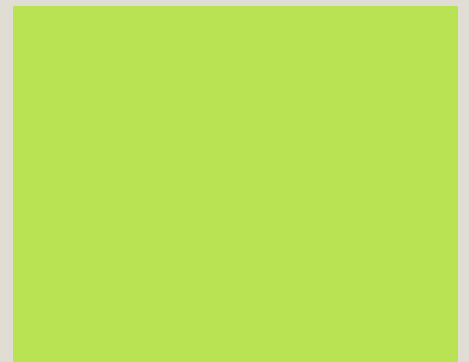


November 2025

A MANDATE FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION G20 POPULAR OPINION ON GLOBAL ACTION



WHAT DO PEOPLE IN G20 COUNTRIES WANT INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION TO DELIVER?

In the lead up to the 2025 G20 Summit, a new poll surveyed 19,192 adults across 18 of the G20 countries to understand what drives their views of cooperation and countries working together. The results paint a clear and consistent picture.



1 G20 RESPONDENTS PRIORITIZE GLOBAL ISSUES THAT BENEFIT HUMANITY – NOT JUST ONES THAT AFFECT THEIR OWN COUNTRIES.

Preventing wars and conflicts is the dominant global issue across almost all countries surveyed, alongside humanitarian-focused issues like access to food and clean water, global poverty, humanitarian aid, and preventing childhood death and disease. For the United States, almost twice as many respondents prioritize access to food and clean water as managing migration.



3 TWO-THIRDS OF G20 RESPONDENTS HAVE CONFIDENCE IN INTERNATIONAL ACTORS TO SOLVE GLOBAL CHALLENGES.

A clear majority are confident that international organizations and international NGOs can solve global challenges.



4 G20 COUNTRIES CLUSTER INTO FOUR GROUPS BASED ON BELIEFS ABOUT COOPERATION PRODUCING REAL RESULTS, HAVING A PERSONAL STAKE IN GLOBAL ISSUES, AND THEIR COUNTRY HAVING INFLUENCE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

The United States, alongside Saudi Arabia, forms a high-influence / low-stake cluster, opposite to the high-influence / high-stake cluster seen in India and China. Several others – including South Africa – fall into a high-stake / low-influence cluster, while a further group – Argentina, France, Germany and the UK – form a low-support cluster. These contrasts highlight the range of starting points across the G20.



2 STRONG PLURALITIES OF G20 RESPONDENTS BELIEVE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD TAKE THE LEAD ON HUMANITARIAN-FOCUSED ISSUES.

They want national governments to focus on protecting freedom of expression, religion and belief, and managing migration.

WHO DID WE HEAR FROM?

Focaldata conducted nationally representative polls in eighteen G20 countries, capturing responses from 19,192 quantitative respondents. These were carried out from October 31 to November 7, 2025.

The survey reached representative cohorts based on age, gender, region, education, ethnicity, and most recent political vote to achieve nationally representative samples in each country, with ethnicity and past political votes used only where such measures are collected and standard practice. The sample was then weighted to be representative by the same variables.

With sample sizes ranging from 1,011 to 1,183, the margin of error at the 95% confidence level is approximately $\pm 2-4$ percentage points, with most countries around ± 3.0 percentage points. When interpreting the findings and figures presented in this report, it is important to note that “G20 countries” and “G20 respondents” refer to the aggregated results from the full sample of 18 countries.

Responses were collected across the following countries: **Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, South Korea, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States.**

This survey was conducted and the report authored by Lily Kennish, Dr. Matt Chennells, Jack Peacock, and Cora Fagan at Focaldata. The Rockefeller Foundation, in association with its public charity, RF Catalytic Capital (RFCC), commissioned Focaldata, an independent entity, to conduct this study, polling individuals in 18 countries showing what people value about international cooperation. This research was carried out entirely by Focaldata. The Rockefeller Foundation and RFCC are not responsible for the accuracy or completeness of the contents of this report.



Focaldata is a research data platform that combines sampling, scripting, fieldwork and data processing into a single intuitive tool. Using technology and machine learning, Focaldata measures public attitudes and behaviour more accurately and efficiently than traditional research agencies. Focaldata is a registered member of the British Polling Council (BPC) and Market Research Society (MRS).

WHAT DID *DEMANDING RESULTS* TELL US ABOUT INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION?



A MANDATE FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

The results in this report build on the findings from the recent poll from 34 countries, *Demanding Results: Global Views on International Cooperation*, and show a new and more detailed perspective on opinions of those in G20 countries.

Demanding Results found a simple but powerful trend: people around the world want their countries to cooperate, but that support is fragile. They back cooperation more when it delivers on issues they care about, improves lives at home, and isn't perceived as coming at their expense. They are more supportive of cooperation that is effective over less expensive, and believe **peace and stability** should be the main motivator for cooperation.

This G20-focused study builds directly on those findings. The G20 includes the world's largest economies, home to most of the world's population and responsible for the majority of global emissions and economic output. As South Africa concludes its 2025 presidency of the G20 and the United States prepares to assume the presidency for 2026, the

group has the opportunity to shape outcomes on health, climate, food security, global economic stability and development that will reach far beyond its members. Understanding what people in these countries expect from cooperation – what motivates their support, which actors they trust, and what they want cooperation to achieve – is increasingly important.

By taking the core insights from *Demanding Results* and applying them specifically to the G20, this study provides a clearer, more detailed picture of the public mood in the countries with the greatest ability to influence global outcomes. In this study, we find similar levels of public support for international cooperation in the G20; a similar set of priorities for public, based on the most pressing and everyday issues; and we go further than that earlier study, showing how priorities for international cooperation sit alongside the desire for national action on several key issues (such as migration). This study shows not just that people support cooperation, but the kind of cooperation they believe is necessary and needed.



A SIGNIFICANT MAJORITY OF G20 RESPONDENTS SAY HUMANITARIAN AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ISSUES ARE IMPORTANT TO THEM



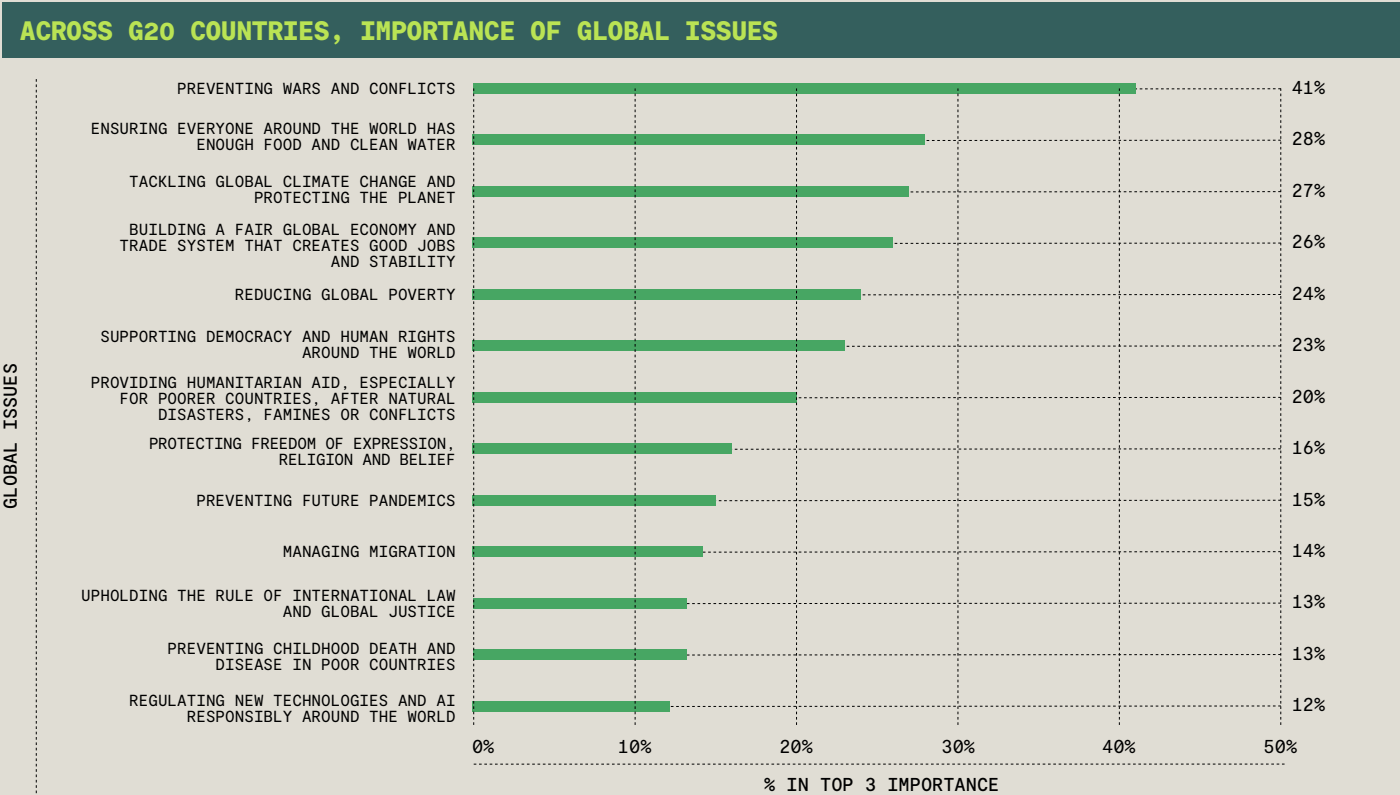
There is a broad instinct in G20 countries to cooperate. 60% of those surveyed want nations to work together on global challenges even if it means compromising on some national interests. Around half (48%) of those surveyed also believe that international cooperation is in their personal interests, including more than six in ten in China, India and Saudi Arabia, and more than half in Brazil, Canada, South Africa and the United States. The outliers here are France and Japan, with less than one in four saying that international cooperation is in their personal interests. Across G20 countries, fewer than one in four respondents say that international cooperation is not in their personal interests.

A significant majority in G20 countries say that humanitarian and international development focused issues are important to them personally. When asked to pick three issues that are most important to them, 63% of respondents selected at least one of **reducing global poverty, addressing access to enough food and clean water, providing humanitarian aid after natural disasters, famines or conflicts, or preventing childhood death and disease in poor countries.** In fact, in every country except for South Korea, more than half of respondents selected at least one of these in their top priorities. South Africa leads the G20, with 78% of respondents saying at least one of these issues is in

their top priorities, followed closely by Brazil, Argentina, Saudi Arabia and Mexico, each with over seven in ten respondents doing the same. The UK and United States fall near the middle at 58% and 60%, respectively.

G20 respondents also prioritize preventing wars and conflicts, with four in ten (41%) selecting it as one of their top three priorities. Japan leads the G20, with 59% of respondents saying it is an important issue to them. Germany, South Korea and Saudi Arabia follow closely, each with over half of respondents doing the same. India and China sit at the lower end of the spectrum, with fewer than three in ten seeing conflict prevention as a top priority, while the United States and UK fall in the middle at 41% and 45%, respectively.

In addition to conflict prevention and humanitarian and development issues, significant numbers of G20 respondents prioritize climate change and protecting the planet (27%), building a fair global economy and trade system that creates good jobs and stability (26%), and supporting democracy and human rights (23%). For emerging markets, the margin between preventing wars and conflicts and building a fair global economy is negligible (35% and 34%, respectively), while there is a 20 percentage-point difference for advanced economies (45% and 25%).



“ Which of these global issues are most important to you?
 → Please select up to three



INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION: PRIORITIES AND WHO CAN DELIVER



A MANDATE FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

There is a strong sense across G20 countries that international cooperation can address global issues.

Only one in five of those surveyed see international cooperation as either ineffective or generally a waste of time and resources. At the same time, there is a strong sense among those surveyed that some challenges are better addressed by national governments, some by coalitions of governments, and some by international organizations.

In a number of high priority global issues, there is a strong plurality that believes that international organizations should undertake the effort to respond – including in providing humanitarian aid after natural disasters, famines or conflicts, preventing childhood death and disease in poor countries, addressing access to food and clean water for everyone, and reducing global poverty.

One in three (32%) say **providing humanitarian aid after natural disasters, famines or conflicts** is the responsibility of **international organizations**, 19 percentage points ahead of national governments (13%) and 15 percentage points ahead of groups of countries working together (such as regional partners and the G20) (18%).

Three in ten (30%) say **preventing childhood death and disease in poor countries** is the responsibility of **international organizations**, 13 and 14 percentage points ahead of national governments (17%) and groups of countries working together (16%), respectively.

One in three (32%) also say **ensuring everyone around the world has enough food and clean water** is the responsibility of **international organizations**, 12 and 14 percentage points ahead of groups of countries working together (20%) and national governments (18%), respectively.

Three in ten (30%) say **reducing global poverty** is the responsibility of **international organizations**, 10 percentage-points ahead of national governments (20%) and 12 percentage-points ahead of groups of countries working together (18%).

In contrast, by very wide margins (28 and 27 percentage-points), **protecting freedom of expression, religion and belief** is seen as the responsibility of **national governments** (42%) over groups of countries working together (14%) or international organizations (15%), respectively. In the same vein, **managing migration** is seen as the clear responsibility of **national governments** (48%), 34 and 36 percentage points ahead of international organizations (14%) and groups of countries working together (12%), respectively.



On the topic of **climate change and protecting the planet**, three in ten say this is the responsibility of **groups of countries working together** and nearly as many believe it should be **international organizations** (26%). Only 16% say this is the responsibility of their national government. Similarly, **preventing wars and conflicts** is seen as the responsibility of **groups of countries working together** (30%) and **international organizations** (31%), 10 and 11 percentage-points, respectively, ahead of national governments (20%).

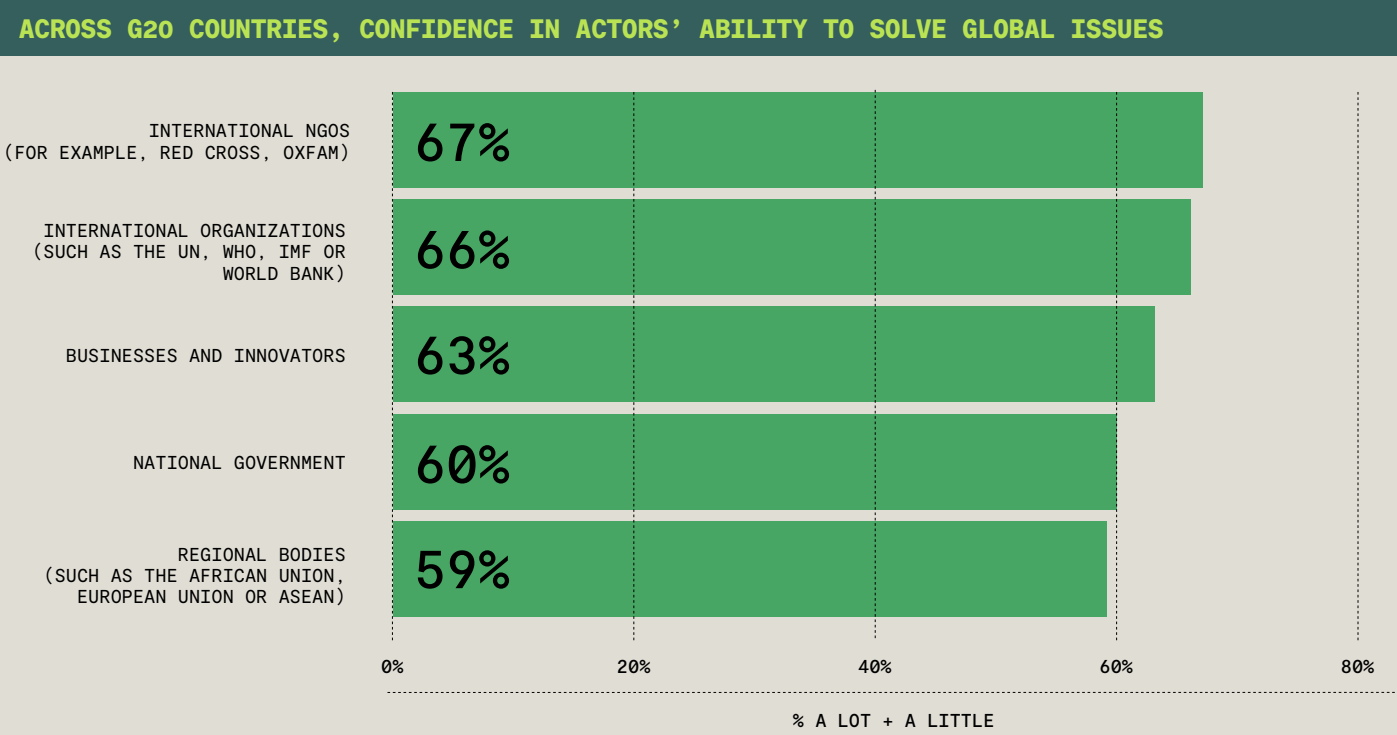
Respondents across the G20 are more split on the responsibility for building a **fair global economy and trade system that creates good jobs and stability, with national governments** seen as most responsible (30%), followed by **groups of countries working together** (24%) and **international organizations** (20%).

Interestingly, there is considerable nuance about how those surveyed view their own governments. While across the G20, six in ten respondents are confident their own government can address global problems,

views among countries vary far more sharply at the national level than for any other actor, with confidence in governments lowest in France, the UK, and Japan, and highest in China, Saudi Arabia and India.

Respondents in G20 countries also see a role for businesses and innovators in addressing global challenges. Confidence in the private sector sits just below that of international NGOs and national governments, suggesting that people believe private sector actors can contribute meaningfully to solving global issues.

Taken together, the results show a clear pattern: people in the world’s largest economies back international cooperation, and confidence in solving global issues is strong with international institutions and actors. At the same time, they expect national governments and the private sector to play meaningful supporting roles, recognising that solving global issues requires contributions from many sectors and countries.



“ How much confidence do you have in each of the following to solve global issues?

→ A lot

→ A little

→ Not much

→ None

→ Don't know

G20 COUNTRIES: VIEWS OF GLOBAL INFLUENCE, IMPACT, AND OUTCOMES DRIVE SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION



An analysis of the underlying worldviews that shape people's support for international cooperation shows what makes G20 respondents more likely to support cooperation. Among the following potential drivers – nationalism, sovereignty, results, optimism, national voice, personal stake, and distrust between countries and populations – the following beliefs appear to be the greatest motivators for those surveyed within the G20.

1

COOPERATION PRODUCES REAL RESULTS

it leads to tangible results, speeds up progress, keeps countries accountable, and ultimately makes the world better. This is the strongest motivator.

2

PEOPLE HAVE A PERSONAL STAKE IN GLOBAL ISSUES

what happens beyond their borders impacts their lives, and they personally feel they have some agency in shaping global outcomes.

3

PEOPLE FEEL THEIR COUNTRY HAS NATIONAL INFLUENCE

their national voice matters and carries weight in international decisions.

We can assign each country a score for each of these three dimensions, and then plot them across two charts: cooperation produces real results vs personal stake, and then national influence vs personal stake. Looking across these charts, we see groups of countries that cluster together, with similar views of international cooperation.

First, a **Low-Support Cluster (Argentina, France, Germany, UK)** shows consistently weaker intensity across all three dimensions: lower belief that international cooperation produces real results, lower sense of global issues impacting their lives, and reduced feeling their country has influence on the international stage. The pattern identified countries with respondents less supportive of international cooperation.

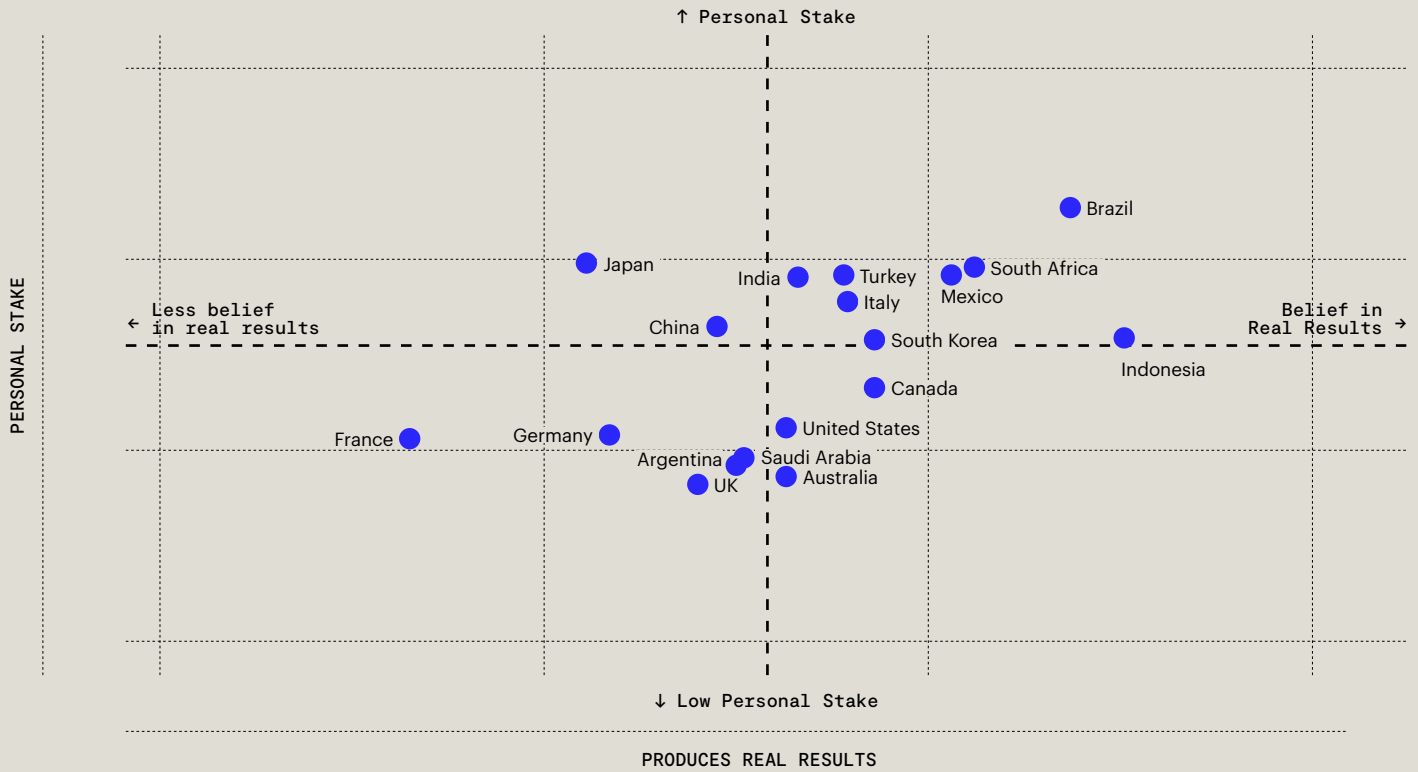
Second, a **High-Influence / High-Stake Cluster (India, China)** pairs high confidence in national influence with a strong sense of personal stake in world affairs – a pattern evident in two of the world's major and fastest-expanding economies. Attitudes towards the extent cooperation produces real results is, however, more mixed. These countries, as a result, sit towards the middle of the G20 on support for cooperation.

Third, a **High-Stake / Low-Influence Cluster (South Africa, Italy, Turkey, Mexico, Brazil)** sees global issues as personally relevant in their lives and that cooperation produces real results, but does not feel their countries' voices carry weight internationally. These countries have respondents who are the most supportive of international cooperation, largely driven by their greater belief that cooperation produces real results.

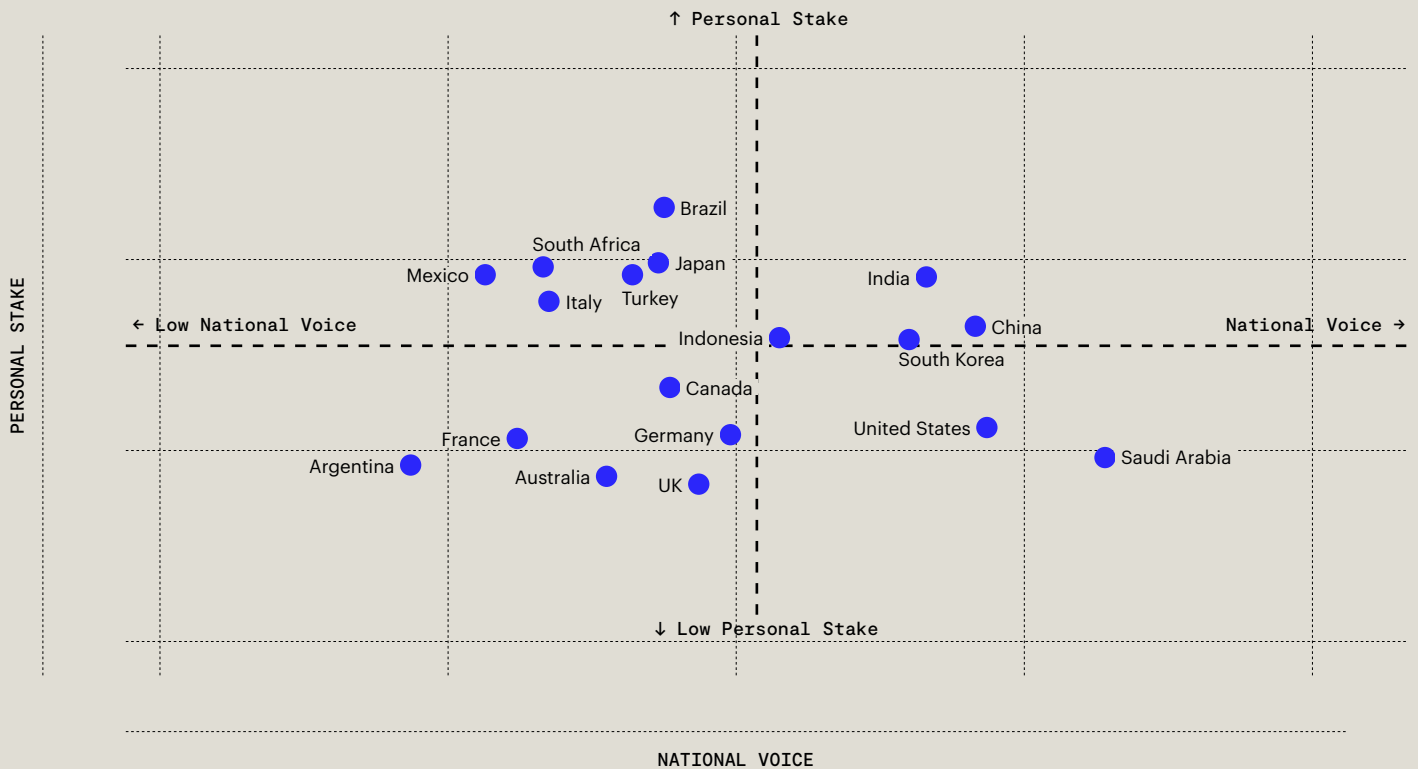
Finally, a **High-Influence / Low-Stake Cluster (United States, Saudi Arabia)** pairs confidence in national influence, with a reduced sense of stake in global issues, and middling views on whether cooperation produces real results. **Ultimately, this drives respondents in these countries towards lower support for cooperation.**



COOPERATION PRODUCES REAL RESULTS VS PERSONAL STAKE IN GLOBAL ISSUES, BY COUNTRY



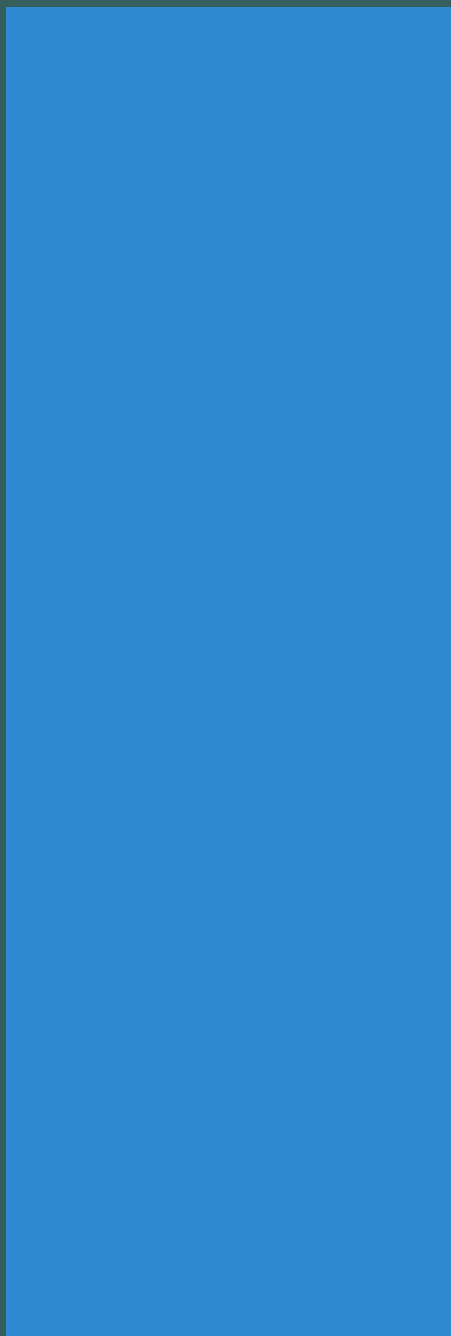
COUNTRY HAS NATIONAL INFLUENCE VS PERSONAL STAKE IN GLOBAL ISSUES, BY COUNTRY



BUILD THE SHARED FUTURE



WITH cooperation against common threats,
we build a future FOR everyone.



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