

**ONLINE APPENDIX FOR “PUBLIC OPINION AND THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE”**  
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**1. DEMOGRAPHIC AND ATTITUDINAL CONTROLS**

**A. MILITARISM**

To measure militarism, we coded responses to the following five questions such that larger values indicated greater support for militaristic policies; standardized each item to have a mean of zero and a variance of one; and took the average of the five standardized items.

Which of these statements comes closer to your view?

- The best way to ensure peace is through military strength.
- The use of military force only makes problems worse.

All things considered do you think it was a mistake to invade Iraq?

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

All things considered do you think it was a mistake to invade Afghanistan?

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

Do you think the United States should send more troops to Afghanistan to fight the Taliban and al Qaeda?

- Increase troops in Afghanistan
- Decrease troops in Afghanistan
- Keep the current deployment about the same

The federal budget deficit is approximately \$1 trillion this year. If the Congress were to balance the budget it would have to consider cutting defense spending, cutting domestic spending (such as Medicare and Social Security), or raising taxes to cover the deficit. What would you most prefer that Congress do - cut domestic spending, cut defense spending, or raise taxes?

- Cut Defense spending
- Cut Domestic spending
- Raise Taxes

**B. INTERNATIONALISM**

To measure internationalism, we coded responses to the following item such that higher values indicated higher support for a U.S. role abroad; and standardized the variable to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1.

Which of these statements comes closer to your view?

- The United States should take an active role in world affairs.
- The United States should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home.

Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with this statement: “The United States needs to play an active role in solving conflicts around the world.”

- Agree strongly
- Agree somewhat
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Disagree somewhat
- Disagree strongly

### C. REPUBLICAN

To measure whether someone identifies as Republican, we coded responses to the following questions such that larger values indicated more Republican attitudes; standardized each item to have a mean of zero and a variance of one; and took the average of the standardized items.

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a...?

- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent
- Other (open textbox)
- Not sure

If Democrat:

Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

- Strong Democrat
- Not very strong Democrat

If Republican:

Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

- Strong Republican
- Not very strong Republican

If Independent or Other:

Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic or the Republican Party?

- The Democratic Party
- The Republican Party
- Neither

- Not sure

With which party, if any, are you registered?

- No Party, Independent, Declined to State
- Democratic Party
- Republican Party
- Other

How would you rate each of the following individuals and groups? [yourself]

- Very liberal
- Liberal
- Somewhat Liberal
- Middle of the Road
- Somewhat Conservative
- Very Conservative
- Not sure

Thinking about politics these days, how would you describe your own political viewpoint?  
(Randomly reverse answer options)

- Very liberal
- Liberal
- Moderate
- Conservative
- Very Conservative
- Not sure

Do you approve of the way each is doing their job... [President Obama]

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove
- Not Sure

#### **D. ETHNOCENTRISM**

To measure ethnocentrism, we coded responses to the following items, such that larger values indicated more ethnocentric beliefs; standardized each item to have a mean of zero and a variance of one; and took the average of the standardized items.

What do you think the U.S. government should do about immigration? Select all that apply.

- Grant legal status to all illegal immigrants who have held jobs and paid taxes for at least 3 years, and not been convicted of any felony crimes.
- Increase the number of border patrols on the US-Mexican border.
- Allow police to question anyone they think may be in the country illegally.

*(We treated each of the above responses as a separate yes/no questions, coded yes if the respondent checked that response.)*

Affirmative action programs give preference to racial minorities in employment and college admissions to in order correct for past discrimination. Do you support or oppose affirmative action?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose

Do you support a Constitutional Amendment banning Gay Marriage?

- Favor
- Oppose

#### **E. RELIGIOSITY**

To measure religiosity, we coded the following four items such that higher values reflected greater religious observance; standardized each item to have a mean of zero and a variance of one; and took the average of the standardized items.

Would you describe yourself as a “born-again” or evangelical Christian, or not?

- Yes
- No

How important is religion in your life?

- Very important
- Somewhat important
- Not too important
- Not at all important

Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?

- More than once a week
- Once a week
- Once or twice a month
- A few times a year
- Seldom
- Never
- Don't know

People practice their religion in different ways. Outside of attending religious services, how often do you pray?

- Several times a day
- Once a day

- A few times a week
- Once a week
- A few times a month
- Seldom
- Never
- Don't know

## F. DEMOGRAPHICS

We used the items below to construct demographic variables: *male* (1 = male, 0 = female); *white* (1 = white, 0 = nonwhite), age, and education (1 = high school or less, 2 = some college, 3 = college degree, 4 = postgraduate).

Are you male or female?

- Male
- Female

What racial or ethnic group best describes you?

- White
- Black or African-American
- Hispanic or Latino
- Asian or Asian-American
- Native American
- Middle Eastern
- Mixed Race
- Other (open textbox)

In what year were you born? [Open integer textbox]

What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Did not graduate from high school
- High school graduate
- Some college, but no degree (yet)
- 2-year college degree
- 4-year college degree
- Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc.)

## 2. TEXT OF THE EXPERIMENT

STA327

SINGLE CHOICE

Preventive strike favor oppose

*Instructions for programmers: This question has three random variables: ally, trade, and regime. For each respondent, draw a random integer between 1 and 8. Record this random number as STA327\_rand.*

**ally**

*If STA327\_rand = 1, 3, 5, or 7, then ally = has*

*If STA327\_rand = 2, 4, 6, or 8, then ally = has not*

**trade**

*If STA327\_rand = 1, 2, 5, or 6, then trade = has*

*If STA327\_rand = 3, 4, 7, or 8, then trade = does not have*

**regime**

*If STA327\_rand = 1, 2, 3, or 4, then regime = is a democracy, and shows every sign that it will remain a democracy*

*If STA327\_rand = 5, 6, 7, or 8, then regime = is not a democracy, and shows no sign of becoming a democracy*

*The text of this question should be divided into two screens.*

{Screen 1}

There is much concern these days about the spread of nuclear weapons. We are going to describe a situation the United States could face in the future. For scientific validity the situation is general, and is not about a specific country in the news today. Some parts of the description may strike you as important; other parts may seem unimportant.

Please read the details very carefully. After describing the situation, we will ask your opinion about a policy option.

{Screen 2}

Here is the situation:

- A country is developing nuclear weapons and will have its first nuclear bomb within six months. The country could then use its missiles to launch nuclear attacks against any country in the world.
- The country [ally] signed a military alliance with the United States.
- The country [trade] high levels of trade with the United States.
- The country [regime].
- The country's nonnuclear military forces are half as strong as U.S. nonnuclear forces.
- The country's motives remain unclear, but if it builds nuclear weapons, it will have the power to blackmail or destroy other countries.
- The country has refused all requests to stop its nuclear weapons program.

By attacking the country's nuclear development sites now, the United States could prevent the country from making any nuclear weapons. Would you favor or oppose using the U.S. military to attack the country's nuclear development sites?

1. Favor strongly
2. Favor somewhat
3. Neither favor nor oppose
4. Oppose somewhat
5. Oppose strongly

**STA328**

**SINGLE CHOICE**

**Preventive strike morally wrong**

Do you think it would be morally wrong for the U.S. military to attack the country's nuclear development sites?

1. Yes, it would be morally wrong.
2. No, it would not be morally wrong.

**STA329, STA330, STA331, STA332, STA333, STA334**  
**MULTIPLE CHOICE**

**If preventive strike does not occur**

Here is the situation again, for your reference. The country ...

- [ally] signed a military alliance with the U.S.;
- [trade] high levels of trade with the U.S.;
- [regime];
- has nonnuclear forces half as strong as U.S. forces;
- will have its first nuclear bomb within six months;
- has unknown motives, but if it builds nuclear weapons it will have the power to blackmail or destroy other countries;
- has refused to stop its nuclear weapons program.

Check all events that, in your opinion, would have more than a 50 percent chance of happening if the U.S. did not attack the country's nuclear sites. (Please check all that apply.)

Rows:

- STA329** If the U.S. did not attack, the country would build nuclear weapons.
- STA330** If the U.S. did not attack, the country would build nuclear weapons and threaten to use them against another country.
- STA331** If the U.S. did not attack, the country would build nuclear weapons and threaten to use them against the U.S. or a U.S. ally.
- STA332** If the U.S. did not attack, the country would build nuclear weapons and launch a nuclear attack against another country.
- STA333** If the U.S. did not attack, the country would build nuclear weapons and launch a nuclear attack against the U.S. or a U.S. ally.
- STA334** If the U.S. did not attack, the credibility, prestige, or reputation of the U.S. would suffer.
- STA334a** If the U.S. did not attack, none of the above would have more than a 50 percent chance of happening.

**STA335, STA336, STA337, STA338, STA339, STA340**  
**MULTIPLE CHOICE**

**If preventive strike does not occur**

Here is the situation one last time. The country ...

- [ally] signed a military alliance with the U.S.;
- [trade] high levels of trade with the U.S.;
- [regime];
- has nonnuclear forces half as strong as U.S. forces;
- will have its first nuclear bomb within six months;
- has unknown motives, but if it builds nuclear weapons it will have the power to blackmail or destroy other countries;
- has refused to stop its nuclear weapons program.

Check all events that, in your opinion, would have more than a 50 percent chance of happening if the U.S. did attack the country's nuclear sites. (Please check all that apply.)

Rows:

- STA335** If the U.S. did attack, it would prevent the country from making nuclear weapons in the near future.
- STA336** If the U.S. did attack, it would prevent the country from making nuclear weapons in the long run.
- STA337** If the U.S. did attack, the country would respond by attacking the U.S. or a U.S. ally.
- STA338** If the U.S. did attack, the U.S. military would suffer many casualties.
- STA339** If the U.S. did attack, the U.S. economy would suffer.
- STA340** If the U.S. did attack, U.S. relations with other countries would suffer.
- STA340a** If the U.S. did attack, none of the above would have more than a 50 percent chance of happening.