

American Public Opinion on Human Rights and the Challenge of Humanitarian Intervention

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The peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Introduction

“Never again” was a phrase that emerged in the aftermath of World War II to describe the international community’s outrage over gross human rights violations that occurred, and its resolve to never allow such atrocities to be repeated. The message was clear: human rights must be protected above all else. However, translating this rudimentary moral ideal into tangible contemporary reality has shown to be anything but easy: genocide and other mass atrocities have been frequent and continue to occur today. History paints a distressing picture: we fail in response to human rights abuses on a number of levels, moral to political, individual to governmental. Americans purport to venerate human rights yet repeatedly give priority to other issues. Political leaders blame inaction in the face of human rights violations on a host of factors, notably lack of public will and shortcomings of the bureaucratic structure responsible for making key decisions. I undertook this research in order to better understand why humanity has failed to turn “never again” into reality over the past nearly 70 years. This research attempts to shed light on some of the 21st century’s most pressing human rights challenges.

The study of human rights issues is quintessentially multidisciplinary; it spans such subject areas as political science, economics, psychology, and sociology, among others. Our modern human rights culture was born from ideas of notable philosophers in the latter 18th century and continues to gain momentum in the 21st century. Since its 1776 inception, the U.S.

has been a global leader in human rights promotion. “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness” (United States Congress, 1776). The U.S. Constitution, including the Bill of Rights, constitutes the oldest continuous tradition of a written human rights system in the world today (Moravcsik, 2005).

Human rights gained normative status internationally in the 20th century, most notably after the U.S.-led victory of the Allied Powers over the Axis Powers in World War II. American President Franklin D. Roosevelt helped set the stage with his 1941 State of the Union address, also known as the “Four Freedoms” speech. Roosevelt pined for a world in which every person could enjoy freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear (Roosevelt, 1941). American political leaders, including both FDR and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, played key roles in the 1945 founding of the United Nations including aiding in the establishment of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the world’s first codified set of human rights guidelines (Steiner, Alston, & Goodman, 2007). The UDHR was later combined with the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to form the International Bill of Rights, the first human rights document to gain the force of international law (United Nations). For the first time in history, the state was forced to provide for the economic and social welfare of its citizens or face repercussions from the international community. The UN remains the institution which houses the common set of principles against which human rights practices of individual member states are measured and is the body primarily responsible for enforcing human rights laws and norms (Risse & Ropp, 2008).

The rights-based culture in the U.S. is closely tied with its democratic governmental structure; democracy empowers citizens to be involved in public policy formation by way of voting. Elected officials are charged with harnessing ideas and supporting policies that conform to the desires of the majority of their constituents. In theory, therefore, American policies represent the will of the majority of Americans. A paradox exists, however, in regards to professed American human rights values and its human rights policies, especially involving American foreign policy. The paradox lies in the “tension between the consistent rejection of the application of international norms” on the one hand, and the “venerable U.S. tradition of support for human rights” on the other (Moravcsik, 2005, p. 147). For example, the U.S. notably refuses to ratify key human rights treaties, the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women and the Convention on Rights of the Child, among others. This paradox in human rights policy, deemed by some as American “exceptionalism,” broadly raises the question I set out to explore in this project (Moravcsik, 2005).

In researching the American exceptionalism concept, I wondered how accurately both foreign and domestic U.S. policy reflects the will of the American people. That led me to ask what the will of the American people is in regards to human rights – the question that serves as the foundation for this research. Answers to questions such as this are typically sought by means of public opinion surveys, so I searched for literature containing human rights survey data. I was surprised by what I found – or, more accurately – what I did not find. To the best of my knowledge, there is no data reflecting Americans’ views on human rights in the existing academic literature. The most closely related project I could find is a report titled *Public Opinion on Global Issues* by the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), a U.S.-based foreign policy think tank (Council on Foreign Relations, 2011). My project advisor, Dr. Slovic, and I discussed the

relative dearth of information available on this topic and concluded that a survey examining Americans' attitudes toward human rights would be an important undertaking.

Method

I formulated questions for the survey, "Americans' Opinions on Human Rights," taking into consideration my internship experiences at the United Nations and the Oregon State Legislature and discussions with Dr. Slovic. Using the study by the Council on Foreign Relations as a starting point, we created questions we believed were pertinent to a growing body of academic literature in the field of human rights including general attitudes toward human rights, level of trust involving information exchange, personal actions to protect human rights and the role of the U.S. government and the UN generally and in response to human rights violations. Certain segments of the survey were prefaced by mini "tutorials" to ensure that all participants had the same basic background information before answering the pertinent questions. We also adapted questions from a similarly-structured survey, "American Opinions on Global Warming" by Anthony Leiserowitz (Leiserowitz, 2005). Demographic information pertaining to education, gender, political affiliation, and ideology (liberal to conservative) was also obtained along with questions allowing us to characterize general worldviews such as egalitarianism or preference for a hierarchically-structured society (Kahan, Braman, Gastil, Slovic, & Mertz, 2007). The resulting survey for the present study is available in the Appendix.

The survey was conducted online using Qualtrics survey software with assistance from Decision Research staff. Decision Research uses an existing pool of potential participants who are invited to take surveys by email and paid for their time. The Decision Research web panel

was constructed with funds from the National Science Foundation¹ for the express purpose of facilitating research into judgment and decision making. Selection of panelists began in 2008. Panel members are recruited online by a number of means (e.g. Google ads). Panel members must be at least 18 years old, be fluent in English, complete a short demographic questionnaire and a baseline psychological survey, and sign a privacy statement. The panel is comprised of roughly 1,500 members, primarily from the United States. As an opportunity sample, the panel is not intended to be statistically representative of any given population. However, it is diverse with regard to age, education, income, gender, and political orientation.

This survey was emailed to 661 individuals on March 5, 2014 and was closed on March 9, 2014. Completed surveys were returned by 292 individuals excluding 8 who were omitted for completing the survey too quickly. The 292 participants varied with respect to race, gender, education level, political views and political party affiliation, see Figure 1.

¹ NSF grant SES-1227729 to Decision Research.

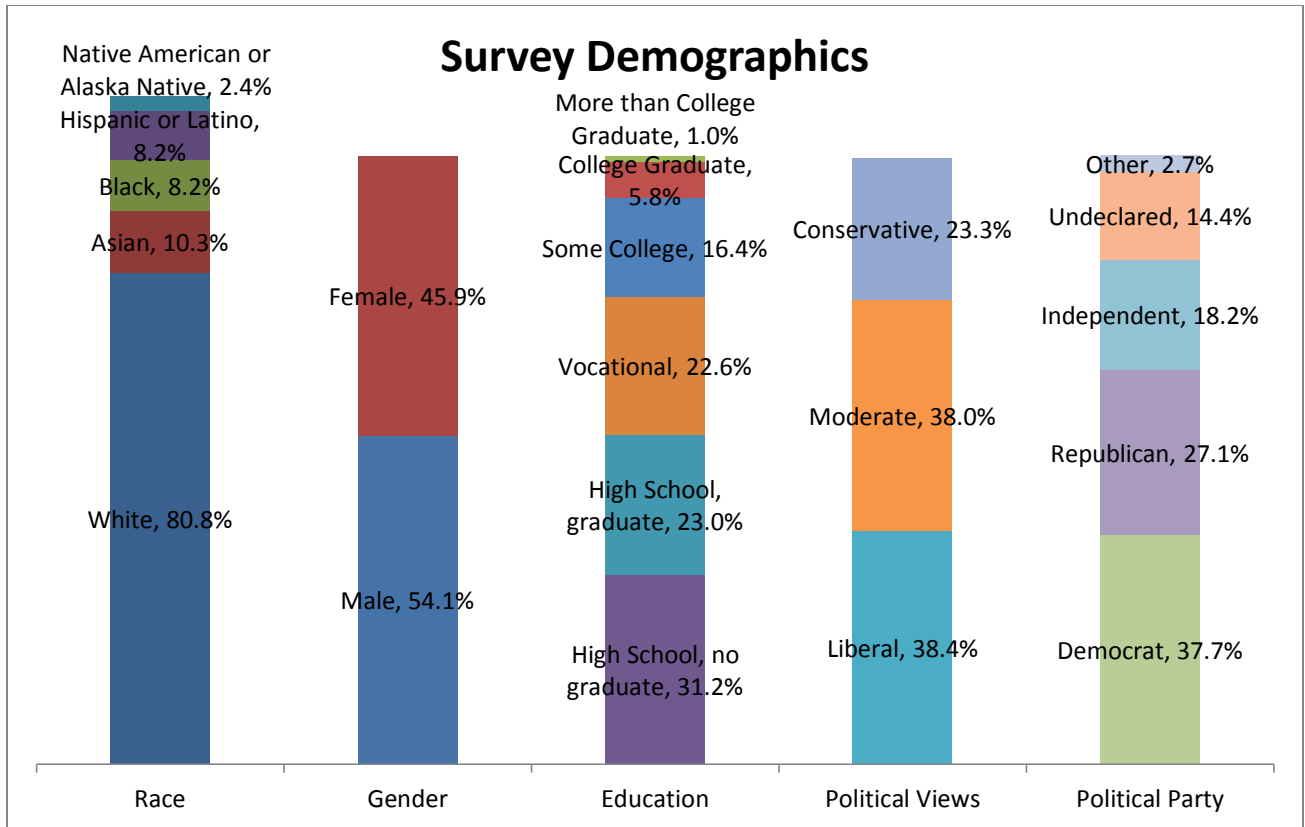


Figure 1: Survey demographics.

Results

General Attitudes and Feelings

I was both enlightened and surprised by the data collected from the survey. We began by asking general questions about human rights including how respondents feel about them and how concerned they are about protecting them. 84.3 percent stated they are familiar with human rights with the majority having positive feelings toward them. While 90.4 percent of respondents are concerned about protection of human rights in America, 78.4 percent agree that their local and state governments do well at supporting human rights and 79.8 percent agree that individual Americans do well at supporting them.

We asked to what degree respondents trust or strongly trust (as opposed to distrust or strongly distrust) various entities to tell the truth about human rights violations and found that they generally trust family and friends, human rights groups, scientists and doctors and generally distrust corporations and media outlets, see Figure 2.

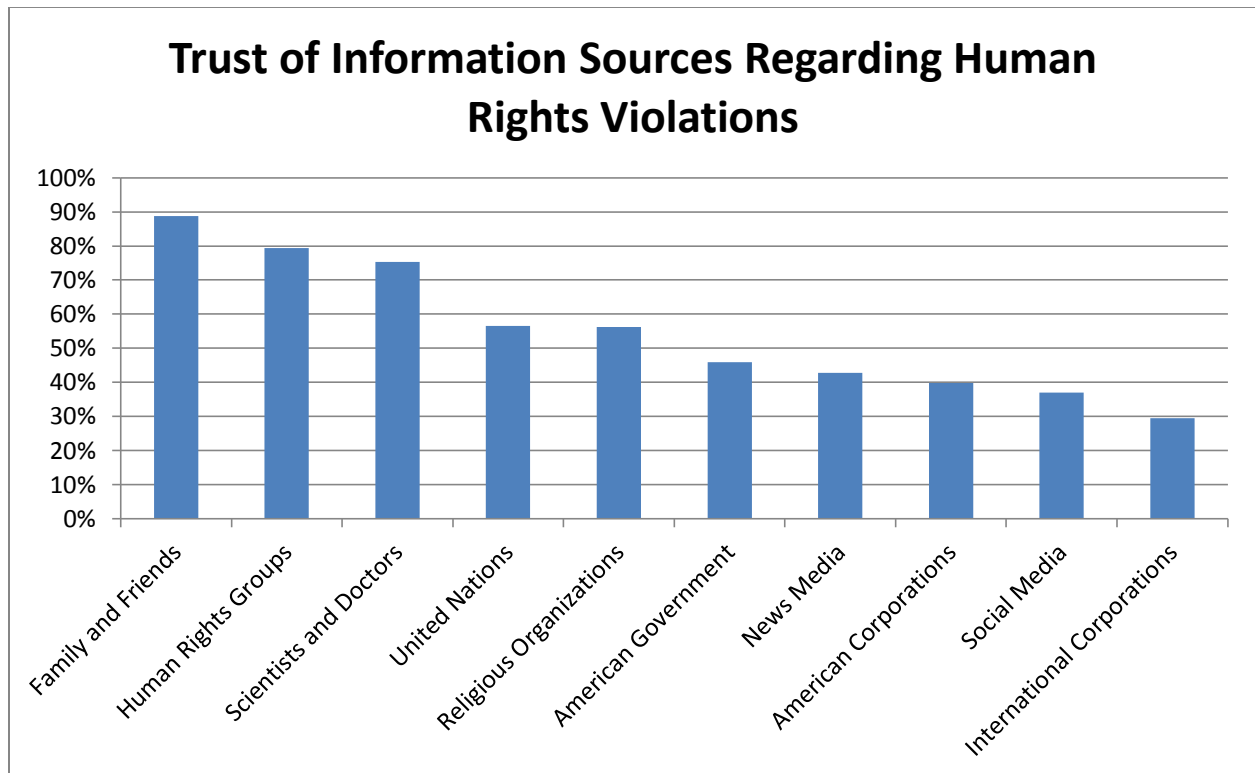


Figure 2: Percentage of respondents who trust or strongly trust information sources regarding human rights violations.

Efficacy and Action

We asked respondents to what degree they believe they can make a difference in supporting human rights (efficacy) and what action (if any) they have taken to do so at local, U.S., and global levels. Actions included joining, donating money to or volunteering with a

human rights organization, contacting elected officials regarding their views on human rights, and talking to family and friends about human rights issues. The data show a clear disconnect between efficacy and action: a strong majority of respondents agree that they can make a difference yet only a minority take action, see Figure 3.

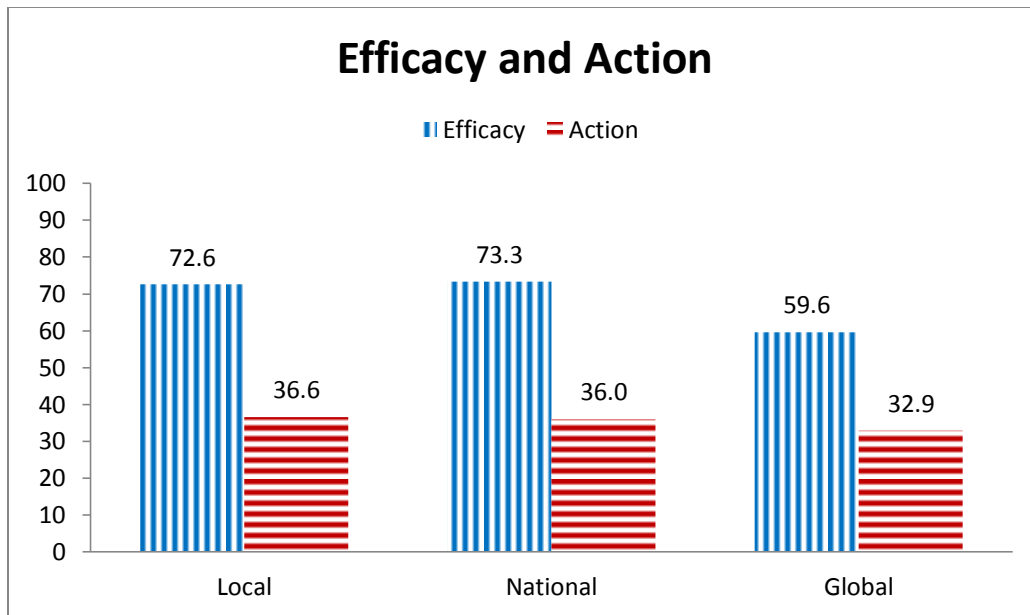


Figure 3: Percentage of respondents who agree they can make a difference in supporting human rights (efficacy) and percentage who often or occasionally take action to that effect.

Role and Priorities of the U.S. Government

The U.S. government obviously has many duties and responsibilities. We asked respondents about the role of the government regarding human rights and how it should prioritize its main responsibilities. Respondents overwhelmingly agree (91.8 percent) that hard-working Americans should not live in poverty and that it is the responsibility of the U.S. government to ensure that hard-working Americans do not live in poverty (78.8 percent). Over 90 percent of respondents agree that governments worldwide are responsible to protect human rights for all

people and over 80 percent agree that such protection is a role of the U.S. government. Generally speaking, respondents agree that the U.S. government is doing well at supporting human rights for Americans and for all people. These findings are broadly consistent with the CFR findings (Council on Foreign Relations, 2011).

Respondents were asked to rank in order of importance four key duties of the U.S. government: facilitating trade relations with other nations, protecting the environment, protecting human rights, and looking out for America's national security. Respondents ranked national security as the top priority followed by human rights, environment, and trade. Taking this line of questioning a step further, respondents were asked to prioritize types of human rights: freedom of expression, religious freedom, women's rights, racial and ethnic equality, and social and economic rights. Freedom of expression was found to be most important. An equal number of respondents ranked racial and ethnic equality and social and economic rights as next important. Women's rights came in fourth followed by religious freedom in fifth. It is important to note that these two questions do not address the overall importance of each of the key duties or types of human rights; they merely address their relative importance.

Role and Priorities of the United Nations

The results of our survey regarding the role and priorities of the United Nations were on par with those of the CDR surveys (Council on Foreign Relations, 2011). Our survey shows a strong majority (81.5 percent) of respondents agree that the UN is an important global body which provides valuable services to all its member states and 84.3 percent agree that the UN is responsible for protecting human rights for citizens of all countries. 62.0 percent of respondents agree that the UN serves to equalize the balance of economic power among member states and

57.2 percent agree that the UN has value even for economically powerful countries like the U.S. 71.3 percent of respondents agree that the UN does well at supporting human rights for all people.

Regarding funding the UN, a slight majority (52.7 percent) of respondents agree that the voting power of the U.S. at the UN should be greater than that of other nations because it makes the highest member contribution. Respondents were about evenly split as to whether or not the U.S. could better spend the money elsewhere that it currently spends on the UN.

Per its current structure, only the UN Security Council is authorized to make decisions regarding intervention in response to human rights abuses with each of the five permanent members of that Council (U.S., U.K., France, Russia, China) having veto power. However, 79.8 percent of respondents feel that decisions regarding intervention should be made by the General Assembly or by both the General Assembly and the Security Council and 66.8 percent agree that no country should have veto power in such a decision. This is an important finding, documenting that a clear majority of the survey respondents disagree with a key aspect of UN structure pertaining to intervention to protect human rights.

Intervention

The survey included two types of intervention questions pertaining to both the U.S. government and the UN. The first set of questions asked whether intervention was necessary based on a specific type of human rights violation – unequal treatment of women or genocide – without regard to the specific type of intervention used. Regarding response by the UN, respondents overwhelmingly agree that intervention by the UN is necessary in response to both types of violations, with substantially greater agreement in response to genocide (92.8 percent)

than to unequal treatment of women (76.7 percent). Regarding response by the U.S. Government, respondents were split on whether or not intervention by the U.S. government is necessary in response to unequal treatment of women (50.7 percent), but strongly agree that intervention is necessary in response to genocide (77.4 percent). See Figure 4.

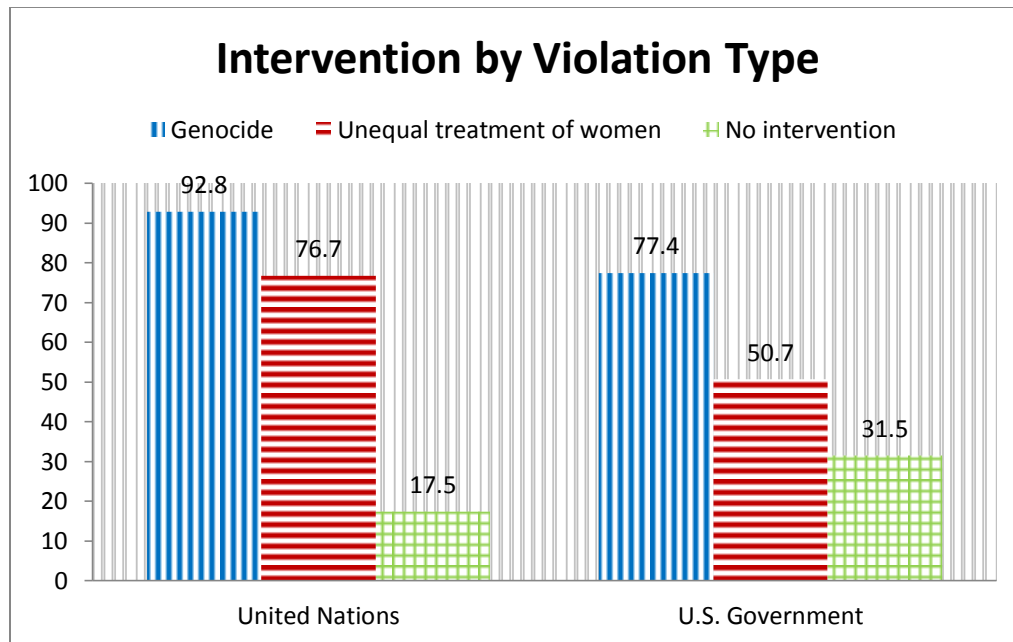


Figure 4: Percentage of respondents who agree that intervention is necessary in response to human rights violations of differing types.

A second set of questions asked what possible types of intervention are acceptable – diplomacy, economic sanctions, and/or military force – in response to both human rights violations (non-genocide) and genocide. A majority of respondents agree that of all types intervention are potentially necessary in response to both non-genocide and genocide violations by both the U.S. government and the UN. General data trends demonstrate that respondents are

more supportive of using diplomacy and sanctions versus military force and that military force is more highly accepted in response to genocide versus non-genocide. See Figures 5 and 6.

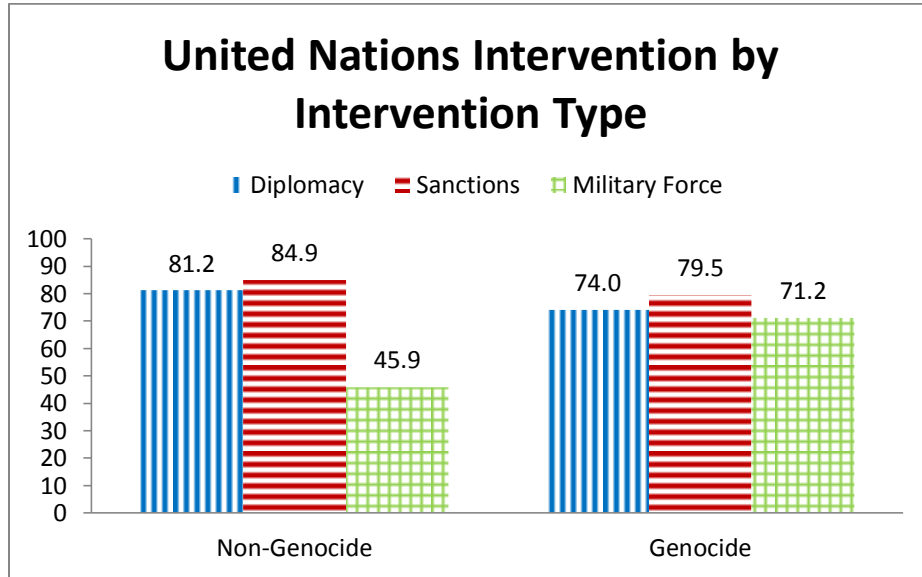


Figure 5: Percentage of respondents who agree that intervention of varying types is necessary by the UN in response to human rights violations.

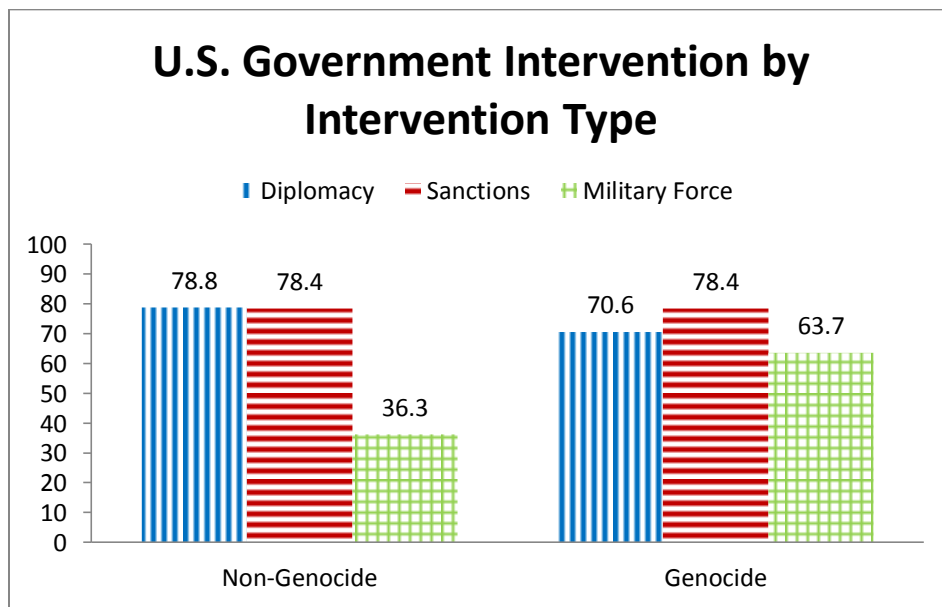


Figure 6: Percentage of respondents who agree that intervention of varying types is necessary by the U.S. Government in response to human rights violations.

Demographic Analysis

Education level, gender, and worldview appear to moderate respondents' attitudes to a number of human rights issues whereas age has less of an influence.

Education

Persons with more education claim to be more familiar with human rights issues. They more often belong, donate money to, and volunteer with human rights organizations. They more often discuss human rights issues with politicians, friends and family and have considerably more trust in scientists and educators to tell the truth about human rights violations.

Respondents with less formal education are more strongly in agreement that no hard-working American should live in poverty and are more likely to believe that the U.S. government is responsible for protecting human rights for all people. Those with less education are also more likely to believe that votes by the U.S. should carry more weight at the UN because the U.S. contributes more money to support that organization.

Gender

Women claim to be less familiar with human rights issues and are less likely to contact politicians about such issues. Women more strongly agree that no hard-working person should live in poverty and that it is the U.S. government's responsibility to protect human rights for all people. Women are more likely to disagree that the UN does not have much value for economically powerful nations like the U.S.

Worldviews

Persons in agreement with worldview statements supporting egalitarianism are more likely to trust the UN to tell the truth about human rights violations and are less likely to trust religious organizations in that regard. Egalitarians are more likely to assert that no hard-working person should live in poverty and that it is the responsibility of the U.S. government to ensure that hard-working Americans do not live in poverty. Egalitarians more likely believe that it is the responsibility of the U.S. government to protect human rights. They are more likely to disagree that membership in the UN does not have much value for economically powerful nations like the U.S. and to disagree that the money the U.S. spends as a member of the UN could be better put to use elsewhere.

Age

There were few correlates with age. Older people were more likely to agree that the UN does not do well at supporting human rights for Americans. Younger people expressed less trust in religious organizations to tell the truth about human rights violations.

Discussion

Efficacy and Action

A key point that arises from the data is the seeming disconnect between efficacy and action: people agree that they can make a difference yet relatively few actually take action to do so. In this study, nearly 7 in 10 people agree that they can make a difference in supporting human rights at local and national levels yet less than 4 in 10 often or occasionally take action. This phenomenon has been observed in similar studies, namely Anthony Leiserowitz's investigation into American attitudes toward global warming. Leiserowitz found that Americans perceived climate change as a moderate risk but viewed it as something that would predominantly impact

geographically and temporally distant people and places (Leiserowitz, 2005). A majority of Americans therefore do not take sufficient action to combat known causes of climate change. Likewise in our study, most Americans do not take action to support human rights despite agreeing that they can make a difference, regardless of whether the violation is occurring at home or abroad.

It may also be true that individuals, despite having the desire to support human rights, do not have the knowledge or ability to do so. However, the prospective actions included in this study offered a range in terms of cost and complexity, from participation with a human rights organization to writing a letter to simply talking with friends or family. Nearly 1 in 4 people stated they have never talked with friends or family about human rights issues – it seems unlikely that an individual does not have the knowledge or ability to merely talk with friends and family. Another possible explanation for the disconnect between efficacy and action is that a segment of the population simply does not care about human rights issues and therefore would not desire to take action, even if they felt such action could make a difference. In our study, 9.3 percent of respondents stated they are not concerned about protection of human rights in America, presumably either because they do not care or because they are satisfied with the status quo.

Priorities of the U.S. Government

It is not surprising that respondents believe national security to be a higher U.S. government priority than human rights. Abraham Maslow's 1943 publication "A Theory of Human Motivation" structures human needs as a hierarchy in which psychological and safety needs must be met before "higher" needs like self-actualization and esteem can be attained (Maslow, 1943), see Figure 7. Because "human rights" are likely to be categorized toward the

apex of Maslow's pyramid whereas "national security" rests in its foundation, it is therefore not surprising that public opinion reflects this pervasive psychological paradigm.

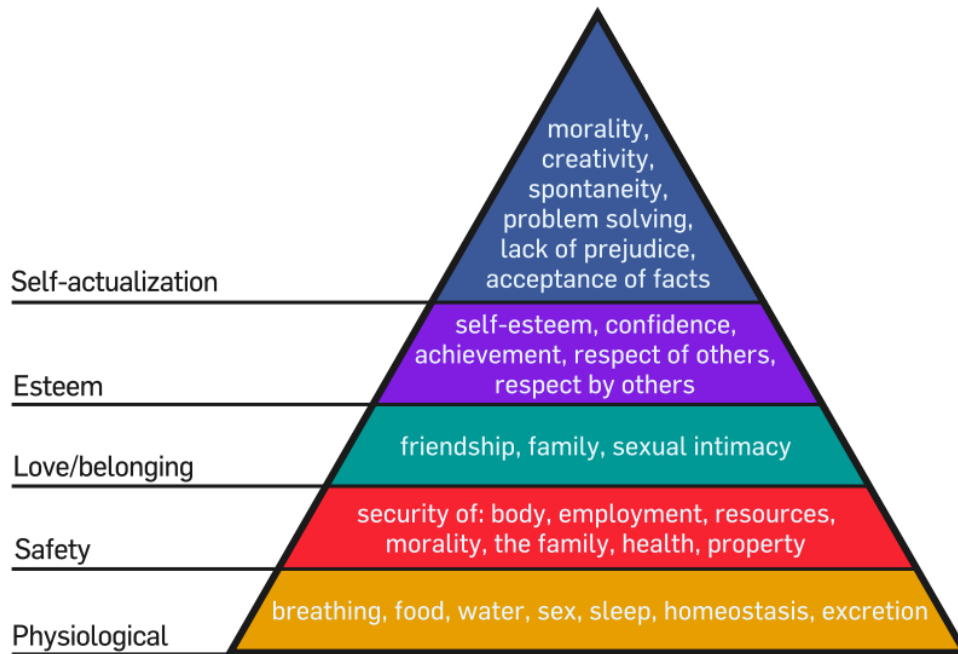


Figure 7: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs

Structure of the United Nations

A long-standing criticism of the UN surrounds its non-democratic structure, namely the disproportionate amount of power that rests with the permanent members of the Security Council: the U.S., U.K., France, Russia and China (Menegus, 2013). Despite the fact that all member states have a seat in the General Assembly, the UN is structured such that "high level" decisions are not made in the General Assembly. They are made in the Security Council. Additionally, only permanent members of the Security Council have veto power in "high level" decisions; it takes just one vote from one country to essentially "block" proposed action that may

be supported by every other member state. A high proportion of respondents agree that the status quo should be changed in order to distribute the balance of power more evenly among member states, including expanding decision making powers to the General Assembly and doing away with veto power entirely. Importantly, these views were generally consistent across respondents differing in education, gender, political affiliation and ideology (liberal to conservative), and worldview (hierarchist to egalitarian).

Intervention

It is quite clear that public opinion favors intervention in each situation presented in the present survey. The data show that respondents prefer use of diplomacy and sanctions more than use of military force. It is not surprising that respondents support action by the UN more than action by the U.S. government, although they agree that both entities should use any or all intervention types available.

Humanitarian intervention will be a controversial topic as long as our international system remains rooted in the 17th century idea of state sovereignty. Among the founding principles of the Westphalian idea is that sovereign states have the right to self-determination and should respect non-intervention in the internal affairs of other states (The International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, 2001). The non-intervention principle is obviously directly at odds with the idea of humanitarian intervention. Although some contemporary schools of thought share the opinion that states should respect the non-intervention principle, respondents in our survey decidedly agree that intervention by both the U.S. government and the UN is warranted in the face of human rights abuses with the primary responsibility falling to the UN. A strong majority of respondents agree that the UN should

intervene in some way when human rights violations are occurring. Survey questions regarding U.S. governmental intervention were prefaced with, “Consider a circumstance when the UN Security Council voted NOT to intervene but the U.S. government has the ability to intervene on its own.” A slight majority of respondents (50.7 percent) still agree that some type of intervention should be taken by the U.S. government, even without support from the UN. Therefore, although it should not be the U.S. government’s top priority, Americans surveyed opine that human rights protection is too important to merely stand idly by, thereby rebutting the non-intervention principle.

Genocide, the indiscriminate killing of individuals in order to destroy an ethnic, national, or religious group, is commonly known as a “gross” human rights violation and was labeled as such in our survey (Power, 2002). As expected, respondents felt more strongly about intervention in response to genocide than they did to other less heinous human rights violations. There are also identifiable differences between genocide and non-genocide interventions, most specifically involving military force. Whereas a minority of respondents agrees that military force may be necessary in response to non-genocidal violations, a strong majority agrees that military force may be necessary in situations of genocide. The trend holds true for both UN and U.S. government responses.

Data from our study implies that the international community should be doing more to stop genocide, a sentiment apparently shared by U.S. President Barack Obama. In 2011, Obama issued the first-ever Presidential Study Directive on Mass Atrocities which states that “Preventing mass atrocities and genocide is a core national security interest and a core moral responsibility of the United States” (Obama, 2011). The directive’s cornerstone is the newly-formed Atrocities Prevention Board, first led by Samantha Power, Pulitzer Prize winning author

of “A Problem From Hell: America and the Age of Genocide” and now the U.S. Ambassador to the UN. Despite this visible effort to address genocide, many are left wondering what real-world effect it has had (Colucci, 2013). According to Genocide Watch, active genocides continue to occur in a number of countries including the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, Uganda, North Korea, Syria, Somalia, Ethiopia, Myanmar, Afghanistan and Pakistan with little or no outside intervention (Genocide Watch, 2012).

Demographics

Education level, gender, and worldview seem to impact respondents’ attitudes to a number of human rights issues. Generally speaking, more education translates to more income for Americans; higher income levels often equate to more disposable income and free time. It is therefore not surprising that respondents with more education are more likely to be involved with human rights issues including donating money to and volunteering with human rights organizations. Regarding gender, since men dominate the American political system, it is not surprising that they profess to be more familiar with human rights issues and more likely to contact politicians about such issues. Respondents deemed to have an egalitarian worldview more strongly agree that American society would be better off if the distribution of wealth was more equal, that it is society’s responsibility to make sure everyone’s basic needs are met, and that Americans should do more to further social equality. The survey findings regarding egalitarian worldviews, namely greater emphasis on the U.S. government’s role to protect human rights and strengthen society, are therefore predictable.

Conclusions

This research experience has taught me a great deal about American public opinion on human rights and the challenges U.S. and international policymakers face in responding to human rights violations. Although it is true that U.S. “exceptionalism” seems to create a paradox in international human rights policy, I do not believe this is the most pressing challenge we face today. Moravcsik views non-ratification of human rights treaties by the U.S. to be a rejection of international norms (Moravcsik, 2005). However, a substantial amount of academic literature finds that ratification of human rights treaties does not improve respect for human rights, thereby undercutting Moravcsik’s argument. Neumayer, for example, found that respect for human rights is greatest in democratic countries with strong civil societies – those having the greatest amount of citizen involvement in governmental and non-governmental affairs, specifically international non-governmental organizations (Neumayer, 2005). Moreover, treaty ratification is merely one piece of the immense human rights puzzle. In my view, a more pressing challenge is the absence of humanitarian intervention in response to ongoing and repeated human rights violations, including genocide.

The international community, including the U.S. government, essentially has three intervention tools with which to enforce human rights norms: diplomacy, economic sanctions, and military force. In agreement with the CFR study, the present survey clearly communicates that the public we surveyed believes some action should be taken in response to human rights violations, especially genocide. Yet, genocide and other mass abuses of human rights continue to occur with impunity (Genocide Watch, 2012). Why? Either our intervention toolbox is lacking or we are not employing the tools to the best of our ability. I believe both these variables help explain our continued failure to appropriately respond to human rights violations.

Lack of Political Will

In a democratic system like the U.S., political will is driven by public will – legislators are inclined to act based on the communicated desires of their constituents. The present study found that although Americans feel humanitarian intervention should occur, they do not communicate such desires to their elected officials, a common observation in the intervention discussion. “American leaders have been able to persist in turning away because genocide in distant lands has not captivated senators, congressional caucuses, Washington lobbyists, elite opinion shapers, grassroots groups, or individual citizens” (Power, 2002, p. 509). A lack of public outcry in combination with a lack of political leadership equates to lack of political will, thereby reinforcing the non-intervention status quo in regards to humanitarian intervention. A possible reason for lack of American public outcry is that humanitarian intervention is viewed as an international issue versus a domestic issue, and domestic issues are generally prioritized over international ones. For example, the present data show that Americans overwhelmingly agree (90.4 percent) that American citizens should be provided aid before citizens of other countries.

Lack of UN Leadership

The U.S. government is not the primary entity responsible for enforcing international human rights norms – that falls to the UN. Despite its numerous and ongoing successes such as providing humanitarian aid like food and clean drinking water to needy people, the UN has long been branded as “broken” when it comes to making appropriate decisions about intervention in the face of gross human rights violations including genocide. For example, UN officials made the now infamous decision to evacuate all UN personnel during the 1994 Rwandan genocide in which nearly one million people were killed in just 100 days. A key element attributed by the

international community to the broken UN intervention system is the structure of the Security Council and the veto power of the permanent five members. Respondents in the present survey believe that the current structure is flawed and needs to be altered such that voting power is expanded and veto power is jettisoned. Indeed, the need for Security Council reform has been hotly debated in recent years by experts from a wide range of fields.

Lack of Proper UN Structure

The structure of the Security Council was cemented into place by the 50 UN-founding countries at the Charter for an International Organization conference in San Francisco, California in 1945 (Butler, 2012). The five permanent members, victors of the newly-concluded war, argued that they deserved special powers, namely veto power, in order to effectively maintain international peace and security. The five threatened to withdraw support for the UN Charter if they were not given such power, the consequence of which they knew would permanently thwart the continued development of the nascent organization. “The Permanent Five were given their permanency, and the extraordinary power of the veto, because they were able to argue successfully against strenuous opposition, that unless these powers were given to them, there would be no new Organization” (Butler, 2012, p. 28). Implicit with such exceptional power was the understanding that exercise of the veto was a profound act with a moral dimension and therefore should be used only sparingly (Menegus, 2013). This is obviously not the case today; veto power in the Security Council is often used to protect and extend the respective interests of the permanent member, regardless of possible consequences to international peace and security.

Despite the fact that the international community has undergone massive change in the nearly 70 years since the Charter was forged, there has been little alteration to the original UN

structure. There are now 193 UN member states compared with just 50 that participated in the founding of the UN. In 1945, the power differential between nations was rooted in military size and capability. In today's highly connected world, economic factors may arguably have equal or greater impact than militaristic ones. The structure of the UN Security Council is no longer representative of our globalized society and is therefore in urgent need of reform.

Suggestions for UN Security Council Reform

Respondents in the CFR surveys agree that the Security Council is in need of reform and supported doing so by adding permanent members or creating a veto override system (Council on Foreign Relations, 2011). According to the CFR data, a majority of Americans support the inclusion of Germany, Japan, India, and Brazil as permanent members of the Security Council. Additionally, 57 percent of Americans favor veto override such that a veto of a permanent member could be overridden by an otherwise unanimous vote of the other members of the Security Council (Council on Foreign Relations, 2011).

Security Council reform may also be addressed by one (or more) of the permanent members voluntarily giving up its veto power. Such a step could spotlight leadership among nations and serve to pave a path to modernization for the UN. Based on its proud history as a promoter of human rights, some have suggested this step should first be taken by the U.S. (Butler, 2012). It is unlikely, however, that any permanent member of the Security Council would willingly give up power. Robert Jervis' "Security Dilemma," an extrapolation of game theory to political science, basically states that security among sovereign states is relative and zero-sum – an increase in one state's security serves to decrease the security of all others (Jervis,

1978). In accordance with this pervasive theory, a permanent Security Council member is likely to interpret any decrease in its individual power as an increase in the power of others.

Perhaps a moralistic approach to Security Council reform would be more effective than a legalistic one: many scholars and practitioners believe shaming to be a powerful force in humanitarian intervention. Shaming is an expression of moral criticism intended to induce a change in some state practice and serves to broaden the field of actors responsible for human rights protections to entities other than just permanent members of the Security Council: other states, international organizations and civil society groups (Mohamed, 2013). The UN Security Council decision authorizing military intervention in Libya in 2011 may be viewed as a triumph of the power of shame in international relations.

Using a moralistic approach to enforce international norms is complicated by classical moral relativism: the truth of moral judgments is not absolute, but relative to some group of persons (Stanford University, 2008). Based on the founding principles of the UN, however, I am inclined to disagree with the moral relativism argument in this case. The UN is an organization bound together with the explicit goal of promoting international peace and cooperation for its member states. In becoming a UN member, each country agrees to uphold the ideals of the founding documents of the UN including the UN Charter and the International Bill of Rights. Moreover, countries participate in the UN voluntarily. Because essentially every sovereign country in the world is a member of the UN², it is fair to conclude that people are in moral agreement. Indeed, the normative status of human rights stems from this moral agreement. Therefore, I believe a moralistic approach to enforcement of human rights norms is not only appropriate but also has the potential to be effective.

² The Holy See (Vatican) and the State of Palestine are considered non-member states and only participate at the UN as observers.

Turning our human rights ideals into reality is surely a lengthy, painstaking process that is not likely to come to fruition in your lifetime or mine. However, I believe we have made significant progress in recent history to that end. Despite its failings, the very existence of the UN as the preeminent international human rights organization in the 21st century is evidence of some level of success. I believe the global community will continue to collaborate on how best to address the world's most pressing human rights problems. My hope is that the passage of time will demonstrate continued improvement and eventual triumph.

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Appendix

Kate Price Human Rights Survey

Consent

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by Kate Price as part of her Master's Thesis at the University of Oregon School of Law. From this study we hope to learn a little more about people's opinions and feelings about human rights and governmental action. If you decide to participate, you will read some information regarding human rights, asked about your opinions and feelings about human rights laws and activities. This study will take approximately 20-30 minutes and will take place for this session only. The data collected from you will be assigned a number that will never be paired with your name and this consent form will be kept separate from your data. You will never be named or identified in any future publication or report prepared on this research. This study is not expected to cause you any risk, discomfort, or inconvenience beyond actually taking the time to participate in this study. This study will take approximately 20-30 minutes to complete and you will be paid \$6.25 dollars for your participation. There will be no penalties or loss of benefits if you do not wish to participate in this study. If you choose to participate in this study you can withdraw at any minute for whatever reason if you so choose without incurring any penalties or loss of benefits. If you complete the whole study you will receive \$6.25. Your participation is voluntary and your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your relationship with the UO Law Department or Decision Research.

If you have additional questions please feel free to contact Kate Price at kcoy2@uoregon.edu or Paul Slovic at (541) 485-2400. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject,

contact Research Compliance Services, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, (541) 346-2510.

Clicking “Click here to continue” below indicates that you have read and understand the information provided above, that you willingly agree to participate, that you may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation, and that you are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies. You may email the experimenter for a copy of this consent form to keep for your records. Thank you.

On the following pages, you will answer a series of questions on the topic of human rights. Please read all the information carefully. There are no right or wrong answers, we are only interested in your opinion.

Q1. How familiar are you with human rights issues?

- 1 VERY FAMILIAR (1)
- 2 FAMILIAR (2)
- 3 UNFAMILIAR (3)
- 4 VERY UNFAMILIAR (4)

Q2. When you hear the words "human rights," what is the first thought or image that comes to mind?

Q3. Still thinking about "human rights," what is the next thought or image that comes to mind?

Q4. What is the third thought or image that comes to mind when you think of "human rights"?

Q5. Please go back to the answer you wrote for question 2 -- your first thought or image.

Overall, how strong are your negative or positive feelings about it?

- 1 VERY NEGATIVE FEELINGS (1)
- 2 NEGATIVE FEELINGS (2)
- 3 NEUTRAL FEELINGS (3)

- 4 POSITIVE FEELINGS (4)
- 5 VERY POSITIVE FEELINGS (5)

Q6. Now go back to the answer you wrote for question 3 -- your second thought or image.

Overall, how strong are your negative or positive feelings about it?

- 1 VERY NEGATIVE FEELINGS (1)
- 2 NEGATIVE FEELINGS (2)
- 3 NEUTRAL FEELINGS (3)
- 4 POSITIVE FEELINGS (4)
- 5 VERY POSITIVE FEELINGS (5)

Q7. Now go back to answer 4. Overall, how strong are your negative or positive feelings about it?

- 1 VERY NEGATIVE FEELINGS (1)
- 2 NEGATIVE FEELINGS (2)
- 3 NEUTRAL FEELINGS (3)
- 4 POSITIVE FEELINGS (4)
- 5 VERY POSITIVE FEELINGS (5)

Q8. In your view, what are human rights?

Q9. With what frequency have you done the following things because you are concerned about human rights in your CITY OR STATE?

Q10. Joined, donated money to, or volunteered with an organization that protects or promotes local human rights.

- 1 NEVER (1)
- 2 SELDOM (2)
- 3 OCCASIONALLY (3)
- 4 OFTEN (4)

Q11. Made your views on local human rights clear to politicians (by writing letters, telephoning, sending e-mails, signing petitions, etc.).

- 1 NEVER (1)
- 2 SELDOM (2)
- 3 OCCASIONALLY (3)
- 4 OFTEN (4)

Q12. Talked with friends or family about supporting human rights in your city or state.

- 1 NEVER (1)
- 2 SELDOM (2)
- 3 OCCASIONALLY (3)
- 4 OFTEN (4)

Q13. With what frequency have you done the following things because you are concerned about human rights in AMERICA?

Q14. Joined, donated money to, or volunteered with an organization that protects or promotes Americans' human rights.

- 1 NEVER (1)
- 2 SELDOM (2)
- 3 OCCASIONALLY (3)
- 4 OFTEN (4)

Q15. Made your views on Americans' human rights clear to politicians (by writing letters, telephoning, sending e-mails, signing petitions, etc.).

- 1 NEVER (1)
- 2 SELDOM (2)
- 3 OCCASIONALLY (3)
- 4 OFTEN (4)

Q16. Talked with friends or family about supporting human rights in America.

- 1 NEVER (1)
- 2 SELDOM (2)
- 3 OCCASIONALLY (3)
- 4 OFTEN (4)

Q17. With what frequency have you done the following things because you are concerned about human rights AROUND THE WORLD?

Q18. Joined, donated money to, or volunteered with an organization that protects or promotes international human rights.

- 1 NEVER (1)
- 2 SELDOM (2)
- 3 OCCASIONALLY (3)
- 4 OFTEN (4)

Q19. Made your views on international human rights clear to politicians (by writing letters, telephoning, sending e-mails, signing petitions, etc.).

- 1 NEVER (1)
- 2 SELDOM (2)
- 3 OCCASIONALLY (3)
- 4 OFTEN (4)

Q20. Talked with friends or family about supporting human rights around the world.

- 1 NEVER (1)
- 2 SELDOM (2)
- 3 OCCASIONALLY (3)
- 4 OFTEN (4)

Evaluate the following statements:

Q21. "I can make a difference in supporting human rights in my CITY OR STATE."

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)

- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q22. “I can make a difference in supporting human rights in AMERICA.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q23. “I can make a difference in supporting human rights AROUND THE WORLD.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q24. How strongly do you trust or distrust the following to tell you the truth about human rights violations?

	STRONGLY DISTRUST1 (1)	DISTRUST2 (2)	TRUST3 (3)	STRONGLY TRUST4 (4)
American Corporations (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

International Corporations (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
American Government (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
United Nations (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Scientists and doctors (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Religious organizations (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Family and friends (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Human rights groups (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
News media (television, newspapers) (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Social media (Facebook, Twitter) (10)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q25. How concerned are you about protection of human rights in America?

- 1 VERY CONCERNED (1)
- 2 CONCERNED (2)
- 3 SOMEWHAT CONCERNED (3)
- 4 NOT CONCERNED (4)

Q26. Generally speaking, how well do you think INDIVIDUAL AMERICANS do at supporting human rights?

- 1 NOT WELL AT ALL (1)
- 2 SOMEWHAT WELL (2)
- 3 WELL (3)
- 4 VERY WELL (4)

Q27. Generally speaking, how well do you think your LOCAL AND STATE GOVERNMENT does at supporting human rights?

- 1 NOT WELL AT ALL (1)
- 2 SOMEWHAT WELL (2)
- 3 WELL (3)
- 4 VERY WELL (4)

Q28. Generally speaking, how well do you think your AMERICAN GOVERNMENT does at supporting human rights for AMERICANS?

- 1 NOT WELL AT ALL (1)

- 2 SOMEWHAT WELL (2)
- 3 WELL (3)
- 4 VERY WELL (4)

Q29. Generally speaking, how well do you think the AMERICAN GOVERNMENT does at supporting human rights for ALL PEOPLE?

- 1 NOT WELL AT ALL (1)
- 2 SOMEWHAT WELL (2)
- 3 WELL (3)
- 4 VERY WELL (4)

Q30. Generally speaking, how well do you think the UNITED NATIONS does at supporting human rights for AMERICANS?

- 1 NOT WELL AT ALL (1)
- 2 SOMEWHAT WELL (2)
- 3 WELL (3)
- 4 VERY WELL (4)

Q31. Generally speaking, how well do you think the UNITED NATIONS does at supporting human rights for ALL PEOPLE?

- 1 NOT WELL AT ALL (1)
- 2 SOMEWHAT WELL (2)
- 3 WELL (3)

4 VERY WELL (4)

Evaluate the following statements:

Q32. “No hard-working AMERICAN should live in poverty.”

1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)

2 DISAGREE (2)

3 AGREE (3)

4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q33. “No hard-working PERSON ANYWHERE in the world should live in poverty.”

1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)

2 DISAGREE (2)

3 AGREE (3)

4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q34. “One of the responsibilities of the U.S. GOVERNMENT is to ensure that hard-working AMERICANS don’t live in poverty.”

1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)

2 DISAGREE (2)

3 AGREE (3)

4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q35. “One of the responsibilities of the U.S. GOVERNMENT is to protect human rights for ALL PEOPLE.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q36. “One of the responsibilities of GOVERNMENTS WORLDWIDE is to protect human rights for ALL PEOPLE.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q37. The U.S. Government has many important duties including facilitating trade relations with other nations, protecting the environment, protecting human rights and looking out for America’s national security. Please rank these four duties—TRADE, ENVIRONMENT, HUMAN RIGHTS, NATIONAL SECURITY – in terms of priorities with 1 being the most critical.

- _____ TRADE (1)
- _____ ENVIRONMENT (2)
- _____ HUMAN RIGHTS (3)
- _____ NATIONAL SECURITY (4)

Q38. The U.S. Government is responsible for protecting human rights for Americans. Freedom of expression, religious freedom, women's rights, racial and ethnic equality and social and economic rights may all be considered human rights. Please rank these five topics – FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION, RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, WOMEN'S RIGHTS, RACIAL AND ETHNIC EQUALITY, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS – in terms of priorities with 1 being the most critical.

_____ FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION (1)

_____ RELIGIOUS FREEDOM (2)

_____ WOMEN'S RIGHTS (3)

_____ RACIAL AND ETHNIC EQUALITY (4)

_____ SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RIGHTS (5)

Please read the following information carefully and answer the questions that follow.

The United Nations is an organization that was set up after World War II in order to prevent a conflict of that scale from occurring again.

The UN has numerous duties that fall into five major categories: International Peace and Security, Development, Human Rights, Humanitarian Aid and International Law.

Membership in the UN is open to all countries and is voluntary. Countries that choose to participate in the UN are called "member states".

The UN is primarily funded by member state contributions which are assessed as a percentage of each country's gross domestic product (GDP) – a measure of their economic strength, respectively.

The higher a country's GDP, the higher their member contribution to the UN.

The United States has the highest member state contribution.

Evaluate the following statements:

Q39. “The United Nations is an important global body which provides valuable services to all its member states.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q40. “The United Nations serves to equalize the balance of economic power among member states.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q41. “Membership in the United Nations does not have much value for economically powerful countries like the U.S.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q42. “Because the U.S. makes the highest member contribution to the United Nations, their vote should hold more weight in UN decisions than other countries.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q43. “The money the U.S. spends on the United Nations every year could be put to much better use if the U.S. left the UN and decided how to spend that money in other ways as it sees fit.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q44. “The United Nations is responsible for protecting human rights for citizens of all countries.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q45. “The United Nations is responsible for protecting human rights for citizens of all its member states but only if the member state doesn’t have the resources or the political will to do it themselves.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Please read the following information and answer the questions that follow:

The United Nations has two main decision making bodies: the GENERAL ASSEMBLY and the SECURITY COUNCIL.

- The GENERAL ASSEMBLY is made up of all 193 member states and is the main policymaking body of the UN.
- The General Assembly makes decisions regarding peace and security, admission of new members and budgetary matters.

- Each member state has one vote and no member state has veto power in the General Assembly.
- A 2/3 or simple majority is required for passage, depending on the issue type.

The SECURITY COUNCIL is charged with making decisions regarding intervention in conflicts where human rights violations are occurring.

- The Security Council has 15 members: 5 permanent and 10 which rotate among the General Assembly. Each member of the Security Council has one vote.
- The 5 permanent members of the Security Council have veto power while the other 10 do not.
- The 5 permanent members of the Security Council are the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Russia and China.
- Intervention in response to human rights violations requires affirmative votes from at least 9 of the 15 members of the Security Council with no permanent member vetoing.
- In other words, a veto from just one permanent member serves to block the United Nations from intervening while human rights violations are occurring.
- All member states are required to comply with Security Council decisions under the UN Charter.

Evaluate the following statements:

Q46. “The decision by the United Nations to intervene in response to human rights violations should be voted on by:

- The Security Council only (1)

- The General Assembly (2)
- The General Assembly & the Security Council (3)

Q47. “No country should have veto power in the decision by the United Nations to intervene in response to human rights violations.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q48. “Any country should have veto power in the decision by the United Nations to intervene in response to human rights violations.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q49. “The United Nations is responsible to intervene in a country when human rights violations such as unequal treatment of women are occurring in that country.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q50. “The United Nations is responsible to intervene in a country when GROSS human rights violations such as GENOCIDE are occurring in that country.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q51. “The United Nations should NEVER intervene in another country because of human rights violations.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Consider a circumstance when the UN Security Council voted NOT to intervene but the U.S. Government has the ability to intervene on its own.

Q52. “The U.S. Government should intervene in another country when human rights violations such as unequal treatment of women are occurring in that country.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q53. “The U.S. Government should intervene in another country when GROSS human rights violations such as GENOCIDE are occurring in that country.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q54. “The U.S. Government should NEVER intervene in another country because of human rights violations.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Three types of intervention in response to human rights violations are possible: diplomacy, economic sanctions and military action. Diplomacy involves issuing statements or dispatching envoys to crisis areas to encourage dialogue and discourage the use of violence. Economic sanctions are penalties designed to put financial pressure on a country. Military action involves using military means to force necessary action from the human rights violator.

Evaluate the following statements:

Q55. “When the UNITED NATIONS intervenes in a country in response to human rights violations, it should do so with whatever intervention it deems necessary including diplomacy, financial sanctions and/or military action.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q56. “When the UNITED NATIONS intervenes in a country in response to GROSS human rights violations such as GENOCIDE, it should do so with whatever intervention it deems necessary including diplomacy, financial sanctions and/or military action.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q57. Which type(s) of intervention in response to human rights violations do you think is acceptable for the UNITED NATIONS to use? (Check all that apply)

- Diplomacy (1)
- Economic Sanction (2)
- Military Action (3)
- Other (specify) (4) _____

Q58. Which type(s) of intervention in response to GROSS human rights violations like GENOCIDE do you think is acceptable for the UNITED NATIONS to use?(Check all that apply)

- Diplomacy (1)
- Economic Sanction (2)
- Military Action (3)
- Other (specify) (4) _____

Q59. “When the U.S. GOVERNMENT intervenes in a country in response to human rights violations, it should do so with whatever intervention it deems necessary including diplomacy, financial sanctions and/or military action.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q60. “When the U.S. GOVERNMENT intervenes in a country in response to GROSS human rights violations such as GENOCIDE, it should do so with whatever intervention it deems necessary including diplomacy, financial sanctions and/or military action.”

- 1 STRONGLY DISAGREE (1)
- 2 DISAGREE (2)
- 3 AGREE (3)
- 4 STRONGLY AGREE (4)

Q61. Which type(s) of intervention in response to human rights violations do you think is acceptable for the U.S. GOVERNMENT to use? (Check all that apply)

- Diplomacy (1)
- Economic Sanction (2)
- Military Action (3)
- Other (specify) (4) _____

Q62. Which type(s) of intervention in response to GROSS human rights violations like GENOCIDE do you think is acceptable for the U.S. GOVERNMENT to use? (Check all that apply)

- Diplomacy (1)
- Economic Sanction (2)
- Military Action (3)
- Other (specify) (4) _____

How strongly do you agree or disagree with each of these statements?

Q63. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.

- Strongly Disagree (12)
- Moderately Disagree (13)
- Slightly Disagree (14)
- Slightly Agree (15)

- Moderately Agree (16)
- Strongly Agree (17)

Q64. Our society would be better off if the distribution of wealth was more equal.

- Strongly Disagree (12)
- Moderately Disagree (13)
- Slightly Disagree (14)
- Slightly Agree (15)
- Moderately Agree (16)
- Strongly Agree (17)

Q65. Too many people today expect society to do things for them that they should be doing for themselves.

- Strongly Disagree (12)
- Moderately Disagree (13)
- Slightly Disagree (14)
- Slightly Agree (15)
- Moderately Agree (16)
- Strongly Agree (17)

Q66. It's society's responsibility to make sure everyone's basic needs are met.

- Strongly Disagree (12)
- Moderately Disagree (13)

- Slightly Disagree (14)
- Slightly Agree (15)
- Moderately Agree (16)
- Strongly Agree (17)

You're almost finished, just a few more questions.

Q67. Most modern theories of decision making recognize the fact that decisions do not take place in a vacuum. Individual preferences and knowledge, along with situational variables can greatly impact the decision process. In order to facilitate our research on decision making we are interested in knowing certain factors about you, the decision maker. Specifically, we are interested in whether you actually take the time to read the directions; if not, then some of our manipulations that rely on changes in the instructions will be ineffective. So, in order to demonstrate that you have read the instructions simply type in "I read the instructions" in the "Other" space. Thank you very much.

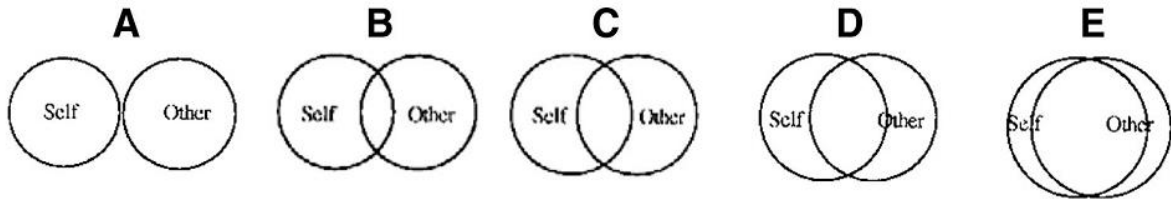
- Watching Athletics (1)
- Participating in Athletics (2)
- Reading (3)
- Watching Movies (4)
- Hiking / Camping (5)
- Electronic Games (6)
- Board or Card Games (7)
- Attending Cultural Events (8)
- Religious Activities (9)
- Cooking (10)
- Needlework (11)
- Gardening (12)
- Clubbing (13)
- Travel (14)
- Other (15) _____

Q68. The U.S. Government should create safe zones to provide food and medicine to millions of Syrians whose lives are in danger, even in the face of international criticism and possible increases in terrorist acts in the US.

- Strongly Disagree (12)
- Moderately Disagree (13)
- Slightly Disagree (14)
- Slightly Agree (15)

Moderately Agree (16)

Strongly Agree (17)



Q69. Please mark the letter for the pair of circles that best describes your relationship with each group.

	A (1)	B (2)	C (3)	D (4)	E (5)
People in my community (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Americans (or people from your country) (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People all over the world (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q70. How much do you agree with the following statement? It is more important to provide aid to needy citizens of my own country before providing aid to needy people in foreign countries.

- Strongly Disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Agree (3)
- Strongly Agree (4)

Q71. What is your political party affiliation?

- Democrat (1)
- Republican (2)
- Independent (3)
- Undeclared (4)
- Other (please specify) (5) _____

Q72. Here is a 7-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

- Extremely Liberal (1)
- Liberal (2)
- Slightly Liberal (3)
- Moderate or middle of the road (4)
- Slightly Conservative (5)
- Conservative (6)

Extremely Conservative (7)

Q73. What race(s) do you identify with? (check all that apply)

Asian (1)

Black or African American (2)

Hispanic or Latino (3)

White (4)

Native American or Alaska Native (5)

Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander (6)

Q74. Do you have any comments about this survey? (optional)

Thank you for your participation! Please enter your email address again and submit your responses.