The FES/YouGov Global Census

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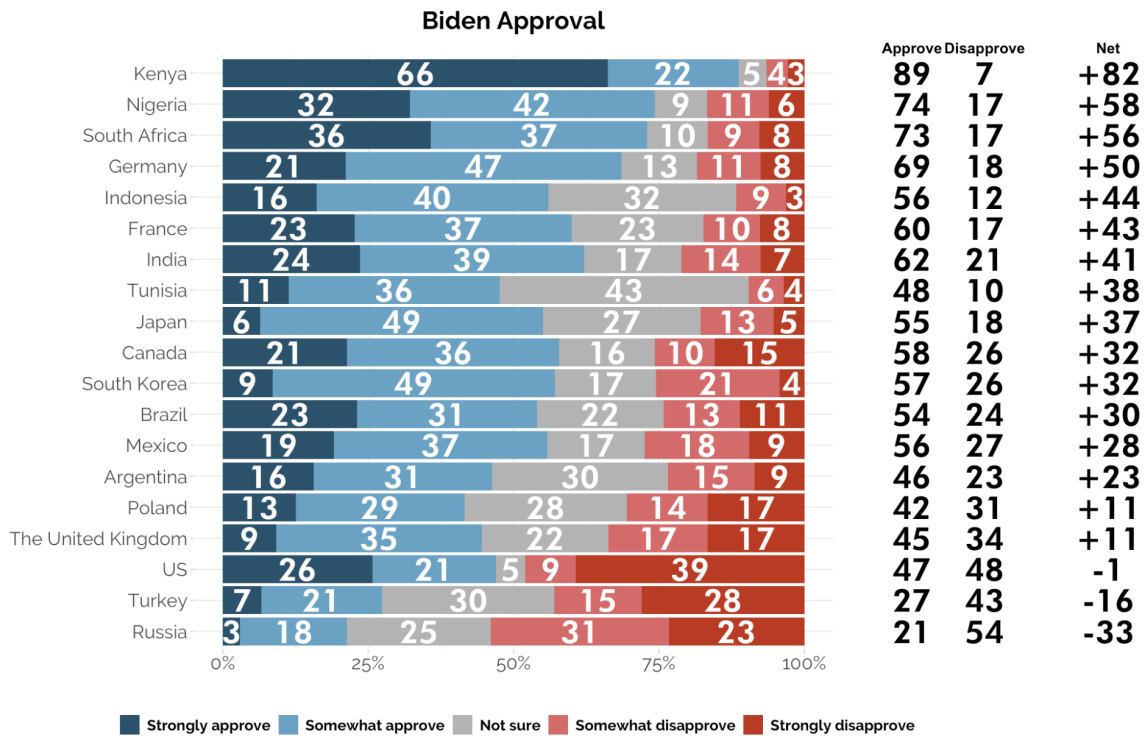
Executive summary

- Countries across the sample are optimistic about Joe Biden.
    - Biden is on net viewed favorably in 16 of the 18 nations surveyed outside of the US, where Americans are split in their views of his job approval.
    - While support is lower when it comes to areas such as combating climate change, support overall is still quite high for the new US administration well into its first year in office.
        - Eleven of the nineteen countries in our sample believe the US is failing to show leadership on climate change
    - Views of US leadership have improved by an average of about 12 percentage points on the issue of climate change, but this remains a weak spot for US leadership

Biden Receives High Marks During His First Months In Office

Across countries, Biden has high approval ratings

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

Our sample includes two notable exceptions where there is not much of an ideological divide when it comes to Biden approval: India and Mexico. With India currently being governed by a coalition of parties that identify with the political right, Biden enjoys an 86 percent favorable rating among politically left respondents from India and also about a 70 percent favorable rating among the political right, a relatively marginal difference in the sample overall. The second exception is Mexico, where the far left actually has a slightly *lower* approval rating of Biden than does the political right (about 40 percent favorable on the left compared to about 60 percent favorable on the right). While the complex relationship between Mexico's and America's leaders over the past two generations produces some unexpected political dynamics, our survey does not contain enough detail to address this directly in more depth.
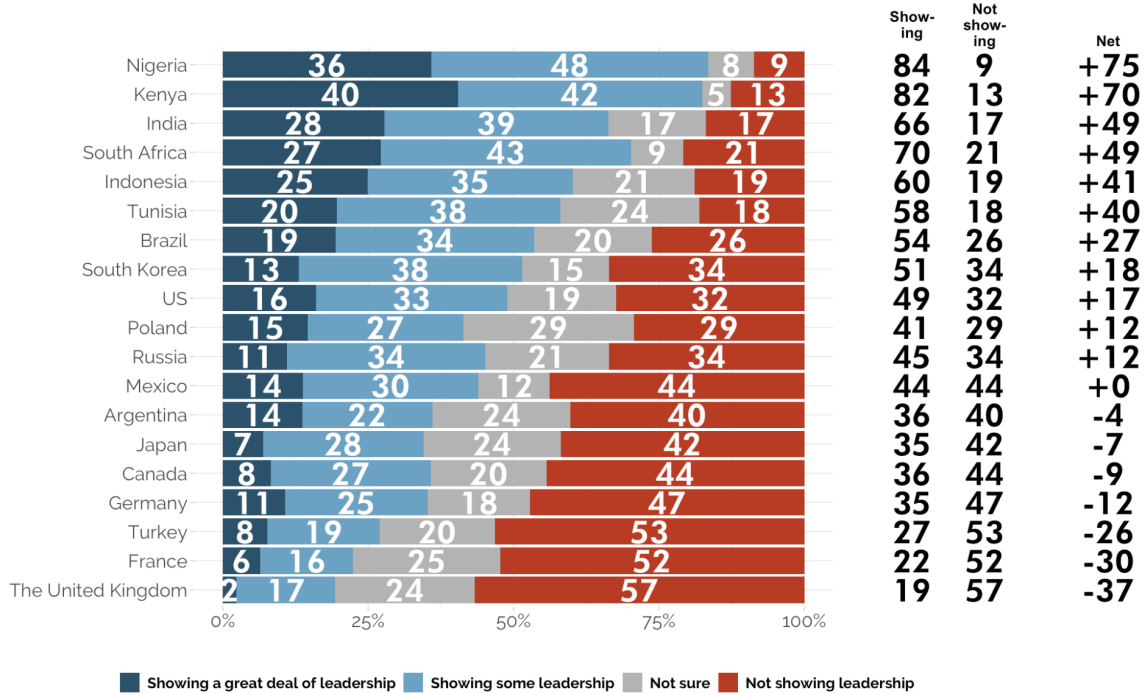
Biden Approval

	Approve	Disapprove	Net
Kenya	89	7	+82
Nigeria	74	17	+58
South Africa	73	17	+56
Germany	69	18	+50
Indonesia	56	12	+44
France	60	17	+43
India	62	21	+41
Tunisia	48	10	+38
Japan	55	18	+37
Canada	58	26	+32
South Korea	57	26	+32
Brazil	54	24	+30
Mexico	56	27	+28
Argentina	46	23	+23
Poland	42	31	+11
The United Kingdom	45	34	+11
US	47	48	-1
Turkey	27	43	-16
Russia	21	54	-33

■ Strongly approve ■ Somewhat approve ■ Not sure ■ Somewhat disapprove ■ Strongly disapprove

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 United States President Joe Biden?

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

Country		Showing	Not showing	Net
Nigeria	36 / 48 / 8 / 9	84	9	+75
Kenya	40 / 42 / 5 / 13	82	13	+70
India	28 / 39 / 17 / 17	66	17	+49
South Africa	27 / 43 / 9 / 21	70	21	+49
Indonesia	25 / 35 / 21 / 19	60	19	+41
Tunisia	20 / 38 / 24 / 18	58	18	+40
Brazil	19 / 34 / 20 / 26	54	26	+27
South Korea	13 / 38 / 15 / 34	51	34	+18
US	16 / 33 / 19 / 32	49	32	+17
Poland	15 / 27 / 29 / 29	41	29	+12
Russia	11 / 34 / 21 / 34	45	34	+12
Mexico	14 / 30 / 12 / 44	44	44	+0
Argentina	14 / 22 / 24 / 40	36	40	-4
Japan	7 / 28 / 24 / 42	35	42	-7
Canada	8 / 27 / 20 / 44	36	44	-9
Germany	11 / 25 / 18 / 47	35	47	-12
Turkey	8 / 19 / 20 / 53	27	53	-26
France	6 / 16 / 25 / 52	22	52	-30
The United Kingdom	2 / 17 / 24 / 57	19	57	-37

Legend: ■ Showing a great deal of leadership ■ Showing some leadership ■ Not sure ■ Not showing leadership
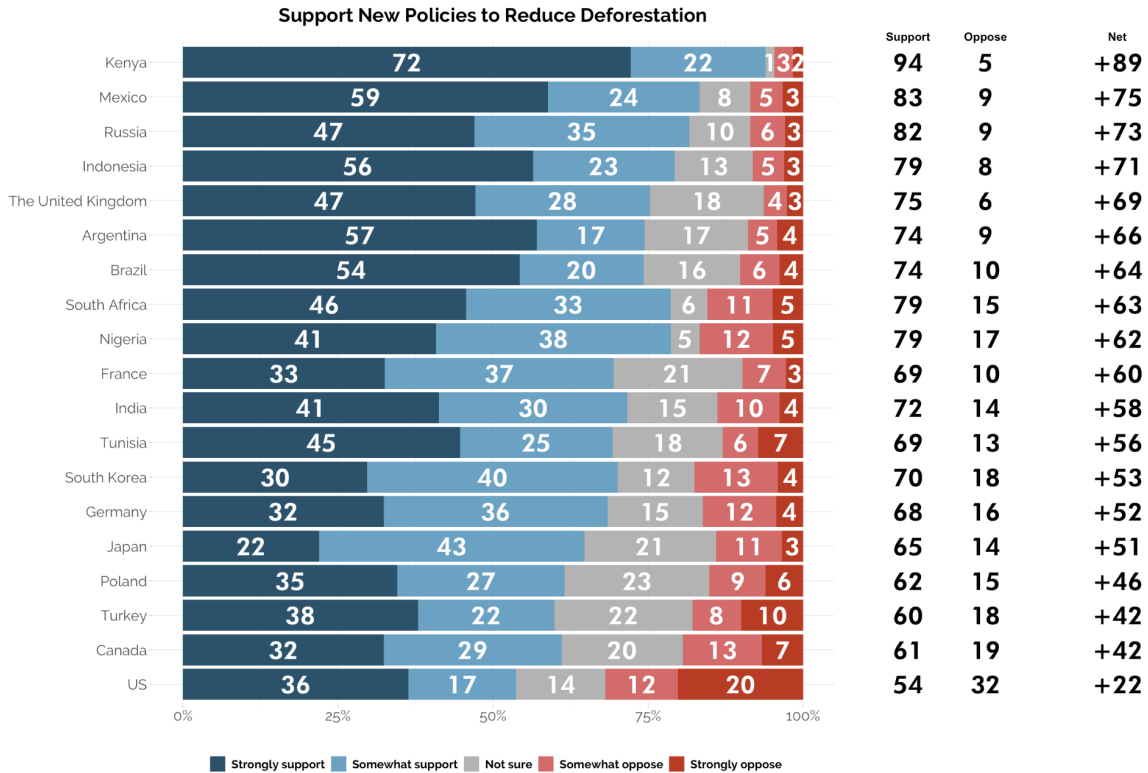
Perhaps notably, within countries, we do not observe much of a political dimension to how people feel about US leadership on climate change. While in some countries climate change is viewed as a traditional "left-right" political issue, our results suggest this is not the case in much of the world. The 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.

Percent of Respondents Saying US Is Showing Leadership on Climate Change

Select countries

% Agreeing US Showing Leadership on Climate

Political spectrum

Legend:
US, The United Kingdom, France, Germany, Canada, South Korea, Russia, Indonesia, Kenya, Brazil, Japan, Nigeria, South Africa, Tunisia, Turkey, India, Mexico, Poland, Argentina
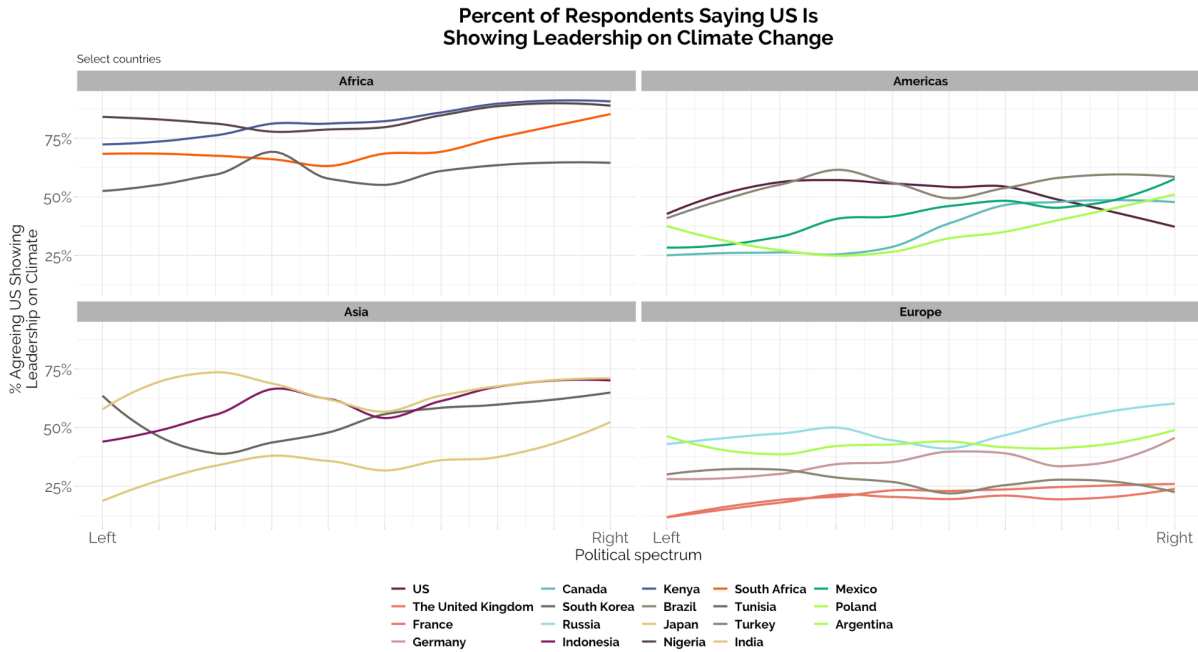
Our results also suggest that dealing with climate change is a significantly higher priority in every country in our sample than it is in the United States. Viewed this way, skepticism of US leadership on climate change is perhaps not surprising. We included several items in our survey measuring support 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.*
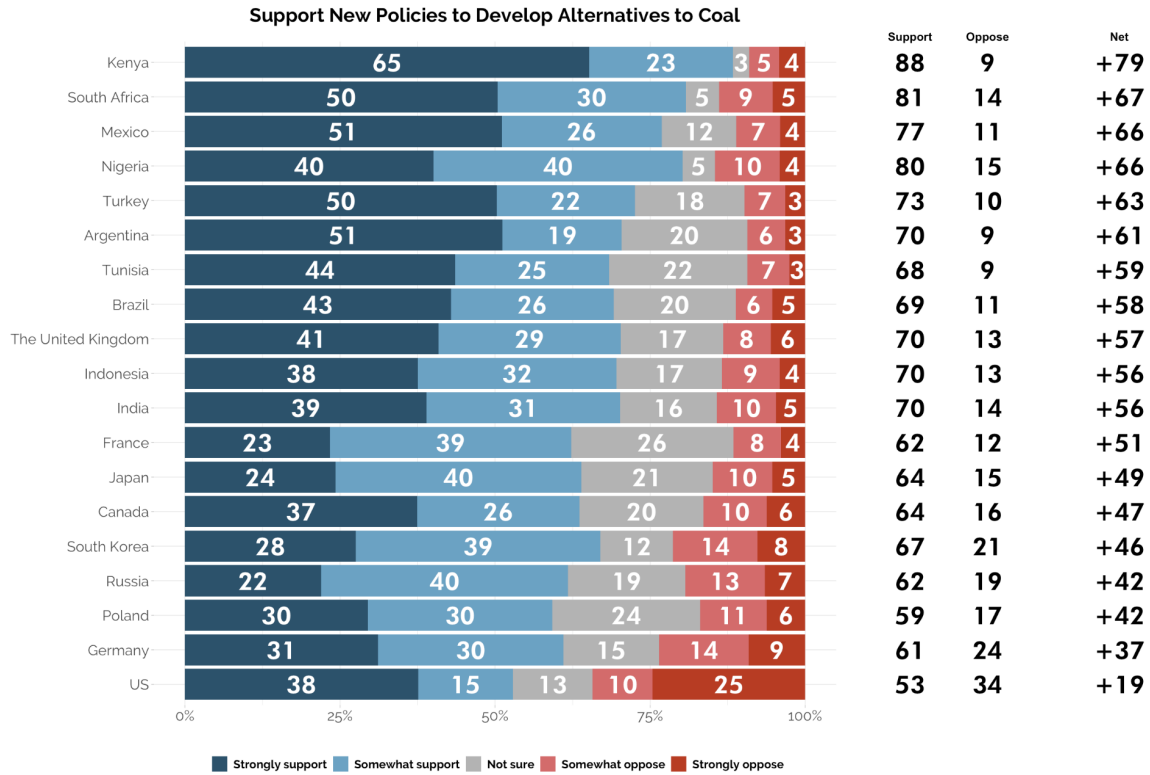
In many countries, support for this goal was essentially unanimous. In all but five countries in our sample, over two-thirds of respondents said they supported this goal. Support for this policy was overwhelmingly positive overall, but net support for anti-deforestation policies is conspicuously lower in the United States than it is in other countries in our sample.

Support New Policies to Reduce Deforestation

Country	Strongly support	Somewhat support	Not sure	Somewhat oppose	Strongly oppose	Support	Oppose	Net
Kenya	72	22	1	3	2	94	5	+89
Mexico	59	24	8	5	3	83	9	+75
Russia	47	35	10	6	3	82	9	+73
Indonesia	56	23	13	5	3	79	8	+71
The United Kingdom	47	28	18	4	3	75	6	+69
Argentina	57	17	17	5	4	74	9	+66
Brazil	54	20	16	6	4	74	10	+64
South Africa	46	33	6	11	5	79	15	+63
Nigeria	41	38	5	12	5	79	17	+62
France	33	37	21	7	3	69	10	+60
India	41	30	15	10	4	72	14	+58
Tunisia	45	25	18	6	7	69	13	+56
South Korea	30	40	12	13	4	70	18	+53
Germany	32	36	15	12	4	68	16	+52
Japan	22	43	21	11	3	65	14	+51
Poland	35	27	23	9	6	62	15	+46
Turkey	38	22	22	8	10	60	18	+42
Canada	32	29	20	13	7	61	19	+42
US	36	17	14	12	20	54	32	+22

Legend: ■ Strongly support ■ Somewhat support ■ Not sure ■ Somewhat oppose ■ Strongly oppose

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.

Similarly, we asked about a COP26 goal pertaining to reducing the use of coal as an energy source. We asked,
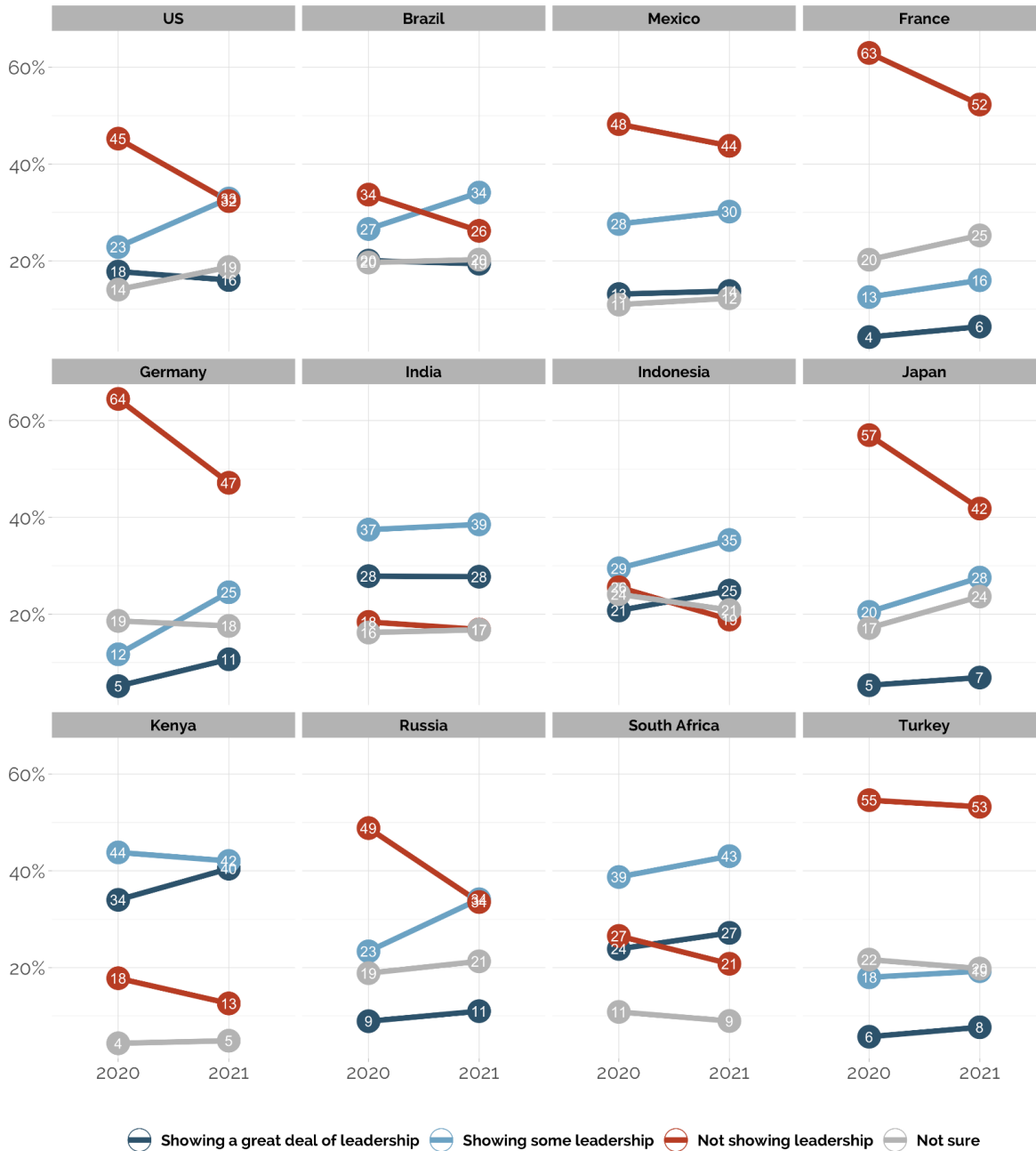
> *Would you [support or oppose] your country adopting new policies to reduce the use of coal as an energy source? This would involve spending government revenue to build alternative energy facilities like wind, solar, and geothermal plants, while closing down existing coal plants.*

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).

Support New Policies to Develop Alternatives to Coal

	Support	Oppose	Net
Kenya	88	9	+79
South Africa	81	14	+67
Mexico	77	11	+66
Nigeria	80	15	+66
Turkey	73	10	+63
Argentina	70	9	+61
Tunisia	68	9	+59
Brazil	69	11	+58
The United Kingdom	70	13	+57
Indonesia	70	13	+56
India	70	14	+56
France	62	12	+51
Japan	64	15	+49
Canada	64	16	+47
South Korea	67	21	+46
Russia	62	19	+42
Poland	59	17	+42
Germany	61	24	+37
US	53	34	+19

Legend: Strongly support · Somewhat support · Not sure · Somewhat oppose · Strongly oppose

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 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

	US	Brazil	Mexico	France
	45 → 32 (Not showing)	34 → 26	48 → 44	63 → 52
	23 → 33	27 → 34	28 → 30	20 → 25
	18 → 16	20 → 20	13 → 14	13 → 16
	14 → 19		11 → 12	4 → 6

	Germany	India	Indonesia	Japan
	64 → 47	37 → 39	29 → 35	57 → 42
	19 → 18	28 → 28	26 → 25	20 → 28
	12 → 25	18 → 17	24 → 21	17 → 24
	5 → 11	16 → 17	21 → 19	5 → 7

	Kenya	Russia	South Africa	Turkey
	44 → 42	49 → 34	39 → 43	55 → 53
	34 → 40	23 → 34	27 → 27	22 → 20
	18 → 13	19 → 21	24 → 21	18 → 20
	4 → 5	9 → 11	11 → 9	6 → 8

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

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.

Conclusion

The Biden Administration enjoys generally favorable reviews overall. President Biden is viewed favorably on net by most of the countries in the sample. The US is consistently rated lower on the question of climate change, but the world also believes the US has slightly improved on this issue over the course of the past year.

The reason for this is fairly straightforward: the world broadly shares a set of general beliefs about what steps need to be taken to combat climate change that the US does not. Respondents in the US were consistently less supportive of various elements of the COP26 agenda, which the rest of the world overwhelmingly supports. That said, US respondents overall approve of each of these reforms, if only by narrower margins than the rest of the world. US leadership on climate change will depend on its leaders' ability to raise the importance of this issue to US voters.

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.