

Emerging Middle Powers Survey

An expert survey on attitudes to foreign policy in Brazil, Germany, India and South Africa

Foreign policy from the top

Who shapes the foreign policy of your country the most?

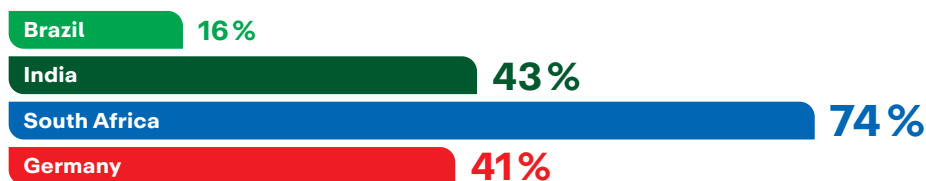
Ministry of Foreign Affairs



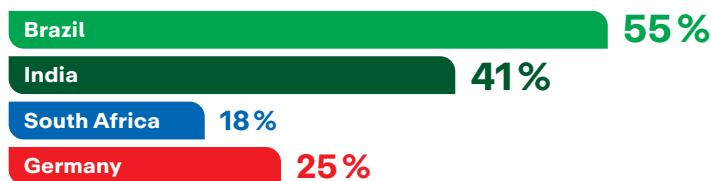
Head of government



Ruling political parties



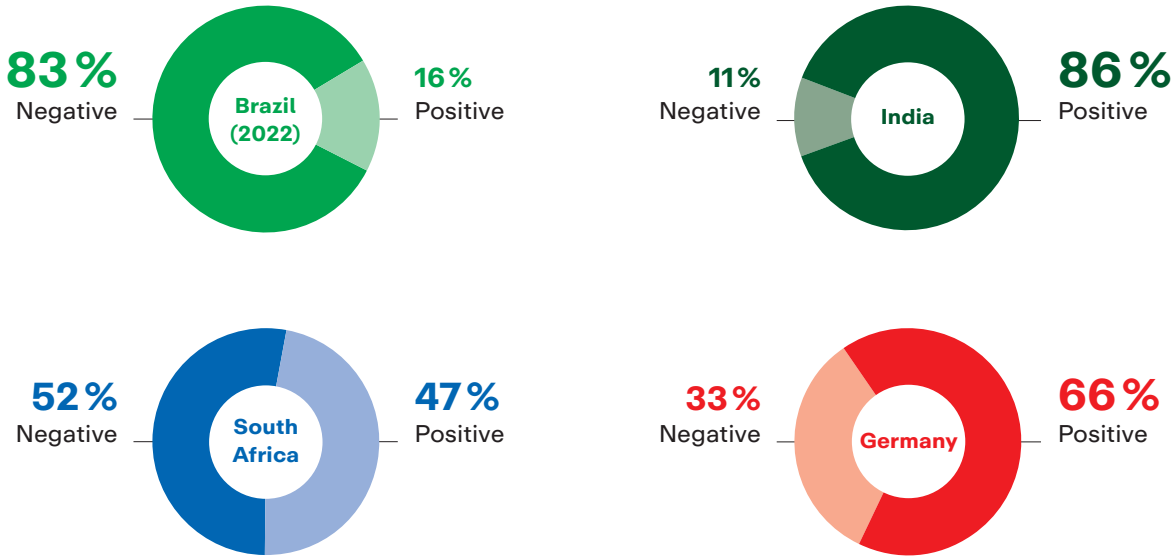
Business sector



answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 0 to 2 per cent for all issues

From praise to scepticism

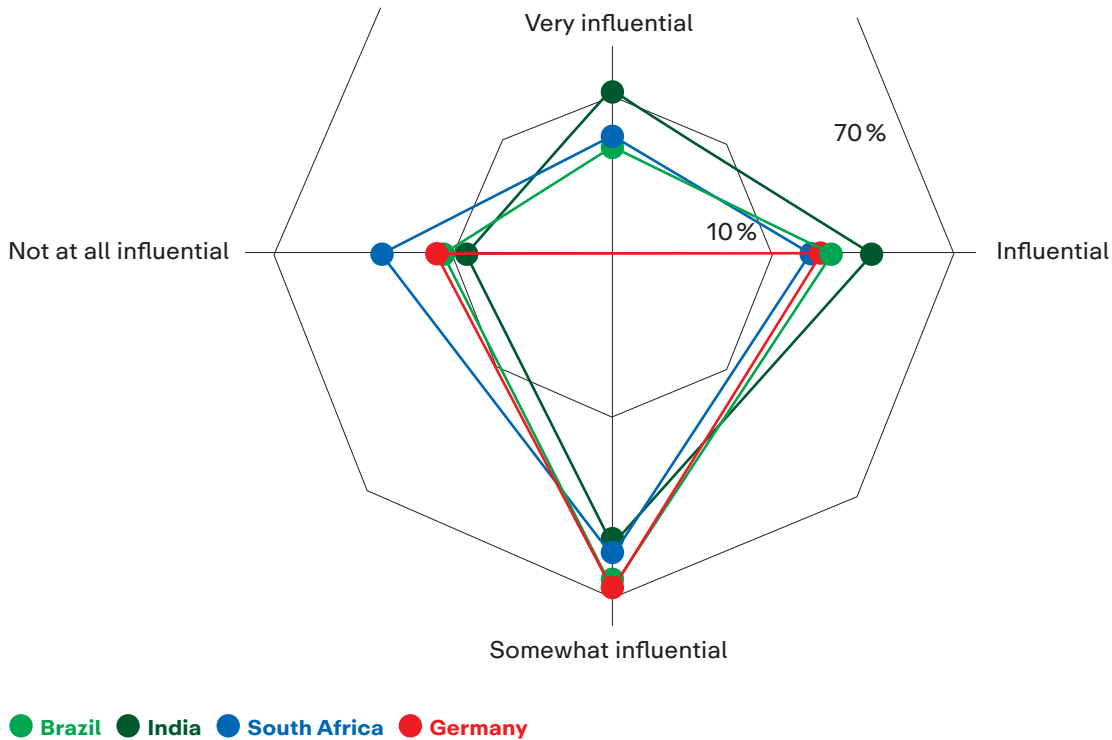
How do you rate your government's handling of foreign policy over the past year?



answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 1 to 3 per cent for all issues

India, the confident

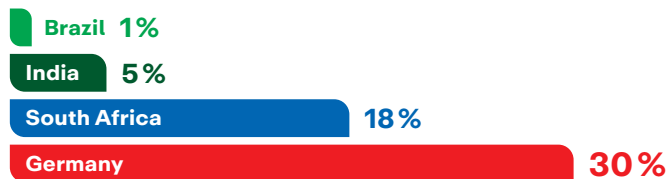
How do you rate your government's influence on global rulemaking?



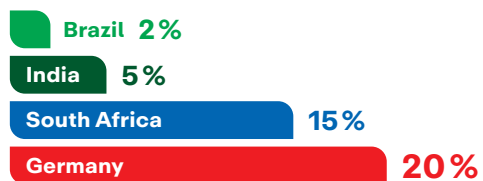
Same world, different crisis

What are the most challenging foreign policy issues for your country?

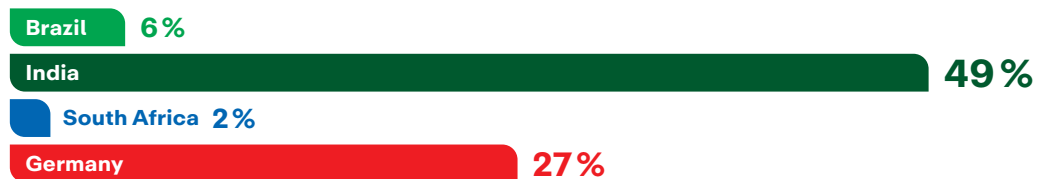
War in Ukraine



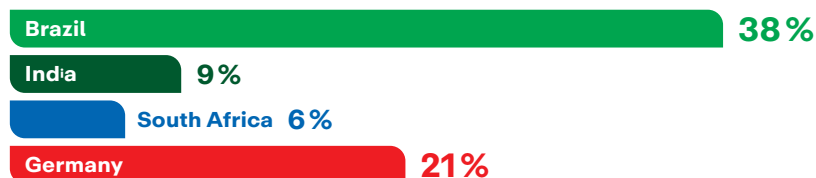
War in Middle East



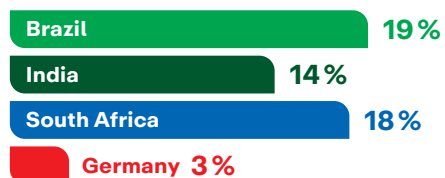
Relationship with China



Climate and environment



International trade

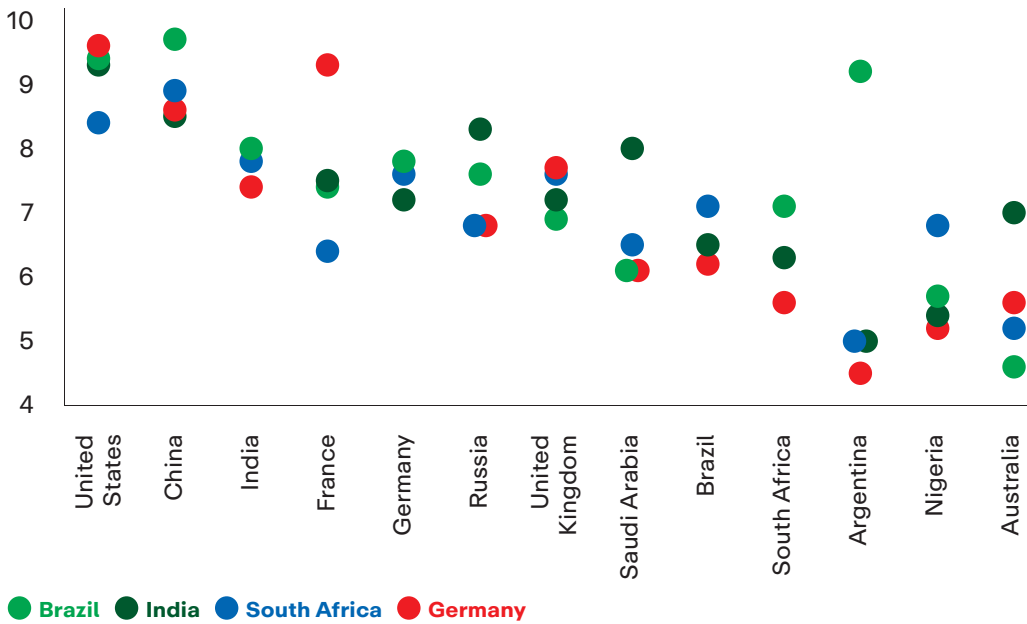


answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 2 to 8 per cent for all issues

Superpowers matter

How important are your bilateral relations with ... ?

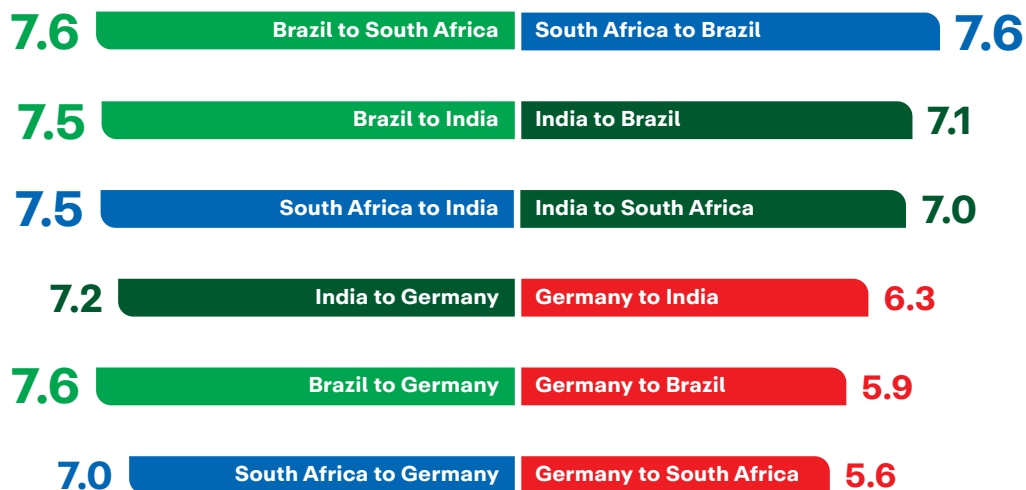
extremely important



answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 0 to 4 per cent for all issues

Perfect match: South Africa and Brazil

How do you rate your country's current relationship with the following country?

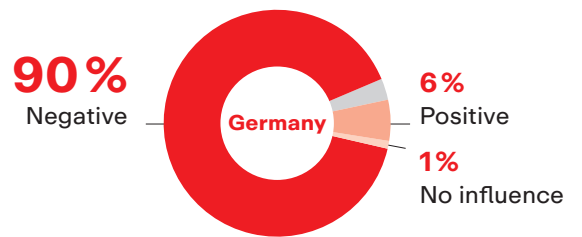
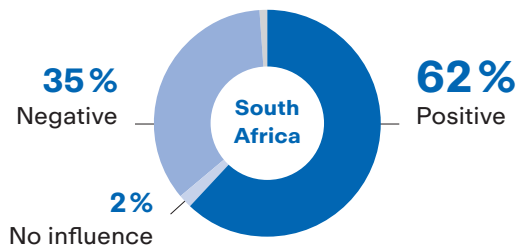
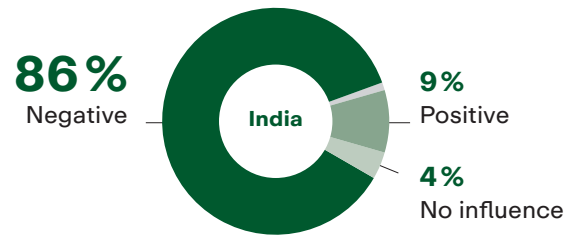
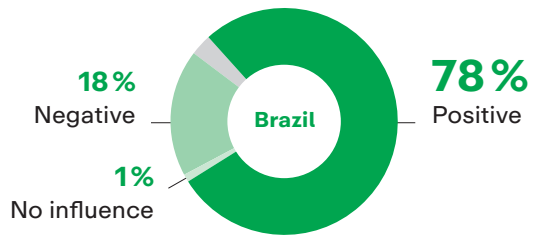


Scala from 1 to 10, 10 means 'very good'

answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 0 to 6 per cent for all issues

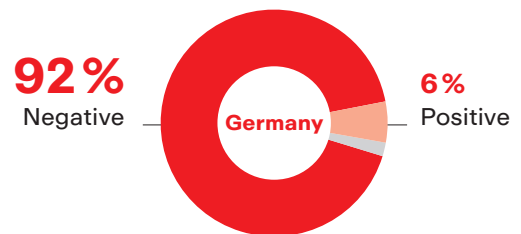
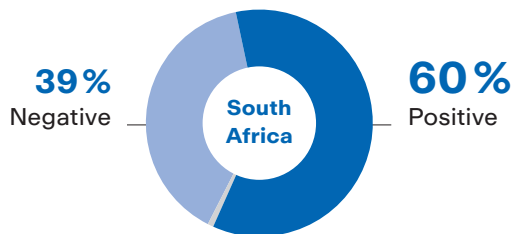
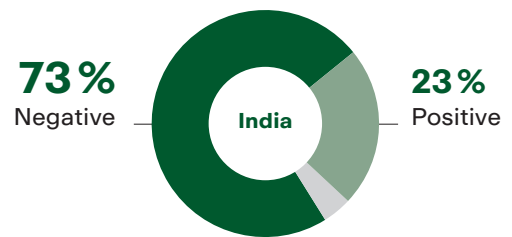
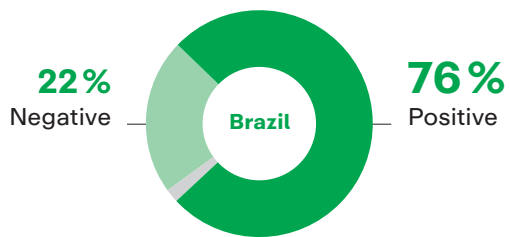
Not all China sceptics

How do you evaluate China's influence in your country?



answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 1 to 3 per cent for all issues

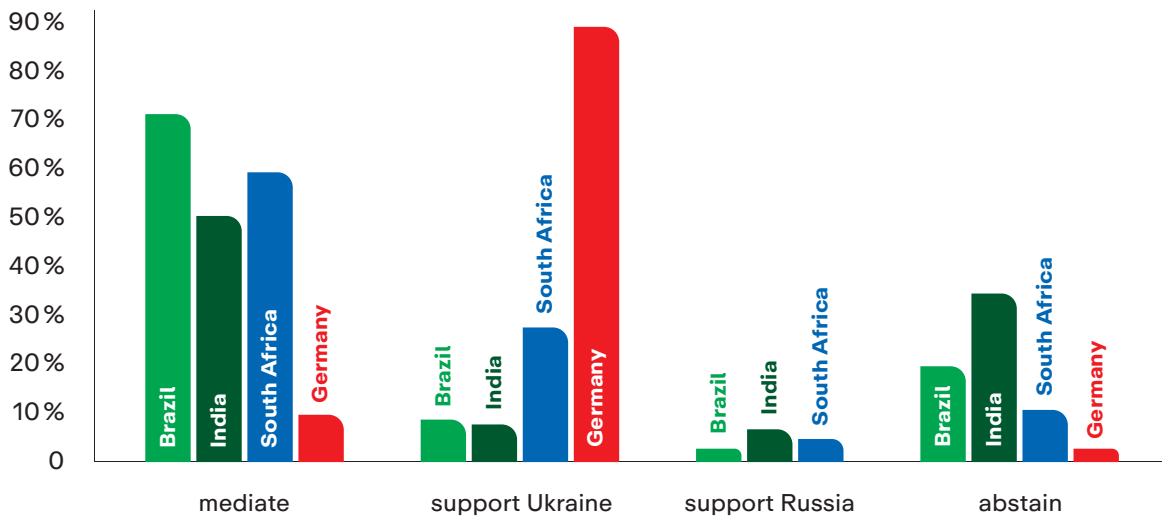
How do you evaluate China's influence globally?



answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 1 to 4 per cent for all issues

Divided on Ukraine

On the Russia-Ukraine war, your country should ... ?

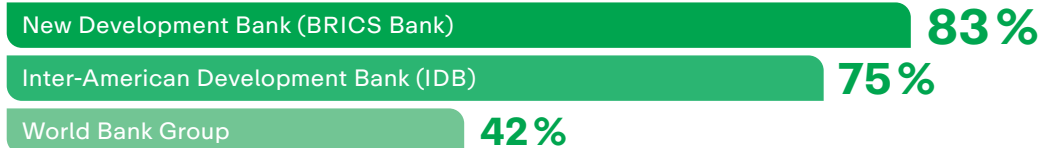


answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 0 to 3 per cent for all issues

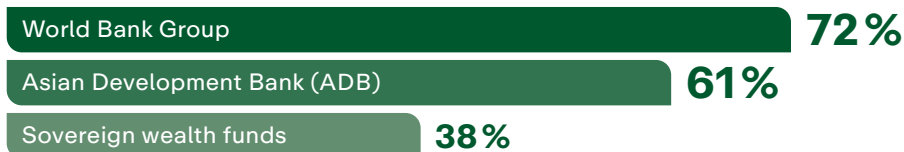
Regional development banks deliver

Which financial institution serves the economic interests of your country?

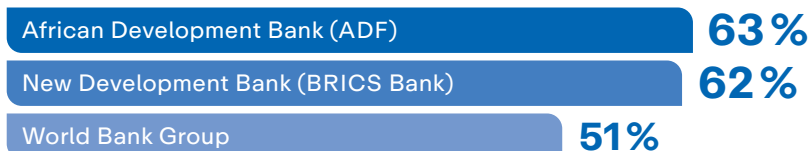
Brazil



India



South Africa



Germany

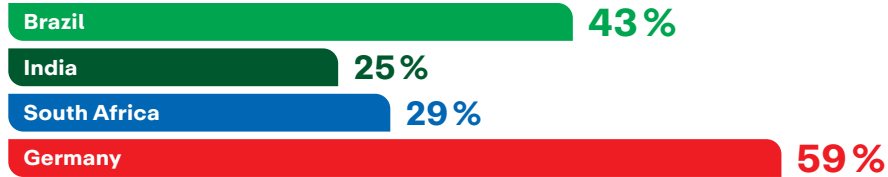


none of those institutions 1-2, answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 4 to 10 per cent for all issues

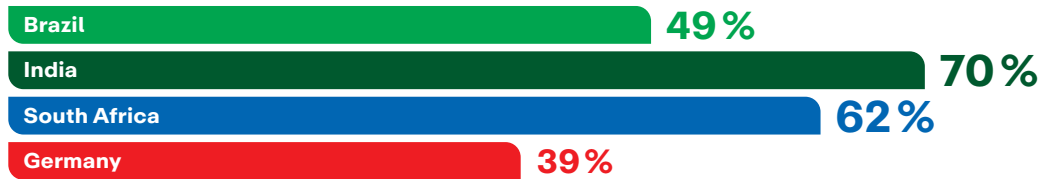
No to protectionism

How should your country approach trade?

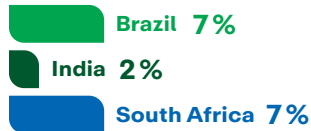
Support the World Trade Organization and multilateral trade agreements



Diversify through bilateral trade agreements



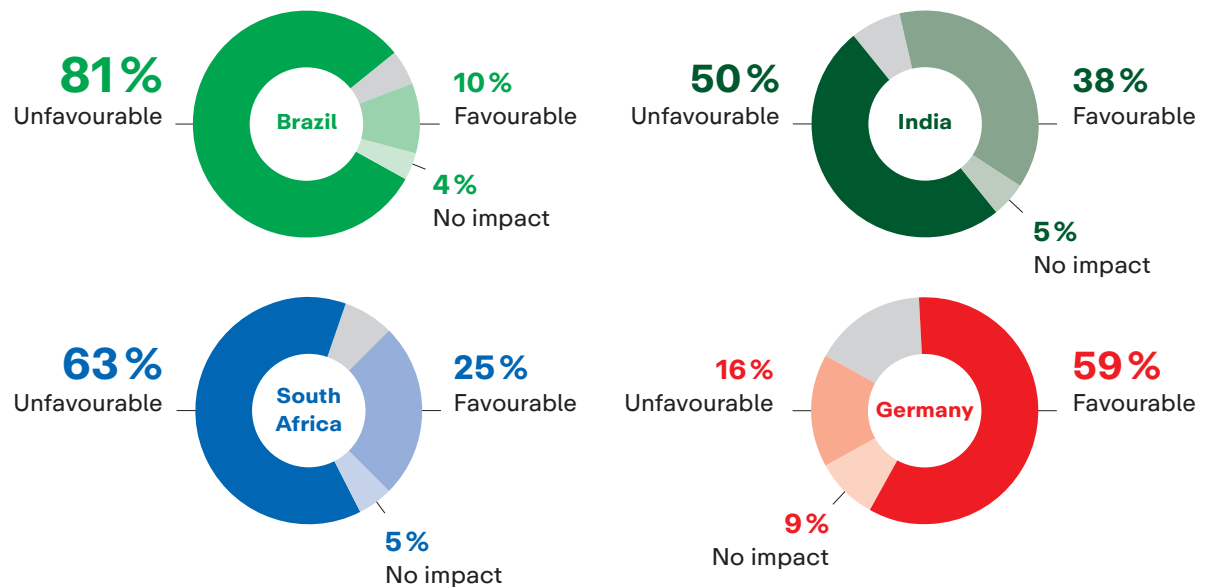
Prioritize protectionism



answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 1 to 3 per cent for all issues

Disapproval for US dollar dominance

How would you describe the dominance of the US dollar?



answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 5 to 16 per cent for all issues

Private sector participation, global public investment and tech transfer fuel the SDGs

How can governments achieve the Sustainable Development Goals?

Brazil



India



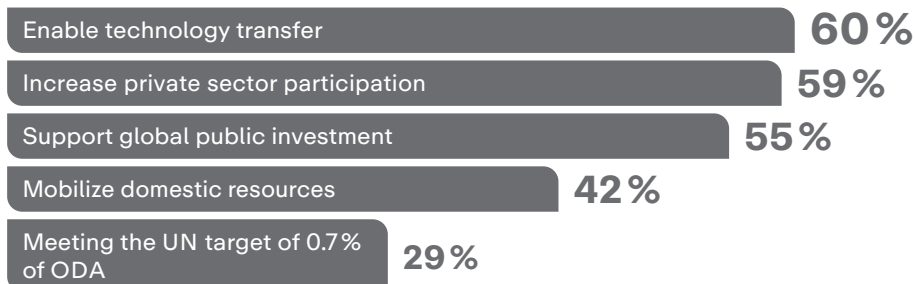
South Africa



Germany



Average



answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 1 to 6 per cent for all issues

US-China standoff

How would you describe the current global power distribution?

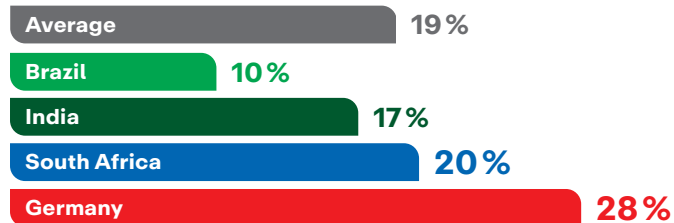
Distributed between the United States and China



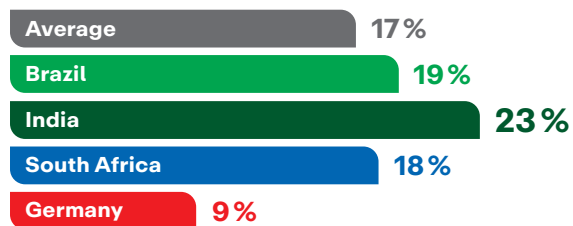
Distributed between many different powers



Dominated by the United States



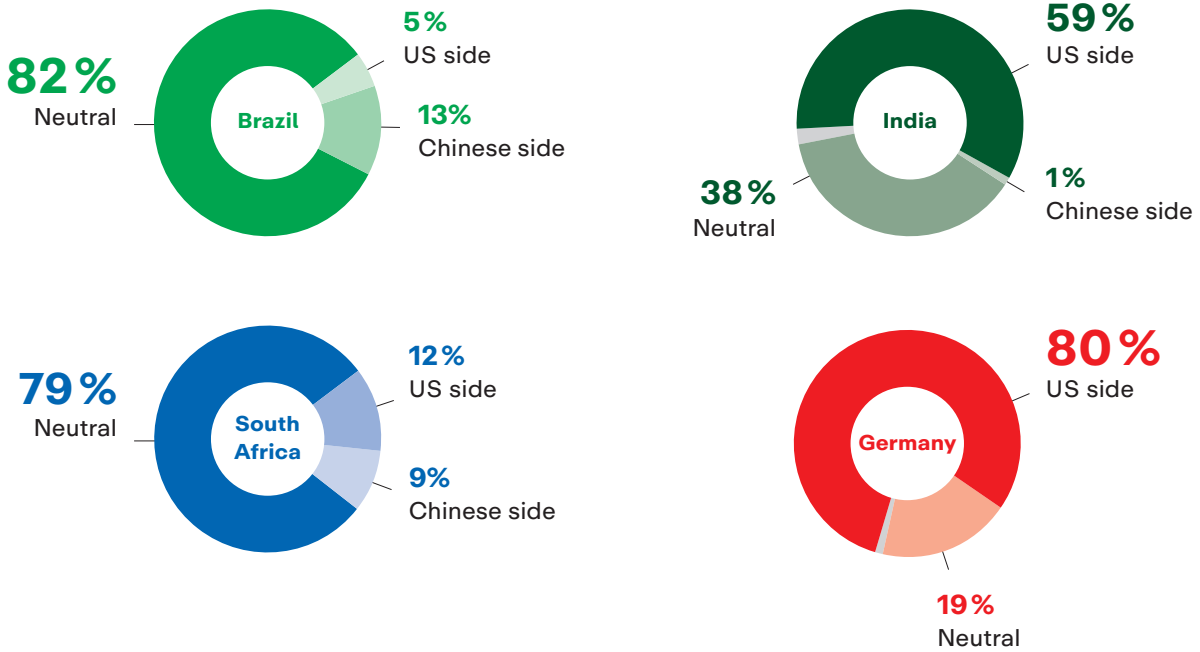
Distributed between the United States, China and Russia



answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 0 to 2 per cent for all issues

China on its own?

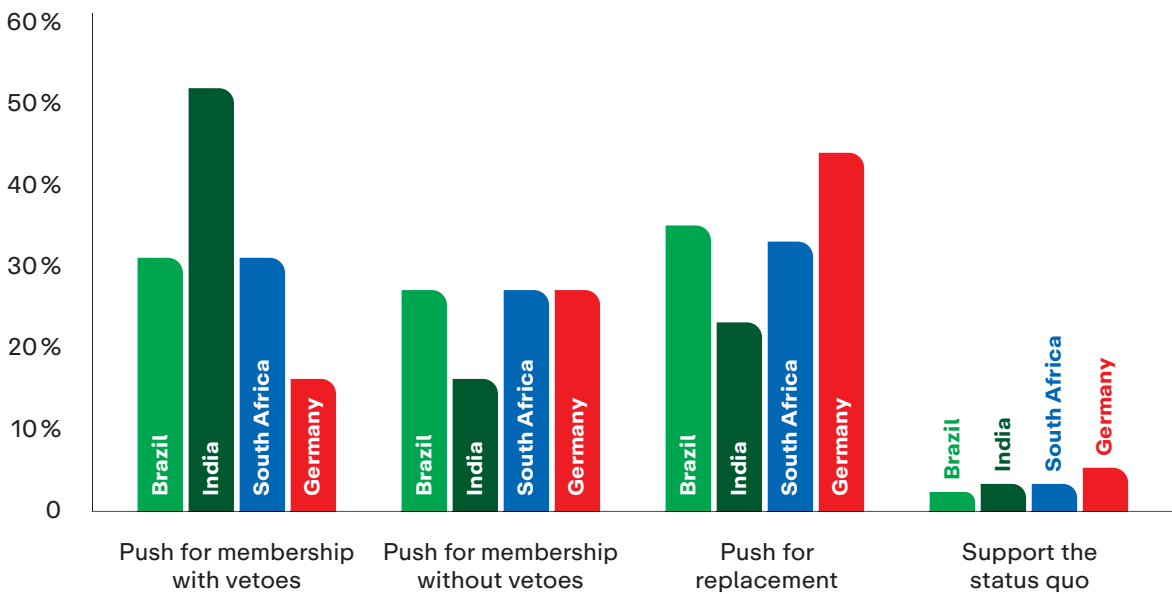
How should your country position itself amid growing US-China rivalry?



answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 0 to 2 per cent for all issues

No more status quo!

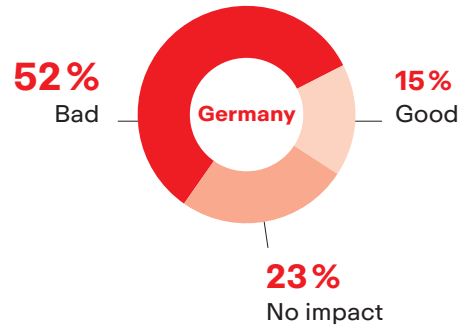
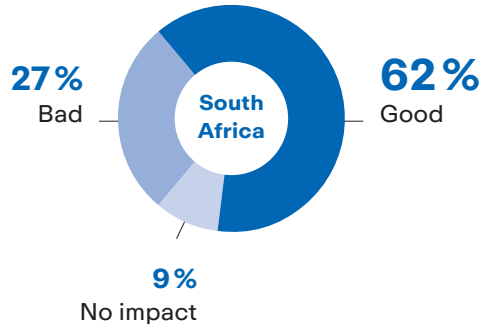
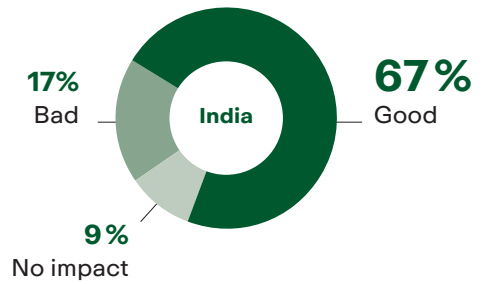
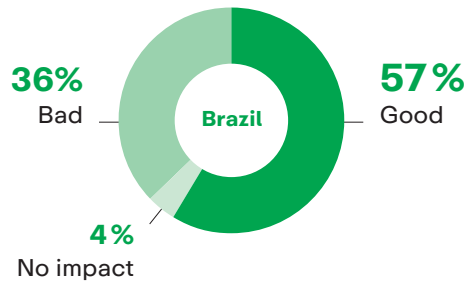
With regard to the United Nations Security Council, what should your country do?



answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 5 to 8 per cent for all issues

Expansion endorsed

What do you think of the BRICS expansion?



answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 3 to 10 per cent for all issues

Hope rests on the G20

In ten years, which institutions or groups will tackle challenges most effectively?

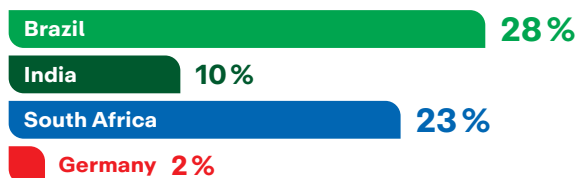
G20



United Nations



BRICS+



G7



answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 1 to 5 per cent for all issues

Unanimous desire for reform

Are you in favour of the following actions?

More seats on the United Nations Security Council



IMF reform



Debt restructuring



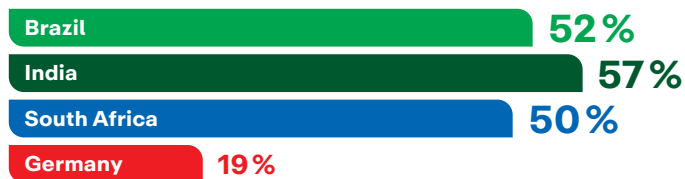
Creation of new funds with their own governance structure



Further G20 expansion



Further BRICS expansion



answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 1 to 26 per cent for all issues

IBSA bringing up the rear

What should Germany do to improve its relations with low- and middle-income countries?

Support open research and development



Increase economic assistance and development cooperation



Enable technology transfers



Increase political and financial support to loss and damage and adaptation to climate change



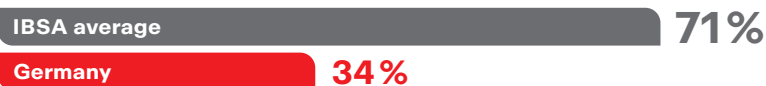
Offer trade concessions



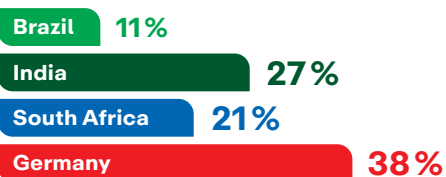
Take the lead in reforming multilateral institutions



Loosen development aid conditionality



Offer military assistance

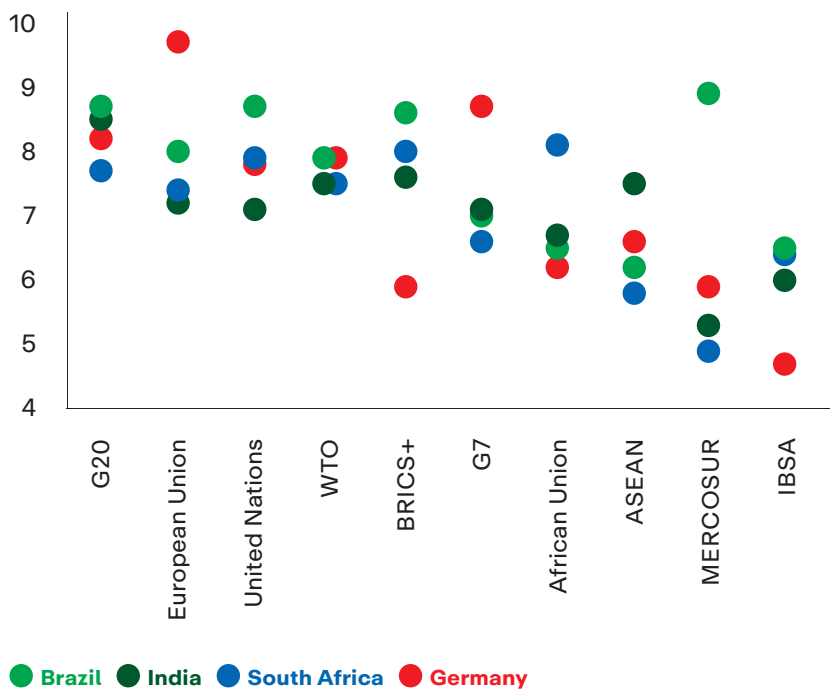


answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 0 to 9 per cent for all issues

Unlocking partner potential

How relevant are the following international institutions and groupings for your country?

extremely important



answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 0 to 51 per cent for all issues

	Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany
Base unweighted (number of participants)	280	191	205	246
Think tank/academia	59	31	40	31 %
Private sector	7	30	7	7 %
Government	14	5	10	18 %
NGO	6	4	16	10 %
Media	3	9	12	9 %
Diplomacy	3	6	7	9 %
Other	8	13	7	15 %

	Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany
Base unweighted (number of participants)	280	191	205	246
Foreign policy	20	19	29	43 %
Defence and international security	16	9	11	18 %
Economy and foreign trade	12	15	10	14 %
Development cooperation	11	3	4	5 %
Other	40	49	45	18 %

answer 'don't know' and 'no answer' ranged from 0 to 5 per cent for all issues

The Berlin Pulse

German Foreign Policy in Perspective

In our annual flagship report ‘The Berlin Pulse’, we present foreign policy positions of the German public along with perspectives by international leaders and experts who express their hopes and expectations of German foreign policy. The current issue of ‘The Berlin Pulse’ discusses paradigms and power shifts, as the war in Ukraine has forced Germany to readjust its foreign policy paradigms, while the global distribution of power is shifting and reshaping multilateral decision-making.

The survey was commissioned by Körber-Stiftung and conducted by Verian Germany between 16 October and 29 November 2023. The interviews were conducted online. The sample is neither representative nor random. The group of people invited to participate in the survey includes government representatives, members of parliament, the military and judiciary, diplomats, journalists, researchers, senior NGO staff, activists, and private sector representatives from Brazil, India, South Africa, and Germany. Participants were invited individually by Körber-Stiftung or its cooperation partners in Brazil (BRICS Policy Center), India (Gateway House Indian Council on Global Relations), and South Africa (South African Institute of International Affairs). Various methods were used to encourage response, including multiple contact attempts and the incentive of receiving survey results. To ensure that respondents didn't participate twice, each survey link could only be used once. Questions were identical in each country. The survey was conducted in Portuguese in Brazil, in German in Germany, in Hindi and English in India, and in English in South Africa.



All data are available at www.koerber-stiftung.de/en/projects/koerber-emerging-middle-powers-initiative/



Lithuanian foreign minister Gabrielius Landsbergis, German foreign minister Annalena Baerbock, and Indian minister of external affairs Subrahmanyam Jaishankar together with Thomas Paulsen, Körber-Stiftung and The Berlin Pulse.