

Reflections on a Survey of Global Perceptions of International Leaders and World Powers

Tony Saich

Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation John F. Kennedy School of Government Harvard University

December 2014

A recent survey asks citizens from 30 countries for their views on 10 influential national leaders who have a global impact (see Appendix). There are many rich findings among the data. However, two general trends stand out. The first is that the responses are influenced by geopolitics. Differences between nations and national leaders are clearly reflected in the attitudes of their own citizens. Thus, it is plain that the tensions between China and Japan result in very poor evaluations of China and its leader by Japanese citizens and vice versa. Second, there is a correlation in responses between the nature of the political system and citizen opinions of their own nation's leader. On the whole, in multiparty systems or genuine two-party systems such as in Europe and the US, citizens are more critical of their national leaders and policies than is the case in those nations where politics is less contested.

Not surprisingly, given the role that the US plays in global politics, President Obama enjoys the greatest awareness among respondents, receiving the highest percentage in 23 of the 30 countries (see **Figure One**). With the exception of only three countries, awareness of him exceeds 90%. For the other leaders, awareness tends to be regionally based. Thus, Chancellor Merkel is well known in Europe and Russia but far less so in Africa, Australasia, and Asia. President Xi Jinping is well known in Asia but, perhaps surprisingly, only 48.8% of Russian respondents and 59.8% of Vietnamese respondents were aware of him. This is despite the attempts to build a close relationship between China and Russia and the tensions that have existed between China and Vietnam. Prime Minister Abe is most clearly known in Korea and China but is not well recognized across much of the rest of the world. However, recognition does not mean approval, as opinions about Abe in China and Korea are extremely negative, as we shall see below. The same holds for President Putin who is well known across Europe but viewed poorly. He is less well-known in Africa but citizens of China, Japan, and Korea are well aware of him.

Figure One: Awareness of 10 Key National Leaders among respondents in each of the 30 countries (%)

| | Vladimir Putin | Cameron | Xi Jinping | François Hollande | Obama | Abe Shinzo | Angela Merkel | Dilma Rousseff | Modi | Zuma |
|--------------|-------------------|---------|------------|----------------------|-------|------------|------------------|-------------------|------|------|
| Russia | 96.7 | 65.4 | 48.8 | 62.6 | 92.1 | 21.6 | 88.9 | 17.4 | 18.5 | 11.7 |
| Ukraine | 95.7 | 68.9 | 29.4 | 65.2 | 95.7 | 15.8 | 90.9 | 11.4 | 8 | 4.7 |
| France | 78.2 | 80.7 | 37.8 | 97.1 | 97.3 | 14.1 | 94 | 32.2 | 7.6 | 22.6 |
| UK | 84 | 94 | 20 | 61 | 95.6 | 13 | 72.6 | 6.5 | 15.8 | 35.9 |
| Spain | 90 | 80.8 | 16.3 | 85 | 95.4 | 15 | 90 | 39.6 | 6.5 | 7.3 |
| Germany | 93.5 | 80.3 | 34.3 | 74.8 | 95.9 | 20.8 | 97.4 | 16.5 | 16.8 | 30 |
| Italy | 88.3 | 77.2 | 18.7 | 80.7 | 92.8 | 16.5 | 90.1 | 21.3 | 12.1 | 13.3 |
| Finland | 95.8 | 71.2 | 17.4 | 48.3 | 96.8 | 13.1 | 87.3 | 6.1 | 5.9 | 9.7 |
| Australia | 80.5 | 77.3 | 33.6 | 27.8 | 96.2 | 27 | 46 | 3.4 | 17.6 | 23.2 |
| New Zealand | 79.1 | 85 | 29 | 29.4 | 98 | 16.7 | 46.8 | 1.3 | 16.3 | 31 |
| China | 91 | 81.1 | 96.7 | 57.7 | 95.2 | 85.9 | 73.4 | 39.1 | 44.7 | 49.5 |
| Japan | 94.6 | 80.1 | 71.9 | 42.3 | 97.9 | 98.3 | 68.7 | 7.2 | 26.4 | 6.1 |
| South Korea | 87 | 35.7 | 84.7 | 45 | 96.6 | 88.8 | 57.1 | 11.8 | 6 | 6.1 |
| Indonesia | 63.9 | 44.4 | 33.5 | 18.5 | 93.4 | 52.4 | 37.6 | 9.3 | 12.1 | 11.4 |
| Vietnam | 81.9 | 32.4 | 59.8 | 21.6 | 91 | 56.7 | 38 | 6.4 | 13 | 7 |
| Singapore | 63.1 | 64.7 | 73.5 | 35.3 | 95.4 | 68.9 | 45.9 | 10.6 | 43.8 | 15.7 |
| Malaysia | 65.3 | 53 | 56.4 | 19.5 | 94.1 | 56.9 | 26.4 | 9.8 | 21.7 | 12.5 |
| Thailand | 57.2 | 56.8 | 58.2 | 14.2 | 91.7 | 50.1 | 20.9 | 10 | 11.8 | 9 |
| Pakistan | 39.7 | 57.6 | 71.8 | 9.8 | 76.3 | 12.2 | 24.8 | 4.6 | 71.1 | 7.8 |
| India | 60.9 | 59.8 | 65.5 | 19.8 | 86.7 | 47.8 | 29.2 | 14.1 | 94.8 | 21.8 |
| Israel | 91.8 | 80 | 6.3 | 70.3 | 97.8 | 7.4 | 84.9 | 12.3 | 4.9 | 6.5 |
| Saudi Arabia | 14.4 | 29 | 29.9 | 33.9 | 94.6 | 11.6 | 7.4 | 12.9 | 14 | 10.5 |
| Egypt | 31 | 33 | 31 | 48.5 | 91.7 | 12 | 7 | 24.5 | 10.6 | 15.1 |
| Kenya | 34.5 | 39.5 | 53.1 | 26.7 | 97.2 | 25.2 | 30.2 | 24.7 | 26.3 | 72.4 |
| Tanzania | 29.2 | 44 | 55.6 | 29 | 88.4 | 28 | 37.1 | 24.7 | 27.4 | 66.5 |
| South Africa | 68.3 | 66 | 28 | 30.6 | 96.9 | 14.6 | 44.6 | 12 | 15.4 | 98.1 |
| US | 75 | 53.7 | 30.2 | 24.7 | 96.6 | 20.7 | 37.7 | 9.1 | 11.7 | 14.8 |
| Canada | 82.1 | 60.3 | 27.9 | 41 | 97.9 | 16.6 | 40.8 | 6.5 | 10.1 | 17 |
| Brazil | 63.9 | 42.7 | 17.8 | 29.2 | 90.4 | 16.4 | 53.9 | 87.7 | 4.3 | 14.1 |
| Chile | 85.2 | 45 | 15 | 53.5 | 95.6 | 15.2 | 54.4 | 78.7 | 6.2 | 8.5 |

The average ratings are highest for President Obama (93.9%) followed by President Putin (79.3%) with President Xi's recognition at 59.12% (see **Figure Two**). The least noticed national leaders are President Rousseff (25.4%) and President Zuma (27.8%). Clearly, neither is seen to play a strong role on the national stage.

Figure Two: Awareness of 10 Key National Leaders among respondents in 30 countries (%)

| | National Leader | Proportion (%) |
|----|-----------------|----------------|
| 1 | Obama | 93.9 |
| 2 | Putin | 79.3 |
| 3 | Cameron | 66.8 |
| 4 | Xi Jinping | 59.1 |
| 5 | Merkel | 58.7 |
| 6 | Abe | 49.8 |
| 7 | Hollande | 45.1 |
| 8 | Modi | 32.9 |
| 9 | Zuma | 27.8 |
| 10 | Rousseff | 25.4 |

Where the media tends to be dominated by the government, it is not surprising that the citizens of those countries claim to pay more attention to their own leaders. Thus, 93.9% of Chinese respondents claim to pay attention to President Xi, and 92.5% for both President Zuma and President Putin (see **Figure Three**). Only 74.4% of US respondents state that they pay attention to President Obama, while the percentages for countries in Western Europe are even lower. This profile changes when one asks citizens about the leaders that they pay attention to who come from other countries. Clearly, Presidents Obama, Putin, and Xi emerge as the leaders to which citizens pay the most attention. Again, given America's global role, it is not surprising that President Obama is ranked among the top three in 21 countries. However, Western European citizens do not pay so much attention to him nor do those living in Australasia. President Xi draws the attention of those in Asia and Africa where over 80% claim to pay attention but also there is a steady percentage of people in most countries surveyed who pay attention. President Putin is most closely followed in six countries: the UK, China, Vietnam, the US, Egypt, and Finland. Somewhat surprisingly, these all rate above the attention paid to him in Ukraine.

Figure Three: News Report Attention Rate of 10 Key National Leaders among respondents in each of the 30 countries (%)

| | Vladimir Putin | Cameron | Xi Jinping | François Hollande | Obama | Abe Shinzo | Angela Merkel | Dilma Rousseff | Modi | Zuma |
|--------------|-------------------|---------|------------|----------------------|-------|------------|------------------|-------------------|------|------|
| Russia | 92.5 | 52.5 | 57.9 | 48.9 | 69.8 | 37.8 | 69.3 | 46.8 | 39.3 | 31.6 |
| Ukraine | 70.8 | 51.3 | 52.5 | 51.2 | 69.3 | 41.2 | 65.8 | 41 | 41.9 | 16 |
| France | 63.6 | 70.4 | 75.4 | 48.9 | 81.2 | 78 | 76.2 | 64.8 | 75 | 45.5 |
| UK | 80.9 | 52 | 53.1 | 38.9 | 40.7 | 32.4 | 27.6 | 41.5 | 50.8 | 46.4 |
| Spain | 65 | 32.6 | 43.5 | 36.2 | 42.9 | 24.3 | 51.1 | 36 | 29.4 | 44.7 |
| Germany | 66.3 | 57.5 | 52.5 | 58.1 | 75.1 | 53.3 | 74.1 | 48.1 | 51.8 | 42.3 |
| Italy | 51 | 61.5 | 50.7 | 50.2 | 75.4 | 54.5 | 69.6 | 39.8 | 43.3 | 40.1 |
| Finland | 87 | 29.2 | 32.6 | 25.9 | 48.3 | 15.9 | 31.9 | 18.8 | 35.5 | 15.6 |
| Australia | 85.9 | 26.8 | 59.3 | 25.4 | 42.5 | 26.7 | 18.3 | 36.3 | 45.2 | 49 |
| New Zealand | 79.8 | 28.3 | 57.6 | 33.8 | 38.8 | 34.1 | 16 | 28.6 | 54 | 52.1 |
| China | 84.7 | 57.5 | 93.9 | 54.9 | 82.7 | 67.1 | 70 | 47 | 51.1 | 40.6 |
| Japan | 59.5 | 43.9 | 59.9 | 40.2 | 67.2 | 71.6 | 51 | 30.8 | 61.5 | 40 |
| South Korea | 56.9 | 53.9 | 68.1 | 44.9 | 82.8 | 58.1 | 70.9 | 50 | 58 | 33.3 |
| Indonesia | 61.4 | 57.9 | 66.9 | 48.3 | 78.7 | 68.4 | 66.6 | 36 | 57.8 | 35.9 |
| Vietnam | 84.8 | 60.9 | 73.2 | 56 | 88.8 | 82.4 | 68.5 | 40 | 54.5 | 40 |
| Singapore | 66.6 | 53.4 | 65.3 | 42.4 | 70.2 | 59.9 | 51.5 | 49 | 52.2 | 35.4 |
| Malaysia | 51.8 | 55.2 | 62.4 | 43.1 | 74 | 56 | 54.8 | 25.8 | 48.1 | 24.4 |
| Thailand | 69.2 | 63.1 | 74.6 | 69.4 | 75.6 | 79.6 | 73.6 | 63.9 | 64.3 | 61.3 |
| Pakistan | 63.4 | 70 | 87.3 | 51.2 | 76.7 | 68.6 | 55.5 | 31.6 | 71.8 | 46.2 |
| India | 72.3 | 69.7 | 75.6 | 59.3 | 85.5 | 76.4 | 61.9 | 59.9 | 91.7 | 52.8 |
| Israel | 59.1 | 43.5 | 34.4 | 35.9 | 73.2 | 31.6 | 55.1 | 20.7 | 48 | 15.2 |
| Saudi Arabia | 62.8 | 67.6 | 67.3 | 66.3 | 63.1 | 76.2 | 75 | 47.1 | 48.7 | 47.4 |
| Egypt | 85 | 77.4 | 71.3 | 68.8 | 70.7 | 75.5 | 71.9 | 75.7 | 44.4 | 61.3 |
| Kenya | 51.6 | 74.2 | 79 | 46.6 | 84.8 | 55.9 | 45.4 | 32.3 | 67.6 | 59.3 |
| Tanzania | 62.1 | 81.2 | 89 | 83.7 | 88.6 | 73.9 | 78.2 | 65.6 | 38.4 | 78.9 |
| South Africa | 70.7 | 34.2 | 53.6 | 35.7 | 54.8 | 32.9 | 22.9 | 37 | 69 | 92.5 |
| US | 86 | 36.8 | 80.5 | 43.8 | 74.4 | 43.6 | 37.6 | 64.4 | 58.5 | 45.4 |
| Canada | 78.2 | 41.8 | 64.3 | 44.2 | 57.5 | 29.8 | 36.5 | 47 | 58.4 | 48.3 |
| Brazil | 62.3 | 60.4 | 61.1 | 55.3 | 82.5 | 61.6 | 70.3 | 82.3 | 42.9 | 35.1 |
| Chile | 61.6 | 44.9 | 47.4 | 47.5 | 73 | 45.6 | 43.5 | 54.5 | 50 | 36.4 |

We see a clear correlation between political systems and the ratings of their own leaders by the respondents. In countries where discussion of leaders is more constrained, the national leaders rate very highly (see **Figure Four**). President Xi receives a rating of 9 from his citizens and President Putin receives 8.7 (on a scale of 1 to 10). One can reasonably surmise that the rating of Prime Minister Modi is an anomaly as he was just recently elected and thus was enjoying a political honeymoon. In countries where the press is more open and critical, we see that leaders receive lower ratings from their citizens. Thus, President Obama receives just 6.2, Prime Minister Abe 6.0, and the deeply unpopular President Hollande 4.8.

Figure Four: Scoring results of its leader among respondents in each of the 10 key countries

| | Country | Scoring results (Ten point system) | | | | |
|----|------------|--------------------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| 1 | Xi Jinping | 9.0 | | | | |
| 2 | Putin | 8.7 | | | | |
| 3 | Modi | 8.6 | | | | |
| 4 | Zuma | 7.0 | | | | |
| 5 | Merkel | 6.7 | | | | |
| 6 | Rousseff | 6.3 | | | | |
| 7 | Obama | 6.2 | | | | |
| 8 | Abe | 6.0 | | | | |
| 9 | Cameron | 5.5 | | | | |
| 10 | Hollande | 4.8 | | | | |

When we look at how the 10 leaders are rated by others, a somewhat different picture emerges. Interestingly, Chancellor Merkel fares the best, being placed within the top three by 23 countries and even in 13 countries she is ranked first (see **Figure Five**). However, she has a low favorability in Russia (5.6), a country of which she has been deeply critical, and Spain (5.8), which has been critical of her financial policies following the global financial crisis. Despite somewhat unfavorable ratings by his fellow compatriots, President Obama rates fairly well in other countries with the exception, as one might expect, of Russia (4.9) and Pakistan (5.8). More surprisingly, he receives a rating of only 5.8 from those in Japan. President Xi is highly thought of in much of Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe. The exception in Asia is, of course, Japan where he receives a rating of only 3.8. Interestingly, Chinese citizens view Prime Minister Abe a little more favorably at 5.4. President Xi also receives a poor rating from Vietnamese respondents, not surprising given the tensions between the two countries. He does not fare too well in Europe with five of the six countries polled giving him ratings below 6, with Italy giving him a 6. Prime Minister Abe fares well in Asia, with the exception of China and Korea, and also in Africa and North America. President Putin divides opinion with only one-third of the countries giving him a rating above 6. However, he is popular in Vietnam (8) and China (7.9).

Figure Five: Scoring results of 10 Key National Leaders among respondents in each of the 30 countries

| | Vladimir Putin | Cameron | Xi Jinping | François Hollande | Obama | Abe Shinzo | Angela Merkel | Dilma Rousseff | Modi | Zuma |
|--------------|-------------------|---------|------------|----------------------|-------|------------|------------------|-------------------|------|------|
| Russia | 8.7 | 4.1 | 7.8 | 4.8 | 4.9 | 5.9 | 5.6 | 7.2 | 7.2 | 6.5 |
| Ukraine | 3.6 | 6.4 | 7 | 5.9 | 6.7 | 7.1 | 6.4 | 6.7 | 6.5 | 6.2 |
| France | 3.3 | 5.8 | 4.6 | 4.8 | 6.8 | 6.3 | 6.6 | 5.9 | 5.7 | 5.7 |
| UK | 3.1 | 5.5 | 5.3 | 5.6 | 6.7 | 6.1 | 6.8 | 6.2 | 6.1 | 5.7 |
| Spain | 3.1 | 6.1 | 4.6 | 5.4 | 6.4 | 6.5 | 5.8 | 5.2 | 6.2 | 5.8 |
| Germany | 3 | 5.7 | 4.9 | 5.6 | 6.3 | 6 | 6.7 | 5.7 | 5.9 | 5.9 |
| Italy | 6.9 | 7.2 | 6 | 6.8 | 8.3 | 6.5 | 7.9 | 6.1 | 6.2 | 6.2 |
| Finland | 2.4 | 6.9 | 4.9 | 6.5 | 6.7 | 7.2 | 7.3 | 6.6 | 6 | 6.2 |
| Australia | 3 | 6.9 | 5.9 | 6 | 7 | 6.7 | 7.5 | 6.7 | 6.8 | 5.8 |
| New Zealand | 3.2 | 6.6 | 5.5 | 5.6 | 6.9 | 6.2 | 7.1 | 5.1 | 6.7 | 5.4 |
| China | 7.9 | 6.6 | 9 | 6.7 | 6.2 | 5.4 | 7.6 | 7.1 | 6.5 | 7 |
| Japan | 4.2 | 5.7 | 3.8 | 5.7 | 5.8 | 6 | 6.1 | 5.9 | 6.6 | 6.2 |
| South Korea | 4.6 | 6.4 | 6.1 | 5.9 | 7 | 5.1 | 7.3 | 6.1 | 6.6 | 6.4 |
| Indonesia | 5.9 | 6.9 | 7.2 | 6.6 | 6.9 | 7.6 | 7.3 | 6.9 | 7.1 | 6.7 |
| Vietnam | 8 | 7.5 | 4.7 | 7.5 | 8.2 | 8.5 | 8.3 | 7.4 | 7.5 | 7.4 |
| Singapore | 5.1 | 6.7 | 6.7 | 5.9 | 7.1 | 6.4 | 7.1 | 6.4 | 6.3 | 6 |
| Malaysia | 5.1 | 6.4 | 7 | 6.2 | 6.3 | 6.8 | 7 | 5.5 | 6.7 | 5.8 |
| Thailand | 6.7 | 7.2 | 7.6 | 7.7 | 7.3 | 8 | 7.9 | 7.4 | 7.2 | 7.3 |
| Pakistan | 6.7 | 6.6 | 8.9 | 6.3 | 5.8 | 8.1 | 7.5 | 6.3 | 5.9 | 7.1 |
| India | 6.9 | 7.1 | 6.7 | 7 | 7.8 | 8.1 | 7.5 | 7.3 | 8.6 | 6.9 |
| Israel | 4.2 | 6.3 | 5.7 | 5.8 | 6 | 6.4 | 7.1 | 5.5 | 7 | 5.7 |
| Saudi Arabia | 6.5 | 6.9 | 6.9 | 6.4 | 6.6 | 7.5 | 7.2 | 6.6 | 6.6 | 6.4 |
| Egypt | 7.3 | 6.6 | 7 | 6.7 | 6.6 | 7.3 | 7 | 7 | 6.8 | 6.5 |
| Kenya | 5.2 | 7.2 | 8 | 5.8 | 8.1 | 6.3 | 6.2 | 5.6 | 6 | 6.5 |
| Tanzania | 6.5 | 7.5 | 8.4 | 7.4 | 8.5 | 7.1 | 7.4 | 6.4 | 7 | 8 |
| South Africa | 4.7 | 6.9 | 6.3 | 6.2 | 7 | 6.8 | 7.7 | 6.5 | 6.4 | 7 |
| US | 3.5 | 7.1 | 5.7 | 6.5 | 6.2 | 6.9 | 7.2 | 7.4 | 6.9 | 6.9 |
| Canada | 3.5 | 6.8 | 5.2 | 6.1 | 6.9 | 6.8 | 7.3 | 6.3 | 6.4 | 5.9 |
| Brazil | 4.6 | 6.8 | 5.9 | 6.5 | 7 | 7.2 | 7.5 | 6.3 | 6.9 | 6.2 |
| Chile | 5 | 6.5 | 5.8 | 6.1 | 6.4 | 6.9 | 7.7 | 5.7 | 6.6 | 6.3 |

This divide in opinion is shown by the fact that the average ranking across the 30 countries for Putin is the lowest of all leaders surveyed (6). President Xi obtains the highest rating (7.5) because, with the exception of Japan, he is reasonably well received in all countries in the survey. President Obama nestles in at sixth place (6.6), while Merkel ranks third (7.2) (see **Figure Six**).

Figure Six: Scoring results of 10 Key National Leaders among respondents in 30 countries

| | National Leader | Scoring results (Ten point system) |
|----|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1 | Xi Jinping | 7.5 |
| 2 | Modi | 7.3 |
| 3 | Merkel | 7.2 |
| 4 | Zuma | 6.8 |
| 5 | Rousseff | 6.8 |
| 6 | Obama | 6.6 |
| 7 | Cameron | 6.5 |
| 8 | Hollande | 6.3 |
| 9 | Abe | 6.1 |
| 10 | Putin | 6.0 |

We can observe the same phenomenon with respect to the confidence citizens have in how their own leaders are handling domestic and international affairs. President Xi tops the list of both categories at 94.8% and 93.8% respectively (see **Figure Seven**). President Putin comes third on both lists (86.2% and 86% respectively); again, I have discounted Modi as he was just elected. Leaders do not fare so well in countries where the press and public are more critical of their leaders and policy. Thus, Chancellor Merkel receives 63.2% confidence for her handling of both domestic and international affairs. President Obama enjoys a confidence level in his handling of domestic affairs of 51.7% and 49.1% for international affairs. Poor President Zuma of South Africa comes off worst in both categories with a rating of 12.8% for confidence in his handling of domestic affairs and 18% for his handling of international affairs.

Figure Seven: Ranking of domestic confidence of its leader on handling domestic/international affairs among respondents in each of the 10 key countries (%)

| | Confidence on hand | ling domestic affairs | Confidence on handlir | ng international affairs |
|----|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| | Country | Proportion | Country | Proportion |
| 1 | Xi Jinping | 94.8 | Xi Jinping | 93.8 |
| 2 | Modi | 93.2 | Modi | 93.3 |
| 3 | Putin | 86.2 | Putin | 86.0 |
| 4 | Merkel | 63.2 | Merkel | 63.2 |
| 5 | Obama | 51.7 | Cameron | 49.4 |
| 6 | Abe | 50.3 | Obama | 49.1 |
| 7 | Cameron | 48.6 | Abe | 48.0 |
| 8 | Rousseff | 29.5 | Rousseff | 36.4 |
| 9 | Hollande | 24.8 | Hollande | 34.0 |
| 10 | Zuma | 12.8 | Zuma | 18.0 |

When we look at the wider range of the respondents from the 30 countries, we get a more nuanced picture and we can see clearly the influences of geopolitics. Chancellor Merkel receives high marks for her handling of both domestic and international affairs. In total, 23 countries place her in the top three, 12 in Europe and four in the Americas where she is highly regarded (see Figures Eight and Nine). Given the frictions with Russia over the Ukraine and other questions, she receives the lowest ratings from Russian respondents for confidence in her handling of domestic and international affairs (43.9% and 37.8% respectively). Again, her lowest appreciation in Europe is with Spanish respondents who rate confidence in her handling of domestic affairs at 58% and in international affairs at 53.6%. President Xi Jinping enjoys high confidence in his handling of domestic affairs across Asia, with the exception of Japan, and especially in Africa. His approval rating in Europe tends to be lower with the highest rating in England (54.9%) and the lowest in Spain at 31.8%. Again, it is no surprise that only 13.6% of Japanese respondents have confidence in his handling of domestic affairs. The same results are found with respect to confidence in his handling of international affairs; in Japan, he enjoys only a 14.3% confidence level. Perhaps his emphasis on building good relations with the US may be bearing fruit as he enjoys a 68.5% confidence level among US respondents for his handling of international affairs. With the exception again of Europe, his ratings in other countries remain good. The lowest rating in Europe is in Spain (21.2%) and his highest is in Italy at 46.6%. Prime Minister Abe fares reasonably well on both counts with the obvious exception of China (14.1% for his handling of domestic affairs and 13.1% for international affairs), and Korea (56.1% and 51.1% respectively). He enjoys relatively high standing in the US—higher than President Obama receives from Japan. For confidence in his handling of domestic affairs, Prime Minister Abe receives a rating of 78.7%, third in American eyes behind Chancellor Merkel and Prime Minister Cameron. Presidents Obama and Putin tend to divide opinion, especially with respect to international affairs. For his handling of domestic affairs, President Obama enjoys support in Africa and in Western and Northern Europe, but in Russia only 12.6% approve of his handling of domestic affairs, while in China it is 59.1%, slightly higher than American appreciation of President Xi's handling of China's domestic policy (52.6%). President Putin enjoys high ratings from a few countries such as China (89.7%) and Vietnam (93.7%) but very low approval from others such as the US (27.6%) and Finland (10.7%). Given Russia's involvement in the Ukraine crisis, approval for his domestic policies are low (35.8%), although these ratings are not as low as those from other countries within Western and Northern Europe. Putin's handling of international affairs does not enjoy widespread support. Respondents from only six countries give him a rating of over 70% for his handling of international affairs; these include Vietnam (90.6%) and China (89.1%). In the UK, the rating is only 15.3%, Germany 16.3%, and Finland 9.3%. The Ukraine is 35.4%, perhaps reflecting the divided nature of that country with remaining pro-Russian sentiment. Approval in the US was a little higher than in Europe at 24.9%.

Figure Eight: Confidence of 10 key national leaders on handling domestic affairs among respondents in each of the 30 countries (%)

| | Vladimir Putin | Cameron | Xi Jinping | François Hollande | Obama | Abe Shinzo | Angela Merkel | Dilma Rousseff | Modi | Zuma |
|--------------|-------------------|---------|------------|----------------------|-------|------------|------------------|-------------------|------|------|
| Russia | 86.2 | 32.5 | 86.1 | 28.8 | 12.6 | 60.6 | 43.9 | 72.3 | 76 | 54.8 |
| Ukraine | 35.8 | 68.4 | 81 | 49.2 | 61.1 | 78.8 | 64.8 | 49.2 | 69.7 | 36 |
| France | 18.8 | 63.3 | 30.3 | 24.8 | 78.2 | 77.1 | 74.1 | 57 | 50 | 45.5 |
| UK | 20.8 | 48.7 | 54.9 | 49.6 | 75.2 | 66.7 | 79.1 | 49 | 52.3 | 36.8 |
| Spain | 21.8 | 67.8 | 31.8 | 50.7 | 71.4 | 76.9 | 58 | 40.3 | 52.9 | 50 |
| Germany | 17.3 | 54.2 | 31.9 | 41.6 | 61.5 | 57.5 | 63.2 | 37.6 | 45.2 | 36.5 |
| Italy | 30 | 70.5 | 48.7 | 41.1 | 80.4 | 76.5 | 71.3 | 38.6 | 40.2 | 46.8 |
| Finland | 10.7 | 75 | 40.2 | 60 | 76.1 | 79.7 | 82.2 | 46.9 | 64.5 | 54.9 |
| Australia | 20.4 | 79.5 | 67.1 | 64.6 | 75.8 | 76.7 | 90 | 68.1 | 65.2 | 37.7 |
| New Zealand | 21.1 | 77.7 | 55.7 | 59.4 | 80.5 | 78 | 91.7 | 42.9 | 75.3 | 35.5 |
| China | 89.7 | 63 | 94.7 | 63.4 | 59.1 | 14.1 | 88 | 69.6 | 59.9 | 69.2 |
| Japan | 26.5 | 51.4 | 13.6 | 48.1 | 51 | 50.3 | 62.6 | 52.3 | 74.5 | 52.7 |
| South Korea | 83.4 | 76.1 | 91.5 | 69.8 | 88.8 | 56.1 | 93.9 | 63.3 | 82 | 66.7 |
| Indonesia | 57.9 | 81.5 | 84 | 66.4 | 74.6 | 94.6 | 89.4 | 65.3 | 74.2 | 68.5 |
| Vietnam | 93.7 | 82.4 | 56.5 | 78.5 | 90.6 | 93.9 | 95.4 | 67.2 | 82.1 | 73.4 |
| Singapore | 46.2 | 77.1 | 79.9 | 56 | 78.7 | 72.1 | 90 | 67.2 | 60.9 | 47.6 |
| Malaysia | 41.5 | 67 | 79.7 | 62 | 60.1 | 77.9 | 82.2 | 32.8 | 60.4 | 48.6 |
| Thailand | 62.9 | 73.9 | 87.7 | 78.8 | 71.5 | 91.8 | 87.9 | 77.1 | 69.4 | 69.3 |
| Pakistan | 81.6 | 84.6 | 97 | 76.8 | 69.6 | 89.2 | 90.8 | 73.7 | 42.2 | 78.4 |
| India | 76.4 | 82 | 77.5 | 76.7 | 89.6 | 93.1 | 90.7 | 73.9 | 93.2 | 69.2 |
| Israel | 24.8 | 59.9 | 50 | 38.4 | 48.8 | 68.4 | 77.6 | 20.7 | 68 | 15.2 |
| Saudi Arabia | 61.5 | 71.3 | 82.1 | 72.2 | 64.7 | 90.5 | 82.5 | 78.5 | 67.1 | 77.2 |
| Egypt | 88.2 | 79.2 | 89 | 80.1 | 59.4 | 92.8 | 82.5 | 88.1 | 82.7 | 82.2 |
| Kenya | 59.1 | 81.2 | 89.8 | 59 | 90.4 | 60.3 | 66.2 | 43.6 | 54.9 | 57.7 |
| Tanzania | 71.7 | 86.1 | 94.3 | 79.6 | 93.1 | 76.8 | 75.5 | 62.4 | 74.8 | 89.6 |
| South Africa | 47.9 | 86.9 | 79.8 | 77.9 | 82.9 | 86.3 | 93.8 | 65.8 | 73.2 | 12.8 |
| US | 27.6 | 86.9 | 52.6 | 73.6 | 51.7 | 78.7 | 86.3 | 78.1 | 74.7 | 68.1 |
| Canada | 27.5 | 77.8 | 54.8 | 60.9 | 75 | 81.6 | 88.8 | 52.9 | 68 | 52.8 |
| Brazil | 25.9 | 71.1 | 54.9 | 57.8 | 73.9 | 80.4 | 79.4 | 29.5 | 57.1 | 41.2 |
| Chile | 47.4 | 73.1 | 61.6 | 55.8 | 70.4 | 77.2 | 89.4 | 41.3 | 65.6 | 61.4 |

Figure Nine: Confidence of 10 key national leaders on handling international affairs among respondents in each of the 30 countries (%)

| | Vladimir Putin | Cameron | Xi Jinping | François Hollande | Obama | Abe Shinzo | Angela Merkel | Dilma Rousseff | Modi | Zuma |
|--------------|-------------------|---------|------------|----------------------|-------|------------|------------------|-------------------|------|------|
| Russia | 85.9 | 27.9 | 79.7 | 22.4 | 16.7 | 48.6 | 37.8 | 64.5 | 58.6 | 36.9 |
| Ukraine | 35.4 | 64.1 | 71.5 | 49.4 | 59.3 | 72.9 | 57 | 49.2 | 62.8 | 44 |
| France | 18.3 | 64 | 32.2 | 34 | 76.3 | 62.7 | 72.9 | 46.3 | 34.3 | 37 |
| UK | 15.7 | 49.4 | 39.5 | 47.8 | 68.7 | 61.9 | 71.6 | 51 | 48.4 | 32.6 |
| Spain | 20.3 | 60 | 21.2 | 54.3 | 66.9 | 69.2 | 53.6 | 36.9 | 41.2 | 42.1 |
| Germany | 16.3 | 54.8 | 30.1 | 49.7 | 58.1 | 54.5 | 63.2 | 39.1 | 40.8 | 39 |
| Italy | 30.7 | 66.4 | 46.6 | 43.9 | 75.8 | 69.7 | 67.5 | 39.7 | 34 | 49.5 |
| Finland | 9.3 | 71.8 | 36.9 | 57.3 | 68.9 | 79.7 | 77 | 59.4 | 48.4 | 45.1 |
| Australia | 15 | 81.5 | 61.1 | 65.2 | 74.8 | 73.3 | 86.4 | 54.5 | 66.1 | 32.5 |
| New Zealand | 15.5 | 76.7 | 48.8 | 55.1 | 77.5 | 73.6 | 85.9 | 28.6 | 67.4 | 35.5 |
| China | 89.1 | 64.6 | 93.9 | 65 | 62.5 | 13.1 | 86.3 | 68.4 | 57.3 | 64.8 |
| Japan | 27.9 | 51.3 | 14.3 | 53 | 55 | 48 | 62.3 | 44.6 | 60.2 | 49.1 |
| South Korea | 79.9 | 79.2 | 89.6 | 69 | 90.1 | 51.1 | 91.8 | 57.1 | 76 | 64.7 |
| Indonesia | 54.2 | 77 | 78.1 | 63.7 | 67.5 | 87.2 | 84.1 | 62.7 | 71.2 | 60.8 |
| Vietnam | 90.6 | 79.9 | 47.4 | 76.9 | 90.7 | 92.4 | 90.6 | 67.3 | 75.9 | 68.3 |
| Singapore | 41 | 78 | 74.4 | 57.1 | 79.9 | 67.2 | 85.3 | 67.3 | 64 | 52.4 |
| Malaysia | 37.3 | 61.9 | 69.6 | 60.4 | 60.6 | 64.8 | 74.5 | 29.3 | 41.9 | 36.5 |
| Thailand | 60.5 | 75.2 | 79.5 | 82.2 | 73.3 | 88.7 | 85.6 | 77.1 | 66.3 | 68 |
| Pakistan | 73.7 | 75.6 | 97.4 | 64.7 | 61.5 | 85.3 | 85 | 81.6 | 36.6 | 70.8 |
| India | 74.8 | 83.2 | 74.7 | 77.8 | 89.8 | 92.3 | 88.7 | 75.9 | 93.3 | 70.9 |
| Israel | 23.9 | 50.4 | 34.4 | 32.6 | 43.4 | 52.6 | 68.7 | 14.3 | 44 | 9.1 |
| Saudi Arabia | 57.7 | 72.6 | 74.7 | 70.1 | 60.7 | 90.4 | 77.5 | 80 | 71.1 | 71.9 |
| Egypt | 89.4 | 70.4 | 85.5 | 73 | 55.5 | 89.8 | 79 | 86.1 | 79.3 | 73.3 |
| Kenya | 55.9 | 84.5 | 88.1 | 59 | 87.4 | 54.4 | 61.4 | 48.8 | 50 | 56.2 |
| Tanzania | 66.9 | 86.5 | 94.7 | 85.7 | 93.1 | 82.4 | 80.3 | 64.8 | 69.7 | 89.3 |
| South Africa | 43.1 | 85.4 | 67.9 | 76.7 | 80.8 | 82.4 | 89.2 | 69.4 | 67.4 | 18 |
| US | 24.9 | 81.4 | 51.3 | 68.5 | 49.1 | 73.1 | 81.8 | 75.9 | 74.7 | 67.4 |
| Canada | 22.6 | 76.6 | 53.5 | 61 | 71.4 | 73.6 | 88.7 | 52.9 | 52.8 | 42.7 |
| Brazil | 28.3 | 70.5 | 50 | 62.4 | 65.2 | 78.2 | 80.8 | 36.4 | 57.1 | 49.1 |
| Chile | 41 | 69.6 | 60.2 | 59.4 | 64.6 | 73.4 | 86.6 | 50.2 | 65.7 | 65.9 |

In terms of overall assessment, Chancellor Merkel rated first for confidence in her handling of domestic affairs (79.7%), President Xi ranked second at 78.5%, Obama fifth (64.5%), Putin seventh (60.2%), and Abe worst (42.5%) (see **Figure Ten**). The rankings are similar with respect to confidence in the handling of international affairs with Merkel ranked highest (77.2%), President Xi second (76.5%), Obama fifth (60%), Putin eighth (58.9%), and Abe faring worst at 40.3%. This leaves us with four leaders that enjoy high levels of confidence for their handling of domestic and international affairs: Xi Jinping, Putin, Modi, and Merkel. Presidents Rousseff, Hollande, and Zuma appear not to enjoy confidence in their handling of either domestic or international affairs.

Figure Ten: Confidence of 10 key national leaders on handling domestic/international affairs among respondents in 30 countries (%)

| | Confidence on hand | ling domestic affairs | Confidence on handling | ng international affairs |
|----|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| | National Leader | Proportion (%) | National Leader | Proportion (%) |
| 1 | Merkel | 79.7 | Merkel | 77.2 |
| 2 | Xi Jinping | 78.5 | Xi Jinping | 76.5 |
| 3 | Modi | 72.5 | Modi | 69.8 |
| 4 | Cameron | 67.2 | Cameron | 66.8 |
| 5 | Obama | 64.5 | Obama | 64.2 |
| 6 | Zuma | 62 | Rousseff | 60 |
| 7 | Putin | 60.2 | Zuma | 59.2 |
| 8 | Rousseff | 59.9 | Putin | 58.9 |
| 9 | Hollande | 57.4 | Hollande | 58.7 |
| 10 | Abe | 42.5 | Abe | 40.3 |

The leaders in the survey rule over countries that have adopted disparate development strategies ranging from almost full market-based policies to nations where state engagement and control of key sectors is more prevalent. Looking at the responses from all 30 countries, very surprisingly, India (87.8%) tops the list of those who feel that their own country's development strategy is correct (see **Figure Eleven**). Again, this might be distorted by the recent election in India. Russia places third (79.6%) and China fourth (78.6%). Americans have a much more critical view of their own development, perhaps influenced by the gridlock in Washington, and ranks 20th (44.8%). The UK comes out middling in 15th place (51.5%), while Italians show little faith in their country's development, as only 17% believe that it is on the correct path. Most surprisingly, Korea comes in 29th place (25.1%) while Japan comes in at 30.4%. One wonders if this is related to perceived limits to the East Asian model of development once it has reached an advanced level.

Figure Eleven: Ranking of proportion for domestic recognition on own country's development strategy in 30 countries (%)

| | Country | Proportion (%) | | |
|----|--------------|----------------|--|--|
| 1 | India | 87.8 | | |
| 2 | Tanzania | 81.9 | | |
| 3 | Russia | 79.6 | | |
| 4 | China | 78.6 | | |
| 5 | New Zealand | 70.3 | | |
| 6 | Singapore | 66.6 | | |
| 7 | Canada | 66.0 | | |
| 8 | Indonesia | 65.5 | | |
| 9 | Kenya | 63.3 | | |
| 10 | Australia | 58.3 | | |
| 11 | Thailand | 58.1 | | |
| 12 | Vietnam | 57.9 | | |
| 13 | Chile | 56.5 | | |
| 14 | Germany | 53.5 | | |
| 15 | UK | 51.5 | | |
| 16 | Saudi Arabia | 51.5 | | |
| 17 | Israel | 49.1 | | |
| 18 | Brazil | 45.1 | | |
| 19 | Egypt | 44.9 | | |
| 20 | US | 44.8 | | |
| 21 | Malaysia | 44.8 | | |
| 22 | France | 42.2 | | |
| 23 | Pakistan | 40.9 | | |
| 24 | Finland | 37.5 | | |
| 25 | Ukraine | 34.5 | | |
| 26 | Japan | 30.4 | | |
| 27 | South Africa | 29.3 | | |
| 28 | Spain | 28.8 | | |
| 29 | South Korea | 25.1 | | |
| 30 | Italy | 17.0 | | |

However, this perception is not shared by other countries when they look at Japan and Korea. Over 24 countries had in excess of 50% of respondents who thought positively about Japan's development direction. However, geopolitics plays a role in assessment and only 7.7% of Koreans and 9.4% of Chinese felt this way (see **Figure Twelve**). This is surprising given the similarities in economic approach during the early phase of economic take-off. The responses of these two countries are almost certainly influenced by the sovereignty and historical disputes between the nations. China's spectacular growth in recent decades has clearly impressed some in Asia, Africa, and Latin America where it enjoys a high evaluation. Again, we see the influence of geopolitics with only 1.8% of Japanese being impressed and 15.9% of Vietnamese, despite the obvious similarities of political structure and economic policy in Vietnam. Pro-market US respondents are not so impressed, with only 8.6% indicating that the overall development strategy is correct. Russia's development strategy is most highly prized by the Chinese (62.1%) and the Egyptians (60.3%) but is thought of poorly by the Europeans, the US, and Japan. In an overall evaluation, Germany tops the charts (66.3%) with the UK second (56.5%). China comes in third (54.7%) while the US ranks seventh (43.5%) with Russia bringing up the rear (38.5%).

Figure Twelve: Recognition on development strategy of 10 key countries among respondents in each of the 30 countries (%)

| | China | Russia | UK | France | US | Japan | Germany | Brazil | India | South Africa |
|--------------|-------|--------|------|--------|------|-------|---------|--------|-------|--------------|
| Russia | 87 | 79.6 | 34.9 | 37.7 | 15.3 | 57 | 44.1 | 62.2 | 58.9 | 28.6 |
| Ukraine | 66.3 | 24.4 | 68.2 | 58.8 | 53.3 | 72.3 | 64.2 | 31.1 | 30 | 19 |
| France | 28.3 | 13.4 | 63.7 | 42.2 | 58.6 | 56.2 | 71 | 40 | 33.1 | 38.2 |
| UK | 35.1 | 7.4 | 51.5 | 44.7 | 47.9 | 48.6 | 61.2 | 31 | 32.5 | 32.5 |
| Spain | 43.1 | 15.6 | 72.1 | 58.7 | 62.9 | 68.7 | 66.7 | 27.1 | 24.4 | 24.6 |
| Germany | 29.6 | 8.6 | 51.7 | 51 | 37.8 | 43.8 | 53.5 | 32.1 | 28 | 31.7 |
| Italy | 38.5 | 15.7 | 64.1 | 47.9 | 55.9 | 60 | 62 | 28.6 | 23.9 | 24.4 |
| Finland | 33.5 | 5.1 | 65.2 | 60.4 | 34.7 | 66.3 | 74.2 | 33.9 | 31.1 | 31.4 |
| Australia | 47.5 | 8.1 | 63.8 | 50.8 | 52.8 | 60.3 | 61.7 | 28.1 | 36.3 | 29 |
| New Zealand | 39.8 | 7.7 | 62.6 | 46.2 | 46.2 | 55.6 | 56 | 24.8 | 29.2 | 31.7 |
| China | 78.6 | 62.1 | 49.6 | 57.8 | 32.2 | 9.4 | 74.2 | 59.2 | 33.3 | 55 |
| Japan | 1.8 | 4.9 | 26.7 | 29.5 | 23.1 | 30.4 | 41.3 | 16.8 | 27.7 | 13.7 |
| South Korea | 38.7 | 16.2 | 53.8 | 54.8 | 51.8 | 7.7 | 72.7 | 30.2 | 29.8 | 23.9 |
| Indonesia | 74.8 | 38.8 | 77.7 | 70.6 | 51.9 | 90.3 | 83.7 | 51.9 | 57.2 | 46.6 |
| Vietnam | 15.9 | 58 | 77 | 76 | 67.2 | 87.6 | 77.8 | 53.5 | 56.4 | 38.5 |
| Singapore | 62.8 | 21.9 | 61.2 | 46.6 | 58.3 | 63.9 | 65.5 | 32.8 | 44.9 | 28 |
| Malaysia | 65 | 29 | 67 | 57.2 | 43.9 | 83.3 | 68.9 | 35.7 | 36.7 | 33.2 |
| Thailand | 65.6 | 29.4 | 59.9 | 58.4 | 50.4 | 84 | 62.2 | 41 | 36.7 | 27.3 |
| Pakistan | 94.8 | 44.7 | 64 | 55.2 | 28.1 | 85.1 | 71.6 | 44.7 | 33.7 | 48.4 |
| India | 48.1 | 47.9 | 67.2 | 59.9 | 64.4 | 83.8 | 67.4 | 50.5 | 87.8 | 51.2 |
| Israel | 59.3 | 19 | 59.1 | 32.1 | 56.9 | 67.5 | 74.8 | 27.2 | 37.2 | 24.3 |
| Saudi Arabia | 71.4 | 29 | 57.2 | 53.3 | 46.1 | 84.9 | 69.9 | 37.3 | 42.6 | 27.7 |
| Egypt | 83.5 | 60.3 | 52 | 56 | 33.3 | 89.6 | 80.3 | 58.6 | 55.8 | 41.6 |
| Kenya | 84.2 | 30.1 | 66.2 | 49.7 | 75.5 | 62.2 | 54.5 | 39 | 47.5 | 63.3 |
| Tanzania | 88.2 | 56 | 72.4 | 72.2 | 74.4 | 73.8 | 70.2 | 64.3 | 70 | 78.3 |
| South Africa | 57 | 26 | 71.1 | 59.5 | 56.5 | 63.3 | 78 | 48.6 | 41.7 | 29.3 |
| US | 28.6 | 12.4 | 62 | 49 | 44.8 | 52.8 | 53.4 | 34.9 | 33 | 29.4 |
| Canada | 35.5 | 12.2 | 64.5 | 58.2 | 48.1 | 57.1 | 61.6 | 40.1 | 33.6 | 31.7 |
| Brazil | 60.9 | 33.8 | 71 | 67 | 59.2 | 85.5 | 81.8 | 45.1 | 33.2 | 33.5 |
| Chile | 68.8 | 34 | 71 | 67.9 | 54.8 | 81.9 | 81.2 | 34.6 | 31.3 | 29.6 |

Finally, in terms of appreciation of President Xi Jinping, visits by leaders to particular countries make a significant difference in two respects. First, regarding people's trust in President Xi's domestic and international policies, appreciation rises 10% for those countries that he has visited (see **Figure Thirteen**). Perhaps less surprisingly, awareness of President Xi also rises 10% if he has visited a country. This would seem to argue for the value of state visits.

Figure Thirteen: Recognition Comparison among countries that Xi Jinping has paid state visit with those he has not

| | Countries have been visited | Countries have not been visited |
|--|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Appreciation of Chinese culture (%) | 22.0 | 25.3 |
| Appreciation of China's development strategy (%) | 54.4 | 49.7 |
| Awareness rate of Xi Jinping (%) | 50.0 | 38.4 |
| News report attention rate of Xi Jinping (%) | 69.7 | 67.8 |
| Scoring result of Xi Jinping (10 point system) | 6.6 | 6.2 |
| Confidence in Xi Jinping on handling domestic affairs (%) | 75.5 | 65.1 |
| Confidence in Xi Jinping on handling international affairs (%) | 71.9 | 60.7 |

Note: Countries that President Xi has paid a state visit include South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia, India, Tanzania, South Africa, Brazil, Russia, France, and Germany.

Appendix

Ten National Leaders

President Putin Russia

Prime Minister Cameron United Kingdom

President Xi Jinping People's Republic of China

President Hollande France

President Obama United States of America

Prime Minister Abe Japan

Chancellor Merkel Germany
President Rousseff Brazil

Prime Minister Modi India

President Zuma South Africa

Countries Surveyed

Asia (12)

China

Japan

Korea

Indonesia

Vietnam

Singapore

Malaysia

Thailand

India

Pakistan

Saudi Arabia

Israel

Europe (8)

Russia

| United Kingdom |
|-------------------|
| Spain |
| Germany |
| Italy |
| Finland |
| |
| Americas (4) |
| The United States |
| Canada |
| Brazil |
| Chile |
| |
| Africa (4) |
| Egypt |
| Kenya |
| Tanzania |
| Southern Africa |
| |
| Australasia (2) |
| Australia |
| New Zealand |
| |

Ukraine

France