

FAULT LINES: GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ON A WORLD IN CRISIS

Polling 22 countries on key issues facing the world today

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Cover Image: People travel the flooded roads of their town in Ilheus, Brazil, on December 28, 2021. $\hfill {\ensuremath{\mathbb C}}$ Laura Lopes/Getty

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FOREWORD

By Mark Malloch-Brown, President, Open Society Foundations

Across the world, people are more united—and progressive—than their leaders.

Global fault lines. Polarized societies. The great divide. A new cold war.

Commentators and policymakers were quick to frame Russia's invasion of Ukraine as a tipping point into greater global fragmentation. Such framing makes for good headlines and populist slogans. It also provides a veneer of justification for nationalist and protectionist policies conveniently ignoring longstanding fractures of inequality and injustice within and between states.

But beyond divisive public debates, there is still a sense of unity among the global public. The Open Society Foundations worked with Datapraxis and YouGov, as well as local providers in Moldova and Ukraine, to ask people from all walks of life how they perceive the world and what matters to them and their families. We found that, across the globe, people have a common understanding of the issues facing the world—ranging from climate change and inflation to the COVID-19 pandemic and invasion of Ukraine.

Climate change tops the list as the biggest global challenge by some margin, followed by economic turmoil, pandemics (current and future), and Russia's invasion. There was also broad consensus that the world is not heading in the right direction, and a lack of confidence in the ability of the international community to solve these challenges. On a personal level, citizens of rich and least-developed countries alike worry about the cost of living and inflation. A shocking 83 percent of those surveyed in Mexico, 64 percent in Senegal, and 56 percent in India are concerned their family could go hungry. So do nearly two-fifths of Americans and more than a quarter of people in Great Britain.

There is at least a common diagnosis, then, of the problems we face. But what about solutions? Does a shared sense of suffering translate into a shared sense of destiny? To some extent.

Most respondents professed solidarity with people in other countries although those in the developing world were more likely to see their fate as bound up with others. This distinction is likely to grow sharper. The United Nations has warned that some 90 countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America¹ are at severe risk of food and energy crises, and financial turmoil. In Sub-Saharan Africa, half the population is affected by all three. Sri Lanka defaulted on its debt earlier this year, and a dozen other countries could soon follow suit.

As respondents in the Global South experience the direct—and detrimental impacts of global crises, it's no wonder they are more inclined to support creative action by the international community. Nor is it surprising that people living in countries that would fund global solutions are less enthusiastic about footing the bill. However, politicians in wealthy nations should note: Their citizens are way ahead of them in terms of accepting the scale of support required.

In the five G7 countries included in the poll—France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, and the United States—more than half of respondents would support dedicating 2 percent of their national budget to a global solidarity fund to help those most in need. In France, support rises to 65 percent. Two per cent is what the United States devoted to rebuilding Europe after the Second World War—a different scale entirely to the paltry commitments made by the G7 earlier this year.

There is also widespread recognition among respondents that rich countries must go faster and farther in cutting climate emissions, with majority support for progressive climate policies.

At the same time, people across the world prefer solutions that address systemic inequality and injustice. Action to regulate food and energy markets, for instance, and to ensure that developing countries can produce their own vaccines were more popular in rich and developing countries than support through development aid. Justice, it seems, is an essential component of solidarity.

Even in relation to Russia's invasion of Ukraine—often assumed to be a great divide between Western countries and the Global South—there is a remarkable degree of unity in terms of how the conflict should be resolved: People overwhelmingly believe Russia should withdraw from all parts of Ukraine. Regrettably, however, the polling reflected a broad lack of confidence in how the world as a whole is coping with the challenges we face and dissatisfaction with how the United Nations has responded to the invasion of Ukraine. That raises a fundamental question: If the current generation of multilateral institutions is failing, is there an urgent need to remake or reform those institutions?

As world leaders gather at the UN in New York this month, there will be much handwringing about the state of multilateralism and its ability to respond to the nexus of crises engulfing the world. It is encouraging to see that, at the popular level, there is still an international community united in purpose and action. Let's hope leaders catch up.

INTRODUCTION

This is a pivotal year for the world. Russia's invasion of Ukraine has been a shock to the global order that has prevailed since the end of World War Two.

According to the UN, more than 5,500 Ukrainian civilians² have been confirmed killed in the fighting, with the true number believed to be in the tens of thousands, and the number of refugees has surpassed 6.6 million.³ Military losses have been heavy on both sides, with about 9,000 Ukrainians and as many as 25,000 Russians said to be killed.⁴ The destruction is estimated to have already cost Ukraine at least \$113.5 billion.⁵

Beyond Ukraine, the invasion's impact on global food and energy prices has affected people in all regions of the world, exacerbating existing shortages and supply challenges caused by climate change, conflict, and the COVID-19 pandemic. The UN has warned that 1.7 billion people are at risk of being pushed into poverty and hunger.

These strains have come on top of the economic impact of the pandemic, with shutdowns and disruptions to trade and tourism depriving governments of revenue and increasing demands on spending. These mounting fiscal pressures are fueling a developing global debt crisis, with the International Monetary Fund warning that 60 percent of the world's poorest countries are in debt distress. This spiral of crises has included heatwaves, droughts, and flooding, with rich countries experiencing what has long been reality for much of the developing world—the multiple threats posed by an accelerating global climate emergency. Yet the invasion of Ukraine and the economic damage done by COVID have drawn government resources and attention away from this existential threat.

How are these multiple problems affecting people around the world? Amid talk of a breakdown of the global order, are citizens turning inward to focus on family and nation? Or are they prepared to embrace a global view of a common future and to support policies that can address the shared challenges we face?

About the Poll

Ahead of the opening of the 77th session of the United Nations General Assembly in September, the Open Society Foundations conducted a poll in late July and the first days of August in 22 countries to gauge public opinion on key issues facing the world today. More than two-thirds of the respondents live in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East.

The participants were asked a series of questions that ranged from attitudes towards Russia's war in Ukraine; the fallout from the COVID-19 pandemic; the need for international climate action; and the current cost-of-living crisis. The survey also sought to gauge support across a range of ambitious policy options.

The countries surveyed included citizens of Ukraine and countries that have been supporting Kyiv, including Poland, one of its most active allies, and Moldova on Ukraine's southwestern border, both directly at risk from further Russian military expansion; as well as France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, and the United States, all of which have given Ukraine military and financial support.

The survey also includes India, Senegal, and South Africa, which were among the 35 countries that opted to abstain when the UN General Assembly voted by 141 to 5 on March 2 to call for an immediate end to Russia's offensive,⁶ as well as other countries where public debate has been more sympathetic to Russia's justifications for its aggression, notably Brazil, Egypt, Indonesia, Serbia (a historic Balkan ally of Russia), and Turkey, which helped to broker the Black Sea grain deal. Colombia, Mexico, Kenya, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, and Singapore were also polled, making this survey of 21,413 respondents one of the most geographically extensive efforts to date to assess how global attitudes have been affected by the nexus of crises the world is collectively facing.

Of the countries surveyed, nine are members of the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD): Colombia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, Mexico, Poland, Turkey, and the United States.

The results provide insights into an anxious world in which people are not confident in the future or the international community's ability to work together to solve global problems.

The polling also reveals divisions—both within countries and between them—over what the invasion of Ukraine means for the world and how to solve the challenges we face.

Yet it also reflects what might be considered a surprising degree of optimism—especially in the Global South—and a shared recognition of the interconnected nature of the crises we are facing, as well as alignment on a number of policy solutions. As member states of the United Nations gather in New York, this data should provide a clarion call for an ambitious global response from leaders that addresses the challenges we face and their root causes.

A SHARED RECOGNITION OF GLOBAL CHALLENGES

Across the globe, people share a common perception of the most important issues facing the world. Climate change was the top priority, with 36 percent of respondents ranking it as one of the three most significant issues facing the world, compared to 28 percent who picked Russia's invasion of Ukraine.

Concerns about climate change were more broadly shared, with more than 20 percent of respondents choosing it as a top three issue in every country surveyed except Egypt (which will host this year's UN climate conference, COP27) and Saudi Arabia. Climate change was the most likely item to be ranked in the top three global issues in nine countries: Colombia, France, Germany, India, Mexico, Senegal, Singapore, Turkey, and the United States.

In some European countries, perhaps as a result of the heatwave that struck the continent in July, climate change far outstripped the economy as an issue of concern, including Great Britain (where more than 50 percent of respondents cited it as a top three issue), France, Germany, and Serbia.



Percentage of respondents who selected climate change when asked to rank the three most important challenges facing the world today

Climate change/Environmental protection

INFLATION AND FOOD PRICES FUEL FEARS

The United Nations has warned that

billions of people around the world are facing the worst cost-of-living crisis in a generation due to conditions exacerbated by Russia's invasion of Ukraine. In Kenya, the annual inflation rate rose to 8.3 percent in July, the highest rate in five years.⁷ In the United Kingdom, it jumped to over 10 percent that month, the highest rate in four decades.⁸ In Turkey, it hit 79.6 percent, with consumer prices rising by 175 percent compared to 2021.⁹

Against this background, almost half of respondents (49 percent) listed cost of living and inflation concerns as one of the

top three challenges facing their family and community today, with almost a guarter (24 percent) citing it as the top challenge. Inflation was more of a concern in higherincome countries: It was ranked as a top three concern in Singapore (by 76 percent of respondents), Great Britain (70 percent), France and Serbia (58 percent), Poland (57 percent), Germany (45 percent), and Japan (46 percent). Conversely, in Turkey, where high double-digit inflation has been persistent for several years, only 53 percent of respondents cited the cost of living as a top three concern-perhaps suggesting a degree of acceptance of ongoing inflationary conditions.



Respondents were asked to rank the most important challenges facing their family/community and country today

The polling indicates a high level of anxiety over the potential impact of high food prices.

Eighty percent of respondents in the three Latin American countries polled (Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico) agreed to some extent (choosing "strongly agree," "agree," or "slightly agree") with the statement "I often worry about whether my family will go hungry," while in the four sub-Saharan countries surveyed (Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, and South Africa) the figure was 77 percent. Even in the United States and Western Europe the responses to this statement were shockingly high: Thirty-nine percent of respondents in the U.S. agreed to some degree with the statement on hunger (for comparison, the U.S. Department of Agriculture estimates that just over 10 percent of U.S. households suffered from food insecurity in 2020.) In Western Europe, 33 percent agreed to some extent while in Great Britain the figure was 29 percent.





Russia's Invasion of Ukraine: Differences Persist but Striking Unity About How Conflict Should End

While Russia's invasion

was the second-highest concern globally, that perception was particularly pronounced in Eastern European and G7 countries, with the notable exception of the United States. Fifty percent of respondents in Japan included Ukraine as a top three issue, 45 percent in Poland, and 39 percent in the Great Britain. That view dropped to 21 percent in Nigeria and India, and less than 20 percent in Colombia, Egypt, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey.

Strikingly, only 22 percent of respondents in the United States listed Ukraine as a top three global issue, despite robust American financial and military support for Kyiv. More respondents in Kenya than Germany ranked the invasion as a top global challenge (37 percent versus 33 percent), and the figures in France and South Africa were similar, at 29 percent.

Percentage of respondents who selected Russia's invasion of Ukraine when asked to rank the three most important challenges facing the world today



Differences emerged in questions around the causes of Russia's invasion, with 44 percent of respondents in non-OECD countries surveyed agreeing to some degree with the statement "Russia is justified in wanting to have greater influence over its neighbor Ukraine than the West has," as opposed to 30 percent in OECD members.

Seventy-eight percent of respondents in Great Britain disagreed, and 52 percent "strongly" disagreed with that statement. In contrast, 49 percent of respondents in South Africa, 54 percent of those in Nigeria, and 56 percent of those in India agreed with the statement that Russia was justified in wanting greater influence over Kyiv (yet in those countries 15 percent, 19 percent, and 5 percent respectively disagreed "strongly" with the statement).

Respondents in developing countries were also more likely to agree that the West has prioritized this conflict over others (69 percent in non-OECD compared with 58 percent in OECD countries) and that "too much" money has been spent on the crisis at the expense of other issues (68 percent to 51 percent, respectively). There was broad agreement in other areas, however. Sixty-one percent of respondents agreed with the statement "this is a confrontation between democracy and authoritarianism" and 70 percent agreed that this is "an example of a large, powerful country picking on a smaller, less powerful country." Sixty-six percent also agreed that Russia is "a former empire trying to subjugate a former colony."

There was also a strong plurality (49 percent) supporting the statement "war crimes are mostly being committed by Russia" compared to 28 precent supporting the view that "war crimes are being committed by both sides." Beyond strongly pro-Russian Serbia, only in Senegal, India, Indonesia, and Moldova did a plurality of respondents take the view that both sides were engaged in war crimes (in Senegal, 3 percent said Ukraine was mostly to blame and 27 percent Russia). But 35 percent of respondents in Senegal said they either "hadn't heard anything about war crimes" (17 percent), or "didn't know" (18 percent).

Perhaps most strikingly, there is overwhelming support for the view that peace in Ukraine requires Russia to "withdraw from all parts of Ukrainian territory it currently controls." Out of 20 countries surveyed on this question (it was not possible to ask this question in Egypt and Saudi Arabia), the majority of respondents agreed with this statement except Senegal (46 percent), India (44 percent), Indonesia (3 percent), and Serbia (12 percent). Only 13 percent of all respondents agreed with the statement that Ukraine should give up parts of its territory to end the fighting.

Even in countries where respondents are broadly more sympathetic to Russian messaging, there was a majority in favor of Russian withdrawal, including: South Africa (59 percent in favor of total Russian withdrawal compared to 19 percent agreeing that "Ukraine should give up part of its territory now controlled by Russia") and Turkey (55 percent for withdrawal compared to 16 percent).

SPECIAL SECTION: RUSSIA'S INVASION OF UKRAINE



Percentage of respondents who believe Russia's war in Ukraine might be resolved by Russian withdrawal from all parts of Ukrainian territory it currently controls

Please note it was not possible to ask this question in Egypt and Saudi Arabia. For more please see Methodology.

With the fighting in Ukraine continuing, the survey asked respondents what actions they thought their own governments should be pursuing in relation to the conflict, presenting a list of options.

Providing military armaments and funding to Ukraine was supported by 40 percent of respondents in Western Europe and 39 percent in the United States—numbers that are nearly twice the levels of support in the other regions surveyed. Providing economic or humanitarian aid had the support of 52 percent of respondents in Western Europe and 49 percent in the United States. Overall, 45 percent of respondents supported their governments providing humanitarian or economic support to Ukraine, and 63 percent said they want their country to "encourage a peace deal" between Ukraine and Russia.

The poll also asked participants whether they felt the international community had done either too much or too little or got the balance "about right" in a range of areas in response to Russia's invasion.

Twenty-six percent of respondents in Western Europe thought that the

international community had provided too little military support for Ukraine while 37 percent thought the amount of support was about right. In the United States, 34 percent thought military support was too little, and 28 percent thought it was about right.

Regarding economic support, the percentage of respondents in Western Europe believing current levels were "about right" rose to 44 percent, with 22 percent feeling too little had been done compared to 29 percent for both responses in the United States.





Finally, the survey asked participants how the United Nations, NATO, and the European Union had performed in response to Russia's invasion. Ukraine was broadly positive about all three, with 76 percent praising the EU's response, 54 percent praising NATO's actions, and 50 percent in support of the UN's.

Overall, the EU and NATO received more favorable reviews, and the UN's handling of Russia's invasion received particularly low approval ratings in G7 countries. This is likely a reflection of the inability of the UN Security Council, of which Russia is a permanent member, to address the crisis, limiting UN action to humanitarian efforts such as the secretary-general's role in the Black Sea grain deals.¹⁰

Only 16 percent of respondents in Japan approved of the UN's performance in Ukraine to any degree, along with 24 percent of those in Great Britain and 25 percent in France and United States (all three countries are permanent members of the UN Security Council). Respondents in Germany (the fourth largest UN donor) held a more positive view, with 36 percent saying they thought the UN was doing a "quite good" or "very good" job.

Of the 20 countries responding to this question, those in Kenya and Nigeria held by far the most positive views of the job done by the UN (72 percent and 68 percent approval, respectively), even ahead of Ukraine's 50 percent approval rate. Those two African nations also came after only Ukraine in their level of approval for the EU's efforts (70 percent and 62 percent, respectively).



Respondents' views on the performance of the United Nations in relation to Russia's invasion of Ukraine

Please note it was not possible to ask this question in Egypt and Saudi Arabia. For more please see Methodology.

THE SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS

Despite these challenges, respondents across the globe expressed a surprising level of optimism about whether things are "going in the right direction" in their own lives. Across all 22 countries, more than half of respondents answered that things were either going in the right direction, or in neither the right nor the wrong direction. In Latin America, a striking 69 percent of people are optimistic that things in their own lives were "going in the right direction," as are over 50 percent of respondents in all regions except Western Europe and the Middle East/North Africa.

However, respondents are more pessimistic about the direction of their own countries. Only in Asia did more respondents think their countries were heading in the right direction, rather than the wrong direction (India 52 percent, Indonesia 51 percent, Singapore 51 percent, but Japan strikingly down at 14 percent). Even among personally optimistic Latin Americans, the figure was just 29 percent.

This pessimism was most prevalent in the Middle East/North Africa, where 74 percent of respondents believe their country is heading in the wrong direction. In Western Europe, 58 percent agreed with this statement—led by Great Britain at 62 percent, France at 58 percent, and Germany at 53 percent. In the United States, the figure was even higher at 69 percent.

One striking outlier in this area was Ukraine, where 62 percent of respondents said they believe their country was heading in the right direction.



Respondents were asked to indicate whether they think things are generally going in the right or the wrong direction in their country

When respondents were asked about how they felt about the state of the world, optimism was in even shorter supply. Western Europe and the United States showed the greatest levels of pessimism, with 63 percent and 65 percent saying the world was headed in the wrong direction, and a third (34 percent) of Asian respondents agreed. Once again, Ukraine was an optimistic outlier, with 44 percent of respondents believing the world was moving in the right direction—possibly a response to the broad levels of international support for the country since Russia's February invasion.

What relationship then, if any, did the surveyed populations see between these external events in the rest of the world and their own daily lives? The poll found a strikingly high level of acceptance among all respondents of the idea that events could have either a "great deal" of impact on their daily lives or have a "fair amount" of impact. Overall, the poll showed that this belief was noticeably higher in lower- and middleincome countries, and most strongly evident in three African countries—Kenya (88 percent), Senegal (85 percent), and Nigeria (84 percent). Except Indonesia, in all countries where the question was asked, more than 50 percent of respondents agreed that external events could affect their daily lives.

There was also a strikingly high level of a "sense of solidarity and support" towards people living in other countries, even among those who said they had low amounts of trust in other people. Among the most distrustful, 51 percent said they felt either a great deal or a fair amount of solidarity with people in other countries. The figure rose to 76 percent among those with the highest levels of trust in others.



Respondents' level of solidarity for people living in other countries, in relation to indicated level of trust in people

LOOKING FOR GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

When asked how the international community has responded to the range of challenges we now face, respondents in all countries were largely unimpressed. Perhaps surprisingly, 52 percent thought countries worked together "very well" or "fairly well" in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, with that number rising to almost 60 percent in lower- and middle-income countries (nonOECD). In high-income OECD member states, the verdict was more critical, but more than 40 percent nonetheless took a positive view.

Numbers were far lower for climate change (28 percent), poverty and hunger (24 percent), and cost of living (21 percent).



Percentage of respondents who answered "very well" or "fairly well" on how they think countries have done in working together to tackle the following issues

Given the generally low level of satisfaction with global cooperation to date, what would people like to see their governments working together to achieve? The survey asked respondents to indicate the degree to which they support or oppose a range of policy approaches—some recommended by international institutions; some more ambitious; and a few, such as wholesale debt cancellation, that remain almost taboo in certain high-income countries.

In this area, global concern over rising food prices again was at the top of concerns. Eighty-three percent of respondents supported to some degree the proposal that international government collaboration should be "doing more to regulate food prices and provide emergency subsidies to the poor." There was a significantly lower level of support, however, for the separate proposal that "my government" should be "increasing spending on international aid to lessen starvation in the world," with support for aid versus policy regulation dropping off across all the countries surveyed.

Respondents were also asked whether they would support "countries opening up more safe and legal routes for refugees, just as Europe did with the Ukrainian refugees." There was a strong level of support for taking this approach to assist refugees both globally (76 percent positive) and in neighboring or nearby countries (74 percent).

The proposal that "richer countries cancel the debts of the poorest countries and reduce the debt payments of other countries which are struggling" also received a broad level of support, with 72 percent of respondents in favor. The poll predictably showed higher levels of enthusiasm for debt cancellation in lower- and middle-income countries in sub-Saharan Africa (86 percent in favor) and Latin America (79 percent in favor).



Percentage of respondents indicating the degree to which they support or oppose a range of policy approaches

Percentage of respondents in Western Europe and the United States in favor of progressive policies



But, even in Western Europe and the United States, those in favor of debt cancellation (56 percent and 57 percent, respectively) outnumbered those opposed by 27 and 29 percentage points.

Opposition to taxes to help the world's most vulnerable people in times of crisis is strongest in developed regions although even in those countries only 46 percent of respondents in Western Europe supported the idea, compared to 38 percent who opposed; in the United States, support was slightly higher at 47 percent, with a similar margin over those opposed.

When the question referred to the national budget, as opposed to "my taxes," however, support was higher. In Western Europe, 58 percent of respondents supported a proposal for richer countries to commit 2 percent of their budgets next year as global solidarity funding to protect the most vulnerable around the world. In the United States, 53 percent were supportive.

This readiness to endorse progressive policy proposals was also evident on climate crisis-related issues. Seventy-five percent of all respondents agreed that rich countries should "take the lead on a global insurance fund to protect against the worldwide impacts of climate change." And 77 percent supported the view that rich countries should be "committing much more financing to cover the loss and damage caused by the world-wide impacts of climate change."

Both these proposals were endorsed by 66 percent of respondents in Western Europe and by 50 percent and 49 percent, respectively, in the United States.

CONCLUSION

Since Russia's invasion of Ukraine, there have been numerous dire predictions about the implications of the war, including that the fighting will escalate into a Third World War or even a nuclear conflict; and that however the conflict ends, it portends a new era of national competition and geopolitical tensions rather than cooperation.

This survey set out to ask one big question: Amid multiple, growing crises, are people prepared to embrace a global view of a common future and to support policies that can address the shared challenges we face?

According to our results from 22 very different countries, the answer is yes.

From the United States to Senegal, from Japan to Brazil, our respondents had a shared view of global threats. They remain deeply concerned about the climate crisis, even as they worry about the cost of living and Russia's invasion; they are aware that events happening elsewhere in the world can have a direct impact on their own lives and families; and they want international action to address these challenges despite being dissatisfied by the global response to date. Proposals such as debt cancellation, creating new routes for refugees, and a surge of "global solidarity funding" by rich nations also found support—even in highincome countries—while respondents in rich and developing countries were more likely to favor solutions such as regulating food prices.

Yet, as world leaders prepare to meet at the opening of the UN General Assembly in New York, many of these options are not on the global agenda. The results of this survey pose one more question: why not?

METHODOLOGY

Datapraxis surveyed 21,413 respondents across 22 countries between July 22 and August 15, 2022. The countries were: Brazil, Colombia, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Moldova, Nigeria, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Serbia, Singapore, South Africa, Turkey, the United States, and Ukraine. The program of fieldwork was managed primarily by YouGov, using a mix of YouGov's own online panels and third-party panel and sample vendors that were qualityassured by YouGov's research team using industry best practices.

In Moldova and Ukraine, local providers were used to generate N = 1,000 samples on CATI. Moldova's results were collected and weighted to be nationally representative. In Ukraine, the target population was people aged 18 and older in all oblasts, except for the occupied territories of Crimea and Donbas, as well as the territories where there was no Ukrainian mobile connection at the time of the survey. The results were weighted using the current data from the State Statistics Service of Ukraine.

Most countries received identical versions of the survey; in Saudi Arabia and Egypt, some politically sensitive questions were removed due to operational constraints or in order to maintain trust between the interviewer and respondent. In Ukraine, some questions regarding the conflict had to be reworded to match local realities.

ENDNOTES

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