

## **FES Global Census 2022**

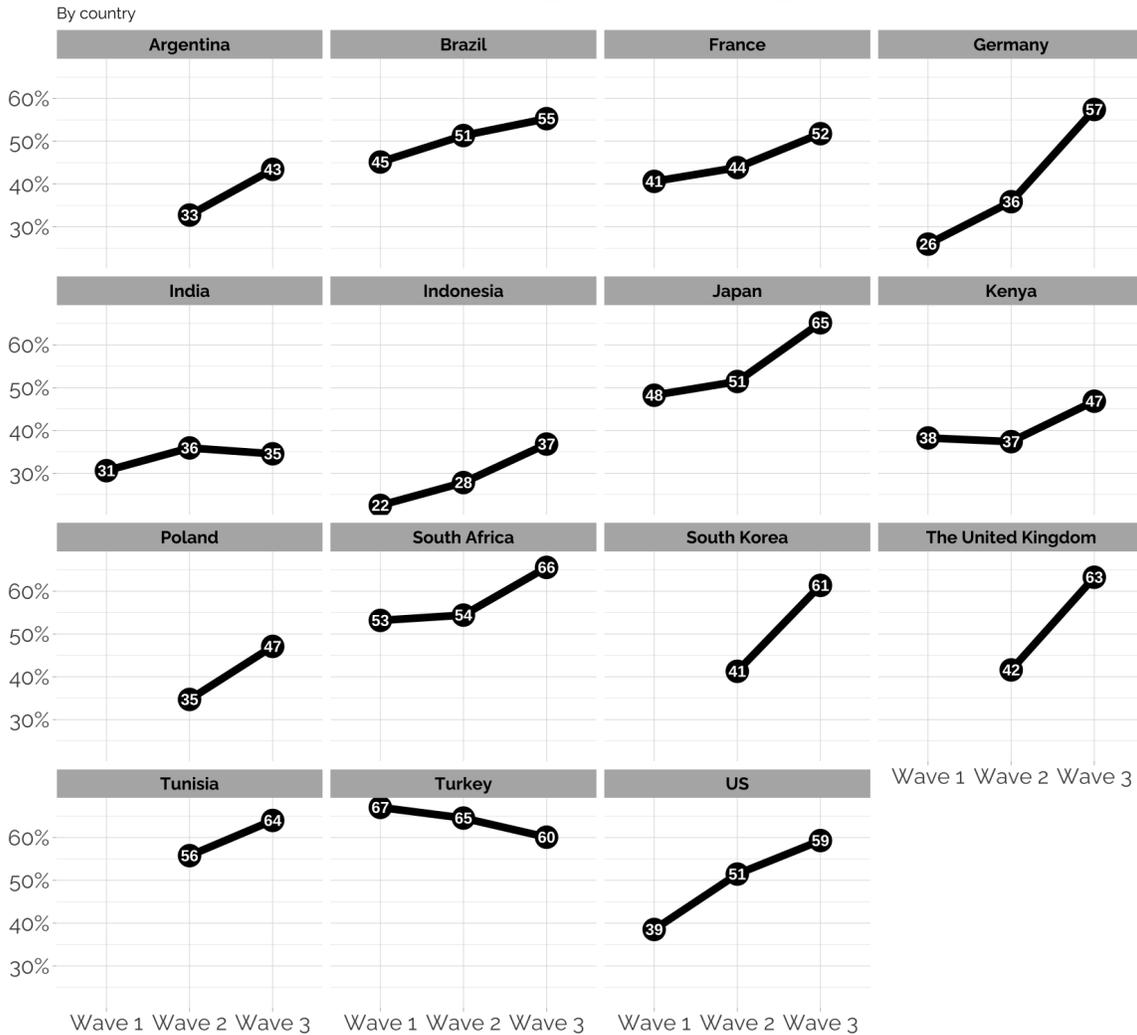
On behalf of FES, YouGov surveyed 14,998 respondents across fifteen countries to complete the FES Global Census 2022 project. The survey was fielded from August 18-31, 2022. This survey included respondents from Argentina, Brazil, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Poland, South Africa, South Korea, the United Kingdom, the United States, Tunisia, and Turkey. Here, we summarize results concerning the Russia-Ukraine conflict and its relationship to world events.

### FES Global Census 2022: Countries Around The World Want Global Organizations To Lead Through Troubled Times

- Respondents are more pessimistic today than they were in previous rounds of this project, with higher shares saying global events have generally negatively impacted their lives
- Large shares of respondents in each country worry that democracy is declining in their countries, but also overwhelmingly believe that democracy is important to them personally
- While a few countries are optimistic about the future, majorities in much of the sample believe their own generation is going to be worse off than previous generations were
- Despite this pessimism, many feel that, even if they are imperfect, existing global institutions are best suited to help solve the major problems countries are facing
  - While attitudes toward global affairs overall are negative, favorability toward specific institutions like NATO, the EU, and the UN are high across the sample
- Most believe the best way to deal with the challenges of the future is with greater involvement from global institutions. Additionally, when these global institutions have problems, most would prefer to see their own country step in to help rather than to step back

In each wave of the FES Global Census, respondents are asked if they believe global events have generally had a positive or negative impact on their own lives. In the 2022 wave of the Global Census, belief that “In general, to the extent that events around the world have an impact on my life, those impacts have been negative” reached new highs in most countries and remained roughly similar to last year’s result in others.

**Believe events around the world have generally had negative impact on personal life**

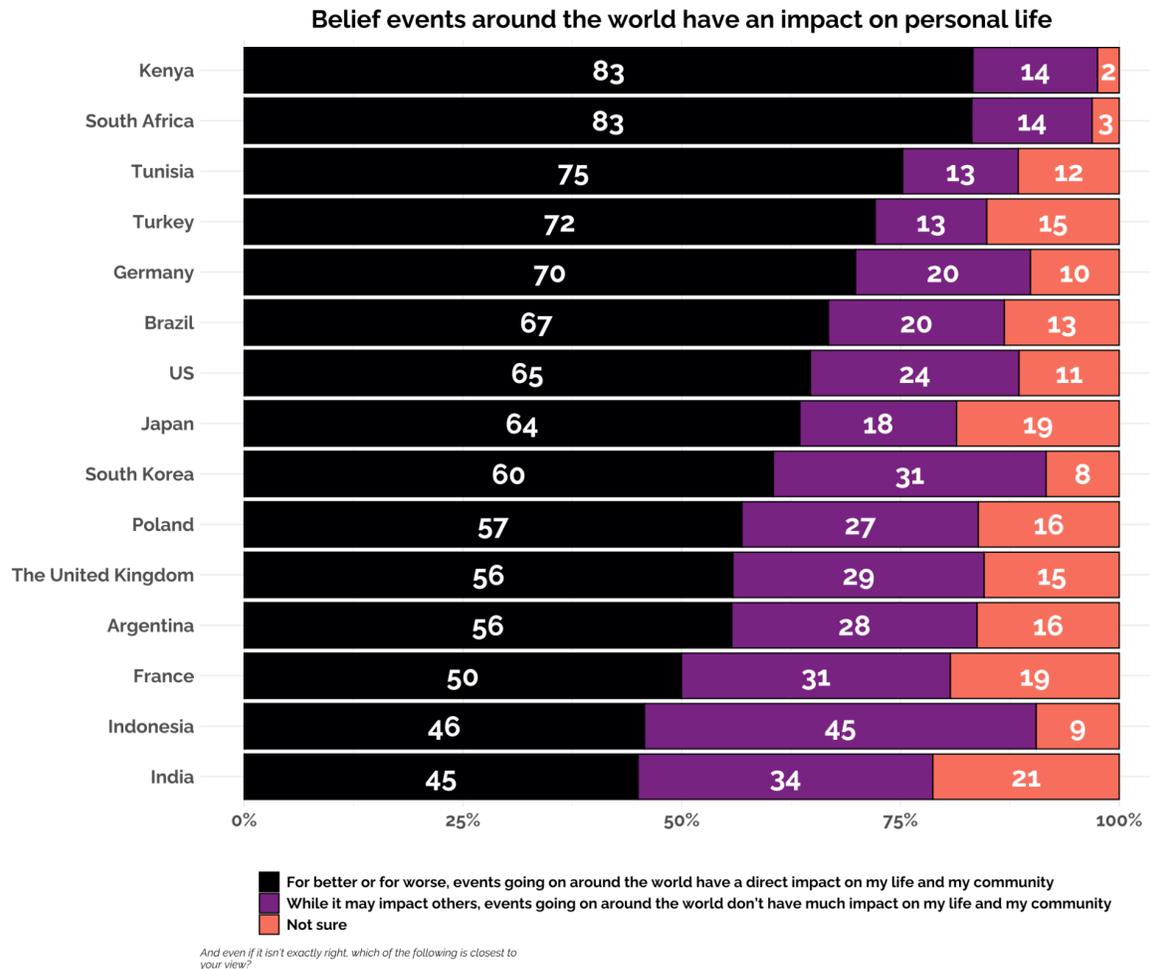


And, even if it isn't exactly right, which of the following is closest to your view?

Pessimism about global events rose by about twenty percentage points in Germany, South Korea, and the United Kingdom. It rose by about ten percentage points in Argentina, France, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Poland, South Africa, Tunisia, and the United States. Over the past year, most countries in the FES Global Census saw general increases in pessimism about the impact world events have on peoples' lives.

In addition to feeling pessimism about the general impact of global events on peoples' personal lives, respondents also generally agree these events have clear and direct impacts on their lives. Respondents around the world generally do not feel detached from global events. Rather, overwhelming majorities of people in most countries in the sample were

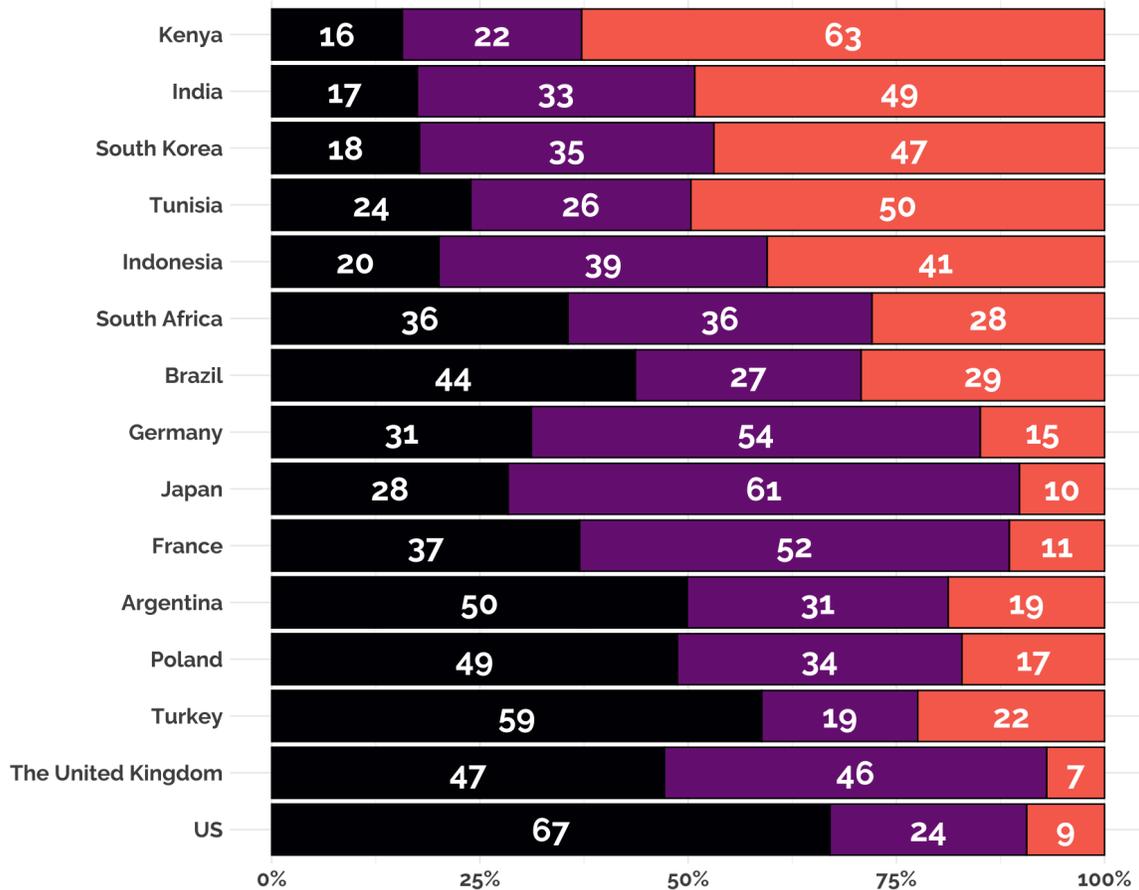
more likely to agree that “For better or for worse, events going on around the world have a direct impact on my life and my community” rather than they “don’t have much impact.”



### *Views on the state of democracy*

Respondents in much of the sample also reported concerns about the state of democracy in their country. The survey asked respondents to report whether they believed their country was becoming generally more democratic now “than it has been in the past,” or less democratic. While this concern was not widely held in Kenya, Tunisia, India, or South Korea, net pluralities or majorities of respondents expressed this concern in the other countries in the sample. This includes fully two-thirds of respondents from the United States, with just 7 percent of Americans in the sample believing their country was becoming more democratic now than in the past.

**Some countries worry they are becoming less democratic**



Overall, my country is becoming less democratic than it has been in the past  
 Overall, my country is no more or less democratic now than it has been in the past  
 Overall, my country is becoming more democratic than it has been in the past

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

While the FES Global Census sampled countries with a wide variety of types of government, respondents across the sample generally said they valued democracy. The survey asked:

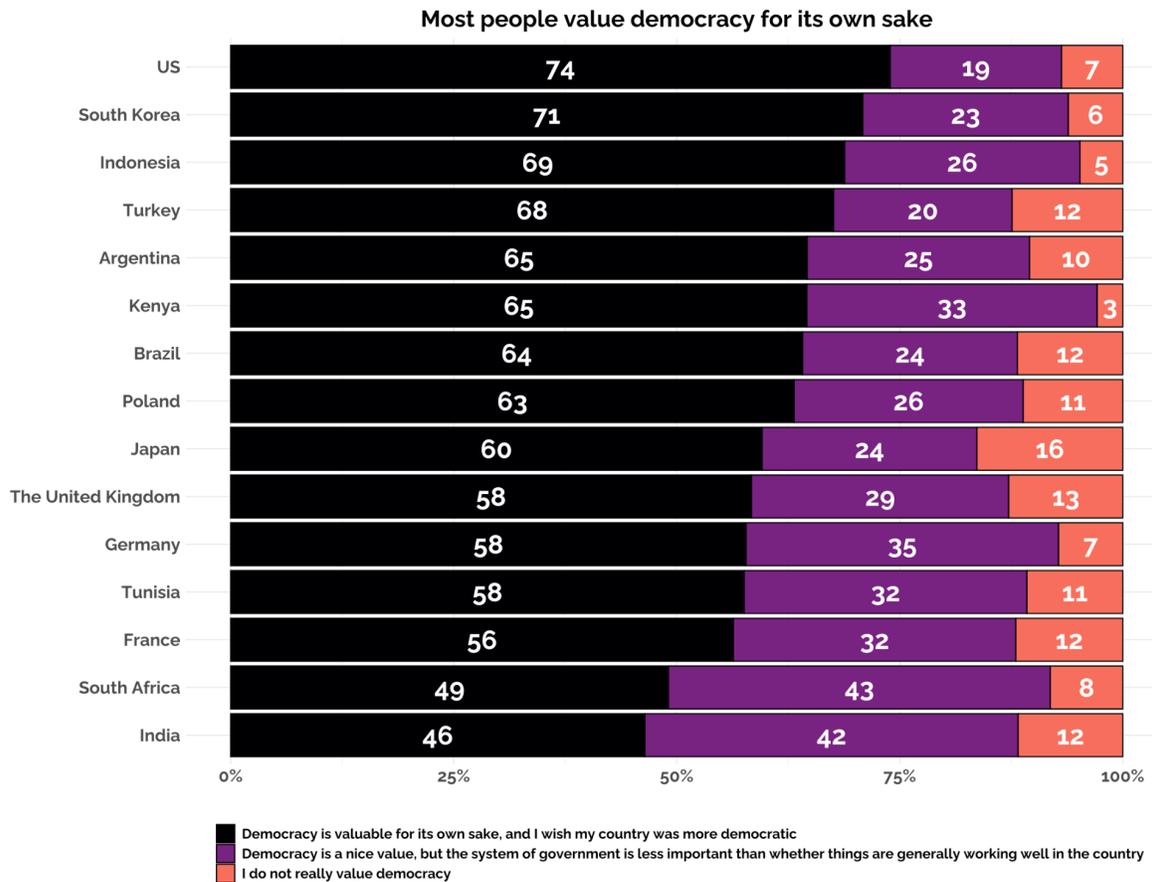
*And if you had to choose, would you say...*

*<1> Democracy is valuable for its own sake, and I wish my country was more democratic*

*<2> Democracy is a nice value, but the system of government is less important than whether things are generally working well in the country*

*<3> I do not really value democracy*

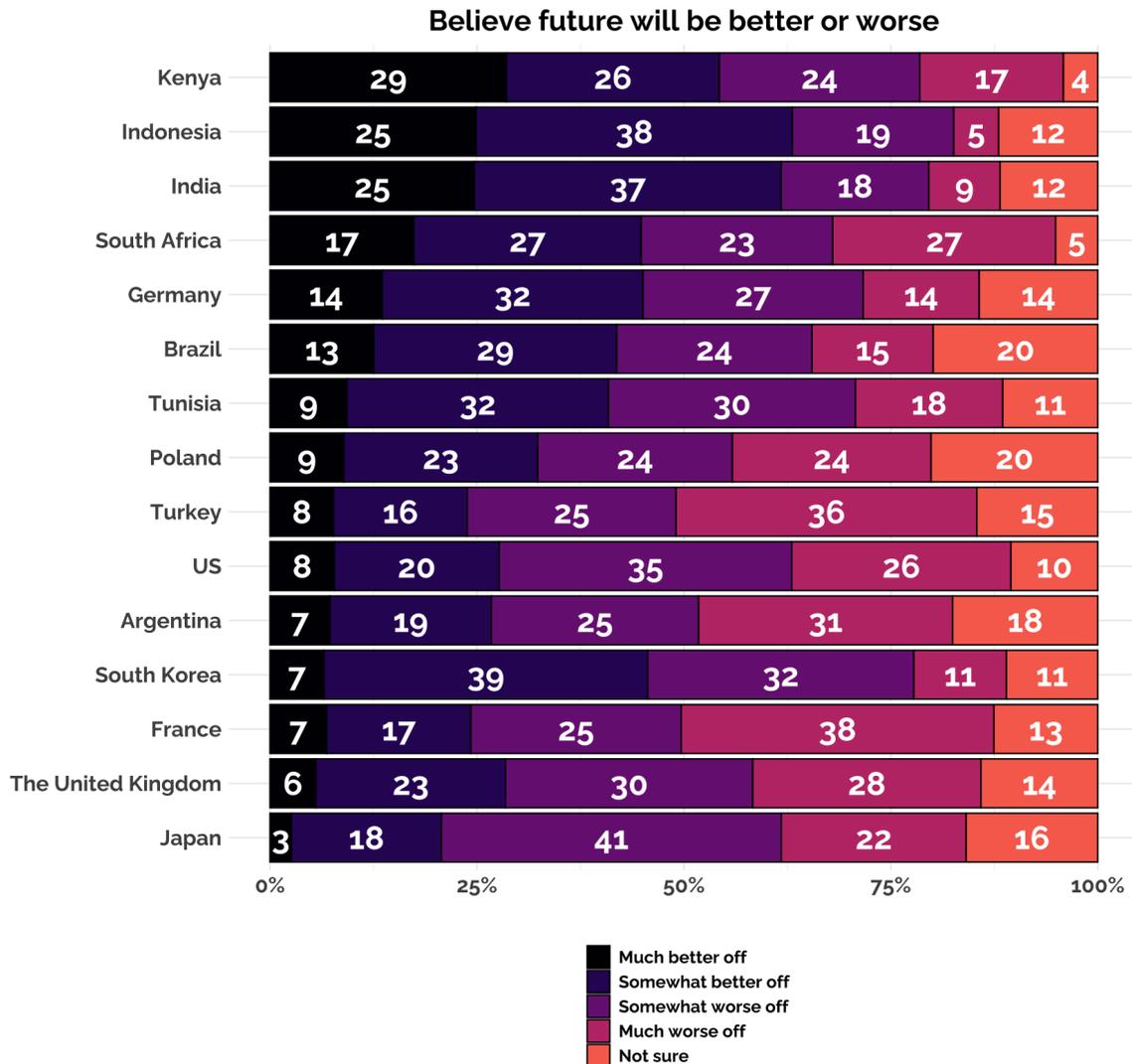
Few respondents in any country said they “Do not really value democracy,” with virtually all respondents selecting the first or second options. Larger shares of respondents in India and South Africa believed democracy was not necessarily as important as whether or not the country was working well. About 32 percent of respondents in France and Tunisia, 35 percent of respondents in Germany, and 29 percent of respondents in the United Kingdom agreed. In every country, more respondents felt that democracy was “valuable for its own sake.” Respondents to the FES Global Census are both worried about the future of democracy in their countries and say democracy is valuable to them.



Pessimism in this wave of the Global Census extends to more general beliefs about the state of the future, and not just the state of democracy in the sample countries. This wave of the survey also asked,

*Thinking about your parents' and grandparents' generations, do you think your own generation will generally be [better off, worse off,] or about the same as older generations in the future?*

Majorities of respondents in much of the sample, including Japan, the United Kingdom, France, Argentina, the United States, Turkey, and South Africa believed their own generation would be worse off than future generations. Respondents in much of the sample were roughly split on this question, while respondents in much of the global south - including Brazil, South Africa, India, Indonesia, and Kenya - were more optimistic.



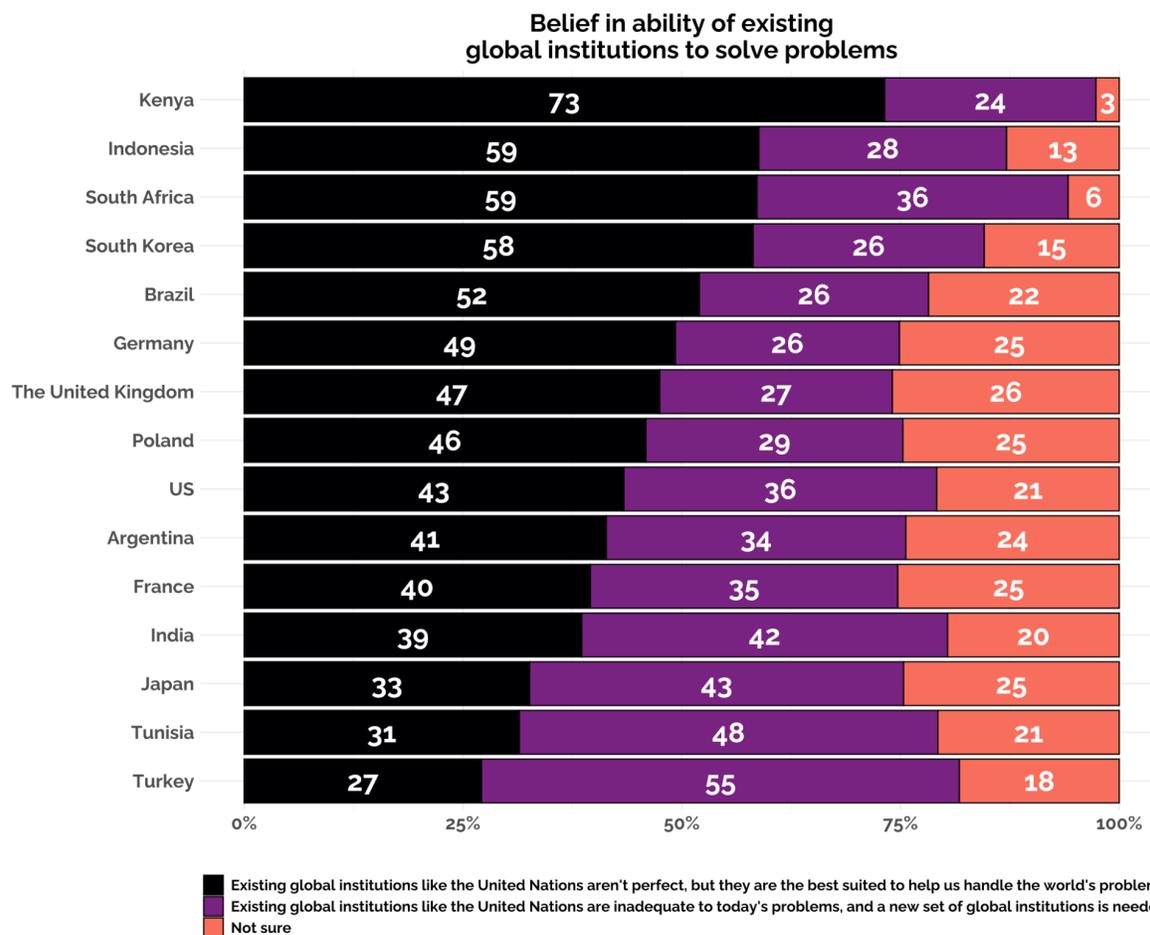
Thinking about your parents' and grandparents' generations, do you think your own generation will generally be [better off, worse off,] or about the same as older generations in the future?

### *Trust in global institutions*

This pessimism extends only partially to trust in global institutions. The survey asked respondents to choose between two competing views:

And even if it isn't exactly right, which of the following is closer to your view?  
 <1> Existing global institutions like the United Nations aren't perfect, but they are the best suited to help us handle the world's problems  
 <2> Existing global institutions like the United Nations are inadequate to today's problems, and a new set of global institutions is needed  
 <3> Not sure

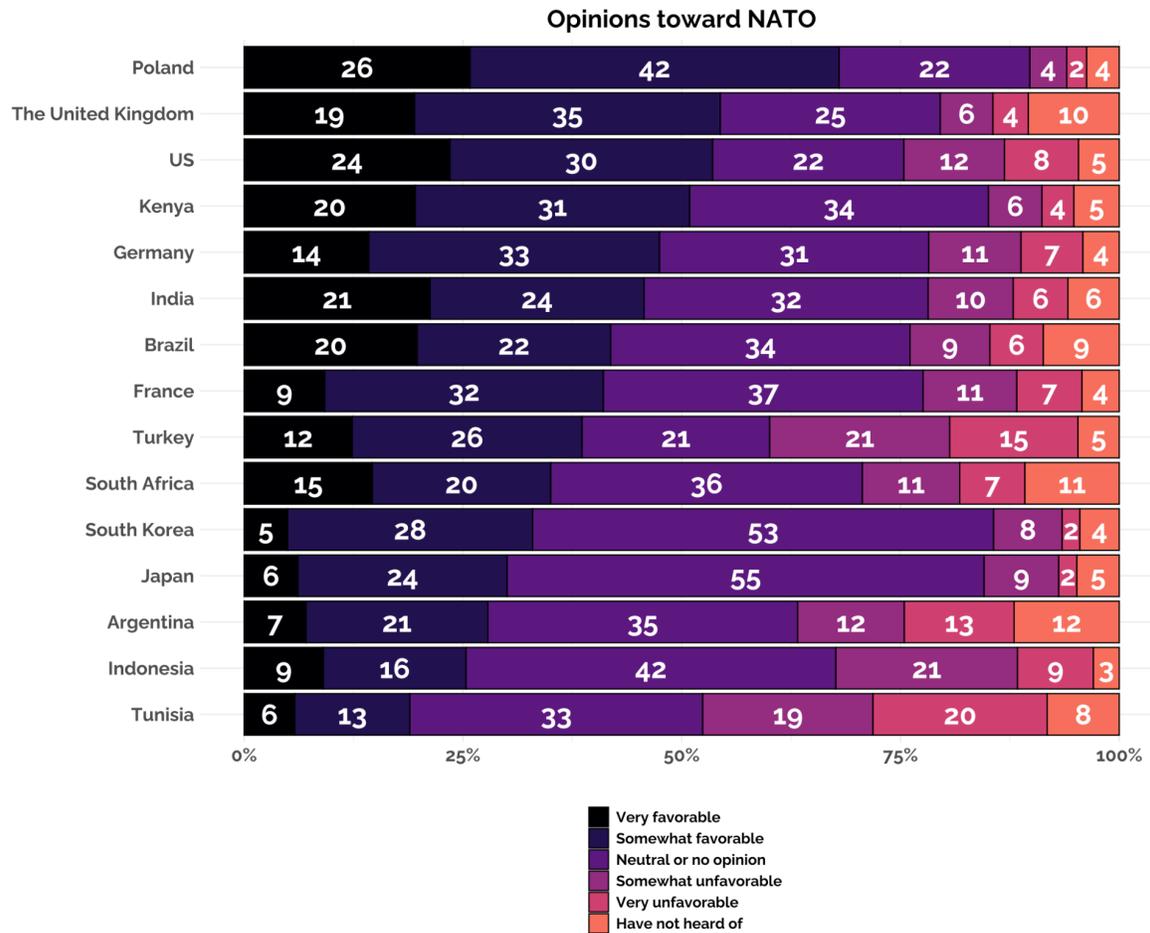
In much of the sample, respondents overall believed that even if existing global institutions like the United Nations (UN) were imperfect, they were best suited to help handle the world's problems. In a few countries, including India, Japan, Tunisia, and Turkey, respondents expressed belief that we need new global institutions.



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

Indeed, when pressed on their views of specific global organizations, many major organizations continue to poll favorably. For example, in each of the countries in our sample except Tunisia, more respondents felt favorably toward the North Atlantic Treaty

Organization (NATO) overall than felt unfavorably. This includes generally positive or ambivalent attitudes in much of the sample, including its member states, as well as Kenya, India, Brazil, South Korea, and Japan.

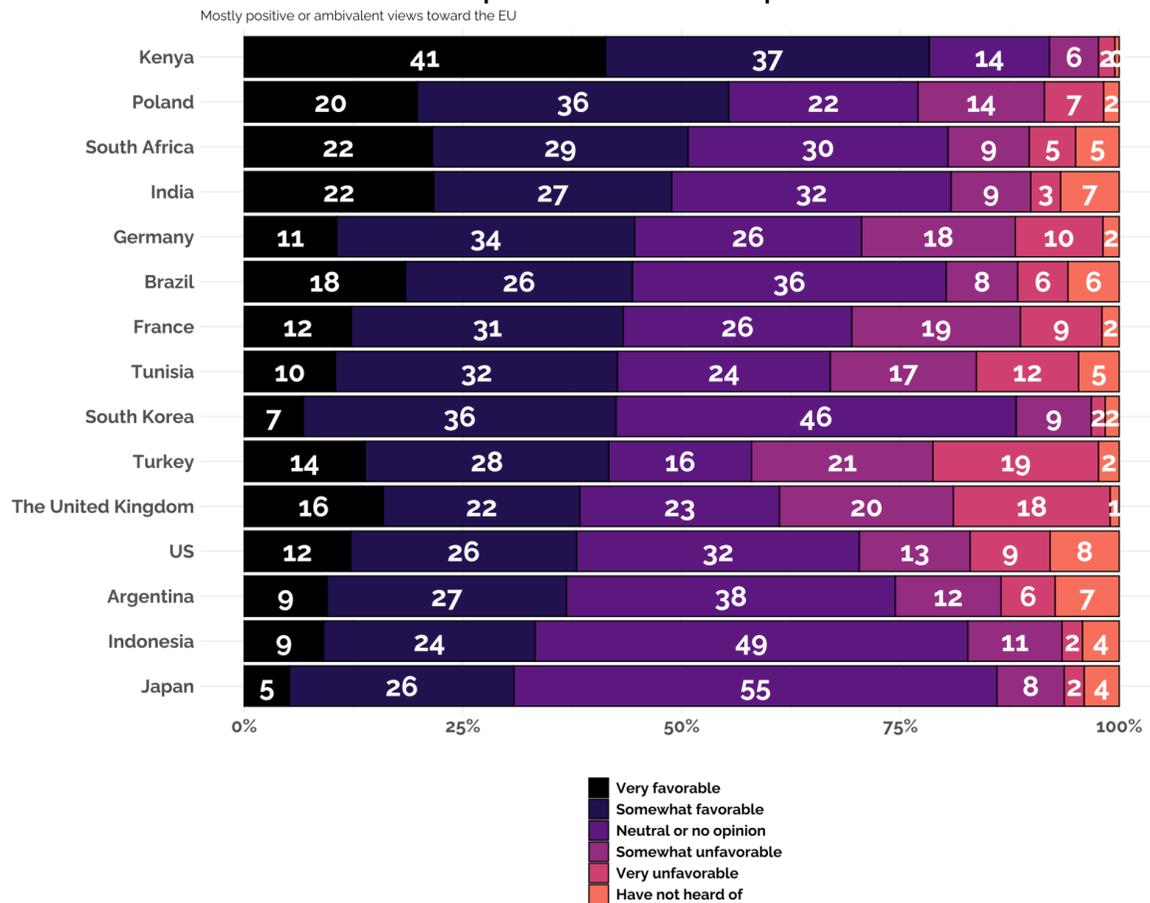


*And, generally speaking, would you say global organizations have had a (positive or negative) impact on your life?*

Notably, attitudes toward the European Union (EU) are similarly positive in most of the sample. While Turkey and the United Kingdom are roughly split on whether they feel favorably or unfavorably toward the EU, countries across the rest of the sample generally feel favorably toward the organization.

While the EU may have recently been a subject of controversy in some countries (most conspicuously Turkey and the UK), the results of the FES Global Census 2022 wave suggest favorability for the EU is generally high across both key member states and other countries around the world. This includes ten percentage point net favorability in the United States.

**Opinions toward the European Union**



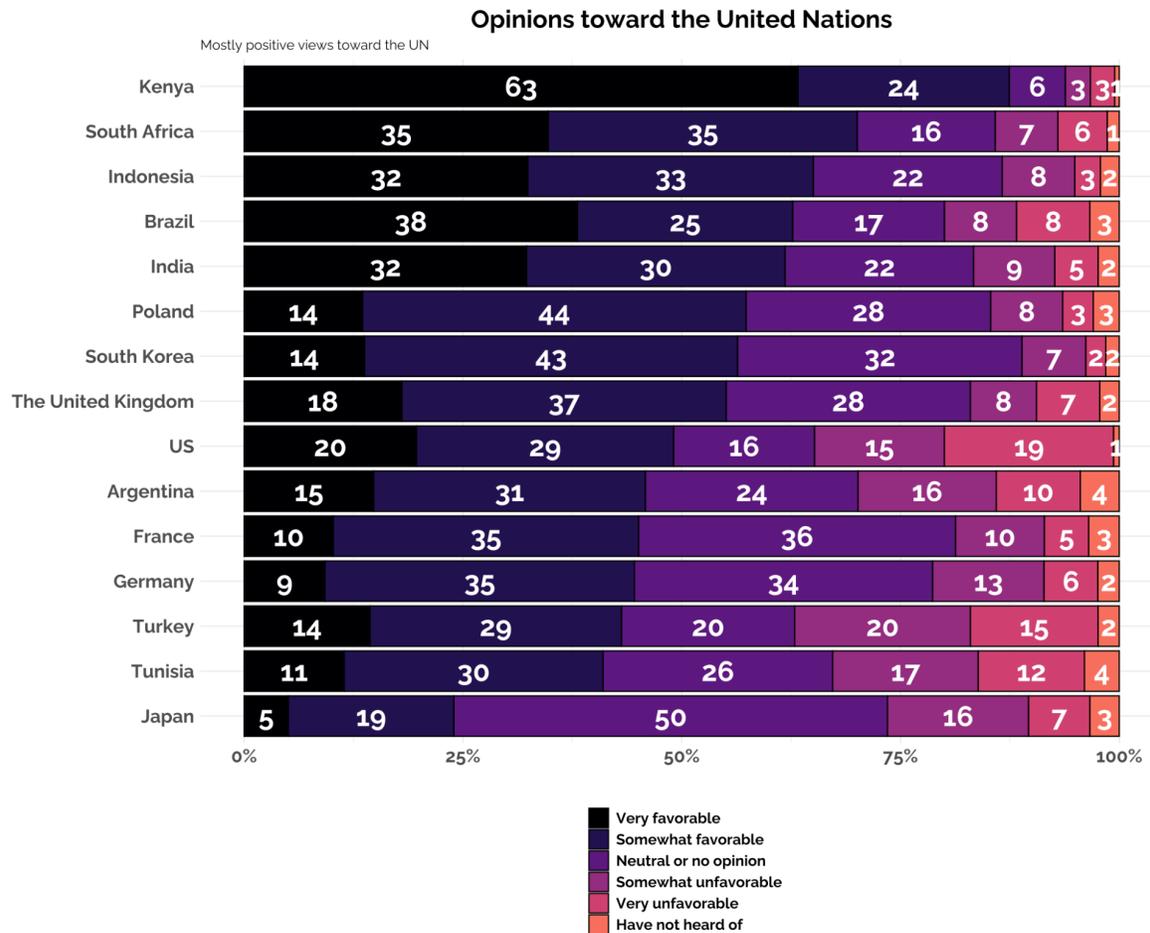
*And, generally speaking, would you say global organizations have had a (positive or negative) impact on your life?*

## The United Nations

Indeed, in this wave of the FES Global Census respondents reported feeling overwhelmingly favorable toward the UN as well. Even in countries like the United States, where the country's role in the UN is viewed by some as controversial, American respondents report they feel favorably toward the UN by a 49-34 margin. In the share of the sample that is also generally more optimistic along other dimensions, including Kenya, South Africa, Indonesia, Brazil, and India, only negligible shares of respondents report feeling unfavorably toward the UN.

While respondents in Japan only narrowly favor the UN, by a 24-23 margin, an even larger share, fully 50 percent of respondents in this country, did not report feeling strongly either way. In most of the rest of the sample, between twenty and thirty-five percent of respondents did not express a strong feeling either way. Both favorability toward, and

ambivalence about the United Nations are more prevalent than disfavorable attitudes toward the UN in most of the country.

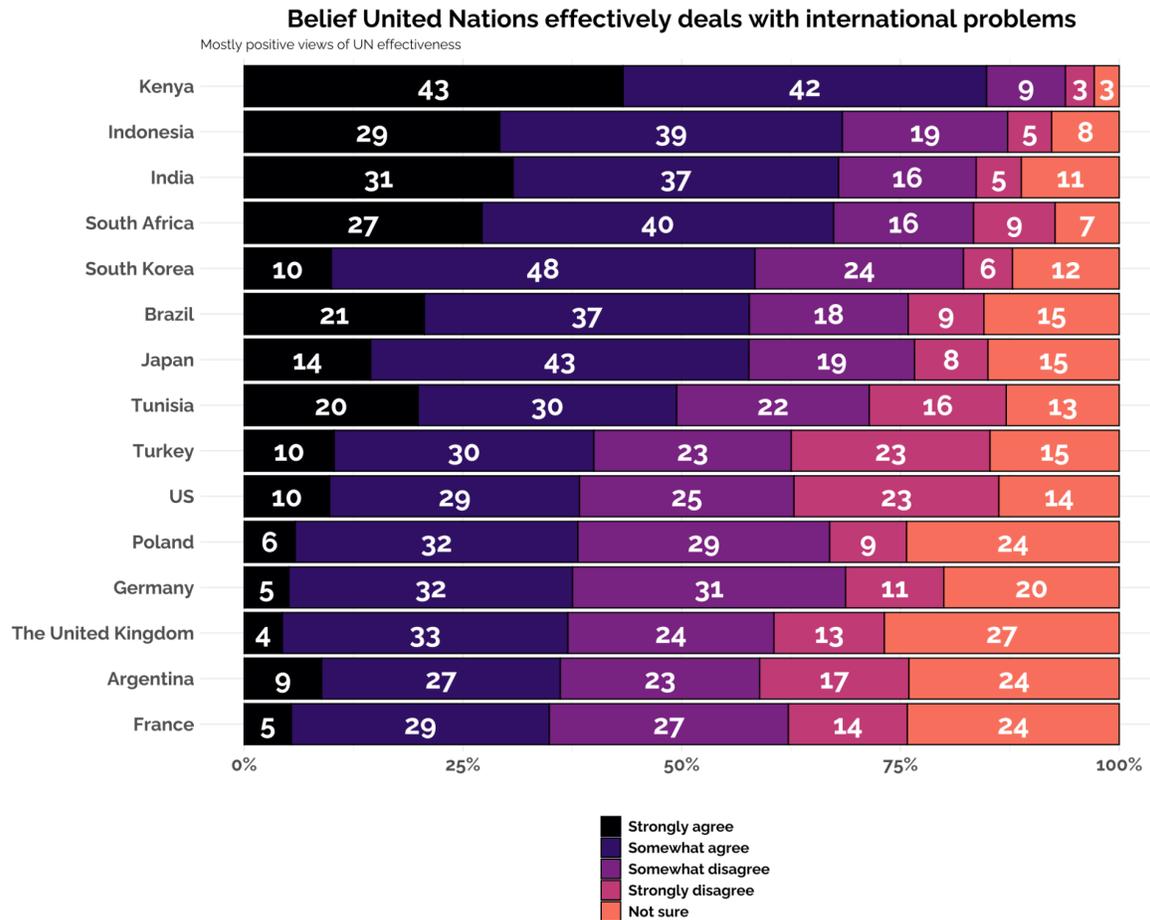


*And, generally speaking, would you say global organizations have had a (positive or negative) impact on your life?*

When pressed on their beliefs about the United Nations, respondents in many countries also agreed that the United Nations “deals effectively with international problems.” Support for the UN on this item was not unanimous, with respondents in France, Argentina, the United Kingdom, Germany, Poland, the United States, and Turkey being statistically split or in overall disagreement with this view. For example, respondents from the United States overall disagreed with the idea that the UN effectively deals with international problems, by a 48-39 margin.

The results of the 2022 FES Global Census also suggest that even those who tend to agree the UN is effective do not hold this feeling strongly. In most of the sample, small shares of respondents “strongly agree” with the argument that the United Nations “deals effectively

with international problems." Even in countries where more respondents agree rather than disagree with the statement, the response option "somewhat agree" is much more common than "strongly agree." Although large shares of respondents in most of the sample view the United Nations as an effective organization, this view is not held strongly.



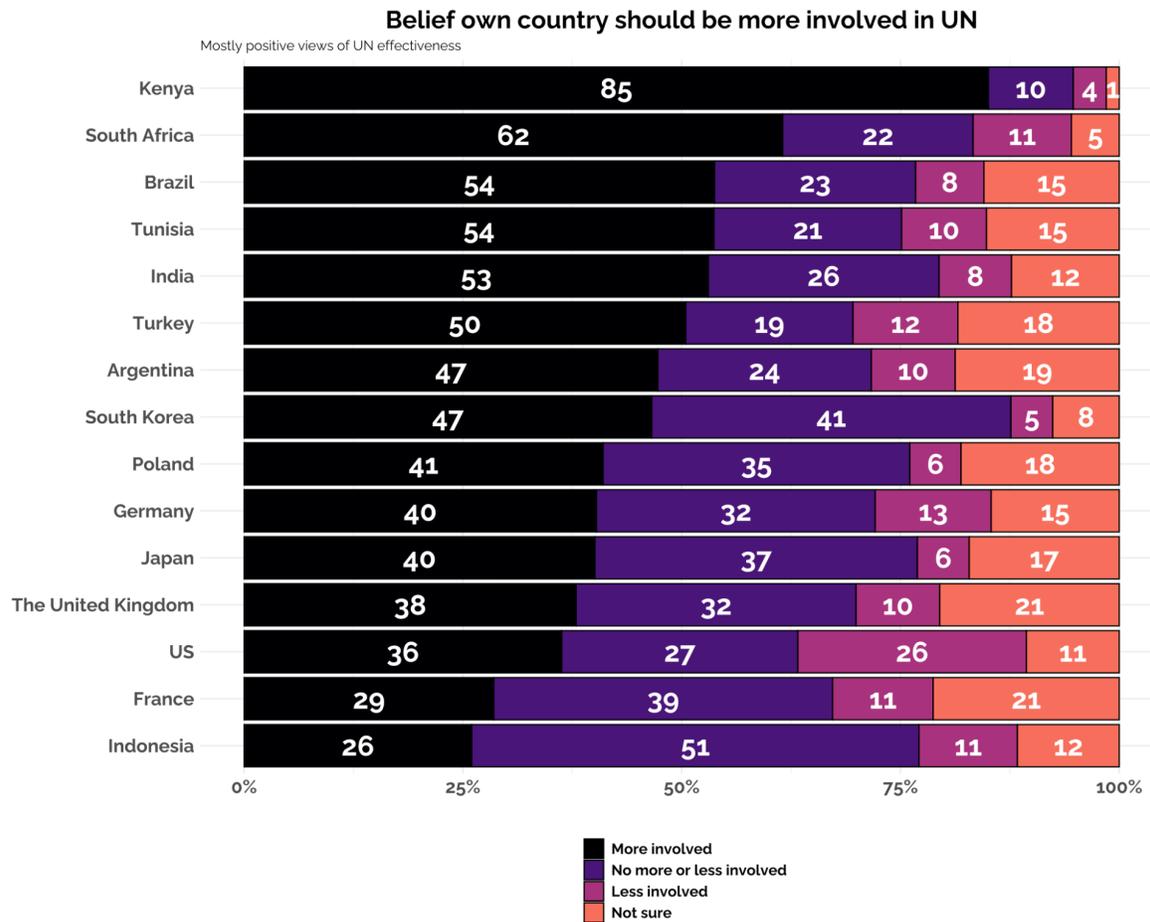
And when it comes to the United Nations, would you say you agree or disagree with each of the following, or are you unsure? The United Nations... Deals effectively with international problems

But even in countries like the United States, where skepticism of the UN's effectiveness is relatively high, there is little appetite to withdraw from the UN. The 2022 FES Global Census asked respondents,

*Would you prefer your country was [more or less involved in]... Participating in international organizations like the United Nations?*

- <1> More involved
- <2> No more or less involved
- <3> Less involved
- <4> Not sure

By a 36-26 margin, for example, respondents from the United States reported preferring their country to be more involved in the UN rather than less. In each of the other countries in the sample, the net margin was even more favorable toward more involvement in the UN. Even though much of the world is skeptical of the UN's ability to solve problems, and is also pessimistic about the role that global affairs play in their own lives, our results do not suggest respondents would prefer to withdraw from global organizations. If anything, it is possible the perceived problems with these institutions motivate people to express greater support for participating in them.



Next, you will see some ways your country might be involved in international affairs. For each of those, would you prefer your country was (more or less) involved... Participating in international organizations like the United Nations

Even when there is apparent dysfunction at the United Nations, respondents to the FES Global Census believe it is preferable for more countries to get involved in solving disagreements. The survey asked respondents about how the UN should respond when there is disagreement among major parties to the UN, including the countries that occupy the Security Council:

*Right now, many important decisions in the United Nations are made by five countries that have large economies and powerful militaries: 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 with the United Nations to maintain peace around the world. Sometimes, these countries have serious disagreements. When these countries have serious disagreements, generally speaking, which of the following is closer to your view?*

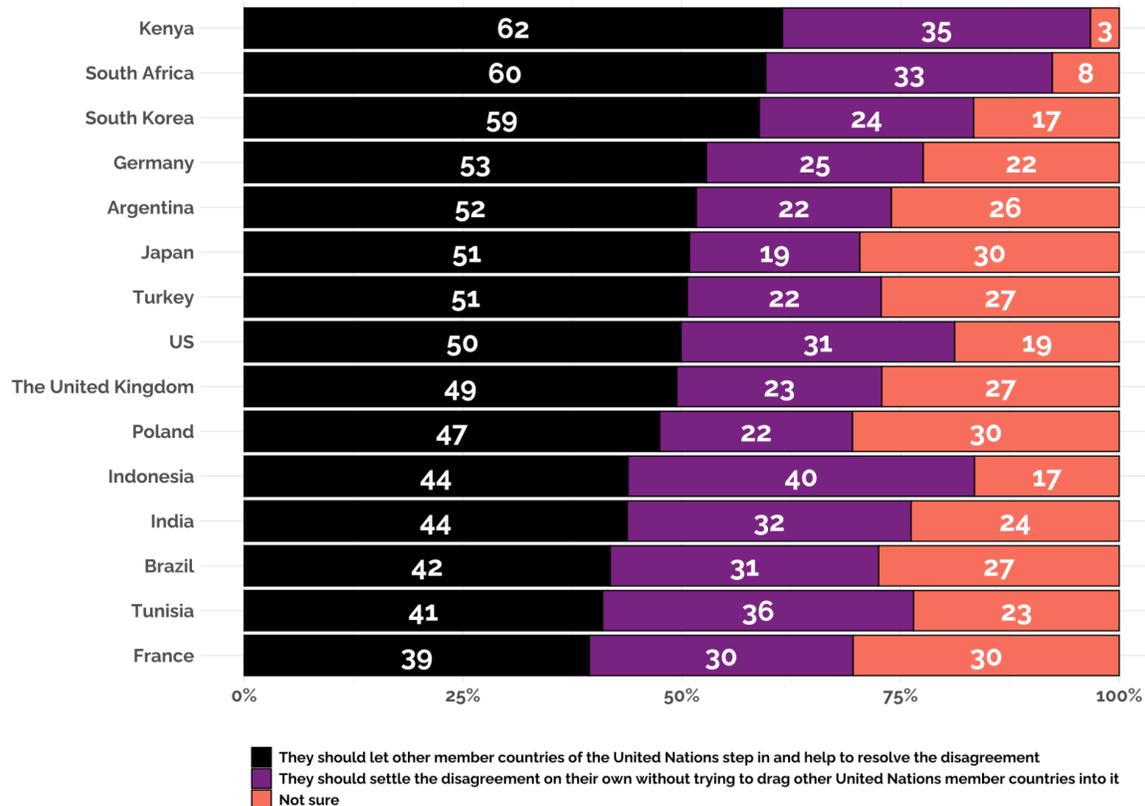
*<1> They should let other member countries of the United Nations step in and help to resolve the disagreement*

*<2> They should settle the disagreement on their own without trying to drag other United Nations member countries into it*

*<3> Not sure*

When it comes to problems that respondents may see in organizations like the UN, the solutions they prefer include greater involvement from member countries, not less. In each country in our sample, more respondents said that "other member countries" should help settle major disputes within the organization.

**How should the UN handle major disagreements between Security Council members**



Right now, many important decisions in the United Nations are made by five countries that have large economies and powerful militaries: 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 with the United Nations to maintain peace around the world. Sometimes, these countries have serious disagreements. When these countries have serious disagreements, generally speaking, which of the following is closer to your view?

The FES Global Census 2022 overall shows that people around the world believe the future poses significant challenges. The current state of global affairs gives few a sense of optimism. As we explore elsewhere in the Global Census, these relate closely to the challenges posed by rising inflation, and by rising energy costs which many attribute to Russia's ongoing war against Ukraine.

At the same time, people do not believe their country should withdraw from world affairs, nor that currently existing global organizations are powerless to make positive change. To the contrary, they believe existing global institutions should step up to deal with the challenges of the future. They see organizations like the United Nations as vital to ensuring the world survives the challenges of the present and future.

## Energy prices test world's resolve, but most countries support helping Ukraine against Russia

- Across the sample, respondents were split on whether continuing sanctions against Russia over its war against Ukraine was worth the cost in higher energy prices
- Concern about rising energy prices is ubiquitous across the sample, not just in countries most actively participating in the sanctions regime or in wealthier countries
- Overwhelming majorities of respondents across our sample report that the war between Ukraine and Russia has had a large impact on "day-to-day things like the cost of energy"
  - Nonetheless, the overwhelming majority of respondents also supported providing at least some form of material support to Ukraine in its defense against Russia
  - In some countries, like Germany, respondents who were more worried about the impact of the Russia-Ukraine war on energy prices were less likely to support continuing to help Ukraine
  - In most countries in the sample respondents balked at the idea of providing forms of aid to Ukraine that might cause their own country to have to further increase defense spending
- Most respondents also agree that NATO should accept Sweden's and Finland's applications to join, though attitudes on whether Ukraine should join NATO are more mixed
- Majorities across the sample believe the UN should be more involved in resolving the Russia-Ukraine conflict

The countries in the sample are divided on whether sanctions are worth the cost in higher energy prices. We asked respondents,

*Would you [support or oppose] increased sanctions against Russia if it meant...*

*-A significant increase in energy prices?*

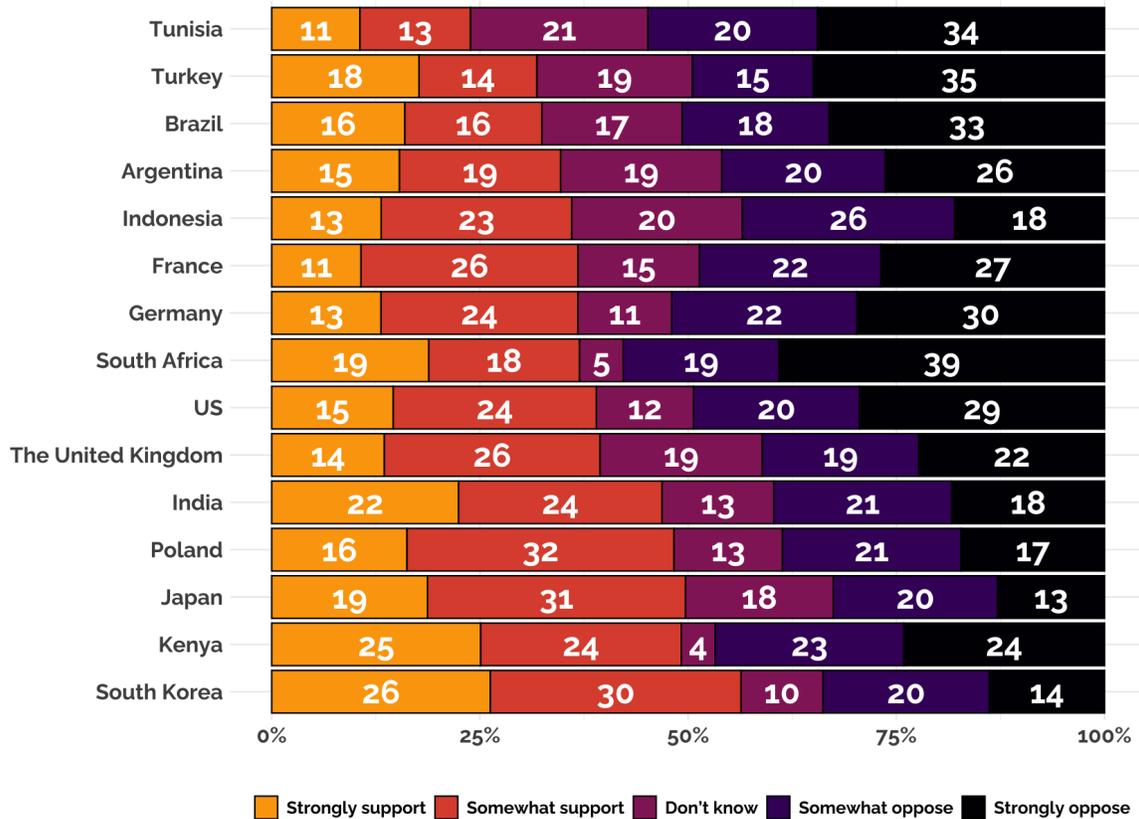
*-An increase in taxes to cover defense costs?*

*-Oil and gas shortages in [your country]?*

*-An increase in the overall cost of living?*

The following chart shows the results for the "significant increase in energy prices" item for each country in the sample. There is significant variation across countries in their support for continuing to increase sanctions. For example, while a majority of South Korean respondents support sanctions in this situation, about 24 percent of Tunisian respondents agree.

**Support for sanctions against Russia  
even if it means a significant increase in energy prices**

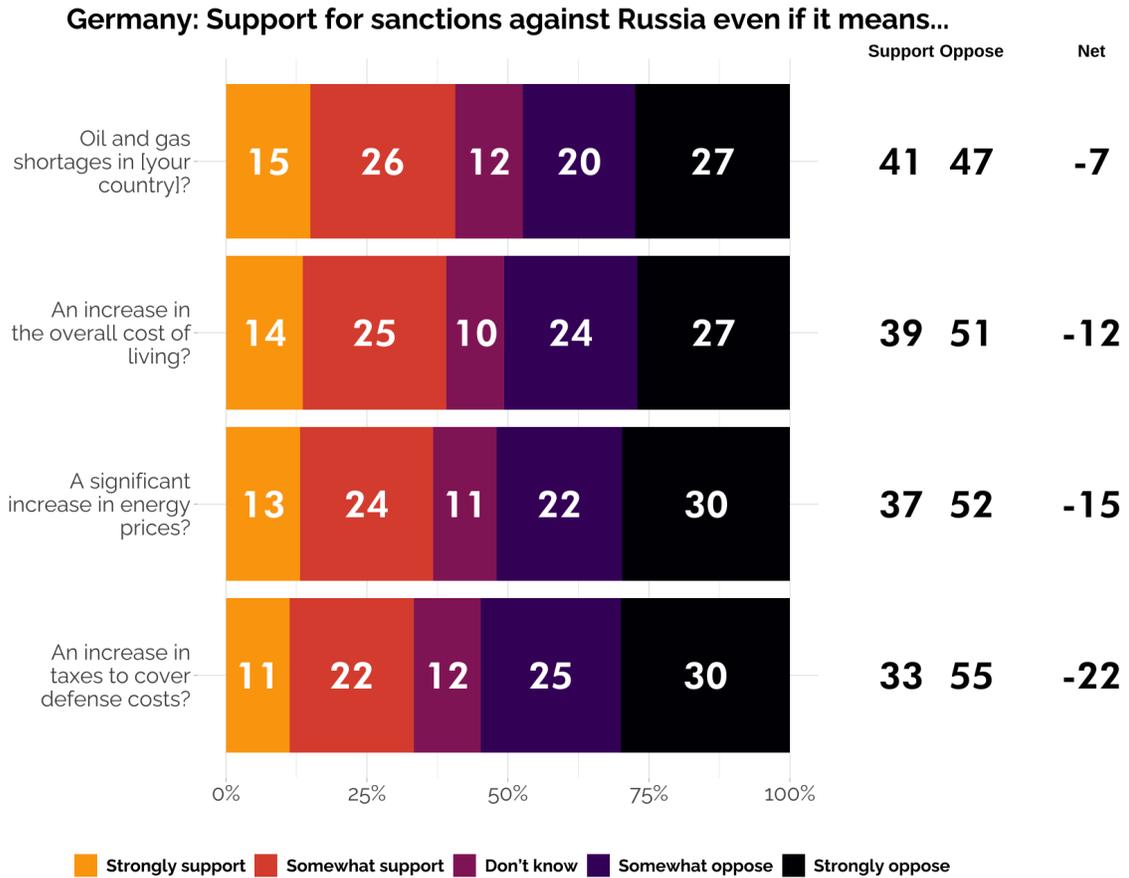


*Would you (support or oppose) increased sanctions against Russia if it meant...*

Notably, these results also suggest significant divides among the populations of the countries participating in efforts to provide resources to Ukraine. For example, more respondents in France, Germany, and the US say they would oppose additional sanctions against Russia if it would lead to a significant increase in energy prices domestically.

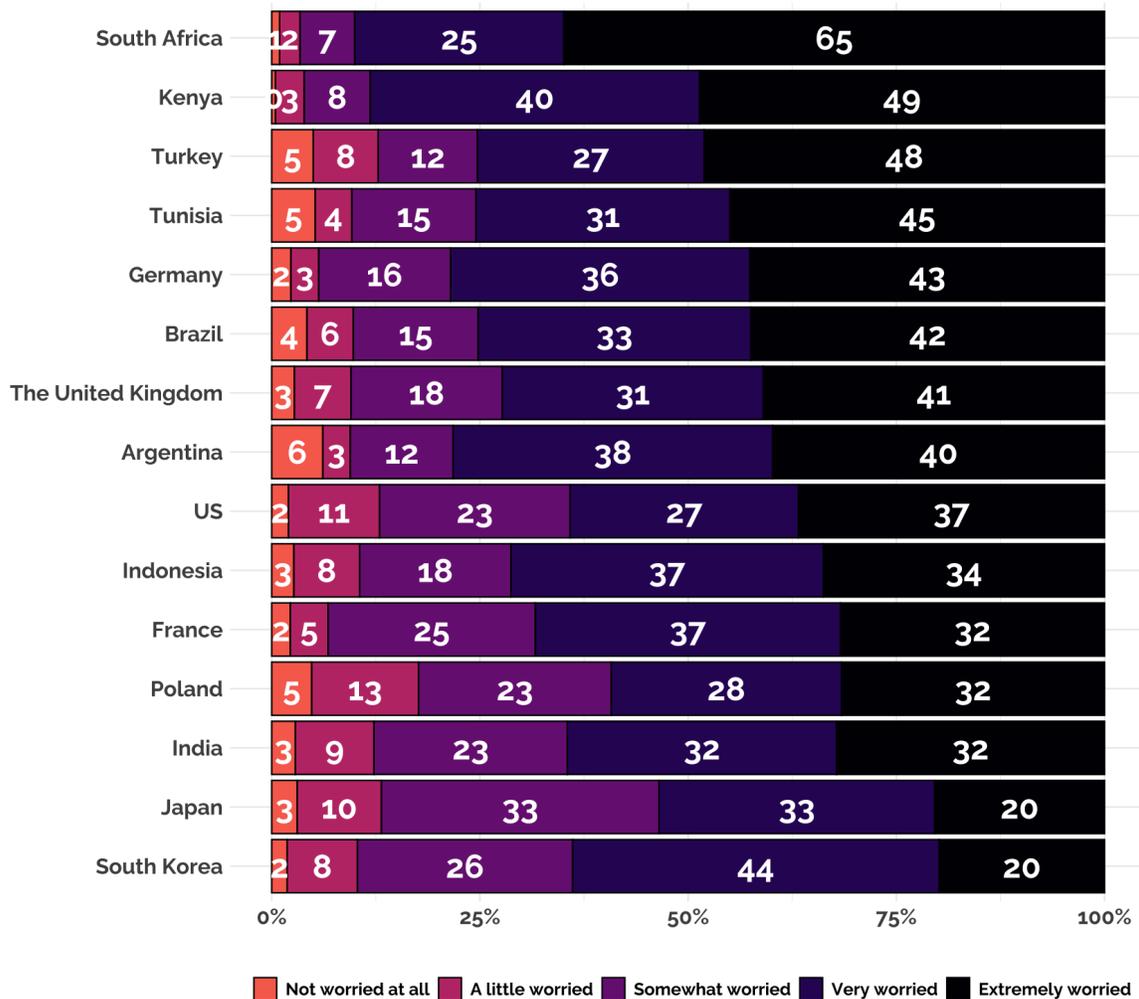
In each of these cases, respondents who are generally more to the political right are less supportive of increasing sanctions against Russia than are others. For example, in the United States case, 55 percent of Democrats say they would continue to support additional sanctions against Russia even if it meant significantly higher energy prices with 31 percent opposing, while just 25 percent of Republicans would continue to support sanctions 65 percent of Republicans would oppose more sanctions. Similarly, French respondents who said they've voted for Marine Le Pen oppose additional sanctions by a 23-62 margin, compared to a 47-44 margin in favor of increasing sanctions among supporters of Emmanuel Macron.

Additionally, in many countries in our sample, raising the prospect of increased defense costs reduces support for sanctions. For example, respondents in Germany were narrowly split on whether sanctions were worth the impact on the oil and gas supply by a 41-47 margin, they were overwhelmingly opposed to the implications that more sanctions would mean more defense spending, by a 33-55 margin.



In context, respondents across our sample are deeply worried about rising energy prices. Elsewhere in the survey, without making a direct connection to Russia's aggression in Ukraine, we asked respondents how worried they were about a variety of economic challenges facing Europe in the near term. Respondents are quite worried about rising energy costs. As such, it is not surprising to see that, no matter a country's level of support for assisting Ukraine, its people are concerned about taking any actions that could drastically impact energy prices.

**Concern about rising energy highest in poor countries and Europe**

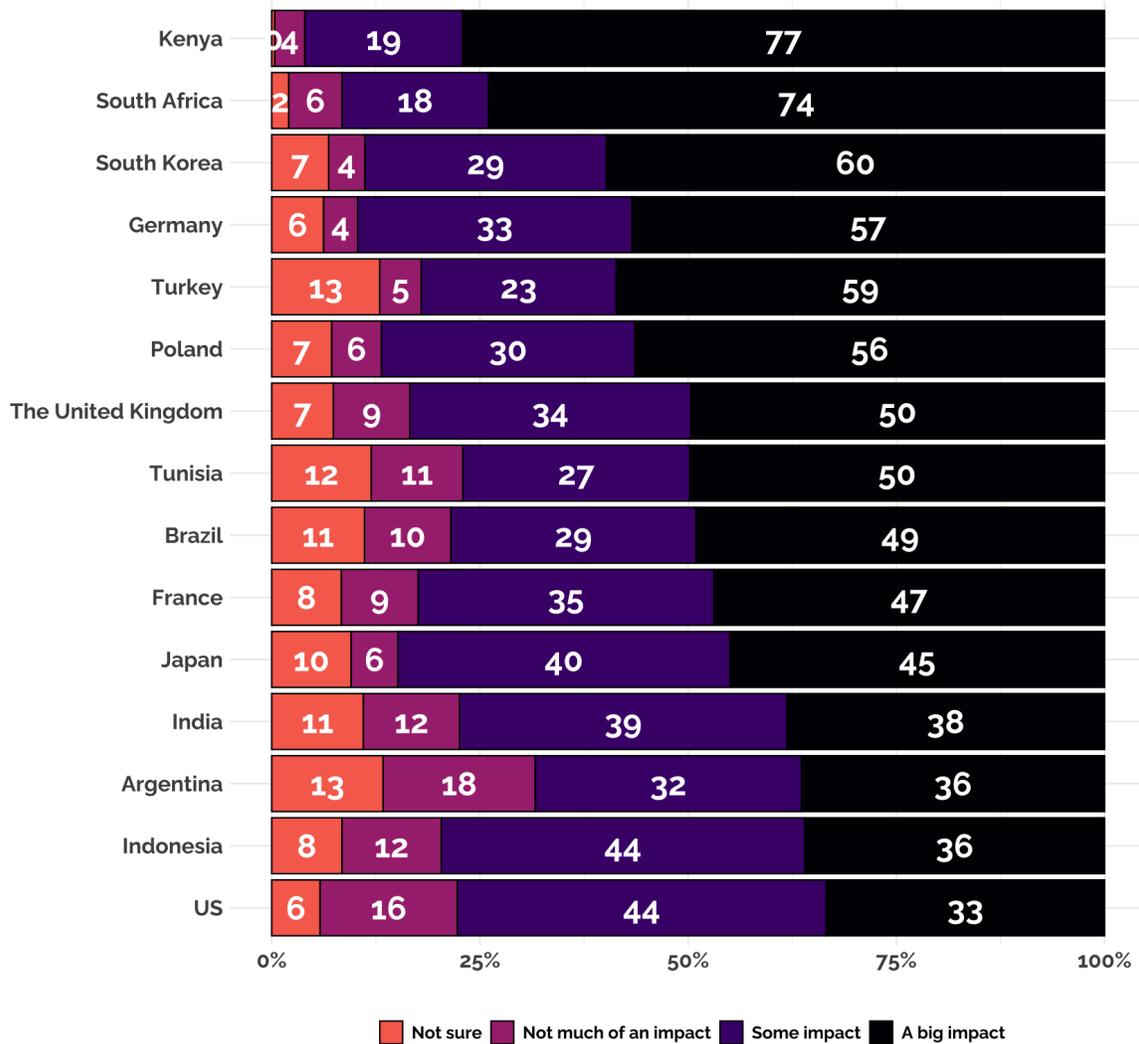


*Next, you will see some things going on in the world these days some people are worried about, and some people are less worried about. For each of those, please say whether you are (worried, not worried) or if you are unsure.*

Separately in the survey, we asked respondents if they thought the Russia-Ukraine war was having a “big impact,” “some impact,” or “not much of an impact” on energy prices, or if respondents were unsure. Across the sample, only negligible shares of respondents felt the war was having no impact.

Those who are more worried about energy prices in general are also faster to attribute at least some of the issue to the Russia-Ukraine war. Across each country, a consistent 20 to 30 percent more respondents who say they are “extremely worried” about energy prices also say Russia’s war on Ukraine is having a “big impact” on energy costs. The more worried respondents are about energy prices, the more willing they are to lay blame for these prices in recent conflicts such as Russia-Ukraine.

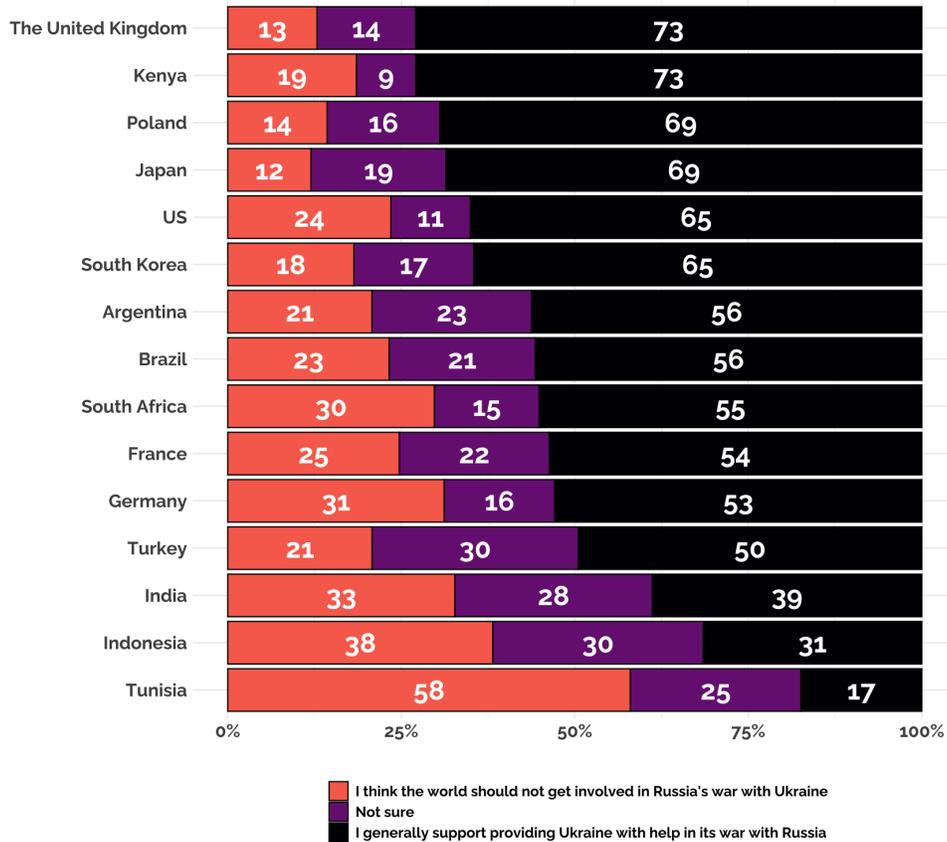
**Impact of Russia-Ukraine war on energy costs**



*Would you say the war between Ukraine and Russia impact, text your day-to-day through things like the cost of energy in your country?*

Despite these ubiquitous concerns, respondents in this sample generally support continuing to help Ukraine against Russia's actions. Pluralities in all but Indonesia and Tunisia support "providing Ukraine with help in its war with Russia," with respondents from India being split 31-39 on this question. Notably, in some countries such as Germany, those who are more worried about higher energy prices are also slightly less supportive of continuing to provide Ukraine with support against Russia. For example, about 67 percent of German respondents who say the Russia-Ukraine war has "little impact" on energy prices support assisting Ukraine, compared to just 53 percent of those who say the war has "a big impact" on prices.

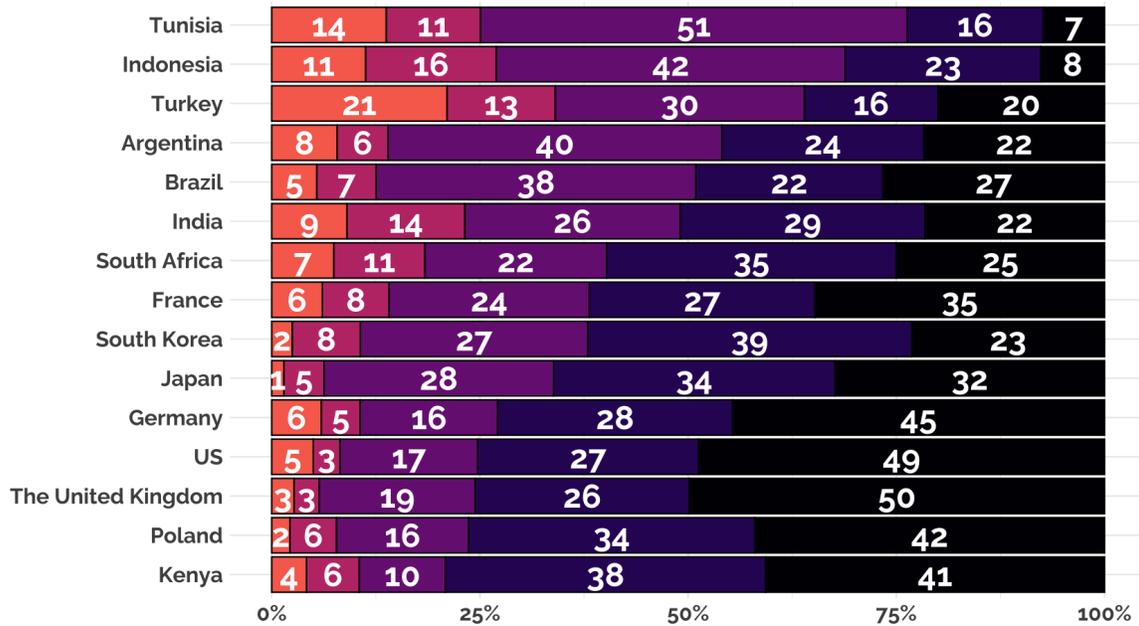
**Most countries support helping Ukraine against Russia**



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

Similarly, there is high interest in NATO expansion across much of the sample. We asked respondents if they agreed with Sweden and Finland's recent decision to apply for NATO membership. On that question, respondents in each of our samples were on net in support of their membership applications. While large shares of respondents outside of NATO had no opinion either way, in each country we sampled, more respondents approved of rather than disapproved of expanding NATO to include Sweden and Finland.

**Support for adding Sweden and Finland to NATO**

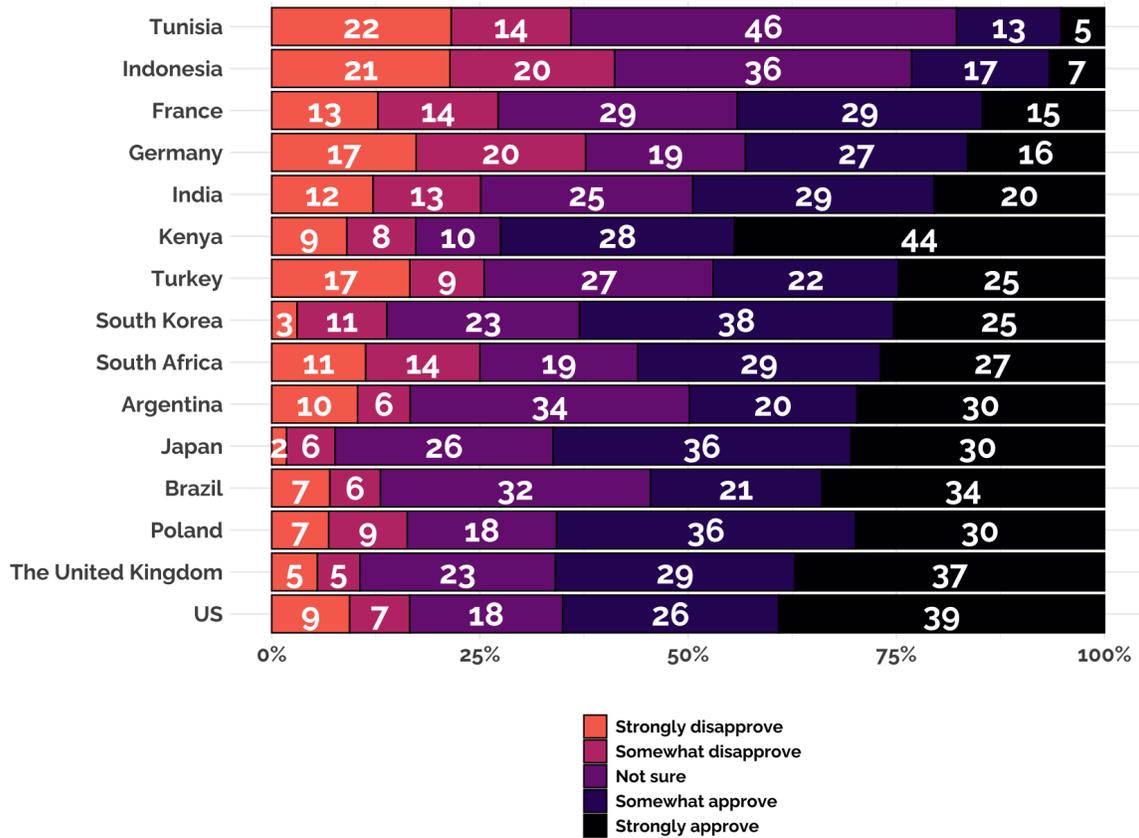


■ Strongly oppose  
■ Somewhat oppose  
■ Don't know  
■ Somewhat support  
■ Strongly support

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or NATO, is an organization of countries in Europe and North America who have agreed to cooperate on some defense and security issues. Recently, some have proposed adding the countries of Sweden and Finland to NATO if those countries choose to apply to join. Generally speaking, do you (support or oppose) adding Sweden and Finland to NATO?

Attitudes were more mixed on whether to accept Ukraine's application into NATO. For example, respondents from Germany were split 43-37 against such an application. Respondents from the US and United Kingdom overwhelmingly approved of such an idea, by similar margins to their support for including Sweden and Finland. While still high, at 44-27 overall approval, French support for expanding NATO to include Ukraine was considerably lower than its overall support for including Sweden and Finland (62-14 overall).

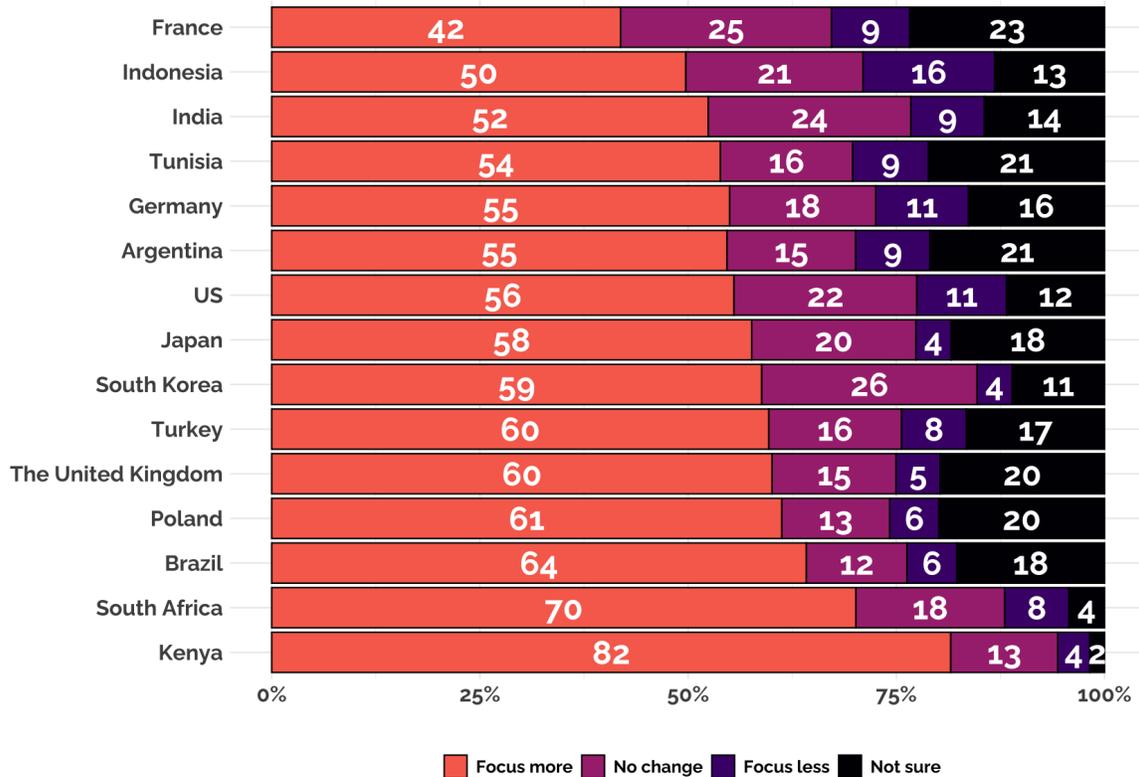
**Support for adding Ukraine to NATO**



*And generally speaking, would you (approve or disapprove) of adding Ukraine to NATO?*

Ultimately, respondents said they want the UN to be more involved in dealing with Russia's war against Ukraine. We asked respondents if they thought the UN should focus on this issue "more," "about the same" as they have already, "less," or if they were unsure. Outright majorities in most of our sample agreed the UN should be focusing more on dealing with this conflict, and only negligible shares said it was something for the UN to deal with less.

**Support for UN leadership on dealing with Russia-Ukraine situation**

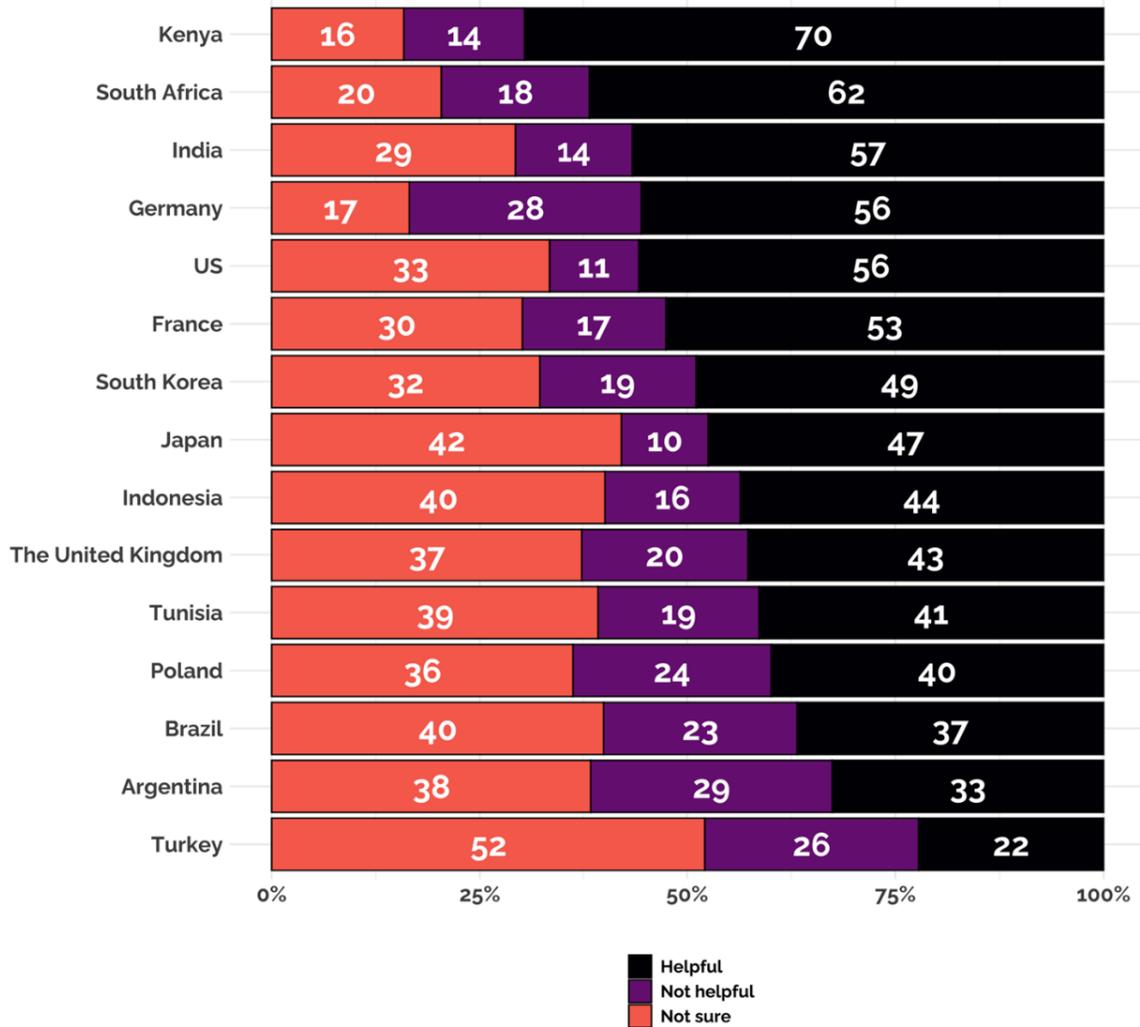


*Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus more or less on that issue at its meeting next month.*

Countries around the world support helping Ukraine defend itself against Russia, but also worry about the conflict's impact on rising energy prices. Those who are more worried about energy prices are slightly, but not overwhelmingly, less likely to support continuing to side with Ukraine. In some countries, those who are politically more to the right are less supportive of siding with Ukraine than others. Ultimately, respondents believe the UN should be more involved in helping to address this conflict.

Against the backdrop of Russian aggression and the new policy paradigm of 'Zeitenwende' (Engl. turning point), Germany has recently decided to pursue an expanded leadership role in Europe, including the modernization of its military. Though some uncertainty remains, the data suggests that respondents in most countries surveyed generally welcome this change.

**Trust in Germany's expanded role in Europe**



*Recently, the German government has decided to spend more of its time and budget to modernize its military and embrace more political leadership in Europe. Generally speaking, do you think this will be helpful for Europe?*

## President Biden has a long way to go to restore US leadership around the world, and most countries remain skeptical of US leadership

- General trust in the United States to do the right thing is flat or moving against trust in the United States in most countries in the FES Global Census
  - Much of the world is concerned about the possibility the United States will interfere in their country's affairs, while concern about Russia is generally higher in most countries in this wave of the FES Global Census compared to previous waves
- In much of the sample, those on the political left are more concerned about interference from the United States. Respondents from countries in Asia on the political right are more worried about interference from China, and those on the political right in Europe are generally more concerned about interference from the European Union
- Optimism for Joe Biden as a President remains fairly high, with Biden's approval outpacing trust in the United States in most of the 2022 FES Global Census, but has dipped from wave two of the Global Census in most countries
- Respondents across the sample generally disapprove of recent political events in the United States such as the overturning of *Roe v. Wade*
- In most countries in the FES Global Census, people do not yet believe the US is showing a great deal of leadership on issues like dealing with rogue nations around the world, or dealing with climate change
  - In every country in the sample, including the United States, less than 25 percent of the sample believe the US was showing leadership on the subject of climate change
- Many countries in the FES Global Census sample are unsure of President Joe Biden's ability to handle foreign policy, including uncertainty among fully 43 percent of respondents from the US's close ally, the United Kingdom

In each wave of the FES Global Census, respondents are asked

*Generally speaking, how often do you trust the United States to do the right thing?*

<1> *Most of the time*

<2> *Some of the time*

<3> *Little of the time*

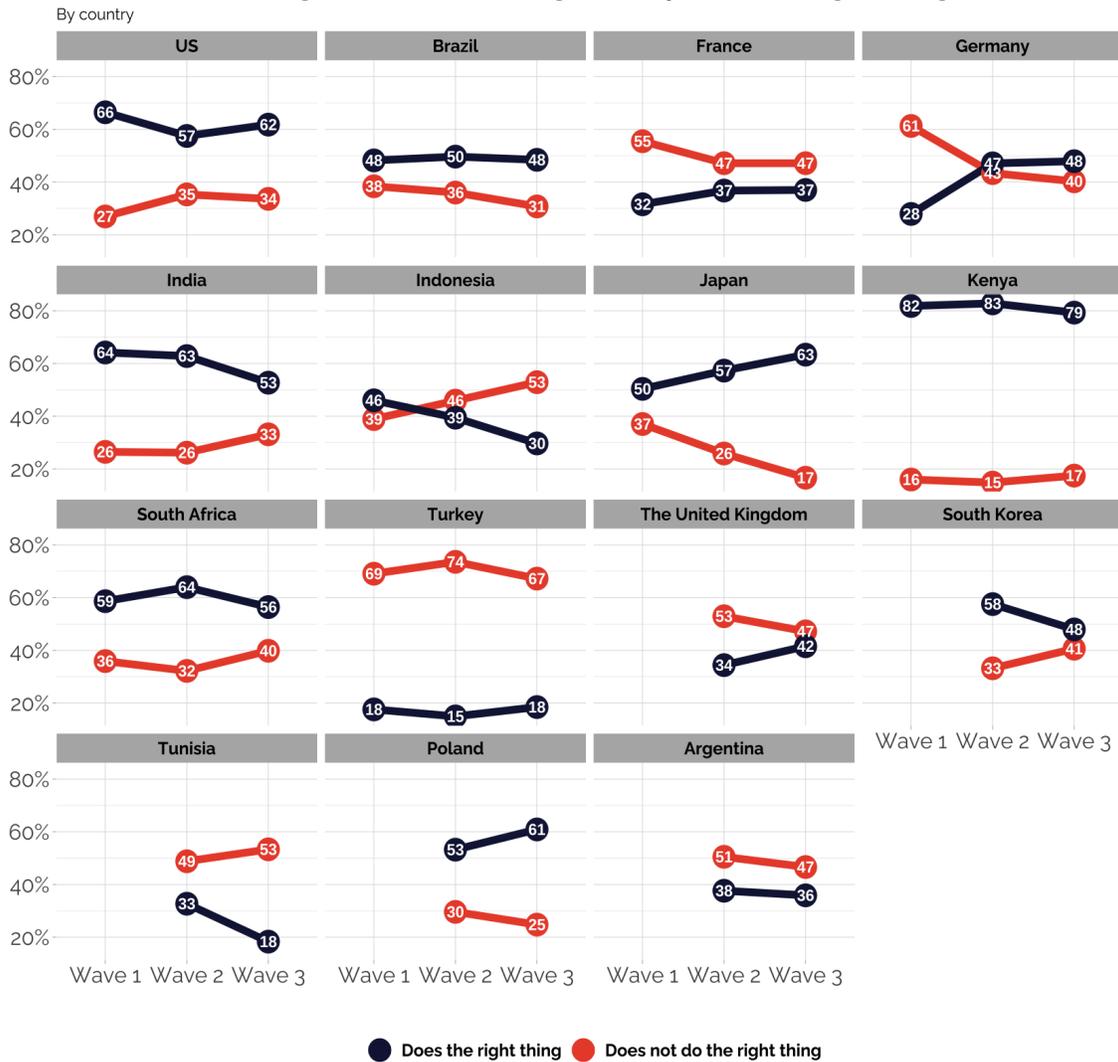
<4> *Almost never*

<5> *Not sure*

Attitudes toward the United States remain mixed. While Americans themselves are slightly more optimistic about their own country's actions now than in the previous wave, attitudes toward the United States were flat from the previous wave in Brazil, France, Germany, Kenya, Turkey, and Argentina, changing by less than five percentage points from last year in each country. Trust in the United States to do the right thing declined about 10 percentage points in India, Indonesia, South Korea, and Turkey. Trust in the United States declined by about 15 percentage points in Tunisia. Trust in the United States rose about 5 percentage points in Japan, Poland, and the United Kingdom.

Overall, the share of respondents who say they trust the US "little of the time" or "almost never" remains higher than the share of respondents who trust the US "most of the time" or "some of the time" in France, Indonesia, Turkey, the United Kingdom, Tunisia, and Argentina. This wave of the FES Global Census suggests the United States has a great deal of room to improve its reputation around the world.

**Change in belief the US generally does the right thing**



Generally speaking, how often do you trust the United States to do the right thing?

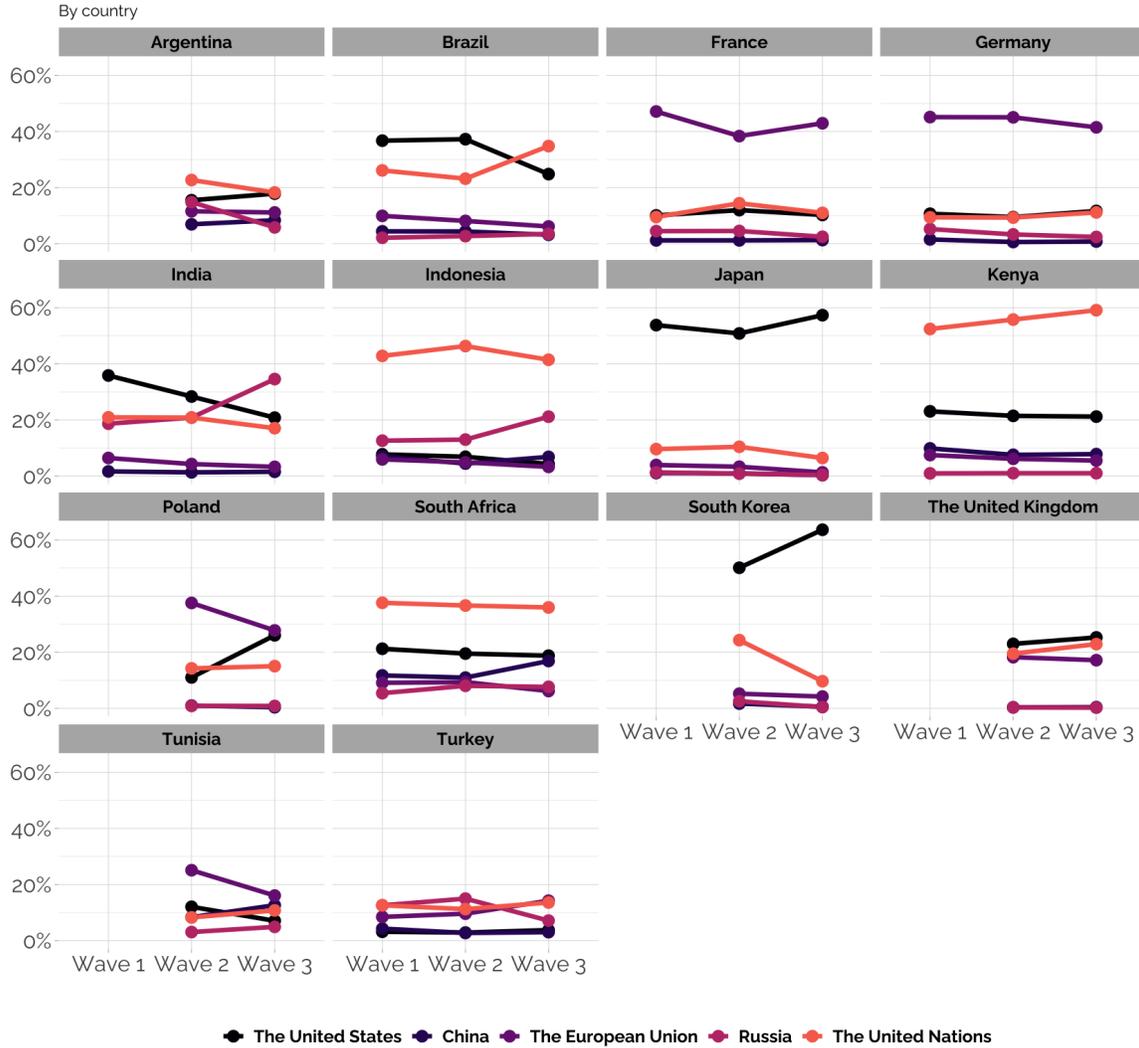
Viewed another way, in most countries in the sample, the United States is seen as no more trustworthy than some of the other global powers, and in some cases is viewed as significantly less trustworthy. When asked,

*Generally speaking, who do you trust most to help your country if there is an emergency?*

Only respondents in Japan, South Korea, and, narrowly, the United Kingdom were most likely to report they trusted the United States the most to help. Respondents from France, Germany, Poland, and Tunisia said they trusted the European Union the most. Respondents

from Argentina narrowly reported they trusted the United Nations the most, as did larger shares of respondents in Brazil, Indonesia, Kenya, and South Africa. Notably, respondents from Brazil changed their views from wave two of the FES Global Census to wave three, from placing the most trust in the United States to placing the most trust in the United Nations.

**Which country trusted to help in an emergency**



At the same time, many respondents in countries across the sample also report they worry the United States might “interfere in their country’s affairs.” The survey asked:

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

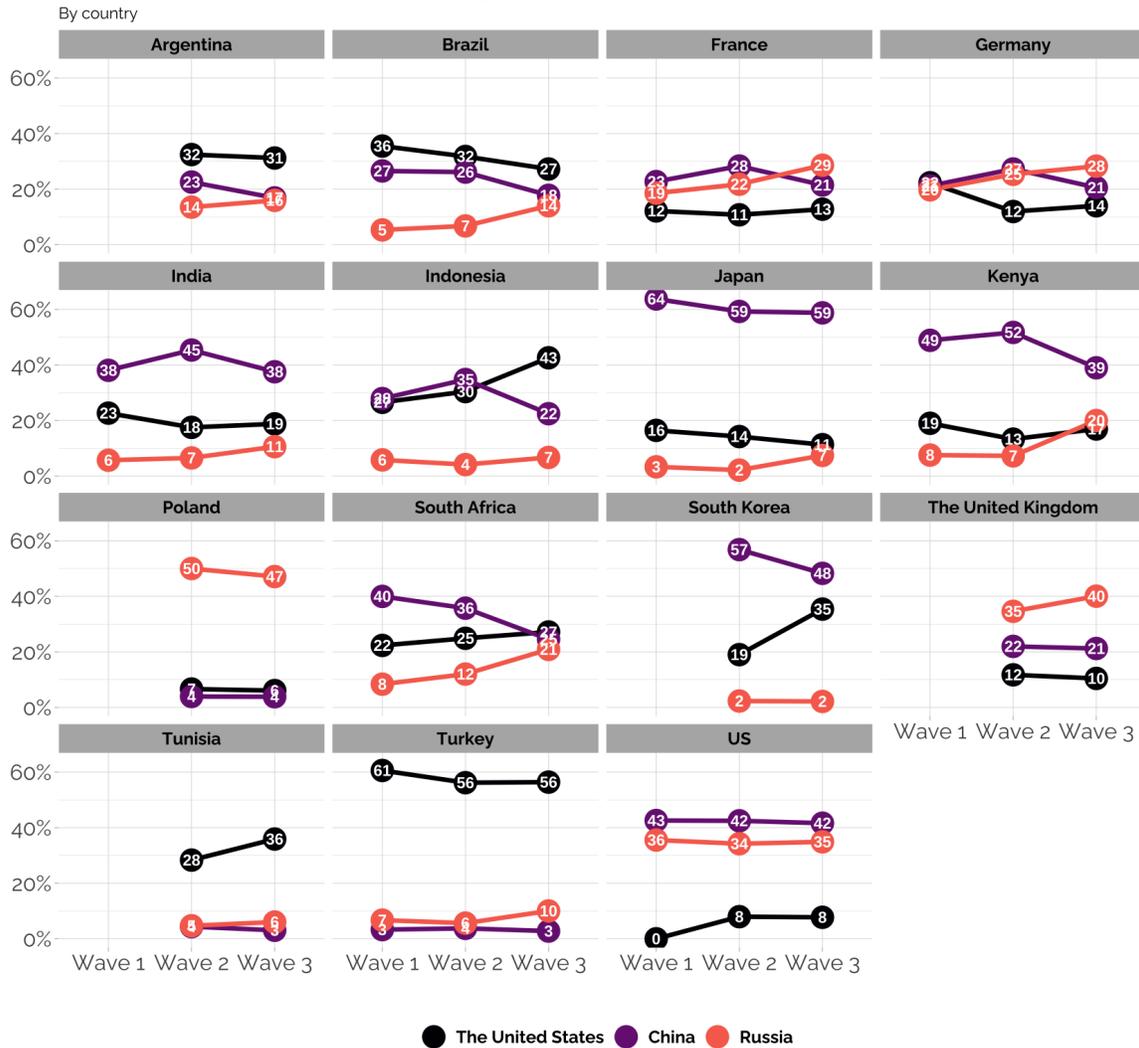
- <1> *China*
- <2> *The United States*
- <3> *Russia*
- <4> *The European Union*
- <5> *The United Nations*
- <6> *Another country*
- <7> *Not sure*

Only negligible shares of respondents in any country in the sample reported being most worried about the European Union, the United Nations, or another country. Most were more worried about Russia, China, or the United States.

Concern about potential interference from Russia is slightly higher now in some countries than it has been in previous waves of the FES Global Census. Concern about interference from Russia grew to replace concern about China in France and Germany, and also grew significantly in the United Kingdom.

At the same time, concern about interference from the United States remains high in many countries. The United States remains the biggest source of concern when it comes to interfering in a country's own affairs among respondents from Argentina, Brazil, Indonesia, and Tunisia. This concern grew significantly in South Korea, rising by just under 20 percentage points in the last year, though South Koreans in the FES Global CEnsus remain most concerned about China.

**Increased worry about interference from Russia**

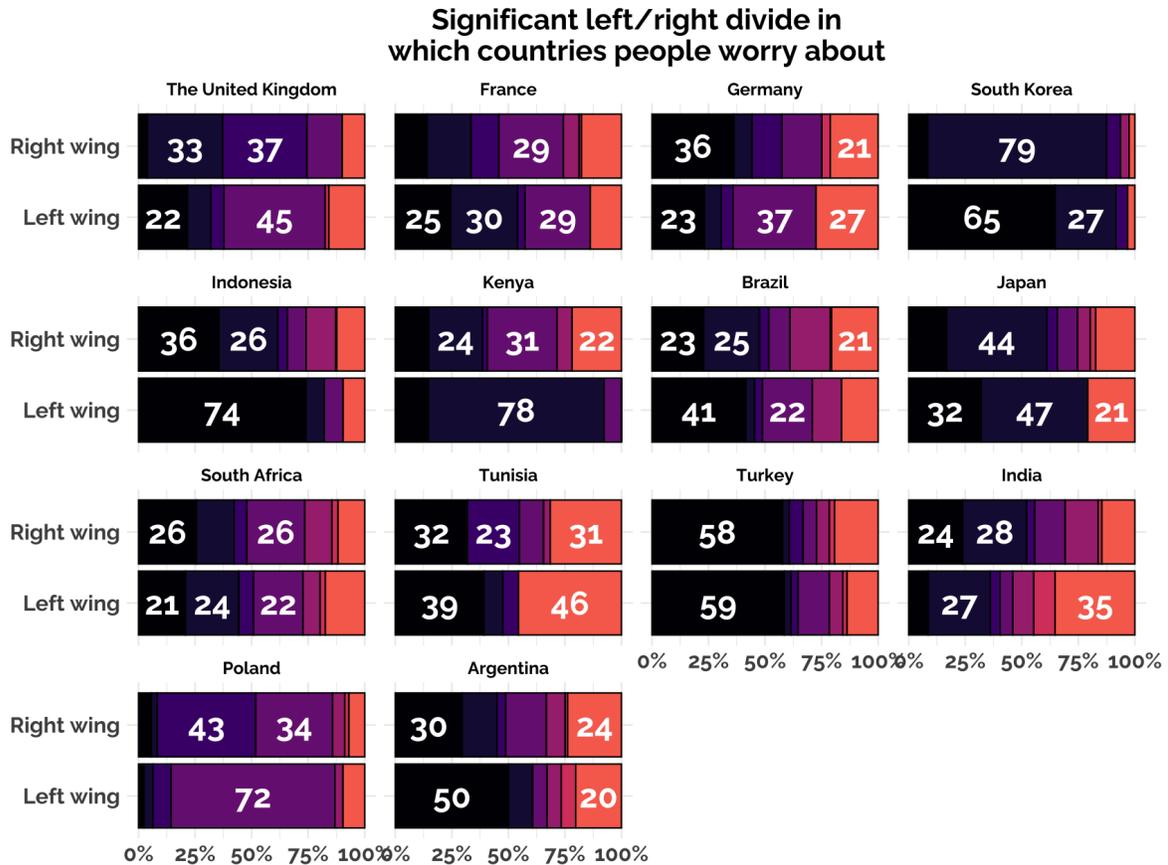


Generally speaking, who are you most worried might interfere in your country's affairs?

Within many countries in the FES Global Census, there is a significant left-right political dimension underlying which country people are most worried about. For example, in the United Kingdom, respondents who identified as being politically “on the right” are about equally concerned by interference from China (33 percent) and the European Union (37 percent), while those on the left are more concerned about political interference from Russia (45 percent) followed more distantly by concern about the United States (22 percent).

In South Korea, Indonesia, Brazil, Japan, Tunisia, and Argentina, those on the political left are overwhelmingly most concerned about interference from the United States. This is also the case among the political right in Germany. Those who are politically more to the right in

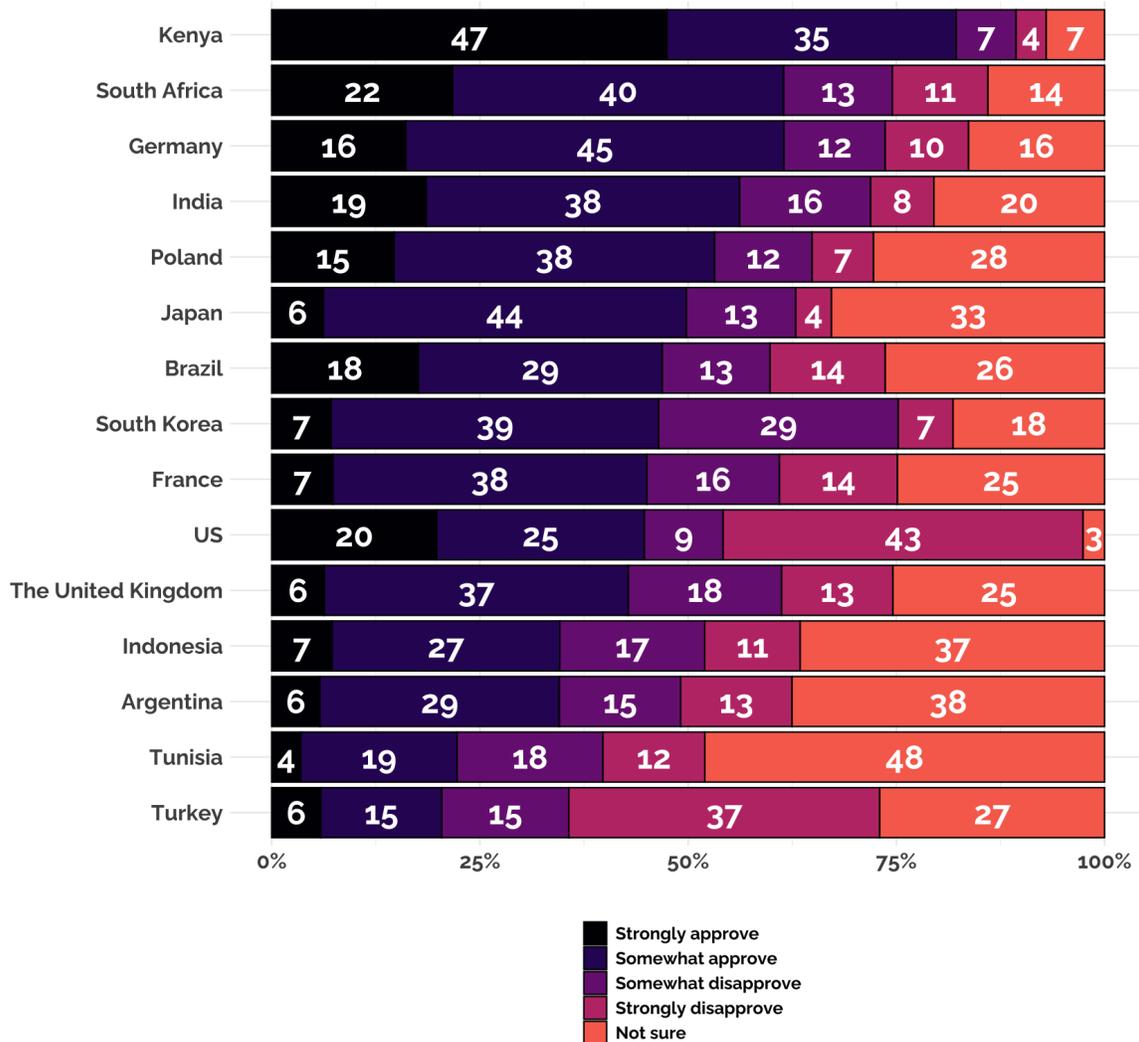
South Korea are mostly concerned about interference from China, and those on the political right in Poland are equally worried about interference from Russia and the European Union.



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

Results for the United States as a country, generally, are mixed in the 2022 wave of the FES Global Census. At the same time, President Joe Biden enjoys high approval ratings in most of the sample. When asked if they generally approve or disapprove of US President Joe Biden, his approval is positive on net in all but three countries in the sample - including the United States. Indeed, President Biden is most controversial in the United States, with large shares of respondents in other countries reporting they were unsure how they felt about Biden.

**Biden approval**



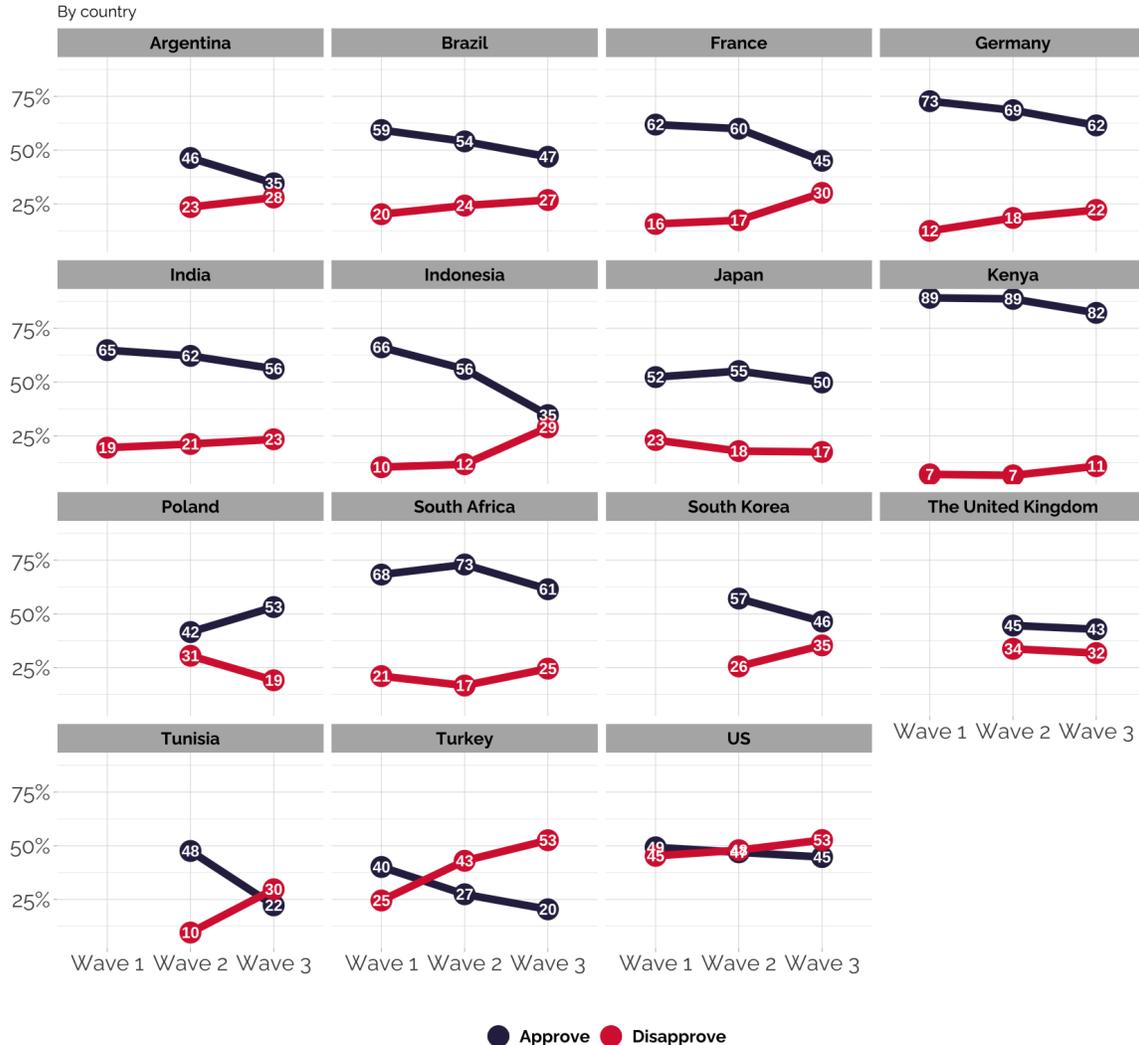
Generally speaking, would you say you (approve or disapprove) of United States President Joe Biden?

While President Biden's approval is positive overall in most of the sample, over time, his current approval numbers represent a drop from previous waves of the FES Global Census in much of the sample.<sup>1</sup> This includes a continuing downward trend in most countries. In just one country in the sample – Poland– President Biden's favorability improved over the previous wave of the FES Global Census.

<sup>1</sup> In wave 1 of the FES Global Census, conducted in November 2020, the Joe Biden approval item asked about "incoming US President Joe Biden", while the Joe Biden approval item in waves two and three ask for approval about "US President Joe Biden"

Though approval of President Biden remains high in many countries in the FES Global Census sample, he faces increased skepticism from other countries from previous years.

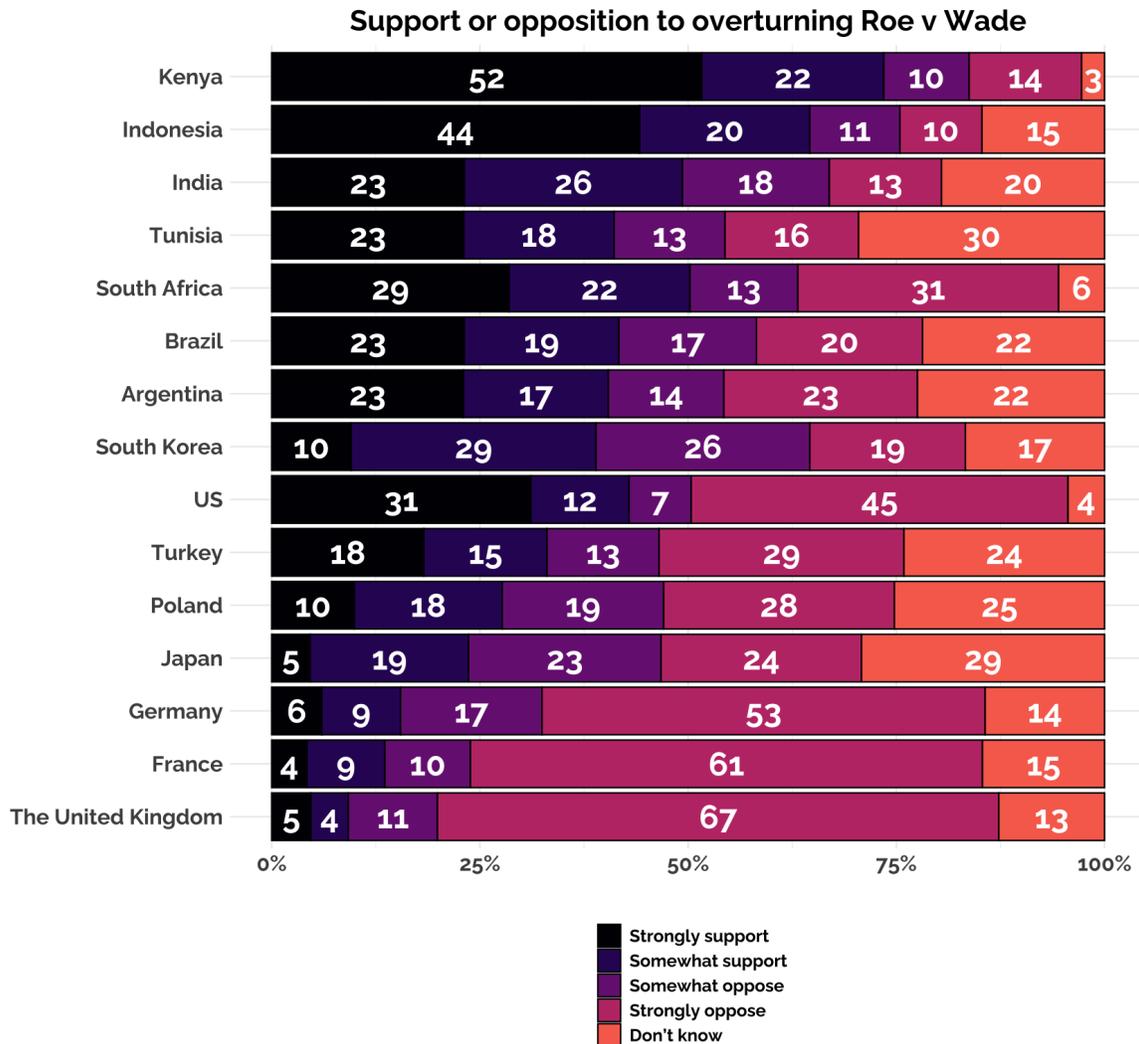
**Biden approval over time**



Generally speaking, would you say you approve or disapproval of United States President Joe Biden?

While data in the FES Global Census does not clearly explain why respondents expressed the views they expressed about President Joe Biden, the results also show many countries disapproved of the Supreme Court's decision to overturn the precedent in *Roe v. Wade* protecting the right to abortion access in the United States. This includes high disapproval of this decision in the United States, where respondents disapproved of the Supreme Court's ruling by a 52-43 margin.

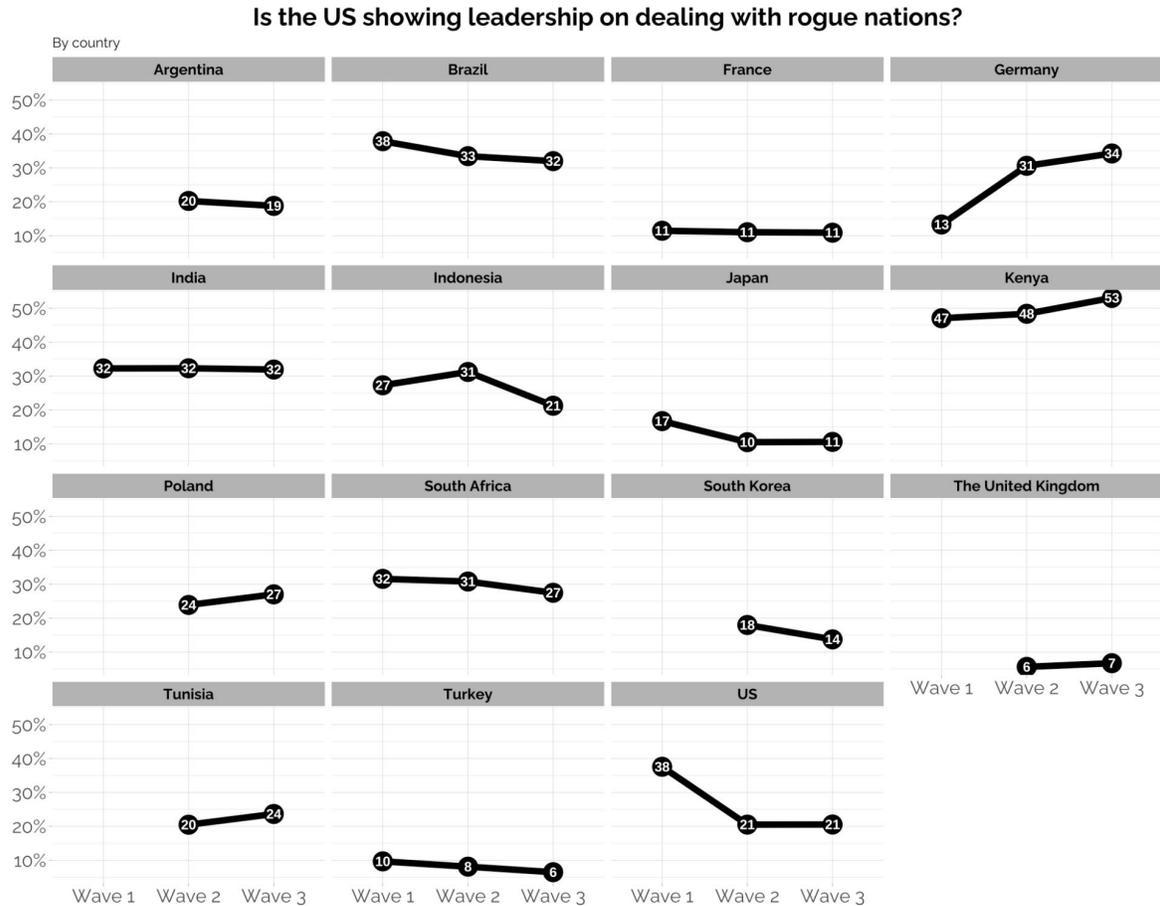
Among those who had an opinion on the subject, disapproval of the Supreme Court's decision was overwhelming in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Japan, where only negligible shares of respondents supported the decision. Respondents were more divided elsewhere in the sample, including a 45-39 split among respondents in South Korea, a 37-40 split in Argentina, and a 37-42 split in Brazil. Overall, respondents approved of overturning *Roe v Wade* in Kenya, Indonesia, India, and Tunisia.



Recently, the United States Supreme Court overturned a decision that allowed people to terminate their pregnancy, also known as having an abortion. This means states within the United States can now severely limit or ban abortion, as some have already done. Many international leaders have commented on this decision. Generally speaking, do you (support or oppose) the Supreme Court's decision?

Attitudes toward the United States's handling of other issues are mixed. On the subject of "dealing with rogue nations," for example, the events of the past year are not associated with much change in attitudes toward the United States on this question. Roughly the same share of respondents reported trusting the United States when it came to dealing with

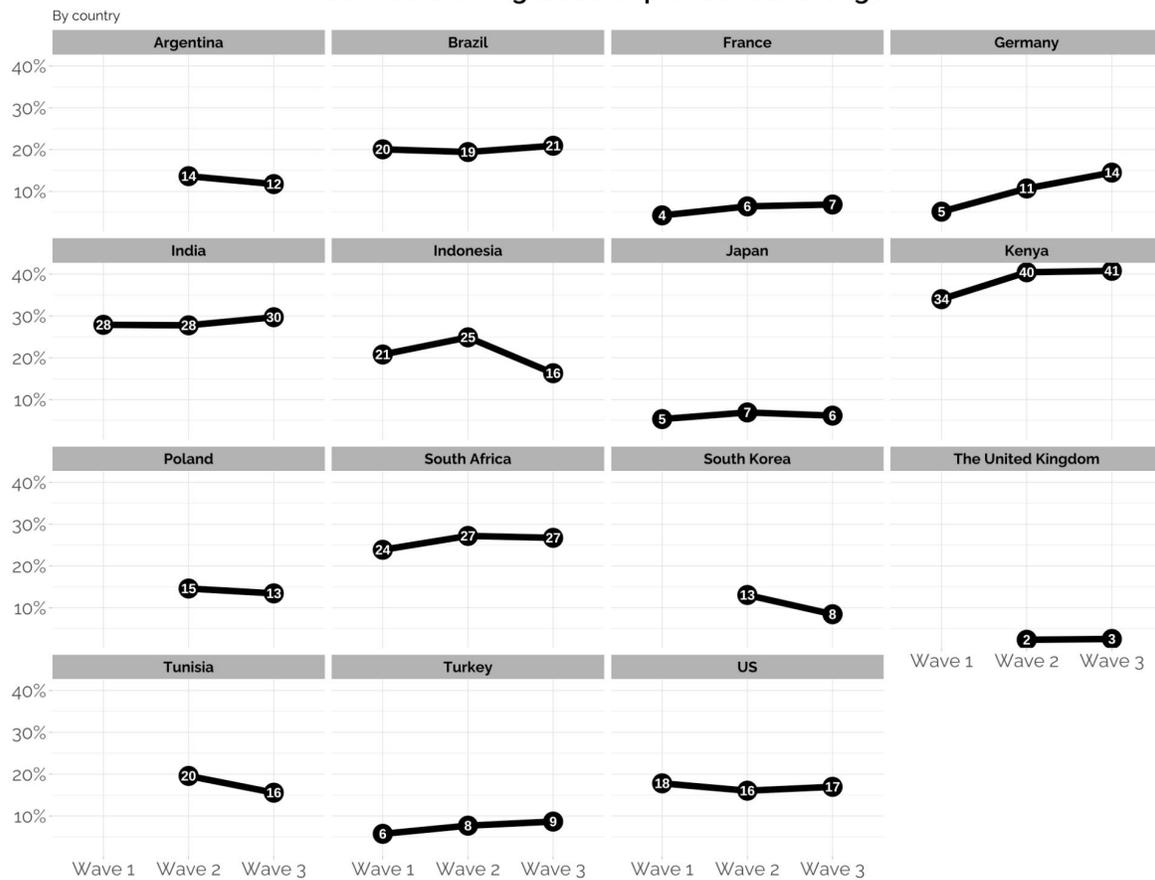
rogue nations now as in the past year in most countries in the sample. Respondents in Kenya moved in favor of United States leadership by about 5 percentage points, and respondents in Germany moved in favor by about 3 percentage points.



*And when it comes to the following areas, would you say the United States (showing a great deal of leadership, showing some leadership, not showing leadership), or are you unsure?*

Similarly, on the subject of leadership on climate change, attitudes have not changed toward the US much in the past year. Notably, in no country in the sample – including the United States – did more than one-quarter of respondents report believing the US was showing leadership on climate change.

**Is the US showing leadership on climate change?**



And when it comes to the following areas, would you say the United States (showing a great deal of leadership, showing some leadership, not showing leadership, or are you unsure?)

While respondents are skeptical of US leadership, countries across the sample are more favorable toward “Joe Biden’s handling of foreign policy” in a more general sense. When it came to the more general question,

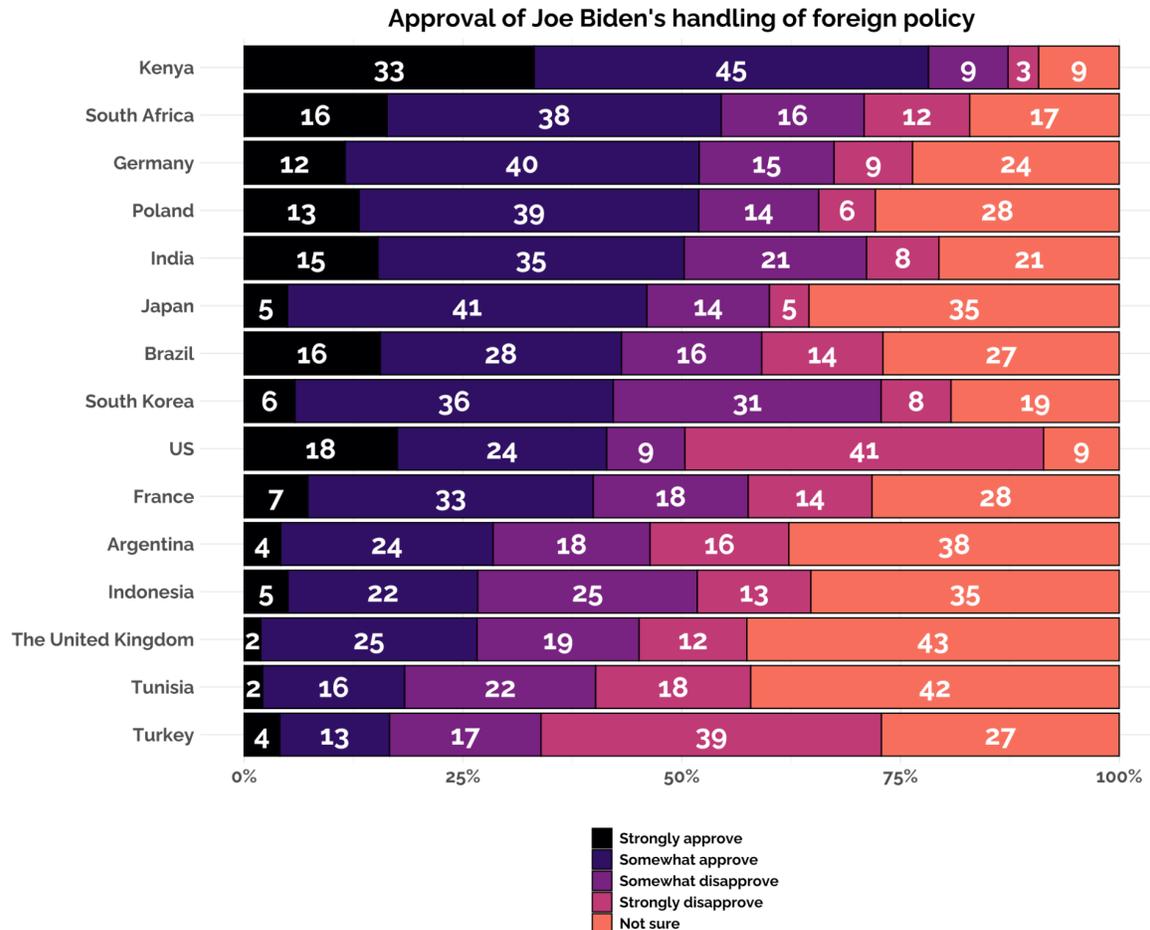
*Generally speaking, would you say you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden has been handling foreign policy?*

- <1> Strongly approve
- <2> Somewhat approve
- <3> Somewhat disapprove
- <4> Strongly disapprove
- <5> Not sure

Approval of his foreign policy is net favorable in nine countries, including majority approval in five countries. In the United States, respondents’ approval of Biden on the specific issue of foreign policy matches their general approval of Biden. Americans’ disapprove of Biden’s

handling of foreign policy by a 50-42 margin, and disapprove of Biden in general by a 52-43 margin.

Notably, the United States's close ally, the United Kingdom, feels unfavorably toward Biden's handling of foreign policy, by a 27-31 margin. Fully 43 percent of respondents in the United Kingdom are unsure of Biden. Respondents from close US ally South Korea are narrowly split, approving of Biden's foreign policy by just a 42-39 margin. Approval of US foreign policy is considerably higher in other close US allies such as Germany and Japan.



Generally speaking, would you say you [approve or disapprove] of the way Joe Biden has been handling foreign policy?

Ultimately, countries in the FES Global Census remain skeptical of US leadership, including increasing skepticism of US leadership on key issues and increasing skepticism of US President Joe Biden. While it is commonly believed that the change in US leadership would lead to large and rapid improvements in its reputation abroad, the FES Global Census suggests this is not the case. Respondents across the sample continue to demand more of the United States when it comes to evaluating its leadership on key issues like climate change and global security.

## Countries around the world worry about China's intentions, but see opportunities in its economic expansion

- Countries around the world believe China will inevitably grow more economically powerful
- While countries in the traditional West believe this growth will present challenges for their own country, those in Africa and South America are more optimistic that China's rise will present economic opportunities for their own countries
- Countries in the West are more skeptical of China's motives when it comes to making investments in other countries, while elsewhere, respondents are more likely to believe China invests in other countries to enjoy the mutual benefits of economic growth
- Recent events around the world have increased countries' suspicions of Russia, but not China. In many countries, respondents around the world are less likely to say they are worried about interference from China now than they were in previous waves of the FES Global Census

In the 2022 FES Global Census, respondents were asked to consider three possible futures for China:

*And when it comes to China, which of the following is closer to your view?*

*<1> China will grow more wealthy and powerful over the next few years, and this will present problems for my country*

*<2> China will grow more wealthy and powerful over the next few years, and this will present opportunities for my country*

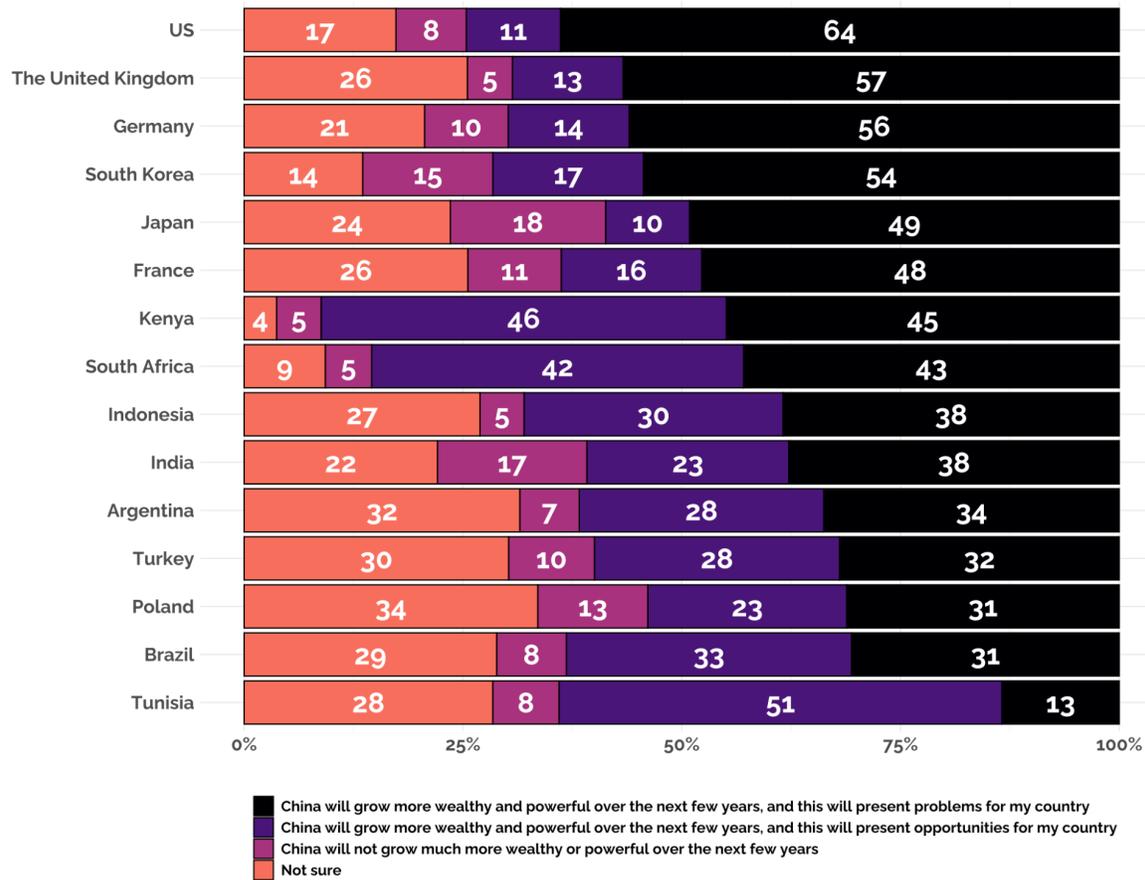
*<3> China will not grow much more wealthy or powerful over the next few years*

*<4> Not sure*

For better or for worse, most countries believe China will continue to grow more wealthy and powerful over the next few years. For example, fully 75 percent of US respondents believe China will continue to grow, with 64 percent worried that this will present problems for the US, and just 11 percent saying it will present opportunities instead. In most of the traditional West, concern about future problems outweighed optimism for future opportunities.

Conversely, respondents were more optimistic outside of the West. For example, Kenya was split 46-45 narrowly in favor of China's continued economic growth, with similar splits observed in South Africa, Argentina, Turkey, and Brazil. In Tunisia, an outright majority of respondents said they were optimistic that China's continued growth would present opportunities for their country, with just 11 percent worried that it would present problems.

**Belief in China's future economic strength**

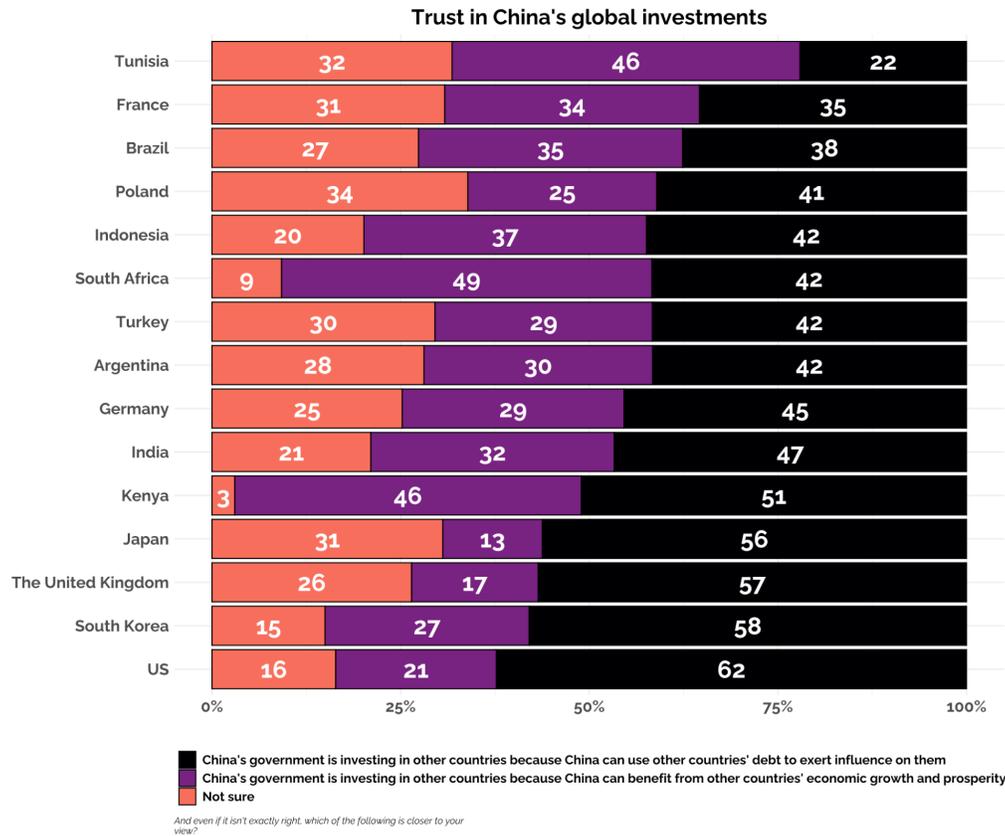


In the survey, respondents were asked to evaluate the motives of China's government when it came to the investments China had made around the world. Specifically, respondents were asked,

- And even if it isn't exactly right, which of the following is closer to your view?*
- <1> China's government is investing in other countries because China can use other countries' debt to exert influence on them
  - <2> China's government is investing in other countries because China can benefit from other countries' economic growth and prosperity
  - <3> Not sure

Generally speaking, those who were more optimistic about China's economic future with respect to opportunities from their own countries were more optimistic about the motives of China's government. That said, countries that were optimistic about China's economic future were more skeptical about the motives of its government. For example, while only 13

percent of respondents from Tunisia reported believing that China's continued economic growth presented problems for their country, about 22 percent worried that China would use its debt as leverage over other countries.



Recent events over the past year have made respondents generally more worried about interference from Russia, and less worried about interference from China. In each wave of the FES Global Census respondents are asked,

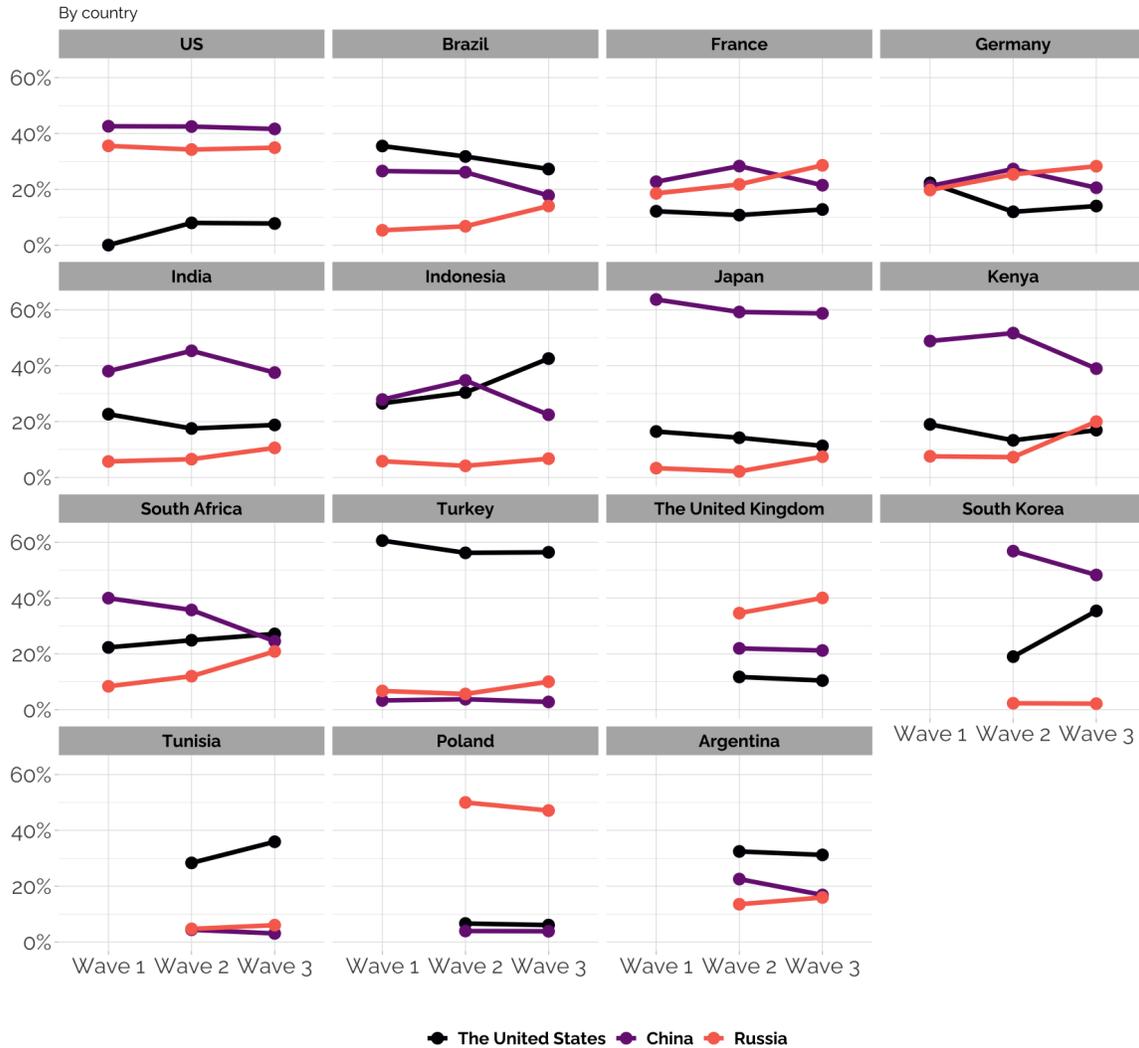
*Generally speaking, who are you most worried might interfere in your country's affairs?*

- <1> China
- <2> The United States
- <3> Russia
- <4> The European Union
- <5> The United Nations
- <6> Another country
- <7> Not sure

In each wave of the survey, only negligible shares of respondents report the European Union or the United Nations, with the vast majority of responses divided between Russia,

China, and the United States. In the most recent wave, worry about China fell in nine of the countries in our sample, and remained roughly stable in six others.

**Increased worry about interference from Russia**



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

Ultimately, respondents are divided on whether China's economic growth presents a danger or opportunity to their own country. There is little disagreement that China will continue to grow more wealthy and powerful over the near term. In the most recent wave of the FES Global Census, results suggest that respondents in many countries are less worried about China now than in the past, but also remain skeptical of China's intentions.

## Appendix: All Countries' Top Agenda Items for the UN General Assembly

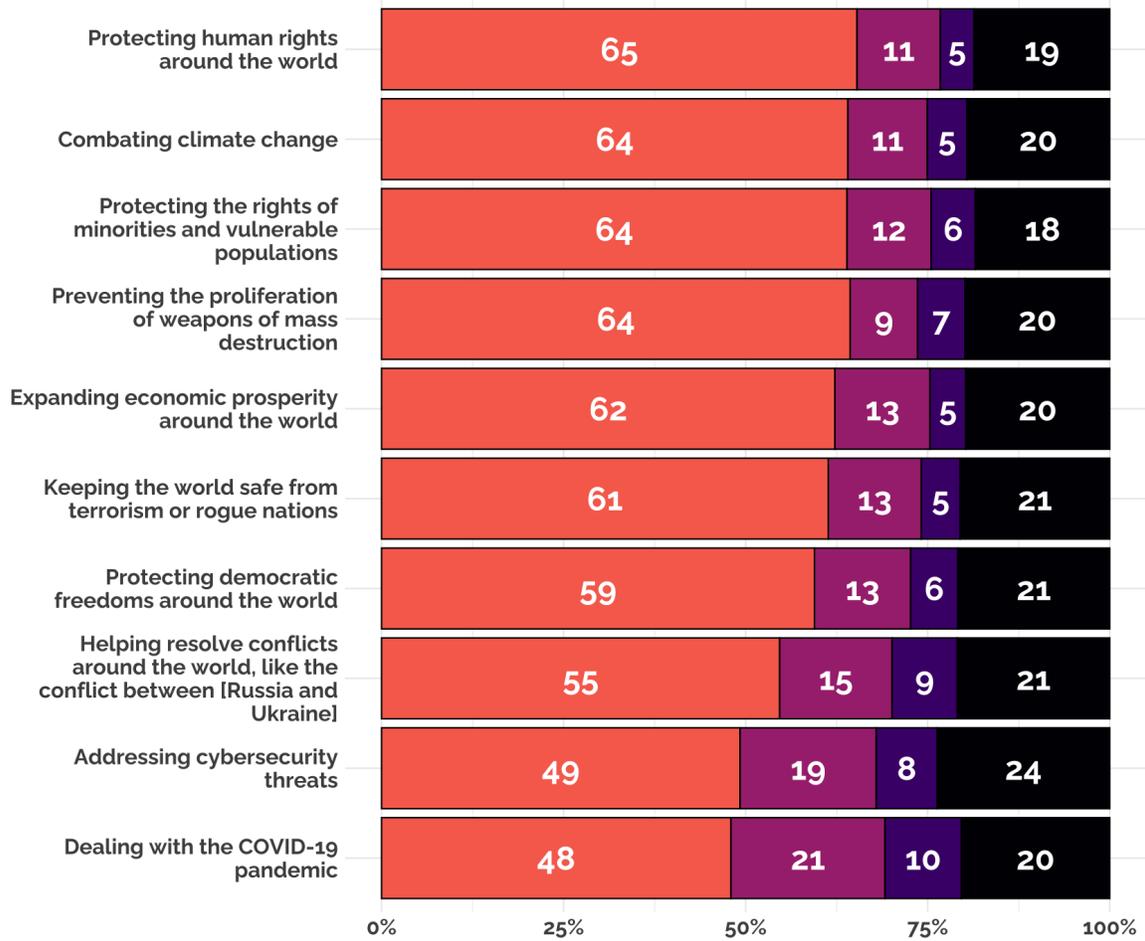
The FES Global Census asked respondents about what the UN should prioritize at the next meeting of the General Assembly. The item asked:

*Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.*

- Protecting human rights around the world*
  - Dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic*
  - Expanding economic prosperity around the world*
  - Keeping the world safe from terrorism or rogue nations*
  - Protecting democratic freedoms around the world*
  - Combating climate change*
  - Protecting the rights of minorities and vulnerable populations*
  - Preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction*
  - Addressing cybersecurity threats*
  - Helping resolve conflicts around the world, like the conflict between Russia and Ukraine*
- <1> Should focus more on this*
- <2> Should not change how much they focus on this*
- <3> Should focus less on this*
- <4> Not sure*

This appendix summarizes the results for each country in the FES Global Census. In many countries, "Protecting human rights around the world" and handling the Russia-Ukraine conflict topped the list of priorities. In most countries, respondents reported feeling less worried about the COVID-19 pandemic.

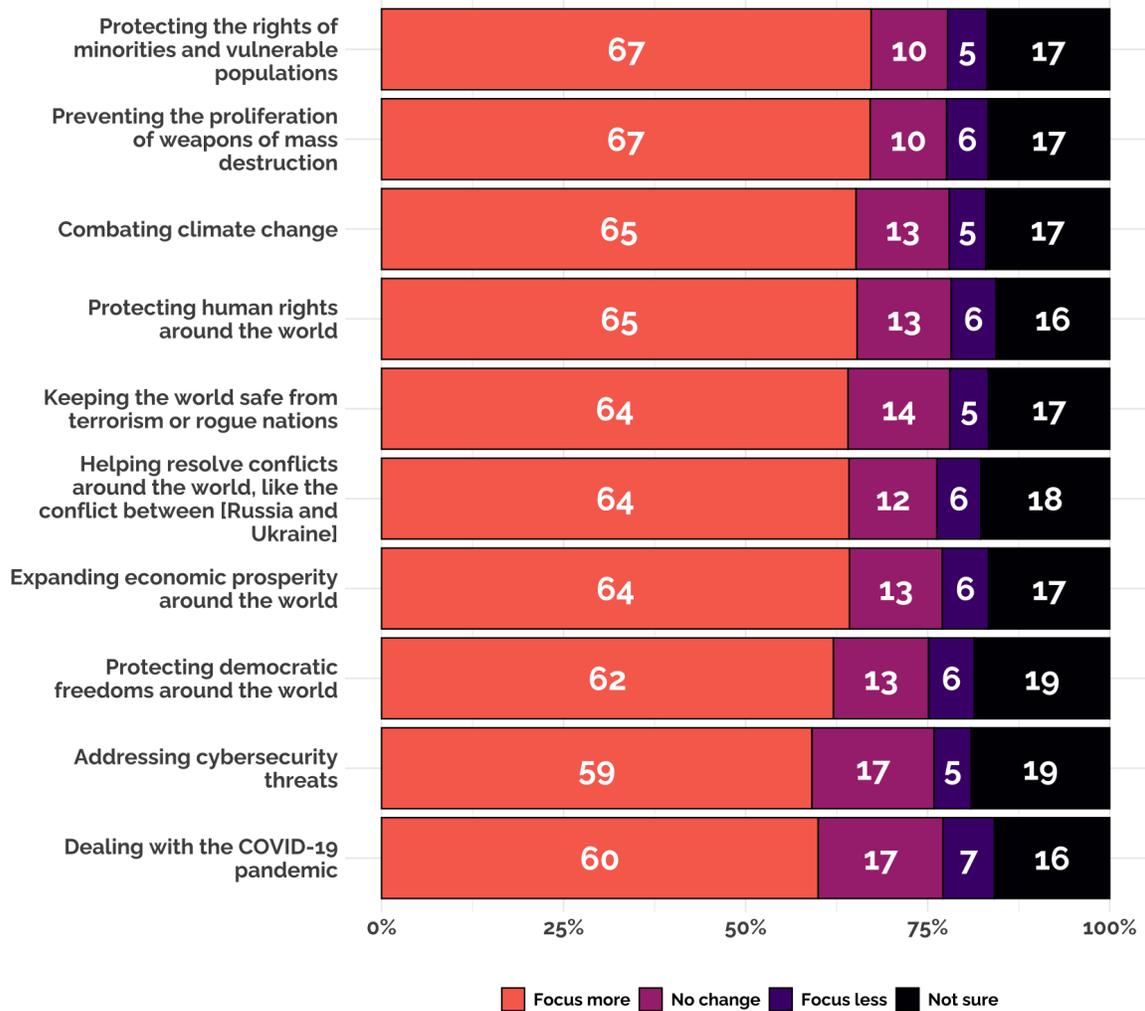
**Argentina: Agenda for next UN session**



■ Focus more 
 ■ No change 
 ■ Focus less 
 ■ Not sure

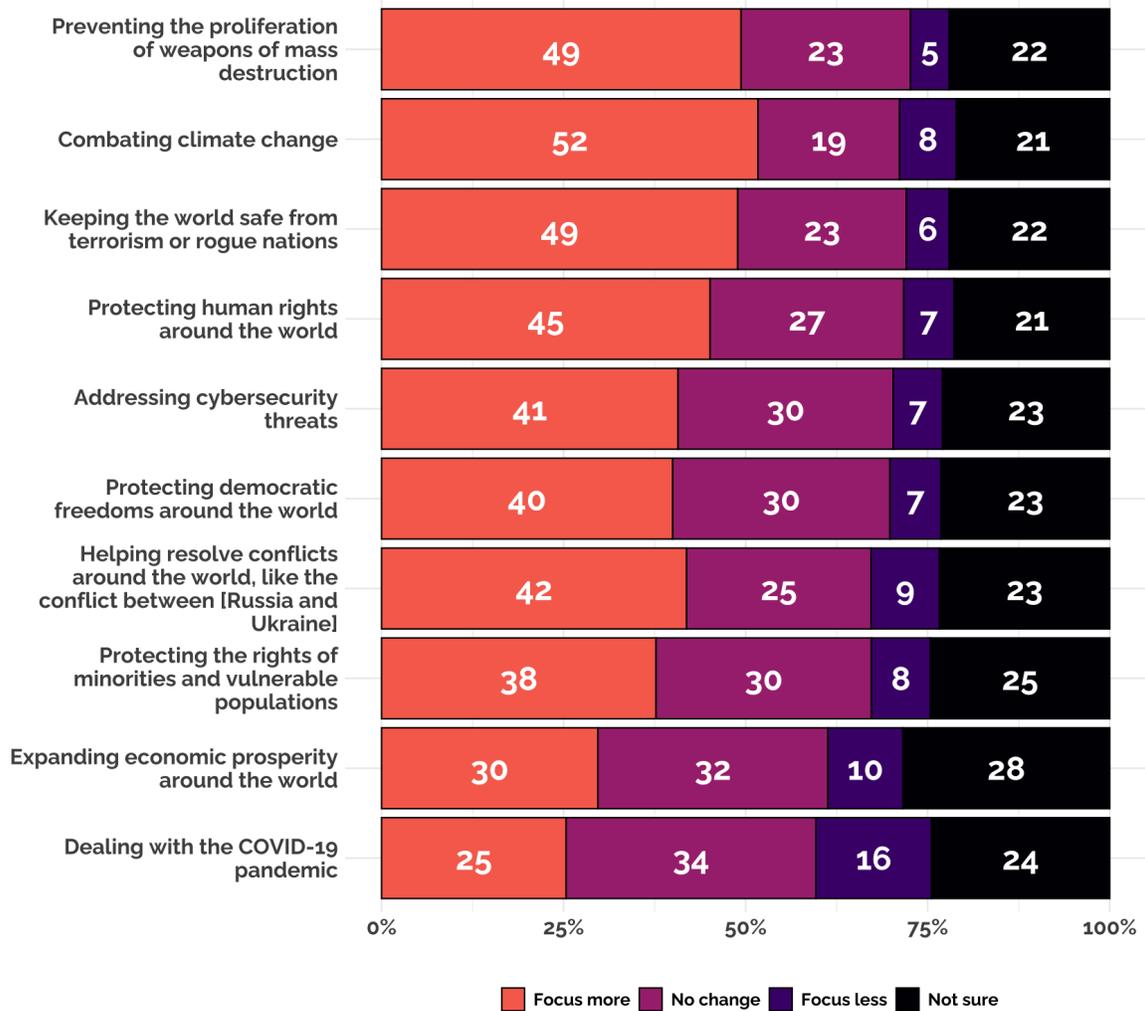
*Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.*

**Brazil: Agenda for next UN session**



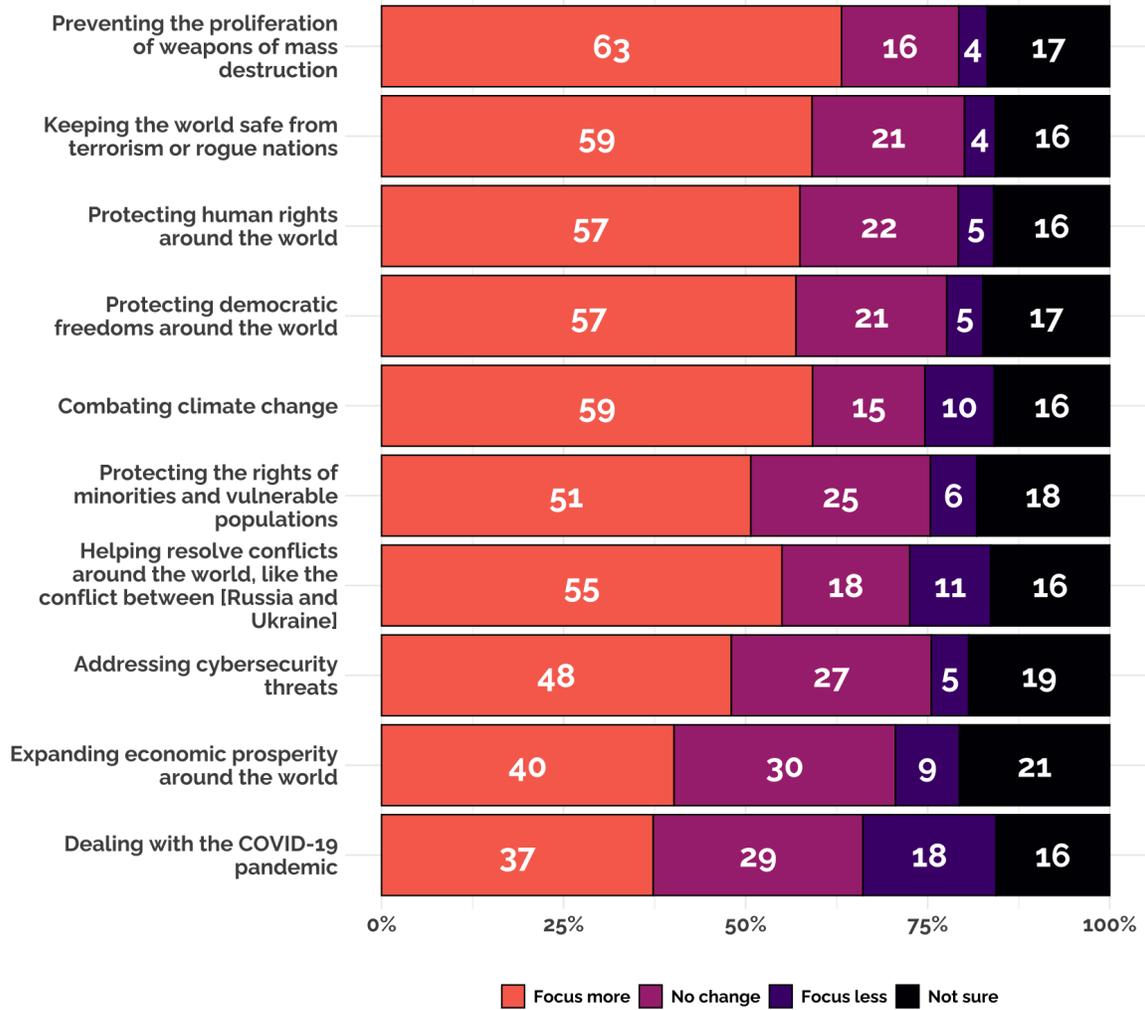
*Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.*

**France: Agenda for next UN session**



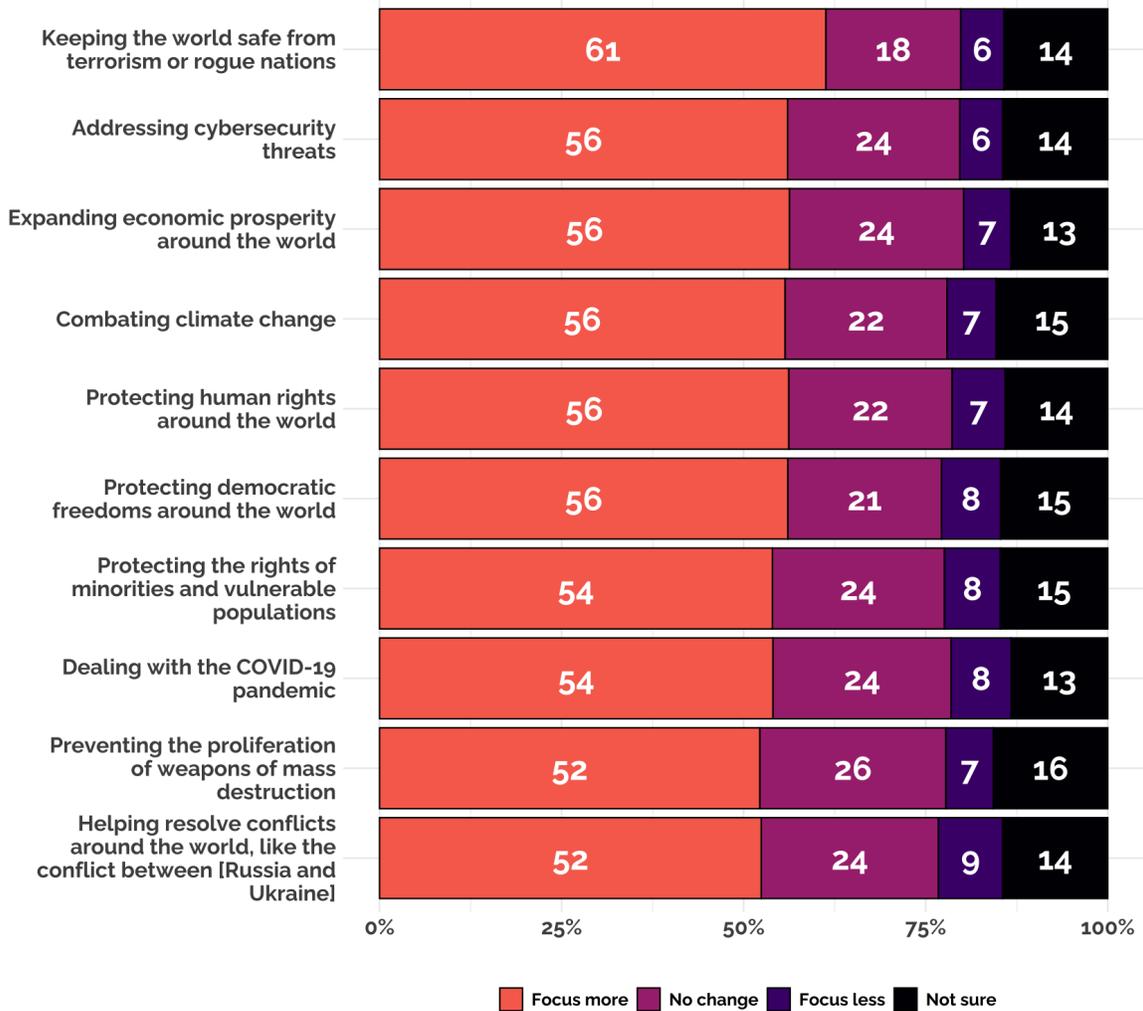
*Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.*

**Germany: Agenda for next UN session**



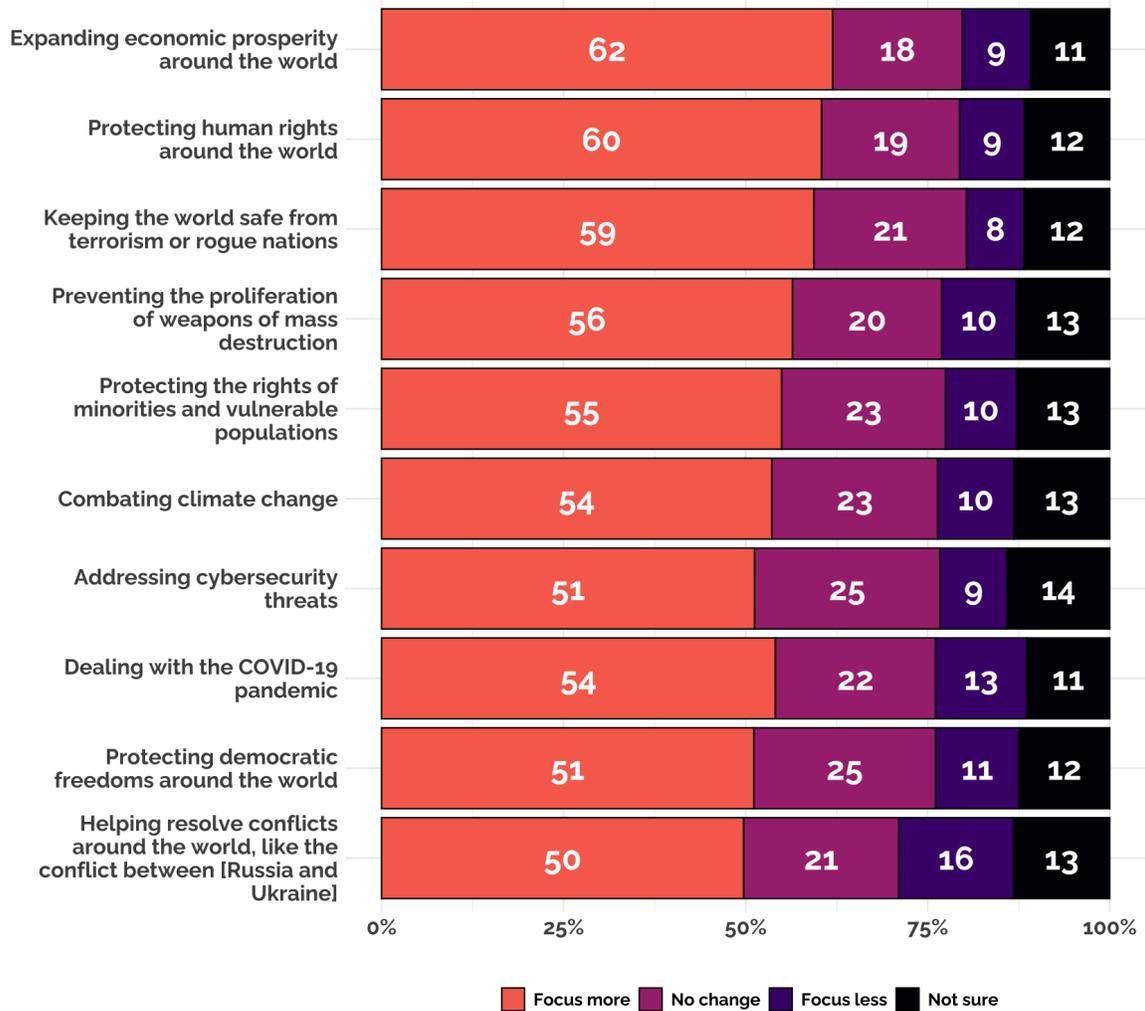
*Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.*

**India: Agenda for next UN session**



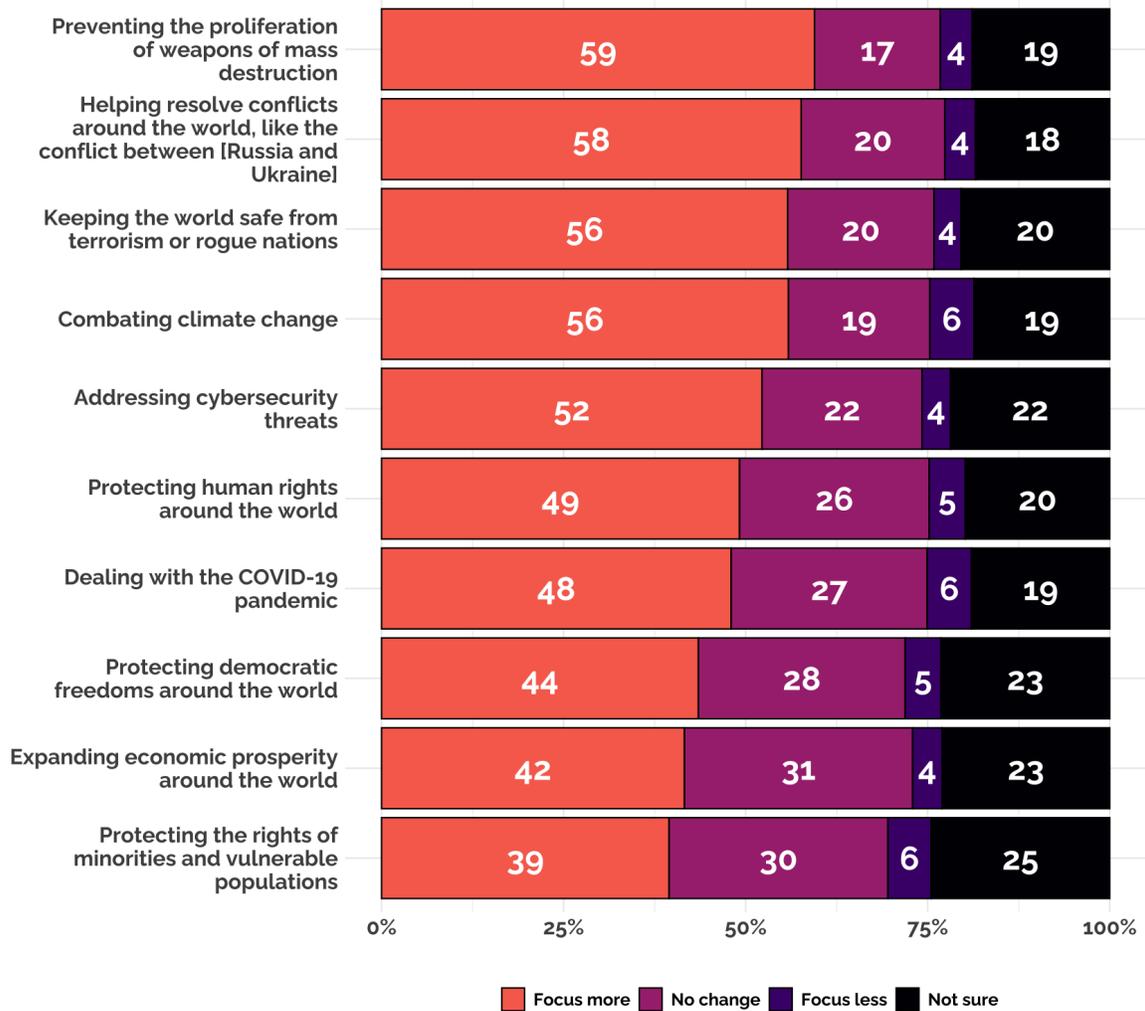
Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.

**Indonesia: Agenda for next UN session**



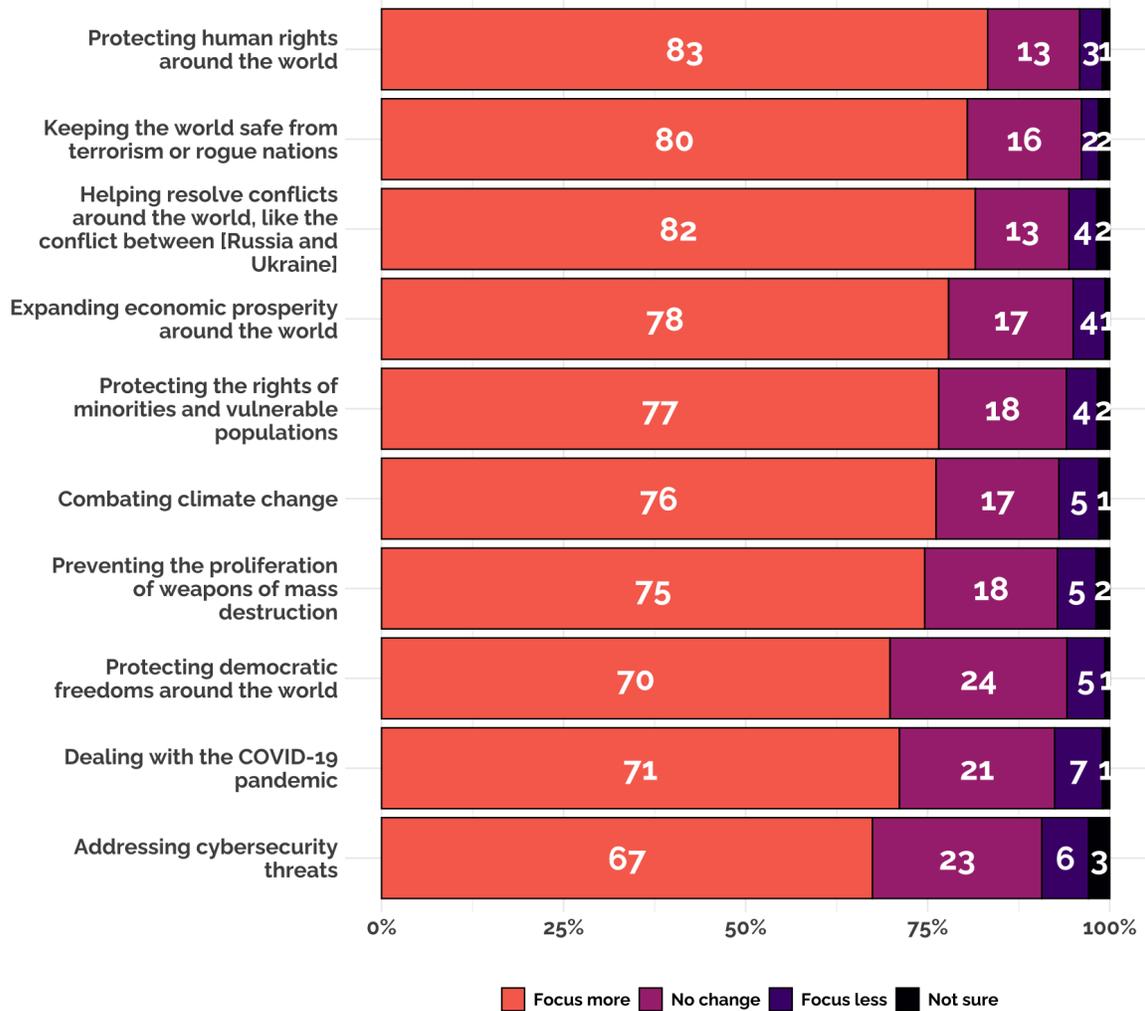
Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.

**Japan: Agenda for next UN session**



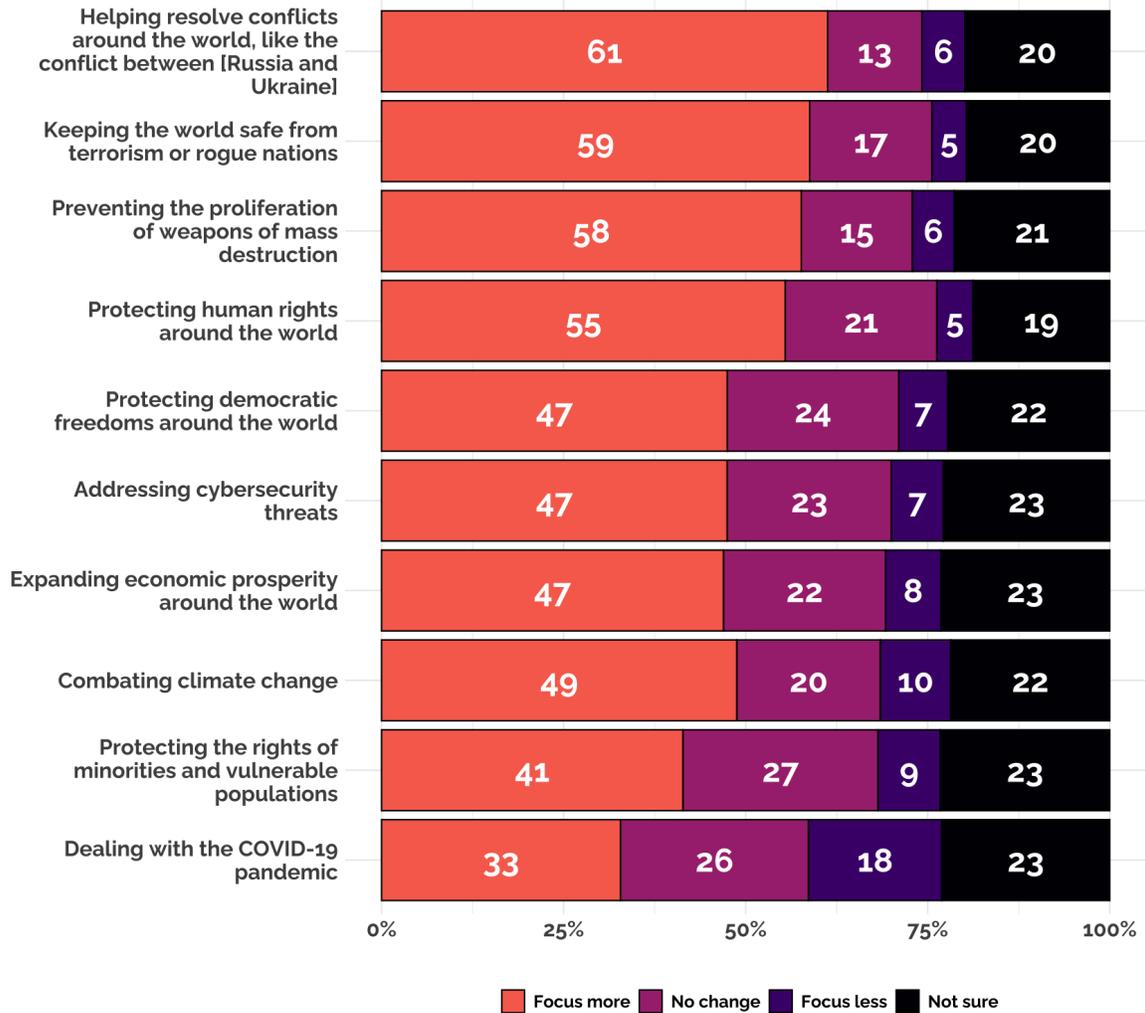
*Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.*

**Kenya: Agenda for next UN session**



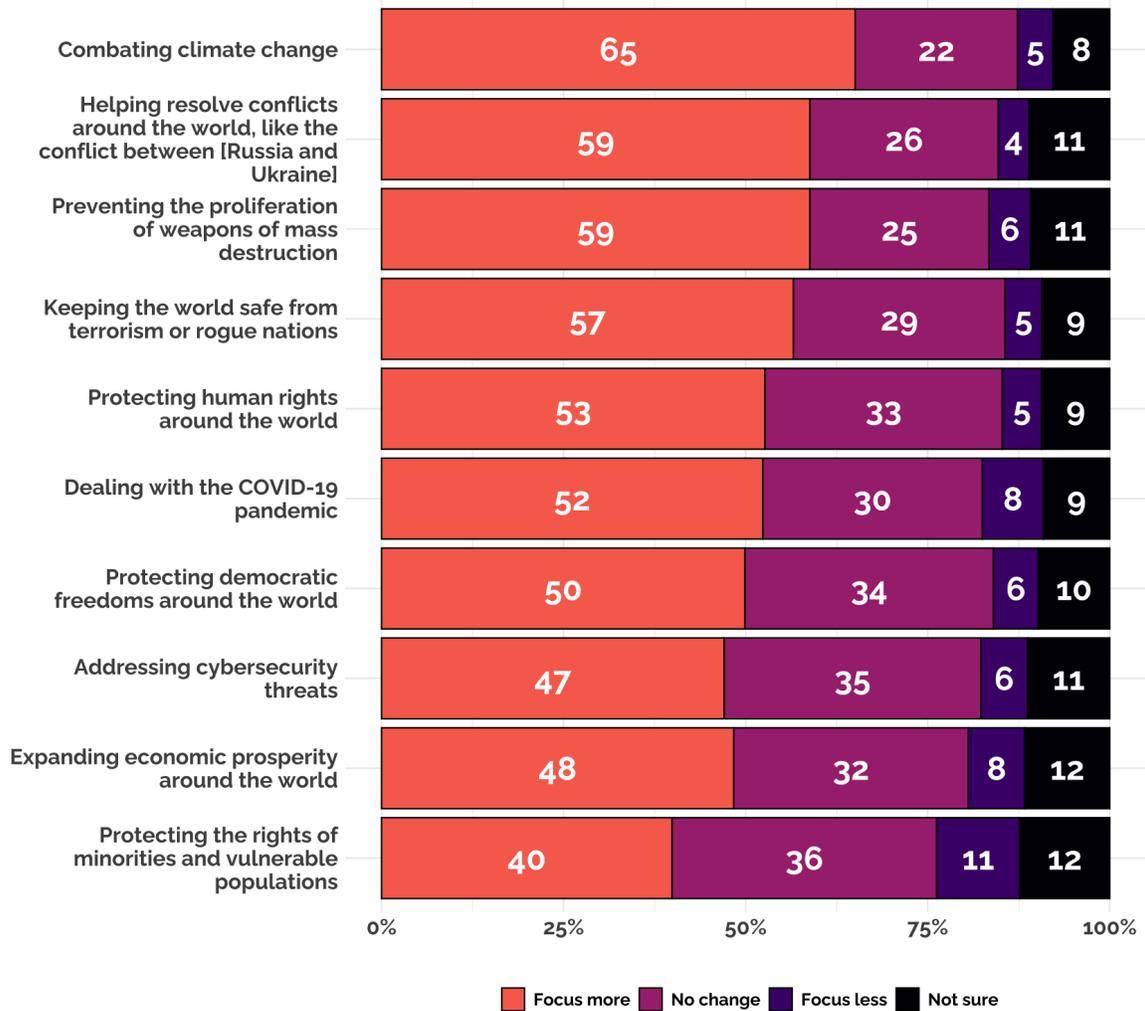
*Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.*

**Poland: Agenda for next UN session**



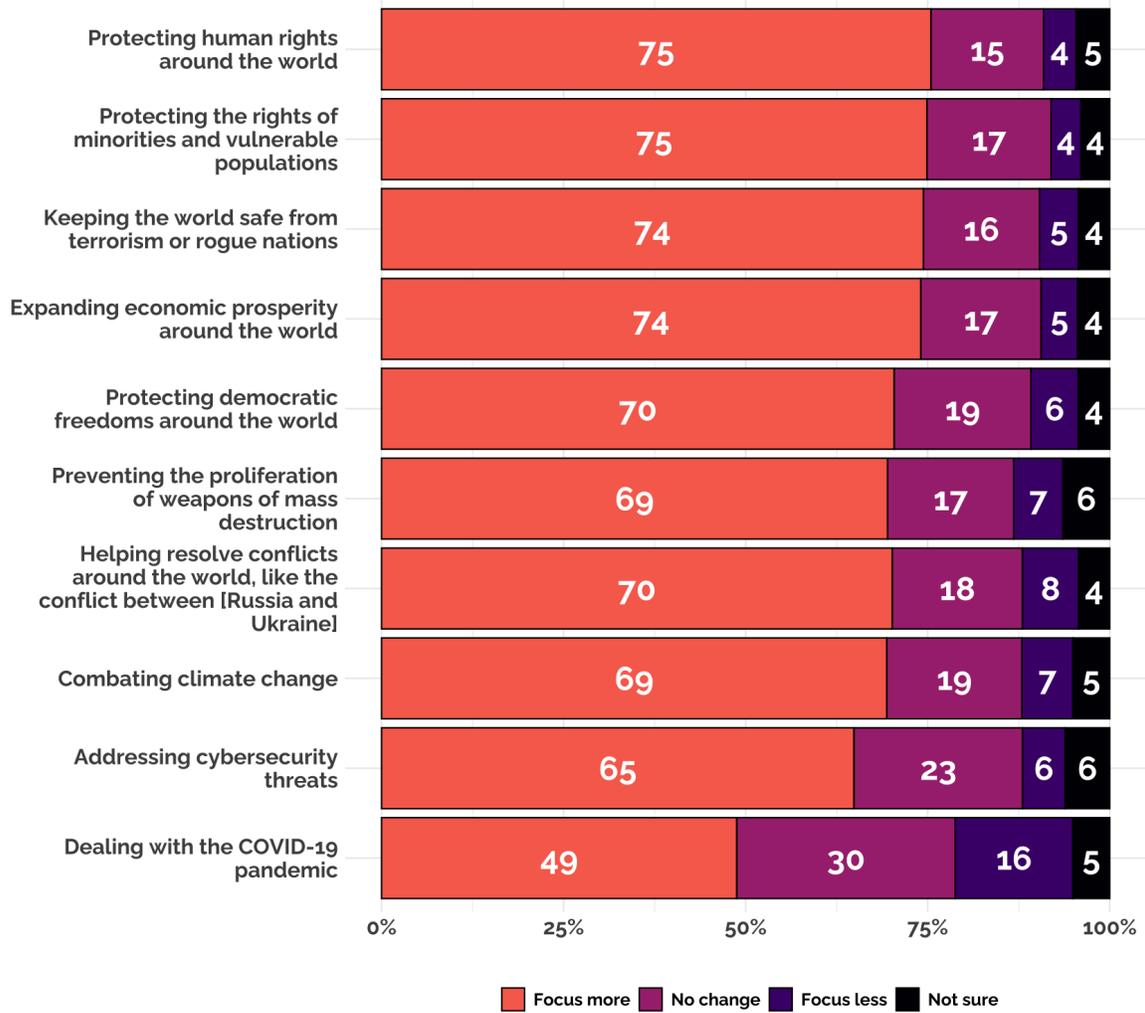
Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.

**South Korea: Agenda for next UN session**



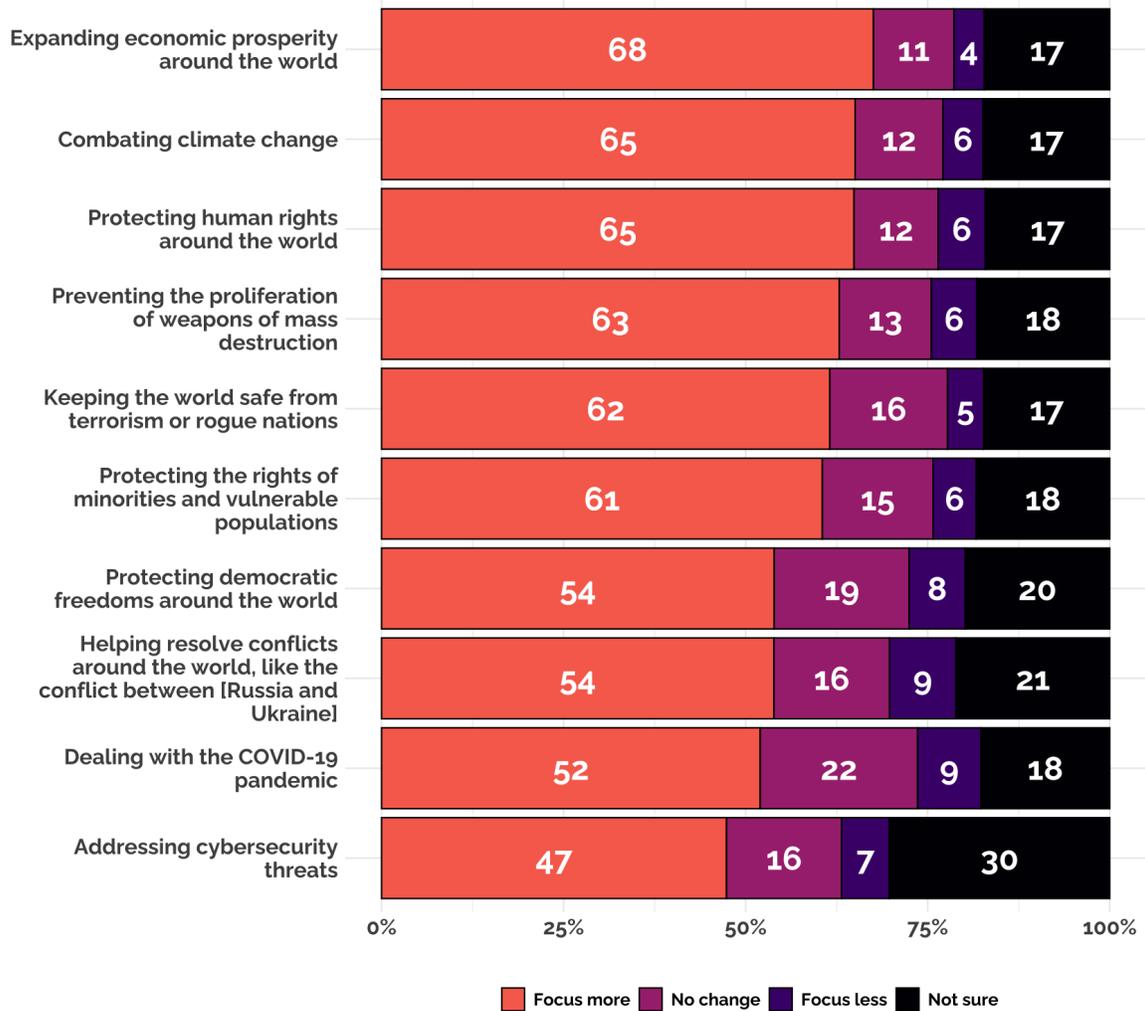
*Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.*

**South Africa: Agenda for next UN session**



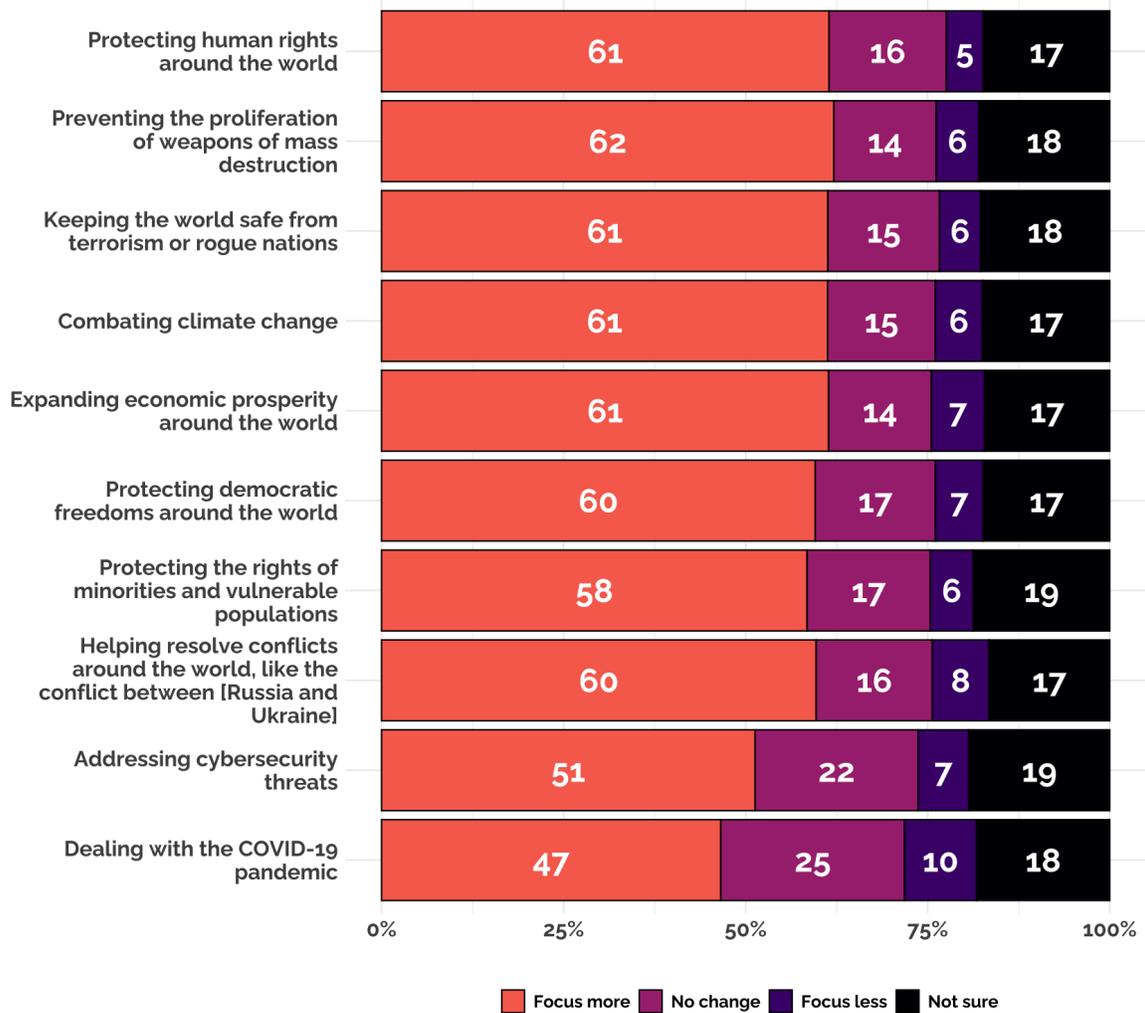
*Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.*

**Tunisia: Agenda for next UN session**



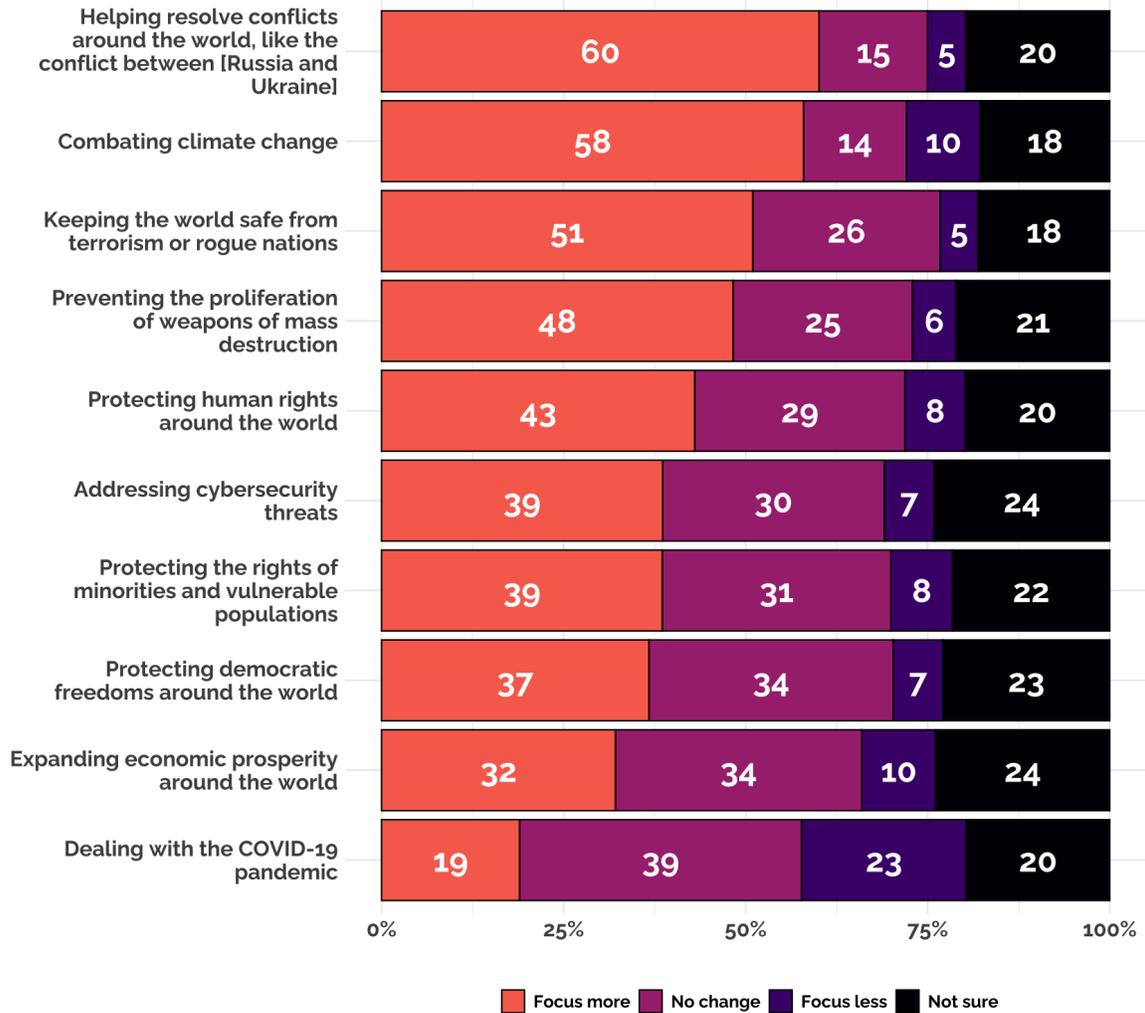
*Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.*

**Turkey: Agenda for next UN session**



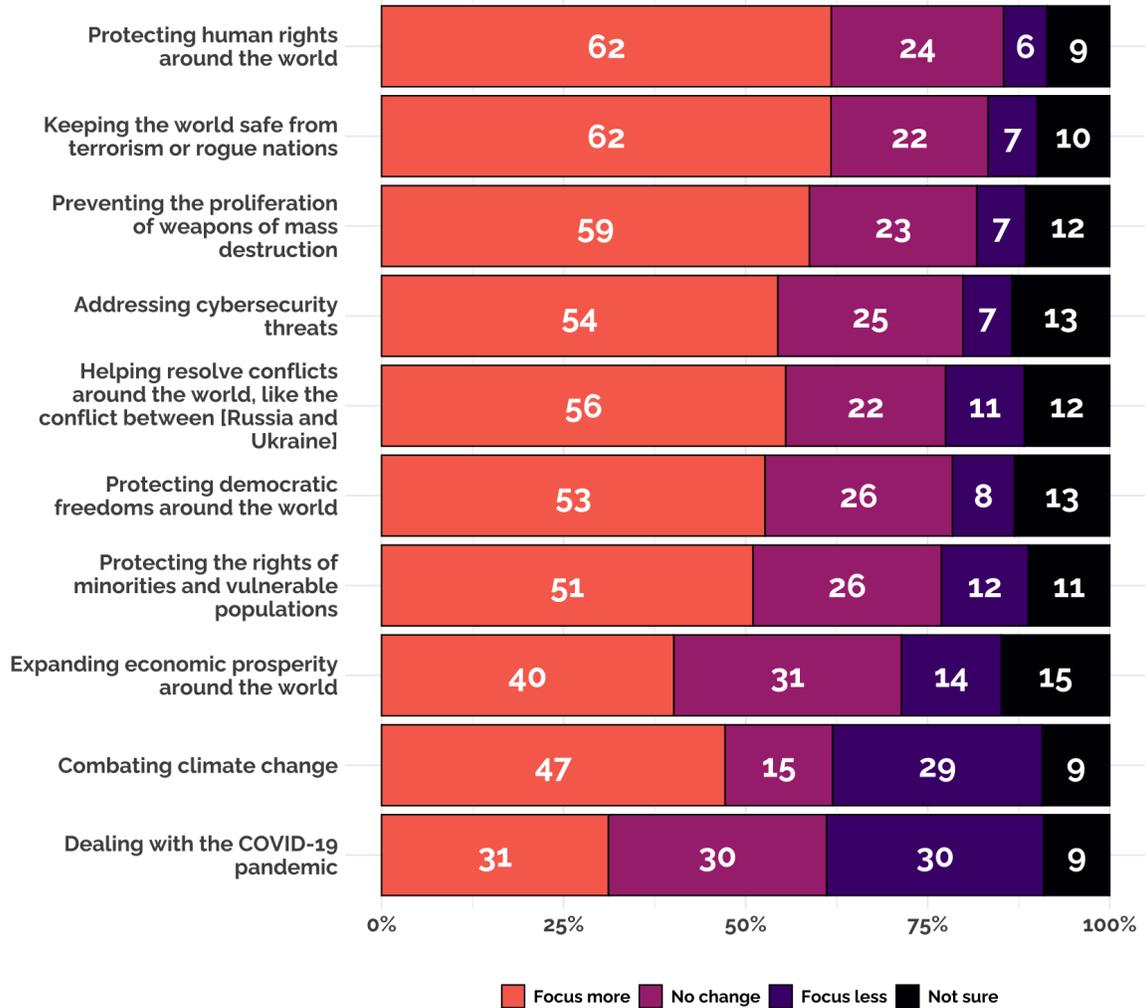
*Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.*

**The United Kingdom: Agenda for next UN session**



*Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.*

**The United States: Important Issues for Next UN Session**



Bearing in mind that the United Nations cannot focus on everything at once, when it comes to the following issues, please say for each whether you think the UN General Assembly should focus [more or less] on that issue at its meeting next month.