"Coercion and Provocation" Online Supplementary Appendix

December 13, 2017

1 Survey Instrument

1.1 Sample Survey

A sample survey is included here. This survey differs in format but not in content from the online survey. Variable names and coded values shown in the sample survey are not shown to respondents.

[InfCons] We are a research team at ▆▆▆▆, studying foreign policy and international relations. In this study, you will be asked to read a short scenario describing an international crisis and then answer several questions. This survey should take approximately 5 minutes. Once you have completed the survey, you will receive $1.00. To be able to take the survey, you must live in the U.S. and use a non-mobile device. There are no known risks associated with this study. Although this study may not benefit you personally, we hope that our results will add to the knowledge about how international crises are perceived and operate. All of your responses will be held in confidence and we do not collect identifying information such as your name or email address. MTurk worker IDs will only be collected for the purposes of distributing compensation and will not be associated with survey responses. The results of this survey will be used for academic purposes only. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the ▆▆▆▆ Human Subjects Committee: ▆▆▆▆. Additional information is available at: ▆▆▆▆ Participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to decline to participate and to end participation at any time for any reason.

○ I have read the above information and agree to participate in this study. (1)
○ I do not agree to participate. (0)

Consider the following description of a hypothetical crisis the United States could face. We will ask for your opinion about how the US should handle a situation such as the one described

[USinferior] The United States and China disagree about the US's right to conduct military operations in the East China Sea.The US claims that international law grants it the right to conduct military operations in the international waters of the East China Sea. The US wants unrestricted access to these areas, stating that this is a matter of national interest. China claims that most of the East China Sea is within China's Air Defense Identification Zone (ADIZ) and that the US policy of conducting military operations in the East China Sea threatens China's sovereignty. China wants to restrict US access in the East China Sea. The dispute between the US and China has become tense, with both countries increasing their naval and air patrols in the East China Sea. Experts agree that the US's military capability is inferior to China's for a conflict in the East China Sea.

[Collision] Recently there was a collision between an American and a Chinese military plane. The collision occurred because the Chinese plane was flying dangerous maneuvers around the American plane, making several close passes. On the third pass, the Chinese plane collided with the American plane. The American pilot died. The Chinese pilot just barely managed to eject and survive. Both planes were destroyed.

Later in the survey, we will ask you some questions about the hypothetical scenario you just read. CLICK HERE to view the scenario in a new window so you can refer to it. We strongly recommend that you click on the link above.

Next, we are going to ask you some questions about the hypothetical scenario you just read.

[LevelEsc] In terms of using military force, how far should the US go to assert its claims in this dispute? Please select the maximum level of military force the US should use.
○ The US should not assert its claims. (0)
○ The US should assert its claims only if it can avoid using military force. (1)
○ The US should assert its claims, using military force if necessary, but it should not risk war. (2)
○ The US should assert its claims, using military force if necessary, even if this risks war. (3)

[EcCosts] In terms of future economic costs, how far should the US go to assert its claims in this dispute? Please select the maximum level of economic cost that you think the US should be willing to sustain. For some of the options, we provide real-world examples of costs in current dollars.
- ○ The US should not assert its claims. (0
- ○ The US should assert its claims only if it can avoid future economic costs. (1)
- ○ $1 million (e.g., the monthly cost of flying an F-15 aircraft) (2)
- ○ $10 million (e.g., the annual cost of flying an F15 aircraft) (3)
- ○ $100 million (e.g., the cost of the US invasion of Grenada, 1983) (4)
- ○ $1 billion (e.g., the cost of US military operations in Somalia, 1992-1994) (5)
- ○ $10 billion (e.g., the cost of US military operations bombing ISIS over two years) (6)
- ○ $100 billion (e.g., the cost to the US of the Gulf War, 1990-1991) (7)
- ○ $1 trillion (e.g., the cost to the US of the Iraq War) (8)
- ○ The US should assert its claims no matter the economic cost. (9)

[RiskWar] In terms of risking war with China, how far should the US go to assert its claims in this dispute? Please select the maximum level of risk of war with China the US should sustain.
- ○ The US should not assert its claims. (0)
- ○ The US should assert its claims only if it can avoid any risk of war with China. (1)
- ○ The US should assert its claims only if it leads to at most a low risk of war with China. (2)
- ○ The US should assert its claims only if it leads to at most a medium risk of war with China. (3)
- ○ The US should assert its claims even if it leads to a high risk of war with China. (4)
- ○ The US should assert its claims even if it leads to a very high risk of war with China. (5)
- ○ The US should assert its claims no matter the risk of war with China. (6)

[MilDeaths] In terms of future US military fatalities, how far should the US go to assert its claims in this dispute? Please select the maximum number of US military fatalities the US should be willing to sustain. For some of the options, we provide real-world examples of military fatalities.
- ○ The US should not assert its claims. (0)
- ○ The US should assert its claims only if it can avoid US military fatalities. (1)
- ○ 3 military fatalities (e.g., US military fatalities in 2014-present intervention against ISIS) (2)
- ○ 30 military fatalities (e.g., US military fatalities in Somalia, 1992-1993) (3)
- ○ 300 military fatalities (e.g., twice the number of US military fatalities in the Gulf War) (4)
- ○ 3,000 military fatalities (e.g., US military fatalities in the Iraq War) (5)
- ○ 30,000 military fatalities (e.g., US military fatalities in the Korean War or half the number of fatalities in the Vietnam War) (6)
- ○ The US should assert its claims no matter the number of military fatalities. (7)

[Reputation] Do you think the events described in this scenario put the US's international reputation at stake?
- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (0)

[MagStake] Please tell us how much you think it is at stake.
- ○ Not much at stake (0)
- ○ Somewhat at stake (1)
- ○ Very much at stake (2)

[MatCosts] How many deaths (US and Chinese, soldiers and civilians) do you think will occur as a result of this dispute in the coming year? Please select the number of deaths you think is most likely to occur.
- ○ 0 deaths (0)
- ○ About 1-24 deaths (1)
- ○ About 25-200 deaths (2)
- ○ More than 200 deaths (3)

[Coercion] Which of the following best describes China's behavior towards the US in the scenario?
- ○ China wanted to avoid using force. (0)
- ○ China was taking risks. (1)
- ○ China was testing the US. (2)
- ○ China was bullying the US. (3)

[MilCap] Given the information available in this scenario, which country do you think has superior military capabilities in the East China Sea: the US, China, or are they equal?
- ○ The US probably has greater military capabilities than China. (1)
- ○ China and the US probably have about equal military capabilities. (0)
- ○ China probably has greater military capabilities than the US. (-1)

[MilInt] Given the information available in this scenario, how likely do think it is that China has plans to expand its military presence and capabilities in the East China Sea?
- ○ Very unlikely (0)
- ○ Unlikely (1)
- ○ As likely as not (2)
- ○ Likely (3)
- ○ Very likely (4)

[RepCosts] In light of the events in this scenario, the US government abandoned its claim to having a right to conduct military operations in the East China Sea.   How do you think the events described in this scenario will affect other countries' expectations of US behavior in future disputes?
- ○ Other countries will think the US is less likely to stand firm in future disputes. (1)
- ○ Other countries will not change their expectations about how likely the US is to stand firm in future disputes. (0)
- ○ Other countries will think the US is more likely to stand firm in future disputes. (-1)

[MagRepBen] How much do you think the events described in this scenario will affect other countries' expectations of US behavior in future disputes?
- ○ Other countries will think the US is moderately more likely to stand firm in future disputes. (0)
- ○ Other countries will think the US is much more likely to stand firm in future disputes. (1)

[MagRepCost] How much do you think the events described in this scenario will affect other countries' expectations of US behavior in future disputes?
- ○ Other countries will think the US is moderately less likely to stand firm in future disputes. (0)
- ○ Other countries will think the US is much less likely to stand firm in future disputes. (1)

[ImpCons] Please tell us how important each of the following considerations was for you in deciding whether the US should maintain its claims in the East China Sea.

	Not important (0)	Slightly important (1)	Moderately Important (2)	Very Important (3)
[ImpCosts] Avoiding the risk of conflict with China that could cost the lives of Americans, Chinese and others.	❍	❍	❍	❍
[ImpStakes] Preserving US access to the East China Sea.	❍	❍	❍	❍
[ImpThreat] Resisting China's threat to US national interests and/or national security.	❍	❍	❍	❍
[ImpReputation] Maintaining the US's reputation.	❍	❍	❍	❍
[ImpHonor] Honoring the US pilot who died so that his death will not have been in vain.	❍	❍	❍	❍
[ImpRevenge] Punishing China.	❍	❍	❍	❍

Please tell us a bit about yourself.

[Gender] Are you male or female?
- ❍ Male (1)
- ❍ Female (2)
- ❍ I prefer not to answer (-98)

[Age] How old are you (in years)?

[Education] What is the highest level of education you have completed?
- ❍ Less than high school (1)
- ❍ High school or GED (2)
- ❍ Some college (3)
- ❍ 2-year college degree (4)
- ❍ 4-year college degree (5)
- ❍ Masters degree (6)
- ❍ Doctoral degree (7)
- ❍ Professional degree (e.g., JD or MD) (8)
- ❍ I prefer not to answer (-98)

[Race] What is your race?
- ❍ Caucasian (1)
- ❍ African-American (2)
- ❍ Asian (3)
- ❍ Hispanic (4)
- ❍ Native American (5)
- ❍ Pacific Islander (6)
- ❍ Other (7)
- ❍ I prefer not to answer (-98)

[USstate] In which US state do you currently reside?

Variable names are given in brackets. Coded values are given parentheses.

- ⚪ Alabama (1)
- ⚪ Alaska (2)
- ⚪ Arizona (3)
- ⚪ Arkansas (4)
- ⚪ California (5)
- ⚪ Colorado (6)
- ⚪ Connecticut (7)
- ⚪ Delaware (8)
- ⚪ District of Columbia (9)
- ⚪ Florida (10)
- ⚪ Georgia (11)
- ⚪ Hawaii (12)
- ⚪ Idaho (13)
- ⚪ Illinois (14)
- ⚪ Indiana (15)
- ⚪ Iowa (16)
- ⚪ Kansas (17)
- ⚪ Kentucky (18)
- ⚪ Louisiana (19)
- ⚪ Maine (20)
- ⚪ Maryland (21)
- ⚪ Massachusetts (22)
- ⚪ Michigan (23)
- ⚪ Minnesota (24)
- ⚪ Mississippi (25)
- ⚪ Missouri (26)
- ⚪ Montana (27)
- ⚪ Nebraska (28)
- ⚪ Nevada (29)
- ⚪ New Hampshire (30)
- ⚪ New Jersey (31)
- ⚪ New Mexico (32)
- ⚪ New York (33)
- ⚪ North Carolina (34)
- ⚪ North Dakota (35)
- ⚪ Ohio (36)
- ⚪ Oklahoma (37)
- ⚪ Oregon (38)
- ⚪ Pennsylvania (39)
- ⚪ Puerto Rico (40)
- ⚪ Rhode Island (41)
- ⚪ South Carolina (42)
- ⚪ South Dakota (43)
- ⚪ Tennessee (44)
- ⚪ Texas (45)
- ⚪ Utah (46)
- ⚪ Vermont (47)
- ⚪ Virginia (48)
- ⚪ Washington (49)
- ⚪ West Virginia (50)
- ⚪ Wisconsin (51)
- ⚪ Wyoming (52)
- ⚪ I do not reside in the United States (53)

[Income] What is your combined annual household income (in US dollars)?
- ⚪ Less than $10,000 (1)
- ⚪ $10,000-20,000 (2)
- ⚪ $20,000-30,000 (3)
- ⚪ $30,000-40,000 (4)
- ⚪ $40,000-50,000 (5)
- ⚪ $50,000-60,000 (6)
- ⚪ $60,000-70,000 (7)
- ⚪ $70,000-80,000 (8)
- ⚪ $80,000-90,000 (9)
- ⚪ $90,000-100,00 (10)
- ⚪ More than $100,000 (11)
- ⚪ I prefer not to answer (-98)

[Pol7scale] Below 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, or haven't you thought much about this?
- ⚪ 1. Extremely liberal (1)
- ⚪ 2. Liberal (2)
- ⚪ 3. Slightly liberal (3)
- ⚪ 4. Moderate (4)
- ⚪ 5. Slightly conservative (5)
- ⚪ 6. Conservative (6)
- ⚪ 7. Extremely conservative (7)
- ⚪ Haven't thought much about this (8)
- ⚪ I prefer not to answer (-98)

[PolParty] Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican or an Independent?
- ○ Democrat (2)
- ○ Republican (4)
- ○ Independent (3)
- ○ Haven't thought much about this (1)
- ○ I prefer not to answer (-98)
- ○ Other (-88) _____

[StrDem] Do you think of yourself as a strong Democrat?
- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (0)
- ○ I prefer not to answer (-98)

[StrRep] Do you think of yourself as a strong Republican?
- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (0)
- ○ I prefer not to answer (-98)

[DemRep] Do you think of yourself as closer to the Democratic Party or closer to the Republican Party?
- ○ Closer to the Republican Party (2)
- ○ Closer to the Democratic Party (1)
- ○ Neither (4)
- ○ I prefer not to answer (-98)

[MilExp] Have you ever served in the military?
- ○ Yes (1)
- ○ No (0)
- ○ I prefer not to answer (-98)

[MilAssert] Please tell us whether you agree or disagree with the statements listed below.

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)
[MilAssert_1] The best way to ensure world peace is through American military strength.	○	○	○	○	○
[MilAssert_2] The use of military force only makes problems worse.	○	○	○	○	○
[MilAssert_3] Going to war is unfortunate, but sometimes the only solution to international problems.	○	○	○	○	○

Coercion Provocation Survey Experiment
Sample survey
Variable names are given in brackets. Coded values are given parentheses.

[ReadForei] How frequently do you read about foreign affairs, international relations, or international history in the news, in articles, or in books?
- ❍ Everyday (1)
- ❍ 2-4 times a week (2)
- ❍ 2-4 times a month (3)
- ❍ 5-20 times a year (4)
- ❍ Less than 5 times a year (5)
- ❍ I prefer not to answer (-98)

[OnlineDisc] Do you participate in any online discussions of MTurk HITs? Your answer to this question will not affect the approval of this HIT.
- ❍ Yes (1)
- ❍ No (0)
- ❍ I prefer not to answer (-98)

[SimSurvey] In addition to this study, approximately how many other studies related to foreign policy or international relations have you completed on MTurk in the past year? Your answer to this question will not affect the approval of this HIT.
- ❍ None (0)
- ❍ 1-5 (1)
- ❍ 6-10 (4)
- ❍ 11-15 (5)
- ❍ More than 15 (6)
- ❍ I prefer not to answer (-98)

[CatchTri] Have you ever died while watching television?
- ❍ Always (5)
- ❍ Most of the time (4)
- ❍ Sometimes (3)
- ❍ Rarely (2)
- ❍ Never (1)

Thank you for your participation!

2 Additional Analyses

2.1 Balance Checks

We check if the background characteristics of the respondents are balanced across treatment assignments. In Table 1, we provide summary statistics of respondents' background characteristics. Table 2 shows that the background characteristics of respondents do not individually or jointly predict treatment assignment.

Table 1: Summary Statistics of Respondents' Background Characteristics

Variables	Attack	Collision	Non-Collision	Accident	Control
Mean age	34.97	35.74	35.48	35.77	35.28
Prop. male	0.53	0.54	0.55	0.55	0.50
Prop. with college degree	0.53	0.52	0.51	0.50	0.52
Prop. white	0.81	0.79	0.76	0.79	0.82
Prop. income > $50K	0.50	0.48	0.53	0.50	0.48
Mean PID 7	3.47	3.37	3.55	3.48	3.46
Prop. Democrat	0.42	0.43	0.41	0.40	0.39
N	350	380	352	322	357

PID 7 is a 7-point political ideology scale measure, in which 1 is extremely liberal and 7 is extremely conservative.

Table 2: Balance on Background Characteristics

	Accident vs. Control	Collision vs. Non-Collision	Attack vs. Control
Age	0.017	0.002	−0.006
	(0.020)	(0.018)	(0.020)
Male	0.028	−0.007	0.014
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)
College Degree	−0.012	0.008	0.006
	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.019)
White	−0.017	0.022	0.0002
	(0.020)	(0.018)	(0.020)
Income > $50K	0.009	−0.029	0.008
	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.019)
PID 7	−0.002	−0.025	0.016
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.022)
Democrat	0.005	−0.005	0.027
	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.023)
Constant	0.475***	0.519***	0.494***
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)
N	678	731	705
F Statistic	0.554 (df = 7; 670)	0.932 (df = 7; 723)	0.304 (df = 7; 697)

For each vignette design comparison, we regress the treatment assignment on the seven background characteristics. The regressors have been mean-standardized for ease of interpretation. Heteroskedasticity-robust standard errors are reported below coefficients. All p-values reported are two-sided.

2.2 Additional Figures

The following sections present additional figures not included in the article. For each coefficient plot, we display the 95 and 99 percent heteroskedasticity-robust confidence intervals unless specified.

2.2.1 Main Outcomes

In the next three sets of figures, we plot the distribution of responses to the four main outcome measures. For each treatment group and outcome, we also plot the mean response along with its 95 percent confidence interval.
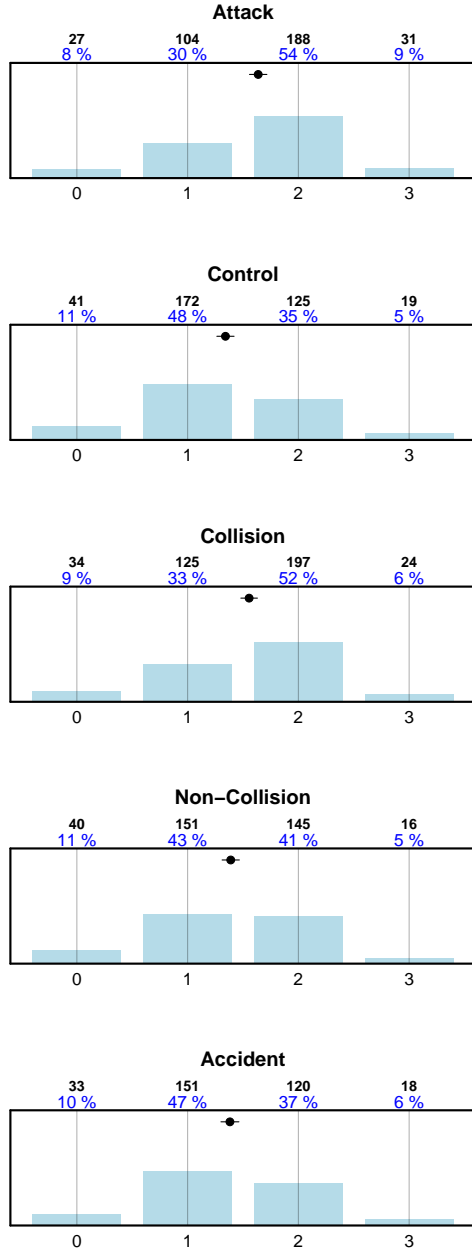
Figure 1: **Distribution of Responses: Levels of Escalation**. For the **Levels of Escalation** variable, 0 means the US should not assert its claims; 1 means the US should assert its claims only if it can avoid using military force; 2 means the US should assert its claims, using military force if necessary, but it should not risk war; 3 means the US should assert its claims, using military force if necessary, even if this risks war.

Attack

28	91	29	68	50	28	17	13	3	23
8 %	26 %	8 %	19 %	14 %	8 %	5 %	4 %	1 %	7 %
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Control

34	119	34	64	44	18	21	3	6	14
10 %	33 %	10 %	18 %	12 %	5 %	6 %	1 %	2 %	4 %
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Collision

31	97	35	69	57	38	20	9	1	23
8 %	26 %	9 %	18 %	15 %	10 %	5 %	2 %	0 %	6 %
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Non−Collision

35	113	31	62	38	22	24	12	5	10
10 %	32 %	9 %	18 %	11 %	6 %	7 %	3 %	1 %	3 %
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Accident

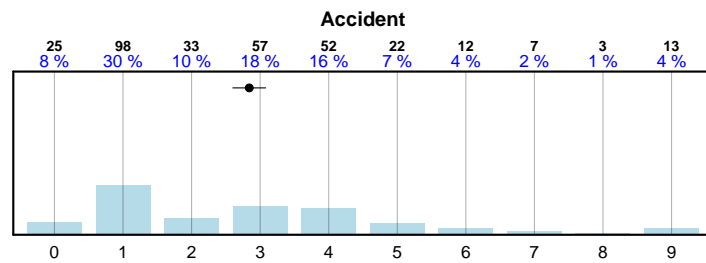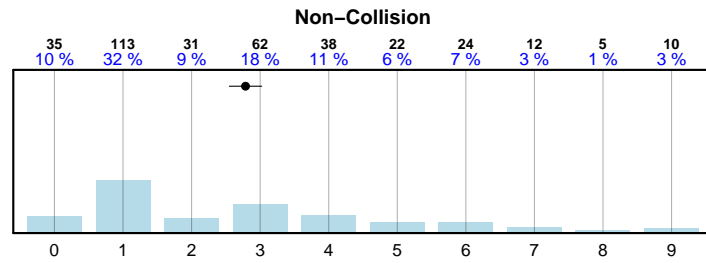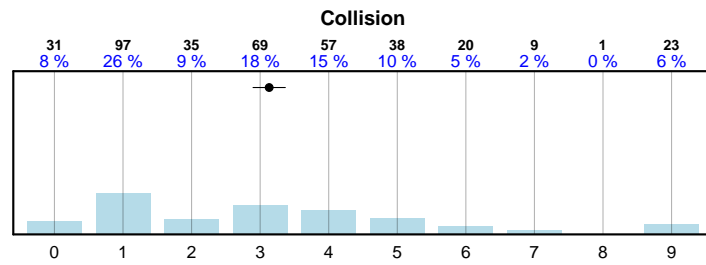| 25	98	33	57	52	22	12	7	3	13
8 %	30 %	10 %	18 %	16 %	7 %	4 %	2 %	1 %	4 %
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
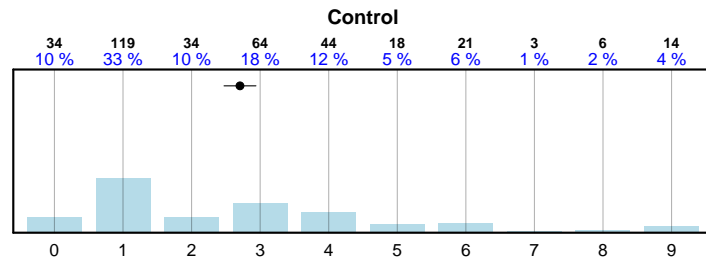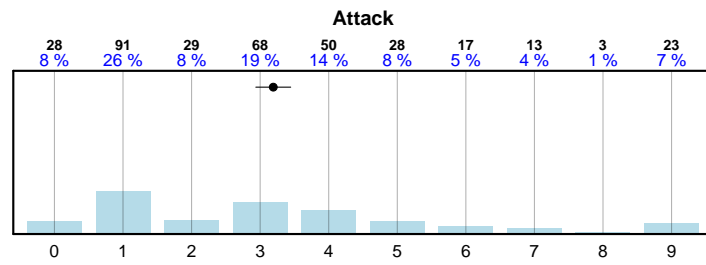
Figure 2: **Distribution of Responses: Economic Costs**. For the **Economic Costs** variable, 0 means the US should not assert its claims; 1 means the US should assert its claims only if it can avoid future economic costs; 2 means $1 million; 3 means $10 million; 4 means $100 million; 5 means $1 billion; 6 means $10 billion; 7 means $100 billion; 8 means $1 trillion; 9 means the US should assert its claims no matter the economic cost.
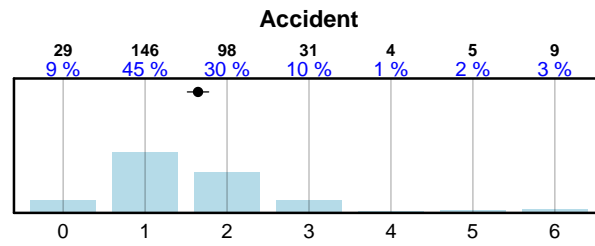
Attack

24	121	121	42	19	1	22
7 %	35 %	35 %	12 %	5 %	0 %	6 %

0   1   2   3   4   5   6

Control

36	173	87	43	6	3	9
10 %	48 %	24 %	12 %	2 %	1 %	3 %

0   1   2   3   4   5   6

Collision

33	151	116	48	15	5	12
9 %	40 %	31 %	13 %	4 %	1 %	3 %

0   1   2   3   4   5   6

Non−Collision

31	169	91	36	11	3	11
9 %	48 %	26 %	10 %	3 %	1 %	3 %

0   1   2   3   4   5   6

Accident

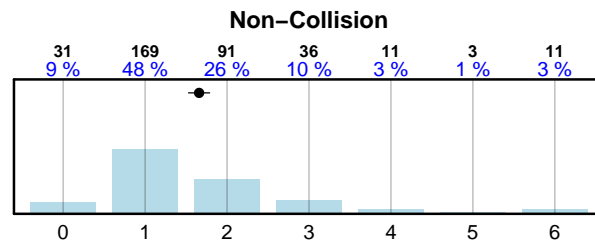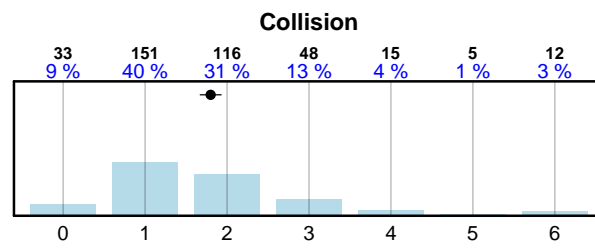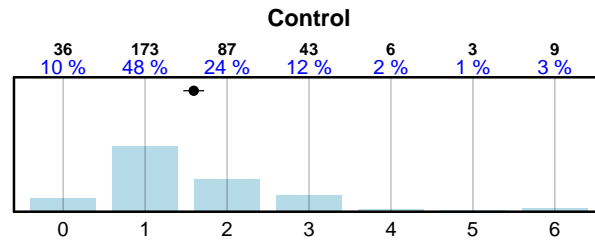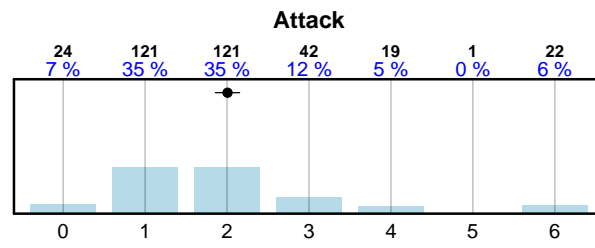| 29	146	98	31	4	5	9
9 %	45 %	30 %	10 %	1 %	2 %	3 %

0   1   2   3   4   5   6

Figure 3: **Distribution of Responses: Risk of War**. For the **Risk of War** variable, 0 means the US should not assert its claims; 1 means the US should assert its claims only if can avoid any risk of war with China; 2 means the US should assert its claims only if it leads to at most a low risk of war with China; 3 means the US should assert its claims only if leads to at most a medium risk of war with China; 4 means the US should assert its claims even if it leads to a high risk of war with China; 5 means the US should assert its claims even if it leads to a very high risk of war with China; 6 means the US should assert its claims no matter the risk of war with China.
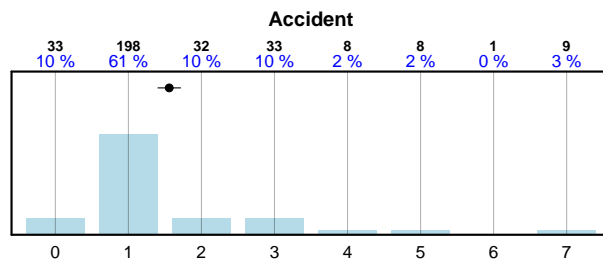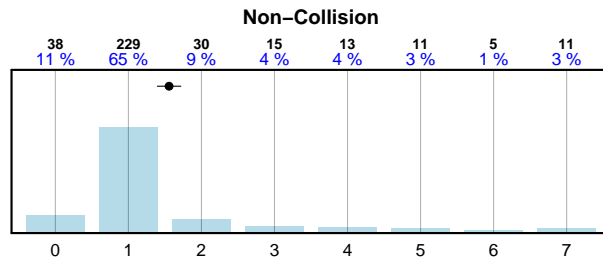
Attack

28	189	42	40	19	12	5	15
8 %	54 %	12 %	11 %	5 %	3 %	1 %	4 %

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Control

40	222	44	24	10	7	1	9
11 %	62 %	12 %	7 %	3 %	2 %	0 %	3 %

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Collision

32	222	39	46	18	6	3	14
8 %	58 %	10 %	12 %	5 %	2 %	1 %	4 %

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Non−Collision

38	229	30	15	13	11	5	11
11 %	65 %	9 %	4 %	4 %	3 %	1 %	3 %

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Accident

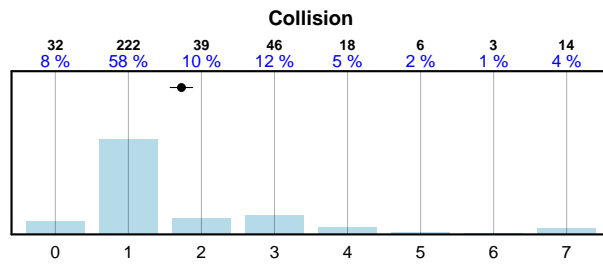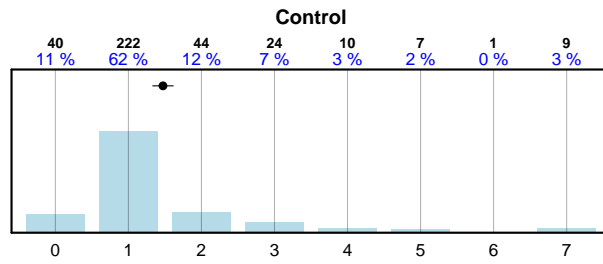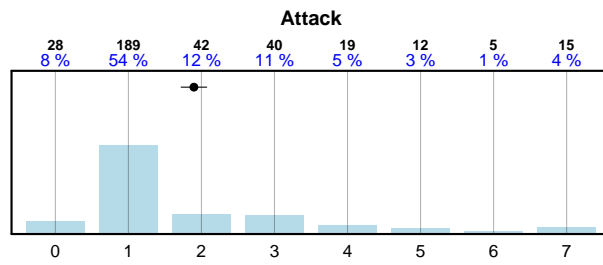| 33	198	32	33	8	8	1	9
10 %	61 %	10 %	10 %	2 %	2 %	0 %	3 %

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7

17

Figure 4: **Distribution of Responses: Military Deaths**. For the **Military Deaths** variable, 0 means the US should not assert its claims; 1 means the US should assert its claims only if can avoid US military fatalities; 2 means 3 military fatalities; 3 means 30 military fatalities; 4 means 300 military fatalities; 5 means 3,000 military fatalities; 6 means 30,000 military fatalities; 7 means the US should assert its claims no matter the number of military fatalities.
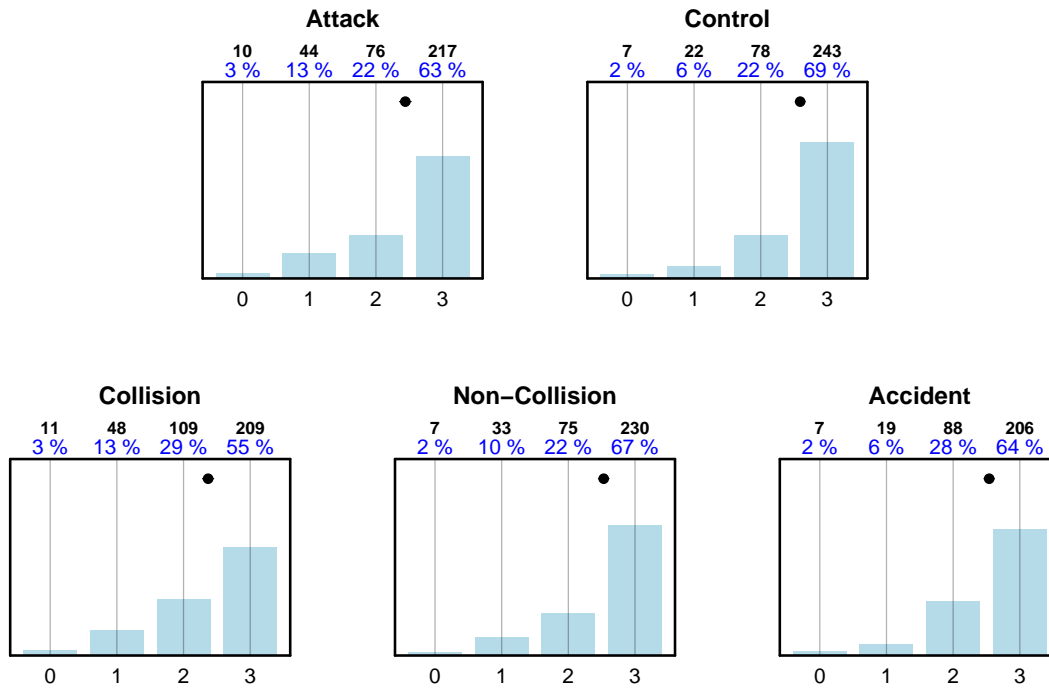
2.2.2 Reputation and Information Mediators

Figure 5: **Distribution of Responses: Respondents' Considerations When Deciding to Maintain Claims – Avoid Risk of Conflict**
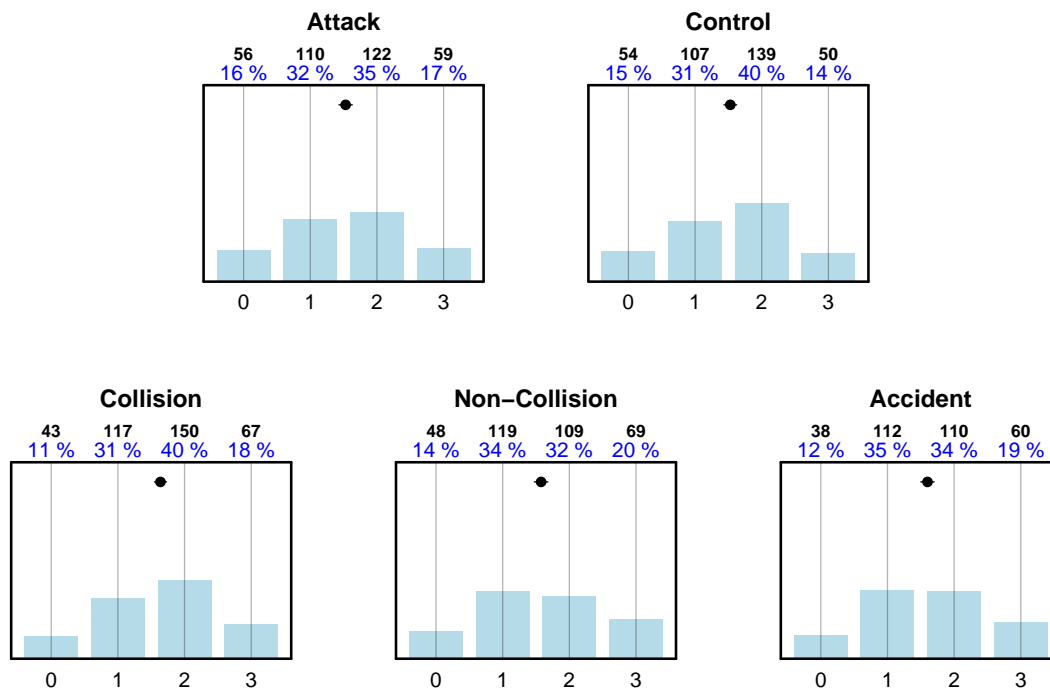
Attack

56	**110**	**122**	**59**
16 %	32 %	35 %	17 %

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |

Control

54	**107**	**139**	**50**
15 %	31 %	40 %	14 %

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |

Collision

43	**117**	**150**	**67**
11 %	31 %	40 %	18 %

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |

Non–Collision

48	**119**	**109**	**69**
14 %	34 %	32 %	20 %

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |

Accident

38	**112**	**110**	**60**
12 %	35 %	34 %	19 %

| 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |

Figure 6: **Distribution of Responses: Respondents' Considerations When Deciding to Maintain Claims – Preserve US Access to E. China Sea**

Attack

30	80	124	113
9 %	23 %	36 %	33 %

0   1   2   3

Control

35	93	137	85
10 %	27 %	39 %	24 %

0   1   2   3

Collision

23	90	172	92
6 %	24 %	46 %	24 %

0   1   2   3

Non–Collision

24	93	150	78
7 %	27 %	43 %	23 %

0   1   2   3

Accident

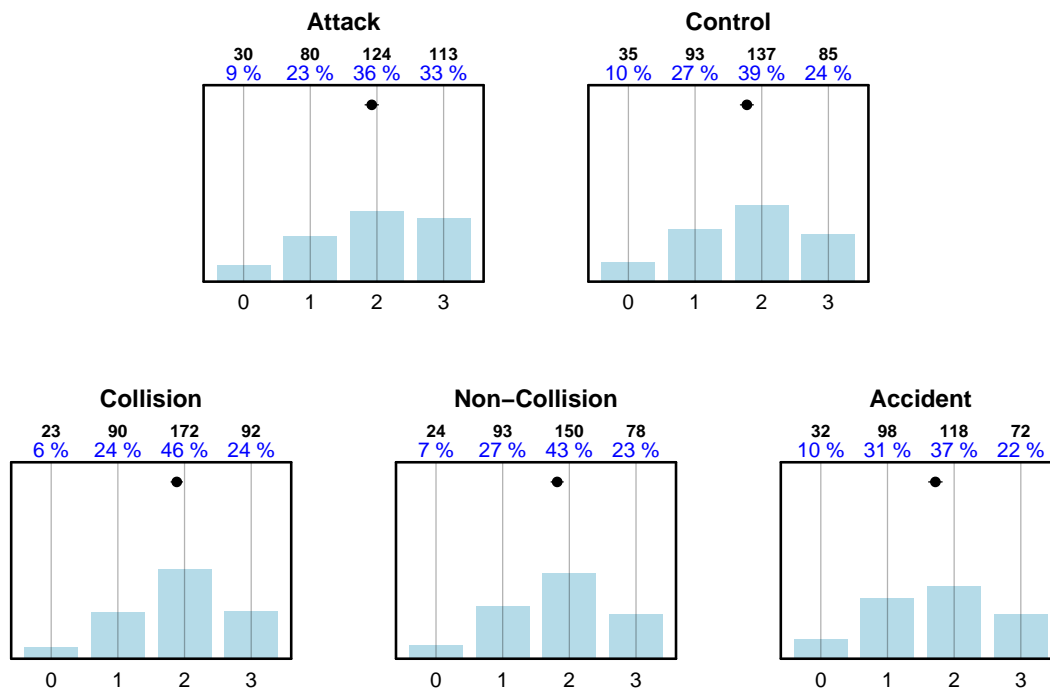|			
32	98	118	72
10 %	31 %	37 %	22 %

0   1   2   3

Figure 7: **Distribution of Responses: Respondents' Considerations When Deciding to Maintain Claims – Resist China's Threat to US**
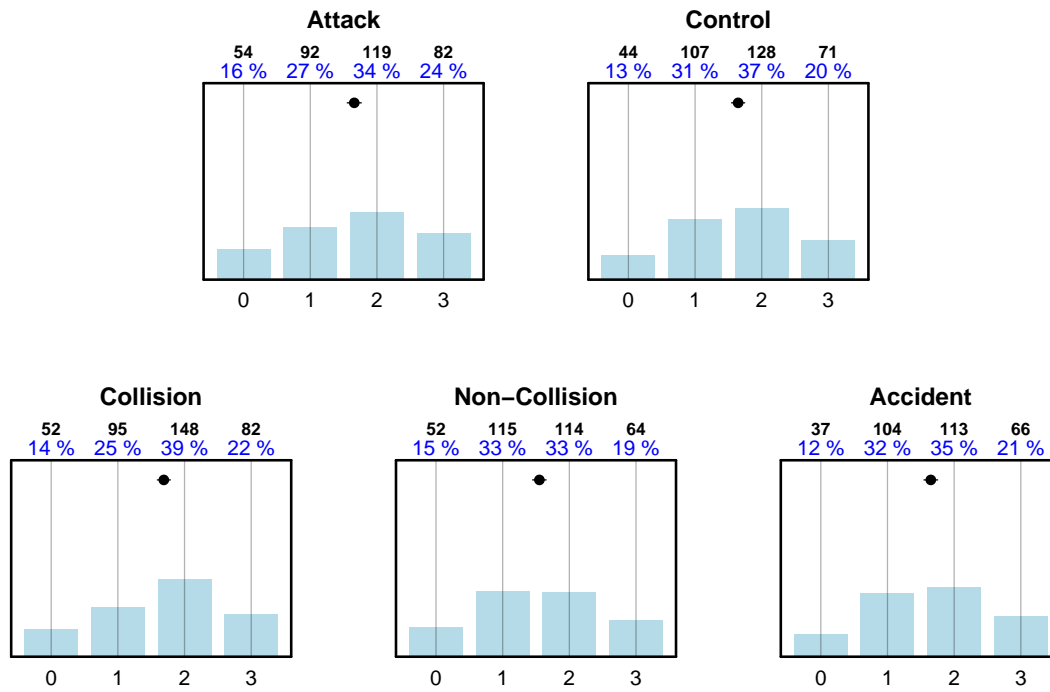
Figure 8: **Distribution of Responses: Respondents' Considerations When Deciding to Maintain Claims – Maintaining US** Reputation
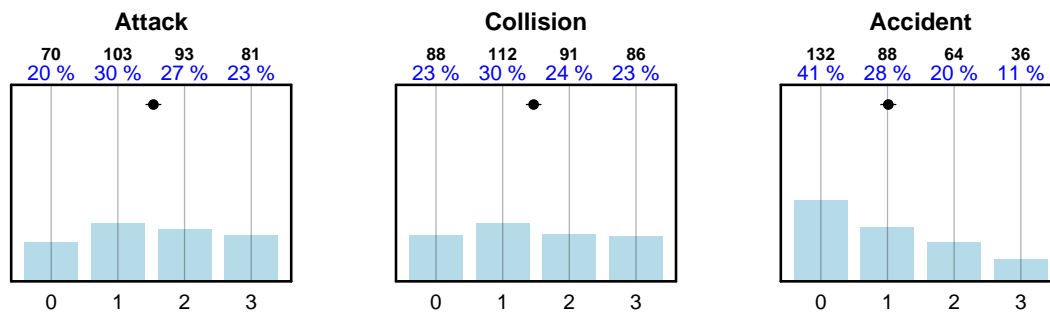

Figure 9: **Distribution of Responses: Respondents' Considerations When Deciding to Maintain Claims – Honor US Pilot**
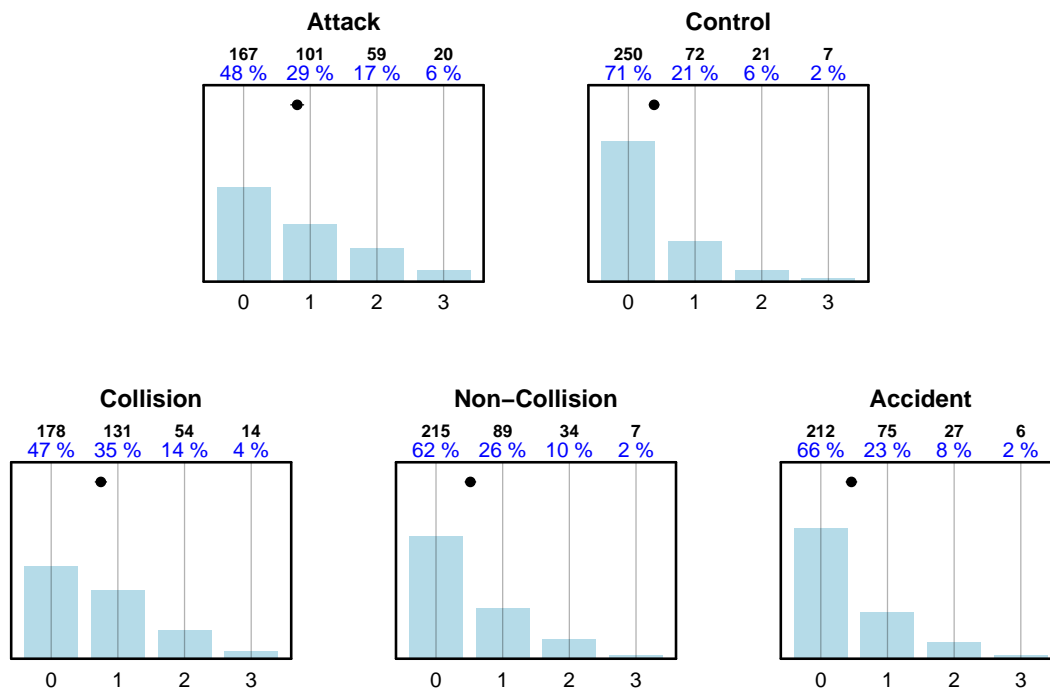
Figure 10: **Distribution of Responses: Respondents' Considerations When Deciding to Maintain Claims – Punishing China**
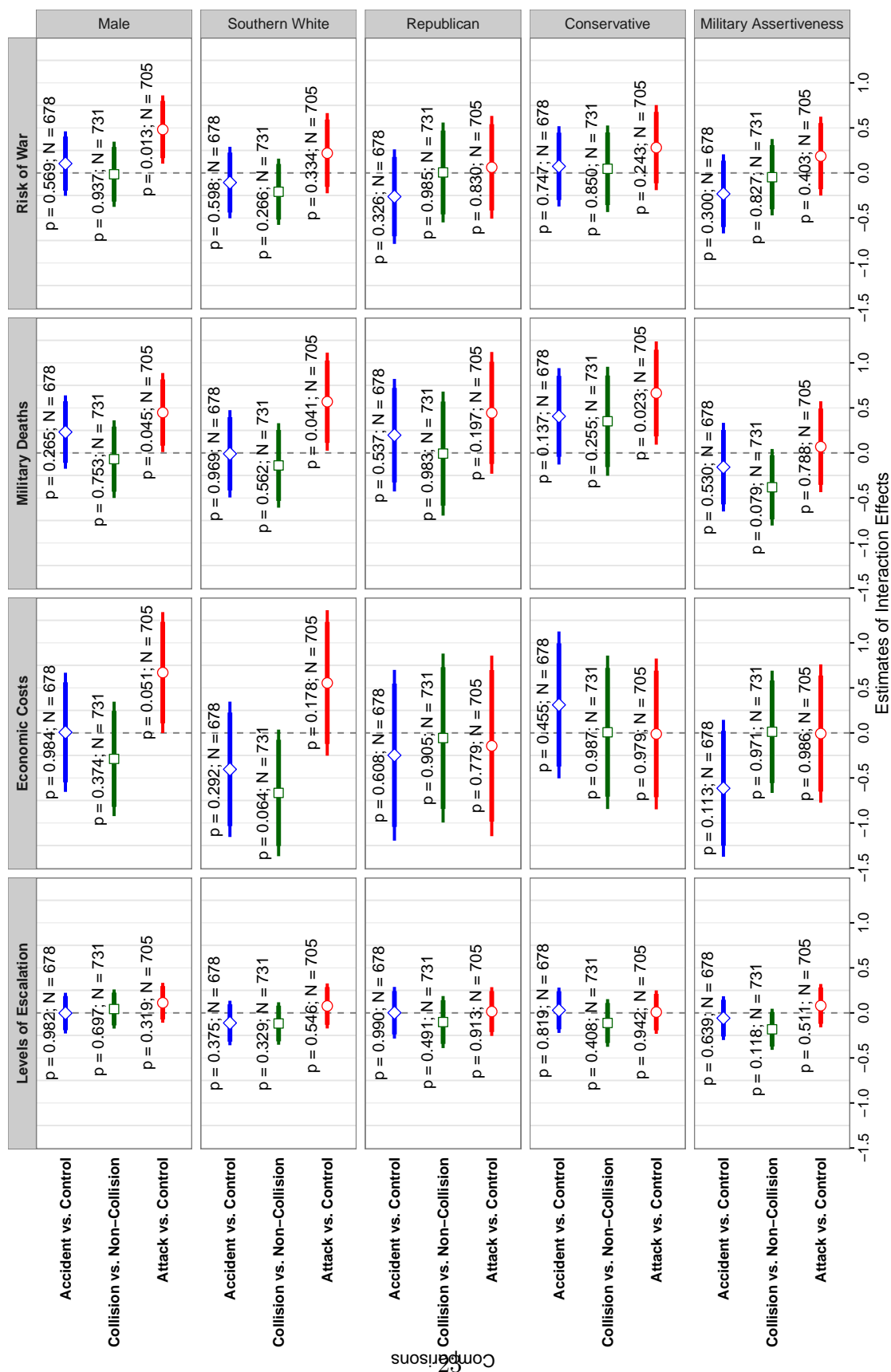
2.3 Subgroup Analysis

Figure 11: **Subgroup Analysis of Main Outcome Effects**. We perform subgroup analysis for males, Southern white, Republicans, Conservatives, and military assertiveness. (Southern states include South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, Arizona, Kentucky, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and West Virginia. Conservatives are those whose political ideology score is 5 or above on a 7-point scale. Military assertiveness is measured along a 5-point scale, such that higher values means greater military assertiveness.) For each outcome variable, we regress the responses on the treatment assignment, the subgroup variable, and the treatment assignment interacted with the subgroup variable. In the figure above, we present the estimated interaction effects for each main outcome and scenario comparison.

2.4 Descriptive Statistics
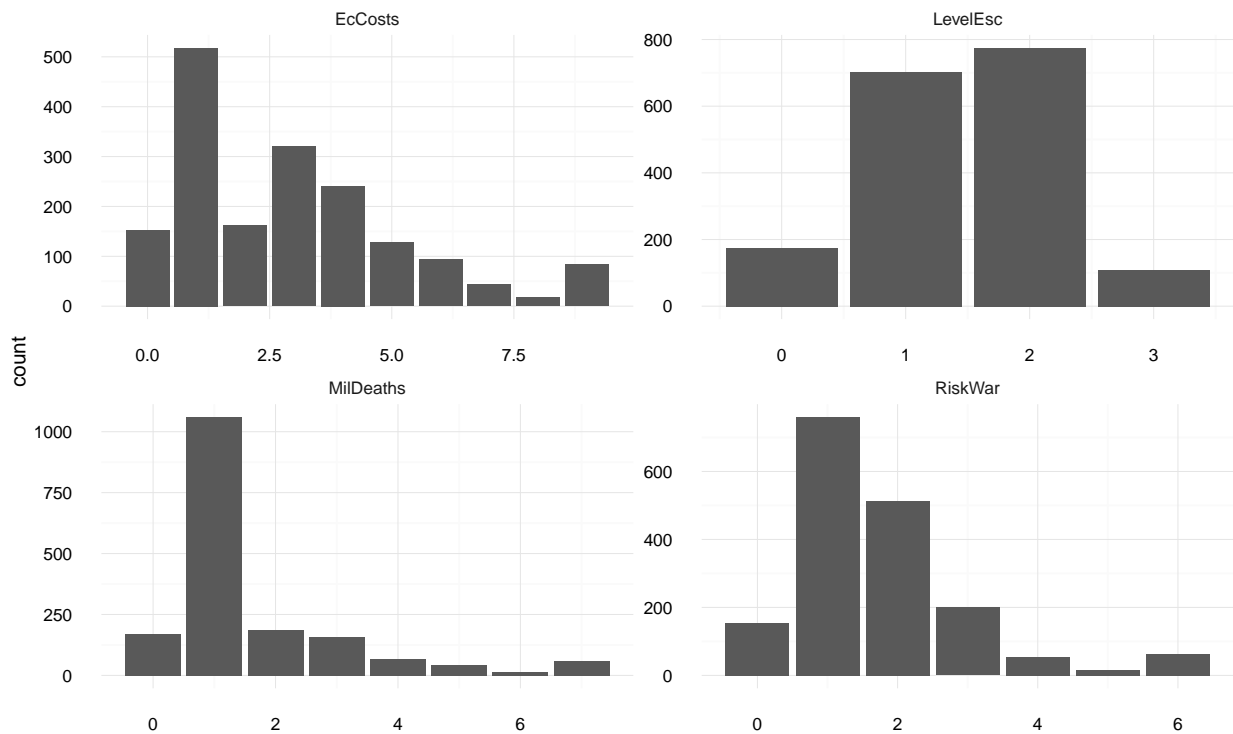
Figure 12: **Distribution of Responses: Outcome measures**

	n	min	max	mean	sd
LevelEsc	1761	0	3	1.46	0.76
EcCosts	1761	0	9	2.94	2.30
RiskWar	1761	0	6	1.74	1.27
MilDeaths	1761	0	7	1.64	1.51
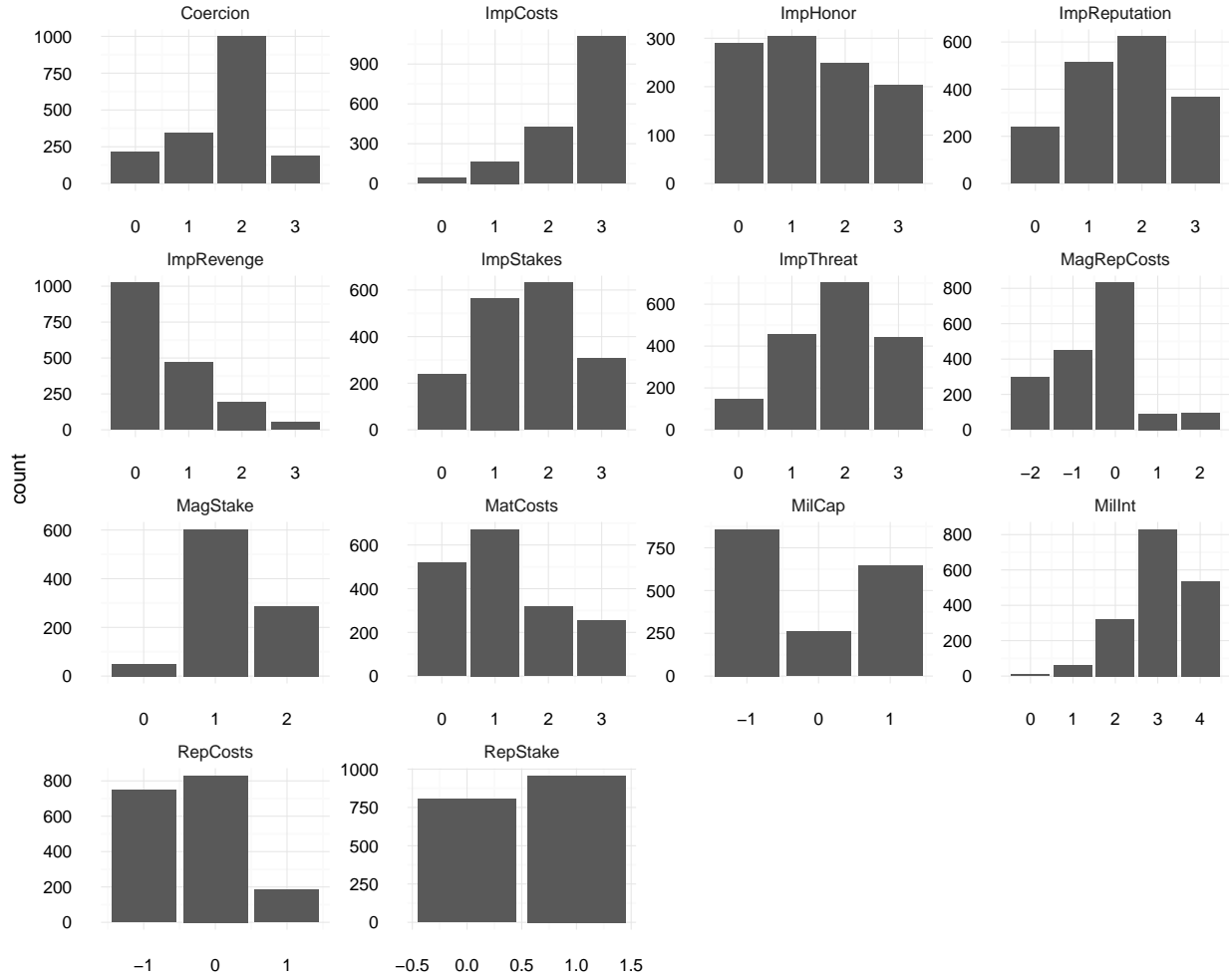
Figure 13: **Distribution of Responses: Mediator measures**

	n	min	max	mean	sd
RepStake	1761	0	1	0.54	0.50
MagStake	940	0	2	1.25	0.54
MatCosts	1761	0	3	1.18	1.01
Coercion	1742	0	3	1.66	0.83
MilCap	1761	-1	1	-0.12	0.92
MilInt	1761	0	4	3.03	0.83
RepCosts	1761	-1	1	-0.32	0.65
MagRepCosts	1761	-2	2	-0.43	1.00
ImpCosts	1739	0	3	2.49	0.77
ImpStakes	1739	0	3	1.58	0.93
ImpThreat	1739	0	3	1.83	0.90
ImpReputation	1739	0	3	1.64	0.96
ImpHonor	1044	0	3	1.35	1.08
ImpRevenge	1739	0	3	0.59	0.81
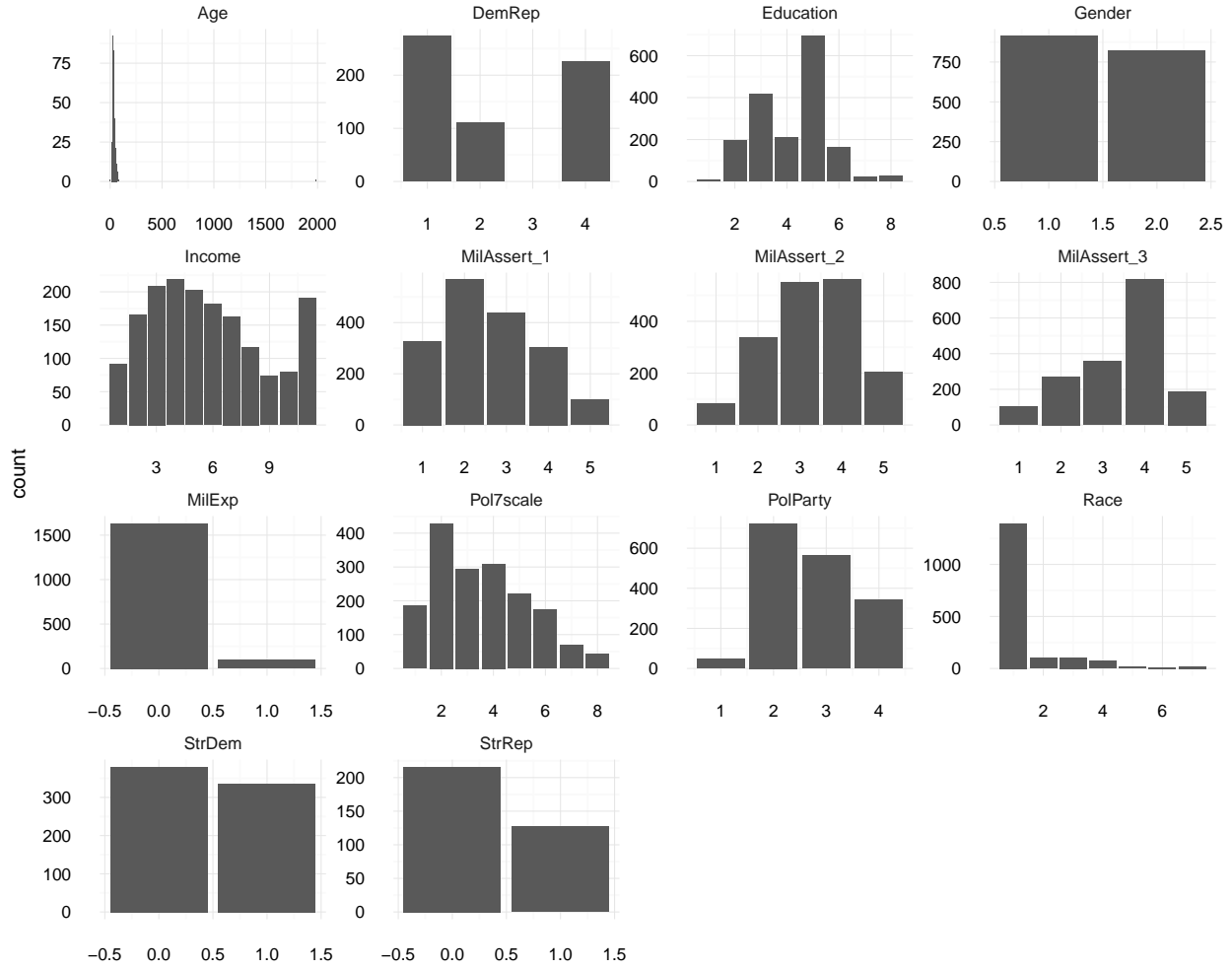
Figure 14: **Distribution of Responses: Covariate measures**

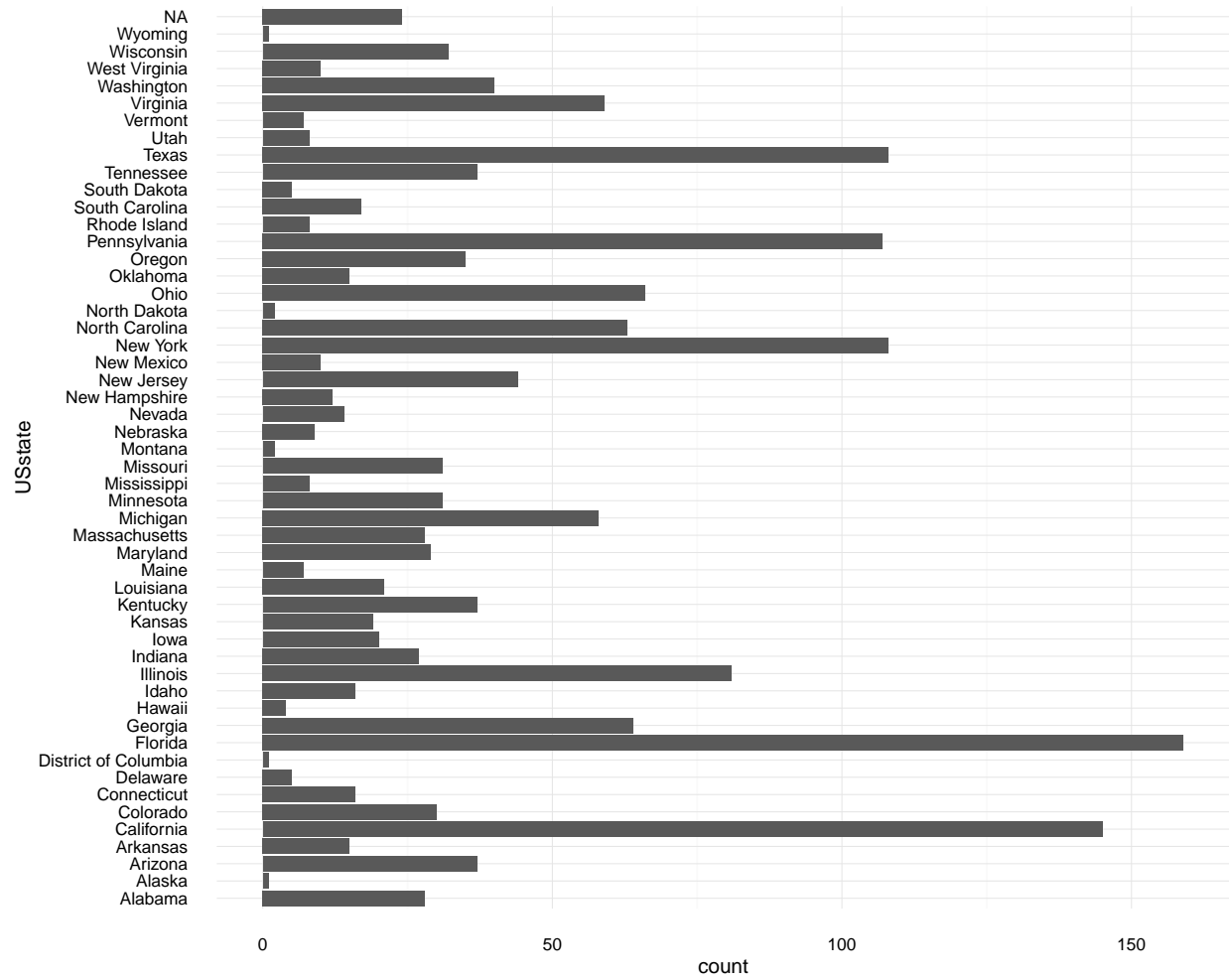|	n	min	max	mean	sd
Gender	1732	1	2	1.47	0.50
Age	1737	0	1982	36.55	48.08
Education	1732	1	8	4.21	1.35
Race	1723	1	7	1.45	1.11
Income	1690	1	11	5.71	2.99
Pol7scale	1723	1	8	3.55	1.80
PolParty	1678	1	4	2.72	0.82
StrDem	716	0	1	0.47	0.50
StrRep	343	0	1	0.37	0.48
DemRep	608	1	4	2.29	1.36
MilExp	1729	0	1	0.06	0.23
MilAssert_1	1735	1	5	2.58	1.15
MilAssert_2	1735	1	5	3.27	1.05
MilAssert_3	1735	1	5	3.41	1.06

Figure 15: **Distribution of Responses: US State**