

GLOBAL CENSUS

PUBLIC OPINIONS
ON INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION



SEPTEMBER 2023

YouGov[®]

**FRIEDRICH
EBERT**

STIFTUNG
NEW YORK OFFICE

FES Global Census 2023

On behalf of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), YouGov fielded a multinational survey of 15,887 respondents conducted by YouGov on the internet among respondents in the following countries: Argentina, Brazil, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Poland, South Africa, South Korea, the United Kingdom, Tunisia, Turkey, and the United States. This memo includes key insights from the FES Global Census 2023 wave, the fourth wave of this project.

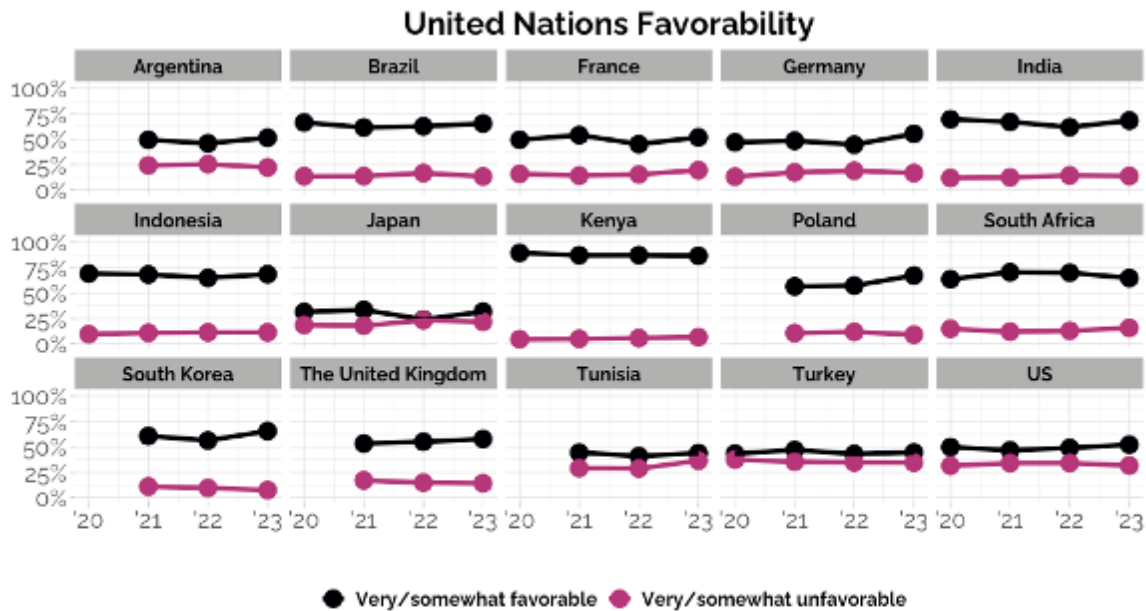
Multilateral institutions have gained popularity despite global turmoil. At the same time, people around the world support reforms of key organizations like the United Nations and believe this is realistic.

Key takeaways

- In general terms, support for global institutions has increased, not decreased when compared to results from the previous years
- Particularly respondents in the Global South view the United Nations as an effective international actor, whereas respondents in the Global North tend to be more skeptical
- The UN has among the highest net favorability levels of all global institutions
- Majorities in all countries support reforms of the UN Security Council, even in countries holding a permanent seat on the Council

The past year has seen unprecedented challenges for global and regional organizations including ongoing major regional conflicts like Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the periodic waning and resurgence of COVID, and other challenges. Amidst these challenges, participants in the FES Global Census 2023 report higher favorability of these key institutions now than in previous waves.

For example, favorability of the UN has improved from 46-26 favorable-unfavorable to 51-22 in Argentina, from 44-19 to 53-16 in Germany, from 62-14 to 68-14 in India, from 58-11 to 67-9 in Poland, from 57-9 to 66-8 in South Korea, and from 49-34 to 53-30 in the US. Notably, net favorability of the UN also rose from narrowly split (+1 net favorable) to positive (+10 net favorable) in Japan.



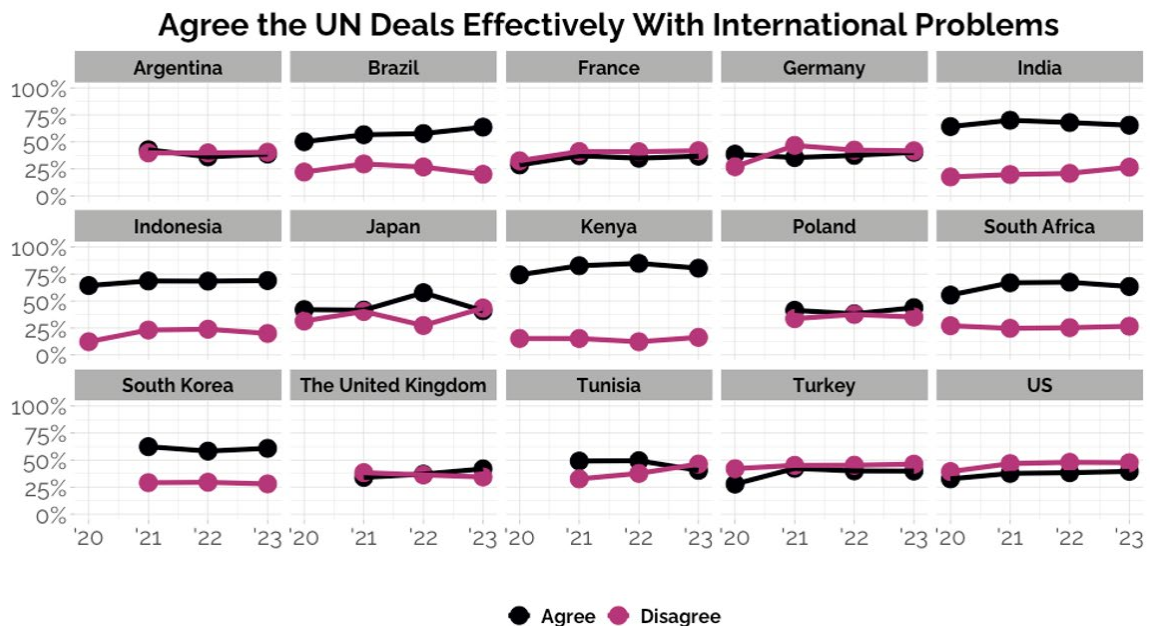
Next, you will see the names of some international organizations. For each of these, please say whether you have a (favorable or unfavorable) view of that organization, or (if you haven't heard of it or have a neutral opinion) of it.

Overall, the UN remains one of the most favorably viewed organizations in the sample. Most notably, the UN is viewed more favorably by many countries than are key regional organizations that include those countries as members. Net favorability of the UN is higher than net favorability of the G-7 in every G-7 member state included in the sample except for Japan, which views both organizations favorably (+10 net favorability for the UN and +28 net favorability for the G-7). The UN is viewed more favorably than the G-7 in G-7 member states France (+37 vs +1), Germany (+36 vs +14), the United Kingdom (+43 vs +17), and the United States (+24 vs +11). The UN is viewed by similarly favorable margins compared to the G-20 in every member state in the sample except for Japan, which views both organizations equally favorably (+10 for the UN, +13 net favorability for the G-20).

Similarly, the UN is viewed more favorably than BRICS in BRICS member state Brazil (+51 net favorability vs +36 for BRICS) and is viewed about statistically equally (and overwhelmingly) favorably in India (+54 for the UN and +65 for BRICS), and in South Africa (+50 for the UN and +59 for BRICS). Net favorability of the UN is higher than net favorability of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in member state France (+37 for the UN and +27 for NATO) and is statistically just as high as NATO in Germany (+36 for the UN and +39 for NATO). The UN is, by a narrow margin, the second most favorably viewed international organization among these in NATO member states Poland (which views NATO overwhelmingly favorably at +71 and the UN at +58), the UK (+51 for NATO and +43 for the UN), and the US (+35 for NATO and +24 for the UN).

Similarly, the UN's reputation on key issues has held steady over the past year in most countries in the sample. While many remain split on the key question of whether or not “the United Nations deals effectively with international problems,” the overall share of respondents who agree that the UN does so is stable across most countries in this wave of the FES Global Census.

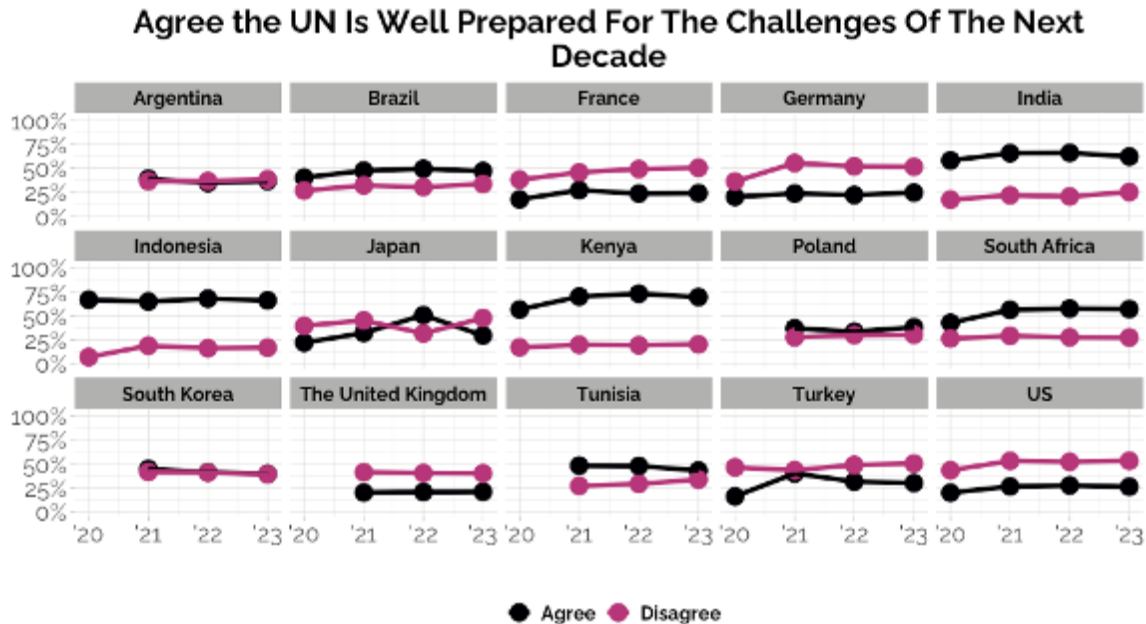
The share of respondents who feel the UN “deals effectively with international problems” held steady from the previous wave in Argentina, France, Germany, South Africa, South Korea, Turkey, and the US. The net share who agreed with this statement rose slightly in Brazil, Indonesia, Poland, and the United Kingdom. The net share who agreed with this statement fell slightly in India and South Africa and fell by more than ten percentage points in Japan and Tunisia.



And when it comes to the United Nations, would you say you agree or disagree with each of the following, or are you unsure? The United Nations...

Notably, respondents in many countries are concerned that the UN is not currently well prepared for the challenges of the next decade. Respondents overall disagreed with the statement “the UN is well prepared for the challenges of the next decade” by a 3- percentage point margin in Argentina, a 23-point margin in France, a 24-point margin in Germany, an 18-point margin in Japan, a 21-point margin in Turkey, and a 24-point margin in the United States. Respondents in South Korea were split almost exactly by a +1- percentage point margin in favor of the UN's preparedness on this question, and respondents in Poland narrowly favored the UN on this question by an 8- point margin. Respondents in much of the

global south were more optimistic, with respondents agreeing the United Nations is well-prepared for the next decade by a 15-point margin in Brazil, a 29-point margin in South Africa, and a 37-point margin in India.

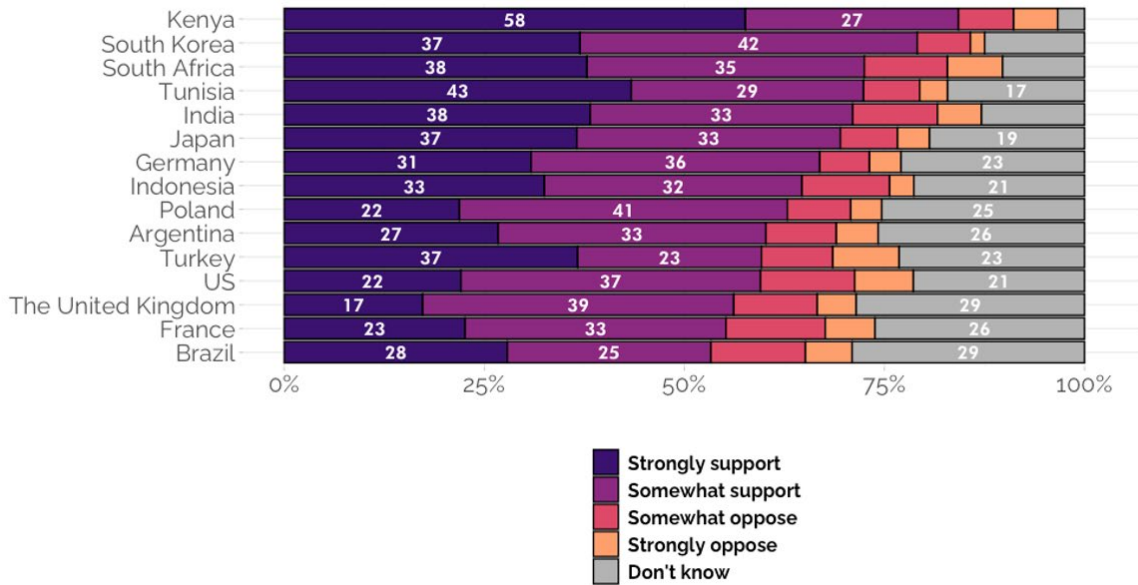


And when it comes to the United Nations, would you say you agree or disagree with each of the following, or are you unsure? The United Nations...

Related to this skepticism of the UN's future preparedness despite generally strong favorability, respondents also support fundamental reforms to some of these institutions. In this wave of the FES Global Census, respondents saw an informative statement concerning a key element of the structure of the United Nations - its Security Council - and were then asked if they approved of changes to which countries sat on the UN Security Council (UNSC).¹

¹ Specifically, the question asked: Right now, many important decisions in the United Nations are made by five countries: China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. These countries are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, a group dedicated to working in the United Nations to maintain peace around the world. All five have to agree to any decision made by the Security Council. Each of these five countries has the right to stop any UN actions using what is called their "veto." Some have proposed reforming the Security Council, such as by taking away the veto power from the permanent five countries or adding new countries to the council. Generally speaking, do you support or oppose such reforms to the United Nations Security Council?

Support for Changing Countries on the UN Security Council



The idea of reforming the UNSC is popular across the sample. More respondents support than oppose the idea of changing countries on the UNSC in every country included in the FES Global Census 2023 wave. This includes up to 85 percent of respondents in Kenya, 79 percent in South Korea, 73 percent in South Africa, 71 percent in India, and pluralities across the sample. Even respondents in permanent UNSC member states France, the United Kingdom, and the United States support changing the structure of the UNSC. French respondents support these reforms by 56-18 percent, UK respondents by 56-15 percent, and US respondents by 59-19 percent.

Respondents in much of the sample believe these reforms are likely. When asked "how likely do you think it is that the UN will actually make these reforms?" more respondents said "very likely" or "somewhat likely" than said somewhat or very unlikely in each of India (by +35-percentage point margin), Indonesia (+34), Kenya (+21), Brazil (+14), Poland (+11), South Africa (+10), and Turkey (+6). Respondents are statistically split between believing these changes are likely or unlikely in Tunisia by just a +2 margin in favor of viewing these changes as likely. Respondents overall view these changes as unlikely in each of Argentina (a -15 percentage point margin against believing these changes could happen), Japan (-15), South Korea (-9), France (-33), Germany (-36), the United States (-39), and the United Kingdom (-43).

In sum, after a tumultuous year for the world and key international organizations, these organizations remain popular. Indeed, demand for these organizations to take an active role in solving global problems is higher in some countries now than in past waves of the FES Global Census. At the same time, people respond favorably to the idea of adapting these organizations to the present, including by making fundamental changes to their leadership structures.

The 2030 Agenda Sustainable Development Goals are popular, and many people particularly in the Global South believe they will be achieved.

Key takeaways

- The 2030 Agenda Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are tremendously popular around the world. But while majorities in the Global South feel optimistic about achieving the SDGs, few respondents in the Global North think they are “very likely” to be met
- While there are partisan divisions within some countries on support for the 2030 Agenda goals, even on the political right, large voter groups support the 2030 Agenda

In the FES Global Census 2023 wave, respondents were given a description of the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Respondents were asked,

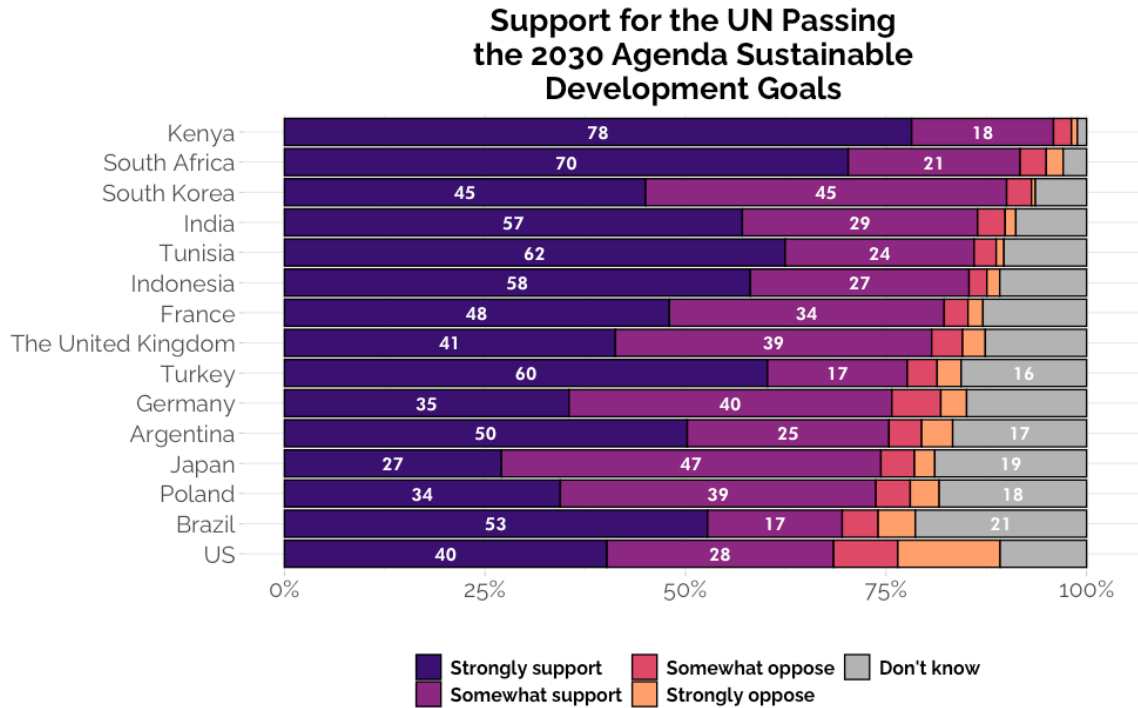
In 2015, the United Nations set several goals to achieve by 2030, known as the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

The UN says it wants: “To end poverty and hunger everywhere; to combat inequalities within and among countries; to build peaceful, just, and inclusive societies; to protect human rights and promote gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls; and to ensure the lasting protection of the planet and its natural resources. We resolve also to create conditions for sustainable, inclusive and sustained economic growth, shared prosperity and decent work for all, taking into account different levels of national development and capacities.”

Generally speaking, would you say you support or oppose these goals?

With this description in mind, respondents overwhelmingly say they support the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). This includes virtually the full Kenya and South Africa samples,

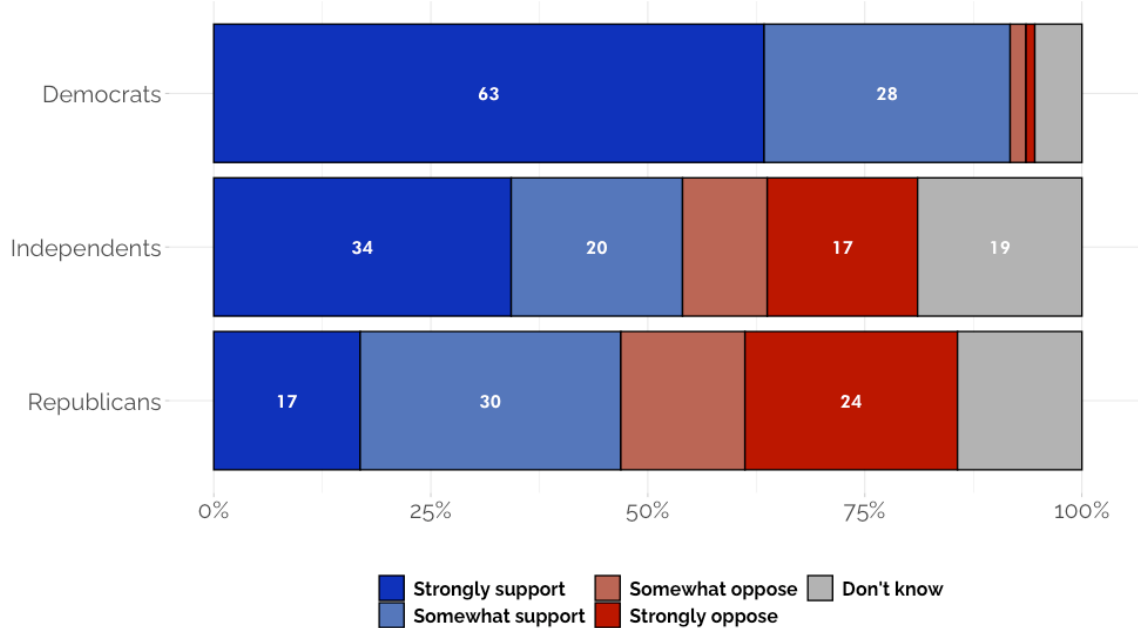
bearing in mind these samples are representative of those countries' online populations.



Even in countries with recent experience of political leadership that was generally skeptical of international organizations' political goals, such as Brazil and the United States, respondents supported the 2030 Agenda Sustainable Development Goals. In the US, - where the sample is representative of that country's registered voter population - about 68 percent of respondents somewhat or strongly support the SDGs, along with about 70 percent of respondents in the Brazil sample. In every country in the sample, net support for the 2030 Agenda SDGs is overwhelmingly positive.

In the US sample, there are significant partisan differences in how respondents feel about the Sustainable Development Goals. Fully 91 percent of Democrats support the SDGs, along with 54 percent of Independents and 47 percent of Republicans. Only a negligible share of Democrats opposes the 2030 Agenda, compared to about 27 percent of Independent voters and 38 percent of Republican voters.

Support for the Sustainable Development Goals - US Sample, by Party Identification

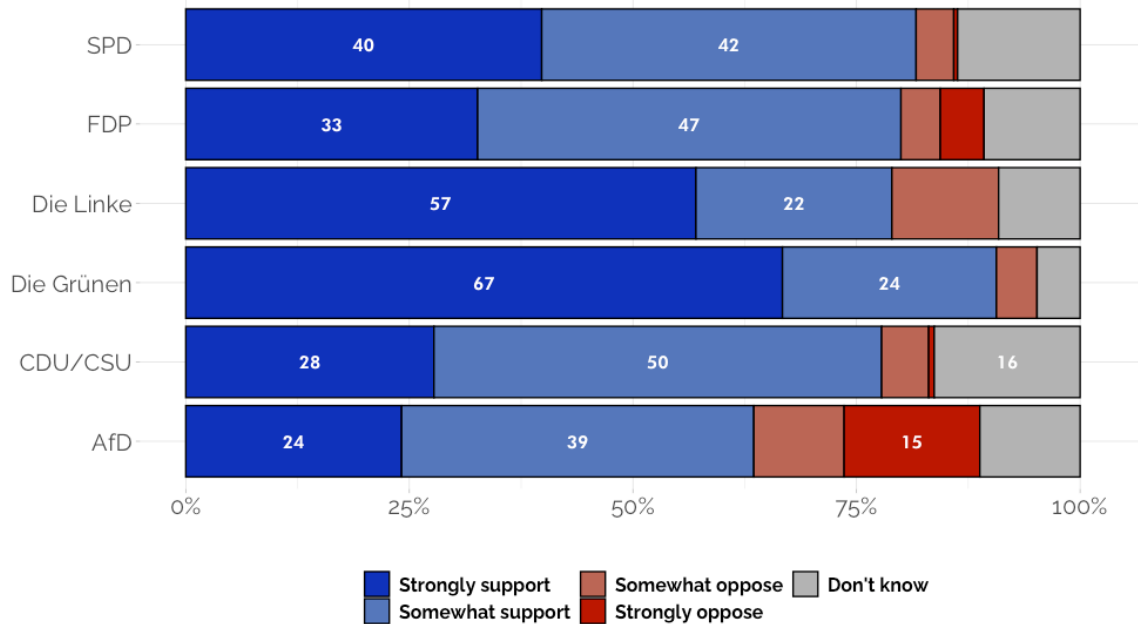


Across the sample, more respondents are skeptical that the SDGs will be met. In just over half the sample countries, more respondents think it is “somewhat unlikely” or “very unlikely” the goals will be achieved, particularly in countries in the Global North. Fully 84 percent of UK respondents, 81 percent of German respondents, 75 percent of French respondents, and 68 percent of US respondents think it is somewhat or very unlikely these goals will be met.

In contrast, many respondents from countries in the Global South believe it is more likely that the SDGs will be met. For example, large majorities of respondents in Indonesia, India, and Kenya believe it is somewhat or very likely the world will meet these goals. Even in countries where respondents are more optimistic about the prospects of the 2030 Agenda goals, significantly more respondents say these goals are “somewhat likely” than “very likely.” In no country in the sample do more than 1 in 4 respondents say the world is “very likely” to meet these goals.

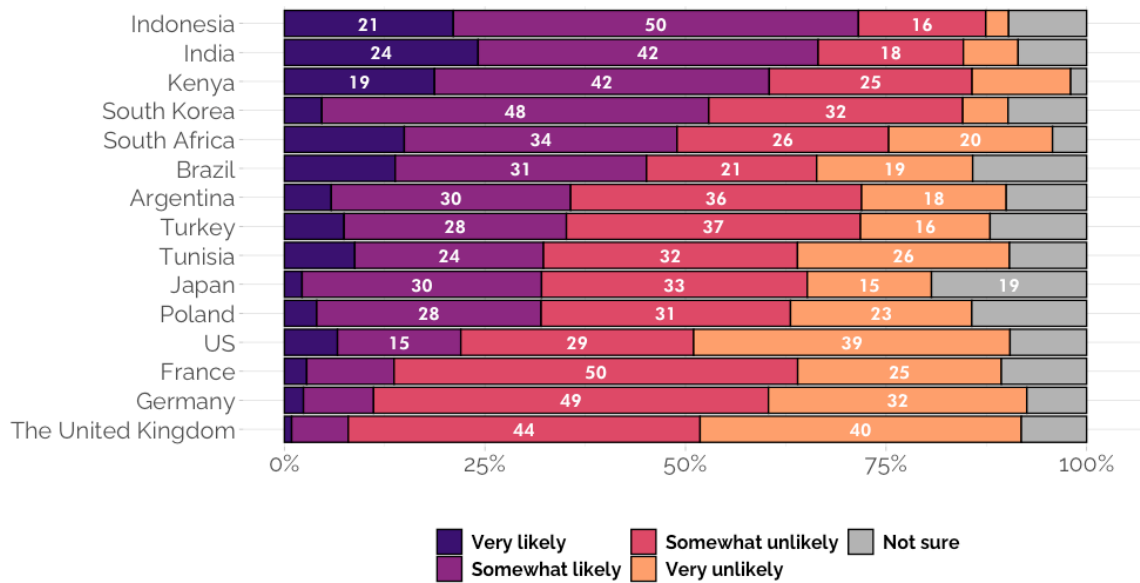
While support for the SDGs is higher across the partisan spectrum in Germany, respondents who support more rightwing parties are slightly less supportive of them. Still, even among AfD voters, 63% of respondents support the SDGs, compared to about 80 percent of supporters of more centrist political parties and just over 90 percent of Green Party supporters.

Support for the Sustainable Development Goals - Germany Sample, by Party Affiliation



In much of the sample, support for the 2030 Agenda goals only weakly correlates with peoples' perceived likelihood of the goals being met. For example, in the US, about 32 percent of the 2030 Agenda strong supporters think the goals are likely to be met, compared to just 6 percent of US strong opponents. In India, where 65 percent of respondents support the SDGs 71 percent of strong supporters and 47 percent of opponents think the goals are likely to be met. On the other end, in Germany, where about 80 percent of respondents support the SDGs, about 11 percent of supporters think the goals are likely to be met - along with about 8 percent of those who oppose the SDGs.

How Likely Will World Meet the Sustainable Development Goals



Whether you support or oppose the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, do you think it is (likely or unlikely) that the world will meet these goals by 2030?

While respondents across the FES Global Census countries generally support the Sustainable Development Goals, there are significant differences in how respondents of different ages reacted to the SDGs. For example, in the US, voters under the age of 25 support the SDGs by a +68 margin, compared to a +36 margin for voters over the age of fifty-five. In contrast, aged 55+ respondents in India and Poland are actually more supportive of passing the SDGs, supporting the SDGs by about 19 percentage points over respondents aged 18-25 in India and 17 percentage points in Poland. In Argentina and Turkey, older respondents are even more supportive of the SDGs than younger respondents, by roughly 30 percentage points in each country. In the rest of the sample these differences are smaller, with respondents aged 18-25 and those over 55 differing by fewer than 10 percentage points in the rest of the sample.

Across each FES Global Census 2023 country, younger respondents were generally more optimistic about whether the SDGs would pass than were older respondents. For example, while US respondents over the age of 55 were overwhelmingly pessimistic on the SDGs, with just 13 percent thinking they were likely to pass, about 37 percent of respondents aged 18-25 thought they were likely to pass. The youngest respondents were about 20 percentage points more optimistic than older respondents in each of the United Kingdom, Germany, and Japan. Elsewhere, the differences across generations in optimism about the passage of the SDGs were smaller or negligible.

In sum, across the FES Global Census 2023 sample countries, respondents generally support the aspirations contained in the 2030 Agenda goals. But large shares of respondents in each country are skeptical the goals will be met. Supporters of the goals are, perhaps not surprisingly, more optimistic about the prospects of the goals than are opponents. In some countries, most particularly the United States, there are clear left-right political divisions in support for these goals.

In a world in crisis, people are calling on international institutions to step up and work for peace.

Key takeaways

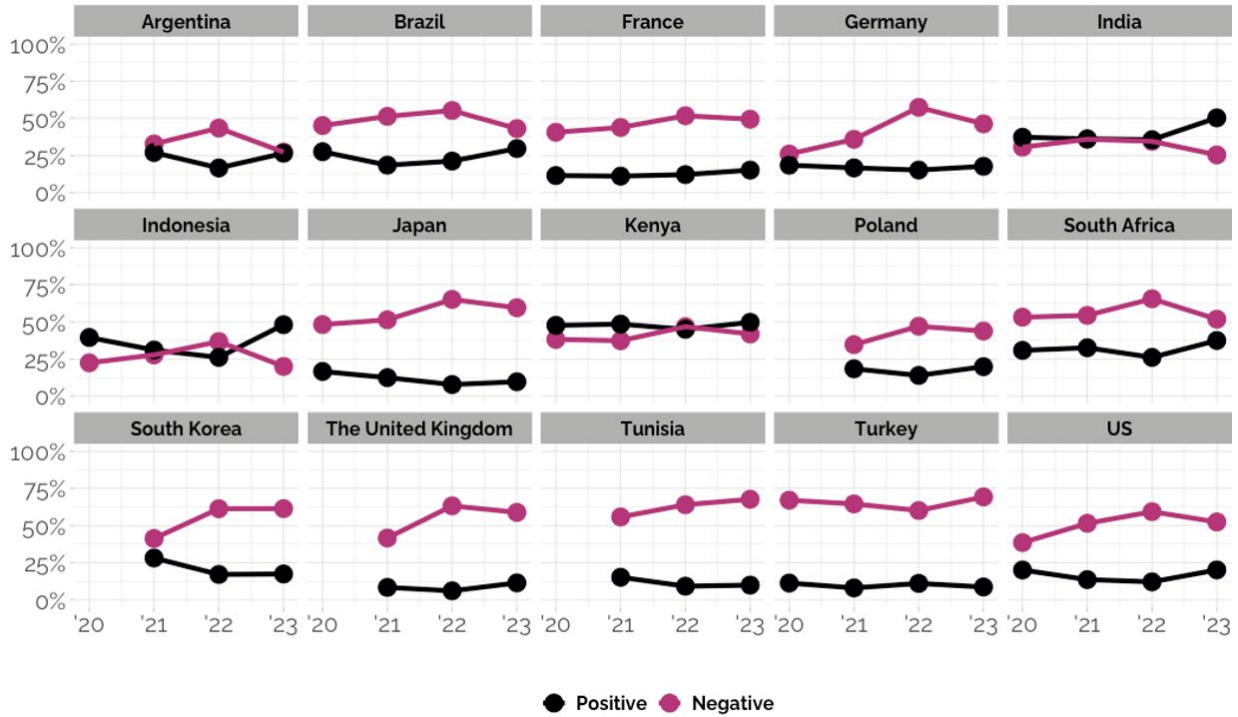
- Respondents remain pessimistic about global affairs, demanding more of global institutions than before
- General belief UN needs to focus more on helping with global crises
- Slight increase in belief the UN needs to bring together countries with conflicting worldviews

Many participants in the FES Global Census 2023 wave remain about as pessimistic about the state of global affairs as they were in the 2022 wave. When asked to choose whether they believed international events had more of a positive or negative impact on their own lives, more respondents say negative impact in each of Brazil (42-28), France (47-16), Germany (47-18), Japan (59-10), South Africa (52-36), South Korea (61-18), the United Kingdom (59-11), Tunisia (69-10), Turkey (68-9), and the US (51-22). Respondents are split on this question in a few countries including Argentina (28-26), and Kenya (42-49). Overall, respondents feel more positively about global events in India (25-52) and Indonesia (21-48).

The optimism in the India and Indonesia samples in wave four represent significant increases in optimism in these countries, up from a 35-36 positive-negative split in India in the FES Global Census 2022 wave and 20-48 pessimism in Indonesia in the 2022 wave. The FES Global Census 2023 shows improved optimism in these countries along a variety of measures, such as on overall views of various international institutions (see the following section).

Overall, it is clear that the status quo of pessimism in much of the world remains the norm. The increased pessimism observed in South Korea and the United Kingdom from the FES Global Census 2021-2022 waves persisted. The net levels of pessimism observed in most countries in the sample were steady from the previous wave of the FES Global Census.

Effects Of International Events On Life

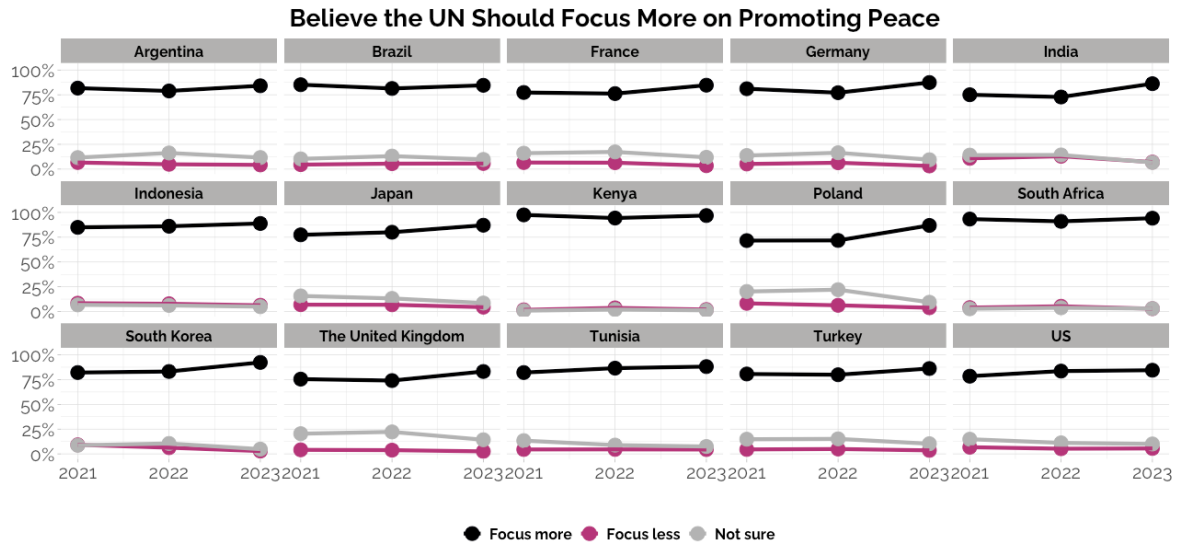


And, even if it isn't exactly right, which of the following is closest to your view?

But rather than seeking to reduce the role of international organizations in their lives and countries' affairs, respondents in sample countries around the world instead are demanding more of global institutions in the 2023 wave than they have previously. For example, respondents were asked whether the United Nations should focus on a variety of important global goals such as "protecting human rights," "promoting peace," "helping to handle international conflicts like the Ukraine-Russia war," and others.

In almost every country in the sample, there was an increased appetite for the UN taking a role in addressing these global problems in the FES Global Census 2023 wave compared to the previous wave. For example, the share of respondents saying the UN should "focus more" on promoting peace rose from the 2022 to the 2023 waves from 74 to 80 percent in Argentina, from 72 percent to 82 percent in France, from 75 to 83 percent in Germany, from 75 to 84 percent in India, from 69 to 83 percent in Poland, from 78 to 88 percent in South Korea, and from 63 to 72 percent in the United Kingdom. In no country in the sample did the share of respondents who believe the UN should focus more on promoting peace decline.

In contrast, only negligible shares of respondents in each country in the sample said the UN should view peace as less of a priority. In no country in the sample does more than 11 percent of the population want the US to "focus less" on promoting peace. Promoting peace is a top global priority for the UN in 2023.



And when it comes to the United Nations, would you say you (agree or disagree) with each of the following, or are you unsure? The United Nations...

Respondents in countries around the world support an increased role of the UN in these key problems even if it means trying to bring together countries that have serious ideological divides. In the 2022 and 2023 waves of the FES Global Census, respondents were asked to choose between two views of the UN's role in the world:

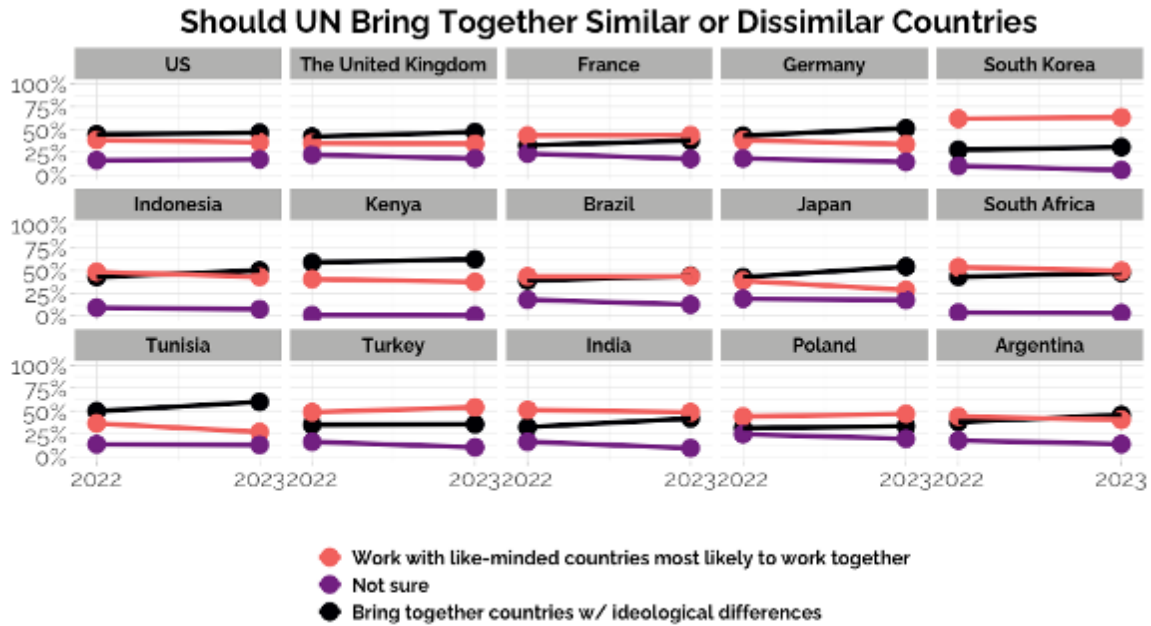
Considering everything going on in the world these days, should the United Nations focus on...

<1> Offering a diplomatic platform that brings together many countries, even if they have severe ideological differences

<2> Working with like-minded countries that are most likely to work together to address global challenges such as climate change, poverty, and development

<3> Not sure

More respondents now say they prefer a UN that brings together countries with "severe ideological differences" in nine of the fifteen countries in the FES Global Census 2023 sample. This includes statistically equal or increasing shares of respondents who selected this answer compared to the 2022 wave in every country. Compared to the 2022 wave, more respondents now say the UN should bring together countries with "serious ideological differences" than say the UN should "focus on like-minded countries," a switch in net preferences overall, in Argentina and Indonesia. In this wave, no countries made a switch in preferences in the opposite direction.



Considering everything going on in the world these days, should the United Nations focus on...

Ultimately, around the world participants in the FES Global Census 2023 wave continue to worry about the impact of global affairs on their own lives. Overall pessimism remained steady or increased in much of the sample. Around the world, participants in the sample have increasingly called on international institutions such as the United Nations to take a more active role in protecting human rights and promoting peace around the world. Respondents also say it is more important now than in the past for the United Nations to bring together countries with serious ideological differences.

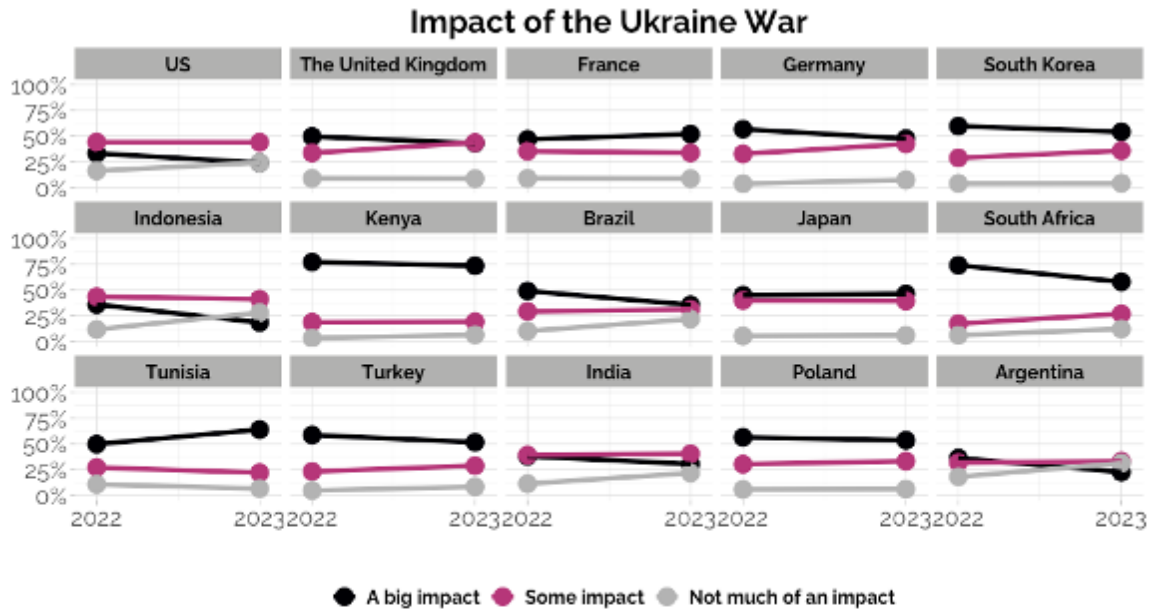
While the perceived urgency of Russia's invasion of Ukraine has dropped, most continue to support holding Russia accountable.

Key points

- The share of respondents who say Ukraine war has "a big impact" on them has dropped
- Respondents continue to support expelling Russia from key global organizations such as the United Nations

As Russia's invasion of Ukraine continues into its second year, respondents in many FES Global Census countries continue to believe the war has a big impact on their own lives. Statistically equal shares of respondents in the 2022 and 2023 waves reported the war had "a big impact" on their own country in France (47 percent-52 percent), Kenya (77-74 percent), Japan (45-46 percent), and Poland (56-54 percent).

But in other countries, the perceived urgency of the war has declined slightly. Fewer respondents now say the war has had a big impact on their own country in Argentina (36-23 percent), Brazil (49-37 percent), India (38-31 percent), Indonesia (36-20 percent), Germany (57-48 percent), South Africa (74-60 percent), South Korea (60-54 percent), Turkey (59-51 percent) the United Kingdom (50-43 percent), and the United States (33-24 percent). In Argentina, Indonesia, and the United States, more respondents now say the war has had "not much of an impact" than say the war has had "a big impact."

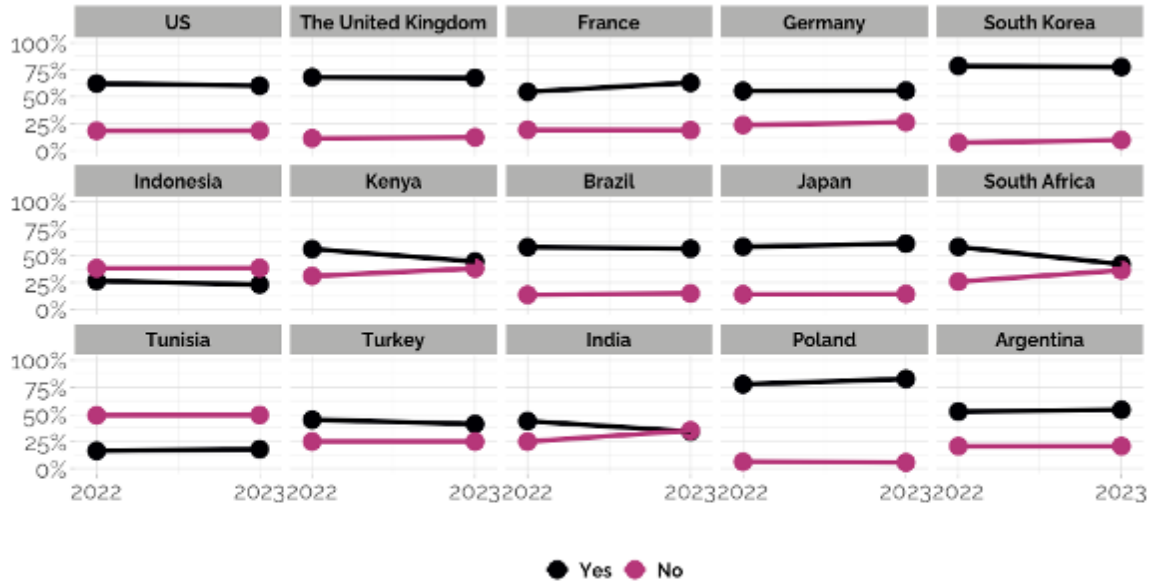


Would you say the war between Ukraine and Russia has had a big impact or not much of an impact on your day-to-day through things like the cost of energy in your country?

At the same time, most continue to support taking punitive measures against Russia for its invasion. For example, when asked if they believed Russia should be expelled from the United Nations entirely over its invasion of Ukraine, significantly more respondents said “yes” than “no” in ten of the fifteen countries in the sample.

However, in Indonesia and Tunisia, respondents were overall opposed to removing Russia from the UN in both the 2022 and 2023 waves of the FES Global Census. Support for removing Russia from the UN fell significantly in three countries: India, Kenya, and South Africa. Net support for removing Russia from the UN fell from 44 percent to 33 percent in India, from 56 to 46 percent in Kenya, and from 58 to 40 percent in South Africa. While our data does not allow us to attribute this change directly to Russia’s recent energy largesse toward these countries, we do not rule this out as a contributing factor. We further note that on net each of these three countries remain supportive of removing Russia from the UN, albeit by smaller margins than in the 2022 wave of the FES Global Census.

Support for Removing Russia from UN



Should Russia be removed from international organizations, such as the United Nations, to punish Russia for its aggression against Ukraine?

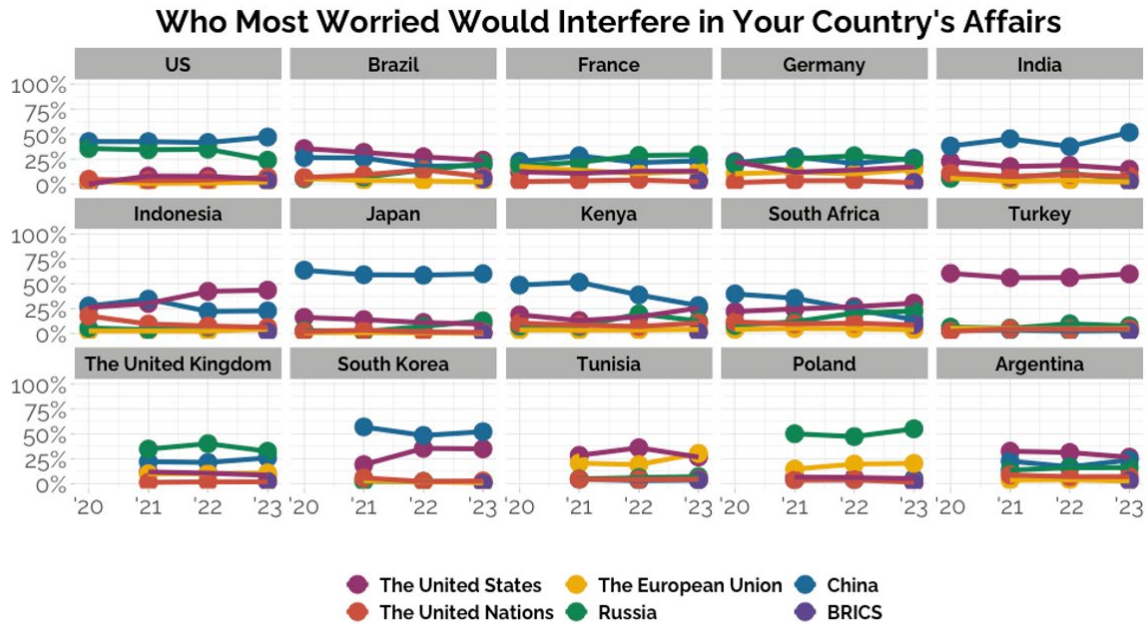
Many countries continue to view China with more suspicion than Russia, while much of the Global South worries about the United States.

Key takeaways

- Particularly in the Global North, respondents remain most worried that China would interfere in their country's affairs
- Consistent with previous waves of the FES Global Census, respondents in much of the Global South are worried the United States might interfere in their country's affairs

For many countries in the FES Global Census sample, Russia and China continue to be the most worrisome countries when it comes to who may interfere in other countries' affairs. When asked to choose whether the BRICS, China, the European Union, Russia, the United Nations, or the United States, the largest share of respondents chose China in India (51 percent), Japan (61 percent), South Korea (52 percent), the United States (45 percent), and Germany (25 percent). Respondents in the UK were split between being most worried about Russia (32 percent) and China (27 percent), France (29 percent chose Russia and 23 percent chose China), and Germany (24 percent chose Russia and 25 percent chose China). Respondents in Kenya were split between being most worried about China (28 percent) and the United States (26 percent).

Notably, as with the previous wave of the FES Global Census, several countries in the Global South remain worried about the United States. Fully 27 percent of respondents in Argentina, 23 percent of respondents in Brazil, 45 percent of respondents in Indonesia, 32 percent of respondents in South Africa. Additionally, 59 percent of respondents in Turkey said they were most concerned about the United States. Respondents in Tunisia were split 29-28 between whether they were most worried about the United States or the European Union interfering in their country's affairs.



Generally speaking, who are you most worried might interfere in your country's affairs?

These results are consistent with previous waves of the FES Global Census with a few notable exceptions. For example, the share of American respondents who reported being most worried about Russia fell from 35 to 24 percent from the 2022 to the 2023 wave, with the share most worried about China rising slightly from 42 to 45 percent. While still the top concern, the share of respondents in Kenya most worried about China continued its downward trend from the 2021 and 2022 waves, to a new low of 28 percent. The share of respondents in South Africa most worried about the United States rose to its highest level of 32 percent, overtaking the other options on this item among South Africa respondents for the first time in the FES Global Census.

Russia and China predominate many respondents' concerns in the Global North when it comes to potential interference in their own countries' affairs. In contrast, in the Global South, respondents in several countries are more worried about the United States, with conspicuous exceptions such as India and Kenya, which continue to worry about China overall.

Democracy vs. Autocracy? Not so fast. Global North and Global South are divided on the world's most pressing problems.

Key takeaways

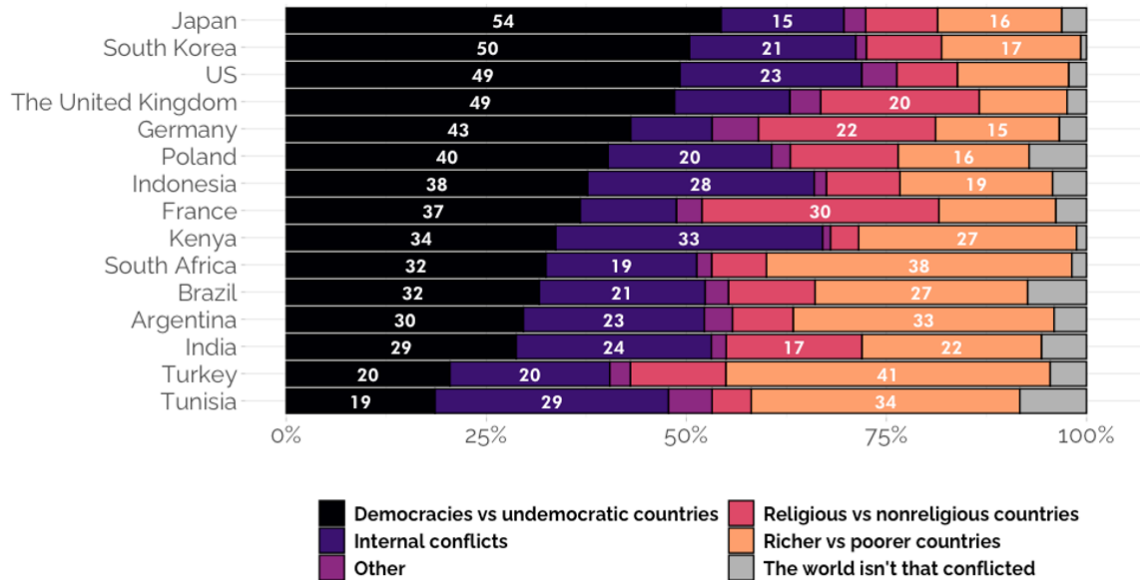
- Lower-income countries are more concerned about internal divisions and conflict arising between rich and poor countries around the world, while higher-income countries are more concerned about ideological divisions around the world.

Respondents in the FES Global Census 2023 wave were asked what they thought could be the biggest potential sources of conflict around the world. These included potential conflicts between democracies and undemocratic countries, internal divisions, religious versus secular countries, or the potential of conflict between rich and poor countries.

In countries in the Global North, pluralities of respondents were most worried about the potential for conflict between democracies and undemocratic countries. The conflict between "democratic vs. undemocratic countries" was the top response in much of the sample and was the top response by more than 10 percentage points over the next nearest concern in each of Poland, Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States, South Korea, and Japan.

In other countries in the sample, respondents were more mixed on whether the biggest potential cause of conflict around the world was between democracies and non-democracies, or between rich and poor countries. In Kenya, for example, roughly equal shares of respondents are most worried about democracies vs. non-democracies (34 percent and 33 percent), internal conflicts (34 percent), and conflict between rich and poor countries (27 percent). Respondents in some countries are about equally split between concerns about democracies vs. non-democracies, or rich vs. poor countries, such as Brazil (32-27 percent), South Africa (32-38 percent), and Argentina (30 percent-33 percent). Respondents in India were roughly split in their concern about conflict between democracies and non-democracies (29 percent) and internal conflicts (24 percent). In Turkey and Tunisia, the highest share of respondents was concerned about potential conflict between rich and poor countries, at 41 percent and 34 percent respectively.

Biggest Cause of Conflict Around the World



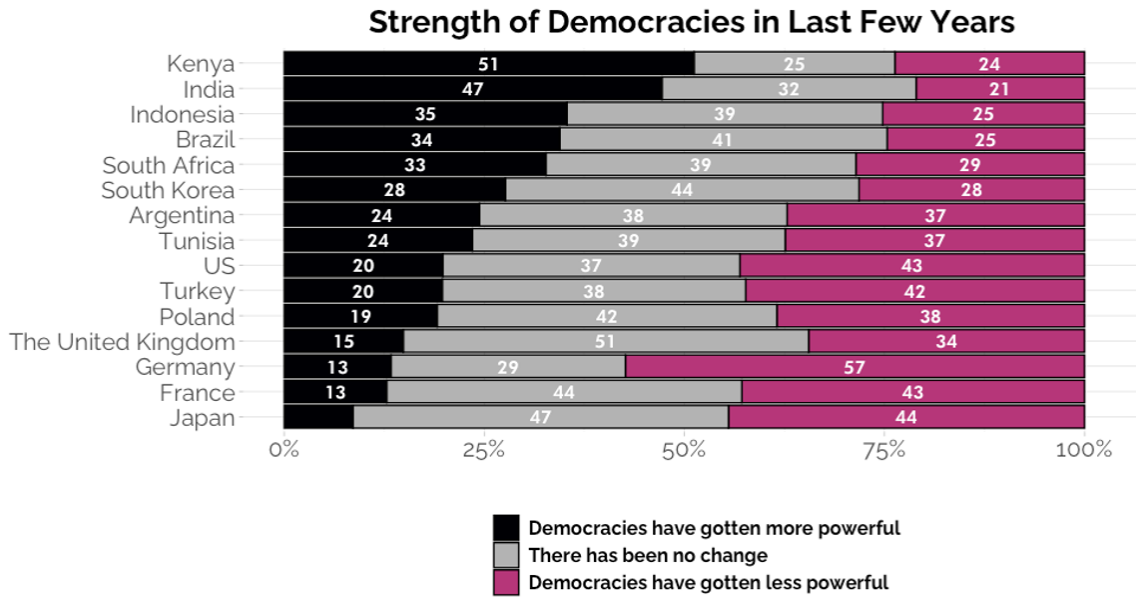
Even if none is the closest, what do you believe is the biggest source of conflict in the world?

Relatedly, respondents were also asked if they believed democracies have gotten more powerful or less powerful recently, or if there had been no change recently. Notably, respondents in relatively wealthier, democratic countries in the FES Global Census 2023 sample were most concerned about the strength of democracies around the world.

In most of the sample, the most common response was that there had been no recent change in the strength of democracies. This was the most common response in eight countries in the sample (Indonesia, South Africa, Brazil, South Korea, Tunisia, Poland, the United Kingdom, and Japan), and was the most common response by more than five percentage points in five of those countries (Brazil, South Korea, Tunisia, the United Kingdom, and Japan).

Looking only at respondents who felt things had changed recently, respondents in Kenya, India, Indonesia, South Africa, and Brazil were more optimistic about the strength of democracies, saying democracies had “become stronger” rather than weaker by over eight percentage points in each. In contrast, more respondents in Argentina, Tunisia, Turkey, the United States, Poland, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, and Japan said democracies were getting weaker by ten percentage points or more. Notably, respondents in Germany felt democracies had gotten weaker by an overwhelming 57-13 margin, with similarly high margins in the US (23 points toward saying democracies had gotten “weaker” rather than

stronger), Poland (19 points), the United Kingdom (19 points), France (30 points), and Japan (35 points).



Across the world, some countries are considered democracies, where people elect their leaders in open elections, while others are not. Over the last few years, would you say that countries that are democracies have gotten [less powerful, more powerful] or has there been no change?

Overall, respondents in many countries worry the most about future conflict between democracies and non-democracies. Many respondents in countries in the Global South are more concerned about internal divisions and the possibility of rich countries and poor countries. Pluralities of respondents don't see much change in the relative strength of democracies recently. Among those who think things have changed, larger shares of respondents in much of the Global South think democracies have grown stronger, while those living in wealthy democracies worry they have grown weaker.

Sampling information

On behalf of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES), YouGov fielded a multinational survey of 15,887 respondents conducted by YouGov on the internet among respondents in various countries.

The Argentina sample (n=1,184) is nationally representative and weighted according to age, gender, and region. The project was fielded in localized Spanish.

The Brazil sample (n=1,109) is nationally representative and weighted according to age, gender, education, and region. It was fielded in localized Portuguese.

The France sample (n=1,228) is politically representative of France and was weighted according to gender, age, urban/rural status, education, region, and 2022 Presidential vote. The project was fielded in French.

The Germany sample (n=1,039) is politically representative of Germany and was weighted according to gender, age, education, state, party identification, urban/suburban/rural status, and political interest. The project was fielded in German.

The Indonesia sample (n=1,022) is representative of online respondents in that country and was weighted according to demographic variables like age, gender, region, marital status, and socioeconomic status. The project was fielded in Bahasa.

The India sample (n=1,059) is representative of online respondents in that country and was weighted according to demographic variables like age, gender, religion, and region. The project was fielded in localized English.

The Japan sample (n=1,006) is nationally representative and was weighted according to age, gender, and region. The project was fielded in Japanese.

The Kenya sample (n=764) is representative of online respondents in Kenya and was weighted according to region, age, and gender.

The Poland sample (n=1,083) is politically representative of Poland and was weighted according to region, 2019 vote, age, gender, education, and political interest. It was fielded in Polish.

The South Africa sample (n=1,082) is representative of online respondents in that country and was weighted according to age, gender, race, and region.

The South Korea sample (n=1,122) is nationally representative of that country and was weighted according to age, region, and gender. It was fielded in Korean.

The Tunisia sample (n=455) is nationally representative and was weighted according to age and gender. It was fielded in Arabic.

The Turkey sample (n=1,295) is nationally representative and was weighted according to region, age, and gender. It was fielded in Turkish.

The UK sample (n=1,332) is politically representative of the UK and was weighted according to age, gender, education, past vote, political attention, and respondents' social grade. It was fielded in localized English.

The US sample (n=1,107) is representative of US registered voters and was weighted according to gender, age, race/ethnicity, education, US census region, and Presidential vote choice. The project was fielded in English.