

The FES/YouGov Global Census

On behalf of FES, YouGov fielded surveys in the nations of Argentina, Brazil, Canada, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Poland, Russia, South Africa, South Korea, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States, including about 1,000 respondents in each country (with the exception of Tunisia, where the sample is approximately 500). This survey, fielded in August 2021, is the second wave of a survey project focused on global cooperation, the first wave of which fielded in December 2020. The following memo summarizes the results of the latest round of polling.

Executive summary

- Countries across the sample are optimistic about Joe Biden.
 - Biden is on net viewed favorably in 16 of the 18 nations surveyed outside of the US, where Americans are split in their views of his job approval.
- While support is lower when it comes to areas such as the one unfolding in Afghanistan, support overall is still quite high for the new US administration well into its first year in office.
 - Half of the countries in our sample are statistically split or overall negative on US leadership when it comes to Afghanistan

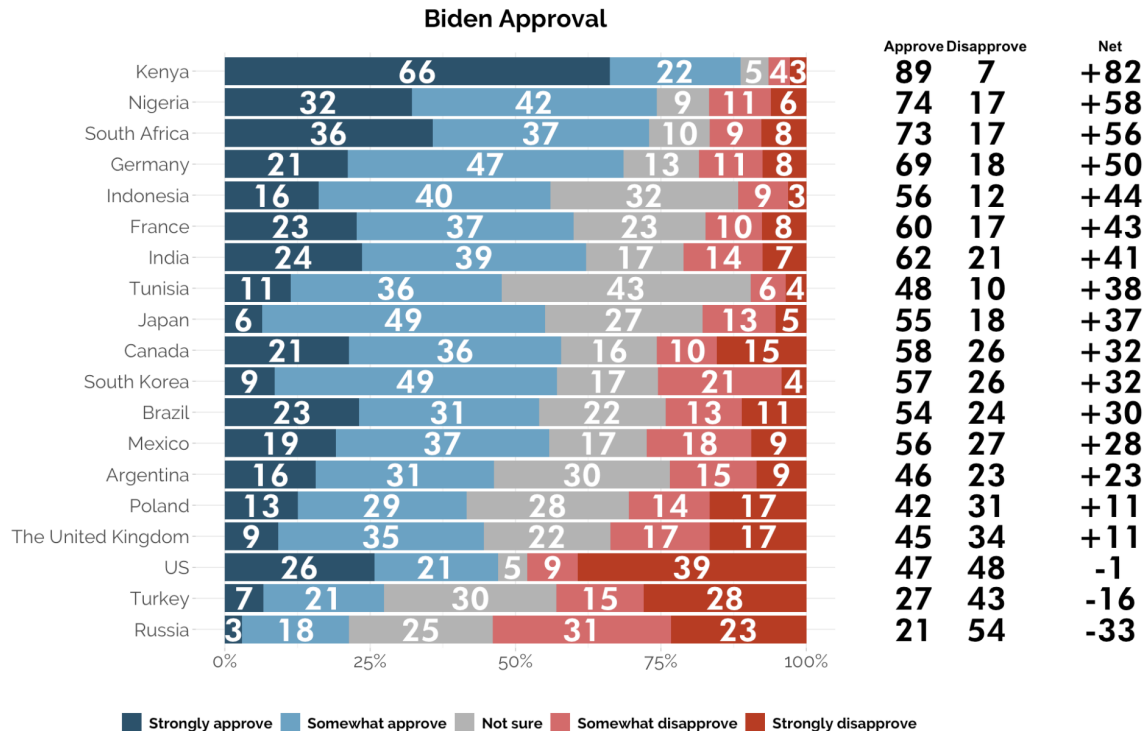
Biden Receives High Marks During His First Months In Office

Across countries, Biden has high approval ratings

Overall, the countries included in our sample give President Biden overwhelmingly positive reviews. Respondents on net, with the exception of those from Russia and Turkey, rated Biden favorably. In most countries, Biden approval follows a predictable left-right dimension, with respondents who identify as farther to the political left saying they view Biden more favorably. For example, 75 percent of Germans who identify as farthest to the “left” on a 10-point ideology scale have a favorable view of Joe Biden, down to 53 percent of those who identify as politically “right.”

Our sample includes two notable exceptions where there is not much of an ideological divide when it comes to Biden approval: India and Mexico. With India currently being governed by a coalition of parties that identify with the political right, Biden enjoys an 86 percent favorable rating among politically left respondents from India and also about a 70 percent favorable rating among the political right, a relatively marginal difference in the sample overall. The second exception is Mexico, where the far left actually has a slightly *lower* approval rating of Biden than does the political right (about 40 percent favorable on the left compared to about 60 percent

favorable on the right). While the complex relationship between Mexico's and America's leaders over the past two generations produces some unexpected political dynamics, our survey does not contain enough detail to address this directly in more depth.



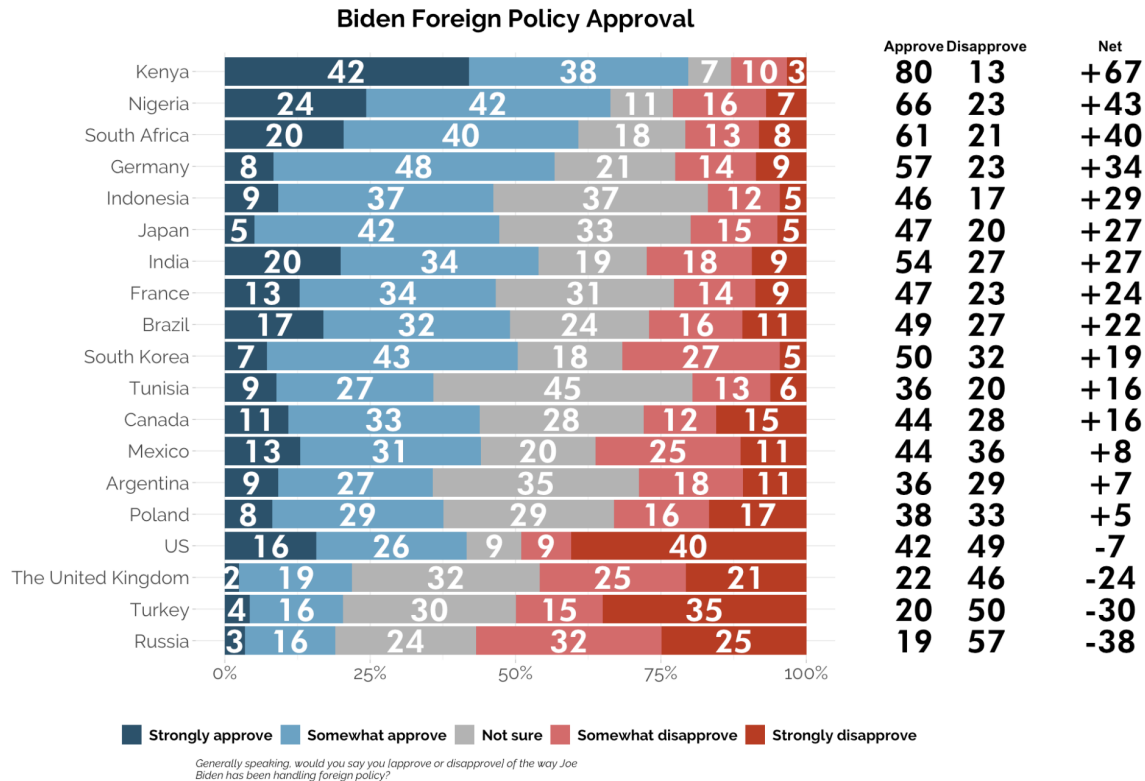
Biden's foreign policy is viewed favorably, except on the question of Afghanistan refugee resettlement

While still broadly approving of Biden, respondents across countries consistently rated Biden lower on the specific issue of foreign policy than they do on his performance overall. We asked respondents,

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

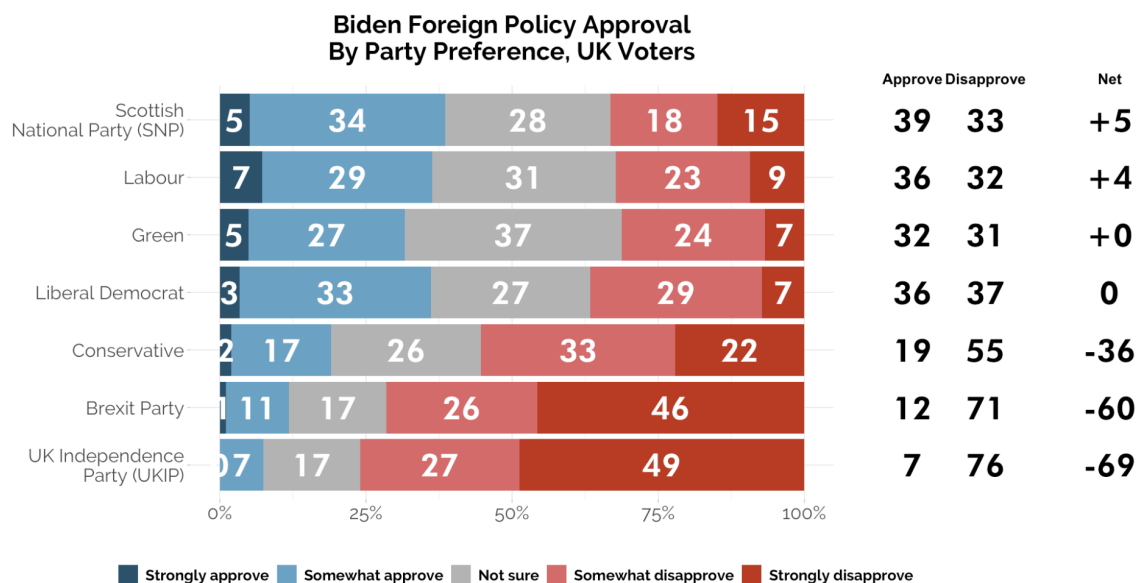
On average, Biden scored about 15 net percentage points lower on the specific question of foreign policy than on general approval overall. The approximate order of countries is preserved across both items (that is, countries that rate Biden highly overall also rate his handling of

foreign policy more highly, and vice versa). For example, countries like Kenya and Nigeria are overwhelmingly optimistic about Biden's foreign policy and about the Administration overall, while countries like Turkey and Russia are overwhelmingly pessimistic about both.



The most conspicuous example of this is the United Kingdom, where Biden has an overall +11 percentage point favorable rating but an overwhelmingly negative -24 percentage point rating on the specific question of foreign policy. The results on the subject of foreign policy among the UK respondents is driven by political ideology, but is low across the board: Just 24 percent of UK respondents who identify as politically left approve of Biden's foreign policy, down to 8 percent of UK respondents who identify as politically to the right.

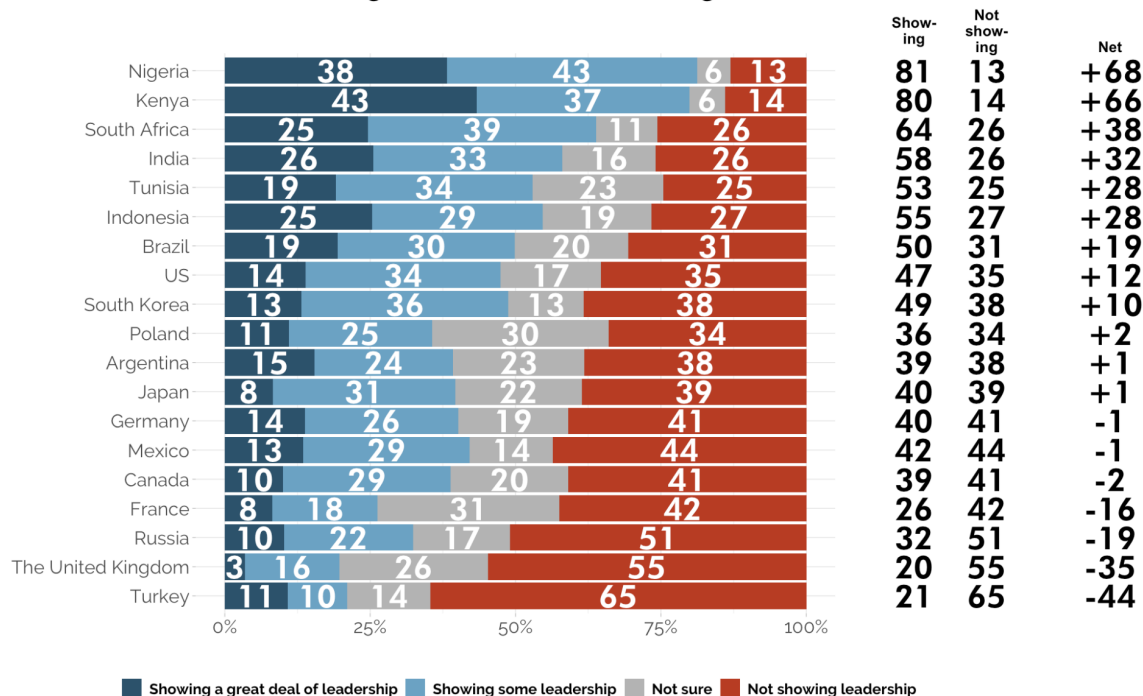
The following chart, for example, shows Biden approval by party preference among UK respondents. There, we see that even supporters of center-left and left political parties in the UK are at best split on the question of Biden's foreign policy, and those who vote for center-right and right political parties overwhelmingly disapprove of Biden on this issue.



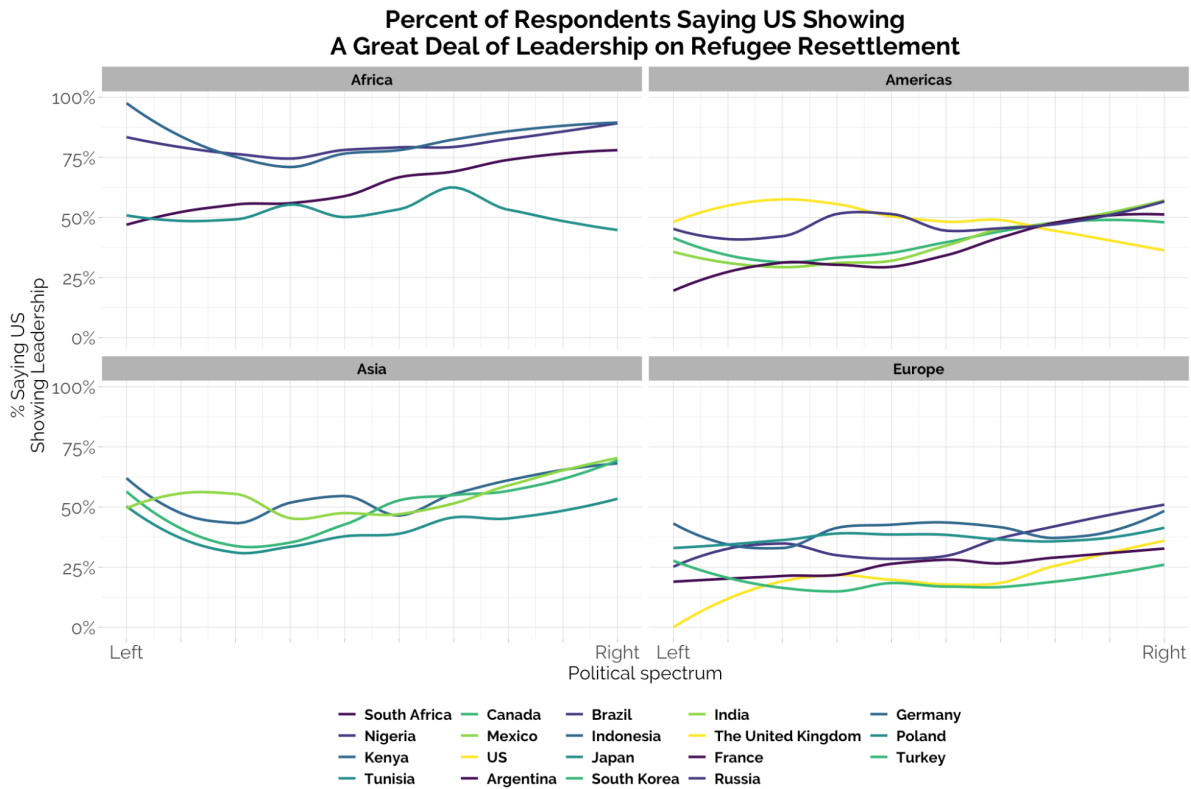
In short, the global community generally grants Biden favorable marks in his first year, though opinion is consistently lower on the question of its foreign policy than overall job performance. After asking about Biden's job approval overall and on foreign policy, the survey asked respondents whether they thought the US was showing a great deal of leadership, some leadership, not showing leadership, or not sure, in a host of issue areas.

When this survey fielded in August of 2021, the United States had just started its period of withdrawal and evacuation from Afghanistan. We included an item asking respondents if they felt the United States was showing leadership on the issue of refugees, such as those from Afghanistan. Despite high marks elsewhere, several countries said the US was failing to show leadership on the subject of refugees, including conspicuously low attitudes from US allies such as Germany, Canada, France, and the United Kingdom, as well as low attitudes from Russia and Turkey. The fielding window of this wave of the survey, which took place over the end of August, suggests that higher attention to the issue of the Afghanistan withdrawal and the fluid nature of the news cycle may have some role in this result.

**Believe US is Showing Leadership On
Issue of Refugees Such as Those From Afghanistan**



The chart breaks out support for US leadership on the current refugee situation by country and by respondents' political alignment, broken out by region. Each chart shows the percent of respondents who say the US is showing "a great deal of leadership" on the question of refugee resettlement, broken out by political ideology on a left-right spectrum.



While disapproval of Biden’s handling of foreign policy overall is driven by more conservative voters, his handling of the refugee situation, specifically, is driven by moderate and more left-wing voters. Given that the resettlement of refugees from Afghanistan has been associated with delays and confusion in the popular discourse, this result is not surprising. Voters who are further to the left are typically more supportive of policies that welcome refugees to their country, and so this result is not too surprising.

While views of US leadership have improved on several dimensions over the last year, this improvement in most areas is small and gradual. Approval of US foreign policy remains one of the Administration’s weakest areas, including conspicuously pessimistic attitudes among respondents from the United Kingdom, likely stemming from the government’s criticism of the US withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Together, these results suggest that Biden’s work when it comes to restoring views of US leadership on the world stage is far from complete. Other countries are paying attention to the actions the US takes, for better or worse. The Administration faces pressure from the left to be more accepting of refugees, but also from the right over the role of the US military in the world.

The fairly gradual improvement from the previous wave of the survey on other dimensions suggests Biden must take additional action to further improve US leadership.

Most countries in the sample also view the US favorably when it comes to dealing with many of the problems facing the world. Our survey included a grid of items measuring the degree to which respondents believed the US has shown leadership on a variety of issues. Across these issues, including cybersecurity, safety from terrorism, democratic freedoms, human rights, proliferation of WMDs, economic prosperity, rights of minorities, conflicts like Israel/Palestine, in addition to the other issues discussed in depth here, the US is broadly viewed as showing some or a great deal of leadership across most countries.

Conclusion

The Biden Administration enjoys generally favorable reviews around the world but is consistently rated lower on the question of foreign policy, specifically with regard to the situation unfolding in Afghanistan.

Respondents across the sample generally reported favorable views of how their own country handled the pandemic, and expressed optimism that various rules and restrictions related to the pandemic will be lifted. Our results also suggest that belief in the importance of global cooperation survived the pandemic, with most countries continuing to rate global organizations like the UN favorably. At the same time, respondents in many countries in the sample expressed concern about the rise of China as a global power.

Respondents across the sample associate the United Nations with various core elements of its mission, and also agree that, in general, it is better for countries to cooperate to solve the world's problems. Those same respondents also say the United Nations is not necessarily best suited to handle the upcoming problems of the world over the next decade. This suggests that faith in the importance of global cooperation remains strong, but also that leading nations and institutions must work together to address the problems of today and the future.

Appendix A: Sampling and Weighting Methodology

This report is based on 19,176 interviews conducted by YouGov on the internet among respondents in various countries. In constructing this sample, YouGov selected respondents who were representative of the various populations available to them within each of the following countries:

- The Argentina sample (n = 1,064) is nationally representative and weighted according to age, gender, and region. The project was fielded in localized Spanish.
- Responses in Brazil (n = 1,014) are nationally representative and weighted according to age, gender, education, and region. It was fielded in localized Portuguese.
- The Canada sample (n = 1,012) is representative of Canadian voters and was weighted according to age, gender, education, region, and 2019 vote choice. The project was fielded in French Canadian and Canadian English.
- The French sample (n = 1,042) is representative of French voters and was weighted according to gender, age, urban/rural status, education, region, and 2017 Presidential vote. The project was fielded in French.
- The German sample (n = 1,009) is representative of German voters and was weighted according to gender, age, education, state, party identification, and political interest. The project was fielded in German.
- The sample from Indonesia (n = 1,087) is representative of online respondents in that country and was weighted based on demographic variables like age, gender, region, marital status, and socioeconomic status. The project was fielded in Bahasa.
- The sample from India (n = 1,016) is representative of online respondents in that country and was weighted based on demographic variables like age, gender, religion, and region. The project was fielded in localized English.
- The sample from Japan (n = 1,073) is nationally representative and was weighted according to age, gender, and region. The project was fielded in Japanese.
- The Poland sample (n = 1,005) is representative of voters in that country and was weighted according to region, 2019 vote, age, gender, education, and political interest. It was fielded in Polish.
- The South Korea sample (n = 1,032) is nationally representative of that country and was weighted according to age, region, and gender. It was fielded in Korean.
- The sample from Tunisia (n = 507) is representative of online respondents and was weighted according to age and gender. It was fielded in Arabic.
- The sample from the United Kingdom (n = 1,082) is representative of voters in that country and was weighted according to age, gender, education, past vote, political attention, and respondents' social grade. It was fielded in localized English.
- The United States sample (n = 1,037) is representative of US registered voters and was weighted according to gender, age, race/ethnicity, education, US census region, and both 2016 and 2020 Presidential vote choice. The project was fielded in English.
- The sample from Kenya (n = 1,002, fielded in localized English), Mexico (n = 1,009, fielded in localized Spanish), Russia (n = 1,026, fielded in Russian), Turkey (n = 1,007,

fielded in Turkish), Nigeria (n = 1,036, fielded in localized English), and South Africa (n = 1,050, fielded in localized English) is representative of online respondents in each of those countries and was weighted based on demographic variables like age, gender, and region.