Vicarious Retribution in U.S. Public Support for War Against Iraq

Appendix for Online Publication

Table A1. Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Multi-item Measures

Survey Question	Factor	Loading
How did you feel during the first few hours after learning the news about the terrorist attacks:[a] Angry		.85
Desire to fight back	Anger9/01	.88
Hatred		.81
Outrage		.83
Vulnerable	Fear9/01	.90
Frightened		.78
How much have your feelings about the following groups changed since September 11:[b] People who live in Islamic or Middle Eastern countries	Anti-Arab	.91
Palestinians		.89
Arab-American U.S. citizens		.84
Fire fighters		.80
American political leaders	Pro- American	.78
Americans as a whole		.72
Police		.73
How do you feel, right now, about the events of September 11:[a] Angry		.87
Desire to fight back		.83
Hatred	Anger1/02	.79
Outrage		.81
Frightened	Fear1/02	.89
Vulnerable		.86
How worried are you about: [c] Future terrorist attacks?		.87
Getting infected with anthrax?	Terror Worry	.79
Other kinds of bioterrorism?		.86
Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with the following statements: [d]		
The way our country can get through future crises is to get back to our traditional values, put tough leaders in power, and silence trouble makers spreading bad ideas.		.90
Our country will be great if we honor the way of our forefathers, do what authorities tell us, and get rid of the 'rotten apples' who are ruining everything.	RWA	.87
Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fiber and traditional beliefs.		.88
Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us.		.80

Superscripted notes indicate response options: a) not at all, slightly, moderately, much, very much; b) much more positive, more positive, no change, more negative, much more negative (reversed for the *Pro-American* items); c) not at all, slightly, moderately, a lot, very much; d) strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, strongly agree. Apart from the *Terror Worry* items, all items randomized beneath each question stem, and intermixed with additional items not shown here (except for *RWA*). Estimated by the Mplus 7.1 program's weighted-least-squared means- and variance-adjusted estimator, to minimize bias from categorical and non-normal data (Byrne, 2012; Muthén & Muthén, 2012). Factor loading figures are standardized ordered probit coefficients, all significant at p<0.001. There are no cross-factor loadings in the model (i.e., all are constrained to zero). Model statistics: N=595; Chi-square 518.35 (df=266), p<.000; RMSEA=0.04; CFI=0.98; TLI=0.98; WRMR=0.936; all indicating a good fit with the data, except for Chi-square, which tends to be inflated by large samples and non-normal data. The recommended threshholds are <=0.05 for Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), >0.95 for Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI), and <0.95 for Weighted Root Mean Square Residual (WRMR).

Table A2. Zero-Order Correlations, Multi-Item Measures

	Anger 9/01	Fear 9/01	Anti-Arab	Pro-American	Anger 1/02	Fear 1/02	Terror Worry
Fear9/01	.26	—					
Anti-Arab	.29	.06^{ns}	—				
Pro-American	.25	.23	.13**	—			
Anger1/02	.72	.25	.43	.40	—		
Fear1/02	.25	.68	.14**	.27	.51	—	
Terror Worry	.26	.51	.22	.19**	.45	.77	—
RWA	.27	.03^{ns}	.18	.35	.34	.21	.22

Figures are the correlations among latent variables, estimated from the CFA model detailed in Table A2. All correlations significant at p<0.001 except as noted: ns p>0.10; † p<0.1; ** p<0.01.

Table A3. Predictors of support for expanding "the war on terrorism…to Iraq and any other country suspected of harboring or encouraging terrorists."

	(1) Iraq War	(2) Iraq War	(3) Iraq War	(4) Iraq War
Anti-Arab	0.53***		0.46***	
	(0.09)		(0.08)	
Anger9/01	0.41***	0.33***	0.23*	
	(0.10)	(0.09)	(0.10)	
Anger9/01 X Anti-Arab	0.22*			
	(0.11)			
Fear	-0.14	-0.33*	-0.28*	
	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.14)	
Fear X Anti-Arab	-0.46**			
	(0.15)			
Terror Worry	0.13	0.28*	0.17	
	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.14)	
Terror Worry X Anti-Arab	0.40**			
	(0.15)			
Pro-American		0.46***	0.49***	
		(0.12)	(0.11)	
Conservative		0.55*	0.53*	0.34
		(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.52)
RWA		0.43***	0.40***	
		(0.10)	(0.10)	
Male		0.19†	0.16	
		(0.11)	(0.11)	
Black[a]		0.00	0.08	
		(0.23)	(0.22)	
Age		-0.17	-0.24	
		(0.34)	(0.34)	
Education		-0.21	-0.22	-1.39*
		(0.34)	(0.32)	(0.65)
Income		0.43	0.32	
		(0.30)	(0.29)	
Conservative X Education				1.15
				(1.04)
Constant 1	-1.55***	-1.23***	-1.42***	-1.57***
	(0.10)	(0.33)	(0.31)	(0.34)
Constant 2	-0.58***	-0.19	-0.32	-0.67*
	(0.07)	(0.32)	(0.30)	(0.32)
Constant 3	0.25***	0.66*	0.58†	0.06
	(0.07)	(0.31)	(0.30)	(0.32)
Log likelihood	-675.60	-650.07	-627.68	-722.90
Chi2 (df)	93.78 (7)	112.51 (11)	165.72 (12)	25.56 (3)
Pseud. R2	0.10	0.12	0.15	0.03
Observations	600	594	594	595

Two-tailed significance levels indicated by: † $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (two-tailed)

The "strongly disagree" and "disagree" categories of the dependent variable were combined to satisfy the parallel regression assumption. Figures are unstandardized ordered probit coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses; estimates employ sampling weights and listwise deletion of missing data. [a]In preliminary models, Hispanics and "other" were not significantly different from "White, non-Hispanic," and so these categories were collapsed in the rest of our analyses.

Table A4. Predictors of Anti-Arab, Anger9/01, and Anger1/02

	(1) Anti-Arab	(2) Anti-Arab	(3) Anti-Arab	(4) Anger9/01	(5) Anger9/01-Anger1/02	(6) Anger1/02
Anti-Arab					-0.12***	0.17***
					(0.03)	(0.03)
Anger9/01	0.26***	0.24***				0.66***
	(0.06)	(0.06)				(0.03)
Anger9/01 X Anti-Arab						0.07*
						(0.03)
Fear	-0.20*	-0.19*				0.50***
	(0.09)	(0.09)				(0.05)
Fear X Anti-Arab						-0.09†
						(0.05)
Terror Worry	0.31***	0.30***				-0.10*
	(0.08)	(0.08)				(0.05)
Terror Worry X Anti-Arab						0.03
						(0.05)
Pro-American	0.04	0.03				
	(0.08)	(0.08)				
Conservative	0.12	0.10	0.09	-0.30		
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.34)	(0.30)		
RWA	0.09	0.09				
	(0.06)	(0.06)				
Male	0.08	0.06				
	(0.07)	(0.07)				
Black[a]	-0.20†	-0.21†				
	(0.11)	(0.12)				
Age	0.08	0.07				
	(0.21)	(0.21)				
Education	-0.11	-0.11	-0.64	-1.35***		
	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.46)	(0.37)		
Income	0.26	0.28†				
	(0.16)	(0.16)				
Strong		0.05				
		(0.04)				
Conservative X Educ.			0.38	1.14†		
			(0.76)	(0.60)		
Constant	-0.18	-0.34†	0.16	0.43*	-0.00	-0.02
	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Adjusted R^2	0.163	0.165	0.017	0.052	0.035	0.794
Observations	597	593	598	598	595	595

Two-tailed significance levels indicated by: † $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Figures are unstandardized linear regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses; estimates employ sampling weights and listwise deletion of missing data.

[a]In preliminary models, Hispanics and "other" were not significantly different from "White, non-Hispanic," and so these categories were collapsed.

Table A5. Path Model Testing Indirect Effect of September 2001 Anger on War Support, Mediated by Anti-Arab/Muslim Affect

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Excerpted Mplus 7.11 output

SUMMARY OF ANALYSIS

Number of groups                                              1
Number of observations                                     597

Number of dependent variables                                2
Number of independent variables                             11
Number of continuous latent variables                        0

Estimator                                                WLSMV
Maximum number of iterations                              1000
Convergence criterion                                0.500D-04
Maximum number of steepest descent iterations               20
Maximum number of iterations for H1                       2000
Convergence criterion for H1                         0.100D-03
Number of bootstrap draws
    Requested                                              500
    Completed                                              500
Parameterization                                         DELTA

MODEL FIT INFORMATION

Number of Free Parameters                       28

WRMR (Weighted Root Mean Square Residual)

        Value                               0.002


MODEL RESULTS
                                              Two-Tailed
                 Estimate    S.E.   Est./S.E.  P-Value

  IRAQ_WAR ON
     MALE          0.157    0.104    1.505     0.132
     BLACK         0.086    0.169    0.508     0.611
     AGE          -0.206    0.282   -0.731     0.465
     EDUC         -0.167    0.259   -0.644     0.520
     INCOME        0.321    0.238    1.350     0.177
     CONSERV       0.500    0.185    2.705     0.007
     RWA           0.392    0.080    4.877     0.000
     TER_WORRY     0.144    0.117    1.234     0.217
     PROAMERCN     0.448    0.092    4.842     0.000
     FEAR         -0.239    0.125   -1.905     0.057
     ANGER9/01     0.222    0.075    2.966     0.003
     ANTI_ARAB     0.434    0.063    6.863     0.000

  ANTI_ARABON
     MALE          0.076    0.061    1.237     0.216
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BLACK	−0.196	0.094	−2.091	0.037
AGE	0.078	0.171	0.458	0.647
EDUC	−0.112	0.166	−0.677	0.498
INCOME	0.262	0.136	1.925	0.054
CONSERV	0.121	0.131	0.923	0.356
RWA	0.088	0.051	1.727	0.084
TER_WORRY	0.310	0.072	4.322	0.000
PROAMERCN	0.037	0.060	0.624	0.533
FEAR	−0.200	0.077	−2.591	0.010
ANGER9/01	0.259	0.048	5.423	0.000

Intercepts
ANTI_ARAB	−0.181	0.139	−1.296	0.195

Thresholds
IRAQ_WAR$1	−1.313	0.232	−5.648	0.000
IRAQ_WAR$2	−0.269	0.238	−1.134	0.257
IRAQ_WAR$3	0.584	0.235	2.488	0.013

Residual Variances
ANTI_ARAB	0.505	0.034	15.026	0.000

STANDARDIZED MODEL RESULTS

	StdYX Estimate	Std Estimate
IRAQ_WAR ON		
MALE	0.064	0.157
BLACK	0.022	0.086
AGE	−0.028	−0.206
EDUC	−0.028	−0.167
INCOME	0.059	0.321
CONSERV	0.110	0.500
RWA	0.240	0.392
TER_WORRY	0.097	0.144
PROAMERCN	0.234	0.448
FEAR	−0.157	−0.239
ANGER9/01	0.136	0.222
ANTI_ARAB	0.279	0.434
ANTI_ARABON		
MALE	0.048	0.076
BLACK	−0.078	−0.196
AGE	0.016	0.078
EDUC	−0.029	−0.112
INCOME	0.075	0.262
CONSERV	0.042	0.121
RWA	0.084	0.088
TER_WORRY	0.326	0.310
PROAMERCN	0.030	0.037
FEAR	−0.205	−0.200
ANGER9/01	0.247	0.259

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 Intercepts
    ANTI_ARAB              -0.230        -0.181

 Thresholds
    IRAQ_WAR$1             -1.075        -1.313
    IRAQ_WAR$2             -0.221        -0.269
    IRAQ_WAR$3             0.478         0.584

 Residual Variances
    ANTI_ARAB              0.822         0.505


R-SQUARE

    Observed                     Residual
    Variable       Estimate      Variance

    IRAQ_WAR       0.393         0.905
    ANTI_ARAB      0.178


TOTAL, TOTAL INDIRECT, SPECIFIC INDIRECT, AND DIRECT EFFECTS


                                          Two-Tailed
                   Estimate      S.E.   Est./S.E.   P-Value

Effects from T1ANGER_ to IRAQ_WAR

  Total            0.335        0.073     4.609      0.000
  Total indirect   0.113        0.025     4.429      0.000

  Specific indirect

    IRAQ_WAR
    ARAB_3
    T1ANGER_       0.113        0.025     4.429      0.000

  Direct
    IRAQ_WAR
    T1ANGER_       0.222        0.075     2.966      0.003


STANDARDIZED TOTAL, TOTAL INDIRECT, SPECIFIC INDIRECT, AND DIRECT EFFECTS


STDYX Standardization

                                          Two-Tailed
                   Estimate      S.E.   Est./S.E.   P-Value

Effects from T1ANGER_ to IRAQ_WAR

  Total            0.205        0.042     4.827      0.000
  Total indirect   0.069        0.016     4.376      0.000
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Specific indirect

       IRAQ_WAR
       ARAB_3
       T1ANGER_   0.069   0.016   4.376   0.000

     Direct
       IRAQ_WAR
       T1ANGER_   0.136   0.044   3.089   0.002

CONFIDENCE INTERVALS OF TOTAL, TOTAL INDIRECT, SPECIFIC INDIRECT, AND DIRECT EFFECTS

                  Lower .5% Lower 2.5%   Lower 5%   Estimate   Upper 5% Upper 2.5%   Upper .5%

Effects from T1ANGER_ to IRAQ_WAR

  Total   0.147   0.202   0.225   0.335   0.462   0.484   0.534
  Total indirect   0.050   0.066   0.073   0.113   0.156   0.165   0.178

  Specific indirect

    IRAQ_WAR
    ARAB_3
    T1ANGER_   0.050   0.066   0.073   0.113   0.156   0.165   0.178

  Direct
    IRAQ_WAR
    T1ANGER_   0.032   0.078   0.098   0.222   0.341   0.378   0.423

CONFIDENCE INTERVALS OF STANDARDIZED TOTAL, TOTAL INDIRECT, SPECIFIC INDIRECT,
AND DIRECT EFFECTS

STDYX Standardization

                  Lower .5% Lower 2.5%   Lower 5%   Estimate   Upper 5% Upper 2.5%   Upper .5%

Effects from T1ANGER_ to IRAQ_WAR

  Total   0.096   0.122   0.135   0.205   0.275   0.288   0.314
  Total indirect   0.028   0.038   0.043   0.069   0.095   0.100   0.110

  Specific indirect

    IRAQ_WAR
    ARAB_3
    T1ANGER_   0.028   0.038   0.043   0.069   0.095   0.100   0.110

  Direct
    IRAQ_WAR
    T1ANGER_   0.023   0.050   0.064   0.136   0.208   0.222   0.249

References

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