Trump, America and The Western Alliance

Lord Ashcroft KCMG PC
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Lord Ashcroft Polls
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Contents

Methodological note

10,057 adults in the US were interviewed online between 9 and 30 April 2025 (the 100th day of President Trump's current term).

1,076 adults were interviewed online in Great Britain between 22 and 25 April 2025.

1,035 adults were interviewed online in France between 22 and 29 April 2025.

1,115 adults were interviewed online in Germany between 22 and 30 April 2025.
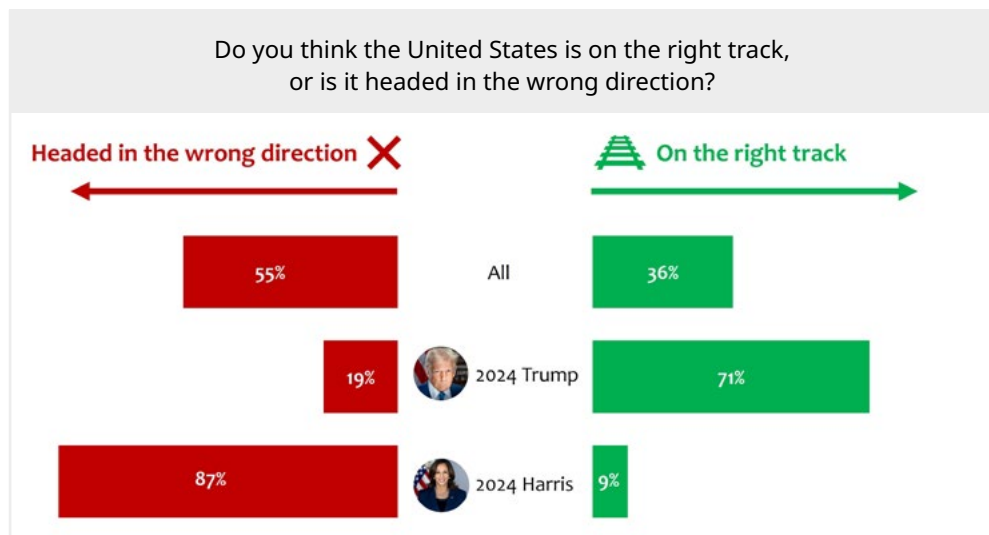
1,020 adults were interviewed online in Poland between 22 and 30 April 2025.

509 adults were interviewed online in Estonia between 22 and 26 April 2025.

Results have been weighted to be representative of all adults in each country. Full data tables are available at LordAshcroftPolls.com
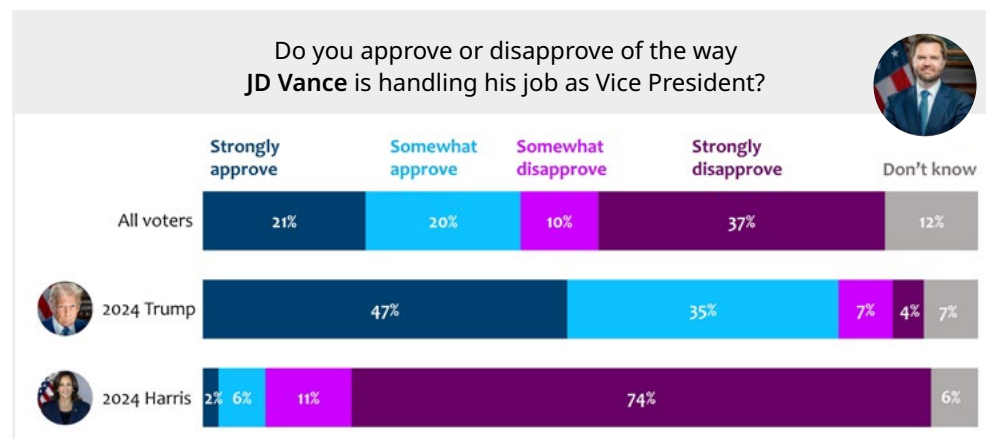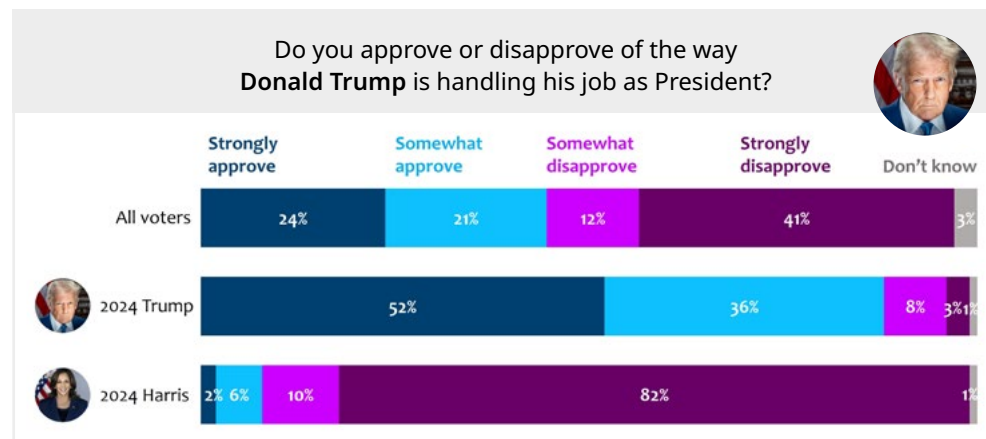
12 focus groups were held between 24 April and 2 May 2025 in Atlanta, GA; Las Vegas, NV; and Philadelphia, PA. Participants were drawn from a wide range of social, economic and political backgrounds and the groups comprised equal numbers of men and women overall.

Trump 2.0

Do you think the United States is on the right track, or is it headed in the wrong direction?

	Headed in the wrong direction ✗		On the right track
All	55%		36%
2024 Trump	19%		71%
2024 Harris	87%		9%

Just over half (55%) of Americans in our poll said they thought the country was heading in the wrong direction, with 36% saying the US was on the right track. (This compares to 63% saying the US was on the wrong track when we asked the question in June 2024 before the final stages of the campaign).
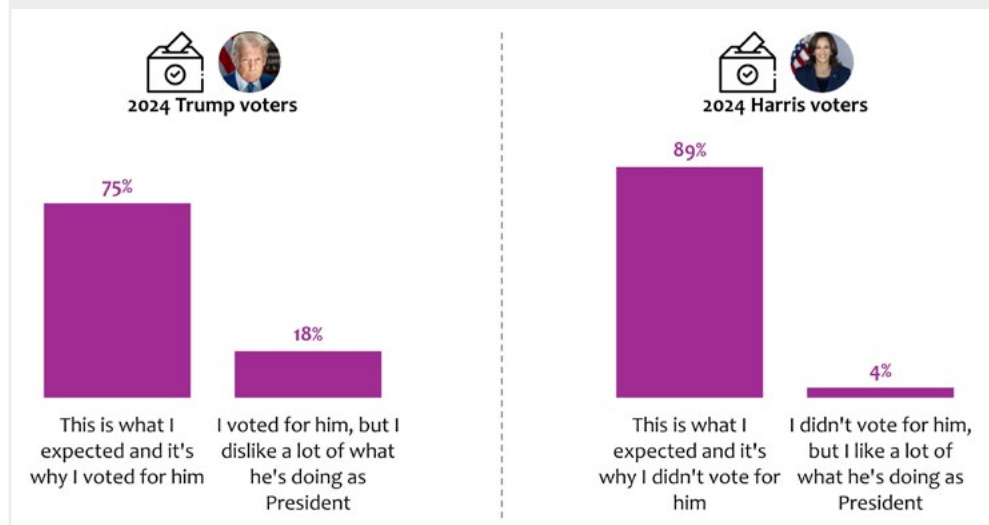
Nearly 1 in 5 (19%) of those who voted for Donald Trump in November said the US was currently heading in the wrong direction. While more than three quarters of enthusiastic Trump voters thought things were heading the right way, reluctant Trump voters who were mainly trying to stop another candidate were evenly divided, with 41% saying "right track" and 42% "wrong direction".

Do you approve or disapprove of the way **Donald Trump** is handling his job as President?

	Strongly approve	Somewhat approve	Somewhat disapprove	Strongly disapprove	Don't know
All voters	24%	21%	12%	41%	3%
2024 Trump	52%	36%	8%	3%	1%
2024 Harris	2%	6%	10%	82%	1%

Do you approve or disapprove of the way **JD Vance** is handling his job as Vice President?

	Strongly approve	Somewhat approve	Somewhat disapprove	Strongly disapprove	Don't know
All voters	21%	20%	10%	37%	12%
2024 Trump	47%	35%	7%	4%	7%
2024 Harris	2%	6%	11%	74%	6%

We found Americans overall **disapproving of the way Trump is handling the job** of president by 53% to 45%. Just over 1 in 10 (11%) of those who voted for Trump said they disapproved of his performance so far. Job approval for Vice President JD Vance was slightly lower at 41%, with 47% disapproving and 12% saying they didn't know.

Those who voted positively for Trump approved of his performance by 93% to 7%, while those who voted for him reluctantly or to stop another candidate did so by 61% to 36%.

Thinking about how Donald Trump is handling his current term as president and the things he is doing, which of the following best describes you?

2024 Trump voters

- 75% — This is what I expected and it's why I voted for him
- 18% — I voted for him, but I dislike a lot of what he's doing as President

2024 Harris voters

- 89% — This is what I expected and it's why I didn't vote for him
- 4% — I didn't vote for him, but I like a lot of what he's doing as President

Three quarters (75%) of 2024 Trump voters said that his **second term so far has been what they expected,** and this was why they voted for him. Just under 1 in 5 (18%) said that even though they voted for him they dislike a lot of what he's doing as president. Conversely, only 4% of those who voted for Kamala Harris said they found they liked a lot of what President Trump was doing.

82% of positive Trump voters said this had been what they had expected, and this was why they voted for him, with 12% saying they disliked a lot of what he was doing. However, reluctant Trump voters were more likely to say they disliked a lot of what he was doing as president (47%) than that they were getting what they hoped for (44%).

In our focus groups, the more enthusiastic Trump voters felt he had hit the ground running, liked the pace of events, and thought he seemed more focused than in his first term with a more cohesive team.

❝He's doing what he said he was going to do. I didn't understand the timeframe he planned to do it on but I'm excited, I'm not upset by how fast he's reacting to everything.❞ [DT, NV]

❝He learned his lesson in the first term. The swamp. He appointed people in his cabinet who probably shouldn't have been there. This time, he has all loyalists who understand what he wants and how he's going to get it done. The first 100 days have been great.❞ [DT, NV]

❝If you've ever been involved in construction you know it looks terrible. Building, laying wires, it looks horrible. But when it's all built, it's immaculate. At the moment we're in the construction phase and it looks horrible. The problem is we have to live there while it's being built.❞ [DT, PA]

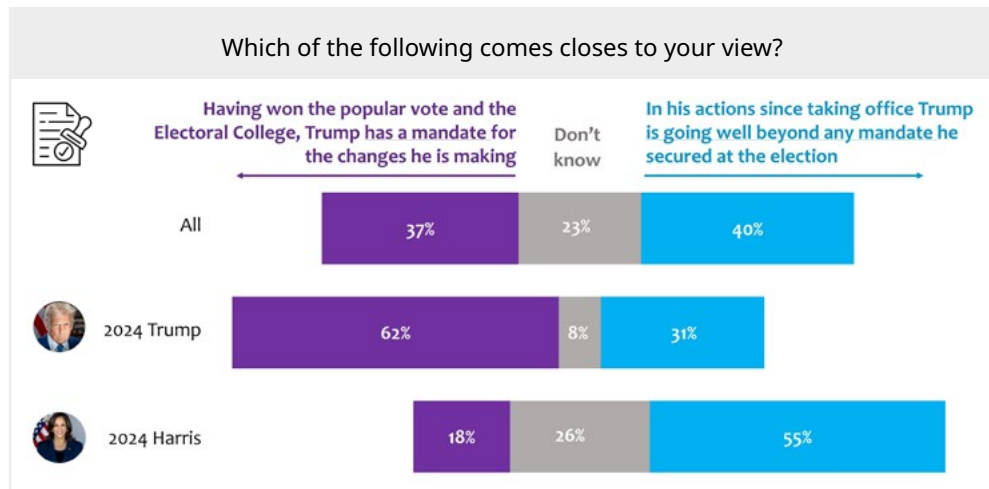| Reciprocal Tariffs		
Country	Tariffs Charged to the U.S.A. Including Currency Manipulation and Trade Barriers	U.S.A. Discount Reciprocal Tari
China	67%	34%
European Union	39%	20%
Vietnam	90%	46%
Taiwan	64%	32%
Japan	46%	24%
India	52%	26%
	50%	25%
		36%

Reluctant Trump voters supported many of the administration's early actions but were worried by what they saw as reckless decisions, especially on tariffs, deportations and spending cuts. They were more likely to think things were moving too fast and to think the president was focusing on priorities other than their own.

❝ I thought they would be working on the inflation a bit faster. I didn't think he'd be going round in circles with all these tariffs. And I thought the economy would pick up a little bit. I know he's only been there, what, four months, but I was expecting more because these are things he talked about before the election to get our votes.❞ [DT, GA]
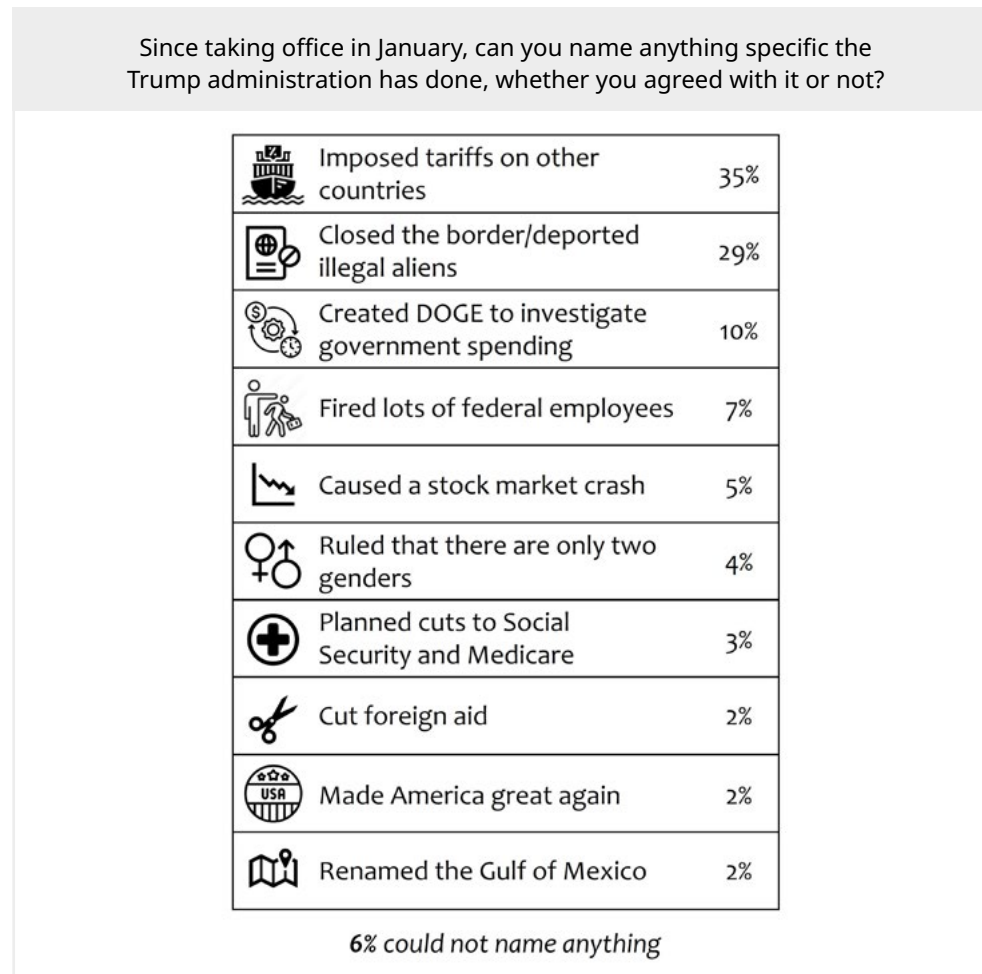
❝ Reckless, dangerous, undisciplined, unthought out. We don't have to fire and then rehire the people in charge of the nuclear armaments, which happened.❞ [DT, GA]

❝ It was too much. The DOGE cuts happened much faster than I expected. I've got friends in public heath who were really affected. I'd rather have an aggressive leader than not, but I just think he needs to reel it in a little bit.❞ [DT, GA]

❝ The first time, he was doing stuff for the people of America, giving out stimulus and stuff like that. Now it seems like he's not focused on Americans, just sending people out of America, dealing with the foreigners and doing the trade.❞ [DT, GA]

Which of the following comes closes to your view?

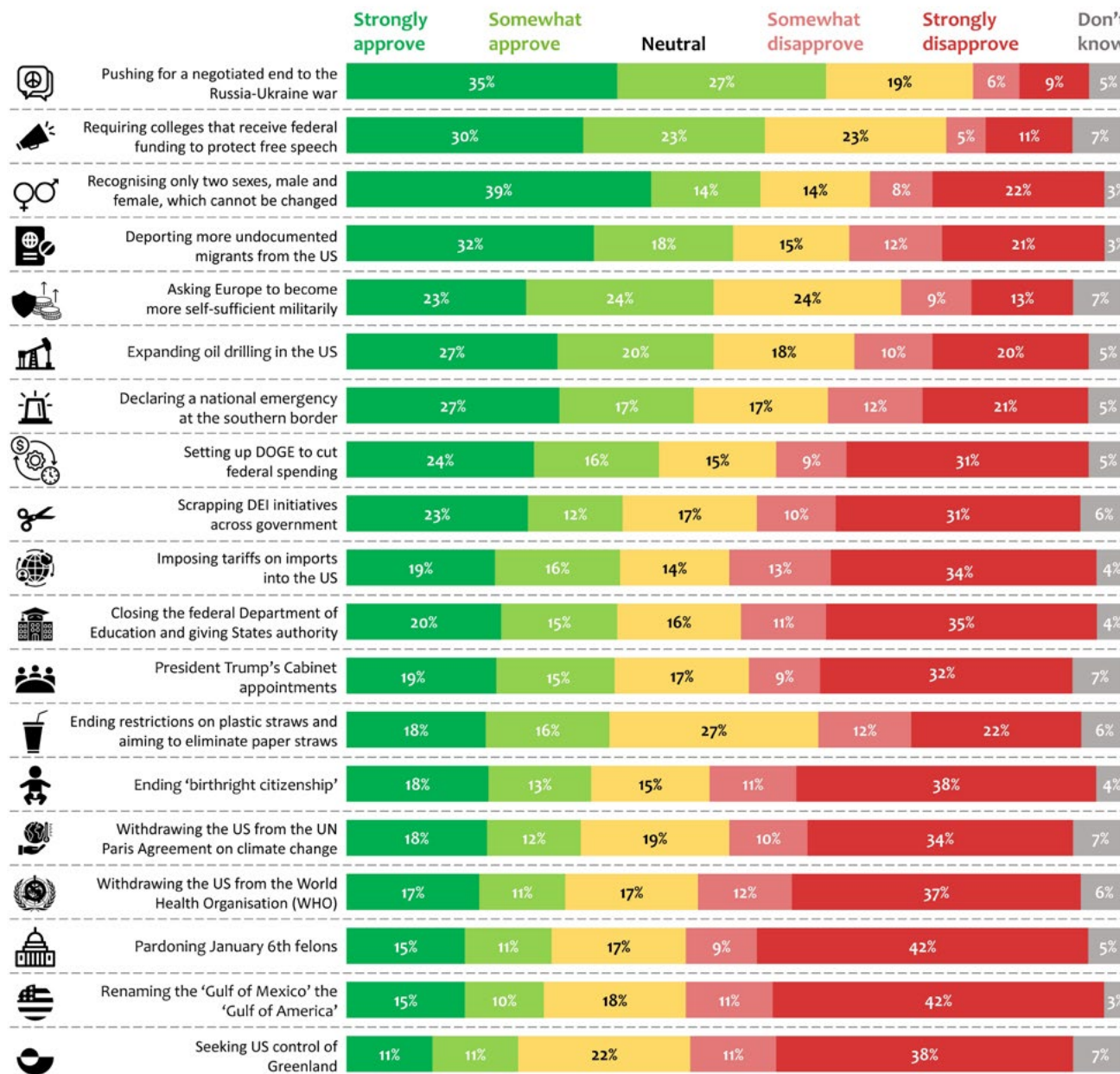|	Having won the popular vote and the Electoral College, Trump has a mandate for the changes he is making	Don't know	In his actions since taking office Trump is going well beyond any mandate he secured at the election
All	37%	23%	40%
2024 Trump	62%	8%	31%
2024 Harris	18%	26%	55%

Four in ten Americans – including 31% of his 2024 voters – said they thought President Trump's actions since taking office went beyond the mandate he secured at the election. A majority (55%) of those who voted for Harris thought Trump was going beyond his mandate.

Since taking office in January, can you name anything specific the Trump administration has done, whether you agreed with it or not?

Imposed tariffs on other countries	35%
Closed the border/deported illegal aliens	29%
Created DOGE to investigate government spending	10%
Fired lots of federal employees	7%
Caused a stock market crash	5%
Ruled that there are only two genders	4%
Planned cuts to Social Security and Medicare	3%
Cut foreign aid	2%
Made America great again	2%
Renamed the Gulf of Mexico	2%

6% could not name anything

In our poll we asked people to recall, unprompted, **specific things the Trump administration had done** since the inauguration in January. Tariffs were top of the list, named by 35% of respondents, followed by action on the border and illegal aliens. Creating DOGE and firing federal employees were third, with a combined total of 17%.

How strongly do you approve or disapprove of each of the following actions by the Trump administration?

	Strongly approve	Somewhat approve	Neutral	Somewhat disapprove	Strongly disapprove	Don't know
Pushing for a negotiated end to the Russia-Ukraine war	35%	27%	19%	6%	9%	5%
Requiring colleges that receive federal funding to protect free speech	30%	23%	23%	5%	11%	7%
Recognising only two sexes, male and female, which cannot be changed	39%	14%	14%	8%	22%	3%
Deporting more undocumented migrants from the US	32%	18%	15%	12%	21%	3%
Asking Europe to become more self-sufficient militarily	23%	24%	24%	9%	13%	7%
Expanding oil drilling in the US	27%	20%	18%	10%	20%	5%
Declaring a national emergency at the southern border	27%	17%	17%	12%	21%	5%
Setting up DOGE to cut federal spending	24%	16%	15%	9%	31%	5%
Scrapping DEI initiatives across government	23%	12%	17%	10%	31%	6%
Imposing tariffs on imports into the US	19%	16%	14%	13%	34%	4%
Closing the federal Department of Education and giving States authority	20%	15%	16%	11%	35%	4%
President Trump's Cabinet appointments	19%	15%	17%	9%	32%	7%
Ending restrictions on plastic straws and aiming to eliminate paper straws	18%	16%	27%	12%	22%	6%
Ending 'birthright citizenship'	18%	13%	15%	11%	38%	4%
Withdrawing the US from the UN Paris Agreement on climate change	18%	12%	19%	10%	34%	7%
Withdrawing the US from the World Health Organisation (WHO)	17%	11%	17%	12%	37%	6%
Pardoning January 6th felons	15%	11%	17%	9%	42%	5%
Renaming the 'Gulf of Mexico' the 'Gulf of America'	15%	10%	18%	11%	42%	3%
Seeking US control of Greenland	11%	11%	22%	11%	38%	7%

Of the list of **President Trump's actions to date** that we asked about, three gained majority approval in our poll: pushing for a negotiated settlement in the Russia-Ukraine war, requiring colleges receiving federal funding to protect free speech, and declaring that the US government will recognise only two sexes that cannot be changed. At the other end of the scale, majorities disapproved of pardoning the January 6th felons, renaming the Gulf of Mexico the Gulf of America, and seeking US control of Greenland.

How strongly do you approve or disapprove of each of the following actions by the Trump administration?

[NB showing SUM approve: strongly + somewhat approve]

	All voters	2024 Trump	2024 Harris
Pushing for a negotiated end to the Russia-Ukraine war	61%	82%	44%
Requiring colleges that receive federal funding to protect free speech	53%	74%	37%
Recognising only two sexes, male and female, which cannot be changed	53%	83%	25%
Deporting more undocumented migrants from the US	49%	82%	21%
Asking Europe to become more self-sufficient militarily	47%	75%	26%
Expanding oil drilling in the US	47%	79%	21%
Declaring a national emergency at the southern border	45%	78%	18%
Setting up DOGE to cut federal spending	40%	74%	11%
Scrapping DEI initiatives across government	35%	67%	10%
Imposing tariffs on imports into the US	35%	67%	9%
Closing the federal Department of Education and giving States authority	35%	66%	9%
President Trump's Cabinet appointments	34%	70%	6%
Ending restrictions on plastic straws and aiming to eliminate paper straws	34%	56%	16%
Ending 'birthright citizenship'	32%	58%	11%
Withdrawing the US from the UN Paris Agreement on climate change	30%	60%	8%
Withdrawing the US from the World Health Organisation (WHO)	28%	56%	6%
Pardoning January 6th felons	27%	54%	6%
Renaming the 'Gulf of Mexico' the 'Gulf of America'	25%	50%	7%
Seeking US control of Greenland	22%	42%	8%

Looking at **support for these actions by 2024 vote,** we see that strong majorities of Trump voters support most of the actions listed. However, support falls close to half over the push to end birthright citizenship, withdrawing from the World Health Organisation, pardoning the January 6th felons and renaming the Gulf of Mexico, and only a minority support seeking US control of Greenland.

There were some notable discrepancies in approval for various actions between positive and negative Trump voters, the latter being less supportive in every case. There was little to choose between the two groups on ending the Ukraine war, asking Europe to be more militarily self-sufficient and recognising only two sexes. However, there were large gaps in other areas, including tariffs (backed by 72% of positive Trump voters but only 47% of the more reluctant group, a 25-point gap), withdrawing from the Paris Agreement (24 points), leaving the WHO (23 points), pardoning January 6th felons, renaming the Gulf of Mexico (both 29 points), and seeking control of Greenland (27 points, with only 20% of reluctant Trump voters backing the idea).

In our focus groups, most Trump voters strongly supported the administration's actions on **border security and illegal migration.** However, there were mixed views on the harder-line approach to deporting illegal migrants, especially those who had arrived as children and cases where hasty or erroneous decisions may have been made. Some said the new approach was already having an impact in their neighbourhoods and communities.

66 If you didn't come here legally, goodbye. I just don't want people who are here legally to get snatched up by mistake. That's my concern." [DT, GA]

66 I think it's very black and white. If it's done legally, fine. If it's not done legally, not OK. People say there's so much grey area, but there's really not." [DT, GA]

66 I think there is a grey area. Some of my friends, their parents brought them here when they were kids, this is all they know. Venezuelans taking over apartment complexes, get them the hell out of here. But the kids who are trying to make it work and are scared to go through the legal process because their parents brought them, I don't know." [DT, GA]

66 They didn't care about due process coming in illegally, so why should we give them due process?" [DT, NV]

66 You can't get your car washed. You can't get your house painted. They see ICE [Immigration and Customs Enforcement], they run. We have little corner stores with Spanish food. Are they legal? All we know is we use the store, and when ICE came up, store's closed. People are running scared." [KH, PA]

The Trump voters in our groups were strongly in favour of **recognising only two sexes** and especially **banning men from women's sport.** Some pointed out that there were rare complex cases such as individuals whose anatomy does not fit a binary classification, but beyond this most felt that the new policy represented an important correction from the Biden administration's approach.

66 I think defining gender is definitely a positive. But let's not have any discrimination for those who are choosing different paths." [DT, GA]

66 If there's one thing he's done right, it's about men playing in women's sports. And he made changes about transgender in the military. I think there have to be boundaries that were somehow lost in the last administration." [KH, NV]

66 It's not fair that if you're going to change into a woman you should be allowed to use the same bathroom as a little kid, and then I have to explain to my daughter, well, they decided that they're going to change." [DT, NV]

66 It's to protect people like the doctors I work with. You have someone who identifies as a woman, biologically male, and they say they can't get prostate cancer, but they have prostate cancer. How do you deal with that?" [DT, GA]

There was also broad support among Trump voters for **rolling back DEI** (Diversity, Equity and Inclusion) initiatives. Though some emphasised that DEI at its best could help ensure that organisations were serving people from all backgrounds – such as economically disadvantaged children in school districts – participants from various ethnic backgrounds felt that things had gone too far in some respects.

" If I get the position over someone else, I want it to be merit-based. I have the skill set, the experience, the knowledge to take on this client and perform the duties. I don't ever want to be considered a DEI hire." [DT, GA]

" I spend most of my time having to tell people I'm a she/her. I say it all day long, and my job tells us we have to say it." [DT, PA]

Mixed views were expressed about DOGE (the Department of Government Efficiency). Many agreed that a great deal of waste could be eliminated from the federal government and that such a project was long overdue. However, some worried that decisions were being taken too quickly and recklessly, potentially compromising important services as well as costing jobs. Trump voters were also divided over Elon Musk: while some applauded his expertise and willingness to help the country, there were concerns that he had seemed to wield considerable political power in an unelected position, and that his remit had not included consideration of the consequences of his cuts.

" The DOGE program has identified so much waste and fraud, social security numbers being misused, money going to other countries for gender-affirming identity programs. A lot of foolishness is being uncovered." [DT, GA]

" Most people don't understand the abject waste that both parties have created. Tell me one thing that our government does efficiently, just one. Governments just don't have a concept that this is our money. They just spend it like Monopoly money. I'm surprised at the pace, but it's needed, with the trillions of dollars we are in debt." [DT, GA]

" It doesn't seem like it's being done right. It's like a bull in a china shop. Some things in the china shop are worth money." [DT, GA]

" He's a good businessman and he knows numbers. He knows the bottom line, when you're paying out too much or whatever. He's psychotically crazy, but he's also extremely smart." [DT, NV]

" He's going in with fresh eyes and he has no vested interest. There's no benefit for him except to help the country." [DT, PA]

" He's a logical thinker, he's not a humanitarian. He's like a computer, he's one and zero. When you tell it to do one thing, it looks good but it might cause problems down the line. He's not worried about that, he's focused on the issue he's trying to solve." [DT, NV]

Which of the following do you think are the most important issues facing the US at the moment?

[NB voters could choose up to three issues]

All		2024 Trump		2024 Harris	
Inflation and the cost of living	44%	Inflation and the cost of living	42%	Inflation and the cost of living	44%
The economy and jobs	30%	Immigration and border control	41%	The economy and jobs	30%
Immigration and border control	25%	The economy and jobs	29%	Social security / welfare	22%
Healthcare	17%	Taxes	16%	Healthcare	21%
Social security / welfare	17%	Government borrowing and debt	16%	Climate change / the environment	20%
Taxes	13%	Crime	16%	Defending constitutional rights	18%
Climate change / the environment	12%	Defense and national security	13%	America's standing and reputation in the world	15%
Crime	12%	Healthcare	12%	Immigration and border control	13%
Defending constitutional rights	12%	Stopping the 'woke' agenda	12%	Income inequality	12%
Housing	10%	Social security / welfare	11%	Abortion	11%

When we asked people what they thought were the **top three issues facing the US,** inflation and the cost of living was the most frequent answer – both for Trump and Harris voters. The economy and jobs also appeared in the top three overall and for both sets of voters. Immigration and border control was second among Trump voters (named by 41%) but only eighth for Harris voters, while social security and welfare were third for Harris voters but tenth for Trump voters. Five of the Trump voters' top ten issues do not appear on the Harris voters' list, and vice versa.

How do you think the American economy will do over the next year...

...for the US as a whole?

	All voters	2024 Trump voters	2024 Harris voters
Very well	16%	32%	5%
Fairly well	26%		11%
		44%	30%
Fairly badly	23%		
		13%	50%
Very badly	28%	6%	
Don't know	7%	5%	4%

...for you and your family?

	All voters	2024 Trump voters	2024 Harris voters
Very well	15%	26%	7%
Fairly well	33%		22%
		48%	34%
Fairly badly	25%		
		14%	29%
Very badly	19%	6%	
Don't know	8%	6%	7%
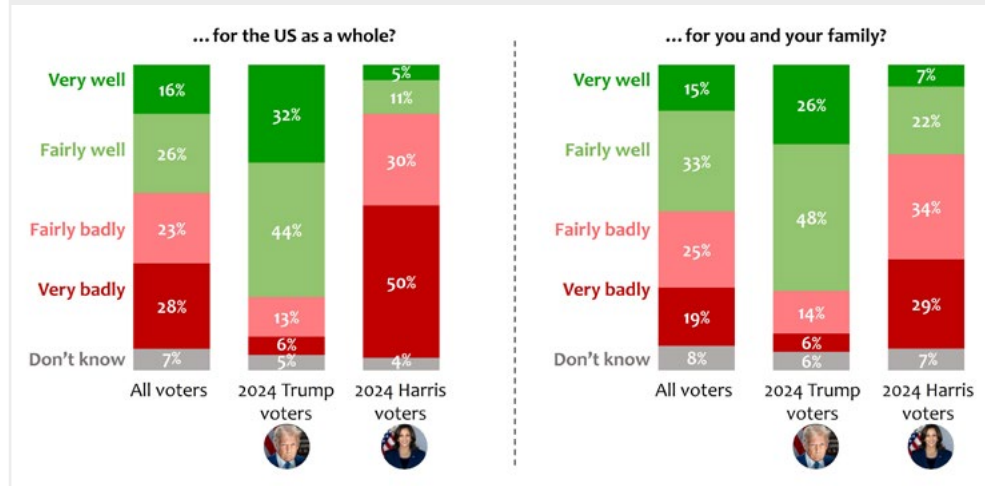
Americans thought **prospects for the economy** were better for themselves and their families (48% expecting things to fairly or very well) than for the US as a whole (42%). Most of the difference is accounted for by Harris voters, who were nearly twice as likely to expect the economy to do well for them personally (29%) as for the country in general (16%).

Three quarters of 2024 Trump voters were optimistic about the economy, both for themselves and the US more broadly. However, while around 8 in 10 positive Trump voters expected things to go well on both fronts, the same was true for only around half of those who voted for him more reluctantly.

Even the most enthusiastic Trump voters in our groups did not claim the economy had improved noticeably since he took office. Prices were still high and rising, especially for groceries, some were worried by stock market volatility, and several said business was slow because of a general air of uncertainty. Some were prepared to give Trump time and the benefit of the doubt, but some of his more reluctant voters were less hopeful and starting to be frustrated about the lack of tangible progress.

66 I voted for Trump because he was supposedly going to fix the economy, and I don't think I see him doing that. He's doing things that are causing more people to lose their jobs." [DT, PA]

66 I live off my 401k and it's scary when it's down 20% in three weeks. It's frightening, especially when you're older. You don't have time for it to catch up." [DT, NV]

66 Travel is down, air traffic is down. In the short term, people are confused and they want to save what they have and see where it's going." [DT, GA]

66 My job, things are down 30% in tourism. A lot of international people aren't showing up. They're worried if there's a glitch in their papers they're going to get tied and sent to El Salvador. The Chinese aren't coming in as much. In my taxi I'm down 30% in rides a night. So we're praying everything changes here soon." [DT, NV]

66 I'll know things are better when family life is affordable. When the middle class is able to take a vacation and not have to save a whole year just to go." [DT, NV]

66 ...when we have lower interest rates and I can afford to buy a home." [DT, PA]

66 ...when I don't live paycheck to paycheck." [DT, PA]

As you may know, earlier this month President Trump announced tariffs on imports to the US. As far as you personally are concerned do you think they will bring:
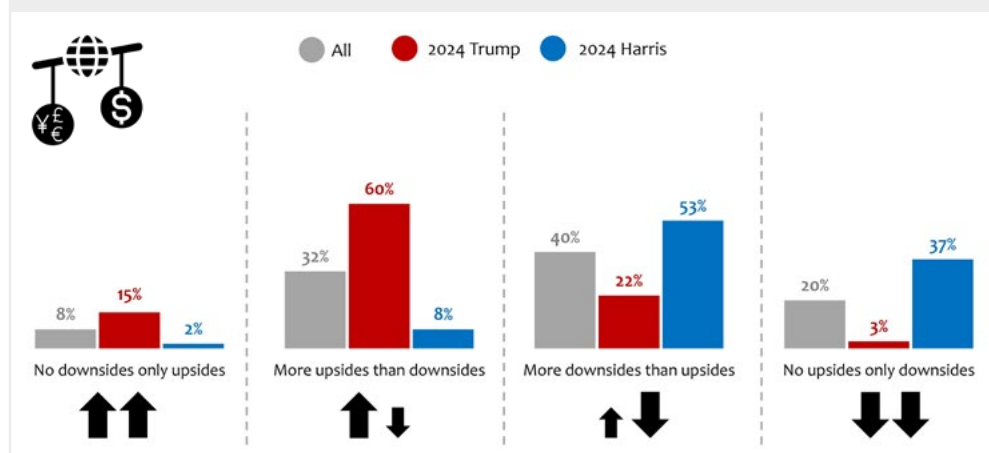
We found 40% of Americans thinking that **President Trump's tariffs** had upsides but no downsides, or that the upsides outweighed the downsides. This included 75% of those who voted for Trump. However, 60% – including a quarter of Trump voters – thought the downsides outweighed the upsides, or that the tariffs had no upsides at all.

Positive Trump voters approved of tariffs (saying the upsides outweighed the downsides or that there were no downsides) by 80% to 20%. Those who voted for Trump reluctantly did so by just 52% to 48%.

Our focus group participants had a number of explanations as to what President Trump was aiming to achieve with his tariffs (whether they thought they would be effective or not): creating a more level playing field for international trade; bringing back jobs to the US; cutting the US trade deficit; making America more self-sufficient; raising money to reduce the deficit or cut taxes; tackle drug trafficking from China, Canada or Mexico; or some combination of the above. Some admitted they were not really sure what the tariffs were for or how they would work, but felt that there were things in the way trade and the economy

worked that needed correcting, and trusted that Trump had a plan and knew what he was doing. These people usually took it as read that the tariffs were "reciprocal" and matched what other countries were charging on US imports.

> 66 I don't know a whole lot about tariffs but it made sense because at the end of the day, Trump is a businessman. I remember when we started shipping jobs overseas and you'd all customer service and get someone who you couldn't understand. I understand that the concept was to ship it over to get it done cheaper, but what does it do to the people who could be working those jobs?" [DT, GA]

> 66 I think his ultimate goal is to stop making the US a welfare state, being dependent on everyone else and paying everyone else for things we need, when it's not reciprocated back. He's like, I'm in charge now, you're going to pay your dues." [DT, GA]

> 66 I thought it had to do with some kind of trade deficit, where we're importing more goods from a given country than they're importing from us. And the idea is basically to say, take our stuff and we'll take your stuff, or we'll make it financially terrible to buy your stuff." [DT, NV]

> 66 On the internet there's a list of all the countries and the trade deficits we have with them and what they are charging over and above the US. I knew there were some, but I didn't know it was that bad. We pay a premium to ship our goods to other countries, and he's trying to get an even playing field." [DT, NV]

> 66 I'm a little spooked, but at the same time, I have a lot of faith in it. He's going to pull a rabbit out of the hat. He just needs more time. He's not going to be a pushover to all these other countries." [DT, NV]

The Trump voters in our groups had mixed views about the wisdom of imposing the tariffs. Those in favour thought any short-term disruption would be worth enduring for the longer-term benefits – principally a stronger domestic manufacturing sector, better international trading terms for the US and less reliance on foreign suppliers in strategic industries.

66 I think it's a combination of having people pay their fair share and bringing back jobs, but I don't think it's bringing back the 1950s economy, it's more highly skilled jobs. A great example is Japan investing in AI in America. I think that's a big deal. It's going to create jobs that we don't know about today." [DT, GA]

66 Within a week of announcing the tariffs, Vietnam stepped up and said, if you reduce ours to zero, we'll do the same thing. Other countries are going to say, we want a part of this too. He plays 4-D chess a lot of the time." [DT, NV]

66 I'm in retail sales and its killing us. I think we probably import 70% of our merchandise. I see this every day and my Democratic co-workers are freaking out. I keep telling them it's short-term pain for long-term gain. It'll get better." [DT, GA]

66 We have all these electronic vehicles on the road, but we have no battery support. We should stop promoting things we can't sustain. But I think it might cost us." [DT, NV]

Reservations about tariffs included the prospect of higher prices and living costs, shortages of imported goods, the risk of alienating international partners and allies, and general economic uncertainty and disruption. Some also suspected that tariffs were designed in part to raise revenue to create headroom for tax cuts at the top end of the income scale, meaning poorer and middle-class people would pay the costs while higher-income people reaped the benefits.

66 It would be one thing if it was bringing more revenue to your home, but you're not. It's just additional expenses, right?" [DT, GA]

66 It's going to cause a lot of empty shelves, so the American people are going to suffer for that. It may be short term, but you're going to feel it." [DT, PA]

66 If you alienate a country, other countries are not going to want to deal with you because they see how you treated that country. I think we're making enemies that way." [DT, PA]

66 You can't find an offset to get those tax breaks for Trump and his buddies without doing something radical. That's what this is about. He's funding tax cuts for himself and others. It's not about reshoring, or he'd take a different approach. It's about trying to pile up money." [DT, GA]

66 People are getting laid off because of the tariffs. MGM is laying off a lot of people. Our tourism is down. We're being boycotted by Canada." [DT, NV]

Reflecting on the 90-day pause following the initial tariffs announced on 2 April, the more committed Trump voters tended to assume that this was part of his planned negotiating strategy or was showing commendable flexibility. More reluctant Trump voters, as well as Harris voters, tended to conclude that his hand had been forced by the bond markets or that he was making it up as he went along. The change in direction made some of these voters nervous and uncertain about where the end point would be.

❝ I noticed that he's been pivoting, so he's listening to someone. They're talking to him – 'this is how it's going to go down if you keep this up'. So he's walking it back. It's humility, that's a good characteristic. That actually wins some points for me.**❞** [DT, GA]

❝ Trump's thing is all about the shock factor. When he announced the tariffs it was kind of chaos, and now he's scaled back. But I think that's how he operates.**❞** [DT, PA]

❝ If you're going to make a decision, stand by your decision and have your exact reason, say 'this is why I did it'. And you can explain, 'in the short term your stocks might suffer, prices might go up, but my long-term vision is this'.**❞** [DT, PA]

❝ Everything he does is transactional. I want this, you give me that, we'll do this if you do that.**❞** [DT, NV]

The groups also debated how much "short-term" disruption would be tolerable before they started to see the benefits. Several stressed that even if the tariffs worked in Trump's terms, the full effects would not be seen for some years.

❝ I think what he's doing is right. It's just going to take time. And I don't have his money. I can't be patient like he can.**❞** [DT, GA]

❝ I understand about short-term pain for long-term gain, but I'm suffering now.**❞** [DT, NV]

❝ My pain threshold is he's got to get things done and get things in place before two years, because he's going to lose the House and the Senate if he doesn't. And then these programmes are not going to continue and he'll be a lame duck president.**❞** [DT, LV]

❝ If Ford says we're going to reshore these plants, well, they've got to build the plant. They're not going to put it together in 24 hours. It's going to take years, but it's coming back.**❞** [DT, PA]

SECURITY – defined by e.g. health, wealth and wellbeing

DIVERSITY – defined by e.g. ethnicity, culture, and population density

Legend:
- 2024 vote
- How do you think the US economy will do over the next year?
- Top three issues facing the US
- Approval of the way Trump is handling his job as President

Plotted points:
Strongly disapprove, Transgender rights, Tackling racial injustice, Very badly, Income inequality, Jill Stein, Kamala Harris, Climate change, Defending constitutional rights, Abortion, America's global standing, Healthcare, Fairly badly, Somewhat disapprove, Foreign policy, Education, Transport, Housing, Social security, The economy, Taxes, Mental health, The cost of living, Crime, Energy security, Very well, Care for the elderly, Fairly well, National security, Addiction, Chase Oliver, Somewhat approve, Immigration, Donald Trump, Strongly approve, Government debt, Stopping the 'woke agenda'

Our **political map** shows how different issues, attributes, personalities and opinions interact with one another. Each point shows where we are most likely to find people with that characteristic or opinion; the closer the plot points are to each other the more closely related they are. Here we see how political views and voting patterns are distributed throughout the electorate, with Trump voters most likely to be found in the less diverse, less prosperous and more rural bottom right quadrant. This is also where we are most likely to find those who are optimistic about the economy, who approve of Trump's performance to date, and who prioritise issues including immigration, national security, crime and tax.

Harris voters are most likely to appear in the more prosperous, diverse, urban and liberal-leaning top left, where we are also most likely to find voter whose priorities include climate change, transgender rights, abortion and social security. The economy and the cost of living appear close to the centre of the map, showing these are near-universal concerns not confined to any one part of the electorate.

The opposition

We presented voters with a number of statements about **why Donald Trump won the presidential election** and asked how strongly they agreed or disagreed with each one. For Harris voters, the three statements that commanded the most agreement were that too many voters were short-sighted and didn't realise what was at stake; that too many people couldn't accept the idea of a woman being president; and that too many people couldn't accept the idea of a person of colour being president.

Only 15% of Harris voters agreed that Harris was not up to the job of being president, and 24% thought the Democrats' values were too different from those of most Americans.

Here are some reasons people have given why Donald Trump won last year's presidential election. How strongly do you agree or disagree with each statement?

[NB showing SUM agree: somewhat + strongly agree, showing top ten reasons]

All		2024 Trump		2024 Harris	
Trump offered a vision that many people found attractive	67%	Trump offered a vision that many people found attractive	88%	Too many voters were short-sighted and didn't realise what was at stake	80%
Too many people felt worse off than they had four years previously	63%	Trump highlighted problems many thought the Democrats couldn't / wouldn't tackle	85%	Too many people couldn't accept the idea of a woman being president	78%
Trump highlighted problems many thought the Democrats couldn't / wouldn't tackle	58%	The Democrats tried to hide Biden's condition and forced through Harris nomination	82%	Too many people couldn't accept the idea of a person of color being president	64%
The Democrats tried to hide Biden's condition and forced through Harris nomination	57%	Kamala Harris wasn't up to the job of being president	81%	Kamala Harris was a good candidate, but failed to communicate effectively	58%
The Democrats took minority voters for granted	55%	The Democrats' values were too different from those of most Americans	74%	Too many people felt worse off than they had four years previously	57%
Too many voters were short-sighted and didn't realise what was at stake	55%	Too many people felt worse off than they had four years previously	73%	Donald Trump offered a vision that many people found attractive	50%
Too many people couldn't accept the idea of a woman being president	53%	The Democrats took minority voters for granted	69%	The Democrats took minority voters for granted	48%
Kamala Harris wasn't up to the job of being president	47%	The Democrats might have won with a candidate other than Kamala Harris	39%	The Democrats might have won with a candidate other than Kamala Harris	48%
The Democrats' values were too different from those of most Americans	47%	Too many voters were short-sighted and didn't realise what was at stake	34%	The Democrats tried to hide Biden's condition and forced through Harris nomination	37%
The Democrats might have won with a candidate other than Kamala Harris	43%	Too many people couldn't accept the idea of a woman being president	31%	Trump highlighted problems many thought the Democrats couldn't / wouldn't tackle	36%

A political map titled with axes SECURITY – defined by e.g. health, wealth and wellbeing (vertical) and DIVERSITY – defined by e.g. ethnicity, culture, and population density (horizontal).

Legend:
- 2024 vote (pink)
- Reasons Trump won (blue)

Labels:
- People couldn't accept a female President
- Kamala Harris
- Harris was a good candidate but failed to communicate
- People couldn't accept a President of color
- Voters didn't realise what was at stake
- Reps would have won easier with a different candidate
- Trump offered an attractive vision
- Jill Stein
- Dems might have won with a different candidate
- Too many people felt worse off than 4 years ago
- Trump highlighted problems the Dems wouldn't fix
- Dems' values are too different
- Chase Oliver
- Dems took minority voters for granted
- Harris wasn't up to the job
- Donald Trump
- Dems hid the truth about Joe Biden

Our political map shows how different parts of American society view the reasons for the election result. The largely Trump-voting bottom right is where we are most likely to find those who said people felt worse off under Biden, that the Democrats took minorities for granted, that Harris was not up to the job and that Trump offered an attractive vision. Those who thought the result was explained by voters not realising what was at stake, not accepting a woman or a person of colour, or that Harris was a good candidate but did not communicate effectively are most likely to appear in the more prosperous Democrat-leaning top left.

In our focus groups, Trump voters – including those who had voted for him only reluctantly – felt that **Harris had lost because** she was inauthentic, pandered to minorities, had no distinct policies from the failing Biden administration and had been imposed as the nominee without a primary. They also believed people felt worse off under Biden, and that the Democrats were not to be trusted on the economy, were to focused on minority cultural issues like transgender rights, were too ready to hand out welfare, could not be trusted with taxpayers' money and no longer represented working- or middle-class voters.

A few of our Harris voters made similar points, especially that Harris emerged as the nominee much too late in the process. More often, however, they argued that voters had been too reluctant to choose a minority woman and had not understood the issues, or that the Democrat campaign had been ineffective and insufficiently aggressive.

66 I think they went too far left. Even if that's what they want to be, you have to realise your entire congregation." [KH, GA]

66 There was a lack of a viable, established platform in the Democratic Party. To this day I still don't know what the hell it stands for." [KH, PA]

66 It was very last minute. The Democratic Party failed themselves. No-one else stepped to the plate. It was just her." [KH, NV]

66 I don't think America is at that point to put a female – a black female – in the office. We're not there yet." [KH, GA]

66 I don't know what the result says about the party. I know what it says about race and gender in America." [KH, DT]

66 Kamala tried to empower people with joy and they made fun of her laugh. And not having the fight to say, a black woman's joy should not be a threat to you." [KH, GA]

66 There are clearly a lot of crazies and low-information voters. And I don't give them a pass for being low-information, because we all have cell phones that have Google on them. So I don't know if they're stupid or racist or both. I think being ignorant and not having any intellectual curiosity is just sinful." [KH, GA]

66 No-one was thinking logically. They were just being greedy and saying, well, I need a job. If he gets rid of all the immigrants, I will have a job." [KH, GA]

66 The Democratic Party thinks more and wants to dig into the weeds more than just a catchy phrase. And that loses people because it's complex and you're fighting a different fight. Somebody over here is playing basketball and you're over here doing ballet." [KH, GA]

66 She didn't attack Trump in the way she should have and clearly laid out all the crimes against him, his impeachments, everything, so the American people knew what a criminal Trump was." [KH, NV]

66 It's not like the convictions or the comparisons to Hitler were a secret. Is it something the Democrats have not done, or something the American people chose to put the blinders on and not see?" [KH, NV]

66 The Democrats were relying on the fact that Donald Trump is a terrible person. They put all their eggs in that basket." [KH, PA]

How good a job would you say the Democrats are doing at opposing President Trump and his agenda?

	An excellent job	A fairly good job	A fairly bad job	A terrible job	Don't know
All voters	10%	23%	24%	30%	12%
2024 Trump	17%	23%	17%	32%	10%
2024 Harris	6%	25%	32%	31%	6%

Which of the following comes closest to your view?

	The Democrats have a duty to fight every part of President Trump's agenda using every means at its disposal	Don't know	The Democrats should accept that President Trump has a mandate and should pick and choose which elements of his agenda to oppose carefully
All	41%	10%	48%
2024 Trump	15%	6%	79%
2024 Harris	72%	6%	22%

Overall, only 1 in 3 Americans said they thought the Democrats were doing a good job **opposing President Trump and his agenda,** with more than half saying they were doing a bad job. Those who had voted for Harris were even more critical of the Democrats than voters as a whole: 63% said the party was doing either a fairly bad job (32%) or a terrible job (31%) at opposing Trump and his agenda.
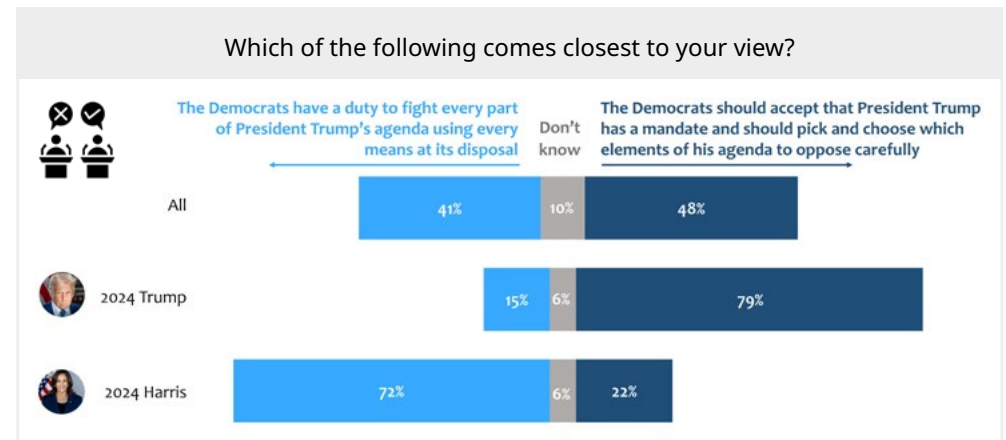
A large majority of those who voted for Harris said the Democrats should **fight every part of President Trump's agenda** using every means at their disposal. Only just over 1 in 5 (22%) took the view that the president had a mandate and that the Democrats should pick and choose carefully which elements of his agenda to oppose.

Discussing whether and how **the Democrats needed to change,** reluctant Trump voters in our groups tended to argue that the party needed to understand why it no longer seemed aligned with mainstream voters' values and priorities. Though some had heard figures within the party making the same point, they did not feel this was yet the prevailing view in Democrat circles.

This was effectively confirmed by our groups of Harris voters. Some believed the Democrats should be clearer about what they were offering and seek to broaden their appeal beyond their existing base. However, there was a widespread view that the party needed more effective and aggressive campaigns in opposition to Trump and the Republicans. Some also felt that the Democrats needed to study what they saw as the Republican dark arts and take a leaf out of the GOP playbook.

> Some are saying 'this is not the way it works, we've got to do a better job'. If you look at the Post and the Times, you've got Rahm Emanuel and James Carville saying 'we need to look at this'. I don't think they've landed yet, but some people do get it." [DT, GA]

> They don't know what they want as a party. They're still lost, there's a confusion." [KH, GA]

> It doesn't make sense to talk about certain subjects ad nauseam, like the trans stuff. I love drag queens, I have trans friends, but those same people want a strong economy, high paying jobs, healthcare. Let's focus on the majors and not on the minors." [KH, GA]

> The loudest ones are extremely progressive, and that's not going to appeal to the middle. And people want to vote for a personality, someone who's fun to watch. We don't have that in the Democratic Party because I think they really want to be perfect. So it gets rid of a lot of their authenticity." [KH, PA]

> Up to the early 90s, the Democrats were the party of the working guy. Republicans were always seen as white-collar, elitist corporate America. When did that tide change? That's what nobody's looking at." [KH, PA]

> I don't think the Democrats have devoted enough time to looking at why they're voting for this criminal. How come they ignore his ignorance and his comments and they're blind to it? What is the message that he's giving? How can we craft a message, not to look like that, but to wake these people up?" [KH, PA]

> The older generation are fighting in ways that don't work anymore. We need people who can stand up, like AOC and Jasmine Crockett. The older Democrats don't want to hurt anyone's feelings. You got to hurt some feelings now." [KH, GA]

> They're too busy playing 100 year-old politics bullshit games in DC." [KH, GA]

> They should do everything in opposition to the Republicans. We need to define an agenda that is anti their agenda. However, we need to use their tricks against them. We always bank on our moral issues and then we get kicked." [KH, GA]

> They should be far more radical. I still don't forgive the Democratic Party for what they did to Bernie Sanders. I think we could have won with him as the candidate. In retrospect, I think they lost the faith and support of an entire generation. They realise they can't count on the party they voted for." [KH, PA]

Among Trump voters, President Trump received the highest **personal approval rating** (+78), followed by JD Vance (+64), Robert F. Kennedy (+52), Elon Musk (+50), Ron DeSantis (+40) and Marco Rubio (+39). Trump's score among positive 2024 Trump voters was +87; among reluctant Trump voters it was +32. The most popular figures among Harris voters were Kamala Harris (+74), Bernie Sanders (+60) and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortex (+37).

Trump voters had a generally favourable impression of **JD Vance** and often praised him as a more thoughtful or articulate version of the president.

66 I like JD Vance. He's no-nonsense but he does it in a classier way than Trump. Trump should take a cue from him, but he won't." [DT, GA]

66 They both have this brash attitude but where Trump can seem like he's flying by the seat of his pants, everything that comes out of Vance's mouth, he's thought about it." [DT, PA]

Other figures spontaneously mentioned in our focus groups included **Marco Rubio** ("Very well respected by everybody. If I put my money on someone to run next time it would be him. He's matured, or something. There's something about him" [GA]; "He's doing a great job. I like that he appointed someone who actually understands this part of the hemisphere. He's a guy who can be straight to the point" [NV]), **Kristi Noem**, and **Robert F. Kennedy Jr.,** though he inspired mixed views: ("A good example of somebody making changes" [GA]; "What he's doing with food dyes that harm people. He's finally taking a stance" [NV]; "I'm surprised he's been put in charge of Health and Human Services. Some of the things I've heard him say, like about vaccines, I'm thinking, 'that's not true'. So it's kind of scary to me" [PA]).

How favourable or unfavourable is your opinion of each of the following?

Legend — Unfavourable: All voters, 2024 Trump, 2024 Harris. Favourable: All voters, 2024 Trump, 2024 Harris.

	Unfavourable (All / 2024 Trump / 2024 Harris)	Favourable (All / 2024 Trump / 2024 Harris)
Donald Trump	51% / 8% / 92%	42% / 86% / 5%
Kamala Harris	43% / 78% / 7%	42% / 13% / 81%
Bernie Sanders	30% / 54% / 9%	42% / 21% / 69%
JD Vance	44% / 10% / 82%	36% / 74% / 7%
Robert F Kennedy Jr.	37% / 11% / 69%	36% / 63% / 14%
Elon Musk	52% / 17% / 87%	34% / 67% / 7%
Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez	30% / 50% / 13%	28% / 15% / 50%
Ron DeSantis	34% / 12% / 62%	26% / 52% / 8%
Marco Rubio	31% / 11% / 57%	26% / 50% / 9%
Hakeem Jeffries	21% / 33% / 11%	22% / 14% / 36%
Gavin Newsom	30% / 47% / 17%	22% / 15% / 37%
Mike Johnson	25% / 10% / 47%	21% / 41% / 8%
Chuck Schumer	34% / 49% / 24%	21% / 16% / 34%
Nikki Haley	28% / 17% / 46%	21% / 36% / 12%
Mike Waltz	26% / 28% / 27%	21% / 24% / 25%
Tulsi Gabbard	23% / 10% / 42%	21% / 41% / 7%
Josh Shapiro	18% / 22% / 18%	20% / 20% / 27%
Pete Hegseth	28% / 11% / 51%	20% / 41% / 7%
Gretchen Whitmer	20% / 30% / 14%	19% / 15% / 39%
JB Pritzker	16% / 21% / 15%	14% / 14% / 18%
John Thune	16% / 10% / 25%	13% / 25% / 6%
Scott Bessent	16% / 10% / 25%	13% / 24% / 6%

Many had reservations about **Pete Hegseth** ("He comes off a TV show. I know he has experience – thank you for your service, Mr Hegseth. I understand that part, but it's been a dilettantish amateur hour. Lives are at stake" [GA]). Though a few regarded **'Signalgate'** as a mishap that could have happened in any administration, some thought it was a serious indictment of how things seemed to be operating.

" Accidents are going to happen. It was a mistake and it was acknowledged. You move forward and don't try to hide it.**"** [DT, NV]

" It's emblematic of not paying attention, not putting your head down and doing the actual work. I just want someone to say 'I'll do better,' not that it's the liberal elites criticising me. It's an administration of no accountability.**"** [DT, GA]

" I was disappointed. It was sloppy.**"** [DT, NV]

Few in our groups took seriously the idea of **President Trump serving a third term**. Though a few thought he might pursue the idea but fail, his voters were more likely to think he was talking about the idea merely to annoy his opponents.

" He knows he's not going to get a third term. It's funny to watch all these people lose their minds for nothing.**"** [DT, PA]

Allies, adversaries and threats

Please say whether you see each of the following more as a friend and ally of the US, or as an adversary or threat to the US?

	Definitely an adversary/rival	More of an adversary/rival		More of a friend/ally	Definitely a friend/ally
UK		2%	4%	34%	33%
Canada		3%	8%	32%	32%
Australia		2%	6%	35%	29%
France		2%	6%	35%	24%
Japan		4%	9%	31%	24%
Germany		4%	8%	32%	20%
EU		3%	8%	31%	20%
Poland		2%	4%	31%	19%
Israel		6%	9%	25%	25%
Ukraine		6%	10%	29%	18%
Mexico		7%	14%	29%	15%
India		3%	8%	29%	10%
Saudi Arabia		11%	20%	18%	6%
Estonia		3%	5%	13%	7%
Pakistan		15%	23%	10%	4%
China	37%	24%		9%	4%
Russia	38%	23%		8%	4%
Iran	39%	22%		5%	3%
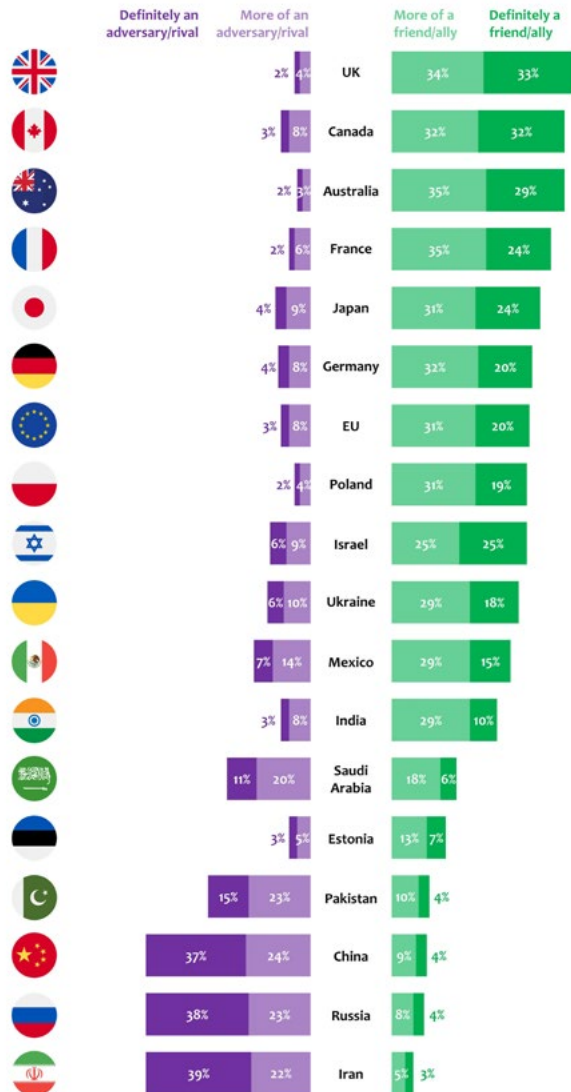
Please say whether you see each of the following more as a friend and ally of the UK, or as an adversary or threat to the UK?

	Definitely an adversary/rival	More of an adversary/rival		More of a friend/ally	Definitely a friend/ally
Australia			1%	39%	46%
Canada		1%	1%	39%	45%
Ukraine		1%	2%	41%	34%
Germany		1%	5%	44%	25%
Poland			1%	46%	21%
France		2%	9%	41%	25%
EU		5%	9%	38%	21%
Japan		1%	5%	37%	15%
USA		8%	20%	33%	9%
Estonia			2%	28%	11%
India		2%	9%	34%	4%
Mexico		1%	3%	22%	3%
Israel		11%	17%	17%	6%
Saudi Arabia		5%	22%	16%	2%
Pakistan		8%	20%	14%	2%
China	19%	33%		7%	
Iran	37%	30%		1%	
Russia	67%	18%		1%	
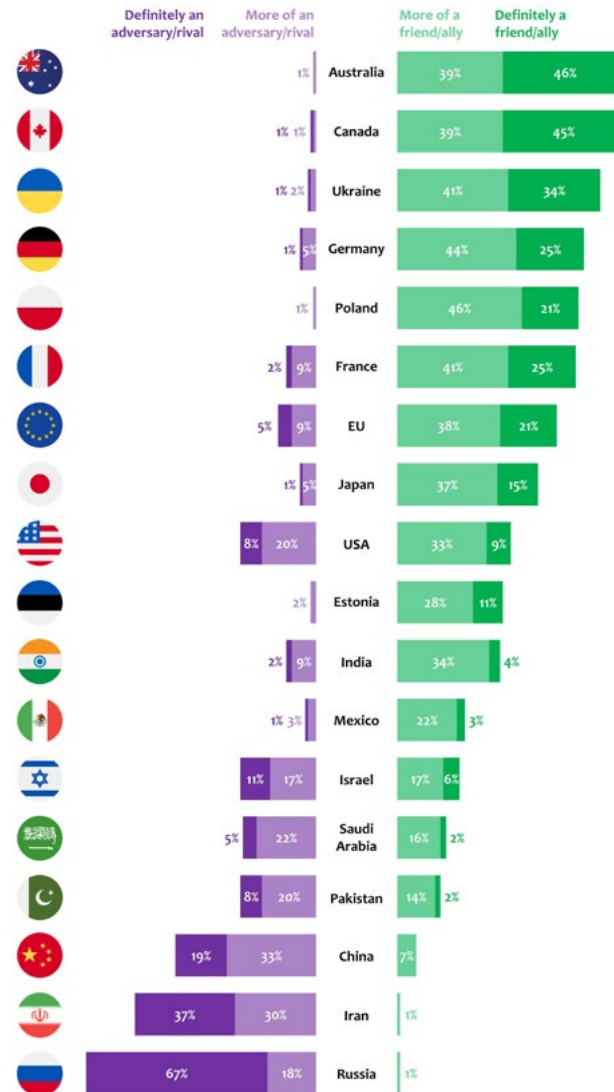
Please say whether you see each of the following more as a friend and ally of France, or as an adversary or threat to France?

	Definitely an adversary/rival	More of an adversary/rival		More of a friend/ally	Definitely a friend/ally
Germany		2%	4%	47%	25%
Canada		1%	3%	46%	24%
EU		4%	5%	34%	31%
UK		1%	7%	47%	13%
Ukraine		3%	6%	44%	13%
Poland		1%	6%	41%	11%
Australia		1%	3%	41%	8%
Japan		2%	8%	31%	6%
Estonia		2%	3%	28%	8%
USA		10%	24%	23%	4%
Israel		9%	12%	21%	4%
India		2%	8%	19%	3%
Mexico		1%	6%	19%	3%
Saudi Arabia		6%	22%	14%	2%
China		9%	31%	10%	3%
Pakistan		10%	22%	6%	2%
Russia	36%	32%		4%	2%
Iran	24%	25%		3%	2%
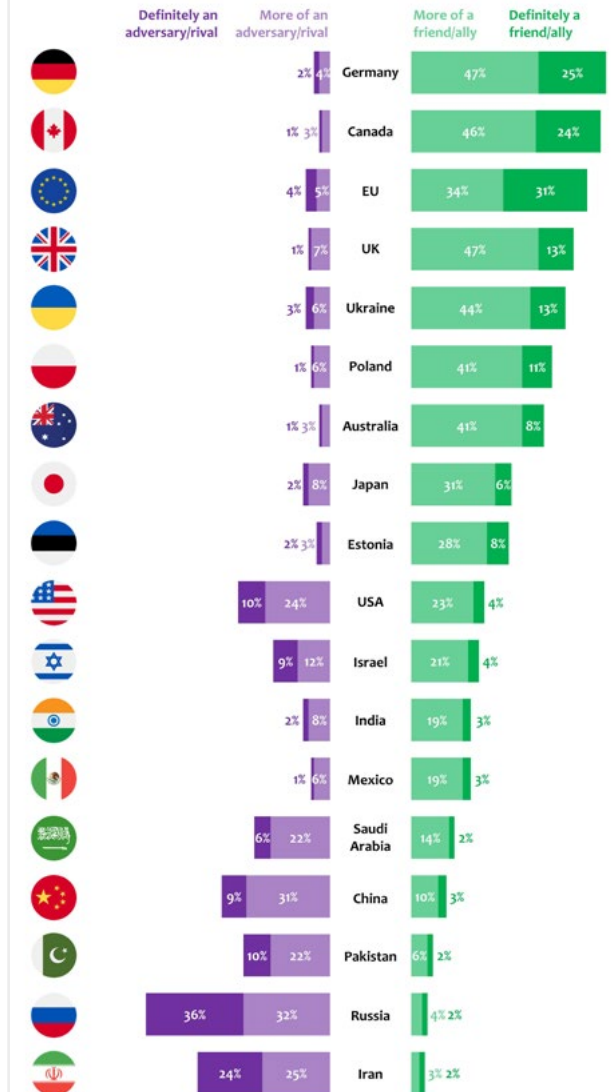
Please say whether you see each of the following more as a friend and ally of Germany, or as an adversary or threat to Germany?

	Definitely an adversary/rival	More of an adversary/rival	More of a friend/ally	Definitely a friend/ally
France		1% 2%	36%	46%
EU		3% 5%	27%	46%
Canada		1% 1%	36%	33%
UK		1% 4%	42%	24%
Poland		1% 5%	42%	22%
Australia		1%	38%	22%
Estonia		1% 1%	36%	23%
Ukraine		5% 7%	34%	22%
Japan		1% 6%	33%	21%
Israel		6% 11%	25%	9%
USA		5% 23%	24%	6%
Mexico		1% 3%	24%	4%
India		2% 7%	19%	3%
China		9% 27%	12%	3%
Saudi Arabia		7% 21%	10%	
Russia	44%	28%	6%	2%
Pakistan		7% 25%	4%	1%
Iran	24%	37%	2%	1%
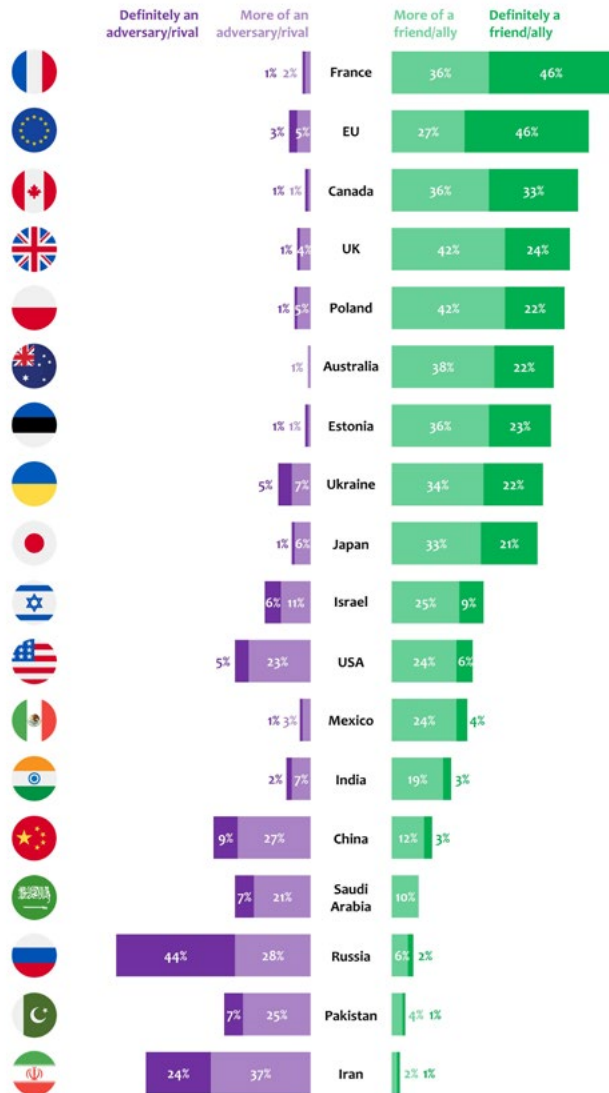
Please say whether you see each of the following more as a friend and ally of Poland, or as an adversary or threat to Poland?

	Definitely an adversary/rival	More of an adversary/rival	More of a friend/ally	Definitely a friend/ally
UK		1% 3%	53%	19%
Canada		1% 1%	48%	17%
EU		8% 9%	37%	27%
USA		3% 9%	45%	18%
France		3% 8%	46%	16%
Estonia		2%	42%	16%
Japan		2% 3%	48%	10%
Australia		2%	40%	11%
Germany		10% 15%	39%	11%
Ukraine		9% 13%	37%	11%
India		2% 6%	27%	2%
Mexico		1% 4%	23%	2%
China		7% 19%	21%	2%
Saudi Arabia		3% 10%	17%	1%
Israel		11% 17%	15%	1%
Pakistan		6% 15%	7%	2%
Iran		11% 23%	8%	1%
Russia	66%	16%	2%	1%
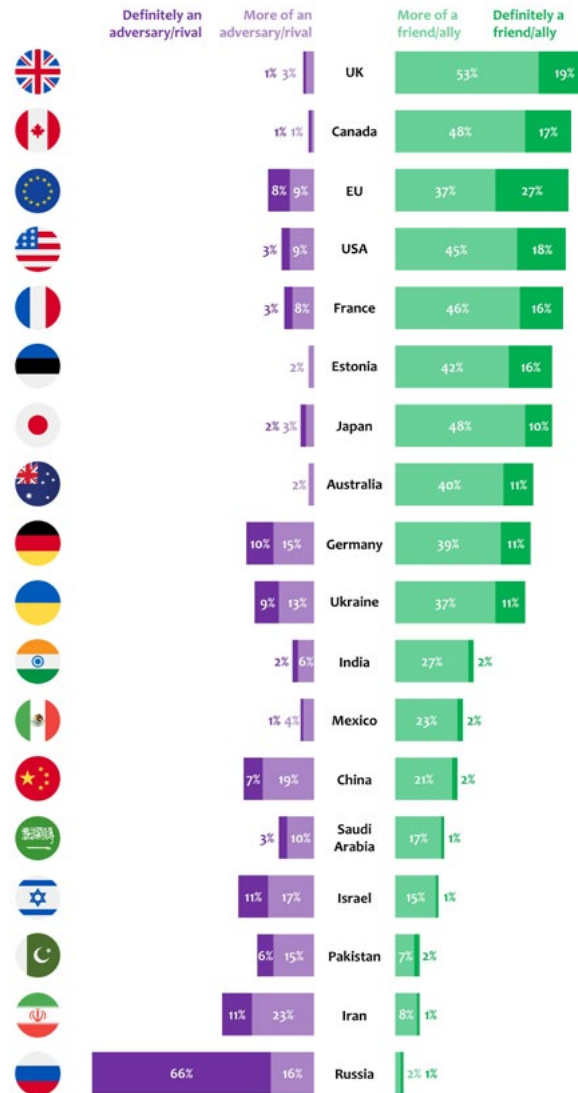
Please say whether you see each of the following more as a friend and ally of Estonia, or as an adversary or threat to Estonia?

	Definitely an adversary/rival	More of an adversary/rival	More of a friend/ally	Definitely a friend/ally
EU		3% 4%	33%	45%
Germany		1% 2%	46%	32%
Poland		1% 2%	39%	38%
UK		2% 3%	43%	31%
France		1% 2%	46%	28%
Ukraine		3% 4%	27%	46%
Canada		1% 1%	44%	27%
Australia		1% 1%	43%	19%
Japan		2% 3%	39%	16%
USA		3% 12%	36%	10%
Israel		5% 9%	20%	6%
Mexico		1% 5%	19%	4%
India		1% 5%	19%	2%
Saudi Arabia		2% 14%	10%	2%
China		8% 22%	10%	1%
Pakistan		5% 20%	7%	1%
Iran		12% 27%	5%	1%
Russia	68%	11%	3%	2%
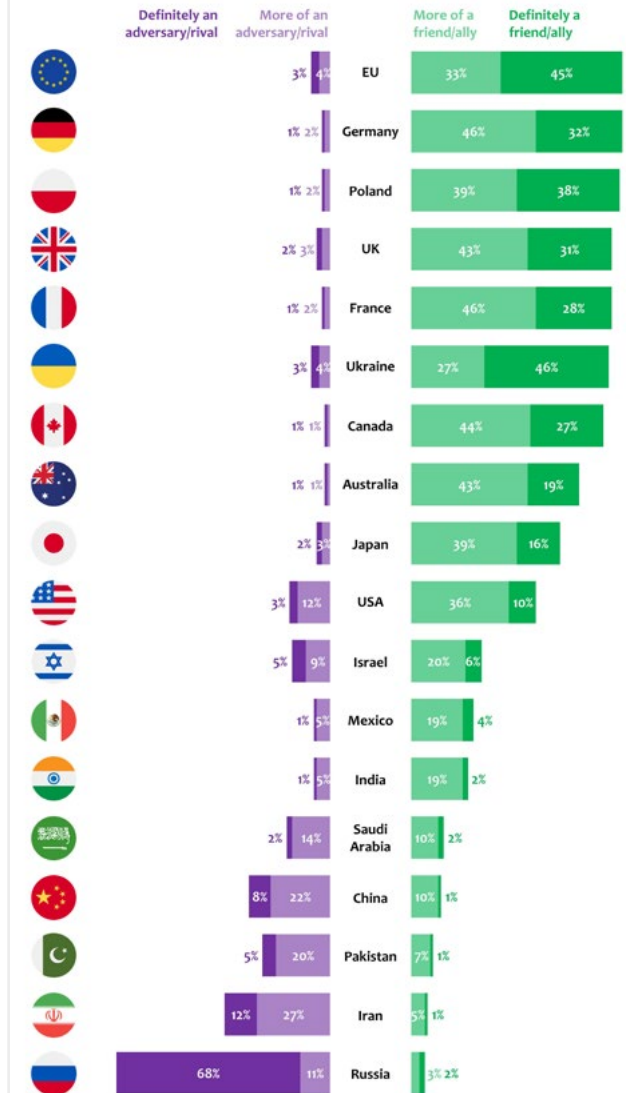
Asked whether they saw various countries as **allies, adversaries or neither,** Americans named the UK, Canada and Australia as the friendliest nations, with China, Russia and Iran seen equally negatively at the bottom of the table. However, there were some notable differences in view towards some countries by political affiliation:

- 58% of Trump voters see **Russia** as an adversary, compared to 71% of Harris voters.

- 61% of Trump voters see **Canada** as an ally, compared to 73% of Harris voters.

- 61% of Trump voters see **Israel** as an ally, compared to 46% of Harris voters.

- 46% of Trump voters see the **EU** as an ally, compared to 63% of Harris voters.

- 39% of Trump voters see **Mexico** as an ally, compared to 57% of Harris voters.

- 39% of Trump voters see **Ukraine** as an ally, compared to 62% of Harris voters.

There were also a number of apparently uneven relationships:

- 67% of Americans saw the UK as an ally, but only 42% of British people said the same of the US.

- 59% of Americans saw France as an ally, but only 27% of French people said the same of the US.

- 52% of Americans saw Germany as an ally, but only 30% of Germans said the same about the US.

- 63% of Poles saw the US as an ally, compared to 50% of Americans who said the same about Poland.

- 46% of Estonians saw the US as an ally, but only 20% of Americans said the same of Estonia (though 37% of Americans said they didn't know)

Americans were the least likely of the nations surveyed to see Russia as an adversary (61%). 68% said the same in France, 72% in Germany, 79% in Estonia, 82% in Poland and 85% in Britain.

By contrast, Americans were the most likely to see China as an adversary (61%). 52% said the same in Britain, 40% in France, 36% in Germany, 30% in Estonia and only 26% in Poland.

Threat ratings (%), by respondent country — categories: A very serious threat / A fairly serious threat / A small threat / Not a threat at all / Don't know

Russia

Threat level	US	UK	France	Germany	Poland	Estonia
A very serious threat	43	55	38	44	62	67
A fairly serious threat	29	28	33	29	22	15
A small threat	13	9	13	15	6	5
Not a threat at all	6	2	5	6	2	7
Don't know	8	6	11	6	8	7

Hamas and similar groups

Threat level	US	UK	France	Germany	Poland	Estonia
A very serious threat	38	37	39	35	16	29
A fairly serious threat	24	25	28	32	28	30
A small threat	17	18	12	20	25	20
Not a threat at all	7	8	5	3	7	4
Don't know	13	12	17	10	24	16

North Korea

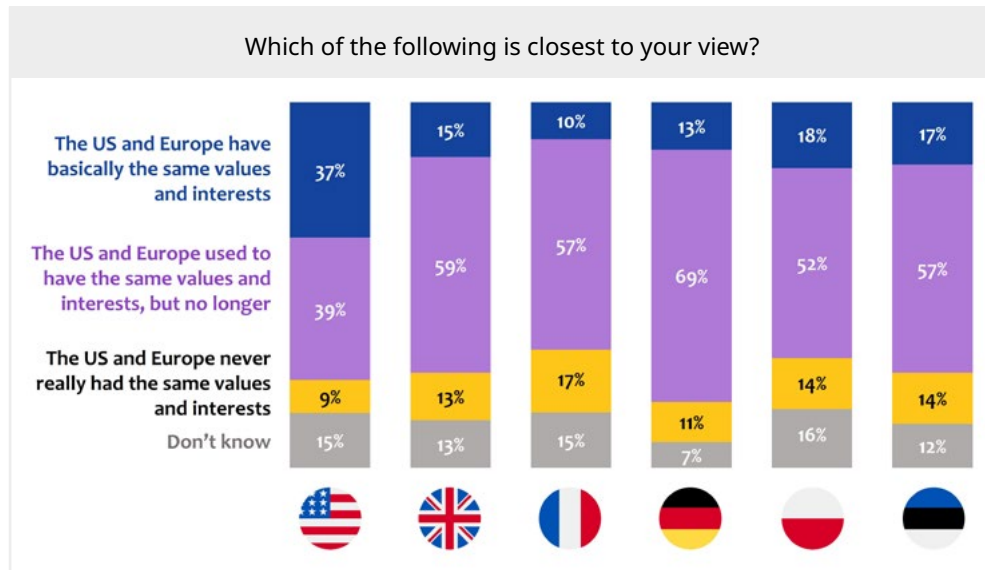| Threat level	US	UK	France	Germany	Poland	Estonia
A very serious threat	40	26	22	20	13	22
A fairly serious threat	28	29	29	26	27	31
A small threat	17	23	23	32	29	24
Not a threat at all	6	9	9	9	10	8
Don't know	9	12	17	13	20	15

Iran

Threat level	US	UK	France	Germany	Poland	Estonia
A very serious threat	34	22	21	17	7	10
A fairly serious threat	30	31	34	31	22	29
A small threat	18	27	20	35	35	31
Not a threat at all	7	5	5	4	11	7
Don't know	11	15	20	13	25	23

China

Threat level	US	UK	France	Germany	Poland	Estonia
A very serious threat	42	21	10	10	7	9
A fairly serious threat	28	33	30	26	25	27
A small threat	14	27	31	38	35	37
Not a threat at all	8	8	11	13	13	10
Don't know	8	11	18	13	20	17

USA

Threat level	UK	France	Germany	Poland	Estonia
A very serious threat	12	12	9	7	7
A fairly serious threat	24	27	24	13	18
A small threat	30	29	35	23	32
Not a threat at all	25	18	21	43	28
Don't know	9	14	11	14	15

People in Britain (83%), Poland (84%) and Estonia (82%) were the most likely to see Russia as a very or fairly **serious threat to their security.** Americans were the most likely of the nations surveyed to see China as a threat (70%), compared to 54% in Britain, 40% in France, 36% in Germany and Estonia, and just 32% in Poland. People in France and Germany were almost equally likely to see the US as a threat (39% and 35%) as they were to say the same of China (40% and 36%).
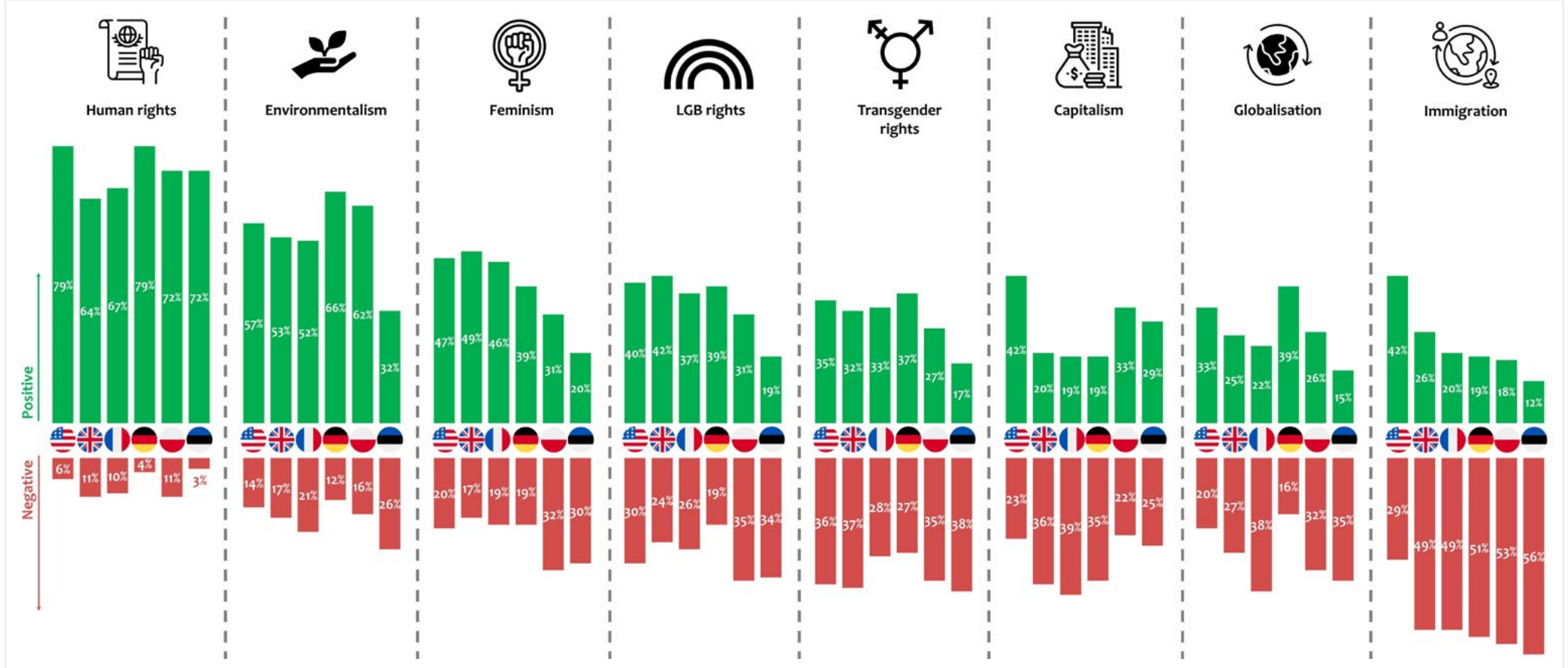
Values and interests

Which of the following is closest to your view?

	🇺🇸 US	🇬🇧 UK	🇫🇷 France	🇩🇪 Germany	🇵🇱 Poland	🇪🇪 Estonia
The US and Europe have basically the same values and interests	37%	15%	10%	13%	18%	17%
The US and Europe used to have the same values and interests, but no longer	39%	59%	57%	69%	52%	57%
The US and Europe never really had the same values and interests	9%	13%	17%	11%	14%	14%
Don't know	15%	13%	15%	7%	16%	12%

Americans were more than twice as likely as any European respondents to believe that the **US and Europe have basically the same values and interests.** A majority in all five European countries, rising to 69% in Germany, said the two had once had the same values and interests but no longer did so. Just under one fifth (17%) of French voters said the US and Europe had never really had the same values and interests in the first place.
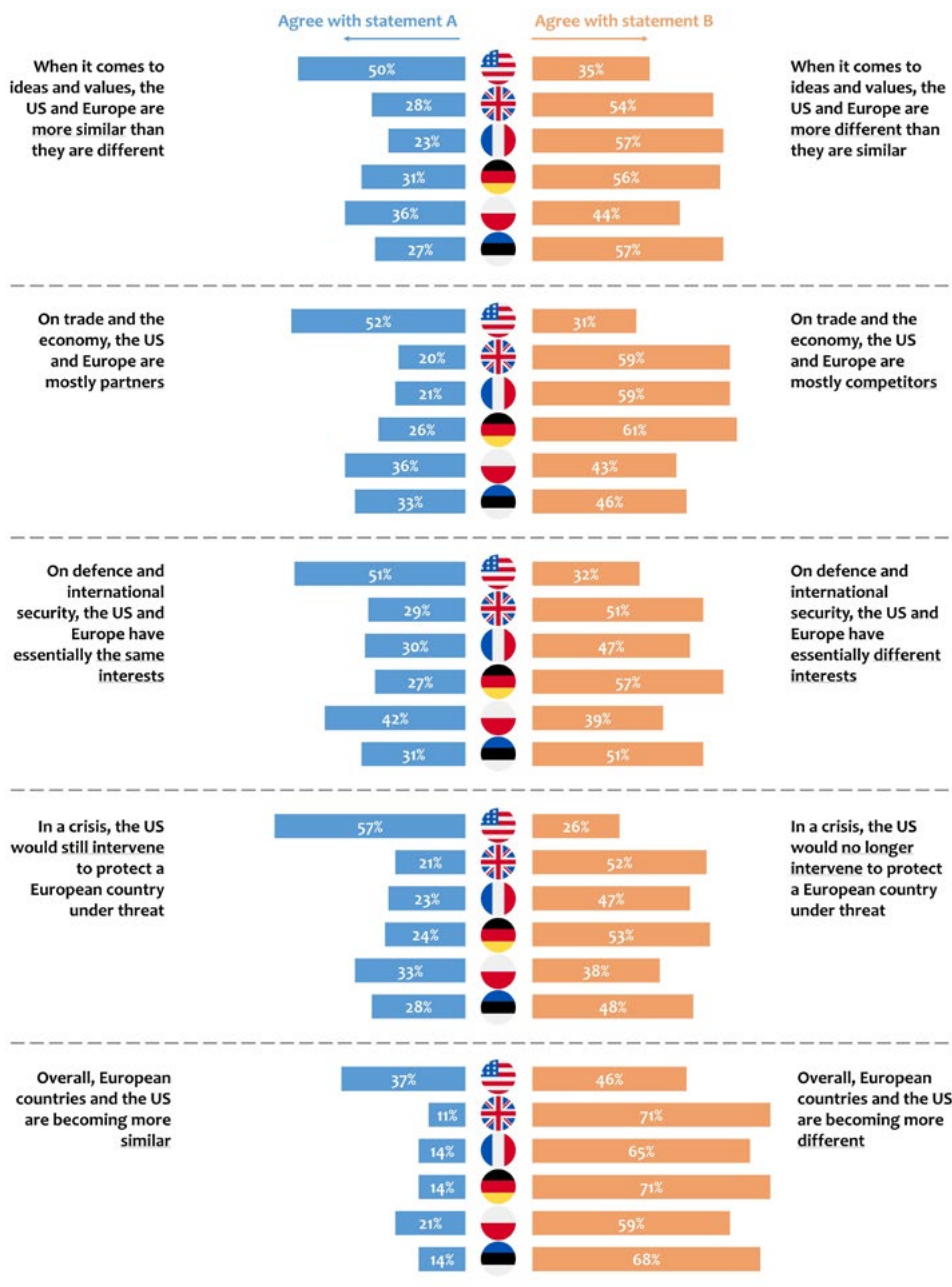
Human rights

Positive: 79% 64% 67% 79% 72% 72%
Negative: 6% 11% 10% 4% 11% 3%

Environmentalism

Positive: 57% 53% 52% 66% 62% 32%
Negative: 14% 17% 21% 12% 16% 26%

Feminism

Positive: 47% 49% 46% 39% 31% 20%
Negative: 20% 17% 19% 19% 32% 30%

LGB rights

Positive: 40% 42% 37% 39% 31% 19%
Negative: 30% 24% 26% 19% 35% 34%

Transgender rights

Positive: 35% 32% 33% 37% 27% 17%
Negative: 36% 37% 28% 27% 35% 38%

Capitalism

Positive: 42% 20% 19% 19% 33% 29%
Negative: 23% 36% 39% 35% 22% 25%

Globalisation

Positive: 33% 25% 22% 39% 26% 15%
Negative: 20% 27% 38% 16% 32% 35%

Immigration

Positive: 42% 26% 20% 19% 18% 12%
Negative: 29% 49% 49% 51% 53% 56%

Americans had a significantly more positive view of capitalism and immigration than respondents from any of the other five countries surveyed – though only 42% of Americans said they had a positive view of either.

In each of the following pairs of statements, which comes closest to your own view?

Agree with statement A ← → Agree with statement B

When it comes to ideas and values, the US and Europe are more similar than they are different
- 🇺🇸 50% | 35%
- 🇬🇧 28% | 54%
- 🇫🇷 23% | 57%
- 🇩🇪 31% | 56%
- 🇵🇱 36% | 44%
- 🇪🇪 27% | 57%

When it comes to ideas and values, the US and Europe are more different than they are similar

On trade and the economy, the US and Europe are mostly partners
- 🇺🇸 52% | 31%
- 🇬🇧 20% | 59%
- 🇫🇷 21% | 59%
- 🇩🇪 26% | 61%
- 🇵🇱 36% | 43%
- 🇪🇪 33% | 46%

On trade and the economy, the US and Europe are mostly competitors

On defence and international security, the US and Europe have essentially the same interests
- 🇺🇸 51% | 32%
- 🇬🇧 29% | 51%
- 🇫🇷 30% | 47%
- 🇩🇪 27% | 57%
- 🇵🇱 42% | 39%
- 🇪🇪 31% | 51%

On defence and international security, the US and Europe have essentially different interests

In a crisis, the US would still intervene to protect a European country under threat
- 🇺🇸 57% | 26%
- 🇬🇧 21% | 52%
- 🇫🇷 23% | 47%
- 🇩🇪 24% | 53%
- 🇵🇱 33% | 38%
- 🇪🇪 28% | 48%

In a crisis, the US would no longer intervene to protect a European country under threat

Overall, European countries and the US are becoming more similar
- 🇺🇸 37% | 46%
- 🇬🇧 11% | 71%
- 🇫🇷 14% | 65%
- 🇩🇪 14% | 71%
- 🇵🇱 21% | 59%
- 🇪🇪 14% | 68%

Overall, European countries and the US are becoming more different

We offered respondents in all six countries surveyed a series of paired statements designed to explore how they felt about **the relationship between Europe and the US.** Americans were notably more likely than their counterparts in Britain, France, Germany, Poland and Estonia to think the US and Europe shared similar ideas and values; that the two are mostly economic partners rather than rivals; that the two have essentially the same defence and security interests; and that the US would intervene to protect a European country under threat. While Americans were more likely than not to say that Europe and the US were becoming more different, respondents in European countries felt this in greater proportions.

Which of the following comes closest to your view?

	On defence, security and foreign affairs, President Trump and his administration reflect what most Americans think	Don't know	He might have won the election, but President Trump and his administration don't really represent what most Americans think about defence, security and foreign affairs
UK	21%	19%	60%
France	23%	19%	57%
Germany	22%	14%	64%
Poland	27%	17%	56%
Estonia	20%	17%	64%

Which of the following do you think is most likely?

	US's current approach to international trade, defence and foreign affairs will only last as long as Donald Trump's presidency, and will change after he leaves office	Don't know	The US's current approach to international trade, defence and foreign affairs will continue for a long time after President Trump leaves office
UK	71%	16%	13%
France	61%	22%	17%
Germany	71%	13%	16%
Poland	64%	22%	14%
Estonia	65%	23%	12%

In all five European countries surveyed, majorities said they thought the **Trump administration did not really represent what most Americans thought about defence,** security and foreign affairs. Between 20% (Estonia) and 27% (Poland) thought President Trump represented US public opinion on these issues.

Similarly, large majorities in all five European countries believed the current US approach to international trade, defence and foreign affairs would **only last as long as the Trump presidency.** Only between 12% (Estonia) and 27% (France) thought the current position would last for a long time after Trump left office.

Do you think the US is a force for good in the world, or not?
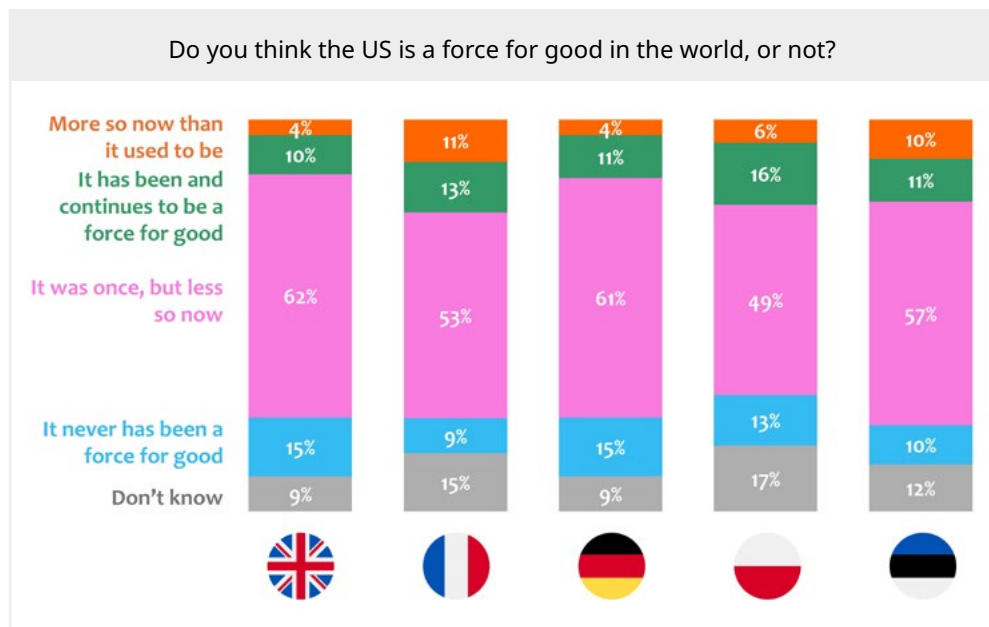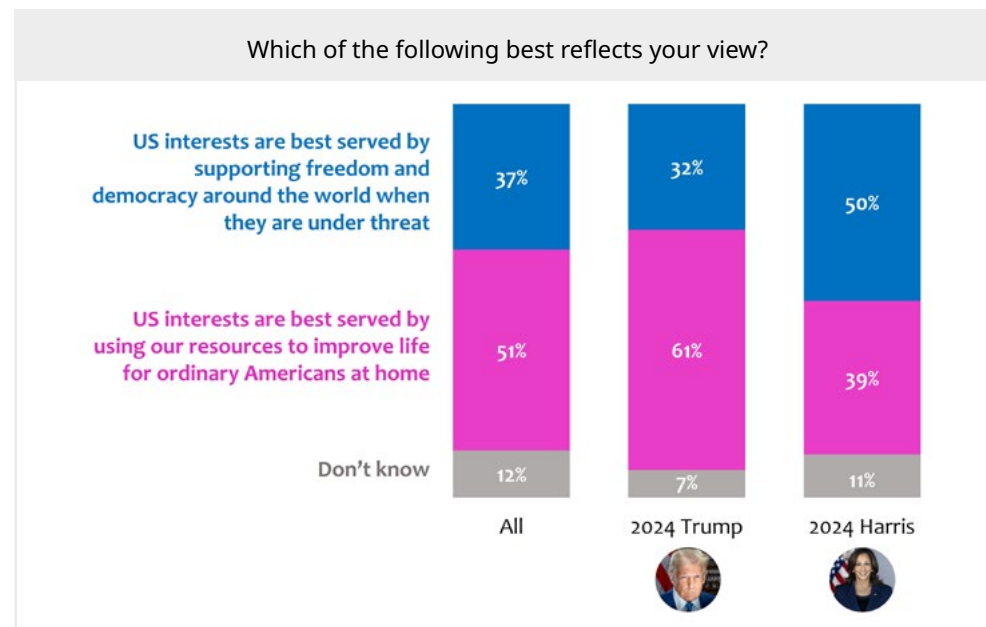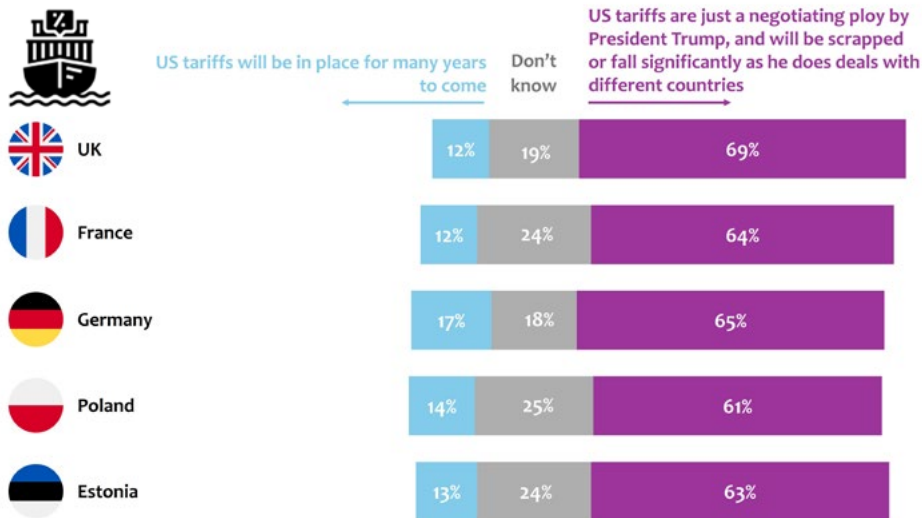

Which of the following best reflects your view?

The prevailing view in Britain, France, Germany and Estonia was that the **US had once been a force for good,** but that this was less true now. Small minorities thought the US was and continues to be a force for good, is now more a force for good than before, or – at the other end of the scale – had never been a force for good.
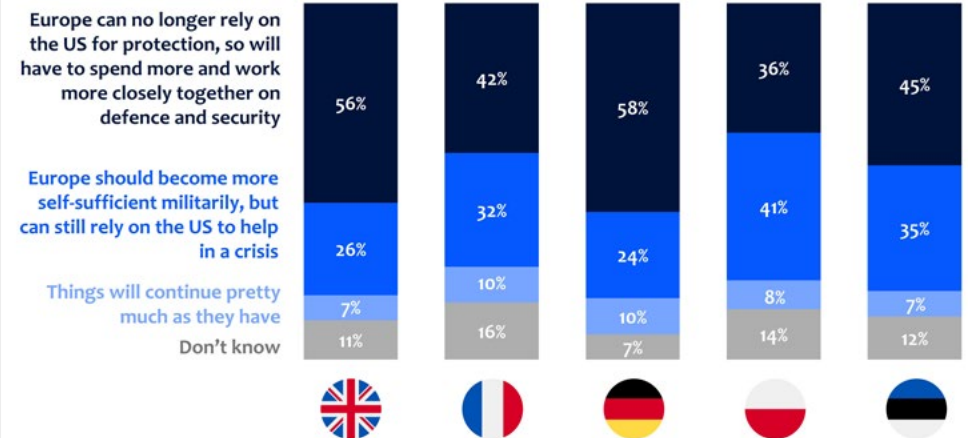
Fewer than 4 in 10 Americans said they thought **US interests were best served** by supporting freedom and democracy around the world. Around half – including 6 in 10 Trump voters – said the country's interests were best served by using the country's resources to improve life for ordinary Americans at home. Harris voters favoured supporting freedom and democracy around the world by 50% to 39%.

Which of the following best reflects your view about tariffs on imports to the US?
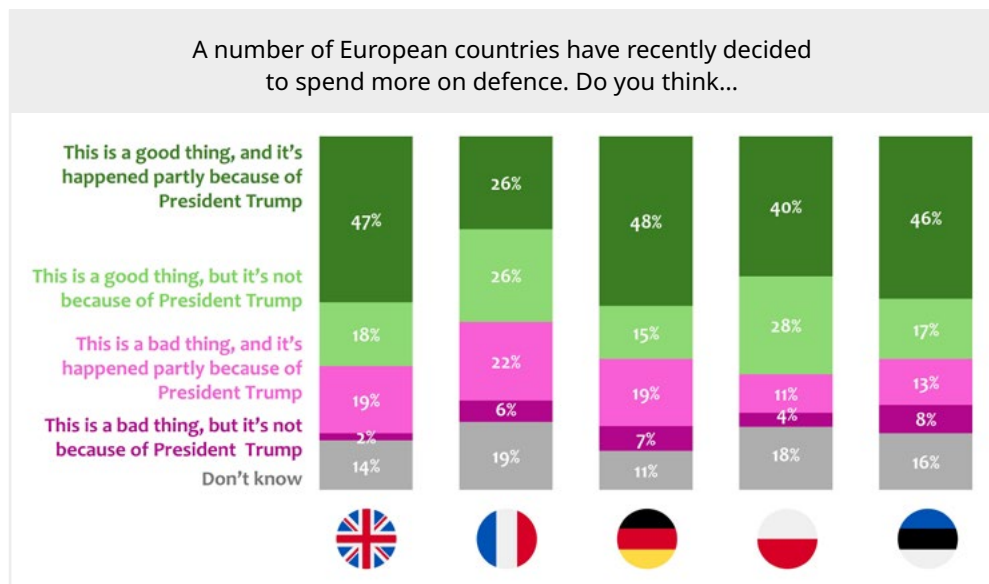

	US tariffs will be in place for many years to come	Don't know	US tariffs are just a negotiating ploy by President Trump, and will be scrapped or fall significantly as he does deals with different countries
UK	12%	19%	69%
France	12%	24%	64%
Germany	17%	18%	65%
Poland	14%	25%	61%
Estonia	13%	24%	63%

Thinking about defence and international security, do you think:

	UK	France	Germany	Poland	Estonia
Europe can no longer rely on the US for protection, so will have to spend more and work more closely together on defence and security	56%	42%	58%	36%	45%
Europe should become more self-sufficient militarily, but can still rely on the US to help in a crisis	26%	32%	24%	41%	35%
Things will continue pretty much as they have	7%	10%	10%	8%	7%
Don't know	11%	16%	7%	14%	12%

Clear majorities in all five European countries said they thought President Trump's **tariffs on imports to the US** were simply a negotiating ploy, and would be scrapped or fall significantly as the administration does deals with different countries. Only a small minority in each country believed the tariffs would be in place for years to come.

Majorities in Britain and Germany, and just under half in France and Estonia, said they believed **Europe could no longer rely on the US for protection** and would have to spend more and work together more closely on defence and security. Poles (41%) were the most likely to say Europe should become more self-sufficient but that the US could still be relied upon to help in a crisis. No more than 1 in 10 in any country thought things would continue as they had.

A number of European countries have recently decided to spend more on defence. Do you think…

	🇬🇧	🇫🇷	🇩🇪	🇵🇱	🇪🇪
This is a good thing, and it's happened partly because of President Trump	47%	26%	48%	40%	46%
This is a good thing, but it's not because of President Trump	18%	26%	15%	28%	17%
This is a bad thing, and it's happened partly because of President Trump	19%	22%	19%	11%	13%
This is a bad thing, but it's not because of President Trump	2%	6%	7%	4%	8%
Don't know	14%	19%	11%	18%	16%

Thinking about the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, do you think…

	🇺🇸	🇬🇧	🇫🇷	🇩🇪	🇵🇱	🇪🇪
My country is doing too much to support Ukraine	27%	17%	36%	41%	46%	37%
My country is doing about the right amount to support Ukraine	32%	49%	38%	38%	43%	53%
My country is not doing enough to support Ukraine	27%	20%	11%	15%	4%	6%
Don't know	14%	14%	15%	7%	7%	4%

Majorities in all five European nations surveyed welcomed the fact that many **European countries were spending more on defence.** Apart from France, which was divided, those who favoured this development were more likely than not to say it had happened partly because of President Trump. Those who saw higher defence spending as a bad thing (between 15% in Poland and 28% in France) overwhelmingly put it down to Trump.
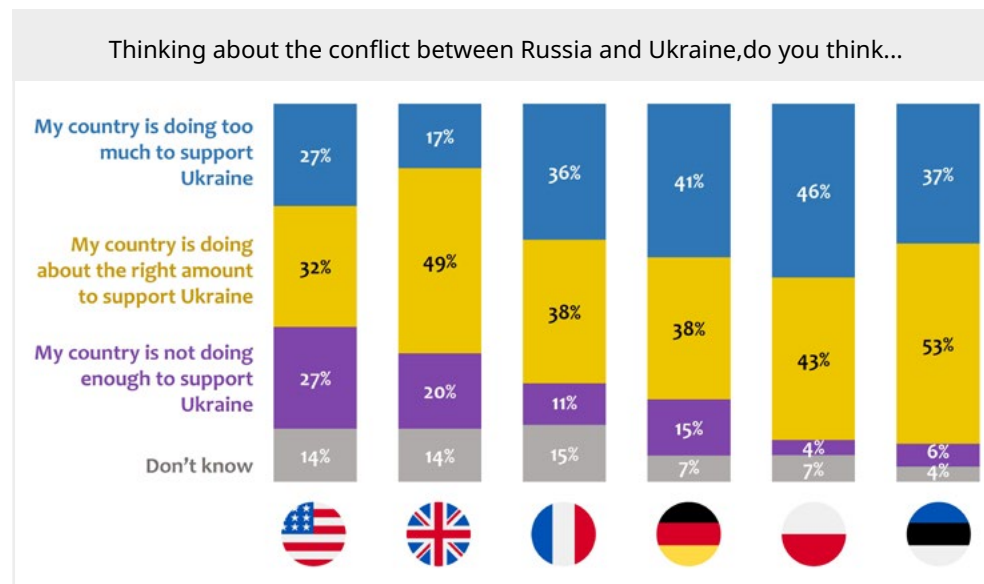
While just over a quarter of Americans said they thought they were doing to much to **support Ukraine,** those in France, Estonia, Germany and (especially) Poland were more likely to say the same. The same proportion of Americans said the US was not doing enough, compared to 6% in Estonia and 4% in Poland who said the same for their countries.

In the US there were significant differences in attitude by 2024 vote. 44% of Trump voters thought the US was doing too much, compared to 12% of Harris voters; 50% of Harris voters thought the US was doing too little, compared to 7% of Trump voters.

Most of our focus group participants supported the drive to bring the war to an end, even if they disliked the compromises that this would probably entail. This was largely the case with Harris voters too, though they were more worried about seeming to side with Russia or encouraging Putin to commit further aggression, and less likely to give Trump any credit for trying to shape a deal. Most on all sides felt the US was spending too much, and that the priority was to stop the fighting.

66 As a vet, we have to have allies around the world. The problem is, you can't have an open-ended check book, and you can't have a war that doesn't have a limit." [DT, GA]

66 I feel like we've been messed up in other people's business for far too long, that we shouldn't have continued to throw money into it when it wasn't going to go either way." [DT, NV]

66 I think it's crappy that they would have to give up some of their land to Russia, but it's worth it for people's lives. You've got to stop it somewhere." [DT, NV]
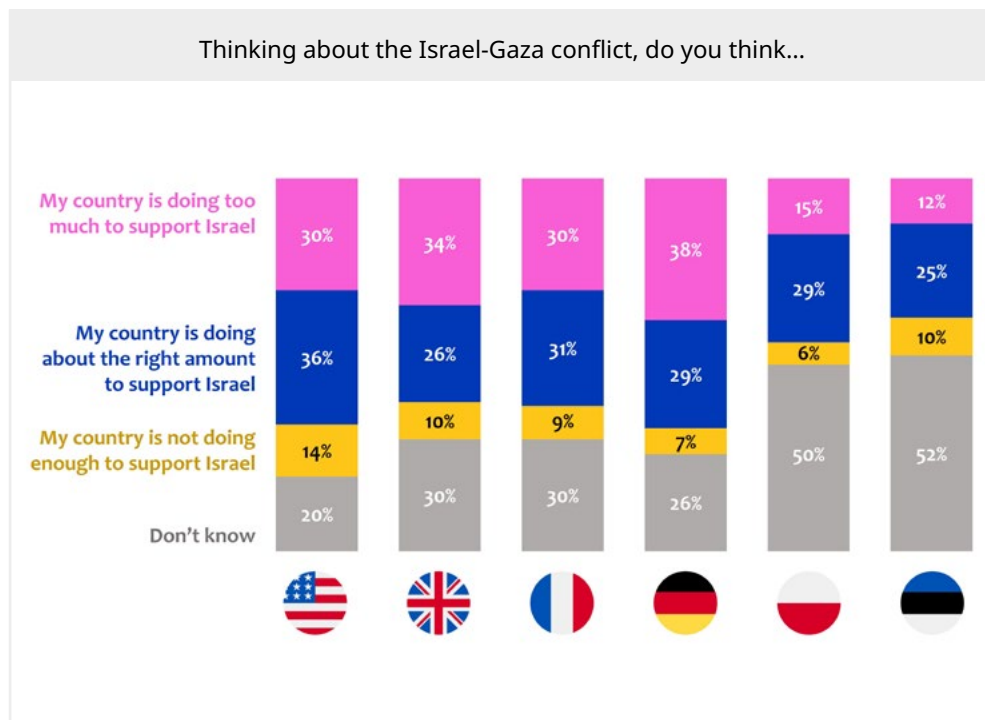
66 It's billions of dollars that we don't have. Everything is always us. Where is everybody else?" [KH, PA]

66 Don't you think Putin would say, 'hey, look what I got out of this, now I'm going to invade somewhere else'? Putin wants the whole USSR back." [DT, PA]

It has been proposed that in the event of a settlement between Ukraine and Russia, an International peacekeeping force could be sent to Ukraine to help guarantee it's security. How would you feel about your country's troops being deployed to Ukraine as part of a peacekeeping force?

	🇺🇸	🇬🇧	🇫🇷	🇩🇪	🇵🇱	🇪🇪
Strongly in favour	19%	16%	12%	11%		15%
Somewhat in favour	33%	39%	31%	25%	7% / 17%	34%
Don't know	14%	13%	19%	15%	14%	13%
Somewhat against	19%	19%	19%	23%	20%	16%
Strongly against	15%	13%	19%	27%	42%	21%
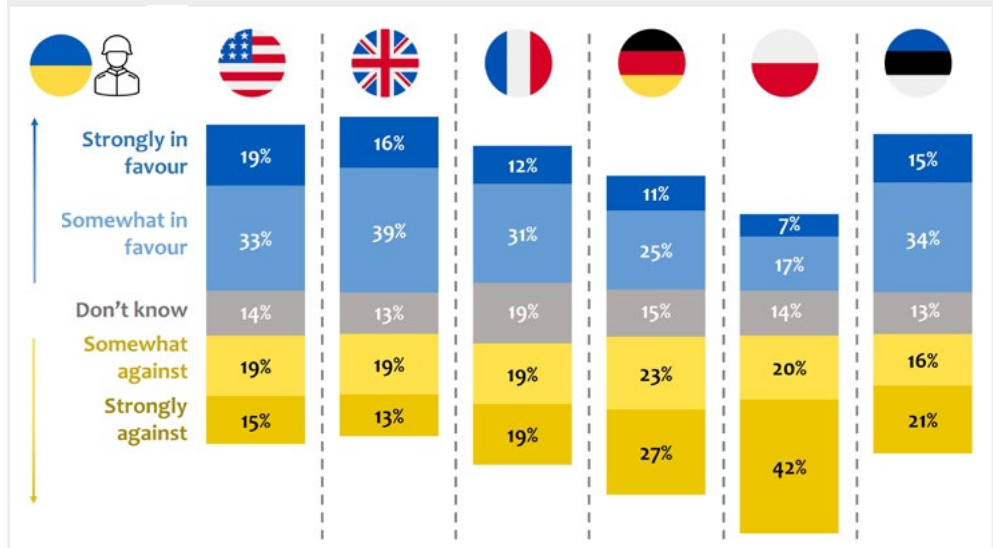
Among the five countries surveyed, those in Britain were the most willing to send troops to Ukraine to take part in a **peacekeeping force** in the event of a settlement (55%). Americans (52%) were the next most willing – though Harris voters (61%) were somewhat more willing than Trump voters (50%). Half of Germans opposed the idea, as did 62% of Poles.

Thinking about the Israel-Gaza conflict, do you think...

My country is doing too much to support Israel
My country is doing about the right amount to support Israel
My country is not doing enough to support Israel
Don't know

Three in ten Americans thought the US was doing too much to **support Israel** in the conflict with Gaza, though again there were significant differences by political support: Harris voters (38%) were more likely than Trump voters (26%) to say the US was doing too much, while Trump voters (50%) were more likely than Harris voters (30%) to say it was doing the right amount.

As with Ukraine, most Trump voters in our groups strongly supported President Trump's approach to America's role in the world. Most agreed that the US was taking too much of the burden relative to its allies, especially in Europe – a view by no means confined to Republicans. This meant scarce resources were spent abroad rather than at home, and that by contributing disproportionately to the west's defence Americans were effectively subsidising European welfare states. His voters tended to back his more transactional approach to international affairs. Some also felt that other countries, including allies, no longer took the US as seriously as they should, and Trump was correcting this.

66 With Trump, if it don't make money it don't make sense. We would have grown even further in disrespect if Harris had won, because they weren't going to take us seriously if she was elected. That's another reason I voted for him." [DT, GA]

66 NATO is mostly western Europe. So why do we have to defend them financially? They can go on paternity leave for months on end, and this and that. All that stuff is because they're not spending the money we're spending." [DT, PA]

66 His whole foreign policy is what's best for the United States. Everything else follows." [DT, NV]

66 It should be the last resort to send people to put their lives in harm's way for another country that has done nothing for us." [DT, PA]

66 The United States has never turned them down. We're known as that uncle – if you need 20 bucks you just go and ask for it. We always give money. We always get involved in things we shouldn't be involved in." [KH, NV]

At the same time, some – especially Harris voters, but also some on the Trump side – argued that a balance needed to be struck between protecting America's interests, preserving relationships with allies and upholding international stability.

66 He likes to antagonise them. The negotiations can be in good faith, but they don't always have to be in public to for everybody to see you antagonise them." [DT, GA]

66 Parts of Europe have been freeloading, but other parts of Europe carry their own weight and have been good partners with the US in many instances. I voted for Trump but the president's number one job is protecting America, not eroding alliances. And yes, Europe can pay more." [DT, GA]

66 I think America is overextending itself with financial and military support across the planet. But I see the other side – we're not doing it out of the goodness of our hearts, a lot of it is for international stability, because if we let certain things fall or let certain regimes do this, it could ultimately affect us." [DT, PA]

Few of our focus group participants took President Trump's statements about **taking control of Canada or Greenland** seriously or literally. Most dismissed talk of making Canada the 51st state as a joke (though perhaps with a message behind it), though some thought it had been unhelpful or damaging. The same was largely true of Greenland, though some thought there was a strategic point behind the idea, even if they were not completely clear what it was.

66 I think the Canada thing is just a joke. He's just plugging at the president, what's his name." [DT, GA]

66 We've become a joke to make enemies out of Canada, saying the most outrageous thing." [DT, NV]

66 That was him making a point that you need us more than we need you, and I feel that's 100% accurate. I think they need us more than we need them." [DT, PA]

66 With Canada, he just likes to wind people up sometimes. But I'm kind of on the fence about Greenland. I know we have US bases there, so I'm not really sure what his point is on that. I think I heard something on the news about minerals." [DT, NV]

About Lord Ashcroft

LORD ASHCROFT KCMG PC is an international businessman, philanthropist, author and pollster. He is a former treasurer and deputy chairman of the UK Conservative Party. He is also honorary chairman and a former treasurer of the International Democrat Union. He is founder and chairman of the board of trustees of Crimestoppers, vice-patron of the Intelligence Corps Museum, chairman of the trustees of Ashcroft Technology Academy, a senior fellow of the International Strategic Studies Association, former chancellor of Anglia Ruskin University and a former trustee of Imperial War Museums.

His political books include:

- Smell the Coffee: A Wake-Up Call for the Conservative Party
- Call Me Dave: The Unauthorised Biography of David Cameron
- Hopes and Fears: Trump, Clinton, the Voters and the Future
- Well, You Did Ask: Why the UK Voted to Leave the EU
- The Lost Majority: The 2017 Election, the Conservative Party, the Voters and the Future
- Jacob's Ladder: The Unauthorised Biography of Jacob Rees-Mogg
- Diagnosis of Defeat: Labour's Turn to Smell the Coffee
- Going for Broke: The Rise of Rishi Sunak
- Reunited Nation? American Politics Beyond the 2020 Election
- Red Knight: The Unauthorised Biography of Sir Keir Starmer
- First Lady: Intrigue at the Court of Carrie and Boris Johnson
- All To Play For: The Advance of Rishi Sunak
- Red Queen? The Unauthorised Biography of Angela Rayner
- Red Flag: The Uneasy Advance of Sir Keir Starmer

His other books include:

- Victoria Cross Heroes, Volumes I and II
- Special Forces Heroes
- George Cross Heroes
- Special Ops Heroes
- Heroes of the Skies
- White Flag? An Examination of the UK's Defence Capability
- Unfair Game: An Exposé of South Africa's Captive-Bred Lion Industry
- Life Support: The State of the NHS in an Age of Pandemics
- In the Shadows: The Extraordinary Men and Women of the Intelligence Corps