Americans' Views of Their Role in the World: Implications for the Biden Era

Bruce Stokes German Marshall Fund

July 20, 2021

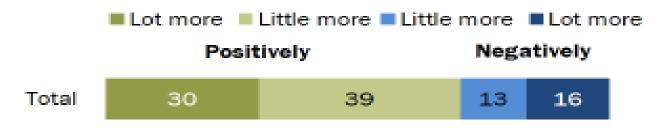
THE GOOD NEWS MATTERS: HOW THE U.S. IS SEEN ABROAD

Most Americans say it's important for other countries to respect U.S. and that Biden will help improve U.S. image

% who say it is _____ important that other countries around the world respect the U.S.



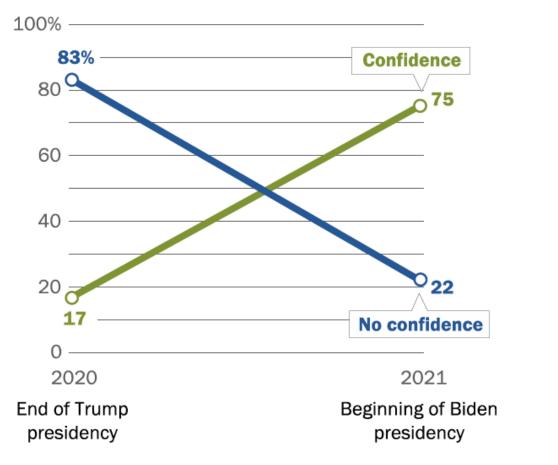
% who say, now that Joe Biden is president, other countries will view the U.S. ...



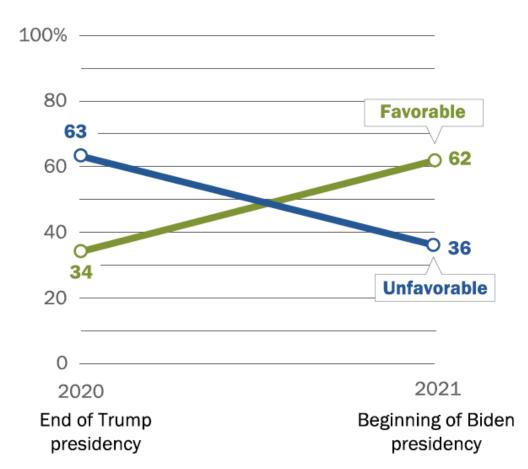
Note: No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 1-7, 2021.

Biden gets much higher ratings than Trump, and U.S. favorability is up significantly

% who have _____ in the U.S. president to do the right thing regarding world affairs



% who have a ____ view of the U.S.



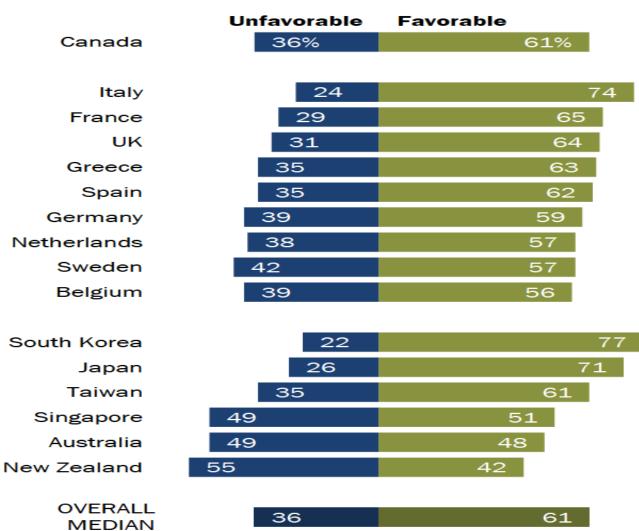
Note: Percentages are medians based on 12 countries where data is available for both Biden and Trump.

Source: Spring 2021 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4a & Q21a.

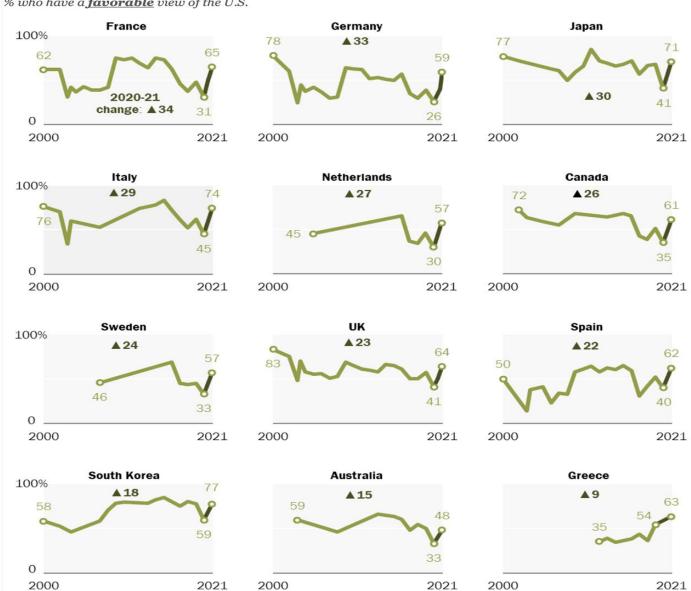
"America's Image Abroad Rebounds With Transition From Trump to Biden"

Most have positive views of the U.S.

% who have a _____ view of the U.S.



Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. Source: Spring 2021 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4a. "America's Image Abroad Rebounds With Transition From Trump to Biden"



U.S. favorability sees one of its steepest recoveries in years from 2020 to 2021

% who have a *favorable* view of the U.S.

Note: 2000 trend is from 1999 or 2000 and provided by the U.S. Department of State. 2019-2021 difference shown in Greece. Source: Spring 2021 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4a. "America's Image Abroad Rebounds With Transition From Trump to Biden"

INTERNATIONAL VIEWS OF PRESIDENT BIDEN

Most have confidence in Biden to do the right thing internationally

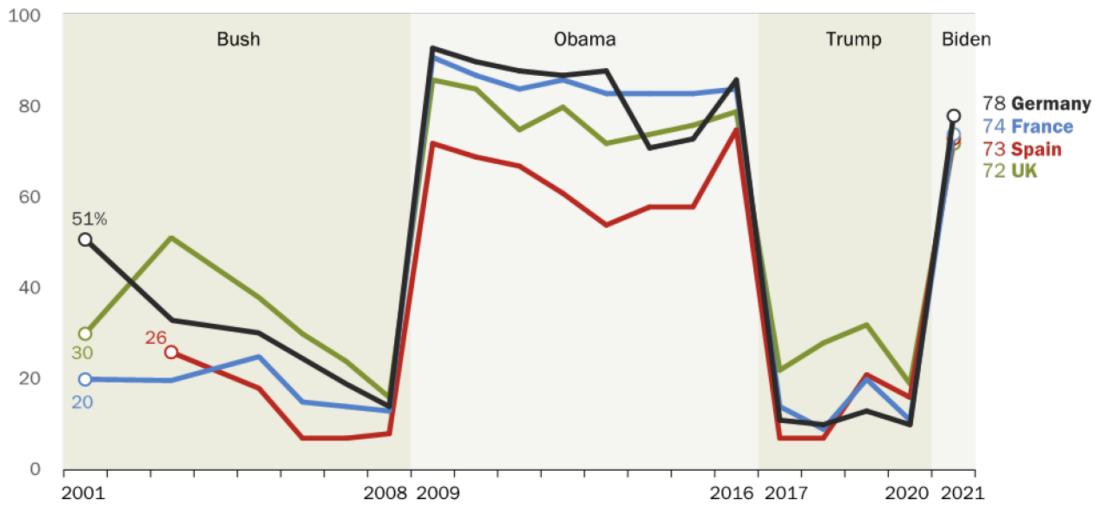
% who have _____ in U.S. President Joe Biden to do the right thing regarding world affairs

0 0 0			
No confidence		Confidence	
Canada	21%		77%
Netherlands	13		86
Sweden	14		85
Belgium	20		79
Germany	18		78
Italy	22		75
France	22		74
Spain	25		73
UK	25		72
Greece	31		67
Australia	25		75
New Zealand	25		74
Japan	20		73
Singapore	29		70
South Korea	29		67
Taiwan	30		63
OVERALL MEDIAN	24		74

Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. Source: Spring 2021 Global Attitudes Survey. Q21a. "America's Image Abroad Rebounds With Transition From Trump to Biden"

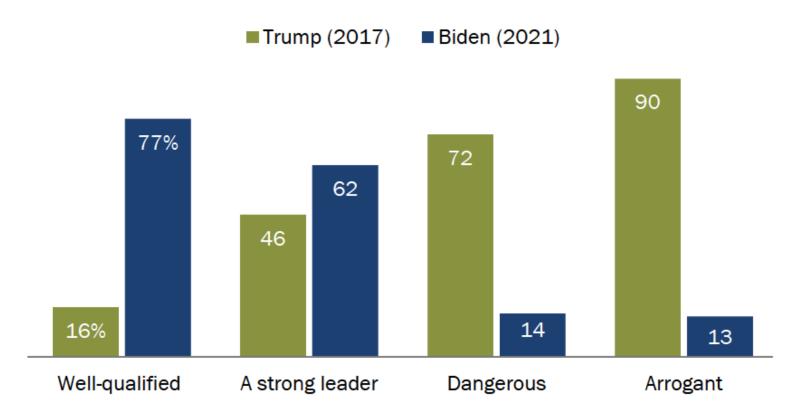
Western Europeans' confidence in U.S. president surges as Biden enters office

% who have **<u>confidence</u>** in U.S. President ____ to do the right thing regarding world affairs



Source: Spring 2021 Global Attitudes Survey. Q21a. "America's Image Abroad Rebounds With Transition From Trump to Biden"

Biden gets higher ratings than Trump on personal, leadership traits



% who say they think of U.S. President ____ as ...

Note: Percentages are medians based on 12 countries where data is available for both Biden and Trump.

Source: Spring 2021 Global Attitudes Survey. Q23a-d.

"America's Image Abroad Rebounds With Transition From Trump to Biden"

Biden's foreign policy agenda met with widespread approval among 16 publics

% who **approve** of the U.S. ...

	Rejoining World Health Organization (WHO)			Allowing more refugees into the U.S.	
Canada	86%	82%	85%	74%	
Sweden	94	91	83	76	
Spain	92	93	91	86	
Italy	90	93	92	80	
France	90	91	87	70	
Belgium	89	89	85	75	
Greece	89	88	92	76	
Netherlands	89	86	81	78	
UK	87	82	84	76	
Germany	86	85	82	75	
New Zealand	90	84	84	80	
Singapore	90	81	80	64	
South Korea	88	82	92	74	
Japan	87	80	87	77	
Australia	86	83	87	74	
Taiwan	79	77	85	61	
OVERALL MEDIAN	89	85	85	76	

Source: Spring 2021 Global Attitudes Survey. Q24a-d.

"America's Image Abroad Rebounds With Transition From Trump to Biden"

THE BAD NEWS: THE TRUMP ERA AND THE JANUARY 6 INSURRECTION HAVE UNDERMINED AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AS A ROLE MODEL

Most believe the U.S. is no longer a good model of democracy

% who say democracy in the U.S. ...

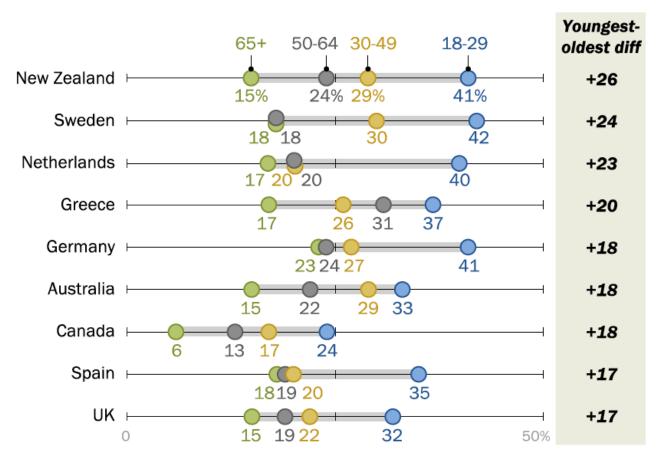
- Is a good example for other countries to follow
- Used to be a good example, but has not been in recent years
- Has never been a good example for other countries to follow

Canada	14% 69%			14%	
Italy		32 49		17	
Greece	26	6 45	27		
Spain	22	54		23	
UK	20	56		21	
Netherlands	18	57		23	
France	18	53	2	27	
Belgium	17	54	2	6	
Sweden	16	56	2	26	
Germany	14	54	27		
Taiwan	22	63		10	
South Korea	16	73		11	
Japan	14	67		10	
Singapore	11	66		22	
Australia	11	64		24	
New Zealand	8	63	2	27	
OVERALL	17	57	2	23	
MEDIAN					

Note: Those who did not answer are not shown. Source: Spring 2021 Global Attitudes Survey. Q6N. "America's Image Abroad Rebounds With Transition From Trump to Biden"

Younger adults are more likely to think that democracy in the U.S. has never been a good example

% who say that U.S. democracy has <u>**never been**</u> a good example for other countries to follow



Note: Only statistically significant differences shown. Source: Spring 2021 Global Attitudes Survey. Q6N. "America's Image Abroad Rebounds With Transition From Trump to Biden"

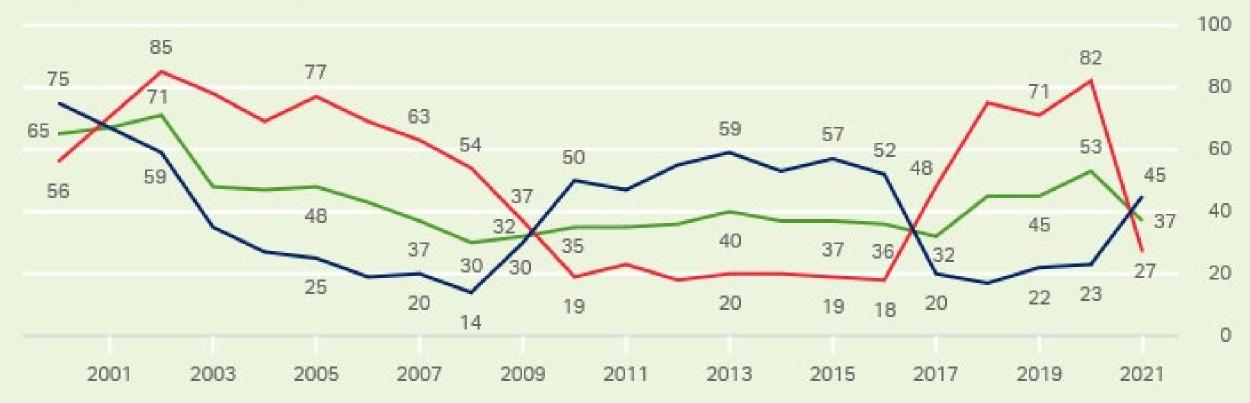
AMERICANS' PARTISANSHIP COMPLICATES DEALING WITH THE CHALLENGES FACING THE U.S. IN THE WORLD

Americans' Satisfaction With Position of U.S. in World Today, by Party ID

On the whole, would you say that you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the position of the United States in the world today?

% Satisfied

- U.S. adults - Republican/Lean Republican - Democrat/Lean Democratic



Sharp partisan divides in foreign policy priorities

% who say ____ should be given **top priority** as a long-range foreign policy goal

	goal	Dem/Lean Dem Rep/Lean Rep	Total
	Protecting the jobs of American workers		75
	Taking measures to protect the U.S. from terrorist attacks		71
	Reducing the spread of infectious diseases		71
	Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction		64
	Improving relationships with our allies	44 63	55
	Maintaining the U.S. military advantage over all other countries	30 68	48
	Limiting the power and influence of China		48
	Dealing with global climate change		44
	Getting other countries to assume more of the costs of maintaining world order	30 57	42
	Limiting the power and influence of Russia	33 50	42
	Reducing our trade deficit with foreign countries	33 48	40
	Limiting the power and influence of North Korea	37 45	40
	Reducing illegal immigration into the U.S.		38
	Limiting the power and influence of Iran	27 51	38
	Promoting and defending human rights in other countries	23 42	34
	Strengthening the United Nations		30
	Reducing U.S. military commitments overseas		29
	Aiding refugees fleeing violence around the world		28
	Reducing legal immigration into the U.S.		22
	Promoting democracy in other nations	15 24	20
	Noto: Soo topling questionnaire for full e	upstion wording	

There is Little Bipartisan Agreement on These Foreign Policy Priorities

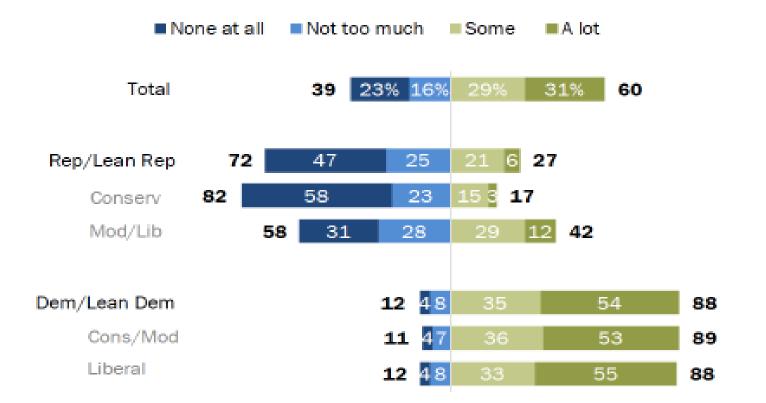
> Note: See topline questionnaire for full question wording. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 1-7, 2021.

Biden's Vaunted Foreign Policy for the Middle Class? The Strongest Support by the Middle Class is for Protectionism

Foreign Policy Priorities by Income	\$30k or less	\$30k to \$74k	\$75k or more
Protect US from Terrorism	73%	72%	69%
Protect jobs of US workers	70	74	68
Prevent spread of WMD	62	69	65
Improve relations with allies	58	58	60
Maintain US military advantage	51	46	46
Deal with climate change	47	48	47
Reduce illegal immigration	38	47	39
Reduce the trade deficit	42	41	42
Reduce US military commitments	40	32	20
Help improve LDC living standards	33	18	17
Promote democracy	27 Pew Resea	rch Center 16	12

Stark partisan divides in confidence that Biden will do the 'right thing' regarding world affairs

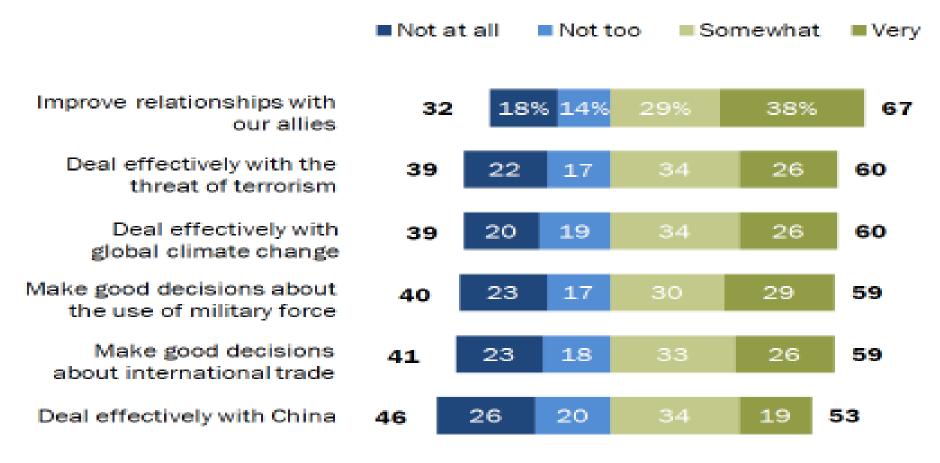
% who say they have ____ confidence in U.S. President Joe Biden to do the right thing regarding world affairs



Note: No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 1-7, 2021.

Broad public confidence in Biden on several aspects of U.S. foreign policy, less so when it comes to China

% who are ____ confident that Joe Biden can do each of the following

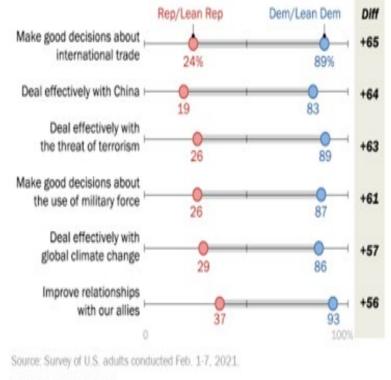


Note: No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 1-7, 2021.

But That Public Confidence is Largely Among Democrats

Biden draws more confidence on improving relations with allies than on other foreign policy issues

% who are <u>very/somewhat</u> confident that Joe Biden can do each of the following

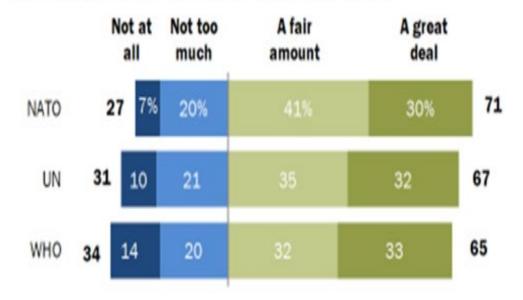


Americans' Views on International Relationships

Americans' Commitment to Multilateralism Remains Strong

Majorities say U.S. benefits from being a member of NATO, UN, World Health Organization

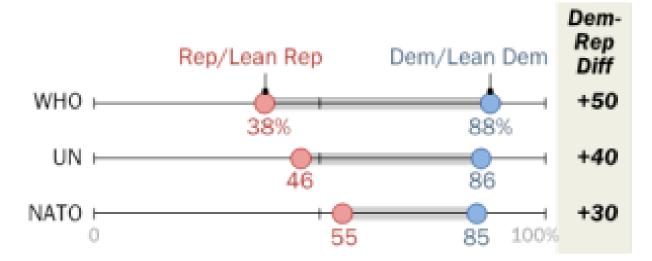
% who say the U.S. benefits ____ from being a member of ...



Note: No answer responses not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 1-7, 2021.

Wide partisan gap on views of U.S. membership in international organizations

% who say the U.S. benefits <u>a great deal/a fair</u> <u>amount</u> from being a member of ...

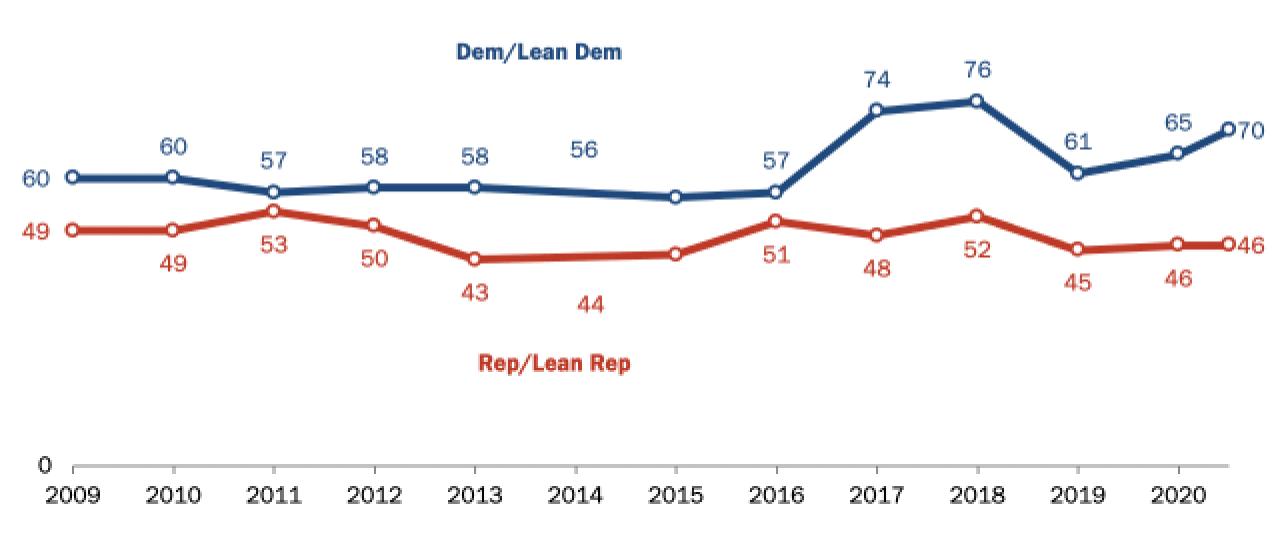


Note: All differences shown are statistically significant. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 1-7, 2021.

Democrats still have more favorable views toward NATO than Republicans do

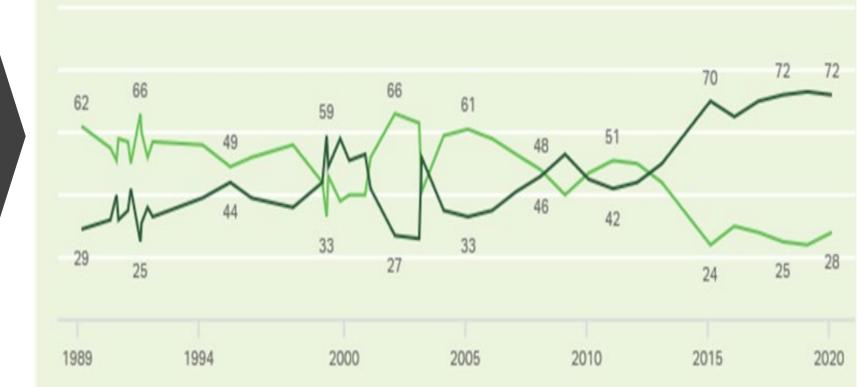
% of Americans who have a *favorable* opinion of NATO, by party affiliation

100%



Views of Russia Have Worsened Significantly Is your overall opinion of Russia very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable?

📕 Total % favorable 📕 Total % unfavorable



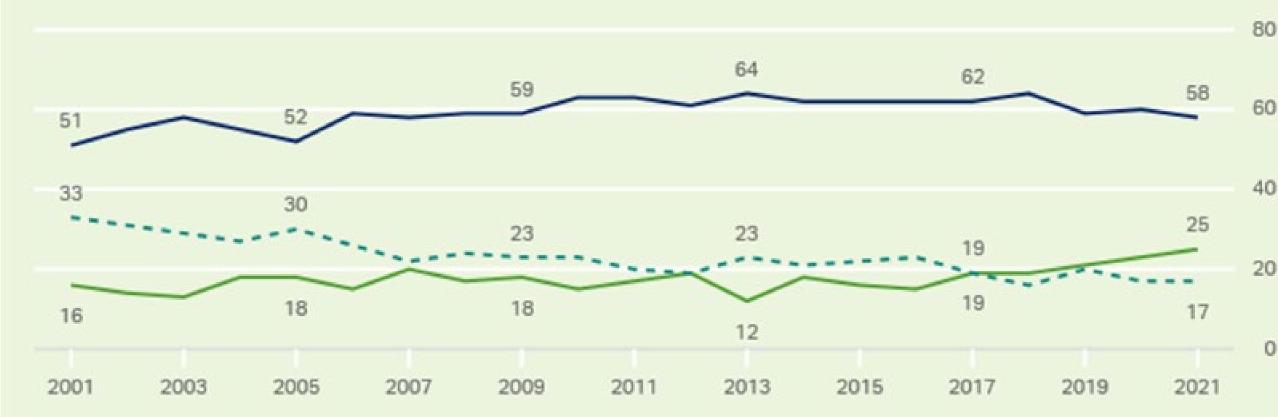
1989-1992 wording: The Soviet Union

GALLUP

Americans' Sympathies in Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

In the Middle East situation, are your sympathies more with the Israelis or more with the Palestinians?

- % Palestinians - % Israelis - % Both/Neither/Unsure



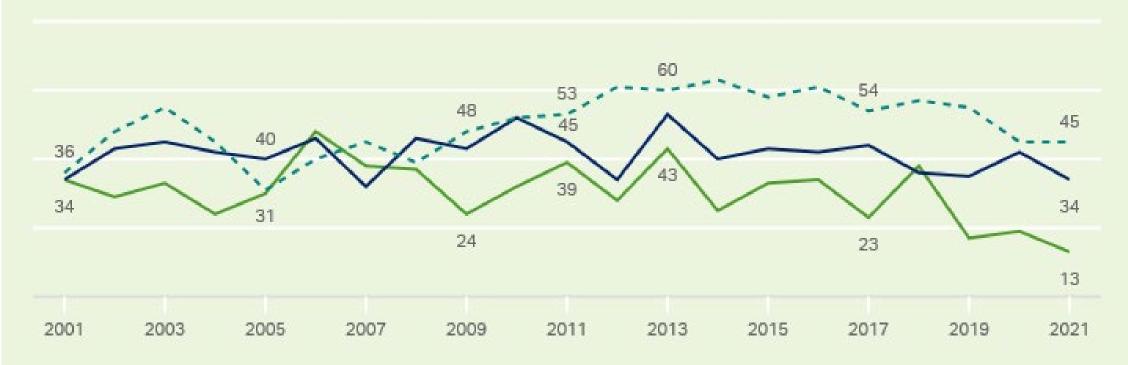
Polls conducted in February of each year

GALLUP

Net Sympathy for Israelis, by Age

% Sympathizing more with the Israelis minus % sympathizing more with the Palestinians

— 18 to 35 — 35 to 54 - 55 and older



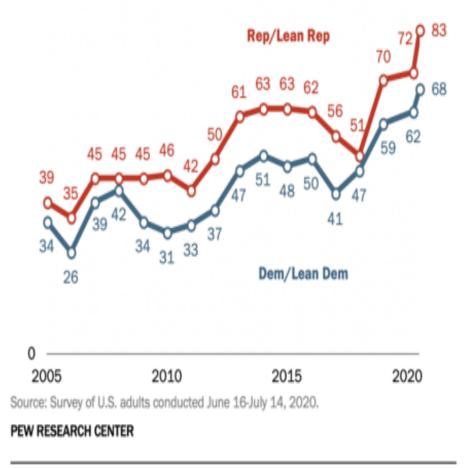
GALLUP

Americans' Views of China Have Never Been Worse

Republicans are more negative toward China than Democrats, though all partisans hold increasingly unfavorable views

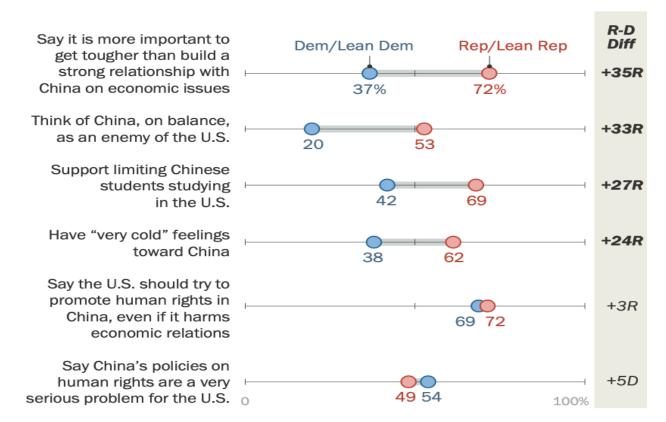
% who say they have an <u>unfavorable</u> opinion of China

100%



Large partisan divides on many China-related issues – but not in concerns about human rights

% who ...



Note: Statistically significant differences shown in **bold**. "Very cold" refers to ratings of 0-24 on a feeling thermometer. Thermometer was asked as: "We'd like to get your feelings toward some different countries in the world on a 'feeling thermometer.' A rating of zero degrees means you feel as cold and negative as possible. A rating of 100 degrees means you feel as warm and positive as possible. You would rate the country at 50 degrees if you don't feel particularly positive or negative toward the country. How do you feel toward China?"

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 1-7, 2021. Thermchina, Q20, Q48, Q50, Q51c & Q55.

"Most Americans Support Tough Stance Toward China on Human Rights, Economic Issues"

As You May Fear: Americans' Views on Key Foreign Policy Issues Are a Product of Their Information Bubbles

Foreign policy priorities in the U.S. differ based on where partisans go for news

% of U.S. adults who say each should be a top foreign policy priority of the U.S.

Among Rep/Lean Rep	Reducing illegal immigration	Limiting power/ influence of Iran	Limiting power/ influence of China	Protecting American jobs	Maintaining U.S. military advantage	Dealing with global climate change
Whose only major sources have right-leaning audiences	89%	74%	79%	94%	85%	5%
All other Rep/Lean Reps	57	41	55	83	59	19
Among Dem/Lean Dem						
Whose only major sources have left-leaning audiences	з	26	33	56	13	84
All other Dem/Lean Dems	24	31	42	71	38	66

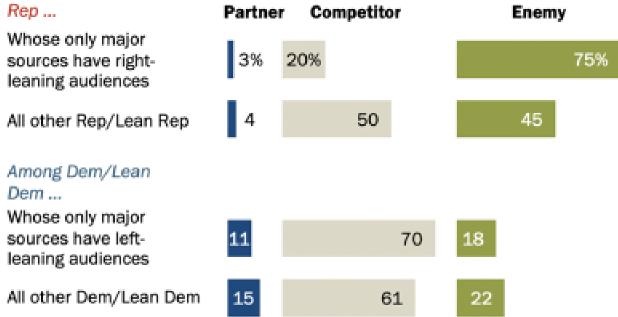
Note: Highlighted cells are significantly higher than the other group in their party. Respondents were asked which of eight outlets they use as major political news sources. The Fox News cable channel and talk radio shows such as Sean Hannity or Rush Limbaugh have audiences that lean Republican and conservative. CNN, MSNBC, NPR, New York Times and Washington Post have audiences that lean Democratic and liberal. Sources whose audiences are more mixed include ABC, CBS or NBC network television news. Grouping of outlet audiences and media diets are based on data from September 2020.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 1-7, 2021.

Republicans in news media 'bubble' much more likely to see China as an enemy of the U.S.

% of U.S. adults who think of China as a _____ of the U.S.

Among Rep/Lean



Note: Respondents were asked which of eight outlets they use as major political news sources. The Fox News cable channel and talk radio shows such as Sean Hannity or Rush Limbaugh have audiences that lean Republican and conservative. CNN, MSNBC, NPR, New York Times and Washington Post have audiences that lean Democratic and liberal. Sources whose audiences are more mixed include ABC, CBS or NBC network television news. Grouping of outlet audiences and media diets are based on data from September 2020. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Feb. 1-7, 2021.

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