

# Global Solidarity Report

**2023**

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*“The crises we face today, and most of all the climate crisis, present challenges greater than those humanity has ever faced. We cannot let millions of homes and lives, we cannot let whole countries, sink under the sea. The only solution to these unprecedented challenges is an unprecedented increase in **global solidarity**. The good news is that people everywhere have more solidarity with each other than governments have so far mustered. We need to channel that **good will into real action**. But we do not have the luxury of time. We need a revolution in climate and development financing that is focused on people and planet. It is a matter of survival.”*



**Mia Mottley**

Prime Minister, Barbados

# Foreword



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Former Deputy President, South Africa,  
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● Our world is in transition. As geopolitical power shifts—from west to east, from north to south—we live in times where the opportunities open to us are matched only by the dangers we face if we do not act together.

Economic growth has led to improvements in countless lives, but the cost has been the reality of catastrophic climate change, already affecting millions of people, and set to touch many more. Can we agree as a world on what a just transition to net zero would look like?

Exponential growth in human mobility has increased the risks of pandemics, while global networks of scientists and public health professionals mean that we have the means to beat them back faster than ever, if we choose to invest in the national- and international-level responses required.

Artificial Intelligence is the latest game-changing technology that will profoundly affect what it means to be human. For good or ill? That's up to us.

When conflicts emerge—as they have tragically in Syria, Yemen, Ukraine, Sudan and Ethiopia in recent years—will the world pull together to find a way out, or allow them to continue and even escalate?

As women who have faced barriers in public life, we celebrate progress on women's rights but are only too aware of the need to continue to fight to amplify the voice of women in national and global institutions.

In sum, there is an expanding list of areas that require large-scale international cooperation if we are to face these huge challenges head-on, and move from the polycrises of today to a thriving 21<sup>st</sup> century.

We are leaders with different political perspectives, but with one clear vision for international cooperation. We are proud of our countries, but also proud to be building together a better world. The global and the local are intimately entwined—there is no trade-off between looking after our own countries and ensuring the planet and its people are faring well. But there are tough choices to be made by all of us.

We do not know what the future holds, but we know this: the more humanity can foster global solidarity, the more likely the tough decisions faced in the years ahead will go the right way, for the benefit of all.

That is why we are proud to endorse this new report, the first attempt to analyse the state of our international community using 11 carefully chosen indicators. If we are to foster solidarity as the basis of our international community, we must first understand what drives it, and then carefully nourish it.

We are concerned that in 2023 **the world is in the DANGER ZONE**, and that solidarity seems to have weakened compared with the first two decades of this century. That only underlines the urgency of action in the face of great challenges.

By focusing our attention on the collective **impacts** we face, the **institutions** we need to respond effectively, and the **identities** that, in the end, are the basis on which sustainable progress will be founded, this report reminds us of the necessity to “reignite global solidarity,” the theme of this year’s UN General Assembly.

We endorse the urgency of the Calls To Action—**just transition now**, **collaborate against viruses**, and **pool global resources**—and we hope this report and subsequent editions spur the action we need to see to further global solidarity and commitment to mutual progress. ■

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# A world in need of solidarity

Solidarity is the basis of community—whether local, national, or international. When we have a sense of belonging together, effective and representative institutions, and powerful stories that show cooperation working, the sacrifices that are needed to solve common challenges become possible. Without that solidarity, it will be much harder to make tough choices and fix crises.

If anyone thought that human progress was inevitable, the past decade has disavowed them of that notion. Tragedy is as likely as triumph, and which prevails in any given context depends on the actions of humans. Above all, it will depend on whether we act collectively for long-term benefit, or selfishly for short-term gain.

So, how is the world doing in 2023? What is the state of the much-invoked “international community”? Have milestones like the COVID-19 pandemic and Russia’s invasion of Ukraine hurried the decline of the international order,

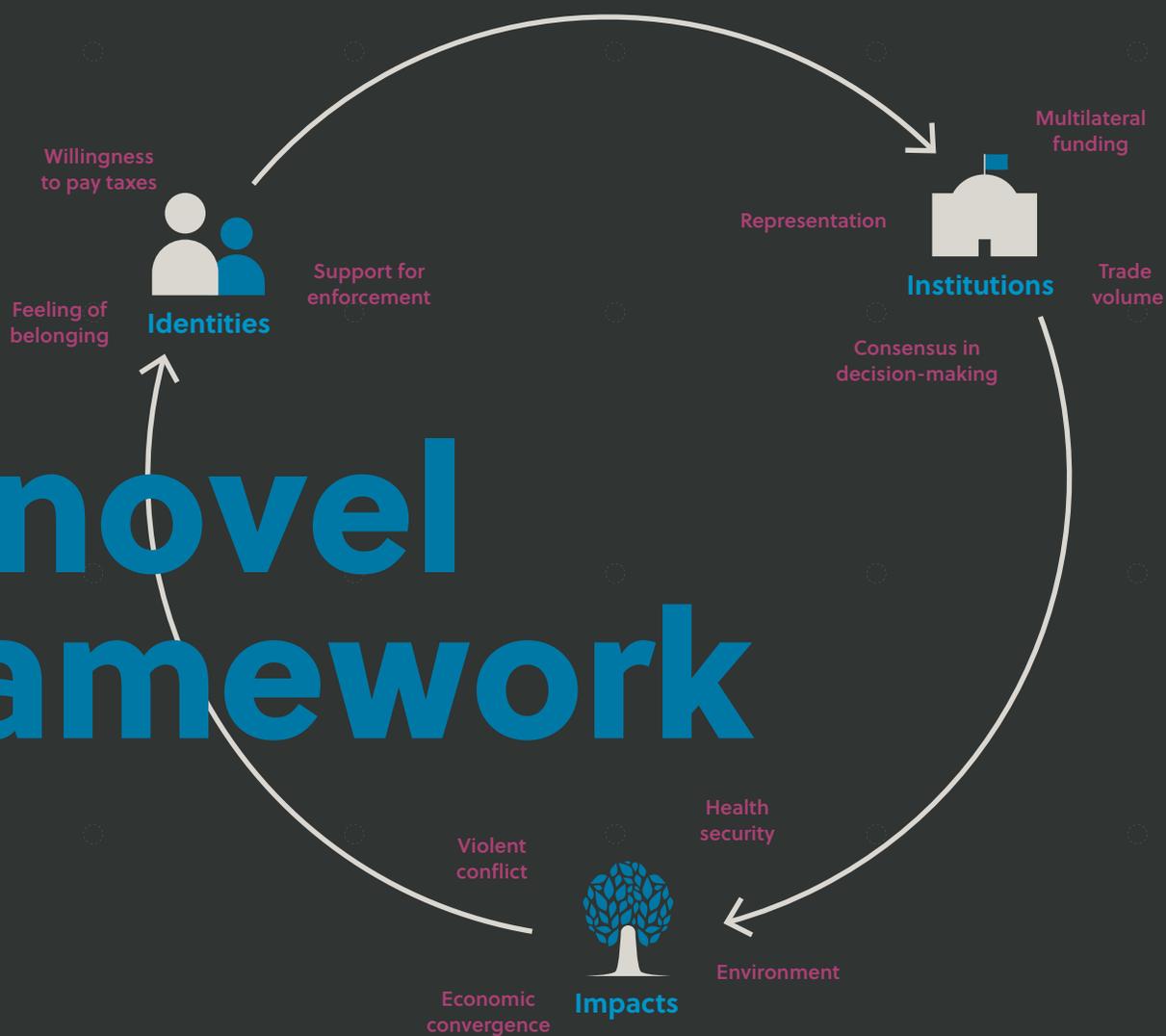
or have they perhaps increased a sense of urgency to unite against common threats? Have the increasing reports of climate problems spurred humanity to action, or to fatalism and conflict?

The answers to these questions are critically important, and many people have an opinion. But the discussion—including by experts—is more often grounded in anecdote than data, evidence, and analysis. Furthermore, given the far greater salience of punchy bad news stories over incremental successes, there is a risk that an overly pessimistic consensus emerges.

We need a more balanced yardstick for how the world is doing, a stronger narrative of global solidarity, community, and cooperation.

Welcome to the [Global Solidarity Report](#), which for the first time sets out to measure the strength and resilience of the international community.→

# → A novel framework



This scorecard uses a simple, but novel framework based on academic findings from psychology, political science, and international relations, and tested through a broad consultation with experts, policymakers, and civil society across many geographies.

Global Solidarity is first broken down into its three main drivers: Identities, Institutions, and Impacts. For each, the most effective indicators were chosen, based on the availability of recent, high-quality data, and the explanatory power of the indicator to describe changes in global solidarity. A total of 11 indicators were selected, covering the three drivers of solidarity.

To measure Identities, new public opinion research was commissioned in a survey of

over 21,000 people in 21 countries, covering more than half of the world's population and every continent. For the Institutions and Impacts pillars, existing, trusted data sources were used, allowing the analysis to stretch back further in time, to better measure how solidarity has evolved.

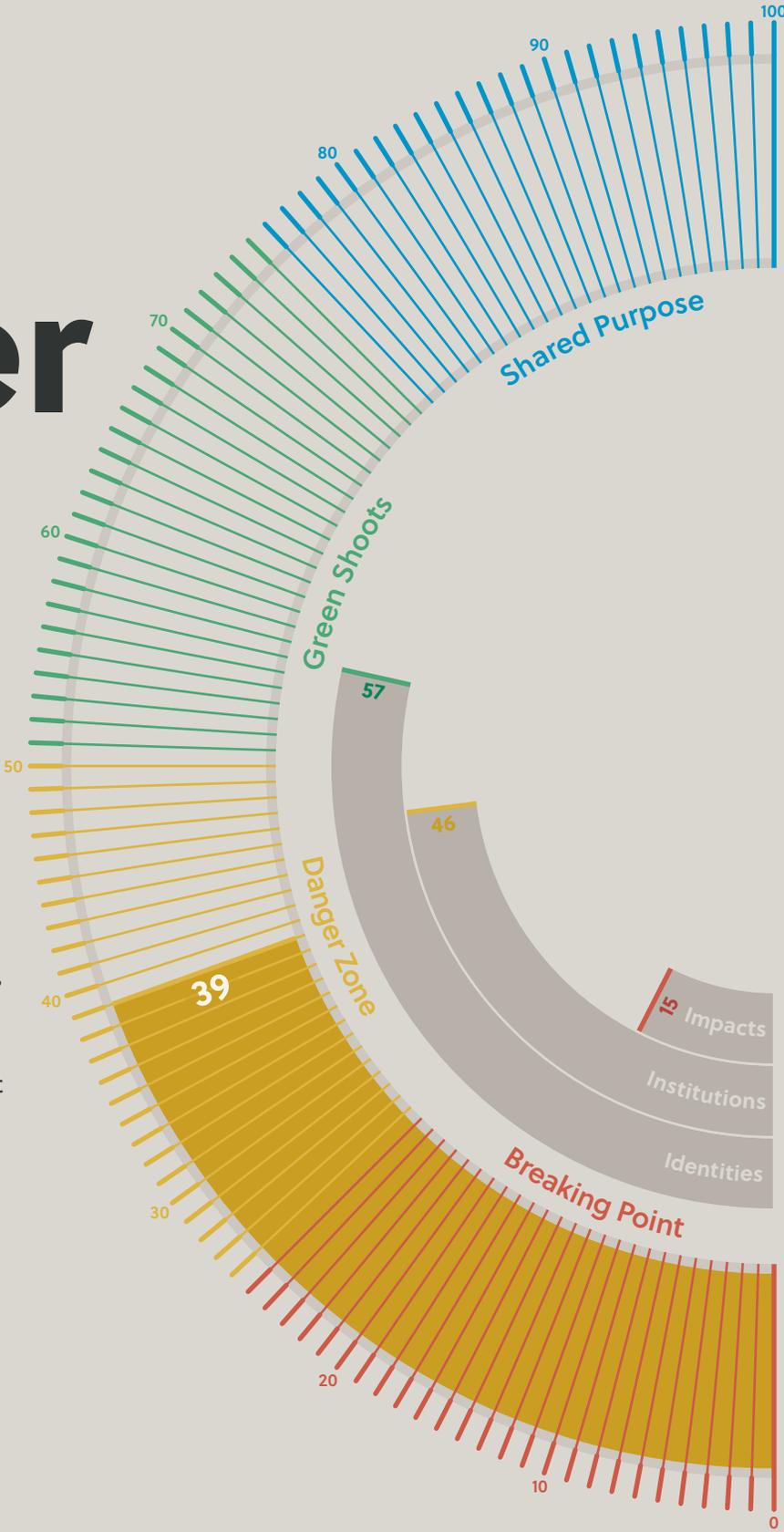
Together, the 11 indicators create a single score to measure global solidarity. The score can fall into one of four categories, from Breaking Point to Shared Purpose, which are defined on page 33. More detail on how we calculated this score can be found in the [Methodology Note](#).

# We are in the Danger Zone

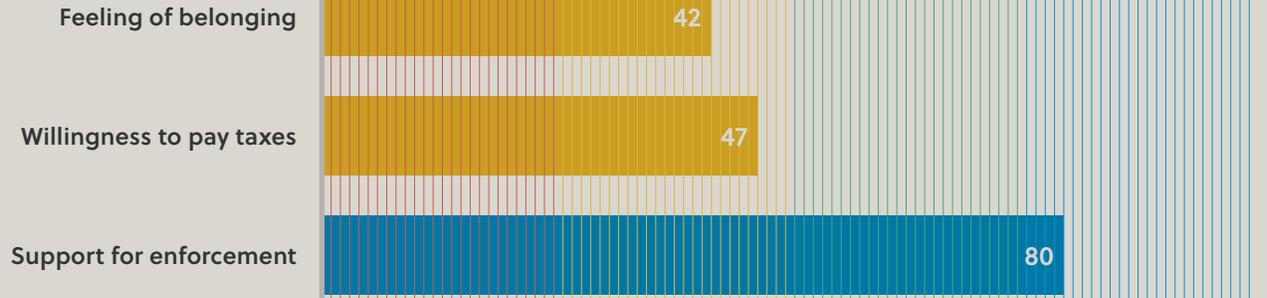
In 2023, our world is in the **Danger Zone**, with a score of 39 out of 100.

The world is not yet at **Breaking Point**, but it is some way away from **Green Shoots** and a long distance from the zone we need to aspire to: **Shared Purpose**. Strengthening solidarity to solve global crises will need rapid action at a scale beyond what we have mustered in recent years.

The data provided in this report provides a clear narrative. Looking at global solidarity in the round overturns simplistic assumptions that the world is falling apart. The reality is more complex.



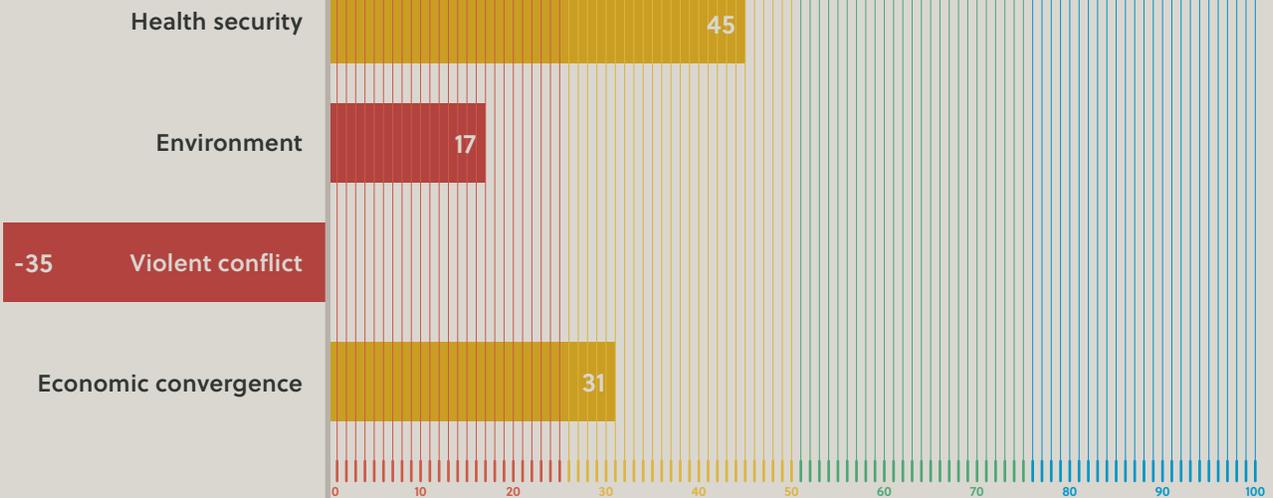
# Identities



# Institutions



# Impacts



People's **Identities** are surprisingly conducive to global cooperation, despite the inward turn of politics in many countries. Weighted survey responses for population reveal that nearly half of all people agree that they feel more a citizen of the world than of their country.<sup>1</sup> Close to two-thirds say they want climate agreements to be internationally enforced.<sup>2</sup>

These figures cannot be taken at face value: people in some countries are more likely to say they “agree” in surveys.<sup>3</sup> Around a third of people say they support international enforcement, but then go on to say they want total impunity for their own country. Nevertheless, these are astonishingly positive results that show a global public that understands the need for solidarity and wants stronger institutions that can bring about a more collaborative world.

Overall, Identities are in the Green Shoots zone. There is sufficient public support to make meaningful progress to solve our greatest challenges, even if only in a piecemeal and imperfect way.

But we also live in a world of grave crises, and this has sent most of the **Impacts** indicators into reverse. Deaths in conflict have skyrocketed, almost doubling between 2021 and 2022 due to wars in Ukraine and Ethiopia. Carbon emissions have jumped back up after falling briefly during the pandemic. Vaccination rates have rebounded somewhat but we have still lost a decade of progress. And the world's poor are not on a path to catch up.

Overall, Impacts are at Breaking Point. We are at grave risk of a tailspin in global solidarity, as the failure of our collective efforts to solve global crises risks undermining public support and in turn further weakening institutions. This will leave us less able to yield positive impacts. That is a path to the collapse of the

international community, with devastating consequences for human civilisation.

For now, we still have a window to act.

**Institutions** have not yet crumbled in the face of these challenges. The world has put more money into solving global problems than ever before. Trade has held up in the face of international tensions. And gender balance in key institutions is improving.

Public support for international cooperation, and a realisation of the scale of the challenges we face, have led to some marginal institutional progress, but it has simply not been enough to reverse negative impacts. We have invested in climate, but not enough to cut carbon emissions. We have invested in global health, but not enough to ensure fair distributions of vaccines. And just when solidarity is increasingly needed, countries agree with each other less and less. Overall, Institutions are in the Danger Zone.

To live up to the innate cosmopolitanism of their peoples, governments must do far more, creating a step change in international institutions, far beyond the incremental progress of recent years. That is the focus of the Calls to Action that this report endorses. →

# An urgent call to action

There is a long road ahead to strengthen global solidarity and build a better future. But the time to act is now, and in 2023 there is a clear set of priorities that form our Calls to Action. These are actions that international organisations, national governments, businesses, philanthropists, civil society activists, and members of the public can take to move the dial towards Shared Purpose.

The actions called for in this report are not optional extras. They are not icing on the cake of international cooperation. They are urgent necessities. As this report shows, we are nowhere near delivering sufficient results to sustain the necessary faith that we can solve our many crises.

To strengthen Global Solidarity, we must:

## Just transition, now

- To stick to 1.5°C, there cannot be any new fossil fuel investments
- Support countries to leave hydrocarbons in the ground
- Build adaptive food systems by backing agricultural science

## Cooperate against viruses

- Expand the Pandemic Fund to protect the world
- Agree on a Pandemic Accord

## Pool global resources

- Release trillions of dollars now by implementing the Bridgetown Initiative
- Set up a new UN entity to support tax justice
- Rethink foreign aid as Global Public Investment

In the next section, these calls to action are explained in more detail by the politicians, institutional leaders, and advocates who champion them.

Sometimes, just measuring a problem can make it seem more manageable. This report contains cause for concern, but there are also bright spots—green shoots of possibility in a troubled world. These can be channelled to provide an impetus to action. Effective cooperation requires solidarity, which starts with the basic respect that we owe each other as humans. Building that is not only the work of governments, and multilateral agencies like the UN. There is work for us all to do to make it a reality.

## 2023 Calls to Action

### Just transition, now

To stick to 1.5°C, there cannot be any new fossil fuel investments

**Saber Hossain Chowdhury**

Special Envoy to Hon. Prime Minister of Bangladesh (Environment & Climate Change)

Support countries to leave hydrocarbons in the ground

**Tatiana Rodríguez Maldonado**

General Coordinator, Censat Agua Viva, Colombia

Build adaptive food systems by backing agricultural science

**Ismahane Elouafi**

Incoming Executive Managing Director, CGIAR

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### Cooperate against viruses

Expand the Pandemic Fund to protect the world

**Chikwe Ihekweazu**

WHO Assistant Director-General for Epidemic Intelligence and Surveillance Systems

Agree on a Pandemic Accord

**Carolyn Reynolds**

Co-Founder, Pandemic Action Network

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### Pool global resources

Release trillions of dollars now by implementing the Bridgetown Initiative

**Avinash Persaud**

Special Envoy on Climate Finance, Barbados, and Member of the COP High-Level Experts Panel

Set up a new UN entity to support tax justice

**Alvin Mosioma**

Director for Fiscal Justice, Open Societies Foundation

Rethink foreign aid as Global Public Investment

**Wanjiru Kanyiha**

Network Coordinator, Global Public Investment Network

# Just transition, now.

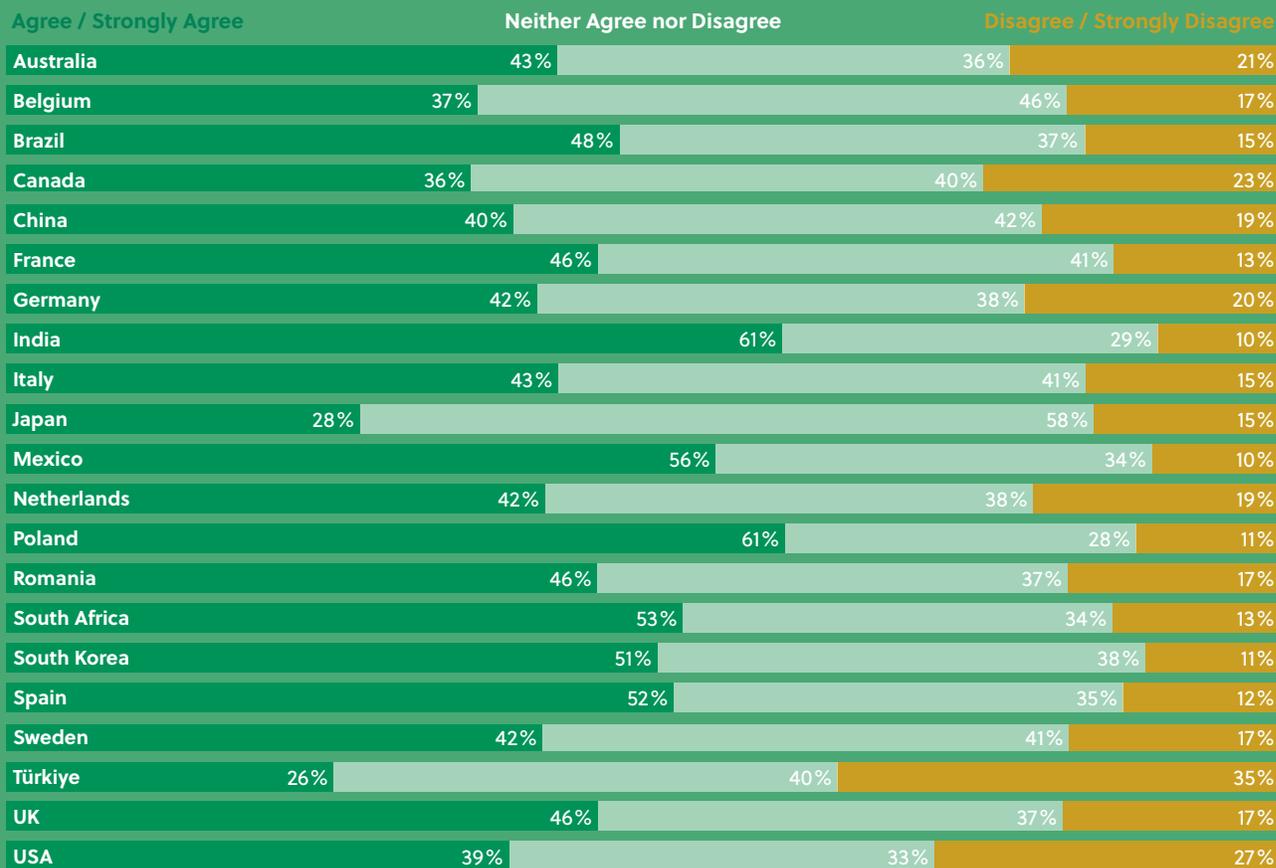
With record temperatures posted in 2023, the Earth has probably not been this hot since modern humans spread across the globe.<sup>4</sup> Denying that climate change is a global problem has become a minority sport. With every new report from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, and every news report detailing the most recent climate-related catastrophe, people from across the political spectrum in every country understand the urgency of this issue. And we need to cooperate to solve it, because reducing my emissions will serve little purpose if you do not also reduce yours.

Annual change in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions is one of the Impacts indicators in the Global Solidarity Scorecard, and the world's poor performance in 2022 (the most recent data) is one of the reasons the international community finds itself in the Danger Zone. Just when we need to be cutting emissions, they rose again—although not as steeply as the previous year, as the world emerged from COVID-19 lockdowns.

Apart from the contributions of greenhouse gases to global warming and the associated extreme weather events, sea-level rise, and ecosystem disruptions, the continued extraction and burning of oil and coal contribute to air pollution, the destruction of biodiversity, and the depletion and pollution of water resources.

To turn this around, we need a just energy transition, now.

The good news is that there is significant support for reducing fossil fuel extraction. The polling data collected for this report reveals that in most countries, between 40% and 60% of people are supportive of leaving oil and gas in the ground, while between 10% and 20% disagree.



↑ **FIGURE 1** Level of agreement with the survey question, “My country should leave oil and gas reserves in the ground if it is necessary to tackle climate change.” Source: Glocalities 2023

## People are far more likely to agree than disagree that their country should keep oil in the ground

The bad news is that most governments are way behind their citizens. Turning popular support into climate action, especially in less wealthy countries that are more dependent on natural resources, will require the international community to give them stronger incentives to make the transition.

But whatever limits we now put on fossil fuels, our climate is already changing. So we also need to catalyse innovations in food systems, including those in the poorest countries, so that they can survive the transition to a new, post-fossil fuel age.

Within this call to action, three leading voices from politics, advocacy, and the multilateral system set out the urgent actions we must take to ensure a just transition, now.

# To stick to 1.5°C, there cannot be *any* new fossil fuel investments



**Saber Hossain  
Chowdhury**

Special Envoy to Hon.  
Prime Minister of Bangladesh  
(Environment & Climate Change)



● When we talk about 1.5°C, it's not a political statement—this is what science demands of us as a minimum. Who will join us in acting on the basis of science?

Even 1.5°C does not represent a comfort zone, as at 1.1°C increase, we are already witnessing what the Secretary-General describes as “the highway to climate hell.” It is a lived reality for Bangladesh, every day. It is not something that may or may not happen in the future—it was yesterday, it is today, it will be tomorrow.

One in every seven people in Bangladesh, a country of 170 million, will face climate-related displacement by 2050. Dhaka, our capital city, already receives thousands of new climate migrants every day. Food security, water stress, biodiversity loss, and the increased frequency and intensity of natural hazards are additional challenges, which demand further resources for poverty alleviation, health, education, and infrastructure.

Climate change is a problem that needs to be solved faster than we are creating it. This is where keeping coal in the ground comes in. The science on this is as conclusive as it has ever been: **to stick to 1.5°C, there cannot be any new fossil fuel investments.**

Unlike many developed countries, Bangladesh has taken the moral high ground and walked the talk. We have cancelled the development of ten coal-based power plants, which had \$12 billion in foreign investment, even though

we contribute only 0.4% of global emissions. Although we are amongst the most impacted and least culpable, our Honourable Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina inspires us to see Bangladeshis as leaders and champions in global thought and action, rather than victims.

The biggest obstacle to global solidarity today is the trust deficit—not the funding or emissions gap, but the trust gap. When pledges are repeatedly not honoured, there is growing mistrust amongst member states and the UNFCCC process is unable to deliver. **There cannot be solidarity without trust, and there cannot be multilateralism without solidarity.** We need to address this trust deficit and Bangladesh will robustly play its due role in this regard.

Climate change is an existential challenge and a planetary emergency. It is about how we live today and what sort of planet we live on, if at all, tomorrow. Bangladesh is one of 53 ‘climate vulnerable’ countries and it is a question of when, not if, all other countries will also be regarded as vulnerable. We must act as a global community now, with urgency and ambition, or what we do in the future will be too little, too late. ■

# Support countries to leave hydrocarbons in the ground



**Tatiana Rodríguez Maldonado**

General Coordinator,  
Censat Agua Viva,  
Colombia

● We must not accept the prospect of a catastrophic future as our inescapable destiny. Instead, we must make profound changes to our way of life. Most of all we must change our relationship with nature, which so often we feel we own, rather than being a part of it.

According to the journal *Nature*, if we want to move away from the point of no return and heighten our chances of staying within a 1.5°C global temperature increase, we must leave 90% of the coal, 58% of the oil, and 59% of the gas in the world unextracted (proven reserves as of 2018).

But how can that scientific reality be made a political possibility?

It is encouraging that Colombia's government has made the search for a just energy transition one of its main priorities. This includes bold policies such as curbing the search and extraction of fossil fuels, diversifying the sources of energy generation, expanding the national productive sector to reduce fiscal dependence on extractive activities, and broadening the spectrum of participation and guarantee of rights, including the right to energy.

But such a comprehensive position faces challenges, even from within the government. The principles set out in its Just Energy Transition Roadmap are at odds with other official sources in which timidity continues to prevail.

We must not ignore the difficulties facing countries that set out to achieve the bold change that science demands. For a complex country like Colombia to marshal all its political and economic forces behind a just energy transition needs more than leadership from within. It also requires international cooperation.

The news that the Ecuadorian people have voted to keep the oil in the Yasuní reserve in

the ground is inspiring, but we must remember that attempts have been made to do this in the past. Bold initiatives like this, which benefit the planet but can harm the short-term economic prospects of particular countries, require deep macroeconomic changes and need to be financially supported by the international community via renegotiations of foreign debt, special environmental funds, and other innovative solutions.

Indeed, supporting countries to make a just energy transition must go beyond compensation-based models which risk commodifying nature, masking the real problems or undermining the demands for justice behind the notion of an energy transition of and for the people. On the contrary, energy must be understood as a common good whose extraction and use has occurred unequally and unfairly in historical, geographical, and class terms, with consequences for both human beings and non-human nature.

Climate crisis and environmental protection are inherently linked. A just energy transition can only take place if, as a *sine qua non* condition, there is a commitment to leave hydrocarbons in the ground (all of them, not only those in the Amazon), and if community forms of land, water and energy management are respected and strengthened, in order to step off the path to destruction.■

# Build adaptive food systems by backing agricultural science



**Ismahane Elouafi**

Incoming Executive Managing Director, CGIAR



● The effects of climate change are horrific, and the people who understand this best are farmers. I don't think there's a single farmer who will tell you that it is the same as 10 or 20 years ago.

Throughout my career, I had the privilege of speaking with many farmers who shared their stories of how extreme temperatures prevented crops from growing, and how extreme events like floods and drought have harmed crops and reduced yield. The story they told was sobering.

Over the past 60 years, the impact has been so severe that global agricultural crop productivity has declined by over 20% due to climate change and the lack of investment in adaptation research.<sup>5</sup> To continue to feed the world in the age of the climate emergency, we need to innovate. In fact, agricultural research has been shown to top the list of the most cost-effective ways to end hunger.<sup>6</sup>

Yet, global public expenditure on agricultural R&D, in real terms, has fallen by 10% over the past decade.<sup>7</sup> This means we are all falling increasingly behind in developing climate adaptation solutions to help farmers and address food insecurity.

Luckily, there are agricultural research centres around the world that stand ready to make up this lost ground, globally, such as the CGIAR and AIRCA; regionally, such as FARA and Fontagro; and nationally. The world's pre-eminent global agricultural research organisation is the CGIAR. I am honoured to have been appointed its next Executive Managing Director (EMD), a role I will take up in December 2023.

Set up by the international community 50 years ago, CGIAR is an unparalleled global network of 14 research centers in regions that

are highly vulnerable to climate change. It has about 10,000 experts managing labs and field stations across 108 countries, working in partnership with over 3,000 organisations.

This gives the CGIAR unrivalled insights, reach, and understanding to develop and deliver innovations which are globally relevant. The CGIAR is the scientific engine of the international agriculture system. Over the past decade, CGIAR centers have collectively:

- Improved nutrition for 20 million people in low-income countries
- Improved climate resilience in farming communities in 21 countries through the establishment of Climate Smart Villages
- Increased rice yield in 13 countries in sub-Saharan Africa by 100%
- Scaled access to improved wheat varieties to almost ½ of the world's wheat areas

This is what CGIAR has achieved with the small and shrinking resources that it is currently given. As the climate crisis deepens, the gap between what is being done and what is required is growing day by day.

That is why it is so important that CGIAR's funding is doubled to \$2 billion per year, so that it can rapidly expand its work to build climate-resilient food systems on every continent.

Reducing greenhouse gas emissions is necessary to reduce the long-term damage from climate change, but we live in a world in which the climate has already changed. Investing in agricultural science is one of the best ways that we can adapt to sequester more GHG and produce healthier food for all, leaving no one behind. ■

# Cooperate against viruses

We all remember the COVID-19 pandemic, and yet we are at risk of forgetting its most important lesson: that we are all interconnected on this spinning rock. Political leaders from the left and right and on all continents repeated the mantra that this was a battle of “humanity against the virus,” and that “no one is safe unless everyone is safe.” In communities that are often said to have weakened in the atomised age of mobile devices and globalised capitalism, people everywhere made huge sacrifices to protect fellow citizens whom they had never met. Many governments were shocked to find the high levels of public support for lockdowns and other public health measures designed to protect the vulnerable.

We often hear that the pandemic revealed a world entirely unable to collaborate. Many mistakes were made and, worse, acts of selfishness undermined the international response. But that is not the only story.

Vaccines normally take 10 years from invention to deployment in high-income countries, and then a further 10 years to reach low-income countries. In the case of COVID-19, vaccines were deployed in high-income countries less than a year after the virus’s genetic sequence was first shared, and began their roll-out in low-income countries just weeks later. The pandemic forced the world to move faster than ever on vaccine science, manufacturing, regulatory approval, and global roll-out.

In a vaccine shortage, rich countries have in the past always looked after themselves first, and that has rarely been front page news. But during the pandemic, this was seen as particularly unfair. People everywhere were shocked to see that by early 2022, when well over half of the world’s population had been fully vaccinated against COVID-19, the figure for Africa was little over 10%. Those numbers are indeed shocking. But the very fact that there was shock and anger at that injustice was a kind of progress.

The public demand for a faster, fairer global vaccination system can be the basis of progress that would hardly have been imaginable in 2019. Rather than looking back on recent experience as a counsel of despair, we should remember the achievements and sacrifices that were made, alongside the mistakes, and use these as a springboard to do far better next time.

**Chikwe Ihekweazu**, WHO Assistant Director-General for Epidemic Intelligence and Surveillance Systems, and **Carolyn Reynolds**, Co-Founder of Pandemic Action Network, give two concrete examples of how this can be done.

# Expand the Pandemic Fund to protect the world



**Chikwe Ihekweazu**

WHO Assistant Director-General  
for Epidemic Intelligence and  
Surveillance Systems



## COOPERATE AGAINST VIRUSES

● During the height of the COVID-19 pandemic, I had the honour of serving Nigeria as the head of its Centre for Disease Control (NCDC). The NCDC is the body tasked with trying to understand how infectious diseases like COVID-19 are moving through the community, and to advise decision-makers on what course of action to take. That is not an easy job at the best of times. A global pandemic was therefore a challenging period to say the least.

Nigeria has some excellent healthcare professionals and committed public servants, but it is also home to millions of people living in extreme poverty with little access to care. With one of the highest population densities in the world and tropical conditions, it provides an ideal environment for the emergence of new viruses and the spread of known ones. When the healthcare budget for life-saving treatment is at a bare minimum, it is hard to find resources to track and analyse viruses. With much of the population undocumented and underserved, tracking diseases is even harder. Yet, if a new disease were to emerge from Nigeria, the whole world would be at risk.

That is why international cooperation is so important—not just for Nigeria, but to enable every country to set the systems in place to protect its own people, and the rest of the world, from diseases that do not respect borders.

So far, not enough is being done to ensure that all countries are acting in their collective best interests, from a shared risk perspective. We are still too heavily reliant on the old system of “foreign aid” from the benevolent rich to the poor, to solve a problem that requires everyone, everywhere to contribute, and benefit.

Last year, a new financing mechanism was launched called the Pandemic Fund, housed in the World Bank, with technical support

from WHO. The Fund identified a need for \$10 billion per year in financing to build health emergency systems in every country. These systems could identify and respond to threats, no matter where they emerge. To date, only \$2 billion has been contributed, and it is far from clear whether any more funding will be forthcoming. The money has been contributed by a small number of the “usual suspects”— high-income countries with significant foreign aid budgets, and a few large philanthropic foundations. Their generosity is welcome. But clearly it is insufficient to provide the resources the world needs.

Thinking of the Pandemic Fund as a “foreign aid” exercise is insufficient in the first place. It implies that pandemic preparedness is “someone else’s problem,” and an act of charity. In reality, this is everyone’s problem, and an act of self-preservation. The Pandemic Fund could be much more if it were to receive contributions from all countries and also benefit all countries. It could turn into a true health emergency protection system for the world, with all countries contributing what they can. If that were the case, the \$10 billion annual bill would be easily raised.

The Pandemic Fund’s first round of funding is currently underway. What comes next is crucially important for the world’s preparedness for future pandemics. If this is a one-off experiment, a financial footnote to COVID-19, we will be woefully unprepared for the next global threat. But if we build and grow this new mechanism into a global health protection system where every country contributes and benefits, we stand a chance of doing far better next time. ■

# Agree on the Pandemic Accord



**Carolyn Reynolds**

Co-Founder,  
Pandemic Action Network

● The COVID-19 pandemic has had a devastating impact on lives, livelihoods, and human progress. The numbers are staggering: an estimated 24 million global excess deaths, global economic losses of at least \$14 trillion, and at least 70 million more people pushed back into extreme poverty.<sup>8</sup> The pandemic has dealt the biggest setback in two decades to global poverty reduction, health, and progress toward all the Sustainable Development Goals. Yet pandemic preparedness, prevention, and response (PPR) is rapidly disappearing from the global priority list.<sup>9</sup>

Two key drivers of the pandemic were the failure of individual nations to prioritize, plan, and adequately invest in preparedness, and the collective failure to join forces in a timely, concerted global response. Although 196 countries are obligated under the International Health Regulations (2005) to take certain steps in the case of public health events with cross-border potential, there is no enforcement mechanism and compliance varies widely.<sup>10</sup> When COVID-19 hit, nationalistic instincts prevailed, resulting in massive inequities between wealthy and poorer nations in access to life-saving vaccines, treatments, diagnostics, and other tools—and prolonging the crisis for all.

To address these failures, in 2022 the World Health Assembly agreed to launch international negotiations on a new Pandemic Accord.<sup>11</sup> Similar to how the 2015 Paris Agreement established a global framework to accelerate climate action, the Pandemic Accord would strengthen the rules of the road and compel WHO Member States to act individually and collectively to reduce the risk of deadly pandemics, stop their spread, and save lives. With infectious disease threats increasing in frequency and severity—experts predict the next pandemic could emerge anywhere, at any time—a better global rulebook is urgently needed.

The draft Accord under negotiation has the potential to bolster pandemic PPR in several ways.<sup>12</sup> It would accelerate the timeline for research, development, and equitable delivery of vaccines and other medical countermeasures. It would incentivize countries to surveil and share data on outbreaks and new pathogens, knowing they will receive support from the international community rather than being punished. It would also bolster regulatory, workforce, and other health system capacities critical for effective PPR and other health needs. A Conference of Parties would undertake regular progress reviews and hold member states accountable. For the Accord to be transformational, however, it must be backed up by additional, sustainable financing and sustained political leadership.

While the Accord will not be a silver bullet, it will be an essential weapon in our global arsenal against an existential threat to humanity. It could mean the difference between localized outbreaks that are swiftly snuffed out at their source and a fast-moving global crisis that kills millions and shuts down economies. COVID-19 showed that no country is safe from pandemics, so a new global agreement is in every nation's self-interest and would give a major boost to multilateralism. ■

# Pool global resources

The world today confronts ever more complex international challenges—from climate adaptation to digital infrastructure, from pandemic preparedness to social protection. Yet these global challenges have, at present, no coordinated global arrangements to ensure they are adequately financed. The result is free-riding and an undersupply of critical global goods and commons.

Some progress was made at the Summit for a New Global Financing Pact in France, but not enough. 2023 could be the year the world finally addresses the need for countries at all income levels to participate in the creation of a new global financing arrangement, but it will take bold political leadership.

All assessments of the cost of delivering the UN's Sustainable Development Goals and other global objectives have one thing in common: the shortfall is trillions rather than billions of dollars. Adaptation costs from climate change in low- and middle-income countries are soon estimated to hit between \$160-\$340 billion per year,<sup>13</sup> while preserving global biodiversity will cost even more, up to \$700 billion per year.<sup>14</sup> Delivering decent health globally, including preparedness for shocks like pandemics, is estimated at hundreds of billions of dollars annually.<sup>15</sup>

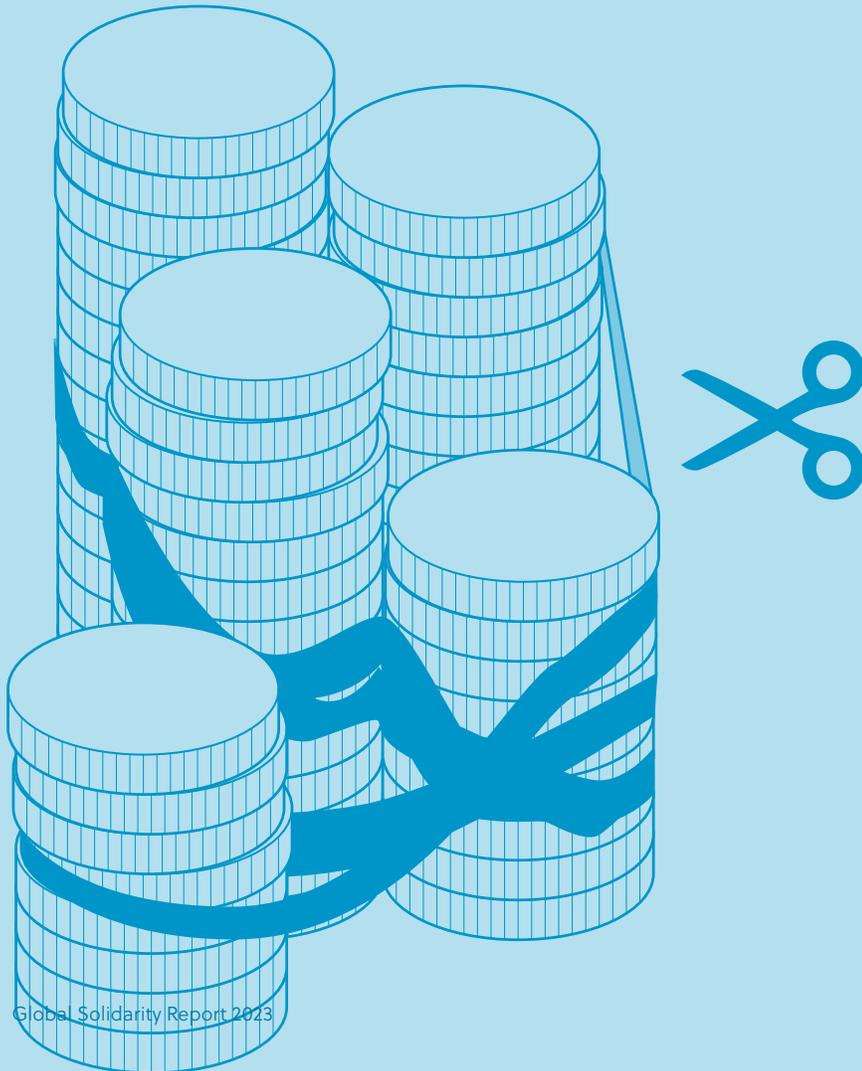
We are some orders of magnitude away from the level of funding required to stave off catastrophe, let alone ensure progress and human thriving. Some countries are considering new international solidarity taxes, such as on fossil fuels, maritime transport, or financial transactions, which would be a step in the right direction. While there is a panoply of measures required to respond to the funding crisis, invited contributors here share three critical parts of the funding puzzle: the Bridgetown Initiative, the global campaign for tax justice, and the increasingly popular call for Global Public Investment.

# Release trillions of dollars now by implementing the Bridgetown Initiative



**Avinash Persaud**

Special Envoy on Climate Finance,  
Barbados, and Member of the  
COP High-Level Experts Panel



● The truly scary thing is that we are not only at an objectively dangerously low level of international cooperation, as this report shows, but also at a point where global cooperation was never needed more. Despite repeated warnings, rich countries whose wealth came in large part through greenhouse gas emissions have not done enough to curtail emissions. And promising to do more is not winning elections.

There is no longer any pathway to stopping global warming without engaging developing countries, which now account for 63% of global emissions and where there is much new fossil fuel production and exploration. And there is no pathway to the green transformation in developing countries at the current cost of capital, mainly due to the limited availability of long-term, counter-cyclical finance in the international financial system.

Current levels of solidarity cannot adequately address the climate loss and damage that vulnerable countries face from the amount of climate change already baked in. But this report shows that we must not give up hope. The ingredients of a solution exist in public perceptions, hopes, and anxieties. There is scope for ambition and change, as the proposals in the Bridgetown Initiative outline.

There is a navigable passage to tripling the amount the multilateral development banks lend, to build a trillion-dollar system. Half of the journey is made through the banks better utilising existing capital, especially callable capital, and the other half by better leveraging new shareholder capital through portfolio guarantees. That would make a difference and is achievable even within the current context.

There is scope for a massive unblocking of private capital by providing partial foreign exchange guarantees without the need for much public money. It would be a counter-cyclical mechanism with a public-good mandate, pooling risks, and with the necessary liquidity to hold fundamentally profitable trades over time.

We need new taxes and levies, otherwise the world's poorest, who contributed the least to global warming, will bear the greatest loss and damage. We cannot let that continue. Insurance is not enough. We need a hundred billion dollars. We can get it from a 1% profit levy from oil, gas, and coal companies, with a shipping tax and financial transaction taxes. We need to realise these pragmatic ambitions and let the habit of success push up levels of global solidarity. ■

# Set up a new UN entity to support tax justice



**Alvin Mosioma**

Director for Fiscal Justice,  
Open Societies Foundation



● Our tax and financial systems are our most powerful tools for creating a just society, nationally and internationally: a fairer, greener, and more inclusive world. But under pressure from corporate giants and the super-rich, our governments have programmed these systems to prioritise the wealthiest over everybody else, wiring financial secrecy and tax havens into the core of our global economy. This fuels inequality, fosters corruption, and undermines democracy.

It is widely acknowledged that the current global tax governance architecture is flawed, outdated, and not fit for purpose, and that there is an urgent need for a fundamental overhaul. It was established over 100 years ago as part of the League of Nations, when many independent countries today did not even exist. The global economy has drastically changed, and globalisation has reached another level with the digitalisation of the economy.

Redistributive and progressive tax and fiscal policies can counteract growing inequalities and raise the public funding needed to invest in public services that are essential to fulfil human rights and advance sustainable development. By working together across borders and organisational affiliations, we can build a strong social movement to generate the political will to reform the outdated and broken global tax and financial architecture.

Together we can push for transformative changes at the national level and globally to make tax work for economic justice and social progress. We need to build a world where progressive and redistributive tax policies counteract inequalities within and between countries, and generate the public funding needed to ensure essential services and human rights.

According to the Tax Justice Network's recent State of Tax Justice 2023 report, countries are on course to lose nearly \$5 trillion over the next 10 years in tax to multinational corporations and wealthy individuals using tax havens to underpay tax.<sup>16</sup> These future losses of public money would be equivalent to losing a year of worldwide spending on public health.

The historic unanimous vote in favor of a resolution tabled by the Africa Group on the "Promotion of inclusive and effective tax cooperation at the United Nations," in November 2022, has created a unique opportunity to set off such a systemic transformation.<sup>17</sup>

This December, countries will vote on whether to begin negotiations on a UN tax convention at the UN General Assembly. This convention is necessary to establish an intergovernmental body with the mandate of setting standards on promoting international tax cooperation. Currently, work on this issue has been led mostly by the G20, the OECD, and campaigning organisations. While much progress has been made, these organisations lack the global mandate to reach comprehensive resolutions. They are clubs formed by the most powerful nations—others are not at the table.

To make progress in tax justice, a new, truly global body, with a mandate to represent all countries and regions, should be created within the umbrella of the United Nations.

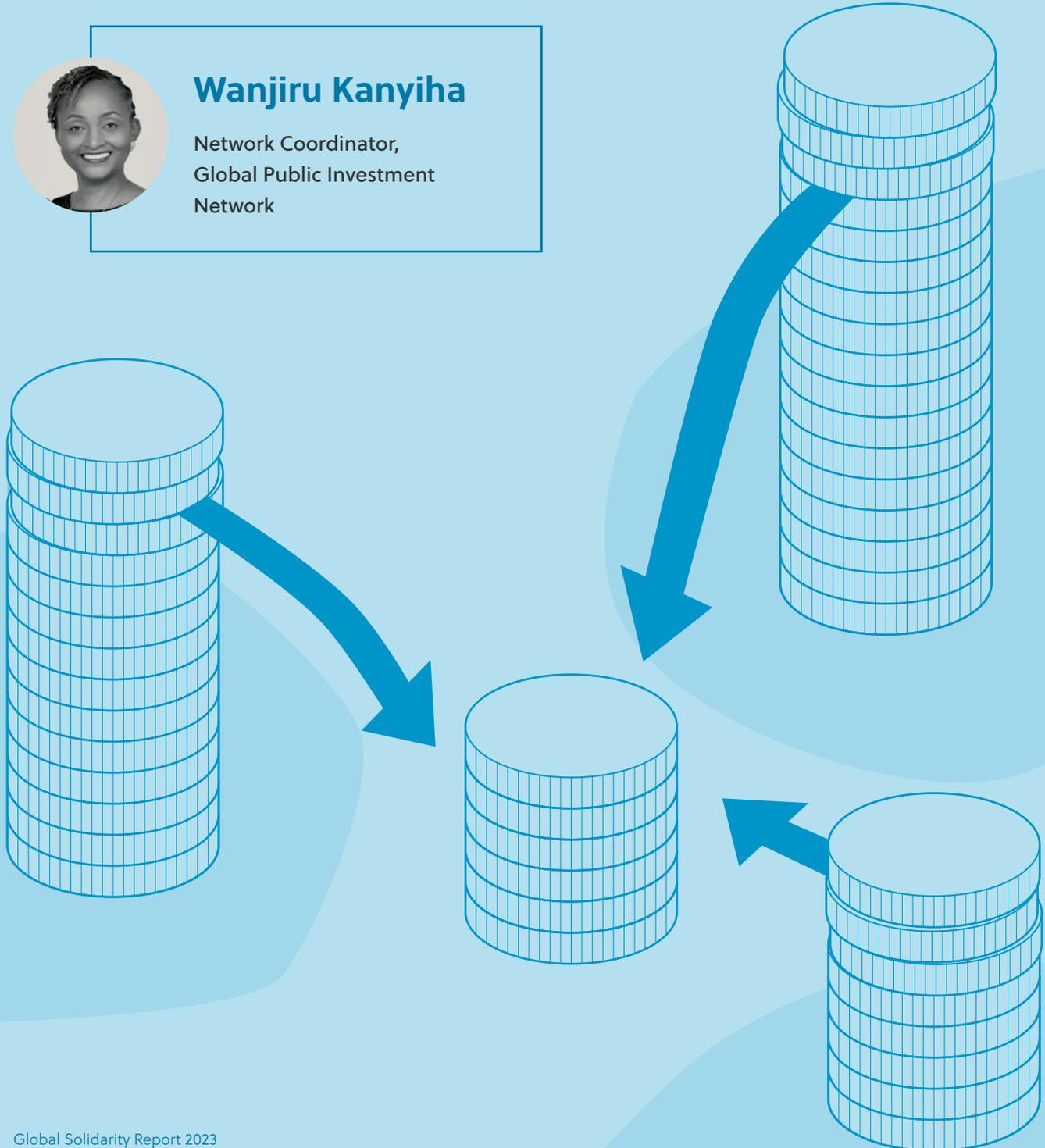
High-income countries lose the greatest sums of revenue to cross-border tax abuse. But many of their heavily lobbied governments have historically blocked progress at the UN, even at the expense of their own people. It is critical that these governments now face public scrutiny and challenge ahead of the UN discussions, so that those responsible for tax abuse are not able to prevent an effective global response. ■

# Rethink foreign aid as Global Public Investment



**Wanjiru Kanyiha**

Network Coordinator,  
Global Public Investment  
Network



● Solidarity is a concept deeply ingrained in me, and which I have experienced throughout my journey. For several years, I actively coordinated community action in Kilimani, a neighbourhood in Nairobi, Kenya’s capital. In the African context, it was easy to show up in various ways, welcoming a new member to the community, sharing meals, and celebrating various life’s milestones. We learned it from watching our mothers and aunts, and carried it with us as we transitioned into adulthood. *Ubuntu*, the famous African adage, **I am because we are**, resonated deeply for many of us.

That mindset is applicable to how we solve global challenges, but it is still not how we finance them. Instead, the prevailing structure is that of “foreign aid.” In this paradigm, a few rich countries are expected to foot the bill, and demand in return the power to decide how money is spent. A number of very poor countries are expected to benefit, but have limited power to decide. Meanwhile, the vast majority of the world’s population live in countries which are hardly expected to contribute, or benefit, or decide on much at all.

**This is the logic of charity, not solidarity.** It is hard to see how problems like climate change, and pandemics, to which all countries are vulnerable, and which demand vast resources to tackle them, can be solved in this way. That is why I am so proud to support a global network dedicated to reimagining development financing and challenging existing donor-dependent models that overlook community-led solutions.

The Global Public Investment (GPI) Network<sup>18</sup> proposes a new set of principles for funding global goals, whereby:

- all countries benefit, according to need
- all countries decide, through inclusive processes
- all countries contribute, according to capacity

GPI is a bold re-imagining, but it has practical implementation at its core. As the current funding system is increasingly seen to be inadequate, GPI can be an attractive model for countries at different income levels.

Donor countries are expected to give up much of their power over funding decisions, but in return they will have a far better-funded system where others contribute alongside them, and they can benefit far more directly from multilateral efforts than previously. Middle-income countries are expected to greatly increase their contributions—most of the world’s economy now sits with them. But they will also stand to benefit far more in a system that no longer cuts them out. From the poorest countries, to whom most foreign aid is channelled, a very small contribution would be required. For them, the benefit would be a system that provides them not just with resources, but also with agency and dignity. No longer the people for whom international spending is “done to,” they would be, like all other countries, contributors, beneficiaries, and deciders.

Some development cooperation models, like the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, already align quite well with GPI principles, but most do not. To build a system capable of funding the Global Goals, all international agencies and funds should review their approach to embed Global Public Investment principles; meanwhile governments, particularly upper-middle-income countries, should offer new funding in exchange for this shift. ■

# What is global solidarity?

The thorniest problems societies face are *collective action* problems. These problems exist at every level of human interaction, from agreeing a division of chores in a household, to clearing litter in a neighbourhood, to collecting tax within a country. They also exist at a global level.

Humans understand that it is in our interest to cooperate to solve collective action problems, but there is no guarantee that we will do so. That is why there are so many unwashed dishes at home, so many neighbourhoods plagued with litter, and a low tax collection rate in many countries.

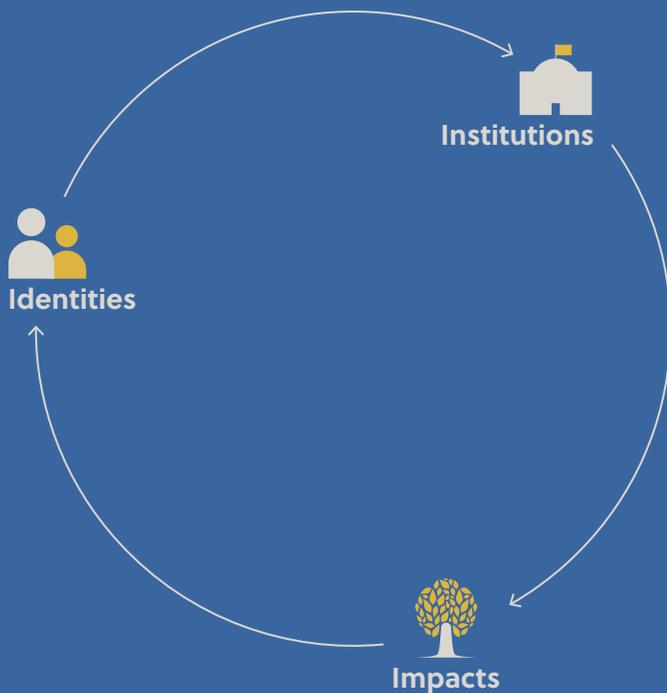
At the global level, it is also why we are so slow to reduce fossil fuel usage, why we find it hard to manage refugees and pandemics, and why we sometimes fail to take advantage of trade and technological progress. These challenges all require collaboration, but the

forces preventing effective cooperation—narrow interests at odds with the benefit of the group—are strong.

And yet humans are, in Aristotle's words, "social animals."<sup>19</sup> As a cooperative species, we have evolved a set of tools to make it more likely that collective action problems will be solved. These tools can be summed up by one word: solidarity.

Global solidarity will never be perfect. Far from it. Like all forms of solidarity, it will always be a work in progress. But the more solidarity there is—in a family, a neighbourhood, a country, or the world—the more likely we are to work together effectively in pursuit of our common goals. Solidarity underpins community, which in turn spurs cooperation.

# Measuring global solidarity



Some say the era of global solidarity, if there ever was one, is over. They say we now have to accept the inevitable march of nationalism and narrow self-interest. But a more nuanced look at the world today reveals a more complex picture. Many aspects of international solidarity, community, and cooperation are ticking up, even if not fast enough to keep pace with our crises.

To arrive at this clearer analysis, solidarity was broken down into its constituent drivers, and for each driver a set of indicators was identified.<sup>20</sup> These indicators have been selected because they are **powerful** in providing relevant evidence, **simple** to understand, **available** in public data sources, and **recent** (covering the last 12 to 18 months).

Solidarity has three underlying drivers: Identities, Institutions, and Impacts. These three drivers work in a cycle, which can be positive or negative. Strong group identities produce stronger institutions, and these can lead to more impacts, reinforcing solidarity over time. But if one of the three drivers weakens, it can in turn weaken the others, sending solidarity into decline.

## Identities

To effectively solve collective action problems, individuals must feel part of a group, and must have sufficient trust in it to take individual losses for the good of all and submit to the enforcement of rules.<sup>21</sup> Humans can have many overlapping identities, from geographical, to ethnic, to gender, and many others.<sup>22</sup> To give insights on global identities, new public opinion data was commissioned from Glocalities, involving an online survey of 21,290 people in 21 countries representing 53% of the world's population and including every continent.

## ***Identities: the under-appreciated driver***

Although psychologists, politicians, and anyone running a business have always known how important they are for solidarity, identities are an under-appreciated element of international affairs. Traditionally, the field of international relations paid little attention to public opinion, although this is now starting to change.<sup>23</sup> What was always true is now becoming clearer to political scientists; the fundamental audience for all governments (and not only democratic ones) is the same for international affairs as for domestic affairs: their own citizens. Although the remoteness of international affairs from their citizens' day-to-day lives means that governments can often act in the international arena with limited public scrutiny, public opinion nevertheless sets out the limits of the playing field for these activities. In the past, some countries' citizens permitted or even encouraged their governments to colonise and enslave foreigners. Today, few governments could get away with such an approach, but they may be able to justify a range of uncollaborative practices. Without further step changes in what the public will tolerate and support, a radical increase in international cooperation is unlikely to materialise.

## **Institutions**

If identities provide the bedrock of solidarity, then institutions provide the vehicles for making cooperation happen.<sup>24</sup> Institutions are mechanisms that encourage and regulate cooperation. In a household, these could be as informal as a verbal agreement on who washes the dishes. For more complex forms of cooperation, more formal institutions are required. Are international institutions, agreements, and protocols functioning well, and how they are evolving?

## **Impacts**

Does public support and institutional strength add up to successes for people and planet? There must be some evidence that cooperation works, to maintain positive attitudes towards cooperation and support for global institutions. If it seems that nothing is working, public faith in institutions will eventually fall, further reducing positive impacts. The tight connection between faith in institutions and achieving positive impacts was demonstrated during the COVID-19 pandemic, where countries whose citizens had more faith in government on average suffered fewer deaths.<sup>25</sup>

No set of indicators is perfect, and this selection is no exception. However, after a careful process of research, validation, and consultation, the indicators in the following table highlight some of the most important success factors in the difficult task of effectively measuring global solidarity.

# Drivers & Indicators<sup>26</sup>

## Identities

| Issue                           | Indicator   | Rationale   |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| <b>Feeling of belonging</b>     | Proportion of respondents agreeing with the statement:<br><i>“I consider myself more a world citizen than a citizen of the country I live in.”</i>                                      | <p>A shared group identity is central to solidarity and is the fundamental tool for solving collective action problems: we can put aside our selfish interests only when we feel that we are part of something bigger.<sup>27</sup> This question has a “strong” formulation, as it asks people if they feel more like citizens of the world than of their own country.</p> <p>Identity is not an “either... or...” Identities are built on top of each other like layers. This is proven by survey data, which shows that people who agree with this statement on global citizenship typically also feel very proud of their country.<sup>28</sup> The reason for the strong formulation is to ensure that it captures those who truly feel committed to internationalism. For this reason, the same formulation has been used in a large number of surveys in the past, which means this 2023 data can be compared with historical levels of agreement with the same statement.</p> |
| <b>Willingness to pay taxes</b> | Proportion of respondents agreeing with the statement:<br><i>“My taxes should go toward solving global problems.”</i>   | This question is designed to test how meaningful the “world citizen” identity measured in the previous question really is. For a group of humans to solve collective action problems requires its members to make sacrifices for the good of the group. <sup>29</sup> The most basic sacrifice that political groups require of their members is paying tax. Are people willing for their taxes to solve global problems or do they insist that someone else picks up the bill?   |
| <b>Support for enforcement</b>  | Proportion of respondents agreeing with the statement:<br><i>“For certain problems, like environmental pollution, international bodies should have the right to enforce solutions.”</i> | This third question also tests how meaningful global citizenship really is. In addition to making individual sacrifices for the good of the group, the other fundamental requirement of citizens is that they agree to rules being made, and enforced, collectively. <sup>30</sup> This question tests not only whether people think that countries should be compelled to live up to their obligations to protect the planet, but also the level of trust that people have that such enforcement can be achieved by international organisations.   |

# Institutions

| Issue                               | Indicator  | Rationale   |
|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| <b>Multilateral funding</b>         | Proportion of donor countries' total economy, measured in the GNI of members of the OECD DAC, that is dedicated to supporting multilateral organisations | <p>For the global community to operate well and achieve impact, it requires well-functioning institutions, and these in turn require adequate funding. This indicator measures the extent to which the public opinion question about “my taxes should go toward solving global problems” is being put into practice by governments.</p> <p>Ideally, there would be data from all countries in the world on their contributions to all multilateral organisations, including global funds. However, the best data available to cover most countries and most international organisations was the OECD’s dataset on Official Development Assistance (ODA) contributed by members of the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC).</p>  |
| <b>Consensus in decision-making</b> | Proportion of decisions at the UN agreed by consensus rather than going to vote (UN General Assembly) or veto (UN Security Council)                      | <p>For a group to solve collective action problems, its members need to agree.<sup>31</sup> This also applies globally. For international institutions to function well, they need not only money, but also a clear sense of direction. That direction is provided most of all by national governments. There are many different types of agreement and cooperative action that governments may undertake, inside and outside the UN. This indicator by no means covers all of these, but it does provide a very useful gauge of whether countries are agreeing with each other more, or less, when it comes to solving international problems.</p>   |
| <b>Representation</b>               | Proportion of seats in national parliaments held by women  | <p>Neither true solidarity, nor effective decision-making, are possible when excluding wide swathes of the population because of their gender, race, or identity.<sup>32</sup> While gender is not the only important measure of representation, it is a crucial one, and progress on gender representation in the world’s most powerful political organisations is a useful gauge of institutional representation.</p>   |
| <b>Trade volumes</b>                | Exports of goods and services as a proportion of global GDP  | <p>Despite the critical role in international affairs of governments and the multilateral organisations they have created, most cross-border interactions are through private individuals and companies. Each of them requires some level of trust and cooperation. What is the thickness of the web of private interactions that bind countries to each other? Trade volumes do not capture all of these interactions, but they are a powerful gauge of non-governmental cross-border cooperation.</p> <p>Trade implies the opposite of conflict, violent or otherwise, and trade sanctions are often the precursor or result of violent conflict. Indeed, it has often been said that the thick economic ties and interdependence of China and the US are the most powerful force preventing war between them.<sup>33</sup></p> |

# Impacts

| Issue                       | Indicator  | Rationale  |
|-----------------------------|--|--|
| <b>Health security</b>      | Proportion of infants fully vaccinated with DTP3   | <p>Infectious disease is one of the most important and complex cross-border challenges facing the world today. Already high on the list of global threats before 2019, the risk of cross-border transmission was made painfully clear to all by the COVID-19 pandemic. The most important system the world has for health security is the system by which vaccines are developed, manufactured, funded, and distributed so that they reach everyone. All four elements of the system are truly global efforts. And as the recent pandemic showed, the last one is the hardest.</p> <p>The proportion of young children that has access to the most basic and important life-saving vaccines is a critical indicator, not only of our preparedness for the next pandemic, but also the level of solidarity we have mustered to ensure that children everywhere do not die from easily preventable diseases.</p> |
| <b>Environment</b>          | Reduction in CO <sub>2</sub> emitted into the atmosphere   | <p>Global warming, climate change, biodiversity loss, and other environmental challenges are the main risk to human survival and wellbeing. If global solidarity is going to achieve anything, it must include a reduction in our hugely negative impact on the natural environment on which our survival depends. Of all the environmental threats, climate change and its consequences are the greatest. Reducing CO<sub>2</sub> levels is the most important way to combat climate change, and would also likely indicate strong cooperation on other environmental indicators.</p>   |
| <b>Violent conflict</b>     | Conflict deaths per 100,000 population   | <p>Conflict is the opposite of cooperation, and violent conflict is the most devastating situation for human society to find itself in. Whether between countries or between factions within a country, the international community has the duty to minimise conflict and the tragedy and destruction that comes with it. Each death is a tragedy, and the number of deaths is a good indicator of the size and nature of a conflict. Given the growing number of non-formal violent conflicts, this figure includes deaths in non-state violence and one-sided violence, as well as state-based violence.</p>   |
| <b>Economic convergence</b> | Difference in percentage in annual GNI per capita growth of Least Developed Countries (LDCs) versus High-Income Countries (HICs) | <p>A community cannot survive if inequality is unbearable.<sup>34</sup> A sustainably effective global community needs to ensure that the vast inequality that currently exists between and within countries is reduced over time. Reducing inequality is a signifier of growing solidarity. There are many measures of inequality and convergence, and it is possible for national economies to converge while the poorest in society get poorer (for instance, if in-country inequality increases). However, global responsibility, while extensive, is limited in its oversight of in-country inequality, so it is most appropriate to measure the gaps between countries.</p>  |

# Building a Global Solidarity Scorecard

The connection between solidarity and solving global problems is both obvious and devilishly complex. We cannot foresee with precision what the future holds. The best we can do is to make informed judgments, based on experience and expertise, as to what needs to happen if we are to achieve progress in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Therefore, in consultation with a wide group of experts, we built a Global Solidarity Scorecard. Each of the 11 indicators was plotted on a scale of 0 to 100, with 0 representing a complete failure of solidarity and 100 representing a level of global solidarity strong enough to ensure humanity thrives in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The specific judgements that were made as to where the scale should sit for each indicator can be found in the [Methodology Note](#).

Each driver was then given a score using averages of the relevant indicators, and those scores were averaged to give an overall Global Solidarity Score.

This final score can sit in one of four categories: **75 to 100: “Shared Purpose,”** reflecting the high levels of global solidarity we need to solve our collective action problems

**50 to 75: “Green Shoots,”** where levels of solidarity set us on a hopeful, albeit precarious path to tackling shared challenges

**25 to 50: “Danger Zone,”** reflecting worryingly low levels of solidarity that threaten to make international crises far worse

**0 to 25: “Breaking Point,”** a catastrophic failure of solidarity that risks creating a tailspin towards the breakdown of international society, with tragic outcomes for people and planet

# A single, global score

Unlike many indices, this Scorecard does not rank countries. As important as nation-states are as bundles of sovereignty, identity, and power, they are not the only way in which to think of the world. In fact, listing countries on an index as if they are comparable to each other can be quite odd. China has around fourteen thousand times more people than the Seychelles. (If all countries were the size of the Seychelles, there would be tens of thousands of countries in the world; if they were the size of China, there would be just six.)

A community is best measured not by ranking its component parts **against** each other, but by reviewing its performance **as a whole**. Do you measure how strong a sports team is by gauging how each player performs individually, or measure your organisation's performance by reviewing how each individual employee is doing? No. You look at the performance of the group. Is there a good team spirit and a common purpose? Is the team well organised? Is it achieving its goals? The Global Solidarity Report asks these questions of the global community.

## Main findings

# A world in the

Our world in 2023 is in the **Danger Zone**, with a Global Solidarity Score of 39 out of 100. The world is not yet at **Breaking Point**, but it is some way away from **Green Shoots** and a long distance from the zone we need to aspire to: **Shared Purpose**. Strengthening solidarity to solve global crises will need rapid action at a scale beyond what we have mustered in recent years.

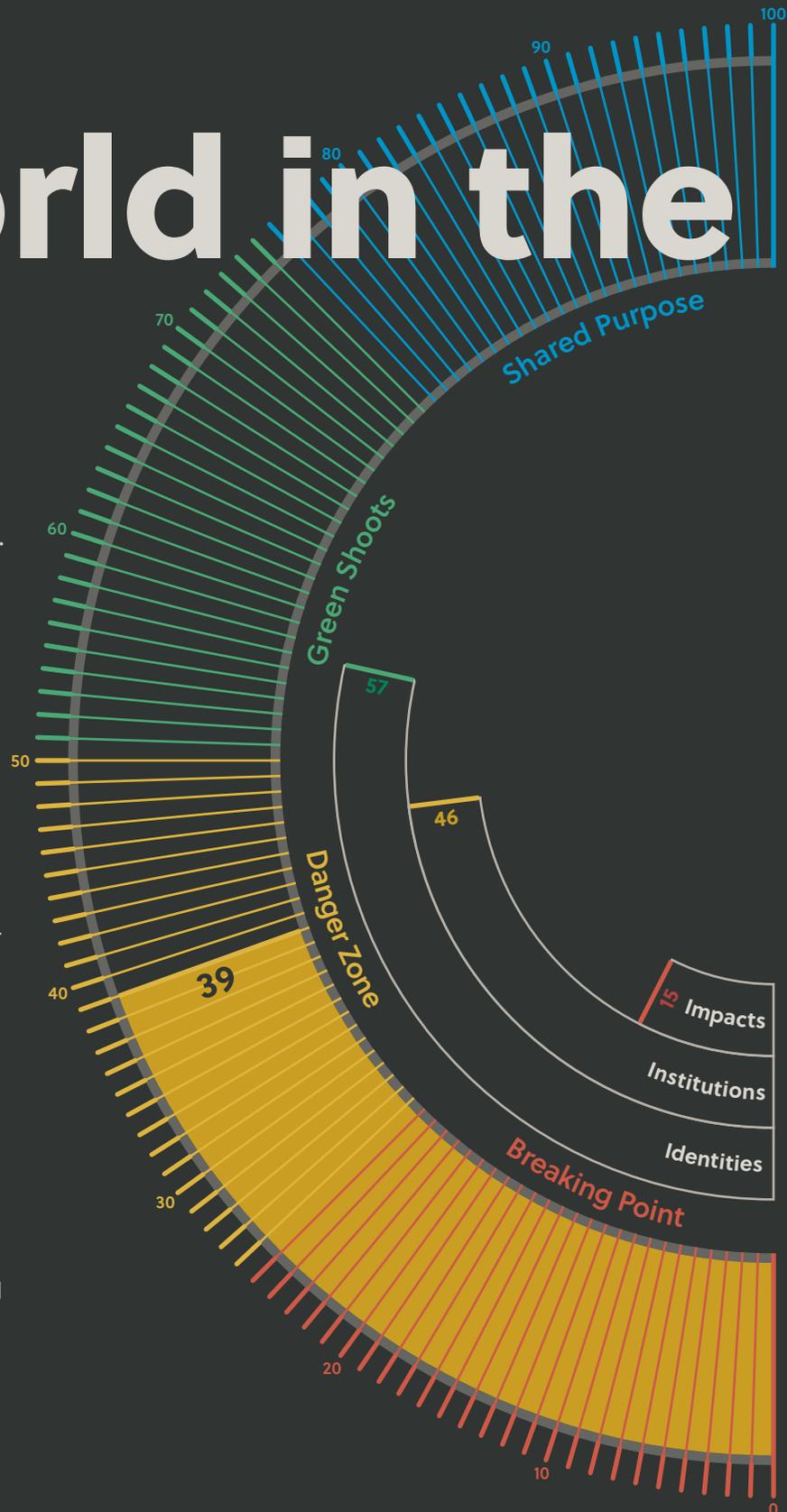
### Reasons for hope and concern

Looking at global solidarity in the round overturns simplistic assumptions that the world is falling apart. While there are certainly great challenges, the reality is more complex.

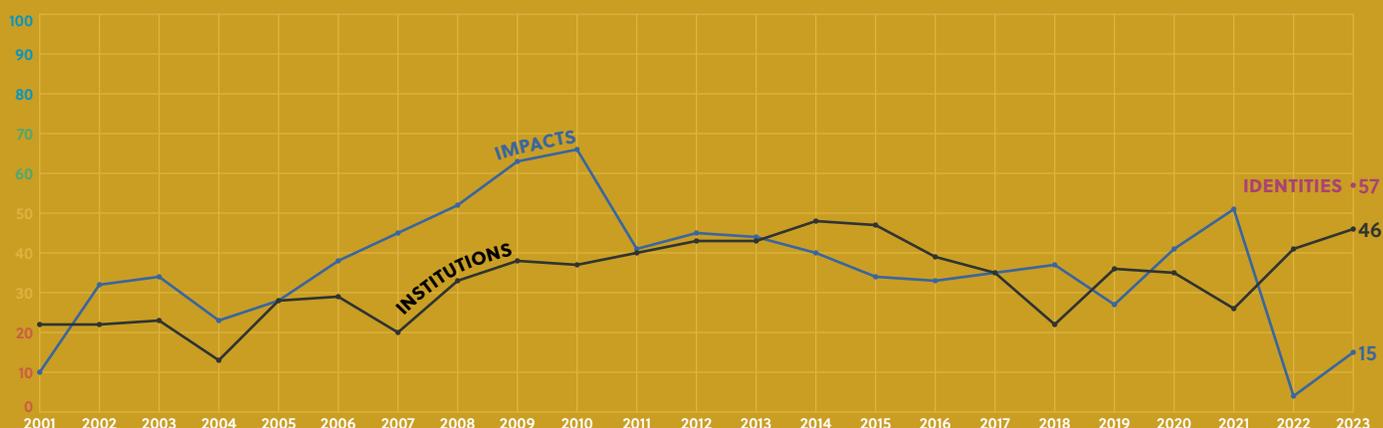
People are broadly supportive of global cooperation, despite the inward turn of politics in many countries. **The Identities driver scores 57 out of 100.**

But we also live in a world of grave crises, and this has sent most of the Impacts indicators into reverse. Put simply, we are not doing enough to make progress. **The Impacts driver scores 15 out of 100.**

Institutions have not crumbled in the face of these challenges. The world has put more



# danger zone



money into solving global problems than ever before. Trade has also held up in the face of international tensions. Gender balance in key institutions is improving. But the scale of the institutional response to 21<sup>st</sup> century crises has not yet been enough to reverse negative impacts. We have invested in climate, but not enough to cut carbon emissions. We have invested in global health, but not enough to ensure fair distributions of vaccines. And just when solidarity is increasingly needed, countries agree with each other less and less. **The Institutions driver scores 46 out of 100.**

While historical data for the Identities driver is less comparable than for Institutions and Impacts, there is good evidence that 2023 is not an outlier year. Glocalities has been gathering data on global citizenship since 2014, and the results have been remarkably consistent

## Impacts have fluctuated greatly, while Institutions are slowly strengthening

↑ **FIGURE 2** Comparing scores attributed to Institutions and Impacts in the 21<sup>st</sup> century on the Global Solidarity Scorecard; the methodology used to calculate each score can be found in the Methodology Note. Source: Global Nation 2023

during that time, despite the inward turn of politics in many countries.

For Institutions and Impacts, we have comparable data for every indicator going back to the early years of this century. While Impacts have fluctuated greatly—hitting highs in the second half of the 2000s and then collapsing in the 2020s, Institutions have improved since the 2000s. This improvement was driven mostly by increases in Multilateral Funding, Trade, and gender balance (Representation), but was undermined by a quite dramatic collapse in countries' ability to agree on shared decisions (Decision-Making).



# Identities

## The resilience of cosmopolitanism

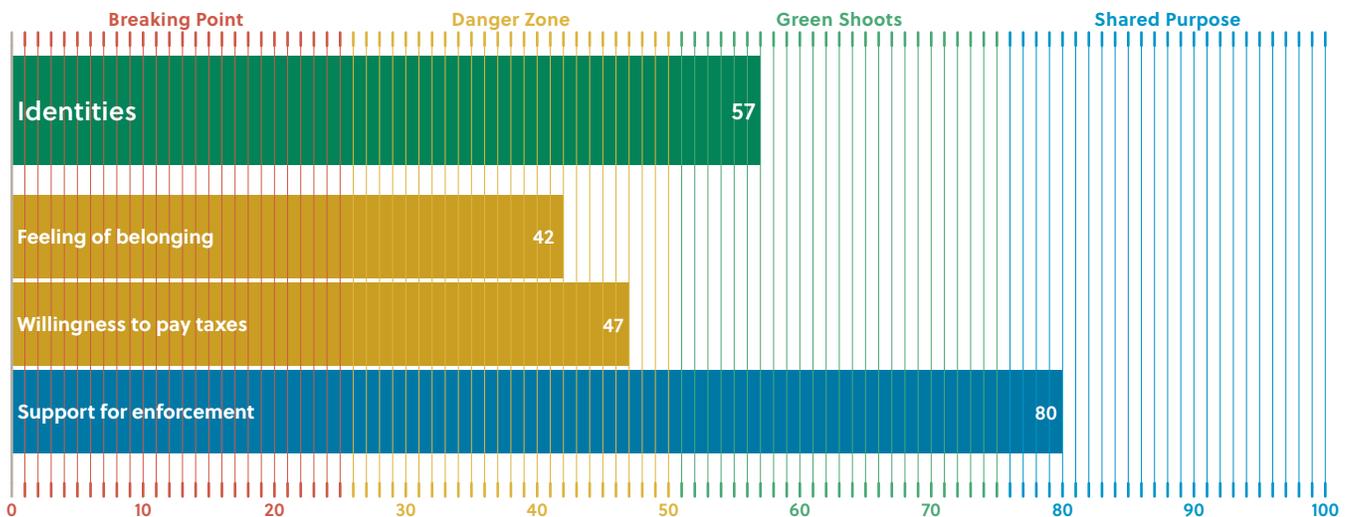
One of the most revealing and optimistic aspects of the Global Solidarity Scorecard is the analysis of public attitudes: the Identities driver.

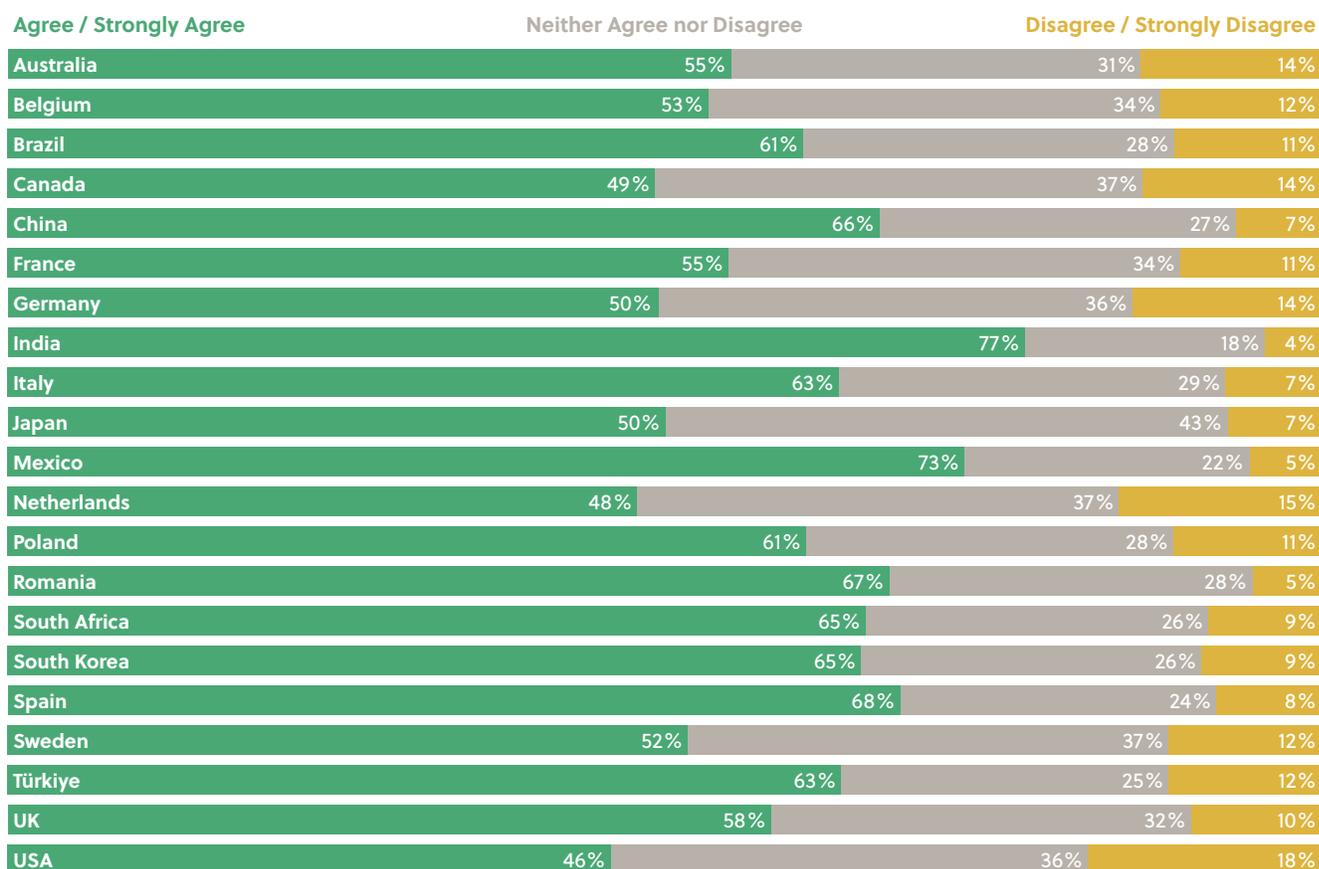
While the other two drivers found themselves in the Danger Zone (Institutions) or at Breaking Point (Impacts), the Identities driver managed to push into the **Green Shoots** category with a score of **57 out of 100**. In short, the world is not as inward-looking as some would have us believe.

What this means in practice is that public attitudes are not supportive enough of cooperation to enable the rapid and effective resolution of our greatest crises—for example, by pushing countries to race to net zero at the breakneck speed required to avoid temperatures rising by more than 1.5°C. But they are supportive enough to empower meaningful progress. Many people have conflicting views, many are “not sure,” and some strongly oppose collaboration. But the greatest number want to collaborate to solve collective action problems.

### Identities score well overall, driven by support for enforcement

↓ FIGURE 3 Scores attributed to each Identities indicator in 2023; the methodology used to calculate each score can be found in the [Methodology Note](#). Source: Global Nation 2023





### Support for international organisations enforcing environmental duties is surprisingly high

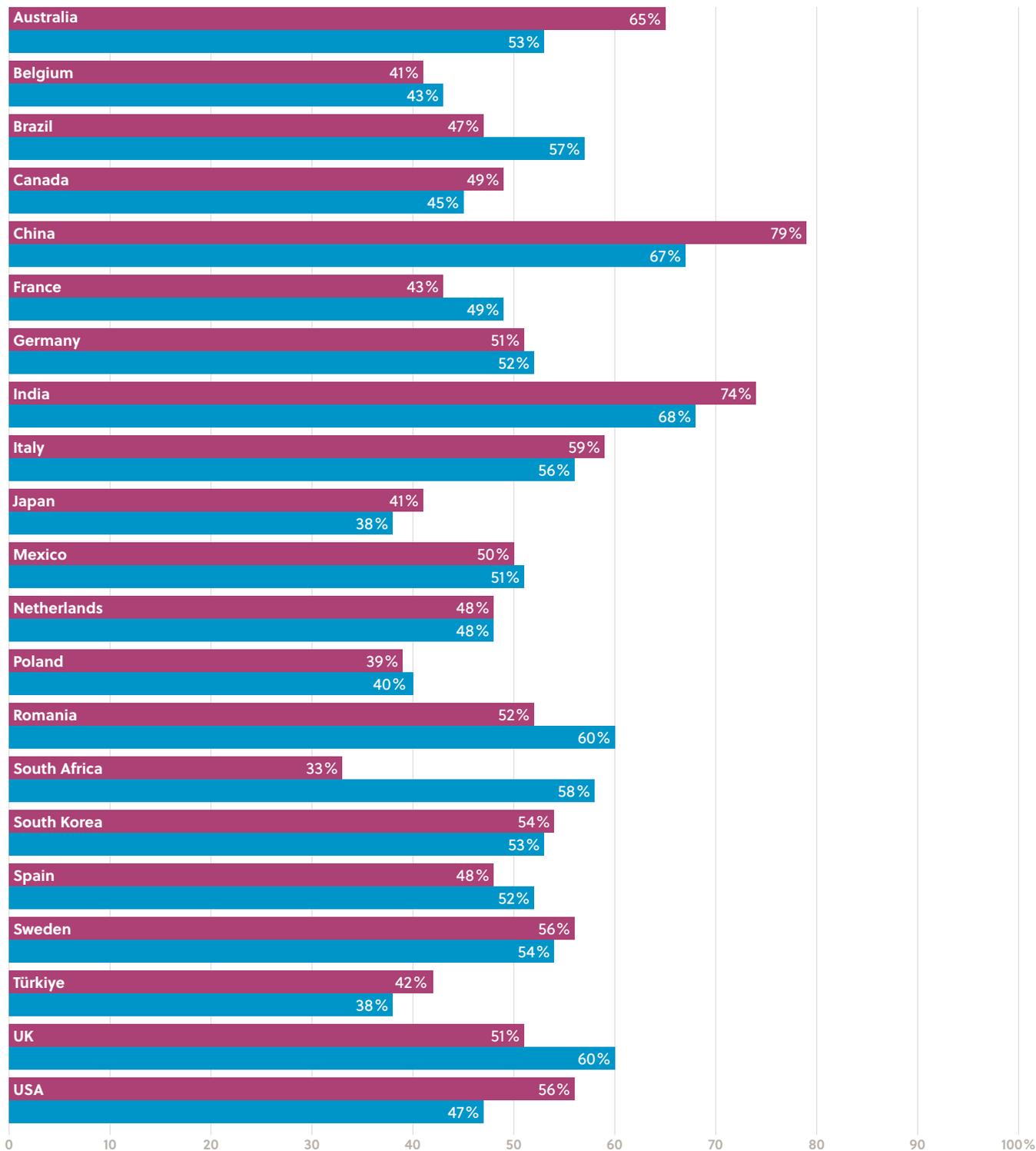
↑ **FIGURE 4** Level of agreement with the survey question, “For certain problems, like environmental pollution, international bodies should have the right to enforce solutions.” Source: Glocalities 2023

### Astonishing support for international enforcement

Two Identities indicators—those testing a sense of belonging to the global community, and whether the global public is prepared to put its money where its mouth is—elicited scores of just under 50 out of 100, putting them in the Danger Zone, but not by much. Meanwhile, the stand-out score was for Enforcement: the belief that under some circumstances, international organisations should police the world.

Between 46% and 77% of people in every country surveyed say they agree with international organisations having enforcement powers. Between 4% and 18% disagree. This is a surprising result and is the most positive finding of this report.

International enforcement could be seen as the least likely proposition to get support. It



The public in most countries view the **United Nations** as having a similar level of legitimacy as their **own government**

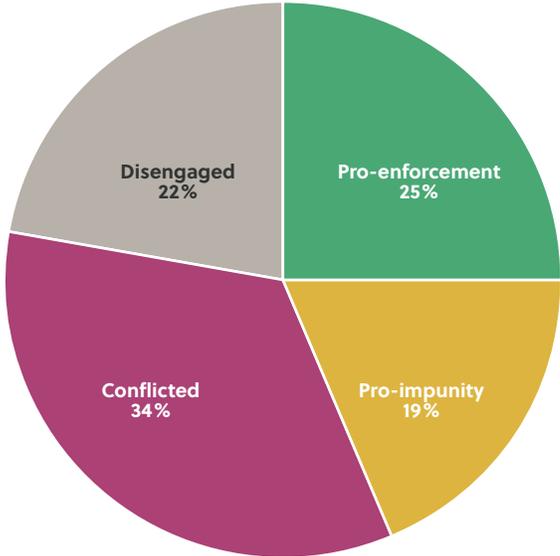
↑ FIGURE 5 Percentage of respondents indicating they “Agree” or “Strongly agree” with the two survey questions, “My country’s government is a legitimate authority,” and “The United Nations is a legitimate authority” Source: Glocalities 2023

is certainly the furthest from being realised. Feeling like a global citizen is a matter of personal choice, and people’s taxes do often go towards solving global problems. But practically no international bodies have real enforcement power over wayward states. The extraordinarily high level of support for international organisations having enforcement powers is a signal that the cosmopolitanism that “world citizens” espouse is not just a lofty statement. It implies that, at least for some issues such as the environment, there is a sense of urgency about making our commitments to each other as a world more meaningful.

International enforcement requires international legitimacy. Do people consider the UN to be legitimate? By and large, they do. This figure shows the proportion of respondents in each country surveyed agreeing with the proposition, “The United Nations is a legitimate authority,” alongside those agreeing with the proposition, “My country’s government is a legitimate authority.” Given the huge difference in the strength and mandate of national governments versus the UN, it is striking that in almost every country, around the same proportion of people see the UN as legitimate as those who see their own government as legitimate.

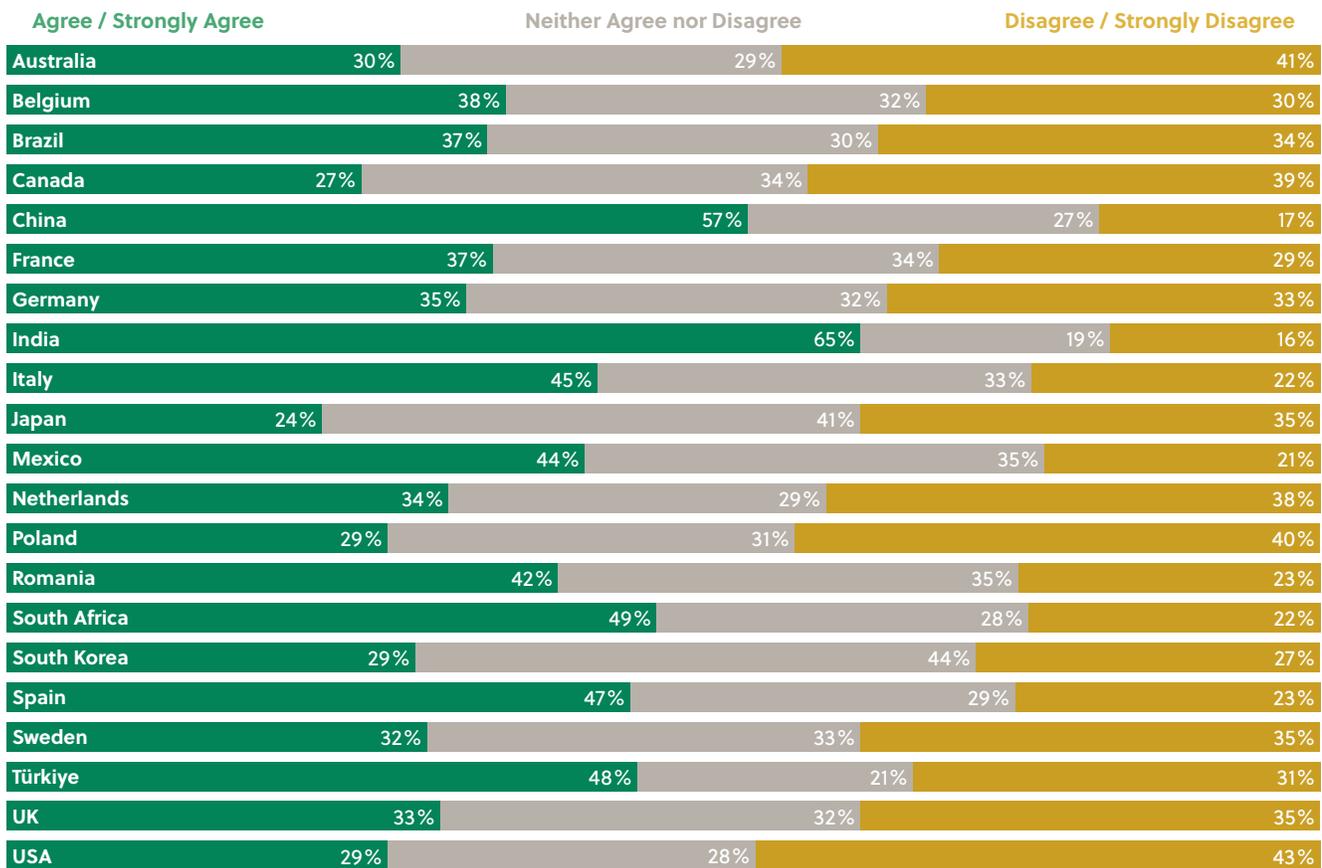
These data points portray a strikingly internationalist global public. Nevertheless, we must proceed with caution. Survey answers are easy to give, but implementation is fraught with complexity. When answering surveys it is quite possible to express a range of views that are not mutually compatible. In the same survey, Glocalities asked to what extent respondents agreed with a statement that is totally incompatible with international enforcement: “My country should never be forced by an international organisation to change any policy.” This statement could be

labelled as “impunity.” Enforcement was supported more strongly than impunity in most countries, which is encouraging. However, a significant minority supported both propositions, implying that at least for some people, their support for enforcement is not fully formed. In other words, they have not taken into account all of the implications of their position. They could easily be swayed away from it by arguments focused on a desire for their country to enjoy impunity.



**A third of global respondents support both Enforcement and Impunity**

↑ **FIGURE 6** Share of global respondents shown as a proportion of total, in relation to their agreement with the following statements: “My country should never be forced by an international organization to change any policy” (dubbed “Impunity”) and “For certain problems, like environmental pollution, international bodies should have the right to enforce solutions” (dubbed “Enforcement”). In this chart, **Pro-Enforcement** refers to respondents who agree with Enforcement and disagree with or are ambivalent to Impunity; **Pro-Impunity** refers to those who agree with Impunity and disagree with or are ambivalent to Enforcement; **Conflicted** refers to those who agree with both Enforcement and Impunity; and **Disengaged** refers to the remainder, who agree with neither statement. Source: Glocalities 2023



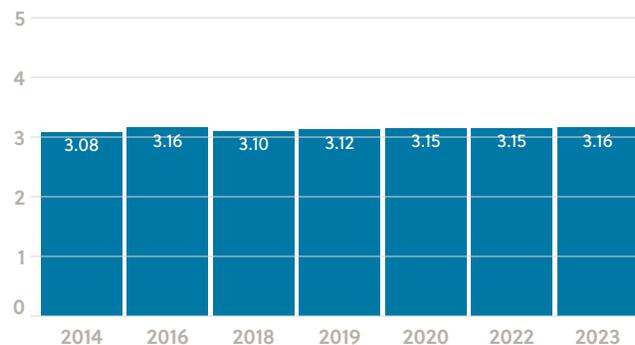
## Resilient global citizenship

Belonging—a question measuring global citizenship—received far less support than Enforcement, perhaps a surprising result. But this is less surprising when considering how strong the formulation of the question was: “I consider myself more a world citizen than a citizen of the country I live in.” This formulation was chosen in order to elicit agreement only from adamant internationalists. Given this “strong” formulation, nearly half of the world’s population agreeing with the statement is encouraging.

The most positive story for global citizenship relates to its surprising resilience at a time when for many, it is viewed as an outdated sentiment. Global citizens everywhere have come to believe that the tide has turned against them, that they are in a shrinking minority. This impression has especially been created by the inward turn of politics in many

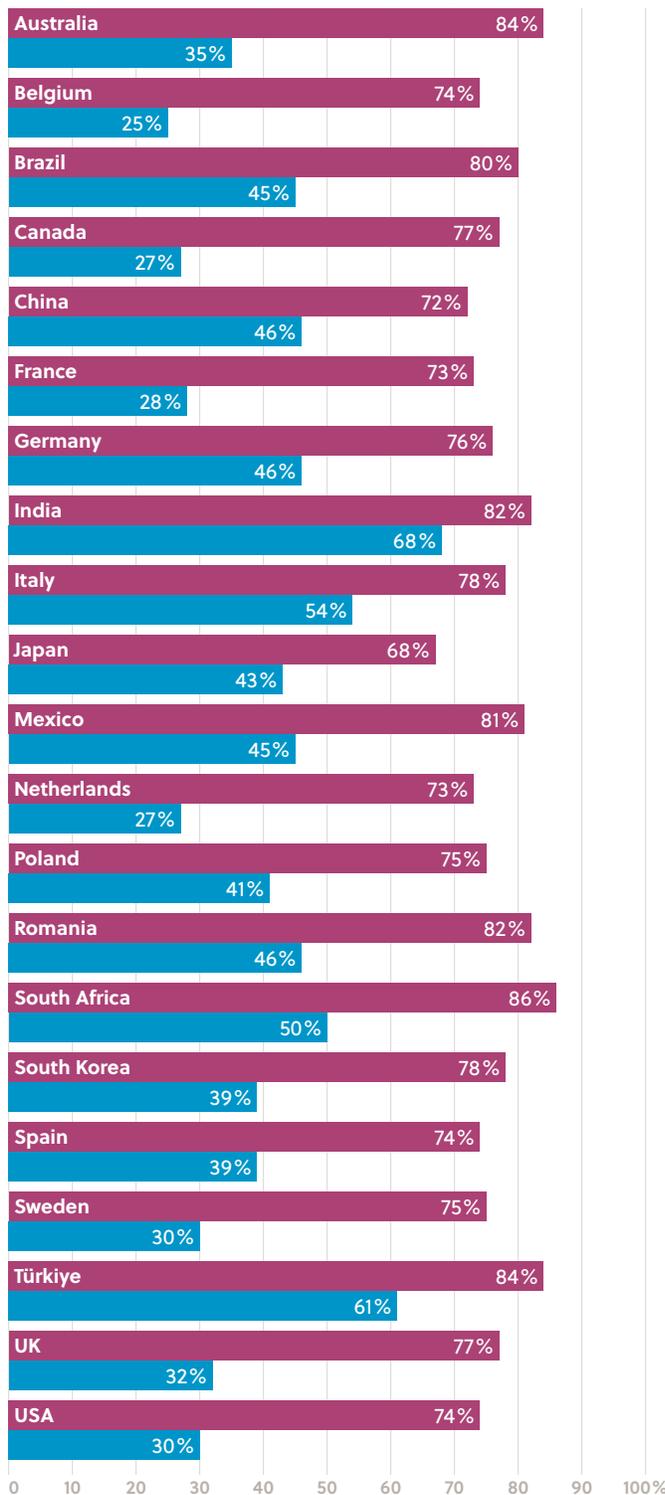
### Feelings of global citizenship vary greatly by country

↑ FIGURE 7 Level of agreement with the survey question, “I consider myself more a world citizen than a citizen of the country I live in.” Source: Glocalities 2023



### Global citizenship has remained remarkably stable since 2014

↑ FIGURE 8 Global level of agreement with the statement, “I consider myself more a world citizen than a citizen of the country I live in,” averaged among 19 countries consistently surveyed since 2014, where country responses are weighted by population in high-income vs. lower-income countries. The scores are based on a 5-point Likert scale where 1 is “Strongly disagree” and 5 is “Strongly agree.” Data is for all the survey years where the question was asked. Source: Glocalities 2014-2023



**There is significant support for taxes solving global problems, but far more for solving domestic problems**

↑ **FIGURE 9** Percentage of respondents indicating they “Agree” or “Strongly agree” with the two survey questions, “My taxes should go toward solving problems in my country,” and “My taxes should go toward solving global problems” Source: Glocalities 2023

countries. But although anti-internationalist voices have become louder in the political arena, it is not true that global citizenship is retreating. Glocalities has asked the same question on global citizenship since 2014, and there is a remarkable stability in the results.

### The bottom dollar

Support for tax money being spent on global problems was a little higher than for global citizenship, but not quite enough to push into the Green Shoots zone. Is there support for more money to be spent on global solidarity?

Currently, rich countries contribute, on average, around a third of one percent of their GNI towards foreign aid, not all of which could accurately be described as “solving global problems.” They spend around 100 times more than that on domestic issues, such as healthcare and education for their citizens. But most people live in middle-income countries that contribute even less money to the international system. As global crises mount, and an ever-larger proportion of the world’s people and economy sits in large middle-income countries, this will need to change if we are to flourish in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Intriguingly, over two thirds of Indians say they want their taxes to solve global problems. This implies that there may be an opportunity to encourage India to provide more support for global cooperation in the coming years, as its economy grows.

One helpful way of understanding how far we are from the kind of solidarity we may need is to compare support for taxes going toward global problems to the support for taxes going toward domestic problems. The chart below shows how much more support domestic spending is. Between 70% and 85% of respondents in each country support domestic expenditure, while global expenditure receives little more than half as much support.

# Solidarity and sacrifice for planetary wellbeing



## Evan Lieberman

Professor of Political Science and  
Contemporary Africa and Director, Center  
for International Studies, Massachusetts  
Institute of Technology (MIT)<sup>35</sup>

- Only with a much deeper and more widely embraced sense of global solidarity will we be able to arrest the catastrophic warming of our planet.

Such a statement might seem like mere platitude, but I intend it as a serious policy recommendation. Beyond the need for critical new technologies for alternative energy, food production, construction, transportation, and more, we also desperately require captivating ideas, symbols, and narratives that remind us of our common humanity.

To understand the motivation for such a call, consider why government leaders drum up patriotism and national pride before asking soldiers to go to war. Why do taxing authorities routinely highlight the national benefits of paying one's fair share? Why does any organization try to build a stronger sense of identity among its ranks?

The answer is because individual members are more likely to contribute to the greater good when they internalize a sense of connectedness and belonging. As the French theorist Ernest Renan put it, "A nation is ... a great solidarity constituted by the feeling of sacrifices made and those that one is still disposed to make".<sup>36</sup> The ethical tug of such communities compels the types of "quasi-voluntary compliance" necessary to build armies and to collect taxes without extraordinary monitoring or punitive enforcement.<sup>37</sup>

In a related manner, solving the climate crisis will require individual-level sacrifice, especially among those who have become accustomed to lifestyles that leave substantial carbon footprints. Most who read this essay already know that to reduce total greenhouse gas emissions we need to burn fewer fossil fuels, travel less, avoid consuming meat, and so on. Nonetheless, even with record-setting heat, floods, and

other climate-related crises, too few of us take the necessary steps. With respect to climate change, the world faces a daunting collective action problem: individual efforts are unrequited, and the temptation to free ride on the efforts of others looms large. The multiplication of this very reasoning propels the crisis to ever greater depths.

If we can forge a greater sense of global solidarity through shared identity—imagining others around the globe as an extended community about whom we care deeply—this may compel climate-related sacrifice in the manner a soldier goes to war for the nation.

A core value of being a part of a global community must involve a sense of respect for the planet's needs. Relatedly, members of the community must expect this from one another, such that not behaving in a pro-climate manner will be viewed as an ethical violation.<sup>38</sup>

While global solidarity will not be sufficient to solve the climate crisis, a much stronger dose of it appears quite necessary. ■

# Measuring the cooperation mindset



**Martijn Lampert**

Research Director, Glocalities



**Panos Papadongonas**

Senior Research Consultant, Glocalities

● The new Global Solidarity Scorecard reveals relatively high levels of solidarity among citizens around the world. Despite a changing world, we have seen stable, fairly strong feelings of global citizenship since the start of our research programme in 2014.

Glocalities specialises in researching values and opinions around the world, and our annual international surveys gauge public sentiment in countries hosting more than half of the world’s population. This year, through our partnership with Global Nation, questions relating to international cooperation were added to the survey questionnaire, which was completed between 27 January and 18 May in 21 countries.<sup>39</sup> This survey was conducted online and in two phases, ensuring a nationally representative sample of citizens aged 18 to 70 years, weighted based on census data on age, gender, education, and region, with an average of 1,000 citizens per country completing both phases (21,290 respondents in total). This year’s survey went beyond global citizenship, measuring international cooperation, and ultimately individual sentiment towards global solidarity.<sup>40</sup>

Who are these individuals who espouse global solidarity? Our analysis found that in high-income countries, they are likely to be “Creatives”—a profile characterised by typically open-minded idealists who seek self-development and cultural participation. In middle-income countries, respondents who most demonstrate global solidarity are rather “Challengers” or “Achievers,” who are respectively typed as competitive, risk-seeking careerists fascinated by money and adventure, or entrepreneurial networkers who focus on family and community life.

On the other end of the spectrum, a generational divide emerges. Statements categorised as “country-focused” scored relatively higher

among older people in both high-income countries and lower- and upper-middle-income countries, though the difference with younger respondents was narrower in these middle-income countries.

This is supported by a 2022 Glocalities publication on Generation Z,<sup>41</sup> revealing that young people globally have become increasingly tolerant and open-minded, and less patriarchal, in the last decade. These are important factors for fostering a cooperation-prone mindset.

Importantly, however, less cooperation-oriented citizens do not score higher (or lower) on feelings of national pride than others. This shows that internationalism is not the opposite of patriotism. It is a separate mindset with its own internal logic.

Less cooperation-oriented citizens demonstrate a more nostalgic mindset—believing that things used to be better in the past—and are more focused on their own financial and social status advancement. They are relatively less socially involved, and appear to feel slightly more ‘let down’ than the cooperation-oriented group.

This finding indicates the importance of the feedback loop between the drivers of solidarity, set out in this report: Identities, Institutions and Impacts. People who feel that things were better in the past, and that we are failing in the present, will no longer support international cooperation as strongly. But if the surprisingly high support for international cooperation can be channelled into stronger institutions that can improve people’s lives by tackling our greatest challenges, there is then a hope of bringing more people onboard with a cooperative mindset. ■

# How to build global citizenship



## Michael Sheldrick

Co-Founder and Chief Policy,  
Impact and Government Affairs Officer,  
Global Citizen

● I am often asked how we can improve the state of global citizenship. My answer: we bring individuals back to the forefront of multilateralism. A lot of people feel that the realm of international affairs is too distant and abstract for them to meaningfully impact it. But it doesn't have to be that way.

In the world today, politicians often hesitate to address our shared challenges, such as food insecurity and climate change, whether in their own communities or overseas. To find common ground, Global Citizen aims to compel governments to tackle extreme poverty as the critical underlying issue that can move global collaboration.

We build constituencies of support and enable people across the world to actively engage with decision-makers and to demand implementation of very specific policy solutions. In short, we create channels for individual people to affect global change by helping them navigate systems of power.

We translate lofty discussions in corridors of power to the individual level—not only breaking down complicated issues so people can get engaged, but also so those in power can better understand and respond to the needs of people.

Our multi-stakeholder approach unites governments, organizations, the private sector, philanthropy, activists, and individuals worldwide around our shared goals. We are contributing to a new kind of people-centered multilateralism that is about more than institutions and the diplomats that inhabit them. Recognizing that no single entity can tackle these pressing issues alone, we emphasize the need for collective action. Our united efforts can lay the foundation for a stronger, more resilient system, acknowledging that events on one side of the world can profoundly impact us all.

There may be those who find reading General Assembly Resolutions and UN treaties fascinating—but it is not realistic to expect most people to follow the details of international bureaucracy. The same is true for the deliberations of national parliaments, and yet people everywhere care deeply about their countries. When I reflect on our constituency of more than 11 million global citizens, I am constantly reminded of the extent to which, in many instances, large swathes of the public are ahead of where our leaders are, despite the shocks of the last few years.

We saw global solidarity in the incredible responses by everyday citizens to our campaigns during the COVID-19 pandemic around vaccine equity. We saw it in the “Peoples’ Lend-Lease” in support of those impacted by the war in Ukraine. And we see it in the growing sense of togetherness many feel with those on the frontlines of climate change.

The Green Shoots of public support we see provide a strong foundation to prompt our leaders to wake up and invest in achieving our Shared Purpose together. Now is the moment to harness the power of public opinion and strengthen solidarity. ■

# Solidarity begets community, begets action



## Ahmed Badr

UN Sustainable Development Goals  
Young Leader 2018-2020, and President  
& CEO, Narratio

● Solidarity is not easy. It requires the best of us, often at the worst of times. Whether a deadly pandemic, a devastating war, or a looming environmental catastrophe, the issues facing us as a global collective could not be more pronounced. And yet, the distance we secure from each of these issues is determined by our ability to empathize with one another, and claim responsibility for what we can directly influence. This is the best of solidarity—a combination of empathy and self-awareness that is actionable, intentional, and intersectional.

Instead of performative solidarity, the kind that delivers lip service in exchange for social capital, we must ask ourselves, time and time again: “How do I define solidarity in my daily life, and how can I expand this meaning with intention and real-world impact?”

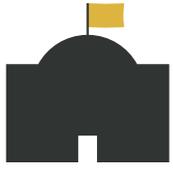
My earliest introduction to solidarity dates back to 2006. My family and I became refugees, and we left Iraq for Syria. We were resettled to the United States in 2008. As a teen, I founded Narratio, which now runs the only US-based storytelling and leadership fellowship for refugee youth. As a young person working across sectors, from climate action to refugee advocacy to art and social entrepreneurship, I have the privilege of building communities and creating sustainable social infrastructure.

Sharing my story made me realize the power of self-representation, and creating Narratio made me realize the powerful potential of systemically creating spaces and opportunities where others could do the same. I did not want to simply occupy the role of the “inspiring refugee;” I did not want to repeatedly recall the tragedy that forced us out of our homes, but rather transcend that tragedy by encouraging displaced young people to share the fullest extent of their experiences, on their own terms.

As the number of displaced individuals skyrockets worldwide—we now have the greatest number on record, far surpassing the number in 1945—we must recognize that solidarity must be centered on our capacity to tell our own stories, and to listen and connect with the stories of others. We have to create spaces for individuals to share their own stories, on their own terms, in their fullest complexities.

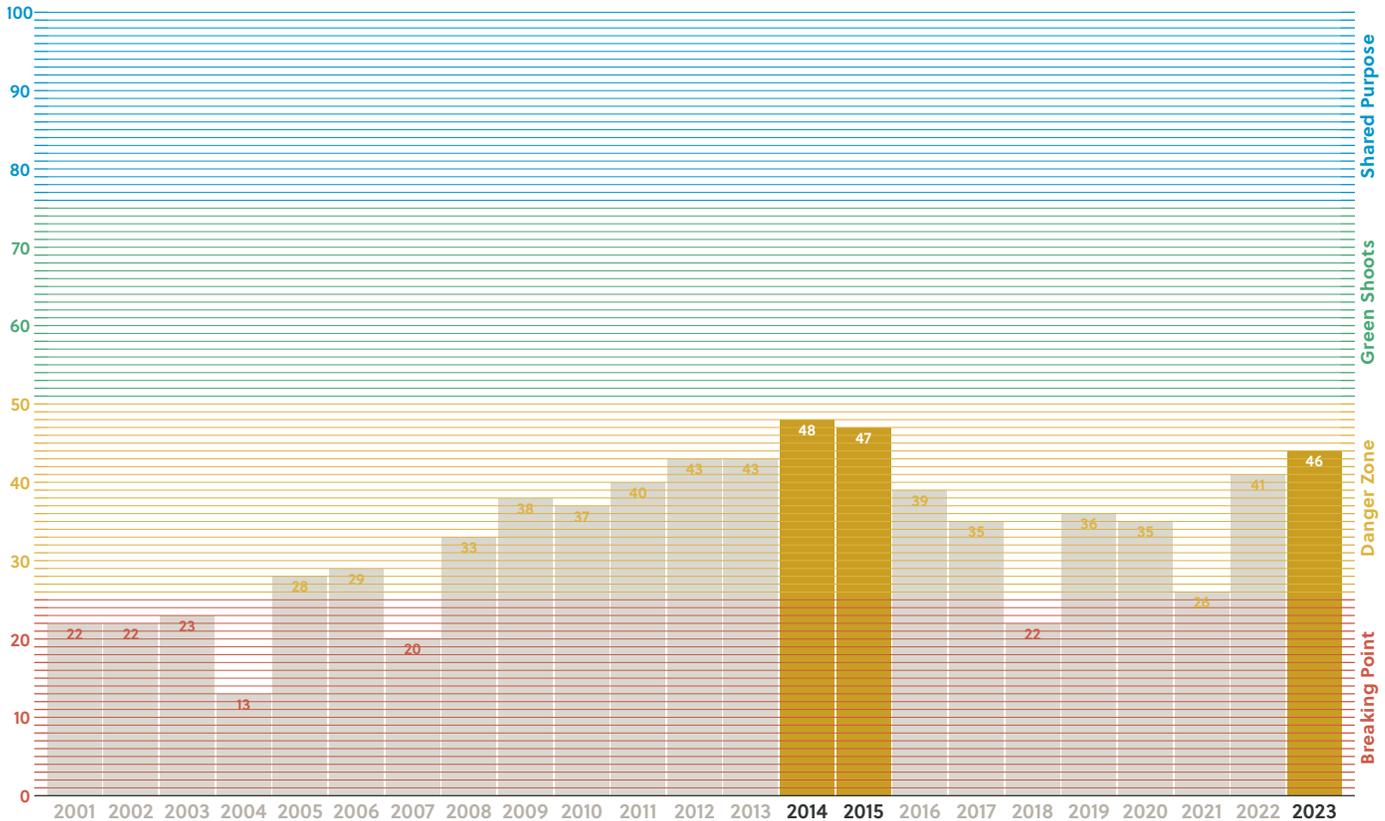
In my short time here on earth, I’ve learned that the true power of solidarity comes from its ability to multiply—from sector to sector, and from community to community.

And now, we have the opportunity to measure this solidarity, and truly understand the ways in which we come together, and the ways in which we come apart. To claim individual solidarity is one thing, but measuring it across the globe has the potential to transform how we communicate about the issues we care about most, and how we organize to solve the challenges we face as a global collective. ■



# Institutions

## Incremental Progress

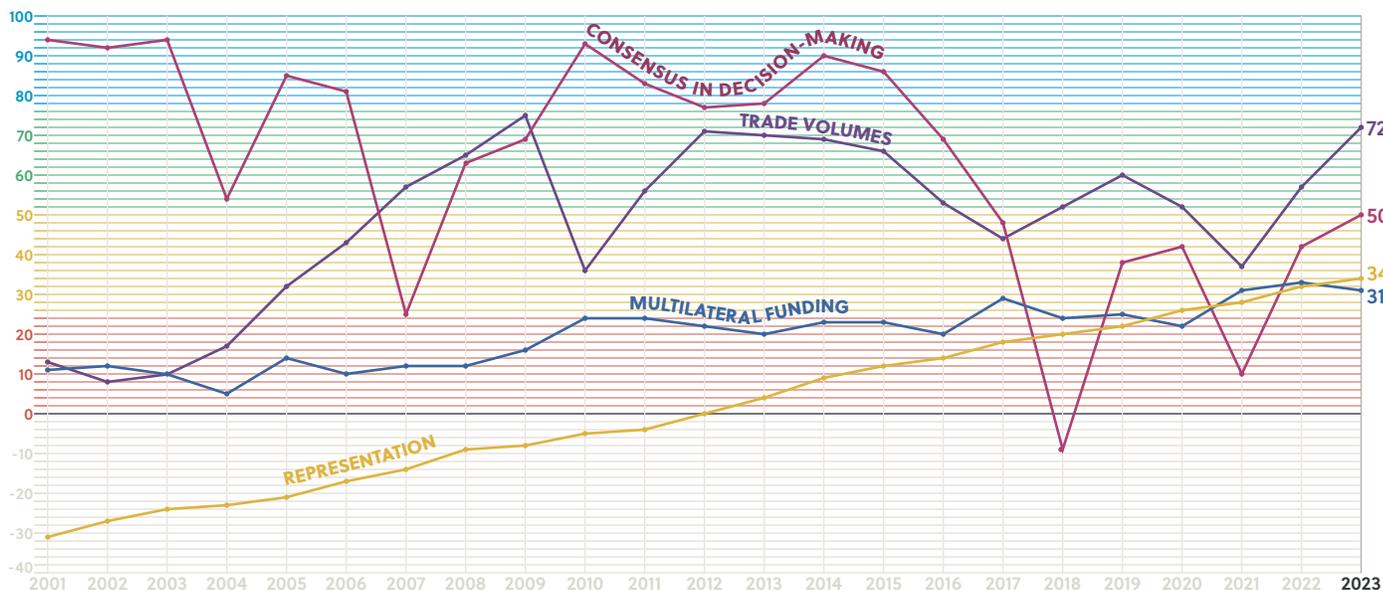


Institutions score less well than Identities but much better than Impacts. In fact, the 2023 Institutions score is the third highest score this century, beaten only by 2014 and 2015.

**The score for Institutions in 2023 is the third highest this century**

↑ FIGURE 10 Scores attributed to each Institutions since 2001; the methodology used to calculate each score can be found in the [Methodology Note](#). Source: Global Nation 2023

This can be explained by the fact that two of the four indicators—Funding and Representation—have demonstrated fairly strong improvements over the past 23 years. Funding has dipped slightly in the last year but is still significantly stronger than in previous years, while Representation continues its steady march to better inclusivity, as indicated by the data on gender parity used in this indicator. Trade has had a turbulent past few years but has picked up significantly in the last two, after a significant downturn largely due to the COVID-19 lockdowns. The only indicator that has declined



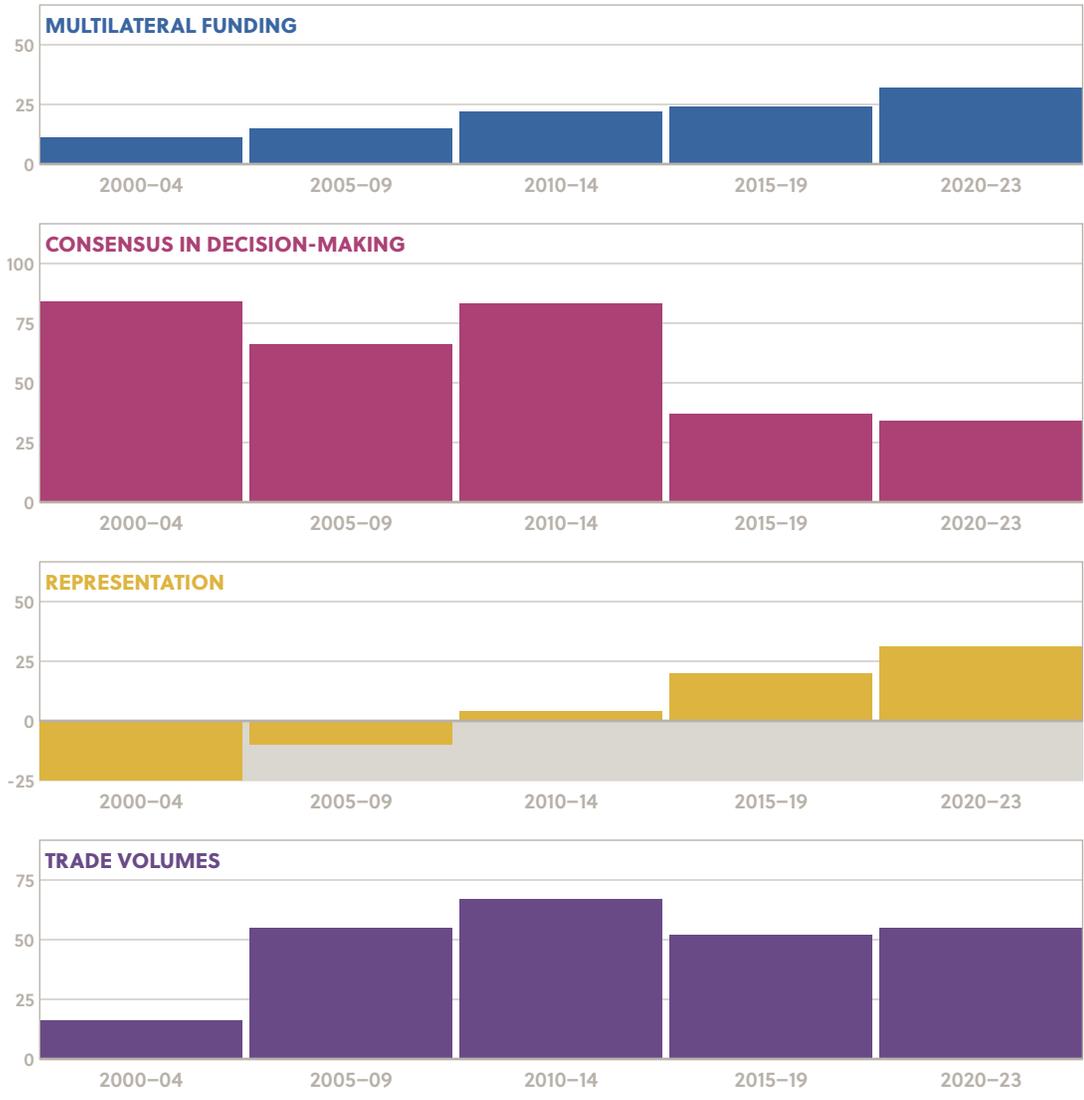
**Most Institutions indicators have improved this century—but not Decision-Making**

↑ FIGURE 11 Scores attributed to each indicator in Institutions since 2001; the methodology used to calculate each score can be found in the [Methodology Note](#). Source: Global Nation 2023

this century is Decision-Making, although this has also picked up recently.

Five-year averages provide a different perspective on how well the world has been doing on institutional solidarity for key periods this century, as shown below. The most striking good news story is Representation, which is still far too low, but has steadily improved over the last 20 years. Over a quarter of politicians in national parliaments globally are now women, and this figure has risen every year since the millennium. While gender representation in parliaments is just one indicator of a broader improvement in representation, it is consistent with a steady march of societies everywhere towards embracing more diversity, and giving more voice to previously under-represented groups. Multilateral Funding is also a good news story, having gradually risen for two decades, although it is far too low, as well. It has not risen as steadily as Representation, and the last year is one in which it fell, albeit from its highest-ever point in 2021.

The recent story of Multilateral Funding is intertwined with the crises covered by our Impacts driver. In response to the pandemic, Multilateral Funding surged, as some gov-



**Funding and Representation have driven strengthened Institutions, but joint Decision-Making has weakened**

↑ FIGURE 12 Five-year averages of scores attributed to each indicator in Institutions since 2001; the methodology used to calculate each score can be found in the [Methodology Note](#). Source: Global Nation 2023

ernments increased support to improve the world's coordinated response to the global crisis. That increased funding may not have been enough to ensure vaccine equity, or to overcome more selfish actions that countries also sometimes took, but it remains an encouraging sign. In 2022, however, the war in Ukraine meant that high-income countries diverted funds from foreign aid towards housing Ukrainian refugees in their own countries, which led to Multilateral Funding falling.

Trade is the most successful institutional indicator. It is the only one in Green Shoots territory—it could be said that in our fretful geopolitical environment, Trade is the strongest thread still holding the world together. Trade volumes were particularly strong between 2005-09 and 2010-14 before dropping off in the last 10 years, although they are still far greater as a proportion of the global economy than in the early years of this century and the 1990s. In fact, Trade this year scores the second highest of this century after 2009.

But the most worrying element of international institutions is that countries no longer agree with each other as much as they once did. While it is only one indicator of that broader phenomenon, the level of consensus of Decision-Making at the UN tells the story powerfully. It has declined very significantly in the last two periods—from a fairly good score in 2010-2014, the last 10 years have not been productive for international agreement. 2023 saw the fifth worst score on Decision-Making this century, with a high level of vetoes and votes indicating growing tension between states. Ultimately, the failure of countries to agree will threaten other institutional indicators. Multilateral institutions will not be funded if they are not given the mandate for action, and inter-state conflict will have a detrimental impact on trade. It is very encouraging that this has not yet happened. But the danger is

there. Trade between China and the US is at record levels, but policy decisions intentionally restricting the flow of people, money, and information between the two countries have ratcheted up in recent years.

Most of all though, countries failing to agree threatens to cause damage to the most consequential indicators of this scorecard: the Impacts for people and planet.

# A partnership to **survive**



## **Vanessa Kerry**

WHO Special Envoy for Climate Change  
and Health

● Climate change is an existential threat to humanity. Already 3.3 billion people globally are highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, and we are on the precipice of unknowns in extreme weather, a warming globe, and our capacity for resilience. What is yet unacknowledged, however, is that the climate crisis is a health crisis. Climate change is killing us. One in four deaths today is attributable to a preventable environmental cause and seven million people die annually from air pollution, more than in the entire COVID-19 pandemic.<sup>42</sup>

Decades of poor decisions and inaction have led us to this moment. Elevations in global greenhouse gas emissions are fuelling extreme weather and heat, accelerating changes in our environment, and harming our global biodiversity. The impact is evident in our health, but also costs us trillions in reactive spending and lost productivity, grows inequality, and fuels migration. Global solidarity has never been more important. And it can only happen if we reject the status quo: we cannot afford to respond to the climate crisis with the same approaches.

For too long, our investments in health and development have been siloed, technocratic, and disease- or sector-focused. Short investment timelines—often driven by Global North funding agendas—rarely affected the priorities of the communities and countries purported to be served. The result has been piecemeal progress in a few select disease areas at the consequential expense of helping nations build resilient, fit-for-purpose, comprehensive healthcare systems that can handle repeated and myriad shocks to the system.

COVID-19 demonstrated this profound vulnerability: as the pandemic shut down our economic systems, consumed our health resources, and challenged our commitment to equity, we

saw years of progress reversed. Over 90% of countries saw disruptions in health services, less-resourced countries fell to the back of the vaccine queue, and the world shut down. Our current international order failed.

We must invest in human wellbeing. This approach starts with resilient health systems to ensure adaptation to these growing burdens of disease and resilience to the subsequent impacts of extreme weather and heat that are killing us daily. Such investment will have positive externalities across all sectors—a global public good. A holistic approach centered on health systems strengthening—long-term financing, strong governance, management and leadership, updated infrastructure, reliable supply chain operations, and a fit-for-purpose skilled workforce to deliver care—is the best adaptation investment to address the inevitability of climate change.

The pandemic we face today is a pandemic of poor and expedient choices by world leaders, many in the private sector and a powerful few who drive the decisions that continue to harm our planet and its population. We must pivot to a new ambitious path—one with solidarity and partnership at its core—otherwise our health and survival are in peril. ■

# Building global solidarity starts by **fixing local inequalities**



**Sarah Cliffe**

Executive Director, New York University  
Center on International Cooperation

- Faced with new wars, economic instability, natural disasters, and pandemics, advocating more global solidarity can seem naive. Yet the plans for the United Nations were drawn up in the midst of crisis,<sup>43</sup> as bombs continued to rain down in Europe and Asia, and millions were displaced.

As in 1944, global solidarity and collective international action today need to be based on both an inspiring vision and pragmatic interests. Conflict, pandemics, and international economic coordination were all concerns of the founders of the post-World War II multilateral system—and climate change is a classic global public good that they would have recognized. So the vision underpinning global solidarity has evolved rather than fundamentally changed, being at its heart to “protect future generations from the scourge of war and planetary threats.”

We cannot reform and update the multilateral system to be fit for these purposes without cooperation, and we cannot expect global cooperation without shared benefits.

A first step can be in identifying narrow areas of common interest. A recent example is the Black Sea Grain Initiative: despite the Russian withdrawal, the initiative has helped save millions from starvation—either it will continue, or others can be modelled on it. Such initiatives provide the “guardrails” that minimise economic and social harms from rising geopolitical contestation—they can be adopted in other areas, such as keeping supply chains for medical technologies open even between countries that are at odds politically.<sup>44</sup>

Broader solidarity, however, will require aligning interests, reversing rising inequality *within* countries in order to address rising inequality and tensions *between* countries. The Global South is puzzled why “rich countries” do not

put more financing on the table for global public goods. And indeed my organization has argued strongly that a much larger global financing pact is needed to address today’s threats.<sup>45</sup> Yet the reality is that most people in “rich countries” do not feel rich: working and lower middle-class people have seen their real incomes decline, even as those at the top of their societies adopt more lavish lifestyles, and a casual tolerance of corruption. Voters in the Global North need to see less inequality at home in order to support more generosity, equity, and accountability for the past abroad, just as countries in the Global South need to ensure that their own elites contribute their fair share. This is about practical policies but also about the communication and culture of political leadership.

Only by fostering the solidarity we need at all levels—from local to national to regional—are we likely to see governments whose short-term values and interests coincide with the longer-term action we need to preserve peace and a livable planet for our kids. ■

# How to harness **artificial intelligence** for positive change



**Danil Mikhailov**

Executive Director, data.org

- Artificial intelligence (AI) has burst into the mainstream with narratives of its power to transform the way we live and work. As a global community focused on social impact, we must meet this moment together. Anything less will risk a further widening of our global digital divide and increased economic inequality.

Investment in data for social impact must match the rapid deployment of AI, because AI is only as good, as unbiased, and as representative as the data it is trained on. AI has tremendous potential to help solve some of our greatest challenges, but it needs practical and ethical guardrails. As work continues to minimize the harm of AI, attention should also be given to maximizing its benefits in an equitable and inclusive way.

There is a path forward if we are willing to act together. We must align around a three-pronged path that convinces funders of the need for long-term, sustained investment to scale systems-wide data projects along with foundational investments in infrastructure and capacity.

## **1 Building a workforce**

By building a more diverse and interdisciplinary workforce of purpose-driven data practitioners who can drive change locally, we can work to ensure equal access to and comprehensive training for how best to develop, train, and use AI. Empowering people from varying geographies, backgrounds, and lived experiences in AI development and implementation will lead to more equitable, responsible outcomes.

## **2 Maximizing local benefits and democratizing access**

AI is the latest global tech phenomenon with the potential to profoundly impact our daily lives. It's time to come together to create a global set of guardrails to avoid past mistakes of inequality and exclusion. By prioritizing the development of AI solutions at the local level we can address unique community needs and build trust. This process starts with working with local communities to ensure first, that their data that is fed into AI models is collected appropriately, accurate, and used with consent; second, that models are developed and trained correctly; and third, that the products built on top of the models are co-designed and tested with the community to truly serve its needs.

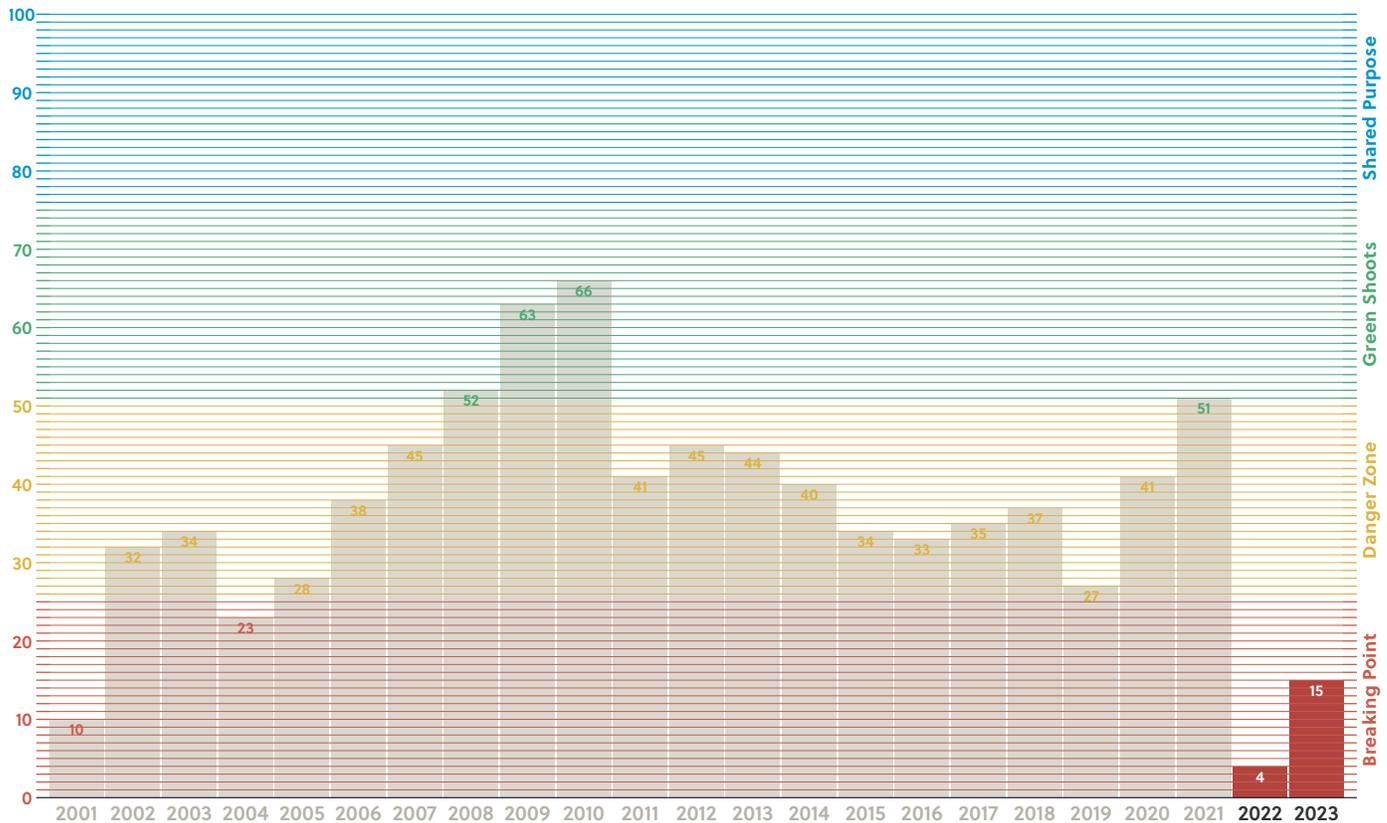
## **3 Accelerating and mobilizing partnerships for action**

Working in solidarity across sectors (philanthropy, academia, private sector, and NGOs) to drive data for social impact forward can transform global interventions and services and increase resilience. The challenges are too great to tackle alone. By exploring and developing solutions together, we will unlock the power of local communities to address issues like pandemics, climate change, and financial inclusion through the transformative power of AI. ■



# Impacts

## Slipping into crisis



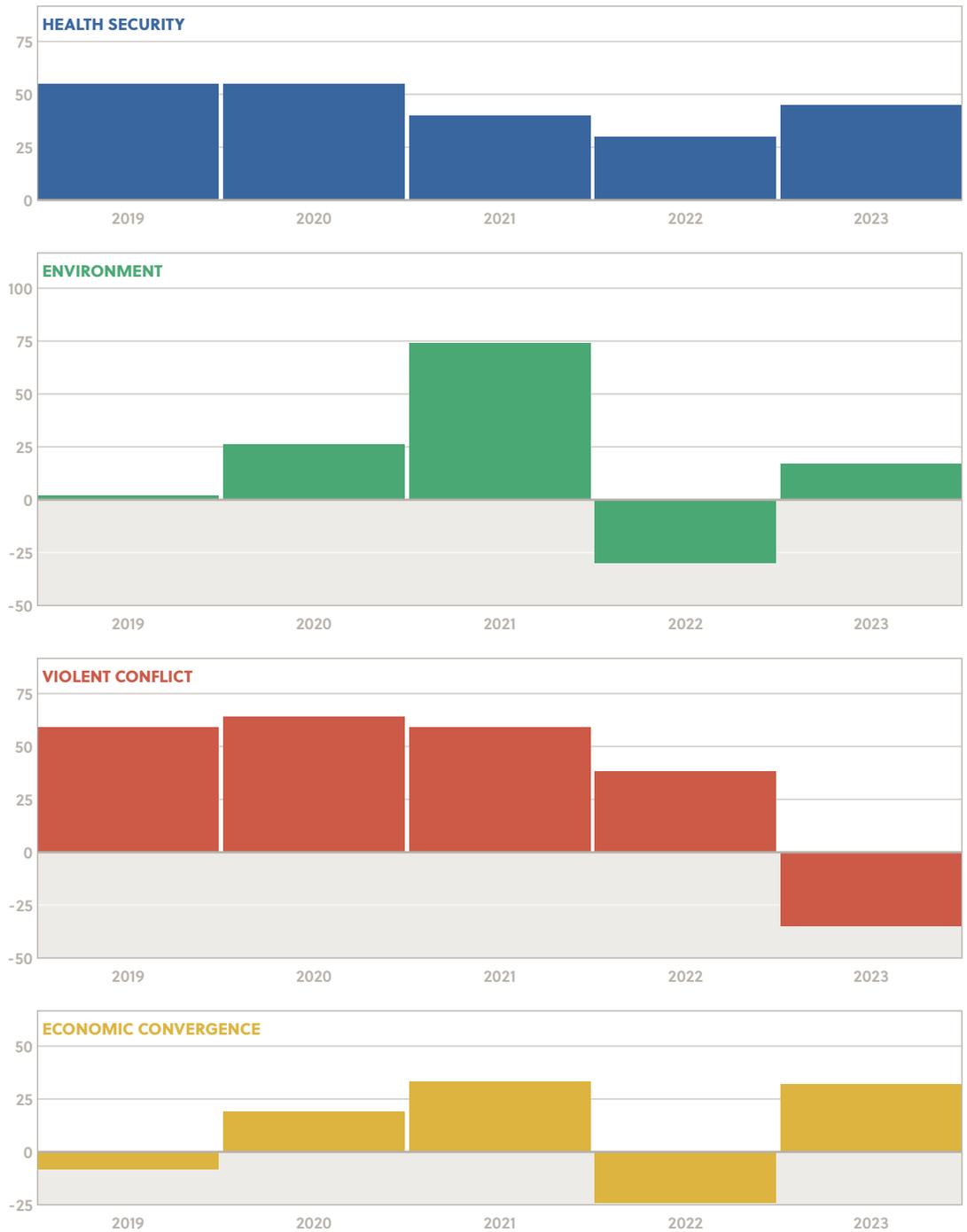
The era of COVID-19 and the years that are following that shock to the global system have impacted powerfully—and negatively—the level of Global Solidarity measured by this Scorecard, most clearly seen in the Impacts section. Progress had already been slowing, but it fell off a cliff in recent years due to COVID-19, as health systems and economies across the world were hit hard, and debt burdens increased greatly.

Childhood vaccination rates, a critical indicator of general healthcare provision, but also necessary to defend against future pandemics, had risen steadily since the millennium. In 2021, they fell by an unprecedented 5%, to levels not seen since 2008, and despite recovering in 2022, are still at levels of a decade

### Impacts of Global Solidarity have reached their lowest levels in the last two years

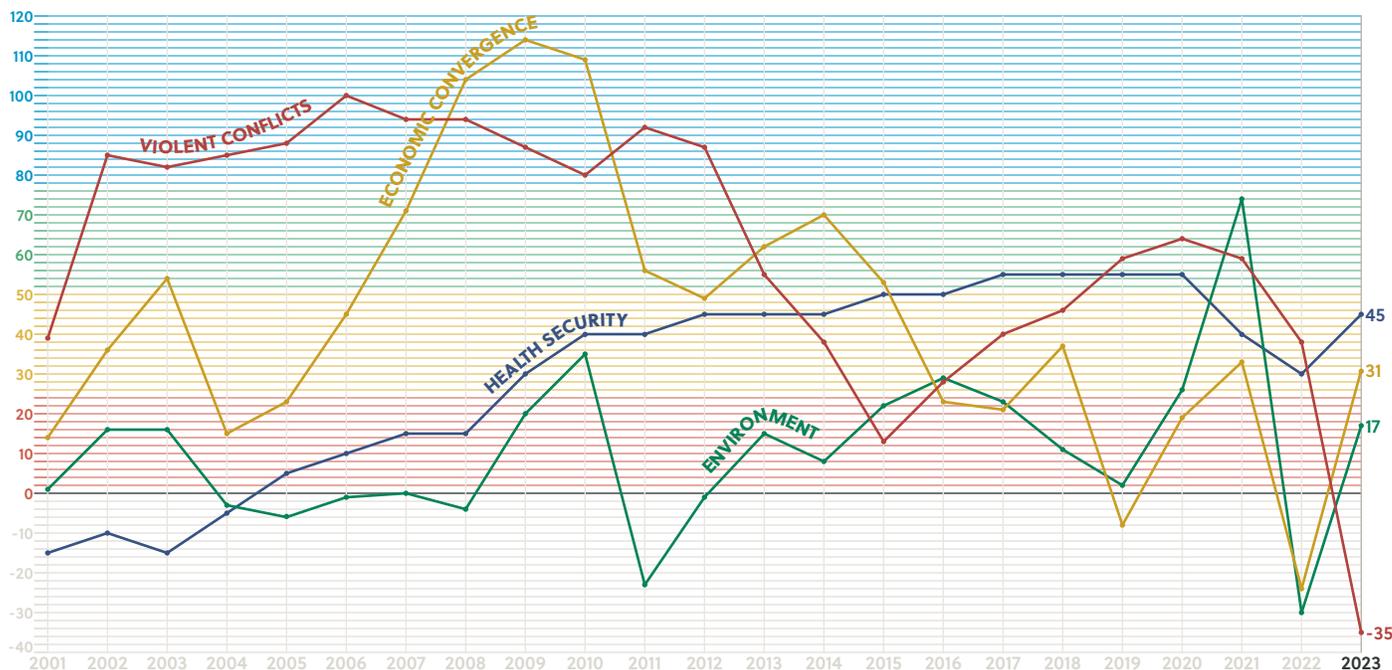
↑ FIGURE 13 Scores attributed to Impacts since 2001; the methodology used to calculate each score can be found in the [Methodology Note](#). Source: Global Nation 2023

ago. Meanwhile, the annual growth in carbon emissions fell for the first time in a decade because of the COVID-19 lockdown, one positive outcome of the pandemic, but rose again in 2021 and 2022. To add to this, conflict deaths rose hugely in 2022—by 94%—largely due to the conflicts in Ukraine and Ethiopia.<sup>46</sup> On the positive side, Economic Convergence recorded a positive score, with Least Developed Countries growing 1.74% faster than High-Income countries, in contrast to 2021 when High-Income Countries grew 4.90% faster.



**Three Impacts indicators have slipped “off the charts”**

↑ FIGURE 14 Annual scores attributed to each indicator in Impacts since 2019; the methodology used to calculate each score can be found in the [Methodology Note](#). Source: Global Nation 2023



Nevertheless, the last two years have seen the worst Impacts scores this century. We are at Breaking Point.

Overall, this century has seen an improvement in two of the Impacts indicators—Health Security and Environment—but a significant fall in the other two—Violent Conflict and Economic Convergence.

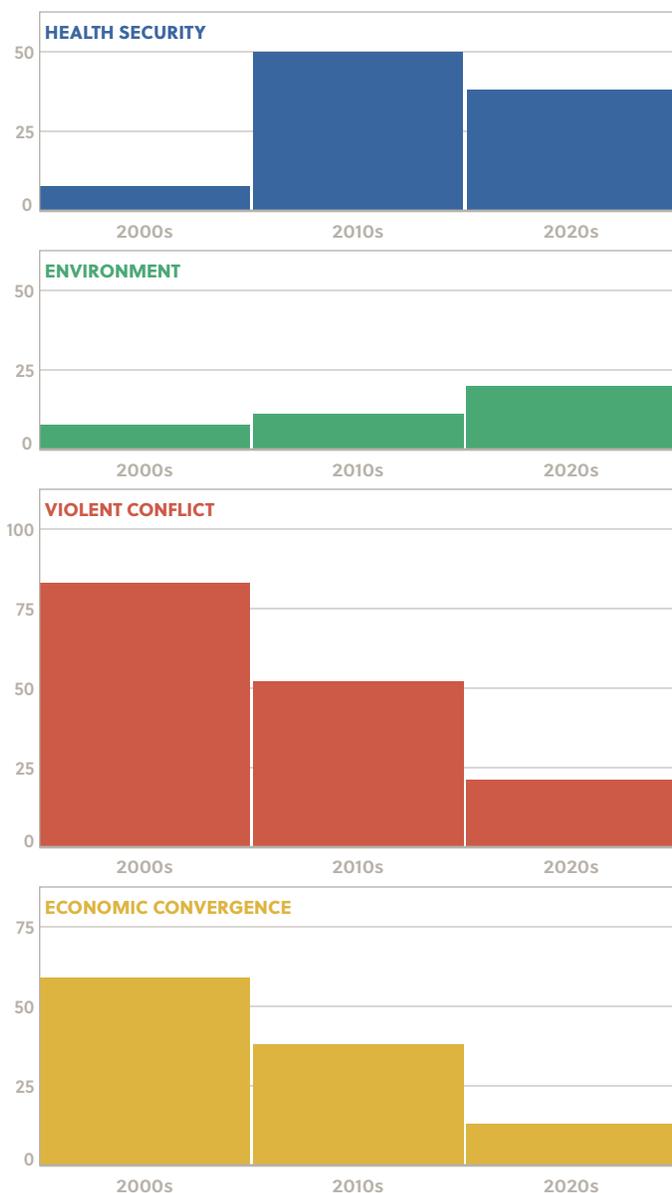
For these latter two indicators, very good scores in the first decade or so of this century show what humanity can achieve, and make the poor scores in the last few years inexcusable. The world’s score on Environment has increased over the last decade, after a decrease in the 2010-2014 period, although scores are still very low given how much work is required to get on track.

In fact, the first three years of this decade compare very poorly to the two preceding decade averages.

While Environment is somewhat outperforming previous decades—because of the

#### A mixed picture for 21<sup>st</sup> century Impacts so far

↑ FIGURE 15 Scores attributed to each indicator in Impacts since 2001; the methodology used to calculate each score can be found in the [Methodology Note](#). Source: Global Nation 2023



### The 2020s: a poor start to the decade

↑ **FIGURE 16** Average scores attributed to each indicator in Impacts for each decade this century; the methodology used to calculate each score can be found in the [Methodology Note](#). Source: Global Nation 2023

dip in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in the COVID-19 lockdown—every other indicator is worse than the 2010s and Violent Conflict and Economic Convergence score very significantly worse. The world needs to turn this around if trust in global cooperation is to be restored.

What does it mean that our Impacts driver is at Breaking Point? It means that more people are dying every year from conflict than we have seen so far this millennium, and that our protection against infectious disease is worryingly low. It means that we are still destroying our planet and that the poor are still not catching up. But it also means that whatever solidarity we have mustered to date is under threat.

Solidarity works as a cycle. Group Identities drive the creation of Institutions, and Institutions help us to achieve joint Impacts. Those visible Impacts in turn strengthen Identities, because people can see that solidarity works. Impacts being at Breaking Point means that we can no longer count on the internationalism of the global public—the biggest good news story of this report—to continue to hold up in the face of so much bad news. Remember Glocalities’ finding (p. 49): the anti-cooperation mindset is characterised by a sense of feeling let down by society, and that things were better in the past.

We need a massive institutional response, now, to turn Impact indicators around. If we can do that—and for now at least, the global public wants its governments to do so—then we have a chance of building a positive cycle between the three drivers of solidarity. But if Impacts remain at Breaking Point, we risk a negative cycle where solidarity quickly dissolves.

There is a closing window for action. That is the urgency of this moment.

# The impact of **COVID-19** on achieving the SDGs



**Eun Mee Kim**

President, Ewha Womans University

● World leaders gathered at the UN headquarters in New York in September 2015 to announce the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs, 2016-2030) on the back of the hopeful, albeit somewhat mixed, results of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs, 2001-2015). The MDG period saw extreme poverty cut to half of the 1990 level by 2015. The SDGs, with the hope to end extreme poverty by 2030, started with hope that we will “Leave No One Behind.” However, in 2020, just five years into the SDGs, the world was hit by COVID-19, and it wreaked havoc on the progress that was made on SDGs, and exacerbated some worrisome trends that were detected by 2019.

The COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated the inequalities we already witnessed in *The 2019 Global Sustainable Development Report* that was published by the UN (for which I was one of the 15 Independent Group of Scientists appointed by the UN Secretary-General)—inequalities between the Global North and the Global South, climate change mitigation, biodiversity, and ecological footprint.<sup>47</sup> The WHO’s Universal Health Coverage (UHC) was all but lost and had very serious long-term consequences for the Global South that would be difficult to recover even after the COVID-19 pandemic has come to an end. Gender inequality deteriorated in terms of income, poverty, decent work, and unpaid household work, and girls lost more school hours than boys during COVID-19. Girls and women disproportionately paid the price of the pandemic.<sup>48</sup>

The Global South has fared poorly with health access, and only 11.67% of people living in low-income countries were vaccinated with at least one dose of a SARS-CoV2 vaccine compared to over 67.92% in high-income countries in 2022. Children who were malnourished

during the COVID-19 years experienced stunting, which will lead to permanent damage to their health.<sup>49</sup>

Thus, as we think about Global Solidarity in 2023, we should take stock of the permanent damages that resulted from the three-year COVID-19 pandemic. Are there systematic inequalities between the Global North and the Global South in terms of health, education, decent work, and digital technology? The last of these has become ever more critical with the Fourth Industrial Revolution or digital transformation.

In addition to such *inter*-national inequalities between the Global North and the Global South, we also note with alarm *intra*-national inequalities: stunting from malnutrition for infants and children; women and men who lost decent work to care for household work and childcare; children who left school; and so on. We noted that some of these inequalities are compounded with gender inequality as well as other forms of inequalities including disabilities, race and ethnicity, and geographical isolation.

As we work toward action for Global Solidarity, we need to make sure that we leave no one behind through the cracks of inequalities between the Global North and the Global South—and among peoples. ■

# No **development** without cooperation



## **Anjali Kwatra**

Director, Advocacy, Marketing and  
Communications of the United Nations  
Development Programme

● The world is facing unprecedented global challenges. Complex, interconnected crises are the new normal. Multiple countries are facing war and crisis including Ukraine, Yemen, Myanmar, Syria, and Afghanistan. On top of this, pressures from climate change and biodiversity loss are compounded by the aftereffects of the COVID-19 pandemic and increasing debt and cost of living crises. Meanwhile the ability of countries to cope is being eroded by the declining levels of trust citizens have in each other and in their leaders.

Each year UNDP, through the Human Development Report Office, produces the Human Development Index (HDI), which has shown development steadily rising year on year. That is until COVID-19 hit. In the wake of the pandemic, and for the first time ever, human development has declined.

A special report last year from the Human Development Report Office, *New Threats to Human Security in the Anthropocene*, also showed that people's sense of safety and security is at a low in almost every country, including the richest countries, despite years of development success. Those benefiting from some of the highest levels of good health, wealth, and education outcomes reported even greater anxiety than 10 years ago.

The report also highlighted the strong association between declining levels of trust and feelings of insecurity. People with higher levels of perceived human insecurity are three times less likely to find others trustworthy.

UNDP believes that the solution to this disconnect between development and perceived security is greater solidarity across borders and a focus on human development. We know that when countries work together rather than in opposition, the world becomes a less scary place—for all of us. This requires partnerships

across states and a strong multilateral system to help drive solutions to overcome global challenges. It is obvious that no one country or region alone can tackle climate change or another pandemic, or food shortages in one continent driven by a war in another.

In 2015, every country in the world agreed on a set of targets to end poverty and inequality, fight climate change, and improve health, education, and working conditions for everyone by 2030. These Sustainable Development Goals are way off track, partly due to the shocks and crisis we have seen in the past few years. But they are the best road-map the world has to realise a better world—and they can only be achieved through a common vision and greater collaboration. In a world riven by geopolitical tensions and an intensifying climate emergency, we need multilateralism and global cooperation more than ever. ■

# Collective action needed to **reach** **marginalised** **communities**



## **Toyin Saraki**

Former First Lady of Kwara State, Nigeria;  
Chair, Nigeria Civil Society Primary Health  
Revitalisation Support Group; and Founder &  
President of The Wellbeing Foundation Africa

● I have never liked the “beneficiary” narrative in approaching safer births. It renders a mother preparing to birth her child a passive recipient of charity, and elevates the rank of a donor, diminishing the true purpose of development philanthropy, while omitting to respect and recognise the midwife, the core catalysing agent interlocutor and service deliverer. For any initiative to have a sustained, positive impact, it must engender autonomy and agency to build, redeem, and reinforce a foundation of respect—of the healthcare workers’ understanding of their local communities, and of a mother’s ability to make informed decisions, when provided with the right awareness and education.

Where does this respect come from, if not solidarity? The recognition that we are all interconnected, and that we must trust one another if we are to achieve better outcomes for us all?

A “glocal” approach to tackling complex problems goes a long way in implementing this solidarity in practice. At The Wellbeing Foundation Africa, we facilitate local, frontline, and grassroots capacity, relying on empowered leaders who deeply comprehend their communities, and facilitate their global reach. We bridge the gap between private financing and public institutional coordination, and where systemic challenges persist, we re-centre the individuals who face them.

Currently, we are a long way from achieving Universal Health Coverage, and the most marginalised feel this the most starkly, from the citizens of rural Nigeria living in multidimensional poverty, to the 36 million displaced people across sub-Saharan Africa.

Only with solidarity can we mobilise collective action, and make sustained progress to reach those communities. In a world with solidarity,

people would have access to quality and respectful healthcare, from the first primary health and pharmacy-level contact to secondary referral and tertiary specialist care comprehensively across communities, and we would see a sharp reduction in mother and child mortality rates. We could provide the training, working, and remunerative conditions for Nigeria’s healthcare workers, stalling the brain drain of 75,000 nurses from Nigeria since 2017.<sup>50</sup> We could bring the highest quality of care, and of life, to individuals who suffer unequal access to adequate services.

This report acknowledges the significance of public concerns in our endeavour to construct a world characterised by solidarity as a core community of frontline practice. This phenomenon is evident in practical implementation on the ground: as the general populace and global community recognises the pivotal role of Maternal, Newborn and Child Health, policymakers tend to allocate resources accordingly. The amalgamation of these initiatives will effectively confront the intricate and complex healthcare challenges, with solidarity serving as the cohesive force binding all components. ■

## Conclusion

# Time to listen, time to lead



### Stefan Löfven

Former Prime Minister, Sweden  
and Global Citizen Europe  
Board Member

● The Global Solidarity Report 2023 has for the first time *measured* the state of our international community. I like to quote our great Swedish professor Hans Rosling, who used to say: “The first thing to think about the future is to know about the present.” This report helps us do that.

As we reach the halfway point of the SDG era it is time to raise the bar, because the challenges ahead are still huge. We see deepening wars, conflicts, and terrorist attacks and, in their wake, the worst refugee crisis in modern times. We see growing public scepticism of free trade and globalisation, and growing populist and extremist forces. Climate change is catching up with us—this year was the warmest on record. And, as Oxfam reminds us annually, if you fill a minibus with the richest people in the world, they own as much as the poorest 3.5 billion people. It is absurd and totally unacceptable.

We know the challenges we face, and the evidence presented in this report does not diminish them in the slightest. We are in the Danger Zone. But it does offer some reasons to hope. We can draw particular energy from some of the polling numbers.

While we read about increasing nationalism and self-interest, the reality is that around half the world's population feel like global citizens *more* than citizens of their own country. Our international institutions are underfunded, but almost half of the world's people want to use their taxes on global issues. We are still destroying our natural environment at an alarming pace, but a large majority of citizens around the world largely support the right of international bodies to enforce solutions.

As a political leader you always have to look back to your constituency and gauge willingness, and the positivity among much of the global public towards global solidarity is something leaders need to be more aware of.

As agents in a multilateral system, we have a responsibility to meet this mandate by citizens around the world, and to include more individuals, civil society organisations, private sector representatives, and diverse opinions in our work. On the High-Level Advisory Board on Effective Multilateralism, which I co-chaired, the first important shift we talk about is rebuilding trust in multilateralism through inclusion and accountability. We need to establish the narrative that international cooperation is important for our own countries, for our own peoples. What is good for the rest of the world is good for your part of the world. This sense of common destiny is the basis on which solidarity, community and cooperation will grow in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It is time to believe in ourselves, and to redouble our efforts. ■

# The power of a **common** identity



**Hassan Damluji**

Co-founder, Global Nation



**Jonathan Glennie**

Co-founder, Global Nation

● Psychologists have for decades been working to understand how humans behave, what makes us collaborate, and why collaboration so often breaks down. At the same time, managers and management theorists have created a whole industry around the study of how to improve cooperation within institutions.

The lessons of all this work are stark. Humans face an essential tension as a cooperative species shaped by evolution. We care most of all about ourselves and those closest to us, but it is in our own advantage to occasionally sacrifice those interests for those of a larger group. How to square the circle? There is precisely one innovation, one technology, that we have developed that allows us to create the conditions for effective cooperation. That innovation is group identity: the feeling that we meaningfully belong to that set of people with whom we must collaborate.

## GROUP IDENTITY

# Why then, do we ignore this basic truth when it comes to international analysis?

We are comfortable with this truth at the level of businesses and bureaucracies. Any good manager will tell you that it is impossible to create an effective team if its members do not feel that they belong in an institution and are proud of it. We even understand this at the level of national politics; there is no political leader in the world who is comfortable with the idea that their citizens might not feel a strong sense of national identity. Most are working hard to try to strengthen it.

Why then, do we ignore this basic truth when it comes to international analysis? What do we think is so unique about global challenges that they will buck the trend observed on every other level—that humans will fail to collaborate, to everyone’s detriment, if they cannot muster a sense of shared belonging?

Some people deny this truth because they worry that a global identity may bring more harm than good. They are already uncomfortable with globalisation such as it is, and do not want to see human society further homogenised—perhaps even further “Americanised.” They see our relative atomisation as a species as the best defence against global authoritarianism.

These fears are understandable, but they are overstated. American cultural hegemony is strong but has waned, as global culture is infused by emojis from Japan, K-Pop from Korea, and Afrobeats from Nigeria. Even Silicon Valley giant Netflix’s most popular shows are no longer all in English.

Even more fundamentally, there is too often an assumption that global identity—feeling that you are a “citizen of the world”—comes at the cost of more local identities. It is therefore seen as a threat to the cohesion of families, communities, and nations. This could not be further from the truth. In fact, identities are built in layers, much like Russian dolls—adding outer layers serves to protect and strengthen those nested inside. People with a stronger sense of global citizenship are just as patriotic towards their country as those who reject the international community.<sup>51</sup>

And there is no reason that a stronger human identity will lead to an overbearing global superstate. In a world

where military and institutional power rest almost entirely in the hands of nation-states, it is implausible that the national level will be erased by global institutions, just because the global public feels more united—and that is a good thing. The strongest identities and institutions, and the locus of most problem-solving and decision-making, will remain at the nation-state level—and even more locally than that—in all realistic scenarios.

The gold standard for human cooperation is the nation-state. Citizens of nation-states have over the last century built strong institutions grounded in interpersonal trust and solidarity, enabling the pooling of up to half of all GDP in institutions designed to promote the welfare of the entire nation, including the very poorest. This has powered extraordinary achievements, from reductions in crime to universal education and healthcare, to the flourishing of arts and science. Naturally, countries sit on a spectrum of how close they are to the ideal of trust-based nationhood, with institutions of state that serve the nation. None is perfect. Some are termed “failed states,” where the sense of a common identity and government for the people is entirely shattered. Going back in history, the nation-state evolved from precursors with a more limited sense of belonging, and good governance.

Where does the world sit on this spectrum? If we need to cooperate as a world to solve our greatest crises and flourish in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, how far away are we from the level of cooperation inherent in the ideal of a nation-state? Most importantly, are we moving in the right direction?

For many, the reason to ignore the importance of global identity is not that it is undesirable, but that it is just too difficult. Impossible even. Let us focus on what we can achieve, they say, and leave a feeling of global identity to the idealists. But to do that is to capitulate entirely. A stronger global identity is not a “nice to have,” if we are to tackle climate change, pandemic diseases, and the coming population imbalances, which are likely to drive mass migration on an unprecedented scale. **It is a prerequisite of any semblance of success.**

**A stronger  
global identity  
is not a “nice  
to have”**

**Human  
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pipe dream.**

**It already  
exists to  
some degree.**

The good news is that we are not starting from scratch. The last hundred years have seen a remarkable surge in human solidarity. The 19<sup>th</sup> century saw state-sponsored slavery on an industrial scale, and as late as 1920, a resolution proposed by Japan at the League of Nations endorsing the idea of the equality of all races was vetoed by Europeans and Americans. In just one century we have changed the world into one where that veto would be unimaginable.

Today, there are many countries in the world in which a majority of citizens say they are “more a world citizen than a citizen of the country I live in.” This despite the turbulence of the last decade and an apparent growth in nationalism. And there is hope that the severity of the threats we face will cause global identity to grow further. Astonishingly, a majority of people in 21 countries surveyed say they support international bodies enforcing solutions to problems like environmental pollution.

Ignoring the power of common identity is a mistake that no country’s government would ever make, nor any business leader. We have a long, long way to go to do the same at the global level. And we will never reach some imagined utopia of global harmony, just as no nation will ever be fully united in common cause. But we can make progress. Human solidarity is neither a threat, nor a pipe dream. It already exists to some degree. The task before us is how to strengthen it, so that together we can make the hard trade-offs we will need to survive the coming storms. □

# Notes

## Executive Summary

- 1 The exact number is 46%, which takes into account the share of high- and lower-/upper-middle-income countries in the sample.
- 2 The exact number is 65%, which takes into account the share of high- and lower-/upper-middle-income countries in the sample.
- 3 In some cultures, there is a much higher likelihood that individuals will agree to values statements in a survey, no matter the question. This phenomenon is called 'acquiescence bias.' This tendency to agree is very high, for example, in India, China, and Turkey, whereas people in the Netherlands and Sweden have a higher tendency to disagree. People in Japan tend to choose the middle option more often, regardless of the content of the statement.

## 2023 Calls to Action

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## Measuring Global Solidarity

- 11** Source: “Intergovernmental Negotiating Body.” World Health Organization. 2023. <https://inb.who.int>
- 12** Source: “Bureau’s text of the WHO convention, agreement or other international instrument on pandemic prevention, preparedness and response (WHO CA+).” World Health Organization. June 2023. [https://apps.who.int/gb/inb/pdf\\_files/inb5/A\\_IN-B5\\_6-en.pdf](https://apps.who.int/gb/inb/pdf_files/inb5/A_IN-B5_6-en.pdf)
- 13** Source: Adaptation Gap Report 2022. UN Environment Programme. November 2022. <https://www.unep.org/resources/adaptation-gap-report-2022>
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- 18** For more information about the Global Public Investment Network, see: <https://globalpublicinvestment.net>. Wanjiru Kanyiha can be reached at [wanjiru@globalpublicinvestment.net](mailto:wanjiru@globalpublicinvestment.net).  
Jonathan Glennie, Co-Founder of Global Nation, played a leading role in the establishment of the Global Public Investment Network. His latest book, “The Future of Aid: Global Public Investment,” championed a paradigm shift in how we view concessional funding. Global Nation continues to be a proud member of the Global Public Investment Network, and remains active in its operations, including through grant-funded work.
- 19** Source: Aristotle. Politics 1253a.
- 20** It is important to remember that indicators are just that—they provide an indication. They are not perfect answers to the questions we ultimately want to address, which can be much broader in scope than the indicators, but they provide powerful indications which help us to answer them, through analysis.
- 21** See notes 28, 30, and 31.
- 22** For example, see: Appiah KA. Cosmopolitanism. Penguin. 2007; and Sen A. Identity and Violence. Penguin. 2007.
- 23** There is a growing body of psychologically-oriented work in the field of international relations (Kertzer and Tingley 2018), part of what has been described as a “new behavioural revolution” in political science (Hafner-Burton EM et al 2017). Literature on public attitudes to international cooperation has often focused on the European Union (such as Hale T and Koenig-Archibugi M 2016), including some work on the impact of crises (Hobolt S et al 2021). However, these questions are increasingly being asked of global governance (Tallberg J et al (eds.) 2018; Hale T and Koenig-Archibugi M 2019; Ghassim F et al 2022).

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Tuomela R. *The Philosophy of Sociality: The Shared Point of View*. Oxford University Press. 2007.

**25** Source: Zaki BL, Nicoli F, Wayenberg E and Verschuere B. "In trust we trust: The impact of trust in government on excess mortality during the COVID-19 pandemic." *Public Policy and Administration*. January 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09520767211058003>

**26** For more details on these indicators and how they have been aggregated, please refer to the [Methodology Note](#).

**27** A large body of social psychology research demonstrates that group membership is connected to greatly enhanced cooperative behaviour among humans (Romano A et al 2017a; Romano A et al 2017b) and reduced conflict (De Dreu et al 2020).

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Romano A, Balliet D, Yamagishi T and Liu JH. "Parochial trust and cooperation across 17 societies." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. October 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1712921114>

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- 28** References findings from ISSP's 2013 survey. For more detail, read this extract from Damluji H 2021: "A broad social survey of 45,000 people in various countries reveals that the majority (56 per cent) of those who 'agree strongly' that they are 'citizens of the world' are also 'very proud' of their country. By this measure, globalists displayed about the same level of patriotism as anti-globalists (of those who 'disagreed strongly' that they were 'citizens of the world', 58 per cent were 'very proud' of their country). The people who were least likely to be 'very proud' of their country were neither globalists nor anti-globalists but rather those who 'neither agreed nor disagreed' about global citizenship. Of them, only 35 per cent were 'very proud' of their country. This suggests that patriotism is not weakened by adding a layer of a globalist identity but rather by apathy about the world in general."  
Sources: Damluji H. *The Responsible Globalist: What Citizens of the World Can Learn from Nationalism*. Penguin. 2021.  
"International Social Survey Programme: National Identity III - ISSP 2013." ISSP Research Group. 2015. <https://doi.org/10.4232/1.12312>
- 29** By definition, solving collective action problems requires individual sacrifices (Tuomela R 2007). Preparedness to make sacrifices for the good of the group has generally been identified by psychologists as the best way to overcome the risk that stated group membership is either meaningless (i.e. a "non-attitude" (Converse PE 1970)) or at least not sufficiently meaningful to lead to cooperative outcomes.  
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Converse PE. "Attitudes and Non-Attitudes: Continuation of a Dialogue." In *The Quantitative Analysis of Social Problems*. Tufte ER (ed.) Addison-Wesley. 1970.
- 30** Policing of group norms provides benefits for all actors other than those who intend not to be cooperative, and has been shown in lab experiments to yield improved cooperative outcomes. Source: Van Dijk E and De Dreu CKW. "Experimental Games and Social Decision Making." *Annual Review of Psychology*. October 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-081420-110718>
- 31** Sources: Ostrom E. *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge University Press. 1990.  
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- 32** Source: Cook NJ, Grillos T and Andersson KP. "Gender quotas increase the equality and effectiveness of climate policy interventions." *Nature Climate Change*. March 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41558-019-0438-4>
- 33** This argument goes back centuries. See for example Montesquieu (1750): "The natural effect of commerce is to bring about peace. Two nations which trade together, render themselves reciprocally dependent; if the one has an interest in buying and the other has an interest in selling; and all unions are based upon mutual needs." However, it has been challenged, for instance in Barbieri (2002).  
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## Main Findings

- 34** Sources: Jetten J and Peters K. *The Social Psychology of Inequality*. Springer. 2019. Jetten J, Peters K and Salvador Casara BG. “Economic inequality and conspiracy theories.” *Current Opinion in Psychology*. October 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2022.101358>  
Larsen CA. *The Rise and Fall of Social Cohesion: The Construction and De-construction of Social Trust in the US, UK, Sweden and Denmark*. Oxford University Press. June 2013.
- 35** Evan Lieberman can be reached at [evanlieb@mit.edu](mailto:evanlieb@mit.edu).
- 36** Source: Renan E. “Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?” In *Nationalism*. Hutchinson J and Smith A (eds.). Oxford University Press. February 1995.
- 37** Sources: Levi M. *Of Rule and Revenue*. University of California Press. 1988.  
Lieberman ES. *Race and Regionalism in the Politics of Taxation in Brazil and South Africa*. Cambridge University Press. 2003.
- 38** Source: Hur A. *Narratives of Civic Duty: How National Stories Shape Democracy in Asia*. Cornell University Press. 2022.
- 39** These countries are: Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Poland, Romania, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Türkiye (Turkey), United Kingdom, and the United States. Additionally, note at a country level:
- China: the fieldwork was kept open until 20 June to ensure the best possible sample.
  - India: representativeness can only be claimed for the online population due to lower internet penetration than in other markets.
  - Turkey: the fieldwork in 2023 had a lower sample size of 497, due to the earthquake that affected large parts of the country.
  - Due to the strong underrepresentation of lower-educated people in online panels in several countries, educational level could not be weighted based on the three levels typically used (low-, mid-, and high-level education). In the following countries, low- and mid-level education were merged during the weighting process: Australia, Brazil, China, India, Mexico, Poland, Romania, South Africa, and Turkey.
- 40** See the Annex publication to this report, *Measuring Public Opinion on Global Solidarity in 2023*, for the full list of statements. It should be noted that the statements in the Global Solidarity Scorecard’s Identities indicators were not selected based on statistical analyses, but rather on the basis of a wider study of drivers for community and cooperation that the Global Nation team has studied. See the table on Drivers and Indicators on page 33 of the Global Solidarity Report, as well as explanations in the Methodology Note, for more detail on the selection of each indicator.
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- 45** Source: “Perspectives: Monthly Analyses from CIC.” NYU Center on International Cooperation. January 2022. <https://cic.nyu.edu/resources/perspectives-monthly-analyses-from-cic/>
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- 50** Source: Olufemi A. “‘There won’t be enough people left’: Africa struggles to stop brain drain of doctors and nurses.” The Guardian. August 2023. <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2023/aug/14/africa-health-worker-brain-drain-acc>
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## Conclusion

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