

## **ACPACS Presentation by Daniel Druckman, June 14, 2006**

### **Identity and Collective Action\***

#### Preamble

My approach to research, as some of you know, is in the scientific tradition. This means care taken to be precise, patient (and compulsive) in seeing all the facets of a study through, and cautious about inferences and implications. It also means being reluctant to present results prematurely. Thus, the roundtable format. This study is an example of an empirical or technical approach to the study of collective action. It is one methodological strategy for addressing collective-action questions.

My consulting experience (and some research) taught me that people responsible for developing organizational and national policies often think in terms of futuristic scenarios. They ask about options in the form of “what ...if,” and turn alternative stories around in their mind. Several of my assignments involved playing out some implications of alternative futures – with regard to such problems as the stability of regimes, the mobility of elites, negotiating tactics, and peacekeeping operations. This study takes advantage of this familiar kind of thinking about policy and action. We ask: What if a situation were like this?, What would you do? We then continue the questioning in an attempt to tease out the reasons for the decision – in this case various collective actions. We add an analytical dimension to scenario decision making. By administering the scenarios to a large population of respondents, we can systematically vary several aspects of both situations and actions. By using a rather

simple rating task, we can produce scales – like temperature scales – that distinguish more from less important elements in decision making. This is a new approach to the study of decision making in an international context. Let me now turn to the substance of the study, referred to as identity and collective action.

This project is the first phase of a larger program on identity and collective action. It is being done as a collaboration between ACPACS and the Program on International Conflict Resolution at Sabanci University in Istanbul Turkey (Nimet Beriker, Esra Cuhadar, Betul Celik).

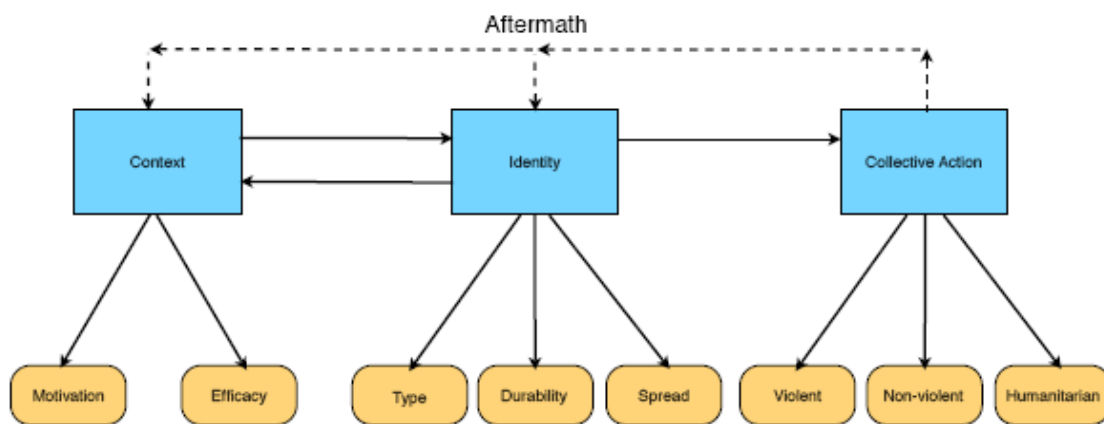
## **Decisions for Collective Action**

This project focuses on the role of group and national identity in various types of collective actions. It features the decision to take action and asks about factors that influence that decision. Thus, our perspective is from the standpoint of the decision-maker who usually represents a collectivity (group, organization, nation). The interest is less about those decision-makers' *own* identities and attachments than about various *drivers and constraints* on their decisions to act.

We construe decision makers as negotiating representatives. As in many negotiations, they must be responsive to their constituencies (or, in some cases, principals). Our framework identifies five aspects of

“constituencies” (or populations) that may drive or constrain decisions to take action on behalf of the group or nation: These aspects are motivation, efficacy, type of identity, durability of identity, and spread of identity. The motivational and efficacy variables resemble those measured by Gurr and Davies (2002). The identity variables are based on my three-factor theory of national identity (Druckman, 2001).

An organizing framework for the project shows that the identity variables mediate the relationship between context and collective actions as follows.



**Figure 1. Identity and Collective Action Framework.**

Although this project was inspired by Gurr and his colleagues earlier work on ethno-political conflicts, there are important differences between the projects. Their research focuses on the action itself, coded as events (dependent variables). We are concerned (in our first phase) with the

decisions to take action. We do not focus specifically on ethnic groups, although the distinction between national and ethnic identities is often blurred. They explore the impacts of 19 variables on violent collective actions: These are organized into the categories of incentives for action, group identity, group capacity, and domestic and international opportunity factors. We consolidate these variables into three categories, motivation to act, efficacy in acting (which together are contextual variables), and group identity. Our motivational variable is similar to their international opportunities for collective action, but also includes threat. Our efficacy variable is similar to their group organization and territorial concentration indicators. Our political system variable, a part of group identity, incorporates their repression, restrictions, and autocratic or mixed polities indicators. The other two parts of identity (which we call durability and spread) are not included in their set but derive from my theoretical work on national identity.

Unlike their project – and most studies of political or ethnic violence – we focus on several types of collective actions. This includes violent, non-violent, and humanitarian actions. We know little about the decisions for non-violent protests and probably less about why nations (or other groups such as NGOs) participate in humanitarian missions in other countries. It will be interesting to learn whether the same (or different)

variables that influence decisions to act violently also influence decisions to act in non-violent ways.

At the heart of this project are questions about identity. We posit that features of group identity contribute in important ways to various kinds of group action. Some clues about these relationships can be found in the theoretical literature, including my recent writing. However, there is very little empirical evidence about these impacts. We know more about how actions spring from intentions and capabilities – which seem easier to measure – than about the role of emotional (or sentimental) attachments. Government-supported research and, thus, much of the academic IR literature, has emphasized actor motivations and efficacy, usually with regard to violent collective behaviour. Intelligence assessments and strategic planning are based largely on estimates of these factors. This project adds identity variables to the dominant framework and asks about their relative influence -- first with regard to decisions to act and then with regard to actions taken in the context of cases.

There are at least two ways of construing the relationship between identity and the contextual variables of motivation and efficacy. One is in terms of interactive effects: With regard to motivation, strong identities can intensify the motivation to act. On efficacy, strong identities enhance

cohesion which contributes to performance. This interactive approach is suited to the study of group action or performance, where the dependent variables are the actions themselves. Another approach is in terms of independent effects: Identity variables are orthogonal to contextual variables. This approach may be suited to the study of the way decisions are made and guides this phase of the research.

The decision-making focus of this phase of the project is also mostly missing from the earlier research. Our project attempts to fill this gap in understanding conflict. Specifically we learn about:

- a. The decisions that precede and precipitate actions;
- b. the calculations of decision-makers in the role of group representative;
- c. the way that different kinds of conflict situations impact on decisions, and
- d. the way that the same set of contextual and identity variables influence different types of actions -- violent, non-violent, and humanitarian missions.

The first-phase data collection is a static, comparative analysis. It is static because it assesses decisions at a point in time. It is comparative because

it explores different situations and collective actions. The methodology is designed to tease out the influences and to evaluate their impact on judgments. And, it is intended to connect to the next phases in which actual actions are taken in selected or sampled cases. It will be interesting to discover whether the key influences on decisions to act are also the primary indicators of the actions taken.

### Research Design

For each type of collective action (violent, non-violent, humanitarian) four scenarios were written. They differ in terms of direction of the five variables. In one scenario, both the contextual (motivation, efficacy) and the identity (political system, durability, spread) variables were geared in the direction of taking action: For the violent scenario, these are severe threat, high readiness, an autocratic regime, widespread support, and durable nationalist identities. In another scenario, these variables were geared toward inaction: for example, a moderate threat, low efficacy, a democratic system, limited support, and fluid internationalist identities. The other two scenarios were mixed such that the contextual variables were geared toward action (or inaction) while the identity variables were geared toward inaction (action). However, the meaning of “geared toward action or inaction” depends on the type of collective action considered. For example autocratic regimes with nationalist populations are geared

for taking violent action. Democratic regimes with internationalist populations are geared for committing to humanitarian missions.

The story for humanitarian missions (geared toward taking action) unfolds in the following way.

### THE SITUATION

You are a national decision-maker from Canasia, which has a democratically elected government where citizens are encouraged but not required to show loyalty to the State. You are faced with the following situation and must make a decision.

A far away country, Asghania, is a failed state and relies on the support of the international community, including your country, to provide security and to distribute humanitarian aid to its impoverished people, whose survival is threatened by the local warlords in the country. Your country is a well-developed nation, which historically has been a contributor to international peacekeeping and humanitarian operations. Your military and civilian support are well-trained in peacekeeping and humanitarian operations. Public opinion polls show that there is widespread support among your citizens for sending your peacekeepers on a humanitarian mission to Asghania and most of your citizens regard their national identity as one of their several group identities. The majority of your citizens regard themselves as internationalists.

You must now decide whether you want to send your peacekeepers on a costly humanitarian mission to Asghania which aims at providing security and humanitarian assistance to the people there. Based on the information you received above, will you send your military and civilian peacekeepers to Asghania or not take any action at all? (circle one)

You will notice that there are five underlined elements in this situation. These must be taken into account in making your decision: *your nation's political system, the economic situation and the historical record of your country, the training and readiness of your peacekeepers, the spread of support throughout your population for your actions, and the strength of your citizens' identity within the nation*. We ask you to compare these features of the situation in terms of their relative importance in influencing your decision. This is done with the following procedure.

The matrix below lists each of the elements along the side and at the top. You will compare each element with each of the other elements as a pair-wise comparison. For example, if you think that your nation's political system is a more important influence on your decision than the economic situation and historical record of the country,

circle *more*; if the peacekeeper's readiness is less important than the spread of support, circle *less*. Please make a decision of more or less influence on your decision for each of the ten comparisons. Remember you are being asked to compare the row factor with each factor in the four columns.

Examples of a violent and non-violent scenario can be found in the Appendix.

In technical terms, this is a 4 (number of scenarios) by 3 (number of collective actions) research design. This design permits comparisons among both various configurations of the variables and types of actions. (This is an advantage of the large-N approach to research.) The comparisons are made among scaled weights for each of the five variables by scenario and by type of collective action. Questions asked are: Do the weights change for the different types of situations for each collective action?, Do the weights change for the different types of collective action? For example, is motivation *more* or less important than efficacy in situations where both are geared to taking action? Is spread more or *less* important than durability as an influence on decisions to promote humanitarian missions?

Since theory is relatively undeveloped in this area, the study is exploratory rather than a test of theoretically-derived hypotheses. The results will contribute to separating more from less important influences on decisions. The findings will contribute to the development of a theory

of decision-making for collective action. They can also be considered as hypotheses for further evaluation in field settings. Although this is descriptive project, the results should have value for practitioners by alerting them to the way decisions about collective actions are made by other countries or groups (rather than the way they should be made by our own country).

#### Data Collection and Analysis

Data have been collected from large classes at the UQ (the violent collective action scenarios) as well as Bilkent (the humanitarian mission scenarios) and Sabanci (the non-violent scenarios) Universities in Turkey. A total of 64 scenarios was distributed at each University, divided into roughly 16 per condition (scenario) for each of the three types of collective actions. There were roughly 180 respondents across the conditions and types of collective action scenarios.

A random-numbers table was used to order the questionnaires before dissemination in the classes. This satisfies the requirement of random assignment to condition or type of scenario. For most role players the

task takes about 15-20 minutes to complete. There were no apparent problems with understanding the situations or the rating task.

After reading about the situation, role-players were asked to make a decision: For the violent scenario – “Based on the information you received above, will you mobilize your army for action against your neighbour or only put them on readiness alert?” For the humanitarian mission scenario – “Based on the information you received above, will you send your military and civilian peacekeepers to Asghania or not take any action at all? (circle one) They then were asked to complete a pair-comparison exercise. This consists of comparing each variable with each of the other variables, resulting in 10 judgments of more or less importance in influencing their decision. Judgments were made in the following format.

**a more or less important factor in your decision than:**

	Your economy/historical record	Your peacekeeper’s readiness	The spread of citizen support	The strength of citizens’ identity within your nation
<b>Is your political system</b>	More/less	More/less	More/less	More/less
<b>Is your economy /historical record</b>		More/less	More/less	More/less

<b>Is your peacekeepers' readiness</b>			More/less	More/less
<b>Is the spread of support</b>				More/less

Role-players were told to make decisions by circling “more” or “less” for each comparison without leaving any blank. The method of pair comparisons produces values on a psychological scale. The procedure gives the number and proportion of times each element is judged as being more important than each of the other elements. This produces a proportions matrix, which is then converted into areas of the normal curve. This then produces an interval scale. Based on Thurstone’s law of comparative judgment, the procedure is suited especially for *similar* elements such as colors judged for pleasantness, samples of handwriting judged for excellence, or vegetables judged for taste. We take some license for this task. Here we are asking respondents to judge *different* elements for importance. To the extent that the comparisons can be made, we have confidence that resulting scales are meaningful. We have reason to believe that the five variables can be ordered and, thus, compared in pair-wise fashion. An advantage of the procedure is that it allows for direct comparisons of situations and actions, which is the goal of this phase of the project. (The complete set of computational procedures is shown in the progress report prepared in April, 2006.)

## Results

The resulting weights for each of the four scenarios by type of collective action are presented in this section. For each scenario, the five factors are ordered in terms of the size of the weights. The higher the weight, the more important the factor is judged in that scenario. Spacings between factors are rough indications of distance between the weights. [The findings are summarized following the presentation of the scaled weights.]

### **Violent action**

(1) High threat/readiness, high nationalism (n = 16)

Threat	2*
Readiness/efficacy	1.63
Spread	1.17
Durability	1.11
Political system	.70

In this scenario, threat trumps all other factors followed by readiness.

\* All the scales are inverted in order to present the variables in a descending order of importance from higher to lower weights. Each calculated weight is subtracted from 1 or 2.

(2) Low threat/readiness, low nationalism (n = 17)

Threat	1
Spread	.95
Readiness/efficacy	.62
Political system	.54
Durability	.34

In this scenario, spread and threat are about equal as the most important factors influencing the decision.

(3) High threat/readiness, low nationalism (n = 16)

Spread	1
Threat	.98
Readiness/efficacy	.58
Political system	.17
Durability	0

In this scenario, spread and threat are about equally strong in influencing decisions.

(4) Low threat/readiness, high nationalism (n = 16)

Spread	1
Threat	.92
Political system	.69
Readiness/efficacy	.69
Durability	.47

In this scenario spread and threat are the strongest factors followed by political system and readiness, which are equally important.

The key findings for the violent action scenarios are as follows.

(1) Threat is always strong but only trumps the other factors in the first scenario (high threat/readiness, high nationalism).

(2) One identity variable, spread, is judged as being very strong in scenarios 2, 3, and 4.

(3) The political system variable is moderately strong in the fourth scenario.

(4) The efficacy factor is only moderately strong in each of the scenarios.

(5) Durability is weak in all four scenarios.

These results suggest that, for decisions about taking violent collective action, spread of support is as important as the threat and more important than efficacy. Strength of identity (durability) is a relatively unimportant consideration in these sorts of decisions, irrespective of whether it is high (primary identity) or low (one of several identities). It seems that the severity of the threat and spread of support are the primary drivers or sources for these decisions.

### **Humanitarian Missions**

The scaling of variables for the humanitarian action scenarios are as follows.

1. All factors geared toward action (n = 15):

Readiness/efficacy	2*
Economy	1.8

Spread	1.73
--------	------

System	.91
Durability	.62

This scale has a substantial gap between the top three and bottom two factors.

\*Each calculated weight is subtracted from 2 in order to present a descending order of importance, from higher to lower weights.

2. All factors geared toward inaction (n = 15):

Economy	2
Readiness/efficacy	1.93
Spread	1.87
Durability	1.73
System	1.63

This scale is roughly evenly spaced.

3. Context geared toward action, identity geared toward inaction (n = 15):

Economy	2
Spread	1.92
System	1.68
Durability	1.65
Readiness/efficacy	1.50

This scale has a small gap between the top two and bottom three factors.

4. Context geared toward inaction, identity geared toward action (n=15):

Spread	2
Economy	1.70
System	1.58
Readiness/efficacy	1.55
Durability	1.44

The gap in this scale is between the top factor and the other four variables.

The key findings for the humanitarian scenarios are as follows.

- (1) The motivational variable (economy) is consistently strong
- (2) Spread is also consistently strong, and is very strong (a trumping effect) in scenario 4.
- (3) Readiness is inconsistent, it flip flops from being strong in scenarios 1 and 2 (unidirectional coding) to be generally weak in the mixed scenarios 3 and 4.
- (4) Durability is consistently weak.
- (5) The largest split between the variables occurs in scenario 1 but an interesting split occurs also in scenario 4, where spread sits alone at the top.

These results are more remarkable for their similarities than for their differences to those obtained with the violent-action scenarios. In both, the motivational variable is consistently strong, whether defined as a threat or in terms of the economy. Spread is consistently strong in both types of scenarios, with the strongest effects in the mixed scenarios 3 and 4. Readiness is similarly inconsistent for both types of collective action, stronger in scenarios 1 and 2 than in 3 and 4.

I turn now to the results obtained from the non-violent scenarios.

## Non-Violence

The scaling of the variables on non-violent actions is as follows.

1. All variables geared toward action (n = 13).

Durability	1
Threat	.84

Spread	.51
--------	-----

System	.33
Readiness	.29

Durability and threat are the top two with spread between them and the bottom two variables, system and readiness

- 2 All variables geared toward inaction (n = 12):

Spread	1
--------	---

Readiness	.78
Durability	.60
Threat	.42

System	.05
--------	-----

Spread is judged to be most important with equal spacing between three of the four other variables.

3. Context geared toward action, identity toward inaction (n = 16):

Threat	1
--------	---

Spread	.88
System	.87

Readiness	.54
-----------	-----

Durability .22

Threat is most important, durability is least important with readiness equidistant from spread/system and durability.

4. Context geared toward inaction, identity toward action (n = 13):

Durability	1
Readiness	.84
System	.80
Threat	.54
Spread	.46

Durability is judged as most important followed by two clusters, readiness and system are more important than threat and spread.

The key findings for the non-violent scenarios are the following.

- (1) Durability of identity is most important in the two scenarios where identity variables are geared toward taking non-violent protests.
- (2) The severity of the threat is most important in the two scenarios where the context variables are geared toward taking non-violent actions.
- (3) The other three variables, readiness, spread, and political system, are inconsistent from one scenario to another.

It is of interest to note that this is the only type of collective action where durability of identity is a strong influence on decisions. When the

constituent population consists mostly of patriots, decisions are based primarily on this information. As in the other types of collective actions, threat is important, but only in the scenarios where the threat is serious. Spread is less important in these scenarios than in the others. However the effects of spread, like readiness and political system, are inconsistent.

## Discussion

This phase of the project is a large-N data collection. Judgments were made by about 180 respondents, each of whom played a role of policy maker in one of 12 situations (four configurations for each of three types of collective actions). Key advantages of large-N research designs are the discovery of patterns and the making of comparisons. Working in an etic (rather than emic) tradition, we are interested in the larger picture, painted in broad strokes, rather than in the fine details. That picture consists of analyzing the way that the five variables behave across the scenarios and collective actions. A pattern does emerge. The details consist of comparisons of scenarios within types of actions. These are more difficult to interpret.

The pattern highlights three of the five variables, motivation, spread of support, and durability of identity. Motivation and spread are the primary

drivers of decisions for both violent and humanitarian actions. These variables have dominant effects across the four scenarios, whether they are geared toward action (severe threat, widespread support) or inaction (modest threat, limited support). These findings suggest a general, two-factor theory of action.

Durability plays an important role in decisions to take non-violent actions. This variable is dominant when it is geared in the direction of taking action (primary identity for a patriotic population) but not when it is geared toward inaction (one of several identities, a population of internationalists): Perhaps durability is a more important consideration for less-costly collective actions. The choice to take the more-costly violent and humanitarian actions depend more on readiness and the severity of the threat. Similarity, motivation, defined as severity of the threat, is a strong influence on decisions only when the threat is severe. These findings suggest a contingency theory of action: Durability and motivation are drivers *under some circumstances*.

These findings can be regarded as hypotheses which take the following form:

1. Motivation in the form of threat will drive decisions about taking violent actions against the source of threat.

2. Motivation in the form of economic development and experience will drive the decision to participate in humanitarian missions.
3. Spread in the form of population support for action will drive decisions to about taking violent actions against the source of the threat.
4. Spread in the form of population support for humanitarian missions will drive the decision to undertake those missions.
5. Durability in the form of primary identity will drive decisions to organize for non-violent protests.
6. Motivation in the form of severity of threat will drive decisions to organize for non-violent protests.
7. Type of political systems (as democratic or authoritarian) will be a less-important influence on decisions to take violent, non-violent, and humanitarian collective actions.

8. Readiness for action will be a less-important influence on decisions to take violent, non-violent, or humanitarian actions.

Another, perhaps more practical, way of interpreting these findings is in terms of levers for action. Policy-makers can energize their own populations by manufacturing severe threats and rallying citizen support. They can provoke other nations by posing a severe threat to nations with strongly patriotic populations. The Iraq wars are examples. But, they can also encourage support from other nations for their own plight by appealing to developed countries with a history of, and widespread support for, aid. The Tsunami crisis is an example.

With regard to the importance of identity variables, spread of support appears to be the key driver (along with motivation) of decisions.

Durability comes into play but only in a contingent way for less-costly non-violent actions. We would conclude that the role played by some identity variables is as significant as that played by some context variables, and is a more important influence on decisions than readiness to act. However, there remains much to be learned about these variables.

One question to be asked concerns the sequencing of decisions: In what order is the information about these variables processed on the way to making decisions? This can be assessed with a decision task where respondents are asked to report on how they use the information in making decisions. Another question concerns interactive or correlated effects: Does a severe (non-severe) threat serve to mobilize (discourage) support for an action?, Is widespread (limited) support easier to mobilize with nationalistic (internationalist) populations? This can be discovered with a factorial design that allows for all combinations of the key variables or with correlational statistics.

A third question is about the issue of extrapolation: Would policy-makers respond in similar ways to these situations? This can be addressed by recruiting experts or policy makers to respond to the same scenarios. However, the difficulty of recruiting large samples of experts precludes making comparisons among various situations and types of actions.

## Next Steps

As I mentioned earlier, this project – referred to as PICA – comes in three parts. The scenario data collection, reported in this paper, is the first

phase. Looming large over these results is the shadow of extrapolation. That issue remains to be addressed. We will need to recruit policy makers and/or experts to respond to the same scenarios. An advantage of this approach is that it is easy to make the judgments in a short amount of time. A problem is that we will not have the captive population of respondents provided by classes. To an extent, this problem can be overcome by administering all the scenarios and actions to each expert. The data would be analysed as repeated measures, providing us with similar comparisons. The experts would be academics specializing in problems of international collective action. An added bonus would be experience in foreign policy making within governments. Of interest is the question of whether the motivational and spread variables are judged by them to be the key drivers of action decisions.

The second phase will consist of matched case comparisons. Focusing attention on collective actions – rather than decisions –we would ask about the relative importance of context and identity variables. Cases permit us to explore a wider range of collective actions in each of our categories – violent, non-violent, and humanitarian. It would contribute also to the development of a typology of action.

The scenario results alert is to focus on the motivational and spread variables. The four combinations of matching are: high on motivation, high on spread; low motivation, low spread, and the two mixed combinations. The drivers are the independent variables used to select the cases and time periods. Collective actions are the dependent variables that are free to vary and can be assessed with events data. Most similar and most different matchings will guide the comparisons.

The third phase is planned as an aggregate case data collection along the lines of Gurr's research. It will entail a sampling of cases, access to information for indicators, and a code-book for defining the contextual and identity variables. The purpose of this phase will be to assess relationships among the framework's variables and collective actions across a broad sampling of cases. Emphasizing the generality of findings, this approach also lends itself to modelling.

## References

- Druckman, D. (2001) "Negotiation and identity: Implications for negotiation theory." *International Negotiation* 6: 281-291.
- Druckman, D. (1993). "The situational levers of negotiating flexibility." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 37: 236-276.

Guilford, J.P. (1954). *Psychometric Methods*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Gurr, T.R. and J. Davies (2002). “Dynamics and management of ethnopolitical conflicts.” In J. Davis and E. Kaufman (Eds.) *Second Track/Citizens’ Diplomacy*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.

**\* The project is being done as a collaboration among Nimet Beriker, Esra Cuhadar, and Betul Celik of Sabanci University in Istanbul and Daniel Druckman at ACPACS.**

## Appendix

Examples of two scenarios are shown in this Appendix. The first is the violence scenario with the five factors geared in the direction of taking action. The second is a non-violent action scenario with the factors geared toward action.

### **THE SITUATION** (violent action)

You are a national decision from Anice, which has a *non-elected autocratic regime where pledges of allegiance to the flag are required*. You are faced with the following situation and must make a decision.

A neighboring country, Izeria, has territorial or imperialist ambitions and has *mobilized its troops along your border. Your conscripted, well-organized and trained army is ready for action.* Public-opinion polls show *widespread support among your citizens* for taking immediate action and most of your citizens have *strong ties to the nation which they regard as their primary group identity. The majority of your citizens consider themselves to be strongly nationalistic*

You must now decide whether to act against this threat. Based on the information you received above, will you mobilize your army for action against your neighbor Izeria or only put them on readiness alert? (circle one)

You will notice that there are five *underlined italicized* elements in this situation. These must be taken into account in making your decision: *your nation's political system, the severity of the external threat, the readiness of your army, the spread of citizen support throughout your population, and the strength of your citizens' identity with the nation.* We ask you to compare these features of the situation in terms of their relative importance in influencing your decision. This is done with the following procedure.

The matrix below lists each of the elements along the side and at the top. You will compare each element with each of the other elements as a pairwise comparison. For example, if you think that your nation's political system is a more important influence than the severity of the threat, circle *more*; if the army's readiness is less important than the severity of the threat circle *less*, and so on. Please make a decision of *more* or *less* influence for each of the ten comparisons.

### **Pair-Comparisons**

*a more or less important factor in your decision than*

the threat	readiness	spread	strength of citizen identity
------------	-----------	--------	------------------------------------

Is type of political system	more/less	more/less	more/less	more/less
Is severity of threat		more/less	more/less	more/less
Is readiness for action			more/less	more/less
Is spread of citizen support				more/less

### THE SITUATION (non-violent action)

You are a national decision maker from Anice, which has an elected democratic government where citizens are encouraged but not required to show loyalty to the government. You are faced with the following situation and must make a decision.

A neighboring country, Izeria, has territorial or imperialist ambitions. Their media conveys the impression that they will use force if necessary to control your political process. You have a well-organized network of citizens' organizations. Public-opinion polls show widespread support among your citizens for protesting the actions of your neighbor and most of your citizens regard their national identity as one of several group identities. The majority of your citizens consider themselves to be internationalists.

You must now decide whether to act against *this threat*). Based on the information you received above, you have the option to encourage your citizens and non governmental organizations (NGOs) to organize non-violent activities which would include peaceful street demonstrations in

your country to protest your neighbor's actions. These demonstrations will be covered by the media. Such activities could of course escalate or get unruly, making it necessary to mobilize police forces in each city of the country. What will you do? *Will you organize your citizens and NGOs around the country to demonstrate against your neighbor Izeria or will you wait for further indications of Izeria's intentions before encouraging mass demonstrations of protest from your citizens? (circle one).*

You will notice that there are five *underlined italicized* elements in this situation. These must be taken into account in making your decision: *your nation's political system, the severity of the external threat, the readiness of your citizens' organizations to engage in demonstrations, the spread of citizen support for demonstrations throughout your population, and the strength of your citizens' identity with the nation.* We ask you to compare these features of the situation in terms of their relative importance in influencing your decision. This is done with the following procedure.

The matrix below lists each of the elements along the side and at the top. You will compare each element with each of the other elements as a pair-wise comparison. For example, if you think that your nation's political system is a more important influence than the severity of the threat, circle *more*; if the citizens' readiness is less important than the severity of the threat circle *less*, and so on. Please make a decision of *more* or *less* influence for each of the ten comparisons.

### Pair-Comparisons

*a more or less important factor in your decision than*

	the threat	your citizens' readiness	the spread of citizen support	the strength of citizens' national identity
Is your political system	more/less	more/less	more/less	more/less

Is the severity of  
threat

more/less

more/less

more/less

Is your citizens'  
readiness for  
action

more/less

more/less

Is the spread of  
citizen support

more/less