Codebook

American Public Opinion on the Use of Military Force, 1980-2013

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Introduction

This codebook documents the variable in the Stata data file RCE_USUOF_final.dta. The data were employed in the analysis that appear in several of my articles (Eichenberg 2003, 2005, 2016; see also 2007). In addition to the documentation below, further details on definition, operationalization, and coding appear on the following pages: Eichenberg (2003, pp. 122-125, 127-129; 2005, pp. 153-155, 161-163; see also 2006, pp. 4-8; 15-20).

A replication (.do) file for my 2016 ISQ article is contained in the replication materials that accompany the article.

Unit of Analysis and Sources of Data

The unit of analysis is an individual survey question concerning the past, present, or future use of military force by the United States. The questions were retrieved from a number of archives. I include only nationally representative probability samples of the entire population. The average sample size is 1059. The largest number of surveys came from the IPOLL database available to members of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at the University of Connecticut (until 2015). In addition, I retrieved surveys from archives at the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences at the University of North Carolina; the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research; the Pew Center for the People and the Press; the Program on International Policy Attitudes; and the *Transatlantic Trends* surveys conducted by the German Marshall Fund.

Retrieving the Original Survey Question

Each of the survey questions in the dataset is coded for a number of characteristics of question wording (as described in the pages cited in the first paragraph above). However, researchers are free to code or re-code questions as they wish. For every question, the dataset includes a number of variables that will allow researchers to retrieve the question (usually from the iPoll database): the beginning and end dates of the survey; the organization sponsoring or conducting the survey; the sample size; and a brief phrase summarizing the wording of the question.

Types of Variables

The data file contains three types of variables:

> *Coded variables*: codes for identifying information (sample dates and size for each question; polling organization) but most importantly codes for characteristics of question wording (mention of United Nations, casualties, assisting parties to civil conflicts, and many more)
>
> *Constructed variables:* variables constructed from coded variables. Examples: year of survey extracted from sampling dates; principal policy objective constructed from constituent variables; party controlling White House; and others documented in this codebook below.
>
> *Responses to survey questions*: %favor, % oppose, %n/o for total population, men, and women

The codebook on the following pages is divided into three sections, one for each of the three types of variables.

References

Eichenberg, Richard C. 2003. "Gender Differences in Attitudes Toward the Use of Force by the United States, 1990-2003," *International Security*, 28/1 (Summer): 110-141.

Eichenberg, Richard C. 2005. "Victory Has Many Friends: The American Public and the Use of Military Force, 1981-2005," *International Security*, 35/1, (Summer): 140-176.

Eichenberg, Richard C. 2006. "Global Public Opinion on the Use of Military Force from the First Gulf War to the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq" Presented to the Convention of the International Studies Association, March 2006.

Eichenberg, Richard C. 2016. "Gender Difference in American Public Opinion on the Use of Military Force, 1982-2013," *International Studies Quarterly*, forthcoming.

Coded Variables

epis2	**episode** recoded with Iraq War (#19) beginning on March 19, 2003 1 Lebanon 1983 2 Grenada invasion 3 Panama invasion 4 Nicaragua 5 El Salvador 6 Libya air strikes 7 Re-flag Kuwaiti tankers 8 Aid Afghan rebels 9 Gulf crisis and war 10 Bosnia 11 Confrontation with Iraq 1992-2003 12 North Korea nuclear confrontation 13 Haiti occupation 14 Somalia 15 Rwanda 16 Sudan/Afghan missile strikes 17 Kosovo 18 War Against Terror 2001-2013 19 Iraq War 2003-2013 20 Iran 2002-2013 21 Syria 2003-2013 22 Liberia 2003 23 Israel/Palestine 24 Dafur/Sudan 25 Lebanon 2006 26 Libya 2011

episode	Original episode number with Iraq War beginning 2002 (arbitrary)
begin	Beginning date of survey sampling (string)
end	Ending date of survey sampling (string)
edate	Ending date of survey sampling (Stata date format)
organiz	Organization conducting the survey (list of codes in Appendix 1)
samplen	Survey sample size

action	Type of military action mentioned in survey question 1 Military action (general) 2 air or missile strikes 3 naval forces 4 presence of troops 5 send troops 6 keep/maintain troops 7 increase troops 8 sell or send arms 9 war 10 unspecified action type 11 provide advisors or training

troop	Is the actual number of USA troops or peacekeepers actually mentioned in the text? 0. No Yes: enter the actual number that is mentioned; only USA troops
phrase	*Type a three-4 word (max) phrase from the question regarding the action; ie, "take military action" "send US troops" or "conduct airstrikes". One word can be sufficient, ie, a question on "approve airstrikes" could just be "airstrikes". Obviously, try to capture the actual action being queried, and TRY to quote it identically if it is used identically or nearly so in later questions. Don't say "sending troops" then later "send troops"; stick with "send troops". They're essentially the same.*
ground	Does the word "ground" appear in phrases involving troops/forces/action/combat in the question wording or not? 1. Yes – the word "ground" appears 0 . No *This will probably only apply to questions for which you assigned 4,5,6,7 above; I want to be able to clearly analyze the effect of this word. If the word "ground" in "ground troops/forces/whatever" appears, I want a "1". Otherwise zero.*

def_ally	Does the question mention defending an ally or friend 1.Yes 0.No *I will mark virtually all of these; if I don't mark it "1", enter 0. This refers to defending "allies" from attack from Iraq, North Korea, and occasionally Serbia. The vast majority of these will be 0. Repeat: if I don't' mark a 1, it's a 0. When I do mark "1", there should always be a notation for "PHRASE" above….ie, "defensd Kuwait".*
quirky	This variables tags oddities in question wording (for example, departure from the standard that questions should be the "approve/agree/favor" type question). In addition, the code 2 signifies that it is a question that asks about the human cost of using force. This code is used to construct the variable **anydeath**, listed below. 1.Yes; quirky wording 2. a "worth it" question 0.No *We've worked hard to cull this collection down to "clean" questions for/against use of force. But I kept a few borderline questions with somewhat odd wording that I want to be able to identify/separate. I've marked all of these. Unless you see a Quirky=1, enter a 0.*

	By definition, the vast majority will be 0. *Code 2 if it is a question asking if the use of force is "worth the cost of human life"*
hypo	Does the question pose a hypothetical, using "if", "would you support" or any other conditional phrasing –as opposed to the concrete "do you support/favor"??? 1. Yes 0. No The answer will very frequently be yes, but humor me, and see below. I may have marked some of these, but many I did not. This job falls to you, so be attentive.
temporal	Does the question refer to a (potential) future action, an ongoing action, or a past action? 1. Future action 2. Ongoing action 3. Past action 4. it's not clear My sense is that most are 1 and 2, but there are 3's as well. By definition, most of the conditional YES in **hypo** will be 1. Future here. I may have marked some of these, but many I did not. This job falls to you, so be attentive.

multi	Does the question text mention any multilateral organizations or allies or friends *Who will participate in the military action*? 1. Multinational/lateral/ international -- general 2. U.N./United Nations specifically mentioned 3. NATO/Western Alllies/European allies 4. both UN AND NATO/European allies/others mentioned 5. Specific country (ie, "Britain") 6. "allies" or "friends" "other countries" generally mentioned 0. no, none are mentioned This refers strictly to the question text (ie, forget what you know about the episode and who was involved). Stay literal and enter only if the above words are mentioned in the text. IMPORTANT NOTE: this does NOT apply if UN/other actors are target of a protective action by the US: see Protect peacekeepers below.

mandate1	Does the question very explicitly explain that the action is for the purpose of *enforcing a U.N. or similar mandate (or punishing its abrogation)?* 1. Yes 0. No *Most likely to occur for Iraq, & North Korea (ceasefire,weapons inspections), but may also come up in Bosnia (safe havens) or even Haiti.* I am looking only for very explicit cues in question wording. Thus, "to enforce compliance with UN resolutions" in the question wording is a "yes", but these words have to appear. If you happen to know a resolution was in effect at the time the question was asked, it is irrelevant unless it appears in the question. I have marked all of these, but double check me
helpend	Does the question mention that the purpose of the action is to "help end" a conflict or ANY of the following "*stop the fighting/killing/violence/genocide*/ maintain-keep order/stability between", "put an *end to bloodshed" OR "restore peace" or "restore stability".* 1. Yes 0. no
takeside	Does the question ask if the US or US+UN should assist one side in an internal conflict? 1.yes 0. No **Notes and Elaboration on this.** I've marked all that I think should be 1; otherwise enter 0.
assass	Does the question mention/pose the assassination of a foreign leader? 1. Yes 0. No This refers to killing a leader only; "changing a government" comes below; does NOT refer to attempt on Bush life in 1993 –Bush not foreign leader.

hussein	Does the question mention the name “Saddam Hussein” or “Hussein” or “Saddam” ? 1. Yes 0. No *IF his name appears: 1; if not 0. Simple as that.*
chggovt	Does the question mention in any way that the purpose of the action is to remove an existing government or apply pressure for the purpose of removing it? 1. Yes 0. No *For the Haiti questions, the answer will almost always be “yes”, but it may come up elswhere too (Iraq; Serbia). Obviously, if Assass is “Yes”, it is yes here too.*
civdeath	Does the question mention the possibility of <u>civilian</u> deaths/casualties/human costs/suffering/collateral damage that might **result(ed) from the military action discussed in this question**? Note: this variable is used later to construct the variable **anydeath** 1. Yes 0. No *Note: this does NOT refer to the suffering/deaths that may have <u>motivated</u> this action; it refers to the consequences for civilians of the action in this question itself.*
mildeath	Does the question mention the possibility of US military deaths/casualties/human costs/suffering **that might result(ed) from the military action discussed in this question**? Note: this variable is used later to construct the variable **anydeath** 1. Yes 0. No

peackeep	Does the question mention that the purpose of the action (providing/sending troops or other) is to contribute to/send troops to/ initiate "Peace Keeping" or "enforcing/supervising" a peace agreement? 1.Yes 0.No Basically, if the words "peace keeping" or "enforcing a peace agreement" appear, it should be "yes". The only exception is the immediately following: Study next question before starting this!
protect1	Does the question suggest that the purpose of the action is to protect/defend/support/help/aid /*evacuate/withdraw* Peacekeepers already there? 1.Yes 0.No *Probably only Bosnia/Somalia/but well worth knowing. If the question refers to "sending providing peacekeepers, use* **peackeep***=1 Above & 0 here. This one should only be yes if the question is protecting/**moving**/evacuating peacekeepers already in place (in which case* **peackeep** *above should be 0).*
protect2	Does the question mention/suggest that the purpose of the action is to protect/defend/support/help/aid/ Civilians? 1.Yes 0.No I believe I have marked all of these, but double check me.

humanit	Does the question mention/suggest that the purpose of the action is provide/facilitate **humanitarian relief/assistance (generally)** or transportation, supplies, food, medical, etc. **specifically**? 1.yes: the word "humanitarian" aid/assistance/relief appears generally 2.yes: specific types of aid (food, medicine) are listed/mentioned 0.no *This may seem minor, but I bet there is a difference when specific types of aid (food, medicine, transportation are mentioned). In any case, an additional rule: <u>This should always be 1 if the word "humanitarian" appears in the question at all</u>. –although it can and should be 2 if that word is then elaborated with specific types of relief.*
retaliat	Does the question suggest/mention in any way that the purpose of the action is to retaliate/revenge/punish for some prior action? 1. Yes 0.No Most if not all are already marked.
presname	Is <u>the current</u> President mentioned by **name** in the question text? 1 Carter 2. Reagan 3. Bush Sr 4. Clinton 5. Bush II 7. Obama [code 6 inexplicably skipped] 0. No name at all Note the exception that Bush senior should not be coded in the case of the Iraq assassination attempt in 1993 –Clinton was President then.

massdest	Does the question text mention nuclear, chemical, biological, “atomic” or “weapons of mass destruction”? 1.Yes 0.No Pretty simple if you follow the literal rule: if it’s there, 1; if it’s not, 0.
terror	Do the words “terror/terrorism/terrorist” appear in the question text? 1.Yes 0. No Ditto

wat_targ	Target of action in war against terror 1. Afghanistan/Usama Bin Laden 2. Somalia 3. other state mentioned as target 0 . not WAT **epis2**~=18

Constructed Variables listed beginning on next page

Constructed Variables

PPO	Principal Policy Objective 1. Foreign policy restraint 2. Internal Political Change 3. Humanitarian intervention 4. Peace keeping 5. Mixed IPC/FPR This variable was generated based on presence/absence of question wording in the variables described above (coded variables). For conceptual and operational definitions, see the following pages of my publications: Eichenberg (2003, pp. 122-125, 127-129; 2005, pp. 153-155, 161-163; see also 2006, pp. 4-8; 15-20) and the further elaboration in Appendix 2 of this codebook.
FPR	Foreign policy restraint. Recoded dummy variable; 1 if **PPO**==1; 0 otherwise
IPC	Internal political conflict. Recoded dummy variable; 1 if **PPO**==2; 0 otherwise
PKEEP	Peace keeping. Recoded dummy variable; 1 if **PPO**==3; 0 otherwise
HUM	Humanitarian intervention. Recoded dummy variable; 1 if **PPO**==4; 0 otherwise
worthit	Dummy variable for questions asking if action is "worth the loss of life" or simply "worth it" **==**1 if **quirky**==2; 0 otherwise
general	Dummy variable for "general" reference to "military action"; **==**1 if **action**==1; 0 otherwise
aironly	Dummy variable when action is air or missile strikes, bombing; ==1 if **action==**2; 0 otherwise

sell	Dummy variable when action is “selling or sending arms/assistance”; ==1 if **action**==8; 0 otherwise
send	Dummy variable when action is “send/ing troops”; ==1 if **action**==5; 0 otherwise
keepincr	Dummy variable when action is keep/maintain OR increase troops; ==1 if **action**==6 OR **action**==7; 0 otherwise
multi2	Dummy variable for ANY multilateral mention; ==1 if **multi**>0; 0 otherwise
UN	Dummy variable if UN mentioned in question; ==1 if **multi==**2; 0 otherwise
NATO	Dummy variable if NATO mentioned in question; ==1 if **multi==**3; 0 otherwise
humanit2	Dummy variable for any humanitarian mention; ==1 if **humanit**>0; 0 otherwise
anydeath	Dummy variable for any mention of casualties; ==1 if **mildeath** OR **civdeath**==1 OR **quirky**==2; 0 otherwise
RemoveSH	Dummy variable for mention of removing Saddam Hussein; ==1; 0 otherwise
troop2	Dummy variable for any mention of specific number of troops; ==1; 0 otherwise
presnam2	Dummy variable for any mention of specific president’s name; ==1; 0 otherwise

Survey responses

favor	% total population favor (agree/approve)
oppose	% total population oppose (disagree/disapprove)
no	% total population no opinion/refuse
men_fav	% men favor (agree/approve)
men_opp	% men oppose (disagree/disapprove)
men_no	% men no opinion/refuse

wom_fav	% women favor (agree/approve)
wom_opp	% women oppose (disagree/disapprove)
wom_no	% women no opinion/refuse
sexgap	**men_fav – wom_fav**

Appendix 1

List of codes and organizations for variable **organiz**

1	ABC News
2	ABC News Nightline
3	ABC/Washington Post
4	AP & AP-IPSOS
5	CBS News
6	CBS News/NYT
7	The Gallup Poll
8	CCFR/Gallup/Knowledge Networks
10	Gallup/CNN/USA Today
11	Gallup/Newsweek
12	LA Times & LAT-Bloomberg
13	Louis Harris
14	NBC News/WSJ
15	Newsweek/PSRA
16	Pew
17	PSRA
18	PSRA/Times Mirror
19	Time/CNN/Yankel/Harris
20	US News & World Report
21	Washington Post
22	Gallup/CNN/Tokyo Shanbum
23	Angus Reid International

24 Roper

25 Gordon S. Black

26 ATS/Martilla Kiley

27 ATS/Yankelovich

28 ATS

29 NBC News/Associate Press

30 Yankelovich, Skelly, and White

31 Audits and Surveys

32 Penn and Schoen Associates

33 NBC News

34 New York Times

35 Yankelovich Clancy Shelman

36 Fox News

37 PIPA

38 Harris/CCFR/GMF

39 GMF Transatlantic Trends 2003

40 ICR/NPR/Kaiser

41 TIPP/Investor's Daily/CSM

42 CNN/ORC

43 Time/SRBI

44 GMF Transatlantic Trends 2006

45 GMF Transatlantic Trends 2004

50 GMF Transatlantic Trends 2011

51 GMF Transatlantic Trends 2012

52 GMF Transatlantic Trends 2013

54 McClatchey/Marist

55 Quinnipiac

Generation of variable PPO (principal policy objectives)

The conceptual and operational definitions are described in the following pages of my publications: Eichenberg (2003, pp. 122-125, 127-129; 2005, pp. 153-155, 161-163; see also 2006, pp. 4-8; 15-20).

The coding of PPO for the war in Afghanistan (episode #18) was complicated by the fact that the PPO was not always clear from question wording. As I explained in my 2006 paper with respect to Afghanistan, two aspects of this war convinced me that otherwise unclassifiable questions from this episode should be treated as foreign policy restraint (PPO==1) through 2003. First, the publicity surrounding the September 11 attacks as the causus belli for the war against terror was extraordinarily intense –perhaps uniquely so in history. As a result, there seems little prospect that survey respondents did not know that the U.S. was retaliating for an attack against its soil and also attempting to prevent further attacks. It was, in short, about as clear a case of foreign policy restraint as one is likely to find.[1] Second, it remains possible to maintain the distinction between these general questions and other questions that do refer explicitly to other policy objectives.

After 2002, the framing of the war in Afghanistan became more varied, and I made no assumption about PPO beyond what was contained in question wording, so questions are often coded 5 (mixed IPC/FPR).

A few other ambiguities in question wording are described in the .do file that I employed to process and clean the original data collection. The file (PPO_clean2.do) is included in the replication package. **Note:** the commands in this file have already been executed and the results saved in the data file.

[1] This is not to say that the attack was unequivocally justified or wise; views will differ on these questions. Rather, my argument is that, unlike generally stated survey questions during other conflicts, one can reasonably assume that survey questions about the attack against Afghanistan would be interpreted by respondents as part of an American intention to protect its security interests, that is, as a case of foreign policy restraint.