Acceptance of international organizations using the United Nations as an example

Results of a qualitative psychological study

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rheingold Institute on behalf of the Bertelsmann Stiftung

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1 Executive summary

A qualitative study conducted by the rheingold Institute on behalf of the Bertelsmann Stiftung in the first quarter of 2020 has identified the psychological factors that influence the perception and acceptance of international organizations for the first time, using the UN as an example. The study was able to show that the majority of German citizens have little interest in multilateral issues in general and international organizations (IOs) such as the United Nations (UN) in particular. The limited discussion is based on the one hand on their self-absorbed and contemporaneous reality of life, which results from a split world view. International, national and regional politics are perceived by citizens as inconsistent and incapable of acting for the most part. The complexity, inconsistency and intangibility of global events are also expressed in the form of large meta-units such as the UN. From the citizens' point of view, this inconceivability is—on a rational level—moored to the lack of transparency and limited media presence of international organizations. From a deeper psychological perspective, the phenomenon can be explained by the paucity of imagery and the incomprehensibility resulting from the diffusion of complex constructs such as meta-units. The point is: The larger a community, the less clear and less tangible the unity of an organization.

The study identified four types of attitudes, which differ in their points of view about international cooperation and the UN. The four types move along a psychological spectrum between orientation towards the individual and the common good. There is a tendency for the degree of acceptance of international cooperation to increase from Type 1 to Type 4. These four types are guided by different motives in their attitude towards international cooperation and the UN. The following quotations in the text are assigned to these types according to colour. Quotes from citizens who belong to Type 1—Regional Isolationists—are in red font. Quotes from Type 2—Assertive Nationalists—are orange, quotes from 3— International Equality Watchdogs—are blue, and quotes from respondents belonging to Type 4— Global Cosmopolitans—are green.

TYPE 1

**REGIONAL
ISOLATIONISTS**

TYPE 2

**ASSERTIVE
NATIONALISTS**

TYPE 3

**INTERNATIONAL
EQUALITY
WATCHDOGS**

TYPE 4

**GLOBAL
COSMOPOLITANS**
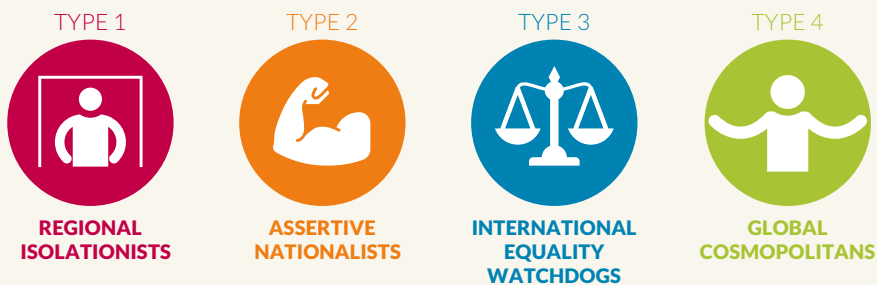
The rheingold research team, led by psychologists Stephan Grünewald and Carsten Schneider, looked into the question of how meta-units such as the UN can be placed in a holistic, more acceptable picture. The psychological path to an accepted unity picks up on mutually constructive and mutually dependent stages of cultural development in order to transfer the egoism of nations into an accepted sense of community. The following process steps describe the path from the 'nations' to the 'United Nations':

Nations vs. United: Citizens experience a psychological dilemma when dealing with organizations such as the UN, which oscillates between unilateral interests and multilateral ability to act. The starting point are the nations, which as identity-forming characteristics for cultures and peoples are an elementary component of the multilateral entirety. But nations are also understood as the original state of cultural development, where might makes right applies, which can lead to arbitrariness, tyranny, oppression and war. However, from the citizens' point of view, conflicts of interest and nations trying to impose their own national interests are repeatedly evident, especially in the UN. The unvarnished truth is: from the point of view of some citizens, a community of peacemakers is sitting around the UN table together with unilateral troublemakers, resulting in a literally fractured, inconsistent and contentious picture.

'Fraternal equality': The first cultural advance that stems from national egoism and the resulting conflicts of interest and might makes right is a fraternal alliance that promises equal rights and peaceful action on equal footing. However, the downside of equality, is constant sibling rivalry, which in turn can lead to 'indecisiveness'.

'Decisive protective power': The next cultural advance is tied to the election or recognition of a powerful and wise authority functioning as a decisive protective power, to which one must be prepared to submit. Even today, Kofi Annan's stature as an accepted authority is still remembered positively by many citizens. As in a family construct, however, the sibling bonds and the decisive and personified authority are in a constant state of tension.

'Binding rules': The perpetual tension between sibling bonds and decisive authority is formalised or regulated by the third important step in cultural development: Through universally valid rules and an impersonal constitution that is more binding, neutral and ultimately stronger than the accepted authority. A collective commitment to a constitution creates general norms, rights and sanctions, but also hinders free development in favour of bureaucratisation. In this context, many citizens experience the UN as a less agile, complex and abstract administrative apparatus that acts in secret without providing perceptible evidence of its ability to act.

'Effective mandates': Therefore, the meta-unit always needs to present tangible evidence that it doesn't just issue sanctions and slow things down, but can also set something in motion: Effective mandates and forms of deployment, such as peacekeeping missions, enable citizens to see that the UN can effectuate something meaningful and move the issue of legitimacy from the abstract to a visible and comprehensible level of action. However, UN negotiations can also be perceived as blue-eyed activism, and illegitimate, accordingly. This concerns above all UN actions that are seen as being fundamentally pointless or simply failed.

From 'Nations' to 'United': The unity is successfully comprehensible if these mutually dependent and complementary legitimacy factors are symbolized and put into a holistic picture. The resulting accepted and legitimized sense of community calls for each nation to have a feeling of belonging, and that should be understood as the smallest bracket of citizens. Every nation should feel well represented within the UN's meta-unit, because this feeling of belonging leads to sublimity, the pride of being a part of the greater whole as a nation, of being able to effectively shape the world, and stability and security on a global and national level—a more peaceful world with less war, hunger, and fewer human rights violations also means more security at home.

The process of tangibility staged in two-hour discussion dynamics

The process of tangibility and acceptance analyzed in the study was also staged in the two-hour discussion dynamics. In forty in-depth psychological interviews, a diffuse image of the UN was spontaneously described again and again, and the attitude towards the institution was initially rather ambivalent or indifferent for many interviewees. With the successive presentation and exploration of disparate images of the world of the UN, something emerged among the interviewees, and different changes of perspective took place, which contributed to an increasing profiling of the image of the UN as a unit. Accordingly, by the end of the interviews, the approval rating for the UN was significantly higher. In a concluding summary, many citizens reported a learning and image creation process analogous to the process of puzzle solving, the spontaneously diffuse image was gradually assembled into a holistic entirety. So, in the end many citizens reached the conclusion that the UN was indispensable for today's global affairs and also for their own nation. Many citizens imagined a world without the UN as a cultural regression to the Stone Age, where might makes right leads to an increase in violence and wars. In this way, the UN is also to be understood as a well-developed cultivating framework that transforms the selfish tendencies of nations into peaceful coexistence.

'I didn't know anything about the UN before the interview. [...] Is it possible to offer support as an individual citizen? Now I'm happy that something like the UN exists. If we didn't have them, where would we be today? But I still have many unanswered questions: Who are the members? [...] There's a great deal of anonymity. They are visibly invisible. People who do these things are heroes. They need to do more publicity work and be more active in the media. Our generation must be shown that there is such a thing as the UN. They have to deliver good news.'
(f, 21, attendant)

'A world without international organizations would be more unfair. Many people would be much worse off. might makes right would apply, and people would know even less. There'd be less nature, less sustainability, like after a storm surge.'
(f, 23, medical student)

'In a world without international organizations, there would be 10 million individual Stone Age people. Survival of the fittest applies, and there is no communal achievement of a goal. Anyone who doesn't keep-up dies, anyone who gets sick dies.'
(m, 56, product manager)

2 Introduction

2.1 Legitimacy of international organizations

Multilateralism is the cooperation of several states to solve cross-border problems based on a common set of rules. International organizations (IOs) also work according to this principle. A prominent example is the United Nations (UN or UNO), whose main responsibilities include the protection of world peace and human rights and sustainable development.

For international organizations to remain capable of acting to solve global problems, citizens must acknowledge their legitimacy. However, many multilateral alliances—despite increasing global challenges—are subject to a loss of acceptance, and in some cases they face active resistance, as was recently shown by the example of Brexit. In connection with the corona pandemic, the World Health Organization (WHO) is also currently being criticized and has been described by Donald Trump as being 'a puppet of China' because the WHO has praised China for its handling of the corona crisis. UN correspondent Dietrich Karl Meurer commented on this as follows[1]: *'And the praise came even after local authorities tried to cover up the crisis. And it makes you wonder: What did the WHO want to achieve with this? Was it really an attempt at a cover-up? Or did they want to encourage China towards further cooperation and collaboration?'*

A central goal of the Bertelsmann Stiftung's *Future of Democracy* program is to preserve and strengthen the legitimacy of international organizations such as the UN. In the *Legitimacy of International Organizations* project, the Bertelsmann Stiftung wants to better understand how international organizations legitimize themselves, and through which processes, to gain a better understanding of the factors that influence their legitimacy.

In spring 2020, a qualitative, in-depth psychological study was conducted for the first time in order to bring about a deeper understanding of citizens' attitudes towards international organizations in general, and the UN in particular. The central goal of the study conducted by the rheingold Institute was to identify conscious and unconscious patterns of attitude, psychological legitimacy factors and emotional processes that can hinder or promote the acceptance of global cooperation. This

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1 https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/weltgesundheitsorganisation-in-der-kritik-wie-wichtig-ist.2165. de.html?dram:article_id=474819

includes identifying potentials for meaning that could increase the legitimacy and acceptance of international organizations, using the UN as an example. The study also examined the awareness of the problem in general, and answered the question about the extent to which there is credence in the need for cross-border cooperation in order to tackle global problems such as climate change or migration among the populace. That is why the focus was on the experience and the basic orientation of the citizens.

2.2 The image of the UN as an example of an international organization

It was fundamentally important to the rheingold Institute and the Bertelsmann Stiftung that the conceptualization and implementation of the study should shed light on the experience and basic orientation of the citizens surveyed and not pose any 'rational' or 'political knowledge questions'. Initial population surveys on the topic (including one from the Körber Foundation (2019)) show that some citizens are unfamiliar with many international organizations, or terms such as 'multilateralism'. Therefore, the 'abstract' research topic was operationalised and made understandable for the respondents. The topic of the study was concretely exemplified by focusing on the UN as an example of an international organization. The spotlight was on the perception or the image of the UN, as well as on the identification of potentials for development and the processes of legitimization in order to sharpen the image of the UN and thus increase its acceptance among citizens.

2.3 Psychological fields of tension and questions

International organizations move in a psychological field of tension between individual nations and large multilateral meta-units. In order to be able to place the image of the UN in an accepted and legitimate equilibrium, it was essential to identify this area of tension and to grasp the issue both holistically and though its ambivalent facets, especially with regard to the following areas of tension, which were hypothesised in advance:

- **Diffuse lack of imagery:** UN as an abstract construct. What are the unconscious images and which image should the UN be placed in (e.g., as a family; representative of the value of cohesion and individuality)?

- **'Unity' versus 'diversity':** How much unity does the UN need to be able to act? How much diversity is necessary to safeguard national and individual interests or identities?

- **Power versus powerlessness:** UN as an effective power for action, in contrast to the UN as an inert bureaucracy?

- **Power relationships:** How much power is legitimate in order to credibly act? How much power can the UN tolerate?

- **Conflicts of interest:** How do individual and national interests compete with collective and global interests?

The topic of multilateralism is currently picking up on a national and international reactionary trend that focuses increasingly on one's own country and national egoisms, an aversion to multilateral principles (AfD, EU criticism, Brexit, Donald Trump etc.). The study therefore examines the interrelationships and synergistic effects at the global versus national and collective versus individual level from the citizen's perspective.

The study will also specify attitudes that can help determine the acceptance of the UN. Based on these findings, and flanked by a morphological 'hexagram', four psychological attitude and mentality types were identified and situated in the context of the acceptance of the UN.

2.4 Method and design of the qualitative psychological study

The qualitative study is primarily based on findings from a rheingoldGroup® of eight respondents and 40 two-hour in-depth psychological rheingoldInterviews® of morphological-psychological impact research conducted by the rheingold In- stitute in the first quarter of 2020 with a total of 48 citizens eligible to vote in Germany.

Socio-demographics

The interviewees were divided into four age groups, with men and women equally represented in each group:

Men and women aged	**18-25 years**
Men and women aged	**26-34 years**
Men and women aged	**35-49 years**
Men and women aged	**50-65 years**

In addition, the selection of respondents ensured that factors such as income, place of residence (west versus east and city versus country), education and party preferences were evenly distributed across the overall sample.

Basic orientation on globalization

The interviewees were also divided into three attitude groups with regard to globalization:

Globalization **proponents**
Globalization **neutral**
Globalization **opponents**

Scientific concept

The rheingoldGroup®, rheingoldInterviews®, evaluation and analysis follow the concept of morphological market and media psychology[2]. The duration and intensity of morphological interviews allows insights into the causal relationships examined and also enables the examination of any possible contradictions between the actual actions of citizens and their attitudes. The individual statements cited in the text of the study and assigned to these types according colour are literal quotations from the respondents in the interviews. In addition, the fourth part of the study contains eight more detailed profiles of each respondent.

Survey design

In the two-hour interviews, the subject of the study focused on international organizations and the UN. Citizens were first questioned using free association methods with the help of projective techniques. In the course of the interview, the citizens were shown visual material from the UN to stimulate the discussions. The emblem of the UN, a sea of flags from the participating nations, the UN General Assembly as well as the Security Council, various pictures of blue helmets and UNHCR refugee camps and last but not least the emblems of selected sub-organizations such as UNICEF, WHO and UNESCO were successively shown to the interviewee.

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2   Morphological psychology was developed by Wilhelm Salber at the Psychological Institute of the University of Cologne and has been applied in cultural, market and media research for more than twenty years. Morphological psychology is an approach to research for in-depth psychology based on holistic psychology, phenomenology, psychoanalysis and the morphological writings of Goethe. (Stangl, 2020)

3 Citizen's world view and reality

The Zeitgeist in 2020

In the first quarter of 2020, the study conducted on behalf of the Bertelsmann Stiftung found that the majority of eligible voters aged 18-65 have little interest in grappling with global political issues in general and international organizations in particular. In the course of the study, the rheingold Institute identified the psychological connections citizens in Germany have that currently anchor their lack of interest in multilateral issues. First and foremost, this is related to the world view and the reality of life for these citizens.

The historically conditioned culture of togetherness and world view of the post-war years has clearly devolved backwards into a culture of 'every man for himself' in the experience of the citizens. At the political level, there is a kind of revival of unilateral principles in many countries—as Brexit has recently made clear—which are also being propagated in this country by parties such as the AfD. There is divergence instead of convergence.

Lack of unity at national and international level

On a psychological level, there is no particularly strong sense of unity among the citizens. Rather, the world is experienced as fragmented and unstable at both international and national levels: The international order seems to be crumbling, and there is a less progressive argumentative culture in politics and in one's own everyday life. This lack of unity ranges from international inconsistency to Germany being experienced as a disunited fatherland. The feeling of division runs through on different levels:

■ **Regional division**: After thirty years of territorial reunification, many Eastern and Western citizens still do not see a cultural or solidarity reunification.

■ **Social divide**: For many citizens in this country, a two-tier system exists, which separates people into academic elites and the middle class.

■ **Confrontational mentality**: The public dispute over issues such as migration and environmental policy divides the nation into 'do-gooders' and 'national egoists'.

■ **Controversial politics & parties**: Inconsistency in the party landscape, from the established parties to the right-wing fringe groups. During the field time of the study (February and March 2020), this was particularly acute due to the election scandal in Thuringia held for the election of an FDP Minister President, with the votes of the AfD.

All in all, the majority of citizens have a longing for international peace and European or at least German unity. However, many are disillusioned and 'faith and hope' in a better world seems to have been lost. Accordingly, the dynamics in many interviews were also stressful and difficult.

For many citizens, dealing with a complex, divergent world and global problems comes with severe psychological stress. One does not want to deal with it at all and does not want to be made aware of it, this was partly expressed through resentment towards the interviewers from the rheingold Institute.

'We voters only have influence over our own little lives. We still have real help in the neighbourhood. The world's grievances make me furious. I don't want to talk or hear anything about them.' (f, 56, nurse)

Retreat to the Shire: Self-referentiality and contemporaneous orientation

Aside from the experience of division, the citizens in Germany experience it as a comfort zone and consumer paradise with a stable economy. In the complex reality of life, a 'Vollkasko' mentality and inner view has developed: The citizens have established themselves in a kind of J. R. R. Tolkienesque 'Shire', people concentrate on their own everyday life and sphere of action, which hardly extends past the proverbial end of one's own nose. People use streaming services such as Netflix and YouTube to seal themselves off from international world affairs; 'Netflix & Chill' has become the daydreaming motto of an entire generation's life. The most extreme form of this development is the opinion and information bubbles in social networks, where only one's personal opinion is allowed, other opinions are literally blocked or bombarded with hate comments. This is where conspiracy theories can spread, as is currently the case with the Corona crisis, which has also triggered an 'infodemic'. In this context, many withdraw into the mental state of 'splendid isolation[3]'.

'I once lived in Hamburg, the gateway to the world, now I'm back on my native soil. I always call my neighbourhood the Island of Happily Ever After.'
(m, 37, key account manager)

Digression: Contact ban during the corona pandemic as withdrawal intensifier

Although the effects of the corona virus were barely noticeable during the time the interviews were conducted in Germany in February and March 2020, the rheingold Institute has recently found that the contact ban, experienced as collective

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3   The use of the United Kingdom's geographical insularity in its foreign policy in the late 19th century until the outbreak of World War I, with the main objective of maintaining the balance of power in Europe, was characterised by Canadian politician George Eulas Fosterals when he coined the term 'splendid isolation'. The term was later employed by psychoanalysts, including Sigmund Freund, in connection with 'narcissistic regression', melancholy and grief.

early retirement, was seen by many as a paradisical state of affairs and that many citizens not only enjoy the deceleration but the temporary withdrawal into the bliss of their private comfort zones. Even the frequently publicized solidarity is currently taking place only in small circles—the way other countries and citizens are suffering from corona is largely ignored.

Displacement mentality of the Germans: Outsourcing of worries to 'grey country'

The complexity and drama of international events is sometimes experienced by citizens as a great emotional burden, but for many it also represents an insoluble dilemma. People have developed psychological repression mechanisms as a form of behaviour, either by trivialising global problems or keeping them at a distance. Overall, a kind of 'disaster fatigue' or 'disaster-habituation effect' has developed. Worries and fears are outsourced to a kind of 'grey land' and repressed.

> *'The UN is active in countries you don't even want to think about.*
> *I don't want to see that; it's all just too brutal'.* (f, 56, nurse)

Adhering to the motto 'see nothing, hear nothing, say nothing', war and terrorism are happening far away and problematic global political events are ignored. As a result, many citizens deal little—or not at all—with issues such as war and human rights violations. In this context, Covid-19 was also trivialized as a 'Chinese problem' until the spring—and even during the survey phase of this rheingold study.

> *'Corona is a Chinese problem. And the Chinese are not at all interested in the planet.*
> *That's why I don't care what's happening there now.'*
> (f, 52, foreign language correspondent, early March 2020)

Only migration, global warming—and, since the end of March 2020 at the latest, Covid-19 as well—are experienced as noticeable problems because they cross borders. This is where citizens see the greatest need for action. The fact that these issues can also be dealt with by international organizations such as the UN, and that they can only be solved across borders is deliberately hardly given a second glance by citizens. Local problems should be solved by local politics. From the citizens' point of view, international organizations such as the UN also stand for on-site missions in crisis regions that do not affect Germany. They are felt above all by 'aid organizations' always used 'for someone else' or in foreign countries to which one has hardly any connection.

> *'The UN is far away from my world, far removed from my everyday life. I do not see*
> *myself as a citizen of a UN. I don't think what's being done there is getting to me.*
> *I don't know a thing about UN politics. It's too abstract.'*
> (m, 34, insurance consultant)

> *'They'll send German soldiers to Afghanistan and they'll come back traumatized,*
> *and who'll take care of them?'*
> (m, 44, undertaker)

Since the interviewees feel that the UN does little for the 'own' citizens or is not very present in their living environment, there is little involvement with the UN in everyday life, as if there were a 'mutual disinterest'.

International organizations as contrasting pairs: Inconsistency between meta-units

When different organizations, for example from business and from developmental aid, come into view, the divided world experience also manifests itself in conflicts of interest between these organizations, some of which, in the citizens' experience, do not act together but against each other. From the point of view of the interviewees, organizations such as the UN and its UNICEF subsidiary stand up for the interests of disadvantaged nations and citizens, whereas economic organizations stand up for the interests of the economic powers. This is often attributed to the G7, where economic lobbying seems to reach its 'summit'. Conflicts of interest seem to exist amid these organizations; UNICEF and WTO, for example, seem to come from diametrically opposed worlds—the first and third world. This inconsistency is compounded, according to some citizens, even within individual organizations. To such an extent that the UN is also experienced by some citizens as solely a representative of economically strong nations, and in extreme cases not as a solution but as the cause of the problem.

> *'The UN wages wars to give some countries access to resources.*
> *But the UN should enforce human rights for the well-being of all people.'*
> (m, 20, student)

An exception is UNESCO, which gives awards as the protector of global cultural heritage instead of sanctioning, and does not make any differences between nations. UNESCO represents a win-win situation for the citizens, as it protects the national identity of all countries and thus also preserves cultural monuments for foreign travellers. Only a very few people are aware that UNESCO's programme scope includes not only culture, but topics such as science and communication, as well.
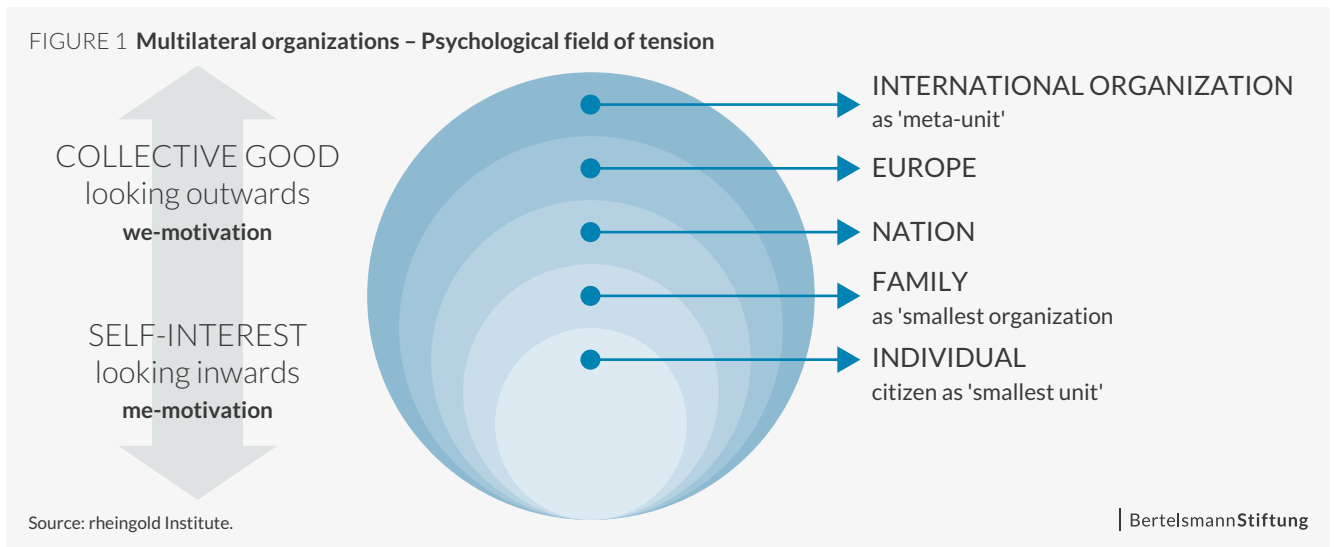
4 Psychological attitudes between individual and collective good

From a psychological point of view, multilateral organizations operate in a field of tension between the self-centredness of nations and citizens and the sense of unity in an international community. For citizens, the interplay between these two dimensions represents a complex versatility that is difficult to grasp and unify at first. On the side of self-interest, divergence principles are at work on the one hand, in which the selfish tendencies of the psyche are expressed: The interests of the citizen, his identity and the nation are the focus. On a psychological level this is like navel-gazing, driven by egotistic me-motives, which in turn leads to efforts designed to preserve and defend one's 'own'. This is countered by convergence principles that correspond to the desire for collaborative unity. Here, the view is directed outwards, because this is about the innate longing for community and constructive cooperation. Besides the 'own and known', the 'other and foreign' is accepted and integrated.

The change of perspective from the inside ('ego-motivation') to the outside as well as the inclusion of a 'we-motivation' requires a certain degree of maturity in cultural development, which must have developed from an original state, based on the survival of the fittest, or 'might makes right'. To accept the big picture, individuals—citizens *and* nations—must be able to subordinate themselves and endure disagreements. Only then, instead of archaic confrontation, a cultivated, constructive culture of debate according to universally valid rules will prevail. In addition to the selfish human tendencies, altruism and empathy must also have developed.

The field of tension identified in the study is to be understood as a continuum ranging from the individual, small and larger communities and organizations[4] to meta-units such as the EU and UN:

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4   In addition to family as the 'smallest organization', these are also relevant: Friends, neighbourhood/living environment/region, clubs, profession/colleagues, etc.

FIGURE 1 **Multilateral organizations – Psychological field of tension**

COLLECTIVE GOOD
looking outwards
we-motivation

SELF-INTEREST
looking inwards
me-motivation

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION
as 'meta-unit'

EUROPE

NATION

FAMILY
as 'smallest organization

INDIVIDUAL
citizen as 'smallest unit'

Source: rheingold Institute.

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4.1 Four psychological types on a spectrum between individual and collective good

Among the voters surveyed, the rheingold Institute identified four types of attitudes that differ psychologically, particularly in terms of reasoning and value orientation, world views, awareness of problems at global and national levels and, last but not least, in their perception of international organizations and the UN. The four types also move on the psychological continuum between self-interest and the common good. The tendency is to gradually increase the degree of acceptance of international cooperation (at a spontaneous level) from type 1 to type 4 or from the me-motivation to the we-motivation. In addition, there are differences as to the sphere of action (regional < national < international < global) and the size at which organized structures fall out of sight or are experienced as distant and (everyday) alien (analogous to Figure 1):

FIGURE 2 **Four psychological types – Between self-interest and collective good**

TYPE 1	TYPE 2	TYPE 3	TYPE 4
REGIONAL ISOLATIONISTS	**ASSERTIVE NATIONALISTS**	**INTERNATIONAL EQUALITY WATCHDOGS**	**GLOBAL COSMOPOLITANS**

SELF-INTEREST – looking inwards   COLLECTIVE GOOD – looking outwards

Tendency to increase the degree of (spontaneous) agreement on international cooperation

Source: Author's depiction based on in-depth psychological interviews conducted by the rheingold institute and a YouGov survey, both on behalf of the Bertelsmann Stiftung.

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TABLE 1 **Overview of the distribution of types in the sample: Regional Isolationists, Assertive Nationalists, International Equality Watchdogs, C**
The sample of the 40 rheingoldInterviews® consisted of the following analyzed types:

	TYPE	GENDER	AGE	FEDERAL STATE	RESIDENCE	FAMILY STATUS	PROFESSION
	1	f	29	WEST	Urban	Single	Saleswoman
	1	f	33	WEST	Rural	Cohabitation	Beautician
	1	f	61	EAST	Rural	Empty-Nester	Technician
	1	m	37	WEST	Rural	DINK (Double Income No Kids)	Manager
	1	f	54	WEST	Rural	Empty-Nester	Secretary
	1	f	23	EAST	Rural	Single	Student
	1	f	48	EAST	Rural	Empty-Nester	Office clerk
	1	f	58	EAST	Rural	Empty-Nester	Office clerk
	1	f	48	EAST	Rural	Divorced	Secretary
	1	m	26	WEST	Urban	Single	Logistics
	1	f	49	WEST	Rural	Married	Businesswoman
	1	m	65	WEST	Rural	Married	Technician
	2	f	30	EAST	Urban	Cohabitation	Geriatric nurse
	2	m	20	EAST	Urban	With parents	Student
	2	m	44	EAST	Rural	Cohabitation	Undertaker
	2	m	43	EAST	Rural	Married	Manager
	2	f	52	WEST	Urban	Divorced	Correspondent
	2	f	34	WEST	Rural	DINK	Saleswoman
	3	m	26	EAST	Urban	DINK	Businessman
	3	f	21	WEST	Rural	Single	Service technician
	3	f	23	WEST	Urban	Single	Student
	3	m	34	WEST	Urban	Married	Insurance consultant
	3	f	29	EAST	Urban	DINK	Social worker
	3	m	34	EAST	Urban	DINK	Job seeker (business studies)
	3	m	62	EAST	Rural	Married	Early Retiree
	3	m	36	WEST	Rural	Single	Daycare
	3	m	33	EAST	Rural	Single	Cook
	3	m	49	WEST	Urban	DINK	Dispatcher Logistics
	3	f	40	WEST	Urban	Single	Lawyer
	3	f	64	WEST	Rural	Married	Bookkeeper
	4	f	49	WEST	Urban	Single	Employee
	4	m	56	WEST	Urban	Empty-Nester	Product Manager
	4	f	56	WEST	Urban	Single	Nurse
	4	f	21	EAST	Urban	Single	Student
	4	m	48	WEST	Urban	Married	Authorized representative
	4	m	63	WEST	Urban	Married	Engineer
	4	f	22	WEST	Urban	Single	Student
	4	m	33	WEST	Urban	Single	Electrical Engineer

Type 1: Regional Isolationists   Type 2: Assertive Nationalists

Type 3: International Equality Watchdogs   Type 4: Global Cosmopolitans

Source: rheingold Institute.

The basic orientation types identified in the qualitative study are largely independent of socio-demographic factors; they are attitude patterns with different mentalities that could be identified in the survey in all social classes and educational levels.
The distribution of types in the qualitative sample is not representative in the statistical sense. Following this qualitative study,

Global Cosmopolitans

	POLITICAL INTEREST	PARTY-PREFERENCE	APPROVAL GLOBALIZATION	GLOBAL TOPICS
	High	CDU	Neutral	Migration
	Low	Non-voter	Negative	Migration
	Middle	AfD	Neutral	Migration
	High	CDU	Positive	Climate
	Low	Green Party	Neutral	Gentrification, climate, migration
	Low	AfD	Negative	Migration
	Low	AfD	Negative	Migration
	Low	Non-voter	Neutral	Migration
	Low	Green Party	Negative	Migration
	Low	Green Party	Neutral	Migration
	Low	CDU	Positive	Migration
	High	CDU	Positive	Local Politics
	Low	Non-voter	Negative	Climate, populists
	Middle	SPD	Positive	Migration, Politics, USA
	Low	AfD	Neutral	War, arms export
	Middle	Left	Negative	World Peace
	Low	Green Party	Negative	Migration
	Low	Non-voter	Negative	Data protection, migration
	Low	Left, Green Party	Neutral	Data protection, migration
	Middle	SPD, CDU	Positive	Social injustice
	High	Left, SPD	Positive	Social injustice
	Middle	FDP, Green Party	Neutral	Social divide
	Middle	Green Party	Positive	Social injustice
	Middle	Die Partei	Positive	Right-wing extremism
	High	SPD	Positive	Abuse of power by established economies
	Low	Freie Wähler	Negative	Abuse of power by established economies
	Middle	Left	Positive	Poverty, war, nationalism
	Low	Non-voter	Negative	Poverty, exploitation, hunger
	Middle	SPD, Left, Green Party	Neutral	Nationalism
	Middle	FDP, Green Party	Positive	Injustice
	Middle	Non-voter	Neutral	Climate, famine, war in Syria
	High	SPD, Left	Positive	National problems, environment
	High	Left, SPD	Positive	World Peace
	High	SPD	Positive	Wars
	Middle	Non-voter	Positive	Environment
	Middle	Non-voter	Positive	Wars
	Low	Green Party, Left	Positive	Environment, animal welfare
	Low	Non-voter	Neutral	Wars

EAST = East Germany, WEST = West Germany
Empty-Nester = Parents of grown children, DINK = Double Income no Kids

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a quantification was carried out to determine the representative proportions in the total population and socio-demographic characteristics. The results are set out in the Policy Brief 'The United Nations. Indispensable, but invisible.' A description of the methodological approach to quantification can be found in the methodological appendix starting on page 63.

**REGIONAL
ISOLATIONISTS**

4.1.1 Ego-related attitude Type 1: 'Regional Isolationists'

My familiar little world

The first psychological type identified in the study is the 'Regional Isolationist' type. This group includes citizens who think and act according to the basic orientation 'Me First'. Their interest is focused on their own well-being and the preservation of their vested interests. Conservative values and traditions are dear to this type and they idealise life in the countryside or in small towns, while urban, digital and multicultural living environments are viewed critically. Accordingly, this person also defines himself more as a territorial 'regional citizen' or 'local patriot' (whereas the second type, the 'Assertive Nationalist', would rather call himself a 'national citizen'). He prefers to live in the small familiar (allotment garden) rather than the big picture (labyrinth).

'I'm originally from the country, I like it better. It's more conservative, more natural, more traditional.' (f, 23, student teacher)

'I'm regional, each country should stay their own country, instead of all this mingling.' (f 48, secretary)

'Everything used to be better'. Familiar versus foreign

Many citizens of this type feel insecure or even threatened by cultural change, modern Zeitgeist and 'multiculturalism'. One lives, so to speak, in a small, familiar hometown museum. Of all four types, this one can also be described as the most insecure, the shyest or the most anxious. Crime and existential threats are the central fears that drive this type. Citizens of this type are not necessarily xenophobic, but they are fundamentally afraid of the foreign and different. This also includes topics such as digitalization, of which people are also often afraid of contact, this is especially true for older representatives of this group.

'I only feel safe in the place where I live.' (m, 26, employee logistics)

Citizens of this type often have a tendency towards dramatization and they often report dangers lurking on their own doorstep. Often one feels that one's fears are not taken seriously, much like a phobic person who is told that the object of his phobia is not dangerous. Accordingly, the 'Isolationist' withdraws further and further into his ego-centred and insular world of the 'Shire', because the small and familiar promises security and protection. 'Regional Isolationists' resemble vulnerable snails who retreat into the depths of their protective, familiar home. Accordingly, this type longs for 'the good old days' before the (currency) change, such as East Germans, who often retrospectively describe the GDR as the 'better Germany' or West Germans, who qualify the D-Mark as the better currency.

'I'd like to have the D-Mark back. We should've never adopted the Euro. More and more refugees are coming here, who will let them all in? We're not Germany anymore, you hear five different languages on the train, just not German.' (f, 54, civil service secretary)

Small-state mentality as a Nucleus-World

The world view of the 'Isolationist' is rather simplified, divided into small parts and correspondingly small states, one separates the world into Germany and the rest of the world: The other is figuratively excluded and kept away. The division and exclusion experienced by all citizens is partly actively created or secretly desired by the 'Isolationist'. It is partly an expression of the desire to reduce complexity in a globalized world. Accordingly, the type is primarily interested in topics that could personally affect or threaten him or his immediate social environment: Small or familiar communities such as family, neighbourhood or clubs are his greatest asset. What happens outside one's own social environment is of little interest—as long as it does not affect one's own social environment. The type would—figuratively speaking—be more interested in the regional soccer league than the Bundesliga, while international competitions, on the other hand, far exceed the bounds of their interest. The idea of unilateralism and advocates of an EU exit find an active listener in this type.

> *'I live at home in my small world, like in a bubble. And that's how I like it.'*
> (f, 33, beautician)

> *'Freedom is dangerous, they don't dare let loose, every man needs limits,*
> *the British limit themselves and invoke their national heritage,*
> *they are no worse off than before.'* (f, 48, secretary)

Territorial localization versus multilateral globalization

In this context, the 'Regional Isolationist' tends to focus on local political issues that directly affect him and his living environment. This ranges from gentrification and rent increases to workplace bullying. In the newspaper, he would accordingly focus mainly on the local section and the weather.

> *'We already do more than the other nations. Germany should take care of the*
> *Germans first. We have enough to do in our own country. Fighting poverty at home,*
> *stopping climate change in this country, hatred and bullying, making digitalization*
> *manageable, protecting animals in Germany'.*
> (f 29, saleswoman)

This type often expresses political disappointment or even disenchantment with politics, mainly attributed to the fact that the established parties have paid scant attention to the interests of German citizens. This type often sympathizes with parties such as the AfD or parties that have positioned themselves as representatives of the interests of the 'little man' or as an alternative *for* Germany (type 2, on the other hand, tends to see the AfD as an alternative for *Germany*). A few citizens of this type also count Bündnis 90/The Green Party among the representatives of the people, who are experienced as saviours of the 'German eco-system'. Some also sympathize with the CDU, as long as their local politics are worthwhile.

In this context, international issues and global problems have little impact, so that among the 'Regional Isolationists' there are those citizens who tend to be rather indifferent to the topic of globalization, but also those who reject it.

REGIONAL ISOLATIONISTS

'The UN is not very relevant to me because I am fundamentally against globalization and I only care about what happens here.' (f, 23, student teacher)

More attention is paid to global problems when they could become a problem on your doorstep. Almost like a mantra, citizens of this type bring up the topic of migration, which they define as the central global and German problem. This type also repeatedly mentions migration in connection with IO issues such as environmental pollution, poverty, hunger, human rights violations and wars, as these are recognized as the main causes of the wave of refugees. On the surface, they sometimes show compassion for the people and also want them to get help. However, there are selfish behind this, according to the motto *'If they're doing well, they won't come to us'.*

'Personally, I have no use for the UN. They have nothing to do with me. It goes without saying that there is such a thing as peace operations in the third world. But if it isn't right outside my front door, I don't care about it. The UN doesn't restrict me in my everyday life, so I don't really care about them at all.' (f, 33, beautician)

No personal relevance for international organizations such as the UN

This is how international organizations such as the UN are spontaneously experienced as being of little relevance to one's personal life, and one is also rather indifferent towards them. They are primarily qualified to represent the interests of foreign countries (or the world economy), especially with regard to peace missions and refugee camps in crisis areas. Often a logic of accounting is used, in which the needs of other people are trivialised in comparison with the problems of the Germans (according to the motto: The poor Germans versus the poor others).

'The UN is a militarily strong organization that is far away from me and I don't even want to deal with it. [...] It is nice that the UN cares about security in the world, but security back home is not what it used to be.' (f, 48, office clerk)

Increase in acceptance of the me-motivated type according to the motto 'what's in it for me'?

Even if this type of person was relatively indifferent to the topic of international organizations and the UN in their unpremeditated response, and the immediate and unreserved approval was correspondingly low, representatives of the 'Regional Isolationist' group gradually agreed more and more with the importance of the UN in the course of the interviews—especially if the wave of refugees can be contained by acting abroad so that the perception of security and stability can be established on one's own doorstep. With this type of ego-motivated person, action must therefore be placed in the context of selfish interests in the sense of a win-win situation, from which one can also directly benefit as a citizen.

CASE STUDY 1 – **'Regional Isolationists'**

Gender	Age	Marital status	Type of household	Profession	Attitude Globalization	Party Preference
f	54	Empty-Nester	Single person household	Secretary	Neutral/non-interested	Green Party

Projective time travel*: *'If I had a time machine, I'd travel back to the '70s or '80s, when things were still comfortable.'*

In the interview, the divorced citizen, who lives in a rented apartment in a big city repeatedly shifts the conversation to her own little world, which she sees as being threatened. She seems generally unmotivated and insecure, especially when it comes to the actual topic of the study. The citizen spontaneously complains in great detail about extensive building and renovation measures around her house, which disturb her peace and quiet. She would like to move to another area, but the high rents are the main obstacle to living where she would like to live. A big trauma for this former allotment gardener was that the allotment garden—her personal happy place—had to make way for a modern residential building concept. Her interest in politics is largely limited to the news on subscription (pay) television, beyond that she does not go into depth in her information-seeking behaviour: '*I'm just watching the news. I want to know what's going on.*' Accordingly, her political statements do not have much depth, they are more like regular conversation. She is very jumpy, throws keywords into the room and then quickly switches to other topics in order to avoid more in-depth questions. When asked about acute global challenges, she also jumps from the keyword corona (*'The doctor who discovered this, they killed him!'*), to '*problems of the CDU with Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer*', to 'our mayor, this liar', to environmental problems and catastrophes. On the latter topic, she is very verbose about the '*devastating consequences of climate change*', which are broken down into the personal restrictions in her everyday life: '*In the hot summers, I sweat so much I don't know what to wear.*' With wide-ranging environmental issues like the coral dying off, plastic in the ocean, and forest fires in Australia, a certain fatalism sets in and her resignation becomes apparent: '*No one abides by agreements to limit global warming.*' So she prefers to focus on sweaty summers in the unconscious hope of being able to have an effect at least here—accordingly, she does not even deal with the topic of international organizations, she has almost no knowledge about the UN, and does not believe in its ability to act. In the course of the interview, however, a certain sense of guilt becomes apparent that her own behaviour contributes little to the solution: '*Deforestation of the rain forest … That's where the wood comes from, by the way, where you get those beautiful cupboards like I have.*'

The Green voter also laments the 'wave of migration.' At this point, all political correctness is thrown overboard and—in a very defamatory way—she starts to talk about strangers who seem to want 'everyone' to come to 'her' hometown: '*There are more and more refugees who all want to come here. Who lets them all in? Among them there are some stinky characters who are constantly begging from me on the train. We're not Germany anymore. You hear five different languages on the train, but no German.*' The woman is noticeably afraid, because she feels threatened in her personal existence and security and can no longer keep up in terms of (foreign) language. Global problems are consistently suppressed or relativised to her own personal, everyday life. All in all, '*What I'd like best is to keep the big world out of my little one.*' or rather, this single woman is longing for the 'good old days': '*I don't understand why the UK has left the EU now either, but I'd like to have the D-Mark back. We should've never adopted the Euro.*'

*Projective technique for warm up during all rheingoldInterviews®

CASE STUDY 2 – **'Regional Isolationists'**

Gender	Age	Marital status	Type of household	Profession	Attitude Globalization	Party Preference
f	48	Empty-Nester	Two-person household	Office clerk	Opponents	AfD

Projective time travel: *'If I had a time machine, I'd go back to the Middle Ages. Today everything is so exposed and networked.'*

Thirty years ago, the native Hungarian married a German from the former GDR. Right at the beginning of the interview, the registered voter expresses her pride in the stability of her marriage, and stability is also the central theme of her life, which is a common theme throughout the interview. Again and again, a pronounced longing for constancy and alleged security is expressed. In addition to the issue of permanence, this woman, who has a migration background, emphatically addresses the difficult conditions under which she, as a native Hungarian, had to obtain the right to stay in Germany. She compares the circumstances she personally experienced then with today's, in her view, 'lax' provisions of the German right to stay and asylum, which would make an *'invasion from entire Romanian villages'* possible, *'who only want to collect child benefits here.'* This actively xeno- and islamophobic woman clearly and bluntly brings up her 'problem' with '*asylum seekers*' and refugees, who are all seen as having Muslim backgrounds, and justifies this by saying that she and her daughter, a student, were harassed in the middle of the city. She draws clear boundaries, especially with Muslims: *'Christians and Muslims just don't mix.'* She emphasizes that she is a proponent of religious freedom, *'but please everyone in his own country.'* The Hungarian interviewee is also a fervent supporter of Viktor Orbán, she considers him to be a figure who ensures security in Hungary by consistently refusing to accept (too many) refugees. National, sovereign decisions would always come first for her, freely following the example of Trumps: '*America First!*' Help from others or within the framework of international cooperation is downplayed, citizens and nations could easily take care of themselves and should not subordinate themselves to 'politically questionable decisions' such as the reception of refugees: *'We've had wars in Europe too, and we rebuilt everything ourselves.'*

The UN is a militarily strong organization, but it *is 'far away and I don't want to deal with it.'* The UN is described as '*an association for the protection and support of the many member countries, all of which are economically linked.'* The UN stands for democratic values like freedom of speech and is involved in development aid. During the conversation about the UN, she is repeatedly torn between national and global interests, which for her are simply irreconcilable: On the one hand, she thinks it is *'great that the UN provides security in the world'*, on the other hand, *'security at home* is *no longer what it used to be.'* As the conversation progressed, she expressed the hope that the UN would be able to limit the wave of refugees: *'Helping them to help themselves would be good, so that people from these countries don't all come to us.'* In addition, environmental protection and research are topics that the UN could take up, and at the same time she thinks of '*the truants and loafers*' of the Fridays for Future (FFF) movement. It is precisely here that it becomes clear that this citizen does not want to make any personal sacrifices whatsoever: above all, she rejects the ban on diesel driving or the regulation that old heating systems should be replaced. Even in vehicles and heating systems, more emphasis is placed on durability than on sustainability. There is a certain degree of awareness of the problem, but no sense of guilt, because the guilt is delegated to others. Plastic in the ocean is bad, but *'the problem must be solved by those who throw the garbage in there.'*

4.1.2 National-oriented attitude Type 2: 'Assertive Nationalists'

Might makes Right

'Assertive Nationalists' are the second type identified in the study, whose basic attitude is based on the principle of 'might makes right'. While Type 1 is characterized by personal or petite bourgeoisie egoisms, this type thinks supra-regionally or in larger power contexts, which are more on an international or 'bilateral' (instead of regional/unilateral) level: While Type 1 promises security in the small nucleus world, Type 2 focuses on size and power in the national or figurative sense. Analogous to Trump, this type often takes the attitude of 'Germany first', an atavistic longing for assertiveness, determination or authoritarian rulers. There is the belief that certain powers rule the world, at a minimum.

> *'Man is just reckless. He knows no bounds.'*
> (f, 34, saleswoman)

Globalization and multilateralism as a weakening of the nation

This type is primarily concerned in connection with their own nation, i.e., with the balance of power between Germany and other powerful states. Their own nation is perceived as not being decisive and authoritarian enough, one often feels like the 'social welfare office of the world' with a concomitant tendency to be exploited by other world powers. One feels, so to speak, as a citizen of an exploited economic power, but at the same time one is guilty because of arms exports or the like. Many of them show a kind of power ambivalence that is fascinating on the one hand, but frightening on the other—unconsciously, not least of all because of German history. Overall, however, whether fascinated or frightened, there is a distinct 'power magnetism' in this type that attracts all attention.

> *'Germany's laws are too lax; the U.S. doesn't mess around. Trump is building a wall. That's a real social responsibility, to me.'* (m, 44, undertaker)

> *'Germany is partially to blame for arms exports.'*
> (m, 43, manager on parental leave)

While a rather indifferent or slightly negative attitude towards globalization could be identified in type 1, the largest proportion of determined opponents of globalization among respondents was found in the type 2 sample. This resistance was ultimately stimulated by the fact that a global world is experienced as a weakening of one's own nation. In this respect, the reasons for rejection are also different from those in the (smaller) proportion of globalization opponents under type 1, who argued that their rejection was primarily based on the loss of security and national identity.

The political interests of the second type can be classified as moderate overall. The party preferences of respondents of this type ranged from CDU/CSU, FDP and AfD, less frequently from SPD, Greens and Left Party. This type also includes those citizens who secretly dream of a strong Germany. For them, '*Germany first*' is above all about '*Making Germany great again*'.

ASSERTIVE NATIONALISTS

ASSERTIVE NATIONALISTS

Confrontational world with populist or secret powers: Between fascination with power and threat

In the interviews, the Assertive Nationalists often proved themselves to be confrontational, they like to describe themselves as lateral thinkers who are polarised and provocative, not afraid of making waves. They like to see themselves as the average person down the pub. In extreme cases, this type has a tendency to show arrogance going as far as superiority, they can become radical to misanthropic.

> *'Well, there are too many Chinese anyway. And they are not at all interested in the planet. It's okay, they can die off. A virus like that is like the Earth's immune system, it offers something useful.'* (f, 52, foreign language correspondent)

Psychologically, this means that this type either feels they are strong and superior (superhuman God complex) or at least would like to be that way (inferiority complex). Basically, however, they always sympathize with the strongest, who strengthens your own position. Metaphorically speaking, Type 1 would feel more at home in the regional league, whereas Type 2 would sympathize with the eternal winners of FC Bayern and adorn themselves in their laurels. In this way, this type sees the laurel wreath of the UN emblem as a symbol of victory, whereas type 4 ('Global Cosmopolitans') sees it more as a symbol of peace. Basically, this type focuses its attention on political power games and international sabre-rattling, for example, between Trump and North Korea. In keeping with the characteristics of the type, their world view is also shaped by power issues, especially at the level of international politics, which is experienced as confrontational to warlike. The issue of power can be strongly polarizing, since this type of power is associated with fascination on the one hand, and also with fears of being threatened and feelings of powerlessness on the other.

Power as a question of faith between official and unofficial powers

Overall, this type shows a singular belief in the powers or different forms of power that rule the world, which can be either wishful or nightmarish. The 'belief in power' ranges from publicly ranting populists, those in power who push themselves prominently to the fore, to 'invisible powers' such as purveyors of 'fake news' or 'the economy', which secretly pull the strings. Among this type there are some who describe themselves as suspicious, especially of 'secret powers'. Basically, what is meant here is who or what one believes—e.g., the media are degraded by this type as 'fake news' or even as used as tools by the government. In this way, a tendency towards conspiracy theories is also evident, one which basically expresses the belief in the statements of lateral thinkers (who are psychologically different from the 'mass media' and are superior due to their 'secret knowledge', because knowledge is power) or the effectiveness of (secret) powers.

> *'I don't trust the mainstream media at all anymore. It's all lies.'*
> (f, 34, saleswoman)

From a psychological perspective, some of the very irrational theses and worlds of thought of this sub-type of conspiracy theorists are expressions of the general 'belief in power' of Type 2. In extreme cases, representatives of this subtype were driven by a certain paranoia, which was also expressed in statements referring to

the 'surveillance state'. Accordingly, these interviewees repeatedly raised sceptical questions as to why they would be included and which puppetmasters were secretly behind the study.

The belief or disbelief in power of the 'Assertive Nationalists' is also reflected in their perception of the UN, which is either experienced as a super-power or lobbyist for powers such as the economy, the military or 'super-states' such as the USA, or is not taken seriously as a powerless organization (paper tiger).

On the one hand, they wanted the UN to be endowed with more power, since this is the central criterion for this type of organization's ability to act. On the other hand, there was concern that the UN might become too powerful an organization, which became problematic because the UN was operating in 'secrecy' and was experienced by many representatives of this type as a kind of secret society.

> *'The United Nations Security Council chamber reminds me of the film 'Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom'. With throne and sacrificial bench in front—everybody strives to get on the golden throne and is ready for human sacrifices.'*
> (m, 43, manager on parental leave)

CASE STUDY 3 – **'Assertive Nationalists'**

Gender	Age	Marital status	Type of household	Profession	Attitude Globalization	Party Preference
m	20	Single	Six-person household (with parents)	Student	Proponents	Non-voter (previously SPD)

Projective time travel: *'If I had a time machine, I would travel 200 years into the future to see if the world had been wiped out by wars.'*

At the beginning of the interview, the interviewee brings up a crucial experience that transformed him from a shy person to a self-confident one. The likeable young man is homosexual, he hid this during puberty out of fear, then he came out. Today, this A-levels student leads a gay youth group, which had already been founded in the GDR and is now one of the 'largest queer clubs in Germany'. Here, a hidden pride in the size of the club is evident.

Power is the central theme of the interview and runs through all facets of the survey. This is repeatedly placed in the context of the USA as a singular world power.

The topic of multilateralism and global organizations is still very present in the school curriculum of this current non-voter, who voted for the SPD in his first election, and is quickly made an issue. For him, the UN is a strongly American-influenced international organization based in Brussels. The central mission was *'peacekeeping and mutual assistance in wartime.'* In his opinion, member states are '*countries that have a great influence on the world.*' Founded by the Allies after World War II, '*with the goal of world power.*' In the two-hour interview, the A-Levels graduate paints a split picture of the UN, '*the most powerful alliance in the world'*: On the one hand, '*the member states dance to the tune of the Americans'*, who are particularly powerful here. They participate in wars started by the USA (especially after 9/11): '*Other countries must follow suit because the Americans are so hot-blooded'* and because '*a war should provide access to resources.*' Sanctions are used to put pressure on other countries—through which the UN itself would also violate human rights. Weak countries should be '*kept small and dependent'* in order to remain controllable. On the positive side, the UN wants to '*enforce human rights for the well-being of all people.*' Germany is happy to act as mediator and broker in conflicts, while Germany is being '*pushed in the direction they want. That is power.*'

In the Fridays For Future generation of students, little attention is currently paid to the UN topics of war and human rights. Environmental pollution and climate change are among the biggest global problems for him and many of his classmates. He has to vehemently defend his attitude towards this (which is in line with Fridays For Future (FFF), a kind of 'Greta obedience' is evident) again and again at home, especially to his parents, because they don't think much of FFF in general or plastic bans in particular: It is kind of a question of might makes right. The young man is a pronounced advocate of clear rules, prohibitions and consistent sanctions, he favours, so to speak, a tough crackdown on climate issues. He expresses a particularly pronounced disappointment in this context with the UN with regard to its climate goals, which were set but which have become obsolete due to the withdrawal of the Americans from this agreement: The UN has lost the power game, so to speak. In this point in particular, he considers UN policy to be '*dishonest'*. The young man seems less outraged than resigned and powerless. Whether it is the EU or the refugee and climate crisis, feelings of disappointment and powerlessness are expressed over and over: '*I have no confidence in EU policies'*—and the work of the UN seems to him to be even more '*opaque'* and '*sluggish"* in comparison to the EU.

Another fear that moves the young citizen is the growing strength of right-wing positions, which would be favoured by a '*half-heartedly churned-out politics'*, always only relying on economic growth: half-hearted politics (weakness) collide here with hard-hearted right-wing ideas.

Despite the rather ambivalent attitude towards the UN, the young citizen concludes after two hours of questioning that the UN is an indispensable organization—without being able to justify his ideas more precisely: '*The world needs the UN.*'

CASE STUDY 4 – **'Assertive Nationalists'**

Gender	Age	Marital status	Type of household	Profession	Attitude Globalization	Party Preference
f	30	Cohabitation	Three-person household (with child)	Geriatric nurse	Refuser	Non-voter

The woman appears for an interview with her five-year-old daughter, who is currently denied access to kindergarten because her parents, who are anti-vaccination, have refused to take the measles vaccine.

With the topic vaccination she follows quite clearly the view of other self-declared opponents of vaccination (obedience). The interviewee grew up in Saxony-Anhalt, born at the time of reunification, but apparently not without consequences of the GDR past, which is reflected in her by a persistent fear of (state) control and surveillance: '*Everywhere there are more and more cameras, nothing is private anymore, there is so much data circulating, you are no longer free in your decisions.*' On WhatsApp, for example, she refuses to comment on her anti-vaxxer stance. In the experience of this citizen, (invisible) powers are at work everywhere, they are secretly steering the world—around the interests of the citizens. In her eyes, social developments would be actively and covertly steered, or 'remote controlled', in the interest of perpetual *economic growth*. Even '*refugees who came overnight*' were only part of a larger plan, '*so that resentment would arise*' and '*because the Germans should mix.*' Wars would be provoked in order to profit from it. This shows that the interviewees has a completely displaced awareness of the problem, which takes the needs of migrants and crisis areas out of context, as they appear to be non-existent due to the perceived instrumentalisation based on a secret master plan. The woman, who is open to conspiracy theories, projects a very unstable impression overall. Her views sometimes take on very obscure forms in the course of the conversation. Because everything is remote controlled, it doesn't make sense for her to vote: '*I feel like my vote doesn't count anymore.*'

This citizen is of the opinion that the UN as representatives of the world powers Russia, Germany, USA, China and Austria was founded after the fall of the wall in order to close a power vacuum or to control the expanded united Germany: '*Above German politics there must be something higher. The UN monitors the entire world.*' In this context, Germany's role is that of '*paymaster*', '*Germany is always too good and too kind, we take in all refugees.*' Even if control and surveillance remind the woman of the Stasi and she rejects it massively on the whole, on the other hand she definitely wishes for more control and surveillance with regard to the fight against potential terrorist attacks—and in limiting refugees. So, after the knee-jerk rejection that runs through the conversation for a long time—she draws a positive conclusion about the UN at the end of the interview: '*I think we do need them.*'

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INTERNATIONAL EQUALITY WATCHDOGS

4.1.3 Equality-related attitude Type 3: 'International Equality Watchdogs'

Equal rights for all

The third type identified in the study is characterised by a strong sense of justice. This type has—similar to the 'Assertive Nationalists'—power relations on an international level in mind. The central differentiating characteristic to Type 2 is that the 'might makes right' attitude does not apply to the international equality watchdog, but one of equality and equal rights: Instead of 'Me-First' (Type 1) or 'Germany First' (Type 2), this type sees the world according to the motto *…and justice for all*[5]. This type has, so to speak, committed itself to Article 3 of the German Constitution. It also represents a further stage in the development of culture, which has moved out of self-referential ego motivations (Type 1) or social Darwinian attitudes (Type 2). Accordingly, the central desire of the International Equality Watchdog is the desire to balance out social injustices, especially with regard to global and national grievances, which are especially tied to the imbalance of an international and national two-tiered society. They often see themselves as critical observers and neutral authorities or, more rarely, as being disadvantaged themselves. They often emphasize that they like to point out grievances publicly. For many citizens of this type, civil courage represents not only a highly idealistic value, but a social obligation. According to statements by representatives of this type, their sense of justice was often shaped by their own parental home, or by the experience of injustices they had experienced in the past in their (own) everyday life or in systems like the GDR.

*'My mother always said: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."
When two people fight in front of the disco, I can't just look away and get on my train.'* (f, 21, waitress)

'I often write to TV shows when I find that things have been inaccurately portrayed or are too one-sided. I usually don't hear back from them, but it's good for me to open my mouth.' (f, 64, former accountant)

'I call myself a civil rights activist. If I wasn't somebody who is thinking outside the box, I would have got along in the GDR.' (m, 26, salesman)

It is therefore not surprising that among the citizens of this type interviewed there was also a social worker and a lawyer who made their life's motto into their profession.

Global two-tier society and delegation of guilt to exploitative capitalism

This type experiences the divisions and the power gap on a global level as particularly threatening—especially when it comes to the relationship between rich and poor or between the Global North and Global South. Capitalist principles are often identified as the central cause of global problems. Therefore, poverty, exploitation, hunger, despotism and wars are also experienced as causes of migration: Migration is not the problem according to this type, but the underlying connections.

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5   From the Pledge of Allegiance of the United States: *'I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.'*

Representatives of this type would therefore prefer a kind of 'social capitalism' or they sympathize symbolically with figures like Robin Hood, who takes from the rich and gives to the poor. For this type, this represents a kind of win-win situation from which not only the disadvantaged but the whole world, including Germany, benefits. This type doesn't just think in terms of social injustice globally, because injustices are also located within Europe and in their own country.

'It's just like the 14th century: Every country in the world still only pursues its own interests.' (m, 33, cook)

'Big business runs the market, blackmails politicians, plunders the world.'
(m, 36, primary school afternoon supervisor)

'Well, I'm already politically involved, interested I should say. Too interested, I must say. All this stuff, all the injustices, have a hold on me. What's happening to the refugees is terrible.'
(f, 64, former accountant)

The balance sought by this type is fascinatingly reflected in the party preferences of many of these citizens, who often sympathize with up to three parties, in the sense of a coalition, an idea designed to balance the balance of power between the parties. For some, party preferences are moving towards splinter parties or 'minority parties' such as Die Partei as Freie Wähler, in an effort to strengthen them as opposition to the 'established big ones.'

Multilateralism as a neutral principle of justice and advocate of the Global South

In this context, global organizations such as the UN are ultimately linked with the hope that multilateral cooperation can jointly balance out the social injustices experienced. They are often experienced as a counter-regulation to the capitalist aspirations of states or large, powerful corporations. This is symbolized by instances such as the International Court of Justice (which is partly linked to the EU, not the UN).

'No single country has the power to solve global problems on its own. All countries must act in concert.' (f, 21, service technician)

'What I generally miss is a sense of we, a community principle, a world of people who help each other. I could imagine a one-world government, then help would no longer be just for the third world, but for everyone.'
(m, 26, salesman)

'A world without international organizations would be less fair. Things would be a whole lot worse for many people. The law of the strongest would apply and people would know even less. There'd be less nature, less sustainability, like after a storm surge.' (f, 23, medical student)

'The UN does a lot of good. It is like a moral authority. It would be appropriate to make these ideals enforceable.'
(m, 62, retired, former mechanical engineer)

INTERNATIONAL EQUALITY WATCHDOGS

'In UNHCR camps, those who were forced to flee are given shelter. All people are equal. The UN provides for their basic rights, eating, drinking, breathing. These show the countries that there are no differences. We are all one, living on the same Earth. [...] Without an institution like the UN, the nations would know little or nothing about each other. Every country would be fixated on its own good. There would be many differences of opinion and we would be at war with each other. There would be even more demonstrations of power. Therefore, the UN cannot be ignored.'
(m, 34, insurance broker)

International organizations as two-tier societies

On the other hand, this type also frequently deplores the imbalances, injustices and even abuse of power within international organizations. This type particularly reveals fears of too much power of the UN in general, and individual member states in particular. The five permanent members of the Security Council in particular are experienced in this respect as economic powers and the actual decision-makers.

'They should change their headquarters, get out of NYC, so as not to seem dominated by the US any longer [...] With five permanent members on the Security Council, the UN is not exactly suited to maintaining peace in the world [...] Peacekeepers drive luxury cars, watch more than they do and exercise their power. [...] Only the UN can do something about mountains of plastic, then a veto comes from the USA and that's it, it's like the electronic waste in Ghana [...] The UN should be more agile, and it shouldn't be blocked by the US, Russia, China, France or the UK. It needs new scope for action. [...] We have a planetary state of emergency, and the UN is helpless. It should create the standards for the world.' (m, 49, dispatcher)

Two-class society versus 'top-class' societies

Organizations from the UN system such as UNICEF, UNESCO and WHO are often better known or seen as more sympathetic to the citizens belonging to this sample type than the UN in general. One of the reasons given for this was that they would tend to pursue preventive measures, whereas the UN in general is more likely to be experienced in connection with missions associated with 'aftercare'.

'They always repair things after a war instead of preventing it. When there's a real fire, they're not there. They're the world's fire brigade, but Brazil continues to burn. The UN should depose Bolsonaro.' (m, 49, dispatcher)

4 PSYCHOLOGICAL ATTITUDES BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE GOOD

CASE STUDY 5 – **'International Equality Watchdogs'**

Gender	Age	Marital status	Type of household	Profession	Attitude Globalization	Party Preference
m	36	Single	Single person household	Group leader Primary school afternoon supervisor	Refuser	Freie Wähler

The athletic-looking man is very serious in the interview, he never laughs or smiles. The issues he raises directly are serious, as well: Rents are too high, gentrification, social inequality, (global) injustice, minimum wages, poor pay and lack of esteem at work, environmental destruction, and refugee policy (he himself was a volunteer here) also become a topic. Originally, the man worked in the catering trade, but through a retraining programme he got the job as a group leader for afternoon care in a primary school, which he carried out with great commitment: '*I am responsible for 32 souls.*' So, the issue of big and small or strong and weak runs all the way back to his work environment with small children: He sees himself as the guardian of these defenceless little souls. The interviewee appears eloquent, politically very interested, but overall, very disenchanted with politics and politicians. He discusses the winners and losers of globalization, which in his view is based on perpetual economic growth. Rich and powerful states benefit from free trade and make global decisions in their national interest. So whatever national egoism advocates, he uniformly rejects. The same is true of the issue of power, because he sees it not as the solution but as the cause of all global problems. Large corporations '*determine the market and make politics susceptible to blackmail.*' Politicians let themselves be bought by big business and decide on its behalf. For him, the losers of such a policy are not only the poorer states, but all the people who are socially disadvantaged. '*Big corporations are plundering the world*' and are the central cause of climate change. Compared to other types, the respondent has been able to identify a culprit,

namely, the corporations. This also makes the whole issue more treatable than if the causes of global problems are experienced as being too diffuse.

He experiences not only the world, but politics and its institutions as 'torn apart', not transparent, and more and more, political symbolism is being pursued instead of really tackling problems. As a citizen, he feels very powerless in this respect, he can only, for example, '*plant a meadow with flowers for the bees*', while large corporations are allowed to continue to spread their plastic waste. '*It's all about money, but we as people don't count.*'

The European Parliament is for him a '*huge bloated apparatus*', powerless to administer anything but politics that turns a blind eye to the needs of the people. And there are no consequences for individual countries if they did not adhere to signed agreements. He would like to see more transparency, especially accountability and 'monitoring' of political decisions ('accountability reports'). In this logic, the image of the UN is simply an extension of the political structures described above in an even larger, and thus even less comprehensible, framework. The UN has lost sight of its mission as a peace-keeping organization and has degenerated into an undemocratic 'parliament of hot air'. Here, it is still about the relationships between '*those up there and us down here*', about power and powerlessness, the diversity of a democracy versus 'one world government', about regional manageability and the fragmentation of a globalized world.

CASE STUDY 6 – **'International Equality Watchdogs'**

Gender	Age	Marital status	Type of household	Profession	Attitude Globalization	Party Preference
f	21	Single	Single person household	Server, Hospitality Industry	Proponents	SPD, CDU

The interviewee is a likeable, open-minded and life-affirming young woman. During the whole conversation she seems very curious and interested. She has a clearly defined attitude towards certain topics, but no deeper knowledge. It is often based more on subjective opinion than objective arguments.

In the face of global challenges, her focus is on social injustice: Poorer countries would be exploited, small businesses would be eaten up by the big ones. Profits would be distributed unjustly and people would be treated unfairly. She wants more equality and justice, with equal rights and rules. In her descriptions, she is often wrapped up in her own everyday life, reports about the conditions in Tunisia (her parents have been living there for several years) and about various personal experiences on other journeys she has taken. Humanitarian aid is a priority for her, and she makes a monthly donation to a children's charity and the SOS Children's Village. Addressing help directly is not easy, but it is an obligation of an affluent society. From the powerlessness of the individual, the interviewee concludes that alliances are necessary to make something greater possible. International organizations—NATO, UNICEF and UNESCO are mentioned without prompting—are partially known to this citizen, but *what they do* is not really exactly clear to her. For example, she often confuses NASA with NATO. She is slowly approaching the subject of international organizations through the EU, which is more comprehensible for her because it is more straightforward: There, the heads of government sit together and look for common solutions. Through the EU, she then concludes that there may be people involved in international organizations who are engaged in voluntary work, e.g., fighting poverty. Although the citizen has heard of the United Nations by name, she has no idea what kind of organization it is. After she is shown pictures from the UN world, she develops an increasingly positive image and as a citizen she gets the feeling that the UN is very important for our society. She sees the focus on '*protecting the whole world*'; a world organization dedicated to global issues. These peacemakers have tried to connect everything and everyone, were responsible for culture, education, poverty and had a great responsibility. Since the citizen had hardly had any contact with the UN before the interview, she is interested in who the people and faces behind this organization might be. She would like to know if and how one could get in touch and get involved as a citizen—also on a volunteer basis. '*They need to report more, become more visible. People who do this kind of work are great heroes. Our generation must be shown that there is such a thing as the UN.*'

4.1.4 Community-oriented attitude Type 4: 'Global Cosmopolitans'

**GLOBAL
COSMOPOLITANS**

Unity in diversity: Multi(cultural)lateralism

'Global Cosmopolitans' is the fourth type of respondent identified in the study, those who show the highest degree of openness to multilateral principles over-all. This type is basically a personification of the multilateral. In contrast to the International Equality Watchdogs, who lament 'multilateral' social differences, this type focuses on cultural diversity as enrichment. Multiculturalism and multilateralism are advocated in principle as a single inseparable entity. Not only is there a longing for global unity in terms of fundamental rights, but a cultural identity for all world citizens is also always advocated. 'Global Cosmopolitans' succeed in uniting the paradox between unity and diversity. When this type speaks of need for harmony and integration, it is basically about balancing and mediating these two poles. Therefore, a too one-sided focus on identity at the national level and a 'uniformity' at the global level are rather a horror show for this type. In this context, nationalism is experienced as national interests in the extreme, and uniformity as a tendency to dissolve globalization or organizations such as the EU. As a result, the relationship with the EU is rather ambivalent: The European idea is supported, but not the unilateral unification associated with it. The downsides of globalization are often associated with global corporations and standardized retail chains in the fashion and food industries. From the perspective of this type, multinational corporations are displacing cultural identities and habits by apparently dominating cityscapes, fashion and eating habits: Instead of 'United Colours of Benetton', uniform looks from H&M & Co. are increasingly dominating global fashion consciousness. While Type 1 sees its own cultural identity threatened by foreigners, Type 4 is primarily based on principles of unification, which are predominantly attached to international corporations, but also to multilateral political groupings such as the EU. The Global Cosmopolitan sees themself, so to speak, as a citizen of the world with its own national identity—or, to put it differently: One lives 'psychologically bi-lingually'. In terms of cultural psychology, this type is correspondingly more differentiated than Type 3, since, in addition to equality principles, the added value of differences is always pointed out, in accordance with the motto: 'Unity in Diversity[6]'.

Concept of national identity different than Type 1: The foreign as alternating enrichment

At this point, it should be clearly emphasized that the 'Global Cosmopolitan' has certain parallels with Type 1 in terms of the appreciation of national identity, but in a completely different way: While Type 1 sees national identity and personal security threatened or lives in a world of local history museums, Type 4 experiences cultural diversity as enriching on a personal and global level. He lives, so to speak, in a world exhibition like the Expo, which is expressed, among other things, from his interest in exotic food, to his interest in travelling to foreign countries.

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6 'Unity in diversity' is intended to express the harmony and unity between unequal individuals or groups. It is a concept of 'unity without uniformity and diversity without fragmentation' which shifts the emphasis from unity based on mere tolerance of physical, cultural, linguistic, social, religious, political, ideological and/or psychological differences to a more complex unity based on the understanding that differences enrich human interactions. It is used in many areas, including ecology, cosmology, philosophy, religion and politics. The term is often used in connection with multi-cultural states such as the USA, South Africa, Indonesia or Malaysia.

**GLOBAL
COSMOPOLITANS**

As a cause of global problems, this type basically sees man with his egoisms or Global Companies with their greed. A more pronounced sense of guilt prevails with this type than with the other types. Blaming others would be too easy for the Global Cosmopolitan. Humanity as such is the threat; regardless of origin, skin colour or religion, he is afflicted with a kind of 'collective original sin'. The efforts to move forward in the development of culture and not to fall back into the structures of the original state are therefore most pronounced in this type.

'Above all, I see man as a global problem. He does not pay attention to his environment and puts himself above everything, just as it suits him. He's endangering the entire planet.' (f, 22, female student)

The concept of a colourful and vibrant world extends beyond humanism here. One is, so to speak, not only a philanthropist, but also an environmental and animal lover. Flora and fauna are a living expression of a vital, colourful world that they want to preserve, so that this type of person is also interested in topics such as environmental protection and animal welfare for different reasons than, for example, the 'Regional Isolationist'. Analogously, one could also say that vegetarians under Type 1 abstain from meat in order to protect their own health, whereas Type 4 would do so from an ethical point of view. While Type 1 wants to stop climate change in order to stem the wave of migration, Global Cosmopolitans are concerned with the conservation of nature's treasures on a global scale.

Biographically influenced openness to the world

Humanism, tolerance and 'need for harmony' (instead of, for example, need for security in Type 1) as core elements of the value system are often shaped by biographical circumstances such as personal trips abroad or business trips. The world is not separated and delimited in black and white, but is experienced as a colourful, lively and enriching world and is 'integrated' into one's own culture of life. Overall, this type shows an affinity for foreign languages, cultures and food—so the 'Global Cosmopolitan' is also a 'volunteer ethnographer', so to speak. For example, one interviewee studied English to become a teacher in a German school and German to be able to work as a volunteer teacher in a language school for immigrants (see case study 8). The 'bilingual' or proverbial 'thinking outside the box' is also the strongest differentiating characteristic, especially from Type 1.

Particularly through personal travel experiences and intercultural exchange, the world view of these citizens is also characterized by a distinct realism that not only idealizes and romanticizes, but also considers the actual circumstances under which many people live and subjects them to a tough reality check. While Type 1 in his aversion to contact does not even come into contact with strangers, the 'Global Cosmopolitan' regularly conducts 'field research' with detours into the other, the unknown. In some cases, this can also lead to disillusionment and resignation among those who, for example, had personal contact with countries in the Global South. This is where idealism and reality can sometimes collide painfully.

Holistic understanding of the world

In comparison to other types such as the International Equality Watchdogs, whose world view is characterized by dualistic principles, a holistic world view can be postulated in this type: They think in holistic contexts, trying to convey thesis and antithesis—so to speak, roughly according to the Daoist Yin and Yang[7] principle. The fourth type in particular makes it clear that in a networked, globalized world, you also need to have a certain amount of 'networked thinking' in order to be able to understand complexity. The following quotation from a citizen on the subject of corona shows that here, partly complex causal chains have been evinced, which remind us of the so-called butterfly[8] effect.

> *'If people in China get sick of Corona, then that has an impact on the German economy. When people travel less or the Chinese buy less, for example. And then people lose their jobs here. And when they can afford less, then other industries are hit and people are put back on the street. And these effects spread to other countries and then more people suffer with them. And then there are more refugees again, and then we have more people with a right-wing attitude again. I can understand people who are afraid of strangers. But I can also understand the refugees, who simply come to a completely different culture because they can't do anything else. It's obvious they can't get everything right from the start.'* (f, 22, female student)

However, thinking in complex, holistic contexts and 'causal chains' is also a burden for this type, as it is difficult to take a stand and form their 'own' opinion. One always understands both sides and often ends up undecided. In comparison to the Types 1–3, who find it easier to take 'sides', this type finds it much more difficult.

Urban, young at heart cosmopolitans

Global Cosmopolitanism is not a socio-demographic characteristic, but the study does provide indications that this type lives according to modern urban rather than traditional rural lifestyles or has emancipated itself from traditional patterns—this type is therefore also more 'open' in this respect. Multilateralism and international organizations fit very well into the world view of this type. The UN tends to be welcomed as a binding, stabilizing security body.

> *'International organizations are unifying, stabilizing and stand for a common set of values.'* [m, 56, product manager]

> *'The UN flag shows that the UN holds the world together.'* (m, 63, engineer)

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7   Yin and Yang stand for polar opposite and yet related dual forces or principles that do not fight each other but complement each other.

8   Phenomenon of non-linear dynamics: Occurs in non-linear dynamic, deterministic systems and is expressed by the impossibility to predict how arbitrary small changes in the initial conditions of the system will affect the long-term development of the system. The term comes from a lecture by meteorologist Edward N. Lorenz entitled *'Predictability: Does the Flap of a Butterfly's Wings in Brazil set off a Tornado in Texas?'*

GLOBAL COSMOPOLITANS

International organizations as overly complex and indecisive entities

Particularly because of the complexity of the UN's meta-unit, representatives of this type often find it difficult to clearly categorize the UN as being positive or negative. Especially with this type, a rather ambivalent relationship to the UN status quo can be observed. In experiencing this type, ideal and reality often collide in the context of international organizations such as the UN. Value systems, *Sustainable Development Goals* and mandates of the UN, for example, are welcomed as positive, but many people in this type experience the UN as a 'loser to national egoisms', since it has been manipulated or instrumentalized by the interests of a few states. Above all, they show a strong dependent relationship on a few leading economic powers—as a union of national egoisms, so to speak.

'There are many wars, but nothing is done there. There are many topics, much to say. It is a very complex process to deal with UN problems. I don't know much about that.' (f, 21, student)

'When it come to the UN , I think of submissiveness, of a submissive attitude. No ruler is clearly criticized. China, Erdogan, they knuckle under. Erdogan threatens, he lets the refugees out, and the money starts flowing again.' (f, 49, assistant manager)

'Globalization has meant that countries in the UN can no longer be independent. China produces in Africa and has made the continent dependent on them; how can they still decide independently? Everyone depends on everyone else; this divides the world, we need a one-world government.' (m, 63, engineer)

'There are too many different interests. Everyone pursues only his own interests. There are those who are for Israel, and the others are against it. Erdogan is pursuing his interests. There is no common goal and in the process, you always merely settle on the lowest common denominator. There need to be new voting rights.' (f, 49, management assistant)

'More than anything, the veto power limits the UN's ability to act. If one member is opposed to something, the whole thing fails. It doesn't have real power. It's just an aid agency that can't shape policy.' (m, 56, product manager)

In this context, this type expresses much more sympathy towards UNESCO and UNICEF, as economic interests are clearly in the background and ideal and reality are more likely to coincide. Everyone takes part in one and the same cause—devoid of self-interest.

CASE STUDY 7 – **'Global Cosmopolitans'**

Gender	Age	Marital status	Type of household	Profession	Attitude Globalization	Party Preference
m	56	Empty-Nester	Two-person household	Product Manager Telecommunications	Proponent	SPD, Left

The humorous, relaxed man comes motivated into the interview, as he finds it '*absolutely exciting*' to have been invited to speak about this topic. His involvement in the topic is immediate, he is curious, talks less about himself than was often the case with the other types. In comparison to the majority of the respondents, he has very sound knowledge, a clear attitude about the issues and constructive ideas for various approaches to solutions. The interview is clearly more structured and less erratic and just less self-referential in contrast to many other interviews. The interviewee differentiates between global problems '*on the doorstep, in Europe and in the world*'. His (world) view is comprehensive and rich in detail. He makes it very clear how important personal attitude and cooperation are for him. Respectful treatment and mindfulness are a responsibility as well as an important contribution from every citizen. In doing this, he experiences the personal influence of citizens as very low, the parties are '*exchangeable products lacking in vision*'. One of the greatest challenges is the '*restructuring of ecology*'; he pleads for '*alternative solutions instead of bans*'.

He has a constructive but critical attitude towards the EU. International cohesion is very important, but national diversity should not be ignored. The EU is perceived to be '*uniformly poured over everything*' like a '*bland porridge*', leading to a loss of diversity and heavy regulation.

He defines a total of five global challenges, which he describes as an inverted funnel: Starting at the top with his hometown and Germany as his home, and the 'issues on his doorstep'. Then Europe follows, with central themes of human rights, freedom of the press and media diversity. As soon as the German borders are left behind, it is always a question of diversity, freedom, cultural identity and, from a global perspective, topics such as fair trade and environmental protection are added. In doing so, he thinks in a visionary way, which is what he calls for in order to overcome these problems: '*Solve the problem instead of saying you can't.*' The interviewee knows and names many international organizations with their specific areas of responsibility, which he appreciates very much overall. The IOs are connecting and stabilizing, they stand for a '*shared set of values.*' As a German, he feels a feeling of belonging and a certain pride in the importance and role of Germany: It would have been possible to establish a good position within the international organizations through economic power, so that responsible political tasks would be entrusted to the Germans. This applies to international organizations in general and the UN in particular. He criticized that many tasks would be delegated to Germany, which would be unfair. He said that the UN, in particular, has a very high standing on the global political stage, and that humanitarian aid in particular is an indispensable undertaking. According to his range of knowledge about the UN, this man—one of the few among the interviewees—can name a relatively large number of examples in which the UN has '*achieved immense things*'. The interviewee mentions as success parameters '*reduction of fighting activities, reduction of the mortality rate and improvement of living conditions*'. One recognizable grievance within the UN was above all the conflict between Israel and Palestine. The current right of veto massively limits the UN's ability to act.

The two-hour interview made the already well-informed citizen even more aware of the importance of international organizations such as the UN, so that he would like to see even greater effectiveness, which should be promoted by the nations: '*The UN should be worth more money to the (member) states.*'

CASE STUDY 8 – **'Global Cosmopolitans'**

Gender	Age	Marital status	Type of household	Profession	Attitude Globalization	Party Preference
f	21	Single	Three-person household (Flat share)	Student teacher	Proponent	SPD

Projective time travel: *'If I had a time machine, I'd like to look 150 years into the future and see how things are going internationally. How will the countries develop? Will they remain separate or will something else develop? Will people ask about nationality and the respective cultural background, or is it just a question of where you've lived? How will the languages of this world develop?'*

This somewhat reserved and insecure young citizen classifies herself as politically interested but not committed, as she neither belongs to a party nor takes part in demonstrations. This is almost alluded to with a bad conscience. In fact, however, the student would like to become a teacher, which is shown, among other things, by the fact that she is studying German as a second language to train immigrants. The fact that teaching English has been chosen as her first teaching subject also implies a desire to teach children how to communicate internationally.

When it comes to global challenges, the young woman gets upset because she thinks of many things that are not going so well. These mainly concern wars, nationalism and racism. She dreams of a colourful world of equal rights, where tolerance and cultural diversity hold sway. She emphasizes that it is mostly about diversity, the standardization and dissolution of cultural differences is rejected (according to the motto: 'Unity in Diversity').

In spite of her attitude, advocating international understanding, she can only name a few international organizations (UNICEF, UNESCO, UN, WHO) without prompting, and she is not able to describe them more precisely or differentiate between them. From a psychological point of view, everything here blurs into a single diffuse unity. On the whole, however, this citizen has the impression that with regard to international organizations *'there is much discussion and nothing happens'*. The diffusion of the topic is also evident at the UN, among others. In the supported part of the survey, UN Peacekeepers and refugee camps are used to make it clear that a lot is happening and that here is movement. *'I am won over by its (the UN's) goals and what it does. I had no idea what its aims were or what it does.'"* She would like to see the UN's achievements publicized more, focused more on core objectives to be more effective. The 17 *Sustainable Development Goals* as well as the numerous sub-organizations seem to her to have too many goals (in the direction of 'actionism, see below) she wants the UN as specialists, not generalists. At the end of the discussion, the question remains open as to what criteria the UN uses to intervene in wars, for example, and how one can actively participate as a citizen: *'There are many wars, but nothing is done there. There are many topics, much to say. All in all, dealing with UN problems is a very complex process. I don't know much about that.'*

4.2 Exacerbation of posturing due to the corona crisis after March 2020

Paradigm shift through Covid-19 and the lockdown in Germany?

During the survey period[9], the Corona crisis was not yet perceptible to the citizens in Germany and was mostly trivialized as a 'Chinese problem' or pushed into 'grey territory' by them. Supported by the present and continuing studies that the rheingold Institute has conducted since the lockdown in Germany and conducts to this day, four hypotheses can be derived with regard to the types identified, which, on the whole, indicate an intensification of attitudes rather than a change in mentality towards problem awareness of the need for international cooperation. People are currently shutting down rather than opening up.

Initial considerations on the four hypotheses: Covid-19 as a movement of progress and regression

Basically, the four types as identified are to be understood as stages of cultural development. It can be stated that for some citizens Covid-19 is associated with hope, since the pause imposed by the lockdown can also be understood as a possible evolutionary push for the development of culture. Although the virus brings the flip side of globalization to centre stage—especially the rapid spread of the virus via freedom of travel and life in urban areas—a pandemic as a 'mass epidemic' also creates a collective consciousness. Individual fears consolidate into a global problem that affects all people and does not even stop at the elite—the virus does not make any distinction between nationalities (although it does make a distinction between social status, as is evident in the USA, among others). Many citizens experience the state of social isolation, which is psychologically understood as prescribed early retirement en masse, paradoxically as an almost idyllic state in the sense of a deceleration, a phase of pausing and reflecting. Social distance revives a new longing for closeness, traditional values and bonds are reactivated and intensified through increased (digital/telephone) contact with family and friends.

Covid-19 is not only experienced as a resting phase in the sense of 'splendid isolation' (see above), but also as an evolutionary accelerator. This especially applies to the clearly perceptible surge in digitalization which has finally reached many citizens' working households while they are working from home. The warm nest within your own four walls is coupled with virtual worlds that keep analogue life at a distance: Video communication and streaming services, e-commerce and cashless payment transactions are booming. There is also hope for medical progress, especially in the form of generally available vaccines, but also more and better paid medical staff. In addition, the mortality rate in Germany, compared with many other countries, shows that overall, the health care system performs well in comparison with other countries.

On the other hand, rheingold psychologists are also observing a kind of regression into self-reference and small-state mentality in current corona studies. This is because the crisis is experienced as a global problem without a uniform strategy at the international level (e.g., France compared to Germany) and at the federal level

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9   A rheingoldGroup® on 11.02.2020 and 40 rheingoldInterviews® between 17.02.2020 and 11.03.2020

(e.g., North Rhine-Westphalia versus Bavaria) down to the sister-party political landscape (e.g., Laschet (Christian Democratic Union) versus Söder (CSU, Christian Social Union in Bavaria)). In addition, resentment is spreading among those who suffer not only existentially (self-employed persons, restaurateurs, etc.) but also psychologically and who, for personal reasons and because of the 'prevention paradox[10]', want to see the contact restrictions ended as soon as possible. Institutions such as Code Enforcement (Warden's) offices and the police, who advocate a conservative-virological strategy and the pharmaceutical industry developing vaccines are increasingly being characterised as enemies, or their competence is being questioned by conspiracy theorists.

Dealing with Corona oscillates between the common good and self-interest, analogously to multilateral organizations

In analogy to the central topic of the study and the types identified here, the experience of or dealing with corona also oscillates between self-referentiality and cohesion, whereby the collective solidarity of the citizens is predominantly focused and reduced to their immediate living environment: Relatives, acquaintances, neighbours and, if necessary, colleagues. There is little evidence of 'international solidarity' in current studies ('Somewhere solidarity suddenly stops'). Immediately after the outbreak of the crisis in Germany, corona divided the citizens into two generalized group behaviours: a) shopping egoists, who equipped themselves with panic buying and sometimes behaved rather ruthlessly, and b) altruistic shopping heroes, who offered help, especially in the neighbourhood, or expressed their solidarity with medical professionals.

Four hypotheses on how the types deal with corona

Over the course of the crisis it can be assumed that the attitudes of the four types will become more pronounced overall:

1. **Hypothesis Type 1: 'Regional Isolationists' withdraw into their self-referentiality in search of protection**

This type is characterized by a basic need for security and protection, which one seeks in the comfort zone and in the security and opinion network of a familiar coterie. The foreign and invisible, on the other hand, seems threatening. Here, one has particularly strong fears of being touched, isolates oneself and is generally shy of contact. The corona virus is experienced as a materialization of the foreign (China), new (novel virus), invisible (virus) and unpredictable, and therefore is a massive threat to this type, so that their tendency to demarcate perimeters is confirmed (or even rewarded). Therefore, the virus is associated with adverse effects, so in principle one is rather pessimistic. Often xenophobic attitudes raise their ugly heads, as China has been found to be responsible for the personal misery and 'arguments' against globalization—especially with regard to the freedom of travel and the entry of foreigners—are used. This is how this type can withdraw even

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10 The prevention paradox was described in the early 1980s by the British epidemiologist Geoffrey Rose, using coronary heart disease as an example. It poses a fundamental dilemma for population-and risk group-related disease prevention models. His key message is: A preventive measure that is of great benefit to the population and communities often brings little to the individual—and vice versa. The term is used in connection with corona by the German virologist Christian Drosten: Since the measures have shown success, resistance to them grows, incongruously.

deeper into their own world of self-imposed boundaries and—similar to the post-war generation—prepare for the impending apocalypse by stockpiling supplies. The focus is also on 'local' corona news, which only concerns one's own everyday life and radius of action; international events or organizations are blocked out. Last but not least, one shuns and avoids contact with anything that might be suspicious, especially things associated with the foreign or the other. The mask serves as a psychological barrier. On the whole, it can be said that this type runs the risk of actively contributing to the division of society via its exclusionary attitude and corresponding expressions of opinion when it comes down to national identity, egoism and questions of guilt.

The image of corona in this type goes in the direction of 'foreign disease'. For them, the ideal post-corona world consists of closed borders, small states and more security.

2. Hypothesis Type 2: 'Assertive Nationalists' follow orders or conspiracy theories

'Assertive Nationalists' are likely to observe and criticize the indecisiveness and inconsistency of the federal states and the countries, and in this way they will long for a uniform 'decree' that offers concrete direction in its decisiveness. This craving for decisiveness also distinguishes him from Type 1, who longs for 'seclusion'. The handling of corona and obedience to state regulations will depend on who or what this type believes. Because both of them trust luminaries and scientific institutions and follow their recommendations as well as state regulations. In this way, representatives of this sub-type can actively contribute to 'public obedience' and, for example, put on '*Stay Home*' buttons as an imperative. However, the obedience of this type can also be expressed as a resentment towards those citizens who take a more relaxed approach to the issue of contact restrictions. In extreme cases, this can lead to public hostility or denunciation, e.g., at the Warden's office, and this ultimately also contributes to a social division in the sense of a culture of mutual understanding. If, on the other hand, one believes in the most divergent conspiracy theories ('info-pandemic'), opinion and behaviour are followed according to these 'theories' in practice (second sub-type). A wide variety of scenarios can develop, e.g., in the form of arbitrary or collective actionism, such as public disobedience, if one does not believe the seriousness of the situation and considers the corona restrictions inappropriate (e.g., at demonstrations in Stuttgart[11], where, among other things, Merkel's resignation was called for and an increasing number of self-proclaimed 'lateral thinkers' and anti-vaxxers as well as right-wing groups were present). Or, they are afraid of the emergence of a police state in which, via Corona, citizens' rights will be restricted in the long term or, for example, they will be branded as 'ill' and 'healthy' using a vaccination passport. Opponents of vaccination are becoming even more radicalized and they are afraid of compulsory vaccination, which is associated with purely economic interests and strong side effects. The possibilities here, like the list of conspiracy theories, are almost infinite.

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11 The fourth demonstration at the Cannstatter Wasen under the motto 'lateral thinking' took place on 02.05.2020. The event was registered by the entrepreneur Michael Ballweg, who feels in his constitutional rights are restricted by the corona regulations. Besides the organizer Michael Ballweg, Ralf Ludwig also appeared at the demonstration. Ludwig, who founded a party together with doctor and anti-vaxxer Bodo Schiffmann, called on the participants to resist vaccinations and called for resistance against the current government policy. https://www.swr.de/swraktuell/baden-wuerttemberg/stuttgart/demo-stuttgart-gegen-corona-einschraenkungen-100.html

All in all, it can be said that the subgroup of conspiracy believers may be a smaller, but it is at the same time an unpredictable and manipulative minority, since it is precisely this type that spreads their questionable messages in social networks.

For this type, the image of corona stands between 'deadly virus or harmless cough'. Wishful thinking about the post-corona world: Stricter laws and tougher enforcement (power evolution) or replacement of the current government (power revolution).

3. Hypothesis Type 3: 'International Equality Watchdogs' fear increasing division of society

This type mainly has corona winners and corona losers in mind. Large corporations such as online retailers, for example, are currently making massive profits, whereas brick-and-mortar business and medium-sized companies are facing bankruptcy. Independent citizens and restaurateurs are living in fear for their professional existence; older people and those with insufficient health care struggle for their lives. This is where differences and disadvantages between young and old, parents and childless people, private and statutory health insurance patients, etc., become increasingly clear. It's not just solidarity, social envy can also arise, especially if one feels disadvantaged and, for example, acquaintances are subsidised by the state or enjoy the leisure of part-time work, but some people like you are left empty-handed or have to work full-time.

The feeling of injustice will become particularly acute among those citizens who live on national borders (or who work, buy food or have relatives on the other side of the German border) and who daily experience just how different the regulations of the federal states, and the other countries, are. For example, the media reported on the Saarland, where differences between the 'strict' measures of the French and the more relaxed approach of the Germans became clear every day, and citizens reported that this was 'no longer Europe'.

All in all, it can be assumed that the sense of justice for this type will be further strengthened by their experienced increase of social injustice. On the other hand, there is also the suspicion that this feeling of injustice is also shifting from the international level (Global North and Global South) to the national or personal level (losers and winners of the crisis in Germany). In this context, this type can turn into Type 1's soul mate, especially with regard to self-referentiality.

Corona is also experienced by this type as a 'social disease' in the figurative sense. Wishful thinking about the post-corona world: More justice for everyone—and for me.

4. Hypothesis Type 4: 'Global Cosmopolitans' are the most resilient and optimistic type

This type can be described as the most resilient and optimistic, especially because of their thoughtful, deliberate and holistic world view. During the corona pandemic, a certain relaxed 'sitting out and enduring mentality' is evident here, which does not turn into panic or actionism, but rather—immediately and in the short term— takes shape in everyday life according to the motto 'make the best of it': This type is crisis-proof and equipped with the necessary degree of basic trust. They intensify

the bonds with family, neighbours and friends. They also trust to a large extent in state security ('all will be well'). But this calm feeling of security can also make you feel inert, as you feel protected by the state and your employer. On the other hand, this type is also active in helping (especially in the neighbourhood) and expresses its (neighbourhood) solidarity: Shopping for people at risk, sewing and donating masks, tutoring schoolchildren, making aid packages for the homeless, are experiencing a boom here. Some of them are not only altruistically motivated, but also have their help rewarded monetarily—sometimes at high prices. Whether passive or active, this type believes in a 'happy ending' and (still) sticks to the rules without feeling bullied. They regard the current state of affairs as a 'secondary pandemic gain', so to speak, which is what makes up their current situation.

In addition to the focus on the present that all types (in varying degrees) display, this type is also characterized by a (visionary) foresight in dealing with corona. Positive effects such as the improvement of the social climate at home and the conditions in countries with high levels of air pollution are observed favourably. One experiences the current situation as a restful phase of contemplation, which leads out of the unconsciousness of the rat race that is driven by meritocracy. The secret hope is that politicians and profit-seeking companies will also come to their senses, change their value system in the long term and corona will contribute to a 'better world'.

The central problem with this type is that, despite all the differences of opinion on the subject itself, they find it difficult to form an opinion. This can lead to long-term isolation in order to immunize oneself against differences of opinion. Accordingly, this type of messaging may become less accessible to international organizations.

This type also views corona from the perspective of a 'healing disease'. Wishful thinking about the post-corona world: More prudence, cohesion and solidarity at national and international levels.

5 Perception and acceptance of the UN

5.1 Diffuse picture and little knowledge in general

For the majority of citizens interviewed, the UN is an intangible organization

Irrespective of the four types, the majority of the citizens surveyed were of the same opinion: Ignorance about the UN, little debate with the UN, a diffuse image of the UN. The diffuseness ranged from absolute ignorance and disinterest to an active refusal to deal with the topic at all. This permeated all social classes and educational levels, from electrical engineers to lawyers.

'The UN is a vast faceless agency.' (m, 37, key account manager)

'So, you don't get much out of them. What's been going on there lately, that I honestly don't know.'
(m, 65, retired, former technical employee)

'Didn't they have those green helmets? No, or blue berets? It was blue berets, right?' (f, 52, foreign language correspondent)

'They definitely have something to do with human rights. I know the UN-Women, I think they are in Australia. Apart from that. You hear from them from time to time, but what it's all about, I don't really know.' (f, 40, lawyer)

'Well, I know them. But other than the fact that this is a peace organization, I don't know anything current. I don't know if they're sitting somewhere or how they're organized or what.' (f, 22, student)

'You don't really hear from them anymore. You know that they're real and all, but somehow they've become so invisible.' (m, 33, electrician)

'The UN can't think of anything. This shows how little the UN is present, how little effect they have on the consciousness of the citizen. What did they do, anyway? All I can think of is blue berets.' (f, 49, management assistant)

Facts about the UN were largely unknown or left many questions unanswered, especially with

- regard to its history when it was founded, which was partially associated with events such as the fall of the Wall or 9/11.

- Member states that were mostly unknown or, for example, reduced to a handful of major economic powers.

- Secretaries-General who were and are active after the era of Kofi Annan.

- Rules and elements of the Charter that go beyond the right of veto.

- The role of the UN in the Syrian war, which the citizens experienced as 'onlookers'.

On a rational level, ignorance and lack of imagery are mainly attributed to a minimally perceived media presence and in crisis areas (i.e., especially with regard to acting beyond meetings of the General Assembly or the Security Council) and a lack of transparency associated with organizations such as the UN. One is literally not in the picture oneself. The citizens also feel more or less compelled because of this to form their own impression of the UN. This is why there is often everything from confusion with other organizations such as the EU or NATO, 'dangerous half-knowledge' up to myths and the crudest conspiracy theories ('The UN wrote the ten Commandments'). The inconsistent use of the organization's name, United Nations, UN and UNO creates additional confusion.

The few exceptions among the interviewees who had more factual knowledge and depth of information could not be clearly assigned to any of the four types and they ranged from AfD sympathizers to left-wing voters. This shows that the diffusivity of the UN is not an immediate problem of type, but also a problem of construct, because international meta-units are fundamentally very abstract, barely tangible and distanced units for citizens, which can hardly be grasped in their complexity. This can be roughly summed up as the relationship between small organizations that are manageable, personal and tangible (such as family, neighbourhood and immediate colleagues) and large, abstract, anonymous and faceless mega-organizations.

In the case of the UN, this diffusion is compounded by the fact that efforts to unify national and international interests within a community are also difficult for the majority of citizens to grasp and understand (Type 4 is the most likely to succeed)—especially when it comes to peace and human rights, which are always automatically placed in the context of war and oppression. UN sub-organizations such as UNESCO, on the other hand, are, from the citizens' point of view, much less 'problematic' than the UN is in general: The UNESCO is not about containing problems, but about preserving beauty. In addition, UNESCO is concerned with symbols of human cultural development, whereas the UN is generally perceived as being concerned with the effects of the primal state of cultural development, especially the power of the strongest (might makes right), which leads to war and arbitrariness. To put it bluntly, UNESCO is more likely to be seen as '*beautifying and rewarding*' and the UN in general as '*repairing and sanctioning*'. Many citizens,

however, want a UN that also has a preventive effect—but above all they want is an organization that does not just become effective after it is already 'too late.'

> *'...they'll only ever fix things after a war, not prevent it. When there's a real fire, they're not there. They're the world's fire brigade, but Brazil continues to burn...'*
> (m, 49, dispatcher)

5.2 Transformation to an accepted unit over five cultural development stages

Versatility as a psychological construct problem

Citizens experience a psychological dilemma when dealing with organizations such as the UN, which oscillates between unilateral interests and multilateral ability to act. In the experience of its citizens, the UN is a shifty to ambivalent, sometimes contradictory, construct, which is initially seen either indifferently, indecisively or ambivalently. To such an extent that neither unqualified advocates nor categorical opponents of the UN were represented in the sample—across all four types. Accordingly, the sample included, for example, AfD sympathizers who welcomed the UN's basic humanist philosophy but had problems with its practical actions and misguided missions from the past. The image and acceptance of the UN is fundamentally caught in a diffuse emotional conflict between 'somehow good' and 'somehow not so good', without the possibility for this immediate 'gut feeling' to be fixed on concrete arguments. This diffusion, ambivalence and indecisiveness is justified by the psychological intangibility and incompatibility of a versatility problem. The inconsistency was exemplified by the elusiveness of the peacekeepers, who are supposed to make peace using weaponry, so to speak. Contradictory symbolism is also experienced in the sculpture in front of the UN headquarters in NYC, which is a pistol with a knot tied in the barrel: The depiction of a massive, oversized weapon, threatening in appearance, is difficult to decode as a clear symbol of peace. The versatility was stretched to the extent that the picture of a sea of flags in front of the UN building was also experienced ambivalently: The hanging flags symbolized peace and quiet, but also powerlessness and the corresponding inability to act. The interviewees also noticed a surveillance camera, which made the UN appear both as a watchful eye and an organ of surveillance. These examples are not to be understood as elements that have shaped this ambivalent image (they are usually unknown to the interviewees), but rather as projection surfaces for the unconscious ambivalence of the citizens.

> *'That's actually funny. Real soldiers. With guns and tanks.
> And these are supposed to stand for peace?'* (f, 40, lawyer)

Transformation process from 'Nations versus United' to United Nations

In order to refine the image of the UN as well as its tangibility and acceptance by the citizens, the present study has identified several important stages of development: The tangibility and acceptance of the unity of the United Nations can be achieved through the successive transformation steps from NATIONS to UNITED, which are described below and which, from a psychological perspective, are to be understood as evolutionary steps in the development of (organizational and civil) cultured:

(1) **NATIONS:** Away from national egoism (might makes right) as a fundamental necessity

(2) **'Fraternal equality':** Establishment of an association of equal brothers and sisters as emancipation from national egoisms and a first step towards a sense of community

(3) **'Decisive protective power':** Recognition of a powerful authority as the first important condition for decisiveness and effectiveness

(4) **'Binding rules':** A general commitment to a formalised constitution as the ultimate authority

(5) **'Effective mandates':** Tangible evidence of the ability to act in a communal, regulated and effective implementation

(6) **UNITED:** The individual nations feel like they belong within the framework of a large and effective international community

The transformation steps identified in the study are to be understood as necessary, but insufficient, criteria for legitimation. Fraternal equality, decisive protective power, binding rules and effective mandates are complementarily related and mutually dependent. They are a necessary prerequisite for achieving an accepted sense of unity among citizens. If one focuses only on partial aspects, one runs the risk of creating a fragmented image of the UN and of focusing on the perspectives of the respective types, with the risk that these will be rejected by the other types because of their drawbacks:

- In the context of the 'nations', the 'Regional Isolationists' hardly get beyond the issue of national identity or 'might makes right'.

- The 'Assertive Nationalists' primarily perceive the tension between 'Fraternal Equality' and the 'Decisive Protective Power'.

- The 'International Equality Watchdogs' attach particular importance to the 'Binding Rules'.

- The 'Global Cosmopolitans' are the most successful in reconciling the polarity between Nations (cultural identity) and United (self-image as a citizen of the world).

Effective mandates are tangible proof of the UN's ability to act for all four types identified.

Only when all these aspects are brought into focus does a holistic and accepted picture of the UN emerge—like a 'multilateral puzzle' assembled from different pieces.

FIGURE 3 **Transformation to an accepted unity**

Decisive Protective Power

Effective Mandate

NATIONS

UN

UNITED

Fraternal Equality

Binding Rules
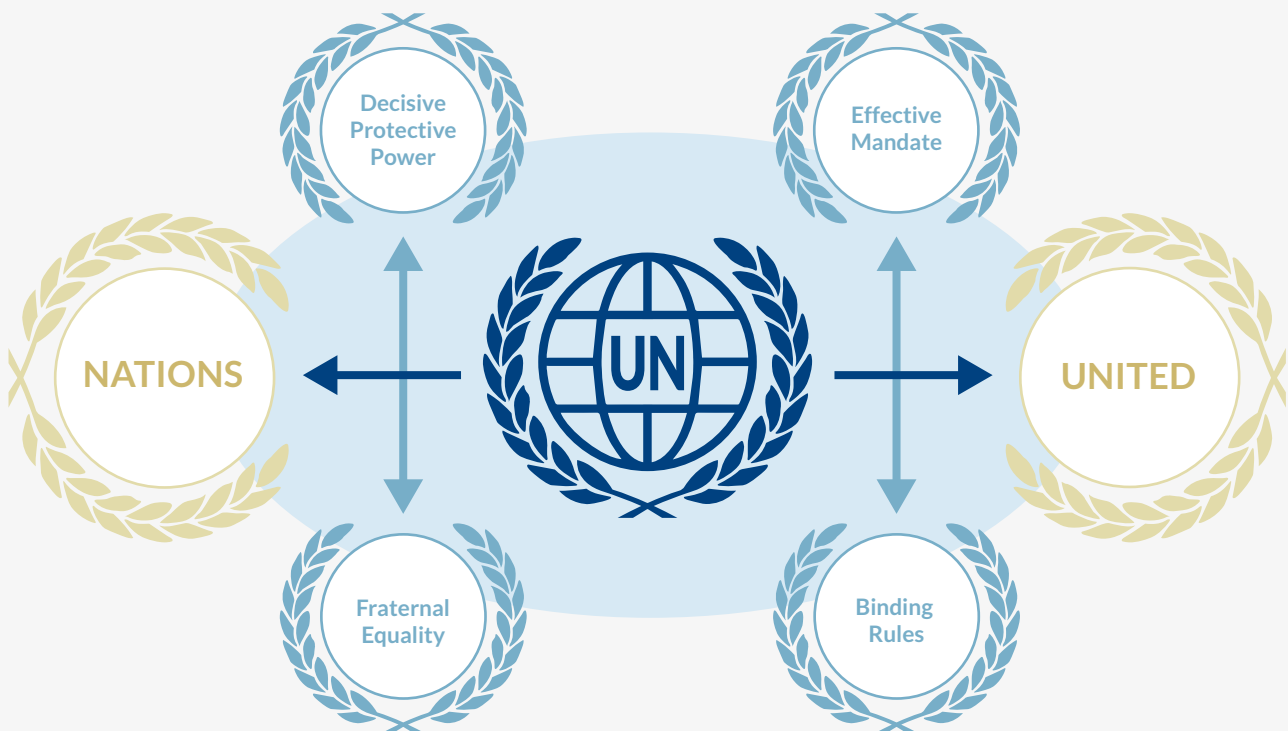
Source: rheingold Institute.

BertelsmannStiftung

5.2.1 'Nations' as small components vs. national egoisms

The starting point for the United Nations is the member nations, which as an integral part represent themselves as indivisible units of the multilateral whole, because 'no nations no unit'. They are also financiers (government expenditure) and thus also (indirect) representatives of the citizens. The nations and their own interests are—taken for themselves—to be understood as an archaic original state in the development of culture. In this state, might makes right, or the strongest nation applies first and foremost, which has led and continues to lead to arbitrariness, tyranny, oppression and war. International associations are thus also to be understood as a developmental step in the evolution of culture, which has turned away from national egoisms and replaced them with multilateral principles: From world war to world alliance. To this day, the UN deals with the multilateral

management of conflicts, which are fundamentally based on unilateral principles and might makes right, in order to secure peace and human rights in all nations and to protect the citizens of the world from suffering. In this context, the international community of nations does not function without the participation of the individual nations, there is a certain relationship of dependence according to the psychological principle of gestalt: '*The whole is greater than the sum of its parts*'. From the citizens' point of view, some (few) nations within the UN place their interests above those in the entirety of the organization, which makes the UN appear to be a fragile and therefore vulnerable entity.

From the citizens' point of view, conflicts of interest and nations that try to impose their own national interests or even to use the UN as a means to an end are also repeatedly evident within the 'conflict solving' UN. This is primarily tied to the economic interests of the Global North, which places its own (economic) power above that of other, less powerful countries. Many citizens, however, would like to see the UN as an organization in which different balances of power—including voting rights—are offset. Especially Types 3 and 4 want to make the 'weak' stronger in order to undermine the power of the stronger members. Type 1, on the other hand, tends to attach more importance to personal and therefore national interests and Type 2 basically sympathize with the issue of power.

> *'Yes, it could be that some of the big ones will come to an agreement and make politics against the small ones. That behind it all, only economic interests prevail and it is no longer about human rights. In any case, I do not think that this can be ruled out, it can happen quite easily. If you get so little from the UN now, although it still exists, then that could be a sign that something unfair is going on.'*
> (m, 33, electrician)

> *'All countries must always follow suit, because Americans are so hot-blooded.'*
> (m, 20, student)

If the image of the UN sticks to the nations and their egoisms, not only is the core idea of the UN taken *ad absurdum*, but also its ability to act is significantly reduced, which would result in an overall acceptance problem, especially for Types 3 and 4.

> *'China on the Security Council, they don't respect human rights, and the US goes it alone, so what's the point?'* (m, 33, cook)

5.2.2 Fraternal equality vs. rivalry

'Fraternal equality' is to be understood as the first important cultural progress that leads out of national egoisms and the resulting conflicts of interest and might makes right. The citizens wish for a kind of fraternal association of states, which promises equal rights and peaceful action on equal footing. All the nations of the world should be equally represented, otherwise the UN will be perceived as the representative of national egoisms.

'Are all nations represented there? Well, I don't know, but I hope so! This would in any case be in line with the UN ideal that everyone counts. Even the little ones. [...] If everyone is sitting at the same table, then it can't be against one of them. At first I can't imagine that Russia, for example, is a member [...] But when you think of a family, for example, it can happen that individual members don't always agree with the rest. Someone might not be invited to a family reunion, but still remain part of the family.' (f, 64, former accountant)

'What's it like now? Does Russia belong to the UN? But sometimes decisions are made against them (Russia). They can't go against the individual members, can they?' (f, 40, lawyer)

In terms of equality, therefore, Type 3 focuses primarily on the states, while Type 4 also includes 'the people' in this principle, which is expressed, among other things, in the interest in actively engaging in the UN (see case study 8) or in statements in the direction of 'UN Peacekeepers as a multi-cultural army', including demands for female Secretary Generals. Some citizens (Type 4) even go so far as to want to see the UN reformed not only as a national but also as an intergenerational association.

'I think it would be important if young people and seniors were represented. It's got to be about everyone's perspective.' (f, 22, female student)

The coming together of nations, the peaceful exchange in a cultivated framework such as the General Assembly or the Security Council alone is a reassuring step in the right direction for citizens, since it is a place for constructive discussion instead of quarrelling, and all the parties represented must also listen to the views of their counterparts—including the member states currently involved in (armed) conflicts. Here, the UN should be understood as a cultivating framework, which is further developed as an archaic oppositional gold match. This alone gives hope for at least a mutual and de-escalating understanding (in the sense of 'shaking hands and talking, instead of clenching fists and fighting').

'At the Security Council, they look at each other. Everyone has something to say, everyone is noticed. There's nothing coming down from above.' (f, 29, saleswoman)

From the citizens' point of view, the desired principle of equality is symbolized in a fundamentally positive way by seas of flags with flags at rest and flagpoles in equivalent positions, as well as the round seating order in the Security Council. Such a symbol of equality stemming from UN imagery helps to form a reassuring image of the UN in the sense of fraternity and equality. However, the principle of the first transformation step towards 'fraternal unity' also shows the versatility and ambivalence of the UN, since the dark side of the sibling bond is a constant sibling rivalry. Real rivalries between nations—but also too much equality—lead to indecision, indifference and inability to act. Therefore, the principle of equality in the sibling group must be given a powerful authority or father (or mother) figure to demonstrate decisiveness and ability to act and to convey a unified image of the UN.

'The UN is like a big eye trying to keep the world under control. But within the UN, it comes down to a test of strength between nations. It's like a kindergarten, they need a teacher who punishes the children sometimes when they have learned badly.' (f, 54, civil service secretary)

5.2.3 Decisive protective power vs. superiority

The next cultural advance identified in the study is tied to the democratic election or recognition of a powerful and wise authority that acts as a decisive protective power. In the context of the nations as an association of siblings, this decisive protective power performs the function of an authoritative and decisive figure, but also that of a wise and reassuring, empathic greatness. Even today, Kofi Annan is still positively remembered by some citizens as an accepted authority and (father) figure, as he was experienced as a calm, charismatic, empathetic and decisive person.

> *'They need someone to put their foot down.'* (f, 48, office worker)

> *'The UN needs some kind of divine intervention.'* (m, 63, engineer)

Analogous to a family construct, however, the sibling bond and the decided and personified authority (in the form of a super-father like Kofi Annan or, in the future, possibly a super-mother) are in a constant state of tension. At the national political level, this would be comparable to the struggle between the members of parliament (sibling association) and the prime minister over crisis management.

In the context of the decisive protective power, the ambivalence of the citizens is also again apparent; in this context, this concerns the defence against or fear of a supreme power, especially with regard to a person or a small, elitist circle of people. The supremacy of an individual or the dominance of a small group with authority is experienced by citizens as undemocratic and contradictory to the values of the UN. There is a threat of abuse of power leading up to a world government in the sense of a 'global dictatorship'—basically, there is a threat of regression as a tipping point back to where only the powerful rule, might makes right—survival of the fittest. Especially Type 3 ('International Equality Watchdogs') is sensitive and critical in this respect.

> *'If only one person could say that, it would only be frontal instruction.'*
> (f, 64, former accountant)

> *'More power? Oh, God, that sounds like the Führer state.'*
> (m, 26, salesman)

Type 2 tends to give the UN more power, but this type of conspiracy is a tipping point for conspiracy theories (which already exist) in view of its perceived superiority. In this type, the theme moves between a fascination with power and overwhelming feelings of powerlessness.

> *'When I see the General Assembly, all that gold and stuff. This looks like a secret organization. Like those three wise men over there, who everyone has to listen to.'*
> (f, 52, foreign language correspondent)

> *'The General Assembly seems somehow so threatening. There's a guy in the front, who everybody has to listen to. Creepy as hell.'* (f, 34, saleswoman)

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Regardless of type, the majority of the citizens surveyed therefore demanded compliance with binding rules for all actors and nations involved. Uniform rules and sanctions also serve here as an objective and regulative unifying principle, which applies to nations, the sibling group, the authoritarian protective power all the way to the blue helmets, and should not make any difference between them.

5.2.4 Binding rules vs. meta-bureaucratization

The eternal field of tension between sibling bonds and decisive authority has been formalized or regulated by a third cultural development step. From the citizens' point of view, generally applicable rules and a non-partisan constitution are ultimately more binding, neutral and stronger than the elected and accepted authority or the authority of isolated powerful states. All the nations represented, right up to the Secretary-General, must therefore commit themselves to a common constitution. It creates general, unifying norms and rights, obligations and sanctions, which are brought to the fore, *inter alia*, by the Charter and the International Court of Justice. Especially Type 3 ('International Equality Watchdog') emphasizes formalized regulation. However, the exact rules are not known to the citizens, even a lawyer in the sample was not familiar with them. Only the right of veto was mentioned in this context, if at all. Interestingly enough, with regard to rules, even representatives of Type 1 ('Regional Isolationists') do not just attach importance to the fact that other countries align themselves to the 'German rule conformity'. There is a certain 'pride in German neatness'—but one would also like Germany to keep its own rules. Especially in Type 1 there is a general thinking that goes in the direction of 'we only stick to it when the others stick to it': Together or not at all.

> *'Even we, the Germans, have to obey the rules. Then Germany would also have to ask the UN about arms sales.'* (f, 58, office worker)

> *'Surely it is good to solve problems on an international level. A common solution, uniform laws, Europe-wide. The disadvantage is that we Germans stick to it and in other countries it is circumvented. Then we give up, and chaos ensues. ...and we don't follow our own rules.'* (f, 29, saleswoman)

Too much formalization can in turn slow down the ability to act. Bureaucratization is experienced by many citizens as a central obstacle which slows down or even completely hinders the UN's ability to act and which, in the view of many citizens, is predominantly expressed through the right of veto. This was often understood as 'a voice that paralyses everything'.

> *'All talk, no resolutions.'* (m, 44, undertaker)

> *'The UN has become a parliament of words.'*
> (m, 36, primary school afternoon supervisor)

'That's not how you decide anything. We need a rule change. Someone vetoes it, and then nothing is decided.' (f, 49, clerk)

'UN resolutions are unsuccessful, they never agree despite urgent problems ... small groups are formed, they never all stand together.'
(m, 63, engineer)

The feeling of bureaucratization, which slows down the ability to act, is reinforced by the minimal media presence or the focus on political actors.

'They're bureaucrats. They're desk jockeys, suits, empty suits. A lot of it happens on paper, not in real life. They decide at the desk, and if nothing happens, that's the way it is. They have no great authority to act.' (f, 49, assistant manager)

The citizens 'see', so to speak, more 'theory' than 'practice' in connection with the UN. This is comparable with the economy, which is experienced as an abstract desert of numbers, so that many citizens are also comparatively little concerned with the topic. Therefore, the meta-unit UN always needs living, authentic, analogue and tangible proofs of legitimacy in the sense of its ability to act. This can be done by effectively fulfilling their mandates, which is illustrated (in the media) in on-site missions.

5.2.5 Effective mandates vs. actionism

Effective mandates and forms of deployment are important evidence of the UN's ability to act. They make it tangible to citizens that the UN—despite differences of opinion and formal rules—can put things in motion and change things. Moreover, it is at this point in particular that effectiveness becomes visible ('before and after effect'), which helps to raise the profile of the UN's image and is a central, if not the most important, criterion for legitimacy in the eyes of citizens. Among the most well-known effective mandates are peace operations as the 'classic' and best-known forms of deployment; since the refugee crisis, UNHCR camps have also been established, which have extended the UN's work to other global challenges and also increased the media presence and attention accordingly in this respect ('The camps are constantly in the news'). The tangible evidence of a meaningful and goal-oriented ability to act includes current and historical success stories about the UN, such as successful peace missions, Nobel Peace Prizes for the organization and its Secretary-General (e.g., in 2001 for the UN and the then acting Secretary-General Kofi Annan) as well as the targeted and 'specialized' scope of activities of the various specialized agencies. With regard to the four types, it should be emphasized that effective mandates for all four types represent tangible evidence of the ability to act and thus a necessary (but not sufficient) criterion of legitimacy.

Concrete examples illustrating the effectiveness of mandates include:

■ **UN Peacekeepers** as protection angels and **UNHCR camps** as a temporary protective roof

■ Pictures with protectors and protected people (otherwise there is a 'sniper' association with peacekeepers)

■ Neutral peacekeepers: Blue helmets, white tanks, soldiers of different nations

■ **UNICEF** as 'world-father' and 'world-mother' who protects and supports the weak (nations, children)

■ **UNESCO** to protect the world cultural heritage of nations for present and future generations

However, effective mandates and forms of deployment can also turn into starry-eyed actionism. Starry eyes and actionism refer to three levels: Passivity and 'monitoring', actions that do not achieve much and even out-of-control operations that are diametrically opposed to the UN value system.

Actionism and the ineffectiveness of UN missions have a very negative effect on acceptance and legitimacy; among some citizens, the failure stories had even more presence than the success stories. In this context, the following were mentioned, among others:

■ 'Idle hands': More often called Syria, but also Brazil (forest fires and Bolsonaro)

■ 'Trouble': Criticism of Rwanda, escalations and human rights violations in Kosovo etc.

■ 'Senseless actions': Uncoordinated and poorly targeted development aid

■ 'Embezzled funds': Embezzled UNESCO funds

■ 'Non-specific': Many also experience the *17 Sustainable Development Goals* the UN is taking over here as aimless.

> *'They lack assertiveness. They drive somewhere with their white Jeeps, stick their heads out for a moment, look around, but then they quickly vanish again. They won't do anything. And they don't decide what would really result in consequences or anything.'* (m, 65, retired, former technical employee)

> *'I find it difficult with the peacekeepers. These are for protection. But you've heard bad things about Kosovo.'* (f, 34, saleswoman)

5.3 From 'Nations' to 'United'

The UN as a unit can be made comprehensible if the legitimacy factors and cultural development steps identified in the study are symbolized and integrated into a holistic picture. The sense of community always requires a feeling of belonging. The feeling of belonging also leads to a sense of stability and security at global and national level in the Three Musketeer sense of *'one for all and all for one'*.

6 Summary of the results

The study has identified four types of attitudes that differ in their perspective on international cooperation and the United Nations and in their motives for supporting them. They are located on a continuum between orientation towards the individual and to the common good. Despite the differences between the four types—Regional Isolationists, Assertive Nationalists, International Equality Watchdogs and Global Cosmopolitans—the following derivations apply to the vast majority of citizens.

Steps towards the tangibility and acceptance of the meta-unit UN

The tangibility as a unit and acceptance of the United Nations can be achieved through the development and transformational steps from NATIONS to UNITED, which are described in the study:

1. Away from national egoism

2. Establishment of an equal sibling group

3. Joint election and recognition of a decided authority

4. Collective recognition of common rules in the form of the charter

5. Effective mandates as tangible proof of ability to act

Bringing the UN into a holistic and complementary picture

The diffuse lack of imagery and intangibility can be countered by a symbolization of four poles:

- Fraternal equality is symbolized by seas of flags and a round seating arrangement

- Decisive protective power is personified through charismatic (father or mother) figures such as Kofi Annan

- Binding rules become obligatory through formalizations such as the Charter and the Court of Justice

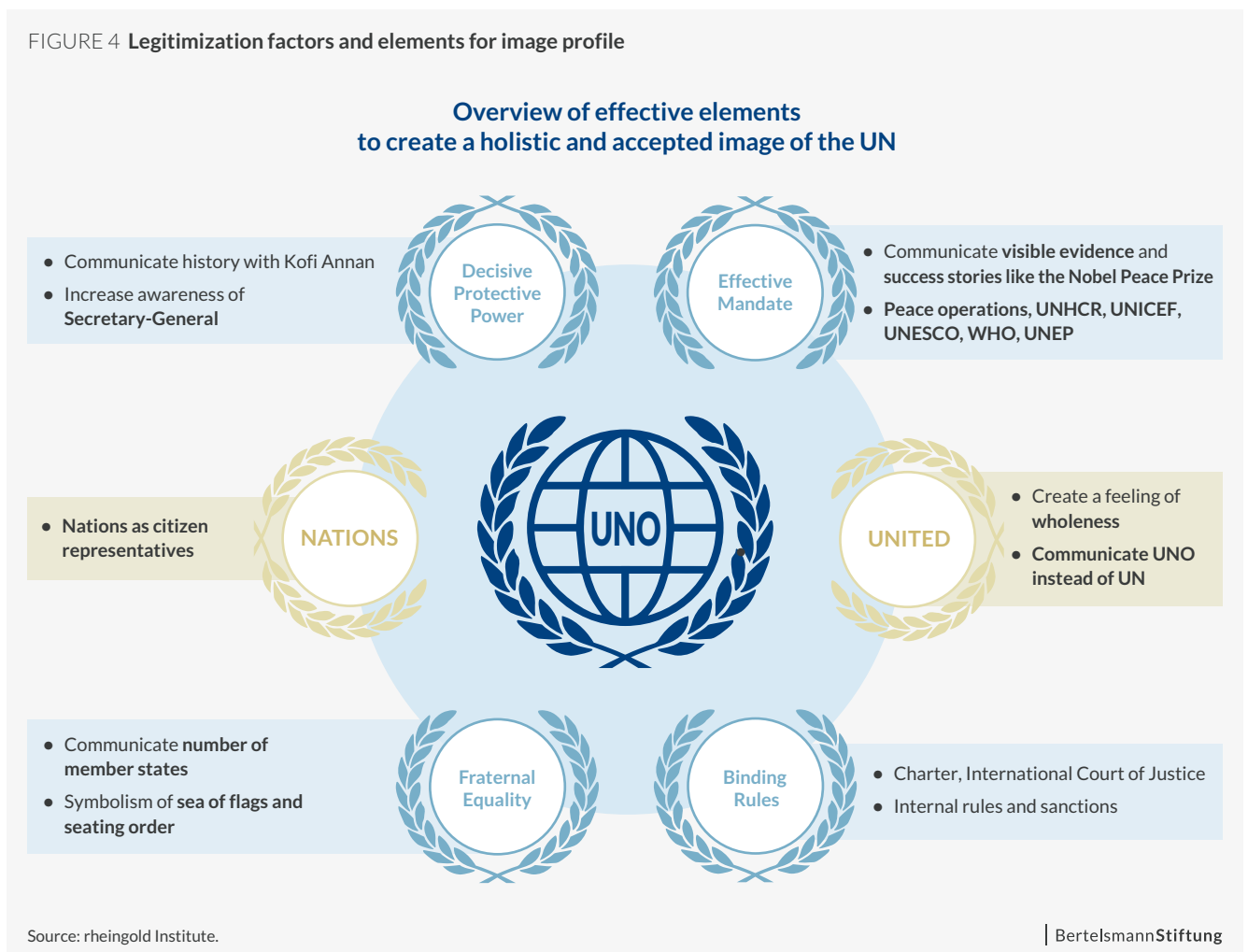■ Effective mandates become demonstrably effective e.g., through UN Peace-keepers and sub-organizations

By symbolizing the developmental steps from NATIONS to UNITED, the incomprehensible meta-unit UN can be transferred into a holistic, accepted image.

In the German language unity is more strongly conveyed by 'UNO' than by 'UN'

In communications addressed to citizens in Germany, the abbreviation UNO should be used instead of UN:

■ UNO as a liquid, round unit word [ˈuːno]

■ UN as 'UN word' with staccato sound [un]

FIGURE 4 **Legitimization factors and elements for image profile**

**Overview of effective elements
to create a holistic and accepted image of the UN**

Decisive Protective Power
- Communicate history with Kofi Annan
- Increase awareness of **Secretary-General**

Effective Mandate
- Communicate **visible evidence** and **success stories like the Nobel Peace Prize**
- **Peace operations, UNHCR, UNICEF, UNESCO, WHO, UNEP**

NATIONS
- **Nations as citizen representatives**

UNITED
- Create a feeling of **wholeness**
- **Communicate UNO instead of UN**

Fraternal Equality
- Communicate **number of member states**
- Symbolism of **sea of flags and seating order**

Binding Rules
- Charter, International Court of Justice
- Internal rules and sanctions

Source: rheingold Institute.

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As a senior research consultant, he conducts numerous in-depth psychological market research studies on motivational principles and consumer trends, product innovations, brand positioning and advertising communication. He heads the team for international research at the rheingold Institute.

Literature

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Methodological Annex: Quantification of the four psychological types

The qualitative study conducted by the rheingold Institute on behalf of the Bertelsmann Stiftung in February and March 2020 identified, for the first time and in an exploratory process, four types of attitudes: Regional Isolationists, Assertive Nationalists, International Equality Watchdogs and Global Cosmopolitans. They differ fundamentally in their attitude towards international cooperation. Based on the results of the qualitative survey, a nationwide quantification was conducted during a survey of 2,024 citizens in Germany. The quantitative distribution of the four qualitatively determined types of recruitment in the population of the German population aged 18 and over was examined. The results are set out in the Policy Brief 03/2020 'The United Nations. Indispensable, but invisible.'

YouGov conducted the survey in June 2020 based on the YouGov Online Panel Germany (field time: 26.–29.06.2020). Sampling from the panel was carried out at random. The data were allocated and weighted on the basis of age, gender and region, in line with the micro census. It is a representative sample of the German population aged 18 and over.

The four types were methodically quantified by creating an index and assigning response patterns to the four types. The following parameters were included in the index creation:

- Wishful thinking for an ideal world

- Thematic interests and discussion of political issues

- Assessment of the most important current challenge in Germany and the world

- Greatest worries and fears

- Wishes for politicians in Germany

- Motives for supporting and rejecting international cooperation

The response alternatives on the questionnaire for the quantification of the types were developed according to the qualitative study. The properties of the types were 're-translated' into the typical response behaviour of the respective clusters. This should ensure the best possible validity of the content.

In the statistical evaluation, the allocation of the types was carried out using index creation. In simple terms: Persons who most frequently answers with the Type 1 option are assigned to Type 1. In order to make the allocation as unambiguous as possible, questions were weighted differently. The weighting factors were determined by an independent expert rating based on content relevance and discriminatory power.

The quality of index creation and type allocation has been statistically verified through the analysis of item distributions, contingency tables and the Cramér's V measure of association, which is appropriate for the nominal scales presented here. This measure of association can be used to determine how well-suited individual questions are for the overall typology. A question that was not suitable for type classification—scoring a low value of Cramér's V—was removed from the process of type classification.

Index questions on type allocation

The following seven questions were used to assign respondents to the four types of settings.

QUESTION 1	**What kind of world would you most like to live in?**
Type 1	In a safe home where every nation can live for itself.
Type 2	In a strong country, where everyone follows the rules and laws are consistently enforced.
Type 3	In a just world where all people have equal rights and opportunities.
Type 4	In a diverse world, where things are peaceful and friendly.

QUESTION 2	**When you think about the issues you deal with most—which of the following statements do you most likely agree with?**
Type 1	I am mainly interested in topics from my immediate personal environment.
Type 2	Mostly, I observe the politics of the world powers and their leaders.
Type 3	Human rights and social injustice are the most important issues that concern me.
Type 4	I am particularly interested in other cultures and their people.

QUESTION 3	**Where do you currently see the central problem and the greatest challenge?**
Type 1	Migration is a problem because many cultures simply do not fit together.
Type 1	Migration is a problem because I personally no longer feel safe.
Type 2	I experience the disputes of the rulers of this world as a threat to world peace.
Type 2	Lack of data protection is the most important problem, because my personal data can fall into the wrong hands and I feel I'm being watched more and more.
Type 3	I see social injustice as the central problem, which leads to poverty and hunger in the world.
Type 3	I am increasingly concerned about the social divide in Germany and worldwide.
Type 4	The problems in the environment, climate and animal welfare are increasingly worrying me.
Type 4	Intolerance, racism, nationalism and populism are increasingly worrying me.

QUESTION 4	**Which of the following topics spontaneously causes you the most discomfort?**
Type 1	Crime in my neighbourhood.
Type 1	Foreigners in my living environment or in my city.
Type 2	Conflicts between world powers such as the USA and China.
Type 2	Secret plans in the government and other organizations.
Type 3	To become a victim of injustice or poverty myself.
Type 3	Abuse of power in business and politics.
Type 4	Extremism, intolerance and war.
Type 4	Global pollution and climate change.

QUESTION 5	**What more do you generally want from politics in Germany?**
Type 1	That it is more committed to my region.
Type 1	That it is more committed to the preservation of German culture.
Type 2	That action is being taken instead of just talking, for once.
Type 2	That the truth is finally being told in politics and the press.
Type 3	That it improves our welfare state.
Type 3	That it pays more attention to disadvantaged people.
Type 4	That the European idea is preserved.
Type 4	That it maintains and protects our culture of welcome.

QUESTION 6	**Regardless of whether or not you consider international cooperation to solve global problems as useful: Under what conditions do you consider international cooperation to be useful?**
Type 1	When my region and home are benefiting from it.
Type 2	If Germany is benefiting economically and politically on the international level.
Type 3	If living conditions for all people in the world are improving.
Type 4	If it is leading to more international understanding and a peaceful coexistence.

QUESTION 7	**And vice versa: Under what conditions do you consider international cooperation to solve global problems to be pointless or even bad?**
Type 1	If Germany makes a greater contribution than other countries.
Type 2	If it gives others more power than my own country.
Type 3	When only a few rich countries benefit and poorer countries are exploited.
Type 4	When decisions are too standardised and do not take into account the needs of the countries involved.

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Figures and Tables

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