
Quantitative research among members of the NPA at the General Assembly in Dubrovnik

Market Research Institute

November 2013

11-14 October 2013

Final Report

Contents

Executive Summary	1
Main Findings	3
<hr/>	
NATO's Reputation	3
Communication.....	7
NATO Post 2014.....	15
The Parliamentary Assembly.....	17
<hr/>	
Conclusions & Recommendations.....	19
Appendix I	20
Appendix II.....	25

Executive Summary

NATO has commissioned PwC to carry out a qualitative assessment that evaluates the perceptions of parliamentarians who attended the Annual Session of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NPA) held in Dubrovnik, Croatia, 11-14 October 2013. In particular, NATO aims to ascertain the following:

- NATO's **reputation** among delegates and the general public;
- The **effectiveness of NATO's communication** with delegates and the general public;
- Parliamentarians' views regarding the **purpose of NATO post 2014**, including defense spending;
- The perception delegates have about the **NPA in Dubrovnik**.

For this study, PwC gathered the views of 29 parliamentarians via face-to-face interviews and 50 parliamentarians via a paper questionnaire distributed during the NPA session in Dubrovnik. These interviews, combined, represent the answers of 30.9% of the parliamentarians who attended the session.

Reputation

“Perception of NATO is linked to the Cold War. A transformation is needed.”

Articulate a Clear Mission

The majority of parliamentarians from member countries have a highly favorable perception of NATO, but they believe citizens in their countries are more mitigated. To improve the status quo, parliamentarians overwhelmingly suggest the use of media. Specifically, the media should be used to articulate the organization's mission and objectives, to highlight its achievements and inform the public about the benefits it offers. “NATO needs to project a clearer mission,” said one delegate. “After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War, NATO must focus on more than justifying its existence.”

Communication

“NATO should use new communication technologies, the more advanced the better.”

Raise Awareness

Member parliamentarians said the majority of people in their countries have heard of NATO, but only a minority understands what NATO does. Those from non-member countries said few people are acquainted with NATO. To enhance public awareness, the vast majority of both groups believes NATO should invest more in communication, specifically through the use of media, educational programs, youth outreach, social media and local ambassadors.

Purpose

“We cannot leave Afghanistan in one day—it should be a transition. We need to help the country after 2014.”

Define Priorities

With regard to the effect of the end of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) operation will have on the organization, most member country delegates agree that “NATO needs this break to rest and recuperate.” As one delegate said, “exits are as important as entries.”

However, although ending the ISAF operation is considered a positive change for NATO, member parliamentarians believe combating terrorism should be the main priority for the Alliance in the future. Cyber security (in conjunction with military

operations) is also perceived as a key strategic priority for NATO in the coming years. Additionally, all non-member parliamentarians interviewed feel NATO should maintain a presence in Afghanistan. “They should organize some permanent cooperation to help local authorities,” said one delegate, who pointed out the country’s poverty and lack of structure. “It would not be good to just leave.”

NPA

The majority of parliamentarians said they will integrate the content of what they learned at the PA into their work.

Integration of the Assembly

The majority of parliamentarians, both from member and non-member countries said that they will integrate the content of what they learned at the Dubrovnik Parliamentary Assembly into their work when they returned home. About half said they always do this, and the other half said they sometimes do so. Very few rarely apply the information gathered at the assembly to their work.

Overall, the majority of parliamentarians were very satisfied with the NPA in Dubrovnik. Additionally, there is a complete consensus on satisfaction regarding the timeframe of the closing session, the panels and the reports discussion. All were deemed to have been just right. The majority of parliamentarians said that they will integrate the content of the NPA into their work when they return to their countries.

Conclusions

Overall, parliamentarians have a very high view of NATO. That said, they seem to be convinced that the citizens in their countries do not share that perspective because they **do not know enough about the Alliance** to appreciate its value. To reach broader demographics, NATO should use an array of media ranging from radio to the internet to press releases and television. Also, establishing representatives in individual countries would give an authenticity and immediacy to NATO communication and would bring the organization into closer proximity with “real people.”

Although the year 2014 will bring the end of the ISAF operation, parliamentarians do not see this as a revolutionary change. In retrospect, people view NATO’s involvement in Afghanistan as a positive experience that has borne fruit. In light of this, the post 2014 period should be seen as an **opportunity to reflect** on the past decade and consider what capabilities acquired in Afghanistan can be deployed in future missions. That said, NATO continues to be vital to ensuring the **collective defense. Terrorism, cyber terrorism and future conflicts** (e.g. Syria) should remain high on the agenda.

Main Findings

NATO's Reputation

NATO as a Peace-Keeping Entity

Member Countries: NATO fulfils its duty to maintain peace, to a large extent.

Just over half of the parliamentarians from member countries think that NATO totally fulfils its duty to maintain peace, and another 40% said it somewhat fulfils its duty. Only one parliamentarian thinks that NATO is not at all useful.

Most parliamentarians declared that citizens of their country share their opinions. In a minority of cases, parliamentarians consider the citizens of their country to be more critical than they are (Belgium, Germany and Spain, for instance).

Those who answered that NATO totally fulfils its duty to maintain peace described NATO as “a very powerful organization” and “a strong union among like-minded people that has the capabilities and capacity of engagement to keep the peace.” They also feel the organization is useful in the prevention of conflicts.

However, regardless of these opinions, all participants offered recommendations on how NATO could do a better job of maintaining peace. Among their suggestions, a series of common suggestions emerged:

- Communication towards citizens should be improved in a way that convinces people of NATO's usefulness and relevance to them. An enhanced image of NATO would enable the organization to better fulfil its duty. For instance, favourable communication could amplify national leaders' ability to raise funds for defense.
- Because NATO cannot and should not intervene in every global conflict, it should define “zones of intervention”. Furthermore, the organization should not decide to intervene solely on the basis of moral or legal considerations, but rather on the more practical basis of efficiency.
- NATO should focus more on the development of its partnerships and cooperation with non-member countries.
- NATO should work more on conflict prevention. In particular, it should emphasize political solutions (through increased dialogue), not only military solutions, to current problems.
- Decisions should be made faster and more easily. On this point, Syria was mentioned as an example of inefficient decision making processes.
- NATO should redefine itself. The organization made sense during the Cold War, but now it needs a new “strategic concept”. People have moved beyond the idea of NATO as a necessary entity, which reflects negatively on the organization's image. This sentiment was mentioned mostly by Western Europeans.
- NATO needs to increase its staff, budget and logistics. As a result, some countries should provide more support.

Non-Member Countries: NATO partially fulfils its duty to maintain peace.

One-quarter of the delegates said that NATO totally fulfils its duty to maintain peace, while the remaining three-fourths said it somewhat fulfils this duty.

The parliamentarian from Switzerland said that, in his country, NATO is seen as a war organization, not as a peace keeping organization. “The Swiss are very critical toward NATO,” he said.

The parliamentarian from Afghanistan said that NATO “brought a good security system” to the country, but its mistakes have delayed operations and, after almost 12 years, the mission has not been accomplished.”

Although the parliamentarian from Bosnia and Herzegovina said that NATO only somewhat fulfils its mission, he added, “more than 60% are faithful to NATO and the stability it provides.”

Parliamentarians from non-member countries offered the following recommendations on how NATO could do a better job of maintaining peace:

- “NATO should deal strongly and broadly with neighbouring countries, such as Pakistan,” said the parliamentarian from Afghanistan. “If we don’t stop terrorism at the root (in Pakistan), Afghanistan will never be safe”;
- NATO should maintain an open-door policy through new memberships (Balkans and Georgia). “If Georgia were a member country,” said the parliamentarian from Georgia, “NATO would not have 80% support, but 100% support”.

Parliamentarians’ Perceptions of NATO

Member Countries: Most parliamentarians say NATO plays an essential role in ensuring the collective defense of member countries.

Three-quarters of delegates and more than half of their political parties have a very favorable opinion of the NATO, while they believe that only one-fourth of the citizens in their countries share this view. According to parliamentarians, citizens tend to have only a somewhat favorable opinion of NATO.

Attitudes about NATO, in general, correlate strongly to perceptions regarding NATO’s role in ensuring the collective defense of its member states. This is true both for delegates and their national political parties, who see NATO’s role as essential. However, parliamentarians declared that citizens of their countries are less optimistic, reporting that half of them regard the role of NATO on this matter only as somewhat important.

The vast majority of respondents (85%) see NATO as a crucial player on the global stage. One parliamentarian echoed this perception by saying, “It is the only organization with real power, capabilities and rules of engagement that can allow a true and effective intervention.” Additionally, almost all of the parliamentarians interviewed believe that NATO represents the needs of its member nations well (49%) or at least partially (49%). On this question, the most positive answers were given by Conservatives and the Alliance of Liberals and Democrats, while Socialists predominately think that the Alliance only partially represents the countries’ needs.

NATO is clearly considered the most useful organization in ensuring international peace and stability. In fact, NATO ranks first in front of other supranational institutions, such as the United Nations, the EU institutions, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Council of Europe.

Non-member countries: More than half of Parliamentarians say NATO plays an essential role in ensuring the collective defense of member states.

Only half of the delegates from non-member countries have a very favourable perception of NATO, while the remainder are somewhat favourable or neutral. They feel that this trend is also valid for the citizens and political parties in their countries.

The role of NATO as an essential actor in ensuring the collective defense is perceived as such by the majority of the delegates. More than half of non-member delegates believe that NATO plays a crucial role on the global stage—compared with their more optimistic counterparts from member countries. The exception is non-member delegates from the Liberal party, who share the optimism of their member country counterparts. That said, only half of non-member delegates think the national parties and citizens in their countries agree.

There is a good alignment on the fact that NATO represents the needs of its member nations well or at least partially. This view is strongly supported by Conservatives and Liberals—all agreed that needs are well represented. But only half of the Socialists interviewed share this opinion.

Public Perceptions of NATO

Member Countries: NATO is well known, but few understand what NATO actually does.

Parliamentarians said the majority of people in their countries have heard of NATO, but only a minority understand what NATO actually does. Countries where citizens cannot correctly identify NATO include: Italy, France and Bulgaria. In Italy and France, most people have only heard about NATO in the context of the Cold War. Knowledge of NATO is age-specific: younger generations know less about NATO than older generations do. As one delegate said, “Young people have difficulty understanding the necessity of NATO.”

In terms of understanding what NATO does, results vary. Most of the parliamentarians said that the citizens in their countries know only very partially what NATO does. For instance, in France and the UK, according to delegates, citizens do not know what the acronym NATO stands for or who the member countries are. In general, delegates said that their citizens have a vague idea of what NATO is, but nothing precise. Citizens tend to confuse it with other organizations (ISAF, for instance, in the UK).

NATO is also perceived differently in varying countries depending on national history. In Portugal, NATO is linked to democracy. In Lithuania, the presence of NATO within the country has contributed to a favourable opinion held by its citizens. In France and Germany, NATO has an old image linked to the Cold War and people are not interested in the present-day NATO. Finally, it seems that Eastern Europe has a more informed view of NATO than Western Europe does. The history of these countries could explain this disparity.

Non-Member Countries: NATO is not well known

Countries where citizens cannot correctly identify NATO include Afghanistan and Switzerland. Only one parliamentarian, from Bosnia, said that a majority of the people in his country are familiar with NATO. “We have different attitudes depending on the geographical area,” he added. “But we need NATO and the Federation supports NATO. We think NATO is our future.”

- In Afghanistan, “all NATO soldiers are perceived as American” and a minority understands NATO as an international force. “Only educated people know NATO,” the parliamentarian said.
- In Switzerland, a minority has heard of NATO. Those familiar with NATO see it as a war organization and are not familiar with its peace keeping missions. According to the parliamentarian interviewed, “The Swiss are proud to be neutral”.
- A parliamentarian from the Republic of Moldova estimated that 40% of the people in his country know NATO as a military institution and perceive it in contrast to the Russian Federation.

To improve the perception people have of NATO, parliamentarians, both member and non-member, overwhelmingly suggest the use of media. Specifically, the media should be used to articulate the organization’s mission and objectives, to highlight its achievements and inform the public about the benefits it offers. “NATO needs to project a clearer mission,” said one delegate. “After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War, NATO focuses only on justifying its existence.” Other suggestions included use of social media, involvement in universities and schools (including seminars for teachers), limiting participation in missions outside of member areas.

Communication

Enhancing Public Awareness

Member Countries: Communication is key to enhancing public awareness about NATO.

A large majority of respondents believe that NATO should invest more in communication. Several areas of improvement were suggested:

- Most delegates think NATO should be more present in the mass media, such as TV, radio and the press as most people are in tune with these channels. Documentaries and commercials are also channels to reach people and convince them of NATO's importance.
- In reaching out to the younger generation, NATO should use the internet, social media and the most innovative technologies. To reach the world's youth and become popular with them, NATO should also develop more partnerships with universities, and be more present in the job market. Some participants even suggested NATO should become part of national school programs in order to reach younger demographics.
- Messages should be clear, short and simple. NATO "should speak to the hearts of people."
- A majority of delegates said being local is crucial: communication should not come only from Brussels, but needs to be "outsourced" nationally. To this end, NATO should develop its relations with national representatives. One parliamentarian suggested "a national representative in every country, as people listen to them and trust them more."
- In terms of content, NATO should communicate its mission, emphasize its political role (not only its military role) and talk more about its efforts to secure human rights. Because NATO is not considered a necessity (mainly in Western Europe: France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands), this would demonstrate its relevance to people.

A minority said that NATO should change its behaviour in order to increase awareness. For instance, two delegates think NATO should be more active not only by putting more effort into conflict prevention, but also by increasing its intervention in humanitarian disasters. Three delegates mentioned that NATO "does not always tell the truth" and one of them simply said that NATO should be "more frank, more open and fairer."

Non-Member Countries: Solutions for enhanced public awareness involved action more than communication.

While delegates from non-member countries agree that communication efforts are essential to improving public awareness of NATO, many suggested concrete action points, as well:

- In the Republic of Moldova, there are NATO Training Centres (e.g. the Pro Marshall Centre) where NGOs meet—they are open to everyone. More of these could be established. Also, the TV channel "Freedom Europe" explains a lot about

Europe and NATO; more of these types of channels could inform the public about NATO.

- With respect to Afghanistan, NATO should take into account the fact that most people are not well educated. According to the parliamentarian interviewed, 85% of men there are not educated. Therefore, a focus on local education would make a big difference. For instance, “If the mullah can explain the role of NATO, people will understand—they see the mullah 5 times a day.” This delegate suggested a program where NATO supports local mullahs through protection and moderate funding in order to gain their loyalty. “It is a long process,” he said. “It needs people and time, but it works. With this incentive, they will be loyal to the government. Mullahs would say, ‘God save the international soldiers.’”
- According to the Swiss parliamentarian, NATO should provide more information and implement discussions in Switzerland. The Alliance should also “get more resources and money to be able to ensure that missions will have a good end.”

Communication with Parliamentarians

Parliamentarians were asked to evaluate NATO’s communication with them in terms of frequency, quality, scope and transparency. They answered using a scale of 1 to 10, 1 being not well at all and 10 being very well.

Member Countries: Communication is overall satisfactory.

Frequency

Overall, parliamentarians from member countries are moderately satisfied (5.3) with NATO’s frequency of communication with them, although answers differ significantly among members. Liberals and Socialists are slightly more satisfied with the frequency of communication than are Conservatives. Men are more satisfied than women with the frequency of communication. And, with respect to age, parliamentarians 35-65 years old are more satisfied than the youngest (under 35) and the oldest (over 65) delegates.

Quality

Overall, parliamentarians rated the quality of communication directed toward them at a sufficient level (6.1). Again, Liberals and Socialists offered higher scores than Conservatives did. Satisfaction with the quality of the content is highest for intermediate age parliamentarians (35-49 years) and older parliamentarians (over 65 years).

Scope

For the delegates, the scope of the content is sufficient (6.0). Once again, Liberals and Socialists offered higher scores than Conservatives did. Women are more satisfied than men with the scope of content. Finally, satisfaction with the scope of the content corresponds to age: the intermediate (35-49 years) and oldest (over 60 years) age groups are the ones who most appreciate the work of NATO in this context.

Transparency

Delegates are somewhat satisfied with the transparency of communication (5.6). Liberals are, as usual, are more satisfied than other political groups. This time, they are followed by Conservatives and Socialists. Men are more satisfied than women, however the difference is minimal. Satisfaction with the transparency of

communication corresponds with age: the younger the delegate, the less satisfied he/she is.

Non-Member Countries: Satisfaction level is slightly higher than for member countries.

Frequency

Parliamentarians from non-member countries gave a satisfactory rating to NATO regarding the frequency of communication to them. This score was slightly higher than that of member country respondents (6.6). Looking at the breakdown by political parties, Socialists attributed the highest score. Interestingly, with concern to age, the frequency of NATO communication was given the highest rating by younger parliamentarians (under 35) and the score decreased with age. Those over 65 years old gave the lowest score.

Quality

According to respondents from non-member countries, there is an overall satisfaction with the quality of the content of NATO communications (7.1). Also, Liberals and Socialists attributed high scores. However, Socialists of non-member countries are more satisfied than their counterparts in member countries. This time, satisfaction declined with age—the “under 35” category is the most satisfied.

Scope

The scope of NATO’s communication content is sufficient, according to parliamentarians from non-member countries. They gave the Alliance a higher score in this area than delegates from member countries did (6.6). Socialists are among the most satisfied with the scope of NATO’s communication. The youngest age group (under 35 years) gave NATO the highest score in this area.

Transparency

Parliamentarians from non-member countries are satisfied with the transparency of the communication they receive from NATO. In fact, they assigned noticeably higher scores than the ones given by delegates from member countries (7.3). Liberals and Socialists tend to have a high opinion of NATO’s transparency in communication. All of the age categories gave NATO high scores in this area with the exception of the over 65 group, who gave a score of 4.0 in strong disagreement.

Communication with the General Public

Parliamentarians were asked to rate NATO’s communication with the general public in terms of frequency, quality, scope and transparency. They answered using a scale of 1 to 10, 1 being not well at all and 10 being very well.

Member Countries: There is room for improvement in terms of communication with the general public.

Frequency

In general, respondents feel that NATO’s frequency of communication with the general public is below average (4.4). Liberals rank NATO’s communication frequency higher than Socialists and Conservatives do. Women tend to rank NATO’s communication frequency higher than men rank it. And parliamentarians between ages 50-65 years old gave NATO the highest score in this area.

Quality

Overall, parliamentarians rank the quality of NATO's communication with the general public as adequate (5.1). Liberals have a higher opinion of the quality of NATO's communication toward the public than do Socialists and Conservatives. Women are less critical than men in this area—they gave the organization a 6.4 ranking, while men gave it a 4.9.

Scope

Overall, parliamentarians think that the scope of NATO's communication with the general public warrants an almost sufficient ranking (4.8). Liberals gave NATO the highest ranking, while Conservatives and Socialists give it a lower score.

Transparency

Overall, parliamentarians ranked NATO's transparency with the general public at a little bit lower than satisfactory (4.6). Once again, Liberals gave NATO the highest ranking. Socialists and Conservatives followed. Older Parliamentarians (over 65) have a higher opinion of NATO's transparency with the general public, while their intermediate aged counterparts are more critical.

Non-Member Countries: Although ratings are higher than they are for member countries, more effort should be put into communication with the general public.

Frequency

Delegates from non-member countries scored the frequency of communication with the general public at below average, which is slightly higher than the score given by member countries (4.0). Liberals gave the highest score, and Conservatives gave the lowest score. A reversed pattern was observed for communication with the public. Unlike communication with parliamentarians, where the score decreased with the interviewee's age, scores increased for older delegates.

Quality

Parliamentarians said NATO delivers a higher quality of communication to them than it does to the general public. Parliamentarians of non-member countries align with those of member countries on this matter, providing similar scores (5.3). The most satisfied age group is the "over 65", whilst the most sceptical is the intermediate age-range (35-65 years).

Scope

Non-member countries gave a higher score than did member countries regarding the scope of communication content where the general public is concerned (5.1). Liberals and Socialists gave the highest scores, while Conservatives gave NATO a considerably lower score. Age demographics for this category played out with the younger delegates giving NATO lower scores and the older delegates giving higher scores.

Transparency

Parliamentarians tend to be less convinced of NATO's transparency with the general public than with themselves. In this area, they gave NATO a higher score than the one given by delegates from member countries (5.2). Liberals and Socialists have a favourable view of NATO on this matter, but Conservatives disagree. The oldest generations are the most approving of NATO's transparency in communication.

Suggestions for Improvement

Member and non-member parliamentarians are in agreement concerning recommendations for improving NATO's communication efforts. The following suggestions emerged:

- Focus more on informing students, the media, and political party activists regarding NATO values and benefits of national participation, including membership (for non-member countries).
- Adopt a policy by which information should be shared by default with the public and only to keep things secret only when there is a security reason to do so.
- Demonstrate in detail the procedures of decision-making and control within NATO.
- Show the results of NATO's work and decisions (At most, the public knows the results of the NATO summits, but nothing about the organization's activities on cyber security, education in Afghanistan, Libya, etc.)

Member Countries: Email is the preferred means of communication, followed by conferences and assemblies.

Communication with Parliamentarians

It should be noted that the percentages on the table below represent methods parliamentarians think NATO should use to communicate with Parliamentarians (not the actual means they are using).

Preferences are ranked in order of their frequency.

Communication with Parliamentarians	
Email	89%
Conferences and Assemblies	53%
NATO Website	39%
Social Media	26%
Press Releases	16%
Telephone	11%
Ordinary Media: Newspapers, Radio	3%

Parliamentarians overwhelmingly prefer email as a means of communication. Asked what means would be most effective for NATO to use in order to improve its communication strategy, nearly all of those interviewed suggested email. This response was given in reference to communication both with parliamentarians and with the general public.

Parliamentarians from the Liberal party prefer communication through conferences and assemblies more than Conservatives and Socialists do. Liberals also use the NATO website considerably more than parliamentarians affiliated with other parties do. Half of the Liberals surveyed visit the NATO website, while only 40% of Socialists and 35% of Conservatives do so. The same is true regarding press releases. One-fourth of Liberals suggested the use of press releases to convey information, while few Conservatives and Socialists did.

Conservatives were the only group that mentioned the telephone as a means of communicating with them. Interestingly, all of the respondents who suggested use of the telephone are men.

All of the female delegates said e-mail is their preferred mode of communication, while only 83% of men did. Women also suggested the use of social media considerably more than men did: 67% recommended this technology, compared with 19% of men. With respect to social media, Liberals suggested using this channel the most.

Communication with the General Public

Preferences are ranked in order of their frequency.

Communication with the General Public	
Television	85%
Local Press	69%
Social Media	44%
NATO Website	51%
Radio	36%
International Press	23%
Education programs for teachers and schools	3%

All Socialists and the vast majority of Conservatives and Liberals suggested the television platform for strengthening NATO's communication strategy. There is a broad consensus here, independent of political affiliation.

Roughly half of Liberals and Socialists suggested using radio as a means of disseminating information, and all but one of those who suggested using the International Press are men.

Men also suggested using the NATO website more than twice as often as women did. That said, notably more women (67%) suggested the use of social media than did men (39%). This is consistent with our findings regarding women who use social media as a means of gathering information about NATO.

Non-Member Countries: Email is the most effective means of communication; conferences and the website are also important.

Communication with Parliamentarians

The answers are ranked in order of their frequency.

Communication with Parliamentarians	
E-mail	80%
Conferences and Assemblies	40%
NATO Website	40%
Social Media	20%
Press Releases	10%

All of Liberals and Socialists consider e-mail to be the most appropriate means of strengthening communication with parliamentarians. Conferences and assemblies are also better means of communicating with Liberals and Socialists than to Conservatives. That said, Conservatives indicated that they to refer to a broader set of communications than did their political counterparts.

Communication with the General Public

The answers are ranked in order of their frequency.

Communication means to the General Public	
Television	100%
Local Press	80%
Social Media	50%
Radio	50%
NATO website	10%
International Press	10%
Dedicated Events	10%

All parties agree on the use of television for improving communication with the general public. There is also a 100% consensus among Liberals on the use of radio, as well. However, this is not shared by other political parties.

Local press is the preferred means of communication for Conservatives, together with television. Liberals and Socialists also support this method, but to a lesser extent. More than half of those surveyed think social media is a good way to communicate with the public. Finally, the age category of 50- 65 are more open to various means of communication, as they chose a broader set of communication tools than the other age groups did.

NATO Post 2014

The End of ISAF

Member Countries: The end of ISAF is necessary.

Regarding the effect that the end of the ISAF operation will have on NATO, most delegates agree that it will play to the organization's best interest since "NATO needs this break to rest and recuperate." As one delegate said, "exits are as important as entries." However, most parliamentarians also said that NATO needs to continue cooperating with Afghanistan in an advisory role in order to prevent further instability, as "NATO did not manage to build a democracy there."

Still, the experience gained in Afghanistan has been positive. Many declared that it has been an opportunity for NATO to learn. Members from Europe and the US have worked "shoulder to shoulder" and have become more efficient in terms of operations. Some would like NATO to remember the lessons of this experience for future operations in order to be able to draw on them when preparing future missions.

Leaving Afghanistan is seen as positive overall and as an opportunity to free up more resources to deploy to other regions. Parliamentarians think it is important for NATO to play an active role in other regions. Respondents mentioned that the future of NATO will mainly depend on how it is involved in conflicts in places like Syria, the Sahel, the MENA countries (such as Libya) and the African coast.

Aside from possible conflicts, some delegates think that NATO should begin a period of reflection about areas of improvement, focus more on prevention of instability and increase humanitarian initiatives. According to four parliamentarians, the fact that the US is rebalancing its commitment around the world creates an opportunity for Europe to play a major role in NATO.

That said, many parliamentarians say NATO should not simply leave Afghanistan without continuing support to the country. "We cannot leave Afghanistan in one day," said a member delegate. "It should be a transition. We need to help the country after 2014. There are still problems: 80% of the worldwide supply of heroin comes from Afghanistan. We need to help the police and the army to create a stable country."

Although ending the ISAF program is considered a positive change for NATO, parliamentarians believe combating terrorism should be the main priority for the Alliance in the future. Cyber security and military operations are also perceived as a key strategic priority for NATO in the coming years.

Non-Member Countries: NATO should maintain a presence in Afghanistan after the end of ISAF

All parliamentarians from non-member countries who were interviewed feel NATO should maintain a presence in Afghanistan. "They should organize some permanent cooperation to help local authorities," said one delegate, who pointed out the country's poverty and lack of structure. "It would not be good to just leave."

Strong terrorist threats from MENA countries remain, according to one parliamentarian, and a lot still needs to be done about human rights and the implementation of democratic procedures.

The parliamentarian from Afghanistan mentioned efforts to sign a bilateral security agreement as well as the fact that troops will remain in Afghanistan until 2020. "Some countries are waiting for NATO to leave," he said, referring specifically to Iran

and Pakistan. “They think that nobody will be there, so they can take over the country. But it won't be like after Russia left. Intelligence forces are in Afghanistan—their presence will send a message, and the international community will be able to see what is going on to testify against their interference.”

The top 10 priorities parliamentarians think NATO should have for the future are shown below in order of importance:

Rank	NATO Priority
1	Combating Terrorism
2	Cyber Security
3	Military Operations
4	Capabilities
5	Energy Security
6	Transatlantic Bond
7	Mediterranean Dialogue and Istanbul Cooperation Initiative
8	Maritime Security
9	NATO-Russia Relations
10	Open Door Policy

Defense Spending

Member Countries: About half of parliamentarians think 2% of GDP is sufficient to ensure security.

Slightly more than half (56%) of the member parliamentarians surveyed think that the current target amount of 2% of national GDP allocated to defense is sufficient to ensure security.

- 56% think that amount is about right;
- 31% think that amount is somewhat high or too high;
- 13% think that amount is somewhat low or too low.

Non-Member Countries: The majority of parliamentarians think 2% of GDP is sufficient to ensure security.

Parliamentarians from non-member countries are more willing to increase the 2% allocation of GDP devoted to the defense budget.

- 70% think the amount is about right;
- 20% think that amount is somewhat low or too low;
- 10% think that amount is somewhat high or too high.

Why most member countries don't contribute 2%

Parliamentarians from both member and non-member countries agree on the reasons most member countries don't contribute their burden share to NATO. Overwhelmingly, the reason cited for low contributions was the economic crisis and the resulting budget reductions which leave fewer funds for defense. Other reasons given were lack of political will, a heavy reliance on the US for protection and negative public opinion toward defense spending.

The Parliamentary Assembly

Integration of NPA into Parliamentary Work

Member Countries: The majority of parliamentarians integrate their activities at the NPA into their work.

About half (46%) said they always do so, and most of the other half said they sometimes do (46%) so. Very few rarely do so (8%).

When communicating information about the NPA to others, parliamentarians address the following:

Recipients of communication	
The Parliament	77%
Their Political Parties	62%
The General Public	54%
The Press	31%
The Government	36%
Militaries and Former Soldiers	3%

Non-Member Countries: Communication of NPA information is strong.

The majority of non-member parliamentarians always integrate NPA activities into their home country parliamentary work.

About one-third do it only sometimes.

All non-member parliamentarians communicate the content of the NPA sessions to other parties. In particular, they do it towards:

Recipients of communication	
The Parliament	91%
Their Political Parties	82%
The Press	73%
The General Public	64%
The Government	27%

Satisfaction with NPA

Member Countries: Parliamentarians were very satisfied with the conference.

Overall, parliamentarians were very satisfied with the NPA.

The vast majority of parliamentarians felt the timeframe of the NPA was just right, including opening sessions, panels, reports and the closing sessions.

The vast majority of parliamentarians felt the debate was adequately moderated, giving delegates an opportunity to discuss the draft reports.

Non-Member Countries: Parliamentarians were very satisfied with the conference.

Overall, the majority of parliamentarians (64%) were very satisfied with the NPA in Dubrovnik. The rest were at least somewhat satisfied.

There is a complete consensus on satisfaction regarding the timeframe of the closing session, the panels and the reports discussion. All were deemed to have been just right.

82% of parliamentarians judged the timeframe for the opening session as just right, while 18% considered it to be somewhat long.

Overall, there was a positive consensus on the role of the moderator—nearly all agreed that the debate was adequately moderated.

Conclusions & Recommendations

Enhancements for NATO's reputation

NATO should make better use of the media to define itself in the public arena. Many people, including those from member countries, still have no idea what NATO does in a present-day context. The Alliance is perceived by many as an artefact of the Cold War or a strictly military organization. The suggestion of engaging the public through local channels is a good one. Establishing NATO representatives in individual countries would give an authenticity and immediacy to NATO communication and would bring the organization into closer proximity with "real people." Also, the use of social media, universities and schools should be considered to reach the Post-Cold War generation. Young people, who are in the process of forming lifelong opinions, are an important demographic for NATO. As future leaders, they should have a solid understanding of the Alliance and its mission. NATO should make a concerted effort to broadcast about its policies and efforts to a broader audience. Both member and non-member parliamentarians agree that efforts at conflict prevention, humanitarian aid and partnership with non-member countries would also help.

Enhancements for NATO's Communication

While few parliamentarians said that NATO should change its communication approach to increase its visibility, most agreed that its communication strategy can be improved. As mentioned earlier, one suggested way was to have a more aggressive and tactical use of mass media. To reach broader demographics, the Alliance should use an array of media tools ranging from radio to the internet to press releases and television.

In addition to technological solutions, NATO can partner with local political groups, NGOs and educational institutions to promote its work at the national level. Messages should be contextualized to local cultures: e.g. in Afghanistan, NATO should communicate with the mullahs, in France with young academics and in the United States with Democrats and Republicans.

Enhancements for NATO Post 2014

Although in the year 2014 there will be the end of the ISAF operation, parliamentarians do not see this as a revolutionary change. In retrospect, people view NATO's involvement in Afghanistan as a positive experience that has borne fruit. In light of this, the post 2014 period should be seen as an opportunity to reflect on the past decade and consider what capabilities acquired in Afghanistan can be deployed in future missions. That said, NATO continues to be vital to ensuring the collective defense in its Member States. Terrorism, cyber terrorism and future conflicts (e.g. Syria) should remain high on the agenda. Finally, especially in non-member countries, there is the belief that NATO should establish permanent cooperation with local governments in order to help them maintain stability.

Appendix I

Methodology

Quantitative study

The paper questionnaire, distributed to the parliamentarians at the beginning of the NPA, aims at answering the following general research questions:

- What are parliamentarians' general perceptions of NATO?
- How well does NATO communicate with them?
- What are their views on NATO post-2014 and on the funding of NATO?
- How satisfied were the participants with the NPA in Dubrovnik?

We aligned a final list of questions with NATO's specifications in order to guarantee that all of the required topics were covered. However, we received only 57 completed questionnaires by the end of the NPA. In order to increase the representativeness of the sample, a second round of telephone calls was done with the secretaries of Delegations. We have asked if it was possible to chase the Delegates once again to get answers to the questionnaire. From this second round, we gathered two new responses.

During the telephone calls with the secretaries of Delegation, we received some comments that we can point to as explanations for the lower response rates to the quantitative survey. A number of secretariats specified that Delegates did not feel confident in completing the questionnaire because of language barriers. Others told us that Delegates are already over-loaded with surveys on a daily basis, and they suggested that a way to increase the response rate would be to propose the survey a second time during one of the upcoming events organized by NATO.

Furthermore, there is the possibility that one Delegate has decided to answer as a representative of the entire delegation, especially for small countries. In fact, the Secretary from the Swiss Delegation told us that although we received only one response, it could be counted for the whole delegation since the delegates had agreed to answer the questionnaire as a group.

To constitute a representative sample of the 256 parliamentarians who attended the conference, we should have had a sample of 70 delegates. However, we were able to collect only 59 responses. Of those, 9 were discarded due to missing information regarding their countries, leaving us with 50 relevant questionnaires.

Qualitative study

In addition to the quantitative study, we have conducted a qualitative assessment by carrying out face-to-face interviews with 29 parliamentarians. The resulting information was used to complement the findings delivered through the questionnaire.

The questionnaire for the face-to-face interviews complemented the first questionnaire in that it asked parliamentarians to expand on their views previously expressed. Specifically, the following themes were discussed:

- NATO's reputation
- Perception about NATO post 2014
- NATO' communication efforts

The interviewees asked mainly open ended questions to give interviewees an opportunity to further elaborate their answers. This provided a deeper understanding of the findings related to the quantitative study.

The final list of questions was also aligned with NATO's specifications in order to guarantee that all of the required topics were covered.

Interviews were conducted in Dubrovnik during the NPA. All interviews lasted approximately 10 minutes.

Analysis

- Each question has been analysed both separately and within the overall context of the questionnaire.
- We present the results per type of country (members vs. non-members), political party and gender, when relevant. These findings are not generalizable to the whole population of parliamentarians as the sample is still not representative (for that, we need 70 completed questionnaires).
- Answers from the face-to-face interviews provide more insight on distinct topics, but they cannot be understood as generalisations. Our findings explicitly identify answers that came from the face-to-face interviews.
- We adapted the data analysis methodology according to the type of question:
 - Close-ended questions require the interviewee to select one answer among a pre-defined list. For instance, this may be a yes/no answer or a 1 to 5 answer. In this case, we performed quantitative analysis, using mainly frequencies and averages.
 - Open-ended questions require the interviewee to use his/her own words to explain the answers. In this case, we classified the answers by key messages, measured the iteration of similar answers and put the key messages into context in order to infer the main findings.

Interviewee profile for the quantitative study

The sample is composed of 50 respondents from the following countries and is characterised as follows:

Type of country	Country	Number of responses
Member countries	Belgium	3
	Bulgaria	1
	Canada	1
	Croatia	1
	Czech Republic	2
	France	6
	Greece	1
	Italy	6
	Latvia	3
	Lithuania	2
	Luxembourg	1
	Netherlands	1
	Norway	1
	Poland	1
	Portugal	1
	Slovenia	1
	Spain	2
	Turkey	1
	United Kingdom	4
	Non-member countries	Armenia
Austria		1
Bosnia and Herzegovina		1
Georgia		1
Morocco		1
Republic of Moldova		2
Serbia		2
Switzerland		1
Ukraine		1
TOTAL	50	

Age	Total	Member countries	Non-member countries
Under 35	3	2	1
35 -49	14	10	4
50-65	26	21	5
Over 65	6	5	1
No answer	1	1	-
TOTAL	50	39	11

Political group affiliation	Total	Member countries	Non-member countries
Conservatives, Christian Democrats and Associates	24	20	4
Alliance of Liberals and Democrats	10	7	3
Socialist	14	11	3
Other	1	-	-
No answer	2	1	1
TOTAL	50	39	11

Gender	Total	Member countries	Non-member countries
Female	6	6	-
Male	44	33	11
TOTAL	50	39	11

Interviewee profile for the qualitative study

The group of respondents for the face-to-face interviews is composed of 29 respondents from the following countries and is characterised as follows:

Country	Total
Afghanistan	1
Albania	1
Belgium	1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	1
Bulgaria	1
Canada	2
France	3
Georgia	1
Germany	1
Hungary	1
Iceland	2
Italy	2
Lithuania	1
Luxembourg	1
Netherlands	1
Poland	1
Portugal	1
Republic of Moldova	1
Spain	1
Switzerland	1
Turkey	2
United Kingdom	2
TOTAL	29

Type of country	Total
Member countries	24
Associate countries	4
Partner countries and guests	1
Total	29

Political group affiliation	Total
Conservatives, Christian Democrats and Associates	13
Alliance of Liberals and Democrats	8
Socialist	6
Other	2
TOTAL	29

Gender	Total
Female	5
Male	24
Total	29

Appendix II

Questionnaire used for the quantitative study

Respondent name (optional):

Gender: Female
 Male

Country:

Political Group Affiliation:

- Conservatives, Christian Democrats and Associates
- Alliance of Liberals and Democrats
- Socialist
- Other

Age:

- Under 35
- 35 -49
- 50-65
- Over 65

I. NATO'S REPUTATION

Q1 Please rate the perceptions the groups listed below have of NATO.
 Tick only one answer per column.

	Yourself	Your national political party	The citizens in your country
Very favourable			
Somewhat favourable			
Neutral			
Not very favourable			
Not favourable at all			

Q2 What measures would you recommend NATO take to improve the perception your country's citizens have of the organization?
 Please explain.

Q3 How do the groups listed below perceive the role of NATO in ensuring the collective defense of its member states?
 Tick only one answer per column.

	Yourself	Your national political party	The citizens in your country
Essential			
Very important			
Somewhat important			
Not important			

- Q4 Please rank the following institutions according to their usefulness in ensuring international peace and stability.
Please use a scale from 1 to 5, 1 being the most useful and 5 being the least useful.

	NATO
	United Nations (UN)
	European Institutions (Commission, Council and Parliament)
	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
	Council of Europe
	Other: please specify

- Q5a Do you see NATO as a crucial player on the global stage?
Tick one answer only.

- Yes, totally
- Somewhat
- Not very much
- Not at all

- Q5b Why or why not?
Please explain.

- Q6 How well does NATO represent the needs of its member nations?
Tick one answer only.

- Well
- Partially
- Not very well
- Not at all well

II. COMMUNICATION

Q7a How well does NATO communicate with you in the following areas?
Please use a scale from 1 to 10, 1 being not well at all and 10 being very well.
Tick only one answer per row.

	1 Not well at all	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Very well
Frequency										
Quality										
Scope										
Transparency										

Q7b What means would be most effective for NATO in improving its communication with you?
Tick all that apply.

- E-mail
- Telephone
- Press release
- NATO website
- Social media
- Conferences and assemblies
- Other: please specify

Q8a How does NATO communicate with the general public in your country?
Please use a scale from 1 to 10, 1 being not well at all and 10 being very well.
Tick only one answer per row.

	1 Not well at all	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Very well
Frequency										
Quality										
Scope										
Transparency										

Q8b How should NATO improve its communication strategy towards the general public in your country?
Please explain.

Q8c What means would be most effective for NATO in improving its communication with the general public in your country?
Tick all that apply.

- NATO website
- Local press
- International press
- Television
- Radio
- Social media
- Other: please specify

Q8d What measures should NATO take to further enhance its transparency towards the general public in your country?
Please explain.

III. PERCEPTIONS OF NATO POST 2014

Q9 According to you, how should NATO rank its priorities for the future?
Please use a scale from 1 to 10, 1 being the most important and 10 being the least important.

	Military Operations
	Capabilities
	NATO-Russia relations
	Open Door Policy
	Mediterranean Dialogue and Istanbul Cooperation Initiative
	Combating terrorism
	Cyber security
	Maritime Security
	Energy Security
	Transatlantic Bond
	Other: please specify

Q10 According to you, what should NATO not do in the future?
Please explain.

Q11 Overall, do you believe the current target amount of 2% of national GDP allocated to defense is sufficient to ensure security?
Tick one answer only.

- It is too high
- It is somewhat high
- It is about right
- It is somewhat low
- It is too low

Q12 Why do you believe that most member countries do not contribute 2% of their GDP to defense?
Please explain.

IV. NATO PARLIAMENTARY ASSEMBLY

Q13a Do you integrate your activities at the NATO Parliamentary Assembly (NPA) into your work in the National Parliament?
Tick one answer only.

- Always
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

Q13b If so, how?
Please explain.

Q14 To whom do you communicate the content of the NPA sessions?
Tick all that apply.

- Government
- Parliament
- Political party
- General public
- Press
- Other: please specify
- I do not communicate this information to other parties

Q15 Overall, how satisfied were you with the Dubrovnik session of the NPA?
Tick one answer only.

- Very satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Neutral
- Somewhat dissatisfied
- Very dissatisfied

Q16 Overall, how satisfied were you with the timeframe of the sessions?
Tick only one answer per row.

	Too short	Somewhat short	Just right	Somewhat long	Too long
Opening sessions					
Panels					
Reports					
Closing sessions					

Q17 Overall, do you think that the debate was adequately moderated, giving delegates an opportunity to discuss the draft reports?
Tick one answer only.

- Yes
- Neutral
- No

Discussion guide used for the qualitative study

Respondent name (optional):

Gender:

- Female
- Male

Country:

Political Group Affiliation:

- Conservatives, Christian Democrats and Associates
- Alliance of Liberals and Democrats
- Socialist
- Other

I. NATO'S REPUTATION

Q1. Do you think NATO fulfils its duty to maintain peace?

- Yes, totally
- Somewhat
- Not very much
- Not at all

Q2. If not totally, what measures should it take in order to do so?

II. PERCEPTIONS OF NATO POST 2014

Q3. How will the end of the ISAF mission affect NATO?

III. COMMUNICATION

Q4a. Do you think most people have heard about NATO?

Q4b. Do you think most people understand what NATO does?

- Yes, totally
- Somewhat
- Not very much
- Not at all

Q5. What measures could NATO take to enhance public awareness about the organization?

Q6. Other comments:

PwC Luxembourg (www.pwc.lu) is the largest professional services firm in Luxembourg with 2,300 people employed from 57 different countries. It provides audit, tax and advisory services including management consulting, transaction, financing and regulatory advice to a wide variety of clients from local and middle market entrepreneurs to large multinational companies operating from Luxembourg and the Greater Region. It helps its clients create the value they are looking for by giving comfort to the capital markets and providing advice through an industry focused approach.

The global PwC network is the largest provider of professional services in audit, tax and advisory. We're a network of independent firms in 158 countries and employ more than 180,000 people. Tell us what matters to you and find out more by visiting us at www.pwc.com and www.pwc.lu.