Appendix for "What Do Think Tanks Think? Proximity to Power and Foreign Policy Preferences"

This appendix provides the texts of the survey questions and serves as a codebook for the paper "What Do Think Tanks Think?" The questions and codings are below. Italics indicate the column name for the variable, and the numbers in parentheses indicate how the answers are coded.

Questions

Q1. The United States has military bases in over 100 countries abroad. What is your opinion about this aspect of American foreign policy? (*bases*)

A. The number should be increased (5)
B. The number is about right (3)
C. I would like to see somewhat fewer foreign bases (2)
D. I would like to see somewhat more foreign bases (4)
E. All foreign bases should be closed (1)
F. Unsure/Don't know (0)

Q2. In the Middle East today, there are conflicts between Sunni Islamists such as Al Qaida and ISIS and Shiite Islamists like the government of Iran and Hezbollah. Which poses a greater threat to the United States? (*sunni_shia*)

A. Hezbollah and Iran are much greater threats (1)
B. Hezbollah and Iran are somewhat greater threats (2)
C. Both are about equal (3)
D. Al Qaida and ISIS are somewhat greater threats (4)
E. Al Qaida and ISIS are much greater threats (5)
F. Unsure/don't know (0)

Q3. In recent years there has been a great deal of controversy over whether to fund and support rebels trying to overthrow the government of Bashar al-Assad and Syria. How strongly do you support or oppose such a policy? (*fund_rebels*)

(Seven-point scale, from "Strongly Oppose Funding and Supporting Rebels" (1), to "Neither Support nor Oppose" (4), to "Strongly Support Funding and Supporting Rebels" (7), with option for "Unsure/Don't Know" (0))

Q4. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. (Seven-point scale, from "Strongly Disagree" (1), to "Neither Agree nor Disagree" (4), to "Strongly Agree" (7), with option for "Unsure/Don't Know" (0))

1. Despite what has happened since, invading Iraq and overthrowing Saddam Hussein was still the right thing to do. (*invade_iraq*)
2. Hoping for a democracy in Iraq country was an unrealistic goal in the first place. (*iraq_unrealistic*)
3. Despite what has happened since, the war in Libya was still the right thing to do. (*libya_war*)
4. Hoping for a democracy in Libya was an unrealistic goal in the first place. (*libya_unrealistic*)

Q5. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. (Seven-point scale, from "Strongly Disagree" (1), to "Neither Agree nor Disagree" (4), to "Strongly Agree" (7), with option for "Unsure/Don't Know" (0))

1. The situation in Syria would be much better today if the United States had worked harder to overthrow the Assad government at the beginning of the civil war. (*syria_better*)
2. It would be foolish at this point to pursue regime change in Syria. (*syria_foolish*)
3. We must do whatever we can as a country to stop China from becoming too powerful. (*stop_china*)
4. As Americans, we are too hesitant to use nuclear weapons in the case of conflict. (*use_nukes*)
5. I approve of President Trump's recent decision to leave the nuclear agreement signed with Iran. (*approve_iran*)
6. The United State should stay in Afghanistan as long as possible in order to defeat terrorism. (*stay_afghanistan*)

Q6. When it comes to preventing terrorism is it more important to address grievances groups feel or the opportunities that terrorists have to flourish? (*grievance*)
A. Grievances much more important (1)
B. Grievances are somewhat more important (2)
C. Both are equally important (3)
D. Reducing opportunity is somewhat more important (4)
E. Reducing opportunity is much more important (5)
F. Unsure/don't know (0)

Q7. How much do the following countries or organizations threaten American national security? (Seven-point scale from "Nat at all (1) to "Extremely Serious Threat" (7), with option for "Unsure/Don't Know" (0))

1. Al Qaida (*th_qaida*)
2. China (*th_china*)
3. Hezbollah (*th_hezb*)
4. Iran (*th_iran*)
5. ISIS (*th_isis*)
6. Israel (*th_israel*)

7. Russia (*th_russia*)
8. Saudi Arabia (*th_saudi*)
9. Syria (*th_syria*)

Q8. Some people believe that in Afghanistan, the United States should simply fight Al Qaida and ISIS, while others believe that we must also beat the Taliban. Which comes closest to your view? (*afghanistan*)

A. The US needs to defeat both (4)
B. The US needs to stay in Afghanistan to defeat Al-Qaida and ISIS (3)
C. The US needs to stay in Afghanistan to defeat the Taliban (2)
D. The US needs to pull all of its troops from Afghanistan (1)
E. Unsure/Don't know (0)

Q9. Some people believe that the United States should have direct communications with all countries, including enemies such as Iran and North Korea. Others believe that talking to such dictatorships legitimizes their behavior, and the US should only talk to enemies if they meet certain conditions. Which view comes closest to your own?
(7-point scale, from "Strongly oppose talks without preconditions" (1) to "Strongly support talks without preconditions," (7) with option for Unsure/Don't know (0)) (*talk*)

Q10. As a member of NATO, the US is obligated by treaty to come to the aid of any of the other 28 member states that are attacked. Many nations in Eastern Europe are worried about the threat coming from their neighbor Russia, and US membership in NATO means that if they go to war with Russia the United States would be required to become involved. Which opinion regarding NATO comes closest to your view? (*nato1*)

A. NATO should expand to bring in more countries. (4)
B. NATO should be kept as is but not expanded (3)
C. The US commitment to NATO should be scaled back (2)
D. The US should leave NATO (1)
E. I don't know (0)

Q11. China is currently building artificial islands in the South China Sea in waters that do not belong to it under international law. The United States has been sending ships through the area to send the message to China that America does not accept what the Chinese are doing. Some believe that this is provocative and could potentially cause a war, while others believe that it is important for the US to support its allies in the region. (*china*)

Which position comes closest to your position on the issue?

A. Strongly oppose the US sending ships through the South China Sea (1)
B. Somewhat oppose the US sending ships through the South China Sea (2)
C. Neither support nor oppose sending ships through the South China Sea (3)
D. Somewhat support the US sending ships through the South China Sea (4)

E. Strongly support the US sending ships through the South China Sea (5)

Q12. In recent years, the United States has worked hard to stop Iran from getting a nuclear weapon. If it turns out that Iran cannot be stopped from getting a nuclear weapon through diplomatic means, would you support or oppose the use of force to stop Iran's nuclear program? (Seven-point scale, from "Strongly oppose" (1) to "Neither support nor oppose" (4) to "Strongly support" (7)) (*iran*)

Q13. There has been a lot of discussion in recent years about the causes of terrorism. How important do you think the following factors are? (7 point scale, from "Not important at all" (1) to "Extremely Important", (5) with option for "Unsure/Don't know" (0))

1.. The inherent violence of the Muslim religion. (*islam*)
2. American foreign policy overthrowing dictators and creating opportunities for terrorists to flourish. (*overthrow*)
3. Poverty and lack of jobs in certain areas of the world. (*jobs*)
4. Discrimination against Muslims in the West. (*discrimination*)
5. US foreign policy creating a backlash among Muslim countries. (*backlash*)
6. Israeli treatment of the Palestinians. (*israelis*)
7. The lack of democracy in the Middle East (*democracy*)
8. The culture of the Middle East and the Muslim world (*culture*)
9. Weak governments unable to unwilling to clamp down on terrorists. (*weak*)

Q14. Recently, the Trump Administration has entered into negotiations with North Korea regarding the willingness of that country to give up its nuclear weapons. If such efforts fail, how strongly would you support or oppose a military strike to solve the problems of the Korean peninsula? (Seven-point scale, from "Strongly oppose" (1) to "Strongly support" (7)) (*nk*)

Q15. In the conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians, which group do you sympathize with more? (Seven-point scale, from "Strongly w/Palestinians" (1) to "Neither" (4) to "Strongly w/Israelis" (7)) (*sympathize*)

Q16. Some believe that the following countries are mainly concerned with securing their states while others believe that they are aggressive actors that seek to dominate other countries. For the following countries, which view comes closest to your own (Seven-point scale from "Strongly Believe They are Defense Oriented" (1), to "Both Views Are Equally Likely" (4), to "Strongly Believe They are Aggressive" (7), with option for "Unsure/Don't know" (0))

1. China (*ag_china*)
2. Iran (*ag_iran*)
3. Israel (*ag_israel*)
4. North Korea (*ag_nk*)

5. Russia (*ag_russia*)
6. Saudi Arabia (*ag_saudi*)
7. United States (*ag_us*)

Q17. Which country, Iran or Saudi Arabia, do you think has done more to harm American national security through supporting terrorism? (Seven-point scale, from "Iran has done much more harm" (1), to "Both have done equal harm" (4), to "Saudi Arabia has done more harm (7), with option for "Unsure/Don't know" (0)) (*saudi_iran*)

Q18. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements... (Seven-point scale, from "Strongly disagree" (1) to "Neither agree nor disagree" (4) to "Strongly agree" (7))

1. The United States must demonstrate its resolve so that others do not take advantage of it. (*resolve*)
2. The United States needs to cooperate more with the United Nations. (*un*)
3. The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own. (*business*)
4. The United States should always do what is in its own interest, even if our allies object. (*interest*)
5. The United States should contribute forces to international peace-keeping efforts. (*peace*)
6. We should not think so much in international terms but concentrate more on our own national problems and building up our strength and prosperity here at home. (*home*)
7. The United States should take all steps including the use of force to prevent aggression by an expansionist power. (*force*)
8. The use or threat of force sometimes creates more problems than it solves by creating hostility or fear on the part of the opposing side. (*problems*)

Q19. When deciding whether or not to support American use of force, how important are the following considerations to you? (Six-point scale, from "Very unimportant" (1) to "Very important" (6)

1. Whether the action is moral (*moral*)
2. Whether it makes the US safer (*safe*)
3. Whether it brings the US respect as a great power (*power*)
4. Whether it makes the US wealthier (*wealthier*)
5. Whether it is consistent with international law (*law*)
6. Whether it makes the US stronger than other countries in the long run (*stronger*)
7. Whether the action improves the lives of people in the country being attacked (*improve*)
8. Whether it makes the US respected as a moral leader in the world (*respected*)

Q20. This section will ask you a series of questions about your views on American foreign policy. [[This section is optional, but will help us understand the views of experts in the field.] or [This section is optional, but will help us understand the views of the

general public.]] Feel free to write anything from a few sentences to taking as long as you need in order to make your point.

What do you think is the main national security threat facing the United States and why? (*threat*)

Q21. If you could make fundamental changes to the foreign policy of the United States, what would you do? (*change*)

Q22. What do you agree or disagree with regarding current American policy towards Iran, both relating to the issue of nuclear proliferation and its policy within the region? (*iran_policy*)

Q23. Many believe that Russia is an aggressive actor that needs to be confronted, while others think that the United States should take a more restrained stance. What would you like to see done? (*russia_policy*)

Q24. What do you think are the most interesting and important contributions of the field of international relations? (*contribution*)

Q25. Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Trump is handling his job? (Four choices, from "Strongly Disapprove" (1) to "Strongly Approve" (4)) (*approve*)

Q26. Which of these positions do you currently hold or have had? (check all that apply) (Previously had = 1, Currently hold = 2)

1. Think tank fellow/policy analyst (*ttfellow*)
2. Tenure-track professor (assistant, associate, or full professor) at R1 University (*r1*)
3. Tenure-track professor (assistant, associate, or full professor) at R2 University (*r2*)
4. Tenure-track professor (assistant, associate, or full professor) at other university (*otheru*)
5. University lecturer (*lecturer*)
6. Federal government contractor (*contractor*)
7. Federal government employee (non-armed forces) (*employee*)
8. Member of armed forces (*military*)

Q27. Do you consider yourself an expert in any of the following regions? (check all that apply) (*expert*)

1. Afghanistan
2. Arab world
3. China
4. East Asia
5. Europe
6. Iran

7. Latin America
8. Russia, ex-Soviet Union
9. Turkey

Q28. What policy areas do you specialize in (check all that apply) (*specialize*)

1. Causes of war
2. Civil war
3. Counter-insurgency
4. Nuclear proliferation
5. Security studies
6. Terrorism

Q29. Do you have working knowledge in any of the following languages? (check all that apply) (*languages*)

1. Arabic
2. Farsi (Dari)
3. French
4. Germany
5. Hebrew
6. Japanese
7. Korean
8. Mandarin
9. Pashto
10. Russian
11. Spanish
12. Turkish
13. Urdu

Q30. Which of the following have you done in the past year? (check all that apply) (*past_year*) (*total_past_year* indicates how many the individual chose)

1. Appeared on a television show to discuss my research or area of expertise.
2. Published an op-ed in a newspaper
3. Published an opinion piece on a website.
4. Consulted for the American government
5. Consulted for private industry
6. Been a guest on an internet talk show or podcast

Q31. How important is it for you for your ideas to influence policy in the real world? (Five-point scale, from "Not at all important" (1) to "Extremely important" (5)) (*influence*)

Q32. How conservative or liberal would you consider yourself on the following issues? (5-point scale, from "Very Liberal" (1) to "Moderate" (3) to "Very Conservative" (5))

1. Social issues (gay marriage, abortion, etc.) (*social*)
2. Economic issues (*economic*)
3. Security issues (*security*)
4. Overall (*ideology*)

Q33. How would you describe yourself politically? (*party*)

A. Strong Republican (1)
B. Lean Republican (2)
C. Lean Democrat (3)
D. Strong Democrat (4)
E. Socialist (5)
F. Libertarian (6)
G. Independent (7)
H. Don't care/not political (8)
I. Other (9)

Q34. How you would describe your religious beliefs? (*religion*)
A. Mainline Protestant (1)
B. Evangelical Christian (2)
C. Catholic (3)
D. Orthodox Christian (4)
E. Mormon (5)
F. Jewish (6)
G. Muslim (7)
H. Hindu (8)
I. Buddhist (9)
J. Atheist (10)
K. Agnostic (11)
L. Other (12)

Q35. How important is religion in your life? (5-point scale from "Not at all Important" (1) to "moderately Important" (3) to "Extremely important" (5)) (*rimportant*)

Q36. What is your sex? (*sex*)
A. Male (1)
B. Female (1)

Q37. How do you identify your racial or ethnic background? (check all that apply) (*race*)

1. White
2. Black or African American
3. American Indian or Alaska Native
4. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
5. East Asian

6. Southeast Asian (Indonesian, Malaysian, etc.)
7. South Asian (Indian, Pakistani, etc.)
8. Middle Eastern or North African
9. Hispanic
10. Other

Q38. How old are you? (*age*)
A. Under 18 (1)
B. 18-24 (2)
C. 25-34 (3)
D. 35-44 (4)
E. 45-54 (5)
F. 55-64 (6)
G. 65-74 (7)
H. 75-84 (8)
I. 85 or older (9)

Q39. What is the highest level of education you have completed? (*education*)

A. Less than high school (1)
B. High school graduate (2)
C. Some college (3)
D. 2 year degree (4)
E. 4 year degree (5)
F. Professional degree (6)
G. Doctorate (7)

Q40. Do you consider yourself LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender or queer)? (*gay*)

A. Yes (1)
B. No (2)

Q41. Anything else that you would like to tell us? (*anything*)

inst = institution

typeinst

1 = R1 Research University
2= R2 Research University
3= Think tank