



Documenting the Phenomenon of Anti-Americanism

By Nicole Speulda

The rise of anti-Americanism has been well discussed and documented in recent years among business leaders, governments and in public opinion surveys. The U.S. image has become such a problem in the aftermath of the start of the war on terrorism that the initial outpouring of sympathy for America and Americans seemingly disappeared. According to the U.S. government, America's image is in such large disrepair that President Bush re-employed former senior advisor, Karen Hughes to return to public office as the Undersecretary of State for public diplomacy and public affairs. Upon her confirmation, Secretary of State Condelezza Rice said in a public statement on March 14, 2005, "Karen will have the rank of ambassador and...she will undertake a broad review and restructuring of our public diplomacy efforts." Rice went on to say:

"Karen knows the importance of education and she understands the power of ideas, and she believes strongly that we must mobilize young people around the globe to shatter the mistrust of past grievances and to foster a new spirit of tolerance and mutual respect."¹

Public diplomacy has become a high priority for the United States in a time of increasingly strained relations with traditional allies and adversaries abroad. This paper will present a synthesis of public opinion research documenting the anti-Americanism phenomenon. It will primarily focus on public opinion surveys conducted by the Pew Research Center, the German Marshall Fund and the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations since 2001 and will bring in a variety of trends obtained from the U.S. Department of State's Research Office and some other independent polls. Most of all,

¹ <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2005/43385.htm>

the phenomenon of anti-Americanism will be discussed through analysis of Pew Global Attitudes Project polling which has surveyed over 90,000 people in 50 countries in 4 major polls since 2002.

Defining anti-Americanism is a complex task and means many things to different people. For some, being “against” America means disagreement with American policies, for others America is inextricably entwined with “globalization” and the spreading of specific cultural products; for others it is being against American leadership and for some it signifies opposition to American military power. In most cases it is more than one complaint. The purpose of this paper is to document the phenomenon of anti-Americanism by examining the image of America, its people, policies and its perceived influence in the world.

Things to keep in mind when analyzing “anti-Americanism” is that it inscribes a combination of complaints, not one particular problem a single nation or group of people has with America. And, let’s keep in mind America has been down this road before, quite prophetically summed up in 1983:

“The most telling generalization that can be drawn from the poll results is that Americans are seen as a good and productive people with an erratic or even dangerous government. And while the policies of the Reagan administration -- like those of some of its predecessors -- heighten skepticism about American power and intentions, the world guilelessly embraces America's products and popular culture.”²

But, the kind of anti-American sentiments being voiced today are more troublesome from those in 1983. As public opinion surveys increase their scope and incorporate more countries, they also chart trends, ongoing measures of the same question that allows for in-depth analysis. Why are anti-American attitudes more troubling now? They are becoming increasingly entrenched in countries that have traditionally held negative views of the U.S. as well as among long-term American allies. Anti-Americanism can no longer be thought of as an isolated phenomenon, it’s a global one.

² “What the World Thinks of America,” *Newsweek*, July 11, 1983.

U.S. Favorability Ratings

In a 2002 survey of 38,000 people in 44 countries the Pew Research Center found U.S. favorability ratings had slipped in most countries for which trends were available. This slide was considerable among America's traditional allies (Britain, France, Germany, and Italy) as well as the predominantly Muslim countries with which the U.S. looked to for support in the war on terrorism-- Turkey, Pakistan and Indonesia. In May 2003, just after the war in Iraq, the U.S. image plummeted, particularly in Muslim countries surveyed. Newspaper headlines screamed "Fear and Loathing," regarding how the world viewed America.

The phenomenon was not limited to a few countries. Surveys have shown publics in Latin America less favorable of the United States in recent times. In Brazil, attitudes toward the U.S. dropped 12 points in a year between 2002 and 2003.³

U.S. favorability ratings (those saying they had a "very favorable" or "somewhat favorable" opinion of the United States) fell below 50% in France, Germany Spain and even Russia. In Indonesia, Turkey and Pakistan ratings were 15% favorable or lower; Lebanon, Jordan and Morocco were equally abysmal with 27% in both Lebanon and Morocco holding a positive view and a mere 1% of Jordanians holding a favorable view.

In a survey in March, 2004, a year after the war began, no improvement in favorability of America and even worsening in Europe. The British favorability number went from seven-in-ten positive in May 2003 to 58% in March 2004. All other publics surveyed had lower numbers and no other country had a majority favorable rating of the U.S.

	<u>'99/'00</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2005</u>
	%	%	%	%	%
Canada	71	72	63	--	59
Britain	83	75	70	58	55
Netherlands	--	--	--	--	45
France	62	63	43	37	43
Germany	78	61	45	38	41
Spain	50	--	38	--	41
Poland	--	79	--	--	62
Russia	37	61	36	47	52
Indonesia	75	61	15	--	38
Turkey	52	30	15	30	23
Pakistan	23	10	13	21	23
Lebanon	--	35	27	--	42
Jordan	--	25	1	5	21
Morocco	77	--	27	27	N/A ¹
India	--	54	--	--	71
China	--	N/A	--	--	42

1999/2000 trends from Office of Research, U.S. Dept. of State; Canada from Environics. All other data from Pew Global Attitudes Project.

³ Pew Global Attitudes Project "Views of a Changing World," June 3, 2003.

In 2005 the U.S. image has slightly improved, but remains negative overall. The exception is India, where favorable views of the United States increased to 71% from just over half (54%) in 2002. Similarly, the Lebanese have a more favorable opinion of the U.S. than they did in previous Pew surveys, however, favorable opinion is much higher among the roughly 40% minority of the Lebanese population that is Christian than among the nearly 60% that is Muslim. Nearly three-quarters (72%) of Christians view the U.S. favorably while 22% of Lebanese Muslims do so. Favorable ratings in Turkey, Jordan and Indonesia are among the lowest recorded and certainly not any better than they were three years ago. For the first time, Chinese opinion of the U.S. was gauged. A 53% majority in China holds an unfavorable opinion of the U.S., with 42% viewing America favorably.

The 2005 survey also shows improvement in America's image in Indonesia where 38% have a favorable opinion of the U.S., up from 15% in 2003, but still much lower than 1999 when fully three-quarters of Indonesians held a positive view of America. U.S. tsunami relief efforts in the effected areas has played an important role in lifting favorable ratings slightly, (especially in Indonesia where 79% say they have a more favorable view of the U.S. as a result), but the re-election of Bush and the war in Iraq have tempered any goodwill the aid triggered.

Aside from small improvements, noteworthy shifts of the U.S. image has slipped most in Turkey, where favorable ratings are currently 23%, half as high as they were in 1999, and in Canada where the 59% favorable rating continues to fall from 63% in 2003 and 72% in 2002.

Analyses of the 2002 data have shown remarkably few differences of opinion toward the United States nor any pattern of gender differences or generational gaps in U.S. favorability. However, the same is not the case today. Younger people express more antipathy for America than their older cohorts in most of the West. For example, in 2002 38% in France under age 30 had an unfavorable opinion of the U.S. and by 2005 64% view America negatively. In Britain, America's closest ally in the war on terrorism, animosity among the young has double in the last three years—from one-in-six in 2002 to

one-in-three in 2005⁴. A similar rise in the dislike of America is seen in Germany and it is even more pronounced in Spain; fully 62% of Spaniards under age 30 have a negative view of the U.S. while just 39% of their elders say so.

Much of this can be correlated with U.S. policies, particularly the war in Iraq. Independent polls commissioned by media organizations in France, Spain and Germany showed younger people to be in opposition of the war than older people and more of the very vocal protestors demonstrating across Europe in the run-up to the March invasion were of the younger generation. However, even if youthful opposition to the United States is just a passing fad, it is still troublesome in that it could pose a longer-term problem for American foreign policy in the future.

President Bush has been the primary focus of much disdain among the young, but in this regard, they are not so different from their older cohorts. Those registering an “unfavorable” opinion of the U.S. were asked a follow-up asking why they held this view, was it a general problem with America, or was it mostly because of President Bush. Low esteem for President Bush is the single variable most highly correlated with the unfavorable image of the United States not just among European publics, but throughout almost all of the publics polled. In 2003 majorities in Western Europe and Canada said it was Bush, however, 58% of Russians and 49% of Poles said their negative view was a more general problem with America. In the 2005 Pew study, that question was posed again and in most countries surveyed,

	Mostly Bush %	America in general %	Both (VOL) %	DK/ Ref %	
Spain	76	14	7	3	(N=374)
2003	50	37	12	2	
Germany	65	29	5	1	(N=424)
2003	74	22	3	1	
Netherlands	63	30	6	1	(N=403)
France	63	32	5	1	(N=429)
2003	74	21	4	*	
Pakistan	51	29	10	10	(N=730)
2003	62	31	2	5	
Britain	56	35	8	1	(N=285)
2003	59	31	8	3	
Canada	54	37	9	0	(N=188)
2003	60	32	6	2	
Lebanon	47	32	19	1	(N=572)
2003	51	32	16	1	
Turkey	41	36	17	6	(N=671)
2003	52	33	12	3	
Indonesia	43	42	0	15	(N=577)
2003	69	20	7	4	
India	35	35	14	16	(N=349)
Jordan	22	37	41	1	(N=798)
2003	42	28	30	*	
China	16	34	42	8	(N=1,197)
Poland	27	49	14	10	(N=236)
Russia	30	58	9	3	(N=401)
2003	43	32	15	10	

*Based on those with an unfavorable opinion of the U.S.

⁴ The Pew Global Attitudes Project Survey was taken before the July 7 bombings in London. Field dates were April 25- May 7, 2005. See www.pewglobal.org for full topline results.

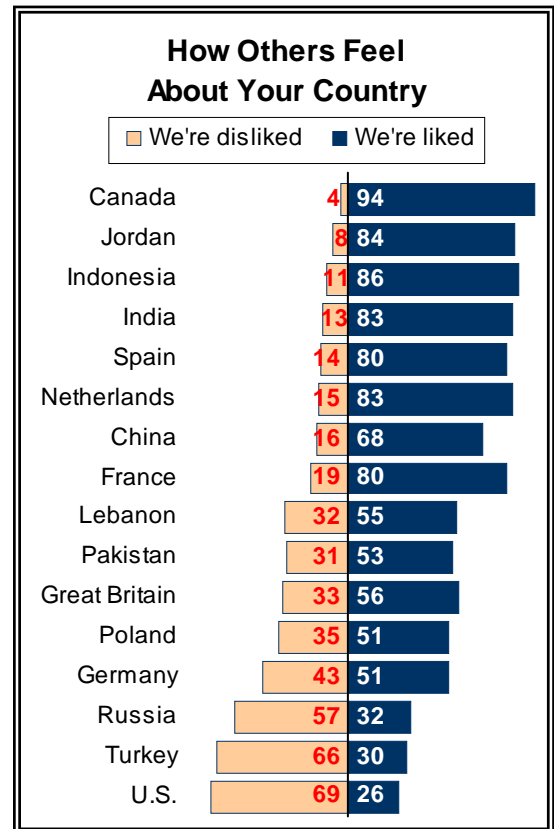
the problem with America increased and Bush being the cause of their unfavorable feelings toward America has decreased. While Bush and his policies may have been an early focal point of people’s negative attitudes, clearly America’s image problem is much bigger than Bush.

American Views of the U.S

Yet, Americans have no illusions about their image among global publics. Fully 69% of the American public said the U.S. was generally disliked by countries around the world, by far the lowest of any of the other 16 countries polled in 2005. Only in two other countries surveyed, Turkey and Russia, do a majority say their country is disliked and strong majorities in most all other countries believe themselves to be popular in the eyes of the rest of the world.

The unpopularity of Americans is not lost on the public, nor is it lost on the American and international media. The fact that China was given higher favorability ratings than the U.S. among

European countries made headlined major news outlets around the world, as reported by a Chinese news outlet:



The United States' image is so tattered overseas two years after the Iraq invasion that China is viewed more favorably than the U.S. in western countries, an international poll found.

Eleven of the 16 countries surveyed by the Pew Research Center — Britain, France, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, Russia, Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon, Jordan and Indonesia — had a more favorable view of China than the U.S.

India and Poland were more upbeat about the U.S., while Canadians are as likely to see China favorably as they were the United States.

The poll, which was released Thursday, found suspicion and wariness of the United States in many countries where people question the war in Iraq and are growing wary of the U.S.-led war on terror.⁵

Yet favorability ratings of the U.S. in general cannot tell us about overall opinions regarding the American people and they don't tell us anything about which aspects of American policies the world dislikes. The next sections will parse those out.

Global Views of Americans

Historically, public opinion of the United States as a country has been more negative than attitudes regarding the American people. The 1983 Newsweek International survey reported approval of the American people much higher in all six countries surveyed (France, Germany, Britain, Brazil, Mexico and Japan) than approval of U.S. policies or the "American way of life." While this is still the case, in several countries around the world, the gap has narrowed. In the 2005 Pew survey, Americans are seen less favorably in 9 of the 12 countries for which there is trend data. A similar German Marshall Fund survey in 2004 showed nearly identical results.⁶

	% Favorable			
	2002	2003	2004	2005
Great Britain	83	80	73	70
Poland	77	--	--	68
Canada	78	77	--	66
Netherlands	--	--	--	66
Germany	70	67	68	65
France	71	58	53	64
Russia	67	65	64	61
Spain	--	47	--	55
Lebanon	47	62	--	66
Indonesia	65	56	--	46
Jordan	53	18	21	34
Turkey	31	32	32	23
Pakistan	17	38	25	22
India	58	--	--	71
China	--	--	--	43

Just as favorability ratings for the U.S. is often conflated with United States policies, favorability of Americans may be inseparable from what they produce or who they elect. Attitudes have fallen regarding the American public and some of this may have to with the election of Bush. Global publics say they have a more favorable opinion of the U.S. for its efforts to aid the Tsunami victims last December, yet at the same time they have a far less favorable attitude toward America for electing Bush to a second term.

For the first time it seems that Americans are being held to account for who they vote for by an international public. While people around the world see good in aid for

⁵ See the China Daily at www2.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2005-06/24/content_454079.htm.

⁶ For the complete results for the German Marshall Fund Survey see www.transatlantictrends.org.

other countries, they are not in favor of many Bush policies and are beginning to show signs of attributing American leadership to Americans.

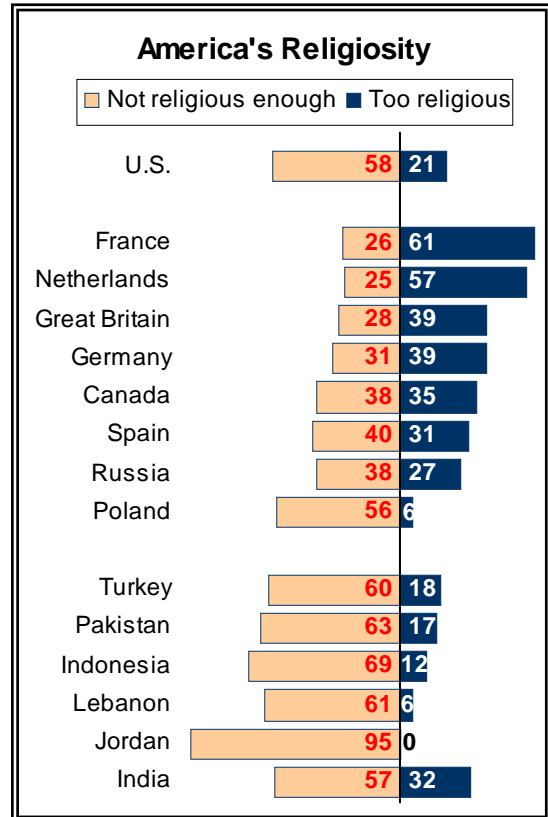
Also, Pew surveys have found that in countries such as Indonesia, Russia, Turkey and Pakistan, where American people are increasingly viewed unfavorably, Americans are beginning to look more like overall opinion of the United States. If Americans (and

	<i>Favorability of the United States</i>			<i>Favorability of Americans</i>		
	<u>2003</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2005</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Russia	36	47	52	65	64	61
Turkey	15	30	23	32	32	23
Pakistan	13	21	23	38	25	22
Indonesia	15	--	38	56	--	46

therefore American life) is no longer distinguishable between American policy, the U.S. government may have a larger problem on its hands.

Religion

How people around the world regard America, its people, and what it symbolizes to them is based on a multiplicity of factors. What's more, this combination of factors is viewed diametrically in different parts of the world. One such example is with regard to how the world sees the role of religion in America. While more secular Europeans criticize America as being too religious a country, Muslim publics think America is not religious enough. This is one area in which Americans agree with their harshest critics; 58% of Americans say the U.S. is not religious enough and only 21% don't think their country is religious enough. Moreover, fully 80% of evangelical Christians say America is not religious enough, more than the Turks (60%), Lebanese (61%), Pakistanis (63%) and Indonesians (69%). Only in Jordan do beliefs about America's lack of religion match evangelical Christians, with 95% say Americans are not religious enough.



However, agreeing with U.S. public opinion with regard to American religiosity, is still a criticism, just as is having the traits of being immoral and violent. And, particularly in predominantly Muslim countries where opinions like these translate directly into U.S. policies regarding Iraq and of being targets of the U.S. war on terrorism, not being religious enough is a sign of wanting to spread the secular nature of American capitalism rather than any virtuous-based valued democracy to a particular country.

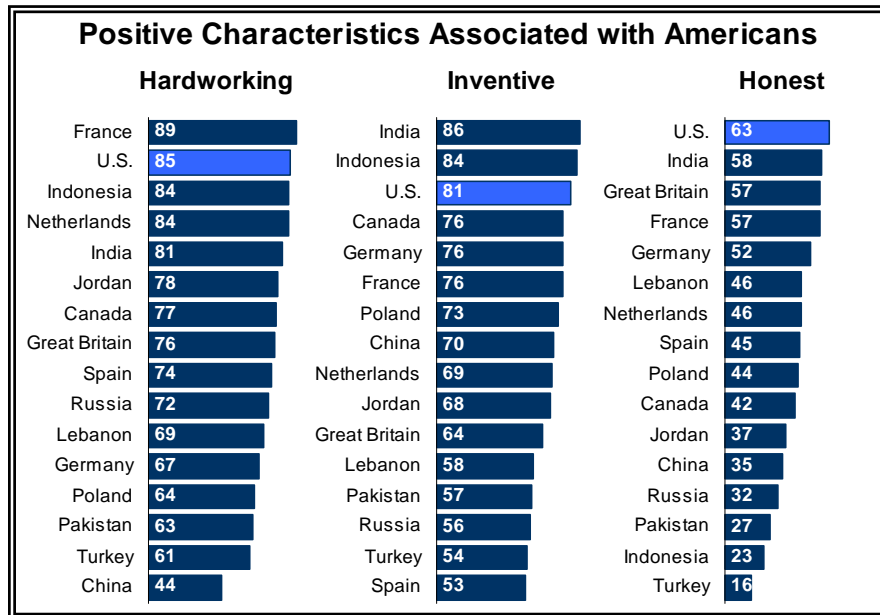
Oh, Canada...

Canadian esteem for America and its people has fallen precipitously in the last few years is shown in the opinions of America's neighbor to the north. Canadians are increasingly negative about all things American. Canadian opinion of the American people has seen a 12 percent decrease since 2002 and, while six years ago more than seven-in-ten Canadians held a favorable view of the United States and that has steadily diminished to just over half (59%) in 2005. What's more majorities in Canada see Americans as greedy, violent, and rude and, as discussed later, they are not happy with U.S. policies. Such negative opinions across the board demonstrate that American foreign policy is having an effect on overall attitudes toward the United States and is bleeding into the way Canadians see the American people.

Bad Vibes in the Neighborhood			
<i>Percent of Canadians who...</i>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2005</u>
Have a favorable view of the U.S.	72	63	59
Have a favorable view of Americans	78	77	66
Favor the U.S.-led war on terrorism	68	68	45
Have confidence in Bush leadership	--	59	40
Think the U.S. takes Canadian interests into account	25	28	19
Want U.S./Canadian relationship to stay as close as in past	--	54	41
Think Americans are "rude"			53
Feel less favorably toward the U.S. because of Bush's re-election			75

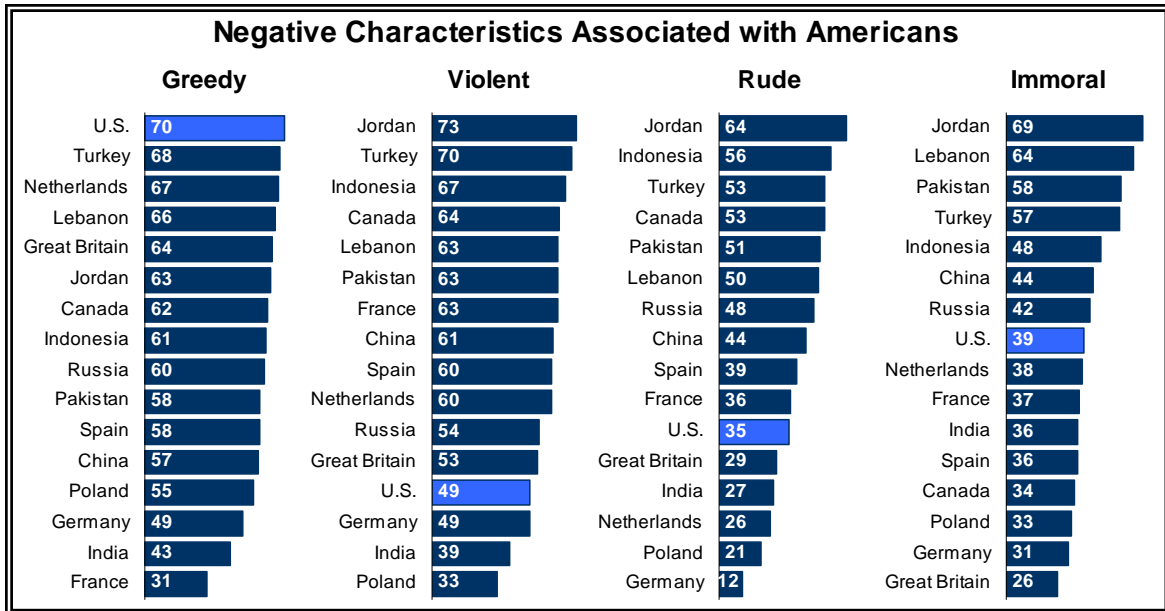
The American Character

While Canadians are among American’s biggest critics, elsewhere around the world, opinion of the U.S. character is mixed. In Pew’s 2005 survey, publics in 16 countries *and* the U.S. were given a rotating list of seven character traits (hardworking, inventive and honest, greedy, violent, rude and immoral). A majority in every country (except China) associates “hardworking” with Americans and a majority in all countries believes Americans are “inventive.” There is less of a consensus whether Americans are honest; only in the U.S., India, Britain, France and Germany do more than half the publics describe Americans that way.



However, even Americans are willing to say their fellow Americans are greedy, with 70% saying so and nearly half (49%) say Americans are violent. In general, people in predominantly Muslim countries surveyed hold more negative views of Americans than traditional allies, but most countries say violent is an American trait. Only in the Muslim countries (Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Turkey and Indonesia) do at least half of respondents say Americans are immoral.

Europeans are less likely to associate negative traits with Americans than other countries surveyed. Only about a third of the French think Americans are greedy and slightly more believe Americans to be immoral. And, far fewer British say Americans are immoral or rude than others surveyed. Yet, half or more Europeans see Americans as violent people.



Again, this ambivalence regarding how global publics view Americans is not necessarily a new phenomenon. Similar results were catalogued in the 1983 Newsweek poll which found majorities in Britain, Germany, France and Mexico saying Americans were “self-indulgent,” and at the same majorities in those countries associated Americans with being “energetic.”

These numbers show that opinions of Americans and the image of what being American may entail, have remained largely unchanged. There has never been a consensus among European publics as to what comprises the American character. That Americans can be inventive and honest does not mean that they can’t also be greedy and violent. Global publics are able to distinguish between the characteristics they find unbecoming of America and Americans.

That Europeans tend to find American characteristics disdainful is also nothing new. In his diaries about America, Charles Dickens’ deemed Americans as rude, too

attached to their business practices, and racists, blasting them for their slavery policies.⁷ What's more he hated their practice of "spitting tobacco" wherever they felt like it. The litany of complaints goes on and on, but the general feel for how regular Americans lived their lives was coupled with the general air of freedom and democracy that de Tocqueville charted just a few years earlier⁸.

Yet at the same time what repelled Europeans like de Tocqueville and Dickens from America were the same things that drew them to it. They couldn't stay away from America as many immigrants groups could not throughout history.

Power, Policies and Global Interconnectedness

U.S. policies, from the war on terrorism, the war in Iraq, to dealings in the Middle East and with Israel, contribute to negative feelings toward America. The war on terrorism is viewed by Muslims as Americans picking on Islamic countries and support for the war has declined across the globe, even in western Europe.

While Americans take the view that the U.S. considers others' interests when making foreign policy decisions, the rest of the world disagrees. This is true both in predominantly Muslim nations and even among U.S. allies. In Canada, just 19% say the U.S. pays either a great deal or a fair amount to the interests of others. This resentment of American unilateralism has increased in every Pew poll since 2001 and is supported by German Marshall Fund polls since 2002.

Global publics also say the U.S. does too little to deal with world problems, a view not shared by Americans. Another criticism shared by majorities most of the 43 countries surveyed in 2002 is that U.S. policies contribute to the growing gap between rich and poor countries, a problem many identified as being a great danger to the world.

⁷ Dickens, Charles. *American Notes for General Circulation*. Chapman and Hall: London, 1842.

⁸ De Tocqueville, Alexis. *Democracy in America*. Singnet Books, 2001. Original text published 1835 (volume I) and 1840 (volume II). Complete text at: www.eroads.virginia.edu/.

Opinion Leaders

Even as soon as December, 2001, opinion leaders around the world said U.S. policies were the chief cause of the September 11th attacks. And, majorities in all parts of the world (including Western Europe) said that many or most of the people in their countries thought it was good that Americans know what it's like to be vulnerable.⁹

	Resentment Of U.S. Power %	Causes Rich/Poor Gap %	U.S. Support of Israel %	Power of Multinat'l Corps. %
<i>U.S.</i>	88	43	70	40
<i>Total Non-U.S.</i>	52	52	29	36
Western Europe	66	61	22	59
E. Europe/Russia	64	53	17	47
Latin America	58	51	7	44
Asia	38	42	36	21
Mid-East/Conflict Area	54	59	57	17
All Islamic states	41	45	57	17

In many cases opinions of influentials mirror those of the general public, such as the belief that the U.S. contributes to the gap between the rich and the poor and the dislike of powerful multinational corporations within their own countries. However, biggest problem Islamic elites have with the U.S. is America's support of Israel at the expense of the Palestinians and the way U.S. policies in the region contribute to a security problem in the Middle East. However, only American opinion leaders who believe publics dislike America out of resentment of its power. Only about four-in-ten Asian and Islamic elites say American power is the reason for unfavorable attitudes toward the United States. For most opinion leaders, some form of U.S. policies concerned them more than America's status as sole superpower.

War on Terrorism

The war on terrorism has proven more problematic than beneficial for the United States. In 2002, when the United States was still reeling from the 9/11 terror attacks,

⁹ For complete methodology see the Pew Research Center survey "America Admired, Yet Its New Vulnerability Seen As Good Thing, Say Opinion Leaders," released December 19, 2001. Full report and topline results also found on the web at <http://pewglobal.org/reports/display.php?PageID=61>.

Europeans in the East and West were highly supportive of the war on terrorism, as were publics in Africa, and majorities in 7 of 8 Latin American countries. In Nigeria, three quarters of the public favored the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism, 65% of Indians were in favor and over 90% of Uzbeks supported the U.S. policy. However, most Muslim publics surveyed were not so keen on the war on terrorism with 79% in Egypt, 85% in Jordan and majorities in Lebanon and Turkey opposed to the war on terrorism.

By 2003 support began to wane across Europe and opposition increased among Muslim publics.

Even public opinion polls in the U.S. have shown a steady decline in support for the war on terrorism and Americans are now split as to whether or not the war in Iraq has helped or hurt the war on terrorism. In 2005, European support for U.S. efforts to fight terrorism continued to fall; in Spain support fell 37 points despite Spain's own experience with terror bombings. More Canadians now oppose the war than support it. Even in India, where the U.S. image has remained quite positive in the past three years, support for the war on terrorism has fallen 13 percentage points.

Much of the drop in support comes as a result of the war in Iraq. But it also stems from the fact that larger percentages in Europe believe the U.S. is overreacting to the threat terrorism presents. And, for some countries, particularly among Muslim populations, there is a real fear that they could be the next target of the war on terrorism.

	---- Percent Favor ----			
	<u>2002</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2005</u>
	%	%	%	%
United States	89	--	81	76
Netherlands	--	--	--	71
Poland	81	--	--	61
Russia	73	51	73	55
Great Britain	69	63	63	51
France	75	60	50	51
Germany	70	60	55	50
Canada	68	68	--	45
Spain	--	63	--	26
Indonesia	31	23	--	50
Lebanon	38	30	--	31
Pakistan	20	16	16	22
Turkey	30	22	37	17
Jordan	13	2	12	12
India	65	--	--	52

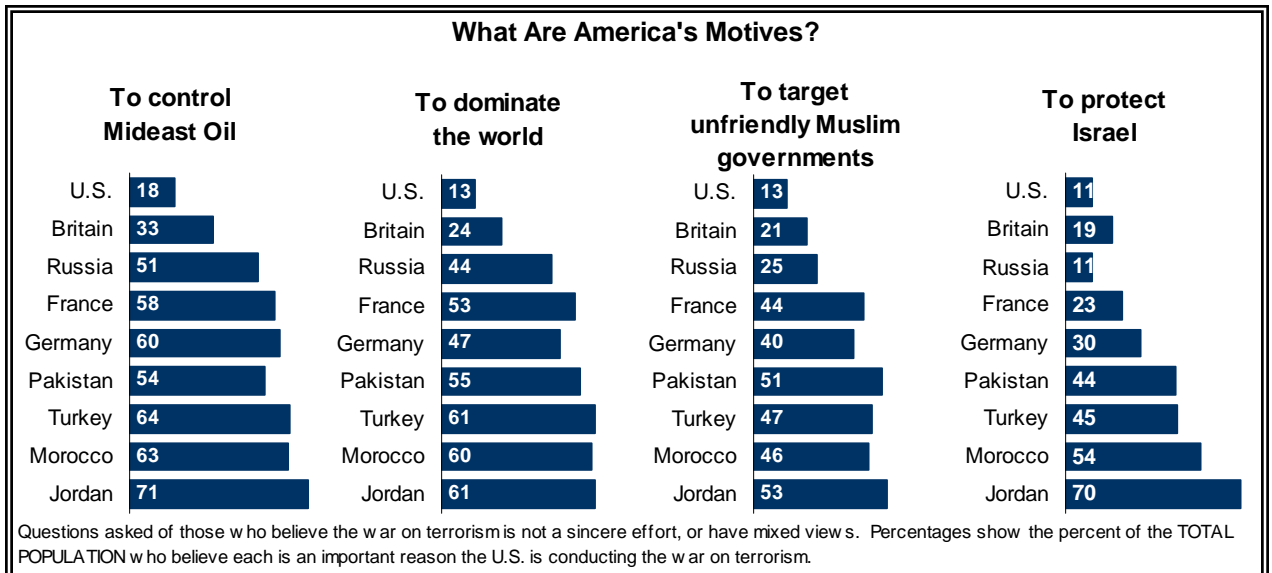
	April	March
	<u>2002</u>	<u>2004</u>
	%	%
France	30	57
Germany	33	49
Britain	20	33
Jordan	--	76
Morocco	--	72
Pakistan	--	66
Turkey	--	55
Russia	--	34
U.S.	--	13

The Iraq War

The spring of 2003 was a contentious one; the United States invaded Iraq without U.N. approval and with much international protest particularly in Europe,--among both supporters of the “war on terrorism” and those opposed to it. Among countries who decided to abstain from joining the U.S. coalition, public opinion say that decision was a good one. In Canada, for example, 65% approved of their government’s decision not to use force, and two years later, fully eight-in-ten say it was the right decision. While British and American publics stood by their country’s decision to use force in Iraq, the number in both countries has fallen considerably. In Pew’s 2005 survey just 39% of Britons believe sending troops to Iraq was the right one and just over half of Americans say so.

The war in Iraq has hurt U.S. credibility and global publics now say America is less trustworthy, and that American and British leaders lied when they claimed Iraq had WMD. Most countries in Europe and among predominantly Muslim countries surveyed question America’s motives for using force in Iraq, believing the invasion was not to rid Iraq of weapons of mass destruction but to control Middle East oil supplies and to dominate the world.

Country’s Decision on War in Iraq			
	<i>Right Decision to Use Force</i>		
	2003	2004	2005
	%	%	%
U.S.	74	60	54
Great Britain	61	43	39
Spain	31	--	24
Netherlands	--	--	59
Poland	--	--	24
	<i>Right Decision NOT to Use Force</i>		
	2003	2004	2005
Canada	65	--	80
France	83	88	92
Germany	80	86	87
Russia	89	83	88
Turkey	--	72	81
Pakistan	73	68	63
Indonesia	78	--	70
Lebanon	86	--	85
Jordan	95	87	89
India	--	--	75



Differing Views on Security Issues

The past two and a half years of Pew Global Attitudes surveys have shown profound differences in not only how Americans and the rest of the world views threats but how to deal with those threats. Majorities in the Western European countries surveyed believe their own government should obtain U.N. approval before dealing with an international threat. That idea is much more problematic for Americans, with a 48% plurality saying that U.N. approval would make it too difficult to deal with international threats.

The 2004 German Marshall Fund survey found America holding very different opinions with nearly all European publics regarding the use of force. The U.S. public is far more willing use force and go-it-alone, unlike Europeans who do not share that view.

Nearly half of Americans *strongly agree* that war is sometimes necessary to obtain justice. Only about one-in-ten in Germany, France and Italy say the same and majorities in those countries disagree that war is necessary to obtain justice. A majority of Americans also believe that the best way to ensure peace is through military strength, and again,

Europeans disagree. These differing attitudes regarding the use of force shows why the war in Iraq and the way in which the U.S. wields its power is disturbing to Europeans.¹⁰

The U.S. is also resented for being the world's only superpower. Acting unilaterally and not taking other's interests into account causes publics around the globe to see the U.S. as abusing their superpower status. A European Union poll of all

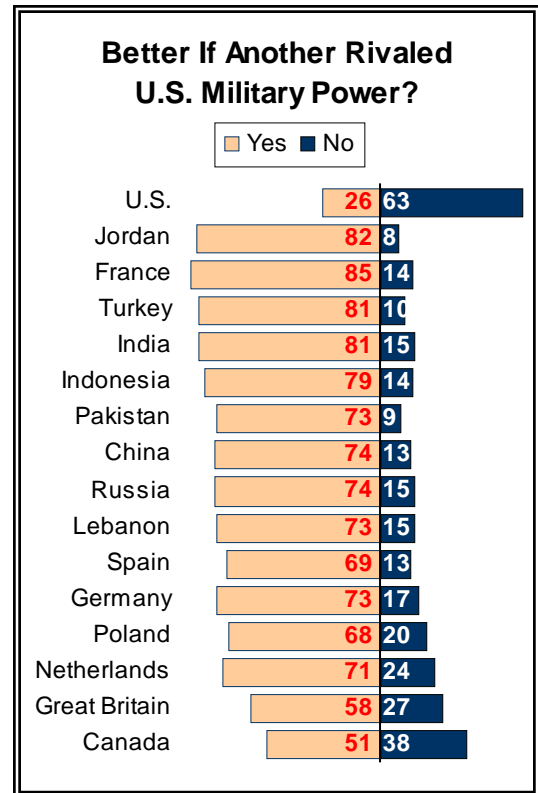
	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Somewhat Agree</u>	<u>Somewhat Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>
	%	%	%	%
United States	47	35	8	8
United Kingdom	33	36	13	14
Netherlands	17	36	23	23
Poland	16	31	27	21
Portugal	15	23	18	34
Italy	10	25	27	36
France	9	24	28	37
Germany	7	24	30	38

Source: German Marshall Fund 2004 Transatlantic Trends survey.

¹⁰ For complete results of the German Marshall Fund's "Transatlantic Trends" 2004 survey see [http://www.transatlantictrends.org/apps/gmf/ttweb2004.nsf/0/461EA7D25CC77DA185256F020059C76D/\\$file/Topline+with+logo+final.pdf](http://www.transatlantictrends.org/apps/gmf/ttweb2004.nsf/0/461EA7D25CC77DA185256F020059C76D/$file/Topline+with+logo+final.pdf).

member publics indicated that 53% sees the United States as a threat to world peace, the same number as who saw North Korea and Iran as a threat.¹¹

This resentment of American policies and power is shown in many Muslim publics in their support for suicide bombings. One of the most astonishing findings from the 2004 Global survey was the relatively high percentage of Muslim publics justifying the use of suicide bombing to defend Islam, as well as in a number of other situations. When asked whether or not suicide bombings were justifiable by Palestinians against Israelis, fully 86% of Jordanians, 74% of Moroccans and 47% of Pakistanis agreed. The percentage is equally high in those countries when asked if suicide attacks against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq are justifiable. Even in Turkey, where Osama bin Laden is highly unpopular, as many as 31% say that suicide attacks against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq are justifiable. The percentage decreased slightly in 2005, at a time when bombings are becoming more frequent everywhere.



Majorities in all 16 countries surveyed in 2005 say it would be a better if another power rivalled U.S. military power, to add as a check against the U.S. Americans do not agree, a 63% majority preferring a uni-polar world.

America's Global Reach and Lifestyle in a Globalizing World

Historically, America's image was synonymous with individual opportunity, hope and a place other ethnicities could come to seek their fortune. Yet the exceptional American dream described by Alexis de Tocqueville in his *Democracy in America*, is no longer the European ideal and certainly not the global ideal. In a 2005 Pew survey,

¹¹ Eurobarometer poll released November, 2003.

respondents were asked to name one country they would recommend a young person go to lead a better life, and only one country, India, named the U.S. as their top choice.

Overload of American culture may be one explanation for the declination of the country’s popularity in a variety of aspects. Globalization, increased flow of ideas, trade and people across borders is often associated with “Americanization,” countries saturated with American popular culture and business model. People all over the world say they have seen the impact of globalization in their countries yet they say they think it’s a bad think that U.S. ideas and customs are spreading there. Similarly, on average, only a third of Canadians, Britons, French, Italians and Germans say they like American ways of doing business. Also, publics throughout Latin America and Europe are wary of American ideas about democracy. In Many countries, such as Argentina, Brazil and France, majorities dislike American democratic ideas. The predominantly Muslim publics of Turkey, Pakistan and Jordan also dislike American democracy.

However, this is not the case everywhere. In ten countries of Africa majorities (in some cases very strong majorities), express positive views of American ideas about democracy. And, while many Muslim countries dislike American ideas about democracy, they do believe that “western-style” could work in their countries. Democratic ideals do not belong only to the United States, but it is shared among countries all over the world. It is the imposition of “democracy” that they fear.

Spread of American Ideas and Customs			
	<u>Good</u>	<u>Bad</u>	<u>DK/</u>
	%	%	Ref
North America			
Canada	37	54	8
West Europe			
Great Britain	39	50	11
Italy	29	58	12
Germany	28	67	6
France	25	71	4
East Europe			
Bulgaria	36	32	33
Ukraine	35	58	7
Slovak Republic	34	60	7
Czech Republic	34	61	6
Poland	31	55	14
Russia	16	68	15
Conflict Area			
Uzbekistan	33	56	11
Lebanon	26	67	7
Jordan	13	82	5
Turkey	11	78	11
Egypt	6	84	10
Pakistan	2	81	17
Latin America			
Venezuela	44	52	4
Honduras	44	53	4
Guatemala	40	53	7
Peru	37	50	13
Brazil	30	62	8
Mexico	22	65	13
Bolivia	22	73	5
Argentina	16	73	11
Asia*			
Philippines	58	36	6
Japan	49	35	15
Vietnam	33	60	7
South Korea	30	62	8
India	24	54	22
Indonesia	20	73	7
Bangladesh	14	76	10
Africa			
Ivory Coast	69	31	0
Nigeria	64	31	6
Uganda	50	42	8
Ghana	47	40	13
South Africa	43	45	12
Kenya	40	55	5
Mali	35	61	4
Senegal	34	62	4
Angola	33	54	13
Tanzania	18	67	15

* Pew Global Attitudes Survey, 2002.

Conclusion: Implications of these findings and trends

The world in which we live is an ever-changing one and it is too early to predict how the U.S. will be viewed in the future. Much hinges on a positive outcome in Iraq and successful diplomatic efforts by the U.S., its traditional allies and countries worldwide to repair relationships and mutual trust. Working together with other countries around the globe will aid in America's larger struggle to protect itself. As public opinion shows, when America feels threatened, people around the world worry about their own safety and the possible repercussions of U.S. policies.

The most recent *National Defense Strategy* published in March 2005 by the Department of Defense defines the current state of anti-Americanism and what forms it takes, and then asks what the U.S. strategy should be to combat this problem. The DoD assessment notes a few key "vulnerabilities," the first of which describes others' problem with American power:

"Our leading position in world affairs will continue to breed unease, a degree of resentment, and resistance."

Another vulnerability is described as this:

"Our strength as a nation state will continue to be challenged by those who employ a strategy of the weak using international fora, judicial processes, and terrorism."

It is unlikely U.S. power will disappear overnight and it is conventional wisdom to think that adversaries will have to employ a 'strategy of the weak,' to attack America. What is most interesting is that the authors of this strategic assessment cite "judicial processes" and the "use of international fora" in the same breath as terrorism. If engagement with the international community is viewed as a vulnerability and a key challenge for the U.S. and discussions in the United Nations are now equivalent to terrorism, resentment and negative sentiment regarding America (and all it stands for and implies) will only continue. A unilateral approach, a lack of engagement with

international institutions and ignoring allied interests is troublesome and will not slow or reverse the increased anti-American sentiment felt around the globe.

The U.S. has long been engaged with the international community, practically since the Spanish-American war. And, it has taken the lead on international treaties, committing the nation to resolutions, United Nations membership and NATO, to name a few. What's more, for the first time in decades, Americans themselves have shown more interest in foreign affairs than every before. In fact, several surveys reported that Americans regarded foreign policy as one of the most important issues of the 2004 presidential election. In addition, a 67% majority of Americans are of the opinion that the U.S. is less respected than it has been in the past and, they believe this to be a major problem. What's more, a plurality of Americans take the view that U.S. foreign policy should take allies' interests into account when making decisions.

The U.S. commitment to fulfill international agreements has been widely criticized particularly by elites and government officials the world over. How America can try and hold other countries to international agreements, they argue, and yet not lead the charge in signing on to international treaties, is purely an arrogant and hypocritical position to take. The unwillingness to sign the ABM nuclear treaty, to pass the Kyoto agreement and opposition to the ICC, while holding international "prisoners" at Guantanamo Bay and in Iraqi jails, sends dual messages to the world. The United States wants it both ways, it wants the power to do what it considers good *and* it wants the authority to deem what is best for the world without having to undergo international scrutiny.

The United States is in a unique position. It has unrivaled power, influence and persuasion around the world and because of that, America has largely three paths it can follow:

- 1) The United States can take the first step in creating new international agreements regarding nuclear weapons reductions, the ICC, environmental

Americans View the World	
<i>Most important problem facing the nation...</i>	
	%
War/Foreign policy/Terrorism	41
Economic issues	26
Other domestic issues	26
<i>The U.S. is...</i>	
Less respected	67
Major problem	43
Minor/ no problem/DK	24
More respected	10
No change	20
Don't know	3
	100
<i>Foreign policy should...</i>	
Be based mostly on U. S. interests	37
Take allies' interests into account	49
Both/Neither	8
Don't know	6
	100
Source: Pew Research Center for the People & The Press foreign policy study July, 2004.	

conservation efforts, AIDS research, as well as a host of other global matters that mean much to other countries at very little cost to Americans.

- 2) The United States can continue with its status quo policies and receive less favorable opinions of the country, Americans as people and the policies for which it is responsible.
- 3) Other global powers could potentially threaten to make their own desires known in diplomatic or undiplomatic ways. Not only does the U.S. image take a hit, but threatens American power, for example by establishing boycotts of American products or physically threatening Americans and business abroad. The extent to which this option is undesirable to the United States is largely unknown and something the public and political leaders would most likely not have to see.

The United States cannot afford being threatened by terrorists, nor disliked by allies, and uncared for by trading partners and developing countries. It is also in the security interests of the U.S. to convince international publics of its intentions to bring peace and democracy to the world, not act as a global bully or policeman. Doing so weakens America's strategic partnerships and military alliances when potential partners doubt the sincerity of U.S. policies and are skeptical of U.S. motives. The image of America should echo the words of its framers and long-term shapers, the very people that make up American society today. The country was made for everyone, let's hope it can be seen like that again one day.

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