

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.
 - Support is overall quite high for the new US Administration's foreign policy, but its leadership on key issues, such as handling the unfolding situation in Afghanistan, is mixed.
 - Views of US leadership have improved by an average of about 12 percentage points on the issue of climate change and by an average of about 14 percentage points on the issue of COVID-19 over the last year, but these are still seen as weak spots for US leadership.
 - Closely allied nations of the US like Germany, France, Japan, and the United Kingdom remain particularly pessimistic about US leadership on COVID-19, each viewing the US negatively on this issue overall.
- Belief in global cooperation remained strong throughout the pandemic.
 - Twelve of the nineteen countries in our sample evaluate their own country's handling of the COVID-19 pandemic positively.
 - On net, seventeen of the nineteen countries in our sample believe their respective emergency COVID-19 measures *will* be lifted in the near future, and fifteen of nineteen countries agree they *should* be lifted.
 - In some countries whose second and third COVID-19 peaks arrived later in the year, like India, respondents are split but narrowly optimistic on whether their country will soon lift emergency measures.
 - Countries in the Global North are pessimistic about the effect COVID-19 has had on the global order, believing that emergency responses and vaccine hoarding did more to push the world apart than global cooperation on vaccine distribution did to bring it together -- but countries in the Global South feel the opposite.
- Countries across the sample believe that organizations like the United Nations are important for recovering from the pandemic and dealing with the challenges of the future like climate change.

- Respondents in every country across the sample reported it was important to stick with major global institutions even if it means conforming to those institutions' rules.
- Organizations like the United Nations continue to enjoy strong favorable ratings over the course of the past year, and did not change to a statistically significant degree over the course of the most recent survey wave.
- Countries across the sample agree organizations like the United Nations are necessary to deal with the problems of the 21st century, but also believe these organizations need to do significantly more to address those problems.
- Organizations like the European Union and WTO generally score high ratings across the sample than other national membership organizations, by an average of about 5-7 points, as do some member organizations like the African Union, while organizations central to the global finance system like the IMF and World Bank are more controversial across the board.
- European countries are worried about potential future interference from Russia and China. Asian countries are most worried about China. Countries in the Americas are most worried about interference from China and the United States.
- At the same time, European countries trust the European Union the most to assist them in an emergency, while American and Asian countries trust the United States the most to assist them in an emergency.

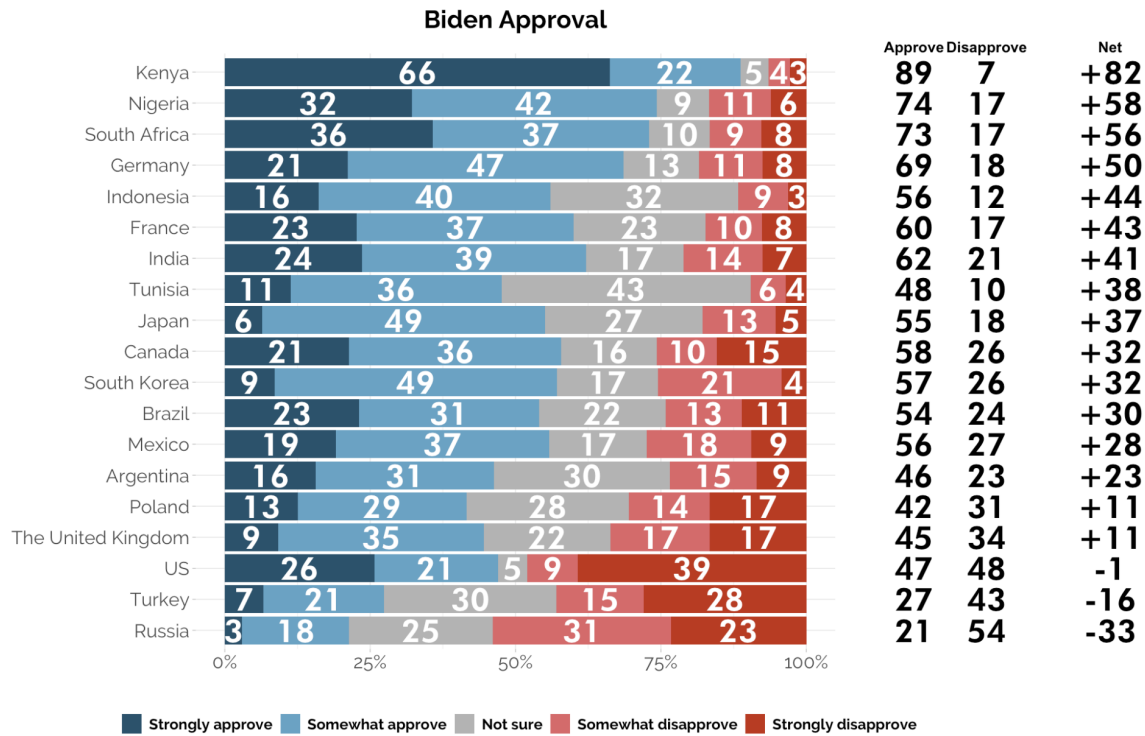
Biden Receives High Marks During His First Months In Office

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.



Recently, the United States elected a new president, Joe Biden, who took office in January of 2021. Generally speaking, would you say you [approve or disapprove] of the way Joe Biden has been handling foreign policy?

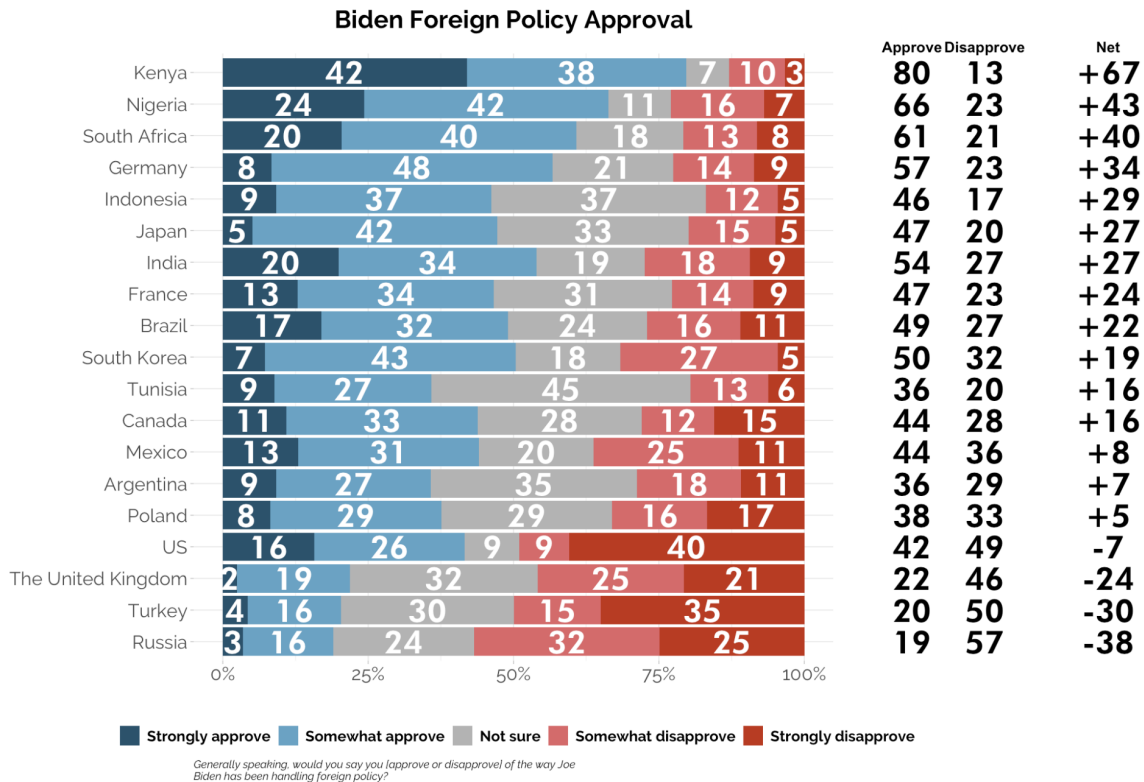
Biden’s foreign policy is viewed favorably, except on the question of Afghanistan refugee resettlement

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?

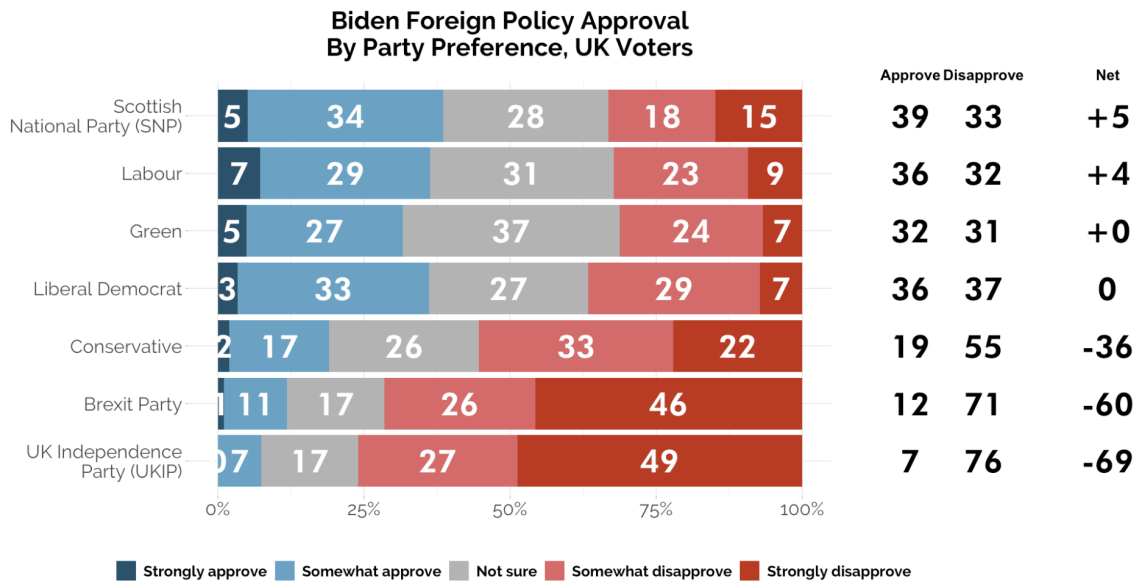
On average, Biden scored about 15 net percentage points lower on the specific question of foreign policy than on general approval overall. The approximate order of countries is preserved across both items (that is, countries that rate Biden highly overall also rate his handling of foreign policy more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

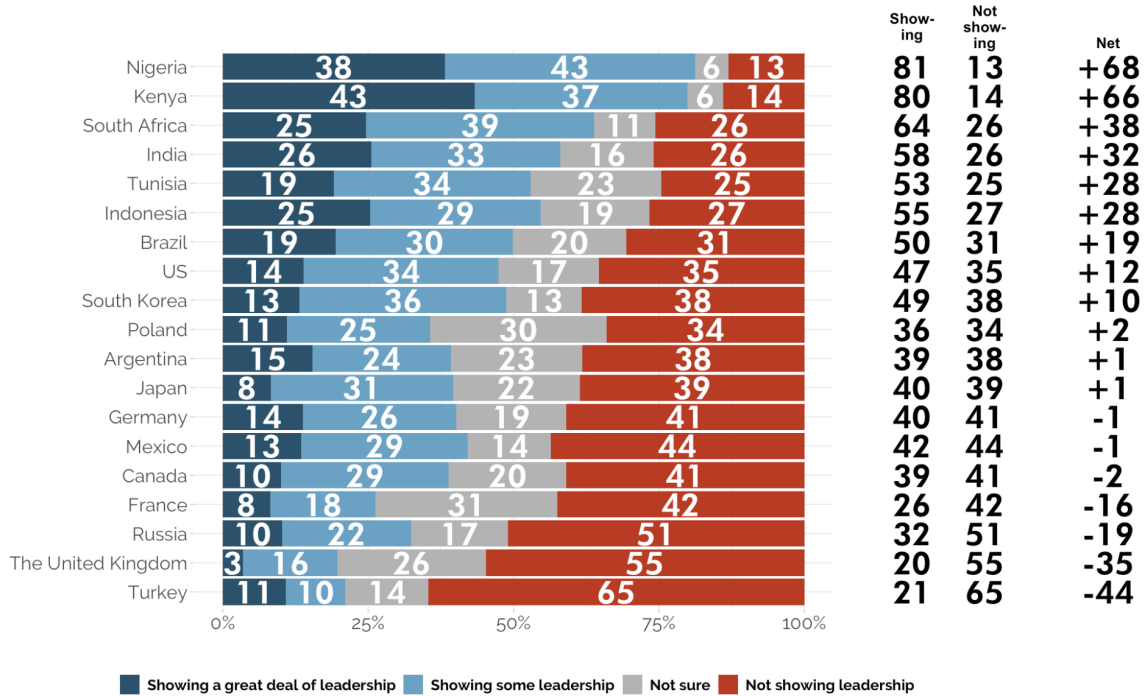
The following chart, for example, shows Biden approval by party preference among UK respondents. There, we see that even supporters of center-left and left political parties in the UK are at best split on the question of Biden's foreign policy, and those who vote for center-right and right political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



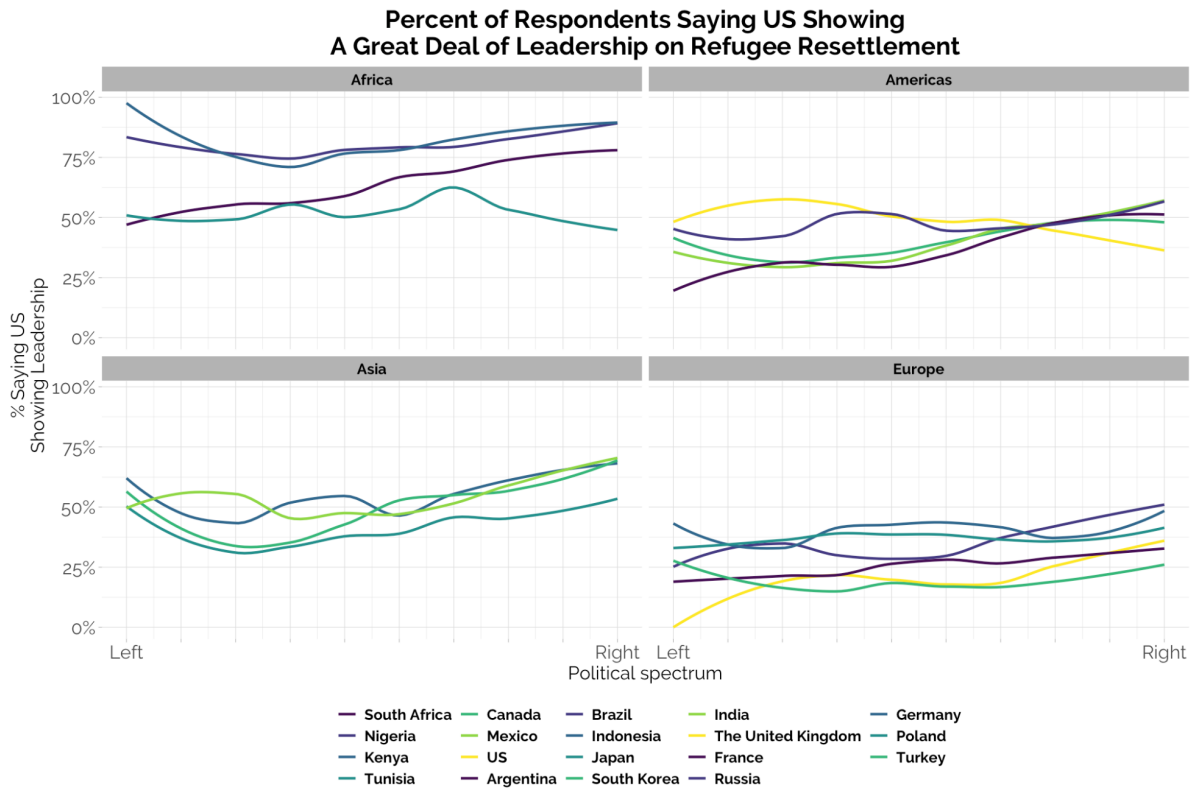
In short, the global community generally grants Biden favorable marks in his first year, though opinion is consistently lower on the question of its foreign policy than overall job performance. After asking about Biden’s job approval overall and on foreign policy, the survey asked respondents whether 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.

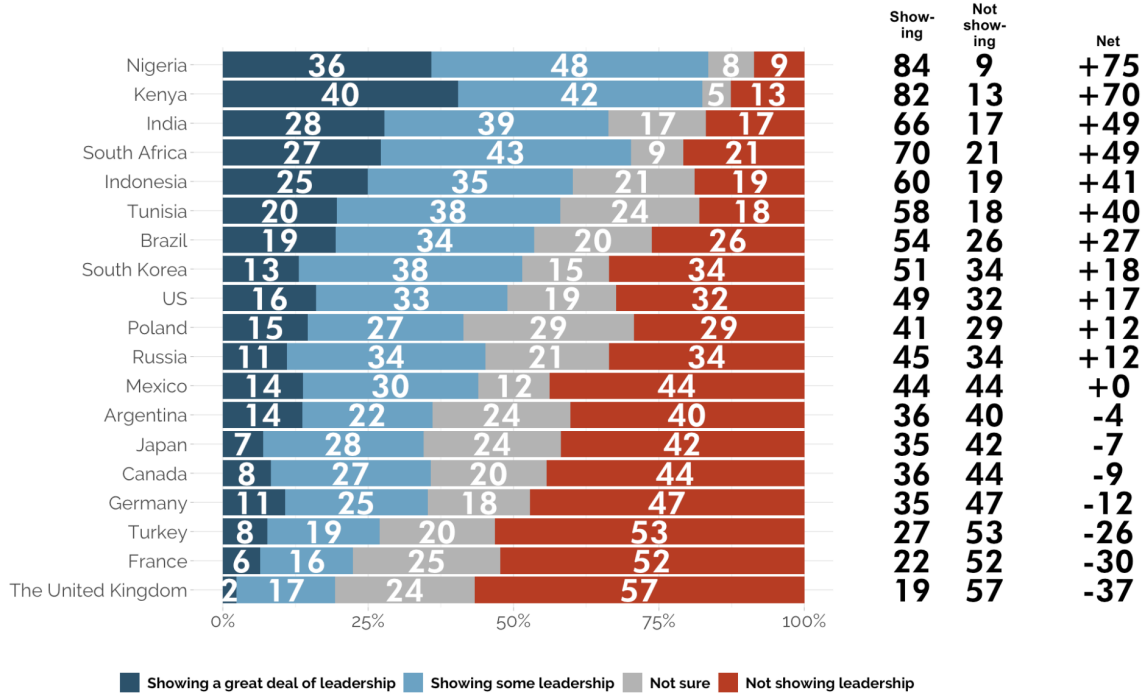
The fairly gradual improvement from the previous wave of the survey on other dimensions suggests Biden must take additional action to further improve US leadership.

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. Graphs with additional results are in Appendix B. Overall, US leadership is not viewed as favorably as other categories on the specific topics of COVID-19, climate change, and Afghanistan, as discussed above. The following sections explore the topics of US leadership on climate change and COVID-19.

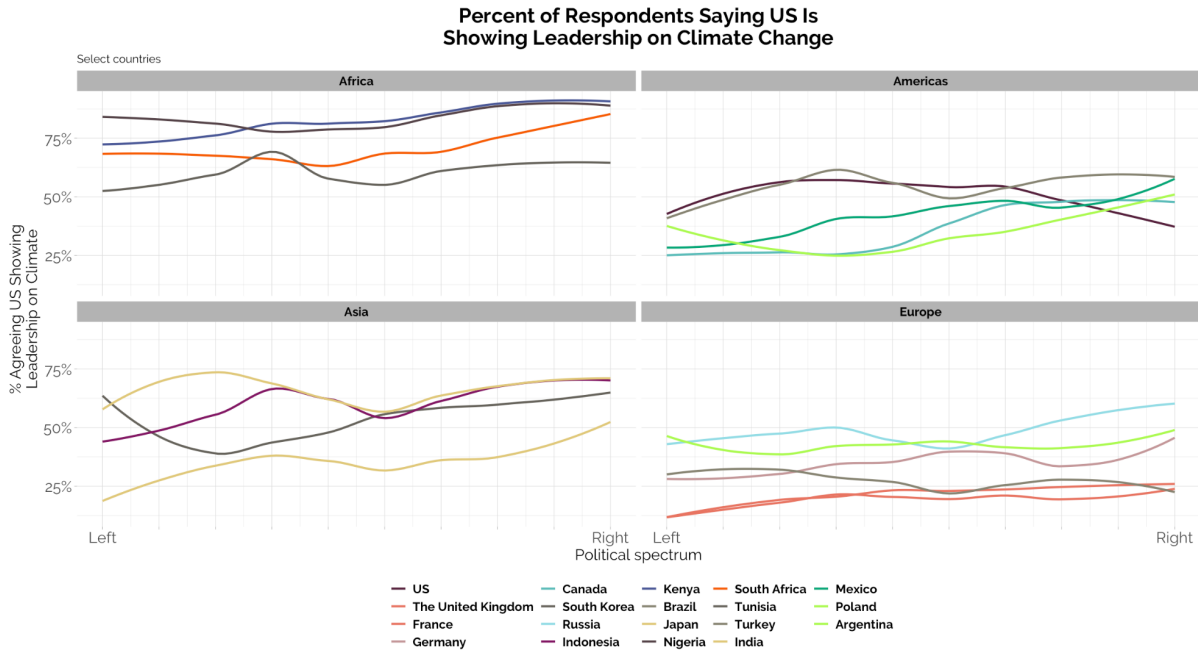
On climate change, the US has room for improvement

There is broad variability in how countries throughout the sample view the US' leadership on climate change. The following graph shows that several close US allies, including Japan, Canada, Germany, France, and the UK all believe the US is failing to show leadership on the issue of climate change. At the same time, among some countries in the Global South, views of US leadership on climate change are no better or worse than views of US leadership on other issues.

**Believe US is Showing Leadership On
Climate Change**



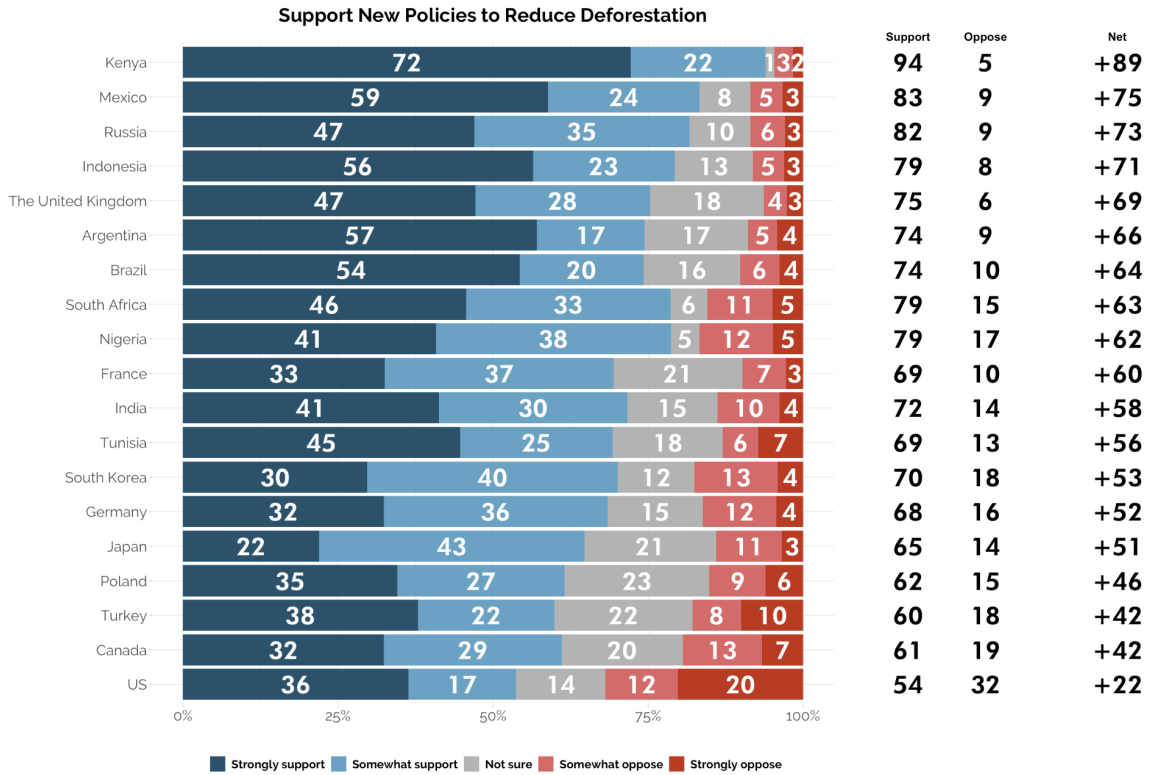
Perhaps notably, within countries, we do not observe much of a political dimension to how people feel about US leadership on climate change. While in some countries climate change is viewed as a traditional “left-right” political issue, our results suggest this is not the case in much of the world. The following charts break out beliefs that the US is showing “a great deal” or “some” leadership on the subject of climate change, for each country in our sample, grouped by region.



Our results also suggest that dealing with climate change is a significantly higher priority in every country in our sample than it is in the United States. Viewed this way, skepticism of US leadership on climate change is perhaps not surprising. We included several items in our survey measuring support for the twenty-sixth United Nations Conference on the Parties (COP26) goals across the countries in our sample. For example, we asked,

Would you [support or oppose] your country adopting new policies to reduce deforestation, such as limiting the production of lumber, and imposing new construction regulations? This would involve creating new rules that would reduce deforestation but would also limit some economic activities.

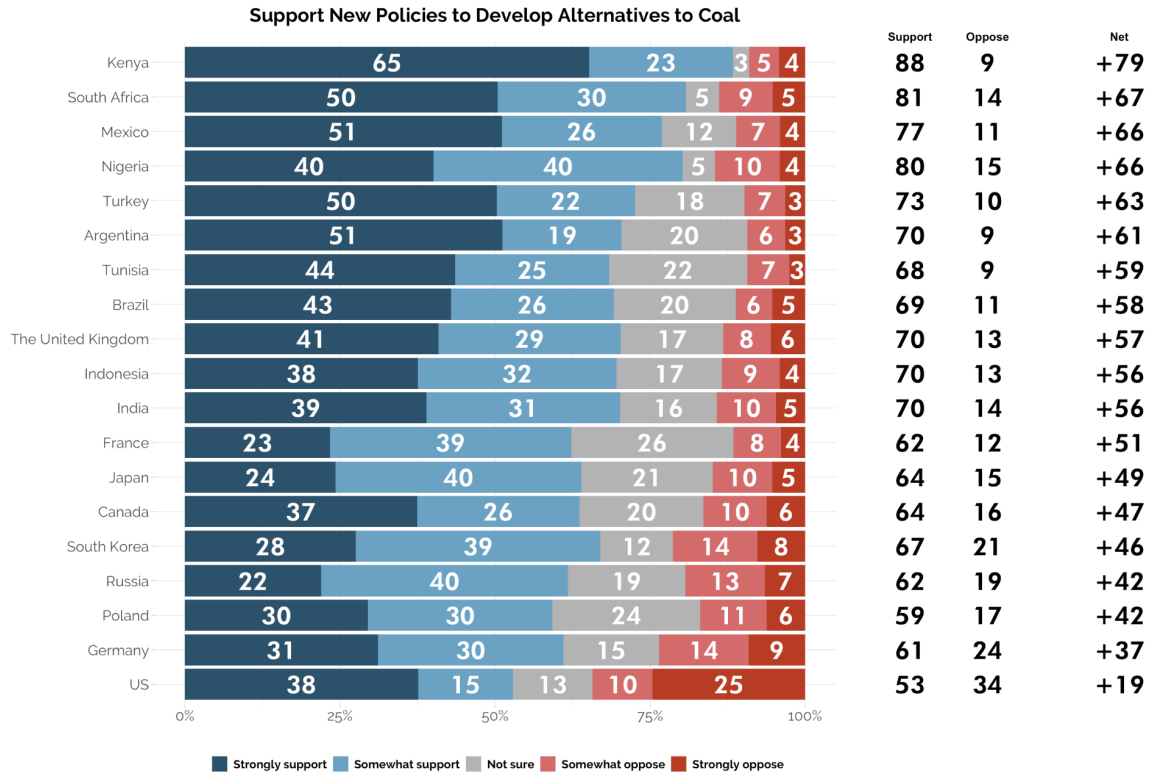
In many countries, support for this goal was essentially unanimous. In all but five countries in our sample, over two-thirds of respondents said they supported this goal. Support for this policy was overwhelmingly positive overall, but net support for anti-deforestation policies is conspicuously lower in the United States than it is in other countries in our sample.



Similarly, we asked about a COP26 goal pertaining to reducing the use of coal as an energy source. We asked,

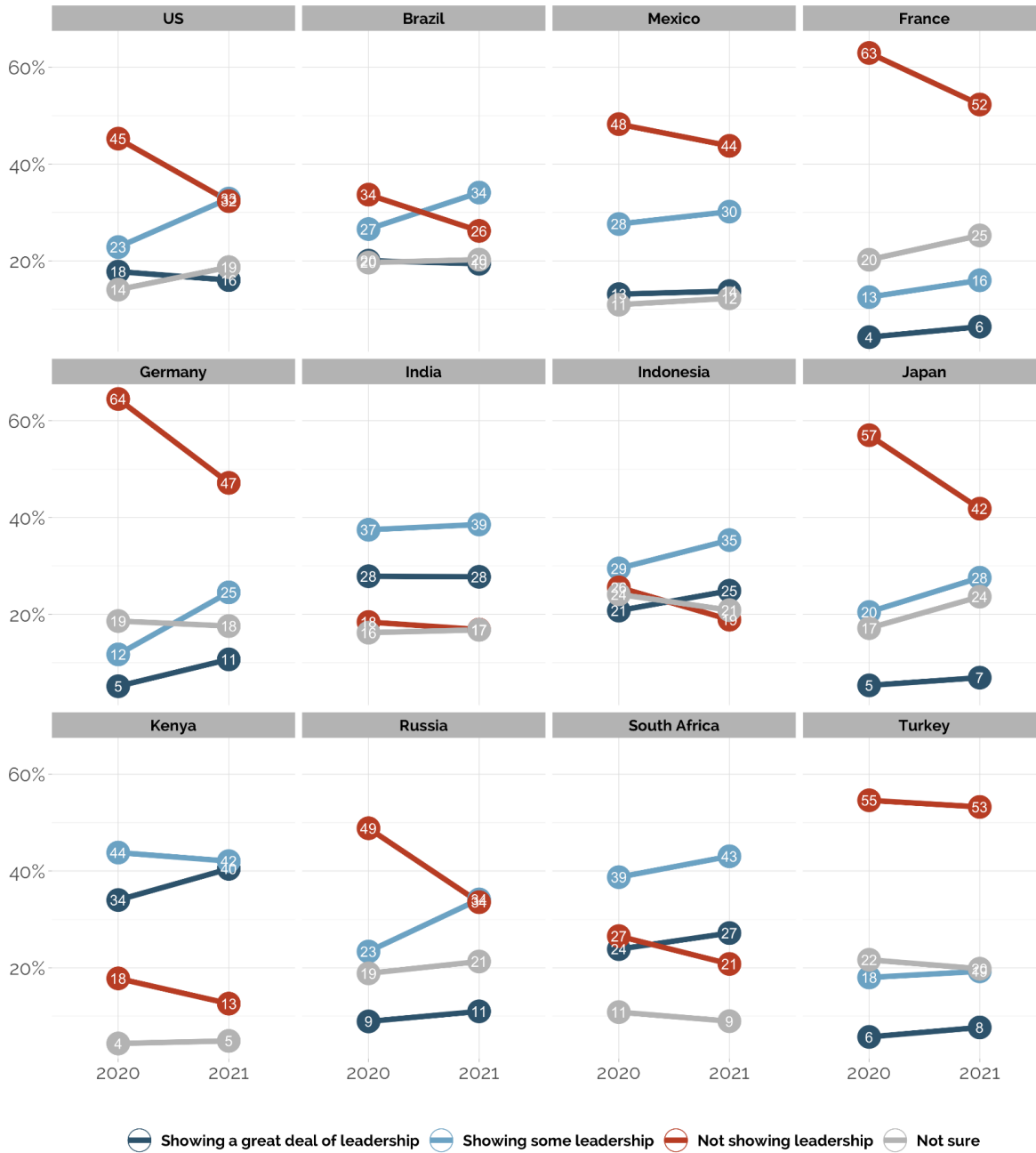
Would you [support or oppose] your country adopting new policies to reduce the use of coal as an energy source? This would involve spending government revenue to build alternative energy facilities like wind, solar, and geothermal plants, while closing down existing coal plants.

While support for this policy is slightly lower in Germany, where coal remains a fairly large share of the energy economy, respondents overwhelmingly support this policy as well. On this issue, the United States once again shows conspicuously lower support overall than other countries (though US respondents are supportive of the policy overall).



While the US has made gains on the specific issues of its leadership on climate change, the results of our survey's second wave shows the US continues to have deficits in these areas. The following chart compares the results of the previous wave to this wave's on the specific question of US leadership around climate change, for countries that appeared in both waves. While the share of respondents who say the US is "not showing leadership" in this area has dropped in many countries, our results suggest much of the world remains underwhelmed with the US on climate change.

US Leadership On Combatting Climate Change



For example, while the share of respondents in France saying the US is “not showing leadership” on the subject of climate change has fallen by about 10 points, the share saying it is showing “a great deal of leadership” remains below 10 points overall. In the countries that were already optimistic about US leadership on the subject of climate change, such as India and

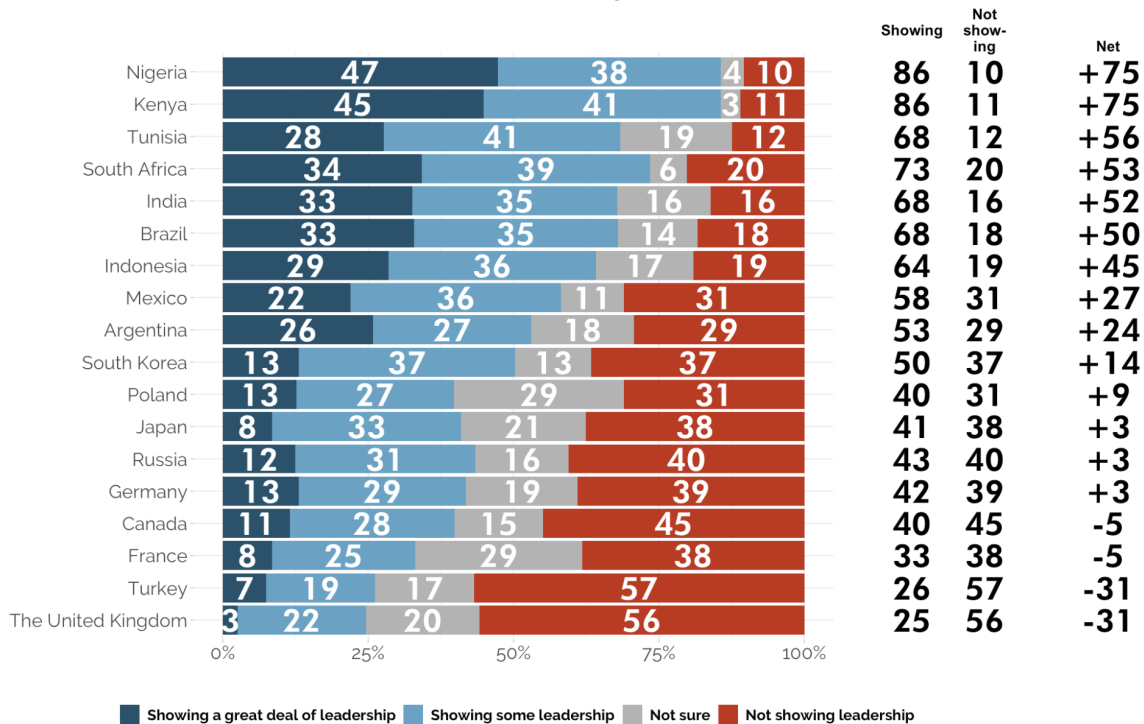
South Africa, US approval on this subject remained flat from the first to the second wave of the survey.

Indeed, the share of respondents saying the US has shown “a great deal of leadership” remains the least popular view in all but three of the countries in the sample (India, Kenya, and South Africa). In no country is it the predominant view that the US is showing a great deal of leadership on the subject of climate change. While attitudes toward the US have improved in the past year, our results suggest President Biden has more work to do if he prioritizes US leadership on this issue.

Views of US leadership on COVID-19 are varied yet improving under Biden

US favorability is widely varied on the subject of dealing with COVID-19, with significantly lower ratings from allied states such as Canada and several European countries. The following chart breaks out attitudes toward US leadership on dealing with COVID-19 by country. While countries in the Global South view US leadership on COVID-19 overwhelmingly favorably, allied states such as Japan, Germany, Canada, France, and the UK, are split or overall negative on the question of dealing with COVID-19.

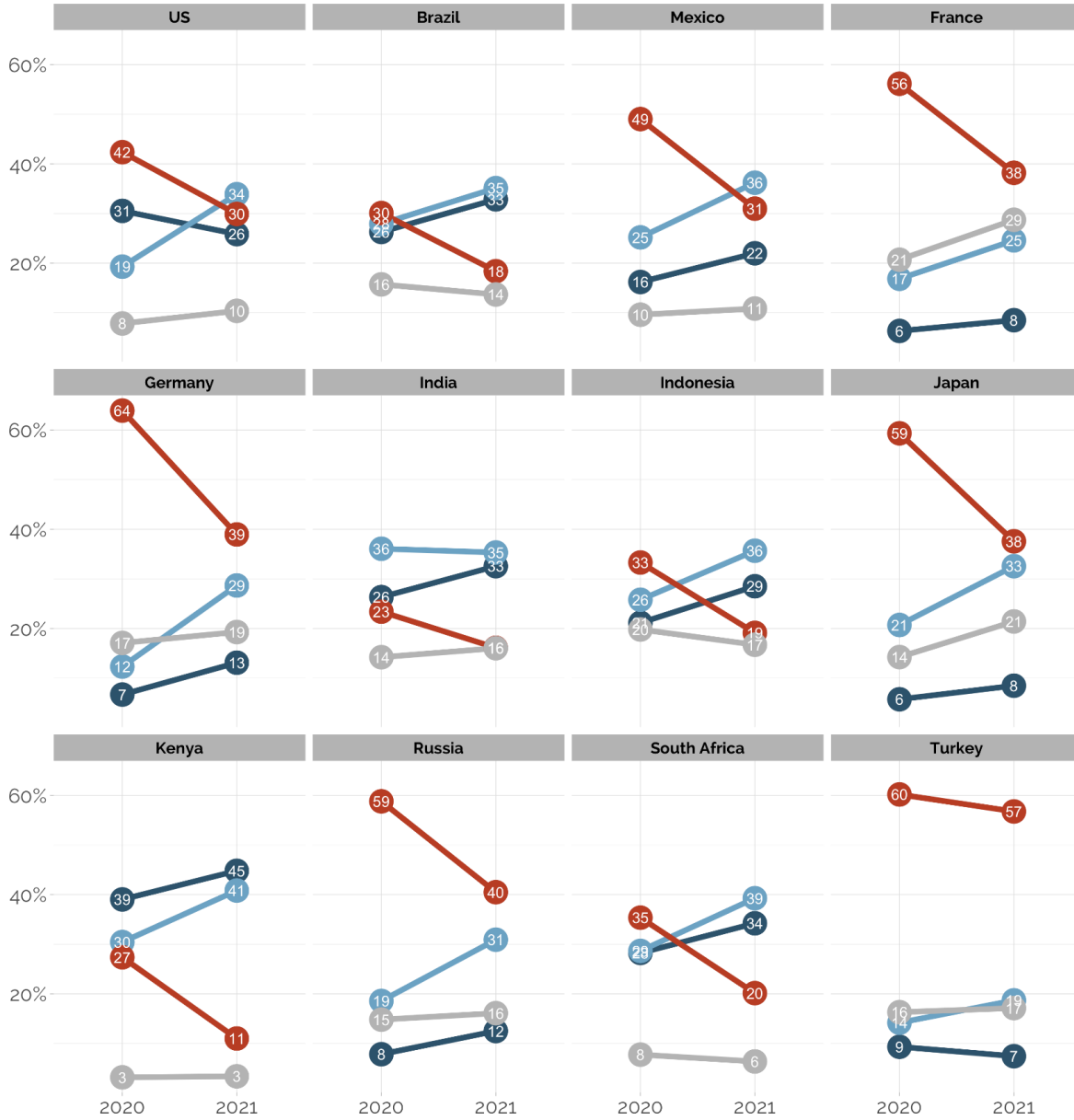
Global View of US Leadership on COVID



While US leadership on the COVID-19 pandemic remains one of its weakest areas among several crucial allied states, attitudes toward US leadership in this area have improved strongly since the first wave of the survey. The share of respondents in every country that we included in both wave one and wave two of the survey who said the US was “not showing leadership” on the subject of COVID-19 declined. Likewise, the share of respondents who said the US is showing “some leadership” on the topic of COVID-19 has increased across the board, in some cases by double-digits (Germany: +17 change, US: +15 change, Japan and Russia: +12). That said, in France, Germany, Japan, Russia, and Turkey, the prevailing view remains that the US is not showing leadership on the subject of COVID-19.

Additionally, the results suggest that the share of respondents who say the US is showing “a great deal of leadership” remains low. In other words, overall belief in US leadership remains tepid, if gradually improving. The following chart shows changes in belief in the United States’s leadership on the subject of COVID-19 over the 2020-2021 waves of the survey.

US Leadership On Combatting COVID-19



● Showing a great deal of leadership
 ● Showing some leadership
 ● Not showing leadership
 ● Not sure

Global Views on the COVID-19 Pandemic

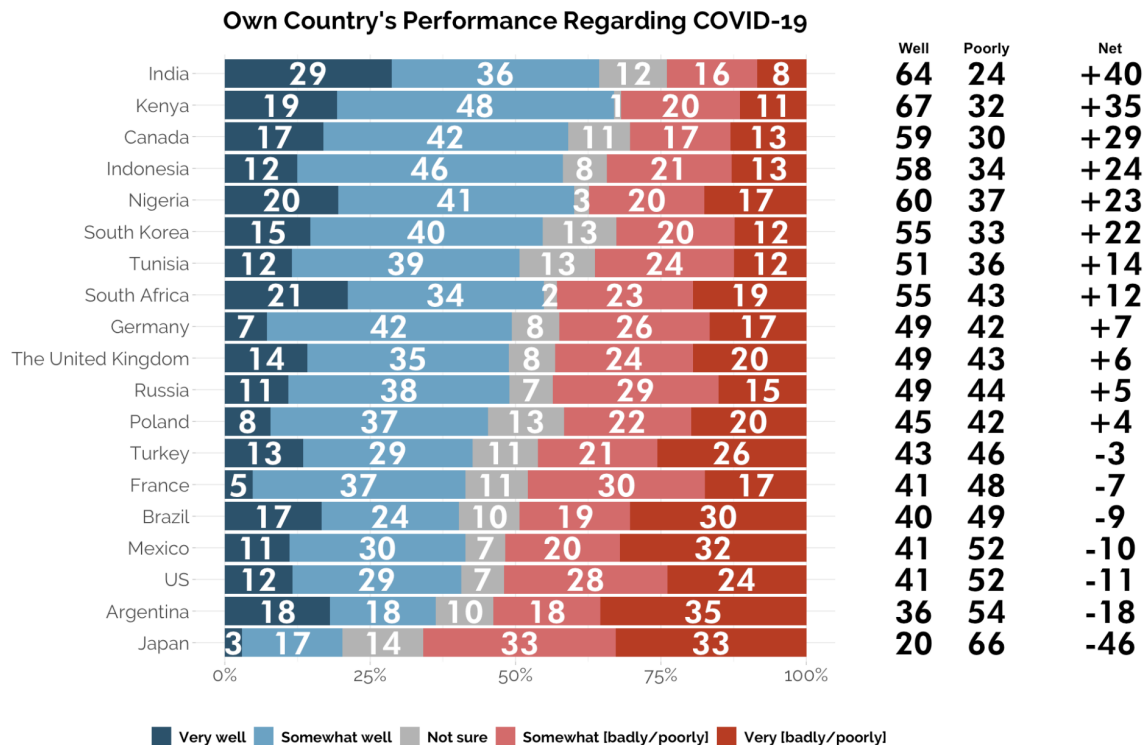
As the world continues to fight the COVID-19 pandemic, now in its second year, public opinion on the world's response to the pandemic is mixed. While not universal, respondents broadly view their own country's response positively, and many believe the world grew closer during the pandemic. Furthermore, respondents seem to broadly approve of the responses of global organizations to the crisis. However, there is clearly still much dissatisfaction with the handling of the pandemic in many quarters.

People mostly give their own country high marks on COVID-19 performance

In addition to asking respondents for their views about the United States and to various global institutions like the United Nations, we asked for their views on how their own country had responded to the COVID-19 pandemic. We did this in a few ways: we asked respondents to evaluate their country's general response to the pandemic and also asked them about the emergency measures their country had put in place.

When it came to evaluating their own country's performance regarding the pandemic, respondents from India were overwhelmingly positive, saying by a +40 percentage point margin that their country had handled the pandemic very or somewhat well. A second tier of countries including Kenya, Canada, Indonesia, Nigeria, and South Korea also gave their countries overwhelmingly positive reviews when it came to the pandemic, by margins ranging from +22 percentage points to +35 percentage points.

Much of the rest of the sample was more evenly split, with about half the countries giving their country somewhere between a +10 and -10 percentage point net approval or disapproval when it came to handling COVID-19. The narrowly positive countries included Germany, the UK, Russia, and Poland. The narrowly pessimistic countries included Turkey, France, Brazil, Mexico, and the United States. Argentina and Japan were the most pessimistic countries in the sample, with respondents from Japan giving their country an overwhelmingly negative -40 percentage point review when it came to its handling of COVID-19. In Japan, politically moderate respondents drove down evaluations of their country's response to COVID-19 with, for example, those who put themselves at a "5 out of 10" ideologically giving Japan just a 13 percent favorability rating on its COVID-19 response.



People in most countries expect emergency measures to end with the pandemic

We asked respondents two questions about the restrictions put in place during the pandemic: should these restrictions be lifted when the pandemic ends, and do you think they will be. Of course, restrictions were discussed broadly and could be interpreted to mean rules such as restrictions on travel, mask mandates, and vaccine mandates.

In general, the countries in our sample expressed cautious optimism, with majorities in most cases expressing belief that their country would eventually lift its emergency policies once the pandemic came to an end. Similarly, respondents felt that lifting them soon would be appropriate, with similar margins of respondents reporting those emergency measures SHOULD be lifted, in addition to the belief they inevitably WOULD be lifted.

Most every country in the sample reported they believed their country would lift their emergency measures once the pandemic was over. While the countries of India, Mexico, France, and Germany were roughly statistically split on whether their measures “would” or “would not” stay in place once the pandemic was over, every other country in the sample by a statistically clear margin said they believed those measures would be lifted.

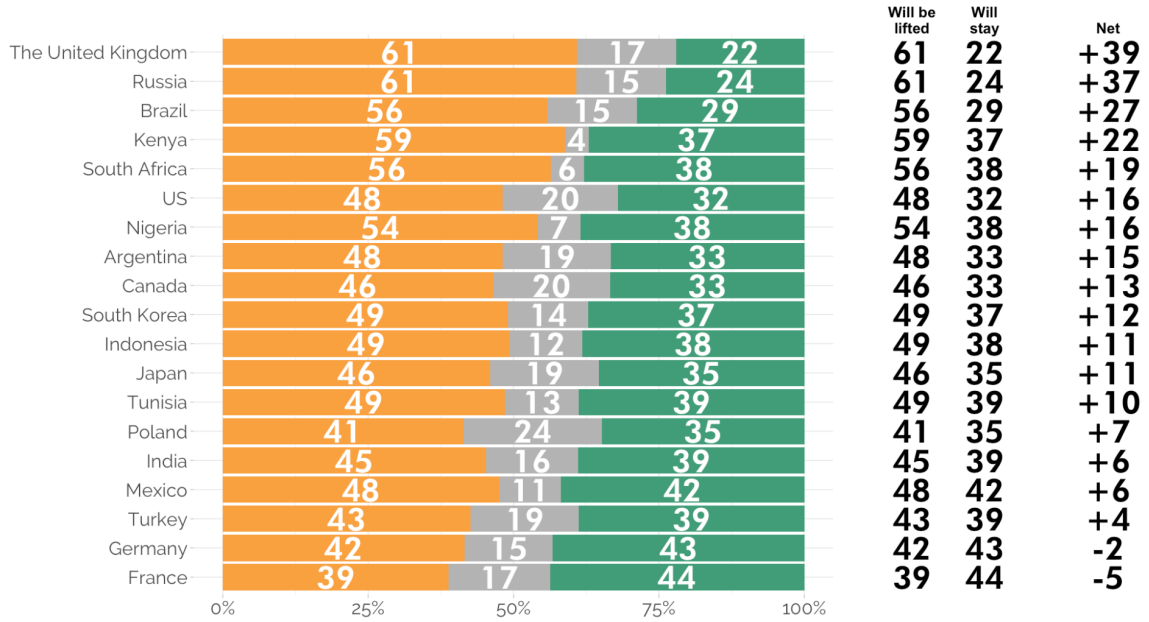
In countries where respondents were more split on whether or not COVID-19 measures would be lifted, political ideology was the stronger predictor of how respondents felt. For example, in Germany, only about 40 percent of those who identify as fully to the left politically believed Germany's emergency measures would stay in place, up to about 60 percent among those who identify as politically to the right. In some countries like Brazil, where there was general consensus that emergency measures would be lifted, respondents politically on the right were statistically split on this question.

Respondents' beliefs about whether their country *should* lift COVID-19 restrictions generally correlated highly with their beliefs that their country *would* lift those measures. However, in the majority of the countries in our sample, more respondents actually believed their country *should* lift restrictions than believed *would* lift restrictions. In other words, in most of the countries in the sample, at least some respondents believed their government would keep COVID-19 restrictions in place even though they wanted the government to lift them.

The share of respondents who felt this way ranged from about 4 percent of respondents in Russia to about 28 percent of respondents in France. Politically rightwing respondents tend to express more "pessimism" on this issue, i.e., respondents who identify as politically to the right are also more likely to believe their country *should* but *won't* lift its COVID-19 measures.

Notably, a small number of countries in our sample—Mexico, Argentina, and Nigeria—reported pessimism in the *opposite* direction, i.e., that a significant share of respondents felt that the government *would lift* its COVID-19 restrictions but that it *should not*. This divide is particularly acute among respondents in the Mexico sample, 48 percent of whom thought their government *would* lift its COVID-19 restrictions but only 15 percent of respondents thought that it *should*. The belief that the government's emergency response to COVID-19 *should* stay in place is ubiquitous across respondents in the Mexico sample, and pessimism is nearly the same across its political spectrum.

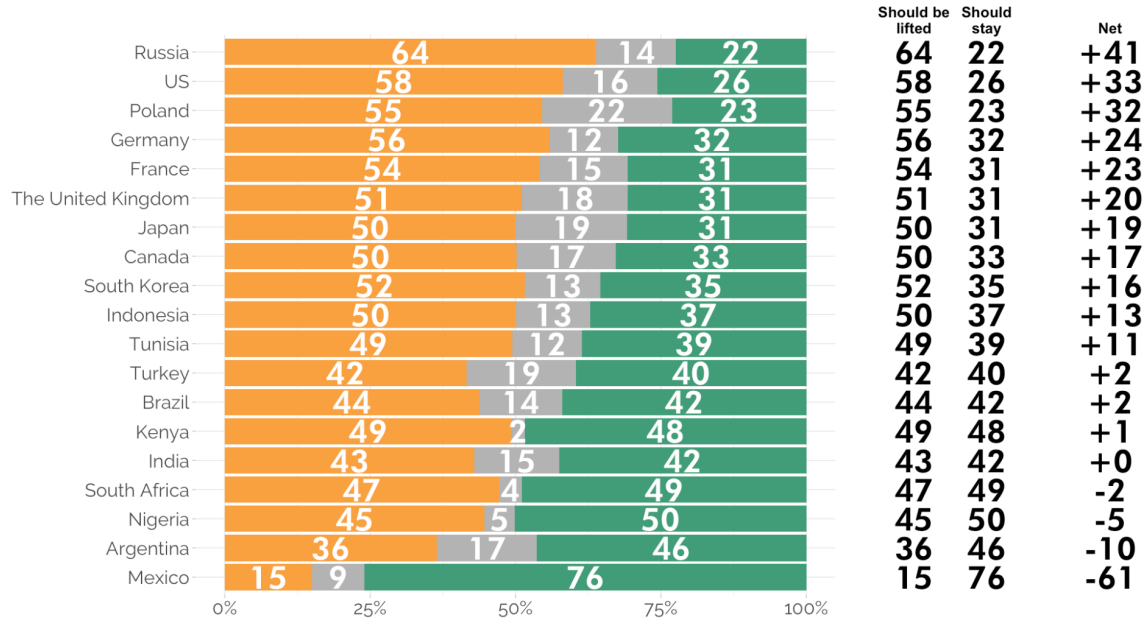
Emergency Measures Likely To Stay In Place Or Be Lifted



■ Even after the pandemic is over, most of my country's emergency measures are likely to stay in place
■ Not sure
■ Once the pandemic is over, my country is likely to lift most of its emergency measures

And generally speaking, which of the following is closer to your view?

Emergency Measures Should Stay In Place Or Be Lifted



■ Even after the pandemic is over, my country should keep most of its emergency measures in place to protect the public
■ Not sure
■ Even after the pandemic is over, my country should lift most of its emergency measures in place to let things get back to normal

And generally speaking, which of the following is closer to your view?

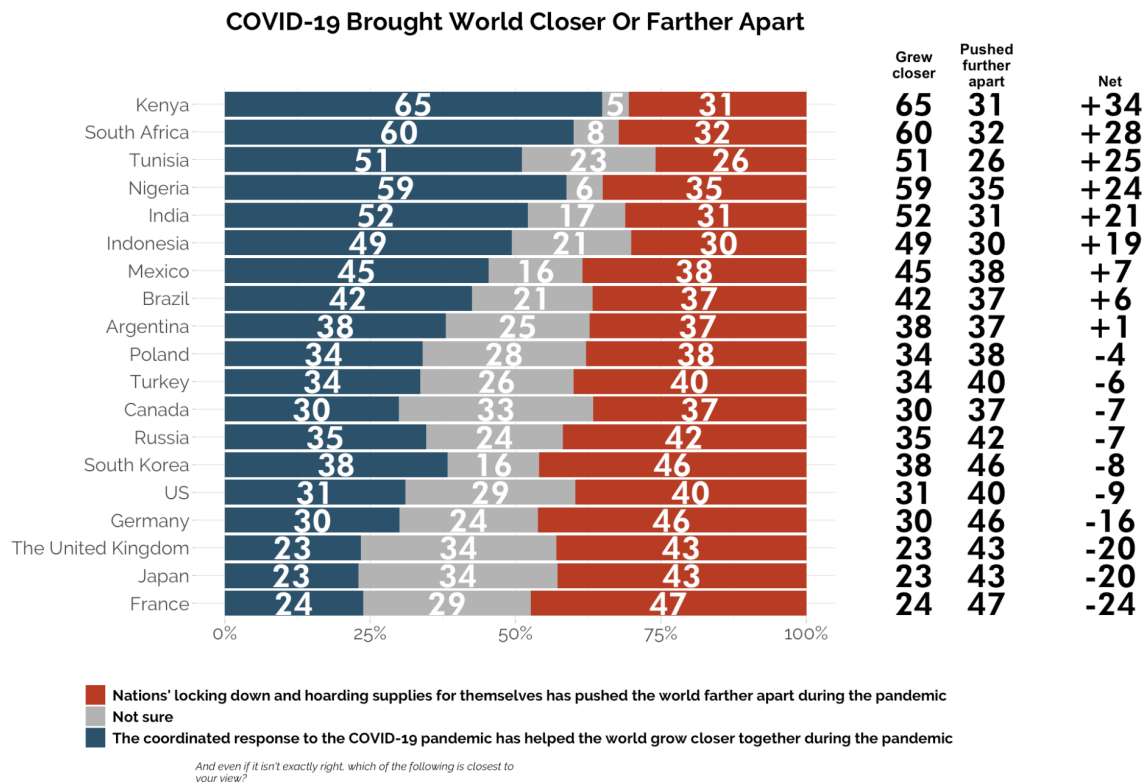
Ambivalence around if pandemic has brought the world closer together or further apart

Though respondents in much of the sample believed their government both *would* and *should* lift pandemic restrictions, they were broadly ambivalent about the effects the global pandemic has had on the global order. In just over half the sample, respondents on net believed the pandemic had pushed the world further apart, with the other countries saying that the coordinated response to the pandemic had actually helped bring the world closer. These results are displayed in the next graph.

France, Japan, the United Kingdom, Germany, and the US overall were the most pessimistic nations on this question. However, this result correlates only weakly on how poorly respondents think their own country performed on the question of COVID-19. In each of these countries, the political left tended to be closer to split on this question, and the political right more clearly viewed that the pandemic had pushed the world further apart. This effect was weaker in countries that had a more optimistic view of the pandemic’s consequences for global cooperation. We do not, however, see major differences in how this question is viewed across age cohorts in the sample. In most of the countries in the sample, younger respondents and

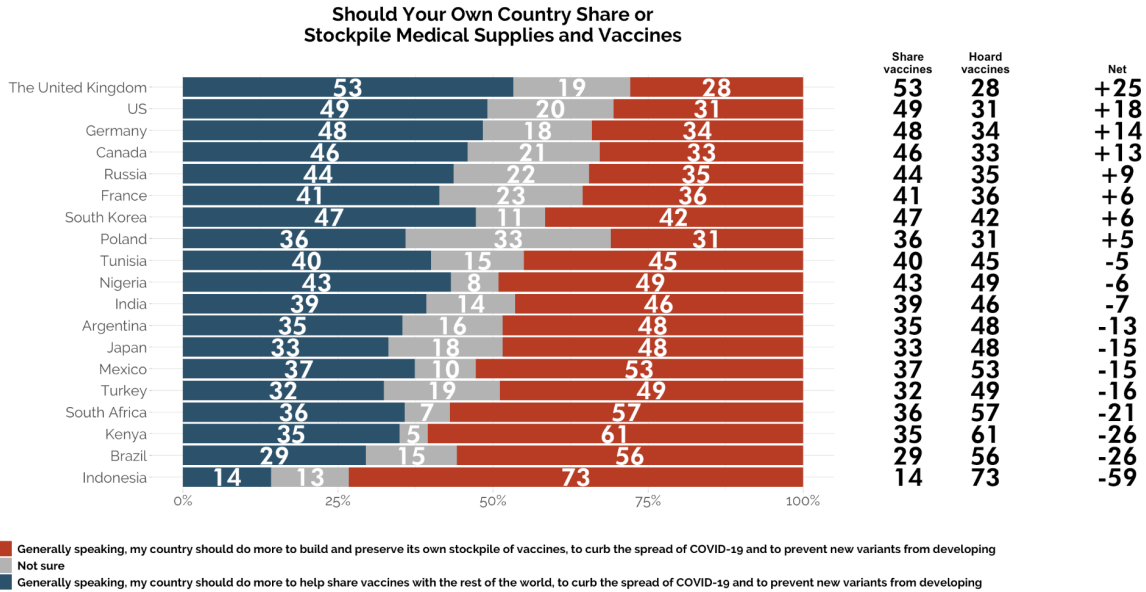
older respondents feel similarly about this item, and we also do not observe consistent results when broken out by other factors like political ideology.

Rather, while countries in the “Global North” tended to express more pessimism about COVID-19’s impact on international relations, countries in the Global South are more optimistic. Our results also suggest that the countries more optimistic about how the recovery effort brought the world closer together also view global institutions more favorably overall, as we demonstrate below. Countries that are generally more optimistic about the ability of international organizations to help tackle the world’s problems are also more optimistic about how countries can cooperate in times of crisis.



Yet respondents also said they believed their country acted sensibly by prioritizing their own self-interests in the vaccination process. If forced to choose between whether they believed their country should stockpile vaccines and medical supplies or if their country should share those vaccines with the world, respondents overwhelmingly reported they believed their country should focus on stockpiling for itself. The following chart shows the results for an item where we asked respondents if they believed their country should focus on sharing their vaccine supplies with the rest of the world, or on building up their own stockpiles. There, respondents in about

half of the countries in the sample said they should focus on building up their own stockpiles, with another one-third or so of the sample being split on this question, and a smaller share saying to focus on sharing their supplies. While a few wealthier countries in the sample prioritized sharing their supplies, most countries we surveyed were split or were on net against the idea of doing so.



The World is Ready to Return to the UN

After over a year of crisis, this study shows that trust in international institutions has remained surprisingly robust. As the UN prepares for its second annual meeting of the General Assembly during this pandemic, this survey shows that people across a range of countries trust the UN are skeptical of opting out of international institutions, and are eager to cooperate across countries.

Highest trust in the US and EU, higher suspicion of China and Russia

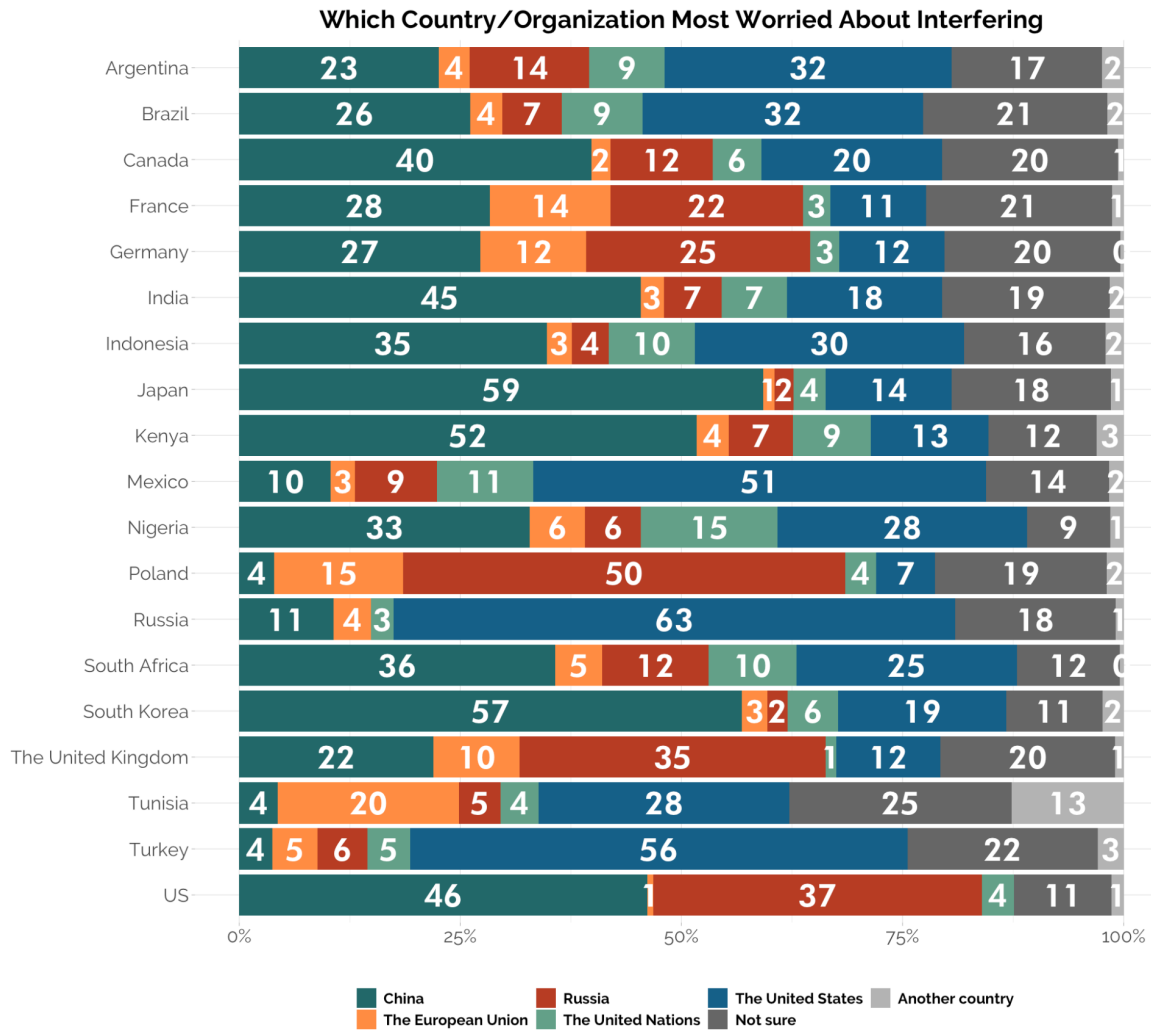
Our survey pressed respondents on countries and global organizations they were most worried about when it came to potential interference in their country’s affairs. We asked respondents,

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

And

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

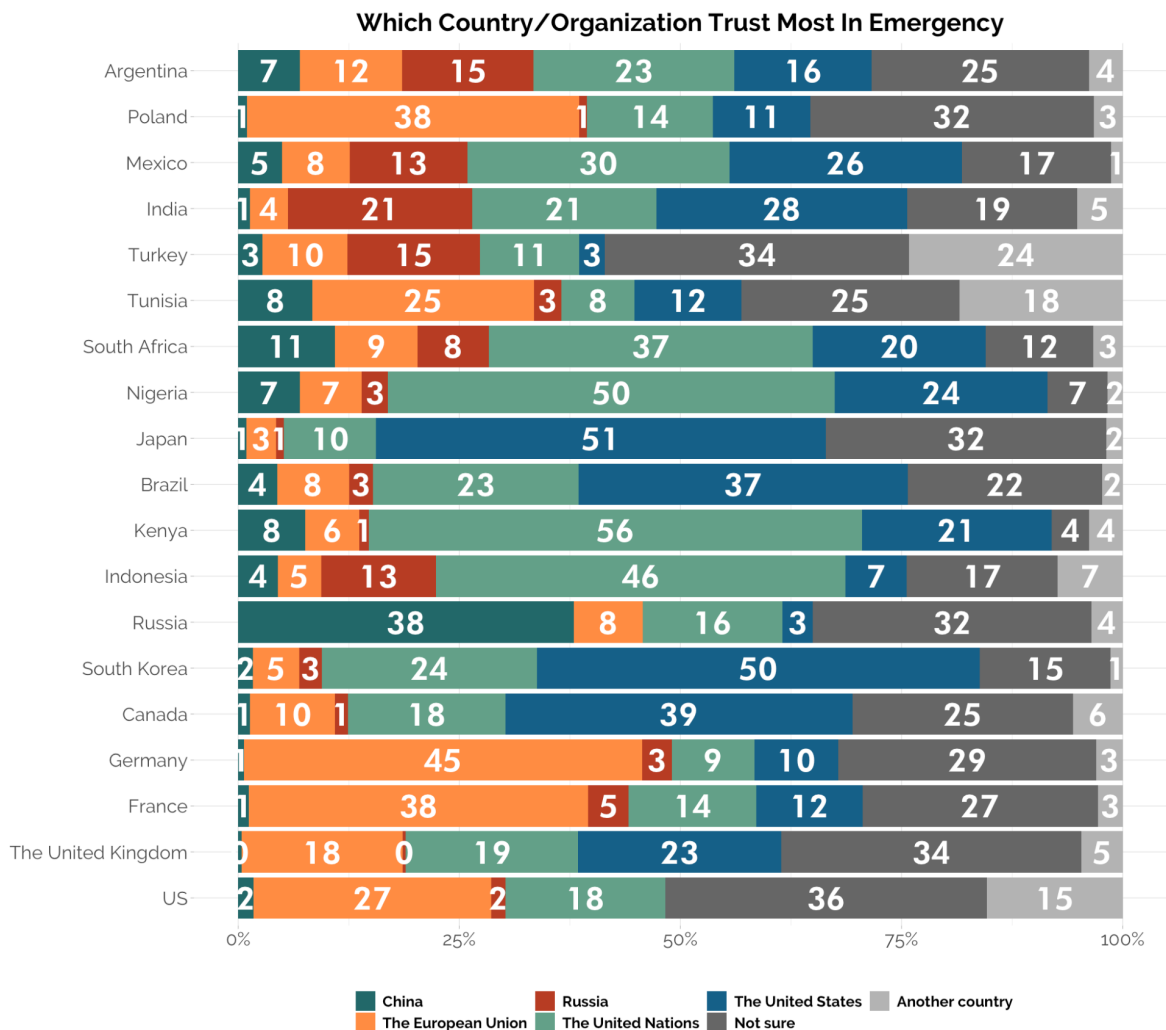
In several countries, including Argentina, Mexico, Turkey, Brazil, and Russia, a plurality of respondents said they were most worried that the United States might interfere in their country's affairs. Respondents in Poland and the United Kingdom were most worried about interference from Russia, and countries like France, Germany, and the United States were roughly statistically split between worrying most about interference from Russia and China. Other countries in the sample, including India, South Africa, Nigeria, Japan, Kenya, Indonesia, South Korea, Canada, and by a narrow margin in the United States, were worried about interference from China.



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

There is a strong political dimension to which countries respondents worry about. For example, in Russia, while the political left is roughly split on whether they're more worried about the United States or China (about 40 percent and 33 percent respectively), the political right is overwhelmingly worried about the United States (at about 60 percent, with no other option earning more than 7 percent). In Germany, the political left is equally worried about interference from the United States and China (about 16 percent apiece), while the political right is overwhelmingly worried about interference from China. In the United Kingdom, the political left is strongly worried about interference from Russia (32 percent) and the United States (23 percent), while the political right is most worried about China (30 percent) and the European Union (28 percent).

On the other hand, when the question was framed in the opposite direction, asking respondents which country or global organization they trusted most to help their country in a time of crisis, respondents in much of the sample were split between the United Nations and the United States. Respondents from European countries across the sample tended to say they trusted the European Union the most, followed by the United States. Asian countries in the sample, including Japan and South Korea, overwhelmingly said they trusted the United States the most, while respondents from Indonesia most strongly preferred the United Nations. Respondents from Russia said they were most trusting of China when it came to helping out their country in an emergency.



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

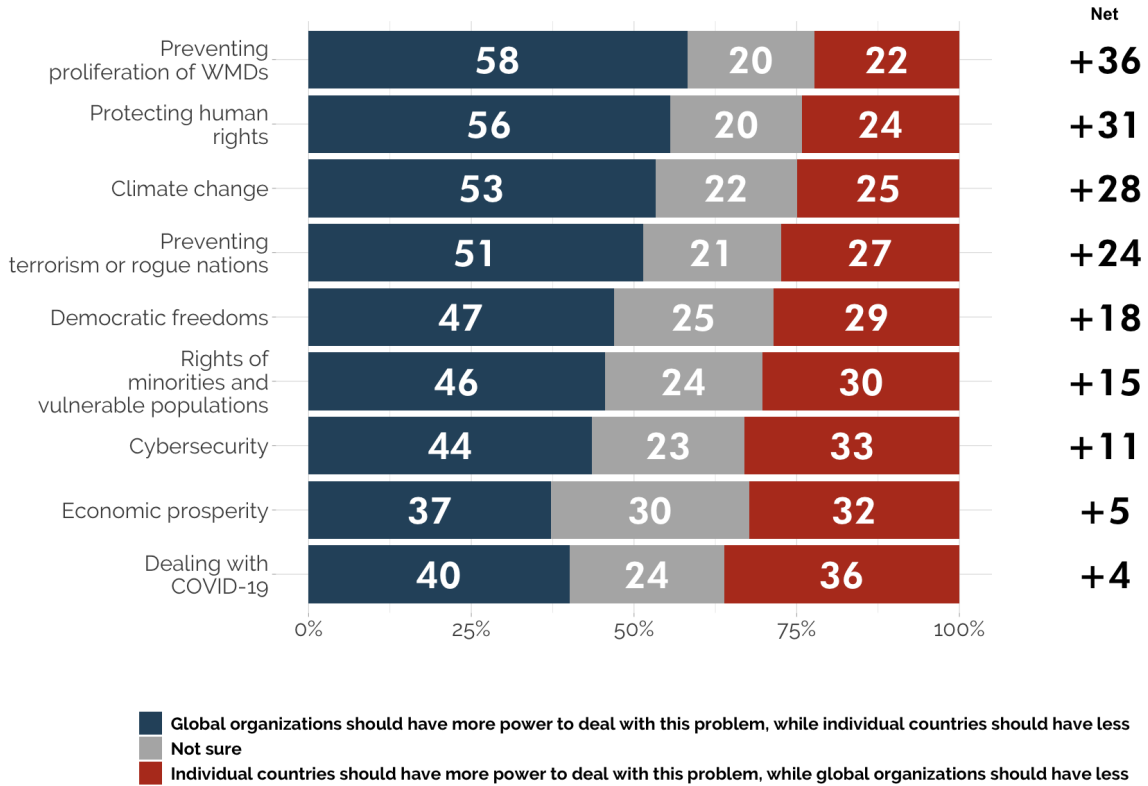
Generally speaking, NATO member states reported they were most worried about interference in their country's affairs from China and Russia. At the same time, most European countries reported they were most trusting of the European Union to help them in an emergency. Respondents in the United Kingdom also said they would trust the European Union, though most UK respondents said they placed the most trust in the United States in such circumstances. For countries in the Americas, respondents were most worried about interference in their own country's affairs from China and the United States, including overwhelming concern from respondents in the Mexico sample about US interference in their country's affairs. Respondents in Asian and African countries overwhelmingly reported they were worried about China interfering in their country's affairs.

Countries support multilateral opportunities for cooperation across several issues, including through the United Nations

Although many respondents report being worried about the intentions of their neighboring countries, we also generally find that respondents think that more global cooperation is important to dealing with the problems of the future. We asked respondents about a variety of issues the world is facing. A typical set of results, here from France, is below (all results are in Appendix B).

For example, respondents across countries overwhelmingly believed that individual countries should have less responsibility for dealing with the proliferation of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. Most countries also overwhelmingly believed that more global cooperation was needed on the issue of climate change. At the same time, respondents were more split on the question of whether more global involvement was needed when it came to dealing with COVID-19, perhaps not surprising given other responses suggesting that respondents' own countries had done well to combat the pandemic and that it was preferable to stockpile rather than share medical supplies and vaccines.

**France:
International Powersharing**

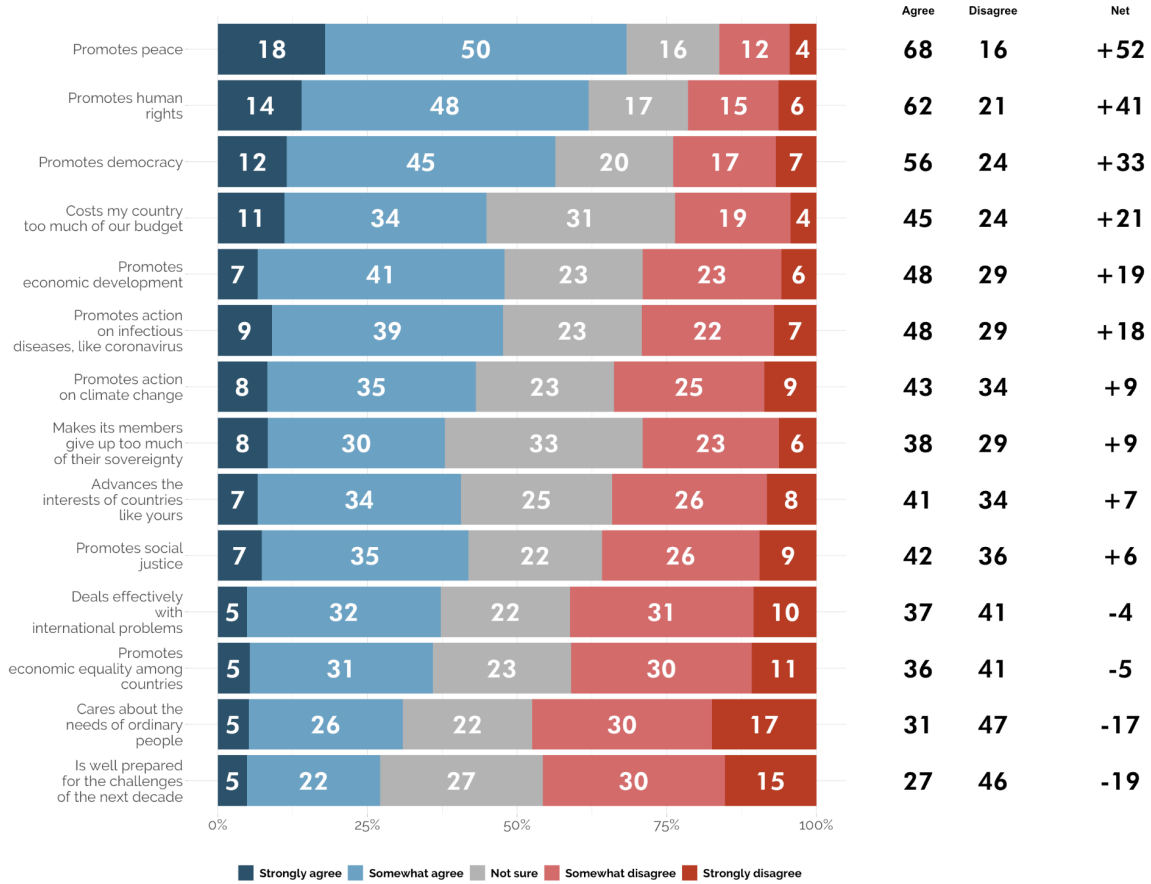


And when it comes to the following areas, would you say (countries should deal with the following on their own, or should global organizations of many countries have more authority to deal with them)?

Indeed, views about the United Nations were overall positive along many dimensions. We asked respondents about a variety of elements of the United Nations’s mission, and asked whether they agreed or disagreed that the United Nations successfully promoted that element of its agenda. The following chart shows the results of these items for the country of France, whose responses were typical of the sample overall.

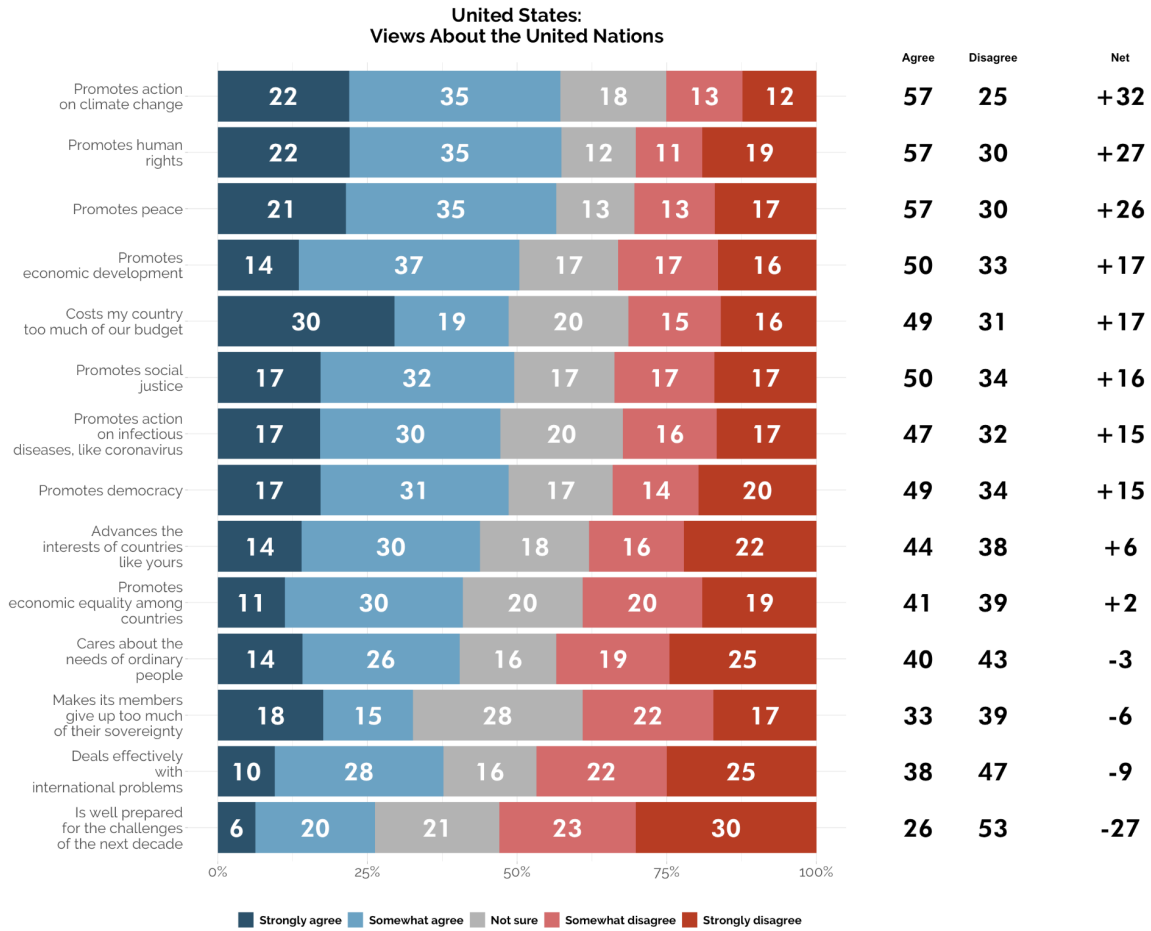
For example, there is an overwhelming belief that the United Nations “promotes” aspects of its mission like peace, human rights, and democracy. Notably, across most of the sample, respondents also reported agreeing that the United Nations “advances the interests of countries like [theirs].” Within that item, there is a perhaps predictable political dimension to responses, with right-leaning respondents slightly but not overwhelmingly disagreeing with this statement, and vice versa for left-leaning respondents. Yet, respondents in much of the sample specifically disagreed with the idea that the United Nations “is well prepared for the challenges of the next decade.”

**France:
Views About the United Nations**



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

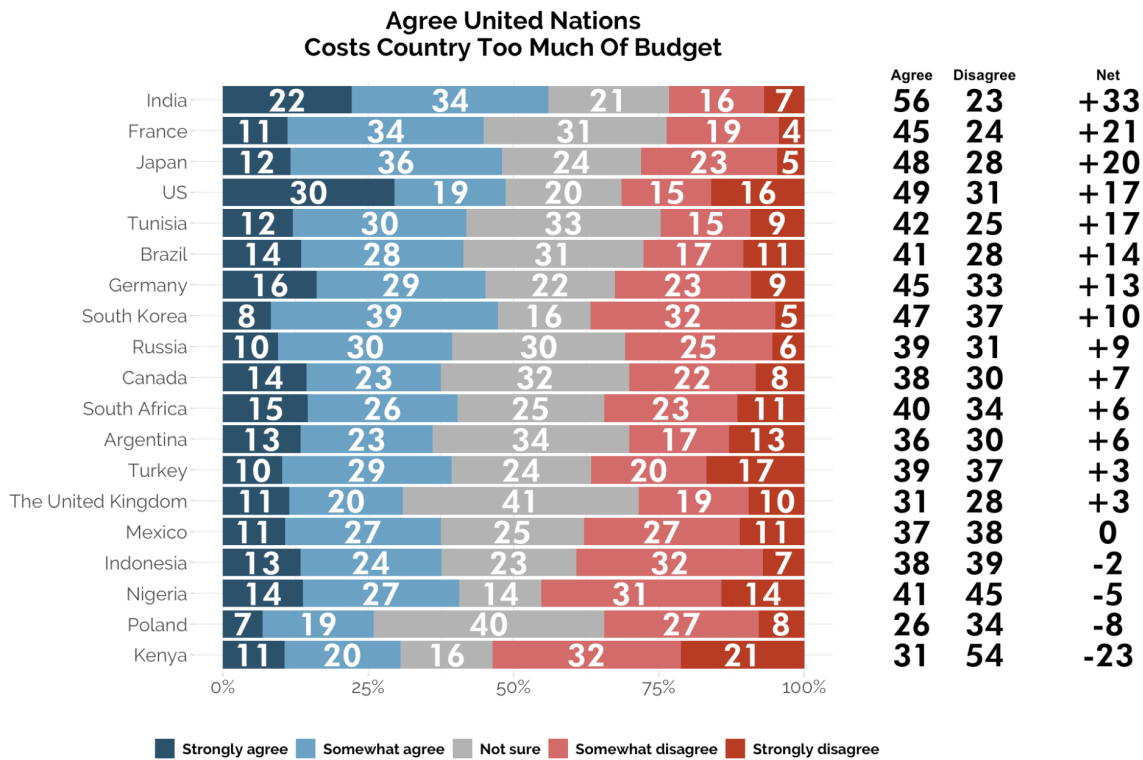
Notably, while the United States is generally considered to be uniquely skeptical of global organizations, our results suggest American voters also hold fairly high views of the United Nations. For example, more Americans agree than disagree with the statement that the United Nations “advances the interests of countries like [theirs].” That said, American respondents, like those from other countries, tended to disagree with statements like “the United Nations deals effectively with international problems” and “the United Nations is well prepared for the challenges of the next decade.”



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.

Despite support for the UN, budget concerns persist

Many respondents also think their contribution to the United Nations is too high. Respondents in many of the countries in the sample on net said they felt their country's contribution to the UN was too high. Likely unsurprisingly, this view is driven by politically more conservative respondents, with respondents who identify as fully to the right on our political scale typically agreeing with this statement by about 15-20 percentage points more than respondents who identify as fully to the left.

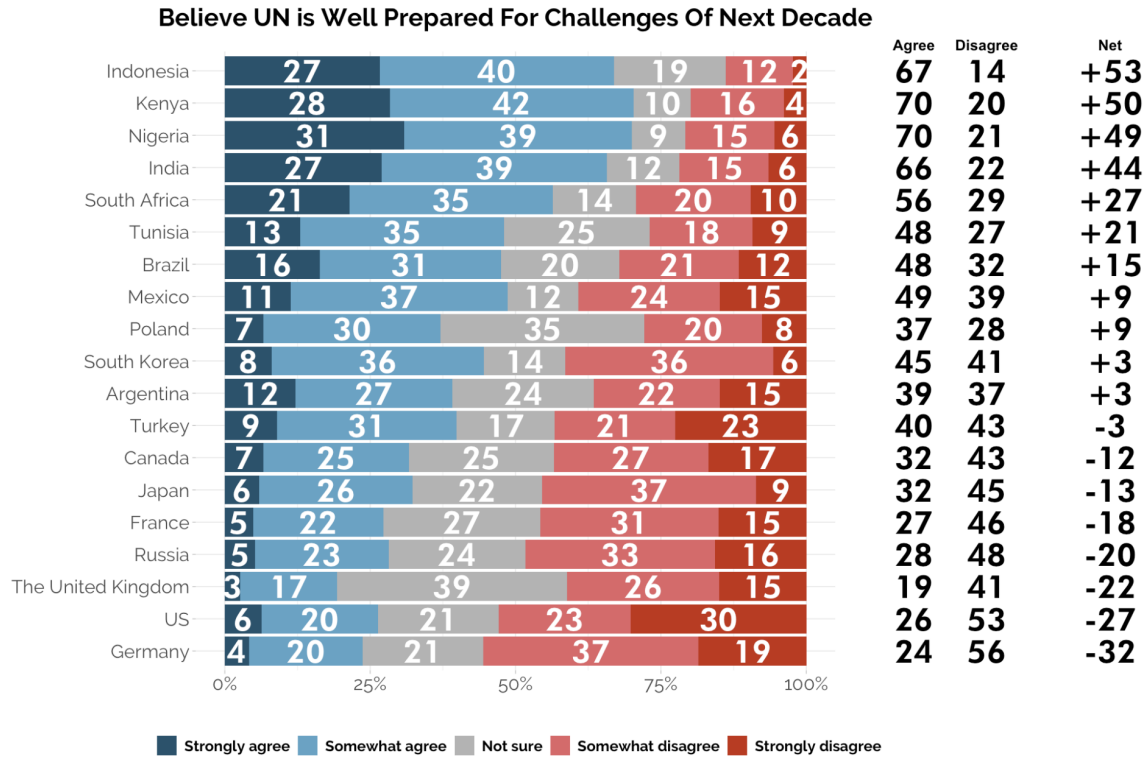


Ambivalence on the UN’s preparedness for the future but faith in global cooperation broadly

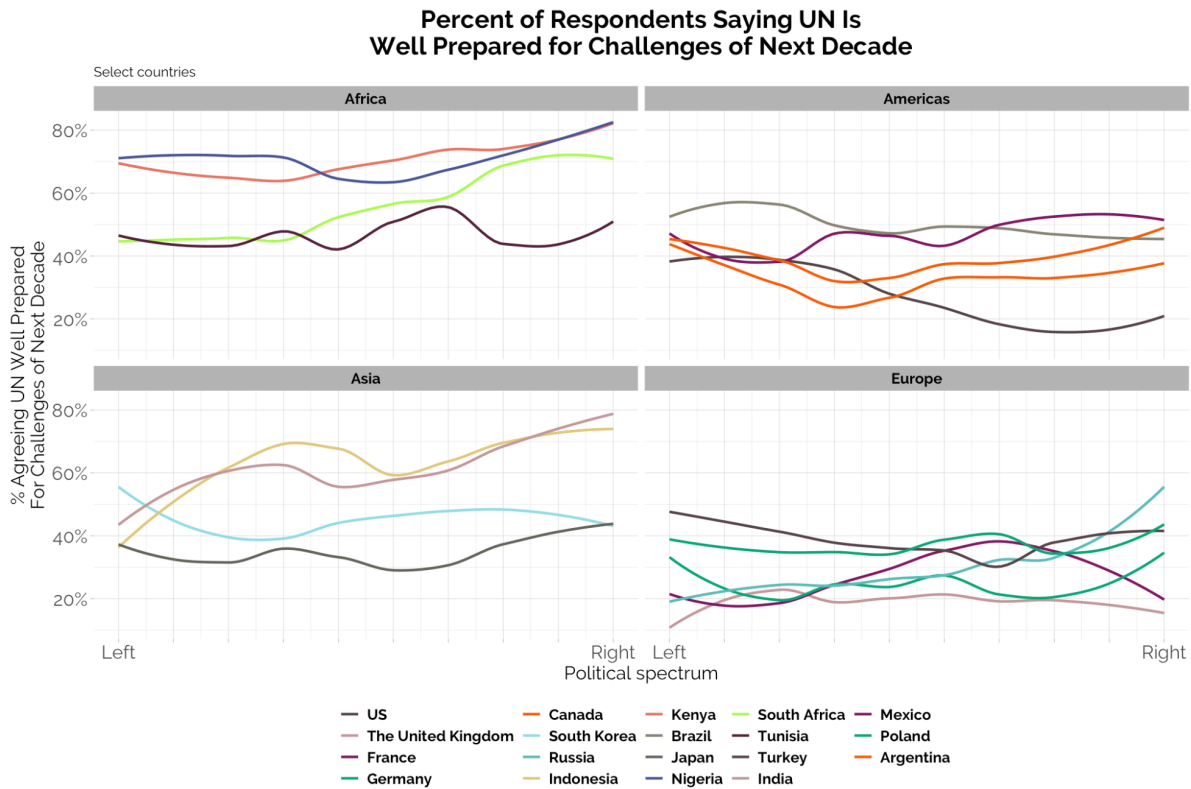
Optimism about the future of the United Nations is highest in countries outside of Western Europe and North America. Respondents from Indonesia, Kenya, Nigeria, and India were most optimistic about the future of the UN, with respondents agreeing with the statement by about a +50 percentage point margin across these countries. Respondents in Argentina, South Korea, and Turkey were roughly split on this question.

Many of the wealthiest countries in the sample - Canada, Japan, France, Russia, the UK, the US, and Germany - were conspicuously pessimistic on this question. Respondents in these countries disagreed to a substantively and statistically significant degree with the statement, “the UN is well prepared for the challenges of the next decade.” In countries like Germany, the UK, and the US, where political ideology has a strong correlation with views about global

cooperation, we find that more politically left respondents are generally more optimistic about the ability of the UN to handle the challenges of the next decades.



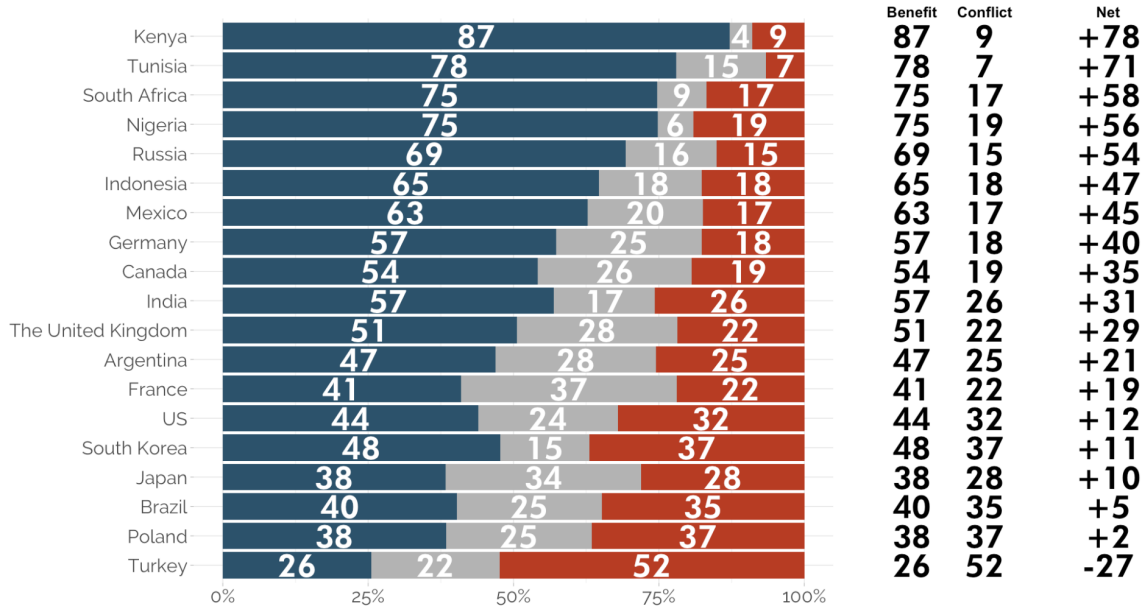
Notably, there is not a strong political dimension to this view among the countries in our sample, after controlling for country of origin. The following chart breaks out this result for a few select countries. In some parts of the sample, such as India and South Africa, respondents who are politically to the right are slightly more likely to agree that the UN is well prepared. Respondents in the US who are politically to the left feel the opposite. In many countries, there is no apparent relation. The differences across countries are considerably larger than the differences within them.



But while many respondents said they believed the UN would face challenges in the coming decade, most respondents were optimistic when it came to the question of what the future would mean for the future of multilateral relations overall. We asked respondents whether they believed that the rising wealth of developing countries posed a threat to their own country, or an opportunity.

Across the sample, only respondents from Turkey expressed pessimism on this item, reporting they overwhelmingly believed that the growing wealth of developing countries posed a threat to their own. In every other country in the sample, respondents were on net optimistic about the future. Respondents in Canada, Germany, Indonesia, Mexico, Russia, South Africa, Nigeria, Tunisia, and Kenya were nearly unanimous on this point, with twenty percent or less of respondents in each country expressing pessimism. Respondents in India, the United Kingdom, Argentina, and France strongly agreed with the optimistic outlook as well, while respondents in the US, Japan, Brazil, and Poland were more split.

Conflict Or Cooperation With Countries That Are Growing Wealthier



■ My country is likely to come into conflict with other countries that are growing wealthier and more developed
■ Not sure
■ My country is likely to benefit from more trade and cooperation with other countries that are growing wealthier and more developed

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

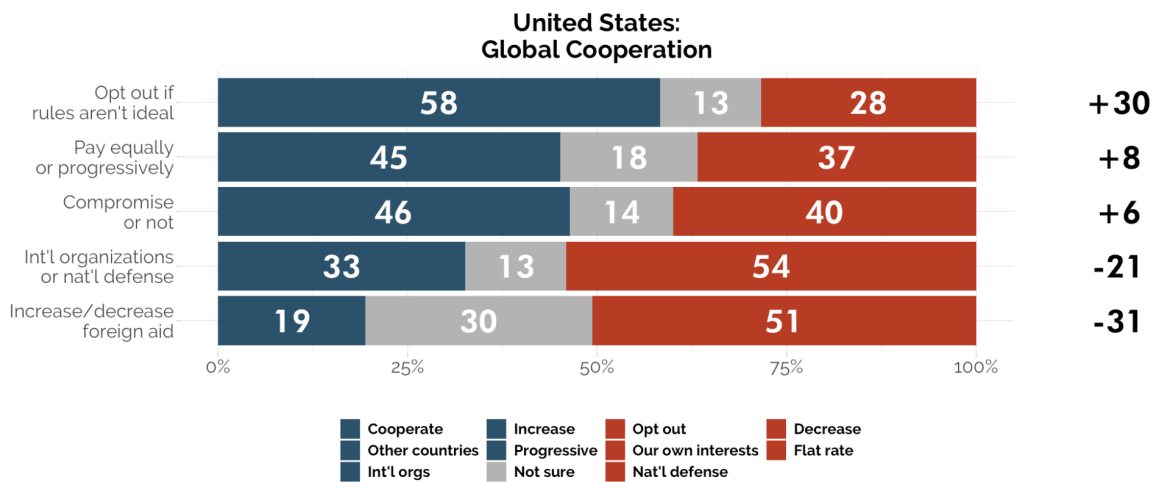
Similarly, respondents across the sample agreed with several statements requiring them to choose between a nation-centric or multilateral approach to several different elements of international affairs. Even in countries like the United States, Americans would overwhelmingly rather retain their membership in international organizations even when presented with explicit tradeoffs with respect to national sovereignty. For example, we asked respondents,

- And even if it isn't exactly right, which of the following is closer to your view?*
- <1> *Even though no set of rules is perfect for everyone, it is important for countries to cooperate to tackle the world's biggest problems*
 - <2> *If the rules set by an international treaty or global organization aren't ideal for a country, that country should opt out of that global organization*
 - <3> *Not sure*

Fully 58 percent of respondents in the United States sample said they would prefer for countries to cooperate, and 28 percent said it would be preferable to opt out of global organizations that include such requirements. Similarly, we asked respondents,

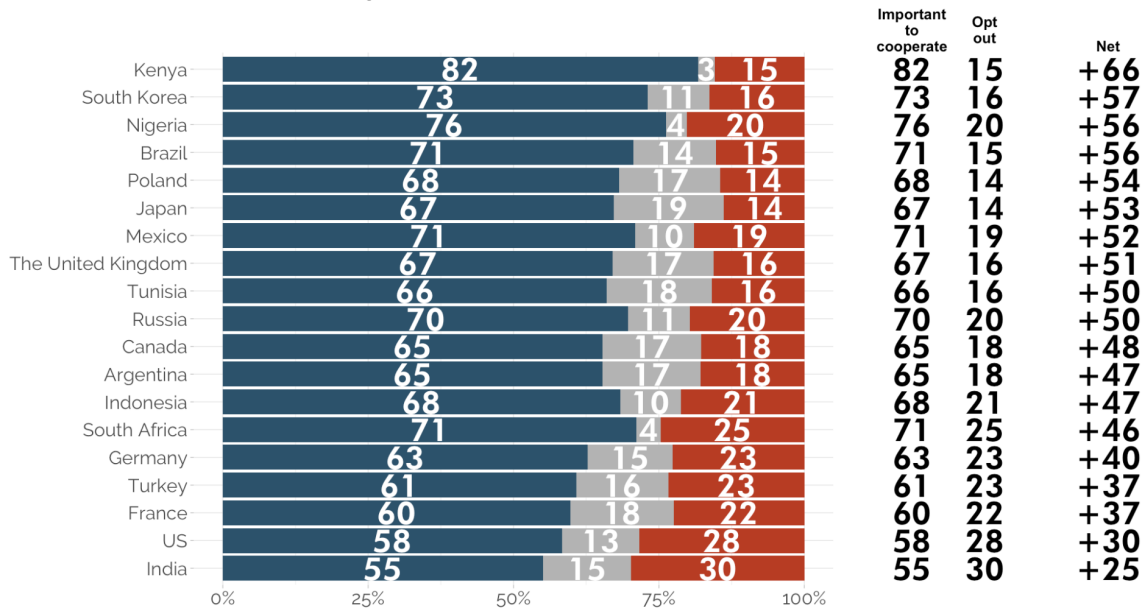
And even if it isn't exactly right, which of the following is closer to your view?
 <1> Our country should take into account the interests of other countries even if it means making compromises with them
 <2> Our country should follow its own interests even when other countries strongly disagree
 <3> Not sure

Even when phrased this way, respondents from the United States narrowly said they preferred sticking with global organizations rather than following their own interests.



Indeed, across the full sample, large majorities of respondents across the sample agreed that, even if the rules of international organizations aren't ideal for their countries, it is important to stick with those organizations. Notably, in the United States, where membership in international organizations is highly politicized, the majority of respondents who say the US should stick with global organizations included about 45 percent of Republican respondents. In France, the large majority of French respondents who agreed included fully 45 percent of those who said they voted for Marine Le Pen in the previous presidential election.

Opt Out If Rules Aren't Ideal



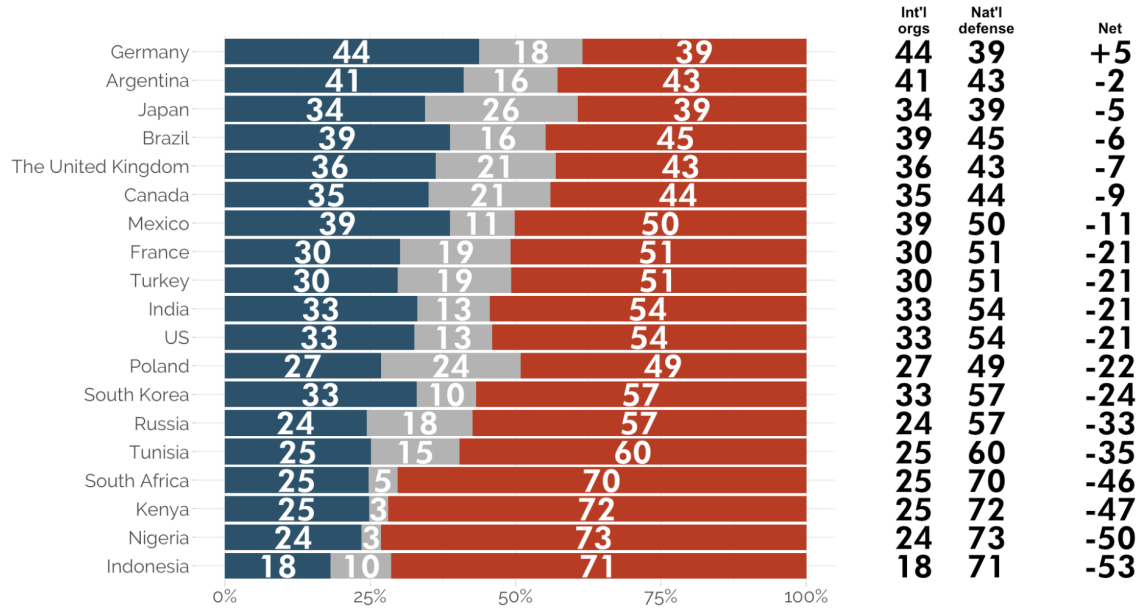
■ If the rules set by an international treaty or global organization aren't ideal for a country, that country should opt out of global organization
■ Not sure
■ Even though no set of rules is perfect for everyone, it is important for countries to cooperate to tackle the world's biggest problems

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

However, when pressed on the subject of funding constraints when it comes to international organizations, respondents in almost every country said they would prioritize military spending over funding international organizations if pressed to choose between the two. Of the countries in our sample, only respondents in the Germany sample were narrowly split in favor of funding international organizations, with respondents on net saying they would prefer to fund their military rather than international organizations.

This is, of course, a heavily contrived dichotomy. In practice, no nation's budget is constrained by its need to fund only one to the exclusion of the other. But this result is relevant because this very contrivance is at the heart of many critiques made by political leaders when it comes to whether their country should be involved in international affairs. To the degree that people perceive this dichotomy as real, they will generally prefer to prioritize national defense over involvement in international institutions.

Country Should Fund IOs vs Country Should Focus On National Security



■ My country should focus more on building up its national defenses, to ensure we can keep the peace
■ Not sure
■ My country should focus more on funding international organizations, to ensure the world is more peaceful and orderly

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

We further pressed respondents on this general area, by asking them how important it was to listen to the international community when it might disagree with their country's actions. We asked,

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

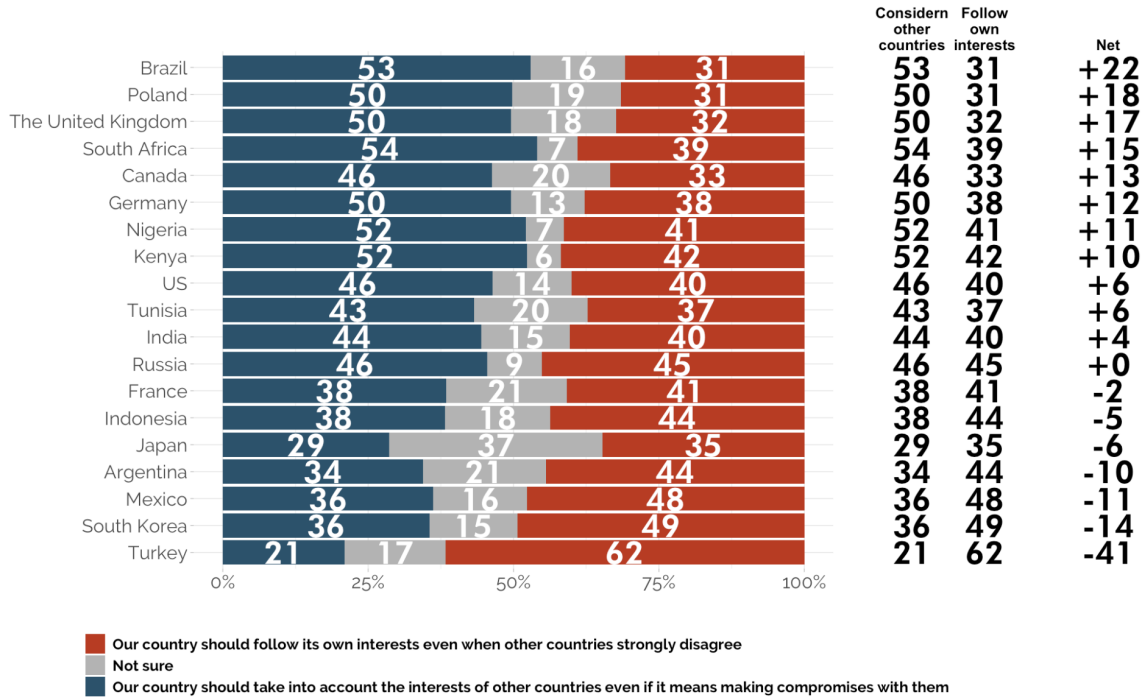
<1> Our country should take into account the interests of other countries even if it means making compromises with them

<2> Our country should follow its own interests even when other countries strongly disagree

<3> Not sure

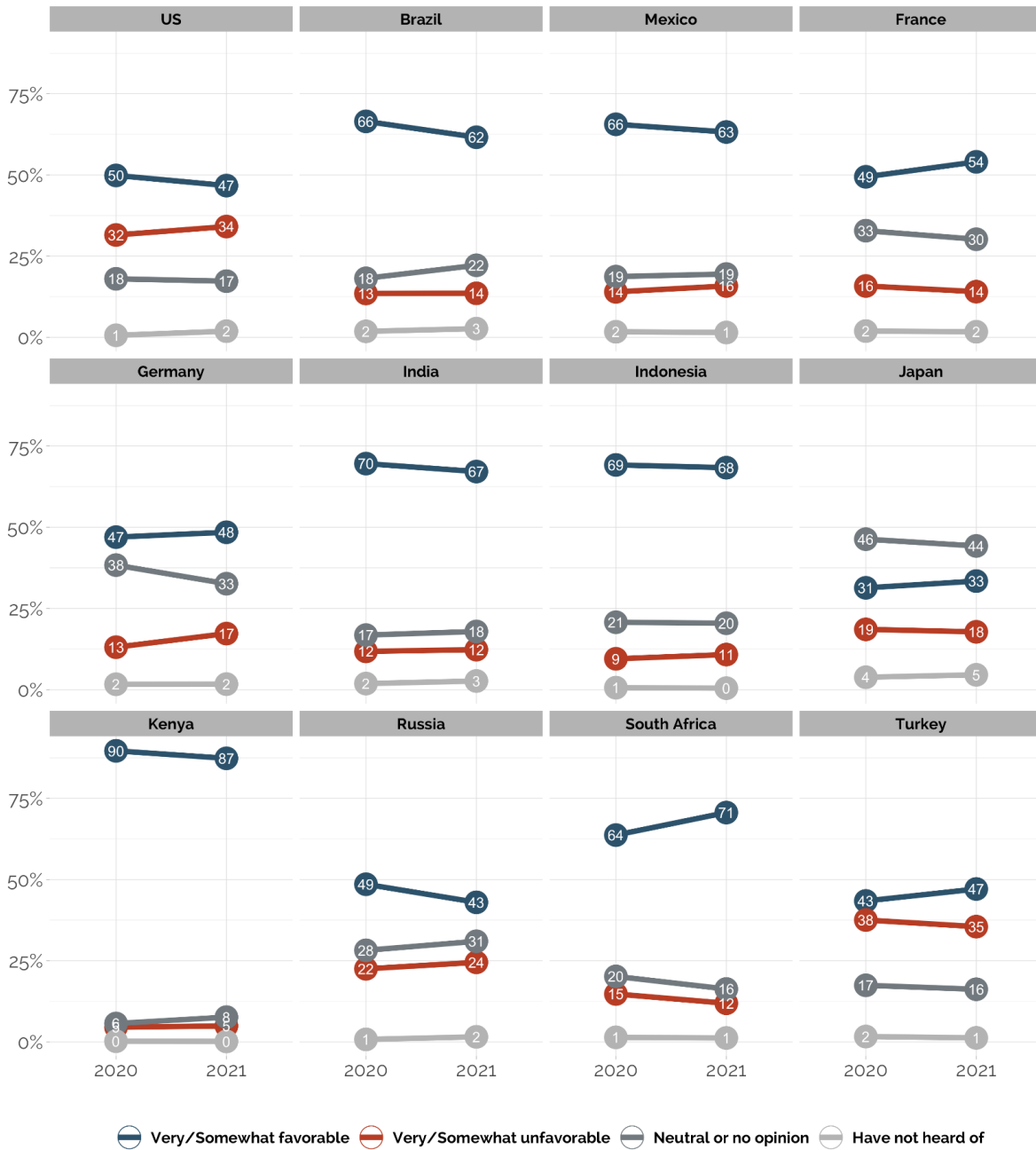
When framed this way, more respondents acknowledge the importance of compromise. While about half of the sample was either statistically split or overall in favor of "pursuing its own interests," more countries overall recognized the importance of compromising with other countries.

**Believe Country Should Consider Other Countries
Or Follow Own Interests**



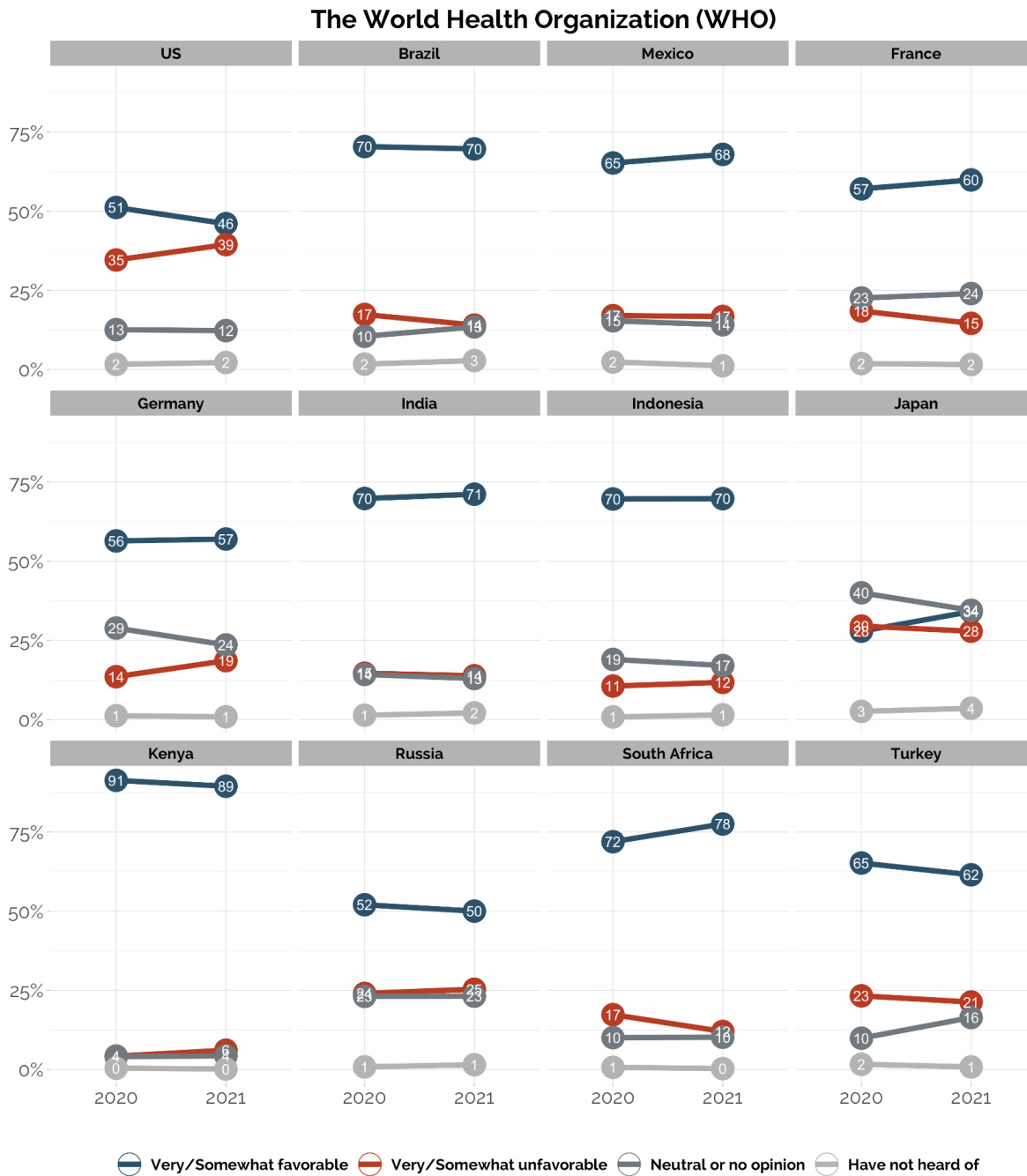
While attitudes toward international relations are mixed, the United Nations’s reputation overall is stable from the first wave of our survey. The following chart shows favorability ratings for the United Nations from the survey’s first wave to the second wave. In only one country, Brazil, has the share of respondents rating the United Nations “very favorably” decreased noticeably (from 41 percent to 34 percent). Across the countries included in both samples, the UN’s favorability ratings are stable.

The United Nations



Similarly, we find that favorability ratings for other international institutions are stable as well. The following chart breaks out the same set of results for the World Health Organization. Although the organization has been seen as pivotal in various countries' response to the

COVID-19 pandemic (for better or for worse), attitudes toward the organization do not seem to have changed much over the past year.



Among the membership organizations which include most or all of the nations in our sample, the World Health Organization remains the most popular, with 62 percent of respondents rating it very or somewhat favorably. The United Nations is close behind, with 58 percent favorability. In contrast, organizations associated with the global financial system are viewed less favorably. For example, about 42 percent of respondents overall rated the World Bank favorably, and about 39 percent of respondents said they viewed the International Monetary Fund favorably.

Conclusion

The Biden Administration enjoys generally favorable reviews around the world but is consistently rated lower on the question of foreign policy. Most countries in the sample also agreed that the US exhibits less leadership on issues like climate change, COVID, and the global refugee situation, compared to its leadership overall. In the cases of climate change and COVID-19, for which we have longitudinal data, ratings of the US on these issues have improved slightly over the past year.

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

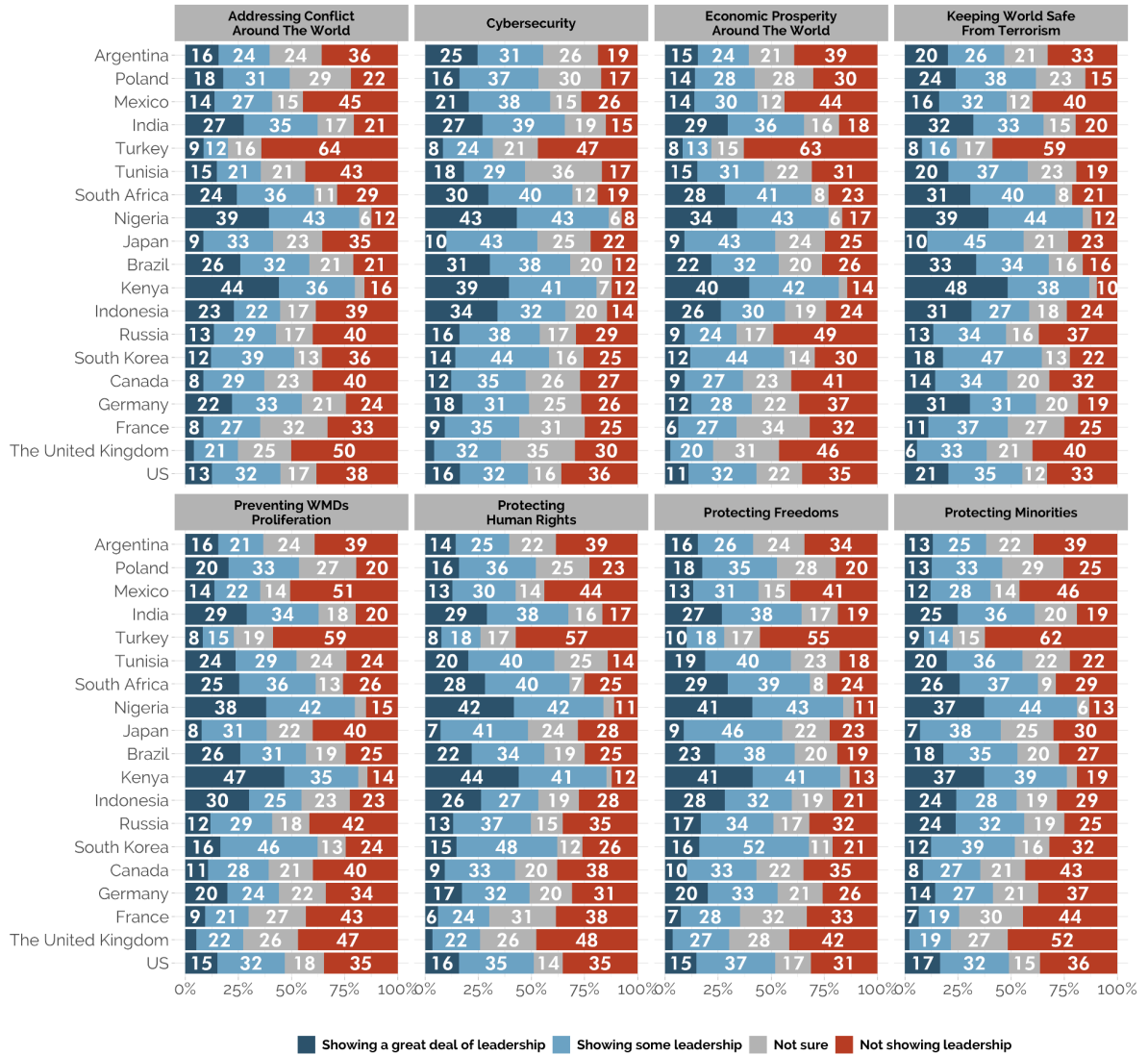
This report is based on 19,176 interviews conducted by YouGov on the internet among respondents in various countries. In constructing this sample, YouGov selected respondents who were representative of the various populations available to them within each of the following countries:

- 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.

Appendix B: Additional Results

Views On US' Leadership



Views About The United Nations

