

Istituto  
Cattaneo

Research  
Foundation



## **The impact of Covid-19 pandemic crisis on European public opinion**

**A comparative study on  
France, Germany, Italy,  
Poland, Spain, Sweden**

This report is completed based on a survey of which initial design was provided by a Cattaneo Institute research team formed by Salvatore Vassallo, Moreno Mancosu, and Federico Vegetti, and further developed in consultation with FEPS (Foundation for European Progressive Studies), FES (Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung), and experts of the two organizations. The process of data collection was managed by DYNATA, in the framework of a joint FEPS and FES project, and with the financial support of the European Parliament.

# The Cattaneo Institute

The Carlo Cattaneo Institute is a leading Italian private research foundation active from 1965. We conduct research and analysis on Italian and European society, political participation and public opinion, government institutions, policies that promote individual freedom, a sustainable economic development, social cohesion, and education.

Our main commitment is to combine the methodological rigor of the best academic research with the need to provide interpretations of social change that can lead to informed choices of public and private actors. In all these fields we are committed to offering original empirical analysis through the contribution of academic specialists from different disciplines: statisticians, lawyers, sociologists, political scientists, economists, social psychologists.

Over the last 40 years of operation the Cattaneo Institute has edited more than 100 reports for public and private institutions and has published an average of 4 volumes of research per year, most of them with the publishing house Il Mulino (the Italian equivalent for a University Press in the Anglo-Saxon world).

Since 1986, we edit the yearbook *Politica in Italia - Italian Politics*, published both in Italian and in English.

Since 1987, we edit the quarterly journal *Polis*, which is listed in the A class in Sociology and Political Science by the Italian National Agency for the Evaluation of University Research.

The analyses that the Cattaneo Institute develops on events and phenomena of general interest are frequently reported by the major national media outlets in print, TV, radio, and online.



## SAMPLE

- 6 countries. 2 waves  
12.000 respondents
- For each wave, 6 samples of  
1000 respondents, representative  
of the population aged 18+ in  
France, Germany, Italy,  
Poland, Spain, Sweden
- Quotas for age, gender, education,  
region, urban/rural residence

## FIELDWORK

- 1<sup>st</sup> W / Dec 17, 2020 - Jan 15, 2021
- 2<sup>nd</sup> W / Oct 19, 2021 - Nov 17, 2021
- Dynata CAWI Panel

## RESEARCH TEAM

- **Salvatore Vassallo**. Full professor of *Political Science* and *Public Opinion Analysis* (University of Bologna). Director of the Cattaneo Institute.
- **Moreno Mancosu**. Researcher of *Political Sociology* (University of Torino). Ph.D. in *Sociology and Social Research* (University of Trento).
- **Federico Vegetti**. Postdoctoral research fellow of *Political Sociology* (University of Torino). Ph.D. in *Political Science*, Summa cum laude. University of Mannheim (Germany).

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# Survey topics

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- The impact of the pandemic on the personal sphere (health, economy, quality of life, working conditions)
  - Availability to be vaccinated
  - Trust in institutions and evaluation of government performance
  - The perceived impact of the crisis on inequality, democratic balances and social cohesion
  - Trust in science. Acceptance of conspiracy theories about the pandemic
  - Perception of other countries as friends or enemies
- 
- 1<sup>st</sup> Wave: Individual and perceived party positions on the political dilemmas of the pandemic
  - 2<sup>nd</sup> Wave: Individual concerns about the vaccinations and individual positions on vaccination requirements
- 
- Sociodemographic characteristics
  - Political self-identification. Party preferences
  - Populist attitude. Conspiracist ideation



# Sociodemographic and political variables

The dataset collected as part of the Feps/Fes-Cattaneo project can be queried to answer a wide variety of research questions, either on a single country or comparative basis. This presentation is only a summary of the major themes touched on by the survey.

A variety of variables were included in the survey design aimed at identifying the sociodemographic characteristics of respondents, how they define themselves politically, their voting preferences, their position on divisive issues such as immigration, and their attitudes toward politics and institutions.

The survey data collected as part of this project therefore allow for many analyses, and to answer a variety of specific questions. For example, they make it possible to ascertain the extent to which each of the aspects just mentioned has changed over time and influences respondents' perceptions of the pandemic crisis or judgments of parties and institutions in one or more countries. This potential will grow over time if the analysis is replicated on a regular basis.

In the tables and charts that follow, we have selected only those sociodemographic and political variables that have a more pronounced and direct relationship to the focal aspects touched upon in this summary presentation.

The tables and graphs that follow may only highlight direct relationships between two or three variables (they show bivariate or trivariate analyses). A better understanding of how - for example - gender, age, education, political orientation, or personal well-being influence people's attitudes about the pandemic crisis requires multivariate analyses and more complex statistical techniques.

The following tables and graphs show weighted measures that adjust for minor and unavoidable sampling inefficiencies in order to strengthen sample representativeness. The "All countries" measures are simple averages of national results. They are not weighted measures that adjust for the population of each country. In fact, they are intended to show how the six countries perform *on average*, not to show how they perform in the whole as they were a single entity.



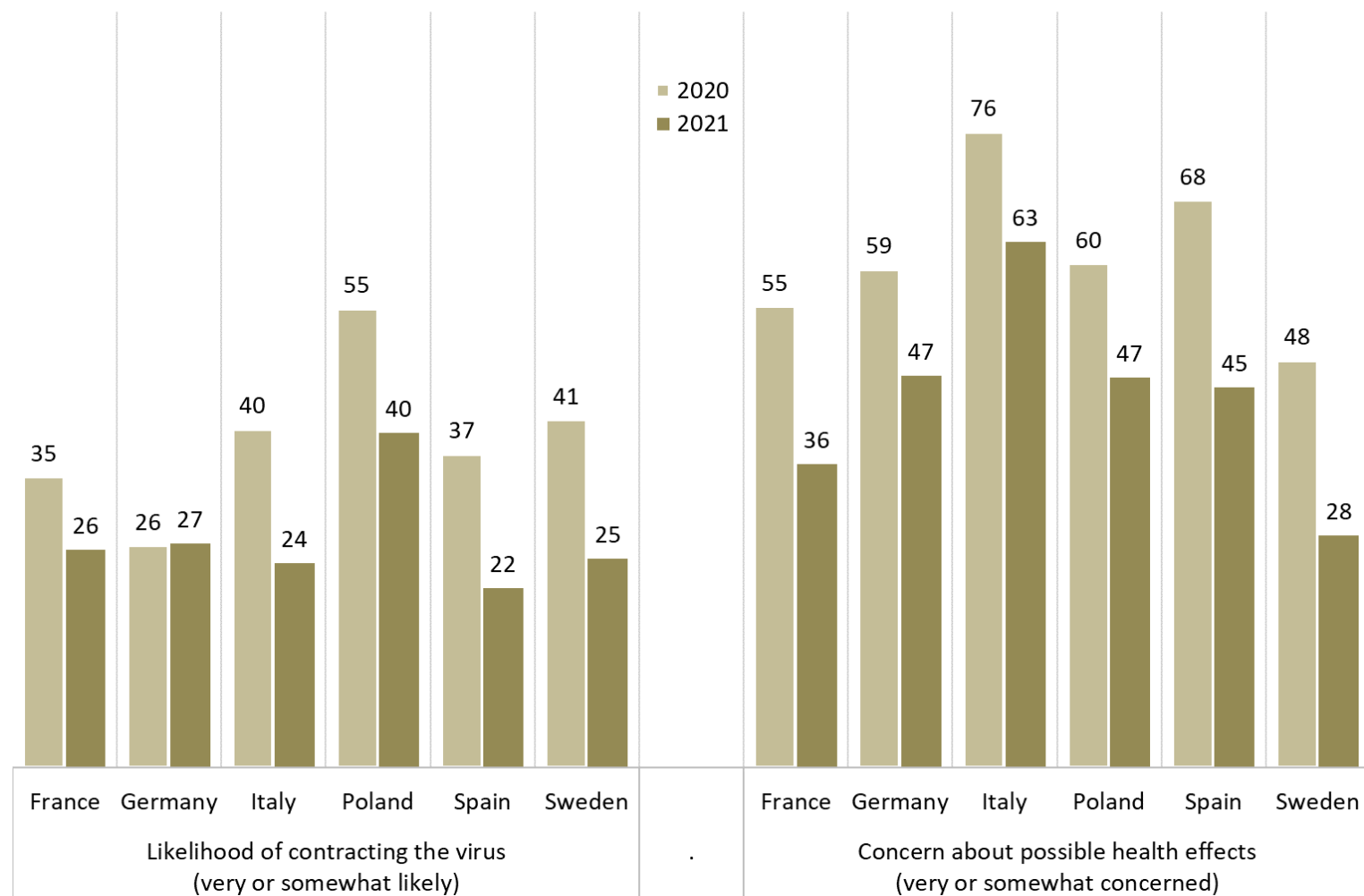
# The perceived impact of the crisis on the personal sphere

## 1. Personal health

In 2020, concerns and perceived likelihood of getting COVID-19 seemed to be related to the different mortality rates from Covid-19 in the countries considered.

In the 2021 wave, the perceived likelihood of getting COVID-19 decreases to around 25% in all countries (except for Poland).

The concern about the possible negative consequences of COVID-19 for the respondents' own health decreases in all countries, although differences between countries are similar to those observed in 2020.



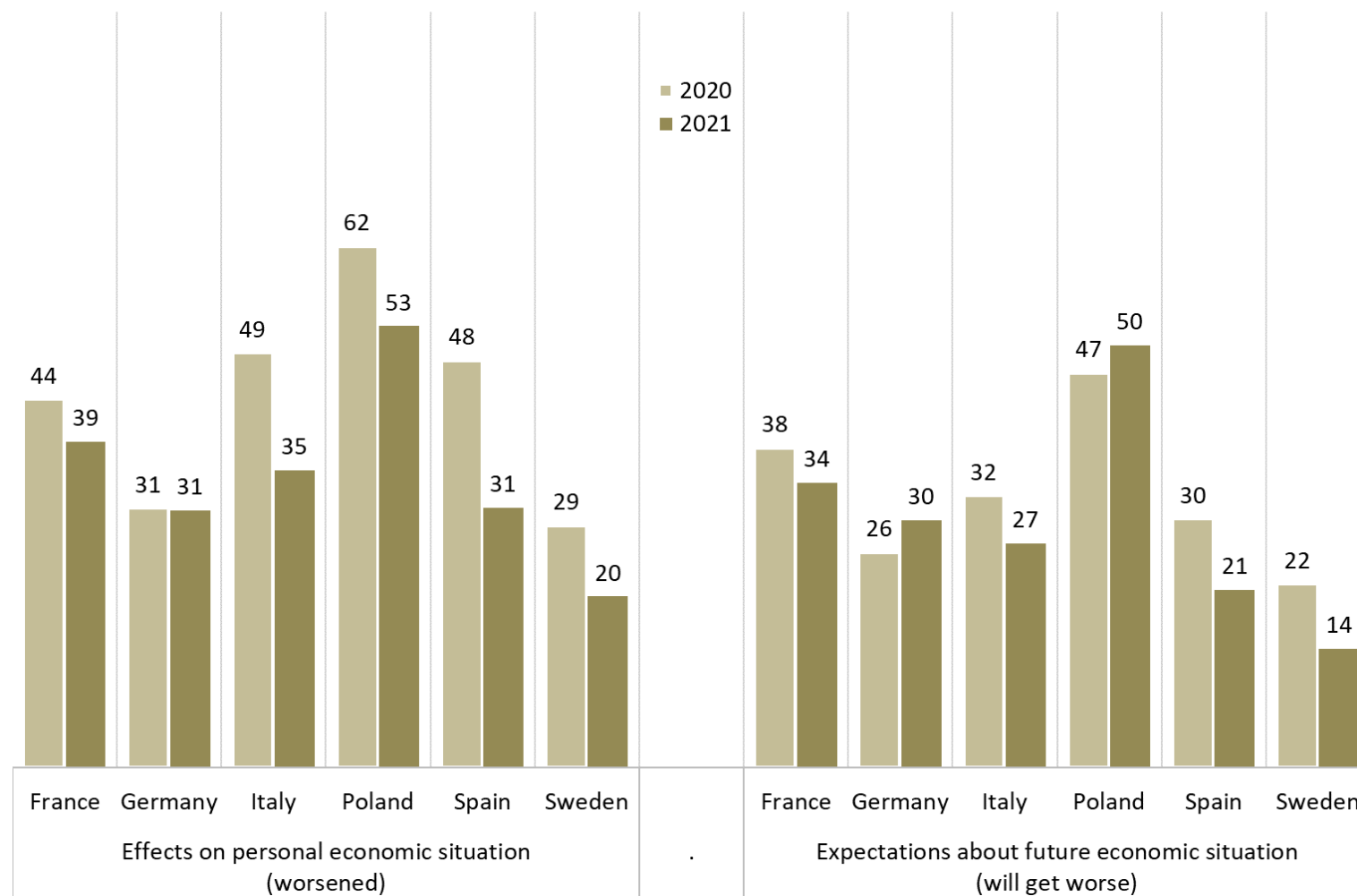
## The perceived impact of the crisis on the personal sphere

### 2. Economic situation

In 2020, the retrospective and prospective economic evaluations related to the COVID-19 crisis were roughly related to the pre-pandemic economic situation in each country.

In 2021 the respondents' views improved everywhere.

Of particular interest is the marked decrease of the perceived negative effects of the pandemic on individual economic situation in Spain and Italy (respectively -17 and -14 percentage points): this is probably due to the economic aids that people received over the last year.





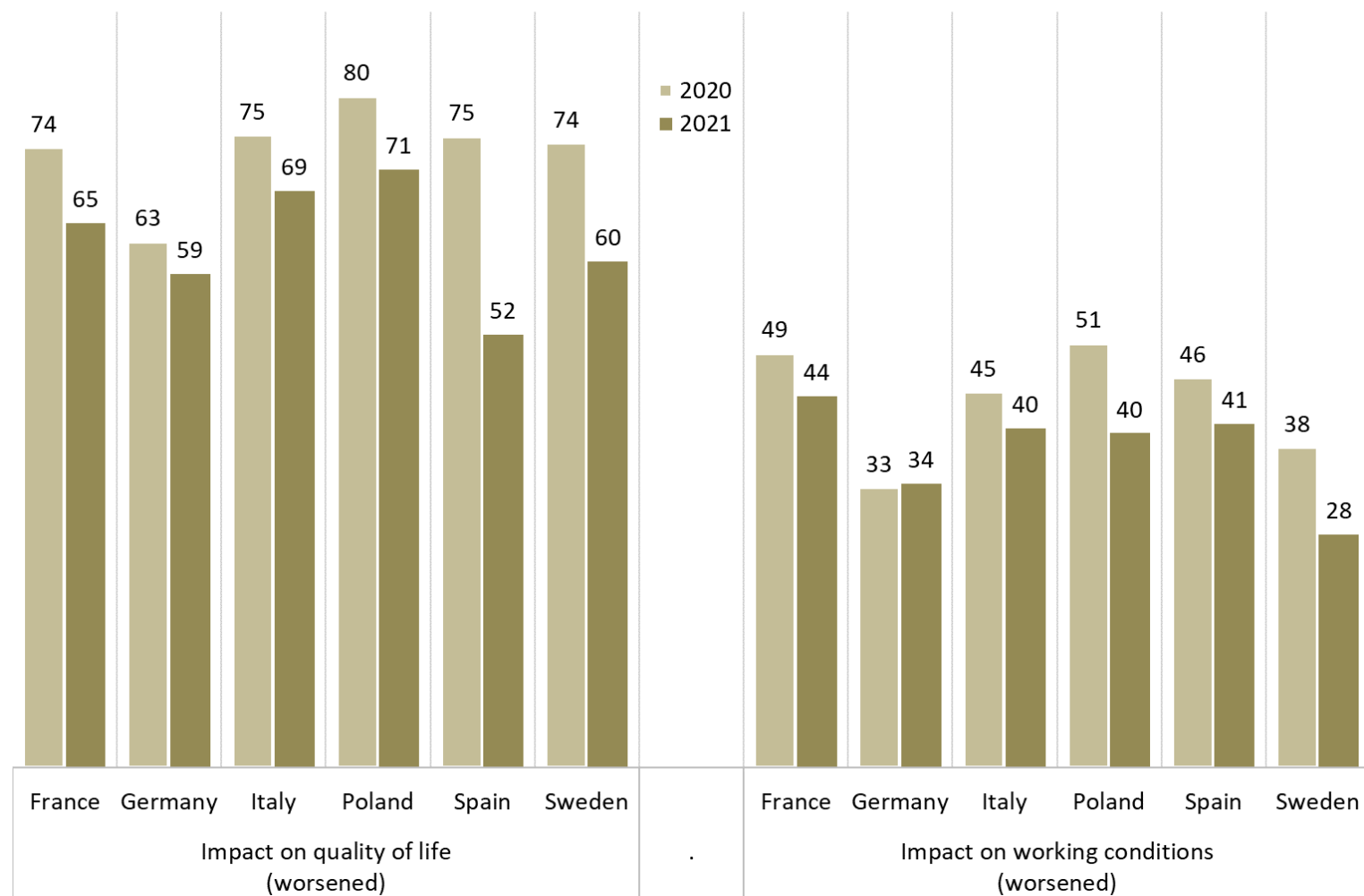
## The perceived impact of the crisis on the personal sphere

### 3. Quality of life and work

In 2020, the negative impact of the COVID-19 pandemic was perceived as particularly severe on one's quality of life. In 2021, we see a decrease in this negative sentiment, especially in Spain and Sweden.

However, on average, 63% of respondents at the end of 2021 say their quality of life has worsened compared to the previous year.

The perceived impact on working conditions is fairly stable, except in Poland and Sweden.





The categories of respondents whose attitudes about the pandemic crisis are highlighted in the following charts and tables

- Gender  
Male | Female
- Age class  
18-34 | 35-59 | 60+
- Education  
Primary | Secondary | Tertiary
- Political self-identification  
Left | Others | Right
- Perceived household well-being  
Living comfortably on present income  
Coping on present income  
Finding it difficult on present income





## How the Covid-19 crisis made the **quality of your life**? | Percentages of “somewhat worse” + “much worse” among each category

Perceptions of deteriorating quality of life are systematically more prevalent among women and those living in economic hardship.

This trend does not change substantially in the 2021 wave.

But while the gender gap narrows, the gap between the most affluent and those in economic distress widens.

															
2020	All	M	F	18-34	35-59	60+	Prim	Sec	Tert	Left	Others	Right	Confort	Coping	Difficult
All countries	73	71	76	71	73	76	71	74	74	76	71	75	67	72	81
France	73	72	74	69	74	75	66	73	77	75	71	73	69	72	78
Germany	62	57	67	62	63	61	59	65	58	67	58	69	54	62	70
Italy	75	72	79	72	75	77	72	75	79	75	75	75	66	74	80
Poland	80	77	84	82	79	80	75	83	79	85	80	77	70	78	93
Spain	76	74	77	74	74	80	76	73	78	74	73	81	69	72	83
Sweden	74	71	77	70	72	80	75	74	75	79	68	73	74	73	80
2021	All	M	F	18-34	35-59	60+	Prim	Sec	Tert	Left	Others	Right	Confort	Coping	Difficult
All countries	63	60	65	63	63	62	62	62	63	64	62	62	49	63	70
France	64	64	65	56	67	68	66	65	63	66	64	63	46	66	72
Germany	58	55	62	65	54	59	58	58	59	64	54	63	50	59	61
Italy	69	65	72	72	71	62	68	70	66	66	70	70	53	69	74
Poland	71	69	73	68	74	70	69	70	75	76	72	65	54	70	79
Spain	52	49	55	55	53	48	53	53	50	49	56	52	34	46	69
Sweden	61	56	65	61	58	63	61	58	63	65	57	59	56	65	66



These gaps also remain well evident at the end of 2021, with the last one widening.

# About 0/10 scales

In this survey, we made extensive use of 0-10 scales to capture respondents' opinions. It is important to know that when faced with a 0-10 scale a significant proportion of respondents tend to place themselves on the midpoint identified by the number 5. They do this for several reasons. In some cases, because they place themselves on an intermediate position, in others because they prefer to avoid making a judgment, or because they do not have a well-defined judgment. In displaying the questions, we have deliberately emphasized that point 5 is the intermediate one, to attract all that kind of respondents to this value.

We also know that respondents with sharper views, on one position or the opposite, use the scale in partially different ways. Some tend to use the extreme positions more often than others even if they are not "extremists." In the following tables we report the most easily interpretable values, comparing the percentages of respondents who place themselves on points from 0 to 4, with those who place themselves on points from 6 to 10.



# Trust . Why it is so important

- Social and institutional trust are constituting elements of the fabric of society. They facilitate social coordination and allow societies to cope with complex problems.
- Social and institutional trust predict people's likelihood to comply with policy measures designed to maximize the collective good, such as containment measures for the Covid-19 pandemic
- Trust in institutions refers to people's belief that public actors will act in the interest of the citizens. It can affect their tendency to "free ride"
- We surveyed both respondents' overall trust in a variety of institutions and their specific assessment of those institutions' performance in managing the pandemic crisis



## On a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust the ....

Consistent with the results of other research conducted over the past year, our data confirm that local governments have a good reputation in all six countries. When it comes to national politics (parties, politicians, parliament) the public normally expresses a lower level of trust.

This is especially true in Italy, Spain and, above all, Poland. On the other hand, we recorded a higher level of trust in the European Parliament than in similar surveys done in previous years in the same countries.

The 2021 wave shows a slight but generalized deterioration of trust in political institutions and especially in the national Parliament, such that even among French and German respondents those who express low trust in their country's Parliament now prevail.

2020	Reg and Loc Gov			National Parliament			European Union		
	Don't (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Trust (6-10)	Don't (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Trust (6-10)	Don't (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Trust (6-10)
All countries	29	19	52	45	15	40	33	18	49
France	20	20	59	36	20	43	37	19	44
Germany	30	21	48	37	17	46	36	21	43
Italy	30	14	56	44	15	41	35	15	50
Poland	37	19	44	70	10	21	30	17	53
Spain	34	20	46	49	17	34	27	19	54
Sweden	22	18	60	31	13	56	34	17	50
2021	Reg and Loc Gov			National Parliament			European Union		
	Don't (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Trust (6-10)	Don't (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Trust (6-10)	Don't (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Trust (6-10)
All countries	32	19	49	48	17	35	36	18	46
France	24	18	58	41	22	37	37	22	41
Germany	37	18	45	43	18	39	41	18	41
Italy	33	18	49	47	16	36	36	16	48
Poland	40	19	41	71	11	18	37	15	49
Spain	36	19	46	48	19	33	28	21	51
Sweden	24	19	57	36	15	49	34	18	48





## On a score of 0-10 how much you personally trust the ....

In 2020, the level of trust in nonpartisan institutions (i.e., which should normally be independent of politics) is quite high in all countries considered. In Sweden it is the highest on all dimensions, while in Poland it is the lowest.

Data collected at the end of 2021 make this pattern even clearer, confirming that it is quite stable over time, and that it is not significantly influenced by contingent circumstances.

	Police			Judicial System			Healthcare System		
2020	Don't (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Trust (6-10)	Don't (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Trust (6-10)	Don't (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Trust (6-10)
All countries	23	14	64	37	15	48	19	13	68
France	21	16	63	35	19	46	13	15	72
Germany	20	14	66	30	16	54	20	16	64
Italy	15	12	73	38	14	48	15	10	74
Poland	45	14	41	53	13	34	42	15	43
Spain	20	16	64	38	17	45	13	14	73
Sweden	17	10	74	30	12	58	13	8	79
2021	Don't (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Trust (6-10)	Don't (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Trust (6-10)	Don't (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Trust (6-10)
All countries	23	14	63	40	17	44	21	14	65
France	21	16	63	37	20	43	12	16	72
Germany	20	14	66	33	17	50	25	16	60
Italy	16	13	71	41	17	43	18	12	69
Poland	42	18	40	52	17	31	41	19	40
Spain	19	14	67	39	18	43	12	13	75
Sweden	18	9	72	35	13	52	16	9	74



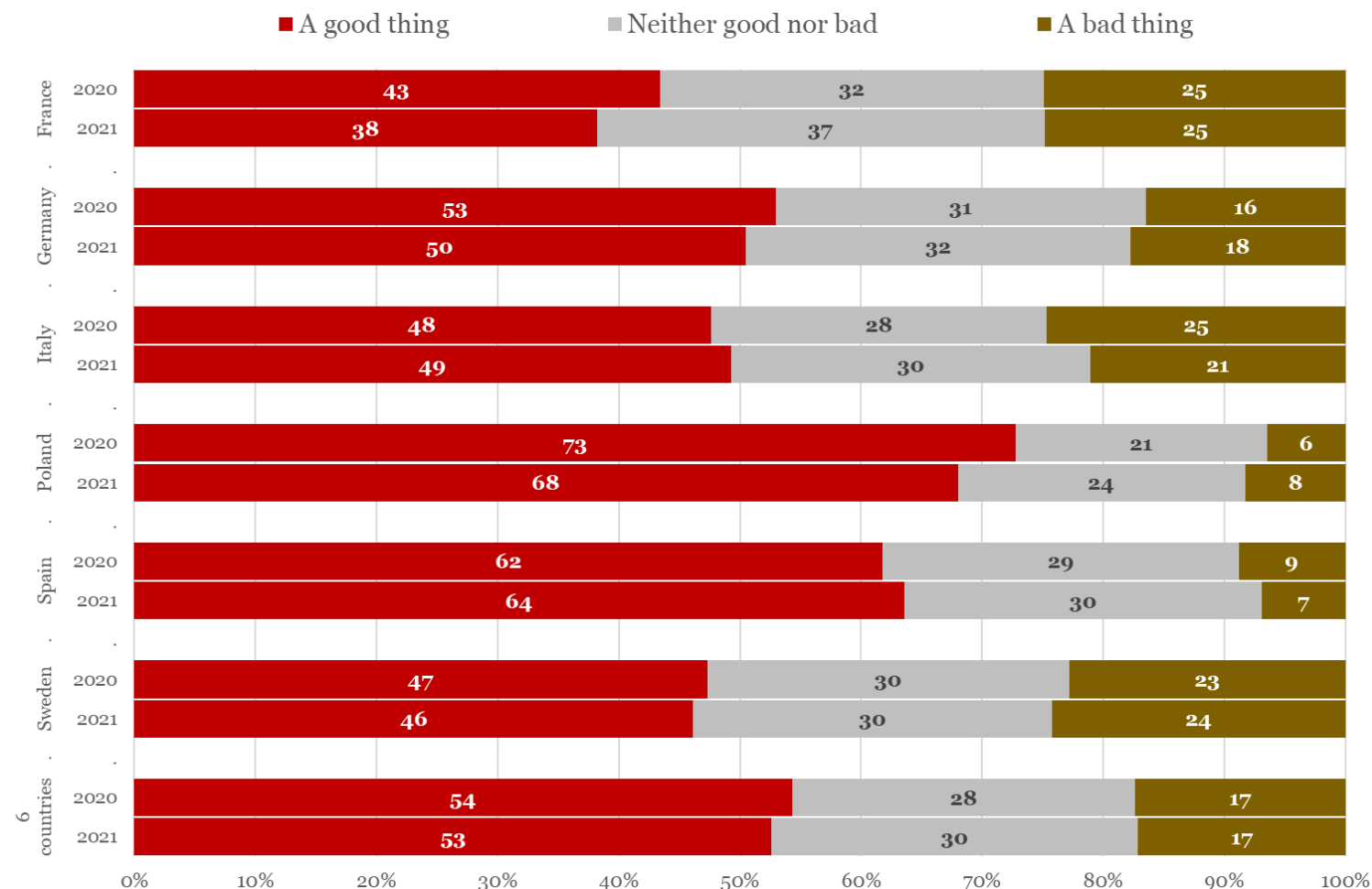


## Do you think that your national's membership of the EU is ...?

Pro-EU attitudes prevail widely in each country.

The 2020 wave reveals a generally positive view towards the EU, with two Euro-enthusiastic countries (Spain and, in particular, Poland).

The pattern does not change substantially in 2021.



## How do you evaluate the way the ..... protects the citizens' health against Covid-19?

In 2020, positive judgments for the health care system and local governments clearly prevail in almost all European countries, albeit to varying degrees.

The exception is, once again, Poland, where negative judgments clearly prevail.

It is worth noting that in 2021 we even see a slight improvement in the assessment of the action taken by these institutions.

2020	Reg and Loc Gov			Healthcare System		
	Negative (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Positive (6-10)	Negative (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Positive (6-10)
All countries	32	21	47	24	17	60
France	26	25	49	20	21	59
Germany	25	22	53	20	23	57
Italy	26	17	57	15	13	72
Poland	44	21	35	50	14	36
Spain	36	19	45	22	16	62
Sweden	36	20	44	15	14	72
2021	Reg and Loc Gov			Healthcare System		
	Negative (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Positive (6-10)	Negative (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Positive (6-10)
All countries	28	22	50	23	18	59
France	24	25	51	22	25	54
Germany	30	25	45	28	23	49
Italy	22	17	61	16	14	70
Poland	41	23	36	43	16	41
Spain	24	19	56	16	14	70
Sweden	27	20	52	13	15	72



## How do you evaluate the way the ..... protects the citizens' health against Covid-19?

We see a stable prevalence of positive judgments about the action taken by the national governments to protect public health in almost all countries (with, again, the sole exception of Poland).

Spanish respondents' assessment of the national government improves significantly in 2021 (positive ratings increase by 12 percentage points).

In 2020, we did not survey the public assessment of the EU's performance on health protection. We did so in 2021, after the EU played a key role in the vaccine procurement process. Overall, it appears that this role played by EU institutions is widely acknowledged by European citizens.

National government			
2020	Negative (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Positive (6-10)
All countries	37	17	45
France	33	22	45
Germany	26	21	53
Italy	28	16	56
Poland	57	12	32
Spain	42	17	40
Sweden	38	16	45

2021	Negative (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Positive (6-10)	Negative (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Positive (6-10)
All countries	32	19	49	28	27	45
France	27	21	51	29	29	42
Germany	30	25	45	32	30	38
Italy	20	16	64	25	23	52
Poland	50	16	34	32	24	44
Spain	31	17	52	22	22	56
Sweden	31	18	51	27	33	41



## How do you evaluate the measures taken by the ..... to **protect the economy** under the pandemic crisis?

In late 2020, with the notable exception of Poland and Spain, the respondents tend to evaluate the National Government in a positive way. Also in this case, Spanish respondents' evaluation of the government improves in 2021.

The European Union has succeeded in overturning the austere and unforgiving image given during and after the Great Recession. In addition, people are generally optimistic in evaluating the Next Generation EU program.

2020	National Government			European Union		
	Negative (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Positive (6-10)	Negative (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Positive (6-10)
All countries	39	20	41	30	27	43
France	30	22	48	31	29	41
Germany	27	25	48	27	31	42
Italy	38	19	43	33	20	47
Poland	61	11	28	34	21	45
Spain	48	19	32	33	26	41
Sweden	28	23	48	24	35	41

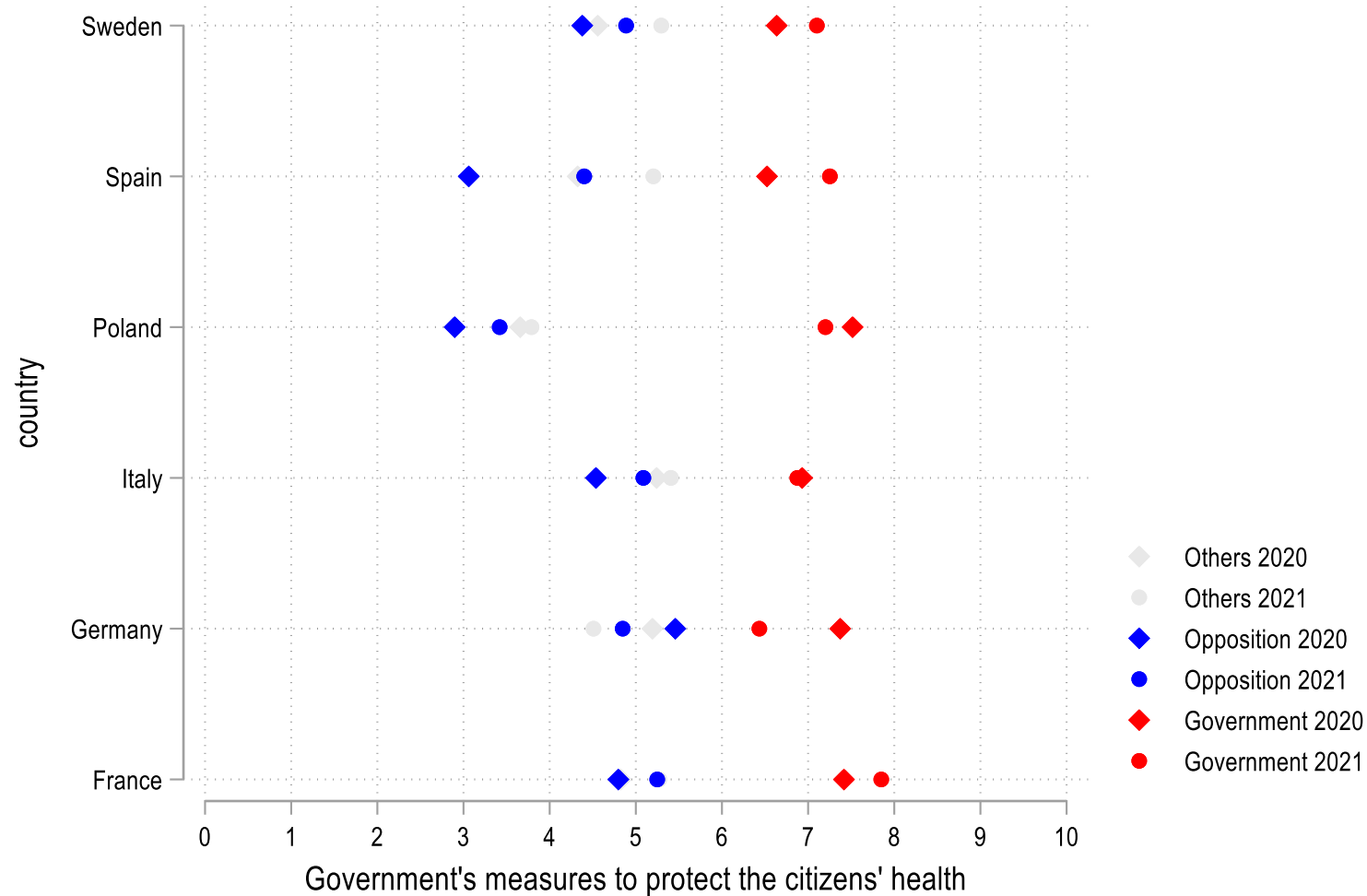
2021	National Government			European Union		
	Negative (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Positive (6-10)	Negative (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Positive (6-10)
All countries	34	22	43	29	29	42
France	28	24	48	29	32	39
Germany	32	28	41	32	32	36
Italy	30	22	48	28	25	47
Poland	55	16	29	37	24	39
Spain	38	20	42	26	25	49
Sweden	24	26	51	23	38	39

How do you evaluate the actions taken by the European Union to modernize economies and societies, even after the pandemic, through the program called *Next Generation EU*?



2020	National Government			European Union		
	Negative (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Positive (6-10)	Negative (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Positive (6-10)
All countries	25	36	39	25	36	39
France	26	39	35	26	39	35
Germany	30	36	34	30	36	34
Italy	20	32	48	20	32	48
Poland	31	31	39	31	31	39
Spain	21	33	46	21	33	46
Sweden	23	45	32	23	45	32



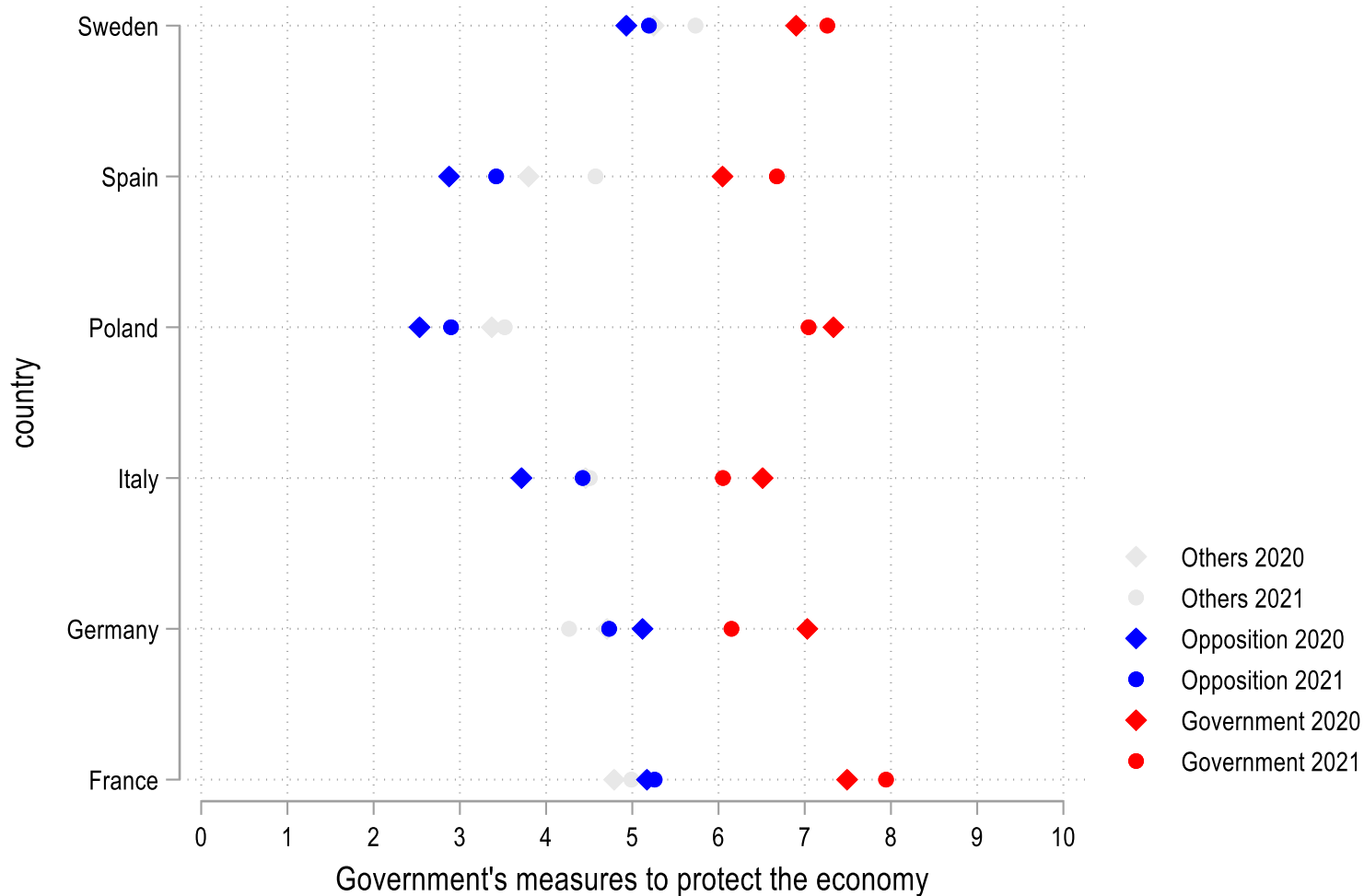


Not surprisingly, people who support a party in government rate the government's performance better. What matters here, is how polarized is the assessment of opposition parties' supporters. ...

## The national government's measures to protect the citizens' health

Average position per country and political leaning





... Government/opposition polarization remains high in Poland, while it declines slightly in Spain, where positive views of the Sánchez government have increased among voters of all political leanings.

## The national government's measures to protect the economy

Average position per country and political leaning



*During a pandemic, better to do everything to **preserve public health** or better to preserve individual liberty?*

*Better to do everything to **preserve public health** or better to **protect jobs**?*

In 2020, governments and citizens faced a difficult short-term dilemma between protecting health on the one hand and protecting individual freedoms or jobs on the other.

In the 2020 wave, we found that the prevailing view among citizens was that, when forced to choose, health protection should come before protection of individual liberties (with the notable exception of France). The prevalence of one view over the other was less clear when it came to the economy and job loss.

	Health vs Freedom			Health vs Jobs		
	Health (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Freedom (6-10)	Health (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Jobs (6-10)
2020						
All countries	42	23	35	34	27	39
France	33	27	39	29	30	41
Germany	39	26	35	35	30	36
Italy	46	21	33	36	28	37
Poland	38	25	37	24	24	52
Spain	45	23	32	38	28	34
Sweden	49	19	32	42	25	33





*Has the government taken excessive measures to protect health or liberty, or has it kept the right balance?*

*Has the government taken excessive measures to protect health or jobs, or has it kept the right balance?*

With the exception of Sweden and Spain, there was a preponderance of criticism of health protection restrictions that were considered excessive, to the detriment of individual freedom or employment.

In Sweden, there was the highest percentage of citizens perceiving the government as overly concerned with protecting individual freedoms and economic activity at the expense of health.

However, it is worth noting that the percentage of respondents who felt that the government kept "the right balance" was strong in all countries (again, except Poland).

2020	Health vs Freedom			Health vs Jobs		
	Excessive cautions for health	Right balance	Excessive cautions for freedom	Excessive cautions for health	Right balance	Excessive cautions for jobs
All countries	29	44	27	33	45	22
France	30	43	26	32	43	25
Germany	29	51	20	31	53	16
Italy	25	52	23	34	51	15
Poland	51	29	20	54	29	17
Spain	27	44	28	30	47	23
Sweden	12	44	44	14	48	38



Did the public money spent against the crisis go **more to the rich or the poor?**

Were decisions against the spread of the virus made **in adherence to or contrary to the constitution?**

Did the pandemic **increase solidarity or divisions** among people?

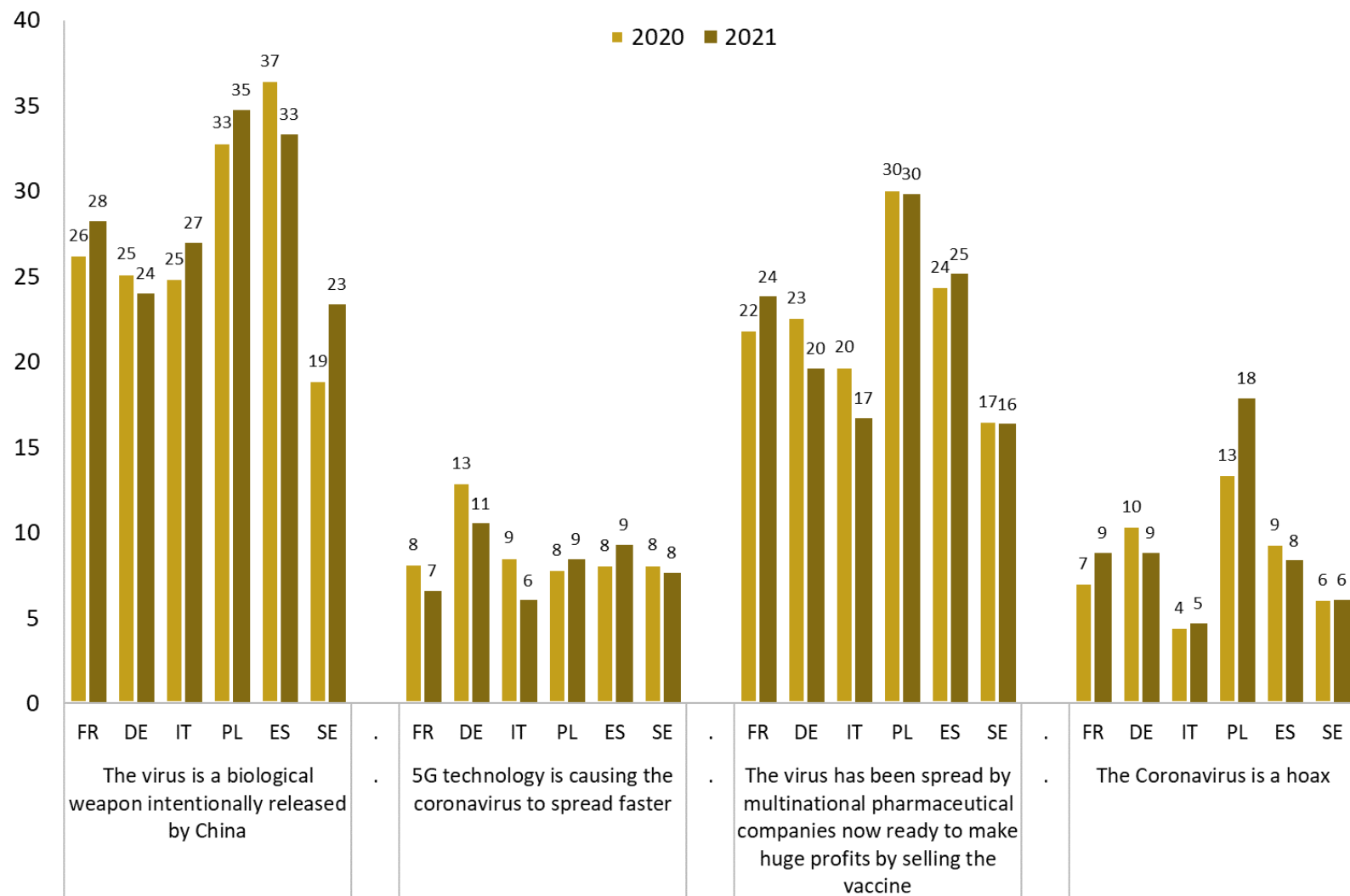
The clearly prevailing perception is that economic measures against the crisis have raised inequality. ... That counter measures have been taken by forcing the democratic process (Sweden's exception in 2020 is reabsorbed). ... That the pandemic has deepened divisions between people.

This pattern remains stable in 2021, with the percentage of respondents expressing pessimistic views increasing in all three dimensions across all 6 countries.

	Inequalities			Democratic balances			Social cohesion		
	Poor (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Rich (6-10)	Const. (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Unconst. (6-10)	Solidar (0-4)	Mid/NN (5)	Divisions (6-10)
2020									
All countries	16	36	48	28	31	40	27	26	47
France	17	40	43	24	40	36	25	31	43
Germany	15	39	46	30	33	37	25	30	46
Italy	17	33	50	31	28	41	25	21	54
Poland	15	32	54	18	17	65	25	20	55
Spain	18	34	48	31	33	36	33	25	43
Sweden	13	39	48	36	37	27	30	30	40
2021									
All countries	12	33	54	25	30	45	21	26	53
France	11	35	54	17	40	44	19	31	50
Germany	12	34	54	25	32	43	15	26	59
Italy	14	30	56	33	25	42	20	20	61
Poland	14	31	55	20	20	61	15	24	61
Spain	14	31	55	23	30	47	28	26	46
Sweden	10	37	53	31	34	35	31	28	40



## Percentage of respondents saying it is true



Generally, a remarkably stable phenomenon. The belief that the pandemic was caused by China slightly grows in every country, except for Germany and Spain.

## Conspiracy theories about the pandemic

Less than 10% of the respondents now believe that Covid-19 is a hoax, except for Polish respondents



Consistently over time, endorsement of Covid-19 conspiracy theories is more common among women, younger and low educated people, those who position themselves on the right, and people who are experiencing economic difficulties.

# Vaccination hesitancy

*How likely is that you will get vaccinated against Covid-19?*

Percentage of “Very unlikely” (2020); “Unlikely” + “Very unlikely” (2021)

Among the unvaccinated, people refusing vaccination has declined in all countries.

Of course, one must consider that when we conducted the first survey, no vaccine had been officially approved, while 80% of the second wave respondents were already vaccinated.

The social groups most likely to refuse vaccination remain women, younger, less educated, and those facing economic hardship.

2020	All	M	F	18-34	35-59	60+	Prim	Sec	Tert	Left	Others	Right	Confort	Coping	Dificult	
All countries	22	19	26	28	24	14	26	22	20	17	27	23	21	20	27	
France	34	24	43	38	38	24	39	35	28	26	45	25	25	31	42	
Germany	22	20	23	29	26	11	28	22	17	16	22	27	25	14	31	
Italy	19	18	19	17	22	15	24	15	18	12	22	21	14	18	23	
Poland	28	19	36	39	28	11	26	28	29	24	33	25	34	26	26	
Spain	12	11	14	18	11	9	15	12	10	6	17	16	13	8	16	
Sweden	20	20	20	24	20	16	23	21	17	16	24	21	16	23	25	
2021	All	M	F	18-34	35-59	60+	Prim	Sec	Tert	Left	Others	Right	Confort	Coping	Dificult	
All countries	13	11	14	16	13	8	15	13	10	9	15	13	8	11	18	
France	13	9	17	15	14	10	15	13	11	15	14	9	3	11	19	
Germany	14	11	17	22	14	9	19	15	9	11	15	15	9	11	19	
Italy	10	9	11	11	11	7	11	9	8	5	12	12	7	8	14	
Poland	25	22	28	33	25	14	29	25	22	11	30	28	19	23	30	
Spain	4	5	2	3	4	4	3	4	4	3	4	6	1	5	4	
Sweden	10	9	11	12	12	5	13	10	9	7	13	10	7	8	20	



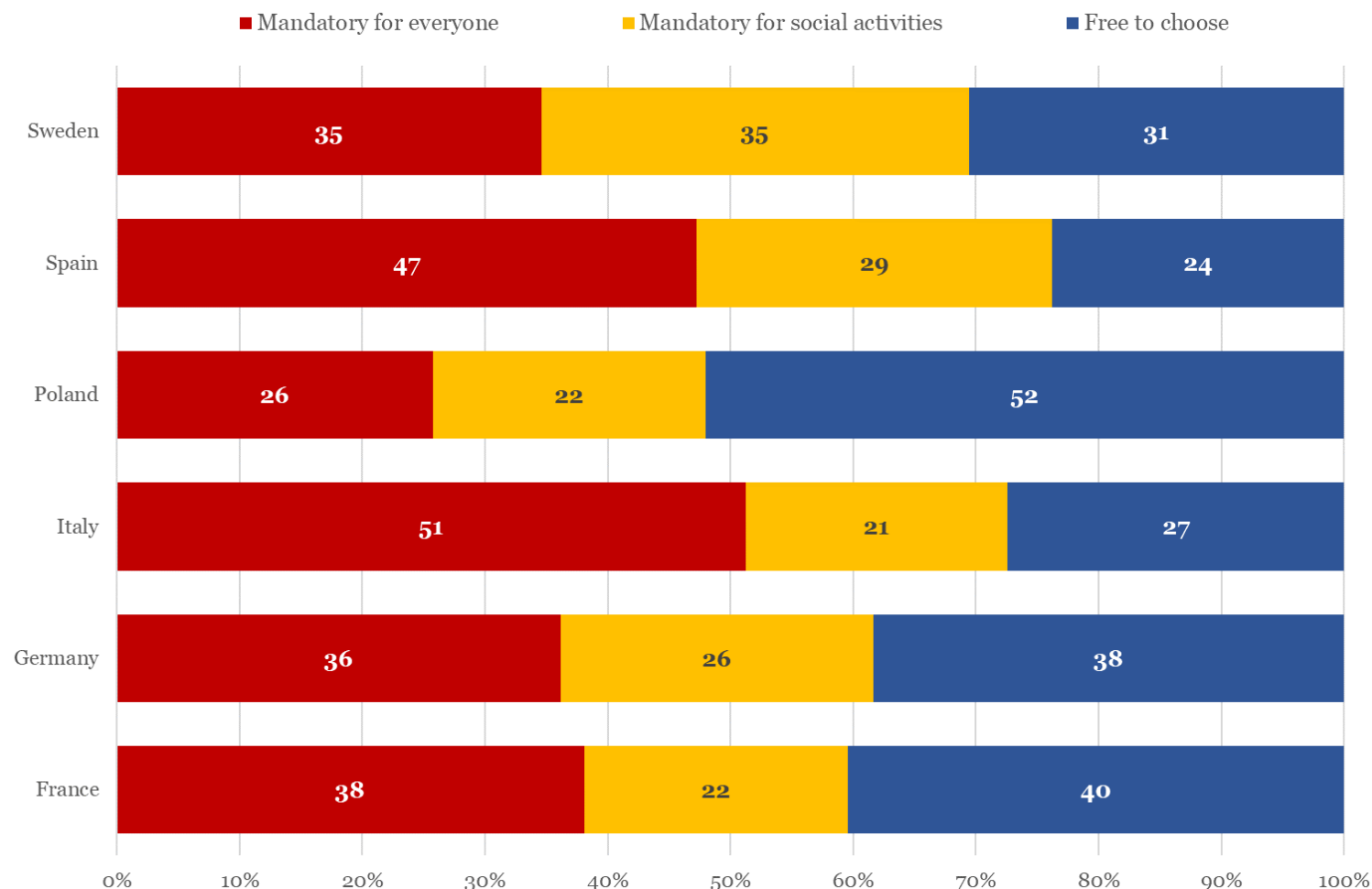


# Vaccination should be **mandatory**, or people should be free to choose?

Most respondents in all countries apart from Poland believe that the Covid-19 vaccination should be mandatory at least to access public places and social activities.

In Italy and Spain, the countries which were hit the hardest during the first wave of the pandemic, about half of the respondents believe that the vaccination should be mandatory for everyone.

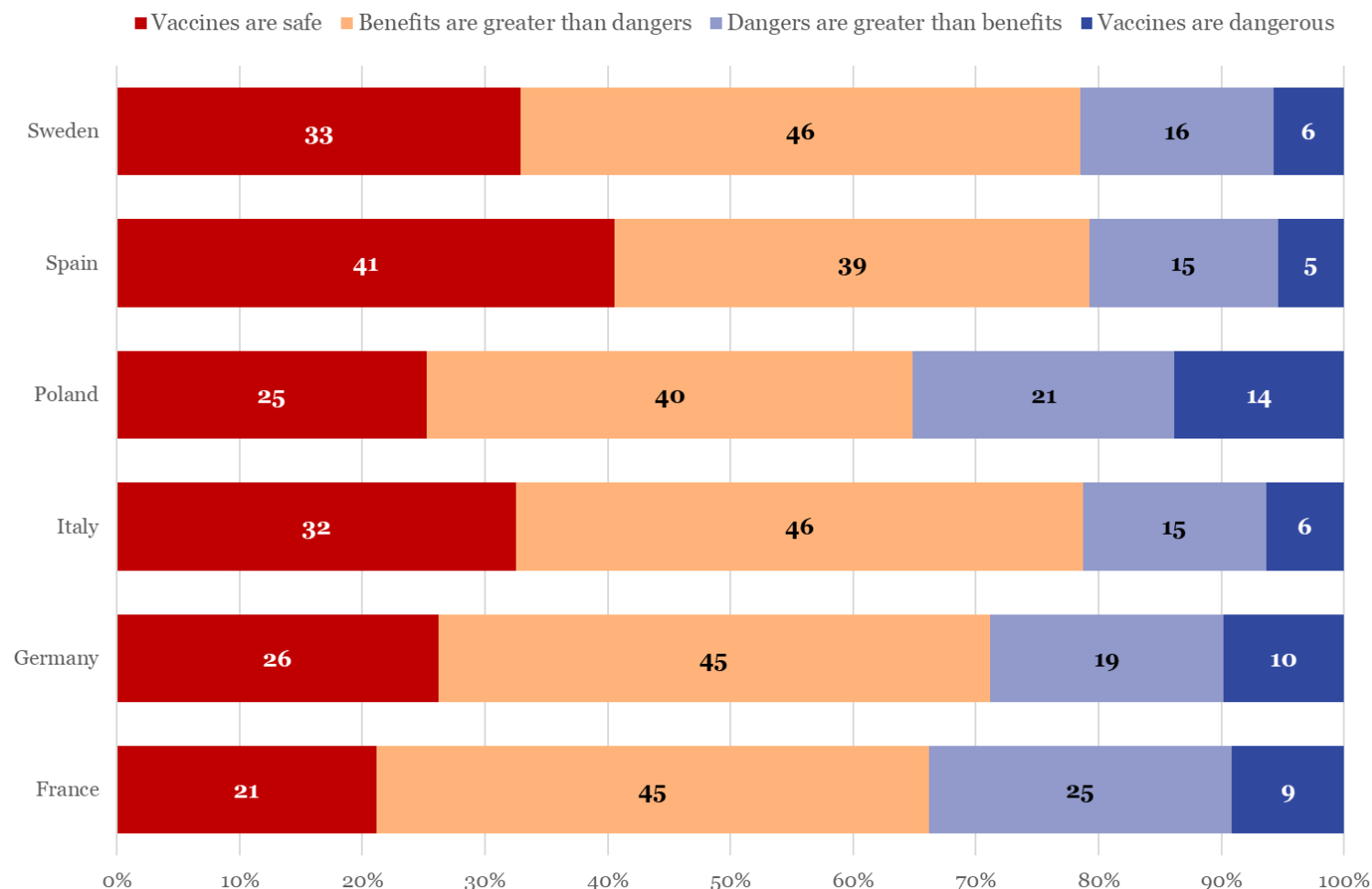
Polish respondents are the most “pro-choice” when it gets to vaccinations.



# Vaccines are safe or dangerous?

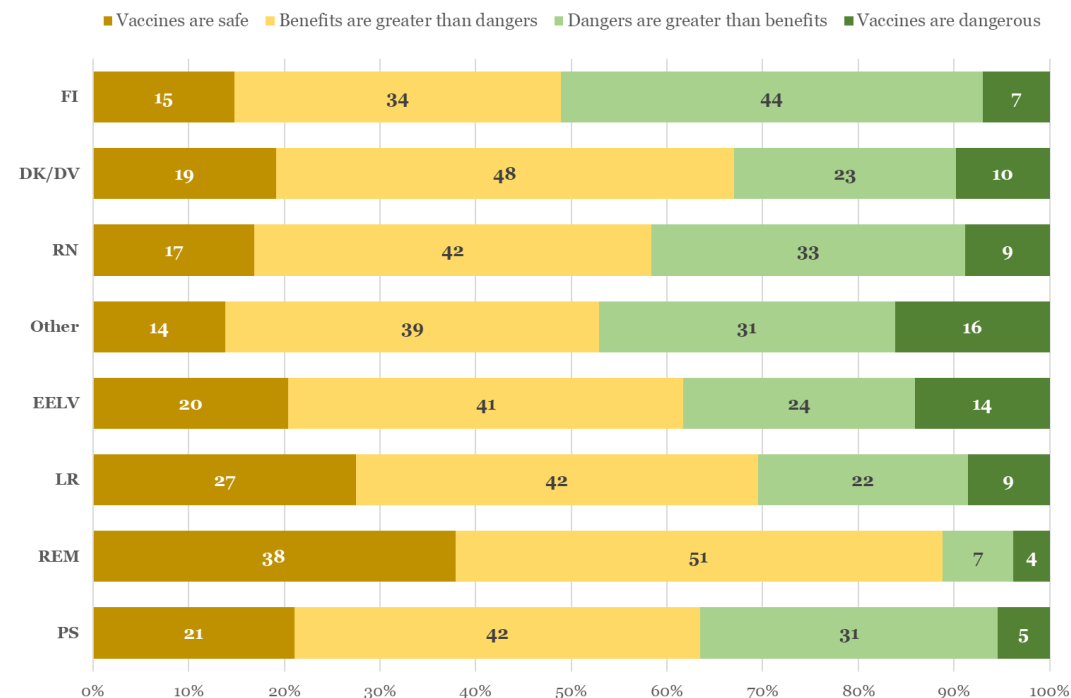
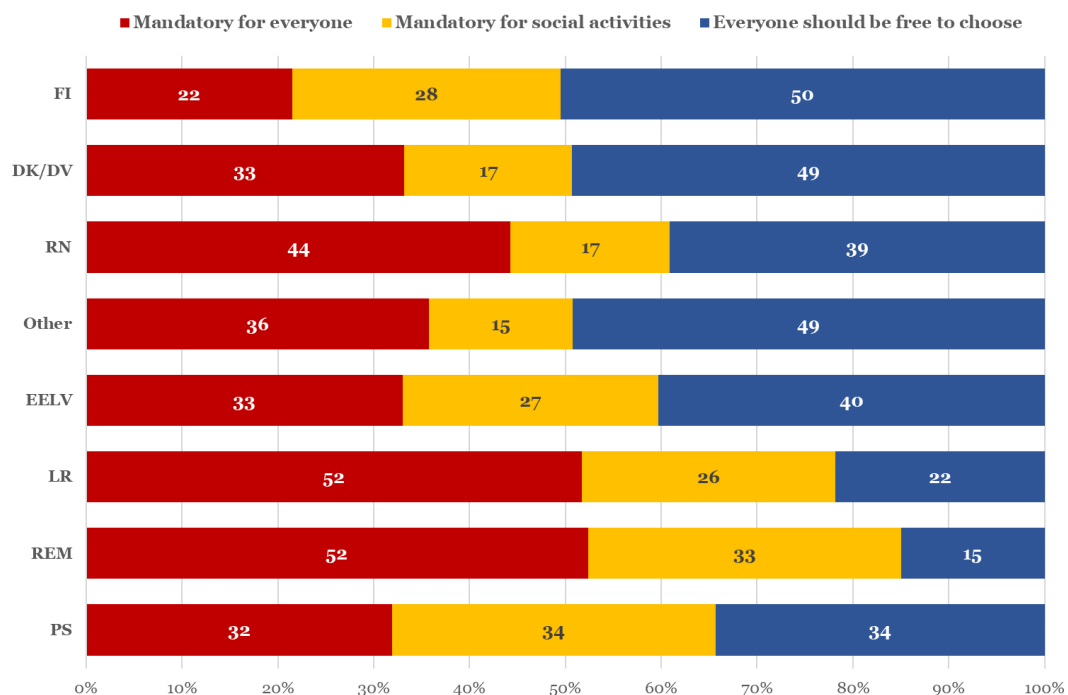
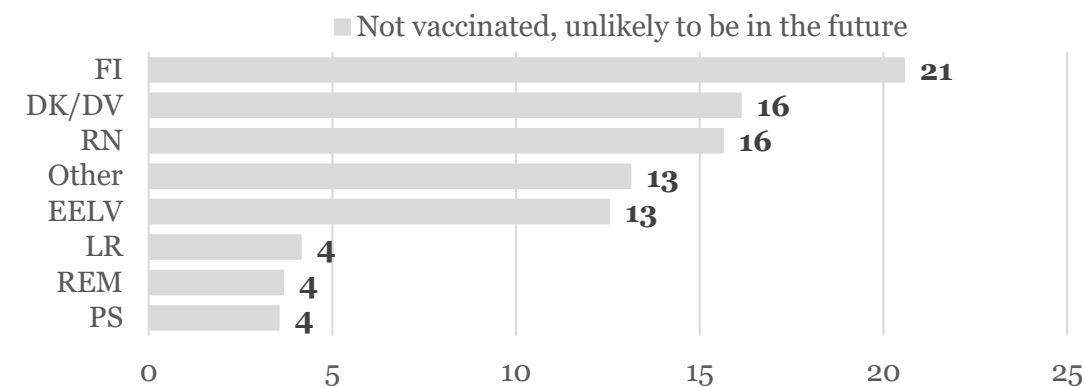
A percentage of respondents ranging from 5 (Spain) to 14 (Poland) believe vaccines are dangerous, although a not insignificant percentage believe the dangers outweigh the benefits.

In no country do a majority of respondents express full confidence in vaccines.

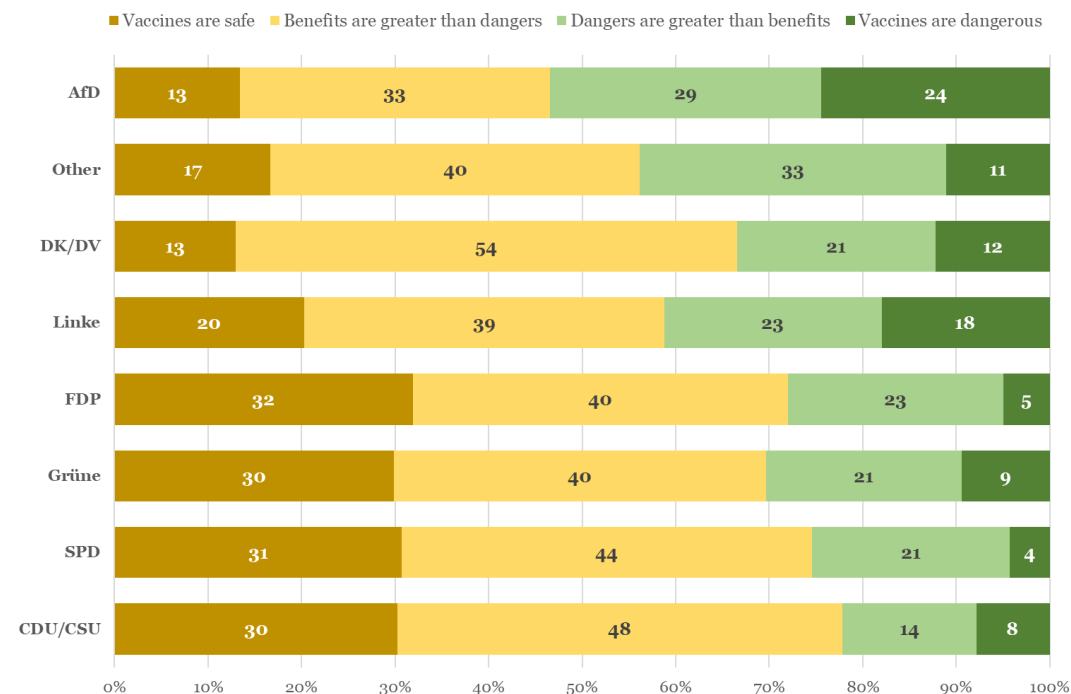
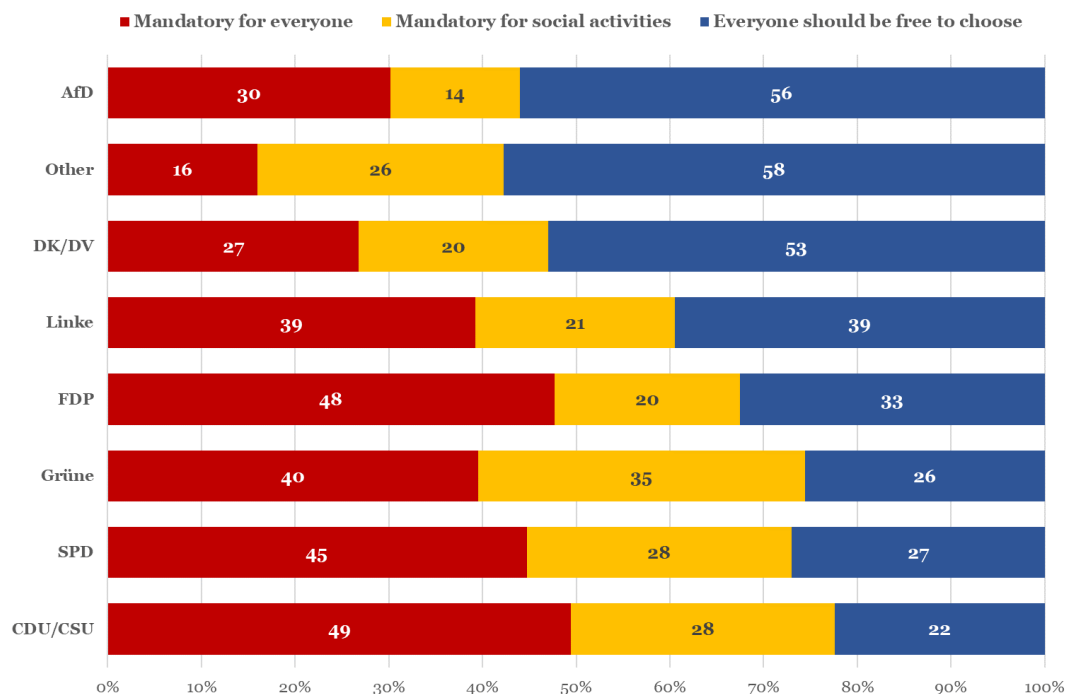
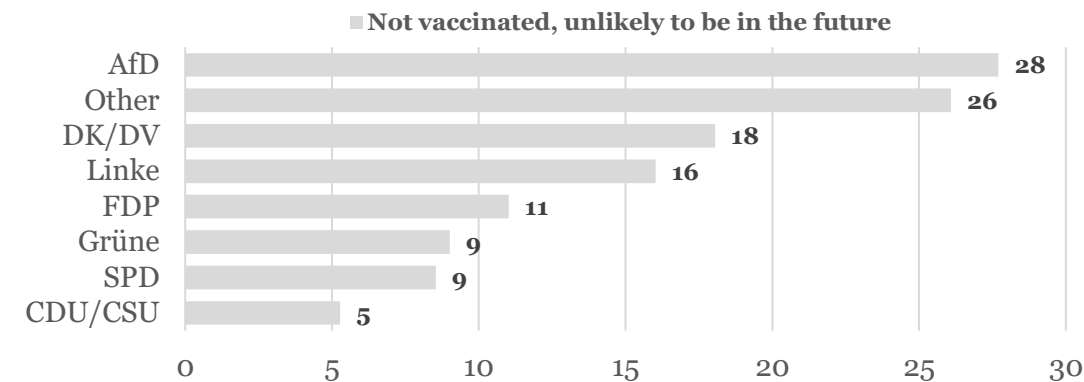




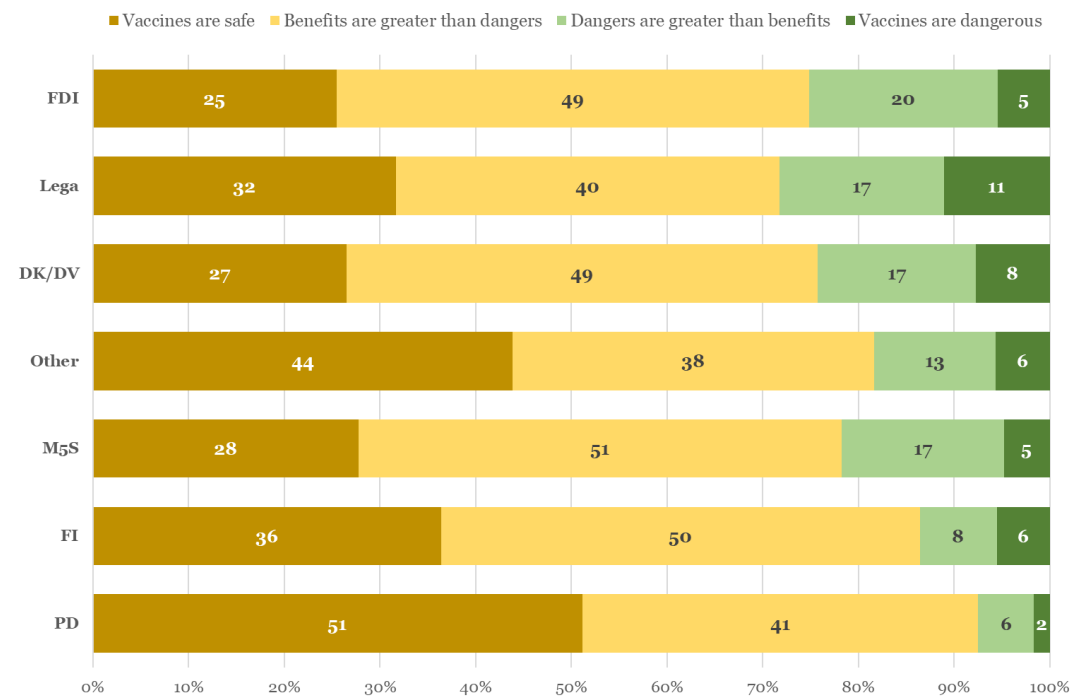
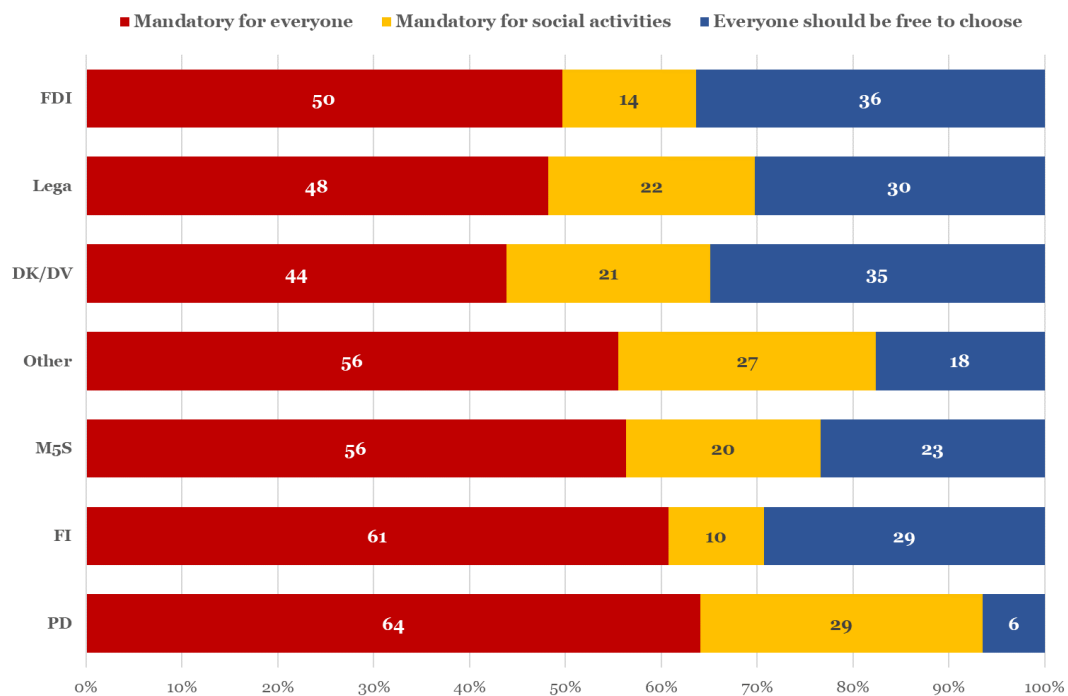
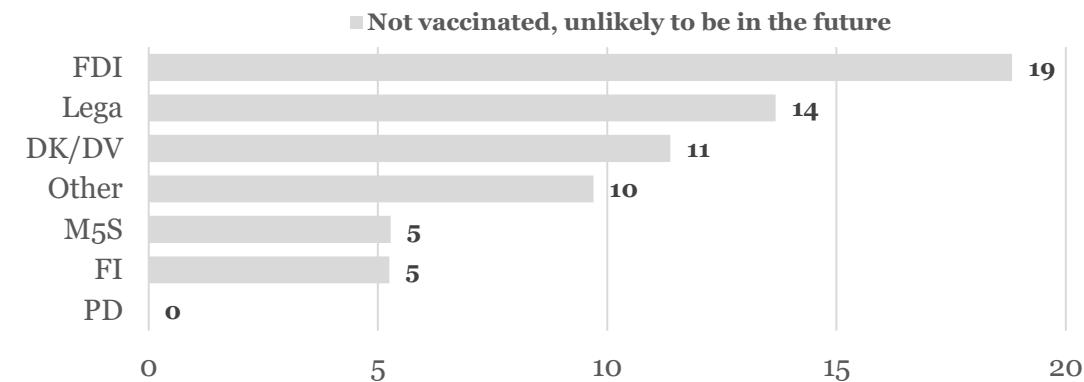
# Vaccination hesitancy and party preference in France



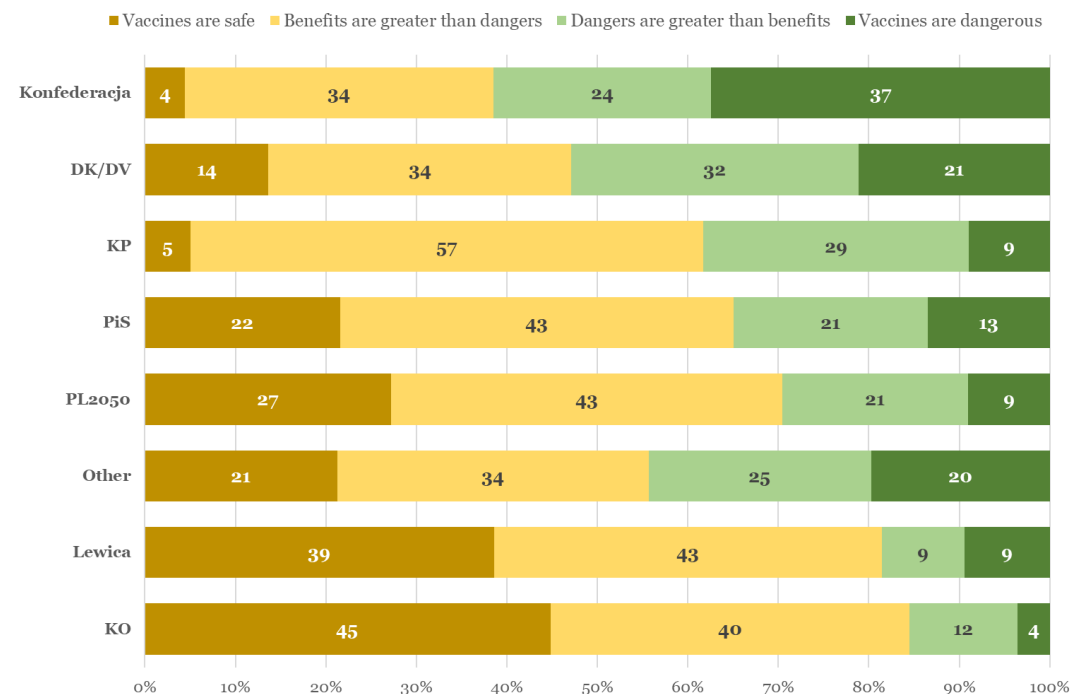
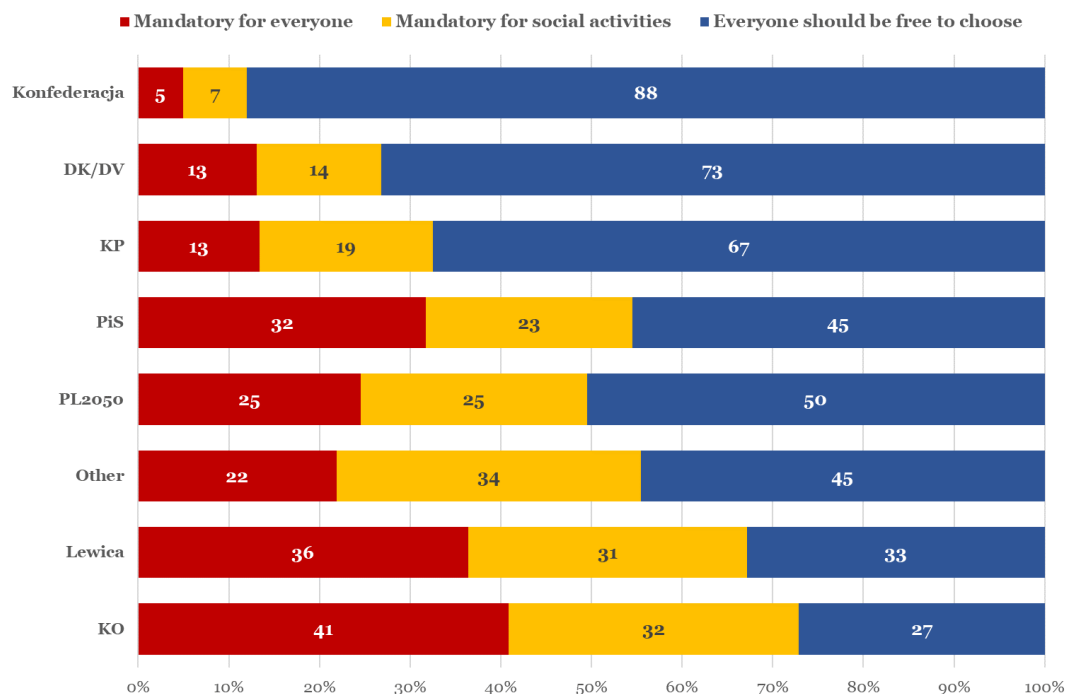
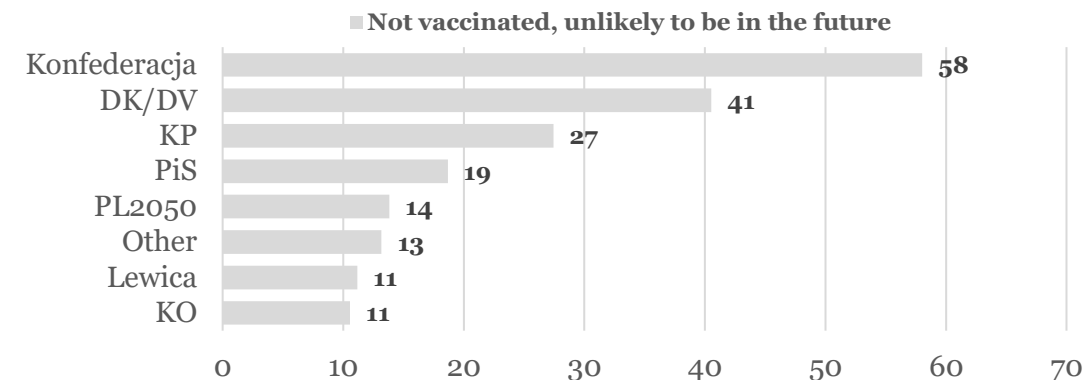
# Vaccination hesitancy and party preference in Germany



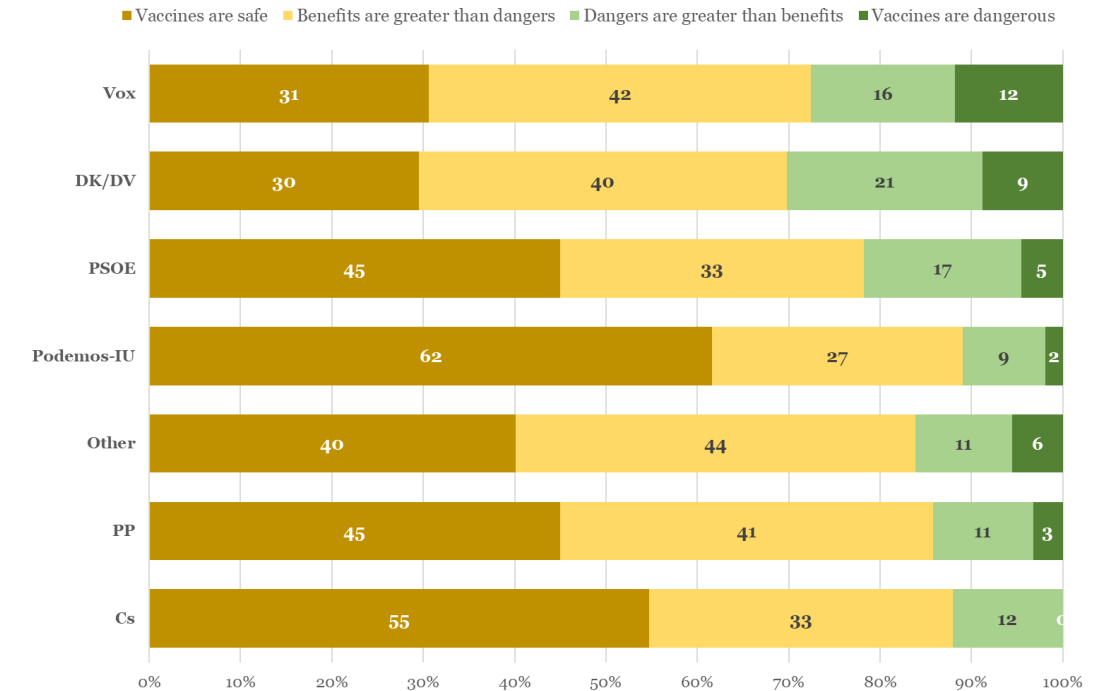
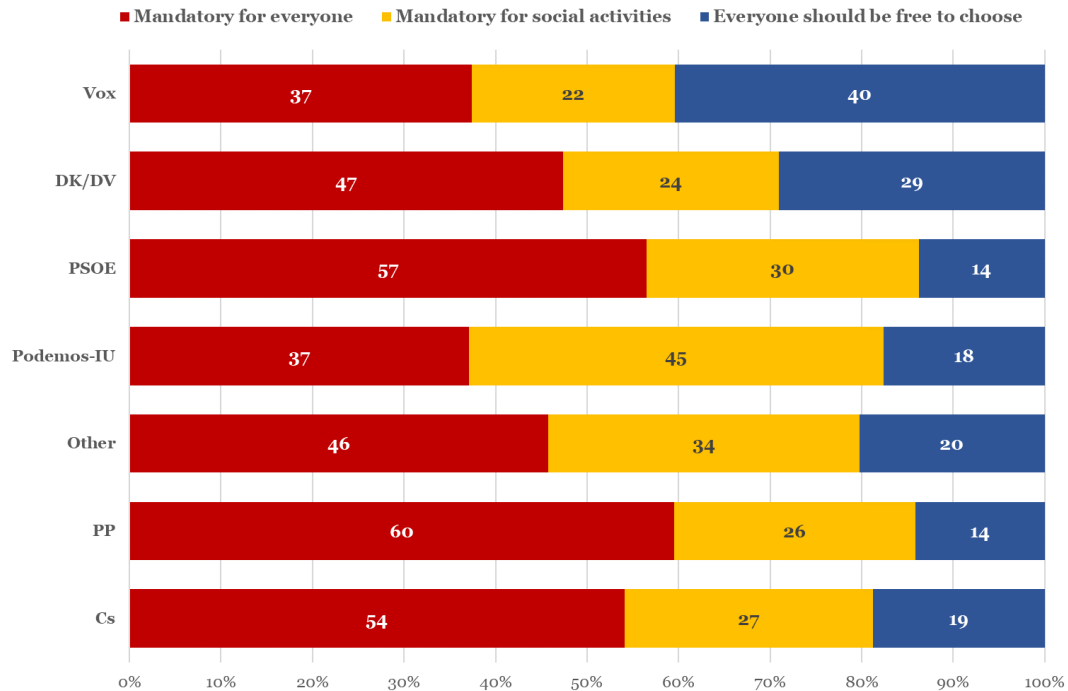
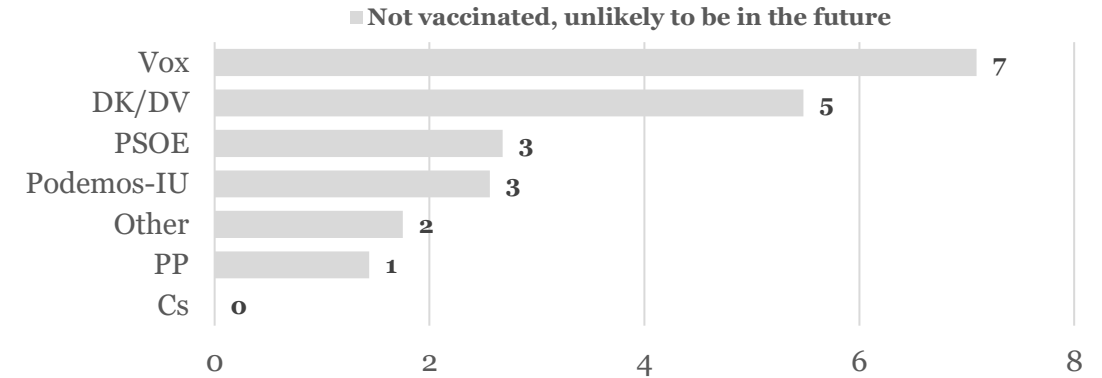
# Vaccination hesitancy and party preference in Italy



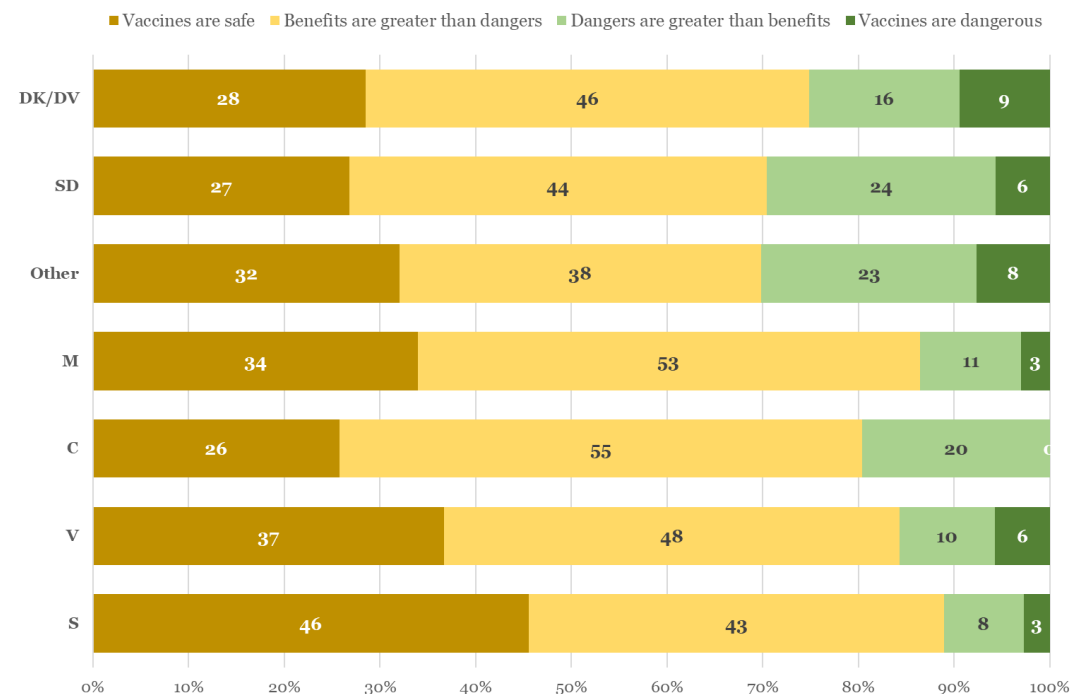
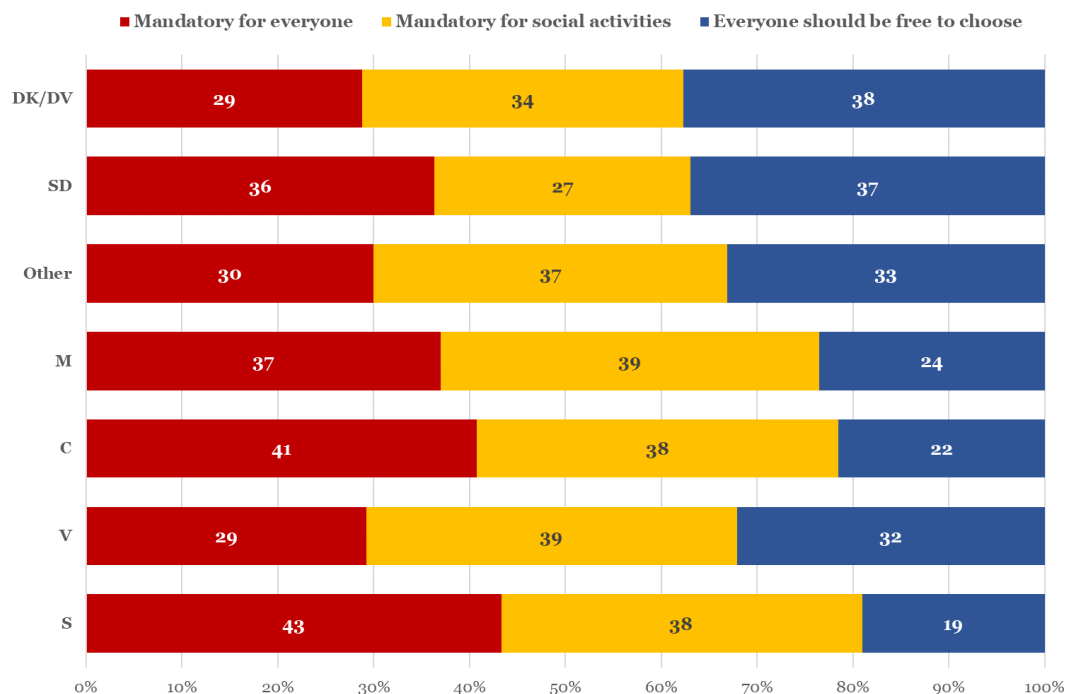
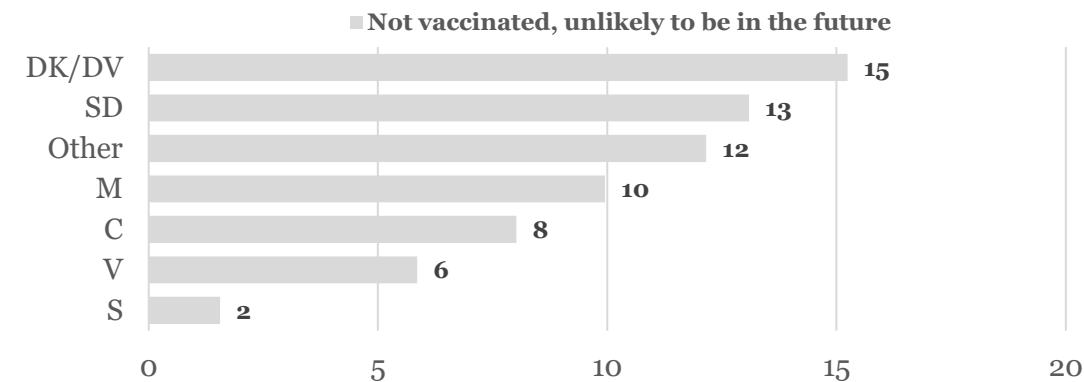
# Vaccination hesitancy and party preference in Poland

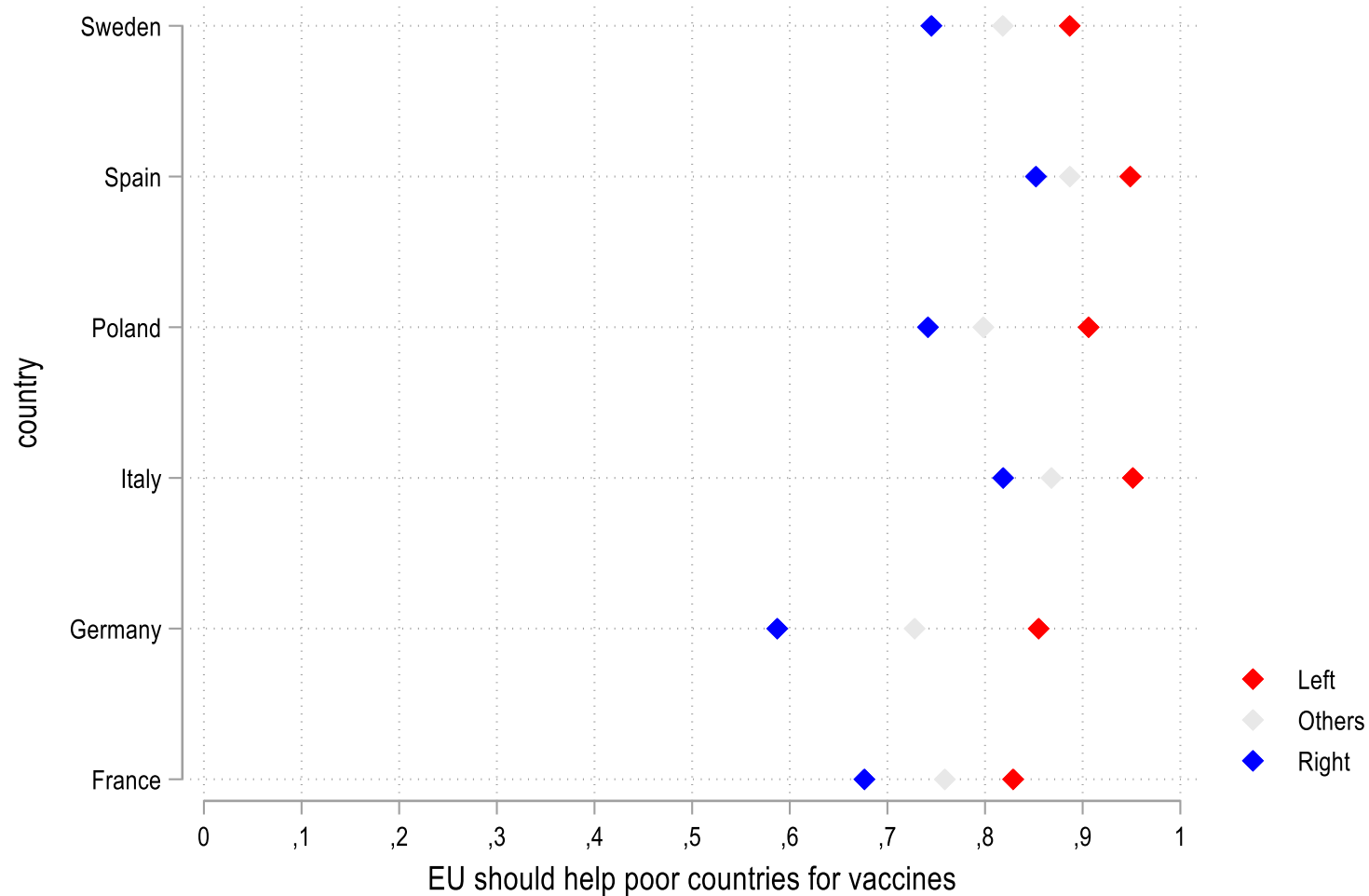


# Vaccination hesitancy and party preference in Spain



# Vaccination hesitancy and party preference in Sweden



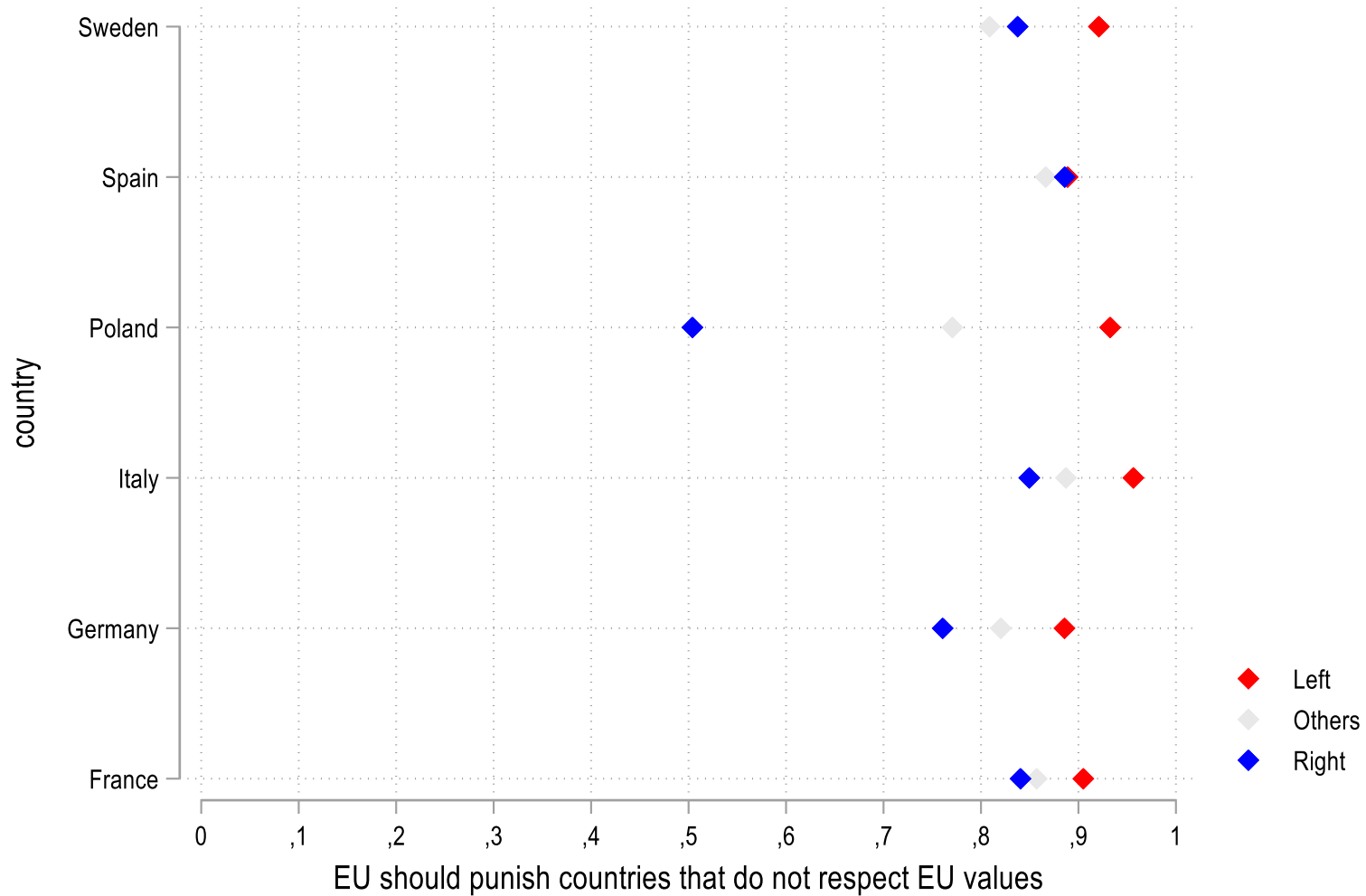


The EU  
should help  
poor  
countries

Average position per  
country and political  
leaning







EU should only provide funds to Member States that respect the rule of law and democratic principles

Average position per country and political leaning



# Why measuring friendship among states

- The European project will be stronger the more citizens of different countries trust each other, overcoming historical prejudices.
- The European project will also be stronger if there are shared visions about who Europe's potential allies are and the countries toward which it is reasonable to be cautious.
- The underlying question of this section is in what direction the Covid-19 crisis and its handling by European institutions might influence the European public's perception of who are "friends and enemies."
- These attitudes, sometimes the result of prejudice, usually change slowly over time.
- The survey data show that southern countries are viewed more benignly, Poland more suspiciously, probably because of the positions held by its current government. When it comes to great powers, we see big differences in the way Germans and Spaniards look at the United States and the way Italians view Putin's Russia. The latter is due to a significant pro-Russian component among right-wing voters.
- It is noteworthy that from 2020 to 2021, positive attitudes toward all other European countries, as well as toward the United States, generally increased in the six countries we surveyed, albeit by a very small amount. On the other hand, attitudes toward Russia and China generally worsened.



Is this country  
more of a **friend**  
or an **enemy** to  
your own?

In most cases, the way the  
respondents see the other  
countries in the study  
improved from 2020 to  
2021.

	France			Germany			Italy			Poland			Spain			Sweden		
2020	Friend (1-2)	DA DK (4-5)	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK (4-5)	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK (4-5)	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK (4-5)	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK (4-5)	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK (4-5)	Enemy (4-5)
All countries	46	38	16	49	34	17	53	39	8	27	55	18	52	40	7	41	49	10
France	.	.	.	61	29	10	57	35	8	28	56	16	59	35	6	47	47	7
Germany	51	38	11	.	.	.	45	44	11	25	53	22	47	44	9	50	40	10
Italy	30	42	28	31	41	29	.	.	.	21	57	22	51	41	8	28	55	17
Poland	42	42	16	41	35	24	50	43	6	.	.	.	46	47	6	44	48	8
Spain	50	36	14	49	40	11	58	35	7	24	63	13	.	.	.	36	55	9
Sweden	58	33	10	63	27	10	54	39	8	38	47	16	58	34	8	.	.	.
2021	Friend (1-2)	DA DK (4-5)	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK (4-5)	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK (4-5)	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK (4-5)	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK (4-5)	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK (4-5)	Enemy (4-5)
All countries	48	38	14	50	35	15	54	38	8	27	54	18	55	37	8	46	45	9
France	.	.	.	58	32	10	56	36	8	27	56	17	60	33	8	49	44	7
Germany	53	34	13	.	.	.	49	41	10	26	49	25	48	41	11	54	36	10
Italy	33	45	23	35	40	24	.	.	.	25	57	18	54	37	9	35	53	12
Poland	43	44	12	39	37	24	51	42	7	.	.	.	49	44	7	50	43	7
Spain	49	36	15	48	39	13	54	36	10	22	63	15	.	.	.	41	49	10
Sweden	63	29	8	69	25	6	61	33	6	36	47	17	62	32	5	.	.	.



# Is this country more of a **friend** or an **enemy** to your own?

China is seen more and more as an enemy by the respondents in all countries except for Poland.

Evaluations of Russia worsen for everyone.

Evaluations of the US improve for all but the Polish.

Judgments about the UK are ambivalent, albeit still positive.

	USA			UK			Russia			China		
2020	Friend (1-2)	DA DK	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK	Enemy (4-5)
All countries	37	45	19	36	48	16	17	46	37	17	50	33
France	30	50	20	32	49	19	16	52	32	13	50	37
Germany	24	50	26	25	56	19	16	48	36	14	51	36
Italy	42	43	15	27	54	18	27	52	22	24	45	31
Poland	55	34	11	46	44	10	9	31	61	16	58	27
Spain	27	50	23	27	50	22	19	55	26	22	56	22
Sweden	42	41	18	59	31	10	15	40	45	15	42	43
2021	Friend (1-2)	DA DK	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK	Enemy (4-5)	Friend (1-2)	DA DK	Enemy (4-5)
All countries	39	44	17	36	46	18	14	43	43	15	48	37
France	33	47	20	31	47	22	14	48	39	11	49	40
Germany	33	46	21	27	53	20	14	44	42	11	44	45
Italy	42	41	17	26	52	21	22	52	25	17	47	36
Poland	51	38	11	44	44	11	8	26	66	17	57	26
Spain	31	49	19	27	47	26	15	52	33	19	53	28
Sweden	47	41	12	61	31	7	12	35	53	13	39	48



For questions  
and comments

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**Thank you for  
your attention**

Istituto  
Cattaneo  
Research  
Foundation

