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Anti-Americanism: an exploration of a contested concept in Western Europe

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ANTI-AMERICANISM: AN EXPLORATION OF A CONTESTED CONCEPT IN WESTERN EUROPE

A Dissertation

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ABSTRACT

Despite its popular currency and salience, anti-Americanism is understudied and misunderstood by social scientists. Even within academia, studies of anti-Americanism are often polemic, and logically or methodologically flawed. Focusing on Western Europe, we argue that anti-Americanism is a public opinion phenomenon, and present a definition of anti-Americanism based on social psychology, and demonstrate how cognitive psychological processes shape anti-Americanism. We outline several predictors of anti-Americanism, processes of internal cognition, responses to international political events, patterns of interpersonal communication and information diffusion, and the contextual role of ideology. We also observe the important implications European anti-Americanism has for support international institutions, and demonstrate that anti-Americanism leads to less overall support for major global actors such as the United Nations, the World Bank, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the European Union. We also argue that, because of the invasion of Iraq and the events leading up to the invasion, anti-Americanism in Europe has reached a new high point.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"Why do they hate us?" This question was heard from many quarters following the events of September 11, 2001, reflected not only in popular discourse, but by President Bush himself in a speech before a joint session of Congress ten days after the attacks on New York and Washington D.C. Since that time, the topic of anti-Americanism has become even more salient, as the United States waged a largely unpopular war against Iraq, followed by an un-expectantly difficult occupation and the scandal of abuse by U.S. troops against Iraqi detainees. These events have in turn been followed by what was regarded by some as a successful national election in Iraq, and what many argued is increased stability in that country and a rejuvenated popular movement toward democracy in the greater Middle East, subsequently followed by an intensification of insurgent activity that could be characterized either as guerrilla warfare or low level civil war. Through all this, the United States has remained largely unpopular of the world stage. The topic of anti-Americanism has never been more relevant.

Surrounding anti-Americanism's increased popular currency is ambiguity: what *is* anti-Americanism? What causes it? If "they" hate us, who exactly are "they?" Does anti-Americanism reflect a response to U.S. policy, or is it something endemic of a society? What long-term effects might anti-Americanism have? These questions are not only relevant for popular media and the public at large, but also for academics seeking to study anti-Americanism as a phenomenon of public opinion. This project will be a step in the direction of addressing these questions.

Review of the Literature

Discussions of anti-Americanism in popular media abound. Not surprisingly, these discussions are, for the most part, partisan, polemic or both. Without getting into a review of the

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discourse surrounding anti-Americanism in popular media (a monumental task to say the least), the general underlying theme depends on the political persuasion of the author. Self-identified conservatives such as Charles Krauthammer (2003) and Paul Johnson (2005) assert that anti-Americanism is a phenomenon in which the United States is hated for what it is. They argue that it is impossible for anti-Americanism to have its roots based on negative perception of its policies, since, they argue, the U.S. unequivocally uplifts the spirit and condition of all of humanity. As such, any intense and/or systematic criticism of the United States is anti-American, as legitimate systematic criticism of the U.S. is basically impossible. Commentators on the left attempt to take a more nuanced approach to the phenomenon of anti-Americanism, attempting to separate it from reasoned, legitimate criticism of the U.S. and it policies (Hitchens 2002; Alterman 2003). According to this point of view, anti-Americanism remains a problem, however, and is still based on irrational prejudices, a sort of cultural pathology that has no basis in reason. In popular discourse, from both the political left and right, anti-Americanism is a pejorative, reserved for those that harbor irrational and illogical sentiment against the United States and all things American.

Discussion of the topic of anti-Americanism remains highly visible in the popular media, with the topic coming up continually in newspaper editorials, political magazines, and on news stations. Yet, the academic literature on this subject is surprisingly limited. In a 1992 piece on the topic of anti-Americanism, Smith and Wertman (1992a: 188) noted that "though anti-Americanism has long been a concern of the media and the U.S. policymakers," it has been given little attention by scholars. Over a decade later, and despite recent outpourings of anti-Americanism obvious not only in the attacks of September 11, but also in the aftermath of the war in Iraq, Smith and Wertman's assertion still holds true. Despite its currency in popular

discourse, anti-Americanism is a topic that has received limited attention by academics. This lack of attention is probably due to two factors. First, anti-Americanism is a term that is difficult to conceptualize. It is hard to pin down just what anti-Americanism is. Second, it easily lends itself to (mis)use as a pejorative. A few intrepid social scientists have sought to explore this concept, though their work demonstrates both the conceptualization problem and the temptation to lapse into perjoratives.

First we focus on how the scholarly literature has conceptualized and measured anti-Americanism. Here two main views stand out. The first argues that anti-Americanism is a fundamentally emotional phenomenon akin to religious or racial bigotry – that people hate the United States for what it is rather than what is does. The United States, what it is, and what it stands for are what people dislike. This view stresses internal sources of anti-Americanism, since the fundamentally irrational sentiment that is anti-Americanism is necessarily divorced from reality. The second view conversely argues that anti-Americanism is a reactive phenomenon that is dependent on U.S. actions and policies, arguing that people react to the United States for what it does. This view stresses external sources of anti-Americanism, and anti-Americanism has reasons for existing that are entirely grounded in the reality of U.S. policy and its effects.

Prominent in the first view of the literature on anti-Americanism is the work of sociologist Paul Hollander (1992: 334-335), who defines anti-Americanism as "an unfocused and largely irrational, often visceral, aversion towards the United States, its government, domestic institutions, foreign policies, prevailing values, culture, and people." Hollander cast a wide net for those exhibiting anti-Americanism. Domestic examples range wildly from prominent linguistics scholar and leftist activist Noam Chomsky for his numerous polemics regarding U.S. policy, to hospice volunteer and Miss America 1988 Kaye Lani Rae Rafko, whose "anti-

Americanism" was supposedly exposed by her stating that "society has lost its bearings" (Hollander 1992; 3). Domestic critics on the right such as Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell are conspicuously absent from Hollander's critique. This inconsistency is not surprising as relatively recent commentary by Hollander on the topic of anti-Americanism has appeared in conservative outlets such as the Weekly Standard (2001) and The National Review (2003). Using numerous anecdotes, he outlines several manifestations of anti-Americanism in Europe, the United States, and throughout the world, such as opposition to U.S. deployment of nuclear missiles, and the anti-nuclear power, pro-environment, and human rights social movements, which are again, phenomena mainly of the left.

Spiro (1988: 122), in an argument strikingly similar to Hollander's, argues that anti-Americanism is "the incomprehension or the rejection of the procedural constitutionalism and substantive democracy of the United States of America." He avoids actually attempting to measure anti-Americanism, but rather argues it exists where there is a pattern of criticism of what the U.S. stands for, and that the phenomenon is largely self-evident. Looking at anti-Americanism in Europe, he argues that it is the very values embedded in the U.S. Constitution that most of those demonstrating anti-Americanism despise. They literally, according to Spiro, hate freedom. Anti-Americanism, he argues, is primarily an elite phenomenon that will inevitably diminish as true (American style) democracy is spread to the people of Western Europe, since, he argues, Western Europe is not genuinely democratic.

Some scholars taking this approach to studying anti-Americanism attempt to be more nuanced in their approach. Haseler (1985: 6), for example, concedes that while not all criticism of the U.S. comes from prejudice, the bulk of this opposition, which he labels anti-American, stems from "opposition to the cultural and political values of the United States" and are "often

the product of rage based on resentment and envy." Because of this, anti-Americanism will continue despite changes in policy or administrations. Ultimately anti-Americanism exists because of what America is, not what it does.

Fabbrini (2002) presents what is perhaps the most nuanced example in this first view of anti-Americanism. He argues that anti-Americanism in Western Europe can and does result from external sources, but domestic ones are more important. This inherent anti-Americanism will persist, and become more active when aggravated by unpopular policies. Anti-Americanism can be dormant, waiting to be awakened by some action by the United States.

Despite the obviously polemic nature of much of this strain of research on anti-Americanism, it is important to point out that all of the literature referred to is, unless otherwise indicated, ostensibly academic in nature. While not all the literature of this particular view is so biased (notably Fabbrini 2002), much of it clearly has an agenda, reflecting what a recent scholar called "pathological" rhetorical use of the term (Mendieta 2003). A theme common to this view appears to be both ideological and jingoistic. Indeed, despite the pretense of being legitimate social science, the bulk of this literature is largely little more than thinly veiled propaganda that is strikingly (and disturbingly) similar to literature put out by right-wing advocacy groups and conservative commentators (see e.g., Berman 2004; Krauthammer 2003). The literature creates a false dichotomy of anti-Americanism: either a person is anti-Americanism or he/she isn't. This position represents a refusal to recognize a nuanced anti-Americanism based on opposition to specific American actions or policies. The one important theoretical contribution this literature does make, most notably and impressively by Fabbrini (2002), is that it stresses an internal nature to anti-Americanism – that is anti-Americanism is something that originates mostly from within a society, rather that outside of it.

In a second strain of the literature on anti-Americanism, scholars have argued that anti-Americanism is, at its core, a reaction to the policies of the United States. Where the previous strain of literature focused on anti-Americanism as a rejection of what the U.S. is, or stands for, this literature focuses mainly on what the U.S. does. These scholars present anti-Americanism as a reaction with international origins, and makes the case for a rational and solely cognitive anti-Americanism with varying degrees of explicitness.

In looking at anti-Americanism in the Arab world, Parker (1988) argues that, above all, anti-Americanism is a reaction to U.S. policy, which is to a degree exacerbated by the influx of Western culture. Looking at the phenomenon of anti-Americanism violence and hostage taking, he rejects that idea that anti-Americanism is the result of some "inevitable Muslim or Arab animosity" (57), arguing instead that Arab anti-Americanism exists largely because of U.S. policy, and that despite relatively high levels of anti-Americanism, "the miracle is that relations with the people of [the Arab world] are not worse than they are" (55).

Looking at anti-Americanism in Pakistan, Kizilbash (1988) also outlines an anti-Americanism, as expressed by negative assessment of the U.S., that is reactive to the policies of the United States. After interviewing forty Pakistanis, He finds that anti-American attitudes have their roots in three policy areas of the U.S.: the perception of opposition of Pakistan's national interests, support for Israel, and interference in Pakistani domestic politics. He downplays the importance of religious, ethnic and culturally based anti-Americanism.

Rubinstein and Smith (1988: 36) offer four sources of anti-Americanism in the Third World, vaguely measured as "any hostile action or expression that becomes part and parcel of an undifferentiated attack on the foreign policy, society, culture, and values of the United States." Sources of anti-Americanism can be issue oriented (e.g. opposition to support for Apartheid

South Africa), ideological (e.g. based on Marxism or Islamic fundamentalism), instrumental (nominal anti-Americanism mobilized by autocratic regimes, using the U.S. as a scapegoat), and revolutionary (popular anti-Americanism after the overthrow of a pro U.S. regimes, as in Iran after 1979). Though the four sources they outline are broad, they are all effects of the U.S. policies. They conclude that the actions of the United States can greatly lessen the phenomenon of anti-Americanism. Ultimately, it is policy, and policy evaluation, that matters.

Looking at Western Europe, Smith and Wertman (1992a) who also measure anti-Americanism by negative feelings toward the U.S., argue that anti-Americanism is a phenomenon that is subject to changes in U.S. policy. They observe changes in public opinion polls to questions about the U.S., noting how the ebb and flow coincides with various polices. They stress that perception of an American cultural threat does not appear to be much of an issue. Instead, it is the salient issue of the day that seems to guide anti-Americanism. During the Cold War, issues surrounding security concerns drove the phenomenon. Smith and Wertman posit that economic issues will drive attitudes about the U.S, which underlies what they present as a fundamentally reactive anti-Americanism.

This second view of anti-Americanism de-emphasizes emotive aspects of anti-Americanism at the expense of emphasizing its reflective, cognitive nature. Some scholars (e.g. Kizilbash 1988; Rubenstein and Smith 1988) note the importance of "feelings," while simultaneously rejecting anti-Americanism as something as diffuse as a cultural phenomenon. At its root, says this literature, anti-Americanism is a reaction to, and subsequent rejection of, U.S. policy.

More recent approaches to the study of anti-Americanism take slightly different approaches. One approach, presented by Crockatt (2003), semantically deconstructs the term

anti-Americanism. It constitutes a rejection of Americanism, which is itself a diverse concept with many meanings. Crockatt mainly focuses on cultural aspects of what constitutes "Americanism," highlighting a highly subjective "idea of America" (51), which can be associated with American nationalism as expressed by Theodore Roosevelt, the negative perception of an overly technocratic society, or the emergence of the U.S. as an economic, political, and cultural superpower – or "Americanization." Crockatt focuses most intently upon the third of these, arguing that "Separating anti-Americanism from a concern [about globalization and the spread of global capitalism] is thus not easy because, of all nations, the United States embodies modernity most completely" (57). Crockatt's conceptualization also goes beyond such broad cultural phenomena, and also encompass the more obvious object of America's policies and goals. Anti-Americanism is a product of both American policy practice and theory.

The strength of such a view of anti-Americanism is its allowance of nuance. Crockatt does not treat anti-Americanism as a dichotomous concept. Rather he argues "expressions of anti-Americanism and pro-Americanism can exist in the same culture, indeed the same individual" (57). However, this view of the nature of anti-Americanism is also under-specified and overly broad. When looking at international politics for example, would it not be anti-Americanism to reject both George H.W. Bush's multilateralist "New World Order" as well as its seeming opposite, the "Bush Doctrine" of George W. Bush? Are the rejections of multilateralism empowering supranational political bodies as well as the rejections of foreign policy that is unilateral in nature all forms of anti-Americanism? What, then, is not anti-Americanism?

A meaningful conceptualization of anti-Americanism must include the United States itself, and not be based merely on a broad notion of what "America" is, and a subsequent rejection of whatever that is. While Crockatt's study certainly considers the contextual richness of anti-Americanism, focusing on intellectual give and take and cultural ebb and flow, without making the United States itself the center of the concept, it amounts to little more than a rejection of the de facto international political, cultural, and economic status quo. One cannot have anti-Americanism without America.

Another alternate approach in looking at anti-Americanism is to argue that it is not a monolithic phenomenon. An obvious shortcoming of the literature cited so far is its characterization of anti-Americanism as being either emotive of rational, either internal or external, either based on what is the U.S. is or what it does. Important advances in attempting to move beyond this "all or nothing" nature of the literature cited above has recently been done by Peter Katzenstein, Robert Keohane, and their colleagues.

Recent Literature on Anti-Americanism

A forthcoming volume edited by Peter Katzenstein and Robert Keohane (2005) titled *Anti-AmericanismS in World Politics* offers a welcome change from the approaches of most of the previous literature. First, defining anti-Americanism as "a psychological tendency to hold negative views of the United States and of American society in general," anti-Americanism is treated in a scientific manner, as a scientific concept (2). Second, the authors stress both internal and external factors, arguing against the "either-or" approach most of the previous literature advocates. Katzenstein and Keohane argue in favor of a nuanced anti-Americanism, with various dimensions based on different origins. In fact, they argue that instead of a single type of anti-Americanism, there are actually various forms of anti-Americanism that deserve to be

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conceptually separated into "anti-Americanisms." They stress six types of anti-Americanism worthy of study.

The first of these types is liberal anti-Americanism, which is based on criticism that the United States does not live up to the ideals it claims to represent. Those demonstrating liberal anti-Americanism are most concerned with what they perceive as the hypocrisy of the U.S. claiming to champion freedom, human rights and democracy while supporting unattractive, dictatorial, and/or corrupt regimes. Liberal anti-Americanism is traditionally exhibited in the developed world, and among western-educated elites in the third world.

The second type is social anti-Americanism. In this type of anti-Americanism, the perception of injustice inherent in "the American system" is espoused. An economic system espousing free markets and (relatively) unconstrained capitalism is central. It is often argued that "American-style capitalism" favors the rich and powerful at the expense of the poor and the weak. Other criticism reflects concern over the use of the death penalty, the lack of broad social safety nets, and the use of unilateralism over multilateralism in the international arena. While social anti-Americans may find some basic agreements on some core aspects of U.S. ideals (the importance of freedom, democracy and human rights, for example), and thus hypocrisy may play a factor, social anti-Americanism is based on *some* inherent disagreements with America and what it stands for.

A third form of anti-Americanism is sovereign-nationalist. This type is based on political concerns, specifically maintaining the political power of one's country, where the U.S. is seen as a rival, and the importance of national identity, which the U.S. might threaten, which can be especially salient when one views oneself as part of a hard fought movement for liberation (as in much of the third world), or as part of a great power or potential great power that deserves its

place of importance on the international stage – a place that the U.S. with all its power might threaten (as in Russia or China).

The fourth type of anti-Americanism outlined by Katzenstein and Keohane is radical. This form stresses a belief system that holds that the United States, and its entire economic, political and cultural system are morally corrupt, and with the U.S. system being so prominent and influential in global politics, it must be fundamentally changed either from within or without. This form of anti-Americanism has traditionally most closely associated with Marxist-Leninism, which associates the United States with inherently regressive forces contrary to the forces of natural human progress and enlightenment (scientific socialism) that will result in a global society with no class conflicts. More recently Jihadist Islamicism has taken up the banner of radical anti-Americanism, based on the notion that United States is the manifestation of in an inherently corrupt system that celebrates the decadent, and has openly and audaciously renounced the path of moral truth and righteousness.

The fifth type, elitist anti-Americanism, is based on notions of cultural and national superiority. The United States is seen as inherently inferior, based on subjective (and biased) aesthetic and normative evaluations, which includes disparaging existential characteristics of things "American" as of inherently inferior quality, such as American food, wine, climate, music, art, and its supposedly base, unsophisticated religiosity. This type of anti-Americanism is especially observable in France, particularly among elites.

The sixth type in Katzenstein and Keohane's typology is legacy anti-Americanism. This occurs when the U.S. is thought to have wronged a particular society in the past, which leads to the institutionalization of anti-American ideas. Prime examples are in Mexico, caused by the perception of unjustified military aggression and imperialistic policies, Spain and Greece, where

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the U.S. supported past dictatorial regimes, and Iran, where there is the perception of various acts of American interference in domestic politics.

By parsing out various types of anti-Americanism by their respective sources, Katzenstein and Keohane and make an important advance in the literature on anti-Americanism. First, and most obviously, they do not stress either internal or external sources as a main source, but argue that both are important, and often overlap in fostering anti-American attitudes. Second, they stress the importance of cognitions and emotions both implicitly in their framework of multiple anti-Americanisms, and more explicitly when discussing the specific role emotions have regarding each type of anti-Americanism. They argue that emotions play the role of determining strength of an anti-Americanism, though different negative emotions play different roles in determining this strength, based on the type of anti-Americanism. They do not, in other words, reduce anti-Americanism to being either fundamentally cognitive or emotional in nature, as the previous literature on anti-Americanism largely did.

Katzenstein and Keohane do cite the importance of psychological processes in putting forth a continuum of anti-Americanism, which includes opinions, distrust, and bias. Expressions of anti-American opinions, readily observed in public opinion polls, demonstrates what they propose is a superficial expression of anti-Americanism, one that may or may not demonstrate deeper animosity toward the U.S. One who holds anti-American opinions is not necessarily predisposed to have a negative view of the United States. Distrust and bias, which constitutes forms of predisposition against the U.S., they argue, "should be of serious concern to policy-makers, particularly if these negative predispositions become deeply entrenched in societies that are important to the United States" (12). Those who demonstrate distrust are more likely to hold negative views of the U.S. and be naturally disposed to be suspicious of its policies. When anti-

Americanism reaches the stage of bias, the person demonstrating this bias loses practically all ability to objectively analyze American policy or anything related to it. It will not be seen on its merits, but universally judged to be negative regardless of its characteristics or circumstances. Information regarding the U.S. is processed in a fundamentally different, universally negative, way.

Several scholars, in collaboration with Katzenstein and Keohane, use their psychological typology and the various types of anti-Americanisms as a basis for analyzing the subject. Lynch (2005) argues that Arab anti-Americanism does not yet reach the level of "bias," in that it is still responsive to new information and can and does fluctuate based on perceptions of United States policy. Instead anti-Americanism in the Arab world is characterized by extreme levels of distrust. Using survey data from across five regions of the world, Chiozza (2005a) comes to a similar conclusion, arguing that systemic negative evaluations of the U.S. (leaning towards bias) are the exception rather than the norm. In looking at France, Meunier (2005) asserts a similar point, that French anti-Americanism, while occasionally bordering on bias, is still largely malleable, and largely contingent on American policy.

Katzenstein and Keohane (2005: 3) do not offer a complex psychological explanation of how anti-Americanism is conceptualized, as they explicitly state "[w]e focus on the politics of anti-Americanism rather than seeking empirically to disentangle its socio-psychological components" (3). They recognize, despite their focus on more social structural aspects of anti-Americanism, the importance psychology plays in determining anti-Americanism, but their goal is to study anti-Americanism emphasizing the political, which is important in stressing what they argue is a nuanced and complex set of beliefs, based on various social structural contexts.

Other important work in this regard has been done by Giacomo Chiozza (2005b). In a comparative analysis of anti-Americanism in both Islamic and European states, Chiozza seprates anti-Americanism into two distinct strands – rejections of U.S. policy, and rejections of its polity. He shows how views of U.S. foreign policy constrain views of how people think about American society and culture, with a respondent's positive views of U.S. policy limiting the degree to which one is critical of U.S. polity or culture. However, negative views of U.S. policy do not necessarily reflect negative evaluation of culture and polity. He interprets this to mean people are conducting separate evaluations of the U.S., and that despite broad disagreements with the U.S. in the Muslim world and in Europe, "America as a cultural and political symbol attracts more than it repels" (30). That is that what people think about what America does can and does differ greatly from what people feel America is. Like Katzenstein and Keohane, he accepts a distinction between the cognitive and the emotive.

Direction of the Project

The main body of research on anti-Americanism all has the underlying theme: that anti-Americanism can be primarily explained by a monolithic causal factor. The research of Katzenstein and Keohane (2005) and their colleagues offers a welcome exception to this approach by pointing out multiple causal factors, but also argues in favor of separating negative evaluations of what the U.S. is and what it does. All of this deviates from the first extensive work in the social science literature on anti-Americanism by Tai, Peterson and Gurr (1973), which unfortunately, the entire body of subsequent anti-Americanism literature has missed. In this unfortunately obscure piece, they argue that anti-Americanism is a coherent, unified phenomenon that has multiple causes that are both internal and external in nature, and demonstrate this by observing both internal political and socio-economic conditions and external

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policy of the U.S. as measured by U.S. presence, using both to predict anti-American

demonstrations and acts of anti-American violence. In short, both internal and external factors

matter – anti-Americanism is neither solely a function of internal factors within a country, nor is

it completely dependent on U.S. policy.

While Tai, Peterson and Gurr do not address a cognitive-emotive distinction like the

more recent literature on anti-Americanism, their research has important implications in this

regard. As the literature cited above has argued, anti-American evaluations that are rooted in

negative evaluations of what the U.S. "is" are generally referred to as internal and emotive in

nature, whereas anti-American evaluations rooted in U.S. policy are generally referred to as

external, and primarily "cognitive" in nature. Insofar as internal sources of anti-Americanism can

be described as "emotive" and external ones can be described as "rational," as the bulk of anti-

Americanism literature suggests, this implies either anti-Americanism is one and not the other, or

that there are different "types" of anti-Americanism that can and should be conceptually

separated. Tai, Peterson and Gurr do not take this approach, but look at anti-Americanism as a

single, coherent phenomenon with multiple sources.

Following Tai, Peterson and Gurr (1973), we argue against a mono-causal anti-

Americanism having its roots completely in internal political and socio-economic conditions, or

one that is completely dependent on U.S. policy. In following them we also argue in favor of an

anti-Americanism existing independently of a theoretically tenuous emotive-cognitive

distinction. Using psychological theory rather than theories of mass sociology, we will attempt to

extend their argument. We will argue that anti-Americanism is neither a fundamentally and

exclusively emotive or cognitive phenomenon, as the first two strains of literature discussed

above suggest. What is needed is to measure a phenomenon that focuses on the United States

itself, while not making artificial distinctions on the "nature" of the evaluation, be it primarily emotive or cognitive, internally or externally based. Indeed, we propose that anti-Americanism is both emotional and cognitive, and that these adjectives are not only empirically indistinguishable, but theoretically indistinguishable as well, an argument we make in the next chapter.

Proposed Scope and Organization of the Project

This dissertation focuses on Europe, primarily Western Europe, for several reasons: First, there is the substantive importance of the Transatlantic alliance and the implications anti-Americanism has on this. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has been the most viable military alliance in the world for over five decades. Whether it will continue to be a salient institution is largely contingent on U.S.-European relations. With the countries of Europe being representative democracies, the implications for the effects of anti-Americanism on NATO are obvious, especially insofar as European integration creates a viable alternative military alliance independent of the Transatlantic ties. Second, a project on a topic of this scope needs boundaries. Confining this project to Europe, primarily Western Europe, offers logical boundaries that are still broad enough to offer meaningful and hopefully generalizable findings. Finally, more public opinion polls have been done in Western European countries about the United States than anywhere else. Looking at Europe offers the widest range of data and thus the greatest applicability of quantitative analysis. Despite the limited scope of this project, the intention is not to develop and test theories of anti-Americanism that apply only to Europe. This project is intended to be a substantive study of anti-Americanism. By incorporating cognitive psychological theory into public opinion research, this project will also represent a theoretical advance with implications other than application to just the study of anti-Americanism.

The second chapter will outline a theory of conceptualizing anti-Americanism, using advances in social and cognitive psychological theory. We argue that one cannot fundamentally distinguish between the cognitive and the emotive. Using survey data from various sources we demonstrate reactions to U.S. policy and feelings about the United States do not separate concepts. Instead, attitudes about U.S. policy represent a single measure of subjective constraint (or lack of constraint) to criticize the United States. We also show the high consistency of attitudes U.S. across issues, arguing the consistency of these attitudes represents cognitive processes of dissonance reduction. These processes are further affected by issue salience, as more salient aspects of the United States drive attitudes on less salient dimensions. We argue that, rather than there being various anti-Americanisms, as argued by Katzenstein and Keohane and their colleagues, that anti-Americanism is a singular phenomenon.

The third chapter will answer the important question, "why does anti-Americanism matter?" What important effects does anti-Americanism have? Chapter 3 discusses the effects of anti-Americanism on the perception of the United States as a meaningful international actor, and also discuss the effects of anti-Americanism on support for important international institutions such as NATO, the United Nations, the IMF, the WTO, the World Bank, and European Union. We also explore the degree to which anti-Americanism might direct the decreased support for NATO in the direction of a European foreign and security policy that excludes the United States. Because the countries of Europe are democracies, anti-American public opinion in those countries could lead to a greater tendency on the part of European leaders to keep the United States at arm's length.

Chapter 4 looks at important sources of anti-Americanism. It demonstrates that security concerns and political ideology are important sources for anti-Americanism, but that the effects

of these attitudes are largely shaped by political and historical contexts. Chapter 4 also demonstrates that general dispositions about U.S. policy do much to shape anti-Americanism. While both contextual attitudes and general attitudes about the world are important, general policy positions about the world do more to drive anti-Americanism than do attitudes contingent on historical and political contexts.

The fifth chapter presents a case study of the events surrounding the invasion of Iraq by the United States and its allies. Anti-Americanism has reached a new threshold since the invasion, which is the result of a series of specific conditions. Invading Iraq against the will of the greater international community was an event unparalleled in the history of the U.S. in its level of global unpopularity and condemnation, and triggered a new level of anti-American sentiment. The opinions of the more politically engaged "opinion leaders" demonstrate a growing trend of anti-Americanism in late 2002, months before the invasion of Iraq. The solidification of a new level of anti-Americanism in Western Europe is evidenced by greater anti-American attitudes across all levels of education, income, political ideology, gender, and political engagement.

The concluding chapter summarizes the results and implications of this study. Despite being a public opinion phenomenon, one based on perception and subjective evaluation, it is still clearly related to U.S. policy and engagement. U.S. policy does not, indeed it cannot, end anti-Americanism. Someone will always demonstrate negative opinions and dislike for the U.S. no matter its policy. The U.S. can, however, limit the scope of anti-Americanism through policy, diplomacy, and fostering the perception of American willingness to engage in the international community.

CHAPTER 2: A THEORY ON THE NATURE OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

Conceptualizing Anti-Americanism

As outlined in the previous chapter, much of the debate regarding anti-Americanism revolves around what constitutes the "core" of the concept. Is it a fundamentally vitriolic phenomenon, based on emotional resentment, something akin to bigotry? Or is it a rational process based on objective evaluation? Perhaps it is both. One does not necessarily preclude the other. Can one not both dislike what the United States is, and what is does? To what degree can evaluations of what the U.S. is and what it does be separated? Is the mass public capable of discerning between the evaluation of the behavior of the object and the object itself?

We define anti-Americanism as "a systematic negative normative evaluation of the United States." This definition does not preclude either anti-American prejudice, or nuanced evaluation reflecting measured policy disagreements. It encompasses both. A general theme of one strain of literature on anti-Americanism as outlined in the previous chapter (with the notable exception of Fabrinni 2002) is that anti-Americanism is the result of moral and spiritual shortcomings of those who exhibit it. This approach is not only unscientific, but politically motivated. The second strain of literature examined in Chapter 1 emphasizes an anti-Americanism that reflects U.S. policy and is therefore based wholly on rational thought and reasoned discourse (even where education and literacy is low).[1] This exclusive focus on rationality should be rejected. Just because anti-Americanism is a reflective phenomenon that is both logical and explainable, does not mean it reflects a view that is devoid of irrational sentiment and is entirely the product of well reasoned and objective policy evaluations. Anti-

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[1] To be fair, this argument also has the potential for political motivation. While those on the right in the United States will be willing to champion the first strain of the literature as offering the best explanation of anti-Americanism, those on the left would probably support the second strain, as it largely argues that anti-Americanism is a reaction to policies with which they disagree.

Americanism is above all an opinion. The expression of such opinion is therefore subject to the same mechanisms of opinion formation as other opinions, and opinion formation is not always a fundamentally rational process, though one that is still theoretically explainable (Zaller 1992; Zaller and Feldman 1992). Anti-Americanism certainly has emotional aspects, as does anything people can have strong opinions about. Similarly, anti-Americanism is certainly also cognitive to a large degree, as is any belief people consciously embrace. So it is with anti-Americanism.

On the Cognitive and the Emotive – a False Dichotomy

Much of public opinion research has focused on the idea of support – support for objects as tangible as candidates or government policies, for more encompassing objects such as governments and regimes, for more abstract objects such as one's nation, the ideal of democracy, or the concept of "liberty." Intuitively, distinguishing between such levels of abstraction is highly appealing. A traditional distinction in public opinion research, particularly in comparative politics, distinguishes between "types" of support based on the level of abstraction of the object. The work of Easton (1965, 1975) has been most influential in this regard. Easton distinguishes between what he calls alternately "specific" or "instrumental" support, and "affective" or "diffuse" support. In supporting a political system, citizens have initial orientations toward the system that are based upon rational, reasoned and well-considered evaluations on the objective value of the system. Over time, this detached evaluation leads to more abstract support, in which the citizens not only supports the results of the system itself, but the ideals on which they perceive the system is based. Over time, citizens support not only the specific institutions ("the government," a political party, or a particular bureaucracy), but also the ideals they are supposedly based on (democracy, liberty, "the nation"). The basic premise is both intuitively appealing and parsimonious, and has proven to be an extremely influential theory in how

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comparative political scientists look at public opinion, explaining a wide range of phenomena

from why citizens who ostensibly oppose their government's policies do not pose a threat to

democratic governance (Norris 1999), to the nature of support for European integration (Gabel

1998). This framework, commonly known as the "Eastonian Model," is predicated upon the idea

that orientations toward an object can differ qualitatively. One can both dislike policy of a

regime, but like the ideals upon which that regime is founded, with the former representing

objective, reasoned, "cognitive" analyses, the latter representing gut-level, emotive orientations.

That Easton is never mentioned in the studies of anti-Americanism is not surprising. His

model covers support, while anti-Americanism is about opposition. However, the literature

seems largely to fall along the same intuitive lines of Easton's cognitive-emotive distinction, not

only in the respective traditions of literature discussed above, but most recently in the work of

Chiozza (2005b), who one could argue, outlines "specific" and "diffuse" types of anti-

Americanism.[2]

Theoretical Basis for Merging the Emotive and the Cognitive

Despite dominance of the Eastonian tradition in comparative political science, a growing

literature within political psychology and political behavior recognizes that cognitive processes

cannot be separated from emotive ones (Rahn 2000; Lodge and Taber 2000; McDermott 2004).

This notion is predicated on theories of emotional appraisal, based on a large body of work in the

field of cognitive psychology (Ortony, Clore and Collins 1988; Lazarus 1991a, 1991b, 2001;

Roseman and Smith 2001; Roseman 2001; Scherer 2001; Smith and Lazarus 1990; Smith and

Kirby 2001; for a review of the emotional appraisal literature see Schorr 2001). Emotional

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[2] Insofar as Chiozza appears to make a specific-diffuse distinction, he seems to do so intuitively. He never refers to the specific-diffuse distinction, and does he cite Easton in his work. However, the intuitive logic of the Eastonian model presents itself, as Chiozza notes "the disapproval of America's policies does not have the psychological force to displace the aspirations that American symbolizes" (2005b, 30)

appraisal theory argues that emotions are based upon valence cognitive evaluations from which

they cannot be separated. In noting the problems with attempting to separate cognitions and

emotions, Lazarus (1991a: 179) writes:

> One difficulty with a solution that makes cognition separate from emotion is that
> emotion and cognition are each so complex, and their mechanisms spread so widely
> over the central and peripheral neural pathways that, in my opinion, it is difficult to
> argue convincingly for separate systems as though there were a special brain organ
> for each.

The notion that emotions and cognitions are inextricably linked is currently the dominant

paradigm within cognitive psychology (Dalgleish and Power 1999), and it this notion has gained

acceptance in other disciplines such as moral philosophy (Nussbaum 2001) and political science

(McDermott 2004). In embracing this theoretical perspective of emotional appraisal, it is

important to define "emotion." Ortony, Clore and Collins (1988: 13), define emotions as

"valenced reaction to events, agents, or objects based on perceptions about the world." Individual

emotions are varied reactions that that exist independently of each other, and are "based on the

nature of their cognitive origins" (13). Therefore, emotions themselves are phenomena of

cognitive origin, based on an initial cognitive evaluation that assigns valence, with different

emotional states resulting from different cognitive paths.

Additionally, the emotional appraisal literature addresses the cognitive origin of

emotional intensity. Ortony, Clore and Collins (1988: Chapter 4) outline four characteristics of

cognitive origin that affect the intensity of an emotion: 1) a sense of reality of an emotion-

inducing situation, 2) proximity in the form of psychological closeness to the emotion inducing

situation, 3) unexpectedness of a situation, and 4) prior arousal to a situation. Scherer (2001)

posits that emotional intensity has its roots in a set of cognition-based evaluations: relevance,

implications, coping potential, and normative significance. This means that not only the origins,

but also the strength of emotions inextricably linked to cognition (see also Smith and Kirby 2001).

Finally, emotional appraisal theory argues that an important function of emotion is cognitive in nature (Smith and Lazarus 1990; Ortony, Clore and Collins 1988: Chapter 9; Scherr 2001). Smith and Lazarus (1990) assert that the origins of emotional responses came about in complex organisms in order to cope with complex problems inherent in their environment. They are not, in other words, random response states. Instead they serve a purpose fundamentally attached to cognitive appraisal. Emotions shape how we think about the world. In exploring how emotion plays a role in the concept of rationality as used in political science, McDermott (2004) comes to a similar conclusion. Basing her argument on a thorough review of the relevant neuroscience literature, she argues not only that emotions are not separate from rational thought processes, but are essential to their proper functioning. That is, in order to make proper rational judgments, emotions are not only integral, but also necessary. "[E]motion is part of rationality itself, and… the two are intimately intertwined and interconnected processes, psychologically and neurologically. From this perspective, emotion remains endogenous to rationality itself" (McDermott 2004, 693).

As such, anti-Americanism is certainly emotional to some extent, but not in the way many of those who decry "emotional" anti-Americanism advocate. When the concept of an emotion has been actually defined, the source of its intensity discussed, and its function addressed, the mystery has been taken out of what an emotional anti-Americanism encompasses and the semantic smoke and mirrors of much of the literature on "emotional" anti-Americanism is betrayed for what it is: meaningless rhetoric with no scientific basis. When bases and strength of emotions are based upon cognitive evaluations rather than some quasi-mystical explanation

based on inherent moral shortcomings, then we can begin to look at anti-Americanism as an explainable phenomenon rather than some inexplicable pathological state.

Moving Beyond the Cognitive-Emotional Dichotomy

The points outlined above are obviously at odds with much of the literature on anti-Americanism, which takes the highly intuitive but theoretically dubious route of separating "visceral" and "rational" anti-Americanism. Some scholars (e.g. Haseler 1985) would even argue that only negative evaluations that are emotional in nature would constitute anti-Americanism, while thought out, cognitive, "rational" disagreement with U.S. policy is not anti-Americanism at all. This view fails to recognize that emotions are themselves predicated upon cognitive evaluations. Others scholars (e.g. Kizilbash 1988) would argue that such "visceral" reactions to the U.S. are the exception, not the norm. Attitudes about the United States are predicated upon reasoned and well thought-out processes involving specific policy disagreements, and are therefore not reflective of any sort of strong emotional response at all. Again, this invokes a false dichotomy between emotion and cognition.

Anti-Americanism is neither exclusively rational (cognitive) nor emotive. It is both. To argue otherwise is to delve into dangerous theoretical and empirical waters. Emotion does not preclude cognition, and since emotions cannot be fundamentally separated from the cognitive root of the valence evaluations that give rise to them, they may be theoretically as well as empirically indistinguishable. Evaluations of an object do not represent exclusively emotive or cognitive responses to that object (Ortony, Clore and Collins 1988; McDermott 2004). They represent both. As such, one cannot separate evaluations of an object into categories that are arbitrarily emotive or cognitive.

Separating the rational from the emotive is not only problematic for the theoretical

reasons, but also for empirical reasons. Inherent limitations of the survey instrument constrain

our ability to determine the precise motivation behind providing a given response. Let us say that

a survey were to ask about general feeling for the American people, something that many would

argue constitutes an emotional anti-Americanism. How could we conclude that a European

survey respondent could not have a negative opinion of the American people based on a

reasoned analysis of Americans' inability to stop what the respondent perceives as bad U.S.

policy? Certainly, such a question would capture emotional antipathy one has toward Americans

as amoral, and uncaring about the rest of the world, as well as reasoned evaluations based on

careful analysis. The United States is, after all, a democratic government. If the American people

allow what the respondent construes to be imperialism that destabilizes world order through the

re-election of President Bush and a sympathetic Congress, then such reasoned, rational analysis

ultimately results in a negative opinion of the American people. What many would intuit to be

fundamentally "emotional" anti-Americanism could, in fact, turn out to be based almost entirely

on reasoned, logical analysis.

In any event, it is highly unlikely that such evaluations are not predicated on policy

analyses of the United States. Likewise one should not be likely to express a fondness for U.S.

policy, while expressing a negative view of the American people. Again, the relationship

between these different items is certainly not perfect, but should still be theoretically explainable

and empirically resolvable within a framework emphasizing anti-Americanism as a mostly

uniform phenomena, with valence evaluations of the objects overriding nuanced evaluations of

the characteristic of that object (a notion that will be explained in more detail below). While

evaluations of American policy and Americans themselves may appear to be different, the theory

presented suggests this not be interpreted as meaning respondents are evaluating policy and representing feelings separately from each other. Instead, respondents evaluate an object with an awareness that some opinions are more socially acceptable than others (Berinsky 1999).[3]

What do different negative evaluations of the U.S., based on different levels of social acceptability, mean, and how do they relate to a mostly uniform anti-Americanism? One useful distinction had been recently made by Joseph Nye (2002; 2004), who outlines the difference between hard and soft power. Hard power refers to the traditional international mechanisms of using various economic or military incentives or reprisals in order to accomplish one's goals. Soft power is using the power of persuasion rather than coercion to accomplish these goals. Examples of soft power include cultural characteristics such as music or television, commercial brands, and perceived values such as liberty, democracy, and technological achievement. Nye points out that, on the international scale, the withering away of soft power can result from the perceived misuse of hard power. On an individual level, those rejecting U.S. soft power are most likely to have objections based on application of hard power.

This theoretical distinction, while not a perfect representation of how mass publics view world politics, indicates important reference points that respondents will intuitively grasp. Respondents understand that criticism of some ("soft") objects, such as American culture in general, represents a stronger denunciation of the U.S. that criticism of other ("hard") objects, such as U.S. policy regarding treatment of prisoners detained in the "war on terror."

The theory presented does not argue that mass publics distinguish between different aspects of the same object based strictly on Nye's distinction. Instead, Nye's theoretical

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[3] Social acceptability theory is relevant here insofar as one accepts that it is more publicly acceptable to show disapproval of or negativity toward American policy than Americans themselves. As previously noted in chapter one, anti-Americanism is in common parlance known to be a pejorative, and respondents should have a tendency not to want to appear anti-American, even on a survey.

distinction is something that respondents grasp loosely and intuitively, and does not denote discernment between different objects. Objections to hard and soft power of the U.S. both constitute anti-Americanism, but to different degrees. Mass publics ahould make some distinctions based on "hard" and "soft" aspect of the United States, but not based on nuanced, fundamentally multi-dimensional evaluations of the object in question. There are not, in other words, different types of anti-Americanism, as argued in the recent literature by Katzenstein, Keohane, and colleagues. Instead these seeming separate evaluations actually represent different degrees of antipathy toward the same object, and different levels of willingness to criticize that object. The argument here is based partially on Zaller's (1992) assertion that responses to survey items (or opinions) do not represent "true" attitudes, but can mean different things depending on how the question was framed, the context of question in relation to other questions, or the salience of the issue, among other factors.

Simply put, some criticisms of the United States are more socially and personally acceptable than others. Many pundits and intellectuals make a point to argue that most criticism of the U.S. is largely based on those factors Nye associates with hard power, particularly U.S. foreign military policy, the hardest of the various forms of hard power. Those things associated with the soft power of the U.S., its culture, people, and democratic values, are generally said to be seen in a more positive light. According to the theory, then, the respondent understands that some "hard" criticism of the U.S. (e.g., criticism of the foreign policy of the Bush administration) is less critical and less extreme than other forms of "soft" criticism (e.g., expressing a dislike for the American people).

We isolate two forms of anti-American expression: political expressions and existential expressions.[4] This distinction parallels the types of power expressed by Nye. Political expressions of anti-Americanism relate primarily to U.S. policy in foreign relations and economics. Existential expressions of anti-Americanism relate primarily to core attributes of the U.S., such as Americans themselves, or aspects of its culture or society. Political expressions constitute "easier" expressions of anti-Americanism, based on seemingly more "legitimate" concerns that seem to reflect "reasonable" positions rather than extreme ones. Conversely, existential expressions denote "harder" expressions of anti-Americanism, where a respondent feels less constrained to criticize the U.S. and is willing to make more "extreme" negative evaluations. The distinctions between political and existential expressions of anti-Americanism is consistent with the notion in the cognitive psychology literature that argues emotional responses have their bases in cognitive appraisals. More extreme negative evaluations of the United States, namely those characterized as "existential" expressions of anti-Americanism, represent on average higher overall levels of emotional content (though certainly not void of cognitive appraisal) than "political expressions," which represent something closer to detached, rational appraisal (though not without some emotional content). One should precede the other. Political expressions anti-Americanism should come before existential ones.

It is important to emphasize that these representations are merely different forms of expressing anti-Americanism. The first form, political expressions of anti-Americanism, as well as representing initial levels of anti-Americanism, will also represent a degree of subjective constraint of willingness to demonstrate existential expressions of anti-Americanism. This

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[4] We make this distinction in expressions of anti-Americanism in order to establish political and existential anti-Americanism 1) are interrelated and 2) how they are interrelated. It is important to point out that they do not denote different types of anti-Americanism, but rather different ways of expressing anti-Americanism. We use the terms "political" and "existential" as the terms "hard expressions" and "soft expressions" of anti-Americanism would be counterintuitive.

suggests that a response to a survey item regarding political expressions of anti-Americanism does not strictly represent "true" attitudes in the tradition of the Michigan school of public opinion (Zaller 1992). High measures on the political expressions of anti-Americanism will be a necessary but not sufficient condition for high measures on the existential expressions of anti-Americanism. As a respondent becomes more willing to criticize U.S. policy, he or she should be more willing to demonstrate existential expressions of anti-Americanism, with the political expressions of anti-Americanism acting as a precondition. Again, one does not express enthusiastic approval of U.S. policy, followed by saying "death to America." While there should be a strong positive relationship between political and existential expressions of anti-Americanism, such a relationship should show a high degree of error at the higher levels of negative policy evaluation.

The Predominant Uniformity of Anti-Americanism

A major theme in the discussion of the theory so far has been the idea that anti-Americanism, rather than being a multi-faceted and multi-dimensional concept, is predominantly uniform in nature. If we are to make this argument more explicitly, a deeper discussion of some aspects of this theory is necessary to tie up some theoretical loose ends.

Semantically, the term "anti-Americanism" implies a negative valence. While this is a necessary label, it can be misleading about the nature of the phenomenon. Two core attributes of the theory presented here are 1) expressions of anti-Americanism differ in degree, not in kind, and 2) anti-Americanism in not dichotomous in nature – one is not either "anti-American" or not. As such, anti-Americanism cannot be given an arbitrary starting point. Aside from a person who would never criticize the United States on anything, for any reason, everyone is, to some degree,

anti-American.[5] According to the theory presented, the only thing separating anti-Americanism from pro-Americanism is valence. They are not fundamentally different.

This semantic point being addressed, it is now possible to explicitly address anti-Americanism as is a predominantly uniform concept. According to the theory presented in this chapter, different ways of measuring anti-Americanism should not yield systematically dissimilar association when compared. Simply put, if we are to observe different measurements of anti-Americanism over the same unit of analysis (be it a national state or an individual survey respondent at the same point in time), we would expect a strong degree of association, as these measures, though attained differently, are measuring the same concept.

We can now present two hypotheses concerning the reliability of anti-Americanism as a measure demonstrating uniformity.

Hypothesis one: Anti-Americanism, as something that differs in its expressions quantitatively but not qualitatively, should show vast similarities when being compared using different forms of measurement over comparable units of aggregation.

Hypothesis two: To the degree that there is incongruence in the positive associations between different measures of anti-Americanism, such congruence should show a specific pattern. Political expressions of anti-Americanism will serve as a precursor to existential expressions of anti-Americanism. A respondent may be high on both measures, low on both measures, or high on political expressions and simultaneously low on existential ones. However, a respondent will tend not to be low on political expressions while high on existential ones.

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[5] This includes, of course, citizens of the United States. There is no logical reason they should be exempt from demonstrating anti-Americanism.

Heuristics, Cognitive Consistency, and Anti-Americanism

While addressing what anti-Americanism is, the theory does not address how it is initially formed and shaped by subjective interpretation of events and factors related to the object in question (the United States). One has a valenced reaction, but to what? We have looked at how cognitive and emotional evaluations go together, but not at how they come about, or the mechanisms by which the initial (cognitive) appraisals are shaped. So far in the theory of the nature of anti-Americanism, we know what it is, but not so much why it exists, or how it is structured.

A major theme in research into the psychology of pubic opinion has been that individuals use mental shortcuts, or heuristics, to process information about the political world (Kuklinski and Quirk 2000; Taber 2003). Much prominent research in public opinion demonstrates this (see e.g. Campbell et al 1960; Converse 1964; Popkin 1991). Research by Hurwitz and Peffley (1987; 1990; 1993) have specifically applied this idea to attitudes about foreign policy in their hierarchical model of foreign policy evaluation, utilizing values such as nationalism, or past perceptions of a rival countries. A similar process occurs with evaluating the policy of the United States. However, in the process of using such heuristics, one must also consider the importance of temporal shifts in opinion, suggesting that past perceptions constrain current opinion only so much (Peffley and Hurwitz 1992). The importance of current issue salience must be taken into account (Zaller 1992). This is consistent with the notion that heuristics are key in determining opinion – evaluation of an object's most salient attribute should drive evaluations on other attribute.

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Classic social psychological theory suggests evaluations of an object should tend toward cognitive consistency.[6] This process should result in a set of normative views about an object that are consistently of the same valence. Festinger (1957: 3) argues in his seminal work, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*, that having inconsistent, or dissonant, attitudes about an object is psychologically uncomfortable, and "will motivate the person to try to reduce dissonance and achieve consonance (consistency)." Heider (1958) similarly argued that inconsistency, or imbalance, should be similarly resolved by an individual, who will strive for the comfort of cognitive consistency (balance). Such notions are hardly antiquated, and continue to provide for useful applications not only in social psychology (Harmon-Jones and Mills 1999), but political science (Visser 1994; Ray 1999). Furthermore, notions of cognitive consistency, while not explicitly cited as such, are highly compatible with Zaller's (1992) axioms of the survey response.

Anti-American attitudes should follow this pattern of cognitive consistency. Negative evaluations of the U.S. on some issues should drive subsequent negative evaluations on others, resulting in a systematic negative bias that reflects a process of dissonance reduction.

Hypothesis three: evaluations of various policy attributes of the U.S. will tend not to be considered separately. Instead, they will reflect a pattern where respondents give answers of a consistent valence, reflecting a tendency to strive for cognitive consistency and avoid cognitive dissonance.

While negative evaluations should go together of their own accord, they should be affected more by salient aspects of the object. Evaluation of the United States on the most salient issue should act as a heuristic by which respondents evaluate the U.S. on other, less salient

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[6] This occurs in the stage of one making sense of the world (i.e. cognitive appraisal). As such, it precedes emotive expressions.

issues. This idea is consistent both with theories of opinion formation (Zaller 1992; Zaller and Feldman 1992) and social psychological theories of object evaluation (Festinger 1957, see esp. 46; Heider 1958; Newcomb 1961). The effect of change then, if it were salient enough, should go on to affect overall perception (Peffley and Huwitz 1992).

> Hypothesis four: Overall evaluations of the United States, while being guided by overall tendencies toward cognitive consistency, should also be guided by evaluations on more salient characteristics.

Testing the Theory: The Reliability Hypotheses

This theory on the nature of anti-Americanism, must now be tested. To test hypothesis one (anti-Americanism, as something that differs in its expressions quantitatively but not qualitatively, should show vast similarities when being compared using different forms of measurement over comparable units of aggregation) and hypothesis two (to the degree that there is incongruence in the positive associations between different measures of anti-Americanism, such congruence should show a specific pattern. Political expressions of anti-Americanism will serve as a precursor to existential expressions of anti-Americanism. A respondent may be high on both measures, low on both measures, or high on political expressions and simultaneously low on existential ones. However, a respondent will tend not to be low on political expressions while high on existential ones) we need to specify different measures of anti-Americanism and compare them. We use two data sources to test these arguments. The German Marshall Fund of the United States (2002) did a survey in six European countries (France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, and Poland) in the summer of 2002. The Pew Global Attitudes Project (2003) also conducted a survey which included several European countries (France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and Spain). Each survey asked questions which should measure political and

existential expressions of anti-Americanism.[7] The theory states both of these measures primarily should measure a single underlying dimension of anti-Americanism, with predictable pattern of incongruence between the measures.

A simple crosstabulation between these variables as shown on Tables 2.1 and 2.2 gives some initial support to hypotheses one and two. First, there appears to be a straightforward positive association, as indicated not only in observing the patter in the crosstabulation, but in the correlations, both of which are robust and highly significant. Though both tests support the first hypothesis, the Pew data provides the more convincing results. Given the almost identical wording of the questions in distinguishing between political and existential expressions of anti-Americanism, this difference makes sense. The crosstabulations on these tables also show a predictable pattern of incongruence as predicted by hypothesis two. The upper right of each table shows that high degrees of existential anti-Americanism coupled with low degrees of political anti-Americanism are, as predicted, rare. In short, the Tables 2.1 and 2.2 appear to confirm our expectations so far. The correlations offer compelling support for hypothesis one. The crosstabulations offer initial, though not definitive support for hypothesis two, and obviously, more rigorous analyses are needed if we are to accept the reliability of these rather simple findings to verify the second hypothesis.

As an additional confirmation of second hypothesis, we ran a statistical model to not only detect, but model heteroskedasticity (isolated standard error terms). We should expect higher levels of political expressions of anti-Americanism to be associated with higher levels of errors in predicted values of existential expressions of anti-Americanism. To do this we first conducted a simple bivariate ordinary least squares regression analysis where:

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[7] The wording of these questions is in Tables 2.1 and 2.2.

Table 2.1 – Political and existential anti-Americanism crosstabulation

		Existential anti-Americanism										Total
		0-10	*11-20*	*21-30*	*31-40*	*41-50*	*51-60*	*61-70*	*71-80*	*81-90*	*90-100*	
	1	**249**	**126**	**239**	**157**	**82**	**150**	**31**	**14**	**8**	**13**	**1069**
		23.3%	11.8%	22.4%	14.7%	7.7%	14.0%	2.9%	1.3%	.7%	1.2%	100.0%
	2	**318**	**191**	**573**	**451**	**427**	**649**	**79**	**61**	**29**	**40**	**2818**
		11.3%	6.8%	20.3%	16.0%	15.2%	23.0%	2.8%	2.2%	1.0%	1.4%	100.0%
Political anti-	**2.5**	**31**	**9**	**39**	**35**	**47**	**118**	**16**	**11**	**7**	**10**	**323**
Americanism		9.6%	2.8%	12.1%	10.8%	14.6%	36.5%	5.0%	3.4%	2.2%	3.1%	100.0%
	3	**75**	**48**	**157**	**174**	**170**	**383**	**98**	**78**	**50**	**64**	**1297**
		5.8%	3.7%	12.1%	13.4%	13.1%	29.5%	7.6%	6.0%	3.9%	4.9%	100.0%
	4	**26**	**8**	**37**	**28**	**32**	**136**	**40**	**44**	**29**	**114**	**494**
		5.3%	1.6%	7.5%	5.7%	6.5%	27.5%	8.1%	8.9%	5.9%	23.1%	100.0%
	Total	699	382	1045	845	758	1436	264	208	123	241	6001
		11.6%	6.4%	17.4%	14.1%	12.6%	23.9%	4.4%	3.5%	2.0%	4.0%	100.0%

Pearson's correlation: .383 $p = 2.3*10^{-23}$

Political anti-Americanism: From your point of view, how desirable is that the US exert strong leadership in world affairs? Very desirable (coded 1), somewhat desirable (coded 2), somewhat undesirable (3), or very undesirable (4)? (All other responses are coded 2.5.)

Existential anti-Americanism: Next I'd like you to rate your feeling toward some countries, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favourable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavourable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that country, please say so… Feelings towards United States. (Scores range 0-100 and are reverse coded, where 100 indicates "very cold" and 0 "very warm." No opinion and DK recorded as 50.)

Table 2.2 – Political and existential anti-Americanism crosstabulation

		Existential anti-Americanism					Total
		1	2	2.5	3	4	
	1	190	52	3	6	7	258
		73.6%	20.2%	1.2%	2.3%	2.7%	100.0%
	2	131	739	37	65	14	986
		13.3%	74.9%	3.8%	6.6%	1.4%	100.0%
Political anti-Americanism	2.5	4	23	35	8	1	71
		5.6%	32.4%	49.3%	11.3%	1.4%	100.0%
	3	56	310	46	338	32	782
		7.2%	39.6%	5.9%	43.2%	4.1%	100.0%
	4	33	94	22	94	166	409
		8.1%	23.0%	5.4%	23.0%	40.6%	100.0%
Total		414	1218	143	511	220	2506
		16.5%	48.6%	5.7%	20.4%	8.8%	100.0%

Pearson's correlation: .565; $p = 4.1*10^{-23}$

Political anti-Americanism: Please tell me if you have a very favorable (coded 1), somewhat favorable (2), somewhat unfavorable (3) or very unfavorable opinion (4) of The United States. (All other responses are coded 2.5.)

Existential anti-Americanism: Please tell me if you have a very favorable (coded 1), somewhat favorable (2), somewhat unfavorable (3) or very unfavorable opinion (4) of Americans. (All other responses are coded 2.5.)

$$\text{Political expressions of anti-Americanism} = a + b(\text{existential expressions of anti-Americanism}) + e$$

We then took the square of the error term and ran a Pearson's correlation with political expressions of anti-Americanism.[8] The result of the correlation between the square of the unstandardized error and political expressions of anti-Americanism was a positive and highly significant for both sets of data. The Pearson's coefficient for the German Marshall Fund data was .216 ($p = 2.3*10^{-23}$), robust for individual level data. However, the result of the same analysis for the Pew data yielded a correlation of .825 ($p = 4.1*10^{-23}$). Such a high correlation is a rare find in the analyzing of individual level public opinion data. Again, we can most likely attribute the difference in the robustness of these results to the question wording, which was very similar in the Pew data, replacing only the object of the "United States" with "Americans."

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[8] The results of the OLS are, of course given the results of the correlations, positive and highly significant (German Marshall Fund data: unstandardized beta = .014; t = 32.1; R^2 = .146 – Pew data: unstandardized beta = .604; t = 28.3; R^2 = .319).

The results of the analyses above, taken together, offer confirmation of the first two hypotheses. There is not only a positive association between existential and political expressions of anti-Americanism, but the incongruence that exists between the two expressions of anti-Americanism appear to conform to the theoretical explanation presented, with initial levels of political expressions of anti-Americanism representing not only anti-American attitudes, but also a degree of subjective constraint. Furthermore, the data from the more consistently worded survey yielded more compelling confirmation of the hypotheses. This in itself may offer additional support for our hypotheses – when discrepancies in question wording are accounted for, our results are noticeably stronger.

The Psychological Pattern Hypotheses

Testing the third hypothesis (evaluations of various policy attributes of the U.S. will tend not to be considered separately. Instead, they will reflect a pattern where respondents give answers of a consistent valence, reflecting a tendency to strive for cognitive consistency and avoid cognitive dissonance), demands measures of attitudes regarding various policies of the United States. Fortunately, recent Eurobarometer surveys ask a series of questions almost tailor made for this very purpose. In the fall of 2002, spring 2003, and fall 2003, Eurobarometer surveys 58.1, 59.1 and 60.1 (which were conducted in each of the then 15 member EU countries) asked a series of questions about the United States, and whether the U. S. plays a positive or negative role in the world regarding a series of issues. These include peace in the world, fighting global terrorism, growth of the world economy, fighting global poverty, and protecting the environment. Data from Pew (2003) also asks some broader questions regarding general policy of the U.S. regarding its ideas about democracy, ways of doing business, efforts to fight

terrorism, and taking other countries into account regarding foreign policy. The results of two

principle component factor analyses testing hypothesis three are presented in Tables 2.3 and 2.4.

Table 2.3 – Principle component factor analysis

Opinion about aspects of American policy	
American ideas about democracy	.681
American ways of doing business	.689
U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism	.668
Interest of other countries regarding foreign policy	.628

Eigenvalue: 1.78
Variance explained: 44.4%
No other factors loaded with an Eigenvalue over 1.
n = 2,506
Negative responses are coded 1, positive responses coded –1, and all others are coded 0.
Precise question wording in appendix

Table 2.4 – Principle component factor analysis

"In your opinion, would you say that the United States tends to play a positive role, a negative role or neither a positive nor a negative role regarding…?"	
Peace in the world	.782
The fight against terrorism	.734
Growth of the world economy	.724
The fight against poverty in the world	.817
Protection of the environment	.736

Eigenvalue: 2.88
Variance explained: 57.7
No other factors loaded with an Eigenvalue over 1.
n = 48,463
Negative responses are coded 1, positive responses coded –1, and all others are coded 0.

The results support the third hypothesis. Clearly there is a common association to an

underlying, unmeasured variable. As only one factor loaded with an Eigenvalue greater than one

in each of the analyses, we can see that instead of taking each attribute of U.S. policy and

evaluating them separately, it appears that respondents are indeed striving to maintain cognitive

consistency in their policy evaluations. Furthermore, this analysis yields results that are relatively

stable over all three time points, and across countries.[9] It appears that, in the mind of the

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[9] A single dimension loaded in each analysis by country and year.

respondent, all bad things go together to some extent, and the object in question (the United States), is evaluated for the most part on the bases of broad and sweeping generalizations, rather than well thought out, nuanced evaluation of various aspects of U.S. policy.

Testing the fourth hypothesis (overall evaluations of the United States, while being guided by overall tendencies toward cognitive consistency, should also be guided by evaluations on more salient characteristics) offers more of a challenge that the previous three. First, there is no definitive way to determine the salience of an issue in the data available used to test the second hypothesis. However, the timing of the data themselves do offer the opportunity to observe the results of a natural experiment. Eurobarometer 58.1 was conducted in the fall of 2002, a time where the United States was making a case against Iraq that included the involvement of the international community in dialogue, in particular the United Nations. However, by the start of the Eurobarometer 59.1, the U.S. was preparing to invade, with the Second Gulf War and occupation occurring shortly thereafter and lasting through the completion of the survey.[10] If we are to make a somewhat safe assumption – that the U.S. role regarding peace in the world will be especially salient in the day when they are waging war, and in the days before when the invasion was seen as all but inevitable – then this allows us to observe the effects of a natural experiment with which to test hypothesis four.

Using an OLS regression analysis, we ran the following model:

Four factor anti-Americanism score = a + b_1(view of U.S. peace in the world) + b_2(view of U.S. peace in the world)(spring 2003 dummy) + b_3(2003 dummy) + e

The four factor anti-Americanism score is a variable extracted from a factor analysis similar to the one done in Table 2.4, but with only the four non-peace items. View of peace in the world is

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[10] Eurobarometer 59.1 was conducted from March 18, until April 30, 2003. The U.S. began strikes on military target inside Iraq on March 20, 2003.

the answer to the first item in the question, and this item is interacted with a dummy variable to indicate the spring 2003, which also serves as a control variable. The results presented on Table 2.5, are in line with the predictions of hypothesis four. The effects of all the independent variables are significant and in the hypothesized direction. Perception of peace in the world appears to have a strong positive effect on overall evaluations of the U.S., but as the interaction effect shows, has an additional impact during the war with Iraq.

Table 2.5 – Ordinary least squares regression predicting four factor anti-Americanism

Variable	Beta Coefficients	Standard Error	Standardized Beta	T	Sig.
Peace in the World	.697	.007	.596	97.816	<.001
Peace*Spring 2003 interaction	.051	.010	.031	4.903	<.001
Spring 2003 dummy	-.022	.009	-.011	-2.361	.018
Intercept	-.176	.006		-27.884	<.001

Adjusted R square: .38
Number of observations: 32,383
Dependent variable: extracted scores from four item principled component factor analysis (items two through five in table 2.2).

Conclusion

Several scholars argue that expressions of anti-American can be separated in various ways. This includes the view that anti-Americanism can be divided between evaluations of U.S. policy and views based on U.S. society and culture (Chiozza 2005b), or the contention that there are actually many different anti-Americanisms (see esp. Katzenstein and Keohane 2005). One striking (though implicit) characteristic of this literature is that various expressions of anti-Americanism represent "true attitudes" of the respondent. This presupposes that not only are

evaluations of U.S. policy and what the U.S. stands for separate, but that the survey respondent is able to sort them out coherently. We propose an alternate explanation.

This chapter has presented and tested a theory on the nature of anti-Americanism. Anti-Americanism, as conceptualized here, does not reflect a complex set of "true" attitudes where survey respondents give answers consistent with thorough and thoughtful deliberation based on the subtle semantics of a survey question. Nor does it represent a multi-faceted set of attitudes based on a series of evaluations that carefully weigh the perceived pros and cons of the various aspects of U.S. policy. Instead, anti-Americanism represents a broad disposition toward negative evaluations of that which is perceived as "American." It is first shaped by consistency in cognitive appraisal, and subsequently expressed in ways that are neither fundamentally cognitive nor emotive in nature. It is important to point out that that this does not in any way preclude nuances in evaluating various aspects of the U.S., its policies, or its people.[11] Instead, it considers the limits of the survey instrument and incorporates them into a theoretically consistent framework (Zaller 1992) rather than forcing responses into "types" of anti-Americanism that are neither empirically nor theoretically justifiable.

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[11] In fact, in the analyses conducted in the chapter, it measures such nuance. Those who are more willing and/or capable of making such distinctions are correctly measured as less anti-American. Furthermore, this notion is theoretically consistent with the argument made in this chapter that anti-Americanism is not a dichotomous concept.

CHAPTER 3: THE SUBSTANTIVE IMPORTANCE OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

Now that we have developed and tested a theory regarding the nature of anti-Americanism, a logical question is "why does it matter"? In short, what substantive effects does anti-Americanism have? This chapter addresses the question by first exploring the effects of anti-Americanism on views about the role the U.S. should play in the world. Second, this chapter looks at the impact anti-Americanism has on geopolitical views regarding support for prominent geopolitical multi-national institutions, as well as support for one's own country as an international actor. Finally, this chapter explores the complex relationship anti-Americanism has on support for Europe, European defense, and the process of European integration. Several of these relationships defy "conventional" thinking about the effects of anti-Americanism.

Implications of Anti-Americanism for Foreign Policy Attitudes

That Europeans see the United States as a major player on the world stage is hardly a surprising revelation. Table 3.1 shows the results of a question asked in a 2002 survey of six European countries regarding the perceived influence of several countries, plus the EU (German Marshal Fund of the United States 2002). 88 percent of respondents scored the U.S. as 8, 9 or 10 in importance. No other international actor approached this score. Obviously, the prominent role of the United States on the world stage is salient. It is the world's only military superpower, spending over $370 billion on military expenditures in 2004, more than then next thirteen highest countries combined (Central Intelligence Agency 2006). The U.S. is also the world's largest economy, surpassing China, the world's most populous country, and the 25 member European Union. The U.S. is also very prominent in cultural influence and popular culture the world over. Its strength goes beyond mere military and economic capabilities into what Nye (2002; 2004) has termed "soft power," the ability to affect the behavior of others not through inducement or

Table 3.1 – Perceived influence of world actors

	U.S.	Russia	Germany	China	Great Britain	France	European Union
0	0.2	1.1	0.4	1.5	0.6	0.7	0.5
1	0.1	0.8	0.5	1.3	0.6	0.6	0.6
2	0.2	2.8	1.5	3.3	1.4	2.5	1.0
3	0.3	5.4	3.4	6.1	3.4	5.5	2.1
4	0.5	8.9	7.6	9.5	6.4	10.0	4.0
5	2.2	19.6	20.6	18.8	17.1	21.9	10.2
6	2.1	16.7	20.2	16.6	17.4	21.3	13.3
7	6.0	17.2	21.1	17.2	21.8	19.2	20.8
8	21.0	16.0	16.6	14.7	19.4	11.8	23.9
9	24.6	4.9	3.5	4.0	6.2	2.3	11.0
10	41.7	4.1	2.6	2.8	3.5	1.9	10.2

Question wording: "I would like to know how much influence you think each of the following countries has in the world. Please answer on a 0 to 10 scale; with 0 meaning it is not at all influential and 10 meaning it is extremely influential."

coercion, but because of the inherent desirability of action itself.[12] Given the prominent role of the U.S. on the world stage, one would expect anti-Americanism to have important effects on how people view global politics and the actions of the U.S. In establishing the substantive importance of anti-Americanism, it is interesting to look at the significant effects anti-Americanism has on attitudes regarding the world.

Anti-Americanism and Salience of the United States

A vast majority of the Europeans surveyed in six countries in 2002 rated the importance of the U.S. on the world stage very high. What effect does anti-Americanism have on this perception? Much of the literature suggests that anti-Americanism would be associated with an exaggerated estimate of the importance of the United States because of the role of envy and jealousy in stoking anti-American sentiments (Hollander 1992; Haseler 1985). Haseler (1985: 6) explicitly states that much of anti-Americanism is actually the result of "resentment and envy."

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[12] Regarding the influence of American culture, Cohen (2004: 54) writes: "Today, English is the lingua franca of the planet for everything from air traffic control to entertainment. U.S. universities dominate in higher education, while low- and middle-brow American culture floods a planet that simultaneously loathes and embraces Spielberg, Starbucks, and MTV. American music, food, idiom, work styles, and manners are inescapable."

In discussing the contemporary role of the United States as the world's main military and cultural power, Zakaria (2002) argues that one important source of anti-Americanism stems from the fact that it is so powerful, and that the very notion of its existence in this capacity makes it an obvious and natural target for negative sentiment.

The theory and findings of the previous chapter suggest a different dynamic. Accepting the importance of maintaining cognitive consistency, one would expect that anti-Americanism would actually be negatively associated with salience of the U.S. Respondents who are more anti-American should demonstrate a tendency to avoid psychological discomfort (see chapter 2). The idea of a powerful U.S. that plays a negative role in the world is psychologically distressing. Those who are more anti-American should tend to be driven by processes of cognitive consistency to evaluate the U.S. as less important. Therefore, there should be a negative relationship with anti-Americanism and perceived salience of the U.S. on the world stage.

Table 3.2 shows the results of a multivariate OLS regression using data from the cited 2002 survey of six European countries, with perceived importance of the United States as the dependent variable. As expected, anti-Americanism shows a strong and significant negative relationship to the perceived importance of the U.S. Furthermore, looking at the standardized coefficients we see that anti-Americanism also seems to have the greatest substantive impact of any of the variables included in the analysis. Age and gender also appear to have important effects on the perceived salience of the U.S., with older people and women viewing the U.S. as less important on the world stage. It is likely that younger people are more prone to give the U.S. credit for having cultural influence through popular media and pop culture trends. Those classifying themselves as more conservative politically also tend to view the U.S. as less important. In relation to France, which acts as the reference country in this analysis, British and

Table 3.2 – Ordinary least squares regression predicting perceived influence of the USA

	Unstandardized Coefficients	Std. Error	Standardized Coefficients
Anti-Americanism	-.069	.007**	-.134
Age Cohort	-.081	.011**	-.093
Female	-.092	.035*	-.033
Ideology (Right higher)	-.053	.014*	-.048
Great Britain	.118	.062	.032
Netherlands	-.112	.061	-.030
Italy	.353	.061**	.094
Poland	-.148	.061*	-.040
Germany	-.091	.061	-.024
Intercept	9.757	.099**	

Adj R Square: .045

Dependent Variable: "I would like to know how much influence you think each of the following countries has in the world. Please answer on a 0 to 10 scale; with 0 meaning it is not at all influential and 10 meaning it is extremely influential." (All "don't know" and non-cooperative responses were coded 5.)
** Signifies significance <.001 level two tailed
* Signifies significance <.01 level two tailed.
France serves as reference category.
N = 5,991

Italians perceive the U.S. as being more important, while Poles perceives the U.S. as less important. It appears that in order to avoid psychological discomfort associated with accepting that the U.S. plays a prominent role in the world, those with high levels of anti-Americanism tend to view the U.S. as a less important actor in the world.

Though the present finding is hardly definitive, its implication is intriguing for perceptions of the U.S. and its influence. One popular argument among conservatives in the United States that tend to downplay apparent increases of anti-American sentiment around the world is, "they might not like us, but they respect us." The present analysis suggests just the opposite is the case – the less the U.S. is liked the less important it is perceived to be. This is not to suggest that the perceived importance and influence of the U.S. in the world is likely to lessen to any significant degree. A glance back at Table 3.1 is reassuring in this regard. However, it

does suggest than increases of anti-Americanism will have important implications for how mass public will look at the U.S. as an important actor on the world stage, and the more that people do not like what they see, the less seriously they will take the U.S.

Anti-Americanism and International Institutions

Another important area to observe effects of anti-Americanism is in support for international institutions, particularly those where a respondent's country shares membership with the United States. How should anti-Americanism relate to views about such international institutions? Once again, conventional theories, often espoused by conservatives in the United States, would suggest that anti-Americanism would be likely to increase support for many, or even all international institutions. The reason is that groups in which the U.S. is a part, particularly the United Nations, are likely to be seen as a check on U.S. power (Kagan 2002; Huntington 1999).[13] Insofar as international organizations are likely to thwart, or at least slow down, efforts by the U.S. to exercise its power, then anti-Americanism should increase support for these organizations.

We posit that the effects of anti-Americanism on support for international institutions will have a different relationship. After all, international institutions have been used to justify international actions led by the United States, such as Kosovo in 1999 (NATO) and the first Gulf War in 1991 (UN). Moreover, advocates favoring invading Iraq used the United Nations, itself based in New York City, as a pulpit of sorts for pushing through Security Council Resolution 1441, which called on Iraq to cooperate with weapons inspectors of face "serious consequences" (United Nations 2002). An especially cynical interpretation of the actions of the United States leading up to the 2003 invasion of Iraq includes the possibility that the U.S. actually used the

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[13] This could apply to other international institutions as well. The World Trade Organization, for example, has ruled against U.S. action regarding issues such as steel tariffs and internet gambling.

United Nations' inspection process disingenuously to provide intelligence on military capability and to disarm Iraq in order to soften the country for invasion (Roy 2004). Indeed, Iraq was actively in the process of destroying Al Samoud 2 missiles, surface to air artillery found in violation of range limitations imposed by the Security Council, when the U.S. and its allies invaded. For these reasons we should expect that the more anti-Americanism one demonstrates, the more one should tend to oppose international institutions as a whole.

The 2002 Worldviews data from six European countries again, reveal the effects of anti-Americanism on support for various international institutions, including NATO, the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations. The results of the analyses of these data are presented on Table 3.3. The effect of anti-Americanism on support for each of the institutions is both negative and highly statistically significant in each of the models. Consistent with expectations, in each case anti-Americanism is associated with lower support for the international institution in question. It is telling that of all the variables, anti-Americanism is the only one that behaves consistently, with the control variables have varying effects from model to model. Older people appear to be less supportive of NATO and the United Nations, age does not appear to have much of an effect onperceptions of the other institutions. Gender also does not appear to have much an effect, with the exception of United Nations, which women appear to oppose strengthening more than men. Conservative ideology seems to be associated with more support for NATO and the WTO, and with opposition to strengthening the UN. Not surprisingly, the British, Germans and Dutch seem to believe NATO remains much more essential than the French, with no noticeable difference for the Italians and Poles. Also not surprising, is the finding that, with the exception of Poland, all countries support the strengthening of the UN more than the French. Other notable country effects include the

Table 3.3 – Binary logistic regression predicting effects on support for international institutions

	WTO[a]	NATO[a]	NATO[b]	World Bank[a]	IMF[a]	United Nations[a]
Anti-Americanism	-.074**	-.138**	-.150**	-.079**	-.098**	-.069**
Age Group	.008	-.070**	-.063**	.0	.001	-.119**
Female	-.075	.057	-.130	-.094	-.013	-.221**
Ideology	.061*	.098**	.080**	.033	.033	-.073*
Great Britain	-.046	.035	.547**	-.146	-.530**	.677**
Netherlands	.468**	-.058	.517**	.145	-.223	.447**
Italy	.294*	-.183	.148	.304*	.387*	.743**
Poland	-.359**	.201	.026	-.007	-.486**	.061
Germany	-.133	-.058	.516**	-.270	-.805**	.425**
Intercept	.565**	1.209**	1.408**	.549*	.880**	1.977**
Cox and Snell R square	.029	.042	.053	.021	.049	.031
n	6001	6001	6001	3043^	2958^	6001

Dependent Variable:
a – "Some say that because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen international institutions to deal with shared problems. Others say this would only create bigger, unwieldy bureaucracies. For each of the following institution, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not." Answers indicating "Yes, need to strengthened" are coded 1, "No, don't need to be strengthened," don't know, and refusals are coded 0.
b – "Some people say that NATO is still essential to our country (sic) security. Others say it is no longer essential. Which of these views is closer to your own?" Answers indicating "still essential" are coded 1, "no longer essential" don't know and refusals are coded 0.
^ – Respondents were randomly assigned one question or the other.
** Signifies significance <.001 level one tailed
* Signifies significance <.01 level one tailed.
France serves as reference category in all analyses.

Dutch being highly supportive of the WTO, the Italians tending to support the IMF and World

Bank more than other countries, the Poles showing less support for the WTO and IMF than other

countries, and the Germans and British showing low support for the IMF.

Once again, our main expectation regarding the effects of anti-Americanism is met. The more anti-American one is, the less likely that person is to demonstrate support for international institutions with which he/she shares membership with the United States. The implications of these results are hardly trivial. Anti-Americanism affects not only how mass publics view the importance of the U.S., but also seemingly willingness to disengage from the United States in the world's most powerful institutions, or at the very least to withhold support for strengthening these institutions. It is not yet clear, however, if the effects of anti-Americanism tend to lead to a more isolated worldview, or if anti-Americanism leads to publics supporting international institutions and arrangements that exclude the U.S.

Anti-Americanism: A Source of Isolationism or Support for Transatlantic Disengagement?

One would expect anti-Americanism to have important implications for views on domestic military policies. Given the results of the above analyses, we cannot yet rule out that anti-Americanism might lead respondents to support increased independence from the U.S. in all areas, including military independence. If the public were to take increases in military spending as establishing independence, then we would expect support for domestic military spending to have a positive relationship with anti-Americanism. However, there are competing logics at play here. Considering that the focus of this project is on allies of the United States (European countries), we must consider another possibility. Increases in military spending may themselves be construed within the context of a country's alliance with the U.S. and actually to help the U.S. and its agenda. If this is the case, then we would expect anti-Americanism to be negatively associated with support for increases domestic military spending.

Because the countries being studied are allies of the United States, we would expect associations with military expenditures to be associated with support for the U.S. Using the data

from the 2002 Worldviews survey, Table 3.4 shows the results of a binary logistic regression

analysis on views of military spending. Overall, the results support the hypothesis that anti-

Americanism is associated with less support for military spending. The relationship in a pooled

analysis of all six countries is negative and highly statistically significant. This relationship

appears to hold up across all countries as well, with the exception of Poland, where the

relationship remains negative but loses statistical significance. It is interesting and perhaps

illustrative of a Cold War legacy that in all of the Western European countries that are U.S.

allies, anti-Americanism is associated with less support for domestic military spending.

Meanwhile, in the one country that was on the other side in the Cold War, anti-Americanism

apparently has no relationship on support for increased military spending. The only other

consistent effect is that of ideology, where with the exception of the Netherlands, self

identification with the right has a consistently positive effect on support for more military

spending. In the pooled analysis, older people seem to support more military spending in general,

though this relationship does not appear to be consistently significant across countries,

demonstrating modest significance in Italy.

Perceptions of national involvement in world affairs could also be affected by anti-

Americanism. The degree to which this is the case should be affected by the perceived strength

of a country's relationship with the United States. If a country is seen as particularly close to the

U.S., then anti-Americanism should be associated with less willingness to engage in world

affairs. With the possible exception of France, all of the countries studied have traditionally

strongly supported U.S. foreign policy. And even relatively lukewarm France has been a U.S.

ally in the "war on terror," actively participating in the 2001 invasion of Taliban-controlled

Afghanistan. In so far as anti-Americanism may not affect how one feels about taking an active

Table 3.4 – Binary logistic regression predicting support for increasing domestic military spending

	All countries	Great Britain	Nether-lands	Italy	Poland	Germany	France
Anti-Americanism	-.084***	-.085**	-.128*	-.104**	-.024	-.182***	-.074**
Age Group	.057**	.082	.021	.136*	.076	.033	-.024
Female	-.049	-.075	-.122	-.143	-.308*	-.176	.480**
Ideology	.208***	.138*	.064	.255**	.115*	.391***	.310***
Great Britain	-.383***						
Netherlands	-1.841***						
Italy	-1.166***						
Poland	.672***						
Germany	-.959***						
Intercept	-1.417***	-1.582***	-2.23***	-2.927***	-.645*	-2.502***	-1.95***
Cox and Snell R square	.109	.020	.007	.032	.017	.044	.060
N	6001	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1001

Dependent variable:
"Now I am going to read a list of government programs. For each, I'd like you to tell me whether you feel it should be expanded, cut back or kept about the same." Those indicating support for expanding military spending are coded 1, all other responses are coded 0.
*** Indicates significance at <.001 two tailed
** Indicates significance at <.01 two tailed
* Indicates significance at <.05 two tailed
France serves as the reference category in the first analysis.

role in the world, we would expect to see less of a relationship in France.

Again using the 2002 Worldviews data, Table 3.5 shows the results of a bivariate logistic regression testing the effect of anti-Americanism on attitudes towards engagement in world affairs. In all of the analyses anti-Americanism has a positive effect on disengagement in world affairs. The relationship is highly significant in the combined analysis, and in four of the six country analyses. In two countries the relationship is not significant. That the relations is not

Table 3.5 – Binary logistic regression predicting support for country staying out of world affairs

	All countries	Great Britain	Nether-lands	Italy	Poland	Germany	France
Anti-Americanism	.111***	.150***	.030	.168***	.180***	.136***	.029
Age Group	.025	-.030	.038	.161*	.010	.064	-.046
Female	.120	.503**	-.122	.670*	-.058	.095	.089
Ideology	.131***	.220**	.242***	.069	.121	-.021	.107
Great Britain	.388**						
Netherlands	.883***						
Italy	-.428**						
Poland	.558***						
Germany	.859***						
Intercept	-3.427***	-3.656***	-2.435***	-4.793***	-3.11***	-2.224***	-2.5***
Cox and Snell R square	.039	.033	.016	.027	.028	.021	.003
N	6001	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1001

Dependent variable:
"Do you think it will be best for the future of [own country] if we take an active part in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs?"
Those indicating support for staying out of world affairs are coded 1, all other responses are coded 0.
*** Indicates significance at <.001 two tailed
** Indicates significance at <.01 two tailed
* Indicates significance at <.05 two tailed
France serves as the reference category in the first analysis.

significant in France is not surprising, given the fact that they do not have as strong of a

relationship with the U.S., as was discussed above. The lack of significance in the Netherlands is

more puzzling. Still, in all the other countries, the relationship behaved as expected, and anti-

Americanism seems to result in a tendency to want to disengage from world affairs. Overall, it

seems that of all the variables observed, only anti-Americanism has a consistent effect, though

ideology does show to be significant in the analysis of all six countries, with higher levels of conservatism associated with less willingness to engage in world affairs. It is likely that this result is driven mostly by Great Britain and the Netherlands, though the relationship is positive in all the countries except Germany. With the exception of gender in Italy and Britain (where women appear to be less willing to engage in world affairs) and age in Italy (where older people appear to be less willing), none of the other variables have a significant effect.

Is it the case, then, that anti-Americanism leads to greater isolationism? Not necessarily. So far we cannot determine if anti-Americanism results in sentiments of isolationism, or if it instead leads to a tendency to support a worldview that seeks only non-cooperation with the United States. This explains the case of French anti-Americanism not being related to less willingness to engage in world affairs as a country in the analysis in Table 3.5. If this is that case we would expect anti-Americanism negatively to affect security relationships and alliances that explicitly include the U.S., but to the degree that Europeans still want to have alliances with other countries, anti-Americanism should positively affect those alliances. Furthermore, anti-Americanism should lead to some isolationism. To clarify, as anti-Americanism increases, respondents should tend to not support transatlantic military alliances (NATO), with that support going to alliances that exclude the U.S. (a strictly European security policy) and a more isolationist approach (support for disengagement from all such alliances). Eurobarometers 58.1 and 59.1 ask a question about preference of military alliance, whether one supports defense decisions to be made by NATO, the European Union, or one's national government. Table 3.6 shows the results of a multinomial logistic regression. The results are consistent with previous findings and give a clear confirmation of expectations. Increases in anti-Americanism clearly draws support away from NATO, with that support going most likely to an EU-led defense

Table 3.6 – Multinomial logistic regression predicting preferences for alternatives to NATO for defense policy making

Decisions concerning European defense policy should be taken by ...	National governments		The European Union		Other/don't know	
	Coefficient	(S.E.)	Coefficient	(S.E)	Coefficient	(S.E.)
Anti-Americanism	.106	(.029)*	.158	(.025)*	.011	(.030)
Ideology	-.007	(.016)	-.049	(.014)*	-.017	(.017)
Fear of WW3	.131	(.064)	.016	(.056)	.531	(.070)*
Fear of WMD	-.009	(.069)	.040	(.061)	-.127	(.075)
Fear of terrorism	-.231	(.074)*	-.07	(.066)	-.454	(.081)*
Nationalism	.218	(.041)*	-.178	(.034)*	.164	(.046)*
View of EU	-.217	(.033)*	.297	(.03)*	-.318	(.034)*
Spring 2003 dummy	.378	(.054)*	.502	(.048)*	.408	(.059)*
Intercept	1.96	(.293)*	1.73	(.274)*	1.02	(.308)*
Number of weighted cases	32,381					
Pseudo R square	.074					

Dependent variable: "In your opinion, should decisions concerning European defence policy be taken by national government, by NATO or by the European Union?" Possible responses: "National governments," "NATO" (reference category), "The European Union." All other responses were coded in a separate category.
 * Indicates significance at < .01 level two tailed.
Coefficients for country dummies not shown

arrangement, or alternately, and not immaterially, a more isolationist stance where one's country leads defense arrangements. Therefore, anti-Americanism can and does lead to greater isolationist attitudes, but more likely it leads to continued support for a military alliance, just one that does not include the United States.

The tables also show that conservative political ideology leads to less support for and EU-led defense policy as compared to support for NATO, but has no other significant effects (meaning ideology does not make a difference in choosing between NATO and a more isolationist approach). It seems fear of weapons of mass destruction has no discernable effects, nor does fear of another world war, other than making one unsure about what security option to embrace. Fear of terrorism does appear to have an effect of increasing isolationism as well as making one unsure, as do feelings of nationalism, which also lead to opposition to EU-led

defense. Unsurprisingly, support for the EU has the opposite effect as nationalism. Also, during

the Iraq war, there was less overall support for NATO across the board, demonstrating that the

invasion of Iraq had an immediate negative effect on support for the transatlantic alliance.

The 2002 Worldviews study also asked if the U.S. should remain the only superpower, or

if the EU should become a superpower like the U.S. Again, we would expect anti-Americanism

to affect responses to this question, and to be positively associated with embracing a position

other than the U.S. remaining the world's lone superpower. Table 3.7 shows the results of a

Table 3.7 – Multinomial logistic regression predicting preferences for alternative to the United States being the sole superpower

…which statement comes closer to your position about the United States and the European Union?	EU should be SP		There should be no SP		Other/don't know	
	Coefficient	(S.E.)	Coefficient	(S.E)	Coefficient	(S.E.)
Anti-Americanism	.182	(.019)*	.314	(.021)*	.252	(.03)*
Age Group	-.125	(.027)*	.014	(.031)	.138	(.046)*
Female	.477	(.085)*	.527	(.10)*	.584	(.146)*
Ideology	-.199	(.036)*	-.278	(.043)*	-.148	(.061)
Great Britain	-2.074	(.201)*	-.024	(.262)	-.364	(.319)
Netherlands	-1.560	(.210)*	.772	(.265)*	-.247	(.333)
Italy	-.641	(.225)*	1.053	(.282)*	-1.305	(.471)*
Poland	-1.557	(.209)*	.389	(.268)	.174	(.321)
Germany	-2.491	(.20)*	.038	(.257)	-.965	(.324)*
Intercept	3.329	(.287)*	-.893	(.356)	-2.15	(.480)*
Number of weighted cases	6,001					
Pseudo R square	.177					

Dependent variable: "In thinking about international affairs, which statement comes closer to your position about the United States and the European Union?" Possible responses: "The US should remain the only superpower" (reference category). "The European Union should become a superpower, like the United States." "No country should be a superpower [volunteered]." All other responses were coded in a separate category.
* Indicates significance at < .01 level two tailed.
Coefficients for country dummies not shown

multinomial logistic regression. Once again, the results confirm expectations and are consistent

with previous findings. Anti-Americanism decreases support for the U.S. being the sole

superpower, while increasing support for the EU becoming a superpower, or alternately for neither the EU nor the U.S. being a superpower.

Indeed, anti-Americanism is more likely to result in support for the notion that neither the U.S. nor the EU should be a superpower. Running the same multinomial logistic analysis using support for the EU becoming a superpower as the baseline shows a positive and highly significant relationship of anti-Americanism on support for neither the U.S. nor the EU becoming a superpower. Unlike the previous analysis in Table 3.6, respondents are not asked explicitly to exclude the U.S. This relationship is further evidenced by the fact that of the 65.4 percent of respondents who expressed support for the EU becoming a superpower like the U.S., 56.7% of this majority responded that the EU should become a superpower primarily in order to assist the U.S. with international problems! It is highly likely, then, that unless explicitly prompted, Europeans associate the EU as working with the United States (and for good historical reason). More than anything, anti-Americanism tends to lead people to want a world without the U.S. or its probable ally, the EU, as a superpower, a response option that was not even offered by the survey, but nonetheless was voluntarily given by 17.6 percent of respondents! This relationships is also reflected in the effect anti-Americanism has on eliciting other voluntary alternative responses along with being unsure how to respond (which represents 4.5 percent of the respondents).

Age had a negative effect on support for the EU as a superpower and a positive effect on responding "don't know" or giving an alternate response other than not supporting any superpower. Women appear to universally want an alternate approach to the U.S. being the sole superpower. Self-identified conservatism is consistently associated with more support for the U.S. remaining the only superpower, having a negative relationship at or approaching

significance across the analysis. Interestingly, though unsurprisingly, all the country level effects show that the French have the highest level of support for the EU becoming a superpower. The Dutch and Italians were more than members of other countries likely to voluntarily express opposition to any superpower, with the German and Poles being more likely to express confusion or to give some alternate response.

Anti-Americanism and Support for the EU

A cursory look at the previous analyses on Tables 3.6 and 3.7 might prompt one to believe that being anti-American makes one pro-European. After all, anti-Americanism has a positive and statistically significant relationship with support for a defense arrangement with the EU as the major actor, as well as with support for the EU becoming a superpower rivaling the United States. Closer inspection, however, may suggest that the relationship between attitudes about the U.S. and the EU are not as simple as this relationship. The previous analyses involved perception of expansion of the EU's power, not attitudes about the EU itself. The historical reality is that not only have the U.S. and the EU been allies, but the United States has promoted the process of economic and political integration on the continent over the past half century. As noted above, the U.S. has traditionally been an outspoken advocate of this process. From the early days of integration starting with the European Coal and Steal Community, the support of the U.S. in this regard has been consistent. This support was mainly an artifact of the Cold War, though since then both the Clinton and G.W. Bush administrations have supported the "widening" of the EU to many of the former communist countries of Eastern Europe, and has continued most recently with the administration of George W. Bush and its promotion of Turkey for membership in the EU.

Rather than propose that the EU is a natural source of object for anti-Americans who want an alternate geopolitical reality, we advocate a much more simple position. It is much more likely that those demonstrating more anti-Americanism will actually be less prone to be pro-European. The reason for this is simple: the EU and the United States are, and continue to be (by all reasonable accounts) strong allies. Because of this, we should expect that anti-Americanism will actually be negatively associated with support for the EU.

The Worldviews 2002 data, as well as asking about attitudes about the U.S., asked the same set of questions about the European Union. Using the same questions, a measure of "pro-Europeanism" will be operationalized similarly to the anti-Americanism measure,[14] only reverse coded. This measure of pro-Europeanism is used as the dependent variable in an ordinary least squares regression analysis. The results on Table 3.8. are consistent with expectations. Anti-Americanism has both a substantively strong and statistically significant negative relationship with support for the EU. It appears that despite what a cursory analysis of Tables 3.6 and 3.7 would suggest, anti-Americanism does not result in support for the EU itself when it is the explicit object of evaluations. Among the controls, while it appears gender does not have much of an effect on EU support, conservatism and age are both associated with less support for the EU. All of the national effects with the exception of Italy are negative, indicating that except for the Italians, the French have the highest levels of support for the EU. Not surprisingly, the traditionally Euroskeptic British and the newest EU citizens from Poland are the least supportive of the EU.[15]

Eurobarometer 60.1 conducted in the fall of 2003 asked for the first time a series of questions about various policies of the EU, just as previous Eurobarometers had done with the

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[14] See chapter 2.

[15] Though the results are not shown, the main substantive results are consistent analyzing country by country.

Table 3.8 – Ordinary least squares regression predicting pro-Europeanism

	Unstandardized Coefficients	Std. Error	Standardized Coefficients
Anti-Americanism	-.261	.012*	-.266
Age Cohort	-.083	.019*	-.050
Female	.035	.061	.007
Ideology (Right higher)	-.171	.025*	-.081
Great Britain	-1.981	.106*	-.279
Netherlands	-.445	.105*	-.063
Italy	.747	.106*	.105
Poland	-2.089	.105*	-.294
Germany	-1.062	.105*	-.150
Intercept	13.418	.170*	

Adj. R Square: .212

Dependent Variable: pro-European score derived from adding: "From your point of view, how desirable is that the European Union exert strong leadership in world affairs? Very desirable (coded 4), somewhat desirable (3), somewhat undesirable (2), or very undesirable (1)?" (All other responses are coded 2.5.) Plus "Next I'd like you to rate your feeling toward some countries, with one hundred meaning a very warm, favourable feeling, zero meaning a very cold, unfavourable feeling, and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred. If you have no opinion or have never heard of that country, please say so… Feelings towards European Union." (Scores ranging 0-10 are coded as 1, 11-20 as 2, 21-30 as 3, 31-40 as 4, 41-50 and those answering don't know and no opinion as 5, 51-60 as 6, 61-70 as 7, 71-80 as 8, 81-90 as 9, 91- 100 as 10.)
* Signifies significance <.001 level two tailed.
France serves as reference category.
N = 6,001

United States in versions 58.1 and 59.1. Table 3.9 shows the results of a principle component factor analysis using these items. The results are strikingly similar to those of Table 2.4, and extracting these results can yield a continuous measure of pro-Europeanism[16] which again allows us to observe the effects of anti-Americanism. However, this Eurobarometer reveals the effects of various other positions about the EU, such as evaluations of how well EU democracy works, the perceived benefits the EU has for the respondent's country, levels of support for the project of European political unification, and how proud the respondent feels to be European. Once again, we would expect that anti-Americanism would have a negative impact on pro-European

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[16] As in the analysis on Table 3.9 the variables are reverse coded from the analysis on Table 2.4.

Table 3.9 – Principle component factor analysis

And in your opinion, would you say that the European Union tends to play a positive role, a negative role or neither a positive nor a negative role regarding…?	
Peace in the world	.761
The fight against terrorism	.771
Growth of the world economy	.759
The fight against poverty in the world	.804
Protection of the environment	.764

Eigenvalue: 2.98
Variance explained: 59.6%
No other factors loaded with an Eigenvalue over 1.
n = 16,082
Positive responses are coded 1, negative responses coded –1, and all others are coded 0.

sentiments, even when introducing these controls. The results, presented on Table 3.10, show

that anti-Americanism appears to be strongly and negatively associated with pro-European

attitudes. Additionally, in a model including four controls for possible sources of pro-

Europeanism, anti-Americanism has the strongest substantive effect according to the

standardized coefficient. One must consider the possibility that despite the significance of all the

variables in the full model, the inclusion of all the pro-EU control variables might introduce

some noise into the model, tending to make the effects of anti-Americanism look comparatively

greater. Logically, the effects of support for EU democracy, perception of EU benefit, support

for political unification, and pride in being European, should have more effect on support for the

EU than anti-Americanism. And they do, but not much more according to the other models.

Impressively, even when running separate analyses in which only one of the controls were

included, the substantive effect of anti-Americanism still rival each of the pro-EU controls when

looked at individually.

The effects of ideology and gender are consistent throughout the model, though only

sporadically significant. Women appear to be less pro-European that men, with gender having a

significant impact in four of the five models. Ideology does not show significance except in one

of the models, where self-identified conservatives appear to be less pro-European. The country

dummies are not shown, though many of their effects were not significant and the substantive

effects were generally not robust.

Table 3.10 –Ordinary least squares regression predicting pro-Europeanism

	Coefficient (standard error) *Standardized beta*				
Anti-Americanism	-0.208 (0.007)** *-0.208*	-0.245 (0.008)** *-0.245*	-0.248 (0.008)** *-0.248*	-0.220 (0.008)** *-0.220*	-0.238 (0.008)** *-0.238*
EU benefited country	0.241 (0.017)** *0.12*	0.538 (0.015)* *0.269*			
Support European political union	0.251 (0.016)** *0.125*		0.538 (0.015)** *0.269*		
Satisfaction with EU democracy	0.25 (0.011)** *0.177*			0.420 (0.011)** *0.297*	
Proud to be European	0.183 (0.01)** *0.144*				0.335 (0.010)** *0.263*
Ideology (right higher)	-0.007 (0.004) *-0.013*	-0.006 (0.004) *-0.011*	-0.006 (0.004) *-0.011*	-0.009 (0.004)* *-0.016*	-0.007 (0.004) *-0.012*
Gender	-0.028 (0.014)* *-0.014*	-0.027 (0.015) *-0.014*	-0.031 (0.015)* *-0.015*	-0.071 (0.014)** *-0.035*	-0.069 (0.015)** *-0.034*
Intercept	-1.46 (.046)**	-0.392 (0.037)	-0.393 (0.037)	-1.101 (0.044)	-0.994 (0.044)
R Square	.229	.149	.151	.168	.150

Dependent variable: Pro-Europeanism from factor score extracted from analysis on Table 3.9
n = 16,082
** Indicates significance at <.001 two tailed
* Indicates significance at <.05 two tailed

Anti-Americanism and European Integration

Anti-Americanism clearly decreases general support for the EU, or pro-Europeanism. At this point, one important question presents itself. What effect does it have on support for the process of European political integration itself? Perhaps we have found a new important factor which affects support for European integration.

Support for European integration has been the subject of much research. Inglehart and his colleagues found that "post acquisitive" value changes lead one to reject more nationalist sentiments and embrace wider identities, leading to greater support for European integration (Inglehart 1970; 1971; Inglehart, Rabier and Reif 1987). Gabel (1998) and Tucker, Pacek and Berinski (2002) show that support for European integration largely depends on economic conditions. If a person benefits economically from integration, he or she is more likely to support it. Eichenberg and Dalton (1993) show that aggregate level objective economic conditions lead to greater overall support for European integration. Rohrschneider (2002) demonstrates that the perception of the EU as a democratic institution increases support for the integration process, while Sanchez-Cuenca (2000) comes to the similar conclusion that the "gap" in transparency and clean government between one's national government and the EU lead to support for the integration process in the form favoring the current pace of integration. None of the literature, however, has focused on attitudes towards Europe's ally, the United States, as a possible source for support for the process of European integration. We have seen that anti-Americanism adversely affects general support for the EU, or "pro-Europeanism." What role does anti-Americanism play in support for the process of European integration?

While many of the analyses above do not directly address this question, they are suggestive. First, Europeans clearly associate support for the United States with overall attitudes

about the EU and its role in the world (Tables 3.8 and 3.10). However, anti-Americanism does

not preclude support for the process of European integration on the security front, insofar as the

process empowers the EU and not the United States (Table 3.7), with the effects becoming

stronger and even more pronounced when the United States is explicitly excluded at the expense

of European security empowerment (Table 3.6).

Barring the explicit exclusion of the United States, however, anti-Americanism should be

negatively associated with support for the general political process that is European integration.

However, when controlling for the perceived effects of economic benefit, political desirability

(democracy), and values consistent with being European, these effects may drop out. In short,

there should be nuances in the relationship between anti-Americanism and support for European

integration, specifically when other sources of support for integration that should correlate

strongly with anti-Americanism are controlled for. Table 3.11 presents a correlation matrix from

data from Eurobarometer 60.1 that includes anti-Americanism and traditional sources of support

Table 3.11 – Correlation matrix

	Country benefited from EU membership	Satisfaction with EU democracy	European Pride
Anti-Americanism	-0.05	-0.13	-0.095
EU benefited country		0.357	0.29
Satisfaction with EU democracy			0.322
Proud to be European			

All relationships significant at < .000000001 level (two tailed)
n = 16,082

for European integration cited in the relevant literature. While some of the coefficients may appear less than robust, all of the relationships are highly significant ($p < 1.0*10^{-9}$ two tailed for all relationships). It is likely that support for European integration is led mainly by these other variables, and not anti-Americanism. This would suggest that despite the historical support of the U.S. for the project of European integration, European still evaluate the process separately from the U.S.

If, however, anti-Americanism continues to have an effect even when controlling for these factors that the literature states are key to support for integration, we will have made a significant discovery of a new source of support for the process of European integration. Using data from Eurobarometer 60.1, Table 3.12 shows results of logistic regression analysis. The model with minimal controls behaves as expected. Anti-Americanism appears to be strongly associated with rejection of European political unification. The model including variables for traditional sources of integration shows, just as the integration literature suggests, perception of benefit from membership in the EU, support for EU democracy, and pride in being European are all positively associated with support for European political unification. When these sources are controlled for, however, effects of anti-Americanism drop out, not even approaching acceptable levels of significance ($p = .493$ two tailed). It appears, then, that any relationship between anti-Americanism and European integration is spurious, and that support for European integration is not directly affected by attitudes toward the United States.

Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter has sought to answer the "so what?" question about anti-Americanism. That is, why is anti-Americanism important? Several important effects of anti-Americanism have been highlighted. First, true to the notion that people will seek to maintain cognitive consistency to

Table 3.12 – Logistic regression predicting support for European political integration

Anti-Americanism	-.123*	.014
Country benefited from EU membership		1.442*
Satisfaction with EU democracy		.692*
European Pride		.496*
Ideology	-.008	-.011
Gender	-.357*	-.293*
Intercept	.256*	-3.489*
Pseudo R square	.085	.271
n	16,082	16,082

Dependent variable: "Are you, yourself, for or against the development towards a European political union?" Responses indicating "for" were coded 1, with "against" and all other responses coded 0.

avoid psychological discomfort associated with incompatible attitudes, anti-Americanism appears to be strongly associated with less salience of the U.S. as a world actor. The more anti-American one is, the less likely she is to see the U.S. as a powerful actor on the geopolitical stage.

Anti-Americanism also appears to be associated with rejection of international institutions that include both one's country and the U.S. The more anti-American one is, the more he rejects mainstream multi-national political institutions such as the UN, WTO, IMF, the World Bank, and NATO. Also, there appears to be a strong relationship between anti-Americanism and an expressed interest in staying out of world affairs among U.S. allies.

There also appears to be some link between anti-Americanism and general EU support, which is logical considering the traditional position of the United States toward the EU and the project of European integration, and that America and Europe have been and remain strong allies. Simply put, anti-Americanism decreases pro-Europeanism. It appears, however, that these negative effects of anti-Americanism do not apply to support for the process of European political integration itself, of which the United States is not a part. When controlling for sources of support for European integration cited in the relevant literature, the effects of anti-Americanism drop out. Furthermore, with regards to security arrangements explicitly excluding the United States (such as security and foreign policy coordination including only EU countries), anti-Americanism has a positive effect.

The relationship between support for Europe and support for America is thus highly contextual. Insofar as one sees the EU as working with and for the interests of the United States, it appears that anti-Americanism has a strong and negative effect on overall support of the EU and European integration. However, when the United States is not conflated with the interests of Europe, the effects of anti-Americanism appear to drop out. Furthermore, when the U.S. is explicitly excluded and involved a change in status quo, anti-Americanism leads to support for Europeanization (as is the case for choose in European foreign and security policy over NATO).

All in all, anti-Americanism does matter. Negative attitudes about the United States affect a spectrum of different attitudes, none of which are inconsequential. The countries of Europe are, after all, democracies, and recent trends have seen the more democratic institutions of the EU (such as the European Parliament) become more and more powerful. If anti-Americanism increases substantially, it could have dramatic impacts on the policies of the countries of Europe as well as those of the Union, not only toward the United States, but potentially toward some of

the most powerful international geopolitical multi-national actors, most likely in the form of disengagement.

How might such impacts, which could hardly be characterized as desirable, be averted? Now that important impacts of anti-Americanism on mass opinion have been explored, we must go on to explore some of the important sources of anti-Americanism. If we know what leads to anti-Americanism, perhaps it is possible to curtail some of the negative consequences. The next chapter will deal with the sources of anti-Americanism.

CHAPTER 4: SOURCES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM

What important factors lead to anti-Americanism? There are several possible sources of anti-Americanism. One obvious source is ideology. Europeans, particularly those with much broader social welfare programs, will likely take issue with the United States on ideological bases. Possible sources of anti-Americanism also include other factors such as concerns about terrorism, another world war, and weapons of mass destruction as well as contextual political factors such as a traditionally strong communist party or a strong social welfare system most unlike that of the United States.
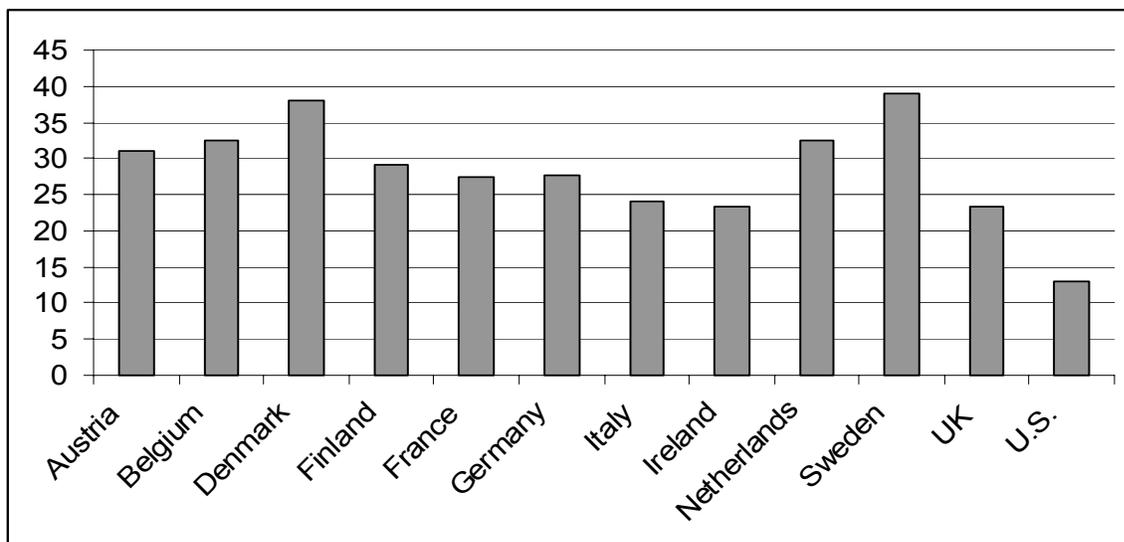
Ideology and Anti-Americanism

One obvious place to look for a source of anti-Americanism is to the political left. Domestically, many American political pundits and discussants associate the political left, or "liberalism" in the vernacular of the American political system, as being more prone to anti-Americanism. After all, leftists have much to take issue with regarding American policy, from environmental policy to issues surrounding social welfare. Obviously, this pattern is not perfectly transferred to the international stage, as seen by France's right-of-center President Chirac and his opposition to American policy toward Iraq, while Britain's left-of-center Tony Blair supported (and continues to support) the U.S. Yet, the United States, in many important ways, represents ideas and policies with which the political left in general has some specific grievances. These points of contention include international policies fostering the spread and development of global trade and relatively unrestricted capitalism, and a willingness to engage in unilateral military action when potential allies show hesitance, as well as recognition of America's domestic policies, such as a relatively weak social welfare system and the continued application of the death penalty. Figure 4.1 shows median voter scores from 1945-1998 for fifteen EU countries

and the United States as measured by Budge et al. (2001), with higher scores indicating more conservative tendencies. Figure 4.2 shows Esping-Andersen's (1991) decomodification scores, demonstrating the extensiveness of social welfare countries in eleven Western European countries and the U.S. In both Figures, the United States is clearly the outlier, demonstrating much greater association with the political right. Obviously European leftists have much to take issue with regarding the policies of the United States.
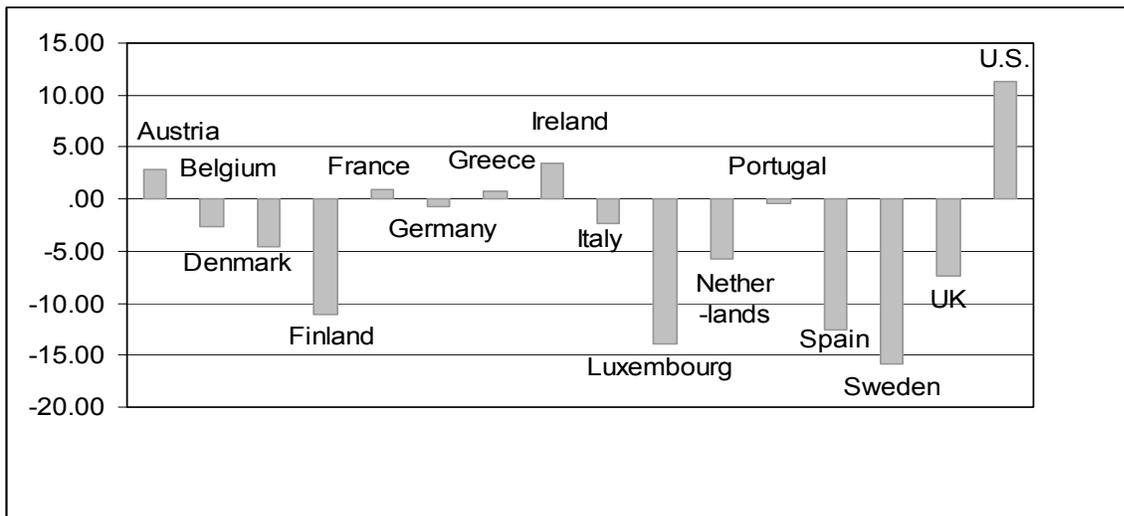
Source: Data from Budge et al (2001).
Figure 4.1 – Median voter position for Western European countries and the U.S.

Source: Data from Esping-Andersen (1991).
Figure 4.2 – Decomodification scores in 1980 for Western European countries and the U.S.

Observing the immediate effects of ideology on anti-Americanism is simple enough.
Each Eurobarometer contains a question where respondents are asked to place themselves on an
ideological scale from 1 (far left) to 10 (far right). Running an OLS regression using each
separate ideology score as a dichotomous variable will demonstrate the degree to which ideology
affects anti-Americanism when no other factors are taken into account. Running each ideology
score separately as a dummy variable also allows us to observe whether or not ideology has a
linear effect on anti-Americanism. The results are shown on Table 4.1. The analysis of 15 EU

Table 4.1 – Ordinary least squares regression predicting anti-Americanism

Ideology	Coefficient	Std error
1	0.377	*0.028****
2	0.425	*0.026****
3	0.319	*0.018****
4	0.173	*0.017****
5	0.023	*0.014**
6	-0.066	*0.017****
7	-0.119	*0.018****
8	-0.166	*0.02****
9	-0.218	*0.033****
10	-0.206	*0.031****
Constant	-.038	*.01****
Adj. R square	.027	
N	48,463	

Dependent variable: anti-Americanism
Standard error in italics.
*** indicates significance at <.001 one tailed
** indicates significance at <.01 one tailed
** indicates significance at <.05 one tailed
Refusals and those answering "don't know" serve as the reference group for these analyses.

countries shows there is a clear association with ideology and anti-Americanism. In fact, the effects of ideological self placement on anti-Americanism are so consistent that, aside from the most extreme scores, 1 and 10, the relationship is almost perfectly linear, and those most extreme scores so not appear to be extreme outliers, having scores relatively close to 2 and 9 respectively.

When running the same model for by country (not shown), however, we see that while a general pattern remains, this relationship does not hold up as well for every EU state. The relationship we see for the combined analysis, where ideology has an almost linear relationship with anti-Americanism, shows up strongly in some countries, and not at all in others. There are several possible explanations for this.

One explanation favors political history. Therefore, those countries with a historically strong communist party should be more likely to demonstrate a relationship where anti-Americanism is more clearly associated with ideology. The communist party, which supports strong state involvement in the economy and extensive social welfare, are in many ways antithetical to the United States. Figure 4.3, which shows the vote share of the communist party in each EU country from 1948 until 1988, reveals that support for the communist party was highest in Finland, France, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, and Portugal, equaling or surpassing an average of 10 percent of the vote in each of the countries. East Germany also obviously had a strong communist party during these years.

This historical argument should also be applicable where a right-wing dictatorship was supported by the United States that those identifying with the left will be more anti-American. We would therefore expect that anti-Americanism will have a stronger pattern of association with ideology in Portugal, Spain, and Greece, all of which had right wing, anti-communist dictatorships that were supported by the United States during the Cold War.
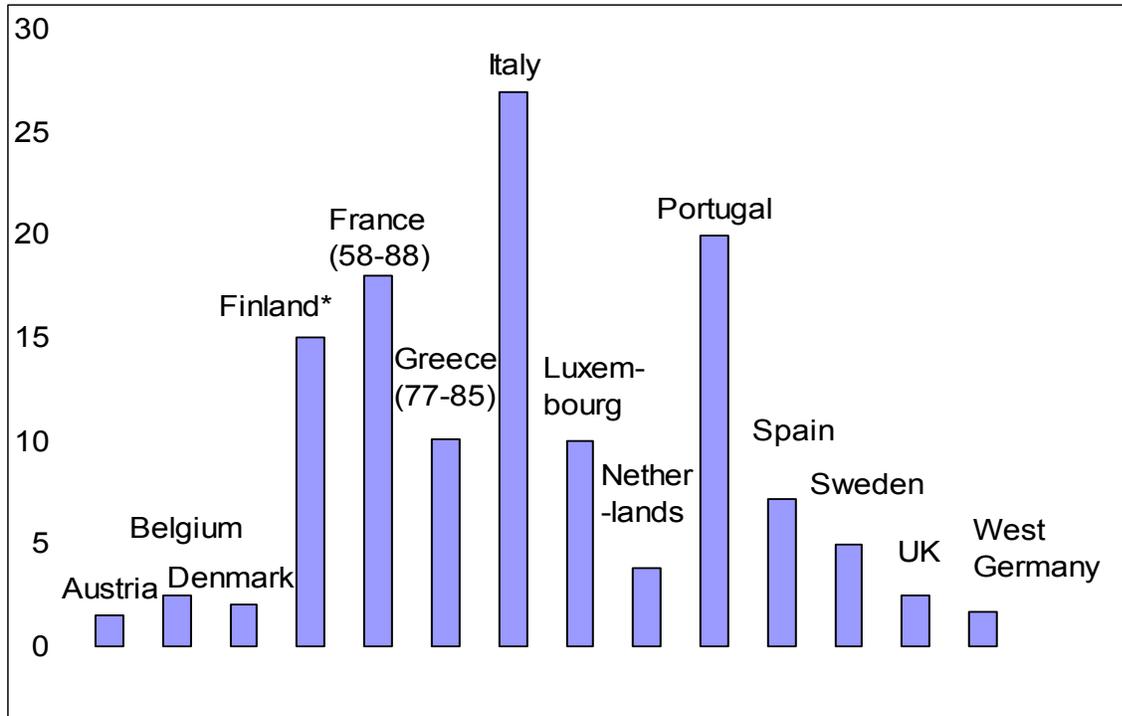
*Ran on election ballot of a coalition of leftist parties led by the Communist Party
Sources: Hauss (2000) for France. Gorvin (1989) for all other countries.
Figure 4.3 – Communist vote share from 1948-1988

Another possible explanation emphasizes domestic political opposition to a government

which supports the United States. While domestic political circumstances are dynamic, the

available data present an excellent opportunity to observe the domestic political effects of a

particularly salient case: the invasion of Iraq. Three Western European countries named by the

U.S. as members of the "coalition of the willing." Italy, Spain, and the Netherlands, had center-

right governing coalitions leading up to and during the invasion of Iraq that supported the U.S.[17]

Because of the general unpopularity of the invasion of Iraq in these countries, combined with the

tendency of opposition parties to oppose major policy initiatives of their rivals, particularly

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[17] The U.K. and Denmark, though members of the "coalition of the willing," were led by a center-left party and a center-left coalition respectively. We expect ideology not to affect anti-Americanism in these cases, since while respondents associating themselves with the left might otherwise demonstrate anti-Americanism based on a host of factors, such effects will be tempered by partisan and/or ideologically based support for the actions of their government. Furthermore, conservatives and right leading respondents will be, generally speaking, less prone to criticize the use of military force than left leaning counterparts.

controversial ones, we should expect anti-Americanism to be positively associated with ideology in Italy, Spain and the Netherlands.

A final possible explanation highlights the tradition of the social welfare state and how this tradition affects the relationship between ideology and anti-Americanism. The United States approaches what Esping-Andersen (1992) outlined as an ideal-typical "liberal welfare state," which is a state with an emphasis on market-oriented approaches to social welfare, where an individual's well being is shaped by, and dependent upon, market forces. Esping-Andersen also outlined the ideal-typical "social democratic welfare state," which is virtually the opposite of the liberal welfare state, emphasizing heavy state involvement in social welfare combined with decomodification, or the process by which the well-being of the individual is not contingent upon market forces. The states most closely resembling the social democratic welfare state model for which we have data are Sweden, Finland and Denmark. We expect ideology to be strongly associated with anti-Americanism in these countries.

We tested these relationships using the following OLS statistical model:

Anti-Americanism = a + b_1(ideology score) + b_2(strong communist party dummy) + b_3(U.S. supported right wing dictatorship dummy) + b_4(center-right led member of coalition invading Iraq dummy) + b_5 (social democratic welfare state dummy) + b_6(strong communist party*ideology interaction) + b_7(U.S. supported right wing dictatorship*ideology interaction) + b_8(center-right led member of coalition invading Iraq*ideology interaction) + b_9(social democratic welfare state*ideology interaction) + e

The interaction terms (b_6 through b_9) are of most theoretical interest in this model because they indicate the degree to which the effect of ideology varies according to the political

and historical context. This is not to deny ideology may have an effect independent of the

contextual effects of the interactions. Similarly, overall anti-Americanism may be higher in some

of the contexts outlined above. However, regardless of the independent effects of ideological self

placement and political/historical context, we should expect ideology to have a greater effect

where the context suggests ideology lends itself to a greater association with anti-Americanism

(as outlined above). Table 4.2 shows the results of this analysis. With the exception of ideology

Table 4.2 – Ordinary least squares regression predicting anti-Americanism

	Beta	S.E.	Standardized Beta
Ideology	-.047	.004***	-.084
Strong communist party during Cold War	.255	.029***	.126
Former U.S.-supported right wing dictatorship	.318	.037***	.124
Led by center-right government supporting Iraq invasion	.319	.035***	.125
Social democratic welfare state	.304	.036***	.119
Strong communist party * ideology interaction	-.015	.005**	-.041
Former U.S.-supported right wing dictatorship * ideology interaction	-.005	.007	-.011
Led by center-right government supporting Iraq invasion * ideology interaction	-.087	.006***	-.186
Social democratic welfare state * ideology interaction	-.061	.006***	-.142
Constant	.149	.024***	
Adjusted R square: .056			
n = 48,463			

Dependent Variable: anti-Americanism
*** indicates significance at <.001 one tailed
** indicates significance at <.01 one tailed
** indicates significance at <.05 one tailed

in former U.S. supported right wing dictatorships, all of the interaction variables show relationships that are statistically significant and in the hypothesized directions.[18] Ideology has an additional effect on anti-Americanism most noticeably where center-right governments support the U.S. in invading Iraq and in social democratic welfare states, though the additive effect in countries with a strong communist party tradition are also significant. In short, it appears that the specific historical and political traditions as well as salient circumstances are indeed important in shaping the effect ideology has on anti-Americanism.

Going beyond the most immediately theoretically relevant findings, the analysis in Table 4.2 has perhaps other stories to tell. First, regardless of the historical and political contexts, ideology seems independently to affect anti-Americanism. The interactions show the additional effects ideology has depending on the political and historical context – ideology still has an effect all its own, with ideological placement on the right showing a highly significant relationship with less anti-Americanism, demonstrating that, even when controlling for contextual factors, the political left is more anti-American than the right.

The results in Table 4.2 also point to the overall importance of historical and political contexts themselves. In all cases of the contexts for which we statically controlled, the baseline of anti-Americanism is higher where historical circumstances as outlined above suggested they should be. That is, that particularly where the strength of communist parties were greatest, where right wing military dictatorships with U.S. support were present, and where the tradition of government-fostered social welfare is most strongly entrenched, anti-Americanism is higher. This suggests that factors at work within countries serve to strengthen overall levels of anti-Americanism.

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[18] Note that ideology is coded where higher numbers indicate self placement toward the right. Therefore we would expect a negative relationship, where placement on the right is associated with less anti-Americanism (indicating more anti-Americanism for those on the left).

Conflict and Security Concerns and Anti-Americanism

Another possible source of anti-Americanism involves specific concerns of the individual. Most important in regard to anti-Americanism in 2002 and 2003 are concerns about another global conflict, terrorism, and weapons of mass destruction. These concerns are especially salient because they are most directly related to the United States with regard to Western Europe. The United States was an ally of Western Europe throughout the Cold War, and good relations had, for the most part, continued through the decade after the fall of the Berlin Wall. If there was to be a world war involving the United States, there was an excellent chance much of Western Europe would be involved, and on the side of the U.S. Of fifteen EU member countries in 2003, all but four (Austria, Finland, Ireland and Sweden) were full or partial members of NATO (France is a partial member). Again, while concern about another world war may have independent effects, we are most presently concerned with interaction effects based on specific contexts. For this reason we would expect concerns expressed about the possibility of another world war to positively affect anti-Americanism among those countries most likely to support the U.S. in such a scenario – namely the twelve full NATO members.

Similarly, the issue of terrorism has been especially salient recently. After the attack on the United States on September 11, 2001, the United States has been inextricably linked to the issue among Europeans, who were largely sympathetic to the Americans. In a survey conducted in late 2001 by Pew, 84 percent of Western Europeans believed widespread sympathy existed for the United States in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks (Pew Global Attitudes Project 2005). Therefore, we should expect concerns about terrorism after 9/11 to have important negative effects on anti-Americanism, but again, this effect should be guided by context. Those expressing concern about terrorism that live where there is a history of terrorist violence should

express more sympathy with the United States than those living in countries historically less prone to terrorism. These areas are Northern Ireland (which has faced terrorism from Protestant and Catholic extremists), Spain (Basque separatists), and France (mainly North African Muslim extremists). While concern about terrorism may or may not have an independent effect, we expect concern about terrorism to have a negative impact on anti-Americanism where there is a greater legacy of terrorist violence.

Another especially salient issue in the time after 9/11 and in the time leading up to and during the invasion of Iraq was the question of "weapons of mass destruction" (WMD). The possibility that the Iraqi regime could provide chemical, biological, and possibly even nuclear weapons to terrorists was the primary justification for invading Iraq. Concern about WMD in those countries which were part of the "coalition of the willing" helping the U.S. invade Iraq should have a negative effect on anti-Americanism. Again, concerns about WMD may or may not have an effect in other countries.

Finally, there is another important context we must control for – time. While in the fall of 2002 the United States was making a case for inspections and action against Iraq by the United Nations, by the spring of 2003 the U.S. had largely abandoned this avenue in favor of military action outside the auspices of any international political body (including NATO). In the eyes of many critics, as well as the U.N.'s lead weapons inspector in Iraq, the Hussein regime was actually largely abiding by U.N.'s demands for open inspections and complying with orders to destroy Al Samoud 2 missiles found in violation of previous U.N. resolutions (Blix 2003). In other words, while in late 2002 the U.S. was calling on Iraq to submit to international will, months later the U.S. refused to accept Iraq's compliance as legitimate. Regardless of the merits of the case for invading Iraq, or the true extent of Iraqi cooperation in 2003 regarding weapons

inspections, the invasion of Iraq was extremely unpopular (as case we outline more thoroughly in the following chapter). We expect, then, that a temporal component should affect the hypothetical relationships outlined above, and run separate analyses for the fall of 2002 and the spring of 2003.

We test hypothetical relationships outlined above using two OLS regression models, one for the fall of 2002, and the other for the spring of 2003. This model will be specified as follows:[19]

Anti-Americanism = $a + b_1$(concern about WW3) + b_2(concern about terrorism) + b_3(concern about WMD) + b_4(Full member of NATO dummy) + b_5 (legacy of terrorism dummy) + b_6(coalition of the willing dummy) + b_7(concern about WW3*NATO interaction) + b_8(concern about terrorism * legacy of terrorism interaction) + b_9(about WMD* coalition of the willing interaction) + e

Table 4.3 shows the results. Overall, support is mixed for the contextual hypotheses outlined above. First, concern about another world war has an overall negative effect on anti-Americanism in those five countries that are not full members of NATO. While the effect is somewhat tempered by being a full member of NATO in the fall of 2002, before the invasion of Iraq, it becomes stronger and more significant in the spring of 2003 leading up to and during the invasion.[20] This increase seems to suggest that invasion of Iraq made the threat of another war

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[19] In order to test for contextual effect, we use interaction terms. In this analysis are terms in which the variables are multiplied by a dichotomous variable, valued 1 or 0, which allow us to observe the effects of a variable where the dichotomous variable is coded 1. For example, the coefficient for b_7 will measure the additional effects fear of another world war has in NATO countries.

[20] That is, that in the analysis for the fall of 2002, the overall effect of fear of another world war is negative both in NATO and non-NATO member countries, as the interaction variable, while significant and in the hypothesized direction, still has a coefficient smaller than the base effect measured in the "concern about WW3" variable. In the spring 2003 analysis however, the interaction effect has a greater effect than the base effect, which means that the overall effect in those full NATO countries meets expectations.

Table 4.3 – Ordinary least squares regression predicting anti-Americanism

	Fall 2002	Spring 2003
Concern about WW3	-0.142	-0.057
	0.029***	*0.029***
Concern about terrorism	-0.153	-0.11
	0.021***	*0.021****
Concern about WMD	0.141	0.074
	0.022***	*0.022****
Full NATO Member	0.167	0.179
	0.026***	*0.026****
Legacy of terrorist violence	0.255	0.412
	0.052***	*0.052****
Coalition of willing	-0.161	-0.383
	0.032***	*0.032****
Concern about WW3*Full NATO member	0.056	0.145
	0.034*	*0.034****
Concern about terrorism*legacy of terrorist violence	0.065	-0.001
	0.057	*0.057*
Concern about WMD*coalition of willing	-0.192	-0.155
	0.036***	*0.036****
Constant	0.043	-0.002
	0.023	*0.023*
R Square	0.025	.049
N	16,074	16,307

Dependent Variable: anti-Americanism
Standard error in italics.
*** indicates significance at <.001 one tailed
** indicates significance at <.05 one tailed
** indicates significance at <.1 one tailed

more salient, and guided the contextual effects of concern for a world war toward the expected

relationship.

The effects of concerns about terrorism where there is a legacy of terrorist violence does

not meet expectations. During both time periods, there is no significant difference between the

effects of concerns about terrorism on anti-Americanism in places that have been more prone to terrorist violence compared to those with less experience with terrorism. Overall, the effect of concern about terrorism appears to lessen anti-Americanism, and this effect appears to be virtually the same regardless of past domestic terrorist violence. The effect of concern about terrorism appears to be somewhat dampened in the spring of 2003, leading up to and during a generally unpopular invasion of Iraq.

Regarding the third contextual relationship, concern about WMD in those countries that were (or were to become) members of the "coalition of the willing" which aided the United States in invading Iraq in early 2003, expectations are fully met. The effect in countries that are not members of the U.S.-led coalition appears to increase anti-Americanism, while the effect within the coalition is both significant and strong enough to overcome this baseline effect. That is, within the coalition, concerns about weapons of mass destruction have the expected effect of decreasing overall levels of anti-Americanism.

The contexts themselves appear to reflect a generally explainable pattern. First, the NATO countries appear to be significantly more anti-American than those countries that are not full NATO members, four out of five of which are politically neutral (France being the exception). While this might seem counterintuitive, as the U.S. was pursuing an increasingly unpopular policy of willingness to engage in military action with or without the support of allies, it makes sense that those countries which have an official military alliance with the United States would be more wary than those who would not be taking part in military actions with them. Looking at the effects of terrorist legacy, it is important to point out that much of the sample of those countries included France, a country which was relatively more anti-American that most other European countries. Finally, the effects of membership in the U.S.-led coalition invading

Iraq is probably the most straight forward – anti-Americanism is lower in those countries that participated in and/or supported the invasion. This seems to be guided by something of a rally effect. This makes sense given that in the fall of 2002, those members of the coalition did not yet know that their countries would be helping with the overthrow of the Hussein regime, as evidenced by greater support in the form of a rally effect in 2003.

Overall, the analyses in table 4.3 make it apparent that more than just long term political context is relevant to shaping contextual effects of concerns regarding salient issues regarding the United States and their effects on anti-Americanism. What is going on immediately obviously plays a very large role in these interactive effects. When considering the important contextual factors that shape how personal opinions affect anti-Americanism, it is thus important to examine not only how the political and historical past may shape these factors, but also what is immediately going on in the world independent of such factors.

Attitudes on Salient Political Issues as Sources of Anti-Americanism

Having observed the effects of ideology and security concerns and how they are conditioned by historical political contexts, it is important to look at attitudes about salient contemporary issues and how these shape anti-Americanism independent of historical political contexts. Certainly, to some extent, anti-Americanism will be shaped by immediate circumstances and political realities. In the 1980s, for example, sources of anti-Americanism could be support for Islamic extremists in South Asia, support for the regime of Saddam Hussein in Iraq, as well as opposition to a number of past U.S. policies (Sarder and Davies 2002). By 2003 this could hardly be the case. However, insofar as the policies and interests of the United States are seen to be consistent with support for some issues, ideals, and regimes, they should be appropriately associated with anti-Americanism. Using data from the Pew Global Attitudes

Project collected in late April and early May of 2003, we tested the effects of several such ideas on anti-Americanism.

One possible source of anti-Americanism involves the general concept of "globalization." Crockatt (2003: 57) argues that "To some extent, anti-Americanism… could be said to be a reaction to globalization, since the growth of American power and the spread of its influence coincided with the expansion of capital on a global scale." The United States has been perhaps the strongest advocate of global free trade and a major beneficiary of technological innovations that have been part of the phenomenon popularly known as "globalization." To that extent, we would expect general support for the phenomenon popularly labeled as globalization to be negatively associated with anti-Americanism.

Another important potential source for anti-Americanism regards attitudes about the use of military force. In late April of 2003 the United States was seen as the primary occupying force in Iraq, having just led a coalition of countries to overthrow the Hussein regime. Before that, the U.S. with the help of NATO allies had overthrown the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. More broadly, the United States was perceived, and openly presented itself, as a country that was willing to engage in military action with or without the broad support of the greater international community, and to do so preemptively if necessary. We would expect that general support for the concept of preemption would be negatively associated with anti-Americanism.

One important issue that many speculate is a source of anti-Americanism involves support for Israel. According to the Pew 2003 Global Attitudes Project Survey, a plurality majority of French, Germans and Spaniards, and a solid plurality of Italians and Britons, believe that U.S. policy is unfairly tilted toward Israel, despite the fact that a vast majority of all Europeans express support for the right of Israel to exist. We expect both attitudes to affect anti-

Americanism, with general support for Israel's right to exist negatively associated with anti-Americanism, while belief that U.S. policy unfairly supports Israel should be positively associated with anti-Americanism.

The general effects of U.S. policy should also tend to affect anti-Americanism. The effect of the invasion of Iraq on the political stability of the greater Middle East was widely discussed and debated, both before and after the invasion of Iraq. Many opponents of the invasion and critics of the United States argued that invading Iraq would exacerbate ethnic cleavages within the country and potentially destabilize the entire regime, possibly leading to a civil war that could perhaps even escape the borders of Iraq itself. To this extend, we expect that the belief that U.S. policies have made the Middle East more stable to be negatively associated with anti-Americanism.

Religion is also likely to play a role in anti-American attitudes. To the extent that the United States is seen disproportionately to support Israel, Jewish respondents should be less likely to demonstrate anti-Americanism, and identifying oneself as Jewish should have a negative association with anti-Americanism. To the extent that the U.S. is seen to oppress Muslims and invade primarily Muslim countries, Muslims should demonstrate more anti-Americanism that other religions, and identifying oneself as Muslim should have a positive association with anti-Americanism. Identifying oneself as a Christian may lead one to be less anti-American, as there is a common heritage between historically Christian Western Europe and predominantly Christian America. Self identifying oneself as Christian should have a negative effect on anti-Americanism.

Using the 2003 Pew data, we tested the hypothetical relationships outlined above, along with a series of dichotomous controls for country, using the following OLS model:

$$\text{Anti-Americanism} = a + b_1(\text{support for globalization}) + b_2(\text{support for preemptive use of}$$

$$\text{force}) + b_3(\text{support for Israel}) + b_4(\text{believe U.S. is biased toward Israel}) + b_5(\text{believe}$$

$$\text{U.S. policy stabilizes Middle East}) + b_6(\text{Jew dummy}) + b_7(\text{Muslim dummy}) +$$

$$b_8(\text{Christian dummy}) + b_9 \ldots b_{12}(\text{country dummy}) + e$$

The results of this analysis, shown on Table 4.4, support all of the hypothesized relationships

outlined above. Support for the notion of globalization is both negatively and significantly

Table 4.4 – Ordinary least squares regression predicting anti-Americanism

	Beta	S.E.	Standardized Beta
Support for globalization	-.258	.037***	-.127
Support for preemptive use of force	-.238	.029***	-.155
Support for Israel	-.252	.059***	-.077
Believe U.S. biased toward Israel	.111	.055*	.037
Believe U.S. policy stabilizes Middle East	-.769	.061***	-.237
Jewish[a]	-1.072	.447**	-.043
Muslim[b]	.462	.249*	.033
Christian	-.231	.062***	-.072
Germany	-.447	.084***	-.119
Italy	-.675	.086***	-.179
UK	-.922	.086***	-.245
Spain	-.012	.087	-.003
Constant	7.154	.151***	
Adjusted R square: .22			
n = 2,506			

Dependent Variable: anti-Americanism
*** indicates significance at <.001 one tailed
** indicates significance at <.01 one tailed
** indicates significance at <.05 one tailed
a – not recorded as an option in Germany; n = 9
b – not recorded as an option in Germany; n = 40

related to anti-Americanism. The more one supports the phenomenon of globalization the less anti-American one is. Also, general support for the notion of preemption is negatively associated with anti-Americanism. As one supports the concept of preemptive military action more, he/she is logically more sympathetic to the United States.

Attitudes regarding Israel also behave as expected. First, a general support for the right of Israel to exist shows to be negatively associated with anti-Americanism. While supporting the right of a country to exist is hardly an endorsement of its policy as a whole, it does suggest that even this admission, a rejection of the most radical anti-Israel line (e.g. Israel must cease to exist before there can be peace in the Middle East), affects anti-Americanism in a significant way. Although further research is obviously necessary to parse out the complete nature of this relationship, this finding suggests that anti-Americanism and "anti-Israelism" are linked. The other finding regarding Israel, the belief that the U.S. tilts unfairly toward Israel does tend to increase anti-Americanism, while not as strong or as significant, does behave as expected.

The perception of the effect of U.S. policy on stability in the greater Middle East also shows to have a strong and significant effect on anti-Americanism. If one believes that U.S. policy is making the Middle East more stable, the less anti-Americanism one demonstrates. This is consistent with concerns that many critics had before and after the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq that the actions of the United States and its allies would lead to regional destabilization. Notably, of the theoretical variables included in this analysis, the effect of U.S. policy on Middle East stability has the greatest substantive impact.

The religion variables are also all consistent with expectations. Jews and Christians are less anti-American, while Muslims are nominally more so. However, we must be cautious about these some of these results, especially regarding Jewish respondents, as there are only nine self-

identified Jews in the survey, hardly representative of the Jewish population of Europe. Furthermore, inquiries about religion were asked inconsistently in different countries, with Judaism not being an option in Germany, and Islam excluded as an option in Spain. The dichotomous country variables demonstrate that, on average, all countries are less anti-American than the reference country France. With the exception of Spain, all of these effects are significant.

Discussion and Conclusion

Several inferences can be drawn about the sources of anti-Americanism from this chapter. One major finding is that context is important in shaping the effects of various sources of anti-Americanism. In the case of ideology, self association with the left positively affects anti-Americanism where a leftist opposition disagrees with its government's support of the invasion of Iraq, where there is a legacy of a strong communist party, or where social welfare is strongest. The interaction of these variables demonstrates that these political and historical contexts do much to guide how ideology affects anti-Americanism. This theme also applies regarding the effects of concerns about another world war and of weapons of mass destruction. Where they are most likely to be an immediate concern – in NATO and countries that were members of the coalition of the willing respectively – these concerns are most likely to lead to greater anti-Americanism.

In observing the effects of the explanatory value of the different models shown in Tables 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4, however, it appears that more than the contextual effects of ideology and concerns about security issues, the strongest force driving anti-Americanism is very much policy related. It is the policy-driven concerns that tell us the most about what leads to anti-Americanism. While one must be careful not to read too much into the explanatory value of a

statistical model, it is important in this instance. The fact that the third model, which deals with

policy attitudes, seems to have so much more explanatory value than the other models is not a

minor point. This difference suggests that the most salient forces guiding anti-Americanism

among Europeans involve policy attitudes.[21] Without addressing the legitimacy or substantive

relevance of these apparent effects of policy concerns on anti-Americanism,[22] we do see that

specific policy attitudes seem to affect anti-Americanism more than contextual and non-

contextual effects of ideological points of views and personal security concerns.

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[21] We must draw this conclusion tentatively since we are comparing across models and, due to the constraints of the data available (comparable questions are not available in the different surveys used in the analyses in this chapter) are not able to test the explanatory powers of the different variables in the same model. Also, it is important to note that the dependent variable, anti-Americanism, is measured differently in the third analysis, though the comparability of these different operationalizations have already been justified (chapter 2).

[22] Though, as shown in Chapter 2, specific policy concerns are not necessarily, and in many cases tend not be, directly related to the nature of the issue itself, but rather the overall evaluation of the object.

CHAPTER 5: SEEKING TO PREDICT THE CURRENT COURSE OF ANTI-AMERICANISM: A CASE STUDY

We now look at the trends of anti-Americanism in Western Europe. Insofar as we seek to forecast the future of anti-Americanism in Western Europe, we do so cautiously. We do not intend to predict the precise future path of anti-Americanism, but rather suggest in the broadest terms what its general level will be. We should also note that by stressing one particular event, the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, arguably that this limits the generalizability of the argument presented here.

We have already discussed how anti-Americanism is formed from internal cognitive processes (chapter 2). Now we look at how ideas of anti-Americanism are diffused in mass publics. In doing so, we go from looking at individual level to aggregate level processes of the formation and diffusion of anti-Americanism. It is important to stress that the individual processes that create anti-Americanism discussed previously do not change. However, the spread of anti-Americanism among mass publics, while not conflicting with the individual processes, has a dynamic all its own.[23]

To the degree that it is possible forecast trends in anti-Americanism in the form of a new baseline of greater anti-Americanism, we expect to observe a certain pattern. The process by which anti-Americanism is diffused in mass publics should be rather straightforward. First there should be some catalyst that triggers a strong anti-American reaction. This should be followed by a solidification of anti-American attitudes across a public coupled with a stabilization of anti-

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[23] This is not to argue that the role of the main catalyst for the diffusion of anti-Americanism in mass publics, namely opinion leadership, which will be further outlined below, does not play a role in the formation of anti-Americanism on the individual level. Indeed, individually anti-Americanism can and should be affected by interaction with other people, as interactions with others have been shown to affect an individual's attitudes through processes of cognitive consistency (Newcomb 1961).

Americanism in the public, where a new, greater level of anti-Americanism should become the new norm.

The New Norm: Greater Levels of Anti-Americanism and How They Came About

Not many events could trigger a new, greater level of anti-Americanism. Such phenomena should be limited to major international political events involving the United States, are largely unpopular, seen as unwarranted, occur on a very large scale, and believed to be carried out on false pretenses. While the United States was involved in many large-scale and largely unpopular activities over the past several decades, such as the Vietnam War and the deployment of nuclear missiles in continental Europe, until 2003 no single unpopular event occurred on a scale large enough to trigger a shift in the overall level of anti-Americanism across the entire world.

Using various data sources, Ray and Johnston (manuscript) have compiled information on the general level of approval of the U.S. from the years just after the end of World War II up until the present, as shown in Figure 5.1. While it is tempting (and certainly interesting!) to look at the overall trends in pro and anti-American sentiment over time, the immediate topic suggests most relevantly that we compare the last few time points on the right side of the graph to the overall trend in anti-Americanism. While sentiment toward the U.S. has seen its share of ebb and flow since the Second World War, nothing seems to approach the current negative evaluations of the United States seen in recent years. The overall increase in we observed from the fall of 2002 to the spring of 2003 is observable in the graph. The graph shows that this kind of drop has never been seen before. A one-way ANOVA analysis shows the statistical difference is just as great as it seems in a cursory observation of the Figure, as overall attitudes of the Untied States are shown to be lower after the invasion of Iraq ($F = 109$; $p = 2.7*10^{-19}$).
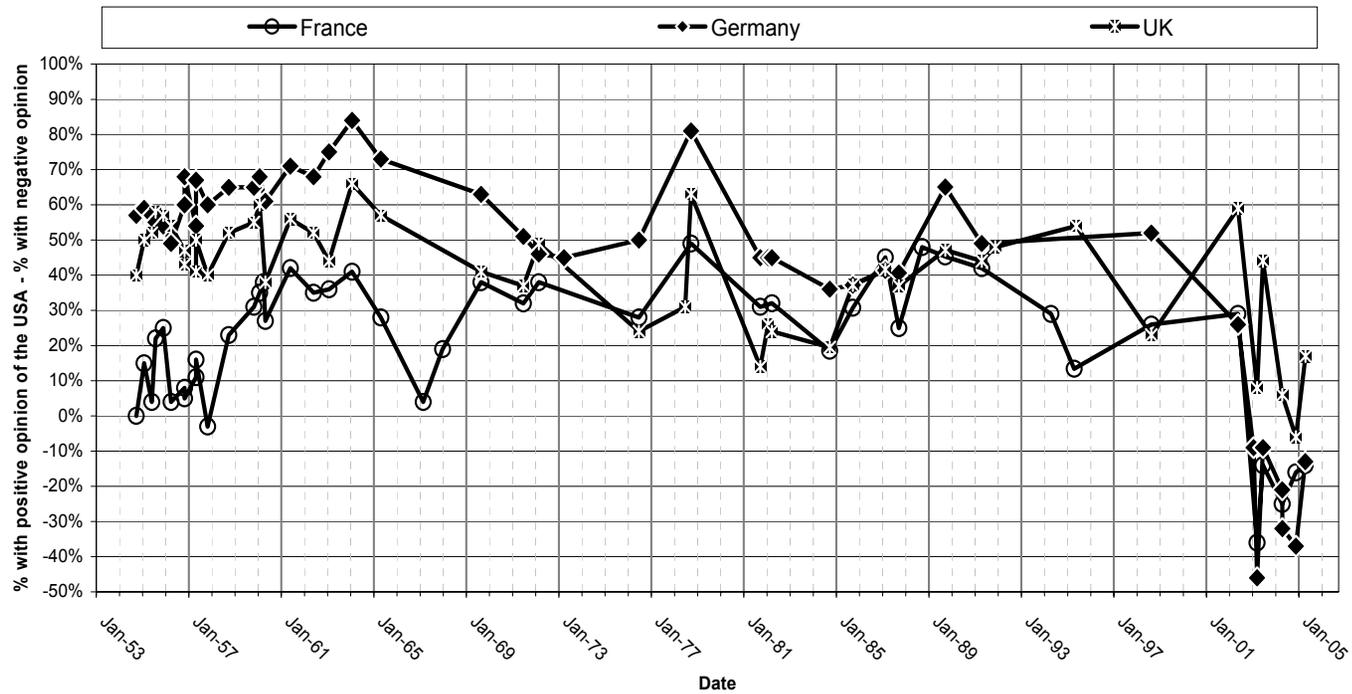
Points represent percentage of respondents with a positive/good opinion of the United States minus percentage of respondents with a negative/bad view of the United States. Data taken from Merritt and Puchala (1968), Crespi (1982), Gallup (1978), Eurobarometer surveys # 17, 22, 24, 27, 28, 32, Smith and Wertman (1992) , Pew (2004), Program on International Policy Attitudes (2005).

Figure 5.1 – Trends in net opinions of the U.S. in three European countries

In looking more closely at the reasons for this drop, it is important to explore popular perception of the events leading up to the invasion of Iraq. It is hard to argue that criticism of the United States in regard to the events surrounding invasion of Iraq was merely rhetoric by "the usual suspects" such as Islamic extremists, anti-Western nationalists, and radical leftists. Furthermore, the actual invasion itself did not mark the beginning of greater anti-American rhetoric. Among those offering the most unqualified criticism were Nobel Peace Prize recipient Nelson Mandela and Pope John Paul II. Said Nelson Mandela just before the invasion of Iraq, "If there is a country that has committed unspeakable atrocities in the world, it is the United States of America. They don't care" (Columbia Broadcasting System 2003). Pope John Paul II used his Christmas Day Address in 2002 to condemn the upcoming war in Iraq, urging peace and reiterating the position of the Vatican that "preventative" war is not morally justifiable (Cable News Network 2002). After hostilities had begun, the Pope portrayed the invasion of Iraq as an unjust war, proclaiming that "Violence and weapons can never resolve the problems of man" (Reuters 2003). Indeed, questions about U.S. policy preceded the events leading up to the invasion of Iraq. Cohen (2004: 59) argues, "In retrospect… the brusque manner of the Bush administration's rejection of the Kyoto Protocol, the International Criminal Court, and other measures dear to European hearts created a climate of opinion that made the prewar crisis over Iraq much worse than it need have been."

Despite the large support for the invasion of Iraq in the United States, as depicted in the supposedly liberal editorial pages of the New York Times and Washington Post, the events leading up to the invasion of Iraq outside the United States were seen in a completely different light. On November 8, 2002, Iraq proclaimed it would comply with U.N. Resolution 1441, which demanded Iraq allow weapons inspectors uninhibited access to the country, grating Iraq "a final

opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations," and that barring this compliance, Iraq "will face serious consequences as a result of its continued violations of its obligations" (United Nations 2002). According to Hans Blix, the United Nations' lead weapons inspector in Iraq, several months later and just before the U.S.-led invasion began, the country was largely in compliance with demands of the international community (Blix 2003). Iraq was, for example, allowing spontaneous "surprise" inspections with no interference, as well as uninhibited aerial surveillance. The regime was also actively complying with U.N. orders to destroy Al Samoud 2 missile, which violated range limitations for Iraq as set by previous U.N. Security Council resolutions. Despite some early setbacks with regards to Iraqi cooperation, Blix argued, "One can hardly avoid the impression that, after a period of somewhat reluctant cooperation, there has been an acceleration of initiatives from the Iraqi side since the end of January" (Blix 2003). This view reflected the general consensus of the governments of most countries that the evidence that Iraq was not cooperating with the inspection process was debatable at best, and that the inspection process needed more time.

Despite this apparent cooperation, and to the dismay of much of the international community (see e.g. Murray 2003), the United States and its allies continued to insist that the Hussein regime was offering little to no compliance with main points of Resolution 1441. In noting the increased cooperation of Iraq in the inspection process, Blix noted that, while such efforts were welcomed, "the value of these measures must be soberly judged by how many question marks they actually succeed in straightening out. This is not yet clear" (Blix 2003). While the majority of the international community took this to mean that the inspection process must be given more time (M2 Presswire 2003), the United States and its allies obviously came to a very different conclusion. The main concern of the United States and its allies was not the

inspections themselves, but proving that weapons of mass destruction that Iraq had possessed

had been destroyed as they claimed. In addressing this concern, Blix wrote:

> There is a significant Iraqi effort underway to clarify a major source of uncertainty as
> to the quantities of biological and chemical weapons, which were unilaterally
> destroyed in 1991. A part of this effort concerns a disposal site, which was deemed
> too dangerous for full investigation in the past. It is now being re-excavated. To
> date, Iraq has unearthed eight complete bombs comprising two liquid-filled intact R-
> 400 bombs and six other complete bombs. Bomb fragments were also found.
> Samples have been taken. The investigation of the destruction site could, in the best
> case, allow the determination of the number of bombs destroyed at that site. It should
> be followed by a serious and credible effort to determine the separate issue of how
> many R-400 type bombs were produced. In this, as in other matters, inspection work
> is moving on and may yield results (Blix 2003).

This sentiment was largely reflected by French Prime Minister Jacque Chirac and German

Chancellor Gerhardt Schroeder. In responding to President Bush's ultimatum to Saddam Hussein

that invasion was imminent and that he leave Iraq immediately, Chirac pronounced, "Since the

start of the Iraq crisis, France has been at pains to make the necessary disarmament of Iraq

possible under the authority of the United Nations. This disarmament is under way. The

inspectors are proof of this" (British Broadcasting Corporation 2003). In a speech addressed to

the German public, Schroeder pronounced, "Iraq today is a country that is under comprehensive

UN supervision. The disarmament steps that the UN Security Council has demanded are being

increasingly fulfilled" (British Broadcasting Corporation 2003). Despite this, the U.S. and its

allies continued to insist that only full and complete cooperation with UN Resolution 1441 would

do, a view expressed forcefully by U.S. representative to the United Nations John Negroponte

(AFX European Focus 2003), as well as British Prime Minster Tony Blair (Press Association

2003).

In short, while the U.S. certainly had supporters, the popular view was that while Iraq

could probably do more to comply with the inspection process, progress was being made.

Hussein's regime was no longer unabashedly impeding the inspection process, and that barring reports of complete lack of cooperation of disarmament by the weapons inspectors, the inspections should continue and Iraq should be disarmed peacefully. This view was expressed not only in several European editorial pages (e.g. Fitzgerald 2003; David Roy 2003), but also by the political leaders of Europe (Washington Post 2003). This was part of the larger consensus that Iraq was no longer blatantly defying the inspections process, and was indeed largely complying with the demands of the international community to disarm peacefully (Agence France Presse 2003a). However, the position of the U.S. and its allies was that "largely complying" was simply not good enough. Just days after Blix termed Iraqi cooperation as "proactive" (Agence France Presse 2003a), the U.S., UK, and Spain announced a deadline for Iraq compliance with disarmament before military action would be taken (Agence France Presse 2003b).

Many in the international community argued that the U.S. led an invasion that was illegal according to international law. This view was expressed not only by protestors of the war, but also in a press release by the International Commission of Jurists (2003) and several other experts in international law (The Australian 2003), as well seven MPs in Tony Blair's own Labour Party (The Mirror 2003), and the governments of France, Germany, Russia and China (The Independent 2003). In fact, the systematic destruction of the Samoud 2 missile was ongoing when the U.S.-led coalition started to invade the country (Blix 2003). Regarding the destruction of these missiles, a move Blix called "a very significant piece of real disarmament," the White House responded that the moved was instead "propaganda wrapped in a lie inside a falsehood" (The Scotsman 2003). Many Europeans concluded that the real goal of the invasion was to

establish a strong military presence in the oil rich Middle East and maintain control over vast

quantities of oil (see e.g. Roberts 2003; Smyth 2003).

To be sure, there was a strong case to be made that the Hussein regime did indeed possess

weapons of mass destruction. Almost every country's international intelligence corroborated this.

Taking this intelligence with Iraq's continued insistence that it had no WMD, there was certainly

some reason to suspect that Iraq was not complying with Resolution 1441. Regardless of the

actual level of compliance by Iraq, however, the perception of much of the world was that the

U.S. added two and two, and publicly, loudly, and unapologetically stated to the world that the

answer was five, and did so as pretence to go to war.

As a result, several countries, including staunch U.S. allies such as Germany, New

Zealand, and Canada, the latter two of whom supported the U.S. in the Vietnam War, as well the

officially neutral countries Sweden and Switzerland, went so far as to officially condemn the

invasion. The European Parliament also declared the invasion illegal. As Figure 5.1 shows, this

general level of unpopularity is also clearly indicated by the overall trends in opinions about the

United States.

Observing and Forecasting the Underlying Trends in Anti-American Attitudes

A cursory analysis using Eurobarometers 58.1, 59.1 and 60.1 looking at the mean scores

of anti-Americanism before and after the invasion of Iraq this narrative of rising anti-

Americanism. Anti-Americanism is clearly higher, with the effects being both substantively

(.332) and statistically (t = 155.1) significant from the fall of 2002 to the spring and fall of 2003.

This observation obviously does not help us predict the future course of anti-Americanism

insofar as we cannot predict international events such as the invasion of Iraq. However, it does

suggest that world events may shape how subsequent evaluations of the United States take place, and the context in which they take shape.

Despite this obvious rise in anti-Americanism in the wake of the invasion of Iraq, clearly other factors lead to increases in anti-Americanism. To argue that anti-Americanism is strictly a product of such external sources is overly reductionistic. It fails to address anti-Americanism as a public opinion phenomenon – that is, that it is the subjective perception of events that drive changes in views, not a mechanical reaction to the events themselves. For this reason, it is important to observe some of the important internal trends that might demonstrate how anti-American attitudes will change, and might provide some clues about the future of the phenomenon.

One rather straightforward explanation presents itself: awareness. Those who are more engaged and aware of the political world may betray future trends in the public at large. While it was certainly a common perception that the Bush administration was not receptive to notions of international cooperation, it does not necessarily follow that most of the public was especially cognizant of this. After all, classic public opinion theory and research is rife with examples of mass publics that are vastly ignorant of supposedly widely known facts (e.g. Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee 1948; Campbell et al. 1960; Converse 1964). Insofar as mass publics are receptive to such views (as they will inevitably be to some degree), we would expect those who are more politically engaged to be most receptive, and most knowledgeable.

Citizens that are "in the know" may be more likely to demonstrate characteristics that the rest of the population will go on to demonstrate. These more engaged citizens should be the first to acquire the underlying and growing anti-Americanism expressed by relevant elites, as they will be more likely to be receptive to anti-American messages that were being disseminated from

elites such as Nelson Mandela, Pope John Paul II, Jacques Chirac, Gerhardt Schroeder, and others. If a trend of increased anti-Americanism is forthcoming, then it stands to reason that it will rise first among those most knowledgeable and aware of the political world. So, how are we to measure such awareness?

One possible way is education. One could argue that the more educated constitute an elite that will foresee popular trends before they happen. If anti-Americanism is rising, or about to rise, it stands to reason that the most educated segments of the population will demonstrate higher levels of anti-Americanism before those with less education. However, a look a Figure 5.2 suggests that this is not the case. While overall levels of anti-Americanism appear to be affected
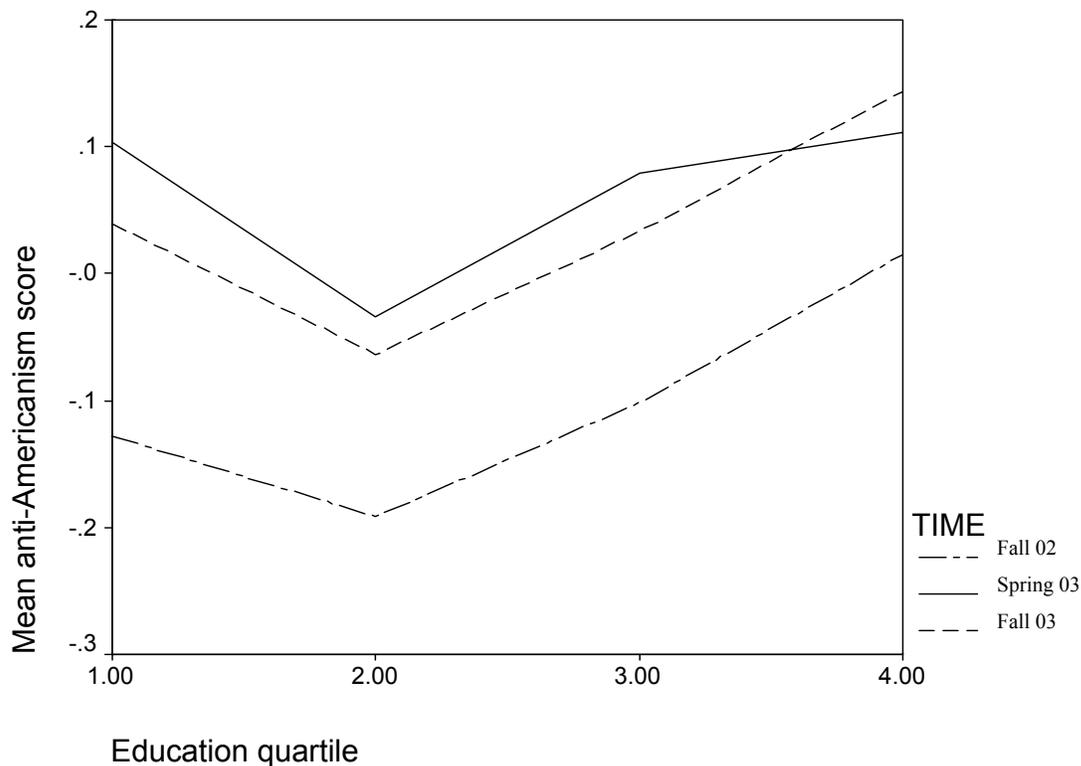

Figure 5.2 – Anti-Americanism by time point level over education quartile

by education level within the context of its corresponding point in time, education does not appear to be a predictor of the increasing levels anti-Americanism. While overall levels are obviously going up, the difference in anti-Americanism between groups with different education levels appear to be fairly stable. The second quartile is the most pro-American group over all three time points, while the most educated group is the most anti-American, with the exception of spring 2003, where they are virtually the same of the least educated quartile in anti-Americanism. If awareness is an indicator of trends in anti-Americanism, education level does not appear to be an effective predictor of such trends.

Another possible way that political awareness could manifest itself is through a classical concept in public opinion literature, opinion leadership. Though the idea of the importance of opinion leadership was first introduced in some of the earliest scholarly work in public opinion (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet 1948; Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee 1954), subsequent research in public opinion has backed up the utility of this concept (Black 1982; Popkin 1992; Lenart 1994). The basic argument does not focus on political elites, but rather "regular" people. The public, therefore, "consults with itself" regarding the important matters of the day (Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee 1954, 109). However, there is an important pattern to those who lead public opinion – mass opinion does not just spontaneously occur. Patterns of interpersonal communication lead to the formation of mass opinion, with those more engaged in political discourse shepherding the opinions of the less engaged. As the views of the opinion leaders diffuse among the less attentive public, anti-Americanism among those with different levels of opinion leadership should become noticeably closer to each other.

Using a measure of opinion leadership very similar to measures used by previous scholars (Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet 1948; Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee 1954; Black

1982; Rogers and Cartano 1962), we observe the relationship between opinion leadership and anti-Americanism across time.[24] Figure 5.3 shows this relationship. Clearly, there is a strong
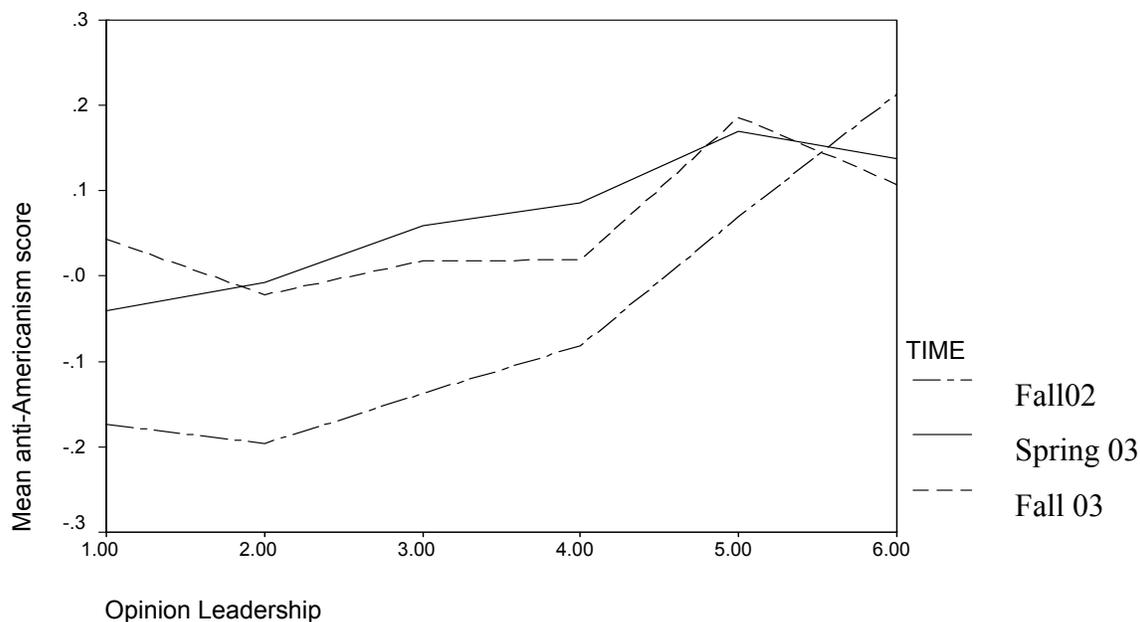

Figure 5.3 – **Anti-Americanism by time point level over opinion leadership levels**

positive association with opinion leadership and anti-Americanism during the lead up to the

invasion of Iraq. Also, during the spring 2003, overall levels of anti-Americanism are clearly

higher. Interestingly, however, the relationship between anti-Americanism and opinion

leadership has noticeably dropped off. Furthermore, those exhibiting the highest levels of

opinion leadership appear to be less anti-American in the spring of 2003. While this difference

does not quite reach traditional levels of statistical significance (t = 1.3), it is suggestive.

Furthermore, consistent with expectations, this seeming downward trend in those scoring highest

in opinion leadership is met with an overall leveling out of anti-Americanism in both the spring

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[24] This was constructed by observing responses to: "When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never?" and "When you hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views? Does this happen...? often; from time to time; rarely; never; DK." This was used to construct the six point opinion leadership index.

and the fall of 2003 between opinion leaders and the rest of the public, resembling a "whiplash" effect.

Figure 5.4 shows the same relationship as Figure 5.3 country by country. Once again, the figures are for the most part consistent with expectations. With the exception of less populous Sweden and Luxembourg, the only places where expectations are not met is where the country participated in the war. Denmark only partially meets the expectations we would expect, with trends in the relationship between opinion leadership and anti-Americanism during the Fall of 2002 seeming to forecast an overall increase in anti-Americanism during the Spring of 2003. Spain, despite being part of the coalition of the willing, seems to behave as we would expect, with the relationship between opinion leadership and anti-Americanism seeming to forecast an overall increase, then a stabilization of anti-Americanism.

It is worth noting that in these countries, overall levels of opinion leadership appear to have a simple positive relationship with anti-Americanism. One explanation could be that those who are not as engaged in political discourse are more willing to offer unqualified support for their country's military effort, in which they are obviously siding with the United States. This is not to suggest that opinion leaders in these countries are less patriotic, but perhaps those more willing to engage in political discourse are more willing (and perhaps more able) to distinguish between support for their country's endeavors and support for the United States.

In all other countries observed in Figure 5.4, Belgium, Germany, Greece, Spain, France, Ireland, Portugal and Finland, the relationship between anti-Americanism and opinion leadership appears to forecast the overall level of anti-Americanism at the next time period. In some countries this is illustrated by an overall stabilization of anti-Americanism across levels of opinion leadership (Ireland, Belgium, Spain, Finland, and to a large degree Germany), while in
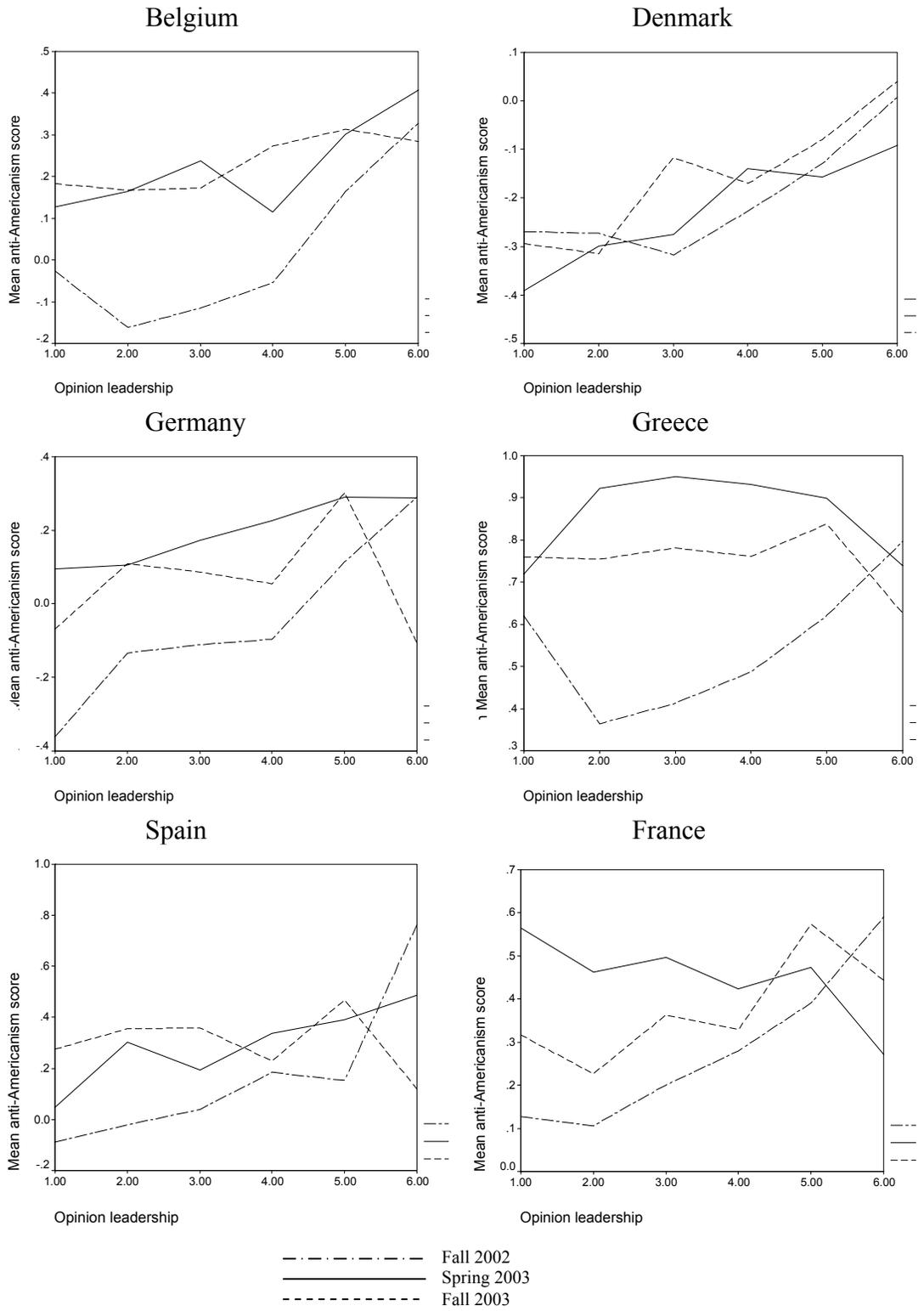
Figure 5.4 – Anti-Americanism by time point level over opinion leadership levels by country
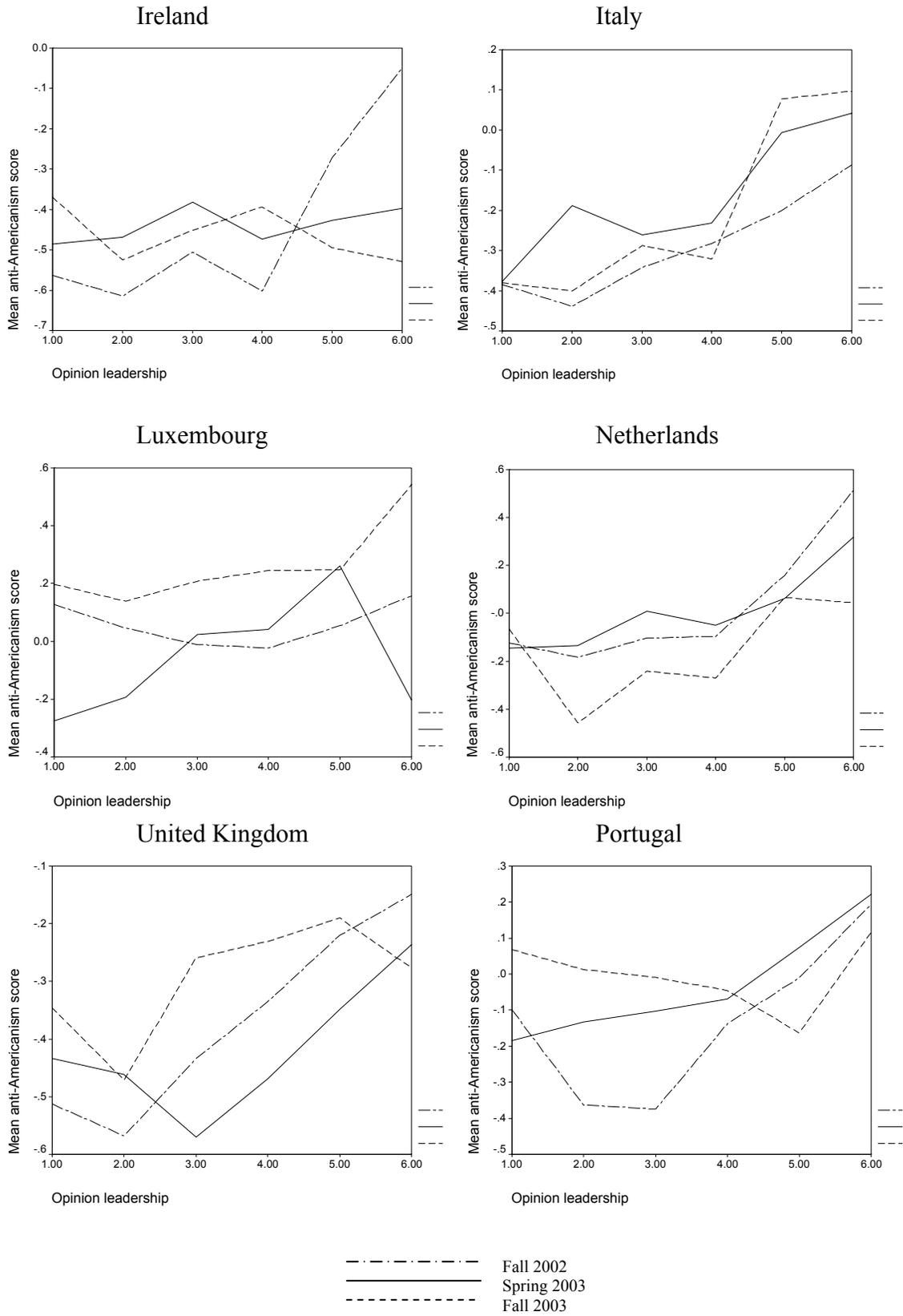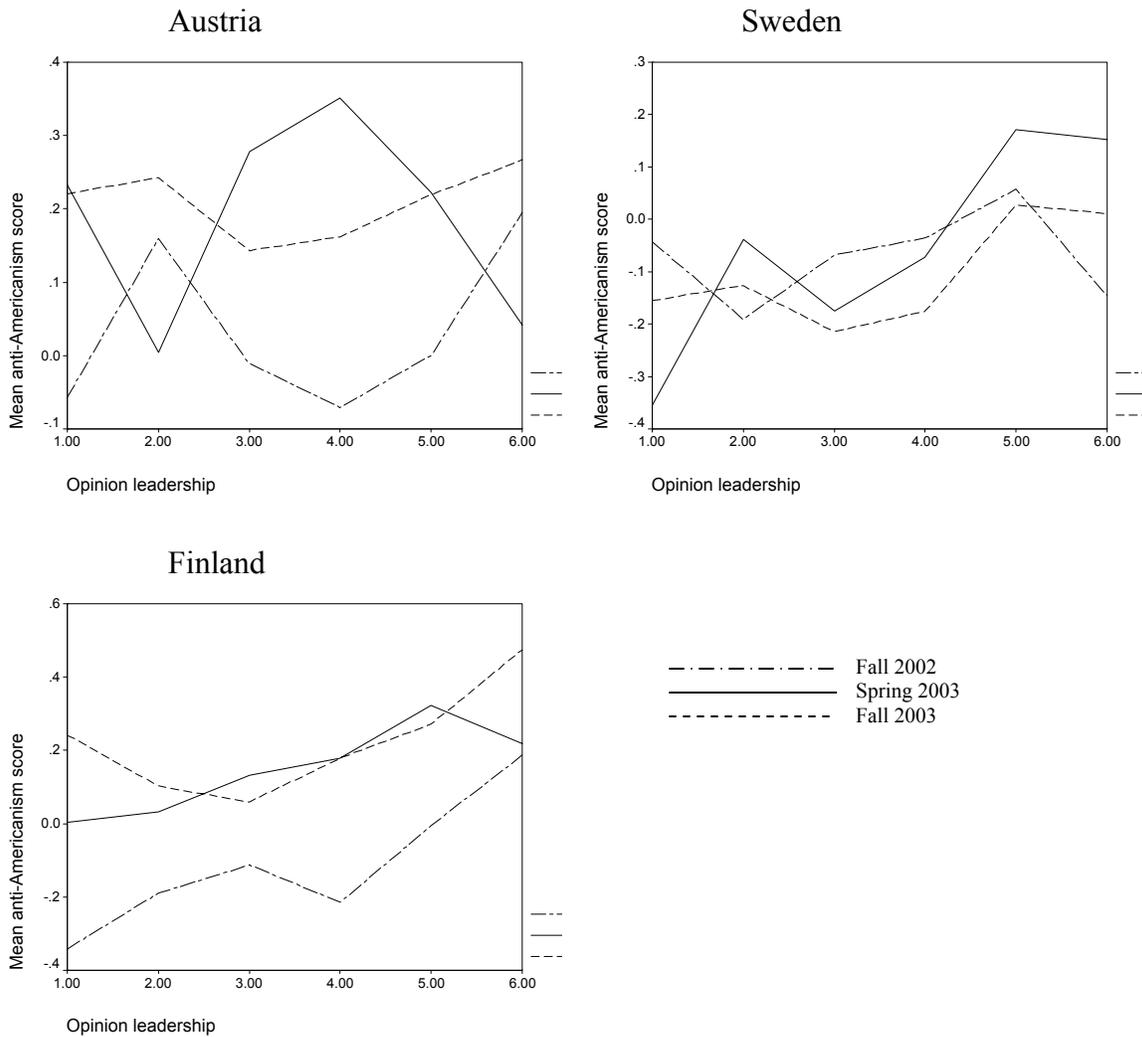
Figure 5.4 (continued)

Ireland

Italy

Luxembourg

Netherlands

United Kingdom

Portugal

Fall 2002
Spring 2003
Fall 2003

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Figure 5.4 (continued)

Austria

Sweden

Finland

Fall 2002
Spring 2003
Fall 2003

others levels of anti-Americanism at different time points appear to be affected by a continually dynamic relationship between anti-Americanism and opinion leadership (France, Greece, Portugal and Austria). All in all, except where the processes are precluded by a rally effect, opinion leadership does tell us where overall levels of anti-Americanism are headed,

The New Anti-American Norm

So far we have suggested that trends in anti-Americanism are observable by looking that relationship anti-Americanism has with opinion leadership. As higher levels of opinion

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leadership are associated with higher anti-Americanism at time t, overall levels of anti-Americanism will be higher at time t+1. This relationship shows to be true in most of the fifteen countries observed, including all of the most populous countries not involved in the invasion of Iraq, as well as Spain. Furthermore, one can see a dramatic rise in anti-Americanism from the fall of 2002 to the two time points in 2003. A simple t test offers unambiguous support for this (t = 155.1; difference of .332 in anti-Americanism). This, along with the evidence already presented on Figure 5.1 makes it clear that anti-Americanism was greater after the invasion of Iraq than at any other time before it.

However, the question remains whether this significant decline represents a new low in Western European opinion toward the United States, or merely a dramatic but temporary drop. One way to answer this is to observe the levels of anti-Americanism among disparate cohort groups, such as age, educational level, gender, income level, and ideology. If the effect is sporadic across different cohort groups, with those groups who tend to already be predisposed toward greater anti-Americanism showing the greatest increases in anti-Americanism, then we can expect the new anti-American trend to be temporary. However, if the level of increased anti-Americanism is very similar between different cohort groups, we would expect that a new level of anti-Americanism has diffused among all groups being observed. This is how we would expect anti-Americanism to spread if there was a new, higher baseline for anti-Americanism.

Table 5.1 shows anti-Americanism scores by in each of the time points by age group. Interestingly, the least overall anti-American group is the group aged 15-18, while the most anti-American is the 19-30 year olds. It is certainly possible that the while 19-30 year olds are more reactive to U.S. policy, the 15-18 year olds are more likely reactive to popular aspects of American culture. If one allows for this explanation as the reason for the seeming positive blip in

the youngest group surveyed, it certainly appears that high levels of anti-Americanism will not soon turn around. However, while it is certainly interesting to compare and contrast the different levels of anti-Americanism among different age cohorts, and speculate on their causes, such analyses are not germane to our argument about the effects after the invasion of Iraq.

Table 5.1 – Mean anti-Americanism over time by age cohorts

| Age | Anti-Americanism | | | |
	Fall 2002	Spring 2003	Fall 2003	Mean
15-18	-.226	.021	-.071	-.09
19-30	-.100	.091	.105	.031
31-40	-.076	.077	.045	.016
41-50	-.04	.093	.088	.048
51-60	-.072	.052	.035	.004
61-70	-.132	.035	-012	-.038
71+	-.161	-.026	-.051	-.078
Total	-.099	.059	.038	.000

Most relevant about our argument of a new trend of increased anti-Americanism is the differences between age groups across different periods of time. Another look at Table 5.1 shows that anti-Americanism remains relatively stable, decreasing somewhat from the spring to the fall of 2003. Across each age group, anti-Americanism is higher in the fall of 2003 than it was a year before. This observation also holds up across education levels. A look back at Figure 5.2 shows that anti-Americanism goes up across all education levels after the invasion of Iraq, and remains relatively stable from the spring to the fall of 2003.

So far we have observed increased levels of anti-Americanism in all segments of society across age, and education level, as well as those scoring low on political engagement/opinion leadership. We should expect this change to show up in other ways. Figures 5.5 and 5.6, and Table 5.2 demonstrate this same phenomenon across income level, political ideology, and sex.

Table 5.2 – Mean anti-Americanism over time by sex

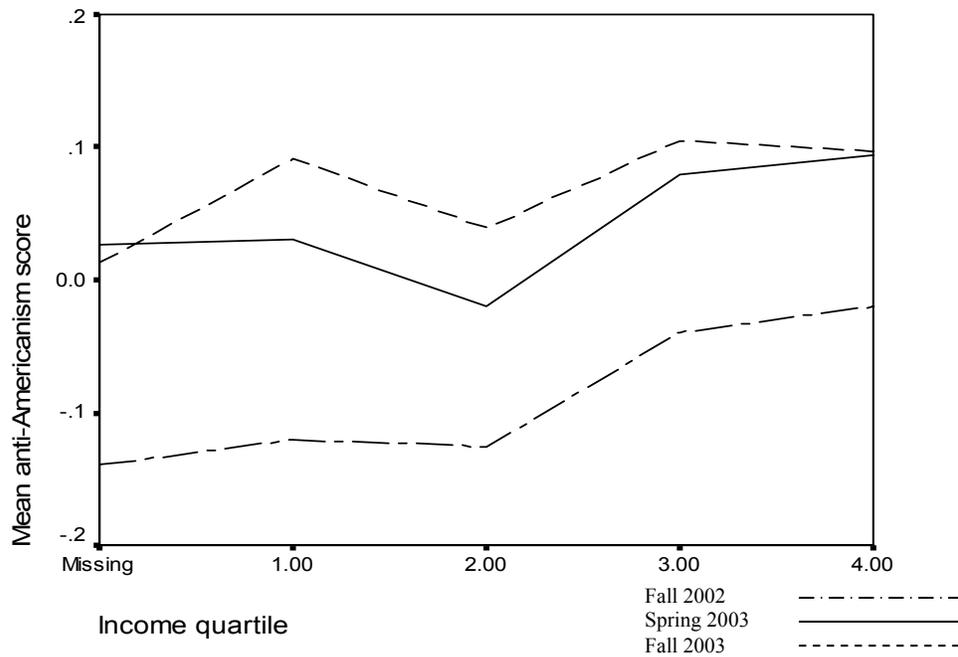| Sex	Anti-Americanism			
	Fall 2002	Spring 2003	Fall 2003	Mean
Male	-.10	.03	.021	-.016
Female	-.098	.086	.055	.014
Total	-.099	.059	.038	.000

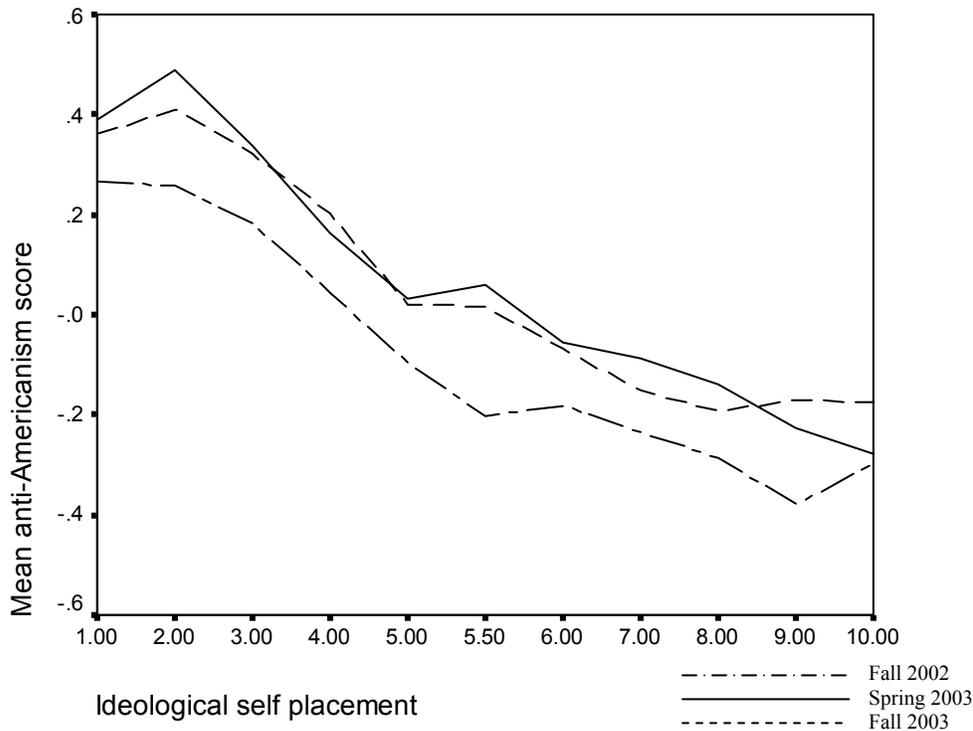**Figure 5.5 – Anti-Americanism by time point level over income quartile**

Figure 5.6: Anti-Americanism by time point level over ideology

from this we can see that anti-Americanism has increased across all these segments of European

society. It does indeed appear, then, that anti-Americanism has stabilized.

Discussion and Conclusion

The premise of this chapter is that for a new higher baseline level of anti-Americanism to

become the norm several events had to take place. First, a catalyst had to trigger a strong anti-

American reaction in mass publics. This catalyst occurred in the events surrounding the invasion

of Iraq. The invasion itself did not necessarily increase levels of anti-Americanism, but the

perception that the United States was failing to genuinely engage the international community.

The invasion certainly exacerbated the building anti-Americanism we see in the fall of 2002 by

observing much of the rhetoric of political elites and the measurable attitudes of the more

politically engaged opinion leaders. As discussed above, the popular view was the Iraq was

(finally) cooperating with the demands of the international community, rightfully heading off military action, and the U.S. and its allies decided to invade anyhow. This led to widespread description of the effort as unjust, illegal, or both.

Second, anti-Americanism had to become greater and show stability across all levels of European society. Across all levels of education, political engagement, age, sex, income level, and political ideology anti-Americanism increased during the invasion of Iraq, and this showed stability months after invasion and during the occupation. Clearly, anti-Americanism had diffused as we argued it should. Finally, we saw the long term trends of anti-Americanism and how it reached a new greater level after the invasion of Iraq across the three most populous European countries.

In the midst of all these factors, it appears that the most politically engaged first saw the handwriting on the wall. The observations made on Figures 5.2, 5.5, and 5.6, and Tables 5.1 and 5.2 demonstrate a universal increase in levels of anti-Americanism across age, sex, education, income, and ideology. This is not the case for those scoring higher on opinion leadership, who seemed to be most receptive to messages of a growing political storm on the international stage involving Iraq as reflected by many political elites. In pointing this out it is important to emphasize that opinion leaders did not *cause* the levels of anti-Americanism to increase anymore than a weathervane causes the wind to change direction.[25]

While the conclusions reached here are tentative, they are also quite dim. Anti-Americanism is higher than ever, and may have reached a new base level. While we will have to observe carefully whether sentiment toward the United States will ever return to Cold War

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[25] This is not to argue that political engagement/opinion leadership does not lead to the diffusion of anti-Americanism. Quite the contrary, those who are more politically engaged are indeed more likely to convince those with whom they interact of their views. However, it is unlikely that had the invasion of Iraq not taken place that the effects of the opinion leaders on the diffusion of anti-Americanism would have led to the dramatic increase in anti-Americanism we see from the fall of 2002 to the spring of 2003.

levels, this chapter has argued that this does not appear to be the case. Particularly with recent developments, such as the Abu Ghraib prison scandal, international objection to treatment of detainees at the Guantanamo Bay prison, the reelection of the highly unpopular President Bush, and most recently the disclosure of the existence of secret prisons where terrorist suspects are held, there is no reason to believe that anti-Americanism will reverse course any time soon. There is every indication to believe that, barring some dramatic unforeseen event that creates widespread popularity and/or sympathy for the United States, a new, more anti-American Western Europe is likely here to stay.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This project has sought to offer a contribution to the study of anti-Americanism that moves beyond much of the hitherto research on anti-Americanism arguing anti-Americanism results from some inherent yet mysterious moral and spiritual corruption that causes anti-Americans to hate America because of the very things that are at the "core" of what America and its people stand for (see esp. Hollander 1992; Spiro 1988). At the core of this argument is that anti-Americanism has nothing really to do with what America does. "They" hate America for what it is. Internal conditions determine anti-Americanism, which is by nature a primarily emotional phenomenon. This precludes cognitive evaluations of anti-Americanism, since, after all, there is no reason for anti-Americanism. It simply is.

Other research has argued that anti-Americanism is fundamentally a reaction to U.S. policy, and therefore it is inherently rational and approaches pure cognitive evaluations, having little or no emotive component (e.g. Kizilbash 1988). Since it is U.S. policy many foreigners oppose, anti-Americanism is not a cultural reaction of culture or an expression of contempt for democracy. Anti-Americanism is something which is external in nature, and thereby fundamentally cognitive. As such, emotional reactions do not make up the core of what anti-Americanism is.

Recent research on anti-Americanism by Katzenstein, Keohane, Chiozza, and colleagues has sought to treat anti-Americanism more rigorously and more seriously in a social scientific sense, something that, with the exception of Fabrinni (2002), had not been done well in decades (Tai, Peterson and Gurr 1973).[26] While this project disagrees with their assessments on the nature of anti-Americanism, it joins them in attempting to take the study of anti-Americanism away

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[26] Crockatt's (2003) work, while offering valuable insight and objective analysis of anti-Americanism, is not strictly social science. It offers much in the way of discussion, but little in the way of testable theory and analysis.

from the direction of pro-American polemics that just happened to be printed in academic

journals and by scholarly presses, as well as literature that attempts to argue, in the face of

overwhelming evidence, that anti-Americanism is something that is more or less free of vitriol,

and is an almost mechanical reaction to U.S. policy. The study of anti-Americanism needs to be

treated seriously and rigorously in a scientific sense.

On a Theory of the Nature of Anti-Americanism

While we applaud the effort of Katzenstein and Keohane (2005), Chiozza (2005a,

2005b), and their colleagues in treating anti-Americanism as topic of serious social science, this

project has developed and tested a theory at odds with their assertions. This mainly reflects their

arguments about the nature of anti-Americanism. Rather than numerous anti-Americanisms

based on a careful evaluation of separate policy issues we have argued in favor of a anti-

Americanism that is primarily uniform in nature. We have presented evidence suggesting that

rather than evaluating various aspects of U.S. policy, mass publics tend to conflate issue

dimensions. Furthermore, we posit that mass publics do not tend to view America and the

American people in different dimensions, as Chiozza (2005b) asserts. Roughly put, we present

the argument that mass publics do not have the same complex, nuanced evaluations about the

world as elite scholars in the field of International Relations.

The argument of various anti-Americanisms perhaps reflects how mass publics should

see the world, and think about the U.S., its people, and polices. The United States as a country

and U.S. policy each have characteristics that are both far reaching, and qualitatively distinct.

This includes purporting to value human rights, democratic institutions, global capitalism,

religious freedom, personal responsibility, and upward mobility. These characteristics also

include the perception of hypocrisy (rightly or wrongly) in matters of supporting dictatorial

regimes, supporting abusers of human rights as well as committing human rights abuses, selectively violating norms of international commerce when it is in American interest to do so, and promoting social inequality. Other alleged negative characteristics associated with the U.S. include arrogant unilateralism, negligence regarding the environment, promotion of Zionism, opposing Islam, implementation of the death penalty, and lack of concern for the poor. In short, justified or not, there are many reasons to like and dislike America.

Therefore, there probably should be several different anti-Americanisms. If we are to start from the assumption, as Katzenstein, Keohane, Chiozza and colleagues do, that since the world is a complex place people will see it as such, and properly distinguish between aspects of the same object, correctly deciphering the various nuances and intricacies of world politics and the role of the U.S. into the political world, and comparing these assessments to their own values as a precursor to normative evaluations, then we will inevitably conclude that there will be numerous anti-Americanisms. However, in this project we make no such assumptions about the ability of mass publics to see the world in such complex terms.

A theory of anti-Americanism based on the relevant cognitive and social psychology theory, leads us to a completely different conclusion. We argue that, despite what the shape of what anti-Americanism should be, it reflects processes of simplification that do not lend themselves to viewing various characteristics of the United States differently. Anti-Americanism, we have argued, is predominantly uniform. While it is certainly logical to evaluate the world in such a way as to isolate numerous different anti-Americanisms, our theory and findings have led us to a different conclusion.

Regarding Sources and Effects of Anti-Americanism

Perhaps the most important substantive effect of anti-Americanism found in this study is the willingness to disengage from the greater international community. While this tendency does not necessarily lead to a sentiment of isolationism,[27] it can. This possibility is plausible: as the United States is clearly the most powerful actor on the world stage in almost every capacity, negative evaluations of the U.S. should tend to lead one toward wanting to disengage from the greater international community.

While the effects of anti-Americanism on willingness to engage are an important finding, it does not necessarily follow that the recent upsurge in anti-Americanism means Europe or the world will enter into a time of disengagement. First, while democratically elected for the most part, the political leaders of Europe are subject not only to public opinion, but their own political judgment. While they may face some public pressure to disengage politically from the rest of the world, it does not necessarily follow that they will do so. Second, we have not speculated on whether a trend of greater levels of anti-Americanism will override other processes that are making the world more and more interconnected, such as advances in technology and greater levels of global trade (Freidman 2005). These processes are very likely to more than make up for any effect higher levels of anti-Americanism might have. In short, there are too many other factors at play to speculate that new levels of higher anti-Americanism will lead to mass public disengagement, much less a world that is more disconnected.

Interestingly, while the effects of anti-Americanism on less support for international institutions extend to attitudes about the European Union, anti-Americanism does not seem to affect attitudes about the process of political integration itself (chapter 3). This discrepancy between the European Union itself and the project of European political integration suggests

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[27] As noted in Chapter 3, it is also prone to lead to support for regional integration.

disconnect between what Europeans think the EU currently is (an ardent U.S. ally), and what the EU may become. The EU is certainly an ally of the United States. The finding that anti-Americanism does not affect support for European integration itself suggests that some Europeans envision a world with a more powerful EU that is more distanced from the U.S.

This supposition is reinforced by the finding that anti-Americanism siphons off support for supporting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, with that support going to a national security arrangement led either by one's country, or slightly more likely, the EU. This finding regarding NATO is probably the most important substantive finding on the effects of anti-Americanism. NATO is more likely to be a political target than other international organizations for several reasons. It is a strictly military alliance with its transatlantic nature part of its central identity. The organization first invoked the "mutual defense clause" on September 13, 2001 in response to the terrorist attacks two days before. This clause states that an attack on one NATO country is equivalent to an attack on all its member countries. At the time of this writing 36 NATO countries had troops in Afghanistan (NATO 2006), many of which had a hand in invading the country as well as helping the U.S. in its efforts to stabilize the former Taliban-led terrorist safe haven. In this sense, NATO's most important covenant has only been explicitly used in response to an attack on the U.S. Also, unlike other international organizations, NATO has a potential alternative in the form of the European Union and its Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP). This security arrangement is a central part of the EU's structure,[28] although currently it is not very powerful at all (as illustrated by recent differences regarding the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq). It is certainly possible that a stronger CFSP might result from increased public antipathy (and possibly increased elite alienation) aimed at the United States. While a more cogent defense alliance based on the CFSP would certainly not rival NATO

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[28] The EU is currently made up of three "pillars," of which the CFSP is one.

militarily, we should consider that conventional military strength may not be the most important factor for Europeans regarding their military alliances.

Promoting the Positive – Soft Power and Cognitive Consistency

One of the more disheartening aspects of anti-Americanism presented so far is how "all bad things go together." We have argued that mass publics do not, for the most party, distinguish between various aspects of the United States, and instead rely on an overall negative evaluation that drives subsequent negative evaluations of completely different features. It might seem, then, that anti-Americanism is something that is hard to control. If this is the case, however, then we must remember that the same processes of cognitive consistency also apply the other way – all good things also go together. As we have argued previously, it is not the most negative evaluation that drives anti-Americanism (the environment), but the most salient (peace in the world).

This has some important implications for exploring how the rising tide of anti-Americanism can be countered. Both anti-Americanism and pro-Americanism, being different valences of the same concept, are both subject to the same processes that govern them. Thus, the process can decrease anti-Americanism by making publicly positive attributes of the United States more salient. The United States may well achieve its goals using military means, but such methods are not likely (to say the least) to decrease anti-Americanism. While military power may be necessary in maintaining world order, anti-Americanism cannot be fought with guns.

It likely can be countered by utilizing "soft power" (Nye 2004). Unlike hard power, which uses military and economic power to coerce, bribe, or otherwise overtly control, soft power is the ability to more subtly control, using "an attraction to shared values and justness and duty of contributing to the achievement of those values" (Nye 2004, 7). Although Nye sees the

concept as a means for the United States to achieve its international policy goals, the concept of soft power may also offer some key insights into decreasing anti-Americanism.

Nye outlines several sources of America's soft power. One involves education, which Nye specifically notes as important for increasing goodwill toward the U.S. The high quality of higher education in the United States offers a unique opportunity to foster understanding and good will toward the American people and the U.S. itself. Former Secretary of State Colin Powell commented:

> We are proud that the high quality of American colleges and universities attracts students and scholars from around the world. These individuals enrich our communities with their academic abilities and cultural diversity, and they return home with an increased understanding and often a lasting affection for the United States (Powell 2001).

Chapter 5 previously noted the importance of the most politically engaged in mass publics and their tendency to "lead" public opinion. While not having perfect overlap with those more highly educated, goodwill toward the United States can be spread through social networks as a form of "social capital" (Lin 2001)[29] that can decrease anti-Americanism.[30] Certainly the spread of pro-American sentiments coming about through this specific process would have to be fully explored before an empirical relationship could be established, but at the very least the idea of relatively widespread American education in mass publics leading to less overall anti-Americanism seems promising.

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[29] Social capital is somewhat of a contested concept in social science. While some scholars, mostly political scientists, put more of an aggregate emphasis on the term (e.g. Putnam 1993), many sociologists use the term to explicitly refer to access to another individual's resources via social networks (e.g. Lin 2001). We use the latter conceptualization here.

[30] It is important to note this could be considered a bit of a conceptual stretch from Lin's conceptualization of social capital. Lin specifically uses the concept to refer to an individual's resources. We use the term resource broadly, to include knowledge and understanding of, as well as goodwill towards an object – in this case America.

Nye (2004) also notes the importance of American popular culture in establishing goodwill and understanding, though the effects are not as clear-cut. Nye cites the ironic example of leftist rap group Public Enemy actually advancing American political interests, noting how lyrics to their song "Fight the Power" were used by dissidents in communist Eastern Europe. While anecdotal, such an example illustrates the relatively positive attitudes toward the U.S. that exist to this day in Eastern Europe. While American popular culture is often portrayed in a negative light as decadent, immoral, and sexually gratuitous, Nye argues that on average, American cultural export of such seemingly mundane objects of consumption such as blue jeans, rock (or otherwise popular) music, cinema, and television and web-based media are by and large sources of goodwill toward American culture, and by extension, America itself.

Domestic values and policies, according to Nye, also are important in promoting a positive image for the United States in fostering soft power. Chapter 4 explored the negative effects of certain U.S. domestic policies in regards to social welfare programs and possibly capital punishment, yet it is important to point out the perception of many positive attributes of U.S. domestic policy may have important positive effects. Europeans admire such American attributes as freedom of speech, the press, assembly, and other general principles that promote democracy and human rights within the borders of the United States. Other characteristics broadly seen as positive include cultural tolerance and diversity, the high potential for upward mobility, and the general American promise of opportunity.

Perhaps the greatest danger to this potential source of goodwill is the charge of inconsistency and even hypocrisy. America's domestic social reality still offers much fodder for its critics. Issues such as gun control, abortion, the death penalty, social policy, unwed motherhood, high divorce rates, poverty, and other perceived social ills cut into purported

positive aspects of the United States' domestic policy cited above. Furthermore, the charge of hypocrisy has been leveled by Amnesty International at the United States regarding treatment of Iraqi prisoners in Abu Ghraib and detainees at Guantanamo Bay (Amnesty International 2005). Whether justified or not, these charges of hypocrisy regarding purported American values carry weight, and are a very real threat to the image of the United States in the world (Katzenstein and Keohane 2005; Nye 2004).

It is much harder to make the case that, on average, American policy is a source of international goodwill that can counter anti-Americanism than it is for American culture. Those wishing to blunt anti-Americanism by highlighting American policy must find ways to deal with charges of inconsistency and hypocrisy, either by providing compelling arguments countering such charges, or by addressing them in a way that will be seen as genuine and sincere. Despite the very best of efforts, however, the task remains daunting in this particular regard (Nye 2004).

Promoting a good image of the America, especially regarding salient aspects of the United States will counter anti-Americanism. By countering negative attitudes about the America, constituting a point around which other characteristics of America will be evaluated. Through the process of avoiding psychological discomfort associated with conflicting attitudes the have different valence, people tend to make object evaluation parsimonious (as has been both argued and demonstrated in chapter 2). Simply put, positive attitudes about America on some issues correspond to positive attitudes on others. How these ideas are specifically put into practice is up to policy makers and diplomats.

Final Thoughts

In this project, we have sought to join other social scientists in outlining verifiable theories about the nature, sources, and effects of anti-Americanism. After reviewing the

important (if scarce) literature on the topic (chapter 1), this project we have outlined and tested a theory of the nature of anti-Americanism, looking primarily at Western European mass publics (chapter 2). We have demonstrated why anti-Americanism is an important phenomenon by outlining its important effects (chapter 3), and shown significant sources of anti-Americanism (chapter 4). We have also argued that, as a result of the events leading up to the invasion of Iraq in conjunction with the invasion itself, has lead to a new, greater level of anti-Americanism (chapter 5). We have concluded by proposing that the answer to how to counter anti-Americanism is highly consistent with the finding of the main theoretical chapter. Anti-Americanism can be offset through fostering positive, pro-American images and ideas. Very simply, positive views of the U.S. will counteract negative ones.

Much work needs to be done in the study of anti-Americanism. While this project has sought to create and test a general theory of anti-Americanism, as well as outlining it sources and effects in ways that are applicable to the rest of the world, it has looked only at Western Europe, and mostly over the past few years. The ideas presented and tested in this project need to be applied to other parts of the world that have different cultures and different historical relationships with the United States, particularly parts of the world with high Muslim populations such as the Middle East and South Asia.

Also, this project, while providing a general theory regarding the nature of anti-Americanism, has only scratched the surface about the political effects and sources of the phenomenon. For example, what effect might anti-Americanism have on national elections, and in what contexts? German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder was widely said to have invoked anti-Americanism in the form of firm opposition toward taking action against Iraq during the 2002 election in Germany. Others have argued that an anti-American backlash occurred against the

ruling Popular Party government in Spain in the days after the March 11, 2004 terrorist attacks in Madrid, as the rival Socialist Party had pledged to remove all troops from Iraq. While these interpretations of events are certainly debatable, they do present promising areas where the effects of anti-Americanism on national politics could be further explored. As for sources of anti-Americanism, more surveys could be done with the intention of, for example, fully exploring how an individual's attitudes about U.S. domestic policy (e.g. the death penalty) affect anti-Americanism. While this project has sought to answer compelling questions about the sources and effects of anti-Americanism, as well as a general theory of the phenomenon, it is a mere first step.

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APPENDIX: OPERATIONALIZATION OF VARIABLES NOT OTHERWISE SPECIFIED

Analyses using Worldviews 2002 data:

Age cohort: 1 = (18-24), 2 = (25-34), 3 = (35-44, refused, and "don't know"), 4 = (45-54), 5 = (55-64), 6 = 65+

Ideology: 1 = (Extremely liberal/Extreme Left), 2 = (Liberal/Left), 3 = (Slightly liberal/Center Left), 4 = (Moderate/middle of the road/Center, refused, and "don't know"), 5 = (Slightly conservative/Center Right), 6 = (Conservative/Right), 7 = (Extremely conservative/Extreme right)

Analyses using Eurobarometer data:

Fear of World War 3: "Here is a list of things that some people say they are afraid of. For each of these, please tell me if, personally, you are afraid of it, or not?" "A world war." 1 = (afraid), 2 = (not afraid, don't know)

Fear of WMD: "Here is a list of things that some people say they are afraid of. For each of these, please tell me if, personally, you are afraid of it, or not?" "Spread of nuclear, bacteriological or chemical weapons of mass destruction." 1 = (afraid), 2 = (not afraid, don't know)

Fear of Terrorism: "Here is a list of things that some people say they are afraid of. For each of these, please tell me if, personally, you are afraid of it, or not?" "International Terrorism." 1 = (afraid), 2 = (not afraid, don't know)

Nationalism: "In the near future, do you see yourself as…" 4 = ([nationality] only), 3 = ([nationality] and European), 2 = (European and [nationality]), 1 = (European only), 2.5 = (refused, don't know)

View of EU: "In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?" 5 = (very positive), 4 = (fairly positive), 3 = (neutral, don't know), 2 = (fairly negative), 1 = (very negative)

Proud to be European: "And would you say you are very proud, fairly proud, not very proud, not at all proud to be European?" 4 = (very proud), 3 = (fairly proud), 2 = (not very proud), 1 = (not at all proud)

Support European political union: "Are you, yourself, for or against the development towards a European political union?" 1 = (for), 0 = (against, don't know)

Satisfaction with EU democracy: "And how [are you] about the way democracy works in the European Union?" 4 = (very satisfied), 3 = (fairly satisfied), 2 = (not very satisfied), 1 = (not at all satisfied), 2.5 = (don't know, refused)

Ideology: "In political matters people talk of 'the left' and 'the right.' How would you place your views on this scale?" 1 = (furthest left), 10 = (furthest right), 5.5 = (don't know, refused)

Analyses using Pew Global Attitudes Project 2003 data:

Variables from factor analysis in Table 2.3:
"And which of these comes closer to your view? I like American ideas about democracy, OR I dislike American ideas about democracy." -1 = (like), 1 = (dislike), 0 = (refused, don't know)

"Which comes closer to describing your view? I like American ways of doing business, OR I dislike American ways of doing business." -1 = (like), 1 = (dislike), 0 = (refused, don't know)

"And which comes closer to describing your view? I favor the US-led efforts to fight terrorism, OR I oppose the US-led efforts to fight terrorism." -1 = (favor), 1 = (oppose), 0 = (refused, don't know)

"In making international policy decisions, to what extent do you think the United States takes into account the interests of countries like (survey country) – a great deal, a fair amount, not too much, or not at all?" -2 = (a great deal), -1 (a fair amount), 0 = (refused, don't know), -1 = (not too much), -2 = (not at all)

Support for globalization: "All in all, how do you feel about the world becoming more connected through greater economic trade and faster communication – do you think this is a very good thing, somewhat good, somewhat bad or a very bad thing for our country?" 4 = (very good), 3 = (somewhat good), 2 = (somewhat bad), 1 = (very bad), 2.5 = (refused, don't know)

Believe U.S. policy stabilizes Middle East: "Do you think US policies in the Middle East make the region more stable or less stable?" 1 = (more stable), 0 = (less stable), .5 = (no difference, don't know, refused)

Believe U.S. biased toward Israel: "What's your opinion of US policies in the Middle East – would you say they are fair or do they favor Israel too much or do they favor the Palestinians too much?" 1 = (favor Israel), 0 = (fair, favor Palestinians, don't know, refused)

Support for Israel: "Which statement comes closest your opinion…." 1 = (A way can be found for the state of Israel to exist so that the rights and needs of the Palestinian people are taken care of), 0 = (The rights and needs of the Palestinian people cannot be taken care of as long as the state of Israel exists, don't know, refused)

Support for preemptive use of force: "Do you think that using military force against countries that may seriously threaten our country, but have not attacked us, can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?" 4 = (often be justified), 3 = (sometimes be justified), 2 = (rarely be justified), 1 = (never be justified), 2.5 = (don't know, refused)

VITA

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