Future of the International Order Survey (FIOS)

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1   Methodology

We attempted to contact all international relations (IR) scholars in the U.S., Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. We define IR scholars as individuals who are employed at a college or university in a political science department or professional school and who teach or conduct research on issues that cross international borders. This survey was open from July 15 to August 15 of 2020. Of the 17,437 scholars that we contacted, 2,021 responded. The resulting response rate is approximately 11.6 percent. Our U.S. sample is roughly similar to the broader population of International Relations scholars in terms of gender, academic rank and university type.

2   Introduction

This survey is a collaboration between the Niehaus Center for Globalization and Governance at Princeton University, Georgetown University, and William & Mary's Global Research Institute. The purpose of the survey is to measure expectations of international cooperation and conflict in the coming years and to determine how those expectations might have been affected by the COVID-19 pandemic and scholars' expectations about who would win the 2020 U.S. Presidential election.

We published our analysis of a subset of these results, Trump, COVID-19, and the Future of International Order, in Foreign Policy. We reproduce the figures used in that piece with 95 percent confidence intervals in Section 7.

Data contacts: Alexandra Murphy, and Irene Entringer Garcia Blanes. Email: irsurvey@wm.edu

3 Sample vs. Population Comparison for the U.S. only

Table 1: Sample vs. Population Comparison: Gender

Gender	Respondents Count	Respondents Percentage	Population Count	Population Percentage
Female	247	29.69	1466	30.7
Male	585	70.31	3309	69.3

Chi-squared test results: X-squared= 0.30, p-value=0.59

Table 2: Sample vs. Population Comparison: Academic Rank

Academic Rank	Respondents Count	Respondents Percentage	Population Count	Population Percentage
Adjunct	17	1.94	333	6.57
Assistant Professor	209	23.86	953	18.80
Associate Professor	245	27.97	1194	23.55
Full Professor	298	34.02	1636	32.27
Emeritus	35	4.00	311	6.13
Instructor	41	4.68	327	6.45
Visiting Instructor/Visiting Assistant Professor	18	2.05	179	3.53
Other	13	1.48	137	2.70

Chi-squared test results: X-squared=62.64, p-value<0.000

Table 3: Sample vs. Population Comparison: University Type

University Type	Respondents Count	Respondents Percentage	Population Count	Population Percentage
National Liberal Arts College	115	13.72	687	14.50
National Research University	493	58.83	2678	56.51
Regional Liberal Arts College	29	3.46	184	3.88
Regional Research University	201	23.99	1190	25.11

Chi-squared test results: X-squared=1.84, p-value=0.99

4 Response rates by Country

Table 4: Demographics Comparison to Sample

Country	Number of Responses	Sample Size	Response Rate (%)
Australia	65	318	20.44
Canada	151	659	22.91
EU	444	2820	15.74
New Zealand	16	69	23.19
United Kingdom	197	1403	14.04
US	1148	4970	23.10
All Respondents	2021	10239	19.74

5 Treatment Distributions

5.1 Treatment Distributions: COVID

Half of respondents answered a battery of COVID questions at start of survey, while the other half answered the same COVID battery at the end.

Table 5: Respondents by Country and COVID Treatment

Country	COVID first	COVID last
Australia	41.5% (27)	58.5% (38)
Canada	42.4% (64)	57.6% (87)
EU	50.2% (223)	49.8% (221)
New Zealand	62.5% (10)	37.5% (6)
United Kingdom	48.2% (95)	51.3% (101)
US	51.0% (585)	49.0% (562)
Total	49.7% (1004)	50.2% (1015)

5.2 Treatment Distributions: Trump

Half of respondents answered a prediction question about Trump at start of survey, while the other half answered the same Trump prediction question at end of survey.

Table 6: Respondents by Country and Trump Treatment

Country	Trump first	Trump last
Australia	44.6% (29)	55.4% (36)
Canada	45.7% (69)	54.3% (82)
EU	53.8% (239)	46.2% (205)
New Zealand	37.5% (6)	62.5% (10)
United Kingdom	44.2% (87)	55.3% (109)
US	50.2% (576)	49.7% (571)
Total	49.8% (1006)	50.1% (1013)

6 Results

6.1 Paradigmatic commitments

Table 7: Which of the following best describes your approach to the study of IR?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Constructivism	356	19.11%
English School	62	3.33%
Feminism	54	2.90%
I do not use paradigmatic analysis	608	32.64%
Liberalism	221	11.86%
Marxism	46	2.47%
Realism	252	13.53%
Other	264	14.17%
Total	1863	100.00%

6.2 Agreement with core theoretical conjectures

Table 8: Norms, identity, and other ideational forces are more important than relative economic and military power if we want to understand change in the international system.

Response option	Count	Percentage
Strongly disagree	118	6.36%
Somewhat disagree	533	28.73%
Neither agree nor disagree	582	31.37%
Somewhat agree	466	25.12%
Strongly agree	156	8.41%
Total	1855	100.00%

Table 9: Relations among states are often best explained by domestic politics.

Response option	Count	Percentage
Strongly disagree	35	1.88%
Somewhat disagree	268	14.40%
Neither agree nor disagree	398	21.39%
Somewhat agree	880	47.29%
Strongly agree	280	15.05%
Total	1861	100.00%

Table 10: International institutions modify anarchy in important ways.

Response option	Count	Percentage
Strongly disagree	29	1.57%
Somewhat disagree	103	5.56%
Neither agree nor disagree	149	8.05%
Somewhat agree	1032	55.72%
Strongly agree	539	29.10%
Total	1852	100.00%

Table 11: States remain the primary actors in world politics.

Response option	Count	Percentage
Strongly disagree	52	2.80%
Somewhat disagree	221	11.91%
Neither agree nor disagree	160	8.62%
Somewhat agree	917	49.41%
Strongly agree	506	27.26%
Total	1856	100.00%

Table 12: Globalization, on average, has made people better off even if there are some losers.

Response option	Count	Percentage
Strongly disagree	87	4.69%
Somewhat disagree	244	13.16%
Neither agree nor disagree	272	14.67%
Somewhat agree	866	46.71%
Strongly agree	385	20.77%
Total	1854	100.00%

Table 13: International relations theories are often based on hidden racist assumptions that need to be examined more.

Response option	Count	Percentage
Strongly disagree	331	17.86%
Somewhat disagree	434	23.42%
Neither agree nor disagree	453	24.45%
Somewhat agree	476	25.69%
Strongly agree	159	8.58%
Total	1853	100.00%

6.3 COVID-19 Optimism Battery

Table 14: As you know, the COVID pandemic has been extremely disruptive. When do you expect all COVID-related travel, economic, and social restrictions in your country of residence to be lifted?

Response option	Count	Percentage
before January 1, 2021	96	5.36%
between January 1, 2021 and June 30, 2021	573	31.99%
between July 1, 2021 and December 31, 2021	728	40.65%
between January 1, 2022 and June 30, 2022	250	13.96%
after June 30, 2022	144	8.04%
Total	1791	100.00%

Table 15: What, in your view, should your university do in the upcoming semester given the COVID pandemic?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Fully in-person classes	61	3.37%
A hybrid model where some classes are online and others in person	965	53.34%
Fully online	730	40.35%
Other	53	2.93%
Total	1809	100.00%

6.4 Magnitude of change questions

Table 16: According to V-Dem, there were 87 democracies in the world at the end of 2019. Do you expect this number will increase or decrease by 2025?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Decrease a lot (to 77 or fewer)	99	5.55%
Decrease (to 78-83)	919	51.51%
Remain about the same (84-90)	661	37.05%
Increase (to 91-96)	102	5.72%
Increase a lot (to 97 or more)	3	0.17%
Total	1784	100.00%

Table 17: Based on data collected in 2019, the Fragile State Index lists 31 countries in their highest risk categories for collapse or conflict ('alert', 'high alert', or 'very high alert'). Do you expect that by 2025 this number will increase or decrease?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Decrease a lot (to 23 or fewer)	5	0.28%
Decrease (to 24-28)	92	5.16%
Remain about the same (29-33)	490	27.47%
Increase (to 34-37)	997	55.89%
Increase a lot (to 37 or more)	200	11.21%
Total	1784	100.00%

Table 18: According to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program, there were 52 state-based violent conflicts (mostly civil wars) at the end of 2018. Do you expect that by 2025 this number will increase or decrease?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Decrease a lot (to 44 or fewer)	13	0.73%
Decrease (to 45-49)	194	10.86%
Remain about the same (50-54)	766	42.89%
Increase (to 55-59)	734	41.10%
Increase a lot (to 60 or more)	79	4.42%
Total	1786	100.00%

Table 19: According to the Global Terrorism Database, there were about 10,000 terrorist incidents in 2019. Do you expect that by 2025 the average number of terrorist incidents per year will increase or decrease?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Decrease a lot (to fewer than 7,000)	26	1.46%
Decrease (to 7-9K)	328	18.43%
Remain about the same (9-11K)	928	52.13%
Increase (to 11-13K)	452	25.39%
Increase a lot (to more than 13,000)	46	2.58%
Total	1780	100.00%

Compared to 2019, do you think it will be harder or easier in 2025 for the following groups to gain legal entry to your country of residence?

Table 20: Students wishing to study in your country of residence.

Response option	Count	Percentage
A lot harder	144	8.04%
A little harder	483	26.95%
About the same	646	36.05%
A little easier	413	23.05%
A lot easier	106	5.92%
Total	1792	100.00%

Table 21: High skill workers wishing to work in your country of residence.

Response option	Count	Percentage
A lot harder	83	4.63%
A little harder	372	20.77%
About the same	591	33.00%
A little easier	597	33.33%
A lot easier	148	8.26%
Total	1791	100.00%

Table 22: Low skill workers wishing to work in your country of residence.

Response option	Count	Percentage
A lot harder	531	29.63%
A little harder	549	30.64%
About the same	412	22.99%
A little easier	265	14.79%
A lot easier	35	1.95%
Total	1792	100.00%

Table 23: Compared to 2019, do you think it will be harder or easier for foreign investors to invest and own assets in your country of residence in 2025?

Response option	Count	Percentage
A lot harder	44	2.47%
Somewhat harder	564	31.63%
About the same	879	49.30%
Somewhat easier	272	15.26%
A lot easier	24	1.35%
Total	1783	100.00%

Table 24: Do you think that by 2025 the percentage of Europeans voting for populists will increase or decrease?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Decrease a lot (to less than 18%)	60	3.36%
Decrease (to 18-23%)	569	31.84%
Remain about the same (23-28%)	519	29.04%
Increase (to 28-33%)	577	32.29%
Increase a lot (to more than 33%)	62	3.47%
Total	1787	100.00%

Scholars have argued that, over time, states have become less likely to violate human rights. On average around the world, do you think that by 2025 violations of the following categories of human rights will increase or decrease?

Table 25: Physical integrity rights violations (freedom from torture, extrajudicial killings, arbitrary arrest, etc.).

Response option	Count	Percentage
Increase a lot	160	8.94%
Increase a little	782	43.71%
Remain about the same	604	33.76%
Decrease a little	237	13.25%
Decrease a lot	6	0.34%
Total	1789	100.00%

Table 26: Civil and political rights violations (freedom of expression, freedom of association and assembly, right to vote, etc.).

Response option	Count	Percentage
Increase a lot	454	25.36%
Increase a little	833	46.54%
Remain about the same	304	16.98%
Decrease a little	184	10.28%
Decrease a lot	15	0.84%
Total	1790	100.00%

Some people believe that the U.S. dollar will become more important as a reserve currency, whereas others believe that the dollar will become less important.

Table 27: In 2019, the dollar made up 60 percent of global currency reserves. Do you expect that by 2025 this percentage will increase or decrease?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Decrease a lot (to 50% or less)	106	5.94%
Decrease (to 51-57%)	860	48.15%
Remain about the same (58-62%)	701	39.25%
Increase (to 63-69%)	113	6.33%
Increase a lot (to 70% or more)	6	0.34%
Total	1786	100.00%

Data from the 2019 Pew Global Attitudes Survey show that about 54 percent of people around the world have a favorable view of the United States, whereas 40 percent of people around the world have a favorable view of China.

Table 28: Do you think that by 2025 global favorability toward China will increase or decrease relative to global favorability toward the United States?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Decrease a lot	168	9.44%
Decrease a little	553	31.08%
Remain about the same	481	27.04%
Increase a little	497	27.94%
Increase a lot	80	4.50%
Total	1779	100.00%

The IMF, World Bank, and WTO (and its predecessor, GATT) have historically been viewed as key pillars of post-WWII global economic cooperation, but scholars also have highlighted the importance of informal groupings of states and regional organizations.With respect to their role in the maintenance and development of the global economy, how do you expect the importance of the actors or governance models listed below to change by 2025?

Table 29: World Bank

Response option	Count	Percentage
Decrease a lot in importance	115	6.48%
Decrease a little in importance	563	31.74%
Remain about the same in importance	862	48.59%
Increase a little in importance	207	11.67%
Increase a lot in importance	25	1.41%
Become irrelevant	2	0.11%
Total	1774	100.00%

Table 30: International Monetary Fund

Response option	Count	Percentage
Decrease a lot in importance	92	5.19%
Decrease a little in importance	490	27.64%
Remain about the same in importance	917	51.72%
Increase a little in importance	227	12.80%
Increase a lot in importance	45	2.54%
Become irrelevant	2	0.11%
Total	1773	100.00%

Table 31: World Trade Organization

Response option	Count	Percentage
Decrease a lot in importance	242	13.66%
Decrease a little in importance	724	40.86%
Remain about the same in importance	623	35.16%
Increase a little in importance	154	8.69%
Increase a lot in importance	15	0.85%
Become irrelevant	14	0.79%
Total	1772	100.00%

Table 32: Formal regional economic cooperation institutions

Response option	Count	Percentage
Decrease a lot in importance	52	2.94%
Decrease a little in importance	280	15.81%
Remain about the same in importance	542	30.60%
Increase a little in importance	769	43.42%
Increase a lot in importance	126	7.11%
Become irrelevant	2	0.11%
Total	1771	100.00%

Table 33: Informal groupings of states (BRIICS, G20, etc.)

Response option	Count	Percentage
Decrease a lot in importance	71	4.00%
Decrease a little in importance	278	15.67%
Remain about the same in importance	546	30.78%
Increase a little in importance	737	41.54%
Increase a lot in importance	132	7.44%
Become irrelevant	10	0.56%
Total	1774	100.00%

Table 34: Private governance

Response option	Count	Percentage
Decrease a lot in importance	34	1.93%
Decrease a little in importance	163	9.27%
Remain about the same in importance	673	38.28%
Increase a little in importance	750	42.66%
Increase a lot in importance	134	7.62%
Become irrelevant	4	0.23%
Total	1758	100.00%

Some people expect that countries will adopt measures to reduce their dependence on global supply chains, whereas others expect that reliance on global supply chains will return to normal or even increase.

Table 35: Do you think that by 2025 average reliance on global supply chains will increase or decrease?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Decrease a lot	101	5.65%
Decrease a little	883	49.41%
Remain about the same	489	27.36%
Increase a little	273	15.28%
Increase a lot	41	2.29%
Total	1787	100.00%

6.5   Predictions

Likelihood of certain events occurring on a 0-100 scale, where 0 means the event definitely will not occur and 100 means that the event definitely will occur.

Table 36: How likely is it that Donald Trump will be re-elected as President of the United States?

Response option	Count (First)	Percentage (First)	Count (Last)	Percentage (Last)
0-19	123	14.30%	89	10.41%
20-39	352	40.93%	317	37.08%
40-59	323	37.56%	344	40.23%
60-79	47	5.47%	75	8.77%
80-100	15	1.74%	30	3.51%
Total	860	-	855	-

Table 37: How likely is it that a EU member state, other than the United Kingdom, will leave the EU in the next five years?

Response option	Count	Percentage
0-19	708	41.72%
20-39	518	30.52%
40-59	276	16.26%
60-79	141	8.31%
80-100	54	3.18%
Total	1697	100.00%

Table 38: How likely is war between the US and China in the next five years?

Response option	Count	Percentage
0-19	1055	64.84%
20-39	409	25.14%
40-59	121	7.44%
60-79	30	1.84%
80-100	12	0.74%
Total	1627	100.00%

Table 39: How likely is war between the US and another country other than China in the next five years?

Response option	Count	Percentage
0-19	476	27.85%
20-39	549	32.12%
40-59	348	20.36%
60-79	195	11.41%
80-100	141	8.25%
Total	1709	100.00%

Table 40: How likely is war between the China and another country other than the US in the next five years?

Response option	Count	Percentage
0-19	585	34.72%
20-39	552	32.76%
40-59	326	19.35%
60-79	159	9.44%
80-100	63	3.74%
Total	1685	100.00%

Table 41: How likely is it that the United States will leave the World Trade Organization (WTO) in the next five years?

Response option	Count	Percentage
0-19	678	40.43%
20-39	581	34.65%
40-59	321	19.14%
60-79	67	4.00%
80-100	30	1.79%
Total	1677	100.00%

Table 42: How likely is it that at least one OECD country will default on its debt in the next five years?

Response option	Count	Percentage
0-19	347	20.02%
20-39	526	30.35%
40-59	365	21.06%
60-79	304	17.54%
80-100	191	11.02%
Total	1733	100.00%

Table 43: How likely is it that military spending as a percentage of total government spending will be higher in your country of residence five years from now?

Response option	Count	Percentage
0-19	331	19.18%
20-39	415	24.04%
40-59	410	23.75%
60-79	300	17.38%
80-100	270	15.64%
Total	1726	100.00%

6.6 COVID's effects on predictions

Table 44: How much does the COVID-19 pandemic and its associated effects affect the predictions you just made?

Response option	Count	Percentage
Matters a great deal for most predictions	481	28.70%
Matters for some but not most predictions	858	51.19%
Matters for only a few predictions	337	20.11%
Total	1676	100.00%

6.7 US Only

Compared to today, do you think the United States will be more or less respected by other countries in 2024 if Joe Biden wins the 2020 U.S. presidential election?

Response option	Count	Percentage
More respected	865	90.20%
As respected	50	5.21%
Less respected	44	4.59%
Total	959	100.00%

6.8 Demographics of Respondents

6.8.1 Country

Table 45: Respondents by Country

Response option	Count	Percentage
Australia	65	3.22%
Austria	6	0.30%
Canada	151	7.47%
Denmark	24	1.19%
Finland	4	0.20%
France	26	1.29%
Germany	107	5.29%
Ireland	12	0.59%
Italy	49	2.42%
Netherlands	35	1.73%
New Zealand	16	0.79%
Norway	36	1.78%
Poland	75	3.71%
Sweden	41	2.03%
Switzerland	29	1.43%
United Kingdom	197	9.75%
US	1148	56.80%
Total	2021	100.00%

6.8.2 Gender

Table 46: Respondents by Gender

Response option	Count	Percentage
Female	608	30.55%
Male	1314	66.03%
Non-binary or other	11	0.55%
Prefer not to answer	57	2.86%
Total	1990	100.00%

6.8.3 Age

Table 47: Respondents by Age

Response option	Count	Percentage
>29	6	0.44%
30-39	255	18.60%
40-49	411	29.98%
50-59	367	26.77%
60-69	217	15.83%
70-79	95	6.93%
80+	20	1.46%
Total	1371	100.00%

6.8.4 Rank

Table 48: Respondents by Rank

Response option	Count	Percentage
Adjunct or Visiting Instructor/Professor (Sessional Instructor)	51	2.87%
Assistant Professor (Lecturer (UK), W1 Junior Professor (DE), etc.)	253	14.21%
Associate Professor (Reader (UK), Senior Lecturer (UK), W2/C3 Professor (DE), etc.)	600	33.71%
Full/Chaired Professor (Professor, W3/C4 Professor (DE), etc.)	706	39.66%
Instructor or Lecturer (Teaching Fellow (UK), Senior Lecturer (AT), Junior Docent, etc.)	90	5.06%
Other:	80	4.49%
Total	1780	100.00%

6.8.5 Primary Research Interests

Table 49: Respondents by Primary Research Interest

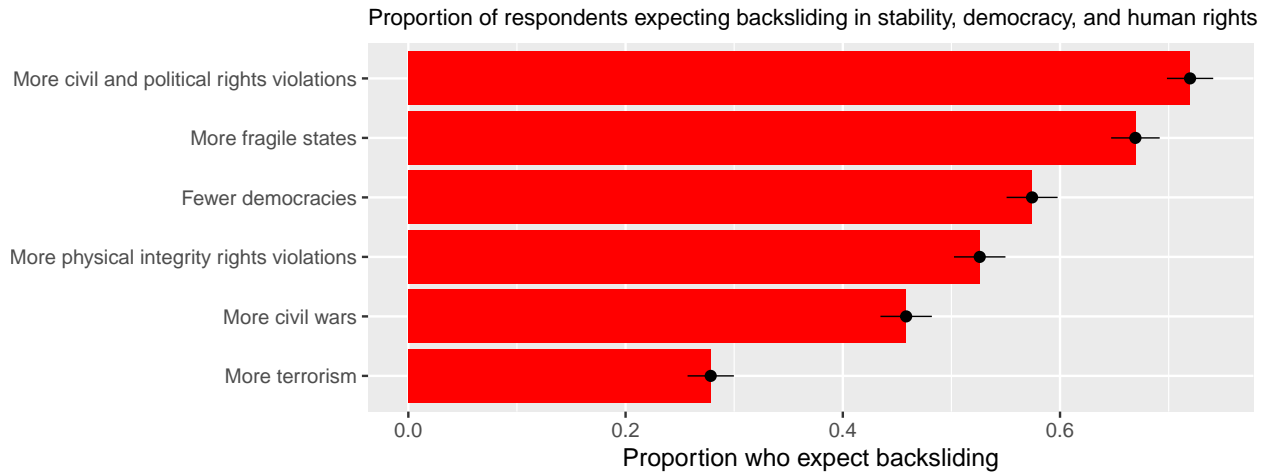| Response option	Count	Percentage
Comparative Foreign Policy	52	2.92%
Development Studies	71	3.99%
European Studies/European Integration	116	6.52%
Gender in IR	18	1.01%
Global Civil Society	11	0.62%
History of the international relations discipline	12	0.67%
Human Rights	61	3.43%
Human Security	31	1.74%
I am not an IR scholar	66	3.71%
International Law	26	1.46%
International Organization(s)	94	5.29%
International Relations of a particular region/country	122	6.86%
International Relations Theory	123	6.92%
International/Global Environmental Politics	54	3.04%
International/Global Ethics	12	0.67%
International/Global Health	8	0.45%
International/Global History	31	1.74%
International/Global Political Economy	243	13.67%
International/Global Security	366	20.58%
Religion in IR	13	0.73%
U.S. Foreign Policy	106	5.96%
Other	142	7.99%
Total	1778	100.00%

6.8.6 Secondary Research Interests

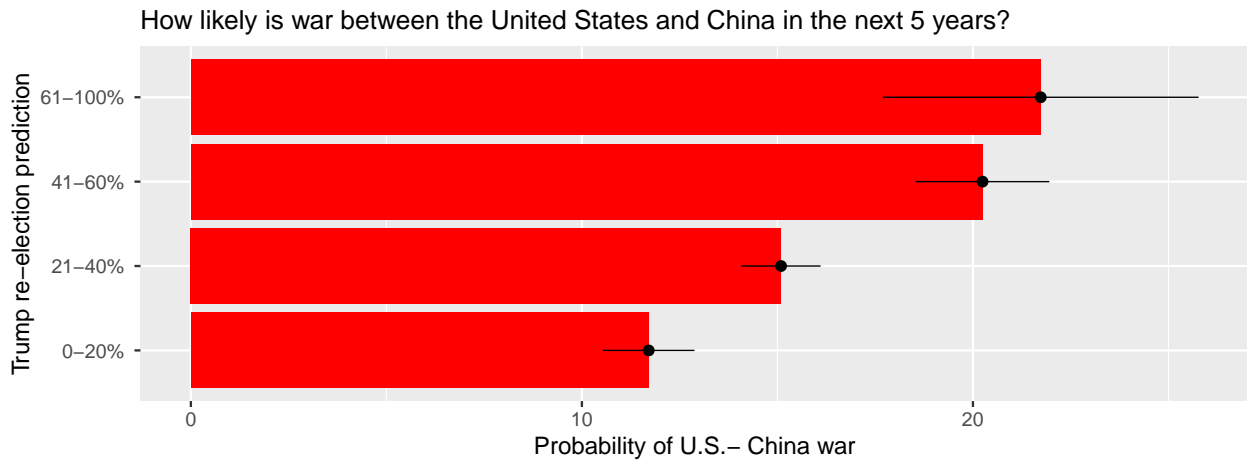Table 50: Secondary research interests (multiple select).

Issue area	Count	Percentage
Comparative Foreign Policy	164	9.43%
Development Studies	143	8.22%
European Studies/European Integration	133	7.65%
Gender in IR	66	3.8%
Global Civil Society	62	3.57%
History of the international relations discipline	62	3.57%
Human Rights	139	7.99%
Human Security	99	5.69%
I am not an IR scholar	54	3.11%
International Law	101	5.81%
International Organization(s)	266	15.3%
International Relations of a particular region/country	185	10.64%
International Relations Theory	282	16.22%
International/Global Environmental Politics	77	4.43%
International/Global Ethics	52	2.99%
International/Global Health	29	1.67%
International/Global History	114	6.56%
International/Global Political Economy	205	11.79%
International/Global Security	249	14.32%
Religion in IR	39	2.24%
U.S. Foreign Policy	220	12.65%
Other	167	9.6%
Total	2908	-

7 Figures

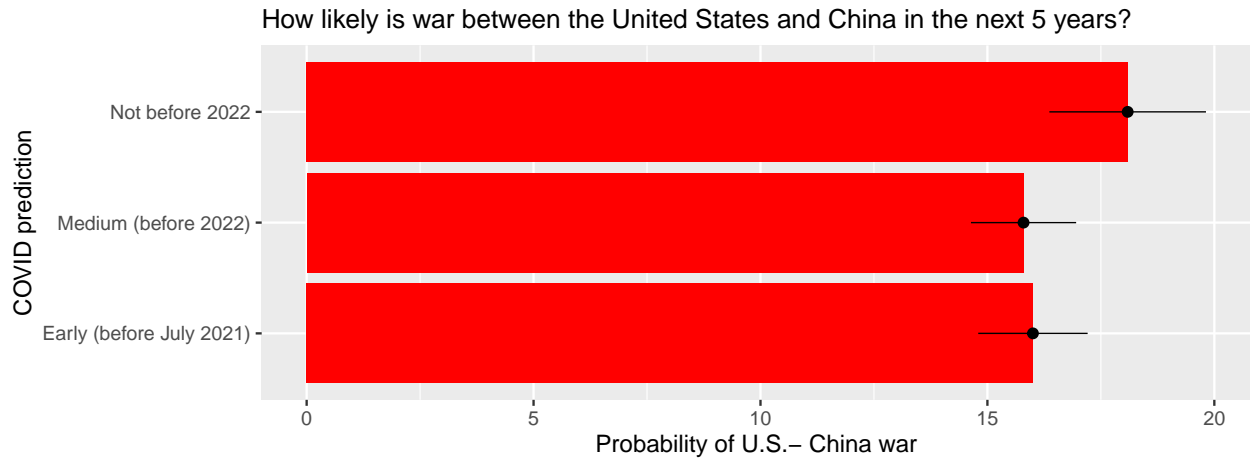## 7.1 Proportion of respondents expecting backsliding in stability, democracy, and human rights

Proportion of respondents expecting backsliding in stability, democracy, and human rights
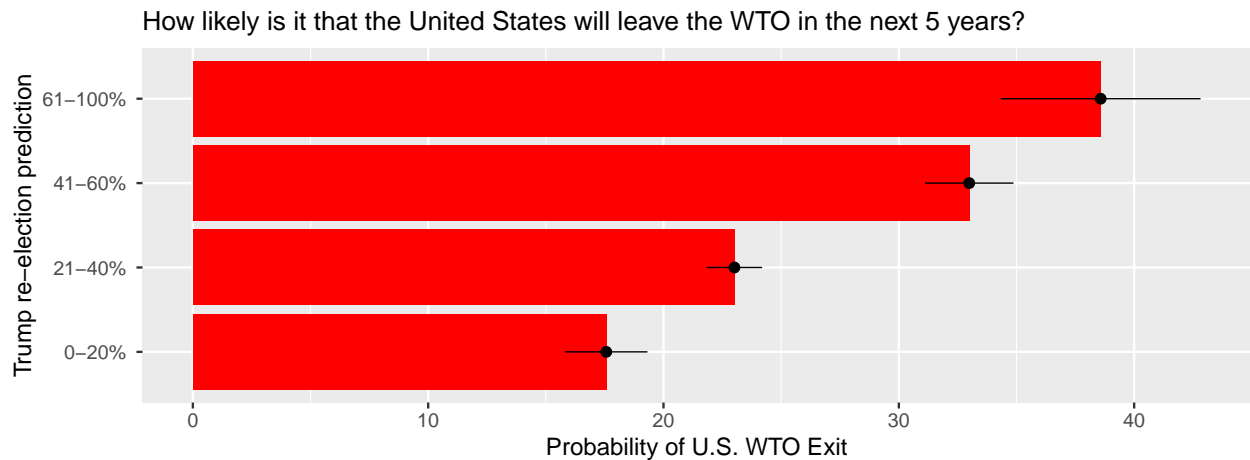

7.2 How likely is war between the United States and China in the next 5 years? By Trump prediction

How likely is war between the United States and China in the next 5 years?

7.3 How likely is war between the United States and China in the next 5 years? By COVID prediction

How likely is war between the United States and China in the next 5 years?

7.4 How likely is it that the United States will leave the WTO in the next 5 years? By Trump prediction

How likely is it that the United States will leave the WTO in the next 5 years?

7.5 Compared to 2019, do you think it will be harder or easier in 2025 to gain legal entry to the U.S.? By Trump prediction

Compared to 2019, do you think it will be harder or easier in 2025 to gain legal entry to the U.S.?

Proportion who think it will get harder for immigrants