# Why do they Hate Us?

## Origins of Anti-Americanism a Framework for Analysis

*Introduction*

Why do they hate us? After 9/11, this question was heard throughout American media. Despite the interest about Anti-Americanism in the popular journalism, academic literature on the subject of Anti-Americanism has been surprising limited. While the limited research around Anti-Americanism has focused on which country's citizens are Anti-American and/or has attempted to quantify what Anti-Americanism is, little existing research has explained the social and economic factors which cause Anti-Americanism (Johnston, 2006, p. 2). This paper will seek to understand key cultural drivers that have fostered Anti-American sentiment. While outside the scope of this research, these results may contribute to a critical reassessment of the deep-seated roots of third world rage, and help avert future terrorist attack on United States interests.

*Review of Existing Literature*

In a 1992 essay on the topic of Anti-Americanism, Smith and Wertman (1992: 188) observed that "though anti-Americanism has long been a concern of the media and the U.S. policymakers," Anti-Americanism has been neglected by scholars. Almost two decades later, and despite the 9/11 attacks and the phenomenal increase in Anti-American sentiment around the world, this assertion still holds true (Johnston, 2006, p. 3). Scholars attribute this lack of attention because of three factors. The first factor is that Anti-Americanism is an ambiguous term, which is difficult to conceptualize (Johnston, 2006, p. 3). Second, Anti-Americanism is more often the

name of the emotion that reacts to a series of events than a definition of the events themselves. Where other social science topics finds analysts and analogies, Anti-Americanism must contend with crusaders for and against (Johnston, 2006, p. 3; Miller, 1982, p. 3). The final factor is Americans collective amnesia, the human tendency to shift blame to handy abstractions, and a cultural sense of innocence (McPherson, 2004, 148; Miller, 1982, p. 253).

Johnson (2006:10) postulates that the majority of Anti-American literature clearly has an agenda, and nearly all Anti-American scholars fall into two camps. One group of scholars argues that United States policies are to blame and that the United States is hated for what it *does,* its foreign policies and actions, an "external" causation (p. 10).  The second group of scholars, postulates that Anti-Americanism is an irrational behavior, that Anti-Americanism derives from the psychological, cultural, or political aspects of the nation whose citizens exhibit Anti-Americanism.  These authors surmise that citizens of other countries hate the United States for what it *is*, an "internal" causation. (Johnston, 2006, p. 10; Schlapentokh & Woods, 2004, p. 167). Johnston (2006: 5) argues that "despite the pretense of being legitimate social science, the bulk of this literature is largely little more than thinly veiled propaganda that is strikingly (and disturbingly) similar to literature put out by right-wing advocacy groups and conservative commentators."[1]

The most famous internal view is Huntington's (1996:15) *Clash of Civilizations*. Huntington theorizes that there is an irreconcilable divide between the West and its values, and Islam and its values.  Recent scholarship builds upon this internal hypothesis. Hollander

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[1] "Not all 3 sources could have said this indicate which source quoted" Johnston on (2006:5) said this.

"Usually only include page number in internal cite when using a direct quote or referring to a specific example" But this makes it more difficult for the next researcher to find the information. If you want to dock me for coloring outside the lines because tradition is stupid, and taking initiative, going beyond what needs to be done, then that is your purgative.  If I were to submit this to a peer reviewed journal, I would delete these numbers simply because tradition demands it, but since I am going to use this paper for my own personal research in the future, I find more research and citing is better than less.

(1992:334) categorizes Anti-Americanism as "an unfocused and largely irrational…aversion towards the United States, its government, domestic institutions, foreign policies, prevailing values, culture, and people." Vedrine (2004: 119), the former French Minister of Foreign Affairs, argues that, "In the past, French anti-Americanism originated from French Marxists or communists. Today, it stems from a strong dose of jealousy…".  Fabbrini (2002:3) offers the most nuanced argument for the internal view.  He argues that anti-Americanism does actually result from external reasons, but domestic reasons are more influential. Fabbrini (2004:79) also echoes a popular theme of those "internal" scholars, that Anti-Americanism are irrational fears, shared more by the elites than by the larger population. Schlapentokh and Woods (2004:173) conclude that "countries that shared the United States perception of the terrorist threat were more willing to evaluate the [United States] favorably". These sociologists break down internal factors into three categories, psychological, political, and cultural (Shlapentokh & Woods, 2004, 168-169).

Current scholarship that supports the "external" view that  United States policies is to blame for Anti-American behavior include McPherson's (2004: 150) paper entitled *Myths of Anti-Americanism*, points to many examples of US policies creating anti-American behavior, most prominently the loss of Cuba to Fidel Castro in 1959. Using numerous anecdotes Ryan (2004: 113, 116-122) outlines several reasons why Nicaragua, in his view, justifiably hates the United States. Kim (2002:110-112, 118-120) takes the same approach in explaining why Korean Anti-Americanism has increased.

As Johnston (2006: 10, 14) argues, most literature on Anti-Americanism has an obvious shortcoming because anti-Americanism is primarily explained by a monolithic causal factor, either anti-Americanism is "emotive of rational, either internal or external, either based

on what is the U.S. is or what it does." In advocating a more sophisticated and nuanced approach to Anti-Americanism, Johnston concludes that Anti-Americanism is both emotional (based on emotion) and cognitive (based on reason) and that "these adjectives are not only empirically indistinguishable, but theoretically indistinguishable as well". (Johnston, 2006, p. 16, 17) But unlike Katzenstein and Keohane (below), who describe six types of Anti-Americanism, Johnston theorizes that anti-Americanism is a singular phenomenon. (Johnston, 2006, p. 31).

Peter Katzenstein and Robert Keohane (2005) book entitled *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*, like Johnston, also moves beyond the "all or nothing" character of previous literature.  These authors treat anti-Americanism as a scientific concept and argue against the "either-or" character which most of the monolithic literature follows. (Katzenstein & Keohane, 2005, p. 18).  In the book, several scholars, use Katzenstein and Keohane six types of anti-Americanisms as a basis for analyzing the subject. In evaluating eight Muslim countries, Chiozza (2004) postulates that Arab anti-Americanism does not yet reach the level of "bias," because it is still responsive to new information and can and does fluctuate based on perceptions of United States policy. Instead current Anti-Americanism in the Arab world is characterized by extreme levels of distrust.

As already discussed, Anti-Americanism has been neglected by scholars, and the majority of the literature related to Anti-Americanism is largely little more than thinly veiled propaganda (Johnston, 2006, p. 5). The serious scholarly research which does exist has primarily limited its focus on Islamic or European attitudes towards America. With the exception of Chiozza (2004), no scholarly research has attempted to quantify the underlying country-level variables which are potential factors in causing Anti-Americanism.   This

research paper will take a more expansive view of Anti-Americanism than Chiozza, who focuses only on eight Islamic countries, by examining a subset of forty-two countries and evaluate if there are indeed consistent underlying determinants that induce Anti-Americanism.

Since the invasion of Iraq, Anti-Americanism is stronger than ever before (McPherson, 2004, p. 142). This is disconcerting because the United State's image abroad is vitally important. To a great extent, the future outcome on the war on terror will depend on how countries observe and relate to the United States (Shlapentokh & Woods, 2004, p. 178). In attempting to understand the roots of Anti-Americanism, this research paper will examine a subset of fifty countries and evaluate if there are indeed consistent underlying determinants that induce Anti-Americanism.  This research will attempt to discover new correlations that are indicative of Anti-Americanism, by asking the question: What factors have an impact on levels of anti-American attitudes?

*Variables which cause Anti-Americanism*

$H_1$: Countries with higher GDP per capita have less Anti-Americanism.

$H_2$: Countries with higher Trade dependence with America have less Anti-Americanism.

$H_3$: Countries with higher Economic Assistance from America have less Anti-Americanism.

$H_4$: Countries with higher U.S. military assistance have higher Anti-Americanism.

$H_5$: Countries with higher U.S. Troop presence have higher Anti-Americanism.

*Methodology*

This research evaluates data available for forty-two nations around the globe, investigating the impact of two broad clusters of factors. First, the conjecture that a sense of "fellow feeling" between individuals in different societies is more likely to emerge the more two societies interact and have contacts at the economic and cultural level (Dore, 1984, 417).

Therefore, the more the United States trades and invests, the more likely it is that cultural and economic conditions would emerge in which individuals are more likely to express positive views of the United States.

But there is a second set of relational variables which can be considered: the forty-two countries under investigation differ in their military relationships with the United States. The levels of military cooperation vary sharply. As Chiozza (2004) posits, friendlier relations on the diplomatic/military front might be expected to translate into a closer sense of affinity, primarily at the levels of the political elites, who might see a similarity of interests with the United States. But it is much more debatable whether these closer connections would trickle down to the level of the mass population, and therefore be reflected in population opinion polls.

All economies are represented in this study, from low income developing nations to high income developed nations as defined by The World Factbook, using 2001 Gross domestic product per capita in US dollars. These forty-two countries represent a wide geography sampling of the world population.

The dependent variable examined in this research is a combination of somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US in opinion polls conducted by the *Pew Research Center for the People and the Press.* The Pew study evaluated forty four countries, but two countries, China and the United States, were not included in this study because the Pew researchers did not ask these questions to the citizens of these two countries.

Chiozza (2004), in a much more limited study, investigated the perceptions of the United States in the population in eight predominantly Islamic countries. Building upon this work, this study use five of the seven independent variables from Chiozza to analyze the combinations of individual and country factors that account for the patterns of anti-Americanism in 42 countries,

including four of the eight predominantly Islamic countries in Chiozza's research. Chiozza other four countries are not including in this study because the Pew study conducted opinion poll surveys in only half of Islamic countries which Chiozza utilized.

The independent variables trade dependence ($H_2$), economic assistance from the United States ($H_3$), U.S. military economic assistance and U.S. military sales ($H_4$), GDP where operationalized using Microcase Global.mc5. Each of these independent variables were divided by GDP because a larger economy would be less effected by these three independent variables then a smaller economy. In other words, a smaller economy's population would be more aware of the effects that these independent variables had on the country then a larger economy.

This study first operationalized the gross domestic product per capita in US dollars to test $H_1$, from The World Factbook 2001. The median of 3700 was then utilized to divide the data into two samples on which an independent $t$-test was performed with the objective of concluding whether or not countries with higher GDP per Capita have less Anti-Americanism.

Paradoxically, as globalization has risen, so has anti-Americanism throughout the world, despite this, no previous research of significance was found on such a large scale which investigates the link between globalization and the positive consequences it has on lowering anti-Americanism. Since it is not possible to measure globalization directly and its role in anti-Americanism, this paper measures trade dependence. The second proposed hypothesis, $H_2$, in this study attempts to determine if there is a relation between countries that have higher trade dependence with the United States have less Anti-Americanism. For this purpose, trade dependence is operationalized using the 2004 United States Census Bureau: United States Bureau of Economic Analysis which measures exports, imports, and trade balance by country, in which the exports were collected. The exports were then divided by the country's GDP. The data

was recoded into 3 categories, converting the interval-ratio level information to ordinal level data

– *lowest, medium* and *highest percentage of American exports*. A chi-square test was then

performed to determine if there exists, as proposed, a positive association between this

operationalized measure of trade dependence and Anti-Americanism. As stated above, the idea

being, the more the United States trades with other countries, the more likely it is that cultural

and economic conditions would emerge in which individuals are more likely to express positive

views of the United States.  To complete this chi-square test, the dataset for the dependent

variable anti-Americanism was also recoded into 3 categories – *lowest, medium* and *highest*

*percent of Anti-Americanism* – transforming the data from interval-ratio level to ordinal.

Since the United States is the wealthiest country in the world, the United States gives

more economic assistance than any other country. Turning next to those independent variables

which involve military and economic assistance from the US, data was collected for the third

hypothesis, $H_3$, that analyzes the amount of economic assistance from the United States.  This

dataset was obtained from the USAID US Overseas Loans and Grants, Obligations and Loan

Authorizations foreign economic aid for fiscal year 2004. The foreign economic aid was the

divided by the country's GDP. The concept underlying this hypothesis is that the more economic

aid the United States gives to other countries, the more positive views those country's citizens

have of the United States. Correlation analysis was used to determine whether or not higher

economic assistance has a positive relationship to a population's view of the United States.

The fourth hypothesis studied (*H₄*) postulates that countries which receive higher U.S.

military economic assistance and U.S. military sales have citizens with higher feelings of Anti-

Americanism. US military assistance is operationalized by collecting data from the Defense

Security Cooperation Agency Facts Book 2004 for foreign military sales, and the 2004 USAID

foreign military aid for fiscal year 2004. United States military sales were added to foreign military aid, and then divided by the country's GDP. This variable was tested using correlation analysis to determine if a negative relationship exists between a rise in military sales, combined with U.S. military aid and a population's view of the United States.

The last hypothesis, $H_5$, proposes that countries with higher U.S. troop presence have higher Anti-Americanism. The number of US troops is operationalized by utilizing data from the 2004 United States Department of Defense Active Duty Military Personnel Strengths by Regional Area and by Country for U.S. troop presence, and the 2001 Correlates of War Project, National Material Capabilities for local national troop figures. The number of US troops was divided by the number of local troops. This is because a country with a larger military would be less effected by the infusion of U.S. troops then a smaller country. To test this hypothesis, the variable "US_troops_divided_by_Local_troops" representing the number of US troops divided by the number of local troops was banded into three categories (*low numbers of US troops, medium numbers of US troops,* and *high numbers of US troops*) and used in an ANOVA.

Please refer to *Appendix A* for more detailed information on each of the variables discussed in this section.

*Study Results*

This research reviews factors that could potentially be related to the Anti-Americanism. A combination of somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US by PEW was selected as the dependent variable, and therefore as the basis of this study, because this variable is a fairly well-known standard of measure used in measuring Anti-Americanism. The standard

deviation shows dispersion values vary highly (Table 1), show that there is  strong varying

opinions on the U.S. Countries populations either love the U.S. or hate the U.S., with few

countries on the fence.  The histogram (Table 2) exhibits a positive, or rightward skew.
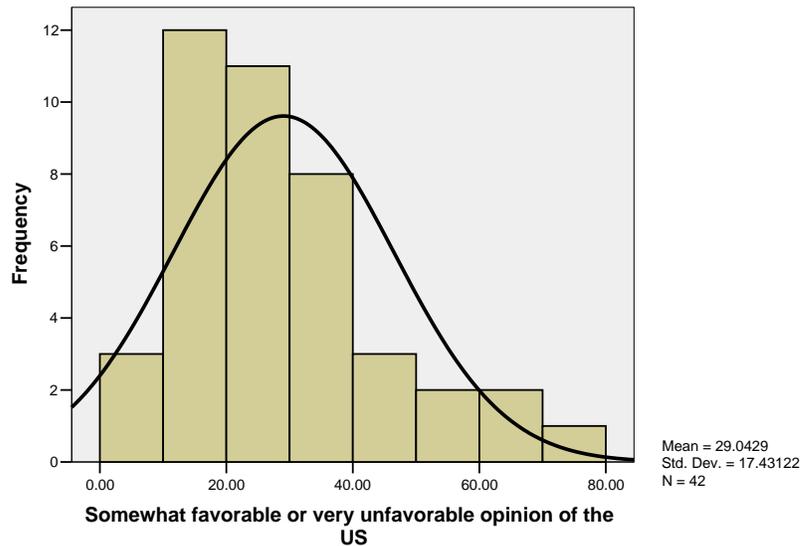
## TABLE 1

**Statistics**

Somewhat favorable or very unfavorable
opinion of the US

| N | Valid | 42 |
|---|---|---|
| | Missing | 0 |
| Mean | | 29.0429 |
| Median | | 26.3000 |
| Mode | | 22.90[a] |
| Std. Deviation | | 17.43122 |
| Range | | 70.10 |
| Minimum | | 5.20 |
| Maximum | | 75.30 |

a  Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

## TABLE 2

**Histogram**



Mean = 29.0429
Std. Dev. = 17.43122
N = 42

Somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the
US

The first hypothesis, $H_1$, seeks to understand how gross domestic product per capita impact Anti-Americanism.   Expectations were that countries with higher GDP per capita to the U.S. dollar would have less Anti-Americanism. Using an independent *t*-test, an *n* of 42 countries and a median cut point of 3700 for GDP per capita, a *t* statistic of .256 was returned with 40 degrees of freedom and a significance level of .800.  These results showed that there was no statistical difference in average levels of hatred toward the United States between country's whose GDP per capita greater than or equal to 3700 and those  countries with GDP per capita less than 3700.

For the second hypothesis, a chi-square analysis was used to test for a significant relationship between trade dependence with America, as measured by a country's exports from the United States. The Pearson chi-square value returned was 8.571 with 4 degrees of freedom and a significance level of .073.  Therefore, the research hypothesis is rejected.  There is no association between trade dependence with the United States and Anti-Americanism.

Moving to factors involving military and economic assistance from the US, correlation analysis was used to test the third hypothesis $H_3$, which posits that the larger the amount of economic assistance from the United States, the lower the Anti-Americanism. Working with data for 42 countries, the correlation analysis returned a Pearson's coefficient of .129 with a significance level of .416. Therefore, the research hypothesis is rejected.  There is no association between the amount of economic assistance from the United States and Anti-Americanism.

Hypothesis four states that countries which receive higher U.S. military assistance and U.S. military sales have citizens with higher feelings of Anti-Americanism, was also tested with correlation analysis.  The test results returned a Pearson's coefficient of .619 at a significance

level of .000, indicating that a very strong relationship exists between U.S. military economic assistance/sales and the number of citizens who express anti-American feelings.

The final hypothesis attempts to understand whether there is a correlation between countries with higher U.S. troop presence and Anti-Americanism. An ANOVA test using an independent variable measuring troop presence returned an F-ratio of 1.042 with a statistical significance of .363. Therefore the ANOVA results are not statistically significant.

More detailed results for each statistical test performed are included in tabular form in *Appendix B*.

*Conclusion and Future Research*

Anti-Americanism is stronger than ever before since the invasion of Iraq. This alarming trend is disquieting because the United State's image abroad is vitally important. The future outcome on the war on terror will depend on how countries observe and relate to the United States. Anti-Americanism is large and growing. American policy makers must devise ways to lower this trend.

This study sought to identify at a broad level, significant factors that have led to Anti-Americanism in many of the world's countries. The research first analyzed the impact of economic independent variables followed by economic aid and US troop levels. In summary, only military aid and sales showed a strong significant relationship to Anti-Americanism.

Why does military aid and sales effect anti-Americanism? The United States is the largest arms seller in the world, selling half of all the arms in the world. (Lobe, 2004). The United States is also the largest supplier of weapons to developing nations, delivering more than $9.6 billion in arms to Near East and Asian countries in 2004. (Baldor, 2004). The countries which receive this aid tend to be non-democratic regimes, with the Middle East receiving 90% of

all military aid, including such countries as Egypt, which anti-Americanism was particularly notable. Citizens in these non-democratic regimes may attribute US military aid with US support for these regimes. Future opinion polls could explore this further.

Chiozza's own research also found there was no correlation between these same five independent variables used in this paper and anti-Americanism, including military aid, stating, "it would appear that military, economic, and cultural engagements with the United States is not itself sufficient to create a political contest within which anti-Americanism does not flourish". This may because, as Chiozza admits, that examining only eight countries was the reason why there are weak statistical relationships.

Why do the other four independent variables have no effect on anti-Americanism? It is possible that these variables are not as visible as military aid is to the public. For example, the number of US troops in a country is usually dwarfed by the number of local troops, so the average citizen does not see the handful of US troops on a normal basis. The same can be said for exports and economic aid, the amount of aid is often minuscule compared to other exports and other country's foreign aid.

In his more limited study of eight Arab countries, Chiozza also examined what he called "Pro-U.S. elite discourse", which measured the difference between the number of positive and negative statements that national elites made in a given year about the United States, as listed in the Reuters newswires. Future studies could examine the role the media has in these countries.

The data examined here was for one year only. Correlating increases and decreases in these five independent variables, as opposed too the point in time approach used here, might also be revealing. Additional tests could be run utilizing five years of data, as Chiozza did in this own study.

Overall, this research, while not conclusive, provides a glimpse into a variety of interesting avenues for further study– in the quest to discover practical, tactical insights that the United States can use to assist its image abroad.

## *Appendix A – Codebook*

Cases: 42 countries representing all economies are represented, from low income developing nations to high income developed nations.

*Dependent*
*Variable*

Variable Name:     Hatred
Variable Label:     Somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US
Measured:             Percent of population that responded "somewhat unfavorable" or "very unfavorable" when asked their opinion on the United States in a survey of 42 countries.
Source:                 *The Pew Research Center for the People and the Press* [PEW] Views of a Changing World, Summer 2002, 44-Nation Survey http://people-press.org/dataarchive/  Pew GAP final 44 country dataset 1.1sav.sav

*Independent Variable*

Variable Name:     gdp@cap
Variable Label:     Gross domestic product per capita in US dollars
Measured:             Gross domestic product per capita in US dollars
Source:                 *Microcase Global.mc4,* [MICRO], 2001

Variable Name:     Trade_dependence_div_GDP
Variable Label:     Trade dependence divided by GDP
Measured:             Trade dependence is exports to the country from the U.S. in U.S. dollars, divided by GDP.
Sources:               1. *Microcase Global.mc5,* [MICRO], 2005 for GDP, and

2. Exports found at *U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis*, Exhibit 13. Exports, Imports, and Trade Balance by Country and Area: 2004 at http://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/Press-Release/2004pr/final_revisions/04final.pdf

Variable Name:     Total_economic_assistance_over_GDP
Variable Label:     Total economic assistance divided by GDP
Measured:             Total economic assistance (grants and loans given to a country for 2004 in U.S. dollars) divided by GDP
Sources:               1. MICRO for GDP
                           2. USAID US Overseas Loans and Grants, Obligations and Loan Authorizations, July 1, 1945 to September 30, 2004. http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADF100.pdf [USAID] fiscal year 2004 foreign economic aid.

Variable
Name:           Military_aid_and_Military_sales_over_GDP

Variable Label: Military aid and Military sales in U.S. dollars, over GDP

Measured: US Military aid added together with US military sales, divided by GDP

Sources: 1. MICRO for GDP,

2. Defense Security Cooperation Agency Facts Book 2004 http://web.archive.org/web/20060502001121/www.dsca.osd.mil/dsca_factsbook.htm for foreign military sales

3. USAID for fiscal year 2004 foreign military aid.

Variable Name: US_troops_divided_by_Local_troops

Variable Label: US Troops divided by Local Troops

Measured: Number of US troops divided by number of local troops.

Sources: 1. *Department of Defense* Active Duty Military Personnel Strengths by Regional Area and by Country (309a), December 31, 2004 at http://siadapp.dior.whs.mil/personnel/MILITARY/history/hst1204.pdf for US troops

2. Correlates of War Project, National Material Capabilities (v3.02), NMC_3.02.csv at http://cow2.la.psu.edu/datasets.htm 2001, for local troops.

*Appendix B – Test Results*
Correlations

| | | Somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US | Gross domestic product per capita in US dollars (TWF, 2001) | Military aid and Military sales over GDP | Total economic assistance divided by GDP | Trade dependence divided by GDP | US Troops divided by Local Troops |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US | Pearson Correlation | 1 | .031 | .619(**) | .129 | -.220 | -.014 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | | .845 | .000 | .416 | .161 | .929 |
| | N | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 |
| Gross domestic product per capita in US dollars (TWF, 2001) | Pearson Correlation | .031 | 1 | -.137 | -.374(*) | .051 | .600(**) |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .845 | | .387 | .015 | .747 | .000 |
| | N | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 |
| Military aid and Military sales over GDP | Pearson Correlation | .619(**) | -.137 | 1 | .290 | -.029 | -.098 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .000 | .387 | | .063 | .856 | .538 |
| | N | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 |
| Total economic assistance divided by GDP | Pearson Correlation | .129 | -.374(*) | .290 | 1 | .017 | -.162 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .416 | .015 | .063 | | .914 | .306 |
| | N | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Trade dependence divided by GDP | Pearson Correlation | -.220 | .051 | -.029 | .017 | 1 | .047 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .161 | .747 | .856 | .914 | | .767 |
| | N | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 |
| US Troops divided by Local Troops | Pearson Correlation | -.014 | .600(**) | -.098 | -.162 | .047 | 1 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .929 | .000 | .538 | .306 | .767 | |
| | N | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 | 42 |

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

For *H₁,* descriptive statistics and results for the independent *t*-test calculated for the variable gdp@cap (Gross domestic product per capita in US dollars) are included below. The median calculated below was used as a cut point for the independent *t*-test that follows:

### Statistics

Gross domestic product per capita in US dollars

| N | Valid | 42 |
|---|---|---|
| | Missing | 0 |
| Mean | | 6775.00 |
| Median | | 3700.00 |
| Mode | | 1470ᵃ |
| Std. Deviation | | 7238.343 |
| Range | | 22850 |
| Percentiles 50 | | 3700.00 |

ᵃ Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

### Group Statistics

| | Gross domestic product per capita in US dollars | N | Mean | Std. Deviation | Std. Error Mean |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US | >= 3700 | 21 | 29.7381 | 13.41490 | 2.92737 |
| | < 3700 | 21 | 28.3476 | 21.02172 | 4.58731 |

**Independent Samples Test**

| | | Levene's Test for Equality of Variances | | t-test for Equality of Means | | | | | 95% Confidence Interval of the Difference | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | F | Sig. | t | df | Sig. (2-tailed) | Mean Difference | Std. Error Difference | Lower | Upper |
| Somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US | Equal variances assumed | 2.903 | .096 | .256 | 40 | .800 | 1.39048 | 5.44178 | -9.60777 | 12.38872 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | .256 | 33.972 | .800 | 1.39048 | 5.44178 | -9.66888 | 12.44984 |

For *H₂,* the following tables represent the results for the chi-square analysis used for the variables Trade_dependence_div_GDP (Trade dependence divided by GDP).

**Case Processing Summary**

| | Cases | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Valid | | Missing | | Total | |
| | N | Percent | N | Percent | N | Percent |
| Somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US (Banded) * Trade dependence divided by GDP (Banded) | 42 | 100.0% | 0 | .0% | 42 | 100.0% |

**Somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US (Banded) * Trade dependence divided by GDP (Banded) Crosstabulation**

| | | | Trade dependence divided by GDP (Banded) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | lowest % of American exports | medium % of American exports | highest % of American exports | Total |
| Somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US (Banded) | Lowest % of Anti-Americanism | Count | 4 | 4 | 6 | 14 |
| | | Expected Count | 4.7 | 4.7 | 4.7 | 14.0 |
| | | % within Trade dependence divided by GDP (Banded) | 28.6% | 28.6% | 42.9% | 33.3% |
| | Medium % of Anti-Americanism | Count | 8 | 2 | 4 | 14 |
| | | Expected Count | 4.7 | 4.7 | 4.7 | 14.0 |
| | | % within Trade dependence divided by GDP (Banded) | 57.1% | 14.3% | 28.6% | 33.3% |
| | Highest % of Anti-Americanism | Count | 2 | 8 | 4 | 14 |
| | | Expected Count | 4.7 | 4.7 | 4.7 | 14.0 |
| | | % within Trade dependence divided by GDP (Banded) | 14.3% | 57.1% | 28.6% | 33.3% |
| Total | | Count | 14 | 14 | 14 | 42 |
| | | Expected Count | 14.0 | 14.0 | 14.0 | 42.0 |
| | | % within Trade dependence divided by GDP (Banded) | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

**Chi-Square Tests**

| | Value | df | Asymp. Sig. (2-sided) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Pearson Chi-Square | 8.571[a] | 4 | .073 |
| Likelihood Ratio | 8.552 | 4 | .073 |
| Linear-by-Linear Association | .000 | 1 | 1.000 |
| N of Valid Cases | 42 | | |

a. 9 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.67.

The results for the correlation analysis performed on $H_3$ related to economic assistance from the United States are presented next.

**Correlations**

| | | Somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US | Total economic assistance divided by GDP |
|---|---|---|---|
| Somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US | Pearson Correlation | 1 | .129 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | | .416 |
| | N | 42 | 42 |
| Total economic assistance divided by GDP | Pearson Correlation | .129 | 1 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .416 | |
| | N | 42 | 42 |

For $H_4$, the test results for the correlation analysis performed using the independent variable Military_aid_and_Military_sales_over_GDP (U.S. military assistance and U.S. military sales divided by GDP) is displayed below.

**Correlations**

| | | Somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US | Military aid and Military sales over GDP |
|---|---|---|---|
| Somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US | Pearson Correlation | 1 | .619** |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | | .000 |
| | N | 42 | 42 |
| Military aid and Military sales over GDP | Pearson Correlation | .619** | 1 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .000 | |
| | N | 42 | 42 |

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

For $H_5$, the results of the ANOVA and the Bonferroni test performed using the independent variable US_troops_divided_by_Local_troops (indicating the U.S. troop presence in a country) are presented below.

**ANOVA**

Somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US

|  | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Between Groups | 631.639 | 2 | 315.819 | 1.042 | .363 |
| Within Groups | 11826.104 | 39 | 303.233 |  |  |
| Total | 12457.743 | 41 |  |  |  |

**Multiple Comparisons**

Dependent Variable: Somewhat favorable or very unfavorable opinion of the US
Bonferroni

| (I) US Troops divided by Local Troops (Banded) | (J) US Troops divided by Local Troops (Banded) | Mean Difference (I-J) | Std. Error | Sig. | 95% Confidence Interval | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  |  | Lower Bound | Upper Bound |
| low numbers of US troops | medium numbers of US troops | 2.79487 | 6.59858 | 1.000 | -13.7125 | 19.3023 |
|  | high numbers of US troops | 9.36154 | 6.70710 | .512 | -7.4173 | 26.1404 |
| medium numbers of US troops | low numbers of US troops | -2.79487 | 6.59858 | 1.000 | -19.3023 | 13.7125 |
|  | high numbers of US troops | 6.56667 | 6.47110 | .949 | -9.6218 | 22.7551 |
| high numbers of US troops | low numbers of US troops | -9.36154 | 6.70710 | .512 | -26.1404 | 7.4173 |
|  | medium numbers of US troops | -6.56667 | 6.47110 | .949 | -22.7551 | 9.6218 |

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