Does Anti-Americanism Exist?
Experimental Evidence from France

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ABSTRACT: There are many debates in Washington about anti-Americanism: where it comes from, what implications it has for US foreign policy, and whether it can be eradicated by careful public diplomacy. Yet before we search for a cure for the disease or ascertain how severe its symptoms are, we need to be able to diagnose it in the first place. One reason why anti-Americanism attracts so much attention is that it is often understood as a form of prejudice rather than mere disagreement with American policies. If this is the case, however, we need to be able to differentiate *unpopularity* from the *prejudice* believed to be causing it. To do so, we present three novel experiments embedded in a national survey in France in 2009-10, studying anti-Americanism like how political scientists study other forms of prejudice. Our findings counter conventional wisdom in two ways. First, we find relatively little evidence of anti-Americanism in France. Second, a key predictor of anti-Americanism in France is nationalism, but not in the direction some IR scholars might expect: the more attached the French are to their country, the more of a break they give the United States compared to other great powers who behave similarly. The results thus suggest that nationalism and the fostering of a common ingroup are not contradictory forces.

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1 Introduction

Pundits, policy-makers, and political scientists have become increasingly interested in anti-Americanism over the past two decades. Particularly after the 9/11 attacks and plummeting popularity of the United States abroad following the 2003 Iraq War, the question of "why they hate us" — and relatedly, what, if anything, the American government can do about it — acquired renewed prominence. The Bush administration appointed key advisor Karen Hughes as Undersecretary of State for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs in 2005 to help repair the American image overseas, and a July 2008 Chicago Council on Global Affairs poll found that the American public's top foreign policy goal was to improve "America's standing in the world." Political scientists also rose to the challenge: in 2008 the American Political Science Association convened a high-profile Task Force on U.S. Standing in the World, and a plethora of prominent scholars published a proliferation of policy-relevant pieces exploring anti-Americanism in all of its forms (e.g. Katzenstein and Keohane, 2007d; Holsti, 2008; Chiozza, 2009; Datta, 2012; Goldsmith and Horiuchi, 2012; Meunier, 2013).

One reason why Anti-Americanism attracts so much attention is that it is often understood as a form of prejudice rather than mere disagreement with American policies: "an unfocused and largely irrational, often visceral aversion" (Hollander, 1995, 335), a "syndrome" that "has very little to do with America or politics" (Gienow-Hecht, 2006, 1069), the application of double standards borne "not of rational analysis, but of obsession" (Revel, 2003, 7). In this sense, almost all studies of anti-Americanism are forced to wrestle with the question of how to differentiate anti-Americanism from "reasonable criticism" (O'Connor, 2006, 12, see also Joffe, 2006, 73). Understanding the dynamics and determinants of anti-Americanism thus requires us to disentangle unfavorable "opinion" about what the United States is doing from "bias" against it as a country (Katzenstein and Keohane, 2007c; Jamal et al., 2015). This means differentiating between objections rooted in differing policy preferences from those emanating from an underlying prejudice. Yet when we discuss anti-Americanism, both journalists and political scientists often measure its existence using public opinion polls (e.g., Ajami, 2003; Isernia, 2007; Holsti, 2008; Nisbet and Shanahan, 2008; Chiozza, 2009; Blaydes and Linzer, 2012; Datta, 2012) that cannot distinguish between unpopularity and the prejudice believed to be causing it.

We suggest that if anti-Americanism is indeed a form of prejudice it should be studied as such, which raises a number of interesting theoretical questions about the implicit counterfactuals necessary for anti-Americanism to be a meaningful explanatory variable, and a number of interesting

methodological questions about how we know anti-Americanism when we see it. We explore these questions with a novel national survey experiment in France, an important case for anti-Americanism because of the country's simultaneous position as key geopolitical ally and frequent jousting partner, lending it the image of "the "oldest enemy" among America's friends" (Meunier, 2005, 126), and the prototypical case of anti-Americanism in Europe (Hollander, 1995; Revel, 2003). We study anti-Americanism much as political scientists study other forms of prejudice, using a set of identity substitution experiments that manipulate the country doing the acting but hold constant the act being done, letting us test whether the French apply a negative double-standard towards the United States compared to other great powers, and allowing us to explore how biases against the United States relate to ideological and identity cleavages in France.

If anti-Americanism is indeed a form of prejudice, we find relatively little evidence of it in the French public. We also test whether three of the key domestic sources attributed to French anti-Americanism — an elitist anti-Americanism driven by imperious intellectuals (Meunier, 2007), an ideological anti-Americanism perpetuated by transatlantic gaps between the left and right (Isernia, 2007; Nincic and Datta, 2007), and a nationalist anti-Americanism propelled by competing identities (Stam and Shohat, 2007) — explain variation in our results. Our findings suggest that a key predictor of anti-Americanism in France is nationalism, but not in the direction some IR scholars might expect: the more attached the French are to their country, the more favorably they treat the United States compared to other great powers. The results thus remind us that the effects of national identity on preference formation is more complex than IR scholars often assume.

The paper proceeds in three parts. First, we review the literature on anti-Americanism, showing how it has become understood as a form of prejudice, and review three different schools of thought about its domestic sources. We then show how French sentiments towards the United States changed dramatically in the past decade, which illustrates the importance of disentangling unpopularity from the prejudice purported to be causing it. After presenting our experiments, we conclude with a discussion of the implications of their results for theories of anti-Americanism, and the nature of American primacy more broadly.

2 Making Sense of Anti-Americanism

2.1 Defining the concept

Because anti-Americanism is of as much interest to policy-makers as it is to scholars across multiple disciplines, the literature on anti-Americanism is vast, and it is impossible in a single article to do justice to all that has been written. Nonetheless, anti-Americanism is typically defined as a bias or prejudice against the United States that takes a variety of forms (e.g. Katzenstein and Keohane, 2007c, 22, Joffe, 2006).

Both components of this definition are worth noting. First, anti-Americanism is a form of bias or prejudice; an animus (Markovits, 2007, 11), "obsession" (Revel, 2003, 7), "syndrome" (Gienow-Hecht, 2006, 1069), or "allergic reaction" (Toinet, 1990, 219) to the United States. It rests on a distinction between what the US does, and who the US is: if anti-Americanism were merely disagreement with American policies, it would not be elevated to the level of an *-ism*. For this reason, Roger (2005) suggests that anti-Americanism is not tied closely to current events but is instead self-starting, while Krauthammer (2003) suggests that anti-Americanism involves "incoherence", a negative double standard or inclination to criticize the United States no matter what it does. If it acts with force, the complaint will be that it should have acted with more reserve, and if it shows reserve it should have acted with more force (Roger, 2005; Markovits, 2007, 24). In this sense, we can think of anti-Americanism as what Mercer (2010) calls an "emotional belief": negative sentiment towards the United States that induces motivated reasoning (Lodge and Taber, 2013), inclining foreign audiences to see malign intentions behind American behavior and adopt negative interpretations of what the United States is up to.

Second, anti-Americanism is multidimensional, and "polyvalent" (Chiozza, 2009). Not all varieties of anti-Americanisms are the same; the "elitist anti-Americanism" of some European intellectuals, for example, is very different from the "radical anti-Americanism" of some Islamist clerics (Katzenstein and Keohane, 2007c), and a cultural anti-Americanism manifested in distaste for McDonald's is very different from a political anti-Americanism manifested in opposition towards US foreign policy, the dimension we focus on here.

2.2 The workings of anti-Americanism

Thinking about anti-Americanism as a form of bias is analytically useful because it reminds us why anti-Americanism matters. Just as realists frequently point to domestic politics to explain when

states overexpand (Snyder, 1991), underbalance (Schweller, 2006), or otherwise deviate from the national interest, we can think of anti-Americanism as exerting a similar distorting effect, leading to suboptimal foreign policy outcomes. Anti-Americanism undermines the prospects for international cooperation in two very different ways: first, by complicating the two-level game (Putnam, 1988) foreign leaders play, and second, by reducing the support for cooperation that might otherwise prevail in American domestic politics.

First, despite the predominance of American power, even unipolar powers often cannot singlehandedly get their way (Nye, 2002; Finnemore, 2009), and must work with other countries to achieve their desired foreign policy objectives. Deep reservoirs of prejudice against the United States in foreign audiences makes this task more difficult. Anti-Americanism not only leads to rhetorical criticism and the prevalence of demonized images and inherent bad-faith mental models (Herrmann and Fischerkeller, 1995), but depletes the stock of American soft power (Nye, 1990). It can fuel soft balancing against the United States (Pape, 2005), and impose domestic costs on foreign leaders cooperating with the United States (Katzenstein and Keohane, 2007b, 303). "When the United States becomes so unpopular that being pro-American is a kiss of death in other countries' domestic politics", Nye notes, "foreign political leaders are unlikely to make helpful concessions." (2004, 17) This is true in both democracies and authoritarian regimes, where nationalist or anti-foreign protests can risk destabilizing the regime, and strategic elites can thus fan the flames of anti-Americanism in order to effectively tie their own hands (Weiss, 2013). Indeed, Goldsmith and Horiuchi (2012) find that countries where the United States was less popular were less likely to send troops to Iraq,[3] while Datta (2009, 2012) shows that countries with favorable attitudes towards the United States are more likely to vote with the US in the UN General Assembly.

Second, the suspicion that others are motivated by anti-Americanism can also negatively affect domestic support in the United States for cooperation with foreign countries. When criticism of a policy is attributed to an underlying prejudice, it is more likely to be dismissed as illegitimate (Friedman, 2012), thus short-circuiting serious dialogue about the policies necessary to sustain cooperation. By discounting De Gaulle's warnings about the Vietnam war as bitter anti-Americanism, the Johnston administration was able to discredit it (Snyder, 2012), just as the Bush administration was able to dismiss Chirac's concerns about Iraq. When criticism and lack of cooperation are attributed to an immutable source, it generates anger, fueling conflict (Halperin et al., 2011). Moreover, these suspicions about the underlying motivational roots of the perceptions and preferences

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[3]Though see Kreps (2010) on Afghanistan.

expressed by others shape the expectations people form of how others will act and react. They can lead people not even to try to find a mutually agreeable position, figuring the other country will condemn and oppose in any case.

2.3   Anti-Americanism in France

There are numerous places where anti-Americanism is worthy of study, but we focus here on the case of anti-Americanism in France, both because of its geopolitical importance and because of its analytic characteristics. First, France represents an important case for the study of anti-Americanism. On the one hand, the country plays a crucial role as a key ally ("our oldest ally", as John Kerry put it) in both the United Nations and the European Union, as well as in Africa and the Middle East (Markovits, 2007, 74; Meunier, 2007). It played a leading role in the 2011 intervention in Libya, the Western response to the civil war in Syria that intensified markedly in 2012, the 2013 actions against Islamist militants in Northern Mali, the P5+1 talks with Iran, and the Western responses to Russia's intervention in Ukraine. Clearly, France is a country the United States would often like and need to cooperate with. On the other hand, the country is also seen as a prototypical case of European anti-Americanism, the subject of both wide-ranging scholarly investigations — Meunier (2005, 127) suggests that "France is the country with the deepest, most sedimented reservoir of anti-American arguments" — and popular invective from Americans. The Economist, for instance, notes that although France may not have a monopoly on anti-Americanism, "no other country gets such scorn from Americans for harbouring the sentiment." It is also in France where a countervailing interpretation of anti-Americanism is put forward most forcefully, in which French opposition to U.S. policy is traced not to anti-American animosity but an abiding commitment to quintessentially American values (Derrida and Habermas, 2006).

Second, France offers analytic advantages for the study of anti-Americanism. Unlike in other regions — such as much of the Arab world, for instance, where both international and domestic factors strongly push attitudes towards the United States in a negative direction — there is a great deal of variation in both opinion about American policies and the sentiments felt toward it. This variation provides us with considerable analytic leverage with which to pry into the mechanisms various scholars argue drive anti-American sentiment. Indeed, in the French case these theories aiming to explain anti-Americanism — which we discuss in detail below — are well articulated, and well-suited to empirical testing. Given debates about the relationship between national identity and preference formation (Herrmann, Isernia, and Segatti, 2009), we are especially interested in

the relationship between anti-Americanism and French national identity. Does identifying with France as a nation lead to more anti-American sentiment as might be expected in most theories of ethnocentrism (Kinder and Kam, 2009)? Or does it lead to more pro-American sentiment as might be expected in Huntington's (1996) notion of a Western civilization? This latter question involves the likely importance of context. The multiplicity and contextual fluidity of identities is something that everyone who thinks even casually about identity in foreign affairs recognizes but these complications have remained under-theorized and under-investigated. The French case is a good one in which to explore these matters further.

3 Measuring anti-Americanism

Although some scholars study anti-Americanism using behavioral measures such as protests and riots (e.g. Tai, Peterson, and Gurr, 1973), anti-Americanism is typically investigated using one of two methods. Many historians and commentators who write about anti-Americanism study it by looking at discourse. Roger (2005), for example, emphasizes the central role that intellectuals have played in shaping French anti-Americanism, and delves into a series of articles and books to conclude that the "anti-American discourse is more widespread and commonly shared than ever" (Roger, 2005, 450). Kuisel (2012, 66) also points to intellectuals, but gives greater weight to statements made by political and governmental leaders. In both these studies, and others like them, we get a rich picture of the criticisms that are launched, the tropes and stereotypes employed, and the twists and turns in the argumentation. What is harder to discern, however, is how widely shared the sentiments and arguments are. For example, we cannot tell if they are reflective of modal French views or cherry-picked examples of a rarified debate reflecting the mindset of few.[4] Public opinion scholars have long known that people are quite bad at estimating how sentiments are distributed in society (e.g. O'Gorman, 1986; Todorov and Mandisodza, 2004; Ahler, 2014; Mildenberger and Tingley, 2015). People often over-estimate how many people agree with them (the "false consensus" effect), and, at other times, under-estimate this (the "pluralistic ignorance" effect). This is why they turn to polls.

Thus, much of the political science research on anti-Americanism studies it through the use of survey data (e.g., Ajami, 2003; Isernia, 2007; Holsti, 2008; Jhee, 2008; Nisbet and Shanahan, 2008; Chiozza, 2009; Blaydes and Linzer, 2012; Datta, 2012). Surveys may not take us as deeply into the

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[4]The use of "big data" techniques offers another way to study anti-Americanism through discourse in a more systematic fashion, as in Jamal et al.'s (2015) innovative use of Twitter data to study comments about the United States on social media in the Arab world.

contours of the arguments as thicker discursive approaches do, but they do a better job of tracing the distribution of opinion across the political landscape. In the French context, there is a wealth of surveys tracking attitudes towards the United States thanks in particular to series of annual polls like the Global Attitudes Project sponsored by the Pew Research Center, and the Transatlantic Trends project, sponsored by the German Marshall Fund. Journalists too routinely turn to this type of polling data when measuring anti-Americanism (in France, or elsewhere); as Friedman (2012, 235) notes, "the formula "anti-Americanism is on the rise" usually refers to negative responses in polls." Generally, these polls paint an ambivalent picture of the French public. In a 2012 Pew survey, for example, 57% of French respondents said they disliked "American ideas about Democracy", and 71% agreed that "it's bad that American ideas an customs are spreading here", but 72% said they liked American music, movies and television, and 76% admired its technological and scientific advances. Typically, political scientists point to this ambivalence as an example of the richness and complexity of anti-Americanism (e.g. Isernia, 2007; Chiozza, 2009).

Yet if anti-Americanism is indeed a form of bias or prejudice, there are important limitations to how much we can learn about anti-Americanism from polls. Asking about prejudice is an especially sensitive task: people might deny prejudice when asked directly, both because it can be expressed implicitly rather than conciously (Greenwald and Banaji, 1995), and because underlying considerations can motivate what participants say to pollsters, since answering survey questions involves self-representation and the need for people to manage their reputations (Zaller, 1992). In some contexts, like domestic race relations, admitting to prejudice is usually seen as normatively inappropriate. In other contexts, like interstate rivalry, where the prejudice is directed at an enemy, expressing it can be seen as an expected part of national loyalty. Moreover, the positive sentiment expressed in a survey may not translate into favorable evaluations or even-handed treatment of the United States in specific contexts. Even if we set these concerns aside, however, survey questions are generally incapable of teasing apart what Katzenstein and Keohane (2007c) call "bias" and "opinion", and thus end up telling us something subtly different from what we really want to know.

To illustrate, every year for more than a decade Pew (2012, 2014a) has asked a representative sample in France: "Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of The United States." Figure 1 aggregates these responses from 2002 to 2014, with the percentage of French respondents reporting a favorable opinion of the United States depicted in blue, and an unfavorable opinion plotted in red. The results show that a sizable majority (62%) had either a very favorable or somewhat favorable opinion in 2002 and this

changed markedly in 2003 when less than a third (31%) expressed these favorable sentiments. A majority continued to express either unfavorable or very unfavorable opinions until 2009 when nearly three-quarters (74%) once again expressed somewhat or very favorable opinion of the United States. That situation prevailed subsequently with the majority expressing a favorable opinion dropping to just under two-third (64%) in 2013 and then rebounding to 75% in 2014. When Transatlantic Trends (2013) asked this question in 2009-2013, they found a very similar distribution, with with 75% of French respondents expressing a somewhat or very favorable opinion in 2009, dropping a bit in 2011 and then rebounding to 77% in 2013.

Figure 1: French sentiment towards the United States, 2002-2014
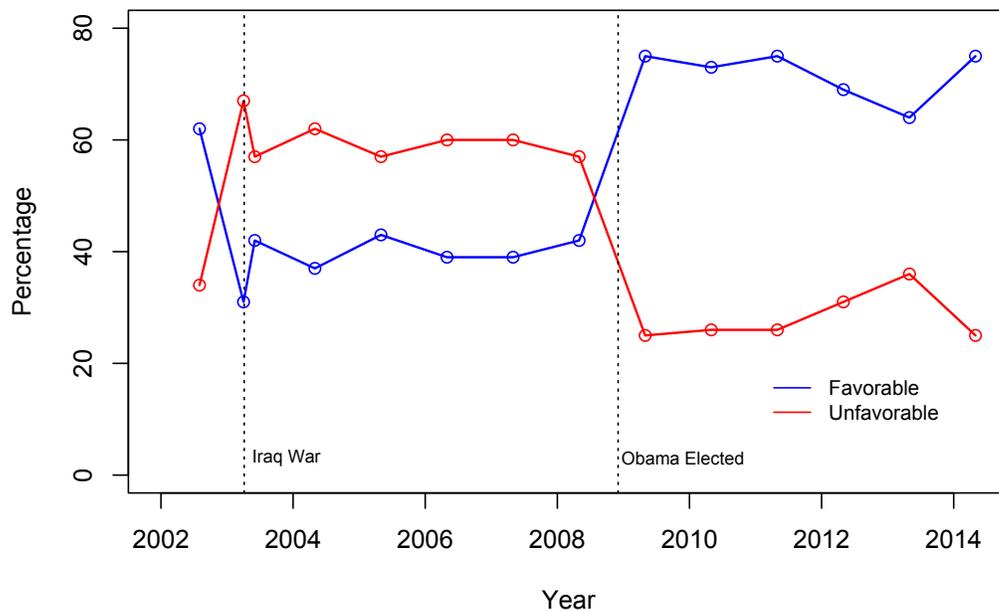
Source: Pew.

The sharp decline in French opinion that coincides with the U.S. invasion of Iraq and the abrupt reversal and rise in favorable sentiment coinciding with the end of the George W. Bush administration is clear, suggesting French opinion overall is quite reactive to American leadership change and is not consistently hostile. This point is important, but showing that French attitudes are shaped by American policies tells us little about whether the French have a bias or negative double standard against the United States: as Joffe (2006, 71-72) argues, what these types of polls measure "is not anti-Americanism but hostility to American policies, which ought to be distinguished from the real thing." Studying anti-Americanism, then, requires us to be able to separate unpopularity from the prejudice purported to be causing it.

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3.1 Anti-americanism and counterfactuals

Thinking about anti-Americanism as a form of bias or prejudice is conceptually useful because it allows us to understand anti-Americanism as an explanatory variable. If we simply infer anti-Americanism from opposition to US policies, the concept veers towards tautology: we cannot use anti-Americanism to explain opposition to American actions abroad if we infer anti-Americanism from the very opposition we're trying to explain.

When political scientists in American politics want to study other forms of prejudice such as racial or sexual discrimination, they often turn to indirect experimental techniques like identity substitution experiments (e.g. Sniderman et al., 1991).[5] These often involve describing a job candidate or prospective immigrant to participants, and then asking the participants if they would hire or let in the candidate. Candidates are presented identically to all participants, apart from the attribute being manipulated — usually race, religion, or gender — which varies between the treatment and control. Comparing the reaction participants have to the candidates in the treatment versus the control reveals the prejudice associated with the attribute that was manipulated. Studying prejudice in this fashion thus requires specifying an appropriate comparison group or counterfactual.

Yet anti-Americanism is somewhat different from other types of negative double standards we study as social scientists, in that we're tasked with measuring prejudice without a clearly-defined counterfactual. When social scientists study racial prejudice, we have clearly-defined reference groups, studying biases against blacks by comparing their treatment to whites: are legislators less responsive to requests from black constituents than white ones (Butler and Broockman, 2011)? Are "Emily and Greg" more likely to receive callbacks for job interviews than "Lakisha and Jamal" (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004)? Similarly, when we study gender discrimination, we typically compare treatment of women to treatment of men: do voters penalize female candidates for emotional displays compared to male candidates? (Brooks, 2011) Do science faculty rate male research assistant applicants as more competent than female applicants with otherwise identical qualifications? (Moss-Racusin et al., 2012). Yet the relevant counterfactual for anti-Americanism is much less intuitive. When we accuse someone of being anti-American, who are we positing to be the implicit reference group against which the United States is being treated unfairly?

One option is for the reference category to be the ingroup itself. Thus, one could look for anti-Americanism in France by comparing how the French treat the United States with how the

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[5]Other such techniques include list experiments (e.g. Kuklinski, Cobb, and Gilens, 1997), and implicit attitude tests (e.g. Greenwald and Banaji, 1995).

French treat France. Yet, for anti-Americanism to be meaningful as a form of prejudice, it has to be more than just simple ethnocentrism or ingroup favoritism (Sumner, 1906). Nearly all versions of social identity theory expect there to be differential treatment in favor of the ingroup (Tajfel and Turner, 1986; Brown, 2000), but ingroup favoritism is not necessarily related to outgroup derogation (Mummendey and Otten, 1998; Brewer, 1999). Preferring to speak French, to drink French wine, enjoy French art, or live in a French culture and cheer for France during the World Cup is not necessarily anti-American, just as similar sentiments expressed by Americans about the United States would not be seen by most people as indicative of an underlying animus or prejudice towards France. If anti-Americanism is merely ethnocentrism, it is banal.

Thus, the relevant reference group has to involve *other* countries, such that the counterfactual becomes how observers treat the United States compared to other countries who behave in a similar fashion. Yet the universe of potential reference groups is limited, because coherent counterfactuals require *plausibility* (Tetlock and Belkin, 1996): to argue that the French criticize the US for throwing its weight around on the world stage in a way they would not criticize Canada or Sweden for presumes that Canada and Sweden have weight to throw around in the first place. If anti-Americanism is about who the US *is* rather than what the US *does*, we argue that the reference category must be other great powers, countries capable of doing the things the US does abroad that have evoked foreign criticism attributed to anti-Americanism. Otherwise, we lose the *ceteris paribus* quality necessary for counterfactuals to be meaningful in the first place. We return to the theoretical and methodological implications of this counterfactual in the conclusion.

4   An experimental approach

4.1   Method

Following the approach used by other scholars studying prejudice, we designed and embedded a series of experiments in a survey of a nationally representative sample of French citizens. These experiments describe a great power in common but controversial situations, and ask the French how they evaluate it. By keeping everything the same except which country is named in the vignette, we can tease apart evaluations of the act from evaluations of the actor, allowing us to determine if the French discriminate against the United States, and treat the US differently than other great powers doing the same thing. Moreover, the experiments allow us to explore whether certain types of French citizens are more likely to express a negative double standard towards the United States,

and thus test the key underlying mechanisms posited in many theories of anti-Americanism.

Experiments in many ways strip away the detail from complex decisions and revolve around the central architecture thought to be driving the mental operation. In each of our three experiments we aim to construct a believable and plausible vignette but one that is simple enough to convey easily to people in the general public as well to the highly educated. Since stereotypes and schemas manifest themselves most clearly in ambiguous situations, we choose scenarios in which one person might blame the country involved for the conflict but somebody else might not. By presenting scenarios where participants' choices are not over-determined by the situation — such as situations where the country in question has just been attacked, whereupon everyone is likely to be sympathetic to it — we are able to pick up on anti-American prejudice more effectively.

The experiments we designed were fielded as part of a broader telephone survey on a randomly drawn national sample of French citizens eighteen years or older. Our instrument was translated into French with the help of native French speakers at TNS Sofres. TNS then employed native speakers to conduct phone interviews with 1508 randomly selected participants. These interviews were done between October 28 and November 10, 2009. In addition, to this random sample, TNS conducted 296 additional interviews with participants who were Muslim drawn by targeting areas with a large concentration of Muslim French citizens. These additional interviews were done between January 22 and March 3, 2010. As is evident in the longitudinal data presented in Figure 1, our experiments were in the field after the major change in French sentiment accompanying the election of Barack Obama. Although the amount of positive sentiment since then has waned a bit, the basic distribution between then and now is fairly similar, suggesting the results we discuss below remain relevant.

The heart of our investigation of French anti-Americanism consists of three experiments, each of which explores whether the French treat the United States differently than other great powers in a manner predicted by the tropes, stereotypes and storylines about the United States commonly cited in the literature on French anti-Americanism (e.g. Roger, 2005; Kuisel, 2012). We concentrate on three of these because of the role they have played in French criticisms of the United States: the generation of conflict said to be the fault of imperial domination, the subversion of foreign governments, and the use of force against other countries without U.N. approval. In explaining transatlantic tensions a decade ago, Habermas (2006) attributed French criticism of the United States to principled objections to these acts, rather than to anti-Americanism. Our experiments are designed to test this alternative interpretation quite directly.

Thus, to tease apart French judgments of the act separate from French prejudice against the actor, we need to set up plausible counterfactuals, employing vignettes that feature other countries that could be blamed for generating conflict because of their alleged imperial behavior, thought to be subverting foreign governments even when no direct evidence of this is provided, and criticized harshly for using force against another country without UN authorization. By manipulating across treatment conditions whether it was the United States or another country involved we can see if the French treat everyone the same, thus supporting Habermas' conjecture, or blame the United States more quickly, conclude Washington is subverting others more often, and find the U.S. use of force objectionable while finding the same use of force by others reasonable. Two countries we include in our experiments are China and Russia. Given the constellation of power in the world they are the obvious others. We also include India, another BRIC country, to have another democracy in the set and to have a country unlikely to be seen as threatening France. Unlike other alternatives, these three countries permit plausible counterfactuals; in 2009 when the survey was fielded, it was difficult to imagine other EU members using force unilaterally without explicit multilateral authorization, for example.

Our Blaming for Hostility experiment investigated the extent to which French respondents attributed regional animosities toward a great power to that great power's imperial domination or to local radicals. It was designed to see if the French were predisposed to see the U.S. as the cause of the conflict or inclined to see the other side as to blame or at least equally responsible. The vignette read:

Why do you think so many people in [the Middle East/Asia/Eastern Europe] express [anti-American/anti-Chinese/anti-Russian] sentiments? Is it more because of [America?s/China's/Russia's] imperial behaviour or more because people can be influenced by radical leaders in [the Middle East/Asia/Eastern Europe] promoting their own ideological and personal agenda?

- More because of [America's/China's/Russia's] imperial behavior

- More because of radical leaders in [the Middle East/Asia/Eastern Europe] promoting their own ideological and personal agenda

Our Assuming the Worst experiment asked respondents what the likelihood was that a great power was covertly meddling in the affairs of another state. We choose as parallel situations as we could for four great powers. In each there is a well-known conflict and possible ally in the foreign country the great power can collude with to exert its influence. In all the cases, there is a history of connections between the great power and groups in the other country making the possibly of subversion plausible. The question was whether the French respondents would conclude subversion was going on. If often-rehearsed scripts and well-learned stereotypes were in play, they should. If these were more vivid and intensely negative in the American case, then those respondents in the U.S. treatment condition should conclude subversion is underway more than respondents in other treatment conditions. If the French suspect and dislike all great powers equally, then respondents in all conditions no matter which country is involved may suspect subversion. That might show the importance of scripts and stereotypes but not a special anti-Americanism. The exact text of this experiment read:

> Some say that [the United States/Russia/China/India] is working with groups in [Iran/Georgia/Taiwan/Pakistan] to undermine the government there. How likely or not do you think it is that [the United States/Russia/China/India] is doing this?

- Very likely

- Somewhat likely

- Somewhat unlikely

- Very unlikely

Finally, our Double Standards experiment explored whether the French were inclined to see the same act done by the United States as objectionable and when done by others reasonable. It did this by providing a vignette in which retaliatory intervention might be plausible and even acceptable but unauthorized and a violation of international law. Consequently, it could be seen as highly objectionable as well. The exact text read:

> Imagine that leaders in [the United States/Russia/China/India] believe that another state is supporting terrorists and decides to undermine the other state's ruling regime. Do you think this sort of policy is:
>
> - An objectionable interference in this other country
>
> - A reasonable defensive move

All three experiments were administered to all participants, who also completed a set of demographic measures we discuss below.[6] By employing multiple experiments, each of which looks for anti-Americanism slightly differently, we are able to triangulate across the results and gain further confidence in our findings.

4.1.1   Ideology, Elitism, and Nationalism

Embedding experiments in a nationally representative sample not only helps us to determine how many French citizens discriminate against the United States but also which types of them do this most. Thus, participants also completed a series of standard demographic items (age, gender, and so on) and dispositional questionnaires. These items are useful because they allow us to adjudicate between some of the competing explanations commonly offered for anti-Americanism. Three mechanisms are of interest to us in particular.

First, French anti-Americanism is frequently discussed as an elitist phenomenon (Meunier, 2005; Roger, 2005; Meunier, 2007; Kuisel, 2012). Indeed, anti-Americanism is seen as sufficiently interwoven in French intellectual thought that Ceaser (2003, 5) credits anti-American sentiment in Latin America and Africa to the popularity of French philosophers, and many of the pundits who discuss French anti-Americanism warn it cannot be detected in public opinion polls because it relies most prominently on elites rather than masses (Kuisel, 2012, xxi). If this were the case, and prejudice against the United States is indeed driven by elites and intellectuals, we should still be able to find pockets of anti-Americanism amongst more educated respondents, even if the French public on the whole may not espouse anti-American views. Thus, one might expect that more educated respondents would be more likely to express a negative double standard against the United States than less educated respondents.

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[6]To explore potential treatment spillover effects, we test for order effects in the supplementary appendix.

Second, anti-Americanism is often thought of in terms of ideological mindsets and commitments, especially as a left-wing phenomenon, perhaps reflecting the legacy of Cold War opposition to the United States from socialist and communist parties and critics of the Vietnam war (O'Connor, 2006, 14-16). Numerous psychological studies have found that left and right ideological dispositions often reflect different underlying perspectives on equality, fairness, and authority (Graham, Haidt, and Nosek, 2009; Piurko, Schwartz, and Davidov, 2011; Graham et al., 2013). In the international realm, they may also reflect the priority given to multilateral decision-making bodies like the European Union and the United Nations (Rathbun, 2007; Kertzer et al., 2014). Thus, it is possible that what sometimes appears to be anti-Americanism is simply a divide between the French left and the American right (Isernia, 2007; Nincic and Datta, 2007). For Isernia, the cause of French criticism of the United States has little to do with prejudice and everything to do with ideological differences, especially the different priority people put on equality, religion, and the welfare state. At the same time, however, there are several reasons why ideology might be an unsatisfactory explanation for anti-Americanism in general, and French anti-Americanism in particular. If opposition to the US stems from differing value systems (as in Ajami's claim that the French are anti-American because of their rejection of American values), French liberals may dislike American foreign policy, but *consistently* so; ideology can explain opinion, then, but not bias. Moreover, unlike in other European countries, French anti-Americanism is not exclusively a left-wing phenomenon, as evident by the extent to which Charles de Gaulle is typically held up as an anti-American *par excellence* (though see Friedman, 2012.) Nonetheless, if liberal-conservative ideology truly does explain variations in anti-Americanism, we would expect that liberal respondents would be more likely to blame the US than conservatives.

Finally, anti-Americanism in France is often understood as a function of dueling nationalisms, and deep attachment to the French nation. At different places in their historical studies, Kuisel (2012, 148,352), Markovits (2007, 134) and Roger (2005, 274) all attribute anti-Americanism to a French national defensiveness. A desire to see France as great and superior could drive an inclination to see America as defective and inferior in all sorts of ways, and anti-Americanism may thus stem from a desire to retain French distinctiveness, something psychologists argue is a common ingroup inclination (Brewer, 1991). Indeed, Meunier (2005, 136) suggests that an oppositional anti-Americanism plays an important role in constructing French (and European) identity. Although Social Identity Theory does not predict that deep attachment to an ingroup will inevitably lead to the derogation of an outgroup it certainly can explain why this happens at times (Tajfel and Turner,

1986). As people attach more of their social identity to the nation it can become a more important source of their own self-esteem (Brown, 2000). If this anti-Americanism-as-redirected-nationalism account is true, we might imagine that respondents who more strongly identify with France should be more likely to express a negative double standard against the United States.

Yet there are a number of reasons why we might expect the reverse relationship. Social identity theory predicts that the relationship between ingroup attachment and outgroup derogation is heavily contingent, such that ingroup love need not necessarily lead to outgroup hate (Mullen, Brown, and Smith, 1992; Brewer, 1999). Moreover, individuals have multiple overlapping identities (Brewer, 2001; Roccas and Brewer, 2002), and groups can build superordinate identities and common ingroups (Gaertner and Dovidio, 2000) such that feeling more French need not come at the expense of negative attitudes towards the United States; Huntington (1996) similarly saw the French and Americans as nested within a broader Western civilization. If this common ingroup explanation were the case, then respondents who more strongly identify with France should be less likely to express a negative double standard against the United States.

5 Results

We present the results in two phases. First, we simply look at the average treatment effects across the three experiments, testing whether the French display a negative double standard against the United States when compared to other great powers. Second, we estimate a series of regression models where the effects of the treatments are moderated by the mechanisms outlined above, thereby allowing us to test for which French are anti-American.

5.1 Average treatment effects: are the French anti-American?

Figure 2 plots the average responses for each treatment for each of the three experiments, with 95% bootstrapped confidence intervals. The left-most panel plots the results from the Blaming for Hostility experiment, showing that the French are actually less likely to blame the United States for opposition against it than they are China or Russia; in this sense, the French appear willing to give the United States a break that they do not with these other two great powers. Rather than a negative double standard against the United States, we therefore see a positive double standard in the United States' favor. However, this positive double-standard is likely partially due to the complicated nature of the French relationship with the Middle East, the region in which the French

Figure 2: Do the French treat the United States differently than other great powers?
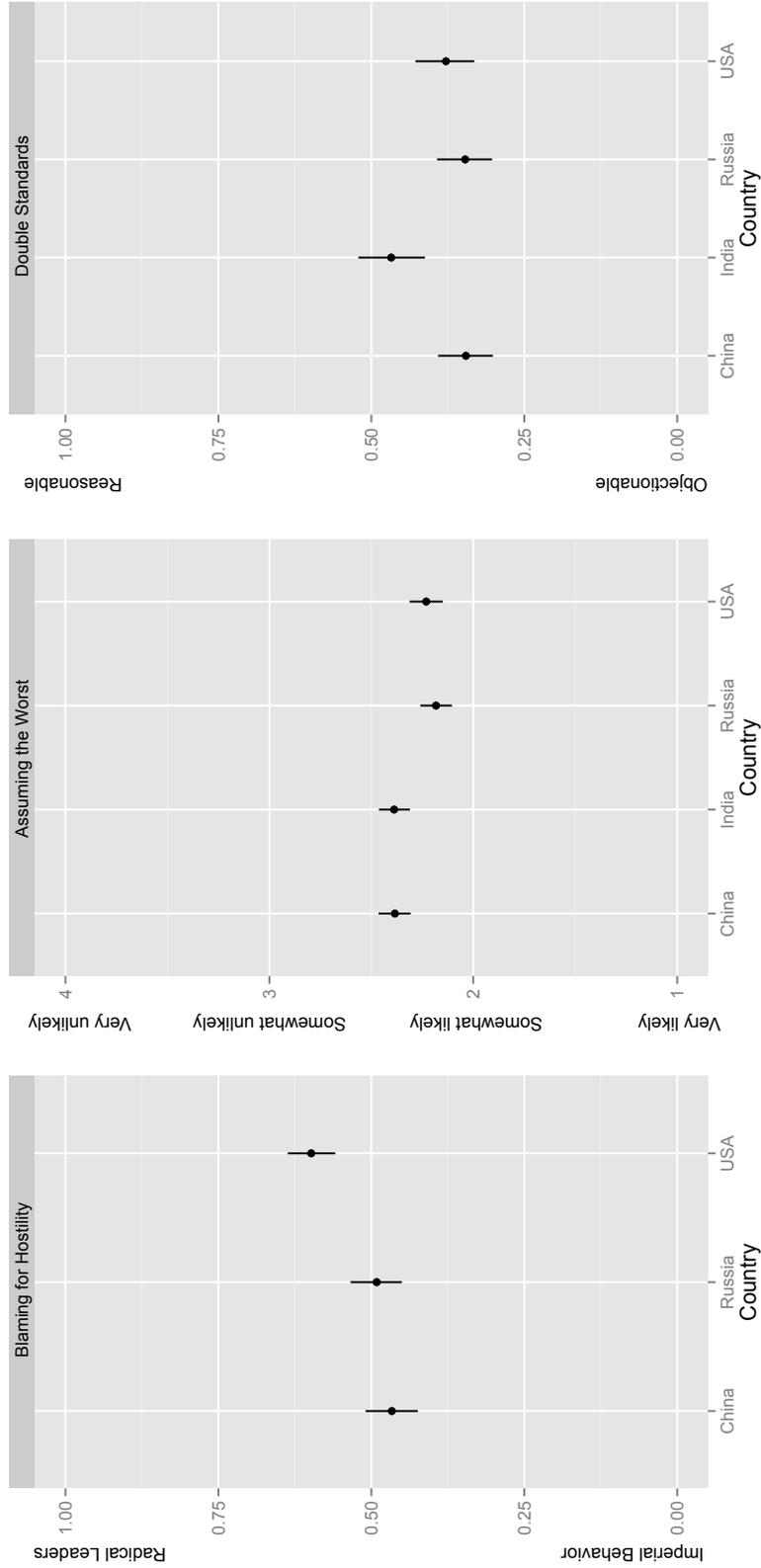
Note: Each panel depicts the average response within each treatment for each experiment, with 95% bootstrapped confidence intervals. The first panel shows that the French are actually less likely to blame the United States for hostility against it than they are China or Russia. The second panel shows that the French generally are more likely to believe that the United States and Russia are carrying out covert interventions than China or India, but once again, the US is not singled out. The third panel shows that the French are no more likely to find American interference in foreign regimes objectionable than either China or Russia, although Indian interference in Pakistan is generally seen as more reasonable.

are giving the United States a break. In supplementary analyses in the appendix, we show that among participants who do not perceive a threat from Islam, this positive double standard is no longer statistically significant, and the United States is treated just like the other great powers.

The right-hand panel depicts the results from the Double Standards experiment, showing that the French are generally opposed to intervening in foreign regimes suspected of supporting terrorists, regardless of who is intervening. However, they are no more likely to find American intervention objectionable than they are Chinese or Russian intervention. The French deem Indian interference in Pakistan to be slightly more reasonable than when other great powers do the same thing, but we find no evidence that the United States is being singled out.[7] As in the Blaming for Hostility experiment, then, we find no evidence of a negative double standard against the United States.

The middle panel depicts the results from the Assuming the Worst experiment. Whereas the Double Standards experiment investigated respondents' beliefs about the appropriateness of undermining foreign regimes, the Assuming the Worst experiment explores how likely respondents think that each of the great powers is conducting the activity. One of the linchpins of anti-American discourse is attributing negative world events to the CIA; if the French are anti-American, we should see them more likely to single out the United States compared to other great powers in this regard. We see in general that the French are more likely to see the US and Russia as undermining foreign rivals than China or India are, but since this perception is consistent with the Cold War historical record,[8] it is a relatively weak sign of anti-Americanism, and as before, the French do not single the United States out.

Thus, across all three experiments, we fail to find much evidence that the French are more likely to treat the United States differently from other great powers, and power analyses in the appendix suggest that given our sample size, anti-American prejudice would have to be extremely weak in order for us to fail to detect it. The strongest double standard we find with respect to the United States is in the Blaming for Hostility experiment, where it is a positive double standard in America's favor, rather than a negative one, and largely a function of French attitudes towards the Middle East. By these indicators, then, the French are not anti-American. However, we are looking here at French responses on average; it might be that some French citizens do indeed display a negative bias against the United States. We explore this possibility in the next section.

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[7]One potential explanation for the positive treatment of India is that the study was fielded a year after the 2008 Mumbai attacks, which thus may have led participants to see Indian behavior as more reasonable, although the Russo-Georgian conflict occurred at around a similar time, and respondents were not significantly more likely to see Russian behavior as reasonable.

[8]O'Rourke (2014), for example, uses archival data to find that the United States attempted 63 covert foreign regime changes during the Cold War, compared to only 6 overt ones.

5.2   Heterogeneous treatment effects: which French are anti-American?

We next estimate a series of regression models for each of the three experiments, where, controlling for a set of demographic variables, we explore whether the effect of our treatments is moderated by each of the three mechanisms discussed above: political ideology, elitism, and nationalism. To measure political ideology, we asked participants: "In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means the extreme left and 7 means the extreme right?" We were not allowed to ask respondents about their income, so to proxy for elite or intellectual-based explanations of anti-Americanism, we asked respondents what the last grade of school they completed was instead.

The literature on national identity emphasizes a distinction between national attachment — the extent to which people identify with the nation — and national chauvinism — the extent to which they feel their country is superior to others (Herrmann, Isernia, and Segatti, 2009, see also Kertzer and Brutger, 2015). We included two three-item scales to capture each construct (sample items: for national attachment: "How important is feeling French in defining who you are?"; for national chauvinism: "How much better would the world be if people from other countries were more like the French?") Finally, we also include a series of demographic controls: age, gender, and whether participants identified as Muslim or not, since much of the debate about anti-Americanism concerns the extent to which France has has imported part of the Arab-Israel contest to Europe and now faces outbursts of anti-American and anti-Israeli protests.

For each of the three experiments, we estimate a series of regression models. Since we do not have theoretical expectations about which French treat the United States differently from China versus from Russia versus from India, unlike in the presentation of the previous analyses we collapse all of the other countries into a single control, such that our treatment effects are defined as the difference in how the French treat the United States versus the other great powers in the experiments. Table 1 presents the results for the Blaming for Hostility experiment using a set of logistic regression models. The first model simply presents the effects of the US treatment and the demographic controls; models 2-5 estimate interaction effects between the US treatment and conservative ideology, education, national attachment, and national chauvinism, respectively. The dependent variable is scaled such that positive coefficient estimates indicate an increased probability of blaming hostility on foreign radicals rather than the great power's own imperial behavior.

Thus, the results in Table 1 reinforce three important points. First, the United States treatment effect in model 1 is significant and *positive*, indicating the existence of a positive double standard

Table 1: Blaming for Hostility Experiment

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
United States	0.521***	0.380	0.458**	−0.082	0.754***
	(0.126)	(0.332)	(0.217)	(0.318)	(0.259)
Age	−0.494**	−0.488**	−0.493**	−0.565**	−0.462**
	(0.227)	(0.227)	(0.227)	(0.225)	(0.218)
Male	−0.393***	−0.391***	−0.391***	−0.388***	−0.418***
	(0.120)	(0.120)	(0.120)	(0.119)	(0.117)
Conservative Ideology	0.347	0.259	0.349	0.399	0.247
	(0.316)	(0.369)	(0.316)	(0.312)	(0.300)
Education	−0.785***	−0.781***	−0.832***	−0.783***	−0.753***
	(0.193)	(0.194)	(0.234)	(0.189)	(0.189)
Muslim	−0.638***	−0.630***	−0.638***	−0.596**	−0.615***
	(0.244)	(0.244)	(0.244)	(0.238)	(0.219)
Concern about Islam	0.248	0.250	0.250	0.279	0.342
	(0.256)	(0.256)	(0.256)	(0.253)	(0.249)
National Attachment	0.221	0.217	0.223	−0.018	
	(0.274)	(0.274)	(0.274)	(0.317)	
National Chauvinism	0.595**	0.596**	0.596**		0.894***
	(0.297)	(0.297)	(0.297)		(0.337)
US × Cons. Ideology		0.303			
		(0.661)			
US × Education			0.136		
			(0.381)		
US × Natl Attachment				1.069**	
				(0.518)	
US × Natl Chauvinism					−0.667
					(0.555)
Constant	0.119	0.155	0.136	0.489	0.092
	(0.300)	(0.310)	(0.304)	(0.303)	(0.296)
N	1,195	1,195	1,195	1,214	1,254
AIC	1,609.674	1,611.464	1,611.547	1,635.825	1,688.635

Note: main entries are logistic regression coefficients. $^{*}p < .1$; $^{**}p < .05$; $^{***}p < .01$

in favor of the United States: respondents were more likely to blame foreign opposition on self-interested radical leaders than imperial behavior when the country in question was the United States, although we show in the appendix that much of this positive effect comes from French concern about Islam. Second, many of the standard predictors often used to explain anti-Americanism are significant, but as predictors of *opinion* about great power behavior, rather than of *bias* against the United States: more educated respondents are significantly more likely to see foreign opposition as a reaction to great power imperialism, as are Muslims, but this does not necessarily translate into a bias against the United States — as the non-significant interaction term in Model 3 shows us, the more educated are no more likely to blame the US than they are other great powers. In other words, education may explain why the US might be unpopular when it behaves in an imperial fashion, but if anti-Americanism is defined as a bias or prejudice rather than mere unpopularity, then it does not explain anti-Americanism. Third, unlike ideology or education, national attachment does significantly moderate the impact of the US treatment, and the interaction term is positive: the more participants identify as French, the more of a positive double standard they display in favor of the United States. National chauvinism, on the other hand, does not significantly moderate the treatment effects, showing that the relevant type of identity dimension here is a feeling of belonging, rather than superiority. Note that these results control for whether participants were Muslim or not, as well as respondents' perceptions of threat from Islam, so they are neither confounded by the potential alienation of French Muslims on the one hand, nor concerns about Islam on the other.

Table 2 presents a series of ordered probit models for the Assuming the Worst experiment, which asks participants how likely they believe this type of covert intervention to be. The dependent variable here is scaled such that positive coefficients indicate a belief that it is less likely that this type of covert intervention is taking place. In model 1, the US treatment is negative and statistically significant, showing that, similar to the results from Figure 2, the French do tend to be more likely to believe the US in engaging in this type of activity than the other great powers featured in the experiment. Education is also negative and significant, showing that more educated respondents are more likely to believe these covert interventions are taking place. However, national attachment significantly moderates the effect of the US treatment. Participants who identify less closely with France are relatively more likely to believe the US is undermining foreign regimes than other great powers are.

Finally, Table 3 presents the results in a similar fashion for the Double Standards experiment. The dependent variable is scaled such that positive coefficients indicate an increased likelihood of

Table 2: Assuming the Worst Experiment

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
United States	−0.146**	−0.434**	−0.024	−0.583***	−0.165
	(0.070)	(0.180)	(0.118)	(0.180)	(0.149)
Age	−0.204*	−0.199*	−0.205*	−0.230**	−0.233**
	(0.118)	(0.118)	(0.118)	(0.117)	(0.113)
Male	−0.095	−0.095	−0.102	−0.095	−0.106*
	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.062)	(0.062)
Conservative Ideology	0.023	−0.137	0.018	0.024	0.004
	(0.161)	(0.185)	(0.161)	(0.158)	(0.152)
Education	−0.274***	−0.270***	−0.202*	−0.289***	−0.243**
	(0.100)	(0.100)	(0.115)	(0.097)	(0.098)
Muslim	−0.167	−0.160	−0.172	−0.130	−0.162
	(0.125)	(0.125)	(0.125)	(0.121)	(0.111)
National Attachment	−0.203	−0.203	−0.199	−0.382**	
	(0.141)	(0.141)	(0.141)	(0.155)	
National Chauvinism	0.077	0.074	0.072		0.008
	(0.154)	(0.154)	(0.154)		(0.165)
US × Cons. Ideology		0.611*			
		(0.352)			
US × Education			−0.272		
			(0.211)		
US × Natl Attachment				0.784***	
				(0.289)	
US × Natl Chauvinism					0.069
					(0.313)
N	1,216	1,216	1,216	1,242	1,267

Note: Main entries are ordered probit coefficients. *p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Table 3: Double Standards Experiment

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
United States	−0.084	0.227	0.064	−0.070	−0.628**
	(0.138)	(0.351)	(0.223)	(0.356)	(0.304)
Age	0.033	0.029	0.024	−0.082	0.027
	(0.226)	(0.226)	(0.226)	(0.223)	(0.216)
Male	0.046	0.053	0.045	0.022	0.061
	(0.120)	(0.120)	(0.120)	(0.118)	(0.117)
Conservative Ideology	0.618**	0.786**	0.617**	0.615**	0.560*
	(0.309)	(0.356)	(0.309)	(0.302)	(0.291)
Education	−0.429**	−0.431**	−0.349	−0.586***	−0.472**
	(0.192)	(0.192)	(0.214)	(0.186)	(0.187)
Muslim	−0.300	−0.292	−0.305	−0.236	−0.329
	(0.231)	(0.231)	(0.231)	(0.223)	(0.201)
National Attachment	0.316	0.309	0.313	0.701**	
	(0.270)	(0.270)	(0.270)	(0.291)	
National Chauvinism	1.294***	1.300***	1.293***		0.978***
	(0.292)	(0.292)	(0.292)		(0.311)
US × Cons. Ideology		−0.659			
		(0.687)			
US × Education			−0.359		
			(0.427)		
US × Natl Attachment				0.050	
				(0.572)	
US × Natl Chauvinism					1.233**
					(0.619)
Constant	−1.287***	−1.365***	−1.313***	−0.843***	−0.920***
	(0.282)	(0.295)	(0.284)	(0.269)	(0.269)
N	1,254	1,254	1,254	1,282	1,319
AIC	1,638.011	1,639.091	1,639.299	1,693.764	1,724.822

Note: Main entires are logistic regression coefficients. *p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

deeming undermining foreign governments suspected of sponsoring terrorism to be acceptable rather than objectionable. Here, the United States treatment effect in model 1 is not statistically significant, showing, as before, that participants do not display a negative double standard against the United States. Once again, we see evidence that the standard explanations for anti-Americanism predict attitudes about great power behavior: more educated respondents are consistently more likely to deem this type of foreign intervention unacceptable, unlike conservatives, who find this type of behavior by great powers to be unobjectionable. Importantly, though, neither conservative ideology nor education moderate the impact of the US treatment; these variables thus may explain why the US is unpopular when it intervenes in foreign countries' affairs, but they also explain why other great powers are unpopular when they do the same. In other words, they predict policy opinion, not bias. Model 5 shows that the key predictor of anti-Americanism in this context is national chauvinism, the interaction term for which is positive and statistically significant: the less nationalist respondents felt when they compared France to other countries, the more likely they were to give the US a negative double standard. Across all three experiments, then, if we think of anti-Americanism as a prejudice or bias, we see it as negatively rather than positively associated with French nationalism.

6   Conclusion

There are many debates in both Washington and beyond about anti-Americanism: where it comes from, what its consequences are for US policy-making, and whether it can be mitigated through careful public diplomacy. These questions are both theoretically and strategically important: they underlie debates about soft balancing (Pape, 2005), the transatlantic relationship and the future of NATO (Kagan, 2004; Posen, 2006), the role of foreign publics in constraining and enabling American actions (Goldsmith and Horiuchi, 2012; Datta, 2012), and other key questions regarding American foreign policy in the twenty-first century. Yet before we search for a cure for the disease or ascertain how severe its symptoms are, we must be able to accurately diagnose it in the first place.

We argued here that if anti-Americanism is indeed a bias or prejudice against the United States, we need to be able to separate the relative popularity or unpopularity of what the United States is doing from the prejudice posited to be causing that evaluation. Since this task is difficult to do with survey data, we suggest that much of the way journalists and political scientists frequently talk about anti-Americanism — inferring its existence from negative evaluations in public opinion polls, and inferring its absence from positive ones — is telling us something subtly different from what we

want to know.

Accordingly, we presented the results from three novel identity substitution experiments embedded in an original national French survey in 2009-10. These experiments tell us that if the relevant counterfactual for anti-Americanism is other great powers like China, Russia, and India (more on that in a moment), we generally fail to find evidence that the French are anti-American. We also use these experiments to test propositions about the underlying mechanisms driving anti-Americanism, and show that the strongest predictor of a negative double standard against the United States is French nationalism. Importantly, though, the association is negative rather than positive: a strong French identity need not come at the detriment of the treatment of the United States. "Nous sommes tous Américains", as *Le Monde* put it in a headline two days after the September 11th attacks, speaks to a broader theoretical point about how identity categories overlap.

Several points are important to note. First, our results throw a new wrinkle into debates about the consequences of anti-Americanism. Katzenstein and Keohane (2007b); Davis and Meunier (2011) and others have noted that despite all of our concerns, anti-Americanism has borne fewer negative consequences for the United States than pundits have prophesied, particularly in the French case. One way of interpreting this pattern is to posit that "anti-Americanism barks more than it bites" (Chazelle 2004, cited in Meunier 2007, 149). Our findings suggest another explanation: if anti-Americanism is truly negative bias rather than just unfavorable opinion, we may have been overestimating how much barking there is in the first place. Indeed, our results show that the French are relatively consistent in how they evaluate great power foreign policy behavior, focusing more on the nature of the act than the identity of the actor. What is striking about our findings is not that the French "like" the United States just as much as they do China or Russia, but rather that the French treat these great powers similarly *regardless* of how much they like them. Indeed, survey data from Gallup and Pew consistently show that the United States is more popular in France than either China or Russia – in 2009, for example, 41% of French respondents held favorable opinions of China, 43% of French respondents held favorable opinions of Russia, and 64% held favorable opinions of the United States. Our results are thus consistent with Jamal et al.'s 2015 contention that much of what we think of as anti-Americanism is really anti-interventionism, and an opposition to great powers throwing their weight around.

Our findings therefore contribute to a longstanding debate about the nature of American primacy. Against balance of power realists who argue that the concentration of power is inherently threatening, a number of IR scholars have argued that there is a uniquely benevolent character to

American hegemony that renders the depth of its power preponderance less threatening to others (Nye, 2002; Ikenberry, 2011). Our results show that even if the French like the United States better than other great powers, they are no more approving of it flexing its muscles than they are of other great powers doing the same thing; whatever palliative effect the liberal character of American hegemony has on global public opinion, it dissipates when the United States behaves illiberally. Our findings here therefore echo Katzenstein and Keohane's (2007a, 308-309) emphasis on the role that American hegemony plays on sentiments abroad.

Second, we argued here that for anti-Americanism to indeed be prejudice rather than unpopularity, we need to think carefully about what the relevant counterfactual is. For example, if the negative double standard against the United States is defined in comparison to treatment of France itself, then anti-Americanism is simply ingroup favoritism — which is ubiquitous and banal. By that standard, everyone is likely anti-American — and Americans are likely anti-everyone. Similarly, if the argument is that the US is unfairly blamed for meddling in other countries' affairs, or unjustly singled out for going to war without multilateral authorization, the relevant comparison group must be other states that would plausibly do these same things — or else the counterfactual is no longer cogent. We therefore argued that the only meaningful reference group in the kinds of scenarios we explored in our experiments were other great powers like China, Russia and India. The finding that the French do not treat the Americans any better in some of our experiments than they do the Russians or Chinese may be cold comfort to some. One might expect more positive evaluations from the French given their alliance with the United States, but determining how much of a positive double standard should be expected in America's favor leads down a slippery slope, as Jervis (1976, 6-7) warned about the difficulties of trying to establish an objective benchmark with which to study perceptions in global affairs. American nationalists could expect unwavering followership regardless of the specifics of the case, while realists might expect it to end as soon as French interests were compromised. In this sense, our results not only speak to the importance of specifying what the relevant counterfactual pool is in order for anti-Americanism to truly be prejudice rather than just unpopularity, but also shed light on one potential reason Americans are so quick to see anti-Americanism abroad — not because foreign publics necessarily maintain a negative double standard against the United States, but because we expect there to be a positive double standard in our favor! As Meunier (2007, 156) reminds us, it would be wise for Americans to not take this personally.

Third, our survey was conducted in early 2009-10; longitudinal data presented in section 3 of this paper suggests that attitudes towards the United States are similar now as they were then, but they

are nonetheless remarkably different from their nadir during the George W. Bush administration. We therefore cannot rule out the possibility that the French would have displayed more anti-American prejudice a decade ago than they do in our results, but if this prejudice is as deeply rooted and immutable as pundits often claim, it presumably should be immune to an "Obama effect." To argue that the election of a new President in the United States should mitigate anti-Americanism abroad is to acknowledge a situational quality to anti-Americanism that its most forceful proponents deny. In fact, some of those who made the strongest case for the importance of anti-Americanism argued during the Bush presidency that a change in Washington's leadership would have little to no effect on French sentiments (Roger, 2005, 450-451).

Fourth, given the many varieties of anti-Americanism worldwide, we cannot generalize our results to anti-Americanism in other regions like Latin America or the Middle East, but we can promote the use of our method for identifying the existence of anti-Americanism, as the difficulty of disentangling unpopularity from the prejudice purported to be causing it looms as large in these other contexts as it does in the European one. What we need to better understand anti-Americanism are identity substitution experiments fielded in other countries to tease out prejudice towards the United States from attitudes about the things it does.[9] In other countries the content of ideological mindsets and the role the elite plays vis-á-vis the United States could be quite different than what we find in France. Consequently, these mechanisms that might promote anti-Americanism could work differently too.

We suspect the role that national attachment plays will depend on the availability in people's minds of a super-ordinate grouping that could include both their country and the United States. In our experiments, a West that included both France and the United States seemed to be evident. It is worth noting, however, that some of those studying anti-American discourse especially reject this possibility in France and doubt its potential power. Our experiments cannot prove the existence of this common imagined community, but the more favorable treatment of the United States compared to China and Russia is consistent with that interpretation.[10] It may be worth noting here that some of the historically most pro-American governments East Asia have been led by nationalist parties. It is possible there too that the relationship between national identity and anti-Americanism will be contingent on the ability of people to subsume their country and the United States into a common political category.

Fifth, our experiments were designed with the intent that what scholars of anti-Americanism

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[9]For a recent experimental study of anti-Americanism in Pakistan, see Bursztyn et al. (2014). See also the Asian tsunami "natural experiment" in Katzenstein and Keohane (2007c).

[10]On Western Europe and the United States as part of "the West", see Hemmer and Katzenstein 2002; Jackson 2003.

truly care about is bias rather than simply unfavorable opinion (e.g. Joffe, 2006; Katzenstein and Keohane, 2007c; Friedman, 2012; Jamal et al., 2015). After all, the question "why do they hate us?" is more compelling than "why do they dislike it when we carry out actions inconsistent with their perceived interests"? However, this does not mean that negative attitudes towards the US as measured by public opinion polls are inconsequential. It does suggest, though, that at least in the French case, this opposition is far from mysterious or irrational, at least in the political realm we explored. Given the resonance of American exceptionalism, it is perhaps unsurprising that we tend to attribute unpopularity abroad to an exceptional source (Friedman, 2012, 7). Yet the objections we found were more often linked to complaints about policies and actions than to prejudice toward the country doing them. This is important because it suggests Americans should not be too quick to discount the substance of French criticism by attributing it to an irrational prejudice. This may be a popular emotional move for American nationalists, but can lead to a premature rejection of important arguments. Indeed, an irony of our results is that French nationalists are the most likely to give the United States a break, whereas American nationalists are the least likely to extend the same courtesy (Pandya and Venkatesan, Forthcoming). Our findings suggest that rather than brushing off French criticism as reflective of anti-Americanism, Americans would be wiser to assume it comes from a long-standing ally and engage it on substantive grounds.

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Does Anti-Americanism Exist?
Experimental Evidence from France

Supplementary appendix

May 30, 2015

1   Dispositional and demographic instrumentation

The experiments were embedded in a national telephone survey, fielded by TNS Sofres on a national random sample of N=1508 respondents between October 28 - November 10, 2009; the survey also included an oversample of French Muslims (N=296), drawn by targeting areas of France with a large Muslim population, between January 22-March 3, 2010. The dispositional and demographic instruments used in the empirical analyses are shown below, translated from French.

Gender

- Am I speaking to a man or woman?

    – Man

    – Woman

Age

- What is your approximate age?

    – 18-24

    – 25-34

    – 35-49

    – 50-64

    – 65 and over

Religion

- Is there a religion you identify with?

    – Yes

    – No

- *(If yes)* Are you:

  - Catholic

  - Protestant

  - Jewish

  - Muslim

  - Different religion

Political Ideology

- In politics, people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 means the extreme left and 7 means the extreme right?

Education

- What is the last grade of school you completed?

  - Elementary school or less

  - Some high school

  - Graduated from high school

  - Graduated from college

  - Obtained a professional degree beyond a college degree

  - Obtained other degree or qualification[1]

National attachment

1. How much do you feel your fate is tied to what happens in France?

   - Very much

   - A lot

   - Not very much

   - Not at all

2. How important is feeling French in defining who you are?[2]

   - Very important

---

[1] Dropped from analyses

[2] Administered only to participants who reported being French citizens

2

- Somewhat important

- Not very important

- Not at all important

3. When someone says something bad about France how strongly do you feel it is as if they said something bad about you?[3]

- Very strongly

- Somewhat strongly

- Not very strongly

- Not strongly at all

National chauvinism

1. In your opinion, how superior is France compared to other nations?

- Very superior

- Somewhat superior

- Not really superior

- Not at all superior

2. How many things about France make you ashamed?

- A lot

- Some

- Not too many

- None

3. How much better would the world be if people from other countries were more like the French?

- Much better

- Somewhat better

- Not really better

- Not at all better

Perception of Islam

---

[3]Administered only to participants who reported being French citizens

1. Islam does not pose any threat for Europe

   - Strongly agree

   - Tend to agree

   - Tend to disagree

   - Strongly disagree

2. Islam and democracy are incompatible

   - Strongly agree

   - Tend to agree

   - Tend to disagree

   - Strongly disagree

3. Muslim beliefs about women pose a threat to European values

   - Strongly agree

   - Tend to agree

   - Tend to disagree

   - Strongly disagree

Citizenship

- Are you a French citizen?

   – Yes

   – No

2   Power analysis

Because our findings challenge conventional wisdom about deep-seated anti-Americanism in France, we turn to power analyses. Whereas political scientists typically conduct power analyses to determine how large a sample they would need in order to recover effects of a hypothesized size, our purpose here is inverted: given the size of our sample, how small an effect would anti-Americanism need to be in each of our experiments for us to fail to recover it?

Figure 1 therefore employs power simulations for each of our three experiments, in which the x axis displays the size of the negative double standard against the United States, and the y axis

4

Figure 1: Power analyses
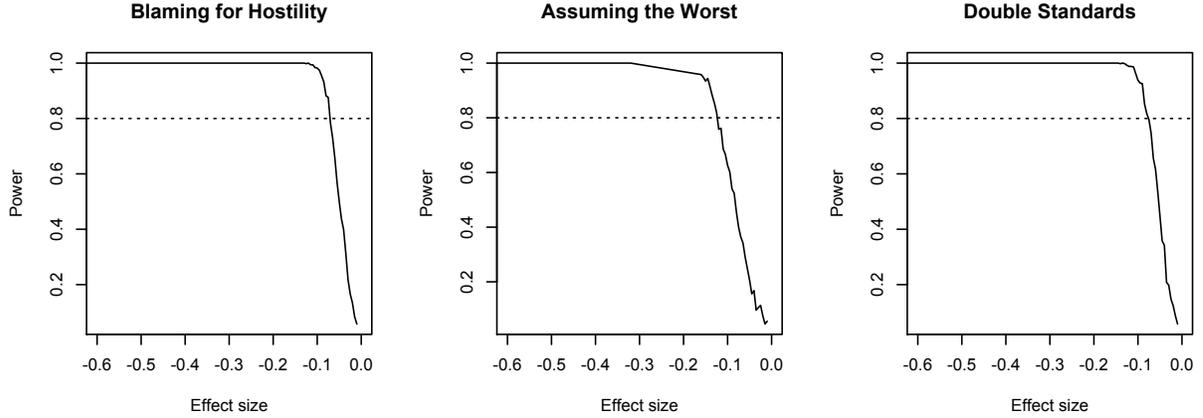
Power simulations in the above three panels explore how weak anti-Americanism would have to be for us to fail to recover it at conventional levels of acceptable statistical power. Effect sizes (the magnitude of potential negative double standards against the United States) are presented on the x-axis, while statistical power is depicted on the y-axis. Our results (from 500 simulations for each potential effect size within each experiment) show that prejudice against the United States compared to other great powers in our experiments would have to be extremely weak in order for us to fail to recover it (less than 7 percentage points in the Blaming for Hostility experiment, 3 percentage points in the Assuming the Worst experiment, and 8 percentage points in the Double Standards experiment).

depicts our statistical power, calculated using 500 simulations for each effect size. The plots show that we should be able to detect even relatively weak levels of anti-Americanism: a negative double standard of at least -0.07 on a scale of 0-1 in the Blaming for Hostility experiment, a negative double standard of at least -0.12 on a scale of 1-4 in the Assuming the Worst experiment, and a negative double standard of at least -0.08 on a sale of 0-1 in the Double Standards experiment. These simulations thus offer further confidence in our findings.

3 Pro-American or anti-Islam?

As noted in the main text, part of the challenge in studying anti-Americanism is specifying the relevant counterfactual with which to identify the presence of a double standard. In the Blaming for Hostility experiment, we explored whether the French are more likely to blame the United States for its regional conflicts than China or Russia. Since the scenarios needed to be plausible, the experimental vignette specified different regions for each great power: Asia for China, Eastern Europe for Russia, and the Middle East for the United States. As a result, however, it is possible that what appears to be a pro-American treatment effect in the first experiment is actually an anti-Middle Eastern effect; America might be given the benefit of the doubt because the region in which it has faced the most conflict is one where the French are deeply suspicious of its opponents.

5

Figure 2: Blaming for Hostility as a function of attitudes about Islam
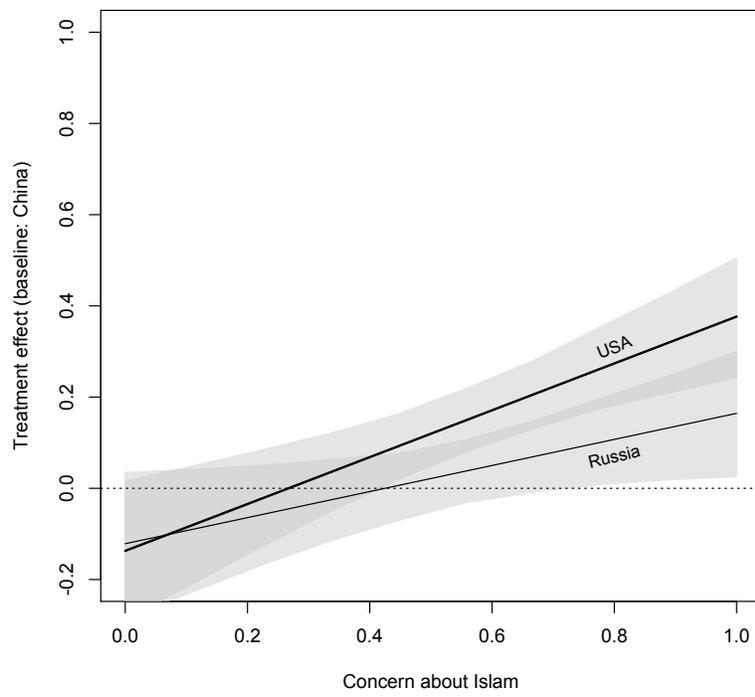
To proxy for French attitudes towards the Middle East, we employ a three-item measure capturing the extent to which respondents express concern about Islam (sample item: "Islam does not pose any threat for Europe", with response options ranging from "Strongly agree" to "Strongly disagree"), and estimate a linear probability model, interacting our country treatments with participants' concern about Islam, controlling for a variety of demographic characteristics. The results, shown with bootstrapped 95% confidence bands in Figure 2, confirm that the United States benefits in France because of who its enemies are, in that the size of the positive double standard the French display towards the United States in this experiment varies with respondents' perception of Islam: those respondents who see Islam as more threatening are more likely to give the United States a break relative to Russia and China (and interestingly, more likely to give Russia a break compared to China). Importantly, though, even respondents with positive views of Islam do not display a significant negative double standard against the United States. Thus, the experiment offers further evidence in support of the claim that the French do not display a negative double standard against the United States.

4   Treatment spillover analysis

As noted in the main text, all three anti-Americanism experiments were administered to all participants in sequence. To test for treatment spillover effects across the experiments, we follow Transue, Lee, and Aldrich (2009), estimating an series of interactive models between each experiment's treatment and the treatments of the prior experiments, depicted in Table 1. We find no evidence of either mean or inference bias at the $\alpha = 0.05$ level, although the US treatment from the Blaming for Hostility experiment comes close to statistical significance for the Assuming the Worst experiment, suggesting that participants reminded of arguments about US imperial behavior in the Middle East in the earlier experiment may deem great power covert interventions more likely in general in the later experiment. Importantly, though, the size of the potential mean bias is small, and does not change our conclusions.

Table 1: Testing for treatment spillover effects

	(1)	(2)
	Double Standards	Assuming the Worst
US_1	0.125	−0.136
	(0.124)	(0.077)
US_2	0.084	0.078
	(0.144)	(0.092)
US_3		−0.109
		(0.087)
$US_1 \times US_2$	−0.333	0.107
	(0.251)	(0.159)
$US_1 \times US_3$		0.115
		(0.150)
$US_2 \times US_3$		−0.080
		(0.176)
$US_1 \times US_2 \times US_3$		−0.401
		(0.307)
Constant	−0.514***	
	(0.073)	
N	1,617	1,550

Note: Coefficient estimates from a logistic regression (model 1) and ordered probit (model 2). **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

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