

Beyond the Wire: US Military Deployments and Host Country Public Opinion

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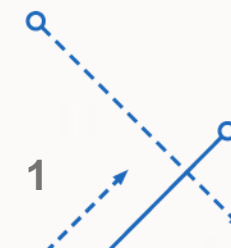
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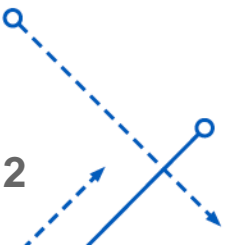
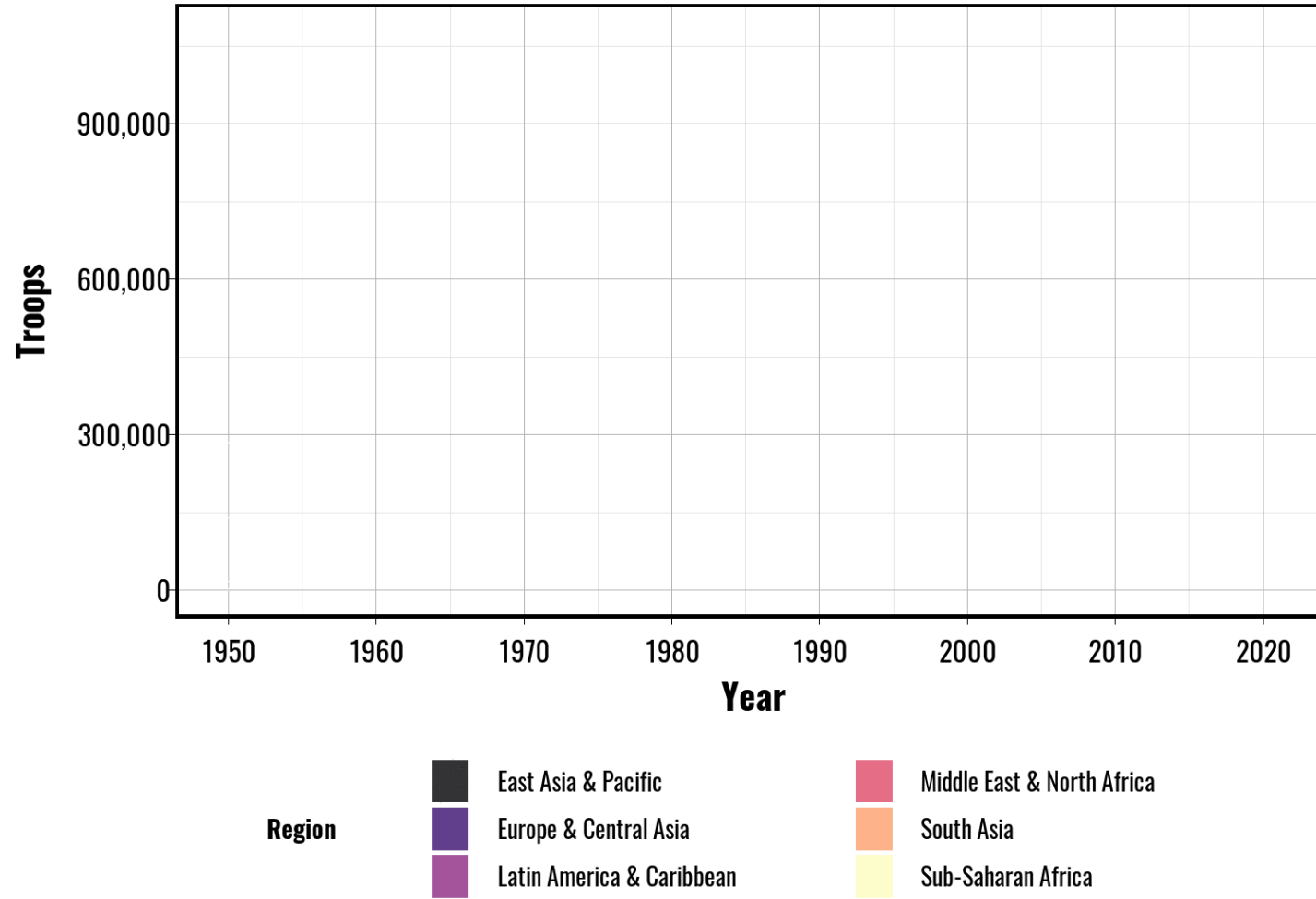
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US Overseas Military Deployments, 1950-2021



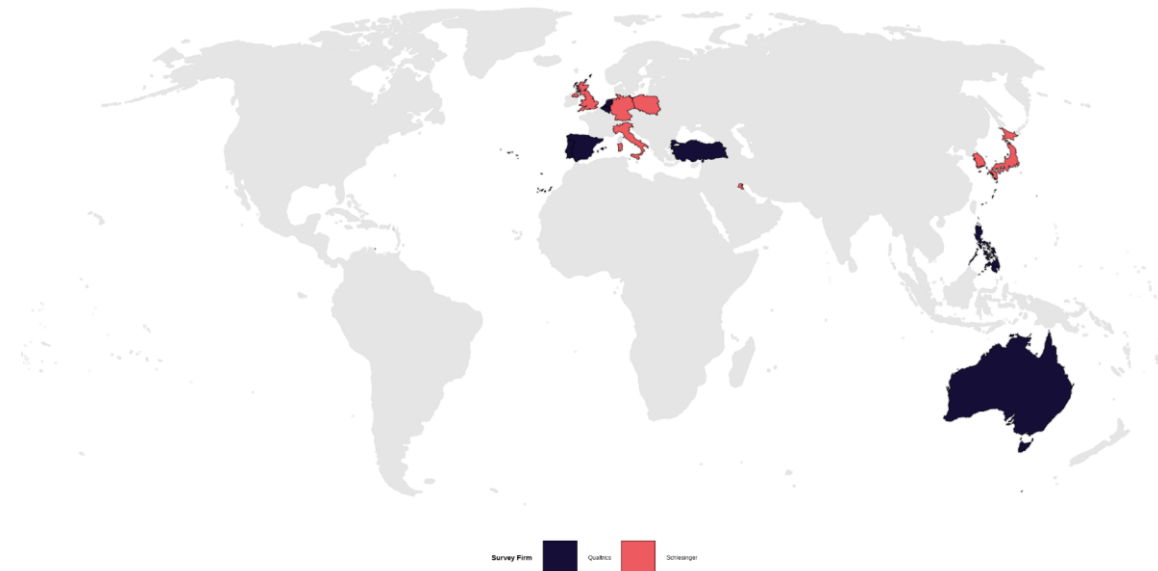
Fieldwork

- Panama (2018)
- Peru (2018)
- England (2019)
- Germany (2019)
- South Korea (2021)
- Japan (2021)



Surveys

1,000 RESPONDENTS PER YEAR, PER COUNTRY



3 YEARS: 2018, 2019, 2020

- United Kingdom
- Turkey
- Spain
- South Korea
- Portugal
- Poland
- Philippines
- Netherlands
- Kuwait
- Japan
- Italy
- Germany
- Belgium
- Australia

How do non-invasion deployments affect how individuals in the host country view the United States?



Images source: www.southcom.mil

“They were elated to have us there. The exercise engaged in 22,000 contacts. It was like a big party; they were happy to see us. That was a phenomenal jornada”

-American naval officer, referring to a deployment in Colombia

“At the rally, we once formed a human chain around the base. We get about 5,000 people this year. We held 50 workshops and events. ”

-German Peace activist



Images source: www.nbcnews.com

Interpersonal Contact

- U.S. military personnel frequently interact with host-state residents
- Much of this is a formal effort to promote good will towards the U.S. military
- Other contact is more routine and less formal
 - Friendship
 - Children
 - Shopping
 - Routine socializing



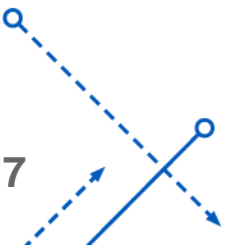
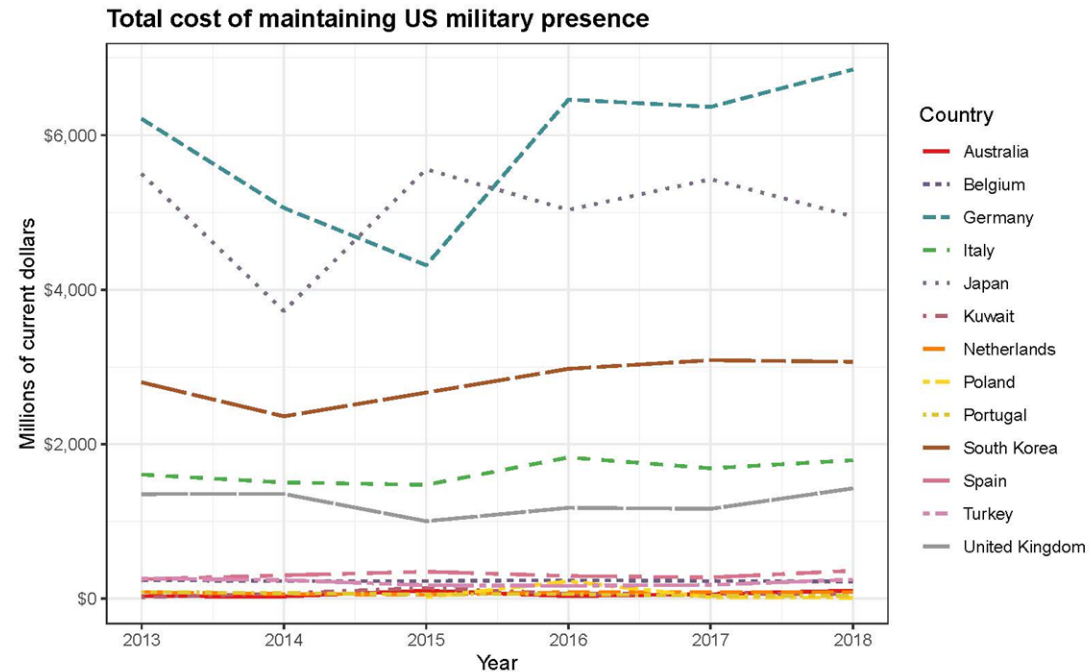
“When they see that they’re just as human as you are, people like them [the US military] more.”

-English Parish Council member in Lakenheath, England

Economic Benefits

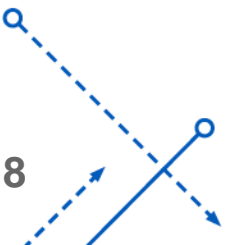
U.S. military presence can come with enormous financial flows

“The contracts we have, we always try to get the local economy. One of the main contracts we have is the movers. The contractor is an English contractor. .”
-American NCO at Lakenheath, England

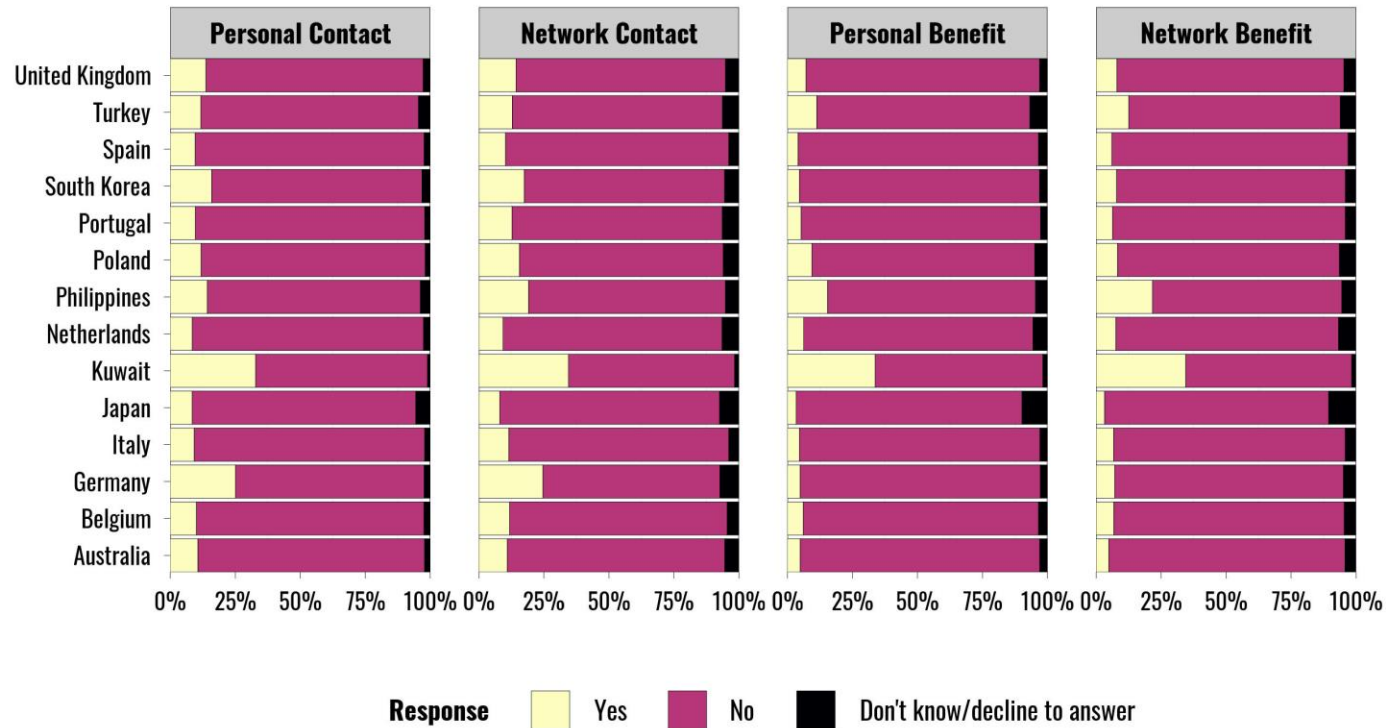


Hypotheses

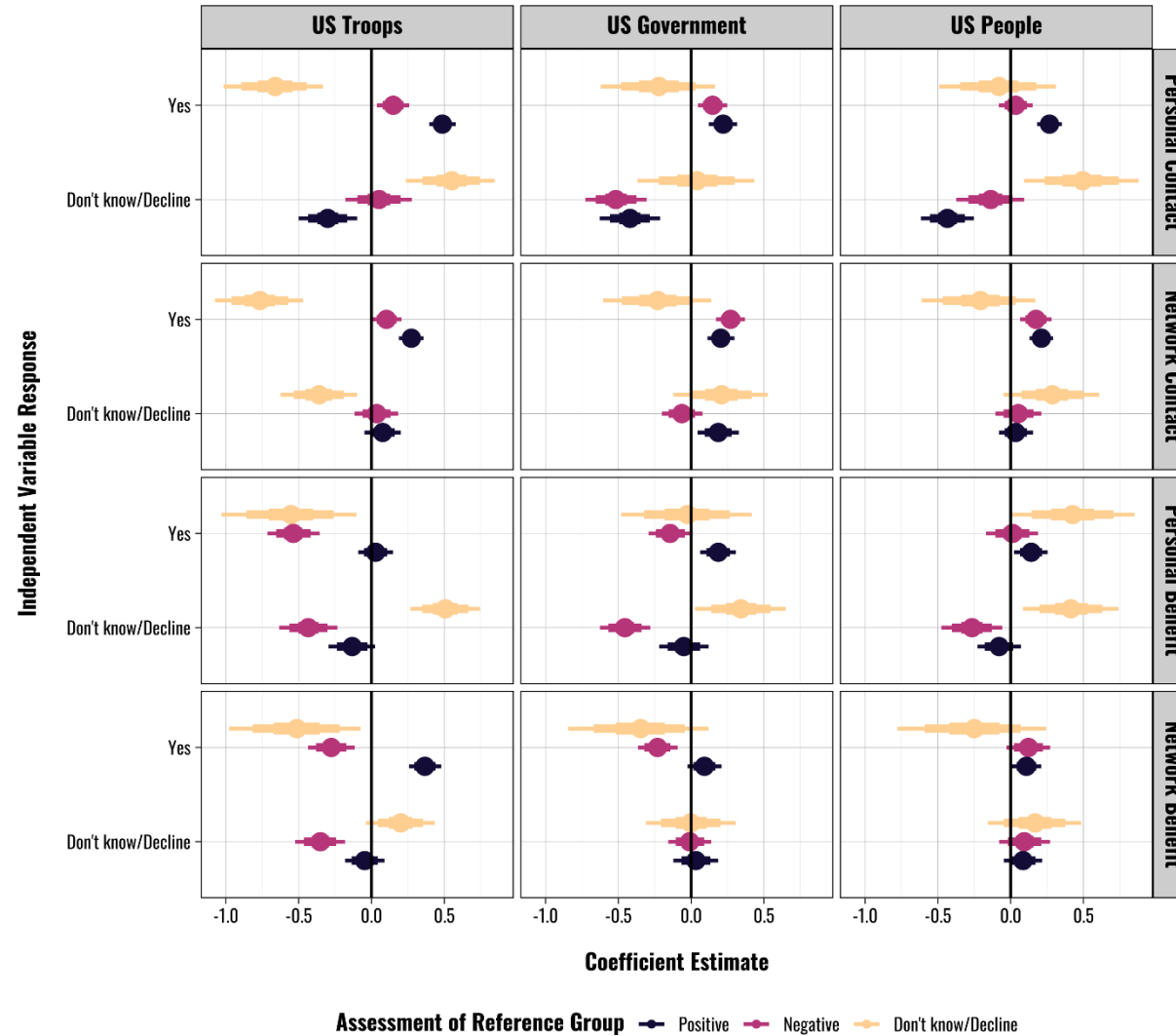
Variable	Expected Relationship with views of US
Personal Contact	+
Network Contact	+
Personal Benefit	+
Network Benefit	+



Interactions with US Actors



Results

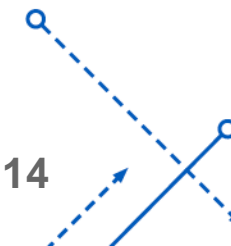


Coefficient plot with 90% and 95% credible intervals shown. Percentage values show the percent of the overall coefficient distribution that falls above or below 0.



- Interactions with U.S. military strengthen perceptions of U.S. actors
- Both negative and positive effect, but positive effect is larger

What is driving the negative interactions?



CRIME

Crime by US Service Members

“Who is going to be the face of this? [...] I thought that for political reasons I had to be that person.”

-Former Commander of US Forces, Japan

“We learned a lot of lessons since 1995, that was the major disaster for the US Japan alliance. That news was broadcasted very broadly and invoked the anger of many Japanese inland.”

-Japanese Policy Adviser, Asia Pacific Initiative Forum

Americans Charged In Rape in Okinawa

TOKYO, Friday, Sept. 29 (AP) — Three American servicemen were charged today with abducting and raping a 12-year-old girl on Okinawa, clearing the way for their delivery to Japanese authorities as demanded by protesters nationwide.

The rape has caused an uproar on Okinawa, one of the most important American military outposts in the Pacific, and generated a nationwide debate over whether Japan should revise the terms under which 45,000 American troops are based in Japan.

Hypotheses

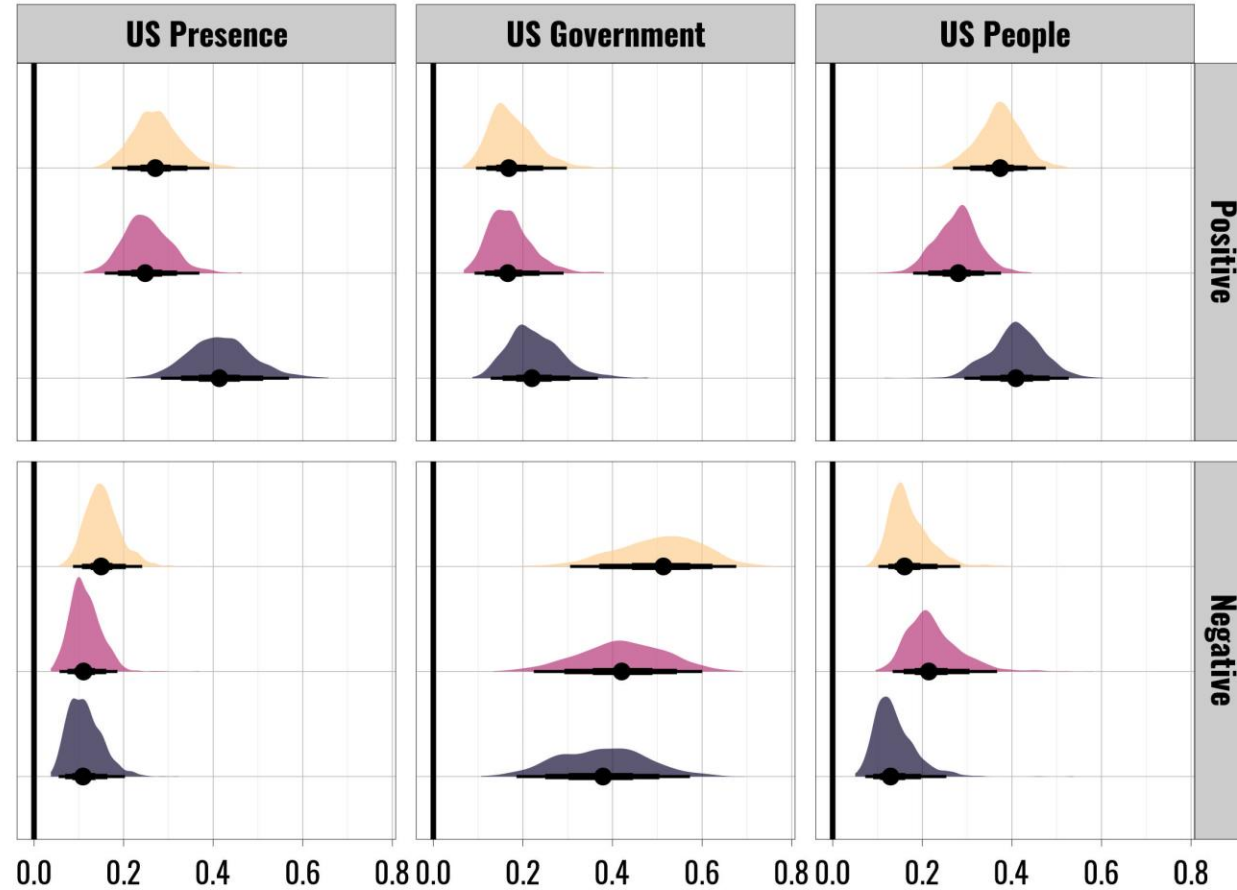
- H1: Individuals who report being criminally victimized by a member of the US military will be more likely to express negative views of the American presence/government/people.
- H2: Individuals who report criminal victimization within their social network by a member of the US military will be more likely to express negative views of the American presence/government/people.
- H3: Individuals who report being criminally victimized by a member of the US military will be less likely to express negative views of the American presence/government/people if they have had personal contact with US service members.



Table 4.2: Summary of posterior estimates for crime models

Probability	People Who Report	Have a	Expressing	Median	Interval
Attitudes Towards US Presence					
99%	Personal Experience with Crime	Lower Probability of	Unfavorable Attitudes	-0.32	[-0.60, -0.05]
100%	Network experience with Crime	Higher Probability of	Unfavorable Attitudes	0.45	[0.31, 0.60]
82%	Personal Experience with Crime	Lower Probability of	Favorable Attitudes	-0.08	[-0.25, 0.10]
87%	Network experience with Crime	Lower Probability of	Favorable Attitudes	-0.07	[-0.20, 0.05]
Attitudes Towards US Government					
52%	Personal Experience with Crime	Lower Probability of	Unfavorable Attitudes	-0.01	[-0.25, 0.21]
100%	Network experience with Crime	Higher Probability of	Unfavorable Attitudes	0.35	[0.20, 0.50]
100%	Personal Experience with Crime	Lower Probability of	Favorable Attitudes	-0.27	[-0.44, -0.10]
64%	Network experience with Crime	Lower Probability of	Favorable Attitudes	-0.02	[-0.14, 0.09]
Attitudes Towards US People					
100%	Personal Experience with Crime	Lower Probability of	Unfavorable Attitudes	-0.54	[-0.76, -0.30]
95%	Network experience with Crime	Higher Probability of	Unfavorable Attitudes	0.12	[-0.02, 0.27]
98%	Personal Experience with Crime	Lower Probability of	Favorable Attitudes	-0.19	[-0.36, -0.01]
65%	Network experience with Crime	Higher Probability of	Favorable Attitudes	0.03	[-0.10, 0.16]

Predicted Probabilities of Expressing Positive and Negative Attitudes in Germany



Predicted Probability
Experience
■ Personal Crime: No, Personal Contact: No
■ Personal Crime: Yes, Personal Contact: No
■ Personal Crime: Yes, Personal Contact: Yes

What to do?

- Isolation vs Integration & Monitoring
- Under isolation, non-personnel costs remain, while losing positive contact and economic flows → Increased sense of suspicion
- Effectiveness of community engagement

“There should be an immediate response, no hesitation should be made. If you leave the situation without making an official statement, it is bad for the Japanese psyche, bad for the alliance.”

-Japanese Policy Adviser, Asia Pacific Initiative Forum

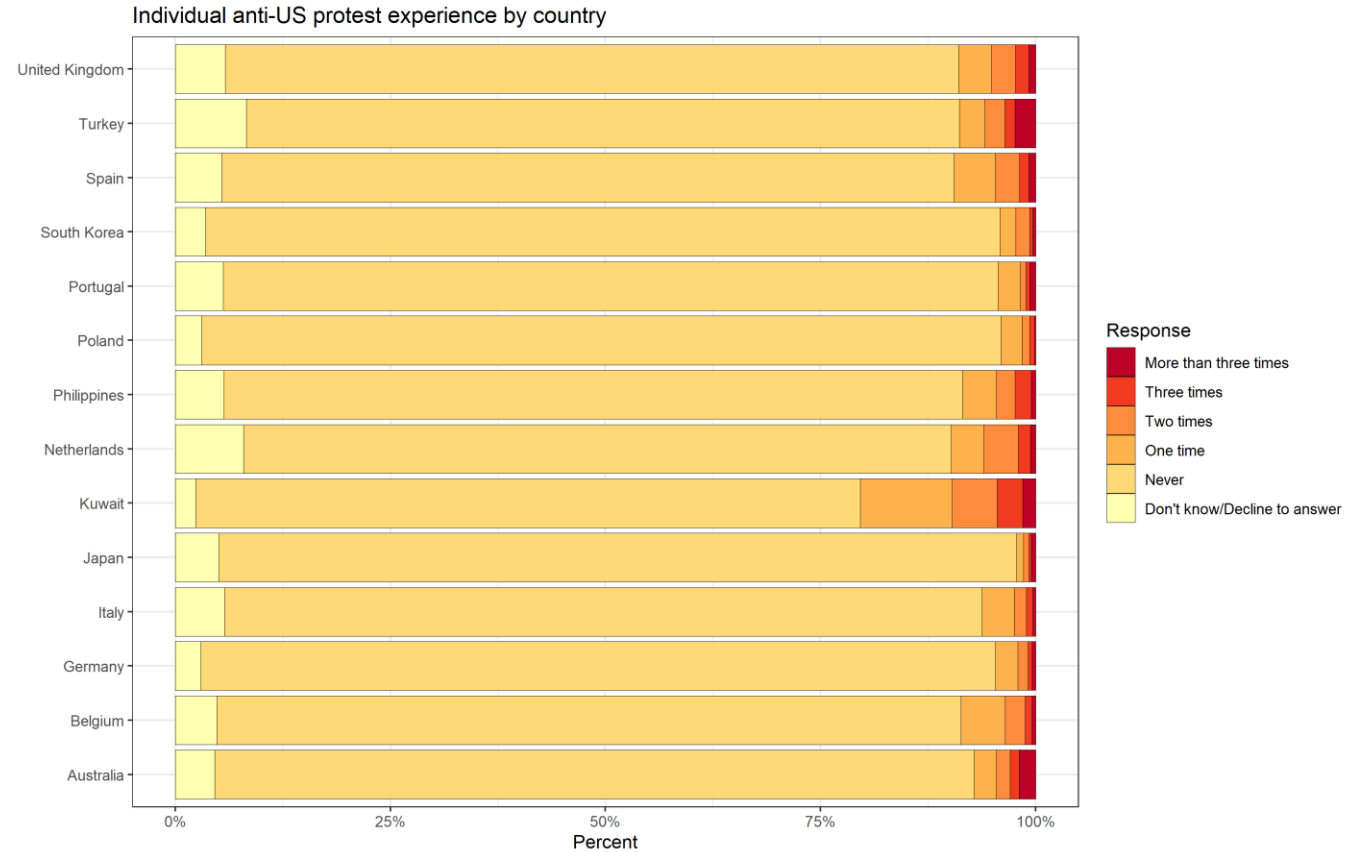
“When the Hashimoto-Clinton summit happened it was very positive, it moved the relationship forward [...] What was a tragedy turned out to be a real positive”

-Former Commander of US Forces, Japan

PROTEST

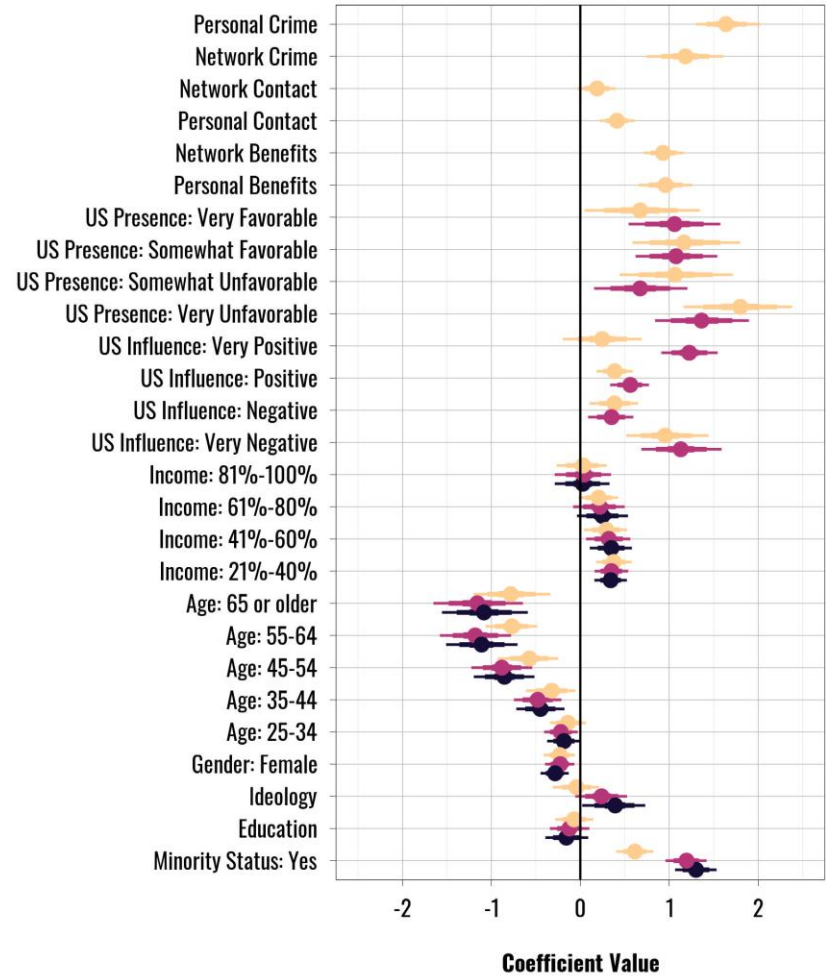
Primary Hypotheses

- Micro: Experiential events and ideology significantly contribute to whether people report attending Anti-American/base protests.
- Macro: All else being equal, the number of U.S. servicemembers in a country correlates with a higher likelihood of protests within a country.

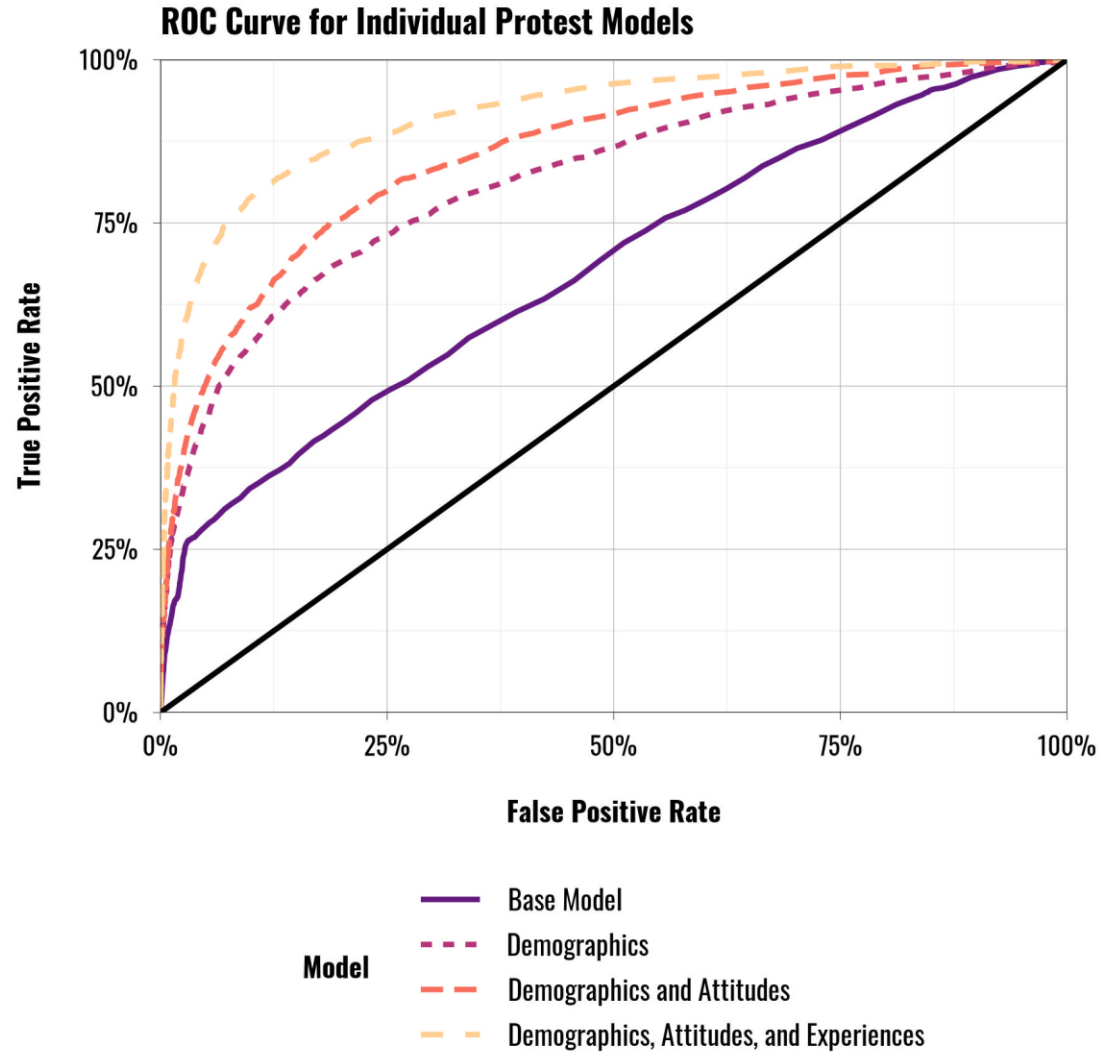


Collected survey data by country for 2018

Population-Level Coefficient Values for Individual Protest Activity

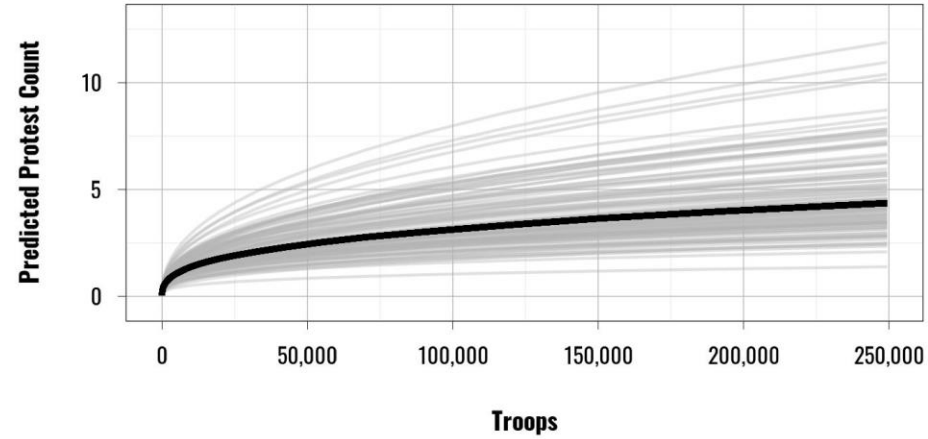


Model
—●— Demographics, Attitudes, and Experiences
—●— Demographics and Attitudes
—●— Demographics

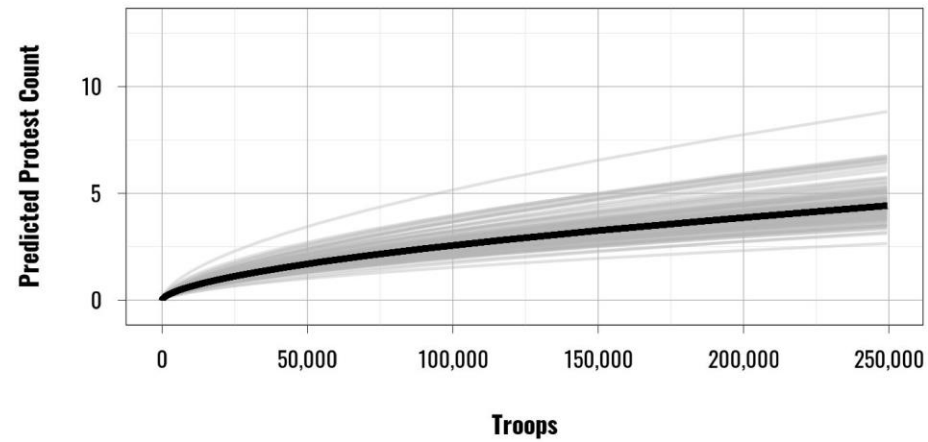


Predicted Protest Counts

Anti-US Protests



Anti-US Military Protests



Implications

- U.S. troops lead to protests
- The most informative variables predicting protests are experiential (contact, crime, and economic reliance)
- Policy matters

MINORITIES

Minority Populations and US Service Members



“Okinawan people have a strong feeling that they bear too much of the cost.”

-Former Japanese ambassador

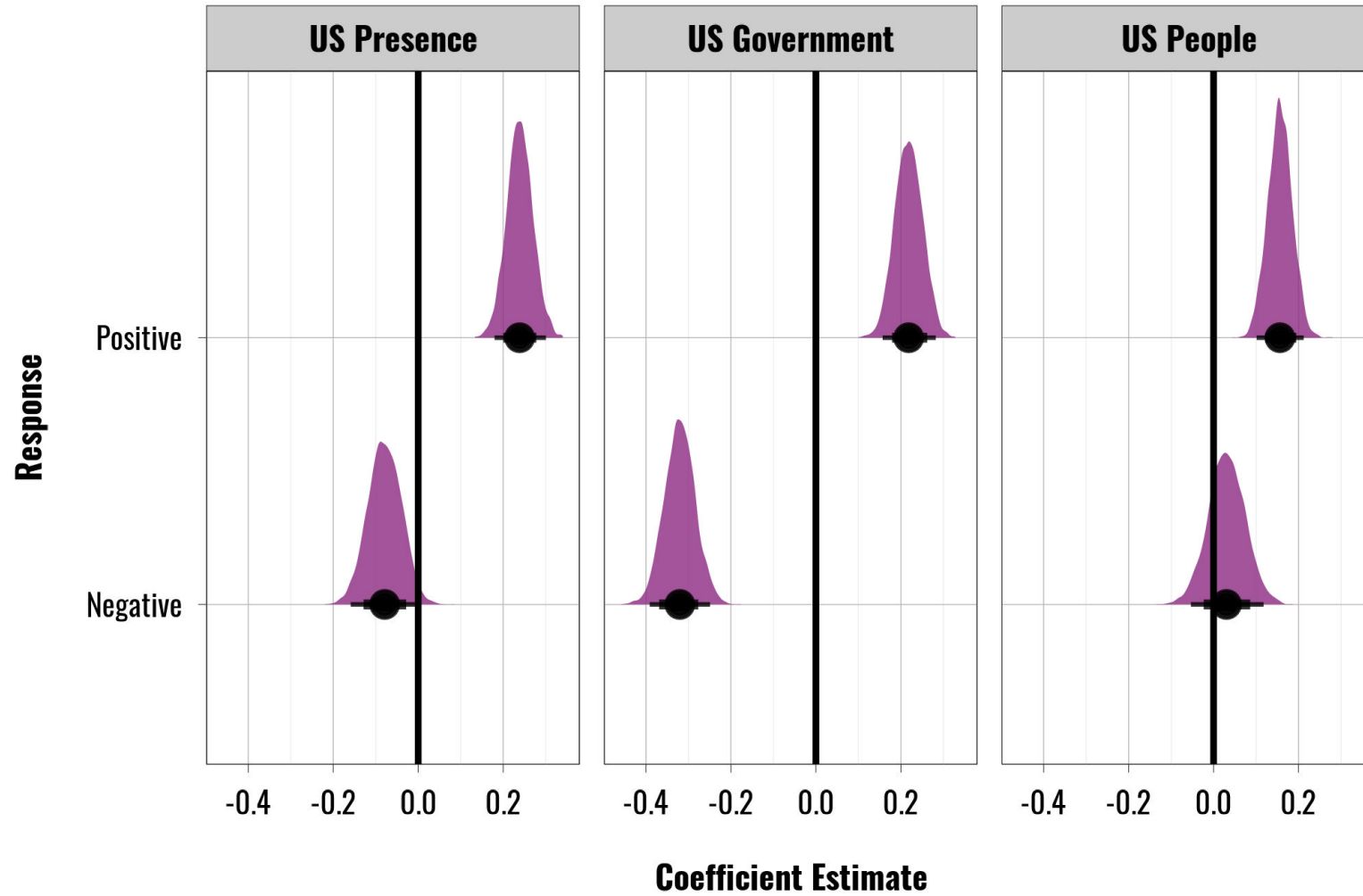
“[The Turkish community] are not my priority to reach out to. Our primary target is the city and mayors. ”

-U.S. Government Relations Officer at Clay Kaserne U.S. Army Garrisons in Wiesbaden, Germany

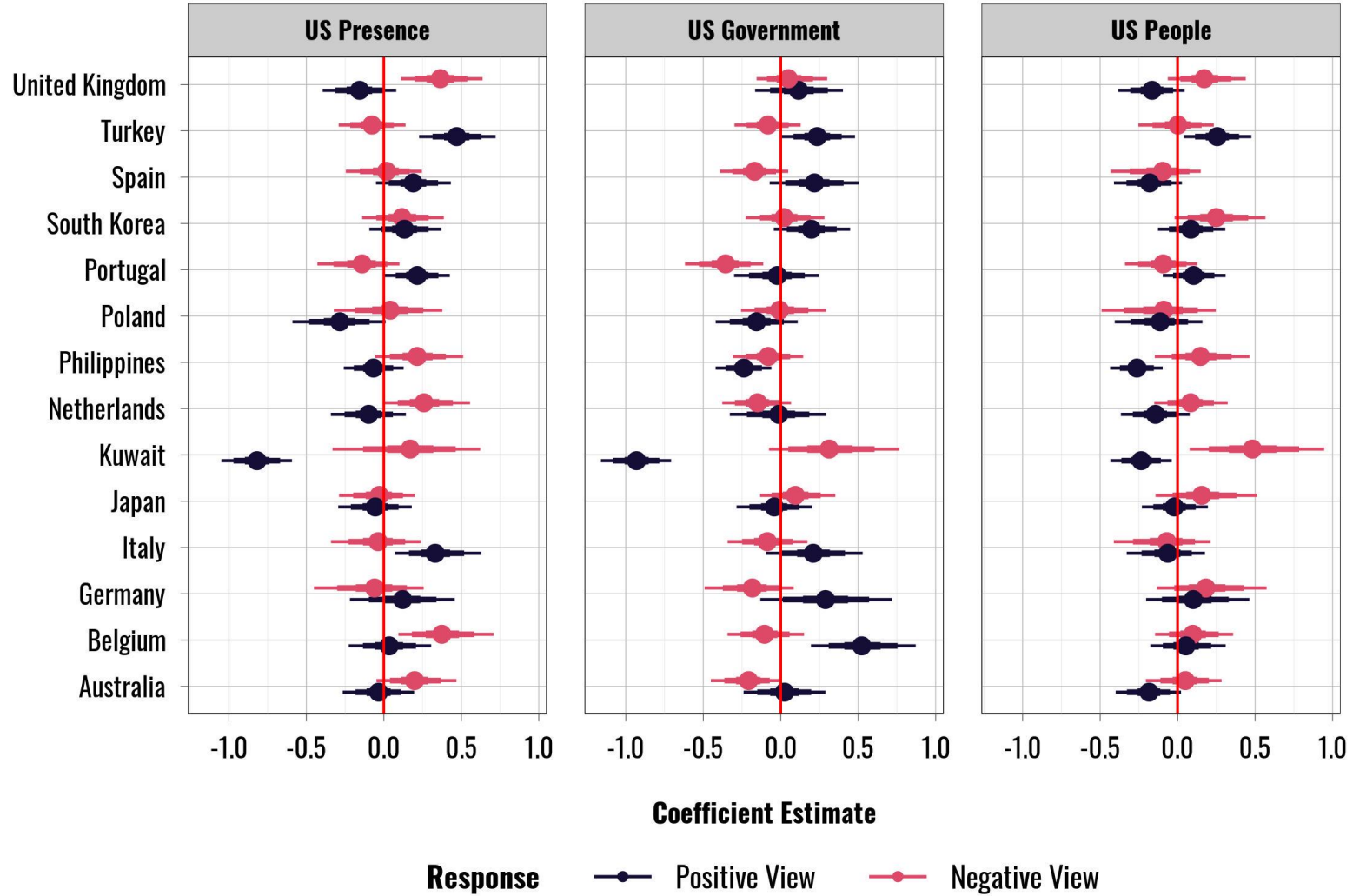
Hypotheses

- H1: Minority populations in states that host US military forces will be more likely to have negative perceptions of US military presence, the US government, and the US people
- H2: Minority populations in states that host US military forces will be more likely to have negative perceptions of US military presence, the US government, and the US people due to interacting with the US military

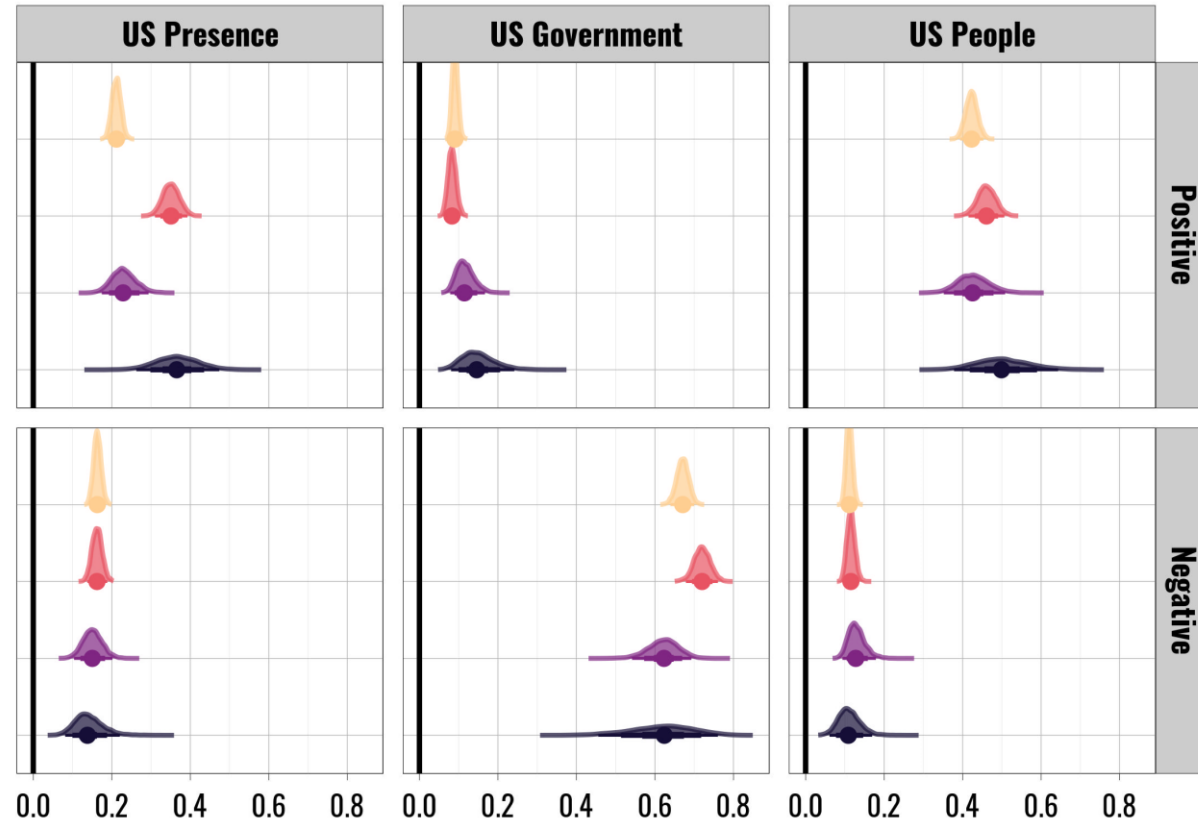
Minority self-identification and attitudes towards US actors



Minority Self-Identification Across Countries



Predicted Probabilities of Expressing Positive and Negative Attitudes in Germany



Predicted Probability
Experience

- Minority: No, Personal Contact: No
- Minority: No, Personal Contact: Yes
- Minority: Yes, Personal Contact: No
- Minority: Yes, Personal Contact: Yes

Implications

- Ethnic minorities experience more negative externalities and/or less positive externalities
- Variation across countries
- Better understanding of complexities of host-country populations needed

Moving Forward

- Effect of high-profile events
- Comparative study
- The role of diversity in the US military

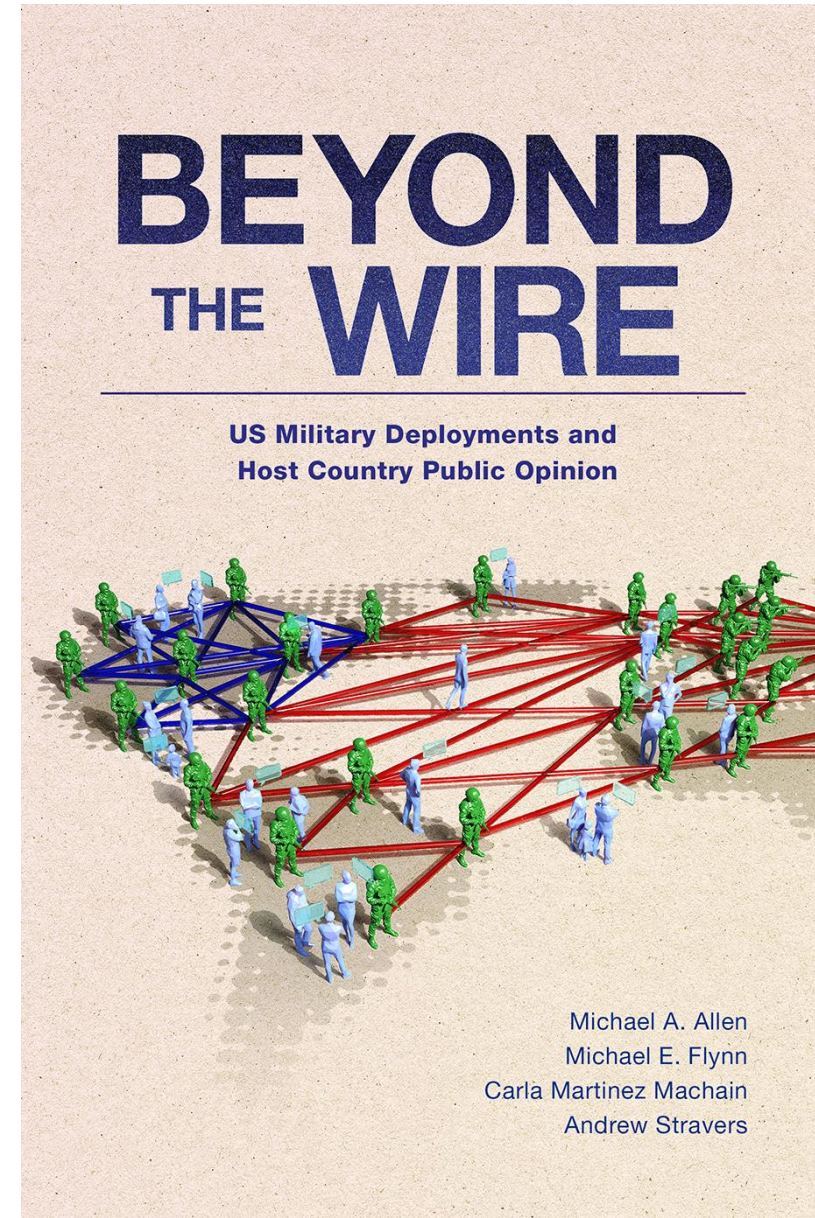
*“Please send me Mormons.
Send me Mormons and send
me women”*

-Former US Ambassador to
Panama

Thank you!

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EXTRA SLIDES

A note on selection bias

- Qualitative evidence, selecting into negative interactions
- Significant *network* effect
- Choice model as opposed to ordered or binary
 - Contact allowed to generate variation within non-positive categories
 - Larger positive than negative effect



Survey Questions on Crime (Personal)

- Have you personally been the victim of a crime committed by a member of the US military?

- Yes
- No
- Don't know/Decline to answer

- If YES– What type of crime? [select all that apply]

- Robbery
- Theft
- Burglary
- Assault
- Sexual assault
- Drug related
- Don't know/Decline to answer

Survey Questions on Crime (Network)

- Do you know someone who has been the victim of a crime committed by a member of the US military?

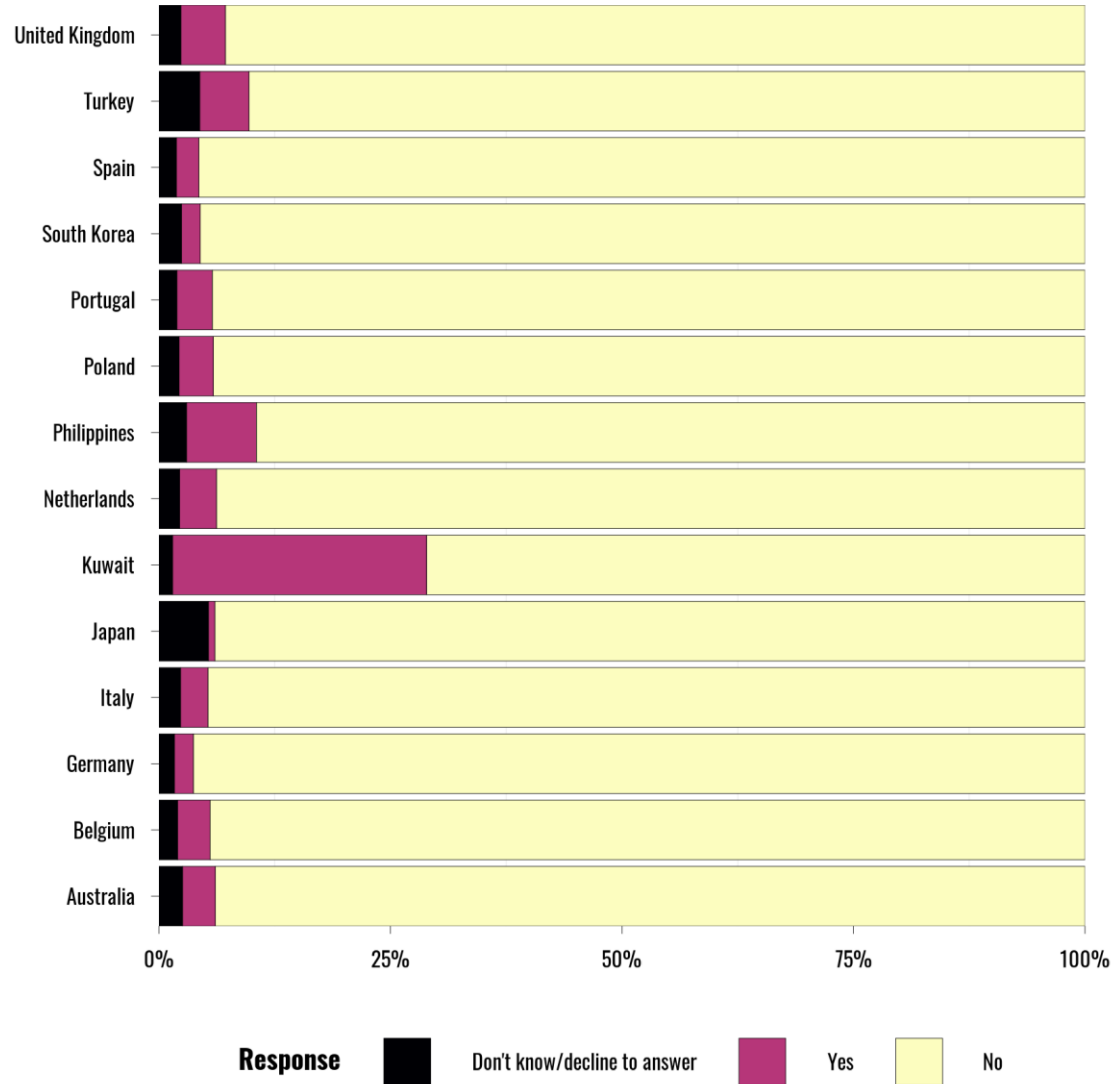
- Yes
- No
- Don't know/Decline to answer

- If YES– What type of crime? [select all that apply]

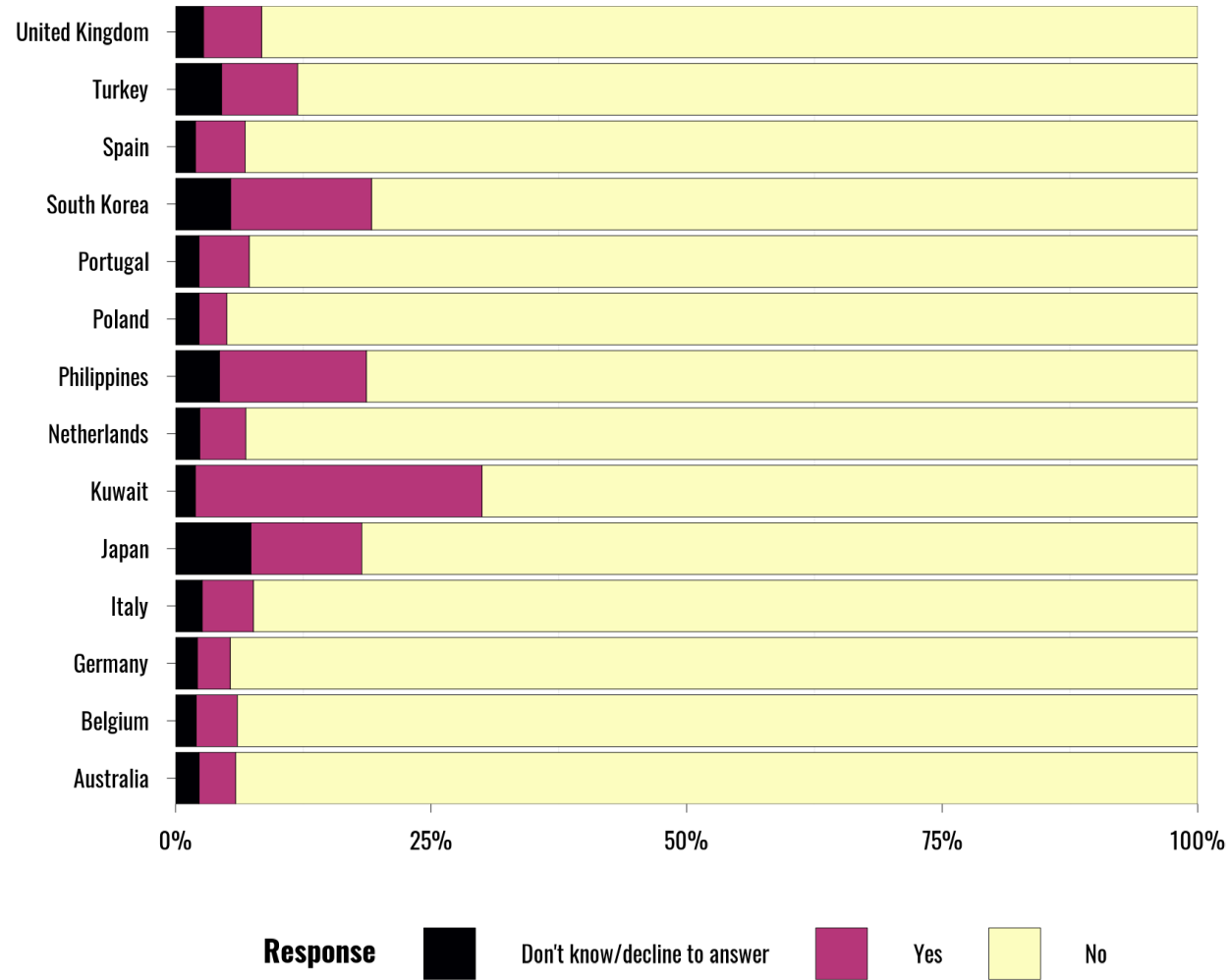
- Robbery
- Theft
- Burglary
- Assault
- Sexual assault
- Drug related
- Don't know/Decline to answer



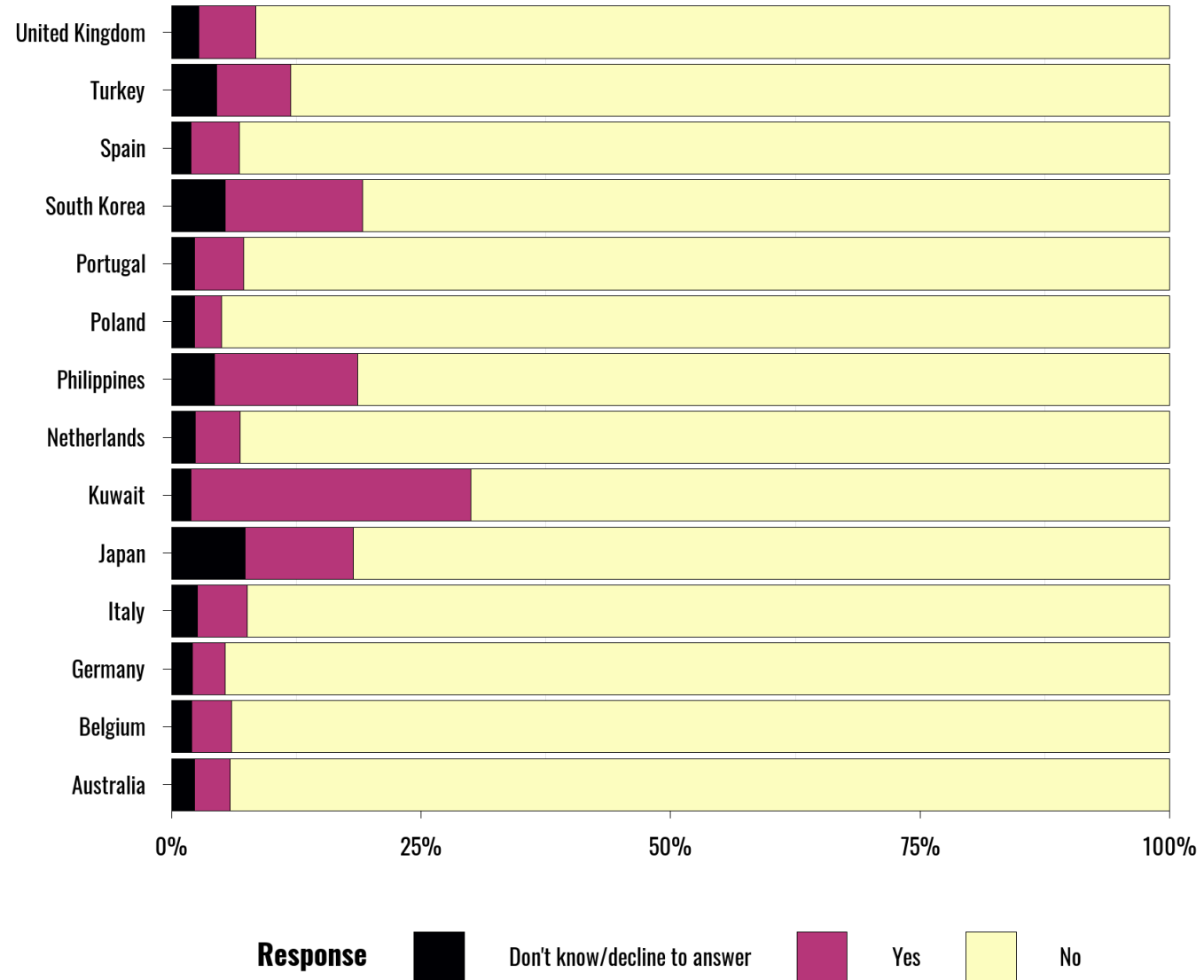
Have You Personally Experienced a Crime Involving US Service Personnel?



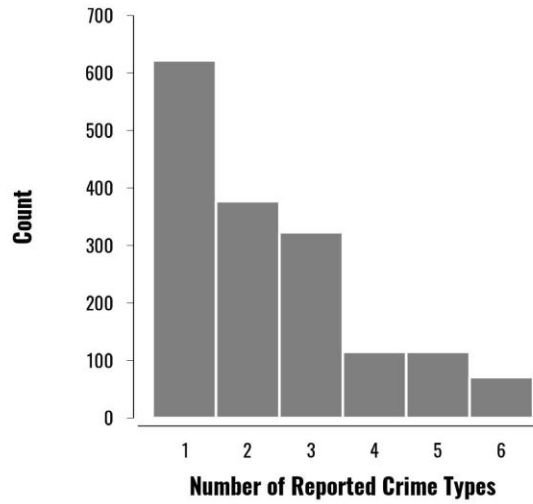
Do You Know Someone Who Has Experienced a Crime Involving US Service Person



Do You Know Someone Who Has Experienced a Crime Involving US Service Personnel?



Distribution of Crime Reports

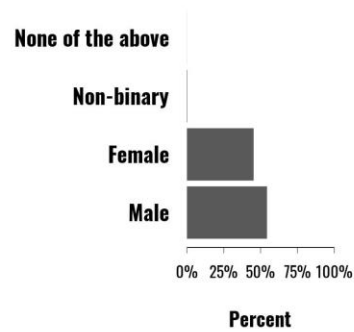


Correlation of Reported Crime Types

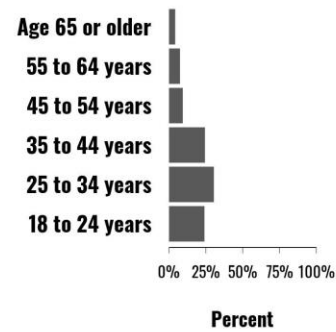


Demographics of Crime Victims

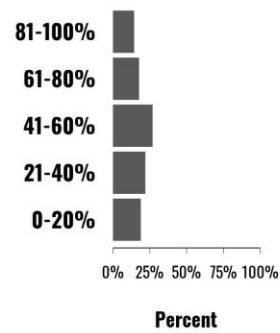
Gender Identity



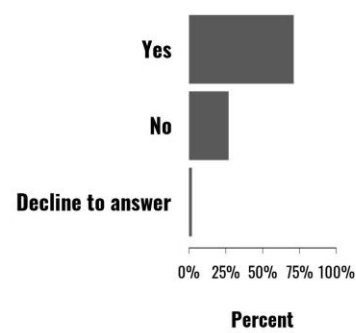
Age



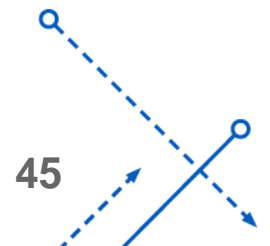
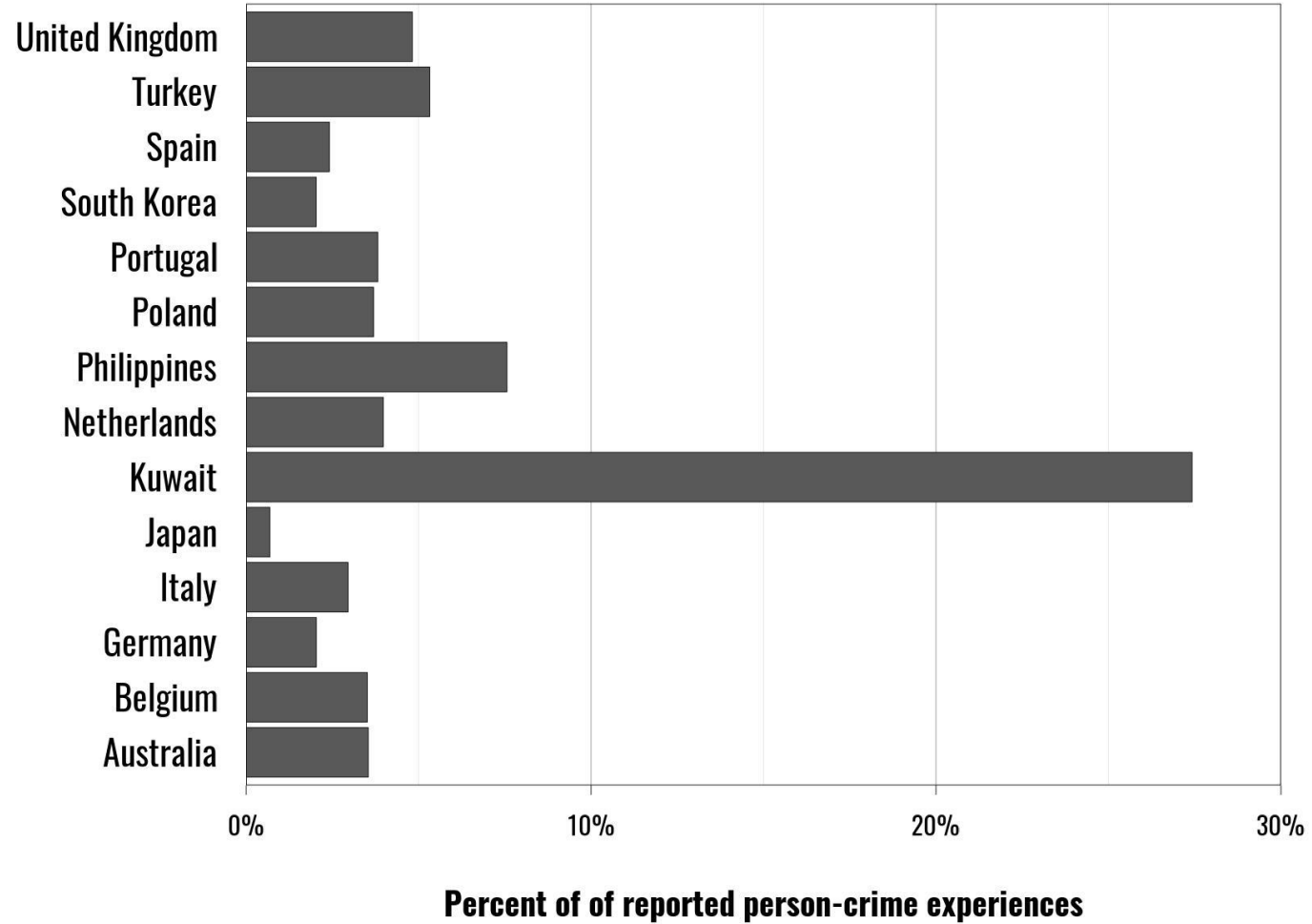
Income Bracket



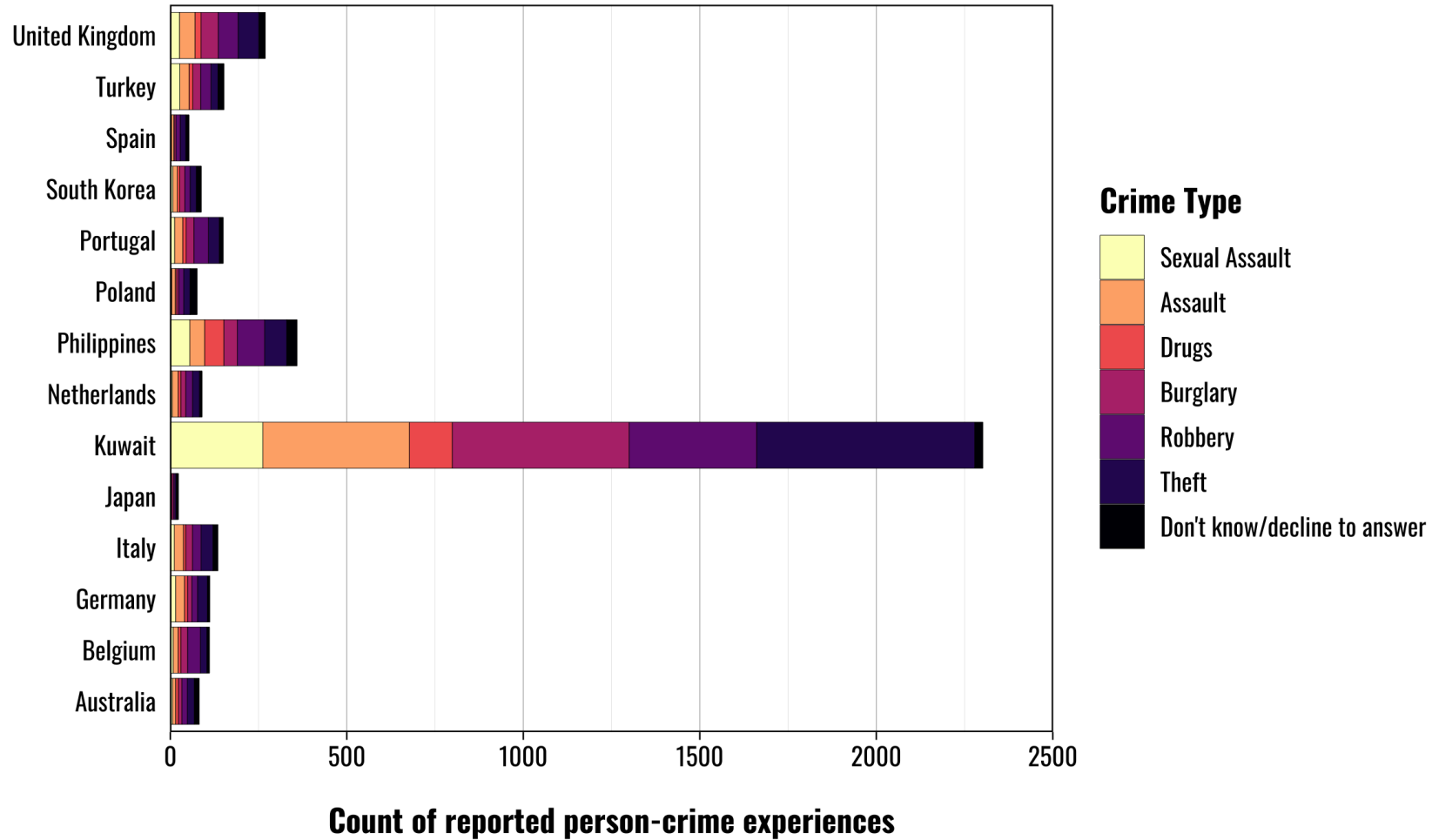
Minority Self-Identification



Reported Experiences of Crime Committed by US Service Personnel



Reported Experiences with Crime Involving US Service Personnel



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