

Emerging Middle Powers 2024

A survey conducted by Verian
on behalf of the Körber Foundation

Table Report

C101002844

verian 



Methodology

Universe	Experts and decision-makers from Brazil, Germany, India, and South Africa the Körber Foundation or their cooperation partners have contact with
Method	Online Interviews (CATI)
Fieldwork	October 15th to December 2nd, 2024
Sample Size	Overall: 906 respondents Brazil: 298 respondents Germany: 217 respondents India: 208 respondents South Africa: 183 respondents
Weighting	In the columns "Total" and "Brazil / India / South Africa" the different countries do have the same weight.

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- My country should support a two-state solution. 16
- My country should play a decisive role in peace negotiations. 16
- The current situation in the Middle East will plunge the region into a wider war in the coming months. 17
- Hamas is a terrorist group. 17
- Israel is committing violations of international humanitarian law in Palestine and must be held accountable. 18
- Israel has the right to defend itself. 18
- The West has lost its credibility as a value-based defender of international rules, democracy and human rights. 19

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- European Union's practices are fair. 25
- My country suffers from US-China trade war. 25
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- G20 29
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 - International institutions are doing enough to protect the environment. 41
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Question 1: Which three of the following actors have the biggest influence on foreign policy in your country? Please select a maximum of three.

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	75	88	74	73	65	78
Head of government	71	83	63	62	76	70
Ruling political parties	40	15	36	62	48	38
Business sector	37	48	40	18	40	35
Foreign actors	21	13	17	28	25	19
Parliament	11	12	10	12	11	11
Ministry of Defence	9	5	21	3	7	10
Ministry of Economy	9	10	10	7	9	9
Media	7	9	8	4	7	7
Civil society	5	5	4	8	3	6
Trade unions	2	1	2	5	-	3
Political parties in the opposition	1	0	1	3	1	2
don't know / no answer	1	0	2	1	0	1
Total	289	289	288	286	294	288

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Question 2: What do you think are the top three foreign policy priorities for your country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
CRISIS / CONFLICTS (net)	37	13	37	28	71	26
-Security / Peace / Stability / Peacemaking	21	11	30	21	22	21
-War in Ukraine	11	-	-	1	42	0
-War in Middle East	6	-	1	7	17	3
-Wars / Conflicts / Crisis	2	1	1	1	3	1
-Terrorism / Crime	2	0	6	-	-	2
-Rivalry USA-China / East-West / Bipolar rivalry	1	0	-	1	3	0
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS (net)	54	49	62	46	59	53
-Strengthen own regional/international position	13	22	20	9	1	17
-China / Relationship with China	11	2	20	1	22	7
-USA / Relationship with USA / Trump	9	1	9	1	24	4
-Relationship with global south	8	9	3	14	4	9
-Relationship with neighbouring countries	7	4	20	2	0	9
-Non-alignment / neutrality / multi-alignment	5	3	8	9	-	7
-Independence from foreign influence	4	9	3	2	1	5
-Relationship with west	3	0	2	2	7	2
-Balance between different (major) powers	3	3	5	4	0	4
-Russia / Relationship with Russia	3	-	2	1	9	1
Climate / Environment	13	29	4	3	17	12
Energy / Resources	6	2	13	4	4	6
Migration / Refugees	3	-	1	1	10	1
Economy	23	19	30	33	11	28
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Question 2: What do you think are the top three foreign policy priorities for your country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
INTEGRATION / COOPERATION (net)	58	70	41	71	51	61
-International trade / (Free) trade agreements	28	30	32	32	17	31
-International order / multilateralism / Global governance	13	21	3	20	9	14
-Reform of international institutions	12	29	5	12	0	15
-European integration / EU	7	-	-	-	28	-
-Regional integration / AU / African Agenda / SADC	7	-	0	27	-	9
-BRICS	4	5	-	11	-	6
-Regional integration / Mercosur	3	11	-	1	-	4
-Regional integration Asia / Indo-Pacific	1	-	3	-	-	1
NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE (net)	27	27	37	21	25	28
-Defense / Military strength	9	1	10	2	22	5
-Development / Technological dev. / Sustainable dev.	6	13	7	5	1	8
-Domestic problems / policies	6	7	11	7	2	8
-Focus on national interests	5	2	9	7	0	6
-Stance on international issues / conflicts	1	3	0	1	1	2
-Territorial Integrity / border security	1	0	5	-	-	2
-Inconsistent / weak foreign policy	1	2	-	1	1	1
OTHER ISSUES (net)	12	19	4	19	7	14
-Equality / human rights / democracy	5	5	0	12	0	6
-Diverse issues	3	3	3	3	3	3
-Fight against hunger	3	9	-	1	-	3
-Protection of democracy / Growing authoritarianisms	2	3	-	3	4	2
don't know / no answer	3	3	5	3	1	4
Total	272	266	272	262	288	267

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Question 3: How do you rate your government's handling of foreign policy in 2024?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Very positive	22	22	41	22	1	28
Somewhat positive	48	56	45	51	41	51
Somewhat negative	20	14	10	14	43	12
Very negative	9	7	3	13	12	8
don't know / no answer	1	1	1	-	3	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	70	79	86	74	41	79
Bottom 2	29	20	13	26	56	20

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Question 4: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
USA						
1 = not important at all	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	1	-	-
3	-	-	1	1	-	1
4	-	-	-	1	-	-
5	2	1	2	4	-	3
6	2	1	-	5	-	2
7	7	4	4	16	2	8
8	14	11	14	25	8	16
9	19	19	19	23	13	21
10 = extremely important	56	64	60	23	77	49
don't know / no answer	-	-	-	1	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	9,1	9,4	9,3	8,2	9,6	8,9
France						
1 = not important at all	-	-	1	-	-	-
2	1	1	1	2	-	1
3	2	2	1	4	-	2
4	4	3	2	9	-	5
5	8	4	5	22	1	11
6	10	13	7	21	1	14
7	17	25	19	18	6	21
8	21	29	28	14	13	23
9	14	14	19	5	18	13
10 = extremely important	22	9	15	4	61	9
don't know / no answer	1	-	2	1	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	7,7	7,4	7,8	6,1	9,3	7,1

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Question 4: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
United Kingdom						
1 = not important at all	-	-	1	-	-	1
2	1	1	1	-	-	1
3	2	1	2	3	1	2
4	3	6	3	1	3	3
5	9	11	12	10	5	11
6	13	17	16	10	9	14
7	21	25	21	22	17	23
8	23	23	19	28	23	23
9	16	9	14	12	25	12
10 = extremely important	11	5	11	13	17	9
don't know / no answer	1	2	-	1	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	7,4	6,9	7,1	7,4	7,9	7,2
Russia						
1 = not important at all	2	1	-	1	4	1
2	2	1	-	2	4	1
3	3	-	-	8	4	3
4	5	2	-	9	7	4
5	5	5	1	4	9	3
6	7	11	4	9	5	8
7	16	25	12	15	13	17
8	22	25	26	23	16	25
9	13	14	17	11	11	14
10 = extremely important	24	16	39	18	22	24
don't know / no answer	1	-	1	-	5	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	7,6	7,6	8,7	7,1	7,0	7,8

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Question 4: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Saudi Arabia						
1 = not important at all	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	3	4	-	4	2	3
3	3	4	-	4	3	3
4	6	7	-	6	11	4
5	13	13	3	17	17	11
6	20	28	7	20	24	18
7	22	24	20	19	24	21
8	16	10	27	15	14	17
9	9	5	21	7	4	11
10 = extremely important	8	4	22	7	1	11
don't know / no answer	-	1	-	1	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	6,7	6,2	8,2	6,4	6,1	6,9
China						
1 = not important at all	-	-	1	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	1	-	-
3	-	-	-	1	-	1
4	1	-	1	-	2	-
5	2	-	2	2	3	2
6	4	-	6	4	4	4
7	8	1	10	8	10	6
8	15	4	20	17	22	13
9	20	15	14	31	20	20
10 = extremely important	50	80	46	35	39	54
don't know / no answer	-	-	-	1	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	8,9	9,7	8,7	8,7	8,6	9,0

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Question 4: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Argentina						
1 = not important at all	3	-	5	3	4	3
2	5	-	6	7	8	4
3	12	-	9	17	23	9
4	12	1	14	16	18	10
5	17	2	23	23	19	16
6	12	2	13	13	20	9
7	10	8	15	11	6	12
8	8	16	8	4	2	9
9	7	25	2	1	-	10
10 = extremely important	12	46	2	2	-	16
don't know / no answer	2	-	3	3	-	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	5,8	8,9	5,1	4,7	4,4	6,3
Nigeria						
1 = not important at all	3	3	5	1	3	3
2	4	4	3	-	8	3
3	9	6	9	5	17	7
4	10	12	9	5	13	9
5	19	19	17	15	26	17
6	18	20	18	16	16	18
7	16	18	18	19	10	18
8	12	10	11	21	6	14
9	4	3	5	8	-	5
10 = extremely important	3	3	2	8	1	4
don't know / no answer	2	2	3	2	-	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	5,7	5,6	5,6	6,7	4,8	6,0

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Question 4: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Australia						
1 = not important at all	2	3	1	2	1	2
2	6	12	1	6	4	6
3	9	11	2	12	12	8
4	12	16	1	15	16	11
5	17	20	10	22	18	17
6	17	20	12	17	20	17
7	16	10	23	14	16	16
8	10	3	24	5	10	10
9	5	2	13	2	1	6
10 = extremely important	5	1	12	3	2	5
don't know / no answer	1	2	1	2	-	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	5,7	4,7	7,3	5,2	5,5	5,7
Base: w/o Germany	689	298	208	183	-	689
Germany						
1 = not important at all	1	-	1	1	-	1
2	-	-	-	1	-	-
3	1	1	1	2	-	1
4	3	1	2	4	-	3
5	6	5	7	5	-	6
6	13	10	16	14	-	13
7	22	23	23	21	-	22
8	29	31	26	30	-	29
9	14	19	12	10	-	14
10 = extremely important	10	10	10	11	-	10
don't know / no answer	1	-	2	1	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	-	100
Average	7,5	7,7	7,3	7,4	-	7,5

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Question 4: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Base: w/o India	698	298	-	183	217	481
India						
1 = not important at all	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	1	-
4	2	1	-	1	3	1
5	6	5	-	7	5	6
6	11	9	-	10	14	10
7	24	21	-	27	23	24
8	25	28	-	21	27	25
9	17	20	-	16	14	18
10 = extremely important	15	16	-	17	13	16
don't know / no answer	-	-	-	1	-	-
Total	100	100	-	100	100	100
Average	7,8	7,9	-	7,8	7,6	7,9
Base: w/o South Africa	723	298	208	-	217	506
South Africa						
1 = not important at all	1	-	2	-	2	1
2	2	1	1	-	5	1
3	6	2	4	-	11	3
4	9	5	8	-	14	6
5	15	11	17	-	19	14
6	16	12	16	-	21	14
7	21	28	22	-	14	25
8	16	20	15	-	11	18
9	6	10	6	-	1	8
10 = extremely important	7	11	7	-	2	9
don't know / no answer	1	-	2	-	-	1
Total	100	100	100	-	100	100
Average	6,3	7,1	6,4	-	5,4	6,8

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Question 4: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Base: w/o Brazil	608	-	208	183	217	391
Brazil						
1 = not important at all	1	-	1	-	1	-
2	1	-	2	1	2	1
3	4	-	2	3	6	3
4	5	-	5	4	8	4
5	13	-	15	8	16	12
6	17	-	17	15	18	16
7	21	-	22	17	25	20
8	20	-	16	24	20	20
9	8	-	7	14	2	10
10 = extremely important	9	-	10	14	2	12
don't know / no answer	1	-	3	-	-	2
Total	100	-	100	100	100	100
Average	6,7	-	6,7	7,3	6,2	7,0

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Question 4 (Overview of averages): On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
USA	9,1	9,4	9,3	8,2	9,6	8,9
China	8,9	9,7	8,7	8,7	8,6	9,0
India	7,8	7,9	-	7,8	7,6	7,9
France	7,7	7,4	7,8	6,1	9,3	7,1
Russia	7,6	7,6	8,7	7,1	7,0	7,8
Germany	7,5	7,7	7,3	7,4	-	7,5
United Kingdom	7,4	6,9	7,1	7,4	7,9	7,2
Brazil	6,7	-	6,7	7,3	6,2	7,0
Saudi Arabia	6,7	6,2	8,2	6,4	6,1	6,9
South Africa	6,3	7,1	6,4	-	5,4	6,8
Argentina	5,8	8,9	5,1	4,7	4,4	6,3
Nigeria	5,7	5,6	5,6	6,7	4,8	6,0
Australia	5,7	4,7	7,3	5,2	5,5	5,7

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Question 5: How do you see the relationship between high income countries on the one hand and low- and middle-income countries on the other hand evolving over the next five years? Will they ...?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
improve	19	15	30	22	10	22
deteriorate	46	49	41	42	52	44
stay the same	30	32	25	33	30	30
don't know / no answer	5	4	4	3	8	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Question 6: [Brazil / India / South Africa:] What should Germany do, to improve its relations with low- and middle-income countries?
 [Germany:] What could Germany do, to improve its relations with low- and middle-income countries? Please choose three priorities out of the following list.

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
increase economic & development cooperation	62	59	70	71	49	67
enable technology transfers	56	65	62	51	46	59
increase political and financial support to loss and damage and adaptation to climate change	47	56	38	46	49	47
offer trade concessions	38	22	30	36	62	29
take the lead in reforming multilateral institutions	36	28	33	38	45	33
support open research and development	29	41	29	27	19	32
loosen development aid conditionality	15	18	15	19	6	17
offer military assistance	3	0	4	-	9	2
don't know / no answer	2	1	5	-	1	2
Total	288	291	285	288	286	288

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Question 7: Please choose three actors who have made the greatest effort to enable peace negotiations between Ukraine and Russia.

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Turkey	42	34	36	48	49	39
European countries	36	32	27	29	55	29
China	33	48	31	40	13	40
India	25	14	62	11	11	29
Brazil	24	54	12	17	13	28
African countries	22	11	16	50	9	26
USA	20	13	16	16	34	15
Ukraine	11	7	3	7	25	6
Russia	4	2	8	5	0	5
None of these	11	12	12	9	12	11
don't know / no answer	7	6	8	5	8	6
Total	234	235	231	239	229	235

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Question 8: As it relates to the war in the Middle East, do you agree or disagree to the following statements?

		Country					
	Total	Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689	
My country should support a two-state solution.							
Completely agree	63	79	52	57	65	63	
Somewhat agree	21	14	24	23	23	20	
Somewhat disagree	6	2	9	7	5	6	
Completely disagree	4	3	4	6	2	4	
don't know / no answer	6	2	11	7	5	7	
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Top 2	84	93	76	80	88	83	
Bottom 2	10	5	13	13	7	10	
My country should play a decisive role in peace negotiations.							
Completely agree	31	31	38	42	13	37	
Somewhat agree	40	41	40	35	45	39	
Somewhat disagree	19	16	11	15	33	14	
Completely disagree	9	11	10	7	8	9	
don't know / no answer	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100	
Top 2	71	72	78	77	58	76	
Bottom 2	28	27	21	22	41	23	

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Question 8: As it relates to the war in the Middle East, do you agree or disagree to the following statements?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
The current situation in the Middle East will plunge the region into a wider war in the coming months.						
Completely agree	25	27	28	36	9	30
Somewhat agree	46	52	40	44	48	45
Somewhat disagree	20	15	23	13	31	17
Completely disagree	3	1	6	2	1	3
don't know / no answer	6	5	3	5	11	5
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	71	79	68	80	56	75
Bottom 2	23	16	29	15	33	20
Hamas is a terrorist group.						
Completely agree	55	52	59	29	81	47
Somewhat agree	21	25	21	26	14	24
Somewhat disagree	13	15	9	23	3	16
Completely disagree	7	5	4	18	1	9
don't know / no answer	4	3	7	4	1	4
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	76	77	80	55	95	70
Bottom 2	20	21	13	42	4	25

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Question 8: As it relates to the war in the Middle East, do you agree or disagree to the following statements?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Israel is committing violations of international humanitarian law in Palestine and must be held accountable.						
Completely agree	58	81	39	72	41	64
Somewhat agree	23	13	32	14	32	20
Somewhat disagree	9	1	14	6	16	7
Completely disagree	6	3	11	5	6	6
don't know / no answer	4	2	4	3	5	3
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	81	94	71	86	73	84
Bottom 2	15	4	25	11	22	13
Israel has the right to defend itself.						
Completely agree	51	33	64	33	75	43
Somewhat agree	25	33	21	28	17	28
Somewhat disagree	13	18	8	24	5	16
Completely disagree	8	13	5	12	-	10
don't know / no answer	3	3	2	3	3	3
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	76	66	85	61	92	71
Bottom 2	21	31	13	36	5	26

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Question 8: As it relates to the war in the Middle East, do you agree or disagree to the following statements?

		Country				
	Total	Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
The West has lost its credibility as a value-based defender of international rules, democracy and human rights.						
Completely agree	44	43	57	56	21	52
Somewhat agree	34	38	32	27	38	32
Somewhat disagree	13	11	7	11	24	10
Completely disagree	8	7	2	5	17	5
don't know / no answer	1	1	2	1	-	1
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	78	81	89	83	59	84
Bottom 2	21	18	10	16	40	15

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Question 9: How do you evaluate China's influence globally?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Positive	11	17	7	20	1	15
Somewhat positive	38	60	26	53	12	47
Somewhat negative	32	18	41	15	54	25
Negative	17	3	25	9	31	12
China has no global influence	-	-	1	1	-	-
don't know / no answer	2	2	-	2	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	49	77	33	73	13	61
Bottom 2	49	21	66	25	85	37

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Question 10: How do you evaluate the influence of the United States globally?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Positive	7	3	9	8	9	6
Somewhat positive	45	36	46	32	66	38
Somewhat negative	32	39	30	39	19	36
Negative	15	20	15	21	4	19
The United States have no global influence	-	-	-	-	-	-
don't know / no answer	1	2	-	-	2	1
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	52	39	54	40	76	44
Bottom 2	46	58	45	60	23	54

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Question 19: To what extent does who is president of the United States influence politics in your country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
extremely	30	18	12	18	72	16
moderately	54	74	57	61	22	64
not at all	15	8	29	19	5	19
don't know / no answer	1	-	2	2	1	1
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Question 11: With growing US-China rivalry how should your country position itself?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Somewhat on the American side	32	5	44	7	71	19
Somewhat on the Chinese side	6	14	2	10	-	9
Neutral / Non-aligned	61	81	52	82	29	71
don't know / no answer	1	-	2	1	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Question 15: As it relates to international trade, do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
China's practices are fair.						
Completely agree	2	3	2	3	-	3
Somewhat agree	15	23	7	29	2	20
Somewhat disagree	43	51	33	43	45	42
Completely disagree	36	19	56	18	50	31
don't know / no answer	4	4	2	7	3	4
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	17	27	8	32	2	22
Bottom 2	79	70	89	61	95	73
Unites States' practices are fair.						
Completely agree	1	-	2	2	-	2
Somewhat agree	20	12	16	20	30	16
Somewhat disagree	49	46	53	44	53	47
Completely disagree	27	40	27	30	11	32
don't know / no answer	3	2	2	4	6	3
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	21	12	18	22	30	18
Bottom 2	76	86	80	73	64	80

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Question 15: As it relates to international trade, do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

		Country				
	Total	Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
European Union's practices are fair.						
Completely agree	5	2	5	4	11	4
Somewhat agree	34	15	32	33	54	27
Somewhat disagree	41	54	36	46	29	45
Completely disagree	16	26	20	14	3	20
don't know / no answer	4	3	7	3	3	4
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	39	17	37	38	66	31
Bottom 2	57	80	56	60	31	65
My country suffers from US-China trade war.						
Completely agree	22	27	8	14	38	16
Somewhat agree	43	46	35	50	43	44
Somewhat disagree	23	20	39	22	13	27
Completely disagree	7	5	13	6	2	8
don't know / no answer	5	2	5	8	4	5
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	65	72	43	64	82	60
Bottom 2	30	26	52	28	14	35

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Question 15: As it relates to international trade, do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Sanctions should be used as a tool to change a country's behavior.						
Completely agree	14	6	11	15	25	11
Somewhat agree	40	32	35	40	50	36
Somewhat disagree	25	30	27	26	17	28
Completely disagree	19	31	25	15	6	23
don't know / no answer	2	1	2	4	2	2
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	54	38	46	55	75	47
Bottom 2	44	61	52	41	23	51
Protectionist measures should be accepted if used to protect the environment.						
Completely agree	17	16	21	22	9	19
Somewhat agree	45	41	50	46	44	46
Somewhat disagree	24	25	17	21	32	21
Completely disagree	11	17	7	9	11	11
don't know / no answer	3	1	5	2	4	3
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	62	57	71	68	53	66
Bottom 2	35	42	24	30	43	32

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Question 15: As it relates to international trade, do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
China should be considered a developing country for international trade purposes.						
Completely agree	6	7	10	8	-	8
Somewhat agree	14	20	15	21	1	19
Somewhat disagree	32	42	26	34	27	34
Completely disagree	44	29	44	31	69	35
don't know / no answer	4	2	5	6	3	4
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	20	27	25	29	1	27
Bottom 2	76	71	70	66	96	69

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Question 12: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not relevant at all' and 10 means 'extremely relevant', how relevant are the following international institutions and groupings from your point of view for your country?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
WTO						
1 = not relevant at all	1	-	2	-	-	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	2	2	-	1	1
4	3	2	4	4	2	4
5	7	7	8	7	6	7
6	10	10	10	10	10	10
7	20	16	22	20	21	19
8	20	20	15	21	24	19
9	15	16	15	14	17	15
10 = extremely relevant	21	26	20	21	18	22
don't know this organisation	-	-	-	-	-	-
don't know / no answer	1	-	1	2	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	7,7	7,8	7,4	7,7	7,7	7,7
United Nations						
1 = not relevant at all	3	-	6	3	1	3
2	1	1	3	-	1	2
3	3	1	5	4	1	3
4	3	2	7	-	4	3
5	8	5	14	7	4	9
6	8	6	12	5	9	8
7	13	11	15	12	14	13
8	17	14	13	19	21	15
9	15	16	9	15	20	13
10 = extremely relevant	29	44	15	34	25	31
don't know this organisation	-	-	-	1	-	-
don't know / no answer	-	-	1	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	7,7	8,5	6,4	8,0	7,9	7,6

Emerging Middle Powers 2024

Question 12: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not relevant at all' and 10 means 'extremely relevant', how relevant are the following international institutions and groupings from your point of view for your country?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
G7						
1 = not relevant at all	1	1	2	1	-	1
2	1	2	1	1	-	1
3	3	4	3	4	1	4
4	2	2	2	6	-	3
5	8	10	8	12	3	10
6	10	15	11	10	3	12
7	19	21	19	23	14	21
8	20	19	21	16	24	19
9	15	14	13	13	20	13
10 = extremely relevant	19	11	17	13	35	14
don't know this organisation	1	-	2	-	-	1
don't know / no answer	1	1	1	1	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	7,5	7,1	7,3	7,0	8,6	7,1
G20						
1 = not relevant at all	-	-	-	-	-	1
2	1	-	1	1	-	1
3	1	1	1	2	-	1
4	2	2	2	2	2	2
5	5	2	6	7	6	5
6	8	6	5	7	12	6
7	12	6	13	13	16	11
8	22	21	22	18	28	20
9	17	18	16	18	15	17
10 = extremely relevant	32	44	33	32	21	36
don't know this organisation	-	-	-	-	-	-
don't know / no answer	-	-	1	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	8,2	8,7	8,2	8,1	7,9	8,3

Emerging Middle Powers 2024

Question 12: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not relevant at all' and 10 means 'extremely relevant', how relevant are the following international institutions and groupings from your point of view for your country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
BRICS						
1 = not relevant at all	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	1	2	2	4	2
3	3	2	2	2	8	2
4	3	2	1	1	7	1
5	9	3	9	6	17	6
6	7	5	8	2	14	5
7	14	8	17	11	21	12
8	18	18	17	20	16	18
9	14	15	17	17	7	16
10 = extremely relevant	28	45	25	38	4	36
don't know this organisation	-	-	-	-	1	-
don't know / no answer	1	-	1	-	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	7,7	8,5	7,8	8,3	6,1	8,2
IBSA						
1 = not relevant at all	6	4	5	3	10	4
2	5	5	1	3	12	3
3	7	7	6	3	12	5
4	9	7	7	5	15	6
5	13	9	16	11	15	12
6	10	13	10	10	10	11
7	13	11	13	19	7	15
8	12	15	12	15	7	14
9	6	8	7	7	1	7
10 = extremely relevant	7	10	6	13	1	10
don't know this organisation	10	9	13	9	8	10
don't know / no answer	2	2	4	2	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	5,8	6,2	6,0	6,7	4,3	6,3

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Question 12: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not relevant at all' and 10 means 'extremely relevant', how relevant are the following international institutions and groupings from your point of view for your country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
European Union						
1 = not relevant at all	1	-	2	-	-	1
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	1	1	-	-
4	2	1	2	5	1	3
5	5	4	10	7	-	7
6	6	6	12	7	-	8
7	16	21	22	20	1	21
8	18	25	19	23	5	22
9	16	19	16	16	10	17
10 = extremely relevant	35	24	15	20	83	20
don't know this organisation	-	-	-	-	-	-
don't know / no answer	1	-	1	1	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	8,3	8,2	7,4	7,8	9,7	7,8
African Union						
1 = not relevant at all	2	2	4	2	1	3
2	3	5	1	2	5	3
3	6	5	5	4	9	5
4	7	7	6	3	13	5
5	10	11	7	6	17	8
6	13	17	14	4	16	11
7	16	15	21	10	20	15
8	16	17	21	15	10	18
9	10	9	7	16	6	11
10 = extremely relevant	16	11	12	38	3	20
don't know this organisation	-	1	1	-	-	1
don't know / no answer	1	-	1	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	6,7	6,5	6,7	8,0	5,8	7,1

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Question 12: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not relevant at all' and 10 means 'extremely relevant', how relevant are the following international institutions and groupings from your point of view for your country?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
MERCOSUR						
1 = not relevant at all	4	1	8	5	1	5
2	3	-	3	6	3	3
3	7	1	7	13	9	7
4	9	3	9	12	12	8
5	14	3	21	14	17	13
6	13	5	15	12	20	10
7	13	9	11	16	17	12
8	9	15	5	4	13	8
9	6	14	1	3	4	6
10 = extremely relevant	14	49	4	3	2	19
don't know this organisation	6	-	13	8	1	7
don't know / no answer	2	-	3	4	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	6,2	8,6	5,1	5,1	5,8	6,4
ASEAN						
1 = not relevant at all	3	3	1	5	-	3
2	3	2	1	7	2	3
3	5	6	1	8	6	5
4	8	7	5	12	10	8
5	12	13	7	16	13	12
6	14	16	8	10	21	11
7	18	17	18	13	23	16
8	15	13	20	11	17	15
9	8	8	16	5	4	10
10 = extremely relevant	10	7	21	8	4	12
don't know this organisation	2	5	1	3	-	3
don't know / no answer	2	3	1	2	-	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	6,5	6,3	7,7	5,6	6,3	6,5

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Question 12: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not relevant at all' and 10 means 'extremely relevant', how relevant are the following international institutions and groupings from your point of view for your country?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Group of 77 (G77)						
1 = not relevant at all	4	3	8	3	3	5
2	4	4	5	2	5	4
3	7	7	4	3	13	5
4	10	7	8	8	17	8
5	14	11	15	11	18	12
6	13	11	10	14	18	11
7	15	15	17	20	9	17
8	11	16	12	10	6	12
9	8	12	8	11	1	10
10 = extremely relevant	8	10	4	15	3	10
don't know this organisation	4	3	6	2	6	4
don't know / no answer	2	1	3	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	6,0	6,4	5,7	6,8	5,0	6,3
Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC)						
1 = not relevant at all	9	13	5	9	11	9
2	7	7	2	7	13	5
3	11	11	4	8	20	8
4	10	10	6	11	12	9
5	11	12	11	15	7	13
6	8	8	7	8	8	7
7	9	6	21	8	2	12
8	5	3	13	2	1	6
9	4	1	11	3	-	5
10 = extremely relevant	6	1	17	4	1	7
don't know this organisation	17	24	2	21	21	16
don't know / no answer	3	4	1	4	4	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	4,9	4,2	6,8	4,7	3,5	5,4

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Question 12: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not relevant at all' and 10 means 'extremely relevant', how relevant are the following international institutions and groupings from your point of view for your country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)						
1 = not relevant at all	3	5	2	5	2	4
2	2	4	1	2	3	2
3	10	11	3	13	13	9
4	9	8	3	11	13	8
5	16	21	9	15	19	15
6	14	14	10	14	19	13
7	15	14	16	14	16	14
8	11	7	21	9	9	12
9	6	2	14	4	1	7
10 = extremely relevant	7	3	18	4	1	8
don't know this organisation	4	7	2	5	2	5
don't know / no answer	3	4	1	4	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	5,9	5,3	7,4	5,4	5,4	6,1

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Question 12 (Overview of averages): On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not relevant at all' and 10 means 'extremely relevant', how relevant are the following international institutions and groupings from your point of view for your country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
European Union	8,3	8,2	7,4	7,8	9,7	7,8
G20	8,2	8,7	8,2	8,1	7,9	8,3
United Nations	7,7	8,5	6,4	8,0	7,9	7,6
BRICS	7,7	8,5	7,8	8,3	6,1	8,2
WTO	7,7	7,8	7,4	7,7	7,7	7,7
G7	7,5	7,1	7,3	7,0	8,6	7,1
African Union	6,7	6,5	6,7	8,0	5,8	7,1
ASEAN	6,5	6,3	7,7	5,6	6,3	6,5
MERCOSUR	6,2	8,6	5,1	5,1	5,8	6,4
G77	6,0	6,4	5,7	6,8	5,0	6,3
GCC	5,9	5,3	7,4	5,4	5,4	6,1
IBSA	5,8	6,2	6,0	6,7	4,3	6,3
BIMSTEC	4,9	4,2	6,8	4,7	3,5	5,4

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Question 13: How likely do you think it is that the following institutions will be significantly reformed in the next 5 years to make them fairer and more just?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
IMF						
Not likely	62	62	54	65	67	60
Somewhat likely	31	31	36	28	29	32
Very likely	4	5	6	5	1	6
don't know / no answer	3	2	4	2	3	2
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
World Bank						
Not likely	59	55	56	62	62	58
Somewhat likely	34	38	38	30	30	35
Very likely	4	6	4	6	2	5
don't know / no answer	3	1	2	2	6	2
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Question 13: How likely do you think it is that the following institutions will be significantly reformed in the next 5 years to make them fairer and more just?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
WTO						
Not likely	60	56	53	59	71	56
Somewhat likely	33	36	37	33	25	35
Very likely	5	6	7	5	1	6
don't know / no answer	2	2	3	3	3	3
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
United Nations						
Not likely	63	53	64	58	76	59
Somewhat likely	30	42	25	32	21	33
Very likely	6	4	9	9	2	7
don't know / no answer	1	1	2	1	1	1
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Question 14: What is your main expectation of BRICS? Please choose one priority out of the following list.

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
promoting economic cooperation and growth between its members	38	39	39	56	18	45
balancing the international influence of Western countries	30	20	35	23	40	26
enhancing political influence of its members	17	24	8	7	29	13
increasing technological and scientific exchange between its members	5	10	3	8	1	7
strengthening sustainable development and environmental protection	3	3	3	3	1	3
enhancing security and defense cooperation between its members	2	1	3	1	3	1
promoting cultural and social exchange between its members	1	1	3	2	1	2
don't know / no answer	4	2	6	-	7	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Question 16: Do you think the dominance of the US dollar in international trade and finance is ...?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
somewhat favorable for your country	28	12	30	14	57	19
somewhat unfavorable for your country	54	76	56	72	14	68
has no impact on your country	7	6	6	4	12	5
don't know / no answer	11	6	8	10	17	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Question 17: Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
My country is spending enough to protect the environment.						
Completely agree	7	4	11	5	10	7
Somewhat agree	24	16	26	21	32	21
Somewhat disagree	38	40	38	36	37	38
Completely disagree	28	37	23	34	17	31
don't know / no answer	3	3	2	4	4	3
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	31	19	37	26	41	28
Bottom 2	66	78	61	70	54	70
I believe global warming to be the result of human activity.						
Completely agree	74	81	64	73	79	73
Somewhat agree	20	15	27	20	19	21
Somewhat disagree	4	2	6	4	1	4
Completely disagree	1	2	2	-	-	1
don't know / no answer	1	-	1	3	1	1
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	94	96	91	92	98	93
Bottom 2	4	4	8	4	1	5

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Question 17: Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
There will be a significant shift to cleaner energy sources in my country in the next 5 years.						
Completely agree	19	16	27	16	18	20
Somewhat agree	55	54	53	51	62	52
Somewhat disagree	18	22	14	21	17	19
Completely disagree	5	6	3	8	1	6
don't know / no answer	3	2	3	4	2	3
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	74	70	80	67	80	72
Bottom 2	23	28	17	29	18	25
International institutions are doing enough to protect the environment.						
Completely agree	1	1	2	2	1	2
Somewhat agree	13	7	15	14	18	12
Somewhat disagree	41	34	45	35	48	38
Completely disagree	43	57	37	47	29	47
don't know / no answer	2	1	1	2	4	1
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	15	8	17	16	19	14
Bottom 2	83	91	82	83	77	85

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Question 17: Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Environmental protection and economic growth are in conflict with each other.						
Completely agree	17	26	22	17	4	22
Somewhat agree	34	30	42	38	28	36
Somewhat disagree	30	25	22	29	45	25
Completely disagree	18	18	14	15	23	16
don't know / no answer	1	1	-	1	-	1
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	51	56	63	55	32	58
Bottom 2	48	44	36	44	68	41
The energy transition in my country will only be possible with international support, including investments, credits and grants.						
Completely agree	29	28	37	38	14	34
Somewhat agree	45	49	43	47	41	46
Somewhat disagree	18	15	15	10	32	14
Completely disagree	5	6	3	4	8	4
don't know / no answer	3	2	2	1	5	2
Summe	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	74	77	80	85	55	80
Bottom 2	23	21	18	14	41	18

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Question 18: What should your country prioritize to respond to its energy needs? Please select a maximum of three.

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Increase the production of renewable energy	92	95	90	94	91	93
Supporting eco-conscious lifestyles	65	62	71	66	61	66
Regulation of consumption	41	41	48	41	35	43
Import more energy from other countries	15	3	19	13	26	12
Increase fossil fuel production	15	12	23	20	4	18
don't know / no answer	2	2	3	1	3	2
Total	231	214	253	235	220	234

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Question S1: Gender

		Country					
	Total	Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689	
male	63	63	66	52	71	60	
female	35	35	30	46	27	37	
I don't want to answer / Other	2	2	4	2	2	3	
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	

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Question S2: Age

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
18-39	27	23	38	27	20	29
40-54	34	47	25	34	31	35
55+	31	26	25	32	42	28
I don't want to answer	8	4	12	7	7	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	48,1	48,0	44,2	48,6	51,3	47,0

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Question S3: How many years have you been working on foreign policy/international politics issues?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
up to 15 years	40	39	56	40	26	45
16 years and more	52	57	25	55	72	45
I don't want to answer	8	4	19	5	2	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	20,1	20,6	12,9	19,2	26,2	17,8

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Question S4: In which area do you work?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Think Tank / Academia	39	42	33	41	38	39
Government	12	19	8	11	12	13
Private sector	12	10	27	3	6	13
Other	35	28	28	43	43	33
I don't want to answer	2	1	4	2	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Question S5: Please identify your main area of work

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Foreign Policy	29	27	20	32	37	26
Economy and Foreign Trade	14	19	13	9	14	14
Defence and International Security	11	12	9	7	17	9
Education and Research	9	8	11	12	6	10
Other	35	33	42	38	25	38
I don't want to answer	2	1	5	2	1	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

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Question Country: Country of fieldwork

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	906	298	208	183	217	689
Brazil	25	100	-	-	-	33
India	25	-	100	-	-	33
South Africa	25	-	-	100	-	34
Germany	25	-	-	-	100	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100