



Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) commissioned YouGov to field a twelve-country survey concerning multilateralism and other global political issues. The survey included approximately 1,000 respondents each from Brazil, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Russia, South Africa, Turkey, and the United States. Here, we analyze the results.

Executive summary

- The COVID-19 pandemic dominates the concerns of every country in the sample, followed by climate change and global human rights
- Respondents say global events have a direct and largely negative impact on their lives
 - More ideologically conservative respondents were more likely to feel this way, and respondents who felt this way also said the COVID-19 pandemic showed the world was too connected
- Respondents across countries generally think that their country's involvement with international organizations should increase in order for their country to become stronger after the pandemic
- All but four of the least-trusting countries believe that global organizations have had a positive impact. While respondents typically felt that global events had a negative impact on their country, they did not generally feel this way about global organizations
- Respondents tend to agree that countries should cooperate to tackle the world's biggest problems instead of opting out of global organizations like the United Nations
- When asked about their views about specific international organizations, respondents tended to report favorable views of the organizations of which their country was a member state
- Respondents believe the United Nations impacts their countries in positive ways
- When pressed, respondents across the sample said they were concerned their countries had given up too much sovereignty to various global organizations. They also express concerns about the cost to national sovereignty of joining major political institutions
- Those who identify as more to the right on the political spectrum express more pessimistic views about the United Nations
- We do not find evidence that respondents across the sample prefer working with like-minded countries over working with countries generally
- Respondents across the sample, generally speaking, said that the United States was not currently showing leadership on a vast variety of issues polled. US respondents themselves held mixed views about US leadership on these issues
- Strong majorities of respondents across the sample say that they think the incoming Biden Administration both *will* and *should* rejoin the Paris Climate Accord. Likewise, pluralities of respondents say that the incoming Administration both *will* and *should* rejoin the Iran Nuclear Deal.





The pandemic: COVID-19 dominates concerns

Key takeaways

- COVID-19, climate change, and human rights dominate global concerns
- Likely due to the pandemic, respondents associate global events with negative outcomes in their own lives
- Respondents tend to believe that the pandemic had on net shown that the world is too connected
- Respondents across countries generally think that their country's involvement with international organizations should increase in order for their country to become stronger after the pandemic.

Our survey asked respondents to rank the top three biggest concerns the world was facing from a set of options including:

- 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
- Helping the world with changes caused by new technology like artificial intelligence
- Promoting gender equity
- Holding large corporations accountable

COVID-19 predominated among these concerns. Dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic was the top concern in each country in our sample, with over 30 percent of respondents in each country—except France—selecting COVID-19 as the biggest issue the world was facing. After COVID-19, most countries' second highest priority was climate change, or the protection of human rights.

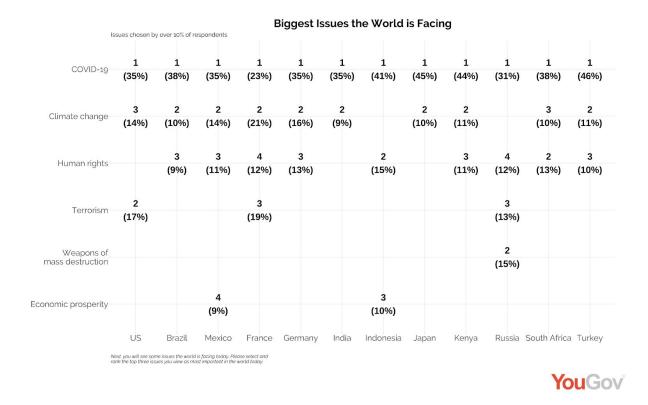
Within countries, controlling for various demographic factors, these concerns are broadly shared. Generally speaking, men, women, those with higher and lower levels of education, those who follow politics closely and not closely, are older or younger, etc., each worry most about COVID-19 and beyond that are split between climate change and the protection of human rights.

The following chart shows the top few concerns of respondents in each country in our sample. For brevity, we include responses that more than ten percent of respondents selected in each country. For example, the cell in the top left shows that the top ranked concern of voters in the US, with 35 percent of US respondents selecting COVID-19 as their top concern. In that same





column, we see that 17 percent of American respondents listed "Keeping the world safe from terrorism or rogue nations" as their biggest concern, followed narrowly by climate change (the difference between 17 percent showing concern for terrorism and 14 percent for climate change is not statistically meaningful). Across most countries, large pluralities say COVID-19 is their biggest concern.



Younger voters in France were slightly more likely to prioritize climate change as a top concern. About 24 percent of French voters under thirty-five ranked climate change as their top concern, tying with COVID-19. In Mexico, about 17 percent of respondents under thirty-five ranked climate change as their top concern compared to about 14 percent of the overall sample. Elsewhere, differences were within 1-2 percentage points across age groups. In each case, concern for other issues paled in comparison to concerns about the pandemic.

In several countries in the sample, including France, Germany, Japan, and Mexico, respondents who said they were further to the left were more likely to include climate change and human rights in their top concerns. In other places, self-reported political ideology did not play as strong of a role in predicting their priorities.

In the wake of this global pandemic, it is probably not surprising to see that large majorities of respondents tended to agree that global events had a direct impact on their lives and





community.¹ The narrowest exceptions included Indonesia and France, where only about a net +11 percentage point of respondents agreed in each country that global events had a direct impact on their lives. Within France and Indonesia, lower shares of respondents overall who say they pay a lot of attention to the news also say they believe global events impact their daily lives.

In the case of Indonesia, this may be because a lower share of respondents say they pay a lot of attention to the news—just 17 percent say they do so "most of the time," compared to a survey-wide average of 34 percent. In France, however, the statistical relation between paying attention to the news and having attitudes about global events is not as high as in other countries. About as many French respondents report paying a lot of attention to the news as do those in other countries (about 39 percent). Generally, we will show that while respondents in most countries care more about globalism the more they pay attention to the news, respondents from France were the exception.

In many cases, French respondents who reported they supported Emmanuel Macron in the most recent election also reported higher general awareness of multilateralism, of how world events relate to their own lives, and were generally more "global" in their thinking. About 58 percent of Macron supporters reported they felt global events had a direct impact on their lives, compared to about 44 percent of those who supported another candidate in France's most recent election.

¹ We asked respondents,

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

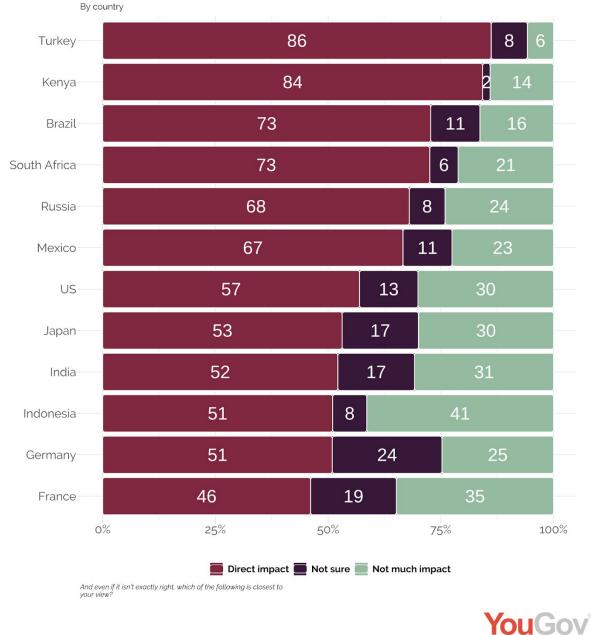
<1> For better or for worse, events going on around the world have a direct impact on my life and my community

<2> While it may impact others, events going on around the world don't have much impact on my life and my community <3> Not sure





Impact of Global Events



Similarly, respondents from most countries tended to believe that the pandemic had shown that the world is too connected.² Across the sample, respondents tended to be more likely to report

<2> The COVID-19 pandemic shows that the world is not connected enough, with many countries unable to effectively coordinate their response to the pandemic

² We asked respondents,

When it comes to your country's experience with COVID-19, even if it isn't exactly right, which of the following is closest to your view? <1> The COVID-19 pandemic shows that the world is too connected, with the flow of people making the spread of disease too fast and deadly

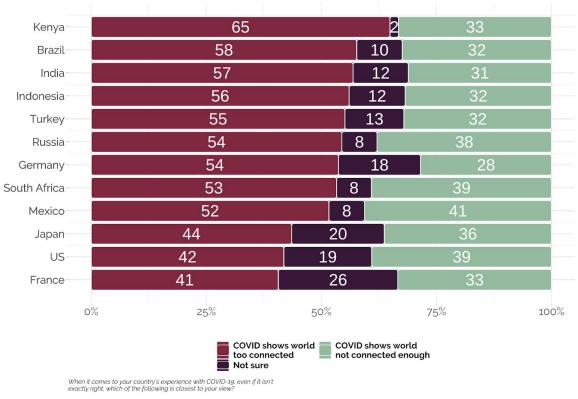
<3> Not sure





that the pandemic made them feel that the flow of people made the pandemic too easy to spread instead of saying that the pandemic had shown the world is not connected enough.

In countries like the US, for example, controlling for other factors, this view was driven by ideological conservatives and those who did not have a college degree. Among German respondents, who felt less that global events had an impact on their lives than other respondents, this number was driven upward by older voters and by male respondents. Accounting for those factors, party identification had less of a role among French and German respondents than among American respondents. Notably, self-reported political ideology did not play much of a role in predicting responses to this item outside of the United States. Turkey is the only other country where this relationship holds as well, controlling for other factors.



Coronavirus Shows Too Connected or Not Connected Enough



In the midst of the Coronavirus pandemic, it is probably not surprising that respondents generally tended to report that global events had a negative impact in their lives. With the exceptions of Kenya, India, and Indonesia, respondents on net felt that global events had a more negative than positive impact on their lives. In an era defined by a global pandemic, this result is expectable.





This result also generally correlates with the belief that global events have an impact on ones' life. Across the full sample, about 32 percent of respondents reported believing both that global events had a direct impact on their life and that those impacts have been negative. Only about 17 reported both that global events had a direct impact on their lives and that those impacts were mostly positive. Respondents who didn't think global events had much impact on their lives were evenly split between whether these events had a positive or negative impact, at about 8 percent each. The rest were unsure how they felt one way or the other.

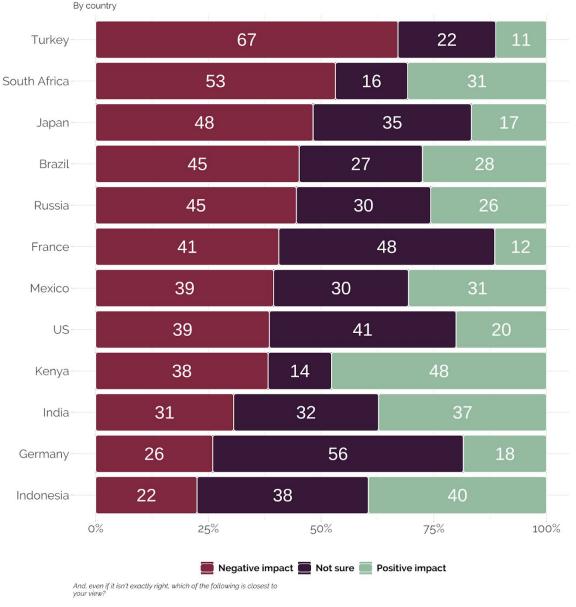
In most countries, controlling for other factors, respondents who reported they paid more attention to the news reported more belief that global events had a positive impact on their lives overall rather than negative. In many of those cases, the effects were small. In the US, Democratic voters were more likely to report global events had a positive impact on their lives, as were Macron supporters among French respondents. Among German respondents, party identification did not predict pessimism or optimism toward global events, controlling for other factors. In each case, respondents who reported they paid more attention to the news were optimistic about the impact of global events.

Notably, German respondents were also much less likely to report global events had a negative impact on their lives than they were to report that the pandemic showed the world was too connected, or that global events had a direct impact on their lives. Kenya, India, and Indonesia share these "optimism gaps."





Global Events Positive or Negative



YouGov

Similarly, respondents on net across the sample felt their country had become too involved in global affairs lately.³ In each country in the sample, respondents on net were more likely to say

<1> Lately, my country has become too involved in the affairs of other countries, and our government should focus more on our country's own affairs

³ We asked voters,

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

<2> Lately, my country has felt too closed off from the rest of the world, and our government should work with its friends and allies to tackle our problems

<3> Not sure





they believed their country was too involved in global affairs lately than to say their country was too closed off lately. The pattern of responses here does not appear to follow the pattern of the closed-ness or openness of any of the countries in the sample. For example, Russia, which is widely considered more of a closed society compared to many others, produced the highest share of respondents who reported feeling their country was too involved in world affairs recently. Notably, the American countries in our sample - the US, Mexico, and Brazil - were each split on the question of whether their country was too involved or too closed off.

In Mexico, respondents who reported they paid a lot of attention to the news reported feeling their country was too involved in global politics, as did respondents in Germany. However, this correlation does not hold in most of the rest of the sample, where news attention and feeling one way or the other on this item did not correlate.





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6		12 22	25	36 37	19 15	
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		22	36	32	1	
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			28 50%	28	28 35 50% 75%	28 35

Country Too Involved or Too Closed Off

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



But at the same time, all but four least trusting countries believe on net global organizations have had a positive impact.⁴ While respondents typically felt that global events had a negative impact on their country, they did not generally feel this way about global organizations. In the next section, we will explore the role respondents want global organizations play in recovering from the pandemic and dealing with other problems like climate change.

⁴ We asked voters,

And, generally speaking, would you say global organizations have had a [positive or negative] impact, or are you unsure?

<1> Mostly positive impact

<2> More positive than negative impact

<3> More negative than positive impact <4> Mostly negative impact

<5> Not sure





Respondents want more involvement in global organizations as a means of recovering from the pandemic

Key takeaways

- While respondents typically felt that global events had a negative impact on their country, they did not generally feel this way about global organizations.
- Respondents tend to agree that countries should cooperate to tackle the world's biggest problems instead of opting out of global organizations like the United Nations

At the same time, when it comes to facing the COVID-19 crisis, respondents across countries generally think that their country should become *more* involved in global organizations in order for their country to become stronger after the pandemic.⁵ Strong majorities for every country in the study think that their countries should ensure that they are closer with global organizations that deal with pandemics (ranging from 92 percent in Kenya to 59 percent in the United States), ensure good relations with the global community (ranging from 92 percent in Kenya to 65 percent in the United States), and fostering good relations with their neighbors (ranging from 90 percent in Kenya to 63 percent in Japan).

In line with our previous findings concerning the world's interconnectedness, strong pluralities of respondents across countries say their nation should focus less on immigration-related reforms (ranging from 64 percent in Russia, to 38 percent in Brazil). On this particular issue, respondents were more hesitant to say this would help their country grow stronger after the pandemic. Overall, these results show that, although respondents might see the COVID-19 crisis as a potential consequence of globalization, they also might look to the international world order to help steer their countries out of the crisis.

The following chart breaks out the issues respondents believed their countries should focus on in order to grow back stronger after the pandemic. In most countries, respondents wanted less focus on immigration and on military spending, and more focus on issues like healthcare, global relations, and global organizations. Notably, this did not correlate much with attitudes toward global events overall. This suggests that respondents were capable of disentangling questions about *events* and questions about *issues*. Even though respondents were clearly pessimistic

- -Ensuring our country has good relations with its neighbors
- -Ensuring our country has good relations with the global community
- -Ensuring we are closer with the global organizations that help deal with pandemics
- -Ensuring our country is respected
- -Protecting the human rights of our citizens
- -Providing our citizens access to healthcare
- -Building a strong military
- -Letting new immigrants into the country
- <1> Our country should focus on this more

⁵ In order for your country to become stronger after COVID-19, when it comes to changes it might make, should it focus [more or less] on doing each of the following?

⁻Investing more in medical research and infrastructure

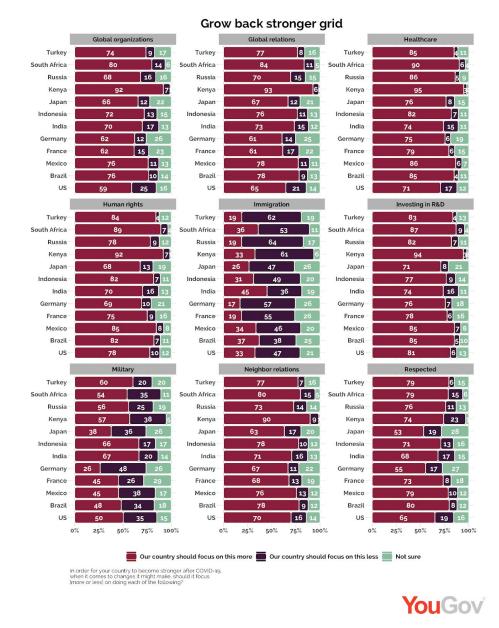
<2> Our country should focus on this less

<3> Not sure





about the state of the world and even sometimes about global organizations, large majorities across the board viewed global institutions and organizations as important components of the recovery from the pandemic, the number one issue about which respondents expressed concern.



The following graph uses age groups to break out the results of select items from this grid— "ensuring our country has good relations with its neighbors", "ensuring our country has good relations with the global community" and "ensuring we are closer with the global organizations that help deal with pandemics". Overall, respondents across age groups overwhelmingly think that their countries should focus on relationships with their neighbors, the global community, and international organizations. More than half of respondents who are 18-29 in every country





agree that their nations should focus more on international relations as a way to overcome the crisis.

	gria, by age groups								
	18-29	30-44	45-54	55-64	65*				
Neighbor relations	68 13 18	70 15 15	69 16 14	70 15 15	74 14 12				
Global relations	72 12 16	61 21 17	64 22 14	67 19 14	62 26 12 5 ⁵				
Global organizations	68 16 16	60 21 19	62 24 14	58 25 17	58 29 13				
Neighbor relations	72 13 15	78 1013	75 14 11	86 59	91 9				
Global relations	74 10 16	78 9 13	79 1010	82 99	84 16° 87				
Global organizations —	73 11 16	76 10 14	75 12 13	79 1011	86 510				
Neighbor relations	69 17 14	71 14 15	81 118	82 99	92				
Global relations	68 17 15	74 12 14	83 107	86 77	95 Mexico				
Global organizations —	70 17 13	72 10 18	84 710	79 12 9	89 8				
Neighbor relations	56 21 23	61 13 26	62 15 23	74 11 15	85 511				
Global relations	60 19 21	53 20 27	60 16 24	62 16 21	73 9 17 France				
Global organizations	52 20 29	53 18 2 9	62 18 20	67 11 22	68 10 21				
Neighbor relations	57 13 31	57 15 28	69 8 23	73 11 16	81 711 8				
Global relations	59 16 2 5	53 18 29	56 13 32	67 11 22	69 13 18 many				
Global organizations —	56 14 30	53 20 27	59 9 32	68 9 23	75 7 18				
Neighbor relations	67 20 13	73 16 11	74 17 10	72 7 20	83 12				
Global relations	68 18 14	73 16 12	80 <mark>11</mark> 9	82 612	88 10				
Global organizations —	69 17 14	68 20 12	77 12 11	77 9 14	81 217				
Neighbor relations	74 14 12	80 515	84 88	96	80 20 3				
Global relations	75 12 13	77 7 15	85 87	83 13	80 200 Indonesia				
Global organizations	71 14 15	71 11 19	81 711	78 <mark>13</mark> 9	80 200				
Neighbor relations	55 19 26	58 19 22	66 19 15	65 20 16	69 14 18				
Global relations	56 14 30	63 14 22	65 16 19	75 12 13	72 9 19 Jap				
Global organizations	54 16 30	61 11 28	65 18 17	68 12 20	74 10 17				
Neighbor relations	54 26 20 -	70 15 16	75 11 14	80 911	90 5-				
Global relations	56 23 21	67 19 14	69 15 1 6	76 10 14	80 1010 Russia				
Global organizations	60 22 18	66 17 17	63 20 17	73 13 13	81 811				
Neighbor relations	80 13 7	83 13	75 18 7	79 17	74 22 0				
Global relations	81 14 5	89 7	80 118	84 12	74 22 South 83 116 Africa 75 18 7				
Global organizations	76 15 8	85 12	79 1110	84 106	75 18 7 ^{fri} ca				
Neighbor relations	68 <mark>11</mark> 21 -	77 6 17	86 86	84 412	96				
Global relations	70 10 21	76 6 17	77 1310	85 511	93 K				
Global organizations	72 10 18	68 10 22	80 1010	84 412	89 11				

Select items from the grow back stronger grid, by age groups

0% 25% 50% 75% 100%0% 25% 50% 75% 100%0% 25% 50% 75% 100%0% 25% 50% 75% 100%0% 25% 50% 75% 100%

🧮 Our country should focus on this more 🔳 Our country should focus on this less 📒 Not sure





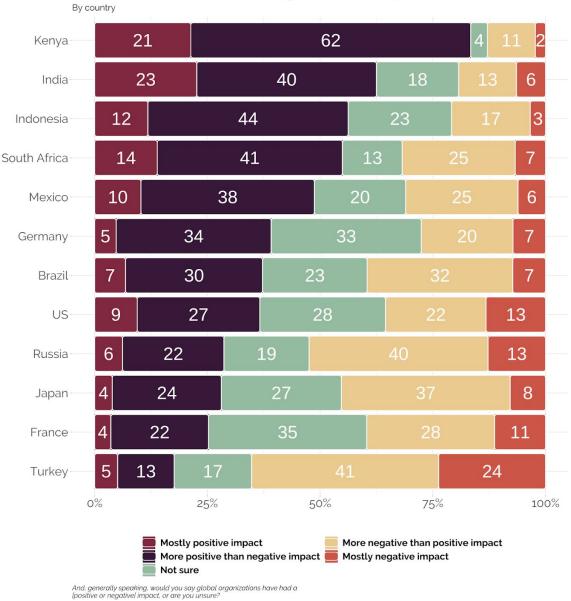


We pressed respondents further on this question by asking them what kind of impact global organizations had on their lives. We asked whether global organizations had a mostly positive, more positive than negative, more negative than positive, or mostly negative impact, or if respondents were unsure.

Though respondents tended to view global events negatively, they tended to view global organizations more favorably. On net, respondents from seven of the twelve countries in our sample reported viewing global organizations more favorably than negatively. Respondents from Kenya were conspicuously favorable toward global organizations, while respondents in France were conspicuously less so.Within the France sample, Macron supporters were slightly more likely to have a favorable view of global organizations. About 40 percent of Macron supporters viewed global organizations favorably, compared to just 26 percent of the France sample overall. In the US, Democrats were significantly more likely to say global organizations had a positive impact than were Republicans (55 percent versus 19 percent), while in Germany there was no effect related to SDP voters (42 percent of whom said global organizations had a positive impact, compared to 39 percent of the sample overall).







Global Organizations Impact

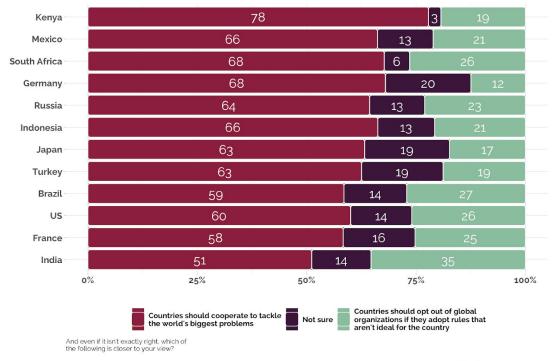


Across the sample, respondents who reported they paid more attention to the news were more likely to report believing global organizations had a positive impact on their lives. In the US, more liberal and Democratic voters were more likely to report believing global organizations had a more positive impact, as were Macron supporters in France. Party identification did not play as clear of a role in Germany, except that AfD voters were much more likely to say global organizations had a negative impact overall (60 percent, compared to 23 percent of SPD supporters and 18 percent of CDU supporters).





Respondents tend to agree that countries should cooperate to tackle the world's biggest problems instead of opting out of global organizations like the United Nations.⁶ In fact, strong majorities of respondents across all countries sampled in this study chose cooperation over opting out of international organizations. In some countries in the sample, like Germany, Russia and the United States, respondents who identified as further to the right on the political ideology scale were more likely to report they would prefer to opt out of global organizations that aren't ideal for their country. This relationship did not appear in other countries. In France, accounting for other factors, respondents who paid more attention to the news were more likely to prefer to opt out of global organizations.



Views about opting out of global organizations

YouGov

Respondents across age groups in most countries, with the exception of the United States, also agree that countries should cooperate to tackle the world's problems. The following graph breaks out the views about international organizations by age groups. In this graph, it is clear that respondents across most countries and age groups, when pressed, would choose international cooperation to tackle problems rather than opting out of those organizations if the rules are not to their liking. For example, respondents who are 18-29 in the United States have

⁶ And even if it isn't exactly right, which of the following is closer to your view?

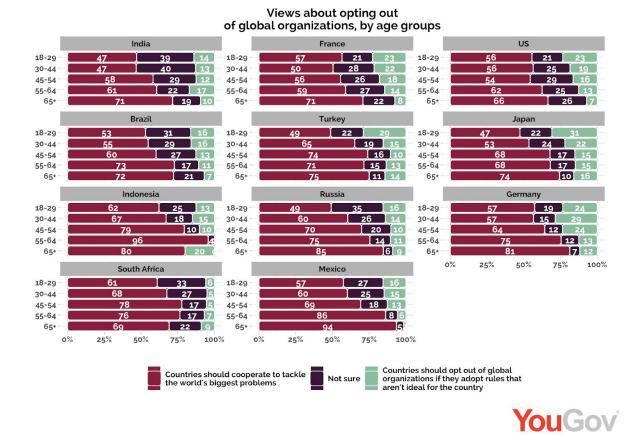
<1> If global organizations like the United Nations adopt rules that aren't ideal for a country, that country should opt out of global organizations <2> Even though no set of rules is perfect for everyone, it is important for countries to cooperate to tackle the world's biggest problems

<3 fixed> Not sure





a net pro-cooperation gap of 33 percentage points when compared to the opting-out position. Young respondents in countries like India (33 pp), France (34pp), Brazil (37pp) have similar large gaps. Even in countries with the highest pro-opt-out responses, respondents 18-29 on net favor international cooperation. This is the case in, for example, Turkey (20pp), and Japan (16 percentage points).



Respondents felt positively about the United Nations, but were unsure or less positive about others

Key takeaways

- When pressed on specific organizations, respondents tended to report favorable views of the organizations of which their country was a member state.
- Across the sample, the United Nations and the World Health Organization (WHO) emerged as particularly popular organizations
- Respondents who reported paying more attention to the news reported both higher name recognition of global organizations and higher favorability toward those organizations.





- Overall, respondents believe the United Nations impacts their countries in positive ways
- When pressed, respondents across the sample said they were concerned their countries had given up too much sovereignty to various global organizations.

When pressed on specific organizations that they might favor or disfavor, respondents tended to report favorable views of the organizations of which their country was a member state. For example, we asked respondents from France and Germany whether they held favorable views of the European Union (EU). Voters in Germany held a net favorable view of the EU, by a 49-21 margin, with the rest having no opinion or being unsure. Voters in Germany, similarly, held a net favorable view of the UN by a 48-29 margin.

On other global organizations, however, respondents were generally ambivalent. For example, about 40-45 percent of respondents from countries who were members of less well-known organizations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the Group of Twenty (G20) reported being unsure how they felt about those organizations.

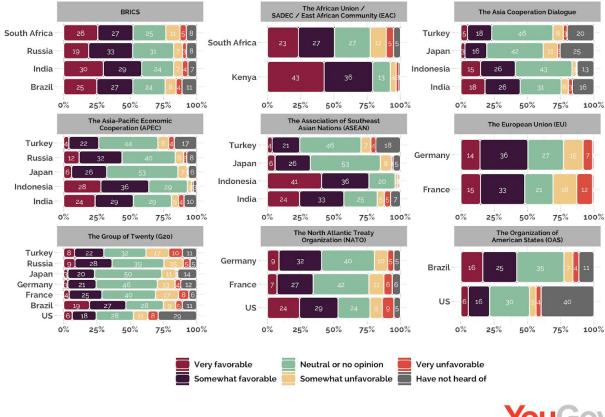
Notably, across the sample, the World Health Organization (WHO) emerged as a particularly popular organization, most likely due to its role in coordinating the global response to the COVID-19 pandemic. For example, even among respondents from Russia, who were broadly more pessimistic about global organizations than others, the WHO enjoyed a net positive 52-24 favorability rating. In Kenya, fully 78 percent of respondents held a positive view of WHO, compared to just 6 percent of respondents who held a negative view of that organization.

Though cross-country trends are in most places unreliable here as respondents were asked about different organizations depending on their country of residence, a few trends stood out. Respondents who identified as being more ideologically to the right held less favorable views of global organizations. In countries like Brazil, Germany, India, and Japan, older and more politically conservative respondents had less favorable views of global organizations. In countries, as well as in the US and Russia, respondents who reported they paid more attention to the news reported more favorable views of global organizations.⁷

⁷ Although being a member of the Organization of American States (OAS), Mexico's responses are not included here as a fielding error did not present this option to many of the Mexico respondents.







Views on different IOs (regional)



In the US case, political partisanship played a strong role in predicting approval of most organizations of which the United States is a member. For example, fully 80 percent of Democrats in the US sample said they had a favorable view of the World Health Organization, compared to just 21 percent of Republicans, unsurprising given how Donald Trump politicized the WHO in the American press. About 64 percent of US respondents approved of the United Nations, compared to just 26 percent of Republican respondents. We do not observe similar divides in other countries for the most part, though we note that among German respondents, those who support the AfD report consistently lower favorability to most any global organization.





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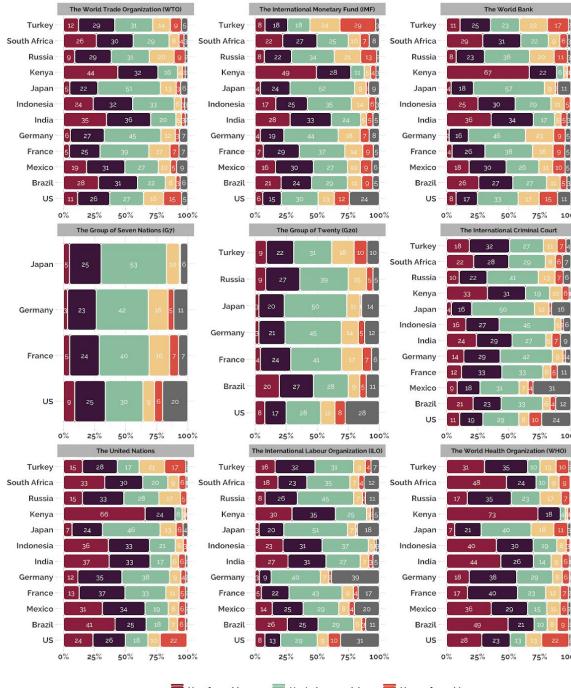
9

100%

75%

100%

75%



Views on different IOs (global)

Very favorable Somewhat favorable

Neutral or no opinion Somewhat unfavorable 📕 Have not heard of

Very unfavorable



75%



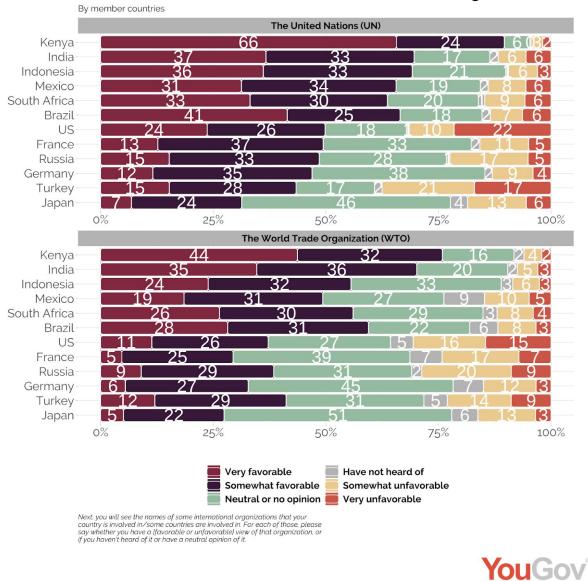


On the other hand, though they have lower name recognition, organizations associated with the global financial system tend to have lower net approval ratings. For example, while name recognition of organizations like the World Trade Organization (WTO) tends to be low, those that have heard of these organizations report lower favorability than they do of other types of organizations. Generally speaking, approval of this organization is on average about 8-10 points lower across the sample than approval of organizations with higher name recognition, namely, the United Nations. The following chart shows an illustrative example.

As in other areas, respondents who reported paying more attention to the news reported both higher name recognition of global organizations and higher favorability toward those organizations. This is true in each country in the sample, even when controlling for other demographic factors. The relatively high share of respondents reporting "Neutral or no opinion" or "have not heard of" on this item leads us to caution against overinterpretation of the results.







Favorable or Unfavorable View of International Organizations

In some countries, notably Germany and the United States, political partisanship plays a clear role in predicting support for global organizations. But overall, respondents believe the United Nations impacts their countries in positive ways. We asked respondents about a variety of aspects of the United Nations's impact on their country:

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...

- 1. Promotes human rights
- 2. Promotes peace





- 3. Promotes economic development
- 4. Promotes action on infectious diseases, like coronavirus
- 5. Promotes action on climate change
- 6. Advances the interests of countries like yours
- 7. Cares about the needs of ordinary people
- 8. Deals effectively with international problems
- 9. Is well prepared for the challenges of the next decade
- 10. Makes its members give up too much of their sovereignty
- 11. Costs my country too much of our budget
- 12. Promotes democracy

The following plot shows a few illustrative examples. For example, on net, respondents agree that the UN promotes human rights (with 63 percent agreeing and just 17 percent disagreeing) and promotes action on climate change (with 53 percent agreeing and 20 percent disagreeing). In addition, respondents were split on whether the United Nations made their nations give up too much sovereignty, by a 32-30 margin. These views vary by country. For example, in Turkey the net gap between those who agree that the UN promotes human rights and those who disagree with that statement is just 3pp, with 25 percent of respondents reporting they are unsure. In contrast, 91 percent of respondents in Kenya say that the UN promotes human rights.





	Advances the interests of countries like yours		Cares about the needs of ordinary people		Deals effectively with international problem
Turkey	18 50 32	Turkey	22 52 26	Turkey	28 42 30
South Africa	55 24 21	South Africa	63 22 15	South Africa	55 27 17
Russia	32 45 23	Russia	33 43 24	Russia	33 47 19
Kenya Japan	75 13 12 25 36 4 0	Kenya - Japan -	75 1 412 30 35 36	Kenya Japan	
Indonesia		Indonesia		Indonesia	64 12 23
India	63 1 6 21	India	62 1 8 20	India	64 18 18
Germany	34 25 41	Germany	28 35 37	Germany	39 27 34
France	31 28 41	France	23 40 36	France	29 33 3 9
Mexico Brazil	53 21 26 47 21 32	Mexico - Brazil -	55 22 23 51 23 26	Mexico Brazil	47 29 25 50 22 28
US	39 35 26	US	37 38 25	US	33 39 28
	Is well prepared for the next decade		Members give up too much sovereignty		Promotes democracy
Turkey	16 46 38	Turkey	32 26 42	Turkey	34 36 29
South Africa	43 27 31	South Africa	36 30 34	South Africa	68 15 17
Russia	25 44 31	Russia	34 30 35	Russia	44 32 24
Kenya Japan	57 17 26 22 40 38	Kenya - Japan -	29 48 22 32 24 44	Kenya Japan	
Indonesia	67 7 26	Indonesia -	35 28 37	Indonesia	67 9 23
India	58 17 25	India	47 20 33	India	66 11 23
Germany	20 36 44	Germany	27 29 44	Germany	45 19 36
France Mexico	18 38 44 35 28 37	France - Mexico -	31 22 47 22 39 39	France Mexico	43 21 36 63 17 20
Brazil		Brazil		Brazil	57 118 25
US	20 43 37	US	29 37 35	US	44 32 24
	Promotes economic development		Promotes human rights		Promotes action on climate change
Turkey	31 39 30	Turkey	39 36 25	Turkey	40 2 9 3 1
South Africa	<u>68 [16]16</u>	South Africa		South Africa	66 16 18
Russia Kenya		Russia - Kenya -	52 29 19 92 6	Russia Kenya	42 31 27 80 81
Japan	44 23 33	Japan -	50 21 29	Japan	45 24 31
Indonesia	69 0 22	Indonesia -	72 8 19	Indonesia	61 11 28
India	72 11 17	India	77 816	India	68 13 10
Germany France	42 21 37	Germany	55 16 29	Germany	38 26 36
	20 22 20	Franco	F2 [18] 20	Franco	
	39 23 39 53 23 24	France - Mexico -	52 18 30 75 11114	France Mexico	32 32 3663 17 20
Mexico Brazil	39 23 39 53 23 24 55 18 26	France Mexico Brazil	52 18 30 75 11114 67 112	France Mexico Brazil	
Mexico	53 23 24 55 18 26 47 27 25	Mexico	75 11114	Mexico	63 17 20
Mexico Brazil	53 23 24 55 18 26	Mexico Brazil	75 11 14 67 14 20	Mexico Brazil	63 17 20 54 20 26
Mexico Brazil US Turkey	532324551826472725Promotes action on infectious diseases462529	Mexico Brazil US Turkey	75 (11)14 67 (14)20 55 27 (19) Promotes peace	Mexico Brazil US Turkey	63 17 20 54 20 26 51 19 31 Too budget intensive 28 28 44
Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa	53 23 24 55 18 26 47 27 25 Promotes action on infectious diseases 46 25 29 64 20 16	Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa	75 11114 67 14 20 55 27 19 Promotes peace 37 35 27 74 1511	Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa	63 17 20 54 20 26 51 19 31 Too budget intensive 28 28 44 34 30 36
Mexico Brazil US Turkey	532324551826472725Promotes action on infectious diseases462529	Mexico Brazil US Turkey	75 (11)14 67 (14)20 55 27 (19) Promotes peace	Mexico Brazil US Turkey	63 17 20 54 20 26 51 19 31 Too budget intensive 28 28 44
Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa Russia	53 23 24 55 18 26 47 27 25 Promotes action on infectious diseases 46 25 29 64 20 16 42 33 25	Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa Russia	75 1114 67 14 20 55 27 19 Promotes peace 37 35 27 74 1511 56 25 18	Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa Russia	63 17 20 54 20 26 51 19 31 Too budget intensive 28 28 44 34 30 36 42 21 37
Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa Russia Kenya Japan Indonesia	53 23 24 55 18 26 47 27 25 Promotes action on infectious diseases 46 25 29 64 20 16 42 33 25 75 13 12 35 34 31 64 11 25 34 31	Mexico Brazil US South Africa Russia Kenya Japan Indonesia	75 1114 67 14 55 27 9 Promotes peace 37 35 27 74 1511 56 25 18 95 11 56 25 18 95 11 57 20 22 75 0 16	Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa Russia Kenya Japan Indonesia	63 17 20 54 20 26 51 19 31 Too budget intensive 34 30 36 42 21 37 39 20 53 25 47 113 39 30 31 39 31 39
Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa Russia Kenya Japan Indonesia India	53 23 24 55 18 26 47 27 25 Promotes action on infectious diseases 46 25 29 64 20 16 42 33 25 75 1312 35 34 31 64 11 25 63 21 16 25 29 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 26 25 26 26 26 26 27 1312 25 25 26 27 1312 25 26 27 1312 25 26 27 1312 25 26 21 16 25 26 21 16 25 26 21 16 25 26 21 16 25 26 21 16 25 26 21 16 25 26 21 16 25 26 21 16 25 2	Mexico Brazil US South Africa Russia Kenya Japan Indonesia	75 11 67 14 55 27 19 Promotes peace 37 35 27 15 56 25 57 20 57 20 75 016 74 115	Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa Russia Kenya Japan Indonesia India	63 17 20 54 20 26 51 19 31 Too budget intensive 28 28 44 34 30 36 42 21 37 22 53 25 47 13 39 30 31 39 45 20 35
Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa Russia Kenya Japan Indonesia Indonesia Germany	53 23 24 55 18 26 47 27 25 Promotes action on infectious diseases 46 25 29 64 20 16 42 33 25 75 1312 35 34 31 64 11 25 63 21 16 38 24 37 37	Mexico Brazil US South Africa Russia Kenya Japan Indonesia India Germany	75 11 67 14 67 14 55 27 19 Promotes peace 37 35 27 15 56 25 74 15 57 20 25 21 75 016 74 115 56 16	Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa Russia Kenya Japan Indonesia India Germany	63 17 20 54 20 26 51 19 31 Too budget intensive 28 28 44 34 30 36 42 21 37 22 53 25 47 113 39 30 31 39 45 20 35
Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa Russia Kenya Japan Indonesia India	53 23 24 55 18 26 47 27 25 Promotes action on infectious diseases 46 25 29 64 20 16 42 33 25 75 1312 35 34 31 64 11 25 63 21 16 25 29 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 25 26 25 26 26 26 26 27 1312 25 25 26 27 1312 25 26 27 1312 25 26 27 1312 25 26 21 16 25 26 21 16 25 26 21 16 25 26 21 16 25 26 21 16 25 26 21 16 25 26 21 16 25 26 21 16 25 2	Mexico Brazil US South Africa Russia Kenya Japan Indonesia	75 11 67 14 55 27 19 Promotes peace 37 35 27 15 56 25 57 20 57 20 75 016 74 115	Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa Russia Kenya Japan Indonesia India	63 17 20 54 20 26 51 19 31 Too budget intensive 28 28 44 34 30 36 42 21 37 22 53 25 47 13 39 30 31 39 45 20 35
Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa Russia Kenya Japan Indonesia India Germany France	53 23 24 55 18 26 47 27 25 Promotes action on infectious diseases 46 25 29 64 20 16 42 33 25 75 1312 35 34 31 64 11 25 63 21 16 38 24 37 31 29 40 57 19 24 58 18 25 58 18 25	Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa Russia Kenya Japan Indonesia India Germany France	75 1114 67 14 67 14 55 27 19 Promotes peace 37 35 74 1511 56 25 95 18 95 16 74 115 56 16 74 115 56 16 57 12 56 16 57 12 56 16 57 12 56 16 57 12 56 16 57 12 56 16 57 12 56 16 26 76 1112 65	Mexico Brazil US Turkey South Africa Russia Kenya Japan Indonesia India Germany France	63 17 20 54 20 26 51 19 31 Too budget intensive 28 28 44 34 30 36 42 21 37 22 53 25 47 13 39 30 31 39 45 20 35 35 24 42 28 24 49

📕 Agree 📕 Disagree 📕 Not sure







As with the question of whether respondents tend to approve or disapprove of global organizations, respondents who reported they paid a lot of attention to global events both were more likely to have an opinion about the UN (rather than saying "don't know") and to have a favorable opinion. In Japan, Germany and France, younger voters were slightly more likely to agree with positive attributes of the United Nations such as "promotes peace" and "deals effectively with international institutions." In other countries, age did not play a role in predicting views toward the United Nations. Notably, while French and Russian respondents are often more skeptical about global institutions, those respondents on net agree the UN protects human rights.





Global Organizations and National Sovereignty

Key takeaways

- Respondents in much of the sample express concerns about the cost to national sovereignty of joining major political institutions.
- Those who identify as more to the right on the political spectrum express more pessimistic views about the United Nations.
- We do not find evidence that respondents across the sample prefer working with like-minded countries over working with other countries broadly speaking.

Respondents in much of the sample, however, expressed concerns about national sovereignty when pressed on the potential costs of working with global organizations. In most countries voters are split on this question, while in France respondents agreed the UN required giving up too much sovereignty by a 31-22 margin. Within the France sample, older respondents and respondents who supported candidates other than Macron were slightly more likely to express this concern.

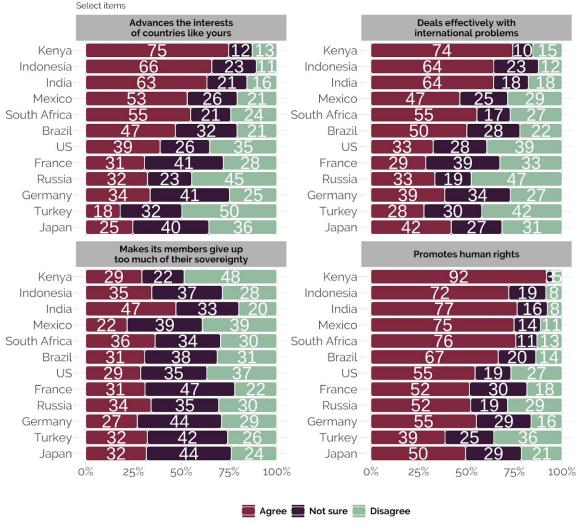
In most of the countries in the sample - including Kenya, where support for the United Nations is generally very high, and Russia, where support for the United Nations is generally lower - those who identify as more to the right on the political spectrum express more pessimistic views about the United Nations. Among countries in the sample, this effect is the weakest in Japan, where attitudes toward the United Nations are generally lower.

Indeed when pressed, respondents across the sample said they were concerned their countries had given up too much sovereignty to various global organizations. Large majorities of respondents in India, South Africa, Kenya, France, and Brazil agreed with this concern. Notably, despite a widely assumed turn toward isolationism in recent years, voters in the US were split on this item and respondents in Russia on net disagreed, by a 31-46 margin.

Among respondents from Germany, younger respondents were slightly less likely to feel this way, as were SDP supporters. Among respondents from France, Macron supporters were less likely to feel that way, while respondents who paid a lot of attention to the news were *more* likely to feel that way. In the US, respondents who identified as liberal or as Democrats were also less likely to feel this way. Notably, in Russia, where respondents largely disagreed that they'd given up too much sovereignty, those who did were disproportionately high news-attention respondents.







United Nations reputation

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



Indeed, when pressed on which countries or organizations they trusted more, respondents tended to choose the United Nations over other possible choices including The United States, China, Russia, The European Union, or another organization.⁸ Respondents from India and Brazil were split between trusting the United Nations most and trusting the United States most, with 30 percent of respondents from India preferring the US and 26 percent preferring the UN, and 27 percent from Brazil preferring the US and 25 percent preferring the UN. Notably, no more than 5 percent of respondents from any country reported having the most trust in China.

⁸ Respondents were not asked about their own countries. For example, respondents from the US were not shown the option, "The United States."



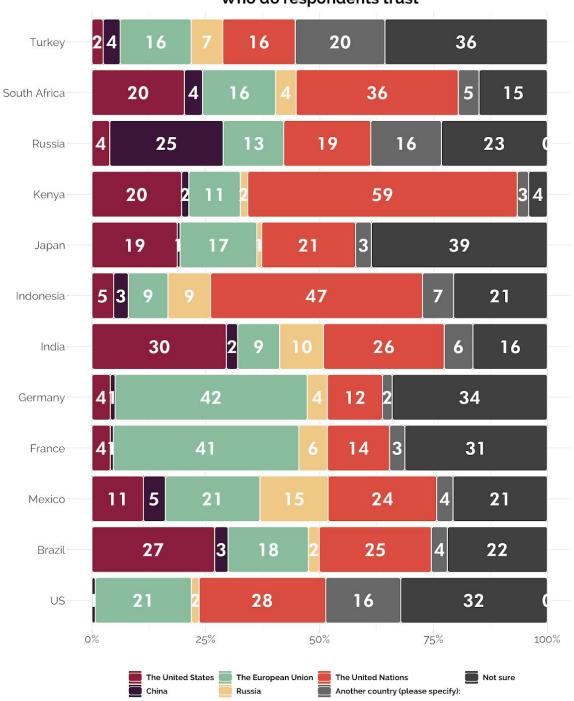


Indeed, in many countries, the United States ranks fairly low as a source of trust among non-US respondents. For example, only 2 percent of respondents in Turkey, and 4 percent of respondents in Russia say that they trust the United States to do what's right in international affairs. But this finding is repeated even among US allies like Germany (4 percent), France (4 percent), Mexico (11 percent), and Japan (19 percent). This highlights the potential difficult international arena that the Biden Administration will likely have to face when it comes to American standing in the world.

On the upside, international organizations like the European Union and the United Nations ranked highly among respondents across countries. For example, 59 percent of respondents in Kenya said that they trust the UN to do the right thing, alongside 47 percent of respondents in Indonesia, 36 percent in South Africa, 28 percent in the United States, and 26 percent in India. Similarly, the European Union ranks fairly highly among member states like Germany and France, while competing with the United Nations in Mexico, the United States, and Brazil.







Who do respondents trust

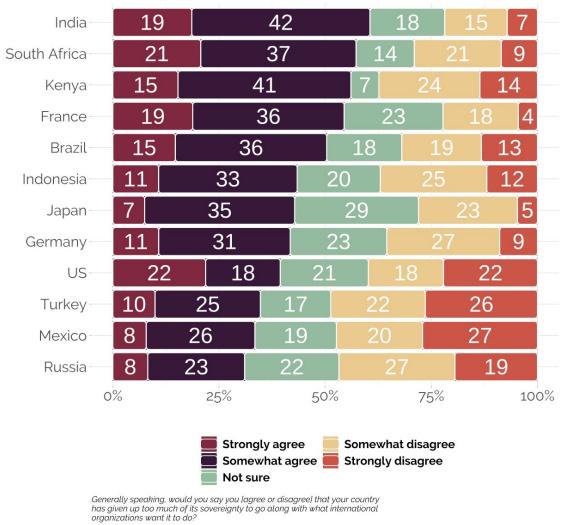
Generally speaking, when it comes to international affairs, who do you trust most to do the right thing?

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In much of the rest of the sample, factors like news attention did not predict concern for national sovereignty one way or the other. In most of the countries where we asked where respondents fell on the political spectrum, those to the right were more likely to agree their country had given up too much sovereignty. The only exception was Turkey, where political ideology did not play a role in predicting responses to this item.



Country Has Given Up Too Much Sovereignty

Although respondents expressed concerns about sovereignty from various different directions, they were split on whether this concern implied countries should prioritize with like minded

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allies.⁹ We do not find evidence that respondents across the sample prefer working with like-minded countries. The only countries where large majorities prioritize working with like-minded countries, India and Russia, are strongly dominated by single-party systems.

Within countries, we find that those who are more on the "right" end of the political spectrum are generally more likely to say they believe their country should work with like-minded allies. In countries like India and Russia, where steady majorities of respondents agree that their respective countries should prioritize working with allies who are like-minded, we do not observe this correlation. Among respondents from France and Germany, we find that those who report they pay more attention to the news are more likely to agree that their countries should prioritize working with like-minded allies. In the US, respondents who identify as more politically conservative are more likely to agree with this as well. In France, we observe this among respondents who voted for a candidate other than Macron in the 2017 elections.

Respondents who felt their countries should prioritize working with like-minded countries were also more likely to say they thought the pandemic proved the world was too interconnected, and were more likely to say they believed their country was too involved in global affairs. In many countries, particularly France, Japan, Russia, and the US, these attitudes are broadly shared by more conservative respondents.

<1> Even if other countries hold very different values, it is important for my country to cooperate with other countries that will help mine with its goals <2> I would prefer my country prioritized cooperating with countries with similar values and beliefs to my own country

⁹ We asked respondents,

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

<3> Not sure





Kenya	66			1	33				
Turkey	66			1	1 23				
Mexico	62			9	29				
Brazil	56		11	L	33				
Indonesia	55		7						
South Africa	52	4		44					
Japan —	48		21		31				
US	45	13			42				
France	41	16			43				
Germany	40	22		38					
India —	39	12	2 49						
Russia	36 8	3	56						
09	% 25%	50%			75%	100%			
Important to advance our goals Values Not sure									

Should Country Work With Similar Countries or All Countries

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



Similarly, more conservative respondents were more likely to report they believed democratic countries should have their own international institutions.¹⁰ We asked respondents if some countries, specifically democracies, should have their own venues in which to cooperate and coordinate. Broadly, while more conservative respondents favored this idea, there was little difference between respondents from more democratic or less democratic countries overall.

On net, respondents from every country agreed there should be fora for democratic countries. Notably, respondents who pay more attention to the news also report being more favorable toward creating institutions just for democracies, even controlling for other factors like their political affiliation. While we made no effort to classify countries by their level of democracy, we

<3> Somewhat oppose <4> Strongly oppose

¹⁰ We asked respondents:

Currently, many different kinds of countries, including democracies as well as less free societies, meet and vote in international institutions like the United Nations as equals. Would you [support or oppose] democratic countries creating institutions of their own, to make major decisions amongst themselves?

<1> Strongly support <2> Somewhat support

<2> Somewhat support <3> Somewhat oppose

<4> Strongly oppo

<5> Not sure





note that support for unique fora for democracies is not limited by any sort of governing system under which respondents in our survey live.

Kenya —			34		3	13	14		
Turkey	29	9	27			23	1	2 8	3
South Africa	28	3	3	6		12	16	6	3
India	26	38	3		16	1	3 8	3	
Mexico	24	38			20		11	6	
Brazil	21	33		2	22	15	9		
Indonesia	16		34		24	1	19		7
US	15		32		3	2] 1	.4	7
Russia	15]	41		23			5	7	
Germany	13	37		(30	1	L3	6	
France	7)		31	L		5	7	
Japan	7		28			25	3	8 –	
05	26	25%		50%		75	%		100%
 Strongly support Somewhat oppose Somewhat support Strongly oppose Not sure 									
as less United	s free societies, m I Nations as equa	neet and vote in als. Would you l	ntries, including den international institu support or opposel ake major decisions	itions like th democratio	ne : countrie	25 25?			
							Yc	bu (Gov

Democratic Fora

At the same time, modest pluralities of respondents from each country supported devising new institutions broadly as an alternative to the United Nations.¹¹ Generally speaking, these are the

¹¹ We asked respondents,

<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

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

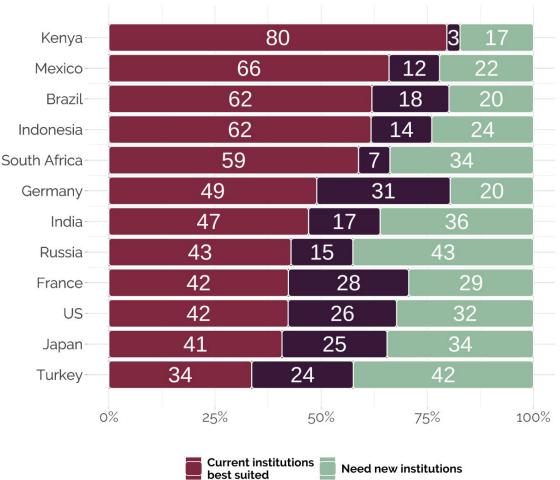
<2> Existing global institutions like the United Nations are inadequate to today's problems, and a new set of global institutions is needed <3> Not sure





same respondents from each country who said that membership in the United Nations cost their country too much of its sovereignty.

The respondents who agreed that a new set of institutions should replace the United Nations were generally skeptical of both global events and global institutions, and so it is not clear they are expressing a desire for new global institutions so much as expressing dissatisfaction with those that exist. Those respondents tend to be further to the right politically, and to support more conservative candidates in the US, France, and Germany.



Is United Nations Out of Date

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

Not sure







Finally, we note that the fear of loss of sovereignty outweighs other concerns respondents might have about global organizations. We included a variety of items measuring attitudes toward other countries, including rising powers that are likely to seek influence in these same organizations. For example, we asked respondents if they felt that new rising economies were likely to benefit their own countries as a potential trading partner, or to threaten their countries as a potential source of competition.¹² On net, respondents from every country in the sample but Turkey agreed that they were more likely to benefit from working with countries that were growing wealthier and more powerful than believed they would inevitably come into conflict.

Within countries, respondents further to the right on the political spectrum were more likely to report believing their country would inevitably come into conflict with rising countries. For example, in France, about 25 percent of respondents who identified as on the political left agreed that rising powers would lead to inevitable conflict, up to 40 percent of those on the right side of the political spectrum. In Turkey, where pessimism about rising powers was higher across the board, political ideology did not play much of a role, and the political spectrum relationship was reversed. Fully 65 percent of those on the left felt that rising powers posed more of a threat than a potential benefit, compared to 30 percent of those on the right.

¹² We asked respondents,

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

<1> My country is likely to benefit from more trade and cooperation with other countries that are growing wealthier and more developed

<2> My country is likely to come into conflict with other countries that are growing wealthier and more developed

<3> Not sure





Kenya		82				<mark>3</mark> 15				
South Africa		72			9	19				
Indonesia	64	ļ			18	18				
Mexico	62	62				22				
Russia	59	59			j	23				
India	56	56				29				
US	49		2	23		28				
Brazil	49		2	2		29				
Germany	45	45 39				16				
Japan	42		28							
France	33		39			27				
Turkey	33	20			47					
05	% 25%	50	0%		75%		100%			
Likely to benefit Likely to come										

Conflict or Cooperate With New Growing Countries

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

Not sure







Key takeaways

- Respondents across the sample, generally speaking, said that the United States was not showing leadership on a vast variety of issues polled.
- US respondents themselves held mixed views about US leadership on these issues.
- Evaluations of US leadership in various areas do not necessarily depend on whether respondents come from a country that has generally adversarial relations with the United States.
- In most cases, respondents across the countries in our sample believed Joe Biden would show a great deal more leadership on global issues than Donald Trump has

We also asked respondents a variety of items about US politics and the incoming Biden Administration. We asked respondents about US leadership on a variety of issues:

And when it comes to the following areas, would you say the United States is more of a leader or is not showing any leadership? <1> Protecting human rights around the world <2> Dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic <3> Expanding economic prosperity around the world <4> Keeping the world safe from terrorism or rogue nations <5> Protecting democratic freedoms around the world <6> Combating climate change <7> Protecting the rights of minorities and vulnerable populations <8> Proventing the proliferation of weapones of mass destruction

<8> Preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction

<9> Helping the world with changes caused by new technology like artificial intelligence

On each issue, across the sample, the US received mix results. On each of these issues, overall, more respondents said the US was "not showing leadership" than said the US was "showing a great deal of leadership." On each of these issues, more respondents said the US was showing no leadership than was showing a great deal of leadership.

Notably, US respondents themselves held mixed views about US leadership on these issues. Indeed, controlling for other factors, US respondents only felt the US was showing more leadership on "dealing with the COVID-19 pandemic" (31 percent in the US compared to 19 percent overall). On several of these issues, respondents from Kenya held statistically significantly higher views of US leadership than did respondents from the US.

While it is probably not surprising to find that respondents from Russia were more pessimistic about US leadership to a statistically detectable degree, we also find that respondents from France, Germany, Japan, Mexico, and Turkey tended to be more pessimistic about US





leadership than those from India, Indonesia, Kenya, South Africa, or from the US itself. Indeed, on the item "keeping the world safe from terrorism," about as many respondents from France (11 percent) and Germany (13 percent) thought the US showed "a great deal of leadership" as did those from Russia (13 percent).

In other words, evaluations of US leadership in various areas do not necessarily depend on whether respondents come from a country that has generally adversarial relations with the United States. Perhaps due to the unique political context of the most recent generation of US political leadership, which has been openly antagonistic toward various elements of the existing world order, respondents from across the political spectrum and across the sample may take a more dim view of US leadership. Whatever the cause, our data suggest that both allies and adversaries perceive a leadership deficit from the United States on a host of issues the world is facing.





Helping world with changes caused by new technlogy	21	34		26						
Preventing spread of WMDs	20	26	3	38						
Protecting vulnerable populations	18	27	3	39						
Combating climate change	15	26	4	2						
Protecting democratic freedoms	20	32		33	16					
Keeping the world safe	25	32		29						
Expanding economic prosperity	19	30		36						
Dealing with COVID-19	18	23	4	5	14					
Human rights	19	29		37	15					
C)%	25%	50%	75%	10	0%				
Showing a great deal of leadership Not showing leadership Not sure										

United States leadership

And when it comes to the following areas, would you say the United States is more of a leader or is not showing any leadership?



The following chart breaks out views of US leadership by each country in the sample. Respondents from the Kenya sample are consistently more optimistic about US leadership than are those from other countries, while respondents from France, Germany, and Turkey are consistently more pessimistic. Across the sample, respondents do not show much variety in their ratings of US leadership - respondents who felt the US was showing leadership on one issue tended to feel that way about the other items we asked about.

Within countries, respondents who identified as further to the right on the political spectrum were more likely to agree that the US showed great leadership in a given area, but there was no





apparent variation by issue. In other words, more ideologically rightwing respondents were more likely to view the US as a leader along most every issue we included.

			Views a	about US	leadership,	by country			
		ombating nate change			aling with the D-19 pandemic			conomic prospend the world	rity
Turkey	a 18	55 22	Turkey	914	60 🚺	6 Turkey	913	60 🔰	18
South Africa	24	39 🛛 27 🔟	South Africa	28	29 35	South Africa	25	40 27	8
Russia	9 23	49 19	Russia	8 19	59	15 Russia	14 27	48	12
Kenya	34	44 18 🕻	Kenya	39	30 27	Kenya	39	45 1	2
Japan	20	57 17	Japan	21	59	14 Japan	12 39	31 1	8
Indonesia	21 20	26 24	Indonesia	21 2	6 33 🛛	🔵 – Indonesia	22 28	3 29 2	21
India -	28	37 18 16	India	26	36 23	14 – India	29	35 20	16]
Germany	12	64 19	Germany	712	64 📘	7 Germany	7 20	50 2	2
France	13	63 20	France	1 7	562	1 France	9 23	43 26	6]-
Mexico	13 28	48 📶	Mexico	16 25	49	Mexico	17 30	43	10
Brazil	20 27	2 34 20	Brazil	26	28 30 [6 Brazil	26 3	<u>31</u> 26 1	17
US	18 23	45 14	US	31	19 42	8- US	23 28	3 34	15
	Keeping terrorisn	world safe from n/rogue nations		Pre p	venting WMD roliferation		Protecting de	emocratic freedo	oms
Turkey	1010	64 [16]	Turkey	912	59 2	O Turkey	1015	57 1	8
South Africa	32	37 23 🧕	South Africa	26	37 27	🚺 – South Africa	23 4	10 27	10-
Russia	13 28	45 14	Russia	10 20	55	14 Russia	16 30	40	14 -
Kenya	47	40 10	Kenya	39	37 17	Kenya	38	41 10	6
Japan -	17 4	5 24 15	Japan	10 30	45	6 Japan	11 42	30	16 -
Indonesia	27 2	27 26 20	Indonesia	24 2	4 28 2	4 Indonesia	23 3	1 24 2	2
India	32	34 19 14	India	30	33 19 1	9 India	30	38 18	14 -
Germany	13 31	36 20	Germany	8 20	50 2	Germany	8 23	45 2	3
France	<u>11 36</u>	31 22	France	8 21	47 2	3 France	7 27	40 26	6
Mexico	22 3	2 34 12	Mexico	16 22	50	11 Mexico	15 31	41	13-
Brazil	38	32 15 16	Brazil	26 2	24 30 2	O Brazil	28	30 24 1	8 -
US	38	31 23 9	US	30	28 28	1 <u>3</u> - Us	28	30 30	12
	Protectin	ng human rights			ting minorities & able populations		Technology	y-related change	es
Turkey	915	58 18	Turkey	814	60 🚺	8 Turkey	15 30	31 2	5
South Africa	25	37 🛛 29 🚨	South Africa	23	37 32	8 South Africa	25	39 24	12-
Russia	14 28	43 14	Russia	22	32 29 1	7 Russia	13 32	35 2	0
Kenya	39	37 21	Kenya	36	35 25	- Kenya	40	40 1	37-
Japan	9 35	39 17	Japan	8 32	39 2	1 Japan	18 4	.6 🛛 19 🚺	17
Indonesia	21 28	3 30 22	Indonesia	20 25	5 34 2	1 Indonesia	26	34 21 1	9
India	31	38 15 16	India	26	37 19 1	8 India	33	32 18 1	17
Germany	8 20	52 20	Germany	1 6	<u>5</u> 8 2	1 Germany	12 29	31 28	в
France	25	44 26	France	16	55 2	4 France	25	39 30	
Mexico	16 26	47 👖	Mexico	14 27	48	11 Mexico	19 35	33	13
Brazil	24 2	9 29 18	Brazil	22 2	5 33 1	9 Brazil	26	35 19 2	0
US	26	31 33 🔟	US	25 2	26 39	10- US	19 26	29 26	ô –
	0% 25%	50% 75% 100	0%	0% 25%	50% 75%	100%	0% 25%	50% 75%	100%
		Showing a great d	eal of leadership	p 📕 Showir	ng some leadershi	p 📃 Not showing	g leadership 🧧	Not sure	

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We also asked respondents about what they thought incoming US President Joe Biden *would* do with respect to certain international agreements and what they thought he *should* do.





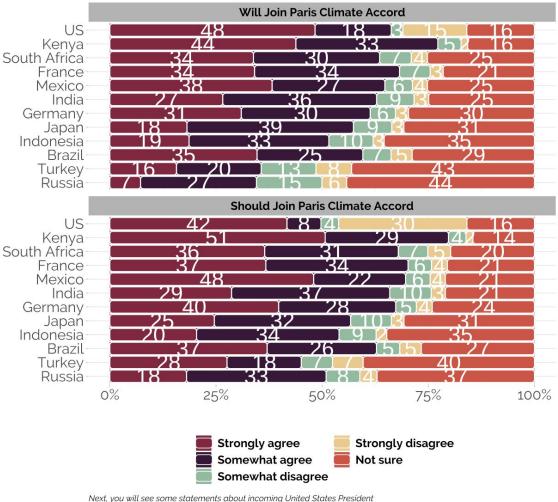
Specifically, we asked respondents about the Paris Climate Accord and about the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, also known as the Iran Nuclear Deal.

Strong majorities of respondents across the sample say that they think the incoming Biden Administration both *will* and *should* rejoin the Paris Climate Accord. The only exceptions here are Russia and Turkey, where 34 percent and 36 percent, respectively, believe that the Administration will rejoin the Paris Climate Accord. However, even in these countries where there is skepticism about what the Administration will do, there is strong agreement throughout the countries in our study that the United States should rejoin this Agreement.

Notably, the biggest divide between belief about what the US will do as opposed to what it should do on the subject of the Paris Climate Accord occurred among American respondents. By a 66-18 margin, respondents from the United States believed their country would rejoin the Paris Climate Accord, but were split on a narrower 50-34 margin as to whether the US should. Within the US, partisanship strongly predicts the divide on whether the US both should and would rejoin the Paris Climate Accord.







What Biden will/should do on Paris Climate Accord

Next, you will see some statements about incoming United States President Joe Biden. For each of those, please say whether you lagree or disagreel, or if you are unsure.



Interestingly, the United States itself is the country that mostly says the US will, but not should, rejoin the Agreement. In this study, 66 percent of respondents from the United States believe that the Biden Administration *will* rejoin the Accord against 18 percent who think the US will not, and only 50 percent of respondents in that country think that the Administration *should* rejoin that international agreement, against 34 percent who do not. Conversely, respondents from every other country in our sample tend to believe more that the Administration *should* rejoin when compared to their views of how likely it is that Biden *will* rejoin the Paris Climate Accord, even when it has been part of his platform to do so.



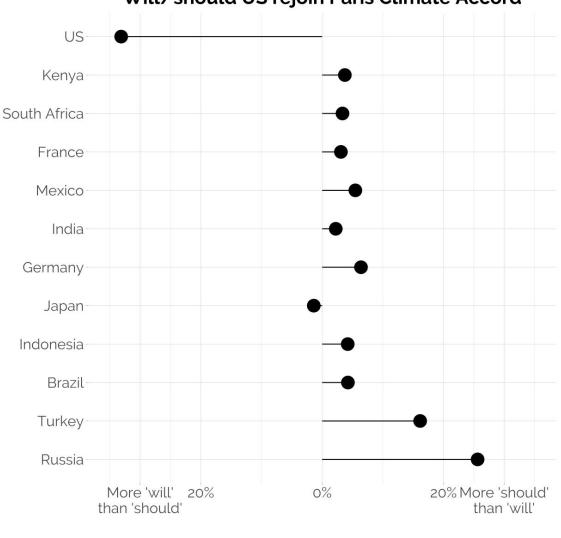


The following chart contrasts the share of voters who, on net, believe the US "should" rejoin the Paris Climate Accord with the share who believe the US "will" rejoin the Paris Climate Accord. Each point is the net total of respondents who agree the US *should* rejoin the Paris Climate Accord, minus the net total of respondents who agree the US *will* rejoin the Paris Climate Accord. In other words, points to the left of zero represent countries where more people think the US *will* than *should* rejoin the Paris Climate Accord, and points to the right indicate countries where more people think the US *should* rather than *will* rejoin the Paris Climate Accord.

For most countries, these quantities line up closely, with a few percent more respondents saying the US *should* rejoin the Paris Climate Accord than those who think it *will*. This gulf is larger for Russia and Turkey. On the other hand, in the US, on net, more people think the US *will* than *should* rejoin the Paris Climate Accord—the only country whose respondents on net feel this way. In other words, only US respondents think the US might wrongly re-enter the Paris Climate Accord, while every other country is more concerned that the US will wrongly fail to do so.







Will/should US rejoin Paris Climate Accord



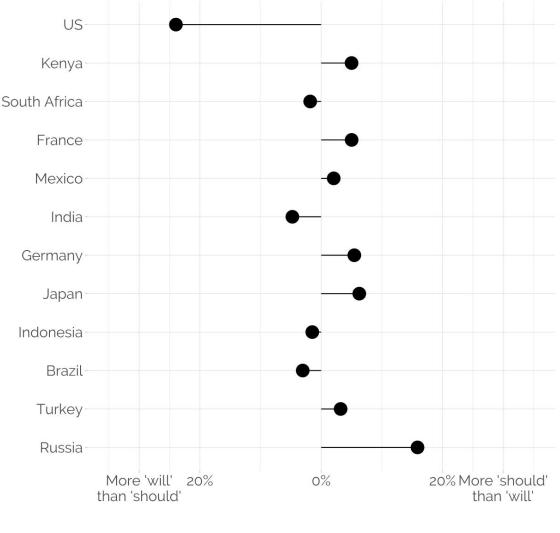
We find similar patterns when looking at another potentially contentious American policy: whether the US should rejoin the Iran Nuclear Deal—respondents in the United States tend to believe more that the Administration *will* rejoin it than it *should* do so. There are a few countries, however, that line up slightly with the United States in this topic—South Africa, India, Indonesia and Brazil.

However, as is the case with the Paris Climate Accords, strong pluralities of respondents across the sample, with the exception of Russia and Turkey, believe both that the United States *will* and *should* rejoin the Nuclear Deal. For example, 69 percent of respondents in South Africa





believe that the US should re-join, while 44 percent of respondents in the United States think that their nation should do so. Notably, however, there is a lot of ambivalence in these questions, with an average of 39 percent saying they are unsure of whether the US will or should join the Iran Nuclear Deal.

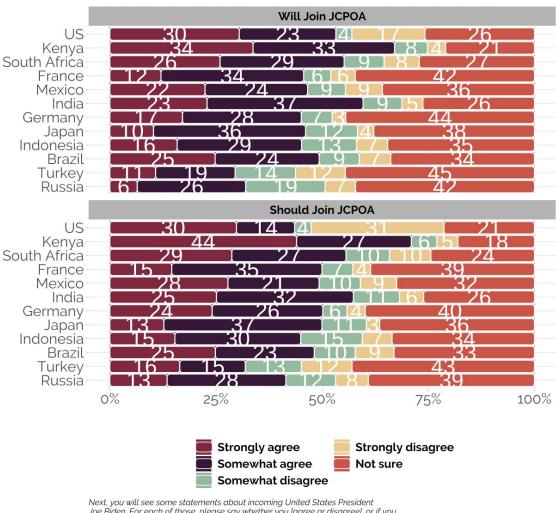


Will/should US rejoin Iran Nuclear Deal









What Biden will/should do on Iran Nuclear Deal

Joe Biden. For each of those, please say whether you [agree or disagree], or if you are unsure.



Ultimately, respondents across the countries in our sample believed Joe Biden would show a great deal more leadership on global issues than Trump had. We showed respondents a battery of global issues and asked them whether they thought Joe Biden would show more leadership on a given issue, or less. We asked,

Now, think about incoming President Joe Biden, when it comes to those same issues, when the United States has a new President, do you think it will show [more leadership or less leadership] on that issue than it did under current President Donald Trump?





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
Helping the world with changes caused by new technology like artificial intelligence

Across the countries in our sample, respondents overwhelmingly report they believe Joe Biden will show more leadership than did Donald Trump. Indeed, the most divided country in our sample was the United States, where partisanship cleanly divided respondents between whether they thought Joe Biden would show more or less leadership than Donald Trump.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the lopsided favorability of Joe Biden was highest among the American allied countries whose respondents currently expressed the lowest views of US leadership earlier in the survey - France and Germany. Among French and German respondents, no more than 20 percent thought Biden would show less leadership than Trump on any issue. Respondents in Brazil, who elsewhere were slightly to the right of other countries and whose respondents are slightly more conservative than the survey-wide average, also overwhelmingly believe Biden will show more leadership than Trump on every issue we polled.

That said, Japan, Russia, and Turkey were the most pessimistic about Biden's potential leadership compared to Trump's across the board as well. On several issues—terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, economic prosperity, and dealing with new technologies like artificial intelligence—respondents from Russia on net believed Biden would fall short of Trump. On the issues of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, respondents from Turkey agreed, and were split on the other issues.

Respondents from Kenya and South Africa were the most certain that Biden would show more leadership than Trump on each of these issues, having very lower shares of those who said they were unsure on each item. As each of these countries' respondents express relatively sympathetic views toward multilateralism and global institutions, and those attitudes correlate highly with being slightly more to the left ideologically, this is perhaps not surprising.





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		US			Brazil		
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Climate change-	43	18 13 7	20 –	31 [28	24)	89
Human rights-	34	19 11 9	26 –	32]	27	22 🧴	09
Terrorism-	29 1		33 – –	32 [25	23 1	29
Weapons of mass destruction	31 1	7 128	32 –	31 [27	25	99
Economic prosperity-	28 19	9 15 8	30	28	28	_24]	10^{-10}
Protecting the vulnerable	38]	18 10 8	26 –	32	28		89
New technology, like Al	26 16	23 8	28 –	27 [28	26 🚺	09
Democratic freedoms-	33 1	107	31	28	30	_24 _	8 9 -
		Mexico			France		
COVID-19	38	30 18	3 76 -	25 I	37	24	76
Climate change-	34	29 21	97	22	38	26	77-
Human rights-	28	32 21	108 - 1	14 4	0	31	96
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Will Biden show more/less leadership than Trump

Not sure Now, think about incoming President Joe Biden, when it comes to those same issues, when the United States has a new President, do you think it will show Imore leadership or less leadership) on that issue than it did under current President Donald Trump?

Show much more leadership

Show somewhat less leadership 📕 Show somewhat more leadership 📒 Show much less leadership







	Will Biden show more	/less	leadership	than Trump
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	Indo	nesia		Japan
COVID-19	25 31	26 126	[14] 41	19 18 8
Climate change –	19 33	29 136	12 37	24 19 8
Human rights	23 30	26 15 6	10 44	
Terrorism	22 30	27 137	9 38	23 22 8
Weapons of mass destruction	21 28	29 14 8	<mark>6</mark> 35	24 24 10
Economic prosperity-	20 32	27 147	8 35	25 25 8
Protecting the vulnerable – New technology,	24 30	27 137	<u>12</u> 41	
like Al	22 31	28 127	7 39	26 21 7
Democratic freedoms	21 33	27 136	9 42	
	Ke	nya	F	Russia
COVID-19	66	24 44	8 28	31 20 13
Climate change—	56	29 665	8 25	34 19 14
Human rights	60	26 58	9 25	32 21 13
Terrorism-	59	27 56		31 20 16
Weapons of mass destruction	55			32 20 18
Economic prosperity	59	28 46	7 22 3	0 23 18
Protecting the vulnerable New technology,	63	25 54	<u>12</u> 28	32 16 11
like Al	53		8 23	
Democratic freedoms	60	29 44	10 28	31 19 13
	the state of the s	Africa	Т	urkey
COVID-19	48	29 968	23 21	31 9 16
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Human rights		30 11119	16 20	35 8 21
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Protecting the vulnerable New technology,		<u>32 11 9 10</u>		34 10 23
like Al	34 3			34 10 17
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	_		_	



Show much more leadership 📕 Show somewhat more leadership 📒 Show much less leadership

Show somewhat less leadership

Now, think about incoming President Joe Biden, when it comes to those same issues, when the United States has a new President, do you think it will show [more leadership or less leadership] on that issue than it did under current President Donald Trump?







Throughout our survey, voters expressed two competing views of the world around them. On the one hand, respondents were pessimistic about the state of the world. More respondents said global events had a negative than positive impact on their lives, and said that these impacts were real and meaningful, not distant. Respondents expressed skepticism of the outside world in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, and generally felt the pandemic showed the world was too interconnected.

On the other hand, a small number of global institutions—the United Nations and the World Health Organization—have relatively strong reputations, and are viewed as important elements of recovering from the global pandemic. Those organizations are seen as vital to recovery from the pandemic, and respondents in many countries also said they actively would prefer to see their country more involved in that organization.

In some ways, Joe Biden enters the Presidency in a favorable position. Across the world, countries believe he will show more leadership on a host of issues than did Donald Trump. At the same time, those countries also believe that Biden will not necessarily do what it takes to restore US leadership in the world. Other countries are also deeply pessimistic about the present state of US leadership. As such, while our data suggests many countries are giving Biden the benefit of the doubt that he will show more leadership on crucial issues than Donald Trump, they also suggest that the United States has a long path to walk to restore its reputation around the world.





Appendix A: Sampling and Weighting Methodology

This report is based on 12,403 interviews conducted by YouGov on the internet among respondents in the United States, Brazil, Mexico, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Russia, South Africa, and Turkey.

- 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 2016 Presidential vote choice.
- The French sample (n = 1,005) is representative of French voters and was weighted according to gender, age, urban/rural status, education, region, and 2017 Presidential vote.
- The German sample (n = 1,003) is representative of German voters and was weighted according to gender, age, education, state, party identification, and political interest.
- Responses in Brazil (n = 999) are nationally representative and weighted according to age, gender, education, and region
- The sample from Indonesia (n = 1,076) 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 sample from India (n = 1,067) is representative of online respondents in that country and was weighted based on demographic variables like age, gender, religion, and region.
- The sample from Japan (n = 1,045), Kenya (n = 930), Mexico (n = 1,023), Russia (n = 1,157), Turkey (n = 1,015), and South Africa (n = 1,046) is representative of online respondents in each of those countries and was weighted based on demographic variables like age, gender, and region.

In constructing this sample, YouGov selected respondents who were representative of the various populations available to them within each country. The following charts that one of the key measures used in this analysis, attention to news about issues surrounding multilateralism, varies significantly across countries. We include this observation as a means of caution when interpreting cross-national results.





Ву со	untry									
Japan	4 18			45			33			
France	5 20			44		32				
Germany	5	26	55				1			
Indonesia	9	29	29			57		5		
US	17		37			33			13	
Russia	16		39			39		6		
Mexico	16		43			29		2		
South Africa	20		44					7		
India	24		40			28			7	
Turkey	16		49					6		
Brazil	20		50				24		6	
Kenya	28		45			24			2	
05	%	25%	•	50%		755	%		10	0%
Follow very closely Familiar with, but do not follow closely Follow somewhat closely Don't follow much at all										

Attention to International News

Some people closely follow news about international affairs, while others do not. How much would you say you follow international news?

YouGov