



Emerging Middle Powers

Overview

Table report

Berlin, December 12th 2023

334 500085

Methodology

Universe	Experts and decision-makers from Brazil, Germany, India, and South Africa, to whom the Körber Foundation or its cooperation partners have contact.
Method	Online interviews (CAWI)
Fieldwork	October 16 th to November 29 th , 2023
Sample size	Overall: 922 respondents Brazil: 280 respondents Germany: 246 respondents India: 191 respondents South Africa: 205 respondents
Weighting	In the columns "Total" and "Brazil / India / South Africa" the different countries do have the same weight.

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Question 1: Which three of the following actors have the biggest influence on foreign policy in your country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	73	83	70	71	67	75
Head of government	71	84	59	62	80	68
Ruling political parties	43	16	43	74	41	44
Business sector	35	55	41	18	25	38
Foreign actors	21	15	14	30	26	19
Media	11	9	12	5	19	9
Parliament	10	10	8	11	12	10
Ministry of Economy	9	10	9	7	8	9
Ministry of Defence	8	5	18	3	6	9
Civil society	5	6	6	6	3	6
Political parties in the opposition	3	1	2	6	1	3
Trade unions	2	0	5	3	-	3
don't know / no answer	1	-	2	-	1	1
Total	292	293	288	297	291	293

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Question 2: How do you rate your government's handling of foreign policy over the past year?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Very positive	16	4	46	12	5	20
Somewhat positive	37	12	40	35	61	29
Somewhat negative	21	14	9	31	28	18
Very negative	24	69	2	21	5	31
don't know / no answer	2	1	3	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	53	16	85	47	66	49
Bottom 2	45	83	12	53	33	49

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Question 3: How do you rate your government's influence on global rulemaking?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Very influential	5	3	11	4	-	6
Influential	25	24	37	19	21	26
Somewhat influential	55	61	44	50	66	52
Not at all influential	15	12	8	27	13	16
don't know / no answer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	30	26	48	22	21	32
Bottom 2	70	73	52	78	78	68

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Question 4: What do you think are the most challenging foreign policy issues for your country? Please name up to three issues.

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
CRISIS / CONFLICTS (net)	39	24	37	39	58	33
-War in Ukraine	13	1	5	18	30	8
-Security / Peace / Stability / Peacemaking	11	8	15	9	11	11
-War in Middle East	10	2	5	15	20	7
-Wars / Conflicts / Crisis	7	6	3	7	10	6
-Terrorism / Crime	4	3	13	-	-	5
-Rivalry USA-China / East-West / Bipolar rivalry	4	6	3	2	5	4
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS (net)	55	41	74	53	53	56
-China / Relationship with China	21	6	49	2	27	19
-Balance between different (major) powers	13	7	24	21	-	17
-Strengthen own regional/international position	13	15	11	18	9	14
-Relationship with neighbouring countries	7	5	19	4	1	9
-USA / Relationship with USA / Trump	6	4	6	3	9	5
-Russia / Relationship with Russia	5	-	2	5	13	2
-Independence from foreign influence	5	8	3	5	4	5
-Relationship: Other	8	4	11	11	6	9
Climate / Environment	19	38	9	6	21	18
Energy / Resources	6	1	13	4	7	6
Migration / Refugees	7	3	1	8	17	4
Economy	10	12	13	10	5	12
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Question 4: What do you think are the most challenging foreign policy issues for your country? Please name up to three issues.

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
INTEGRATION / COOPERATION (net)	38	51	19	38	46	36
-International trade / (Free) trade agreements	13	19	14	18	3	17
-International order / multilateralism / Global governance	11	14	4	8	17	9
-European integration / EU	7	-	-	-	28	-
-Reform of international institutions	6	13	3	5	2	7
-Regional integration / Mercosur	5	19	-	-	-	6
-BRICS	2	1	-	7	-	3
-Regional integration in Africa	2	-	-	8	-	3
NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE (net)	27	31	17	40	19	29
-Inconsistent / weak foreign policy	10	17	4	17	4	12
-Domestic problems / policies	10	15	7	14	2	12
-Defense / Military strength	4	2	3	1	11	2
-Balancing different interests	4	2	3	9	2	4
-Stance on international issues / conflicts	3	1	1	8	0	3
-Communication of foreign policy to population	3	4	1	3	2	3
OTHER ISSUES (net)	12	16	6	12	14	11
-Social inequality / human rights / xenophobia	5	9	2	9	0	7
-Protection of democracy / Growing authoritarianisms	5	3	2	2	12	3
-Diverse issues	2	5	2	0	2	3
don't know / no answer	4	3	8	2	2	5
Total	264	256	257	261	282	258

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Question 5: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
USA						
1 = not important at all	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	1	-	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	1	-	-	3	-	1
5	-	-	-	1	-	1
6	2	1	1	7	-	3
7	5	3	3	12	2	6
8	15	13	19	21	7	18
9	19	18	18	22	19	19
10 = extremely important	58	65	59	33	72	52
don't know / no answer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	9,2	9,4	9,3	8,4	9,6	9,0
France						
1 = not important at all	-	-	-	1	-	-
2	-	-	-	1	-	1
3	1	-	2	1	-	1
4	4	4	3	8	-	5
5	8	7	5	19	1	10
6	13	15	14	21	1	16
7	19	22	23	26	6	24
8	19	32	24	15	8	23
9	15	12	15	4	28	11
10 = extremely important	20	8	12	4	56	8
don't know / no answer	1	-	2	-	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	7,6	7,4	7,5	6,4	9,3	7,1

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Question 5: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
United Kingdom						
1 = not important at all	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	1	2	2	-	-	1
3	1	1	2	1	-	1
4	3	5	1	2	2	3
5	8	10	9	7	7	8
6	16	19	19	13	11	17
7	22	24	23	24	18	24
8	26	25	20	27	34	24
9	12	8	13	11	15	11
10 = extremely important	11	6	11	15	13	11
don't know / no answer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	7,4	6,9	7,2	7,6	7,7	7,2
Russia						
1 = not important at all	1	-	-	2	4	1
2	2	1	-	3	4	1
3	3	2	-	4	6	2
4	5	2	2	9	5	4
5	7	5	4	9	11	6
6	10	12	5	14	8	10
7	16	23	15	15	12	18
8	23	28	22	22	19	24
9	15	13	24	9	13	15
10 = extremely important	18	14	28	13	16	19
don't know / no answer	-	-	-	-	2	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	7,4	7,6	8,3	6,8	6,8	7,6

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Question 5: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Saudi Arabia						
1 = not important at all	-	1	-	-	-	-
2	1	1	-	1	1	1
3	4	8	-	5	3	4
4	6	6	2	5	9	5
5	15	17	6	20	18	14
6	19	24	7	19	28	17
7	23	22	20	24	25	22
8	16	13	27	11	12	17
9	7	3	16	5	3	8
10 = extremely important	8	4	21	9	1	11
don't know / no answer	1	1	1	1	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	6,7	6,1	8,0	6,5	6,1	6,8
China						
1 = not important at all	-	-	-	-	1	-
2	1	-	2	1	-	1
3	1	-	2	-	-	1
4	-	-	-	-	1	-
5	1	-	3	-	1	1
6	3	-	4	3	4	2
7	8	1	11	8	12	7
8	17	5	20	20	21	15
9	21	15	19	26	26	20
10 = extremely important	48	79	39	42	34	53
don't know / no answer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	8,9	9,7	8,5	8,9	8,6	9,0

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Question 5: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Argentina						
1 = not important at all	3	1	5	3	3	3
2	6	-	8	5	11	4
3	10	-	10	13	16	8
4	14	-	14	20	20	11
5	15	1	19	23	18	14
6	13	3	18	14	18	12
7	9	5	12	9	9	9
8	7	8	9	8	4	8
9	6	22	-	2	-	8
10 = extremely important	16	60	1	2	-	21
don't know / no answer	1	-	4	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	5,9	9,2	5,0	5,0	4,5	6,4
Nigeria						
1 = not important at all	2	3	4	-	1	2
2	4	5	3	1	6	3
3	7	7	7	4	12	6
4	12	11	16	6	13	11
5	19	19	21	16	22	19
6	18	17	17	19	21	17
7	17	19	17	19	14	18
8	11	11	9	16	7	12
9	4	4	1	8	3	5
10 = extremely important	4	3	2	11	-	5
don't know / no answer	2	1	3	-	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	5,8	5,7	5,4	6,8	5,2	6,0

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Question 5: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Australia						
1 = not important at all	2	5	-	3	1	3
2	5	11	1	6	3	6
3	9	15	1	10	9	8
4	11	15	3	13	14	10
5	20	22	15	24	18	20
6	17	16	11	17	24	15
7	18	10	29	16	18	18
8	10	4	20	5	9	10
9	5	1	13	2	2	6
10 = extremely important	2	1	5	3	1	3
don't know / no answer	1	-	2	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	5,6	4,6	7,0	5,2	5,6	5,6
Base: w/o Germany	676	280	191	205	-	676
Germany						
1 = not important at all	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	1	-	-	-
4	2	2	3	2	-	2
5	9	6	10	9	-	9
6	11	10	14	9	-	11
7	25	23	26	27	-	25
8	28	25	30	28	-	28
9	10	17	6	8	-	10
10 = extremely important	14	17	8	17	-	14
don't know / no answer	1	-	2	-	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	-	100
Average	7,5	7,8	7,2	7,6	-	7,5

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Question 5: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Base: w/o India	731	280	-	205	246	485
India						
1 = not important at all	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	1	-
3	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	2	2	-	2	1	2
5	6	6	-	5	7	6
6	12	8	-	13	14	11
7	21	16	-	21	27	18
8	31	32	-	28	32	30
9	12	15	-	10	11	12
10 = extremely important	16	21	-	21	7	21
don't know / no answer	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	-	100	100	100
Average	7,7	8,0	-	7,8	7,4	7,9
Base: w/o South Africa	717	280	191	-	246	471
South Africa						
1 = not important at all	1	1	-	-	1	1
2	1	-	1	-	3	-
3	5	4	3	-	7	4
4	10	5	9	-	15	7
5	16	8	18	-	21	14
6	18	13	21	-	19	17
7	22	25	21	-	20	23
8	17	25	16	-	11	20
9	4	9	4	-	1	6
10 = extremely important	5	10	4	-	1	7
don't know / no answer	1	-	3	-	1	1
Total	100	100	100	-	100	100
Average	6,3	7,1	6,3	-	5,6	6,7

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Question 5: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Base: w/o Brazil	642	-	191	205	246	396
Brazil						
1 = not important at all	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	1	-	2	-	2	1
3	4	-	4	4	4	4
4	6	-	6	3	9	5
5	17	-	18	16	17	17
6	18	-	17	15	23	16
7	20	-	20	17	21	19
8	19	-	19	21	18	20
9	7	-	7	9	5	8
10 = extremely important	7	-	4	15	1	9
don't know / no answer	1	-	3	-	-	1
Total	100	-	100	100	100	100
Average	6,6	-	6,5	7,1	6,2	6,8

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Question 5 (Overview of averages): On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not important at all' and 10 means 'extremely important' how important are your country's bilateral relations with the following countries?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
USA	9,2	9,4	9,3	8,4	9,6	9,0
China	8,9	9,7	8,5	8,9	8,6	9,0
India	7,7	8,0	-	7,8	7,4	7,9
France	7,6	7,4	7,5	6,4	9,3	7,1
Germany	7,5	7,8	7,2	7,6	-	7,5
Russia	7,4	7,6	8,3	6,8	6,8	7,6
United Kingdom	7,4	6,9	7,2	7,6	7,7	7,2
Saudi Arabia	6,7	6,1	8,0	6,5	6,1	6,8
Brazil	6,6	-	6,5	7,1	6,2	6,8
South Africa	6,3	7,1	6,3	-	5,6	6,7
Argentina	5,9	9,2	5,0	5,0	4,5	6,4
Nigeria	5,8	5,7	5,4	6,8	5,2	6,0
Australia	5,6	4,6	7,0	5,2	5,6	5,6

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Question 6: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'very bad' and 10 means 'very good', how would you rate the current relationship between your country and the following country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Base: w/o South Africa	717	280	191	-	246	471
South Africa						
1 = very bad	-	-	1	-	-	-
2	1	-	-	-	1	-
3	1	1	1	-	2	1
4	7	1	5	-	16	3
5	15	10	10	-	27	10
6	17	10	16	-	25	13
7	21	19	26	-	17	22
8	17	24	21	-	5	23
9	9	17	8	-	1	13
10 = very good	7	14	6	-	-	10
don't know / no answer	5	4	6	-	6	5
Total	100	100	100	-	100	100
Average	6,7	7,6	7,0	-	5,6	7,3
Base: w/o Brazil	642	-	191	205	246	396
Brazil						
1 = very bad	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	1	-
3	1	-	-	1	2	1
4	4	-	2	-	11	1
5	15	-	13	9	24	11
6	18	-	17	11	25	14
7	26	-	27	27	24	27
8	18	-	21	22	9	22
9	7	-	9	10	1	9
10 = very good	8	-	6	19	-	12
don't know / no answer	3	-	5	1	3	3
Total	100	-	100	100	100	100
Average	6,9	-	7,1	7,6	5,9	7,4

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Question 6: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'very bad' and 10 means 'very good', how would you rate the current relationship between your country and the following country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Base: w/o Germany	676	280	191	205	-	676
Germany						
1 = very bad	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	-	-	-	1	-	-
4	2	-	4	3	-	2
5	11	9	10	13	-	11
6	15	12	14	18	-	15
7	26	23	26	28	-	26
8	25	29	27	20	-	25
9	10	12	11	6	-	10
10 = very good	8	12	5	8	-	8
don't know / no answer	3	3	3	3	-	3
Total	100	100	100	100	-	100
Average	7,3	7,6	7,2	7,0	-	7,3
Base: w/o India	731	280	-	205	246	485
India						
1 = very bad	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	1	-	-	-	2	-
4	3	1	-	2	6	2
5	11	10	-	8	15	9
6	19	15	-	14	30	14
7	26	18	-	30	30	24
8	19	27	-	17	13	22
9	10	14	-	12	3	13
10 = very good	9	12	-	15	-	13
don't know / no answer	2	3	-	2	1	3
Total	100	100	-	100	100	100
Average	7,1	7,5	-	7,5	6,3	7,5

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 6 (Overview of averages): On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'very bad' and 10 means 'very good', how would you rate the current relationship between your country and the following country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Germany	7,3	7,6	7,2	7,0	-	7,3
India	7,1	7,5	-	7,5	6,3	7,5
Brazil	6,9	-	7,1	7,6	5,9	7,4
South Africa	6,7	7,6	7,0	-	5,6	7,3

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 7a: How do you evaluate China's influence in your country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Positive	7	12	-	12	1	8
Somewhat positive	32	66	9	50	5	42
Somewhat negative	33	17	38	26	52	27
Negative	24	1	48	9	38	19
China has no influence	2	1	4	2	1	2
don't know / no answer	2	3	1	1	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	39	78	9	62	6	50
Bottom 2	57	18	85	35	90	46

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 7b: How do you evaluate China's influence globally?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Positive	7	13	4	12	-	10
Somewhat positive	34	63	19	48	6	43
Somewhat negative	34	17	40	27	51	28
Negative	23	5	33	12	41	17
China has no global influence	-	-	-	-	-	-
don't know / no answer	2	2	4	1	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Top 2	41	76	23	60	6	53
Bottom 2	57	22	73	39	92	45

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 8: On the Russia-Ukraine war, should your country ...?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
abstain	16	19	34	10	2	21
support Russia	3	2	6	4	-	4
support Ukraine	33	8	7	27	89	14
mediate	47	71	50	59	9	60
don't know / no answer	1	-	3	-	-	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 9: Which three of the following financial institutions best serves the economic interests of your country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
World Bank Group	59	42	72	51	70	55
New Development Bank (BRICS Bank)	44	83	31	62	2	59
Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)	30	17	18	20	67	18
European Investment Bank (EIB)	26	2	6	13	84	7
Sovereign Wealth Funds	20	15	38	13	15	22
Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)	19	75	1	0	1	25
Asian Development Bank (ADB)	18	1	61	4	5	22
African Development Bank (ADF)	17	2	2	63	2	22
Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)	9	6	28	2	1	12
China Development Bank (CDB)	7	10	1	17	0	9
Charities Aid Foundation Bank (CAF)	2	6	2	0	0	3
none of those institutions	2	2	1	2	2	2
don't know / no answer	7	4	7	9	10	7
Total	262	265	268	257	259	263

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 10: Thinking about your country's economic development, which of the following approaches to trade would you like to see in the future for your country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Support of WTO and multilateral trade agreements	39	43	25	29	59	32
Diversification of trade partners through bilateral trade agreements	55	49	70	62	39	61
Protectionist measures	4	7	2	7	-	5
don't know / no answer	2	1	3	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 11: Do you think the dominance of the US dollar in international trade and finance is ...?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Somewhat favorable	33	10	38	25	59	24
Somewhat unfavorable	52	81	50	63	16	65
Has no impact on my country	6	4	5	5	9	5
don't know / no answer	9	5	7	7	16	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 12: What should governments do to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals? Please choose three priorities.

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Enable Technology Transfer	60	69	64	53	52	62
Increase Private Sector Participation throughout Innovative financing models	59	36	70	70	59	59
Support Global Public Investment based on universal and equitable contributions, benefits and participation in decision-making processes	55	65	47	55	53	56
Focus on domestic resource mobilizations	42	28	48	60	33	45
Increase Multilateral Development Banks' lending capacity	29	40	31	19	28	30
Meeting the UN target of 0,7% of Official Development Assistance to Gross National Income	29	45	18	22	29	28
don't know / no answer	3	1	4	1	6	2
Total	276	284	282	280	260	282

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 13: What is the best description for the current distribution of power in the world?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
USA-dominated	19	10	17	20	28	16
Chinese dominated	-	-	2	-	-	-
Somewhat distributed between USA and China	40	45	36	41	39	40
Somewhat distributed between USA, China and Russia	17	19	23	18	9	20
Somewhat distributed between many different powers	23	26	21	21	22	23
don't know / no answer	1	-	1	-	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 14: With growing US-China rivalry how should your country position itself?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Somewhat on the American side	39	5	59	12	80	25
Somewhat on the Chinese side	6	13	1	9	-	8
Neutral / Non-aligned	54	82	38	79	19	66
don't know / no answer	1	-	2	-	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 15: With regard to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), your country should ...?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Push for membership with vetoes	33	31	52	31	16	38
Push for membership without vetoes	24	27	16	27	27	23
Push for the UNSC to be replaced	34	35	23	33	44	30
Support the status quo of the UNSC structure	3	2	3	3	5	3
don't know / no answer	6	5	6	6	8	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 16: Do you think the BRICS expansion is a good thing or a bad thing for your country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
A good thing	50	57	67	62	15	62
A bad thing	33	36	17	27	52	27
Has no impact on my country	11	4	9	9	23	7
don't know / no answer	6	3	7	2	10	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 17: From your point of view, which of the following international institutions or groupings will be best equipped to deal with global challenges 10 years from now?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
G20	37	33	54	26	34	38
United Nations	17	17	11	25	16	18
BRICS+	15	28	10	23	2	20
G7	9	6	6	4	19	5
none of those	18	12	14	17	28	14
don't know / no answer	4	4	5	5	1	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 18: Thinking about changing the international order, are you in favour of or oppose the following actions?

		Country				
	Total	Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Reform of quotas and governance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF)						
I am in favour	84	91	88	88	68	89
I oppose	4	2	4	4	6	3
don't know / no answer	12	7	8	8	26	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
More seats at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC)						
I am in favour	88	93	90	89	78	91
I oppose	8	4	6	10	13	6
don't know / no answer	4	3	4	1	9	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Further BRICS expansion						
I am in favour	44	52	57	50	19	53
I oppose	40	38	27	36	56	34
don't know / no answer	16	10	16	14	25	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 18: Thinking about changing the international order, are you in favour of or oppose the following actions?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Further G20 expansion						
I am in favour	57	56	63	60	50	60
I oppose	32	32	28	28	39	29
don't know / no answer	11	12	9	12	11	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Creation of new World Bank Group funds with their own governance structure specifically for Global Public Goods						
I am in favour	71	77	74	67	67	73
I oppose	13	9	15	13	14	12
don't know / no answer	16	14	11	20	19	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Debt restructuring						
I am in favour	81	88	80	88	67	85
I oppose	9	3	8	7	19	6
don't know / no answer	10	9	12	5	14	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 18 (Overview of in favour): Thinking about changing the international order, are you in favour of or oppose the following actions?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
More seats at the United Nations Security Council (UNSC)	88	93	90	89	78	91
Reform of quotas and governance of the International Monetary Fund (IMF)	84	91	88	88	68	89
Debt restructuring	81	88	80	88	67	85
Creation of new World Bank Group funds with their own governance structure specifically for Global Public Goods	71	77	74	67	67	73
Further G20 expansion	57	56	63	60	50	60
Further BRICS expansion	44	52	57	50	19	53

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 19: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not relevant at all' and 10 means 'extremely relevant', how relevant are the following international institutions and groupings from your point of view for your country?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
WTO						
1 = not relevant at all	-	-	1	1	-	1
2	-	1	1	-	-	1
3	1	-	3	-	-	1
4	2	1	3	3	1	2
5	6	5	7	9	2	7
6	9	8	7	12	8	9
7	23	20	19	27	26	22
8	26	29	27	18	29	25
9	15	13	14	12	22	13
10 = extremely relevant	17	23	16	18	11	18
don't know / no answer	1	-	2	-	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	7,7	7,9	7,5	7,5	7,9	7,7
United Nations						
1 = not relevant at all	1	-	1	-	1	1
2	1	-	2	-	-	1
3	2	-	4	2	2	2
4	2	-	5	2	2	3
5	7	4	9	8	5	7
6	9	4	15	10	9	9
7	14	10	16	17	15	14
8	20	17	19	19	27	18
9	15	21	11	13	17	15
10 = extremely relevant	28	44	17	29	21	30
don't know / no answer	1	-	1	-	1	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	7,9	8,7	7,1	7,9	7,8	7,9

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 19: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not relevant at all' and 10 means 'extremely relevant', how relevant are the following international institutions and groupings from your point of view for your country?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
G7						
1 = not relevant at all	1	1	2	3	-	2
2	1	1	1	3	-	2
3	2	3	2	2	-	2
4	5	5	6	8	2	6
5	8	13	8	11	1	11
6	11	11	11	19	3	14
7	17	20	23	16	8	20
8	23	25	19	23	24	22
9	14	11	13	4	28	9
10 = extremely relevant	16	9	12	10	32	10
don't know / no answer	2	1	3	1	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	7,3	7,0	7,1	6,6	8,7	6,9
G20						
1 = not relevant at all	-	-	-	1	-	-
2	-	-	1	1	-	-
3	1	1	-	1	1	1
4	1	-	2	1	-	1
5	4	2	2	9	5	4
6	5	2	6	6	5	5
7	16	11	13	22	18	16
8	25	25	23	26	27	25
9	20	25	17	12	25	18
10 = extremely relevant	27	33	35	21	18	30
don't know / no answer	1	1	1	-	1	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	8,3	8,7	8,5	7,7	8,2	8,3

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 19: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not relevant at all' and 10 means 'extremely relevant', how relevant are the following international institutions and groupings from your point of view for your country?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
BRICS+						
1 = not relevant at all	1	1	2	1	3	1
2	1	-	-	-	3	-
3	4	1	3	2	8	2
4	3	-	2	2	8	2
5	8	2	4	7	18	4
6	11	3	14	11	18	9
7	16	10	17	15	21	14
8	17	19	22	14	12	19
9	14	23	13	15	4	17
10 = extremely relevant	24	40	21	33	3	31
don't know / no answer	1	1	2	-	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	7,5	8,6	7,6	8,0	5,9	8,1
IBSA						
1 = not relevant at all	3	4	2	4	5	3
2	3	1	3	3	4	2
3	5	6	3	6	7	5
4	8	6	12	7	7	8
5	11	10	14	12	7	12
6	12	13	14	12	9	13
7	13	20	12	14	5	16
8	11	15	11	14	3	13
9	5	7	5	5	1	6
10 = extremely relevant	7	8	5	13	1	9
don't know / no answer	22	10	19	10	51	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	6,0	6,5	6,0	6,4	4,7	6,3

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 19: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not relevant at all' and 10 means 'extremely relevant', how relevant are the following international institutions and groupings from your point of view for your country?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
European Union						
1 = not relevant at all	1	-	2	1	-	1
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	2	1	4	1	-	2
5	5	3	9	8	-	7
6	9	9	15	14	-	12
7	17	18	22	28	2	22
8	18	29	22	20	3	24
9	13	18	12	11	9	14
10 = extremely relevant	33	20	11	16	84	16
don't know / no answer	1	1	2	-	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	8,1	8,0	7,2	7,4	9,7	7,6
African Union						
1 = not relevant at all	1	2	3	1	1	2
2	2	3	2	1	1	2
3	4	4	3	1	6	3
4	6	6	7	4	7	6
5	12	13	10	7	17	10
6	15	17	12	8	23	12
7	18	22	20	11	19	18
8	17	17	19	16	16	17
9	9	5	11	16	6	10
10 = extremely relevant	14	10	9	35	2	18
don't know / no answer	2	1	4	-	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	6,9	6,5	6,7	8,1	6,2	7,1

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 19: On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not relevant at all' and 10 means 'extremely relevant', how relevant are the following international institutions and groupings from your point of view for your country?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
MERCOSUR						
1 = not relevant at all	3	1	4	6	1	4
2	4	-	6	8	2	5
3	5	-	7	10	5	6
4	9	1	10	12	13	7
5	13	3	16	17	14	12
6	12	4	11	12	21	9
7	15	6	18	13	22	12
8	8	13	6	4	10	7
9	8	23	4	2	4	10
10 = extremely relevant	13	49	1	2	1	17
don't know / no answer	10	-	17	14	7	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	6,4	8,9	5,3	4,9	5,9	6,5
ASEAN						
1 = not relevant at all	2	1	-	5	-	2
2	3	4	-	5	2	3
3	5	7	1	9	3	6
4	6	6	4	9	5	6
5	12	15	7	15	12	12
6	14	18	11	13	15	14
7	22	20	18	18	33	19
8	17	15	25	10	20	16
9	9	5	17	6	6	10
10 = extremely relevant	7	5	14	7	2	9
don't know / no answer	3	4	3	3	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	6,5	6,2	7,5	5,8	6,6	6,5

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 19 (Overview of averages): On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1 means 'not relevant at all' and 10 means 'extremely relevant', how relevant are the following international institutions and groupings from your point of view for your country?

	Total	Country				
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	Brazil / India / South Africa
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
G20	8,3	8,7	8,5	7,7	8,2	8,3
European Union	8,1	8,0	7,2	7,4	9,7	7,6
United Nations	7,9	8,7	7,1	7,9	7,8	7,9
WTO	7,7	7,9	7,5	7,5	7,9	7,7
BRICS+	7,5	8,6	7,6	8,0	5,9	8,1
G7	7,3	7,0	7,1	6,6	8,7	6,9
African Union	6,9	6,5	6,7	8,1	6,2	7,1
ASEAN	6,5	6,2	7,5	5,8	6,6	6,5
MERCOSUR	6,4	8,9	5,3	4,9	5,9	6,5
IBSA	6,0	6,5	6,0	6,4	4,7	6,3

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 20: [Brazil / India / South Africa:] What should Germany do, to improve its relations with low- and middle-income countries? [Germany:] What could Germany do, to improve its relations with low- and middle-income countries?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Increase Economic & Development Cooperation						
Yes	95	99	94	97	93	96
No	3	1	3	1	5	2
don't know / no answer	2	-	3	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Offer military assistance						
Yes	24	11	27	21	38	20
No	69	83	64	72	58	73
don't know / no answer	7	6	9	7	4	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Offer trade concessions						
Yes	85	83	78	90	91	83
No	8	9	13	4	5	9
don't know / no answer	7	8	9	6	4	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 20: [Brazil / India / South Africa:] What should Germany do, to improve its relations with low- and middle-income countries? [Germany:] What could Germany do, to improve its relations with low- and middle-income countries?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Loosen development aid conditionality						
Yes	62	73	69	70	34	71
No	31	19	23	25	60	22
don't know / no answer	7	8	8	5	6	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Take the lead in reforming multilateral institutions						
Yes	79	61	86	81	89	76
No	16	32	7	15	8	18
don't know / no answer	5	7	7	4	3	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Enable technology transfers						
Yes	95	99	97	99	86	98
No	3	-	1	-	10	1
don't know / no answer	2	1	2	1	4	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 20: [Brazil / India / South Africa:] What should Germany do, to improve its relations with low- and middle-income countries? [Germany:] What could Germany do, to improve its relations with low- and middle-income countries?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Increase political and financial support to loss and damage and adaptation to climate change						
Yes	90	94	85	92	86	91
No	7	3	10	6	11	6
don't know / no answer	3	3	5	2	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Support open Research and Development						
Yes	96	99	95	99	93	97
No	2	-	2	-	4	1
don't know / no answer	2	1	3	1	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question 20 (Overview of yes): [Brazil / India / South Africa:] What should Germany do, to improve its relations with low- and middle-income countries? [Germany:] What could Germany do, to improve its relations with low- and middle-income countries?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Support open Research and Development	96	99	95	99	93	97
Increase Economic & Development Cooperation	96	99	94	97	93	96
Enable technology transfers	95	99	97	99	86	98
Increase political and financial support to loss and damage and adaptation to climate change	89	94	85	92	86	90
Offer trade concessions	86	83	78	90	91	84
Take the lead in reforming multilateral institutions	79	61	86	81	89	76
Loosen development aid conditionality	62	73	69	70	35	71
Offer military assistance	24	11	27	21	38	20

Emerging Middle Powers

Question S1: Gender

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
male	65	63	67	59	71	62
female	33	36	30	41	26	36
I don't want to answer / Other	2	1	3	-	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question S2: Age

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
18-39	35	35	45	39	21	40
40-54	32	40	19	35	32	32
55+	28	22	30	21	39	24
I don't want to answer	5	3	6	5	8	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	46,0	45,5	44,4	44,1	50,1	44,7

Emerging Middle Powers

Question S3: How many years have you been working on foreign policy/international politics issues?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
up to 15 years	45	47	50	55	26	51
16 years and more	47	49	29	40	70	39
I don't want to answer	8	4	21	5	4	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average	18,8	17,9	15,8	15,2	25,6	16,3

Emerging Middle Powers

Question S4: In which area do you work?

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Think Tank / Academia	40	59	31	40	31	43
Private sector	13	7	30	7	7	15
Government	12	14	5	10	18	10
NGO	9	6	4	16	10	9
Media	8	3	9	12	9	8
Diplomacy	6	3	6	7	9	5
Other	11	8	13	7	15	9
I don't want to answer	1	-	2	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question S5: Please identify your main area of work

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Foreign Policy	28	20	19	29	43	23
Defence and International Security	13	16	9	11	18	12
Economy and Foreign Trade	13	12	15	10	14	12
Development Cooperation	6	11	3	4	5	6
Other	38	40	49	45	18	45
I don't want to answer	2	1	5	1	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Emerging Middle Powers

Question Country: Country of fieldwork

	Total	Country				Brazil / India / South Africa
		Brazil	India	South Africa	Germany	
Base unweighted	922	280	191	205	246	676
Brazil	25	100	-	-	-	33
India	25	-	100	-	-	34
South Africa	25	-	-	100	-	33
Germany	25	-	-	-	100	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100