



RATING WORLD LEADERS:

What People Worldwide Think
of the U.S., China, Russia,
the EU and Germany

Seventy years ago, Gallup started asking Americans whether they approve or disapprove of the job performance of the president of the United States. This metric — the president’s job approval rating — quickly became famous and is now a staple in modern politics.

In addition to asking Americans how they feel about the president, we also wanted to know how the *world* feels about U.S. leadership. So Gallup took the famous presidential job approval question — do you approve or disapprove of the leadership of the United States — global. Now we ask people in 135 countries how they feel about the job performance of U.S. leadership. Additionally, we ask those same people how they feel about the leadership of the European Union, Germany, Russia and China. Nothing comparable on this scale exists anywhere else in the world.

Our first measurement in 2007 found subpar global approval ratings of the U.S. A median of 38% of the world approved of the job performance of the leadership of the U.S., nearly matching global approval ratings of China’s leadership. Two years into our tracking, President Barack Obama took office and approval ratings of the U.S. soared. A median of 49% of the world approved of the job performance of the leadership of the U.S. at that time — the highest approval rating of a world power that Gallup has seen in its history of tracking. Median approval of U.S. leadership has been mostly stable during Obama’s time in office and been among the highest in the world when compared with Russia, China, the EU and Germany — and has been the highest for two years running.

Commentators may review this report and wonder, “Why should Americans care what the rest of the world thinks? And why should the leaders of the EU, China, Russia or Germany care?”

Global thought leader Joseph Nye popularized a concept known as soft power, which refers to the amount of power countries possess to get other countries to cooperate with them not because they have to, but because they want to. Recent research suggests this concept is quantitatively true. Academics at Dartmouth and Sydney University found that “public opinion about U.S. foreign policy in foreign countries does affect their policies toward the U.S.”

Rating World Leaders: What People Worldwide Think of the U.S., China, Russia, the EU and Germany is the first-ever Gallup report on global public opinion about these major world powers. It offers an unprecedented look at how the world has viewed each of them for the past eight years; it covers where they are the most and least popular; and it closely looks at how countries in the international crosshairs and headlines — such as Greece, Afghanistan, Iraq and Ukraine — rate them.

The data in this report quantify what people worldwide think of the leadership of the U.S., the EU, Russia, Germany and China. They also attempt to quantify the amount of influence each of the world powers has — or doesn’t have — outside of its traditional means of influence such as economic sanctions or military might. While foreign policy may not hinge on public opinion, leaders of the U.S., the EU, China, Russia and Germany would be wise to closely follow all of the data in this report.

Jon Clifton
Managing Director
Gallup World Poll

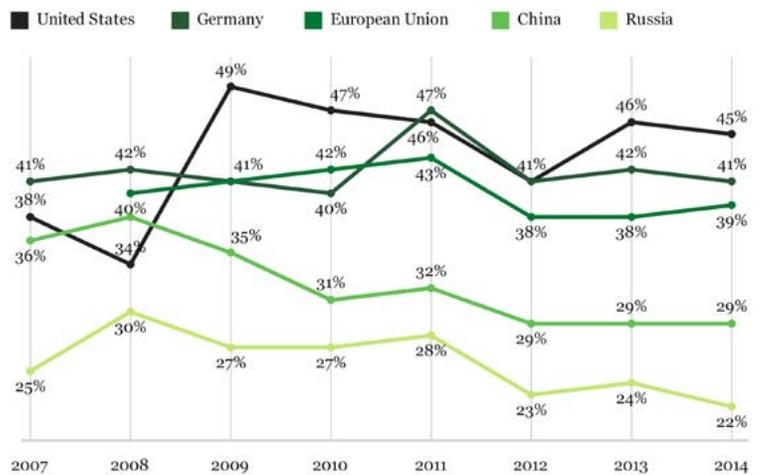
U.S. LEADERSHIP CONTINUES TO EARN HIGHEST RATINGS IN 2014, RUSSIA LOWEST

For the second consecutive year, the leadership of the U.S. has earned the highest approval ratings among five major global powers. Median approval of U.S. leadership across 135 countries and areas in 2014 was 45% — similar to the 46% in 2013. The leadership of Germany and the EU follow closely with median approval ratings of 41% and 39%, respectively.

A sizable gap remains between ratings of these three and ratings of the leadership of China and Russia. Median approval of China's leadership was stable from 2013 to 2014, at 29%. Although Russia's leadership arguably had more international visibility in 2014 than in the past several years, with the Olympic Games and the situation with Ukraine, approval ratings remain low and flat at 22%.

Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of ____?

% Median approval



REPORT HIGHLIGHTS



The 45% approval rating for the U.S. in 2014 is not measurably different from the one in 2013 (46%). While the 27% median disapproval is on the higher side for Obama's presidency, it is still much lower than the levels seen during the last years of George W. Bush's administration.



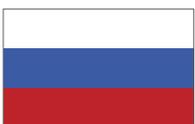
Approval ratings of Germany's leadership have increased by 10 percentage points or more in 11 countries. Nine of these 11 countries are EU member countries; this list of nine includes all of the bailout countries except for Greece.



Russians give the leadership of the EU and the U.S. their lowest approval ratings in the world. Six percent of Russians approve of the leadership of the EU, and 4% approve of the leadership of the U.S. Both are record lows for Russia.



There are double-digit declines in the approval of China's leadership in nine countries and double-digit increases in four. Russia leads the increases in approval, rising 17 percentage points from 25% in 2013 to 42% in 2014.

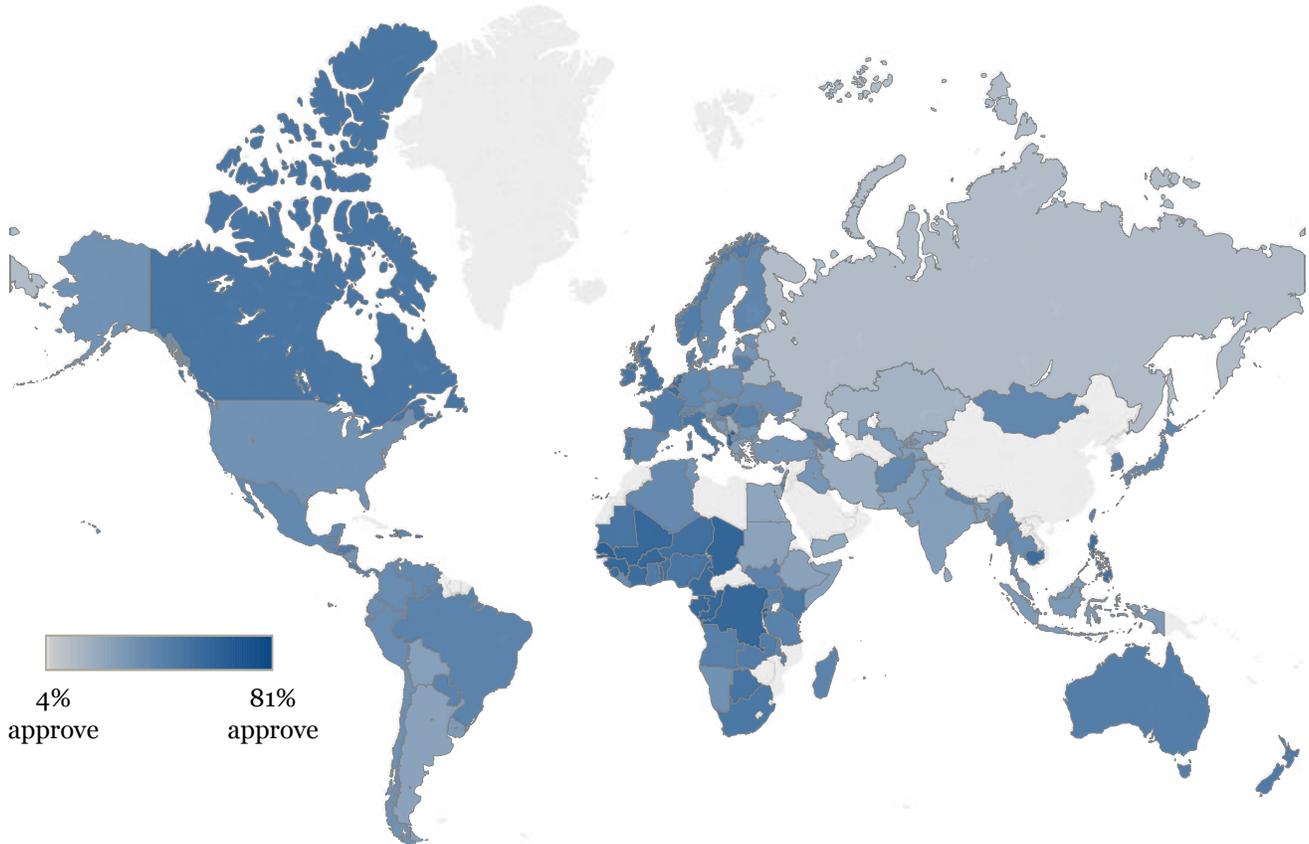


Russia is the only country whose leadership receives higher disapproval ratings than approval ratings. Median approval is flat at 22%, while median disapproval is 36%, its highest level since 2007.



United States

WORLDWIDE APPROVAL OF U.S. LEADERSHIP

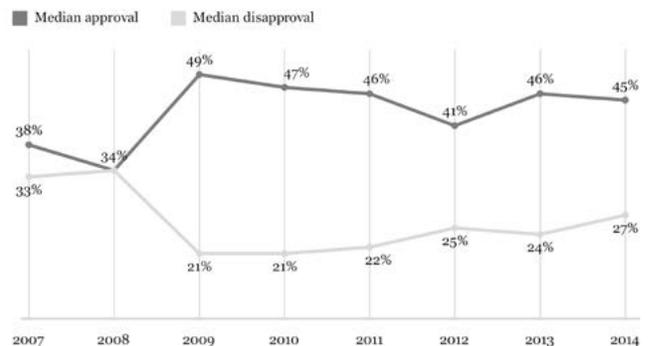


U.S. LEADERSHIP STILL GETS HIGHEST APPROVAL

For the second consecutive year, the U.S. receives the highest approval ratings of all major global powers asked about, with a median approval rating of 45%. The rating for 2014 is not measurably different from the one in 2013 (46%). While the 27% median disapproval is on the higher side for the Obama presidency, it is still much lower than the levels seen during the last years of the Bush administration.

When asked separately to rate their own country's leadership in 2014, 35% of Americans said they approve and 64% said they disapprove. These attitudes have been fairly unchanged since 2012.

Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of the United States?



Highest Approval of U.S. Leadership

Senegal	81%
Kosovo	81%
Chad	77%
Rwanda	76%
Congo Kinshasa	74%
Burkina Faso	74%
Albania	74%
Guinea	74%
Mali	74%
Gabon	72%
Congo Brazzaville	72%

Majorities of residents in 49 countries approve of the leadership of the U.S. Approval of U.S. leadership is highest in Senegal and Kosovo, where 81% approve. Both countries have been near the top of the list in approval for the past few years. Russians are the least likely in the world to approve, at 4% (a record low for Russia).

Highest Disapproval of U.S. Leadership

Russia	82%
Palestinian Territories	72%
Belarus	69%
Lebanon	66%
Pakistan	65%
Iran	61%
Egypt	58%
Austria	55%
Slovenia	54%
Tajikistan	54%

Majorities in 15 countries disapprove of U.S. leadership, with the list dominated by countries in the former Soviet Union and the Middle East and North Africa. Russians give U.S. leadership the highest disapproval rating (82%) among all countries surveyed.

Biggest Losses

	Approval in 2014	Change From 2013
Kazakhstan	9%	-28
Ethiopia	22%	-28
Tajikistan	25%	-20
Bangladesh	28%	-19
Uganda	48%	-17
Mauritania	60%	-17
Guinea	74%	-16
Haiti	56%	-14
Malawi	48%	-13
Belarus	7%	-12
Tanzania	49%	-12
Russia	4%	-12
Kenya	58%	-10
Kyrgyzstan	21%	-10
Mongolia	43%	-10
Bulgaria	35%	-10

Approval ratings have declined by 10 percentage points or more in 16 countries. Kazakhstan and Ethiopia lead the declines, dropping 28 points. Ratings have also dropped in former Soviet Union countries such as Tajikistan, Belarus, Russia and Kyrgyzstan. Ratings are down in a number of African countries as well.

Approval ratings have increased by 10 points or more in seven countries.

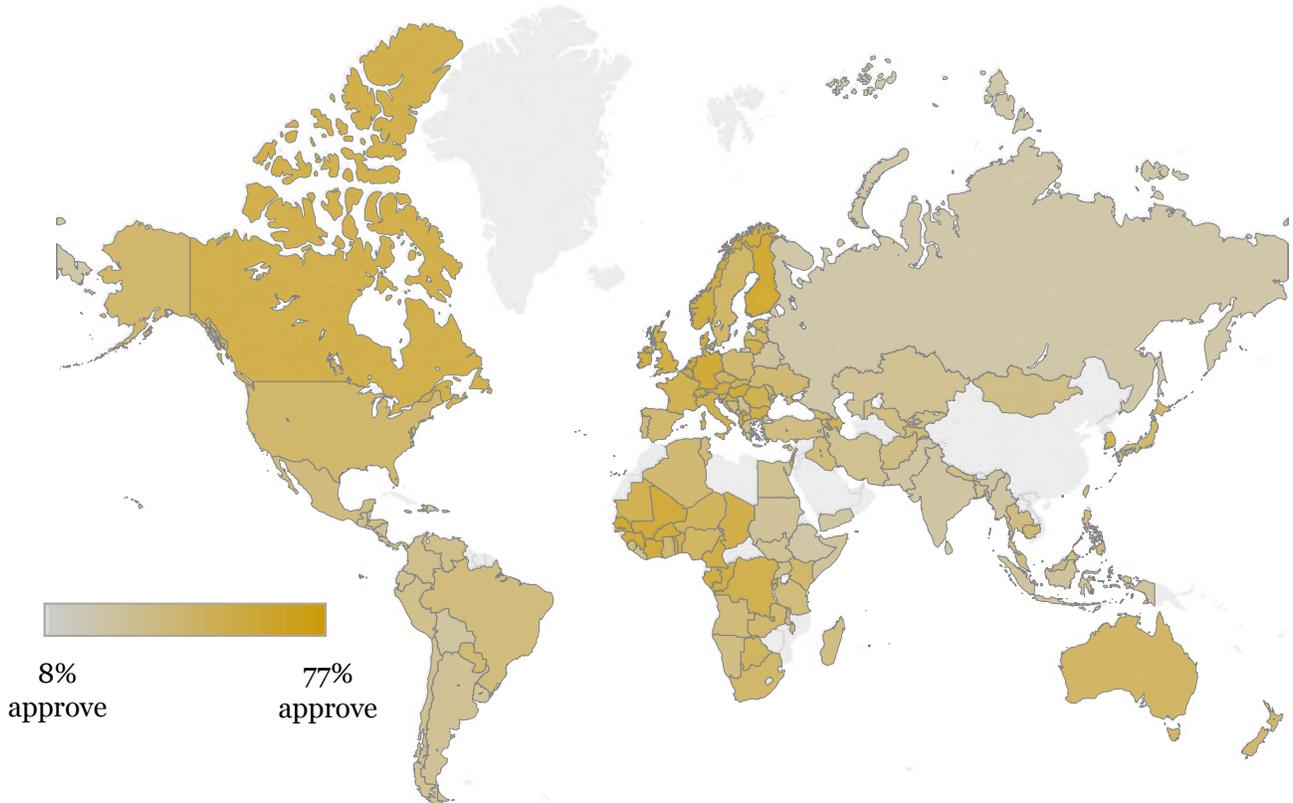
Biggest Gains

	Approval in 2014	Change From 2013
Madagascar	48%	+14
Luxembourg	53%	+12
France	52%	+12
Tunisia	33%	+11
Brazil	48%	+11
Croatia	41%	+11
Hungary	54%	+10



Germany

WORLDWIDE APPROVAL OF GERMAN LEADERSHIP

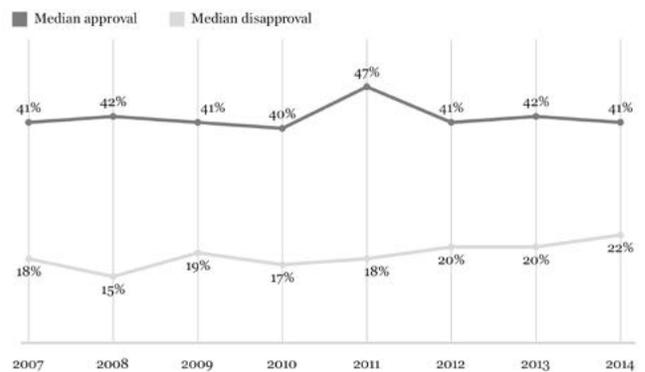


GERMANY RANKS SECOND IN THE WORLD

Median approval of the leadership of Germany is flat at 41%, and median disapproval is about half as high at 22%.

When asked separately about their own country's leadership in 2014, Germans were much more positive. Seventy-one percent of Germans approved of their country's leadership — the highest rating in eight years.

Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of Germany?



Highest Approval of Germany's Leadership

Kosovo	77%
Netherlands	77%
Senegal	77%
Finland	74%
Hungary	71%
Albania	71%
Ireland	71%
Denmark	70%
Mali	70%
Guinea	70%

Majorities of residents in 46 countries approve of Germany's leadership. Nineteen of these are EU member countries, and another five are in Europe. Worldwide, approval of Germany's leadership is highest in Kosovo, the Netherlands and Senegal — all at 77%.

Highest Disapproval of Germany's Leadership

Palestinian Territories	67%
Russia	66%
Pakistan	65%
Lebanon	63%
Greece	55%
Malawi	53%
Algeria	52%
Belarus	51%
Egypt	49%
Haiti	46%

Majorities in eight countries disapprove of Germany's leadership, with two in three Palestinians (67%) and Russians (66%) giving the highest disapproval ratings of all countries surveyed.

Biggest Losses

	Approval in 2014	Change From 2013
Kazakhstan	23%	-27
Tanzania	35%	-18
Bangladesh	22%	-17
Russia	12%	-17
Ethiopia	13%	-15
Guinea	70%	-15
Malawi	36%	-15
Uganda	29%	-14
Sierra Leone	35%	-12
Afghanistan	33%	-11
Belarus	18%	-11
Uzbekistan	31%	-11
Estonia	53%	-10

Approval ratings have declined by 10 percentage points or more in 13 countries. Kazakhstan leads the declines, dropping 27 points from 50% to 23%. Ratings have also dropped in Russia, Belarus and Uzbekistan.

Biggest Gains

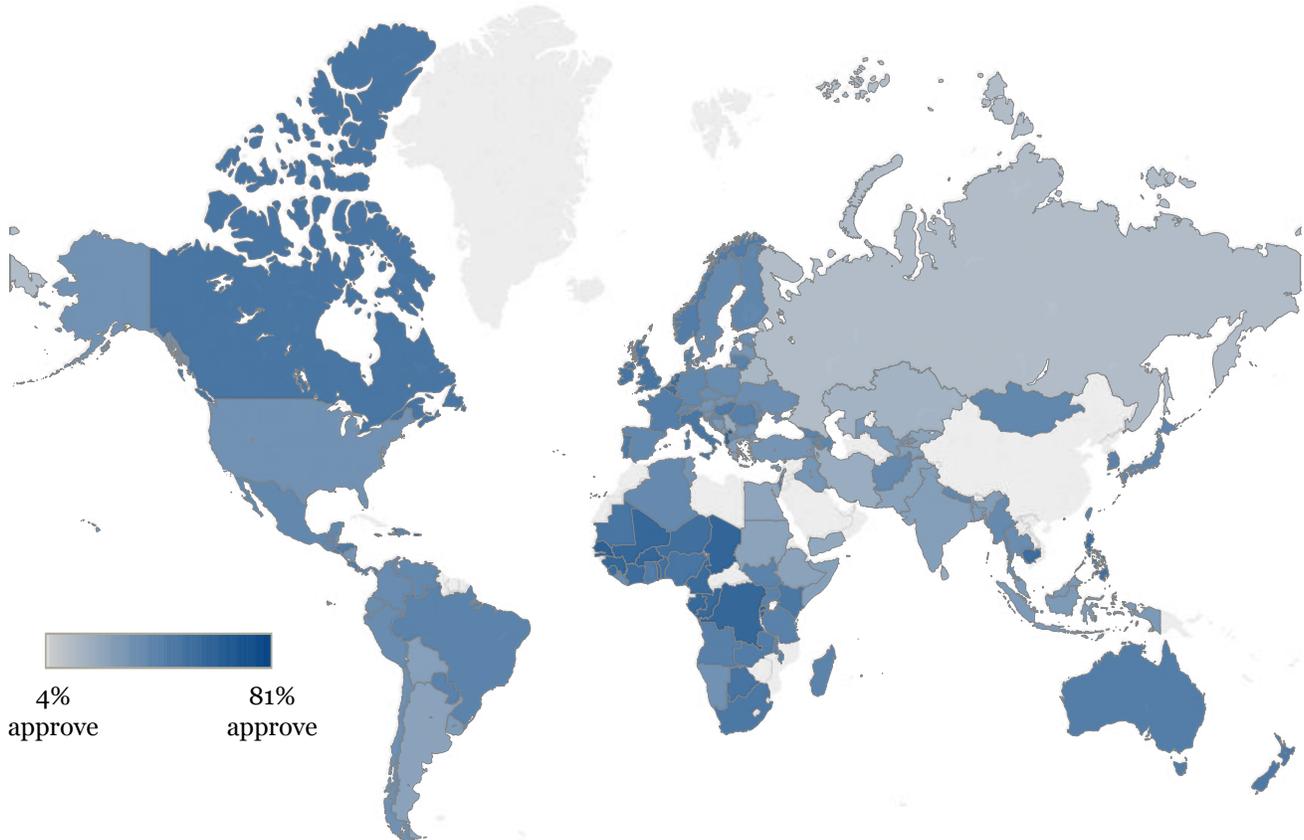
	Approval in 2014	Change From 2013
Croatia	63%	+17
Italy	61%	+13
Spain	44%	+13
Belgium	69%	+12
Ireland	71%	+12
Madagascar	32%	+12
Portugal	41%	+12
Cyprus	29%	+11
France	58%	+11
Brazil	35%	+10
Hungary	71%	+10

Approval ratings have increased by 10 points or more in 11 countries. Nine of these 11 countries are EU member countries.



European Union

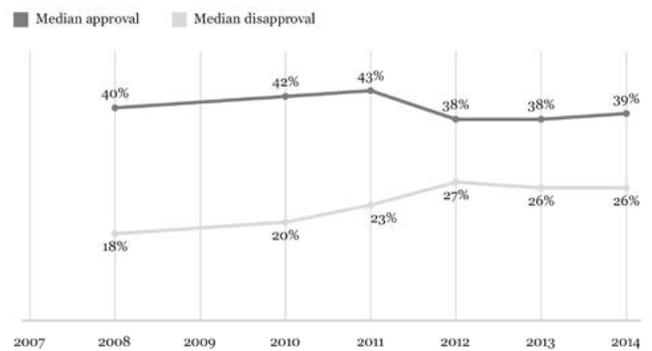
WORLDWIDE APPROVAL OF EU LEADERSHIP



EU, GERMANY GET SIMILAR RATINGS

Median approval of the leadership of the EU is flat at 39%, similar to the global median rating for Germany (41%). Median disapproval is 26% — slightly higher than the median disapproval for Germany's leadership (22%).

Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of the European Union?



Highest Approval of EU Leadership

Albania	82%
Senegal	72%
Rwanda	70%
Germany	69%
Ireland	67%
Burundi	67%
Chad	66%
Guinea	66%
Belgium	64%
Luxembourg	64%
Canada	64%

Majorities of residents in 35 countries approve of the EU's leadership. Fourteen are EU member countries. Approval of the EU's leadership is highest in Albania (82%), which became an official candidate for accession to the EU in June 2014 — the month before the survey. Russians are the least likely to approve of the EU's leadership, at 6%.

Highest Disapproval of EU Leadership

Russia	70%
Pakistan	61%
Lebanon	61%
Greece	60%
United Kingdom	57%
Belarus	55%
Algeria	54%
Palestinian Territories	53%
Israel	52%
Italy	52%

Majorities in 11 countries disapprove of the leadership of the EU, with Russians giving the EU its highest disapproval rating (70%) of all countries surveyed. Three EU member countries rank toward the top of the list: Greece, the United Kingdom and Italy.

Biggest Losses

	Approval in 2014	Change From 2013
South Africa	48%	-19
Mali	56%	-19
Ghana	36%	-18
Tanzania	39%	-17
Sierra Leone	41%	-17
Ethiopia	12%	-16
Mauritania	49%	-16
Russia	6%	-15
Afghanistan	28%	-15
Tajikistan	32%	-15
Gabon	49%	-14
Bangladesh	23%	-14
Belarus	11%	-13
Kenya	54%	-12
Congo Brazzaville	62%	-11
Senegal	72%	-11
Guinea	66%	-10

Approval ratings have declined by 10 percentage points or more in 17 countries. Most are in Africa, but ratings have also dropped in Russia, Belarus and Tajikistan.

Biggest Gains

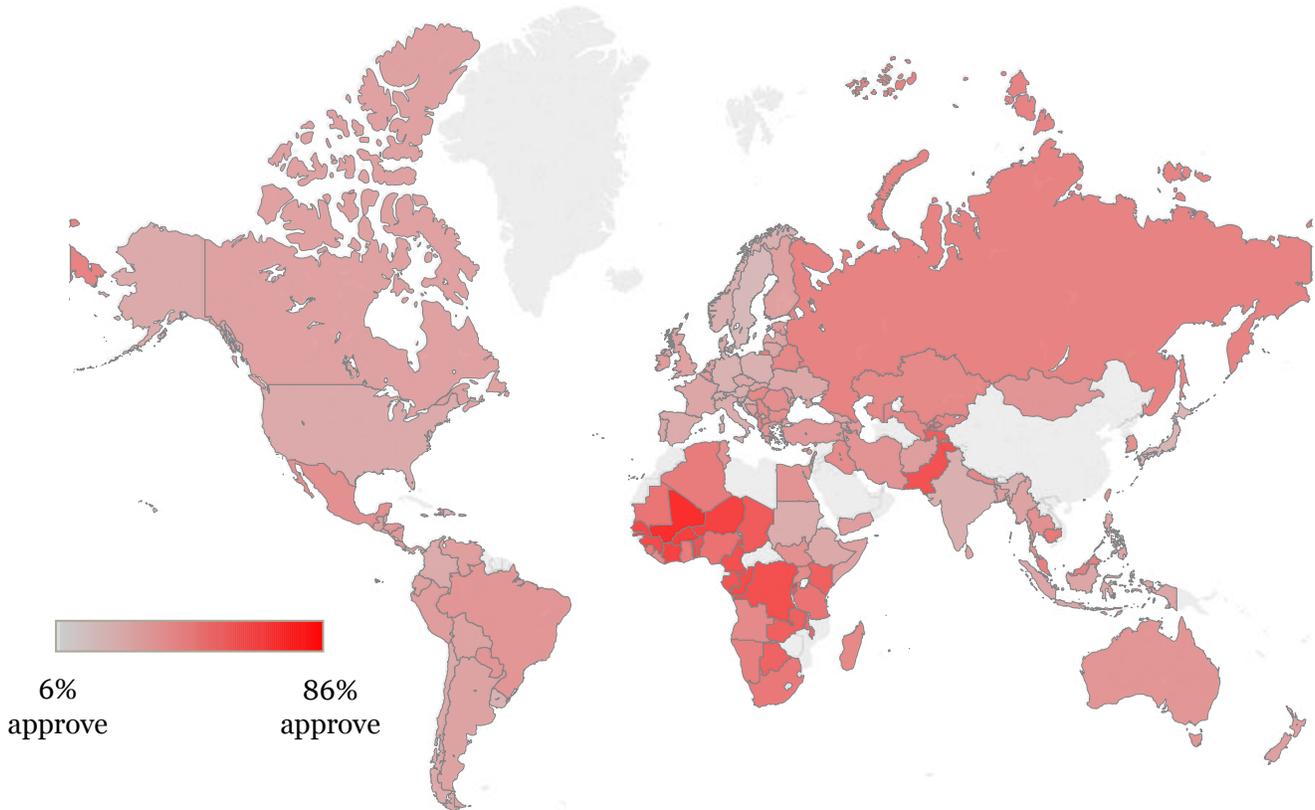
	Approval in 2014	Change From 2013
Spain	47%	+20
Ireland	67%	+20
Canada	64%	+19
Sweden	48%	+18
Australia	50%	+15
Croatia	51%	+15
Finland	58%	+14
New Zealand	47%	+14
Portugal	45%	+14
Slovenia	52%	+14
Madagascar	42%	+12
Germany	69%	+10
Guatemala	29%	+10
Poland	56%	+10

Approval ratings have increased by 10 points or more in 14 countries. Nine of these countries are EU member states. Ireland and Spain, which recently emerged from their bailouts, lead the increases.



China

WORLDWIDE APPROVAL OF CHINESE LEADERSHIP

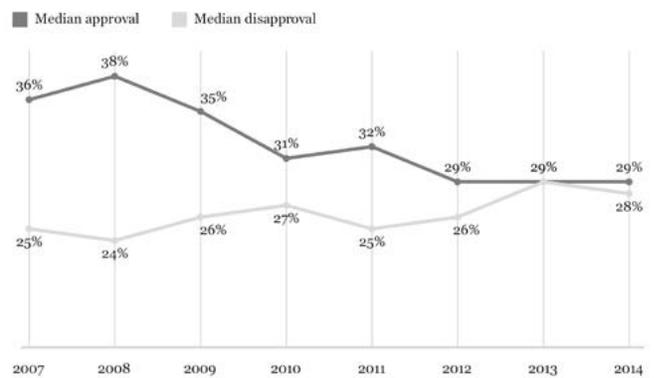


CHINESE LEADERSHIP STILL UNKNOWN

Median approval of China's leadership is flat at 29%. Median disapproval is nearly the same as approval, at 28%. China's leadership is the least well-known worldwide (the median with no opinion is 32%).

Residents in China are not asked to rate their own country's leadership or that of other countries because of the sensitive nature of the question.

Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of China?



Highest Approval of China's Leadership

Mali	86%
Burkina Faso	77%
Ivory Coast	76%
Niger	76%
Rwanda	73%
Senegal	73%
Guinea	72%
Togo	72%
Congo Brazzaville	71%
Congo Kinshasa	69%
Cameroon	69%

Majorities of residents in 22 countries approve of China's leadership. All of these countries are in Africa, except for Pakistan and Tajikistan. Approval of China's leadership is highest worldwide in Mali, where 86% approve. Residents in 63 countries are more likely to approve than disapprove.

Highest Disapproval of China's Leadership

Germany	78%
Norway	77%
Switzerland	74%
Italy	72%
Austria	70%
Sweden	70%
United States	70%
Japan	67%
Canada	66%
Spain	66%

Majorities in 28 countries disapprove of China's leadership. Most are Western countries, including the United States (70%) — but notably, Japan (67%), the Philippines (64%) and Hong Kong (52%) are on this list as well. Residents in 56 countries are more likely to disapprove than approve.

Biggest Losses

	Approval in 2014	Change From 2013
Ethiopia	18%	-31
Bangladesh	26%	-18
Afghanistan	25%	-13
Gabon	66%	-12
Tanzania	50%	-12
Tajikistan	61%	-11
Uganda	37%	-11
Cyprus	28%	-10
Guinea	72%	-10

There are double-digit declines in nine countries and double-digit increases in four. Russia leads the increases in approval, rising 17 percentage points from 25% in 2013 to 42% in 2014. Russians' approval ratings of the leadership of Germany, the EU and the U.S. have declined by 12 points or more during the same period.

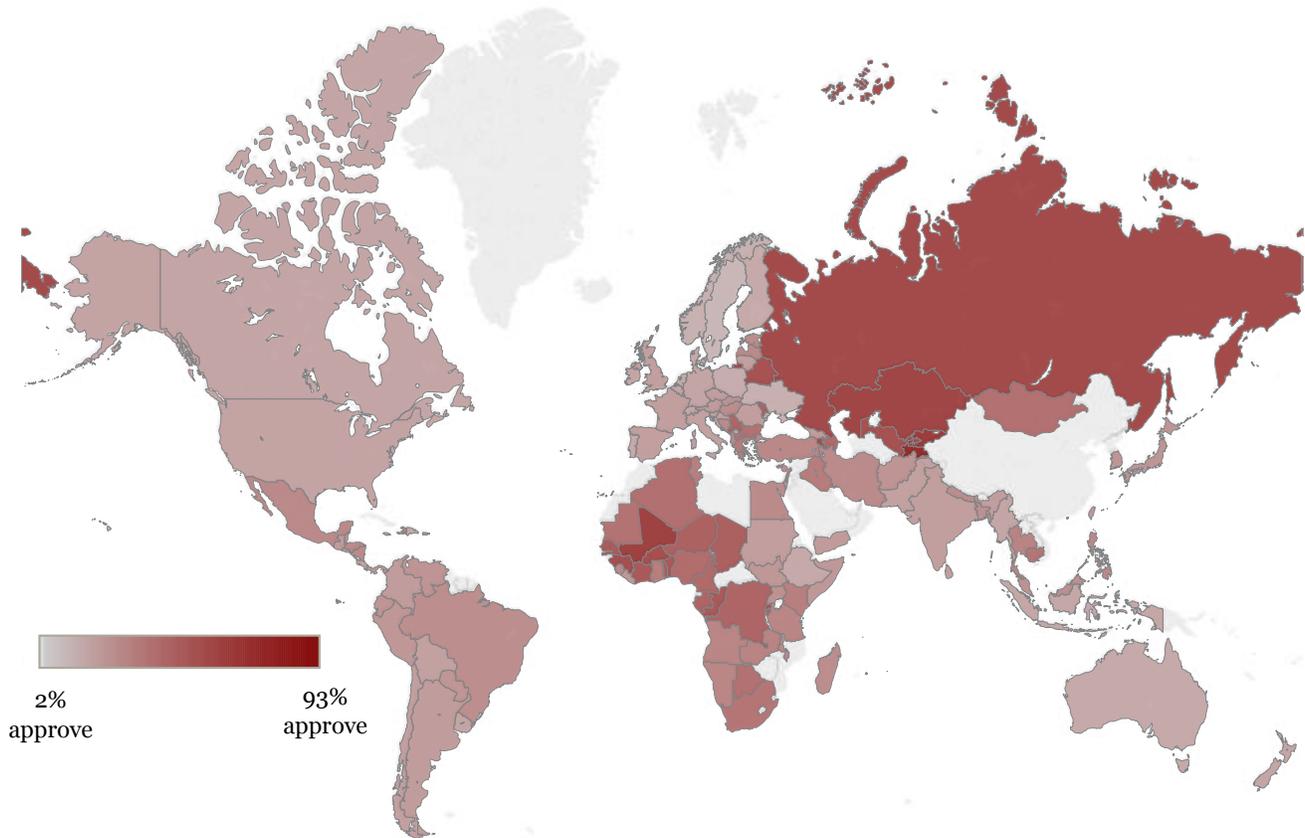
Biggest Gains

	Approval in 2014	Change From 2013
Russia	42%	+17
Madagascar	39%	+13
Luxembourg	21%	+12
Belarus	39%	+10



Russia

WORLDWIDE APPROVAL OF RUSSIAN LEADERSHIP

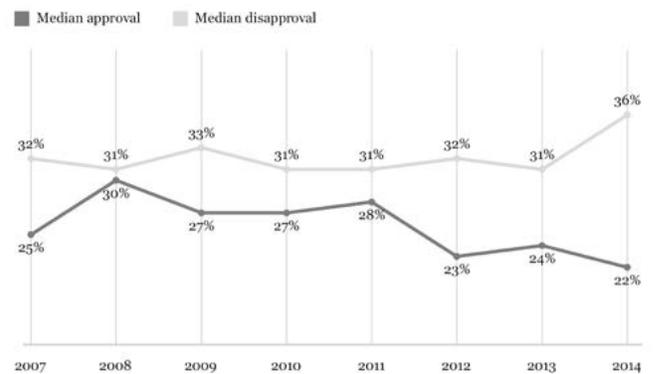


APPROVAL REMAINS LOWEST IN WORLD

In addition to earning the lowest approval ratings worldwide among the five major global players, Russia's leadership is the only one with higher disapproval than approval. Median approval is flat at 22%, while median disapproval is 36%, its highest level since 2007.

When asked separately to rate the job performance of their own country's leadership, Russians' approval in 2014 was at its highest level in eight years. Nearly seven in 10 Russians (68%) approve of their country's leadership.

Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of Russia?



Highest Approval of Russia's Leadership

Tajikistan	93%
Kyrgyzstan	79%
Mali	74%
Kazakhstan	72%
Armenia	66%
Guinea	65%
Burkina Faso	64%
Uzbekistan	62%
Belarus	62%
Rwanda	60%

Majorities of residents in 17 countries approve of Russia's leadership. Six are former Soviet republics, including Tajikistan, where Russia's leadership earns its highest approval rating (93%) worldwide.

Highest Disapproval of Russia's Leadership

Norway	89%
Netherlands	86%
Finland	86%
Switzerland	83%
Sweden	82%
Germany	81%
Ukraine	81%
Belgium	80%
Italy	78%
Canada	77%

Majorities of residents in 41 countries disapprove of Russia's leadership. This includes 23 of the 28 EU member states, the United States, Canada and Ukraine. Residents in 82 countries are more likely to disapprove than to approve.

Biggest Losses

	Approval in 2014	Change From 2013
Ukraine	5%	-42
Romania	15%	-19
Bangladesh	22%	-19
Tanzania	28%	-18
Latvia	25%	-16
Lithuania	14%	-15
Ireland	11%	-14
Afghanistan	20%	-13
Bosnia and Herzegovina	25%	-13
Canada	11%	-13
Slovakia	21%	-12
Finland	9%	-11
United States	12%	-11
Guinea	65%	-11
Malawi	26%	-11
Netherlands	7%	-10
Portugal	9%	-10
Estonia	25%	-10
Gabon	49%	-10
Sierra Leone	27%	-10
South Africa	38%	-10

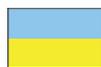
Approval ratings have declined by 10 percentage points or more in 21 countries. Ukraine leads the declines, with approval dropping by 42 points. Note: Gallup's polls in 2014 excluded the Crimea region and some areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, where security was an issue. Comparing approval ratings in the same areas polled in Ukraine in 2013 and 2014, the decline is 38 points.

Biggest Gains

	Approval in 2014	Change from 2013
Belarus	62%	+16
Chad	52%	+14
Egypt	25%	+12
Madagascar	24%	+10

Approval ratings have increased by 10 points or more in four countries. Former Soviet republic Belarus leads the increases, with approval rising from 46% to 62%.

Countries in the Headlines in 2014



UKRAINE

Any kinship

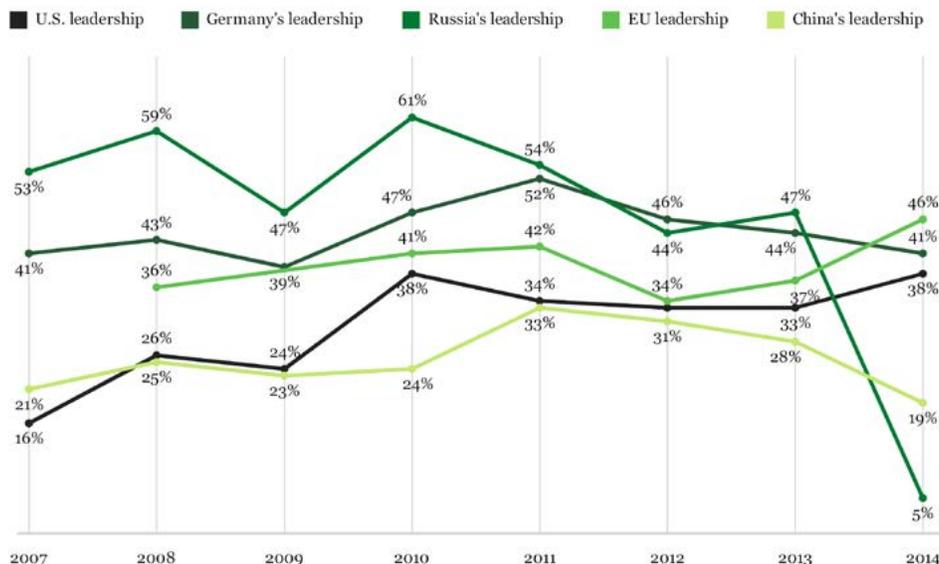
Ukrainians used to feel with Moscow's leadership is gone after Russia's actions in Ukraine's Crimea region in March 2014. Ratings have declined sharply across *all of Ukraine* — including the country's typically more Russian-leaning South and East.

Ukraine's approval of Russia dropped 42 percentage points between 2013 and 2014. It is important to note that Gallup's polls in 2014 excluded the Crimea region and some areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, where security was an issue.

Comparing approval ratings in the same areas polled in Ukraine in 2013 and 2014, the decline is 38 points.

At the same time that Ukrainians have spurned Russia, they have not fully embraced the West — which has largely sided with them in the conflict. While Ukrainians are more likely to approve of the leadership of the EU and the U.S. than they are to approve of Russia's, their views have not changed as dramatically. Further, Ukrainians' views of the leadership of Germany, which has been on the front lines of the conflict between the EU and Russia over Ukraine, have actually soured somewhat.

Ukrainian Approval of World Leaders



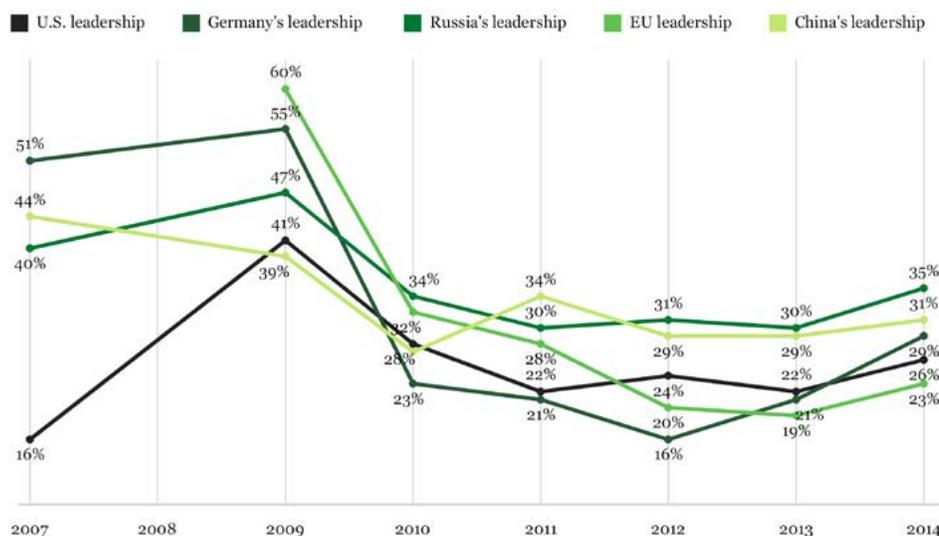
GREECE

Representatives of the

leading Syriza party, including new Greek Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras, appear friendlier toward Russia's leadership, as are Greeks in general. More than one in three Greeks (35%) approve of Russia's leadership, while fewer than one in four (23%) approve of the EU's leadership.

Greeks' higher approval ratings may reflect the cultural, religious and economic ties that Greece has enjoyed for years with Russia, one of the country's major trading partners. But they also echo Greeks' strong displeasure with the EU's leadership, which they are more likely to have an

Greek Approval of World Leaders



opinion about than Russia's. Nearly as many Greeks have no opinion of Russia's leadership (30%) as approve (35%) or disapprove (35%).

Greeks' approval of their own leadership, at 18% before the election last year, is even lower than their approval of the EU's leadership and the leadership of Germany (29% in 2014), a nation that has been one of the biggest supporters of austerity measures for countries such as Greece.



AFGHANISTAN

With the U.S.

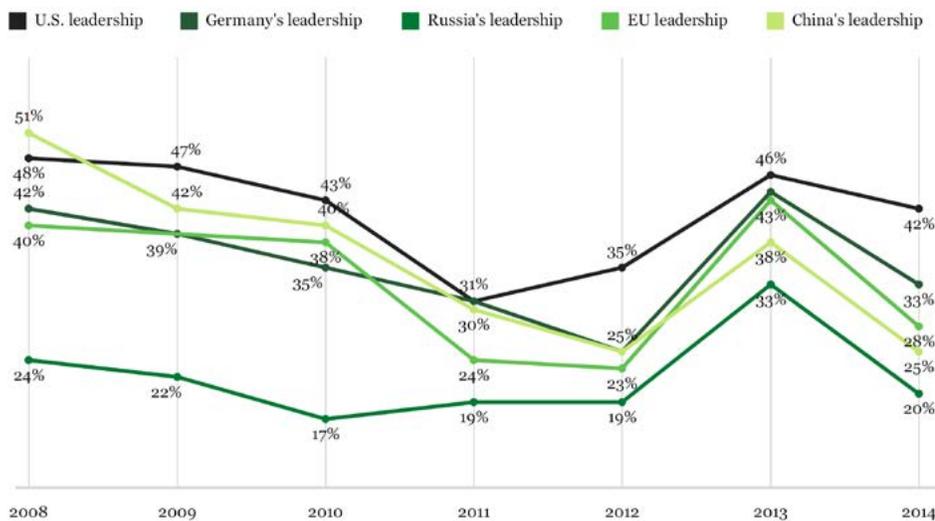
and NATO combat missions ending in 2014, many Afghans are pessimistic about what the future might hold for them after the troops leave. Nearly four in 10 believe they will be worse off with the withdrawal of the majority of U.S. and NATO forces, while fewer expect the situation to be the same and an even smaller percentage believe they will be better off.

Still, Afghans remain more likely to approve of the

leadership of the U.S. and NATO allies than either China or Russia. Of the five powers, Afghans continue to be most approving of the leadership of the U.S. — as they have been in five out of the past seven years. In fact, except for the U.S., Afghans in 2014 said they are more likely to disapprove than approve of the leadership of the other countries.¹

Afghans are skeptical about their future after international troops leave, but they also are highly confident in their own military, which assumed responsibility for the country's security on Jan. 1, 2015. At 71%, the proportion with faith in their military is still much higher than it was even a few years ago. Their approval ratings of their own country's leadership are also considerably higher than those of any of the foreign powers, at 50%.

Afghan Approval of World Leaders



¹ It is important to note that these data were collected before President Barack Obama agreed in March 2015 to delay the scheduled withdrawal of the nearly 10,000 remaining U.S. troops from the country.



IRAQ

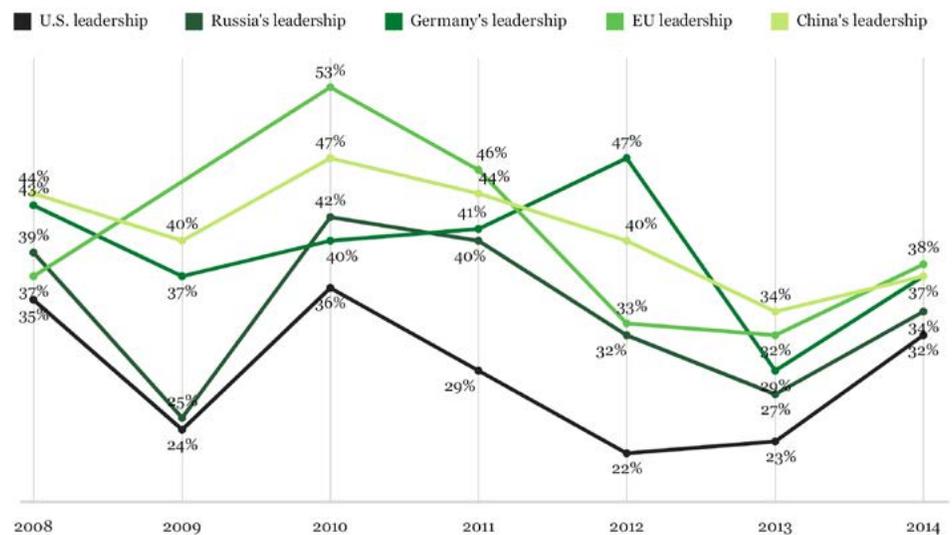
Iraqis' approval of the leadership of all five of the major powers remains relatively low, although ratings for most, particularly the U.S. and Russia, show signs of improvement from the previous year. All five leaderships earn the approval of less than 40% of Iraqis.

While the 32% of Iraqis who said in 2014 that they approve of the leadership of the U.S. is not that different from the ratings they gave other countries, the U.S. has typically received one of the lowest, if not the lowest, approval ratings each year since 2008. The current rating for the U.S. is actually the best rating for the country since 2010, the year before the U.S. completed the withdrawal of its troops from Iraq.

Although approval ratings clustered together in 2014, the four other powers were relatively more popular than the U.S. in most years. At times, the leadership of the EU, Germany and China earned the approval of about half of Iraqis.

Iraqis have expressed considerably more confidence in their own leadership, particularly after the election in 2014. Nearly three-quarters of Iraqis (72%) said they approve of their new prime minister, Haider al-Abadi, a few months after he took office in late 2014, substantially higher than the 50% approval rating former Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki received the previous May.

Iraqi Approval of World Leaders



Methodology

Results are based on face-to-face and telephone interviews with approximately 1,000 adults, aged 15 and older, in each country or area. This report provides annual results of leadership approval of the U.S., Germany, the European Union, China and Russia from 2007 through 2014. Throughout 2014, residents were asked to rate U.S., German and Russian leadership in 135 countries or areas, and residents in 136 countries or areas were asked to rate the EU and China. For results based on the total samples, the margin of sampling error ranges from ± 2.5 percentage points to ± 5.2 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. The margin of error reflects the influence of data weighting. In addition to sampling error, question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of public opinion polls.

With some exceptions, all samples are probability based and nationally representative of the resident population aged 15 and older.

Exceptions include areas where the safety of interviewing staff is threatened, scarcely populated islands in some countries and areas that interviewers can reach only by foot, animal or small boat.

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