**Supplemental Appendices**

**Appendix A – Variable Coding**

**Socio-demographics**: *Age* - respondent age at the time of the election survey; *Woman* - 0 = male respondent, 1 = female respondent; *Education* - 1 = did not graduate from high school, 2 = high school graduate, 3=some college, but no degree (yet), 4 = 2 year college degree, 5 = 4 year college degree, 6 = postgraduate degree; *Income* - basic income categories 1 = less than $10,000, 2 = $10,000-$14,999, 3 = $15,000 - $19,999, 4 = $20,000 - $24,999, 5 = $25,000 - $29,999, 6 = $30,000 - $39,999, 7 = $40,000 - $49,999, 8 = $50,000 - $59,999, 9 = $60,000 - $69,999, 10 = $70,000 - $79,999, 11 = $80,000 - $99,999, 12 = $100,000 - $119,999, 13 = $120,000 - $149,999, 14 = $150,000 or more; *Race* = nominal variable with categories white, African American, Hispanic, and Other; *Military Service* – 0 = no military service respondent or family, 1 = previous/current military service respondent or family.

**Political Attitudes**: *Party ID* – nominal level variable with Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. *Political Ideology* - The respondent is asked to self-place their ideology on a 1 (left) to 5 (right) scale. The variable was recoded to be from -2 very liberal to 2 very conservative; *Political Interest* – The respondent was asked how interested they are in politics. 0 = not interested at all, 1= somewhat interested, 2 = very interested.

**Use of Force Attitudes:** *General Troop Deployment* - The respondent is given scenarios and asked whether they would support the deployment of troops. The scenarios include ensuring the supply of oil, destroying a terrorist camp, intervening in genocide or civil war, assisting the spread of democracy, protecting American allies under attack, or helping the UN uphold international law. The respondent could also select none of the above. 0 = do not support deploying troops, 1 = support deploying troops. *Withdraw troops from Iraq* - 0 = do not support withdrawal, 1 = supports withdrawal. *Invading Iraq a mistake* – 0 = not a mistake, 1 = mistake. *Invading Afghanistan a Mistake* – 0 = not a mistake, 1 = mistake. *ISIS Conflict* - The respondent is given strategies for dealing with ISIS and asked whether they would support the strategy. The strategies include not getting involved, sending food, medicine and other aid to countries affected, providing arms to those opposing ISIS, enforcing a no-fly zone, using drones and aircraft to bomb ISIS troops, sending military support (non-combat), sending a significant force to fight ISIS. 0 = do no support the strategy, 1 = support the strategy.

**Appendix B – Bivariate Gender Analysis**

Table B1: Attitudes Towards the Use of U.S. Troops by Gender (survey weights included)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Situation** | **Gender** | **2006** | **2008** | **2010** | **2012** | **2014** | **2016** |
| **Ensure supply of oil** | Men | 27.6\* | 30.9\* | 30.8\* | 31.1\* | 26.4\* | 23.5\* |
|  | Women | 15.4 | 178.1 | 18.6 | 20.7 | 18.1 | 16.1 |
| **Destroy terrorist camp** | Men | 78.7\* | 79.1\* | 77.1\* | 72.7\* | 71.2\* | 74.9\* |
|  | Women | 63.5 | 61.9 | 61.2 | 57.1 | 56.6 | 62.2 |
| **Intervene in genocide or civil war** | Men | 58.1\* | 55.8\* | 44.3\* | 42.3\* | 43.7\* | 42.8\* |
|  | Women | 53.3 | 48.1 | 39 | 37.8 | 35.9 | 38.4 |
| **Assist spread of democracy** | Men | 26.9\* | 27.1\* | 21.6\* | 19.4\* | 19\* | 16.8 |
|  | Women | 21.5 | 23 | 17.6 | 17.5 | 15.6 | 15.9 |
| **Protect American allies under attack** | Men | 84.8\* | 82.8\* | 77.8\* | 77.3\* | 75.3\* | 78.8\* |
|  | Women | 76.4 | 72.4 | 67.7 | 69.1 | 65.1 | 70.2 |
| **Help UN uphold international law** | Men | 53.3\* | 50.9 | 40.4\* | 44.1 | 41.8 | 46.5 |
|  | Women | 58.4 | 49.4 | 42.8 | 44.9 | 42.4 | 46.8 |
| **None of the above** | Men | 3.8\* | 4.6\* | 6.9\* | 8.5\* | 7.5\* | 6.3\* |
|  | Women | 5.8 | 9.5 | 11.6 | 12 | 12.5 | 9.7 |

Percentages shown for respondents indicating they would support the use of troops.

\* indicates significant gender differences at p<.05

Table B2: Descriptive Statistics – Attitudes Towards Current Conflicts

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | **2006** |  | **2008** |  |  |  |
| **Question** | **Gender** | **No** | **Yes** | **No** | **Yes** |  |  |
| Would you pull | Men | 46.8% | 55.2%\* | 52.3% | 47.7%\* |  |  |
| troops out of Iraq? | Women | 27.7 | 72.3 | 36.2 | 63.8 |  |  |
| Mistake to invade | Men | 44.8 | 55.2\* | 47.7 | 52.3\* |  |  |
| Iraq? | Women | 37.1 | 62.9 | 42.4 | 57.6 |  |  |
|  |  | **2010** |  | **2012** |  | **2014** |  |
| **Question** | **Gender** | **No** | **Yes** | **No** | **Yes** | **No** | **Yes** |
| Mistake to invade  | Men | 44.9 | 55.1\* | 40.4 | 59.6\* | 43.6 | 56.4\* |
| Iraq? | Women | 36 | 64 | 37.4 | 62.6 | 38.5 | 61.5 |
| Mistake to invade  | Men | 67 | 33\* | 59.7 | 40.3\* |  |  |
| Afghanistan? | Women | 51 | 49 | 48.7 | 51.3 |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |

**Appendix C – General Use of Force – Pooled Full Models (2006-2016)**

Table C1: General Use of Force – Pooled Models (2006-2016)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | EnsureOil | TerroristCamp | Genocide Intervention | SpreadDemocracy | ProtectAllies | UpholdUNLaw | None |
| (Intercept) | -1.43\* | -0.19\* | -0.16\* | -0.89\* | 0.53\* | 0.28\* | -1.86\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.09) |
| Woman | -0.54\* | -0.54\* | -0.11\* | -0.19\* | -0.33\* | -0.03\* | 0.34\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.03) |
| PID - Independent | 0.07\* | 0.08\* | -0.08\* | -0.28\* | -0.01 | -0.34\* | 0.16\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| PID - Republican | 0.50\* | 0.57\* | 0.10\* | 0.29\* | 0.43\* | -0.45\* | -0.47\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.04) |
| Age | 0.00 | 0.01\* | -0.01\* | -0.01\* | 0.00 | -0.00\* | 0.00 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Education | -0.04\* | 0.01 | 0.08\* | -0.04\* | 0.04\* | 0.07\* | -0.07\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Income | 0.02\* | 0.04\* | 0.02\* | -0.01 | 0.03\* | 0.01\* | -0.04\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| African American | 0.12\* | -0.34\* | -0.02 | 0.41\* | -0.30\* | -0.19\* | 0.25\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) |
| Hispanic | -0.22\* | -0.34\* | -0.13\* | 0.14\* | -0.47\* | -0.31\* | 0.35\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Race - Other | -0.12\* | -0.19\* | -0.04 | 0.13\* | -0.29\* | -0.16\* | 0.30\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Political Ideology | 0.30\* | 0.24\* | -0.10\* | 0.19\* | 0.12\* | -0.33\* | -0.11\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Political Interest | 0.11\* | 0.19\* | 0.25\* | 0.10\* | 0.18\* | 0.04\* | -0.26\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) |
| Political Knowledge | -0.21\* | 0.32\* | 0.34\* | -0.12\* | 0.36\* | 0.01 | -0.45\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.04) |
| Military Service | 0.03 | 0.22\* | 0.10\* | 0.07\* | 0.23\* | 0.03 | -0.25\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Child | -0.13\* | 0.03 | 0.08\* | -0.01 | 0.11\* | 0.12\* | -0.08\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Year - 2008 | 0.26\* | -0.02 | -0.15\* | 0.04 | -0.18\* | -0.21\* | 0.41\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| Year - 2010 | 0.23\* | -0.26\* | -0.78\* | -0.32\* | -0.58\* | -0.61\* | 0.90\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| Year - 2012 | 0.35\* | -0.35\* | -0.75\* | -0.37\* | -0.46\* | -0.52\* | 0.85\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| Year - 2014 | 0.09\* | -0.35\* | -0.73\* | -0.50\* | -0.58\* | -0.56\* | 0.84\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| Year - 2016 | -0.14\* | -0.20\* | -0.74\* | -0.57\* | -0.44\* | -0.38\* | 0.68\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| N | 195911 | 195911 | 195911 | 195911 | 195911 | 195911 | 195911 |
| AIC | 199610.6 | 225633.3 | 259041.1 | 185450.5 | 212185.8 | 257456.1 | 107322.3 |
| BIC | 200425.4 | 226448.1 | 259855.9 | 186265.3 | 213000.6 | 258270.9 | 108137.1 |
| Log Likelihood | -99725.3 | -112736.6 | -129440.5 | -92645.3 | -106012.9 | -128648.1 | -53581.1 |

\* indicates significance at p > .05; standard errors in parentheses: survey weight utilized

Table C2: General Use of Force – Pooled Models (2006-2016) (Sample - Women)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | EnsureOil | TerroristCamp | Genocide Intervention | SpreadDemocracy | ProtectAllies | UpholdUNLaw | None |
| (Intercept) | -1.69\* | -0.63\* | -0.28\* | -1.28\* | 0.35\* | 0.03 | -1.66\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.11) |
| PID - Independent | 0.03 | 0.15\* | -0.04 | -0.25\* | 0.01 | -0.26\* | 0.08\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.04) |
| PID - Republican | 0.45\* | 0.57\* | 0.12\* | 0.25\* | 0.42\* | -0.41\* | -0.47\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Age | -0.00\* | 0.00\* | -0.02\* | -0.00\* | -0.00 | -0.00\* | 0.00\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Education | -0.09\* | 0.01 | 0.10\* | -0.06\* | 0.03\* | 0.11\* | -0.08\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Income | 0.01 | 0.03\* | 0.02\* | -0.00 | 0.01\* | 0.01\* | -0.03\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.01) |
| African American | 0.16\* | -0.39\* | -0.11\* | 0.43\* | -0.28\* | -0.28\* | 0.32\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Hispanic | -0.27\* | -0.45\* | -0.23\* | 0.23\* | -0.52\* | -0.41\* | 0.43\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.06) |
| Race - Other | -0.18\* | -0.20\* | -0.02 | 0.15\* | -0.25\* | -0.15\* | 0.19\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.07) |
| Political Ideology | 0.25\* | 0.22\* | -0.08\* | 0.15\* | 0.12\* | -0.23\* | -0.11\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) |
| Political Interest | 0.09\* | 0.19\* | 0.25\* | 0.15\* | 0.15\* | 0.08\* | -0.27\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) |
| Political Knowledge | -0.27\* | 0.29\* | 0.35\* | -0.09\* | 0.28\* | 0.04 | -0.44\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.04) |
| Military Service | -0.01 | 0.21\* | 0.08\* | 0.03 | 0.22\* | 0.11\* | -0.24\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Child | -0.13\* | 0.03 | 0.10\* | 0.02 | 0.10\* | 0.10\* | -0.13\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.04) |
| Year - 2008 | 0.40\* | -0.05 | -0.26\* | 0.07 | -0.15\* | -0.33\* | 0.50\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.08) |
| Year - 2010 | 0.44\* | -0.26\* | -0.88\* | -0.34\* | -0.50\* | -0.70\* | 0.95\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.08) |
| Year - 2012 | 0.58\* | -0.36\* | -0.85\* | -0.34\* | -0.40\* | -0.62\* | 0.88\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.09) |
| Year - 2014 | 0.37\* | -0.30\* | -0.86\* | -0.51\* | -0.51\* | -0.66\* | 0.87\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.08) |
| Year - 2016 | 0.18\* | -0.15\* | -0.83\* | -0.48\* | -0.37\* | -0.51\* | 0.71\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.08) |
| N | 99927 | 99927 | 99927 | 99927 | 99927 | 99927 | 99927 |
| AIC | 91324.4 | 126114.3 | 130064.4 | 90734.6 | 118543.9 | 133223.0 | 63868.1 |
| BIC | 92047.3 | 126837.2 | 130787.3 | 91457.5 | 119266.8 | 133946 | 64591.1 |
| Log Likelihood | -45586.2 | -62981.1 | -64956.2 | -45291.3 | -59196 | -66535.5 | -31858.1 |

\* indicates significance at p > .05; standard errors in parentheses: survey weight utilized

Fixed effects models confirmed results from pooled logistic regression models.

Table C3: General Use of Force – Pooled Models (2006-2016) (Sample - Men)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | EnsureOil | TerroristCamp | Genocide Intervention | SpreadDemocracy | ProtectAllies | UpholdUNLaw | None |
| (Intercept) | -1.74\* | -0.34\* | -0.13\* | -0.68\* | 0.28\* | 0.55\* | -1.69\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.06) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.06) | (0.13) |
| PID - Independent | 0.11\* | -0.02 | -0.13\* | -0.30\* | -0.02 | -0.45\* | 0.28\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| PID - Republican | 0.56\* | 0.58\* | 0.06 | 0.32\* | 0.44\* | -0.53\* | -0.45\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.08) |
| Age | 0.00\* | 0.01\* | -0.01\* | -0.01\* | 0.00 | -0.00\* | -0.00 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Education | -0.03\* | -0.00 | 0.06\* | -0.03\* | 0.04\* | 0.05\* | -0.06\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) |
| Income | 0.03\* | 0.05\* | 0.02\* | -0.01 | 0.04\* | 0.01\* | -0.05\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.01) |
| African American | 0.08 | -0.26\* | 0.09\* | 0.38\* | -0.32\* | -0.09\* | 0.12 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.08) |
| Hispanic | -0.18\* | -0.21\* | -0.03 | 0.06 | -0.41\* | -0.21\* | 0.21\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.09) |
| Race - Other | -0.10 | -0.18\* | -0.05 | 0.12\* | -0.33\* | -0.17\* | 0.43\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.09) |
| Political Ideology | 0.34\* | 0.27\* | -0.12\* | 0.23\* | 0.11\* | -0.43\* | -0.12\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) |
| Political Interest | 0.14\* | 0.19\* | 0.24\* | 0.04 | 0.22\* | -0.01 | -0.25\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Political Knowledge | -0.13\* | 0.38\* | 0.31\* | -0.16\* | 0.49\* | -0.03 | -0.47\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.07) |
| Military Service | 0.06\* | 0.21\* | 0.11\* | 0.11\* | 0.24\* | -0.06\* | -0.26\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.05) |
| Child | -0.10\* | 0.05 | 0.04 | -0.05 | 0.15\* | 0.10\* | -0.04 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.06) |
| Year - 2008 | 0.20\* | 0.03 | -0.05 | 0.03 | -0.21\* | -0.09\* | 0.25\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.10) |
| Year - 2010 | 0.12\* | -0.26\* | -0.70\* | -0.26\* | -0.68\* | -0.53\* | 0.85\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.10) |
| Year - 2012 | 0.24\* | -0.33\* | -0.67\* | -0.35\* | -0.53\* | -0.43\* | 0.82\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.10) |
| Year - 2014 | -0.07 | -0.43\* | -0.63\* | -0.43\* | -0.67\* | -0.47\* | 0.79\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.10) |
| Year - 2016 | -0.32\* | -0.28\* | -0.67\* | -0.61\* | -0.55\* | -0.26\* | 0.65\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.10) |
| N | 95984 | 95984 | 95984 | 95984 | 95984 | 95984 | 95984 |
| AIC | 107712.9 | 99270.0 | 128770.1 | 94508.7 | 93371.0 | 122993.5 | 43325.4 |
| BIC | 108432.8 | 99989.9 | 129489.9 | 95228.6 | 94090.9 | 123713.5 | 44045.3 |
| Log Likelihood | -53780.5 | -49559.0 | -64309.0 | -47178.4 | -46609.5 | -61420.7 | -21586.7 |

\* indicates significance at p > .05; standard errors in parentheses: survey weight utilized

Fixed effects models confirmed results from pooled logistic regression models.

Table C4: General Use of Force – Pooled Models (2006-2016) (Sample - Democrats)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | EnsureOil | TerroristCamp | Genocide Intervention | SpreadDemocracy | ProtectAllies | UpholdUNLaw | None |
| (Intercept) | -1.43\* | -0.16\* | -0.47\* | -1.77\* | 0.57\* | -0.10 | -2.15\* |
|  | (0.10) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.11) | (0.07) | (0.07) | (0.13) |
| Woman | -0.45\* | -0.61\* | -0.21\* | -0.23\* | -0.37\* | -0.24\* | 0.47\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.04) |
| Age | 0.00 | 0.01\* | -0.01\* | -0.00\* | 0.00\* | 0.00 | 0.00 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Education | -0.10\* | -0.00 | 0.14\* | -0.08\* | 0.03\* | 0.11\* | -0.09\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) |
| Income | -0.00 | 0.03\* | 0.02\* | -0.03\* | 0.02\* | 0.02\* | -0.03\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.01) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.01) |
| African American | 0.18\* | -0.27\* | -0.01 | 0.45\* | -0.20\* | -0.25\* | 0.23\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Hispanic | -0.30\* | -0.34\* | -0.14\* | 0.18\* | -0.44\* | -0.32\* | 0.37\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.07) |
| Race - Other | -0.09 | -0.17\* | -0.01 | 0.22\* | -0.22\* | 0.01 | 0.20\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.09) |
| Political Ideology | 0.24\* | 0.09\* | -0.16\* | 0.10\* | 0.00 | -0.15\* | -0.06\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) |
| Political Interest | 0.04 | 0.14\* | 0.26\* | 0.03 | 0.11\* | 0.19\* | -0.25\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) |
| Political Knowledge | -0.43\* | 0.17\* | 0.39\* | -0.35\* | 0.25\* | 0.32\* | -0.29\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Military Service | 0.01 | 0.19\* | 0.10\* | -0.00 | 0.16\* | 0.10\* | -0.21\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.04) |
| Child | -0.22\* | 0.04 | 0.11\* | -0.08 | 0.12\* | 0.16\* | -0.08 |
|  | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.05) |
| Year - 2008 | 0.45\* | 0.01 | -0.24\* | 0.87\* | -0.23\* | -0.58\* | 0.62\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.09) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.10) |
| Year - 2010 | 0.68\* | -0.06 | -0.76\* | 0.95\* | -0.49\* | -0.97\* | 0.99\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.09) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.10) |
| Year - 2012 | 0.97\* | -0.08 | -0.73\* | 1.11\* | -0.39\* | -0.89\* | 0.92\* |
|  | (0.09) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.10) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.10) |
| Year - 2014 | 0.80\* | -0.08 | -0.70\* | 1.07\* | -0.46\* | -0.95\* | 0.89\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.09) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.10) |
| Year - 2016 | 0.65\* | 0.03 | -0.79\* | 1.22\* | -0.27\* | -0.82\* | 0.68\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.09) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.10) |
| N | 74321 | 74321 | 74321 | 74321 | 74321 | 74321 | 74321 |
| AIC | 60293.1 | 95274.3 | 93254.3 | 63770.0 | 87879.1 | 93949.0 | 46277.7 |
| BIC | 60956.7 | 95937.9 | 93917.9 | 64433.6 | 88542.7 | 94612.6 | 46941.3 |
| Log Likelihood | -30074.6 | -47565.2 | -46555.2 | -31813.0 | -43867.6 | -46902.5 | -23066.9 |

\* indicates significance at p > .05; standard errors in parentheses: survey weight utilized

Fixed effects models confirmed results from pooled logistic regression models.

Table C5: General Use of Force – Pooled Models (2006-2016) (Sample – Republicans)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | EnsureOil | TerroristCamp | Genocide Intervention | SpreadDemocracy | ProtectAllies | UpholdUNLaw | None |
| (Intercept) | -0.98\* | 0.88\* | 0.11 | -0.49\* | 0.97\* | 0.31\* | -2.53\* |
|  | (0.08) | (0.11) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.11) | (0.08) | (0.25) |
| Woman | -0.60\* | -0.57\* | -0.05\* | -0.18\* | -0.30\* | 0.10\* | 0.29\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.07) |
| Age | -0.00 | 0.00 | -0.01\* | -0.01\* | -0.00 | -0.01\* | 0.00 |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Education | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.02\* | -0.01 | 0.05\* | 0.02 | -0.09\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.03) |
| Income | 0.03\* | 0.05\* | 0.01\* | 0.01 | 0.03\* | 0.01 | -0.05\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.01) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.01) | (0.00) | (0.01) |
| African American | -0.15 | -0.53\* | 0.01 | 0.05 | -0.72\* | 0.17 | -0.25 |
|  | (0.13) | (0.14) | (0.12) | (0.13) | (0.14) | (0.12) | (0.26) |
| Hispanic | -0.20\* | -0.42\* | -0.07 | 0.02 | -0.36\* | -0.24\* | 0.42\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.13) |
| Race - Other | -0.11 | -0.23\* | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.34\* | -0.10 | 0.25 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.08) | (0.06) | (0.07) | (0.09) | (0.07) | (0.15) |
| Political Ideology | 0.14\* | 0.29\* | 0.08\* | 0.18\* | 0.24\* | -0.23\* | -0.19\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.04) |
| Political Interest | 0.21\* | 0.27\* | 0.22\* | 0.24\* | 0.25\* | -0.10\* | -0.34\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.04) |
| Political Knowledge | 0.01 | 0.58\* | 0.27\* | 0.14\* | 0.51\* | -0.23\* | -0.77\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.09) |
| Military Service | 0.00 | 0.29\* | 0.10\* | 0.10\* | 0.26\* | -0.01 | -0.37\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.07) |
| Child | -0.06 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.04 | 0.10\* | 0.05 | -0.07 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.08) |
| Year - 2008 | 0.18\* | -0.52\* | -0.13\* | -0.22\* | -0.39\* | 0.13\* | 0.85\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.08) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.21) |
| Year - 2010 | -0.07 | -1.07\* | -0.76\* | -0.97\* | -1.07\* | -0.26\* | 1.71\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.20) |
| Year - 2012 | 0.03 | -1.23\* | -0.75\* | -1.21\* | -0.77\* | -0.24\* | 1.57\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.20) |
| Year - 2014 | -0.34\* | -1.31\* | -0.77\* | -1.38\* | -1.13\* | -0.16\* | 1.73\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.20) |
| Year - 2016 | -0.46\* | -1.16\* | -0.81\* | -1.67\* | -1.16\* | 0.12\* | 1.55\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.06) | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.20) |
| N | 56173 | 56173 | 56173 | 56173 | 56173 | 56173 | 56173 |
| AIC | 72765.6 | 51536.5 | 78566 | 64038.9 | 50109.6 | 74518.9 | 20267.5 |
| BIC | 73409.1 | 52179.9 | 79209.4 | 64682.4 | 50753 | 75162.3 | 20910.9 |
| Log Likelihood | -36310.8 | -25696.2 | -39211 | -31947.5 | -24982.8 | -37187.5 | -10061.7 |

\* indicates significance at p > .05; standard errors in parentheses: survey weight utilized

Fixed effects models confirmed results from pooled logistic regression models.

**Appendix D – Conflict Specific Use of Force – Pooled Full Models**

Table D1: Use of Force in Specific Conflicts (Pooled Models)

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Iraq a Mistake? (2006-2014) | Withdraw Troops from Iraq? (2006-2008) | Afghanistan a Mistake?(2010-2012) |
| (Intercept) | 1.01\* | 3.14\* | -0.38\* |
|  | (0.07) | (0.14) | (0.09) |
| Woman | 0.02 | 0.39\* | 0.37\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.04) | (0.03) |
| PID - Independent | -0.55\* | -1.14\* | -0.07\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.05) | (0.03) |
| PID - Republican | -1.71\* | -2.38\* | -0.73\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.05) | (0.04) |
| Age | 0.00 | -0.00\* | 0.01\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Education | 0.08\* | -0.00 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| Income | -0.00 | -0.04\* | -0.03\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.01) | (0.00) |
| African American | 0.29\* | 0.79\* | 0.15\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.09) | (0.05) |
| Hispanic | 0.13\* | 0.14 | 0.13\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.07) | (0.06) |
| Race - Other | 0.02 | -0.06 | 0.20\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.08) | (0.06) |
| Political Ideology | -0.84\* | -1.08\* | -0.31\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Political Interest | 0.05\* | -0.28\* | -0.14\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.04) | (0.02) |
| Political Knowledge | 0.10\* | -0.75\* | -0.45\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.05) | (0.04) |
| Military Service | -0.21\* | -0.20\* | -0.18\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.04) | (0.03) |
| Child | 0.11\* | 0.05 | 0.08\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.04) | (0.04) |
| Year - 2008 | -0.40\* | -0.56\* |  |
|  | (0.03) | (0.04) |  |
| Year - 2010 | -0.15\* |  |  |
|  | (0.03) |  |  |
| Year - 2012 | -0.15\* |  | 0.06\* |
|  | (0.04) |  | (0.03) |
| Year - 2014 | -0.26\* |  |  |
|  | (0.03) |  |  |
| N | 156580 | 36861 | 75716 |
| AIC | 151699.52 | 29516.12 | 85523.08 |
| BIC | 152456.58 | 30061.07 | 86114.11 |
| Log Likelihood | -75773.76 | -14694.06 | -42697.54 |

\* indicates significance at p > .05; standard errors in parentheses: survey weight utilized

Fixed effects models confirmed results from pooled logistic regression models.

Table D2: Use of Force in Specific Conflicts (Pooled Models) – Samples Split by Party ID

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Democrat Only Sample |  |  | Republican Only Sample |  |  |
|  | Iraq a Mistake? (2006-2014) | Withdraw Troops from Iraq? (2006-2008) | Afghanistan a Mistake?(2010-2012) | Iraq a Mistake? (2006-2014) | Withdraw Troops from Iraq? (2006-2008) | Afghanistan a Mistake?(2010-2012) |
| (Intercept) | 1.22\* | 1.99\* | 0.13 | -0.71\* | 2.46\* | -1.17\* |
|  | (0.14) | (0.21) | (0.11) | (0.11) | (0.20) | (0.16) |
| Woman | 0.18\* | 0.65\* | 0.52\* | -0.12\* | 0.17\* | 0.19\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.08) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.07) | (0.05) |
| Age | 0.00\* | 0.01\* | 0.01\* | 0.01\* | -0.01\* | 0.02\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Education | 0.14\* | -0.00 | 0.04\* | 0.03 | -0.01 | -0.03 |
|  | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.02) |
| Income | 0.03\* | -0.03\* | -0.03\* | -0.01\* | -0.04\* | -0.03\* |
|  | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| African American | 0.02 | 0.57\* | 0.09 | 0.99\* | 0.92\* | 0.83\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.13) | (0.05) | (0.12) | (0.24) | (0.18) |
| Hispanic | 0.02 | 0.15 | 0.14 | 0.41\* | 0.18 | 0.18 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.14) | (0.08) | (0.08) | (0.13) | (0.14) |
| Race - Other | 0.07 | -0.03 | 0.16 | 0.17 | -0.05 | 0.18 |
|  | (0.08) | (0.19) | (0.09) | (0.09) | (0.16) | (0.13) |
| Political Ideology | -0.51\* | -0.71\* | -0.17\* | -0.60\* | -0.94\* | -0.36\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.05) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.05) | (0.04) |
| Political Interest | 0.19\* | 0.09 | -0.15\* | -0.13\* | -0.74\* | -0.10\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.08) | (0.03) | (0.03) | (0.06) | (0.04) |
| Political Knowledge | 0.65\* | -0.49\* | -0.29\* | -0.41\* | -0.91\* | -0.55\* |
|  | (0.05) | (0.12) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.08) | (0.08) |
| Military Service | -0.05 | -0.07 | -0.09\* | -0.23\* | -0.18\* | -0.22\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.09) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.07) | (0.06) |
| Child | 0.19\* | 0.01 | 0.04 | -0.01 | 0.10 | -0.02 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.08) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.07) | (0.09) |
| Year - 2008 | -1.53\* | -0.48\* |  | 0.07 | -0.74\* |  |
|  | (0.11) | (0.09) |  | (0.06) | (0.07) |  |
| Year - 2010 | -1.28\* |  |  | 0.56\* |  |  |
|  | (0.11) |  |  | (0.07) |  |  |
| Year - 2012 | -1.79\* |  | -0.21\* | 0.76\* |  | 0.34\* |
|  | (0.11) |  | (0.04) | (0.07) |  | (0.06) |
| Year - 2014 | -1.82\* |  |  | 0.75\* |  |  |
|  | (0.11) |  |  | (0.07) |  |  |
| N | 60212 | 12678 | 28041 | 44938 | 12711 | 22339 |
| N | 45760.93 | 8192.38 | 32504.33 | 44480.82 | 8992.89 | 20493.78 |
| AIC | 46373.31 | 8609.45 | 32965.85 | 45073.31 | 9410.10 | 20942.57 |
| BIC | -22812.46 | -4040.19 | -16196.16 | -22172.41 | -4440.45 | -10190.89 |

\* indicates significance at p > .05; standard errors in parentheses: survey weight utilized

Fixed effects models confirmed results from pooled logistic regression models.

Table D3: Use of Force in Specific Conflicts (Pooled Models – Samples Split by Gender)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Women Only Sample |  |  | Men Only Sample |  |  |
|  | Iraq a Mistake? (2006-2014) | Withdraw Troops from Iraq? (2006-2008) | Afghanistan a Mistake?(2010-2012) | Iraq a Mistake? (2006-2014) | Withdraw Troops from Iraq? (2006-2008) | Afghanistan a Mistake?(2010-2012) |
| (Intercept) | 1.10\* | 4.43\* | 0.56\* | 0.96\* | 3.07\* | -0.20 |
|  | (0.07) | (0.18) | (0.09) | (0.08) | (0.17) | (0.11) |
| PID - Independent | -0.59\* | -1.35\* | -0.14\* | -0.51\* | -0.99\* | 0.01 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.07) | (0.04) | (0.04) | (0.06) | (0.05) |
| PID - Republican | -1.77\* | -2.71\* | -0.85\* | -1.65\* | -2.14\* | -0.59\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.08) | (0.06) |
| Age | 0.01\* | -0.00 | 0.01\* | -0.00 | -0.00 | 0.01\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) | (0.00) |
| Education | 0.07\* | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.08\* | -0.01 | 0.01 |
|  | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.02) | (0.01) |
| Income | 0.01 | -0.03\* | -0.03\* | -0.01\* | -0.05\* | -0.03\* |
|  | (0.00) | (0.01) | (0.01) | (0.00) | (0.01) | (0.01) |
| African American | 0.28\* | 0.75\* | 0.18\* | 0.32\* | 0.79\* | 0.12 |
|  | (0.05) | (0.16) | (0.06) | (0.06) | (0.11) | (0.07) |
| Hispanic | 0.12 | 0.29\* | 0.11 | 0.14\* | 0.06 | 0.15 |
|  | (0.06) | (0.11) | (0.08) | (0.07) | (0.10) | (0.08) |
| Race - Other | 0.10 | -0.15 | 0.22\* | -0.03 | -0.00 | 0.18\* |
|  | (0.06) | (0.11) | (0.08) | (0.06) | (0.11) | (0.08) |
| Political Ideology | -0.79\* | -1.00\* | -0.32\* | -0.89\* | -1.15\* | -0.31\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.04) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.03) | (0.02) |
| Political Interest | -0.04 | -0.48\* | -0.16\* | 0.14\* | -0.11 | -0.11\* |
|  | (0.02) | (0.05) | (0.02) | (0.02) | (0.06) | (0.03) |
| Political Knowledge | 0.02 | -0.85\* | -0.45\* | 0.18\* | -0.66\* | -0.46\* |
|  | (0.04) | (0.08) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.08) | (0.06) |
| Military Service | -0.19\* | -0.18\* | -0.19\* | -0.21\* | -0.20\* | -0.17\* |
|  | (0.03) | (0.06) | (0.04) | (0.03) | (0.06) | (0.04) |
| Child | 0.07\* | 0.08 | 0.08 | 0.12\* | 0.04 | 0.09 |
|  | (0.03) | (0.06) | (0.05) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.06) |
| Year - 2008 | -0.56\* | -0.73\* |  | -0.29\* | -0.48\* |  |
|  | (0.04) | (0.06) |  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  |
| Year - 2010 | -0.08 |  |  | -0.24\* |  |  |
|  | (0.04) |  |  | (0.05) |  |  |
| Year - 2012 | -0.18\* |  | -0.00 | -0.16\* |  | 0.11\* |
|  | (0.05) |  | (0.04) | (0.05) |  | (0.04) |
| Year - 2014 | -0.30\* |  |  | -0.28\* |  |  |
|  | (0.05) |  |  | (0.05) |  |  |
| N | 75022 | 16817 | 35989 | 81558 | 20044 | 39727 |
| AIC | 71339.46 | 12196.16 | 41959.24 | 80109.59 | 17245.24 | 43517.47 |
| BIC | 72003.70 | 12659.97 | 42468.70 | 80779.85 | 17719.58 | 44032.86 |
| Log Likelihood | -35597.73 | -6038.08 | -20919.62 | -39982.80 | -8562.62 | -21698.73 |

\* indicates significance at p > .05; standard errors in parentheses: survey weight utilized

Fixed effects models confirmed results from pooled logistic regression models.