

**“U.S IMAGE IN THE MUSLIM WORLD SINCE 1999:  
THE RISE IN ANTI-AMERICANISM AND ITS CAUSES”**

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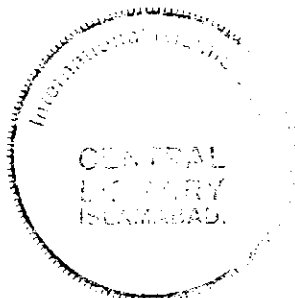
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**FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD**  
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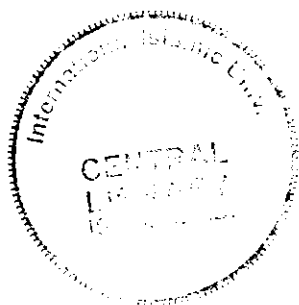
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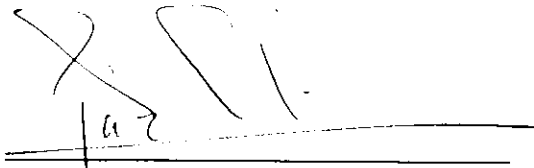
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**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
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## CERTIFICATION

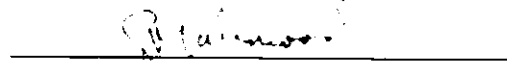
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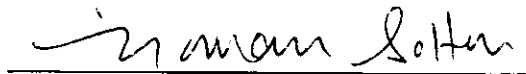
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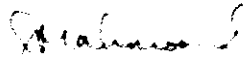
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## **Table of Contents**

Acknowledgment	(iii)
<b>Chapter-1</b>	<b>(3-13)</b>
<b>Introduction</b>	
1.1 Background	03
1.2 Statement of the Problem	05
1.3 Objectives of the Study	06
1.4 Significance of the study	07
1.5 Research Methodology	08
1.6 Review of Literature	08
1.7 Theoretical Framework	12
<b>Chapter-2</b>	<b>(14-28)</b>
<b>Conceptual framework</b>	
2.1 U.S. Image Problem	14
2.2 Defining Anti-Americanism	15
2.3 Varieties of Anti-American sentiments	16
2.4 Defining Muslim World	21
2.5 Communalities and distinctions	23
<b>Chapter-3</b>	<b>(29-49)</b>
<b>U.S. Image in the World</b>	
<b>Part-A</b>	
3.1 Perceptions about U.S	29
3.1.1 Perceptions of U.S. in Europe	30
3.1.2 Perceptions of U.S. in South America	34
3.1.3 Perceptions of U.S. in East Asia	37
<b>U.S. Image in the Muslim world</b>	
<b>Part-B</b>	
3.2 Perception of U.S. in the Muslim World	39
3.3 Perceptions about U.S. leadership	43

3.4 Perceptions about Americans	46
3.5 Exceptions regarding Perceptions of U.S. in the world	48
<b>Chapter-4</b>	(50-60)
<b>Views on U.S. Exports</b>	
4.1 Views on American ideas of Democracy	50
4.2 Views on American ways of doing business	52
4.3 Views on U.S. technology	53
4.4 Views on American music, movies and television (pop culture)	53
4.5 Views on U.S. war on terror	55
<b>Chapter-5</b>	(61-72)
<b>Anti-Americanism: Causes and Analysis</b>	
5.1 Causes of anti-Americanism in Muslim world	62
5.2 Summation of the Causes of Anti-Americanism in the Muslim World	64
5.3 Causes of anti-Americanism in Europe and South America	69
5.3.1 Europe	69
5.3.2 South America	69
5.4 Why Exceptions?	70
5.5 Globalization and Anti-Americanism	71
<b>Chapter-6</b>	
<b>Conclusion</b>	73
Bibliography	75
<i>Appendix-1</i>	78
<i>Appendix-2</i>	80
<i>Appendix-3</i>	84
Appendix-4	87
Appendix-5	89

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

#### 1.1 Background

The question whether the U.S. is a modern empire has been troubling scholars of international relations due to its hegemonic behaviour. U.S. emerged as a Super power along with Russia in the aftermath of the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War. That period was termed as the end of the European era and the rise of two new powers distinctive in their ideological positions. The period between 1945 and 1953 was a distinctive period characterized by a new global order known as 'Cold War' between capitalist and communists blocs. The Cold War ended with the collapse of communism as ideology. It was a battle technically fought without the conventional use of force and weapon, though punctuated by psychological threats and arms race. Ironically, reforms in Soviet Union and other developments accelerated what Fukuyama called the end of history.<sup>1</sup> Thus began a period characterized by the triumphant emergence of the U.S. which became what many American scholars and more importantly President Bush (Sr) called the new world order or the U.S.-century and others described it as the unipolar moment.<sup>2</sup>

Emergence of the U.S. as a reckonable power since the collapse of the European era and consequence of the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War made most Western capitalist European countries queued behind the U.S. This part of Europe was co-opted into military alliance (NATO) and was developmentally facilitated by U.S. Marshal plan. U.S. took the challenge and shouldered upon itself as the leader of the free-world against the labeled evil communist empire. During this period, American companies invaded the European

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<sup>1</sup> Francis Fukuyama, (1992) *The End of History and the Last Man*, Penguin.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Krauthammer, 'The Unipolar Moment', *Foreign Affairs*, America and the World 1990/91, (1991)



markets; European governments succumbed to U.S. hegemony as rationality for the containment of communism. The ideological tussle between the U.S. and Soviet Russia polarized the world and created a power balance, though many within the constituency of third world nations created a neutral pole termed as the non-alignment movement (NAM) yet the supremacy of former two remains incontestable.

U.S. prowess of maneuvering world politics with its diplomatic, economic and political clout flashed in the emergence of an empire. The western hemisphere, Europe, Middle East and Africa can all testify to this new dawn and influence.

The end of the Cold War raised several questions over the dubbed U.S. century and the overstretched influence of the U.S. However, September 11, 2001 climaxed this discourse. The global influence of the U.S. can be surmised as the U.S. century, but a new trend of antagonism towards U.S. influence crept in though before the 9/11 terrorist act the wind was low but its intensity became paramount and its base widened at the dawn of 9/11 and subsequent incursion into what many aggrieved felt is violation of Muslims' integrity and sovereignty.

U.S. interference and attempt to combat the proliferation of terrorism is of course understood by many from different points of view. Obviously a welcomed development in making the world safe, yet there were numerous other perturbing issues making people resentful of the U.S. hegemonic stretch. People across the world in general and in (Europe, Middle East, and South America) in particular have started resenting US influence. This explains a great deal of challenge and what many would call the rise in opposition to U.S. hegemony and deterioration of U.S. image across the world.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

This thesis is aimed at dissecting the true nature and causes of anti-Americanism in the Muslim World. It seems highly irrational to study the Muslim World in isolation; therefore perceptions about U.S. in regions like West Europe, East Europe, South America, South Asia and East Asia, will also be considered for better understanding of the phenomenon of anti-Americanism. The changing nature of anti-Americanism needs attention of the scholars because in the rapidly changing world, the nature of issues is also changing at the same rate.

The second objective of this research is to discover the imperative causes of anti-Americanism in the post 9/11 era. In the recent times two prominent features of the phenomenon make anti-Americanism quite distinct from in the past. It has become widespread.<sup>3</sup> Firstly, its base has widened across continents; South America, West Europe, East Europe, Middle East, and South Asia, though there are certain exceptions which will also be discussed. Secondly, it is acquiring militant nature with global reach; bombing on World Trade Center (1993), Oklahoma bombing (1995), attacks on U.S. embassies Nairobi Darussalam (1998), bombing of U.S. ship Cole in Yemen (2000), and eventually 9/11, 2001 which had a profound impact on world peace and stability. In this context the research is undertaken to understand anti-Americanism in the globalized world. The increasing facilities of communication, transportation and availability of foreign products and transnational businesses are transforming societies; facilitating economic progress on the one hand and creating socio-cultural problems on the other.

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<sup>3</sup> Pew Global Attitude Project Report, *Global Unease With Major World Powers* June 2007

People feel their traditional way of life is threatened.<sup>4</sup> It has become extremely important to generate critical understanding of anti-Americanism not just as influence of the U.S. rather as phenomenon causing cultural and religious friction across the globe.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

Firstly, this work intends to help students and scholars of international relations and reading cultured people to be able to understand the nature of anti-Americanism in today's world. The increasing facilities of communication, transportation and availability of foreign products and transnational businesses are transforming societies; facilitating economic progress on the one hand and creating socio-cultural problems on the other. People feel their traditional way of life is threatened.<sup>5</sup>

Secondly, its importance and rationale lies in the critical understanding of anti-Americanism not just as influence of the U.S. rather as phenomenon causing cultural and religious friction across the globe; to examine the charge that Islamic societies are intolerant, non-accommodating and aggressive, and to explore the commonality of perceptions between Islamic societies and the rest of the world on global issues.

Thirdly, it will analyze whether anti-Americanism is a common sentiment and impulse against the personality of Americans or simply against American government. Hence, my research would help comprehend the causes and complexities related to anti-Americanism.

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<sup>4</sup> Pew Global Attitude Project Report, *Views Of A Changing World 2003*

<sup>5</sup> Pew Global Attitude Project Report, *Views of a Changing World 2003*

#### **1.4 Significance of the study**

The significance of this research lies in generating a better understanding of the phenomenon of 'anti-Americanism'. My research will add more value to the existing literature on the subject. Mostly scholars have debated the economic impact of globalization on states, but its political impact especially on the power structure of the state still requires attention. This study is undertaken to discuss the political aspect from the public's perspective. The study will highlight the erosion of power of the state, gainers of that power and the losers, by making analysis of the opinion polls and will expound how this erosion of sovereignty is causing Anti-American feelings.<sup>6</sup>

This effort, with its qualitative and quantitative nature, will help in comprehending the true nature of anti-Americanism. The focal point of this research is to critically identify the imperative reasons facilitating this dissatisfaction with U.S. and the rise of anti-American sentiments across the globe. By discovering the genuine causes of anti-Americanism, this research can help in understanding the image problems of modern powers in general. Moreover by addressing the causes for anti-Americanism it will show how appropriate it is to label any 'nation' or 'religious group' as intolerant or fanatic. Future policy making will get the benefit of this research by recognizing the true nature of anti-Americanism and their policy towards it. This research will also be invaluable to policy makers and all those who are concerned with the understanding of world politics. It will be helpful for the academicians, scholars and students in their respective fields of study. It will also show the significance of "Public Opinion Studies" in the modern world.

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<sup>6</sup> Ijaz Shafi Gilani, *Globalization as erosion of sovereignty and relocation of power*, Islamabad (2007). (An unpublished paper)

## 1.5 Research Methodology

This research has been conducted by using different research methods.

- Library research was made to explore and analyze the historical backgrounds of anti-Americanism. It was further divided into document analysis, and event analysis. Document analysis and event analysis especially of events after 9/11 were made to draw theoretical frame work for our study.
- Surveys conducted by prominent Research Organizations; Gallup USA, Pew Research Center, Globescan and the like have been consulted for determining public's perceptions about U.S., American people, and other issues across the world and analysis have been made to evaluate them, keeping in view our theoretical frame work.
- Though the thesis was meant to discover the imperative causes of anti-Americanisms in the Muslim world, but the query was made by taking the issue into broader perspective. It was not possible to study Muslim world in isolation so a view of the whole world regarding the issue have been taken to present a comprehensive and comparative picture.

## 1.6 Review of Literature

Anti-Americanism has been under the pens of scholars almost since the creation of the U.S. in one way or the other. Sometimes racial and sometimes geographical and political considerations provided the impetus. Some scholars term Anti- Americanism as a belief system which is thought to be an impulse into American Social, economic and political institutions and traditions and values.<sup>7</sup> Others do not take it as a consistent

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<sup>7</sup> Paul Hollander, *Anti-Americanism: Irrational and rational*, Transaction Publishers, 1995

phenomenon rather suggests that the term merely signifies stereotypes, prejudices and criticism toward U.S. and its citizens.<sup>8</sup> Fouad Ajami in the context of anti-Americanism in Europe says that the loss of power naturally creates envy and hatred for the one who has acquired the power that one had lost, while he explains this phenomenon in the Muslim world as ambivalence.<sup>9</sup> Thinking on the same line Lester D. Langely is of the view that anti-Americanism has co-existed in Central America along with Central Americans tendency to admire U.S. as well. But he also argues that Central Americans being very close to U.S has been experiencing U.S. influence for long time and as such has affected their sovereignty. They have become sensitized to U.S. but they also do not want to lose the benefits of relations with the U.S.<sup>10</sup> Langely does not dwell much on how U.S. influence has been a limit to the sovereignty of Central Americans neither did him closely identify what process is responsible for the loss of Central Americans sovereignty. When Langely wrote this article in 1988, there was not much debate regarding the process of globalization and as a result he could not emphasize on that loss of sovereignty to the required extent. Giacomo Chiozza using a Bayesian Multi-Level Item-Response Theory Model, comes up with the same conclusion that ambivalence is the prominent characteristics of peoples' attitude in eight predominant Islamic countries.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Brendan O'Conner, "A Brief History of Anti-Americanism from Cultural Criticism to Terrorism" *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, July 2004, pp. 77-92

<sup>9</sup> Fouad Ajami. "The Falseness of Anti-Americanism" *Foreign policy*, No.138. (Sep.-Oct., 2003), pp.52-61

<sup>10</sup> Lester D. Langely, "Anti-Americanism in Central American" *Annals of the American Academy of political and Social Science*, Vol. 497, Anti-Americanism: Origins and Context. (May 1988), pp 77-88.

<sup>11</sup> Giacomo Chiozza, "Love and Hate: Anti-Americanism in the Islamic world", Department of Politics, New York University, Nov 7, 2004

Paul Hollander defines anti-Americanism in the Muslim World as a protest against modernity. He finds the causes of anti-American sentiments in the traditional religion of Muslims, in their radical politics and economic backwardness.<sup>12</sup> Interestingly, he also condemns personal frustrations and grievances of Muslims as one of the causes for anti-Americanism, but he utterly fails to realize the effects of U.S. influence in the politics of the Muslim World. He will have to make the world understand how Muslims for their personal grievances and frustrations became anti-American if at all U.S. has nothing to do with them. Moreover has it been just a protest against modernity then it would have been against the entire West, which is not the case and especially against Britain and France who were the colonial masters of most of the today's Muslim countries and had introduced modern education, technology, medicines and their culture in these countries. Besides this, peaceful protest is one of the fundamental rights so it should not be considered as something aberrant. Contrary to Hollander, Richard B. Parker denies the thesis that anti-Americanism in the Arab World is inherent and is rooted in race and religion and it is a reaction not to modernity but to American policies. He says it will remain there as long as the U.S. identifies herself with Israel and gets meddled in local issues.<sup>13</sup> Parker quite meticulously discussed various confrontations between Arabs and Americans ranging from the hostage crisis of 1780s to the hostage crisis of 1988 in Algeria. Abdel Mahdi Abdalah says that U.S. support for Israel and general U.S. policies towards Arabs are the main causes of Arab Anti-American

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<sup>12</sup> Paul Hollander, "The Politics of Envy" *The New Criterion* Vol. 21, No. 3, November 2002, [http://www.travelbrochuregraphics.com/extra/politics\\_of\\_envy.htm](http://www.travelbrochuregraphics.com/extra/politics_of_envy.htm) (Accessed February 05, 2008)

<sup>13</sup> Richard B. Parker, "Anti-American Attitude in the Arab World" *Anti-Americanism: Origins and Context*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 497, (May 1988), pp. 46-57

feelings.<sup>14</sup> I believe 'anti-Americanism' is an attitude generated due to increased influence of U.S. over other states which challenges their sovereignty. Sovereignty belongs to people and the loss of that power breeds anti-American sentiments.

As the process of globalization got momentum after the Soviet Union's demise, it has been broadly debated and some scholars related it with the rising Anti-American sentiments. The countries that could not benefit from globalization in the same way as the U.S. did, term globalization as Americanization.<sup>15</sup> Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane in their excellent book "Anti-Americanisms in the World Politics" discussed the typology of anti-Americanism. They discussed Anti Americanism as an attitude and threw light on the formation of these attitudes.<sup>16</sup> Writing on the same subject Stephen M. Walt says that Americans see U.S. as very positive and benign but people across the world are not only of different view but are scared of U.S. and resentful to its power.<sup>17</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr. sees the increase in Anti-American sentiments in recent years in view of U.S. hard power across the globe; he rather suggested more of soft power as antidote to world contentious issues particularly in winning war against terrorism.<sup>18</sup> Quiet similar are the views of Craig Charney and Nicole Yakatan.<sup>19</sup>

A forty four country survey of Pew, finds that publics around the world experience the various aspects of globalization in their daily life; trade, finance,

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<sup>14</sup> Abdel Mahdi Abdallah, "Causes of Anti-Americanism in The Arab World: A Socio-Political Perspective" *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, Volume 7, No. 4 - December 2003

<sup>15</sup> Josef Joffe, "The Axis of Envy" *Foreign Policy* No. 132 (Sep., 2002), pp. 68-69

<sup>16</sup> Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane, *Anti Americanisms in World Politics*, Cornell University Press, 2006

<sup>17</sup> Stephen M. Walt, *Taming American Power, The global response to US primacy*. W. W. Norton and Company, New York: 2006

<sup>18</sup> Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "The Decline of America's Soft Power" *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2004

<sup>19</sup> Craig Charney and Nicole Yakatan, *A New Beginning: Strategies for a More Fruitful Dialogue with the Muslim World*, Washington, D.C.: Council on Foreign Relations, May 2005, p. iii.



communication and culture.<sup>20</sup> Stephen Taylor, looking at one of these aspects of globalization, in his article *Erosion of National Sovereignty by 21st Century Technology* (2003),<sup>21</sup> points out the fact that modern technology is having a profound impact on the sovereignty of state, though he argues for a better understanding of the capabilities of new technologies, in order to understand their political, economic and strategic implications.

### **1.7 Theoretical Framework**

At this point one can say with some degree of confidence that the political impact of globalization still requires the attention of the scholars to generate better understanding of the process and its impact on power of the state, and it's by products. Since Westphalia the principle of nation state got popularity and paved the way for the creation of many independent states. With the idea of nation-state another closely linked idea also became reality i.e. people's sovereignty. Gradually monarchies were replaced by democracies and people enjoyed sovereignty by choosing their own rulers (prime ministers or presidents). However, the sovereignty enjoyed by states has undergone remarkable changes. Though there have been century's old debates on the relations between individual and state, but now with the process of globalization the sovereignty of state (ultimately of people) is being challenged by other factors like mega state, mega corporate sector and civil society. The nation-state has always been a singular monopolist of sovereignty, but in view of the changes affecting the latter authority is now becoming a shared interest. The

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<sup>20</sup> Pew Global Attitude Project Report, "Views of a changing world" June, 2003

<sup>21</sup> Stephen Taylor, "Erosion of National Sovereignty by 21<sup>st</sup> Century Technology" *International-Business-Center.com* (2003)

monopolistic posture of the national government is now challenged as power erodes and flows into the hands of mega state, mega corporate sector and civil society.<sup>22</sup>

Mega state and mega corporate sector is largely led by U.S. (though country like China is now coming fore to play the same role) which obviously hurts the sovereignty of other states; the former by its direct or indirect political involvement in domestic politics of other countries (in order to safeguard its own interests) and the later by its financial and economic impact. Sovereignty belonged to people (and the state) and its loss explains the antagonism against the one who caused that loss. The erosion of sovereignty will be the principal framework within which anti-Americanism will be explained.

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<sup>22</sup> Ijza Shafi Gilani, Globalization as an erosion of sovereignty and relocation of power, Islamabad. (2007)  
An published paper also quoted in VOP 2007.

## Chapter-2

### Conceptual framework

#### 2.1 U.S. image Problem

U.S. came to be recognized as a 'super power' after the Second World War and it remained sole super power after the dismemberment of Soviet Union. Yet after years of global leadership, U.S. is far from being admired across the world. The tragic event of 9/11 made many to show their sympathies for the U.S. and American people. But just a year later the global mass demonstrations in history, protested against U.S. invasion of Iraq. Several polls conducted by Pew Research Center and other polling organizations showed that favorable opinion of U.S. dramatically declined across regions.

The expression of negative attitudes towards U.S., "anti-Americanism" became widespread, even in countries where U.S. had favorable opinion previously and among those who showed sympathy with the U.S. on the event of 9/11. But one thing is not obvious whether these anti-U.S. sentiments are against the policies of President Bush or these are against U.S. system and their values.

Since the end of cold war U.S. has become an unrivalled super power of the globe. It intervened militarily in several parts of the world and behaved like imperialists of the past and turned many against it. Similarly the gulf between Americans and publics in other parts of the world regarding social and human rights issues and cultural issues became more evident because of development in media technology, communications and with the access of internet. Still some argued that American wealth, and political power is making publics feel envy for it. It seems quite contestable with the fact that America was

wealthy and politically powerful in 1990s as well but still it was enjoying better favorable opinion as compared to today's figures.

## 2.2 Defining Anti-Americanism

Generally anti-Americanism is taken as opposition or hostility to Americans, or U.S. or its policy. Several scholars have defined 'anti-Americanism' in their own way. Some scholars like Paul Hollander terms Anti- Americanism as a belief system which is thought to be an impulse against American Social, economic and political institutions and traditions and values.

Brendan does not take anti-Americanism as a consistent phenomenon rather suggests that the term merely signifies stereotypes, prejudices and criticism toward U.S. and its citizens.<sup>23</sup>

Fouad Ajami in the context of anti-Americanism in Europe says that the loss of power naturally creates envy and hatred for the one who has acquired the power that one had lost, while he explains this phenomenon in the Muslim world as ambivalence.<sup>24</sup>

Katzenstein and Keohane define 'anti-Americanism' as a psychological tendency to hold negative views of the U.S. and of American society in general.<sup>25</sup> Whatever the definition we adopt still several questions remain to be answered. As 'anti-Americanism' is a kind of an 'attitude' it seems to be more of the field of psychology than political science. But it can still be put into the field of political psychology. Moreover 'attitudes'

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<sup>23</sup> Brendan O'Conner, "A Brief History of Anti-Americanism from Cultural Criticism to Terrorism" *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, July 2004, pp. 77-92

<sup>24</sup> Fouad Ajami, "The Falseness of Anti-Americanism" *Foreign policy*, No.138. (Sep.-Oct., 2003), pp.52-61

<sup>25</sup> Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in world Politics*. Cornell University Press. p. 12

are formed due to some impulses, so in the case of 'anti-Americanism' the impulses are political in nature. Therefore any definition of the subject can be taken for further study.

In my analysis 'anti-Americanism' is a kind of response or reaction produced as a result of interaction, direct in case of states and indirect in case of citizens with the U.S. Positive and fruitful interaction breeds goodwill and fame and vice versa.

### **2.3 Varieties of Anti-American sentiments**

Before proceeding further it seems suitable at this stage to describe the typology of anti-American sentiments. So that we can know in which category we can place the Muslim world as U.S. image problem is not just confined to Muslim world.

Katzenstein and Keohane in their book *Anti-Americanisms In World Politics* describe the following varieties of anti-Americanism.

#### ***Liberal Anti-Americanism***

Liberal anti-Americanism says Keohane "seems to be an oxymoron, since liberals broadly share many of the ideas that are characteristics of the American creed. But the U.S. is often criticized bitterly for not living up to its own ideals."<sup>26</sup> U.S. has been advocating democracy and human rights across the world since early 20<sup>th</sup> century. But on the other hand it patronized dictators for its own interest especially during the cold war and even it continued its support for dictators in the Middle East after the end of the cold war. During the war on terror, U.S again supported undemocratic even foul regimes and political practices for its own interests. (Support for Musharaf's regime in Pakistan is one example) Similarly U.S. is the torch bearer of free trade movement in the world and has

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<sup>26</sup> See Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in world politics*. Cornell University Press (2007) New York. p. 29

been pressurizing other countries to be part of it but it continues to safeguard its own agriculture from competition from developing countries. Such behavior opens the U.S. to charges of hypocrisy from people who share its professed ideals but lament its actions. Such policies of U.S. portray it as hypocrite in the eyes of these who share the ideas propagated by U.S. but they mourn its actions.

Such kind of anti-Americanism is common in the liberal societies of advanced industrialized countries, especially those that had been colonized by Britain or had remained under its influence. Similarly for a long time it was also shared by secular, Western educated elites in the Middle East. But over the last fifteen years more radical forms of anti-Americanism has replaced this sentiment in the region.<sup>27</sup>

### ***Social Anti-Americanism***

Social anti-Americanism originates from differences in views regarding social values.

Social anti-Americanism is based on value conflicts that reflect relevant differences in many spheres of life that touch on “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” In the absence of the perception of a common external threat, “American conditions” (amerikanische Verhältnisse) that are totally market-driven are resented by many Germans, as they were in times of financial crisis by many Mexicans, Asians, and Argentineans in 1984, 1994, and 2001.<sup>28</sup>

Keohane says that the element of ‘hypocrisy’ is also there in social anti-Americanism but it is less in intensity than in liberal anti-Americanism. The U.S policies are disliked for being favoring the rich over poor. Here ‘hypocrisy’ is not at the core that stimulates anti-American sentiments rather a genuine value conflict exists on issues such

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<sup>27</sup> See Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in world politics*. Cornell University Press (2007) New York. p. 30

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid* 31

as the death penalty, the desirability of generous social protections, preference for multilateral approaches over unilateral ones, and the sanctity of international treaties. Nevertheless social anti-Americanism is not that intense as radical anti-Americanism.<sup>29</sup>

### ***Sovereign-Nationalist Anti-Americanism***

This form of anti-Americanism is concerned with political power.

Sovereign-nationalists focus on two values: the importance of not losing control over the terms by which polities are inserted in world politics and the inherent importance and value of collective national identities. These identities often embody values that are at odds with America's. State sovereignty thus becomes a shield against unwanted intrusions from America.<sup>30</sup>

Keohane says that the emphasis of sovereign-nationalists can vary in three ways. The first and foremost is on nationalism, collective national identities that provide a source of positive identification. Significance of 'National identity' in the contemporary world politics is beyond debate and discussions. Strong National identities can breed anti-Americanism by providing positive counter values. Similarly even National identities are weak they still has the potential to generate anti-American sentiments because anti-Americanism itself can serve as substitute for positive values.

Second, sovereign-nationalists can also emphasize sovereignty. Those parts of the world where sovereignty has been won after wars of liberations, it (sovereignty) is considered as a cherished good that is to be defended. This is true of Middle East, Africa and many parts of Asia who won sovereignty after long struggles. In Latin America, proximity to U.S and domination of the region by U.S has reinforced the value of

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<sup>29</sup> See Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in world politics*. Cornell University Press (2007) New York. p. 31

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid* 32

sovereignty. Such a kind of anti-Americanism originating from sovereignty is not common in Europe as they have been trying to pool their sovereignty partially in the single emerging European Union.

Third, sovereign-nationalists may try to reinforce the position of their own states as great powers through their anti-American sentiments by defining their own situations partly in opposition to dominant states. The history shows that some Germans began to strongly dislike Britain before World War I because they believed that it was blocking Germany from getting its due position in the world affairs.

Sovereign-nationalist anti-Americanism echoes in states that have strong state traditions and in which it is perceived that U.S. action are as detrimental to nationalism, sovereignty, or the exercise of state power. Those states that have traditions of running domestic affairs with their own free will strongly feel the violations of state sovereignty and resent more than others. This is true in particular of the states of East Asia.<sup>31</sup>

### ***Radical Anti-Americanism***

The fourth form of anti-Americanism is termed as Radical anti-Americanism.

It is built around the belief that America's identity, as reflected in the economic and political power relations and institutional practices of the United States, ensures that its actions will be hostile to the furtherance of good values, practices, and institutions elsewhere in the world. For progress toward a better world to take place, the U.S. economy and society will have to be transformed, either from within or without.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> See Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in world politics*. Cornell University Press (2007) New York. p. 32

<sup>32</sup> See Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in world politics*. Cornell University Press (2007) New York. p. 33



Radical anti-Americanism was peculiarity of Marxist-Leninist states such as the Soviet Union until its last few years and Cuba and North Korea till today. When at climax radical anti-Americanism was associated with violent revolution against regimes patronized by U.S if not the U.S. itself. But now these elements have become so weak that it is no more than rhetoric.

All forms of radical anti-Americanism do not advocate violence against U.S rather they intend to transform political and economic institutions of U.S.<sup>33</sup>

There are two other forms of anti-Americanisms which do not fall in the above general typology: elitist anti-Americanism and legacy anti-Americanism.

### ***Elitist anti-Americanism***

Elitist anti-Americanism arises in those countries where the elite class has long history of contempt for American culture in general as is the case in France. It is Europe centered with more gravity on the continent. The earliest discussions of anti-Americanism in Europe can be traced back in the eighteenth century, when some European scholars held that everything in the Americas was degenerate.<sup>34</sup> The climate was debilitated; flora and fauna did not grow as large as in Europe; people were coarse. Many of these elitist anti-Americans consider Americans as strictly materialists who only care for their own interest and never bother about other values of life. Some term them as highly religious and therefore irrational.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid

<sup>34</sup> Philippe Roger, *The American Enemy: The history of French Anti-Americanism*, University of Chicago Press. (2005) Chicago.

<sup>35</sup> See Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in world politics*. Cornell University Press (2007) New York. p. 36

### ***Legacy Anti-Americanism***

Legacy anti-Americanism originates in societies where U.S had done some wrong in the past. U.S military attacks on Mexico and domination of the region in general provoke this kind of anti-American sentiments in Mexico. Similarly memories of U.S interventions in 1950s fueled legacy anti-Americanism during Iranian hostage crisis. The highest levels of anti-Americanism in Western Europe were recorded in Greece and Spain between the late 1960s and the end of the twentieth century, when both countries went through civil wars in which U.S supported the rightists.<sup>36</sup>

Legacy anti-Americanism is not a permanent phenomenon. It can evaporate gradually if it is not reinforced by more wrongs on the side of U.S or any other stimulant. Institutionalization of historical memories of American wrongs can also keep such anti-American sentiments alive. Keohane thinks that even if such negative sentiment persists, it does not take violent shape rather it becomes limited in specific places and takes the shape of support for anti-American policies and breed tolerance for radical anti-American movements. He believes that legacy anti-Americanism is alterable and history can abate the negative views of U.S.<sup>37</sup>

### **2.4 Defining Muslim World**

Muslims across the world come from diverse nationalities, tribal and ethnic groups, and cultures, speak different languages and practice different customs. The term 'Muslim World' has several meanings. Culturally it refers to worldwide community of followers of Islam called Muslims. Population of this community is about 1.3-1.5 billion,

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<sup>36</sup> See Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in world politics*. Cornell University Press (2007) New York. p. 37

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid*

which is roughly one fifth of the world population. It's a heterogeneous community comprising of different 'nations' and 'ethnic groups', connected by religion. Politically the term 'Muslim World' refers to predominant Muslim countries or the countries in which 'Islam' is dominant.

So it can be said that 57 Muslim Countries of Organization of Islamic Conference forms the Muslim World. Majority of Muslims live in Asia, Africa and the Arab world. Most of them are "*ajamees*" non Arabs. Only about one fifth of the world's Muslims are Arabs. But the fact remains that in several predominantly non Muslim countries Muslims are significant or reasonable proportion of the entire population e.g. India, China, Philippines, United Kingdom and U.S. Globalization and emigration has changed demographics of the world and today world's major cities like London, Paris, Marseilles, Brussels, New York, Detroit and Los Angeles also have a significant Muslim population.<sup>38</sup>

Muslim countries which are mostly scattered in South Asia, East Asia, central Asia, Middle East and parts of Africa, are geographically connected with each other from Arabian Sea to Morocco in Africa, Kazakhstan to Turkey in Europe, and Indonesia in East Asia. Besides this interconnectedness, they also have a symbolic union of Muslim countries with the name of Organization of Islamic Conference. Since the disintegration of Ottoman Caliphate, Muslims have lost the concept of Muslim world. It is generally thought that on the face of the earth one can see masses of Muslim countries, with great diversities in political ideologies, ethnicities, culture but nothing like 'The Muslim World or Umma' is observable. My assumption is that this thinking is wrong. One can still

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<sup>38</sup> Please see profile of the Muslim world in Appendix at the end of the thesis

observe 'Umma' in a peculiar way. (Their may be several other ways to observe it as well) It is observable at popular level if not at the elite level. It is existent at the emotional level in the unity of thinking and perceptions of Muslims living in different countries across the world though formal relations between Muslims country suggest something different.

## **2.5 Communalities and distinctions**

Muslims living in different predominant Muslim countries, share perceptions on different political and social issues, they also show similar kind of concerns. These perceptions and concerns are peculiar to the Muslim countries and consolidate them into an 'Umma' at the popular level. The same feelings and perceptions make them very distinct form the rest of the world. On the other hand it is interesting to note that Muslim counties are also sharing some perceptions and concerns with the rest of the non Muslim counties. It shows that on the one hand 'Muslim Umma' is distinct from the rest of the world and on the other; it is quite integrated with it.

An effort has been made to highlight the commonalities among the perceptions of Muslims living in different countries, which make 'Muslim Umma' quite distinct from the rest of the world. How the Muslim Umma is integrated with the rest of the word, is also shown by pointing out the commonalities in view of Muslims and non Muslims across the world. One important point must be kept in mind that self evident commonalities in faith and religious book and rituals are not discussed here.

If the survey researches, conducted in the last five years are examined thoroughly, one can see the fact that 'Muslim Umma' exists by way of sharing 'perceptions' on key global issues. The same is true when it comes to the realm of economic exchange or

political actions. The global Muslim society or Umma (as opposed to states) shares a range of political and social views including views about constitutions and governance. For example, across the Muslim countries people are highly supportive of Islamic law (Sharia).<sup>39</sup> So the first distinction of 'Muslim Umma' from the rest of the world is desire for Islamic law. At the same time they join other religions and secular societies in the global consensus that 'democracy' is the best possible form of governance.<sup>40</sup>

Palestine issue has been serving as a stimulus, strengthening the already existing bond among the Muslims living across the different parts of the world. Feelings about the Palestine issue clearly show a case of shared perceptions alongside divided politics. According to Pew Global Attitude project report all Muslim societies are really concerned about the Palestine issue. (See Appendix 2, Table 2.1) A majority of two third in the Muslim world is sympathetic towards Palestine. It is distinguishable from the rest of the world where 26 per cent respondents are sympathetic to none. It may either be indifference or ignorance. When it comes to respondents who have shown some sympathies towards either of the two, then 25 per cent are sympathetic towards Israel and 20 per cent are sympathetic towards Palestine. (See Appendix 2, Table 2.2)

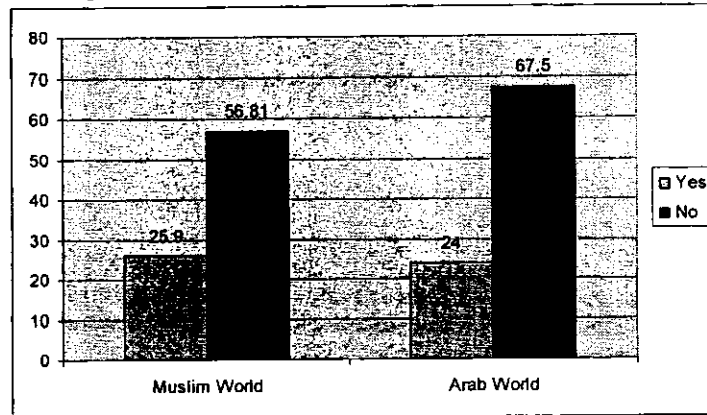
The poll shows that Muslims are feeling pessimistic about the eventual resolution of Palestinian issue. More than half (56%) of the respondents in the Muslim world believe that it is not possible to find a way for Israel and Palestinian rights to coexists. Pessimism is higher in Arab world. Where more than two third (67%) feel the same way. (See Figure 2.1 below)

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<sup>39</sup> See John L. Esposito and Dalia Mogaha. Who speaks for Islam? What a Billion Muslims Really Think. Gallup Press, New York (2007) P 35

<sup>40</sup> See Voice of the people 2007: What the world thinks on today's global issues p 79

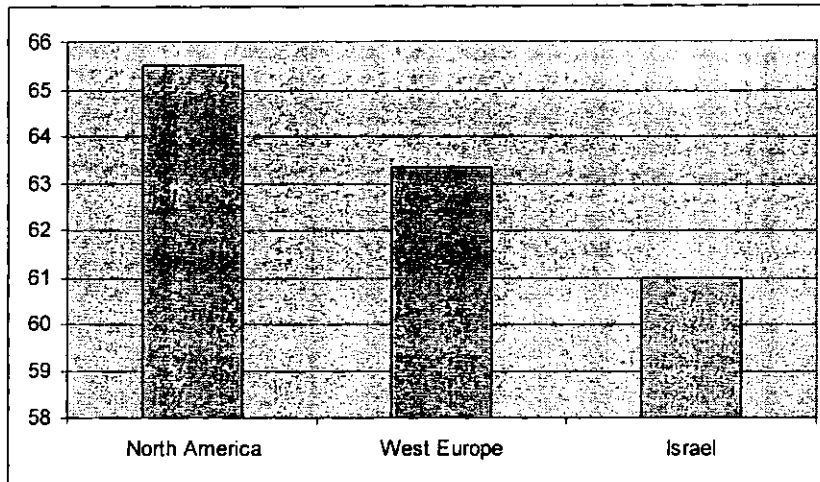
Figure 2.1  
Can a way be found for Israel and Palestinians Rights to co-exist?



Global Unease with Major World Powers  
Pew Global Attitude Project, June 2007

But the non Muslim world is optimistic about the issue where half of respondents believe that a way can be found for Israel and Palestinian rights to coexist. The optimism is highest in Israel and the developed world of North America and West Europe, where about two third majorities of respondents believe that it is possible to find a way for Israel and Palestinian rights to coexist. (See Figure 2.2)

Figure 2.2  
 Can a way be found for Israel and Palestinians Rights to co-exist?  
 (Who say 'yes')



Global Unease with Major World Powers  
 Pew Global Attitude Project, June 2007

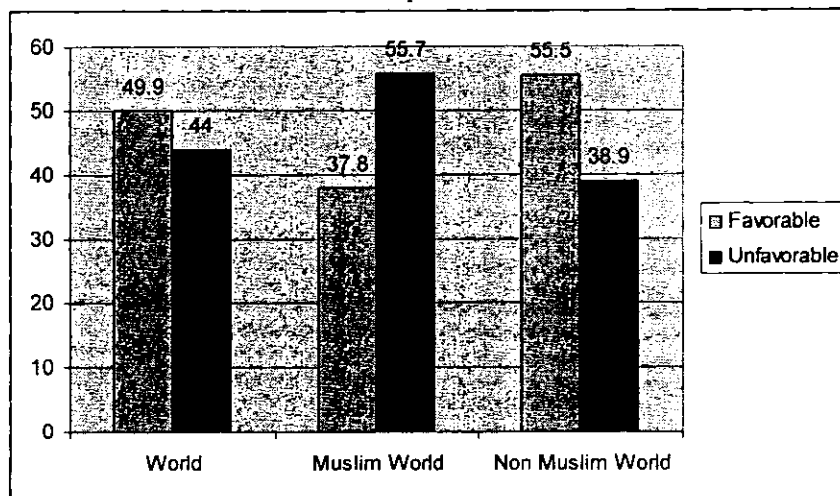
Yet another evidence for unity in thinking and emotions in 'Umma' can be seen in response to the question; whom to blame for the fact that Palestinians do not have a state of their own. Respondents across Umma blame Israel for the fact that Palestinians do not have a state of their own, 4 in ten Muslims support this idea. After Israel, Muslims blame U.S. for the problem. But in the rest of the world, 3 in ten say 'don't know', while 23 per cent blame Palestinians and 20 per cent blame Israel. (See Appendix 2, Table 2.3 and Table 2.4)

From the views on Palestine issue commonality of emotions in the 'Umma' is quite evident. Similarly, on social issues, we find Muslim societies quite distinct from the West. Homosexuality, abortion, drugs and alcohol are the current social issues under debate in the West in particular and in the rest of the non Muslim world in general, but these are only marginal on the agenda in the Muslim world. Muslims believe that the

greatest threat to the world is social environment by way of religious and ethnic hatred, perhaps they themselves have been the victim of this hatred and feel it as the greatest threat to the world. For the rest of the world, the greatest threat to the world is perceived as the problem of deteriorating physical environment. (see Appendix 2, Table 2.5)

Similarities of views regarding international issues among Muslims also show the distinctive nature of the Muslim Umma. While the U.S. image has declined across the world especially since commencement of war against terrorism, the intensity is high in Muslim societies. Somehow a universal pattern is there. But in present day situation the Muslim Umma has its own united stand at least at popular level. On average we see that 55 per cent of Muslims across the world have negative view of U.S. contrary to 55 per cent of non Muslims in the rest of the world who hold a positive view of U.S. (see Figure 2.3) Muslims share global concern on American hegemony, but one stronger in their opposition on the subject.

Figure 2.3  
Opinion of U.S.



Q. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of U.S?

Global Unease with Major world powers  
Pew Global Attitude Project



Muslims also share the western concerns about extremism and terrorism, though they also feel that the war against terrorism is actually a war against Islam. So distinction of a separate entity and integrative features go hand in hand.

The complexity of the situation is captured in the following statement:

Ironically Anti-Americanism is a phenomenon which is stimulating unity of perceptions among politically diverse Muslim societies. At the same time it provides to them a common cause with large majorities in the non-Muslim societies. Growing anti-Americanism across the globe is shaping a new Muslim 'Umma', whose rallying point is not 'religion' in the narrow sense of the word. Instead, their platform is that of secular political resistance to a uniform world and American hegemony. Today the new Muslim 'Umma' finds itself in an unsaid alliance with secular, liberal even atheist group on the platform of 'global civil society'.<sup>41</sup>

So, one of the basic conclusion is that majorities of people living across Muslim countries think and feel alike in many respects, which is not the case about the people of any other region or religion. This peculiarity unites them into a Muslim world or Umma. Secondly, they maintain their distinction on certain points and also share the Western concerns on several points and prove themselves as integrated. Across Umma people have religio-political concept of state and they also agree with the rest of the world considering democracy as the best system of governance. The same distinctive and integrative features are also obvious in social and international issues.

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<sup>41</sup> Ijaz Shafi Gilani, Reflections on Americanism and Anti-Americanism. Paper presented at International Studies Association Conference, Chicago USA. (March 2007)

## Chapter-3

### Part-A

#### U.S. Image in the World

##### 3.1 Perceptions about U.S

Many scholars dwell on the fact that the history of anti-Americanism begins with the Europeans feelings of superiority about their own culture and inferiority about American ways of life and culture in general. Then with the emergence of U.S. as a super power and downfall of the European political powers in 20<sup>th</sup> century, the nature of anti-American sentiments changed. During the cold war period it was mostly felt in the communist countries in the context of war among two ideologies. Since Soviet Union disintegration which left U.S. as unrivalled super power, this phenomenon of anti-Americanism is undergoing radical changes.<sup>42</sup>

Keohane and Katzenstein in *Anti-Americanisms in world politics* say

Anti-Americanism has a historical pedigree dating back to the eighteenth century. Since World War II such sentiment has waxed and waned in various parts of the world. American GIs were welcomed widely in the 1940s as liberators of a Europe occupied by Nazi Germany, and as protectors of a Europe that felt threatened by the Soviet Union in the 1950s. Yet a few years later the “ugly American” became an object of scorn and derision.<sup>43</sup> In the second half of the 1960s the U.S. war in Vietnam became a rallying cry for a powerful antiwar movement that fueled anti-American sentiments in Europe, Latin American, and Asia. In the early 1980s mass protests against NATO’s missile deployment plans and the military buildup of the Reagan administration erupted. Between 2002 and 2006 intense expressions of anti-American sentiment-both public opinion polls and in political administrations- have been evident

<sup>42</sup> Brendan O’Conner, “A Brief History of Anti-Americanism from Cultural Criticism to Terrorism” *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, July 2004, pp. 77-92

<sup>43</sup> Lederer and Burdick 1958. The title of this book was ironic; the “ugly American” was actually a hero. But the phrase stuck while the plot of the novel was largely forgotten.

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around the globe. Anti-Americanism is again front page news, and many Americans are perplexed by its global spread.<sup>44</sup>

Since the creation of U.S. anti-Americanism existed in the form of cultural lament, criticism of U.S. policies, envy, ambivalence and occasional attack on U.S. interests, properties or persons but since its emergence as sole super power, (after Soviet disintegration) anti-American sentiment began to change into a militant form with global reach and it became widespread.<sup>45</sup> This situation makes it imperative to throw light on the nature and causes of anti-Americanism.

Though this thesis is meant to probe into U.S. image in the Muslim world but it is not possible to study Muslim world in isolation. Muslim world is a part of a global whole and therefore for better understanding of the phenomenon we will try to look into the perceptions about U.S. in the Muslim world in the broader global context. So it is inevitable for us to know what the perceptions about U.S. in rest of the world are and then analyze the situation in the Muslim World.

### **3.1.1 Perceptions of U.S. in Europe**

Europe dominated the world from 17<sup>th</sup> century to early 20<sup>th</sup> century before U.S. took over the leadership of the world. Various European nations dominated different parts of the globe. Pioneers of colonization; Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English, and French entered into a kind of competition for colonizing different regions and capturing the material resources and markets as well. Some Westerners thought it was their duty to

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<sup>44</sup> Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in world Politics*, Cornell University Press, Page 09

<sup>45</sup> Events like World Trade Center bombing (1993), Oklahoma bombing (1995), attacks on US embassies Nairobi Darussalam (1998), bombing of US ship Cole in Yemen (2000), and eventually 9/11, 2001 shows the militant nature of anti-American sentiments.

Now anti-Americanism is not just limited to Europeans for their perception of cultural superiority and it is not only limited to Communist countries for ideological reasons rather it has spread across the continents.

ameliorate the situation in under developed world by helping them establish good administrative structures and bringing the required reforms in these countries- white man burden. The same burden seems to be on the shoulders of U.S. today who wants to bring as declared by it, political and economic reforms in the world.<sup>46</sup> It was not until 19<sup>th</sup> and the mid of the 20th century that European powers withered away one by one and U.S. emerged as the super power. Europeans perceptions about U.S. should be comprehended with this background in mind that once a global power turned subordinate to the U.S hegemony.

Survey research helps us understand how U.S. and its influence are viewed in various parts of the world. Pew Global Attitude Project finds a continuous decline in favorable opinion of U.S. in the whole of Europe in general and in Germany, France, Spain, Britain and Italy in particular.<sup>47</sup> Table 3.1 shows the gradual decline in U.S. favorability ratings in Europe with a few variations especially in East Europe. U.S. favorability suffered a decline of 16 to 48 points across Europe since 1999. The highest decline of 48 points is evident in Germany, while the highest improvement is of 4 points in Russia.

A BBC survey conducted by Globescan/PIPA finds that Europeans are quite skeptical of the U.S. role in the world affairs. Majorities in many European countries say that U.S. is having mainly negative influence in the world affairs. (see Figure 3.1) This view is shared by publics in Greece, Germany, France, Russia, Great Britain, Portugal, and Italy. In Hungary view of U.S. influence are evenly divided. Only in Poland

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<sup>46</sup> U.S. Politicians have always emphasized upon the establishment of democracies in the world and have criticized the governments with poor human rights record. On the economic side U.S. is the torchbearer of free market economy.

<sup>47</sup> Pew Global Attitude Project Report, *Global Unease with Major World Powers*, June 2007.

according to this survey 38 per cent have a positive view of U.S. influence in the world affairs against 24 per cent who hold negative view of U.S. influence.<sup>48</sup>

Table 3.1  
Favorable Opinion of U.S. in Europe

	1999/2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Britain	83	75	70	58	55	56	51
France	62	62	42	37	43	39	39
Germany	78	60	45	38	42	37	30
Italy	76	70	60	--	--	--	53
Spain	50	--	38	--	41	23	34
Sweden	--	--	--	--	--	--	46
Bulgaria	76	72	--	--	--	--	51
Czech Rep.	77	71	--	--	--	--	45
Poland	86	79	50	--	62	--	61
Russia	37	61	37	46	52	43	41
Slovakia	74	60	--	--	--	--	41
Ukraine	70	80	--	--	--	--	54

Q. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable opinion of U.S.?

Source: Pew Global Attitude Project

Similarly Chicago Council on Global Affairs survey also helps us understand the perceptions about U.S. in the world.<sup>49</sup> Figure 3.2 shows that majorities in France, Russia, Ukraine and Armenia agree with the statement that U.S. is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be.

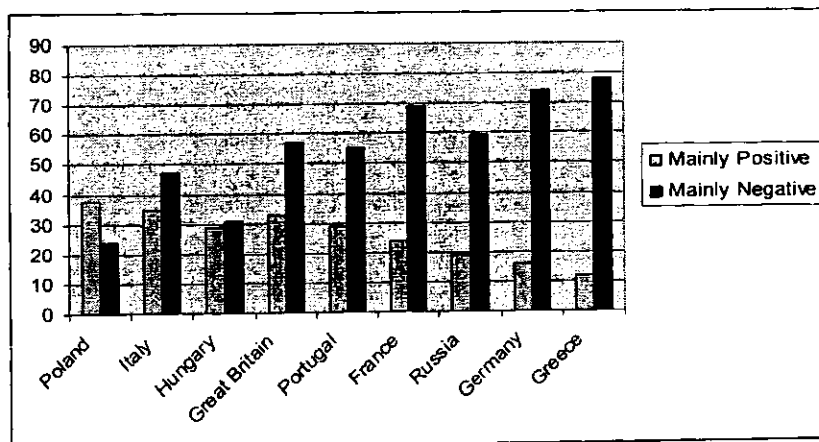
<sup>48</sup> World View Of U.S. Go From Bad To Worse

[http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/jan07/BBC\\_USRole\\_Jan07\\_quaire.pdf](http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/jan07/BBC_USRole_Jan07_quaire.pdf)

<sup>49</sup> World Publics Reject US Role As The World Leader

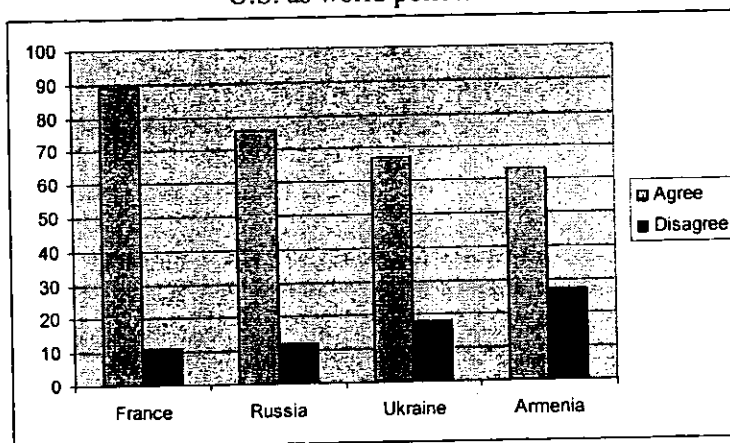
[http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/apr07/CCGA+\\_ViewsUS\\_quaire.pdf](http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/apr07/CCGA+_ViewsUS_quaire.pdf)

Figure 3.1  
Views of U.S. influence



Q. Please tell me if you think each of the following are having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world: ct) The United States ....  
Source: www.worldpublicopinion.org

Figure 3.2  
U.S. as world policeman



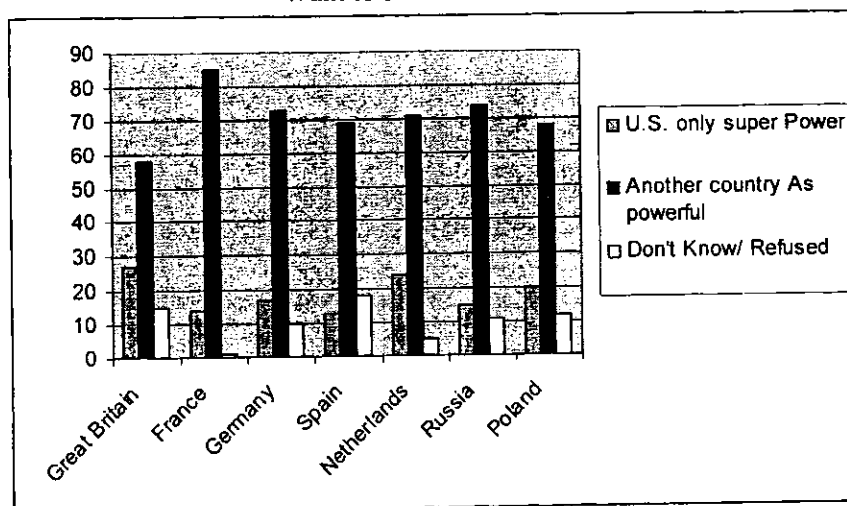
Q. Do you agree or disagree with the statement that the U.S. is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be?  
Source: www.worldpublicopinion.org

When Pew asked Europeans about making European Union as powerful as the U.S., seven in ten respondents in seven European countries wanted to see another country (EU) as powerful as U.S. Even in Great Britain support for the idea was 58 per cent.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Pew Global Attitude Project Report, *U.S. Image Up Slightly But Still Negative*, June 2005.

The very fact that Europeans want to see EU as powerful as U.S. tells us the opposition to U.S. in Europe. (see Figure 3.3) The highest support for the idea is in France where the history of anti-American sentiments is quite long and the lowest support (58 per cent) is in Great Britain- the closest of U.S. ally in Europe. These statistics suggest that U.S. image is deteriorating in Europe. Favorable opinion about U.S. has declined gradually after 9/11 and opposition to U.S. policies has increased to the extent that Europeans want to check the super power by making EU as powerful as U.S.

Figure 3.3  
Want to see a rival of U.S



Q. Right now, the U.S. has the most powerful military capability in the world. Would you like to see the U.S. remain the only military superpower or would it be better if [Europe (ask in all countries outside of Europe) the EU (ask in Europe)], China or another country became as powerful as the U.S.?

Source: Pew Global Attitude Project

### 3.1.2 Perceptions of U.S. in South America

Proximity to U.S. plays major role in formulating perceptions about it in Central and South America. The presence of a political and economic super power in the American continent is bound to have profound impact in the whole region and that impact is responsible for perceptions about U.S. The history of U.S. influence in South

and Central America also helps us explain the formulation of perceptions about U.S. in the region. U.S. policies of interference in the name of restoring democracies, (Haiti and most of the Caribbean and Central America) combating socialism as in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chile, Cuba and more recently Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador, and its fight against drug trafficking as in Colombia and Bolivia are all indication and markers of U.S interference in the region which has informed certain perceptions of U.S. in the region. Moreover with the world being globalize disagreement with the U.S. foreign policy is also playing an imperative role in formulating perceptions about U.S. Nevertheless the land of resources and popular cultures has always tempted the poor inhabitants of this region. Several scholars have traced out the ambivalent attitudes of South Americans towards U.S.

Table 3.2  
Favorable views of U.S.

	1999/2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Argentina	50	34	--	--	--	--	16
Bolivia	66	57	--	--	--	--	42
Brazil	56	51	35	--	--	--	44
Chile	--	--	--	--	--	--	55
Mexico	68	64	--	--	--	--	56
Peru	74	67	--	--	--	--	61
Venezuela	89	82	--	--	--	--	56

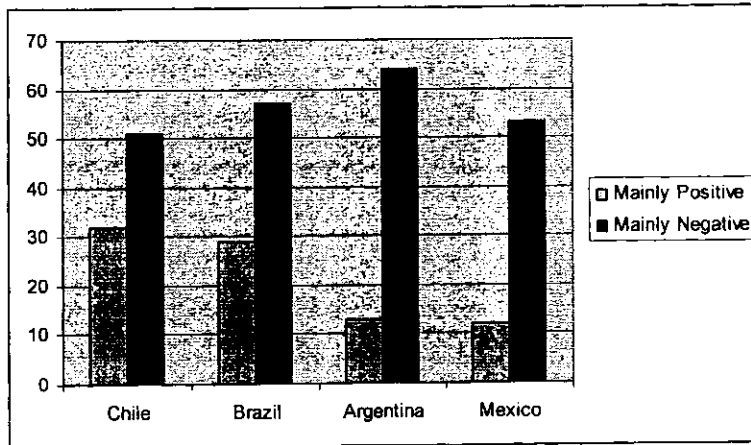
Q. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable opinion of United States?  
Source: Pew Global Attitude Project

Pew survey shows that the U.S. image has also deteriorated in South America since 1999 though there are certain variations as well.(see Table 3.2) The U.S. favorable opinion has gone through decline ranging from 34 points (Argentina) to 12 points (Brazil and Bolivia) over the last eight years in this region. The highest favorable rating of U.S. comes from Peru i.e. 61 per cent with only a 6 point decline.



BBC poll also shows that the South Americans are skeptical of U.S role in the world affairs. Roughly more than five in ten respondents from the region believe that U.S. has mainly negative influence in the world affairs. (see Figure 3.4) Similarly Chicago Council on Global Affairs poll also testifies to this trend in Peru and Argentina. (see Figure 3.5)

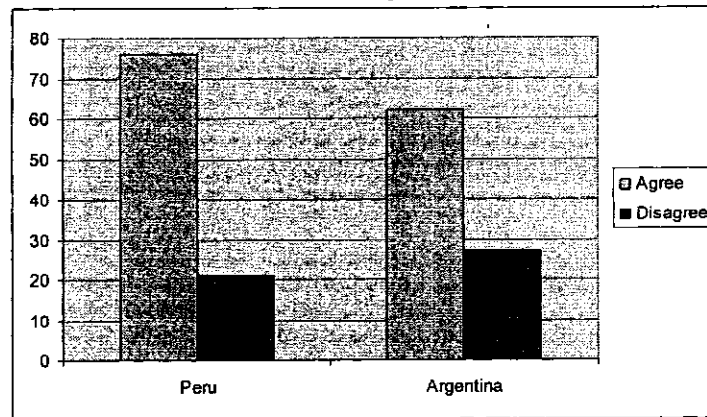
Figure 3.4  
Views of U.S. influence



Q. Please tell me if you think each of the following are having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world: ct) The United States ....

Source: Worldpublicopinion.org

Figure 3.5  
U.S. as world policeman



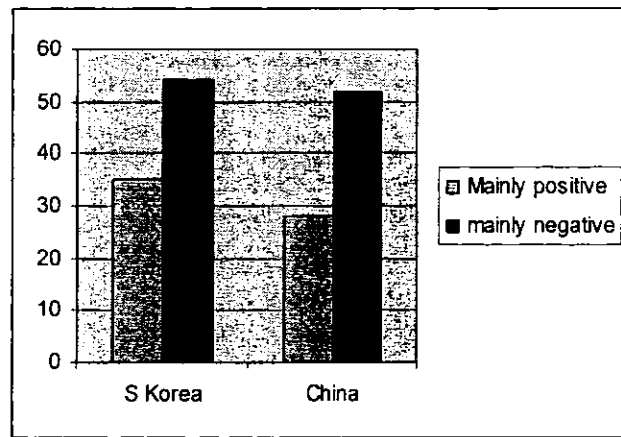
Q. Do you agree or disagree with the statement that the U.S. is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be?

Source: [www.worldpublicopinion.org](http://www.worldpublicopinion.org)

### 3.1.3 Perceptions of U.S. in East Asia

The Muslim Countries of East Asia will be discussed with the Muslim world. The countries like Philippines and Japan fall in an exceptional category that will be discussed separately i.e. publics of these countries have positive views of U.S. The remaining countries like China and South Korea can be placed in the general trend across the world. Though South Koreans are somewhat divided regarding U.S. image. Pew survey finds that 58 per cent of South Koreans have a favorable opinion of U.S. (see Appendix-3, Table 3.3) But BBC poll shows that 54 per cent of South Koreans see U.S. as having mainly negative influence in the world (see Figure below) and in the Chicago Council on Global Affairs survey 73 per cent of South Koreans agree with the statement that U.S. is playing the role of a world policeman more then it should be.

Figure 3.6  
Views of U.S. influence



Q. Please tell me if you think each of the following are having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world: ct) The United States ....  
Source: Worldpublicopinion.org

Chinese views are quite negative again and fit in the larger trend across the globe. Pew finds only 34 per cent of Chinese to have a favorable view of the U.S. (see Appendix-3, Table 3.3) BBC survey also describes Chinese as having negative view of U.S as 54 per cent of respondents in China see U.S. influence as mainly negative. (see Figure 3.6)

## **Part-B**

### **U.S. Image in the Muslim World**

#### **3.2 Perception of U.S. in the Muslim World**

Though the U.S. image problem is quite common across the globe but it is very serious in the Muslim World. A very comprehensive tracking data is not available but the limited data still suggest that anti-American sentiment is widespread in the Muslim World with the exception of few Muslim countries.

Before discussing the available data with respect to our respective timeframe, one must look into the history of relations between U.S. and the Muslim world. Most of the Muslim empires collapsed before the emergence of U.S. as reckonable power of the world. U.S. emerged as a super power after Second World War. Its ideals of democracy and human rights echoed across the globe. Almost all the Muslim countries were under colonial rule those days. So it was very natural for Muslims like any other colonial subjects to applaud those who advocated for human rights and democracy. It was not until the end of Second World War and beginning of decolonization that several Muslim countries emerged on the face of the earth as nation-states.

Second World War brought drastic changes in international arena. Soon after the War ended, the world was divided into what history called Soviet and U.S. blocs. The coming four decades were dubbed as cold war era in international politics. The tussle between two ideologies i.e. Capitalist and Communist divided the world into two camps. It was the age of alliances and counter alliances. In this period one finds that most of the Muslim countries stood by U.S. though some tried to maintain good relations with Soviet Union like Libya, Syria, Egypt, and Iraq (on later stage). Countries like Pakistan, Saudi

Arabia, Turkey, Jordan, Lebanon, Iraq (till 1958), and Iran (till 1979) supported U.S. In this period publics of the Muslim countries also had positive view of U.S. The Muslim countries however were not very clear in their approach; not to fully support the atheists Communist and the selfish Capitalist.

The next major event in the history of Muslim world was the establishment of the state of Israel. Our objective here is not to discuss the background of this event rather to see its impact on the international relations in the coming decades. This event had far reaching impacts on the relations between Muslims and the West than expected. Muslims had expectations from the United Nations to reach a justified solution.<sup>51</sup> So can be said about Muslims expectations from U.S. to play a neutral role but the creation of the state of Israel shattered the trust of the Muslims in U.S. across the world. U.S support for Israel deteriorated the U.S. image in the Muslim World. Despite U.S. support for Israel, Muslim countries joined U.S. block against Soviet Union though at certain stage in history these countries left U.S. alliances for certain reasons.

The interesting thing is that U.S. image in the Muslim countries remained positive even in 1950s and 1960s, though Muslim publics were not satisfied with U.S. Middle East policies. U.S. image in the Muslim world remained quite positive till late 1980s. It was not until U.S. invasion of Iraq (first Gulf war) that publics' perceptions in the Muslim countries began to change. Opinion poll studies show that publics' perception does not change overnights. In case of Muslim World a dubious air was there because of U.S. Middle East policy which many Muslims thought to be against Palestinians and in favor of Israel. We have already seen in surveys that Muslims across the world are very

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<sup>51</sup> The issue of Israel and Palestine was brought to UN Security Council in 1946.

concerned about Palestinian issue. As discussed earlier in Chapter-2 that two third of respondents in Muslim countries sympathized with Palestinians, so the same air of distrust further materialized with the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan and war on terror.

Table 3.4  
Favorable views of U.S

	1999/2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Turkey	52	30	15	30	23	12	9
Egypt	--	--	--	--	--	30	21
Jordan	--	25	1	5	21	15	20
Kuwait	--	--	63	--	--	--	46
Lebanon	--	36	27	--	42	--	47
Morocco	--	--	--	--	--	--	15
Palest. ter.	--	--	---	--	--	--	13
Pakistan	23	10	13	21	23	27	15
Bangladesh	--	45	--	--	--	--	53
Indonesia	75	61	15	--	38	30	29
Malaysia	--	--	--	--	--	--	27

Q. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable opinion of United States?  
Source: Pew Global Attitude Project

Pew data suggest that in most of the predominant Muslim countries favorable opinion of U.S. is very low. (see Table 3.4) The poorest of favorable ratings comes from Turkey, Palestinian Territory, Pakistan and Morocco where just 9, 13, and 15 per cent of respondents have a favorable opinion of U.S. The most favorable opinion is found to be in Bangladesh, Lebanon and Kuwait.

Zogby International has conducted a series of surveys in the Middle East, which also verifies the Pew's findings.<sup>52</sup> The surveys find that more than three out of every four respondents have an unfavorable opinion about U.S. in this region. The negative views

<sup>52</sup> Five Nation Survey of the Middle East by Zogby International, Published by Arab American Institute

are very strong in three monarchies; Jordan, Morocco, and Saudi Arabia though ruling class in these countries has very good relations with the U.S. (see Table 3.5)

Table 3.5  
Opinion about U.S

	2002		2005		2006	
	Favorable	Unfavorable	Favorable	Unfavorable	Favorable	Unfavorable
Saudi Arabia	12	87	9	89	12	82
Egypt	15	76	14	85	14	83
Morocco	38	61	34	64	7	87
Jordan	34	61	33	62	5	90
Lebanon	26	70	32	60	28	68

Q. Generally speaking, is your attitude towards the United States very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or are you not familiar enough to make a judgment?

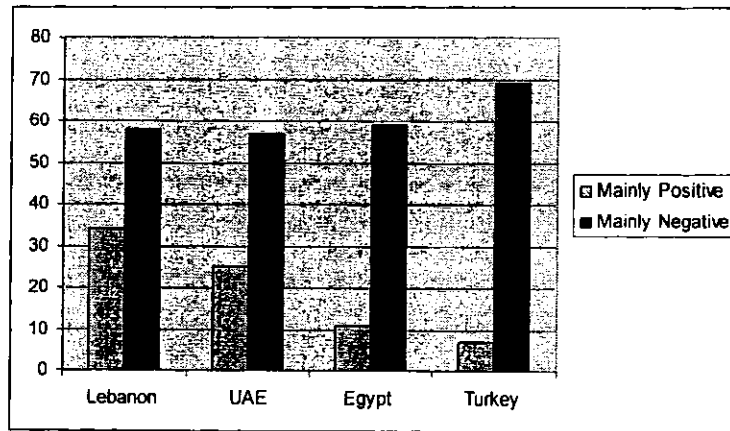
Source: Arab American Institute

The distrust in U.S. policies in the region is quite evident from the same Zogby survey. Majorities of respondents in the Middle East showed their apprehensions about U.S. foreign policy and believe that it is meant to achieve such objectives like controlling oil (75 per cent), protecting Israel and weakening the Muslim World (69 per cent), and dominating the region (68 per cent).

The already mentioned BBC poll also show that in Turkey, Egypt, Lebanon, and UAE roughly six in ten respondents believe that U.S. has mainly negative influence in the world affairs. (see Figure 3.7)

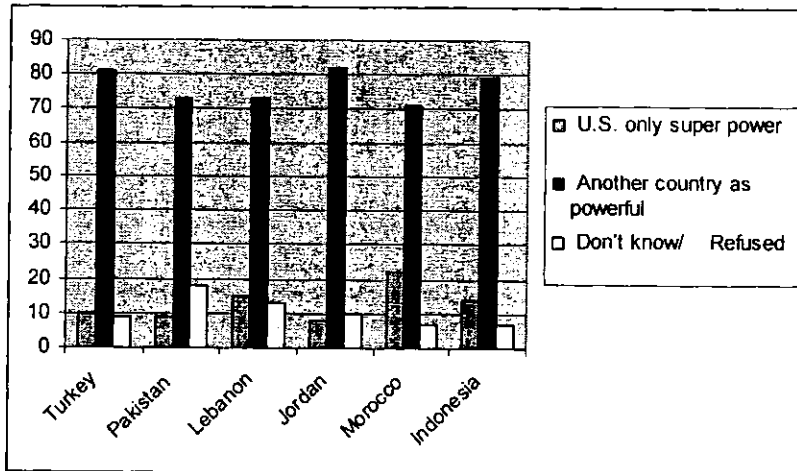
In the same way Muslims are highly supportive of the idea to see another country becoming as powerful as U.S. Over seven in ten in Turkey, Pakistan, Lebanon, Jordan, Morocco, and Indonesia share this view. (see Figure 3.8) These data suggest that views about U.S. have severely deteriorated particularly in the Muslim World in the aftermath of the 9/11.

Figure 3.7  
Views of U.S influence



Q. Please tell me if you think each of the following are having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world: ct) The United States ....  
Source: www.worldpublicopinion.org

Figure 3.8  
Muslims want to see a rival super power of U.S



Q. Right now, the U.S. has the most powerful military capability in the world. Would you like to see the U.S. remain the only military superpower or would it be better if [Europe (ask in all countries outside of Europe)] the EU (ask in Europe), China or another country became as powerful as the U.S.?  
Source: Pew Global Attitude Project

### 3.3 Perceptions about U.S. leadership

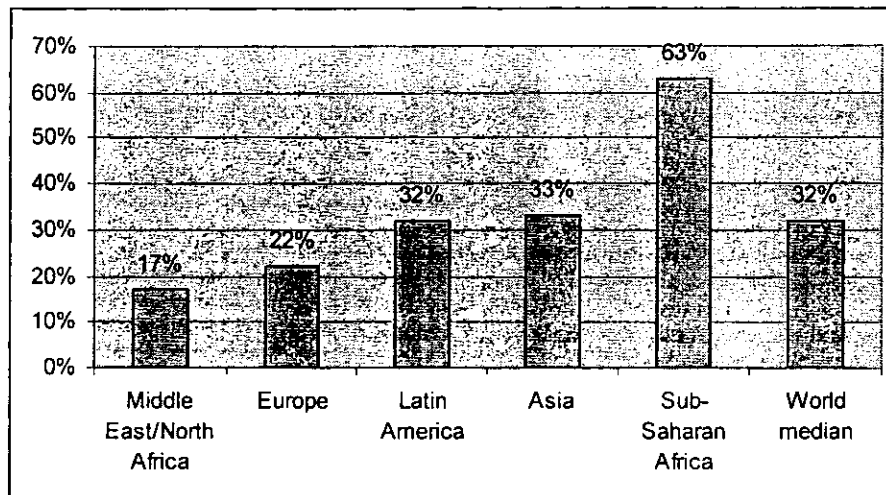
Views of U.S. leadership and views about American people provide us a unique opportunity to comprehend the reasons of poor perceptions about U.S. in the world. After



all these are the Americans who are running the administration of U.S. but across the world publics' perceptions about the two are somewhat different. U.S. leadership secures poor ratings across all the regions of the world except in Africa, which is an exception in the general trend across the world.

A Gallup USA poll of 139 countries shows that it is not just Middle East or Muslim countries where U.S. leadership is disapproved rather publics in some of the key allies and in most part of globe shows disapproval of the Bush administration. (see Figure 3.9) The world median approval is 32 per cent and regional medians are even lower in most of the cases.

Figure 3.9  
Approval of U.S. leadership (Regional medians)

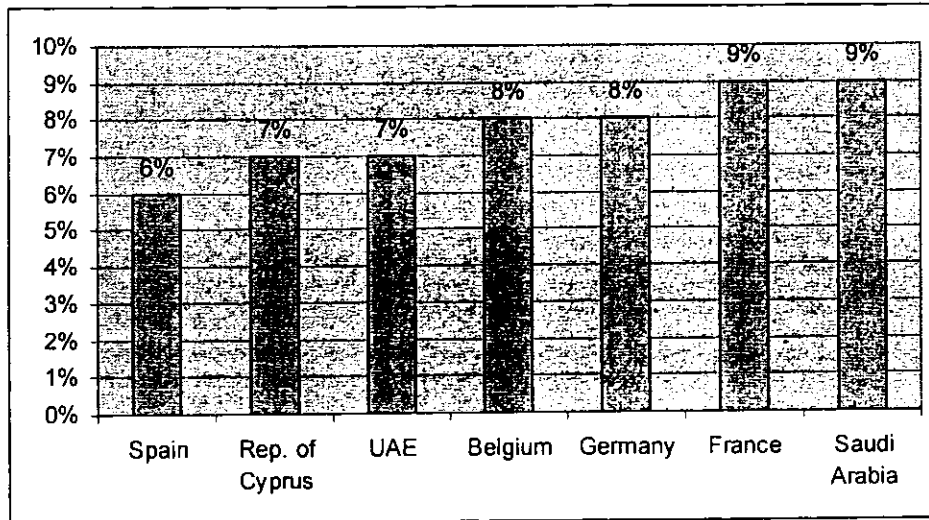


Q. Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of the U.S.A?  
Gallup USA, April 02, 2008

Many Americans might expect the publics in the allied countries to have positive view of U.S. leadership contrary to Middle Eastern or Muslim countries but the striking fact is that the list of the countries with lowest approval of U.S. leadership is mostly dominated by no one else but the America's allies in war on terror. Only two Muslim

countries Saudi Arabia and UAE are in that list, who again are good friends of U.S. in the region but the publics in these countries also have a different view of U.S. contrary to the positive views held by their rulers about U.S. (see Figure 3.10)

Figure 3.10  
Approval of U.S leadership

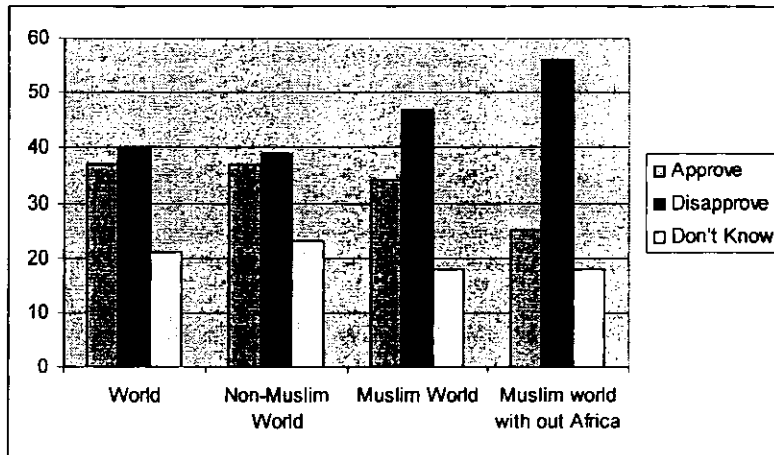


Q. Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of the U.S.A?  
Gallup USA, April 02, 2008

On average according to this survey U.S. leadership disapproval is higher in the Muslim world than in the rest of the non Muslim world. The world in general is almost divided with 37 per cent of respondents approving and 40 per cent disapproving the performance of U.S. leadership. Separating the Muslim countries from the list the figures for non Muslim world remains almost the same but situation of the Muslim world becomes more clear with almost 50 per cent of respondents in the Muslim world disapproving the U.S. leadership while just 34 per cent showing their approval. If further go down into analysis and remove the African countries from the list of Muslim world as the continent of Africa as a whole is an exception then the figures become more alarming. 56 per cent of Muslims living in Asian countries disapprove of the performance of U.S.

leadership while just a quarter approve of it. These figures testify the disapproval of U.S. leadership in the Muslim world. (see Figure 3.11)

Figure 3.11  
Approval of U.S leadership<sup>53</sup>



Q. Do you approve or disapprove of the job performance of the leadership of U.S.A?  
Gallup USA, April 08, 2008

### 3.4 Perceptions about Americans

Though the image of American people has also declined since 2002 but still they seem to be more popular than their country. The decline has been quite sharp in many countries especially predominantly Muslim countries like Indonesia (down from 65% in 2002 to 42% in 2007), Jordan (54% in 2002; 36% now), and Turkey (32% in 2002; 13% now). Pew survey of 2007 showed that Turks ratings of American people and their country are quite consistent. They give Americans very poor ratings as well.<sup>54</sup>

However the survey shows American people get more positive ratings than their country almost across the world. This trend is quite evident in Europe; 30 per cent of

<sup>53</sup> Figure for 'Muslim world' is the aggregate of all the Muslim countries included in the survey, so is the case with the figure for 'non Muslim world'.

<sup>54</sup> See Pew Global Attitude Project, *Global unease with major world powers*. page 23, June 2007

Germans have favorable opinion of U.S. compared to 63 per cent of Germans who have favorable opinion of American people. Similar to Germans, 46 per cent of Swedes hold positive opinion about U.S but 73 per cent of them have a favorable opinion of Americans as people. Similarly more people in Canada, Great Britain, Italy, Spain, France, Ukraine, and Russia have positive opinion about American people than America as a country. (see Appendix-3, Table 3.6)

The same pattern can also be seen in the Muslim world. This is especially true of Lebanese, Kuwaitis and Jordanians. The Lebanese hold a very favorable opinion about Americans (69%) than about the U.S. (47%), similar are the views of Kuwaitis (Americans – 62% favorable; U.S. – 46% favorable), and Jordanians (Americans – 36% favorable; U.S. – 20% favorable).<sup>55</sup>

However in South America and Africa, there is not much difference between the perceptions about U.S as a country and Americans as people. Almost as many Mexicans express positive views about the U.S. (56%) as many express positive views about Americans (52%) as people. The views in Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Peru are quite identical to Mexicans. Venezuelans rate Americans higher (64% favorable) than the U.S. (56% favorable), although both are relatively popular. In Argentina, both receive low ratings though American people (26% favorable) get 10 percentage point edge over their country.<sup>56</sup> (16% favorable)

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<sup>55</sup> ibid

<sup>56</sup> See Pew Global Attitude Project, *Global unease with major world powers*. page 23, June 2007

So it can be safely concluded that Americans are more popular than America and the image problem is more serious with the America as a country and not Americans as people.

### 3.5 Exceptions regarding Perceptions of U.S. in the world

There are certain exceptions in the larger trend of anti-American sentiments in the world. Israel in Middle East, Philippines, and Japan in East Asia, India in South Asia and the whole of the continent of Africa do not fall in the general trend regarding U.S. image. Respondents in these countries have a very favorable opinion of U.S. as a country and Americans as well. Similarly the approval of U.S. leadership is also very high.

The Pew survey shows that 78 per cent of Israelis, 61 per cent of Japanese, 59 per cent of Indians have a positive opinion of U.S. (see Table 3.7 below) These views have been quite consistent in Israel, South Korea and India over the last eight years. Though, in Japan it has declined from 77 per cent to 61, but still a reasonable majority of Japanese hold a positive view of U.S. While in the BBC survey 72 per cent of respondents in Philippines believe that U.S. is having a mainly positive influence in the world affairs and 57 per cent of them do not agree with the statement that U.S. is playing the role of a policeman more then it should be.

Table 3.7  
Favorable opinion of U.S

	1999/2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
India	--	66	--	--	71	56	59
Japan	77	72	--	--	--	63	61
Israel	--	--	78	--	--	--	78

Q. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable opinion of United States? Source: Pew Global Attitude Project

Similarly the continent of Africa as a whole is an exception regarding U.S. image. Almost in all the African countries respondents have a positive view of U.S. The Pew survey finds that almost two third majorities in all the surveyed African countries except Tanzania have a favorable opinion of U.S. (see Appendix-3, Table 3.8)

The same can be verified by BBC poll,<sup>57</sup> which found that around two third majorities in Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, and Ghana believe that U.S. is having mainly positive influence in the world. (see Appendix-3, Table 3.9) While polarities in Senegal, South African and Congo concur. The lowest opinion in this survey is in Zimbabwe where only 38 per cent see U.S. influence as positive in the world, but the point to note here is that in spite of being low; still it is 10 points higher than the negative opinion which is 28. So, it is safe to conclude that Africans as a whole have positive view of U.S. The prominent reason for these sentiments lies in the fact that Africa is not the land of modern crisis of terrorism. U.S. involvement in the region has also been very limited and positive (Financial aid) as well. Mr. Devra thinks that Africans mostly admire America as they can see opportunities of prosperous life there. Moreover popular culture and democratic values of U.S. attract many Africans.<sup>58</sup> One can also see the reasons for these positive perceptions in the U.S. anti-colonial policies as all the African countries won independence very lately.

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<sup>57</sup> *Global Poll Finds Iran Viewed Negatively*,

[http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/feb06/ViewsCountries\\_Feb06\\_quaire.pdf](http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/feb06/ViewsCountries_Feb06_quaire.pdf)

<sup>58</sup> Devra Coren Moehler, Ph.D., Scholar, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, Harvard University. *African Opinion On U.S. Policies, Values And People*. Joint hearing of Committee On Foreign Affairs House Of Representatives. One Hundred Tenth Congress. First session March 28, 2007

## **Chapter-4**

### **Views on U.S. Exports**

Decline in U.S. favorability is evident from data discussed in the previous chapter. We have also seen that Americans are more popular than America itself. It creates a question in mind that there may be other things related with U.S. which are more liked or disliked in the world than U.S. itself. For this purpose we will have to look into the public perceptions about things which are somehow Americans or at least are affiliated with U.S. Public's views about American ideas of democracy, American way of doing business, technology, music and pop culture, U.S. foreign policy and U.S. war on terror can help us understand the nature and causes of U.S. image problem.

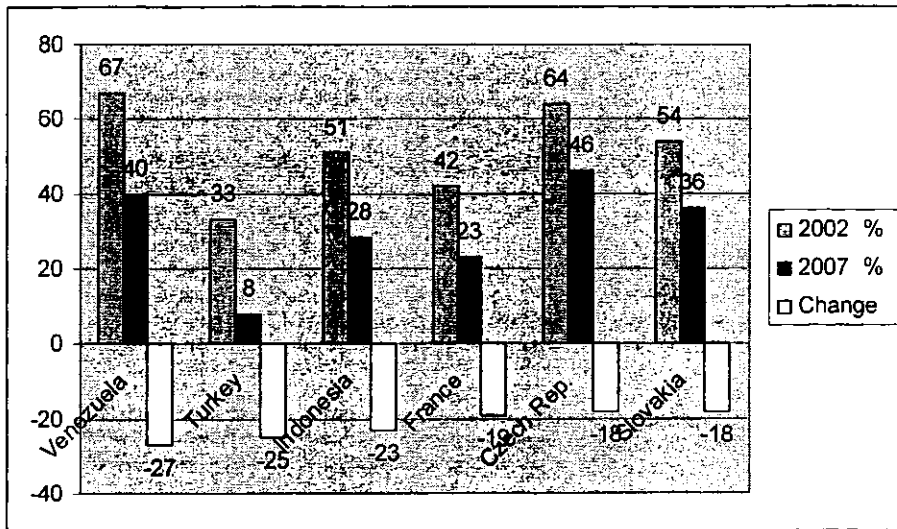
#### **4.1 Views on American ideas of Democracy**

Several surveys show the public support for the principles of democracy across the world. But Pew's survey shows that respondents appreciating American ideas about democracy have decreased almost across the world since 2002. In some cases the declines are quite large: 27-point drop in Venezuela, 25-point drop in Turkey, and a 23-point decline in Indonesia. The only exception to the pattern is Jordan, where the number saying they like American ideas about democracy has risen from 29% in 2002 to 42% in this survey. (see Figure 4.1)

Many Muslims charge U.S. and the West in general to have double standards about promoting democracy and addressing human rights situation in Arab or Muslim world. "Whenever the Israelis strike the Palestinians, the international community and the U.N. turn a blind eye or keep quiet," says Saleh Bayeri, a politician and Muslim community leader in Jos, Nigeria. "But when the Palestinians launch a counterattack, it is

condemned by America. That is the problem. It shows that the West is biased in dealing with Muslim.”<sup>59</sup>

Figure 4.1  
Where American ideas of democracy have lost favor



Q. which of these comes closer to your view? I like American ideas about democracy, or I dislike American ideas about democracy.

*Global unease with major world powers. June 2007*

Pew Global Attitude Project

“Much of the skepticism regarding American ideas about democracy may be tied to the perception that U.S. foreign policy is inconsistent in its democracy promotion efforts. Majorities or pluralities in nearly every country surveyed say U.S. promotes democracy where it serves its interests, rather than wherever it can. In U.S., 63% say their country promotes democracy mostly when it serves the national interest. There are substantial partisan differences, with 46% of Republicans saying such a policy is mostly pursued when it serves the country’s interests, compared with 70% of Democrats.”<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> M Bortin, (2006, June 29) For Muslims and West, antipathy and mistrust. *International Herald Tribune*. Retrieved September 16, 2007, from [www.iht.com/articles/2006/10/13/opinion/edgerges.php](http://www.iht.com/articles/2006/10/13/opinion/edgerges.php)

<sup>60</sup> See Pew Global Attitude Project, *Global unease with major world powers*. page 29, June 2007



## 4.2 Views on American ways of doing business

Opinion about American ways of doing business varies across regions. American ways of doing business is least popular in advanced economies of Europe, where less than one in three respondents in all six nations show their appreciation of American style of business. The highest ratings for American business practices comes from Sub Saharan Africa- the already mentioned exception in general trend. More than seven in ten Africans like the American style of business. (see Appendix-4, Table 4.1)

“American business is also relatively popular in the Middle East, especially in Kuwait (71% like U.S. business practices), Israel (70%), and Lebanon (63%). Even among Jordanians (51%), Egyptians (48%), Moroccans (44%), and Palestinians (40%), favorable views of American business are far more common than positive views of the U.S. as a country or of the American people. In Turkey, however, the results once again highlight the extent of negative opinions about the U.S. among the Turkish public –only 6% say they like American ways of doing business, down 21 percentage points from 2002”.<sup>61</sup>

Assessments of the U.S. approach to business have also grown more negative in much of Latin America. Distaste for American-style business is up 20 percentage points in Venezuela since 2002, and 15 points in Mexico; it also has increased by 13 points in Argentina, where two-thirds of the public now says they do not care for American ideas about business. The only exception to this trend is Bolivia, where the number of people who dislike American ways of doing business has declined by a modest five points.

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<sup>61</sup> See Pew Global Attitude Project Report, *Global unease with major world powers*. page 30, June 2007

### **4.3 Views on U.S. technology**

The image of America as a country is low, publics are somewhat reserved about American ways of doing business but one of the aspects of America's image which beyond all doubts win praise for U.S. is 'American technology'. American scientific and technological advances continue to be held in high esteem, even in many places where overall assessments of the U.S. are low. In Malaysia, for example, 83% admire U.S. for its science and Technology; in Egypt, 69% do so; in Jordan, 68%; in the Palestinian territories, 67%; Germany, 65%; Morocco, 55%; and Argentina, 51%. In general, results for this question have changed little since 2002, although there have been significant changes in a few countries, especially Turkey (67% admire in 2002, 37% now) and Ukraine (69% admire in 2002, 46% now), where respect for U.S. scientific and technological advances has waned. As for Americans themselves, 88% are proud of their country's technological and scientific advances.<sup>62</sup>

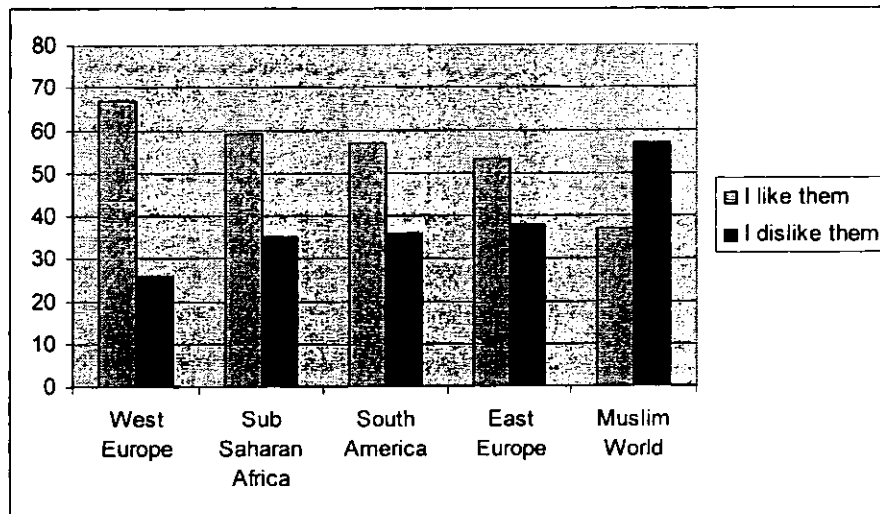
### **4.4 Views on American music, movies and television (pop culture)**

It is not just American scientific advancement and technology highly popular abroad but American pop culture is equally liked across the world. Pew Survey of June 2007 finds that majorities in most of the surveyed countries express their liking for American music, movies and television though there are certain exceptions as well. The American pop culture is highly popular in West Europe, Sub Saharan Africa and South America. About seven in ten in West Europe and six in ten in Sub Saharan Africa and South America showed their appreciation of American pop culture respectively. (see Figure 4.2)

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<sup>62</sup> See Pew Global Attitude Project Report *Global unease with major world powers*. page 31, June 2007

Figure 4.2  
Views on American music, movies and television



Q. Which is closer to describing your view? I like American music, movies and television, or I dislike American music, movies and television.

*Global unease with major world powers. June 2007*

Pew Global Attitude Project

The views are entirely different in the Muslim world. American pop culture is not popular in most of the Muslim countries except in African Muslim countries which fall in exceptional category regarding U.S. image. On average about six in ten respondents in predominantly Muslim countries say they dislike American music, movies and television. Only in Lebanon, and Malaysia American pop culture is popular among 71 and 54 per cent of respondents. In both of these countries the presence of a reasonable proportion of Christians and Buddhists explain the situation as American pop culture is more popular in Christians and Buddhists than among Muslim respondents in both of the countries respectively. Besides these, American culture is also reasonably popular in Kuwait and Indonesia where 53 and 50 per cent of respondents showed their liking for it. (see Appendix-4, Table 4.2)

On the other extreme it is highly disliked in Bangladesh, Pakistan, Palestinian territory, Turkey, Egypt and Jordan where at least six in ten respondents say they dislike

American pop culture. So at this point it becomes clear that Muslim world stands as an exception on the question of liking or disliking American pop culture. Majorities in Muslim countries feel that spread of the American culture is dangerous for their own values and culture and they want to stop it. The favorable opinion about American culture comes from youth and the most unfavorable opinion comes from religious people.

#### **4.5 Views on U.S. war on terror**

Esposito in his book *Who Speaks For Islam* describes the increasing tensions between Muslim world and the West in a beautiful way.

Since 9/11 Islamophobia has increased in Europe and America while anti-Americanism continues to spread in the Arab and Muslim world. People in the West are galvanized by terrorist attacks and suicide bombings in Iraq, Israel, Palestine, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Indonesia. On the other hand Muslim world is galvanized by the invasion and occupation of Iraq, abuses at Abu Gharib and Guantanamo, and images of civilian deaths and destruction from Israeli invasions of Gaza and southern Lebanon.<sup>63</sup>

At the dawn of 9/11 U.S. image in the Muslim world was already very grim. But surveys showed that Muslims also felt grieved by the tragic event of human history. President Bush rhetoric of 'crusade' and the start of 'war on terror' changed the sentiments of sympathy into distrust and animosity in the Muslim world. It is also a fact that these negative sentiments were not abrupt rather these were somehow already there rooted in the U.S Middle East policy, strained U.S. *Taliban* relations and incidents like targeted attacks on Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan.

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<sup>63</sup> John L. Esposito, *Who Speaks for Islam? What a billion Muslim really think*. Gallup Press.

Table 4.3  
Support for U.S. led war on terror wanes

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
	%	%	%	%	%	%
U.S.	89	--	81	76	73	70
Canada	68	68	--	45	--	37
Argentina	25	--	--	--	--	9
Bolivia	64	--	--	--	--	54
Brazil	57	42	--	--	--	41
Mexico	52	--	--	--	--	31
Peru	81	--	--	--	--	60
Venezuela	79	--	--	--	--	45
Britain	69	63	63	51	49	38
France	75	60	50	51	42	43
Germany	70	60	55	50	47	42
Italy	67	70	--	--	--	41
Spain	--	63	--	26	19	21
Bulgaria	72	--	--	--	--	51
Czech Rep.	82	--	--	--	--	57
Poland	81	--	--	61	--	52
Russia	73	51	73	55	52	50
Slovakia	66	--	--	--	--	42
Ukraine	86	--	--	--	--	51
Israel	--	85	--	--	--	78
China	--	--	--	--	19	26
India	79	--	--	52	65	49
Japan	61	--	--	--	26	40
South Korea	24	24	--	--	--	10
Ghana	63	--	--	--	--	59
Ivory Coast	87	--	--	--	--	87
Kenya	85	--	--	--	--	73
Mali	--	--	--	--	--	62
Nigeria	70	61	--	--	49	63
Senegal	--	--	--	--	--	41
South Africa	63	--	--	--	--	43
Tanzania	53	--	--	--	--	40
Uganda	67	--	--	--	--	59

(Table 4.3 continues...)

Table 4.3  
Support for U.S. led war on terror wanes

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Turkey	30	22	37	17	14	9
Egypt	--	--	--	--	10	26
Jordan	13	2	12	13	16	18
Kuwait	--	56	--	--	--	37
Lebanon	38	30	--	31	--	34
Morocco	--	--	--	--	--	16
Palest. ter.	--	2	--	--	--	6
Pakistan	20	16	16	22	30	13
Bangladesh	28	--	--	--	--	28
Indonesia	30	23	--	50	39	32
Malaysia	--	--	--	--	--	16

Q. And which comes closer to describing your view? I favor the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism, OR I oppose the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism. The figures are shown for support only. *Global unease with major world powers. June 2007*

Comprehensive tracking data of views of Muslims in predominantly Muslim countries is not available. Yet the available data suggest that in none of the Muslim countries majorities supported U.S. war on terror. Rather U.S. attack on Afghanistan and later on Iraq met strong disapproval of Muslims across the world. Muslims are highly skeptic of U.S. war on terror. Subsequent attack on Iraq after Afghanistan made Muslims believe that U.S. poses a military threat to many Muslim countries. Reasonable majorities in Indonesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Turkey, Lebanon, Jordan and Kuwait felt threatened by U.S. military might.<sup>64</sup> As a result favorable opinion of U.S. declined with every passing year in Muslim countries.

Pew data suggest that over the last six years support for U.S. led war on terror has declined even in allied countries. In 30 out of 34 countries for which trend data is available support for the war has dropped since 2002 poll which was conducted soon

<sup>64</sup> See Pew Global Attitude Project Report, *Views of a changing world*, June 2003. page 12

after the commencement of war. The decline has been high in Europe with 25 percentage point drop in Ukraine, France, Great Britain, Poland, Germany, Italy, and the Czech Republic. The support has also dropped in South and North America as well. In Canada it has met 31 point decline and in U.S. itself it has decline from 89 per cent to 70 per cent. (see Table 4.3)

U.S. image in the Muslim world is not much different from the U.S. image in West Europe or other regions of the world. Comparative data in Table 4.4 throws some light on the situation and makes the fact obvious that it is not just the Muslim world where U.S. is having grave image problem, rather the problem is widespread. In some respects it is more serious among friends in West Europe than among foes in the Muslim world. It was under this rationale that the study focusing on U.S. image problem in the Muslim world included the rest of the world for consideration as well.

Table 4.4 Favorable opinion of;

	U.S. leadership	U.S.	Americans	American ideas of democracy	American style of Business	American Technology	Pop culture	War on terror
Muslim world excluding African Muslim countries	25	26	37	28	45	67	37	21
Muslim world	34	42	48	39	40	73	43	32
West Europe	19	42	62	29	56	69	67	36
East Europe	34	48	58	35	38	55	53	50
South America	34	47	49	29	52	68	57	38
North America	42	67	81	48	59	81	59	53
Africa	64	72	72	62	25	84	59	58

Pew Global Attitude Project Report, *Global unease with major world powers*. June 2007  
Average of only favorable opinion expressed in each region is shown here. Column for 'war on terror' consists of the figure for support for the U.S. led war in 2007.

Only good news for U.S. comes from the continent of Africa which as a whole is a notable exception along with some other individual countries that will be discussed.

The important point to be noted here is that the publics across the world somehow make a distinction between the image of U.S. as a country and its leadership and the Americans and the positive attributes of their country. The data also falsifies President Bush statement that they hate our freedoms and prosperity. American scientific advancements and technology and popular culture are appreciated by many across the world. Similarly American style of doing business and American ideas of democracy has also not been dismissed altogether. The reluctance to American ideas of democracy is only because of the perception that U.S. works for democracy only when it is in its own interests.

As the continent of Africa falls in exceptional category so for better understanding of the Muslim world we consider the 11 predominantly Muslim countries as representative of Muslim world which were included in that Pew survey. Muslims views stand sharp negative about U.S war on terror, U.S. leadership, U.S. as a country, and American ideas about democracy. But Muslims are highly positive about American scientific advancement and technology. About seven in ten respondents in predominant Muslim countries admire U.S. for its advance technology. Similarly a reasonable proportion of 45 per cent of Muslims admire American ways of doing business and 37 per cent of Muslims have a positive view about Americans themselves. But Muslims overwhelmingly reject U.S. war on terror and in this case we have already seen that support for war had also declined across the world as well. The point to be made here is that Muslims just as normal being appreciate some positive aspects of U.S. and make it clear that nothing is rooted in their scriptures to hate U.S. despite its positive attributes. I do not consider this aspect of Muslims attitude as 'ambivalence' rather I believe it to be a



natural human instinct to appreciate what is positive and condemn what is negative and harmful.

Though the favorable opinion of U.S, Americans and their pop culture is lowest in Muslim world but U.S. leadership has been more thoroughly rejected in West Europe than in the Muslim world. Similarly favorable opinion of U.S, American ideas of democracy, support for war on terror is lowest in West Europe after Muslim world. So Muslim world alone should not be blamed for having negative image of U.S. rather it is shared by many across the world.

## Chapter-5

### Anti-Americanism: Causes and Analysis

A nation with vast resources, great economic and democratic models which tempts numerous people in the world, is at the same time facing opposition, ranging from censure to hatred and violent attitude towards it and its citizens from almost all parts of the world. Despite all the positive attributes, her favorability is on the decline in general. This made several scholars to ponder about the causes for this sentiment. Before starting our own analysis Pew survey is considered in which they raised the question for knowing the major reasons for disliking U.S.<sup>65</sup>

Table 5.1  
Major reasons for disliking U.S

	Resentment of US power %	Causes Rich/Poor Gap %	U.S. Support of Israel %	Power of Multinat's Corp %
United States	88	43	70	40
Total Non-U.S.	52	52	29	36
Western Europe	66	61	22	59
E. Europe/Russia	64	53	17	47
Latin America	58	51	7	44
Mid-East/Conflict Area	54	59	57	17
All Islamic states	41	45	57	17

Q. Do you think each of the following is a major reason, a minor reason, or not much of a reason that some people in our country dislike the US. . .

U.S. support for Israel, Spread of American culture through movies, television and pop music, the growing power of American multinational corporations, U.S. support for authoritarian governments in Arab countries, U.S. policies which may have contributed to the growing gap between rich and poor, and resentment of U.S. power in the world.

Pew Global Attitude Project

<sup>65</sup> See Pew Global Attitude Project Report, *America Admired, Yet Its New Vulnerability Seen As Good Thing, Say Opinion Leaders*. Released: 12.19.01

In response to this question, views in the different regions have been somewhat different. In all Islamic states U.S. support for Israel is thought to be the most important cause for disliking U.S, followed by her perceived role in increasing gap between rich and poor in the world. In Europe and Latin America, resentment of U.S. power and the perception that U.S. policies are contributing towards increase in the gap between rich and poor, are thought to be the two major causes for disliking U.S. (see Table-5.1 above)

### **5.1 Causes of Anti-Americanism in Muslim World**

Resentment to U.S. power in the Muslim world is neither regret nor lust for power as described by Western scholars, but rather it is a cry in self defense. The imperative causes largely lie in the U.S. Middle East policy and her support for the Israel. Richard B. Parker has very realistically identified the roots of anti-American sentiments in the Arab world in the U.S. policies in the Middle East and her alignment with the state of Israel,<sup>66</sup> which is by and large considered a common enemy across the Muslim World. Pew data above also suggests that U.S. Israel policy is the main cause of disliking of U.S. in the Muslim World.

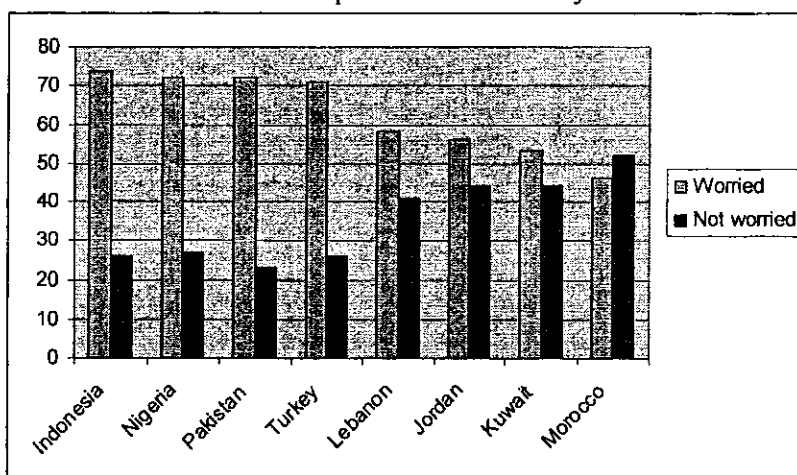
U.S. has established good relations with the monarchs in the Arab world and has supported their regimes against the wishes of the public. Moreover in countries like Pakistan, Bangladesh, Algeria and Egypt she has served as power broker and king maker and has undermined the popular sovereignty, i.e. their right to make their own government. These interventionist policies have earned bad reputation for the U.S. in the Muslim World in general as these are direct attack on the people's sovereignty.

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<sup>66</sup> Richard B. Parker, "Anti-American Attitude in the Arab World" *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 497, Anti-Americanism: Origins and Context. (May 1988), pp. 46-57

9/11 further aggravated the Muslims view of U.S. The U.S. invasion of Afghanistan and later Iraq changed the favorable opinion of U.S. to its lowest levels in most of the Muslim countries after 9/11. In several Muslim countries U.S. is perceived as a military threat. In a Pew survey; over seven in ten in Indonesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Turkey believe U.S. to be a military threat to their country. (see Figure 5.1) While roughly five in ten in Lebanon, Jordan, Kuwait, and Morocco believe the same.<sup>67</sup>

Figure 5.1  
Worried about potential U.S military threat



Q. Are you worried about potential U.S. military threat?  
Source: Pew Global Attitude Project

Moreover there is a general feeling in the Muslim world that since 9/11, it is they who had suffered the most at the hand of U.S. power. They see invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq as an attack on the Muslims and do not believe in the sincerity of war against terrorism. President Bush vow of ‘crusade’ is taken literally. Majorities in Muslim countries are against the U.S. war against terrorism except in Indonesia, while majorities

<sup>67</sup> Pew global attitude Project Report, *Views of changing world 2003. War with Iraq further divides local publics.* 06.03.03

of Muslims in the predominant Muslim countries are opposed to war on terror. (See Table 5.2)

Table 5.2  
Opposition to U.S led war against terror

	2002		2003		2004		2005	
	Favor	Oppose	Favor	Oppose	Favor	Oppose	Favor	Oppose
Turkey	30	58	22	71	37	56	17	71
Pakistan	20	45	16	74	16	60	22	52
Lebanon	38	56	30	67			31	65
Jordan	13	85	2	97	12	78	12	86
Morocco			9	84	28	66	33	56
Indonesia	31	64	23	72			50	42

Q. Which of the following phrases comes closer to your view? I favor the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism, OR I oppose the U.S.-led efforts to fight terrorism. Answers omitted 'don't know' or 'neither'

Source: Pew Global Attitude Project

The British Muslims survey was more explanatory of the general view of the Muslims across the world. ICM Research survey found that over 70 per cent of British Muslims rejected the statement that war against terrorism is not a war against Islam.<sup>68</sup> This explains the distrust in Muslims regarding the U.S. (see Appendix-5, Table 5.3)

## 5.2 Summation of the Causes of Anti-Americanism in the Muslim World

In the Muslim world one can see the examples of sovereign-nationalist anti-Americanism, legacy anti-Americanism and social anti-Americanism to an extent.<sup>69</sup> U.S. interventionist policies have undermined sovereignty of several states on several points of time in history ranging from Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Egypt, Jordan, Indonesia and several others. So by hurting the sovereignty of Muslim states U.S. had earned hatred in the Muslim world. Similarly legacy anti-Americanism is also evident particularly in the

<sup>68</sup> *Muslim Poll December 2002*, by ICM Research

[http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/today/reports/archive/politics/islam\\_poll.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/today/reports/archive/politics/islam_poll.shtml)

<sup>69</sup> These are the various types of anti-Americanism as described by Katzenstein and Keohane and have been discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

shape of reaction to U.S. Israel policy. Over the years U.S. continued its support for Israel and had left bad memories in the hearts of Muslims particularly in the Middle East, which become afresh with any new attack on any Muslim countries. Social anti-Americanism is not greatly evident in surveys. Though Muslims do not welcome U.S. pop culture but they admire U.S. technology and liberties and believe in co-existence. The data do not show any hostility on the part of Muslims towards U.S. values and system in general rather they finds it uneasy to comprehend the way it has been trying to export its democratic principles.

Imperative causes of anti-Americanism in the Muslim world embedded in the various surveys are as following:

#### *Interventionist Policies*

U.S. interventionist policies are the most prominent cause of dislike in the Muslim world. Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Lebanon, and in several other Muslim countries publics feel the increased and unwelcome U.S. influence in their countries. As this influence undermines the state's sovereignty and ultimately the people's sovereignty and breeds what Katzenstein has described as Sovereign-Nationalist anti-Americanism. Although many Muslims both moderate and radical considerably desire for a just society in nature of the western-American society yet they would be dissatisfied seeing a foreign country exerting its hegemony on their country. This perhaps justifies the view that every state regardless it type (democratic or authoritarian) would find it difficult to sacrifice its sovereignty.

Gallup world poll data also suggest that Muslims whether moderate or radical realize the need for democracy and political independence.<sup>70</sup> They want U.S. to stop interfering in their internal affairs, and stop controlling their natural resources. U.S. has played role of power broker in several Muslim countries and in others have directly used its force and undermined the sovereignty of these states. These neocolonial situations are breeding solidarity among the Muslims for regaining their sovereignty and hatred for the U.S. being the usurper of that power.

### *Palestine Issue*

U.S. Middle East policy ever since the creation of the state of Israel has provided ground for anti-American sentiments across decades. Unending U.S. support for Israel during the course of history has got firm roots in the hearts of Muslims as 'the best friend' of 'the worst foe'. Data showed that Muslims across the world feel concerned about the issue of Palestine. They feel that U.S. has always sided with Israel and as a result pessimism about solution of the issue is rising which also gives rise to anti-American sentiment. The fact of the matter is that the core of dissatisfaction of the U.S. in the Middle lies in the issue of Palestine as many knots will be unknotted if Palestine issue is put to rest. Palestine issue also brings forth the double standard of the U.S. in view of how the latter pronounces its intention of solving the crisis, yet on the other end taking side with one party over the other and more prominently the unhidden support of president Bush to for the state of Israel has further turned matter worst.

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<sup>70</sup> John L. Esposito and Dalia Mogahed. *Who Speaks for Islam? What a billion Muslims really think.* p. 92

### *Military Threat*

Since U.S. has launched its war on terror which is by and large focused around Muslim countries, publics in the Muslim countries feel threatened by U.S. military might. Respondents in Iran, Pakistan, Nigeria, Turkey, Indonesia, Lebanon, Jordan, Kuwait and Morocco describe U.S. as a military threat. So the fear is breeding hatred. It must however be stated that Muslims in these countries obviously do not hate America as a country rather they see its presence in their societies as a sort of expansionist policy and equally eroding their sovereignty. This is further heightened when American troops kill Muslims on their own land. All of these creates the atmosphere of insecurity and sends the signal of hatred to U.S. foreign policy of military interventionism

### *Double Standards*

Muslims across the world feel that the West in general and U.S. in particular have always played a double standard game when it comes to Muslim issues. Israelis attacks on Palestinians are silently welcomed but when Palestinians launch counter attacks these are denounced as terrorist acts.<sup>71</sup> U.S. leaders portray themselves as champions of democracy and work promptly to address the issues if Christians are involved as in case of East Timor but when Muslims are the victim of human rights abuses then U.S. remains no better than silent. Similarly they patronize monarch and dictators in the Muslim world to promote their own interest which is against the spirit of democracy and yet they shun their face and reject the democratic practices of some groups seen as anti-American. The case of Algeria FIS in 1992, when they won the election which was annulled because the group appeared staunchly Islamic and might have impaired American interest in the

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<sup>71</sup> John L. Esposition and Dalia Mogahed. Who speaks for Islam? What a billion Muslims really think. p. 83



region. The backlash of such annulment is evident till today perhaps it has further exacerbated the tension and brought fore more unexpected anti-state and terrorist engagement. Similarly in the recent times, Hamas in Palestine went to poll and secure a winning mandate of the people but due to its Islamic leanings and labeling by the west as terrorist group, its democratic mandate was shun and was further sanctioned. It becomes a questionable issue that on what yardstick we are supposed to measure what is and what not democracy. It is such instances and many more that Muslim ascribes as double standard and finds uneasy to understand as regard how the west in general and American in particular justify democratic principle.

#### *Economic miseries*

After U.S policy towards Israel the second major cause for Muslims disliking of U.S. according to Pew survey is the perception that U.S. policies are causing gap between rich and poor. The poor economic conditions of Muslims in almost all the Muslim countries except in few are also facilitating anti-Americanism. Living on the verge of poverty and looking at U.S. at the other extreme, spearheading the capitalist economies makes them believe that it is U.S. policies which are responsible for this increasing gap between rich and poor. It would be misleading to view this point of view of Muslims as shallow, rather the fact is that economic globalization is believed to be lead by the U.S. multi corporation which to a large extent is undisputable.

## **5.3 Causes of anti-Americanism in Europe and South America**

### **5.3.1 Europe**

The loss of power naturally creates envy and hatred for the one who has acquired the power that one had lost.<sup>72</sup> Europe remained at the helm of affairs in 19<sup>th</sup> and to some extent in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, playing almost the same role which U.S. is playing today. Britain, French, Germans, and Russians' might be longing for the role they had lost. One can see the echo of this sentiment in the European voice that termed the U.S. policies as unilateralist.<sup>73</sup> Pew finds that 85% in France, 69% in Germany, 71% in Italy and 80% in Great Britain believe that President Bush makes decisions mainly on U.S. interests. These figures suggest that Europeans perceives President Bush to be a "unilateralist" who always makes decisions based entirely on U.S. interests and without taking into account European interests. It shows that European wants U.S. to consider them while making decisions especially when it also has effects on them. But it is not just envy rather a principled opposition to U.S. power which is making the Europeans think of making the European Union as powerful as America so that it could be checked.

### **5.3.2 South America**

The desire to have power also creates envy, especially when one's own economic and political interests are at stake just because of other's increased power and at extremes, it can create hatred for the one who is enjoying that power. South Americans voice for resentment of U.S. power can best be explained in desire to have more

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<sup>72</sup> Josef Joffe, *The Axis of Envy*, Why Israel and the United States both strike the same European nerve. The author is Editor of *Die Zeit* in Hamburg and associate of the Olin Institute for Strategic Studies at Harvard University.

<sup>73</sup> Pew Global Attitude project Report, *Americans and Europeans Differ widely on foreign policy issues. Bush seen as unilateralist* 04. 17.02

influence in the region or at least liberty to go their ways. The history of U.S. military interference in the affairs of weaker neighbors especially in Central America can help us understand the anti-U.S. sentiments in South America in general. U.S. political and economic dominance in the region is mostly responsible for the formulation of these sentiments. South Americans sentiments in general reflect widespread opposition to specific U.S. policies; regional as well as international. With wide margins of difference, respondents to the BBC poll in Brazil, Argentina and Mexico oppose U.S. policies towards Middle East, Iran, Guantanamo and Global warming.<sup>74</sup> Only in Chile, views of the U.S. are somewhat milder but majorities disapprove of U.S. policies.

Moreover polarities in South America also express lineage towards leftist ideas, which also explains the resentment to U.S. power in general. Polarities in many South American countries show their tilt towards leftist group and in modern times the role of socialist leaning countries like Nicaragua, Bolivia, Venezuela, Cuba and Ecuador, and their leaders like Hugo Chavez, and Fidel Castro is a kind of reaction to the continued U.S. political, economic and military influence in the region.<sup>75</sup> (see Appendix-5, Table 5.4) This influence was a limit to the sovereignty of South American countries and the loss of sovereignty facilitated the anti-American sentiment as she was responsible for that loss.

### 5.3 Why Exceptions?

As discussed earlier certain countries do not fall in the larger trend of anti-American sentiments across the world; Israel, Philippines, India and the continent of

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<sup>74</sup> *World View of U.S. Role goes from Bad to Worse*, BBC Poll  
[http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/jan07/BBC\\_USRole\\_Jan07\\_quaire.pdf](http://www.worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/pdf/jan07/BBC_USRole_Jan07_quaire.pdf)

<sup>75</sup> Latino Barometer Press Report 2006

Africa where publics have positive view of the U.S. The case of Africa has already been discussed while the rest of these exceptional countries can be categorized in two different ways. Firstly in the perspective of Globalization, one can see many losers and many gainers. There are countries that have gained from U.S. led globalization and to some extent have used the U.S. power for their own benefits; India and Israel respectively.<sup>76</sup> Their perceptions about U.S. are positive as these countries have benefited from the relations with the U.S.

Secondly, there are countries that have some kind of internal issue relating to Muslims; there perceptions are also very positive about the U.S. In this category one can place Philippines, India and Israel in same bracket as they all share a common internal Muslim problem. So the feelings of common enmity and goal are also shaping favorable opinion of U.S.

#### **5.4 Globalization and Anti-Americanism**

Globalization is a process of unifying the people across the world into a single society. It is thought to be a combination of technological, economic, socio-cultural and political forces.<sup>77</sup> Though it is an ongoing process but it is largely led by U.S. and it got an impetus after the disintegration of Soviet Union in particular. U.S. being a giant political and economic power has benefited a lot from this process. Josef Joffe says that the countries that could not benefit from globalization in the same way as U.S. did, there perception is that Globalization is Americanization.<sup>78</sup> The second major cause for

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<sup>76</sup> Stephen M. Walt, *Taming American Power, The global response to US primacy*. W. W. Norton and Company, New York: 2006

<sup>77</sup> Croucher L. Sheila, *Globalization and Belonging: The Politics of Identity a Changing World*. Rowman & Littlefield. (2004). p.10

<sup>78</sup> Josef Joffe, The Axis of Envy, *Foreign Policy*, No. 132. (Sep. - Oct., 2002), pp. 68-69.

disliking U.S. according to the pew poll is common in Europe, Latin America and the Muslim world i.e. where public perception is that the U.S. policies are increasing the gap between rich and the poor. Fawad Ajami terms it as incompetence of some states to compete and resort to hatred.<sup>79</sup> But it can also be termed as love for one's own well being, not to enter an arena for which one still requires a lot of strength or perhaps does not feel the need to enter into it at all.

Leaving this debate aside the most important point to be made is that U.S. political and economic dominance across the world has put a limit on the sovereignty of many countries. The U.S. with its military and power brokering influence and its multinational companies with their economic influence has been a limit to the sovereignty of several nations and this situation is fostering anti-American sentiments.

Blaming the U.S. for the shortcoming of globalization should not be totally dismissed if the U.S has been playing an unequivocal role in this global order. Perhaps the U.S. have shouldered upon itself as the champion and vanguard of the order thus that created and warranted the opportunity for the publics across the globe to see the U.S. to blame. Similarly, it is highly justifiable in the realist parlance that every single state is geared at the protection of its national sovereignty which is tantamount to continuity of the state. Since globalization which has been clearly defined most in the economic terms affects the sovereignty of states, then the high possibility to see these states vent anger or become resentful of the force behind globalization should not be astonishing.

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<sup>79</sup> Fouad Ajami, The Falseness of Anti-Americanism, *Foreign policy*, No. 138. (Sep.-Oct., 2003), pp.52-61

## Chapter-6

### Conclusion

The data suggest that anti-Americanism is not a belief system or an ideology, rather it is the outcome of prolonged opposition to U.S. policies which over the period gets intense to the level of hatred. It can not be termed as any ideology or belief system because it is not a thorough rejection of U.S., its people and its values. Though publics across the world disapprove U.S. leadership and some of its policies but it also approves and appreciates its technology, ways of doing business, education system and its pop culture.

The nature of anti-Americanism has undergone a change since Soviet disintegration and particularly after the U.S. war against terror started in 2001. It has become widespread and militant. Anti-American sentiment is common across continents (except Africa) and in different regions of the world though its intensity is higher in Muslim societies. This phenomenon (anti-Americanism) is generating unity of perceptions among Muslim societies. It is also providing them a common cause with large non-Muslim societies, as the same phenomenon is equally prevalent in West Europe, East Europe, South America, South Asia and East Asia.

Muslim 'umma' is evident at the perceptual level in the similarity of concerns and views about global issues though at state level the situation is quite different. Similarly data shows that Muslim societies are just as accommodative and tolerant as any other society in the today's world with respect to U.S., its people and its values. Muslims do not thoroughly reject U.S. and its values as their concerns are not ideological or religious. Off course they have more negative views about U.S. leadership than in any

other region of the world. Similarly they are more disapproving of U.S. war against terror than any other societies, (As they feel themselves the victim) but they are appreciative of U.S. technology, education system, ways of doing business and American people in the same way as are the people in other societies.

Muslims living in different societies share concerns about Palestine issue. They feel emotionally attached with this issue. Data shows that U.S. support for Israel is the most prominent cause in Muslim societies for disliking U.S. Similarly, the U.S. war against terror remained focused around Muslim countries. People in predominant Muslim countries feel threatened of U.S. military attacks. This fear is also stimulating hatred, but purely based on opposition to U.S. policies towards Muslims and not against U.S. values or its people.

Anti-Americanism in Muslim societies is not based on cultural differences rather it is only a reaction to U.S. policies, it can be termed as legacy anti-Americanism. So by revising the policies U.S. image can be improved in the Muslim societies.

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*Voice Of The People 2007. What the world thinks on today's global issues.* Gallup International 2007

## Appendix-1

### Profile of the Muslim world

Following table shows top 59 countries with predominant or reasonable Muslim population. It also includes countries which are predominantly non-Muslim but have reasonable Muslim population.<sup>80</sup>

Rank	Country	By Population		By Percentage		
		Muslim Population	% Muslims	Country	% Muslim	Muslim Population
1	Indonesia	207,000,105	88.20%	Saudi Arabia	100%	26,417,599
2	Pakistan	159,799,666	97%	Afghanistan	99%	31,571,023
3	India	151,402,065	13.40%	Somalia	99.80%	8,591,629
4	Bengladesh	132,446,365	88%	Maldives	99.90%	348,756
5	Egypt	70,530,237	85%	Western Sahara	99.80%	272,461
6	Turkey	68,963,953	97%	Turkey	99%	68,963,953
7	Nigeria	64,385,994	45%	Iran	98%	67,337,681
8	Iran	64,089,571	98%	Algeria	99%	32,206,534
9	Algeria	32,999,883	99%	Mauritania	99%	3,083,772
10	Morocco	32,300,410	99%	Yemen	99%	20,519,792
11	Afghanistan	31,571,023	99%	Tunisia	99%	9,974,201
12	Saudi Arabia	26,417,599	100%	Oman	99%	2,971,567
13	Sudan	26,121,865	65%	Comoros	99%	664,534
14	Iraq	25,292,658	97%	Djibouti	99%	471,935
15	Uzbekistan	23,897,563	89%	Morocco	98.70%	32,300,410
16	Ethiopia	22,533,500	31.20%	Pakistan	98%	162,487,489
17	Russia	21,513,046	15%	Libya	97%	5,592,596
18	Yemen	20,519,792	99%	Iraq	97%	25,292,658
19	China	19,594,707	1.50%	Tajikistan	95%	6,805,330
20	Syria	16,234,901	88%	Jordan	95%	5,471,745
21	Malaysia	14,467,694	60.40%	Qatar	95%	819,898
22	Tanzania	12,868,224	35%	Senegal	94%	10,459,222
23	Mali	11,062,376	90%	Azerbaijan	93.40%	7,584,311
24	Niger	10,499,343	90%	Egypt	91%	70,530,237
25	Senegal	10,459,222	94%	Mali	90%	11,062,376
26	Tunisia	9,974,201	99%	Niger	90%	10,499,343
27	Somalia	8,548,670	99%	Gambia	95%	1,433,930
28	Guinea	8,047,686	85%	Uzbekistan	89%	23,897,563
29	Azerbaijan	7,584,311	93.40%	Turkmenistan	89%	4,407,352
30	Burkina Faso	7,449,626	52%	Indonesia	88.20%	207,000,105

<sup>80</sup> U.S. Department of State, International Religious Freedom Report 2006

By Population				By Percentage		
Rank	Country	Muslim population	% Muslims	Country	% Muslim	Muslim Population
31	Kazakhstan	7,137,346	47%	Bangladesh	88%	127,001,272
32	Tajikistan	6,805,330	95%	Syria	88%	16,234,901
33	Cote d'Ivoire	6,677,043	38.60%	Guinea	85%	8,047,686
34	Congo (Kinshasa)	6,008,500	10%	Kuwait	85%	1,985,300
35	Libya	5,592,596	97%	Bahrain	93.10%	659,682
36	Jordan	5,471,745	95%	West Bank & Gaza	84%	3,159,999
37	Chad	5,306,266	54%	Kyrgyzstan	80%	4,117,024
38	United States	4,558,068	1.50%	UAE	76%	1,948,041
39	Turkmenistan	4,407,352	89%	Albania	70%	2,508,277
40	Philippines	4,392,873	5%	Brunei	64.50%	241,602
41	France	4,214,790	6.90%	Sudan	65%	26,121,865
42	Kyrgyzstan	4,117,024	80%	Malaysia	60.40%	14,467,694
43	Uganda	4,090,422	15%	Sierra Leone	60%	3,610,585
44	Mozambique	3,881,340	20%	Lebanon	60%	2,678,212
45	Sierra Leone	3,610,585	60%	Burkina Faso	52%	7,449,626
46	Ghana	3,364,776	16%	Chad	54%	5,306,266
47	Cameroon	3,276,001	20%	Nigeria	50%	64,385,994
48	Thailand	3,272,218	5%	Eritrea	50%	2,280,799
49	Mauritania	3,083,772	99.90%	Ethiopia	50%	37,533,500
50	Germany	3,049,961	3.70%	Bosnia	40%	1,820,879
51	Oman	2,971,567	99%	Cote d'Ivoire	38.60%	6,677,043
52	Albania	2,508,277	70%	Guinea-Bissau	38%	538,090
53	Malawi	2,431,784	20%	Tanzania	35%	12,868,224
54	Kenya	2,368,071	7%	F.Y.R. Macedonia	33.30%	685,305
55	Eritrea	2,280,799	50%	Suriname	22%	96,391
56	Serbia & Montenegro	2,274,126	21%	Serbia & Montenegro	21%	2,274,126
57	Lebanon	2,257,351	59%	Mozambique	20%	3,881,340
58	Kuwait	1,985,300	85%	Cameroon	20%	3,276,001
59	UAE	1,948,041	76%	Malawi	20%	2,431,784

## Appendix-2

Table 2.1 Which side do you sympathize with more Israel or Palestine?

	Israel	Palestine	Neither	Both	Dk
Morocco	7	90	1	0.5	2
Lebanon	4	70	10	16	0.5
Turkey	4	64	1	13	17
Jordan	2	88	3	7	1
Kuwait	1	86	2	7	4
Egypt	0.5	93	1	5	1
Bangladesh	6	79	4	3	8
Malaysia	5	67	3	7	19
Indonesia	4	68	5	10	13
Pakistan	2	76	1	5	17
Ethiopia	37	25	8	27	3
Nigeria	29	44	14	5	8
Tanzania	25	27	5	23	20
Mali	13	40	17	24	5
Senegal	6	52	3	33	6
	9.7	64.6	5.2	12.36667	8.3

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Table 2.2 Which side do you sympathize with more Israel or Palestine?

	Israel	Palestine	Both	Neither	Don't know
United States	49	11	5	17	18
Canada	24	21	6	29	21
Germany	34	21	4	34	8
France	32	43	4	16	5
Sweden	18	29	7	28	18
Britain	16	29	9	26	20
Spain	11	27	14	36	13
Italy	9	16	12	50	13
Czech Rep.	37	14	6	26	17
Slovakia	31	17	6	23	23
Ukraine	15	11	13	41	20
Russia	14	16	13	40	16
Bulgaria	10	20	28	20	22
Poland	9	13	9	48	21
India	30	20	17	9	25
South Korea	19	17	18	29	17
Japan	13	7	8	46	26
China	8	29	18	18	26
Ivory Coast	61	16	5	17	0.5
Kenya	39	28	21	8	4
Uganda	38	19	8	14	22
Ghana	35	22	19	11	13
South Africa	28	19	19	20	14
	25.21739	20.21739	11.69565	26.34783	16.63043

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Table 2.3 Who is responsible for the fact that Palestinians do not have a state of their own?

	Israel	Palestinian	Both	US	Arab	other	DK
Turkey	50	11	7	10	0	0	23
Egypt	43	4	10	31	12	0	1
Jordan	41	12	16	22	10	0	1
Kuwait	29	18	8	23	11	4	6
Lebanon	35	11	26	11	14	2	1
Morocco	60	10	5	6	3	0	16
Palestinian ter.	47	10	14	10	13	2	4
Pakistan	32	11	3	8	1	1	44
Bangladesh	43	13	10	19	1	0	15
Indonesia	33	14	13	17	2	0	21
Malaysia	34	4	11	22	1	1	27
	40.63636	10.72727	11.18182	16.27273	6.181818	0.909091	14.45455

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Table 2.4 Who is responsible for the fact that Palestinians do not have a state of their own?

	Israel	Palestine	Both	US	Arab	other	DK
United States	15	48	4	1	0	2	30
Canada	22	27	7	1	1	5	36
Argentina	15	15	16	4	0	1	49
Bolivia	16	25	19	4	1	0	35
Brazil	23	32	17	2	1	0	25
Chile	13	17	24	5	2	0	39
Mexico	17	23	23	6	3	0	27
Peru	21	25	6	2	1	0	44
Venezuela	17	24	26	5	1	0	26
Britain	25	16	8	3	1	6	41
France	49	33	8	1	1	2	6
Germany	37	29	12	0	1	3	18
Italy	18	11	31	4	2	1	33
Spain	26	12	20	11	2	1	28
Sweden	28	14	14	2	1	6	36
Bulgaria	13	15	27	4	4	2	34
Czech Republic	22	34	11	0	0	3	30
Poland	16	10	33	3	1	1	35
Russia	16	13	31	6	2	1	30
Slovakia	27	29	8	1	0	2	32
Ukraine	12	15	35	6	2	1	30
Israel	7	64	17	3	5	1	4
China	20	17	20	13	1	1	29
India	18	24	19	5	2	0	33
Japan	10	11	30	6	1	1	41
South Korea	17	19	32	14	0	0	16
	20	23.15385	19.15385	4.307692	1.384615	1.538462	30.26923

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Table 2.5 Greatest Dangers to the world today

	Spread of Nukes	Religious/ ethnic Hatred	aids/ diseases	pollution/ environment	gap b/w rich/poor
World	37.7	37.08	39.72	37.89	41.82
Muslim world	38.25	44.93	42.56	24.25	41.81
Non Muslim world	37.41	32.9	38.25	44.93	41.83

Q. Now turning to the world situation, here is a list of five dangers in the world today. In your opinion, which one of these poses the greatest threat to the world...?

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### Appendix-3

Note: Some of the tables that may help readers in comprehension have been given within the chapters. Only reference number of such tables is available in the appendixes to locate them if required.

- Table 3.1 'Favorable opinion of U.S. in Europe' can be seen at page 33 in Chapter-3.
- Table 3.2 'Favorable views of U.S' can be seen at page 36 in Chapter-3.

Table 3.3 Favorable opinion of U.S. in the world

	1999/2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
China	--	--	--	--	42	47	34
South Korea	58	52	46	--	--	--	58

Q. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable opinion of United States?

Source: Pew Global Attitude Project

- Table 3.4 'Favorable views of U.S' can be seen at page 41 in Chapter-3
- Table 3.5 'Opinion about U.S' can be seen at page 42 in Chapter-3

Table 3.6  
Americans more popular than America

	America	Americans		American	Americans
U.S	80	86	Lebanon	47	69
Canada	55	76	Kuwait	46	62
Venezuela	56	64	Jordan	20	36
Peru	61	59	Egypt	21	31
Chile	55	56	Morocco	15	25
Mexico	56	52	Turkey	9	13
Brazil	44	45	Japan	61	75
Bolivia	42	43	S. Korea	58	70
Argentina	16	26	India	59	58
Sweden	46	73	Bangladesh	53	51
Britain	51	70	Indonesia	29	42
Germany	30	63	Malaysia	27	40
Italy	53	62	China	34	38
France	39	61	Pakistan	15	19
Spain	34	46	Ivory Coast	88	93
Ukraine	54	67	Kenya	87	86
Poland	61	63	Mali	79	81
Bulgaria	51	60	Ghana	80	75
Czech					
Rep.	45	56	Ethiopia	77	73
Russia	41	54	Senegal	69	67
Slovakia	41	52	S. Africa	61	67
Israel	78	75	Nigeria	70	66
Palest.					
Ter.	13	21	Uganda	64	64
			Tanzania	46	52

Q. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of Americans?

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- Table 3.7 'Favorable opinion of U.S' can be seen at page 48 Chapter-3

Table 3.8 Favorable Views of U.S

	2002	2007
Ethiopia	--	77
Ghana	83	80
Ivory Coast	85	88
Kenya	80	87
Mali	--	79
Nigeria	76	70
Senegal	--	69
South Africa	70	61
Tanzania	53	46
Uganda	74	64

Q. Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, very unfavorable opinion of United States?

Source: Pew Global Attitude Project

Table 3.9 Africans view of U.S. influence

	Mainly Positive	Mainly Negative
Nigeria	76	17
Kenya	65	12
Tanzania	63	16
Ghana	61	20
Senegal	54	25
South Africa	49	18
Congo	47	28
Zimbabwe	38	28

Q. Please tell me if you think each of the following are having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world . . . the United States.

Source: [www.worldpublicopinion.org](http://www.worldpublicopinion.org)

(Figures may not add up to 100 as values for 'don't know/refused/depends' are not shown here)

## Appendix-4

Note: Some of the tables that may help readers in comprehension have been given within the chapters. Only reference number of such tables is available in the appendixes to locate them if required.

Table 4.1 American ways of doing business

	Like	Dislike		Like	Dislike
Canada	59	29	Jordan	47	51
Peru	40	44	Egypt	50	48
Chile	40	41	Morocco	39	44
Venezuela	51	40	Palest. ter.	46	40
Mexico	53	38	Turkey	83	6
Bolivia	51	34	South Korea	28	61
Brazil	61	31	Malaysia	33	53
Argentina	67	16	India	38	51
Italy	46	32	China	25	49
Germany	64	27	Bangladesh	47	46
France	75	25	Indonesia	46	42
Spain	52	25	Japan	36	40
Britain	53	24	Pakistan	56	16
Sweden	44	20	Kenya	16	79
Slovakia	42	46	Ivory Coast	22	78
Czech Rep.	47	45	Nigeria	19	78
Ukraine	31	44	Ghana	12	74
Bulgaria	23	42	South Africa	22	60
Russia	41	32	Uganda	16	58
Poland	45	29	Mali	37	57
Kuwait	23	71	Ethiopia	26	52
Israel	19	70	Senegal	50	46
Lebanon	33	63	Tanzania	36	45

Q. Which comes closer to describing your view? I like American ways of doing business, or I dislike American ways of doing business.

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Table 4.2 Views on American music, movies and television

	I like them	I dislike them		I like them	I dislike them
United States	45	44	Turkey	22	68
Canada	73	19	Egypt	39	59
Argentina	50	41	Jordan	40	59
Bolivia	49	41	Kuwait	53	44
Brazil	69	30	Lebanon	71	28
Chile	58	30	Morocco	42	52
Mexico	53	41	Palestinian ter.	23	68
Peru	50	44	Israel	72	22
Venezuela	71	26	Pakistan	4	80
Britain	63	28	Bangladesh	14	81
France	65	35	Indonesia	50	46
Germany	62	34	Malaysia	54	41
Italy	66	23	Ethiopia	58	36
Spain	72	25	Ghana	54	35
Sweden	77	16	Ivory Coast	86	14
Bulgaria	51	36	Kenya	51	46
Czech Republic	58	34	Mali	68	30
Poland	65	28	Nigeria	59	39
Russia	38	54	Senegal	62	36
Slovakia	61	33	South Africa	70	22
Ukraine	47	45	Tanzania	29	65
China	42	46	Uganda	54	28
India	23	68			
Japan	70	22			
South Korea	49	42			

Q. Which is closer to describing your view? I like American music, movies and television, or I dislike American music, movies and television.

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- Table 4.3 'Support for U.S. led war on terror wanes' can be seen at page 56 in Chapter-4.
- Table 4.4 'Favorable opinion of:' can be seen at page 57 Chapter-4

## Appendix-5

Note: Some of the tables that may help readers in comprehension have been given within the chapters. Only reference number of such tables is available in the appendixes to locate them if required.

- Table 5.1 'Major reasons for disliking U.S' can be seen at page 60 Chapter-5
- Table 5.2 'Opposition to U.S led war against terror' can be seen at page 63 Chapter-5

Table 5.3 Distrust in U.S. war on terror

Agree	19.8
Disagree	70.2
Refused	10
Don't know	

Q. President Bush and Tony Blair say that the war against terrorism is not a war against Islam. Do you Agree or disagree?

Source: ICM Research, Muslim Poll December 2002

Table 5.4 leftist inclination

Ordered by Percentage On The Left		Ordered by Percentage On The Right	
Uruguay	34	El Salvador	50
Nicaragua	32	Dominican Rep	45
Bolivia	29	Honduras	44
Venezuela	28	Nicaragua	43
Dominican Reb	28	Colombia	43
Peru	28	Costa Rica	34
Brazil	28	Venezuela	33
Panama	27	Paraguay	32
Chile	26	Argentina	32
Mexico	23	Brazil	31
Honduras	23	Peru	28
Ecuador	23	Ecuador	27
Paraguay	21	Guatemala	25
Guatemala	21	Mexico	24
El Salvador	21	Bolivia	21
Costa Rica	19	Panama	21
Colombia	14	Uruguay	20
Argentina	12	Chile	18

Q. In politics, people normally speak of "left" and "right". On a scale where 0 is left and 10 is right, where would you place yourself? \* Answers omitted 'Nowhere', 'DNK' and 'DNA'. Reclassified scale (0-3=left; 4-6=center; 7-10=right).

Source: Latinobarometer

