

**ONLINE APPENDIX FOR:
MICHAEL TOMZ AND JESSICA L. P. WEEKS,
“PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN ELECTORAL INTERVENTION,”
*AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW***

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I. TEXT OF SURVEY EXPERIMENT

We randomly assigned each participant to one of four conditions: the endorsement condition, the threat condition, the operation condition, or the stay out condition. Below, we provide the text for each condition, followed by questions all respondents received regardless of their experimental condition. For brevity we include only the items referenced in the paper.

A. BACKGROUND QUESTIONS

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

- Republican
- Democrat
- Independent
- Another party, please specify
- No preference

If Republican:

Would you call yourself a ...

- Strong Republican
- Not very strong Republican

If Democrat:

Would you call yourself a ...

- Strong Democrat
- Not very strong Democrat

If Neither Republican or Democrat:

Do you think of yourself as closer to the ...

- Republican Party
- Democratic Party
- Neither party

In general, do you think of yourself as ...

- Extremely liberal
- Liberal
- Slightly liberal
- Moderate, middle of the road
- Slightly conservative
- Conservative
- Extremely conservative

Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with these statements:

“In the United States, our people are not perfect, but our culture is superior to others.”

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

“I would rather be a citizen of America than of any other country in the world.”

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

B. ENDORSEMENT CONDITION

On the next few pages, we will describe a situation that could take place in the future. Please read the description carefully. After you have read about the situation, we will ask for your opinions.

Programming instructions: Randomly assign ...

- *country*: China, Pakistan, OR Turkey.
- *candidate*: “the Democratic candidate” OR “the Republican candidate”
- *opponent*: whoever was not selected as the *candidate*

—new page—

In 2024, the government of [country] made several public statements during the U.S. Presidential election campaign.

Before continuing, we need to make sure you read this information carefully.

In which year did the campaign take place?

- 2016
- 2018
- 2020
- 2024
- 2028

Which country made statements during the campaign?

- China
- Pakistan
- Turkey
- United Kingdom
- India

Which campaign was it?

- U.S. Presidential campaign
- U.S. Senate campaign
- U.S. House campaign
- Gubernatorial campaign
- Local government campaign

—new page—

[Country] said that it strongly preferred [candidate] and hoped [candidate] would win the U.S. Presidential election.

Before continuing, we need to make sure you read this information carefully.

Which candidate did [country] prefer?

- The Democratic candidate
- The Republican candidate
- Neither candidate
- No information given

Which candidate did [country] hope would win?

- The Democratic candidate
- The Republican candidate
- Neither candidate
- No information given

—new page—

In the end, [candidate] won the U.S. Presidential election. Observers began debating whether [country]’s statements during the campaign might have affected the results of the election.

Before continuing, we need to make sure you read this information carefully.

Who won the U.S. Presidential election?

- The Democratic candidate
- The Republican candidate
- Neither
- No information given

Did observers begin debating whether [country]’s statements might have affected the results of the election?

- Yes
- No
- Unsure
- No information given

Programming instruction: Set “summary” equal to the following text:

In 2024, the government of [country] made several public statements during the U.S. Presidential election campaign. [Country] said that it strongly preferred [candidate] and hoped [candidate] would win the U.S. Presidential election. In the end, [candidate] won the U.S. Presidential election. Observers began debating whether [country]’s statements during the campaign might have affected the results of the election.

C. THREAT CONDITION

On the next few pages, we will describe a situation that could take place in the future. Please read the description carefully. After you have read about the situation, we will ask for your opinions.

Programming instructions: Randomly assign ...

- *country*: China, Pakistan, OR Turkey.
- *candidate*: “the Democratic candidate” OR “the Republican candidate”
- *opponent*: whoever was not selected as the *candidate*

—new page—

In 2024, the government of [country] made several public statements during the U.S. Presidential election campaign.

Before continuing, we need to make sure you read this information carefully.

In which year did the campaign take place?

- 2016
- 2018
- 2020
- 2024
- 2028

Which country made statements during the campaign?

- China
- Pakistan
- Turkey
- United Kingdom
- India

Which campaign was it?

- U.S. Presidential campaign
- U.S. Senate campaign
- U.S. House campaign
- Gubernatorial campaign
- Local government campaign

—new page—

[Country] said that it strongly preferred [candidate] and hoped [candidate] would win the U.S. Presidential election. [Country] said that, if [opponent] won, it would rethink its economic and military relationships with the U.S.

Before continuing, we need to make sure you read this information carefully.

Which candidate did [country] prefer?

- The Democratic candidate
- The Republican candidate
- Neither candidate
- No information given

Which candidate did [country] hope would win?

- The Democratic candidate
- The Republican candidate
- Neither candidate
- No information given

What did [country] say it would do if [opponent] won the election?

—new page—

In the end, [candidate] won the U.S. Presidential election. Observers began debating whether [country]’s statements during the campaign might have affected the results of the election.

Before continuing, we need to make sure you read this information carefully.

Who won the U.S. Presidential election?

- The Democratic candidate
- The Republican candidate
- Neither
- No information given

Did observers begin debating whether [country]’s statements might have affected the results of the election?

- Yes
- No
- Unsure
- No information given

Programming instruction: Set “summary” equal to the following text:

In 2024, the government of [country] made several public statements during the U.S. Presidential election campaign. [Country] said that it strongly preferred [candidate] and hoped [candidate] would win the U.S. Presidential election. [Country] said that, if [opponent] won, it would rethink its economic and military relationships with the U.S. In the end, [candidate] won the U.S. Presidential election. Observers began debating whether [country]’s statements during the campaign might have affected the results of the election.

D. OPERATION CONDITION

On the next few pages, we will describe a situation that could take place in the future. Please read the description carefully. After you have read about the situation, we will ask for your opinions.

Programming instructions: Randomly assign ...

- *country*: China, Pakistan, OR Turkey.
- *percent*: “There was a 50% chance” OR “There was a 75% chance” or “There was a 95% chance” OR “It was 100% certain”
- *candidate*: “the Democratic candidate” OR “the Republican candidate”
- *opponent*: whoever was not selected as the *candidate*

If *percent* = “It was 100% certain”, assign *actor* to be “[country]”, otherwise assign *actor* to be “the foreign country.”

Randomly assign *operation* to one of the following values

- give \$50 million to support the campaign of [candidate].
- use social media to spread embarrassing lies about [opponent]—falsely claiming that [opponent] had broken laws and acted immorally.
- use social media to spread embarrassing but true information about [opponent]—accurately revealing that [opponent] had broken laws and acted immorally.
- hack into voting machines and change the official vote count to give [candidate] extra votes.

—new page—

In 2024, a foreign country developed a plan to influence the U.S. Presidential election. [Percent] that the foreign country was [country].

Before continuing, we need to make sure you read this information carefully.

What are the chances that the foreign country was [country]?

- 100% certain
- 95% chance
- 75% chance
- 50% chance
- 25% chance

Which U.S. election was [actor] trying to influence?

—new page—

The plan was designed to help [candidate] and hurt [opponent].

What was the plan designed to do?

- Help [opponent] and hurt [candidate]
- Help [candidate] and hurt [opponent]
- Hurt both [opponent] and [candidate]
- No information given

—new page—

According to the plan, agents from [actor] would [operation].

Before continuing, we need to make sure you read this information carefully.

According to the plan, what would agents from [actor] do?

The plan involved ...

- Giving money to support campaigning
- Spreading embarrassing but true information
- Spreading embarrassing lies
- Hacking into voting machines
- No information given

—new page—

[Actor] carried out its plan to help [candidate] and hurt [opponent]. In the end, [candidate] won the U.S. Presidential election. Authorities began investigating whether [actor] might have affected the results of the election.

Before continuing, we need to make sure you read this information carefully.

Did [actor] carry out the plan?

- Yes
- No
- No information given

Who won the U.S. Presidential election?

- [candidate]
- [opponent]
- Neither

What did authorities begin investigating?

Programming instruction: Set “summary” equal to the following text:

In 2024, a foreign country developed a plan to influence the U.S. Presidential election. [Percent] that the foreign country was [country]. The plan was designed to help [candidate] and hurt [opponent]. According to the plan, agents from [actor] would [operation]. [Actor] carried out its plan to help [candidate] and hurt [opponent]. In the end, [candidate] won the U.S. Presidential election. Authorities began investigating whether [actor] might have affected the results of the election.

E. STAY OUT CONDITION

On the next few pages, we will describe a situation that could take place in the future. Please read the description carefully. After you have read about the situation, we will ask for your opinions.

Programming instructions: Randomly assign ...

- *country*: China, Pakistan, OR Turkey.
- *candidate*: “the Democratic candidate” OR “the Republican candidate”
- *opponent*: whoever was not selected as the *candidate*

—new page—

In 2024, there was a false rumor that [country] had developed a plan to influence the U.S. Presidential election. In fact, [country] never had such a plan.

Before continuing, we need to make sure you read this information carefully.

Did [country] have a plan to influence the 2024 election?

- Yes
- No
- No information given

—new page—

The election proceeded without any involvement by [country], and [candidate] won the U.S. Presidential election.

Before continuing, we need to make sure you read this information carefully.

Did [country] get involved in the election?

- Yes
- No
- No information given

Who won the election?

- [opponent]
- [candidate]
- Neither

Programming instruction: Set “summary” equal to the following text:

In 2024, there was a false rumor that [country] had developed a plan to influence the U.S. Presidential election. In fact, [country] never had such a plan. The election proceeded without any involvement by [country], and [candidate] won the U.S. Presidential election.

F. REACTIONS TO THE SCENARIO

Programming Note: All respondents received this question

Here is the information for your reference: [summary]

If the 2024 election happened just as we described, which policies would you support or oppose?

	Support strongly	Support somewhat	Oppose somewhat	Oppose strongly
<u>Cut off diplomatic relations</u> with [country]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Impose <u>economic sanctions</u> on [country]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<u>Threaten</u> to use military force against [country]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Launch a <u>military strike</u> against [country]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

—new page—

Programming Note: All respondents received this question

Here is the information again for your reference: [summary]

Do you approve or disapprove of how [country] behaved in this situation?

- Approve strongly
- Approve somewhat
- Neither approve nor disapprove
- Disapprove somewhat
- Disapprove strongly

Programming Note: Respondents in the stay out condition did not receive this question

If you had to guess, would you say that [country]’s behavior ...

- Gave [candidate] a big advantage
- Gave [candidate] a small advantage
- Didn’t give either side an advantage
- Gave [opponent] a small advantage
- Gave [opponent] a big advantage

—new page—

Programming Note: All respondents received this question

Here is the information one last time, for your reference: [summary]

If the 2024 election happened just as we described, would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
I would <u>trust</u> the results of the election	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I would be <u>unlikely to vote</u> in future elections	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I would <u>lose faith</u> in American democracy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

G. DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

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
- Some other race – Type in race

Please enter your age on your last birthday.
Select response from drop-down list

What is the highest level of school 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)

II. ANALYSES USING PERCENTAGES (AS IN THE ARTICLE)

Figure A1: Disapproval of Foreign Electoral Intervention

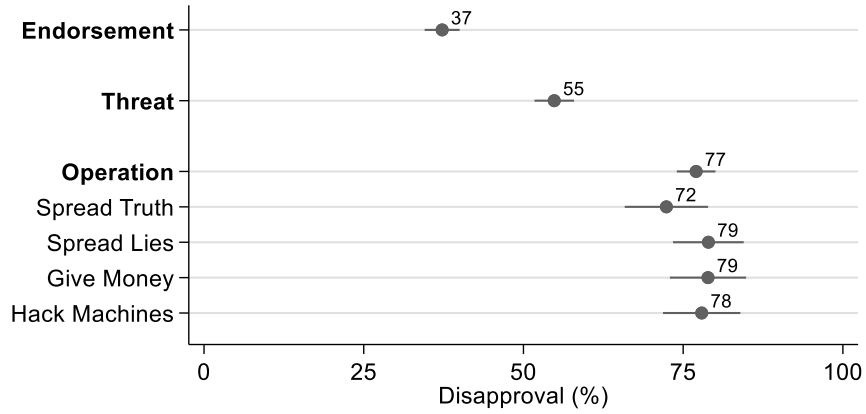


Figure A2: Disapproval of Foreign Electoral Intervention, by Foreign Country

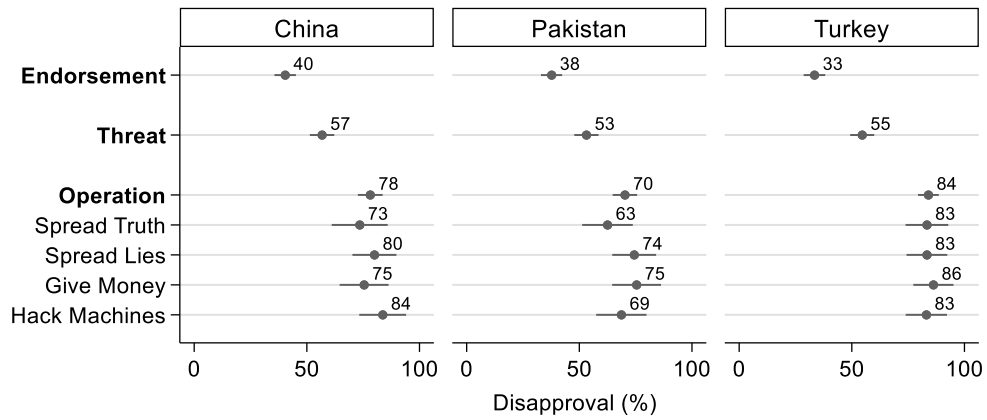


Figure A3: Disapproval of Foreign Electoral Intervention, by Partisanship

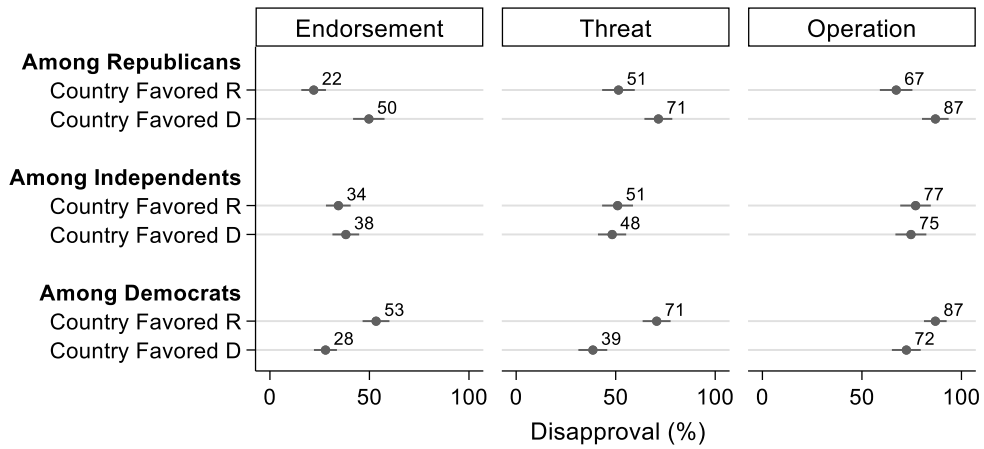


Figure A4: Disapproval of Foreign Electoral Intervention, by Strength of Partisanship

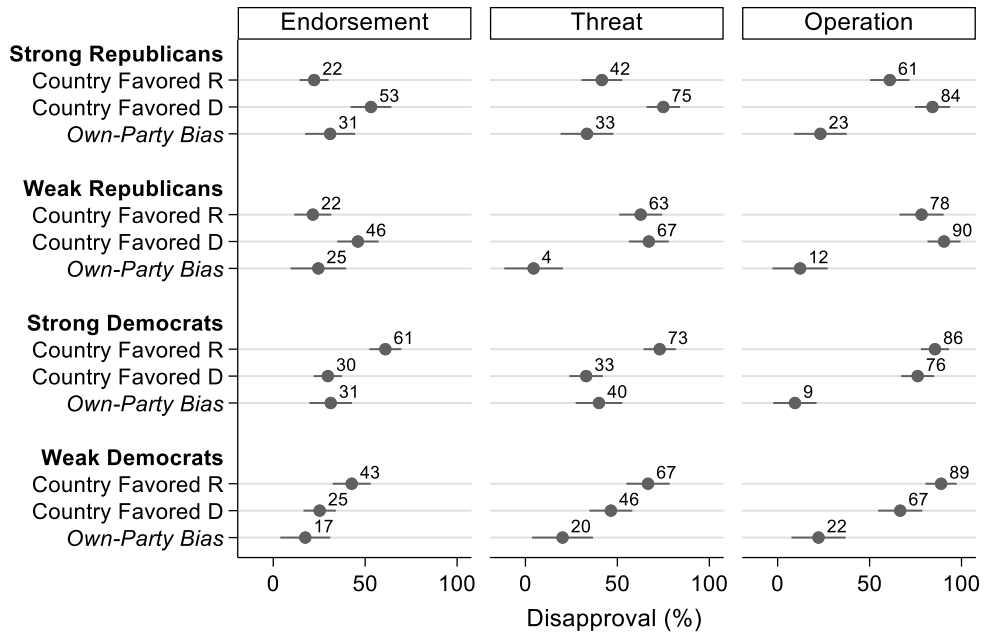


Figure A5: Disapproval of Foreign Electoral Intervention, by Education

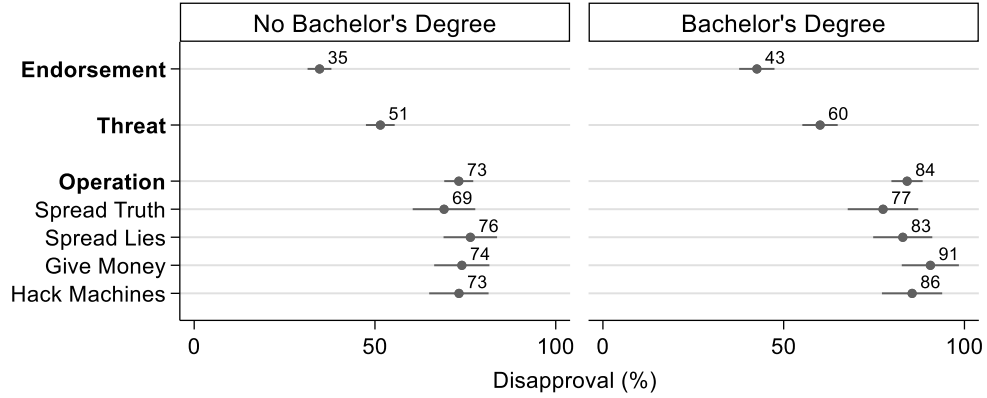


Figure A6: Disapproval of Foreign Electoral Intervention, by Education and Partisanship

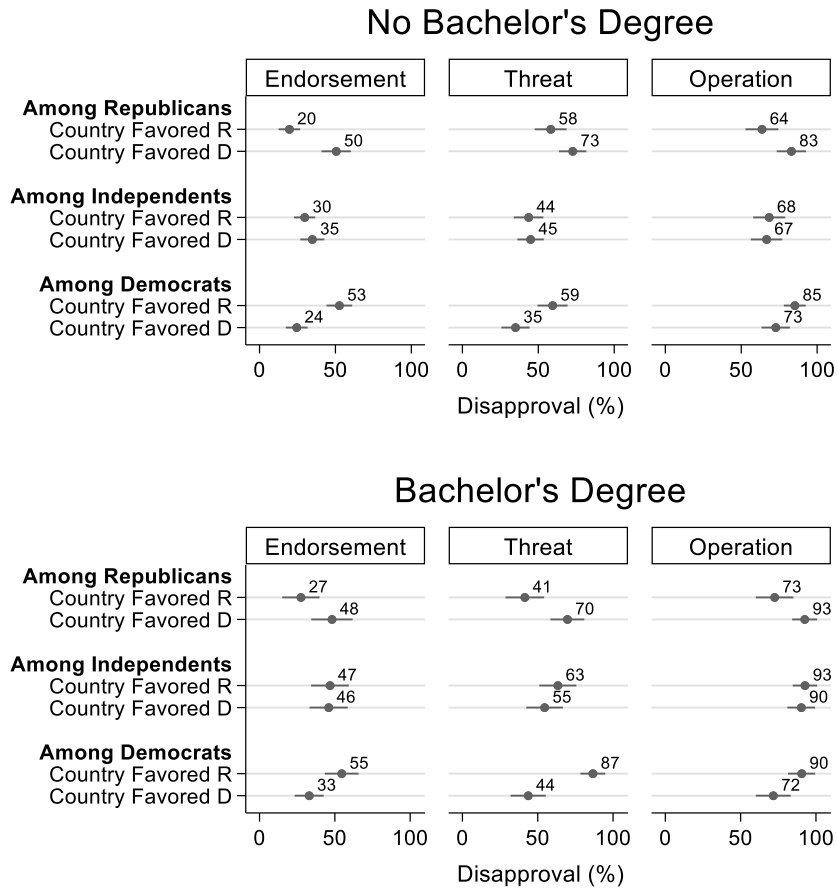


Figure A7: Attitudes about Democracy, by Mode of Foreign Electoral Intervention

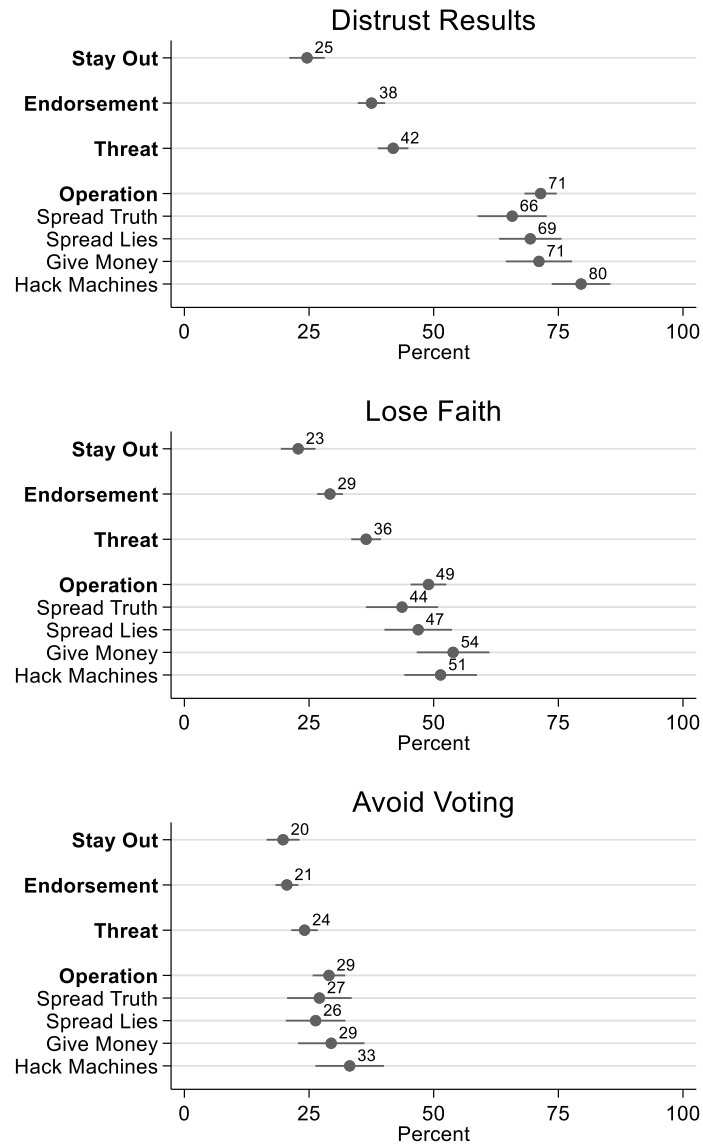


Figure A8: Effects of Foreign Electoral Intervention on Attitudes about Democracy

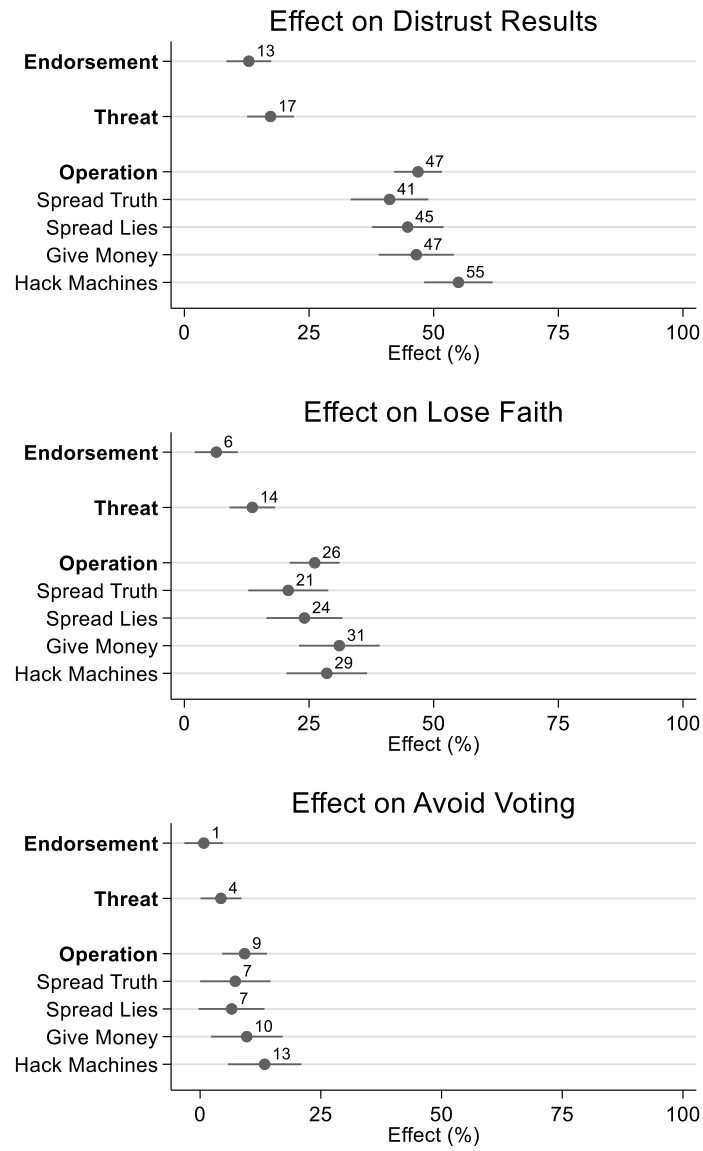


Figure A9: Attitudes about Democracy, by Partisanship

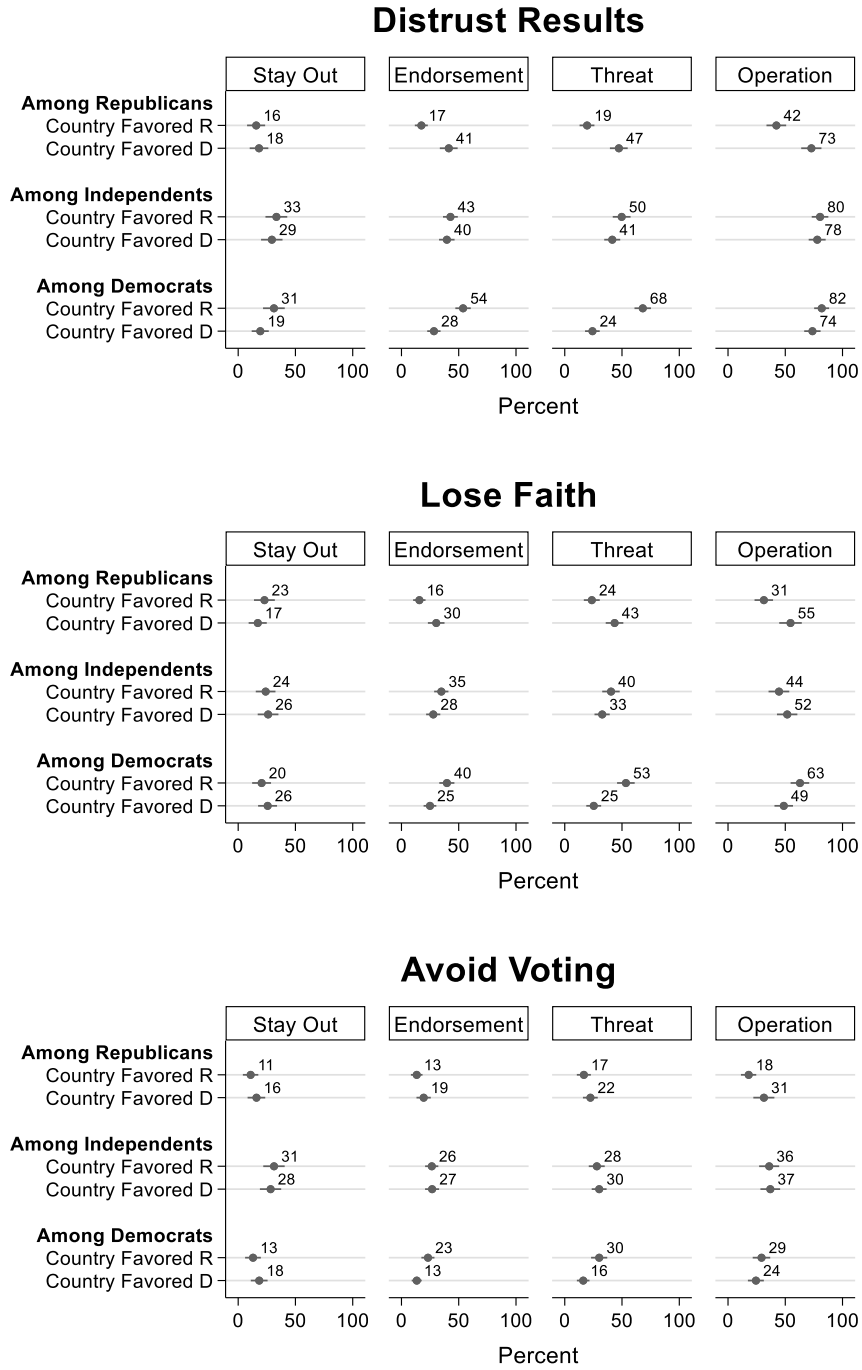


Figure A10: Effects of Foreign Electoral Intervention on Attitudes about Democracy, by Partisanship

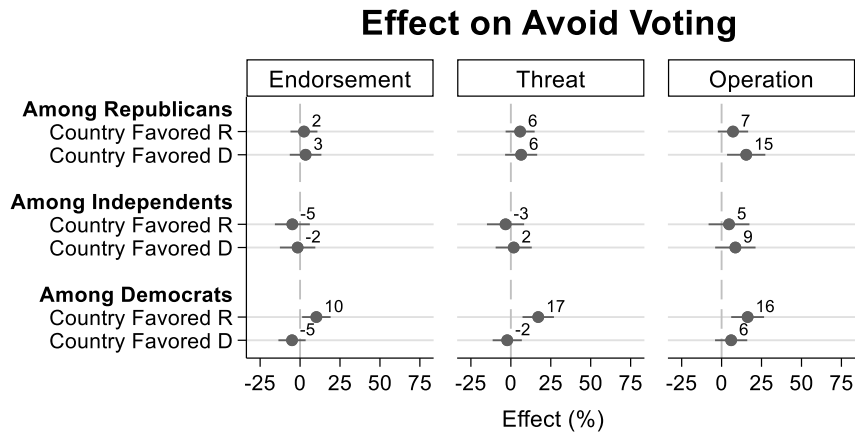
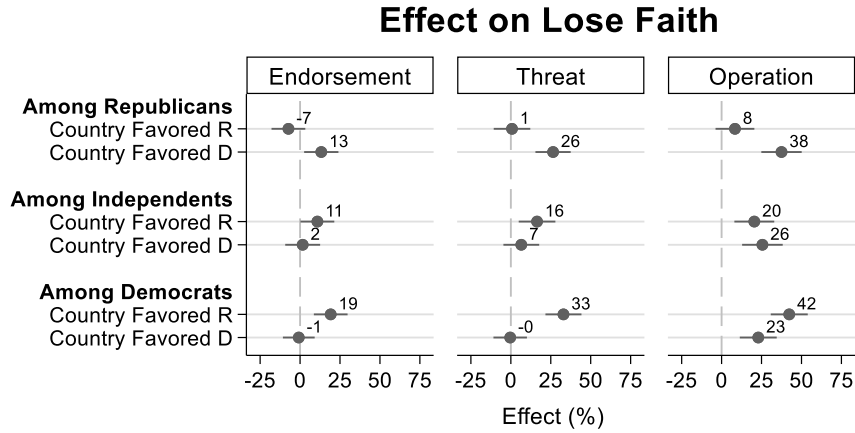
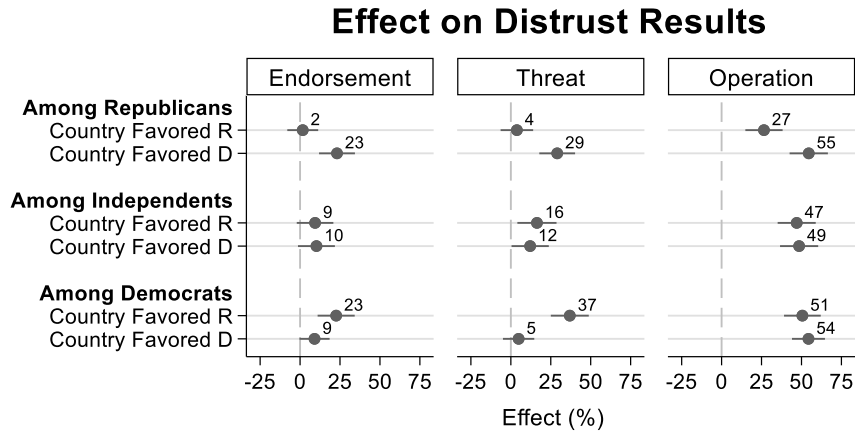


Figure A11: Support for Foreign Policies, by Mode of Foreign Electoral Intervention

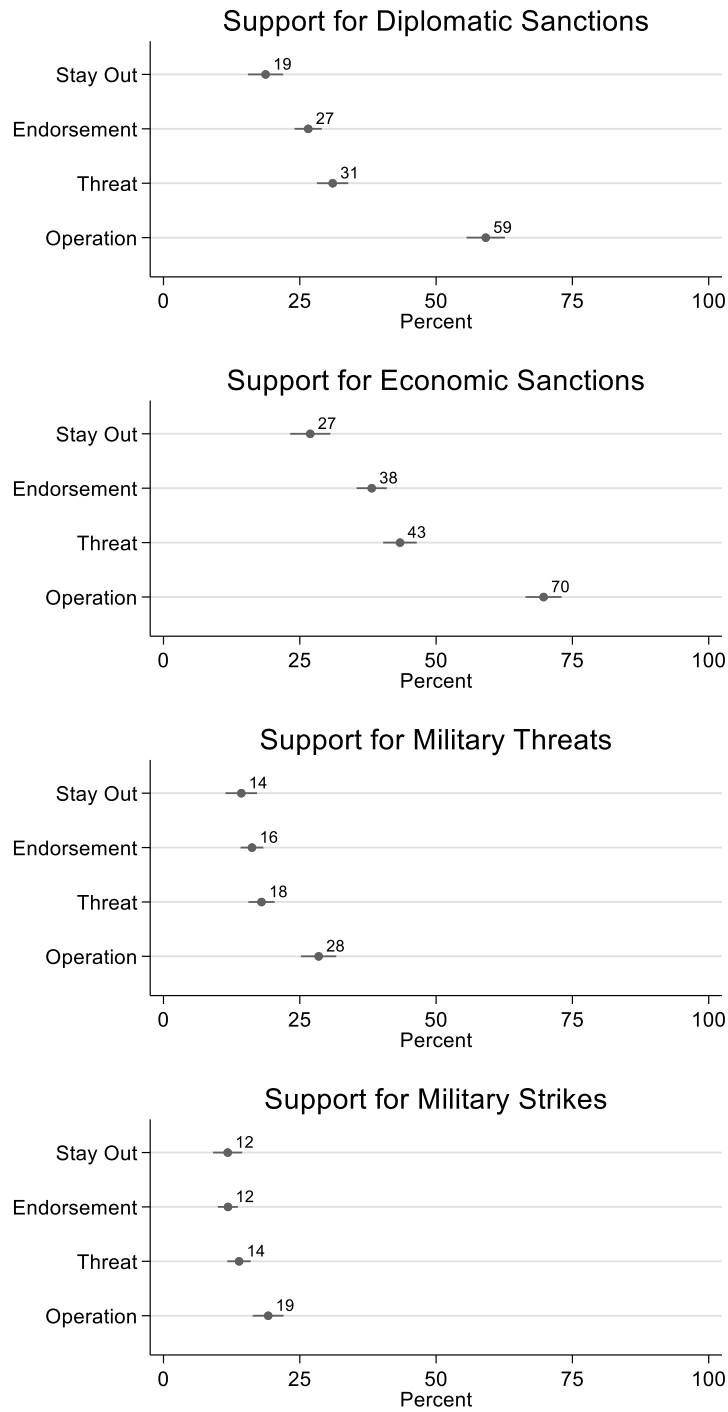


Figure A12: Support for Foreign Policies, by Mode of Foreign Electoral Intervention (Detailed)

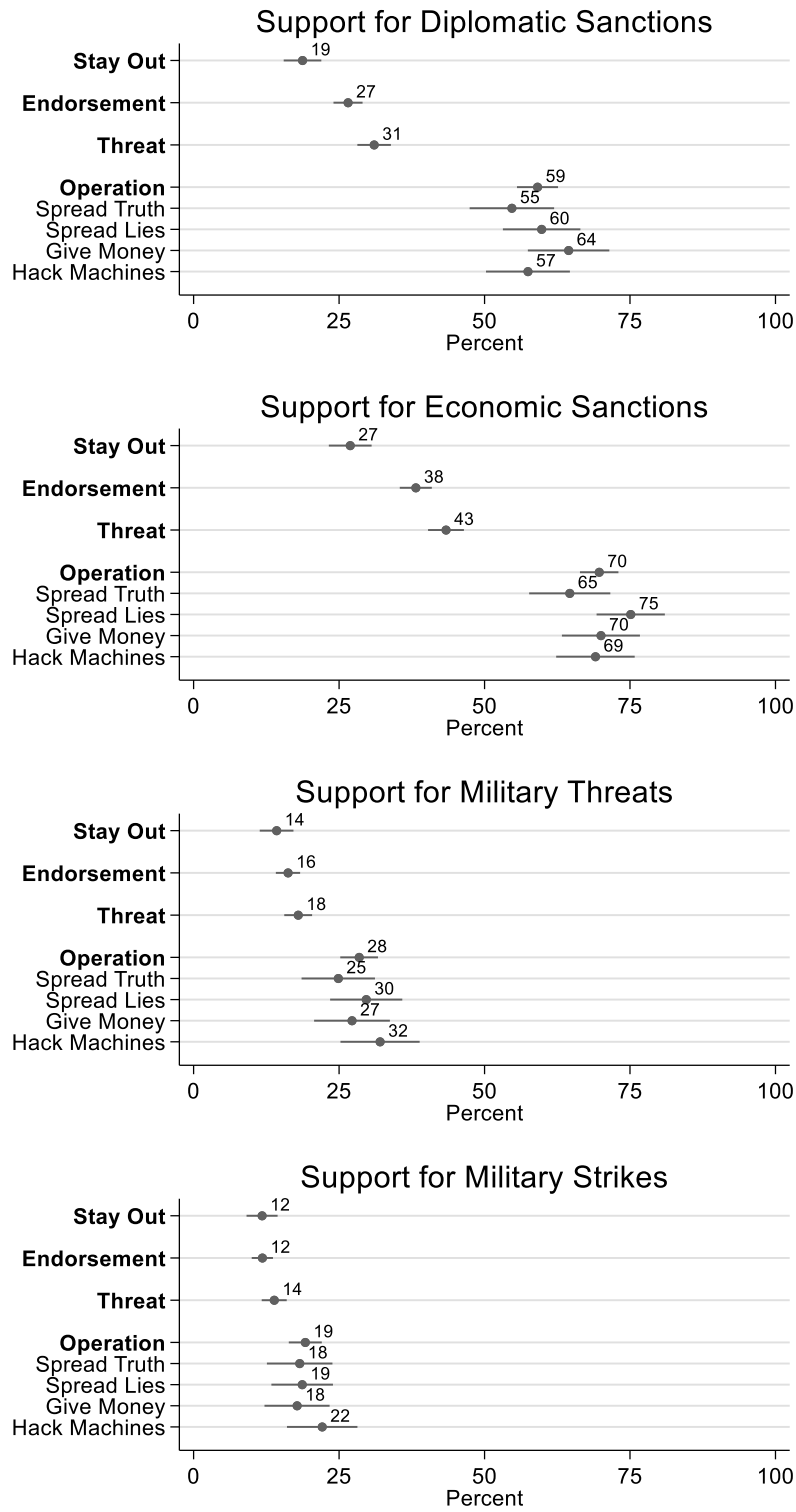


Figure A13: Effects of Foreign Electoral Intervention on Support for Foreign Policies

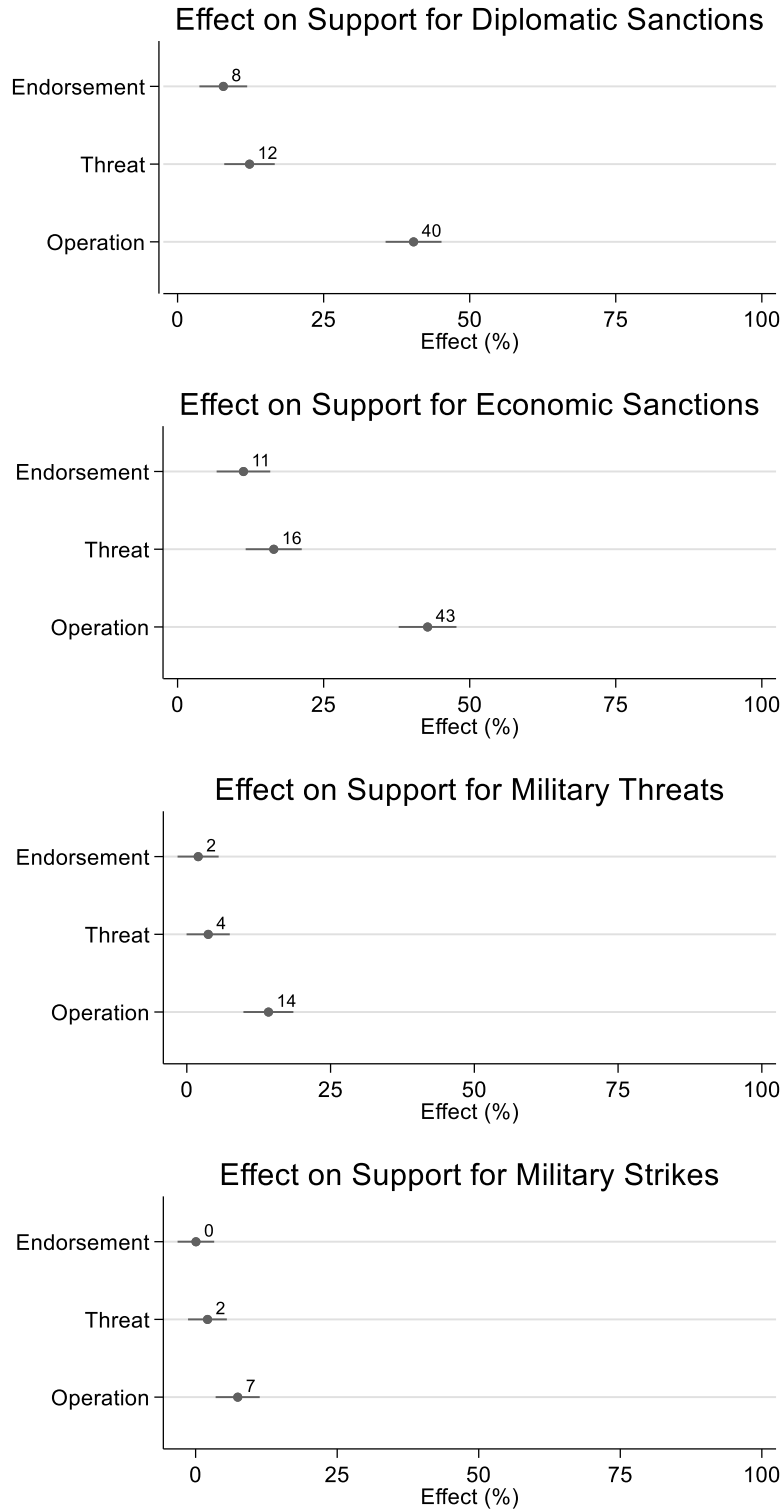


Figure A14: Effects of Foreign Electoral Intervention on Support for Foreign Policies (Detailed)

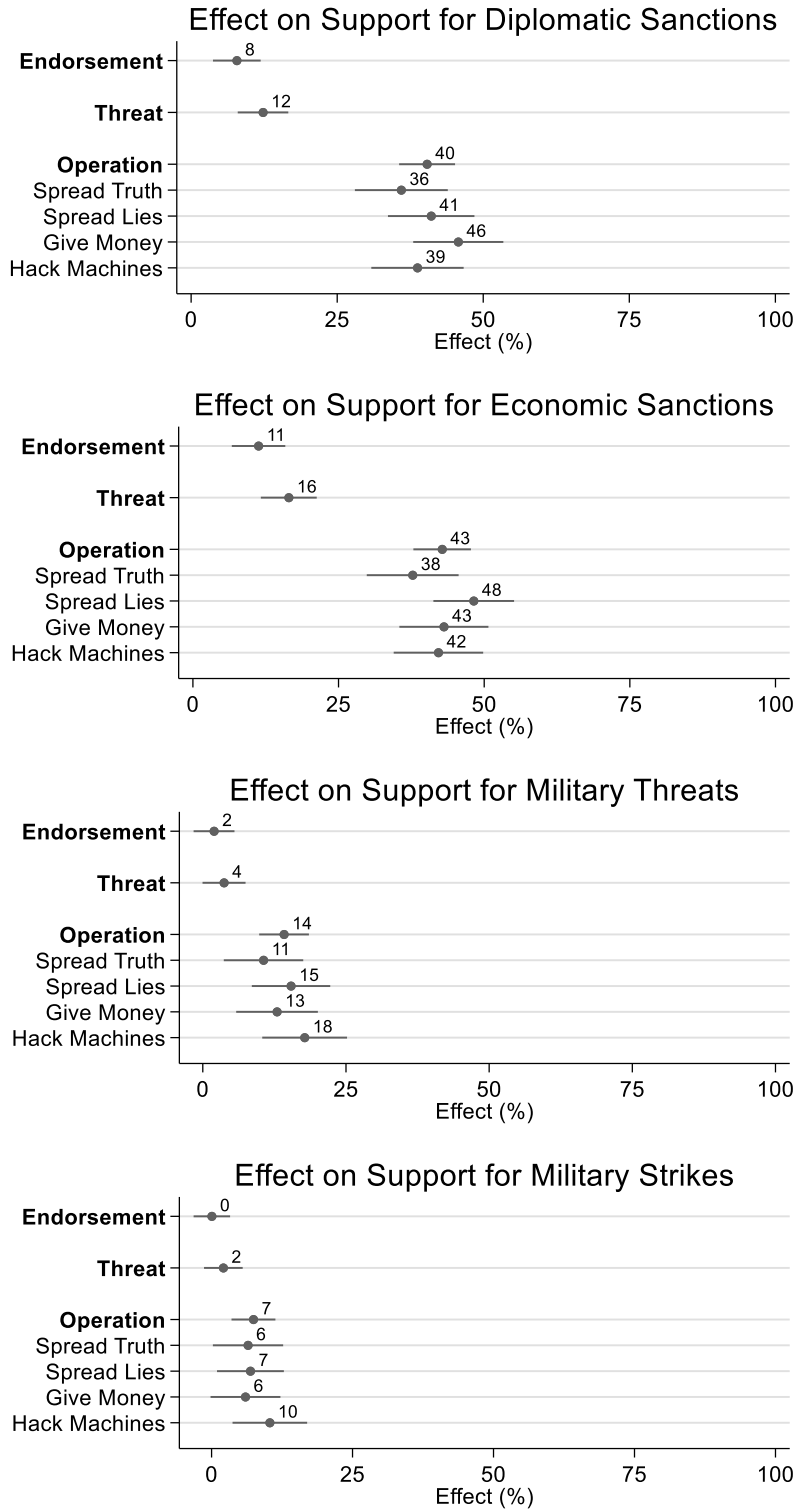


Figure A15: Support for Foreign Policies, by Foreign Country

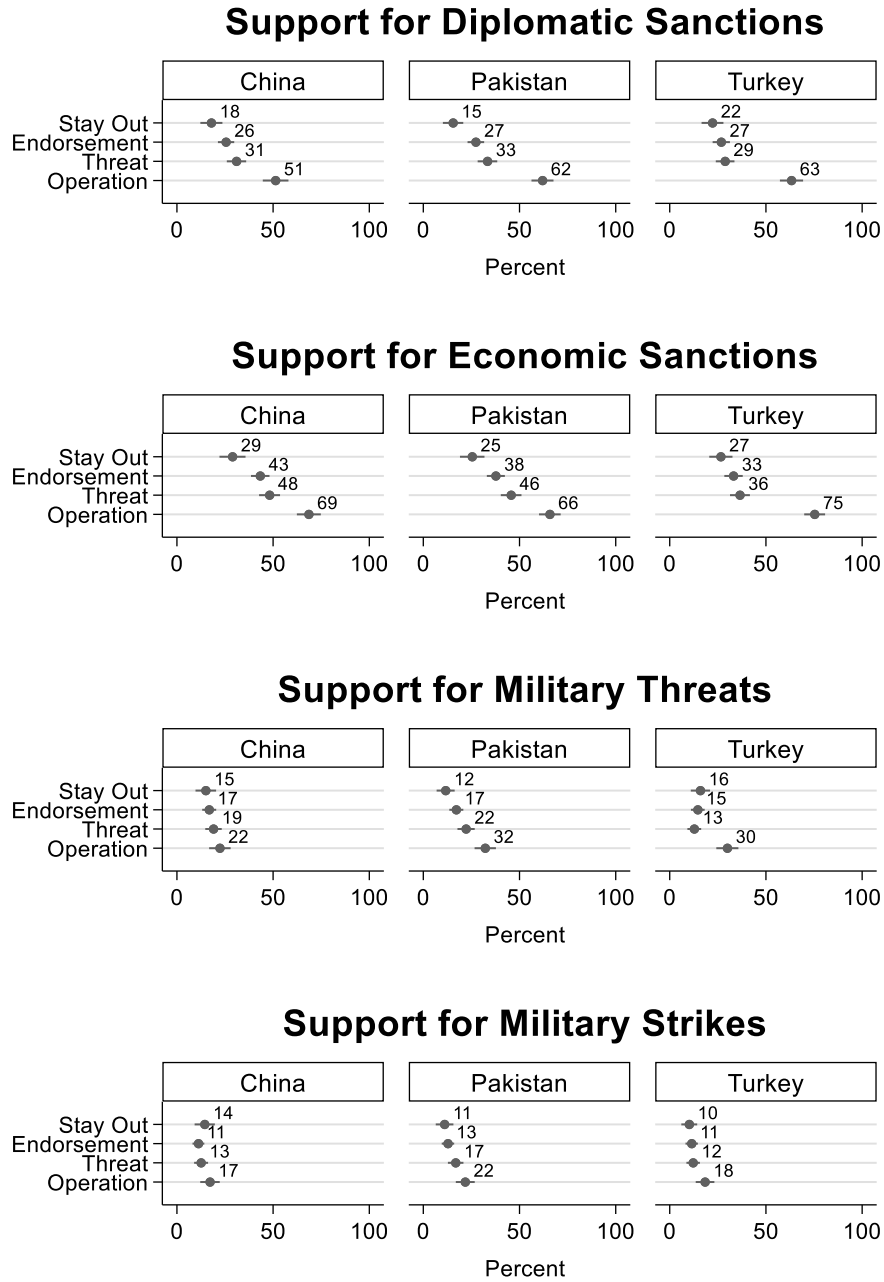


Figure A16: Support for Foreign Policies, by Partisanship

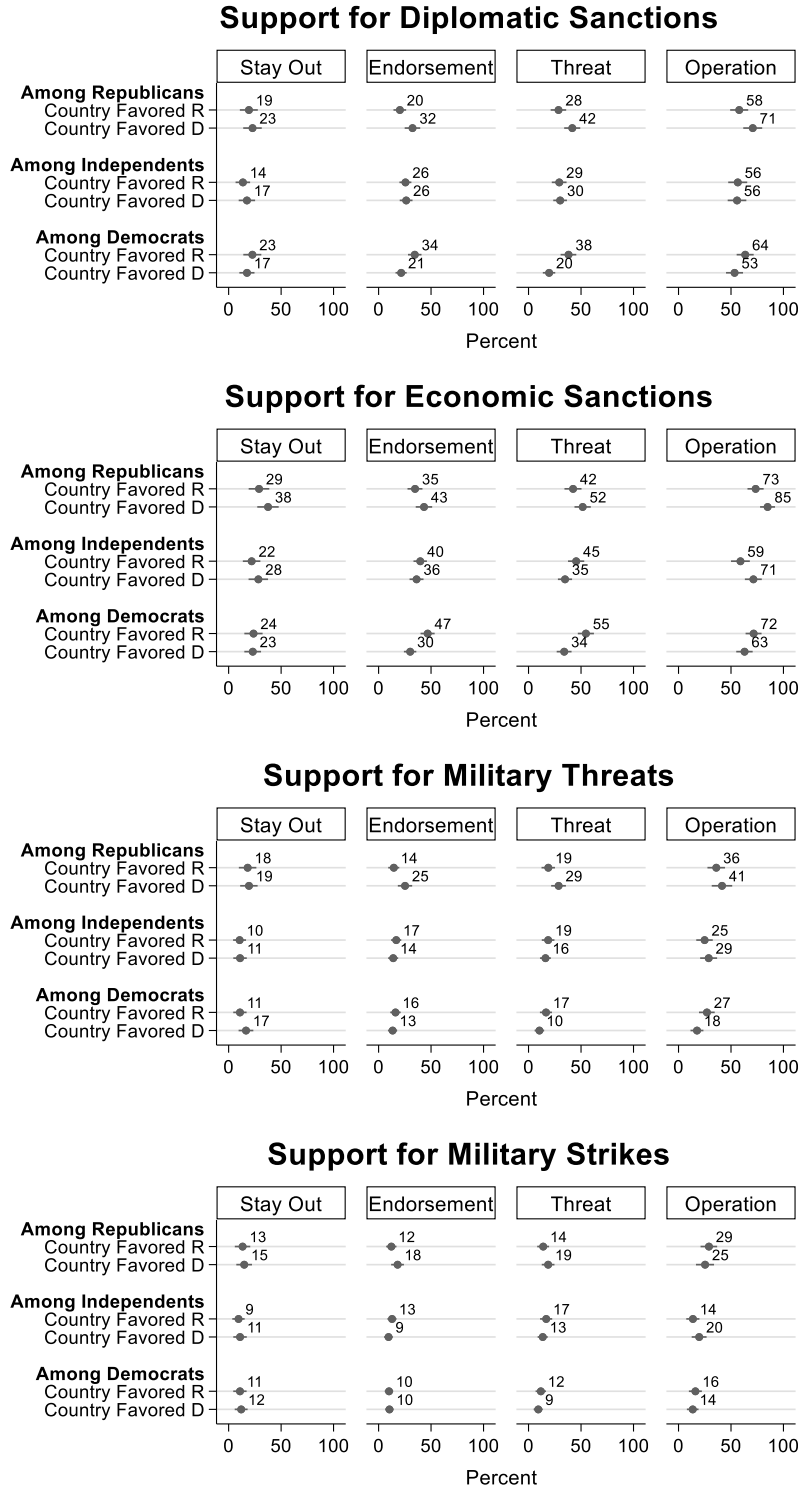


Figure A17: Effects of Foreign Electoral Intervention on Support for Foreign Policies, by Partisanship

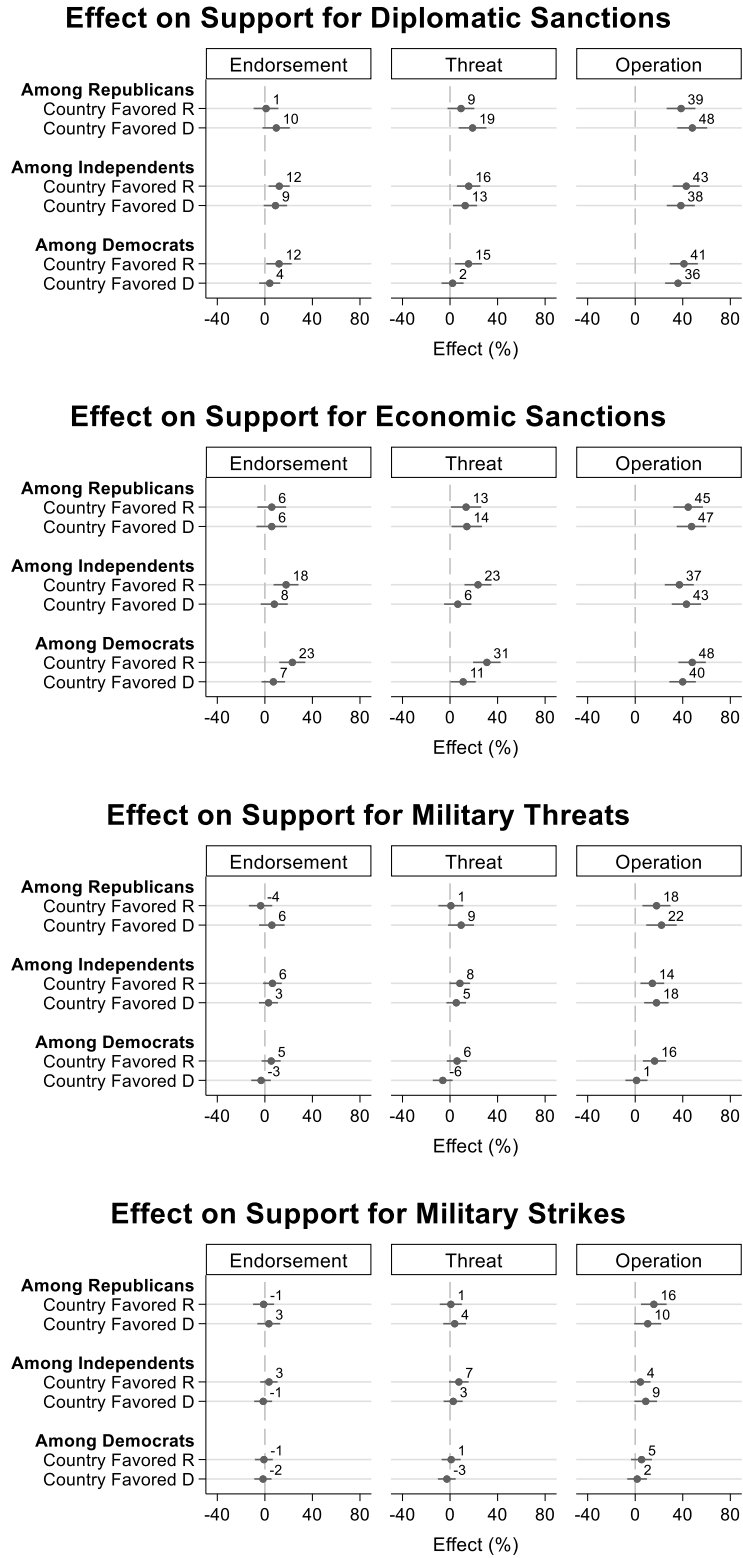


Figure A18: Support for Foreign Policies, by Certainty about the Foreign Country

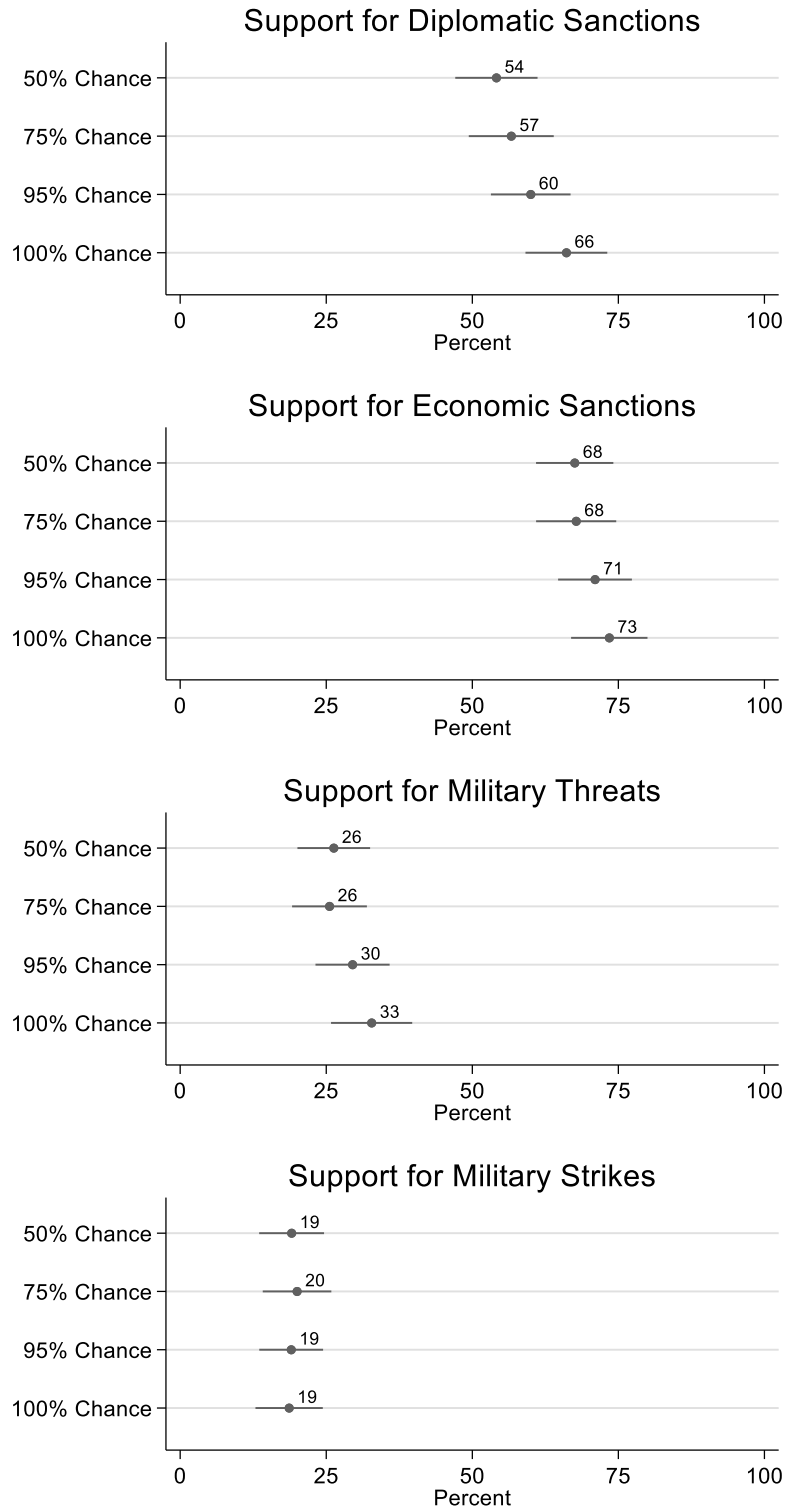
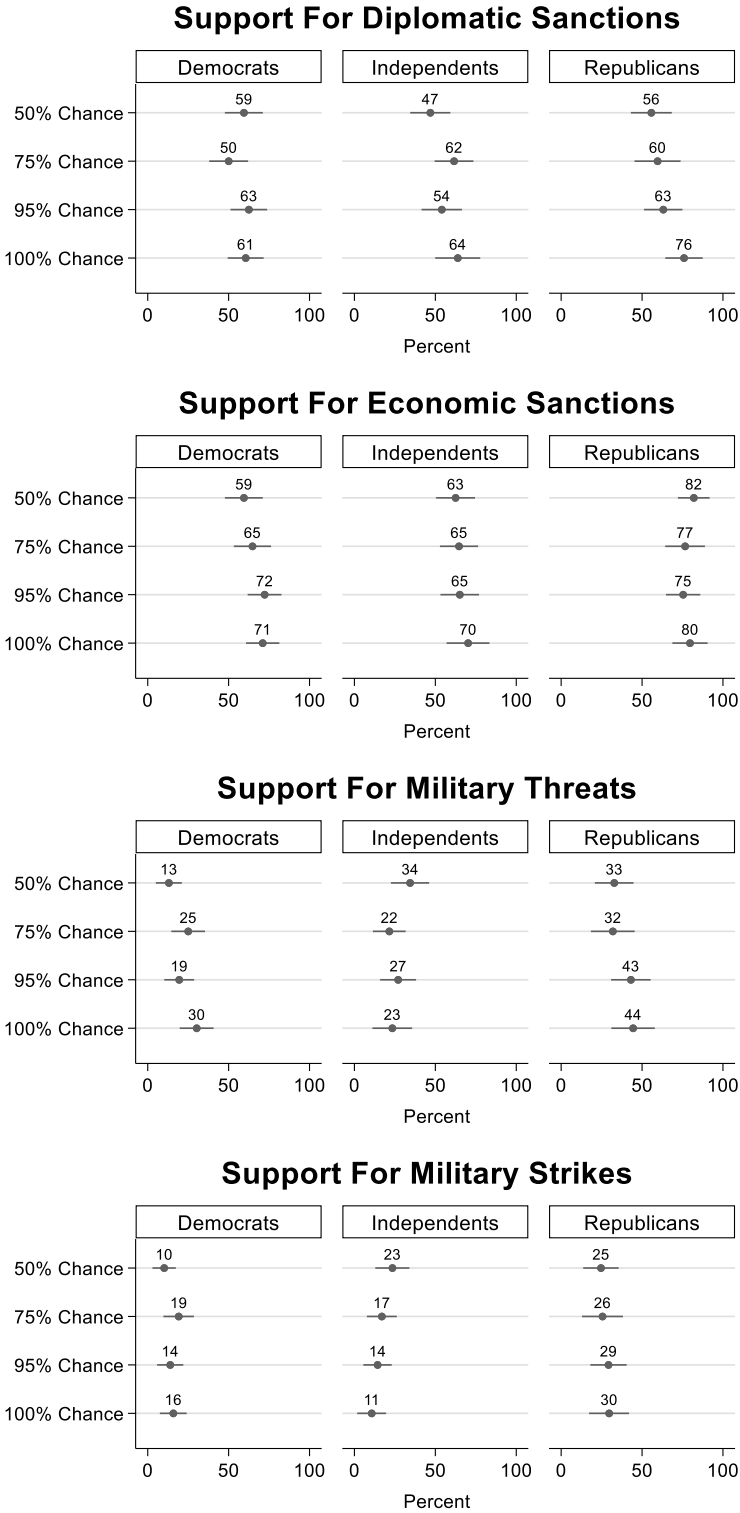


Figure A19: Support for Foreign Policies, by Partisanship and Certainty about the Foreign Country



III. ANALYSES USING SCALES INSTEAD OF PERCENTAGES

In the article and Appendix II, all dependent variables were percentages. We analyzed the percentage of Americans who disapproved; the percentage who distrusted the election results, lacked faith in democracy, or would avoid voting in the future; and the percentage who supported each type of foreign policy. We now show that our conclusions hold when the dependent variables are scales, rather than percentages. In Figures A20-A25, disapproval is scaled as 0, 25, 50, 75, or 100. In Figures A26-A38, all outcomes are scaled as 0, 33.3, 66.7, or 100.

Figure A20: Disapproval of Foreign Electoral Intervention

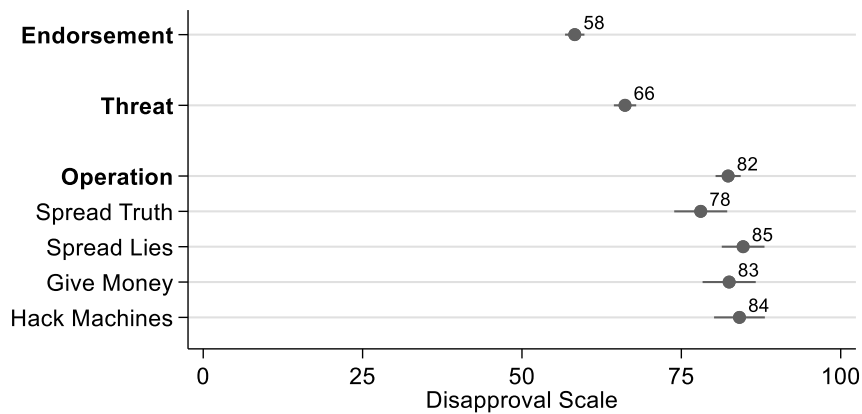


Figure A21: Disapproval of Foreign Electoral Intervention, by Foreign Country

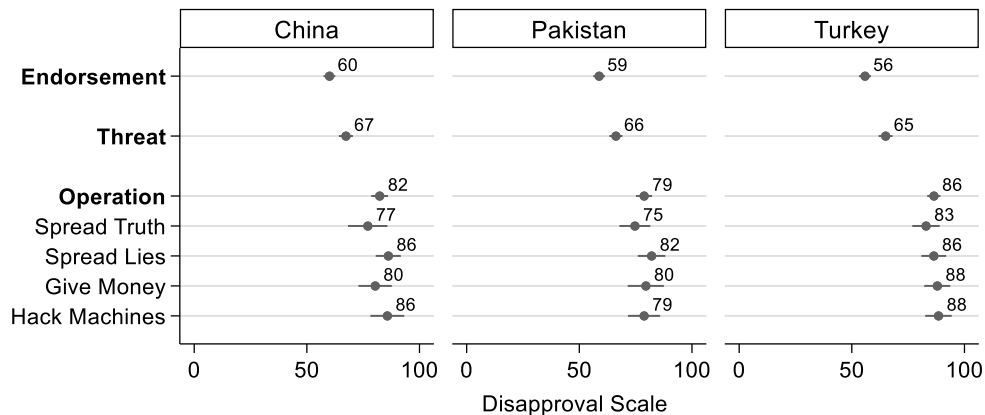


Figure A22: Disapproval of Foreign Electoral Intervention, by Partisanship

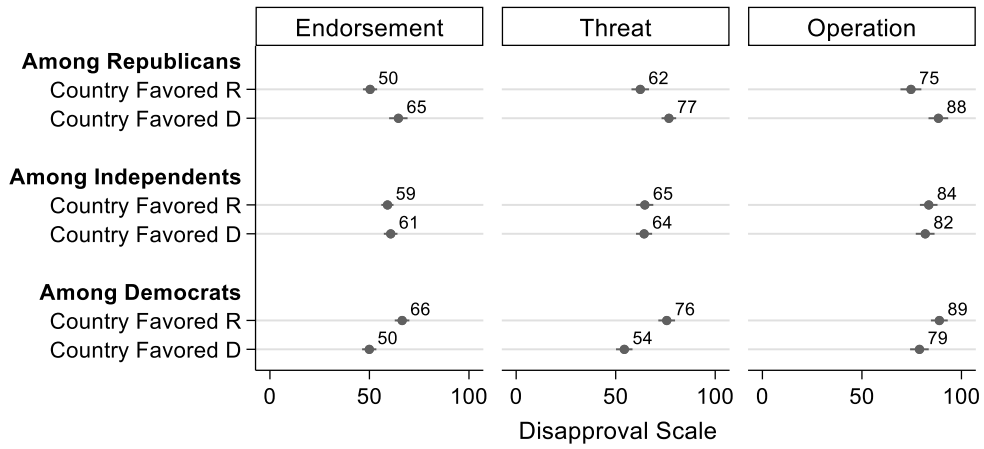


Figure A23: Disapproval of Foreign Electoral Intervention, by Strength of Partisanship

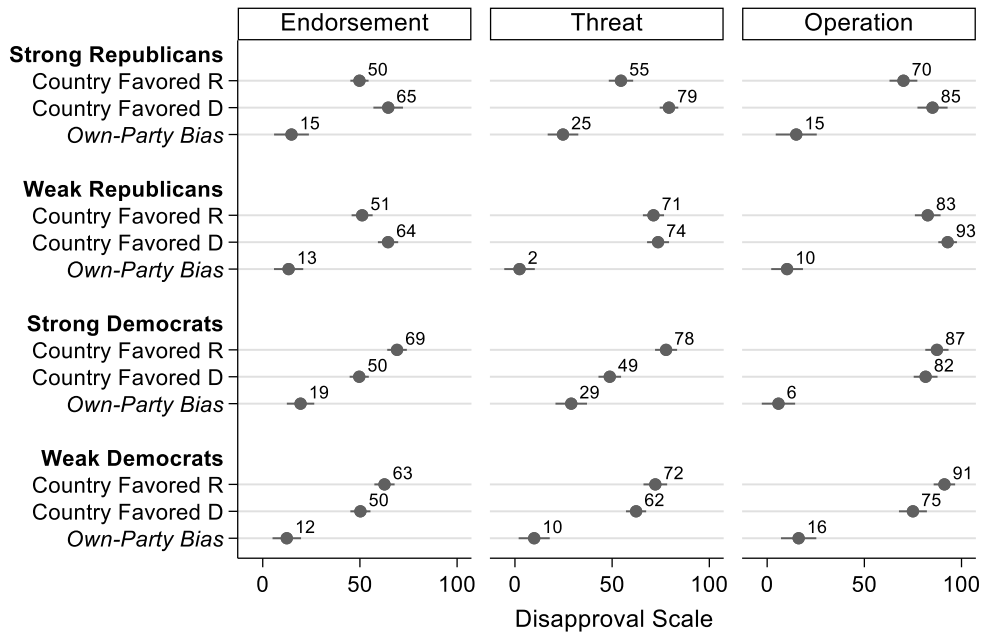


Figure A24: Disapproval of Foreign Electoral Intervention, by Education

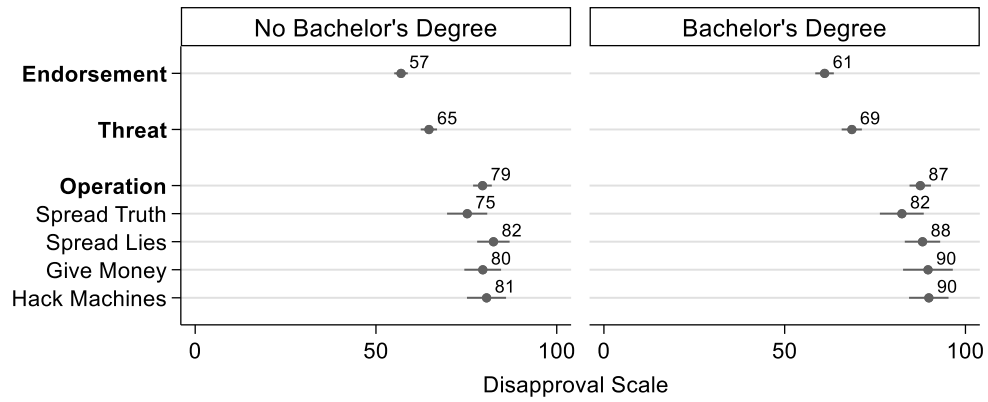


Figure A25: Disapproval of Foreign Electoral Intervention, by Education and Partisanship

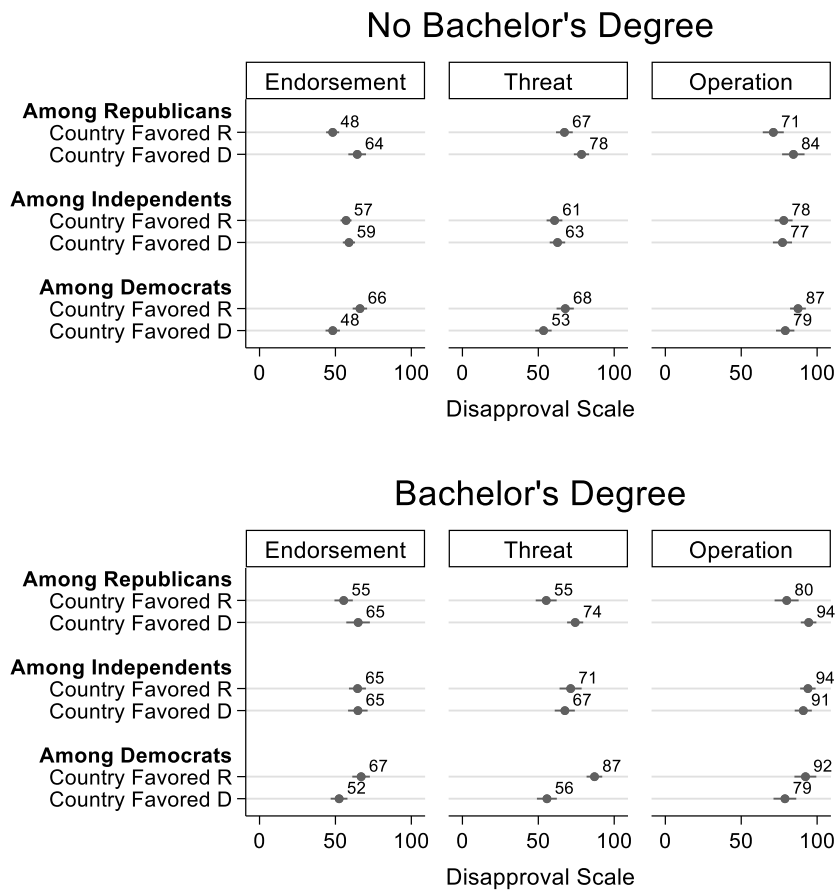


Figure A26: Attitudes about Democracy, by Mode of Foreign Electoral Intervention

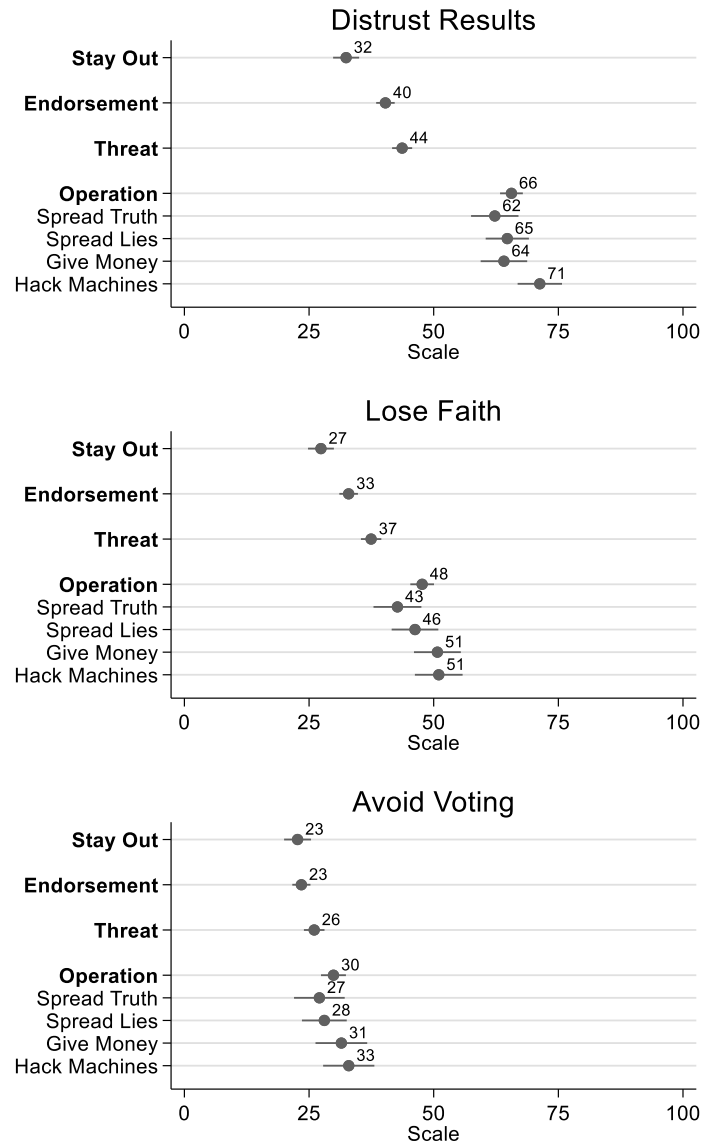


Figure A27: Effects of Foreign Electoral Intervention on Attitudes about Democracy

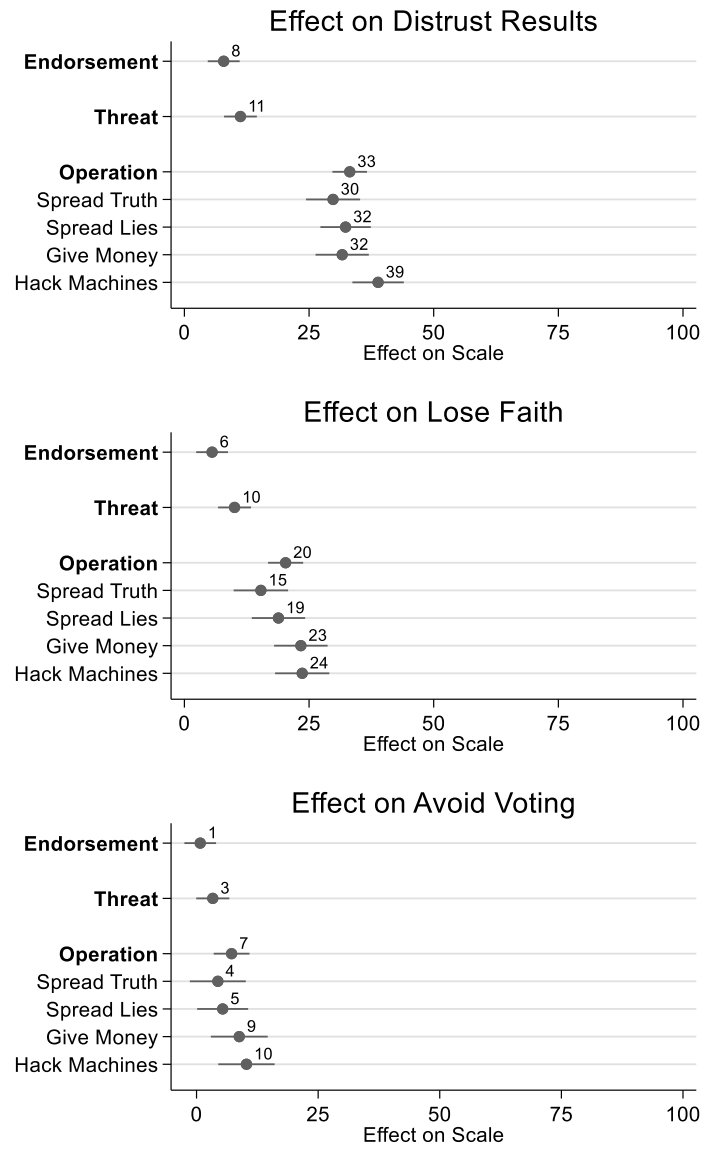


Figure A28: Attitudes about Democracy, by Partisanship

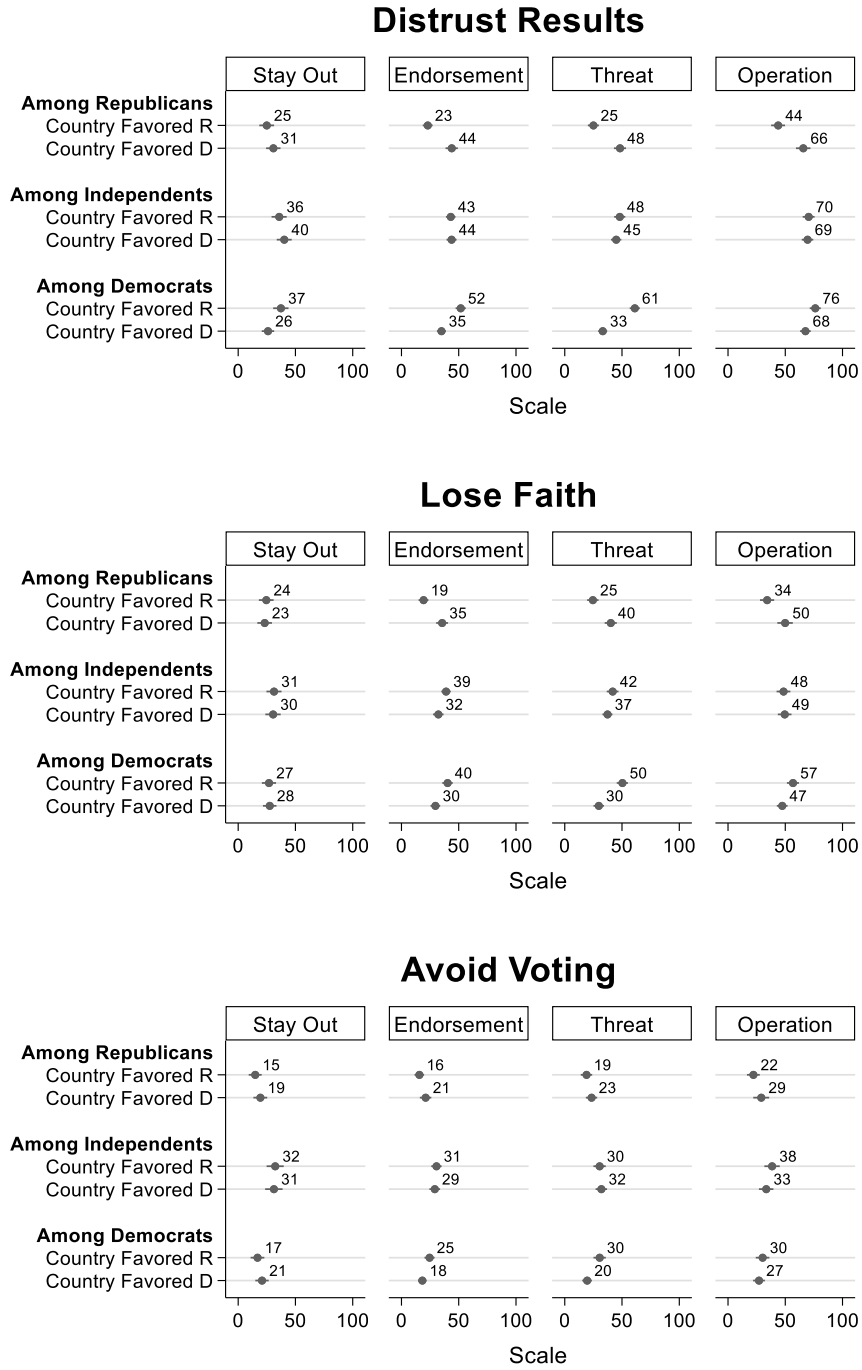


Figure A29: Effects of Foreign Electoral Intervention on Attitudes about Democracy, by Partisanship

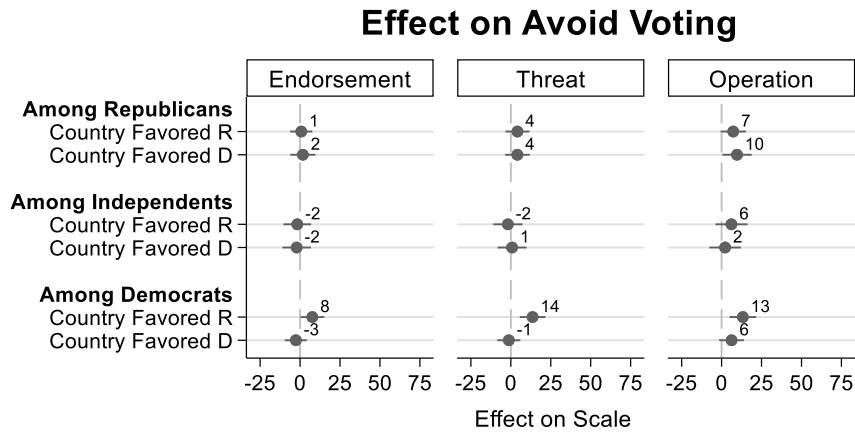
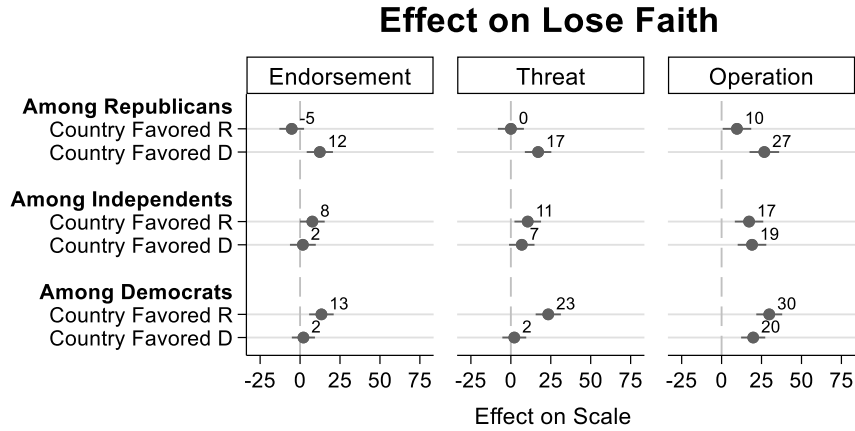
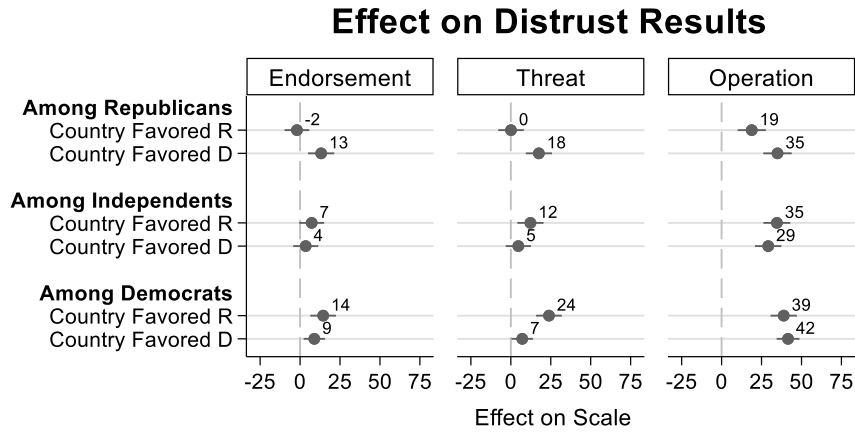


Figure A30: Support for Foreign Policies, by Mode of Foreign Electoral Intervention

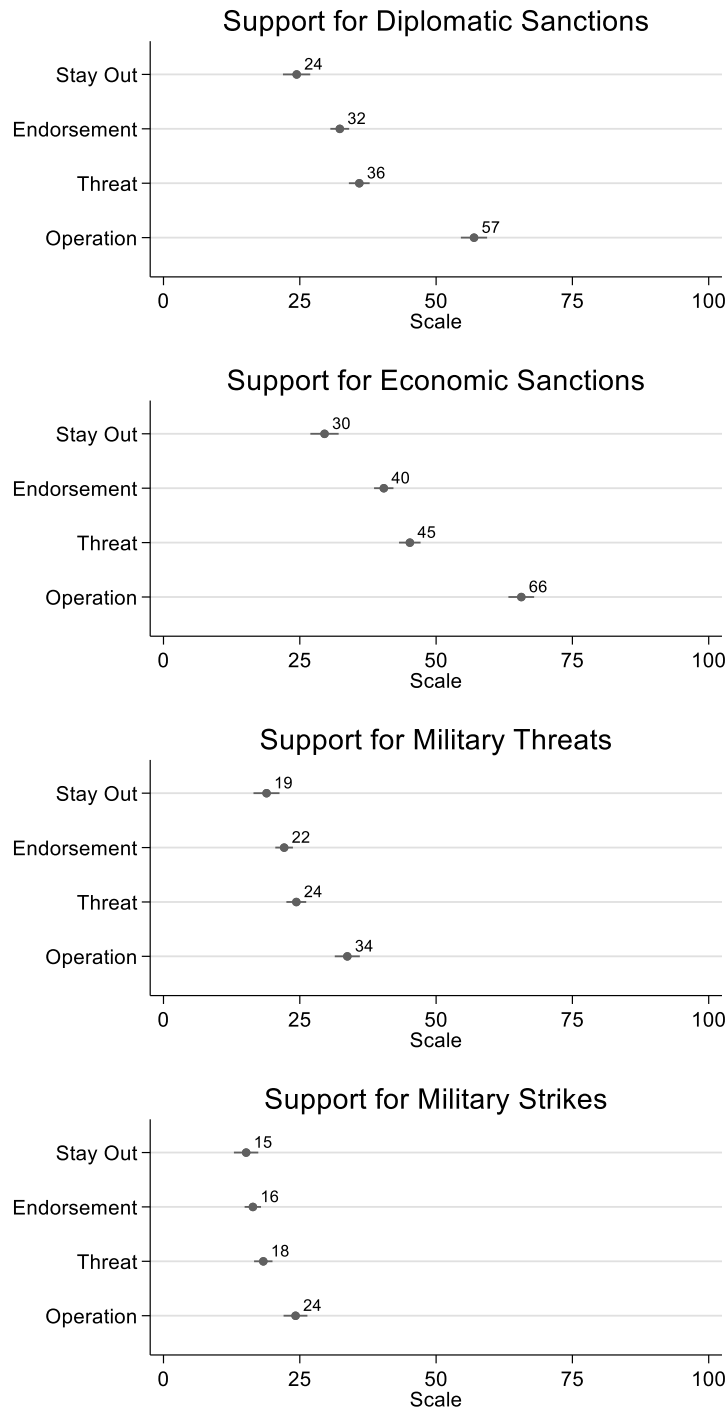


Figure A31: Support for Foreign Policies, by Mode of Foreign Electoral Intervention (Detailed)

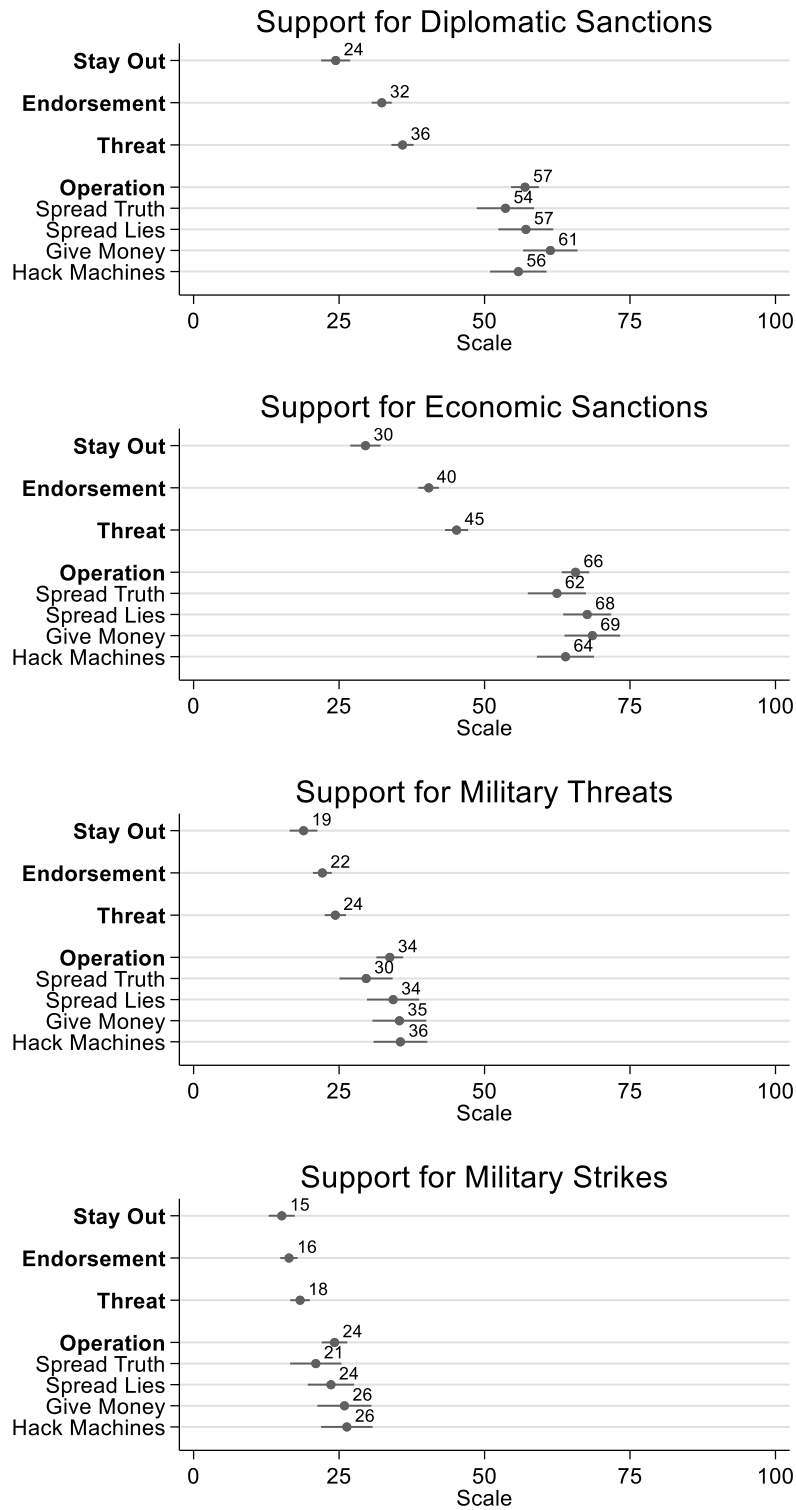


Figure A32: Effects of Foreign Electoral Intervention on Support for Foreign Policies

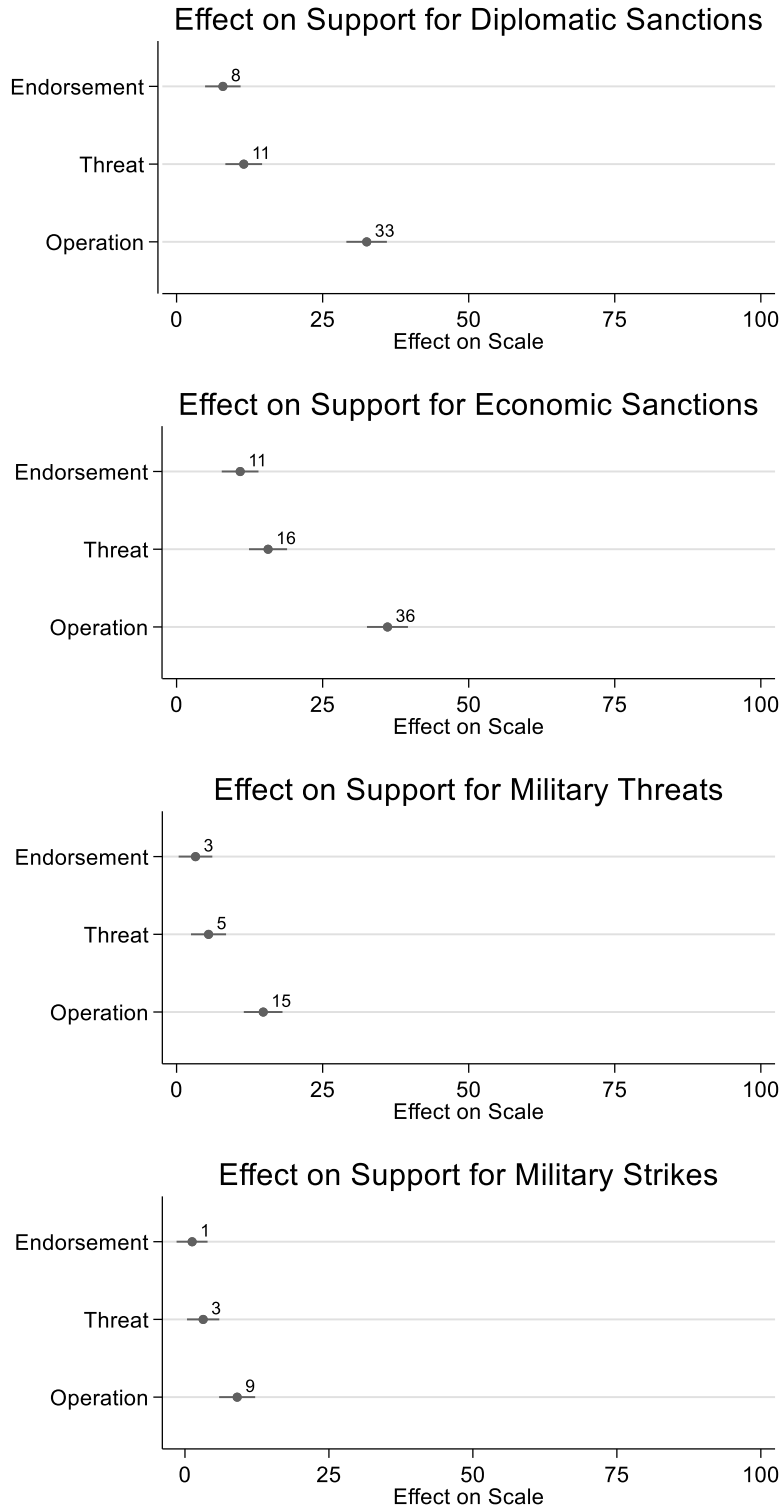


Figure A33: Effects of Foreign Electoral Intervention on Support for Foreign Policies (Detailed)

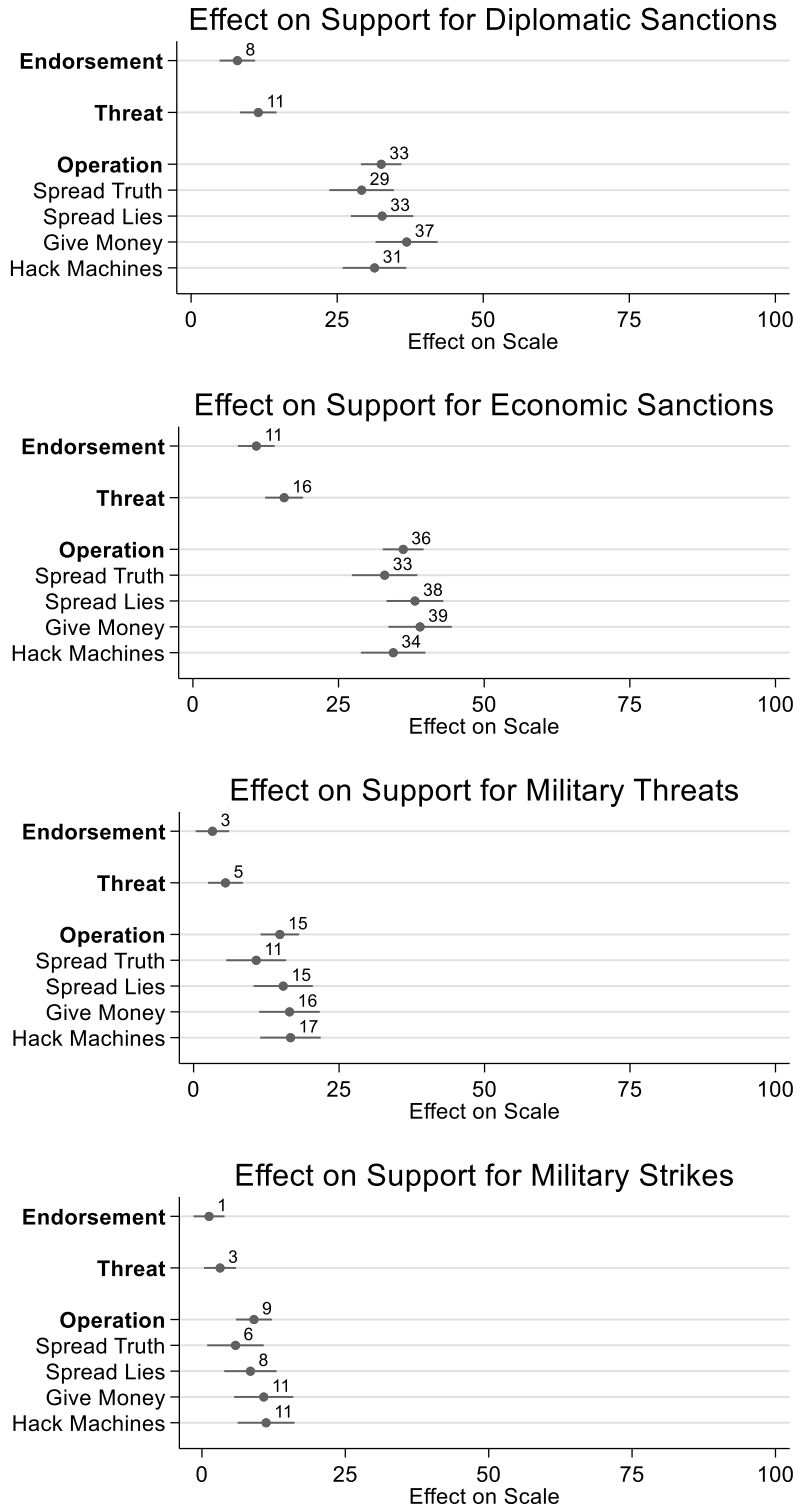


Figure A34: Support for Foreign Policies, by Foreign Country

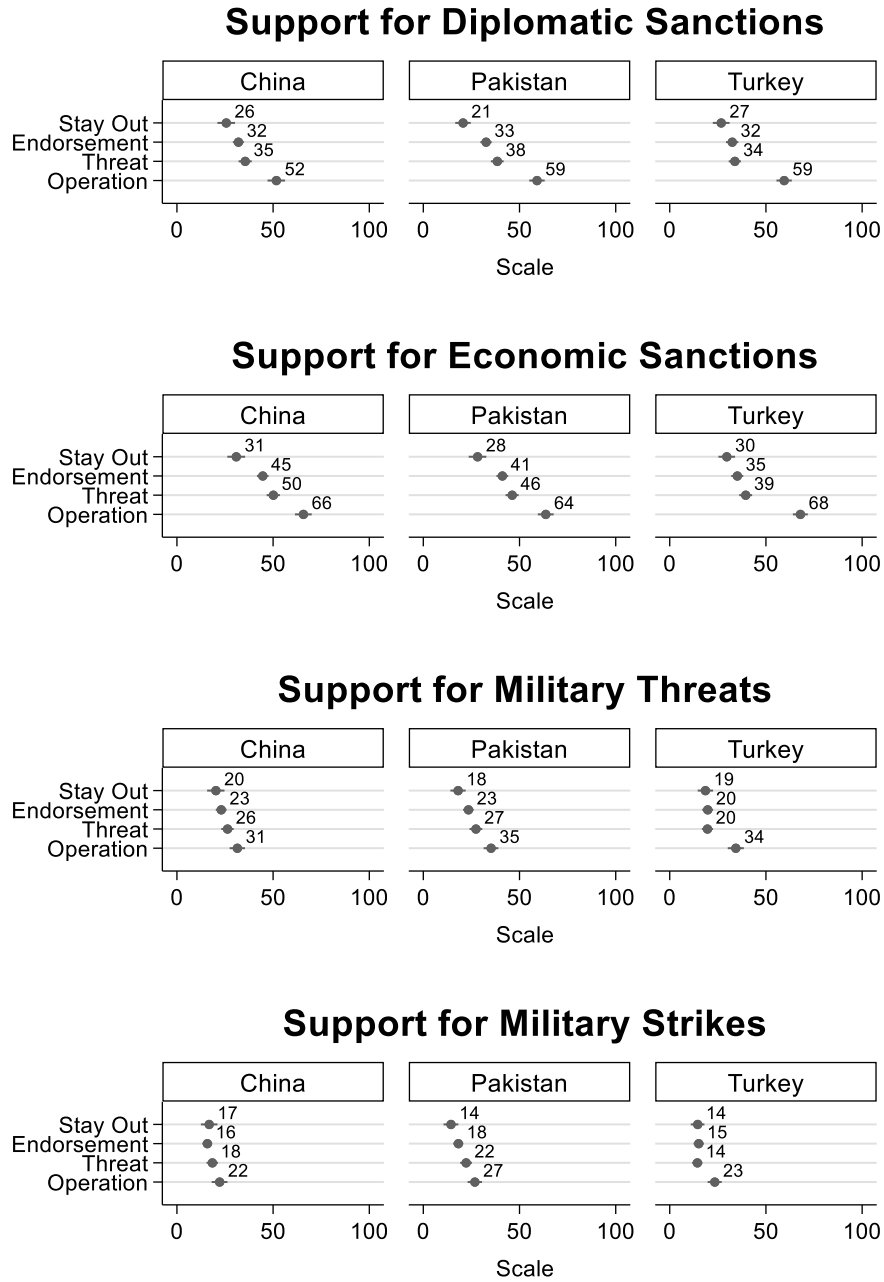


Figure A35: Support for Foreign Policies, by Partisanship

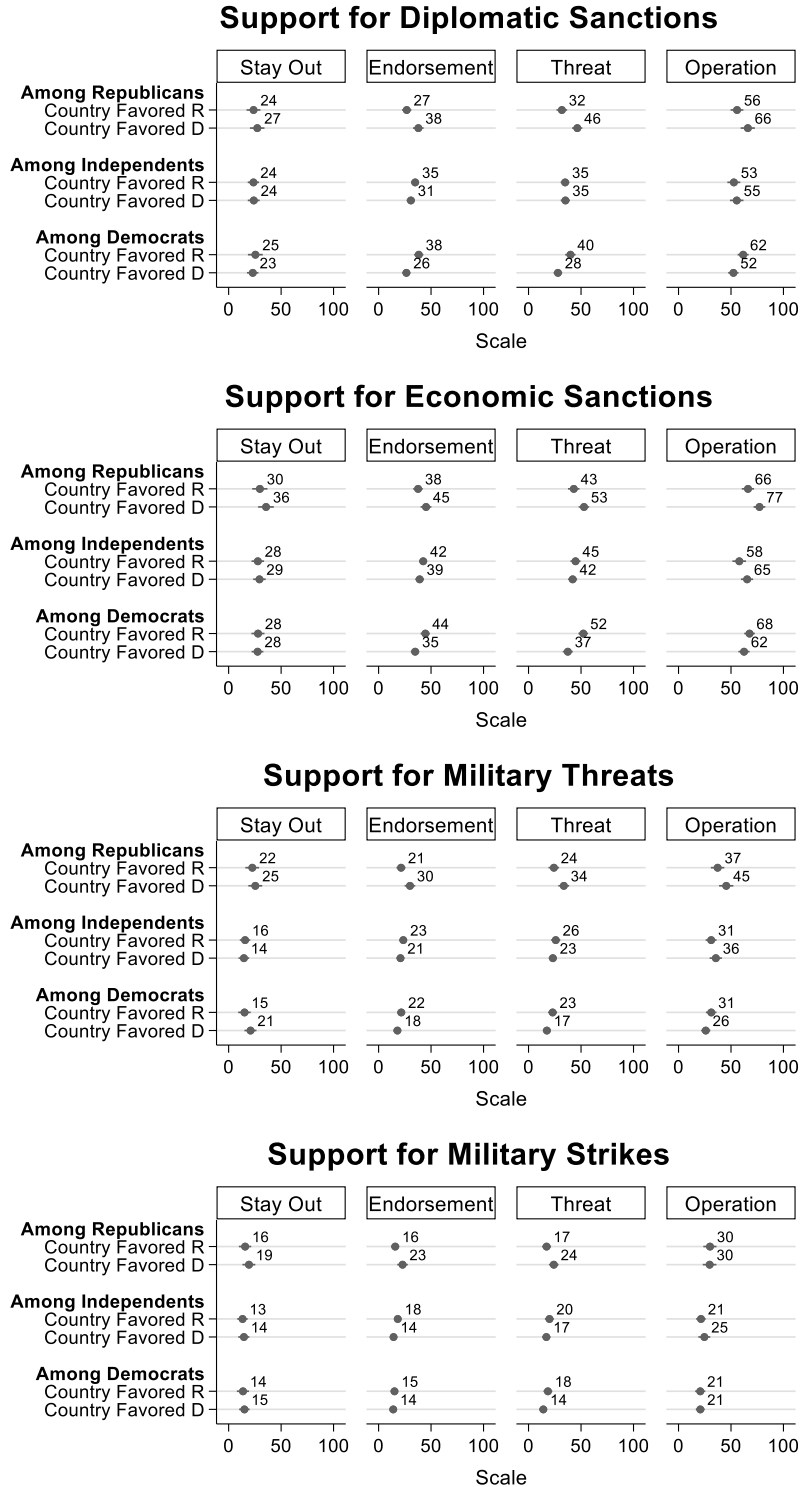


Figure A36: Effects of Foreign Electoral Intervention on Support for Foreign Policies, by Partisanship

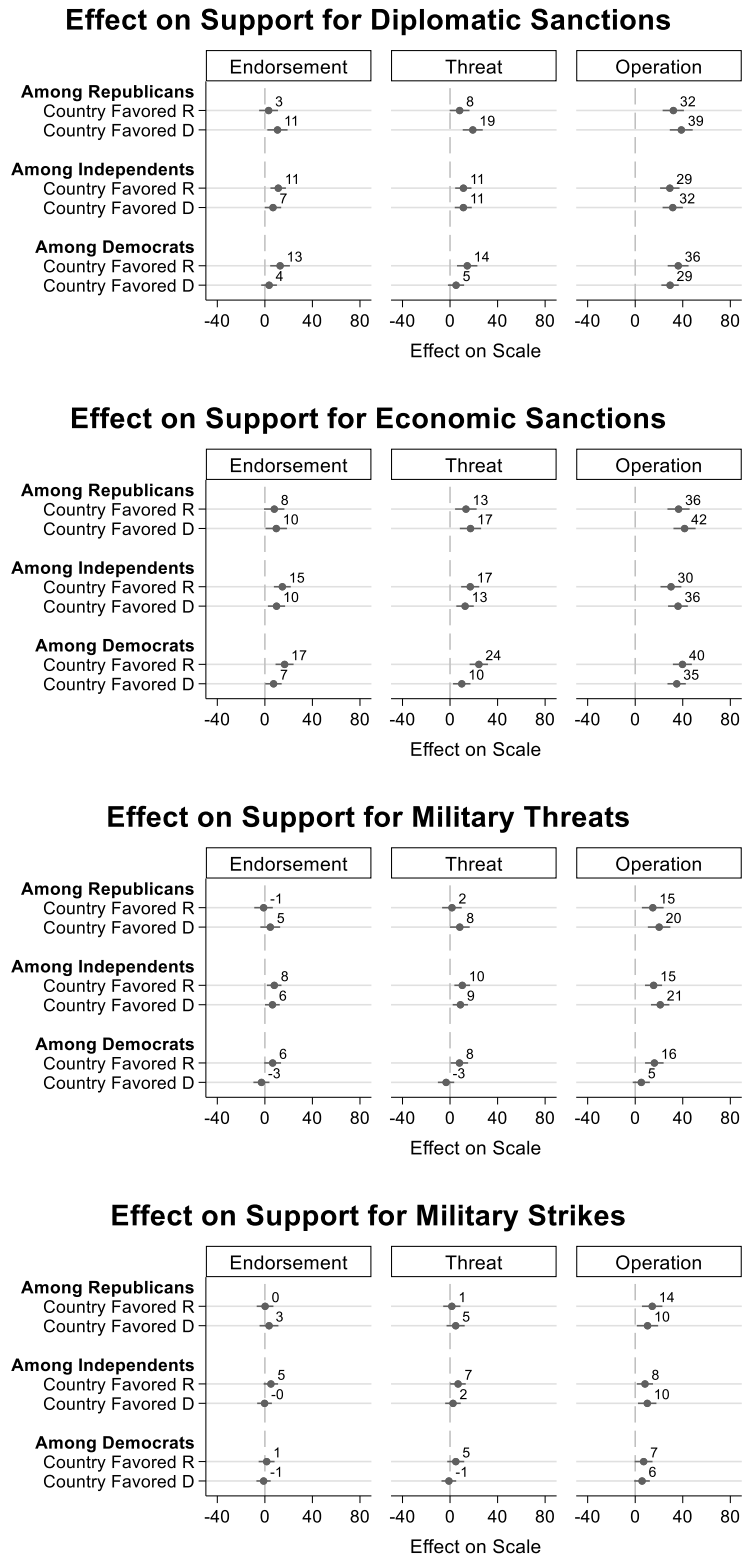


Figure A37: Support for Foreign Policies, by Certainty about the Foreign Country

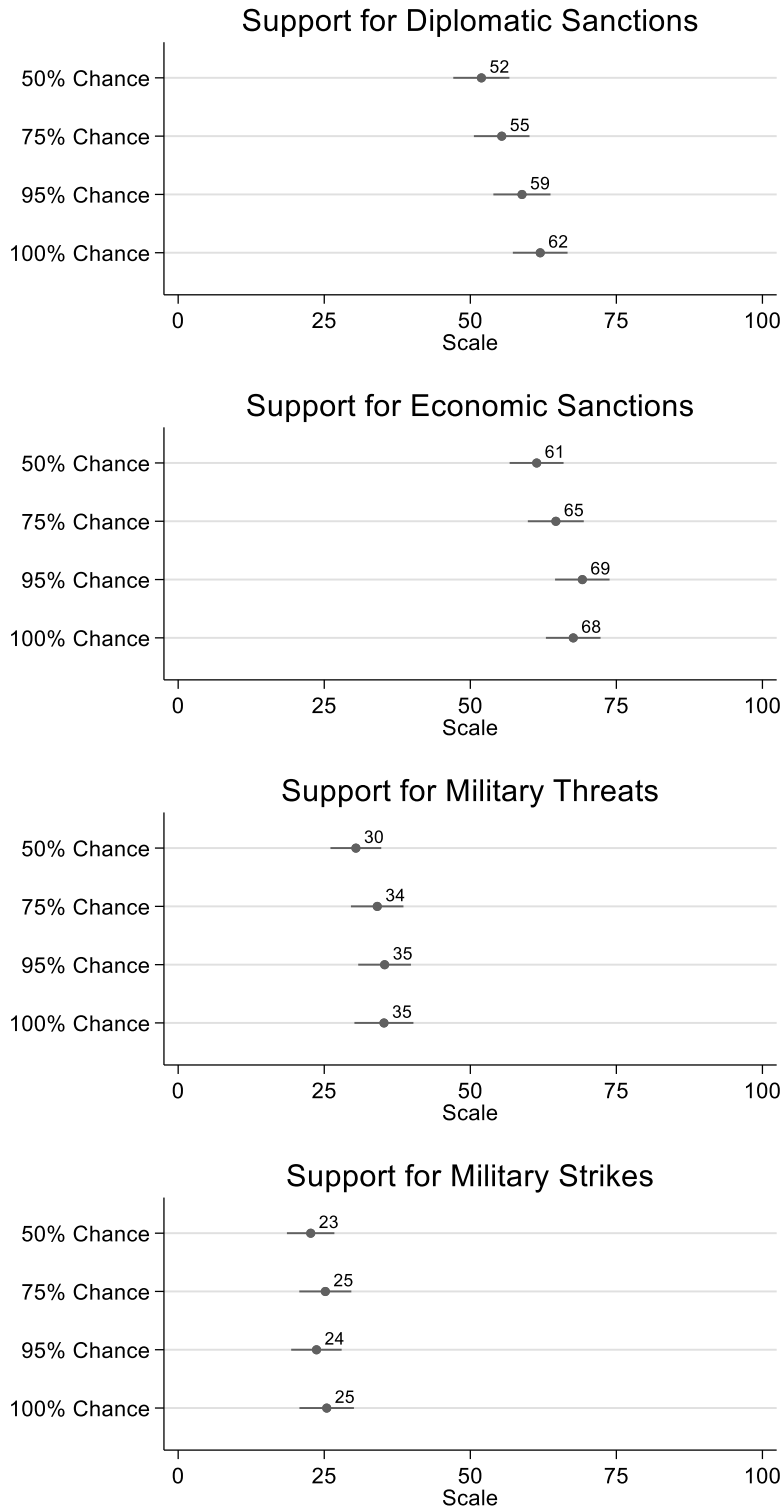
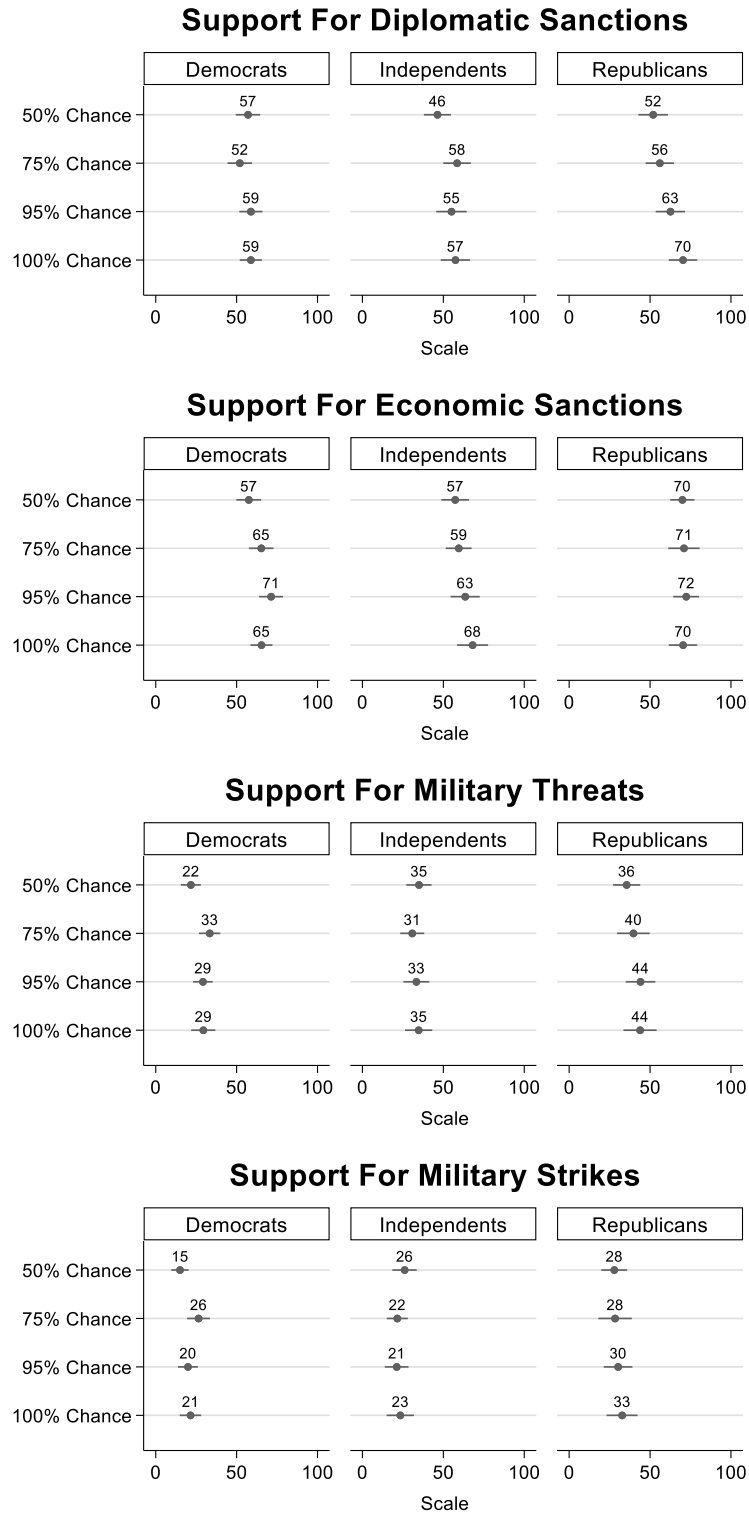


Figure A38: Support for Foreign Policies, by Partisanship and Certainty about the Foreign Country



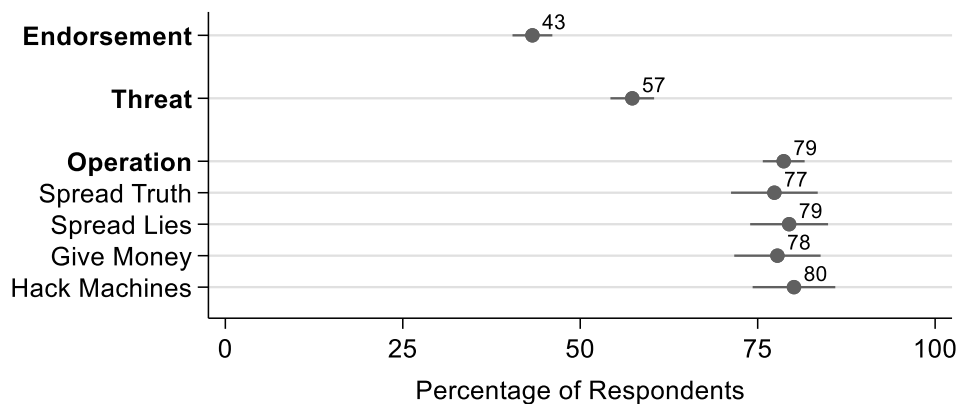
IV. PERCEIVED CONSEQUENCES OF FOREIGN ELECTORAL INTERVENTION

We found that public reactions to foreign electoral intervention varied, depending on how the foreign country intervened. Disapproval rates were lowest when the foreign country endorsed a candidate, higher when the foreign country coupled its endorsement with a threat, and highest when the foreign country mounted an operation by manipulating information, giving money, or hacking into voting machines.

Could these patterns be traced to differences in perceptions about the consequences of the intervention? In our surveys, all respondents who read about a foreign electoral intervention (endorsement, threat, or operation) were asked: “If you had to guess, would you say that [country]’s behavior gave [candidate] a big advantage, gave [candidate] a small advantage, didn’t give either side an advantage, gave [opponent] a small advantage, or gave [opponent] a big advantage.” As before, *country* was the nation that intervened; *candidate* was the potential beneficiary of the intervention; and *opponent* was the potential victim of the intervention.

Figure A39 displays the percentage of respondents who said the foreign country’s behavior gave the favored candidate an advantage (either a big advantage or a small advantage). Approximately 43% of respondents answered affirmatively when the foreign country endorsed the candidate, compared with 57% when the foreign country coupled its endorsement with a threat, and 79% when the foreign country mounted an operation. Clearly, respondents perceived that threats were more effective than endorsements, and that operations were more effective than threats.

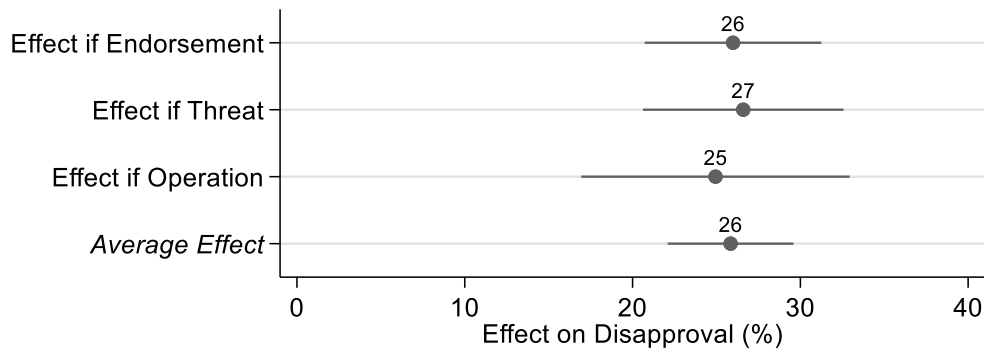
Figure A39: Did Foreign Electoral Intervention Give the Candidate an Advantage?



Did these differences in perceptions translate into different rates of approval? As a step toward answering this question, we regressed *disapproval* (whether the respondent disapproved of the intervention or not) on *perceived advantage* (a variable indicating whether the respondent thought the intervention had given the candidate an advantage or not). We also controlled for demographic and attitudinal variables that could potentially confound the estimated effect of perceived advantage on disapproval. The list of controls included gender, age, education, race, political party identification, ideology, and nationalism.

We used the regression model to generate Figure A40, which shows the estimated effect of perceived advantage on disapproval, controlling for other factors. In the endorsement condition, disapproval was 26 percentage points higher among respondents who thought the endorsement gave the endorsee an advantage, than among respondents who said the endorsement did not give the endorsee an advantage. The estimated effects were similar in the other two conditions: threats and operations. Averaging across the three modes of intervention, disapproval was 26 percentage points higher among people who thought the foreign intervention we described actually helped the favored candidate, than among people who did not think the foreign intervention we described actually helped the favored candidate.

Figure A40: Effect of Perceived Advantage on Disapproval



Taken together, the patterns in figures A39 and A40 help explain why some forms of intervention provoked more public disapproval than others.

We also found that public reactions varied by partisanship. Americans disapproved much more strongly when a foreign country intervened on behalf of the opposition, than when the foreign country intervened to assist their own political party.

Could these patterns be traced to differences in perceptions about the consequences of the intervention? Figure A41 shows that both Democrats and Republicans perceived intervention on behalf of the opposition as more consequential than intervention on behalf of their own party. Moreover, Figure A42 (based on regressions analogous to the one that produced Figure A40) shows that members of both parties felt that giving an effective advantage to the opposition was worse than giving an effective advantage to their own side. Taken together, the patterns in Figures A41 and A42 help explain why both Democrats and Republicans disapproved more strongly of foreign efforts to help the opposition, than of otherwise equivalent efforts to assist their own political party.

Figure A41: Did Foreign Electoral Intervention Give the Candidate an Advantage, by Partisanship

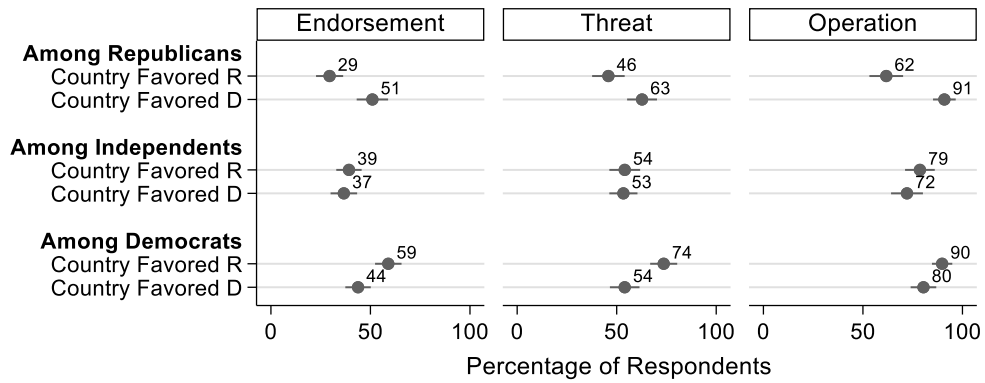
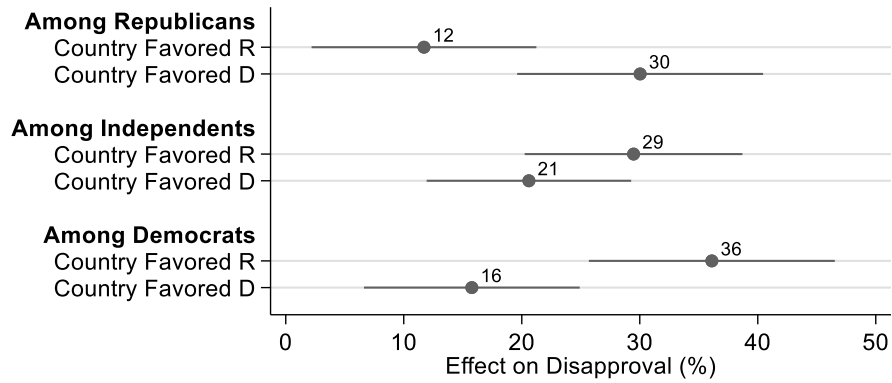


Figure A42: Effect of Perceived Advantage on Disapproval, by Partisanship



V. ANALYSES BY ATTENTIVENESS OF RESPONDENTS

Of the 3,510 people who took our March–April 2018 survey, we classified 2,985 as attentive because they correctly answered at least 80% of the closed-ended attention checks. We classified the remaining 525 as inattentive because they scored less than 80% on the attention checks.

In the article, we analyzed the reactions of all respondents, whether attentive or not. In this appendix, we compare the reactions of attentive respondents to the reactions of all respondents. As Figures A43–A54 show, the two groups exhibited similar patterns, though—as expected—treatment effects tended to be larger among attentive respondents than in the pooled sample that included both attentive and inattentive respondents.

Figure A43: Disapproval of Foreign Electoral Intervention

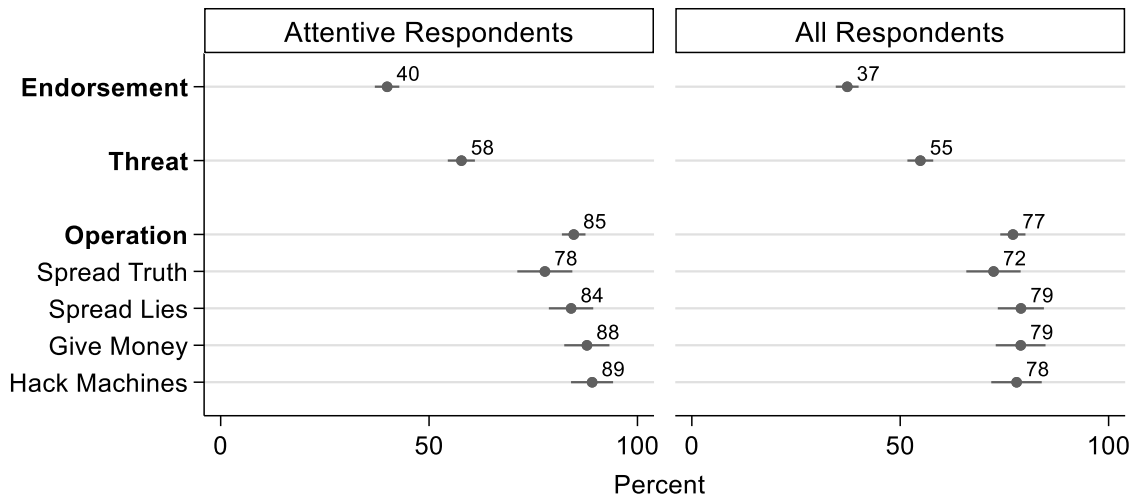


Figure A44: Disapproval of Foreign Electoral Intervention, by Partisanship

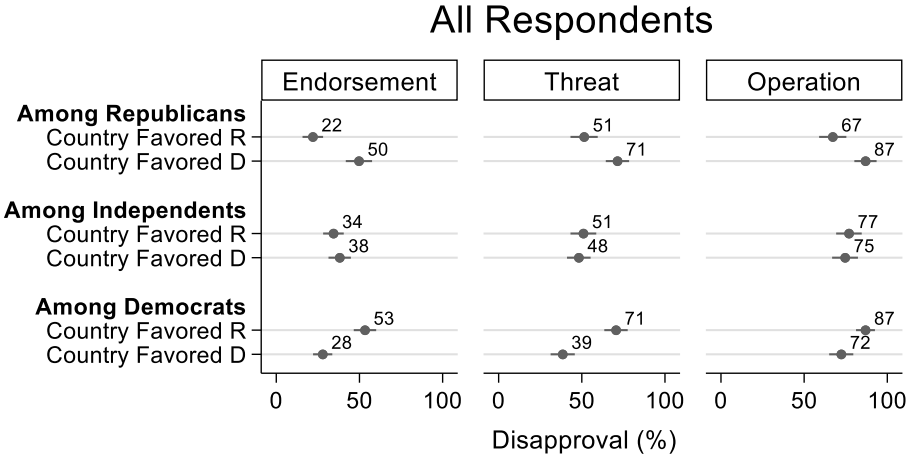
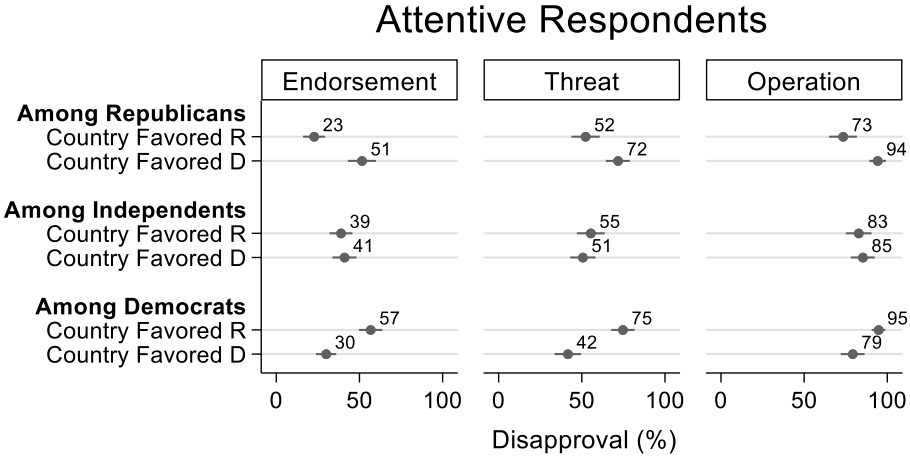


Figure A45: Attitudes about Democracy, by Mode of Foreign Electoral Intervention

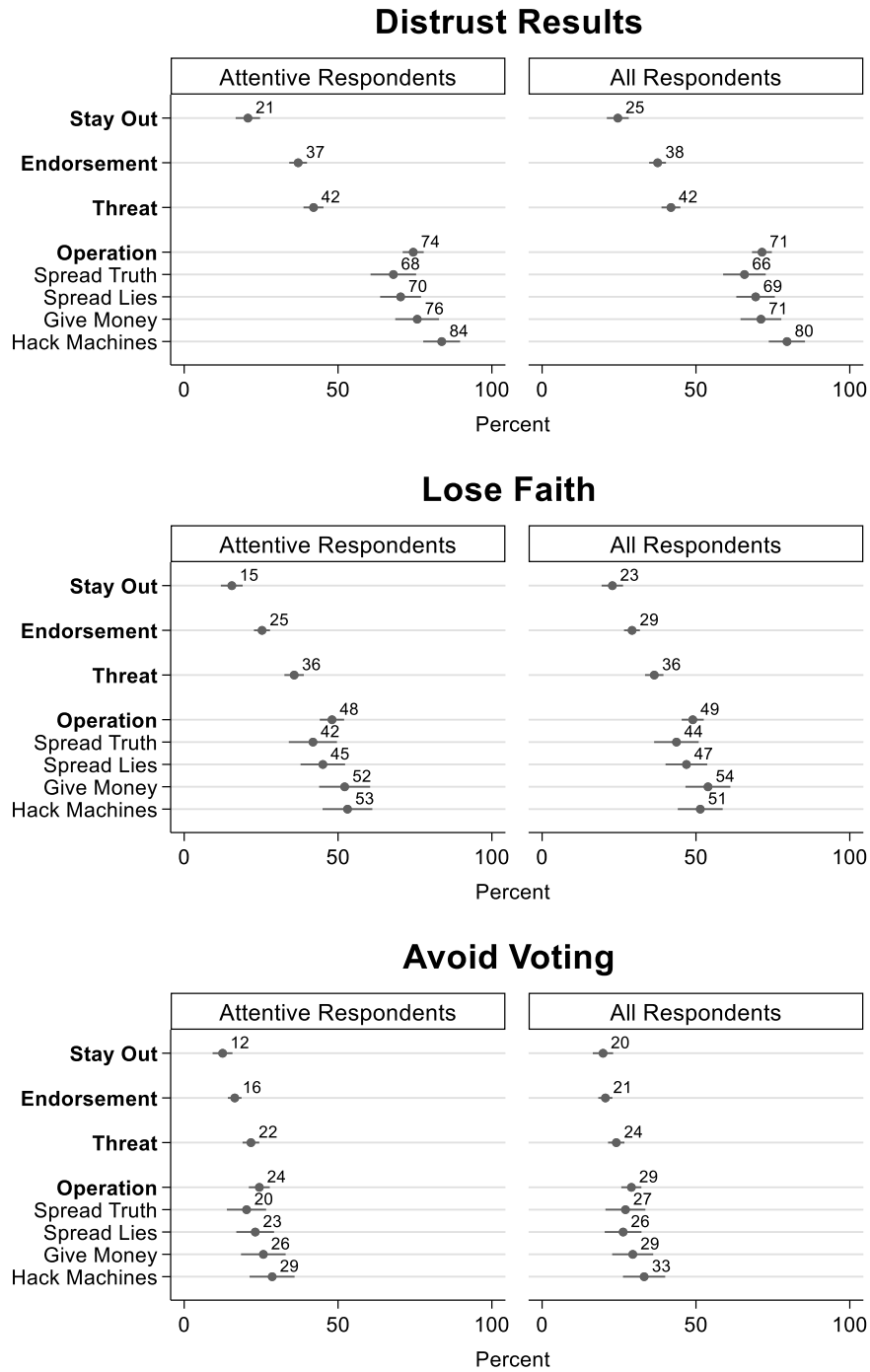


Figure A46: Effects of Foreign Electoral Intervention on Distrust Results, by Partisanship

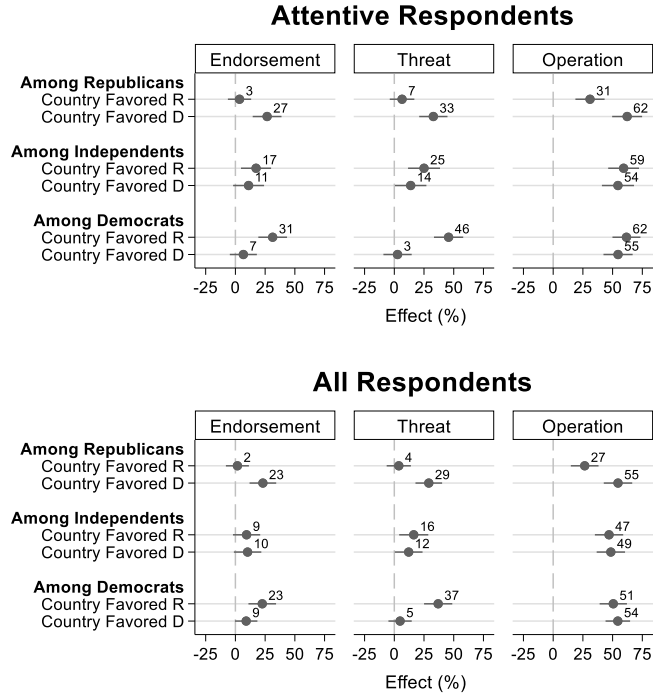


Figure A47: Effects of Foreign Electoral Intervention on Lose Faith, by Partisanship

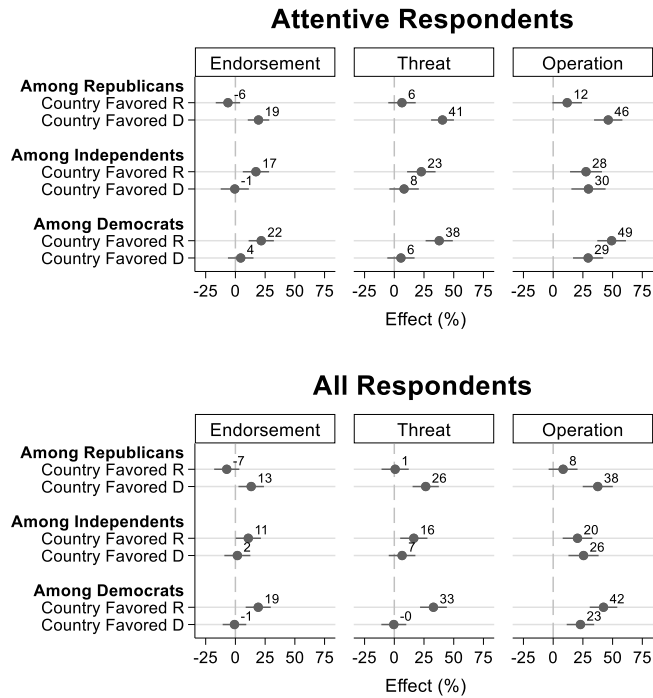


Figure A48: Effects of Foreign Electoral Intervention on Avoid Voting, by Partisanship

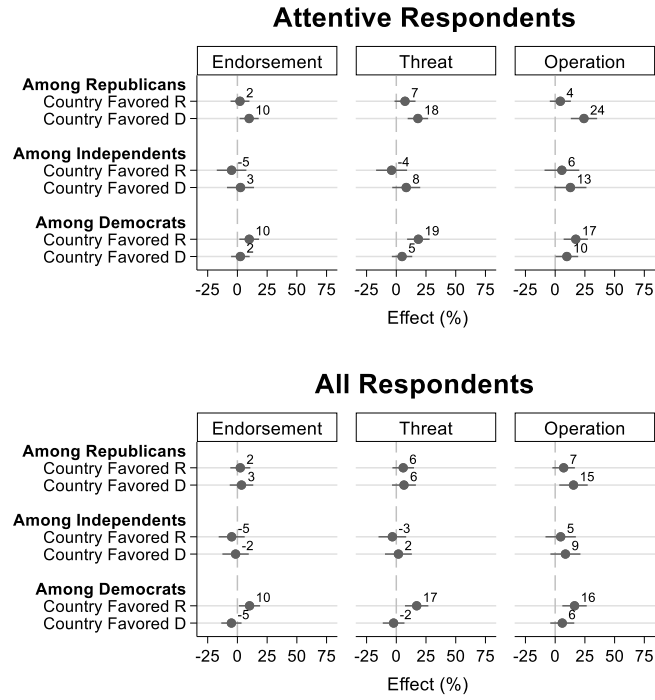


Figure A49: Support for Foreign Policies, by Mode of Foreign Electoral Intervention

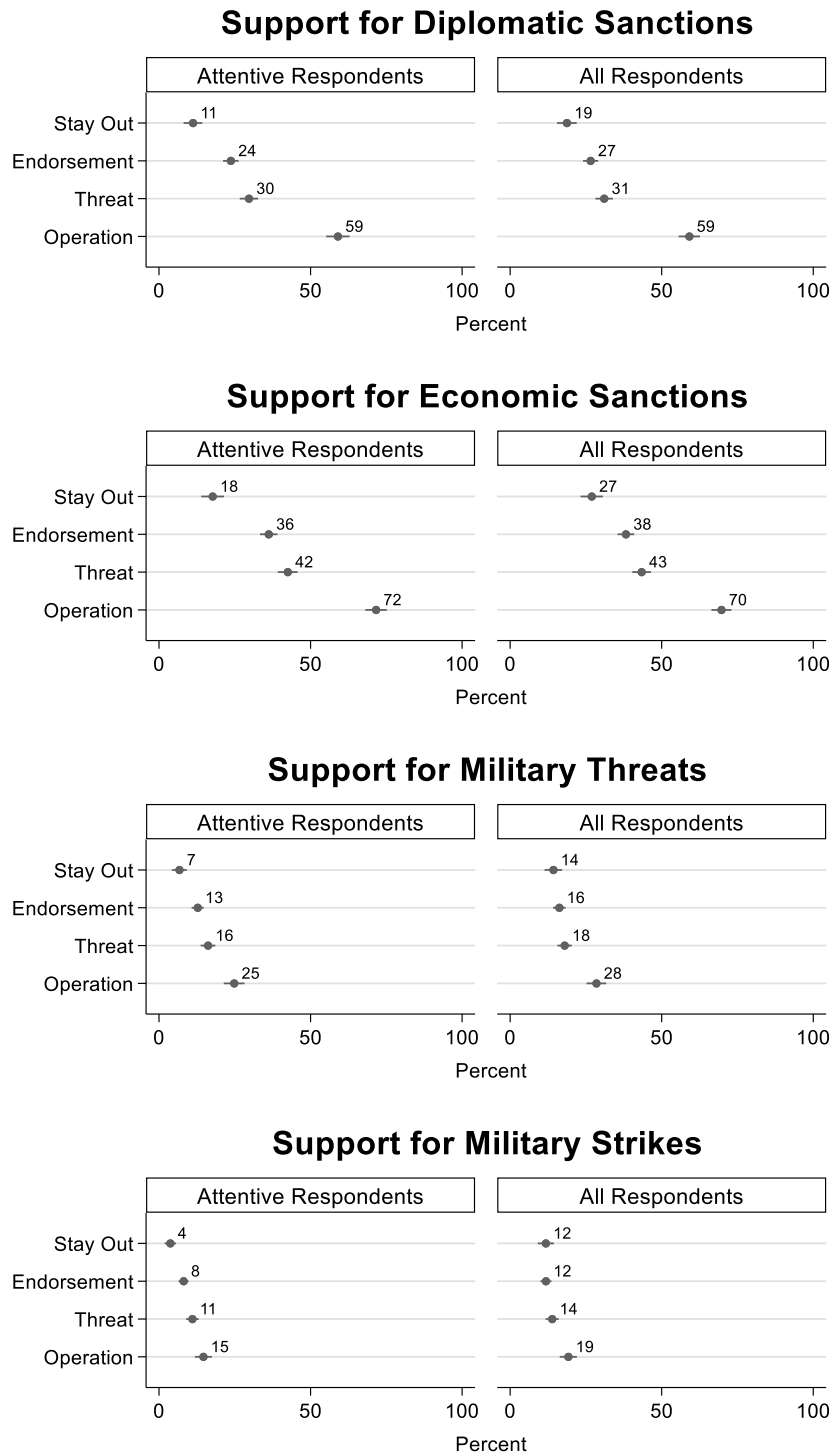


Figure A50: Effects of Electoral Intervention on Support for Diplomatic Sanctions, by Partisanship

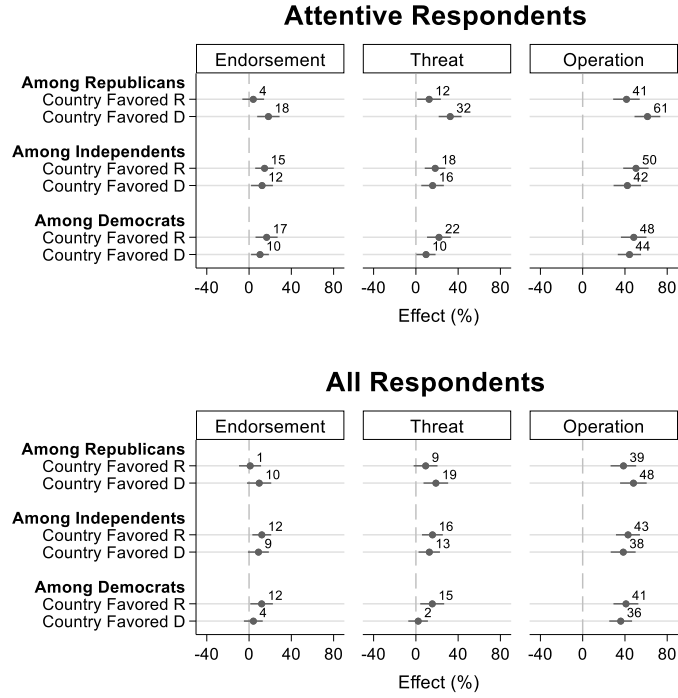


Figure A51: Effects of Electoral Intervention on Support for Economic Sanctions, by Partisanship

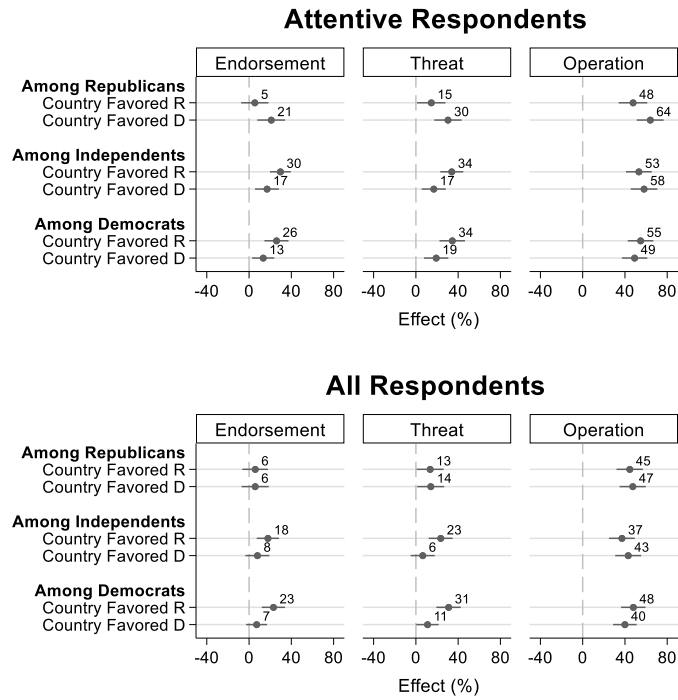


Figure A52: Effects of Electoral Intervention on Support for Military Threats, by Partisanship

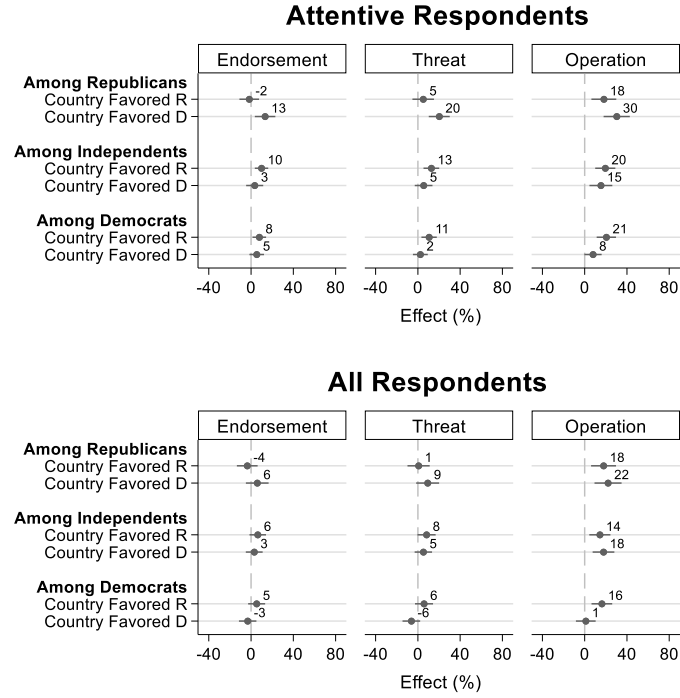


Figure A53: Effects of Electoral Intervention on Support for Military Strikes, by Partisanship

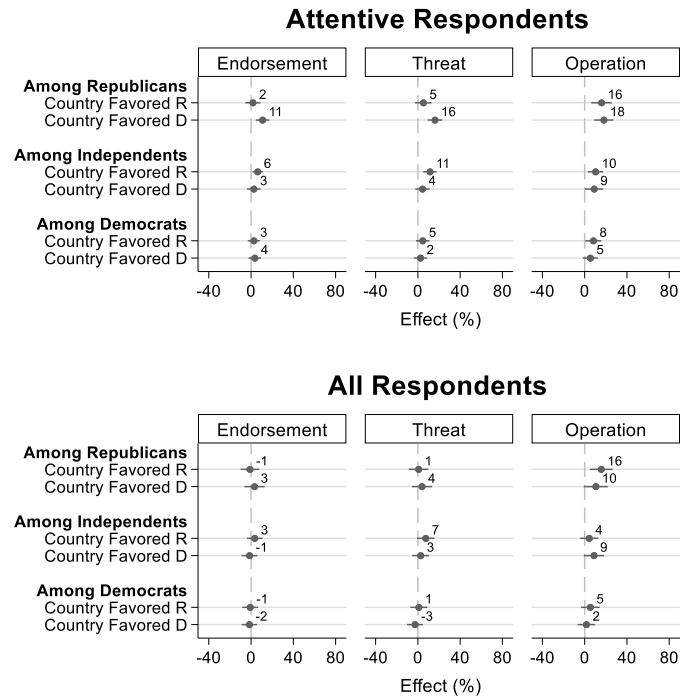


Figure A54: Support for Foreign Policies, by Certainty about the Identity of the Foreign Country

