Appendix: Public Attitudes Towards Military Alliances

June 16, 2021

1 Alliance Support by Foreign Policy Disposition

The manuscript reports analyses that divide respondents by partisanship and foreign policy disposition. In this section of the appendix, I report subgroup analyses by foreign policy disposition alone. Figure 1 and Figure 2 show the distribution of alliance attitudes by hawkishness and isolationism.

Hawkish individuals are more likely to support alliance formation and maintenance, regardless of specific alliance characteristics. Hawks are also more responsive to cues from Republican Senators and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Doves pay more attention to cues from Democratic Senators. These partisan differences are evident in the manuscript results as well.

Isolationism does not reduce baseline support for alliances, but it affects individual responses to elite cues. Internationalist respondents are more receptive to elite cues, as Figure 2 shows. Although isolationists and internationalists express similar support for alliance participation across most alliance attributes, support among internationalists diverges strongly in response to elite cues. As a result, isolationists report higher alliance support than internationalists when elites oppose treaty formation.

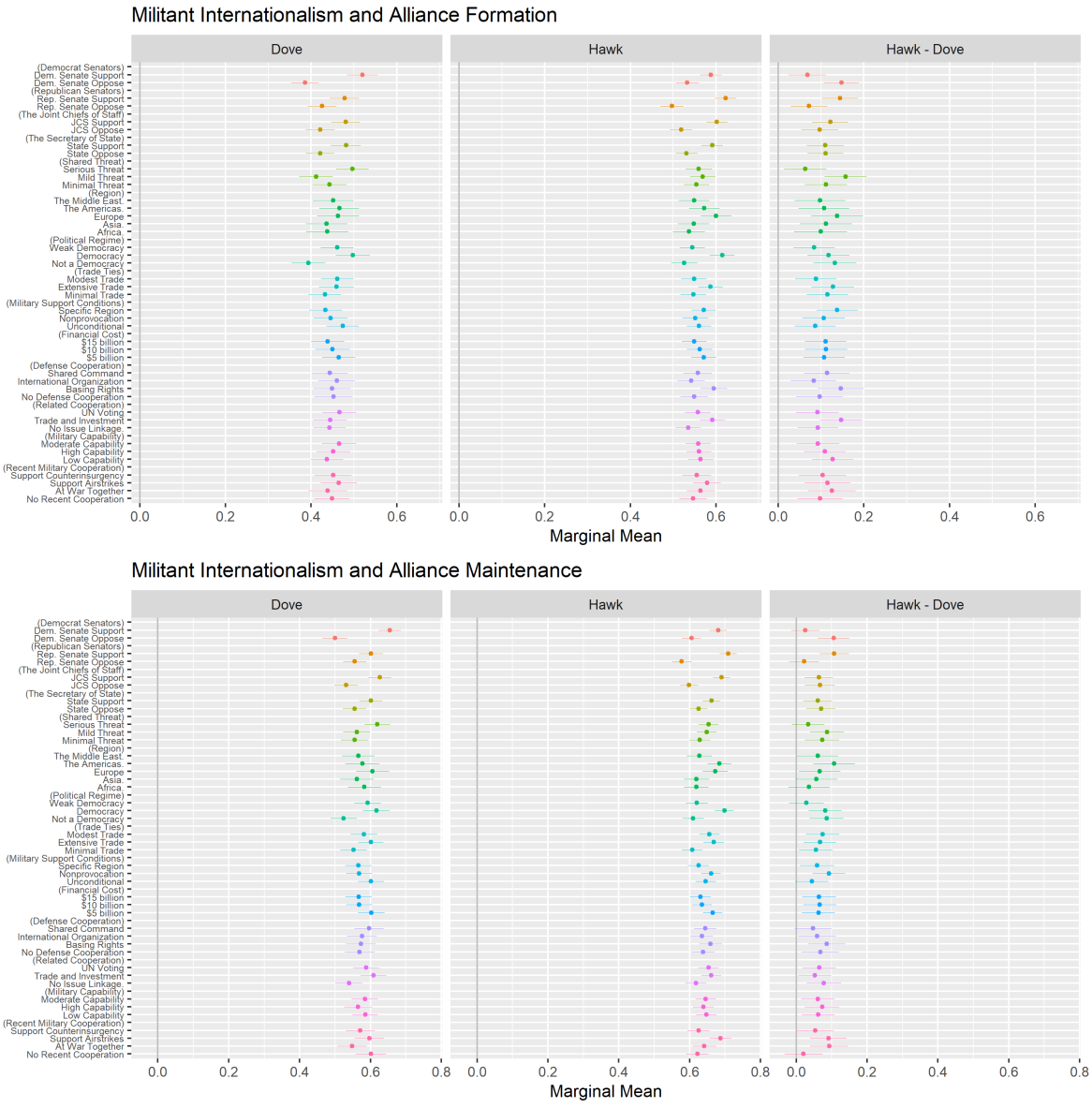

Figure 1: Marginal means of support for forming or maintaining a hypothetical alliances by militant internationalism. For each experiment, the left two panels plot the marginal mean of support for alliance participation among hawks and doves under different alliance treatments. The rightmost panel plots the difference between these groups. Components marked with abbreviated labels to make the plot more legible.

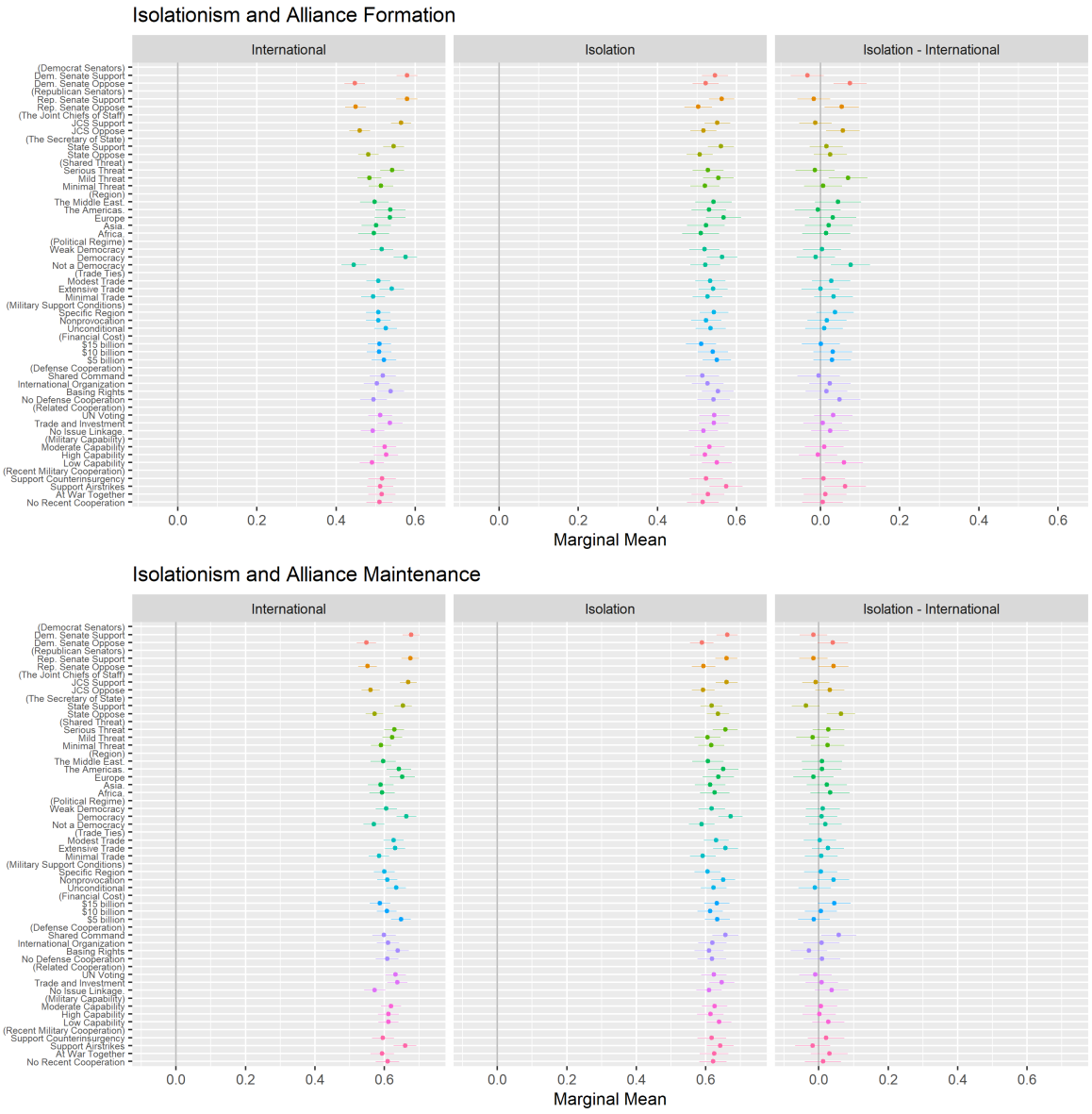

Figure 2: Marginal means of support for forming or maintaining a hypothetical alliances by partisanship. For each experiment, the left two panels plot the marginal mean of support for maintaining an alliance among isolationists and internationalists under different alliance treatments. The rightmost panel plots the difference between these groups. Components marked with abbreviated labels to make the plot more legible.

2 Partisan Differences in Alliance Attitudes

This section considers partisan differences in alliance attitudes without reference to foreign policy dispositions. It also summarizes the alliance attitudes of independents who expressed no partisan affiliation or lean. Figure 3 plots the marginal mean of support for alliances with different characteristics across Democrats, independents, and Republicans, along with the estimated differences in marginal means.

Democrats and Republicans respond primarily to copartisan elites. Support for new and existing alliances is much higher for Democrats when Democratic Senators support the alliance. Similarly, Republicans follow the cues of Republican Senators.

There are clear partisan differences in baseline alliance attitudes. Democrats are more likely to support alliance formation and maintenance regardless of alliance characteristics, relative to Republicans. Independents are similar to Republicans in their attitudes towards alliance maintenance, but they are skeptical of forming new treaty commitments. Republicans also place more weight on recent military cooperation.

Independents are more likely to support alliances with backing from Republican Senators, but otherwise are less responsive to alliance characteristics and elite cues. As a result, there are substantial differences between the partisan groups. An omnibus F-test finds significant differences between models that interact partisanship and the various treatments with unconditional models of alliance formation and maintenance.

Besides elite cues, there are other salient differences in how partisans respond to alliance attributes. Established democracy in an ally increases Republican support, but allied democracy exerts more influence on Democrats, who also back alliances with weak democracies. Among Democrats, the marginal means of support for alliance formation and maintenance are similar when the partner is not a democracy or Democratic Senators oppose the alliance. The partisan democracy differences are less pronounced in the alliance formation experiment, however.

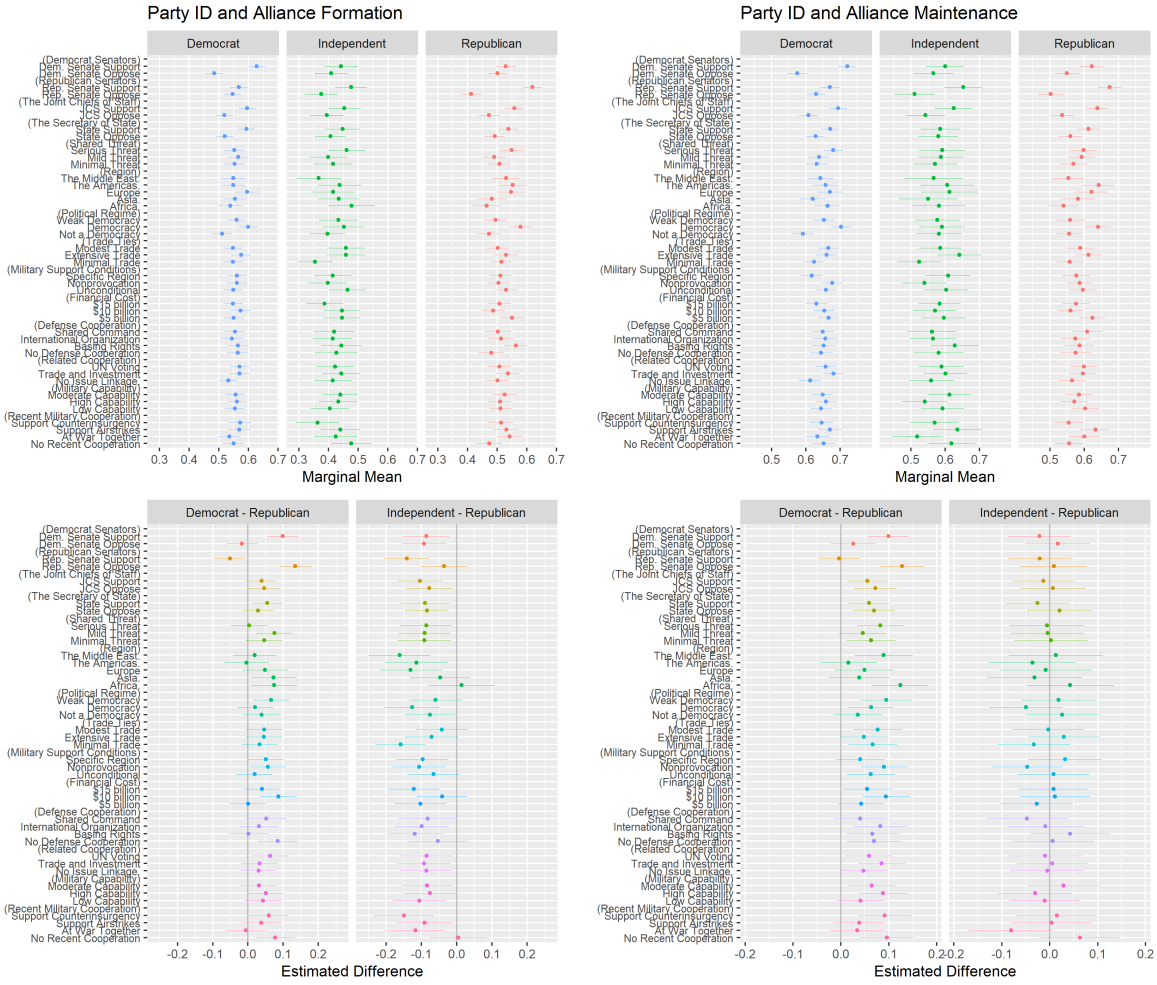

Figure 3: Marginal means of support for forming or maintaining a hypothetical alliances by partisanship. For each experiment, the left two panels plot the marginal mean of support for maintaining an alliance among Democrats and Republicans under different alliance treatments and the rightmost panel plots the difference between these groups. Components marked with abbreviated labels to make the plot more legible.

There are also noteworthy partisan differences in attitudes towards alliances in different regions. Republicans are less likely to support new or existing alliances with African countries. Existing Middle Eastern alliances also have lower support among Republicans, relative to Democrats.

Overall, Figure 3 reveals clear partisan differences in alliance attitudes. Partisans look primarily to cues from co-partisan elites, but they also value different alliance characteristics. These differences are consistent with the findings in the manuscript, as they reflect aggregate attitudes across the varying foreign policy dispositions within each party.

3 Open-Ended Alliance Attitude Question

To further examine the sources of alliance attitudes, I asked respondents to identify the most important factors behind their support or opposition to the hypothetical alliances in an open-ended question. Roughly half of the respondents gave no valid response, which limits the utility of the following analysis. It does provide some useful insight into the individual characteristics that predict particular emphases in alliance attitudes, however.

After reading open-ended questions, I created three dummy indicators of general alliance attributes. The first takes on a value of one for mentions of elite cues in a generic sense, bipartisan, partisan leaders, military, and diplomatic cues. The second has a value of one if a respondent references alliance partner attributes such as trade, regime type, threat, region, recent military cooperation and capability. The last indicator captures any mention of alliance obligations, including cost, issue linkages, defense cooperation and conditions on military support. These three variables are not mutually exclusive, because some respondents highlighted multiple factors from different categories.

Because individuals highlight multiple alliance attributes, I analyze the open-ended responses with a trivariate probit model, which captures correlations between the different response classes. Each equation of the model predicts open-ended response content using individual characteristics,

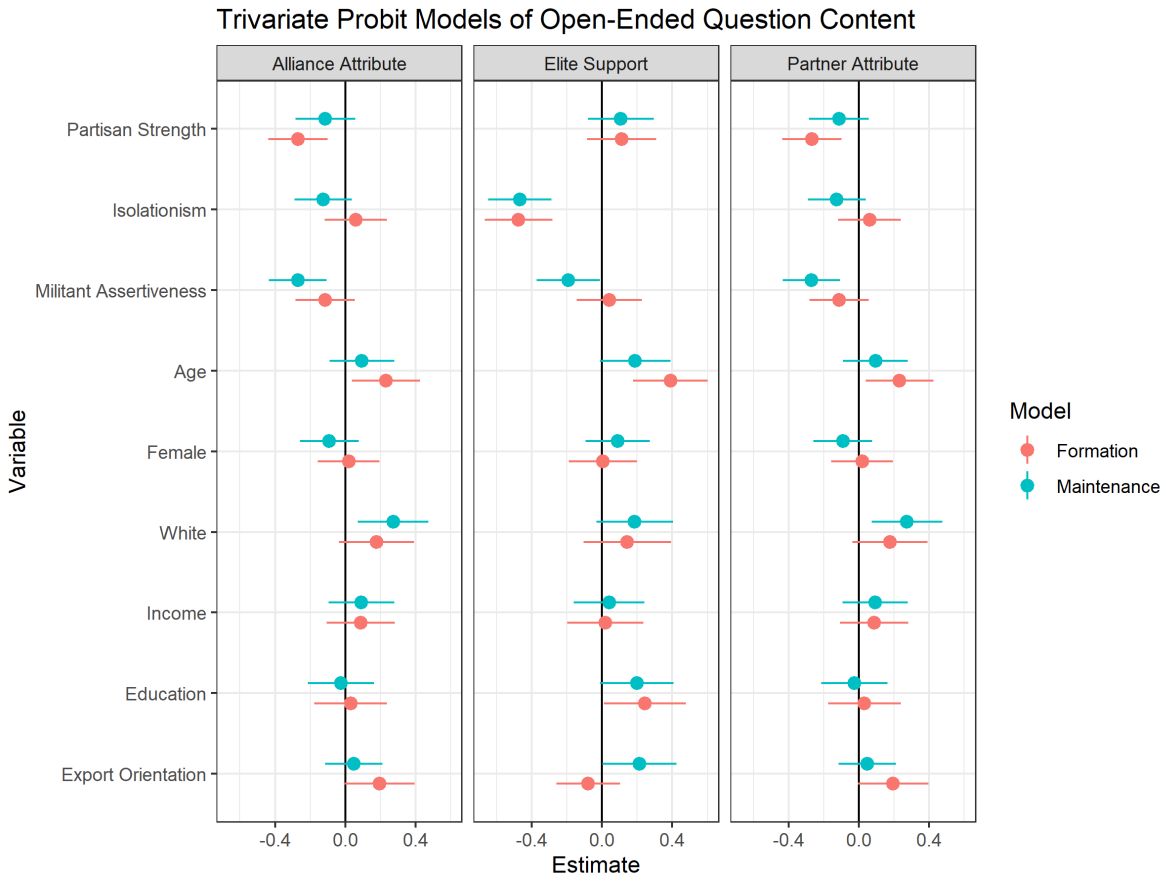

Figure 4: Coefficient estimates from trivariate probit models of open-ended response content in the alliance formation and maintenance experiments. Points mark the coefficient estimates, and error bars capture the 95% confidence intervals. Colors differentiate between the formation and maintenance experiments. All continuous variables rescaled by two deviations.

including the strength of individual partisan attachment, international economic interests, gender, race, education, region and income. To ensure that the coefficient magnitudes are comparable, I rescaled the continuous variables by two standard deviations. I estimate the trivariate probit model using the Joint Generalized Regression estimator of Braumoeller et al. (2018).[1] I fit separate trivariate probit models to the open ended responses in each experiment.

I plot the probit coefficients for each equation of two models in Figure 4. These estimates of the relationship between indidividual concerns and open-ended response content reveal further

[1]The pre-analysis plan stated that I would use Bayesian estimation of the multivariate probit model. Unfortunately, this proved impractical, as the Bayesian model would not converge and was numerically unstable.

patterns that are consistent with the results in the manuscript. As isolationism increases, individuals are less likely to mention elite cues as a key factor in their responses.[2] Hawkish individuals are less likely to mention any experimental treatment, especially in the maintenance experiment. This reflects hawks' tendency to express strong alliance support regardless of experimental treatments. Last, stronger partisan attachment makes individuals less likely to mention alliance or partner attributes.

There are a few other noteworthy patterns. Greater education is positively correlated with mentioning elite support. A two-standard deviation increase in age also increases the likelihood of mentioning all three factors. Individuals with economic ties to export-oriented sectors follow elites on alliance maintenance, but pay more attention to partner and alliance attributes in alliance formation.

[2]Two respondents in the formation experiment explicitly called themselves isolationists.

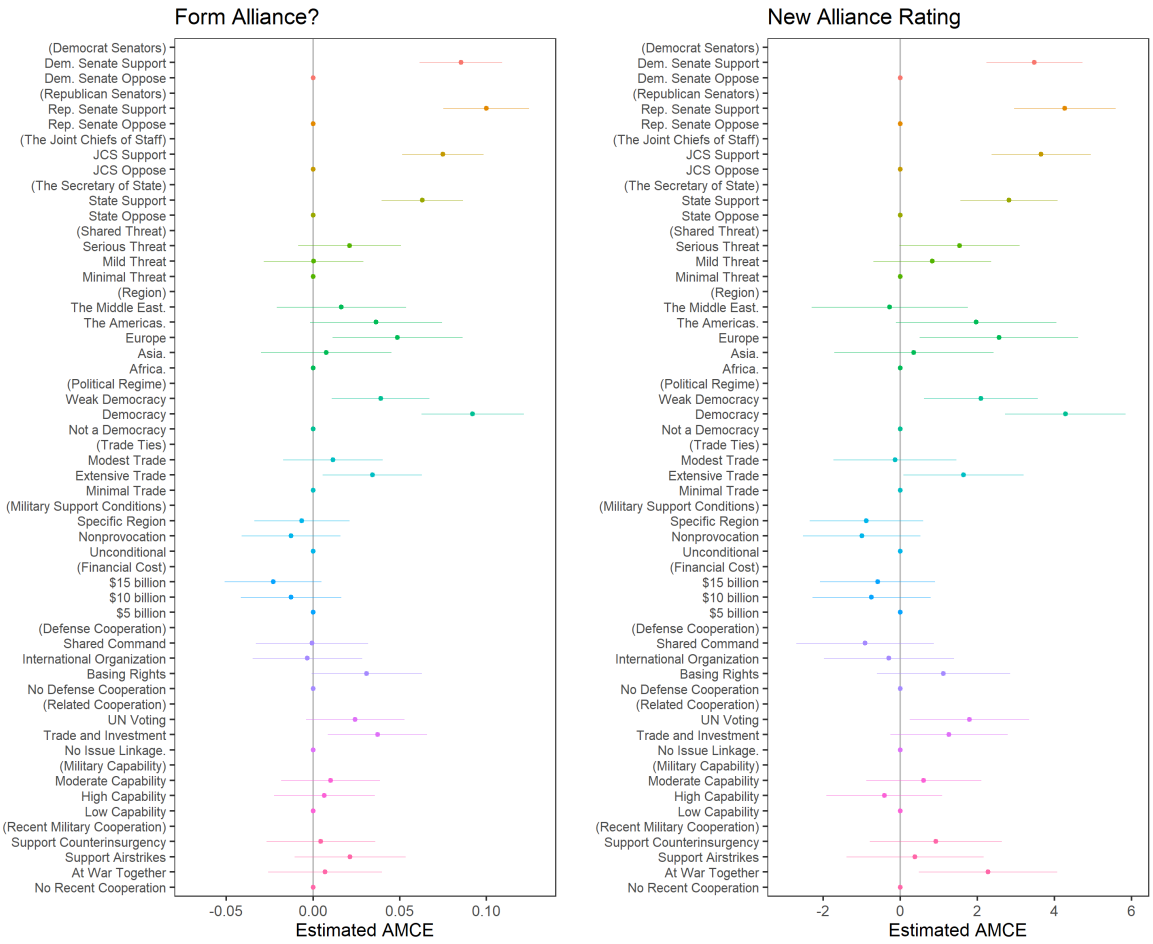

Figure 5: Unconditional AMCE estimates for alliance formation choices and ratings.

4 Ratings Results

In the experiments, I ask respondents to answer yes or no on alliance formation or maintenance and provide a numeric rating of the alliance. Ratings range from zero to 100, where 0 is a poor alliance and 100 is a great alliance. This section of the appendix compares that the choice and rating results. To do this, Figure 5 and Figure 6 compare the unconditional AMCE estimates for the rating and choice measures in both experiments.

Regardless of the outcome measure, I make similar inferences about treatment effects in the two conjoint experiments. Democracy and elite cues are the dominant influences on support for

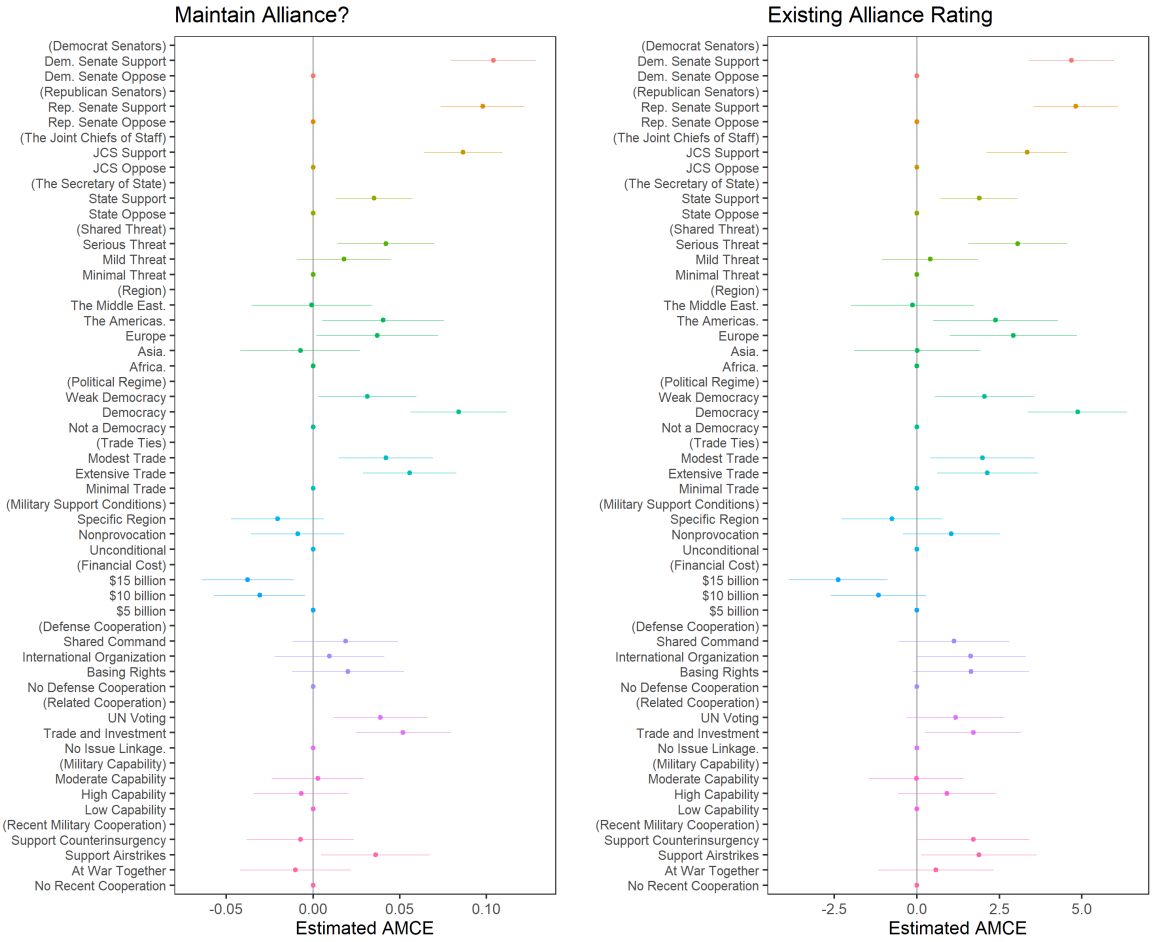

Figure 6: Unconditional AMCE estimates for alliance maintenance choices and ratings.

new and existing alliances. Inferences about more marginal factors are also similar, with some exceptions.

There are minor differences between the choice and ratings results. In the alliance formation experiment, past support in war from a prospective ally has a much stronger effect on ratings. For alliance maintenance, there is a substantial difference in ratings between alliances with an annual cost of $15 billion, relative to $10 billion. The ratings results also show more evidence of a small positive impact for defense cooperation and recent military cooperation.

Although the choice outcome reflects important policy issues, the rating measure has a more intuitive interpretation. On a scale from zero to 100, most factors have null or small effects. Only

partisan elite cues and consolidated alliance democracy increase alliance ratings by more than three points.

As with the choice measure, partisanship and foreign policy dispositions create substantial differences in alliance ratings. Figure 7 and Figure 8 plot the marginal means of individual alliance ratings across partisanship and foreign policy dispositions. The patterns in these figures are very similar to the choice outcome results in the manuscript.

While foreign policy dispositions clearly impact alliance ratings, there are also partisan differences that match those in the manuscript. Hawkish and dovish Republicans have the lowest alliance ratings. Hawkish and isolationist Democrats express high ratings of alliances in general. Last, hawkish Republicans and internationalist Democrats are most responsive to elite cues.

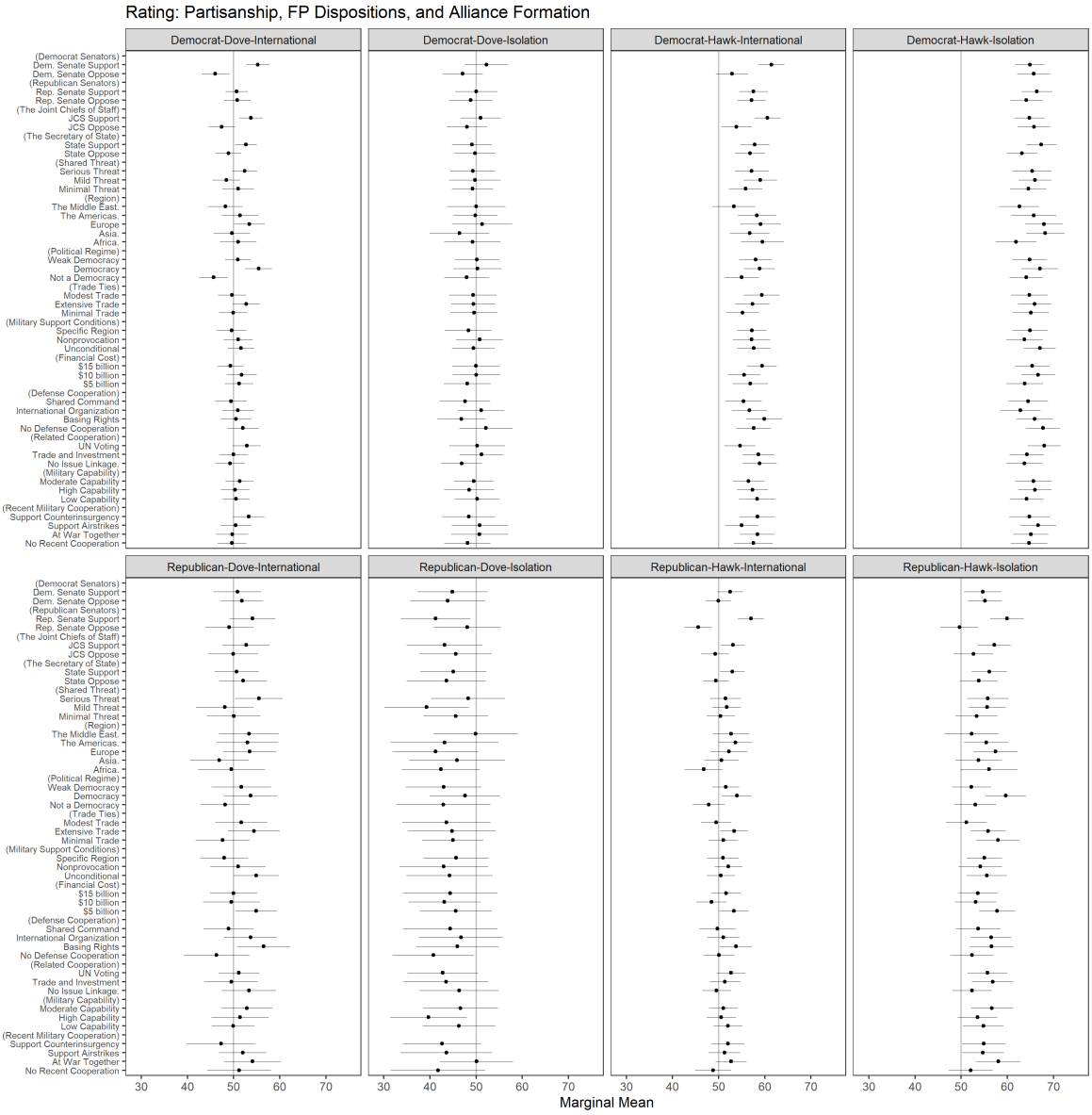

Figure 7: Marginal means of ratings for hypothetical new alliances across party identification and foreign policy dispositions. For each group, the estimates mark the marginal mean of support for alliance participation under different alliance treatments. Components marked with abbreviated labels to make the plot more legible. Independents omitted.

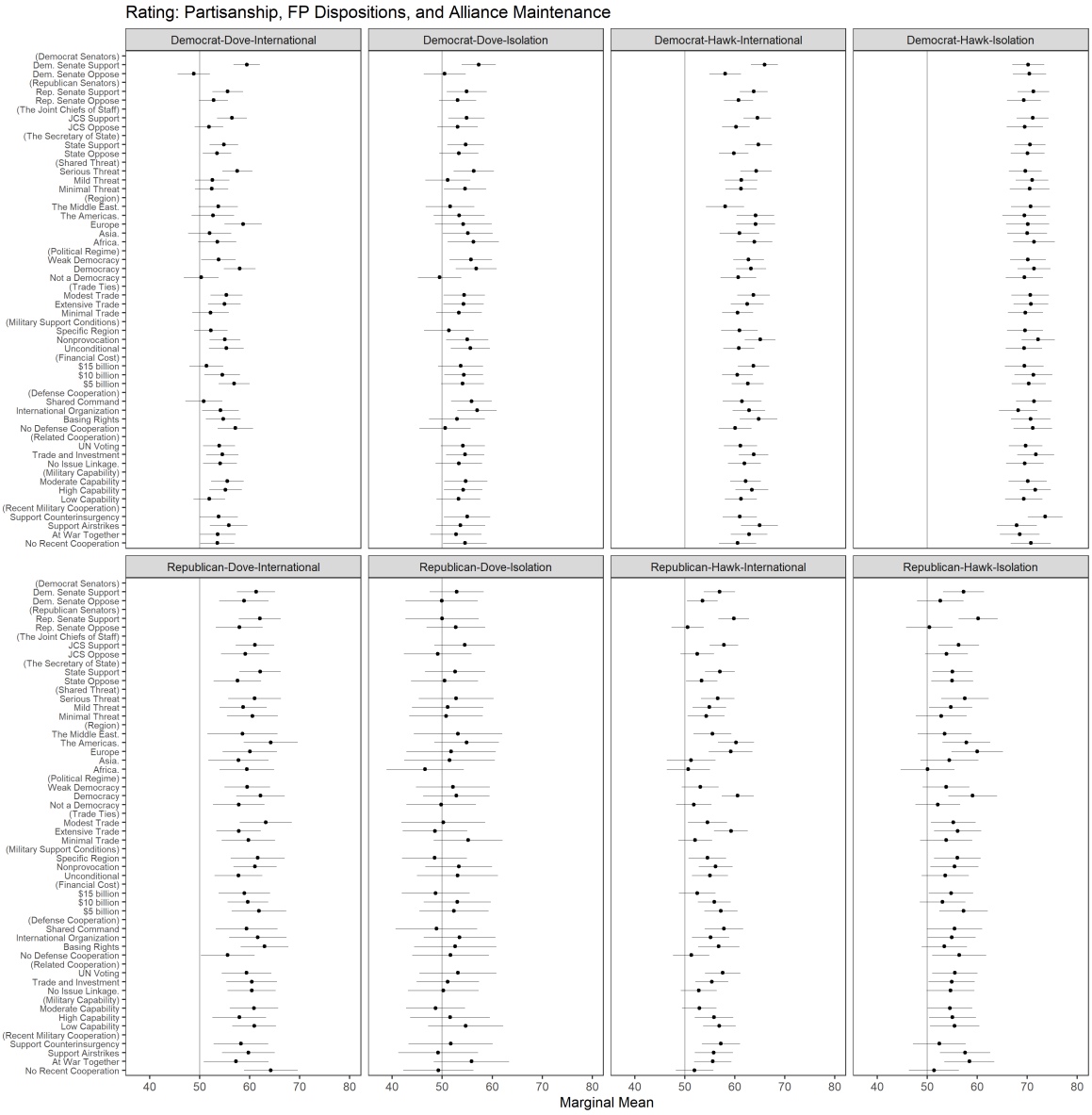

Figure 8: Marginal means of ratings for hypothetical existing alliances across party identification and foreign policy dispositions. For each group, the estimates mark the marginal mean of support for alliance participation under different alliance treatments. Components marked with abbreviated labels to make the plot more legible. Independents omitted.

5 Distribution of Foreign Policy Dispositions

In this section, I list the number of respondents in each group of partisanship and foreign policy dispositions. Table 1 summarizes these values for the alliance maintenance experiment. Table 2 contains the same information for the alliance formation experiment.

Disposition	Number of Respondents
Republican-Dove-International	69
Independent-Dove-International	82
Democrat-Dove-International	240
Republican-Hawk-International	236
Independent-Hawk-International	71
Democrat-Hawk-International	242
Republican-Dove-Isolation	53
Independent-Dove-Isolation	46
Democrat-Dove-Isolation	134
Republican-Hawk-Isolation	180
Independent-Hawk-Isolation	34
Democrat-Hawk-Isolation	194

Table 1: Number of respondents in each group of partisanship and foreign policy disposition for the alliance maintenance experiment.

The distribution of foreign policy dispositions within different partisan affiliations is fairly similar across the two experiments. Most Republicans are hawkish, with a slight preponderance of hawkish internationalists. Democrats tend to be more internationalist, but are more equally split between the different foreign policy dispositions. The few independents lean internationalist, but have a relatively even distribution of foreign policy dispositions.

Disposition	Number of Respondents
Republican-Dove-International	81
Independent-Dove-International	65
Democrat-Dove-International	232
Republican-Hawk-International	268
Independent-Hawk-International	76
Democrat-Hawk-International	223
Republican-Dove-Isolation	47
Independent-Dove-Isolation	43
Democrat-Dove-Isolation	120
Republican-Hawk-Isolation	190
Independent-Hawk-Isolation	48
Democrat-Hawk-Isolation	213

Table 2: Number of respondents in each group of partisanship and foreign policy disposition for the alliance formation experiment.

6 Frequency of Conjoint Treatments

Figure 9 shows that the conjoint attributes appeared at similar rates in both experiments.

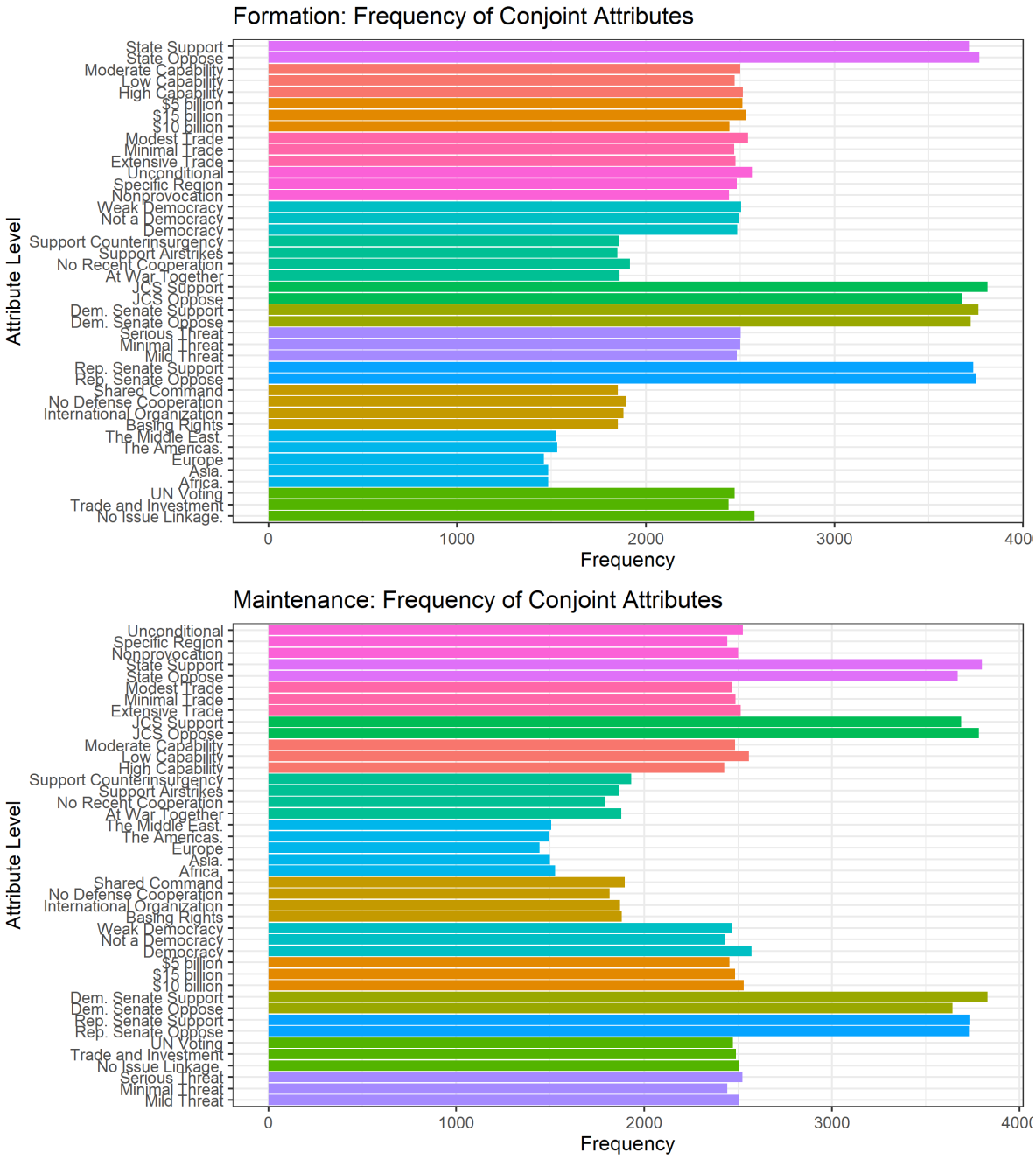

Figure 9: Frequency of each conjoint experiment attribute in the alliance formation and maintenance conjoint experiments. Colors mark the attribute, while the y-axis values specify each level.

References

Braumoeller, Bear F, Giampiero Marra, Rosalba Radice and Aisha E Bradshaw. 2018. "Flexible causal inference for political science." *Political Analysis* 26(1):54–71.