Online Appendix to: Peace through Cooperation or Peace through Strength? How to Achieve Peace in the Very Intractable Conflict Society

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Historical Social Research

This is the Online Appendix of:

Peace through Cooperation or Peace through Strength? How to Achieve Peace in the Very Intractable Conflict Society

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Abstract: *»Frieden durch Kooperation oder Frieden durch Stärke? Wie Frieden in einer renitenten/ verfahrenen Konfliktgesellschaft erreicht werden kann«.* The Korean War, having started on June 25, 1950, has never formally ended. As the two Koreas are technically still at war, the conflict on the Korean Peninsula has become intractable. The goal of this study is to explore the attitudes of South Koreans living in the intractable conflict about how to achieve peace. To fulfill this goal, we conducted a nation-wide survey to investigate attitudes toward militant and cooperative internationalism. We also measured various variables involved with the intractable conflict. Our results indicate that the value of international harmony and equality as well as attitudes toward peace are the best predictors of cooperative internationalism, while the value of international harmony and equality as well as the attitudes toward war were the strongest predictors of militant internationalism. Our results also suggest that the tendency to regard inter-Korean relations as zero-sum relations and the attitudes toward peace mediated the relationship between international harmony and cooperative internationalism, while the zero-sum perception and attitudes toward war on the Korean Peninsula mediated the same value factor and the cooperative internationalism. Possible implications are discussed.

Keywords: Peace on the Korean Peninsula, intractable conflict, peace psychology.

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Table 1: Expected Negative or Positive Effects of the Predictor Variables on the Criterion Variables

	Achieving peace through cooperation	Achieving peace through strength
Individual differences variables (Values)	RWA (-) SDO (-) International harmony and equality (+) National strength and order (-)	RWA (+) SDO (+) International harmony and equality (-) National strength and order (+)
Perception of North Korea and Inter-Korean relations	Hostility toward North Korea (-) Zero-sum perception (-) Competitive victimhood (-)	Hostility toward North Korea (+) Zero-sum perception (+) Competitive victimhood (+)
Attitude toward peace/war on the Korean Peninsula	Attitude toward peace (+) Attitude toward war (-)	Attitude toward peace (-) Attitude toward war (+)

* RWA: Right-wing authoritarianism; SDO: Social dominance orientation

Table 2: Distribution of Frequency of Demographic Variables

		Sex		Total
		Men	Women	
Age	Twenties	91	82	173
	Thirties	89	82	171
	Forties	103	100	203
	Fifties	102	99	201
	Sixties	112	140	252
Total		497	503	1000
Age mean(SD) = 46.84(14.64), Age range: 20-87				

Table 3: Variables Included in the Final Analysis

Variable	N of items	Cronbach's α	Scale (mid-point)	Mean	SD
Right-wing authoritarianism	8	.638	7(4)	4.48	0.71
Social dominance orientation	8	.712	7(4)	3.94	0.85
International harmony and equality	5	.735	7(4)	5.29	0.73
National strength and order	4	.782	7(4)	5.51	0.81
Hostility toward North Korea	4	.831	7(4)	4.69	1.18
Zero-sum game perception	4	.834	7(4)	4.10	1.14
Competitive victimhood	2	.711	7(4)	4.22	1.28
Attitude toward peace on the KP	3	.630	9(5)	6.70	1.10
Attitude toward war on the KP	3	.768	9(5)	4.39	1.76
Achieving peace through cooperation	3	.612	9(5)	6.45	1.05
Achieving peace through strength	3	.585	9(5)	5.12	1.44

Table 4: Correlation between Variables

Variable	1)	2)	3)	4)	5)	6)	7)	8)	9)	10)
1) Right-wing authoritarianism										
2) Social dominance orientation	.143**									
3) International harmony and equality	.121**	-.165**								
4) National strength and order	.238**	-.151**	.572**							
5) Hostility toward North Korea	.357**	-.04	.04	.205**						
6) Zero-sum game perception	.398**	.079*	-.172**	-.03	.582**					
7) Competitive victimhood	.254**	.098**	-.169**	-.065*	.430**	.598**				
8) Attitude toward peace on the KP	.03	-.181**	.307**	.203**	.01	-.136**	-.04			
9) Attitude toward war on the KP	.249**	.261**	-.277**	-.209**	.280**	.450**	.357**	-.327**		
10) Achieving peace through cooperation	.03	-.092**	.383**	.235**	-.089	-.185**	-.144**	.573**	-.297**	
11) Achieving peace through strength	.221**	.282**	-.302**	-.129*	.362**	.426**	.390**	-.187**	.572**	-.262**

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5: Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Attitudes toward Achieving Peace through Cooperation (N=1000)

Variable	Model1			Model2			Model3			Model4		
	B	$SE\ B$	β	B	$SE\ B$	β	B	$SE\ B$	β	B	$SE(B)$	β
Sex	0.00	0.07	.00	0.00	0.06	.00	-0.01	0.06	-.01	-0.01	0.05	.00
Age	0.00	0.00	.07*	0.00	0.00	.05	0.00	0.00	.05	0.00	0.00	.02
Income	0.00	0.00	.03	0.00	0.00	.02	0.00	0.00	.01	0.00	0.00	.00
Right-wing authoritarianism				-0.03	0.05	-.02	0.07	0.05	.05	0.05	0.04	.04
Social dominance orientation				-0.03	0.04	-.03	-0.04	0.04	-.03	0.06	0.03	.05
International harmony and equality				0.53	0.05	.37***	0.48	0.05	.33***	0.29	0.05	.20***
National strength and order				0.03	0.05	.02	0.04	0.05	.03	0.02	0.04	.02
Hostility toward North Korea							-0.07	0.03	-.08*	-0.08	0.03	-.09**
Zero-sum game perception							-0.09	0.04	-.10*	0.01	0.03	.01
Competitive victimhood							-0.01	0.03	-.01	-0.04	0.03	-.05
Attitude toward peace on the KP										0.47	0.03	.49***
Attitude toward war on the KP										-0.03	0.02	-.06
R^2	.00			.15			.17			.39		
F for change in R^2	.00			.15**			.02**			.23**		

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

Table 6: Summary of Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Attitudes toward Achieving Peace through Strength (N=1000)

Variable	Model1			Model2			Model3			Model4		
	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE B	β	B	SE(B)	β
Sex	-0.03	0.09	-.01	-0.03	0.08	-.01	0.01	0.07	.00	-0.01	0.07	.00
Age	0.00	0.00	.03	0.00	0.00	-.02	0.00	0.00	-.02	0.00	0.00	-.01
Income	0.00	0.00	-.03	0.00	0.00	.00	0.00	0.00	.02	0.00	0.00	.03
Right-wing authoritarianism				0.47	0.06	.23***	0.12	0.06	.06	0.03	0.06	.01
Social dominance orientation				0.34	0.05	.20***	0.37	0.05	.22***	0.26	0.04	.15***
International harmony and equality				-0.61	0.07	-.31***	-0.45	0.06	-.23***	-0.37	0.06	-.19***
National strength and order				0.05	0.06	.03	-0.02	0.06	-.01	0.08	0.05	.05
Hostility toward North Korea							0.28	0.04	.23***	0.23	0.04	.19***
Zero-sum game perception							0.16	0.05	.13**	0.04	0.05	.03
Competitive victimhood							0.16	0.04	.14***	0.12	0.03	.11***
Attitude toward peace on the KP										0.03	0.03	.02
Attitude toward war on the KP										0.32	0.02	.39***
R^2		.00			.20			.34			.44	
F for change in R^2		.00			.19**			.14**			.10**	

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

Table 7: Serial Multiple Mediation: Attitude toward Achieving Peace on the Korean Peninsula through Cooperation (Model 2)

	Effect(SE)	t	LLCI	ULCI
Total Effects (Value of harmony & equality → Achieving peace through cooperation)	.55(.04)	13.09	.47	.63
Direct Effect (Value of harmony & equality → Achieving peace through cooperation)	.31(.04)	8.21	.24	.39
Indirect Effects	Effect	Boot SE	Boot LLCI	Boot ULCI
Total Indirect Effects	.24	.03	.17	.31
Value of harmony & equality → Zero-sum perception → Achieving peace through cooperation	.02	.01	.01	.04
Value of harmony & equality → Attitude toward peace → Achieving peace through cooperation	.21	.03	.15	.27
Value of harmony & equality → Zero-sum perception → Attitude toward peace → Achieving peace through cooperation	.01	.01	.00	.02

Table 8: Comparison of Serial Multiple Mediation Models: Achieving Peace on the Korean Peninsula through Strength

Model		Total Effects	Direct Effect	Total Indirect Effects	Indirect Paths (ns)
1	RWA → Hostility → Attitude toward war → Achieving peace through strength	.45[*]	.04	.41[*]	-
2	SDO → Hostility → Attitude toward war → Achieving peace through strength	.48[*]	.30[*]	.19[*]	1,3
3	Value of harmony & equality → Hostility → Attitude toward war → Achieving peace through strength	-.60[*]	-.37[*]	-.23[*]	1,3
4	RWA → Zero-sum perception → Attitude toward war → Achieving peace through strength	.45[*]	.04	.40[*]	-
5	SDO → Zero-sum perception → Attitude toward war → Achieving peace through strength	.48[*]	.26[*]	.22[*]	-
6	Value of harmony & equality → Zero-sum perception → Attitude toward war → Achieving peace through strength	-.60[*]	-.29[*]	-.31[*]	-
7	RWA → Competitive victimhood → Attitude toward war → Achieving peace through strength	.45[*]	.10	.35[*]	-
8	SDO → Competitive victimhood → Attitude toward war → Achieving peace through strength	.48[*]	.24[*]	.24[*]	-
9	Value of harmony & equality → Competitive victimhood → Attitude toward war → Achieving peace through strength	-.60[*]	-.28[*]	-.32[*]	-

* RWA: Right-wing authoritarianism; SDO: Social dominance orientation

Table 9: Serial Multiple Mediation: Attitude toward Achieving Peace on the Korean Peninsula through Cooperation (Model 6)

	Effect(SE)	t	LLCI	ULCI

	Effect(SE)	t	LLCI	ULCI
Total Effects (Value of harmony & equality → Achieving peace through strength)	−.60(.06)	−10.02	−.71	−.48
Direct Effect (Value of harmony & equality → Achieving peace through strength)	−.29(.05)	−5.60	−.39	−.19
Indirect Effects	Effect	Boot SE	Boot LLCI	Boot ULCI
Total Indirect Effects	−.31	.04	−.39	−.23
Value of harmony & equality → Zero-sum perception → Achieving peace through strength	−.07	.02	−.11	−.04
Value of harmony & equality → Attitude toward war → Achieving peace through strength	−.18	.03	−.24	−.13
Value of harmony & equality → Zero-sum perception → Attitude toward war → Achieving peace through strength	−.06	.01	−.09	−.04

Table 10: Serial Multiple Mediation: Attitude toward Achieving Peace through Cooperation (Model 9)

	Effect(SE)	t	LLCI	ULCI
Total Effects (Value of harmony & equality → Achieving peace through strength)	−.60(.06)	−10.02	−.71	−.48
Direct Effect (Value of harmony & equality → Achieving peace through strength)	−.28(.05)	−5.41	−.38	−.18
Indirect Effects	Effect	Boot SE	Boot LLCI	Boot ULCI
Total Indirect Effects	−.32	.04	−.40	−.24
Value of harmony & equality → Competitive victimhood → Achieving peace through strength	−.07	.02	−.10	−.04
Value of harmony & equality → Attitude toward war → Achieving peace through strength	−.20	.03	−.27	−.14