

Codebook for Mattes and Weeks, “Hawks, Doves, and Peace: An Experimental Approach”

Note: The variable descriptions refer to the raw datasets. The do-files process and transform the raw data for analysis.

Part I: Variables in the Main Analysis Data (mattesweeksAJPS.dta)

caseid – unique case identifier

hawk_t – President hawk/dove experimental treatment: 1 = hawk, 2 = dove

party_t – Presidential party experimental treatment: 1 = Republican, 2 = Democrat

rapproche_t – conciliation/status quo experimental treatment: 1 = conciliation, 2 = status quo

success_t – success/failure experimental treatment: 1 = policy was a success, 2 = policy was a failure

hawk – hawkishness, measured based on agreement with the statement “The use of military force only makes problems worse.” 1 = Disagree strongly, 2 = Disagree somewhat, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Agree somewhat, 5 = Agree strongly

intl – internationalism, measured based on agreement with the statement “The United States needs to play an active role in solving conflicts around the world.” 1 = Disagree strongly, 2 = Disagree somewhat, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Agree somewhat, 5 = Agree strongly

trust – level of international trust, measured based on the question “Generally speaking, would you say that the U.S. can trust other nations, or that the U.S. should be very careful in dealing with other nations?” 1 = “The U.S. can trust other nations”, 2 = “The U.S. should be very careful in dealing with other nations”, 8 = skipped

voted16 – whether respondent said they voted in 2016. 1 = no, 2 = I usually vote, but did not in 2016, 3 = I am not sure, 4 = yes, I definitely voted

polact_1 – whether respondent attended local political meetings during the past year (such as school board or city council). 1 = yes, 2 = no

polact_2 – whether respondent put up a political sign (such as a lawn sign or a bumper sticker) in the last year. 1 = yes, 2 = no

polact_3 – whether respondent worked for a candidate or campaign in the past year. 1 = yes, 2 = no

polact_4 – whether respondent donated money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization in the last year. 1 = yes, 2 = no

hddv1 – Approval of President. 1 = Strongly disapprove, 2 = Somewhat disapprove, 3 = neither approve nor disapprove, 4 = Somewhat approve, 5 = Strongly approve, 8 = skipped.

hdmed1_strat – Agreement with the statement “President Richards chose the best strategy for dealing with China.” 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

hdmed1_pacifist – Agreement with the statement “President Richards is a pacifist.” 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

hdmed1_warmonger – Agreement with the statement “President Richards is a warmonger.” 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

hddv2 – Approval of President, measured after outcome is known. 1 = Strongly disapprove, 2 = Somewhat disapprove, 3 = neither approve nor disapprove, 4 = Somewhat approve, 5 = Strongly approve.

hdmed2_strat – Agreement with the statement “President Richards chose the best strategy for dealing with China.” (Measured after outcome known). 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

hdmed2_pacifist – Agreement with the statement “President Richards is a pacifist.” (Measured after outcome known). 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

hdmed2_warmonger – Agreement with the statement “President Richards is a warmonger.” (Measured after outcome known). 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

birthyr – four-digit birth year of the respondent

gender –gender identity. 1 = Male, 2 = Female

educ – education. 1 = No high school, 2 = High school graduate, 3 = Some college, 4 = 2-year college graduate, 5 = 4-year college graduate, 6 = Post-grad

pid3 – 3-point party ID. 1 = Democrat, 2 = Republican, 3 = Independent, 4 = Other, 5 = Not sure

pid7 – 7-point party ID. 1 = Strong Democrat, 2 = Not very strong Democrat, 3 = Lean Democrat, 4 = Independent, 5 = Lean Republican, 6 = Not very strong Republican, 7 = Strong Republican, 8 = Not sure.

ideo5 – ideology. 1 = Very Liberal, 2 = Liberal, 3 = Moderate, 4 = Conservative, 5 = Very Conservative, 6 = Not sure

newsint – political interest, measured as extent to which respondents says they follow what is going on in government and public affairs. 1 = Most of the time, 2 = Some of the time, 3 = Only now and then, 4 = Hardly at all, 7 = Don't know

pew_religimp – measure of importance of religion to respondent, measured by asking “How important is religion in your life?” 1 = Very important, 2 = Somewhat important, 3 = Not too important, 4 = Not at all important

Part II: Variables in the Russia Troop Withdrawal Data (Russia TroopWithdrawal.dta)

caseid – unique case identifier

party_t – Presidential party experimental treatment: “Republican Party” = Republican, “Democratic Party” = Democrat

hawk_t – President hawk/dove experimental treatment: “hawk” = hawk, “dove” = dove

rapproche_t – conciliation/status quo experimental treatment: “cooperate” = conciliation, “neutral” = status quo

success_t – success/failure experimental treatment: “success” = policy was a success, “failure” = policy was a failure

gender – gender identity. 1 = Male, 2 = Female

age_1-age_82 – indicator for age. Equals 1 if age = *_n*, 0 otherwise.

hawk5 – hawkishness, measured based on agreement with the statement “The use of military force only makes problems worse.” 1 = Agree strongly, 2 = Agree somewhat, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Disagree somewhat, 5 = Disagree strongly

intl – internationalism, measured based on agreement with the statement “The United States needs to play an active role in solving conflicts around the world.” 1 = Agree strongly, 2 = Agree somewhat, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Disagree somewhat, 5 = Disagree strongly

trust – level of international trust, measured based on the question “Generally speaking, would you say that the U.S. can trust other nations, or that the U.S. should be very careful in dealing with other nations?” 1 = “The U.S. can trust other nations”, 2 = “The U.S. should be very careful in dealing with other nations”

ideo7 – ideology. 1 = Extremely liberal, 2 = Liberal, 3 = Slightly liberal, 4 = Moderate, middle of the road, 5 = Slightly Conservative, 6 = Conservative, 7 = Extremely Conservative

pid_1 – party ID. 1 = Republican, 2 = Democrat, 3 = Independent, 4 = Another party, 5 = No preference

pid_2 – strength of party affiliation (if Democrat or Republican selected in *pid_1*). 1 = Strong, 2 = Not very strong.

pid_3 – closer to which party, for those who did not select Republican or Democrat in *pid_1*. 1 = Republican Party, 2 = Democratic Party, 3 = Neither party.

dv1 – Approval of President. 1 = Strongly disapprove, 2 = Somewhat disapprove, 3 = neither approve nor disapprove, 4 = Somewhat approve, 5 = Strongly approve

best – Agreement with the statement “President Richards chose the best strategy for dealing with China.” 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

pacifist – Agreement with the statement “President Richards is a pacifist.” 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

warmonger – Agreement with the statement “President Richards is a warmonger.” 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

dv2 – Approval of President, measured after outcome is known. 1 = Strongly disapprove, 2 = Somewhat disapprove, 3 = neither approve nor disapprove, 4 = Somewhat approve, 5 = Strongly approve.

best_p – Agreement with the statement “President Richards chose the best strategy for dealing with China.” (Measured after outcome known). 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

pacifist_p – Agreement with the statement “President Richards is a pacifist.” (Measured after outcome known). 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

warmonger_p – Agreement with the statement “President Richards is a warmonger.” (Measured after outcome known). 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

mck_party – Party manipulation check. 1 = Is a member of the Republican Party, 2 = Is a member of the Democratic Party, 3 = Don’t know/Not sure.

mck_hawk – Hawk manipulation check. 1 = Usually favors diplomatic solutions over military ones. 2 = Usually favors military solutions over diplomatic ones. 3 = Don’t know/Not sure.

mck_mil – Conciliation manipulation check. 2 = Decreased the U.S. military presence in the Arctic. 3 = Maintained the U.S. military presence in the Arctic. 4 = Don’t know/Not sure

mck_succes – Outcome manipulation check. 1 = Pulled military forces out of the Arctic and said it would cooperate more with the U.S., 2 = Sent additional military forces to the Arctic and refused to cooperate with the U.S., 3 = Don’t know/Not sure.

educ – education. 1 = Did not graduate from high school, 2 = High school graduate, 3 = Some college, but no degree, 4 = 2-year college degree, 5 = 4-year college degree, 6 = Post-graduate degree

newsint – political interest, measured as extent to which respondents says they follow what is going on in government and public affairs. 1 = Most of the time, 2 = Some of the time, 3 = Only now and then, 4 = Hardly at all, 5 = Don’t know

voted12 – whether respondent said they voted in 2012. 1 = no, 2 = I usually vote, but did not in 2012, 3 = I am not sure, 4 = yes, I definitely voted

particip_1 – whether respondent attended local political meetings during the past year (such as school board or city council). 1 = yes, . = no

particip_2 – whether respondent put up a political sign (such as a lawn sign or a bumper sticker) in the last year. 1 = yes, . = no

particip_3 – whether respondent worked for a candidate or campaign in the past year. 1 = yes, . = no

particip_4 – whether respondent donated money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization in the last year. 1 = yes, . = no

relig_imp – measure of importance of religion to respondent, measured by asking “How important is religion in your life?” 1 = Very important, 2 = Somewhat important, 3 = Not too important, 4 = Not at all important

Part III: Variables in the Russia Sanctions dataset (Russia_Sanctions.dta)

caseid – unique case identifier

party_t – Presidential party experimental treatment: “Republican Party” = Republican, “Democratic Party” = Democrat

hawk_t – President hawk/dove experimental treatment: “hawk” = hawk, “dove” = dove

rapproche_t – conciliation/status quo experimental treatment: “cooperate” = conciliation/reduce sanctions, “confront” = non-cooperation/increase sanctions

success_t – success/failure experimental treatment: “success” = policy was a success, “failure” = policy was a failure

gender – gender identity. 1 = Male, 2 = Female

age_1-age_82 – indicator for age. Equals 1 if age = *_n*, 0 otherwise.

hawk5 – hawkishness, measured based on agreement with the statement “The use of military force only makes problems worse.” 1 = Agree strongly, 2 = Agree somewhat, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Disagree somewhat, 5 = Disagree strongly

intl – internationalism, measured based on agreement with the statement “The United States needs to play an active role in solving conflicts around the world.” 1 = Agree strongly, 2 = Agree somewhat, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Disagree somewhat, 5 = Disagree strongly

ideo7 – ideology. 1 = Extremely liberal, 2 = Liberal, 3 = Slightly liberal, 4 = Moderate, middle of the road, 5 = Slightly Conservative, 6 = Conservative, 7 = Extremely Conservative

pid_1 – party ID. 1 = Republican, 2 = Democrat, 3 = Independent, 4 = Another party, 5 = No preference

pid_2 – strength of party affiliation (if Democrat or Republican selected in *pid_1*). 1 = Strong, 2 = Not very strong.

pid_3 – closer to which party, for those who did not select Republican or Democrat in *pid_1*. 1 = Republican Party, 2 = Democratic Party, 3 = Neither party.

- dv1* – Approval of President. 1 = Strongly disapprove, 2 = Somewhat disapprove, 3 = neither approve nor disapprove, 4 = Somewhat approve, 5 = Strongly approve
- best* – Agreement with the statement “President Davis chose the best strategy for dealing with China.” 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree
- pacifist* – Agreement with the statement “President Davis is a pacifist.” 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree
- warmonger* – Agreement with the statement “President Davis is a warmonger.” 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree
- dv2* – Approval of President, measured after outcome is known. 1 = Strongly disapprove, 2 = Somewhat disapprove, 3 = neither approve nor disapprove, 4 = Somewhat approve, 5 = Strongly approve.
- mck_party* – Party manipulation check. 1 = Is a member of the Republican Party, 2 = Is a member of the Democratic Party, 3 = Is not a member of either party, 4 = Don’t know/Not sure.
- mck_hawk* – Hawk manipulation check. 1 = Usually favors diplomatic solutions over military ones. 2 = Usually favors military solutions over diplomatic ones. 3 = Don’t know/Not sure.
- mck_sanx* – Conciliation manipulation check. 1 = increased sanctions of Russia, 2 = decreased sanctions on Russia, 3 = Don’t know/Not sure
- mck_succes* – Outcome manipulation check. 1 = Pulled military forces out of the Arctic and said it would cooperate more with the U.S., 2 = Sent additional military forces to the Arctic and refused to cooperate with the U.S., 3 = Don’t know/Not sure.
- educ* – education. 1 = Did not graduate from high school, 2 = High school graduate, 3 = Some college, but no degree, 4 = 2-year college degree, 5 = 4-year college degree, 6 = Post-graduate degree
- newsint* – political interest, measured as extent to which respondents says they follow what is going on in government and public affairs. 1 = Most of the time, 2 = Some of the time, 3 = Only now and then, 4 = Hardly at all, 5 = Don’t know
- voted12* – whether respondent said they voted in 2012. 1 = no, 2 = I usually vote, but did not in 2012, 3 = I am not sure, 4 = yes, I definitely voted

particip_1 – whether respondent attended local political meetings during the past year (such as school board or city council). 1 = yes, . = no

particip_2 – whether respondent put up a political sign (such as a lawn sign or a bumper sticker) in the last year. 1 = yes, . = no

particip_3 – whether respondent worked for a candidate or campaign in the past year. 1 = yes, . = no

particip_4 – whether respondent donated money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization in the last year. 1 = yes, . = no

relig_imp – measure of importance of religion to respondent, measured by asking “How important is religion in your life?” 1 = Very important, 2 = Somewhat important, 3 = Not too important, 4 = Not at all important

Part IV: Variables in the China Demilitarization Agreement Data **(China_DemilitarizationAgreement.dta)**

caseid – unique case identifier

party_t – Presidential party experimental treatment: “Republican Party” = Republican, “Democratic Party” = Democrat

hawk_t – President hawk/dove experimental treatment: “hawk” = hawk, “dove” = dove

rapproche_t – conciliation/status quo experimental treatment: “cooperate” = conciliation, “neutral” = status quo

success_t – success/failure experimental treatment: “success” = policy was a success, “failure” = policy was a failure

gender – gender identity. 1 = Male, 2 = Female

age_1-age_82 – indicator for age. Equals 1 if age = *_n*, 0 otherwise.

hawk5 – hawkishness, measured based on agreement with the statement “The use of military force only makes problems worse.” 1 = Agree strongly, 2 = Agree somewhat, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Disagree somewhat, 5 = Disagree strongly

intl – internationalism, measured based on agreement with the statement “The United States needs to play an active role in solving conflicts around the world.” 1 = Agree strongly, 2 = Agree somewhat, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Disagree somewhat, 5 = Disagree strongly

trust – level of international trust, measured based on the question “Generally speaking, would you say that the U.S. can trust other nations, or that the U.S. should be very careful in dealing with other nations?” 1 = “The U.S. can trust other nations”, 2 = “The U.S. should be very careful in dealing with other nations”

ideo7 – ideology. 1 = Extremely liberal, 2 = Liberal, 3 = Slightly liberal, 4 = Moderate, middle of the road, 5 = Slightly Conservative, 6 = Conservative, 7 = Extremely conservative

pid_1 – party ID. 1 = Republican, 2 = Democrat, 3 = Independent, 4 = Another party, 5 = No preference

pid_2 – strength of party affiliation (if Democrat or Republican selected in *pid_1*). 1 = Strong, 2 = Not very strong.

pid_3 – closer to which party, for those who did not select Republican or Democrat in *pid_1*. 1 = Republican Party, 2 = Democratic Party, 3 = Neither party

dv1 – Approval of President. 1 = Strongly disapprove, 2 = Somewhat disapprove, 3 = neither approve nor disapprove, 4 = Somewhat approve, 5 = Strongly approve

best – Agreement with the statement “President Richards chose the best strategy for dealing with China.” 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

pacifist – Agreement with the statement “President Richards is a pacifist.” 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

warmonger – Agreement with the statement “President Richards is a warmonger.” 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

dv2 – Approval of President, measured after outcome is known. 1 = Strongly disapprove, 2 = Somewhat disapprove, 3 = neither approve nor disapprove, 4 = Somewhat approve, 5 = Strongly approve.

best_p – Agreement with the statement “President Richards chose the best strategy for dealing with China.” (Measured after outcome known). 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

pacifist_p – Agreement with the statement “President Richards is a pacifist.” (Measured after outcome known). 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

warmonger_p – Agreement with the statement “President Richards is a warmonger.” (Measured after outcome known). 1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Somewhat agree, 5 = Strongly agree

mck_party – Party manipulation check. 1 = Is a member of the Republican Party, 2 = Is a member of the Democratic Party, 3 = Don’t know/Not sure.

mck_hawk – Hawk manipulation check. 1 = Usually favors diplomatic solutions over military ones. 2 = Usually favors military solutions over diplomatic ones. 3 = Don’t know/Not sure.

mck_mil – Conciliation manipulation check. 2 = Removed the U.S. military presence from the Arctic. 3 = Maintained the U.S. military presence in the Arctic. 4 = Don’t know/Not sure

mck_succes – Outcome manipulation check. 1 = Pulled military forces out of the Arctic. 2 = Kept its military force in the Arctic. 3 = Don’t know/Not sure.

mck_plaus – Whether respondent believed “It is likely that by 2027, there will be real-world tensions between China and the U.S. over the Arctic.” 1 = Agree strongly, 2 = Agree somewhat, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Disagree somewhat, 5 = Disagree strongly

educ – education. 1 = Did not graduate from high school, 2 = High school graduate, 3 = Some college, but no degree, 4 = 2-year college degree, 5 = 4-year college degree, 6 = Post-graduate degree

newsint – political interest, measured as extent to which respondents says they follow what is going on in government and public affairs. 1 = Most of the time, 2 = Some of the time, 3 = Only now and then, 4 = Hardly at all, 5 = Don’t know

voted16 – whether respondent said they voted in 2016. 1 = no, 2 = I usually vote, but did not in 2016, 3 = I am not sure, 4 = yes, I definitely voted

particip_1 – whether respondent attended local political meetings during the past year (such as school board or city council). 1 = yes, . = no

particip_2 – whether respondent put up a political sign (such as a lawn sign or a bumper sticker) in the last year. 1 = yes, . = no

particip_3 – whether respondent worked for a candidate or campaign in the past year. 1 = yes, . = no

particip_4 – whether respondent donated money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization in the last year. 1 = yes, . = no

relig_imp – measure of importance of religion to respondent, measured by asking “How important is religion in your life?” 1 = Very important, 2 = Somewhat important, 3 = Not too important, 4 = Not at all important