European Anti-Americanism: Sources, Effects, and Implications

Abstract:

Despite its currency, the term "anti-Americanism" is problematic, often used in a polemic sense to discredit criticism of American policy as a visceral and irrational response rather than the reactive result of that policy. We criticize this approach on theoretical and empirical grounds. Theoretically, we argue that anti-Americanism is best explained using theories in public opinion that people utilize salient characteristics of an object and cues taken from the political environment when expressing opinions. Empirically, negative evaluations of the United States are systematically related to American policy. Using Eurobarometer data we demonstrate the reactive nature of anti-Americanism by showing its relation to ideology and welfare spending, American policy, and other geopolitical concerns. Furthermore, those who are more politically engaged are more likely to exhibit anti-American tendencies, and do so before those who are less politically engaged. This suggests that anti-Americanism, far from being an unstructured and entirely irrational prejudice, has structure and is reactive to American policy and political values.

Gregory Johnston
Assistant Professor
Southern Illinois University Edwardsville
gjohnst@siue.edu

Leonard Ray
Associate Professor
Louisiana State University
lray2@lsu.edu

Introduction

  Speculation and commentary about anti-Americanism abroad has increased dramatically

since the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington D.C. on September 11, 2001. The rapid

evolution of events since then has highlighted a number of different sources and motives of anti-

American attitudes. In the initial response to the attacks, there was a natural focus on Islamic

extremists, as reflected by President George W. Bush's rhetorical question: "Why do they hate

us?" (Bush 2001). In turn, some commentators began to suggest that this "hatred" might find

roots in American foreign policy. Some proponents of this view soon found themselves labeled

"anti-American," particularly those who stood aloof from the general outpouring of international

sympathy for the United States. As the "War on Terror" changed from an assault on Al-Qaeda

strongholds in Afghanistan in late 2001 to an invasion of Iraq in 2003, international

condemnation of the United States experienced a resurgence that would have been difficult to

imagine in months after the September, 11 attacks.

  In this paper we discuss the problematic nature of the concept of "anti-Americanism" and

examine empirical evidence about anti-American attitudes in the European Union before and

after the invasion of Iraq. We define anti-Americanism as *a propensity to believe that the United*

States plays a negative role in the world across a range of issues.[1] Using Eurobarometer survey

data from 2002 and 2003, we investigate the degree to which negative evaluations about the

United States reinforce each other.[2] We assess the impact of American foreign policy towards

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[1] This definition of anti-Americanism is relatively specific, reflecting evaluations of a relatively tangible referent, U.S. policy. This does not question the applicability of broader definitions of anti-Americanism, such as that presented by Katzenstein and Keohane (2007a, 12).

[2] While other opinion polls, most notably the Pew Center's Global Attitudes Project, have asked about perceptions of the United States, these Eurobarometer polls are particularly useful because they ask for evaluations of the U.S. on a number of dimensions and include questions about other opinions such as support for European integration, indicators of ideological self placement, and nationalism among other theoretically important variables.

Iraq on the attitudes of Europeans, and examine some of the determinants of European criticism of the United States.

Much of the literature, as we review below, suggests anti-Americanism is an entirely emotional and visceral phenomenon, much akin to racism. If this characterization of anti-American attitudes was accurate, then anti-Americanism would not be systematically related to American policy. While we do not dispute that anti-Americanism has emotional components, we find evidence that evaluations of the United States reflect American actions, rather than some uniquely irrational antipathy. We believe that anti-Americanism is responsive in nature, and will demonstrate this by showing its relation to 1) socio-political engagement, 2) ideology and welfare spending, and 3) its internal consistency regarding different issues.

The evolution of European opinion

The past several years have witnessed dramatic shifts in European public opinion towards the United States. While some level of negative sentiment towards the U.S. has always existed in Europe, the criticism surrounding the invasion of Iraq has been a marked departure from historical trends.[3] Figure 1 plots the evolution of favorable vs. unfavorable evaluations of the United States in three European nations during the 1980s (as measured by the Eurobarometer surveys) and the 2000s (as measured by the Pew Center Global Attitudes Project). Negative views of the United States generally increased over the course of the second Reagan administration. When the data series resumes in 2002, negative sentiments in Germany and the UK are typical of the late 1980s, with only the French public holding levels of unfavorable

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[3] Research has shown that Americans' foreign policy attitudes can shift in response to international events. See Peffley and Hurwitz (1992). The attitudes of Europeans appear to be similarly responsive to events.

evaluations above those recorded during the Cold War.[4] The increase in unfavorable opinions

towards the United States between 2002 and the spring of 2003 is striking. We will examine this

time period in greater detail below, exploring the structure and determinants of anti-American

attitudes in Western Europe.

[Figure 1 should go around here]

Anti-Americanism, a contested concept

This research project began as a study of the increase in critical attitudes towards the

United States among Europeans, a phenomenon we (perhaps naively) labeled "anti-

Americanism." The concept "anti-Americanism" turns out to be a particularly problematic one,

with an inherent ambiguity compounded by the frequent use of this term as a polemical tool. As

an earlier scholar noted, "anti-Americanism… proves difficult to define once you start peeling

back the layers of meaning" (Crockatt, 2003, p. 43). Without broad agreement of the meaning of

"Americanism" it is not obvious what anti-Americanism opposes. The task is further

complicated by the suffix "ism," associated with ideologies or prejudices such as fascism,

liberalism, or racism, suggesting that we are dealing with attitudes that are somehow systematic,

structured, or irrational. We survey below four typical approaches taken by the literature on anti-

Americanism. Some authors engage in an (often futile) attempt to define "Americanism".

Others simply dismiss any criticism of American policy or society as emotional or "visceral"

anti-American prejudice. A less polemical variant of this literature recognizes that some

American policies may be criticized out of good faith, but insists that any systematic criticism of

the United States over a wide set of issues must be motivated by hatred or resentment. Finally,

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[4] The dearth of crossnational survey data on attitudes about the United States between the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the War on Terror is itself an intriguing phenomenon.

some scholars have seen anti-Americanism as primarily a response to the content of American policy rather than to the United States itself.[5]

Among authors who interpret anti-Americanism to mean criticism of the United States itself, a common theme is the unreflective or irrational nature of the criticism. Hollander draws a parallel between racism, anti-Semitism, and anti-Americanism, which he describes 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, 1992, pp. 334-335). Hollander's use of the term anti-Americanism is so broad that his list of domestic "anti-American" culprits includes Noam Chomsky, Kurt Vonnegut, Walter Cronkite, and Miss America 1988.[6] His text veers well into a polemical use of the term to undercut any criticism of America emanating from overseas, or from domestic critics on the left.[7]

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[5] Some discussions of anti-Americanism begin with a brief excursus on "Americanism" before turning to its presumed opposite. Crockatt (2003) and Roger (2002) both identify Americanism with the nationalist thought of Theodore Roosevelt. Crockatt finds elements of an American nationalism in such phenomena as the nativist movement and the McCarthy era persecution of "un-American" activities. However, Roger concludes that "anti-Americanism" has little to do with these historical traditions. He argues that in France, "Americanism" is nothing more than the set of negative clichés about America held by anti-Americans (Roger 2002, 15). In some discussions, the "Americanism" which is rejected by anti-Americans becomes rather divorced from the actual United States of America. Some "anti-Americans" such as Regis Debray offer a critique of a modern consumerist lifestyle, which is only coincidentally related to the United States (Roger 2002, 582). Crockatt likewise states that "to some extent, anti-Americanism ... is a reaction to modernity," by which he means the broader phenomenon known as "globalization", "rather than to America itself" (2003, 57). Defining anti-Americanism as a rejection of modernity or consumerism is not a very useful approach for our study of European reactions to American foreign policy, at least in the security arena. There are some exceptions of the degree to which modernity and American policy can be separated. For example, the United States' failure to ratify the Kyoto protocols are seen by many critics of the U.S. as evidence that it holds modern, as opposed to post modern, values of material consumption above environmental preservation. The diffusion of social and technological changes which often appear first in the U.S. provides some basis for the identity of modernism with America, but numerous counter examples of American adoption of innovations from abroad undermine this argument. Instead of reactions to an undefined "Americanism" or to modernity in general, we wish to analyze evaluations of a more concrete referent, the policies of the United States government.
[6] The statement by Miss America 1988 which Hollander characterizes as "visceral" anti-Americanism was "society has lost its bearings" (Hollander, 1992, 3).
[7] Oddly, critics on the right are seldom identified by Hollander as anti-American.

Likewise, commentator Robert Kagan dismisses European criticism of American foreign policy by arguing that the people of Europe are largely anti-American, the result of irrational sentiments and covert anti-Semitism (Kagan 2003). This rhetorical use of the "anti-American" label, recently described as "pathological" by Mendieta, (2003), literally knows no bounds. For example, critics of American policy now feel the need to preface their comments with a preemptive rejection of the "anti-American" label both the UK and in France (Kilfoyle 2003).

Other authors allow that criticism of individual aspects of America may be well founded, but see any systematic condemnation of the U.S. across a range of issues as emotional anti-Americanism motivated by hatred or and resentment. Rubinstein and Smith (1988, 35-45) define anti-Americanism 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." Haseler opens his discussion with the caveat that "anti-Americanism should not be confused with opposition to specific U.S. policies or administrations" (Haesler 1985, 1) a point echoed by Thornton (1988, 9-19). For Haseler (1985, 6), anti-Americanism involves opposition "to the cultural and political values of the United States" which is "often the product of rage based on *resentment and envy*" (emphasis in original). These approaches generally share the premise that isolated critiques may be justified, but that systematic criticism of the United States is a symptom of emotional, non-rational processes.

Indeed, common to many descriptions of anti-Americanism is the notion that these attitudes are unrelated to American actions. Haseler argues that anti-Americanism will persist despite changes in American policies or administrations. Discussing Western Europe, Spiro characterizes the "core" of anti-Americanism as "the incomprehension or the rejection of the procedural constitutionalism and substantive democracy of the United States of America" (Spiro

1988, p. 122). Rather than a response to U.S. policies, Spiro argues that "anti-Americanism has been endemic among the ruling classes in continental Europe since 1776 at the latest".[8] Fabbrini (2002, p. 5) likewise argues that anti-Americanism will persist in Europe because of "domestic sources of European anti-Americanism, at least as significant as the external ones, and probably more resilient than the latter."

Other scholars have asserted that anti-Americanism is to largely a response to the policies of the United States. Based on interviews of forty Pakistanis, Kizilbash (1988) finds that all the major sources of anti-Americanism in Pakistan come from policy disagreements, most notably American support for Israel and U.S. opposition to Pakistan's nuclear program. Smith and Wertman trace the ebb and flow of European anti-Americanism since the end of World War II, suggesting that peaks in anti-American sentiment coincide with particular U.S. policies, such as the development of the hydrogen bomb, and the deployment of intermediate range nuclear forces (1992a).

Most recently, Katzenstein and Keohane (2007a, 2007b) have treated anti-Americanism as a psychological phenomenon, which manifests itself in various "schemata" (mental representations of the world) subject to various specific concerns about foreign policy, failure of the U.S. to conform to its own stated values, American domestic policy, nationalism, and fundamental rejection of America based on its values and other existential characteristics. In some ways this is similar to the cited research positing anti-Americanism is fundamentally rational in nature. However, Katzenstein and Keohane stress the importance of psychological processes that act as "prisms" through which one views American actions or characteristics, which go on to shape the degree to which one hold negative attitudes about the U.S.

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[8] For Spiro this is strictly an elite phenomenon. He asserts that "ordinary continental Europeans" on the other hand "have generally shown themselves to be pro-American, sometimes existentially and enthusiastically so." (Spiro 1988, 124). .

We agree with Katzenstein and Keohane's characterization of anti-Americanism as a phenomenon subject to psychological processes. Following this, we make two main arguments about the nature of anti-Americanism. First, systematic anti-American attitudes result from cognitive processes rather than some amorphous antipathy. Second, this reactive anti-Americanism will react to the policies of the United States and any responses to American actions will appear first in those individuals who are more engaged in political discourse.

The structure of attitudes about America

We focus on two things that should inform overall levels of anti-Americanism: 1) Salient attributes of American policy. 2) Cues taken from the political environment. We argue that when respondents express negative attitudes about the U.S. they are not revealing their wholly "visceral" anti-Americanism so much as expressing opinions based in part on an oversampling of salient ideas. Zaller & Feldman (1992, 579-580) have argued that survey respondents "call to mind a sample of [...] ideas including an oversample of ideas made salient by the questionnaire and other recent events." Responses are then formed based on this sample of ideas.

In this process, ostensibly disparate evaluations of a single object should be perceived similarly. This is because respondents are not so much considering the nuances and weighing the positive and negative aspects of U.S. policy as they are demonstrating consistent evaluation derived from *internalizing* accessible cues from the their environment and *reacting* to an immediate impression of the object in question – in this case the role the U.S. plays in the world (Zaller 1992, Ch. 3). A person who has a negative evaluation of the United States regarding a particularly salient issue, for example, willingness to cooperate with the international community, should tend to negatively evaluate the U.S. on other seemingly unrelated issues (e.g.

fighting global poverty), thereby demonstrating consistent evaluation through the process just described.

Because we conceptualize anti-Americanism as a systematic tendency to think of the U.S. negatively, it is best observed using several indicators rather than a single opinion in isolation. Therefore we measure this concept using multiple indicators.[9] In the fall of 2002 and the spring of 2003 Eurobarometer surveys 58.1 and 59.1 included a battery of five questions about the role the United States plays in the world. Respondents were asked, "In your opinion, would you say that the United States plays a positive role, a negative role, or neither a positive or negative role regarding…". Respondents were then given a list of five items, 1) peace in the world, 2) the fight against terrorism, 3) growth of the world economy, 4) the fight against poverty in the world, and 5) protection of the environment. These five evaluations of the U.S. role serve as the basis for our measure of anti-Americanism.[10]

[Table 1 should go about here]

Table 1 presents the relative frequencies for responses to each of these questions for a representative sample of residents of the EU. A glance at this table reveals the generally negative evaluations of the United States' role in the world, with pluralities of respondents assessing the U.S. role as positive only in regard to the fight against terrorism and global economic growth (in 2002). The most negative evaluations are for the U.S. role in protecting the environment.

If evaluations of the United States behave as we expect, we should observe a number of patterns in the data. *First*, we should expect all various evaluations of America's role in the world to load together on a single factor in a confirmatory factor analysis. This factor should be

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[9] For an approach based on a single indicator of anti-Americanism, see Smith and Wertman (1992b).
[10] Consistent with the theme of anti-Americanism, negative responses are coded as 1, positive responses coded as −1, and all others are coded 0.

an empirical manifestation of a tendency towards for consistency in evaluating characteristics of the United States, and should measure a common underlying variable we believe is anti-Americanism. *Second,* if this anti-Americanism is structured and predictable, then it should respond in a predictable fashion to multiple phenomena. These include American policy, geopolitical concerns, and other political positions (including ideology). We will examine both domestic and foreign policies for evidence of a systematic relationship between U.S. policy and anti-Americanism. We further expect that changes in American behavior should be noticed first by politically attentive individuals with other individuals responding to events more slowly. We will also observe the effects of other political variables on anti-American attitudes.

[Tables 2 and 3 should go about here]

In order to confirm our first expectation, we conducted a factor analysis for both time periods, and for a pooled dataset combining the observations from both years using the Eurobarometer data, using the same coded as reported in Table 1. In order to further confirm the viability of this method, as well as the results, we also use data from the 2003 Pew Global Attitudes Project. We use this survey because of the similar nature of the questions to the Eurobarometer questions, and the similar time period observed. This survey measured Europeans' evaluations of the United States on several issues: 1) ideas about democracy, 2) ways of doing business, 3) efforts to fight terrorism, and 4) taking into account the interests of other countries in foreign policy. These results of these principal components factor analyses are reported in Tables 2 and 3. Clearly there is a strong common element to these responses. In each analysis only one factor has an eigenvalue above 1.0, and this single factor accounts for over 50% of the variance across the five indicators in Table 2, and 44% across four indicators in

Table 3. The factor loadings across all the analyses exhibit a high degree of stability when the analysis is run separately in each country.[11]

Predicting anti-Americanism

We have argued that anti-Americanism is a tendency toward systematic negative evaluation of the United States. We have commented on the structure of anti-Americanism, as well as touching on what we argue is its reactive nature. This begs an important question: where does anti-Americanism come from? What factors affect the degree to which one has anti-American attitudes? We believe that several factors will affect expressions of anti-American attitudes, acting as cues one utilizes when expressing opinions about the role the U.S. plays in the world.

Since we argue that anti-Americanism is reactive in nature, we believe several factors will affect overall attitudes about the U.S. In this respect our approach to anti-Americanism is similar to that of Katzenstein and Keohane (2007a, 2007b), who offer a similar definition of anti-Americanism ("a psychological tendency to hold negative views of the United States and of American society in general" (2007a, 12)), and posit that anti-Americanism has multiple sources. In fact, they advocate the existence of several different forms of anti-American sentiment based on these sources, having their origins in different "schemata," or mental representations of the world. While we do not comment here on whether there are several qualitatively different types of anti-American sentiment (or for that matter, on the viability of schema theory in studying public opinion), we do agree with their central notion that overall attitudes about the U.S. are reactive to several different factors.

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[11] The one factor solution provided a good fit in each EU member state, and the second factor never had an eigenvalue above 1.

Anti-Americanism from public and foreign policy

We hypothesize that anti-Americanism should respond to the amount of policy

disagreement respondents have with the United States. We wish to demonstrate two ways in

which anti-American attitudes respond to American policy: 1) there is an ideological component

of anti-Americanism that is a function of the gap between American and European domestic

policies, and 2) there is a temporal shift in attitudes that corresponds to the invasion of Iraq. To

this extent, we will treat ideology, as measured by respondents' self placement on a ten point

"left-right" ideological scale, as having a linear relationship with anti-Americanism. The

linearity of the relationship between ideology and anti-Americanism has been questioned

(Fabbrinni 2002). In order to establish linearity, we conducted an OLS regression analysis where

each ideological score is a dichotomous variable. The results of this analysis, presented in Table

4, show how ideology acts in linear fashion, and justifies our use of ideology as a linear function

in subsequent analyses.

Some authors interpret the effect of ideology to mean that anti-Americanism springs from

domestic European sources, rather than American policy (Fabbrini, 2002). However, the almost

linear association between left-right ideology and anti-Americanism suggests that there is a

particularly leftist criticism of America, and it is not difficult to imagine why the U.S. would be

evaluated negatively by the European left. Many observers have noted that the American

political system is generally weighted to the right when compared to European political systems,

both in terms of the political parties (Budge & Klingemann, 2001) and public policy (Esping-

Andersen, 1990). But this ideological distance varies considerably across the nations of Europe.

We find that the strength of the effect of ideology differs across European nations in a

systematic fashion. When an OLS model is estimated for each nation separately, the linear effect

of ideology on anti-Americanism ranges from a very large and significant relationship (-.16) in Italy to a tiny, non-significant relationship (-.003) in Ireland. We believe that the variation in the impact of ideology is not random. Instead, we hypothesize that the association of the left with anti-Americanism is related to the distance between American social policy and social policy in each European country. However, we expect that if domestic policies affect the relationship between ideology and anti-Americanism, that this should not be limited to social spending, but should also include the much more salient invasion of Iraq. This should particularly be the case where a center-right government supported the 2003 invasion, namely Italy and Spain.

[Figure 2 should go about here]

Figure 2 plots the association between ideology and anti-Americanism (the coefficients from the OLS regressions mentioned above) against a measure of spending on social protection as a percent of GDP. Across the EU 15, the association of the left with anti-Americanism increases along with social protection spending. Two outliers are immediately visible on the figure. These nations where social protection spending is close to the EU average, but anti-Americanism is strongly associated with the left, are Spain and Italy. Given the salience of the Iraq issue during this time period, and the support for the American led invasion by right-of-center prime ministers from the right in both of these nations, it is not surprising that leftist anti-Americanism would be particularly strong in these two nations. Consistent with our theme of a structured anti-Americanism, without these two outliers, we find an even stronger relationship between the ideological tilt of anti-Americanism and national social policy.

Anti-Americanism also seems to respond to American foreign policy. The case of the invasion of Iraq is a particularly dramatic example. Our first dataset, Eurobarometer 58.1, covers the period in October-November 2002 when the U.S. sought and obtained unanimous Security

Council support for the reintroduction of weapons inspectors in Iraq. Our second dataset, Eurobarometer 59.1, covers the period when the U.S., along with a "coalition of the willing," invaded Iraq after failing to obtain a second UN resolution authorizing the use of force. The invasion was not well received by most of the European public; in October 2003, 68% of Europeans thought that the intervention in Iraq was "not justified" (European Commission, 2003a).

To compare the mean level of anti-Americanism between the two periods, we extracted principle components from the merged Eurobarometer datasets as described above. The mean component score for 2002 was -.085, and the mean score for 2003 was .084. The high statistical significance of this difference (t = 15.32) indicates that we can be confident that anti-Americanism increased during the interval between surveys.[12] We should note that this finding is not enough, in and of itself, to attribute the increase solely to the invasion of Iraq, though it is suggestive.

Political engagement: a "weathervane" for anti-Americanism

The shift in American policy from containment to invasion did not have an immediate effect on the attitudes of all members of the public equally. We argue that respondents who are more politically engaged should be more likely than less engaged respondents to receive and internalize cues about the actions or policies of the United States that can be negatively interpreted. Therefore, if anti-Americanism were rising, those with higher levels of political engagement should express higher levels of anti-Americanism. Given the importance of interpersonal communication in the diffusion of opinions (Lazarsfeld, Berelson & Gaudet, 1948;

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[12] The factor scores used for all subsequent analyses were generated using a pooled analyses of respondents from both years. The stability of the factor loadings over time argues in favor of this approach. If the data had not been pooled for this analysis, then scores could not be meaningfully compared across years, as factor analysis automatically generates factor scores with a mean of zero.

Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955; Lazarsfeld & Menzel, 1963; Black, 1982; Lenart, 1994), we expect the degree to which different people have varying levels of political engagement to be an important factor in the spread of anti-Americanism. Consistent with a two-step model of information flow (Rosneau, 1961) we would expect the more politically engaged (often referred to as "opinion leaders" in much classic public opinion literature), to alter their views earliest, becoming rather distinct in their opinions from the rest of the population. As these views diffuse among less attentive people, the "gap" between the attitudes of the politically engaged and the rest of the public will lessen, until the population has "caught up" with them.

As we do not dispute the process of opinion dissemination from elites to media to mass publics, this process does not conflict with literature on top-down models of opinion diffusion by Zaller (1992) concerning the processes of opinion formation. Instead, to put it simply, we attempt to look at what goes on "inside" the bottom-most level of the mass public: that some, more politically engaged segments of the mass public are more attentive and more receptive to certain information than others. This dynamic has a notable similarity to the "mainstreaming effect" outlined by Zaller (1992, Ch 6).[13] We believe it is prudent to observe processes which capture potential interpersonal communications among mass publics. Opinion will flow not only from elites to mass publics, but also *within* mass publics; the public "consults with itself" to some degree (Berelson, Lazarsfeld & McPhee, 1954, p. 109), with the more attentive and engaged elements acting as conduits by which mass opinion becomes more uniform.[14]

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[13] We tested the notion that sophistication, as measured by education levels was actually driving trends in the dissemination of anti-Americanism, as opposed to opinion leadership. There was no statistical relationship.

[14] Indeed, it is important to note that the views of the politically engaged within mass publics has widely influenced, and is consistent with many of the current discussions of information diffusion in public opinion, as noted most recently by Philip Converse (2006).

Obviously, this does not preclude the notion and others of influence from elites to the masses; indeed, we believe it complements the notion.

We use a rather straightforward measure of political engagement similar to the classical measure of "opinion leadership" originally advocated by Paul Lazarsfeld and his colleagues (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954; Rogers & Cartano, 1962). [15] In order to test this argument about political engagement, we conduct another OLS regression analysis, using the same measure of anti-Americanism as extracted components of the analysis shown in Table 2 as the dependent variable. The explanatory variables of this model are political engagement and the interaction between political engagement and a dummy for the fall of 2002. We expect to find a positive effect of political engagement in general, and a positive interaction term indicating greater distinctiveness of the views of the politically engaged in 2002, when reactions to U.S. policy were only beginning to diffuse through European populations. We also include a dummy variable for 2003 in this regression analysis to demonstrate the overall shift in opinions through time, and a set of ideology variables and interactions in order to demonstrate the dependence of the effect of ideology on social policy.

Geopolitical concerns and anti-Americanism

Many factors apart from ideology, political engagement, or the Iraq conflict may lead to anti-American attitudes, and we account for a number of these other influences as well. There has been speculation that European criticism of the American-led "War on Terror" would be

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[15] Political engagement is measured by the sum of two questions, one on political discussion, the other on persuasion. The discussion question is worded as follows: "When you get together with friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally, or never?" Responses are coded 2 for "frequently", 1 for "occasionally", and 0 for "never" or "don't know".
Persuasion was indicated by the following: "When you hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading you friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views? Does this happen…?" Responses are coded 3 for "often", 2 for "from time to time", 1 for "rarely", and 0 for "never" or "don"t know". The sum of these responses is an opinion leadership index ranging from 0 to 5.

lessened if Europeans understood the gravity of the threat of terrorism. Therefore we expect fear

of terrorism to be negatively associated with anti-Americanism.

The justification for the invasion of Iraq was the perceived threat of Iraqi chemical,

nuclear, and biological weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Respondents who felt the threat of

WMD to be overstated may be quicker to criticize American policy. Also, with Europe being a

continent that has been repeatedly ravaged by war, one could argue that fear of a future war

would reduce anti-Americanism if America was seen as providing an effective defense against

threats. Alternately, the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan, and the actions and rhetoric leading

up to the invasion of Iraq (e.g. the "Axis of Evil" speech), may have lead many Europeans to fear

that alliance with America is more likely to drag them into a global conflict rather than to protect

them from one.[16] Therefore, we believe that fear of another world war will be positively

associated with anti-Americanism.

Haseler suggests that nationalism is an important factor promoting anti-American

attitudes (1992). However, given the deep divisions among European governments over

American policy in Iraq, the effect of nationalism in this period may be complex. If there is a

sort of "rally effect" in Europe which leads voters to support their government's position on

issues of war and peace, then individuals with a strong sense of national identity may respond

differently if their government is supporting an American led war than if it is in opposition.

Therefore, we expect that nationalism may lead individuals to be less anti-American in those

countries where the government supported U.S. policy. We will model that the relationship

between nationalism and anti-Americanism as an interaction with the position taken by the

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[16] These data do refer to a period preceding the March 2004 terrorist attacks in Spain, which have been
interpreted by some as evidence of the danger of working with the United States.

government of a respondent's country, which we will measure as whether or not they supported

U.S.-led action against Iraq.

There is also the possibility that support for the European Union is related to attitudes

towards the United States. During the Cold War, American administrations supported the

development of the EEC, and European institutions were often seen as pro-capitalist and thus

relatively pro-American. However, to the extent that the European Union is now seen as an

alternative to the Atlantic alliance, support for the EU may be associated with anti-Americanism.

This hypothesis is consistent with our theme of the importance of immediately salient ideas

affecting opinion; with Europe, by and large, opposing the invasion of Iraq, we expect

attachment to Europe to be positively associated with anti-Americanism. Furthermore, we expect

this relationship to be particularly strong for respondents on the left, who may be particularly

supportive of increasing the authority of the Union.

Finally, some nations have a reputation as Americano-philes or -phobes, and a set of

dummy variables for nationality are included as controls, along with standard demographics of

education, age, income, and gender.

Results

Table 5 presents the results of OLS models predicting anti-Americanism in the pooled

dataset.[17] The first model includes only the ideology variables and country dummies and

demographics, the second the opinion leadership and temporal variables along with the country

dummies and demographics. The third model presents the fully specified model with

geopolitical concerns and all the other variables included.

As expected, ideology continues to have a significant effect on anti-Americanism, with

self-placement on the right being associated with less anti-Americanism. However, the effect of

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[17] The survey questions used are reproduced in the appendix.

ideology is clearly dependent on the level of social protection in a nation. The baseline effect for ideology is close to zero, indicating that ideology is not relevant in the hypothetical case of a nation with no social spending. As social spending as a percentage of GDP increases, the effect of ideology becomes increasingly negative, with the left becoming more and more anti-American. The dummy interactions for Italy and Spain indicate that in these two nations with right wing prime ministers who joined the coalition of the willing, the left is particularly anti-American. All of these ideology effects are robust under the full set of controls (model 3).

[Figure 3 should go about here]

As expected, political engagement is positive and significant in models 2 and 3. The trend of increasing anti-Americanism among Europeans is being led by those most engaged in political discourse. However, the interaction terms indicates that the effect of opinion leadership in the spring of 2003, while highly significant, is noticeably smaller than in the fall of 2002. Figure 3 illustrates the decreased effect of political engagement between these two time periods. Though anti-Americanism itself is lower in the fall of 2002, effects of political engagement on anti-Americanism at that time are greater than the spring of 2003. These results suggest that the aAnti-Americanism of opinion leaders in 2002 is diffusing among those Europeans less engaged in political discourse. A look at the actual mean values of anti-Americanism for each category of opinion leadership suggests that there was very little change in the opinions of the respondents scoring highest on opinion leadership. The bulk of the shift in European opinion from 2002 to 2004 occurs in the middle of the opinion leadership range.

The dichotomous variable for ther spring of 2003 has the hypothesized effect. Clearly, anti-Americanism increased between the fall of 2002 and the spring of 2003. The addition of a number of control variables does not alter the estimated relationship appreciably. During these

months, the United States was widely perceived as willing to act unilaterally, demonstrating a willingness to take action with or without approval from the United Nations. Finally, many felt that the inspections were not given a chance to work properly, an opinion voiced not only by the leaders of governments opposing military action against Iraq, but also by UN weapons inspectors.

Rather than a portrait of naive anti-Americanism fueled by a lack of appreciation of the danger of weapons of mass destruction, we find those Europeans most fearful about proliferation of WMD are more negatively disposed towards the United States. Despite the rhetoric of the Bush administration concerning the role of the United States in protecting the rest of the world from the proliferation of WMD, these results suggest that U.S. policy was seen as counterproductive. This suggests that perhaps Europeans who feared WMD proliferation were supportive of the ongoing UN inspections going on in Iraq, which the U.S. and its allies interrupted. Fear of terrorism has the expected negative relationship with anti-Americanism. Given the generally favorable view of the U.S. role in the fight against terrorism (see Table 1) it is not surprising that Europeans who fear terrorism are more positively disposed towards the U.S. This is a marked contrast to European attitudes about American policy on the proliferation of WMD. Fear of another world war has an unexpected negative association with anti-Americanism, but this effect is small and not statistically significant.

The effects of nationalism partially follow our expectations. In countries where the government opposed the invasion, nationalism is associated with anti-Americanism. In countries where that were not part of the U.S.-led coalition, we see the expected negative relationship, though this is not enough to overcome the overall negative effects of nationalism. Overall, it appears nationalism decreases anti-Americanism, even in countries that did not take part in the

invasion, though the effects of nationalism in those countries was significantly less, suggesting that not being part of the invasion did have some effect.

Consistent with the cold war interpretation of European institutions as "Western," support for the EU among those on the center and right side of the political spectrum is associated with less anti-Americanism, opposite of what we hypothesized. As we expected, the interaction term between support for the EU and the left is positive, but this significant effect is not large enough to cancel out the baseline effect of support for Europe. Even on the left, there is a moderately strong association between support for the EU, and lower levels of anti-Americanism. This may be a residual effect of the American support of early efforts at European unification after World War II. Alternately, we could be observing a tendency among those who reject the EU to also reject the United States. In this sense, we may be indirectly tapping into a nationalist reflex away from both the transatlantic alliance and the EU.

It is notable to point out that some of the incorrectly predicted relationships presented can be explained by referencing the work of Hurwitz and Peffley (1987; 1990; 1993) and others, which posits that broad impressions and values drive more specific values, such as those related to policy. This is perhaps best demonstrated in the finding that anti-Americanism is negatively associated with a positive view of the European Union. The process of European integration has seen one of its greatest advocates in the United States. Furthermore, the EU and the United States are close allies. It is logical to assume that support for the EU and support for the U.S. are seen in a similar light, and are associated with the same "core" values such as support for human rights and free trade. Insofar as this is the case, it makes sense that a positive view of the EU will be associated with support for the U.S.

This general notion also explains the relationship between nationalism and anti-Americanism in countries that did not take part in the invasion. While the coefficient was negative, the overall effect of nationalism on anti-Americanism was still positive in those countries not taking part, or even opposing the invasion. Again, these finding make sense within the psychological framework of Hurwitz and Peffley (1987; 1990; 1993). To respondents, the U.S. likely represents an ally as well as a fellow Western democracy. In that sense, support for the United States would reflect a long-standing value of support for one's country, regardless of short term policy disputes. Both this finding, and the finding that support for the EU is negatively associated with anti-Americanism can be interpreted as further evidence of the notion that long standing values will drive opinion on matters of foreign policy rather than short term "moods."

Discussion and Conclusion

This study has sought to demonstrate the structure and predictability of anti-Americanism in Western Europe. Rather than anti-Americanism demonstrating some sort of prejudice, or foreign policy attitudes being the result of chaotic "non-attitudes" or "moods," we have argued that anti-Americanism is best explained using a psychological framework.

This approach allows us to make sense of the association between anti-Americanism and U.S. policy, both domestic and foreign. Ideology is a significant predictor of anti-Americanism, but the effect of ideology is contextual, varying according to the distance between a respondent's national welfare policy and U.S. welfare policy. It is in countries with the most generous social policies that we find the strongest associations between the political left and anti-American attitudes.

Nationalism, attachment to supranational Europe, and the security concerns of Europeans are also strong predictors of anti-American attitudes. Shifts in Anti-Americanism appear first

among opinion leaders who are the most engaged in political discussion. The more engaged citizens seem to "lead the way" in regard to attitudes of anti-Americanism. In short, anti-Americanism has a structure that demonstrates it is not merely an irrational prejudice existing for no good reason aside from the moral shortcomings of those who demonstrate it. Similarly, it supports the notion that attitudes about the United States have predictability and structure, and are reactive in nature, rather than demonstrating public "moods."

The implication of this result for the future trend in European anti-Americanism is that developments in American politics and policies will be crucial for the course of European opinion. The demonstrated importance of opinion leadership and the influence of dramatic US actions on opinion leaders makes European opinion responsive in a systematic fashion to changes in the style and substance of American politics.

Table 1: Perceptions of the U.S. role in fall 2002 and spring 2003.

Perceptions of the U.S. regarding	Positive		Negative		Neither		Don"t know	
	2002	2003	2002	2003	2002	2003	2002	2003
Peace in the world	32%	23%	46%	58%	15%	15%	6%	5%
The fight against terrorism	54%	45%	27%	35%	12%	15%	6%	6%
Growth of the world economy	38%	34%	34%	37%	18%	18%	11%	11%
The fight against poverty in the world	20%	18%	49%	52%	22%	20%	10%	10%
Protection of the environment	16%	14%	57%	59%	17%	16%	10%	11%

Table 2. Principal components factor analysis of anti-American indicators

Negative perceptions of:	Fall 2002	Spring 2003	Time Periods Combined
Peace in the world	.766	.777	.772
The fight against terrorism	.706	.738	.724
Growth of the world economy	.721	.744	.734
The fight against poverty in the world	.813	.833	.822
Protection of the environment	.750	.728	.739
Eigen value:	2.827	2.926	2.881
variance explained:	56.5%	58.5%	57.6%

No other factors loaded with an Eigen value over 1.0
n = 48,463
Results reflect cases weighted to represent EU population

Table 3. Principle component factor analysis of anti-American indicators

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 4. OLS regression predicting anti-Americanism

Dummy for ideology position (1 = far left; 10 = far right)	Fall 2003			Spring 2003		
	Coefficient (T score) *Standardized Beta*					
Ideology: 1	.463	(10.28)	*.094*	.452	(10.03)	*.090*
Ideology: 2	.335	(7.74)	*.071*	.475	(11.78)	*.107*
Ideology: 3	.267	(8.67)	*.084*	.372	(12.5)	*.120*
Ideology: 4	.145	(5.05)	*.049*	.182	(6.4)	*.062*
Ideology: 6	-.089	(-3.21)	*-.032*	-.044	(-1.51)	*-.015*
Ideology: 7	-.121	(-3.88)	*-.037*	-.124	(-4.11)	*-.039*
Ideology: 8	-.149	(-4.18)	*-.039*	-.129	(-3.82)	*-.036*
Ideology: 9	-.319	(-5.31)	*-.047*	-.231	(-4.01)	*-.035*
Ideology: 10	-.36	(-6.07)	*-.054*	-.302	(-5.27)	*-.047*
Constant	-.089	(-5.48)*		.029	(1.85)	
Number of cases[a]		12,804				12,987
Adjusted R Squared		.033				.043

Dependent variable: anti-American factor extrapolation from Table 2

Ideology scores of 5 act as the constant.

* Indicates significance at <.01 level two tailed.

a – Cases weighted to represent EU population

Those answering "don"t know" or refusals not included in the analysis.

Table 5. OLS regression predicting anti-Americanism

Variables:	Unstandardized Coefficient (T score)		
	Model 1 Ideology	Model 2 Opinion leadership and change	Model 3 Full Model
Ideology (1 = left ; 10 = right)	-.011 (-.42)		.003 (.135)
Social spending as percentage of GDP	.007 (.45)		-.009 (-.605)
Ideology *Social spending/GDP	-.002 (-2.31)*		-.002 (-2.08)*
Ideology in Italy	-.103 (-12.36)**		-.096 (-11.62)**
Ideology in Spain	-.095 (-8.45)**		-.078 (-7.03)**
Political engagement		.026 (4.52)**	.023 (4.1)**
Political engagement* fall 2002 dummy		.032 (4.14)**	.029 (3.76)**
Spring 2003 dummy		.299 (8.52)**	.268 (7.83)**
Fear of WMD			.065 (4.83)**
Fear of Terrorism			-.135 (-9.07)**
Fear of another World War			-.011 (-.881)
Nationalism			-.088 (-8.28)**
Nationalism in non-"willing" countries			.045 (3.24)**
Positive view of EU			-.142 (-21.35)**
Positive view of EU among leftists			.032 (6.61)**
Constant	-.078 (-.148)	-.496 (-8.88)**	-.738 (-.1.41)
Number of cases[a]	32,548	32,548	32,548
Adjusted R square	.115	.092	.14

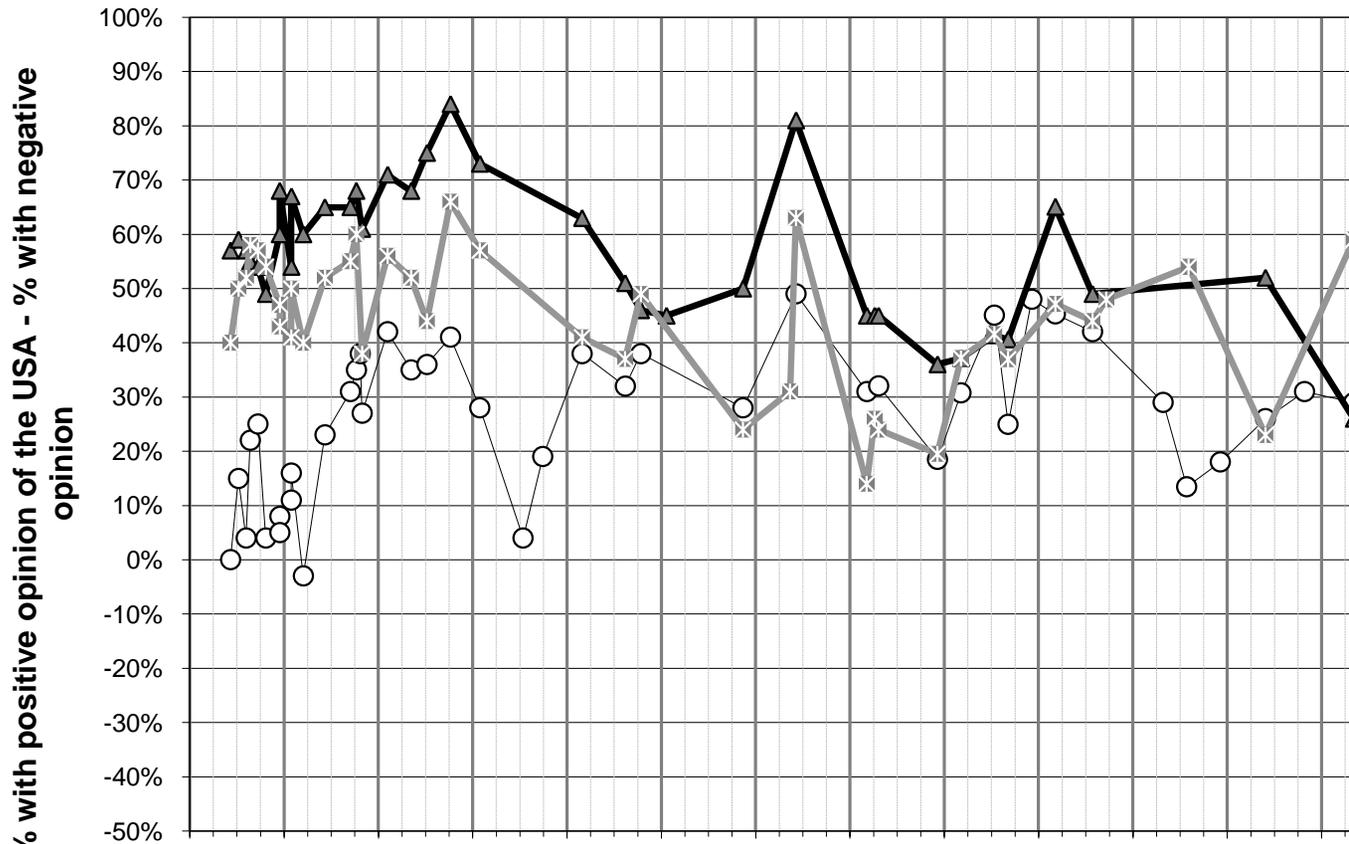Dependent variable: anti-American factor extrapolation
* Indicates significance at < .05 level one tailed.
** Indicates significance at < .01 level one tailed.
a – Cases weighted to represent EU population
Coefficients for country dummies and demographic controls provided in the appendix

## Figure 1. Trends in Net Opinions of the U.S. in 3 Europea

Data: Percentages represent the percent of respondents with a positive opinion minus those with a negative opinion.
Sources: USIA surveys reported in R. Merritt and D. Puchala eds. *Western European Perspectives on International Affairs* (New York: Praeger, 1968), Gallup International Polls (New York: Gallup 1978) USIA survey cited in B. Russett and D. Deluca "Theater Nuclear Forces: Public Opinion in Western Europe" *Political Science Quarterly* 98 (1983) 179-196, Eurobarometer survey series (from ICPSR), USIA poll cited in S. Smith and D. Wertman "Redefining U.S.-West European Relations in the 1990s: West European Public Opinion in the Post-Cold War Era" *PS Political Science and Politics* 25 (1992) 188-195, 1995 French Election Survey (from ICPSR), IPSOS polls online, Pew Global Attitudes Project *Key Indicators Database* (Pew Center for the People and the Press, http://pewglobal.org/database/).
All questions used asked respondents whether their overall opinion of the United States was "positive or negative", or if they had a "favorable or unfavorable" opinion of the United States.

Figure 3: Effects of opinion leadership on anti-Americanism

Figure 2: Anti-Americanism, Ideology and Social Spending
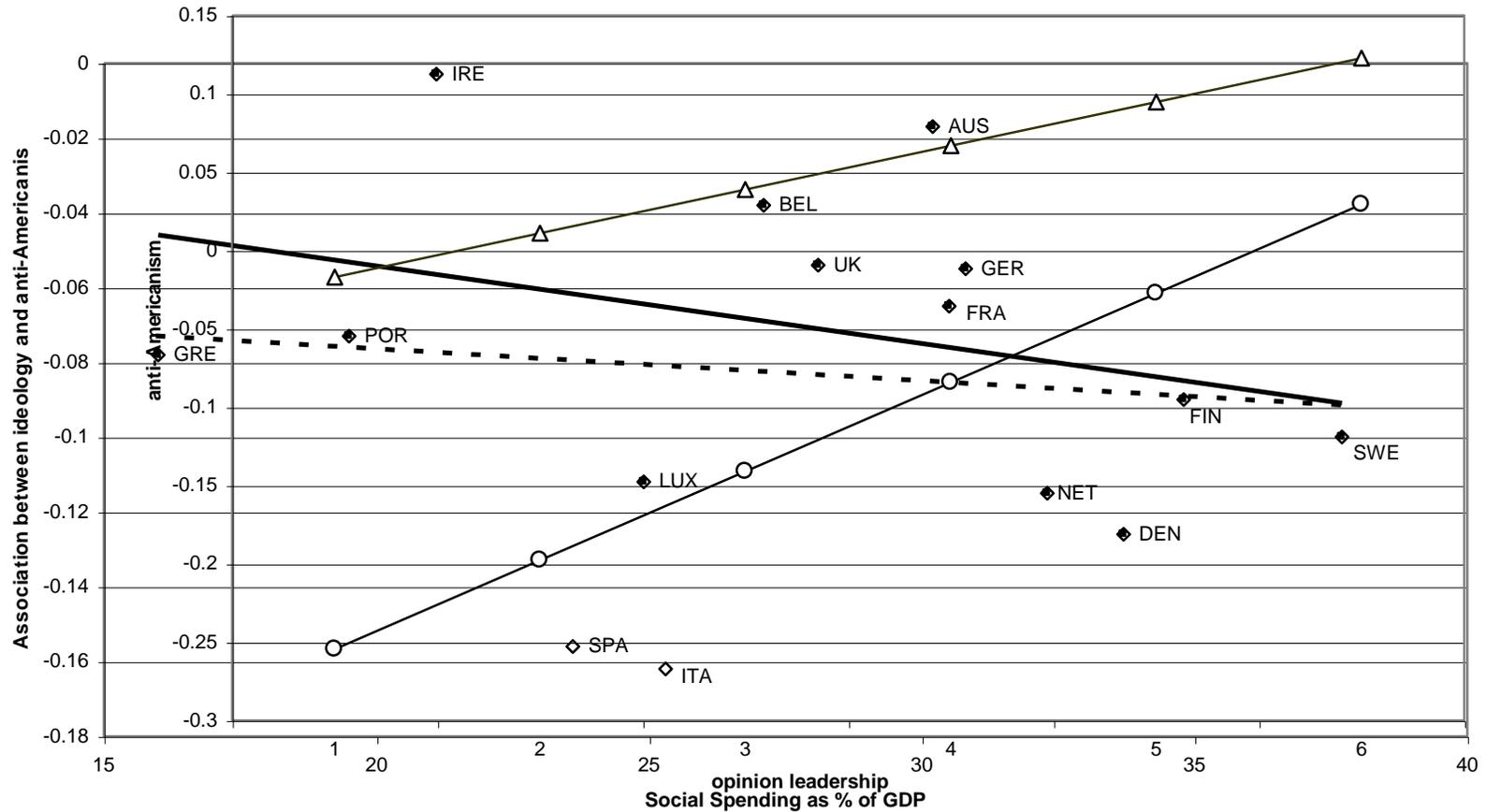
Based on results from full model in Table 6.
Both slope coefficients sig at <.001 level.
Difference in slopes sig at <.01 level.

Linear (Italy, Spain excluded)   △— 2003   ○— 2002

y = -0.0021x - 0.0128
$R^2 = 0.1215$

Appendix:

Survey methodology for Eurobarometer:
"Standard Eurobarometer surveys cover the population of the respective nationalities of the European Union member states. The basic sample design applied in all member states is a multi-stage, random (probability) one. In each EU country, a number of sampling points is drawn with probability proportional to population size (for a total coverage of the country) and to population density.

For doing so, points are drawn systematically from each of the 'administrative regional units', after stratification by individual unit and type of area. Hence, they represent the whole territory of member states according to EUROSTAT NUTS 2 (or equivalent) and according to the distribution of resident population of the respective EU nationalities in terms of metropolitan, urban, and rural areas. In each of the selected sampling points, a starting address is drawn at random. Further addresses are selected as every Nth address by standard random route procedures, from the initial address. In each household, respondent is drawn at random. All interviews are face-to-face in the respondent's home and in the appropriate national language." (From the Basic English Questionnaire, Eurobarometer 59.1, p. 34):

Sample sizes range from 1,075 to 1,000 for all countries except Luxembourg (600), Germany (2,071), United Kingdom (1,319), and Belgium (1,112).
Fieldwork for Eurobarometer # 58.1 was conducted 10–11/2002, for Eurobarometer # 59.1 3–4/2003.

Operationalization of variables:

The battery of **fear items** begins: "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?"
Respondents were asked to answer this question regarding a series of items, which included: **A world war**, Spread of nuclear, bacteriological or chemical **weapons of mass destruction**, and **International terrorism**. Responses are coded 1 for "afraid", 2 for "not afraid" and don"t know.

Nationalism. "In the near future, do you see yourself as…?" Responses are coded 4 for "[nationality] only", 3 for "[nationality] and European", 2 for "European and [nationality]", 1 for "European only", 2.5 for don"t know.

Nationalism in non-"willing" countries. Nationalism is multiplied by a dummy indicating countries that did not support the U.S. led invasion of Iraq: Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, and Sweden.

Europeanism. "In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative, or very negative image?" Responses are coded 5 for "very positive", 4 for "fairly positive", 3 for "neutral and don"t know, 2 for "fairly negative", 1 for "negative".

Europeanism among leftists. Europeanism is multiplied by a dummy variable indicating self-placement of 1-3 on the 1-10 left-right ideological scale.

Variables from factor analysis in Table 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)

Table A1: Parameters for demographic controls and country dummies for OLS regression analyses on Table 6

	Model 1 Ideology		Model 2 Opinion leadership and change		Model 3 Full Model	
Gender	.022	(.08)	.04	(3.73)*	.04	(3.79)*
Age	.001	(3.99)*	<.001	(1.4)	.001	(2.3)*
Education quartile	.057	(10.6)*	.047	(8.44)*	.049	(8.94)*
Income quartile	.009	(1.542)	-.004	(-.732)	.009	(1.6)
Belgium	.027	(.238)	.077	(1.47)	-.029	(-.259)
Denmark	-.209	(-3.51)*	-.218	(-3.62)*	-.063	(-.844)
Greece	.662	(2.44)*	.718	(13.9)*	.445	(1.66)
Spain	.584	(3.45)*	.212	(4.74)*	.547	(3.21)*
France	.327	(4.98)*	.372	(8.54)*	.299	(4.61)*
Ireland	-.485	(-2.41)*	-.425	(-6.38)*	-.6	(-3.02)*
Italy	.237	(1.67)	-.257	(-5.88)*	.269	(1.86)
Luxembourg	.223	(1.11)	.253	(1.63)	.111	(.556)
Netherlands	-.040	(-.743)	-.043	(-.873)	.087	(1.253)
Portugal	-.096	(-.433)	-.044	(-.832)	-.112	(-.508)
United Kingdom	-.445	(-4.62)*	-.394	(-8.98)*	-.394	(-3.78)*
Austria	.116	(1.51)	.138	(2.5)*	.036	(.476)
Sweden	-.076	(-.95)	-.062	(-1.14)	-.057	(-.72)
Germany	-.016	(-.265)	.003	(.073)	-.053	(-.867)

* Indicates significance at <.01 level one tailed.
Numbers shown are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients (T scores in parentheses)

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