

## Codebook for “Loss Framing in Territorial Disputes”

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Three datasets are included for replication purposes: The original survey data from Argentina (“arg\_rep.csv”) and from Chile (“chl\_rep.csv”), and historical data on territorial disputes taken from the Issue Correlates of War (Frederick, Hensel, and Macaulay 2017) used to produce Figure F1 in the Online Appendices (“icow\_plot.csv”).

### Argentina (“arg\_rep.csv”)

Variable	Definition
id	Respondent ID
frame_loss	Loss-framing treatment: 0 = gain frame, 1 = loss frame
opp_name	Opponent treatment
chile	Binary opponent treatment: = 1 if Chile is the opponent, 0 otherwise
uk	Binary opponent treatment: = 1 if UK is the opponent, 0 otherwise
no_opp	Binary opponent treatment: = 1 if no opponent, 0 otherwise
any_opp	Binary opponent treatment: = 1 if any opponent, 0 otherwise
gamble	Risk acceptance outcome measure: 1 = choose risky option, 0 = choose certain option
policy_mil	Interpretation of risky option as military action (binary)
policy_ic	Interpretation of risky option as referring to international court (binary)
policy_reneg	Interpretation of risky option as renegotiation (binary)
policy_wait	Interpretation of risky option as waiting (binary)
policy_other	Interpretation of risky option as other (binary)
policy_none	Interpretation of risky option: “no particular policy in mind” (binary)
province	Province of residence
municipality	Municipality of residence
buenos_aires	Respondent lives in Buenos Aires city or Buenos Aires province (Binary)
age	Age (in years)
female	Gender (1 = female, 0 = male)
education	Education (categorical)
university	Any post-secondary education (binary)

<code>ideology_scale</code>	Left-right ideology (11-point scale; 1 = left, 10 = right)
<code>ideology</code>	Left-right ideology (see <code>ideology_scale</code> ) normalized to run from 0 to 1 (0 = left, 1 = right)
<code>race</code>	Race (categorical)
<code>race_white</code>	Respondent identifies as White (binary)
<code>int_trust1</code>	International trust: “Generally speaking, would you say that Argentina can trust other nations, or that Argentina can’t be too careful in dealing with other nations?” (1 = can trust other nations, 0 = can’t be too careful)
<code>int_trust2</code>	International trust: “Would you say that most of the time other nations try to be helpful to Argentina, or that they are just looking out for themselves?” (1 = try to be helpful, 0 = looking out for themselves)
<code>int_trust</code>	International trust scale: average of <code>int_trust1</code> and <code>int_trust2</code> , normalized to run from 0 to 1
<code>soc_trust1</code>	Social trust: “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can’t be too careful in dealing with people?” (1 = can be trusted, 0 = can’t be too careful)
<code>soc_trust2</code>	Social trust: “Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair?” (1 = try to be fair, 0 = take advantage of you)
<code>soc_trust3</code>	Social trust: “Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are just looking out for themselves?” (1 = try to be helpful, 0 = looking out for themselves)
<code>soc_trust</code>	Social trust scale: average of <code>soc_trust1</code> , <code>soc_trust2</code> , and <code>soc_trust3</code> , normalized to run from 0 to 1
<code>auth1</code>	Authoritarianism, more desirable quality in children: 1 = respect for elders, 0 = independence
<code>auth2</code>	Authoritarianism, more desirable quality in children: 1 = obedience, 0 = self-reliance
<code>auth3</code>	Authoritarianism, more desirable quality in children: 1 = good manners, 0 = curiosity
<code>auth4</code>	Authoritarianism, more desirable quality in children: 1 = being well-behaved, 0 = being considerate
<code>authoritarian</code>	Authoritarianism scale: average of <code>auth1</code> , <code>auth2</code> , <code>auth3</code> , and <code>auth4</code> , normalized to run from 0 to 1
<code>sdol</code>	Social dominance orientation: “Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.” (1 = Strongly disagree, 5 = Strongly agree)

<code>sdo2</code>	Social dominance orientation: “No one group should dominate in society.” (Reverse coded; 1 = Strongly agree, 5 = Strongly disagree)
<code>sdo</code>	Social dominance orientation scale: average of <code>sdo1</code> and <code>sdo2</code> , normalized to run from 0 to 1
<code>natattach1</code>	National attachment: “When someone says something bad about Argentine people, it is as if they said something bad about me.” (1 = Strongly disagree, 5 = Strongly agree)
<code>natattach2</code>	National attachment: “Being Argentine affects how I see myself.” (1 = Strongly disagree, 5 = Strongly agree)
<code>natattach3</code>	National attachment: “What happens to Argentina in the future will affect my own destiny.” (1 = Strongly disagree, 5 = Strongly agree)
<code>natattach</code>	National attachment scale: average of <code>natattach1</code> , <code>natattach2</code> , and <code>natattach3</code> , normalized to run from 0 to 1

### Chile (“chl\_rep.csv”)

Variable	Definition
<code>id</code>	Respondent ID
<code>frame_loss</code>	Loss-framing treatment: 0 = gain frame, 1 = loss frame
<code>opp_name</code>	Opponent treatment (defined only for respondents in Experiment 1)
<code>uk</code>	Binary opponent treatment: 1 = UK, 0 = Argentina (defined only for respondents in Experiment 1; NA in Experiment 2)
<code>opp_all</code>	Binary opponent treatment: 1 = UK, 0 = Argentina (defined for full sample)
<code>historical</code>	Historical ownership treatment: 1 = historical ownership frame, 0 = recent ownership frame (defined only for respondents in Experiment 2)
<code>hi_val</code>	Economic value treatment: 1 = high value frame, 0 = low value frame (defined only for respondents in Experiment 2)
<code>gamble</code>	Risk acceptance outcome measure: 1 = choose risky option, 0 = choose certain option
<code>policy_mil</code>	Interpretation of risky option as military action (binary)
<code>policy_ic</code>	Interpretation of risky option as referring to international court (binary)
<code>policy_reneg</code>	Interpretation of risky option as renegotiation (binary)
<code>policy_wait</code>	Interpretation of risky option as waiting (binary)
<code>policy_other</code>	Interpretation of risky option as other (binary)

<code>policy_none</code>	Interpretation of risky option: “no particular policy in mind” (binary)
<code>force_ab</code>	Support for use of force to resolve the dispute: 1 = yes, 0 = no
<code>perceive_own_lab</code>	Perceived ownership: “Do you consider Chile to be the owner of the disputed territory in Antarctica?” (Yes/No/Not sure)
<code>perceive_own_bin</code>	Perceived ownership, binarized (1 = yes, 0 = no or not sure)
<code>warm_arg</code>	Feeling thermometer, Argentina (0 = coldest, 100 = warmest)
<code>fear_arg</code>	“How much do you fear that [Argentina] poses a threat to the security of Chile?” (1 = Not at all, 5= Extremely)
<code>anger_arg</code>	“How much you are angered by the way [Argentina] treats Chile in political affairs?” (1 = Not at all, 5 = Extremely)
<code>strong_arg</code>	“Please rate whether you believe [Argentina] is weaker or stronger than Chile” (1 = Much stronger, 5 = Much weaker)
<code>warm_uk</code>	Feeling thermometer, UK (0 = coldest, 100 = warmest)
<code>fear_uk</code>	“How much do you fear that [the United Kingdom] poses a threat to the security of Chile?” (1 = Not at all, 5= Extremely)
<code>anger_uk</code>	“How much you are angered by the way [the United Kingdom] treats Chile in political affairs?” (1 = Not at all, 5 = Extremely)
<code>strong_uk</code>	“Please rate whether you believe [the United Kingdom] is weaker or stronger than Chile” (1 = Much stronger, 5 = Much weaker)
<code>warm_diff</code>	Feeling thermometer, difference between UK and Argentina ( <code>warm_uk</code> – <code>warm_arg</code> )
<code>fear_diff</code>	Fear, difference between UK and Argentina ( <code>fear_uk</code> – <code>fear_arg</code> )
<code>anger_diff</code>	Anger, difference between UK and Argentina ( <code>anger_uk</code> – <code>anger_arg</code> )
<code>strong_diff</code>	Confidence, difference between UK and Argentina ( <code>strong_uk</code> – <code>strong_arg</code> )
<code>warm_diffxopp_all</code>	Interaction between <code>warm_diff</code> and <code>opp_all</code>
<code>fear_diffxopp_all</code>	Interaction between <code>fear_diff</code> and <code>opp_all</code>
<code>anger_diffxopp_all</code>	Interaction between <code>anger_diff</code> and <code>opp_all</code>
<code>strong_diffxopp_all</code>	Interaction between <code>strong_diff</code> and <code>opp_all</code>
<code>region</code>	Region of residence
<code>santiago</code>	Respondent lives in Santiago metropolitan region
<code>province</code>	Province of residence
<code>age</code>	Age (in years)
<code>female</code>	Gender (1 = female, 0 = male or does not identify as male or female)

<code>education</code>	Education (categorical)
<code>educ_superior</code>	Complete any post-secondary degree (binary)
<code>ideology_scale</code>	Left-right ideology (11-point scale; 1 = left, 10 = right)
<code>ideology</code>	Left-right ideology (see <code>ideology_scale</code> ) normalized to run from 0 to 1 (0 = left, 1 = right)
<code>race</code>	Race (categorical)
<code>race_white</code>	Respondent identifies as White (binary)
<code>int_trust1</code>	International trust: “Generally speaking, would you say that Chile can trust other nations, or that Chile can't be too careful in dealing with other nations?” (1 = can trust other nations, 0 = can't be too careful)
<code>soc_trust1</code>	Social trust: “Would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?” (1 = can be trusted, 0 = can't be too careful)
<code>soc_trust2</code>	Social trust: “Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair?” (1 = try to be fair, 0 = take advantage of you)
<code>soc_trust3</code>	Social trust: “Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are just looking out for themselves?” (1 = try to be helpful, 0 = looking out for themselves)
<code>soc_trust</code>	Social trust scale: average of <code>soc_trust1</code> , <code>soc_trust2</code> , and <code>soc_trust3</code> , normalized to run from 0 to 1
<code>auth1</code>	Authoritarianism, more desirable quality in children: 1 = respect for elders, 0 = independence
<code>auth2</code>	Authoritarianism, more desirable quality in children: 1 = obedience, 0 = self-reliance
<code>auth3</code>	Authoritarianism, more desirable quality in children: 1 = good manners, 0 = curiosity
<code>auth4</code>	Authoritarianism, more desirable quality in children: 1 = being well-behaved, 0 = being considerate
<code>authoritarian</code>	Authoritarianism scale: average of <code>auth1</code> , <code>auth2</code> , <code>auth3</code> , and <code>auth4</code> , normalized to run from 0 to 1
<code>natid1</code>	National identification: “How important is being Chilean to you?” (1 = Not important at all, 4 = Extremely important)
<code>natid2</code>	National identification: “To what extent do you see yourself as a typical Chilean?” (1 = Not at all, 4 = A great deal)
<code>natid3</code>	National identification: “How well does the term Chilean describe you?” (1 = Not at all, 4 = Extremely well)

<code>natid4</code>	National identification: “When talking about Chileans, how often do you say ‘we’ instead of ‘they’?” (1 = Never, 4 = All the time)
<code>natid_scale</code>	National identification scale: average of <code>natid1</code> , <code>natid2</code> , <code>natid3</code> , and <code>natid4</code> , normalized to run from 0 to 1
<code>mi1</code>	Militant assertiveness: “Going to war is unfortunate, but is sometimes the only solution to international problems.” (1 = Strongly disagree, 5 = Strongly agree)
<code>mi2</code>	Militant assertiveness: “The use of military force only makes problems worse.” (Reverse coded; 1 = Strongly agree, 5 = Strongly disagree)
<code>mi_scale</code>	Militant assertiveness scale: average of <code>mi1</code> and <code>mi2</code> , normalized to run from 0 to 1

### Data for Figure F1 in Online Appendices (“`icow_plot.csv`”)

The data on territorial disputes is taken from the Issue Correlates of War Territorial Claims dataset, provisional version 1.01 (Frederick, Hensel, and Macaulay 2017), accessed at <https://www.paulhensel.org/Data/ICOWprov.zip>. Contiguity data is taken from the Correlates of War (Stinnett et al. 2002), version 3.2, accessed at <https://correlatesofwar.org/data-sets/direct-contiguity>.

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Definition</b>
<code>year</code>	Year (1919 to 2001)
<code>begin</code>	Number of territorial disputes beginning in that year
<code>end</code>	Number of territorial disputes ending in that year
<code>contig</code>	Number of contiguous dyads in the international system (separated by not more than 24 nautical miles of water)
<code>begin_contig</code>	Number of territorial disputes beginning in that year, normalized by the number of contiguous dyads ( <code>begin/contig</code> )
<code>end_contig</code>	Number of territorial disputes ending in that year, normalized by the number of contiguous dyads ( <code>end/contig</code> )
<code>begin_smooth</code>	Average number of territorial disputes beginning each year per contiguous dyad over the preceding decade
<code>end_smooth</code>	Average number of territorial disputes ending each year per contiguous dyad over the preceding decade
<code>med.dur</code>	Median duration of all territorial disputes ongoing that year
<code>avg.end.dur</code>	Average duration of territorial disputes that have ended in the preceding decade

**Bibliography**

- Frederick, Bryan A., Paul R. Hensel, and Christopher Macaulay. 2017. "The Issue Correlates of War Territorial Claims Data, 1816–2001." *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (1): 99–108.
- Stinnett, Douglas M., Jaroslav Tir, Paul F. Diehl, Philip Schafer, and Charles Gochman. 2002. "The Correlates of War (COW) Project Direct Contiguity Data, Version 3.0." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 19 (2): 59–67.