

2022 security radar.

COUNTRY SPOTLIGHTS

FRIEDRICH
EBERT 
STIFTUNG

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Introduction

Security Radar 2022 is the second edition of a survey first conducted in 2019 in seven European countries. This time it has been extended and includes fourteen states from across the OSCE region:

- Armenia
- Austria
- France
- Germany
- Italy
- Latvia
- Norway
- Poland
- Russia
- Serbia
- Turkey
- Ukraine
- United Kingdom
- United States

The report appears at a time of alarming instability on the European continent. Russia has amassed an unprecedented number of troops and military equipment in the proximity of the Ukrainian border and threatens escalation. While a series of high-level talks was held in early 2022, the hope for a diplomatic solution is dwindling. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) assesses the risk of a war in Europe higher than at any time over the past 30 years. These developments are unfolding against the backdrop of skyrocketing coronavirus cases. For more than two years, the pandemic has held the world tight in its grip, strain-

ing health care systems and entire economies, upending daily routines, supply chains and even opportunities for in-person diplomacy.

Why is Security Radar important?

Amidst growing tensions and increasing uncertainty Security Radar helps to illuminate how people on all sides perceive words and deeds. Becoming aware of how one's neighbours (or adversaries) think may help people to better understand the policies that respective governments choose. This knowledge may help decision-makers to manage expectations in their own societies and make pragmatic and face-saving solutions for all parties more tangible, making a resolution more likely.

The perspective of citizens is central. Ordinary people deserve a say in the running of their countries and politicians need input from public opinion, as well as from the expert community to make informed decisions. Results from Security Radar 2022 indicate that decision-makers across all polled countries can build upon broad public support for a pragmatic policy geared towards de-escalation and prioritisation of peace and security in Europe.

Security Radar 2022 builds first and foremost on a **representative public opinion poll** conducted in 14 countries. The poll takes stock of mutual threat perceptions and

attitudes to domestic and multilateral institutions, and foreign policy priorities, as well as to a range of instruments, such as diplomacy, military and economic sanctions. It highlights core issues for European security, such as the ongoing Ukraine conflict, which is in danger of escalation, relations with Russia and issues of EU strategic autonomy.

In particular, the survey assessed public attitudes in seven dimensions:

1. perception of the current threat situation;
2. trust and attitudes towards institutions;
3. attitudes towards foreign and security policy;
4. attitudes towards national identity;
5. prospects for the development of security policy in Europe;
6. implications of the coronavirus pandemic for foreign and security policy in Europe; and
7. country-specific attitudes and priorities towards foreign and security policy.

As a second pillar, the report builds on opinions expressed by leading experts and policy advisors in the course of **expert group discussions** conducted in each participating country. Experts shared their views on current challenges to European security and reflected on potential steps towards stabilising and improving the situation.

This brochure is a supplement to the large report "Security Radar 2022: Navigating the Disarray of European Security". It highlights the most interesting data for each of the 14 participating countries.

We hope that the findings from Security Radar 2022 will inform political debate and sensitise actors involved in foreign policy decision-making to the attitudes and perceptions of their own societies and neighbouring states. In these difficult times, citizens' clear preference for diplomacy and peaceful conflict resolution will hopefully encourage politicians to work towards cooperative security.

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Methodology: Multi-Country Survey

<p>What? 2022 Representative public opinion poll in 14 countries Expert group discussions in 14 countries</p>	<p>Who? 27,500 respondents surveyed in 14 countries Representative samples in each country</p>
<p>When? March–June 2021 Expert group discussions September–October 2021 Public opinion poll</p>	<p>How? Expert discussions under Chatham House Rule via online conferencing CATI (Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing) in Armenia CAWI (Computer Assisted Web Interviewing) in 13 other countries</p>

Notes:

- Unless stated otherwise, all percentages quoted in this report represent combined shares of answers “strongly agree” and “somewhat agree”. All figures in %
- Note on question “Please give the three most important objectives that your country should pursue with its foreign policy”: respondents were asked to select from 12 items.
- Population data: The World Bank. (2020). <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POPTOTL> (+ country filters)
- GDP data: The World Bank. (2020). <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD> (+ country filters)
- Active armed forces, defence spending, defence spending % GDP data: The International Institute for Strategic Studies. (2021). The Military Balance 2021 (pp. 517f). Routledge.

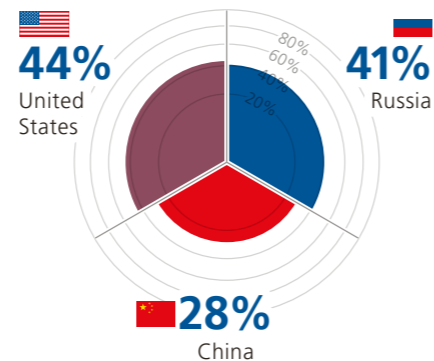
Country	N	Method	Age Range Targeted Population
Armenia	1,500	CATI	18+
Austria	2,000	CAWI	18–75
France	2,000	CAWI	18–75
Germany	2,000	CAWI	18–75
Italy	2,000	CAWI	18–75
Latvia	2,000	CAWI	18–75
Norway	2,000	CAWI	18–75
Poland	2,000	CAWI	18–65
Russia	2,000	CAWI	18–65
Serbia	2,000	CAWI	18–65
Turkey	2,001	CAWI	18–65
Ukraine	2,000	CAWI	18–65
UK	2,000	CAWI	18–75
USA	2,000	CAWI	18–75
Total	27,501	n. a.	n. a.



Armenia

Polity	Parliamentary republic
Population	2.96 million
GDP	\$ 12.6 billion
Active armed forces	45,000
Defence spending	\$ 621 million
Defence spending % GDP	4.85%

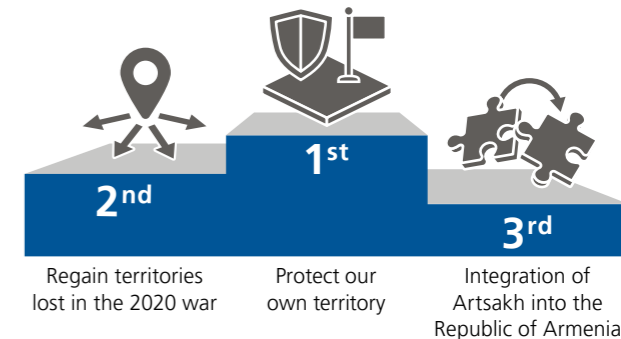
Do you believe that China, the USA or Russia represent a threat to peace and security in Europe?



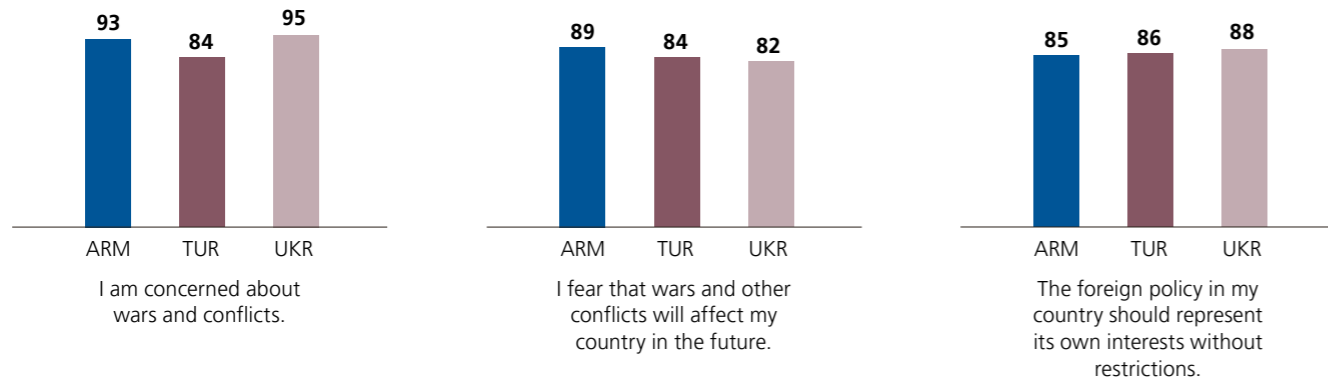
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.



Please give the three most important objectives that your country should pursue with its foreign policy.



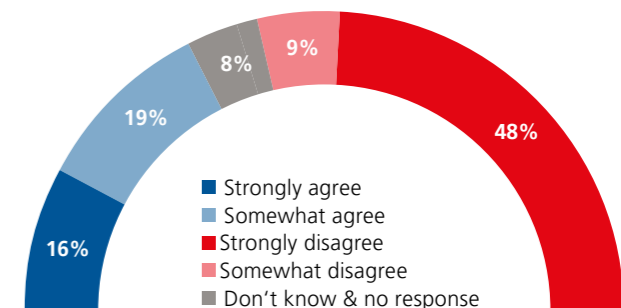
Comparison of perceptions in Armenia, Turkey and Ukraine



Borders have always been changed by war and this will continue to be the case in the future.



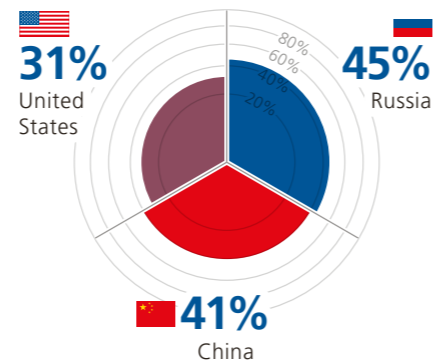
Armenia should normalise relations with Turkey, resume diplomatic relations and encourage an opening of the border.



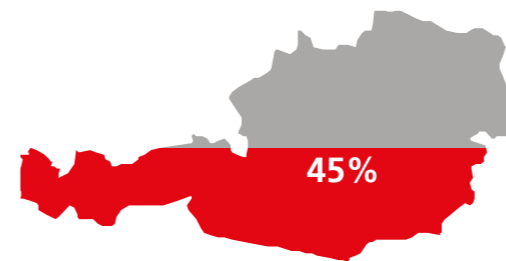
Austria

Polity	Federal parliamentary republic
Population	8.9 million
GDP	\$ 430.95 billion
Active armed forces	22,000
Defence spending	\$ 3 471 million
Defence spending % GDP	0.8%

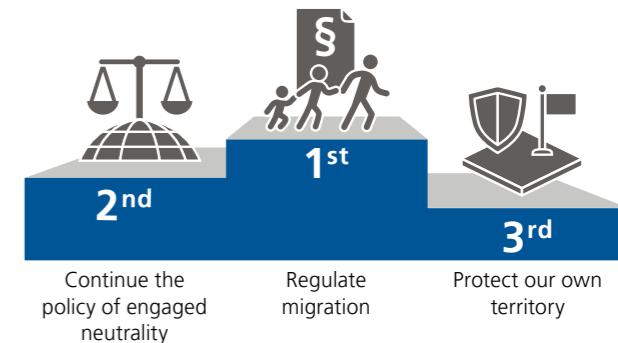
Do you believe that China, the USA or Russia represent a threat to peace and security in Europe?



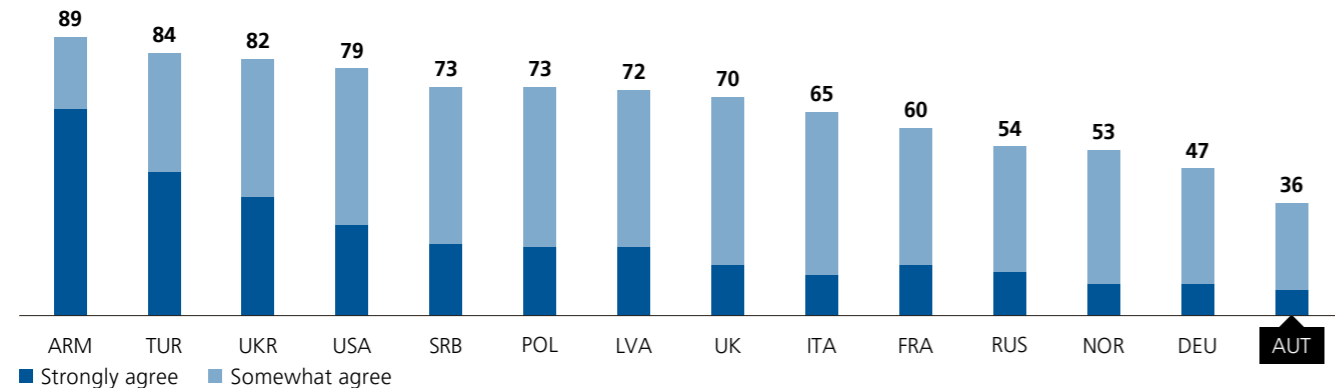
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.



Please give the three most important objectives that your country should pursue with its foreign policy.



I fear that wars and other conflicts will affect my country in the future.

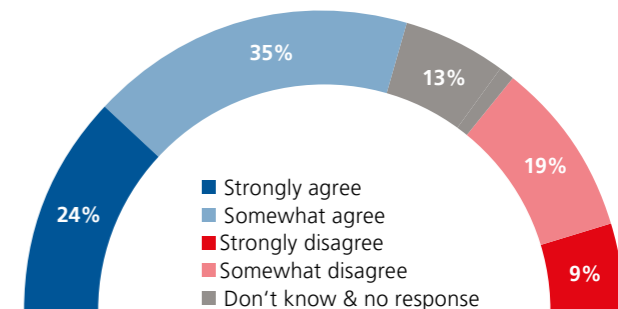


DISAGREE: I fear that wars and conflicts will affect my country in the future.

Combined responses "strongly disagree" and "somewhat disagree"



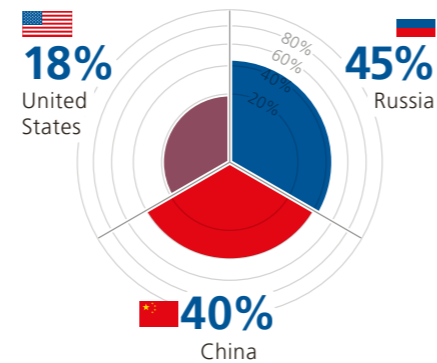
Austria should do its best to help reduce tensions between Russia and the West.



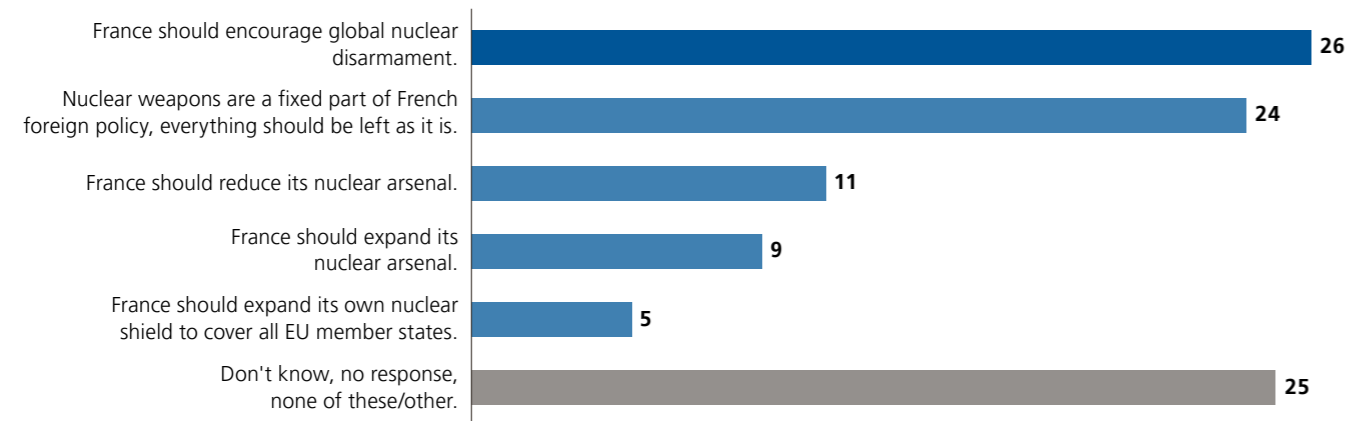
France

Polity	Semi-presidential republic
Population	67.4 million
GDP	\$ 2 630.3 billion
Active armed forces	203,000
Defence spending	\$ 55 034 million
Defence spending % GDP	2.16%

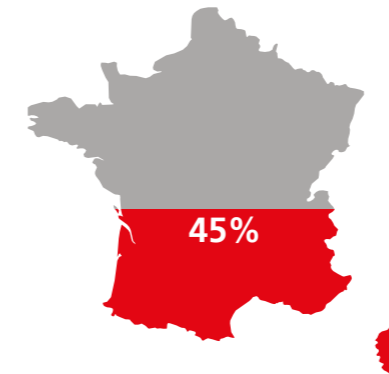
Do you believe that China, the USA or Russia represent a threat to peace and security in Europe?



When you think of the French nuclear arsenal, what would you like to see happen here in the future?



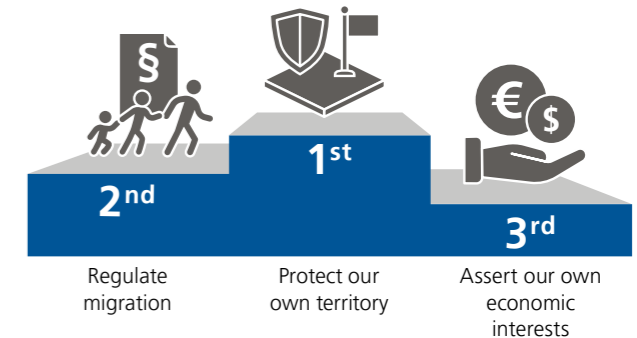
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.



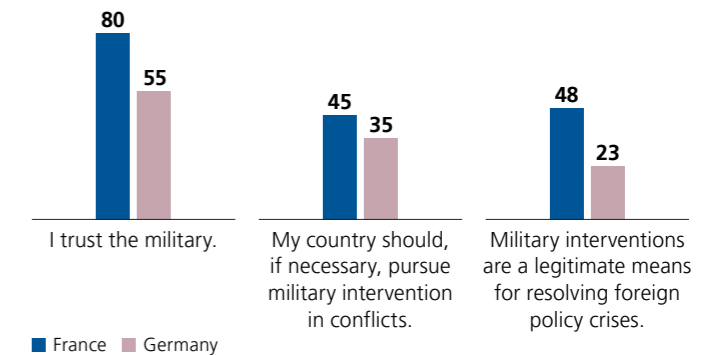
To ward off dangers to my country it is permitted to carry out military actions in other countries.



Please give the three most important objectives that your country should pursue with its foreign policy.



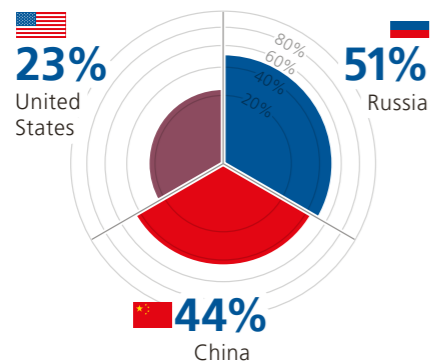
Differences in perceptions in France and Germany



Germany

Polity	Federal parliamentary republic
Population	83.2 million
GDP	\$ 3 846.4 billion
Active armed forces	184,000
Defence spending	\$ 51 347 million
Defence spending % GDP	1.36%

Do you believe that China, the USA or Russia represent a threat to peace and security in Europe?



How do you rate Angela Merkel's 16 years in power?



My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.

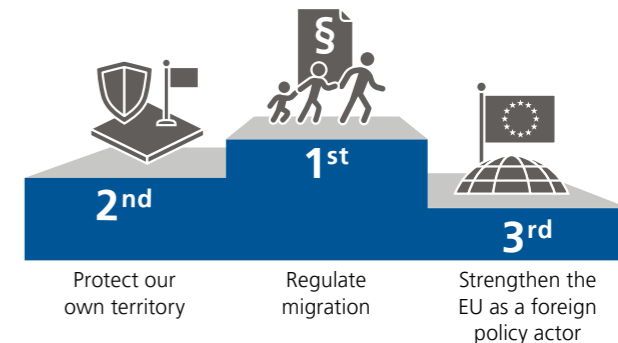


DISAGREE: My country should increase military spending.

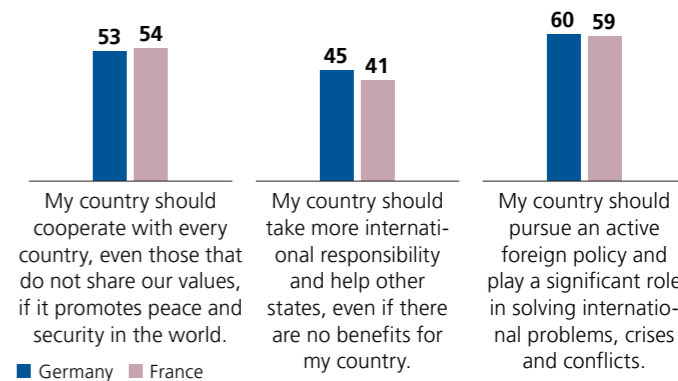
Combined responses "strongly disagree" and "somewhat disagree"



Please give the three most important objectives that your country should pursue with its foreign policy.



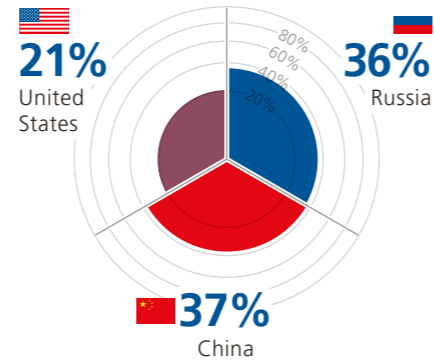
Similarities in perceptions in France and Germany



Italy

Polity	Parliamentary constitutional republic
Population	59.6 million
GDP	\$ 1 886.4 billion
Active armed forces	166,000
Defence spending	\$ 29 344 million
Defence spending % GDP	1.59%

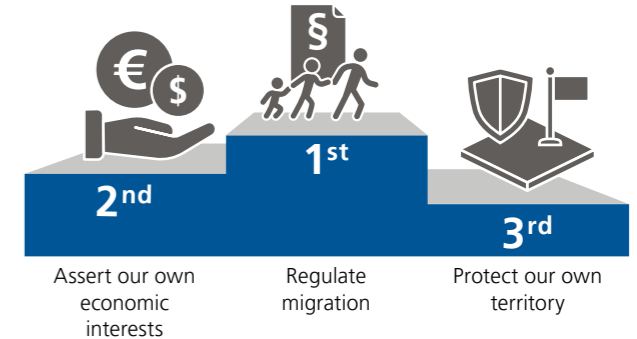
Do you believe that China, the USA or Russia represent a threat to peace and security in Europe?



My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.

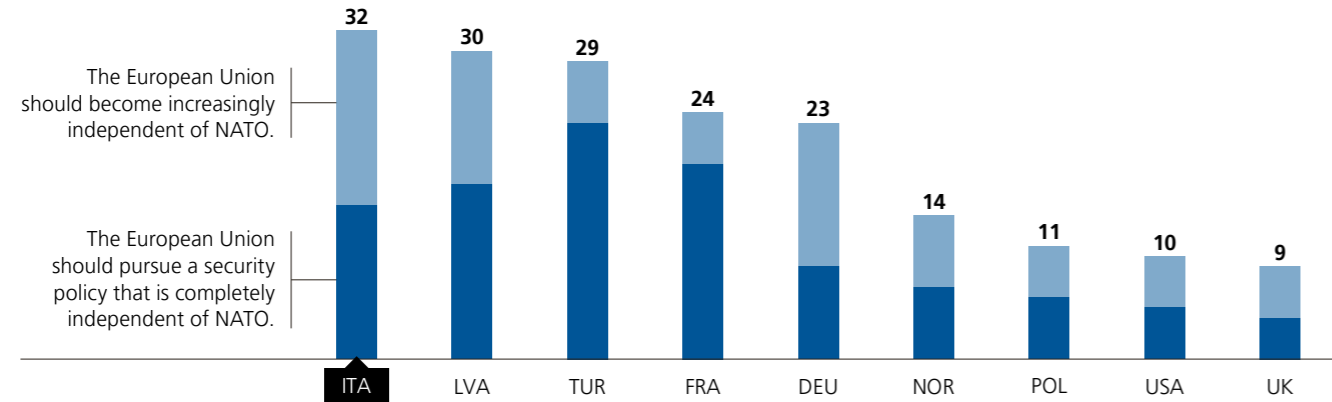


Please give the three most important objectives that your country should pursue with its foreign policy.



Attitudes towards EU strategic autonomy

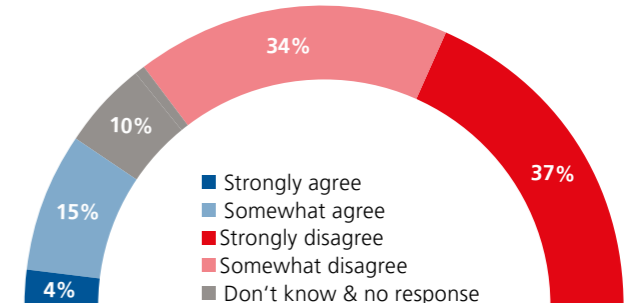
NATO members only



I believe the EU should play a bigger role in the future.



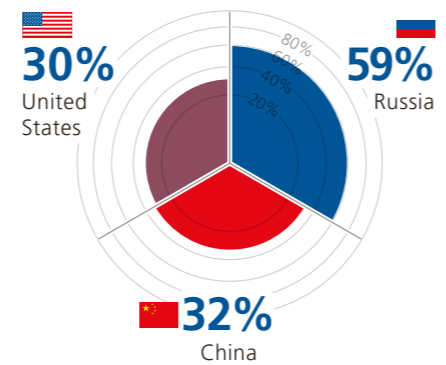
The EU provides Italy with enough support for it to cope with the flow of refugees.



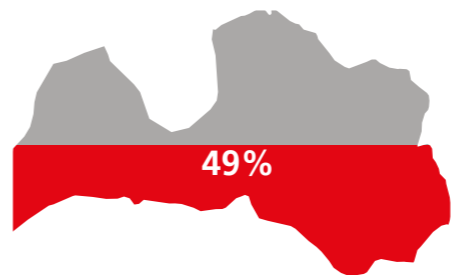
Latvia

Polity	Parliamentary republic
Population	1.9 million
GDP	\$ 33.5 billion
Active armed forces	6000
Defence spending	\$ 758 million
Defence spending % GDP	2.31%

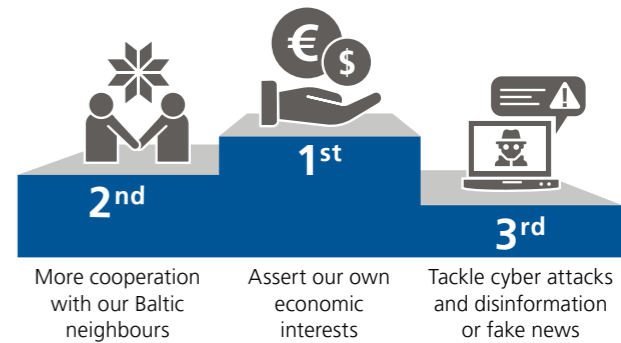
Do you believe that China, the USA or Russia represent a threat to peace and security in Europe?



My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.

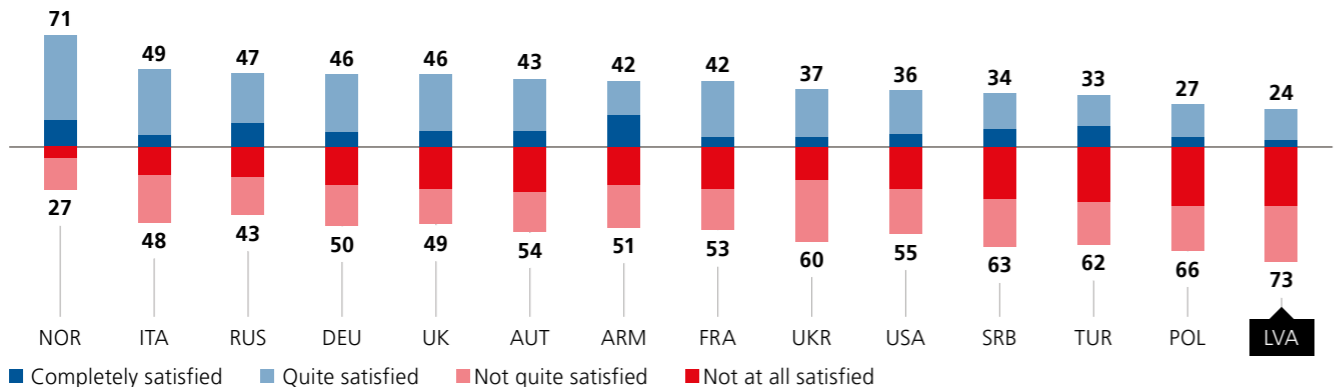


Please give the three most important objectives that your country should pursue with its foreign policy.



How satisfied are you in general with the management of the coronavirus pandemic by the government in your country?

Deviations from 100% result from: "don't know" and "no answer"



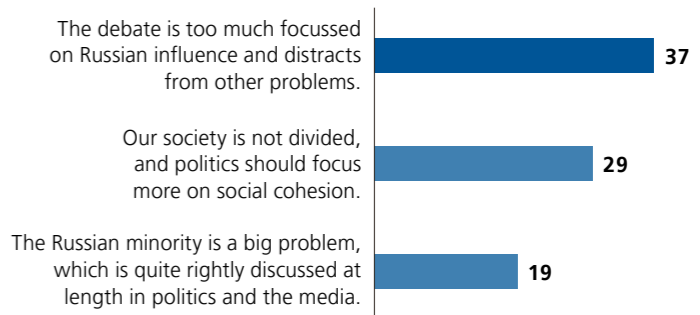
DISAGREE: My country should, if necessary, pursue military intervention in conflicts.

Combined responses "strongly disagree" and "somewhat disagree"



Here are some statements about the situation in Latvia. Choose one statement that you agree with most.

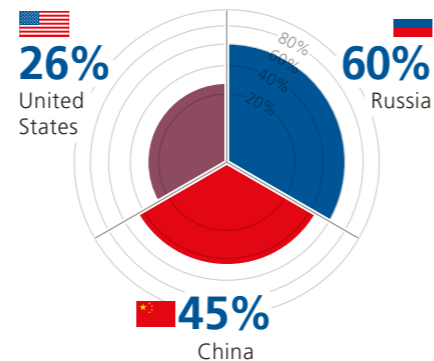
Deviations from 100% result from: "don't know" and "no answer"



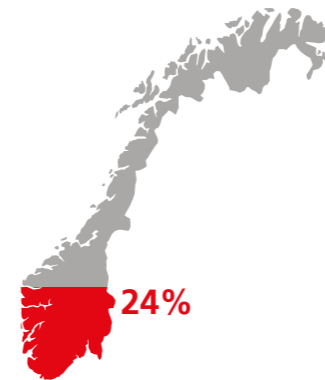
Norway

Polity	Constitutional monarchy
Population	5.4 million
GDP	\$ 362.5 billion
Active armed forces	23,000
Defence spending	\$ 6 493 million
Defence spending % GDP	1.77%

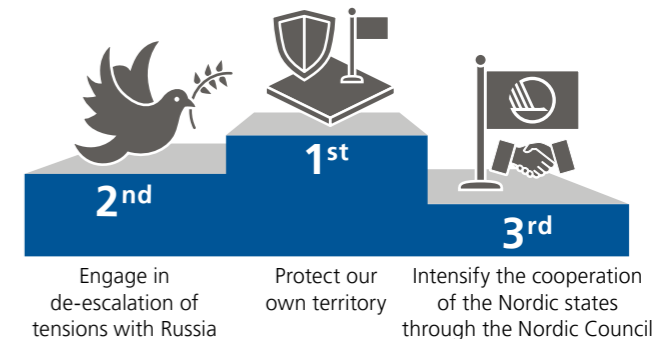
Do you believe that China, the USA or Russia represent a threat to peace and security in Europe?



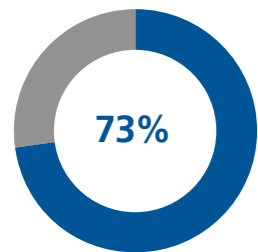
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.



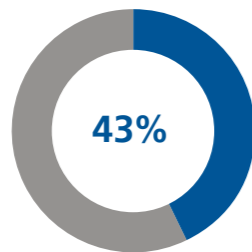
Please give the three most important objectives that your country should pursue with its foreign policy.



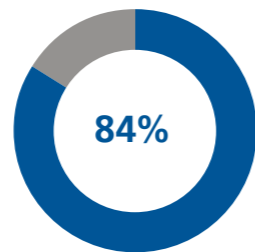
Perceptions in Norway



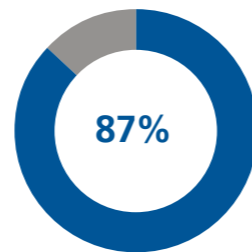
I trust my government.



I trust parties.



I trust that the health care system in Norway can successfully tackle the pandemic.

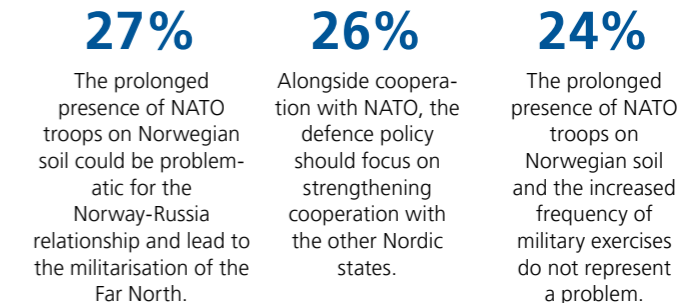


Rich countries should make vaccines available for the rest of the world.

I feel safe in my immediate surroundings.



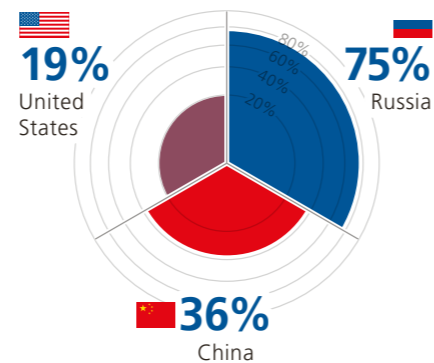
Here are some statements about Norway's relationship with NATO. Choose one statement that you agree with most.



Poland

Polity	Semi-presidential republic
Population	37.95 million
GDP	\$ 594.2 billion
Active armed forces	114,000
Defence spending	\$ 12 875 million
Defence spending % GDP	2.22%

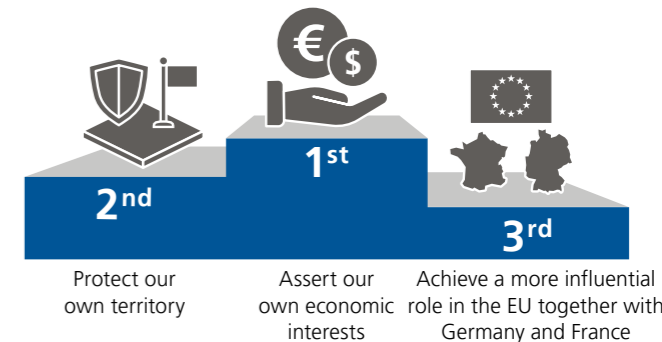
Do you believe that China, the USA or Russia represent a threat to peace and security in Europe?



My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.

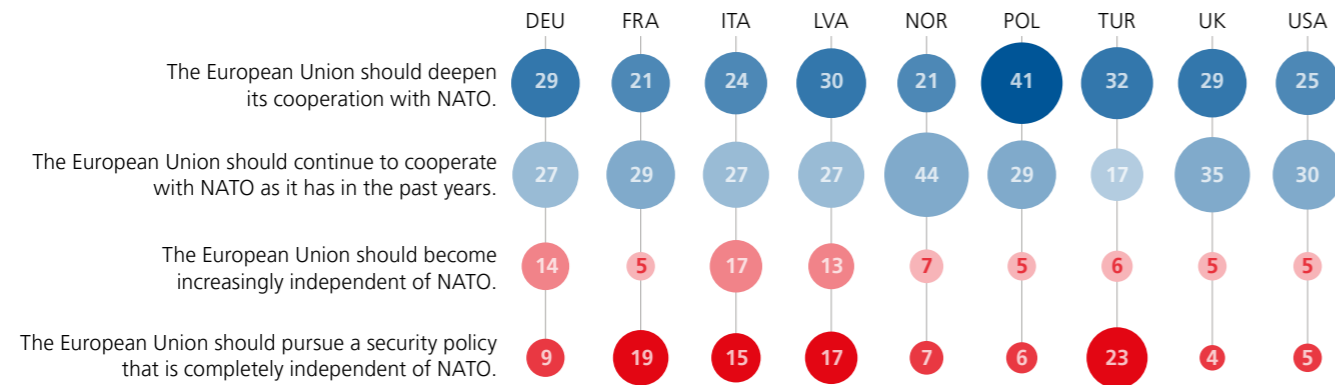


Please give the three most important objectives that your country should pursue with its foreign policy.



Here are four statements on future relations between the EU and NATO. Please choose one that you agree with most.

NATO members only. Deviations from 100% result from: "don't know" and "no answer"



The relationship between the USA and Poland improved during the presidency of Donald Trump.



Since August 2020, there have been nationwide protests in Belarus against Alexander Lukashenko. The events in Belarus...

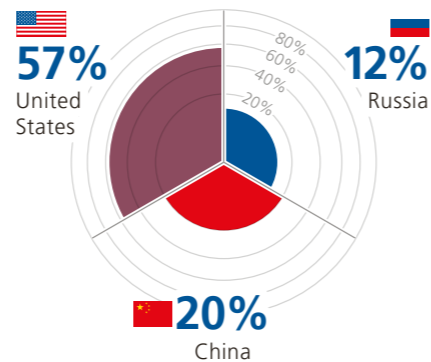


Deviations from 100% result from "don't know" and "no answer"

Russia

Polity	Federal semi-presidential republic
Population	144.1 million
GDP	\$ 1 493.5 billion
Active armed forces	900,000
Defence spending	\$ 43 184 million
Defence spending % GDP	2.95%

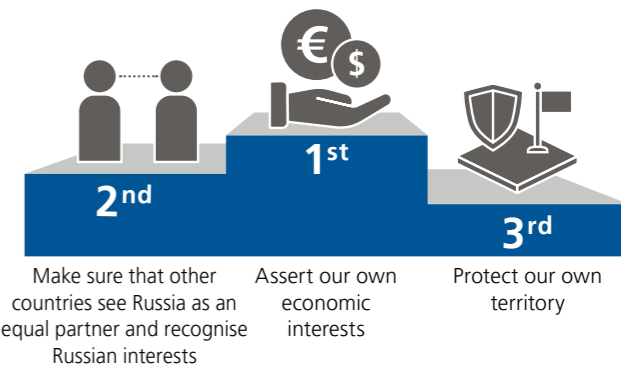
Do you believe that China, the USA or Russia represent a threat to peace and security in Europe?



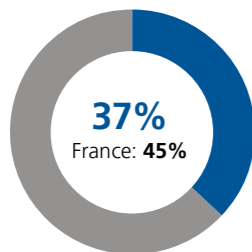
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.



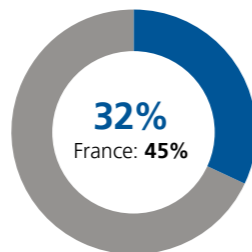
Please give the three most important objectives that your country should pursue with its foreign policy.



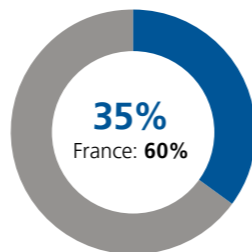
Attitudes towards the military



My country should, if necessary, pursue military intervention in conflicts.



My country should increase its military spending.



To ward off dangers to my country it is permitted to carry out military actions in other countries.

Russia should cooperate more with China than before.



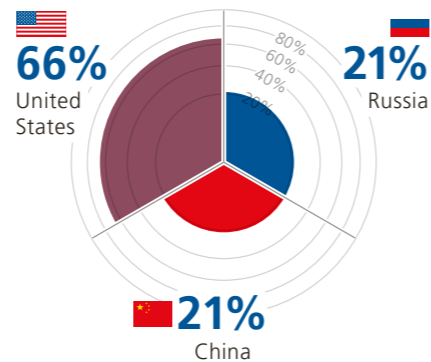
Since August 2020, there have been nationwide protests in Belarus against Alexander Lukashenko. The events in Belarus...



Serbia

Polity	Parliamentary republic
Population	6.9 million
GDP	\$ 52.96 billion
Active armed forces	28,000
Defence spending	\$ 878 million
Defence spending % GDP	1.69%

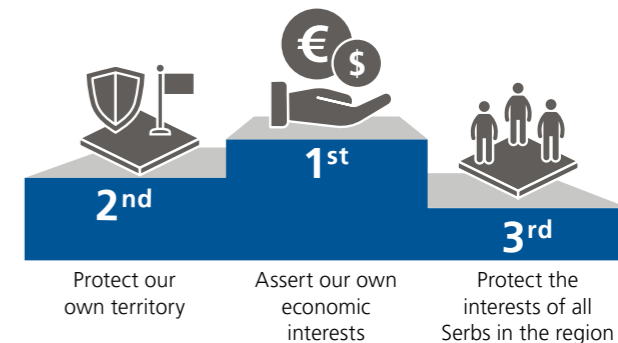
Do you believe that China, the USA or Russia represent a threat to peace and security in Europe?



My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.

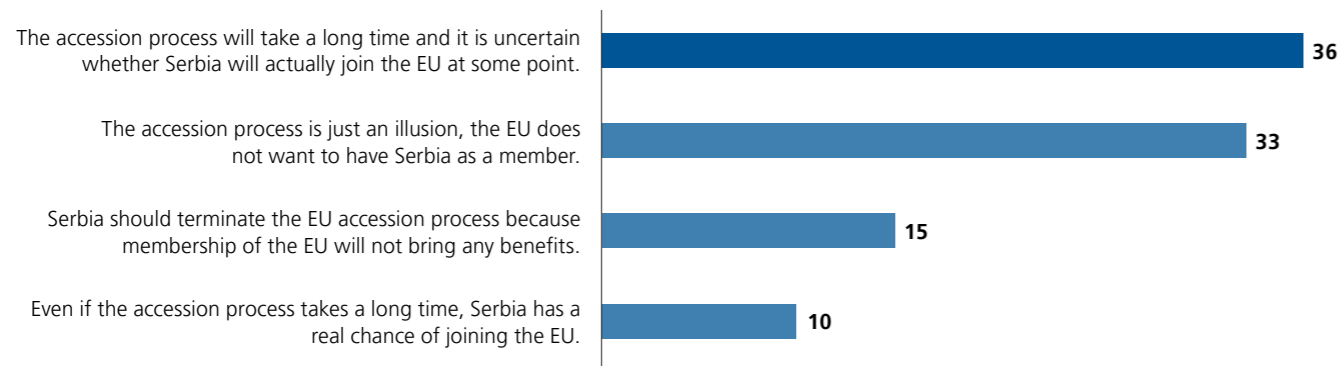


Please give the three most important objectives that your country should pursue with its foreign policy.



At the end of 2009, Serbia applied for membership of the EU. Serbia has been holding accession negotiations with the EU since 2014. What do you think of the accession process?

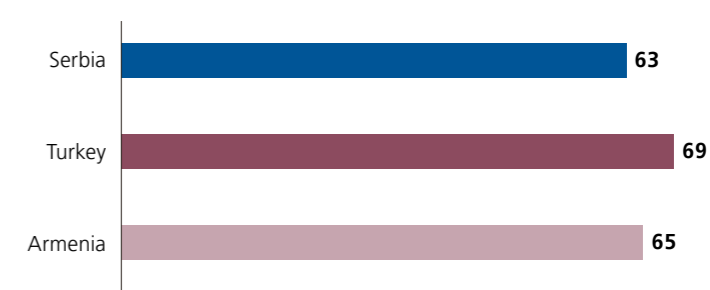
Deviations from 100% result from "don't know" and "no answer"



My country should cooperate with every country, even those that do not share our values, if it promotes peace and security in the world.



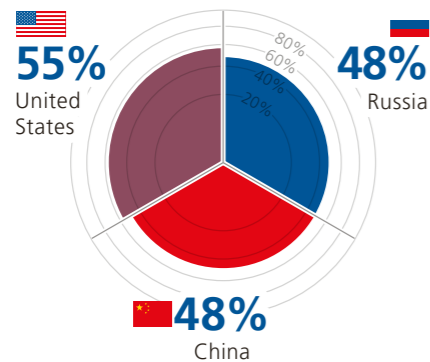
The policies of the European Union is regularly in conflict with the interests of my country.



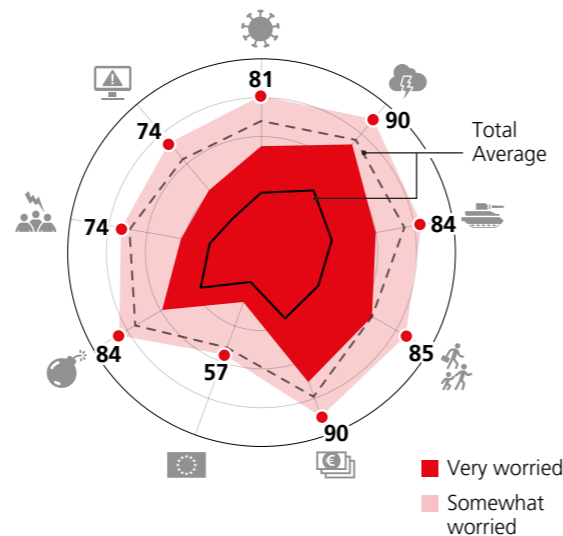
Turkey

Polity	Unitary presidential republic
Population	84.3 million
GDP	\$ 720.1 billion
Active armed forces	355,000
Defence spending	\$ 11 038 million
Defence spending % GDP	1.7%

Do you believe that China, the USA or Russia represent a threat to peace and security in Europe?



To what extent are you personally concerned about the following current events?



- Coronavirus pandemic
- Climate change
- Wars and conflicts
- Uncontrolled immigration
- Economic crises
- Disagreement and conflict within the EU
- Cyber attacks
- Decline of social cohesion
- International terrorism

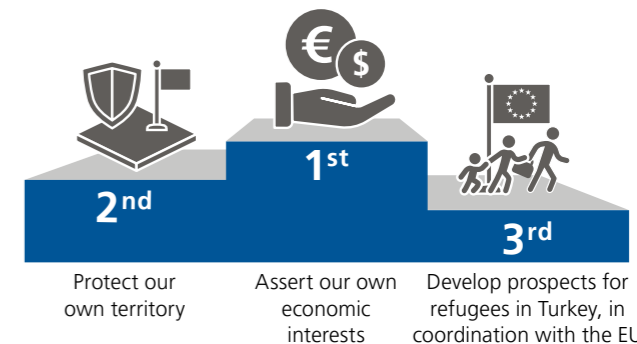
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.



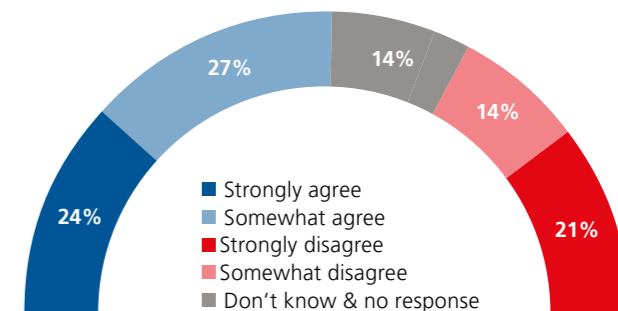
Parts of the territory of our neighbouring countries are actually part of Turkey.



Please give the three most important objectives that your country should pursue with its foreign policy.



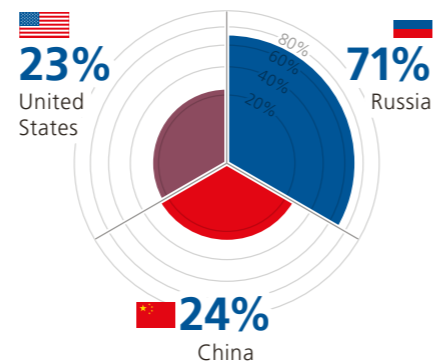
Turkey should normalise relations with Armenia, resume diplomatic relations and work towards an opening of the border.



Ukraine

Polity	Semi-presidential republic
Population	44.1 million
GDP	\$ 155.6 billion
Active armed forces	209,000
Defence spending	\$ 4 320 million
Defence spending % GDP	3.05%

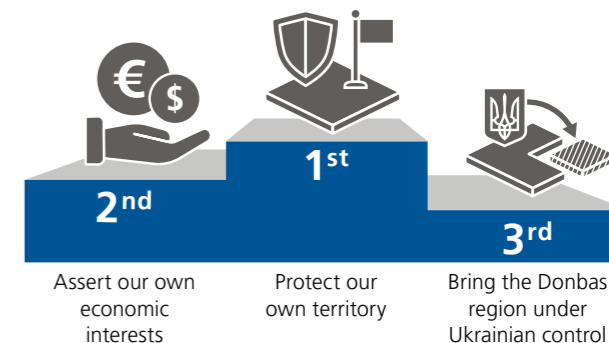
Do you believe that China, the USA or Russia represent a threat to peace and security in Europe?



My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.

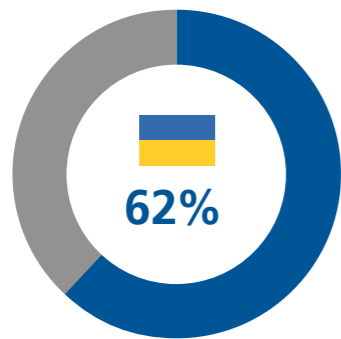


Please give the three most important objectives that your country should pursue with its foreign policy.



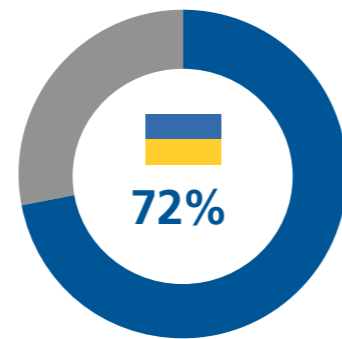
Ukraine should become a member of NATO.

Note: Ukrainian respondents only



Ukraine should become a member of the European Union.

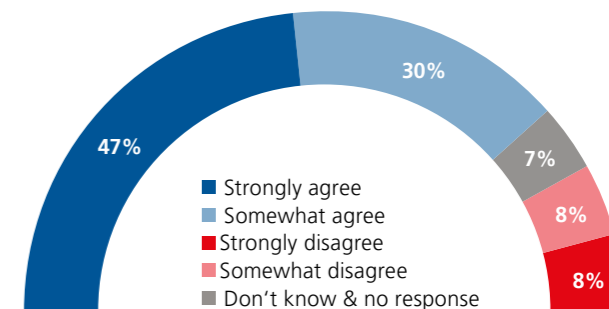
Note: Ukrainian respondents only



I am concerned about wars and conflicts.



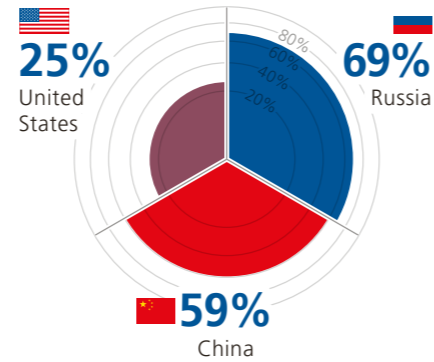
Previous efforts (e.g. Minsk agreements) have had little success. A new framework of conflict resolution should be created.



United Kingdom

Polity	Constitutional monarchy
Population	67.2 million
GDP	\$ 2 707.7 billion
Active armed forces	149,000
Defence spending	\$ 61 526 million
Defence spending % GDP	2.33%

Do you believe that China, the USA or Russia represent a threat to peace and security in Europe?



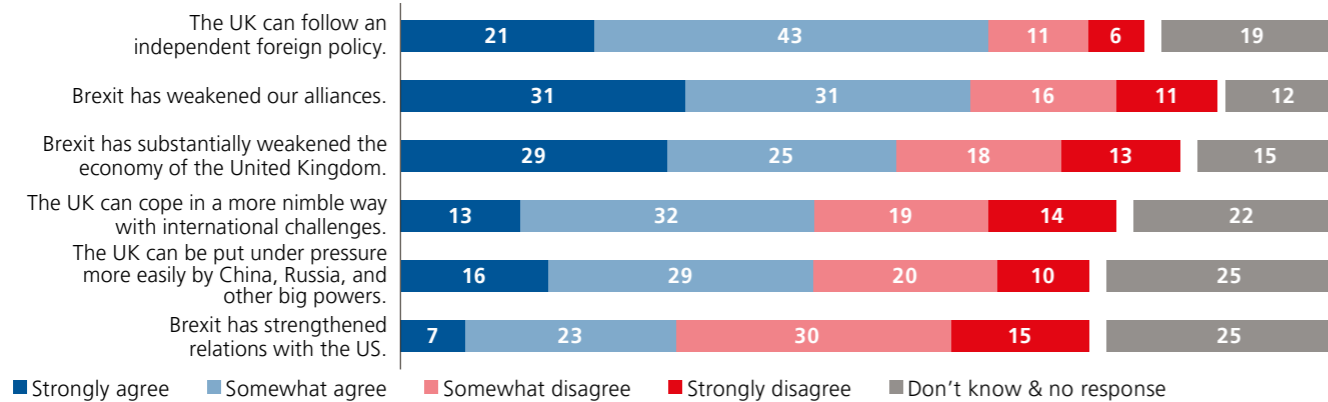
My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.



Please give the three most important objectives that your country should pursue with its foreign policy.



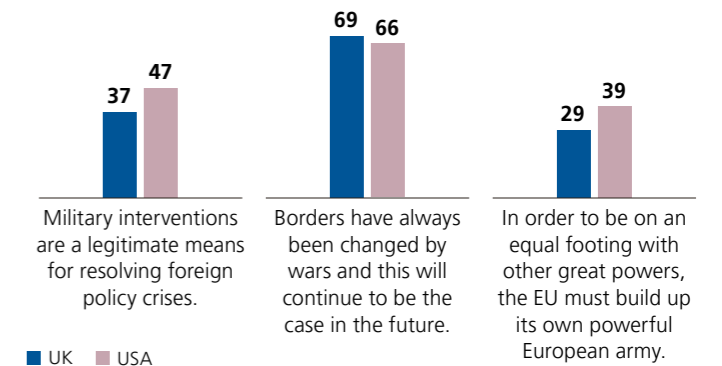
How has Brexit affected the international role of the United Kingdom?



The policies of the European Union are regularly in conflict with the interests of the UK.



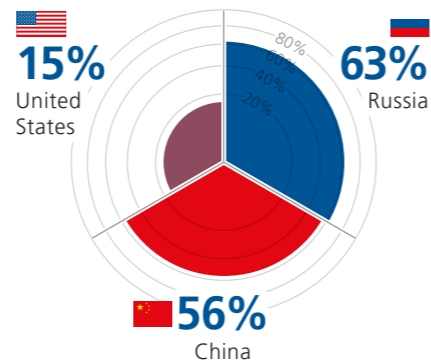
Comparison of perceptions in the UK and the United States



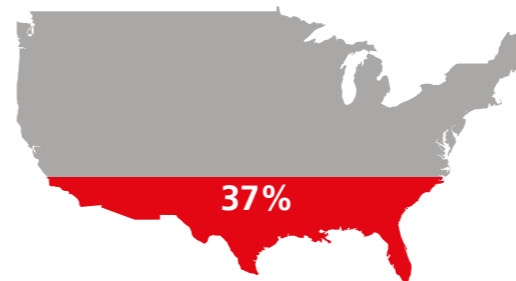
United States

Polity	Federal presidential constitutional republic
Population	329.5 million
GDP	\$ 20 936.6 billion
Active armed forces	1,388,000
Defence spending	\$ 738 000 million
Defence spending % GDP	3.55%

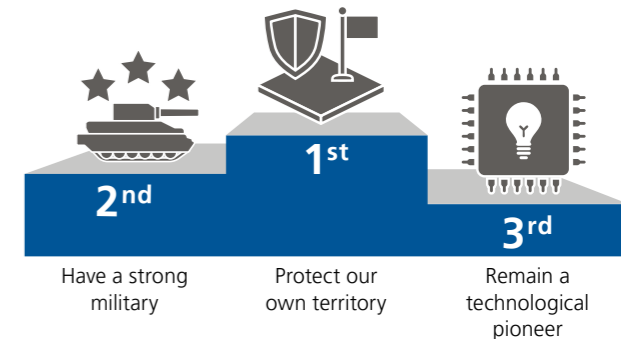
Do you believe that China, the USA or Russia represent a threat to peace and security in Europe?



My country does not have the status in the world it deserves in comparison with other countries.

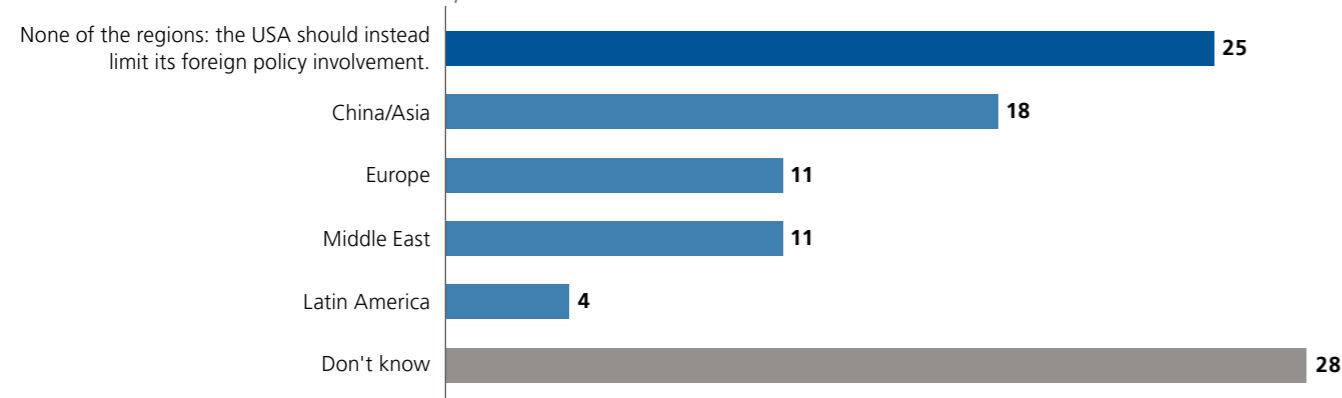


Please give the three most important objectives that your country should pursue with its foreign policy.



Where should be the main focus of US foreign policy involvement?

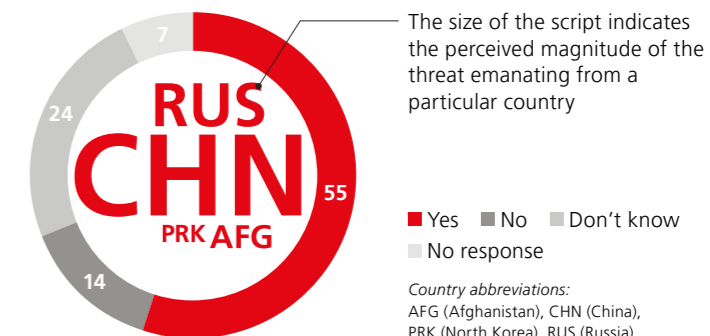
Deviations from 100% result from: "no response"



My country should take more international responsibility and help other states, even if there are no direct benefits for my country.



Is there a country that constitutes a threat to your country?





security
radar.

General Information

FES Regional Office for Cooperation and Peace in Europe

Reichsratsstr. 13/5, A-1010 Vienna

Phone: +43 1 890 38 11 205

Fax: +43 1 890 38 11 400

peace.fes.de
peace.fes.de/security-radar

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