

The U.S.-Global Leadership Project

A Partnership Between the Meridian International Center and Gallup

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The U.S.-Global Leadership Project is a joint effort between the Meridian International Center and Gallup to provide a comprehensive assessment of how the world views the leadership of the United States. The Project teams Gallup's unique global public opinion data from more than 150 countries with Meridian's leadership-focused context to create a powerful and useful barometer of the perceptions of U.S. leadership.

Global attitudes shape political decisions and market opportunities. Understanding the perspectives that people in different countries have of U.S. leadership, and the factors shaping their opinions, is a useful tool for policy-makers and business leaders. The U.S.-Global Leadership Project will 1) give public- and private-sector leaders a better understanding of what is driving global views of U.S. leadership; 2) create a context for collaboration on how to improve those views; and 3) enhance U.S. public and private global engagement efforts.

## The U.S.-Global Leadership Track

## A barometer of global perspectives on U.S. leadership

The U.S.-Global Leadership Track is the largest global public opinion study of views about U.S. leadership. The viewpoints of citizens around the world serve as an important indicator of U.S. leadership during a time of global economic difficulty. This report includes U.S. leadership approval data from more than 100 countries that Gallup has collected since the Obama administration took office. The Track ultimately will feature data from more than 150 countries.

# The U.S.-Global Leadership Track

With ongoing research projects in more than 150 countries, Gallup is a leader in the collection and analysis of global data and measurements. Gallup's data provide sound evidence on many issues that more than 98% of the world's adult population faces. Throughout 2009, Gallup conducted surveys in more than 100 countries, asking ordinary citizens for their thoughts and opinions on several topics, including economics, religion, wellbeing, and migration, and for their views on the job performance of the leadership of different countries, including the United States.

Across 102 countries surveyed in 2009, median approval of U.S. leadership is 51%, median disapproval is 21%, and a median of 22% do not offer an opinion about U.S. leadership.

Gallup has been asking residents worldwide to rate the leadership of the U.S. since 2005, which enables a comparison of how perceptions of U.S. leadership have changed from the Bush administration to the Obama administration.

# Worldwide Perceptions of U.S. Leadership

#### **The G-20**

Founded after the Asian financial crisis more than 10 years ago, the Group of Twenty (G-20) exists to promote international economic cooperation and stability. The United States, along with China, Russia, Japan, Germany, the European Union (EU), and 14 other member countries make up this group of developed and emerging economies. Since the severe global economic downturn began in the fall of 2008, the G-20 has intensified its collective efforts to stabilize the world's economy.

Perceptions of U.S. leadership vary widely within this collection of countries, ranging from a high of 87% approval in South Africa to a low of 20% approval in Russia. Although sentiment improved significantly in Turkey and Saudi Arabia after the new administration took office in January 2009, majorities in these two countries still disapprove of the job performance of U.S. leadership. Substantial percentages of residents in many G-20 countries do not yet have an opinion, with at least one in four respondents in eight countries saying they don't know or refusing to answer the question.

Country	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/Refused	Approval difference from 2008
South Africa	87%	10%	2%	4
Japan	66%	18%	15%	36
United Kingdom	64%	12%	25%	41
Canada	63%	27%	10%	41
South Korea	58%	21%	21%	17
Germany	57%	30%	13%	36
United States	55%	42%	3%	26
Mexico	53%	24%	24%	29
France	52%	14%	34%	39
Italy	49%	6%	45%	30
Brazil	48%	23%	29%	25
Argentina	42%	26%	32%	31
Indonesia	35%	23%	41%	-11
India	26%	13%	61%	-5
Saudi Arabia	26%	63%	11%	13
Australia*	25%	63%	12%	-
Turkey	22%	61%	16%	6
Russia	20%	34%	47%	6
China**	-	-	-	-
European Union***	-	-	-	-
Due to rounding, not a	ll rows will add to 100%	6.		
*Data last collected in 2	2008.			
**Item not asked in Ch	ina.			

## **Changes in Sentiment**

Approval of U.S. leadership changed significantly in 16 of the 17 G-20 countries where data were collected before and after the Obama administration took office early last year. In 15 of these countries, approval ratings of the leadership of the U.S. increased substantially, with increases of 39 percentage points or more in Canada, France, and the United Kingdom. Only in India and Indonesia did approval decline; however, disapproval of U.S. leadership also declined. The number of respondents in these two countries who did not have an opinion increased significantly between polling periods.

## Worldwide Perceptions of U.S. Leadership

## **Regional Highlights**

Historically, approval of U.S. leadership has been highest in sub-Saharan Africa. This trend continues in 2009, with a median approval of 87%, which is well above the median approval in other regions. Although approval is lowest in the Middle East and North Africa region, it did increase in a number of countries in this area between 2008 and 2009.

Do approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of the United States?						
Regional medians						
	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/Refused			
Sub-Saharan Africa	87%	9%	2%			
Europe	55%	14%	22%			
Americas	53%	18%	29%			
Asia	41%	22%	30%			
Former Soviet Union	41%	24%	37%			
Middle East and North Africa	34%	52%	11%			

# Worldwide Perceptions of U.S. Leadership

## 2009 Country Data by Region

## Sub-Saharan Africa

- At least 69% of respondents in all 19 sub-Saharan African countries say they approve of the job performance of the leadership of the U.S.
- Nigerians and Ghanaians are most likely to have no opinion about U.S. leadership, with 24% and 16%, respectively, saying they don't know or refusing to answer.
- Among the 14 countries polled in 2008 and 2009, significant increases in approval are evident in 11 countries.

Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of the United States?					
Sub-Saharan Africa					
Country	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/ Refused	Field date	Approval difference from 2008
Ivory Coast	94%	5%	2%	Apr 4-Apr 15, 2009	-
Kenya	93%	5%	2%	Mar 30-Apr 10, 2009	11
Uganda	91%	8%	1%	May 23-Jun 3, 2009	7
Tanzania	89%	11%	0%	Nov 2-Nov 14, 2009	13
Democratic Republic of the Congo	89%	9%	2%	Nov 1-Nov 24, 2009	-
Mali	89%	7%	4%	Oct 15-Oct 30, 2009	2
Rwanda	88%	6%	6%	Aug 10-Aug 18, 2009	15
Cameroon	88%	4%	8%	Mar 24-Apr 7, 2009	25
South Africa	87%	10%	2%	Mar 21-Apr 7, 2009	4
Senegal	87%	11%	2%	May 23-Jun 1, 2009	11
Burundi	86%	9%	5%	Jul 24-Aug 1, 2009	19
Niger	83%	15%	2%	Jun 19-Jun 28, 2009	33
Malawi	83%	17%	0%	Sep 5-Sep 17, 2009	-
Zimbabwe	82%	12%	6%	Jul 11-Jul 26, 2009	8
Djibouti	81%	18%	1%	Jul 25-Aug 2, 2009	1
Ghana	80%	5%	16%	Jul 9-Jul 31, 2009	11
Somaliland region	79%	21%	0%	Aug 1-Aug 11, 2009	-
Nigeria	70%	5%	24%	Jul 15-Aug 6, 2009	-2
Comoros	69%	25%	6%	Jul 15-Oct 10, 2009	-
Due to rounding, not all rows	will add to 100%.				
- Data for this item not collect	red in 2008.				

## Europe (excluding former Soviet Union countries)

- Out of the eight European countries polled in 2008 and 2009, approval of U.S. leadership rose by at least 25 points in seven countries. Approval of U.S. leadership remained unchanged in Romania over the same period.
- U.S. leadership approval is lowest in Serbia (14%) and highest in Kosovo (88%). These sentiments are likely attributable to U.S. support for Kosovo's independence from Serbia.
- Across 16 European countries polled in 2009, a median of 22% do not express an opinion about the leadership of the U.S.

Do you approve	or disapprove	of the job perform	ance of the leader	rship of the United	States?
Europe (excluding	former Soviet Un	nion countries)			
Country	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/ Refused	Field date	Approval difference from 2008
Kosovo	88%	9%	3%	Sep 8-Sep 24, 2009	-
Ireland	80%	9%	11%	Apr 17-Apr 27, 2009	57
Albania	78%	6%	16%	Sep 7-Oct 2, 2009	-
Macedonia	62%	20%	18%	Sep 10-Sep 22, 2009	-
United Kingdom	64%	12%	25%	Apr 17-May 6, 2009	41
Slovenia	58%	24%	18%	Apr 16-May 5, 2009	-
Germany	57%	30%	13%	Sep 28-Oct 18, 2009	36
Croatia	56%	15%	30%	Sep 4-Sep 28, 2009	-
Spain	54%	12%	34%	Apr 14-Apr 24, 2009	46
France	52%	14%	34%	Apr 16-May 18, 2009	39
Italy	49%	6%	45%	Apr 21-May 6, 2009	30
Romania	47%	12%	41%	Mar 3-Apr 5, 2009	-
Greece	41%	38%	21%	Oct 1-Oct 15, 2009	25
Montenegro	34%	39%	27%	Sep 6-Sep 21, 2009	-
Bosnia and Herzegovina	25%	53%	23%	Sep 8-Sep 30, 2009	-
Serbia	14%	71%	15%	Sep 4-Sep 17, 2009	-
Due to rounding, no	ot all rows will add to	100%.			
- Data for this item	not collected in 200	8.			

## Americas

- Since 2008, approval of U.S. leadership has increased significantly in 16 of 17 countries surveyed in Latin America and the Caribbean.
- Roughly one in five or more respondents in each of the 17 countries do not have an opinion about U.S. leadership. This trend can also be seen in previous waves of data collection.
- Canadians and U.S. residents also express much higher approval of U.S. leadership than registered in 2008.

Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of the United States?							
Americas							
Country	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/ Refused	Field date	Approval difference from 2008		
El Salvador	68%	6%	26%	Jul 4-Jul 17, 2009	32		
Panama	63%	7%	30%	Jul 9-Aug 3, 2009	16		
Canada	63%	27%	10%	Aug 7-Aug 25, 2009	41		
Costa Rica	62%	14%	24%	Jul 6-Aug 8, 2009	29		
Colombia	60%	17%	23%	Jul 14-Aug 1, 2009	12		
Chile	59%	16%	25%	Jul 3-Sep 8, 2009	30		
United States	55%	42%	3%	May 5-Jul 8 2009	26		
Dominican Republic	55%	9%	37%	July 21-Sep 2, 2009	20		
Honduras	54%	18%	28%	Jul 11-Jul 25, 2009	7		
Mexico	53%	24%	24%	Jul 21-Aug 5, 2009	29		
Uruguay	53%	13%	35%	Aug 1-Aug 30, 2009	40		
Venezuela	50%	23%	27%	Jul 22-Aug 12, 2009	15		
Brazil	48%	23%	29%	Aug 11-Sep 1, 2009	25		
Peru	47%	17%	35%	Jul 25-Aug 17, 2009	13		
Guatemala	45%	18%	36%	Jul 8-Jul 21, 2009	5		
Argentina	42%	26%	32%	Jul 4-Aug 12, 2009	31		
Nicaragua	42%	17%	41%	Jul 4-Jul 23, 2009	-3		
Ecuador	42%	19%	39%	Jul 12-Sep 1, 2009	7		
Bolivia	40%	28%	31%	Jul 29-Aug 31, 2009	-		
Due to rounding,	not all rows will ad	ld to 100%.					
- Data for this ite	- Data for this item not collected in 2008.						

## THE U.S.-GLOBAL LEADERSHIP PROJECT A PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE MERIDIAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER AND GALLUP

### Asia

- The regional median in Asia for respondents who do not express an opinion of U.S. leadership is 30%.
- Respondents in Afghanistan are divided about the new leadership of the U.S. This is consistent with trends during the Bush administration.
- Although approval declined significantly in Vietnam (27 points), Indonesia (11 points), the Philippines (8 points), and India (5 points), more than 4 in 10 respondents in three of these countries do not express an opinion about U.S. leadership. In the Philippines, 15% say they don't know or refused to answer the question.
- Nine percent of Pakistanis approve of the job performance of the leadership of the U.S., which is the lowest in the region.

Do you approve o	r disapprove of the	iob performance o	f the leadership of the	United States?	
Asia					
Country	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/Refused	Field date	Approval difference from 2008
Singapore	68%	13%	19%	May 30-Jun 18, 2009	15
Japan	66%	18%	15%	Jul 31-Aug 31, 2009	36
Cambodia	64%	1%	35%	Jun 4-Jun 27, 2009	2
Philippines	58%	26%	15%	Jun 4-Jun 10, 2009	-8
South Korea	58%	21%	21%	Sep 2-Sep 27, 2009	17
Hong Kong	48%	28%	23%	Nov 23-Dec 16, 2009	26
Thailand	48%	9%	43%	Oct 1-Nov 1, 2009	11
Afghanistan	44%	45%	11%	Sep 20-Oct 12, 2009	-4
Bangladesh	38%	32%	31%	Apr 29-May 14, 2009	4
Malaysia	37%	33%	30%	Jun 12-Jul 26, 2009	14
Sri Lanka	36%	13%	51%	May 16-Jun 8, 2009	0
Indonesia	35%	23%	41%	Apr 18-May 5, 2009	-11
Cyprus	27%	40%	33%	Apr 23-May 19, 2009	-
India	26%	13%	61%	Oct 1-Nov 30, 2009	-5
Vietnam	17%	22%	62%	Apr 11-May 26, 2009	-27
Pakistan	9%	68%	22%	Nov 14-Dec 7, 2009	-1
Due to rounding, not a	all rows will add to 100%.				
- Data for this item no	t collected in 2008.				

## Former Soviet Union

- A median of 37% of respondents across 15 countries of the former Soviet Union does not express an opinion about the leadership of the U.S.
- Nearly half of Russians (47%) do not give an opinion of U.S. leadership.
- Approval of U.S. leadership has increased by at least 10 points in seven FSU countries since the Obama administration took office.

Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of the United States?  Former Soviet Union					
Country	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/Refused	Field date	Approval difference from 2008
Turkmenistan	61%	14%	26%	Jul 1-Aug 9, 2009	-
Azerbaijan	53%	29%	18%	Jul 29-Aug 16, 2009	5
Armenia	50%	37%	14%	Jun 10-Jul 7, 2009	-4
Lithuania	47%	13%	40%	Jul 24-Aug 10, 2009	22
Georgia	45%	18%	37%	May 2-May 13, 2009	4
Moldova	44%	18%	37%	Jun 12-Jul 4, 2009	5
Tajikistan	42%	26%	31%	Jul 27-Aug 14, 2009	12
Uzbekistan	41%	24%	35%	May 20-Jun 8, 2009	19
Estonia	40%	21%	39%	Jun 13-Jul 7, 2009	22
Kazakhstan	36%	19%	45%	Jul 2-Aug 6, 2009	16
Latvia	35%	24%	40%	Aug 15-Aug 24, 2009	16
Kyrgyzstan	34%	33%	32%	Jun 13-Jul 10, 2009	6
Ukraine	24%	23%	54%	May 11-May 25, 2009	-2
Belarus	23%	30%	46%	Jun 3-Jun 10, 2009	10
Russia	20%	34%	47%	Apr 2-Jun 14, 2009	6
Due to rounding, not	all rows will add to 100%.				
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<sup>-</sup> Data for this item not collected in 2008.

## Middle East/North Africa

- Since 2008, approval of U.S. leadership has meaningfully increased in 9 of 10 countries in the Middle East and North Africa region.
- Twenty percent of Palestinians say they approve of the job performance of U.S. leadership the highest percentage approval recorded since Gallup first asked the question there in 2006. Seventy percent disapprove of U.S. leadership.
- In this region, approval of U.S. leadership is lowest in Iraq (14%) and Syria (15%). However, approval in Syria has risen dramatically since 2008.

Middle East/North Afr	rica				
Country	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/Refused	Field date	Approval difference from 2008
Mauritania	78%	21%	1%	Jul 25-Sep 26, 2009	34
Israel	61%	30%	9%	Oct 11-Nov 5, 2009	-1
Bahrain	55%	28%	17%	Aug 17-Sep 15, 2009	-
Kuwait	52%	39%	8%	Aug 10-Aug 30, 2009	-
Algeria	43%	47%	10%	Aug 1-Sep 12, 2009	18
Morocco	38%	52%	9%	Aug 7-Aug 24, 2009	-
Tunisia	37%	49%	15%	Feb 20-Mar 25, 2009	23
Egypt	37%	39%	25%	Aug 11-Aug 19, 2009	31
United Arab Emirates	34%	48%	18%	Aug 8-Sep 18, 2009	-
Lebanon	30%	57%	14%	Aug 2-Aug 30, 2009	5
Saudi Arabia	26%	63%	11%	Aug 1-Aug 21, 2009	14
Turkey	22%	61%	16%	Oct 24-Nov 17, 2009	6
Qatar	22%	52%	27%	Mar 11-Mar 25,2009	-
Yemen	22%	59%	20%	Aug 4-Sep 2, 2009	-
Palestinian Territories	20%	70%	11%	Aug 3-Aug 17, 2009	7
Syria	15%	71%	14%	Feb 20-Mar 16, 2009	11
Iraq	14%	76%	10%	Feb 20-Mar 12, 2009	-

- Data for this item not collected in 2008.

# Worldwide Perceptions of U.S. Leadership

## **Moving Forward**

The results from the U.S.-Global Leadership Track create more questions than they answer. The Meridian International Center and Gallup are committed to improving international relations by bringing leaders together to discuss global perceptions of the U.S. through the U.S.-Global Leadership Project. Ongoing assessments of perceptions of U.S. leadership around the world, combined with expert analysis, will serve to better inform policy-makers and business leaders about the position of the United States and create a foundation from which to build stronger international cooperation.

## THE U.S.-GLOBAL LEADERSHIP PROJECT A PARTNERSHIP RETWEEN THE MERIDIAN INTERNATIONAL CENTER AND GALLUP

### Methodology

Results are based on face-to-face and telephone interviews with approximately 1,000 adults, aged 15 and older, conducted throughout 2008 and 2009 in 102 countries. For results based on the total samples, one can say with 95% confidence that the maximum margin of sampling error ranges from ±2.8 percentage points in Russia to ±5.7 percentage points in Slovenia. 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.

### **Sample Notes**

Algeria: The sparsely populated deep South was excluded. Excluded areas represent less than 10% of the population.

Azerbaijan: Nagorno-Karabakh and territories not included for safety of interviewers. These areas represent less than 10% of the total population.

Bahrain: Non-Arab expatriates were excluded. It's estimated that approximately one-fourth of the adult population is excluded.

Canada: Yukon, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut were excluded from the sample.

Georgia: South Ossetia and Abkhazia were not included for the safety of the interviewers. The excluded area represents approximately 7% of the population.

India: Excluded population living in Northeast states and remote islands. The excluded areas represent less than 10% of the population.

Kuwait: Non-Arab expatriates were excluded. It's estimated that approximately one-fifth of the adult population is excluded.

Moldova: Transnistria (Prednestrovie) was excluded for safety of interviewers. The excluded area represents approximately 13% of the population.

Niger: The Northern part of the country (Agadez region) was excluded because of insecurities. The excluded area represents approximately 5% of the population.

Pakistan: FATA and AJK were excluded. The excluded areas represent approximately 5% of the population.

Palestinian Territories: The sample includes East Jerusalem.

Qatar: Non-Arab expatriates were excluded. It's estimated that more than half of the adult population is excluded.

Saudi Arabia: Non-Arab expatriates were excluded. It's estimated that approximately one-fifth of the adult population is excluded.

Sri Lanka: Excluded areas under conflict in the Northern and Eastern parts of Sri Lanka. The excluded area represents approximately 10% of the population.

Uganda: The Northern region was excluded because of the presence of LRA rebels. The excluded area represents approximately 10% of the population.

United Arab Emirates: Non-Arab expatriates were excluded. It's estimated that more than half of the adult population is excluded.

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