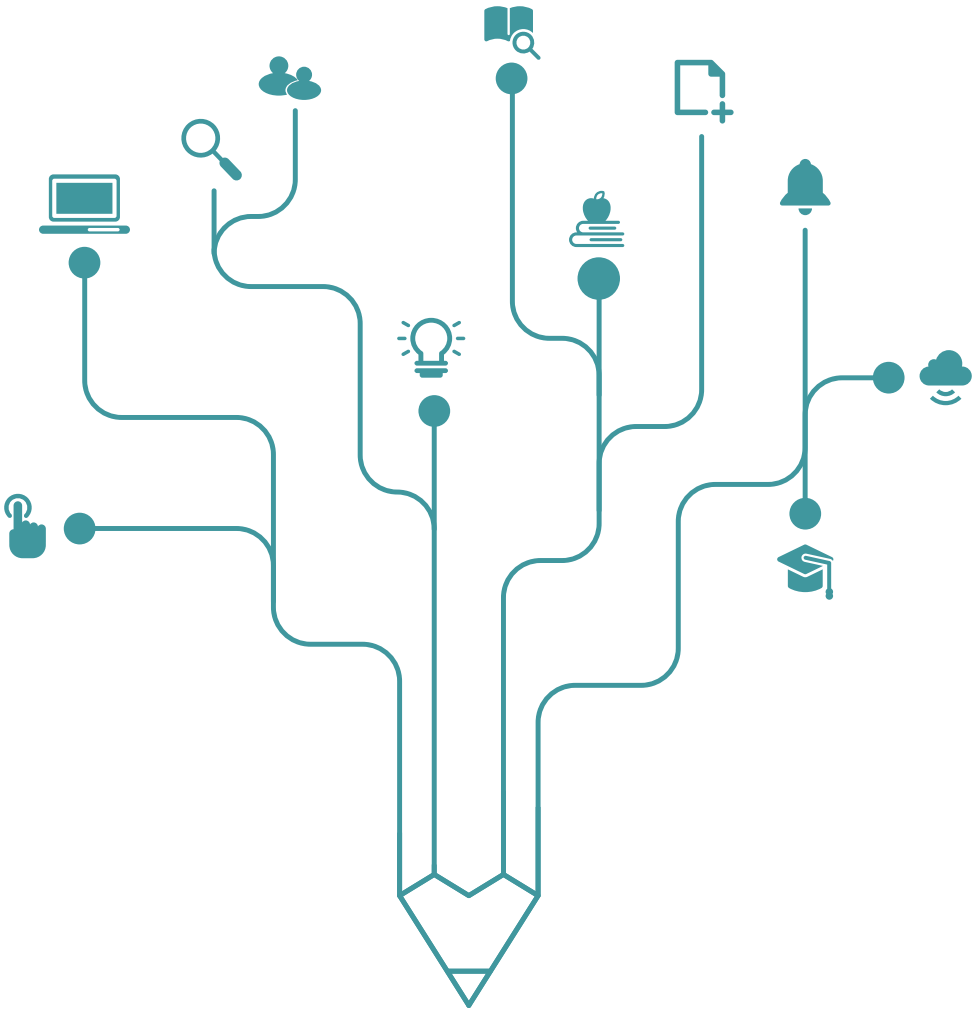


A Comprehensive Study of National Image

Inbok Rhee (KDI School of Public Policy and Management)



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Abstract

How does information about country characteristics affect cultivating positive national image in the context of public diplomacy projects? The successful implementation of foreign policy projects that aim to gain the "hearts and minds" of the public in a target country requires a proper understanding of public support of these projects within the target country. While billions of dollars are expended in the name of public diplomacy, empirical research examining the effects of such projects are rare. Using an original large scale survey project and embedded conjoint experiment design covering 12 countries and over 17,000 respondents, we investigate the public views towards foreign policy projects that aim to gain the "hearts and minds" of the public in a foreign country. We find, contrary to conventional expectations, that reputational attributes, such as respect for minority rights or emergency relief efforts, exert greater influence than economic or cultural attributes. Moreover, such effects varies widely across countries and by country characteristics.

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1 Introduction

In the fiscal year 2018, the United States spent \$ 2.19 billion in overall public diplomacy budget, supporting wide-ranging programs, such as exchange programs, Twitter and YouTube digital engagements, or broadcasting, which are "crucial for maintaining and growing U.S influence abroad" (Walker and Baxter 2019, p 22).¹ The idea of public diplomacy - communicating directly to foreign audience in order to cultivate positive image and gain greater influence became increasingly popular in the recent years (Goldsmith and Horiuchi, 2009). Broadly rooted in the idea of soft power as argued by Nye (2004), the proponents of public diplomacy assert that various engagements can help influence foreign public to have a more positive view about a sender country, and thereby increase the level of the sender's soft power.

Yet the empirical evidence for the usefulness - let alone the effectiveness - of public diplomacy is scant at best. Does public diplomacy efforts actually matter? Specifically, given that foreign public would form their opinion about different countries based on various information through pre-existing interchanges, how would such country characteristics affect the formation of national image in the eyes of foreign public? Despite the growing attention paid by governments around the world and the increasing amount of resource put into the idea of public diplomacy, the effects of public diplomacy on foreign public opinion have rarely been examined in systematic empirical research (Goldsmith and Horiuchi, 2009). In cases they are evaluated using empirical data, they tend to be often confined to a specific type of public diplomacy effort, such as high level state visits (e.g. Goldsmith and Horiuchi, 2009; Cohen, 2016; Lebovic and Saunders, 2016), or tend to be about specific channels such as the messenger effects (e.g. Schatz and Levine, 2010; Gravelle, 2018) - leaving out the vast chunk of public diplomacy efforts.

In this paper, we attempt to examine the impact of public diplomacy on public opinion from

¹Walker, Vivian S. and Shwan Baxter (2019) Comprehensive Annual Report on Public Diplomacy and International Broadcasting: Focus On FY 2018 Budget Data", United States Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, United States Department of State. (<https://www.state.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/2019-ACPD-Annual-Report.pdf>, accessed Feb 5, 2021)

multiple countries by conducting an original conjoint survey experiment. By using a novel survey data from 12 countries and covering more than 17,000 respondents, we construct present what we believe is the first ever cross-national causal estimates of public diplomacy efforts. We report a number of important findings. First, we show that the impact of public diplomacy projects are heavily influenced by the international reputation of the sender country. While variables capturing economic interests and ties or cultural influence also turned out to be important determinants of positive perceptions for a sender country, the magnitude of such variables were smaller than those which capture positive humanitarian values. Second, we also show that such effects are heterogeneous across different countries in the sample, and such differences are likely to originate from the characteristics of the target countries, such as their levels of economic development or quality of democracy. Finally, moving from the country-level to individual-level analysis, we also highlight a number of heterogeneous effects based on individual level characteristics including the respondents' socioeconomic characteristics, other-regardingness, perspectives on international relations, or perspectives on development.

2 Existing Literature

Why do countries spend valuable resources in public diplomacy projects? As Nye (2004) argued greater attractiveness can help gain higher levels of public support in foreign countries, which in turn can help a country obtain the outcomes that they want in the world. This idea, based on the concept of soft power, as "the ability to shape the preference of others" through attraction rather than means of sanctions or material incentives, have gained popularity in the recent years. Empirical research shows that indeed public opinion matters for foreign policy. For example, in their influential work, Goldsmith and Horiuchi (2012) argue and provides empirical evidence that public opinion about the US foreign policy matters when countries make decision on issues of importance to the US. Especially in the context of foreign aid, we have growing evidence that aid beneficiaries can exhibit greater levels of support for their donor countries (e.g. Dietrich, Mahmud,

and Winters, 2018; Goldsmith, Horiuchi, and Wood, 2014)

Empirical research on the impact of public diplomacy projects - arguably another important policy instrument for pursuing soft power - is scant at best. On the one hand, there are studies that examine the impact of high level diplomat or presidential visits to other countries which generally tends to find positive impact of such visits (e.g. Goldsmith and Horiuchi, 2009; Cohen, 2016; Lebovic and Saunders, 2016). Others have examined the messenger effects, i.e. how certain policy relevant messages are perceived depending on whether the messenger was unnamed, was a journalist, a politician, or a president, and so on (e.g. Schatz and Levine, 2010; Gravelle, 2018).

However, as Goldsmith, Horiuchi, and Matush (N.d.) argue in their study of the impact of high level visits across multiple countries using a regression discontinuity design, while these studies help us understand about the impact of specific types or aspects of public diplomacy activities, our understandings more broadly about the effects of public diplomacy projects are limited for a number of reasons. First, even with the most widely studies type of public diplomacy effort - namely, high level state visits - the results may be prone to unknown biases due to many confounding factors. Second, survey experiments which manipulate specific messages or messengers can easily suffer from a lack of external validity as they may depart quite a lot from a real world setting with competing messages and other noise. Third, many of the existing studies specifically focus on the United States or other single country cases, which limits our ability to infer the general effectiveness of public policy.

3 Our Approach

Considering these limitations, we design a novel conjoint survey experiment that can help provide a more comprehensive picture about the effectiveness of public diplomacy efforts. Our approach makes a number of distinct innovations compared to the existing studies. First, in line with Goldsmith, Horiuchi, and Matush (N.d.)'s list of criticisms for the existing literature, we overcome the issue of confounds in the observational studies by using the conjoint experimental framework, and

provide causal estimates for the impact of different attributes and their levels that we consider in our design as will be explained in the next section. Moreover, in doing so, we consider a holistic package of attributes that various existing literature considers such that we can provide a more complete picture of the factors that influence the positive perception of a given country in the context of public diplomacy projects by experimentally manipulating a number of different sender country characteristics in the context of public diplomacy. In addition, we also present a more realistic scenario to the respondents by providing the respondents with a competing country profiles, such that they have to consider any trade-offs that may arise from the choices that they make based on the combination of attributes and profiles presented to them. Finally, we conduct our conjoint survey experiment in twelve different countries with nationally representative samples. This allows us to not only overcome the potential limitations of single country studies, but also exploit the variations across different countries.

In particular, by focusing on not just the public diplomacy projects themselves but the characteristics of the sender countries, we make improvements upon the existing literature. Studies such as those which examines the impact of high level visits by either comparing the cases with and without the visits (Goldsmith and Horiuchi, 2009; Cohen, 2016; Lebovic and Saunders, 2016), or immediately before and after the visits (Goldsmith, Horiuchi, and Matush, N.d.) can provide an interesting picture for the immediate short term impact of this particular type of public diplomacy effort. Yet, people typically consider not just the factors specific to the public diplomacy project in question, but often consider more generally the sender country's characteristics, such as the longer term relationship between the sender and target country, or the sender country's general international reputation, when updating their preference about the sender. For example, in their study of the impact of Israeli public diplomacy efforts during the war in Gaza in 2008-2009, Sheaffer et al. (2014) show that the messaging effort by the Israelis was conditioned by the relative homophily between the target country and Israel. Likewise, by presenting the sender country information as part of the overall information package to the respondent and additionally considering the un-

derlying sender country characteristics, our design allows us to not only consider the immediate impact of the public diplomacy project themselves, but also the impact of the arguably more sticky international reputation of a given sender country.

Moreover, exploiting our survey design, we are also able to test for some of the existing expectations about the influence of individual-level characteristics in the preference for public diplomacy projects. For example, existing research shows that the impact of US foreign aid may in some cases improve, and while in other cases hurt the attitudes towards the United States, depending on the individual characteristics such as partisanship (Tokdemir, 2017) or religiosity (Ciftci and Tezcür, 2016). By asking a number of questions relating to individual respondents' socioeconomic characteristics, other-regardingness, perspectives on international relations, and perspectives on development, we are able to consider some important expectations about the heterogeneity in the impact of the public diplomacy and country characteristics attributes that we present to our respondents.

Finally, we consider not only the simple choice between two country profiles as our dependent variable, but also how the given profiles would fare in the mind of the respondents in terms of how much they may help with diplomatic or economic relations. These alternative dependent variable specifications allow us to consider how the same attribute may exert differential influence depending on whether the respondent is primed to think about diplomacy or economics, and thus help us to explore different causal mechanisms.

3.1 Design

For the conjoint experiment design, we incorporate seven attributes that can capture some of the most important characteristics that respondents may use in evaluating their preference for a given country's image. First, economic interests may be one of the most crucial factors in determining a positive image for a given country. To parsimoniously capture the levels of economic ties in our experimental treatments we consider three different attributes, namely *Trade Relations*, *Tourism*, and *Foreign Direct Investments (FDI)*. In both cases, we consider two different levels essentially

corresponding to a high and low level, i.e., "*The country imports and exports [large/small] amounts with your country*" or "*[Many/Some] people in the country consider your country as one of the principal tourist destinations.*", where the text denoted in boldface were randomly presented to the respondent. For the FDI attribute, we vary the sector in which the sender country is known to invest and its potential benefits. Specifically we state either that "*The country has been a major investor in high-technology sector, facilitating technology transfer in your country.*" or that "*The country has been a major investor in manufacturing sector, contributing to employment creation in your country.*"

Second, we also consider culture as another important dimension that respondents may use in determining their sentiment towards a given country, and include two attributes, namely *Pop Culture* and *Cultural Exchanges*. As Nye (2008) argues, pop culture, by directly influencing the foreign public via movies, music, TV shows, and others, can serve as an important instrument of public diplomacy. We convey the popularity of the sender country's pop culture using the following text: "*[Many/Some] people in your country as well as worldwide have been actively following the countrys pop culture.*" In addition, we capture the intensity of cultural exchanges by providing the text that states, "*In addition to the embassy, the country operates cultural centers to actively promote its culture and engagement by holding various events and exhibitions.*" as opposed to the baseline category which reads, "*The countrys embassy actively promotes its culture and engagement by holding various events and exhibitions.*" As now more than thirty countries ranging from Nigeria to the Netherlands operate various forms of culture centers around the world,² including five out of the twelve countries in our sample,³ this addition of cultural centers seem to provide a realistic representation of sender country's intensity of effort in cultural public diplomacy.

Third, we also consider how a sender country's humanitarian reputation may influence how

²Academy for Cultural Diplomacy, "Governmental Institutions dedicated to Cultural Diplomacy" (Accessed Feb 5, 2021, <https://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/academy/index.php?governmental-institutions-dedicated-to-cultural-diplomacy>)

³These are: Japan, Australia, China, South Korea, and the United States

people perceive of the sender country's image in the context of public diplomacy. To incorporate this dimension we consider two attributes, namely *Respect for Minority Rights* and *Emergency international disaster reliefs*. In the former, we present the respondents with an information about the sender countries reputation in the international community regarding its treatment or discrimination of minorities in the country. Specifically, we mention in regards to "Respect for minority rights (gender, race, sexual orientation, etc.)" the following: "*The international community has [raised concerns about discrimination against minorities in the country. ranked the country as one of the top countries in fair treatment toward minorities]*". In the latter, we present the respondents with the following information with again the boldfaced part randomly varied: "*The country has donated [small/large] amounts in terms of its share of GDP for various global disaster assistance efforts.*"

A summary of these attributes and their levels is presented in Table 1. The information in Table 1 was organized in the manner presented in Figure 1 in which the levels of each of the attributes were randomly displayed for the respondents following the conjoint experimental design proposed by Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto (2014). The respondents were presented with a pair of country profiles for a total of five times. Each time they were asked a number of follow up questions as presented in Figure 2. In particular, in addition to the conventional forced choice question (i.e. "*Which of the above two countries do you think has a more positive image?*") and a likert-scale question (i.e. "*How positive or negative do you think each country's image is?*") as suggested by Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto (2014) we also consider a number of alternative dependent variable specifications as will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

3.2 Data and Estimation Strategy

We implemented our survey via Qualtrics and collected data using the Qualtrics panel across twelve different countries during the period of March to June of 2022. Countries were chosen from around the Asia-Pacific region with considerations for the levels of internet penetration given that the

Attributes and Levels
<i>Attribute: Cultural exchanges</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The country's embassy actively promotes its culture and engagement by holding various events and exhibitions. - In addition to the embassy, the country operates cultural centers to actively promote its culture and engagement by holding various events and exhibitions.
<i>Attribute: Trade relations</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The country imports and exports small amounts with your country. - The country imports and exports large amounts with your country.
<i>Attribute: Emergency international disaster reliefs</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The country has donated small amounts in terms of its share of GDP for various global disaster assistance efforts. - The country has donated large amounts in terms of its share of GDP for various global disaster assistance efforts.
<i>Attribute: Tourism</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Some people in the country consider your country as one of the principal tourist destinations. - Many people in the country consider your country as one of the principal tourist destinations.
<i>Attribute: Respect for minority rights (gender, race, sexual orientation, etc.)</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The international community has raised concerns about discrimination against minorities in the country. - The international community has ranked the country as one of the top countries in fair treatment toward minorities.
<i>Attribute: Foreign Direct Investments (FDI)</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The country has been a major investor in high-technology sector, facilitating technology transfer in your country. - The country has been a major investor in manufacturing sector, contributing to employment creation in your country.
<i>Attribute: Pop culture (e.g. movies, music, TV shows, etc.)</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Many people in your country as well as worldwide have been actively following the country's pop culture. - Some people in your country have been actively following the country's pop culture.

Table 1: Attributes and Levels in the Conjoint Experiment

In this section, you will be presented with the hypothetical characteristics of two countries.

Please carefully review the characteristics below, and answer the following questions. We will repeat this exercise five times.

Country A	Country B
Foreign Direct Investments (FDI): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The country has been a major investor in high-technology sector, facilitating technology transfer in your country. 	Foreign Direct Investments (FDI): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The country has been a major investor in high-technology sector, facilitating technology transfer in your country.
Pop culture (e.g. movies, music, TV shows, etc.): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many people in your country as well as worldwide 	Pop culture (e.g. movies, music, TV shows, etc.): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some people in your country have been actively following the country's pop culture.
Emergency international disaster reliefs: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The country has donated large amounts in terms of its share of GDP for various global disaster assistance efforts. 	Emergency international disaster reliefs: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The country has donated large amounts in terms of its share of GDP for various global disaster assistance efforts.
Tourism: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some people in the country consider your country as one of the principal tourist destinations. 	Tourism: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some people in the country consider your country as one of the principal tourist destinations.
Respect for minority rights (gender, race, sexual orientation, etc.): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The international community has ranked the country as one of the top countries in fair treatment toward minorities. 	Respect for minority rights (gender, race, sexual orientation, etc.): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The international community has ranked the country as one of the top countries in fair treatment toward minorities.
Trade relations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The country imports and exports small amounts with your country. 	Trade relations: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The country imports and exports small amounts with your country.
Cultural exchanges: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In addition to the embassy, the country operates cultural centers to actively promote its culture and engagement by holding various events and exhibitions. 	Cultural exchanges: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The country's embassy actively promotes its culture and engagement by holding various events and exhibitions.

Figure 1: Screen shot of an example profile comparison task

Which of the above two countries do you think has a more positive image?

Country A	Country B
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How positive or negative do you think each country's image is?

	Very Negative	Somewhat Negative	Neutral	Somewhat Positive	Very Positive
Country A	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Country B	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

If you had to allocate a total of 10 points based on how much you prefer each of the countries, how would you divide the points between the two?

Country A	<input type="text" value="0"/>	Points
Country B	<input type="text" value="0"/>	Points
Total	<input type="text" value="0"/>	Points

Figure 2: Screen shot of an example questions for choice and preference

Country	Observations
Australia	1,556
China	2,034
Indonesia	1,448
Japan	2,206
South Korea	2,924
Malaysia	1,473
New Zealand	1,585
Philippines	1,585
Singapore	1,510
Thailand	1,465
United States	1,588
Vietnam	1,387

Table 2: Sample countries and the number of observations

survey was fielded online. The sample were targeted to be nationally representative in terms of age and gender for all countries. While the initial goal for data collection was to reach a sample size of a minimum of 1,200 observations, the final sample size ended up varying somewhat substantially across the different countries, as the surveys were open for different durations and the speed at which the number of observations collected varied across the different country contexts. The resulting mean number of respondents across the twelve countries is 1,730.083. The list of all countries in the sample as well as the number of observations per each are depicted in Table 2.

As the levels of different attributes are randomly presented to the different respondents, we employ a linear regression model with the standard errors clustered by the individual respondents in order to derive the average marginal component effect (AMCE) as suggested by Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto (2014) using the seven different attributes in our model as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
\text{Selected}_{ijk} = & \theta_0 + \theta_1 \text{Trade}_{ijk} + \theta_2 \text{Tourism}_{ijk} + \theta_3 \text{FDI}_{ijk} \\
& + \theta_4 \text{Pop Culture}_{ijk} + \theta_5 \text{Cultural Exchanges}_{ijk} \\
& + \theta_6 \text{Minority Rights}_{ijk} + \theta_7 \text{Emergency Relief}_{ijk} + \epsilon_{ijk}
\end{aligned}$$

where each respondents index by i is presented with k tasks, and in each of the tasks the respondents chooses the most preferred of the j of alternatives.

4 Results and Discussion

4.1 Main AMCE Results

Figure 3 shows the results from our main test using a pooled sample of all twelve countries combined. For the dependent variable, we are using a dichotomous coding based on the question, "*Which of the above two countries do you think has a more positive image*", where 1 indicates the respondent selected the given country, and 0 otherwise. A number of notable findings stand out. First, we notice that attributes related to a country's humanitarian reputation exerts important influence over whether a country is chosen as the one with a more positive image. For example, on the third row, we can see that the attribute that captures *Respect for Minority Rights* has the largest impact on positive perception of a country compared to all the other attributes. Given that the dependent variable is coded between zero and one, the coefficient on the attributes indicate that a country with high respect for minority rights is 12 percentage points more likely to have a more positive image than a country with worrisome record regarding minority rights. Similarly, on the sixth row, we see that donating large as opposed to small amounts in terms of its share of GDP for various global disaster assistance efforts is associated with about 6 percentage points greater likelihood for a more positive image.

Second, while the magnitude of the effects are smaller than those compared to the reputation attributes examined above, attributes that capture economic ties and potential benefits which are conventionally considered as important determinants of preference for public diplomacy and the resulting positive image of a country are found also to be positively associated with a more positive image. On the first row, for example, we see that a country imports and exports large, as opposed to small amounts, with the respondents' country is also about 6 percentage points more likely to have a more positive image. Likewise, on the second row, when the sender country is likely to produce

many tourists visits to the target country, the respondents are about 3.5 percentage points more likely to have a more positive image of the sender. In this pooled sample analysis, we also see that the respondents on average are more likely to prefer foreign direct investments in manufacturing compared to high-tech industry.

Third, another sets of attributes often considered as a critical component of public diplomacy - culture - tends to be also important, albeit with a smaller magnitude of influence. For example, having an influential pop culture exerts about the same level of impact as having many tourists, whereas actively engaging in cultural exchanges through both the embassy and cultural centers trails behind it.

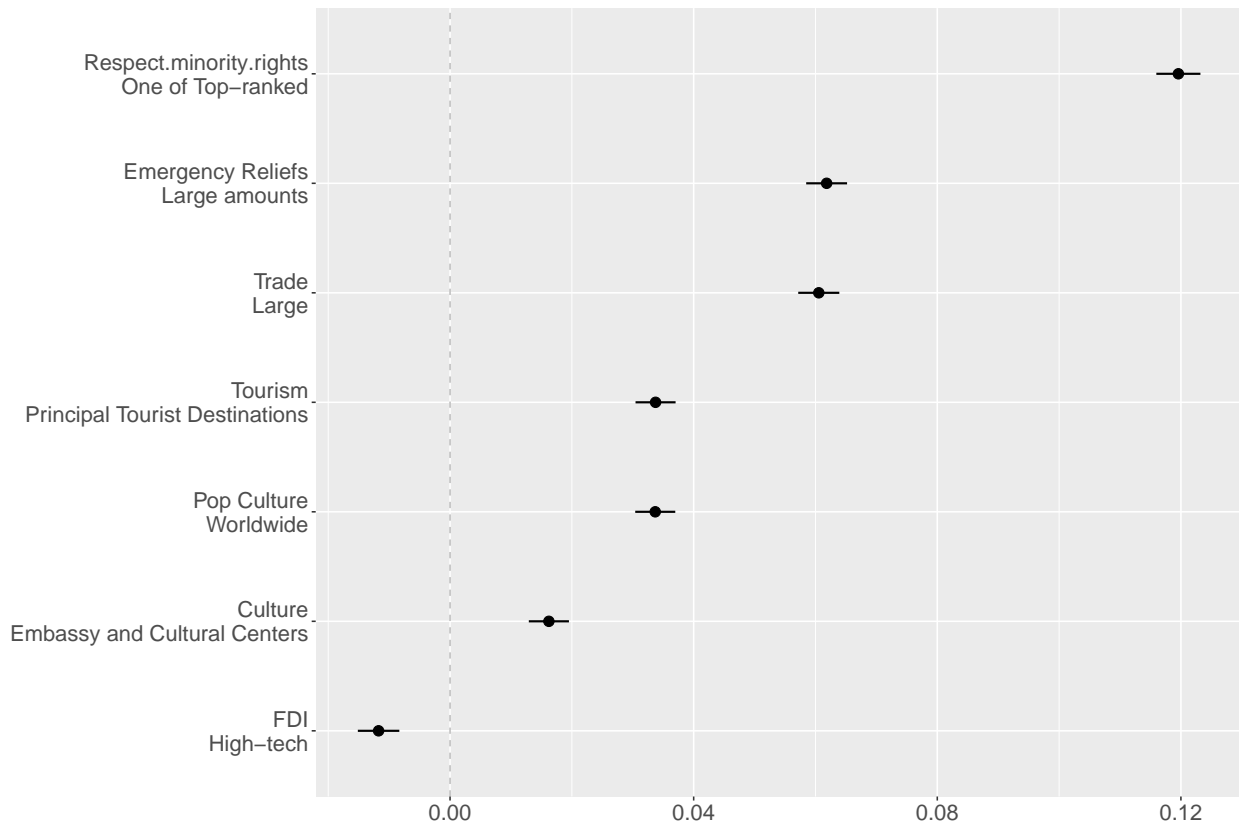


Figure 3: ACME for Pooled Results: Selected

4.2 AMCE Using Alternative Dependent Variables

In this section, we visit the results for the main AMCE analysis using alternative dependent variables. In addition to the conventional dichotomous dependent variable forcing the respondents to choose which country profile they prefer, we asked a number of questions intended to capture alternative specification for our dependent variables including 1) how positive or negative the respondent thinks each country's image is, 2) how likely the respondents chosen project is to help the diplomatic relations with the sender country, 3) how likely the respondents chosen project is to help the economic cooperations with the sender country, and 4) how likely the respondents chosen project is to help the respondents see the sender country as a preferred mediator if the respondent's country seeks a diplomatic resolution of international disputes.

First, in Figure 4, we see that there are no substantive difference between the earlier outcome using the dichotomous selection as the dependent variable as reported in Figure 3, and the results from using a five-point likert scale on each country's image which goes from "Very Negative", "Somewhat Negative", "Neutral", "Somewhat Positive", and "Very Positive". Other than the difference in the magnitude of the coefficients which can be explained by the difference in the scale of the two different dependent variables, the rank order of each of the attributes for their influence on positive image remains unchanged.

When considering the impact on diplomatic relations, however, we see some differences emerge. In particular, as Figure 5 shows, first, the sign of the coefficient changed for the attribute capturing greater foreign direct investment in the high-tech industry as opposed to the manufacturing sector. Moreover, unlike for the dichotomous selection dependent variable, respondents seem to be indifferent between the amount of effort captured via the attribute on cultural exchanges. Finally the relative magnitude of the reputation attributes, namely respect for minority rights and emergency relief contributions tend to be somewhat larger in comparison to the economic interest attribute such as trade relations.

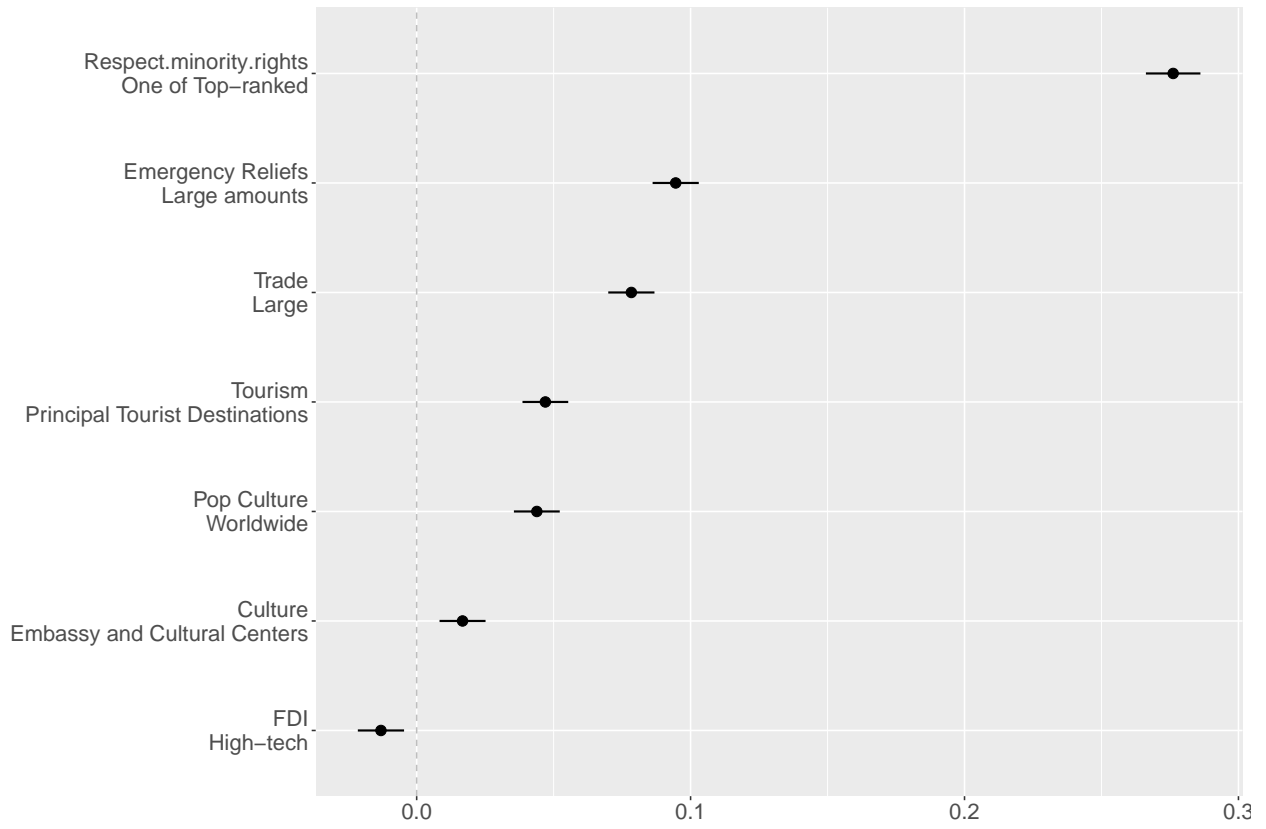


Figure 4: ACME for Pooled Results: Support

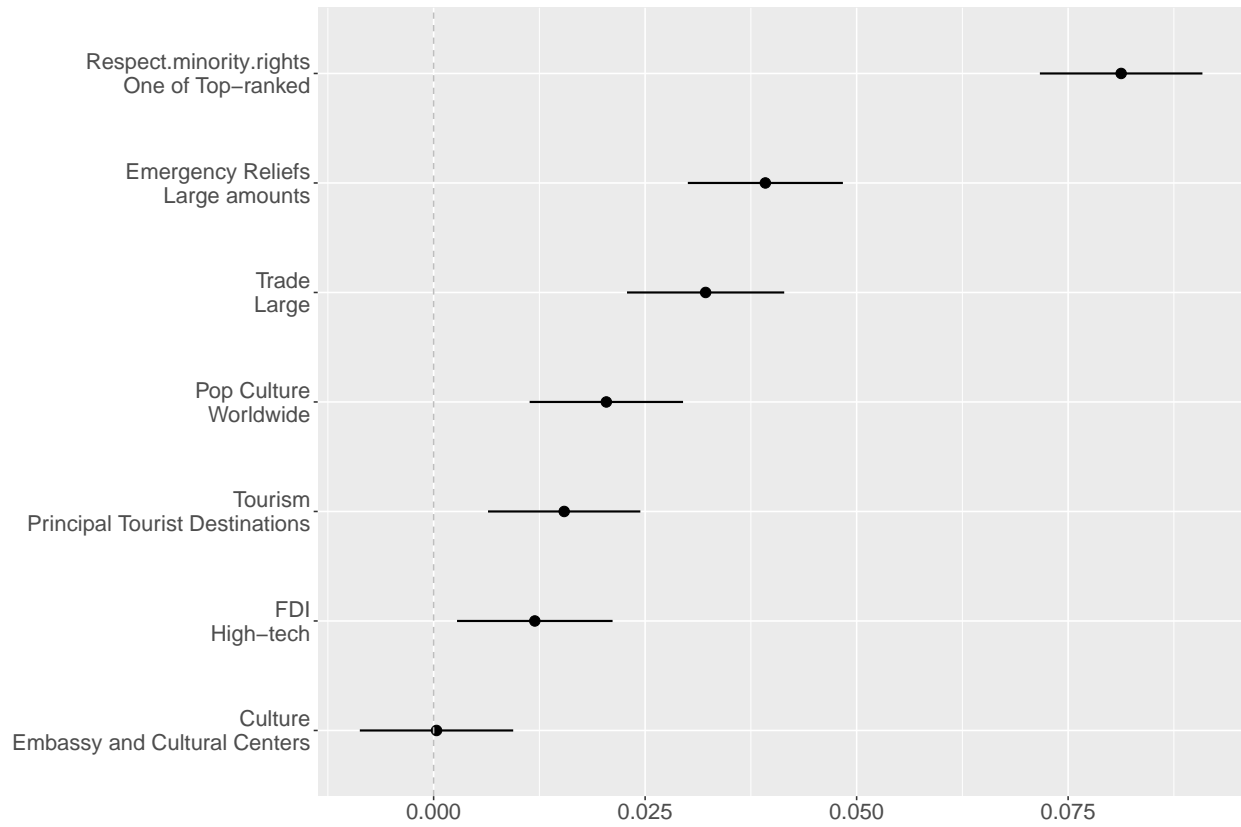


Figure 5: ACME for Pooled Results: Help Diplomatic Relations

In contrast, when considering the impact on economic cooperation (Figure 6), respondents seem to be indifferent between the different levels of, not only the cultural exchange attribute but also the foreign direct investment attribute. On the other hand, in comparison to the diplomatic relations consideration, we can see that respondents place more emphasis on trade and tourism, relative to emergency relief or pop culture.

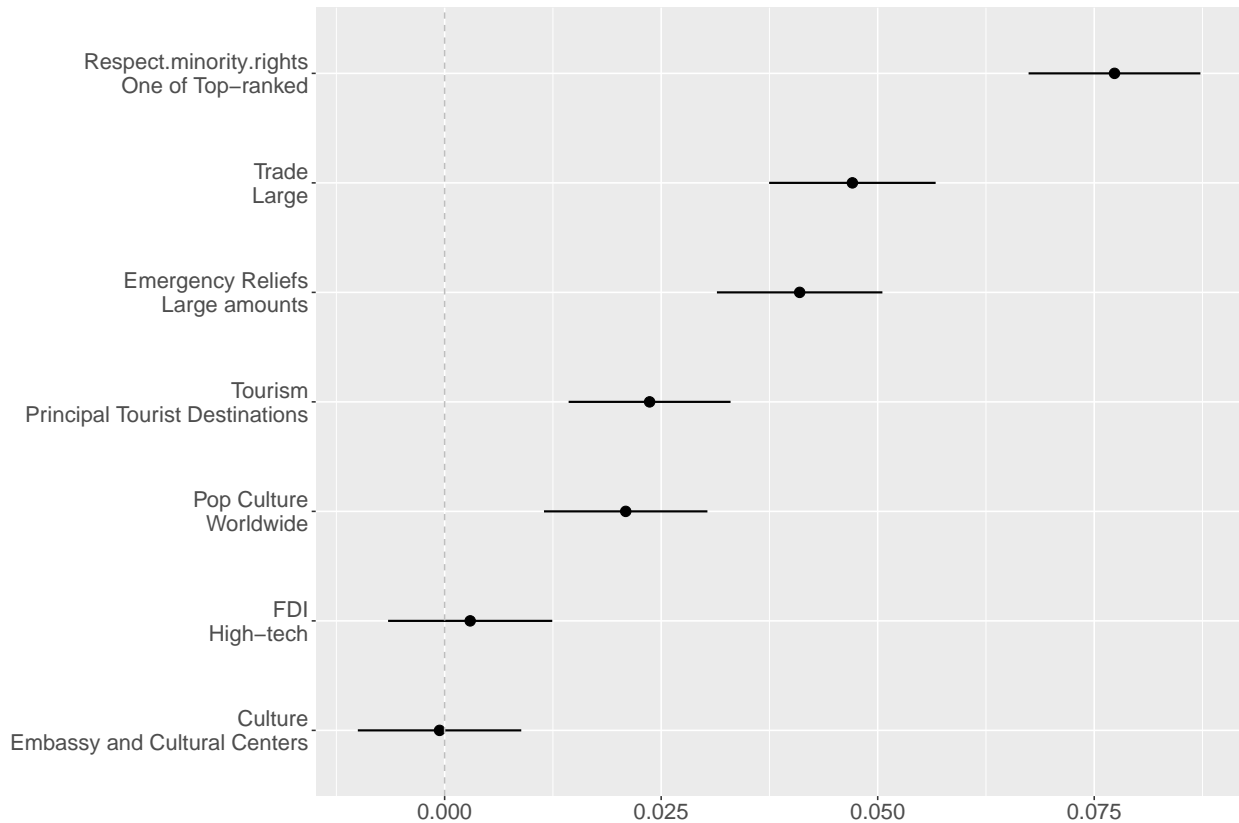


Figure 6: ACME for Pooled Results: Help Economic Cooperation

Finally, when we ask the respondents about their preferred mediator in case of a diplomatic resolution of international disputes based on the public diplomacy sender country profile that they saw, we do not see any statistically significant differences across the different attributes except for the tourism attribute (Figure 7). This may be an indication that what people consider as important traits in determining support for some country or in their assessment for a country's utility in helping diplomatic relations or economic cooperation, are dramatically different when considering

who can be an effective mediator.

While not statistically significant at the conventional 95% level, we still see that the respondents are about 0.08 percentage point less likely to prefer a sender country in which many people consider the respondents' country as one of their principal tourist destinations in comparison to a sender country in which only some people consider the respondents' country as one of their principal tourist destinations. We suspect that this may be due to some aliasing of country characteristics where the respondents are potentially inferring other information about the sender country based on the tourism cue and that such aliasing effect may be more prone in the respondents from certain countries than others - we revisit this issue when we consider the heterogeneity in the impact of our conjoint experimental cues by different countries below.

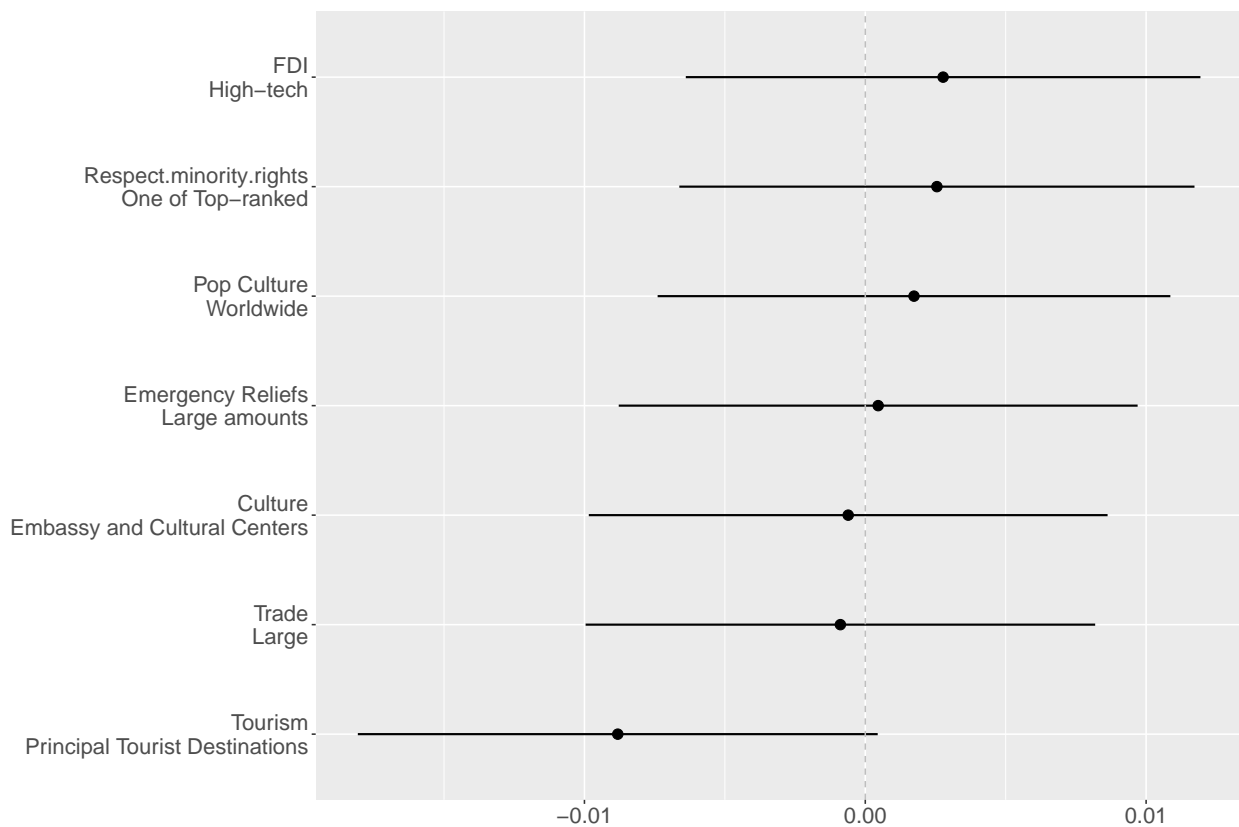


Figure 7: ACME for Pooled Results: Preferred as Mediator

4.3 Individual Level Heterogeneity

Finally, moving from the macro-level cross-country comparisons down to the micro-level individual comparisons, we consider a number of different individual level characteristics that may influence the impact of different attributes for the preference related to public diplomacy projects. While there are many different aspects of individual level characteristics that we could consider, here we can strain our heterogeneity analysis to the following four sets of individual characteristics: socioeconomic characteristics, other regarding this, perspective on international relations, and perspective on development.

4.3.1 By Socio-economic Characteristics

First, Figure 8 shows that there are not much difference in preference between male and female respondents, except for in foreign investment attribute: female respondents disproportionately prefer investments in manufacturing more than male respondents. While there seem to be also some differences between the male and female respondents for attributes, such as trade, respect for minority rights, and pop culture, such differences or not statistically significant add a conventional 95% level.

Such pattern, however, disappears when we consider the help with diplomatic relationship, or economic cooperation, as dependent variables (see Figure 9 and Figure 10). Most notable notably, whereas female tend to prefer minority rights more than male in the selection model, In both models with the old turn it to depend available specification, male respondents tend to have a stronger preference for respect for minority rights compared to the female respondents. Moreover, the gender difference for foreign direct investment preference, disappears in these alternative specifications.

Second, in Figure 11, we show the difference in the point estimates of the different attributes divided by the respondents employment status. Here we see that those who are unemployed or more likely to have stronger preferences for attributes such as respect for minority rights, trade,

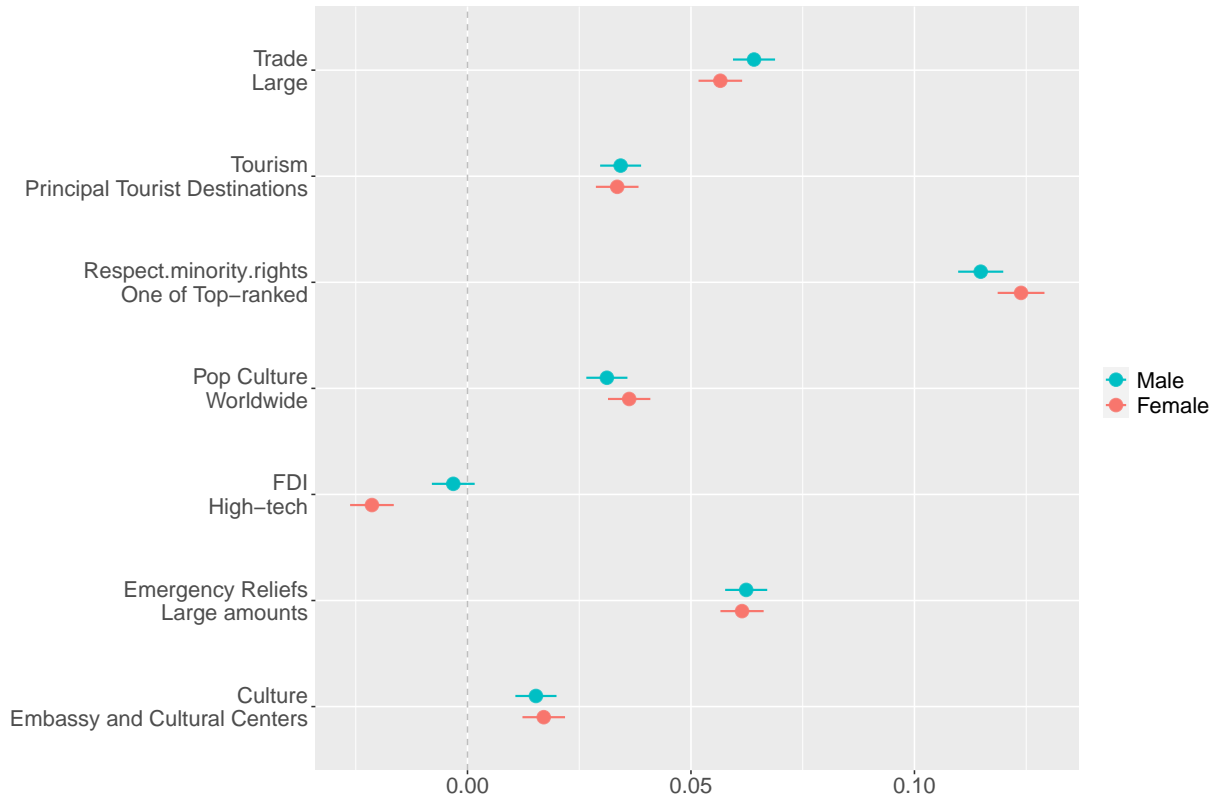


Figure 8: ACME for Pooled Results: Heterogeneity by Gender with positive national image as Dependent Variable

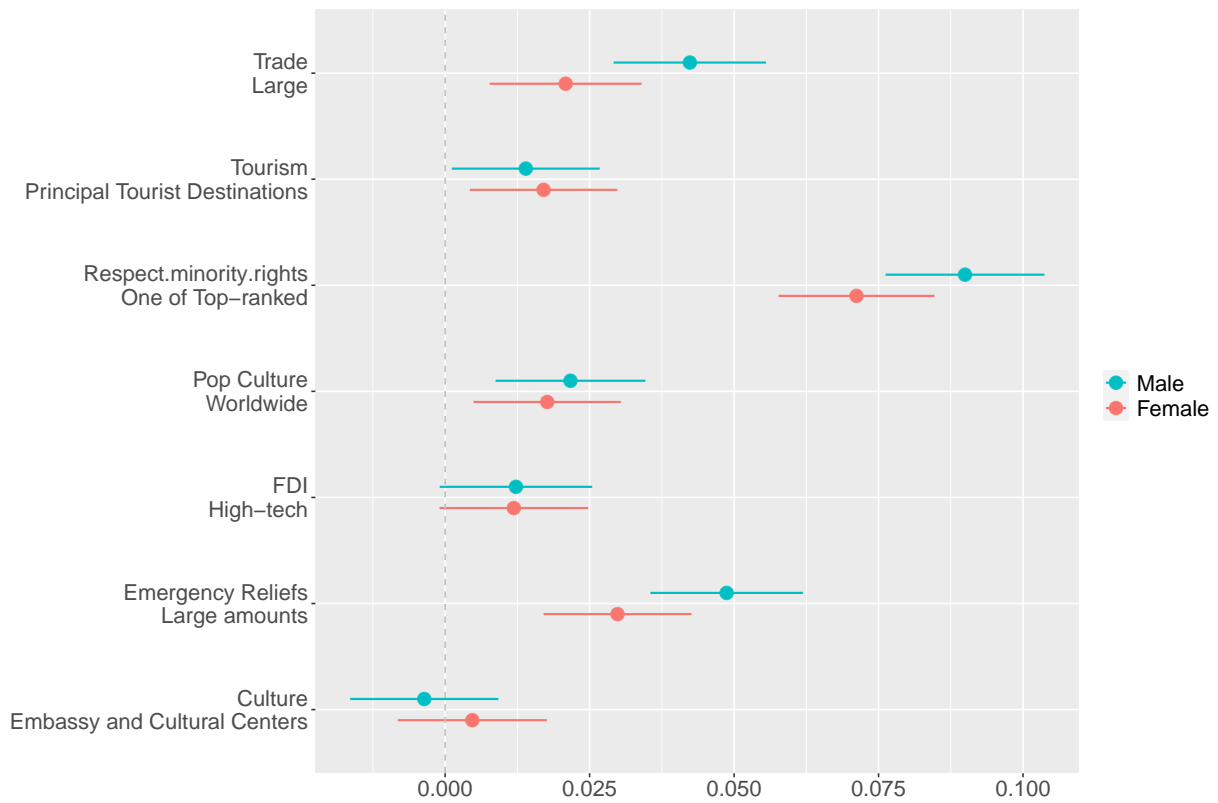


Figure 9: ACME for Pooled Results: Heterogeneity by Gender with help with diplomatic relationship as Dependent Variable

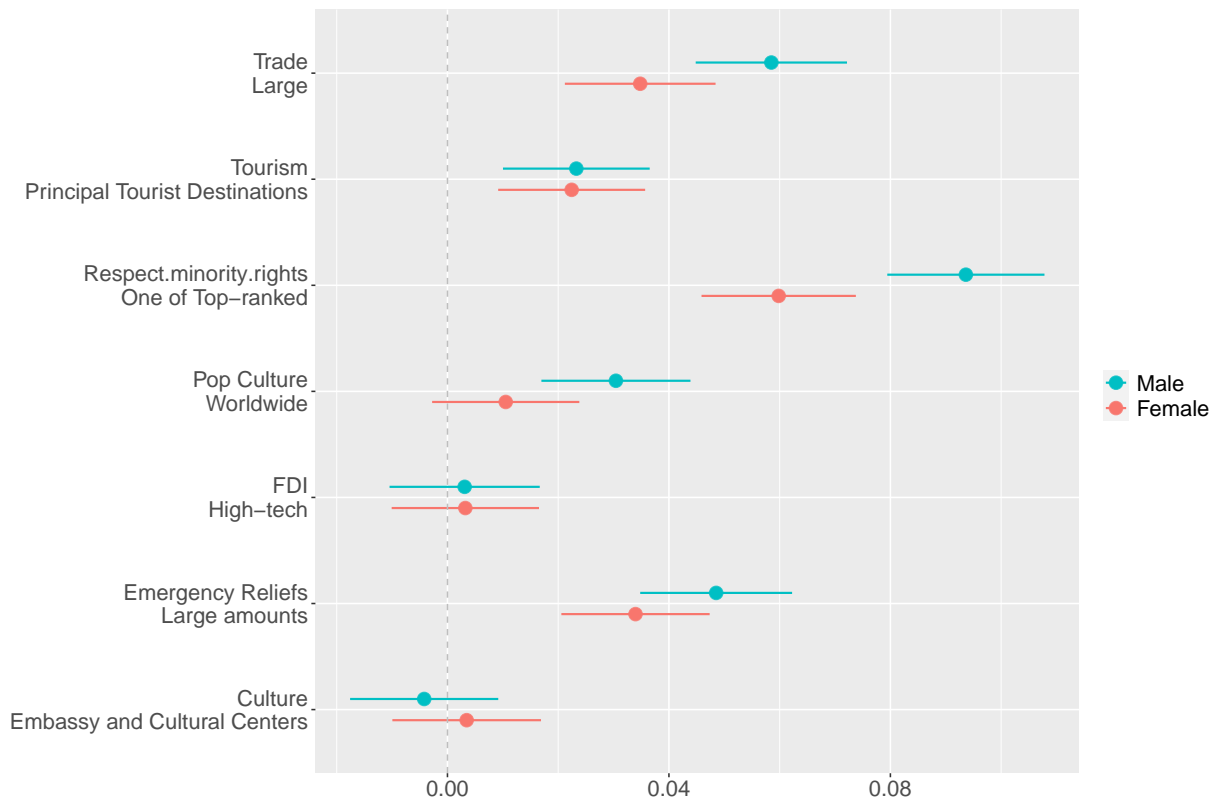


Figure 10: ACME for Pooled Results: Heterogeneity by Gender with help with economic cooperation as Dependent Variable

emergency relief donations, and tourism. Such overall patterns hold when we consider the alternative dependent variables for diplomatic relationship and economic cooperation (results not shown here).



Figure 11: ACME for Pooled Results: Heterogeneity by Employment with positive national image as Dependent Variable

Third, Figure 12 indicates that those with no religion are more likely to have stronger preference for respect for minority rights and trade, and though to a lesser extent with lower levels of statistical significance, emergency relief, and pop culture. As with the sub-group analysis using employment status above, these patterns also hold when we consider diplomatic or economic relations as the dependent variable (results not shown here).

Finally, in Figure 13, we see that the levels of educational attainment, as measured by the possession of educational degrees, have a strong heterogeneous influence over the point estimates

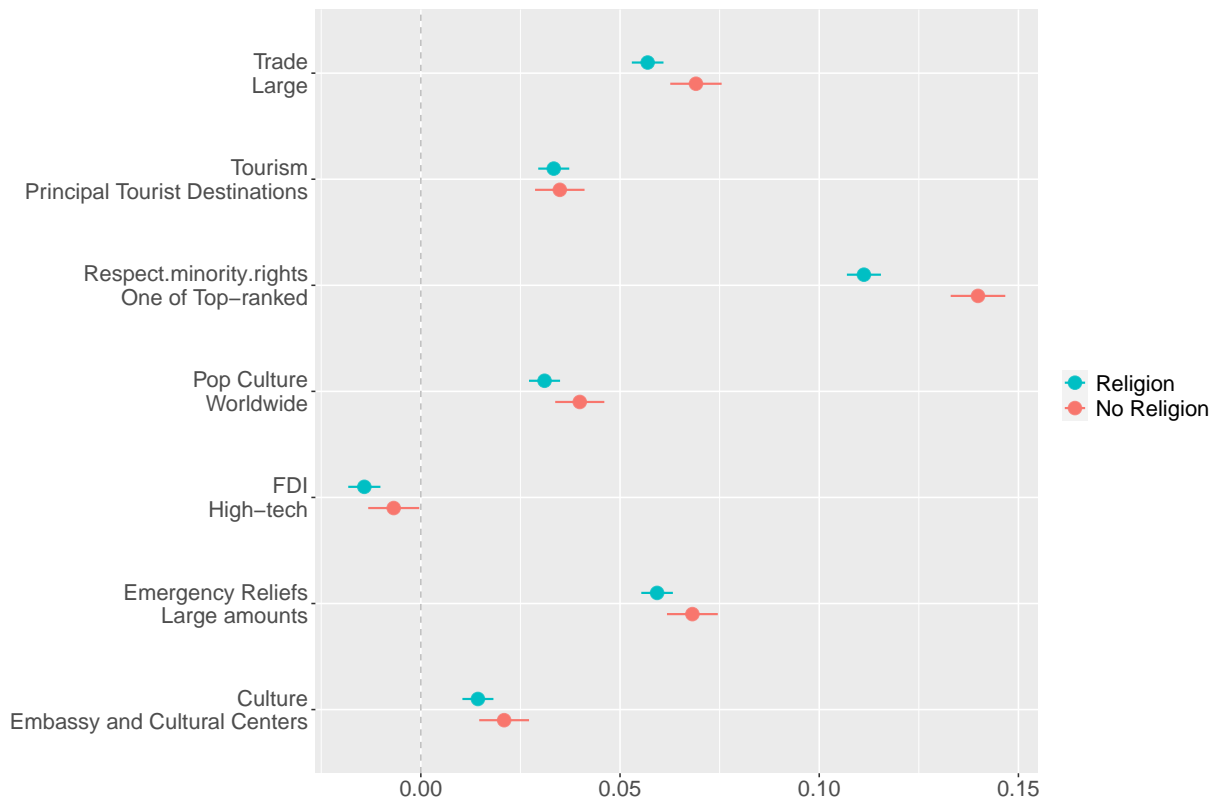


Figure 12: ACME for Pooled Results: Heterogeneity by Religion with positive national image as Dependent Variable

of many of the attributes. In particular, such influence is the strongest for the respect for minority rights attribute, where the point estimate for the respondents with college degrees is more than two times as large when compared to those without a high school degree. To a lesser extent a similar pattern holds also for the emergency relief as well as the trade attribute. Unlike with the previous sub-group distinctions, such as gender, employment status, and religion, here when we are considering educational attainment, there seem to be greater differences compared to when we were using the dichotomous selection as the dependent variable versus when we are using either the diplomatic or economic relations. In fact, the statistically significant difference between respondents with different levels of educational attainment disappears when considering alternative dependent variables in terms of how likely the given profiles may help with diplomatic relations or economic cooperation (See Figure 14 and Figure 15). This may be due to the fact that we are measuring our key variables based on self reported survey responses. In particular, respondents with higher levels of educational attainment may be more likely to have a more sophisticated understanding about different profiles' impact on diplomatic or economic relationship compared to those who have lower levels of educational attainment.

4.3.2 By Other-regardingness

Next, we can also consider responses to some of the questions that capture the respondents' other-regardingness, such as perceptions towards immigrants, or nationalism as its mirror image, as well as general levels of altruism. A possible expectation is that people with greater levels of other-regardingness may place greater emphasis on attributes related to international reputation, such as respect for minority rights and emergency relieves, and place less emphasis on attributes capturing economic interests, such as trade or tourism.

Figure 16 shows the first results with the difference across the respondents with high versus low levels of altruism as captured from the following survey question: *"Imagine the following situation: Today you unexpectedly received 1,600 U.S. dollars. How much of this amount would you donate*

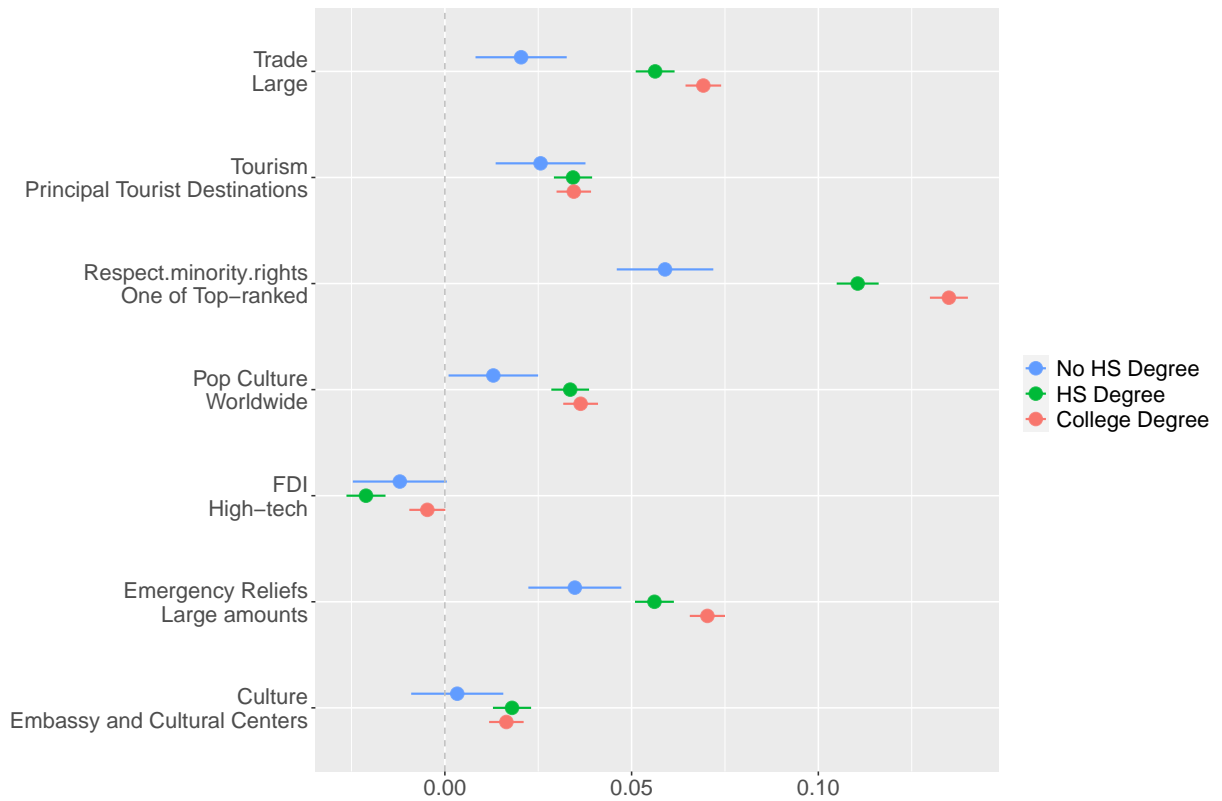


Figure 13: ACME for Pooled Results: Heterogeneity by Education

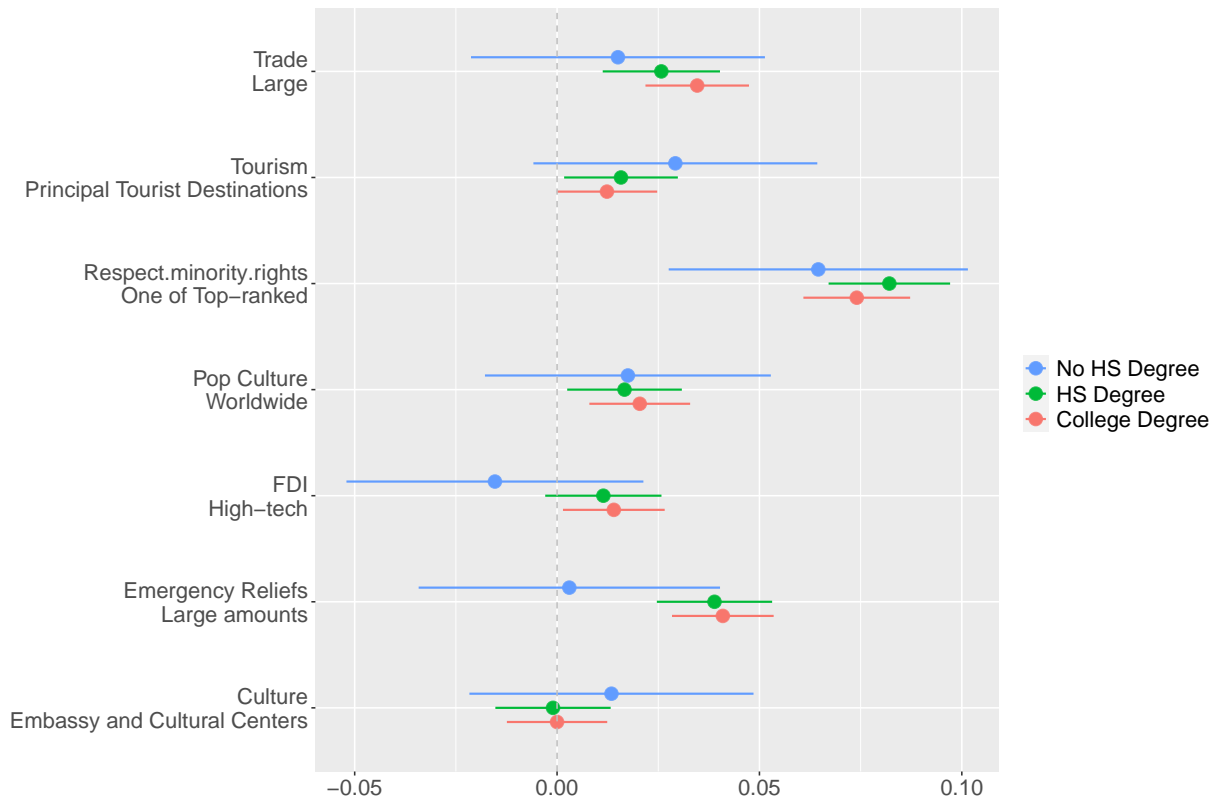


Figure 14: ACME for Pooled Results: Heterogeneity by Education

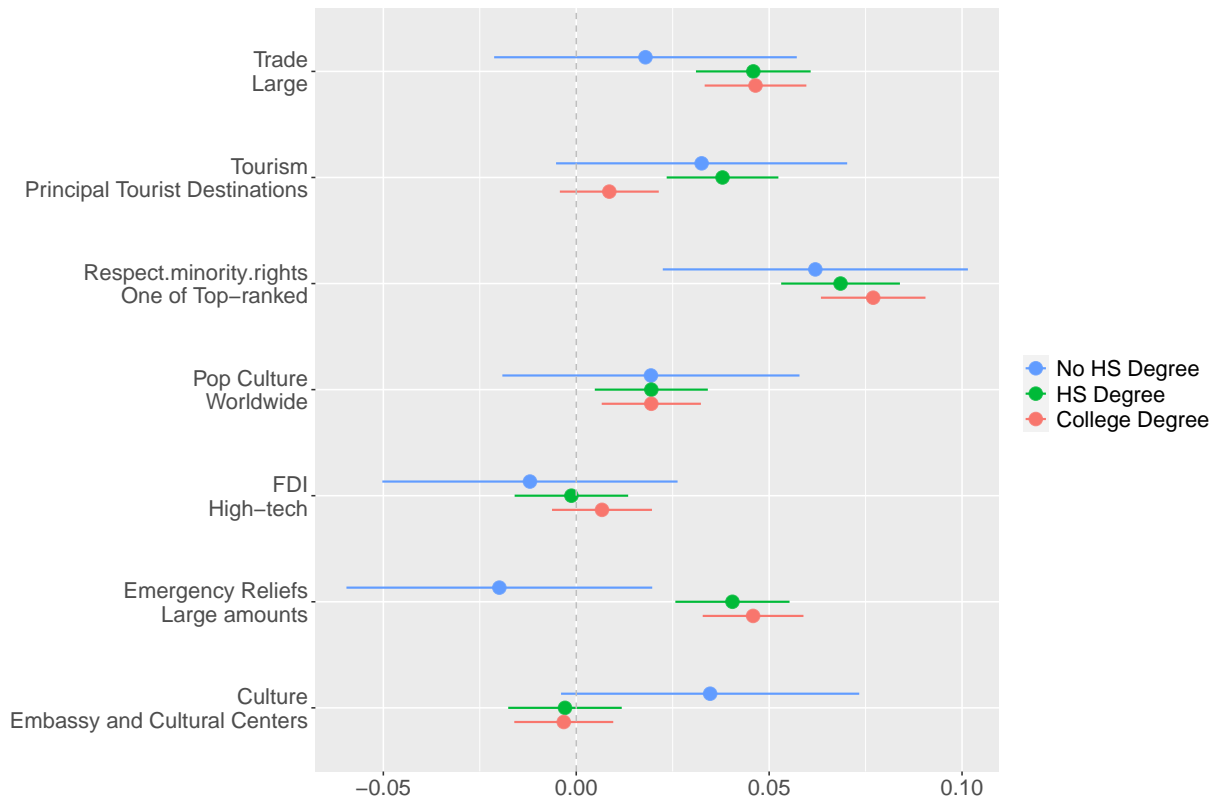


Figure 15: ACME for Pooled Results: Heterogeneity by Education

to a good cause? (Values between 0 and 1,600 are allowed)⁴. Contrary to our expectations, respondents who were more likely to donate greater sums of money for good cause in the case of unexpected earnings, were less likely to place stronger emphasis on attributes such as respect for minority rights. The only other statistical difference detected is for the preference for foreign direct investment sector in that those with Greater levels of altruism or less likely to have stronger preference for foreign investments in the manufacturing sector.



Figure 16: ACME for Pooled Results: Heterogeneity by Altruism

Next in Figure 17, we consider the results divided by the respondents answer to the question, *"Do you think the number of immigrants to your country should be: reduced, remain the same as*

⁴Note that this example is for the survey conducted in the United States. The amount of the unexpected earnings as well as the unit of currency were adjusted in consideration of the country context in which the surveys were implemented. For further evidence that choices in incentivized experiments are often in line with choices in hypothetical games, see Ben-Ner, Kramer, and Levy (2008) (as cited in Dal Bo, Finan, and Rossi (2013)).

it is, increased?"⁵ Here again, somewhat contrary to expectation, individuals with a more positive sentiment for immigrants are less likely to show greater emphasis on reputation Dash related attributes, such as respect for minority rights and emergency relief donations. On the contrary, those who show the strongest preference for these attributes turned out to be those who have neutral sentiments for the number of immigrants in their country. The preference for the foreign direct investment sector, on the other hand, follows a linear preference order from negative, neutral, to positive, with the more negative position being associated with greater stronger preference for investments in the high tech industry.

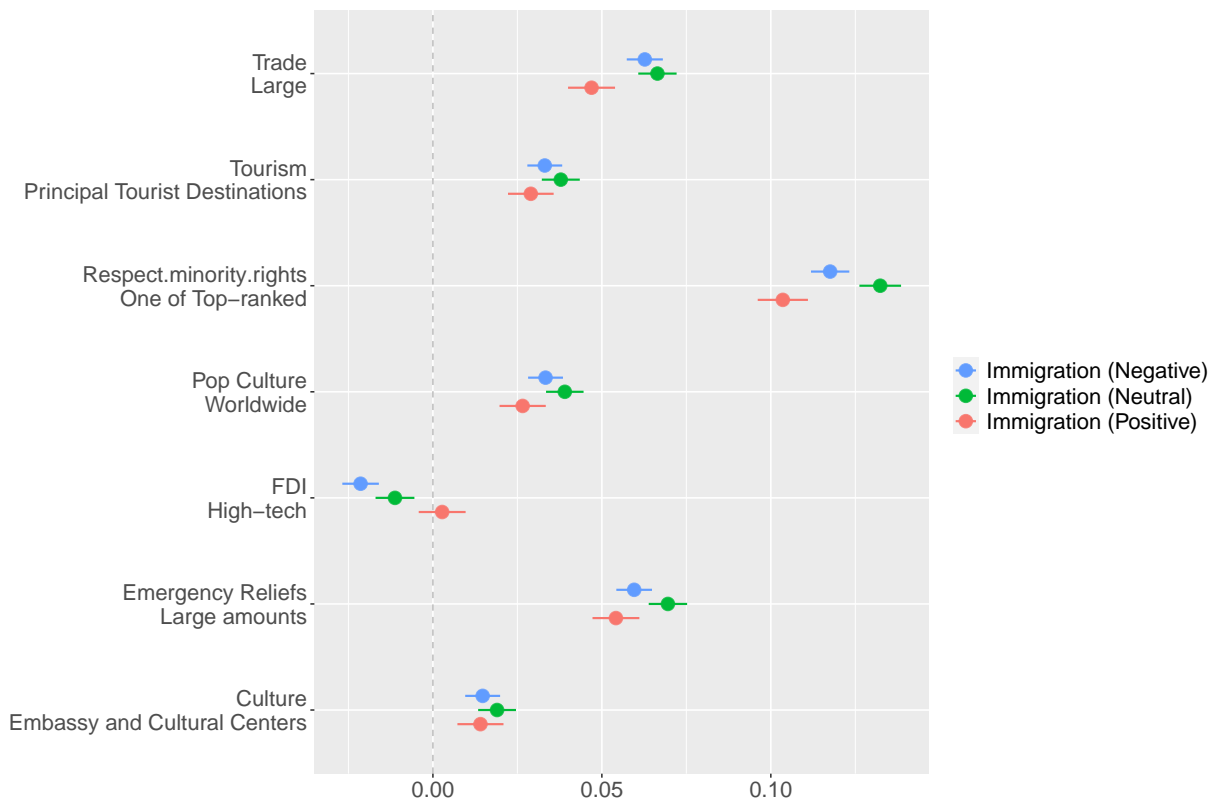


Figure 17: ACME for Pooled Results: Heterogeneity by Immigrant Sentiment

These results are somewhat in contrast to the results shown in Figure 18 where we consider

⁵The original question was asked in a five point scale, including reduced a lot, reduced a little, remain the same as it is, increased a little, or increased a lot. Here we collapse the categories into three for better visual representation.

the level of nationalism as a mirror image.⁶ Here, as would be expected in a conventional wisdom, respondents with higher levels of nationalism are less likely to put greater emphasis on respect for minority rights or emergency relief donations, although for the latter there is no statistical significance. There are no other attributes which display statistical significance across the respondents with high or low levels of nationalism.

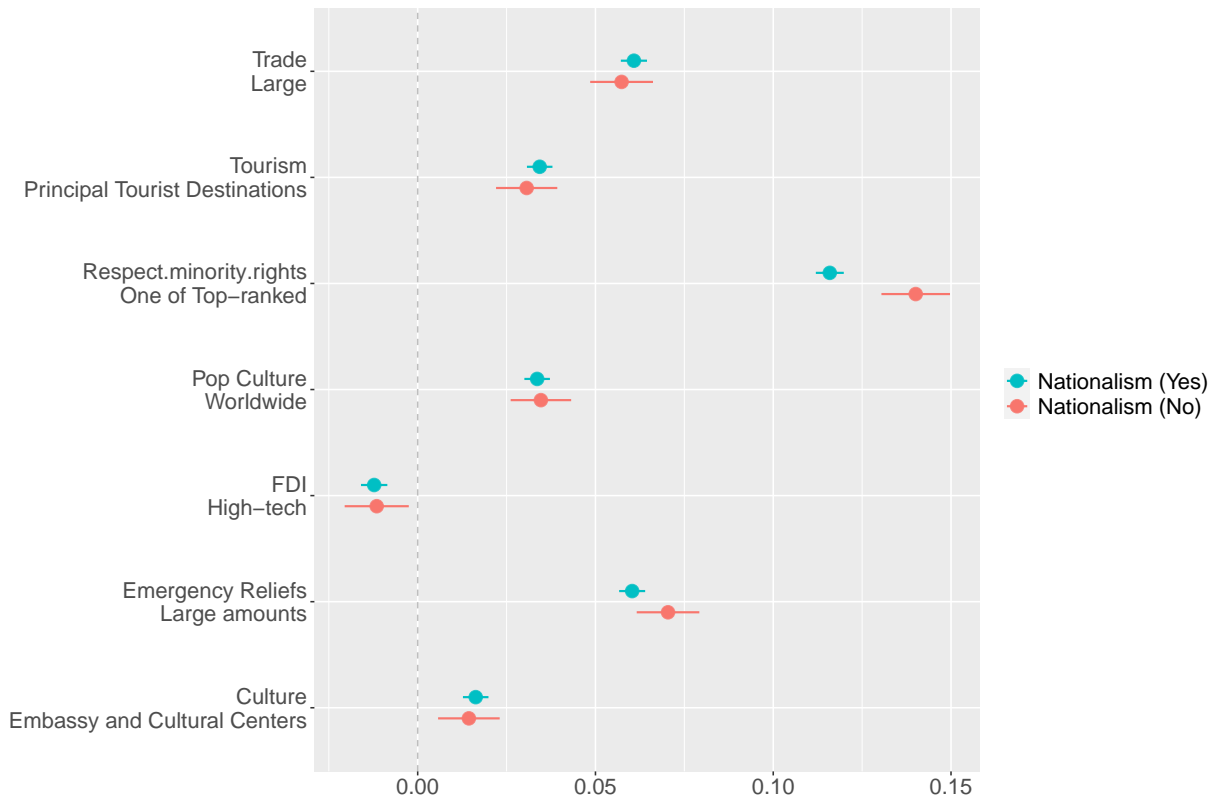


Figure 18: ACME for Pooled Results: Heterogeneity by Nationalism

4.3.3 By Perspective on International Relations

Next we consider the responses to two different statements that can capture the respondents general perspectives on international relations. The first statement reads, *"Military force is the most*

⁶The nationalism variable was constructed based on the response to the following question: "How proud are you to be an American?" with the possible responses of "Very proud", "Quite proud", "Not very proud", and "Not proud at all". Here again, we convert this four point scale Responses into a dichotomous one, for the ease of visualization and interpretation.

important tool for advancing foreign policy goals", while the second states, *"In resolving problems with other countries, a good reputation is more important than strong military."* For each of these statements we asked the respondents to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement.⁷ The responses to these two different statements arguably can capture one's inclinations towards a worldview that is more in line with a realist understanding of international relations in the case of the first statement versus a liberal understanding of international relations in the case of the second statement.

As would be expected, in Figure 19, we see that those who agree with the importance of military force as an instrument for foreign policy, are less likely to place emphasis on respect for minority rights, or emergency relief funds. Such tendencies, or not only noticeable for these two attributes but also across all of the different attributes. In general, it seems that the respondents with greater belief in military force are more skeptical about the usefulness of different country characteristics in determining a country's favorability, or are generally less favorable of other countries.

In Figure 20, we see a somewhat opposite picture compared to that based on the respondents' military force preference. In particular the respondents who stated that they agree with the importance of good reputation is more important than strong military are more likely to place a greater emphasis on the respect for minority rights attribute. However, for all other attributes the difference across the different categories of response to the reputation statement do not seem to be statistically significant.

4.3.4 By Perspective on Development

Finally, we consider the responses to two other statements that can capture the respondents' general perspectives on development. The first statement reads, *"Developing countries are economically*

⁷The original question uses a five point scale as follows: *"Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement for each item, using the following scale: strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree."* As before for the ease of visualization and interpretation, we condense the number of categories down to three.

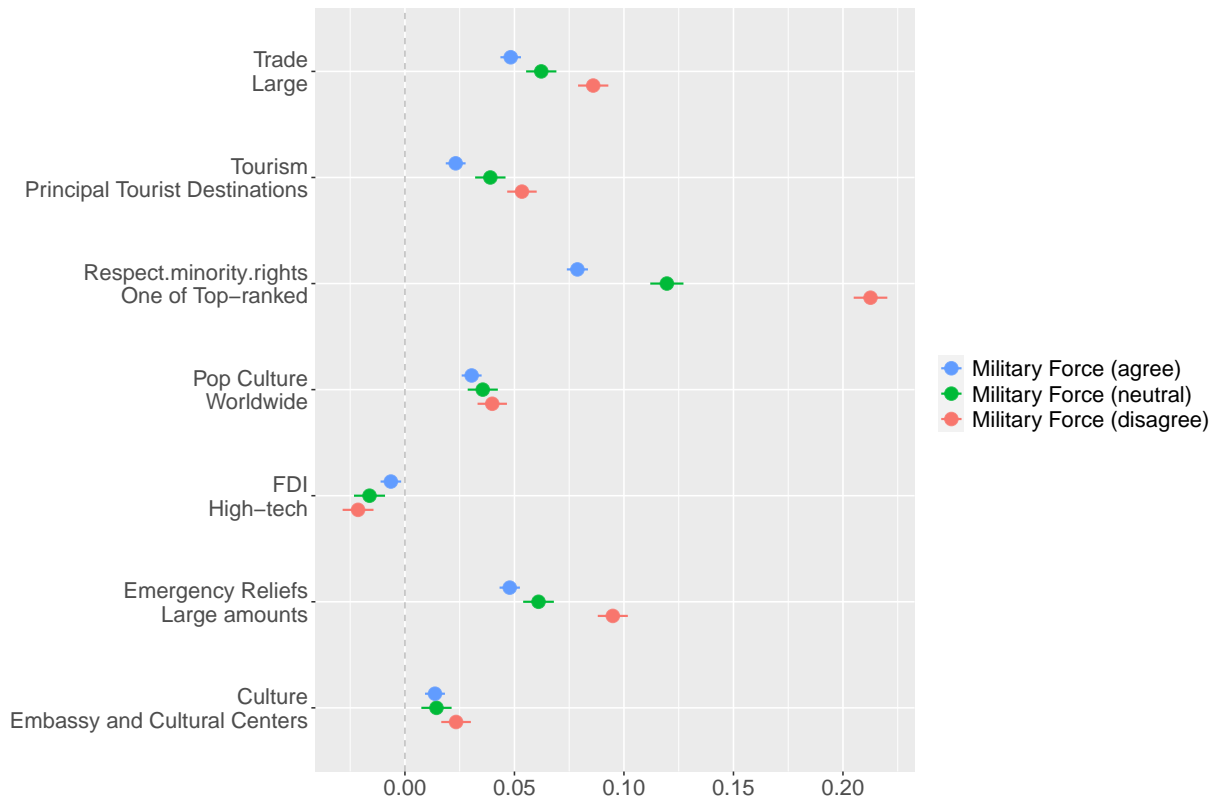


Figure 19: ACME for Pooled Results: Heterogeneity by Military Preference

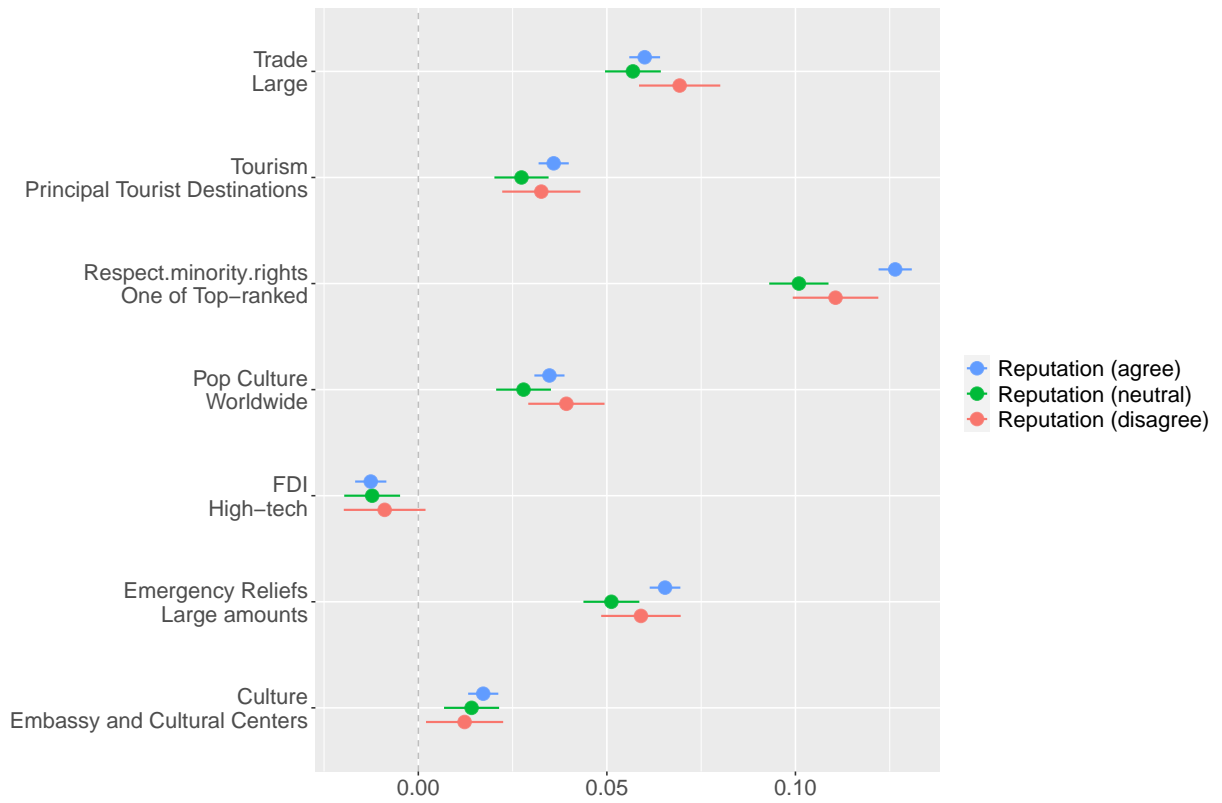


Figure 20: ACME for Pooled Results: Heterogeneity by Reputation Preference

poor because of their own domestic problems.", while the second states, *"Developed countries' exploitative economic policies in the past are responsible for the poverty in developing countries today."* For each of these statements we asked the respondents to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement.⁸ In Figure 21 as well as Figure 22, We see that the response we do not agree with the given statements are more likely to place a stronger emphasis on the respect for human rights as well as emergency relief amount attributes. Further analyses looking into country level variations, especially in terms of the levels of development and former colonial status of the different countries, may provide some interesting intuition behind these results. There are no other clear statistically different patterns across the different categories in either of the figures for the different attributes.

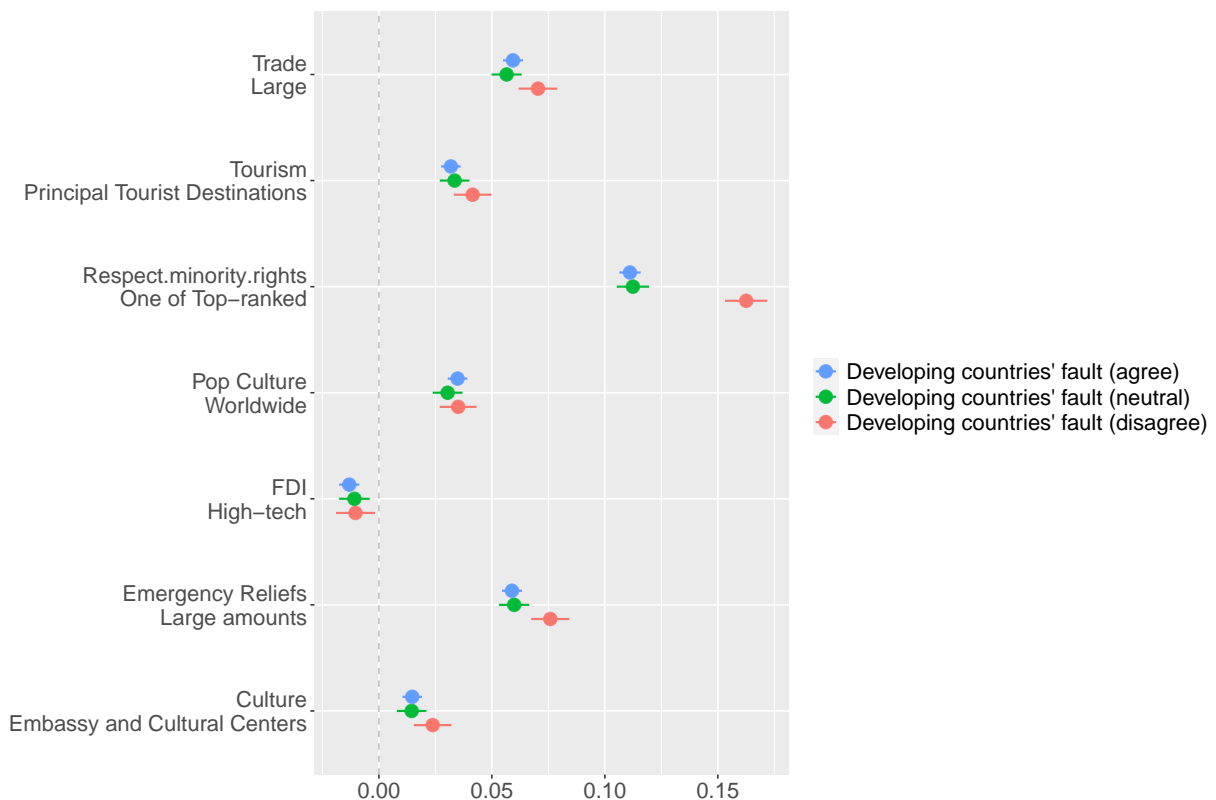


Figure 21: ACME for Pooled Results: Heterogeneity by Poverty Responsibility 1

⁸As before for the ease of visualization and interpretation, we condense the number of categories down to three.

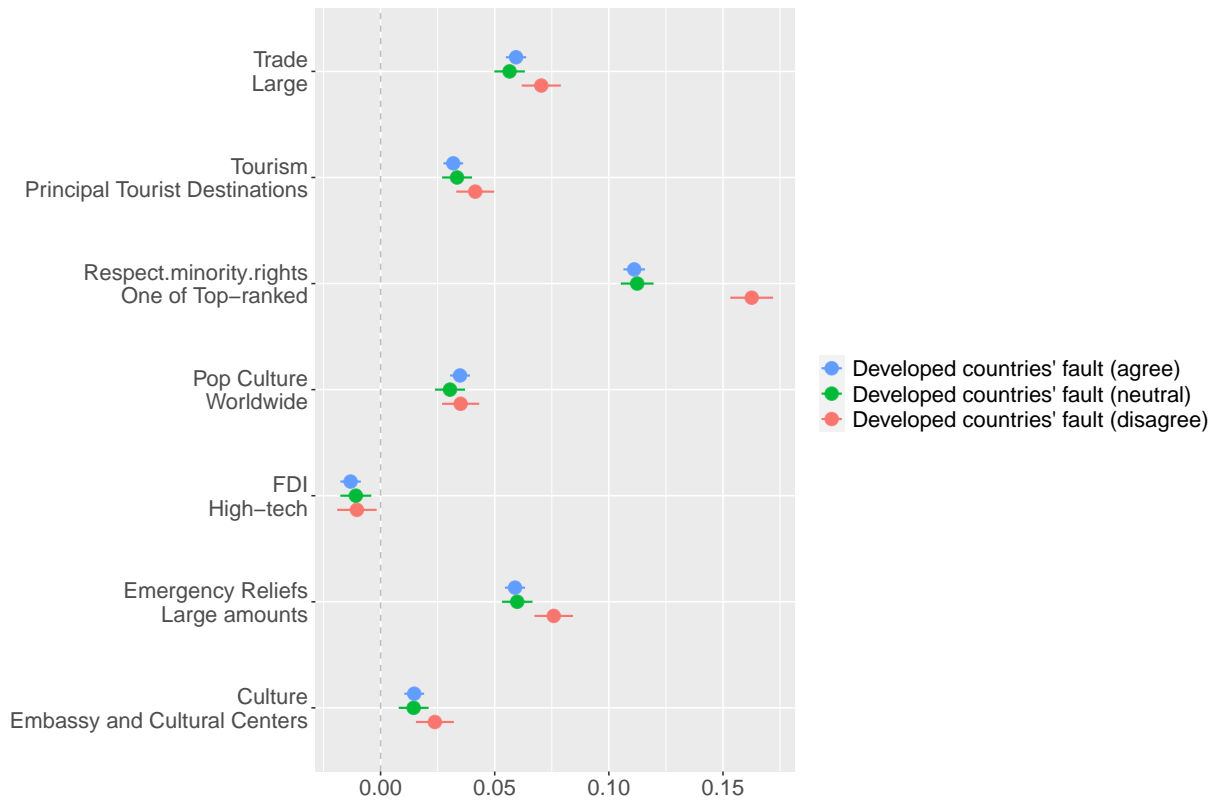


Figure 22: ACME for Pooled Results: Heterogeneity by Poverty Responsibility 2

5 Conclusion

This paper presented evidence of how different sender country characteristics affect the respondents' perceptions about the sender countries in the context of public diplomacy using a conjoint experimental design with a large sample across twelve different countries. In doing so, we were able to overcome some of the limitations in the existing literature and found that the impact of public diplomacy projects are heavily influenced by the international reputation of the sender country - even more so than the attributes capturing economic interests and ties or cultural influence. Moreover, by taking the individual-level characteristics seriously, we have shown how the baseline effects significantly vary across individual level characteristics including the respondents' socioeconomic characteristics, other-regardingness, perspectives on international relations, or perspectives on development.

Many important questions remain. While one of the most striking results from our analysis is that "respect for minority rights" is the most crucial factor across many outcome(s), providing sufficient interpretation as to why this might be the case is not as straightforward. For one, this might reflect individuals' liberal disposition those with higher nationalist sentiment or those who place greater importance to military force in international relations show attenuated effects. Yet, given among many respondents in the Asia-Pacific region, the country in this specific statement may have come across as China, the results might simply reflect some levels of anti-China sentiment. Further research breaking down the results by country and specifically by their anti-China sentiment may be useful to consider. Moreover, relaxing the constraints of the model necessary to derive a causal estimate in the form of AMCE, it may be useful to consider a multilevel hierarchical model in order to incorporate the individual and well as country level characteristics in a more extensive manner. For instance, while in this paper we were only able to consider the differences in terms of individual level characteristics one subgroup at a time, incorporating multiple different individual attributes may help us better understand the characteristics of individuals who are more

likely to consider economic, cultural, or reputational values more seriously. Likewise, while we have only considered the variations across countries in terms of levels of economic development and democracy in a simple bivariate settings with the point estimates, further incorporating target country characteristics which may directly relevant to how respondents contextualize the sender country characteristics may be a worthwhile avenue of future research.

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