Hawks and doves. Democratic peace theory revisited

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World Value Survey (2010-2014).

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethical Approval

The research project was reviewed by the Human Subjects Research Review Office (HSRRC) of Bingham University under Protocol Number: 3389-14 and Protocol title: Liberal norms and support for war in comparative cross-regime perspective: evaluating the presence and influence of liberal norms.
The project has received an expedited approval pursuant to the Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) regulations, 45 CFR 46.110(7) .
Experiments were conducted, in all countries, following the above mentioned regulations.

Appendix 2: Experimental scenarios (in English)

Number of experimental group written here

Dear participant,

This survey is part of a study run by Femke Avtalyon-Bakker, a PhD candidate from Leiden University in the Netherlands. This survey is for academic purposes only. This is not a marketing study; nor is it a test of your knowledge. There are no right or wrong answers. Your answers will be registered without using identifiable information and cannot be connected to your identity in any way. Completing the study should take about 10-15 minutes.

<u>What do you have to do?</u>

The survey consists of two parts:

1. On the next page you will find a story about two countries. These countries are completely fictitious, but you are asked to imagine that you have lived your whole life in one of these countries—simply called "My Country." Imagine then that you are an advisor to the government of My Country. After carefully reading the story, please answer the questions that follow the story. Please make your judgment on the basis of the information provided in the story and remember that it is a fictional story. If needed, you can look back at the story when answering the questions.
2. The second section poses a series of questions about your personal views on a few different topics. Please answer honestly about your personal opinions and preferences. Again, your answers will not be linked to your identity in any way.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact Femke Avtalyon-Bakker at
f.e.avtalyon@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

Thank you for your participation!

Appendices

Imagine that you have lived your entire life in My Country, a neighboring state of Other Country. My Country and Other Country together form a large island in the Island region of The Ocean, about 130 miles off the continent. The countries are **very similar** to each other in population and territory size, economic and military power and rely on their own resources, as evidenced below:

	My Country	Other Country
Population (*people*)	50.102.307	49.987.432
Territory size (*m²*)	86.354	86.012
Economy (*GPD/capita*)	$ 31.448	$ 31.977
Industry	High-tech Tourism	High-tech Tourism
Resources	Oil fields Uranium fields Sweet (drinking) water	Oil fields Uranium fields Sweet (drinking) water
Military	2 year obligatory military service	2 year obligatory military service

This area is of great importance to the world because one of the world's largest concentrations of uranium (which forms the basis for nuclear power) is located near the shores of these countries. Both countries own several uranium fields and have agreed to exploit these fields only for peaceful purposes (such as nuclear energy and medical use). There is, however, one large uranium field with contested borders (please see the map) that is the source of disputes between My Country and Other Country.
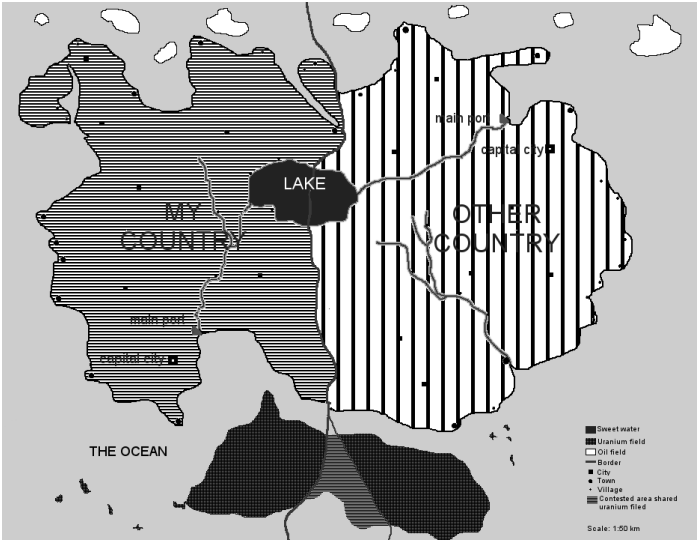
Treatment Regime-type	
(Group I : liberal-democracy)	(Group II: autocracy)
In Other Country there are several political parties. Since 1919, democratic elections have	*In Other Country only 1 political party exists. Since 1919, elections have been held on an*

been held every 4 years, and all adult citizens may choose their representatives for the national government. The citizens of Other Country feel that they are able to hold their representatives responsible for their policies and actions.	*irregular basis, but the composition of the national government does not really change. The citizens of Other Country do not feel that they can hold their representatives responsible for their policies and actions.*
The state of Other Country does not have control over the media outlets (public and commercial TV & radio, newspapers, the internet) and does not monitor the internet and social media.	*The state of Other Country controls all media outlets (TV & Radio, two newspapers, the internet) and monitors the internet and social media when representatives of the state believe it is in the best interest of the country to do so.*
If citizens have concerns about public matters, they have the right to voice them publicly and may come together in groups to protest. Large-scale protests are allowed, as long as these are peaceful.	*If citizens have concerns about public matters, they have to report to the National Security Offices to get permission to protest, which is granted only sporadically. Large-scale protests usually lead to numerous arrests.*
The citizens of Other Country also feel that they can say whatever and be whomever they want, without fearing repercussions from the state or society.	*The citizens of Other Country do not feel free to say whatever or be whomever they want without fear of repercussions from the state or society.*

At the moment, the country you live in (My Country) is caught up in a heated conflict with Other Country. The conflict is about these issues:

Treatment Aggressor	
(Group III: Invasive)	**(Group IV: Non-invasive)**
1. Other Country officially declared that the entire large uranium field belongs to them and started to exploit the area that is located in My Country's territorial waters.	*1. Other Country has started to exploit the uranium field in the contested area, despite recognizing the contested status of the area.*
2. Other Country has strategically positioned several of its war ships and a submarine around the uranium field.	
3. New intelligence evidence shows that Other Country has possessed secret nuclear weapons capabilities for several years.	*2. Intelligence evidence shows that Other Country is secretly considering starting a nuclear weapons program.*
My Country has condemned the actions of Other Country and has demanded that Other Country immediately return the invaded area to My Country and pay compensation for the invasion.	*My Country has condemned the actions of Other Country and has demanded that Other Country cease exploiting the uranium field in the contested area.*
Other Country refuses to do so and has threatened to use military force if My Country does not back off. *My Country has also insisted that Other Country immediately shut down their nuclear weapons program, but Other Country denies it has such a program and maintains that the uranium will be*	*Other Country refuses to do so and told My Country to back off.* *My Country has also insisted that Other Country immediately terminate all plans to begin building a nuclear weapons program, but Other Country*

used for peaceful purposes only.	*denies such plans exist and maintains that the uranium will be used for peaceful purposes only.*

Treatment Threat	
(Group V: Hard power)	**(Group VI: Soft power)**
The governments of My Country and Other Country have already held negotiations for several weeks to resolve these issues, but they have not reached a resolution yet. The tensions between both states remain high. *Two days ago, the political leaders of Other Country publicly accused My Country of delivering false evidence about nuclear weapons, expelled My Country's ambassador, and pulled back their own diplomatic staff. Other Country also unilaterally closed the border to all traffic between the two countries and stopped all trade payments to My Country. Other Country is also preventing trade vessels from entering the port of My Country. Other Country has openly held military exercises near the border with My Country, and intelligence evidence shows that Other Country has started to mobilize its military troops; its navy, air, and land forces are now ready to attack My Country. The threat to My Country seems very high.*	*The governments of My Country and Other Country have already held negotiations for several weeks to resolve these issues, but they have not reached a resolution yet. The tensions between both states remain high.* *Two days ago, the political leaders of Other Country publicly accused My Country of delivering false evidence about nuclear weapons plans, expelled My Country's ambassador, and pulled back their own diplomatic staff. Other Country has threatened to stop all trade payments. However, the borders remain open to all traffic, and trade vessels continue to reach the port of My Country without restrictions. Intelligence evidence shows that Other Country has not made any attempts to mobilize its army and has refrained from holding military exercises. The threat to My Country still seems relatively low.*

Yesterday was the last meeting in which an attempt was made to negotiate a settlement between My Country and Other Country. However, they have been unable to settle their differences. The negotiators for My Country left yesterday's negotiations with the strong impression that Other Country is not going to alter its position and informed the leaders of My Country that Other Country might pose a serious danger to the safety of My Country.

Appendices

The leaders of My Country have been discussing the matter over the last 24 hours and have called you in to give advise. The government sees two possible courses of action:

     A.   Force: To attack Other Country in defense of My Country with a pre-emptive strike that will seize the Capital city and the main port of Other Country in order to force Other Country to resolve the conflict.

     B.   Diplomacy: To return and continue the negotiations with Other Country until the conflict is resolved.

At the request of My Country's leaders, please answer the questions below, choosing the answer that fits best with your personal views regarding how the conflict should be handled.

Question 1:

What do you advise the government of My Country to do?

[ ] Attack (pre-emptive strike)   [ ] Negotiate further

Question 2:

Based on the story you just read, how much would you approve or disapprove of the following actions that My Country might take?

		Strongly disapprove	Disapprove	Somewhat disapprove	Neither approve, nor disapprove	Somewhat approve	Approve	Strongly approve
2a	Continue to negotiate with Other Country	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
2b	Attack Other Country	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
2c	Start a nuclear missiles program in My Country	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
2d	Freeze all diplomatic and economic relations with Other Country	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
2e	Block the main port of Other Country	□	□	□	□	□	□	□

Question 3:

If you had known that My Country and Other Country have strong economic ties that affect both populations (many jobs in My Country depend upon good economic relations between the two countries), what would have been your answer to question 1?

       [ ] Attack (pre-emptive strike)   [ ] Negotiate further

Question 4:

Based on the story you just read, please indicate how much you agree with the following statements:

		Fully disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree, nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Fully agree
4a	The conflict with Other Country is very threatening.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
4b	Other Country is very likely to attack My Country.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
4c	Other Country is very similar to My Country.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
4d	Other Country is very democratic.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
4e	The actions of Other Country are violating the territory of My Country.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
4f	The uranium conflict with Other Country frightens me as a citizen of My Country.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
4g	If the political leaders of My Country decided to go to war with Other Country, they would have my full support.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
4h	If My Country went to war with Other Country over the uranium conflict, I would be willing to fight as a soldier for My Country.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
4i	I like Other Country.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
4j	Other Country is very similar to the real country I live in.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□

Question 5:

Did the conflict between My Country and Your Country remind you of a real-world conflict? If so, please name or describe the conflict below.

	Questions 6-38 Please indicate how much you agree with the following statements:	Fully disagree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree, nor	Somewhat agree	Agree	Fully agree
6.	It is important to teach children that they are in control of their own future.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
7.	I trust people that I know from my neighborhood.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
8.	If someone does me a favor, I am ready to return it.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
9.	It is necessary that everyone, regardless of whether I like their views or not, can express themselves freely.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
10.	To help somebody is the best policy to be certain that s/he will help you in the future.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
11.	States are generally not trustworthy: they will attempt to expand their territory if they have the chance.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
12.	I feel that I have completely free choice and control over my life.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
13.	Women have the same rights as men.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
14.	Governments tax the rich and subsidize the poor.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
15.	It is the best interest of the world if the USA maintains its position as one of the worlds most powerful nations, even if it means going to the brink of war.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
16.	Civil rights protect people from state oppression.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
17.	In general, I trust other people when I first meet them.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
18.	I would never permit a person to say things on television that contradict my way of thinking.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
19.	In general, international organizations are ineffective because they lack the power necessary to change the behavior of powerful states.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
20.	People choose their leaders in free elections.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
21.	I believe there are many sides to most issues.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
22.	I think that all will be well.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
23.	It is important to teach children tolerance and respect for others.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
24.	Gay people should be able to participate openly in a society.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□

25.	I do not believe that others have good intentions.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
26.	The use or threat of nuclear weapons is a necessary instrument for states in order to survive as a state.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
27.	It is important to teach children to defend themselves physically if necessary.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
28.	People obey their rulers.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
29.	Everybody thinks of themselves first, so I will have to protect myself and my family before I consider others.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
30.	I believe that when I behave properly, others will also behave properly.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
31.	I believe that events in my life are determined by myself only.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
32.	It is not important to behave according to the expectations of your society.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
33.	I trust what other people say.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
34.	I don't have the feeling that I decide upon life goals by myself.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
35.	People from a minority group should be free to live their lives as they wish, even if I do not like them.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
36.	I believe people are basically moral.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
37.	The army takes over when government is incompetent.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
38.	The best way for us to keep peace is by trying to work out agreements at the bargaining table rather than by having a very strong military so other countries won't attack us.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□
39.	My conscience guides my decisions about how to behave towards others.	□	□	□	□	□	□	□

40.   What is your age?

………years old

41.   I am:

[ ] a. Male   [ ] b Female

42.   In which country are you born?

[ ] a. USA [ ] b. Other country, namely …………..

43.   Have you lived most of your life in:

[ ] a. USA [ ] b. Other country, namely …………..