

Anti-Americanism and the Rise of World Opinion

In recent years, the United States has seen its public popularity ratings around the world plummet under the presidency of George W. Bush, and subsequently soar upon the election of Barack Obama. The issue of anti-Americanism has received considerable attention from policy-makers, pundits, and scholars alike. It is perhaps surprising then that systematic empirical studies of its consequences are still few and far between. Drawing from a wealth of research data, interviews, and surveys of social media, this book directly examines pro- and anti-American views and asks what we can learn about the nature and impact of world opinion. By treating anti-Americanism as a case study of public opinion at work, Professor Datta reveals how we can better understand the relationship between global citizens and their political leaders, and concludes that anti-Americanism does in fact substantially impact US security, as well as its economic and political interests.

MONTI NARAYAN DATTA is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Richmond, Virginia.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-03232-3 — Anti-Americanism and the Rise of World Opinion
Monti Narayan Datta
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Anti-Americanism and the Rise of World Opinion

Consequences for the US National Interest

Monti Narayan Datta

University of Richmond, Virginia



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-03232-3 — Anti-Americanism and the Rise of World Opinion
Monti Narayan Datta
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India
103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107032323

© Monti Narayan Datta 2014

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2014

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Datta, Monti Narayan.

Anti-Americanism and the rise of world opinion consequences for the US national interest / Monti Narayan Datta, University of Richmond, Virginia.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Anti-Americanism. 2. United States—Foreign public opinion. 3. United States—Foreign relations—21st century. I. Title.

E895.D37 2014

327.73009'05—dc23 2013044710

ISBN 978-1-107-03232-3 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>page</i> vi
<i>List of tables</i>	viii
<i>Preface</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xiii
1 Anti-Americanism and the rise of world opinion	1
2 A neoliberal theory of soft balancing	21
3 The decline of America’s soft power in the United Nations	56
4 Global consumption of Brand America	81
5 Bush’s war	117
6 The Obama effect	148
7 Conclusions and next steps	173
<i>Appendix</i>	194
<i>Bibliography</i>	230
<i>Index</i>	242

Figures

1.1	A continuum of attitudinal formation	<i>page</i> 5
1.2	Consequences for the US national interest	14
2.1	Worldwide protests against the US-led war in Iraq	22
2.2	Colin Powell at the United Nations	32
2.3	US image plummets prior to the war in Iraq	34
2.4	A neoliberal theory of soft balancing	43
2.5	Global Market Insite poll on avoiding American products	49
3.1	Voting alignment in the UNGA and public opinion toward the United States – lobbied votes	63
3.2	Voting alignment in the UNGA and public opinion toward the United States – plenary session votes	64
4.1	Bashing Brand America	82
4.2	Trends in sales of Coca-Cola products across the globe	91
4.3	Trends in the number of Starbucks coffee shops around the globe	98
4.4	Trends in Western European tourist arrivals to the United States	103
4.5	Percent share of students abroad, by country, 1998–2010	109
5.1	Total American deaths from the US-led war in Iraq, 2003–2012	123
5.2	Total wounded in action from the US-led war in Iraq, 2003–2012	124
5.3	Predicted probabilities of coalition support for the 2003 war in Iraq	138
5.4	Predicted probabilities of troop support for the 2003 war in Iraq	140
5.5	Predicted probabilities of funds pledged for the 2003 war in Iraq	141
6.1	Preferred US election candidate in 2008	150
6.2	Percent confidence that the US president will do the right thing in world affairs	153
6.3	Support for the US-led war on terror: 2007 and 2009	160

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-03232-3 — Anti-Americanism and the Rise of World Opinion
Monti Narayan Datta
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

List of figures	vii
6.4 Support for the war on terror and confidence in Obama in 2009	161
6.5 Support for ISAF troops and confidence in Obama in 2009	162
6.6 ISAF troop contributions, 2007–2012	163
7.1 Global military expenditures, 2011	184
7.2 Strands of anti-great powerism	189

Tables

1.1	A typology of anti-Americanism	<i>page</i> 6
2.1	US attention to the interests of other countries	35
3.1	Example of US-lobbied votes in the UNGA in 2006	59
3.2	Voting alignment in the UNGA: dependent variables	60
3.3	Favorable opinion (%) toward the United States	62
3.4	Descriptive statistics for the public opinion hypothesis – UN voting alignment	66
3.5	Results for the public opinion hypothesis – UN voting alignment (lobbied votes)	68
3.6	Results for the public opinion hypothesis – UN voting alignment (plenary session votes)	75
4.1	Depreciation of the US dollar against the euro	85
4.2	Sales of selected brands in Europe	88
4.3	Descriptive statistics for the public opinion hypothesis – sales of Coca-Cola	94
4.4	Results for the public opinion hypothesis – sales of Coca-Cola	95
4.5	Descriptive statistics for the public opinion hypothesis – growth of Starbucks	101
4.6	Results for the public opinion hypothesis – growth of Starbucks	102
4.7	Descriptive statistics for the public opinion hypothesis – tourist arrivals and spending in the United States	105
4.8	Results for the public opinion hypothesis – tourist arrivals and spending in the United States	106
4.9	Descriptive statistics for the public opinion hypothesis – student arrivals to the United States	110
4.10	Results for the public opinion hypothesis – student arrivals to the United States	111
4.11	Net contribution to the US economy by foreign students, 2010–2011	116
5.1	Support for the war in Iraq and actual participation	118
viii		

List of tables	ix
5.2 First and Second US-led Gulf Wars – allied support	121
5.3 Western European favorable opinion (%) toward the United States	129
5.4 Western European favorable opinion (%) toward President Bush (Sr. and Jr.)	131
5.5 Descriptive statistics for the public opinion hypothesis – the Second Gulf War	133
5.6 Results for the public opinion hypothesis – the Second Gulf War	137
5.7 Results for the public opinion hypothesis – the Second Gulf War (predicted probabilities)	137
5.8 Support for the Second Gulf War – a comparison of country support	142
6.1 Favorable opinion (%) toward the United States, 2007 and 2009	152
6.2 Descriptive statistics for the public opinion hypothesis – UN voting alignment across presidencies	157
6.3 The public opinion hypothesis – UN voting alignment across presidencies	158
6.4 Top NATO contributing countries to the ISAF	164
6.5 Descriptive statistics for the public opinion hypothesis – estimating ISAF troop contributions	166
6.6 Results for the public opinion hypothesis – estimating ISAF troop contributions	168
6.7 Results for the public opinion hypothesis – estimating ISAF troop contributions (different key explanatory variables)	169
7.1 Academic ranking of world universities in 2012	186
7.2 A typology of anti-great powerism	190
A1 Question wording for key explanatory variable	195
A2 Favorable opinion toward the United States	205

Preface

Why study the consequences of anti-Americanism?

On the morning of September 11, 2001, I was at my part-time job in Crystal City, Virginia, just a few blocks away from the Pentagon. Around 9:00 am, I settled into my office, sipped some hot chocolate, and checked the news online. At first, I didn't make much of the breaking story of what appeared to be a small plane hitting the North Tower of the World Trade Center. I assumed it was simply an unfortunate accident that befell New York City on that chilly fall morning. I closed my Internet browser and got back to work.

Things took a different turn at 9:37 am, when American Airlines Flight 77 slammed into the Pentagon, disintegrating upon impact. My office shook, as if a minor tremor had struck Northern Virginia. "It can't be an earthquake," I thought. About fifteen minutes later, I looked outside the window, noticing bits of dust and debris swirling in the sky, like confetti. That's when the phone rang. It was a member of my family, panic-stricken and confused that I might have been killed at the Pentagon. It turns out those bits of debris in the sky were from the smoke, flames, and pulverized concrete of the explosion nearby. I went back online and saw that both towers of the World Trade Center had been struck and that the United States was under attack.

The rest is history. President Bush put the nation on alert that evening, in which he recalled, "Today, our fellow citizens, our way of life, our very freedom came under attack in a series of deliberate and deadly terrorist acts. The victims were in airplanes or in their offices – secretaries, businessmen and women, military and federal workers. Moms and dads. Friends and neighbors."¹

He couldn't have been more right. What I wouldn't learn until that night was that one of my professors from Georgetown University – Leslie

¹ President Bush's Address to the Nation on September 11, 2001, <http://blogs.archives.gov/prologue/?p=6807>.

A. Whittington, in addition to her husband, Charles S. Falkenberg, and their two daughters, Zoe and Dana – had been aboard American Airlines Flight 77. Pangs of confusion, sadness, and anger swept among my friends and colleagues at the Georgetown Public Policy Institute, where Leslie taught and advised us on how to make a change for the better in the Beltway. A group of us stayed out late at Trio's in Dupont Circle, trying to make sense out of what happened. I had been familiar with the phenomenon of anti-Americanism before the events of September 11, but it was only at that moment that I felt it so close to home.

My first encounter with anti-Americanism occurred years earlier, when I lived in South Korea and taught English to children and adults in the seaside city of Yeosu. One afternoon I was at the local bus stop when a co-teacher with whom I instructed students pulled me aside. Taking a long drag on a cigarette amidst the coastal breeze and squinting his eyes in the afternoon sun, he remarked, "I like you, but I don't like your country." I thought more about his words on 9/11, and haven't forgotten them since. They have accompanied me wherever I have gone abroad as an American and whenever I have heard the candid observations of those who admire the United States and its culture, but who at times loathe its foreign policy.

The genesis of this book hails from such events. Anti-Americanism can be cancerous. As the research in this book systematically shows, it hurts the United States and stymies its national interest. By studying this phenomenon, I hope to inform the policy community of its effects and stimulate ways to reduce its prevalence. It is my wish that, one day, pro-Americanism becomes more of a household term than anti-Americanism has ever been.

Acknowledgements

This book, based upon my doctoral thesis at the University of California at Davis and revised extensively at the University of Richmond, would not have been possible without the support of a number of talented and compassionate individuals.

A great deal of thanks goes to my dissertation committee, particularly to my friend and mentor, Miroslav Nincic, who has been a steady source of intellectual guidance, inspiration, and moral support. Giacomo Chiozza also provided a medley of helpful suggestions. Larry Berman, who stepped in after Donald Rothchild's untimely passing, aided me during several crucial moments. Emily Goldman also provided a number of useful insights.

Beyond the dissertation committee, I thank several administrators at UC Davis: Hector Cuevas, Jeff Gibeling, and Janet Gutierrez. I am also grateful to Christi Gilhoi, Joseph McGee, and Susan Shirk at UC San Diego for their guidance while I was a fellow under the National Science Foundation's Integrative Graduate Education and Research Traineeship.

Audra K. Grant, former Senior Public Opinion and Policy Analyst at the US State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, shared useful data, which whetted my appetite to take several trips in search of additional State Department records at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland. I would like to thank Lee Gladwin, Lynn Goodsell, and Constantine ("Dino") Zervos for their support during my research at the Archives. Liz and Matt Daniels are due a great deal of thanks for feeding and lodging me free of charge while I conducted my research.

Several outstanding scholars provided help. Robert O. Keohane and Peter J. Katzenstein looked over early chapters at the dissertation phase and provided thoughtful feedback. Both men were gracious with their comments, particularly considering that I was engaging and, to some extent, challenging some of the claims in the concluding chapter of their edited volume, *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*. Ole Holsti provided a thorough review of the book manuscript, making it much better than it

xiv Acknowledgements

would have otherwise been. Dick Martin provided some particularly good insights on sales of US brand name products overseas, which I folded into Chapter 4.

I also want to thank my colleagues at the University of Richmond, including: Andrea Simpson, Vincent Wang, Dan Palazzolo, Sheila Carapico, Jimmy Kandeh, Jennifer Erkulwater, Tracy Roof, Jenny Pribble, Rick Mayes, Steven Simon, Alexandra Sznajder Lee, Stephen Long, Kevin Cherry, Ernest McGowan, Jennifer Bowie, Laura Horn-Popp, Beth Ann Howard, and Richard Dagger. I am grateful for two summers of support generously provided by the University of Richmond's School of Arts & Sciences. My thanks go to Kathy Hoke, Kathleen Skerritt, Malcolm Hill, Steve Allred, Andy Newcomb, and Terri Weaver. Andrew Pericak, Kim Klinker, and Taylor Poe were helpful with constructing some of the graphs for the book.

Additional thanks are in order to my editors at Cambridge University Press, John Haslam, Carrie Parkinson, and Amanda George. They have been wonderful to work with. Catherine Amos from the University of Richmond was a godsend in helping tidy up the manuscript. My friend and research assistant Davina Durgana did a fabulous job proofreading the chapters. Sophie Rosinke was also a superb copyeditor.

Lastly, I thank my family. My mother introduced me to the world of education. When I was 5 years old, she spent the whole summer reading books with me, helping her little boy become a young scholar. My older brother also set a fine example. When he was in college at USC, he would often take my sister and me as youngsters to campus, showing us around, weaving us through the bookstore and library, immersing us in the world of higher education. My sister has always been there for me. When I was in elementary school, she would help me study for quizzes, and would be so proud when her "little one" did well. My brother-in-law Danny continues to be a strong pillar in our household. My father, to whom this book is dedicated, taught me that the pursuit of knowledge is a passion worth sharing.