

COVER SHEET FOR PROPOSAL TO THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

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| PROGRAM ANNOUNCEMENT/SOLICITATION NO./DUE DATE PD 19-118Y 01/15/2024 | | <input type="checkbox"/> Special Exception to Deadline Date Policy | | FOR NSF USE ONLY NSF PROPOSAL NUMBER | |
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| TITLE OF PROPOSED PROJECT Access and Influence? U.S. and Chinese Military Presence and Popular Support in Host Countries | | | | | SHOW LETTER OF INTENT ID IF APPLICABLE |
| REQUESTED AMOUNT \$ 490,108 | PROPOSED DURATION (1-60 MONTHS) 12 months | REQUESTED STARTING DATE 09/01/2024 | | SHOW RELATED PRELIMINARY PROPOSAL NO. IF APPLICABLE | |
| THIS PROPOSAL INCLUDES ANY OF THE ITEMS LISTED BELOW | | | | | |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> TYPE OF PROPOSAL Research <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> COLLABORATIVE STATUS Collaborative from one organization <input type="checkbox"/> BEGINNING INVESTIGATOR <input type="checkbox"/> DISCLOSURE OF LOBBYING ACTIVITIES <input type="checkbox"/> PROPRIETARY & PRIVILEGED INFORMATION <input type="checkbox"/> HISTORIC PLACES <input type="checkbox"/> LIVE VERTEBRATE ANIMALS IACUC App. Date _____ PHS Animal Welfare Assurance Number _____ | | | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> HUMAN SUBJECTS Human Subjects Assurance Number _____ Exemption Subsection _____ or IRB App. Date pending <input type="checkbox"/> FUNDING OF INT'L BRANCH CAMPUS OF U.S. IHE <input type="checkbox"/> FUNDING OF FOREIGN ORGANIZATION OR FOREIGN INDIVIDUAL <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITIES: COUNTRY/COUNTRIES INVOLVED CB DJ KE <input type="checkbox"/> POTENTIAL LIFE SCIENCES DUAL USE RESEARCH OF CONCERN <input type="checkbox"/> OFF-CAMPUS OR OFF-SITE RESEARCH | | |
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CERTIFICATION PAGE

Certification for Authorized Organizational Representative(or Equivalent)

By electronically signing and submitting this proposal, the Authorized Organizational Representative(AOR) is:(1)certifying that statements made here in are true and complete to the best of the individual's knowledge; and(2)agreeing to accept the obligation to comply with NSF award terms and conditions if an award is made as a result of this proposal. Further, the proposer is hereby providing certifications regarding conflict of interest, flood hazard insurance, responsible and ethical conduct of research, organizational support,and safe and inclusive working environments for off-campus or off-site research, as set forth in the NSF Proposal & Award Policies & Procedures Guide(PAPPG).Willful provision of false information in this application and its supporting documents or in reports required under an ensuing award is a criminal offense(U.S.Code,Title 18,Section§1001).

Certification Regarding Conflict of Interest

The AOR is required to complete certifications stating that the organization has implemented and is enforcing a written policy on conflicts of interest (COI), consistent with the provisions of PAPPG Chapter IX.A; and that, to the best of the individual's knowledge, all financial disclosures required by the conflict of interest policy were made; and that conflicts of interest, if any, were, or prior to the organization's expenditure of any funds under the award, will be, satisfactorily managed, reduced or eliminated in accordance with the organization's conflict of interest policy. Conflicts that cannot be satisfactorily managed, reduced or eliminated and research that proceeds without the imposition of conditions or restrictions when a conflict of interest exists, must be disclosed to NSF via use of the Notifications and Requests module with Research.gov

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Two sections of the National Flood Insurance Act of 1968 (42 USC §4012a and §4106) bar Federal agencies from giving financial assistance for acquisition or construction purposes in any area identified by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) as having special flood hazards unless the:

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- (1) for NSF awards for the construction of a building or facility, regardless of the dollar amount of the award; and
- (2) for other NSF awards when more than \$25,000 has been budgeted in the proposal for repair, alteration or improvement (construction) of a building or facility.

Certification Regarding Responsible and Ethical Conduct of Research (RECR)

(This Certification applies to proposals submitted prior to July 31, 2023, and is not applicable to proposals for conferences, symposia, and workshops.)

By electronically signing the Certification Pages, the Authorized Organizational Representative is certifying that, in accordance with the NSF Proposal & Award Policies & Procedures Guide, Chapter IX.B., the institution has a plan in place to provide appropriate training and oversight in the responsible and ethical conduct of research to undergraduates, graduate students and postdoctoral researchers who will be supported by NSF to conduct research. The AOR shall require that the language of this certification be included in any award documents for all subawards at all tiers.

Certification Regarding Responsible and Ethical Conduct of Research (RECR)

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By electronically signing the Certification Pages, the Authorized Organizational Representative is certifying that, in accordance with the NSF Proposal & Award Policies and Procedures Guide, Chapter IX.B., the institution has a plan in place to provide appropriate training and oversight in the responsible and ethical conduct of research to undergraduate students, graduate students, postdoctoral researchers, faculty, and other senior personnel who will be supported by NSF to conduct research. As required by Section 7009 of the America Creating Opportunities to Meaningfully Promote Excellence in Technology, Education, and Science (COMPETES) Act (42 USC 1862o–1), as amended, the training addresses mentor training and mentorship. The AOR shall require that the language of this certification be included in any award documents for all subawards at all tiers.

Certification Regarding Organizational Support

By electronically signing the Certification Pages, the Authorized Organizational Representative (or equivalent) is certifying that there is organizational support for the proposal as required by Section 526 of the America COMPETES Reauthorization Act of 2010. This support extends to the portion of the proposal developed to satisfy the Broader Impacts Review Criterion as well as the Intellectual Merit Review Criterion, and any additional review criteria specified in the solicitation. Organizational support will be made available, as described in the proposal, in order to address the broader impacts and intellectual merit activities to be undertaken.

Certification Regarding Dual Use Research of Concern

By electronically signing the certification pages, the Authorized Organizational Representative is certifying that the organization will be or is in compliance with all aspects of the United States Government Policy for Institutional Oversight of Life Sciences Dual Use Research of Concern.

Certification Requirement Specified in the William M.(Mac)Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021, Section 223(a)(1) (42 USC 6605(a)(1))

By electronically signing the Certification Pages, the Authorized Organizational Representative is certifying that each individual employed by the organization and identified on the proposal as senior personnel has been made aware of the certification requirements identified in the William M.(Mac) Thornberry National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2021, Section 223(a)(1) (42 USC 6605(a)(1)).

Certification Regarding Safe and Inclusive Working Environments for Off-Campus or Off-Site Research

(This certification applies only to proposals in which data/information/samples are being collected off-campus or off-site, such as fieldwork and research activities on vessels and aircraft.)

By electronically signing the Certification Pages, the Authorized Organizational Representative is certifying that, in accordance with the NSF Proposal & Award Policies and Procedures Guide, Chapter II.E.9, the organization has a plan in place **for this proposal** regarding safe and inclusive working environments.

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| NAME | | | |
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Overview

Projecting power through the overseas deployment of military personnel is central to how great powers exert influence abroad. Since the end of World War II, the United States has had a virtual monopoly on military basing through its network of allies and overseas facilities. However, that monopoly is eroding as competitors like China seek to expand their own overseas military presence and access. This project explores the social, political, and economic nature of the interactions between host-state populations and foreign military personnel. These interactions have substantial implications for great powers' ability to build host-country support for foreign deployments, bases, and access. The project compares the influence-building efforts of the United States and China in current and prospective base-host countries. Across regime types, local populations—which may have concerns about crime, pollution, and sovereignty—can influence the scope of foreign military access. This project proposes a one-year plan of studying three countries where basing access is increasingly the subject of great power contestation: Cambodia, Djibouti, and Kenya. The project will include mass public surveys in all three countries as well as fieldwork to conduct elite interviews in Djibouti.

Intellectual Merit

The proposed research project focuses on three basic science research aims that will result in major insights into international relations theory, political economy, international security, and data: exploring how elites and the public in host states view existing or potential U.S. and Chinese military presences in their countries; understanding how these views are shaped by economic incentives and contact with U.S. and Chinese citizens, especially military personnel; and exploring the social, economic, and political effects of great power military deployments in lower-income and lower-middle-income states, thus building on previous research that has focused overwhelmingly on deployments in upper-income states.

Foundational works treat great power competition for bases as the province of states and their elite decision-makers. However, recent scholarship shows the public has an important say in policy. How a great power's military personnel behave within a host state can shape how permissive the host government is. The three countries chosen vary in how much influence each major power has and allows our research design to use both observational and experimental questions to gauge public and elite perceptions. The data will enable international relations, political science, economics, psychology, and sociology scholars to answer questions about the relationship between mass attitudes and state behavior.

The project will contribute to basic social science research in two primary bodies of scholarship. First, the project will contribute to the literature on foreign military bases and access by showing how great power competition shapes the domestic foundations of support for basing. Second, the project will contribute to the literature on how great powers use foreign policy tools to influence other countries by expanding it to a new dependent variable—support for great power bases—and by comparing how effective economic incentives and contact with U.S. and Chinese citizens are in shaping that support.

Broader Impacts

This project has impacts on scholarship, enhancing understanding of influence in the security domain and the sources of leverage in sovereign bargaining over military access. This project also has impacts on policy, informing U.S. national security debates over the impact of China's growing economic investments in countries that host military presence. This research will also reach across borders, demonstrating how the military-adjacent communities can minimize harm and foster positive relations with foreign host communities. The research team purposefully includes diverse and underrepresented voices in the project. There is gender, national, and ethnic diversity among the investigators, and our recruitment of a research assistant from the University of Miami, a Hispanic-Serving Institution, will target NSF-defined groups of underrepresentation in the sciences by advertising investigators will take such status into primary consideration when hiring for the position. The project further includes plans to host a student workshop on experimental design in surveys and a research presentation that will help to disseminate our results, lessons learned, and methodological insights for the community, both on the University of Miami campus.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

For font size and page formatting specifications, see PAPPG section II.B.2.

| | Total No. of Pages | Page No.* (Optional)* |
|--|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| Cover Sheet for Proposal to the National Science Foundation | | |
| Project Summary (not to exceed 1 page) | <u>1</u> | <u> </u> |
| Table of Contents | <u>1</u> | <u> </u> |
| Project Description (Including Results from Prior NSF Support) (not to exceed 15 pages) (Exceed only if allowed by a specific program announcement/solicitation or if approved in advance by the appropriate NSF Assistant Director or designee) | <u>15</u> | <u> </u> |
| References Cited | <u>4</u> | <u> </u> |
| Biographical Sketches (Not to exceed 3 pages each) | <u>13</u> | <u> </u> |
| Budget (Plus up to 5 pages of budget justification. For proposals that contain subaward(s), each subaward must include a separate budget justification of no more than 5 pages) | <u>16</u> | <u> </u> |
| Current and Pending Support | <u>12</u> | <u> </u> |
| Facilities, Equipment and Other Resources | <u>8</u> | <u> </u> |
| Special Information/Supplementary Documents (Data Management Plan, Mentoring Plan and Other Supplementary Documents) | <u>3</u> | <u> </u> |
| Appendix (List below.) (Include only if allowed by a specific program announcement/solicitation or if approved in advance by the appropriate NSF Assistant Director or designee) | <u> </u> | <u> </u> |
| Appendix Items: | | |

*Proposers may select any numbering mechanism for the proposal. The entire proposal however, must be paginated. Complete both columns only if the proposal is numbered consecutively.

Access and Influence? U.S. and Chinese Military Presence and Popular Support in Host Countries

1. Background

The ability to project military power abroad is a central means by which states exert influence in international politics, allowing them to defeat adversaries and reassure allies across large distances (Levy and Thompson 2010; Markowitz and Fariss 2013; Blankenship and Lin-Greenberg 2022). To project power, states need access to other countries' territory, often in the form of foreign military bases, which allow states to control territory, forward deploy personnel, and resupply their forces (Harkavy 1989; Posen 2003). Basing access, however, is often precarious. In the current international system, states typically rely on the consent of sovereign host states to build and maintain their foreign military presence. This strategy contrasts with earlier periods when states secured bases through force, coercion, and formal empire (Schmidt 2020). Because host states can grant or deny access, they are subject to pressure as great power rivals like the United States and China increasingly compete for access and influence worldwide.

The proposed project treats host support and major power competition as key variables to explore, asking two basic science research questions for international relations: What factors affect host support for foreign military presence? And how does competition from foreign powers, in turn, shape these factors?

The systematic study of overseas military basing and how it affects and is affected by host populations is still new. While military basing is a centuries-old practice, methods of securing military access have evolved. Traditionally, the ability to deploy troops in other states' territory primarily arose from conquest and colonialism. After World War II and into the period of decolonization, alliances, and regime change, they provided a path for the United States and the Soviet Union to have long-term military access to (or control over) other's territories. While the collapse of the Soviet Union led to a withdrawal from most Russian bases, the United States expanded its network to include most of the globe.

However, even a global basing network does not provide unfettered access. For example, the United States maintained between 2,000–3,000 troops in Turkey in the lead-up to the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003. Yet, upon requesting the use of Turkey as a launching pad for its invasion, the Turkish parliament unexpectedly refused the U.S. request. As this example illustrates, access is an ongoing political and bargaining process that requires consent from the granting state. Moreover, this bargaining process often encounters internal challenges from domestic audiences within a host country who oppose the foreign military presence. Internal challenges are rooted in abstract ideas about infringement upon host sovereignty and the negative effects that bases impose on their environments, including noise, environmental pollution, traffic congestion, and crime committed by the basing power's service members.

To overcome these potential objections, basing countries use different policy tools to win both elite and popular support for a military presence. These include using financial incentives to curry favor—building infrastructure for the host population and hiring local labor—as well as taking steps to ensure that the host population has positive social interactions with military personnel (Allen et al. 2020; Blankenship and Joyce 2020; Martínez Machain et al. 2022). As reported by the Washington Post in April 2023, the U.S. Department of Defense believes that “the PLA likely will use tailored approaches to address local concerns as it seeks to improve relations with amenable countries and advance its overseas basing goals” (Hudson, Nakashima, and Sly 2023). The U.S. State Department similarly noted in 2018 that “the United States has created a strong Djiboutian constituency that favors our military presence, owing to increased local hiring and contracting with Djiboutian companies at Camp Lemonnier” (State Department 2018, 2).

Despite the importance of these tools in cultivating host support and the centrality of host support to bargaining over access, both support and its drivers remain understudied. This project builds on the work of three scholars (Allen, Flynn, and Martinez Machain) on this proposal to uncover the individual-level determinants of support. This project further builds on the work of the other two scholars (Blankenship and Joyce), which focused on explaining how competition shapes basing at the macro level to investigate the micro-foundations of how U.S.-China competition shapes public and elite sentiment in host countries.

In several ways, the emerging era of great power basing is distinctive from either the Cold War or post-Cold War periods. First, unlike the post-Cold War period, the United States faces geopolitical competition from near-peer great powers like China. As a result, the challenges to U.S. bases no longer

stem solely from internal forces—concerns among the population about crime, pollution, and infringements on sovereignty—but also have an essential external component.

Second, unlike the Cold War, China's challenge to U.S. bases is often more indirect and asymmetric than the Soviet Union. The U.S. and Soviet Union competed for bases directly but rarely had bases in the same countries (Nieman et al. 2021). China, by contrast, has pursued a lighter-footprint basing model and has often sought access and influence in countries that could or already do host a U.S. base. For example, in 2015 China established a permanent military base in Djibouti, which already hosted the largest U.S. base in Africa. Similarly, much of China's effort has focused on establishing military access to other states' existing military or commercial installations, such as dual-use commercial ports (Kardon 2022). China has thus followed a different power projection model that better fits with a strategy of avoiding confrontation and building political, economic, and military influence (Doshi 2021). For example, in December of 2023, the first Chinese military vessels docked in Cambodia's Ream Naval base, which had recently been renovated through Chinese grant funding (Gan 2023).

Moreover, much of China's challenge to U.S. bases is economic rather than directly military in nature. China has emerged as a massive source of global lending and foreign investment, particularly since the announcement of the Belt and Road Initiative in 2013, and many recipients of Chinese investment are U.S. base hosts, which poses two primary challenges for the United States. As two investigators on this project have shown in their previous research (Joyce and Blankenship 2023), this type of economic influence from a rival power poses at least two challenges to their competitors' basing efforts. First, that rival can actively seek to use its economic incentives to convince policymakers or the public within a host state to block access to a rival power seeking to build or expand a new military base. For example, the United States has actively pressured its ally, the United Arab Emirates, to scrap a plan to allow for the installation of a Chinese military facility near Abu Dhabi (Hudson, Nakashima, and Sly 2023). Second, the rival's economic engagement can crowd out the incentives the basing country offers or reduce the basing country's positive image by making it look worse by comparison (Joyce and Blankenship 2023).

To understand the dynamics of U.S.-China competition in this new era and answer the research questions—what factors affect host support, and how competition shapes these factors—we will compare the efforts of the United States and China in building influence among the public and elites in current and prospective basing and military-access countries. Public consent is a crucial determinant of military access. This required consent is necessary in democracies where political leaders hold office with the public's consent. Still, even in non-democracies, leaders have good reason to take public opinion into account lest anti-base protests snowball into a broader anti-regime movement. For basing countries, the possibility that the host country might democratize creates incentives to cultivate public consent (Cooley 2008).

The project focuses on three countries: Djibouti, Kenya, and Cambodia. In Djibouti, the United States and China have military presences dating to 2001 and 2015, respectively. The United States has a decades-old military presence in Kenya, while China has a significant economic presence but no formal base presence. In addition, a 2023 U.S. Department of Defense report notes that China's People's Liberation Army Strategic Support Force "operates tracking, telemetry, and command stations" in Kenya (DoD 2023). Cambodia is a case where China has military access but the United States does not. In June 2022, a Chinese official announced that China would have military access to Cambodia's Ream Naval Base, although details remain limited (DoD 2023, 154).

This project has three overarching goals. First, it aims to understand how social and economic contact with major powers' military and civilian representatives shapes perceptions of the sending country and support for its military access and presence in the host country. Second, it seeks to assess how host country interactions with rival third-party countries moderate the effects of this contact. Third, it compares the impact of military contact to non-military contact to determine whether military interactions are more or less effective in building goodwill and support for hosting a foreign military presence.

2. Theory and Significance

This project tests factors that shape host support for foreign military bases and how those factors are shaped by competition between the United States and China. We have two primary sets of outcome variables—

support for hosting a U.S. and Chinese military presence and views of the United States and China—and two primary sets of independent variables—exposure to social contact and economic benefits from the United States and China. Our predictions are twofold. First, we expect positive social contact and economic benefits from the United States or China to increase support for hosting that country’s military. Second, we expect competition will moderate these effects. Exposure to positive social contact and economic benefits from either the U.S. or China may effectively crowd out those of the other, reducing their effectiveness in increasing public support for bases. The findings will also allow us to examine whether the effects of exposure to social contact and economic incentives vary depending on the sender’s identity— whether military or civilian and American or Chinese.

Our theory and empirical predictions draw upon our previous research. First, several investigators on the project have published work on public perceptions of U.S. bases (Allen et al. 2020; Martinez Machain et al. 2022). Their work emphasizes the importance of *social contact* and *incentives*. Specifically, their findings suggest that exposure to positive interactions with U.S. military personnel and economic benefits from the U.S. military presence increases favorable views of the U.S. presence. This project builds on these findings by testing whether they generalize across different base hosts; assessing whether they hold in the case of Chinese bases; and exploring the degree to which these effects are moderated by competition.

Second, other investigators on the project have studied the effects of economic competition from China on the United States’ ability to maintain access to foreign bases (Blankenship and Joyce 2020; Joyce and Blankenship 2023). They find that economic incentives from China can crowd out the incentives offered by the United States for bases, forcing the United States to either increase its compensation or risk eviction. This project builds on these findings by exploring whether a similar pattern holds at the level of public opinion, with exposure to Chinese incentives decreasing support for hosting the U.S. military—or vice-versa. In doing so, it tests the micro-level foundations of theoretical mechanisms developed in our previous research.

More broadly, this project draws on and contributes to basic social science research in two bodies of scholarship. The first is the politics of foreign military bases and access, which has extensively studied the domestic politics of basing and great power competition for bases but traditionally has done so separately. We fill this gap by providing evidence of how great power competition shapes the domestic foundations of support for basing. In addition, we move beyond much of the U.S.-focused existing literature and consider Chinese power projection and basing. The second is the literature on power, influence, and competition in international politics, which studies how countries use a variety of economic, political, and military tools—including foreign aid, arms sales, and military training—to achieve goals ranging from favorable votes in the United Nations to assistance during wartime. This literature, however, has largely neglected military bases and access as an outcome of interest. This project thus contributes to our understanding of the uses and limits of economic, political, and military tools as instruments of foreign policy influence. In the remainder of this section, we summarize these two bodies of literature and describe how our project contributes to them in more detail.

A. The Politics of Foreign Basing

Early scholarship on bases focused on understanding how great powers use, acquire, and compete for bases. Perhaps most notably, Robert Harkavy’s (1982, 1989, 2007) work offered sweeping accounts of great power bases over eight centuries, with particular emphasis on how the United States and Soviet Union attempted to acquire bases and deny them to each other using various economic, political, and military tools. Other scholars focus primarily on the United States, attempting to chronicle the scope and purpose of the vast U.S. basing network during and after the Cold War (Sandars 2000; Vine 2015; Moore and Walker 2016). This body of scholarship, however, is largely descriptive and almost exclusively focused on government-to-government interactions.

More recently, scholars have opened the black box of basing relationships to explore how domestic politics in host countries can shape the political viability of overseas bases and how basing countries, in turn, can adapt. Calder (2007), Cooley (2008), and Yeo (2011) all shed light on how domestic anti-base movements can pressure host governments to evict foreign militaries, particularly during periods of democratic transition. Building on this work, Allen, Flynn, Martínez Machain, and Stravers—the first three

of whom are investigators on this project—explore the micro-foundations of domestic support for foreign bases using surveys across fourteen countries, with findings suggesting that positive economic and social interactions between U.S. personnel and the host population can build support for the U.S. military presence (Allen et al. 2020; Martínez Machain et al. 2022).

These two strains of literature have mainly remained separate, leaving a gap in our understanding of how great power competition can shape the foundations of domestic support for hosting foreign bases. This competition can be directly military, as in the case of U.S.-Soviet competition for bases during the Cold War (Harkavy 1982; Nieman et al. 2021). But it can also be broader, with rivals seeking political and economic influence across the same countries. For example, China has primarily sought influence with economic tools, perhaps most notably through its Belt and Road Initiative, which has financed some \$500 billion in infrastructure globally since 2008. China has relied on access to infrastructure like ports through the ownership rights of state-owned enterprises to project power, as in Cambodia (Kardon 2022; Kardon and Leutert 2022). Additionally, China acquired the rights to its first foreign military base in Djibouti in 2015, and since then has sought base rights in countries across Asia, Africa, and even the Americas (Hudson, Nakashima, and Sly 2023; Strobel and Lubold 2023). Leaks of Department of Defense documents, reported by the Washington Post in April 2023, revealed U.S. military estimates that “the PLA seeks to establish at least 5 overseas bases and 10 logistic support sites by 2030 to fulfill Beijing’s national security objectives, including protecting its economic interests abroad.” Even where China does not seek bases, its economic footprint poses problems for the United States, as China can use its influence and economic leverage to deny U.S. access. In Kenya, for example, U.S. officials have indicated their alarm at the country’s willingness to hire a Chinese construction firm to complete upgrades to a joint Kenya-U.S. counterterrorism base unless the United States pays for the upgrades itself, fearing that the Kenyans could leverage geopolitical ties with China for economic gain (Phillips 2023).

The proposed project attempts to fill this gap by exploring how military, social, and economic contact with rival countries shapes those rivals’ ability to curry influence and acquire and maintain foreign basing access. In doing so, it will shed light on additional mechanisms through which great power competition can shape foreign bases beyond government-to-government interactions. It will also explore how countries’ influence attempts can be undermined (or not) by those of rival countries. Moreover, it will expand our understanding of great power competition for bases beyond the literature’s focus on U.S.-Soviet Cold War relations and on bases in upper-income host countries in regions like Europe and East Asia. In the current environment, competition for bases occurs in a world characterized by strong norms of sovereignty, in which base access must be granted consensually and in which many hosts are either democratic or could democratize (Cooley 2008; Schmidt 2020). Therefore, understanding the mechanisms that govern the consent of domestic populations toward foreign military basing and deployments is crucial for comprehending the conditions under which great powers can project power abroad. This project highlights unique features of the China-U.S. relationship and presents new hypotheses on the interaction between democratic and autocratic powers in their competition for international influence.

B. Power, Influence, and Competition in International Politics

Scholars have long been interested in the sources of power and influence in international relations. Perhaps the most-studied source of power in international relations and political science is changing other actors’ incentives to make it rational for them to comply with an actor’s preferences (Dahl 1961). Aside from the threat or use of force—which has over time become a less common means of securing foreign bases (Lake 1996; Schmidt 2020)—states can use positive inducements to structure other actors’ incentives. Indeed, the literature suggests that states often use tools of economic statecraft like foreign aid to buy foreign policy influence and secure access to bases (Carter and Stone 2015; Alexander and Rooney 2019; Blankenship and Joyce 2020; Joyce and Blankenship 2023). However, there is some evidence that this effect may vary across states. A recent study of U.S. and Chinese aid to 38 different African countries found a link between U.S. aid and positive views of the United States. However, Chinese aid did not affect public support or actively reduce it (Blair et al. 2022). This divergence suggests that major powers who compete for public approval using similar tools may not achieve similar effects, and highlights the need for research to see how such interventions may uniquely affect civilians in host countries.

Beyond structuring other actors' incentives, states can also attempt to elicit cooperation through what Joseph Nye (1990, 2004) called "soft power," which refers to how an actor can influence others by persuading them to adopt its preferences as their own, often by attracting them with a favorable image. Overseas military deployments can be a source of soft power (Atkinson 2014). First, the most obvious way military deployments can encourage soft power is through humanitarian missions where service members assist with health care or disaster relief. These acts build support for the basing country as it is clear that the assistance comes from the base power (Flynn, Martinez Machain, and Stoyan 2019). Second, service members integrated into overseas communities can build soft power, although this is harder to observe. Routine daily behavior by service members on and off base creates potential points of interaction that can build support for a basing country's mission in a host country. Research finds that interactions with service members can reduce stereotypes, build goodwill, and humanize a deployed force such that contact alone can produce positive assessments of a foreign-deployed army (Allen et al. 2022). States with an active, non-isolated presence can actively build support for their presence with local populations.

Additionally, existing scholarship indicates rival providers can undermine states' influence attempts. The literature on foreign aid and economic statecraft, for example, suggests that states and international organizations like the World Bank are less able to make their assistance conditional on policy concessions when recipients have alternative sources of aid and financing (Dunning 2004; Bueno de Mesquita and Smith 2016; Woods 2008; Kastner and Pearson 2021; Watkins 2022).

However, the literature leaves gaps in our understanding of great power inducements and influence. For one, tools of influence—such as foreign aid, military contact, and military training—are typically studied independently rather than comparatively. Research on influence and policy concessions also tends to ignore military bases and focuses on government-to-government interactions rather than government-to-public interactions, while work on influence and public opinion tends not to focus on public support for policy concessions and tends to ignore the role of foreign competition. Indeed, while the U.S. Department of Defense worries that the PRC targets countries for future military installations, we know little about the "host nation receptivity" to these intentions (Hudson, Nakashima, and Sly 2023). This project fills these gaps by offering evidence on the relative importance of different forms of power (soft power stemming from social interactions and goodwill versus hard power in the form of economic incentives) coming from different instruments (military versus non-military) and different actors (the United States versus China) under conditions of competition.

3. Research Objectives and Hypotheses

As described above, our overarching research questions are: What factors affect host support for foreign military presence? And how does competition from foreign powers, in turn, shape these factors? To answer these questions, we propose a one-year project to study how U.S.-China competition shapes the two major powers' ability to maintain support for their foreign military bases. We have selected three countries for our study based on variations in U.S. and Chinese military presence: Cambodia, Djibouti, and Kenya. Djibouti allows us to assess the interaction of U.S. and Chinese military presence directly, as it is the only country where both powers have bases. Kenya and Cambodia, by contrast, are cases where one power has a military presence but the other does not. In Kenya, the United States has a military presence, whereas China has a significant economic presence that U.S. policymakers worry might jeopardize U.S. access. Finally, Cambodia has had a Chinese military presence since as late as 2022.

This variation allows us to study how support for foreign bases varies across environments featuring different amounts and types of foreign competition. Djibouti, for example, will enable us to assess how the public and elites react when they are in close proximity with both U.S. and Chinese military personnel, while the other two cases allow us to study support for bases in an environment in which respondents are exposed to military contact with one of the two great powers but primarily non-military (economic and civilian) forms of contact with the other great power.

As described in more detail below, our project will combine evidence on the views of the public, measured using nationwide surveys in all three countries, with evidence from elites captured with fieldwork and interviews in Djibouti. By elites, we refer to individuals who either "have relevant expertise or occupy

positions that control significant foreign policy resources” or who “occupy high positions outside of foreign policy settings but are adjacent to or affected by foreign policy decisions (for example, business elites, or legislators with no direct foreign policy role or expertise)” (Saunders 2022, 222). We choose to study elites and the public separately, given that the two kinds of actors differ in their knowledge about policy outcomes and influence over policy, and that they may respond to different incentives.

We chose Djibouti as the site for fieldwork as it is the place that allows for military access by multiple countries and a higher chance for civilian interactions with foreign military personnel. Djibouti is a rare case where U.S. and Chinese military bases are in close geographic proximity within the same country. While the uniqueness of the situation may disqualify Djibouti as a generalizable case for fieldwork, it is important for a few reasons. First, such dual-access cases are likely to increase in the future. Djibouti may represent a wave of countries seeking favor from multiple countries simultaneously. Various countries in the Cold War sought support from both the United States and the Soviet Union instead of being an exclusive client of one major power, while others, like Egypt, switched their alignment from one major power to the other. Djibouti may be a model for other countries in the near future. Second, Djibouti offers the opportunity to examine interactions with both the United States and China within the same context, which is essential for studying how competition shapes publics’ support for basing. Third, and importantly for basic science, we can assess the micro-foundations of influence at the ground level within the host country and whether one country is more capable of influence than another. Assessing whether influence is a zero-sum or positive-sum game cannot be done in isolation, and Djibouti allows us to see the direct competition between the two powers.

A. Theory-Building Research Objectives

Much of the work in this project aims at theory-building. For example, we know relatively little about how people view China’s foreign military presence, as most of the existing literature has overwhelmingly focused on China’s economic efforts to build influence. Similarly, while existing literature has studied public perceptions of economic inducements like foreign aid, and how contact with military personnel shapes public perceptions of the country that stations them, we know little about the relative effects of economic and social contact with military personnel and non-military civilians (work by two of the team members is a rare exception (see Flynn, Martinez Machain, and Stoyan 2019)).

- Theory-Building Research Questions
 - To what extent are members of the public aware that the United States and China have a military presence in their countries?
 - To what extent do members of the public and elites in actual or potential base host countries support the United States and China having a military presence in their countries?
 - To what extent do members of the public and elites in actual or potential base host countries hold favorable views of the United States and China?
 - Do members of the public and elites have more positive views of interactions with a country’s military personnel or civilians, all else being equal?

B. Theory-Testing Hypotheses

We test a series of hypotheses on how exposure to contact with the U.S. and Chinese citizens and commerce shapes public and elite views on the United States, China, and their foreign military presence. As we describe in more detail below, we test these hypotheses using a combination of surveys and interviews that ask respondents about their contact with U.S. and Chinese citizens and whether they derive economic benefits from their military presences. Furthermore, we explore how support for hosting a foreign military is shaped in survey experiments that prime respondents with information about the economic benefits offered by one or both of the United States and China, whether through the mechanism of having a military base or through foreign aid and commerce. In the experiment, respondents will be primed with information about economic benefits from the United States, China, both, or neither, and will then be asked about their level of support for those countries’ bases.

The first four hypotheses build on existing findings. The first two are rooted in the literature on social contact and soft power. Research suggests positive public diplomacy can improve foreign perceptions

of a sending state (Goldsmith et al. 2021; Mattingly and Sunquist 2022). A recent wave of literature suggests that this can also be true of military contact, with studies finding that contact with U.S. military personnel improves foreign perceptions of the United States (Flynn, Martinez Machain, and Stoyan 2019; Allen et al. 2020; Martinez Machain et al. 2022).

We derive the third and fourth hypotheses from the basing and foreign aid literature. Research on foreign aid suggests aid can increase public support for donors (Goldsmith et al. 2014; Blair et al. 2022) and secure policy concessions for the donor (Bueno de Mesquita and Smith 2007; Carter and Stone 2015; Alexander and Rooney 2019). Similarly, economic tools are a central means states use to secure host consent for their foreign military bases, and studies have found that exposure to economic benefits increases support for a country's military presence and positive views of that country (Flynn, Martinez Machain, and Stoyan 2019; Allen et al. 2020; Blankenship and Joyce 2020; Martinez Machain et al. 2022; Joyce and Blankenship 2023).

- **Theory-Testing Hypotheses**

- H1: Positive (negative) interactions between deployed personnel and citizens of the host country will increase (decrease) positive views of the deploying country.
- H2: Positive (negative) interactions between deployed personnel and citizens of the host country will increase (decrease) support for hosting the deploying country's military.
- H3: Exposure to economic benefits from the deploying country's military presence will increase positive views of the deploying country.
- H4: Exposure to economic benefits from the deploying country's military presence will increase support for hosting the deploying country's military.

Finally, we test an additional hypothesis focusing on U.S.–China competition dynamics. Bases can bring a variety of negative externalities like crime, noise, pollution, traffic, and, more broadly, a perception that a country's sovereignty is being infringed upon (Cooley 2008; Yeo 2011; Hikotani et al. 2022). As a result, bases are more desirable to the extent they bring tangible benefits to offset their negative effects. In some cases, these benefits take the form of security guarantees, but in the cases that we propose to focus on, the benefits are primarily economic. Thus, if a foreign competitor can offer the same economic benefits, the host's need to accept a foreign base is lower, which may decrease support for that base (Joyce and Blankenship 2023). Research suggests that the United States and China often use their aid competitively to curry influence and secure policy concessions for themselves while denying them to each other (Vadlamannati et al. 2023; Joyce and Blankenship 2023).

- H5: Exposure to economic benefits from the deploying country's military presence will decrease support for hosting the rival deploying country's military.

4. Preliminary Findings

In September 2023, we developed and deployed a preliminary survey in Kenya to assess the feasibility of our survey instrument and collect initial results related to our theoretical concept of interest. Due to budget constraints, we limited the theoretical scope and sample size of the pilot survey. We deployed the survey in English and Swahili to 1,023 Kenyans via cellphone. The survey contained 28 questions about demographics and topics related to our hypotheses. We asked questions related to both perceived and behavioral indicators of U.S. and Chinese influence by the respondents and how they perceived both actors. In addition to considering great power influence, we also included control questions to measure that influence versus influence by other regional and colonial actors. We collected the full sample over six days.

The initial sample contained useful distributional information. First, respondents skewed younger—most were in the 20–29 age bracket, while the next two largest fell into the 30–39 bracket. The full sample ranged from 18 to 69, with 80% of respondents aged 39 or younger. Purposely, we over-sampled Mombasa due to its size and possibility for international influence. Half of the responses came from Mombasa. The sample was slightly skewed male and, while most people reported their primary language being Swahili, most respondents opted to take the survey in English.

The preliminary results point to some interesting dynamics. 40% of respondents view China as having both “A lot” of influence and “Somewhat positive” or “Very positive” influence. Similarly, around 44% of respondents view the United States as having “A lot” of influence in Kenya and view that influence as “Somewhat positive” or “Very positive.” Regarding military deployments, only 20% of Kenya respondents believed that China has military personnel operating in Kenya, compared with 72% of respondents who correctly responded that the United States has military personnel deployed to Kenya. Of those correctly identifying a Chinese military presence in Kenya, 63% viewed that presence as “Very positive” or “Somewhat positive.” Similarly, of those who correctly identified a U.S. military presence in Kenya, 70% viewed that presence favorably. Figure 1 shows the joint distribution of respondents’ answers to the questions about the presence of deployments and their evaluations of those deployments.

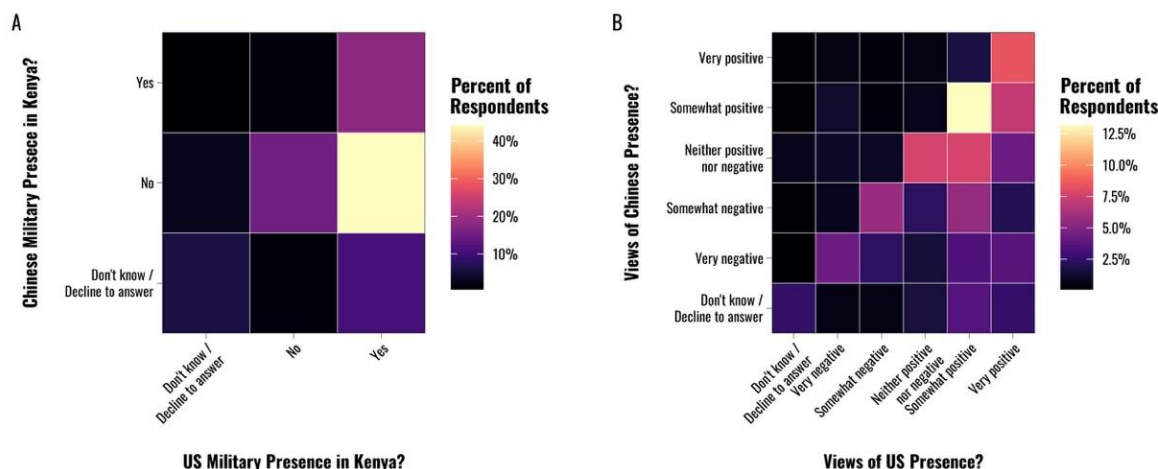


Figure 1: Panel A shows the joint distribution of respondents' answers to whether the U.S. and China have a military presence in Kenya. Panel B shows the joint distribution of respondents' answers to questions about their views of the U.S. and China having a military presence in Kenya. Shading represents the % of respondents who provided a given combination of answers.

These preliminary results suggest that public views of these major powers are comparable and potentially well-positioned for competitive influence campaigns. However, the United States and China also proceed from different starting points. A 2023 U.S. Department of Defense report notes that China’s People’s Liberation Army Strategic Support Force has a limited number of personnel operating in Kenya, and expects China’s pursuit of basing access to continue to grow in the future (DoD 2023). The United States has relatively high favorability levels and a long track record of basing in foreign countries. Given its relatively small military footprint to date, it remains to be seen if China can sustain such high levels of public approval as it expands the scope of its military-basing activities. Understanding the factors that shape public assessments of the costs and benefits of foreign basing will be key to understanding how this process will play out for the United States and China as they compete for access.

5. Broader Impacts

The project has several implications for national security. First, it enhances the understanding of the influence in the security domain by U.S. foreign policy decision-makers. How to get other people (or states) to do what one wants represents a central challenge in international security. While coercion—the threatened or limited use of force to persuade an adversary to do one’s bidding—is well-studied, soft power is much less understood. This project explores the interpersonal and economic underpinnings of influence, shedding light on both the soft power sources of influence and their effects. More broadly, most studies of influence in international relations are dyadic, focusing on an influence-seeking state and a target. In practice, however, third-party states can undermine influence. Great powers regularly seek to acquire influence for themselves and deny it to their rivals. We move beyond dyadic conceptions of influence to explore the effects of multiple influence-seekers on public and elite opinion in host states by comparing the

effects of exposure to economic benefits from and contact with U.S. and Chinese citizens.

Second, this project enhances the understanding of sovereign bargaining over basing access. In the twenty-first century, a common way that states acquire basing access is to pay for them. Yet, to date, there is little work on the economic drivers of basing. By conducting interviews with elites alongside mass public surveys, this project provides new data and theory on how states buy access, contrasting base rents paid into regime coffers with economic incentives distributed into host societies. Importantly, this work measures the economic impact of basing on host population perceptions of basing countries—a question with theoretical and real-world implications for lower-income states where bases may have an outsized economic impact as well as for decision-makers in the U.S. deciding on military access strategies.

Additionally, this project has implications for U.S. national security policymakers and policymakers in base host countries. First, U.S. national security policymakers openly perceive China's growing economic reach as a potential threat to U.S. influence and access. Yet, unanswered questions remain as China's investments in other countries have grown. For example, are these investments perceived by receiving populations as exploitative, or does contact with Chinese people and Chinese money increase goodwill? And, crucially, does this goodwill come at the expense of U.S. access in those same countries? As explained in the following section, our surveys and interviews will allow us to explore whether individuals with more goodwill toward, who are exposed to positive interactions with, and who derive economic benefits from China are less likely to support hosting the U.S. military. This project will thus provide micro-level data enabling policymakers to assess these questions.

Second, by exploring the interactions and benefits that host populations derive from contact with deploying states, this project provides evidence that may increase the agency of host governments, facilitating more tailored arrangements with sending states that better serve the needs of host populations. Third, the U.S. basing network is fundamental to its ability to project power abroad, yet it relies on host governments' consent. That consent is more difficult, in turn, when the government faces popular opposition to hosting foreign bases. Thus, maintaining support and goodwill among host governments and their populations is critical to U.S. foreign policy. Our findings, in turn, will shed light on the factors that shape that support, allowing decision-makers to make informed policy.

Finally, this project will impact our campuses, providing educational opportunities for diverse student bodies. The project includes a mentoring plan for an undergraduate research assistant, who will learn the tools and techniques of survey and interview research. Within our research team, Martínez Machain has experience in the active mentoring of women, particularly from underrepresented groups, in part through the Pay It Forward initiative at the International Studies Association. Our recruitment of a research assistant from the University of Miami, a Hispanic-Serving Institution, will target NSF-defined groups of underrepresentation in the sciences by advertising investigators will take such status into primary consideration when hiring for the position. Moreover, we will use this project to host two events on the University of Miami campus: a graduate and undergraduate workshop on experimental design in surveys that will use our research to exemplify meaningful causal survey data and a research presentation for the general political science and public policy community that helps to disseminate our results, lessons learned, and methodological insight for the community. We will thus aim to, through undergraduate student training, diversify the future workforce in the area of security studies.

6. Technical Plan and Methodology

The project follows a two-pronged approach to understanding the phenomena of interest and follows our previous research strategy (Allen et al. 2022). The first strategy to assess influence and perception within the states of interest is to conduct large-scale public opinion surveys in the selected countries. We will deploy a survey to 1,000 people each in Kenya and Djibouti through live phone calls (CATI). An additional 1,000 will be surveyed through face-to-face (CAPI) surveys in Cambodia, as this is the survey mode recommended for Cambodia by the survey firm we are planning to contract with. This gives us a combined sample size of 3,000 respondents, which is sufficient to give us variation within the responses for data analysis while also providing a basis for representation across geography, income, and gender within surveyed countries.

Given substantial disparities in population distributions within the selected states, we will set a geographic quota on each country to ensure we have sufficient data to draw inferences in both geographic regions proximate to existing military installations and areas located farther from these installations. We will set a quota of at least 250 survey respondents (that is 25% of each country sample) in areas located close to military bases—Mombasa in Kenya, Djibouti City in Djibouti, and Preah Sihanouk province in Cambodia—with the remaining 750 respondents (i.e. 75%) randomly distributed throughout the remainder of the country. This helps ensure that the surveys are more likely to collect responses from people affected by the positive and negative externalities of the foreign military installations. This means we need to oversample geographic areas close to bases in Mombasa, Kenya and Preah Sihanouk, Cambodia, where the basing region is home to approximately 2–5% of the country’s population (see Kenya National Bureau of Statistics 2019; National Institute of Statistics 2020). Alternatively, Djibouti City, Djibouti is home to both U.S. and Chinese bases and approximately 60% of the population of Djibouti, meaning that we will not need to oversample the area around the base (UNdata 2024). We have already received quotes and confirmation of ability to survey in these three countries from GeoPoll, the same survey firm we worked with to implement our pilot project in Kenya. Importantly, GeoPoll works with local partners who are able to advise us on best practices for ensuring the safety of survey collectors and respondents.

Surveying a general population sample is important because members of the general public experience a wide range of costs and benefits of basing. The Kenyan pilot project has facilitated the refinement of our instrument. For the pilot survey, we worked with GeoPoll’s local partners in Kenya and an independent consultant researcher, who pre-tested the survey instrument before launching it. Once we received results, we determined which questions worked best to measure our variables of interest. This is discussed in more detail in section 4 (Preliminary Findings), but one example of how the pilot has allowed us to refine the instrument was that, at the suggestion of a local consultant, we added a response option for respondents to report interactions with U.S. citizens through health facilities. We had originally not included this option in the survey instrument, but respondents frequently chose it.

The proposed surveys will use the questions we developed in the pilot survey while also introducing an experimental component. The base survey asks several questions to build relevant demographic profiles of the respondents, including gender, age, primary language, education level, income, and whether they have studied abroad. Also included are questions about their perception of Chinese and U.S. influence in their country in economic and military terms. We assess for other vectors of foreign influence as well, including films, television programs, sporting events, mobile app use, and whether they (or a family member) have studied abroad in a foreign country.

To test H1–H5, which involves contact with and economic reliance upon foreign nationals, we ask about the types of contact that responses have had with U.S. and Chinese nationals—whether economic or non-economic and with military personnel or non-military foreign civilians. These will serve as independent variables. Our previous research suggests that such self-reports can offer valuable insights (Allen et al. 2020; Martinez Machain et al. 2022). Additionally, we ask respondents to rate how favorably they view the United States and China in general and their level of support for those two countries having a military presence using five-point Likert scale response options. These will serve as dependent variables.

Our questions aim to measure and test our previously stated propositions. The survey provides correlational evidence of the relationship between host-state civilian contact with foreign nationals and their views of the great powers and their military presence. Questions about traditional and social media consumption provide additional information about the cross-pressures of U.S. and Chinese influence campaigns. By capturing multiple avenues of contact, we can account for the influence of potentially confounding factors using multivariate regression to isolate the impact of each form of contact by controlling for the others.

Additionally, we will pre-register a conjoint experiment design and deploy it with all surveys. Our primary research goal is to understand better the factors that shape mass attitudes towards hosting prospective foreign military bases and deployments. Citizens choose from various options, and we expect several factors to influence their decisions, including the specific basing power in question, possible economic benefits, the size of the base and deployment, and their individual geographic exposure to the

negative externalities of such deployments. Given the multidimensional nature of the competing options, we have chosen a conjoint experiment design to help us better assess the influence of these different factors. Conjoint designs are seeing increased use in political science to help researchers understand the influence of different treatment components, but they have been limited mainly to understanding individuals' vote choices or choosing between different policy options (Hainmueller, Hopkins, and Yamamoto 2014). In recent years, there has been some growth in the use of conjoint designs to study issues related to international relations and security policy (for example, Alley 2022). This project allows us to understand better how citizens choose when presented with competing options from major powers looking to build power projection capabilities in prospective host states.

We adopt a single-profile conjoint design where respondents are presented with a profile for a prospective foreign military base and asked if they would support or oppose hosting the base described, as well as whether they would support or oppose hosting an additional base from other basing powers. Each profile would consist of 1) a basing power, 2) the number of personnel expected to deploy to the base, 3) the number of jobs the base is expected to create, and 4) the distance from the respondent. We present each respondent with four randomly generated profiles and ask them if they support or oppose each. Research indicates that this number of rating tasks is at low risk of inducing decision fatigue in respondents (Bansak et al., 2018). In generating the profiles, we include the United States, China, France (Cambodia and Djibouti), and the United Kingdom (Kenya) as potential basing powers. We chose to include the U.K. and France to test whether the results generalize beyond the context of U.S.–China competition because these countries have historical ties as colonizing powers with current military bases located in some of these countries. For the deployment size, we include options of 100, 1,000, and 10,000 personnel. For jobs, we present 100, 500, 1,000, and 5,000 jobs. For distance, we include options for 5 km and 100 km away (roughly a 10-minute drive and an hour-long drive). This experiment will allow us to assess whether the explicit promise of economic benefits shapes support for basing, thus supplementing the non-experimental questions about contact with U.S. and Chinese nationals described previously.

The general public opinion surveys will provide new and unique data to assess mass attitudes towards foreign military bases in less developed and middle-income countries and insights into the causal factors that shape these attitudes. But these surveys are limited in depth and cannot provide more insight into elite decision-making processes and considerations. We thus complement the large number of general public surveys with a second approach of semi-structured elite interviews in Djibouti. We classify as elites local political leaders, foreign diplomats, U.S. service members, journalists, and activists/civil society leaders. As stated previously, we chose Djibouti as the site for fieldwork as it is the place that allows for military access by multiple countries and a higher chance for civilian interactions with foreign military personnel from different countries.

Elite, semi-structured interviews provide qualitative texture by allowing free-form responses to questions that try to uncover the mechanisms we are interested in. The team will use a snowball sampling method to target an initial population of government officials, local politicians, diplomats, U.S. service members, journalists, and activists/civil-society leaders that likely interact with or have domain over basing and access within Djibouti. We will identify our initial sample of targets by examining local news stories, official websites, and directories that point to high-level actors germane to our study area. We will contact these initial targets through phone or e-mail before traveling to schedule the initial batch of interviews before we arrive on the site. This is the same method we have used when conducting elite interviews during fieldwork in various countries. The interviews are semi-structured. We begin with anticipated questions but allow the interview to flow based on the interviewee's experience and responses. Semi-structured interviews allow for follow-up questions on facets we did not anticipate or are unique to an interviewee. For the snowball method of interview sampling, at the conclusion of each interview, we will ask the interviewee for additional, relevant contacts and use that information to build out our sample. This method has been effective in our past fieldwork efforts, giving us access to former heads of state, ambassadors, and senior commissioned officers, among others. Given our past success rates, we expect to interview no less than ten individuals and aim to interview 25.

We propose four team members conduct fieldwork so that we have at least two people in each

interview, allow for the possibility of someone becoming ill during travel, and schedule concurrent interviews when needed. We will include remote interview capabilities in our IRB proposal if we cannot meet with someone physically or have scheduling conflicts. We have experience shifting a project to remote interviews due to disruption during a previous interview series from the COVID-19 pandemic. However, given the reluctance of willing participants for remote interviews and the better interview interactions that arise from in-person interviews, the remote options are a contingency plan.

From this data collection project, we have three waves of analysis. The first wave will use multilevel Bayesian models to analyze the survey data. Using these models, as we have done previously, we can assess the correlations of influence and perception between contact, economic reliance, and other influence projects on individuals' perceptions of each country and their military. They also allow us to account for the nesting of respondents in particular geographic areas (for example, countries, provinces, etc.). This observational regression allows us to build initial evidence about whether, in aggregate, there is a relationship between contact with military personnel and how people view the military, using a multivariate regression to account for potential confounders. Second, our experiments allow for causal analysis of different basing options and individual support for those basing options. By pre-registering and deploying an experiment, we can see how different frames and country contexts affect views of the United States and China. We use differences of means comparisons and more advanced regression models to determine how we measure various attributes that condition the treatment effect. Random assignment of treatments allows us to isolate the effects of our variables of interest from any potential confounders. Finally, the fieldwork will provide context and texture to our quantitative results by incorporating first-hand accounts from Djibouti and to theory-build both for the current project and how the domain of competitive consent is developing in one of the most contested countries between the U.S. and China.

7. Deliverables

A. Scholarly Outputs

We plan to complete the following deliverables. All data collected for the project will be made publicly available by the project's completion date (regardless of the publication status of any of the deliverables) as detailed in our data management section. This will allow researchers and community members to build on our research.

- Three nationally representative surveys in Kenya, Djibouti, and Cambodia compare the local populations' perceptions of U.S. and/or Chinese military installations in their territories and their views on influence campaigns by both major powers.
- (At least) two peer-reviewed articles submitted to top journals such as *Security Studies*, the *American Journal of Political Science*, or the *American Political Science Review*.
- One article submitted to a policy-oriented outlet, such as *Foreign Affairs*.
- (At least) two articles targeting high-impact outlets aimed at policy and general audiences, such as *The Conversation* or *War on the Rocks*.
- Two survey-based workshops at the University of Miami for undergraduate and graduate researchers.

B. Dissemination

Dissemination to Scholars: We will disseminate our findings to the academic community primarily through the production of peer-reviewed articles (discussed under the scholarly outputs section). To publicize these findings, we will present our research at academic conferences such as the ISA, APSA, and Peace Science annual meetings. Research team members will also present this research at invited workshops and guest lectures. The members of this team have a strong record of participating in such events. In 2023 Martinez Machain participated in four invited guest lectures and four invitational academic workshops. Blankenship will have participated in six invited lectures and roundtables across 2023 and early 2024. We will also disseminate our findings to the academic community through blog posts in outlets like *Good Authority* (formerly *The Monkey Cage*), *E-International Relations*, and *The Political Quarterly*, which are aimed at scholarly audiences and for which we have previously written. We will also produce a publicly available

data dashboard that makes all gathered data available to other researchers at the time of the project's completion. The data will also be made available through Harvard's Dataverse platform.

Dissemination to Policymakers: This team is particularly well-positioned to disseminate findings to policymakers. We have extensive experience on this front, with team members having briefed officials with the U.S. Department of Defense, Department of State, Department of the Navy, and U.S. Strategic Command, as well as having attended American University's Bridging the Gap workshop, and presented research at military installations such as Mountain Home and Beale Air Force Bases. We will use our existing contacts to create opportunities to reach relevant policymakers and practitioners, particularly those in the defense community in the United States. We thus plan to disseminate our findings to policymakers and practitioners through briefings and research presentations. We will aim to give invited talks and briefings at defense and military-related institutions. We will also disseminate our findings to the policy community through blog posts in outlets such as War on the Rocks, Defense One, and The Conversation, which are aimed at policy and general audiences and for which we have previously written.

8. Project Team and Management

A. Team Management

The principal investigator on this project is Brian Blankenship (University of Miami). Michael Allen (Boise State University), Michael Flynn (Kansas State University), Renanah Miles Joyce (Brandeis University), and Carla Martinez Machain (University at Buffalo) will serve as co-PIs. All have published on power projection and influence topics and have extensive methodological skills, including fieldwork and survey experience in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Europe. The team will organize workflow and communication through email and Discord, a threaded-chat program that allows file sharing, collaboration, and real-time text and voice conversation. Additionally, the team will have a standard biweekly meeting on Zoom to discuss immediate and long-term issues, evaluate project progress, and remedy any existing shortfalls in expectations through additional delegation or re-assignment of work.

B. Relevant PI experience, education, and project management roles

Brian Blankenship is an Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Miami. Research studies how countries bargain over the distribution of the costs and benefits of security cooperation and how great powers, and in particular the United States, use economic and security inducements to influence their partners. Blankenship has published widely on U.S. foreign policy, military alliances, and foreign basing, including on issues related to defense burden-sharing, alliance reassurance, and U.S.-China competition for bases. Blankenship has served as Principal Investigator on funded work from the Stanton Foundation related to defense burden-sharing and nuclear nonproliferation. His methodological training is in quantitative and qualitative methods. Blankenship's primary responsibilities will be in developing theory, designing the survey, managing and mentoring the undergraduate research assistant, leading the development of relevant public articles, coordinating the project's academic output, managing the budget in coordination with University of Miami Office of Research Administration, monitoring funded research progress, leading official reporting compliance, co-managing communication with survey firms and contacts in Djibouti, and delegating additional work to capture any shortfalls in productivity.

Michael A. Allen is a Professor in the School of Public Service, Boise State University. Research addresses the positive and negative externalities of U.S. troop deployments and the conflict and cooperation between asymmetric actors in the international system. Allen has published widely in assessing the effects of troop deployments, including defense expenditures, regional influences on troop deployments and defense expenditures, service members' effect on crime rates, and surveys on how troop deployments affect perceptions of the U.S. military, government, and people. Allen has served as Principal Investigator on funded work related to troop deployments (FOA#W911NF-18-1-0087). His methodological training is in quantitative methods. Allen will engage in theory building, writing, research design, managing Boise, leading the development of relevant public articles, coordinating the project's academic output, managing

the budget with Boise State OSP, and quantitative and qualitative analysis. He will also conduct fieldwork in Djibouti. The Boise State University provides Allen with office space and all software and computer equipment necessary to carry out the analysis.

Michael E. Flynn is a Professor in the Department of Political Science at Kansas State University. His research focuses on U.S. foreign policy, the causes of overseas military deployments, and the social, economic, and political effects of overseas military deployments and basing. Flynn has published several articles on military deployments and how they relate to several topics, including crime, host-state defense spending, public opinion, and more. Flynn's methodological training is in quantitative methods, computational social science research, and Bayesian statistical modeling. He will serve as the principal data analyst on this project, developing computational workflow routines, statistical models, and analyzing and presenting the results of the data analysis. He will also contribute to theory building, survey instrument design, experiment design, writing academic research articles, and developing public-facing content based on research findings.

Renanah Miles Joyce is an Assistant Professor of Politics at Brandeis University. Her research studies how powerful states try to shape their security environments, focusing on hard and soft power tools of influence. Joyce has published extensively on U.S. foreign policy, security cooperation, and foreign military basing and has experience conducting fieldwork in Africa (Liberia and Guinea). She has access to U.S. government networks of security cooperation practitioners from her research and experience working for the Department of Defense as a civil servant prior to academia. Her methodological training is in quantitative and qualitative methods. She will build theory, write, collect data, and analyze. She will also conduct fieldwork in Djibouti.

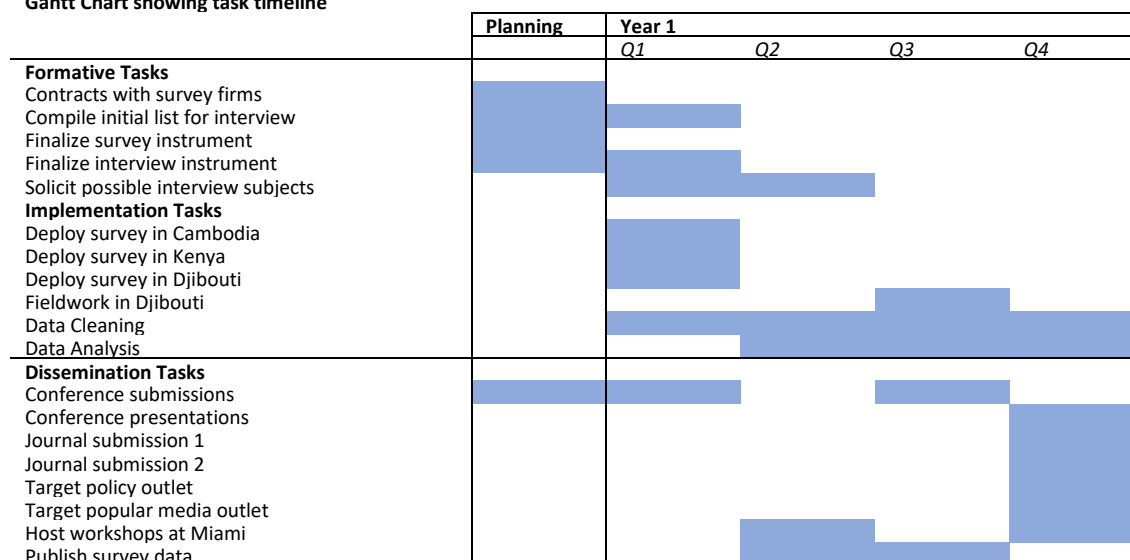
Carla Martinez Machain is a Professor of Political Science at the University at Buffalo. Her research focuses largely on U.S. foreign policy, specifically on great power competition in the realm of military basing agreements, as well as on using military deployments as a power projection tool. Martínez Machain's research has been published in key Political Science journals and is frequently cited by those studying military basing agreements and foreign military training. Martinez Machain has experience interviewing military members in her previous research and has an extensive network among military practitioners (as evidenced by the interviews referenced in her published work). She is trained in both quantitative and qualitative methods. She will engage in theory building, writing, research design, and quantitative and qualitative analysis. She will also conduct fieldwork in Djibouti. The University at Buffalo provides Martinez Machain with office space, access to a graduate research assistant, and all software and computer equipment necessary to carry out the analysis.

9. Project Timeline

Given the speed at which developments are occurring regarding Chinese increases in power projection, we aim to complete working drafts of all deliverables within one year. To achieve broad aims within a limited timeline, we are relying on a large team of researchers who will all be devoting two months of full effort over the summer of 2025 to the project, as well as partial effort during the rest of the year.

- Fall 2024: Finalize survey and interview questions and hold a survey design workshop to pre-test the survey experiments. Present initial research design and preliminary pilot findings at academic conferences.
- Spring 2025: Administer surveys in Kenya and Cambodia. Begin writing manuscript drafts and present research at academic conferences.
- Summer 2025: Conduct fieldwork in Djibouti, administering surveys and interviews. Continue writing manuscript drafts.
- Fall 2025: Revise and finalize manuscript drafts, send out for review. Publish survey data in the online dashboard and data repository. Write and disseminate policy-oriented articles.

Gantt Chart showing task timeline



10. Project Risks

One of the current risks/barriers is COVID-19 and its implications for research activities. The survey firms we will contract with have experience conducting surveys during the pandemic and will be able to continue operations if a new mutation creates restrictive protocols for public safety. Additionally, the team will build remote interviews into its IRB protocols as a backup plan if in-person surveys become impossible to implement due to travel restrictions or social distancing requirements.

Participant recruitment can be difficult in a foreign country so we will employ several recruitment strategies. We will contact people before our arrival and recruit subjects for interviews after we arrive via snowball sampling. Based on experience, both strategies lead to interviews, with many possible subjects becoming willing to meet if researchers are present in the country and request a conversation. Among the countries that we plan to survey, the only one that could present risks for survey interviewers or respondents would be Cambodia, due to potential sensitivities around the government's willingness to host Chinese forces. We have consulted with GeoPoll, a survey firm we have worked with in the past, and they have identified a Cambodia partner who could implement the survey. We would work with the survey firm to edit our questionnaire to phrase questions in a way that would not be perceived as politically sensitive and would focus on perceptions of the United States and China (which would still achieve our research aims) and to obtain all required government letters that the interviewers would need for carrying out the surveys.

Regarding publication strategies, we have expertise in producing academic work for conferences, journals, and books. We will identify multiple journals for each of the two major works we plan with this project. If any given journal rejects an article submission, we will continue submitting to other suitable journals until we accomplish our deliverable plan. Regarding public-facing research, our team has experience and relationships with existing outlets that we will use to secure venues for disseminating our results to a wide audience.

11. Results from Prior NSF Support

The investigators have not received prior NSF support.

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SUMMARY PROPOSAL BUDGET

YEAR 1

| | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| ORGANIZATION University of Miami | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | |
| | | | | PROPOSAL NO. | DURATION (months) | |
| PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR / PROJECT DIRECTOR Brian Blankenship | | | | AWARD NO. | | |
| | | | | | | |
| A. SENIOR PERSONNEL: PI/PI, Co-PI's, Faculty and Other Senior Associates (List each separately with title, A.7. show number in brackets) | | | | NSF Funded Person-months | | Funds Requested By proposer |
| | | | | CAL | ACAD | SUMR |
| 1. Brian Blankenship - Principal Inv | | | | 2.0 | | 22,779 |
| 2. | | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | | |
| 6. () OTHERS (LIST INDIVIDUALLY ON BUDGET JUSTIFICATION PAGE) | | | | 0.0 | | 0 |
| 7. (1) TOTAL SENIOR PERSONNEL (1 - 6) | | | | 2.0 | | 22,779 |
| B. OTHER PERSONNEL (SHOW NUMBERS IN BRACKETS) | | | | | | |
| 1. (0) POST DOCTORAL SCHOLARS | | | | 0.0 | | 0 |
| 2. (0) OTHER PROFESSIONALS (TECHNICIAN, PROGRAMMER, ETC.) | | | | 0.0 | | 0 |
| 3. (0) GRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. (1) UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | 4,800 |
| 5. (0) SECRETARIAL - CLERICAL (IF CHARGED DIRECTLY) | | | | | | 0 |
| 6. (0) OTHER | | | | | | 0 |
| TOTAL SALARIES AND WAGES (A + B) | | | | | | 27,579 |
| C. FRINGE BENEFITS (IF CHARGED AS DIRECT COSTS) | | | | | | 5,421 |
| TOTAL SALARIES, WAGES AND FRINGE BENEFITS (A + B + C) | | | | | | 33,000 |
| D. EQUIPMENT (LIST ITEM AND DOLLAR AMOUNT FOR EACH ITEM EXCEEDING \$5,000.) | | | | | | |
| TOTAL EQUIPMENT | | | | | | 0 |
| E. TRAVEL 1. DOMESTIC (INCL. U.S. POSSESSIONS) | | | | | | 1,600 |
| 2. INTERNATIONAL | | | | | | 9,000 |
| F. PARTICIPANT SUPPORT COSTS | | | | | | |
| 1. STIPENDS \$ 0 | | | | | | |
| 2. TRAVEL 0 | | | | | | |
| 3. SUBSISTENCE 0 | | | | | | |
| 4. OTHER 0 | | | | | | |
| TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS (0) TOTAL PARTICIPANT COSTS | | | | | | 0 |
| G. OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | |
| 1. MATERIALS AND SUPPLIES | | | | | | 0 |
| 2. PUBLICATION COSTS/DOCUMENTATION/DISEMINATION | | | | | | 0 |
| 3. CONSULTANT SERVICES | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. COMPUTER SERVICES | | | | | | 0 |
| 5. SUBAWARDS | | | | | | 253,590 |
| 6. OTHER | | | | | | 80,000 |
| TOTAL OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | 333,590 |
| H. TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (A THROUGH G) | | | | | | 377,190 |
| I. INDIRECT COSTS (F&A)(SPECIFY RATE AND BASE) MTDC (Rate: 50.5, Base:223600) | | | | | | |
| TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (F&A) | | | | | | 112,918 |
| J. TOTAL DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS (H + I) | | | | | | 490,108 |
| K. FEE | | | | | | 0 |
| L. AMOUNT OF THIS REQUEST (J) OR (J MINUS K) | | | | | | 490,108 |
| M. COST SHARING PROPOSED LEVEL \$ 0 | | | | AGREED LEVEL IF DIFFERENT \$ | | |
| PI/PI NAME Brian Blankenship | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | |
| ORG. REP. NAME* | | | | INDIRECT COST RATE VERIFICATION | | |
| | | | | Date Checked | Date Of Rate Sheet | Initials - ORG |

*ELECTRONIC SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR REVISED BUDGET

SUMMARY PROPOSAL BUDGET

Cumulative

| | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ORGANIZATION University of Miami | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | |
| | | | | PROPOSAL NO. | DURATION (months) | |
| PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR / PROJECT DIRECTOR Brian Blankenship | | | | AWARD NO. | | |
| | | | | | | |
| A. SENIOR PERSONNEL: PI/PI, Co-PI's, Faculty and Other Senior Associates (List each separately with title, A.7. show number in brackets) | | | | NSF Funded Person-months | | Funds Requested By proposer |
| | | | | CAL | ACAD | SUMR |
| 1. Brian Blankenship - Principal Inv | | | | 2.0 | | 22,779 |
| 2. | | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | | |
| 6. () OTHERS (LIST INDIVIDUALLY ON BUDGET JUSTIFICATION PAGE) | | | | | | |
| 7. (1) TOTAL SENIOR PERSONNEL (1 - 6) | | | | 2.0 | | 22,779 |
| B. OTHER PERSONNEL (SHOW NUMBERS IN BRACKETS) | | | | | | |
| 1. (0) POST DOCTORAL SCHOLARS | | | | 0.0 | | 0 |
| 2. (0) OTHER PROFESSIONALS (TECHNICIAN, PROGRAMMER, ETC.) | | | | 0.0 | | 0 |
| 3. (0) GRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. (1) UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | 4,800 |
| 5. (0) SECRETARIAL - CLERICAL (IF CHARGED DIRECTLY) | | | | | | 0 |
| 6. (0) OTHER | | | | | | 0 |
| TOTAL SALARIES AND WAGES (A + B) | | | | | | 27,579 |
| C. FRINGE BENEFITS (IF CHARGED AS DIRECT COSTS) | | | | | | 5,421 |
| TOTAL SALARIES, WAGES AND FRINGE BENEFITS (A + B + C) | | | | | | 33,000 |
| D. EQUIPMENT (LIST ITEM AND DOLLAR AMOUNT FOR EACH ITEM EXCEEDING \$5,000.) | | | | | | |
| TOTAL EQUIPMENT | | | | | | 0 |
| E. TRAVEL 1. DOMESTIC (INCL. U.S. POSSESSIONS) | | | | | | 1,600 |
| 2. INTERNATIONAL | | | | | | 9,000 |
| F. PARTICIPANT SUPPORT COSTS | | | | | | |
| 1. STIPENDS \$ 0 | | | | | | 0 |
| 2. TRAVEL 0 | | | | | | 0 |
| 3. SUBSISTENCE 0 | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. OTHER 0 | | | | | | 0 |
| TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS (0) TOTAL PARTICIPANT COSTS | | | | | | 0 |
| G. OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | |
| 1. MATERIALS AND SUPPLIES | | | | | | 0 |
| 2. PUBLICATION COSTS/DOCUMENTATION/DISEMINATION | | | | | | 0 |
| 3. CONSULTANT SERVICES | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. COMPUTER SERVICES | | | | | | 0 |
| 5. SUBAWARDS | | | | | | 253,590 |
| 6. OTHER | | | | | | 80,000 |
| TOTAL OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | 333,590 |
| H. TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (A THROUGH G) | | | | | | 377,190 |
| I. INDIRECT COSTS (F&A)(SPECIFY RATE AND BASE) | | | | | | |
| TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (F&A) | | | | | | 112,918 |
| J. TOTAL DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS (H + I) | | | | | | 490,108 |
| K. FEE | | | | | | 0 |
| L. AMOUNT OF THIS REQUEST (J) OR (J MINUS K) | | | | | | 490,108 |
| M. COST SHARING PROPOSED LEVEL \$ 0 | | | | AGREED LEVEL IF DIFFERENT \$ | | |
| PI/PI NAME | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | |
| ORG. REP. NAME* | | | | INDIRECT COST RATE VERIFICATION | | |
| | | | | Date Checked | Date Of Rate Sheet | Initials - ORG |

*ELECTRONIC SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR REVISED BUDGET

Budget Justification

Senior Personnel

Brian Blankenship, Ph.D., PI. (2 summer months): The PI has committed 2 months of summer for one year during this project. The PI primary responsibility will be in developing theory, lead development of the research, co-manage and mentor research assistants, lead development of relevant public articles, coordinate the project's academic output, coordinate contact and communication, manage the budget, monitor funded research progress, delegate additional work to capture any shortfalls in productivity, and lead official reporting compliance.

Other Personnel

TBD, 1- Undergraduate student (hourly paid \$12.00/hr x 10 hrs/wk x 40 weeks. The student will be responsible for assembling relevant scholarly literature and writing up brief summaries.

(Salaries are projected three percent annually for anticipated merit increases.)

Fringe Benefits are requested at the currently proposed institutional rate of 23.8% for faculty. Actual rates will be charged to award.

Travel

Domestic Travel: Funds are requested for \$1,600 for the PI to travel to one conference. We estimate 4 days and 3 nights. Broken down by function: Flight (\$600), lodging (3 nights x \$200 = \$600) meals and incidentals per diem (4 travel days x \$75 = \$300); local travel (\$100).

Foreign Travel: Funds are requested \$9,000 for roundtrip travel overseas to Djibouti. We estimate 14 days and 14 nights. Broken down by function: Flight to country (\$3,500), lodging (14 nights x \$260 = \$3,640), meals and incidentals per diem (14 travel days x \$120 = \$1,680), local travel (\$180). The lodging and meals and incidentals per diem rates are set to the Department of State recommended rates.

Other Direct Costs

Other Survey firm contracting is requested to provide 2,000 respondents that meet demographic needs of the survey. Using estimates from various firms, we estimate each response will run up to \$40. The total requested amount for survey response contracting is \$80,000.

Subawards

Boise State University:

Co-PI Dr. Michael Allen, Ph.D. will co-manage and mentor research assistants, co-lead theory development, co-oversee instrument design and implementation, and co-write papers.

Total Direct Cost: \$38,120

Total F&A: \$15,439

Total Subaward Budget: \$53,559

Kansas State University:

Co-PI Dr. Michael Flynn, Ph.D. will co-manage and mentor research assistants, co-lead theory development, co-oversee instrument design and implementation, and co-write papers.

Total Direct Cost: \$37,357

Total F&A: \$16,774

Total Subaward Budget: \$54,131

Brandeis University:

Co-PI Dr. Renanah Joyce, Ph.D. will co-manage and mentor research assistants, co-lead theory development, co-oversee instrument design and implementation, and co-write papers.

Total Direct Cost: \$41,117

Total F&A: \$24,465

Total Subaward Budget: \$65,582

State University of New York at Buffalo:

Co-PI Dr. Carla Martinez Machain Ph.D. will co-manage and mentor research assistants, co-lead theory development, co-oversee instrument design and implementation, and co-write papers.

Total Direct Cost: \$49,887

Total F&A: \$30,431

Total Subaward Budget: \$80,318

Indirect Costs

The budget includes indirect costs using the University of Miami's federally approved F&A rate of 50.5% for on-campus research. Modified total direct costs includes the first \$25,000 of each subaward (regardless of the period of performance of the subawards under the award). Modified total direct costs exclude the portion of the each subaward in excess of \$25,000. Equipment, Participant support costs and tuition are excluded from F&A

Total Direct Costs: \$377,190

MTDC Base: \$223,600

Total F&A @ 50.5%: \$112,918

Total Budget: \$490,108

SUMMARY PROPOSAL BUDGET

YEAR 1

| | | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| ORGANIZATION Boise State University | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | | |
| | | | | PROPOSAL NO. | DURATION (months) | | |
| PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR / PROJECT DIRECTOR Brian Blankenship | | | | AWARD NO. | | Proposed | Granted |
| | | | | | | | |
| A. SENIOR PERSONNEL: PI/PI, Co-PI's, Faculty and Other Senior Associates (List each separately with title, A.7. show number in brackets) | | | | NSF Funded Person-months | | Funds Requested By proposer | Funds granted by NSF (if different) |
| | | | | CAL | ACAD | SUMR | |
| 1. Michael Allen | | | | 2.0 | | | 21,253 |
| 2. | | | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | | | |
| 6. () OTHERS (LIST INDIVIDUALLY ON BUDGET JUSTIFICATION PAGE) | | | | 0.0 | | | 0 |
| 7. (1) TOTAL SENIOR PERSONNEL (1 - 6) | | | | 2.0 | | | 21,253 |
| B. OTHER PERSONNEL (SHOW NUMBERS IN BRACKETS) | | | | | | | |
| 1. (0) POST DOCTORAL SCHOLARS | | | | 0.0 | | | 0 |
| 2. (0) OTHER PROFESSIONALS (TECHNICIAN, PROGRAMMER, ETC.) | | | | 0.0 | | | 0 |
| 3. (0) GRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. (0) UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | | 0 |
| 5. (0) SECRETARIAL - CLERICAL (IF CHARGED DIRECTLY) | | | | | | | 0 |
| 6. (0) OTHER | | | | | | | 0 |
| TOTAL SALARIES AND WAGES (A + B) | | | | | | | 21,253 |
| C. FRINGE BENEFITS (IF CHARGED AS DIRECT COSTS) | | | | | | | 7,417 |
| TOTAL SALARIES, WAGES AND FRINGE BENEFITS (A + B + C) | | | | | | | 28,670 |
| D. EQUIPMENT (LIST ITEM AND DOLLAR AMOUNT FOR EACH ITEM EXCEEDING \$5,000.) | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL EQUIPMENT | | | | | | | 0 |
| E. TRAVEL 1. DOMESTIC (INCL. U.S. POSSESSIONS) | | | | | | | 2,090 |
| 2. INTERNATIONAL | | | | | | | 7,360 |
| F. PARTICIPANT SUPPORT COSTS | | | | | | | |
| 1. STIPENDS \$ 0 | | | | | | | 0 |
| 2. TRAVEL 0 | | | | | | | 0 |
| 3. SUBSISTENCE 0 | | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. OTHER 0 | | | | | | | 0 |
| TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS (0) TOTAL PARTICIPANT COSTS | | | | | | | 0 |
| G. OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | | |
| 1. MATERIALS AND SUPPLIES | | | | | | | 0 |
| 2. PUBLICATION COSTS/DOCUMENTATION/DISEMINATION | | | | | | | 0 |
| 3. CONSULTANT SERVICES | | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. COMPUTER SERVICES | | | | | | | 0 |
| 5. SUBAWARDS | | | | | | | 0 |
| 6. OTHER | | | | | | | 0 |
| TOTAL OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | | 0 |
| H. TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (A THROUGH G) | | | | | | | 38,120 |
| I. INDIRECT COSTS (F&A)(SPECIFY RATE AND BASE) MTDC (Rate: 40.5, Base:38120) | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (F&A) | | | | | | | 15,439 |
| J. TOTAL DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS (H + I) | | | | | | | 53,559 |
| K. FEE | | | | | | | 0 |
| L. AMOUNT OF THIS REQUEST (J) OR (J MINUS K) | | | | | | | 53,559 |
| M. COST SHARING PROPOSED LEVEL \$ 0 | | | | AGREED LEVEL IF DIFFERENT \$ | | | |
| PI/PI NAME Brian Blankenship | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | | |
| ORG. REP. NAME* | | | | INDIRECT COST RATE VERIFICATION | | | |
| | | | | Date Checked | Date Of Rate Sheet | Initials - ORG | |

*ELECTRONIC SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR REVISED BUDGET

SUMMARY PROPOSAL BUDGET

Cumulative

| | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| ORGANIZATION Boise State University | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | |
| | | | | PROPOSAL NO. | DURATION (months) | |
| PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR / PROJECT DIRECTOR Brian Blankenship | | | | AWARD NO. | | |
| | | | | | | |
| A. SENIOR PERSONNEL: PI/PI, Co-PI's, Faculty and Other Senior Associates (List each separately with title, A.7. show number in brackets) | | | | NSF Funded Person-months | | Funds Requested By proposer |
| | | | | CAL | ACAD | SUMR |
| 1. Michael Allen | | | | 2.0 | | 21,253 |
| 2. | | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | | |
| 6. () OTHERS (LIST INDIVIDUALLY ON BUDGET JUSTIFICATION PAGE) | | | | | | |
| 7. (1) TOTAL SENIOR PERSONNEL (1 - 6) | | | | 2.0 | | 21,253 |
| B. OTHER PERSONNEL (SHOW NUMBERS IN BRACKETS) | | | | | | |
| 1. (0) POST DOCTORAL SCHOLARS | | | | 0.0 | | 0 |
| 2. (0) OTHER PROFESSIONALS (TECHNICIAN, PROGRAMMER, ETC.) | | | | 0.0 | | 0 |
| 3. (0) GRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. (0) UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | 0 |
| 5. (0) SECRETARIAL - CLERICAL (IF CHARGED DIRECTLY) | | | | | | 0 |
| 6. (0) OTHER | | | | | | 0 |
| TOTAL SALARIES AND WAGES (A + B) | | | | | | 21,253 |
| C. FRINGE BENEFITS (IF CHARGED AS DIRECT COSTS) | | | | | | 7,417 |
| TOTAL SALARIES, WAGES AND FRINGE BENEFITS (A + B + C) | | | | | | 28,670 |
| D. EQUIPMENT (LIST ITEM AND DOLLAR AMOUNT FOR EACH ITEM EXCEEDING \$5,000.) | | | | | | |
| TOTAL EQUIPMENT | | | | | | 0 |
| E. TRAVEL 1. DOMESTIC (INCL. U.S. POSSESSIONS) | | | | | | 2,090 |
| 2. INTERNATIONAL | | | | | | 7,360 |
| F. PARTICIPANT SUPPORT COSTS | | | | | | |
| 1. STIPENDS \$ 0 | | | | | | 0 |
| 2. TRAVEL 0 | | | | | | 0 |
| 3. SUBSISTENCE 0 | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. OTHER 0 | | | | | | 0 |
| TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS (0) TOTAL PARTICIPANT COSTS | | | | | | 0 |
| G. OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | |
| 1. MATERIALS AND SUPPLIES | | | | | | 0 |
| 2. PUBLICATION COSTS/DOCUMENTATION/DISEMINATION | | | | | | 0 |
| 3. CONSULTANT SERVICES | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. COMPUTER SERVICES | | | | | | 0 |
| 5. SUBAWARDS | | | | | | 0 |
| 6. OTHER | | | | | | 0 |
| TOTAL OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | 0 |
| H. TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (A THROUGH G) | | | | | | 38,120 |
| I. INDIRECT COSTS (F&A)(SPECIFY RATE AND BASE) | | | | | | |
| TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (F&A) | | | | | | 15,439 |
| J. TOTAL DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS (H + I) | | | | | | 53,559 |
| K. FEE | | | | | | 0 |
| L. AMOUNT OF THIS REQUEST (J) OR (J MINUS K) | | | | | | 53,559 |
| M. COST SHARING PROPOSED LEVEL \$ 0 | | | | AGREED LEVEL IF DIFFERENT \$ | | |
| PI/PI NAME | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | |
| ORG. REP. NAME* | | | | INDIRECT COST RATE VERIFICATION | | |
| | | | | Date Checked | Date Of Rate Sheet | Initials - ORG |

*ELECTRONIC SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR REVISED BUDGET

Budget Justification

Personnel

Michael Allen, co-Principal Investigator, has committed 2 full effort summer months per. Dr. Michael Allen will thus be working as a co-author on manuscripts and engaging in theory building, writing, research design, fieldwork, and quantitative and qualitative analysis. Total salary request is \$21,253.

Fringe Benefits

Fringe benefits for the PI (34.9%) and are salary-based and cover retirement contribution, health, dental, life insurance, and employment taxes. Total fringe benefit request is \$7,417.

Travel

The basis for travel costs are airline websites, GSA or US DOS per diem and hotel rates and state of Idaho travel policies and contracts. Travel reimbursements are governed by BSU travel policy 6180 and are consistent with federal regulations.

Domestic Travel

\$2,090 in travel expenses for year 1 is requested for Allen to travel to professional conferences to present output from the project, as well as to promote it among the relevant academic communities. Flight to Washington DC as estimate \$550, lodging (\$258 x 3 nights = \$774), Per diem (\$79 x 4 days = \$316), Local Travel \$100, Estimated registration fee \$400.

Foreign Travel

\$7,360 in travel expenses for year 1 is requested for Allen to travel to Djibouti for 14 days over the summer to conduct qualitative fieldwork, including interviews. \$2,200, lodging (\$260 x 13 nights = \$3,380), Per diem (\$120 x 14 days = \$1,680), Local Travel \$100.

Indirect Costs

The indirect costs are calculated at the Boise State predetermined Facilities and Administrative (F&A) cost rate of 40.5% MTDC in year 1 per DHHS agreement dated 03/15/2018. Total indirect cost request is \$15,439.

SUMMARY PROPOSAL BUDGET

YEAR 1

| | | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| ORGANIZATION Kansas State University | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | | |
| | | | | PROPOSAL NO. | DURATION (months) | | |
| PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR / PROJECT DIRECTOR Brian Blankenship | | | | AWARD NO. | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| A. SENIOR PERSONNEL: PI/PI, Co-PI's, Faculty and Other Senior Associates (List each separately with title, A.7. show number in brackets) | | | | NSF Funded Person-months | | Funds Requested By proposer | Funds granted by NSF (if different) |
| | | | | CAL | ACAD | | |
| 1. Michael Flynn | | | | 2.0 | | 24,290 | |
| 2. | | | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | | | |
| 6. () OTHERS (LIST INDIVIDUALLY ON BUDGET JUSTIFICATION PAGE) | | | | 0.0 | | 0 | |
| 7. (1) TOTAL SENIOR PERSONNEL (1 - 6) | | | | 2.0 | | 24,290 | |
| B. OTHER PERSONNEL (SHOW NUMBERS IN BRACKETS) | | | | | | | |
| 1. (0) POST DOCTORAL SCHOLARS | | | | 0.0 | | 0 | |
| 2. (0) OTHER PROFESSIONALS (TECHNICIAN, PROGRAMMER, ETC.) | | | | 0.0 | | 0 | |
| 3. (0) GRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | 0 | |
| 4. (0) UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | 0 | |
| 5. (0) SECRETARIAL - CLERICAL (IF CHARGED DIRECTLY) | | | | | | 0 | |
| 6. (0) OTHER | | | | | | 0 | |
| TOTAL SALARIES AND WAGES (A + B) | | | | | | 24,290 | |
| C. FRINGE BENEFITS (IF CHARGED AS DIRECT COSTS) | | | | | | 7,967 | |
| TOTAL SALARIES, WAGES AND FRINGE BENEFITS (A + B + C) | | | | | | 32,257 | |
| D. EQUIPMENT (LIST ITEM AND DOLLAR AMOUNT FOR EACH ITEM EXCEEDING \$5,000.) | | | | | | | |
| Laptop \$ 5100 | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL EQUIPMENT | | | | | | 5,100 | |
| E. TRAVEL 1. DOMESTIC (INCL. U.S. POSSESSIONS) | | | | | | 0 | |
| 2. INTERNATIONAL | | | | | | 0 | |
| F. PARTICIPANT SUPPORT COSTS | | | | | | | |
| 1. STIPENDS \$ 0 | | | | | | | |
| 2. TRAVEL 0 | | | | | | | |
| 3. SUBSISTENCE 0 | | | | | | | |
| 4. OTHER 0 | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS (0) TOTAL PARTICIPANT COSTS | | | | | | 0 | |
| G. OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | | |
| 1. MATERIALS AND SUPPLIES | | | | | | 0 | |
| 2. PUBLICATION COSTS/DOCUMENTATION/DISEMINATION | | | | | | 0 | |
| 3. CONSULTANT SERVICES | | | | | | 0 | |
| 4. COMPUTER SERVICES | | | | | | 0 | |
| 5. SUBAWARDS | | | | | | 0 | |
| 6. OTHER | | | | | | 0 | |
| TOTAL OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | 0 | |
| H. TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (A THROUGH G) | | | | | | 37,357 | |
| I. INDIRECT COSTS (F&A)(SPECIFY RATE AND BASE) | | | | | | | |
| MTDC (Rate: 52.0, Base:32257) | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (F&A) | | | | | | 16,774 | |
| J. TOTAL DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS (H + I) | | | | | | 54,131 | |
| K. FEE | | | | | | 0 | |
| L. AMOUNT OF THIS REQUEST (J) OR (J MINUS K) | | | | | | 54,131 | |
| M. COST SHARING PROPOSED LEVEL \$ 0 | | | | AGREED LEVEL IF DIFFERENT \$ | | | |
| PI/PI NAME | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | | |
| BRIAN BLANKENSHIP | | | | INDIRECT COST RATE VERIFICATION | | | |
| ORG. REP. NAME* | | | | Date Checked | Date Of Rate Sheet | Initials - ORG | |

*ELECTRONIC SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR REVISED BUDGET

SUMMARY PROPOSAL BUDGET

Cumulative

| ORGANIZATION Kansas State University | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|---------|---|--|
| PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR / PROJECT DIRECTOR Brian Blankenship | | | | PROPOSAL NO. | | DURATION (months) | | | |
| | | | | AWARD NO. | | Proposed | Granted | | |
| A. SENIOR PERSONNEL: PI/PI, Co-PI's, Faculty and Other Senior Associates (List each separately with title, A.7. show number in brackets) | | | | NSF Funded Person-months | | Funds Requested By proposer | | Funds granted by NSF (if different) | |
| 1. Michael Flynn | | | | 2.0 | | | 24,290 | | |
| 2. | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. () OTHERS (LIST INDIVIDUALLY ON BUDGET JUSTIFICATION PAGE) | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. (1) TOTAL SENIOR PERSONNEL (1 - 6) | | | | 2.0 | | | 24,290 | | |
| B. OTHER PERSONNEL (SHOW NUMBERS IN BRACKETS) | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. (0) POST DOCTORAL SCHOLARS | | | | 0.0 | | | 0 | | |
| 2. (0) OTHER PROFESSIONALS (TECHNICIAN, PROGRAMMER, ETC.) | | | | 0.0 | | | 0 | | |
| 3. (0) GRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| 4. (0) UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| 5. (0) SECRETARIAL - CLERICAL (IF CHARGED DIRECTLY) | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| 6. (0) OTHER | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| TOTAL SALARIES AND WAGES (A + B) | | | | | | | 24,290 | | |
| C. FRINGE BENEFITS (IF CHARGED AS DIRECT COSTS) | | | | | | | 7,967 | | |
| TOTAL SALARIES, WAGES AND FRINGE BENEFITS (A + B + C) | | | | | | | 32,257 | | |
| D. EQUIPMENT (LIST ITEM AND DOLLAR AMOUNT FOR EACH ITEM EXCEEDING \$5,000.) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL EQUIPMENT | | | | | | | 5,100 | | |
| E. TRAVEL 1. DOMESTIC (INCL. U.S. POSSESSIONS) | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| 2. INTERNATIONAL | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| F. PARTICIPANT SUPPORT COSTS | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. STIPENDS \$ <u>0</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. TRAVEL <u>0</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. SUBSISTENCE <u>0</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. OTHER <u>0</u> | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS (0) TOTAL PARTICIPANT COSTS | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| G. OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. MATERIALS AND SUPPLIES | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| 2. PUBLICATION COSTS/DOCUMENTATION/DISEMINATION | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| 3. CONSULTANT SERVICES | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| 4. COMPUTER SERVICES | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| 5. SUBAWARDS | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| 6. OTHER | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| TOTAL OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| H. TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (A THROUGH G) | | | | | | | 37,357 | | |
| I. INDIRECT COSTS (F&A)(SPECIFY RATE AND BASE) | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (F&A) | | | | | | | 16,774 | | |
| J. TOTAL DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS (H + I) | | | | | | | 54,131 | | |
| K. FEE | | | | | | | 0 | | |
| L. AMOUNT OF THIS REQUEST (J) OR (J MINUS K) | | | | | | | 54,131 | | |
| M. COST SHARING PROPOSED LEVEL \$ 0 | | | | AGREED LEVEL IF DIFFERENT \$ | | | | | |
| PI/PI NAME Brian Blankenship | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | | | | |
| | | | | INDIRECT COST RATE VERIFICATION | | | | | |
| ORG. REP. NAME* | | | | Date Checked | Date Of Rate Sheet | Initials - ORG | | | |

*ELECTRONIC SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR REVISED BUDGET

Budget Justification

Personnel

Michael Flynn, co-Principal Investigator, 2 full effort months per year (over the summer), partial effort during the academic year.

Dr. Flynn will be working as a co-author on manuscripts and will be engaged primarily in data management and analysis, but will also take on additional roles in theory building and drafting manuscripts.

Fringe Benefits

Fringe benefit rates are based on the applicable federally negotiated rates.

Laptop Computer

Dr. Flynn is requesting \$5,100 to help pay for a new laptop computer. Dr. Flynn is not traveling to conduct fieldwork and will be the primary data analyst on the project. The laptop request is in lieu of travel funds. As in our previous projects, the bulk of our analysis will rely on Bayesian hierarchical choice modeling of public opinion data. These models can be incredibly demanding in terms of processing speed and memory consumption. The hierarchical structure of the models and our focus on hundreds of sub-national groupings/clusters within the focus countries means that estimating the models, exploring posterior samples, and generating contrasts from the posteriors to examine effects of interest, will consume more memory than his current laptop can handle. His current laptop computer is a 2020 MacBook Pro with 16GB of memory. Running only basic word processing, internet browsing, and PDF software consumes approximately 11–13 GB of memory, leaving little for RStudio and modeling activity. The proposed replacement would be a MacBook Pro with 128 GB of memory and an M3 Max processor, providing ample computational resources to estimate models and explore complex combinations of the posterior distributions. Dr. Flynn's department has limited funds to replace laptops, with replacements generally capped around \$1,200.

One important detail to note is that while Kansas State University maintains the BEOCAT high-performance computing cluster, this is not a viable option for our purposes. Dr. Flynn has worked with the Computer Science staff who maintain BEOCAT on previous projects in an effort to use the cluster for his modeling needs. However, the installation of R, Stan, and brms rely on underlying software that requires installing material outside of the user's account, which the system does not allow. Accordingly, these previous efforts to use BEOCAT for similar projects have failed and all of our work has been run on local machines (e.g. laptops or desktops).

Indirect Costs

The indirect costs are calculated at Kansas State University's predetermined Facilities and Administrative (F&A) cost rate of 52% MTDC in year 1 per DHHS agreement dated 02/03/2020.

SUMMARY PROPOSAL BUDGET

YEAR 1

| | | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ORGANIZATION SUNY at Buffalo | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | | |
| | | | | PROPOSAL NO. | DURATION (months) | | |
| PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR / PROJECT DIRECTOR Brian Blankenship | | | | AWARD NO. | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| A. SENIOR PERSONNEL: PI/PI, Co-PI's, Faculty and Other Senior Associates (List each separately with title, A.7. show number in brackets) | | | | NSF Funded Person-months | | Funds Requested By proposer | Funds granted by NSF (if different) |
| | | | | CAL | ACAD | | |
| 1. Carla Martinez Machain | | | | 2.0 | | 34,242 | |
| 2. | | | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | | | |
| 6. () OTHERS (LIST INDIVIDUALLY ON BUDGET JUSTIFICATION PAGE) | | | | 0.0 | | 0 | |
| 7. (1) TOTAL SENIOR PERSONNEL (1 - 6) | | | | 2.0 | | 34,242 | |
| B. OTHER PERSONNEL (SHOW NUMBERS IN BRACKETS) | | | | | | | |
| 1. (0) POST DOCTORAL SCHOLARS | | | | 0.0 | | 0 | |
| 2. (0) OTHER PROFESSIONALS (TECHNICIAN, PROGRAMMER, ETC.) | | | | 0.0 | | 0 | |
| 3. (0) GRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | 0 | |
| 4. (0) UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | 0 | |
| 5. (0) SECRETARIAL - CLERICAL (IF CHARGED DIRECTLY) | | | | | | 0 | |
| 6. (0) OTHER | | | | | | 0 | |
| TOTAL SALARIES AND WAGES (A + B) | | | | | | 34,242 | |
| C. FRINGE BENEFITS (IF CHARGED AS DIRECT COSTS) | | | | | | 4,965 | |
| TOTAL SALARIES, WAGES AND FRINGE BENEFITS (A + B + C) | | | | | | 39,207 | |
| D. EQUIPMENT (LIST ITEM AND DOLLAR AMOUNT FOR EACH ITEM EXCEEDING \$5,000.) | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL EQUIPMENT | | | | | | 0 | |
| E. TRAVEL 1. DOMESTIC (INCL. U.S. POSSESSIONS) | | | | | | 1,600 | |
| 2. INTERNATIONAL | | | | | | 9,080 | |
| F. PARTICIPANT SUPPORT COSTS | | | | | | | |
| 1. STIPENDS \$ 0 | | | | | | | |
| 2. TRAVEL 0 | | | | | | | |
| 3. SUBSISTENCE 0 | | | | | | | |
| 4. OTHER 0 | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS (0) TOTAL PARTICIPANT COSTS | | | | | | 0 | |
| G. OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | | |
| 1. MATERIALS AND SUPPLIES | | | | | | 0 | |
| 2. PUBLICATION COSTS/DOCUMENTATION/DISEMINATION | | | | | | 0 | |
| 3. CONSULTANT SERVICES | | | | | | 0 | |
| 4. COMPUTER SERVICES | | | | | | 0 | |
| 5. SUBAWARDS | | | | | | 0 | |
| 6. OTHER | | | | | | 0 | |
| TOTAL OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | 0 | |
| H. TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (A THROUGH G) | | | | | | 49,887 | |
| I. INDIRECT COSTS (F&A)(SPECIFY RATE AND BASE) MTDC (Rate: 61.0, Base:49887) | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (F&A) | | | | | | 30,431 | |
| J. TOTAL DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS (H + I) | | | | | | 80,318 | |
| K. FEE | | | | | | 0 | |
| L. AMOUNT OF THIS REQUEST (J) OR (J MINUS K) | | | | | | 80,318 | |
| M. COST SHARING PROPOSED LEVEL \$ 0 | | | | AGREED LEVEL IF DIFFERENT \$ | | | |
| PI/PI NAME Brian Blankenship | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | | |
| ORG. REP. NAME* | | | | INDIRECT COST RATE VERIFICATION | | | |
| | | | | Date Checked | Date Of Rate Sheet | Initials - ORG | |

*ELECTRONIC SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR REVISED BUDGET

SUMMARY PROPOSAL BUDGET

Cumulative

| | | | | | | |
|---|--|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|---|------|
| ORGANIZATION SUNY at Buffalo | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | |
| | | | | PROPOSAL NO. | DURATION (months) | |
| PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR / PROJECT DIRECTOR Brian Blankenship | | | | AWARD NO. | | |
| | | | | | | |
| A. SENIOR PERSONNEL: PI/PI, Co-PI's, Faculty and Other Senior Associates (List each separately with title, A.7. show number in brackets) | | NSF Funded Person-months | | Funds Requested By proposer | Funds granted by NSF (if different) | |
| | | CAL | ACAD | | | SUMR |
| 1. Carla Martinez Machain | | 2.0 | | | 34,242 | |
| 2. | | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | | |
| 6. () OTHERS (LIST INDIVIDUALLY ON BUDGET JUSTIFICATION PAGE) | | | | | | |
| 7. (1) TOTAL SENIOR PERSONNEL (1 - 6) | | 2.0 | | | 34,242 | |
| B. OTHER PERSONNEL (SHOW NUMBERS IN BRACKETS) | | | | | | |
| 1. (0) POST DOCTORAL SCHOLARS | | 0.0 | | | 0 | |
| 2. (0) OTHER PROFESSIONALS (TECHNICIAN, PROGRAMMER, ETC.) | | 0.0 | | | 0 | |
| 3. (0) GRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | 0 | |
| 4. (0) UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | 0 | |
| 5. (0) SECRETARIAL - CLERICAL (IF CHARGED DIRECTLY) | | | | | 0 | |
| 6. (0) OTHER | | | | | 0 | |
| TOTAL SALARIES AND WAGES (A + B) | | | | | 34,242 | |
| C. FRINGE BENEFITS (IF CHARGED AS DIRECT COSTS) | | | | | 4,965 | |
| TOTAL SALARIES, WAGES AND FRINGE BENEFITS (A + B + C) | | | | | 39,207 | |
| D. EQUIPMENT (LIST ITEM AND DOLLAR AMOUNT FOR EACH ITEM EXCEEDING \$5,000.) | | | | | | |
| TOTAL EQUIPMENT | | | | | 0 | |
| E. TRAVEL 1. DOMESTIC (INCL. U.S. POSSESSIONS) | | | | | 1,600 | |
| 2. INTERNATIONAL | | | | | 9,080 | |
| F. PARTICIPANT SUPPORT COSTS | | | | | | |
| 1. STIPENDS \$ | | 0 | | | | |
| 2. TRAVEL | | 0 | | | | |
| 3. SUBSISTENCE | | 0 | | | | |
| 4. OTHER | | 0 | | | | |
| TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS (0) | | TOTAL PARTICIPANT COSTS | | | 0 | |
| G. OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | |
| 1. MATERIALS AND SUPPLIES | | | | | 0 | |
| 2. PUBLICATION COSTS/DOCUMENTATION/DISEMINATION | | | | | 0 | |
| 3. CONSULTANT SERVICES | | | | | 0 | |
| 4. COMPUTER SERVICES | | | | | 0 | |
| 5. SUBAWARDS | | | | | 0 | |
| 6. OTHER | | | | | 0 | |
| TOTAL OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | 0 | |
| H. TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (A THROUGH G) | | | | | 49,887 | |
| I. INDIRECT COSTS (F&A)(SPECIFY RATE AND BASE) | | | | | | |
| TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (F&A) | | | | | 30,431 | |
| J. TOTAL DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS (H + I) | | | | | 80,318 | |
| K. FEE | | | | | 0 | |
| L. AMOUNT OF THIS REQUEST (J) OR (J MINUS K) | | | | | 80,318 | |
| M. COST SHARING PROPOSED LEVEL \$ 0 | | AGREED LEVEL IF DIFFERENT \$ | | | | |
| PI/PI NAME Brian Blankenship | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | | | |
| ORG. REP. NAME* | | INDIRECT COST RATE VERIFICATION | | | | |
| | | Date Checked | Date Of Rate Sheet | Initials - ORG | | |

*ELECTRONIC SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR REVISED BUDGET

Budget Justification

Personnel

Carla Martinez Machain, co-Principal Investigator, 2 summer months effort during the year.

Dr. Martinez Machain will thus be working as a co-author on manuscripts and engaging in theory building, writing, research design, fieldwork, and quantitative and qualitative analysis.

For the purpose of calculating the NSF two-month limit on salary for senior personnel, the University at Buffalo defines a “year” as its fiscal year, which is the consecutive 12-month period beginning July 1 and ending June 30.

Fringe Benefits

Fringe benefit rates are based on the applicable federally negotiated rates.

Domestic Travel

\$1,600 in travel expenses for year 1 is requested for Martinez Machain to travel to professional conferences to present output from the project, as well as to promote it among the relevant academic communities

Foreign Travel

\$9,080 in travel expenses for year 1 is requested for Martinez Machain to travel to Djibouti for 14 days over the summer to conduct qualitative fieldwork, including interviews. This rate was calculated using the State Department-set lodging rate for Djibouti (\$260 / night).

Indirect Costs

The indirect costs are calculated at the University at Buffalo predetermined Facilities and Administrative (F&A) cost rate of 61% MTDC per DHHS agreement dated 4/27/2023.

SUMMARY PROPOSAL BUDGET

YEAR 1

| | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| ORGANIZATION Brandeis University | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | |
| | | | | PROPOSAL NO. | DURATION (months) | |
| PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR / PROJECT DIRECTOR Brian Blankenship | | | | AWARD NO. | | |
| | | | | | | |
| A. SENIOR PERSONNEL: PI/PI, Co-PI's, Faculty and Other Senior Associates (List each separately with title, A.7. show number in brackets) | | | | NSF Funded Person-months | | Funds Requested By proposer |
| | | | | CAL | ACAD | SUMR |
| 1. Renanah Joyce | | | | 2.0 | | 22,055 |
| 2. | | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | | |
| 6. () OTHERS (LIST INDIVIDUALLY ON BUDGET JUSTIFICATION PAGE) | | | | 0.0 | | 0 |
| 7. (1) TOTAL SENIOR PERSONNEL (1 - 6) | | | | 2.0 | | 22,055 |
| B. OTHER PERSONNEL (SHOW NUMBERS IN BRACKETS) | | | | | | |
| 1. (0) POST DOCTORAL SCHOLARS | | | | 0.0 | | 0 |
| 2. (0) OTHER PROFESSIONALS (TECHNICIAN, PROGRAMMER, ETC.) | | | | 0.0 | | 0 |
| 3. (0) GRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. (0) UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | 0 |
| 5. (0) SECRETARIAL - CLERICAL (IF CHARGED DIRECTLY) | | | | | | 0 |
| 6. (0) OTHER | | | | | | 0 |
| TOTAL SALARIES AND WAGES (A + B) | | | | | | 22,055 |
| C. FRINGE BENEFITS (IF CHARGED AS DIRECT COSTS) | | | | | | 8,028 |
| TOTAL SALARIES, WAGES AND FRINGE BENEFITS (A + B + C) | | | | | | 30,083 |
| D. EQUIPMENT (LIST ITEM AND DOLLAR AMOUNT FOR EACH ITEM EXCEEDING \$5,000.) | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | |
| TOTAL EQUIPMENT | | | | | | 0 |
| E. TRAVEL 1. DOMESTIC (INCL. U.S. POSSESSIONS) | | | | | | 1,534 |
| 2. INTERNATIONAL | | | | | | 9,500 |
| F. PARTICIPANT SUPPORT COSTS | | | | | | |
| 1. STIPENDS \$ 0 | | | | | | |
| 2. TRAVEL 0 | | | | | | |
| 3. SUBSISTENCE 0 | | | | | | |
| 4. OTHER 0 | | | | | | |
| TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS (0) TOTAL PARTICIPANT COSTS | | | | | | 0 |
| G. OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | |
| 1. MATERIALS AND SUPPLIES | | | | | | 0 |
| 2. PUBLICATION COSTS/DOCUMENTATION/DISEMINATION | | | | | | 0 |
| 3. CONSULTANT SERVICES | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. COMPUTER SERVICES | | | | | | 0 |
| 5. SUBAWARDS | | | | | | 0 |
| 6. OTHER | | | | | | 0 |
| TOTAL OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | 0 |
| H. TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (A THROUGH G) | | | | | | 41,117 |
| I. INDIRECT COSTS (F&A)(SPECIFY RATE AND BASE) MTDC (Rate: 59.5, Base:41117) | | | | | | |
| TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (F&A) | | | | | | 24,465 |
| J. TOTAL DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS (H + I) | | | | | | 65,582 |
| K. FEE | | | | | | 0 |
| L. AMOUNT OF THIS REQUEST (J) OR (J MINUS K) | | | | | | 65,582 |
| M. COST SHARING PROPOSED LEVEL \$ 0 | | | | AGREED LEVEL IF DIFFERENT \$ | | |
| PI/PI NAME Brian Blankenship | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | |
| | | | | INDIRECT COST RATE VERIFICATION | | |
| ORG. REP. NAME* | | | | Date Checked | Date Of Rate Sheet | Initials - ORG |
| | | | | | | |

*ELECTRONIC SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR REVISED BUDGET

SUMMARY PROPOSAL BUDGET

Cumulative

| ORGANIZATION Brandeis University | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | | |
|---|--|--|--|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR / PROJECT DIRECTOR Brian Blankenship | | | | PROPOSAL NO. | DURATION (months) | | |
| | | | | AWARD NO. | Proposed | Granted | |
| A. SENIOR PERSONNEL: PI/PI, Co-PI's, Faculty and Other Senior Associates (List each separately with title, A.7. show number in brackets) | | | | NSF Funded Person-months | | Funds Requested By proposer | Funds granted by NSF (if different) |
| | | | | CAL | ACAD | SUMR | |
| 1. Renanah Joyce | | | | 2.0 | | | 22,055 |
| 2. | | | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | | | |
| 6. () OTHERS (LIST INDIVIDUALLY ON BUDGET JUSTIFICATION PAGE) | | | | | | | |
| 7. (1) TOTAL SENIOR PERSONNEL (1 - 6) | | | | 2.0 | | | 22,055 |
| B. OTHER PERSONNEL (SHOW NUMBERS IN BRACKETS) | | | | | | | |
| 1. (0) POST DOCTORAL SCHOLARS | | | | 0.0 | | | 0 |
| 2. (0) OTHER PROFESSIONALS (TECHNICIAN, PROGRAMMER, ETC.) | | | | 0.0 | | | 0 |
| 3. (0) GRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. (0) UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS | | | | | | | 0 |
| 5. (0) SECRETARIAL - CLERICAL (IF CHARGED DIRECTLY) | | | | | | | 0 |
| 6. (0) OTHER | | | | | | | 0 |
| TOTAL SALARIES AND WAGES (A + B) | | | | | | | 22,055 |
| C. FRINGE BENEFITS (IF CHARGED AS DIRECT COSTS) | | | | | | | 8,028 |
| TOTAL SALARIES, WAGES AND FRINGE BENEFITS (A + B + C) | | | | | | | 30,083 |
| D. EQUIPMENT (LIST ITEM AND DOLLAR AMOUNT FOR EACH ITEM EXCEEDING \$5,000.) | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL EQUIPMENT | | | | | | | 0 |
| E. TRAVEL 1. DOMESTIC (INCL. U.S. POSSESSIONS) | | | | | | | 1,534 |
| 2. INTERNATIONAL | | | | | | | 9,500 |
| | | | | | | | |
| F. PARTICIPANT SUPPORT COSTS | | | | | | | |
| 1. STIPENDS \$ <u>0</u> | | | | | | | 0 |
| 2. TRAVEL <u>0</u> | | | | | | | 0 |
| 3. SUBSISTENCE <u>0</u> | | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. OTHER <u>0</u> | | | | | | | 0 |
| TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS (0) TOTAL PARTICIPANT COSTS | | | | | | | 0 |
| G. OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | | |
| 1. MATERIALS AND SUPPLIES | | | | | | | 0 |
| 2. PUBLICATION COSTS/DOCUMENTATION/DISEMINATION | | | | | | | 0 |
| 3. CONSULTANT SERVICES | | | | | | | 0 |
| 4. COMPUTER SERVICES | | | | | | | 0 |
| 5. SUBAWARDS | | | | | | | 0 |
| 6. OTHER | | | | | | | 0 |
| TOTAL OTHER DIRECT COSTS | | | | | | | 0 |
| H. TOTAL DIRECT COSTS (A THROUGH G) | | | | | | | 41,117 |
| I. INDIRECT COSTS (F&A)(SPECIFY RATE AND BASE) | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL INDIRECT COSTS (F&A) | | | | | | | 24,465 |
| J. TOTAL DIRECT AND INDIRECT COSTS (H + I) | | | | | | | 65,582 |
| K. FEE | | | | | | | 0 |
| L. AMOUNT OF THIS REQUEST (J) OR (J MINUS K) | | | | | | | 65,582 |
| M. COST SHARING PROPOSED LEVEL \$ 0 | | | | AGREED LEVEL IF DIFFERENT \$ | | | |
| PI/PI NAME Brian Blankenship | | | | FOR NSF USE ONLY | | | |
| | | | | INDIRECT COST RATE VERIFICATION | | | |
| ORG. REP. NAME* | | | | Date Checked | Date Of Rate Sheet | Initials - ORG | |

*ELECTRONIC SIGNATURES REQUIRED FOR REVISED BUDGET

Budget Justification

Personnel

Michael Flynn, co-Principal Investigator, 2 full effort months per year (over the summer), partial effort during the academic year.

Dr. Flynn will be working as a co-author on manuscripts and will be engaged primarily in data management and analysis, but will also take on additional roles in theory building and drafting manuscripts.

Fringe Benefits

Fringe benefit rates are based on the applicable federally negotiated rates.

Laptop Computer

Dr. Flynn is requesting \$5,100 to help pay for a new laptop computer. Dr. Flynn is not traveling to conduct fieldwork and will be the primary data analyst on the project. The laptop request is in lieu of travel funds. As in our previous projects, the bulk of our analysis will rely on Bayesian hierarchical choice modeling of public opinion data. These models can be incredibly demanding in terms of processing speed and memory consumption. The hierarchical structure of the models and our focus on hundreds of sub-national groupings/clusters within the focus countries means that estimating the models, exploring posterior samples, and generating contrasts from the posteriors to examine effects of interest, will consume more memory than his current laptop can handle. His current laptop computer is a 2020 MacBook Pro with 16GB of memory. Running only basic word processing, internet browsing, and PDF software consumes approximately 11–13 GB of memory, leaving little for RStudio and modeling activity. The proposed replacement would be a MacBook Pro with 128 GB of memory and an M3 Max processor, providing ample computational resources to estimate models and explore complex combinations of the posterior distributions. Dr. Flynn's department has limited funds to replace laptops, with replacements generally capped around \$1,200.

One important detail to note is that while Kansas State University maintains the BEOCAT high-performance computing cluster, this is not a viable option for our purposes. Dr. Flynn has worked with the Computer Science staff who maintain BEOCAT on previous projects in an effort to use the cluster for his modeling needs. However, the installation of R, Stan, and brms rely on underlying software that requires installing material outside of the user's account, which the system does not allow. Accordingly, these previous efforts to use BEOCAT for similar projects have failed and all of our work has been run on local machines (e.g. laptops or desktops).

Indirect Costs

The indirect costs are calculated at Kansas State University's predetermined Facilities and Administrative (F&A) cost rate of 52% MTDC in year 1 per DHHS agreement dated 02/03/2020.

Facilities, Equipment, and Other Resources – University of Miami

Personnel Resources

The following personnel will participate in this grant as part of their role at the University of Miami.

- Brian D. Blankenship, Assistant Professor, University of Miami, will be Principal Investigator. He will be responsible for developing theory, designing the survey, managing and mentoring the undergraduate research assistant, leading the development of relevant public articles, coordinating the project's academic output, managing the budget in coordination with University of Miami Office of Research Administration, monitoring funded research progress, leading official reporting compliance, co-managing communication with survey firms and contacts in Djibouti, and delegating additional work to capture any shortfalls in productivity.

Support Programs, Staff, and Services

- University of Miami Office of Research Administration will provide support to the PI during the life cycle of the sponsored project, including proposal preparation, award acceptance, award management, and award closeout.
- University of Miami Senior Manager of Business Operations will provide support with grant administration, contracting, and major purchasing.
- University of Miami Department of Information Technology will provide network capability via secure servers to enable team researchers to share access to research data in a secure environment.
- University of Miami Library staff will provide support for data management and dissemination of data and results via appropriate repositories.
- Survey firms (e.g., GeoPoll) will be contracted to gather our survey samples of 1,000 respondents each in Djibouti, Kenya, and Cambodia.

Physical Resources

The University of Miami's Political Science Department has access to a computer lab, the Digital Scholars' Lab, located in the Richter Library. 24 high-powered Windows stations are located there and are equipped with statistical & GIS software and Engineering software. This computer lab features statistical software, such as Stata and SPSS statistical software, that is imperative for the analysis of original statistical data in Political Science.

Cyber infrastructure

Qualtrics Survey Software – University of Miami has a site-wide license for the use of Qualtrics survey software for original data collection. Qualtrics software allows for survey data collection in online and in-person environments, including advanced randomization of questionnaires.

Box – University of Miami has a license for the use of Box for file sharing.

The PI has access to computers and Stata and R statistical software. Undergraduate research assistant will also have access to computers at computer labs at the University of Miami with relevant software for finding and summarizing scholarly literature.

Discord, a threaded chat program, will be used for collaboration and real time text and voice conversation across research team personnel.

Streaming Video – The PI has access to a suite of streaming software (e.g., Zoom) to facilitate remote collaboration and to conduct remote interviews if necessary. These services will be free for any interview participant to use.

FACILITIES, EQUIPMENT AND OTHER RESOURCES

PERSONNEL RESOURCES

The following personnel will participate in this grant as part of their roles at Boise State University.

- Dr. Michael A. Allen, professor of Political Science at Boise State University, will contribute to all aspects of the project. Dr. Allen will be co-authoring manuscripts related to these topics and engaging in theory building, writing, research design, and quantitative and qualitative analysis. This work will also include instrument design and implementation for the surveys and the interviews. He will conduct fieldwork in Djibouti.

SUPPORT PROGRAMS, STAFF AND SERVICES

The offices and units described below and their staff have been consulted to support the project.

- Office of Sponsored Programs will provide support to the PI and CoPIs during the life cycle of the sponsored project, including proposal preparation, award acceptance, award management, and award closeout.
- Our School of Public Service Project Coordinator will provide support with grant administration, contracting, and major purchasing.
- Offices of Information Technology will provide network capability via secure servers to enable team researchers to share access to research and student data in a secure environment.

PHYSICAL RESOURCES

BOISE STATE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS OVERVIEW

Boise State University [enrollment 26,727 in fall 2023] is a campus rapidly growing to accommodate rising student enrollment and an increasing focus on research. The campus is located one half mile south of downtown Boise, the state's hub of business, government, and culture. The campus site occupies 175 acres of land and 3.7 million ft² of classroom, laboratory, and office space. The university has acquired land and buildings adjacent to the campus as part of a master plan that allows for continuing growth.

The following teaching facilities, laboratories, and other facilities are most associated with achieving the outcomes and goals of this project.

BOISE STATE UNIVERSITY TEACHING FACILITIES

The School of Public Service and Political Science Program has access to a vast array of teaching spaces at Boise State University. These include traditional lecture halls, smaller classrooms for discussion-based courses, and computer labs for statistical and data analysis training.

BOISE STATE UNIVERSITY CYBER-INFRASTRUCTURE

Boise State University maintains a high-performance computing cluster that is reserved for grant-supported research. It features 16 GPU nodes, each with 32 AMD Opteron 6128 8 core CPU's, for a total of 256 CPU cores, and five compute nodes with dual T-2050's GPU cards, and 3 compute nodes with GTX680 GPU' cards. Each GPU has 448 cores. It is housed and serviced by Idaho National Labs. This resource can greatly increase the rate of computational analysis, allowing computationally expensive data exploration.

Qualtrics Survey Software – Boise State University has a site-wide license for using Qualtrics survey software for original data collection. Qualtrics software allows for survey data collection in online and in-person environments, including advanced randomization of questionnaires. All faculty and students at Boise State are eligible for a free account, allowing for unlimited surveys and responses.

The CoPI has access to computers, SPSS, and Stata statistical software, provided by Boise State University. Discord, a threaded chat program, will be used for file sharing, collaboration, and real time text and voice conversation across research team personnel.

Streaming Video - Academic Technologies broadcasts video over the Internet, either prerecorded video or video of a live event. Staff at Academic Technologies assists faculty in preparing existing video for streaming, as well as assist in broadcasting live events.

FACILITIES, EQUIPMENT AND OTHER RESOURCES

PERSONNEL RESOURCES

The following personnel will participate in this grant as part of their roles at Kansas State University.

- Dr. Michael E. Flynn, Professor of Political Science at Kansas State University, will contribute to all aspects of the project. Dr. Flynn will be co-authoring manuscripts related to these topics and engaging in theory building, writing, research design, and quantitative and qualitative analysis. Dr. Flynn will also be involved in the survey instrument design. Given his expertise in Bayesian statistical analyses, Dr. Flynn will be the primary analyst for the quantitative analyses arising from this project.

SUPPORT PROGRAMS, STAFF AND SERVICES

The offices and units described below and their staff have been consulted to support the project.

- Office of Sponsored Programs will provide support to the PI and CoPIs during the life cycle of the sponsored project, including proposal preparation, award acceptance, award management, and award closeout.
- The Department of Political Science department administrator will provide support with grant administration, contracting, and major purchasing.
- Offices of Information Technology will provide network capability via secure servers to enable team researchers to share access to research and student data in a secure environment.

PHYSICAL RESOURCES

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS OVERVIEW

Founded in 1863 and the country's first operational land grant university, Kansas State University is a large research university with a "highest research activity" designation from the Carnegie Classification. The University has a fall 2023 enrollment of 19,745 student, over 1,200 full-time faculty, and over 2,400 full-time staff. The campus is located in Manhattan, KS, a small city located in eastern Kansas with a population of approximately 54,000 people. The University also has satellite campuses in Salina, KS, and Olathe, KS. The main campus in Manhattan encompasses over 2,320 acres. The Manhattan campus is located approximately 16 miles from Ft. Riley, the home of the U.S. Army's First Infantry Division, and 113 miles from Ft. Leavenworth, KS, the home of the U.S. Army's Command and General Staff College and School of Advanced Military Studies. Manhattan, KS, is also home to the new National Bio and Agro-Defense Facility (NBAF).

The following teaching facilities, laboratories, and other facilities are most associated with achieving the outcomes and goals of this project.

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY TEACHING FACILITIES

The Department of Political Science has access to a variety of teaching spaces at Kansas State University. These include traditional lecture halls, smaller classrooms for discussion-based courses, and computer labs for statistical and data analysis training.

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY CYBER-INFRASTRUCTURE

Kansas State University maintains a high-performance computing cluster named BEOCAT run by the Institute for Computational Research. It features 7 classes of computer nodes, with 415 individual nodes. The newest nodes consist of a range of AMD EPYC processors, most of which have 128 cores and range from 128GB of RAM to 1.5TB of RAM.

Qualtrics Survey Software – Kansas State University has a license for using Qualtrics survey software for original data collection. Qualtrics software allows for survey data collection in online and in-person environments, including advanced randomization of questionnaires. All faculty and students at Kansas State are eligible for a free account, allowing for unlimited surveys and responses.

The CoPI has access to open-source statistical software that can be used for data analysis. Discord, a threaded chat program, communication, collaboration, and real time text and voice conversation across research team personnel.

Streaming Video – Wildcat Watch Services provides free video capture and editing services to faculty and student groups. They will also assist with recording or livestreaming events.

Facilities, Equipment, and Other Resources

Personnel Resources

The following personnel will participate in this grant as part of their roles at Brandeis University.

- Renanah Joyce, Assistant Professor of Politics at Brandeis University, will contribute to development of theory, survey design and implementation, and development of written products for publication. The work noted is included in Dr. Joyce's appointment at Brandeis, which allows time for faculty to conduct research.

Support Programs, Staff, and Services

The offices and units described below and their staff are available to support the project:

- The Office of Research Administration, Sponsored Programs Accounting, and the School of Arts and Sciences Grant Administrator will provide support to the PI and CoPI during the grant lifecycle.
- Information Technology Services will provide network capability via secure servers to enable team researchers to share access to research and data in a secure environment.

Physical Resources

The Politics Department has access to numerous teaching and research spaces at Brandeis University. These include traditional lecture halls, smaller classrooms for discussion-based courses, and computer labs for statistical and data analysis training.

Cyber infrastructure

Qualtrics Survey Software – Brandeis University has a site-wide license for using Qualtrics survey software for original data collection. Qualtrics software allows for survey data collection in online and in-person environments, including advanced randomization of questionnaires. All faculty and students at Brandeis University are eligible for a free account, allowing for unlimited surveys and responses.

The CoPI has access to computers and Stata statistical software, provided by Brandeis University. Discord, a threaded chat program, will be used for file sharing, collaboration, and real time text and voice conversation across research team personnel.

Streaming video – the co-PI has access to a suite of streaming software to facilitate remote collaboration and to conduct remote interviews if necessary. These services will be free for any interview participant to use.

FACILITIES, EQUIPMENT AND OTHER RESOURCES

PERSONNEL RESOURCES

The following personnel will participate in this grant as part of their roles at the University at Buffalo.

- Dr. Carla Martinez Machain, professor of Political Science at the University at Buffalo, will contribute to all aspects of the project. Dr. Martinez Machain will be co-authoring manuscripts related to these topics and engaging in theory building, writing, research design, and quantitative and qualitative analysis. This work will also include instrument design and implementation for the surveys and the interviews. She will conduct fieldwork in Djibouti.

SUPPORT PROGRAMS, STAFF AND SERVICES

The offices and units described below and their staff have been consulted to support the project:

- The office of Sponsored Projects Services (SPS) will provide support to the PI and CoPIs during the life cycle of the sponsored project, including proposal preparation, award acceptance, award management, and award closeout.
- The Department of Political Science department administrators will provide support with grant administration, contracting, and major purchasing.
- The office of UB Information Technology (UBIT) will provide network capability via secure servers to enable team researchers to share access to research data in a secure environment.

PHYSICAL RESOURCES

UNIVERSITY CAMPUS OVERVIEW

The University at Buffalo—SUNY is a public institution that was founded in 1846. It has a total undergraduate enrollment of 20,761 (fall 2022), its setting is suburban, and the campus size is 1,350 acres. It utilizes a semester-based academic calendar. University at Buffalo—SUNY's ranking in the 2024 edition of Best Colleges is National Universities, #76. It has 32,099 students, 20,761 undergraduate and 11,338 graduate.

UNIVERSITY AT BUFFALO CYBER-INFRASTRUCTURE

Qualtrics Survey Software – The University at Buffalo has a site-wide license for using Qualtrics survey software for original data collection. Qualtrics software allows for survey data collection in online and in-person environments, including advanced randomization of questionnaires. All faculty and students at the University at Buffalo are eligible for a free account, allowing for unlimited surveys and responses.

The Co-PI has access to computers and Stata statistical software, provided by the University at Buffalo. Discord, a threaded chat program, will be used for file sharing, collaboration, and real time text and voice conversation across research team personnel.

Streaming Video - Academic Technologies broadcasts video over the Internet, either prerecorded video or video of a live event. Staff at Academic Technologies assists faculty in preparing existing video for streaming, as well as assist in broadcasting live events.

IDENTIFYING INFORMATION:

NAME: Blankenship, Brian

POSITION TITLE: Assistant Professor of Political Science

PRIMARY ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION: University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, United States

Professional Preparation:

| ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION | DEGREE (if applicable) | RECEIPT DATE | FIELD OF STUDY |
|---|---------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Columbia University, New York, New York, United States | PHD | 05/2018 | Political Science |
| Columbia University, New York, New York, United States | MPHIL | 05/2015 | Political Science |
| Columbia University, New York, New York, United States | MA | 05/2014 | Political Science |
| Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, United States | BA | 05/2012 | Political Science |

Appointments and Positions

- 2019 - present Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, United States
- 2020 - 2021 Stanton Nuclear Security Fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, District of Columbia, United States
- 2018 - 2019 US Foreign Policy and International Security Postdoctoral Fellow, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, United States

Products**Products Most Closely Related to the Proposed Project**

1. Joyce RM. The Market for Foreign Bases. Security Studies. Forthcoming. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09636412.2023.2271387>
2. Blankenship BD, Joyce RM. Purchasing Power: U.S. Overseas Defense Spending and Military Statecraft. The Journal of conflict resolution. 2020; 64(2):545-573. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002719854786>

Other Significant Products, Whether or Not Related to the Proposed Project

1. Blankenship B. Do Threats or Shaming Increase Public Support for Policy Concessions? Alliance Coercion and Burden- Sharing in NATO. International Studies Quarterly. Forthcoming.
2. Blankenship B, Lin-Greenberg E. Trivial Tripwires? Military Capabilities and Alliance Reassurance. Security Studies. 2022; 31(1):92-117.
3. Kuo R, Blankenship B. Deterrence and Restraint: Do Joint Military Exercises Escalate Conflict?. The Journal of conflict resolution. 2022; 66(1):3-31.
4. Blankenship B. The Price of Protection: Explaining Success and Failure of U.S. Alliance Burden-Sharing Pressure. Security Studies. 2021; 30(5):691-724.

5. Blankenship B. Promises under Pressure: Statements of Reassurance in U.S. Alliances. *International Studies Quarterly*. 2020; 64(4):1017-1030.

Synergistic Activities

1. Communication of research to general audiences through blog posts and articles in the following outlets: Washington Post; War on the Rocks; Defense One; National Interest; Lawfare.
2. Communication of research to scholarly audiences through blog posts in the following outlets: Political Violence at a Glance; E-International Relations.
3. Presented research to defense-relevant audiences including an in-person presentation for the U.S. Department of Defense (2018) and webinars for U.S. Strategic Command (2021), the U.S. Department of the Navy (2021), the Brookings Institution (2022), and the U.S. State Department's Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs (2022).
4. Participated in roundtables at the University of Miami on topics ranging from German-American relations (2020) and the Russia-Ukraine War (2023).
5. Discussed my research on podcasts including the Social Science of War podcast, the New Books Network podcast, and the Security Dilemma podcast.

Certification:

When the individual signs the certification on behalf of themselves, they are certifying that the information is current, accurate, and complete. This includes, but is not limited to, information related to domestic and foreign appointments and positions. Misrepresentations and/or omissions may be subject to prosecution and liability pursuant to, but not limited to, 18 U.S.C. §§ 287, 1001, 1031 and 31 U.S.C. §§ 3729-3733 and 3802.

Certified by Blankenship, Brian in SciENcv on 2023-12-04 10:23:33

IDENTIFYING INFORMATION:

NAME: Allen, Michael A

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6467-6761>

POSITION TITLE: Professor

PRIMARY ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION: Boise State University, Boise, Idaho, United States**Professional Preparation:**

| ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION | DEGREE (if applicable) | RECEIPT DATE | FIELD OF STUDY |
|---|----------------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| Binghamton University (SUNY), Binghamton, NY, US | Ph.D. | 08/2011 | Political Science |
| Binghamton University, Binghamton, NY, United States | M.A. | 05/2008 | Political Science |
| University of Puget Sound, Tacoma, WA, United States | Politics and Government | 05/2005 | Political Science |

Appointments and Positions

2012 - present Professor, Boise State University, Boise, Idaho, United States

2012 - present Professor, Boise State University, Boise, Idaho, United States

2017 - 2022 Associate Professor, Boise State University, Political Science, Boise, Idaho, United States

2012 - 2017 Assistant Professor, Boise State University, Political Science, Boise, Idaho, US

2011 - 2012 Visiting Assistant Professor, University of Missouri, Political Science, Columbia, MO, US

Products**Products Most Closely Related to the Proposed Project**

1. Allen M, Flynn M, Martinez Machain C. US global military deployments, 1950–2020 *. Conflict Management and Peace Science. 2021 July 28; 39(3):351-370. Available from: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/07388942211030885> DOI: 10.1177/07388942211030885
2. Allen M, Flynn M, Martinez Machain C, Stravers A. Outside the Wire: U.S. Military Deployments and Public Opinion in Host States. American Political Science Review. 2020 February 03; 114(2):326-341. Available from: https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/S0003055419000868/type/journal_article DOI: 10.1017/S0003055419000868
3. Allen M, Flynn M, VanDusky-Allen J. Regions of Hierarchy and Security: US Troop Deployments, Spatial Relations, and Defense Burdens. International Interactions. 2016 May 23; 43(3):397-423. Available from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03050629.2016.1191482> DOI: 10.1080/03050629.2016.1191482
4. Allen M, Campbell T, Hernandez N, Shepherd V. US Military Deployments and the Risk of

Coup d'État*. Foreign Policy Analysis. 2023 January; 19(1):- . Available from:
<https://academic.oup.com/fpa/article/doi/10.1093/fpa/orac027/6916934> DOI:
 10.1093/fpa/orac027

5. Allen M, Flynn M, Martinez Machain C, Stravers A. 1 ed. Beyond the Wire [Internet] Oxford University Press New York; 2022-11-10. -p. Available from:
<https://academic.oup.com/book/44494> DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780197633403.001.0001

Other Significant Products, Whether or Not Related to the Proposed Project

1. Allen M. 1 ed. Poli Sci Fi [Internet] New York : Routledge, 2016.: Routledge; 2016-3-10. -p. Available from: <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781315637013> DOI: 10.4324/9781315637013
2. Allen M. The Influence of Regional Power Distributions on Interdependence. Journal of Conflict Resolution. 2016 September 28; 62(5):1072-1099. Available from:
<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0022002716669809> DOI: 10.1177/0022002716669809
3. Allen M, Bell S, Clay K. Deadly Triangles: The Implications of Regional Competition on Interactions in Asymmetric Dyads. Foreign Policy Analysis. 2016 May 30; :orw026-. Available from: <https://academic.oup.com/fpa/article-lookup/doi/10.1093/fpa/orw026> DOI: 10.1093/fpa/orw026
4. Allen M. Blog Consumption and International Relations. Journal of Political Science Education. 2016 January 26; 12(2):169-185. Available from:
<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15512169.2015.1071264> DOI: 10.1080/15512169.2015.1071264
5. Allen M, VanDusky-Allen J, Flynn M. The Localized and Spatial Effects of US Troop Deployments on Host-State Defense Spending. Foreign Policy Analysis. 2014 October; :n/a-n/a. Available from: <https://academic.oup.com/fpa/article-lookup/doi/10.1111/fpa.12078> DOI: 10.1111/fpa.12078

Synergistic Activities

1. Communication of research to general audiences through policy-related blog posts. In particular, my research team leveraged our published research into several news articles on the Conversation, including "Why does the US pay so much for the defense of its allies? 5 questions answered" (URL: <https://theconversation.com/why-does-the-us-pay-so-much-for-the-defense-of-its-allies-5-questionsanswered-127683>) that dealt with ongoing debates about Troop presence in Japan and South Korea. The article has 46,487 reads at this point and published in over 25 other outlets. My total volume of public facing work on the Conversation includes 14 articles with over 365,000 reads.
2. Consistent publication record in public- and policy-facing websites about research such as The Conversation, The Washington Post's The Monkey Cage, The Duck of Minerva, The Owl in the Olive Tree, and Political Quarterly.
3. Presented research to defense-relevant audiences including a webinar for the Homeland Defense & Security Information Analysis Center, Mountain Home Air Force Base, Beale Air Force Base, and the Army Futures Command Character of Warfare 2035 Seminar hosted by the Future Study Program and Mad Scientist Initiative in 2020.

4. Developed and co-edited a book that used popular film and television to convey and explain important concepts in political science. The book was adopted by several classes in different institutions in the United States. Book: Poli Sci Fi, edited by Allen, M. and Vaughn, J. 2016.
5. Co-authored work with a team of Masters in Political Science students. Mentored three students in how to research and publish academic research and culminated in an article that was published in the journal Foreign Policy Analysis.

Certification:

When the individual signs the certification on behalf of themselves, they are certifying that the information is current, accurate, and complete. This includes, but is not limited to, information related to domestic and foreign appointments and positions. Misrepresentations and/or omissions may be subject to prosecution and liability pursuant to, but not limited to, 18 U.S.C. §§ 287, 1001, 1031 and 31 U.S.C. §§ 3729-3733 and 3802.

Certified by Allen, Michael A in SciENcv on 2023-12-07 23:53:42

IDENTIFYING INFORMATION:

NAME: Joyce, Renanah

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4470-6385>

POSITION TITLE: Assistant Professor

PRIMARY ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION: Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, United States**Professional Preparation:**

| ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION | DEGREE (if applicable) | RECEIPT DATE | FIELD OF STUDY |
|---|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Harvard Kennedy School & Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States | Postdoctoral Fellow | 08/2020 - 12/2021 | Security Studies |
| George Washington University, Washington, District of Columbia, United States | Fellow | 08/2019 - 05/2020 | Political Science |
| Columbia University, New York, New York, United States | PHD | 10/2020 | Political Science |
| Columbia University, New York, New York, United States | MPHIL | 05/2016 | Political Science |
| Columbia University, New York, New York, United States | MA | 05/2014 | Political Science |
| Georgetown University, Washington, District of Columbia, United States | MA | 05/2011 | Security Studies |
| Oral Roberts University, Tulsa, Oklahoma, United States | BA | 05/2007 | International Community Development |

Appointments and Positions

2022 - present Assistant Professor , Brandeis University, Politics Department, Waltham, Massachusetts, United States

2024 - present Visiting Scholar, Harvard University, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States

2023 - present Senior Policy Expert, United States Institute of Peace, Washington, District of Columbia, United States

2022 - present Research Affiliate, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Security Studies Program, Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States

2014 - present Adjunct Political Scientist, RAND Corporation, Arlington, Virginia, United States

Products**Products Most Closely Related to the Proposed Project**

1. Joyce R, Blankenship B. The Market for Foreign Bases. Security Studies. 2023 November 16; :1-30. Available from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09636412.2023.2271387>
DOI: 10.1080/09636412.2023.2271387

2. Joyce R, Wasser B. All About Access: Solving America's Posture Puzzle. *The Washington quarterly*. 2021; 44(3):45-67. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0163660X.2021.1970335>
3. Blankenship B, Joyce R. Purchasing Power: US Overseas Defense Spending and Military Statecraft. *The Journal of conflict resolution*. 2020; 64(2-3):545-573. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002719854786>
4. Joyce R, Blankenship B. 'Money as a Weapons System': The Promises and Pitfalls of Foreign Defense Contracting. [Other]. Washington DC: Cato Institute; 2020. Available from: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep24845>

Other Significant Products, Whether or Not Related to the Proposed Project

1. Joyce R. Soldiers' Dilemma: Foreign Military Training and Liberal Norm Conflict. *International security*. 2022; 46(4):48-90.
2. Joyce R. 'A Force for Good': Army-Building after War in Liberia. *Journal of the Middle East and Africa*. 2020; 11(3):273-293.
3. Joyce R. After War: Inside the US Civilian Struggle to Build Peace. *Political science quarterly*. 2013; 128(3):489-516.
4. Joyce R, Fortna VPage. Extremism and Terrorism: Rebel Goals and Tactics in Civil Wars. *Perspectives on Politics*. Forthcoming.

Synergistic Activities

1. Communicated research to general audiences through blog posts and articles in the following outlets: War on the Rocks; The National Interest; Lawfare; Irregular Warfare Initiative; Defense One; Inkstick.
2. Presented research to defense-relevant audiences including in-person presentations at the Defense Security Cooperation University Security Cooperation Conference (2022 and 2023), the Bridging the Gap New Voices in National Security Workshop (2022), and West Point (2021), and webinars for the US Defense Department (2021), the US Department of the Navy (2021), the Conference of Defence Associations Institute (2021), and the Canadian Network for Strategic Analysis (2020).
3. Contributed to development of an online course on Security Sector Governance and Reform for the United States Institute of Peace (2023).
4. Discussed my research on the Irregular Warfare Initiative podcast (2022).
5. Participated in a roundtable at Brandeis University on the Russia-Ukraine War (2022).

Certification:

When the individual signs the certification on behalf of themselves, they are certifying that the information is current, accurate, and complete. This includes, but is not limited to, information related to domestic and foreign appointments and positions. Misrepresentations and/or omissions may be subject to prosecution and liability pursuant to, but not limited to, 18 U.S.C. §§ 287, 1001, 1031 and 31 U.S.C. §§ 3729-3733 and 3802.

Certified by Joyce, Renanah in SciENcv on 2023-12-18 19:59:16

IDENTIFYING INFORMATION:

NAME: Flynn, Michael

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6064-740X>

POSITION TITLE: Professor

PRIMARY ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION: Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas, United States**Professional Preparation:**

| ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION | DEGREE (if applicable) | RECEIPT DATE | FIELD OF STUDY |
|---|---------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Binghamton University, Binghamton, New York, United States | PHD | 07/2013 | Political Science |
| Binghamton University, Binghamton, New York, United States | MA | 01/2010 | Political Science |
| State University of New York at Potsdam, Potsdam, New York, United States | B.A. | 05/2006 | Politics |
| State University of New York at Potsdam, Potsdam, New York, United States | B.A. | 05/2006 | History |
| North Country Community College, Saranac Lake, New York, United States | N/A | 05/2003 | N/A |
| Paul Smith's College, Brighton, New York, United States | N/A | 12/2002 | N/A |

Appointments and Positions

2023 - present Professor, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas, United States

2018 - 2023 Associate Professor, Kansas State University, Political Science, Manhattan, Kansas, United States

2014 - 2018 Assistant Professor, Kansas State University, Political Science, Manhattan, Kansas, United States

2013 - 2014 Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Alabama, Political Science, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, United States

Products**Products Most Closely Related to the Proposed Project**

1. Allen M, Flynn M, Martinez Machain C. US global military deployments, 1950–2020 *. Conflict Management and Peace Science. 2021 July 28; 39(3):351-370. Available from: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/07388942211030885> DOI: 10.1177/07388942211030885
2. ALLEN M, FLYNN M, MACHAIN C, STRAVERS A. Outside the Wire: U.S. Military Deployments and Public Opinion in Host States. American Political Science Review. 2020 February 03; 114(2):326-341. Available from: https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/S0003055419000868/type/journal_article DOI: 10.1017/S0003055419000868

3. Michael A. Allen, Michael E. Flynn, Carla Martinez Machain, Andrew Stravers. Beyond the Wire: Public Opinion and US Military Deployments [Internet] New York, NY: Oxford University Press; 2022. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197633403.001.0001>
4. ME Flynn, C Martinez Machain, AT Stoyan. Building trust: The effect of US troop deployments on public opinion in Peru. *International Studies Quarterly*. 2019. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqz028>
5. MA Allen, ME Flynn, J VanDusky-Allen. Regions of hierarchy and security: US troop deployments, spatial relations, and defense burdens. *International Interactions*. 2017. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2016.1191482>

Other Significant Products, Whether or Not Related to the Proposed Project

1. SR Bell, ME Flynn, C Martinez Machain. UN peacekeeping forces and the demand for sex trafficking. *International Studies Quarterly*. 2018. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqy017>
2. MA Allen, J VanDusky-Allen, ME Flynn. The localized and spatial effects of US troop deployments on host-state defense spending. *Foreign policy analysis*. 2016. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/fpa.12078>
3. MA Allen, ME Flynn. Putting our best boots forward: US military deployments and host-country crime. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. 2013. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0738894213484055>
4. ME Flynn. Military Leadership, Institutional Change, and Priorities in Military Spending. *Foreign Policy Analysis*. 2014. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1111/fpa.12005>
5. BO Fordham, M Flynn. Everything Old Is New Again: The Persistence of Republican Opposition to Multilateralism in American Foreign Policy. *Studies in American Political Development*. 2023. Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0898588X22000165>

Synergistic Activities

1. Communicating the results of scholarly research to a general audience through publications with public-facing blogs like the Monkey Cage at the Washington Post, The Conversation, Political Violence @ a Glance, and the Duck of Minerva.
2. Teaching graduate-level courses on international security and research methodology to mid-career military officers in the United States Army through the Command and General Staff College at Ft. Leavenworth, KS who are currently enrolled in the Security Studies MA and PhD programs at Kansas State University. The Security Studies Program at Kansas State was created over 15 years ago to help educate mid-career Army officers stationed at Ft. Leavenworth.
3. Briefing the Director of Global Posture, Plans & Posture in the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy on preliminary results from our Minerva Grant research on public views of US bases military deployments overseas.
4. Writing, maintaining, and updating the "troopdata" software package for the R statistical software platform to help researchers more easily access data on US military overseas deployments. This software package currently has over 9,600 downloads from the Comprehensive R Archive Network (CRAN) repository.
5. Organized a workshop on military deployments and security cooperation with Vito D'Orazio for

the fall 2021 Peace Science Society International Conference. This workshop was aimed at bringing together scholars working on issues related to deployments, basing, and other emerging issues related to the use of military personnel to project power. The conference ended up being cancelled due to Covid.

Certification:

When the individual signs the certification on behalf of themselves, they are certifying that the information is current, accurate, and complete. This includes, but is not limited to, information related to domestic and foreign appointments and positions. Misrepresentations and/or omissions may be subject to prosecution and liability pursuant to, but not limited to, 18 U.S.C. §§ 287, 1001, 1031 and 31 U.S.C. §§ 3729-3733 and 3802.

Certified by Flynn, Michael in SciENcv on 2023-12-07 15:24:40

IDENTIFYING INFORMATION:

NAME: Martinez Machain, Carla

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6821-4062>

POSITION TITLE: Professor

PRIMARY ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION: University at Buffalo, Buffalo, New York, United States**Professional Preparation:**

| ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION | DEGREE (if applicable) | RECEIPT DATE | FIELD OF STUDY |
|--|---------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|
| Rice University, Houston, Texas, United States | PHD | 05/2012 | Political Science |
| Rice University, Houston, Texas, United States | MA | 05/2009 | Political Science |
| Rice University, Houston, Texas, United States | BA | 05/2007 | Economics and Political Science |

Appointments and Positions

2022 - present Professor, University at Buffalo, Department of Political Science, Buffalo, New York, United States

2021 - 2022 Professor, Kansas State University, Political Science, Manhattan, Kansas, United States

2017 - 2021 Associate Professor, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas, United States

2012 - 2017 Assistant Professor, Kansas State University, Department of Political Science, Manhattan, Kansas, United States

Products**Products Most Closely Related to the Proposed Project**

1. ALLEN M, FLYNN M, MACHAIN C, STRAVERS A. Outside the Wire: U.S. Military Deployments and Public Opinion in Host States. American Political Science Review. 2020 February 03; 114(2):326-341. Available from: https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/S0003055419000868/type/journal_article DOI: 10.1017/S0003055419000868
2. Martinez Machain C, Allen M, Flynn M, Stravers A. Copyright Page. 1 ed. Beyond the Wire [Internet] Oxford University Press New York; 2022-11-10. iv-ivp. Available from: <https://academic.oup.com/book/44494/chapter/376427076> DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780197633403.002.0003
3. Nieman M, Martinez Machain C, Chyzh O, Bell S. An International Game of Risk: Troop Placement and Major Power Competition. The Journal of Politics. 2021 October 01; 83(4):1307-1321. Available from: <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/711716> DOI: 10.1086/711716
4. Allen M, Flynn M, Martinez Machain C. US global military deployments, 1950–2020 *.

Conflict Management and Peace Science. 2021 July 28; 39(3):351-370. Available from:
<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/07388942211030885> DOI:
10.1177/07388942211030885

5. Machain C, Morgan T. The Effect of US Troop Deployment on Host States' Foreign Policy. *Armed Forces & Society*. 2012 April 30; 39(1):102-123. Available from:
<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0095327X12442306> DOI:
10.1177/0095327X12442306

Other Significant Products, Whether or Not Related to the Proposed Project

1. Machain C. School of influence: Human rights challenges in US foreign military training. *Conflict Management and Peace Science*. 2023 March 20; :073889422311595-. Available from:
<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/07388942231159582> DOI:
10.1177/07388942231159582
2. Martinez Machain C. Exporting Influence: U.S. Military Training as Soft Power. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 2020 September 16; 65(2-3):313-341. Available from:
<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0022002720957713> DOI: 10.1177/0022002720957713
3. Flynn M, Martinez Machain C, Stoyan A. Building Trust: The Effect of US Troop Deployments on Public Opinion in Peru. *International Studies Quarterly*. 2019 September; 63(3):742-755. Available from: <https://academic.oup.com/isq/article/63/3/742/5514554> DOI: 10.1093/isq/sqz028
4. Bell S, Flynn M, Martinez Machain C. U.N. Peacekeeping Forces and the Demand for Sex Trafficking. *International Studies Quarterly*. 2018 September; 62(3):643-655. Available from: <https://academic.oup.com/isq/article/62/3/643/5076386> DOI: 10.1093/isq/sqy017
5. Bell S, Clay K, Martinez Machain C. The Effect of US Troop Deployments on Human Rights. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 2016 April 01; 61(10):2020-2042. Available from:
<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0022002716632300> DOI: 10.1177/0022002716632300

Synergistic Activities

1. Communication of research to scholarly audiences through blog posts and articles in the following outlets: *The Political Quarterly*; *Political Violence at a Glance*; *The Quantitative Peace*; *Duck of Minerva*.
2. Communication of research to general audiences through blog posts and articles in the following outlets: *Washington Post*; *The Conversation*; *War Room*; *On Track: Canada's Global Defense and Security E-Magazine*; *Owl in the Olive Tree*.
3. Presented research to defense-relevant audiences including an in-person presentation for scholars and practitioners at the Bridging the Gap New Voices in National Security Workshop (2022) in Washington D.C., and webinars for the Strategic Multilayer Assessment (SMA) Speaker Series (2023), the RAND Corporation (2021), and Canada's Network for Strategic Analysis (2021).
4. Participated in a roundtable at Kansas State University on the Russia-Ukraine War (2023).
5. Discussed my research on podcasts including the *Global Dispatches* podcast, and the *Hayseed Scholar* podcast.

Certification:

When the individual signs the certification on behalf of themselves, they are certifying that the information is current, accurate, and complete. This includes, but is not limited to, information related to domestic and foreign appointments and positions. Misrepresentations and/or omissions may be subject to prosecution and liability pursuant to, but not limited to, 18 U.S.C. §§ 287, 1001, 1031 and 31 U.S.C. §§ 3729-3733 and 3802.

Certified by Martinez Machain, Carla in SciENcv on 2023-12-06 12:12:21

Other Personnel Biographical Information

Data Not Available

CURRENT AND PENDING (OTHER) SUPPORT INFORMATION

Provide the following information for the Senior/key personnel and other significant contributors.
Follow this format for each person.

*NAME: Blankenship, Brian

*POSITION TITLE: Assistant Professor of Political Science

*ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION: University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, United States

Projects/Proposals

*Project/Proposal Title: Nuclear Nonproliferation and Defense Burden-Sharing in U.S. Alliances

*Status of Support: current

Proposal/Award Number:

*Source of Support: Stanton Foundation

*Primary Place of Performance: University of Miami

*Project/Proposal Support Start Date: (MM/YYYY): 09/2023

*Project/Proposal Support End Date: (MM/YYYY): 08/2025

*Total Award Amount: \$106,731

* Person Months (Calendar/Academic/Summer) per budget period Committed to the Project:

| Year | Person Months |
|------|---------------|
| 2024 | 3.5 |
| 2025 | 1 |

*Overall Objectives: This project aims to address the following question: to what extent does the United States' pursuit of alliance burden-sharing undermine its ability to discourage allies from seeking nuclear weapons?

*Statement of Potential Overlap: There is no substantive potential overlap. The bulk of the work for this project would be finished by the time the NSF project begins.

*Project/Proposal Title: Access and Influence? U.S. and Chinese Military Presence and Popular Support in Host Countries

*Status of Support: pending

Proposal/Award Number:

*Source of Support: NSF

*Primary Place of Performance: University of Miami

***Project/Proposal Support Start Date: (MM/YYYY):** 09/2024

***Project/Proposal Support End Date: (MM/YYYY):** 08/2025

***Total Award Amount:** \$490,107

*** Person Months (Calendar/Academic/Summer) per budget period Committed to the Project:**

| Year | Person Months |
|------|---------------|
| 2024 | 1 |
| 2025 | 3 |

***Overall Objectives:** Deploy surveys to Djibouti and Cambodia to assess the influence and support of the United States and China in the surveyed countries. Compare results to the previous survey fielded by the team in Kenya. Conduct in-person elite interviews to add qualitative texture to surveys. All research was done as basic research to understand the evolving Great Power Competition

***Statement of Potential Overlap:** Proposed grant

In-Kind Contributions

***Status of Support:** current

***Source of Support:** Norwegian Institute of International Affairs

***In-Kind Contribution Start Date: (MM/YYYY):** 01/2024

***In-Kind Contribution End Date: (MM/YYYY):** 12/2024

***Summary of In-Kind Contributions:** Honorarium

***U.S. Dollar Value of In-Kind Contribution:** \$7,845

Person Month(s) (or Partial Person-Months) Per Year Associated with the In-Kind Contribution:

| Year | Person Months |
|------|---------------|
| 2024 | 0 |

***Overall Objectives:** Honorarium is to support my research activities as a collaborator on scholarly projects.

***Statement of Potential Overlap:** None.

***Status of Support:** current

***Source of Support:** Johns Hopkins University

***In-Kind Contribution Start Date: (MM/YYYY):** 01/2024

***In-Kind Contribution End Date: (MM/YYYY):** 12/2024

***Summary of In-Kind Contributions:** Honorarium

***U.S. Dollar Value of In-Kind Contribution:** \$7,500

Person Month(s) (or Partial Person-Months) Per Year Associated with the In-Kind Contribution:

| Year | Person Months |
|------|---------------|
| 2024 | 0 |

***Overall Objectives:** Honorarium is to support my research activities as a collaborator on scholarly projects.

***Statement of Potential Overlap:** None

Certification:

When the individual signs the certification on behalf of themselves, they are certifying that the information is current, accurate, and complete. This includes, but is not limited to, information related to current, pending, and other support (both foreign and domestic) as defined in 42 U.S.C. §§ 6605. Misrepresentations and/or omissions may be subject to prosecution and liability pursuant to, but not limited to, 18 U.S.C. §§ 287, 1001, 1031 and 31 U.S.C. §§ 3729- 3733 and 3802.

Certified by Blankenship, Brian in SciENCv on 2023-12-20 11:21:39

CURRENT AND PENDING (OTHER) SUPPORT INFORMATION

Provide the following information for the Senior/key personnel and other significant contributors.
Follow this format for each person.

*NAME: Allen, Michael A.

*POSITION TITLE: Professor

*ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION: Boise State University, Boise, Idaho, United States

Projects/Proposals

*Project/Proposal Title: Projecting Soft Power: Comparative Perceptions of U.S. and Chinese Military Bases

*Status of Support: current

Proposal/Award Number:

*Source of Support: School of Public Service, Boise State University

*Primary Place of Performance: Boise State University

*Project/Proposal Support Start Date: (MM/YYYY): 05/2023

*Project/Proposal Support End Date: (MM/YYYY): 12/2023

*Total Award Amount: \$4,200

* Person Months (Calendar/Academic/Summer) per budget period Committed to the Project:

| Year | Person Months |
|------|---------------|
| 2023 | 1 |

*Overall Objectives: Deploy a survey to Kenya to assess the influence of the US and China. Determine local support of US actors.

*Statement of Potential Overlap: Survey will be complementary to the proposed work as it provides a comparison to Djibouti and Cambodia. Work is completed before the proposed project.

*Project/Proposal Title: Access and Influence? U.S. and Chinese Military Presence and Popular Support in Host Countries

*Status of Support: pending

Proposal/Award Number:

*Source of Support: NSF

*Primary Place of Performance: Boise State

*Project/Proposal Support Start Date: (MM/YYYY): 05/2024

*Project/Proposal Support End Date: (MM/YYYY): 12/2024

***Total Award Amount:** \$52,926

*** Person Months (Calendar/Academic/Summer) per budget period Committed to the Project:**

| Year | Person Months |
|------|---------------|
| 2024 | 2 |

***Overall Objectives:** Deploy surveys to Djibouti and Cambodia to assess the influence and support of the United States and China in the surveyed countries. Compare results to the previous survey fielded by the team in Kenya. Conduct in-person elite interviews to add qualitative texture to surveys. All research was done as basic research to understand the evolving Great Power Competition

***Statement of Potential Overlap:** Proposed grant.

Certification:

When the individual signs the certification on behalf of themselves, they are certifying that the information is current, accurate, and complete. This includes, but is not limited to, information related to current, pending, and other support (both foreign and domestic) as defined in 42 U.S.C. §§ 6605. Misrepresentations and/or omissions may be subject to prosecution and liability pursuant to, but not limited to, 18 U.S.C. §§ 287, 1001, 1031 and 31 U.S.C. §§ 3729- 3733 and 3802.

Certified by Allen, Michael in SciENCv on 2023-12-08 11:27:43

CURRENT AND PENDING (OTHER) SUPPORT INFORMATION

Provide the following information for the Senior/key personnel and other significant contributors.
Follow this format for each person.

*NAME: Joyce, Renanah

PERSISTENT IDENTIFIER (PID) OF THE SENIOR/KEY PERSON: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4470-6385>

*POSITION TITLE: Assistant Professor

*ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION: Brandeis University, Waltham, Massachusetts, United States

Projects/Proposals

*Project/Proposal Title: Access and Influence? U.S. and Chinese Military Presence and Popular Support in Host Countries

*Status of Support: pending

Proposal/Award Number:

*Source of Support: NSF

*Primary Place of Performance: Brandeis University

*Project/Proposal Support Start Date: (MM/YYYY): 09/2024

*Project/Proposal Support End Date: (MM/YYYY): 08/2025

*Total Award Amount: \$65,582

* Person Months (Calendar/Academic/Summer) per budget period Committed to the Project:

| Year | Person Months |
|------|---------------|
| 2025 | 3 |
| 2024 | 1 |

*Overall Objectives: Deploy surveys to Djibouti and Cambodia to assess the influence and support of the United States and China in the surveyed countries. Compare results to the previous survey fielded by the team in Kenya. Conduct in-person elite interviews to add qualitative texture to surveys. All research was done as basic research to understand evolving great power competition between the United States and China.

*Statement of Potential Overlap: This is the project that this application is for.

*Project/Proposal Title: Assessing Security Assistance and Public Trust in the Philippines

*Status of Support: pending

Proposal/Award Number:

***Source of Support:** Defense Security Cooperation University

***Primary Place of Performance:** Brandeis University

***Project/Proposal Support Start Date: (MM/YYYY):** 04/2024

***Project/Proposal Support End Date: (MM/YYYY):** 04/2025

***Total Award Amount:** \$51,200

*** Person Months (Calendar/Academic/Summer) per budget period Committed to the Project:**

| Year | Person Months |
|------|---------------|
| 2025 | 1 |
| 2024 | 1 |

***Overall Objectives:** Conduct a conjoint survey experiment of a nationally representative sample within the Republic of the Philippines to measure the interaction of US security assistance and internal/external mission focus on the level of trust by the Filipino public in the Armed Forces of the Philippines.

***Statement of Potential Overlap:** There is no substantive potential overlap. The bulk of the work for this project would be finished by the time the NSF project begins.

***Project/Proposal Title:** Exporting Might and Right: Security Assistance and Liberal International Order

***Status of Support:** pending

Proposal/Award Number:

***Source of Support:** Defense Security Cooperation University

***Primary Place of Performance:** Brandeis University

***Project/Proposal Support Start Date: (MM/YYYY):** 04/2024

***Project/Proposal Support End Date: (MM/YYYY):** 04/2025

***Total Award Amount:** \$80,000

*** Person Months (Calendar/Academic/Summer) per budget period Committed to the Project:**

| Year | Person Months |
|------|---------------|
| 2025 | 1 |
| 2024 | 3 |

***Overall Objectives:** This project aims to understand the effectiveness of security assistance as a tool of influence in US foreign policy. The project examines the ways that the United States attempts - and often fails - to create partner militaries that share its values and interests.

***Statement of Potential Overlap:** There is no substantive potential overlap. The bulk of the work for this project would be finished by the time the NSF project begins.

In-Kind Contributions

***Status of Support:** current

***Source of Support:** Brandeis University

***In-Kind Contribution Start Date: (MM/YYYY):** 01/2022

***In-Kind Contribution End Date: (MM/YYYY):** 12/2024

***Summary of In-Kind Contributions:** Faculty start-up funds

***U.S. Dollar Value of In-Kind Contribution:** \$20,000

Person Month(s) (or Partial Person-Months) Per Year Associated with the In-Kind Contribution:

| Year | Person Months |
|------|---------------|
| 2022 | 9 |
| 2023 | 9 |
| 2024 | 9 |

***Overall Objectives:** Funds are to support any research activities that I conduct while employed at Brandeis University.

***Statement of Potential Overlap:** None. Because these funds are part of my regular employment, they would not detract from time spent on the proposed project.

Certification:

When the individual signs the certification on behalf of themselves, they are certifying that the information is current, accurate, and complete. This includes, but is not limited to, information related to current, pending, and other support (both foreign and domestic) as defined in 42 U.S.C. §§ 6605. Misrepresentations and/or omissions may be subject to prosecution and liability pursuant to, but not limited to, 18 U.S.C. §§ 287, 1001, 1031 and 31 U.S.C. §§ 3729- 3733 and 3802.

Certified by Joyce, Renanah in SciENCv on 2023-12-18 16:08:58

CURRENT AND PENDING (OTHER) SUPPORT INFORMATION

Provide the following information for the Senior/key personnel and other significant contributors.
Follow this format for each person.

*NAME: Flynn, Michael

PERSISTENT IDENTIFIER (PID) OF THE SENIOR/KEY PERSON: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6064-740X>

*POSITION TITLE: Professor

*ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION: Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas, United States

Projects/Proposals

*Project/Proposal Title: Outside Threats and Public Perceptions of the U.S. Military in Poland

*Status of Support: current

Proposal/Award Number:

*Source of Support: Jones Family Faculty Award, Department of Political Science

*Primary Place of Performance: Kansas State University

*Project/Proposal Support Start Date: (MM/YYYY): 09/2021

*Project/Proposal Support End Date: (MM/YYYY): 09/2023

*Total Award Amount: \$5,000

* Person Months (Calendar/Academic/Summer) per budget period Committed to the Project:

| Year | Person Months |
|------|---------------|
| 2022 | 2 |
| 2023 | 2 |

*Overall Objectives: The goal of this proposal was to field a survey experiment in Poland to better understand how individual views of foreign military deployments might be conditioned by different economic and security considerations, as well as by distance from a hypothetical military installation.

*Statement of Potential Overlap: The only potential overlap here is very broad with respect to substance and methodology. The goal here was to understand how Russia's aggression can give us insight into how people view foreign military basing in light of external aggression. Alternatively, our current proposal looks at how publics view foreign military basing in less developed countries and in environments where the U.S. is competing more directly with rival major powers (i.e. China) for basing access and influence.

*Project/Proposal Title: Access and Influence? U.S. and Chinese Military Presence and Popular Support in Host Countries

*Status of Support: pending

CURRENT AND PENDING (OTHER) SUPPORT INFORMATION

Provide the following information for the Senior/key personnel and other significant contributors.
Follow this format for each person.

*NAME: Martinez Machain, Carla

PERSISTENT IDENTIFIER (PID) OF THE SENIOR/KEY PERSON: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6821-4062>

*POSITION TITLE: Professor

*ORGANIZATION AND LOCATION: University at Buffalo, Buffalo, New York, United States

Projects/Proposals

*Project/Proposal Title: Faculty start-up fund

*Status of Support: current

Proposal/Award Number:

*Source of Support: University at Buffalo Department of Political Science

*Primary Place of Performance: University at Buffalo

*Project/Proposal Support Start Date: (MM/YYYY): 08/2022

*Project/Proposal Support End Date: (MM/YYYY): 08/2025

*Total Award Amount: \$23,000

* Person Months (Calendar/Academic/Summer) per budget period Committed to the Project:

| Year | Person Months |
|------|---------------|
| 2022 | 9 |
| 2023 | 9 |
| 2024 | 7 |

*Overall Objectives: Funds are provided to support any research that I conduct while employed by UB.

*Statement of Potential Overlap: Because these funds are part of my regular employment, they would not detract from time spent on the proposed project.

*Project/Proposal Title: Access and Influence? U.S. and Chinese Military Presence and Popular Support in Host Countries

*Status of Support: pending

Proposal/Award Number:

*Source of Support: National Science Foundation

*Primary Place of Performance: University at Buffalo

***Project/Proposal Support Start Date: (MM/YYYY):** 09/2024

***Project/Proposal Support End Date: (MM/YYYY):** 12/2025

***Total Award Amount:** \$77,807

*** Person Months (Calendar/Academic/Summer) per budget period Committed to the Project:**

| Year | Person Months |
|------|---------------|
| 2025 | 2 |
| 2024 | 2 |

***Overall Objectives:** Study how states project power abroad to exert influence in the international system. The project seeks to make research contributions relating to how great power competition between the U.S. and China is redefining the concepts of basing and access, comparing military versus civilian methods of influence, and contrasting views of the U.S. and China abroad. The project will produce a new theory on these topics and test it using quantitative and qualitative methods, including survey experiments. As deliverables, the project will produce a series of peer-reviewed journal articles, general audience articles and blog posts, and publicly available survey data.

***Statement of Potential Overlap:** This is the project that this application is for.

In-Kind Contributions

***Status of Support:** current

***Source of Support:** University at Buffalo Department of Political Science

***In-Kind Contribution Start Date: (MM/YYYY):** 08/2022

***In-Kind Contribution End Date: (MM/YYYY):** 12/2025

***Summary of In-Kind Contributions:** Graduate research assistant

***U.S. Dollar Value of In-Kind Contribution:** \$20,000

Person Month(s) (or Partial Person-Months) Per Year Associated with the In-Kind Contribution:

| Year | Person Months |
|------|---------------|
| 2024 | 9 |
| 2025 | 9 |

***Overall Objectives:** Graduate research assistant supports my research on scholarly projects

***Statement of Potential Overlap:** None

Certification:

When the individual signs the certification on behalf of themselves, they are certifying that the information is current, accurate, and complete. This includes, but is not limited to, information related to current, pending, and other support (both foreign and domestic) as defined in 42 U.S.C. §§ 6605. Misrepresentations and/or

omissions may be subject to prosecution and liability pursuant to, but not limited to, 18 U.S.C. §§ 287, 1001, 1031 and 31 U.S.C. §§ 3729- 3733 and 3802.

Certified by Martinez Machain, Carla in SciENcv on 2023-12-08 11:26:23

Table 1

| 1 | Your Name: | Your Organizational Affiliation(s), last 12 mo | Last Active Date |
|---|----------------------|--|------------------|
| | Blankenship, Brian D | University of Miami | |

Table 2

| 2 | Name: | Type of Relationship | Optional (email, Department) | Last Active Date |
|---|-------|----------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
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Table 3

| 3 | Advisor/Advisee Name: | Organizational Affiliation | Optional (email, Department) |
|---|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| G | Betts, Richard K | Columbia University | |
| G | Snyder, Jack L | Columbia University | |
| G | Yarhi-Milo, Keren | Columbia University | |
| G | Carnegie, Allison J | Columbia University | |

Table 4

| 4 | Name: | Organizational Affiliation | Optional (email, Department) | Last Active Date |
|---|----------------------|---|------------------------------|------------------|
| A | Lin-Greenberg, Erik | Massachusetts Institute of Technology | | |
| A | Kuo, Raymond | RAND Corporation | | |
| A | Kennedy, Ryan | University of Houston | | |
| A | Aklin, Michaël | Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Lausanne (EPFL) | | |
| A | Urpelainen, Johannes | Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies | | |
| A | Hasan, Qaraman | Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies | | |
| A | Mohtadi, Soran | Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies | | |
| A | Overland, Indra | Norwegian Institute of International Affairs | | |
| C | Overland, Indra | Norwegian Institute of International Affairs | | |
| C | Urpelainen, Johannes | Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies | | |
| A | Tsani, Stella | University of Athens | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---------------------|---|--|----------|
| A | Vakulchuk, Roman | Norwegian Institute of International Affairs | | |
| A | Alley, Joshua | University College Dublin | | |
| A | Nandan, Vagisha | Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies | | 07/01/22 |
| A | Lisko, Christian | Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies | | 07/01/23 |
| A | Mahajan, Aseem | New York University - Abu Dhabi | | |
| A | Ganesan, Karthik | Council on Energy, Environment and Water | | |
| A | Bharadwaj, Kapardhi | Council on Energy, Environment and Water | | |
| A | Wong, Jason CW | Occidental College | | |
| A | Harish, SP | College of William & Mary | | |
| A | Balani, Kanika | Council on Energy, Environment and Water | | |
| A | Yang, Joonseok | Sungkyunkwan University | | |
| A | Denison, Benjamin | Fors Marsh Group | | |

Table 5

| 5 | Name: | Organizational Affiliation | Journal/Collection | Last Active Date |
|---|-------|----------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| | | | | |
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Table 1

| 1 | Your Name: | Your Organizational Affiliation(s), last 12 mo | Last Active Date |
|---|-------------------|--|------------------|
| | Allen, Michael A. | Boise State University | |

Table 2

| 2 | Name: | Type of Relationship | Optional (email, Department) | Last Active Date |
|---|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| R | VanDusky-Allen, Julie | Co-parent | julievanduskyallen@boisestate.edu | |

Table 3

| 3 | Advisor/Advisee Name: | Organizational Affiliation | Optional (email, Department) |
|---|-----------------------|------------------------------|---|
| G | Fordham, Benjamin | Binghamton University (SUNY) | bfordham@binghamton.edu, Department of Political Science |
| G | Clark, David | Binghamton University (SUNY) | dclark@binghamton.edu, Department of Political Science |
| G | Regan, Patrick | University of Notre Dame | Patrick.M.Regan.21@nd.edu, Kellog Institute for International Studies |
| G | Shvetsova, Olga | Binghamton University (SUNY) | shvetso@binghamton.edu, Department of Political Science |
| G | Hanes, Susan Wolcott | Binghamton University (SUNY) | swolcott@binghamton.edu, Department of Economics |
| T | Amoruso, Daniel | Boise State University | danamoruso@boisestate.edu, Public Policy and Administration |

Table 4

| 4 | Name: | Organizational Affiliation | Optional (email, Department) | Last Active Date |
|---|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---|------------------|
| A | Flynn, Michael | Kansas State University | meflynn@ksu.edu, Political Science | |
| A | Martinez Machain, Carla | University at Buffalo, SUNY | carlamm@ksu.edu, Political Science | |
| A | Stravers, Andrew | RAND Corporation | stravers@utexas.edu, Political Science | 11/01/22 |
| A | VanDusky-Allen, Julie | Boise State University | julievanduskyallen@boisestate.edu, Political Science | |
| A | Campbell, Thomas | Boise State University | nicolashernandez909@u.boisestate.edu, Political Science | |
| A | Shepherd, Valeryn | Boise State University | valerynshepherd@u.boisestate.edu, Political Science | |
| A | Blankenship, Brian | Miami University | bxb731@miami.edu, Political Science | |
| A | Joyce, Renanah | Brandeis University | renanahjoyce@brandeis.edu, Political Science | |

| | | | | |
|---|--------------------|---|---|--|
| A | Smulek, Grzegorz | Jagellonian University | grzegorz.smulek@uj.edu.pl | |
| A | Herold, Robert | Unaffiliated, Boise State University (former) | robertherold@u.boisestate.edu | |
| A | Hernandez, Nicolas | Boise State University | thomascampbell866@u.boisestate.edu, Political Science | |

Table 5

| 5 | Name: | Organizational Affiliation | Journal/Collection | Last Active Date |
|----------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| B | Bell, Sam | University at Buffalo | International Studies Quarterly | |
| B | Martinez Machain, Carla | University at Buffalo | International Studies Quarterly | |

Table 1

| 1 | Your Name: | Your Organizational Affiliation(s), last 12 mo | Last Active Date |
|---|------------------|---|------------------|
| | Joyce, Renanah M | Brandeis University | |
| | | Georgetown University (interviewed) | |
| | | Harvard University (visiting scholar) | |
| | | Massachusetts Institute of Technology (affiliate) | |

Table 2

| 2 | Name: | Type of Relationship | Optional (email, Department) | Last Active Date |
|---|-------|----------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| | | | | |
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| | | | | |

Table 3

| 3 | Advisor/Advisee Name: | Organizational Affiliation | Optional (email, Department) |
|---|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| G | Snyder, Jack | Columbia University | |
| G | Jervis, Robert | Columbia University | |
| G | Fortna, V Page | Columbia University | |
| G | Caverley, Jonathan | Naval War College | |
| G | Brooks, Risa | Marquette University | |

Table 4

| 4 | Name: | Organizational Affiliation | Optional (email, Department) | Last Active Date |
|---|----------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| A | Fortna, V Page | Columbia University | | |
| A | Blankenship, Brian | University of Miami | | |
| A | Martini, Jeffrey | RAND Corporation | | |
| C | Noyes, Alexander | RAND Corporation | | |
| A | Egel, Daniel | RAND Corporation | | 07/24/22 |
| A | Page, Matthew | Carnegie Endowment | | 07/24/22 |
| A | Harris, Marielle | EverCommerce | | 07/24/22 |
| A | Wasser, Becca | Center for a New American Security | | 09/22/21 |
| A | McLauchlin, Theodore | University of Montreal | | |
| A | Seymour, Lee | University of Montreal | | |
| A | Lotito, Nicholas | Princeton University | | |
| A | Metz, Rachel | George Washington University | | |

| | | | | |
|---|-------------------------|---------------------------|--|--|
| A | Chinchilla, Alexandra | Texas A&M University | | |
| C | Caverley, Jonathan | Naval War College | | |
| C | Savage, Jesse | University College Dublin | | |
| A | Martinez Machain, Carla | University at Buffalo | | |
| A | Allen, Michael | Boise State University | | |
| A | Flynn, Michael | Kansas State University | | |

Table 5

| 5 | Name: | Organizational Affiliation | Journal/Collection | Last Active Date |
|---|-------|----------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

Table 1

| 1 | Your Name: | Your Organizational Affiliation(s), last 12 mo | Last Active Date |
|---|-------------------|--|------------------|
| | Flynn, Michael E. | Kansas State University | |

Table 2

| 2 | Name: | Type of Relationship | Optional (email, Department) | Last Active Date |
|---|-------|----------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

Table 3

| 3 | Advisor/Advisee Name: | Organizational Affiliation | Optional (email, Department) |
|---|-------------------------|---|--|
| G | Fordham, Benjamin O. | Binghamton University | bfordham@binghamton.edu, Department of Political Science |
| G | Clark, David | Binghamton University | dclark@binghamton.edu, Department of Political Science |
| G | Shvetsova, Olga | Binghamton University | shvetso@binghamton.edu, Department of Political Science |
| G | Ortiz, Stephen | Binghamton University | sortiz@binghamton.edu, Department of History |
| T | Butler, Leroy Bryant | Kansas State University, United States Marine Corps | butlerlb@k-state.edu, Security Studies Program |
| T | Baldwin-Brown, Caroline | Kansas State University, United States Air Force | cebbrown@k-state.edu, Security Studies Program |
| T | Garibay, Edward | Kansas State University, United States Army | eagariba@k-state.edu, Security Studies Program |

Table 4

| 4 | Name: | Organizational Affiliation | Optional (email, Department) | Last Active Date |
|---|-------------------------|--|--|------------------|
| A | Allen, Michael | Boise State University | Michaelaallen@boisestate.edu | |
| A | Martinez Machain, Carla | University at Buffalo, SUNY | carlamm@ksu.edu, Political Science | |
| A | Stravers, Andrew | RAND Corporation, Clements Center University of Texas at Austin | stravers@utexas.edu, Political Science | |
| A | Blankenship, Brian | Miami University | bx731@miami.edu, Political Science | |
| A | Smulek, Grzegorz | Jagiellonian University | grzegorz.smulek@uj.edu.pl | |

| | | | | |
|---|-------------------|--------------------------------|--|--|
| A | Farrer, Benjamin | University of Nevada Las Vegas | benjamin.farrer@unlv.edu | |
| A | Joyce, Renanah | Brandeis University | renanahjoyce@brandeis.edu, Political Science | |
| A | Fordham, Benjamin | Binghamton University | bfordham@binghamton.edu | |

Table 5

| 5 | Name: | Organizational Affiliation | Journal/Collection | Last Active Date |
|---|-------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| B | Bell, Sam | University at Buffalo | International Studies Quarterly | |
| B | Martinez Machain, Carla | University at Buffalo | International Studies Quarterly | |
| B | Pickering, Jeffrey | Kansas State Unviersity | International Studies Quarterly | |

Table 1

| 1 | Your Name: | Your Organizational Affiliation(s), last 12 mo | Last Active Date |
|---|---------------------------|--|------------------|
| | Martinez Machain, Carla M | University at Buffalo, SUNY | |

Table 2

| 2 | Name: | Type of Relationship | Optional (email, Department) | Last Active Date |
|---|-----------|----------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| R | Bell, Sam | Family | sbell3@buffalo.edu | |

Table 3

| 3 | Advisor/Advisee Name: | Organizational Affiliation | Optional (email, Department) |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| G | Stoll, Richard | Rice University | |
| G | Morgan, Cliff | Rice University | |
| G | Leeds, Ashley | Rice University | |
| T | Kiyani, Ghashia | Western Illinois University | |

Table 4

| 4 | Name: | Organizational Affiliation | Optional (email, Department) | Last Active Date |
|---|--------------------------|--|------------------------------|------------------|
| A | Allen, Susan H. | University of Mississippi | | |
| A | Bell, Sam R | University at Buffalo | | |
| A | Blanton, Shannon Lindsey | University of Alabama, Birmingham | | 12/31/22 |
| A | Fajardo-Heyward, Paola | Canisius University | | |
| A | Kiyani, Ghasia | Western Illinois University | | |
| A | Young, Joseph K. | American University | | |
| A | Borselli, Maria Giuditta | American University | | |
| A | Bell, Andrew | International Committee of the Red Cross | | |
| A | Kalin, Ilker | Bilkent University | | |
| A | Smulek, Grzegorz | Jagellonian University | | |
| A | Joyce, Renanah M | Brandeis University | | |
| A | Blankenship, Brian | University of Miami | | |
| A | Allen, Michael | Boise State University | | |
| A | Flynn, Michael | Kansas State University | | |

Table 5

| 5 | Name: | Organizational Affiliation | Journal/Collection | Last Active Date |
|---|-------|----------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
|---|-------|----------------------------|--------------------|------------------|

| | | | | |
|---|-----------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|----------|
| B | Bell, Sam | University at Buffalo | International Studies Quarterly | |
| B | McLean, Elena | University at Buffalo | International Studies Quarterly | |
| B | Pickering, Jeffrey | Kansas State Universtiy | International Studies Quarterly | |
| E | Danilovic, Vesna | University at Buffalo | International Studies Quarterly | |
| E | Savun, Burcu | Univesity of Pittsburgh | International Interactions | 03/18/23 |
| E | Garriga, Ana Carolina | University of Essex | International Interactions | 03/18/23 |
| E | Gizelis, Ismene | University of Essex | International Interactions | 03/18/23 |
| E | Souva, Mark | Florida State University | International Interactions | 03/18/23 |

Data Management Plan

Expected Data

For this study we will collect data from three surveys and one wave of qualitative interview data from an international military base site visit. The survey will be nationally representative surveys of adults (18+) in Djibouti, Kenya, and Cambodia—though with quotas to ensure sufficient representation from areas around military bases. These surveys will be distributed by a reputable survey sampling firm, who will recruit participants. All individual survey responses will be de-identified. The datasets will include basic demographic information (e.g. race, age, gender, etc.), responses to questions about the participants' political and social attitudes and behavior, and data about their views of the United States, China, and those two countries having a military presence in their country.

For these surveys, no information capable of uniquely identifying the respondent will be collected as part of data collection. Should local sample vendors include any unique identifiers (such as respondent IDs), these will be removed from any dataset. We plan to share individual-level respondent data, so that other researchers can conduct their own original analyses and verify our analyses.

The qualitative interview data will be gathered from stakeholders during a site visit to a Djibouti. The primary purpose of these interviews will be to gather information that can contextualize the quantitative survey findings. Stakeholders will include Djiboutian and U.S. government officials and military personnel stationed on foreign bases on Djibouti. An interview protocol will be developed for site visit interviews and responses will be recorded by hand. Handwritten notes will then be transcribed into an electronic format for analysis. A summative report will be produced based on the interview data.

Management and Maintenance of data

Data will be stored in a number of places, each requiring different security procedures. Survey data will be collected by the survey firm GeoPoll, and deidentified raw response data will be retained on GeoPoll's secure servers. No one except the Co-PIs will be given access to the data. Data will also be downloaded, cleaned, and formatted. These datasets will have no uniquely identifying information included. Local copies of these datasets will be maintained on computers used by the Co-PIs.

Interview notes from the site visit will be recorded by hand and then transcribed into an electronic format. The PI will conduct the transcription. The original notes will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and maintained for three years, at which time they will be destroyed and only the electronic versions retained. A unique identifier will be given to each interview and no personally identifying information pertaining to the interviewees will be recorded. The unique identifier will be used for the purpose of distinguishing data gathered from military personnel/stakeholders compared to data gathered from host country stakeholders. All computers will be password protected and maintain up-to-date antiviral software to avoid security breaches related to malware.

Factors possibly impacting ability to manage data

The primary issues we face in managing and distributing our data are related to confidentiality. We are collecting public opinion data, which may include opinions and experiences that respondents would prefer not become publicly known. We have protocols in place, including limiting access to the survey data, and using password- and antiviral software-protected laptops to prevent any data breaches. Respondents will

be informed of the (very minimal) risk of identification due to security breaches as part of the process of gaining informed consent.

Mechanisms for data sharing and Metadata

We will use Harvard Dataverse to distribute data to the public. Data will be made publicly available at the conclusion of the project's funding period. Harvard Dataverse stores a great deal of metadata, such as collection dates, associated publications, sample vendors, etc. We plan to take full advantage of these capabilities and enter any and all metadata we can, so that other researchers can have access to it. We will work with librarians at University of Miami to ensure we have appropriate metadata available for each dataset. Additionally, we will develop a codebook for both datasets, with variable descriptions, coding rules, and any relevant notes that will be stored along with the dataset. The qualitative data (interview notes from site visit) will be disseminated in the form of a summative report. Given the small sample size and need to maintain confidentiality, the raw interviewer notes will not be made publicly available.

Other details

Period of data retention. All quantitative data will be made publicly available via Harvard Dataverse as soon as the paper using the datasets is accepted for publication, or when the grant period ends, whichever is sooner.

Data formats and dissemination. All data will be stored either in secure cloud servers (including but not limited to those maintained by GeoPoll, Box, and Dropbox) or on password- and antiviral software-protected computers maintained by the project team. Uniquely identified data will only be accessible by the Co-PIs. Quantitative data will be made publicly available (after an embargo period) via Harvard Dataverse. Datasets published through Harvard Dataverse will be released under a modified Creative Commons license. Additionally, descriptive metadata records and permanent DOIs will be created for each dataset to ensure proper citation and permanent retrieval of the materials.

Data storage and preservation of access. All electronic materials will be stored in a secure cloud storage location (password-protected Dropbox or Box account) on a password-protected computer. The PI will work with their institution to ensure continued access and storage of these data meet the University's data management requirements. Research data generated by the project will be openly shared via Harvard Dataverse. Additionally, descriptive metadata records and permanent DOIs will be created for each dataset to ensure proper citation and permanent retrieval of the materials.

Data Not Available

List of Suggested Reviewers

Data Not Available

List of Reviewers Not to Include

Data Not Available