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Many Across the Globe Are Dissatisfied With How Democracy Is Working

*Discontent is tied to concerns about the economy, individual rights
and out-of-touch elites*

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Many Across the Globe Are Dissatisfied With How Democracy Is Working

Discontent is tied to concerns about the economy, individual rights and out-of-touch elites

Anger at political elites, economic dissatisfaction and anxiety about rapid social changes have fueled political upheaval in regions around the world in recent years. Anti-establishment leaders, parties and movements have emerged on both the right and left of the political spectrum, in some cases challenging fundamental norms and institutions of liberal democracy. Organizations from [Freedom House](#) to the [Economist Intelligence Unit](#) to [V-Dem](#) have documented global declines in the health of democracy.

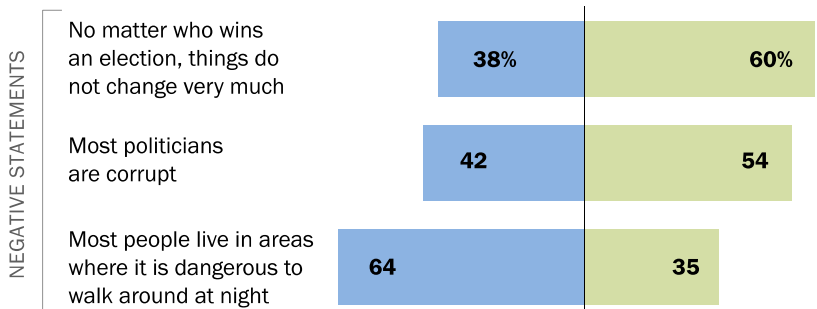
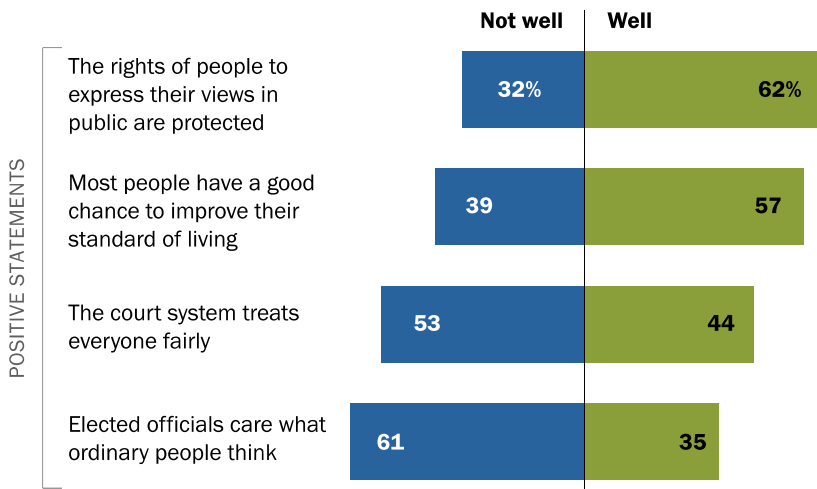
As previous Pew Research Center surveys have illustrated, ideas at the core of liberal democracy remain popular among global publics, but commitment to democracy can nonetheless be weak. Multiple factors contribute to this lack of commitment, including perceptions about how well democracy is functioning. And as findings

Divided views around the world about how key aspects of democracy are working

% who say they are ___ with the way democracy is working in their country



% who say the statement ___ describes their country ...



Note: Percentages are medians based on 27 countries. Don't know responses not shown. Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4 & Q34a-g.

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from a new Pew Research Center survey show, views about the performance of democratic systems are decidedly negative in many nations. Across 27 countries polled, a median of 51% are dissatisfied with how democracy is working in their country; just 45% are satisfied.

Assessments of how well democracy is working vary considerably across nations. In Europe, for example, more than six-in-ten Swedes and Dutch are satisfied with the current state of democracy, while large majorities in Italy, Spain and Greece are dissatisfied.

To better understand the discontent many feel with democracy, we asked people in the 27 nations studied about a variety of economic, political, social and security issues. The results highlight some key areas of public frustration: Most believe elections bring little change, that politicians are corrupt and out of touch and that courts do not treat people fairly. On the other hand, people are more positive about how well their countries protect free expression, provide economic opportunity and ensure public safety.

We also asked respondents about other topics, such as the state of the economy, immigration and attitudes toward major political parties. And in Europe, we included additional questions about immigrants and refugees, as well as opinions about the European Union.

Bivariate and multilevel regression analyses (see [Appendix A](#) for methodological details) show that, among the factors studied, dissatisfaction with democracy is related to economic frustration, the status of individual rights, as well as perceptions that political elites are corrupt and do not care about average citizens. Additionally, in Europe the results suggest that dissatisfaction with the way democracy is working is tied to views about the EU, opinions about whether immigrants are adopting national customs and attitudes toward populist parties.

These are among the findings of a Pew Research Center survey conducted among 30,133 people in 27 countries from May 14 to Aug. 12, 2018.

Measuring satisfaction, dissatisfaction with how democracy is working

We measured satisfaction with the *performance* of democracy in each country using the following question: How satisfied are you with the way democracy is working in our country – very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied? This question is commonly used by academics and on international surveys, including the [Global Barometer Surveys](#).

Satisfaction with democracy can be thought of as one measure of popular contentment – with the current regime in power or the direction of the nation.¹ For example, [results of this survey](#) and work by other researchers show that people who support the party or coalition in power (the “winners”) tend to be more satisfied than others.²

The question does not take into account institutional or other features that are sometimes used to characterize a democracy’s health. For example, our findings do not necessarily mirror ratings found in the [Democracy Index](#), developed by the Economist Intelligence Unit, or Freedom House’s [Freedom Ratings](#) (for more on this, please see the corresponding blog, [“In many countries, dissatisfaction with democracy is tied to views about economic conditions, personal rights”](#)).

The satisfaction question also does not measure attitudes toward democratic values or belief in the principles of liberal democracy. That said, scholars have explored the link between views of how democracy is working and commitment to democratic principles. For example, one group of researchers found that across 54 countries, satisfaction with democracy was one of the key factors affecting people’s normative commitment to democracy.³ Our data, too, indicates that the more dissatisfied people are with democracy, the less likely they are to say representative democracy, rather than alternative models like technocracy, a strong leader model, or military rule, is a good way to govern their country (for more on this, [see Chapter 1](#)).

Some scholars also use the question about democracy’s performance to identify “dissatisfied democrats” – those committed to democratic institutions but dissatisfied with the current state of democracy in their country – a group some argue is important for preventing democracies from “back-sliding” into authoritarian regimes.⁴

¹ Linde, Jonas, and Joakim Ekman. 2003. [“Satisfaction with democracy: A note on a frequently used indicator in comparative politics.”](#) European Journal of Political Research.

² Wells, Jason M., and Jonathan Kriekhaus. 2006. [“Does National Context Influence Democratic Satisfaction? A Multi-level Analysis.”](#) Political Research Quarterly.

³ Chu, Yu-ham, Michael Bratton, Marta Lagos, Sandeep Shastri and Mark Tessler. 2008. [“Public Opinion and Democratic Legitimacy.”](#) Journal of Democracy.

⁴ Norris, Pippa. Ed. 1999. “Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government.”

Economic discontent and democratic dissatisfaction

The link between views of the economy and assessments of democratic performance is strong. In 24 of 27 countries surveyed, people who say the national economy is in bad shape are more likely than those who say it is in good shape to be dissatisfied with the way democracy is working. In the other three countries surveyed, so few people say the economy is good that this relationship cannot be analyzed.

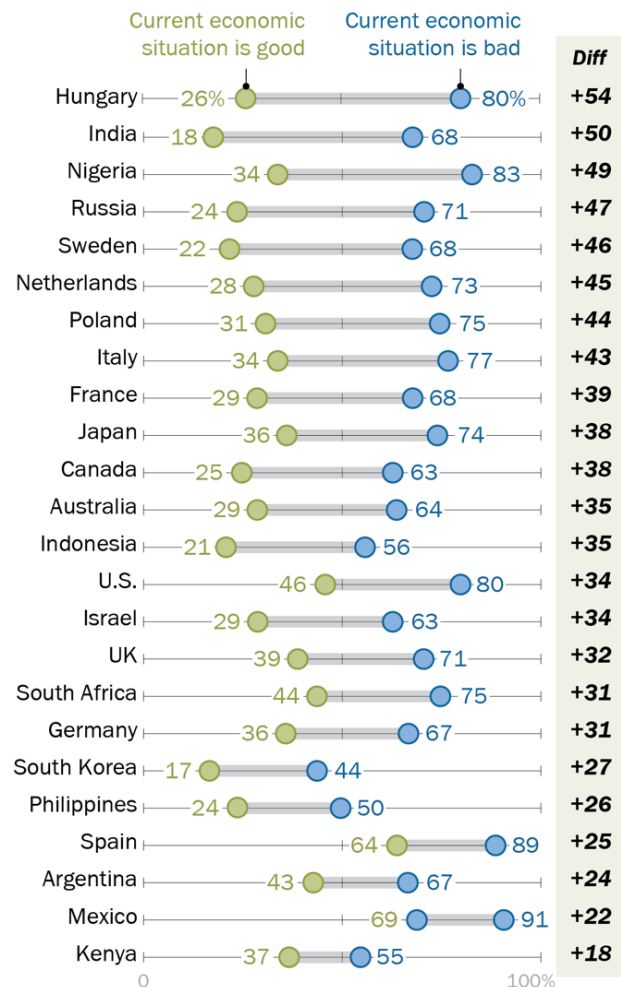
For example, eight-in-ten Hungarians who say the national economic situation is poor are also dissatisfied with the performance of the country's democracy, compared with just 26% of those who believe the economic situation is good.

Views about economic opportunity also play a role. In 26 of 27 nations, those who believe their country is one in which most people cannot improve their standard of living are more likely to be dissatisfied with the way democracy is working.

However, personal income is not a major factor. And multilevel regression analysis suggests that, in general, demographic variables including gender, age and education are not strongly related to democratic dissatisfaction.

Those who say current economy is bad are more dissatisfied with the way democracy is working

% who say they are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant. Greece, Tunisia and Brazil not included due to insufficient sample size. Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4.

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Individual rights and democratic performance

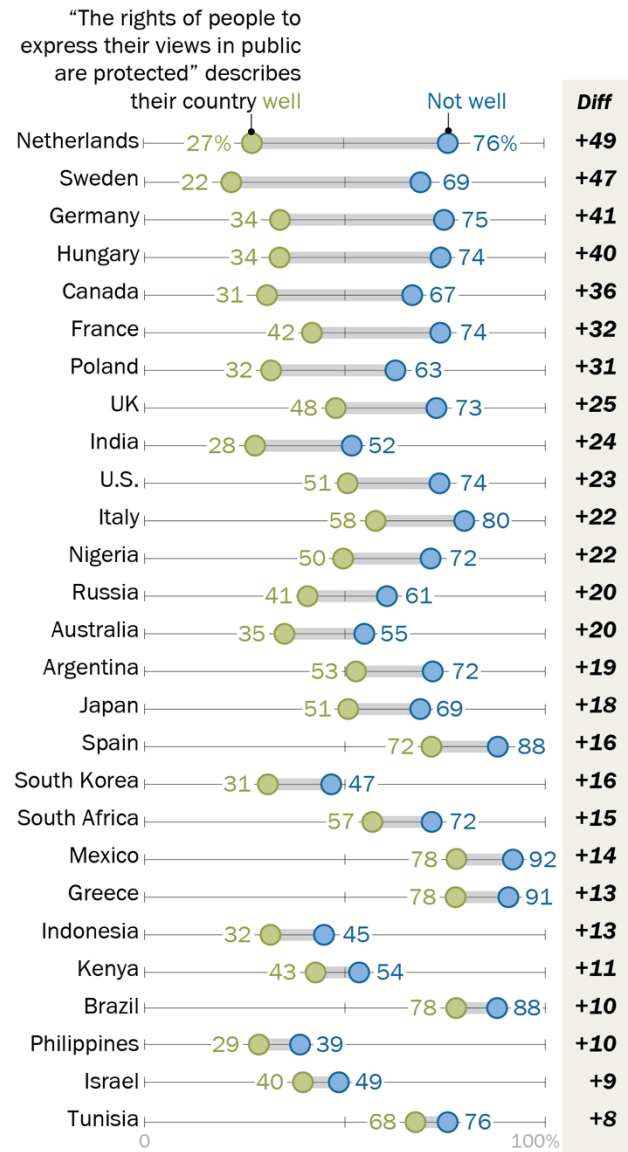
While views about economic conditions have a strong relationship with assessments of democratic performance, non-economic factors also play an important role. Opinions about how well democracy is working in a country are related to whether people believe their most fundamental rights are being respected.

In every nation studied, dissatisfaction with democracy is more common among people who say the statement “the rights of people to express their views in public are protected” does *not* describe their country well. This pattern is especially apparent in Europe, where in nations such as the Netherlands, Sweden, Germany and Hungary those who believe free expression is not protected are significantly more likely to be unhappy with the state of democracy.

Discontent with the functioning of democracy is also linked to views about how people are treated within a country’s justice system. In 24 nations, dissatisfaction is particularly common among those who think the statement “the court system treats everyone fairly” does not describe their country well. Again, the pattern is especially intense in Europe. For example, among Hungarians who offer a negative assessment of the country’s courts, 68% are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working, while dissatisfaction is just 32% among those who believe the courts treat everyone fairly.

Those who think free speech is not protected in their country are more dissatisfied with democracy

% who say they are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant.
Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey, Q4.

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Frustration with politicians breeds dissatisfaction with democracy

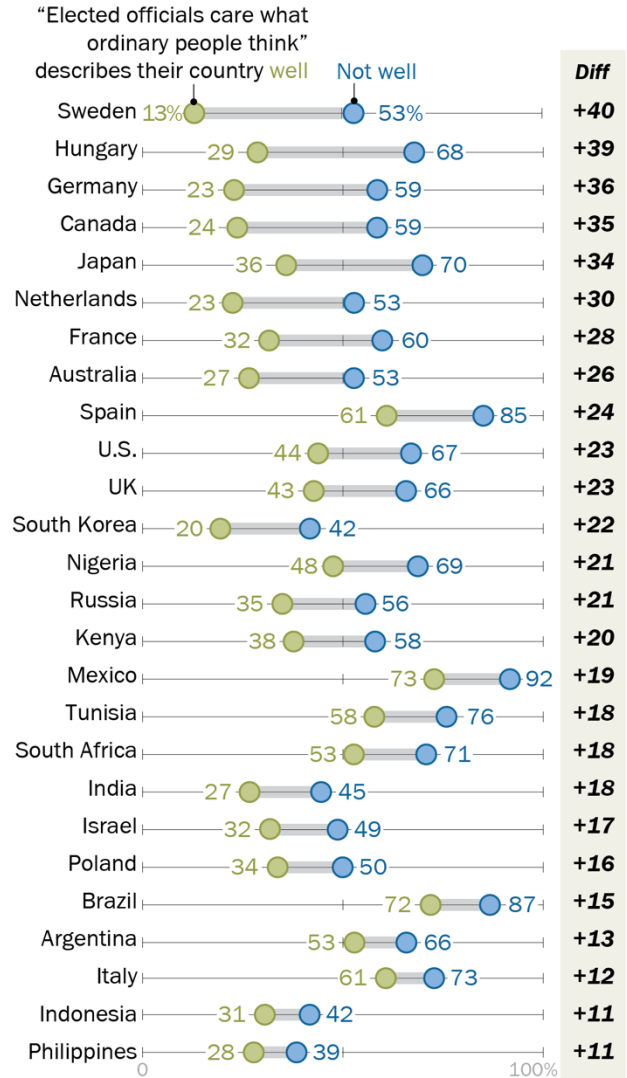
In addition to views about political rights, attitudes toward politicians also influence the degree to which people are satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of their country’s democracy. For instance, dissatisfaction is pervasive among people who see politicians as uncaring and out of touch.

In 26 nations, unhappiness with the current functioning of democracy is more common among those who believe the statement “elected officials care what ordinary people think” does not describe their country well.

Many also say the politicians in their country are corrupt, and those who hold this view are consistently more dissatisfied with how their democracy is functioning.

More dissatisfaction with democracy among those who say elected officials do not care what ordinary people think

% who say they are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant.
Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey, Q4.

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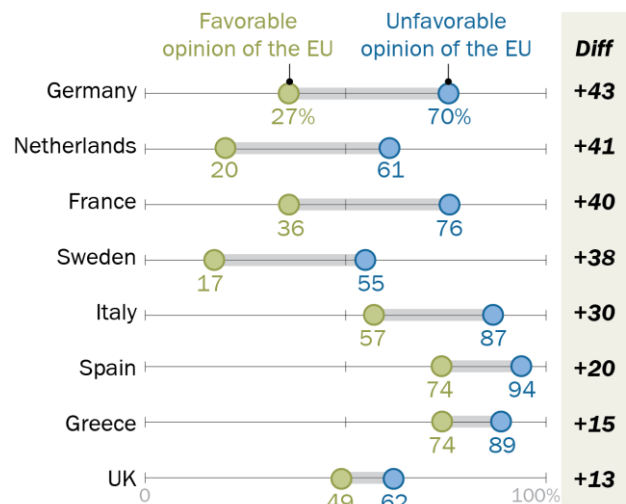
Concerns about immigrants, dislike of EU and favorable opinion of populist parties are tied to dissatisfaction in Europe

The study highlights additional factors related to democratic dissatisfaction in Europe, including attitudes toward the EU. As a recent Pew Research Center [report](#) highlighted, Europeans still tend to associate the EU with noble aspirations, such as peace, prosperity and democracy. At the same time, they also say the Brussels-based institution is inefficient, intrusive and out of touch with ordinary citizens.

Europeans who have a negative view of the EU also tend to be more dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their countries than those who view the EU favorably. The gap is largest in Germany, where those who have an unfavorable opinion of the EU are 43 percentage points more dissatisfied than those with a favorable opinion.

Europeans with unfavorable views of EU are more dissatisfied with democracy

% who say they are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant.
Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey, Q4.

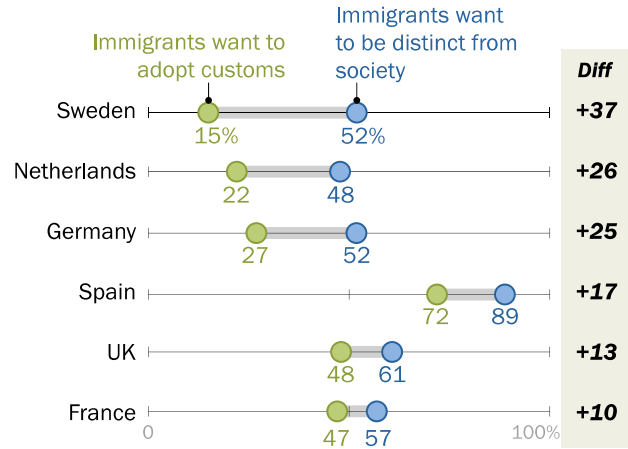
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Immigration has been a particularly contentious issue in Europe since 2015, when refugees from the Middle East and elsewhere entered **Europe in record numbers**. Across the region, concerns about how immigrants fit into society are linked to democratic dissatisfaction.

In six European countries, those who think immigrants want to be distinct from society rather than adopting the country's customs are more likely to be dissatisfied with democracy. For example, 52% of Swedes who say immigrants want to remain distinct are dissatisfied, compared with just 15% of those who believe immigrants want to adopt Swedish customs.

Those who say immigrants want to be culturally distinct are more dissatisfied with democracy

% who say they are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant.
Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4.

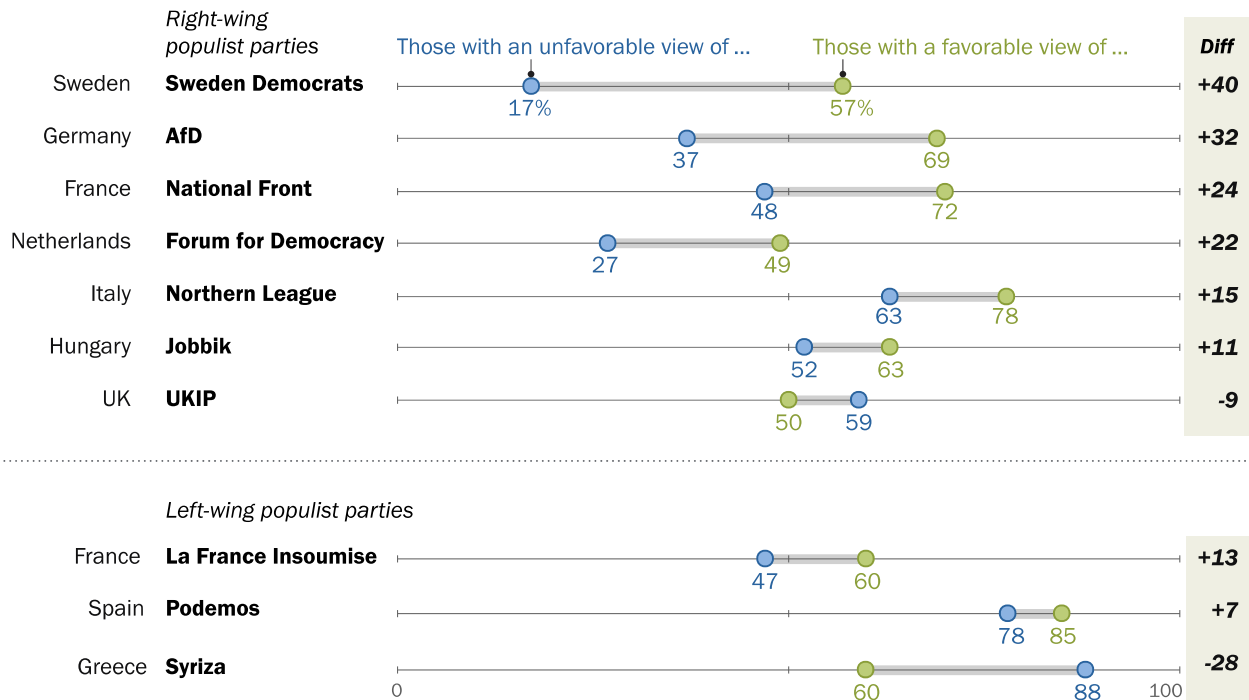
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Anger at the EU and opposition to immigration have been consistent themes in the rhetoric and platforms of many right-wing populist parties that have gained support in the past few years. At the same time, Europe has seen the rise of several left-wing populist parties, such as La France Insoumise, Spain’s Podemos and Greece’s ruling Syriza party.

Overall, populist party sympathizers tend to be unhappy with the way their democracies are working (parties were classified using the [Chapel Hill Expert Survey](#); for more, see [Appendix B](#)). Nearly six-in-ten Swedes with a favorable opinion of the Sweden Democrats are dissatisfied with the current state of democracy, compared with only 17% of those who see the right-wing party negatively. Similarly, 69% of Germans with a positive view of the right-wing AfD are dissatisfied, while just 37% hold that view among Germans who rate AfD negatively.

People with favorable views of populist parties tend to be more dissatisfied with democracy

% who say they are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in our country



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant. Political party favorability was fielded as “Northern League” in Italy (now called League) and “National Front” in France (now called National Rally).
 Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey, Q4.

The same pattern is found among those who sympathize with left-wing populist parties in some nations. For instance, six-in-ten who have a favorable view of La France Insoumise are dissatisfied with how democracy is working, compared with 47% of French people who see the party negatively.

Interestingly, those with favorable opinions of two European populist parties are more satisfied with how democracy is working: the UK's right-wing, pro-Brexit UKIP and Greece's left-wing Syriza.

1. Dissatisfaction with performance of democracy is common in many nations

Around the world, more people are unhappy with the state of democracy in their countries than are content. Across 27 countries surveyed, a median of 51% are dissatisfied with the way their democracy is functioning, compared with 45% who are satisfied.

Discontent varies somewhat across regions of the globe. Those in the Asia-Pacific region, for example, tend to be satisfied with how democracy is working in their countries; only in Japan do a majority say they are dissatisfied.

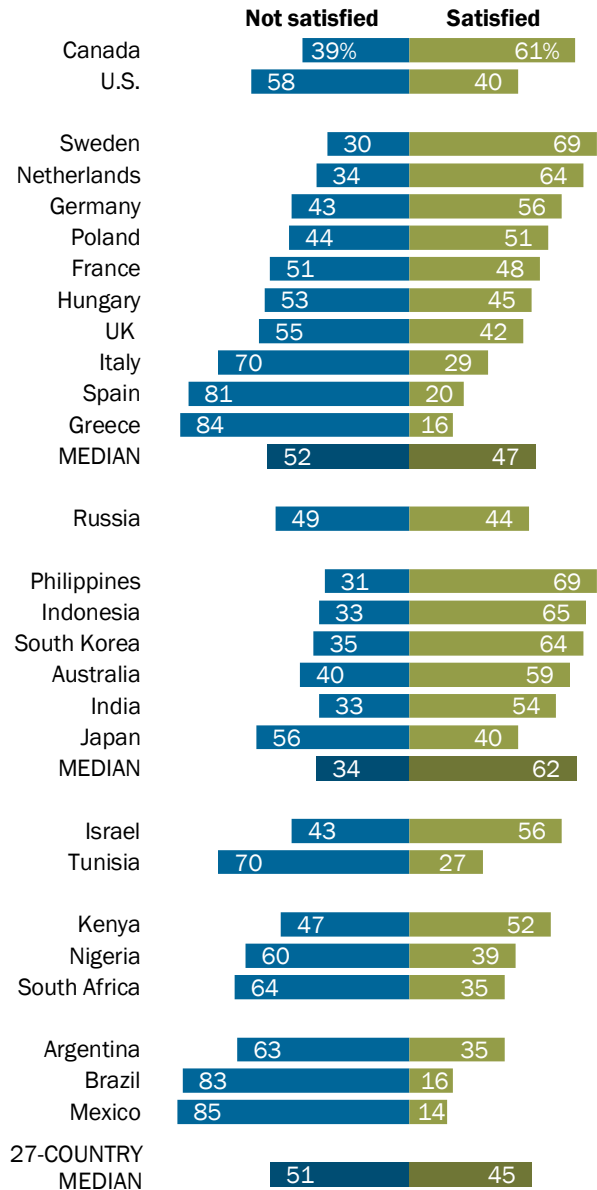
Europeans are, on balance, disaffected; in six of the 10 European countries surveyed, half or more say they are dissatisfied with how democracy is working. Discontent is highest in the southern European countries of Italy, Spain and Greece, where 70% or more say they are dissatisfied. In contrast, roughly a third or fewer hold this view in Sweden and the Netherlands.

Across the sub-Saharan African and Latin American countries surveyed, around half or more in every country say they are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working.

Dissatisfaction with democracy is higher in emerging than advanced economies. A median of 60% express dissatisfaction across the nine emerging economies surveyed, compared with

Divided views on the state of democracy

% who say they are ___ with the way democracy is working in their country



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4.

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50% across the 18 developed economies (for more on how advanced and emerging economies were classified, see [Appendix C](#)).

In many countries, dissatisfaction with democracy grew between 2017 and 2018

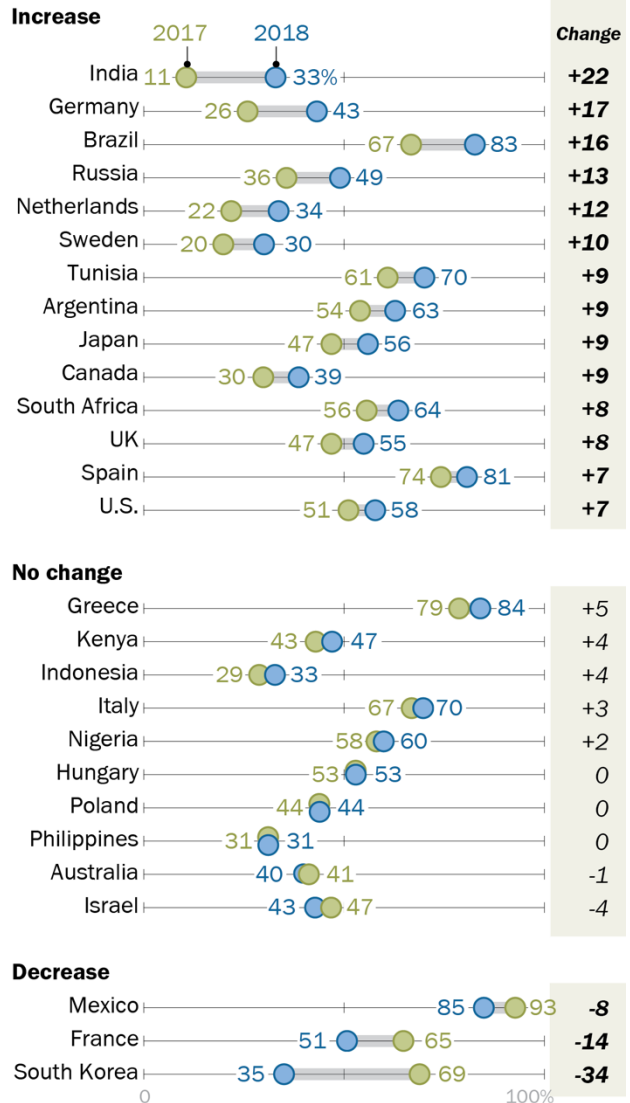
Between 2017 and 2018, dissatisfaction with the way democracy is working significantly increased in roughly half of the countries polled. This increasing dissatisfaction is evident around the globe, regardless of whether the economies are advanced or emerging.

Ten countries did not experience any significant changes in democratic dissatisfaction, while it decreased in only three countries: South Korea, France and Mexico. South Korean opinion has shifted the most since 2017 of any country surveyed, with the percentage saying they are dissatisfied dropping from 69% to 35%. Over this period, President Park Geun-hye [was impeached](#) and sentenced to 24 years in prison.

In the six countries where concerns about the economic situation significantly increased since 2017, democratic dissatisfaction also rose. For example, in India, concerns about the economy increased the most of any surveyed country – 12% thought the economy was in bad shape in 2017, but by 2018 this opinion was held by 30% of adults. This increase in economic discontent is coupled with a 22-point rise in democratic dissatisfaction. In Germany and Brazil, as well, the rising sense that the economy is not in good shape has been accompanied by double-digit shifts in democratic dissatisfaction.

Dissatisfaction with how democracy is working increased in many countries

% who say they are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country



Note: Statistically significant changes in **bold**. The chart was updated on April 30, 2019.

Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4.

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In France and South Korea, the opposite relationship is found. Both countries experienced significant *decreases* in democratic dissatisfaction alongside improvements in economic outlook. The U.S. stands out as the only country in which dissatisfaction with democracy has increased at the same time that people think the country’s economic situation is improving.

Age, education and views of parties out of power sometimes associated with dissatisfaction

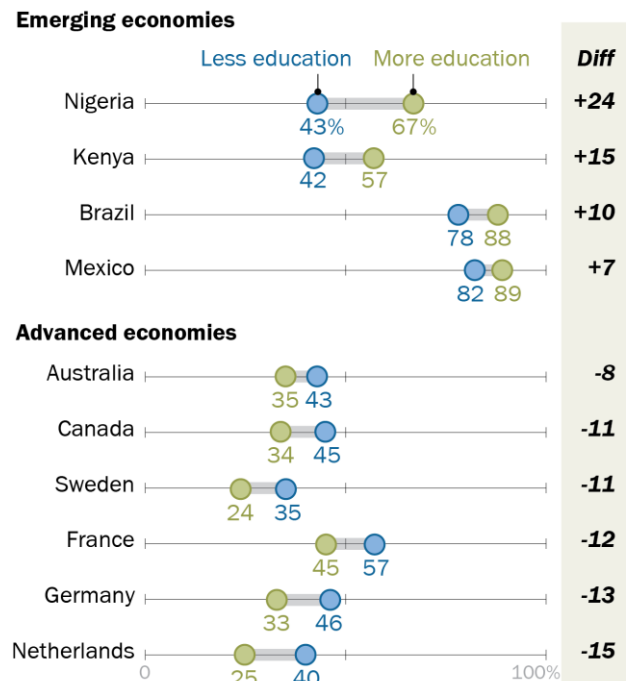
There are few consistent age-related patterns when it comes to who is dissatisfied with the performance of democracy in their country. While those ages 50 and older in Australia, the Netherlands, South Korea, the UK and Germany tend to be more dissatisfied with democracy than those ages 18 to 29, in other countries, there is no relationship between age and dissatisfaction.

Education affects people’s satisfaction with democracy somewhat differently across emerging and advanced economies. In four of the nine emerging economies surveyed, those with higher levels of education tend to be more dissatisfied than those with lower levels of education.¹ For example, Nigerians with at least a secondary degree are 24 percentage points more dissatisfied than those with less education.

The opposite is true in six of the 18 advanced economies surveyed, where those with lower levels of education are more dissatisfied than those

Educational divides in democratic dissatisfaction differ across advanced and emerging economies

% who say they are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant. Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4.

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¹ For the purpose of comparing educational groups across countries, we standardize education levels based on the UN’s International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED). The lower education category is below secondary education and the higher category is secondary or above in Brazil, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Philippines, South Africa and Tunisia. The lower education category is secondary education or below and the higher category is postsecondary or above in Argentina, Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Russia, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, the UK and the U.S.

with higher degrees. In the Netherlands, for example, those with less education are 15 points more dissatisfied than those with more education.

Income also impacts democratic dissatisfaction differently in some advanced and emerging economies. In four of the emerging economies surveyed, those with higher income levels are more dissatisfied than those with lower income levels.² In contrast, in five of the advanced economies polled, those with *lower* incomes are more dissatisfied with democracy than those with higher incomes.

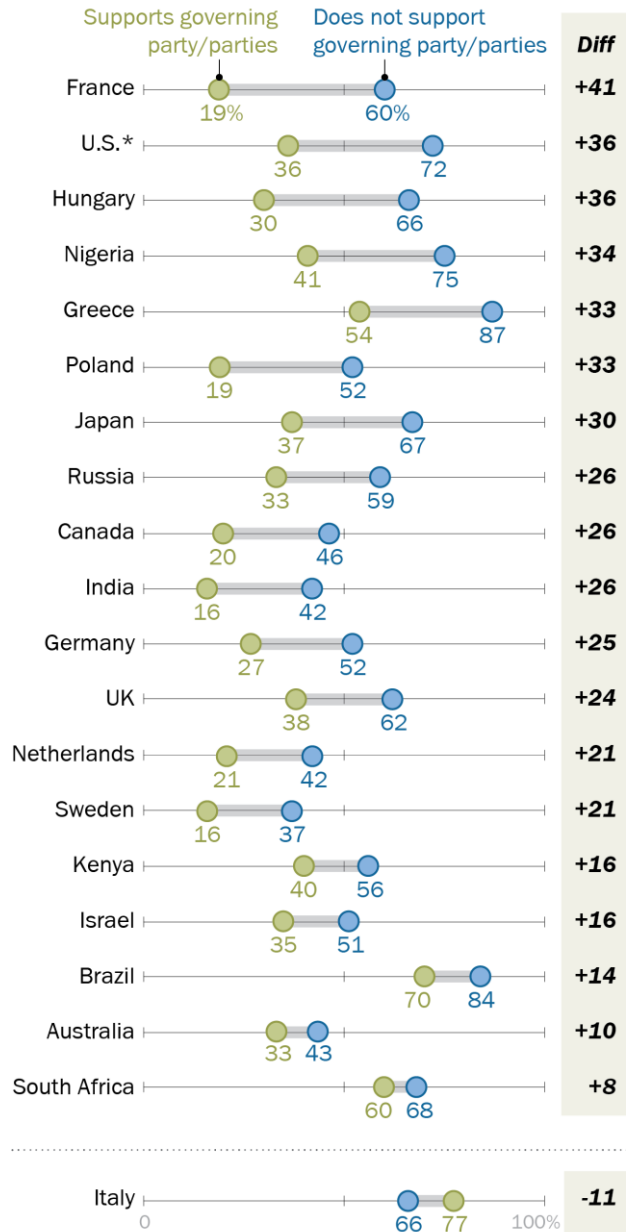
² Respondents with a household income below the approximate country median are considered lower income. Those with an income at or above the approximate country median are considered higher income.

Across most of the countries surveyed, democratic dissatisfaction is higher among people who support parties that are not currently in government (see [Appendix D](#)). For example, in France, supporters of En Marche, the governing party, tend to be much less dissatisfied than people who don't support En Marche. France boasts the largest gap in dissatisfaction between supporters and nonsupporters of the governing party (41 percentage points).

Italy, a country governed by a coalition of two populist parties, is an exception: 77% of those who support Northern League (now called League) or the Five Star Movement are dissatisfied, whereas 66% of those who do not support either party hold this view. (The coalition [was created](#) during the fieldwork period, nearly three months after the election.)

Those who do not support the governing party are generally more dissatisfied with democracy

% who say they are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country



*U.S. figures show Republicans and Republican-leaning independents as supporters of the governing party. Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents are classified as not supporting the governing party.

Note: All differences shown are statistically significant.
Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey, Q4.

Dissatisfied democrats are more open to nondemocratic alternatives

This data, showing rising democratic dissatisfaction in many parts of the world, naturally elicits a question: If people are dissatisfied with democracy, are they more open to nondemocratic alternatives? To answer this question, we rely on [data collected in 2017](#) from which we constructed an index of commitment to representative democracy.

Respondents in 2017 were asked whether each of a number of different systems would be a good or bad way to govern their country: (1) a democratic system where representatives elected by citizens decide on what becomes law (representative democracy); (2) a system in which experts, not elected officials, make decisions according to what they think is best for the country (rule by experts); (3) a system in which a strong leader can make decisions without interference from parliaments or courts (rule by a strong leader); and (4) a system in which the military rules the country (rule by the military).

They were then classified into three groups. “Committed democrats” are those who support a system where elected representatives govern, but do not support rule by experts, a strong leader or the military (i.e., nondemocratic governments). “Less-committed democrats” say a representative democracy is good but support at least one nondemocratic form of government. “Non-democrats” are defined as those who do not support representative democracy and support at least one nondemocratic form of government. This commitment to democracy index ranges from 1 to 3, with 1 being the most committed to democracy and 3 being no commitment at all.

Respondents were also asked about their satisfaction with democracy, using the same question that we posed to them in 2018. All of the countries surveyed in 2018 were also surveyed in 2017. Across the 27 countries included in this report, people who were more dissatisfied with democracy also tended to be less committed to representative democracy, and so more likely to support governance options such as rule by experts, a strong leader or the military. This suggests that dissatisfaction with democracy is related to willingness to consider other, nondemocratic forms of government.

2. Publics satisfied with free speech, ability to improve living standards; many are critical of institutions, politicians

A median of 62% say their country is one where the rights of people to express their views in public are protected. When asked about a number of different statements that describe their country, this ranks as one of the first or second most cited in two-thirds of the countries surveyed.

Publics are also optimistic that most people have a good chance to improve their standard of living: A median of 57% say this is feasible in their countries. Most also feel relatively safe; in a majority of countries, only small shares of the public say most people in their country live in areas where it is dangerous to walk around at night.

When it comes to political institutions, however, publics are more critical. A median of six-in-ten think no matter who wins an election, things do not change very much. This sentiment is particularly prevalent in Europe; seven of the 10 European countries surveyed say this describes their country more than most other statements presented to them. People are somewhat more critical of their courts: A median of 44% share the opinion that the court system in their country treats everyone fairly, whereas a median of 53% say this does not describe their country well.

People are also skeptical of their politicians. Across the 27 countries surveyed, 54% think most politicians in their country are corrupt. And only 35% agree that elected officials care what ordinary people think.

By and large, supporters of the governing party or coalition are more inclined to say elected officials care what ordinary people think, freedom of expression is protected, and most people can better their standard of living. Those who support the governing party or coalition are also less likely to describe politicians in their country as corrupt in seven countries.

Most say freedom of expression is protected in their country, things change little no matter who wins elections

% who say ___ describes their country well

- Most common response
- Second most common response

	POSITIVE STATEMENTS				NEGATIVE STATEMENTS		
	The rights of people to express their views in public are protected	Most people have a good chance to improve their standard of living	The court system treats everyone fairly	Elected officials care what ordinary people think	No matter who wins an election, things do not change very much	Most politicians are corrupt	Most people live in areas where it is dangerous to walk around at night
Canada	79%	74%	63%	56%	64%	48%	30%
U.S.	73	74	47	41	54	69	43
Netherlands	84	78	68	59	61	23	30
Sweden	80	80	64	55	65	20	24
Germany	77	59	64	44	65	33	31
France	71	44	40	32	60	48	28
UK	67	60	52	42	65	47	38
Greece	59	25	24	10	82	89	66
Poland	57	68	29	34	48	54	29
Hungary	49	37	39	35	55	70	30
Spain	48	27	22	20	42	45	26
Italy	43	28	23	28	57	70	54
Russia	57	43	34	29	72	82	50
Indonesia	86	88	74	76	44	24	27
Philippines	80	86	63	71	60	43	36
Australia	74	77	53	46	75	46	39
South Korea	71	38	22	30	50	75	30
Japan	62	53	54	35	62	53	26
India	58	56	47	33	58	64	54
Tunisia	70	48	40	29	67	67	64
Israel	68	57	52	33	56	66	25
Kenya	58	68	59	53	61	56	45
South Africa	54	64	44	38	61	72	62
Nigeria	51	62	43	38	57	72	58
Mexico	51	57	33	34	38	27	22
Argentina	44	42	18	19	51	63	58
Brazil	42	46	25	18	37	42	35
27-COUNTRY MEDIAN	62	57	44	35	60	54	35

Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q34a-g.

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Most believe their right to free speech is protected

A 27-country median of 62% say their country protects freedom of expression. This sense is somewhat more prevalent in advanced than emerging economies (a median of 68% vs. 58%, respectively).

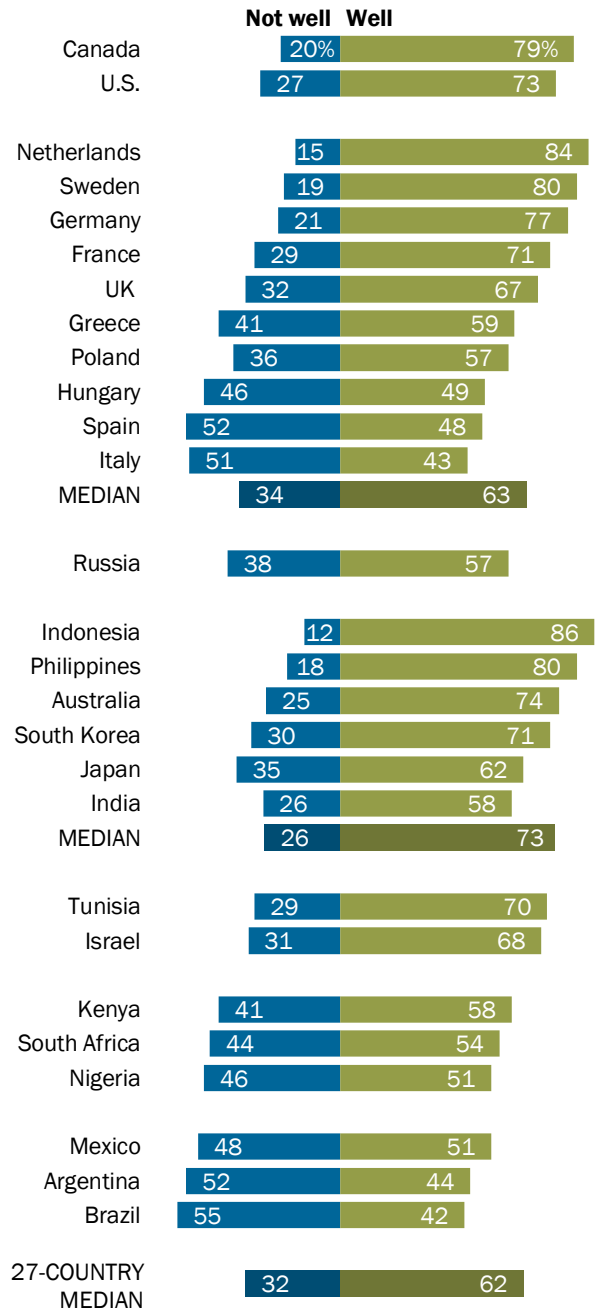
Across the North American and European nations surveyed, around half or more in most countries say their nation is one in which people can express their views in public. The sense that freedom of speech is protected is also widespread in the two Middle Eastern countries surveyed, as well as across the Asia-Pacific region. But, across the 27 nations, few say this describes their country *very* well.

Only in Brazil, Spain, Argentina, Italy and Mexico do about half or more say this statement does not describe their country well. In Brazil, roughly four-in-ten (39%) say this does not describe their country well *at all*.

Across most European countries surveyed, those who have favorable opinions of populist parties are significantly less likely to feel their country is one in which freedom of expression is protected. Take Sweden as an example: Those who have a favorable opinion of the Sweden Democrats are 30 percentage points less likely to think free speech is protected in their country than those who do not favor this party.

Most publics agree free speech is protected in their country

% who say “the rights of people to express their views in public are protected” describes their country ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q34f.

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Most say they have the ability to improve their standard of living

Publics generally say their countries are ones in which there are opportunities to improve living standards. A median of 57% across the 27 nations surveyed agree most people have a good chance to improve their own standard of living, including majorities in 16 of the 27 nations surveyed. This sentiment is slightly more widespread in the nine emerging economies surveyed (median of 62%) than in the 18 advanced economies (55%).

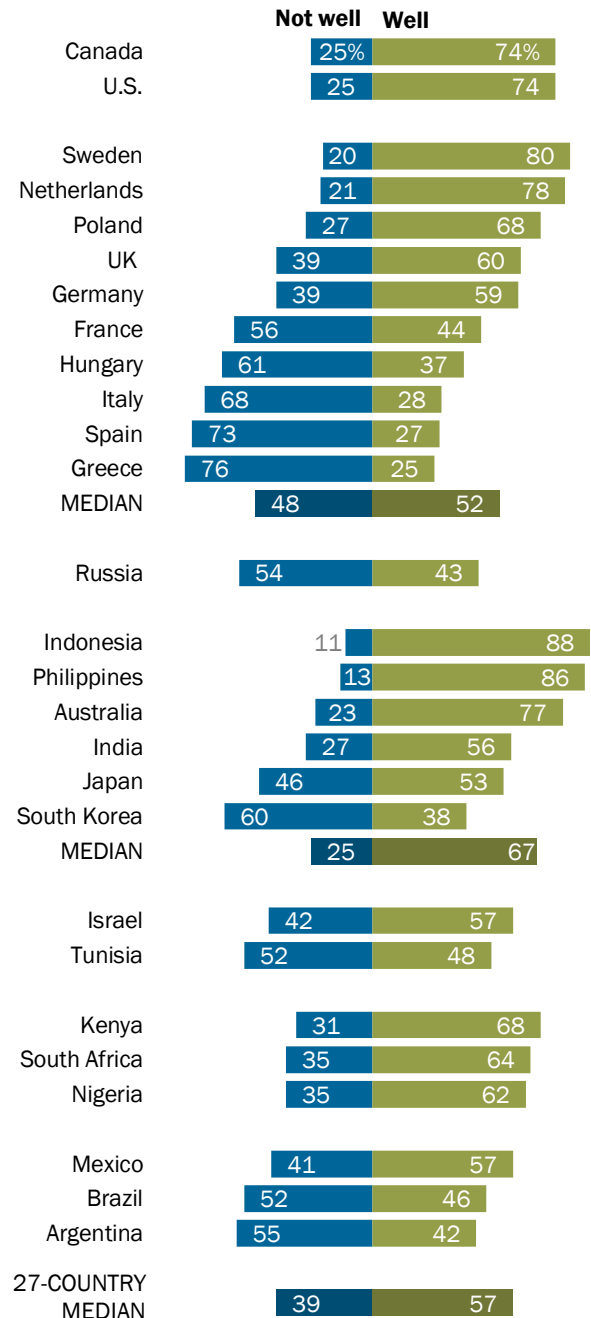
Filipinos, South Africans and Nigerians are especially likely to describe their countries as ones in which people can improve their economic situation; about four-in-ten or more in each country say this describes their country *very well*.

But in Italy, Spain and Greece, only about one-quarter of people say their country is one in which it is possible to improve their standard of living, with around four-in-ten in Spain (41%) saying this does not describe their country *at all*.

In all of the nations surveyed, the belief that people can get ahead economically is closely related to views about whether their country's economy has [improved over the past 20 years](#). Those who think the economic situation has gotten better are more likely to say most people in their country have the opportunity to advance their standard of living. For example, 69% of French people who think the economic situation today is better for the average person than it was in the past also say it is possible to

Majorities in most countries see ability to improve their standard of living

% who say "most people have a good chance to improve their standard of living" describes their country ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q34g.

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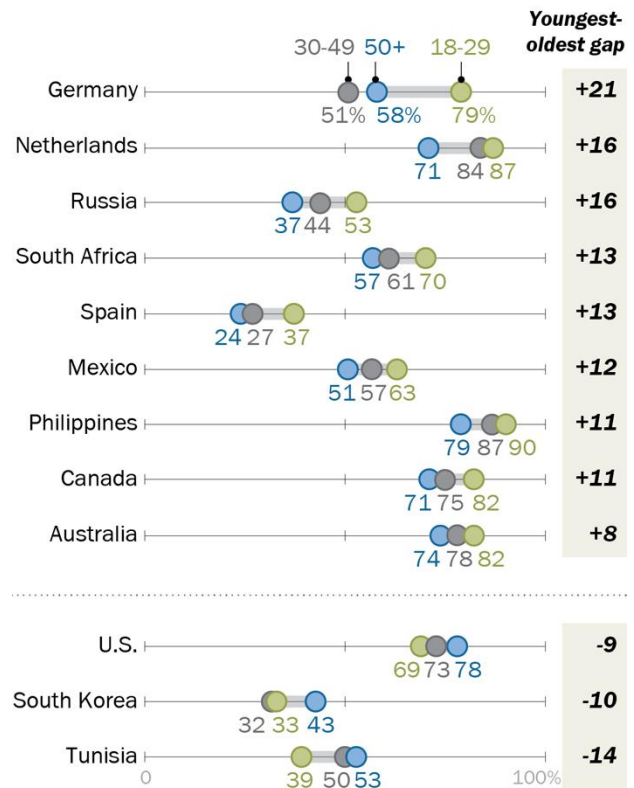
improve their standard of living, compared with 33% among those who say the economic situation today is worse than it was 20 years ago. In most countries polled, people with positive assessments of their country’s current economic situation are also more likely to say that most people have a good chance to advance their standard of living.

In nine of the 27 nations, those ages 18 to 29 are more likely than those ages 50 and older to say people can improve their standard of living. For example, younger Germans are 21 percentage points more likely than older Germans to describe their country as a place where most have opportunities to better their standard of living.

Three countries stand out for the relative pessimism of the younger generation. In the U.S., South Korea and Tunisia, those under 30 are less likely than the oldest cohort to say their country is one in which people can improve their economic situation. In Tunisia, for example, 53% of those ages 50 and older are positive about the potential for people in their country to improve their standard of living compared with 39% of those 18 to 29.

Age groups differ on views about economic opportunity

% who say “most people have a good chance to improve their standard of living” describes their country well



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant. Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q34g.

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Global publics divided on whether court system treats everyone fairly

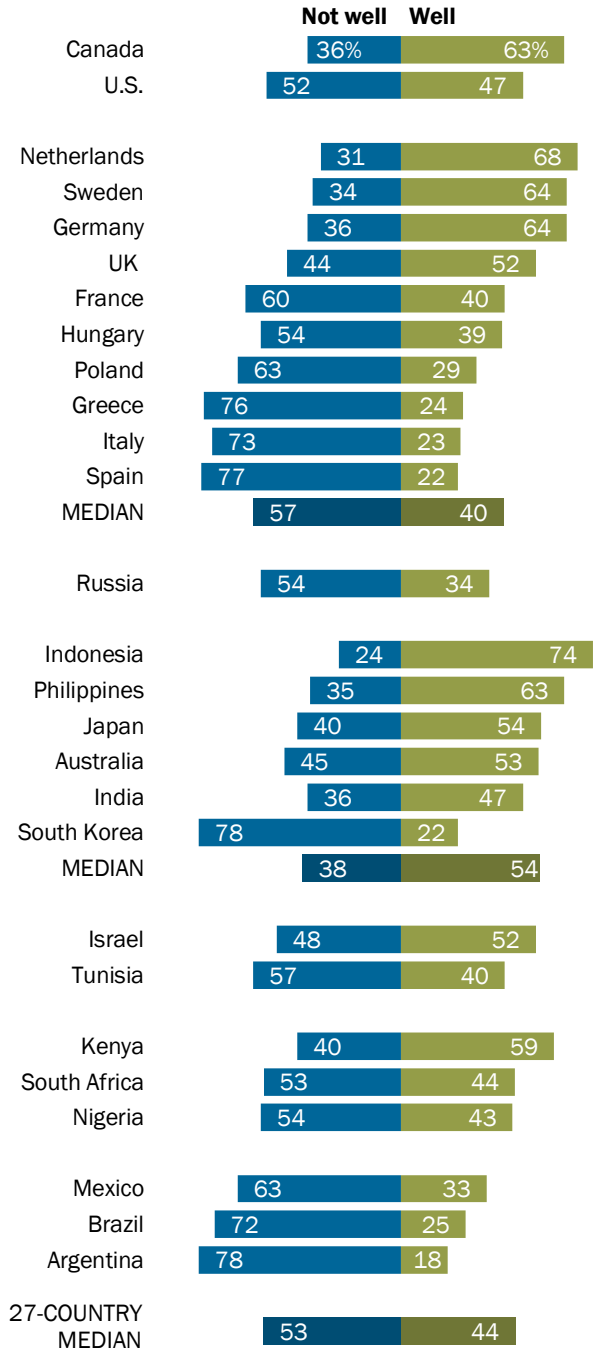
A 27-nation median of 44% say the statement “the court system treats everyone fairly” describes their country well, while a median of 53% say it does not. And opinions about a country’s court system vary little across the advanced and emerging economies surveyed.

Indonesians are particularly likely to say their courts are impartial; around three-quarters say the court system treats everyone fairly (74%), including around four-in-ten (38%) who say this describes their country *very* well. Views on the impartiality of the courts are also shared in the Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, Canada, the Philippines and Kenya, where roughly six-in-ten or more say this describes their country well.

Publics in Italy, Spain, South Korea and Argentina are less confident in the fairness of their court systems: Only around one-in-five in each of these nations say the courts treat everyone fairly. Roughly half or more in Argentina, Brazil, Spain and Mexico say this statement does not describe their country well *at all*.

Mixed views of the judicial system

% who say “the court system treats everyone fairly” describes their country ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q34b.

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Most publics do not feel elected officials care what ordinary people think

In 20 of the 27 countries surveyed, around half or more say that the statement “elected officials care what ordinary people think” does not describe their country well.

Nine-in-ten Greeks agree the statement does not describe their country well, and upwards of around eight-in-ten say the same in Brazil, Spain and Argentina. Publics in these four countries also have high percentages who feel strongly about this: 62% of Brazilians, 57% of Greeks, 54% of Argentines and 48% of Spaniards say the statement does not describe their country well *at all*.

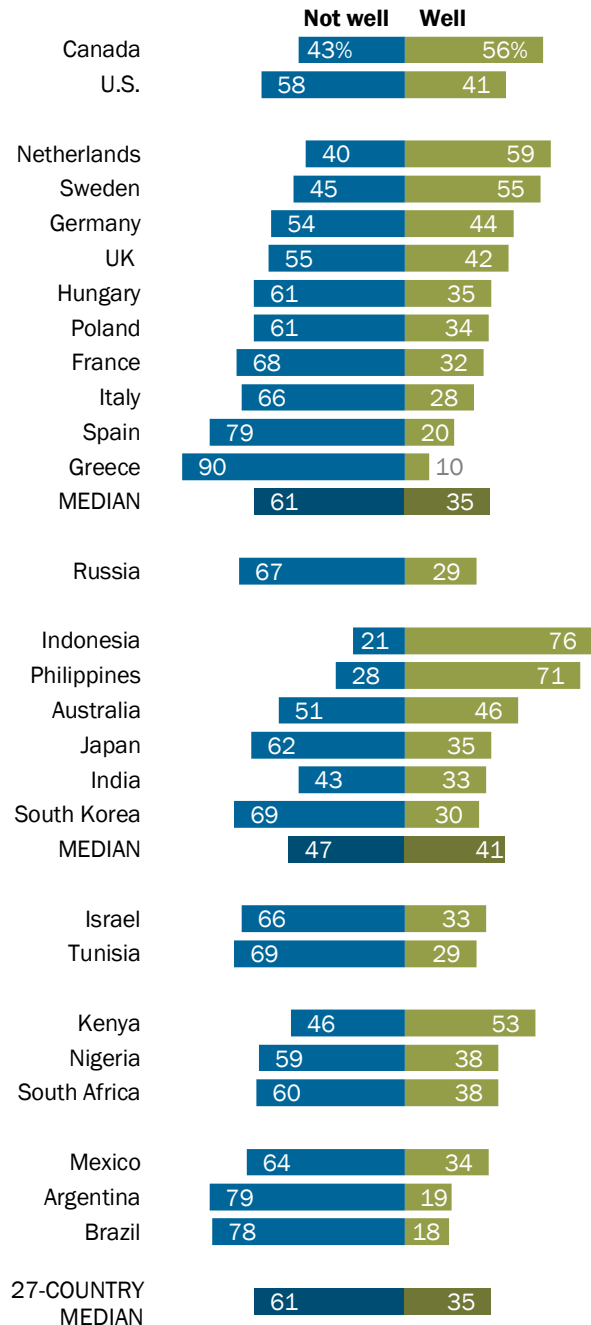
Among the minority of publics who *do* agree elected officials in their country care what ordinary people think, Indonesia and the Philippines stand out. In both countries, around seven-in-ten or more describe their country as one in which elected officials care about the people, including three-in-ten or more in each who say this describes their country *very* well.

Publics in the Netherlands, Canada, Sweden and Kenya are also somewhat sanguine about elected officials caring about the citizens in their country.

Although populism has myriad definitions, [key components](#) of the concept are that “the people” and “the elite” are two antagonistic groups and that the people’s will should provide the main source of government legitimacy. And,

Skepticism over elected officials is widespread in most countries

% who say “elected officials care what ordinary people think” describes their country ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

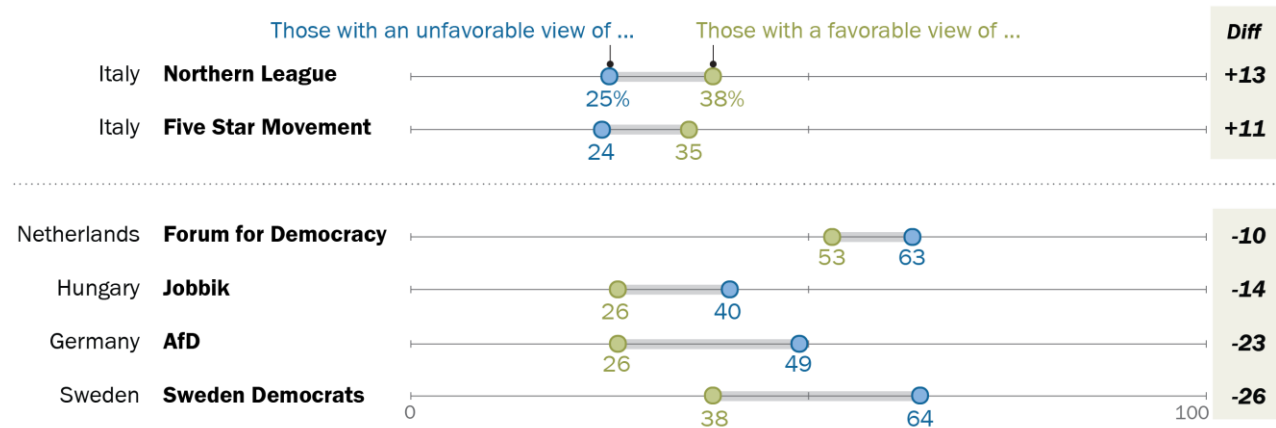
Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey, Q34a.

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in four countries – the Netherlands, Hungary, Germany and Sweden – people with favorable views of populist parties are indeed less likely to say elected officials care what ordinary people think than those who view these parties unfavorably. For example, those with favorable views of the Sweden Democrats are 26 percentage points less likely than Swedes with unfavorable opinions of the party to describe elected officials as caring about ordinary people.

People with positive views of populist parties tend to say politicians are out of touch with ordinary people

% who say “elected officials care what ordinary people think” describes their country well



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant. Political party favorability was fielded as “Northern League” in Italy (now called League).

Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q34a.

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But, in Italy, where the populist parties Northern League and the Five Star Movement are currently governing, the relationship is reversed.³ Italians with favorable views of these two parties are *more* likely to say elected officials in their country care what ordinary people think.

³ The coalition government between the Northern League (now called League) and Five Star Movement was formed and sworn in after fieldwork period.

Many describe their country's politicians as corrupt

In 18 of the 27 countries surveyed, around half or more say their country can be described as one in which most politicians are corrupt.

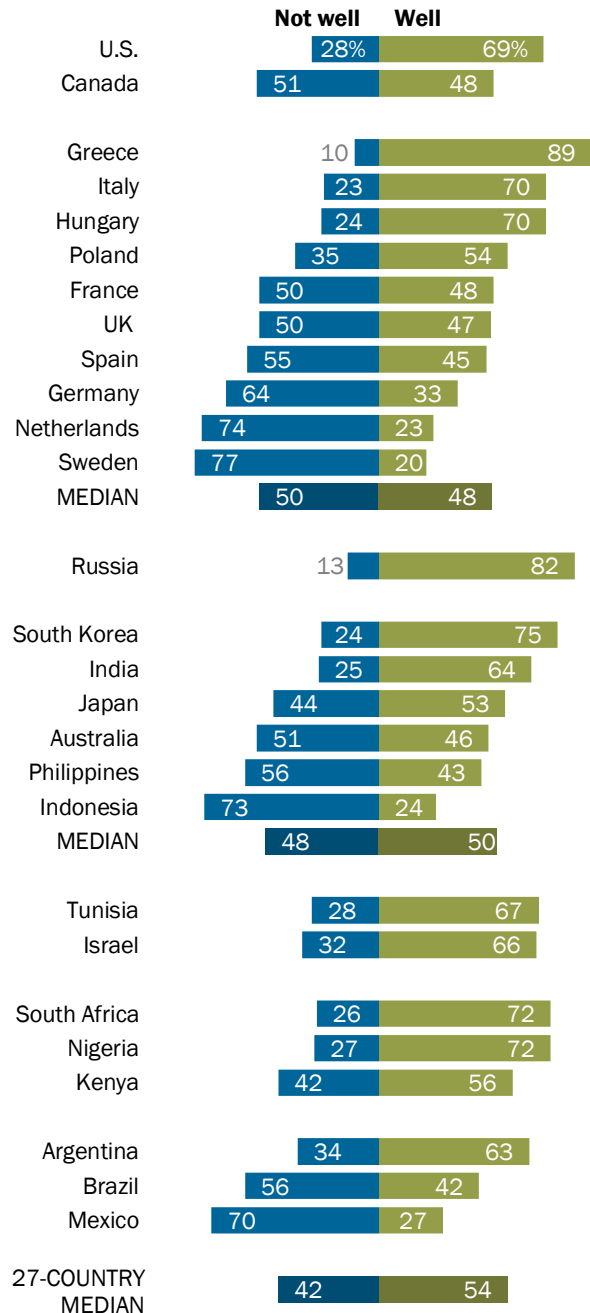
In many European nations, roughly half or more say they live in a country in which the statement “most politicians are corrupt” describes their country well. Majorities also share this opinion in the U.S., as well as the two Middle Eastern and three sub-Saharan African countries surveyed. Opinion is more divided in the Asia-Pacific region and Latin America.

Greeks are the most likely to describe their politicians as corrupt (89%), while around three-quarters or more in Russia, South Korea, Nigeria and South Africa describe their country in a similar manner.

Publics in Sweden, the Netherlands, Indonesia, Mexico and Germany are the least likely to say their country can be described as one in which most politicians are corrupt.

More than half of publics surveyed say politicians are corrupt

% who say “most politicians are corrupt” describes their country ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q34c.

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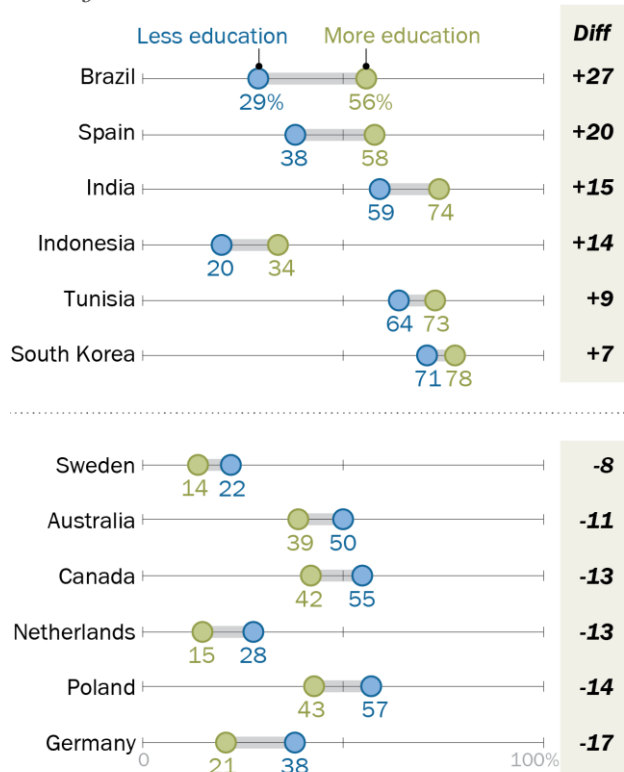
In many of the 27 countries surveyed, there are educational divides on whether most politicians in the country can be described as corrupt. Particularly in emerging and developing economies, people with higher levels of education are more likely to say most politicians are corrupt. For example, Brazilians with more education are 27 percentage points more likely than those with less education to describe politicians in the country as corrupt.

But, in six countries – all of which are advanced economies – the pattern is reversed; people with less education are more likely to describe politicians as corrupt. Take Germany as an example: Germans with less than a postsecondary degree are 17 points more likely to say most politicians in their country are corrupt than Germans with more education.

Those with favorable opinions of populist parties in five European countries (the PVV in the Netherlands, AfD in Germany, Jobbik in Hungary, Sweden Democrats in Sweden and UKIP in the United Kingdom) are more likely than those with unfavorable opinions of these parties to say most politicians in their country are corrupt.

Educational divides in views of whether politicians are corrupt

% who say “most politicians are corrupt” describes their country well



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant. Those with more education are more likely to provide a response in India.

Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q34c.

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Few think things in their country change much after an election

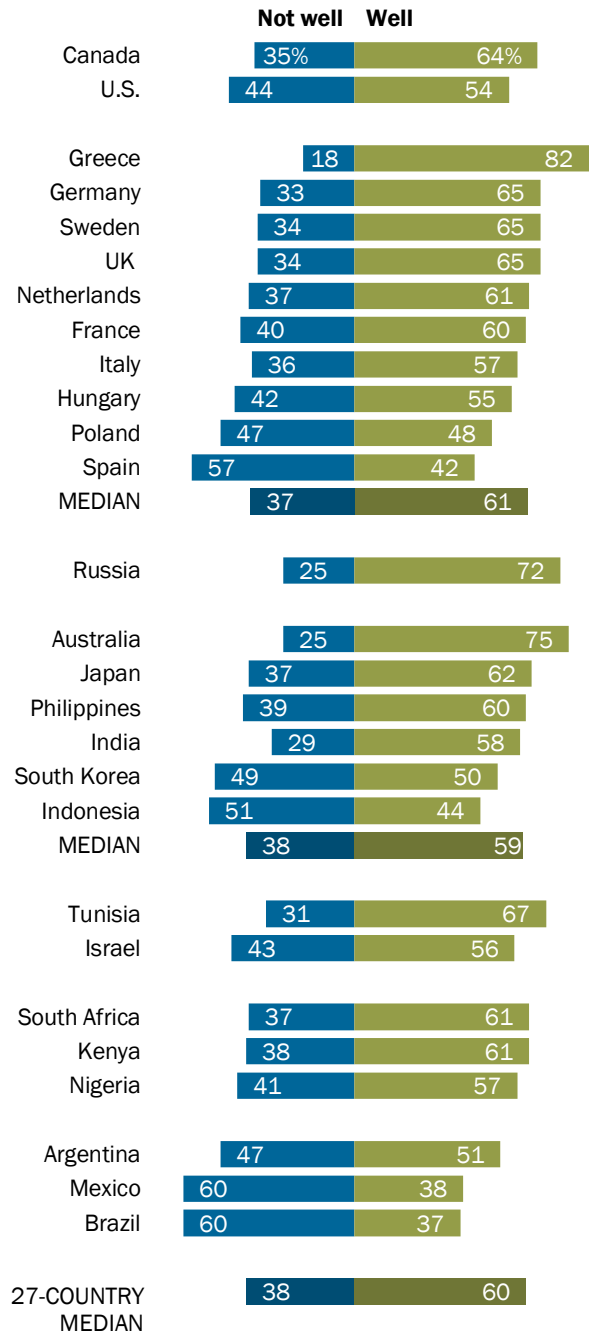
One of the [core tenets of democracy](#) is that, after an election, parties and policies in the country may change. But many global publics say this doesn't describe what happens in their countries following an election. A 27-country median of 60% say no matter who wins an election, things don't change very much.

Greeks are the most likely to describe their country as one where things do not change very much no matter who wins an election (82%), followed by Australians (75%), Russians (72%) and Tunisians (67%). And, in Tunisia and Greece, more than half say this statement describes their country *very* well.

It is worth noting that whether or not things change a lot following an election could be interpreted as either a positive or a negative characteristic of democracy. For some, no change after an election may be a good thing, whereas for others it may be bad.

Majorities in most countries surveyed say elections don't change things

% who say "no matter who wins an election, things do not change very much" describes their country ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q34e.

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Most say their countries are generally not dangerous for walking around at night

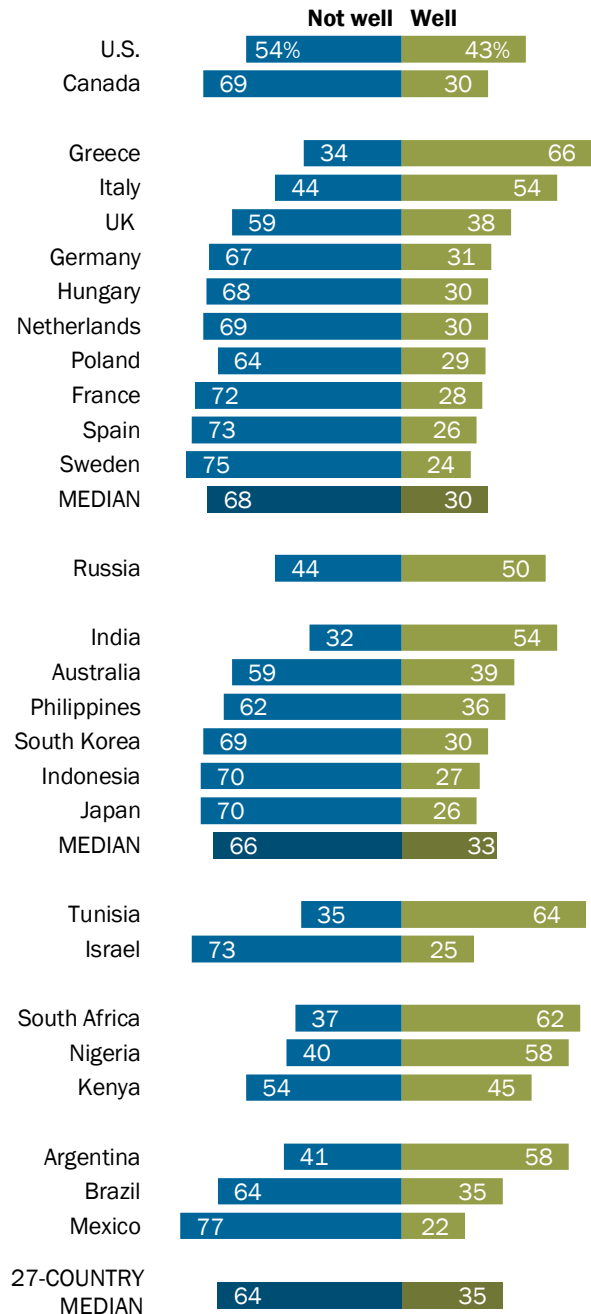
A median of 35% believe most people live in areas where it's dangerous to walk around at night. But opinion diverges somewhat across advanced and emerging economies. In advanced economies, a median of only 30% say most people live in areas where it is dangerous to walk around at night, compared with a median of 45% across the nine emerging economies surveyed.

Around six-in-ten or more in Greece, Tunisia, South Africa, Nigeria and Argentina describe their country as one in which most people live in areas where it is dangerous to walk around at night, including roughly half or more in Tunisia and South Africa who say this describes their country *very* well. But, across most European, Asia-Pacific and North American countries surveyed, people largely agree this statement does not describe their country well.

There are also marked differences in people's assessments based on income levels. In four emerging economies – India, Brazil, South Africa and Mexico – those with higher incomes are more likely than those with lower incomes to describe their country as one in which most people live in areas where it is dangerous to walk around at night. In India, though, those with lower incomes are also less likely to answer the question.

In many countries, relatively few say it is dangerous to walk around at night

% who say "most people live in areas where it is dangerous to walk around at night" describes their country ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q34d.

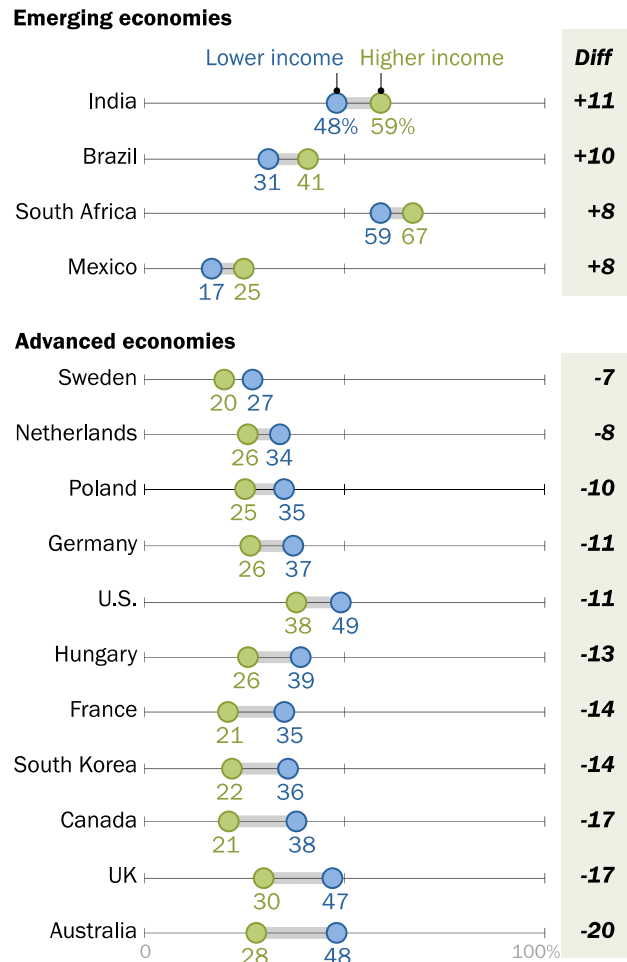
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In most advanced economies, the pattern reverses. Those with lower incomes are more likely to believe it is dangerous to walk around at night. For example, less affluent Australians are 20 percentage points more likely to say most people live in dangerous areas.

Educational gaps follow a similar pattern. In many advanced economies, those with lower levels of education are somewhat more likely to describe their country as dangerous to walk around in at night. For example, in Germany, there is a 25-point gap between those with lower levels of education and those with a postsecondary degree or above (39% vs. 14%). But, in three of the emerging economies – Brazil, India and Indonesia – those with higher educational attainment are more likely to say many people live in dangerous areas.⁴

In some advanced and emerging economies, views about danger of walking at night are divided by income

% who say "most people live in areas where it is dangerous to walk around at night" describes their country well



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant. Respondents with a household income below the approximate country median are considered lower income. Those with an income at or above the approximate country median are considered higher income. Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q34d.

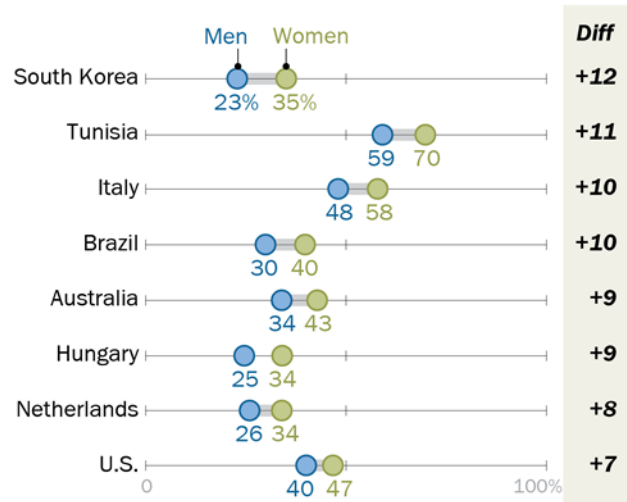
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⁴ Once again, differences in India are due in part to people with lower education levels being less likely to answer the question.

In eight countries, women are more likely than men to describe their country as one in which it is dangerous to walk around at night. In South Korea, for example, women are 12 percentage points more likely than men to express this opinion.

In some countries, women are more likely to say it is dangerous to walk around at night

% who say "most people live in areas where it is dangerous to walk around at night" describes their country well



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant.
Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q34d.

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3. Why are people dissatisfied with how democracy is working?

People are dissatisfied with the functioning of democracy in their countries for a host of reasons. For example, those who think politicians are corrupt or that the economic situation is bad in their country are more likely to be dissatisfied with democracy. Conversely, those who see key political institutions in their countries performing adequately – for example, those who think courts treat everyone fairly or that people can express their views in public – tend to be more satisfied with the way democracy is working.

Partisanship also plays a role. Those who have favorable views of populist parties and those who support parties that are not currently in power are more dissatisfied. In Europe, those who have unfavorable opinions of the EU or who think immigrants are resisting integration into society also tend to be unhappier with the state of democracy.

Other factors, however, have a weaker relationship with democratic satisfaction. By and large, people's beliefs about whether it is safe to walk at night in their country have no relationship with whether they are satisfied with how democracy is working. Similarly, people's opinions about whether their country should have more or less immigration are not related.

To further understand what informs satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the way democracy is working, we explored these and other relationships using multilevel regression. In this chapter, all factors discussed as contributing to democratic dissatisfaction are relationships that persist after accounting for other key attitudes and demographic variables (in regression parlance, we have “controlled” for other factors). For more about the methodology and for a more detailed presentation of the regression model informing these results, please see [Appendix A](#).

Negative economic assessments related to dissatisfaction

Many recent debates around democratic satisfaction have [emphasized economic attitudes](#). Previous work by Pew Research Center found that those who are critical of the establishment and open to [populist alternatives](#) are more likely to have experienced economic hardships, such as unemployment.

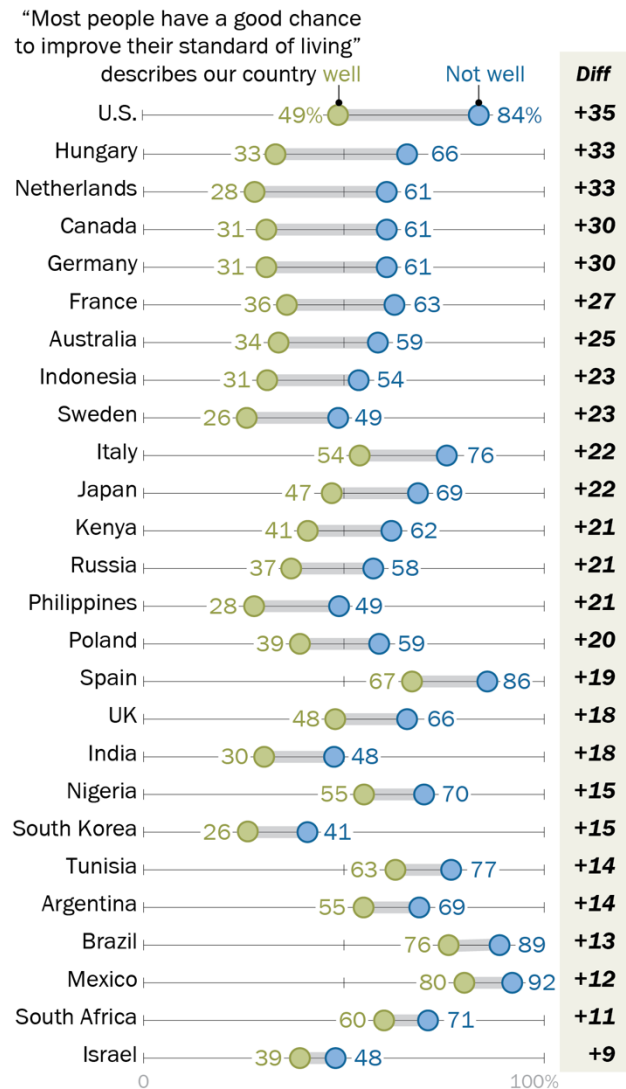
This survey also finds that views of the economy are connected to attitudes toward democracy. In nearly all countries surveyed, people who say the economy is doing poorly are more dissatisfied with the way democracy is working. And, in countries where views of the economy turned more negative over the past year, [dissatisfaction also increased](#).

Views of whether most people can improve their standard of living are also related to democratic dissatisfaction. Those who say their country is one in which most people cannot improve their standard of living tend to be more dissatisfied.

In the U.S., one's ability to improve their standard of living is [often associated with](#) the American dream. And Americans who say their country does not provide a good chance for most to advance their standard of living are 35 percentage points more dissatisfied with how democracy is working than those who see economic opportunities.

Pessimism about improving standard of living linked to dissatisfaction with democracy

% who say they are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant.
Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4.

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Views of democratic institutions, core freedoms also contribute to dissatisfaction

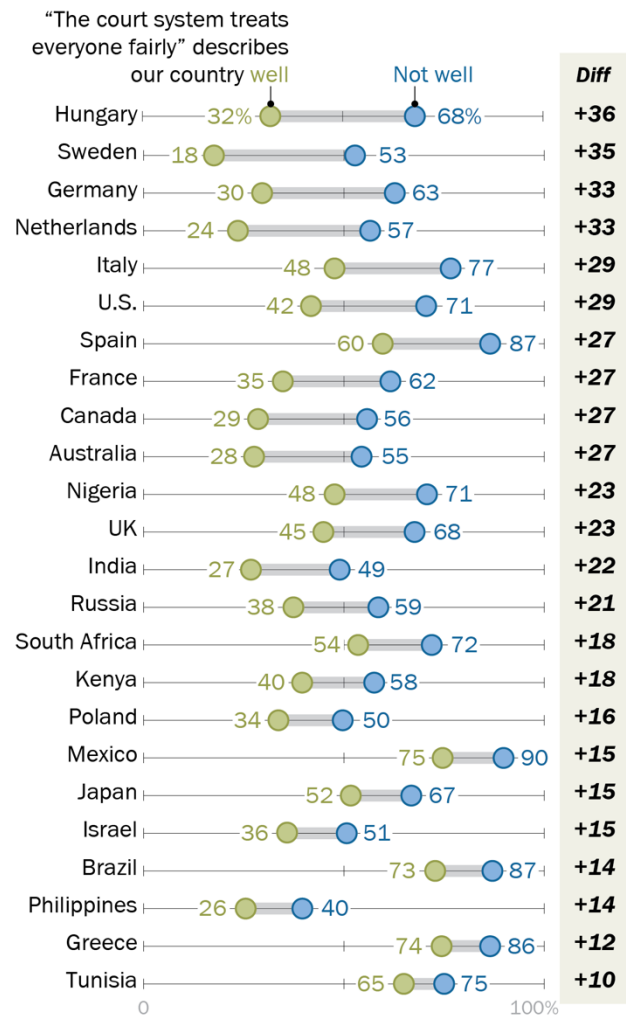
While our analysis finds that views of the economy help explain who is dissatisfied, other factors matter as well, especially attitudes about key elements of the political system.

Aspects that are often characterized as core tenets of democracy, like rights to freedom of expression and fair courts, are important in understanding people's dissatisfaction. For example, across the 27 countries surveyed, those who say their country protects freedom of expression tend to be less dissatisfied with democracy. Confidence in the fairness of courts is also strongly related to dissatisfaction with democracy. Those who believe the court system in their country treats everyone fairly are less dissatisfied.

And, while this survey focused more generally on freedom of expression rather than directly on the role of the media, a [past Pew Research Center report](#) found a link between attitudes toward the news media and the government. A survey of 38 countries found that people who are less satisfied with the functioning of the news media also tend to express less trust in the government to do what is right for the country.

Those who do not see courts as fair are more dissatisfied with the way democracy works

% who say they are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant.
Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4.

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Dissatisfaction related to sense of politicians being out of touch and corrupt

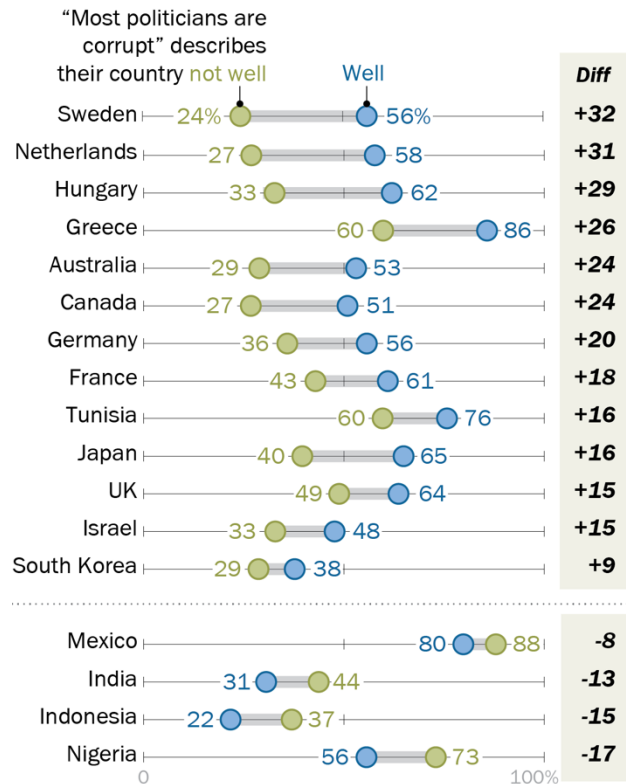
Beyond opinions of these core democratic institutions, perceptions of political officials play an important role in shaping people's views about democratic performance. Those who think elected officials care what ordinary people think are much less likely to be dissatisfied.

While also important, the relationship between corruption and dissatisfaction is not as strong. Nonetheless, in several nations, there is a significant relationship. In Sweden, for instance, those who say most politicians are corrupt are 32 percentage points more dissatisfied than those who do not think this describes their country well.

And, in four of the nine emerging economies surveyed, those who describe most politicians as corrupt are actually *less* dissatisfied with democracy.

In most countries, those who describe politicians as corrupt are more dissatisfied

% who say they are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country



Note: All differences shown are statistically significant. Those who say most politicians are corrupt are less likely to provide a response in India.

Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q4.

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Electoral change, perceptions of safety not linked to democratic dissatisfaction

Even though a 27-country median of six-in-ten say that things do not change very much no matter who wins an election, this opinion is not related to dissatisfaction with democracy in most countries. Nonetheless, [support for the party or parties in power](#) in a country does relate to democratic dissatisfaction.

In general, feeling safe when walking around at night is not related to democratic dissatisfaction. Even those who feel as if most people live in areas where it was not safe to walk around at night are not systematically more dissatisfied.

Appendix A: Factors that influence democratic dissatisfaction

In this report, we explored factors related to people’s perceptions of the way democracy is working in their country. To do this, we performed a multilevel regression analysis predicting democratic dissatisfaction as a function of people’s key attitudes on economic, political, social and security issues in their country, as well as their demographic characteristics. Specifically, we used Stata’s `melogit` function to estimate a weighted, mixed-effect logistic model with random intercepts by country and robust standard errors. In addition to this pooled model, we evaluated the robustness of the results by estimating the model for each country separately. These country-specific models yielded similar conclusions.

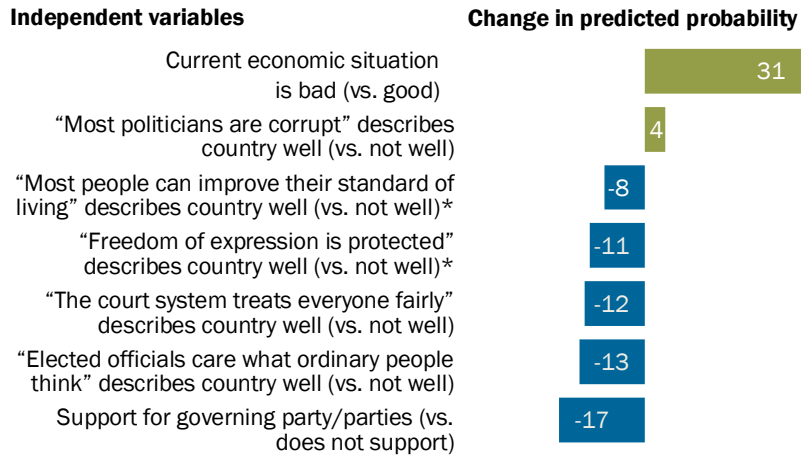
Dissatisfaction with democracy is the dichotomous dependent variable, where 1 denotes someone is dissatisfied with democracy in their country (those who are not too or not at all satisfied) and 0 means someone is satisfied with the way democracy is working in their country (those who say they are very or somewhat satisfied). The independent, or predictor, variables include evaluations of the current economic situation, attitudes about immigration, support for the governing party or parties, age, gender, education and an indicator for the country’s level of economic development (whether it is an advanced or emerging economy – for more, see [Appendix C](#)). Additional variables related to respondents’ views of their country were also included as predictors.

Overall, we find that negative views of the current economic situation have a strong association with individual democratic dissatisfaction. Holding everything else constant, a person who says the current economic situation in their country is bad has a 71% chance of also being dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country. In contrast, someone with a positive outlook on their country's economic situation has a 40% chance – a difference of 31 percentage points. In addition to attitudes about the economic situation, individuals who describe their country as one in which most politicians are corrupt are on average 4 points more likely to express democratic dissatisfaction than those who do not think this describes their country well (58% and 54%, respectively). The relationship between views of corruption and democratic dissatisfaction is relatively small, however.

Respondents' other opinions about their country also relate to democratic dissatisfaction. People were asked to evaluate their country on a number of dimensions, and in each case, people who said their country was well-described by the following statements were more satisfied: "Most people can improve their standard of living," "courts treat everyone fairly," "freedom of expression is protected," and "officials care what ordinary people think."

Partisan affiliation is also related to democratic dissatisfaction, controlling for other factors. For example, the chance that someone who supports the governing party (or parties) is dissatisfied is 45%, compared with someone who does not support the party in power who has a predicted probability of dissatisfaction of 62%, a difference of 17 percentage points.

Influence of the economy, evaluations of country on democratic dissatisfaction



*The full questions were "Most people have a good chance to improve their standard of living" and "The rights of people to express their views in public are protected," respectively. Note: The number shown is the difference in predicted probability of democratic dissatisfaction between selected groups for each variable after controlling for other factors. Only the independent variables that are statistically significant at the $p < 0.05$ level are shown. For example, the predicted probability that someone is dissatisfied with democracy is 71% for those who think the current economic situation is bad, compared with 40% for those who say the economic situation is good, a difference of 31 percentage points. The analysis is based on 24,326 respondents in 26 countries.

Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q2 & Q34a-c, f-g.

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This analysis of democratic dissatisfaction comprises a subsample (countries=26, n=24,326) of the 27 nations asked the questions, excluding South Korea, where we did not ask about support for political parties.⁵ Respondents who answered “Don’t know” or “Refused” to any of the questions were also excluded.

After accounting for the above variables, other factors were not predictive of democratic dissatisfaction. Describing their country as one in which most people live in areas where it is dangerous to walk around at night and saying that things do not change very much no matter who wins an election were not significantly related to dissatisfaction with how democracy is performing. Neither were attitudes toward immigration (allow more, the same, or less/none immigrants into the country), the level of economic development (advanced vs. emerging economy) or the respondent’s demographics (age, gender and education).

Factors that influence democratic dissatisfaction in Europe

Alongside the global model, we also evaluated a weighted, mixed-effect logistic regression model for the 10 European countries surveyed. In addition to the factors highlighted above, this analysis allows us to evaluate favorability of the EU, opinions regarding whether immigrants want to adopt their country’s customs and way of life, and favorable views of right- and left-wing populist parties. As with the previous model, we also estimated models for each country separately to verify its robustness; these results yielded similar findings to the pooled regression model.

Overall, the European predictors of democratic dissatisfaction are very similar to the pooled model. Again, negative views of the current economic situation and the view that most politicians are corrupt are linked to greater levels of democratic dissatisfaction. Those who have favorable views of right-wing populist parties are also more dissatisfied. For example, a person with a positive view of a right-wing populist party in their country (see [Appendix B](#) for how we classified populist parties using the Chapel Hill Expert Survey) has a predicted probability of being dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in their country of 64%. A person who does not sympathize with a right-wing populist party has a 55% chance of being dissatisfied, a 9 percentage point difference.

⁵ The results are consistent if support for the governing party is not included in the model and all 27 countries are analyzed together. Country-specific results in South Korea are also largely consistent with the general findings from the pooled model.

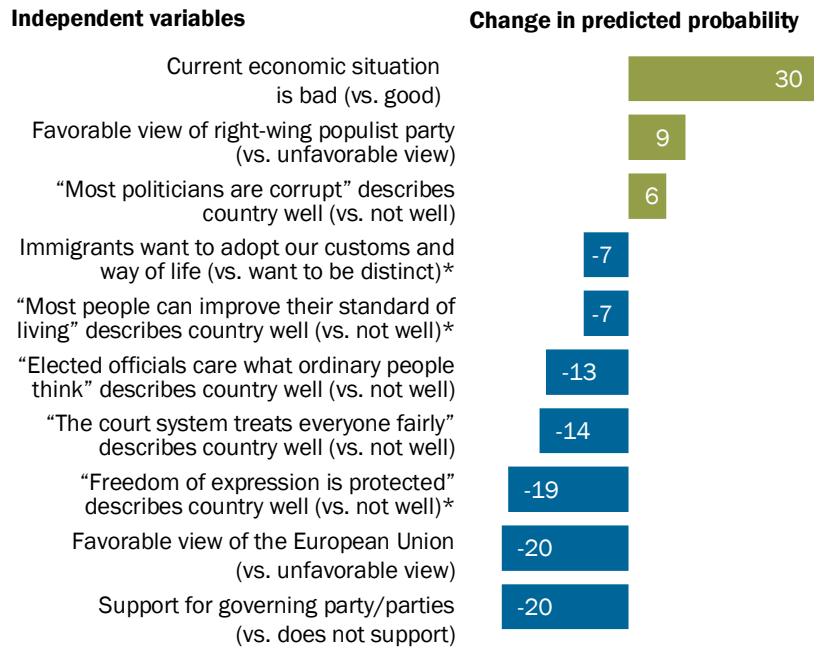
A host of other factors are associated with democratic dissatisfaction in Europe as well. Those who say most immigrants want to adopt their country's culture and way of life are less likely to be dissatisfied with democracy than those who think immigrants today want to remain distinct (53% and 60%, respectively), although the impact of this factor is small. Those who evaluate their country as one in which most can improve their standard of living, elected officials care what ordinary people think, courts treat everyone fairly, and freedom of expression is protected are more satisfied with the way democracy is working in their country.

Favorable views of the EU and support for the governing party or parties in power are also strongly correlated with

democratic dissatisfaction. For example, those who have favorable views of the EU have a 49% chance of being dissatisfied with democracy. Those who are unfavorable toward the Brussels-based institution have a 69% chance of being dissatisfied, a 20 percentage point difference.

This complementary analysis of democratic dissatisfaction included the 10 European countries surveyed (n=7,590). Poland is included in the analysis, though it does not have any populist parties according to our classification (see [Appendix B](#) for more information on this). Respondents who answered "Don't know" or "Refused" to any of the questions were excluded.

In Europe, supporters of right-wing parties more dissatisfied, favorable toward EU are less dissatisfied



*The full questions were "Immigrants in our country today want to adopt our customs and way of life or immigrants today want to be distinct from our society," "Most people have a good chance to improve their standard of living" and "The rights of people to express their views in public are protected," respectively.

Note: The number shown is the difference in predicted probability of democratic dissatisfaction between selected groups for each variable after controlling for other factors. Only the independent variables that are statistically significant at the $p < 0.05$ level are shown. For example, the predicted probability that someone is dissatisfied with democracy is 72% for those who think the current economic situation is bad, compared with 42% for those who say the economic situation is good, a difference of 30 percentage points. The analysis is based on 7,590 respondents in the 10 European countries surveyed.

Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q2, Q17d, Q34a-c, f-g & Q54c.

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After controlling for the independent variables, some factors were not significantly related to democratic dissatisfaction. Agreement with the following statements as good descriptors of their country are not statistically significant: “Most people live in areas where it is dangerous to walk around at night” and “no matter who wins an election, things do not change very much.” Opinions about whether countries should have more or less immigration were not related to dissatisfaction, and neither were favorable views of left-wing populist parties. None of the demographic variables (age, gender and education) were significant predictors of dissatisfaction with democracy.

Appendix B: Classifying European political parties

Classifying parties as populist

We define “populist” political parties as those that display high levels of anti-elitism. We do this on the basis of the [Chapel Hill Expert Survey](#) (CHES). This survey, which was carried out in January and February 2018, asked 228 regional experts to evaluate the 2017 party positions of 132 European political parties across 14 European Union member states. CHES results are regularly used by academics to classify parties with regard to their left-right ideological leanings, their key party platform positions, and their degree of populism, among other things.

We measure anti-elitism using an average of two variables in the CHES data. First, we used “PEOPLE_VS_ELITE,” which asked the experts to measure the parties with regard to their position on direct vs. representative democracy, where 0 means that the parties support elected officeholders making the most important decisions and 10 means that “the people,” not politicians, should make the most important decisions. Second, we used “ANTIELITE_SALIENESS,” which is a measure of the salience of anti-establishment and anti-elite rhetoric for that particular party, with 0 meaning not at all salient and 10 meaning extremely salient. The average of these two measures is shown in the table below as “anti-elitism.” In all countries, we consider parties that score above a 7.0 as “populist.”

We also used CHES’s “FAMILY” variable to further classify populist groups. [Per CHES](#), “family attribution is based primarily on Derksen classification ... triangulated by a) membership or affiliation with [European Parliament] party families, b) ParlGov classifications and c) self-identification.”

Classifying parties as left or right

We can further classify these traditional and populist parties into two groups: left and right. To do so, we relied on the variable “LRGEN” in the CHES dataset, which asked experts to rate the positions of each party in terms of its overall ideological stance, with 0 meaning extreme left, 5 meaning center and 10 meaning extreme right. We define left parties as those that score below 5 and right parties as those above 5.

European populist party classifications

Party	Country	Family	Left-right	Anti-elitism
Populist parties on the left				
La France Insoumise	France	Radical left	1.0	8.9
Podemos	Spain	Radical left	2.4	8.7
Syriza	Greece	Radical left	2.6	7.4
Populist parties on the right				
National Front (FN)	France	Radical right	9.7	8.9
Forum for Democracy (FvD)	Netherlands	Radical right	9.5	9.7
Alternative for Germany (AfD)	Germany	Radical right	9.2	8.7
Jobbik	Hungary	Radical right	8.5	7.8
Northern League (LN)	Italy	Regionalist	8.3	7.8
Party for Freedom (PVV)	Netherlands	Radical right	9.3	9.5
Sweden Democrats	Sweden	Radical right	8.0	8.0
UK Independence Party (UKIP)	UK	Radical right	8.6	8.2
Five Star Movement	Italy	No family	5.2	9.9

Notes: Left-right indicates the average score CHES experts gave each party on an 11-point left-right scale. Scores for anti-elitism are an average of party position on direct vs. representative democracy and the salience of anti-elite rhetoric within the party. Political party names were fielded as “Northern League” in Italy (now called League) and “National Front” in France (now called National Rally).
Source: 2017 CHES.

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Appendix C: Economic categorization

For this report we grouped countries into two economic categories: “advanced” and “emerging and developing.” In the report, this category is referred to as “emerging.” These categories are fairly common in specialized and popular discussions and are helpful for analyzing how public attitudes vary with economic circumstances. However, no single, agreed-upon scheme exists for placing countries into these three categories. For example, even the World Bank and International Monetary Fund do not always agree on how to categorize economies.

In creating our economic classification of the 27 countries in our survey, we relied on multiple sources and criteria. Specifically, we were guided by World Bank income classifications; classifications of emerging markets by other multinational organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund; per capita gross domestic product (GDP); total size of the country’s economy, as measured by GDP; and average GDP growth rate between 2013 and 2017.

Below is a table that outlines the countries that fall into each of the two categories. The table includes for each country the World Bank income classification, the 2017 GDP per capita based on purchasing power parity (PPP) in current prices, the 2017 GDP in current U.S. dollars and the average GDP growth rate between 2013 and 2017.

Economic categorization by country

	World Bank income group	2017 GDP per capita (PPP)	2017 GDP (current US\$ billions)	Average GDP growth (%) (2013-2017)	
Advanced economies	Argentina	High income	20,787	638	0.7
	Australia	High income	47,047	1,323	2.5
	Canada	High income	46,378	1,653	2.2
	France	High income	42,779	2,583	1.1
	Germany	High income	50,716	3,677	1.7
	Greece	High income	27,809	200	-0.3
	Hungary	High income	28,375	139	3.2
	Israel	High income	38,413	351	3.6
	Italy	High income	39,817	1,935	0.3
	Japan	High income	43,876	4,872	1.3
	Netherlands	High income	52,941	826	1.8
	Poland	High income	29,291	525	3.2
	Russia	Upper middle	25,533	1,578	0.2
	South Korea	High income	38,260	1,531	3.0
	Spain	High income	38,091	1,311	1.9
	Sweden	High income	50,070	538	2.8
	UK	High income	43,877	2,622	2.2
U.S.	High income	59,532	19,391	2.2	
Emerging and developing economies	Brazil	Upper middle	15,484	2,056	-0.5
	India	Lower middle	7,056	2,597	7.1
	Indonesia	Lower middle	12,284	1,016	5.1
	Kenya	Lower middle	3,286	75	5.5
	Mexico	Upper middle	18,149	1,150	2.5
	Nigeria	Lower middle	5,861	376	2.7
	Philippines	Lower middle	8,343	314	6.6
	South Africa	Upper middle	13,498	349	1.5
	Tunisia	Lower middle	11,911	40	2.0

Source: World Bank, accessed Aug. 15, 2018.

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Appendix D: Political categorization

For this report, we grouped people into two political categories: those who support the governing political party (or parties) and those who do not. These categories were coded based on the party or parties in power at the time the survey was fielded, and on respondents' answers to a question asking them which political party, if any, they identified with in their country.⁶

In countries where multiple political parties govern in coalition (as in many European countries), survey respondents who indicated support for any parties in the coalition were grouped together. In Germany, for example, where the center-right CDU/CSU governed with the center-left SPD at the time of the survey, supporters of all three parties were grouped together. In countries where different political parties occupy the executive and legislative branches of government, the party holding the executive branch was considered the governing party.

Survey respondents who did not indicate support for any political party, or who refused to identify with one, were classified as *not* supporting the government in power.

In some countries, no respondents identified with one or more of the parties currently in a coalition government. For example, the National Democratic Alliance in India officially consists of dozens of political parties, but many of those were not identified by any respondent as the party they felt closest to. Countries where an insufficient number of people identified with any party in government have been excluded from the analysis. Below is a table that outlines the governing political parties in each country; only political parties mentioned by respondents are shown.

⁶ Governing parties were not updated to account for elections that occurred after the survey was fielded and resulted in a new party (or parties) serving in government. Language used to measure party identification varied country by country.

Political categorization by country

Countries	Governing political party(ies)
Australia	Liberal Party, Liberal-National Party, Country-Liberal Party, National Party
Brazil	PMDB, PSDB, PP, PTB, PRB, PV, PSD
Canada	Liberal Party
France	En Marche
Germany	CDU, CSU, SPD
Greece	Syriza, Independent Greeks
Hungary	Fidesz, Christian Democratic People's Party
India	National Democratic Alliance: BJP, Shiv Sena, Lok Janshakti, Akali Dal, Janata Dal (United)
Indonesia	PDI-P, PPP, Golkar, PKB, People's Conscience Party, National Democratic Party (Nasdem), PAN
Israel	Likud, Yisrael Beitenu, Jewish Home, Kulanu, United Torah Judaism, Shas, Degel Hatorah, Agodat Yisrael
Italy	Northern League, Five Star Movement*
Japan	Liberal Democratic Party, Komeito
Kenya	Jubilee Party, New FORD–Kenya
Mexico	Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI)
Netherlands	People's Party for Freedom and Democracy, Christian Democratic Appeal, Democrats 66, Christian Union
Nigeria	All Progressives Congress
Poland	Law and Justice (PiS)
Russia	United Russia
South Africa	African National Congress
Spain	Spanish Socialist Workers' Party**
Sweden	Social Democratic Party, Green Party
Tunisia	Nidaa Tounes, Ennahdha Movement, Free Patriotic Union, Afek Tounus, Republican Party, Social Democratic Path, People's Movement
United Kingdom	Conservative Party
United States	Republican Party***

* In Italy, the coalition government was not formally formed and sworn in until during the fieldwork period. Supporters of either party are considered supporters of the ruling party for the entirety of fieldwork. The name used in the survey was "Northern League" (now called League).

** In Spain, a vote of no confidence was held during fieldwork, causing a transition to a government led by the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party. Supporters of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party are considered supporters of the ruling party for the entirety of fieldwork.

*** In the United States, supporters of the governing party include Republicans and Republican-leaning independents. Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents are classified as not supporting the governing party.

Note: South Korea was excluded from this analysis. Argentina and the Philippines are not shown due to insufficient sample size.

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Methodology

About the Pew Research Center's Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey

Results for the survey are based on telephone and face-to-face interviews conducted under the direction of D3 Systems, Inc., Kantar Public UK, Kantar Public Korea and Langer Research Associates. The results are based on national samples, unless otherwise noted. More details about our international survey methodology and country-specific sample designs are [available here](#).

Topline Questionnaire

**Pew Research Center
Spring 2018 Survey
April 29, 2019 Release**

Methodological notes:

- Survey results are based on national samples. For further details on sample designs, see Methodology section and our [international survey methods database](#).
- Due to rounding, percentages may not total 100%. The topline “total” columns show 100%, because they are based on unrounded numbers.
- Not all questions included in the Spring 2018 survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

		Q4. How satisfied are you with the way democracy is working in our country – very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied?					
		Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Not too satisfied	Not at all satisfied	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	11	29	31	27	2	100
	Spring, 2017	11	35	28	23	3	100
Canada	Spring, 2018	16	45	25	14	1	100
	Spring, 2017	18	52	21	9	1	100
France	Spring, 2018	5	43	29	22	1	100
	Spring, 2017	3	31	37	28	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	13	43	27	16	1	100
	Spring, 2017	24	49	19	7	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2018	1	15	42	42	1	100
	Spring, 2017	3	18	43	36	0	100
Hungary	Spring, 2018	5	40	34	19	2	100
	Spring, 2017	3	41	36	17	3	100
	Fall, 2009	2	19	46	31	1	100
Italy	Spring, 2018	2	27	46	24	1	100
	Spring, 2017	2	29	43	24	2	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2018	12	52	24	10	1	100
	Spring, 2017	25	52	16	6	2	100
Poland	Spring, 2018	9	42	31	13	6	100
	Spring, 2017	8	43	31	13	6	100
	Fall, 2009	6	47	32	7	7	100
Spain	Spring, 2018	7	13	45	36	0	100
	Spring, 2017	7	18	44	30	0	100
Sweden	Spring, 2018	18	51	21	9	0	100
	Spring, 2017	23	56	14	6	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2018	7	35	32	23	2	100
	Spring, 2017	12	40	31	16	2	100
Russia	Spring, 2018	4	40	32	17	8	100
	Spring, 2017	18	41	25	11	5	100
Australia	Spring, 2018	13	46	26	14	2	100
	Spring, 2017	13	45	25	16	1	100
India	Spring, 2018	25	29	18	15	13	100
	Spring, 2017	33	46	8	3	9	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2018	19	46	28	5	2	100
	Spring, 2017	14	55	26	3	2	100
Japan	Spring, 2018	2	38	44	12	3	100
	Spring, 2017	5	45	38	9	3	100
Philippines	Spring, 2018	24	45	26	5	1	100
	Spring, 2017	21	48	25	6	1	100
South Korea	Spring, 2018	9	55	29	6	1	100
	Spring, 2017	3	27	55	14	1	100
Israel	Spring, 2018	13	43	31	12	2	100
	Spring, 2017	11	41	34	13	1	100
Tunisia	Spring, 2018	6	21	23	47	3	100
	Spring, 2017	7	29	14	47	3	100
	Spring, 2013	3	21	30	42	4	100
Kenya	Spring, 2018	13	39	26	21	1	100
	Spring, 2017	17	39	24	19	1	100
	Spring, 2013	27	46	19	9	0	100
	Spring, 2007	15	57	23	5	1	100

		Q4. How satisfied are you with the way democracy is working in our country – very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied?					
		Very satisfied	Somewhat satisfied	Not too satisfied	Not at all satisfied	DK/Refused	Total
Nigeria	Spring, 2018	20	19	25	35	1	100
	Spring, 2017	20	21	27	31	0	100
	Spring, 2013	7	20	42	30	1	100
South Africa	Spring, 2018	12	23	25	39	1	100
	Spring, 2017	15	28	29	27	2	100
	Spring, 2013	32	35	19	13	1	100
Argentina	Spring, 2018	5	30	28	35	2	100
	Spring, 2017	9	37	31	23	1	100
	Spring, 2013	15	42	29	14	1	100
Brazil	Spring, 2018	3	13	24	59	1	100
	Spring, 2017	3	25	25	42	4	100
	Spring, 2013	10	56	25	7	2	100
Mexico	Spring, 2018	1	13	40	45	1	100
	Spring, 2017	2	4	23	70	2	100
	Spring, 2013	10	43	31	14	2	100

		Q34a. Does this statement describe (survey country) very well, somewhat well, not too well, or not well at all? a. Elected officials care what ordinary people think					
		Very well	Somewhat well	Not too well	Not well at all	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	8	33	29	29	1	100
Canada	Spring, 2018	14	42	26	17	1	100
France	Spring, 2018	6	26	39	29	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	6	38	39	15	2	100
Greece	Spring, 2018	1	9	33	57	0	100
Hungary	Spring, 2018	5	30	32	29	3	100
Italy	Spring, 2018	3	25	35	31	5	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2018	7	52	29	11	1	100
Poland	Spring, 2018	5	29	41	20	5	100
Spain	Spring, 2018	9	11	31	48	1	100
Sweden	Spring, 2018	12	43	30	15	0	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2018	9	33	31	24	3	100
Russia	Spring, 2018	7	22	34	33	4	100
Australia	Spring, 2018	9	37	32	19	2	100
India	Spring, 2018	13	20	17	26	23	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2018	39	37	16	5	3	100
Japan	Spring, 2018	3	32	47	15	2	100
Philippines	Spring, 2018	30	41	18	10	1	100
South Korea	Spring, 2018	5	25	48	21	1	100
Israel	Spring, 2018	7	26	41	25	1	100
Tunisia	Spring, 2018	21	8	21	48	1	100
Kenya	Spring, 2018	29	24	25	21	1	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2018	21	17	25	34	3	100
South Africa	Spring, 2018	18	20	22	38	3	100
Argentina	Spring, 2018	10	9	25	54	3	100
Brazil	Spring, 2018	8	10	16	62	3	100
Mexico	Spring, 2018	10	24	18	46	2	100

		Q34b. Does this statement describe (survey country) very well, somewhat well, not too well, or not well at all? b. The court system treats everyone fairly					
		Very well	Somewhat well	Not too well	Not well at all	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	11	36	24	28	1	100
Canada	Spring, 2018	22	41	22	14	2	100
France	Spring, 2018	11	29	30	30	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	21	43	27	9	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2018	5	19	39	37	0	100
Hungary	Spring, 2018	7	32	33	21	6	100
Italy	Spring, 2018	3	20	39	34	5	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2018	26	42	22	9	1	100
Poland	Spring, 2018	5	24	36	27	7	100
Spain	Spring, 2018	9	13	26	51	0	100
Sweden	Spring, 2018	19	45	21	13	2	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2018	20	32	25	19	3	100
Russia	Spring, 2018	9	25	32	22	12	100
Australia	Spring, 2018	17	36	27	18	2	100
India	Spring, 2018	23	24	16	20	18	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2018	38	36	20	4	2	100
Japan	Spring, 2018	10	44	35	5	6	100
Philippines	Spring, 2018	29	34	21	14	2	100
South Korea	Spring, 2018	5	17	48	30	1	100
Israel	Spring, 2018	15	37	30	18	1	100
Tunisia	Spring, 2018	28	12	27	30	3	100
Kenya	Spring, 2018	34	25	22	18	2	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2018	21	22	24	30	3	100
South Africa	Spring, 2018	28	16	22	31	3	100
Argentina	Spring, 2018	10	8	21	57	4	100
Brazil	Spring, 2018	13	12	19	53	3	100
Mexico	Spring, 2018	10	23	16	47	3	100

		Q34c. Does this statement describe (survey country) very well, somewhat well, not too well, or not well at all? c. Most politicians are corrupt					
		Very well	Somewhat well	Not too well	Not well at all	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	30	39	17	11	3	100
Canada	Spring, 2018	16	32	33	18	1	100
France	Spring, 2018	19	29	29	21	1	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	12	21	42	22	2	100
Greece	Spring, 2018	56	33	9	1	1	100
Hungary	Spring, 2018	27	43	17	7	6	100
Italy	Spring, 2018	32	38	16	7	6	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2018	6	17	39	35	2	100
Poland	Spring, 2018	16	38	23	12	12	100
Spain	Spring, 2018	25	20	17	38	1	100
Sweden	Spring, 2018	4	16	35	42	3	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2018	18	29	32	18	3	100
Russia	Spring, 2018	44	38	11	2	6	100
Australia	Spring, 2018	14	32	33	18	4	100
India	Spring, 2018	43	21	9	16	11	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2018	9	15	31	42	2	100
Japan	Spring, 2018	15	38	35	9	4	100
Philippines	Spring, 2018	20	23	26	30	1	100
South Korea	Spring, 2018	39	36	21	3	1	100
Israel	Spring, 2018	25	41	24	8	2	100
Tunisia	Spring, 2018	57	10	14	14	5	100
Kenya	Spring, 2018	41	15	18	24	1	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2018	60	12	11	16	2	100
South Africa	Spring, 2018	60	12	9	17	2	100
Argentina	Spring, 2018	49	14	9	25	2	100
Brazil	Spring, 2018	38	4	7	49	2	100
Mexico	Spring, 2018	16	11	9	61	2	100

		Q34d. Does this statement describe (survey country) very well, somewhat well, not too well, or not well at all? d. Most people live in areas where it is dangerous to walk around at night					
		Very well	Somewhat well	Not too well	Not well at all	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	11	32	30	24	2	100
Canada	Spring, 2018	10	20	34	35	1	100
France	Spring, 2018	8	20	37	35	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	8	23	42	25	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2018	28	38	26	8	0	100
Hungary	Spring, 2018	6	24	42	26	3	100
Italy	Spring, 2018	17	37	32	12	3	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2018	5	25	40	29	1	100
Poland	Spring, 2018	5	24	42	22	7	100
Spain	Spring, 2018	10	16	30	43	2	100
Sweden	Spring, 2018	6	18	38	37	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2018	13	25	33	26	3	100
Russia	Spring, 2018	19	31	32	12	6	100
Australia	Spring, 2018	12	27	35	24	2	100
India	Spring, 2018	30	24	12	20	14	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2018	9	18	52	18	3	100
Japan	Spring, 2018	2	24	45	25	4	100
Philippines	Spring, 2018	14	22	27	35	1	100
South Korea	Spring, 2018	8	22	45	24	1	100
Israel	Spring, 2018	5	20	41	32	2	100
Tunisia	Spring, 2018	53	11	20	15	1	100
Kenya	Spring, 2018	25	20	24	30	1	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2018	40	18	18	22	1	100
South Africa	Spring, 2018	52	10	13	24	1	100
Argentina	Spring, 2018	42	16	12	29	2	100
Brazil	Spring, 2018	28	7	11	53	1	100
Mexico	Spring, 2018	10	12	17	60	1	100

		Q34e. Does this statement describe (survey country) very well, somewhat well, not too well, or not well at all? e. No matter who wins an election, things do not change very much					
		Very well	Somewhat well	Not too well	Not well at all	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	19	35	22	22	2	100
Canada	Spring, 2018	23	41	22	13	2	100
France	Spring, 2018	27	33	24	16	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	29	36	24	9	2	100
Greece	Spring, 2018	53	29	13	5	1	100
Hungary	Spring, 2018	17	38	26	16	3	100
Italy	Spring, 2018	21	36	24	12	7	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2018	22	39	27	10	2	100
Poland	Spring, 2018	11	37	32	15	5	100
Spain	Spring, 2018	19	23	21	36	1	100
Sweden	Spring, 2018	17	48	21	13	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2018	33	32	20	14	2	100
Russia	Spring, 2018	36	36	17	8	3	100
Australia	Spring, 2018	35	40	17	8	1	100
India	Spring, 2018	37	21	13	16	14	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2018	13	31	37	14	5	100
Japan	Spring, 2018	23	39	27	10	1	100
Philippines	Spring, 2018	22	38	26	13	1	100
South Korea	Spring, 2018	21	29	30	19	1	100
Israel	Spring, 2018	19	37	34	9	1	100
Tunisia	Spring, 2018	54	13	15	16	2	100
Kenya	Spring, 2018	37	24	22	16	1	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2018	35	22	21	20	3	100
South Africa	Spring, 2018	45	16	16	21	1	100
Argentina	Spring, 2018	32	19	18	29	2	100
Brazil	Spring, 2018	25	12	13	47	2	100
Mexico	Spring, 2018	15	23	15	45	3	100

		Q34f. Does this statement describe (survey country) very well, somewhat well, not too well, or not well at all? f. The rights of people to express their views in public are protected					
		Very well	Somewhat well	Not too well	Not well at all	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	33	40	15	12	0	100
Canada	Spring, 2018	41	38	12	8	0	100
France	Spring, 2018	31	40	16	13	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	35	42	14	7	2	100
Greece	Spring, 2018	15	44	30	11	0	100
Hungary	Spring, 2018	12	37	31	15	4	100
Italy	Spring, 2018	6	37	36	15	6	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2018	39	45	11	4	1	100
Poland	Spring, 2018	10	47	29	7	7	100
Spain	Spring, 2018	20	28	20	32	0	100
Sweden	Spring, 2018	39	41	13	6	0	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2018	31	36	20	12	1	100
Russia	Spring, 2018	23	34	25	13	5	100
Australia	Spring, 2018	32	42	17	8	1	100
India	Spring, 2018	34	24	14	12	16	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2018	43	43	10	2	3	100
Japan	Spring, 2018	11	51	30	5	3	100
Philippines	Spring, 2018	38	42	13	5	2	100
South Korea	Spring, 2018	22	49	24	6	1	100
Israel	Spring, 2018	20	48	25	6	1	100
Tunisia	Spring, 2018	53	17	13	16	1	100
Kenya	Spring, 2018	31	27	25	16	1	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2018	26	25	23	23	3	100
South Africa	Spring, 2018	33	21	20	24	2	100
Argentina	Spring, 2018	23	21	21	31	4	100
Brazil	Spring, 2018	21	21	16	39	4	100
Mexico	Spring, 2018	17	34	16	32	2	100

		Q34g. Does this statement describe (survey country) very well, somewhat well, not too well, or not well at all? g. Most people have a good chance to improve their standard of living					
		Very well	Somewhat well	Not too well	Not well at all	DK/Refused	Total
United States	Spring, 2018	34	40	17	8	1	100
Canada	Spring, 2018	31	43	19	6	0	100
France	Spring, 2018	9	35	37	19	0	100
Germany	Spring, 2018	17	42	32	7	1	100
Greece	Spring, 2018	5	20	40	36	0	100
Hungary	Spring, 2018	6	31	31	30	2	100
Italy	Spring, 2018	3	25	48	20	4	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2018	19	59	17	4	1	100
Poland	Spring, 2018	12	56	23	4	4	100
Spain	Spring, 2018	11	16	32	41	0	100
Sweden	Spring, 2018	29	51	16	4	1	100
United Kingdom	Spring, 2018	19	41	27	12	1	100
Russia	Spring, 2018	13	30	32	22	3	100
Australia	Spring, 2018	31	46	17	6	0	100
India	Spring, 2018	25	31	14	13	17	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2018	39	49	9	2	2	100
Japan	Spring, 2018	8	45	39	7	1	100
Philippines	Spring, 2018	47	39	11	2	1	100
South Korea	Spring, 2018	6	32	48	12	2	100
Israel	Spring, 2018	13	44	32	10	1	100
Tunisia	Spring, 2018	36	12	24	28	0	100
Kenya	Spring, 2018	37	31	20	11	1	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2018	41	21	21	14	2	100
South Africa	Spring, 2018	42	22	17	18	1	100
Argentina	Spring, 2018	19	23	24	31	2	100
Brazil	Spring, 2018	21	25	16	36	2	100
Mexico	Spring, 2018	18	39	15	26	2	100