



BOOK REVIEWS

Anti-Americanism and the American World Order. By Giacomo Chiozza. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. 235 pp.

Anti-Americanism is one of today's fiercely debated issues among academics, policy-makers, journalists, and politicians. However, only a few systematic empirical studies exist which effectively address the following critical questions: (1) What is anti-Americanism? (2) Where does it come from? (3) What forms does it take? Drawing on a wide range of survey data, *Anti-Americanism and the American World Order* offers the most systematic and thorough empirical analysis of the phenomenon of anti-Americanism with a special focus on those three questions. The empirical investigation leads to a conclusion that growing anti-Americanism is a misperception as the United States is still perceived to be a benevolent hegemon with benign intentions among large portions of foreign publics. In my opinion, *Anti-Americanism and the American World Order* should be a must-read for students of international politics, American foreign policy, and public opinion.

As a theoretical foundation of his empirical probe, Chiozza discusses two different views of the United States among foreign publics: (1) anti-Americanism as a syndrome, and (2) the dimensions of America theory. The former refers to a wholesale and outright rejection of the United States which is believed to be widely held among foreign publics, while the latter is Chiozza's alternative account of anti-Americanism and refers to the possibility of multidimensional attitudes (i.e., both positive and negative) towards the United States. In the following empirical chapters, Chiozza compares these two opposing perspectives by discerning empirical patterns of anti-American opinions based on a battery of survey questions. In Chapter 3, after examining the opinions of 38,000 people from 42 foreign countries in 2002, Chiozza finds evidence that foreigners, in general, are not critical of the United States as delineated in his dimensions of America theory but Muslim respondents in the Middle East do show negative attitudes towards the United States. Closer scrutiny of 5,345 Muslim respondents shows that it is America's unilateral foreign policies, rather than its polity or popular culture, which serves as the basis for anti-American sentiment.

In subsequent chapters Chiozza investigates an empirical profile of the individuals and the countries that are more inclined to show anti-Americanism. His analysis confirms a key finding in the prior chapters that anti-Americanism is a multifaceted phenomenon rather than simply a cultural ideology against the United States. In the concluding chapters, Chiozza introduces more recent survey data that were collected from eight countries in 2004: Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Jordan, Morocco, Pakistan, and Turkey. These 2004 data enable Chiozza to evaluate the persistence of anti-American opinions beyond 2002, the study year of his main empirical analyses and findings. Interestingly, Chiozza contends that while George W. Bush's Iraq War and the War on Terror may, to some extent, have tarnished America's image as the primary provider of international public goods, they have not yet caused ordinary people in many foreign countries to turn against or hate the United States. In addition, Chiozza makes it clear that "dislike of the president could not be equated with dislike of the United States" (p. 197).

The strengths of Chiozza's book are numerous. These include a well-written overview of anti-Americanism in Chapter 1, a thorough theoretical discussion of anti-Americanism in Chapter 2, a nice mix of survey data and ordered logit regression analyses in the following chapters, and a succinct conclusion. Chiozza's main contribution revolves around his effort to dispel the conventional wisdom that anti-Americanism has become an entrenched ideology abroad. He clearly demonstrates that, except for a few Islamic countries, the majority of the world's population still supports the United States as a world leader and views its foreign policies as well-intended. Anti-Americanism is, at best, a myth.

Although I strongly endorse Chiozza's book, there is always room for improvement. First, the findings of the book would be more convincing if Chiozza analyzed elites' attitudes alongside the general public's attitudes. The United States should be more concerned about anti-Americanism among foreign leaders who are in charge of security policies vis-à-vis the United States. In fact, Table 1.1 presents an excellent opinion summary of elites versus the general public in eight different countries regarding the image of the United States in 1974. Unfortunately, Chiozza did not collect comparable survey data on elites' attitudes in later years, leaving the trend of anti-American opinions unclear.

Second, the findings of the book would be more credible if it used the same survey data source in each empirical chapter. For example, Chapter 3 relies on the 2002 Global Attitudes Survey from the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press to discover the status of global and regional anti-Americanism, while Chapter 4 draws on the 2002 Zogby International Ten Nation Impressions of America Poll and the Worldviews 2002—European Public Opinion and Foreign Policy survey. Although Chiozza's efforts, combining these different data sources for the empirical analyses, should be commended, the incongruence of these data sources undermines the validity of the empirical findings. For example, Chapter 3's conclusion regarding anti-Americanism among the Muslim publics in Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey may not be comparable to the findings presented in Chapter 4

about anti-Americanism in Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Kuwait, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. The chapters rely on different survey techniques and questions by different survey institutions and pollsters.

Third, the findings presented in the concluding chapters would be more persuasive if the survey questions and survey sample countries that were asked in 2004 were the same as those in 2002. Since the main focus of the survey questions and the selection of sample countries are different before and after the start of the Iraq War, it is not easy to determine whether the same kind of anti-Americanism persists between the two different time periods and across survey countries. In addition, the exact wording of the survey questions should be provided for reference.

Fourth, the regression results in Figures 3.7, 5.2, and elsewhere would be more informative if the goodness of model fit, such as pseudo R^2 and log pseudo likelihood, were reported and if significance tests were denoted along with substantive tests. More importantly, the findings would be more convincing if crucial control variables were offered. For example, the ordered logit model, reported in Figure 3.7, would be more compelling if it controlled for individual characteristics while testing the effects of eight different political and cultural factors.

Finally, the conclusion of the book would be more balanced if it discussed the possibility that the survey results may have failed to discover “hidden” anti-American opinions, especially from the Middle East. Since the United States is still a superpower with insurmountable military might, ordinary people in many foreign countries may be reluctant to reveal their true anger, resentment, and displeasure towards America. In fact, anti-Americanism in the Middle East is far more dangerous to the American world order than feelings in other parts of the world. Readers may argue that dismissing anti-Americanism as a momentary aberration of a minority of Muslim people is like “throwing out the baby with the bath water.” Although Chapter 3 does address the issue of preference falsification when people try to be polite, alternative explanations of “hidden” anti-American opinions would be beneficial.

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Cycles of Spin: Strategic Communication in the U.S. Congress. By Patrick Sellers. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. 270 pp.

Patrick Sellers (Davidson College) has put together a creative and sweeping analysis of the communication strategies of congressional leaders. His argument is complete and convincing. This book is a substantial addition to our collective understanding of congressional communication and leadership strategy.