Appendix A.1: Tables and Figures

State	Year	Alleged Violation	Illustrative Quote
France	1985	The French government is accused of bombing the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior* in New Zealand, killing a photographer.	The French government published an official report yesterday exonerating its intelligence agency of responsibility in the July 10 bombing of the Greenpeace trawler, Rainbow Warrior, in Auckland, New Zealand.
Liberia	1990	Liberian government forces allegedly massacre hundreds who had taken refuge in a church.	Mr. Doe repeated earlier charges by Liberian officials that the massacre of hundreds of war refugees in a Lutheran church in Monrovia on Sunday night was not conducted by his army, but by rebels wearing Government uniforms.
Guinea	2009	Guinea security forces allegedly open fire on opposition supporters gathered in a stadium.	The head of the ruling junta in Guinea said yesterday he bore 'no responsibility' for the September 28 massacre of opposition protesters, in which the United Nations says more than 150 were killed.
Syria	2013	Syrian military is accused of attacking the village of Haswiyeh, killing more than 100 civilians.	A government official in Damascus flatly denied the reports of carnage, saying no such killings took place in the area at all.
Saudi Arabia	2021	Saudi Arabia is accused of the extraterritorial assassination of Jamal Khashoggi.	Saudi Arabia said it rejected completely "the negative, false and unacceptable" assessment of a U.S. intelligence report released on Friday that found Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman had approved the killing of journalist Jamal Khashoggi.

Table A1: *Denial Examples*

State	Year	Alleged Violation	Illustrative Quote
United States	1984	The United States defies the International Court of Justice decision in Nicaragua vs. United States.	"The court, quite frankly, is not what its name suggests, an international court of justice," argues Jeane Kirkpatrick, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. "It's a semilegal, semijuridical, semipolitical body, which nations sometimes accept and sometimes don't."
Norway	1992	Norwegian whaling practices are alleged to violate the international prohibition against commercial whaling.	"[Norway] no longer accepts what she perceives as cultural imperialism imposed by the majority of the members of the IWC on the local communities of the nations and people who want to exercise their sovereign cultural right to be different."
Israel	2006	The Israeli military is accused of humanitarian law violations as part of its operation in Lebanon.	Referring to complaints that Israel was using disproportionate force, Dan Gillerman, Israel's United Nations ambassador, said at a rally of supporters in New York this week, "You're damn right we are."... Amir Peretz, the Israeli Defence Minister, said that Israel would "employ any means it deems fit, and the army has been instructed accordingly."
Philippines	2016	The Philippines government is accused of extrajudicial killings of individuals suspected of participating in the drug trade.	Earlier on Saturday, Duterte had vowed to keep his "shoot-to-kill" order "until the last day of my term, if I'm still alive by then." "I don't care about human rights, believe me," he said, according to official transcripts released by the presidential palace.
Uganda	2016	The Ugandan government allows Omar al-Bashir to travel to Uganda, violating the Rome Statute requirement to arrest individuals indicted by the ICC.	Mr Museveni described the ICC as "a bunch of useless people" and said he no longer supported it... "The ICC is not serious, it is partisan. It is not balanced. There are so many leaders who should have been tried but the ICC is not serious, they did not and that's why we lost interest in the ICC," Museveni said.

Table A2: *Validity Challenge Examples*

State	Year	Alleged Violation	Illustrative Quote
Yugoslavia	1999	The Yugoslav government is accused of a civilian massacre in the village of Racak.	The Yugoslav government denies committing war crimes, claiming those killed in Racak were members of the rebel KLA, which is fighting for independence for Kosovo's 1.8 million ethnic Albanians.
United States	2002	The United States allegedly violates the detention and due process rights of terrorist suspects as specified in the Geneva Conventions.	U.S. Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld labeled the first detainees to arrive at Guantánamo on January 11, 2002 as "unlawful combatants," automatically denying them possible status as prisoners of war (POWs). "Unlawful combatants do not have any rights under the Geneva Convention," Mr. Rumsfeld said.
Ivory Coast	2010	Security forces loyal to President Laurent Gbagbo allegedly open fire on demonstrators in Abidjan.	Gbagbo's government insists its forces in Abidjan, the commercial capital 280 kilometres south of Bouake, opened fire Thursday on pro-Ouattara protesters to maintain public order.
Russia	2022	Russia is accused of military aggression against Ukraine.	Putin said that Russia was acting in self-defense, that its goal was the "demilitarization and denazification" of Ukraine, and claimed that Russia had no plans to occupy Ukrainian land.
United States	2025	The United States institutes new tariffs in violation of WTO rules.	White House Statement: "America will no longer tolerate unfair trade practices. The United States is one of the most open economies in the world, yet our trading partners keep their markets closed to our exports. This lack of reciprocity is unfair and contributes to our large and persistent annual trade deficit."

Table A3: *Applicability Challenge Examples*

Variable	Sample Proportion
Party ID	
Democrat	0.42
Republican	0.37
Independent	0.21
Age	
18-30	0.18
31-45	0.29
46-60	0.25
over 60	0.28
Education	
High School or Less	0.30
Some College	0.25
College Degree	0.35
Post-Graduate	0.11
Ethnicity	
White	0.74
Black or African American	0.12
Asian	0.05
Hispanic	
Yes	0.05
No	0.94
Household Income	
$< \$25{,}000$	0.34
\$25-45,000	0.16
\$45-65,000	0.15
\$65-95,000	0.16
$> \$95{,}000$	0.18
Region	
Northeast	0.19
Midwest	0.20
South	0.39
West	0.22

Table A4: *Survey sample statistics*

	Dependent variable:	
	Certainty	Outrage
	(1)	(2)
Applicability Challenge	0.075	-0.343^{***}
	(0.050)	(0.062)
Denial	-0.315^{***}	-0.112^{*}
	(0.051)	(0.060)
Validity Challenge	0.144^{***}	-0.058
	(0.048)	(0.059)
Observations	5,569	5,573
Adjusted R^2	0.025	0.011

Table A5: *Effect of Mitigation Strategies on Certainty, Outrage.* Point estimates and respondent-clustered standard errors showing the effect of government denials, validity challenges, and applicability challenges on perceived certainty and outrage. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

	Dependent variable:
	Willingness to Punish
Applicability Challenge	-0.276^{***}
	(0.048)
Denial	-0.149^{***}
	(0.046)
Validity Challenge	-0.071
	(0.044)
Democratic State	-0.083^{***}
	(0.024)
History of Compliance	-0.206^{***}
	(0.024)
Observations	5,573
Adjusted R^2	0.024

Table A6: *Effect of Mitigation Strategies on Willingness to Punish.* Point estimates and respondent-clustered standard errors showing the effect of government denials, validity challenges, and applicability challenges on willingness to punish. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

	Dependent variable:
	Willingness to Punish
Applicability Challenge	-0.282^{***}
	(0.048)
Applicability Challenge + UN Response	-0.111^{**}
	(0.048)
Applicability Challenge + UN Response, neg prime	-0.299^{***}
	(0.084)
Denial	-0.153^{***}
	(0.046)
Denial + UN Response	-0.041
	(0.049)
Denial + UN Response, neg prime	-0.007
	(0.074)
Validity Challenge	-0.071
	(0.045)
Validity Challenge + UN Response	0.001
	(0.048)
Validity Challenge + UN Response, neg prime	-0.033
	(0.074)
Observations	5,573
Adjusted R^2	0.010

Table A7: *Effect of Mitigation Strategies, UN responses on Willingness to Punish.* Point estimates and respondent-clustered standard errors showing the effect of government denials, applicability challenges, and validity challenges on willingness to punish, with and without countervailing messages from the United Nations. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Government	Sample Proportion
United States	56%
India	5%
Pakistan	4%
Canada	3%
Nigeria	3%
Ethiopia	3%
United Kingdom	3%
South Africa	3%
Australia	3%
Zambia	2%
Kenya	1%
Ghana	1%
Afghanistan	1%
Bangladesh	1%
Uganda	1%
Sierra Leone	1%
Philippines	1%
Papua New Guinea	1%
New Zealand	1%
Mozambique	1%
Bolivia	1%
Yemen	1%
Liberia	1%
Zimbabwe	<1%
Vietnam	<1%
Tanzania	<1%
Sri Lanka	<1%
Somalia	<1%
Rwanda	<1%
Palau	<1%
Mongolia	<1%
Jordan	<1%
Iran	<1%
Indonesia	<1%
Azerbaijan	<1%
Albania	<1%

Table A8: *Elite Survey Sample: Government of Employment.* We report the proportion of elite respondents who report employment for each national government. The proportions exclude those who declined to report their government of employment.

	Dependent variable: Willingness to Punish		
	All Elites	Global North Elites	Global South Elites
Applicability Challenge	-0.437^{***}	-0.642^{***}	-0.207
	(0.143)	(0.205)	(0.218)
Applicability Challenge + UN	-0.281^{**}	-0.287	-0.228
	(0.135)	(0.183)	(0.257)
Denial	-0.243^{*}	-0.083	-0.460^{**}
	(0.132)	(0.206)	(0.200)
Denial + UN	-0.058	0.111	-0.316
	(0.134)	(0.156)	(0.306)
Validity Challenge	-0.046	0.013	0.178
	(0.118)	(0.160)	(0.192)
Validity Challenge + UN	0.007	0.263	-0.196
	(0.144)	(0.184)	(0.288)
Observations	521	278	159
Adjusted R^2	0.020	0.059	0.012

Table A9: *Effect of Mitigation Strategies, UN responses on Willingness to Punish among Diplomatic Elites.* Point estimates and respondent-clustered standard errors showing the effect of government mitigation strategies on willingness to punish, with and without countervailing messages from the United Nations. We present aggregate results among elites, as well as separate results for Global North and non-Global South respondents. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

	Dependent variable:	
	Avg. Punishment	Sanctions
	(1)	(2)
Applicability Challenge	-0.266^{***}	-0.269^{***}
	(0.046)	(0.057)
Applicability Challenge + UN	-0.148^{***}	-0.064
	(0.046)	(0.058)
Applicability Challenge + UN, neg prime	-0.291^{***}	-0.293^{***}
	(0.079)	(0.094)
Denial	-0.151^{***}	-0.122^{**}
	(0.044)	(0.054)
Denial + UN	-0.056	-0.039
	(0.047)	(0.060)
Denial + UN, neg prime	0.018	-0.028
	(0.070)	(0.087)
Validity Challenge	-0.068	-0.082
	(0.043)	(0.053)
Validity Challenge + UN	-0.006	0.034
	(0.047)	(0.058)
Validity Challenge + UN, neg prime	-0.034	-0.003
	(0.069)	(0.090)
Democratic Transgressor	-0.079^{***}	-0.085^{***}
	(0.023)	(0.029)
History of Compliance	-0.192^{***}	-0.216^{***}
	(0.023)	(0.029)
Observations	5,573	5,573
Adjusted R^2	0.024	0.017

Table A10: *Effect of Mitigation Strategies, UN responses on Average Willingness to Punish and Willingness to Impose Sanctions.* Point estimates and respondent-clustered standard errors showing the effect of applicability challenges, denials, and validity challenges on willingness to punish. Column 1 reflects an average measure of punitive preferences, while Column 2 reflects willingness to impose economic penalties. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

	Dependent variable: Willingness to Punish	
	Aggression	Human Rights
	(1)	(2)
Applicability Challenge	-0.287^{***}	-0.255^{***}
	(0.066)	(0.065)
Applicability Challenge + UN	-0.169^{**}	-0.099
	(0.068)	(0.065)
Denial	-0.214^{***}	-0.103^{*}
	(0.065)	(0.058)
Denial + UN	-0.100	-0.006
	(0.070)	(0.061)
Validity Challenge	-0.085	-0.049
	(0.061)	(0.061)
Validity Challenge + UN	-0.040	0.033
	(0.068)	(0.063)
Observations	2,786	2,787
Adjusted R^2	0.010	0.008

Table A11: *Effect of Mitigation Strategies and UN responses on Willingness to Punish by Issue Area.* *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

	Sample:					
	All	Negative UN Prime	Low UN Confidence	High UN Confidence	Low US Norm Responsibility	High US Norm Responsibility
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Applicability Challenge + UN	-0.111^{**}	-0.287^{***}	-0.145^{**}	-0.032	-0.081	-0.099^{*}
	(0.048)	(0.099)	(0.066)	(0.066)	(0.088)	(0.054)
Denial + UN	-0.041	0.005	-0.083	0.039	0.007	-0.022
	(0.049)	(0.091)	(0.068)	(0.067)	(0.089)	(0.054)
Validity Challenge + UN	0.001	-0.021	-0.004	-0.008	0.020	-0.001
	(0.048)	(0.091)	(0.068)	(0.067)	(0.092)	(0.054)
Observations	3,519	876	1,931	1,588	1,041	2,478
Adjusted R^2	0.004	0.009	0.009	0.001	0.003	0.002

Table A12: *Heterogeneous Effects of UN Intervention.* We display point estimates and respondent-clustered standard errors for each mitigation strategy paired with a UN response. Column 1 reports the overall treatment effect across the entire sample. Column 2 includes only respondents who received the negative UN legitimacy prime. Columns 3-4 report separate effects for respondents with low vs. high confidence in the United Nations. Columns 4-5 report separate effects for respondents who do not indicate that the US has a responsibility to uphold international norms (Model 5) and those that do (Model 6). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

	Dependent variable: Willingness to Punish		
	All Elites	Global North	Global South
Certainty	0.333^{***}	0.345^{***}	0.257^{***}
	(0.041)	(0.066)	(0.061)
Outrage	0.110^{***}	0.319^{***}	-0.024
	(0.039)	(0.071)	(0.053)
Observations	521	278	159
Adjusted R^2	0.169	0.284	0.103

Table A13: *Effect of Certainty, Outrage on Willingness to Punish among Elites.* We display results of a linear regression estimating how respondent certainty and outrage predict willingness to punish. Column 1 reports estimates from the pooled sample of elites, while Columns 2 and 3 reflect the Global North and Global South sample. The difference in the coefficient for Outrage among Global North and Global South elites is statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

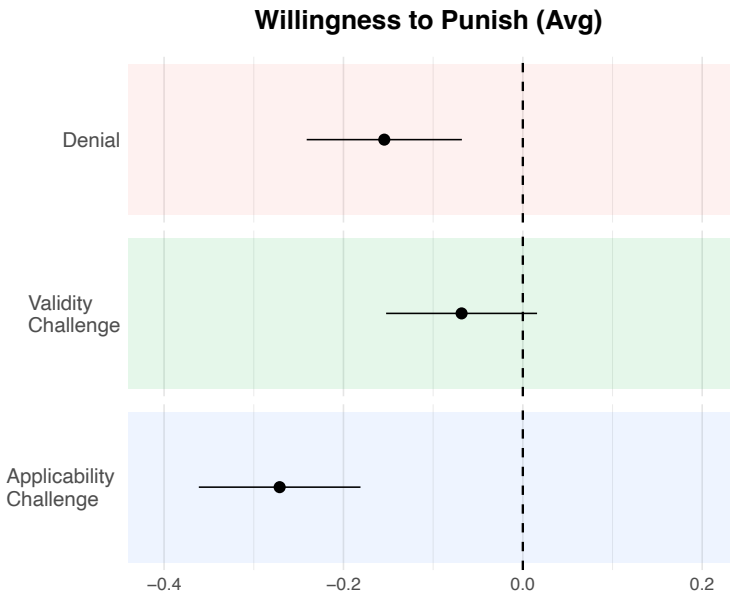

Figure A1: *Effect of Mitigation Strategies on Punishment (Average Measure)*: Treatment effects on mean respondent willingness to punish across four punitive policy measures, relative to the control condition (no government response). Full results reported in Table A7.

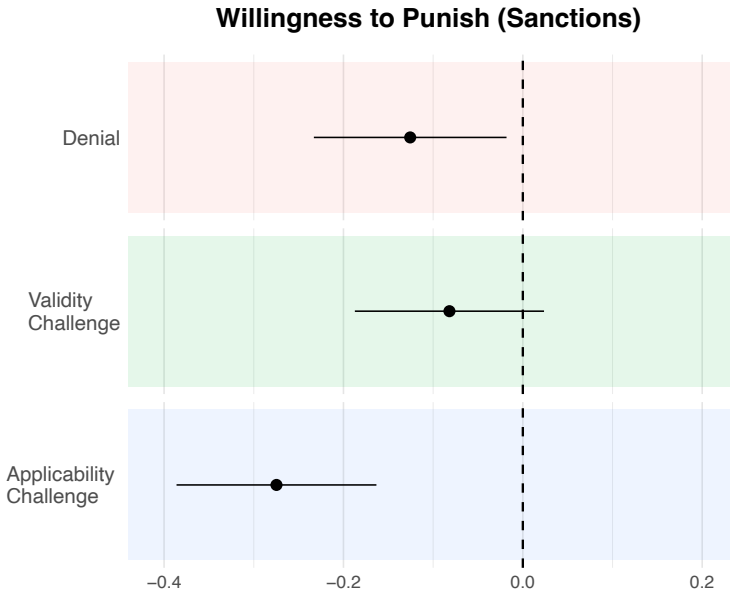

Figure A2: *Effect of Mitigation Strategies on Support for Sanctions*: Treatment effects on respondent willingness to support economic sanctions, relative to the control condition (no government response). Full results reported in Table A7.

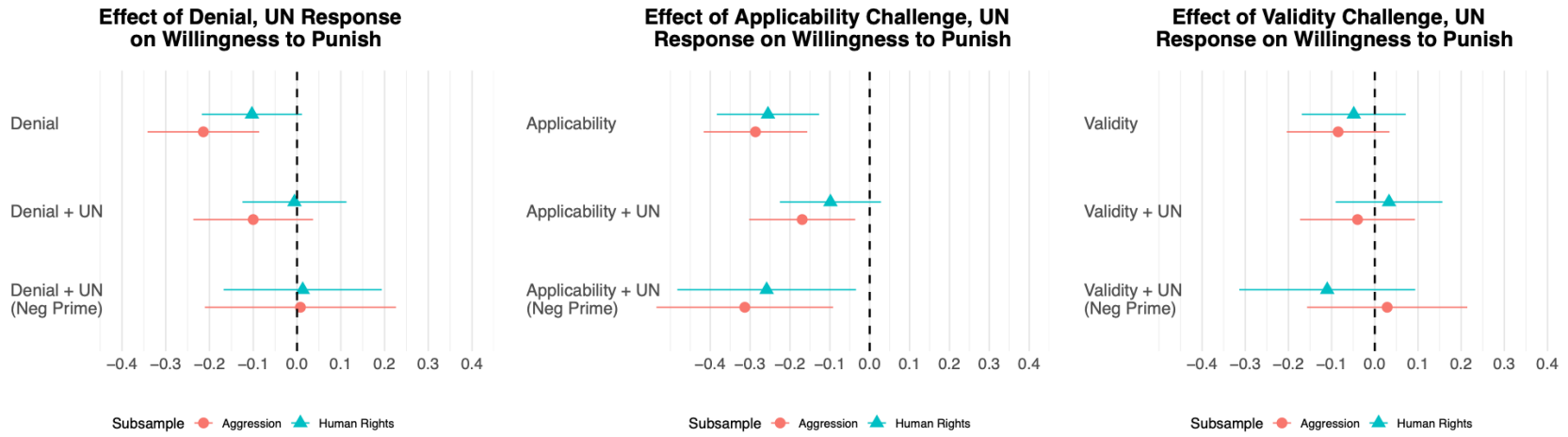

Figure A3: *Effect of Mitigation Strategies on Willingness to Punish by Issue Area*: Average treatment effects of denials, norm attacks, regime type, and history of compliance on respondent willingness to punish the accused state, by issue area. Full results reported in Table A10.

Treatment effects on willingness to punish are similar across the two issue areas. No differences in coefficients are statistically significant at conventional levels.

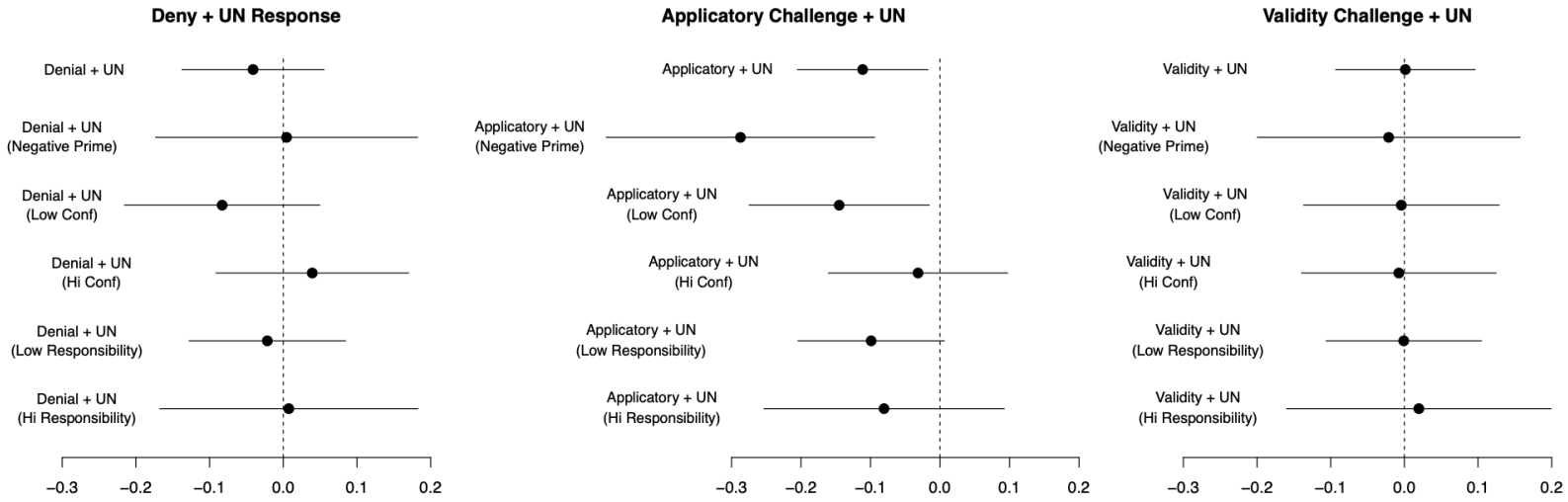

Figure A4: *Heterogenous Effects of UN Interventions*: The figure shows the estimated effect of UN messages countering government denials (left panel), applicability challenges (middle), and validity challenges (right panel). All effects are relative to the control condition (no government response). Point estimates and 95% confidence intervals are displayed for each treatment. Full results reported in Tables A9.

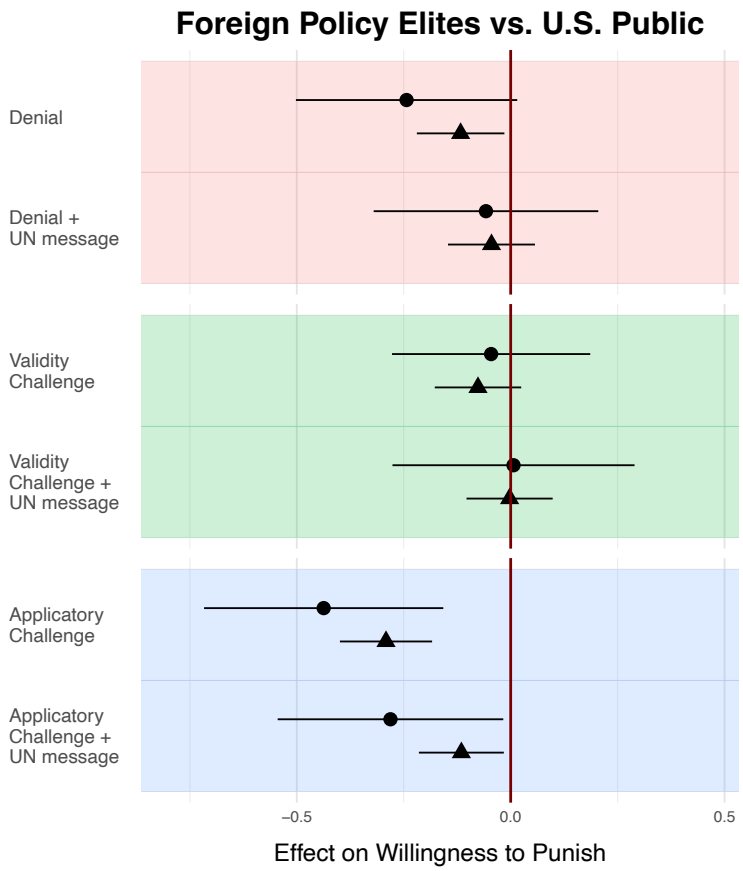

Figure A5: *Treatment Effects Among Foreign Policy Elites vs. US Public*: The figure shows the estimated effect of mitigation strategies and UN messages in the foreign policy elite (circles) and US public (triangles) samples. All effects are relative to the control condition (no government response). Point estimates and 95% confidence intervals are displayed for each treatment.

Appendix A.2: Prior Survey Results

This section presents results from a previous version of the survey experiment, implemented in November 2023. In this prior study, we included two government mitigation strategies as randomized treatments: denials and norm attacks. Norm attacks reflect government interventions to reduce the perceived offensiveness of the alleged behavior. In a subsequent experiment presented in the main text of this article, we split this category into two distinct strategies, applicability challenges and validity challenges. For reference, we include the pre-registration document with full text of the survey experiment below.

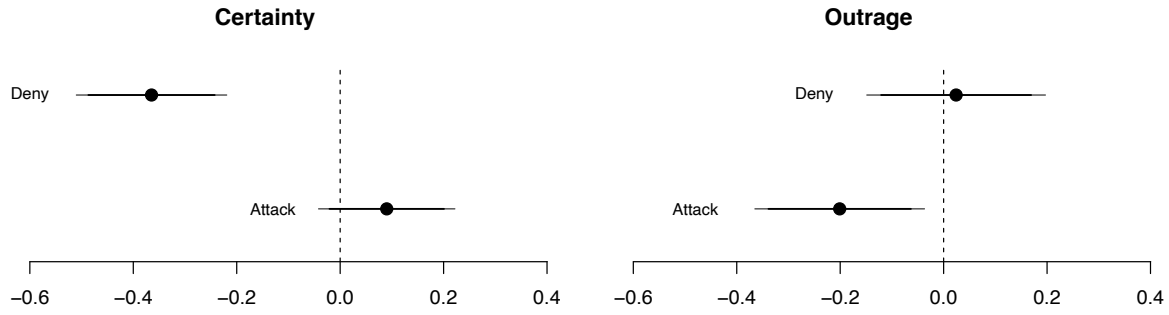

Figure A.2.1: *Effect of Mitigation Strategies on Certainty, Outrage (Previous Study)*: We display average treatment effects for each mitigation strategy on perceived certainty (left panel) and outrage (right panel). Thin and thick bars reflect 95% and 90% confidence intervals, respectively. Effects are relative to the control condition (no government comment) Full results reported in Table A.2.1.

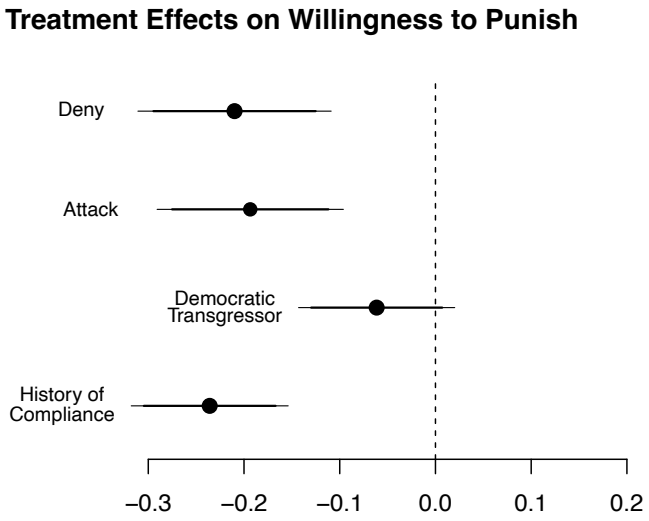

Figure A.2.2: *Effect of Mitigation Strategies on Willingness to Punish (Previous Study)*: Average treatment effects of denials, norm attacks, regime type, and history of compliance on respondent willingness to punish the transgressor. Full results reported in Table A.2.3.

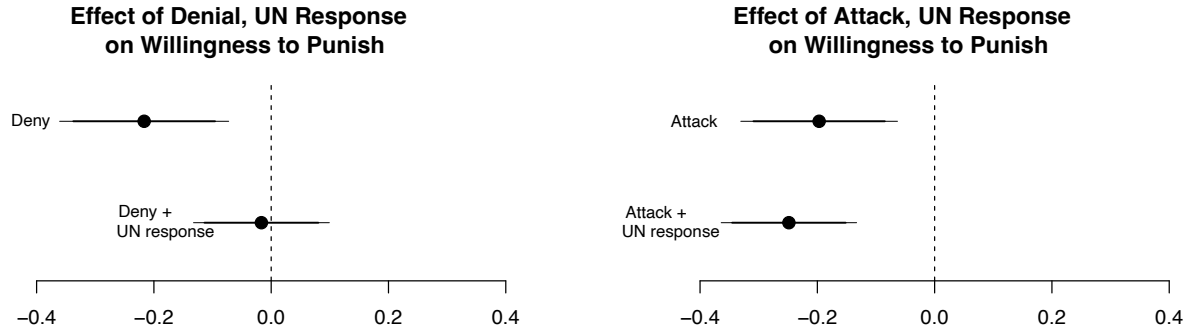

Figure A.2.3: *Effect of UN Intervention on Willingness to Punish*: The figure shows the estimated effect of each treatment arm on respondent willingness to punish the transgressor. All effects are relative to the control condition (no government response). Point estimates and 95% confidence intervals are displayed for each treatment. Full results reported in Table A.2.2.

	Dependent variable:	
	Certainty	Outrage
	(1)	(2)
Deny	-0.364^{***}	0.017
	(0.085)	(0.103)
Attack	0.090	-0.208^{**}
	(0.078)	(0.100)
Observations	909	909
Adjusted R^2	0.035	0.005

Table A.2.1: *Effect of Mitigation Strategies on Certainty, Outrage (Previous Study).* Point estimates and respondent-clustered standard errors showing the effect of government denials and norm attacks on perceived certainty and outrage. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

	Dependent variable: Willingness to Punish
Attack	-0.171^{**}
	(0.067)
Deny	-0.201^{***}
	(0.072)
Democratic Regime	-0.098^{*}
	(0.057)
History of Compliance	-0.205^{***}
	(0.058)
Observations	903
Adjusted R^2	0.014

Table A.2.2: *Effect of Mitigation Strategies, UN responses on Willingness to Punish (Previous Study).* Point estimates and respondent-clustered standard errors showing the effect of government denials and norm attacks on willingness to punish, with and without countervailing messages from the United Nations. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

	Dependent variable: Willingness to Punish
Attack	-0.197^{***}
	(0.068)
Attack + UN	-0.249^{***}
	(0.059)
Deny	-0.217^{***}
	(0.074)
Deny + UN	-0.017
	(0.059)
Observations	4,097
Adjusted R^2	0.013

Table A.2.3: *Effect of Mitigation Strategies on Willingness to Punish (Previous Study).* Point estimates and respondent-clustered standard errors showing the effect of government denials and norm attacks on willingness to punish. *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

The Role of International Organizations in Shaping the Politics of Noncompliance

Pre-Analysis Plan

6 November 2023

Summary

This project examines the political fallout from international norm transgressions. We focus on the political contestation that determines how a violation of international norms is interpreted.

In previous work, we demonstrated that two primary factors affect an audience's interpretation of international norm violations: 1) the level of certainty about the government's behavior, and 2) the degree to which the behavior contravenes a valued norm. Governments tend to pay a higher reputational cost when audiences perceive they have unambiguously violated a deeply entrenched norm.

The current survey experiment examines two rhetorical strategies that governments can use to diminish the political costs of norm violations:

- *Denial* strategies occur when a government denies its culpability for the alleged violation.
- *Attack* strategies occur when a government justifies its behavior by contesting the underlying norm that has allegedly been violated.

We expect these strategies to reduce political backlash to norm violations by shaping respondent certainty and outrage over the transgression. We are also interested in whether international organizations (IOs) can play a role in countering state strategies. When norm transgressions occur, IOs are often active participants in the ensuing public relations battle. They may be able to increase certainty over the facts of the transgression, underscore the severity of the normative violation, or both. We expect the power of IO messaging is conditional on its legitimacy among the relevant audience.

Survey Instrument

We use a survey experiment to test how state strategy and IO counter-responses affect a transgressor government's reputation and the willingness of foreign audiences to punish the transgressor. The survey will be administered online winter 2023 to a sample of 3,000 US respondents.

The experiment consists of two vignettes, representing hypothetical violations of international norms. Respondents are presented with the first scenario, then view one or more rhetorical

messages from political actors, and provide their opinion on the violating government. They then proceed to the second scenario, featuring a different government and violation, and again provide their opinion on the violating government. We randomly assign the order of issue areas, the transgressor government's rhetorical strategy, and the IO counter-response.

The two scenarios depict violations of international law related to military aggression and human rights abuse. The **aggression scenario** reads as follows. Randomly varied text is indicated in brackets:

> Imagine it is five years in the future. A foreign country is involved in an escalating dispute with a neighboring country.
>
> The foreign country is [a democracy and has a vibrant free press / not a democracy and restricts the press]. It has a history of [following international law and peacefully resolving international disputes / violating international law and using military aggression to resolve international disputes].
>
> News outlets report that the foreign country's troops may have invaded the neighboring state. Hundreds of casualties are reported, including dozens of civilian deaths.

Respondents are subsequently subjected to three primary sets of randomized treatments. The first is a state strategy from the foreign government. Respondents receive either a control response ("The foreign government declined to comment"), a denial strategy, or an attack strategy. The denial and attack strategies may reflect either a statement from the foreign government, or a statement from the foreign government that is bolstered by a regional international organization.

> State denial: The foreign government denies that it was involved in the attack, arguing the action was taken by separatists in the neighboring country.
>
> State + IO denial: The foreign government denies that it was involved in the attack, arguing the action was taken by separatists in the neighboring country. A regional organization adopts a resolution supporting the government's position and absolving it of responsibility.
>
> State attack: The foreign government acknowledges the attack but argues that aggressive actions are justified to defend itself against countries that harbor terrorists.
>
> State + IO attack: The foreign government acknowledges the attack but argues that aggressive actions are justified to defend itself against countries that harbor terrorists. A regional organization adopts a resolution supporting the government's position and affirming its right to self defense.

In a second level of treatment, respondents are assigned to a United Nations (UN) treatment. Each respondent is assigned to a control condition (no additional information) or a UN statement that is matched to the state strategy they saw earlier.[1]

> UN info treatment: [A UN expert body / The UN Security Council] says that physical evidence and eyewitness testimony confirm that the foreign government invaded its neighbor.
>
> UN norms treatment: [A UN expert body / The UN Security Council] says it's gravely concerned about the foreign country's flagrant violation of international law.

Finally, respondents who receive information about a statement from the UN are assigned a third level of treatment in which we prime respondents to consider the legitimacy of the UN. This is either a control (no additional information), a positive legitimacy prime, or a negative legitimacy prime.

> UN Legitimacy – positive: In the past, the UN has been praised for its impartiality, increasing confidence in its judgments.
>
> UN legitimacy – negative: In the past, the UN has been criticized for its bias, undermining confidence in its judgments.

The corresponding text for the **human rights abuse scenario** is as follows:

> Imagine it is five years in the future. A foreign country is experiencing a domestic crisis.
>
> The foreign country is [a democracy and has a vibrant free press / not a democracy and restricts the press]. It has a history of [following international law and peacefully resolving international disputes / violating international law and using military aggression to resolve international disputes].
>
> News outlets report that the foreign government has begun detaining and torturing citizens. Hundreds of citizens have been imprisoned and dozens of deaths are reported.

State strategy:

> Control: The foreign government declined to comment.
>
> State denial: The foreign government denies detaining and torturing citizens, arguing the accusations are unfounded and defamatory.

[1] Respondents who received the control condition for the state strategy do not see a UN statement. Those who received the denial strategy receive either the control (no additional info) or the UN info statement. Those who receive the attack strategy receive either the control (no additional info) or the UN norms statement.

State + IO denial: The foreign government denies detaining and torturing citizens, arguing the accusations are unfounded and defamatory. A regional organization adopts a resolution supporting the government's position and absolving it of responsibility.

State attack: The foreign government acknowledges detaining citizens but argues that emergency actions are justified to combat the violent extremists who are terrorizing the country.

State + IO attack: The foreign government acknowledges detaining citizens but argues that emergency actions are justified to combat the violent extremists who are terrorizing the country. A regional organization adopts a resolution supporting the government's position and affirming the importance of internal stability.

UN response:

Control: no additional information.

UN info treatment: [A UN expert body / The UN Security Council] says that physical evidence and eyewitness testimony confirm that the foreign government launched a coordinated crackdown of its citizens.

UN norms treatment: [A UN expert body / The UN Security Council] says it's gravely concerned about the foreign country's flagrant violation of international law.

UN legitimacy prime:

Control: no additional information

UN Legitimacy – positive: In the past, the UN has been praised for its impartiality, increasing confidence in its judgments.

UN legitimacy – negative: In the past, the UN has been criticized for its bias, undermining confidence in its judgments.

Dependent Variables

Respondents then complete a manipulation check to measure treatment uptake and then proceed to the following outcome questionnaire.

1. Certainty: Based on what you just read, how certain are you that the foreign government launched a [military attack against its neighbor / campaign of detention and torture against its citizens]?

2. Moral Outrage: Given the circumstances in the scenario, would you say that a government [using military force against a neighboring country/initiating a domestic crackdown] is a good or a bad thing?

3. Severity of violation: In your opinion, is it common or uncommon for countries to commit the actions that were alleged in the scenario? (Very common to Very uncommon)

4. Please rate your agreement with the following statement: the foreign government in the scenario deserves to be punished for its behavior. (Strongly agree – Strongly disagree).

5. Punishment: Suppose the US government is considering how to respond to the situation described in the scenario. Please rate your level of support for each of the policy options described below (Strongly support to Strongly oppose):

    a. Issue a statement demanding the foreign country cease its actions
    b. Work to expel the foreign country from the UN Human Rights Council
    c. Join partner countries in imposing economic penalties on the country
    d. Transfer military weaponry to the neighboring country to help it defend itself (Aggression); Provide financial support to citizen groups that oppose the foreign government (Human Rights)

6. Reputation: Based on what you just read, please rate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following statements about the foreign government's reputation (Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree)
    a. Honesty - The foreign government is generally honest about its actions.
    b. Resolve - The foreign country is the type of government that does not back down in foreign policy disputes.
    c. Future Comp - The foreign government will comply with its international commitments in the future.
    d. Belligerence – The foreign government has aggressive intentions and should be considered a security threat.

7. Norm hierarchy: Below is a list of statements describing how governments should behave. Assign points to each statement in order of importance. You have 100 total points to assign.
    a. Governments should follow international law
    b. Governments should respect the territorial boundaries of other states
    c. Governments should use any means necessary to defend against external threats to their security (aggression)
    d. Governments should use any means necessary to maintain law and order (human rights)

8. UN status: Please rate your agreement with the following statement:
    a. The United Nations is the most important and authoritative international organization on matters of international peace and security. (Aggression)
    b. The United Nations is the most important and authoritative international organization on matters of human rights. (Human Rights)

Hypotheses

Our hypotheses listed here reflect two separate projects: one focused on the role of transgressor government and IO contestation in shaping political costs for the transgressor, and one focused on the consequences for shifts in norm hierarchies and regime complex evolution.

Transgressor Strategies & IO Interventions

H1 (Transgressor Denials): Foreign government denials will decrease respondent certainty, decrease respondent willingness to punish,[2] decrease perceptions of honesty, and increase perceptions of future compliance compared to the control.

H2 (Transgressor Attacks): Foreign government attacks will decrease respondent perceptions of moral outrage, decrease respondent willingness to punish, decrease perceptions of future compliance, and increase perceptions of honesty, resolve, and belligerence compared to the control.

H3 (Contested Multilateralism): The use of international organizations to deny or justify violations will amplify hypothesized effects on certainty, moral outrage, and punishment.

H4 (IO Information): UN information treatments will increase respondent certainty about the violation, increase respondent willingness to punish, decrease perceptions of foreign government honesty, and decrease perceptions of future compliance.

H5 (IO Norm): UN norm treatments will increase respondent outrage about the violation, increase respondent willingness to punish, and increase perceptions of foreign government resolve and belligerence.

H6 (IO Legitimacy): Priming respondents with positive (negative) information about the UN's performance will amplify (diminish) hypothesized effects in *H4* and *H5*.

Norm & Regime Complex Evolution

[2] To measure respondent willingness to punish, we combine responses to question 5 (Punishment) via principal components analysis.

H7 (Transgressor Attacks – Norm Hierarchy): Foreign government attacks will increase respondent endorsement of norms regarding law and order (human rights) and defense against external threats (aggression), compared to the control.

H8 (IO Status): When UN information and norm treatments are paired with competing messages by other international organizations, respondents will have lower perceptions of the UN's status.

Appendix A.3: Power Analysis

In this appendix, we conduct a power analysis that examines our ability to test the pre-registered hypotheses in the public survey experiment. Where possible, we use a prior version of the experiment, conducted in November 2023, as a baseline to determine the desired minimum detectable effect (MDE) for each hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1 (Certainty Mechanism)

H1 anticipates that foreign government denials reduce respondent certainty that the government committed the violation. Based on our prior study, the effect of denials on the 5-point measure of certainty was 0.364; we use this as our target MDE.

To test *H1*, we compare average respondent certainty in the "denial" and "control (no government message)" conditions. Our sample includes 697 observations in the "denial" condition and 881 observations in the "control (no government message)" condition. To calculate the MDE for this sample size at 80% power, we employ Rule 5 ("Bloom's Rule") from Rainey (2024): "An experiment has 80% power to detect a treatment effect that is 2.5 times the standard error."

Per Rainey (2024), we calculate the standard error using $\frac{2 \cdot \widetilde{\text{SD}(Y)}}{\sqrt{2 \cdot n}}$, where $\widetilde{\text{SD}(Y)}$ can be estimated using the standard deviation of the outcome in the control group. In our case, $\widetilde{\text{SD}(Y)} = 0.953$ and $n = 697$, yielding a standard error of $\frac{2 \cdot 0.953}{\sqrt{2 \cdot 697}} = 0.051$. Using Rule 5, our experiment has 80% power to detect a treatment effect of $2.5 \cdot 0.51$, or 0.13. This MDE is well below the target from our initial experiment, confirming that we are well powered to estimate *H1*.

Hypothesis 2 (Outrage Mechanism)

H2 anticipates that foreign government applicabilty and validity challenges reduce respondent outrage about an alleged violation. Because our prior study did not include these exact treatment conditions, we look at the closest equivalent treatment (norm attack). The effect of norm attacks on the 5-point measure of outrage was 0.208; we use this value as our target MDE.

We test *H2* by calculating the difference in respondent outrage between the "applicability challenge" and "control (no government message)" conditions, as well as the difference between the "validity challenge" and "control (no government message)" conditions. Our sample includes 704 observations in the "validity" condition, 653 observations in the "applicatory" condition, and 881 observations in the "control (no government message)" condition.

Following Rule 5 from Rainey (2024), we multiply the standard error by 2.5 to obtain the MDE at 80% power. Using the formula for the standard error from above yields $\frac{2 \cdot 0.953}{\sqrt{2 \cdot 653}} = 0.053$. Multiplying by 2.5 produces a MDE of 0.132 in our experiment. This is well below our target, suggesting we are sufficiently powered to test *H2*.

Hypothesis 3 (Punishment)

H3 anticipates that foreign government denials, applicabilty challenges, and validity challenges reduce respondent willingness to punish. Based on our prior study, the effect of denials on the PCA measure of punishment was 0.201. Since we do not have applicability and validity challenges in our prior study, we use this 0.201 value as our target MDE.

We test *H3* by calculating the difference in respondent willingness to punish between "control (no government message)" condition and each of the three mitigation strategies. Our sample includes 881 observations in the "control condition, 697 in the "denial" condition, 704 in the "validity challenge" condition, and 653 the "applicatory" condition.

Following Rule 5 from Rainey (2024), we multiply the standard error by 2.5 to obtain the MDE at 80% power. The standard error estimate is $\frac{2 \cdot 0.953}{\sqrt{2 \cdot 653}} = 0.053$. Multiplying by 2.5 produces a MDE of 0.132 in our experiment. This is below our target, confirming we are sufficiently powered to assess *H3*.

Hypothesis 4a (IO Intervention)

H4a argues that IO rebuttals of government denials, applicabilty challenges, and validity challenges will increase respondent willingness to punish. In our prior study, the effect of IO rebuttals in the face of denials was 0.228. Since we do not have applicability and validity challenges in our prior study, we use the 0.228 value as our target MDE.

We test *H4a* by calculating the difference in respondent willingness to punish when they view each of the three mitigation strategies ("Denial", "Applicability Challenge", and "Validity Challenge") and respondent willingness to punish when they view these strategies in addition to a UN rebuttal message. This creates three distinct pairwise comparisons (e.g., "Denial" vs. "Denial + UN Rebuttal"). We group them for the purposes of this power analysis, using the most conservative estimate among the three.

Our sample includes 697 observations in the "denial" condition and 523 observations in the "denial + UN" condition. Equivalent sample sizes for "applicatory challenge" and 'applicatory challenge + UN" are 653 and 515, respectively. For "validity challenge" and "validity challenge + UN", we have 704 and 527 respondents. We use the smallest sample (523, "denial + UN") for a conservative power calculations.

Following Rule 5 from Rainey (2024), we multiply the standard error by 2.5 to obtain the MDE at 80% power. The standard error estimate is $\frac{2 \cdot 0.915}{\sqrt{2 \cdot 523}} = 0.056$. Multiplying by 2.5 produces a MDE of 0.140 in our experiment. This is well below our target, confirming we are sufficiently powered to assess *H4a*.

Hypothesis 4b (IO Legitimacy)

Finally, *H4b* expects that UN rebuttals will be less effective when respondents receive a negative legitimacy prime about the organization. We operationalize this hypothesis by comparing respondents' willingness to punish the alleged transgressor government in two experimental conditions: 1) when they receive a message from the UN regarding the alleged transgression, and 2) when they receive the same message in addition to a negative legitimacy prime. The prime is a statement following the UN message that reads: "In the past, the UN has been criticized for its bias, undermining confidence in its judgments."

In our prior study, we did not find a statistically significant effect of the negative legitimacy prime. As a rough target of a minimum detectable effect, we consider the case where the negative legitimacy prime reduces the effect of a UN rebuttal by half. The initial study found that a UN rebuttal message in the face of a government denial increases punitive attitudes by 0.228; we therefore consider a target MDE of 0.114.

We have 1,983 respondents total in the "UN rebuttal" condition (pooling across denials, applicability challenges, and validity challenges), and 654 respondents in the "UN rebutall + negative legitimacy prime" condition. Following Rule 5 from Rainey (2024), we multiply the standard error by 2.5 to obtain the MDE at 80% power. The standard error estimate is $\frac{2 \cdot 0.873}{\sqrt{2 \cdot 654}} = 0.0483$. Multiplying by 2.5 produces a MDE of 0.12 in our experiment. This is in line with but slightly higher than our target MDE of 0.114. We are underpowered to detect any smaller effect (e.g., reducing the UN message by less than 0.12).

Appendix A.4: Survey Ethics, Design, and Pre-registration

A.4.1: Ethical Standards

The authors affirm that the human subjects research in this article was reviewed and approved by the Human Subjects Committee at [Institution Redacted for Anonymity] (Protocols: 4-24-0088, 4-24-0748). The study adheres to the principles concerning research with human participants laid out in the American Political Science Association's Principles and Guidance on Human Subject Research (2020).

All respondents understood they were taking part in a research study. Across both populations, we used a consent process where respondents were informed of the purpose of the research project, assured of the anonymity of their responses, and advised of potential risks. Due to anonymity and the abstract nature of our experiments, we assessed that there were minimal risks to respondents from participating. Respondents were informed that they could stop the survey at any time. The survey did not involve deception or intervene in political processes.

Respondents in the first (US public) survey were compensated for their participation by Lucid Theorem. Lucid sources respondents from a mix of suppliers that provide a mix of incentives to recruit participants, including gift cards, reward points, and cash payments. Respondents in the second (diplomatic elite) survey were not offered compensation.

A.4.2: U.S. Public Survey Instrument & Pre-Registration

The Role of International Organizations in Shaping the Politics of Noncompliance

Pre-Analysis Plan

19 August 2024

Summary

This project examines the political fallout from international law violations. We focus on the political contestation that determines how a violation of international law is interpreted.

The survey experiment examines three rhetorical strategies that governments can use to diminish the political costs of international law violations:

- *Denial* strategies occur when a government denies its culpability for the alleged violation.
- *Norm Attack* strategies occur when a government justifies its behavior by contesting the underlying norm that has allegedly been violated.
- *Applicatory Challenge* strategies occur when a government argues that the circumstances of the alleged violation render the international law inapplicable.

We expect these strategies to reduce political backlash to norm violations by shaping respondent certainty and outrage over the transgression. We are also interested in whether international organizations (IOs) can play a role in countering state strategies. When violations occur, IOs are often active participants in the ensuing public relations battle. They may be able to increase certainty over the facts of the transgression, underscore the severity of the normative violation, or both. We expect the power of IO messaging is conditional on its legitimacy among the relevant audience.

Survey Instrument

We use a survey experiment to test how state strategy and IO counter-responses affect a transgressor government's reputation and the willingness of foreign audiences to punish the transgressor. The survey will be administered online in fall 2024 to a sample of approximately 3,000 US respondents.

The experiment consists of two vignettes, representing hypothetical violations of international laws. Respondents are presented with the first scenario, then view one or more rhetorical messages from political actors, and provide their opinion on the violating government. They then proceed to the second scenario, featuring a different government and violation, and again provide their opinion on the violating government. We randomly assign the order of issue areas, the transgressor government's rhetorical strategy, and the IO counter-response.

The two scenarios depict violations of international law related to military aggression and human rights abuse. The **aggression scenario** reads as follows. Randomly varied text is indicated in brackets:

> *Imagine it is five years in the future. A foreign country is involved in an escalating dispute with a neighboring country.*
>
> *The foreign country is [a democracy and has a vibrant free press / not a democracy and restricts the press]. It has a history of [following international law and peacefully resolving international disputes / violating international law and using military aggression to resolve international disputes].*
>
> *News outlets report that the foreign country's troops may have invaded the neighboring state. Hundreds of casualties are reported, including dozens of civilian deaths.*

Respondents are subsequently subjected to two primary sets of randomized treatments. The first is a rhetorical strategy from the foreign government. Respondents receive either a control response ("The foreign government declined to comment"), a denial strategy, a norm attack strategy, or an applicatory challenge.

> Denial: *The foreign government denies invading its neighbor, arguing the action was taken by separatists in the neighboring country.*
>
> Norm attack: *The foreign government acknowledges the attack but argues that traditional norms restricting the use of military force are obsolete and ill-suited to modern security threats.*
>
> Applicatory challenge: *The foreign government acknowledges the attack but argues that emergency actions are justified to defend itself against countries that harbor terrorists.*

In a second level of treatment, respondents are assigned to a United Nations (UN) treatment. Each respondent is assigned to a control condition (no additional information) or a UN statement. The possible UN statements are as follows:

> UN info treatment: *A United Nations expert body says that physical evidence and eyewitness testimony confirm that the foreign government invaded its neighbor.*
>
> UN norms treatment: *A United Nations expert body says that international laws prohibiting military aggression* are a pillar of world order and help prevent war and protect civilians.

UN applicability treatment: *A United Nations expert body says that the foreign country's actions are a flagrant violation of international law, and that the government's concerns about terrorism do not justify unilateral military aggression.*

UN statements are assigned to respondents to match to the rhetorical strategy used by the foreign government. The goal is to provide a relevant intervention from the UN that directly rebuts the government's claims.

- Respondents who view a foreign government denial are randomized between the UN control condition (no UN statement) and the UN info treatment.
- Respondents who view a foreign government norm attack are randomized between the UN control condition and the UN norms treatment.
- Respondents who view a foreign government applicatory challenge receive the UN control condition or the UN applicability treatment.
- Respondents who view a foreign government control (decline to comment) receive the UN control condition or a generalized version of the UN norms or UN info treatment.

Finally, a subset of respondents who view a statement from the UN are experimentally primed to consider bias in the UN. The rest are assigned to a control (no additional information) condition.

UN legitimacy prime: *In the past, the UN has been criticized for its bias, undermining confidence in its judgments.*

The corresponding text for the **human rights abuse scenario** is as follows:

Imagine it is five years in the future. A foreign country is experiencing a domestic crisis.

The foreign country is [a democracy and has a vibrant free press / not a democracy and restricts the press]. It has a history of [following international law and peacefully resolving international disputes / violating international law and using military aggression to resolve international disputes].

News outlets report that the foreign government has begun rounding up and imprisoning members of opposition groups. Hundreds of citizens have been arrested without charges and dozens of deaths are reported.

Government strategies:

Control: The foreign government declined to comment.

Denial: *The foreign government denies abducting and imprisoning citizens, arguing the accusations are unfounded and defamatory.*

Norm attack: *The foreign government acknowledges some detentions but argues that traditional norms about due process are obsolete and ill-suited to modern security threats.*

Applicatory challenge: *The foreign government acknowledges some detentions but argues that emergency actions are justified to combat the violent extremists who are terrorizing the country.*

UN response:

Control: no additional information.

UN info treatment: *A United Nations expert body says that physical evidence and eyewitness testimony confirm that the foreign government launched a coordinated crackdown of its citizens.*

UN norms treatment: *A United Nations expert body says that international laws prohibiting arbitrary detention are a pillar of world order and help protect civilians.*

UN applicatory treatment: *A United Nations expert body says that the foreign country's actions are a flagrant violation of international law, and that the government's concerns about violent extremism do not justify its campaign of arbitrary detention.*

The statements are matched as described above. Just as in the military aggression scenario, some respondents further receive a prime suggesting bias in the UN.

Dependent Variables

Respondents then proceed to the following outcome questionnaire.

1. Certainty: Based on what you just read, how certain are you that the foreign government launched a [military attack against its neighbor / campaign of detention and torture against its citizens]?

2. Moral Outrage: Given the circumstances in the scenario, would you say that a government [using military force against a neighboring country/initiating a domestic crackdown] is a good or a bad thing?

3. Please rate your agreement with the following statement: the foreign government in the scenario deserves to be punished for its behavior. (Strongly agree – Strongly disagree).

4. Punishment: Suppose the US government is considering how to respond to the situation described in the scenario. Please rate your level of support for each of the policy options described below (Strongly support to Strongly oppose):

   The US should…
   a. Issue a statement demanding the foreign country cease its actions
   b. Work to expel the foreign country from the UN Human Rights Council
   c. Join partner countries in imposing economic penalties on the country
   d. Transfer military weaponry to the neighboring country to help it defend itself (Aggression); Provide financial support to citizen groups that oppose the foreign government (Human Rights)

5. Reputation: Based on what you just read, please rate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following statements about the foreign government's reputation (Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree)
   a. Honesty - The foreign government is generally honest about its actions.
   b. Competence - The foreign government has the skills to achieve its foreign policy objectives.
   c. Future Comp - The foreign government is likely to violate international laws related to [military aggression/arbitrary detention] in the future.
   d. Belligerence – The foreign government has aggressive intentions and should be considered a security threat.
   e. Citizen Interests – The foreign government looks out for the best interests of its citizens.

6. Norm hierarchy: Below is a list of statements describing how governments should behave. Please rank them in order of importance.
   a. Governments should follow international law
   b. Governments should respect the territorial boundaries of other states
   c. Governments should use any means necessary to defend against external threats to their security (aggression)
   d. Governments should use any means necessary to maintain law and order (human rights)

Hypotheses

Our hypotheses focus on the role of government rhetoric and IO contestation in shaping political costs for the violating country.

First, we expect that government strategies shape audience attitudes through the mechanisms of certainty and outrage.

> *H1 (Certainty Mechanism):* Foreign government denials reduce respondent certainty that the government committed the violation, compared to the control condition.

H2 (Outrage Mechanism): Foreign government norm attacks and applicatory challenges decrease perceived outrage about the violation, compared to the control condition.

Next, we expect all three government strategies to reduce punitive attitudes among respondents. Although the strategies differ in their underlying logic, each is designed to minimize backlash in the wake of an alleged violation. Our primary measure of respondent "willingness to punish" is a composite measure of support for the four punitive policies listed in Question 4 above, which we will calculate using principal components analysis.

H3 (Punishment): Government denials, norm attacks, and applicatory challenges decrease respondent willingness to punish the transgressor government, compared to the control condition.

Finally, we hypothesize that UN messaging can influence respondent attitudes. In general, we expect UN condemnation to increase support for punishment among respondents.

H4a (IO Intervention): UN messaging will increase respondent willingness to punish in the denial, norm attack, and applicatory challenge conditions, compared to the same strategies without UN interventions.

We further expect that the UN's ability to shape public attitudes is conditioned upon its perceived legitimacy among respondents. We measure legitimacy in two ways: 1) a pre-treatment question asking respondents "How much confidence do you have in the United Nations" (4-pt scale of "No confidence at all" to "A great deal of confidence"), and 2) the legitimacy prime discussed above.

H4b (IO Legitimacy): UN messaging will have a larger effect when the IO is perceived as legitimate.

A.4.3: Diplomatic Elites Survey Instrument & Pre-Registration

The Role of International Organizations in Shaping the Politics of Noncompliance

Pre-Registration

17 October 2024

Summary

This project examines the political fallout from international law violations. We focus on the political contestation that determines how a violation of international law is interpreted.

The survey experiment examines three rhetorical strategies that governments can use to diminish the political costs of international law violations:

- *Denial* strategies occur when a government denies its culpability for the alleged violation.
- *Validity Challenge* strategies occur when a government justifies its behavior by contesting the underlying norm that has allegedly been violated.
- *Applicatory Challenge* strategies occur when a government argues that the circumstances of the alleged violation render the international law inapplicable.

We expect these strategies to reduce political backlash to norm violations by shaping respondent certainty and outrage over the transgression. We are also interested in whether international organizations (IOs) can play a role in countering government strategies.

Survey Experiment: Foreign Policy Elites

We use a survey experiment to test how state strategy and IO counter-responses affect a transgressor government's reputation and the willingness of foreign audiences to punish the transgressor.

The survey will be administered online to sample of approximately 400 government elites involved in foreign policy decisions. We recruit respondents using the social media platform LinkedIn. Our sampling frame is LinkedIn members whose public profiles list employment in the foreign affairs ministry, diplomatic corps, defense ministry, trade & development ministries, national security agency, or national legislature of the following countries: the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, India, Pakistan, South Africa, Nigeria, and the Philippines. We use LinkedIn's targeted advertising service to send a direct message (DM) to these individuals, asking them to participate in the survey.

Experimental Design

The experiment consists of two vignettes, representing hypothetical violations of international laws. Respondents are presented with the first scenario, then view one or more rhetorical messages from political actors, and provide their opinion on the violating government. They then proceed to the second scenario, featuring a different government and violation, and again provide their opinion on the violating government. We randomly assign the order of issue areas, the transgressor government's rhetorical strategy, and the IO counter-response.

The two scenarios depict violations of international law related to military aggression and human rights abuse. The **aggression scenario** reads as follows. Randomly varied text is indicated in brackets:

> *Imagine it is five years in the future. A foreign country is involved in an escalating dispute with a neighboring country.*
>
> *The foreign country is [a democracy and has a vibrant free press / not a democracy and restricts the press]. It has a history of [following international law and peacefully resolving international disputes / violating international law and using military aggression to resolve international disputes].*
>
> *News outlets report that the foreign country's troops may have invaded the neighboring state. Hundreds of casualties are reported, including dozens of civilian deaths.*

Respondents are subsequently subjected to two primary sets of randomized treatments. The first is a rhetorical strategy from the foreign government. Respondents receive either a control response ("The foreign government declined to comment"), a denial strategy, a norm attack strategy, or an applicatory challenge.

> Denial: *The foreign government denies invading its neighbor, arguing the action was taken by separatists in the neighboring country.*
>
> Validity challenge: *The foreign government acknowledges the attack but argues that traditional norms restricting the use of military force are obsolete and ill-suited to modern security threats.*
>
> Applicatory challenge: *The foreign government acknowledges the attack but argues that emergency actions are justified to defend itself against countries that harbor terrorists.*

In a second level of treatment, respondents are assigned to a United Nations (UN) treatment. Each respondent is assigned to a control condition (no additional information) or a UN statement. The possible UN statements are as follows:

> UN info treatment: *A United Nations expert body says that physical evidence and eyewitness testimony confirm that the foreign government invaded its neighbor.*

UN norms treatment: *A United Nations expert body says that international laws prohibiting military aggression* are a pillar of world order and help prevent war and protect civilians.

UN applicability treatment: *A United Nations expert body says that the foreign country's actions are a flagrant violation of international law, and that the government's concerns about terrorism do not justify unilateral military aggression.*

UN statements are assigned to respondents to match to the rhetorical strategy used by the foreign government. The goal is to provide a relevant intervention from the UN that directly rebuts the government's claims.

- Respondents who view a foreign government denial are randomized between the UN control condition (no UN statement) and the UN info treatment.
- Respondents who view a foreign government validity challenge are randomized between the UN control condition and the UN norms treatment.
- Respondents who view a foreign government applicatory challenge receive the UN control condition or the UN applicability treatment.
- Respondents who view a foreign government control (decline to comment) receive no UN statement.

The corresponding text for the **human rights abuse scenario** is as follows:

Imagine it is five years in the future. A foreign country is experiencing a domestic crisis.

The foreign country is [a democracy and has a vibrant free press / not a democracy and restricts the press]. It has a history of [following international law and peacefully resolving international disputes / violating international law and using military aggression to resolve international disputes].

News outlets report that the foreign government has begun rounding up and imprisoning members of opposition groups. Hundreds of citizens have been arrested without charges and dozens of deaths are reported.

Government strategies:

Control: The foreign government declined to comment.

Denial: *The foreign government denies abducting and imprisoning citizens, arguing the accusations are unfounded and defamatory.*

Validity Challenge: *The foreign government acknowledges some detentions but argues that traditional norms about due process are obsolete and ill-suited to modern security threats.*

Applicatory challenge: *The foreign government acknowledges some detentions but argues that emergency actions are justified to combat the violent extremists who are terrorizing the country.*

UN response:

Control: no additional information.

UN info treatment: *A United Nations expert body says that physical evidence and eyewitness testimony confirm that the foreign government launched a coordinated crackdown of its citizens.*

UN norms treatment: *A United Nations expert body says that international laws prohibiting arbitrary detention are a pillar of world order and help protect civilians.*

UN applicatory treatment: *A United Nations expert body says that the foreign country's actions are a flagrant violation of international law, and that the government's concerns about violent extremism do not justify its campaign of arbitrary detention.*

The statements are matched as described above.

Dependent Variables

Respondents then proceed to the following outcome questionnaire.

1. Certainty: Based on what you just read, how certain are you that the foreign government launched a [military attack against its neighbor / campaign of detention and torture against its citizens]?

2. Moral Outrage: Given the circumstances in the scenario, would you say that a government [using military force against a neighboring country/initiating a domestic crackdown] is a good or a bad thing?

3. Please rate your agreement with the following statement: the foreign government in the scenario deserves to be punished for its behavior. (Strongly agree – Strongly disagree).

4. Punishment: Suppose your own government is considering how to respond to the situation described in the scenario. Please rate your level of support for each of the policy options described below (5-point scale, Strongly support to Strongly oppose):

    a. Issue a statement demanding the foreign country cease its actions

b. Work to expel the foreign country from the UN Human Rights Council
c. Join partner countries in imposing economic penalties on the country
d. Transfer military weaponry to the neighboring country to help it defend itself (Aggression); Provide financial support to citizen groups that oppose the foreign government (Human Rights)

5. UN Investigation: To what extent would you support a formal investigation by the United Nations to clarify the facts and determine whether the foreign government violated international law? (5-point scale, Strongly support to Strongly oppose).

6. UNGA Resolution: Suppose the US government proposes a United Nations General Assembly resolution that condemns the foreign government. How would you advise your government to act on the resolution?
    a. Cosponsor and vote in favor of the resolution
    b. Vote in favor of the resolution
    c. Vote in favor of the resolution, as long as a majority of countries support it
    d. Vote in favor of the resolution, as long as my country's allies support it
    e. Abstain from the vote
    f. Vote against the resolution

7. Reputation: Based on what you just read, please rate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following statements about the foreign government's reputation (Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree)
    a. Honesty - The foreign government is generally honest about its actions.
    b. Competence - The foreign government has the skills to achieve its foreign policy objectives.
    c. Future Comp - The foreign government is likely to violate international laws related to [military aggression/arbitrary detention] in the future.
    d. Belligerence – The foreign government has aggressive intentions and should be considered a security threat.
    e. Citizen Interests – The foreign government looks out for the best interests of its citizens.

Hypotheses

Our hypotheses focus on the role of government rhetoric and IO contestation in shaping political costs for the violating country.

First, we expect that government strategies shape audience attitudes through the mechanisms of certainty and outrage.

> *H1 (Certainty Mechanism):* Foreign government denials reduce respondent certainty that the government committed the violation, compared to the control condition.

H2 (Outrage Mechanism): Foreign government validity and applicatory challenges decrease perceived outrage about the violation, compared to the control condition.

Next, we expect all three government strategies to reduce punitive attitudes among respondents. Although the strategies differ in their underlying logic, each is designed to minimize backlash in the wake of an alleged violation. Our primary measure of respondent "willingness to punish" is a composite measure of support for the four punitive policies listed in Question 4 above, which we will calculate using principal components analysis. We will also analyze responses to Questions 5 and 6 as supplementary measures of willingness to punish.

H3 (Punishment): Government denials, validity challenges, and applicatory challenges decrease respondent willingness to punish the transgressor government, compared to the control condition.

Additionally, we hypothesize that UN messaging can influence respondent attitudes. In general, we expect UN condemnation to increase support for punishment among respondents.

H4 (IO Intervention): UN messaging will increase respondent willingness to punish in the denial, validity challenge, and applicatory challenge conditions, compared to the same strategies without UN interventions.

Finally, we anticipate that government elites from Global South democracies (India, Pakistan, South Africa, Nigeria, and the Philippines) will differ systematically from Western democracies (US, Canada, UK, Australia) in their preferences for punishment. Global South elites will be less likely to punish international violations in general (*H5a*), and they will also be less responsive to foreign government messaging (*H5b*) and UN interventions (*H5c*).

H5a (Punishment Het FX): Respondents from Global South democracies will have significantly lower willingness to punish than respondents from Western democracies.

H5b (Mitigation Strategy Het FX): Respondents from Western democracies will exhibit stronger treatment effects from foreign government denials, validity challenges, and applicatory challenges than respondents from Global South Democracies.

H5c (UN Intervention Het FX): Respondents from Western democracies will exhibit stronger treatment effects from UN messaging than respondents from Global South Democracies.

A.4.4: Human Subjects Review Documents

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SANTA BARBARA
FWA#00006361

Office of Research
Human Subjects Committee
Santa Barbara, CA 93106-2050

Web: http://www.research.ucsb.edu

08/09/2024

VERIFICATION OF ACTION BY THE UCSB HUMAN SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

RE: HUMAN SUBJECTS PROJECT NUMBER 4

FROM: UCSB HUMAN SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

PROTOCOL NUMBER 4-24-0495

TYPE: MODIFICATION

TITLE(S):

Fighting Facts or Fighting Norms: Reputation Management and International Law Violations

INVESTIGATORS:

Julia Morse

The above identified modification may commence on 08/09/2024. Exempt protocols do not expire.

The research activities under this modification qualify as Exempt from the Federal Regulations at 45 CFR 46.104(d) under the following Categories: 3

Although your study qualifies as exempt research, investigators are expected to adhere to UCSB policies and conduct their research in accordance with the ethical principles of Justice, Beneficence, and Respect for Persons as described in the Belmont Report.

AMENDMENTS/MODIFICATIONS/CHANGES:
Any change in the design, conduct, or key personnel of this research must be reviewed by the UCSB HSC prior to implementation. This includes changes to the study procedures and/or documents (e.g., protocol, consent form, recruitment materials, addition of data points, addition or change of research sites) and changes to the research team. If you are unsure whether your changes constitute a protocol modification, contact the HSC for guidance. Changes may result in a reevaluation of eligibility of an Exempt Determination.

UNANTICIPATED PROBLEMS/ADVERSE EVENTS:
If any study subject experiences an unanticipated problem involving risk to subjects or others, and/or a serious adverse event, the UCSB HSC must be informed promptly. An e-mail or phone call must be received within 7 days. Further reporting requirements will be determined by the UCSB HSC at that time.

RECORDS RETENTION REQUIREMENTS:
Please remember that signed consent forms must be maintained for a minimum of three years after the end of the calendar year in which the research is completed. Additional requirements may be imposed by your funding agency, your department, or other entities.

If you have any questions about the above, please contact the Human Subjects Committee Coordinator at:
(805) 893-3807; (805) 893-2611 (fax); hsc@research.ucsb.edu

For more details on this protocol, go to the ORahs website: https://orahs.research.ucsb.edu

HUMAN SUBJECTS EXEMPTION

Project Number: 4 *Keycode:* POLS-MO-JU-035 *Protocol Number:* 4-24-0495

Investigator(s):

Name	Title	Email	Phone
Julia Morse		jcmorse@polsci.ucsb.edu	

Faculty Advisor:

Name	Title	Email	Phone

Project Type: Faculty-led

Proxy(s):

Name	Title	Email	Phone

Collaborations:

Name	Institution	IRB Approval Through Home Institution
Tyler Pratt	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	No

Titles: Fighting Facts or Fighting Norms: Reputation Management and International Law Violations

NIH: *Does your project have NIH funding?* -No

ORBiT Funding Source:

Admin Dept/ORU: POLS *Submission Type:* M-Modification

By clicking the "I agree" button on the electronic signature page in ORahs, I certify in my capacity as the role of the investigator or faculty advisor that this study will be conducted in the manner described in the protocol and that the research team will adhere to the ethical and scientific standard for conducting human subjects research. All researchers on this project will complete the HS training requirements before this research commences as well as any individuals who interact with human subjects or have access to their identifiable data. I understand that I am ultimately responsible for the safe conduct of this project and I will notify the Human Subjects Committee immediately in the following instances:

- A request for review and approval of all proposed modifications prior to implementation
- Report of any problems, adverse events, or unanticipated complications that may put subjects at increased risk of harm (e.g. mental or physical adverse events/reactions, breach of confidentiality)
- Report any other problems associated with the conduct of this research (e.g. non-compliance)

I agree to comply with all copyright and record retention requirements designated by University of California, UCSB Human Subjects Committee, Federal and State governments, and other organizations/institutions associated with this research, including funding organizations and sponsors.

STATUS

Approval Type:	X-Exemption		
All Training Complete Date:	5/31/2019	*Date Research Can Begin:*	8/09/2024
Approval Date:	8/09/2024	*Expiration Date:*	

Purpose of Study:

This project tests a theory of how governments facing international scandals manage public perceptions in order to mitigate reputational fallout. Reputation management is a core aspect of international relations - when governments violate international law, they often provide defenses for their behavior and seek to sway foreign opinion on whether

or not the violation was defensible. We theorize that reputation management strategies target two aspects of behavior -- certainty and offensiveness -- and thus governments may challenge norms, information, or both aspects of an allegation. We develop a typology of four reputation management strategies (apologies, attacks, concealment, repudiation) and explore how the existence of international organizations shapes the effectiveness of each strategy. We test the interaction between these strategies and counter-messaging from international organizations and NGOs, and examine how such dynamics affect the willingness of audiences to punish transgressor states as well as how respondents view the challenged norms.

Our hypotheses are as follows:

H1. Reputation management improves respondent attitudes toward the foreign government. Each reputation management strategy (Apology, Attack, Concealment, and Repudiation) will increase support for cooperation with, and decrease support for punishment of, the foreign government, compared to staying silent.

H2. Denial strategies (Concealment, Repudiation) reduce respondent certainty that the government committed the alleged behavior, compared to acknowledgement strategies (Apology, Attack).

H3. Norm challenge strategies (Attack, Repudiation) improve affective evaluation of the alleged behavior, compared to norm acceptance strategies (Apology, Concealment).

H4. The effect of denial strategies (Concealment, Repudiation) on respondent attitudes is lower in the presence of institutional information implicating the foreign government.

H5. The effect of norm challenge strategies (Attack, Repudiation) on respondent attitudes is lower in the presence of legally institutionalized norms.

H6. Norm challenge strategies (Attack, Repudiation) will decrease respondent perceptions about the strength (sociological, normative) of the norm, compared to norm acceptance strategies.

[Need to figure out an outcome measure for these]

H6b (int'l law/Norm robustness hypothesis): The effect of norm challenge strategies (Attack, Repudiation) on respondent perceptions about the strength of the norm is smaller in the presence of institutionalized norms.

H7. Denial strategies (Concealment, Repudiation) combined with institutional information alleging culpability will decrease respondent perceptions about the credibility of the IO, compared to acknowledgement strategies (Apology, Attack).

Procedures:

We plan on conducting a survey experiment. 8000 US respondents will be recruited using Lucid or YouGov. They will be asked whether they consent to participate in the study and assured that their data is anonymous. Each respondent will be given two hypothetical situations where a foreign government violates one of four possible areas of international law: territorial aggression (invasion), cyberwarfare, torture, and anti-discrimination. The experiment will randomly assign a government's defense and will then ask a series of follow up questions to ascertain the respondent's views of the fictional foreign government. See attachment for additional details.

Update: We plan to launch the survey experiment in two additional countries: India and Germany. Each respondent will be randomly assigned to an issue area (territorial invasion or human right), and then will be randomly assigned a government's defense and an IO response. We will then ask a series of follow up questions to ascertain the respondent's views of the fictional government.

Update: We plan to use the LinkedIn platform to send targeted messages to individuals who work for (or previously worked for) the foreign ministries in the following countries: the United States, the United Kingdom, and the other countries of the Commonwealth (Botswana, Cameroon, Gabon, the Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Eswanti, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Togo, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalem, India, Malaysia, Maldives, Pakistan, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Canada, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Cyprus, Malta, Australia, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu). Individuals will be invited to take part in a 10-minute survey on international affairs and will be informed that if they participate, they will be entered into a drawing to earn a $250 amazon gift card. If individuals click on the survey link, they will be directed to qualtrics where they will see the full IRB consent form and have the ability to take the survey (see attached materials).

The text for the LinkedIn message is as follows:

Hello! We are fielding a short survey experiment exclusively targeting experts with experience in international affairs. Click to take the survey here.We are hoping to learn about how experts like yourself would respond to a few hypothetical scenarios about international relations. The survey is completely anonymous and administered through Qualtrics. It will only take 5 minutes to complete. As a reward for your participation, the end of the survey includes a link to a separate google form where you can enter your email address and be entered into a chance to win a $250 Amazon gift card. We anticipate that around 1000 people will complete the survey and will award two Amazon gift cards, so your odds of winning are approximately 1 in 500. Thank you in advance for your time and assistance.

July 2024 Update: We plan to run a new survey experiment, recruiting 2000 additional respondents via the Lucid platform. This experiment will re-test some of the old interventions and will include several new interventions (different wordings) but all designed to address the same research questions.

Consent Process:

All individuals will receive this before starting the survey: (This same consent form will appear when individuals click on the link and go to the qualtrics survey.)

We are asking you to take part in a research study examining individuals' opinions about the foreign policy choices of political leaders. The purpose of the study is to understand how citizens assess their government's foreign policy behavior.

The study will take approximately 5-10 minutes to complete. If you agree to take part, you will be asked to answer some questions about yourself and your preferences. There are no known or anticipated risks to you for participating, and you will not have to pay for taking part. All of your responses will be anonymous. The researcher will not know your name, and no identifying information will be connected to your survey answers in any way. When we publish the results of the research or talk about it in conferences, we will not use your name.

Taking part in this study is your choice. You can choose to take part, or you can choose not to take part in this study. You also can change your mind at any time.

Please feel free to ask about anything you don't understand. If you have questions later or if you have a research-related problem, you can call the Principal Investigator at 703-282-2947. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or you have complaints about this research, you call the UCSB Institutional Review Boards at 805-893-3807 or email hsc@research.ucsb.edu .

If you would like to participate, simply click the 'I agree to participate' box below, then click the ">>" button to start the survey."

Research Sites:

Lucid/CINT: Online platform (https://www.cint.com/academic-research)

Update: To launch the surveys in India and Germany, we will be using qualtrics.

Survey supported via qualtrics, recruitment via LinkedIn

Subject Population: How will you locate & recruit/contact them? Where will you get your contact information?

We plan to use Lucid/Cint to recruit our sample population. Cint has a long history of conducting IRB-certified academic research (https://www.cint.com/academic-research). They will recruit respondents through their online platform.

Qualtrics will recruit respondents based on demographic quotas. Qualtrics has a long history of conducting IRB_certified academic research.

LinkedIn allows you to pay to send targeted messages to people who fit specific criteria. We will target individuals who have worked or currently work as diplomats or foreign affairs officers at the foreign ministries of the countries described above. We will exclude individuals who currently reside in the European Union (there are no EU member countries that are part of the Commonwealth).

Will information that is not publicly available be used to contact your subjects? -No

Incentive:

Will incentives be used? -Yes

Include amount & type of payment, time spent by subject in the research, how payment will be pro-rated if subject withdraws & non-research alternatives to class credit.

CINT pays respondents a pre-negotiated rate for a 10-15 minute survey. As long as respondents consent to the survey, they will receive payment even if they drop out at some point. We pay CINT $1.50 per respondent.

We will pay Qualtrics about $4 dollars per respondent. Some of this money will go to respondents in exchange for completing the survey, and the rest goes directly to Qualtrics to cover the costs of recruitment.

January 2024 Update: For the elite survey, respondents are not directly compensated but if they enter their email address at the end of the survey, they are entered into a drawing to win one of two $250 Amazon gift cards.

July 2024 Update: Respondents will be paid between 1-2 dollars for a 10-15 minute survey (payment via the CINT website). As long as respondents consent to the survey and pass the first attention check, they will receive payment even if they drop out at some point.

Age range of subject population: youngest: 18, *oldest:* 99

Approximate number of subjects:

11000

Describe existing data if used:

Describe public space if used:

CONFLICT OF INTEREST- Disclosable financial interests are:

1) No- *Ownership interest, stock, stock options, or other financial interest related to the research, unless it meets all four criteria:*

- *Less than $5,000 when aggregated for the immediate family and*
- *Publicly traded on a stock exchange and*
- *Value will not be affected by the outcome of the research and*
- *Less than 5% interest in any one single entity.*

2) No- *Compensation related to the research, including salary, consultant payments, honoraria, royalty payments, dividends, gifts, loans, or any other payments or consideration with value, unless it meets both of the following criteria:*

- *Less than $5,000 in the past year when aggregated for the immediate family and the*
- *Amount will not be affected by the outcome of the research.*

3) No- *Proprietary interest related to the research including, but not limited to, a patent, trademark, copyright or licensing agreement.*

4) No- *Board or executive relationship (e.g., director, officer, partner, or trustee) related to the research, regardless of compensation.*

List the Name(s) of Study Team Members who have Disclosable Financial Interests
(Including Lead Researcher, Co-Researchers, Research Personnel and, if applicable, Faculty Sponsor)

First Name	Last Name	Email	Phone

ELIGIBILITY FOR EXEMPTION Question	Answer
Does this project involve research?	Yes
Are Human subjects involved?	Yes
Does this research involve prisoners as the target population?	-
Does this research involve **more** than minimal risk?	-
Exemption Category 1: Educational Research	
1. Will the research be conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings that specifically involve normal educational practices?	No
2. Is the research likely to adversely impact the student's opportunity to learn required educational content?	-
3. Is the research likely to adversely impact the assessment of educators who provide instruction?	-
Exemption Category 2: Educational Tests, Surveys, Interviews, Observation	
1. Does the proposed research include interactions involving educational tests, survey and/or interview procedures, or observation of public behavior?	No
2. Does this research involve children or minors aged 17 years or younger?	-
3. Which of the following applies to the proposed research activity involving minors?	
-The research only involves observation of public behavior when the investigator(s) do not participate in the activities being observed.	-
-The research only involves educational tests, including cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, and/or achievement tests.	-
-None of the above	-
4. Is the information obtained or recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects **can** readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subject?	-
5. Would **disclosure** of the human subjects' responses outside the research reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, educational advancement, or reputation?	-
Exemption Category 3: Research Involving Benign Behavioral Interventions With Adult Subjects	
1. Does the research involve benign behavioral interventions with **adult subjects** (aged 18 or older)?	-
2. Does your research involve **any** physical (bodily) tasks or manipulations?	-
3. Does the research involve a **prospective agreement** to participate in the research by the subject?	-
4. Is the information obtained or recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects **can** readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subject?	-
5. Would **disclosure** of the human subjects' responses outside the research reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, educational advancement, or reputation?	-
6. Does this research involve children or minors aged 17 years or younger?	-
7. Does the research involve deception or incomplete disclosure?	-

8. Will the investigator disclose to participants that they may be unaware of, or misled regarding the true nature or purpose of the research **prior to** commencing the research?	-
Exemption Category 4: Secondary Research For Which Consent Is Not Required	
1. Does this research involve secondary research uses of **identifiable** private information or **identifiable** biospecimens?	-
2. Which of the following applies to the proposed research activity involving secondary use of identifiable information and/or biospecimens?	
-The identifiable private information and/or identifiable biospecimens are publically available.	-
-The information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that: -The identity of the subjects cannot be readily ascertained directly or indirectly through identifiers, -The investigator does not contact the subjects, and -The investigator will not attempt to re-identify the subjects.	-
-The research only involves information collection and analysis involving the investigator's use of identifiable health information regulated under HIPAA as "healthcare operations," "research," or "public health."	-
-The research is conducted by or on behalf of a federal department or agency, using data collected or generated by the government for non-research purposes, and the information is subject to federal privacy standards and requirements.	-
-None of the above	-
Exemption Category 5: Research and Demonstration Projects	
1. Does this research involve research and/or demonstration projects conducted or supported by a **Federal** department or agency AND is designed to study, evaluate, improve otherwise examine public benefit or service programs?	-
Exemption Category 6: Taste and Food Quality Evaluation	
1. Does this research involve consuming wholesome foods and consumer acceptance studies?	-

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Office of Research
Human Subjects Committee
Santa Barbara, CA 93106-2050

Web: http://www.research.ucsb.edu

11/22/2024

VERIFICATION OF ACTION BY THE UCSB HUMAN SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

RE: HUMAN SUBJECTS PROJECT NUMBER 4

FROM: UCSB HUMAN SUBJECTS COMMITTEE

PROTOCOL NUMBER 4-24-0748

TYPE: MODIFICATION

TITLE(S):

Fighting Facts or Fighting Norms: Reputation Management and International Law Violations

INVESTIGATORS:

Julia Morse

The above identified modification may commence on 11/22/2024. Exempt protocols do not expire.

The research activities under this modification qualify as Exempt from the Federal Regulations at 45 CFR 46.104(d) under the following Categories: 3

Although your study qualifies as exempt research, investigators are expected to adhere to UCSB policies and conduct their research in accordance with the ethical principles of Justice, Beneficence, and Respect for Persons as described in the Belmont Report.

AMENDMENTS/MODIFICATIONS/CHANGES:
Any change in the design, conduct, or key personnel of this research must be reviewed by the UCSB HSC prior to implementation. This includes changes to the study procedures and/or documents (e.g., protocol, consent form, recruitment materials, addition of data points, addition or change of research sites) and changes to the research team. If you are unsure whether your changes constitute a protocol modification, contact the HSC for guidance. Changes may result in a reevaluation of eligibility of an Exempt Determination.

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RECORDS RETENTION REQUIREMENTS:
Please remember that signed consent forms must be maintained for a minimum of three years after the end of the calendar year in which the research is completed. Additional requirements may be imposed by your funding agency, your department, or other entities.

If you have any questions about the above, please contact the Human Subjects Committee Coordinator at:
(805) 893-3807; (805) 893-2611 (fax); hsc@research.ucsb.edu

For more details on this protocol, go to the ORahs website: https://orahs.research.ucsb.edu

HUMAN SUBJECTS EXEMPTION

Project Number: 4 *Keycode:* POLS-MO-JU-035 *Protocol Number:* 4-24-0748

Investigator(s):

Name	Title	Email	Phone
Julia Morse		jcmorse@polsci.ucsb.edu	

Faculty Advisor:

Name	Title	Email	Phone

Project Type: Faculty-led

Proxy(s):

Name	Title	Email	Phone

Collaborations:

Name	Institution	IRB Approval Through Home Institution
Tyler Pratt	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	No

Titles: Fighting Facts or Fighting Norms: Reputation Management and International Law Violations

NIH: *Does your project have NIH funding?* -No

ORBiT Funding Source:

Admin Dept/ORU: POLS *Submission Type:* M-Modification

By clicking the "I agree" button on the electronic signature page in ORahs, I certify in my capacity as the role of the investigator or faculty advisor that this study will be conducted in the manner described in the protocol and that the research team will adhere to the ethical and scientific standard for conducting human subjects research. All researchers on this project will complete the HS training requirements before this research commences as well as any individuals who interact with human subjects or have access to their identifiable data. I understand that I am ultimately responsible for the safe conduct of this project and I will notify the Human Subjects Committee immediately in the following instances:

- A request for review and approval of all proposed modifications prior to implementation
- Report of any problems, adverse events, or unanticipated complications that may put subjects at increased risk of harm (e.g. mental or physical adverse events/reactions, breach of confidentiality)
- Report any other problems associated with the conduct of this research (e.g. non-compliance)

I agree to comply with all copyright and record retention requirements designated by University of California, UCSB Human Subjects Committee, Federal and State governments, and other organizations/institutions associated with this research, including funding organizations and sponsors.

STATUS

Approval Type:	X-Exemption		
All Training Complete Date:	5/31/2019	*Date Research Can Begin:*	11/22/2024
Approval Date:	11/22/2024	*Expiration Date:*	

Purpose of Study:

This project tests a theory of how governments facing international scandals manage public perceptions in order to mitigate reputational fallout. Reputation management is a core aspect of international relations - when governments violate international law, they often provide defenses for their behavior and seek to sway foreign opinion on whether

or not the violation was defensible. We theorize that reputation management strategies target two aspects of behavior -- certainty and offensiveness -- and thus governments may challenge norms, information, or both aspects of an allegation. We develop a typology of four reputation management strategies (apologies, attacks, concealment, repudiation) and explore how the existence of international organizations shapes the effectiveness of each strategy. We test the interaction between these strategies and counter-messaging from international organizations and NGOs, and examine how such dynamics affect the willingness of audiences to punish transgressor states as well as how respondents view the challenged norms.

Our hypotheses are as follows:

H1. Reputation management improves respondent attitudes toward the foreign government. Each reputation management strategy (Apology, Attack, Concealment, and Repudiation) will increase support for cooperation with, and decrease support for punishment of, the foreign government, compared to staying silent.

H2. Denial strategies (Concealment, Repudiation) reduce respondent certainty that the government committed the alleged behavior, compared to acknowledgement strategies (Apology, Attack).

H3. Norm challenge strategies (Attack, Repudiation) improve affective evaluation of the alleged behavior, compared to norm acceptance strategies (Apology, Concealment).

H4. The effect of denial strategies (Concealment, Repudiation) on respondent attitudes is lower in the presence of institutional information implicating the foreign government.

H5. The effect of norm challenge strategies (Attack, Repudiation) on respondent attitudes is lower in the presence of legally institutionalized norms.

H6. Norm challenge strategies (Attack, Repudiation) will decrease respondent perceptions about the strength (sociological, normative) of the norm, compared to norm acceptance strategies.

[Need to figure out an outcome measure for these]

H6b (int'l law/Norm robustness hypothesis): The effect of norm challenge strategies (Attack, Repudiation) on respondent perceptions about the strength of the norm is smaller in the presence of institutionalized norms.

H7. Denial strategies (Concealment, Repudiation) combined with institutional information alleging culpability will decrease respondent perceptions about the credibility of the IO, compared to acknowledgement strategies (Apology, Attack).

November 2024 Update: In addition to our hypotheses about how people will respond to the survey treatments, we also have developed hypotheses about how people will respond to the different messages. These are included below:

Hypothesis 1 (Gender) - Because the gender of the sender is available in the photograph on LinkedIn, gender is likely to affect outcomes related to clicks, conversations, and completed surveys. We do not have any expectations about a relationship between gender and the length of time spent on a survey.

· Hypothesis 1a (Gender, click) - Recipients will be more likely to open a message from a male researcher than from a female researcher.

· Hypothesis 1b (Gender, conversion) - Recipients will be more likely to visit the survey if the message is sent from a male researcher than from a female researcher.

· Hypothesis 1c (Gender, completion) – Recipients will be more likely to complete the survey if the message is sent from a male researcher than from a female researcher.

Hypothesis 2 (Message subject) – The message subject line is likely to affect whether an individual opts to open a message or not. We have previously tested the message subject line "Academic Study on International Law and Foreign Policy" in messages sent during October 2024. We expect that the message subject line should affect clicks and conversions primarily.

· Hypothesis 2a (Call to action, click) – Recipients will be more likely to open the new messages with the call to action ("Foreign policy experts needed!" or "Shape academic research!" compared to the previous message ("Academic Study on International Law and Foreign Policy").

· Hypothesis 2b (Expertise, click) – Recipients will be more likely to open messages titled "Foreign policy experts needed!" than messages with the subject line "Shape academic research!".

· Hypothesis 2c (Message subject, conversion) – Given that recipients open a message, there will be no significant differences in terms of whether they visit the website across the three treatment conditions.

Hypothesis 3 (Message text) - Message quality should not affect whether individuals open a message (since they can't see it until they open it) but it should affect whether they visit the survey page and complete the survey. We expect that appeals to expertise and offers to provide findings will be more effective at soliciting responses than the control condition.

· Hypothesis 3a (Findings & Experts, conversion): Recipients will be more likely to visit the survey page if they receive the findings treatment or the expert treatment (compared to the control condition).

· Hypothesis 3b (Findings vs. others, conversion): Recipients will be most likely to visit the survey message if they receive the expert treatment (compared to the control and the findings treatment).

· Hypothesis 3c (Experts, completion) – Recipients will be more likely to complete the survey if they receive the expert treatment (compared to the findings and the control conditions).

Procedures:

We plan on conducting a survey experiment. 8000 US respondents will be recruited using Lucid or YouGov. They will be asked whether they consent to participate in the study and assured that their data is anonymous. Each respondent

will be given two hypothetical situations where a foreign government violates one of four possible areas of international law: territorial aggression (invasion), cyberwarfare, torture, and anti-discrimination. The experiment will randomly assign a government's defense and will then ask a series of follow up questions to ascertain the respondent's views of the fictional foreign government. See attachment for additional details.

Update: We plan to launch the survey experiment in two additional countries: India and Germany. Each respondent will be randomly assigned to an issue area (territorial invasion or human right), and then will be randomly assigned a government's defense and an IO response. We will then ask a series of follow up questions to ascertain the respondent's views of the fictional government.

Update: We plan to use the LinkedIn platform to send targeted messages to individuals who work for (or previously worked for) the foreign ministries in the following countries: the United States, the United Kingdom, and the other countries of the Commonwealth (Botswana, Cameroon, Gabon, the Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Eswanti, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Togo, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia, Bangladesh, Brunei Darussalem, India, Malaysia, Maldives, Pakistan, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Canada, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Cyprus, Malta, Australia, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, and Vanuatu). Individuals will be invited to take part in a 10-minute survey on international affairs and will be informed that if they participate, they will be entered into a drawing to earn a $250 amazon gift card. If individuals click on the survey link, they will be directed to qualtrics where they will see the full IRB consent form and have the ability to take the survey (see attached materials).

The text for the LinkedIn message is as follows:

Hello! We are fielding a short survey experiment exclusively targeting experts with experience in international affairs. Click to take the survey here.We are hoping to learn about how experts like yourself would respond to a few hypothetical scenarios about international relations. The survey is completely anonymous and administered through Qualtrics. It will only take 5 minutes to complete. As a reward for your participation, the end of the survey includes a link to a separate google form where you can enter your email address and be entered into a chance to win a $250 Amazon gift card. We anticipate that around 1000 people will complete the survey and will award two Amazon gift cards, so your odds of winning are approximately 1 in 500. Thank you in advance for your time and assistance.

July 2024 Update: We plan to run a new survey experiment, recruiting 2000 additional respondents via the Lucid platform. This experiment will re-test some of the old interventions and will include several new interventions (different wordings) but all designed to address the same research questions.

November 2024 Update: We plan to re-run the LinkedIn survey experiment, targeting approximately 400 foreign policy elites. We plan to use the LinkedIn platform to send targeted messages to individuals who work for (or previously worked for) the foreign ministries. Specifically, our criteria for ad targeting is people who have worked in any of these places:

Australian Embassy, Germany, Embassy of India in Riyadh, Embassy of India, Berlin, South African Embassy in the Kingdomof Saudi Arabia, UK Mission to the United Nations, UK in Lithuania - British Embassy Vilnius, Embassy of Canada to Portugal | Ambassade du Canada au Portugal, Australian Embassy in the Netherlands, Border Security Force Ministry of Home Affairs India, U.S. Embassy in Australia, Australian Embassy to Belgium, Luxembourg, Mission to the EU and NATO, Pakistan Permanent Mission to United Nations, New York, Embassy of Australia, United States of America, Embassy of Canada to Spain | Ambassade du Canada en Espagne , Embassy of Canada to Colombia | Ambassade du Canada en Colombie | Embajada de Canadá en Colombia, United States Embassy Ottawa and Consulates in Canada, Permanent Mission of Nigeria to the United Nations, New York, Australian Embassy Ireland, Ministry of External Affairs, India, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Pakistan, Embassy of the United States, Seoul, Embassy of Canada | Ambassade du Canada, Global Affairs Canada | Affaires mondiales Canada, Embassy of Pakistan, Commercial Section, Permanent Mission of Pakistan to the WTO, Ministry of Defence of India, U.S. Embassy India , Parliament of India, U.S. Embassy Islamabad, Pakistan, Indian Foreign Service, Embassy of India, the dti (Department of Trade and Industry: Republic of South Africa), New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade, Embassy of Canada to Germany | Ambassade du Canada en Allemagne, Embassy of Canada in Washington | Ambassade du Canada à Washington, Embassy of India, The Hague, British Embassy Chile, Embassy of the United States of America, London, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan, DRDO, Ministry of Defence, Govt. of India, U.S. Department of State, U.S. Embassy South Africa, South African Embassy, British Embassy Türkiye, Canadian Embassy in Colombia, UK Mission to the

European Union, Embassy of Pakistan, Athens-Greece, USAID, Embassy of the Philippines in Singapore, Australian Embassy Lima, British Embassy Lisbon, India in Philippines (Embassy of India, Manila), British Embassy Paris, U.S. Mission to the United Nations, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, British Embassy UAE, Embassy of Pakistan Copenhagen, British Embassy Mexico City, Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office, Embassy of Canada in Mexico | Ambassade du Canada au Mexique, Department of International Relations and Cooperation, Nigerian Embassy Greece, South African Embassy in France, Parliament Of India, Embassy of India, Helsinki, British Embassy Washington, Australian Embassy, Indonesia, Embassy of India, Abu Dhabi, UAE, Mission of Canada to ASEAN | La mission du Canada auprès de l'ANASE, Permanent Mission of Pakistan to the United Nations, U.S. Embassy in the Philippines, Nigeria Embassy Manila, UK in Indonesia - British Embassy Jakarta, Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Foreign Service Institute - Philippines, British Embassy Madrid, Department for International Development (DFID), Embassy of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Brussels, Embassy of Pakistan Rome, South African Department of Defence, Embassy of Canada in France | Ambassade du Canada en France, US Mission To United Nations, Department of National Defense - Philippines, Embassy of Pakistan, Washington D.C, ?????????? ????????? / Australian Embassy, Australian Embassy Manila, Embassy of the Republic of South Africa in Indonesia, Embassy of Pakistan Riyadh, KSA, Embassy of Pakistan to Sweden and Finland, British Embassy Manila, UK Mission Geneva, Australian Embassy Amman, Embassy of Canada to Saudi Arabia | Ambassade du Canada en Arabie saoudite, UK in Costa Rica - British Embassy in San José, South African Embassy, The Hague, Netherlands, Embassy of the Philippines, Moscow, South African Embassy, Manila, Embassy of the Philippines, Cairo, Australian Embassy Harare

We are testing different messages and senders. Messages can come from Julia Morse or Tyler Pratt. We also have two different message texts "Foreign Policy Experts Needed!" and "Shape Research on Foreign Policy". We are also testing different message texts (see below):

Hello! We are fielding a short survey [expert statement, added 1/3 of the time: exclusively targeting foreign policy experts]

as part of an academic research study

Click to take the survey here. [Findings statement, added 1/3 of time: At the end of the survey, you will have an opportunity to opt in to receive the results of our research.]

Thank you in advance for your time. If you have questions, you can reach out to the research team directly:

Julia Morse (University of California, Santa Barbara) - jcmorse@ucsb.edu

Tyler Pratt (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) - tbpratt@unc.edu

Consent Process:

All individuals will receive this before starting the survey: (This same consent form will appear when individuals click on the link and go to the qualtrics survey.)

We are asking you to take part in a research study examining individuals' opinions about the foreign policy choices of political leaders. The purpose of the study is to understand how citizens assess their government's foreign policy behavior.

The study will take approximately 5-10 minutes to complete. If you agree to take part, you will be asked to answer some questions about yourself and your preferences. There are no known or anticipated risks to you for participating, and you will not have to pay for taking part. All of your responses will be anonymous. The researcher will not know your name, and no identifying information will be connected to your survey answers in any way. When we publish the results of the research or talk about it in conferences, we will not use your name.

Taking part in this study is your choice. You can choose to take part, or you can choose not to take part in this study. You also can change your mind at any time.

Please feel free to ask about anything you don't understand. If you have questions later or if you have a research-related problem, you can call the Principal Investigator at 703-282-2947. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or you have complaints about this research, you call the UCSB Institutional Review Boards at 805-893-3807 or email hsc@research.ucsb.edu .

If you would like to participate, simply click the 'I agree to participate' box below, then click the ">>" button to start the survey."

Research Sites:

Lucid/CINT: Online platform (https://www.cint.com/academic-research)

Update: To launch the surveys in India and Germany, we will be using qualtrics.

Survey supported via qualtrics, recruitment via LinkedIn

Nov Update: The elite survey will be distributed via Qualtrics. If people open the message and click on the survey link, they will be directed to the qualtrics consent page.

Subject Population: How will you locate & recruit/contact them? Where will you get your contact information?

We plan to use Lucid/Cint to recruit our sample population. Cint has a long history of conducting IRB-certified academic research (https://www.cint.com/academic-research). They will recruit respondents through their online platform.

Qualtrics will recruit respondents based on demographic quotas. Qualtrics has a long history of conducting IRB_certified academic research.

LinkedIn allows you to pay to send targeted messages to people who fit specific criteria. We will target individuals who have worked or currently work as diplomats or foreign affairs officers at the foreign ministries of the countries described above. We will exclude individuals who currently reside in the European Union (there are no EU member countries that are part of the Commonwealth).

Will information that is not publicly available be used to contact your subjects? -No

Incentive:

Will incentives be used? -Yes

Include amount & type of payment, time spent by subject in the research, how payment will be pro-rated if subject withdraws & non-research alternatives to class credit.

CINT pays respondents a pre-negotiated rate for a 10-15 minute survey. As long as respondents consent to the survey, they will receive payment even if they drop out at some point. We pay CINT $1.50 per respondent.

We will pay Qualtrics about $4 dollars per respondent. Some of this money will go to respondents in exchange for completing the survey, and the rest goes directly to Qualtrics to cover the costs of recruitment.

January 2024 Update: For the elite survey, respondents are not directly compensated but if they enter their email address at the end of the survey, they are entered into a drawing to win one of two $250 Amazon gift cards.

July 2024 Update: Respondents will be paid between 1-2 dollars for a 10-15 minute survey (payment via the CINT website). As long as respondents consent to the survey and pass the first attention check, they will receive payment even if they drop out at some point.

November 2024 Update: We do not pay people for their time, however, all respondents can enter their email address at the end of the survey and opt in to receive the results of our findings. (This is done through an anonymous google form that is de-linked from their responses).

Age range of subject population: youngest: 18, *oldest:* 99

Approximate number of subjects:

11000

Describe existing data if used:

Describe public space if used:

CONFLICT OF INTEREST- Disclosable financial interests are:

1) No- *Ownership interest, stock, stock options, or other financial interest related to the research, unless it meets all four criteria:*

- *Less than $5,000 when aggregated for the immediate family and*
- *Publicly traded on a stock exchange and*
- *Value will not be affected by the outcome of the research and*
- *Less than 5% interest in any one single entity.*

2) No- *Compensation related to the research, including salary, consultant payments, honoraria, royalty payments, dividends, gifts, loans, or any other payments or consideration with value, unless it meets both of the following criteria:*

- *Less than $5,000 in the past year when aggregated for the immediate family and the*
- *Amount will not be affected by the outcome of the research.*

3) No- *Proprietary interest related to the research including, but not limited to, a patent, trademark, copyright or licensing agreement.*

4) No- *Board or executive relationship (e.g., director, officer, partner, or trustee) related to the research, regardless of compensation.*

List the Name(s) of Study Team Members who have Disclosable Financial Interests
(Including Lead Researcher, Co-Researchers, Research Personnel and, if applicable, Faculty Sponsor)

First Name	Last Name	Email	Phone

ELIGIBILITY FOR EXEMPTION Question	Answer
Does this project involve research?	Yes
Are Human subjects involved?	Yes
Does this research involve prisoners as the target population?	-
Does this research involve **more** than minimal risk?	-
Exemption Category 1: Educational Research	
1. Will the research be conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings that specifically involve normal educational practices?	No
2. Is the research likely to adversely impact the student's opportunity to learn required educational content?	-
3. Is the research likely to adversely impact the assessment of educators who provide instruction?	-
Exemption Category 2: Educational Tests, Surveys, Interviews, Observation	
1. Does the proposed research include interactions involving educational tests, survey and/or interview procedures, or observation of public behavior?	No
2. Does this research involve children or minors aged 17 years or younger?	-
3. Which of the following applies to the proposed research activity involving minors?	
-The research only involves observation of public behavior when the investigator(s) do not participate in the activities being observed.	-
-The research only involves educational tests, including cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, and/or achievement tests.	-
-None of the above	-
4. Is the information obtained or recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects **can** readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subject?	-
5. Would **disclosure** of the human subjects' responses outside the research reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, educational advancement, or reputation?	-
Exemption Category 3: Research Involving Benign Behavioral Interventions With Adult Subjects	
1. Does the research involve benign behavioral interventions with **adult subjects** (aged 18 or older)?	-
2. Does your research involve **any** physical (bodily) tasks or manipulations?	-
3. Does the research involve a **prospective agreement** to participate in the research by the subject?	-
4. Is the information obtained or recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects **can** readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subject?	-
5. Would **disclosure** of the human subjects' responses outside the research reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, educational advancement, or reputation?	-
6. Does this research involve children or minors aged 17 years or younger?	-
7. Does the research involve deception or incomplete disclosure?	-

8. Will the investigator disclose to participants that they may be unaware of, or misled regarding the true nature or purpose of the research **prior to** commencing the research?	-
Exemption Category 4: Secondary Research For Which Consent Is Not Required	
1. Does this research involve secondary research uses of **identifiable** private information or **identifiable** biospecimens?	-
2. Which of the following applies to the proposed research activity involving secondary use of identifiable information and/or biospecimens?	
-The identifiable private information and/or identifiable biospecimens are publically available.	-
-The information is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that: -The identity of the subjects cannot be readily ascertained directly or indirectly through identifiers, -The investigator does not contact the subjects, and -The investigator will not attempt to re-identify the subjects.	-
-The research only involves information collection and analysis involving the investigator's use of identifiable health information regulated under HIPAA as "healthcare operations," "research," or "public health."	-
-The research is conducted by or on behalf of a federal department or agency, using data collected or generated by the government for non-research purposes, and the information is subject to federal privacy standards and requirements.	-
-None of the above	-
Exemption Category 5: Research and Demonstration Projects	
1. Does this research involve research and/or demonstration projects conducted or supported by a **Federal** department or agency AND is designed to study, evaluate, improve otherwise examine public benefit or service programs?	-
Exemption Category 6: Taste and Food Quality Evaluation	
1. Does this research involve consuming wholesome foods and consumer acceptance studies?	-

THE UNIVERSITY of NORTH CAROLINA at CHAPEL HILL

OFFICE OF HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS
104 Airport Drive
Suite 2100
CB #7097
Chapel Hill, NC 27599-7097
(919) 966-3113
Web site: ohre.unc.edu
Federalwide Assurance (FWA) #4801

To: Tyler Pratt
Political Science

From: Office of Human Research Ethics

Date: 9/26/2024
RE: Notice of IRB Exemption
Exemption Category: 2.Survey, interview, public observation,3. Benign Behavioral intervention
Study #: 24-2383

Study Title: Accountability and Evasion in International Law

This submission, Reference ID 447358, has been reviewed by the Office of Human Research Ethics and was determined to be exempt from further review according to the regulatory category cited above under 45 CFR 46.104.

Study Description: Purpose: To assess how foreign policy decision-makers respond to alleged violations of international law by other governments.
Participants: Individuals who are currently or formerly employed in the foreign affairs ministry, diplomatic corps, defense ministry, trade & development ministries, national security agency, or national legislature of the following countries: the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, India, Pakistan, South Africa, Nigeria, and the Philippines.
Procedures (methods): This is a survey to assess views of the respondents. The survey includes an embedded vignette experiment to examine respondent reactions to different international law violations.

Investigator's Responsibilities:

If your study protocol changes in such a way that exempt status would no longer apply, you should contact the above IRB before making the changes. There is no need to inform the IRB about changes in study personnel. However, be aware that you are responsible for ensuring that all members of the research team who interact with subjects or their identifiable data complete the required human subjects training, typically completing the relevant CITI modules.
The IRB will maintain records for this study for 3 years, at which time you will be contacted about the status of the study.
The current data security level determination is Level II. Any changes in the data security level need to be discussed with the relevant IT official. If data security level II and III, consult with your IT official to develop a data security plan. Data security is ultimately the responsibility of the Principal Investigator.
Please be aware that approval may still be required from other relevant authorities or "gatekeepers" (e.g., school principals, facility directors, custodians of records), even though the project has determined to be exempt.
Please take a moment to complete a survey regarding your experience with this

Exemptions

Request Exemption

Some research involving human subjects may be eligible for an exemption which would result in fewer application and review requirements. This would not apply in a study that involves drugs or devices, involves greater than minimal risk, or involves medical procedures or deception or minors, except in limited circumstances.

1. Would you like your application evaluated for a possible exemption?

Yes

Will your study either involve prisoners as participants or be FDA-regulated?

No

In order to be eligible for exemption, your research must fit into one or more of the following categories. Check all of the following that apply, understanding that most research falls into one or two categories.

Category 1

✘ The research is to be conducted in established or commonly accepted educational settings. Note: This applies to the location where education research will actually be conducted (e.g., public schools) and NOT to your location at a university.

And the research specifically involves normal educational practices that are not likely to adversely impact students' opportunity to learn required educational content or the assessment of educators who provide instruction, such as:

✘ Research on regular and special education instructional strategies.

✘ Research on the effectiveness of or the comparison among instructional techniques, curricula, or classroom management methods.

Category 2

Does your study involve minors under the age of 18?

No

The research involves the use of one or more of the following

✘ Educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement).

✔ Survey procedures.

✘ Interview procedures

✘ Observation of public behavior.

If at least ONE of the following criteria are true:

✔ The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects cannot readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.

✔ Any disclosure of the participants' responses outside the research would not reasonably place the participants at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the participants' financial standing, employability, or reputation.

✘ The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the participants can readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the participants AND there are appropriate provisions in place to protect subject privacy and confidentiality.

Explain. If not applicable enter N/A.
We will not collect names or other identifying information. Subjects will be assigned a random ID number which we will use for the purposes of analyzing data. Some may opt to provide their email address so that we can share findings of the study; we will not disclose the address to anyone.

Category 3

Research with adults involving Benign Behavioral Interventions (BBI). BBI are brief, harmless, painless, not physically invasive, and the investigator has no reason to think the subjects will find the interventions offensive or embarrassing. Examples include having the subjects play an online game, solve puzzles under various noise conditions, or allocate a nominal amount of received cash between themselves and someone else.

✘ Verbal responses

✔ Written responses (including data entry)

✘ Audiovisual recording

And at least one of the following are true:

✔ The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects cannot readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects

✔ Any disclosure of the human subjects' responses outside the research would not reasonably place the subjects at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subjects' financial standing, employability, educational advancement, or reputation

✘ The information obtained is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects can readily be ascertained, directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects.
If this category is selected, please also explain how the intervention fits the BBI definition: brief in duration, harmless, painless, not physically invasive, not likely to have a significant adverse lasting impact on the subjects, and there is no reason to think the subjects will find the interventions offensive or embarrassing.

Explain. If the research involves deceiving the subjects regarding the nature or purposes of the research, please explain how subjects will be prospectively informed that he or she will be unaware of or misled regarding the nature or purposes of the research.

IF NOT APPLICABLE ENTER N/A .
We will collect survey responses from subjects. Some of the questions they are asked will include embedded survey experiments, in which we experimentally manipulate language provided to subjects to assess whether this shapes their policy preferences.

Category 4

✘ The research involves secondary uses of identifiable private information or identifiable biospecimens.

If you are accessing medical records and recording MRNs or receiving data with any identifiers from Carolina Data Warehouse for Health, this study will require a Full Form application.
You may update the application at this time by clicking on the wrench icon at the top of the page.

And one of the following is true:

✖ The identifiable private information or identifiable biospecimens are publicly available.

✖ Information, which may include information about biospecimens, is recorded by the investigator in such a manner that the identity of the human subjects cannot readily be ascertained directly or through identifiers linked to the subjects, the investigator does not contact the subjects, and the investigator will not re-identify subjects

✖ The research is conducted by, or on behalf of, a Federal department or agency using government-generated or government-collected information obtained for nonresearch activities.

Category 5

✖ This project is a research or demonstration project of a public benefit or service program.

Additionally the following must also be true.

✖ The program under study is designed to study, evaluate, improve, or otherwise examine public benefit or service programs.

✖ The research is conducted or supported by a Federal department or agency, or otherwise subject to the approval of department or agency heads (or the approval of the heads of bureaus or other subordinate agencies that have been delegated authority to conduct the research and demonstration projects).

✖ The Federal department or agency conducting or supporting the research and demonstration projects will establish, on a publicly accessible Federal website or in such other manner as the department or agency head may determine, a list of the research and demonstration projects that the Federal department or agency conducts or supports under this provision. The research or demonstration project will be published on this list prior to commencing the research involving human subjects.

Category 6

✖ The research involves taste and food quality evaluation or is a consumer acceptance study.

Either of the following is true:

✖ Wholesome foods without additives are consumed.

✖ If a food is consumed that contains a food ingredient or an agricultural chemical or environmental contaminant, the food ingredient or agricultural chemical or environmental contaminant is at or below the level and for a use found to be safe by one of the following agencies:

Please check which of following

- ✗ The Food and Drug Administration.
- ✗ The Environmental Protection Agency.
- ✗ The Food Safety and Inspection Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Consent Process for Exemptions

While the full regulatory requirements for consent do not apply, some exempt research does involve talking to or interacting with human participants. Under these circumstances, there is still the expectation that you will tell people what you are doing and why, and invite their voluntary participation.

1. Will you be obtaining verbal or written consent from subjects?

   Yes

Please describe the process for obtaining consent from the subjects in this section. Note that consent may be incorporated into an interview script or as a consent statement at the beginning of a survey.

We will obtain consent using a consent form that appears on the opening page of the online survey, before entering the main portion of the survey. Subjects will read a consent statement that describes the survey's purpose and risks, and provides contact information for any questions. They click "Yes" to provide their consent. I have uploaded the survey consent form as a word document.

General Information

1. General Information

1. Project Title

   Accountability and Evasion in International Law

2. **Brief Summary**. Provide a **brief non-technical description** of the study, which will be used in IRB documentation as a description of the study. Typical summaries are 50-100 words. Please reply to each item below, retaining the subheading labels already in place, so that reviewers can readily identify the content. PLEASE NOTE: THIS SECTION MAY BE EDITED BY THE IRB FOR CLARITY OR LENGTH.

   Purpose: To assess how foreign policy decision-makers respond to alleged violations of international law by other governments.

   Participants: Individuals who are currently or formerly employed in the foreign affairs ministry, diplomatic corps, defense ministry, trade & development ministries, national security agency, or national legislature of the following countries: the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, India, Pakistan, South Africa, Nigeria, and the Philippines.

   Procedures (methods): This is a survey to assess views of the respondents. The survey includes an embedded vignette experiment to examine respondent reactions to different international law violations.

3. Is this new study similar or related to an application already approved by a UNC-Chapel Hill IRB? Knowing this will help the IRB in reviewing your new study.

   No

2. Project Personnel

1. Will this project be led by a STUDENT (undergraduate, graduate) or TRAINEE (resident, fellow, postdoc), working in fulfillment of requirements for a University course, program or fellowship?

   No

2. List all project personnel beginning with principal investigator, followed by faculty advisor, co-investigators, study coordinators, and anyone else who has contact with subjects or identifiable data from subjects.

   - List ONLY those personnel for whom this IRB will be responsible; do NOT include collaborators who will remain under the oversight of another IRB **for this study**.
   - If this is Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) or you are otherwise working with community partners (who are not functioning as researchers), you may not be required to list them here as project personnel; consult with your IRB.
   - If your extended research team includes multiple individuals with limited roles, you may not be required to list them here as project personnel; consult with your IRB.

   The table below will access campus directory information; if you do not find your name, your directory listing may need to be updated.

Liaison	Last Name	First Name	Department Name	Role	
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (UNC-CH)					
⭐	Pratt	Tyler	Political Science	Principal Investigator	view

If your research includes personnel from a UNC Health Network Entity (NE), the UNC Health Office of Research Support and Compliance (ORSC) will review your IRB application and/or submitted UNC Health Collaboration Survey. You may be contacted by ORSC for additional information. IMPORTANT: In addition to obtaining IRB approval, you must also receive ORSC clearance for project personnel employed by the NE site(s). Project personnel MAY NOT proceed with research activities until you have obtained both approval from the IRB and clearance from the NE. Upon completed ORSC review, an ORSC NE Clearance Form will be provided and uploaded to the IRB application Study Documents section.

NOTE: The IRB database will link automatically to UNC Human Research Ethics Training database and the UNC Conflict of Interest (COI) database. Once the study is certified by the PI, all personnel listed (for whom we have email addresses) will receive separate instructions about COI disclosures. The IRB will communicate with the personnel listed above or the PI if further documentation is required.

3. If this research is based in a center, institute, or department (Administering Department) other than the one listed above for the PI, select here. Be aware that if you do not enter anything here, the PI's home department will be AUTOMATICALLY inserted when you save this page.

Department	Political Science

3. Funding Sources

1. Is this project funded (or proposed to be funded) by a contract or grant from an organization EXTERNAL to UNC-Chapel Hill?

   No

2. Is this study funded by UNC-CH (e.g., department funds, internal pilot grants, trust accounts)?

   Yes

Internal UNC Chapel Hill funding

Department Name	Detail
Political Science	view

3. Is this research classified (e.g. requires governmental security clearance)?

   No

4. Is there a master protocol, grant application, or other proposal supporting this submission (check all that apply)?

- ✗ Grant Application
- ✗ Industry/Federal Sponsor Master Protocol
- ✗ Student Dissertation or Thesis Proposal
- ✗ Investigator Initiated Master Protocol
- ✓ Other Study Protocol

5. Does your study involve interaction or intervention with human participants with the intent to add to medical knowledge?
   There are two main types of clinical studies: clinical trials and observational studies. Do NOT check yes merely because you are conducting research in a clinical setting or using clinical data.
   Click here for additional information regarding mandatory registration and reporting requirements for clinical studies.

   No

4. Screening Questions

The following questions will help you determine if your project will require IRB review and approval.

The first question is whether this is RESEARCH (click for details)

1. Does your project involve a systematic investigation, including research development, testing and evaluation, which is designed to develop or contribute to generalizable knowledge? PLEASE NOTE: You should only answer yes if your activity meets all the above.

   Yes

The next questions will determine if there are HUMAN SUBJECTS (click for details)

2. Will you be obtaining information or biospecimens through intervention or interaction with the individual, and use, study, or analysis of the information or biospecimens? This would include any communication or interpersonal contact between investigator and subject such as using in-person or online questionnaires/surveys, interviews, focus groups, observations, treatment interventions, etc. PLEASE NOTE: Merely obtaining information FROM an individual does not mean you should answer 'Yes,' unless the information is also ABOUT them.

   Yes

3. Will you be obtaining, using, studying, analyzing, or generating identifiable private information or identifiable biospecimens collected through means other than direct interaction? This would include data, records or biological specimens that are currently existing or will be collected in the future for purposes other than this proposed research (e.g., medical records, ongoing collection of specimens for a tissue repository).
   OR
   Will you be using human specimens that are not individually identifiable for FDA-regulated in vitro diagnostic (IVD) device investigations?

   No

The following questions will help build the remainder of your application.

4. Will subjects be studied in the Clinical and Translational Research Center (CTRC) or is the CTRC involved in any other way with the study? (If yes, this application will be reviewed by the CTRC and additional data will be collected.)

   No

5. Does this study involve any of the following?

   - Directly recruit participants through the UNC Health Care clinical settings for cancer patients
   - Have a focus on cancer or a focus on a risk factor for cancer
   - Receive funding from a cancer agency, foundation, or other cancer related group

   No

6. Is the UNC Chapel Hill IRB taking or being asked to take responsibility for the oversight of research by individuals, groups or organizations outside of UNC Chapel Hill? Or you are asking the UNC Chapel Hill IRB to cede review to an External IRB. If so, a reliance agreement will need to be executed prior to conducting any research activities.

   No

Location

1. Are UNC-affiliated researchers involved in research conducted at any locations outside of the United States?

   No

Multi-Site Intake Form

1. multisiteIntakeFormRedirect

   No Answer Provided

Part A. Questions Common to All Studies

A.1. Background and Rationale

A.1.1. Provide a summary of the background and rationale for this study (i.e., why is the study needed?). If a complete background and literature review are in an accompanying grant application or other type of proposal, only provide a brief summary here. If there is no proposal, provide a more extensive background and literature review, including references.

This project examines the political fallout from international law violations. We focus on the political contestation that determines how a violation of international law is interpreted.

We propose a survey with an embedded survey experiment that provides subjects with hypothetical international law violations by an unnamed foreign government. We experimentally vary the rhetorical strategies that governments use to diminish the political costs of international law violations:

-*Denial* strategies occur when a government denies its culpability for the alleged violation.

-*Validity Challenge* strategies occur when a government justifies its behavior by contesting the underlying norm that has allegedly been violated.

-*Applicatory Challenge* strategies occur when a government argues that the circumstances of the alleged violation render the international law inapplicable.

We also test whether messages from the United Nations are effective at rebutting these claims from the foreign government.

The study is needed to understand the extent to which governments can avoid responsibility for international law violations. Extant research argues that violations create political costs for governments, by generating reputational damage or encouraging punishment by other states. Yet recent work has identified a broad set of strategies that states use to evade norms, deny culpability, or justify their behavior. I have uploaded a more comprehensive literature review with scholarly citations. This study will improve upon existing work by 1) experimentally testing whether these

government messages are effective at reducing political costs, and 2) putting the messages in conversation with countervailing rhetoric from the United Nations.

A.2. Subjects

A.2.1. Total number of subjects proposed across all sites by all investigators (provide exact number; if unlimited, enter 9999):

400

A.2.2. Total number of subjects to be studied by investigators being provided oversight by the UNC IRB. (provide exact number; if unlimited, enter 9999):

400

A.2.3. If the above numbers include multiple groups, cohorts, or ranges or are dependent on unknown factors, or need any explanation, describe here:

We will recruit participants using the social media website LinkedIn. We send them direct messages inviting them to participate in the survey. We hope to attract 400 participants to complete the survey.

A.2.4. Do you plan to enroll subjects from these vulnerable or select populations:
If you will include children, prisoners or nonviable neonates or neonates of uncertain viability, please check the appropriate category below and complete the additional sections.

You should check "Pregnant women" if you specifically intend to recruit women who are pregnant or are not excluding pregnant women in biomedical research that is greater than minimal risk. Do not check if you are conducting a survey of the general public or conducting secondary data analysis or chart review not aimed at pregnant women.

Only check UNC-CH Student athletes, athletic teams, or coaches if you have specific plans to enroll these subjects. This is not applicable for intramural or club sports. For definitions and guidance see SOP 1201: Vulnerable subjects in research.

✘ Children (under the age of majority for their location)

Any minor subject who attains the age of majority during the course of the research study must provide consent as an adult, unless consent has been waived, which is requested in section D.3.1.

✘ Pregnant women

✘ Nonviable neonates or neonates of uncertain viability

✘ Prisoners, others involuntarily detained or incarcerated (this includes parolees held in treatment centers as a condition of their parole)

If an enrolled participant becomes incarcerated during the course of the research, they must be removed from the research project until such time as the IRB (and OHRP for NIH funded projects) approves the study to include prisoners, unless there is an immediate risk to the participant from ending treatments under the protocol.

✘ UNC-CH Student athletes, athletic teams, or coaches

A.2.5. Based on your recruitment plan and target sample population, are you likely to include any of the following as subjects? Select all that apply. This is not applicable to secondary data analysis or chart review.

Based on your responses, the consent form builder will insert any required text into your consent form template.

✖ Decisionally impaired individuals (e.g., Mini mental state examination (MMSE), Montreal cognitive assessment (MOCA))
✖ Children who are wards of the State (Foster children)
✖ Non-English-speaking individuals
✖ UNC-CH Students
✖ UNC-CH Employees
✖ People, including children, who are likely to be involved in abusive relationships, either as perpetrator or victim. This would include studies that might uncover or expose child, elder or domestic abuse/neglect. (See SOP 3301, Section 1.1)

A.2.6. If any of the populations in A.2.5 are checked (excluding 'Decisionally impaired individuals' and 'Children who are wards of the State (Foster children)'), please describe your plans to provide additional protections for these subjects.

No Answer Provided

A.2.7. Age range of subjects:

Minimum age of subject enrolled	18
	years
Maximum age of subject enrolled	99
» If no maximum age limit, indicate 99	
	years

A.4. Study design, methods and procedures

Your response to the next question will help determine what further questions you will be asked in the following sections.

A.4.1. Describe the study design. List and describe study procedures. When relevant, include in your description what subjects will be asked to do.
If not already included in your protocol, upload a document with a schedule of events.

We use a survey to test how government strategy and UN counter-responses affect a government's reputation and the willingness of foreign audiences to punish the government.

The survey uses a vignette experiment design. We share two hypothetical scenarios with respondents. The scenarios ask them to imagine that an unnamed foreign government has allegedly committed a violation of international law. One scenario describes an instance of alleged military aggression against a neighboring state; the other describes domestic human rights abuses. Within the scenarios, we randomly vary whether the foreign government offers a denial or justification of their behavior. We also randomly vary whether the United Nations offers a rebuttal of the government's claims. After reading the scenario, respondents answer a series of questions about how they would advise their own government to respond to the alleged violation. I have uploaded the full text of the vignettes and the outcomes questions to the exemption application.

The survey will be administered online to sample of approximately 400 government elites involved in foreign policy decisions. We recruit respondents using the social media platform LinkedIn. Our sampling frame is LinkedIn members whose public profiles list employment in the foreign affairs ministry, diplomatic corps, defense ministry, trade & development ministries, national security agency, or national legislature of the following countries: the United States, Canada, the United

Kingdom, Australia, India, Pakistan, South Africa, Nigeria, and the Philippines. We use LinkedIn's targeted advertising service to send a direct message (DM) to these individuals, asking them to participate in the survey.

The text of the direct message reads as follows:

Hello!

We are fielding a short survey exclusively targeting foreign policy experts as a part of an academic study. The survey is anonymous and will only take a few minutes to complete. If you're interested in our findings, you can provide your email address in a de-linked google form at the end of the survey and we will share our research with you.

Click to take the survey here (embedded link to survey).

Thank you in advance for your time. If you have questions, you can reach out to the research team directly:

Julia Morse (University of California, Santa Barbara) - jcmorse@ucsb.edu
Tyler Pratt (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) - tbpratt@unc.edu

A.4.2. Will this study use any of the following methods?

- ✖ Audio Recording
- ✖ Video Recording
- ✖ Behavioral observation - (e.g., Participant, naturalistic, experimental, and other observational methods typically used in social science research)
- ✖ Questionnaires or surveys
- ✖ Interview
- ✖ Focus groups
- ✖ Diaries or journals
- ✖ Photovoice
- ✖ Still photography

A.4.3. If there are procedures or methods that require specialized training, describe who (role/qualifications) will be involved and how they will be trained.

No specialized training required

A.4.4. Are there cultural issues, concerns or implications for the methods to be used with this study population?

No

A.6. Risks and measures to minimize risks

A.6.1. All research poses a potential risk for a breach of confidentiality. Please describe your plan for minimizing this risk.

All responses will be anonymous by default. We do not collect names or identifying information in the survey. We send the message inviting subjects to the survey through LinkedIn's direct message advertising service; this means we will not be able to see or record the subject's LinkedIn profiles.

At the end of the survey, we allow subjects the option to provide their email address if they would

like us to share the findings from the study. They can decline, or they can provide this via a de-linked Google form. The email addresses are recorded separately and cannot be associated with subject's answers to the survey. In other words, a breach of confidentiality would mean their participation in the survey is revealed, but not any of their responses.

For each of the following categories of risk you will be asked to describe any items checked and what will be done to minimize the risks.

A.6.2. Psychological

- ✘ Emotional distress
- ✘ Other

A.6.3. Describe any potential psychological risks checked above and what will be done to minimize these risks

No Answer Provided

A.6.4. Social

- ✘ Loss of reputation or standing within the community
- ✘ Harms to a larger group or community beyond the subjects of the study (e.g., stigmatization)
- ✘ Other

A.6.5. Describe any potential social risks checked above and what will be done to minimize these risks

No Answer Provided

A.6.6. Economic

- ✘ Loss of income
- ✘ Loss of employment or insurability
- ✘ Loss of professional standing or reputation
- ✘ Loss of standing within the community
- ✘ Other

A.6.7. Describe any potential economic risks checked above and what will be done to minimize these risks.

No Answer Provided

A.6.8. Legal

- ✘ Disclosure of illegal activity
- ✘ Disclosure of negligence
- ✘ Other

A.6.9. Describe any potential legal risks checked above and what will be done to minimize these risks

No Answer Provided

A.6.10. Physical

- ✘ Medication side effects
- ✘ Pain
- ✘ Discomfort
- ✘ Injury
- ✘ To a nursing child or a fetus (either through mother or father)

A.6.11. Describe any potential physical risks checked above, including the category of likelihood and severity, and what will be done to minimize these risks. Where possible, describe the likelihood of the risks occurring, using the following terms:

- Very Common (approximate incidence > 50%)
- Common (approximate incidence > 25 - 50%)
- Likely (approximate incidence of > 10 - 25%)
- Infrequent (approximate incidence of > 1 - 10%)
- Rare (approximate incidence < 1%)

Describe severity of risks using the following grading scale:

- Mild- No disruption to the subject's ability to perform daily activities; may include non-prescription intervention only
- Moderate- Temporary interference with daily activities; may include prescription intervention
- Severe- Interference with daily activities; medically significant but not life threatening
- Life threatening

Examples:

Rare (< 1%) and Severe: blindness
Rare (< 1%) and Mild: dry skin, dry mouth, transient headache

If you are using these terms differently than described above, please provide your study-specific definitions.

Phase 1 trials: Due to limited experience, incidence may be better described as the number of events that have occurred in the total number of animals/humans studied.

No Answer Provided

A.6.12. Unless already addressed above, describe procedures for referring subjects who are found, during the course of this study, to be in need of medical follow-up or psychological counseling

NA; it is an online survey.

A.6.13. Are there plans to withdraw or follow subjects (or partners of subjects) who become pregnant while enrolled in this study?

No

A.9. Identifiers

A.9.1. Check which of the following identifiers you already have or will be receiving, or select "None of the above."

- ✘ Names (this would include names/signatures on consent forms)
- ✘ Telephone numbers

- ✗ Any elements of dates (other than year) for dates directly related to an individual, including birth date, admission date, discharge date, date of death. For ages over 89: all elements of dates (including year) indicative of such age, except that such ages and elements may be aggregated into a single category of age 90 and older
- ✗ Any geographic subdivisions smaller than a State, including street address, city, county, precinct, zip code and their equivalent geocodes (e.g. GPS coordinates), except for the initial three digits of a zip code
- ✗ Fax numbers
- ✓ Electronic mail addresses
- ✗ Social Security numbers
- ✗ Medical record numbers
- ✗ Health plan beneficiary numbers
- ✗ Account numbers
- ✗ Certificate/license numbers
- ✗ Vehicle identifiers and serial numbers (VIN), including license plate numbers
- ✗ Device identifiers and serial numbers (e.g., implanted medical device)
- ✗ Web universal resource locators (URLs)
- ✗ Internet protocol (IP) address numbers
- ✗ Biometric identifiers, including finger and voice prints
- ✗ Full face photographic images and any comparable images
- ✗ Any other unique identifying number, code, or characteristic, other than dummy identifiers that are not derived from actual identifiers and for which the re-identification key is maintained by the health care provider and not disclosed to the researcher
- ✗ None of the above

A.9.2. For any identifiers checked, how will these identifiers be stored in relationship to the research data?

- ✗ with the research data (i.e., in the same data set and/or physical location)
- ✓ separate from the research data (i.e., coded with a linkage file stored in a different physical location)

Provide details about the option you selected above:
We do not require subjects to provide their email address, but we give them the option at the end of the survey in case they would like to be apprised of the study findings. If they wish, they provide the email address in a Google forms tool, which is not linked to the answers they provide.

A.9.3. Are you collecting Social Security Numbers to be used as a unique identifier for study tracking purposes for national registry or database? (Do not check yes if collecting SSN *only* for payment purposes; this will be addressed later.)

No

A.10. Confidentiality of the data

A.10.1. Describe procedures for maintaining confidentiality of the data you will collect or will receive (e.g., coding, anonymous responses, use of pseudonyms, etc.).

The data we collect as part of the survey is anonymous. We will use randomly assigned respondent IDs to keep track of subject's responses.

The email addresses we (optionally) collect will be saved separately from survey responses and will only be used to share the findings of the completed survey.

A.10.2. Will any of the groupings or subgroupings used in analysis be small enough to allow individuals to be identified?

No

Part B. Direct Interaction

B.1. Methods of recruiting

B.1.1. Check all the following means/methods of subject recruitment to be used:*

- ✗ In person
- ✗ MyChart

To utilize MyChart for research recruitment purposes, please complete the form (click here), and upload a PDF copy of the completed MyChart request to your application.

- ✗ Participant pools
- ✗ Presentation to classes or other groups
- ✗ Letters
- ✗ Flyers
- ✗ Radio, TV recruitment ads
- ✗ Newspaper recruitment ads
- ✗ Website recruitment ads
- ✗ Telephone script
- ✗ Listserv announcements
- ✗ Email or Text messaging
- ✗ Follow up to initial contact (e.g., email, script, letter)
- ✗ N/A
- ✗ Other
- ✓ Social Media

Please provide more information about the use of social media for recruitment purposes such as:

- Which social media sites will be used?
- What will be posted?
- Who will have access to the study's posts?
- Who outside of the study team will have the ability to log posts and/or comments?
- How frequently will the investigators monitor post/comments?
- How will the investigators deal with inappropriate post/comments, etc.?

(Click here for sample plan)

Note, if the topic is sensitive, it may not be appropriate to use a recruitment method that could allow others to tag a potential subject as it may reveal sensitive information. E.g. 'Jane Doe, this domestic abuse study would be good for you. Maybe it can help you cope with your relationship'.

We will use the social media site LinkedIn. We do not publicly post the recruitment message. Instead, it is sent via direct message to individuals who meet the sample requirements. As a result, there is no possibility to post comments on the survey recruitment message. Individuals who receive a direct message will see an invitation for them to take the survey.

B.1.2. **Research for Me @UNC**

A comprehensive study listing and engagement site intended to fulfill the mission of improving transparency and awareness of research at UNC.
All study involving direct interaction with participants must be listed on this site; you may choose whether to further utilize your listing for participant recruitment.
Instructions:

- Choose Basic or Recruitment
- Click on link to open listing submission form in a new tab
- Submit online form

✔ **Basic Listing (Click here to open basic submission form)**

For studies that do not want to be contacted by potential participants. Submit very basic information in lay language, but no details or team contact information will be displayed.
Exception from this kind of listing is rare, but may be requested for consideration via this form.

✖ **Recruitment Listing (Click here to open recruitment submission form)**

For studies that want to utilize the free recruitment features of the website. Participants can view more details about your study and contact the team to express interest.
You control the timeframe for display. Get a unique URL and QR code for use on other materials. Site is promoted to patients and the public by NC TraCS.

View examples, manage submitted listings, find FAQ, and download PDFs at researcherdashboard.unc.edu
Please direct all questions and feedback to Research for Me

B.1.3. Describe how subjects will be identified

We invite LinkedIn members whose public profiles list employment in the foreign affairs ministry, diplomatic corps, defense ministry, trade & development ministries, national security agency, or national legislature of the following countries: the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Australia, India, Pakistan, South Africa, Nigeria, and the Philippines. LinkedIn has a targeted advertising service which allows users to select on these characteristics and send them a direct message.

B.1.4. Describe how and where subjects will be recruited and address the likelihood that you will have access to the projected number of subjects identified in A.2.

We will recruit subjects via LinkedIn. There are more than 10,000 individuals on LinkedIn who meet the criteria for inclusion in the study. We will send direct messages to a subset of these (we do not choose which; the LinkedIn advertising service does). We will stop sending messages when we have reached approximately 400 responses to the survey.

B.3. Subject Contact, Duration and Privacy

B.3.1. Will you use text or email to communicate with participants during their study participation?

No

Part C. Existing Data, Records, Specimens

C.1. Data Sources

C.1.1. What existing records, data or human biological specimens will you be using? (Indicate all that apply or select 'None of the above'):

- ✗ Medical records in any format.

  ALERT: You must check both boxes: 1) Medical records in any format and 2) Electronic medical record using Epic, or you/your study team will not be granted access to Epic for research purposes.

- ✗ Electronic medical records using Epic, WebCIS or other electronic system
- ✗ Carolina Data Warehouse for Health (CDW-H) (for UNC and its affiliates only)
- ✗ Carolinas Collaborative Data Request and Review Committee (DRRC)
- ✗ Paper medical records

If you access the medical records of fewer than 50 patients under a full or limited waiver of HIPAA, submit a copy of your IRB approval letter and a completed Research Disclosure Form to Health Information Management (HIM). Do not submit this information to the IRB. For additional information about this process, you should contact HIM directly at : 919-595-5591 or 919-966-1225 or 919-595-5580.

- ✗ Data already collected from another research study

Were the investigators for the current application involved in the original collection? --

- ✗ Patient specimens (tissues, blood, serum, surgical discards, etc.)

Has the clinical purpose for which they were collected been met before collection of the research sample? --

- ✗ Data already collected for administrative purposes
- ✗ Student records (You will need to satisfy FERPA requirements: see SOP 3101, section 3.1 for guidance)
- ✗ UNC Dental Records
- ✗ Data coming directly from a health plan, health care clearinghouse, or health care provider?
- ✗ Publicly available data
- ✗ Other
- ✓ None of the above

For EACH data source checked above, provide a description of the data, proposed use, how data were collected (including consent procedures), and where data currently reside.
--

C.1.2. Describe your plans for obtaining permission from the custodians of the data, records or specimens (e.g., pathology dept, tissue bank, original researcher):

NA

C.1.3. Do the custodians of the data, records or specimens require a data use agreement?

No

Attachments

This submission requires the following attachments

Document Type
Other Study Protocol
Research Information Sheet
Electronic Questionnaire Survey

This submission includes the following attachments

File Name	Document Type
SmokeMirrors_Literature.pdf	Other Study Protocol
Consent Form Text_1.docx	Research Information Sheet
Elite_Survey_Questionnaire_Recruitment_Sep26.docx	Research Information Sheet
SmokeMirrors_Elite_Survey.docx	Electronic Questionnaire Survey

view attachments

Addenda

Data Security Requirements

view addenda

If Principal Investigator of this study is a Student or Trainee Investigator, the Faculty Advisor certifies the following:

I accept ultimate responsibility for ensuring that this study complies with all the obligations listed above for the PI.

By certifying below, the Principal Investigator affirms the following:

I will personally conduct or supervise this research study. I will ensure that this study is performed in compliance with all applicable laws, regulations and University policies regarding human subjects research. I will obtain IRB approval before making any changes or additions to the project. I will notify the IRB of any other changes in the information provided in this application. I will provide progress reports to the IRB at least annually, or as requested. I will report promptly to the IRB all unanticipated problems or serious adverse events involving risk to human subjects. I will follow the IRB approved consent process for all subjects. I will ensure that all collaborators, students and employees assisting in this research study are informed about these obligations. All information given in this form is accurate and complete.

This study proposes research that has been determined to include Security Level 2 data security requirements. I agree to accept responsibility for managing these risks appropriately in consultation with departmental and/or campus security personnel. The Data Security Requirements addendum can be reviewed here.

Certifying Signatures:

Signature: Electronic Signature Received **Date:** 9/24/2024 10:59:51 AM

Tyler Pratt

The expectation is that this approval is being given on behalf of the head of the Department, Division, or Center. If the chair or director is an investigator on this project or otherwise conflicted in approving it, the Vice-Chair or Chair's designee should review it. By approving, you are certifying the following on behalf of your department, division or center:

- This research is appropriate for this Investigator and our department
- The investigator(s) are qualified to conduct the research
- There are adequate resources (including financial, support and facilities) available
- For units that have a local review committee for pre-IRB review, this requirement has been satisfied
- I support this application, and hereby submit it for further review

This study proposes research that has been determined to include Security Level 2 data security requirements. I agree to accept responsibility for managing these risks appropriately in consultation with departmental and/or campus security personnel. The Data Security Requirements addendum can be reviewed here.

- If you are approving for other purposes (e.g., CTRC, DSMB, IBC, PRC, RSC, or other review committees), you affirm the following: The proposed submission is approved and may be forwarded for IRB review.

Department Approval Signatures:

By signing in the appropriate space, the Department Chairperson(s) is indicating only that he/she has seen and reviewed this submission

Department: Political Science

Signature: Electronic Signature Received **Date:** 9/24/2024 11:23:27 AM

Name & Title: Timothy Ryan, Professor, Bowman & Gordon Gray Distinguished Prof