

# **Measuring Public Opinion** on Global Solidarity in 2023

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We live in an era of polycrises, in an increasingly multipolar world. Global challenges such as geopolitical tensions, climate crises, and the threat of violent conflict loom. To what extent is the world ready to cooperate to tackle the current moment, and those to come?

Global Nation worked with the Amsterdam-based research agency Glocalities to design indicators on public attitudes towards cooperation for its new Global Solidarity Scorecard. Glocalities, which specialises in researching values and opinions around the world, has conducted eight waves of international surveys since the start of its research programme in 2014. The public attitudes indicators included in this year's Global Solidarity Scorecard are drawn from Glocalities' eighth wave of international survey research, covering **21 countries around the globe** in 2023.

In cooperation with Global Nation, the topic of international cooperation was added to the 2023 international survey questionnaire. This measurement took place between 27 January and 18 May in the following countries: 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<sup>1</sup>. These countries cover every continent, and collectively host more than 50% of the world's population.

Responses to the survey questionnaire were collected online among nationally representative samples of citizens in each country between the ages of 18 and 70 years<sup>2</sup>. The research was conducted in two phases, where the first phase includes 12 unique Glocalities instruments used to gain insights into the motivational drivers of consumer behaviour. A few days after the first phase of the questionnaire was concluded, citizens were recontacted with an additional set of questions. In this second phase, statements about the state of global cooperation were integrated. An average of 1,000 citizens per country completed both phases of the survey<sup>3</sup>, and the sample was weighted based on census data on age, gender, education, and region⁴.







## The ingredients of the Global Solidarity Scorecard

To integrate international cooperation into this year's international survey questionnaire, a set of statements were drafted, measuring responses to different situations and events<sup>5</sup>. A five-point Likert scale was presented to respondents to record their answer to each statement. From the full list of statements, Global Nation selected the following as the indicators for the Global Solidarity Scorecard<sup>6</sup>:

01

I consider myself more a world citizen than a citizen of the country I live in

02

My taxes should go toward solving global problems

**N2 U**3

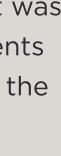
For certain problems, like environmental pollution, international bodies should have the right to enforce solutions

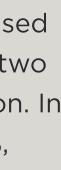




The mean percentage of agreement with each statement was calculated first by identifying the proportion of respondents in each country selecting 'Agree' or 'Strongly agree' with the statement.

These proportions were then aggregated by grouping countries into high-income and middle-income levels (based on the World Bank's categorisation)<sup>7</sup>, and weighting the two groups of countries by their share of the global population. In this research, the weight of high-income countries is 23%, while the weight of the middle-income countries is 77%. These weights correspond with the respective population share of the two country groups in the sample.





## The ingredients of the Global Solidarity Scorecard

The following table illustrates the average percentage agreement with each statement, by country and as global weighted and unweighted averages.





Country	I consider myself more a world citizen than a citizen of the country I live in	My taxes should go toward solving global problems	For certain problems, like environmental pollution, international bodies should have the right to enforce solutions	Mean % agree on 3 statements	World Bank classification
Australia	30%	35%	55%	40%	High income
Belgium	38%	25%	53%	39%	High income
Brazil	37%	45%	61%	47%	Upper-middle income
Canada	27%	27%	49%	34%	High income
China	57%	46%	66%	57%	Upper-middle income
France	37%	28%	55%	40%	High income
Germany	35%	46%	50%	44%	High income
India	65%	68%	77%	70%	Lower-middle income
Italy	45%	54%	63%	54%	High income
Japan	24%	43%	50%	39%	High income
Mexico	44%	45%	73%	54%	Upper-middle income
Netherlands	34%	27%	48%	36%	High income
Poland	29%	41%	61%	44%	High income
Romania	42%	46%	67%	51%	High income
South Africa	49%	50%	65%	55%	Upper-middle income
South Korea	29%	39%	65%	44%	High income
Spain	47%	39%	68%	51%	High income
Sweden	32%	30%	52%	38%	High income
Turkey	48%	61%	63%	57%	Upper-middle income
UK	33%	32%	58%	41%	High income
USA	29%	30%	46%	35%	High income
High-income average	34%	36%	56%	42%	
Middle-income average	50%	52%	68%	57%	
21-country average (unweighted)	37%	40%	59%	45%	
21-country average (weighted)	46%	49%	65%	53%	

## Getting to know cooperationoriented citizens

Upon the collection of the data, Glocalities conducted principal component analyses on this set of international cooperation statements to identify statements that are related in a statistical way. The combination of these statements points to a reliable underlying dimension. The following statements showed the strongest statistical relationship and were selected for the construction of a 'cooperation mindset' scale<sup>8</sup>.

- My government is working too little with other countries in solving global problems
- My country should leave oil and gas reserves in the ground if it is necessary to tackle climate change
- For certain problems, like environmental pollution, international bodies should have the right to enforce solutions
- My taxes should go toward solving global problems
- My country should always abide by international agreements, even if it could get an advantage by ignoring them
- The UN should be strengthened to prevent countries from bullying other countries

The scale has a high Cronbach's alpha of more than 0.75, which indicates a robust and distinct mindset.





Glocalities subsequently zoomed in on the respondents in the top 33% of the cooperation mindset scale within each country. These respondents are deemed to have a very pronounced cooperation mindset<sup>9</sup>. Who are these cooperation-oriented individuals? To understand these people and their outlook on life more deeply, a look at their responses to other statements is helpful – particularly to the Glocalities social values indicators<sup>10</sup>. This reveals that these are citizens who are strongly concerned about the damage that humans cause to the planet and worry about the impact of their own lifestyle. Specific issues of concern that they mention include environmental degradation through the increase of (micro)plastics in the environment, climate change overall, and the melting of polar ice in particular. Climate action is a UN Sustainable Development Goal that they consider especially important.

Cooperation-oriented individuals are empathetic and find it important to be able to **put themselves in other people's** shoes. Equality is highly important to them. They believe that everyone should be treated equally, which is seen in their support of LGBTI rights and more equal gender roles. This pro-equality mindset also has a financial component, as they advocate for narrower income differences. Finally, they have a cosmopolitan outlook, often feeling like citizens of the world.

## Getting to know cooperationoriented citizens

The above values surface again when examining people's mindset in a more visual way, by using the Glocalities values cards instrument<sup>11</sup>. The following values cards are relatively more appealing among the cooperation-oriented group:

Health
Caring
Equality
Sharing
Environmentally-responsib

Another aspect that stands out is that they believe in the potential of technology and the business sector to help tackle global socioeconomic issues. They often discuss with others how things should be different in society, and are open to alternative views and ideas. They strongly oppose war or violence as a way of solving disputes.







As is evident from the above insights, this group of citizens combines a focus on sustainability and reciprocity with an egalitarian and holistic view on life. They focus on fostering healthy relations in the social, economic, and environmental realms. This view is also reflected in their great trust in various actors to help address world challenges. The following are trusted by more than half of cooperation-oriented individuals: science (83%), education (71%), the United Nations (60%)<sup>12</sup>, democracy as an institution (60%), the European Union (59%), and Non-Governmental Organisations (55%). Cooperation-oriented citizens also have great trust in 'ordinary people' (57%).

As for their wishes for the future, responses suggest that cooperation-oriented citizens envision a world that will be more accepting, for instance when it comes to alternative gender and sexuality norms. They also hope that countries will strive to have good relations with other countries even if compromises are necessary, and that countries will adopt a more open border policy for migrants and refugees.

## Understanding how socioeconomic and demographic factors relate to global cooperation

#### **Cooperation-minded individuals by values** segment

The above findings reveal a group that is very involved and idealistic in its values and orientations. However, it is not a homogeneous group, in part due to geographic and cultural differences. Using the World Bank's classification of highincome countries versus middle-income countries allows a closer look at cooperation-oriented citizens of each country income level. The following graph shows substantial differences between the two country income sub-groups of cooperation-oriented individuals, as broken down by Glocalities' values segments<sup>13</sup>.

Worldwide and in high-income countries in particular, cooperation-oriented citizens more often belong to the values segment of the Creatives. In Glocalities' values segments, Creatives tend to be open-minded idealists who seek selfdevelopment and cultural participation. Cooperation-minded individuals in middle-income countries, however, are more often Challengers or Achievers. The Challengers segment is typically comprised of competitive and risk-seeking careerists who are fascinated by money and adventure. Achievers, on the other hand, are entrepreneurial networkers, who tend to focus on family and community life.





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Understanding how socioeconomic and demographic factors relate to global cooperation







Understanding how socioeconomic and demographic factors relate to global cooperation

#### Age and country income level as determinants of cooperation

How do socioeconomic and demographic factors inform one's opinions about cooperation? To find out, the survey statements designed in partnership with Global Nation were assigned one of three categories: internationally-oriented, **neutral**, or **country-focused**<sup>14</sup>. The findings were as follows:

• Country-focused statements as a whole received a somewhat higher endorsement than the internationallyoriented statements in both country income levels. However, a pronounced range was visible between internationally-oriented statements, with some enjoying significantly more support than others. Those receiving the highest support were "The UN should be strengthened to prevent countries from bullying other countries," "My country should share medicines with others during a pandemic," and "For certain problems, like environmental pollution, international bodies should have the right to enforce solutions." The least endorsed internationallyoriented statement was "My taxes should go toward solving global problems."

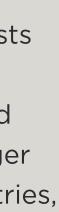




- Respondents in high-income countries were more likely to support internationally-oriented statements than those in middle-income countries. This can partly be explained by differences in their value segments as outlined above. While citizens in high-income countries are generally more egalitarian and open-minded, those in middle-income countries tend to be more status-oriented and proud of their national identity.
- The range in responses between age groups to countryfocused statements was much larger in high-income countries than in middle-income countries, which suggests that international cooperation is more polarised in highincome countries. In these countries, older people scored much higher on **country-focused** statements than younger people<sup>15</sup>. This gap was also seen in middle-income countries, but was less pronounced.
- A conclusion that can be drawn is that younger citizens embrace certain dimensions of global cooperation more than older citizens. For instance, younger people are generally more open to paying taxes to solve global problems. This is complemented by younger individuals' stronger feelings of global citizenship than their older peers<sup>16</sup>.









## Fostering international cooperation

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Improving views on cooperation can be realised via younger citizens, especially through education and trusted international actors. It is notable that the United Nations (UN), as an example, enjoys many citizens' trust overall, and is in fact one of the most trusted institutions worldwide,

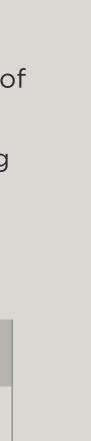
Trust in the UN	18-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-70 years	Total
21-country level	56%	51%	50%	46%	48%	50%
High-income countries	50%	46%	45%	42%	47%	46%
Middle-income countries	65%	60%	61%	60%	59%	61%

The above results are in line with previous Glocalities research, which identified high levels of trust in the UN, making it a potentially highly impactful agent of change worldwide.<sup>18</sup> Younger people as a whole form a crucial group to approach and involve in fostering global cooperation. This is even more the case when we look at cooperation-oriented citizens aged 18-34 years. No less than 63% of the cooperation-oriented younger citizens in 21 countries said that they have trust in the UN.

Creatives and Challengers are two values segments that define this group of dynamic younger citizens.

after science, education, 'ordinary people,' and democracy. This trust in the UN is especially found among the majority of younger citizens. The following table shows the share of citizens per age group and country income level responding that they have trust in the UN<sup>17</sup>:

They are open-minded idealists who seek self-development, but also want to make a meaningful contribution to the world. Having the freedom to express their ideas and leave their mark is essential to them. They are tech-savvy and very active on social media, which contributes to their being engaged and involved ambassadors. Their creative side finds an expression in a varied, active, and environmentally-conscious lifestyle, whereby a focus on physical health goes hand-inhand with mental stimulation, idealism, and a self-confident attitude. For example, they are interested in sports, psychology, vegetarianism, action games, playing music, and music festivals.<sup>19</sup>



## Fostering international cooperation

While approaching these younger citizens, it is important to keep in mind that the previously described Caregiver archetype remains paramount to cooperation. You are best able to cooperate and work together with people unlike yourself when you are able to empathise and step into their shoes. However, younger cooperation-oriented citizens also feel attracted to other archetypes. They value the freedom to explore different possibilities and face the unknown, which is embodied by the archetype and narrative of the Explorer.





They also appreciate a fact-based approach, as to them knowledge contains the real power for bringing about change. This concept is best expressed by the archetype of the Sage, who uses intelligence and analysis to understand the world. A deeper Glocalities data analysis of citizen types, social values, lifestyle, and the (national or regional) culture, makes it possible to identify specific narratives that fit the ambitions and values of young citizens who want to foster cooperation on the issues they care about.

## **Reflections on** how to move forward



There is great potential for improving the state of global cooperation by first appealing to a sizeable group of international society that already has a positive predisposition towards it. But getting this group alone on board is not enough. While there are vast numbers of other individuals who are less inclined towards global cooperation, this does not mean that they cannot become part of it.

To identify ways for getting more traction for global cooperation, Glocalities looked into people who are not necessarily opposed to international cooperation, but who are also not explicitly endorsing it either. These are the 'middle group.' Important aspects of their outlook on life include seeking financial security, being open to helping other people, and feeling proud of their country's heritage.

A successful campaign could revolve around these aspects, in a way that turns them into opportunities. Regarding financial security, for instance, it could be stressed that more international cooperation can help countries thrive. This could happen through fair trade deals and through fostering international entrepreneurship. Furthermore, international cooperation is also about helping other people. Think of disaster relief efforts that work best when there is consensus and close collaboration between various actors. Last but not least, national pride does not have to contradict international cooperation - it can complement it. Indeed, there are many occasions where they coexist, such as in the support for a national sports teams at the Olympic Games.

While promoting international cooperation to the 'middle group,' it is important to underline that international cooperation will not replace their national identity, but enhance it instead. It can be a win-win situation for everyone.

It is also useful to look at individuals on the lower end of the cooperation-oriented spectrum. By understanding them better, advocates for global cooperation can look for common ground, and perhaps even get them people on board as well. Compared to others, individuals who are currently less in favour of international cooperation have a more nostalgic mindset. Simply put, they believe that things used to be better in the past. They appear slightly more let down by society than the cooperation-oriented group, and are relatively more focused on their own advancement in terms of finances and social status. Despite this, it is worth noting that the less cooperation-oriented citizens do not score higher (or lower) on feelings of national pride than others.

A big difference with the most cooperation-oriented group is that the least cooperation-oriented individuals have a much less pronounced eco-conscious mindset, and are generally less idealistic and empathetic. They feel less connected to the rest of the world, are less likely to believe that things are interconnected, and are also relatively less socially involved, in general. The status-oriented values segment of the Challengers ('work hard play hard') is strongly present among less cooperation-oriented people. They also have greater distrust in institutions, except religion.













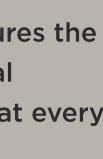
## **Reflections on** how to move forward

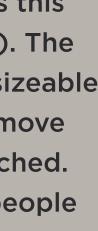


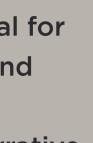
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The world of business, entrepreneurship, and technology, which generally fits the values of Challengers, can play an important role in bringing less cooperation-oriented people on board. It helps to frame international cooperation as something that can offer many economic benefits and progress. The values segment of the Challengers has a lot of vitality, as they naturally like to overcome challenges, and are adventurous in their life orientation. To get these people on board, new initiatives and exciting challenges can be developed that resonate with their ambitious values and outlook on life. It is important to show them that international cooperation is not a zero-sum game, but something that can create many win-win situations for them as well.

The above analyses prove that there is massive potential for connecting people based on their values, aspirations, and status orientations, and moving beyond the current environment of polarisation. A focus on a Caregiver narrative around international cooperation has great potential, as this archetype is universally embraced (also by Challengers). The movement for greater cooperation can begin with the sizeable group of citizens that is currently more engaged, then move steadily towards groups of citizens who feel more detached. Communicating shared values, providing examples of people who benefit from international cooperation, and using storytelling methods that connect with people's local situations and culture, are ways to bring more citizens onboard. On the basis of the highest shared values, international cooperation can become a force that ensures the health and wellbeing of people and planet. International cooperation can ultimately help foster friendship, so that every citizen can have the freedom to flourish.

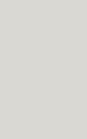








































#### a. Sample size per country

Country	Sample size
Australia	1,042
Belgium	1,022
Brazil	1,056
Canada	1,030
China	1,061
France	1,024
Germany	1,018
India	1,037
Italy	1,017
Japan	1,050
Mexico	1,053
Netherlands	1,034
Poland	1,036
Romania	1,112
South Africa	1,013
South Korea	998
Spain	1,034
Sweden	1,047
Türkiye (Turkey)	497
United Kingdom	1,033
United States of America	1,076
Total	21,290







#### **b. Statements used in this research**

- 1. My taxes should go toward solving global problems
- 2. My taxes should go toward solving problems in my country
- 3. I feel that I belong to the global community of humans
- 4. I feel that I belong to respondent's country
- 5. The United Nations is a legitimate authority
- 6. My country's government is a legitimate authority
- 7. For certain problems, like environmental pollution, international bodies should have the right to enforce solutions
- climate change
- 9. My country should share medicines with others during a pandemic
- 10. My government is working too little with other countries in solving global problems
- 11. My country should always abide by international agreements, even if it could get an advantage by ignoring them
- using force if necessary

Glocalities statement (included in measurements every year):

#### **Answering options (five-point Likert scale):**

4

**Strongly agree** 

5

Agree





8. My country should leave oil and gas reserves in the ground if it is necessary to tackle

12. The UN should be strengthened to prevent countries from bullying other countries 13. Russia should have been prevented from invading Ukraine by the international community,

14. My country should never be forced by an international organization to change any policy

- The following statement was integrated in the Global Solidarity Scorecard, and is an ongoing
- 1. I consider myself more a world citizen than a citizen of the country I live in







## c. Statements behind the 'cooperation mindset' scale with their corresponding factor scores

#### Statement

My government is working too little with other co solving global problems

My country should leave oil and gas reserves in th is necessary to tackle climate change

For certain problems, like environmental pollution bodies should have the right to enforce solutions

My taxes should go toward solving global problen

My country should always abide by international a even if it could get an advantage by ignoring ther

The UN should be strengthened to prevent countr bullying other countries

Only statements with a minimum factor score of 0.50 are shown.





	Factor score
ountries in	0.691
he ground if it	0.646
n, international	0.637
ms	0.585
agreements, m	0.535
ries from	0.520



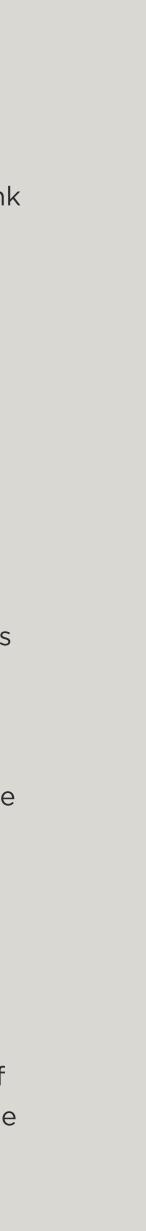
#### d. Glocalities' profiling tools





The **Glocalities Trends** are sociocultural phenomena that influence people's behavior and choices fundamentally. Think for example about how sharing, or the urge for vitality, sustainability, and gender role flexibility are changing societies around the globe. Everybody is affected by these Trends to a certain extent. An analysis of Trend profiles among target audiences enables the identification of opportunities and threats for organisations. Glocalities has been conducting Trend research in the Netherlands since 1998, and in the 2023 round of the research programme, Glocalities integrated a set of 87 trends that are internationally active, based on statements from the Glocalities survey. Based on scores on the Trends, Glocalities enables organisations to understand and profile target audiences in depth. This profile offers practical insights and inspiration with respect to 'dos and don'ts' regarding marketing, communications, innovation, and human resource management.

Archetypes form the basis of the storylines in movies or books (for example, the hero, the rebel, or the explorer). In communications, archetypes are about finding the soul of your organisation and expressing it in ways that tap into universal feelings and instincts among people (in the way of Nike and the hero). The Glocalities programme visualised the 12 main archetypes and measured the extent to which they resonate with citizens in the international survey.



#### d. Glocalities' profiling tools





This information enables organisations to have a better positioning, such that there is a maximum fit between the values it wants to express and the storylines that individuals are interested in.

The Glocalities values cards are visual representations of fundamental human values. Based on values inventories from the work of social psychologist Milton Rokeach and crosscultural researcher Shalom Schwartz, Glocalities selected a set of 48 values that are universal and relevant for research applications. Each value was depicted as a values card, which Glocalities validated qualitatively among people from various cultural backgrounds. The values cards were included in the 2016 Glocalities survey and people were asked to select the values cards that they found most appealing. Based on the values cards that a specific target audience finds appealing, it is possible to develop creative communications material for powerful positioning. The usefulness of the cards lies in the fact that they activate an additional sense of the respondents – their vision – in order to 'map' their profile.



#### e. Statements classification

#### **International-oriented statements**

- 1. The UN should be strengthened to prevent countries from bullying other countries
- 2. My country should share medicines with others during a pandemic
- 3. For certain problems, like environmental pollution, international bodies should have the right to enforce solutions
- 4. I feel that I belong to the global community of humans
- 5. Russia should have been prevented from invading Ukraine by the international community, using force if necessary
- 6. My country should always abide by international agreements, even if it could get an advantage by ignoring them
- 7. My country should leave oil and gas reserves in the ground if it is necessary to tackle climate change
- 8. My government is working too little with other countries in solving global problems
- 9. My taxes should go toward solving global problems





#### **Neutral statements**

- 1. The United Nations is a legitimate authority
- 2. My country's government is a legitimate authority

#### **Country-focused statements**

- 1. My taxes should go toward solving problems in my country
- 2. I feel that I belong to [respondent's country]
- 3. My country should never be forced by an international organization to change any policy





### Notes

- 1. In China, fieldwork was kept open until 20 June to ensure the best possible sample.
- 2. See Appendix A for the sample size in each country. Representativeness in India can only be claimed for the online population due to the lower internet penetration.
- 3. The fieldwork in Turkey in 2023 had a lower sample size of 497 due to the earthquake that affected large parts of the country.
- 4. 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.
- 5. See Appendix B for the full list of the statements.
- 6. The statements were presented in different parts of the questionnaire among other statements and were randomised by respondent level. It should be noted that the above statements 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.





#### 7. Source: World Bank. 2023. https:// datahelpdesk.worldbank.org/knowledgebase/

articles/906519-world-bank-country-and-lending-groups The figures presented for each country are not suited to compare countries to one another. This is because 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. Correcting for this bias goes beyond the purpose of this table.

- 8. See Appendix C for detailed factor scores of the most corresponding statements. This scale is different from the Global Solidarity Scorecard developed by Global Nation. This is a scale purely based on statistical analyses that points to a broader cooperation-oriented mindset.
- 9. To eliminate the influence of certain countries that tend to agree with statements in general, we standardised the answers by calculating z-scores. Subsequently, we focused on the top tertile (33%) of the cooperation mindset scale in each country. The top tertiles from each country make up the cooperation-minded group on an aggregated level.
- 10. See Appendix D for an explanation of this and other Glocalities analysis instruments.



### Notes

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- 11. See Appendix D for an explanation of the values cards instrument.
- 12. This high trust in the UN is in line with Glocalities' previous findings in light of the UN's 75th anniversary, available at: https://glocalities.com/reports/untrust.
- 13. See https://glocalities.com/whatwedo/whatweoffer/ methods for more information about the Glocalities values segmentation.
- 14. See Appendix E for statements per category.
- 15. The fact that younger citizens score lower than older citizens on the country-focused statements is not surprising. In fact, a 2022 Glocalities publication focusing on Generation Z revealed that young people globally have become increasingly tolerant and open-minded, as well as less patriarchal, in the last decade. These are important factors for fostering a cooperation mindset.
- 16. The global citizenship trend itself has been stable in the past decade, as established in various Glocalities measurements around the globe.
- 17. In this table, a green colour indicates a percentage that is significantly higher among the group in question (e.g., 18-24 years old) compared to the rest of the sample. An orange colour indicates a percentage that is significantly lower. The statistical significance is 95%.
- 18. Source: Trust in the grid Nations. Glocalities. 2020. https://glocalities.com/reports/untrust
- 19. Glocalities' research director Martijn Lampert gave a TEDx talk in Johannesburg on connecting with the values, lifestyles, and passions of the young generation for realising a more sustainable future, available at: https:// www.youtube.com/watch?v=rddRPfOMAUI.



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