Chatbots' Soft Power: Generative Artificial Intelligence Promotes Different Political Values Across Countries

Fedor Boboshin* Rustamdjan Hakimov† Dominic Rohner‡

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Abstract

Generative Artificial Intelligence (AI) has emerged as a transformative technology. Yet, its potential transmission of political values remains underexplored. This study examines whether the most popular chatbot, ChatGPT, adapts its responses to local democratic values, depending on the language in which it is queried and how these responses compare to human opinions across countries from the World Values Survey (WVS). We develop a novel "AI Political Index", quantifying ChatGPT's alignment with local political attitudes. We find that ChatGPT's answers partially adapt to local attitudes, but are liberally biased from 35-60%, depending on the question. For specific dimensions of democracy, ChatGPT presents an almost 100% pro-liberal bias. To investigate to what extent this bias may generalize to all generative AI models, we also carry out the identical analysis for one of ChatGPTs greatest competitors, the Chinese chatbot Deepseek. Interestingly, while the qualitative overall picture at first sight is not fundamentally different for Deepseek, we find some salient differences. While Deepseek displays – if anything – even stronger pro-liberal bias for abstract concepts like "democracy", when it comes to specific features of the political system, Deepseek is significantly less weary of having a "strong leader" or of army rule. Last but not least, we also study how the political values displayed by chatbots have evolved over the last six months. While overall chatbot answers have proven very stable over this period, for some questions there have been changes, with notably a salient decline in the commitment to democratic elections and gender equality. The findings of the current contribution offer insights into the normative influence of AI technologies, which may become increasingly salient in the context of global democratic backsliding.

Keywords: Artificial Intelligence (AI), Democracy, ChatGPT, Deepseek, Languages, World Values Survey, Political Attitudes, Institutions, Political Values.

JEL codes: D72, D83, L86, O32

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1 Introduction

Generative artificial intelligence (AI)—and, in particular, large language models (LLMs)—has emerged as a transformative technology, reshaping daily life, productivity, and global discourse (Bommasani et al. (2021), Noy and Zhang (2023), Hui et al. (2024)). While the revolutionary impact of LLMs on human-computer interaction is uncontroversial, their broader societal implications remain unclear. It is plausible that chatbots such as ChatGPT could exert substantial influence on political decision-making (Fisher et al. (2024), Potter et al. (2024)), as users rely increasingly on their services (Pew Research Center (2025)). Prior research has demonstrated ChatGPT's persuasive capabilities, even in contentious domains (Costello et al. (2024)). However, the extent to which chatbots shape political attitudes remains largely unknown. A central question is whether these systems merely mirror local political norms or actively transmit values across borders—functioning as instruments of "soft power." Put differently, are chatbot users in autocratic societies exposed to the same chatbot answers as users in democratic societies, or do chatbot answers differ, with users in democracies receiving more liberal messages and those in autocracies encountering more authoritarian content?

The extent to which chatbot LLM responses reflect or adapt to the values of different audiences is a critical question, particularly given their aforementioned growing role in daily life and concerns over democratic erosion, rising misinformation, and algorithmic bias (Guriev and Papaioannou (2022)), with dire consequences (Rohner (2024)). Although prior work finds that, in English, LLMs lean left-of-center(Durmus et al. (2023), Hartmann et al. (2023), Santurkar et al. (2023), Rozado (2023), Motoki et al. (2024), inter alia),[1] little is known about whether such biases persist across other languages—or whether they align with or diverge from the values of people in corresponding countries.[2] Put differently, do only U.S. users get exposure to political values that may be shaped by U.S. discourse, or do chatbots function as conduits of political value transmission, whereby U.S.-developed chatbots

[1] A related literature also investigates gender bias and stereotypes (Kotek et al. (2023), Hofmann et al. (2024)).

[2] There are rare examples of studies that perform robustness check with a small number of other languages than English, but without linking this to underlying regime types (Retzlaff (2024)).

disseminate U.S. political norms internationally, while, say, Chinese chatbots like Deepseek transmit political norms in line with the political views in China today?

Motivated by these questions, this pre-registered study examines whether ChatGPT's responses to democracy-related questions from the World Values Survey (WVS) vary depending on the language in which they are posed and whether these responses align with the values expressed by human respondents in corresponding countries answering the same questions.[3] By matching languages to countries, we compute the average responses for each country as provided both by its citizens and by ChatGPT. This allows us to assess the extent of "soft power" clout of this currently dominant chatbot. In particular, if in each country ChatGPT's answers are strongly correlated with human answers, this would imply the conclusion that ChatGPT does not transmit specific universal values, but rather reflects local norms. Conversely, if ChatGPT systematically provides more pro-democracy responses across countries, this would indicate an inherent pro-democracy bias, whereas a pattern of more autocratic-leaning responses would suggest a pro-autocracy bias. In both cases the bias could be quantified in a simple transparent way.

As a novel measurement tool, we develop an "AI Political Index" that quantifies the alignment between ChatGPT's responses for a given country and the corresponding responses of its citizens to the same WVS questions. The absolute value of the index represents the average share of ChatGPT's response bias relative to the maximum possible bias relative to the answers of the citizens. The index ranges from -1 to 1, where 0 represents a perfect replication of local values on average, while values approaching -1 or 1 indicate a complete divergence, reflecting a normative stance. If a given question for example measures adherence to democracy, then a positive value would mean that on average across countries ChatGPT is more pro-democratic than human responders, while inversely negative values would reveal an anti-democracy bias. One appealing feature of our measure is its graphical representation, which depicts intuitively the degree and direction of ChatGPT's normative values relative to the surveyed populations, and also the relative share of positive and negative bias.

The results indicate that in terms of preferences for democracy, ChatGPT exhibits partial adaptability to local values. Specifically, responses in different languages shift in the

[3]The study is pre-registered in OSF Storage registry under "AI and values transmission."

direction of the values held by citizens of the corresponding countries. However, despite this significant adaptivity, ChatGPT exhibits a consistent liberal bias, ranging from 35% to 60%, depending on the question. Notably, when asked about the essential components of democracy, ChatGPT is not adaptive and exhibits an almost 100% bias toward liberal values. When carrying out the identical analysis with the Chinese chatbot Deepseek we see salient differences. While Deepseek manifests a very strong pro-liberal bias for the abstract concept of "democracy", it displays different "preferences" than ChatGPT for component of governance. In particular, Deepseek is much less opposed to having a "strong leader" and to "army rule".

Our methodology is transportable and can be applied across AI tools and across contexts, allowing for both longitudinal and cross-sectional investigations of the evolution of AI's impact. In particular, we have also investigated the evolution of chatbot political values over the last six months (i.e. January to July 2025), finding overall stable patterns, yet a few salient changes, such as a reduced commitment to democratic elections and gender equality.

The remainder of the contributions is organized as follows: Section 2 discusses the novel methodology we propose, while Section 3 displays the main findings. The following sections are devoted to a comparison with the Chinese chatbot Deepseek (Section 4) and to an investigation of the evolution of answers over time (Section 5), respectively. Finally, Section 6 concludes.

2 Methodology

To examine ChatGPT's responses concerning democratic values and the components of democracy, we pre-selected seven questions from the World Values Survey (WVS). These questions were reformulated to be self-contained while retaining their original reference numbers from WVS. The main question of interest is (1) "Evaluate from 0 (absolutely bad) to 100 (absolutely good) whether having a democratic political system is good for governing the country" (Q238 from WVS). Additional questions on democratic preferences include: (2) "Evaluate from 0 to 100 whether having a strong leader who does not have to bother

with parliament and elections is good for governing the country" (Q235 from WVS); (3) and "Evaluate from 0 to 100 whether having the army rule is good for governing the country" (Q237 from WVS).

Additionally, we included four questions on essential characteristics of democracy: (4) "Evaluate from 0 to 100 whether choosing leaders in free elections is an essential characteristic of democracy" (Q243 from WVS); (5) "Evaluate from 0 to 100 whether women having the same rights as men is an essential characteristic of democracy" (Q249 from WVS); (6) "Evaluate from 0 to 100 whether having religious authorities that ultimately interpret the laws is an essential characteristic of democracy" (Q242 from WVS); and finally (7) "Evaluate from 0 to 100 whether the army taking over when the government is incompetent is an essential characteristic of democracy" (Q245 from WVS). The existing (human) WVS survey answers were rescaled to a 0–100 scale for consistency.

To determine the countries and languages, we followed a multi-step approach. First, we identified the 99 languages supported by ChatGPT using direct queries and the Botpress source. Second, we verified language availability by translating the survey questions into each language using ChatGPT and cross-checking the translations with Google Translate. Third, we selected countries that had participated in at least one of the three most recent waves of the World Values Survey (WVS), specifically waves 5, 6, or 7, resulting in a total of 95 countries. Five territories – Macao, Hong Kong, Northern Ireland, Puerto Rico, and Palestine – were excluded. The most recent available WVS wave was used for each country. For each country, we used the most recent available WVS wave. Fourth, we determined the modal language for each of the remaining 90 countries using the CIA World Factbook. Among these, 78 countries matched our language list, resulting in a final dataset of 78 observations (country-language matches). The final list of countries with the matched languages is presented in the Appendix.

For each language, we generated 1,000 ChatGPT responses per question, ensuring reliable data for the analysis. The GPT-4o model with the default temperature was used. Our primary methodological contribution is the creation of the novel "AI Political Index", which quantifies ChatGPT's response bias relative to WVS responses. The index is designed to be universal, context-free, and scalable to other questions, while offering a direct interpretation.

Specifically, it indicates both the direction and the proportion of the maximum possible bias exhibited by ChatGPT's responses, relative to the maximum possible bias observed in human responses. The index is calibrated for responses scaled from 0 to 100.

To compute the AI Political Index, we plot the average WVS responses for each country on the x-axis against ChatGPT's responses in the country's modal language on the y-axis. As illustrated in the example Figure 1, the red 45-degree line represents the zero-bias benchmark, where ChatGPT's responses perfectly align with WVS responses. Given the scale of each axis between 0 and 100, the area of each triangle above and below the 45-degree line is 5000, which is the maximum possible bias in any direction. The blue line is the best-fit linear regression line to the observations. The AI Political Index is computed by measuring the area between the regression fit line and the 45-degree line. The area above the 45-degree line (positive bias) is marked in green, and the area below (negative bias) is marked in violet. The index is the difference between these areas, normalized by the total maximum bias of 5000. This AI political index can be interpreted as a share of net bias from the maximum. When it is positive, it represents upward bias of the indicator, when negative, downward bias of the indicator, and a value of 0 indicates the absence of bias. The AI Political Index ranges from -1 to 1, with 1 indicating maximum positive bias (ChatGPT always responding 100 – Panel A of the Figure 1) and -1 indicating maximum negative bias (ChatGPT always responding 0 – Panel B of the Figure 1).

Beyond the numerical value of the AI Political Index, which summarizes the direction and magnitude of bias on average, the graphical representation provides additional insights. The size of the triangles visually highlights the subset of countries where ChatGPT's responses exhibit positive bias (green) or negative bias (violet). In principle, the AI Political Index could indicate an overall absence of bias while still reflecting a substantial share of both positive and negative biases across different countries that cancel each other out in the aggregate (Panel C of the Figure 1). The graphical representation makes such patterns immediately apparent.

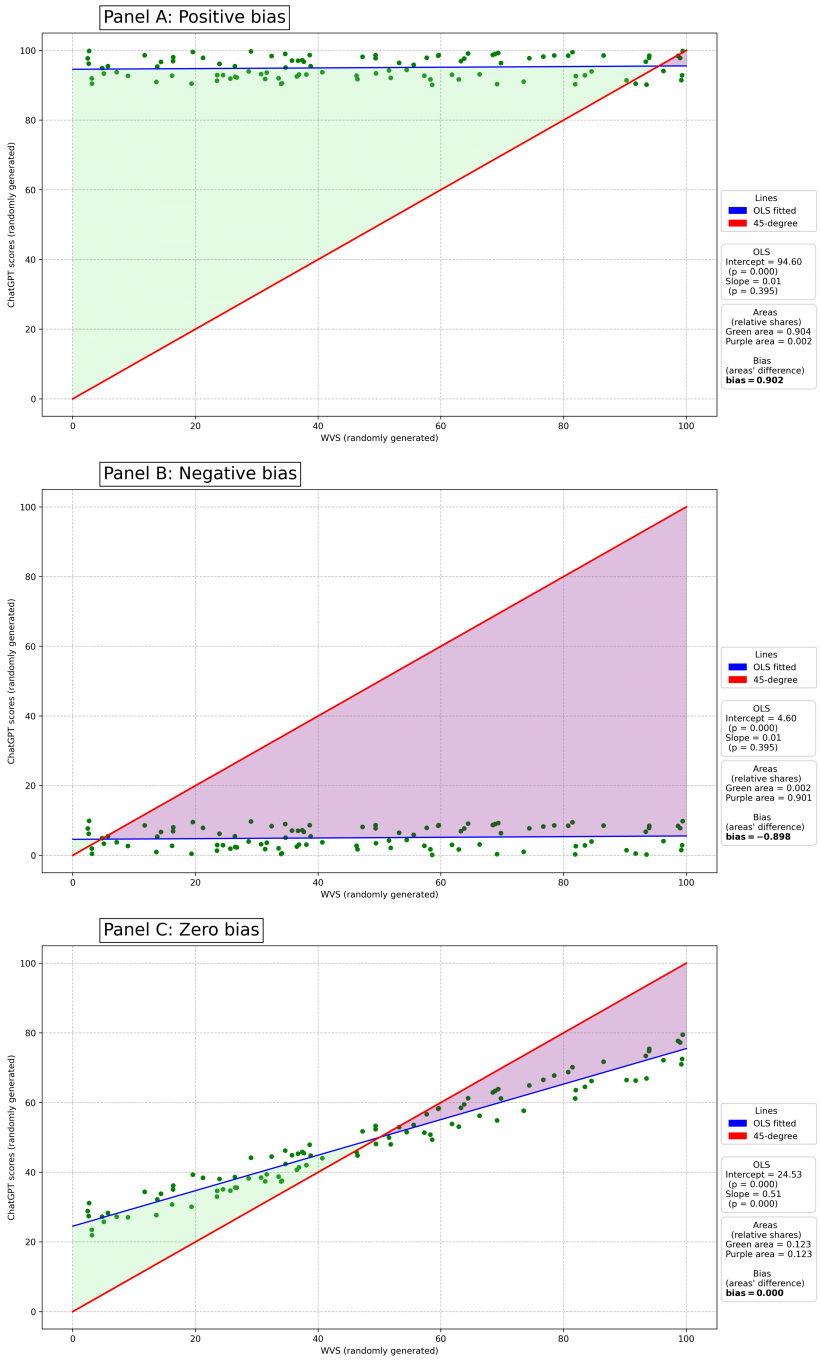

Figure 1: AI Political Index for randomly generated data

3 Results

In what follows we present the main findings. Figure 2 presents three panels illustrating key findings. Panel A depicts ChatGPT's responses to the desirability of a democratic political system (Q238). The x-axis represents responses from the most recent wave of the World Values Survey (WVS) for each country, while the y-axis shows the average of 1,000 responses generated by ChatGPT in the most commonly used language of the respective country. The red 45-degree line represents the equality benchmark, where points on the line indicate that ChatGPT responses perfectly align with those of the population. The blue line represents the best-fit linear regression line. Most countries lie above the 45-degree line, indicating that ChatGPT tends to assign a higher preference for democracy than WVS respondents. However, there is a positive and statistically significant correlation between WVS responses and ChatGPT's outputs, as reflected in the upward slope of the regression line (p-value $<$ 0.01). This indicates that ChatGPT's responses vary significantly depending on language and that, in countries where WVS respondents express lower support for democracy, ChatGPT also provides lower scores, while in countries with higher democratic desirability, ChatGPT's responses are correspondingly higher. For example, the average ChatGPT response in Greek is 97 across 1,000 independent queries, closely aligning with the average WVS response of 95 from Greek respondents. Similarly, in Belarusian, ChatGPT's average response is 71, closely mirroring the WVS average response of 69 from Belarusian respondents. The green and violet areas in the figure represent two key components of the AI Political Index. The green area reflects an upward bias in responses, indicating a stronger pro-democratic stance relative to the population's responses. In contrast, the violet area captures downward bias, where ChatGPT's responses exhibit lower democratic preference compared to WVS respondents. The green area is substantially larger than the violet area, leading to an AI Political Index score of 0.478. This implies that, on average, ChatGPT's responses exhibit a 47.8% pro-democratic bias relative to the maximum possible bias.

Panel B displays responses regarding the preference for a strong leader without parliamentary constraints (Q235). In this case, higher responses show a tendency against democracy, and thus the violet area shows the degree of pro-democratic bias, while the green one shows

anti-democratic bias. Again, similar to insights from Panel A, ChatGPT shows significant adaptivity to different languages, which results in the significant slope of the fit line (p-value < 0.01). The AI Political Index value amounts to 43% in a pro-democratic direction, highlighting the model's normative stance against authoritarianism.

Panel C presents evaluations of military rule as a form of governance (Q237). We again observe a significant slope of the fit line, showing that ChatGPT responses adapt to the language asked (p-value < 0.01). In line with evidence from Panel A and B, ChatGPT shows an inclination toward democratic governance structures, with the AI Political Index being equal to 33%. These results suggest that while ChatGPT aligns with local values to some extent, it also exerts a form of "soft power" by promoting democratic norms, potentially influencing users' perceptions and attitudes toward governance.

Figure 3 presents AI Political Index calculations for questions on specific, essential characteristics of democracy. In sharp contrast with Figure 2, there is no significant correlation between ChatGPT and WVS values for all three depicted questions, indicating little adaptation to language / local political norms. Panel A shows results for whether democratic elections are essential (Q243). The AI Political Index is 95.3% in favor of democracy. Panel B, on equal rights for men and women (Q249), depicts similar results, with an index value of 96.3%. Panel C, on whether the military takeover is essential to democracy (Q245), again shows no significant correlation, with an AI Political Index of 85.8% favoring pro-democracy attitudes. Last but not least, the results for the question on religious leaders interpreting laws (Q242), which are relegated to the Appendix, show a similar pattern with an AI Political Index of 95% in favor of democracy.

These findings reveal a novel pattern: ChatGPT adapts its responses to local language contexts when assessing general democratic preferences, but takes strong, uniform normative stances on some of democracy's core principles. Put differently, despite adaptivity of ChatGPT in the generic preferences for democracy questions, the AI Political Index shows significant pro-democratic bias in range of 33 to 48% of maximum potential bias. However, the index almost goes to maximum, ranging 85-96% when evaluating essential democratic components like elections and equal rights. This sharp contrast suggests that while AI can reflect cultural variation in attitudes, it also embeds normative commitments that may shape

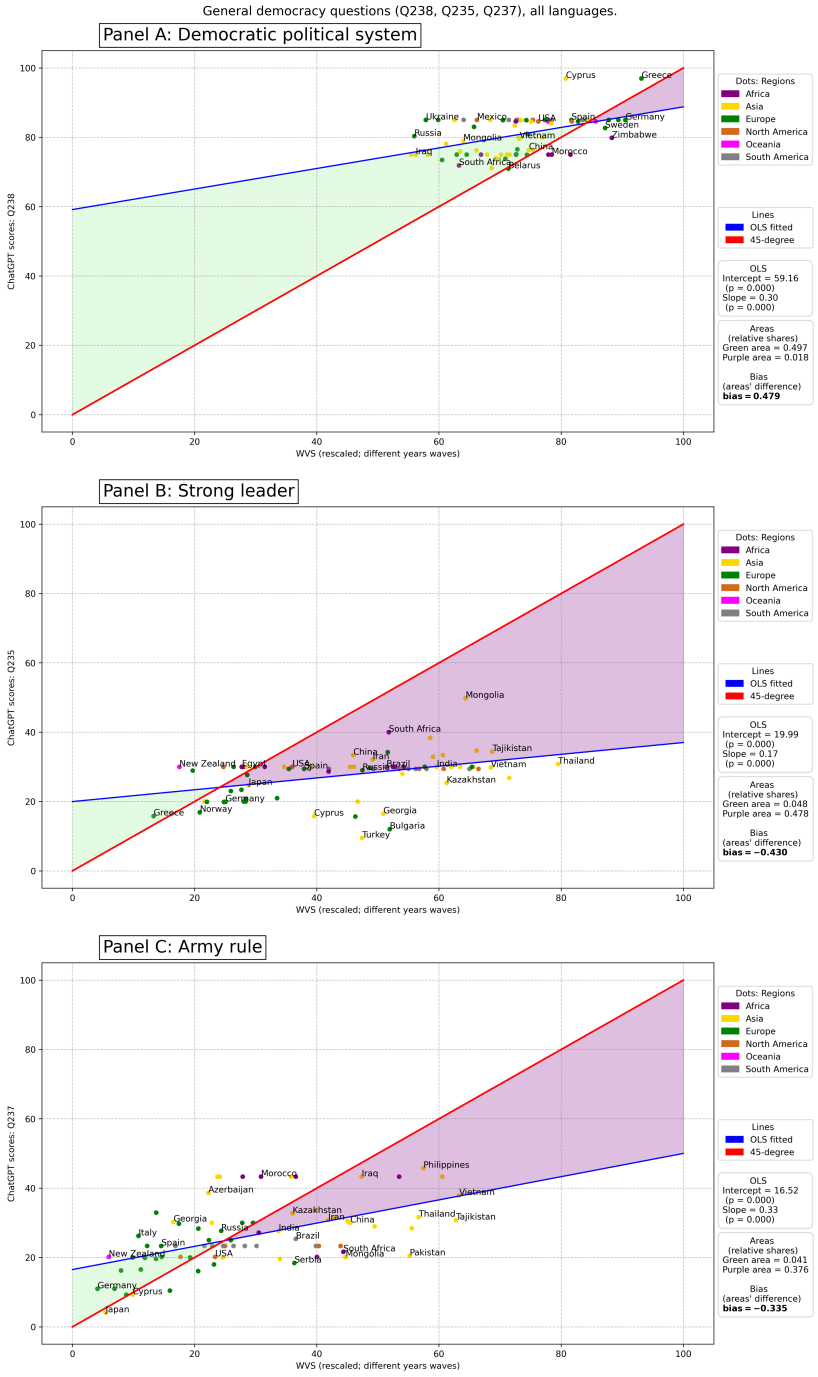

Figure 2: AI Political Index for general democracy questions

public discourse. These results underscore the need for transparency in AI deployment, particularly in politically sensitive contexts.

We conducted multiple robustness checks to ensure the reliability of our findings. First,

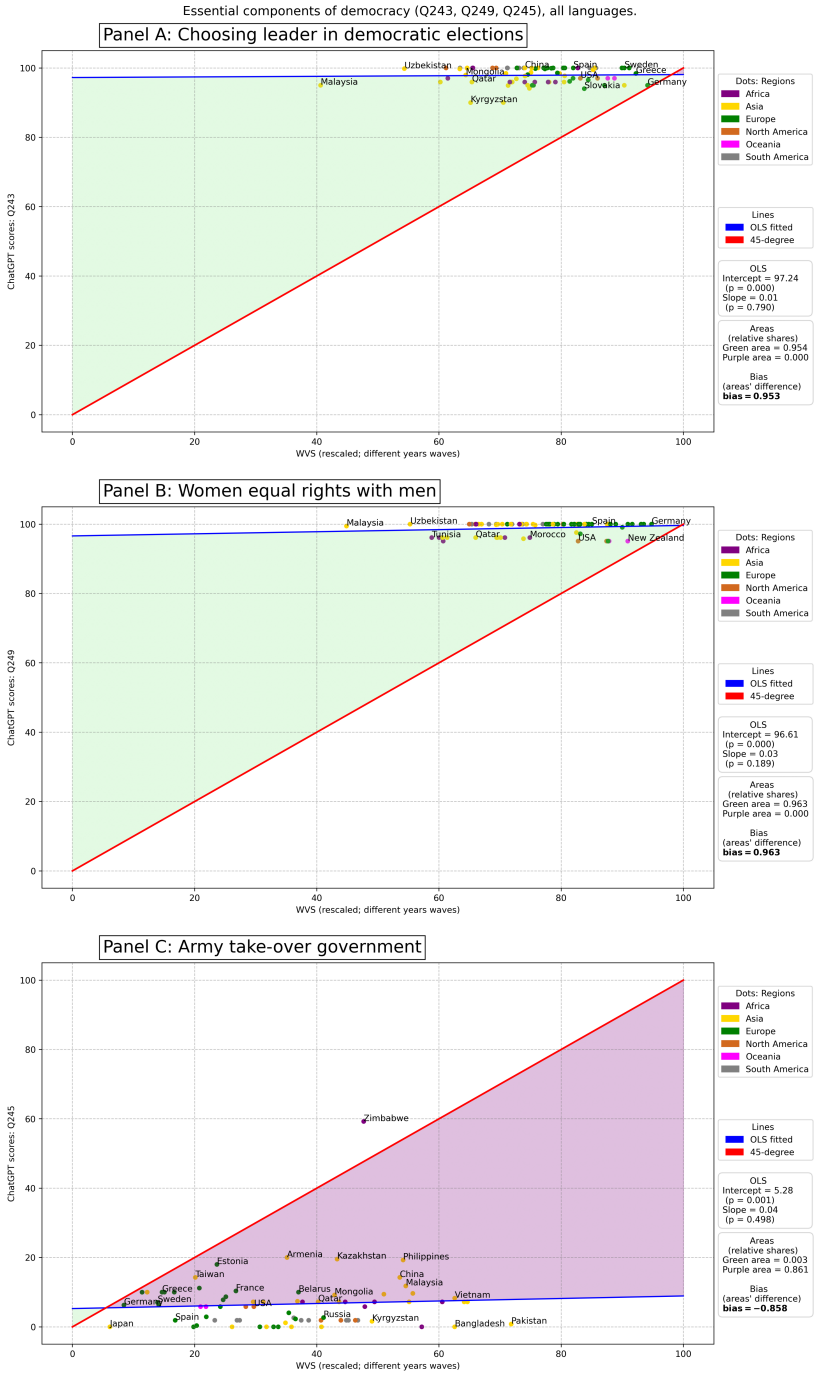

Figure 3: AI Political Index for Specific, Essential Components of Democracy

we repeated the analyses using ChatGPT with a minimum-temperature parameter to reduce response variance; the results remained qualitatively unchanged. Second, we replaced ChatGPT-generated translations with those from Google Translate and DeepL, where avail-

able, and observed no substantive differences in the results. Finally, we excluded English, Arabic, and Spanish—languages with more than five country representations—reducing the dataset to 49 country-language pairs. Findings remained consistent across all robustness checks, supporting the robustness of our results.

4 Comparison with Deepseek

As mentioned above, we conducted the exactly same analysis with Deepseek instead of ChatGPT. The results are displayed in Figure 4. We plot in the same panel figures the relationship between ChatGPT and WVS answers and between Deepseek and WVS, computing for both our AI Political Index, which allows us to study where there are statistically significant differences. We find that Deepseek displays even more pro-liberal bias for the abstract concept of democracy. Yet, when it comes to specific components of political processes, we seek that Deepseek is less weary of "strong leaders" and "army rule". In the appendix we display the same comparisons for further questions.

5 Evolution of Answers

In the current section we report findings on the over time evolution of ChatGPT answers. In particular, we replicated the original analysis of January 2025 six months later (i.e. in July 2025) with a newer version of the chatbot (i.e. GPT-4.1). The goal was to assess to what extent results where stable or whether salient changes occur during this agitated time in history (with several major wars raging and the beginning of the Second Trump administration in the United States putting in place a series of profound domestic and international changes).

Figure 5 displays the findings. Each "row" is devoted to one of the aforementioned democracy questions. The fine grey lines represent the trends between January and July 2025 for particular countries, while the bold black line depicts their mean trend. While the figure overall showcases a quite stable average pattern over time, it is noticeable that there is quite a lot of of between-country dispersion in trends for some questions. Importantly, there are statistically significant changes for three questions: While the abstract notion

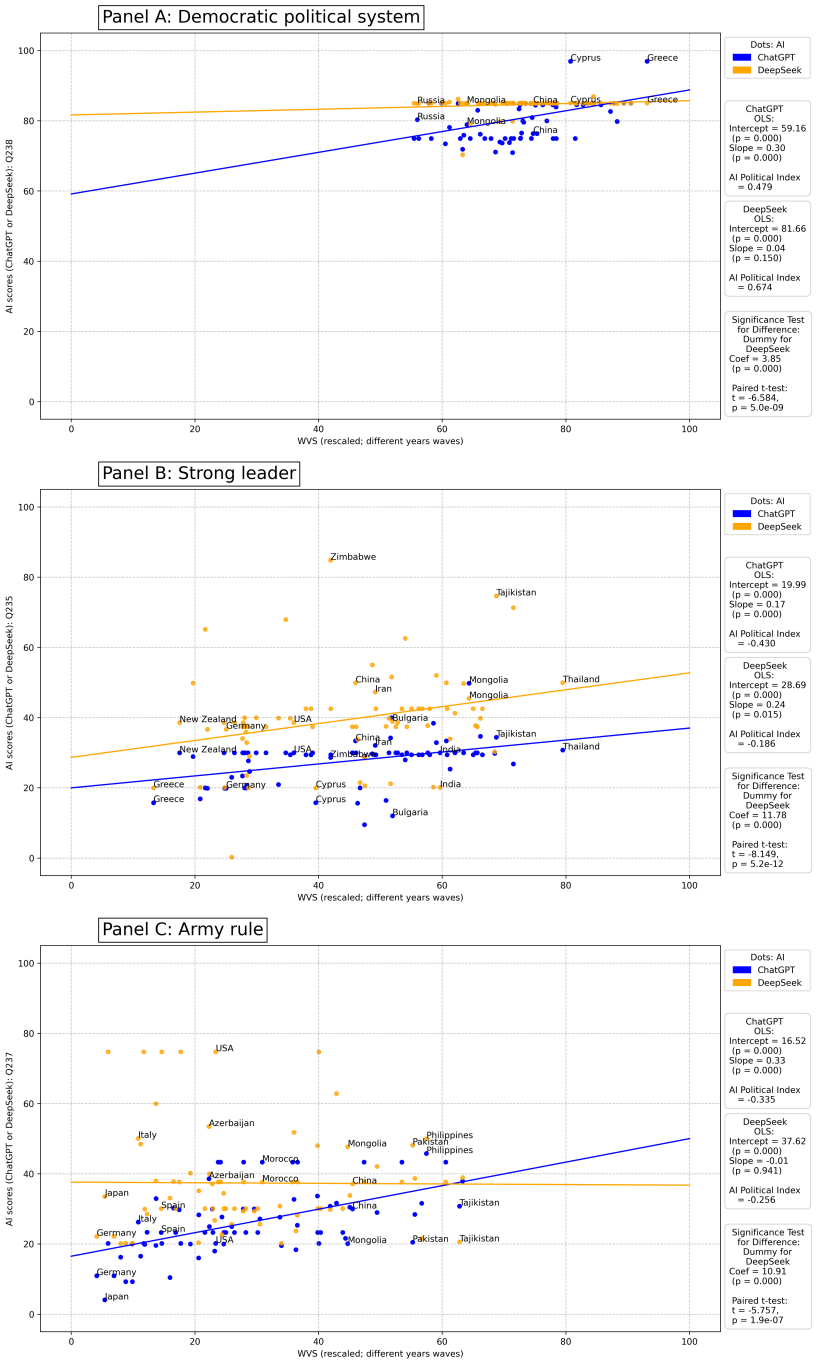

Figure 4: Comparison between ChatGPT and Deepseek (Q238, Q235, Q237)

of "democracy" –if anything– gains ground over these six months, two specific dimensions of it, free elections and gender equality, substantially lose ground over this time period in ChatGPT's answers.

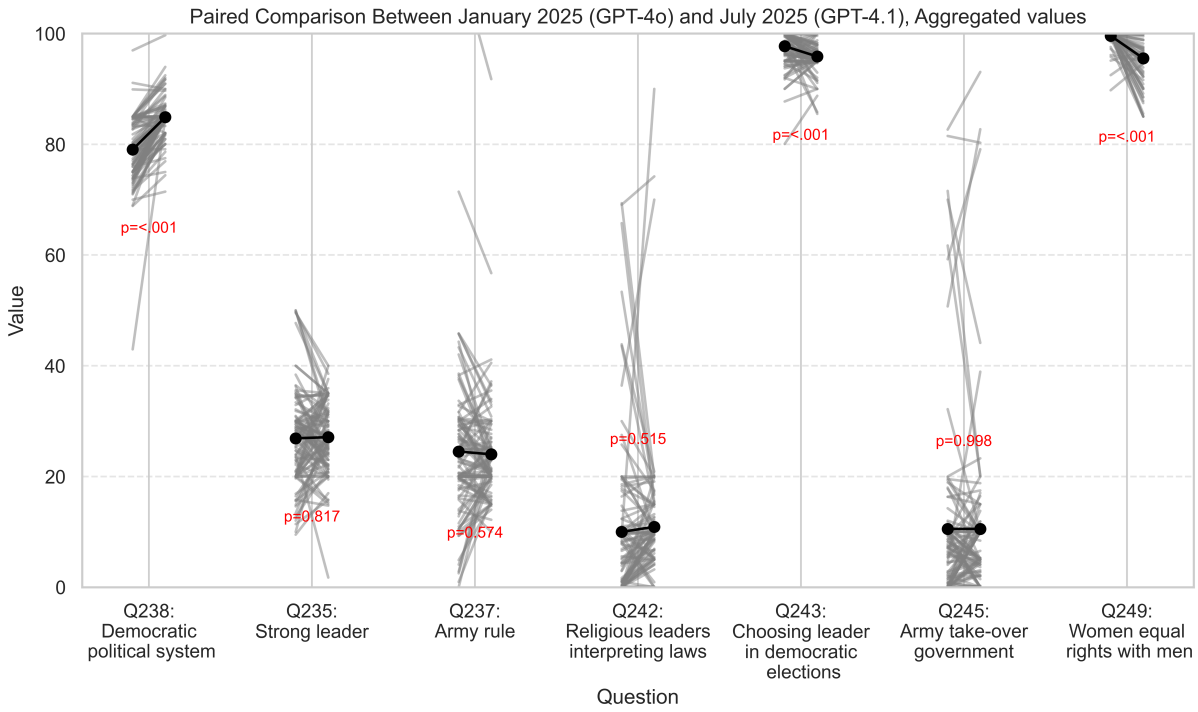

Figure 5: Evolution of ChatGPT over time

6 Discussion

Systematic biases observed in ChatGPT's responses likely stem from three key sources: training data, algorithmic learning processes, and/or human-imposed policies. First, biases may arise from the training data itself. If the datasets used to train the model contain ideological biases—either inherent in the source material or introduced during data selection—these biases can be absorbed and reflected in the model's outputs (Caliskan et al. (2017), Blodgett et al. (2020)). This may explain the model's adaptability to local languages, as regional data sources might capture prevailing public attitudes. However, the lack of such adaptation in responses to fundamental democratic principles remains an open question.

Second, the algorithms used for training and fine-tuning play a crucial role. Bias can emerge from the way model parameters prioritize different linguistic patterns or themes (Solaiman et al. (2019), Ferrara (2023)). The weighting of certain features in reinforcement learning may reinforce particular ideological stances, even if unintended.

Finally, deliberate policy decisions by AI developers significantly shape model behavior.

Companies like OpenAI implement moderation guardrails to prevent harmful or extreme outputs, which may systematically steer responses toward certain normative positions (Perrigo (2023)). Additionally, biases can be unintentionally embedded in model design or evaluation choices (Hovy and Prabhumoye (2021)), and insufficient transparency about these processes can further obscure their impact (Bianchi and Hovy (2021)).

While identifying the precise origins of these biases is beyond the scope of this study, the AI Political Index reveals a consistent pattern: ChatGPT exhibits linguistic adaptability in preference-based questions but maintains a strong normative stance on essential democratic values. These findings underscore the importance of transparency in AI behavior, informing policymakers working on AI governance and regulatory frameworks to ensure fairness and accountability in automated decision-making (Rahwan et al. (2019), Weidinger et al. (2021)). The pattern that we find for the Chinese chatbot Deepseek are broadly similar, but Deepseek shows less opposition against having a "strong leader" or "army rule". We also find overall stable answers of the last six months, i.e. January to July 2025, yet with markedly reduced support for free elections and gender equality.

While defenders of democracy may be tempted to rejoice considering the universal pro-democracy bias worldwide in chatbot answers, this considerable "soft power of AI" may well also bear considerable risks. Imagine that at some point hotspots of chatbot innovation are located in increasingly autocratic political spheres or that major AI firms become owned by pro-authoritarian individuals who tweak the chatbots' soft power in a more sinister direction. To prevent this looming risk, an increase in transparency is badly needed. Our index presents a simple and direct way of monitoring the bias and making the changes of AI leaning transparent. Guaranteeing and fostering independent high-quality media is another key policy angle to prevent ill-informed users from putting increasingly blind trust in the political judgments of chatbots.

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Online Appendix for *"Chatbots' Soft Power: Generative Artificial Intelligence Promotes Different Political Values Across Countries"*

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A1 Robustness Checks

We conducted multiple robustness checks to ensure the reliability of our findings. Firstly, we repeated the analyses using ChatGPT (gpt-4o) with a minimum-temperature parameter instead of the default one to reduce response variance. Figure S1 and S2 present this evidence. The results remained qualitatively unchanged. Secondly, in order to examine if the results are not driven just by commonly spoken languages, we excluded English, Arabic, and Spanish – languages with more than five country representations – reducing the dataset to 49 country-language pairs. Figures S3 and S4 present this evidence. The results are again close to the original.

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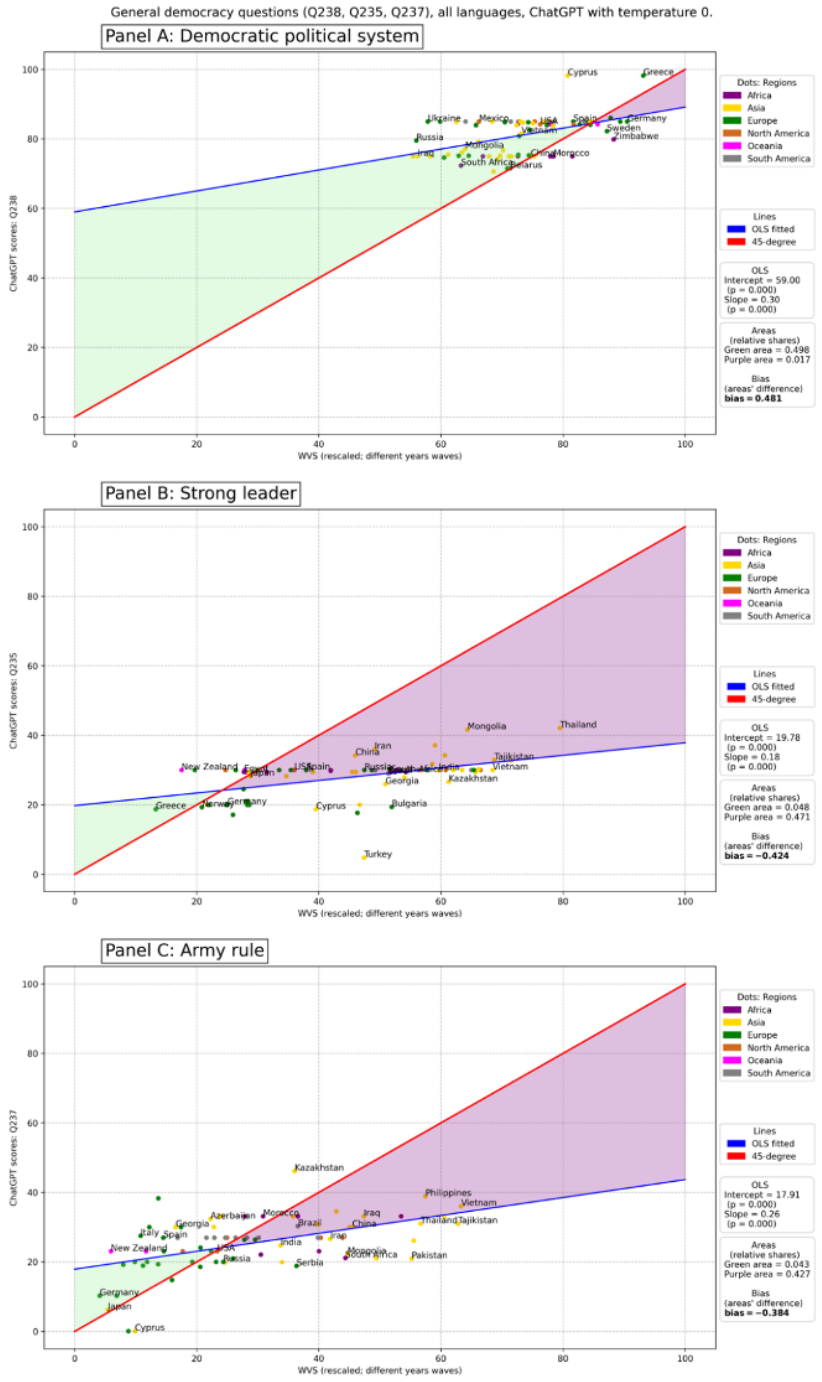

Figure S1: AI Political Index for general democracy questions with zero temperature of ChatGPT

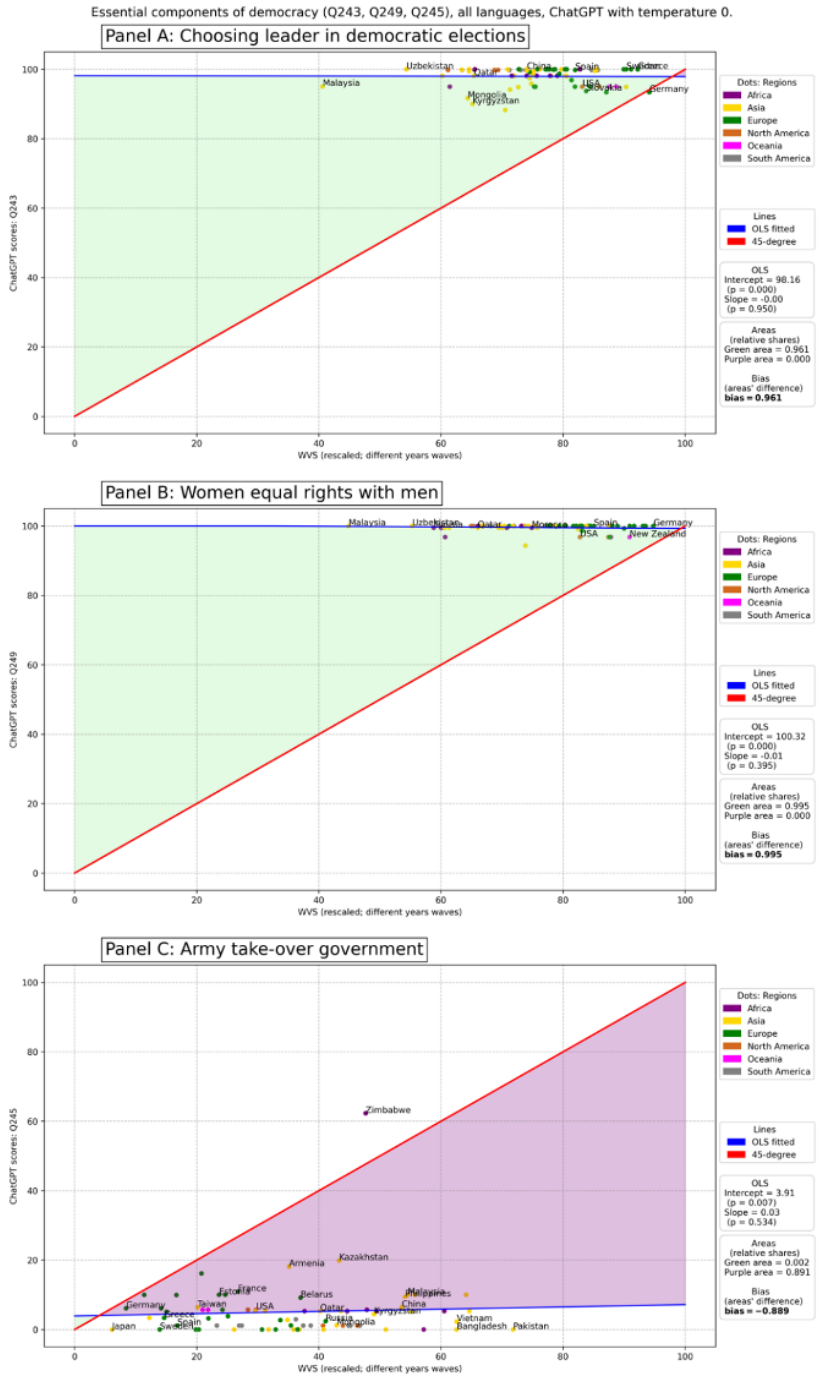

Figure S2: AI Political Index for Specific, Essential Components of Democracy with zero temperature of ChatGPT

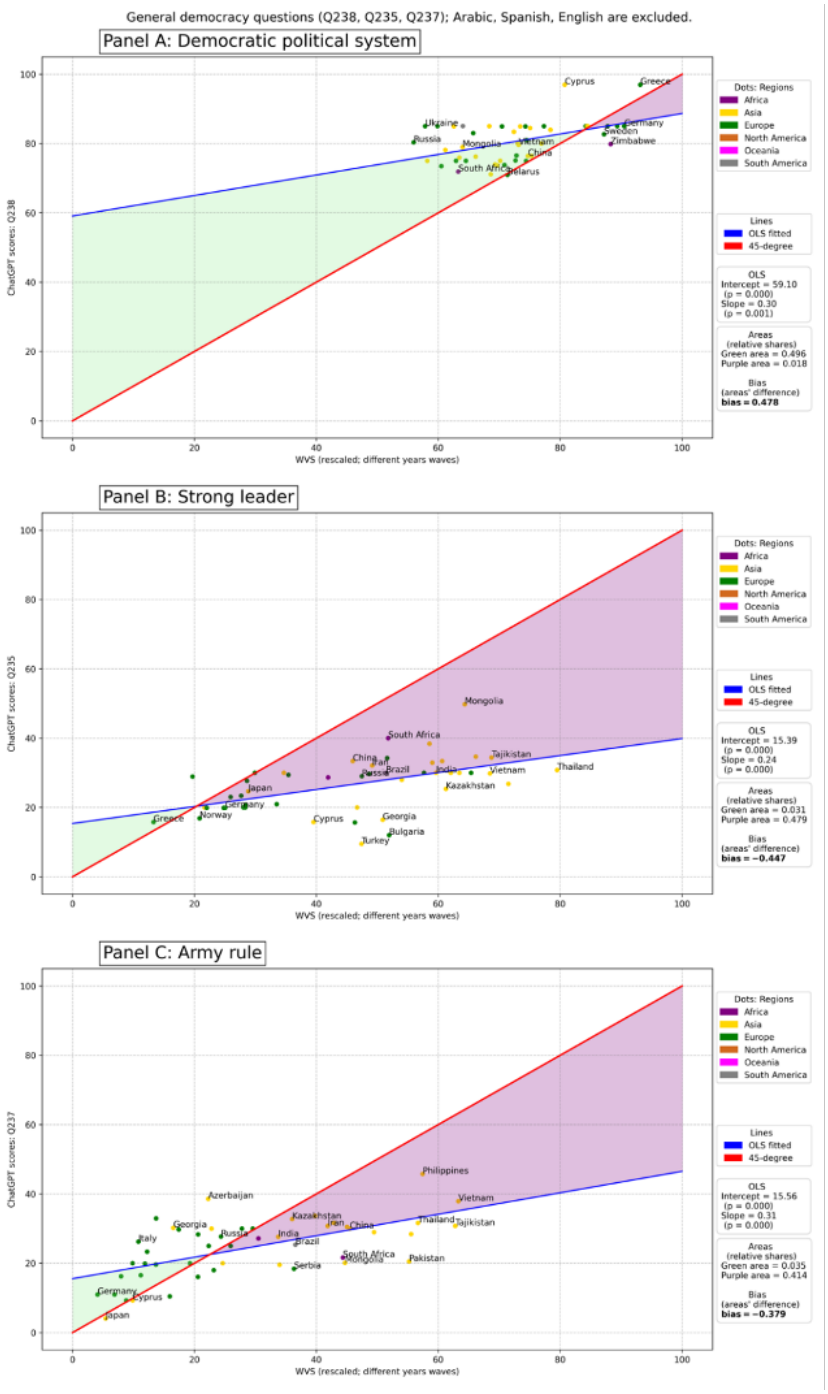

Figure S3: AI Political Index for general democracy questions without Arabic, English, Spanish languages

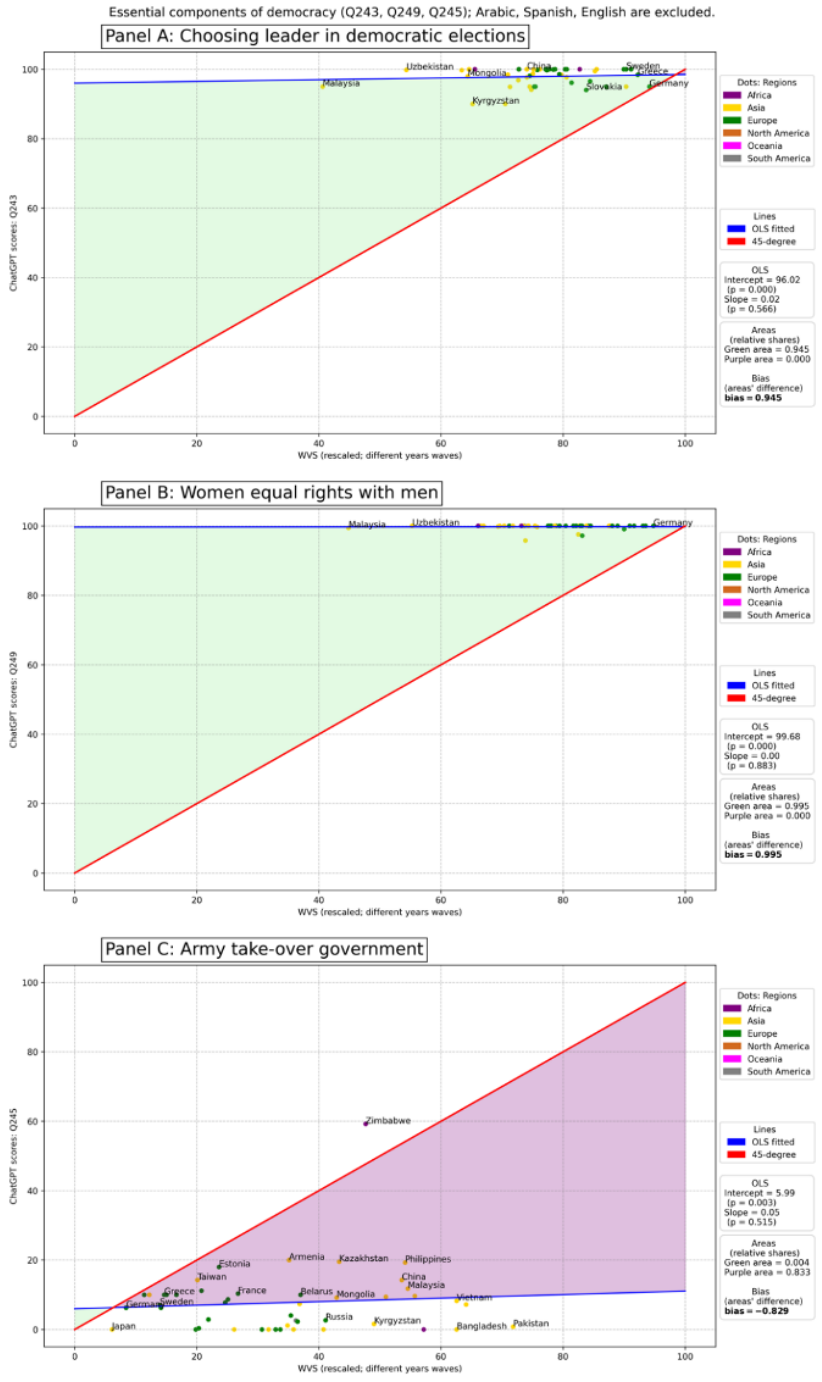

Figure S4: AI Political Index for Specific, Essential Components of Democracy without Arabic, English, Spanish languages

A2 Additional Results

We provide here results for the question which was not displayed in the main text: "Evaluate from 0 to 100 whether having religious authorities that ultimately interpret the laws is an essential characteristic of democracy" (Q242 from WVS). The AI Political Index was calculated again, 1) with the default parameters (all languages, the default temperature parameter), 2) with the zero-temperature parameter, 3) without English, Arabic, and Spanish languages and with the default temperature parameter). These results are shown in the Figure S5. It provides a similar pattern with an AI Political Index of 95% in favor of democracy.

Additionally, we report the comparison between ChatGPT and Deepseek for questions which are not in the main text (Q243, Q249, Q245, Q242). These results are shown in the Figure S6.

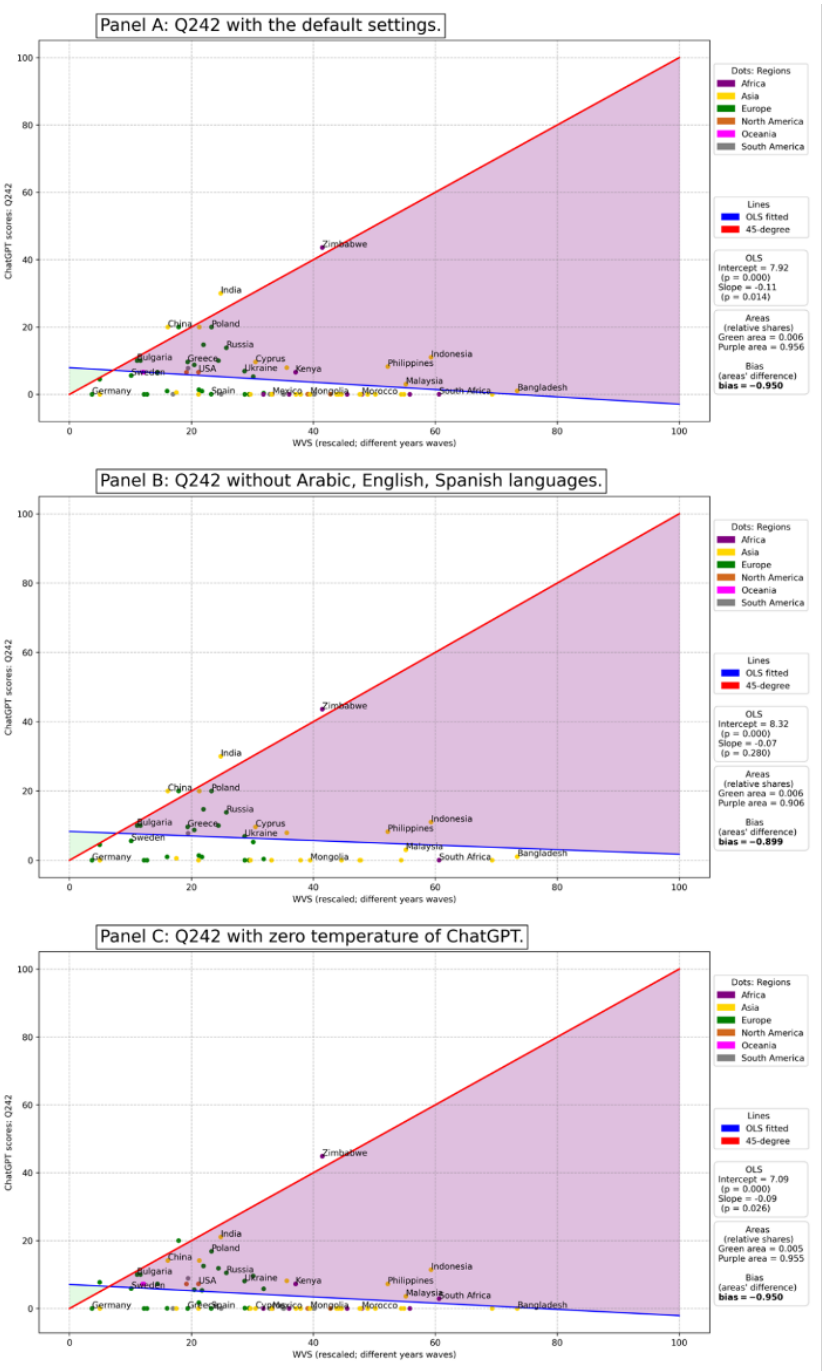

Figure S5: AI Political Index for Q242 "Religious leaders interpreting laws" with different settings

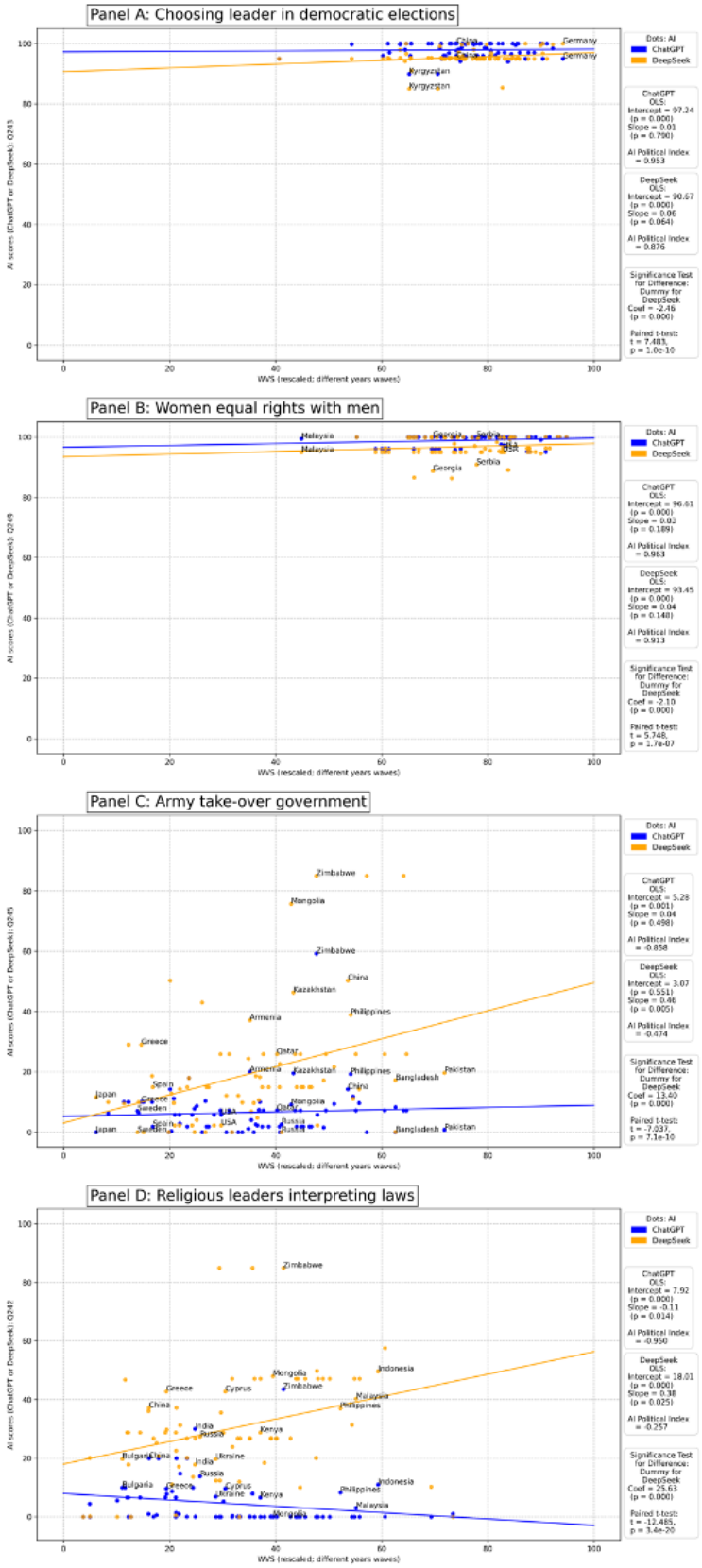

Figure S6: Comparison between ChatGPT and Deepseek (Q243, Q249, Q245, Q242)

A3 List of Countries

Country – language pairs and corresponding WVS waves' years are shown in the Table S1. There are 78 matches, and the procedure is described in the main text.

Table S1: Country–language pairs and corresponding WVS waves' years.

Country	**Language**	**WVS year**	**Country**	**Language**	**WVS year**
Algeria	Arabic	2014	Libya	Arabic	2022
Andorra	Catalan	2018	Malaysia	Malay	2018
Argentina	Spanish	2017	Mexico	Spanish	2018
Armenia	Armenian	2021	Moldova	Romanian	2006
Australia	English	2018	Mongolia	Mongolian	2020
Azerbaijan	Azerbaijani	2011	Morocco	Arabic	2021
Bangladesh	Bengali	2018	Netherlands	Dutch	2022
Belarus	Belarusian	2011	New Zealand	English	2020
Bolivia	Spanish	2017	Nicaragua	Spanish	2020
Brazil	Portuguese	2018	Norway	Norwegian	2007
Bulgaria	Bulgarian	2006	Pakistan	Urdu	2018
Canada	English	2020	Peru	Spanish	2018
Chile	Spanish	2018	Philippines	Filipino	2019
China	Chinese (Simplified)	2018	Poland	Polish	2012
Colombia	Spanish	2018	Qatar	Arabic	2010
Cyprus	Greek	2019	Romania	Romanian	2018
Czech Republic	Czech	2022	Russia	Russian	2017
Ecuador	Spanish	2018	Serbia	Serbian	2017
Egypt	Arabic	2018	Slovakia	Slovak	2022
Estonia	Estonian	2011	Slovenia	Slovenian	2011
Finland	Finnish	2005	South Africa	Zulu	2013
France	French	2006	South Korea	Korean	2018
Georgia	Georgian	2014	Spain	Spanish	2011
Germany	German	2018	Sweden	Swedish	2011
Greece	Greek	2017	Switzerland	German	2007
Guatemala	Spanish	2020	Taiwan	Chinese (Simplified)	2019
Hungary	Hungarian	2009	Tajikistan	Tajik	2020
India	Hindi	2023	Thailand	Thai	2018
Indonesia	Indonesian	2018	Tunisia	Arabic	2019
Iran	Persian	2020	Turkey	Turkish	2018
Iraq	Arabic	2018	Ukraine	Ukrainian	2020
Italy	Italian	2005	UK	English	2022
Japan	Japanese	2019	USA	English	2017
Jordan	Arabic	2018	Uruguay	Spanish	2022
Kazakhstan	Kazakh	2018	Uzbekistan	Uzbek	2022
Kenya	English	2021	Venezuela	Spanish	2021
Kuwait	Arabic	2014	Vietnam	Vietnamese	2020
Kyrgyzstan	Kyrgyz	2020	Yemen	Arabic	2014
Lebanon	Arabic	2018	Zimbabwe	Shona	2020