

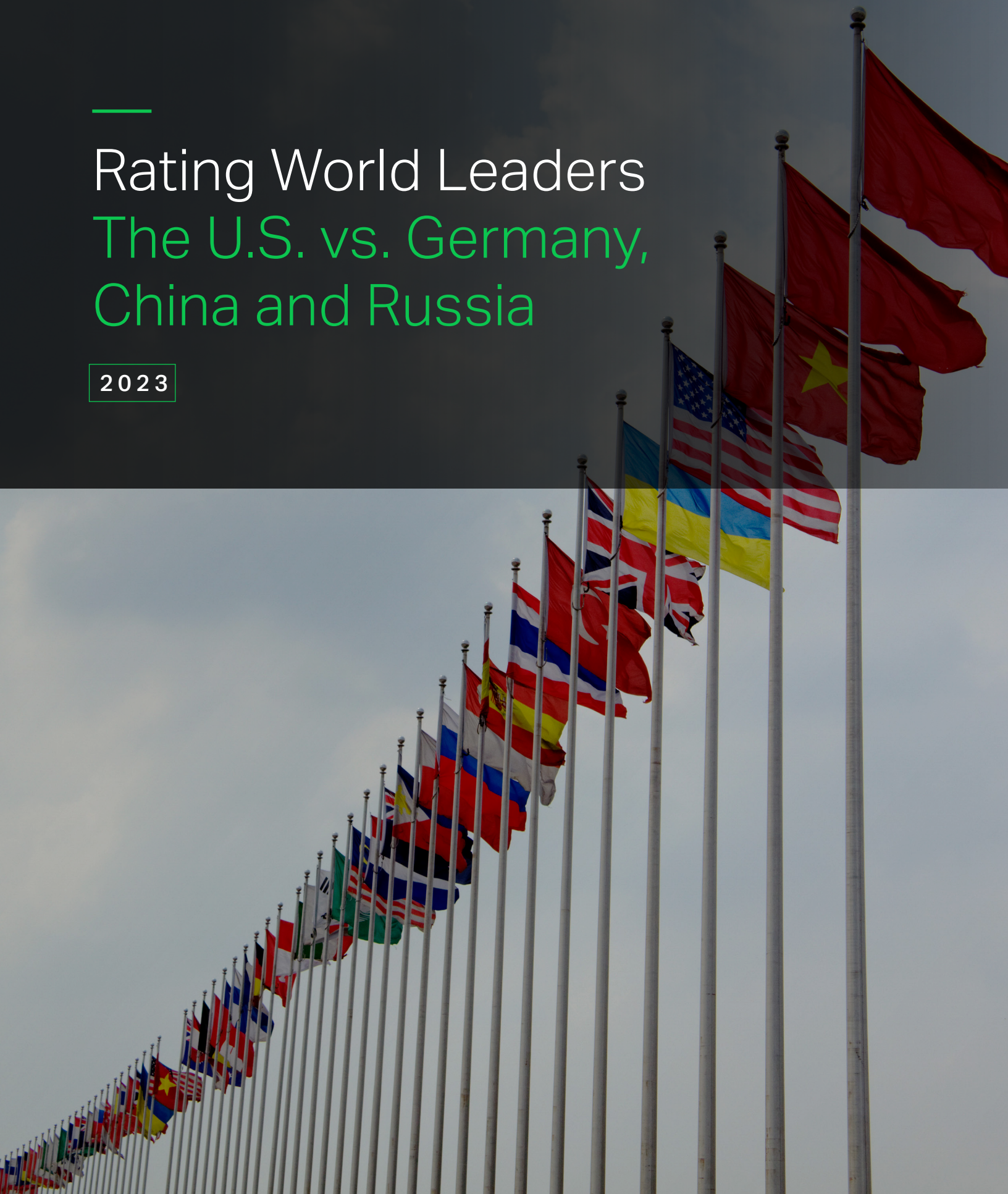
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# Rating World Leaders

## The U.S. vs. Germany, China and Russia

2023



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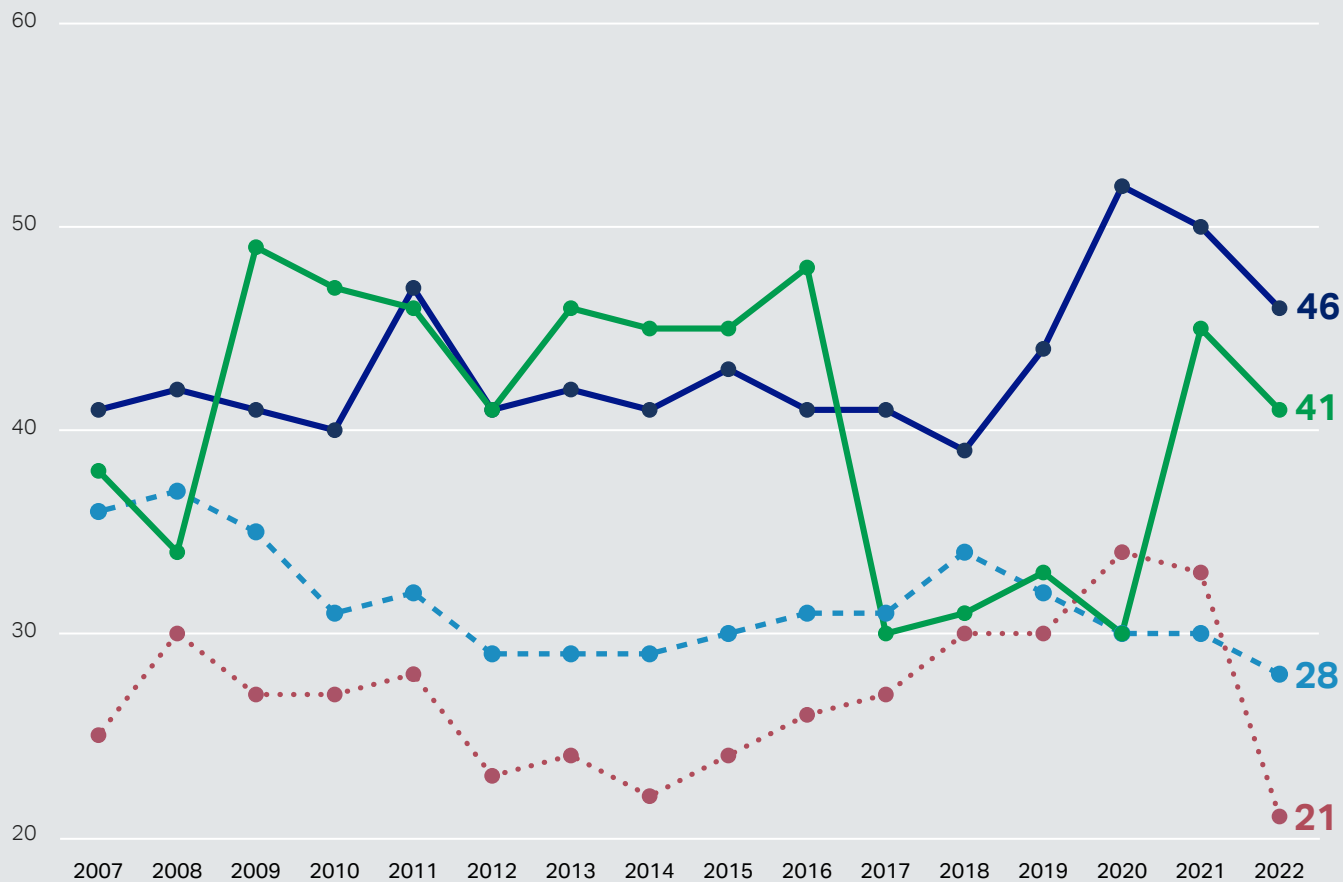
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# Global Leadership Ratings

## APPROVAL OF GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

Median Approval (%)

U.S. Germany China Russia



Source: Gallup 2022

# Ratings of U.S., Germany Slightly Weaker; Russia Suffers Global Rebuke

**Gallup surveys in nearly 140 countries in 2022 showed the honeymoon is over for U.S. President Joe Biden, and Germany's image has lost some of its clout under new Chancellor Olaf Scholz.**

**However, although global approval ratings of the U.S. and Germany dipped in 2022, both countries are still in much stronger positions than Russia — which saw its ratings plunge after its invasion of Ukraine — and China.**

In the second year of Biden's presidency, the median global approval rating of U.S. leadership stood at 41% across 137 countries. This rating is much lower than the 49% median approval measured during Biden's first six months on the job — before the chaotic U.S. withdrawal from Afghanistan — and the 45% approval for his first full year in office.

Under new leadership for the first time in decades, Germany remained the top-rated global power for the sixth consecutive year. In 2022, median approval of Germany's leadership across 137 countries stood at 46%, down from 50% in 2021 but still higher than most ratings throughout former Chancellor Angela Merkel's lengthy tenure.

Although slightly weaker, Germany and the U.S. netted higher approval ratings than Russia or China. Russia's approval rating after its invasion of Ukraine in late February 2022 fell from 33% to 21% — one percentage point lower than its previous low of 22% after its occupation of Crimea in 2014. China's approval rating remained relatively flat at 28%, despite its "Russia-friendly" stance.

While the U.S. and its allies in Europe condemned Russia's invasion of Ukraine, approval of Russia dropped in virtually every region of the world, providing evidence that the rebuke of its actions extended much more broadly. As Russia's war against Ukraine rages on, and with Russian President Vladimir Putin now facing war crime charges, it is possible that Russia could find itself even more alone.<sup>1</sup>

## REPORT HIGHLIGHTS

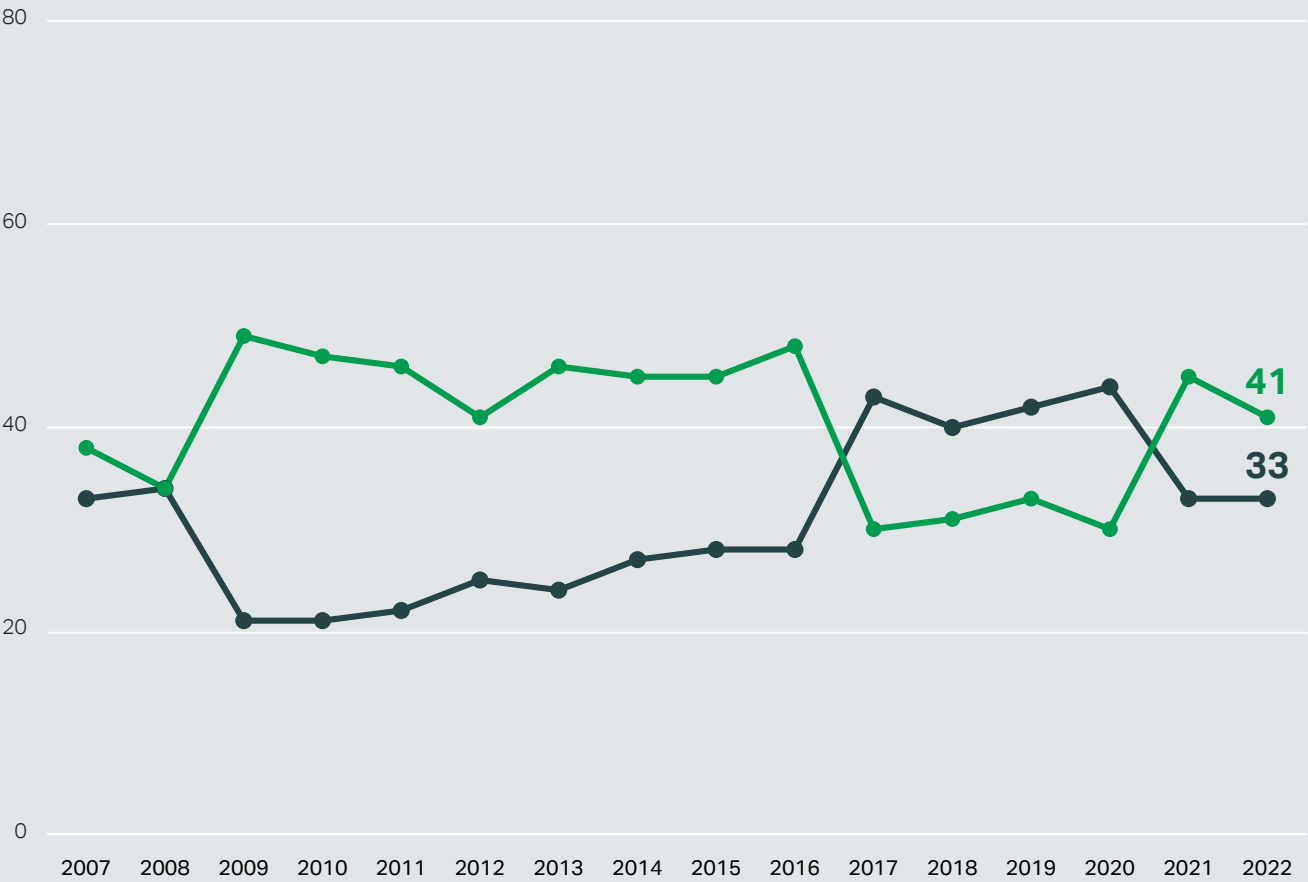
- U.S. leadership ratings around the world rebounded in 2021 in the first year of Biden's presidency but declined in his second.
- There were double-digit decreases in U.S. leadership approval in 36 countries between 2021 and 2022 — mostly in Europe and the Americas.
- Ratings for the U.S. first slipped after withdrawal from Afghanistan in August 2021.
- Russia's approval ratings plunged after the invasion of Ukraine, and the majority of adults worldwide now disapprove of Russia's leadership.

<sup>1</sup> Picheta, R., & Said-Moorehouse, L. (2023, March 17). *ICC issues war crimes arrest warrant for Putin for alleged deportation of Ukrainian children*. CNN. <https://www.cnn.com/2023/03/17/europe/icc-russia-war-crimes-charges-intl/index.html>

GLOBAL APPROVAL OF U.S. LEADERSHIP

Median ratings (%)

Approve Disapprove



Source: Gallup 2022



# U.S. Ratings Continue to Slip at Halfway Mark

**U.S. leadership ratings around the world rebounded in 2021 during the first year of Biden's presidency, but in the second year, they continued the retreat that began after the U.S. withdrew from Afghanistan.**

In the first few hours of his presidency, Biden kept his campaign promises and rejoined the Paris Climate Accord and halted former President Donald Trump's decision to leave the World Health Organization. And in his first foreign policy speech as president, Biden vowed to repair U.S. alliances through diplomacy and restore the image of the U.S.

These efforts likely reassured many international partners at the time. By early August 2021, median approval of U.S. leadership worldwide stood at 49% across 46 countries and territories surveyed at that point.

However, the United States' overall rating slipped in the second half of the year, coinciding with the aftermath of its quick withdrawal from Afghanistan at the end of August 2021. Across 70 additional countries and territories surveyed during and after the U.S. withdrawal, median approval was 43%.

So, after a strong start, Biden ended his first year in office with a 45% median approval rating and a 33% disapproval rating across a total of 116 countries.

In the second year of Biden's presidency, the median global approval rating of U.S. leadership slipped to 41% across 137 countries surveyed in 2022. Despite the decline, disapproval did not change and remained stable at 33%.

Historically, the 41% approval rating is considerably lower than Obama's second-year rating of 47% but still higher than Trump's second year (31%) or the ratings during the last two years of George W. Bush's presidency (38% and 34%).



# Substantial Losses and Notable Gains for the U.S.

**Approval ratings of U.S. leadership decreased substantially — by 10 percentage points or more — between 2021 and 2022 in 36 of the 116 countries surveyed in both years.**

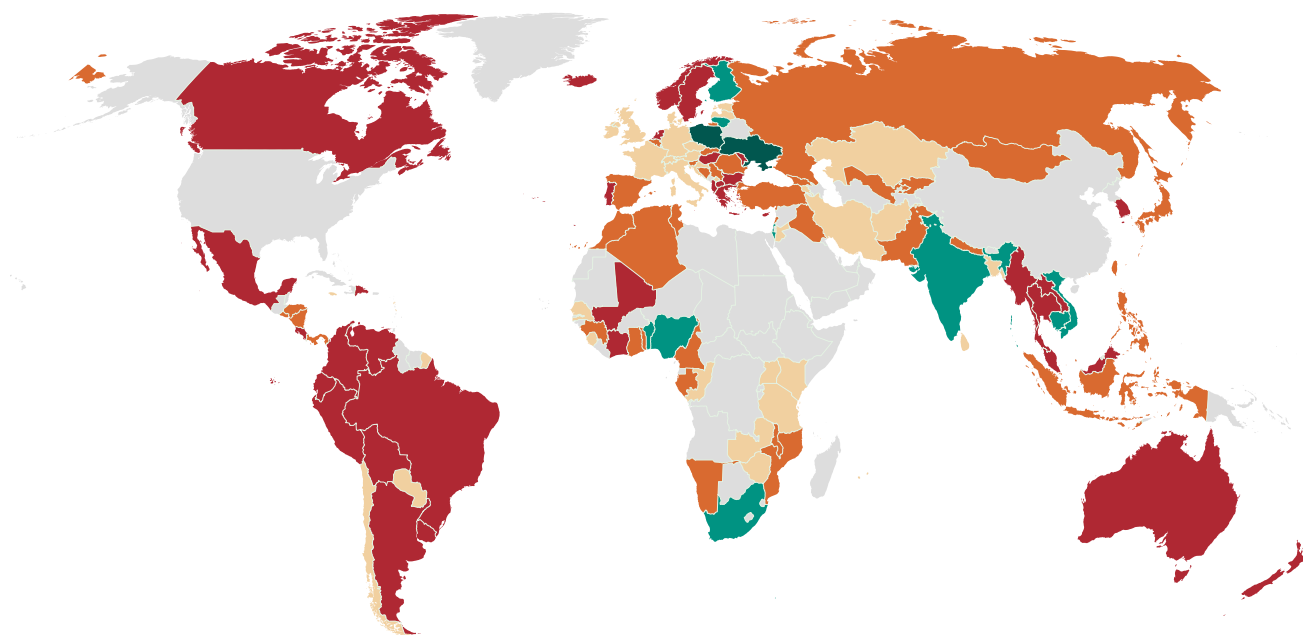
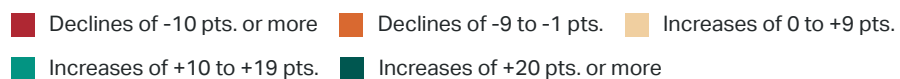
Ratings declined the most — by at least 21 points — between 2021 and 2022 among key strategic partners in Europe and the Americas, including Greece (31 points), Brazil (22 points), Canada (22 points) and the Netherlands (21 points).

However, along with these losses, the U.S. also made some notable gains in 11 countries, with ratings rising as many as 30 points in Poland, 29 points in Ukraine, 15 points in Israel and 11 points in India, where approval ratings reached a record high.





## CHANGES IN U.S. LEADERSHIP APPROVAL, 2021-2022



Source: Gallup 2022

# Inside Russia's Fall on the World Stage

**After Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the majority of the world now disapproves of Russia's leadership.**

Approval of Russia's leadership sank from a median of 33% in 2021 to 21% in 2022. The drop erased steady gains in approval between 2014, when Russia first invaded Ukraine and occupied the Crimean Peninsula, and 2020, when approval hit a high point of 34%.

At the same time approval fell, global disapproval of Russian leadership soared in 2022. Across 137 countries in 2022, a median of 57% said they disapprove of Russia's leadership — a dramatic increase from 38% in 2021 and by far the highest point in Gallup's trend dating back to 2007, including ratings after the first invasion.

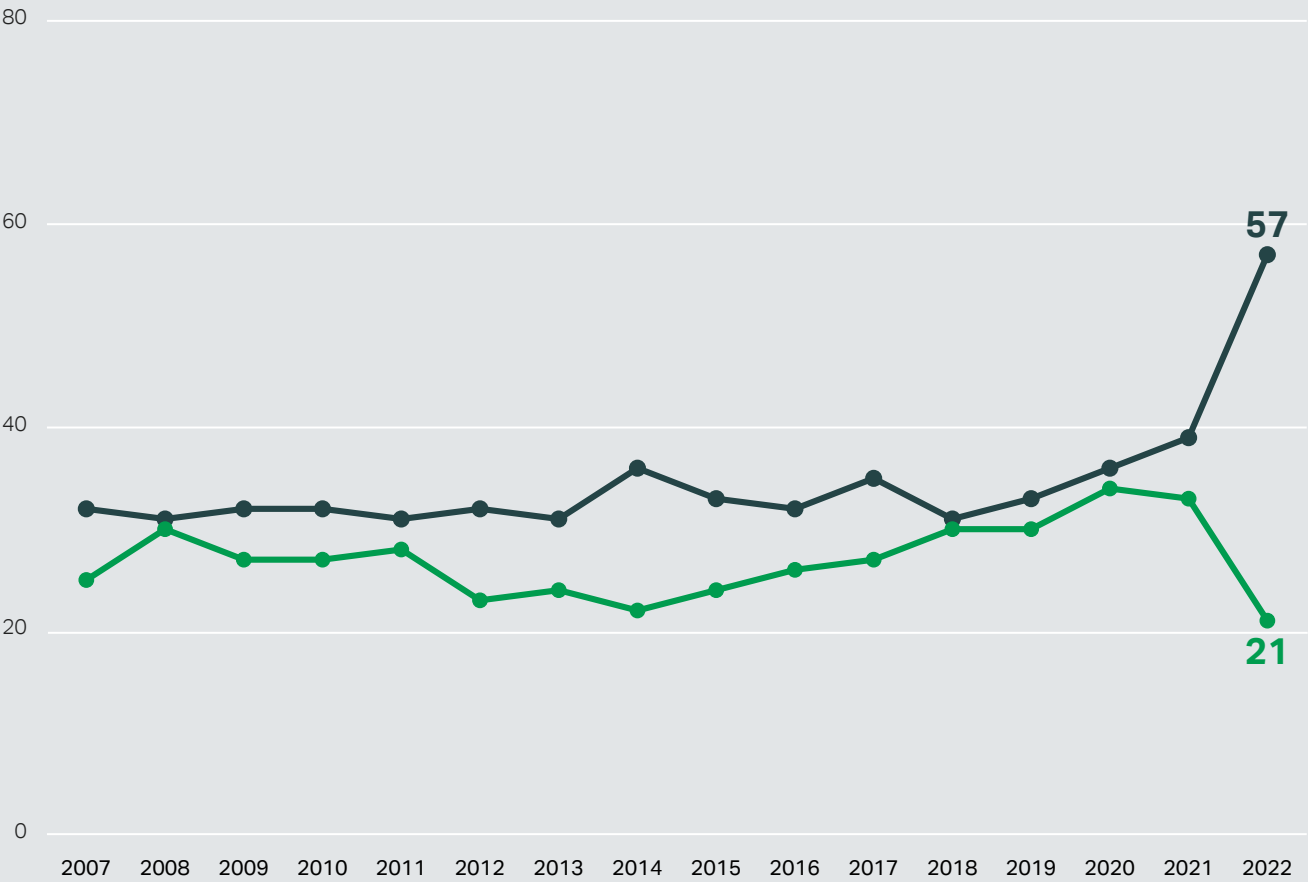
Majorities in 81 of the 137 countries surveyed disapproved of Russian leadership. High-income Western-aligned democracies tended to give the highest disapproval ratings, with figures exceeding 90% in the U.S. (93%), Canada (91%) and 10 European countries — as well as Ukraine itself, where 96% disapproved, and Poland, one of Ukraine's staunchest allies in Europe, where 95% disapproved.



GLOBAL APPROVAL OF RUSSIA LEADERSHIP

Median ratings (%)

Approve Disapprove

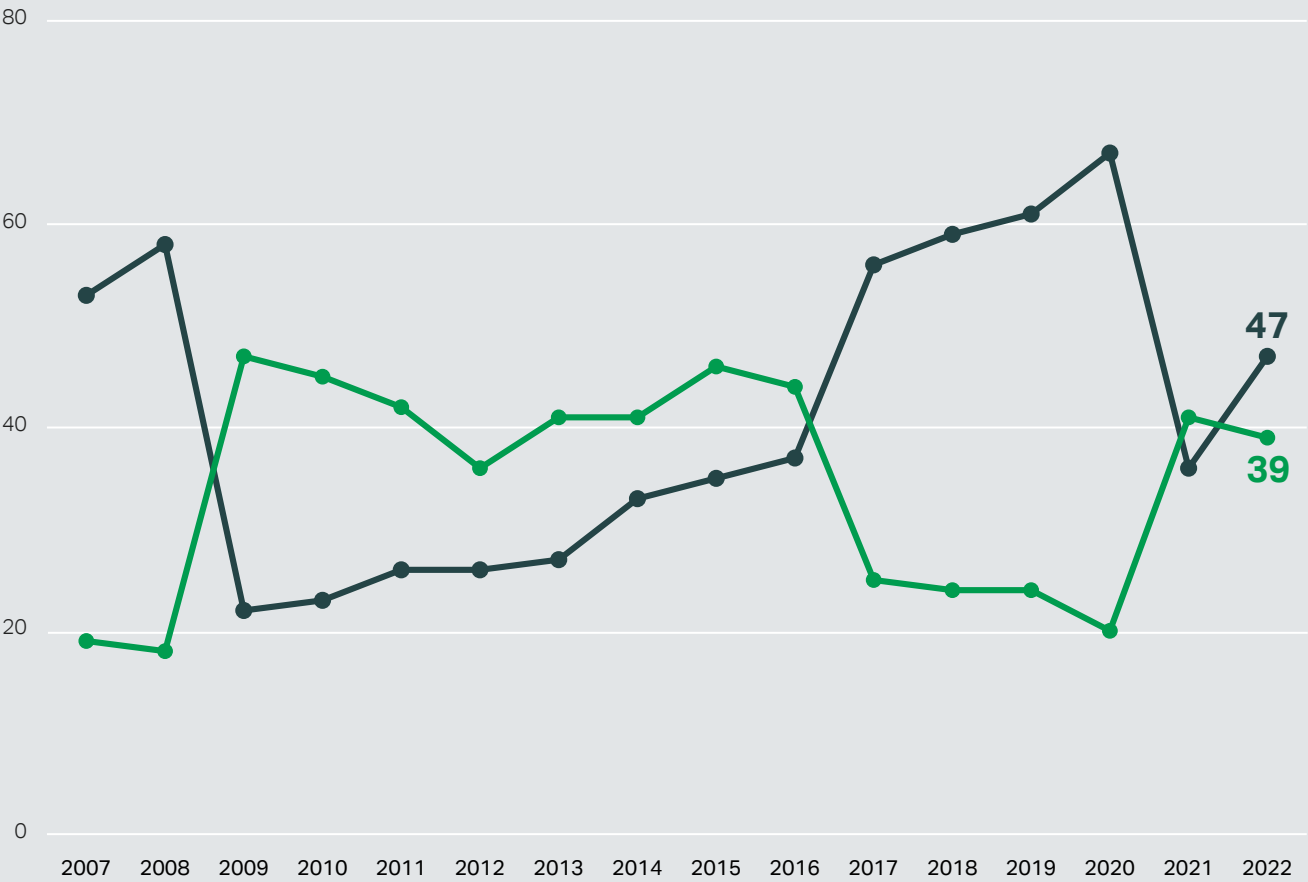


Source: Gallup 2022

U.S. LEADERSHIP APPROVAL IN EUROPE

Median ratings (%)

Approve Disapprove



Source: Gallup 2022



## Europe: U.S. Leadership Approval Holds Relatively Steady, Disapproval Rises

**A closer look at U.S. leadership ratings at the regional and country level in 2022 — and where they have improved or declined since 2021 — reveals the areas of greatest vulnerability and strength in the years to come.**

Europe became disenchanted with U.S. leadership in 2017, with median approval ratings dropping 19 points between former President Barack Obama's last year in office and Trump's first year. The situation only worsened after that, and ratings neared a record low in 2020.

In 2021, approval ratings of U.S. leadership rebounded to levels not seen since the Obama administration. The 41% median approval rating in Europe in 2021 was slightly lower than the 44% approval rating during Obama's last year in office.

These higher ratings reflected Biden's successful outreach to Europe and NATO partners early in his presidency, which not only raised the profile of U.S. leadership in Europe and within the bloc but likely aided his attempts to unify NATO's response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine in early 2022.

In the aftermath of Russia's invasion, which is arguably one of the biggest foreign-policy challenges to face a U.S. president since the end of the Cold War, approval ratings of U.S. leadership in Europe held relatively steady at 39%.

However, disappointment with U.S. leadership lurked underneath. In 12 of the 37 European countries surveyed in 2021 and 2022 — most of them NATO members — approval of U.S. leadership decreased by 10 points or more. Greece led the declines, with approval ratings of U.S. leadership dropping 31 points, followed notably by the Netherlands (21 points). Additionally, while approval remained relatively flat, disapproval soared to a median of 47% — meaning more Europeans disapproved than approved last year.

Not everyone in Europe was disappointed, though. Approval ratings rose to record highs in several countries directly or potentially under threat from Russia. In Ukraine, approval rocketed 29 points to 66%; in neighboring Poland, approval jumped 30 points to 80%. And in Finland, ratings of U.S. leadership rose 10 points, reaching 62%. These countries joined Kosovo and Albania in 2022 as the top five most approving in Europe.

On the other side of the spectrum, the image of U.S. leadership in Europe was worst in Russia, where only 4% approved in 2022. The current approval rating in Russia is down nine points from the previous year, but even with the United States' support of Ukraine, it is not the lowest on record. Just 1% of Russians approved of U.S. leadership in 2015.

## U.S. Leadership Approval Across Europe in 2022

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/ Refused	Change in approval from 2021 to 2022 (pct. pts.)
Kosovo	90%	6%	4%	+1
Poland	80%	8%	12%	+30
Albania	69%	16%	15%	-13
Ukraine	66%	16%	18%	+29
Finland	62%	31%	7%	+10
Ireland	56%	37%	7%	+6
Portugal	54%	22%	24%	-10
Denmark	47%	43%	10%	+2
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	46%	48%	6%	+1
Germany	44%	43%	13%	+2
Norway	44%	50%	6%	-10
Austria	43%	47%	10%	+1
Italy	42%	54%	4%	+1
Netherlands	42%	50%	7%	-21
Estonia	41%	34%	25%	+8
Romania	41%	32%	27%	-3
Sweden	40%	56%	4%	-12
Lithuania	39%	19%	42%	+17
Spain	39%	57%	4%	-2
Switzerland	39%	54%	7%	+2
Belgium	38%	37%	24%	-3
Latvia	38%	29%	33%	+9
France	37%	48%	15%	+1
Luxembourg	36%	57%	7%	*
Malta	35%	44%	20%	-14
North Macedonia	34%	49%	18%	-13
Croatia	33%	47%	20%	+9
Moldova, Republic of	33%	45%	21%	-10
Bosnia and Herzegovina	31%	52%	17%	-9
Czech Republic	31%	29%	40%	+1
Montenegro	30%	49%	21%	*
Slovenia	28%	60%	12%	-6
Hungary	27%	43%	30%	-14
Slovakia	25%	59%	16%	-7
Bulgaria	23%	47%	30%	-17
Iceland	23%	56%	22%	-17
Greece	20%	61%	19%	-31
Serbia	12%	69%	19%	-4
Russian Federation	4%	77%	19%	-9

Source: Gallup 2021, 2022

\* Not asked in 2021

Medians may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

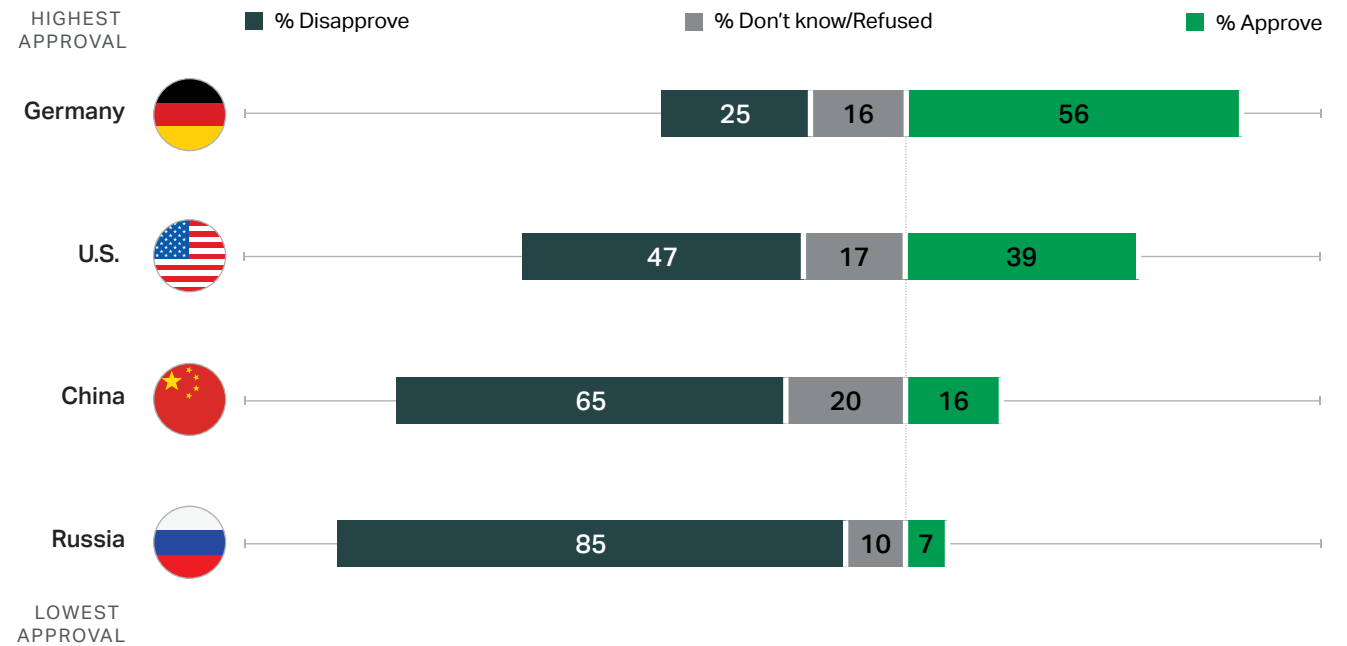
# Germany Still Leads in Europe, Russia Plunges

Of the four countries, Germany's leadership continued to be the most popular in Europe, with a median approval of 56% in 2022 — although it is down from 63% the previous year.

The U.S. remained in second place behind Germany, with a median 39% approval rating that is relatively unchanged from its rating of 41% in 2021. China's approval rating remained relatively unchanged from the 18% measured in 2021, while Russia's rating plummeted from 22% to just 7%.

## EUROPE

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



Median approval  
Source: Gallup 2022  
Medians may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

U.S. LEADERSHIP APPROVAL IN THE AMERICAS

Median ratings (%)



Source: Gallup 2022



# Americas: Approval Ratings Fall as Uncertainty Rises

**After surging between 2020 and 2021, approval of U.S. leadership in the Americas in 2022 was reminiscent of lower levels seen during the Trump era.**

Last year, median approval of U.S. leadership across 20 countries and U.S. territory Puerto Rico stood at 36%, down sharply from 52% in 2021. Although not as low, the most recent approval rating in the region is more in line with the ratings in the mid-30s seen throughout the Trump administration.

However, rather than reversing their opinion of U.S. leadership, adults in many Latin American countries withheld judgment: Median disapproval of U.S. leadership in the Americas remained relatively flat at 33% in 2022, while the median percentage who said they didn't know or otherwise didn't respond rose from 18% in 2021 to 25% in 2022.

Like elsewhere around the world, U.S. leadership likely enjoyed a ratings bump in the Americas in 2021 with the departure of Trump, who was deeply unpopular in the region. Some retreat from this initial exuberance was to be expected. However, the magnitude of the decline suggests other factors may be at play, including uncertainty about U.S. migration policy.<sup>2</sup> The end result is that U.S. leadership is less popular in its own hemisphere than it is in Europe or Africa.

Approval of U.S. leadership declined by at least 10 percentage points in 12 of the 19 countries surveyed in both years, including the United States' immediate neighbors Mexico and Canada. In Canada, U.S. approval plummeted from 55% to 33% in 2022 as the two countries narrowly averted a trade war.<sup>3</sup>

Though Trump was unpopular in Canada, the current 33% rating under Biden is far below any Obama-era ratings, which never fell below a majority. Further, 65% of Canadians *disapproved* of U.S. leadership last year, easily the highest figure in the Americas.

Still, approval ratings in Canada were far from the worst in the region. The image of U.S. leadership in the Americas was lowest in Chile for the third consecutive year; however, the 24% approval rating in 2022 was three points higher than the year before.



<sup>2</sup> Ward, M. (2023, February 21). *Biden to replace Trump migration policy with Trump-esque asylum policy*. POLITICO. <https://www.politico.com/news/2023/02/21/biden-trump-migration-policy-asylum-00083873>

<sup>3</sup> Biden visits Canada: What's bothering America's friendliest neighbour? (2023, March 24). BBC News. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-65017277>

## U.S. Leadership Approval Across the Americas in 2022

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/ Refused	Change in approval from 2021 to 2022 (pct. pts.)
Puerto Rico	59%	32%	9%	*
Dominican Republic	58%	22%	20%	-12
Paraguay	57%	23%	20%	+9
Honduras	55%	20%	25%	-1
El Salvador	50%	23%	27%	-6
Guatemala	49%	28%	23%	*
Colombia	44%	33%	24%	-20
Ecuador	44%	29%	27%	-20
Costa Rica	42%	29%	29%	-14
Panama	37%	38%	25%	-7
Mexico	36%	47%	17%	-16
Brazil	35%	42%	23%	-22
Peru	35%	40%	25%	-12
Canada	33%	65%	2%	-22
Nicaragua	33%	29%	38%	-7
Jamaica	32%	17%	51%	+2
Venezuela	32%	52%	16%	-21
Bolivia	27%	47%	27%	-17
Argentina	26%	47%	27%	-19
Uruguay	25%	40%	35%	-10
Chile	24%	41%	35%	+3

Source: Gallup 2021, 2022

\* Not asked in 2021

Medians may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

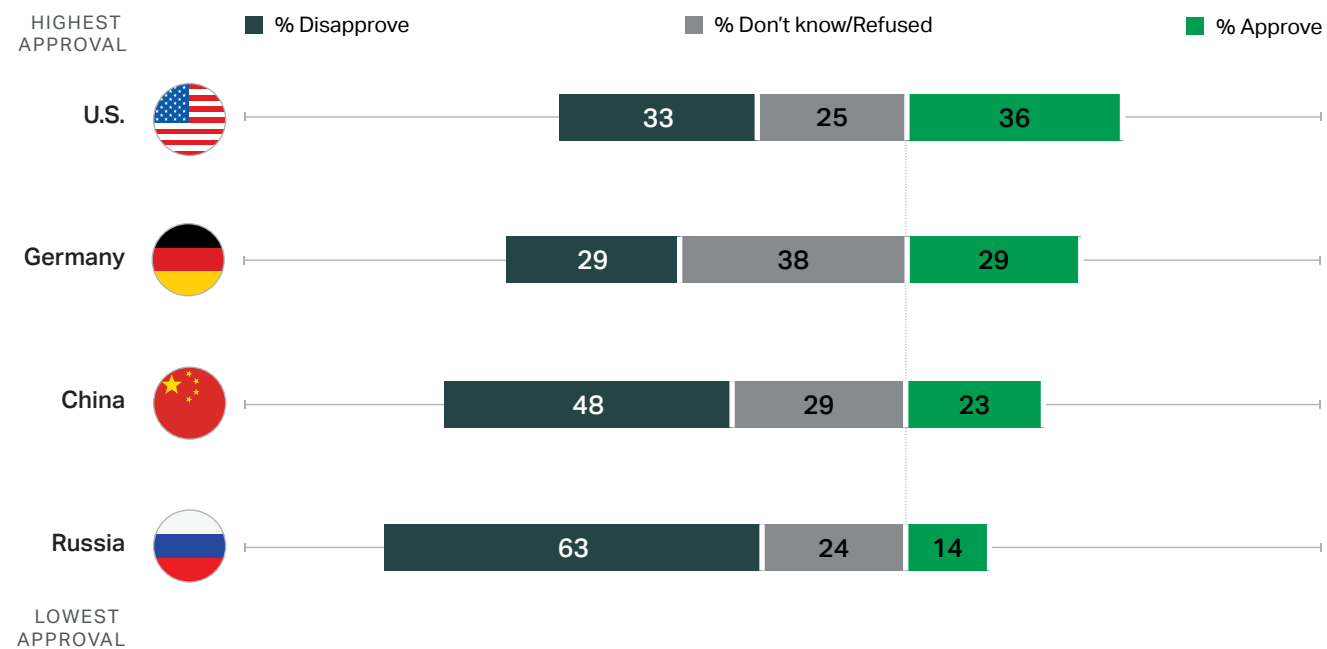
# Although Less Favored, U.S. Still on Top in the Americas

For years, the U.S. and Germany have been vying for the highest approval ratings in the Americas. The U.S. regained its top status from Germany in 2021 — and remained on top in 2022.

The median approval rating for U.S. leadership in 2022 stood at 36%, while Germany trailed the U.S. with an approval rating of 29%. Although approval of China dropped from 30% in 2021 to 23% in 2022, it vaulted ahead of Russia, which fell to a distant fourth in the region with a 14% median approval rating.

## THE AMERICAS

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

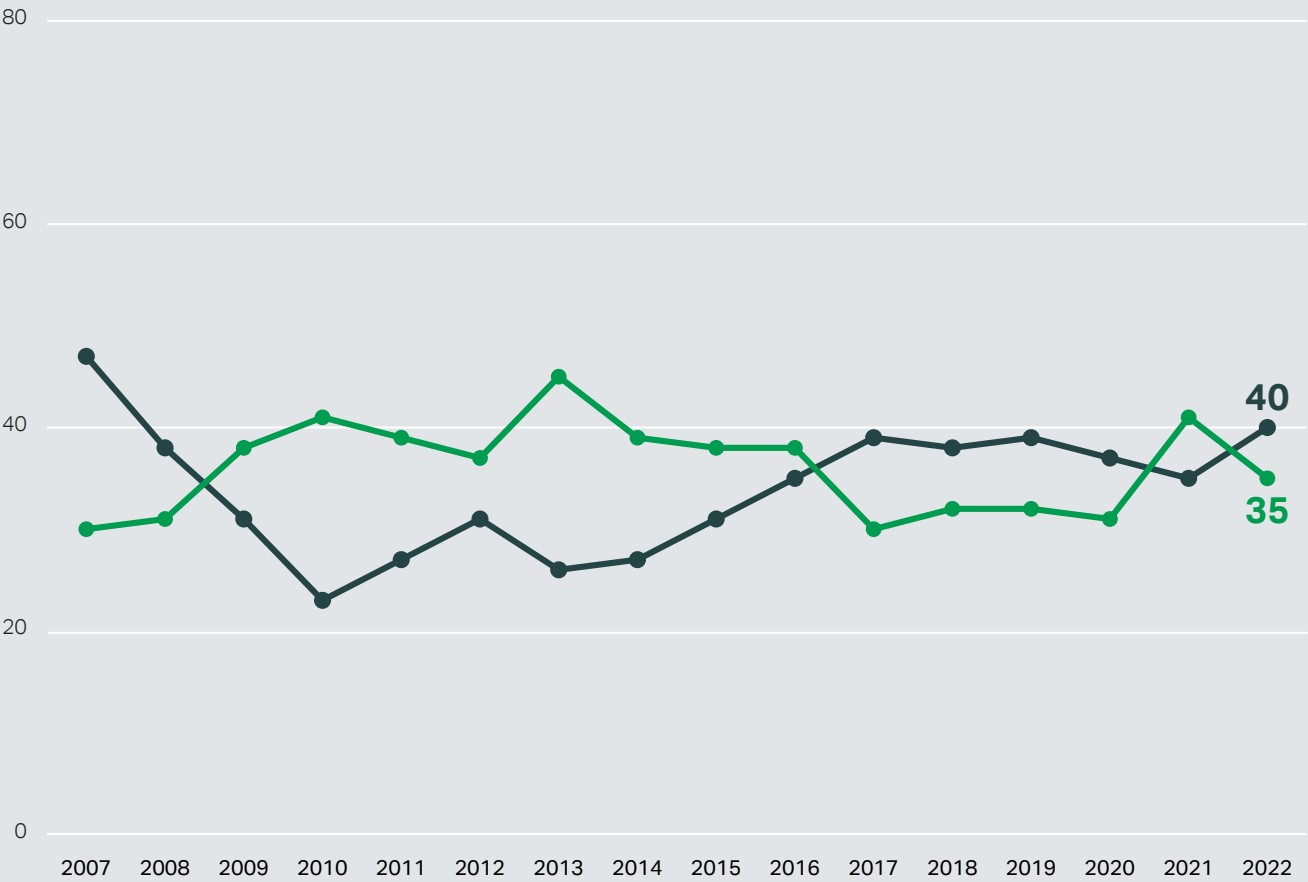


Median approval  
Source: Gallup 2022  
Medians may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

U.S. LEADERSHIP APPROVAL IN ASIA

Median ratings (%)

Approve Disapprove



Source: Gallup 2022



## Asia: U.S. Leadership Ratings Decline From Near Record Highs

**After rallying in 2021, ratings of U.S. leadership slipped across Asia in 2022.**

The 35% median approval rating of U.S. leadership across Asia in 2022 is lower than the previous year's score of 41%, which had rivaled previous highs during the Obama administration.

As in 2021, majorities in eight Asian countries approved of U.S. leadership in 2022, including Israel (65%), the Philippines (62%), Mongolia (59%), Vietnam (59%), Sri Lanka (58%), Cambodia (56%), Armenia (55%) and Myanmar (52%).

However, compared with the surge in 2021, ratings of U.S. leadership showed substantial improvement in just four countries in 2022: Israel, India, Vietnam and Cambodia.

Approval notably reached a record-high 49% in India, which the U.S. sought closer ties with in 2022 as tensions rose with China and Russia.<sup>4</sup> The 65% approval rating for the U.S. in Israel was higher than at any point during the Obama administration — and more similar to those under Trump and former President George W. Bush.

In addition to picking up few new gains, approval ratings declined substantially among key partner countries in the region. Scores in Australia and New Zealand dropped 18 and 16 points, respectively, and approval in South Korea decreased by 13 points. Further, overall, disapproval topped approval across the region, with a median of 40% disapproving of U.S. leadership.

The image of U.S. leadership in Asia continued to be the worst in Iran (8%) — where approval is always low — and in the Palestinian Territories (13%).



<sup>4</sup> Rappeport, A., & Swanson, A. (2022, November 11). U.S. Seeks closer ties with India as tension with China and Russia builds. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/11/business/us-india-relations.html>

## U.S. Leadership Approval Across Asia in 2022

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/ Refused	Change in approval from 2021 to 2022 (pct. pts.)
Israel	65%	30%	6%	+15
Philippines	62%	24%	14%	-9
Mongolia	59%	21%	20%	-1
Vietnam	59%	23%	18%	+14
Sri Lanka	58%	16%	25%	+5
Cambodia	56%	10%	34%	+13
Armenia	55%	25%	20%	+2
Myanmar	52%	12%	36%	-13
India	49%	38%	14%	+11
Japan	49%	23%	28%	-1
Georgia	47%	33%	20%	-8
Bangladesh	46%	32%	22%	+2
South Korea	46%	40%	14%	-13
Kuwait	42%	38%	20%	*
Taiwan, Province of China	42%	34%	24%	-3
Lebanon	38%	56%	5%	-3
Thailand	38%	20%	41%	-11
Nepal	36%	35%	29%	-7
Singapore	36%	45%	19%	+7
Iraq	35%	64%	1%	-2
Azerbaijan	34%	31%	35%	*
Australia	33%	64%	4%	-18
New Zealand	32%	62%	6%	*
Northern Cyprus	32%	43%	25%	-16
Kazakhstan	31%	42%	27%	+1
Jordan	29%	49%	22%	+3
Uzbekistan	29%	43%	27%	-4
Kyrgyzstan	28%	55%	17%	-7
Indonesia	25%	50%	25%	-1
Cyprus	24%	55%	21%	-14
Hong Kong, S.A.R. of China	24%	73%	3%	-7
Malaysia	23%	31%	46%	-18
Türkiye	20%	65%	15%	-2
Yemen	20%	69%	10%	*
Pakistan	19%	71%	10%	-4
Afghanistan	18%	70%	12%	+4
Lao People's Democratic Republic	17%	15%	67%	-17
Palestinian Territories	13%	71%	16%	*
Iran	8%	86%	6%	+1

Source: Gallup 2021, 2022

\* Not asked in 2021

Medians may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

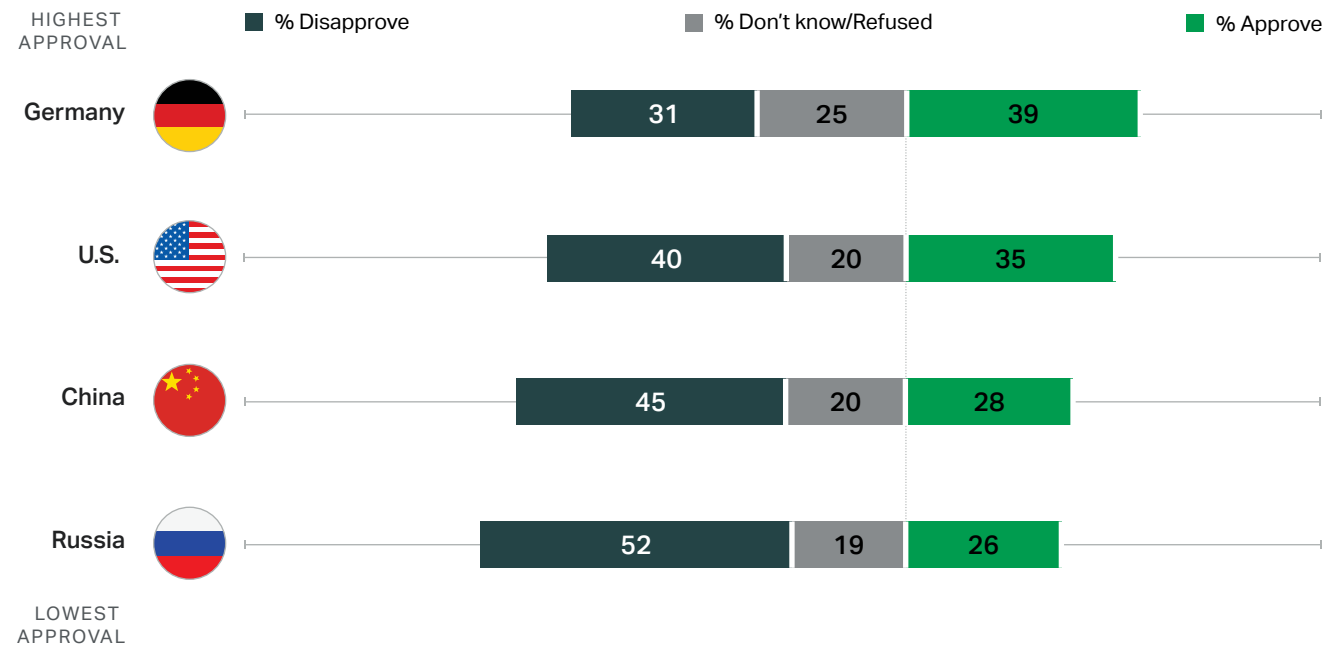
# Germany Leads Approval Ratings in Asia

While Germany’s leadership was the least known in 2022, it earned higher ratings than any of the other three in Asia, and it was the only one that earned higher approval than disapproval.

Germany’s median approval rating slipped slightly from 43% in 2021 to 39% in 2022. The U.S. rating fell from 41% in 2021 to 35% in 2022 — but was still up from 31% in 2020. China’s 28% median approval rating remained relatively unchanged from the previous year, but Russia’s approval in the region dropped from a median of 33% in 2021 to 26% in 2022.

ASIA

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

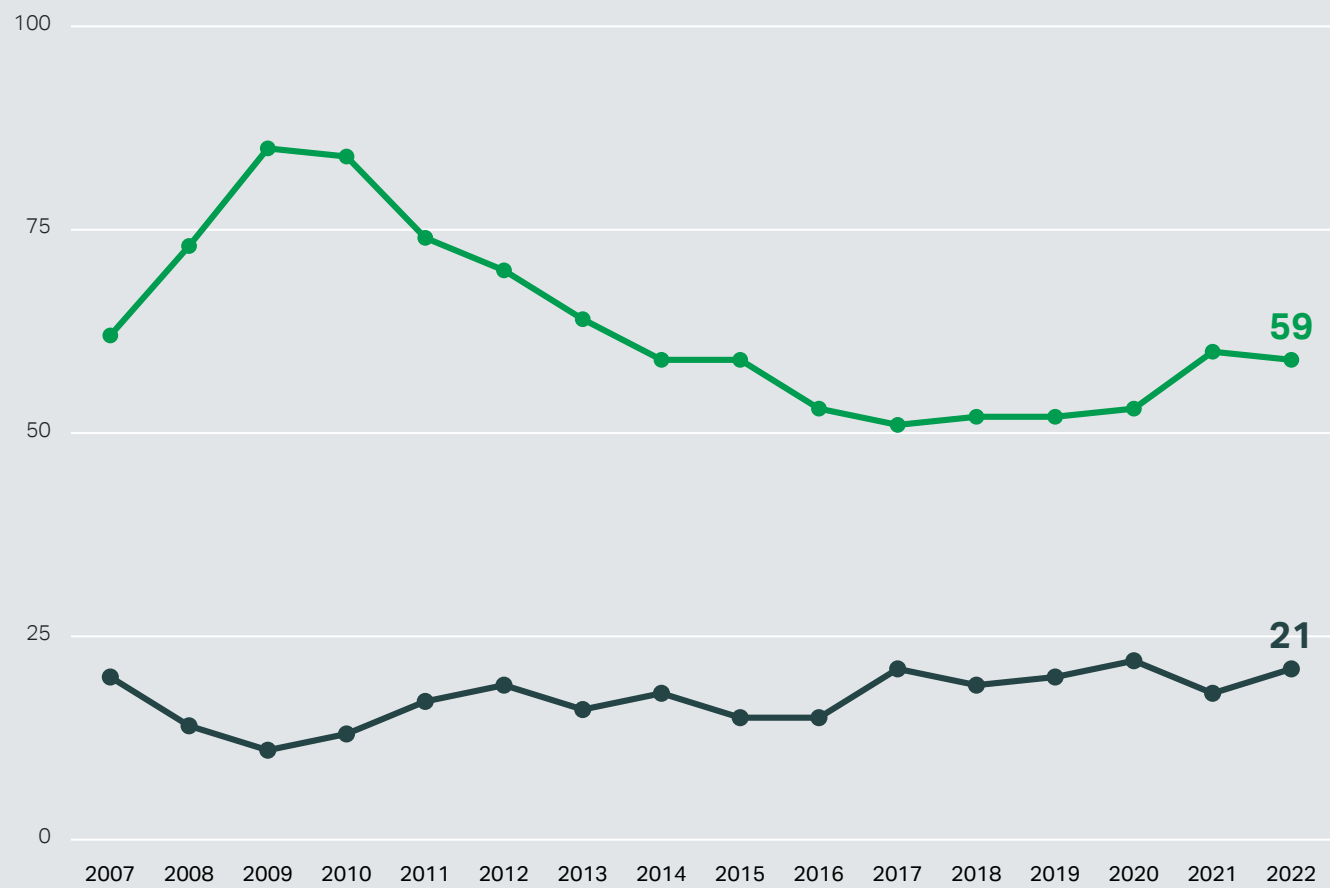


Median approval  
Source: Gallup 2022  
Medians may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

U.S. LEADERSHIP APPROVAL IN AFRICA

Median ratings (%)

Approve Disapprove



Source: Gallup 2022



## Africa: Still the Shining Spot for U.S. Leadership

**As it has since 2007, the image of the U.S. remained strongest worldwide in Africa in 2022. Bolstered by majority approval in 23 sub-Saharan African countries, median approval of U.S. leadership stood at 59% in 2022 — essentially unchanged from the 60% median approval rating the previous year.**

Among the 38 countries surveyed in 2022, three saw substantial increases, with ratings improving by 17 points in Nigeria, 14 points in Benin and 10 points in South Africa. Ratings slipped substantially in just two countries — Mali and Cote d'Ivoire — but sound majorities still approved in each.

Ratings of U.S. leadership continue to be lowest in North Africa. Libyans and Tunisians gave the U.S. the lowest ratings on the continent, with about one in five in each country rating the U.S. favorably.



## U.S. Leadership Approval Across Africa in 2022

	Approve	Disapprove	Don't know/ Refused	Change in approval from 2021 to 2022 (pct. pts.)
Nigeria	78%	11%	12%	+17
Guinea	74%	11%	15%	-2
Kenya	73%	20%	7%	+6
Liberia	72%	21%	7%	*
Congo	71%	17%	12%	+2
Gabon	71%	19%	9%	-6
Chad	70%	16%	14%	*
Togo	70%	14%	16%	-1
Sierra Leone	65%	5%	30%	+1
Zimbabwe	65%	26%	9%	+2
Benin	64%	11%	25%	+14
Niger	64%	13%	24%	*
Cote d'Ivoire	63%	16%	21%	-17
Uganda	63%	22%	15%	+1
Cameroon	62%	21%	17%	-7
Madagascar	62%	27%	12%	*
Mali	61%	32%	7%	-15
Mauritania	60%	22%	18%	*
Mauritius	59%	28%	14%	+2
Comoros	58%	30%	13%	*
Congo, Democratic Republic of the	58%	20%	22%	*
Ghana	57%	8%	35%	-8
South Africa	51%	20%	29%	+10
Gambia	50%	11%	39%	*
Malawi	49%	45%	7%	-5
Botswana	48%	26%	26%	*
Tanzania	47%	29%	24%	+4
Mozambique	44%	25%	31%	-4
Senegal	43%	15%	41%	0
Zambia	42%	10%	47%	0
Lesotho	40%	19%	41%	*
Morocco	37%	24%	39%	-5
Namibia	37%	40%	23%	-6
Eswatini	34%	12%	54%	*
Algeria	28%	52%	20%	-5
Ethiopia	28%	31%	41%	*
Tunisia	21%	64%	15%	-4
Libya	20%	60%	20%	*

Source: Gallup 2021, 2022

\* Not asked in 2021

Medians may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

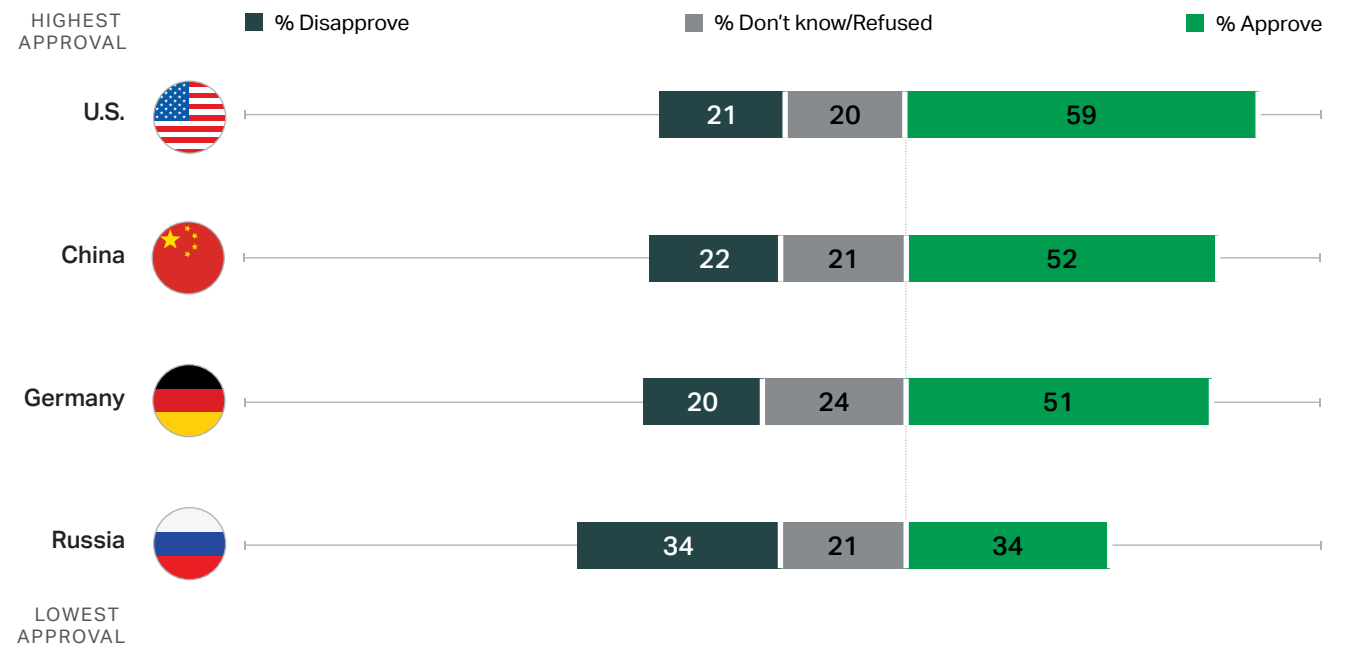
# U.S. Leadership on Top in Africa, Russia Loses Ground

The U.S. easily edged out the other countries in 2022, earning the highest approval ratings of any of the four.

The 59% approval rating of the U.S. topped China (52%), Germany (51%) and Russia (34%). Russia was the only country to lose ground in 2022, with median approval dropping from 42% to 34%.

AFRICA

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



Median approval  
Source: Gallup 2022  
Medians may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

## Implications Beyond 2023

One of the biggest foreign policy challenges facing the U.S. and its allies in 2023 and beyond will be to ensure the transatlantic unity that was so greatly tested in 2022 does not fracture as Russia's war against Ukraine continues.

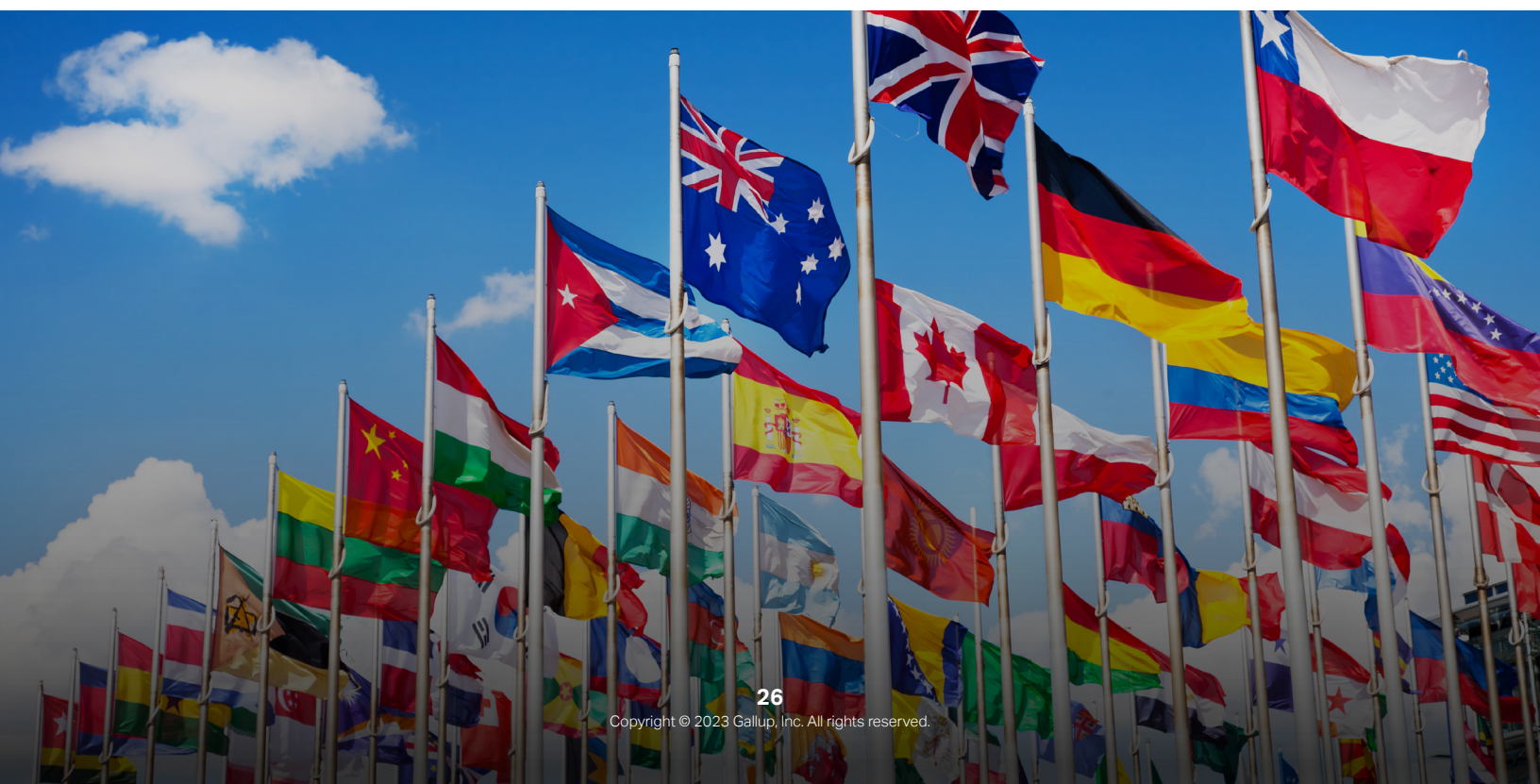
The images of the U.S. and Germany are in slightly weaker positions than before the war started, but they are still in much stronger positions than Russia. But perhaps more importantly, the soaring disapproval of Russia's leadership in all parts of the world shows they are not the only countries that care.

## Methodology

Results for the 2022 approval ratings are based on nationally representative, probability-based samples among the adult population, aged 15 and older, in 137 countries and areas throughout 2022. Interviews took place over the telephone and in person.

For results based on the total sample of national adults, the margin of sampling error ranges from  $\pm 1.2$  to  $\pm 5.6$  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.







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