# Realism, Idealism, and American Public Opinion on Nuclear Disarmament

Mark Bell (MIT & Harvard University) Kai Quek (Hong Kong University)

#### SUMMARY

Under what conditions do mass publics support disarmament?

- Public support for disarmament has often been assumed rather than examined
- We examine the determinants of support for disarmament using two original survey experiments, and text analysis techniques to examine the reasons underlying support/opposition to disarmament
- Support for disarmament underpinned by idealistic thinking, but many of the concerns that realists have identified as barriers to disarmament (verification, reversability, etc) also reduce support for disarmament
- Independent voters particularly sensitive to realist concerns about verification, reversability, rogue states. The most politically important voters are those for whom support for disarmament is the most sensitive

#### Methodology

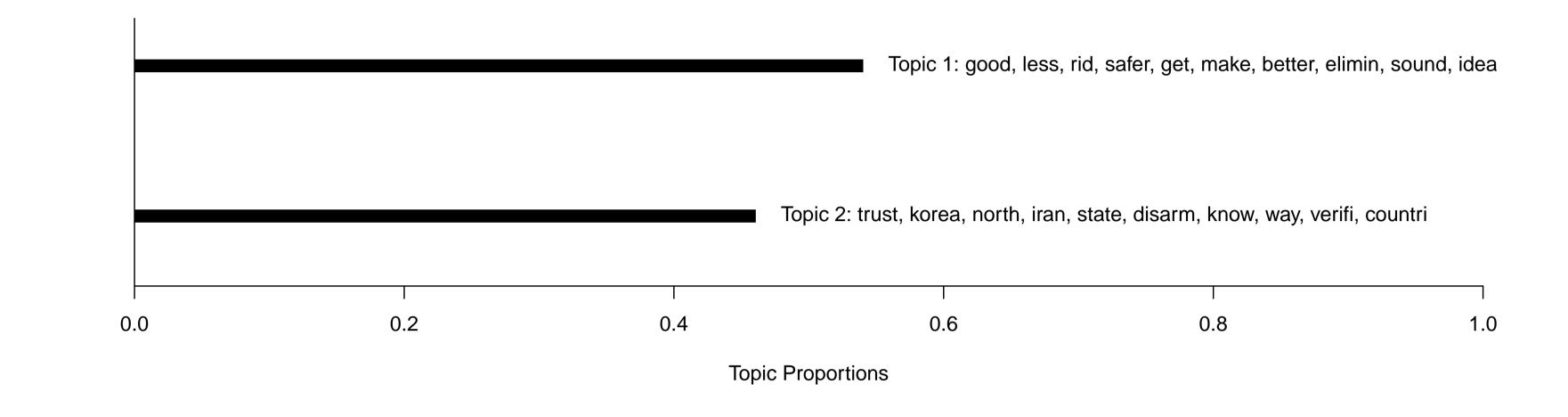
- ► Two survey experiments conducted on national samples of U.S. population
- Survey Sampling International (SSI) sample (1100 respondents)
- Amazon Mechanical Turk (AMT) sample (809 respondents)
- Provide a neutral description of a hypothetical future disarmament scenario, randomly altering key dimensions of the scenario.
- "Imagine that at some point in the future the U.S. government has proposed an ambitious plan for nuclear disarmament. Under the proposed plan, each nuclear-weapon state will commit to..."
- ► Examine average levels of support under the various treatment and control conditions
- Use new text analysis techniques to examine ideas underpinning support for disarmament

## Experimental Treatments

Variable	Treatments
Verifiability	Easy
	Difficult
Degree of disarmament	100% disarmament
	80% disarmament
Reversability	Easy
	Difficult
Nuclear "rogue states"	Have nuclear weapons
	No longer have nuclear weapons

#### Ideas Underpinning Disarmament

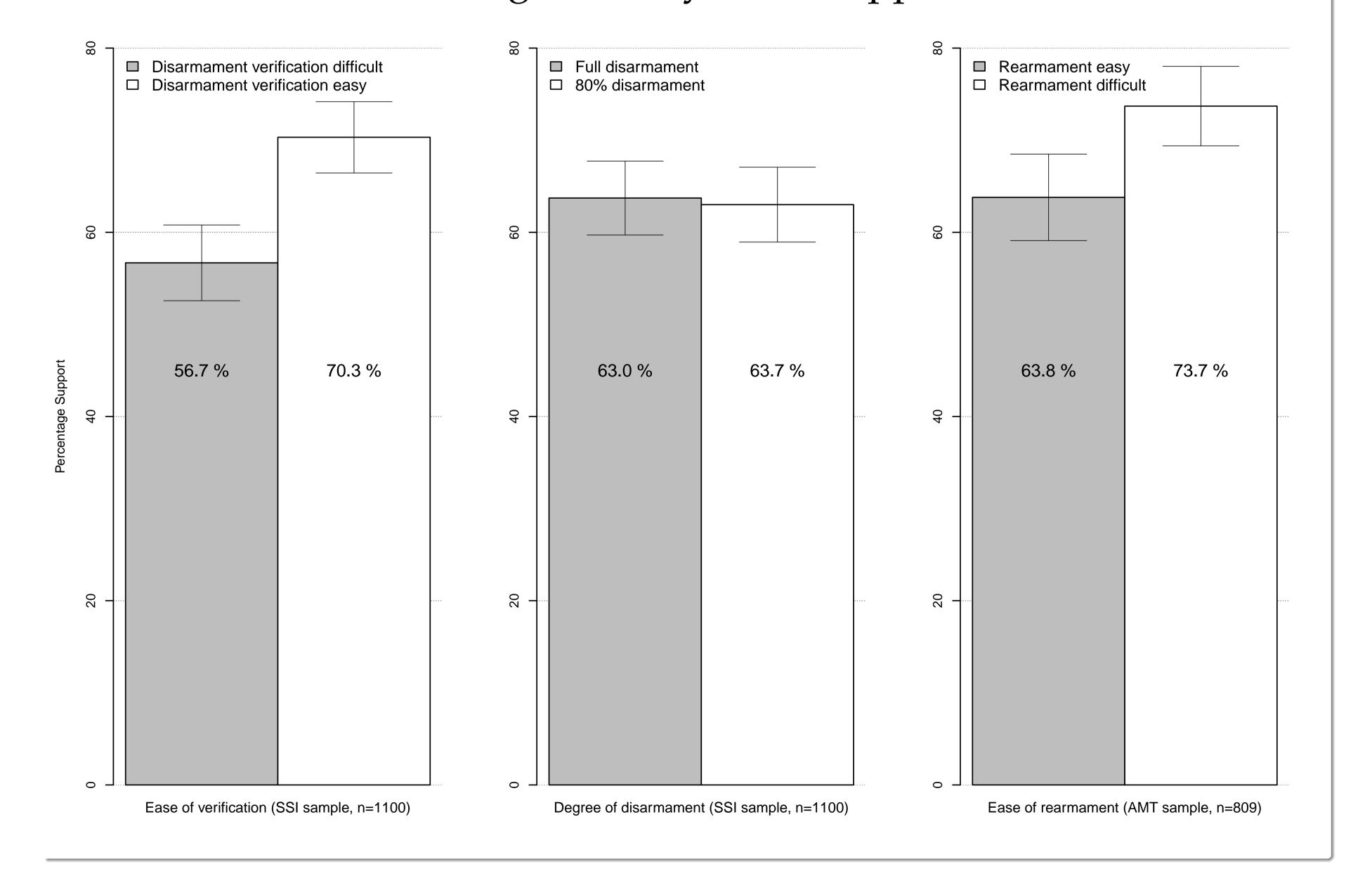
Structural topic model "uncovers" realist and idealist topics in survey responses—both are widespread in American public thinking on disarmament and affect support for disarmament



- Example of idealist thinking: "we need [a] clean environment and free world with no mass destruction weapons"
- Example of realist thinking: "I don't want the US to be without nuclear weapons because we would be unprotected from attack in case our intelligence is wrong about other nations being disarmed"
- Idealist language is associated with support for disarmament; realist language associated with opposition.

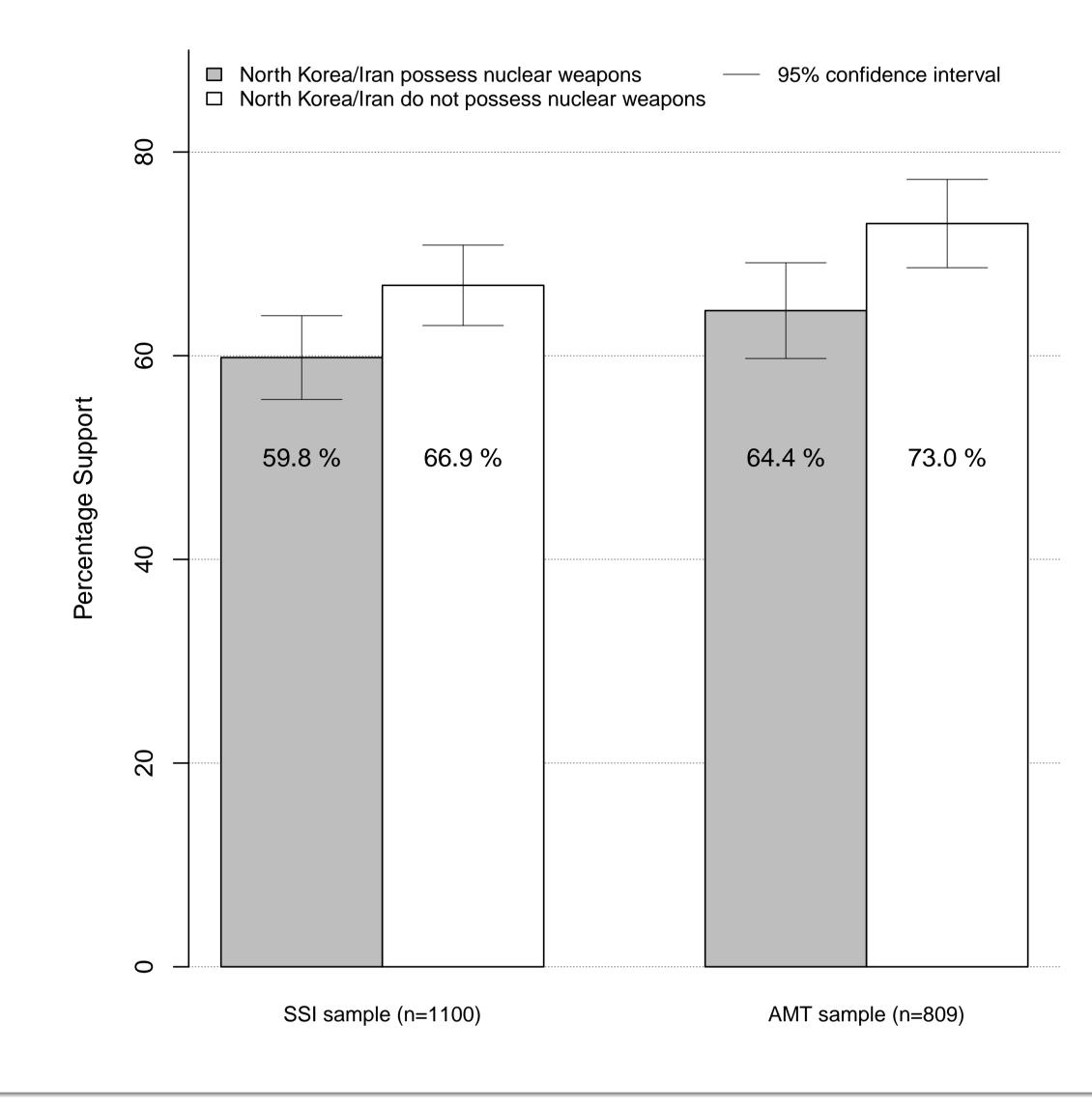
# Verification, Reversability & Scope

Difficulty of verification and ease of reversability both reduce support for disarmament. Whether the proposal is for full or deep disarmament does not significantly affect support for disarmament



#### "ROGUE STATES" WITH NUCLEAR WEAPONS

North Korea and Iran having nuclear weapons at the time of the proposal reduces support for disarmament by around 8 percentage points



### Independent Voters

Independent voters are substantially more sensitive to realist concerns than partisans. The most politically important voters are those for whom support for disarmament is the most sensitive

