

## **CODEBOOK**

### **Mechanisms of Morality: Sources of Support for Humanitarian Intervention**

Sarah Kreps and Sarah Maxey

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## **Codebook: Experiment One**

responseid: Identifier for respondent.

### **Dependent Variables**

support:

Support for the intervention

1 = strongly oppose; 2 = oppose somewhat; 3 = support somewhat; 4 = strongly support

supportbi:

Binary measure of support for intervention

0 = oppose; 1 = support

### **Treatment Variables**

treatmentid:

Assigned treatment condition

0 = FPR scenario; 1 = HI scenario

### **Mechanism Variables**

moral:

Sense of moral obligation based on response to “To what extent do you agree that the United States has a moral obligation to intervene?”

1 = strongly disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = strongly agree

moralbi:

Binary measure of moral obligation based on response to “To what extent do you agree that the United States has a moral obligation to intervene?”

0 = disagree; 1 = agree

help:

Expectation of burden-sharing based on response to “If the United States intervenes, how likely is it that other countries would help the U.S. carry out the operation?”

1 = very unlikely; 2 = unlikely; 3 = 50-50 chance; 4 = likely; 5 = very likely

helpbi:

Binary measure of expected burden-sharing based on response to “If the United States intervenes, how likely is it that other countries would help the U.S. carry out the operation?”

0 = unlikely; 1 = likely

casualties:

Expected risk of casualties based on response to “If the U.S. intervenes, how many American casualties do you think there will be?”

1 = no casualties; 2 = a low number of casualties (less than 100); 3 = a moderate number of casualties (about 200); 4 = a high number of casualties (more than 300)

casualtiesbi:

Binary measure of expected risk of casualties based on response to “If the U.S. intervenes, how many American casualties do you think there will be?”

0 = no/low casualties; 1 = moderate/high casualties

costs:

Expected financial cost based on response to “If the U.S. intervenes, how much money do you think the mission will cost the U.S. government? (please give your best guess in billions of dollars).”

1 = less than \$20 billion; 2 = between \$21 and \$40 billion; 3 = between \$41 and \$60 billion; 4 = between \$61 and \$80 billion; 5 = between \$81 and \$100 billion; 6 = over \$100 billion

costsbi:

Binary measure of expected financial cost based on response to “If the U.S. intervenes, how much money do you think the mission will cost the U.S. government? (please give your best guess in billions of dollars).”

0 = low cost (less than \$61 billion); 1 = high cost (greater than or equal to \$61 billion)

resolve:

Expectations that inaction will harm U.S. reputation for resolve based on response to “If the United States does NOT intervene, what are the chances that each of the following events will occur? America’s reputation for resolve will suffer, making it more difficult to achieve future foreign policy goals.”

1 = very unlikely; 2 = unlikely; 3 = 50-50 chance; 4 = likely; 5 = very likely

resolvebi:

Binary measure of expectations that inaction will harm U.S. reputation for resolve based on response to “If the United States does NOT intervene, what are the chances that each of the following events will occur? America’s reputation for resolve will suffer, making it more difficult to achieve future foreign policy goals.”

0 = unlikely; 1 = likely

spillover:

Expectations that inaction will cause spillover violence based on response to “If the United States does NOT intervene, what are the chances that each of the following events will occur? American security interests will suffer because of a spillover of violence into neighboring countries.”

1 = very unlikely; 2 = unlikely; 3 = 50-50 chance; 4 = likely; 5 = very likely

spilloverbi:

Binary measure of expectations that inaction will cause spillover violence based on response to “If the United States does NOT intervene, what are the chances that each of the following events will occur? American security interests will suffer because of a spillover of violence into neighboring countries.”

0 = unlikely; 1 = likely

instability:

Expectation that inaction will cause instability that fosters terrorism based on response to “If the United States does NOT intervene, what are the chances that each of the following events will occur? American security interests will suffer because of a spillover of violence into neighboring countries.”

1 = very unlikely; 2 = unlikely; 3 = 50-50 chance; 4 = likely; 5 = very likely

instabilitybi:

Binary measure of expectation that inaction will cause instability that fosters terrorism based on response to “If the United States does NOT intervene, what are the chances that each of the following events will occur? American security interests will suffer because of a spillover of violence into neighboring countries.”

0 = unlikely; 1 = likely

economic:

Expectations that inaction will harm economic interests based on response to “If the United States does NOT intervene, what are the chances that each of the following events will occur? American economic interests will suffer because of potential disruptions to energy resources.”

1 = very unlikely; 2 = unlikely; 3 = 50-50 chance; 4 = likely; 5 = very likely

economicbi:

Binary measure of expectations that inaction will harm economic interests based on response to “If the United States does NOT intervene, what are the chances that each of the following events will occur? American economic interests will suffer because of potential disruptions to energy resources.”

0 = unlikely; 1 = likely

## **Demographic Variables**

pid:

Party identification based on response to “Generally speaking, when it comes to political parties in the United States, how would you best describe yourself?”

1 = Strong Democrat; 2 = Not very strong Democrat; 3 = Independent close to Democrat; 4 = Independent (close to neither); 5 = Independent close to Republican; 6 = Not very strong Republican; 7 = Strong Republican

pid3:

Three category measure of party identification based on response to “Generally speaking, when it comes to political parties in the United States, how would you best describe yourself?”

Democrat and Republican categories include individuals who leaned Democrat or Republican.

Independent category includes only individuals who reported being close to neither party.

1 = Democrat; 2 = Independent; 3 = Republican

pidnolean:

Three category measure of party identification based on response to “Generally speaking, when it comes to political parties in the United States, how would you best describe yourself?”

Independent category includes individuals who reported being “Independent close to Democrat,” “Independent (close to neither),” “Independent close to Republican.”

1 = Democrat; 2 = Independent; 3 = Republican

republican:

Binary measure of identification with the Republican Party. Republican category includes

individuals who reported being “Independent close to Republican,” “Not very strong

Republican,” “Strong Republican.”

0 = not Republican; 1 = Republican

democrat:

Binary measure of identification with the Democratic Party. Democrat category includes

individuals who reported being “Independent close to Democrat,” “Not very strong Democrat,” “Strong Democrat.”

0 = not Democrat; 1 = Democrat

independent:

Binary measure of identification as an Independent. Includes only individuals who reported being “Independent (close to neither).”

0 = not Independent; 1 = Independent

education:

Last grade or class completed in school.

1 = None or grades 1-8; 2 = High school incomplete (grades 9-11); 3 = High school graduate (grade 12 or GED certificate); 4 = Technical, trade, or vocational school after high school; 5 = Some college, no 4-year degree (including 2 year Associate Degree); 6 = College graduate (BS, BA, or other 4-year degree); 7 = Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college.

educ3:

Three category measure of highest level of education completed.

1 = High school graduate or less; 2 = Some college or post-high school education; 3 = Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college

gender:

Respondent reported gender.

1 = male; 2 = female

income:

Respondent household income in the previous year from all sources, before taxes.

1 = Less than \$10,000; 2 = \$10,000 to under \$20,000; 3 = \$20,000 to under \$30,000; 4 = \$30,000 to under \$40,000; 5 = \$40,000 to under \$50,000; 6 = \$50,000 to under \$75,000; 7 = \$75,000 to under \$100,000; 8 = \$100,000 to under \$150,000; 9 = \$150,000 or more

income3:

Three category measure of respondent household income in the previous year from all sources, before taxes.

1 = Less than \$30,000; 2 = \$30,000 to under \$75,000; 3 = \$75,000 or more

donated:

Binary measure of whether respondents had donated money to charity in the last twelve months.

0 = no; 1 = yes

volunteered:

Binary measure of whether respondents had volunteered their time in the last twelve months.

0 = no; 1 = yes

awareness:

Binary measure of whether respondents had helped raise awareness for a good cause in the last twelve months.

0 = no; 1 = yes

hawk:

Measure of respondent hawkish or dovish preferences based on agreement with the statement "It is sometimes necessary to use military force to maintain order in the world."

1 = Strongly agree; 2 = Somewhat agree; 3 = Somewhat disagree; 4 = Strongly disagree

news:

Frequency with which respondents get their news about politics from TV, radio, newspaper, or online outlets.

1 = A couple of times a month or less; 2 = Once a week; 3 = 2-3 times a week; 4 = Daily; 5 = Several times a day

## **Codebook: Experiment Two**

responseid: Identifier for respondent.

### **Dependent Variables**

support:

Support for the intervention

1 = strongly oppose; 2 = oppose somewhat; 3 = support somewhat; 4 = strongly support

supportbi:

Binary measure of support for intervention

0 = oppose; 1 = support

### **Treatment Variables**

treatmentid:

Assigned treatment condition

1 = FPR baseline; 2 = FPR low help; 3 = FPR high help; 4 = FPR low reputational costs; 5 = FPR high reputational costs; 6 = HI baseline; 7 = HI low help; 8 = HI high help; 9 = HI low reputational costs; 10 = HI high reputational costs

hitreatment:

Binary measure of assignment to humanitarian intervention scenario

0 = FPR scenario; 1 = HI scenario

help2:

Binary measure of assignment to multilateral help conditions

0 = low help; 1 = high help

resolve2:

Binary measure of assignment to reputation for resolve conditions

0 = low reputational costs; 1 = high reputational costs

### **Mechanism Variables**

moral:

Sense of moral obligation based on response to “To what extent do you agree that the United States has a moral obligation to intervene?”

1 = strongly disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = strongly agree

moralbi:

Binary measure of moral obligation based on response to “To what extent do you agree that the United States has a moral obligation to intervene?”

0 = disagree; 1 = agree

boots:

Expected likelihood that in addition to airstrikes a U.S. intervention will involve putting U.S. military troops on the ground.

1 = very unlikely; 2 = somewhat unlikely; 3 = somewhat likely; 4 = very likely

boots2:

Binary measure of expected likelihood that in addition to airstrikes a U.S. intervention will involve putting U.S. military troops on the ground.

0 = unlikely; 1 = likely

security:

Concern with whether the invading country's actions threaten my country's security, based on response to "When you thought about whether or not the U.S. should intervene in the scenario described earlier, which of the following were the most important reasons for your decision to support or oppose the intervention?"

0 = not concerned; 1 = concerned with own security

othersecurity:

Concern with whether the invading country's actions threaten the security of other countries, based on response to "When you thought about whether or not the U.S. should intervene in the scenario described earlier, which of the following were the most important reasons for your decision to support or oppose the intervention?"

0 = not concerned; 1 = concerned with others' security

### **Demographic Variables**

*Includes YouGov's standard battery of demographic questions.*

pid:

Party identification based on response to "Generally speaking, when it comes to political parties in the United States, how would you best describe yourself?"

1 = Strong Democrat; 2 = Weak Democrat; 3 = Lean Democrat; 4 = Independent; 5 = Lean Republican; 6 = Weak Republican; 7 = Strong Republican

pid3:

Three category measure of party identification.

1 = Democrat; 2 = Republican; 3 = Independent; 4 = Other; 5 = Not sure

republican:

Binary measure of identification with the Republican Party. Republican category includes individuals who reported being "Independent close to Republican," "Not very strong Republican," "Strong Republican."

0 = not Republican; 1 = Republican

democrat:

Binary measure of identification with the Democratic Party. Democrat category includes individuals who reported being “Independent close to Democrat,” “Not very strong Democrat,” “Strong Democrat.”

0 = not Democrat; 1 = Democrat

independent:

Binary measure of identification as an Independent. Includes only individuals who reported being “Independent (close to neither).”

0 = not Independent; 1 = Independent

education:

Highest level of education completed

1 = No high school; 2 = High school graduate; 3 = Some college; 4 = 2-year; 5 = 4-year; 6 = Post-grad

educ3:

Three category measure of highest level of education completed

1 = High school graduate or less; 2 = At least some college; 3 = Post-grad

gender:

Respondent’s reported gender

1 = male; 2 = female

income:

Respondent family income in the previous year from all sources, before taxes.

1 = less than \$10,000; 2 = \$10,000-\$19,999; 3 = \$20,000 = \$29,999; 4 = \$30,000-\$39,999; 5 = \$40,000-\$49,999; 6 = \$50,000-\$59,999; 7 = \$60,000-\$69,999; 8 = \$70,000-\$79,999; 9 = \$80,000-\$99,999; 10 = \$100,000-\$119,999; 11 = \$120,000-\$149,999; 12 = \$150,000-\$199,999; 13 = \$200,000-\$249,999; 14 = \$250,000-\$349,999; 15 = \$350,000-\$499,999; 16 = \$500,000 or more; 17 = Prefer not to say

income3:

Three category measure of respondent family income in the previous year from all sources, before taxes.

1 = less than \$49,999; 2 = \$50,000-\$149,999; 3 = \$150,000 or more; 4 = Prefer not to say

altruism:

Measure of respondents’ proclivity to moral action, based on which activities respondents had participated in the last twelve months.

0 = None; 1 = Donated money; 2 = Volunteered time; 3 = Volunteered time and donated money

altruismmost:

Binary measure of whether respondents had volunteered time and donated money in the last twelve months.

0 = No; 1 = Yes

hawk:

Measure of respondent hawkish or dovish preferences based on agreement with the statement “It is sometimes necessary to use military force to maintain order in the world.”

1 = Strongly agree; 2 = Somewhat agree; 3 = Somewhat disagree; 4 = Strongly disagree

hawkbi:

Binary measure of respondent hawkish or dovish preferences based on agreement with the statement “It is sometimes necessary to use military force to maintain order in the world.”

0 = agree; 1 = disagree

news:

Frequency with which respondents get their news about politics from TV, radio, newspaper, or online outlets.

1 = Most of the time; 2 = Some of the time; 3 = Only now and then; 4 = Hardly at all; 7 = Don't know

age:

Categorical measure of respondent age based on reported birth year

1 = 24 or younger; 2 = 25-34; 3 = 35-44; 4 = 45-54; 5 = 55-64; 6 = 65-74; 7 = 75 or older

## **Codebook: Experiment Three**

responseid:  
Identifier for respondent.

### **Dependent Variables**

support:  
Support for the intervention  
1 = strongly oppose; 2 = oppose somewhat; 3 = support somewhat; 4 = strongly support

supportbi:  
Binary measure of support for intervention  
0 = oppose; 1 = support

### **Treatment Variables**

treatmentid:  
Assigned treatment condition  
0 = FPR scenario; 1 = HI scenario

### **Mechanism Variables**

harm:  
Concern with whether harm would be done to weak or vulnerable civilians most important reason for support, based on response to “When you thought about whether or not the U.S. should intervene in the scenario described earlier, which of the following were the most important reasons for your decision to support or oppose the intervention?”  
0 = not concerned; 1 = concerned with harm

hrights:  
Concern with whether perpetrators would be able to get away with violating human rights, based on response to “When you thought about whether or not the U.S. should intervene in the scenario described earlier, which of the following were the most important reasons for your decision to support or oppose the intervention?”  
0 = not concerned; 1 = concerned with human rights

disorder:  
Concern with whether the invading country’s actions caused disorder within international society, based on response to “When you thought about whether or not the U.S. should intervene in the scenario described earlier, which of the following were the most important reasons for your decision to support or oppose the intervention?”  
0 = not concerned; 1 = concerned with disorder

values:

Concern with whether a failure to intervene would betray my country's values and identity, based on response to "When you thought about whether or not the U.S. should intervene in the scenario described earlier, which of the following were the most important reasons for your decision to support or oppose the intervention?"

0 = not concerned; 1 = concerned with values

civilized:

Concern with whether the invading country's actions violate my expectations for how a civilized country should act, based on response to "When you thought about whether or not the U.S. should intervene in the scenario described earlier, which of the following were the most important reasons for your decision to support or oppose the intervention?"

0 = not concerned; 1 = concerned with civilized behavior

boots:

Expectation that intervention will require boots on the ground, based on response to "How likely do you think it would be that the US would apply each of the following military strategies for the intervention?"

1 = very unlikely; 2 = somewhat unlikely; 3 = somewhat likely; 4 = very likely

boots2:

Binary measure of expectation that intervention will require boots on the ground, based on response to "How likely do you think it would be that the US would apply each of the following military strategies for the intervention?"

0 = unlikely; 1 = likely

security:

Concern with whether the invading country's actions threaten my country's security, based on response to "When you thought about whether or not the U.S. should intervene in the scenario described earlier, which of the following were the most important reasons for your decision to support or oppose the intervention?"

0 = not concerned; 1 = concerned with own security

othersecurity:

Concern with whether the invading country's actions threaten the security of other countries, based on response to "When you thought about whether or not the U.S. should intervene in the scenario described earlier, which of the following were the most important reasons for your decision to support or oppose the intervention?"

0 = not concerned; 1 = concerned with others' security

## Demographic Variables

pid:

Party identification based on response to “Generally speaking, when it comes to political parties in the United States, how would you best describe yourself?”

1 = Strong Democrat; 2 = Not very strong Democrat; 3 = Independent close to Democrat; 4 = Independent (close to neither); 5 = Independent close to Republican; 6 = Not very strong Republican; 7 = Strong Republican

pid3:

Three category measure of party identification based on response to “Generally speaking, when it comes to political parties in the United States, how would you best describe yourself?”

Democrat and Republican categories include individuals who leaned Democrat or Republican. Independent category includes only individuals who reported being close to neither party.

1 = Democrat; 2 = Independent; 3 = Republican

republican:

Binary measure of identification with the Republican Party. Republican category includes individuals who reported being “Independent close to Republican,” “Not very strong Republican,” “Strong Republican.”

0 = not Republican; 1 = Republican

democrat:

Binary measure of identification with the Democratic Party. Democrat category includes individuals who reported being “Independent close to Democrat,” “Not very strong Democrat,” “Strong Democrat.”

0 = not Democrat; 1 = Democrat

independent:

Binary measure of identification as an Independent. Includes only individuals who reported being “Independent (close to neither).”

0 = not Independent; 1 = Independent

education:

Last grade or class completed in school.

1 = None or grades 1-8; 2 = High school incomplete (grades 9-11); 3 = High school graduate (grade 12 or GED certificate); 4 = Technical, trade, or vocational school after high school; 5 = Some college, no 4-year degree (including 2 year Associate Degree); 6 = College graduate (BS, BA, or other 4-year degree); 7 = Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college.

educ3:

Three category measure of highest level of education completed.

1 = High school graduate or less; 2 = Some college or post-high school education; 3 = Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college

gender:

Respondent's reported gender

1 = male; 2 = female

income:

Respondent household income in the previous year from all sources, before taxes.

1 = Less than \$10,000; 2 = \$10,000 to under \$20,000; 3 = \$20,000 to under \$30,000; 4 = \$30,000 to under \$40,000; 5 = \$40,000 to under \$50,000; 6 = \$50,000 to under \$75,000; 7 = \$75,000 to under \$100,000; 8 = \$100,000 to under \$150,000; 9 = \$150,000 or more

income3:

Three category measure of respondent household income in the previous year from all sources, before taxes.

1 = Less than \$30,000; 2 = \$30,000 to under \$75,000; 3 = \$75,000 or more

donated:

Binary measure of whether respondent had donated money to charity in the last twelve months.

0 = no; 1 = yes

volunteer:

Binary measure of whether respondent had volunteered time in the last twelve months.

0 = no; 1 = yes

donatevol:

Binary measure of whether respondent had both donated money and volunteered time in the last twelve months.

0 = no; 1 = yes

hawk:

Extent to which respondent agreed with the statement "It is sometimes necessary to use military force to maintain order in the world."

1 = Strongly agree; 2 = Somewhat agree; 3 = Somewhat disagree; 4 = Strongly disagree

news:

Frequency with which respondent gets news about politics from TV, radio, newspaper, or online outlines.

1 = A couple of times a month or less; 2 = once a week; 3 = 2-3 times a week; 4 = Daily; 5 = Several times a day

## **Codebook: Follow-Up Experiments (Strategic Rationale and Perceptions of Threat)**

responseid:  
Identifier for respondent

strategicrationale:  
respondents assigned to strategic rationale follow-up  
0 = not assigned; 1 = assigned

perceivedthreat:  
respondents assigned to perception of threat follow-up  
0 = not assigned; 1 = assigned

### **Dependent Variables**

support:  
Support for the intervention  
1 = strongly oppose; 2 = oppose somewhat; 3 = support somewhat; 4 = strongly support

supportbi:  
Binary measure of support for intervention  
0 = oppose; 1 = support

### **Treatment Variables**

hi1:  
Assignment to HI condition in strategic rationale follow-up  
0 = not assigned; 1 = assigned

fpr1:  
Assignment to original FPR condition in strategic rationale follow-up  
0 = not assigned; 1 = assigned

fprnew:  
Assignment to new FPR condition in strategic rationale follow-up  
0 = not assigned; 1 = assigned

hi2:  
Assignment to HI condition in perceptions of threat follow-up  
0 = not assigned; 1 = assigned

fpr2:  
Assignment to FPR condition in perceptions of threat follow-up  
0 = not assigned; 1 = assigned

## **Mechanism Variables**

moral:

Sense of moral obligation based on response to “To what extent do you agree that the United States has a moral obligation to intervene?” (Reverse coded so agreement increases with scale.)  
1 = strongly disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = strongly agree

moralbi:

Binary measure of moral obligation based on response to “To what extent do you agree that the United States has a moral obligation to intervene?”  
0 = disagree; 1 = agree

interest:

Perceived security interest at stake in the scenario, based on agreement with the statement “The U.S. has security interests at stake in this scenario.” (Reverse coded so agreement increases with scale.)  
1 = strongly disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = strongly agree

interestbi:

Binary measure of perceived security interest at stake in the scenario, based on agreement with the statement “The U.S. has security interests at stake in this scenario.”  
0 = disagree; 1 = agree

threat:

Agreement with the statement “This scenario presents a threat to the United States.” (Reverse coded so agreement increases with scale.)  
1 = strongly disagree; 2 = somewhat disagree; 3 = somewhat agree; 4 = strongly agree

threatbi:

Binary measure of agreement with the statement “This scenario presents a threat to the United States.”  
0 = disagree; 1 = agree

## **Demographic Variables**

pid:

Party identification based on response to “Generally speaking, when it comes to political parties in the United States, how would you best describe yourself?”  
1 = Strong Democrat; 2 = Not very strong Democrat; 3 = Independent close to Democrat; 4 = Independent (close to neither); 5 = Independent close to Republican; 6 = Not very strong Republican; 7 = Strong Republican

pid3:

Three category measure of party identification based on response to “Generally speaking, when it comes to political parties in the United States, how would you best describe yourself?”

Democrat and Republican categories include individuals who leaned Democrat or Republican.

Independent category includes only individuals who reported being close to neither party.

1 = Democrat; 2 = Independent; 3 = Republican

pidnolean:

Three category measure of party identification based on response to “Generally speaking, when it comes to political parties in the United States, how would you best describe yourself?”

Independent category includes individuals who reported being “Independent close to Democrat,” “Independent (close to neither),” “Independent close to Republican.”

1 = Democrat; 2 = Independent; 3 = Republican

republican:

Binary measure of identification with the Republican Party. Republican category includes

individuals who reported being “Independent close to Republican,” “Not very strong

Republican,” “Strong Republican.”

0 = not Republican; 1 = Republican

democrat:

Binary measure of identification with the Democratic Party. Democrat category includes

individuals who reported being “Independent close to Democrat,” “Not very strong Democrat,” “Strong Democrat.”

0 = not Democrat; 1 = Democrat

independent:

Binary measure of identification as an Independent. Includes only individuals who reported being “Independent (close to neither).”

0 = not Independent; 1 = Independent

education:

Last grade or class completed in school.

1 = None or grades 1-8; 2 = High school incomplete (grades 9-11); 3 = High school graduate (grade 12 or GED certificate); 4 = Technical, trade, or vocational school after high school; 5 = Some college, no 4-year degree (including 2 year Associate Degree); 6 = College graduate (BS, BA, or other 4-year degree); 7 = Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college.

educ3:

Three category measure of highest level of education completed.

1 = High school graduate or less; 2 = Some college or post-high school education; 3 = Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college

gender:

Respondent’s reported gender.

1 = male; 2 = female; 3 = other