Rating World Leaders: 2018 The U.S. vs. Germany, China and Russia



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Jon Clifton
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From Gallup's Global Managing Partner

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

Gallup has asked this of Americans for more than 70 years — from President Harry Truman to President Donald Trump. Known as a president's approval rating, the metric has become a gold standard in modern politics.

Over a decade ago, we decided to take this question — global. Now we ask the entire world how it feels about the leadership of the U.S. So far we've given people in more than 130 countries worldwide the opportunity to voice their opinion about Presidents George W. Bush, Barack Obama and now, Trump. We've also asked the world about the leadership of a few other major global powers including Germany, China and Russia.

This year marks a significant change in our trends. Only 30% of the world, on average, approves of the job performance of the U.S.'s leadership, down from 48% in 2016. In fact, more people now disapprove of U.S. leadership than approve. This historic low puts the U.S.'s leadership approval rating on par with China's and sets a new bar for disapproval.

We've seen somewhat similar numbers before. In the last two years of the Bush administration, approval ratings of U.S. leadership were in the mid to upper 30s — close to ratings of China's leadership at that time.

After Obama took office, approval ratings of U.S. leadership jumped 15 percentage points and earned higher ratings than Germany, China and Russia in most years, except for a few when it tied with Germany. U.S. numbers fell about midway through Obama's presidency, but they rebounded, and he finished his second term with ratings similar to those at the start of his first.

This report, *Rating World Leaders*, quantifies how the world feels about America's leadership and how those ratings compare with other global powers. The next question for leaders is whether this matters. Global thought leader Joseph Nye would argue that soft power does matter. This type of power, which is different from military and economic might, is the ability to get countries to act because they want to, not because they have to. A quantitative report by academics from Dartmouth and Australian National University also finds "public opinion about U.S. foreign policy in foreign countries does affect their policies [toward] the U.S."

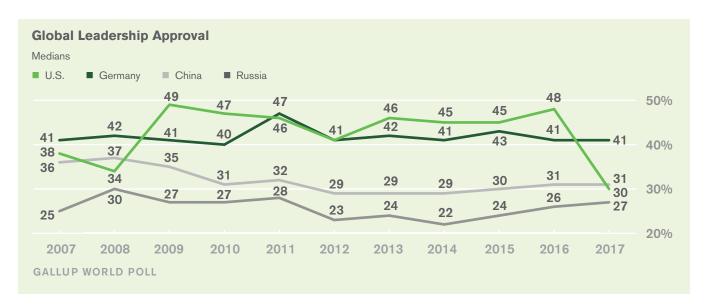
The other argument might be that it doesn't matter what people think — what matters is doing what's right. The founder of our organization, George Gallup, would agree. He famously said that great leaders didn't "vote the polls" but instead did what was right. But he also said that great leaders always knew what people were thinking.

If you're wondering what people around the world are thinking about U.S. leadership, and how it compares with other global leaders, look no further than this report.

Trump's First Year: Hard Times for U.S. Soft Power

One year into Donald Trump's presidency, the median global approval rating of the job performance of U.S. leadership across 134 countries stands at a new low of 30%. This is down nearly 20 points from the 48% approval rating in the last year of President Barack Obama's administration, and four points lower than the previous low of 34% in the last year of President George W. Bush's administration.

But more important is the shift this has created in the global balance of soft power and what that means for U.S. influence abroad. With its stable approval rating of 41%, Germany has replaced the U.S. as the top-rated global power in the world. The U.S. is now on nearly even footing with China (31%) and barely more popular than Russia (27%) — two countries that Trump sees as rivals seeking to "challenge American influence, values and wealth."



The present situation represents a marked change in the status quo since Obama's presidency, when the image of the U.S. remained relatively strong worldwide. In Obama's last year in office, for example, the U.S. led Germany by seven points, China by 17 points and Russia by 22 points.

The current rankings instead look more like a return to the status quo during the last year of the Bush administration — Germany on top, followed by China, the U.S. and then Russia — except now the U.S. has even more ground to make up.

REPORT HIGHLIGHTS

- U.S. leadership approval ratings declined substantially by 10 percentage points or more in 65 out of 134 countries and areas.
- Approval of U.S. leadership has fallen the most among residents of allies and partners in the Americas and Europe.
- The median 43% worldwide who disapprove of U.S. leadership is a new record and higher than median disapproval of Germany's (25%), China's (30%) or Russia's (36%) leadership.
- Stable ratings in Germany and China now give them an advantage over the U.S. in terms of leadership approval.

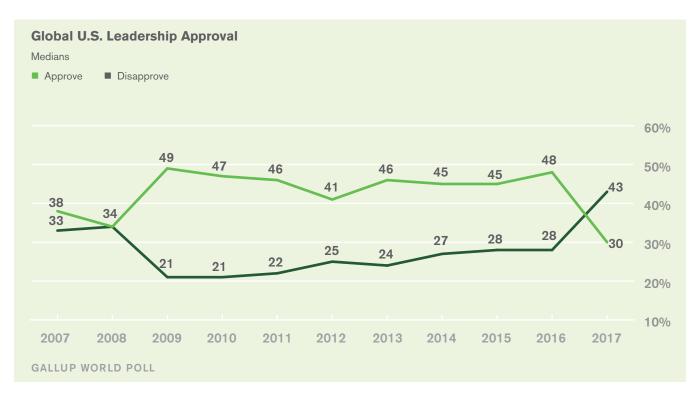
¹ https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-administrations-national-security-strategy/

U.S. Image Weaker in Every Part of the World

During his first year as president, Trump kept his campaign promise to put "America First" in foreign policy. In doing so, he walked away from key institutions and alliances in 2017 that he felt didn't serve U.S. interests, including abandoning the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) trade deal and withdrawing from the global climate agreement. He further rankled relations with neighbors Canada and Mexico, repeatedly threatening to terminate the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and insisting that Mexico would pay for a wall along their shared border.

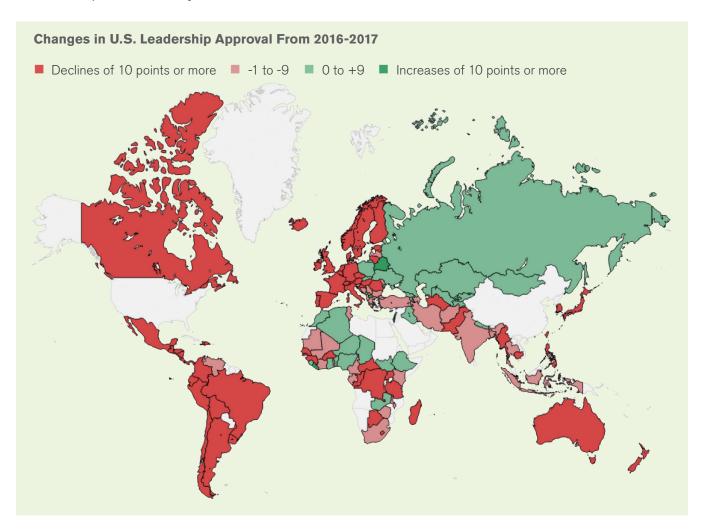
Year one was not without its mutually beneficial successes for the U.S. and its international allies, among them the defeat of the militant Islamic State group in Iraq and Syria. However, the sharp drops in approval of U.S. leadership in every part of the world are evidence that the other aspects of Trump's foreign policy — and his own words — have sowed doubt about the U.S. commitment to its partners abroad and called its reliability into question.

Median approval of U.S. leadership across the 134 countries surveyed in 2017 reached 30%, the lowest point since Gallup began tracking this measure annually in 2007. Disapproval of U.S. leadership increased almost as much as approval declined. The 43% median disapproval, up 15 points from the previous year, was a new record as well, not only for the U.S. but for any other major global power Gallup asked about in the past decade.



Big Losses With Close Allies, Few Gains

The weakened image of the U.S. in 2017 reflects large and widespread losses in approval and relatively few gains. Out of 134 countries, U.S. leadership approval ratings declined substantially — by 10 percentage points or more — in 65 countries that include many longtime U.S. allies and partners — and aspiring U.S. partners. U.S. leadership approval increased 10 points or more in just four countries: Belarus, Israel, Macedonia and Liberia.



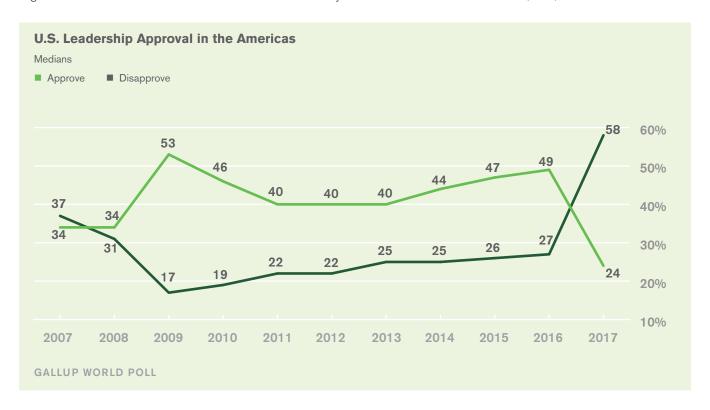
Regionally, the image of U.S. leadership suffered most in the Americas, where approval ratings dropped to a new low. It suffered nearly as much in Europe; however, approval ratings there are not the lowest on record — the ratings during the last two years of George W. Bush's administration still hold that distinction. In Asia, approval also dropped, tying the previous low during the Bush administration.

Africa as a whole remains the bright spot for U.S. leadership approval, as it has been for the past decade. Nonetheless, the approval rating for the region is at its lowest level yet, clinging to a bare majority that may be in jeopardy after the president's alleged remarks about the continent in January 2018.

A closer look at where U.S. leadership stands at the regional and country levels reveals the areas of greatest vulnerability and strength.

U.S. Approval Drops to New Lows in the Americas

The image of the U.S. looks far worse in 2017 than it ever has from the vantage point of some of the country's closest neighbors. Approval of U.S. leadership matched or dropped to new lows in the majority of countries surveyed in the Americas in 2016 and 2017, including Canada and Mexico. The median of 24% who approve of U.S. leadership in the region now stands at about half of what it was in the last year of the Obama administration (49%).



Big Losses and No Gains

On the heels of Trump's withdrawal from the TPP and with the future of NAFTA in question — both affecting the Americas — approval of U.S. leadership plunged in every country in the region in 2017. In fact, there were double-digit decreases in all countries except Venezuela, where approval dropped nine points.

Longtime U.S. ally and neighbor to the north, Canada, led declines in the region. Approval of U.S. leadership tumbled 40 points from 60% in 2016 to 20% in 2017 — tying the previous low of 22% in 2008. In the United States' immediate neighbor to the south, Mexico, approval is at a new record low. Approval fell 28 points from 44% in 2016 to 16% in 2017, eight points lower than the previous decade low of 24% in 2008.

Residents in nearly all countries in the Americas are more disapproving than approving of U.S. leadership. The sole exception is in the Dominican Republic, where approval of U.S. leadership is the highest in the region at 42%, and disapproval is about the same (41%). Even so, this represents a substantial deterioration from 2016, when 60% approved of U.S. leadership, and just 16% disapproved.

Germany, China Highest Rated in Region

China, which has overtaken the U.S. as the top trading partner in parts of Latin America, may be positioned to take further advantage, particularly if the U.S. withdraws from NAFTA as Trump has threatened. Although no country garners particularly high approval ratings in the Americas, residents in the region are more likely to approve of Germany's leadership (31%) and China's leadership (28%) than the leadership of the U.S. (24%) or Russia (24%).

Residents of the Americas are more likely to say they don't know enough to rate leadership of Germany, China and Russia than to say the same of U.S. leadership — but also far more likely to disapprove of U.S. leadership than that of the other three countries.

The Americas

Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of ...

Medians

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/ Refused
Germany	31%	29%	38%
China	28%	35%	35%
U.S.	24%	58%	16%
Russia	24%	38%	37%

Rows may not add to 100% because of rounding

GALLUP WORLD POLL, 2017

- Approval of U.S. leadership dropped to new record lows in Mexico, Haiti, Peru, Chile, Panama, Colombia, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Guatemala.
- Residents of Canada and Mexico are now more likely to approve of China's leadership than U.S. leadership.
- Argentines, Chileans and Uruguayans are the least likely among 21 populations in the Americas to approve of U.S. leadership, with 13% in each country approving.

Americas	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/ Refused	Approval difference from 2016 to 2017 (pct. pts.)
Dominican Republic	42%	41%	17%	-18
Venezuela	37%	52%	11%	-9
Honduras	35%	49%	16%	-16
Brazil	33%	52%	14%	-24
Guatemala	30%**	55%	15%	-14
Haiti	29%**	49%	21%	-18
Peru	28%**	57%	14%	-22
Colombia	26%**	60%	14%	-26
Panama	26%**	58%	16%	-35
Ecuador	24%	60%	15%	-24
El Salvador	24%	62%	15%	-31
Jamaica	23%	53%	24%	*
Bolivia	20%	64%	17%	-18
Canada	20%	76%	4%	-40
Costa Rica	20%**	68%	12%	-32
Nicaragua	19%**	58%	23%	-19
Trinidad & Tobago	18%	57%	25%	*
Mexico	16%**	72%	12%	-28
Argentina	13%	69%	18%	-20
Chile	13%**	74%	13%	-27
Uruguay	13%	70%	17%	-24

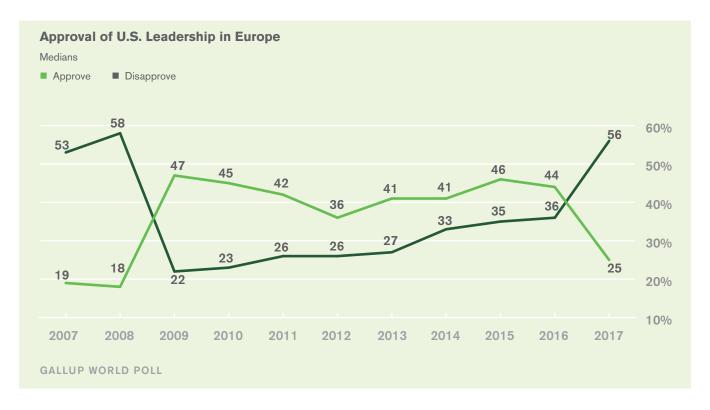
^{*}No 2016 data available

GALLUP WORLD POLL, 2017

^{**}New record low

European Approval Plunges, Longtime Allies Lead Declines

Europe soured on U.S. leadership almost as much as the Americas did in 2017, with median approval dropping only slightly less sharply (19 points vs. 25 points) between Obama's last year and Trump's first. While these are the worst ratings since 2009, the current 25% approval and 56% disapproval are notably not the worst on record for Europe — both ratings were more negative during the last year of the Bush administration.



The U.S. garnered majority approval in just three countries or areas in Europe in 2017 — Kosovo, which leads the region (and the world) in approval of U.S. leadership (75%); Albania, which ranks second worldwide (72%); and Poland (56%). It is not unusual to see Kosovars and Albanians at the top of the approval list; these two populations typically give U.S. leadership high ratings. However, 2017 marks the first time that a majority of Poles have approved of U.S. leadership, possibly reflecting lingering goodwill from the president's visit to Warsaw in July.

Although Trump has both praised and rebuked Russia during his first year in office, Russians are still the least likely in Europe — and the world — to approve of U.S. leadership, at 8%. However, it's important to note that Russians' ratings are heading in a positive direction for the first time in years; the current rating is up six points from 2% in 2016.

Russians are not alone at the bottom of the U.S. leadership approval list in 2017, tying with Iceland (8%). In fact, four of the five countries or areas with the world's lowest approval ratings of U.S. leadership are in Europe; Portugal (12%) and Sweden (11%) join Russia and Iceland near the bottom.

Germany Tops Leadership Approval, U.S. and China Tie

Of the four countries, Germany's leadership

continues to be the most popular among Europeans, with a median approval rating of 54%, basically unchanged from the previous year. While the U.S. ranked second to Germany in approval in 2016, and still does, it now ties with China (25%). The ratings for the U.S. and China are only slightly higher than the lowest-rated leadership, Russia, with a median rating of 21%.

Russia, however, gets the highest disapproval of all four powers — with nearly two in three Europeans disapproving of its leadership.

Big Losses Among Key Allies, Most NATO Members in Europe

The timing of Gallup's surveys in Europe mostly overlapped or followed Trump's several trips there in 2017. This included his attendance of the NATO

Europe

Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of ...

Medians

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/ Refused
Germany	54%	27%	17%
China	25%	48%	29%
U.S.	25%	56%	18%
Russia	21%	64%	16%

Rows may not add to 100% because of rounding

GALLUP WORLD POLL, 2017

summit in May, where he upset allies when he noticeably failed to endorse the alliance's mutual-aid clause — although he did so a few weeks later. The rift between the U.S. and its allies and partners was again on display at the G20 summit in Germany in July, where leaders of 19 global economies broke with the U.S. on climate policy and globalization.

Reflecting these growing divisions, U.S. leadership approval declined substantially — 10 points or more — in 24 countries, including 18 NATO allies. NATO member states led the fall across Europe and the world, with Portugal posting a 51-point decline in approval ratings, followed by a loss of 44 points in Belgium and a 42-point drop in Norway.

Ratings dropped precipitously among longtime allies and G7 countries France (28 points), the United Kingdom (26 points), Germany (21 points) and Italy (14 points). But even so, it's important to note that none of the current lower approval ratings in Europe is a new record low — many ratings were similar if not worse during the last two Bush years.

U.S. approval ratings increased substantially — 10 points or more — in two countries, Belarus and Macedonia. Belarusians' approval ratings rose from 9% to 20%, possibly seeing Trump's election as a win for Belarus if U.S. relations improved with Russia or if they continued to make overtures to the West. In Macedonia, which recently renewed its U.S.-backed efforts to join NATO and the European Union, approval rose from 30% to 45%. Its approval of the EU's leadership rose just as much during the same time frame, from 41% to 54%.

- · U.S. leadership approval declined substantially in 21 out of the 28 current members of the European Union.
- Poland, Slovakia and Montenegro were the only European NATO members in which ratings of U.S. leadership moved in a positive direction.

Europe	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/ Refused	Approval difference from 2016 to 2017 (pct. pts.)
Kosovo	75%	13%	12%	-7
Albania	72%	15%	13%	-4
Poland	56%	24%	21%	8
Italy	45%	48%	7%	-14
Macedonia	45%	34%	20%	15
Hungary	41%	31%	28%	-11
Romania	41%	26%	33%	-18
Czech Republic	38%	41%	21%	-10
Slovakia	37%	44%	19%	7
Ukraine	36%	25%	39%	4
Lithuania	33%	44%	24%	-15
United Kingdom	33%	63%	5%	-26
Moldova	32%**	41%	27%	-5
Denmark	29%	65%	6%	-26
Ireland	29%	66%	5%	-30
Bosnia and Herzegovina	28%	52%	20%	-2
Bulgaria	28%	47%	25%	-2
Malta	26%**	61%	13%	-28
Spain	26%	67%	7%	-27
France	25%	65%	10%	-28
Montenegro	25%	49%	26%	7
Croatia	24%	51%	25%	-20
Cyprus	24%	43%	33%	-9
Slovenia	24%	69%	6%	-7
Germany	22%	72%	6%	-21
Finland	21%**	73%	5%	-29
Latvia	21%	51%	28%	-8
Luxembourg	21%	71%	9%	-32
Netherlands	21%	74%	5%	-38
Belarus	20%	56%	24%	11
Belgium	20%	73%	8%	-44
Greece	18%	56%	26%	-9
Switzerland	18%	69%	14%	-25
Austria	17%	79%	4%	-18
Estonia	17%	48%	35%	-21
Serbia	16%	58%	26%	-5
Norway	13%	83%	3%	-42
Portugal	12%	69%	19%	-51
Sweden	11%	76%	13%	-32
Iceland	8%**	77%	15%	-25
Russia	8%	58%	34%	6

^{**}New record low

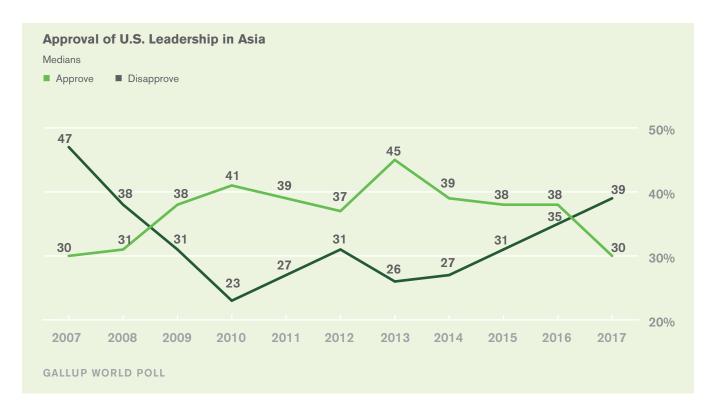
GALLUP WORLD POLL, 2017

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U.S. Approval Slumps to Bush-Era Low in Asia

Ratings of U.S. leadership in Asia were on somewhat shaky ground during the last year of the Obama presidency, but in the first year of Trump's term, they slumped to lows not seen since the Bush administration. This is despite the U.S. military's assistance in the defeat of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. The median approval rating of 30% in 2017 is lower than any rating in the previous eight years, but is almost exactly the same as ratings during the last years of the Bush presidency.

A number of factors likely did not aid the U.S. image in Asia, but two stand out: 1) one of Trump's first actions as president was to walk away from the TPP trade deal that links U.S. partners from Canada to Chile to important Asian trade partners such as Australia and Japan, and 2) the escalating rhetoric and nuclear tensions between the U.S. and North Korea.



Ahead of Trump's trip to Asia in November, with stops in Japan, South Korea, China, Vietnam and the Philippines, majorities in just four Asian countries approved of U.S. leadership. This included one of the countries on the itinerary, the Philippines (59%), and three others: Israel (67%), Mongolia (56%) and Cambodia (55%).

Majorities in twice as many countries and areas, from all parts of Asia, disapproved of U.S. leadership: Pakistan (76%), Palestinian Territories (72%), New Zealand (71%), Australia (65%), Afghanistan (65%), Hong Kong (60%), Lebanon (59%) and Turkey (59%).

Germany, China Earn Highest Approval Ratings

The TPP was positioned as a way to cement U.S. influence in East Asia and guard against a rising China. With that deal off the table, the U.S. will need to seek other ways to "redouble [its] commitment to established alliances and partnerships" in the region and to advance its influence. Its weakened image in 2017 now puts the U.S. at a slight disadvantage to achieve its goals, particularly compared with the leadership of Germany and China, which get higher approval ratings and lower disapproval ratings than the U.S.

More Losses Than Gains in Asia

U.S. leadership lost substantial clout — with ratings dropping 10 points or more — in 12 Asian countries and areas between 2016 and 2017. Several of these are countries or areas that the Trump administration identifies in its national security strategy as critical allies "to responding to mutual threats, such as North

Asia

Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of ...

Medians

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/ Refused
Germany	35%	21%	38%
China	32%	31%	33%
U.S.	30%	39%	29%
Russia	28%	27%	25%

Rows may not add to 100% because of rounding

GALLUP WORLD POLL, 2017

Korea, and preserving our mutual interests in the Indo-Pacific region" or "growing security and economic partners."3

New Zealand, Australia and Singapore — where approval ratings dropped to new record lows in 2017 — led the declines in Asia, with ratings dropping more than 30 points. Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, Cambodia, Taiwan and Hong Kong also saw double-digit declines.

Lower ratings were not confined to the Pacific Rim. Well ahead of Trump's criticism of Pakistan as a "safe haven" for terrorists and the United States' suspension of aid, Pakistanis' already-low approval of U.S. leadership dropped from 24% to 14% — a level not seen since 2012. There were double-digit declines in Myanmar and Turkmenistan as well.

Israel was the only country in Asia in which U.S. approval increased substantially. The 67% of Israelis who approve of U.S. leadership is up 14 points from 2016, and on par with the ratings they gave the U.S. during the Bush administration. Notably, interviewing took place before Trump recognized Jerusalem as Israel's capital, but he had promised to do so during his campaign for president.

Although the increase in approval in Iraq is just shy of 10 points, the increase is notable because it pushed U.S. approval to its highest level in the past decade — 41%. This may reflect some Iraqi goodwill toward the U.S. for its military support as the Islamic State group lost ground, but it may have been short-lived after the Kurdish referendum and recognition of Jerusalem.

- New Zealand, Australia and Singapore who saw their approval ratings of U.S. leadership drop to new record lows in 2017 — also led the declines in Asia, with approval ratings dropping more than 30 points.
- U.S. leadership lost substantial clout with ratings dropping 10 points or more in 12 countries and areas between 2016 and 2017. In one country, Israel, U.S. leadership saw a double-digit gain in approval.

² https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf

³ https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf

Asia	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/ Refused	Approval difference from 2016 to 2017 (pct. pts.)
Israel	67%	24%	9%	14
Philippines	59%	32%	9%	-12
Mongolia	56%	18%	26%	4
Cambodia	55%	10%	35%	-12
Myanmar	48%	9%	43%	-22
Nepal	48%	18%	33%	6
Iraq	41%***	43%	16%	9
South Korea	39%	46%	14%	-14
Armenia	38%	29%	32%	0
Georgia	37%	24%	38%	0
Hong Kong	37%	60%	4%	-15
Thailand	32%	18%	50%	-3
Bangladesh	31%	27%	42%	-7
Japan	31%	36%	32%	-16
Kyrgyzstan	31%	43%	27%	7
Lebanon	31%	59%	10%	7
Azerbaijan	30%	44%	26%	-6
Sri Lanka	30%	19%	51%	*
Tajikistan	30%	32%	38%	1
India	29%	27%	44%	-4
Afghanistan	28%**	65%	7%	-7
Singapore	27%**	25%	48%	-32
Turkey	27%	59%	13%	-2
Turkmenistan	27%**	42%	32%	-11
Taiwan	26%	46%	27%	-22
Uzbekistan	25%	30%	45%	2
Kazakhstan	24%	41%	35%	5
Laos	23%	19%	58%	*
Indonesia	22%	49%	28%	-7
Australia	19%**	65%	16%	-31
Iran	19%	42%	39%	-2
New Zealand	15%**	71%	14%	-36
Pakistan	14%	76%	9%	-10
Palestinian Territories	12%	72%	16%	1

^{*}No data available for 2016

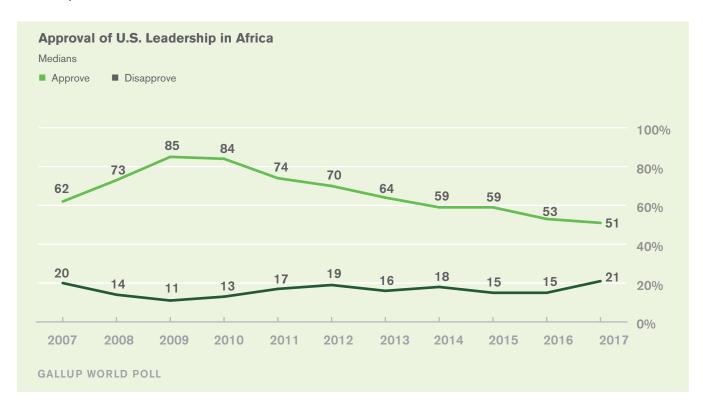
GALLUP WORLD POLL, 2017

^{**}New record low

^{***}New record high

Bare Majority in Africa Approve of U.S. Leadership

As it was during the terms of Trump's predecessors, the image of U.S. leadership was strongest worldwide in Africa in 2017, bolstered by majority approval in 20 sub-Saharan African countries. However, median approval slipped to its lowest level yet in 2017, a bare majority of 51%. The existing goodwill may be at risk after Trump's alleged remarks about Africa in January that drew condemnation from the African Union and individual African countries.



Residents in most African countries are more likely to approve than disapprove of U.S. leadership. Only in Namibia, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya and Morocco are residents more likely to disapprove than approve. This question was not fielded in 2017 in Egypt, which typically ranks toward the bottom of the approval list, and where residents have been more likely to disapprove than approve in past U.S. administrations.

Those in North Africa do not share the affinity for U.S. leadership that their counterparts in most sub-Saharan African countries do — and this is typically where the U.S. gets its lowest ratings on the continent. Roughly one in four or fewer adults in Algeria (27%), Tunisia (23%), Libya (21%) and Morocco (18%) approved of U.S. leadership in 2017.

U.S. and China Have Strongest Images in Africa

Although China surpassed the U.S. as Africa's largest trade partner the first year Obama was in office, the debate continues over which country exerts the most influence in the region. Approval of U.S. and Chinese leadership was similar among the African public in 2017; a median 51% approved of U.S. leadership, while a median 50% approved of China's. Germany (45%) and Russia (36%) trail the other countries.

Big Losses and One Big Gain

The U.S. typically garners higher approval ratings in Africa than elsewhere in the world, but this approval is not guaranteed. Approval ratings of U.S. leadership declined by 10 points or more between 2016 and 2017 in 11 African countries: Senegal, Tanzania, Uganda, Burkina Faso, Madagascar, Botswana, Lesotho, Guinea, Congo (Kinshasa), Central African

Africa

Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of ...

Medians

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/ Refused
U.S.	51%	20%	27%
China	50%	15%	31%
Germany	45%	17%	33%
Russia	36%	22%	37%

Rows may not add to 100% because of rounding

GALLUP WORLD POLL, 2017

Republic and Congo (Brazzaville). Most of the 2017 ratings are new lows.

However, one of the four countries in which U.S. leadership approval increased most between 2016 and 2017 — Liberia — is also in Africa. Approval of U.S. leadership jumped from 44% to 61% in the country, though this may be part of a broader surge in support for major global powers. In this same period, there were similar increases in Liberians' approval of the leadership in Germany, China and Russia, but the U.S. still gets the highest rating among them all.

- · Majorities in about half of the African countries surveyed approve of the job performance of U.S. leadership. Residents of Guinea, Togo, Central African Republic and Ghana are among the most likely in Africa to approve, with at least two in three expressing support.
- Approval ratings of U.S. leadership declined by 10 points or more in the past year in 11 African countries. Senegal had the biggest decline - 19 points - dropping approval to a new low of 48% in 2017.

Africa	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/ Refused	Approval difference from 2016 to 2017 (pct. pts.)
Guinea	71%	8%	21%	-11
Togo	70%	11%	18%	-1
Central African Republic	68%**	21%	10%	-10
Ghana	66%	12%	22%	5
Congo (Kinshasa)	64%**	16%	19%	-11
Gabon	63%**	15%	23%	-9
Kenya	62%	27%	12%	-9
Liberia	61%	15%	23%	17
Mauritius	59%	29%	11%	8
Sierra Leone	58%	11%	32%	6
Chad	57%	15%	28%	4
Nigeria	56%	16%	28%	1
Burkina Faso	55%**	20%	25%	-12
Ivory Coast	55%	15%	30%	-2
Malawi	53%	32%	15%	-6
Mali	53%**	11%	36%	-8
Niger	53%	21%	26%	0
Madagascar	52%	25%	23%	-12
Benin	51%	16%	32%	8
South Sudan	51%	12%	37%	2
Congo (Brazzaville)	50%**	16%	34%	-10
Zimbabwe	50%	19%	30%	-1
Cameroon	48%	20%	32%	-4
Senegal	48%**	29%	23%	-19
South Africa	47%**	29%	24%	-5
Uganda	44%	27%	29%	-15
Zambia	42%	22%	36%	1
Tanzania	41%**	34%	26%	-17
Mozambique	40%	22%	39%	*
Mauritania	36%**	36%	28%	-7
Botswana	35%**	36%	29%	-11
Lesotho	33%	13%	53%	-14
Ethiopia	31%	8%	61%	7
Namibia	30%	41%	29%	*
Algeria	27%	44%	29%	4
Tunisia	23%	58%	20%	-4
Libya	21%	64%	16%	*
Morocco	18%	28%	54%	1

^{*}No data available for 2016

^{**}New record low

Implications for 2018 and Beyond

While advancing American influence — one of the four pillars of the administration's new national security strategy — may begin with building up wealth and power at home, as Trump has stated, it can't be achieved without a strong commitment to and close cooperation with partners and allies abroad.

It is too early in Trump's presidency to deem his "America First" foreign policy a success or failure. However, it is clear that based on the trajectory of what the world thinks of the U.S., many of the U.S. alliances and partnerships that the Trump administration considers a "great strength" are potentially at risk.

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. Between March and November 2017, residents were asked to rate U.S., German and Russian leadership in 134 countries or areas, and residents in 135 countries or areas were asked to rate the leadership of China. For results based on the total samples, the margin of sampling error ranges from ± 2.0 percentage points to ± 5.1 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.

For complete methodology and specific survey dates, please review Gallup's Country Data Set details.

 $^{4 \}quad https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905.pdf\\$

