Pew Research Center

What Can Improve Democracy?

Ideas from people in 24 countries, in their own words

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About Pew Research Center

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How we did this

This Pew Research Center analysis on views of how to improve democracy uses data from nationally representative surveys conducted in 24 countries across North America, Europe, the Middle East, the Asia-Pacific region, sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. All responses are weighted to be representative of the adult population in each country.

For non-U.S. data, this analysis draws on nationally representative surveys of 27,285 adults conducted from Feb. 20 to May 22, 2023. All surveys were conducted over the phone with adults in Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, South Korea, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom. Surveys were conducted face-to-face with adults in Argentina, Brazil, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Israel, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Poland and South Africa. In Australia, we used a mixed-mode probability-based online panel. Read more about international survey methodology.

In the U.S., we surveyed 3,576 adults from March 20 to March 26, 2023. Everyone who took part in this survey is a member of the Center's American Trends Panel (ATP), an online survey panel that is recruited through national, random sampling of residential addresses. This way, nearly all U.S. adults have a chance of selection. The survey is weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, partisan affiliation, education and other categories. Read more about the ATP's methodology.

Researchers examined random samples of English responses, machine-translated non-English responses, and non-English responses translated by a professional translation firm to develop a codebook for the main topics mentioned across the 24 countries. The codebook was iteratively improved via practice coding and calculations of intercoder reliability until a final selection of 17 substantive codes was formally adopted. (For more on the codebook, refer to Appendix C.)

To apply the codebook to the full collection of open-ended responses, a team of Pew Research Center coders and professional translators were trained to code English and non-English responses. Coders in both groups coded random samples and were evaluated for consistency and accuracy. They were asked to independently code responses only after reaching an acceptable threshold for intercoder reliability. (For more on the coding methodology, refer to Appendix A.)

There is some variation in whether and how people responded to our open-ended question. In each country surveyed, some respondents said that they did not understand the question, did not know how to answer or did not want to answer. This share of adults ranged from 4% in Spain to 47% in the U.S.

In some countries, people also tended to mention fewer things that would improve democracy in their country relative to people surveyed elsewhere. For example, across the 24 countries surveyed, a median of 73% mentioned only one topic in our codebook (e.g., politicians). The share in South Korea is much higher, with 92% suggesting only one area of improvement when describing what they think would improve democracy. In comparison, about a quarter or more mention two areas of improvement in France, Spain, Sweden and the U.S.

These differences help explain why the *share* giving a particular answer in certain publics may appear much lower than others, even if it is the top-*ranked* suggestion for improving democracy. To give a specific example, 10% of respondents in Poland mention politicians, while 18% do so in South Africa – yet the topic is ranked second in Poland and third in South Africa. Given this discrepancy, researchers have chosen to highlight not only the share of the public that mentions a given topic but also its relative ranking among all topics coded, both in text and in graphics.

Here is the question used for this report, along with coded responses for each country, and the survey methodology.

Open-ended responses highlighted in the text of this report were chosen to represent the key themes researchers identified. They have been edited for clarity and, in some cases, translated into English by a professional firm. Some responses have also been shortened for brevity.

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Ideas from people in 24 countries, in their own words

Pew Research Center surveys have long found that people in many countries are dissatisfied with their democracy and want major changes to their political systems – and this year is no exception. But high and growing rates of discontent certainly raise the question: What do people think could *fix* things?

We set out to answer this by asking more than 30,000 respondents in 24 countries an open-ended question: **"What do you think would help improve the way democracy in your country is working?"** While the second- and third-most mentioned priorities vary greatly, across most countries surveyed, there is one clear top answer: Democracy can be improved with better or different politicians.

People want **politicians** who are more responsive to their needs and who are more competent and honest, among other factors. People also focus on questions of descriptive representation – the importance of having politicians with certain characteristics such as a specific race, religion or gender.

Respondents also think **citizens** can improve their own democracy. Across most of the 24 countries surveyed, issues of public participation and of different behavior from the people themselves are a top-five priority.

Other topics that come up regularly include:

- **Economic reform**, especially reforms that will enhance job creation.

People in most countries surveyed suggest changes to politicians will improve democracy

Most frequently mentioned topic when people describe what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country
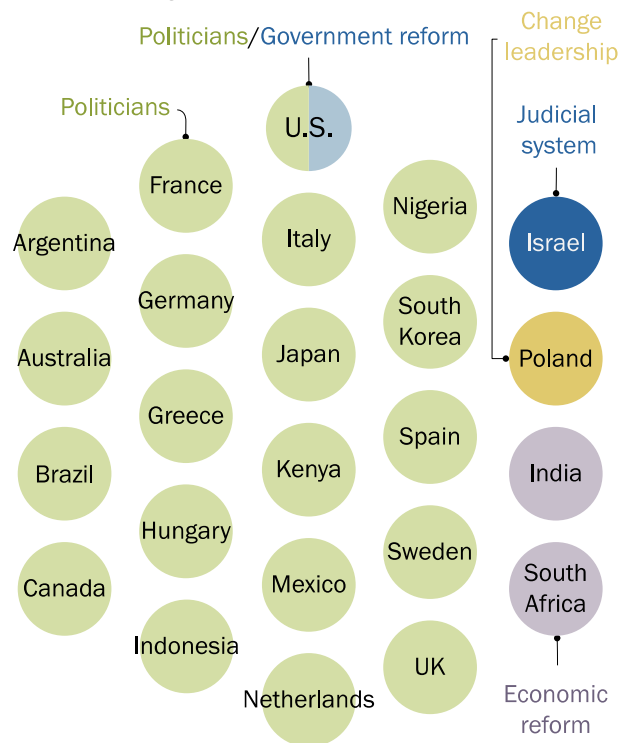
Note: Open-ended question. Responses were coded into 17 substantive topics. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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- **Government reform**, including implementing term limits, adjusting the balance of power between institutions and other factors.

We explore these topics and the others we coded in the following chapters:

- Politicians, changing leadership and political parties (Chapter 1)
- Government reform, special interests and the media (Chapter 2)
- Economic and policy changes (Chapter 3)
- Citizen behavior and individual rights and equality (Chapter 4)
- Electoral reform and direct democracy (Chapter 5)
- Rule of law, safety and the judicial system (Chapter 6)

You can also read people's answers in their own words in our interactive data essay and quote sorter: "How People in 24 Countries Think Democracy Can Improve." Many responses in the quote sorter and throughout this report appear in translation; for selected quotes in their original language, visit this spreadsheet.

The survey was conducted from Feb. 20 to May 22, 2023, in 24 countries and 36 different languages. Below, we highlight some key themes, drawn from the open-ended responses and the 17 rigorously coded substantive topics.

Better politicians are the top fix for democracy in nearly every country surveyed

Most frequently mentioned topics when people describe what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country

	Most mentioned	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Argentina	Politicians	Economic reform	Policies & legislation	Safety	Citizens / Special interests
Australia	Politicians	Government reform	Special interests	Electoral reform	Policies & legislation
Brazil	Politicians	Economic reform / Policies & legislation		Citizens	Government reform
Canada	Politicians	Electoral reform	Government reform	Citizens / Policies & legislation	
France	Politicians	Direct democracy	Government reform	Citizens	Policies & legislation
Germany	Politicians	Direct democracy	Citizens / No changes / Policies & legislation		
Greece	Politicians	Government reform	Rule of Law	Citizens / Direct democracy	
Hungary	Politicians	No changes	Change leadership / Economic reform / Individual rights		
India	Economic reform	Policies & legislation	Politicians	Government reform	Citizens
Indonesia	Politicians	Economic reform	Citizens	Government reform / Special interests	
Israel	Judicial system	Citizens	Government reform	Individual rights / Politicians	
Italy	Politicians	Citizens / Individual rights		Government reform	Policies & legislation / Special interests
Japan	Politicians	Citizens / Government reform		Electoral reform	No changes / Policies & legislation
Kenya	Politicians	Economic reform	Citizens	Rule of Law	Government reform / Special interests
Mexico	Politicians	Special interests	Citizens	Policies & legislation	Economic reform
Netherlands	Politicians	Parties	Government reform	Electoral reform	Citizens / Direct democracy
Nigeria	Politicians	Electoral reform / Policies & legislation		Economic reform	Citizens
Poland	Change leadership	Politicians	Policies and legislation / Rule of law		Citizens / Individual rights / No changes / Government reform
South Africa	Economic reform	Policies & legislation	Politicians	Special interests	Change leadership
South Korea	Politicians	Government reform	Citizens	No change / Parties	
Spain	Politicians	Government reform	Citizens	Parties / Special interests	
Sweden	Politicians	Citizens	Government reform	Parties	Policies & legislation
UK	Politicians	Electoral reform	Citizens / Government reform		Economic reform / Special interest
U.S.	Government reform / Politicians		Special interests	Electoral reform	Parties

Note: Open-ended question. Responses were coded into 17 substantive topics; those separated by a slash are tied in rank. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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How politicians can improve

In almost every country surveyed, changes to politicians are the most commonly mentioned way to improve democracy. People broadly call for three types of improvements: better **representation**, increased **competence** and a higher level of **responsiveness**. They also call for politicians to be less corrupt or less influenced by special interests.

Representation

First, people want to see politicians from different groups in society – though *which* groups people want represented run the gamut. In Japan, for example, one woman said democracy would improve if there were "more diversity and more women parliamentarians." In Kenya, having leaders "from all tribes" is seen as a way to make democracy work better. People also call for younger voices and politicians from "poor backgrounds," among other groups. The opposing views of two American respondents, though, highlight why satisfying *everyone* is difficult:

Representation

"Bringing in more diverse voices, rather than mostly wealthy White men."

– Woman, 30, Australia

Competence

"Our politicians should have an education corresponding to their subject or field."

– Woman, 72, Germany

Responsiveness

"Make democracy promote more of the people's voice. The people's voice is the great strength for leadership."

– Man, 27, Indonesia

- "Most politicians in office right now are rich, Christian and old. Their overwhelmingly Christian views lead to laws and decisions that not only limit personal freedoms like abortion and gay marriage, but also discriminate against minority religions and their practices." – Man, 23, U.S.
- "We need to stop worrying about putting people in positions because of their race, ethnicity or gender. What happened to being put in a position because they are the best person for that position?" – Man, 64, U.S.

Competence

Second, people want higher-caliber politicians. This includes a desire to see more technical expertise and traits such as morality, honesty, a "stronger backbone" or "more common sense."

Sometimes, people simply want politicians with "no criminal records" – something mentioned explicitly by a South Korean man and echoed by respondents in the United States, India and Israel, among other places.

Responsiveness

Third, people want their politicians to hear them and respond to their needs and wishes, and for politicians to keep their promises. One man in the United Kingdom said, "If leaders would listen more to the local communities and do their jobs as members of Parliament, that would really help democracy in this country. It seems like once they're elected, they just play lip service to the role."

Special interests and corruption

Concerns about special interests and corruption are common in certain countries, including Mexico, the U.S. and Australia. One Mexican woman said, "Politicians should listen more to the Mexican people, not buy people off using money or groceries." Others complained about politicians "pillaging" the country and enriching themselves by keeping tax money.

Calls for systemic reform

For some, the political system itself needs to change in order for democracy to work better. Changing the **governmental structure** is one of the top five topics coded in most countries surveyed – and it's tied for the most mentioned issue in the U.S., along with politicians. These reforms include adjusting the balance of power between institutions, implementing term limits, and more.

Some also see the need to **reform the electoral system** in their country; others want more **direct democracy** through referenda or public forums. **Judicial system reform** is a priority for some, especially in Israel. (In Israel, the survey was conducted amid large-scale protests against a proposed law that would limit the power of the Supreme Court, but prior to the Oct. 7 Hamas attack and the court's rejection of the law in January.)

Government reform

The U.S. stands out as the only country surveyed where reforming the government is the top concern (tied with politicians). Americans mention very specific proposals such as giving the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico statehood, increasing the size of the House of the Representatives to allow one representative per 100,000 people, requiring a supermajority for all spending bills, eliminating the filibuster, and more.

Term limits for elected officials are a particularly popular reform in the U.S. Americans call for them to prevent "career politicians," as in the case of one woman who said, "I think we need to limit the number of years politicians can serve. No one should be able to serve as a politician for 40+ years like Joe Biden. I don't have anything against him. I just think that we need limits. We have too many people who have served for too long and have little or nothing to show for it." Term limits for Supreme Court justices are also top of mind for many Americans when it comes to judicial system reform.

Electoral reform

The electoral system is among the top targets for change in some countries. In Canada, Nigeria and the UK, **changing how elections work** is the second-most mentioned topic of the 17 substantive codes – and it falls in the top five in Australia, Japan, the Netherlands and the U.S.

Suggested changes vary across countries and include switching from first-past-the-post to a proportional voting system, having a fixed date for elections, lowering the voting age, returning to hand-counted paper ballots, voting directly for candidates rather than parties, and more.

"There are many parts of the UK where it's obvious who will get elected. My vote doesn't count where I live because the Conservative Party wins every time. Effectively it means that the majority is not represented by the government. With proportional representation, everybody's vote would count."

– Man, 62, UK

Direct democracy

Calls for direct democracy are prevalent in several European countries – even ranking second in France and Germany. One French woman said, "There should be more referenda, they should ask the opinion of the people more, and it should be respected."

In the broadest sense, people want a "direct voting system" or for "people to have the vote, not middlemen elected officials." More narrowly, they also mention specific topics they would like referenda for, including rejoining the European Union in the UK; "abortion, retirement and euthanasia" in France; "all legislation which harms the justice system" in Israel; asylum policy, nitrogen policy and local affairs in the Netherlands; "when and where the country goes to war" in Australia; "gay marriage, marijuana legalization and bail reform" in the U.S.; "nuclear power, sexuality, NATO and the EU" in Sweden; and who should be prime minister in Japan. (The survey was conducted prior to Sweden joining NATO in March 2024.)

The judicial system

Of the systemic reforms suggested, few bring up changes to the judicial system in most countries. Only in Israel, where the topic ranked first at the time of the survey, does judicial system reform appear in the top 10 coded issues. Israelis approach this issue from vastly different perspectives. For instance, some want to curtail the Supreme Court's influence over government decisions, while others want to preserve its independence, as in these two examples:

- "Finish the legislation that will limit the enormous and generally unreasonable power of the Supreme Court in Israel!" – Man, 64, Israel
- "Do everything to keep the last word of the High Court on any social and moral issue." – Man, 31, Israel

Is the grass always greener?

Notably, some respondents propose the exact reform that those in another country would like to do away with.

For example, while some people in countries *without* mandatory voting think it could be useful to implement, there are respondents in Australia – where voting is compulsory – who want it to end. People without mandatory voting see it as a way to force everyone to have a say: "We have to get everyone out to vote. Everyone complains. Voting should be mandatory. Everyone has to vote and have a say," said a Canadian woman. But the flip side one Australian expressed was, "Eliminate compulsory voting. The votes of people who do not care about a result voids the vote of somebody who does."

The ideal number of parties in government is another topic that brings about opposing suggestions. In the Netherlands, which has a relatively large number of parties, altering the party system is the second-most mentioned way to improve democracy. Dutch respondents differed on the maximum number of parties they want to see ("a three-party system," "four or five parties at most," "a maximum of seven parties," etc.) but the tenor is broadly similar: Too many parties is leading to fragmentation, polarization and division. Elsewhere, however, some squarely attribute polarization to a system with too *few* parties. In the U.S., a man noted, "The most egregious problem is that a two-party system cannot ever hope to be representative of its people as the will of any group cannot be captured in a binary system: The result will be increased polarization between the Democratic and Republican parties."

Even in countries with more than two parties, like Canada and the UK, there can be a sense that only two are viable. A Canadian man said, "We need to have a free election with more than two parties."

People in some countries seek systemic changes which are already present in other countries – but sometimes disliked there

Select answers to a question about what would help improve the way democracy is working in the respondent's country

"Make **voting mandatory**."
– Man, 67, France

"**Abandon compulsory voting** — too many ignorant, uninterested people only vote because they have to."
– Man, 70, Australia

"There is too much pressure on having two big parties compete against each other. It should be open to **more parties**. We need to have more socioeconomic variability, which is a variety in the types of people in Parliament."
– Man, 23, Spain

"**Fewer parties**, less fragmenation and more concrete debate."
– Woman, 66, Netherlands

"Do away with first-past-the-post. Introduce a recall mechanism for prime minister. **Proportional representation**."
– Woman, 45, Canada

"Changes to the electoral system. **Abolition of the proportional representation system.**"
– Man, 45, Japan

"Get money ouf of elections. Abolish the Electoral College. **Add more representatives** so that each distrct better represents its constituents. Add rank-order voting. Dump the two-party nonsense."
– Woman, 75, U.S.

"The number of politicians in South Korea's National Assembly **should be reduced**."
– Man, 59, South Korea

"There should be **longer terms** of government to promote longer-term vision."
– Woman, 50, Australia

"I believe **term limits** on senators and representatives in government would greatly improve our process of democracy. Career politicians must end."
– Man, 54, U.S.

"**Electronic voting** should be adopted."
– Woman, 35, Nigeria

"The use of electronic voting machines should be stopped, and **paper ballots** should be brought back so that transparent democracy will be seen."
– Man, 53, India

Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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For many respondents, fixing democracy begins with the people

Citizens – both their quality and their participation in politics – come up regularly as an area that requires improvement for democracy to work better. In most countries, the issue is in the top five. And in Israel, Sweden, Italy and Japan, citizens are the second-most mentioned topic of the 17 coded. (In this analysis, "citizens" refers to all inhabitants of each country, not just the legal residents.)

In general, respondents see three ways citizens can improve: being more informed, participating more and generally being better people.

Being more informed

"More awareness and more information. We have highly separated classes. There are generations who have never read a newspaper. One cannot be fully democratic if one is not aware."

– Man, 86, Italy

Participating more

"Each and every one of us must go to the polls and make our own decisions."

– Woman, 76, Japan

Being better people

"People should walk around rationally, respecting each other, dialoguing and respecting people's cultures."

– Woman, 29, Brazil

Being more informed

First, citizens being more informed is seen as crucial. Respondents argue that informed citizens are able to vote more responsibly and avoid being misled by surface-level political quips or misinformation.

In the Netherlands, for example, where the survey predated the electoral success of Geert Wilders' right-wing populist Party for Freedom (PVV), one woman noted that citizens need "education, and openness, maybe. There are a lot of people who vote Geert Wilders because of his one-liners, and they don't think beyond those. They haven't learned to think beyond what's right in front of them." *(For more information on how we classify populist parties, refer to Appendix E.)*

Participating more

Second, some respondents want people in their country to be more involved in politics – whether that be turning out to vote, protesting at key moments or just caring more about politics or other

issues. They hold the notion that if people participate, they will be less apathetic and less likely to complain, and their voices will be represented more fully. One woman in Sweden noted, "I would like to see more involvement from different groups of people: younger people, people with different backgrounds, people from minority groups."

Being better people

Third, the character of citizens comes up regularly – respondents' requests for their countrymen range from "care more about others" to "love God and neighbor completely" to asking that they be "better critical thinkers," among myriad other things. Still, some calls for improved citizen behavior contradict each other, as in the case of two Australian women who differ over how citizens should think about assimilation:

- "We need to be more caring and thoughtful about people who come to the country. We need to be more tolerant and absorb them in our community." – Woman, 75, Australia
- "We need to stop worrying that we are going to offend other nationalities and their traditions. We should be able to say 'Merry Christmas' instead of 'happy holidays,' and Christmas celebrations should be held in schools without worrying about offending others in our so-called 'democratic society.'" – Woman, 70, Australia

It's difficult to please everyone

One challenge is that people in the same country may offer the exact opposite solutions. For example, in the UK, some people want politicians to make more money; others, less. In the U.S., while changes to the electoral system rank as one of the public's top solutions for fixing democracy, some want to make it significantly easier to vote by methods like automatically registering citizens or making it easier to vote by mail. Others want to end these practices or even eliminate touch-screen voting machines.

Conflicting calls for change in the same country

Select answers to a question about what would help improve the way democracy is working in the respondent's country

Pay for members of Parliament in the UK	"We should pay them more money but only allow them to have one job." – Man, 45, UK
	"Members of Parliament should get paid less and pay more attention to the job at hand." – Woman, 57, UK
Voting in the U.S.	"Make it easier to vote – like with automatic registration, mail-in voting and making Election Day a holiday." – Man, 28, U.S.
	"Go back to paper ballots and eliminate touch-screen voting machines. Stop mail-in voting. Stop 'ballot harvesting.' Stop same-day voting registration. Have an independent panel 'fact check' statements made in the text of ballot initiatives to reveal lies and misrepresentations." – Man, 63, U.S.
Religiosity of leaders in Nigeria	"We need repentant and religious leaders." – Man, 33, Nigeria
	"Religion should be separated from politics." – Man, 23, Nigeria
Taxes in Japan	"Taxes will have to increase, but I want how it's done to improve." – Man, 45, Japan
	"Reduction of consumption tax." – Man, 47, Japan
Treatment of Arabs in Israel	"Give Arabs civil rights like the rights of the Jewish community." – Man, 59, Israel
	"Arabs must be expelled." – Woman, Israel, 33
Protests in France	"Everyone should stay put, it is useless to criticize the laws. It's not by taking to the streets that anything will change and especially not by destroying things." – Woman, 44, France
	"We should do more to take into account the movements of the street. There is a lack of respect for the opinion of the population, a lack of listening to the people." – Woman, 78, France
Immigration in Spain	"That everyone can work, even if they don't have papers. That if a Spaniard doesn't want to work, the job can be given to whoever wants it. That it does noat take so long for immigrants to get their paperwork." – Man, 75, Spain
	"Pedro Sánchez is ruining our country. Instead of supporting Spaniards, we are helping people who come from abroad, who do not contribute to our pension system. All of us Spaniards who are working are realizing we are supporting foreigners who do not work." – Man, 18, Spain

Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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Economic reform and basic needs

People in several countries, mostly in the middle-income nations surveyed (Argentina, Brazil, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria and South Africa) stand out for the emphasis they place on economic reform as a means to improve democracy. In India and South Africa, for example, the issue ranks first among the 17 substantive topics coded; in Argentina, Brazil, Indonesia and Kenya, it ranks second. These calls include a focus on creating **jobs**, curbing **inflation**, changing **government spending priorities** and more.

Sometimes, people draw a causal link between the economy and democracy, suggesting that improvements to the former would help the latter. For example, one woman in Indonesia said, "Improve the economic conditions to ensure democracy goes well." People also insinuated that having basic needs met is a precursor to their democracy functioning. One South African man noted that democracy in his country would work better if the government "created more employment for the youth, fixed the roads and gave us water. They must also fix the electricity problem." A man in India said, "There's a need for development in democracy."

> *"When education, roads, hospitals and adequate water are made available, then I can say democracy will improve."*
>
> *– Man, 30, Nigeria*

Indeed, specific policies and legislation – particularly **improvements to infrastructure** like roads, hospitals, water, electricity and schools – are the second-most mentioned topic in Brazil, India, Nigeria and South Africa. Some respondents offer laundry lists of policies that need attention, such as one Brazilian woman who called for "improving health care, controlling drug use, more security for the population, and improving the situation of people on the streets."

Priority differences in high- and middle-income countries

Beyond **economic reform**, other changes to living conditions also receive more emphasis in some middle-income countries surveyed:

- In South Africa and Nigeria, both middle-income countries, mentions of economic reform tend to reference **jobs**. In other, high-income countries, calls for economic change generally refer to other economic issues like inflation and government spending priorities.
- When bringing up the issue of money in politics, respondents in middle-income countries generally cite **corruption** more than those in high-income countries. Those in high-income countries tend to bring up special interests more broadly.

- People in middle-income countries also focus more on issues related to **public safety** – including reducing crime and supporting law enforcement – than those in high-income countries.
- For their part, people in the 16 high-income countries tend to focus more on political party reform, direct democracy, government reform and media surveyed reform than those in the eight middle-income nations.

No changes and no solutions – or at least no democratic ones

People sometimes say there are no changes that can make democracy in their country work better. These responses include broadly positive views of the status quo such as, "I am very happy to live in a country with democracy." An Indian man responded simply, "Everything is going well in India." Some respondents even compare their system favorably to others, as one Australian man said: "I think it currently works pretty well, far better than, say, the U.S. or UK, Poland or Israel."

"Democracy is fine because you have the freedom to express yourself without being persecuted, especially in politics."

– Man, 26, Argentina

But some are more pessimistic. They have the sense that "no matter what I do, nothing will change." A Brazilian man said, "It is difficult to make it better. Brazil is too complicated."

"Our current system is broken and I'm not sure what, if anything, can fix it at this point."

– Woman, 41, U.S.

And some see no better options. In Hungary – where "no changes" was the second-most cited topic of the 17 coded – one man referenced Winston Churchill's quote about democracy, saying, "Democracy is the worst form of government, not counting all the others that man has tried from time to time."

No answer

In many countries, a sizable share offer no response at all – saying that they do not know or refusing to answer. This includes around a third or more of those in Indonesia, Japan and the U.S. In most countries, those who did not answer the question tended to have lower levels of formal education than those who offered a substantive solution. And in some places – including the U.S. – they were also more likely to be women than men.

Few call for ending democracy altogether

Despite considerable discontent with democracy, few people suggest changing to a non-democratic system. Those who *do* call for a new system offer options like a military junta, a theocracy or an autocracy as possible new systems.

Related: Who likes authoritarianism, and how do they want to change their government?

Road map for this research project

One other way to think about what people believe will help improve their democracy is to focus on three themes: basic needs that can be addressed, improvements to the system and complete overhauls of the system. We explore these themes in our interactive data essay and quote sorter: "How People in 24 Countries Think Democracy Can Improve."

You can also explore people's responses in their own words, with the option to filter by country and code by navigating over to the quote sorter.

In the chapters that follow, we discuss 15 of our coded themes in detail. We analyze how people spoke about them, as well as how responses varied across and within countries. We chose to emphasize the relative frequency, or *rank order*, in which people mentioned these different topics. For more about this choice, as well as details about our coding procedure and methodology, refer to Appendix A.

Explore the chapters of this report:

- Politicians, changing leadership and political parties (Chapter 1)
- Government reform, special interests and the media (Chapter 2)
- Economic and policy changes (Chapter 3)
- Citizen behavior and individual rights and equality (Chapter 4)
- Electoral reform and direct democracy (Chapter 5)
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Why this report focuses on topic rank order in addition to percentages

There is some variation in whether and how people responded to our open-ended question. In each country surveyed, some respondents said that they did not understand the question, did not know how to answer or did not want to answer. This share of adults ranged from 4% in Spain to 47% in the U.S.

In some countries, people also tended to mention fewer things that would improve democracy in their country relative to people surveyed elsewhere. For example, across the 24 countries surveyed, a median of 73% mentioned only one topic in our codebook (e.g., politicians). The share in South Korea is much higher, with 92% suggesting only one area of improvement when describing what they think would improve democracy. In comparison, about a quarter or more mention two areas of improvement in France, Spain, Sweden and the U.S.

These differences help explain why the share giving a particular answer in certain publics may appear much lower than others, even if the topic is the top mentioned suggestion for improving democracy. To give a specific example, 10% in Poland mention politicians while 18% say the same in South Africa, but the topic is ranked second in Poland and third in South Africa. **Given this, researchers have chosen to highlight not only the share of the public who mention a given topic but also its relative ranking among the topics coded, both in the text and in graphics.**

1. Politicians, changing leadership and political parties

In the vast majority of the 24 countries surveyed, **politicians** are the most common subject of proposals to improve democracy. Some call for different types of people to enter the political arena, while others simply want their current politicians to perform better. Many want their leaders to pay closer attention to and respond more appropriately to constituents' needs.

While not top of mind in most places, people sometimes argue for a total **change in leadership**. This includes removing incumbent heads of state and instating a preferred politician. In Poland, where the survey took place before the October election which removed the then-ruling Law and Justice party (PiS), this was the *top* change people thought would improve democracy.

Respondents also look beyond the people in politics to focus on **political parties**. This issue is particularly salient in the Netherlands, where parties are the second-most mentioned topic, though they rank in the top five in South Korea, Spain, Sweden and the U.S. Many requests center on changing the number of political parties – some want more and some want fewer. Others want to see a change in how parties interact, with calls for less fighting and more cooperation. A number of these responses specifically address the behavior or strength of the opposition party.

Politicians

In nearly all countries surveyed, politicians rank first among the 17 topics coded. In countries where politicians are not the top issue, they still rank in the top five.

Suggestions for improving democracy by way of politicians come in many forms.

> *"The members of the legislature are stupid, so I want them to improve."*
>
> *– Woman, 20, Japan*

Some would like to see different people in politics, or more **representation**. Others focus on the qualities of politicians, such as honesty or empathy, but also their skillset and general **competence**. Still others ask that politicians change their behavior, both when working with each other and when working with constituents, emphasizing **responsiveness**.

Politicians are the top area for improvement in most countries surveyed

*% who mention **politicians** when describing what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country*
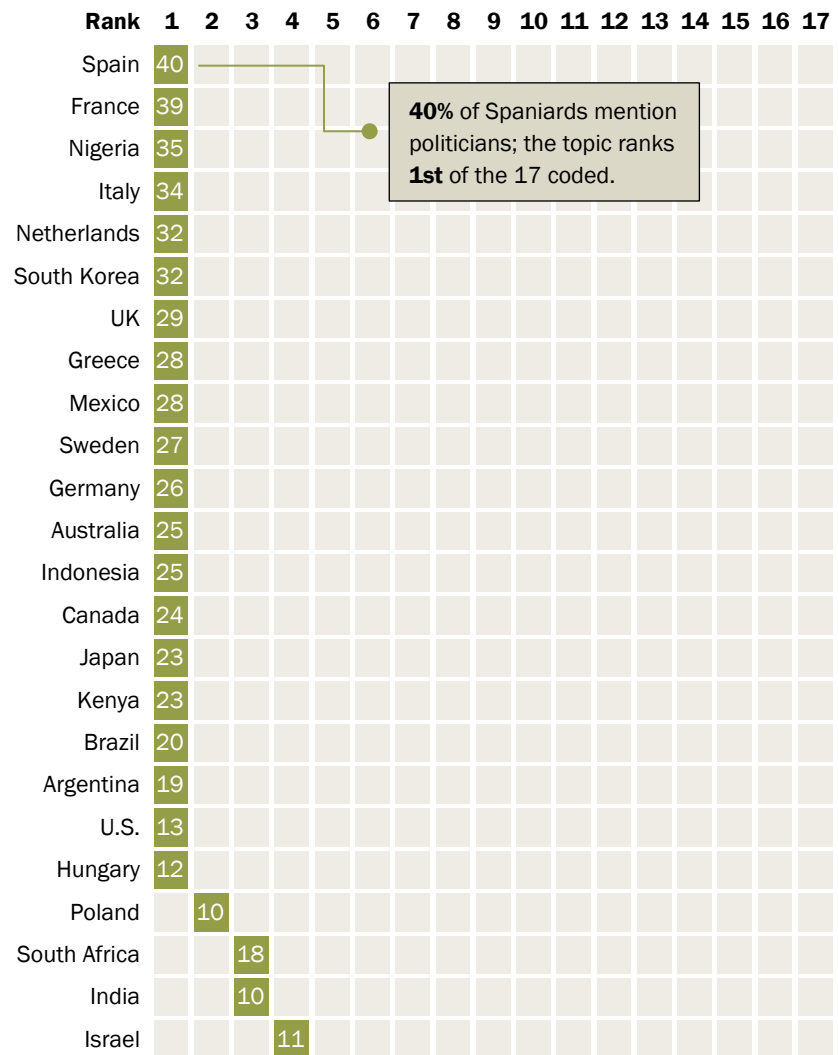
	Rank 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Spain	40																
France	39																
Nigeria	35																
Italy	34																
Netherlands	32																
South Korea	32																
UK	29																
Greece	28																
Mexico	28																
Sweden	27																
Germany	26																
Australia	25																
Indonesia	25																
Canada	24																
Japan	23																
Kenya	23																
Brazil	20																
Argentina	19																
U.S.	13																
Hungary	12																
Poland		10															
South Africa			18														
India			10														
Israel				11													

40% of Spaniards mention politicians; the topic ranks **1st** of the 17 coded.

Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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Representation: Changing who is in politics

One group of suggestions involves changing the **types of people involved in politics**. For some, politicians are too dissimilar from their constituents, and "ordinary citizens should be able to enter" the government instead. As one Australian woman explained: "If ordinary people were elected to Parliament instead of big, official people, our country would probably

"If politicians were ordinary people who were on public transport, who used the means and the laws that they later apply."

– Woman, 41, Spain

be a better place to live. Ordinary people know how hard it is to get jobs, live below the poverty line and raise families on the low sums that the Australian government allows Centrelink to pay out each fortnight." Another man in Nigeria put it more plainly: "They should give somebody like me a chance of ruling in Nigeria."

Some people focus specifically on the **wealth of political leaders**, calling for "fewer rich wealthy people" in the government. In Nigeria, one woman said, "They should allow the poor people to rule." A man in Argentina said there should be "more poor people who can reach important positions." And one Canadian man suggested "having more people from the upper-middle class, or people who have to work and

"Wealthy people in government are not helpful in democracy because they don't understand what it's like to work in unionized jobs and not be able to afford necessities."

– Woman, 41, UK

earn their income, know what it's like to pay taxes, and understand how difficult it is to survive in our world."

Others say that "youth should take part in politics." **Younger politicians** are viewed as a conduit for change and new ideas while "old ones don't care anymore." As one woman in South Africa pointed out, the "youth are the ones who are in line with the community issues." Many respondents think younger people should be more involved in politics for their own sake: "Young people must create their own future." A 30-year-old Argentine man said, "Let the young people get involved in politics, as they are the future and will change the country." And respondents sometimes emphasize that younger people need to be prepared before entering politics, as one man in India said: "Youth should take part in politics, and training the leaders is the solution."

More **women entering politics** is another suggestion for improving the functioning of

democracy. One woman in Sweden said, "More women in power, and then I think we will have a good political system." A Japanese man echoed this call, saying one way to improve democracy is "to increase women's participation in politics by making more than half of the members of Parliament women." And a man in Spain said, "Simply, in this country, if instead of men there were more women in power, the country would do so much better."

> *"We want young blood or women to take over as our government."*
>
> *– Man, 34, South Africa*

Still others call for **people of different racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds** to be in politics. One man in South Africa asked for "a better balance of races in Parliament," and a woman in Brazil proposed "racial quotas for politicians." In the Netherlands, one woman suggested more representation of different "cultures, diaspora groups, origins and backgrounds. Because if you look at photos of the cabinet, you see a whole group of White people, which is not objective when you talk about the different cultures and backgrounds in the Netherlands."

Specific backgrounds come up in some responses. In Australia, one man highlighted how "Indigenous people need to have more say in government," and a woman in the U.S. shared a similar sentiment, saying, "As a matter of fact, this is Native land, and us Natives should be in charge, not other races." An Israeli man proposed "more Arab Knesset members so they have more influence on decisions." Kenya sees similar calls for "leaders from all tribes" to be elected, and a man in India requested that members of Parliament "be from all the castes."

Competence: Changing politicians' qualities

Many suggest improving the **overall quality of politicians**. "If the leader is good, there will be improvement," explained one man in India. These calls are often straightforward, as in the case of a Mexican woman whose singular request was for "better politicians." Some suggest basic requirements for holding political office, like one man in Japan who said, "We need politicians who have common sense and can think logically." This sentiment is shared in Kenya, where one respondent suggested that democracy would be improved if "competent leaders" were elected.

> *"Political leaders should be improved."*
>
> *– Man, 61, South Korea*

In some cases, respondents set even higher bars for their politicians, specifically asking that they be "knowledgeable people" or **"experts on key policy issues."** One Hungarian woman explained that "experts would pass responsible laws." For one woman in Spain, the coronavirus pandemic illustrated the importance of having

experts on an issue decide "everything that has to do with that issue. For example, during COVID, the people who decided were a doctor and an expert." Others are more reluctant to have experts govern outright and would just like politicians to listen more to experts or have more advisers.

> *"Politicians need extroversion, knowledge and experience from foreign countries, integrity and a democratic spirit."*
>
> *– Man, 49, Greece*

People also want to see changes in the **personal character** of politicians:

- "It will improve when we get a strong and determined leader who puts the issues and problems of people first." – Man, 36, South Africa
- "More decisiveness from the politicians. I think it's weak now; they don't dare to make decisions and they are like civil servants." – Woman, 66, Netherlands
- "All political people are very bad. All political persons should be honest." – Man, 32, India
- "To have trustworthy and honest authorities who can give an account of what they do and where they do their jobs." – Man, 67, Mexico
- "I think they need to behave less like children, learn what people want and be less self-interested. And learn how to tell the truth. And not avoid answering questions."
  – Woman, 76, UK
- "For politicians to stop going for a win for their party and egos, and instead to focus more on what's best – for the short and long term – for the country." – Man, 65, U.S.

Responsiveness: Changing politicians' behavior

Politicians' conduct is another subject of people's suggestions. They want politicians to take their responsibilities more seriously and show "more interest in the work they are asked to do." In Australia, one woman wanted "fewer 'charismatic' leaders and more serious and committed candidates." Another Australian thought politicians need to have **a greater sense of responsibility** because "saying 'I don't know' or 'it isn't my responsibility' loses the respect of the electorate." One man in the U.S. plainly stated that democracy needs "serious elected officials, not crazy ones like you have now in the GOP."

Others are concerned about making sure politicians "say what they mean and do what they say," especially when it comes to **keeping promises made during campaigns**. One man in France said politicians must "avoid saying things that will never be done, lying just to get elected." In Sweden, a respondent asked for "less fishing for votes with false promises." In several cases, people specifically called for repercussions "if election promises are not carried out." One man in

Australia suggested that politicians "should be forced to stand down" if they do not "honor their promises." The sentiment is shared in Japan, where one man said that "those who have not worked to carry out their campaign promises" should be prevented "from running for the next term."

"The government should listen to the voice of the people, because the voice in the inside is not the voice of the lower level. People's complaints in the lower level are seldom taken."

– Woman, 39, Indonesia

One oft-repeated request is for politicians to **listen more closely to their constituents**. Many feel that democracy "is not working because politicians have their own agenda and are not listening to anybody." In the Netherlands, one man explained that "the ordinary man in the street is not really listened to" and "not much" comes of what they ask for. People instead call for politicians to "pay attention to what facilities the people are not getting" and understand that they are meant to be "pro-people." One Kenyan man said democracy would improve "if elected leaders represented people as the people want and represent the problems they are facing."

People also highlight **specific groups in the country that politicians should pay special attention to**. In Japan, several said politicians need to "hear more women's opinions" and be more attentive to the needs of young people. In other instances, people want politicians to hear "more opinions from poor people." One Israeli respondent emphasized "taking the opinions of Arabs into consideration," and a woman in Brazil stressed the need for politicians to better understand "the homeless people." Other groups that are highlighted include the elderly, LGBTQ people, religious groups and refugees. *(For more on what people said about individual rights and equality, read [Chapter 4](#).)*

Still, some think that politicians need to "place less emphasis on the wants of minority groups." In Australia, some painted these groups as "noisy" or "loud" and said politicians should listen to the "silent majority" instead. Other respondents in both Australia and the U.S. even name specific groups they think are receiving undue attention, such as "Aboriginal people," women and "illegal immigrants."

Changing leadership

Instead of improving the quality of their politicians, some want to **remove the current governing parties or heads of state**. This issue appeared in the top five topics cited in Poland, Hungary and South Africa. In most other countries surveyed, though, it does not rank in the top 10.

In about half the countries surveyed, those who *do not* support the governing party or parties are more likely to mention changing their political leadership than those who *do* support these parties. *(For more information on how we classify governing party supporters, refer to* [Appendix D](#)*.)*

In Hungary, for example, where changing leadership is the third-most mentioned suggestion for improving democracy, 12% of those who *do not* support Viktor Orbán's governing coalition of Fidesz and the Christian Democratic People's Party (KNDP) mention changing leadership, compared with 1% of those who *do* support these parties.

Changing leadership is a high priority in Poland, Hungary and South Africa

*% who mention **changing leadership** when describing what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country*

Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Poland	13																
Hungary			8														
South Africa					8												
Brazil						7											
Argentina							5										
South Korea							3										
Canada								5									
France								5									
Israel								4									
Greece											3						
Kenya											2						
Netherlands											2						
Nigeria											2						
U.S.											2						
India											1						
Japan											1						
Mexico												3					
Indonesia												1					
Spain													3				
Italy													2				
UK														2			
Australia														1			
Germany															1		
Sweden																1	*

> **13%** of Poles mention changing leadership; the topic ranks **1st** of the 17 coded.
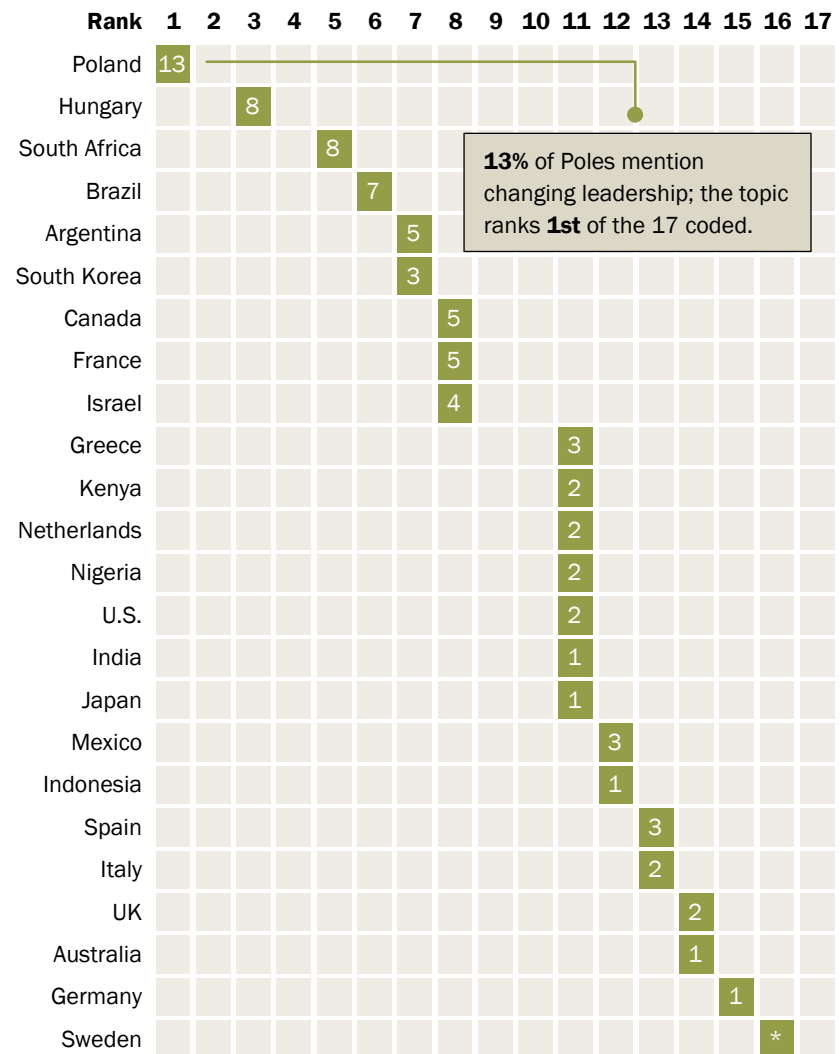
* Less than 1%.
Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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Calls to put someone else in power, particularly in Poland

Across the 24 countries surveyed, Poles particularly stand out for the emphasis they placed on changing leadership – Poland is the only country where the issue ranked first. The survey was conducted in spring 2023, prior to the October 2023 parliamentary elections that ousted the governing right-wing Law and Justice party (PiS).

> *"As long as PiS is in power, there will be no democracy in Poland."*
>
> *– Man, 24, Poland*

Polish responses about how to improve their democracy centered squarely on changing the governing party: "Removing PiS from power," said one Polish man. "PiS should lose the election," echoed a Polish woman.

Poles who *do not* support PiS are more likely to mention changing leadership than those who *do* support PiS (17% vs. 4%, respectively, though PiS supporters were overall less likely to provide a response). Younger Polish adults are also more likely to mention changing leadership than those ages 40 and older. Indeed, in the October election, turnout among the youth was unusually high.

While Poles focused on removing the particular party in power, people in other countries sometimes emphasize the need to **put different people or parties into office**. "The government should be changed. The Congress Party government should come to power," said one man in India. "Raila Odinga should be granted leadership," said a woman in Kenya, naming the leader of the opposition. And a South African man suggested that "the African National Congress give other parties a chance to govern the country, and Cyril Ramaphosa step down as a president."

In other countries, too, calls to change leadership prioritize *removing* someone currently in power as opposed to *installing* someone else. Some respondents name the current head of state as who they would like to see *out* of office. One Brazilian man said, for example, "Get President Lula and his gang out of power." Or, as one woman in Canada put it: "If we could get Justin Trudeau out of leadership, then I would be happier with democracy."

> *"A change of government at the next election would improve democracy. The Conservatives have been in power for too long."*
>
> *– Woman, 53, UK*

Rebuilding leadership from the ground up

Some requests to change leadership are not specific to a person or party, but rather focus on bringing in a **fresh slate of politicians**. "Fire everyone and start fresh," said one woman in the U.S. An Argentine woman echoed this view: "Take out the current politicians, reform and formulate new laws, and start from scratch."

"The legislature has a lot of problems – it needs to be improved, starting with a new election of lawmakers."

– Man, 65, South Korea

Several of these calls to rebuild target the legislature. A man in Greece said "all 300 members should leave the Parliament. The structure of the Parliament should change radically." A woman in Spain suggested, "I would carry out a purge in the useless Senate."

"The established order must be replaced: a new generation with more women and people from the business world. There are too many people who have only been in politics. That is an unhealthy situation."

– Woman, 53, Netherlands

A few focus less on a specific leader, party or institution and more generally on the need for change. One Italian man said, "In order to improve democracy in this country, it would take a coup d'etat. We need to reset all privileges and start over in full respect of people."

Political parties

People sometimes target political parties when making suggestions for improving democracy. The issue is particularly salient in the Netherlands, where parties are the second-most mentioned topic. Parties are a top-five issue in Spain, Sweden, South Korea and the U.S. In most other countries surveyed, parties rank in the top 10.

> *"Get rid of all the political parties, we need a redo."*
>
> *– Woman, 39, Canada*

Some proposed changes relate to the number of political parties. Other suggestions are related to how parties act, both on their own and with other parties.

More political parties

Some want to see more political parties, as with a respondent in Kenya who wanted "the use of a multiparty system" and one in Greece who thought "more political parties in the Parliament" would improve democracy.

Improving political parties is a high priority for fixing democracy in the Netherlands

*% who mention **political parties** when describing what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country*
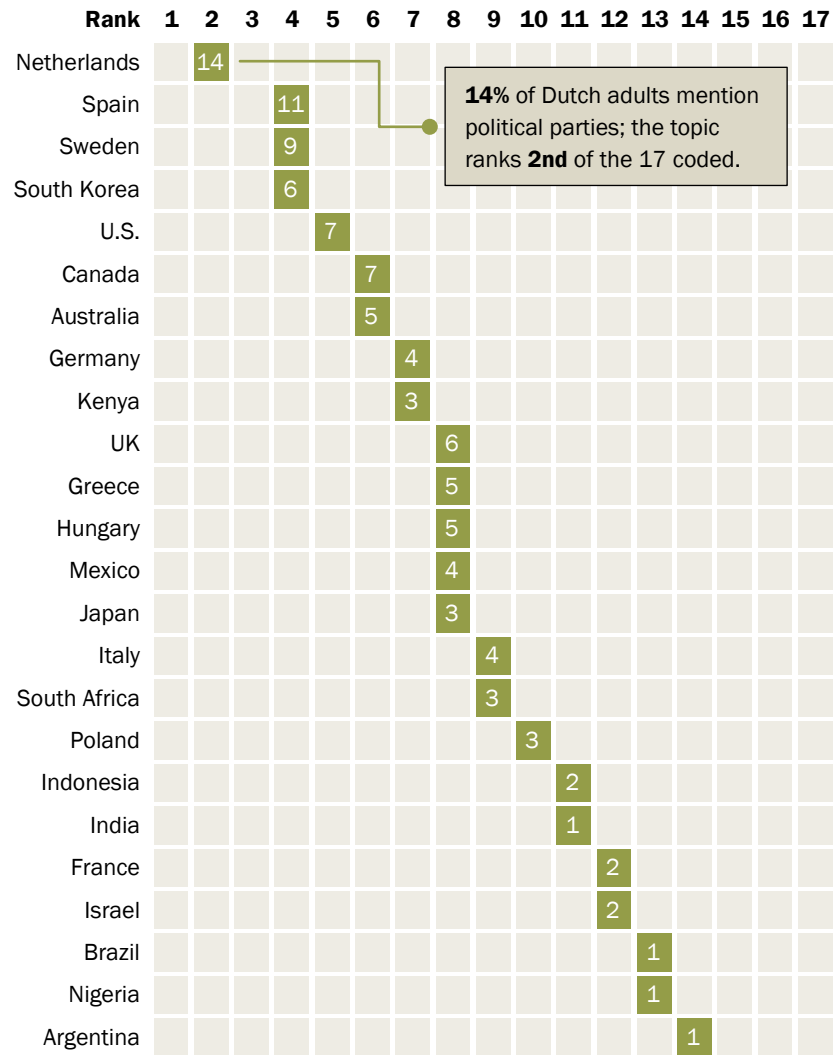
Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Netherlands		14															
Spain				11													
Sweden				9													
South Korea				6													
U.S.					7												
Canada						7											
Australia						5											
Germany							4										
Kenya							3										
UK								6									
Greece								5									
Hungary								5									
Mexico								4									
Japan								3									
Italy									4								
South Africa									3								
Poland										3							
Indonesia											2						
India											1						
France												2					
Israel												2					
Brazil													1				
Nigeria													1				
Argentina														1			

> **14%** of Dutch adults mention political parties; the topic ranks **2nd** of the 17 coded.

Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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Some express a simple desire for **more options to choose from**. For example, a man in Canada found "very little difference between the NDP (New Democratic Party) and Liberal" now that the Liberal Party, which "used to be centralist," has "moved to the left." In South

"That no large coalitions exist and we therefore have more than three parties."

– Woman, 57, Germany

Korea, also dominated by two parties, a man said having "at least three parties to contest the elections" would help improve the country's democracy. Similarly, one woman in the U.S. wanted "more parties, more points of view."

In other cases, people see the existing parties as **too polarized and want additional parties to represent centrists**. A man in the U.S. said, "There truly needs to be a relevant third party that would represent the middle-of-the-road ideology between Republicans and Democrats." This sentiment is echoed in Australia, where one woman thought democracy "works well, but it's the party room that buggers it up." This would be fixed if the "extreme wings" of parties became "parties of their own as most people vote for a moderate view," she said.

Some see the creation of more parties as an **opportunity to introduce new ideas**. A British man said democracy would improve "if some new parties came to the United Kingdom with some fresh blood and fresh ideas, instead of the same people. The old parties are not so interested in the people living in the UK. They only care about their own pockets and their own ideas." Suggestions for new parties sometimes focus on the inclusion of young people as a way to bring about different ideas. One Greek woman emphasized that "political parties should be created by young people with new ideas."

Fewer political parties

Some suggest reducing the number of political parties would create more **simplicity**. In Nigeria, one man said that "with too many parties, things will go wrong." A Canadian man held a similar view, saying, "the number of parties should be limited to three: left, center and right. I believe it would lead to less chaos."

In Mexico, some highlight the **monetary cost of having a large number of parties**: "There should be fewer parties so that the payroll is less expensive," said one Mexican woman. Another man thought there should only be two political parties because the current number of parties results in "a lot of money spent."

People in the Netherlands, where political parties are the second-most mentioned issue, also note how "democracy is being muddled by smaller parties." One woman explained: "I think it is too fragmented, therefore more difficult to form coalitions, and therefore more difficult to govern." Another woman called for "fewer political parties. Otherwise you will become entirely ungovernable because many compromises have to be made. Too many parties leads to uncertainty among voters."

> *"Fewer parties. No party has a clear policy. It's just a moderate Swedish soup. And if someone tries to stand out, they never succeed."*
>
> *– Woman, 52, Sweden*

There is **no clear consensus on the ideal number of political parties to have in a country**. For example, in the Netherlands, one man suggested that there "be seven to eight parties at most" while another suggested "a three-party system." Still others want no parties at all, as in the case of a man in Japan: "Dissolution of all political parties. We will create a system in which even members of Parliament are not bound by political parties and are involved in politics based on their individual ideas."

Although some Americans would like to see more parties or a multiparty system, people in other countries sometimes point to the **two-party system in the U.S. as ideal**. An Italian man said, "We should have a democratic system like the American one: a presidential system, two parties that you can identify with.

> *"By creating a two-party system like America's. Then they can better keep the promises made."*
>
> *– Man, 40, Netherlands*

In Italy, there are too many parties. In America everything is perfect, but in Italy it is not possible." A Japanese man suggested that "it would be better to have two major political parties like America. Now, there are various small political parties, and they are not united."

Less conflict between parties

Many think democracy would improve if political parties **stopped fighting with each other**. A French man explained that parties "spend their time fighting among themselves. It is not favorable for the French. They discuss and don't make any real progress on the subjects." In neighboring Italy, one man similarly took issue with "party squabbling,"

"Stop the constant opposition policies, like when a party is in favor of one thing, the rival party has to be against it."

– Man, 19, Spain

and in Spain, a respondent wanted a "decrease in aggressiveness and hostility between parties." This sentiment is echoed across other countries, including South Africa, where a man asked that "parties stop degrading each other."

People give various reasons for their concern about interparty conflict. Some point out how **friction between parties creates gridlock**: With "two parties fighting and voting along party lines, we never get anything done," said a man in the U.S. A Canadian man shared a similar idea, saying, "If parties stop bickering, we might advance further." Others are

"If the Republicans and Democrats would just work together this would be the greatest country in the world."

– Man, 58, U.S.

concerned because "democracy requires mutual efforts while competing," according to a South Korean man, and because "parties that don't want to cooperate with others are not democratic," according to a Dutch man. A Dutch woman succinctly said, "If political parties do not want to work together, a democracy is useless."

More cooperation between parties

Parties are also called upon to **work together**. As a woman in the U.S. said: "I would like to see both parties work together and not see each other as wrong. Compromise is the name of the game!" This is echoed in South Korea, where one man said that "compromise is necessary." One South African respondent noted that working together would allow all parties to

"Get together more, talk more, diversity of opinions. That the parties leave personal benefits aside and agree, more like the Argentine team."

– Man, 31, Argentina

focus on "reaching one goal and keeping our country peaceful with stability."

For others, improved **communication between parties** is the key for greater harmony. An Argentine woman explained that democracy would work better if "the different parties have a dialogue." And an Israeli respondent similarly asked for "more dialogue and goodwill to bridge the gaps between the various parties."

Changes to the opposition party

Some specifically request that **opposition parties offer less resistance**. A respondent in Kenya, for example, asked the opposition to "calm down a little." In Hungary, some go even further to suggest that the opposition be "done away with" or "stay silent." A man in South Africa explained that democracy may be better off without *any* opposition parties because "no one will ever oppose the decisions, which creates stability in the country."

"Less hyperbole from the Liberal-National Coalition. We need a viable opposition instead of the half-witted reactionaries that the Coalition keeps serving up."

– Man, 50, Australia

Other suggestions for opposition parties are more targeted. In Australia, people want opposition parties "to stop opposing things just to score political points" or to stop "voting against a good bill just because they are in opposition." A Spanish man also spoke out against disagreement for the sake of it: "Don't assume that the opposition must always say the opposite of what the ruling party says."

Still, in some countries, the emphasis is reversed, and people want a **stronger opposition** that "will keep the government in check." As one man in the UK explained: "I think we need an opposition that genuinely disagrees with the government. There has got to be debate. We have a Parliament and it's not being used properly."

2. Government reform, special interests and the media

Though political systems vary across the 24 countries surveyed,[1] citizens in each call for similarly broad changes to government rules and norms. In most countries surveyed, **government reform** – including calls for **transparency, term limits** and **adjusting the balance of power** between institutions or across levels of government – are in the top three most referenced changes. While many themes cross borders, there are some very specific proposals mentioned in each country to adjust the governmental system, such as abolishing the House of Lords in the UK or establishing a Sixth Republic in France.

The need to curb the **influence of special interests** and combat **corruption** ranks in the top half of the 17 substantive topics coded, with people broadly calling to limit the financial benefits given to career politicians, control the influence of special interest groups and deal with outright corruption. Still, country specific complaints emerge, such as the influence of super PACs in the U.S. or the amakudari system in Japan.

Media reform is mentioned less frequently in most places. But in Hungary, Australia, South Korea, the U.S. and Sweden, changing the media is one of the top 10 coded topics, with complaints centering on issues like the need for a free, independent and unbiased press.

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[1] The 24 countries surveyed include parliamentary republics, presidential republics, constitutional monarchies, federal republics and semi-presidential republics.

Government reform

In most of the countries surveyed, government reform is frequently mentioned as means to improve democracy. In half of the 24 countries surveyed, government reform ranks among the top three improvements for democracy. In most of the rest, it is a top-five issue.

> *"The best way to improve democracy is to restructure Nigeria and decentralize power. All the arms of government should be independent and local government autonomy should be upheld."*
>
> *– Man, 44, Nigeria*

Notably, in the U.S., calls for system-level reform were more common than any other response, tied with politicians. *(For more on views of politicians, read Chapter 1.)*

The reforms suggested address a breadth of issues. One common refrain is the concept of **transparency**: legislative transparency, budget transparency, decision-making

Calls for government reform are common relative to other changes in most countries surveyed

*% who mention **government reform** when describing what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country*

Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
U.S.	13																
Spain		21															
Greece		13															
Australia		11															
Japan		11															
South Korea		11															
France			15														
Canada			13														
Netherlands			13														
Israel			12														
Sweden			10														
UK			9														
Italy				9													
India				7													
Indonesia				6													
Brazil					8												
Poland					6												
Kenya					4												
Germany						8											
Nigeria						7											
Mexico						6											
Argentina									4								
South Africa									3								
Hungary											4						

13% of Americans mention government reform; the topic ranks **1st** of the 17 coded.
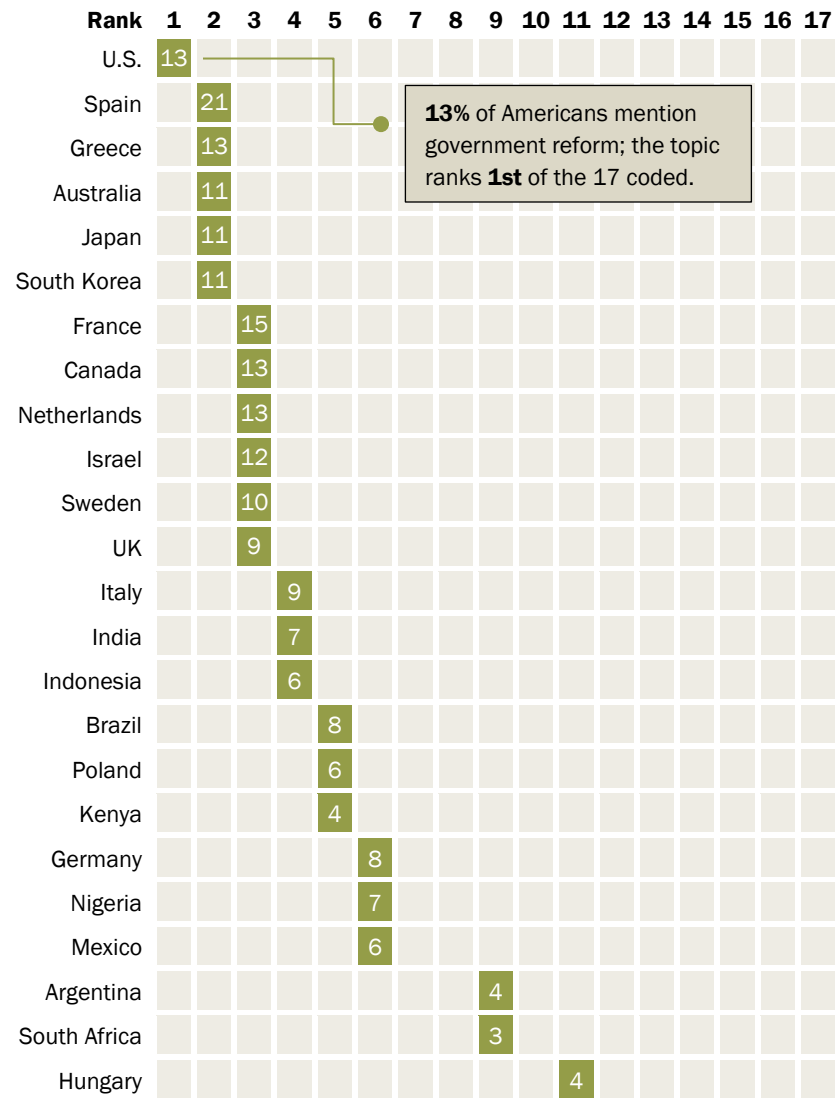
Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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transparency and so on. In fact, the words "transparency" or "transparent" were used by respondents in countries spanning all global regions and income levels in the survey. Other ideas that are emphasized include "honesty," "efficiency," "less bureaucracy" and "good governance."

In a variety of countries, people identify general **constitutional reform** as the key to improving democracy. One Argentine called for the "Constitution to be modified," and a man in France said his country needs to "change the Constitution put in place by General de Gaulle. It no longer fits." In Israel and the UK, two of only a few countries globally without codified constitutions, several people suggested creating one.

In a few cases, people want to wholly "change the political system," but keep democracy. For instance, an Australian respondent said, "Become a republic." And a Canadian said she wants to "remove the monarchy" because she "definitely doesn't want King Charles to be the head of Canada."

But where some seek broad, general changes, others drill down on specific reforms they would like to see in their democracies. These largely fall into two categories related to the structure of government: the **balance of power** – between the branches and levels of government as well as regions of the country – and **term limits for elected officials**.

While these themes are dominant, they are not totally exhaustive of the types of "political reengineering" respondents suggest. In several countries with parliamentary systems, there are calls for fewer seats in the legislature or even calls to eliminate pieces of the legislature altogether:

- "Remove the House of Commons." – Man, 31, Canada
- "We don't need so many politicians and parties to make democracy work."
  – Man, 76, Germany
- "Reduce the number of politicians." – Woman, 46, Japan
- "Get rid of the House of Lords and stop electing people to be Lords because it's stupid."
  – Man, 72, UK

In some countries, references to government reform are more common among men than women. And ideological differences exist in a few places, but their direction depends on the type of change being called for. For example, Israelis who place themselves on the ideological left are *more* likely than those on the right to make general calls for government reform, but *less* likely to request changes to the balance of power in government.

Correcting the balance of power

In each country surveyed, there are branches of government that are meant to have responsibilities independent of one another. Many respondents who mention balance of power want to see their governments better respect this distribution. One Spanish man said democracy would improve with "the division of powers and effective respect among the three branches of government: legislative, executive and judicial."

> *"Elected members of Congress need to reassert their authority over their own turf and not allow executive orders, unelected bureaucrats and the judicial branch to usurp the official duty of controlling the purse strings."*
>
> *– Man, 75, U.S.*

But some want to fundamentally change which branch gets certain powers, or power in general. In many cases, people want to see less power reside in the executive branch. A Canadian woman called for "a little less power in the prime minister's office and more in the actual Parliament." And a woman in Hungary suggested that "the head of government shouldn't make decisions on his own." One 54-year-old man in Kenya went so far to suggest that his country add "a prime minister in government so that power can be shared."

Several French respondents mentioned a Sixth Republic, a sentiment made popular after President Emmanuel Macron raised the national retirement age without parliamentary approval. The suggested Sixth Republic, as opposed to the current Fifth Republic, would possibly mark an era of limited power in the French presidency.

Appeals for checks on power in South Korea are unique. There are many mentions of "prosecutors staying out of politics," "weakening the prosecutors' power," and ending the "prosecution kingdom" or "prosecution's dictatorship" in a country that had, just one year prior, elected a former prosecutor general to the presidency.

And Israelis stand out for several calls to give the executive branch *more* power. An Israeli woman suggested democracy would be better if "the prime minister had more extensive powers." One 47-year-old man wanted "to give the prime minister more power and independence and not take into account the opinion of the attorney general." *(For more on Israeli views of judicial system reform, read Chapter 6.)*

Balancing power between levels of government

Some respondents want their country to shift the balance of power between *levels* of government. In Australia, for example, there are requests to do away with state-level governments and move forward with regional and federal administrations only. Meanwhile, in Japan, some propose adding a regional level of government by introducing "a system of provinces" to "deliver the voice of the people to the Diet."

> *"If we're starting with a clean slate, we would endeavor to have only two levels of government: a large regional government and a federal government. States are an historic anachronism based on colonialism."*
>
> *– Man, 70, Australia*

In the U.S., there are also plenty of calls to "give states back their power and decentralize government." One American man wanted "to reduce federal government and allow states to rule themselves."

Balancing power between regions

In some instances, the concern over balancing power in the government has to do with regional or geographic fairness. In many places, these reforms are unique to the way a country defines regions and allots representation.

Take Nigeria as an example, where there is a geopolitical zoning system that divides the country into six regions. In general, power is shared between the North and the South, but one man suggested that "power should be shared among the six zones." Others call for *rotating* government leadership among the six zones.

In the U.S., some believe modifying the way that congressional representation is divided among the states will improve democracy. One American man wanted to "expand the number of representatives in the House to give more populated states a better presence." Airing similar dissatisfaction, a woman said, "There is too much power being given to rural people who have an outsized voice in our democracy because each state gets two senators no matter the size."

In other countries, there is concern that people in rural areas do not have *enough* power or representation compared with those in urban areas and major cities. One Dutch man suggested there should be "more representatives from the countryside, instead of only from the Randstad." One Australian woman said, "Listen to rural Australia more," and a Canadian man wanted "better representation of rural Canada."

There are also country-specific calls for more independence or autonomous power in certain regions like Quebec in Canada, Scotland in the UK and Catalonia in Spain. A few Americans advocate statehood for Washington, D.C., and territories like Puerto Rico.

Term limits for elected officials

Some say their democracy would improve if there were additional, or new, limits on a politician's time in office. In fact, mentions of term limits appear in more than half of all responses coded as government reform in the U.S., a much larger share than any other country surveyed.

Suggestions vary depending on the country and the elected position in question. Some call for shorter terms between elections for any elected official (Elected positions in the democracies surveyed often have some limit on the number of years a person can hold office without facing reelection.) Many responses calling for term limits are also concerned with the *number* of times someone can enter that reelection process.

> *"We need to limit the number of years politicians can serve. No one should be able to serve as a politician for 40+ years, like Joe Biden. I don't have anything against him. I just think that we need limits."*
>
> *– Woman, 43, U.S.*

An Australian man wanted to "only have the prime minister in office for two terms." And one American man suggested "limiting the number of consecutive terms senators and representatives can serve." (Currently, the Australian premier can hold office in perpetuity if they maintain government support, and American lawmakers can be reelected indefinitely.)

For other respondents, the introduction of shorter or fewer terms includes an age limit for public office. A Canadian man said simply, "There should be an age limit on politicians."

The idea of an age limit is notably common in Japan, though there is no consensus on what the retirement age for politicians should be. One Japanese woman said, "Diet members should retire at 65," while another suggested "setting the retirement age for lawmakers to 70." Regardless, there is a push to use this sort of reform to get younger voices in the government of one of the world's fastest-aging societies. *(For more on the inclusion of young and otherwise diverse voices in government, read Chapter 1.)*

Special interests

In each country surveyed, people want to change – or eliminate – the role money plays in their political systems. Concern lies with three central topics: the **financial benefits** of a career in politics, the influence of **special interest groups** and outright **corruption**.

> *"I want politicians to not be dazzled by money, but to look at the future of Japan and do their jobs properly."*
>
> *– Man, 71, Japan*

The emphasis placed on these issues varies substantially relative to other factors commonly mentioned in responses. In Mexico, the U.S. and Australia, references to special interests rank in the top three topics cited when asked how to improve democracy. In most other countries this issue is in the top half of the 17 substantive topics coded.

In a few places – Canada, France, Hungary, Italy, the Netherlands, South Africa and Spain – non-supporters of the

Some say addressing the influence of special interests would improve their democracy

*% who mention **special interests** when describing what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country*
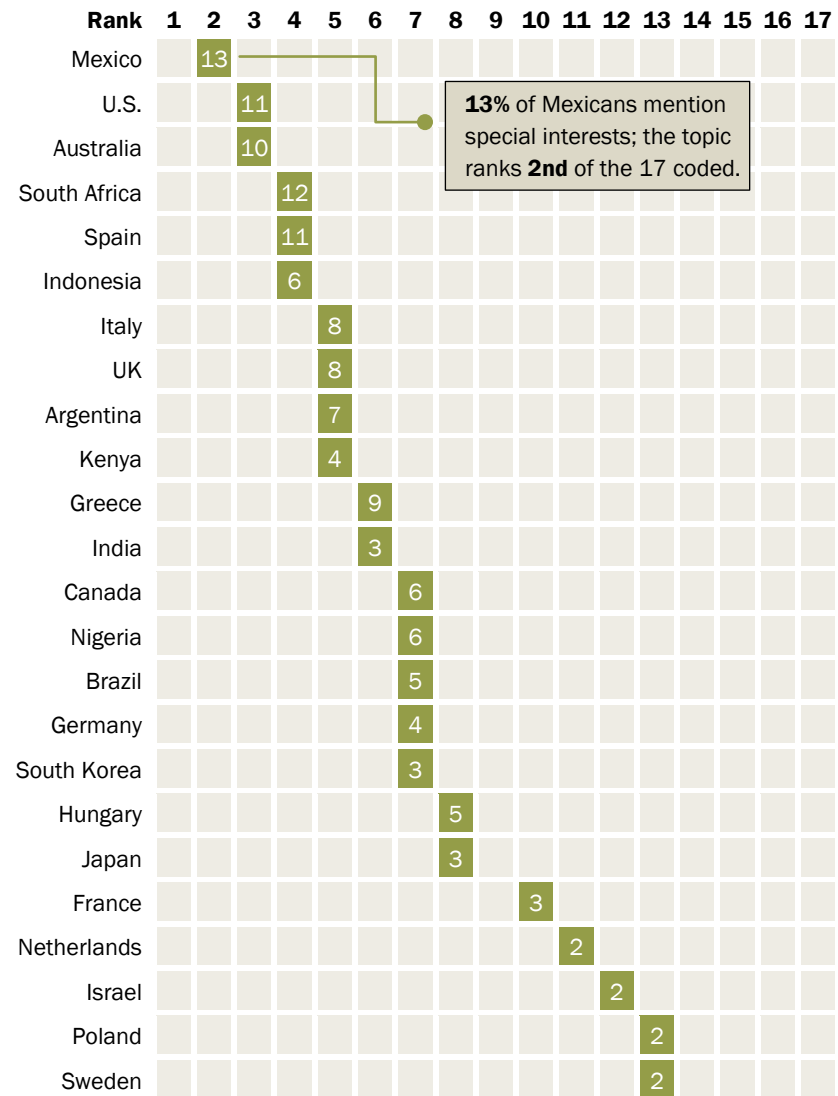
Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Mexico		13															
U.S.			11														
Australia			10														
South Africa				12													
Spain				11													
Indonesia				6													
Italy					8												
UK					8												
Argentina					7												
Kenya					4												
Greece						9											
India						3											
Canada							6										
Nigeria							6										
Brazil							5										
Germany							4										
South Korea							3										
Hungary								5									
Japan								3									
France										3							
Netherlands												2					
Israel												2					
Poland													2				
Sweden													2				

13% of Mexicans mention special interests; the topic ranks **2nd** of the 17 coded.

Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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party or parties in power at the time of the survey are more likely to mention the role of special interests than those who do support the governing party. *(For more information on how we classify governing party supporters, refer to Appendix D.)* The opposite is true in the U.S., where Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents take issue with the role of money in American politics more than Republicans and Republican-leaning independents.

Politicians' salary, benefits and career

Many people who mention special interests are concerned about politicians reaping **financial benefits** during and after their time in office. People commonly call on their governments to "lower the salaries of parliamentarians and politicians" or "reduce benefits for holding public office." One British woman said, "I think they should take a pay cut and put that back into running the country."

A specific suggestion seen in several countries is for politicians to receive "base salaries" or pay that is "in keeping with the lower-middle class."

Political pensions are another issue. One British woman pointed out that former Prime Minister Liz Truss' unprecedently short stint in office earned her a lifetime salary. A man in Spain called for "lifetime payments" and "bonuses and allowances" for parliamentarians to be cut altogether.

> *Media should take the money out of politics and let people vote. No lobbying. No bonus or pay day when politicians leave office. There is too much incentive for politicians to focus on special interests instead of what citizens want."*
>
> *– Man, 41, Canada*

In some places, people see space to improve democracy by **restricting politicians from holding other jobs or affiliations** during and after their time in office. A 52-year-old Dutch man said, "People with side jobs don't belong in politics." And a British woman suggested, "If we had MPs who didn't have second jobs, they could focus on the job they're supposed to be doing in Parliament."

As for careers *after* time in government, one man in Japan called for "amakudari illegalization." (Amakudari is the practice of giving private-sector positions to retired senior-level politicians.) And one American suggested a "five-year prohibition on working for companies whose sector they previously regulated."

In a few countries, there is frustration with **nepotism** in government. As a woman in Indonesia said, "Don't support someone just because they are the children of some politician." This sense

that people should not leverage their family's position and power to advance their own political career also exists in Japan, where one man said, "I want hereditary people to quit," and in South Africa, where a woman said politicians "must not only employ family members."

The role of lobbying

Concerns related to money and politics extend beyond politicians' income and career prospects. In many countries – mostly advanced economies – people share concerns about the power and practices of **special interest groups**. This includes lobbying and the ways that political parties and organizations fundraise.

Plenty of people say that "getting rid of" or **"forbidding" lobbying** would improve the way democracy is functioning in their country. An American man went so far as to suggest "taking all the lobbyists and putting them on a boat to the Bermuda Triangle." Others do not call for an outright ban but suggest limits on lobbying and better **monitoring of political donations**.

> *"Ban donations from tobacco, gambling and property developers. Don't provide funding based on votes for political parties, it makes it impossible for independents to campaign and entrenches major parties."*
>
> *– Woman, 50, Australia*

For some, limits and transparency are most important when related to elections and campaign advertising. This is especially common in the United States, where **campaign finance reform** is often identified as a way to improve democracy. In a similar vein, Citizens United came under fire from multiple respondents dissatisfied with the 2010 Supreme Court ruling that allows for unlimited corporate and PAC spending on elections.

Corruption and bribery

In many countries surveyed, people see eliminating **corruption** – an abuse of power for financial gain – as the key to improving their democracy. As one young Nigerian man said: "All we need are good, uncorrupt leaders."

> *"An end to the f—king corruption."*
>
> *– Man, 56, Mexico*

In fact, if all other types of special interests mentioned were ignored, corruption would still stand as one of the top five things mentioned in Mexico, South Africa and Indonesia. On balance, corruption is more commonly cited as a problem in the middle-income countries surveyed

(Argentina, Brazil, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria and South Africa), while general special interests are more commonly mentioned in high-income countries.

Some mention crimes like **theft, fraud and bribery**. One American man said democracy would be improved by "ferreting out politicians, bureaucrats and activists who are willing to lie, cheat and steal to gain power." Though people more frequently make simple and broad-reaching calls to address corruption:

- "Fight against corruption." – Woman, 67, Hungary
- "Let there be less corruption." – Woman, 53, Argentina
- "Corruption must be finished." – Man, 22, India
- "Be free of corruption." – Woman, 62, Kenya

(For more on how people want to deal with politicians and parties who are found to be corrupt, read Chapter 6.)

Media reform

For a few people, media reform is key to improving democracy in their country. In five places – Hungary, Australia, South Korea, the U.S. and Sweden – changing the media is in the top 10 issues of the 17 coded.

Accurate and unbiased information

"The media must be much broader than today. It is important to write from all perspectives, otherwise there is a risk of losing democracy through misinformation."

– Woman, 71, Sweden

Many people who mention media reform are concerned with the availability of **factual, unbiased information**. An Australian man called for "more truth in the media. Actual news about what is going on in the world would be good. All we seem to get is lies and spin." In Italy, one man said democracy would improve "if the Italian press was more truthful! No fake news." Britons, Poles, Hungarians, Canadians and Swedes share similar frustrations with the content they get from the media.

In most countries surveyed, media reform is a relatively uncommon proposal to improve democracy

*% who mention **media reform** when describing what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country*

Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Hungary						6											
Australia						5											
South Korea							3										
U.S.									3								
Sweden										3							
Germany											2						
India											1						
Japan											1						
UK											3						
Canada												3					
Indonesia												1					
Brazil													1				
France													1				
Netherlands														1			
Poland															1		
Spain															1		
South Africa															*		
Italy																1	
Argentina																*	
Kenya																*	
Mexico																*	
Nigeria																*	
Greece																	1
Israel																	*

6% of Hungarians mention media reform; the topic ranks **6th** of the 17 coded.

* Less than 1%.
Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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Several people note that accurate reporting by the media is crucial for their ability to make informed decisions in their everyday life. One Swede explained: "Information that I, as a citizen, receive through newspapers and TV is not sufficiently factual. When you judge, for example, a debate based on rhetoric instead of

> *"The news media should have to report the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, not their version of the news."*
>
> *– Woman, 79, U.S.*

facts, I think you are out of line. If I don't get the right information, democracy cannot work. I cannot make my choice based on factual information if I do not receive it." *(For more on how people view citizens' responsibilities, read Chapter 4.)*

In the push for truthfulness, some people are concerned with the **political bias of major news sources**. One man in Japan wanted "the media to be neutral in its reporting," and an Australian said that "the media should seek to be impartial." An Israeli woman suggested "that the media should stop behaving like a political party in and of itself and supporting a certain side instead of doing its job."

In the U.S. there are calls to "get rid of Fox 'News'," on one side and on the other to "report on many things they presently seem to be covering up, such as the president's son's laptop." Meanwhile, other Americans want a "less polarizing media" altogether. A young woman said "the media is bent on villainizing any platform that disagrees with its agenda de jour."

> *"A more plural communication media. I believe that in the media there is a lot of fake news and a right-wing monopoly. There is a lack of pluralism and truth, a lot of toxicity and many campaigns that do not correspond to the reality we live in."*
>
> *– Man, 53, Spain*

A free and independent press

Beyond concerns about accuracy and bias, there are also issues with **media ownership and government interference**. "A strong and independent news media" – void of interference from the government and special interests – is a tenet of democracy that respondents in several countries address.

For a few people, this means better "publicly funded news broadcasting." One American man spelled out his suggestion: "I also have this crazy idea where I think there should be a much stronger, publicly funded media ecosystem that ensures higher-quality journalism and either outcompetes or purchases existing news outlets like Fox News and MSNBC."

Others are concerned with private influence in the media industry. An Argentine woman said she wants to explicitly "avoid a media monopoly." A man in the UK said, "We cannot have democracy and the Daily Mail. We need to stop billionaires who do not live in this country from influencing voters with false impressions of patriotism. Having a Union Jack on your box of eggs does not make you a patriot." And in Australia, several respondents question the impact of billionaire media mogul Rupert Murdoch.

> *"Free, unbiased and uncompromised news media is crucial for a democracy to function well in the service of all citizens – not just a minority with the requisite wealth and influence. A very good start would be to remove or drastically curtail Rupert Murdoch's malign impact on Australian social and political affairs."*
>
> *– Man, 70, Australia*

Censorship and social media

Though not dominant themes across countries, there are a few people who are concerned with **social media, censorship and its impact on democracy**.

One Brazilian woman clarified the importance of "having complete freedom to speak one's mind on social media and not be banned or surveilled for it." A woman in Japan thought that "experts should share opinions on TV, YouTube, etc." And in India, a woman said democracy would improve through "internet, social media and education."

On the other hand, some people think increased restrictions or censorship on social media would benefit their democracy. An American woman suggested, "Social media companies should monitor disinformation more." A Swede said it would be beneficial to "shut down all social media during the election campaign." And one 19-year-old woman in India went so far as to say that "social media should be banned."

3. Economic and policy changes

Majorities in most of the 24 countries surveyed say the economy in their country is in bad shape. In some places, these concerns color how people think democracy in their country could work better: by focusing on economic conditions and jobs. **Economic reform**, including issues like taxation, jobs, inflation and wealth inequality, ranks in the top 10 issues coded in the vast majority of countries surveyed. But it's a particular concern in the middle-income countries surveyed – Argentina, Brazil, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria and South Africa – where the issue is typically in the top three.

In each place surveyed, people also suggest specific **policies and legislation** they think would improve their democracy. In some middle-income countries, the emphasis is on infrastructure and basic services like electricity and clean water. But proposed policy and legislative changes extend to issues like health care, housing, immigration and more. Any specific policy change people mention that is not expressly covered by other codes is captured in this topic.

Economic reform

Indians and South Africans stand out for the emphasis they place on economic reform. In both countries, it is the top issue mentioned, with around a third of respondents in each country bringing it up in their open-ended response.

In the eight middle-income countries included in the survey, economic reform appears in the top five issues of the 17 coded.

Economic reforms are seen as an important way to improve democracy in high-income countries as well, ranking among the top 10 most cited issues in nearly every country surveyed.

"Democracy would improve by making more people work and getting them educated. When one has a job, they feel more gratified: education and more work.

– Woman, 76, Italy

Many say economic reform is a high priority for improving democracy in their country

*% who mention **economic reform** when describing what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country*

Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
India	34																
South Africa	31																
Kenya		18															
Brazil		15															
Argentina		14															
Indonesia		12															
Hungary			8														
Nigeria				12													
Mexico					8												
UK					8												
France						7											
Italy							7										
Spain							7										
Japan							4										
South Korea							3										
Canada								5									
Poland									5								
Australia									4								
Netherlands									3								
U.S.									3								
Greece										4							
Sweden										3							
Germany											2						
Israel																1	

> **34%** of Indians mention economic reform; the topic ranks **1st** of the 17 coded.
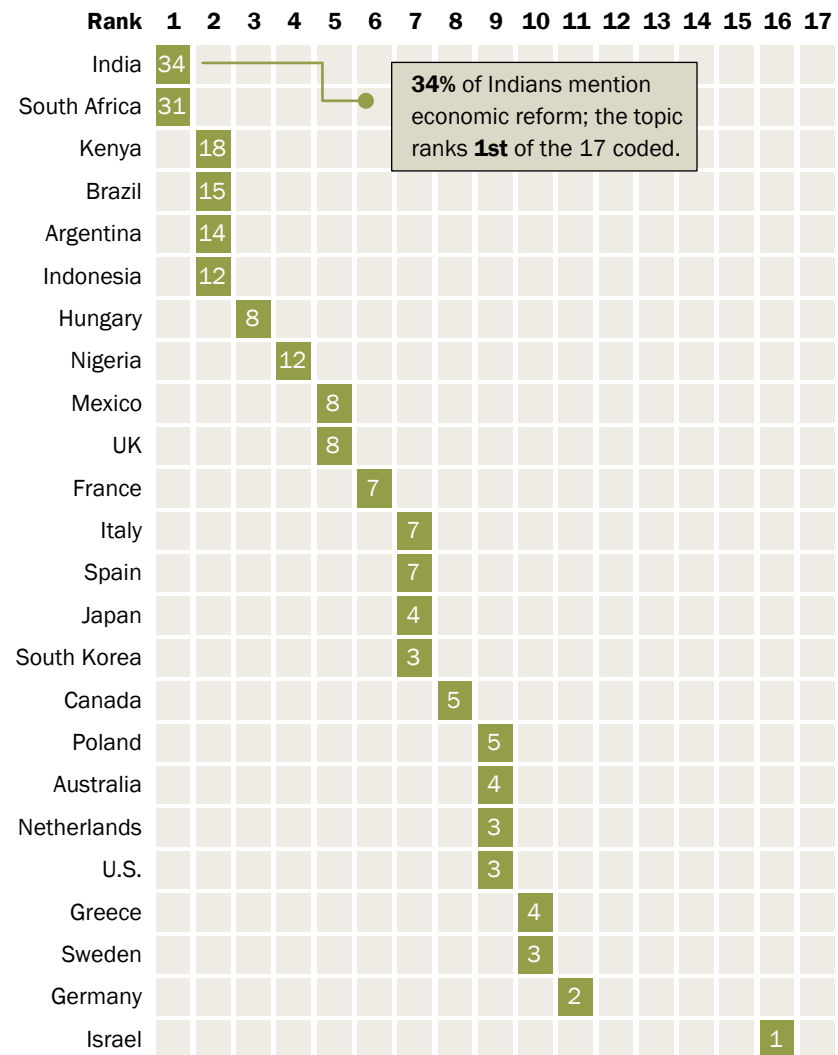
Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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The types of economic reform people highlight largely center around three issues: **improving people's day-to-day economic situation** ("More jobs for young people."); **changing the government's economic priorities** ("The government should work with Kenyans to ensure development is achieved."); and, in some cases, **changing the economic system altogether** ("Stop allowing capitalism to trump human values and decency.").

Improving people's day-to-day economic situation

In middle-income countries surveyed, people are especially likely to mention a desire for more or better jobs. Sometimes, what drives their response is personal, as in the case of an Argentine woman: "More work. That they give me work, that there are fewer poor people, that there are fewer children begging in the streets." Others focus more broadly on employment in the country: "People need to have jobs and prices need to be affordable," said an Indonesian woman.

> *"We want jobs, and we want to be heard."*
>
> *– Woman, 30, South Africa*

Employment for the young is a particular concern. For example, a Japanese man said, "Create a society where young people can work easily by eliminating disparities and providing stable employment." Others emphasized that a core problem was with education not leading to jobs: "More work for the young people who just freshly graduated from school," said an Indonesian man. In Spain, one man expressed frustration that his government supports but doesn't employ the country's youth: "Improve the employment situation in Spain for young people and stop giving aid left and right, only give jobs."

Worries also exist when it comes to **jobs for older people**. For example, a woman in Mexico wished "that there would be more work for the elderly because there is more work for young people than for adults." A man in Italy expressed a similar opinion: "There are many people who do not have the possibility of working, of having a social life, and I would like a state that represents us more, like the elderly and the those in need."

Concerns about where people can find jobs are also top of mind for some respondents. For example, one Mexican man was concerned with "brain drains," the phenomenon of people **moving abroad for better work prospects**: "That there be more opportunities for those in Mexico and not have to migrate to another country." Others emphasized that good jobs may be located in one part of their country but not another. For example, a British man frustrated with regional divides in his country said, "Nothing much goes north. There is far less work in the North than the South."

Inflation

The [general increase of prices](#) has impacted many economies over the past few years, and the desire to **curb inflation and get prices under control** is an economic reform many respondents want. "Lower prices, we are starving," said an Argentine man, underscoring the severity of the problem. The survey in

> *"Inflation should be decreased. People should get employment. The prices of gas should be reduced.*
>
> *– Woman, 26, India*

Argentina was conducted prior to the country's November 2023 elections, in which [severe economic problems](#) were a clear focus.

Others spotlight the **price of specific goods**, as in the case of one Indian woman who said, "Inflation should be less. Cooking gas should be less expensive. Petrol rates should be less." Some were specific in the interventions they wish to see to combat high prices: "As the cost of living increases, they should also increase the salaries," said a South African woman.

Changing the government's economic priorities

How the government raises and spends money – and what it spends money on – is also an area of focus.

Some see the need to address **taxation**, including raising taxes on those who can afford the cost. One American woman said, "Start taxing the rich and corporations better." Others want taxes to be more equitably paid – and enforced – including an Australian woman who called for "taxes on all companies and people. The very wealthy should pay their fair share of tax. No loopholes, so they don't get out of doing the right thing."

Other people were interested in reforming the tax system or reducing taxes altogether. "We should also look at changing our tax system, where everyone pays the same thing," said a Canadian man. A Swedish man suggested that "tax money is earmarked for different parts of society that benefit all people." An Argentine woman called for her government to "lower taxes and increase salaries." In contrast, a respondent in Japan wanted to see *more* but better-implemented taxes: "Taxes will have to increase, but I want how it's done to improve."

Adjust spending priorities, focusing on economic inequality

For many, economic reform necessitates providing more **financial aid** to people in their country who need it. "Perhaps more money for people who do not have a decent income," suggested a Canadian man. A woman in Australia suggested, "Raise the welfare payments to reduce the socioeconomic gap between lifestyles. By having it at the current

> *"Raising the minimum standard of living and eradicating poverty so that the working class is able to participate more fully in our democracy."*
>
> *– Woman, 29, U.S.*

level, not being able to afford basics, let alone luxuries, affects your outlook on life, your status in the community, your mental health and self-worth as a citizen." In a few countries, the suggestions relate to specific national programs: "Cut R350 grants and create jobs to ensure that household has at least one working member," said a South African woman, citing the country's unemployment assistance program.

The focus on helping the poor is related to **general concerns about inequality** – especially the notion that "the growing divide in between rich and the poor can affect democracy," as one Australian woman put it. "Having more connectedness between poor people and rich people in the Netherlands is very important for good democracy," explained one Dutch woman. A Mexican man suggested that financial aid would improve inequality, saying, "More money should be given to the poor, so that there is more equality among all Mexicans." *(For more on individual rights and equality, read [Chapter 4](#).)*

Some specifically see **targeting economic inequality as a way to combat other forms of inequality**. For example, a woman in Israel said, "Help the poor in the Arab community. Financial help for matters in Arab society." And in Germany, a woman suggested, "More equality between East and West, between rich and poor." In the U.S., a man drew a connection between taxing the wealthy and systemic racism: "When the rich pay their fair share of taxes, people of color will have a better chance at the American dream."

Cutting benefits and spending

Still, some level criticism against their governments for providing *too much* to the poor in the way of financial aid. A woman in Australia said, "Too many handouts at the moment. The only way to sustain that is to take from those that are hardworking in the way of taxes." A French man saw this as an issue tied to immigration as well: "It is necessary to give more means to those who work and then to stop welcoming people who are there to take advantage of the system rather than to integrate."

Others see a need to spend less or differently: "France must start by reducing spending. We must work more and reduce spending at the state level," said another man in France. An Argentine man wanted to see less spending by way of smaller government: "Reduce the number of public employees and the tax burden."

Economic independence

One governmental priority several people stress is **prioritizing domestic production** so that "our economy becomes more independent," as a Polish woman put it. A French man explained: "More local consumption. Stop importing things in times of crisis and favor things that are closer, especially food, because people buy a

> *"I think we stop importing things from other countries and focus more on exports so that we can grow the economy."*
>
> *– Man, 22, South Africa*

lot of things like that, and it becomes more expensive." Agricultural independence was the focus of a South African man, too, who suggested the government "create more jobs, specifically farming, so that we won't import from other countries."

For one respondent in the Netherlands, dropping the euro would also be valuable: "Get out of the eurozone. Guilder time was the time where things were a lot more stable, and life was a lot better," he said, referring to the national currency used until 2002.

Restructuring the economic system

Certain respondents see a need to rebuild the economy system in its entirety – by ending capitalism, for example. A man in Canada explained: "Somehow, we need to divert from the course of believing that a free market will end up with the best outcome. To put it simply, an ideological shift away from capitalism. A system where those who own everything are the most powerful just doesn't make sense." Similarly, a South African man suggested

> *"It's not so much democracy, it's more to do with capitalism. We need a socialist system so that people and animals don't go hungry, homeless or cold. There needs to be more equality for all and less of a class system."*
>
> *– Woman, 60, Australia*

"changing capitalism into communism." A man in the U.S. said, "Eliminate capitalism and care for people rather than profits." And a Canadian woman suggested that "society be more socialist and less capitalist."

Policies and legislation

Some see room for their democracy to improve through changes to specific policies, though what those policies are varies widely within and between countries. While the general sense is that "there should be policies that make life easy for the common man," responses collected include reforms to **immigration laws, health care policy, foreign affairs** and more. There are also frequent mentions of **infrastructure development** and improving access to basic needs like water, electricity and household plumbing.

> *"We don't get water here. There are no proper roads. There are no health care facilities."*
>
> *– Man, 37, India*

Specific policy changes are especially common in several of the middle-income countries surveyed.

Some responses address one issue; others address several, like this list from an American man: "Gun reform, criminal

Changes to specific policies are frequently suggested as a means to improve democracy in some countries

*% who mention **policies and legislation** when describing what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country*
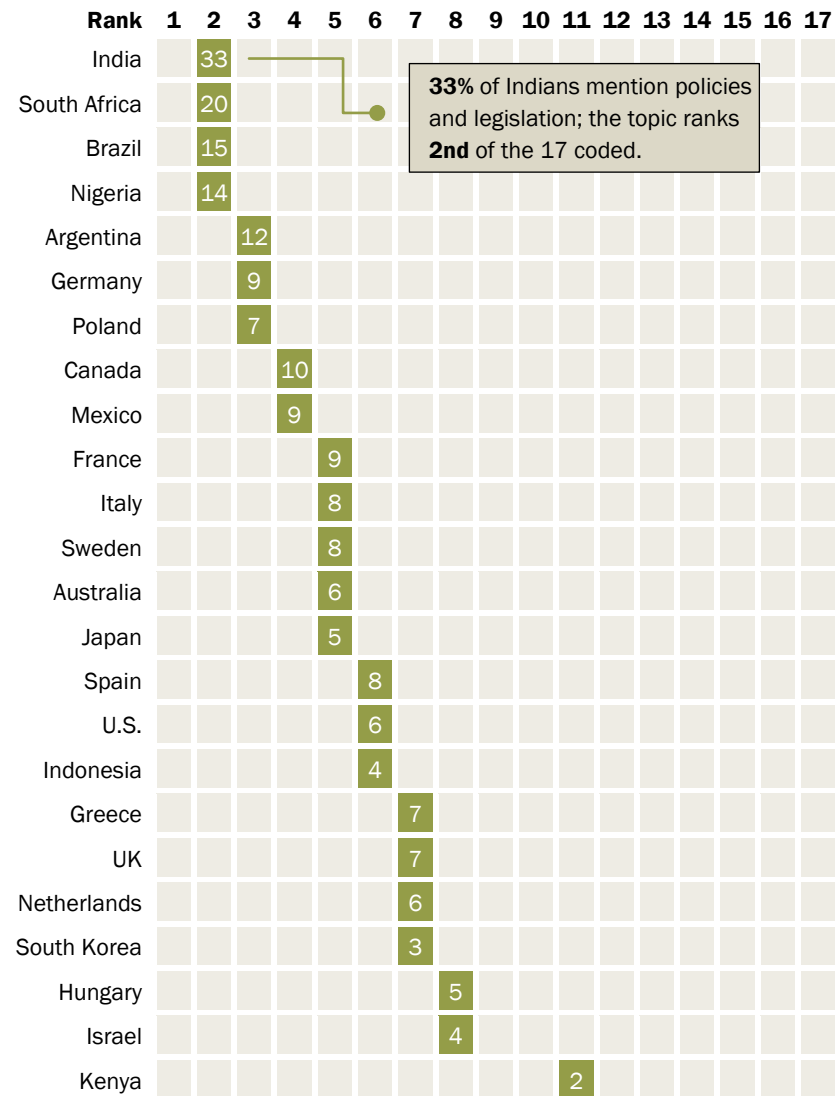
Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
India		33															
South Africa		20															
Brazil		15															
Nigeria		14															
Argentina			12														
Germany			9														
Poland			7														
Canada				10													
Mexico				9													
France					9												
Italy					8												
Sweden					8												
Australia					6												
Japan					5												
Spain						8											
U.S.						6											
Indonesia						4											
Greece							7										
UK							7										
Netherlands							6										
South Korea							3										
Hungary								5									
Israel								4									
Kenya											2						

33% of Indians mention policies and legislation; the topic ranks **2nd** of the 17 coded.

Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
"What Can Improve Democracy?"

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reform, immigration reform, a balanced budget law, security, Social Security and Medicare, and a national abortion law." Given the diversity of issues included, there are few consistent demographic patterns in who offers policy changes.

And while common topics – education, health care, immigration, infrastructure and so on – are explored in the sections below, there are many responses that are more unique or country-specific:

- "More technology, less paper and pencils." – Man, 22, Mexico
- "First, we have to maintain the population. Rather than addressing the declining birthrate, the burden of child care should be reduced." – Man, 42, Japan
- "It would work better if the official languages were recognized." – Woman, 32, Spain
- "Ban assault weapons and strict rules and background checks for those buying guns."
  – Woman, 71, U.S.
- "For the wildfires, the Greek people should engage in the deforestation of the fields. The state should not compensate those who do not clear their fields. A law can improve the situation."
  – Man, 74, Greece
- "Get on the clean, renewable energy bandwagon … wind farms and solar as far as the eye can see please!" – Man, 40, Australia
- "We should reintroduce general conscription for everyone over 18. Women as well as men. It is useful for everyone to stand up straight for a period of time in 'ugly clothes' and obey some orders." – Man, 72, Sweden

Education, health care and housing

Many of the responses that address policies and legislation mention education, health care or housing. In fact, these issues are sometimes talked about together, as in one Mexican man's call for "better schools, better hospitals." A Hungarian said, "Democracy has a wobble! Education, health care. Pay good salaries to workers at both places." And an American man included access to affordable housing, education and health care in a lengthy list of suggested reforms.

> *"More subsidies for social affairs. More social housing, social support, a better school system. Better psychological help, better youth care. Cheaper and more public transportation. More nature protection and more heritage protection"*
>
> *– Woman, 48, Netherlands*

When it comes to **health care**, it's typically access and cost that concern people. An American woman said, "Give us free health care." An Italian said, "Citizens' right to health care should be strengthened." And in Mexico, a man

requested that there be "no shortage of medicines if they are needed." In Brazil, one woman noted that the issue is with "service at health clinics because there are a lot of delays."

The same is true of **housing**: Those who mention it are mostly concerned with affordable access. For example, one young Australian woman said "a fair housing system" would improve her country's democracy. A man in Argentina said "everyone having their own home" would help.

Pervasive calls for education reform

Bolstering **education** is also a key focus – whether it be building schools or improving how things are taught. One Spanish woman said that, for her, "The main thing is good education, it is essential. As long as we do not have a quality education, we have nothing."

There is cross-national understanding that quality education in civics and history is important to democracy:

- "Express all of our history – the good, the bad and the ugly." – Man, 65, U.S.
- "It is necessary to learn the structure of democracy, the structure of the economy, the structure of politics from an early age." – Man, 58, Japan
- "Teaching comprehensive civic and political education in primary and secondary schools." – Woman, 60, Italy
- "More education for people about how it works, and what they can do to participate. Info needs to be easy to understand." – Woman, 40, Australia

(For more on how people think citizens should be informed in order to vote and participate in democracy, read Chapter 4.)

But some are concerned with specific topics that may be taught in schools. One American woman said, "So many young people are being indoctrinated and told how great socialism is. They need to hear the truth from people who lived in Cuba or Venezuela. Perhaps that will open their eyes."

Others are mostly focused on the cost of education, including a woman from Indonesia who said, "Don't make the education fee expensive. It has to be cheaper as it used to be." Another woman, from South Africa, felt similarly, saying, "Children must get free education and loans."

Infrastructure and electricity

Infrastructure is a particularly frequent topic, especially in the middle-income countries surveyed. One South African man simply requested "more infrastructure and development" to improve democracy in his country.

In India, where nearly one-third of respondents propose some policy change, there are myriad mentions of **better roads, improved drainage and waste management, and access to water**. Respondents in India were also quick to bring up **agriculture** and suggest improvements to the infrastructure that supports it: "making the water supply available to farmers," for example.

South Africans also focus on **basic infrastructure improvements** as a critical step to improve their democracy. One woman wanted the government to "build more houses for the poor and fix the tar roads and close potholes." Another said, "Build us roads and clinics." Several South Africans took issue with Eskom – the country's public **electricity** provider – and the practice of loadshedding, which involves restricting electricity use for long periods of time. Better access to electricity is also mentioned in Nigeria and India.

Immigration policy

In several countries, people say that their democracy would be better with changes to immigration policy.

Some want to **end immigration** to their country, like a Dutch man who said, "I am absolutely against all those foreigners coming to the Netherlands." A woman in South Africa said, "Rebuild our country with no foreigners and it will all fall into place."

Others want to **make their immigration system less complicated** for those moving to their country, like an Australian man who said that "clearing up the backlog of visa applications and closing some of the loopholes in the visa system that are unfair to applicants" would make democracy better. A Briton shared similar hopes to make the immigration system more efficient: "We have an immigration problem in this country. The structure is not run right and needs reorganizing of the format allowing people into the country." One man in Canada went so far as to suggest his country "help the poor people of the world come to our country. Open up borders and let immigrants come in and have a life; share some of the riches we have here."

A few people spoke to the rights of immigrants who come to their country specifically for work: "That everyone can work, even if they don't have papers. If a Spaniard doesn't want to work, give it to whoever wants it," said a woman in Spain. An Australian woman expressed interest in some

state support for immigrants, saying, "They should be given some help but have to work for a living." And in the U.S., one older man pushed for "a thoughtfully bipartisan process of amnesty for gainfully employed immigrants."

Foreign affairs and multilateralism

Another policy area people in several countries address is foreign affairs. Some are keen to reduce **the role their country plays on the international stage** – others want it to increase. One American remarked, "The U.S. should stay neutral when other countries have disputes," while another said that "Russia and China must be stopped, or the United States will be in deeper trouble than it already is."

> *"I don't think it's a good feeling to be at the mercy of America."*
>
> *– Woman, 52, Japan*

Similarly contradictory opinions exist about **multilateral organizations**. A Spanish man said his country should "respect national sovereignty and not be aware of the mandates of foreign organizations." Meanwhile, one of his fellow countrymen wanted "greater protection of the European Union over Spanish laws." In Poland, multilateralism is particularly popular, exemplified in responses like, "We need a stronger NATO," and, "Listening to the EU more."

In several countries, there is a desire for the government to **focus on domestic issues** rather than international or multilateral ones. One Canadian said, "We need to stop taking policies from global organizations like the World Economic Forum, NATO and the World Health Organization. We need to put our country first and have to stop giving money to other countries to fight proxy wars that have nothing to do with us."

(For more on views of international engagement, read our December 2023 report, "Attitudes on an Interconnected World.")

4. Citizen behavior and individual rights and equality

Democracy – which, <u>even in its most minimal form</u>, requires the selection of governments through elections – necessarily relies on the **people**. Citizens must vote for representatives or policies, and, <u>some would argue</u>, are responsible for being informed and for holding politicians accountable via elections or protests. But, across the 24 countries surveyed, citizen behavior regularly comes up as an area that requires change in order for democracy to work better. The issue ranks in the top five coded in most countries and is among the top three issues in about half of those surveyed. (In this analysis, "citizens" refers to all inhabitants of each country, not the just legal residents.)

Many scholarly conceptions of democracy – and particularly <u>liberal democracy</u> – also hinge on people having the ability to enjoy **independence, rights and freedoms**. Yet having more freedoms, better-protected freedoms or equitably implemented freedoms are areas in which many still see need for improvement. These issues are particularly salient in some countries that were governed by right-wing populist parties during the survey field period, ranking in the top five of the 17 substantive topics coded in Hungary, Italy and Poland. *(For more information on how we classify populist parties, refer to <u>Appendix E</u>.)* Individual rights and equality is also a top issue in Israel, though it is raised substantially more often by Arab Israelis than Jewish Israelis.

Citizen behavior

In 20 of the 24 countries surveyed, improving how people operate within their democracy is among the top five issues coded. In Israel, Italy, Japan and Sweden, citizens are the second-most mentioned topic.

> *"Democracy is a precious thing that needs our constant participation and protection. The more we participate, the better it is. We should not shrug our shoulders and say, 'I don't care about politics,' as life is political and we need to look after it."*
>
> *—Woman, 70, Australia*

In some countries, those with higher levels of education are more likely than those with lower levels to mention citizens as an area where improvements are needed. For example, in Italy, 19% of respondents with a post-secondary degree or more education mention citizens, compared with 10% of those with less schooling.

Many think citizens need to make changes to improve democracy

*% who mention **citizens** when describing what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country*
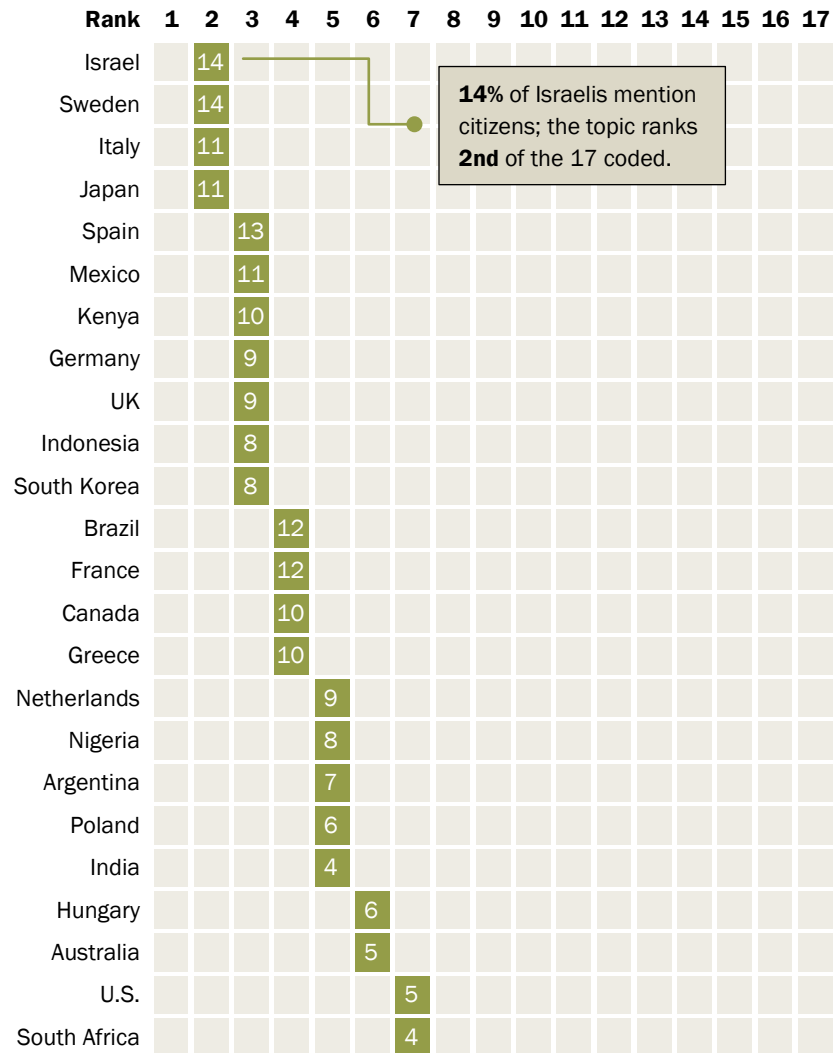
	Rank 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Israel		14															
Sweden		14															
Italy		11															
Japan		11															
Spain			13														
Mexico			11														
Kenya			10														
Germany			9														
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South Korea			8														
Brazil				12													
France				12													
Canada				10													
Greece				10													
Netherlands					9												
Nigeria					8												
Argentina					7												
Poland					6												
India					4												
Hungary						6											
Australia						5											
U.S.							5										
South Africa							4										

14% of Israelis mention citizens; the topic ranks **2nd** of the 17 coded.

Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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When it comes to how citizens can change, a few broad themes are dominant, including the need for citizens to be **more informed, to participate more and to generally be *better***.

Citizens need to be more informed

One Australian respondent summed up the need for citizens to be **informed** using a quote often ascribed to Winston Churchill: "The best argument against democracy is a five-minute conversation with the average voter." It echoes concerns raised in other countries that citizens need to "do due diligence before voting" and have "more awareness" or "more interest" in politics. In Japan, one woman argued that it's necessary "for each person to have a strong opinion about politics," while a woman in Greece said, "Citizens should be politically active and critical thinkers."

The desire for an engaged and knowledgeable public stems in part from **concerns that uninformed citizens can be misled**. One Japanese woman said, "The people are too apathetic about politics, and they go ahead and pass anything." An American man noted that "media is an echo chamber and politicians control the narrative. Having critical thinking skills and being more informed can be antidotes to these problems."

In the Netherlands, concerns about being misled by politicians extended to voters **"listening to populists on social media."** (The survey was fielded in the Netherlands prior to the election of right-wing populist Geert Wilders.) A Spaniard wanted citizens to "have memory so as not to repeat history." And an Australian respondent emphasized the need for voters to research who or what is on the ballot *before* they turn up at the voting booth, so they don't "make up their mind at the doorstep."

Some call for **educational changes** to remedy these issues, as in the case of one Canadian man who wanted his country's education system "to teach people how to think in order to make democracy flourish." In Sweden, there were specific calls not only for teaching social studies to "raise awareness of democracy" but also for

> *"More people should vote and give their opinion. Democracy doesn't work unless people give their views. Otherwise, a minority will be in control and things can turn fanatical."*
>
> *– Man, 77, UK*

> *"Start from the school system: teach civics. Educate young Italians and others on the concept of democracy. Everyone, from politicians to administrations, should practice it and set an example to increase democratic life."*
>
> *– Man, 85, Italy*

people to learn the Swedish language to participate more fully. *(For more on how people want to change education, read [Chapter 3](#).)*

Certain respondents go so far as to argue that citizens need to demonstrate they are informed via some sort of **knowledge test prior to voting**. "Democracy would improve if you could only vote if you could prove that you had a good understanding of politics or a certain IQ – like 100 or higher. People need to be better informed at school about how the political system works and demonstrate that they understand," said a Dutch woman. One American man said, "Basic knowledge of the Constitution should be a requirement for registering to vote."

Citizens need to participate more

The type of citizen behavior people want varies, from voting to protesting to simply "participating more." But the general idea that **citizens should take action rather than complain** is clear in some responses. "Citizen activity is necessary. Many don't follow politics because they view it as negative, but there must be some way to get more people involved in a system to help change it, rather than complaining constantly about how depressing politics is," said a man in the U.S.

Certain people focus on **turnout** at the polls – "exercising your right to vote." As one Italian man said: "We need a culture of more participation. Right now, I see that only 40% of people go to the polls. I wish people were more informed. Politicians are raising empty citizens." Some fixate on turnout among specific *groups* of people. A 29-year-old British man said, "I think democracy would improve if the younger people voted more. At the minute, a lot of decisions are made by older people who don't understand the younger generation."

"Let citizens raise their voices and fight for their rights."

– Woman, 30, Mexico

But opportunities to vote are usually infrequent, and some feel that citizens should do more *between* elections. "If we want something to be done in a certain way, we all need to be in the streets demanding it. Everything should not be limited to a single vote every four years. It should be done day by day according to what is needed at that moment," said a Spanish woman. A German man echoed this idea: "There should be more people in the streets. Germans are a bit cowardly. They should fight for many things and not give up."

Still, some respondents raise concern about the effect of *too much* protest. In France, for example, one man noted that citizens should "trust the elected president and government and not always be against them. The right to strike must be used less often because it disturbs fellow citizens." A

French woman echoed the sentiment, saying, "A little more respect for others is needed. Democracy is good. Take to the streets, sure, but don't break things."

Citizens need to be better

Concerns about overall **"citizen quality"** run the gamut. In broad terms, there is a desire to "raise the cultural level of the country" or to see "care, patience, harmony, community, communication. Something not found here in a long time. I'm not sure how to get it back."

> *"We should respect others instead of disparaging them."*
>
> *– Man, 70, South Korea*

Respondents note the need for "greater personal morality" or "investment in the welfare of neighbors," and place importance on "thinking of everybody. There are a lot of people who pursue dogmatic thought and only their own interests."

People also call for **unity**: "Everything would improve if we thought that we were not so different from each other. Treat everyone equally. The person we meet is 'like myself' and just as valuable," said one Swedish woman. An Indian man said, "To improve India, everyone should be in unison and work shoulder to shoulder." Responses sometimes focus on societal divisions which need to be overcome – like those between secular and religious people in Israel, the North and South in Italy, tribes in Kenya, religious groups in Nigeria, generations in South Korea, social classes in Spain, or Democrats and Republicans in the U.S.

Tolerance is also a key quality people want to see in their society. "I think we need more respect, like for religion and skin color, race, homosexuality and financial conditions," said one Brazilian woman. A French woman explained that, in her view, democracy would be improved "if we knew how to listen to each other and respect one another, if there was respect for individual beliefs and lifestyles and respect for each other within the law." In Canada, one of these calls for tolerance extended to "being less afraid that Canada will be less White or Caucasian" and instead embracing diversity, as "immigrants enrich the country's system with their views."

Still, even while some U.S. respondents note the need for things like "being more inclusive and less racist," others seem to feel that **too much time is being spent on questions of diversity or inclusion**. One American woman said, "We need to stop worrying about people's pronouns so much and worry about making the country more economically sound," while another noted the need to "stop political correctness." In Australia, too, there were calls for "a whole lot less wokeness. People's feelings or the way they interpret something can't dictate what is legal and what is not."

These contradictions – some people calling for citizens to behave in one way while others argue for the opposite – are pervasive in Israel. The survey was conducted at a time when the country was awash in protests against judicial reform. To that end, some Israelis called for citizens "to demonstrate and prevent the legal coup from happening," while others wanted

> *"We need to educate the next generation about democracy, its importance, its fragility, its value and what will happen if we lose it."*
>
> *– Man, 73, Israel*

people to desist and "prevent the demonstrations from the left from leading to anarchy." Still, while some Jewish Israelis expressed sentiments like "remember that we are all Jews, we are all one nation," the sentiment expressed by some Arab Israeli respondents was quite different: "Show tolerance toward others, including minorities." *(For more on contradictions within a country, read the report overview.)*

Steps citizens can take

A Polish man said, "Democracy here sucks because people can't talk calmly, they just start arguing right away." And the broader sentiment of improving communication comes up in a few different countries. For example, in South Africa, respondents called for "more polite communication" and "being patient with each other." In many other countries, people emphasize that learning to speak respectfully and listen can help fix democracy.

Specific suggestions also emerge. In the U.S., one man offered a prescription to the problem of citizen quality: "Everybody just get off social media for a month. Actually talk to your neighbors. There's a lot more we agree on than what the echo chamber would have you believe." And in Australia, a woman focused on the need to just slow down: "Sometimes, I think people are in too big of a rush and don't communicate much with their neighbors. I

> *"Always stay in conversation with each other. No quarreling. Listen well to one another. Laugh and do fun things together to develop positivity. Be practically oriented and build things together."*
>
> *– Woman, 43, Netherlands*

think we need to do more interacting with neighbors and friends because now people get into their car and pull their garage door down. We need more communication."

Individual rights and equality

Another suggestion to improve democracy centers on people having individual rights that are protected properly so they can participate in democracy.

> *"For everyone to have the freedom to be as they are and to say and do what they want."*
>
> *– Woman, 71, Netherlands*

In Hungary, Israel, Italy and Poland, the issue ranks in the top five of the 17 substantive codes. It ranks in the top 10 in most other countries.

In some countries, women are more likely to mention rights and equality than men. For example, 9% of women in Sweden mention the issue, compared with 4% of men.

In Israel, people on the ideological left (23%) are significantly more likely to bring up equality and individual rights than those in the center (11%) or on the right (4%). Even more starkly, Arab Israelis are 15 times more likely than Jewish Israelis to mention individual rights and equality (44% vs. 3%).

Some emphasize individual rights and equality as a way to improve democracy

*% who mention **individual rights and equality** when describing what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country*
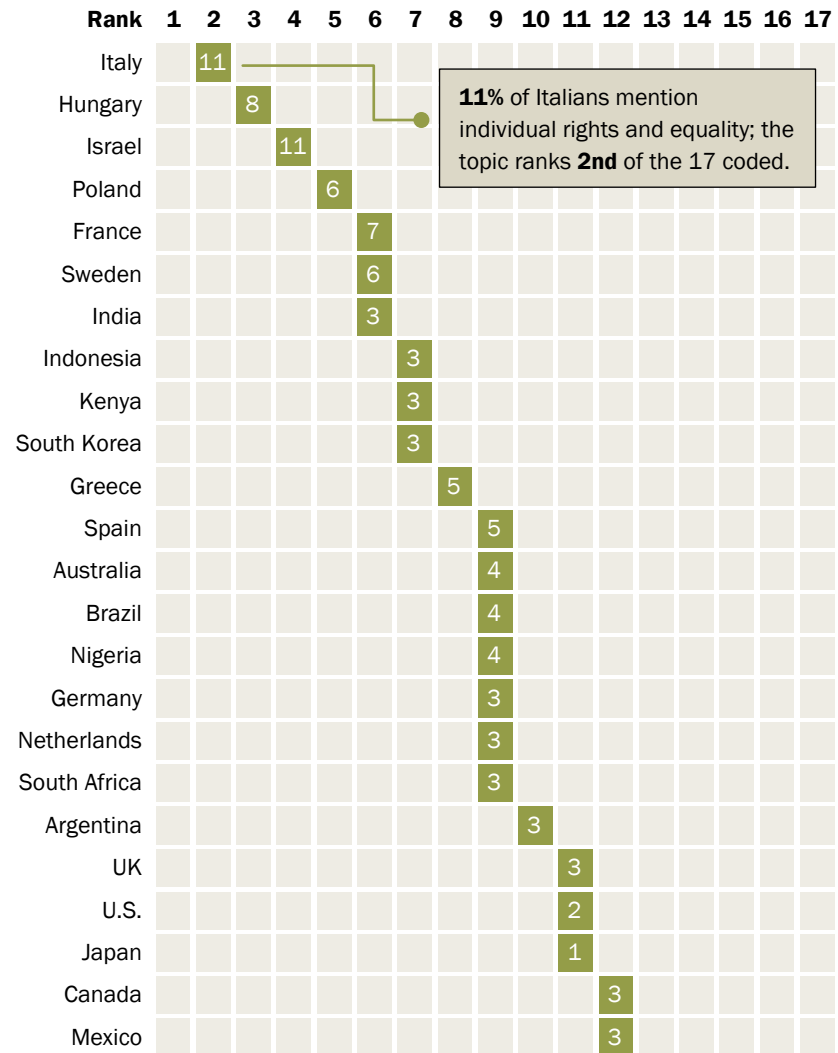
Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Italy		11															
Hungary			8														
Israel				11													
Poland					6												
France						7											
Sweden						6											
India						3											
Indonesia							3										
Kenya							3										
South Korea							3										
Greece								5									
Spain									5								
Australia									4								
Brazil									4								
Nigeria									4								
Germany									3								
Netherlands									3								
South Africa									3								
Argentina										3							
UK											3						
U.S.											2						
Japan											1						
Canada												3					
Mexico												3					

11% of Italians mention individual rights and equality; the topic ranks **2nd** of the 17 coded.

Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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Black South Africans are more likely than White South Africans to mention individual rights, though the difference is much more muted (3% vs. less than 1%).

Across the 24 countries surveyed, respondents sound general calls for individual rights – such as "equality for all" and "freedom of speech should be nonconditional" – as well as focus on specific grievances and inequities related to gender, race, caste and more. Still, some express concern that an emphasis on addressing inequality can go too far, to the effect of silencing viewpoints or creating "reverse racism."

More protected freedoms

Generic calls for equality center around the notion that a system is flawed when "democracy is not the same for everyone." As one man in Japan expressed: "We should conduct politics based on the idea that all citizens should be equal."

People also bring up specific freedoms they would like protected, such as **freedom of speech**. Several respondents in the UK, for example, bemoan what they perceive to be growing censorship: "Freedom of speech is

> *"Make sure everyone gets a fair go. All individuals are included, not excluded."*
>
> *– Man, 50, Australia*

being closed down, meaning that people cannot say what they would like to say," said one British man. People in the U.S. and Argentina express similar concerns, and one woman in Kenya emphasized the need for "everyone to be given a chance to express their opinion without the police subduing anyone who thinks differently." Others see free speech as central to democracy, as in the case of an Australian woman who said, "We need to protect freedom of speech since it promotes honest, open dialogue for healthy debate and improvements to our culture." A German woman cut to the core of the issue, stating that democracy would improve if "you are allowed to say what you want, what you think, and not be afraid of being persecuted for it. In other words, to express your free opinion."

Freedom of religion is another theme some respondents raise. In the UK, one woman said, "It's very important that democracy takes into consideration all communities. There should be no religious bigotry and people should not be treated differently because of their religious beliefs. They should be able to practice their religion freely."

Combatting inequality between races, genders and more

A central theme related to individual rights and equality is to correct injustices – across race, gender, class, immigration status or other divides in society. Sometimes respondents specified many dimensions at once: "All citizens should have an equal say and be treated as well as one another, regardless of color, where they were born or their religion," said an Australian woman. Similarly, an Indian woman said, "Treat everyone the same, avoid caste, religion and communalism."

- In **India**, one key dimension discussed is **caste discrimination** – as in, "Caste discrimination should change in hospitals, schools and banks." Another respondent said, "Caste politics should go."

- In **Kenya**, the emphasis is heavily on tribal inequities and **"fighting tribalism."**

- In **Australia**, one respondent said: "More needs to be done to reduce inequalities which seem to be widening, not only in Australia but across the world. **Aboriginal people** have been s--t on for centuries and an awful lot needs to be done to reduce the inequalities in wealth and opportunity for Aboriginal Australians." (The survey was conducted amid discussion about the Indigenous Voice to Parliament initiative, which was later rejected in an October referendum.)

- In **Canada**, some stressed the importance of "making good on our promises to the **First Nation** people, accepting their status."

- Some **Americans** highlighted "systemic racism" in general, while others discussed "giving people of color similar advantages to White America," "giving **Black Americans** restitution" and reparations for **Native Americans**.

- Some **South Africans** addressed the legacy of apartheid, noting that the country should "not go back to racism." Others said there was a need to "**empower Black people**" or for "White people to give back everything they stole from Black people."

- **Israelis** mentioned "giving Arabs civil rights like those of the Jewish community" and **"making Arab voices heard."** They also proposed specific solutions, including "repealing

> *"When 'hijab' no longer means 'terrorist.'"*
>
> *– Woman, 29, Israel*

the [nationalism law](#) so we can feel that we are all citizens in the state," "fair employment of Arab minorities in state institutions," and "granting us the right to visit our relatives in the West Bank and for them to enter Israel and visit us."

Gender equality is also a focus. "Take women into account, both in employment and in their opinions, since the word of a man is more important to the government than that of a woman," said one woman in Mexico. In India, some of the emphasis is on women's safety: "Women should be able to walk on the road without fear." In Sweden, respondents call for equal salaries for men and women and for more women in leading positions.

At times, **regional equality** is a salient issue. For instance, in Germany, people want "more equality between East and West," and in Italy, a respondent said there should be steps taken to "not deepen the gap between North and South." Others mention disparities between urban and rural areas.

Immigrant rights and **LGBTQ rights** also come up. The former was brought up by a Spanish man: "We need to generate equal health, education and social services for all living people, whether they are Spanish or not. Equality for all people." In the case of the latter, an American asked for "no discrimination against LGBTQIA," and a Brazilian said, "Respect for the opinion of others and their sexual orientation."

> *"Teaching that freedom is not judging others for their sexual orientation or beliefs and also not imposing your beliefs on others. This would truly help democracy."*
>
> *– Man, 45, U.S.*

Avoiding 'special treatment'

Respondents sometimes express strong concerns that correcting for inequities has gone too far, creating its own form of injustice. In many instances, these calls are in direct contrast with those discussed above. To give three examples:

- One Canadian noted, "I think if some people wouldn't get special treatment or special status, everyone would be equal. I would not like to see First Nation people get special status."
- In Australia, a respondent said, "We should remove the divisive approach to Indigenous peoples. There is no need for reconciliation; we are all reconciled to live together. Indigenous people have evolved and are now primarily equal to any other Australian. In fact, non-Indigenous do not receive extra benefits, which is reverse racism. If the

Indigenous people choose to live like a Westerner, they should be equal to the rest of us – no extras. This would reduce the resentment and resistance many feel today."

- An American said, "Stop favoring races and treat all the same. Stop favoring sexual orientation and making a big deal over it."

Similarly, some are concerned that focus on minority issues or questions of tolerance has led to a suppression of free speech: "I think, at the moment, the voice of the minority is superseding that of the majority, and you're not allowed to say this is wrong," said a Canadian woman. One British woman summarized this position saying, "You should be able to say what you want without being politically correct, and people should be able to express their opinions." An Australian woman said, "Democracy in Australia used to be great, but it has declined over recent years. One of the best ways of improving it again is to allow all free speech, even if people get offended by it. There is nowadays too much gagging of free speech."

5. Electoral reform and direct democracy

Free and fair elections are a <u>critical element of a healthy democratic system</u>. And in many of the 24 countries surveyed, reforming how elections and the **electoral system** work is a key priority. People want both large-scale, systemic changes – such as switching from first-past-the-post to proportional representation – as well as smaller-scale issues like making Election Day a holiday.

Many people link these changes to greater citizen representation, whether because they allow people to vote more easily or because votes can be more readily and accurately converted into representation.

But some people take it even a step further, arguing for their country to have more **direct democracy**. Particularly in France and Germany, where direct democracy is the second-most suggested change, people want to have more chances to vote via referenda on topics that matter to them.

Electoral reform

Changing the electoral system appears in the top five ranked issues in seven of the 24 countries surveyed. In Canada, Nigeria and the UK, the issue ranks second among the 17 substantive topics coded.

> *"People should have the right to choose their leaders through a free and fair election."*
>
> *– Woman, 20, Nigeria*

In six countries, those who *do not* support the governing party or parties are more likely to mention electoral reform than those who do support such parties. In the UK, for example, where electoral reform is ranked second only to politicians, 17% of those who *do not* support the ruling Conservative Party mention electoral reform, compared with 6% of Conservative Party supporters. *(For more information on how we classify governing party supporters, refer to [Appendix D](#).)*

Electoral reform is a high priority in Canada, the UK and Nigeria

*% who mention **electoral reform** when describing what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country*

16% of Canadians mention electoral reform; the topic ranks **2nd** of the 17 coded.

Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Canada		16															
UK		15															
Nigeria		14															
Netherlands				10													
U.S.				10													
Australia				7													
Japan				7													
Spain							7										
Indonesia							3										
Kenya							3										
France								5									
Mexico								4									
Brazil									4								
Italy									4								
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Israel										3							
Poland										3							
Sweden										3							
Hungary											4						
India											1						
Argentina												2					
Greece												2					
South Africa												2					
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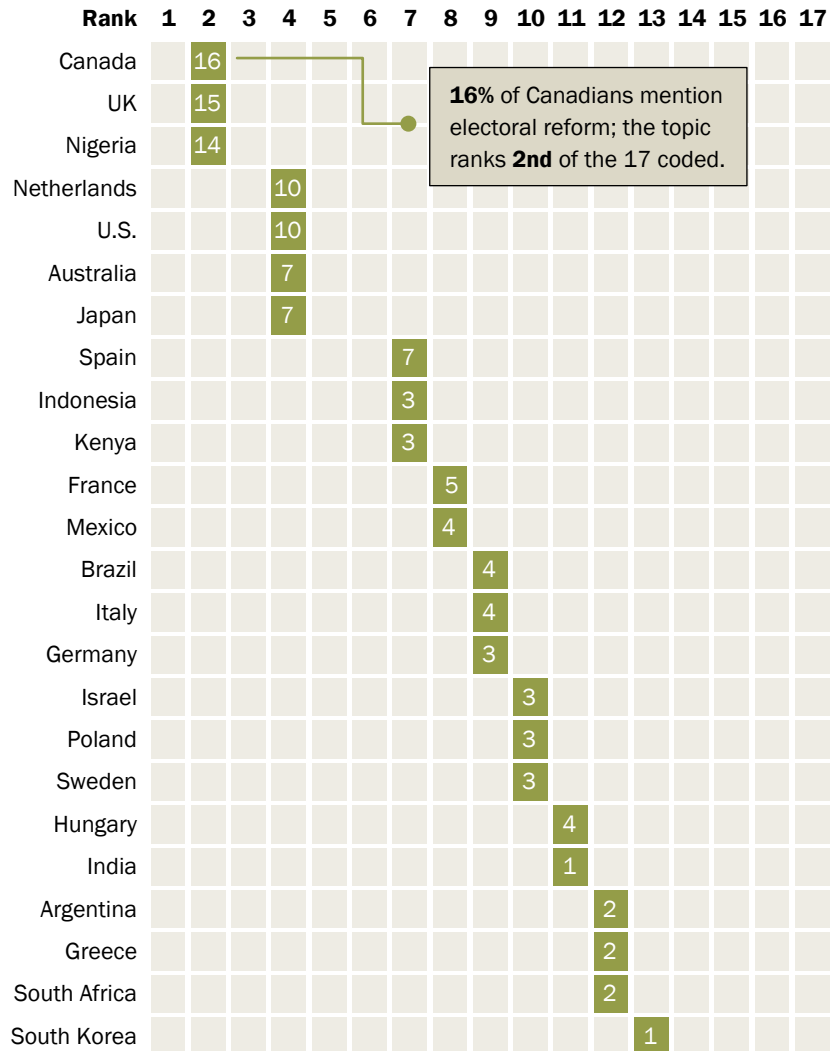
Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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However, in the U.S. and Israel, this pattern is reversed: Those who *do* support the governing parties are more likely than those who do not to mention electoral reform as an improvement to democracy.

Across the countries surveyed, people want to see a wide range of electoral reforms. Some of these focus on the logistics of casting votes – **how and when people vote**, and **who is eligible**. Others focus more on **changing the electoral system**, referencing issues like electoral thresholds and gerrymandering. And some emphasize the need to ensure **free and fair elections**. In Nigeria and Brazil, people who are not confident that their recent national elections were conducted fairly and accurately (as asked in a separate question in Brazil, Kenya and Nigeria) are more likely to bring up electoral reform.

Logistics of casting votes

Some of the calls for electoral reform center specifically on how ballots are cast. For example, some see benefits to **electronic voting options** over paper ballots, especially as a tool to protect elections: "Use modernized technology to help in security of the voting system," said one Kenyan woman. Others see electronic ballots as an issue of convenience, particularly if it means one can vote from the comfort of their own house. As one Canadian man put it: "I think people should be able to vote electronically, using the internet and telephone instead of going to a polling station. It makes it more convenient."

Still, in some places that have electronic voting, respondents raise concerns about this method. "End the electronic ballot box," said a Brazilian woman. A man in India expressed his preference for **paper ballots**: "The use of electronic voting machines should be stopped and bring paper ballots back so that transparent democracy will be seen."

For some Americans, increased access to absentee or mail-in voting is a specific electoral change they want to see: "Making vote-by-mail standard in every state, giving voters time to vote at their convenience, rather than having to miss work. It also gives them the time to research candidates at their leisure." Others in the U.S. oppose **mail-in voting**: "Stop voter fraud! Go back to voting on Election Day. Enough with this all-month voting and mail-in votes," wrote one American woman. "Stop mail-in ballots unless for military or another exempt person," echoed a man. There are large partisan divides in U.S. views of voting methods, and more Democrats cast absentee votes than Republicans.

When people vote

People also see the need to change the **frequency of elections**. Some request fewer elections so that officeholders spend less of their term campaigning for reelection: One Australian man wanted to "lengthen the period between federal elections to five years." Others want to see more elections, like a Canadian woman who said, "Do not have an election every four years; it should be every two years," or a Nigerian woman who wanted her government to "conduct elections every two years, or frequently." One South African woman went so far as to say, "Elections should be held every year."

Some in the U.S. (where national elections are held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November) call for **making Election Day a holiday**. The U.S. is one of few advanced economies that does not hold elections over the weekend or designate the day a national holiday. For example, one American man said, "Create a national voting holiday to ensure every American has a chance to vote." Another person said, "Eliminate voter suppression. Make Election Day a national holiday. Make voting as easy as mailing a letter."

Who gets to vote

Making changes to *who* is allowed to participate in elections is another means people see to improve their democracy. For example, some want to **alter the age at which citizens become eligible to cast their votes**. For those who want to lower it, the argument centers around allowing more young people to participate in elections: "Lowering the voting age to 16, now young people have more stake in the game," suggested a Canadian man. An American man had a similar opinion, saying, "I think lowering the age for voting would help democracy, because many teens as young as 16 already have views about policies in the U.S."

Not all are in favor of *lowering* the voting age, however. As one Swedish man put it: "Raise the voting age. People at 18 need to take their electoral mandate more seriously."

Others feel voters need to **pass a knowledge test** in order to cast a vote. "The right to vote should be bound by educational attainment," said a man in Hungary. An Italian man said, "Those who want to vote should pass a test of general culture before the elections." And a woman in Sweden was specific on this policy: "One should know what you're voting for, a little mini test so you know what you're voting for. A driver's license to vote." *(For more on perceived citizen responsibility, read Chapter 4.)*

> *"There should be a voter's license, and voters should take a civics test. Informed voting is the crux of democracy."*
>
> *– Man, 76, Italy*

In some countries, though, there are calls to **protect people's existing right to vote**. In the U.S., where voter suppression has become an electoral issue, several people were vocal about protecting the right to vote. "Abolish state laws that restrict voters' rights," suggested one American man. An Australian man focused specifically on protecting voting rights for Aboriginal people: "Ensure Indigenous voters have the opportunity to vote in all circumstances." Certain respondents even want to enfranchise new types of voters: "Open the right to vote to all permanent residents, such as all Europeans who live in France," said one French woman.

Mandatory voting

Respondents in some places went as far as suggesting that **voting in elections and referenda be required** as a means to improve democracy. One Greek woman said, "All citizens should be forced to vote on very important laws and decisions for the country." A man in the Netherlands saw mandatory voting as a way to improve voter turnout: "Compulsory voting should be reintroduced. For provincial council elections, turnout is only 50% to 60%. Introducing compulsory voting could improve this."

> *"To oblige every citizen to vote and influence according to law."*
>
> *– Man, 68, Israel*

Still, not everyone who lives in a country that has mandatory voting approves of it. "Don't make it compulsory to vote for someone. That way, the people who really care will have their vote and those who don't care won't just pick the first person on the sheet or the one with the best name with no idea who they are voting for," said one Australian woman. Another Australian shared a similar view: "I would like to see the scrapping of compulsory voting, as this will mean political parties will need to work harder for votes." And, in Argentina, where voting is mandatory for most citizens, some respondents called for its overhaul – "that voting is not compulsory."

Changing the electoral system

People also call for a different style of voting than they currently have. For example, some focus on implementing a first-past-the-post voting system (in which people vote for a single candidate and the candidate with the most votes wins). As one Australian man put it: "Introduce **first-past-the-post voting**,

> *"Election law reform. Stop voting by region and switch to a national election where one can choose the winner based on the highest number of votes nationwide."*
>
> *– Woman, 63, Japan*

dispensing with preferential voting, as the minor parties are making every government difficult to operate."

Other people value proportional representation, a system where politicians hold the number of seats proportional to their party's support in the voting population. "Reintroduce the **proportional representation** voting system and ensure accountability by elected officials," said a South African man. And a French woman said, "All representatives should be elected by proportional representation."

Some expressed **frustration with ballots listing a choice of parties instead of specific candidates**, as in the case of a Swedish man who said, "Direct election of people, not parties. It is better to vote for a person, you know what they think." An Australian agreed: "Enhancing the electoral process for Australians to vote for candidates, and less for their parties."

There are also calls for things like **ranked-choice voting** ("Ranked-choice voting would limit extremism.") and **two-round voting** ("The kind of two-round voting system would improve democracy.").

But no one system necessarily satisfies everyone. In some countries that already have first-past-the-post voting, for example, there are requests to eliminate it: "Get rid of first-past-the-post. The electoral system needs reform so that the representation by popular votes should have some weight," said one man in Canada. One Japanese woman said, "Abolish the single-seat constituency system," referring to a type of voting that includes first-past-the-post, where one winner represents one electoral district.

Electoral threshold

Changes to the **electoral threshold**, or the minimum share of votes needed for a candidate or party to provide representation, is suggested by some as a way to improve democracy – particularly among those who live in countries with low thresholds and fragmented party

> *"The electoral threshold should be raised, there should be fewer and larger parties."*
>
> *– Man, 82, Netherlands*

systems. In Israel, where the 3.25% electoral threshold leads to many parties participating in each election, one woman said, "Significantly increase the electoral threshold."

This sentiment is echoed in the Netherlands, where the 0.67% threshold is the lowest in the world. One Dutch man said, "I think a high electoral threshold would be good. This could lead to less

fragmentation and speed up decision-making." Another Dutch man saw this change as a means to improve the overall quality of elections: "Raise the electoral threshold, so that there will be more substance. That way not everyone can just start a party." The Dutch survey was conducted prior to November 2023 elections, in which the far-right Party for Freedom (PVV) won the most seats in the House of Representatives.

Making all votes count – or count more

Revising the **borders of electoral districts** is a reform some think could help increase voter representation. **Gerrymandering**, for example – a term coined in the U.S. to describe the practice of drawing electoral district boundaries in a way that creates an advantage for one party over another – is something that people in multiple countries flagged as a problem. For example, an Australian man said, "If we were to ban gerrymandering then each political group would have an equal chance to be elected." In the U.S., one man said, "It would help if we got rid of gerrymandering and the Electoral College and things that suppress the majority."

For others, voter representation is not just about physical electoral districts, but about correcting a perceived **imbalance in the value of each vote**. A 38-year-old Japanese man suggested "equalizing the value of votes from young people versus those of the elderly. Young people should be entitled to two votes." This issue was also brought up in Spain: "The best thing would be one person, one vote. That is, that all votes were worth the same, that they were not counted by autonomous communities," said one man.

The U.S. Electoral College

The **Electoral College** – the process by which U.S. presidential elections are decided – is a major focus of electoral reform for many Americans. One man's response summarized this stance: "Abolition of the Electoral College to allow for direct representation of individual voters rather than allowing certain states to be overrepresented compared to their population size."

Most of the U.S. respondents who mention the Electoral College are against the process, like one woman who said, "We need to do away with the Electoral College. It was a good idea, but now it doesn't make sense." For many, it's an issue of unequal representation: "The Electoral College should go away, and potentially change how senators are allotted. Sparsely populated areas have too much influence while tens of millions of city residents essentially have no say," said another woman.

Free and fair elections

People also call for more **election integrity**. For example, some feel there should be more transparency: "More openness in general election, no corruption, collusion or nepotism," said a woman in Indonesia. Or, as a Nigerian man put it: "Let us have a free and fair election with transparency." People are concerned about this issue in advanced economies as well, with one Canadian man saying, "Election integrity needs to be improved, and no outside interference."

"Have transparent voting and respect who wins. And the one who loses should help the one who won and move on."

– Man, 38, Argentina

Others emphasize the importance of **respecting election results**. "Accept when a candidate loses the election and when a candidate is elected," said a man in Brazil. An Israeli man put it simply: "Respect the results of the elections."

Improving **electoral monitoring**, or the use of unbiased observers to ensure that elections are free and fair, is also a key change people want: "Supervision over the counting of votes," as a woman in Israel said.

"Monitor the processes more, so that there is no miscount."

– Woman, 23, Mexico

In Mexico, where President Andrés Manuel López Obrador has sought controversial election reforms that many believe will weaken the country's National Electoral Institute (INE), there are specific calls to "strengthen the INE instead of wanting to destroy it," as one man said.

A Nigerian man expressed his wish for a better institutional oversight, saying, "The electoral commission should be independent and free from interference from the ruling party." Nigeria's electoral commission faced criticism during the February 2023 presidential election and was accused of delaying election results.

Direct democracy

For some, a form of government where the public votes directly on proposed legislation or policies is a solution to fixing democracy.

This sentiment is particularly common in European countries: In France, Germany, Greece and the Netherlands, it appears in the top five topics mentioned.

In most other countries, it is less of a priority.

> *"Consult the French people more often through referendums about important issues, life-changing issues."*
>
> *– Woman, 49, France*

In a handful of countries (Australia, Canada, France, Greece, the Netherlands and the UK), those who *do not* support the governing party or coalition are more likely to mention direct democracy.

Direct democracy is a priority among some European publics

*% who mention **direct democracy** when describing what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country*
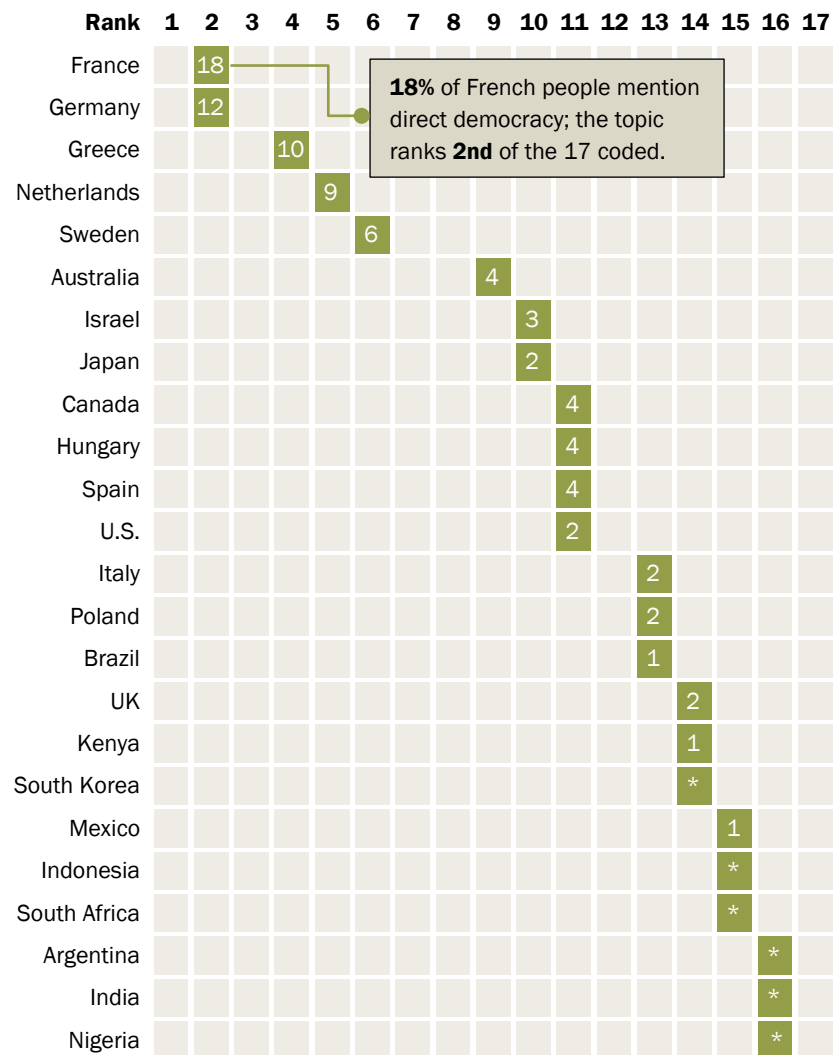
Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
France		18															
Germany		12															
Greece				10													
Netherlands					9												
Sweden						6											
Australia									4								
Israel										3							
Japan										2							
Canada											4						
Hungary											4						
Spain											4						
U.S.											2						
Italy													2				
Poland													2				
Brazil													1				
UK														2			
Kenya														1			
South Korea														*			
Mexico															1		
Indonesia															*		
South Africa															*		
Argentina																*	
India																*	
Nigeria																*	

18% of French people mention direct democracy; the topic ranks **2nd** of the 17 coded.

* Less than 1%.

Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.

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French people stand out as particularly likely to mention direct democracy

In France, direct democracy is the second-most mentioned change people want to see. French people on the ideological left are more likely to bring up this topic than those on the right. Additionally, French adults who believe most elected officials don't care what people like them think (as asked in a separate question) are twice as likely to mention direct democracy as those who say most officials care what they think.

Some in France specifically reference Article 49.3 of the French Constitution, under which the government can push legislation through the National Assembly with no legislative vote: "Article 49.3, which had been established for certain situations, is being used to force through unpopular measures," said one man. The survey was fielded in France between February and April, a period during which Article 49.3 was used to implement controversial pension reforms. Another French man criticizing Article 49.3 saw direct democracy as a clear solution, saying, "Take into account the opinion of citizens in the form of a referendum. Ask for the citizens' opinions to avoid passing laws in the form of 49.3."

The Swiss model

Switzerland's political system – in which the public is able to vote directly on constitutional initiatives and policy referenda – is perceived positively by others around the world, many of whom want their own country to emulate this model. For example, one Canadian woman said, "If people could vote on important issues like in Switzerland and make decisions on important laws, that's a true democracy there."

> *"More public participation on single important topics, just like the referendums in Switzerland."*
>
> *– Man, 55, Germany*

This viewpoint is particularly widespread across European respondents; many want their country's democracy to resemble Switzerland's. "It would be a good idea to go back and make decisions much more collegially, like the Swiss system," said a French man. And a Swedish woman said, "More referenda on nuclear power, sexuality, NATO and the EU. Like Switzerland, which has referendums on many issues." (The survey was conducted prior to Sweden joining NATO in March 2024.)

Referenda

Respondents in many countries highlight the benefits of more referenda, or instances where the public votes directly on an issue. For some, a key factor is the **frequency of voting**. One Kenyan man responded, "Citizens should have a referendum at least once in a while to decide on major issues that affect the country." And a German woman asked that "more referendums take place."

> *"More citizen participation in real decision-making. In other countries, referendums are held expressing opinions on different issues, not like here where they vote every four years."*
>
> *– Man, 41, Spain*

In other cases, referenda are seen as **opportunities for the government to seek the public's approval**. A Mexican man explained, "Before becoming legal, reforms should pass through a citizen filter and popular consultation." This sometimes includes ensuring that more marginalized voices get a chance to weigh in. For example, one Israeli man said, "When enacting any law, there should be a referendum where all citizens vote, whether Arabs or Jews." And an Australian woman wished to see more perspectives reflected, calling for "more direct democracy, and more opportunities for influence by poor, multicultural and minority groups."

In the UK, where a controversial June 2016 referendum resulted in the UK departing the European Union (known as Brexit), some still express support for direct democracy. A British woman suggested, "we need to put down more questions more polls for the public to choose new policies, new laws." One British man even noted that a referendum could *undo* Brexit: "We should have a referendum that is truly reflective about Brexit and rejoining the EU." But other Britons are more wary of direct democracy: One man said, "We should not allow the general public to make critical decisions. The general public should not be allowed to make economic decisions, for example, Brexit."

6. Rule of law, safety and the judicial system

In several of the 24 countries surveyed, **rule of law** issues and improving **public safety** rank toward the top half of the changes people say could help improve democracy in their country. And safety – whether that be reducing crime, supporting law enforcement or other policies – is particularly salient in some of the middle-income countries included in the survey (Argentina, Brazil, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria and South Africa).

In most places, though, relatively few people think that it's important to **reform the justice system** itself. Israel is the notable exception, where judicial system reform was the *top* focus for improving democracy. At the time of the survey in Israel, waves of protests in response to proposed judicial reforms were sweeping the country, and respondents were particularly focused on how implementing those reforms – or blocking them – would improve Israel's democracy. (The survey preceded the Oct. 7 Hamas attacks and the January Supreme Court ruling that struck down the reforms.)

Rule of law

In Greece, Poland and Kenya, issues related to the rule of law rank toward the top among the changes people think would help improve democracy in their country. Elsewhere, the issue typically hovers in the top 10 of the 17 substantive topics coded, but it doesn't make the top five.

Rule of law concerns run the gamut, from people calling for politicians to "follow the law" and "follow the Constitution" to specific changes related to enforcing existing laws – or doing so more equitably.

> *"Leaders should execute their duties and their mandate well, according to the Constitution."*
>
> *– Woman, 26, Kenya*

In some countries, older people are more likely to mention the topic than younger ones. For example, 7% of South Africans ages 40 and older mention rule of law issues, compared with 2% of adults under 40. Men are also somewhat more likely than women to mention the topic in some places surveyed.

For some, focusing on law and order is a key way to improve democracy

*% who mention **rule of law** when describing what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country*
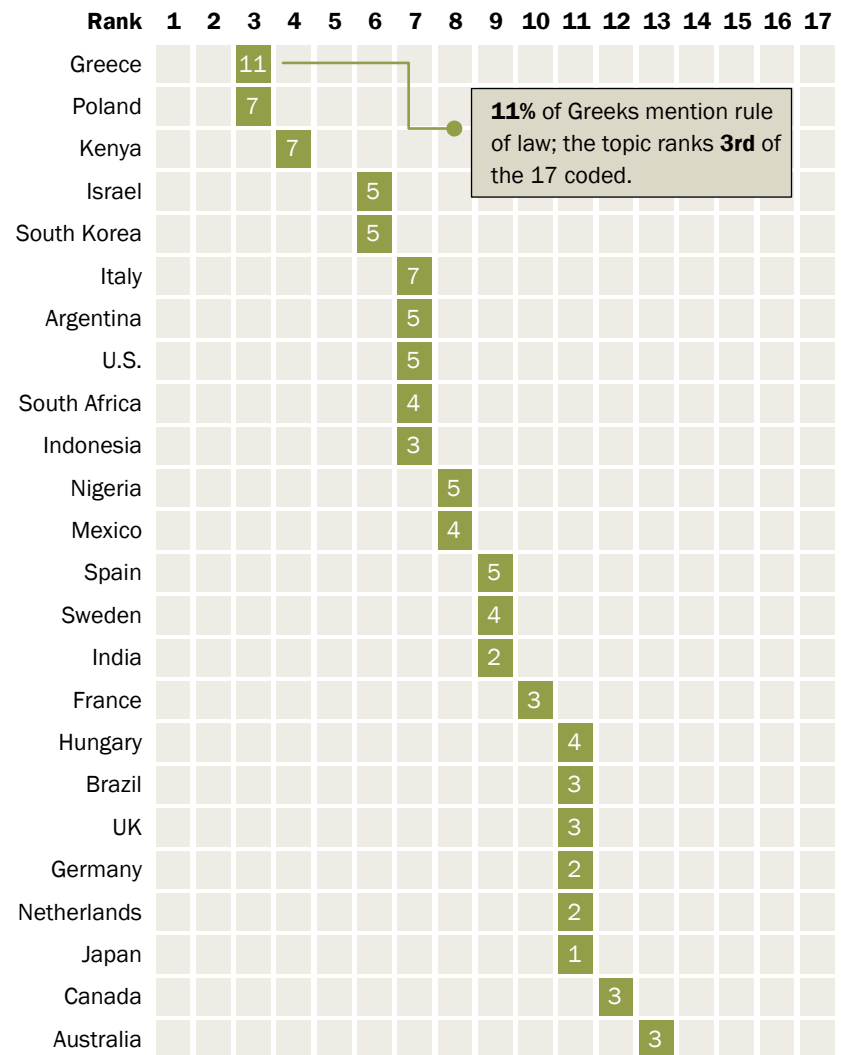
Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Greece			11														
Poland			7														
Kenya				7													
Israel						5											
South Korea						5											
Italy							7										
Argentina							5										
U.S.							5										
South Africa							4										
Indonesia							3										
Nigeria								5									
Mexico								4									
Spain									5								
Sweden									4								
India									2								
France										3							
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Brazil											3						
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Netherlands											2						
Japan											1						
Canada												3					
Australia													3				

11% of Greeks mention rule of law; the topic ranks **3rd** of the 17 coded.

Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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In the U.S., conservatives (7%) are slightly more likely than liberals (4%) or moderates (3%) to mention the rule of law. The same is true in South Korea.

But, in Poland, those on the *left* are significantly more likely to mention the rule of law as a means to improve democracy. And those who have a unfavorable view of the right-wing populist party Law and Justice (PiS), which was governing at the time the survey was conducted, are substantially more likely to mention rule of law than those who view PiS favorably (10% vs. 1%). *(For more information on how we classify populist parties, refer to Appendix E.)*

Follow and enforce existing laws

Respondents who emphasize rule of law often issue simple declarations about the need to **"follow the Constitution"** or "respect the Constitution." At times, they include specific invocations of the U.S. Founding Fathers or Indonesia's Pancasila (the five-principle state philosophy set forth at Indonesia's founding).

> *"In my opinion, to improve democracy in Italy, it would be enough to respect the existing laws and respect the people."*
>
> *– Woman, 71, Italy*

Other times, they indicate that current lawmakers are *not* following the Constitution, as in the case of one woman in Poland who said, "Democracy is misunderstood in Poland. The Constitution is violated, and politicians don't care what people think." And sometimes, the emphasis is simply on respecting the existing founding documents of the country. As one woman in Spain said: "I don't think anything else is needed to fix democracy except compliance with the Constitution."

Beyond their country's constitution, people call for the **following of existing laws** – essentially, "better enforcement of laws" already on the books. In Brazil, for example, one woman complained, "The laws that are created are often not enforced." In Germany, a woman said, "The laws that we have should be more closely observed. That would change a lot."

People also highlight the importance of **equitably applying the law** to all people in the country. One Indian man mentioned the importance of justice across social classes: "The legal system should not differentiate between the rich and the poor." In Greece, some emphasized enforcing laws to prevent "favoritism" and allow "meritocracy." *(For more on issues of individual rights and equality, read Chapter 4.)*

Applying laws to politicians – including prosecuting them, when needed

Anger about poor enforcement of the rule of law sometimes centers on *politicians*. One South African woman said democracy would improve if "we make sure we stick to the laws, irrespective of who breaks them. To create trust in this country, we need to get rid of corrupt officials." Respondents also mention **prosecuting corrupt politicians**:

> *"Our democracy is a sham democracy. It protects those in power, and it is nonexistent for the powerless. If the law is not equal for everyone, democracy is gone."*
>
> *– Man, 72, Italy*

- "Punish all the political governors who are thieves, removing them from office."
  – Man, 71, Mexico
- "Immunity of representatives should be abolished." – Man, 37, Germany
- "That accused officials can go to jail. Investigate them to see if they are honest and dedicated to the people." – Woman, 28, Argentina
- "Taking [former prime minister] Raila Odinga to the International Criminal Court!"
  – Man, 30, Kenya

Relatedly, people emphasize the need to **prevent convicted or corrupt officials** from continuing to hold office:

- "End corruption, and elected officials must resign if they are indicted." – Woman, 56, France
- "Members of the National Assembly should be disqualified if they are corrupt."
  – Man, 58, South Korea
- "The leaders who have criminal cases against them should not have the right to contest elections." – Man, 19, India
- "Politicians once convicted of a criminal offense or a crime of moral turpitude should be dismissed from public office immediately without any recourse and never be allowed to serve again." – Man, 71, U.S.

(For more on views of politicians, read Chapter 1.)

Ensuring safety

Public safety – including calls to reduce crime, improve policing and protect women – is also seen as a way to improve democracy, particularly in some of the middle-income countries surveyed. The issue appears in the top 10 named in Argentina, Brazil, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria and South Africa.

> *"Democracy in this country has been distorted. Lack of security could improve with the Armed Forces on the streets."*
>
> *– Man, 46, Argentina*

In Argentina, which is in the midst of its worst economic crisis in decades, safety is ranked fourth of the 17 substantive topics coded – higher than any other survey country. Some Argentines tie crime and the economy together, as in the case of one woman's declaration: "More work, less violence."

In most other countries, though, focusing on safety is

Safety is seen as somewhat important for improving democracy in several middle-income countries

*% who mention **safety** when describing what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country*
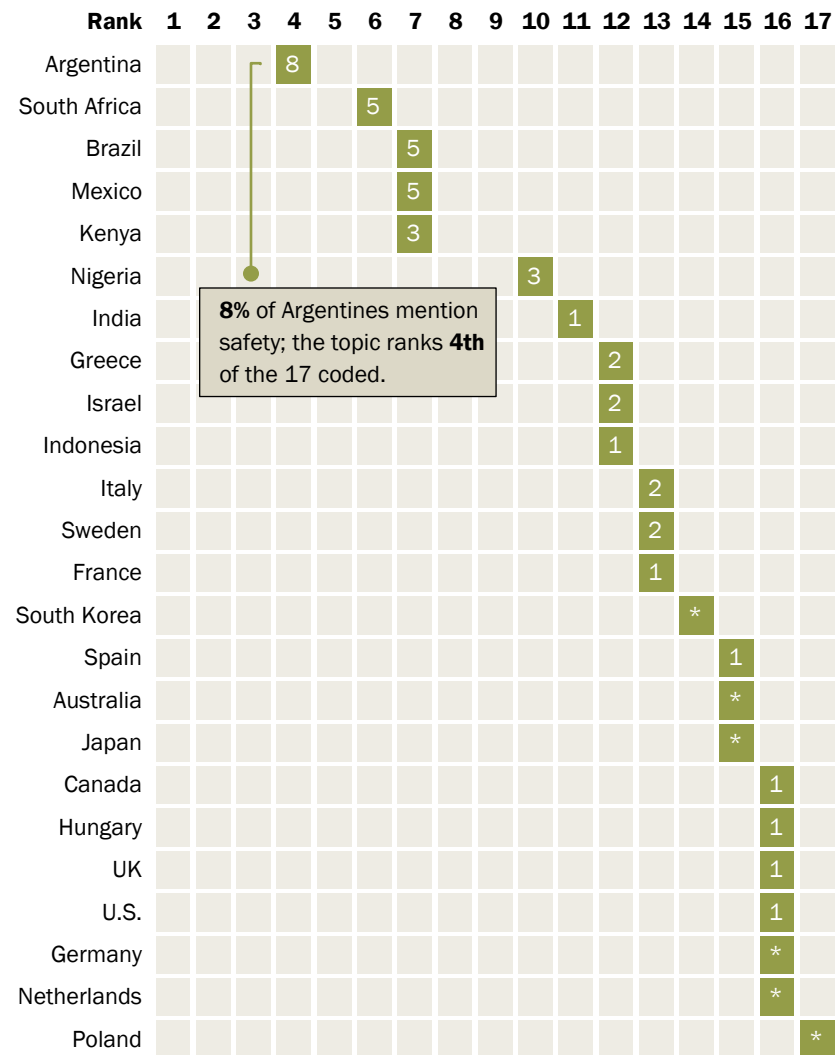
Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Argentina				8													
South Africa						5											
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India											1						
Greece												2					
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Indonesia												1					
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France													1				
South Korea														*			
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U.S.																1	
Germany																*	
Netherlands																*	
Poland																	*

8% of Argentines mention safety; the topic ranks **4th** of the 17 coded.

* Less than 1%.

Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.

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less of a priority to improve democracy.

Crime, safety and tougher punishments

Respondents who mention safety often focus specifically on **lowering crime**. They note that democracy would improve if there were "less murder," "stricter laws for crimes against women and strict action should be taken against rapists," and "more safety," among other issues. These sentiments are present in both high-income and middle-income economies. For example, a Swedish man said, "Start with better laws and better sentences or penalties to get rid of all crime." And a Mexican woman asked for "good governors to put an end to all crime, to have more surveillance."

> *"As a democratic country, crack down on crime properly."*
>
> *– Man, 69, Japan*

Some of these responses focus expressly on **safety for women**. A woman in India had a list of changes, suggesting, "Technology should be improved, bribery should be stopped, women should be protected, women should be employed, education should be better, law and order should be maintained." Another woman in Mexico suggested that the government "pay more attention to what they need to do to support women who suffer violence, rape or mistreatment." But women were not the only people calling for this democratic improvement: "Women and children are dying every day; can't they increase security in our country?" asked a South African man.

Concerns about crime and safety lead some to favor **stricter punishments** for criminals. For example, people mention the need for "a tougher hand with criminals," and generally "stricter laws." They also offer specific policy solutions, including calls to reinstate the death penalty and put in place more severe punishments and prison sentences.

The role of law enforcement

For many people who highlight safety as a means to improve democracy, **empowering law enforcement** is a good place to start. "We can make democracy improve by having strong institutions. The Constitution should be respected, the security personnel should do their best in making sure rules are respected," said a Nigerian man. And an Australian woman suggested, "Pay police the same amounts CEOs

> *"The police should stop corruption and respect the law. Corruption is what makes people lose confidence in the country. Even those who work in government should be ethical and respect the laws of the country."*
>
> *– Man, 40, South Africa*

get and then we might attract better people to the job."

Others take issue with the **disrespect that police forces face in their country**, like a German man who said, "Crack down on people who show toughness against the police, fire brigade and rescue workers. A quick deportation of people who do not comply with law and order." And a French woman thought people should "respect the law, respect the police, respect your superior, no violence."

Still, questions of **police corruption**, their immunity from prosecution and the need to apply the law to them were top of mind for some respondents. In the U.S., there were some who called for "abolishing the police," while in Israel, people were sometimes critical of police violence against the Arab community. For example, one Israeli woman said, "The police should treat Arabs as citizens and not as terrorists."

> *"Laws that effectively treat police and politicians equally when they commit unlawful acts against the public. We should not place them above others by the nature of their positions. These changes alone would mitigate many cases of corruption and abuse of power being seen today."*
>
> *– Man, 53, U.S.*

Safety and immigration

In South Africa and the U.S., some responses appealing for safety mentioned **border security** specifically. For example, one South African man suggested his country "close our borders, minimize crime." Another South African man said, "Strict security on the country borders, more visible policy to reduce crime." An American woman felt similarly that immigration and crime were linked: "Take care of American citizens first, take care of crime and prosecute criminals, close borders." And another U.S. woman said, "Finish the wall at the border and prosecute street gangs and criminals."

The judicial system

In most countries surveyed, people stop short of calling for changes to the judicial system as a way to improve their nation's democracy. Outside of Israel, the issue never ranks higher than 10th among the 17 substantive topics coded.

In Israel, however, judicial system reform is the *top* issue of those coded. And the issue comes up more among Israelis on the ideological right (21%) than those in the center (11%) or on the left (10%). Israelis who see large divisions across ideological lines or between parties in their country are also about twice as likely as those who don't see strong conflicts to mention judicial system reform.

In the U.S., those on the left are more likely to mention judicial system reform than those on the right.

The people who suggest judicial system reform often fit squarely into two groups: 1) those who want "less judicial activism" and "less interference" from judges; and

Outside of Israel, reforming the judicial system is not seen as a key way to improve democracy

*% who mention the **judicial system** when describing what would help improve the way democracy is working in their country*
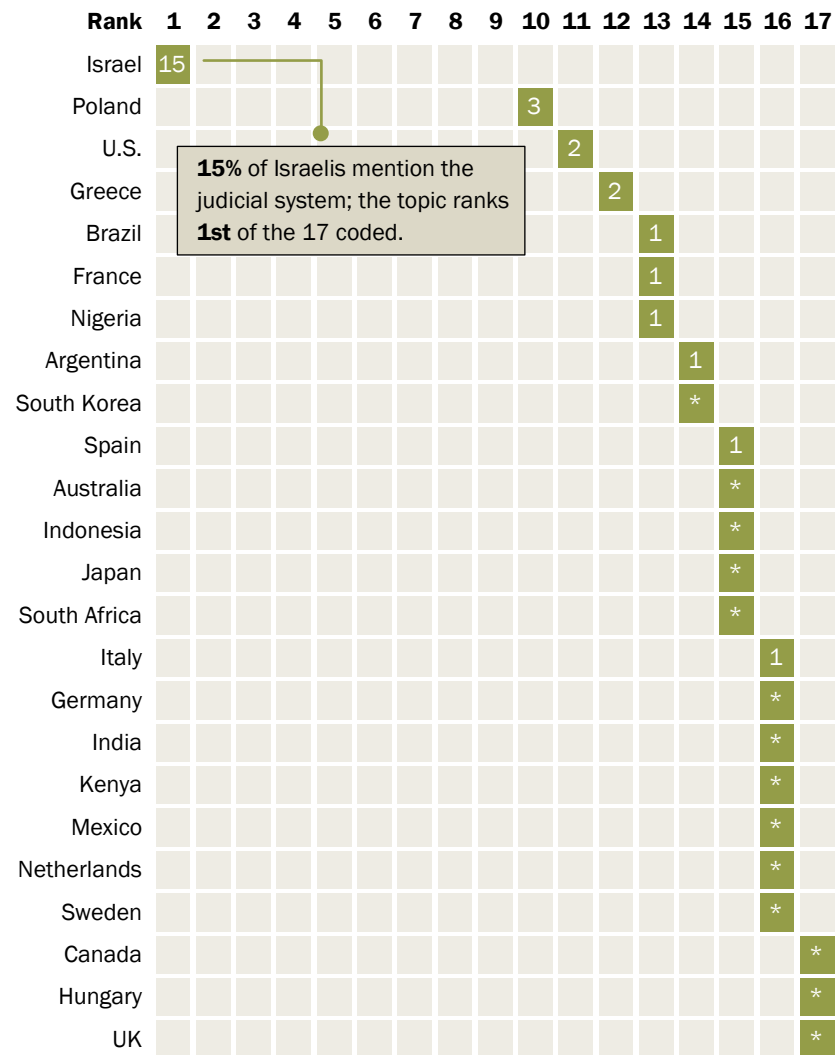
Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Israel	15																
Poland										3							
U.S.											2						
Greece												2					
Brazil													1				
France													1				
Nigeria													1				
Argentina														1			
South Korea														*			
Spain															1		
Australia															*		
Indonesia															*		
Japan															*		
South Africa															*		
Italy																1	
Germany																*	
India																*	
Kenya																*	
Mexico																*	
Netherlands																*	
Sweden																*	
Canada																	*
Hungary																	*
UK																	*

15% of Israelis mention the judicial system; the topic ranks **1st** of the 17 coded.

* Less than 1%.
Note: Open-ended question. Refer to Appendix A for more information on coding methodology.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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2) those who want their judges to be *more* independent and thus less subservient to politicians.

Keeping judges out of politics

Some express concerns about judges meddling in politics – essentially, creating legislation from the bench. For example, one American man complained that "activist judges" were "making laws instead of applying the laws as written."

> *"Less interference from the judiciary."*
>
> *– Man, 60, Brazil*

A Spanish man also focused on the conflict between the legislative branch and the judiciary, noting, "It would be better if the justices did not interfere so much in the work of the government. I believe that the government has to govern and that the judges are oppositional. They should not be doing political work." In Spain, the survey was fielded a few months after the Spanish Constitutional Court blocked a parliamentary initiative focused on simplifying the method of electing court members.

Keeping politics out of the judicial system

In some countries, the concern centers more on *politicians* meddling in the justice system – with calls for the judiciary to have "true independence." In Poland, for example, years of judicial reform have focused on allowing political oversight of judges, leading to clashes with the European Court of Justice around the time of the survey. Polish respondents highlighted the need to elect new judges to the Constitutional Tribunal and change the people on it – or, as one woman said, "reelect the Constitutional Tribunal without politicians." *(For more on views of politicians, read Chapter 1.)*

People elsewhere also highlight the **political nature of judges**. In the U.S., for example, one woman said that "nominees for the Supreme Court should not be denied by Congress if they are qualified. There must be a way to control extremely partisan judges???" In the UK, another woman emphasized how "the courts are quite biased" and democracy would improve with "more impartial courts."

Israel: Tension between interference and independence

In Israel – where, at the time of the survey, the government was pushing a controversial "reasonableness" bill meant to weaken the Supreme Court's power to cancel government decisions – people mentioned *both* interference and independence.

For example, concerns about interference centered on "eliminating the High Court's tyranny" and "curtailing the unlimited power that the High Court appropriated to itself." Given the timing of the survey, people also focused on the need to push through the then-pending legislation, as in the case of one man who said, "We should quickly complete the legislation of Yariv Levin and cut off, once and for all, the head of the snake in the form of the legal system headed by the High Court."

"To not let the legal reform go through and eliminate the Court and all the gatekeepers."

– Woman, 41, Israel

"To pass the laws that will limit the unbridled power of the court that acts as if our country was its private property."

– Woman, 19, Israel

Those focused on the independence of the judiciary highlighted the need to "preserve the court," to "keep the Supreme Court independent and not subordinate to anybody or entity," and to "do everything to keep the last word of the High Court on any social and moral issue."

Improving day-to-day functioning of the judiciary

Many of the other ways that people want to fix the judicial system focused on its day-to-day operation. For example, respondents in multiple countries highlight the speed of decisions:

"In order to improve democracy, the judiciary must be fixed. Courts lack clerks, they save money and do damage. I prefer they spend more and make the law work. Some services take years to obtain, for sentences to be carried out."

– Man, 82, Italy

- "Judicial processes should be expedited!" – Man, 18, Argentina
- "The judiciary should be reformed so court proceedings are faster." – Man, 65, Italy
- "Cases should be adjudicated faster." – Woman, 45, Greece

Others note that certain services were limited during the COVID-19 pandemic and have not yet returned, saying there is more need for "access to the courts." Some people call for technological changes, like offering live proceedings.

Supreme Court reform in the U.S.

In the U.S., while there are many different suggestions for judicial reform, one common refrain was the need for changes specifically in the Supreme Court. Many of these responses center around **term limits for justices**. People express concern about the lifetime nature of court appointments and about long-serving justices getting out of touch.

For example, one woman said, "We should limit the terms of the Supreme Court justices to 10 years. Some of them are so old and have very conservative views of the world, and their beliefs are no longer in sync with the rest of the U.S. Democracy means options and choices – so how can we have democracy when we are stuck with the same Supreme Court judges year after year?" Another woman noted, "Terms should be shorter, because if someone does a bad job, it's hard to get them out." These sentiments lead to some calling specifically for a mandatory retirement age.

Still others focus on **changing how justices are appointed**, including:

- "Having term limits for Supreme Court justices that are staggered so that each president can choose one justice during his or her four-year term." – Woman, 60, U.S.
- "Add more judges to the Supreme Court." – Woman, 54, U.S.
- "The Supreme Court should have an equal number of judges across parties."
  – Woman, 71, U.S.
- "U.S. Supreme Court justice confirmation should not be subject to Senate majority party discretion." – Man, 73, U.S.

And, while a code of ethics for the Supreme Court has come out since the survey was fielded, at least one respondent noted a need for that.

Appendix A: Coding methodology

This Pew Research Center analysis on views of how to improve democracy uses data from nationally representative surveys conducted in 24 countries.

For non-U.S. data, this analysis draws on nationally representative surveys of 27,285 adults conducted from Feb. 20 to May 22, 2023. Surveys were conducted over the phone with adults in Canada, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, South Korea, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom. They were conducted face-to-face with adults in Argentina, Brazil, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Israel, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Poland and South Africa. In Australia, we used a mixed-mode probability-based online panel. All responses are weighted to be representative of the adult population in each country. Read more about international survey methodology.

In the U.S., we surveyed 3,576 adults from March 20 to March 26, 2023. Everyone who took part in this survey is a member of the Center's American Trends Panel (ATP), an online survey panel that is recruited through national, random sampling of residential addresses. This way, nearly all U.S. adults have a chance of selection. The survey is weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, partisan affiliation, education and other categories. Read more about the ATP's methodology.

Respondents in all countries were asked the following question: "We'd like to know more about your views of democracy in (survey country). What do you think would help improve the way democracy in (survey country) is working?" For interviewer-administered surveys, responses were transcribed by interviewers in the language in which the interviews were conducted. In the sections that follow, we detail how we coded these responses to use for analysis, as well as properties of the responses.

Codebook development

To develop a codebook for the main ways people want to improve their democracy across the 24 countries surveyed, Center researchers iteratively reviewed random samples of native English responses and non-English responses translated by Google Translate and by a professional translation firm. Researchers mapped out the key concepts that commonly appeared in the responses using open coding. After developing an initial set of categories, researchers tested the codebook on multiple random samples of at least 75 native English responses to evaluate the codebook's conceptual validity. After each round, they reviewed disagreements and refined the codebook before testing it again on another sample.

After five iterations of this process, researchers were able to determine that the codebook was clear enough for other coders to independently apply it in a consistent manner. The codebook's overall Krippendorff's alpha, measured using MASI distance as a similarity measure, was 0.70 across the 25 codes in the codebook. Krippendorff's alpha, measured traditionally using a binary measure, was also above 0.70 for most individual codes.

Coding responses

Using these intercoder reliability scores measured during codebook development as a benchmark of acceptable performance, researchers trained a larger group of Center coders and professional translators to apply the codebook at scale to the full set of responses. The full set did not include responses marked as a nonresponse by interviewers, which automatically received a code of "Don't know/Refused." In total, 25,005 responses in 36 different languages, including English, from 24 different countries were coded. *(For more on nonresponse, go to [Characteristics of the responses].)*

Number of respondents and responses per language

	Language	Number of responses	Number of coded responses		Language	Number of responses	Number of coded responses
Argentina	Spanish	992	762	Italy	Italian	1,012	909
Australia	English	2,034	1,660	Japan	Japanese	1,004	709
Brazil	Portuguese	1,044	844	Kenya	English	504	404
Canada	English	775	674	Kenya	Swahili	532	400
Canada	French	232	190	Mexico	Spanish	1,041	854
France	French	1,060	968	Netherlands	Dutch	1,013	885
Germany	German	1,021	863	Nigeria	English	847	775
Greece	Greek	1,002	916	Nigeria	Hausa	111	103
Hungary	Hungarian	1,007	805	Nigeria	Igbo	35	32
India	Assamese	62	46	Nigeria	Yoruba	57	50
India	Bengali	236	179	Poland	Polish	1,022	769
India	Gujarati	119	119	South Africa	Afrikaans	1	1
India	Hindi	1,286	1073	South Africa	English	1,229	1,043
India	Kannada	120	98	South Africa	North Sotho	15	13
India	Malayalam	70	68	South Africa	South Sotho	46	37
India	Marathi	192	179	South Africa	Xhosa	65	55
India	Oriya	100	81	South Africa	Zulu	146	133
India	Punjabi	62	52	South Korea	Korean	1,735	1,511
India	Tamil	175	170	Spain	Spanish	1,012	990
India	Telugu	189	164	Sweden	Swedish	1,096	875
Indonesia	Bahasa Indonesian	959	682	UK	English	1,024	932
Israel	Arabic	232	133	U.S.	English	3,360	1,991
Israel	Hebrew	769	692	U.S.	Spanish	216	116

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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Professional translators as coders

To code the 17,526 non-English responses that were collected in 35 different languages, the Center partnered with a professional translation firm – cApStAn – and utilized Google Translate for select languages. (We have previously experimented with using Google Translate for open-ended survey responses.)

For low-incidence languages, professional translators from cApStAn, hereinafter referred to as "translators," converted all responses into English, and the translated responses were processed by in-house coders. For all other languages, translators coded and translated to English a random sample of 100 responses from each language after reviewing the codebook. The translators also recorded any questions and comments they had during the coding process. The sampled responses were concurrently translated to English using Google Translate and processed by in-house coders. To evaluate intercoder reliability, the translated responses were divided up and coded by Center researchers who developed the codebook.

After coding the English translations provided by the translators, Center researchers reviewed the translators' notes and corresponding disagreements, and further refined the codebook with clarifying guidelines and decision-making rules. Center researchers also looked for possible systematic misunderstandings of the codebook within each language-country subset in the sample. For each subset (e.g., Spanish in Argentina), the Center identified disagreements and developed further guidelines to help resolve misunderstandings.

Based on the coding results from the translators and Google Translate, and in conjunction with results of prior analysis, Center researchers determined that Japanese responses could be coded in-house. Researchers also chose to code Spanish responses in-house based on the above results and the staff's language abilities.

For all other non-English languages, barring low-incidence languages translators were used as coders, following repeated sets of coding and feedback to ensure all of them achieved an acceptable enough understanding of the codebook that they could apply it independently (Krippendorff's alpha of 0.7 or higher).

Before the translators independently coded the remaining non-English responses, Center researchers provided a final round of extensive feedback. As the translators further improved their understanding of the codebook using this feedback, it is likely that the intercoder reliability scores reported below represent a lower-bound estimate of their actual coding performance on the remaining non-English responses.

Intercoder reliability scores, overall and by individual code

Krippendorff's alpha

	Center researcher reliability (n=75)	In-house coder reliability, effective (n=14,963)	Translator reliability, effective (n=10,042)
Overall	0.70	0.73	0.75
Political reform: General	0.60	0.66	0.71
Political reform: Balance of power	0.87	0.81	0.47
Political reform: Term limits	1.00	1.00	0.98
Parties	0.82	0.81	0.84
Other: Non-democratic alternative	1.00	0.65	0.73
Special interests: General	0.94	0.91	0.71
Special interests: Corruption	0.83	0.87	0.85
Electoral reform	0.94	0.93	0.87
Direct democracy	1.00	0.90	0.86
Media reform	1.00	0.98	0.90
Economic reform: General	0.85	0.89	0.81
Economic reform: Jobs	1.00	1.00	0.78
Individual rights and equality	0.22	0.35	0.79
Safety	0.89	0.84	0.95
Rule of law	0.90	0.86	0.75
Judicial system	1.00	0.94	0.87
Politicians: General	0.75	0.77	0.74
Politicians: Responsiveness	0.71	0.76	0.89
Change leadership	0.77	0.79	0.89
Citizens: Quality	0.73	0.80	0.72
Citizens: Participation	0.47	0.61	0.68
Policies and legislation	0.67	0.72	0.82
No changes	0.94	0.94	0.88
Other: General	0.22	0.22	0.49
DK/Refused	1.00	0.95	0.80

Note: Figures based on a codebook of 25 codes. Overall figures calculated using MASI distance. Topic-specific figures calculated using traditional binary measure. Researcher figures are for the four Pew Research Center researchers who developed the codebook, calculated using the sample used for codebook development, and were used to establish the codebook's conceptual validity. In-house coder figures are for all Center coders, including the researchers involved in codebook development, calculated using coders' individual reliability scores (against a benchmark sample of 75-100 responses) and weighted by the proportion of responses they coded in the final set of responses coded by the Center. Translator figures are for translators from a professional translation firm, calculated using translators' individual reliability scores (against a benchmark sample of 75-100 responses) and weighted by the proportion of responses they coded in the final set of responses coded by the translation firm.
Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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English responses coded in-house

To code the responses that were collected natively in English from seven different countries and not already coded in the prior samples described above, Center researchers trained 13 additional in-house coders to apply the codebook independently. Each coder was given a sample of 100 English responses and evaluated for intercoder reliability. The sample was drawn from responses that the original researchers involved in the codebook's development had reached a consensus for during the codebook development process.

The additional coders were then evaluated against the coding results from Center researchers and given feedback, including notes on the cases where they disagreed with the baseline. Those whose overall MASI-distance Krippendorff's alpha was at or above 0.70 began independently coding the full queue of native English responses. Those below 0.70 were given additional random responses until they could apply the codebook independently.

The researchers and additional coders from the Center each coded between 65 and 2,677 responses. Weighted proportionally by their contribution to the total number of responses, these in-house coders achieved an overall effective intercoder reliability MASI-distance Krippendorff's alpha of 0.73. Their collective reliability (measured by standard binary Krippendorff's alphas) was also at or above 0.70 for most codes independently.

Collapsing codes for analysis

The original codebook for this analysis contains 25 unique codes applied to each unit of information in responses. Center researchers recategorized these 25 codes into 18 "primary" codes – including 17 substantive primary codes and one primary code for nonresponse – and eight "sub" codes to focus on overall themes throughout the text. For example, the "economic reform" code contains not only general mentions of changes to the economic system, but also any mentions of "jobs."

Primary codes and sub codes

Primary code	Sub codes
Government reform	Distribution of power
	Term limits for elected officials
Parties	-
Special interests	Corruption
Electoral reform	-
Direct democracy	-
Media reform	-
Economic reform	Jobs
Individual rights and equality	-
Safety	-
Rule of law	-
Judicial reform	-
Politicians	Responsiveness
Change leadership	-
Citizens	Citizen quality
	Citizen participation
Policies and legislation	-
No changes	-
Other	Non-democratic alternative
Don't know/Refused	-

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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Characteristics of the responses

Item nonresponse varies significantly across the 24 countries included in the survey. In Spain, just 4% did not provide an answer to the open-ended question, while 47% did not respond in the U.S. Roughly a third of respondents did not answer the question in Argentina, Australia, Indonesia and Japan.

Previous research has established that item nonresponse is higher for open-ended questions than for closed-ended questions, which have a pre-fixed set of response options. Factors like the level of cognitive burden for the respondent and whether the topical focus is political can also contribute. The difficulty of this open-ended question as well as its political nature likely contributed to higher nonresponse rates.

People with lower levels of formal education were more likely not to answer the question in most countries surveyed, as were younger adults relative to older adults in some countries.

Countries also vary in **how much detail the average respondent provided**. For example, Spanish responses in Spain averaged 32 words, more than double the 14 words in the average Spanish response in Mexico. While this particular gap may be attributable to mode differences – responses in Spain were collected over the phone, while responses in Mexico were collected in person – response length also varies between the publics that were surveyed in person. In Argentina, where the survey was also administered in Spanish and face-to-face, people provided an average of nine words.

Whether due to mode or to cultural, demographic or other factors, variation in response length ultimately manifests as **variation in the number of topics mentioned in a given response**. For example, across the 24 countries surveyed, a median of 73% mentioned only one topic in our codebook (e.g., politicians). The share in South Korea is much higher, with 92% suggesting only one area of improvement when describing what they think would improve

Item nonresponse across 24 countries surveyed

% who offered no response to the open-ended question

	%
U.S.	47
Japan	34
Indonesia	33
Argentina	30
Australia	30
Poland	29
Hungary	25
Kenya	25
Germany	23
Sweden	23
Brazil	22
Canada	21
UK	21
Mexico	20
India	18
South Korea	18
South Africa	17
Israel	15
Netherlands	15
Italy	14
France	13
Greece	10
Nigeria	9
Spain	4

Source: Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey. Q68.
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democracy. In comparison, about a quarter or more mention two areas of improvement in France, Spain, Sweden and the U.S.

These differences help explain why the *share* giving a particular answer in certain publics may appear much lower than others, even if it is the top-*ranked* suggestion for improving democracy. To give a specific example, 10% of respondents in Poland mention politicians, while 18% do so in South Africa – yet the topic is ranked second in Poland and third in South Africa. Given this discrepancy, researchers have chosen to highlight not only the share of the public that mentions a given topic but also its relative ranking among all topics coded, both in text and in graphics.

Selection of quotes

Open-ended responses included in the report and in the interactive quote sorter have been edited for clarity (and, in some cases, translated into English by a professional firm). They have been purposefully – not randomly – selected to illustrate key points, and selected responses may not be representative of all responses for a given public. Quotes may also have been shortened in the report for brevity. Our analysis is not a fact check of participants' views.

Appendix B: Survey methodology

About Pew Research Center's Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey

Results for the survey are based on telephone, face-to-face and online interviews conducted under the direction of Gallup, Kantar Public, Langer Research Associates and Social Research Centre. 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. Results for the U.S. survey are based on data from the American Trends Panel.

The American Trends Panel survey methodology

Overview

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults. Panelists participate via self-administered web surveys. Panelists who do not have internet access at home are provided with a tablet and wireless internet connection. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish. The panel is being managed by Ipsos.

Data in this report is drawn from ATP Wave 124, conducted from March 20 to March 26, 2023, and includes an oversample of Hispanic men, non-Hispanic Black men and non-Hispanic Asian adults to provide more precise estimates of the opinions and experiences of these smaller demographic subgroups. These oversampled groups are weighted back to reflect their correct proportions in the population. A total of 3,576 panelists responded out of 4,058 who were sampled, for a response rate of 88%. The cumulative response rate

American Trends Panel recruitment surveys

Recruitment dates	Mode	Invited	Joined	Active panelists remaining
Jan. 23 to March 16, 2014	Landline/ cell RDD	9,809	5,338	1,503
Aug. 27 to Oct. 4, 2015	Landline/ cell RDD	6,004	2,976	881
April 25 to June 4, 2017	Landline/ cell RDD	3,905	1,628	434
Aug. 8 to Oct. 31, 2018	ABS	9,396	8,778	4,116
Aug. 19 to Nov. 30, 2019	ABS	5,900	4,720	1,472
June 1 to July 19, 2020; Feb. 10 to March 31, 2021	ABS	3,197	2,812	1,541
May 29 to July 7, 2021; Sept. 16 to Nov. 1, 2021	ABS	1,329	1,162	788
May 24 to Sept. 29, 2022	ABS	3,354	2,869	1,697
	Total	**42,894**	**30,283**	**12,432**

Note: RDD is random-digit dial; ABS is address-based sampling. Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves or who did not complete an annual profiling survey are removed from the panel. Panelists also become inactive if they ask to be removed from the panel.

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accounting for nonresponse to the recruitment surveys and attrition is 4%. The break-off rate among panelists who logged on to the survey and completed at least one item is 1%. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 3,576 respondents is plus or minus 2.0 percentage points.

Panel recruitment

The ATP was created in 2014, with the first cohort of panelists invited to join the panel at the end of a large, national, landline and cellphone random-digit-dial survey that was conducted in both English and Spanish. Two additional recruitments were conducted using the same method in 2015 and 2017, respectively. Across these three surveys, a total of 19,718 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 9,942 (50%) agreed to participate.

In August 2018, the ATP switched from telephone to address-based recruitment. Invitations were sent to a stratified, random sample of households selected from the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File. Sampled households receive mailings asking a randomly selected adult to complete a survey online. A question at the end of the survey asks if the respondent is willing to join the ATP. In 2020 and 2021 another stage was added to the recruitment. Households that did not respond to the online survey were sent a paper version of the questionnaire, $5 and a postage-paid return envelope. A subset of the adults who returned the paper version of the survey were invited to join the ATP. This subset of adults received a follow-up mailing with a $10 pre-incentive and invitation to join the ATP.

Across the five address-based recruitments, a total of 23,176 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 20,341 agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. In each household, one adult was selected and asked to go online to complete a survey, at the end of which they were invited to join the panel. Of the 30,283 individuals who have ever joined the ATP, 12,432 remained active panelists and continued to receive survey invitations at the time this survey was conducted.

The U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File has been estimated to cover as much as 98% of the population, although some studies suggest that the coverage could be in the low 90% range.[2] The American Trends Panel never uses breakout routers or chains that direct respondents to additional surveys.

Sample design

The overall target population for this survey was non-institutionalized persons ages 18 and older living in the U.S., including Alaska and Hawaii. It featured a stratified random sample from the ATP in which Hispanic men, non-Hispanic Black men and non-Hispanic Asian adults were

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[2] AAPOR Task Force on Address-based Sampling. 2016. "AAPOR Report: Address-based Sampling."

selected with certainty. The remaining panelists were sampled at rates designed to ensure that the share of respondents in each stratum is proportional to its share of the U.S. adult population to the greatest extent possible. Respondent weights are adjusted to account for differential probabilities of selection as described in the Weighting section below.

Questionnaire development and testing

The questionnaire was developed by Pew Research Center in consultation with Ipsos. The web program was rigorously tested on both PC and mobile devices by the Ipsos project management team and Pew Research Center researchers. The Ipsos project management team also populated test data that was analyzed in SPSS to ensure the logic and randomizations were working as intended before launching the survey.

Incentives

All respondents were offered a post-paid incentive for their participation. Respondents could choose to receive the post-paid incentive in the form of a check or a gift code to Amazon.com or could choose to decline the incentive. Incentive amounts ranged from $5 to $20 depending on whether the respondent belongs to a part of the population that is harder or easier to reach. Differential incentive amounts were designed to increase panel survey participation among groups that traditionally have low survey response propensities.

Data collection protocol

The data collection field period for this survey was March 20 to March 26, 2023. Postcard notifications were mailed to all ATP panelists with a known residential address on March 20.

Invitations were sent out in two separate launches: soft launch and full launch. Sixty panelists were included in the soft launch, which began with an initial invitation sent on March 20. The ATP panelists chosen for the initial soft launch were known responders who had completed previous ATP surveys within one day of receiving their invitation. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking sampled panelists were included in the full launch and were sent an invitation on March 21.

All panelists with an email address received an email invitation and up to two email reminders if they did not respond to the survey. All ATP

Invitation and reminder dates, ATP Wave 124

	Soft launch	Full launch
Initial invitation	March 20, 2023	March 21, 2023
First reminder	March 23, 2023	March 23, 2023
Final reminder	March 25, 2023	March 25, 2023

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panelists who consented to SMS messages received an SMS invitation and up to two SMS reminders.

Data quality checks

To ensure high-quality data, the Center's researchers performed data quality checks to identify any respondents showing clear patterns of satisficing. This includes checking for very high rates of leaving questions blank, as well as always selecting the first or last answer presented. As a result of this checking, eight ATP respondents were removed from the survey dataset prior to weighting and analysis.

Weighting

The ATP data is weighted in a multistep process that accounts for multiple stages of sampling and nonresponse that occur at different points in the survey process. First, each panelist begins with a base weight that reflects their probability of selection for their initial recruitment survey. These weights are then rescaled and adjusted to account for changes in the design of ATP recruitment surveys from year to year. Finally, the weights are calibrated to align with the population benchmarks in the accompanying table to correct for nonresponse to recruitment surveys and panel attrition. If only a subsample of panelists are invited to participate in the wave, this weight is adjusted to account for any differential probabilities of selection.

American Trends Panel weighting dimensions

Variable	Benchmark source
Age (detailed) Age x Gender Education x Gender Education x Age Race/Ethnicity x Education Born inside vs. outside the U.S. among Hispanics and Asian Americans Years lived in the U.S.	2021 American Community Survey (ACS)
Census region x Metro/Non-metro	2021 CPS March Supplement
Volunteerism	2021 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement
Voter registration	2021 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Party affiliation Frequency of internet use Religious affiliation	2022 National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS)
Additional weighting dimensions applied within Black adults	
Age Gender Education Hispanic ethnicity	2021 American Community Survey (ACS)
Voter registration	2018 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Party affiliation Religious affiliation	2022 National Public Opinion Reference Survey (NPORS)

Note: Estimates from the ACS are based on non-institutionalized adults. Voter registration is calculated using procedures from Hur, Achen (2013) and rescaled to include the total U.S. adult population.

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Among the panelists who completed the survey, this weight is then calibrated again to align with the population benchmarks identified in the accompanying table and trimmed at the 1st and 99th percentiles to reduce the loss in precision stemming from variance in the weights. Sampling errors and tests of statistical significance take into account the effect of weighting.

The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey.

Sample sizes and margins of error, ATP Wave 124

Group	Unweighted sample size	Plus or minus ...
Total sample	3,576	2.0 percentage points
Half sample	At least 1,776	2.9 percentage points
Rep/Lean Rep	1,491	3.0 percentage points
Half sample	At least 690	4.4 percentage points
Dem/Lean Dem	1,930	2.9 percentage points
Half sample	At least 922	4.2 percentage points

Note: This survey includes oversamples of Hispanic men, non-Hispanic Black men and non-Hispanic Asian adults. Unweighted sample sizes do not account for the sample design or weighting and do not describe a group's contribution to weighted estimates. See the Sample design and Weighting sections above for details.

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Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Dispositions and response rates

Final dispositions, ATP Wave 124

	AAPOR code	Total
Completed interview	1.1	3,576
Logged on to survey; broke off	2.12	53
Logged on to survey; did not complete any items	2.1121	16
Never logged on (implicit refusal)	2.11	405
Survey completed after close of the field period	2.27	0
Completed interview but was removed for data quality		8
Screened out		0
Total panelists in the survey		4,058
Completed interviews	I	3,576
Partial interviews	P	0
Refusals	R	482
Non-contact	NC	0
Other	O	0
Unknown household	UH	0
Unknown other	UO	0
Not eligible	NE	0
Total		4,058
AAPOR RR1 = I / (I+P+R+NC+O+UH+UO)		88%

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Cumulative response rate as of ATP Wave 124

	Total
Weighted response rate to recruitment surveys	12%
% of recruitment survey respondents who agreed to join the panel, among those invited	71%
% of those agreeing to join who were active panelists at start of Wave 124	49%
Response rate to Wave 124 survey	88%
Cumulative response rate	4%

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Appendix C: Codebook

Below are the instructions given to researchers who coded the responses to the open-ended question. Keywords listed with each code represent examples indicating how a unit of information could be coded and are not a complete list of all concepts per code.

We asked respondents in 24 countries what they think would help improve the way democracy is working in their country. In their responses, people mention a variety of reforms, cultural changes and personal actions. Through this coding process, we are categorizing responses based on *the types of changes* mentioned.

First, **determine if the response answers the question**. If the response only references not having or knowing an answer (e.g., "I don't know" or "I don't want to answer"), select *Don't know/refused* and move on to the next response. Likewise, if the response is unintelligible, select *Don't know/refused* and move on to the next response.

For all other responses, **continue through the rest of the codebook**. Responses are composed of units of information – words, short phrases or statements that tell you something – and a response may contain multiple units that each belong to a separate category. Please break each response into discrete units to code one at a time. If the response contains reasoning or explanation for one distinct thought, code the singular thought.

If the unit of information is substantive but does not easily fit into any of the substantive code options, please consider the *scope* and/or *subject* of the unit. Consider the following guidelines:

1. If the unit addresses a large-scale, system-level issue, choose *Government reform*.
2. If the unit addresses individuals in political leadership, choose *Politicians*.
3. If the unit uses "we" or addresses individuals who are not in political leadership, choose *Citizen quality*.
4. Only if the subject of the unit **and** the intent of the answer is unclear should *Other* be selected.

If you are unsure how to categorize a particular unit, please provide an English translation of the response and/or add a comment.

No changes, *Other*, and *Don't know/refused* are terminal codes, meaning they should never be selected **with** another code. If a respondent says, for example, "Don't know, but also …" code the substantive response that follows.

Government reform

Keywords: Political system reform, separation of religion and state, change the system, change the Constitution, improve the government, better government, more transparency, democracy should be better, reduce size of legislature, abolish the House of Lords, inefficient Congress, congressional gridlock, fewer politicians, eliminate advisers, abolish monarchy, make the government a republic, good government, bureaucracy, different or improved government priorities, change the procedure for passing laws

- Distribution of power

  Keywords: Checks and balances, separation of branches, less powerful executive, giving more (not all) power to a monarchy, regional balance of power, stop favoring certain provinces, becoming a federal nation, statehood for ___, local government, eliminate autonomous communities or more power to autonomous communities, deep state, adding or eliminating levels of government

- Term limits for elected officials

  Keywords: Limits on [president, prime minister, legislators, mayors], retirement age for politicians

- Parties

  Keywords: More/fewer parties, bigger/smaller parties, bipartisanship, party compromise, parties need to work together, voting for a specific party, preference for a political party, polarization, party responsiveness, party lines, ideological lines, anti-defection law

- Non-democratic alternative

  Keywords: Military junta, technocracy, authoritarianism, no government, anarchy, race-based system, religion-based system, return to apartheid system

Special interests

Keywords: No/less lobbying, special interest groups, political action committees, rent seekers, pork barrel, conflicts of interest, politicians' second jobs, politicians' investing, wages for politicians, pensions for politicians, money in politics, "Citizens United," politician spending/expenses, campaign finance, meritocracy, nepotism

▪ Corruption
   Keywords: Corruption, bribery, exploiting resources, coercion

Electoral reform

Keywords: More frequent elections, change voting rules, proportional representation, two-round elections, ranked-choice voting, first-past-the-post, mandatory voting, free and fair elections, respect election results, accept election results, cede elections, Electoral College, change length of campaigns, change method of campaigning, how leaders are chosen, how candidates are chosen, voting rights, gerrymandering, representative democracy, "one person, one vote," D'hont method

▪ Direct democracy
   Keywords: Referenda, ballot initiatives, public makes decisions

Media reform

Keywords: Better media, less media, misinformation, disinformation, media regulation, social media, freedom of the press, censorship, polarization of social media, print media, truth in media, political ads, social media companies, Facebook, repeal the gag law

Economic reform

Keywords: Capitalism, reduced wealth inequality, economic mobility, higher standard of living, pension reform, union reform, unionize, economic policies, companies/factories (including building more), feed the poor, wealth redistribution, sharing wealth, taxes/taxation, use money wisely, welfare, Social Security, livable wages, currency, digital currency, adopt the euro, ration cards, development, inflation, entrepreneurs, supporting small business owners, prices

▪ Jobs
   Keywords: More/better jobs, jobs for the youth, employment

Individual rights and equality

Keywords: Freedom of speech, Bill of Rights, too much freedom, human rights, give rights to minority groups, social equality, gender equality, right to believe in something, social inequity,

give people an equal chance, all people benefit, repeal the nationalism law, combat racism, repeal racist laws, enact laws against racism, social justice, eradicate casteism, land rights

Safety

Keywords: Peace, personal safety, less violence, less general crime, reduce crime, police, law enforcement, support and respect for law enforcement

Rule of law

Keywords: Leaders/citizens should follow the law, follow the Constitution, rule of law, no one is above the law, prosecute politicians for given reason, accountability, hold politicians accountable, everyone is equal under the law, fair/equal application of laws, fix two-tier system of justice, prosecution, criminals should not stand for election or run for office, stricter laws, penalties for crimes, general mentions of justice, justice department or ministry enforcing laws

- Judicial system
  Keywords: Term limits for judges, better judges, more/fewer judges, judicial activism, judicial oversight, removal of judges, removal of prosecutors, High Court reform, strengthen the judicial system, change attorney general position

Politicians

Keywords: Better-educated leaders, honest leaders, truthful leaders, subject experts, stop yelling at one another, be kind, be mature, improved quality, better politicians, politician quality, leaders should be more/less religious, identity politics, more women, more young people, greater diversity in government, different demographic groups in politicians, more/fewer liberals, cultural representation, do your job, politicians should work together, debates between politicians, job performance, prepared politicians

- Responsiveness
  Keywords: Listen to the people, in touch with society, understand the people, follow elected mandate, listen to public opinion, polling, give the people a voice, follow through with promises, government "of the people, by the people, for the people," put the people first, see the struggles of a certain group, feel like your vote matters, majority rule, respect the people, communicate with the people, take the people seriously, engage with the people, be closer with the people

- Change leadership
  Keywords: Get rid of [current leaders/governing parties], recalls, impeachment, change in government leadership, change ruling party, remove from government/office, get someone ___ in the government, do away with ___, clean house

Citizen quality

Keywords: Kindness, people understanding each other, people listening to each other, empathy, respect, more educated citizens, love, unity, civility, everyone working together, tribalism, more/less religious public, strong families, informed citizens, assimilation, communalism, patriotism, having your own opinion, openness, tolerance, preserving traditions

Citizen participation

Keywords: Use your vote, make your voice heard, communicate with politicians, engagement with politics, citizen assemblies, participate in democracy, interest in politics, power to the people, demonstrating, protesting

Policies and legislation

Keywords: Climate policy, limit/increase immigration, health care, better schools, education, infrastructure, work with other countries/multilateral organizations, follow model of other countries, foreign policy, resources, oil, gas, homelessness, affordable housing, social policy, social amenities, scope of legislation, end of subsidies, develop technology, roads, infrastructure, electricity, flooding, hospitals, public health, military, water, agricultural policy, scientific research/discovery, phones, internet, family planning, pollution, boost tourism, limit the number of pages in legislation, change or limit content of laws, size and scope of laws, government scheme

No changes [TERMINAL CODE]

Keywords: Democracy is unfixable, democracy doesn't work, we shouldn't have a democracy, it's ruined, failed experiment, best system of government, no issues, it works, nothing, the best of the bad options, not at all, it is what it is, preserve democracy, preserve the status quo

Other [TERMINAL CODE]

Not a substantive answer to the question. Includes general complaints about democracy that offer no opinion about changing democracy. For example: "Democracy is weak."

Don't know/refused [TERMINAL CODE]

Keywords: No, don't know, N/A, I'm not sure

Appendix D: Political categorization

For this analysis, we grouped people into two political categories: those who support the governing political party (or parties) in each country, 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.[3]

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 Social Democratic Party governed with the Alliance 90/The Greens and the Free Democratic Party 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 considered to be *not* supporting the government in power.

Below is a table that outlines the governing political parties in each survey country.

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[3] 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 from country to country.

Political categorization

Country	Governing political party (or parties)
Argentina	Frente de Todos
Australia	Australian Labor Party (ALP)
Brazil	AVANTE (formerly PTdoB), Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB), Christian Workers Party (PCT), Communist Party of Brazil (PDdoB), Green Party (PV), Republican Party of the Social Order (PROS), Socialism and Liberty Party (PSOL), Solidarty (SD), Sustainability Network (REDE), Workers' Party
Canada	Liberal Party
France	Renaissance (formerly En Marche)
Germany	Alliance 90/The Greens, Free Democratic Party (FDP), Social Democratic Party (SDP)
Greece	New Democracy (ND)
Hungary	Christian Democratic People's Party (KNDP), Fidesz
India	All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK), Bharatiya Janata Party, Lok Janshakti Party
Indonesia	Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P)
Israel	Likud, Religious Zionist Party, Shas, United Torah Judaism
Italy	Brothers of Italy, Forza Italia, Lega, Us Moderates (Noi Moderati)
Japan	Komeito (NKP), Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)
Kenya	Amani National Congress, FORD – Kenya, Kenya Kwanza, United Democratic Alliance
Mexico	Ecologist Green Party of Mexico (PVEM), Labor Party (PT), Morena
Netherlands	Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), ChristianUnion (CU), Democrats 66 (D66), People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD)
Nigeria	All Progressives Congress (APC)
Poland	Law and Justice (PiS)
South Africa	African National Congress (ANC)
Spain	Catalunya en Comú, Podemos, Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, United Left (IU)
Sweden	Christian Democrats, Liberals, Moderate Party
UK	Conservative Party
U.S.	Democratic Party

Note: Only parties represented in the federal government are shown. Support for governing party is not asked in South Korea.

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Appendix E: Classifying European political parties

Classifying parties as populist

Although experts generally agree that populist political leaders or parties display high levels of anti-elitism, definitions of populism vary. We use three measures to classify populist parties: anti-elite ratings from the 2019 Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES), Norris' Global Party Survey and The PopuList. We define a party as populist when at least two of these three measures classify it as such.

CHES, which was conducted from February to May 2020, asked 421 political scientists specializing in political parties and European integration to evaluate the 2019 positions of 277 European political parties across all 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 versus 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_SALIENCE," 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 at or above a 7.0 as "populist."

The Global Party Survey, which was conducted from November to December 2019, asked 1,861 experts on political parties, public opinion, elections and legislative behavior to evaluate the ideological values, issue position and populist rhetoric of parties in countries on which they are an expert, classifying a total of 1,051 parties in 163 countries. We used "TYPE_POPULISM," which categorizes populist rhetoric by parties. We added only "strongly populist" parties using this measure. In Italy, experts were asked to categorize the center-right coalition instead of individual parties within the coalition. The coalition includes Lega, Forza Italia and Brothers of Italy. For all three parties, we have used the coalition rating of "strongly populist."

The PopuList is an ongoing project to classify European political parties as populist, far right, far left and/or euroskeptic. The project specifically looks at parties that "obtained at least 2% of the vote in at least one national parliamentary election since 1998." It is based on collaboration

between academic experts and journalists. The PopuList classifies parties that emphasize the will of the people against the elite as populist.[4]

Reform UK, formerly the Brexit Party, is only classified as populist on one measure but is still included for analysis in the report. It is not included in The PopuList and does not meet our anti-elite CHES threshold of 7.0, but it is considered a right-wing populist party by the Global Party Survey and other experts.

Classifying parties as left, right or center

We can further classify these traditional and populist parties into three groups: left, right and center. When classifying parties based on ideology, 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 parties on the left as those that score below 4.5 and parties on the right as those above 5.5. Parties in the center have ratings between 4.5 and 5.5.

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4 Mudde, Cas. 2004. "The Populist Zeitgeist." Government and Opposition.

European populist party classifications

Party	Country	2019 Left-right	2019 Anti-elitism	2019 Global Party Survey	The PopuList
Populist parties on the left					
La France Insoumise	France	1.3	8.3	Strongly populist	Populist
Podemos	Spain	1.9	7.7	--	Populist
Syriza	Greece	2.3	7.0	--	Populist
Populist parties in the center					
Five Star Movement (M5S)	Italy	4.8	9.2	Strongly populist	Populist
Populist parties on the right					
Forza Italia	Italy	6.9	4.1	Strongly populist	Populist
Law and Justice	Poland	7.6	6.9	Strongly populist	Populist
Jobbik	Hungary	7.7	6.1	Strongly populist	Populist
Reform UK*	UK	8.2	5.3	Strongly populist	--
Fidesz	Hungary	8.3	6.5	Strongly populist	Populist
Sweden Democrats	Sweden	8.5	7.5	Strongly populist	Populist
Party for Freedom (PVV)	Netherlands	8.7	9.5	Strongly populist	Populist
Lega	Italy	8.8	7.6	Strongly populist	Populist
Greek Solution	Greece	9.0	7.6	--	Populist
Brothers of Italy	Italy	9.1	7.3	Strongly populist	Populist
Alternative for Germany (AfD)	Germany	9.2	9.0	Strongly populist	Populist
Forum for Democracy (FvD)	Netherlands	9.5	9.7	--	Populist
Vox	Spain	9.7	4.1	Strongly populist	Populist
National Rally	France	9.8	8.6	Strongly populist	Populist

* Previously named the Brexit Party.

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 versus representative democracy and the salience of anti-elite rhetoric within the party.

Source: CHES (2019), Global Party Survey (2019), The PopuList (2019).

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Topline questionnaire

Pew Research Center
Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey
March 13, 2024 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.

- Surveys in the U.S. and Australia were conducted online. The U.S. survey was conducted on Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel. The Australia survey was conducted on the Social Research Centre's Life in Australia Panel.

- Not all questions included in the Spring 2023 Global Attitudes Survey are presented in this topline. Omitted questions have either been previously released or will be released in future reports.

- Data presented in this topline are the share of a given public who mention a topic in an open-ended response. Each topic is part of a Pew Research Center generated codebook. For more on how responses were coded or the codes themselves, see Appendix A and Appendix C, respectively.

		Government reform			
		Not mentioned	**Mentioned**	**DK/Refused**	**Total**
U.S.	**Spring, 2023**	40	13	47	100
Canada	**Spring, 2023**	66	13	21	100
France	**Spring, 2023**	72	15	13	100
Germany	**Spring, 2023**	69	8	23	100
Greece	**Spring, 2023**	77	13	10	100
Hungary	**Spring, 2023**	71	4	25	100
Italy	**Spring, 2023**	77	9	14	100
Netherlands	**Spring, 2023**	72	13	15	100
Poland	**Spring, 2023**	65	6	29	100
Spain	**Spring, 2023**	75	21	4	100
Sweden	**Spring, 2023**	67	10	23	100
UK	**Spring, 2023**	70	9	21	100
Australia	**Spring, 2023**	59	11	30	100
India	**Spring, 2023**	75	7	18	100
Indonesia	**Spring, 2023**	61	6	33	100
Japan	**Spring, 2023**	55	11	34	100
South Korea	**Spring, 2023**	71	11	18	100
Israel	**Spring, 2023**	73	12	15	100
Kenya	**Spring, 2023**	71	4	25	100
Nigeria	**Spring, 2023**	84	7	9	100
South Africa	**Spring, 2023**	80	3	17	100
Argentina	**Spring, 2023**	66	4	30	100
Brazil	**Spring, 2023**	70	8	22	100
Mexico	**Spring, 2023**	74	6	20	100

		Parties			
		Not mentioned	**Mentioned**	**DK/Refused**	**Total**
U.S.	**Spring, 2023**	46	7	47	100
Canada	**Spring, 2023**	72	7	21	100
France	**Spring, 2023**	86	2	13	100
Germany	**Spring, 2023**	74	4	23	100
Greece	**Spring, 2023**	84	5	10	100
Hungary	**Spring, 2023**	70	5	25	100
Italy	**Spring, 2023**	82	4	14	100
Netherlands	**Spring, 2023**	70	14	15	100
Poland	**Spring, 2023**	68	3	29	100
Spain	**Spring, 2023**	84	11	4	100
Sweden	**Spring, 2023**	68	9	23	100
UK	**Spring, 2023**	73	6	21	100
Australia	**Spring, 2023**	65	5	30	100
India	**Spring, 2023**	81	1	18	100
Indonesia	**Spring, 2023**	65	2	33	100
Japan	**Spring, 2023**	64	3	34	100
South Korea	**Spring, 2023**	77	6	18	100
Israel	**Spring, 2023**	83	2	15	100
Kenya	**Spring, 2023**	72	3	25	100
Nigeria	**Spring, 2023**	90	1	9	100
South Africa	**Spring, 2023**	80	3	17	100
Argentina	**Spring, 2023**	69	1	30	100
Brazil	**Spring, 2023**	77	1	22	100
Mexico	**Spring, 2023**	76	4	20	100

		Special interests			
		Not mentioned	**Mentioned**	**DK/Refused**	**Total**
U.S.	**Spring, 2023**	43	11	47	100
Canada	**Spring, 2023**	73	6	21	100
France	**Spring, 2023**	84	3	13	100
Germany	**Spring, 2023**	73	4	23	100
Greece	**Spring, 2023**	80	9	10	100
Hungary	**Spring, 2023**	70	5	25	100
Italy	**Spring, 2023**	78	8	14	100
Netherlands	**Spring, 2023**	83	2	15	100
Poland	**Spring, 2023**	69	2	29	100
Spain	**Spring, 2023**	84	11	4	100
Sweden	**Spring, 2023**	75	2	23	100
UK	**Spring, 2023**	71	8	21	100
Australia	**Spring, 2023**	60	10	30	100
India	**Spring, 2023**	79	3	18	100
Indonesia	**Spring, 2023**	60	6	33	100
Japan	**Spring, 2023**	63	3	34	100
South Korea	**Spring, 2023**	79	3	18	100
Israel	**Spring, 2023**	84	2	15	100
Kenya	**Spring, 2023**	72	4	25	100
Nigeria	**Spring, 2023**	85	6	9	100
South Africa	**Spring, 2023**	71	12	17	100
Argentina	**Spring, 2023**	63	7	30	100
Brazil	**Spring, 2023**	73	5	22	100
Mexico	**Spring, 2023**	67	13	20	100

		Electoral reform			
		Not mentioned	**Mentioned**	**DK/Refused**	**Total**
U.S.	**Spring, 2023**	43	10	47	100
Canada	**Spring, 2023**	63	16	21	100
France	**Spring, 2023**	82	5	13	100
Germany	**Spring, 2023**	75	3	23	100
Greece	**Spring, 2023**	88	2	10	100
Hungary	**Spring, 2023**	71	4	25	100
Italy	**Spring, 2023**	82	4	14	100
Netherlands	**Spring, 2023**	75	10	15	100
Poland	**Spring, 2023**	68	3	29	100
Spain	**Spring, 2023**	88	7	4	100
Sweden	**Spring, 2023**	73	3	23	100
UK	**Spring, 2023**	65	15	21	100
Australia	**Spring, 2023**	63	7	30	100
India	**Spring, 2023**	81	1	18	100
Indonesia	**Spring, 2023**	64	3	33	100
Japan	**Spring, 2023**	59	7	34	100
South Korea	**Spring, 2023**	81	1	18	100
Israel	**Spring, 2023**	82	3	15	100
Kenya	**Spring, 2023**	72	3	25	100
Nigeria	**Spring, 2023**	76	14	9	100
South Africa	**Spring, 2023**	81	2	17	100
Argentina	**Spring, 2023**	68	2	30	100
Brazil	**Spring, 2023**	74	4	22	100
Mexico	**Spring, 2023**	76	4	20	100

		Direct democracy			
		Not mentioned	Mentioned	DK/Refused	Total
U.S.	**Spring, 2023**	51	2	47	100
Canada	**Spring, 2023**	75	4	21	100
France	**Spring, 2023**	69	18	13	100
Germany	**Spring, 2023**	65	12	23	100
Greece	**Spring, 2023**	80	10	10	100
Hungary	**Spring, 2023**	71	4	25	100
Italy	**Spring, 2023**	84	2	14	100
Netherlands	**Spring, 2023**	75	9	15	100
Poland	**Spring, 2023**	69	2	29	100
Spain	**Spring, 2023**	92	4	4	100
Sweden	**Spring, 2023**	70	6	23	100
UK	**Spring, 2023**	77	2	21	100
Australia	**Spring, 2023**	66	4	30	100
India	**Spring, 2023**	82	0	18	100
Indonesia	**Spring, 2023**	66	0	33	100
Japan	**Spring, 2023**	65	2	34	100
South Korea	**Spring, 2023**	82	0	18	100
Israel	**Spring, 2023**	82	3	15	100
Kenya	**Spring, 2023**	74	1	25	100
Nigeria	**Spring, 2023**	91	0	9	100
South Africa	**Spring, 2023**	83	0	17	100
Argentina	**Spring, 2023**	70	0	30	100
Brazil	**Spring, 2023**	77	1	22	100
Mexico	**Spring, 2023**	79	1	20	100

		Media reform			
		Not mentioned	Mentioned	DK/Refused	Total
U.S.	**Spring, 2023**	50	3	47	100
Canada	**Spring, 2023**	76	3	21	100
France	**Spring, 2023**	86	1	13	100
Germany	**Spring, 2023**	76	2	23	100
Greece	**Spring, 2023**	88	1	10	100
Hungary	**Spring, 2023**	69	6	25	100
Italy	**Spring, 2023**	85	1	14	100
Netherlands	**Spring, 2023**	84	1	15	100
Poland	**Spring, 2023**	70	1	29	100
Spain	**Spring, 2023**	94	1	4	100
Sweden	**Spring, 2023**	73	3	23	100
UK	**Spring, 2023**	76	3	21	100
Australia	**Spring, 2023**	66	5	30	100
India	**Spring, 2023**	81	1	18	100
Indonesia	**Spring, 2023**	66	1	33	100
Japan	**Spring, 2023**	66	1	34	100
South Korea	**Spring, 2023**	79	3	18	100
Israel	**Spring, 2023**	85	0	15	100
Kenya	**Spring, 2023**	75	0	25	100
Nigeria	**Spring, 2023**	91	0	9	100
South Africa	**Spring, 2023**	83	0	17	100
Argentina	**Spring, 2023**	70	0	30	100
Brazil	**Spring, 2023**	77	1	22	100
Mexico	**Spring, 2023**	80	0	20	100

		Economic reform			
		Not mentioned	Mentioned	DK/Refused	Total
U.S.	Spring, 2023	50	3	47	100
Canada	Spring, 2023	74	5	21	100
France	Spring, 2023	81	7	13	100
Germany	Spring, 2023	76	2	23	100
Greece	Spring, 2023	86	4	10	100
Hungary	Spring, 2023	67	8	25	100
Italy	Spring, 2023	79	7	14	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2023	81	3	15	100
Poland	Spring, 2023	66	5	29	100
Spain	Spring, 2023	89	7	4	100
Sweden	Spring, 2023	73	3	23	100
UK	Spring, 2023	71	8	21	100
Australia	Spring, 2023	67	4	30	100
India	Spring, 2023	48	34	18	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2023	55	12	33	100
Japan	Spring, 2023	62	4	34	100
South Korea	Spring, 2023	79	3	18	100
Israel	Spring, 2023	84	1	15	100
Kenya	Spring, 2023	57	18	25	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2023	78	12	9	100
South Africa	Spring, 2023	52	31	17	100
Argentina	Spring, 2023	56	14	30	100
Brazil	Spring, 2023	63	15	22	100
Mexico	Spring, 2023	72	8	20	100

		Individual rights and equality			
		Not mentioned	Mentioned	DK/Refused	Total
U.S.	Spring, 2023	51	2	47	100
Canada	Spring, 2023	76	3	21	100
France	Spring, 2023	81	7	13	100
Germany	Spring, 2023	75	3	23	100
Greece	Spring, 2023	84	5	10	100
Hungary	Spring, 2023	67	8	25	100
Italy	Spring, 2023	75	11	14	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2023	81	3	15	100
Poland	Spring, 2023	65	6	29	100
Spain	Spring, 2023	90	5	4	100
Sweden	Spring, 2023	70	6	23	100
UK	Spring, 2023	76	3	21	100
Australia	Spring, 2023	67	4	30	100
India	Spring, 2023	79	3	18	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2023	63	3	33	100
Japan	Spring, 2023	66	1	34	100
South Korea	Spring, 2023	79	3	18	100
Israel	Spring, 2023	74	11	15	100
Kenya	Spring, 2023	72	3	25	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2023	87	4	9	100
South Africa	Spring, 2023	80	3	17	100
Argentina	Spring, 2023	67	3	30	100
Brazil	Spring, 2023	74	4	22	100
Mexico	Spring, 2023	77	3	20	100

		Safety			
		Not mentioned	**Mentioned**	**DK/Refused**	**Total**
U.S.	**Spring, 2023**	52	1	47	100
Canada	**Spring, 2023**	79	1	21	100
France	**Spring, 2023**	86	1	13	100
Germany	**Spring, 2023**	77	0	23	100
Greece	**Spring, 2023**	88	2	10	100
Hungary	**Spring, 2023**	74	1	25	100
Italy	**Spring, 2023**	84	2	14	100
Netherlands	**Spring, 2023**	85	0	15	100
Poland	**Spring, 2023**	71	0	29	100
Spain	**Spring, 2023**	94	1	4	100
Sweden	**Spring, 2023**	75	2	23	100
UK	**Spring, 2023**	78	1	21	100
Australia	**Spring, 2023**	70	0	30	100
India	**Spring, 2023**	81	1	18	100
Indonesia	**Spring, 2023**	66	1	33	100
Japan	**Spring, 2023**	66	0	34	100
South Korea	**Spring, 2023**	82	0	18	100
Israel	**Spring, 2023**	83	2	15	100
Kenya	**Spring, 2023**	72	3	25	100
Nigeria	**Spring, 2023**	88	3	9	100
South Africa	**Spring, 2023**	78	5	17	100
Argentina	**Spring, 2023**	63	8	30	100
Brazil	**Spring, 2023**	72	5	22	100
Mexico	**Spring, 2023**	75	5	20	100

		Rule of law			
		Not mentioned	**Mentioned**	**DK/Refused**	**Total**
U.S.	**Spring, 2023**	48	5	47	100
Canada	**Spring, 2023**	76	3	21	100
France	**Spring, 2023**	84	3	13	100
Germany	**Spring, 2023**	76	2	23	100
Greece	**Spring, 2023**	78	11	10	100
Hungary	**Spring, 2023**	71	4	25	100
Italy	**Spring, 2023**	80	7	14	100
Netherlands	**Spring, 2023**	83	2	15	100
Poland	**Spring, 2023**	64	7	29	100
Spain	**Spring, 2023**	91	5	4	100
Sweden	**Spring, 2023**	73	4	23	100
UK	**Spring, 2023**	76	3	21	100
Australia	**Spring, 2023**	67	3	30	100
India	**Spring, 2023**	80	2	18	100
Indonesia	**Spring, 2023**	64	3	33	100
Japan	**Spring, 2023**	66	1	34	100
South Korea	**Spring, 2023**	78	5	18	100
Israel	**Spring, 2023**	80	5	15	100
Kenya	**Spring, 2023**	69	7	25	100
Nigeria	**Spring, 2023**	85	5	9	100
South Africa	**Spring, 2023**	79	4	17	100
Argentina	**Spring, 2023**	65	5	30	100
Brazil	**Spring, 2023**	74	3	22	100
Mexico	**Spring, 2023**	76	4	20	100

		Judicial system			
		Not mentioned	Mentioned	DK/Refused	Total
U.S.	Spring, 2023	51	2	47	100
Canada	Spring, 2023	79	0	21	100
France	Spring, 2023	87	1	13	100
Germany	Spring, 2023	77	0	23	100
Greece	Spring, 2023	87	2	10	100
Hungary	Spring, 2023	75	0	25	100
Italy	Spring, 2023	85	1	14	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2023	85	0	15	100
Poland	Spring, 2023	68	3	29	100
Spain	Spring, 2023	95	1	4	100
Sweden	Spring, 2023	76	0	23	100
UK	Spring, 2023	79	0	21	100
Australia	Spring, 2023	70	0	30	100
India	Spring, 2023	82	0	18	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2023	67	0	33	100
Japan	Spring, 2023	66	0	34	100
South Korea	Spring, 2023	82	0	18	100
Israel	Spring, 2023	70	15	15	100
Kenya	Spring, 2023	75	0	25	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2023	90	1	9	100
South Africa	Spring, 2023	83	0	17	100
Argentina	Spring, 2023	69	1	30	100
Brazil	Spring, 2023	76	1	22	100
Mexico	Spring, 2023	79	0	20	100

		Politicians			
		Not mentioned	Mentioned	DK/Refused	Total
U.S.	Spring, 2023	40	13	47	100
Canada	Spring, 2023	55	24	21	100
France	Spring, 2023	48	39	13	100
Germany	Spring, 2023	52	26	23	100
Greece	Spring, 2023	61	28	10	100
Hungary	Spring, 2023	63	12	25	100
Italy	Spring, 2023	52	34	14	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2023	52	32	15	100
Poland	Spring, 2023	61	10	29	100
Spain	Spring, 2023	55	40	4	100
Sweden	Spring, 2023	50	27	23	100
UK	Spring, 2023	50	29	21	100
Australia	Spring, 2023	45	25	30	100
India	Spring, 2023	72	10	18	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2023	42	25	33	100
Japan	Spring, 2023	43	23	34	100
South Korea	Spring, 2023	50	32	18	100
Israel	Spring, 2023	75	11	15	100
Kenya	Spring, 2023	52	23	25	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2023	55	35	9	100
South Africa	Spring, 2023	65	18	17	100
Argentina	Spring, 2023	51	19	30	100
Brazil	Spring, 2023	58	20	22	100
Mexico	Spring, 2023	52	28	20	100

		Change leadership			
		Not mentioned	**Mentioned**	**DK/Refused**	**Total**
U.S.	**Spring, 2023**	51	2	47	100
Canada	**Spring, 2023**	74	5	21	100
France	**Spring, 2023**	82	5	13	100
Germany	**Spring, 2023**	77	1	23	100
Greece	**Spring, 2023**	87	3	10	100
Hungary	**Spring, 2023**	67	8	25	100
Italy	**Spring, 2023**	85	2	14	100
Netherlands	**Spring, 2023**	83	2	15	100
Poland	**Spring, 2023**	58	13	29	100
Spain	**Spring, 2023**	92	3	4	100
Sweden	**Spring, 2023**	76	0	23	100
UK	**Spring, 2023**	77	2	21	100
Australia	**Spring, 2023**	70	1	30	100
India	**Spring, 2023**	81	1	18	100
Indonesia	**Spring, 2023**	66	1	33	100
Japan	**Spring, 2023**	66	1	34	100
South Korea	**Spring, 2023**	79	3	18	100
Israel	**Spring, 2023**	81	4	15	100
Kenya	**Spring, 2023**	74	2	25	100
Nigeria	**Spring, 2023**	88	2	9	100
South Africa	**Spring, 2023**	75	8	17	100
Argentina	**Spring, 2023**	65	5	30	100
Brazil	**Spring, 2023**	71	7	22	100
Mexico	**Spring, 2023**	77	3	20	100

		Citizens			
		Not mentioned	**Mentioned**	**DK/Refused**	**Total**
U.S.	**Spring, 2023**	48	5	47	100
Canada	**Spring, 2023**	69	10	21	100
France	**Spring, 2023**	76	12	13	100
Germany	**Spring, 2023**	68	9	23	100
Greece	**Spring, 2023**	79	10	10	100
Hungary	**Spring, 2023**	69	6	25	100
Italy	**Spring, 2023**	75	11	14	100
Netherlands	**Spring, 2023**	75	9	15	100
Poland	**Spring, 2023**	66	6	29	100
Spain	**Spring, 2023**	82	13	4	100
Sweden	**Spring, 2023**	62	14	23	100
UK	**Spring, 2023**	70	9	21	100
Australia	**Spring, 2023**	65	5	30	100
India	**Spring, 2023**	78	4	18	100
Indonesia	**Spring, 2023**	59	8	33	100
Japan	**Spring, 2023**	55	11	34	100
South Korea	**Spring, 2023**	75	8	18	100
Israel	**Spring, 2023**	71	14	15	100
Kenya	**Spring, 2023**	65	10	25	100
Nigeria	**Spring, 2023**	82	8	9	100
South Africa	**Spring, 2023**	79	4	17	100
Argentina	**Spring, 2023**	63	7	30	100
Brazil	**Spring, 2023**	66	12	22	100
Mexico	**Spring, 2023**	69	11	20	100

		Policies and legislation			
		Not mentioned	Mentioned	DK/Refused	Total
U.S.	Spring, 2023	47	6	47	100
Canada	Spring, 2023	69	10	21	100
France	Spring, 2023	79	9	13	100
Germany	Spring, 2023	69	9	23	100
Greece	Spring, 2023	83	7	10	100
Hungary	Spring, 2023	70	5	25	100
Italy	Spring, 2023	78	8	14	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2023	79	6	15	100
Poland	Spring, 2023	65	7	29	100
Spain	Spring, 2023	88	8	4	100
Sweden	Spring, 2023	69	8	23	100
UK	Spring, 2023	72	7	21	100
Australia	Spring, 2023	65	6	30	100
India	Spring, 2023	49	33	18	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2023	63	4	33	100
Japan	Spring, 2023	62	5	34	100
South Korea	Spring, 2023	79	3	18	100
Israel	Spring, 2023	81	4	15	100
Kenya	Spring, 2023	73	2	25	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2023	77	14	9	100
South Africa	Spring, 2023	63	20	17	100
Argentina	Spring, 2023	58	12	30	100
Brazil	Spring, 2023	62	15	22	100
Mexico	Spring, 2023	71	9	20	100

		No changes			
		Not mentioned	Mentioned	DK/Refused	Total
U.S.	Spring, 2023	52	1	47	100
Canada	Spring, 2023	74	5	21	100
France	Spring, 2023	86	1	13	100
Germany	Spring, 2023	68	9	23	100
Greece	Spring, 2023	88	2	10	100
Hungary	Spring, 2023	66	9	25	100
Italy	Spring, 2023	83	3	14	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2023	80	4	15	100
Poland	Spring, 2023	65	6	29	100
Spain	Spring, 2023	93	2	4	100
Sweden	Spring, 2023	70	6	23	100
UK	Spring, 2023	73	6	21	100
Australia	Spring, 2023	66	4	30	100
India	Spring, 2023	79	3	18	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2023	64	3	33	100
Japan	Spring, 2023	62	5	34	100
South Korea	Spring, 2023	77	6	18	100
Israel	Spring, 2023	81	5	15	100
Kenya	Spring, 2023	74	2	25	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2023	89	2	9	100
South Africa	Spring, 2023	81	2	17	100
Argentina	Spring, 2023	68	2	30	100
Brazil	Spring, 2023	76	2	22	100
Mexico	Spring, 2023	78	2	20	100

		Other			
		Not mentioned	Mentioned	DK/Refused	Total
U.S.	Spring, 2023	51	2	47	100
Canada	Spring, 2023	77	2	21	100
France	Spring, 2023	86	1	13	100
Germany	Spring, 2023	75	2	23	100
Greece	Spring, 2023	88	2	10	100
Hungary	Spring, 2023	73	2	25	100
Italy	Spring, 2023	83	3	14	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2023	84	1	15	100
Poland	Spring, 2023	70	1	29	100
Spain	Spring, 2023	92	4	4	100
Sweden	Spring, 2023	76	1	23	100
UK	Spring, 2023	74	5	21	100
Australia	Spring, 2023	70	0	30	100
India	Spring, 2023	80	2	18	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2023	67	0	33	100
Japan	Spring, 2023	66	0	34	100
South Korea	Spring, 2023	82	0	18	100
Israel	Spring, 2023	83	2	15	100
Kenya	Spring, 2023	74	1	25	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2023	89	1	9	100
South Africa	Spring, 2023	82	1	17	100
Argentina	Spring, 2023	67	3	30	100
Brazil	Spring, 2023	77	1	22	100
Mexico	Spring, 2023	76	4	20	100

		DK/Refused		
		Provided response	Don't know/Refused	Total
U.S.	Spring, 2023	53	47	100
Canada	Spring, 2023	79	21	100
France	Spring, 2023	87	13	100
Germany	Spring, 2023	77	23	100
Greece	Spring, 2023	90	10	100
Hungary	Spring, 2023	75	25	100
Italy	Spring, 2023	86	14	100
Netherlands	Spring, 2023	85	15	100
Poland	Spring, 2023	71	29	100
Spain	Spring, 2023	96	4	100
Sweden	Spring, 2023	77	23	100
UK	Spring, 2023	79	21	100
Australia	Spring, 2023	70	30	100
India	Spring, 2023	82	18	100
Indonesia	Spring, 2023	67	33	100
Japan	Spring, 2023	66	34	100
South Korea	Spring, 2023	82	18	100
Israel	Spring, 2023	85	15	100
Kenya	Spring, 2023	75	25	100
Nigeria	Spring, 2023	91	9	100
South Africa	Spring, 2023	83	17	100
Argentina	Spring, 2023	70	30	100
Brazil	Spring, 2023	78	22	100
Mexico	Spring, 2023	80	20	100