21.21	7.43	7.92	100.00	31.62	37.83	21.14	4.36	5.04	100.00
IRELAND	301	373	61	25	251	1,011	569	279	42	14	103	1,007
	29.77	36.89	6.03	2.47	24.83	100.00	56.50	27.71	4.17	1.39	10.23	100.00
N. Ireland	42	124	59	15	64	304	88	125	39	12	37	301
	13.82	40.79	19.41	4.93	21.05	100.00	29.24	41.53	12.96	3.99	12.29	100.00
Italy	270	484	155	26	101	1,036	375	451	93	29	71	1,019
	26.06	46.72	14.96	2.51	9.75	100.00	36.80	44.26	9.13	2.85	6.97	100.00
Latvia	229	425	184	27	141	1,006	293	472	146	15	77	1,003
	22.76	42.25	18.29	2.68	14.02	100.00	29.21	47.06	14.56	1.50	7.68	100.00
Lithuania	206	472	136	50	159	1,023	179	490	123	19	194	1,005
	20.14	46.14	13.29	4.89	15.54	100.00	17.81	48.76	12.24	1.89	19.30	100.00
Luxembourg	156	216	60	16	54	502	169	236	71	18	19	513
	31.08	43.03	11.95	3.19	10.76	100.00	32.94	46.00	13.84	3.51	3.70	100.00
Malta	119	223	13	4	141	500	150	206	20	5	119	500
	23.80	44.60	2.60	0.80	28.20	100.00	30.00	41.20	4.00	1.00	23.80	100.00

The Netherlands	210	483	213	39	59	1,004	271	477	207	43	42	1,040
	20.92	48.11	21.22	3.88	5.88	100.00	26.06	45.87	19.90	4.13	4.04	100.00
Poland	121	496	145	22	216	1,000	167	480	149	22	182	1,000
	12.10	49.60	14.50	2.20	21.60	100.00	16.70	48.00	14.90	2.20	18.20	100.00
Portugal	194	487	188	21	135	1,025	275	463	187	25	68	1,018
	18.93	47.51	18.34	2.05	13.17	100.00	27.01	45.48	18.37	2.46	6.68	100.00
Romania	318	375	82	18	228	1,021	388	361	94	10	148	1,001
	31.15	36.73	8.03	1.76	22.33	100.00	38.76	36.06	9.39	1.00	14.79	100.00
Slovakia	260	583	112	8	77	1,040	444	474	73	10	30	1,031
	25.00	56.06	10.77	0.77	7.40	100.00	43.06	45.97	7.08	0.97	2.91	100.00
Slovenia	370	415	130	25	75	1,015	468	368	87	37	44	1,004
	36.45	40.89	12.81	2.46	7.39	100.00	46.61	36.65	8.67	3.69	4.38	100.00
Spain	393	431	83	14	99	1,020	469	339	62	25	106	1,001
	38.53	42.25	8.14	1.37	9.71	100.00	46.85	33.87	6.19	2.50	10.59	100.00
Sweden	177	451	230	58	116	1,032	234	468	188	40	90	1,020
	17.15	43.70	22.29	5.62	11.24	100.00	22.94	45.88	18.43	3.92	8.82	100.00
Total	6,802	11,525	4,197	951	3,256	26,731	8,874	11,112	3,579	826	2,332	26,723
	25.45	43.11	15.70	3.56	12.18	100.00	33.21	41.58	13.39	3.09	8.73	100.00

Source: EB 72.4 and 74.2.

Table A37. A range of measures to tackle the current financial and economic crisis is being discussed in the European institutions. For each, could you tell me whether you think it would be effective or not?

A stronger coordination of economic and financial policies aiming the countries of the euro area

NATION (SAMPLE)	Very effective	Fairly effective	Not very effective	Not at all effective	DK	Total
Austria	221 22.10	484 48.40	213 21.30	35 3.50	47 4.70	1,000 100.00
Belgium	222 22.13	652 65.00	95 9.47	8 0.80	26 2.59	1,003 100.00
Bulgaria	406 40.60	426 42.60	34 3.40	3 0.30	131 13.10	1,000 100.00
Cyprus (REPUBLIC)	241 47.82	202 40.08	26 5.16	3 0.60	32 6.35	504 100.00
Czech Rep.	162 15.82	566 55.27	162 15.82	25 2.44	109 10.64	1,024 100.00
Denmark	200 19.07	574 54.72	162 15.44	28 2.67	85 8.10	1,049 100.00
Estonia	187 18.70	495 49.50	117 11.70	7 0.70	194 19.40	1,000 100.00
Finland	303 30.15	512 50.95	122 12.14	17 1.69	51 5.07	1,005 100.00
France	217 20.95	614 59.27	74 7.14	29 2.80	102 9.85	1,036 100.00
Germany W.	356 33.84	479 45.53	127 12.07	25 2.38	65 6.18	1,052 100.00
Germany E.	224 40.22	229 41.11	57 10.23	22 3.95	25 4.49	557 100.00
Great Britain	86 8.61	441 44.14	236 23.62	52 5.21	184 18.42	999 100.00
Greece	314 31.40	477 47.70	131 13.10	34 3.40	44 4.40	1,000 100.00
Hungary	231 22.41	436 42.29	263 25.51	25 2.42	76 7.37	1,031 100.00
Ireland	477 47.37	337 33.47	45 4.47	16 1.59	132 13.11	1,007 100.00

N. Ireland	44	159	33	11	54	301
	14.62	52.82	10.96	3.65	17.94	100.00
Italy	303	532	89	25	70	1,019
	29.74	52.21	8.73	2.45	6.87	100.00
Latvia	195	512	166	13	117	1,003
	19.44	51.05	16.55	1.30	11.67	100.00
Lithuania	155	470	144	11	225	1,005
	15.42	46.77	14.33	1.09	22.39	100.00
Luxembourg	136	304	40	6	27	513
	26.51	59.26	7.80	1.17	5.26	100.00
Malta	137	223	15	2	123	500
	27.40	44.60	3.00	0.40	24.60	100.00
The Netherlands	247	608	104	16	65	1,040
	23.75	58.46	10.00	1.54	6.25	100.00
Poland	115	562	115	10	198	1,000
	11.50	56.20	11.50	1.00	19.80	100.00
Portugal	230	490	190	20	88	1,018
	22.59	48.13	18.66	1.96	8.64	100.00
Romania	334	412	76	13	166	1,001
	33.37	41.16	7.59	1.30	16.58	100.00
Slovakia	295	592	98	7	39	1,031
	28.61	57.42	9.51	0.68	3.78	100.00
Slovenia	385	438	93	34	54	1,004
	38.35	43.63	9.26	3.39	5.38	100.00
Spain	379	462	45	10	105	1,001
	37.86	46.15	4.50	1.00	10.49	100.00
Sweden	182	520	197	35	86	1,020
	17.84	50.98	19.31	3.43	8.43	100.00
Total	6,984	13,208	3,269	542	2,72	26,723
	26.13	49.43	12.23	2.03	10.18	100.00

Source EB 74.2 (2010).

Table A38. *Do you think the United States plays a more important and powerful role as a world leader today compared to 10 years ago, a less important role, or about as important a role as a world leader as it did 10 years ago?*

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Refused	10	0.77	0.77
More important	302	23.27	24.04
Less important	543	41.83	65.87
As important	443	34.13	100.00
Total	1,298	100.00	

NOTE: US sample only. Source CCFR 2010.

Table A39. *Do you think that it is more likely that someday China's economy will grow to be as large as the U.S. economy or that the U.S. economy will always stay larger than China's?*

	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Refused	37	2.85	2.85
China's economy will grow as large as the U.S. economy.	990	76.39	79.24
The U.S. economy will always stay larger than China's.	269	20.76	100.00
Total	1,296	100.00	

THE PROJECT

In an era of global flux, emerging powers and growing interconnectedness, transatlantic relations appear to have lost their bearings. As the international system fragments into different constellations of state and non-state powers across different policy domains, the US and the EU can no longer claim exclusive leadership in global governance. Traditional paradigms to understand the transatlantic relationship are thus wanting. A new approach is needed to pinpoint the direction transatlantic relations are taking. TRANSWORLD provides such an approach by a) ascertaining, differentiating among four policy domains (economic, security, environment, and human rights/democracy), whether transatlantic relations are drifting apart, adapting along an ad hoc cooperation-based pattern, or evolving into a different but resilient special partnership; b) assessing the role of a re-defined transatlantic relationship in the global governance architecture; c) providing tested policy recommendations on how the US and the EU could best cooperate to enhance the viability, effectiveness, and accountability of governance structures.

CONSORTIUM

Mainly funded under the European Commission's 7th Framework Programme, TRANSWORLD is carried out by a consortium of 13 academic and research centres from the EU, the US and Turkey:

Istituto Affari Internazionali, *Coordinator*
German Marshall Fund of the United States
University of Edinburgh
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