

Figure 2. Ukraine's Daily Soft Power Action Count 10 days before and 10 Days After the Attack on February 24, 2022

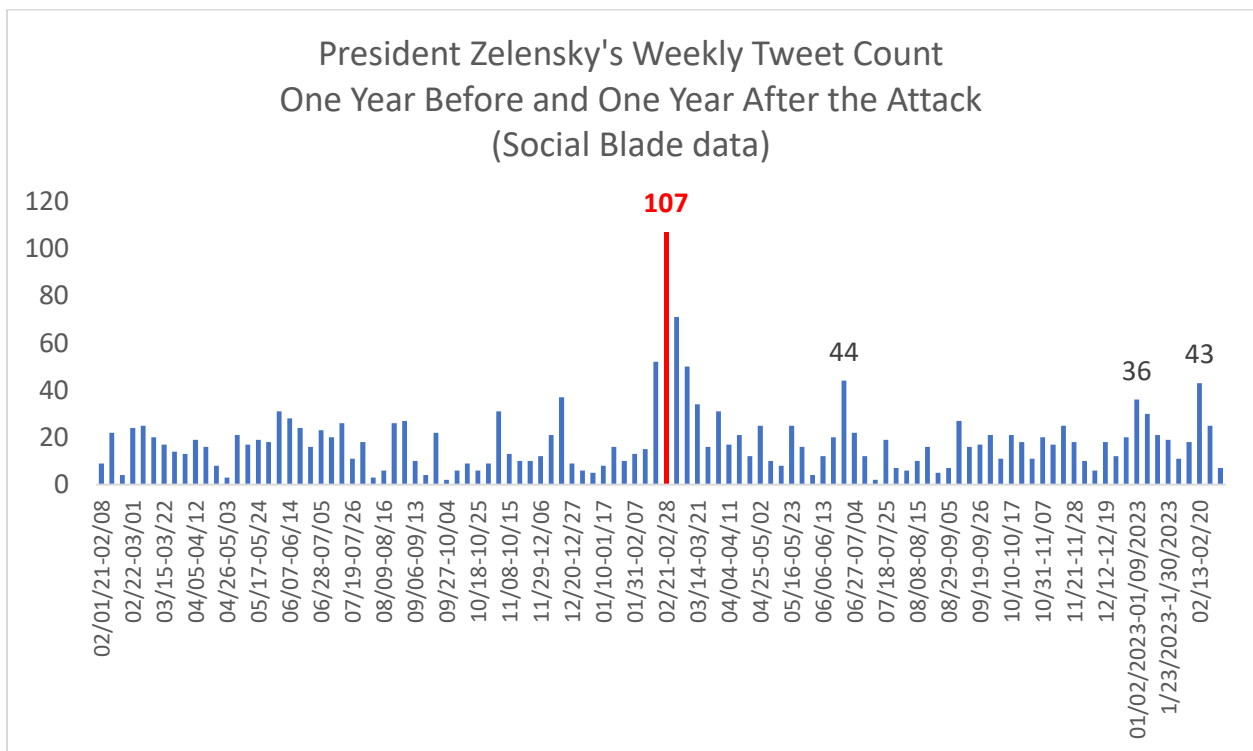


Figure 3. President Zelensky's Monthly Twitter use 2/1/2021-2/20/2023

Appendix A

Soft Power and Hard Power Recoding

The re-coding of the CAMEO mediation dataset is based on the following:

Soft power actions=1

Hard power actions=2

This chapter used Excel to recode the ICEWS dataset. All events that are re-classified as soft power actions were recoded as 1. All events that were re-classify as hard power action received 2. In cases where it could not be decided for sure if the action was taken to create attractiveness or coerce, or the action was taken towards a third party, these were dropped from the dataset.

Events were dropped in three basic instances:

1. When it could not be decided for sure if the action was taken to create attractiveness or coerce, they were dropped from the analysis.
2. When the description of the event was more specific, but the giver or initiator state's intentions such as coercing of building attractiveness could not be determined. For instance, 1.11 decline comment, 2.241 appeal for changing leadership or 2.244 appeal for military cooperation.
3. If the initiator state asked a third party to do something. This action did not provide information about the initiator's action.

Note: When governments only talk about doing something (express intent, demand, appeal for etc.) those actions are all coded as diplomatic actions.

Dropped events:

	dropped from soft power
11	decline comment
12	make a pessimistic comment
13	make an optimistic comment

16	reject or deny responsibility
24	appeal for political reform
26	appeals to others to meet or negotiate
28	appeal to others to engage in or accept mediation
34	express intent to institute political reform
52	defend verbally
53	rally support on behalf of
75	grant asylum
90	Investigate
241	appeal for leadership change
242	appeal for policy change
244	appeal for change in institutions or regime
251	appeal for easing administrative sanction
254	appeal to easing economic sanctions, boycott or embargo
341	express intent to change leadership
342	express intent to change policy
831	accede to demands for change in political leadership
832	accede to demand for policy change
834	accede to demands for institutional or regime change

	dropped from hard power
101	demand material cooperation
104	demand political reform
105	demand that target yield
113	rally opposition against
114	complain officially
120	Reject
123	reject request or demand for political reform
128	defy norms, law
141	demonstrate or rally
1014	demand intelligence cooperation
1041	demand leadership change
1042	demand policy change
1222	reject request for military aid
1224	reject request for military protection or peacekeeping
1231	reject request to change leadership
1232	reject request to change policy
1411	demonstrate or rally for leadership change
1412	demonstrate or rally for policy change
1622	reduce or stop military assistance

Soft Power Events Coded:

10	make a public statement
14	consider policy option
15	acknowledge or claim responsibility
17	engage in symbolic act
18	make empathetic comment
19	express accord
20	make and appeal or request
21	appeal for material cooperation
22	appeal for diplomatic cooperation
23	appeal for material aid
27	appeal to others to settle dispute
30	express intent to cooperate
31	express intent to engage in material cooperation
32	express intent to cooperate diplomatically
33	express intent to provide material aid
35	express intent to yield
36	express intent to meet and negotiate
37	express intent to settle dispute
38	express intent to accept mediation
39	express intent to mediate
40	Consult

41	discuss by telephone
42	make a visit
43	host a visit
44	meet at a third location
45	engage in mediation
46	engage in negotiation
50	engage in diplomatic cooperation
51	praise or endorse
54	grant diplomatic recognition
55	Apologize
56	Forgive
57	sign formal agreement
60	engage in material cooperation
61	cooperate economically
63	engage in judicial cooperation
64	share intelligence or information
70	provide aid
71	provide economic aid
73	provide humanitarian aid
74	provide military protection or peacekeeping
80	yield

81	ease administrative sanctions
82	ease political dissent
83	accede to request for political reform
84	return or release
85	ease economic sanctions, boycott or embargo
86	allow international involvement
87	de-escalate military engagement
91	investigate crime or corruption
92	investigate human rights abuse
93	investigate military action
94	investigate war crimes
212	appeal for military cooperation
213	appeal for judicial cooperation
214	appeal for intelligence cooperation
233	appeal for humanitarian aid
234	appeal for military protection or peacekeeping
243	appeal for rights
253	appeal for release of person or property
255	appeal to allow international involvement
311	express intent to cooperate economically
313	express intent to cooperate in judicial matters

314	express intent to cooperate on intelligence
331	express intent to provide economic aid
333	express intent to provide humanitarian aid
334	express intent to provide military protection or peacekeeping
343	express intent to provide rights
351	express intent to ease administrative sanctions
352	express intent to ease popular dissent
353	express intent to release person or property
354	express intent to ease economic sanctions, boycott on embargo
355	express intent to allow international involvement
356	express intent to de-escalate military involvement
811	ease restrictions on political freedoms
812	ease ban on political parties or politicians
813	ease curfew
814	ease state of emergency or martial law
833	accede to demands for rights
841	return or release persons
842	return or release property
861	receive deployment of peacekeepers
862	receive inspectors

863	allow for humanitarian access
871	declare truce, cease fire
872	ease military blockade
873	demobilize armed forces
874	retreat or surrender military

Hard Power Events Coded:

72	provide military aid
100	Demand
102	demand for diplomatic cooperation
103	demand material aid
106	demand meeting
107	demand settling of dispute
108	demand mediation
110	Disapprove
111	criticize or denounce
112	Accuse
115	bring lawsuit against
116	find guilty or liable
121	reject material cooperation
122	reject request or demand for material aid

124	refuse to yield
125	reject proposal to meet
126	reject mediation
127	reject plan, agreement to settle dispute
129	Veto
130	Threaten
131	threaten, non-force
132	threaten with administrative sanctions
133	threaten political dissent
134	threaten to halt negotiations
135	threaten to halt mediation
136	threaten to halt international involvement
137	threaten with repression
138	threaten with military force
139	give ultimatum
140	engage in political dissent
142	conduct hunger strike
143	conduct strike or boycott
144	obstruct passage or block
145	protest violently or riot
150	demonstrate military or police power

151	reduce relations
152	increase military alert status
153	mobilize or increase police power
154	mobilize or increase armed forces
160	reduce relations
161	reduce or break diplomatic relations
162	reduce or stop material aid
163	impose embargo, boycott or sanctions
164	halt negotiations
166	expel or withdraw
170	Coerce
171	seize or damage property
172	impose administrative sanctions
173	arrest, detain or change with legal action
174	expel or deport individuals
175	use tactics of violent repression
180	use unconventional violence
181	abduct, hijack, or take hostage
182	physical assault
183	conduct suicide, car or other non-military bombing
184	use human shield

185	attempt to assassinate
186	Assassinate
190	use conventional military force
191	impose blockade, restrict movement
192	occupy territory
193	fight with small arms and light weapons
194	fight with artillery and tanks
195	employ aerial weapons
196	violate cease fire
201	engage in mass expulsion
1011	demand economic cooperation
1012	demand military cooperation
1013	demand judicial cooperation
1031	demand economic aid
1032	demand military aid
1033	demand humanitarian aid
1034	demand military protection or peacekeeping
1043	demand rights
1044	demand change in institutions and regime
1051	demand easing of administrative sanctions
1052	demand easing political dissent

1053	demand release of person or property
1054	demand easing economic boycott, embargo or sanctions
1055	demand to allow international involvement
1056	demand de-escalation of military engagement
1121	accuse of crime corruption
1122	accuse of human rights abuses
1123	accuse of aggression
1124	accuse of war crimes
1125	accuse of espionage
1211	reject economic cooperation
1213	reject judicial cooperation
1214	reject intelligence cooperation
1221	reject request for economic aid
1223	reject request for humanitarian aid
1233	reject request for rights
1234	reject request for change in institution or regime
1241	refuse to ease administrative sanctions
1242	refuse to popular dissent
1243	refuse to release person or property
1244	refuse to ease economic sanctions, boycott or embargo
1245	refuse to allow international involvement

1246	refuse to de-escalate military engagement
1311	threaten to reduce or stop aid
1312	threaten to boycott, embargo or sanction
1313	threaten to reduce or break relations
1321	threaten with restrictions on political freedoms
1381	threaten with blockade
1382	threaten occupation
1383	threaten unconventional attack
1384	threaten conventional attack
1385	threaten unconventional mass violence

Appendix B

Distribution of soft power action types during the day of the attack (2/24/2022)

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dayofattack	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
10	156	44.57	44.57
20	75	21.43	66.00
22	9	2.57	68.57
23	1	0.29	68.86
30	1	0.29	69.14
32	5	1.43	70.57
33	3	0.86	71.43
36	1	0.29	71.71
38	1	0.29	72.00
40	24	6.86	78.86
41	12	3.43	82.29
42	8	2.29	84.57
43	21	6.00	90.57
46	3	0.86	91.43
50	1	0.29	91.71
51	21	6.00	97.71
57	5	1.43	99.14
71	1	0.29	99.43
74	1	0.29	99.71
80	1	0.29	100.00
Total	350	100.00	