Appendix for New Questions for an Old Alliance: NATO in Cyberspace and American Public Opinion

June 23, 2022

Contents

A Further Discussion of Experimental Results **3**
A.1 Variation in Support for Retaliatory Options 3
A.2 Individual-Level Differences in Responses 3
A.2.1 Experiment 1: Scandinavia 3
A.2.2 Experiment 2: Afghan 3
A.2.3 Experiment 3: Precedent 4
A.2.4 Experiment 4: Estonia 4

B Experiment 1: Scandinavia **4**
B.1 Full Results 4
B.2 Questionnaire 26

C Experiment 2: Afghan Attack **28**
C.1 Full Results 28
C.2 Questionnaire 37

D Experiment 3: Precedent **39**
D.1 Full Results 39
D.2 Questionnaire 48

E Experiment 4: Estonia **50**
E.1 Full Results 50
E.2 Questionnaire 81

F April Experiment Details **83**
F.1 Recruitment 83
F.2 Participant Variables 83
F.3 Participant Variables Details 84

G December Experiment Details **91**
G.1 Participant Variables Questionnaire 91

A Further Discussion of Experimental Results

Space considerations limited our discussion of two points in the main text: variation between support for retaliatory options and individual heterogeneity in responses. We provide some additional notes here regarding these topics.

A.1 Variation in Support for Retaliatory Options

Throughout our vignettes, we present different response options (also referred to as "specific strategies") to respondents. In general, we find that there is substantially less support for some strategy types than others. For instance, in results from the Afghan experiment below, we show that airstrikes and cyber attacks are ranked 30 to 37 points lower on a 100-point scale than levying sanctions or indicting Russian officials. Support is even lower for airstrikes in the Precedent experiment. In the case of the Afghan experiment, this difference held only between types of responses, while our manipulations did not lead to any within-type variation in support. This lends credence to our ex-ante decision to construct an index of retaliation, as respondents tended to offer greater support for less escalatory/kinetic options.

A.2 Individual-Level Differences in Responses

We present a discussion of how different populations evaluated each scenario and responded to treatment, by experiment. Further discussion of the variables we measured is available in the details of experimental and questionnaire construction for each set of experiments.

A.2.1 Experiment 1: Scandinavia

Whites were more likely and Republicans less likely to support action to support a targeted country (although bear in mind there is substantial overlap in these populations). There is some evidence that higher-income individuals were also more likely to support action than the lowest-income respondents in our sample. More attentive respondents were also more likely to support action, as were those who trusted the federal government. Respondents who scored higher on cooperative internationalism were more likely to support a response, while those who scored higher on isolationism were less likely.

Subsetting treatment by groups yields similar results. Republicans were more elastic with respect to casualties than others, while all parties responded similarly to the main (ally) condition. Knowledgeable respondents were more elastic with regard to fatalities than less knowledgeable ones. Women were more sensitive to treaty conditions and casualties than men, while veterans (a small N) returned null results on all conditions.

A.2.2 Experiment 2: Afghan

Older respondents were more likely to support action while women and Republicans were less likely. More attentive respondents were similarly more likely to support action. Militant internationalists were strongly more likely to support action, while cooperative internationalists were somewhat more likely to support it.

A.2.3 Experiment 3: Precedent

Older respondents were more likely to support action, while Republicans were less likely. Respondents scoring high on militant and/or cooperative internationalism were also likely to support action.

A.2.4 Experiment 4: Estonia

Independents were less likely to support action than partisans, while college-educated respondents were likelier to support it. Attentive respondents were more likely to support action. An evaluation of variation in treatments by subgroup suggests that Democrats were more responsive to variation in Russian attribution than Republicans, while veterans were more likely to respond to civilian rather than military casualties (a small N, but the reverse of the general population).

B Experiment 1: Scandinavia

In this section, we present full results and additional results for the Scandinavia experiment.

B.1 Full Results

We begin by presenting the results shown in the main text in logistic regressions and ordinal logistic regression, as well as OLS.

Table 1: Scandinavia Experiment, Main DV (Dichotomous), Logit

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat
Country Type					
Norway	0.443**	0.505***	0.511***	0.512***	0.548***
	(3.28)	(3.48)	(3.48)	(3.52)	(3.46)
Casualties					
Twenty died	-0.00426	0.0330	0.0451	0.0183	-0.0150
	(-0.03)	(0.23)	(0.31)	(0.13)	(-0.10)
Demographics					
Age		0.0151*	0.00933	0.0153**	0.00579
		(2.57)	(1.49)	(2.59)	(0.85)
White Racial Identity		0.581***	0.561**	0.601***	0.475*
		(3.33)	(3.18)	(3.44)	(2.45)
Female Gender Identity		-0.175	-0.0191	-0.168	-0.211
		(-1.19)	(-0.12)	(-1.14)	(-1.31)
Hispanic Identity		0.510	0.525	0.501	0.661*

	(1.78)	(1.81)	(1.74)	(2.06)
College Degree	0.0559	0.00604	0.0326	0.0763
	(0.36)	(0.04)	(0.21)	(0.44)
Weak D	-0.516*	-0.500	-0.483	-0.254
	(-1.98)	(-1.88)	(-1.85)	(-0.87)
Lean D	-0.581	-0.585	-0.536	-0.261
	(-1.93)	(-1.90)	(-1.78)	(-0.76)
Independent	-1.380***	-1.372***	-1.272***	-0.821**
	(-5.40)	(-5.17)	(-4.88)	(-2.81)
Lean R	-1.241***	-1.168***	-1.122***	-0.555
	(-3.95)	(-3.64)	(-3.51)	(-1.55)
Weak R	-1.093***	-1.029***	-1.033***	-0.656*
	(-4.22)	(-3.87)	(-3.96)	(-2.19)
Strong R	-1.613***	-1.564***	-1.521***	-1.057***
	(-6.52)	(-6.23)	(-6.04)	(-3.44)
Veteran	0.346	0.228	0.349	0.387
	(1.04)	(0.67)	(1.04)	(1.09)
$25,000-50,000$	0.572*	0.524*	0.587**	0.331
	(2.57)	(2.33)	(2.63)	(1.33)
$50,000-100,000$	0.510*	0.484*	0.502*	0.178
	(2.34)	(2.20)	(2.30)	(0.72)
$100,000-200,000$	0.569*	0.460	0.543*	0.0567
	(2.08)	(1.66)	(1.98)	(0.19)
More than $200,000$	0.102	0.0750	0.0893	-0.318
	(0.25)	(0.18)	(0.22)	(-0.72)
Employed part-time	0.177	0.145	0.173	0.0619
	(0.85)	(0.69)	(0.83)	(0.27)
Not employed	-0.0923	-0.0941	-0.0778	-0.00613
	(-0.46)	(-0.47)	(-0.39)	(-0.03)
Attention	0.278*	0.269*	0.297*	0.294*
	(2.10)	(2.00)	(2.23)	(1.99)
Experiment Order Manipulation	-0.380**	-0.398**	-0.371**	-0.436**
	(-2.66)	(-2.76)	(-2.60)	(-2.80)
Mobile Operating System	0.642	0.628	0.643	0.393
	(1.77)	(1.73)	(1.77)	(1.04)
Frequency of News Consumption		0.0463		0.108
		(0.34)		(0.73)

News Importance			0.0877		0.00460
			(0.80)		(0.04)
News Personality Type			-0.273		-0.310
			(-1.43)		(-1.50)
Knowledge (Scan)			0.0738		
			(0.68)		
Knowledge (Stable)			0.417***		
			(3.71)		
Knowledge (Cheat)			-0.269		
			(-1.95)		
Trust in Federal Government				0.164*	
				(2.08)	
Militant Internationalism					0.171
					(1.93)
Cooperative Internationalism					0.300***
					(3.53)
Isolationism					-0.421***
					(-5.15)
Russia Warmth					-0.102
					(-1.77)
Scandinavia Warmth					0.243***
					(3.49)
Constant	1.163***	-0.435	-0.332	-0.780	-0.760
	(10.46)	(-0.70)	(-0.52)	(-1.21)	(-1.02)
Observations	1405	1344	1344	1344	1270

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 2: Scandinavia Experiment, Main DV (Ordinal), Ologit

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat
Country Type					
Norway	0.604***	0.646***	0.656***	0.650***	0.729***
	(6.21)	(6.41)	(6.49)	(6.45)	(6.90)
Casualties					
Twenty died	-0.0595	-0.0550	-0.0726	-0.0640	-0.129
	(-0.62)	(-0.55)	(-0.72)	(-0.64)	(-1.24)
Demographics					
Age		0.0144***	0.00856*	0.0142***	0.000493
		(3.61)	(2.00)	(3.54)	(0.11)
White Racial Identity		0.284*	0.271*	0.296*	0.127
		(2.23)	(2.13)	(2.32)	(0.94)
Female Gender Identity		-0.157	-0.0366	-0.148	-0.126
		(-1.53)	(-0.34)	(-1.44)	(-1.16)
Hispanic Identity		0.234	0.243	0.214	0.245
		(1.15)	(1.20)	(1.06)	(1.14)
College Degree		-0.144	-0.179	-0.159	-0.190
		(-1.30)	(-1.60)	(-1.44)	(-1.62)
Weak D		-0.631***	-0.550***	-0.606***	-0.417*
		(-3.98)	(-3.40)	(-3.81)	(-2.45)
Lean D		-0.599**	-0.559**	-0.553**	-0.322
		(-3.19)	(-2.93)	(-2.94)	(-1.61)
Independent		-1.206***	-1.067***	-1.101***	-0.546**
		(-6.81)	(-5.88)	(-6.07)	(-2.77)
Lean R		-1.122***	-0.985***	-0.998***	-0.215
		(-5.18)	(-4.46)	(-4.52)	(-0.88)
Weak R		-0.770***	-0.649***	-0.719***	-0.213
		(-4.58)	(-3.77)	(-4.25)	(-1.10)
Strong R		-1.293***	-1.263***	-1.201***	-0.639**
		(-7.67)	(-7.39)	(-6.98)	(-3.06)
Veteran		0.378	0.307	0.372	0.436*
		(1.75)	(1.41)	(1.72)	(1.98)
$25,000-50,000$		0.261	0.184	0.269	0.145
		(1.58)	(1.11)	(1.63)	(0.83)
$50,000-100,000$		0.363*	0.308	0.350*	0.0838

	(2.21)	(1.87)	(2.13)	(0.48)
$100,000-200,000$	0.510*	0.395*	0.488*	0.0882
	(2.57)	(1.97)	(2.45)	(0.42)
More than $200,000$	-0.191	-0.232	-0.200	-0.556
	(-0.63)	(-0.76)	(-0.66)	(-1.74)
Employed part-time	-0.157	-0.172	-0.155	-0.321*
	(-1.11)	(-1.21)	(-1.10)	(-2.17)
Not employed	-0.154	-0.128	-0.132	-0.126
	(-1.10)	(-0.91)	(-0.94)	(-0.86)
Attention	0.179	0.174	0.201	0.0918
	(1.76)	(1.69)	(1.95)	(0.82)
Experiment Order Manipulation	-0.481***	-0.506***	-0.467***	-0.506***
	(-4.83)	(-5.05)	(-4.68)	(-4.86)
Mobile Operating System	0.193	0.221	0.198	0.135
	(0.87)	(1.00)	(0.89)	(0.56)
Frequency of News Consumption		0.0488		0.0433
		(0.51)		(0.43)
News Importance		0.222**		0.123
		(2.86)		(1.54)
News Personality Type		-0.322*		-0.260
		(-2.43)		(-1.89)
Knowledge (Scan)		0.154*		
		(2.04)		
Knowledge (Stable)		0.197**		
		(2.65)		
Knowledge (Cheat)		-0.218*		
		(-2.21)		
Trust in Federal Government			0.154**	
			(2.77)	
Militant Internationalism				0.180**
				(2.93)
Cooperative Internationalism				0.352***
				(5.59)
Isolationism				-0.413***
				(-7.17)
Russia Warmth				-0.165***
				(-4.14)

Scandinavia Warmth					0.313***
					(6.14)
cut1	-3.761***	-2.972***	-2.908***	-2.662***	-2.862***
	(-18.10)	(-6.19)	(-5.91)	(-5.38)	(-5.12)
cut2	-2.470***	-1.691***	-1.621***	-1.376**	-1.518**
	(-19.60)	(-3.74)	(-3.49)	(-2.94)	(-2.86)
cut3	-1.858***	-1.073*	-0.999*	-0.757	-0.846
	(-17.50)	(-2.40)	(-2.17)	(-1.63)	(-1.61)
cut4	-1.134***	-0.330	-0.248	-0.0138	-0.0901
	(-12.22)	(-0.74)	(-0.54)	(-0.03)	(-0.17)
cut5	0.121	1.027*	1.129*	1.346**	1.407**
	(1.40)	(2.30)	(2.46)	(2.90)	(2.66)
cut6	1.684***	2.711***	2.841***	3.035***	3.262***
	(17.01)	(6.00)	(6.11)	(6.47)	(6.10)
Observations	1405	1344	1344	1344	1270

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 3: Scandinavia Experiment, Main DV (Dichotomous), OLS

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat
Country Type					
Norway	0.0711***	0.0760***	0.0758***	0.0768***	0.0789***
	(3.30)	(3.53)	(3.54)	(3.57)	(3.70)
Casualties					
Twenty died	-0.000689	0.00610	0.00809	0.00464	0.000104
	(-0.03)	(0.28)	(0.38)	(0.22)	(0.00)
Demographics					
Age		0.00210*	0.00112	0.00206*	0.000420
		(2.43)	(1.22)	(2.38)	(0.45)
White Racial Identity		0.0885**	0.0855**	0.0903***	0.0628*
		(3.24)	(3.14)	(3.31)	(2.28)
Female Gender Identity		-0.0240	0.00154	-0.0231	-0.0239
		(-1.08)	(0.07)	(-1.04)	(-1.08)
Hispanic Identity		0.0818	0.0859*	0.0794	0.0905*
		(1.87)	(1.97)	(1.82)	(2.07)
College Degree		0.00804	0.00380	0.00565	0.0105
		(0.34)	(0.16)	(0.24)	(0.44)
Weak D		-0.0581	-0.0537	-0.0529	-0.0205
		(-1.69)	(-1.54)	(-1.53)	(-0.59)
Lean D		-0.0673	-0.0700	-0.0600	-0.0213
		(-1.64)	(-1.70)	(-1.46)	(-0.51)
Independent		-0.198***	-0.193***	-0.182***	-0.102*
		(-5.24)	(-5.01)	(-4.71)	(-2.52)
Lean R		-0.170***	-0.158***	-0.151**	-0.0504
		(-3.63)	(-3.34)	(-3.16)	(-1.01)
Weak R		-0.142***	-0.130***	-0.133***	-0.0618
		(-3.94)	(-3.56)	(-3.66)	(-1.57)
Strong R		-0.234***	-0.222***	-0.218***	-0.131**
		(-6.61)	(-6.25)	(-6.04)	(-3.14)
Veteran		0.0534	0.0389	0.0533	0.0578
		(1.16)	(0.85)	(1.16)	(1.30)
$25,000-50,000$		0.0894*	0.0800*	0.0903**	0.0526
		(2.56)	(2.29)	(2.58)	(1.49)
$50,000-100,000$		0.0825*	0.0758*	0.0801*	0.0324

	(2.38)	(2.19)	(2.31)	(0.92)
$100,000-200,000$	0.0905*	0.0712	0.0861*	0.0166
	(2.16)	(1.70)	(2.05)	(0.39)
More than $200,000$	0.0147	0.00622	0.0126	-0.0459
	(0.22)	(0.09)	(0.19)	(-0.69)
Employed part-time	0.0227	0.0163	0.0226	0.00244
	(0.74)	(0.53)	(0.74)	(0.08)
Not employed	-0.0141	-0.0141	-0.0110	-0.00310
	(-0.47)	(-0.47)	(-0.37)	(-0.10)
Attention	0.0444*	0.0400	0.0472*	0.0430
	(2.05)	(1.84)	(2.17)	(1.90)
Experiment Order Manipulation	-0.0576**	-0.0585**	-0.0562**	-0.0592**
	(-2.68)	(-2.74)	(-2.62)	(-2.80)
Mobile Operating System	0.0845	0.0853	0.0840	0.0471
	(1.78)	(1.81)	(1.78)	(0.99)
Frequency of News Consumption		0.00995		0.0153
		(0.48)		(0.74)
News Importance		0.00975		-0.00645
		(0.60)		(-0.40)
News Personality Type		-0.0373		-0.0316
		(-1.30)		(-1.12)
Knowledge (Scan)		0.0117		
		(0.73)		
Knowledge (Stable)		0.0580***		
		(3.66)		
Knowledge (Cheat)		-0.0405		
		(-1.91)		
Trust in Federal Government			0.0224	
			(1.91)	
Militant Internationalism				0.0235
				(1.92)
Cooperative Internationalism				0.0473***
				(3.81)
Isolationism				-0.0610***
				(-5.40)
Russia Warmth				-0.0138
				(-1.74)

Scandinavia Warmth					0.0368***
					(3.63)
Constant	0.762***	0.483***	0.502***	0.438***	0.435***
	(40.87)	(5.10)	(5.18)	(4.48)	(4.09)
Observations	1405	1344	1344	1344	1270

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

We demonstrate variations in these results by subgroup. Notably, our results are largely consistent across these subgroups.

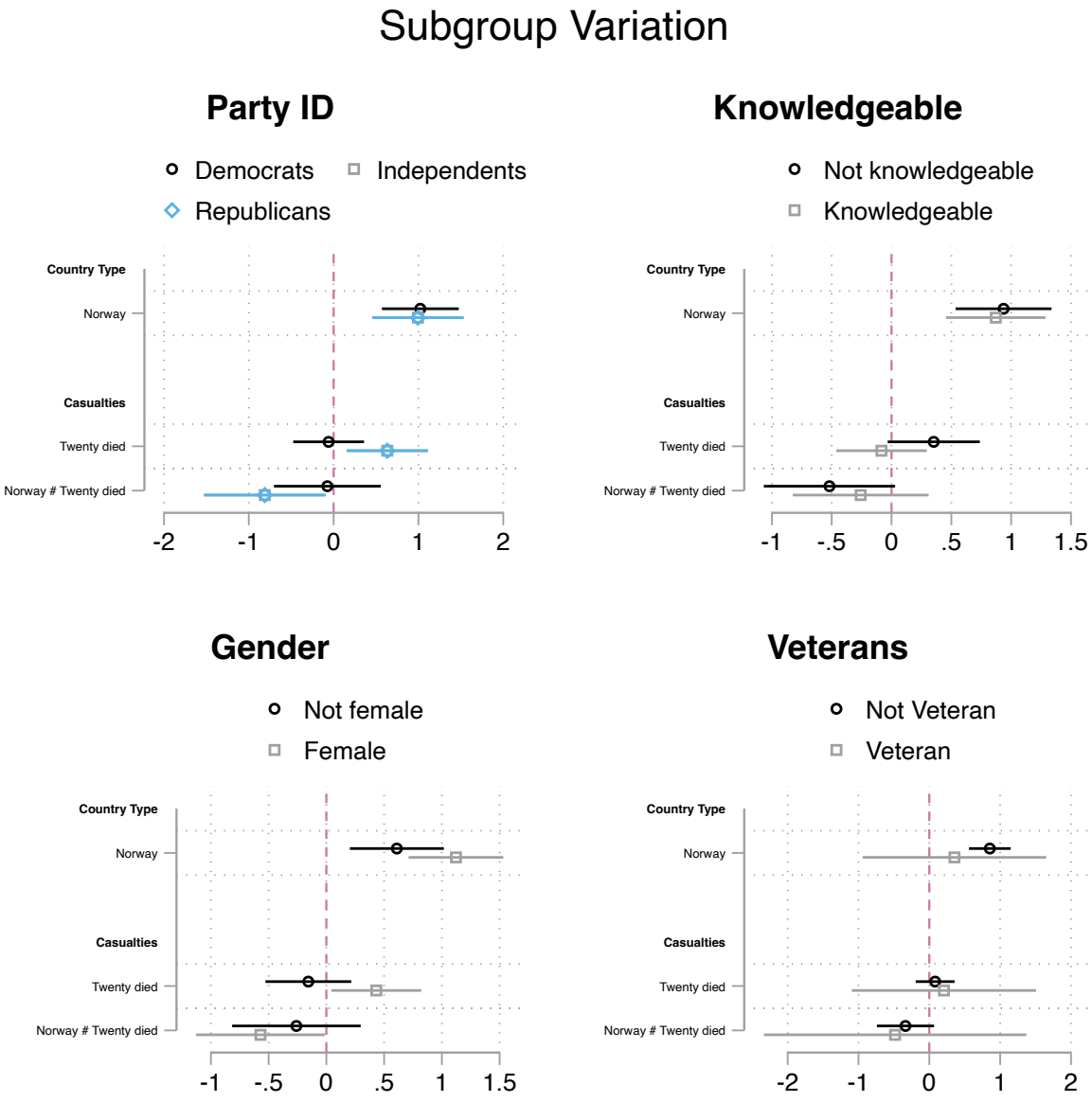

Figure 1: Variations in key treatment variables by selected subgroups.

We continue by presenting variants with an interaction term in tabular form using several different estimation strategies and both dichotomous and ordinal versions of the DV.

Table 4: Scandinavia Experiment, Main DV (Dichotomous), Logit

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat
Country Type					
Norway	0.696***	0.779***	0.800***	0.792***	0.827***
	(3.53)	(3.65)	(3.70)	(3.70)	(3.55)
Casualties					
Twenty died	0.194	0.245	0.268	0.235	0.201
	(1.12)	(1.32)	(1.43)	(1.26)	(0.99)
Norway × Twenty died	-0.487	-0.518	-0.543	-0.530	-0.526
	(-1.80)	(-1.78)	(-1.85)	(-1.82)	(-1.66)
Demographics					
Age		0.0151**	0.00937	0.0154**	0.00592
		(2.58)	(1.49)	(2.60)	(0.87)
White Racial Identity		0.582***	0.560**	0.603***	0.471*
		(3.33)	(3.17)	(3.44)	(2.42)
Female Gender Identity		-0.184	-0.0273	-0.177	-0.221
		(-1.24)	(-0.18)	(-1.20)	(-1.37)
Hispanic Identity		0.502	0.513	0.493	0.647*
		(1.75)	(1.77)	(1.71)	(2.02)
College Degree		0.0658	0.0173	0.0430	0.0891
		(0.42)	(0.11)	(0.27)	(0.51)
Weak D		-0.529*	-0.520	-0.493	-0.276
		(-2.03)	(-1.94)	(-1.88)	(-0.94)
Lean D		-0.572	-0.586	-0.525	-0.243
		(-1.90)	(-1.90)	(-1.74)	(-0.71)
Independent		-1.392***	-1.394***	-1.281***	-0.831**
		(-5.44)	(-5.23)	(-4.90)	(-2.83)
Lean R		-1.243***	-1.177***	-1.120***	-0.557
		(-3.94)	(-3.66)	(-3.50)	(-1.55)
Weak R		-1.103***	-1.049***	-1.041***	-0.665*
		(-4.25)	(-3.92)	(-3.98)	(-2.21)
Strong R		-1.627***	-1.583***	-1.532***	-1.063***
		(-6.56)	(-6.29)	(-6.07)	(-3.45)
Veteran		0.371	0.255	0.377	0.414

	(1.11)	(0.75)	(1.12)	(1.16)
$25,000-50,000$	0.564*	0.517*	0.579**	0.335
	(2.53)	(2.30)	(2.59)	(1.34)
$50,000-100,000$	0.489*	0.464*	0.480*	0.172
	(2.24)	(2.11)	(2.20)	(0.70)
$100,000-200,000$	0.555*	0.446	0.529	0.0627
	(2.03)	(1.61)	(1.92)	(0.21)
More than $200,000$	0.0934	0.0672	0.0815	-0.311
	(0.23)	(0.16)	(0.20)	(-0.70)
Employed part-time	0.174	0.142	0.170	0.0632
	(0.84)	(0.67)	(0.82)	(0.28)
Not employed	-0.112	-0.115	-0.0974	-0.0245
	(-0.56)	(-0.57)	(-0.49)	(-0.11)
Attention	0.280*	0.270*	0.301*	0.298*
	(2.12)	(2.01)	(2.26)	(2.01)
Experiment Order Manipulation	-0.380**	-0.399**	-0.371**	-0.440**
	(-2.66)	(-2.76)	(-2.59)	(-2.82)
Mobile Operating System	0.642	0.629	0.645	0.383
	(1.78)	(1.74)	(1.78)	(1.01)
Frequency of News Consumption		0.0423		0.102
		(0.31)		(0.69)
News Importance		0.0860		0.00574
		(0.78)		(0.05)
News Personality Type		-0.277		-0.310
		(-1.45)		(-1.49)
Knowledge (Scan)		0.0732		
		(0.67)		
Knowledge (Stable)		0.421***		
		(3.75)		
Knowledge (Cheat)		-0.267		
		(-1.94)		
Trust in Federal Government			0.166*	
			(2.11)	
Militant Internationalism				0.165
				(1.85)
Cooperative Internationalism				0.300***
				(3.53)

Isolationism					-0.417***
					(-5.10)
Russia Warmth					-0.101
					(-1.76)
Scandinavia Warmth					0.245***
					(3.52)
Constant	1.061***	-0.558	-0.444	-0.920	-0.909
	(8.67)	(-0.89)	(-0.69)	(-1.42)	(-1.21)
Observations	1405	1344	1344	1344	1270

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5: Scandinavia Experiment, Main DV (Ordinal), Ologit

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat
Country Type					
Norway	0.774***	0.844***	0.843***	0.859***	0.940***
	(5.57)	(5.81)	(5.78)	(5.90)	(6.20)
Casualties					
Twenty died	0.0928	0.120	0.0930	0.120	0.0611
	(0.71)	(0.89)	(0.68)	(0.89)	(0.43)
Norway × Twenty died	-0.330	-0.378	-0.356	-0.397*	-0.406
	(-1.72)	(-1.90)	(-1.78)	(-1.99)	(-1.95)
Demographics					
Age		0.0146***	0.00876*	0.0144***	0.000625
		(3.65)	(2.05)	(3.59)	(0.14)
White Racial Identity		0.283*	0.270*	0.296*	0.128
		(2.22)	(2.12)	(2.32)	(0.95)
Female Gender Identity		-0.160	-0.0395	-0.151	-0.130
		(-1.56)	(-0.37)	(-1.47)	(-1.20)
Hispanic Identity		0.239	0.247	0.220	0.253
		(1.18)	(1.22)	(1.09)	(1.18)
College Degree		-0.139	-0.175	-0.155	-0.184
		(-1.26)	(-1.56)	(-1.40)	(-1.58)
Weak D		-0.645***	-0.563***	-0.620***	-0.433*
		(-4.06)	(-3.48)	(-3.89)	(-2.54)
Lean D		-0.593**	-0.552**	-0.546**	-0.312
		(-3.16)	(-2.90)	(-2.90)	(-1.56)
Independent		-1.216***	-1.076***	-1.109***	-0.552**
		(-6.86)	(-5.93)	(-6.11)	(-2.79)
Lean R		-1.135***	-0.996***	-1.007***	-0.222
		(-5.22)	(-4.50)	(-4.55)	(-0.91)
Weak R		-0.773***	-0.653***	-0.722***	-0.214
		(-4.60)	(-3.79)	(-4.27)	(-1.10)
Strong R		-1.305***	-1.273***	-1.211***	-0.646**
		(-7.74)	(-7.45)	(-7.04)	(-3.10)
Veteran		0.390	0.318	0.383	0.449*
		(1.80)	(1.46)	(1.77)	(2.04)
$25,000-50,000$		0.252	0.176	0.260	0.145

	(1.53)	(1.07)	(1.58)	(0.83)
$50,000-100{,}000$	0.347*	0.293	0.333*	0.0753
	(2.11)	(1.78)	(2.02)	(0.43)
$100,000-200{,}000$	0.497*	0.382	0.474*	0.0813
	(2.50)	(1.91)	(2.38)	(0.38)
More than $200,000$	-0.199	-0.241	-0.209	-0.560
	(-0.65)	(-0.79)	(-0.69)	(-1.76)
Employed part-time	-0.157	-0.172	-0.156	-0.320*
	(-1.11)	(-1.21)	(-1.10)	(-2.16)
Not employed	-0.171	-0.143	-0.150	-0.141
	(-1.22)	(-1.02)	(-1.07)	(-0.96)
Attention	0.180	0.174	0.202*	0.0928
	(1.77)	(1.70)	(1.97)	(0.83)
Experiment Order Manipulation	-0.480***	-0.504***	-0.465***	-0.503***
	(-4.81)	(-5.03)	(-4.65)	(-4.83)
Mobile Operating System	0.206	0.232	0.211	0.141
	(0.93)	(1.05)	(0.95)	(0.59)
Frequency of News Consumption		0.0428		0.0345
		(0.44)		(0.34)
News Importance		0.222**		0.124
		(2.86)		(1.55)
News Personality Type		-0.318*		-0.255
		(-2.40)		(-1.86)
Knowledge (Scan)		0.152*		
		(2.02)		
Knowledge (Stable)		0.199**		
		(2.67)		
Knowledge (Cheat)		-0.215*		
		(-2.17)		
Trust in Federal Government			0.158**	
			(2.83)	
Militant Internationalism				0.176**
				(2.86)
Cooperative Internationalism				0.354***
				(5.61)
Isolationism				-0.410***
				(-7.11)

Russia Warmth					-0.164***
					(-4.12)
Scandinavia Warmth					0.318***
					(6.21)
cut1	-3.683***	-2.877***	-2.823***	-2.555***	-2.738***
	(-17.33)	(-5.96)	(-5.71)	(-5.14)	(-4.86)
cut2	-2.391***	-1.595***	-1.535***	-1.269**	-1.394**
	(-17.87)	(-3.51)	(-3.29)	(-2.70)	(-2.60)
cut3	-1.778***	-0.976*	-0.912*	-0.648	-0.720
	(-15.39)	(-2.17)	(-1.97)	(-1.39)	(-1.36)
cut4	-1.053***	-0.232	-0.160	0.0971	0.0384
	(-10.14)	(-0.52)	(-0.35)	(0.21)	(0.07)
cut5	0.203*	1.127*	1.218**	1.458**	1.537**
	(2.05)	(2.50)	(2.63)	(3.12)	(2.88)
cut6	1.768***	2.814***	2.932***	3.150***	3.396***
	(16.00)	(6.18)	(6.27)	(6.66)	(6.30)
Observations	1405	1344	1344	1344	1270

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 6: Scandinavia Experiment, Main DV (Dichotomous), OLS

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat
Country Type					
Norway	0.110***	0.114***	0.114***	0.116***	0.114***
	(3.57)	(3.69)	(3.70)	(3.75)	(3.74)
Casualties					
Twenty died	0.0352	0.0411	0.0430	0.0404	0.0324
	(1.19)	(1.39)	(1.46)	(1.37)	(1.11)
Norway × Twenty died	-0.0759	-0.0741	-0.0738	-0.0757	-0.0684
	(-1.76)	(-1.72)	(-1.73)	(-1.76)	(-1.61)
Demographics					
Age		0.00212*	0.00114	0.00208*	0.000459
		(2.45)	(1.24)	(2.40)	(0.49)
White Racial Identity		0.0882**	0.0852**	0.0901***	0.0626*
		(3.23)	(3.13)	(3.30)	(2.28)
Female Gender Identity		-0.0247	0.000861	-0.0239	-0.0245
		(-1.12)	(0.04)	(-1.08)	(-1.11)
Hispanic Identity		0.0821	0.0860*	0.0796	0.0903*
		(1.88)	(1.98)	(1.82)	(2.07)
College Degree		0.00924	0.00494	0.00684	0.0114
		(0.39)	(0.21)	(0.29)	(0.48)
Weak D		-0.0602	-0.0557	-0.0550	-0.0229
		(-1.75)	(-1.60)	(-1.59)	(-0.66)
Lean D		-0.0657	-0.0684	-0.0583	-0.0195
		(-1.60)	(-1.66)	(-1.42)	(-0.47)
Independent		-0.200***	-0.195***	-0.183***	-0.103*
		(-5.28)	(-5.05)	(-4.74)	(-2.56)
Lean R		-0.170***	-0.158***	-0.151**	-0.0500
		(-3.63)	(-3.35)	(-3.16)	(-1.01)
Weak R		-0.143***	-0.131***	-0.134***	-0.0623
		(-3.97)	(-3.59)	(-3.68)	(-1.58)
Strong R		-0.235***	-0.223***	-0.220***	-0.132**
		(-6.65)	(-6.29)	(-6.07)	(-3.17)
Veteran		0.0567	0.0420	0.0566	0.0604
		(1.24)	(0.91)	(1.24)	(1.36)
$25,000-50,000$		0.0882*	0.0788*	0.0890*	0.0530

	(2.52)	(2.26)	(2.55)	(1.50)
50,000−100,000	0.0800*	0.0734*	0.0776*	0.0317
	(2.31)	(2.12)	(2.24)	(0.90)
100,000−200,000	0.0884*	0.0693	0.0840*	0.0163
	(2.11)	(1.65)	(2.00)	(0.39)
More than 200,000	0.0139	0.00542	0.0117	-0.0455
	(0.21)	(0.08)	(0.17)	(-0.68)
Employed part-time	0.0232	0.0169	0.0231	0.00324
	(0.76)	(0.55)	(0.75)	(0.11)
Not employed	-0.0167	-0.0166	-0.0136	-0.00548
	(-0.55)	(-0.55)	(-0.45)	(-0.18)
Attention	0.0440*	0.0397	0.0468*	0.0425
	(2.03)	(1.83)	(2.16)	(1.88)
Experiment Order Manipulation	-0.0574**	-0.0583**	-0.0560**	-0.0590**
	(-2.68)	(-2.73)	(-2.61)	(-2.79)
Mobile Operating System	0.0858	0.0867	0.0854	0.0484
	(1.81)	(1.84)	(1.81)	(1.02)
Frequency of News Consumption		0.00874		0.0140
		(0.42)		(0.68)
News Importance		0.00998		-0.00594
		(0.61)		(-0.37)
News Personality Type		-0.0373		-0.0318
		(-1.31)		(-1.12)
Knowledge (Scan)		0.0118		
		(0.74)		
Knowledge (Stable)		0.0582***		
		(3.67)		
Knowledge (Cheat)		-0.0402		
		(-1.90)		
Trust in Federal Government			0.0228	
			(1.94)	
Militant Internationalism				0.0230
				(1.88)
Cooperative Internationalism				0.0474***
				(3.82)
Isolationism				-0.0603***
				(-5.33)

Russia Warmth					-0.0137
					(-1.73)
Scandinavia Warmth					0.0372***
					(3.67)
Constant	0.743***	0.464***	0.484***	0.417***	0.416***
	(34.55)	(4.87)	(4.97)	(4.25)	(3.88)
Observations	1405	1344	1344	1344	1270

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

We conclude by showing results for the specific strategies in tabular form.

Table 7: Scandinavia Experiment, Strategy Index, Ologit

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat
Twenty died	-0.0257	0.0629	0.0713	0.0624	0.0557
	(-0.27)	(0.64)	(0.72)	(0.63)	(0.55)
Norway	0.269**	0.313**	0.339***	0.314**	0.363***
	(2.81)	(3.16)	(3.41)	(3.17)	(3.53)
Age		0.00977*	0.00225	0.00972*	-0.000417
		(2.45)	(0.53)	(2.44)	(-0.10)
White Racial Identity		0.256*	0.255*	0.257*	0.182
		(2.00)	(1.98)	(2.00)	(1.36)
Female Gender Identity		-0.370***	-0.189	-0.369***	-0.370***
		(-3.60)	(-1.76)	(-3.59)	(-3.48)
Hispanic Identity		0.562**	0.589**	0.560**	0.671**
		(2.73)	(2.84)	(2.72)	(3.11)
College Degree		0.133	0.0822	0.131	0.231*
		(1.22)	(0.75)	(1.20)	(2.03)
Weak D		-0.570***	-0.470**	-0.568***	-0.498**
		(-3.63)	(-2.93)	(-3.61)	(-3.02)
Lean D		-0.261	-0.203	-0.257	-0.133
		(-1.38)	(-1.07)	(-1.36)	(-0.68)
Independent		-0.720***	-0.604***	-0.709***	-0.403*
		(-4.03)	(-3.30)	(-3.88)	(-2.07)
Lean R		-0.626**	-0.505*	-0.613**	-0.295
		(-2.98)	(-2.36)	(-2.85)	(-1.26)
Weak R		-0.676***	-0.523**	-0.670***	-0.516**
		(-4.07)	(-3.09)	(-4.00)	(-2.73)
Strong R		-0.902***	-0.801***	-0.892***	-0.755***
		(-5.56)	(-4.87)	(-5.37)	(-3.72)
Veteran		0.517*	0.404	0.517*	0.629**
		(2.46)	(1.94)	(2.45)	(2.92)
$25,000-50,000$		0.193	0.125	0.194	-0.0364
		(1.18)	(0.76)	(1.18)	(-0.21)
$50,000-100,000$		0.270	0.219	0.269	-0.0145
		(1.66)	(1.35)	(1.65)	(-0.08)
$100,000-200,000$		0.589**	0.463*	0.586**	0.209
		(3.01)	(2.34)	(2.99)	(1.02)

More than 200,000		0.0453	0.00774	0.0429	-0.366
		(0.14)	(0.02)	(0.14)	(-1.14)
Employed part-time		0.0992	0.0803	0.0993	0.0327
		(0.71)	(0.57)	(0.71)	(0.23)
Not employed		0.105	0.121	0.107	0.155
		(0.76)	(0.86)	(0.77)	(1.07)
Attention		0.191	0.191	0.193	0.215
		(1.89)	(1.88)	(1.90)	(1.96)
Experiment Order Manipulation		-0.268**	-0.283**	-0.267**	-0.254*
		(-2.71)	(-2.86)	(-2.70)	(-2.48)
Mobile Operating System		0.229	0.278	0.229	0.108
		(1.05)	(1.28)	(1.05)	(0.47)
Frequency of News Consumption			-0.132		
			(-1.38)		
News Importance			0.131		
			(1.72)		
News Personality Type			-0.0111		
			(-0.08)		
Knowledge (Scan)			0.261***		
			(3.52)		
Knowledge (Stable)			0.246***		
			(3.36)		
Knowledge (Cheat)			-0.110		
			(-1.11)		
Trust in Federal Government				0.0155	
				(0.28)	
Militant Internationalism					0.233***
					(3.94)
Cooperative Internationalism					0.0517
					(0.84)
Isolationism					-0.174**
					(-3.18)
Russia Warmth					-0.190***
					(-4.84)
Scandinavia Warmth					0.175***
					(3.55)
cut1	-1.655***	-0.364	-0.355	-0.336	-0.428
	(-16.57)	(-0.82)	(-0.78)	(-0.74)	(-0.83)

cut2	-0.819***	0.525	0.547	0.553	0.544
	(-9.22)	(1.19)	(1.21)	(1.22)	(1.06)
cut3	0.703***	2.139***	2.197***	2.167***	2.253***
	(7.96)	(4.80)	(4.83)	(4.74)	(4.37)
cut4	1.694***	3.188***	3.265***	3.216***	3.350***
	(17.08)	(7.08)	(7.10)	(6.98)	(6.44)
cut5	2.057***	3.567***	3.648***	3.595***	3.732***
	(19.33)	(7.89)	(7.90)	(7.77)	(7.15)
Observations	1405	1344	1344	1344	1270

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

B.2 Questionnaire

Imagine that, several years from now, hackers associated with a Russian intelligence agency carry out a cyberattack on Norway's electrical power utility companies.

The attack causes power outages that last for 48 hours throughout the country. The power outages disrupt Norwegian society and its economy. Several hospitals' back-up generators fail before power is restored. $e : //Field/scandisevere$

Norwegian leaders have asked the United States for assistance in responding to the attack. U.S. relations with Norway are generally friendly. Norway is a member of NATO, the U.S.-led defensive alliance whose founding treaty states that an attack against one member is considered as an attack against all members.

- Would you support or oppose the United States assisting Norway?
  - Strongly support (1)
  - Support (2)
  - Somewhat support (3)
  - Neither support nor oppose (4)
  - Somewhat oppose (7)
  - Oppose (5)
  - Strongly oppose (6)

Imagine that, several years from now, hackers associated with a Russian intelligence agency carry out a cyberattack on Sweden's electrical power utility companies.

The attack causes power outages that last for 48 hours throughout the country. The power outages disrupt Norwegian society and its economy. Several hospitals' back-up generators fail before power is restored. $e : //Field/scandisevere$.

Swedish leaders have asked the United States for assistance in responding to the attack. U.S. relations with Sweden are generally friendly. Sweden has cooperated at times with the U.S. military, but it is officially neutral in its foreign relations and is not a member of NATO or an ally of the United States.

- Would you support or oppose the United States assisting Sweden?
  - Strongly support (1)
  - Support (2)
  - Somewhat support (3)
  - Neither support nor oppose (4)
  - Somewhat oppose (7)

  - Oppose (5)
  - Strongly oppose (6)

- Please indicate which of the following measures you would support the U.S. government taking against the Russian government in response. You may support any, all, or none of these responses.
  - Do nothing (1)
  - Formally condemn Russia's involvement (2)
  - Impose sanctions against Russia (3)
  - Conduct cyber espionage against Russia (4)
  - Launch a cyber attack against the Kremlin (Russia's White House) (6)
  - Hack Russia's power grids (8)
  - Conduct air strikes against Russian facilities (7)

Please explain your answer in a few words.

Now, imagine that the attack against $e : //Field/scandicountry$ had been different and that $e : //Field/scandiseverealt$.

- In that case, please indicate which of the following measures you would have supported the U.S. government taking against the Russian government in response. You may support any, all, or none of these responses.
  - Do nothing (1)
  - Formally condemn Russia's involvement (2)
  - Impose sanctions against Russia (3)
  - Conduct cyber espionage against Russia (4)
  - Hack Russia's power grids (5)
  - Launch a cyber attack against the Kremlin (Russia's White House) (6)
  - Conduct air strikes against Russian facilities (7)

C Experiment 2: Afghan Attack

In this section, we present full results and additional results for the Article 5 experiment using ordinal logit (with an ordinal DV).

C.1 Full Results

We begin by presenting the results shown in the main text in tabular form.

Table 8: Afghan Experiment, DV is Support for Ally, Ologit

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat	(6) Knowledge
Russia Attribution						
Russia Informs Taliban	0.0606	0.0310	0.0396	0.0949	0.0292	0.0406
	(0.57)	(0.28)	(0.36)	(0.86)	(0.27)	(0.37)
Russian Reaction						
Deter Russia	0.563***	0.557***	0.541***	0.617***	0.568***	0.564***
	(5.21)	(5.10)	(4.93)	(5.58)	(5.18)	(5.15)
Demographics						
Age		0.0245***	0.0241***	0.0204***	0.0247***	0.0231***
		(5.67)	(5.42)	(4.62)	(5.68)	(5.27)
White		0.206	0.209	0.256*	0.211	0.213
		(1.68)	(1.69)	(2.07)	(1.72)	(1.74)
Female		-0.265*	-0.295**	-0.306**	-0.259*	-0.216
		(-2.40)	(-2.63)	(-2.74)	(-2.29)	(-1.90)
Hispanic		-0.0266	-0.00610	-0.0418	-0.0300	0.00758
		(-0.14)	(-0.03)	(-0.23)	(-0.16)	(0.04)
College		0.0287	0.0411	0.0662	0.0187	-0.00628
		(0.26)	(0.37)	(0.59)	(0.17)	(-0.06)
Veteran		-0.137	-0.142	-0.289	-0.151	-0.135
		(-0.65)	(-0.67)	(-1.34)	(-0.71)	(-0.64)
Weak Dem		-0.0156	-0.00192	0.0553	-0.0170	0.0117
		(-0.09)	(-0.01)	(0.31)	(-0.10)	(0.07)
Lean Dem		-0.154	-0.135	-0.0435	-0.160	-0.140
		(-0.82)	(-0.72)	(-0.23)	(-0.85)	(-0.75)
Independent		-0.514*	-0.461*	-0.227	-0.489*	-0.448*
		(-2.55)	(-2.27)	(-1.08)	(-2.42)	(-2.20)
Lean GOP		-0.814***	-0.761**	-0.658**	-0.803***	-0.788***
		(-3.49)	(-3.24)	(-2.64)	(-3.43)	(-3.37)
Weak GOP		-0.567**	-0.533**	-0.471*	-0.542**	-0.535**

		(-3.16)	(-2.95)	(-2.36)	(-2.99)	(-2.97)
Strong GOP		-0.435*	-0.416*	-0.436*	-0.430*	-0.379*
		(-2.29)	(-2.19)	(-2.05)	(-2.27)	(-1.98)
Sum of Attention Checks		0.241*	0.202	0.268*	0.239*	0.218*
		(2.22)	(1.85)	(2.46)	(2.20)	(2.00)
Order of Experiments		-0.100*	-0.105*	-0.107*	-0.103*	-0.104*
		(-2.09)	(-2.18)	(-2.21)	(-2.13)	(-2.17)
Internet Basics			-0.135*			
			(-1.97)			
Daily Internet Use (Hours)						
1 to 3			-0.237			
			(-0.24)			
3 to 5			0.413			
			(0.43)			
5 to 7			0.205			
			(0.21)			
7 to 9			0.233			
			(0.24)			
More than 9			0.353			
			(0.36)			
Militant Internationalism				0.609***		
				(8.11)		
Cooperative Internationalism				0.307***		
				(4.23)		
Number of Safety Precautions Taken					0.0676	
					(0.95)	
Victim of Internet Crime					0.0916	
					(0.81)	
Frequency of Password Change					0.00969	
					(0.21)	
R. Worries About Cyber Attacks					0.105	
					(0.77)	
International Political Knowledge						0.108*
						(1.98)
cut1	-3.172***	-2.147***	-2.025	-2.239***	-1.891***	-2.067***
	(-17.65)	(-5.10)	(-1.92)	(-5.22)	(-4.20)	(-4.88)
cut2	-1.747***	-0.707	-0.582	-0.758	-0.451	-0.627

	(-15.48)	(-1.78)	(-0.55)	(-1.87)	(-1.05)	(-1.56)
cut3	-0.662***	0.412	0.546	0.413	0.671	0.490
	(-6.92)	(1.04)	(0.52)	(1.02)	(1.57)	(1.23)
cut4	1.258***	2.433***	2.584*	2.551***	2.696***	2.519***
	(12.42)	(6.04)	(2.46)	(6.19)	(6.19)	(6.20)
Observations	1188	1187	1187	1187	1187	1186

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

We continue by presenting variants with an interaction term in tabular form.

Table 9: Afghan Experiment, Ordinal Logit, DV is Support for ally

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat	(6) Knowledge
Russia Attribution						
Russia Informs Taliban	0.173	0.206	0.213	0.261	0.208	0.204
	(1.16)	(1.35)	(1.40)	(1.70)	(1.37)	(1.34)
Russian Reaction						
Deter Russia	0.671***	0.726***	0.708***	0.778***	0.742***	0.722***
	(4.55)	(4.84)	(4.71)	(5.13)	(4.93)	(4.81)
Russia Informs Taliban × Deter Russia	-0.231	-0.360	-0.358	-0.341	-0.369	-0.337
	(-1.08)	(-1.65)	(-1.63)	(-1.55)	(-1.69)	(-1.54)
Demographics						
Age		0.0245***	0.0241***	0.0204***	0.0247***	0.0231***
		(5.67)	(5.44)	(4.62)	(5.68)	(5.28)
White		0.220	0.223	0.269*	0.225	0.226
		(1.79)	(1.80)	(2.18)	(1.84)	(1.84)
Female		-0.269*	-0.299**	-0.311**	-0.263*	-0.221
		(-2.43)	(-2.67)	(-2.78)	(-2.33)	(-1.94)
Hispanic		-0.0282	-0.00948	-0.0429	-0.0321	0.00475
		(-0.15)	(-0.05)	(-0.23)	(-0.17)	(0.03)
College		0.0284	0.0410	0.0654	0.0182	-0.00555
		(0.26)	(0.37)	(0.58)	(0.16)	(-0.05)
Veteran		-0.139	-0.142	-0.291	-0.153	-0.137
		(-0.65)	(-0.67)	(-1.35)	(-0.72)	(-0.64)
Weak Dem		-0.0179	-0.00409	0.0548	-0.0197	0.00861
		(-0.10)	(-0.02)	(0.31)	(-0.11)	(0.05)
Lean Dem		-0.176	-0.156	-0.0620	-0.182	-0.160
		(-0.94)	(-0.83)	(-0.33)	(-0.97)	(-0.85)
Independent		-0.517*	-0.464*	-0.227	-0.493*	-0.453*
		(-2.57)	(-2.29)	(-1.09)	(-2.44)	(-2.22)
Lean GOP		-0.847***	-0.795***	-0.685**	-0.837***	-0.820***
		(-3.61)	(-3.37)	(-2.74)	(-3.56)	(-3.49)
Weak GOP		-0.566**	-0.531**	-0.471*	-0.541**	-0.535**
		(-3.16)	(-2.94)	(-2.36)	(-2.99)	(-2.97)
Strong GOP		-0.443*	-0.424*	-0.442*	-0.438*	-0.388*
		(-2.34)	(-2.23)	(-2.08)	(-2.31)	(-2.03)

Sum of Attention Checks		0.250*	0.211	0.277*	0.248*	0.227*
		(2.30)	(1.92)	(2.54)	(2.28)	(2.08)
Order of Experiments		-0.103*	-0.107*	-0.109*	-0.105*	-0.107*
		(-2.15)	(-2.22)	(-2.26)	(-2.19)	(-2.21)
Internet Basics			-0.135*			
			(-1.97)			
Daily Internet Use (Hours)						
1 to 3			-0.236			
			(-0.24)			
3 to 5			0.414			
			(0.43)			
5 to 7			0.214			
			(0.22)			
7 to 9			0.254			
			(0.26)			
More than 9			0.359			
			(0.37)			
Militant Internationalism				0.608***		
				(8.10)		
Cooperative Internationalism				0.306***		
				(4.22)		
Number of Safety Precautions Taken					0.0681	
					(0.96)	
Victim of Internet Crime					0.0956	
					(0.84)	
Frequency of Password Change					0.0122	
					(0.27)	
R. Worries About Cyber Attacks					0.104	
					(0.77)	
International Political Knowledge						0.105
						(1.93)
cut1	-3.119***	-2.048***	-1.916	-2.145***	-1.784***	-1.975***
	(-16.78)	(-4.82)	(-1.81)	(-4.95)	(-3.92)	(-4.62)
cut2	-1.695***	-0.608	-0.472	-0.663	-0.343	-0.534
	(-13.82)	(-1.51)	(-0.45)	(-1.61)	(-0.79)	(-1.32)
cut3	-0.609***	0.514	0.656	0.510	0.780	0.584
	(-5.67)	(1.28)	(0.62)	(1.25)	(1.80)	(1.45)

cut4	1.313***	2.539***	2.698*	2.651***	2.809***	2.617***
	(11.57)	(6.21)	(2.56)	(6.35)	(6.37)	(6.35)
Observations	1188	1187	1187	1187	1187	1186

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

We conclude by showing results for the specific strategies in tabular form.

Table 10: Afghan Experiment, Specific Strategies, OLS

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat	(6) Knowledge
Russia Attribution						
Russia Informs Taliban	0.663	0.253	0.246	0.772	0.304	0.257
	(0.81)	(0.31)	(0.30)	(0.95)	(0.37)	(0.31)
Russian Reaction						
Deter Russia	-0.128	-0.371	-0.420	-0.229	-0.245	-0.362
	(-0.16)	(-0.45)	(-0.51)	(-0.28)	(-0.30)	(-0.44)
Strategy Types						
Sanctions	-0.226	-0.318	-0.315	-0.327	-0.319	-0.317
	(-0.17)	(-0.25)	(-0.25)	(-0.26)	(-0.25)	(-0.25)
Indict	-0.567	-0.652	-0.651	-0.646	-0.651	-0.652
	(-0.44)	(-0.51)	(-0.51)	(-0.51)	(-0.51)	(-0.51)
Airstrikes	-36.48***	-36.52***	-36.52***	-36.51***	-36.52***	-36.55***
	(-28.22)	(-28.46)	(-28.49)	(-28.85)	(-28.47)	(-28.47)
Cyber	-30.08***	-30.19***	-30.18***	-30.19***	-30.19***	-30.21***
	(-23.26)	(-23.53)	(-23.55)	(-23.85)	(-23.54)	(-23.53)
Demographics						
Age		0.181***	0.175***	0.128***	0.178***	0.184***
		(5.62)	(5.31)	(3.97)	(5.50)	(5.63)
White		-0.719	-0.788	-0.0418	-0.661	-0.710
		(-0.77)	(-0.84)	(-0.05)	(-0.71)	(-0.76)
Female		-2.671**	-2.930***	-3.039***	-2.657**	-2.797**
		(-3.20)	(-3.47)	(-3.68)	(-3.12)	(-3.26)
Hispanic		2.937*	3.223*	2.177	2.941*	2.963*
		(2.12)	(2.32)	(1.59)	(2.13)	(2.13)
College		-0.559	-0.295	-0.106	-0.658	-0.468
		(-0.67)	(-0.35)	(-0.13)	(-0.78)	(-0.55)
Veteran		1.917	2.068	0.332	1.796	1.882
		(1.23)	(1.32)	(0.21)	(1.15)	(1.20)
Weak Dem		-0.618	-0.648	-0.271	-0.740	-0.679
		(-0.47)	(-0.50)	(-0.21)	(-0.57)	(-0.52)
Lean Dem		-0.453	-0.158	0.478	-0.578	-0.480
		(-0.32)	(-0.11)	(0.34)	(-0.40)	(-0.34)
Independent		-7.551***	-7.406***	-4.722**	-7.202***	-7.605***

	(-4.96)	(-4.85)	(-3.06)	(-4.71)	(-4.95)
Lean GOP	-5.689***	-5.203**	-3.830*	-5.451**	-5.756***
	(-3.36)	(-3.06)	(-2.14)	(-3.21)	(-3.39)
Weak GOP	-4.610***	-4.565***	-3.843**	-4.469**	-4.673***
	(-3.36)	(-3.31)	(-2.62)	(-3.24)	(-3.40)
Strong GOP	-0.912	-0.858	-0.624	-0.850	-1.041
	(-0.65)	(-0.61)	(-0.41)	(-0.61)	(-0.73)
Sum of Attention Checks	2.758***	2.416**	3.182***	2.764***	2.789***
	(3.44)	(2.98)	(4.01)	(3.43)	(3.46)
Order of Experiments	-1.016**	-1.045**	-0.940**	-1.026**	-1.019**
	(-2.80)	(-2.88)	(-2.63)	(-2.83)	(-2.81)
Internet Basics		-1.298*			
		(-2.57)			
Daily Internet Use (Hours)					
1 to 3		14.74*			
		(2.06)			
3 to 5		17.33*			
		(2.45)			
5 to 7		15.26*			
		(2.15)			
7 to 9		16.18*			
		(2.28)			
More than 9		17.08*			
		(2.41)			
Militant Internationalism			5.704***		
			(10.80)		
Cooperative Internationalism			2.932***		
			(5.54)		
Number of Safety Precautions Taken				0.493	
				(0.92)	
Victim of Internet Crime				0.288	
				(0.34)	
Frequency of Password Change				0.271	
				(0.79)	
R. Worries About Cyber Attacks				2.346*	
				(2.28)	
International Political Knowledge					-0.244

						(-0.60)
Constant	73.64***	65.64***	50.47***	65.09***	62.33***	65.88***
	(68.60)	(21.47)	(6.53)	(21.32)	(18.83)	(21.42)
Observations	5935	5930	5930	5930	5930	5925

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

C.2 Questionnaire

As you may know, NATO military personnel serve alongside U.S. troops in Afghanistan in peacekeeping and other roles.

Imagine that hackers sponsored by the Russian government gain access to the cell phones of 50 military personnel from a NATO country who have been deployed to Afghanistan.

The hackers send fake messages to the personnel purporting to be from the soldiers' superiors telling them to report to a new location for a training exercise. $e : //Field/afghanRussia$ The Taliban attacks the new location, killing twenty of the NATO troops.

The country whose troops were attacked has asked for NATO assistance. U.S. intelligence agencies have determined that providing further assistance through NATO could $e : //Field/afghanResponse$.

- Would you support or oppose committing the United States to assist the NATO country whose troops were attacked?
  - Strongly support (1)
  - Support (2)
  - Neither support nor oppose (3)
  - Oppose (4)
  - Strongly oppose (5)

- Please rate (0 - 100%) how much you support the following responses the United States could also pursue in response to this attack:

	Strongly oppose				Neither support nor oppose			Strongly support			
	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Do nothing ()											
Call for new international treaties to ban cyberattacks ()											
Indict Russian officials sponsoring the hacking group with criminal charges ()											
Impose economic sanctions against Russia ()											
Conduct a cyberattackagainst Russian troops in Syria ()											
Launch airstrikes against the hacking group's members ()											

D Experiment 3: Precedent

In this section, we present full results and additional results for the Article 5 experiment.

D.1 Full Results

We begin by presenting the results shown in the main text in tabular form, in ordinal logit variants throughout.

Table 11: Precedent Experiment, Main DV (Ordinal), Ologit

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat	(6) Knowledge
Article 5 Treatment						
Art 5 Invoked (9/11)	0.170	0.166	0.169	0.196	0.158	0.161
	(1.59)	(1.53)	(1.55)	(1.79)	(1.45)	(1.48)
Number of Fatalities						
Twenty died	0.278**	0.316**	0.312**	0.338**	0.308**	0.308**
	(2.59)	(2.92)	(2.87)	(3.09)	(2.84)	(2.84)
Demographics						
Age		0.0223***	0.0234***	0.0195***	0.0215***	0.0218***
		(5.15)	(5.27)	(4.43)	(4.94)	(4.96)
White		0.118	0.137	0.185	0.122	0.126
		(0.96)	(1.10)	(1.49)	(0.99)	(1.03)
Female		-0.0633	-0.0610	-0.104	-0.0708	-0.0528
		(-0.57)	(-0.54)	(-0.94)	(-0.63)	(-0.46)
Hispanic		0.271	0.266	0.204	0.265	0.303
		(1.47)	(1.43)	(1.10)	(1.43)	(1.64)
College		-0.0671	-0.0749	-0.0170	-0.0676	-0.0717
		(-0.60)	(-0.67)	(-0.15)	(-0.60)	(-0.63)
Veteran		-0.0378	-0.0514	-0.108	-0.0257	-0.0426
		(-0.18)	(-0.24)	(-0.51)	(-0.12)	(-0.20)
Weak Dem		-0.198	-0.206	-0.137	-0.223	-0.189
		(-1.14)	(-1.18)	(-0.78)	(-1.28)	(-1.09)
Lean Dem		-0.230	-0.231	-0.106	-0.229	-0.224
		(-1.22)	(-1.23)	(-0.56)	(-1.22)	(-1.19)
Independent		-0.654**	-0.626**	-0.313	-0.653**	-0.614**
		(-3.23)	(-3.07)	(-1.49)	(-3.20)	(-3.00)
Lean GOP		-0.852***	-0.842***	-0.519*	-0.850***	-0.847***
		(-3.63)	(-3.57)	(-2.08)	(-3.61)	(-3.60)
Weak GOP		-0.597***	-0.575**	-0.330	-0.616***	-0.586**

		(-3.29)	(-3.14)	(-1.66)	(-3.36)	(-3.21)
Strong GOP		-0.221	-0.215	0.00400	-0.222	-0.203
		(-1.18)	(-1.14)	(0.02)	(-1.18)	(-1.06)
Sum of Attention Checks		0.0635	0.0509	0.102	0.0612	0.0497
		(0.58)	(0.46)	(0.93)	(0.56)	(0.45)
Order of Experiments		-0.0187	-0.0225	-0.0183	-0.0210	-0.0221
		(-0.39)	(-0.47)	(-0.38)	(-0.44)	(-0.46)
Internet Basics			0.00451			
			(0.07)			
Daily Internet Use (Hours)						
1 to 3			-0.227			
			(-0.24)			
3 to 5			-0.161			
			(-0.17)			
5 to 7			-0.0637			
			(-0.07)			
7 to 9			-0.163			
			(-0.17)			
More than 9			0.0447			
			(0.05)			
Militant Internationalism				0.434***		
				(5.83)		
Cooperative Internationalism				0.430***		
				(5.86)		
Number of Safety Precautions Taken					-0.0277	
					(-0.39)	
Victim of Internet Crime					-0.0320	
					(-0.28)	
Frequency of Password Change					0.0917*	
					(2.02)	
R. Worries About Cyber Attacks					0.170	
					(1.24)	
International Political Knowledge						0.0300
						(0.54)
cut1	-2.874***	-2.160***	-2.238*	-2.048***	-1.981***	-2.182***
	(-18.11)	(-5.19)	(-2.14)	(-4.84)	(-4.43)	(-5.21)
cut2	-1.401***	-0.674	-0.752	-0.522	-0.491	-0.683

	(-13.14)	(-1.68)	(-0.72)	(-1.28)	(-1.13)	(-1.69)
cut3	-0.403***	0.351	0.273	0.538	0.540	0.345
	(-4.17)	(0.88)	(0.26)	(1.32)	(1.25)	(0.86)
cut4	1.727***	2.567***	2.494*	2.854***	2.764***	2.562***
	(15.61)	(6.30)	(2.39)	(6.86)	(6.26)	(6.25)
Observations	1188	1187	1187	1187	1187	1186

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

We continue by presenting variants with an interaction term in tabular form.

Table 12: Precedent Experiment, Main DV (Ordinal), Ologit

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat	(6) Knowledge
Article 5 Treatment						
Art 5 Invoked (9/11)	0.217	0.231	0.231	0.217	0.217	0.220
	(1.45)	(1.52)	(1.52)	(1.42)	(1.43)	(1.45)
Number of Fatalities						
Twenty died	0.328*	0.384*	0.377*	0.361*	0.370*	0.371*
	(2.13)	(2.47)	(2.42)	(2.29)	(2.38)	(2.39)
Art 5 Invoked (9/11) × Twenty died	-0.0961	-0.131	-0.126	-0.0433	-0.120	-0.121
	(-0.45)	(-0.61)	(-0.58)	(-0.20)	(-0.56)	(-0.56)
Demographics						
Age		0.0222***	0.0234***	0.0195***	0.0215***	0.0218***
		(5.15)	(5.27)	(4.43)	(4.94)	(4.96)
White		0.119	0.137	0.185	0.122	0.126
		(0.97)	(1.11)	(1.49)	(1.00)	(1.03)
Female		-0.0599	-0.0580	-0.103	-0.0674	-0.0496
		(-0.54)	(-0.52)	(-0.93)	(-0.60)	(-0.43)
Hispanic		0.272	0.267	0.204	0.266	0.304
		(1.47)	(1.44)	(1.10)	(1.44)	(1.64)
College		-0.0669	-0.0745	-0.0168	-0.0671	-0.0715
		(-0.60)	(-0.66)	(-0.15)	(-0.60)	(-0.63)
Veteran		-0.0384	-0.0518	-0.108	-0.0257	-0.0431
		(-0.18)	(-0.24)	(-0.51)	(-0.12)	(-0.20)
Weak Dem		-0.201	-0.208	-0.138	-0.225	-0.192
		(-1.16)	(-1.19)	(-0.78)	(-1.29)	(-1.10)
Lean Dem		-0.232	-0.234	-0.107	-0.231	-0.226
		(-1.24)	(-1.24)	(-0.56)	(-1.23)	(-1.20)
Independent		-0.656**	-0.629**	-0.314	-0.656**	-0.616**
		(-3.24)	(-3.08)	(-1.50)	(-3.22)	(-3.01)
Lean GOP		-0.856***	-0.846***	-0.520*	-0.854***	-0.851***
		(-3.64)	(-3.59)	(-2.08)	(-3.63)	(-3.61)
Weak GOP		-0.599***	-0.578**	-0.331	-0.618***	-0.588**
		(-3.30)	(-3.15)	(-1.67)	(-3.37)	(-3.22)
Strong GOP		-0.224	-0.218	0.00281	-0.224	-0.206
		(-1.19)	(-1.15)	(0.01)	(-1.19)	(-1.08)

Sum of Attention Checks		0.0602	0.0477	0.101	0.0581	0.0467
		(0.55)	(0.43)	(0.92)	(0.53)	(0.42)
Order of Experiments		-0.0194	-0.0230	-0.0184	-0.0216	-0.0227
		(-0.41)	(-0.48)	(-0.38)	(-0.45)	(-0.48)
Internet Basics			0.00359			
			(0.05)			
Daily Internet Use (Hours)						
1 to 3			-0.228			
			(-0.24)			
3 to 5			-0.162			
			(-0.17)			
5 to 7			-0.0618			
			(-0.06)			
7 to 9			-0.162			
			(-0.17)			
More than 9			0.0427			
			(0.04)			
Militant Internationalism				0.433***		
				(5.83)		
Cooperative Internationalism				0.430***		
				(5.85)		
Number of Safety Precautions Taken					-0.0276	
					(-0.39)	
Victim of Internet Crime					-0.0358	
					(-0.32)	
Frequency of Password Change					0.0915*	
					(2.01)	
R. Worries About Cyber Attacks					0.168	
					(1.23)	
International Political Knowledge						0.0300
						(0.54)
cut1	-2.850***	-2.137***	-2.217*	-2.041***	-1.963***	-2.160***
	(-17.04)	(-5.12)	(-2.12)	(-4.80)	(-4.38)	(-5.14)
cut2	-1.376***	-0.651	-0.731	-0.514	-0.473	-0.661
	(-11.53)	(-1.62)	(-0.70)	(-1.26)	(-1.09)	(-1.63)
cut3	-0.379***	0.375	0.295	0.545	0.558	0.367
	(-3.41)	(0.93)	(0.28)	(1.33)	(1.28)	(0.91)

cut4	1.752***	2.590***	2.515*	2.862***	2.782***	2.584***
	(14.19)	(6.32)	(2.41)	(6.85)	(6.29)	(6.27)
Observations	1188	1187	1187	1187	1187	1186

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

We conclude by showing results for the specific strategies in tabular form, using OLS.

Table 13: Precedent Experiment, Specific Strategies, OLS

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat	(6) Knowledge
Russia Attribution						
Art 5 Invoked (9/11)	-0.173	0.179	0.229	0.458	0.0944	0.0817
	(-0.19)	(0.20)	(0.26)	(0.52)	(0.11)	(0.09)
Russian Reaction						
Twenty died	1.099	1.591	1.616	1.862*	1.567	1.485
	(1.23)	(1.79)	(1.81)	(2.11)	(1.76)	(1.67)
Indict	-4.203***	-4.215***	-4.216***	-4.216***	-4.214***	-4.218***
	(-3.33)	(-3.37)	(-3.37)	(-3.40)	(-3.37)	(-3.37)
Airstrikes	-51.13***	-51.10***	-51.10***	-51.10***	-51.10***	-51.14***
	(-40.57)	(-40.84)	(-40.88)	(-41.23)	(-40.84)	(-40.89)
Cyber	-35.29***	-35.32***	-35.32***	-35.32***	-35.32***	-35.35***
	(-27.99)	(-28.23)	(-28.26)	(-28.50)	(-28.23)	(-28.27)
Demographics						
Age		0.0655	0.0669	0.0188	0.0615	0.0680
		(1.86)	(1.86)	(0.53)	(1.74)	(1.91)
White		-2.013*	-2.273*	-1.487	-1.989	-1.909
		(-1.99)	(-2.22)	(-1.48)	(-1.96)	(-1.88)
Female		-2.723**	-2.893**	-2.966**	-2.793**	-2.910**
		(-2.99)	(-3.15)	(-3.28)	(-3.01)	(-3.11)
Hispanic		4.124**	4.289**	3.580*	4.106**	4.502**
		(2.74)	(2.84)	(2.40)	(2.72)	(2.98)
College		0.0559	0.327	0.442	0.0538	0.225
		(0.06)	(0.35)	(0.49)	(0.06)	(0.24)
Veteran		7.460***	7.734***	6.117***	7.470***	7.335***
		(4.38)	(4.53)	(3.61)	(4.37)	(4.31)
Weak Dem		-1.404	-1.363	-1.292	-1.568	-1.455
		(-0.99)	(-0.96)	(-0.92)	(-1.10)	(-1.02)
Lean Dem		-1.495	-1.128	-0.857	-1.534	-1.509
		(-0.96)	(-0.72)	(-0.55)	(-0.98)	(-0.97)
Independent		-7.365***	-7.464***	-5.541**	-7.392***	-7.097***
		(-4.44)	(-4.49)	(-3.28)	(-4.43)	(-4.24)
Lean GOP		-6.679***	-6.348***	-5.928**	-6.700***	-6.776***
		(-3.62)	(-3.42)	(-3.03)	(-3.61)	(-3.66)

Weak GOP		-2.804	-2.880	-2.833	-2.972*	-2.866
		(-1.88)	(-1.91)	(-1.76)	(-1.97)	(-1.92)
Strong GOP		1.021	1.348	0.444	1.054	0.884
		(0.67)	(0.88)	(0.27)	(0.69)	(0.57)
Sum of Attention Checks		0.626	0.375	0.938	0.584	0.576
		(0.71)	(0.42)	(1.08)	(0.66)	(0.65)
Order of Experiments		-0.186	-0.161	-0.110	-0.186	-0.232
		(-0.47)	(-0.41)	(-0.28)	(-0.47)	(-0.59)
Internet Basics			-1.025			
			(-1.86)			
Daily Internet Use (Hours)						
1 to 3			22.52**			
			(2.89)			
3 to 5			19.93**			
			(2.58)			
5 to 7			20.66**			
			(2.67)			
7 to 9			22.23**			
			(2.87)			
More than 9			20.60**			
			(2.66)			
Militant Internationalism				4.956***		
				(8.57)		
Cooperative Internationalism				1.833**		
				(3.17)		
Number of Safety Precautions Taken					-0.261	
					(-0.45)	
Victim of Internet Crime					0.170	
					(0.18)	
Frequency of Password Change					0.626	
					(1.68)	
R. Worries About Cyber Attacks					0.748	
					(0.67)	
International Political Knowledge						-0.278
						(-0.63)
Constant	72.46***	71.83***	51.42***	71.90***	70.85***	72.48***
	(66.02)	(21.65)	(6.08)	(21.61)	(19.77)	(21.72)
Observations	4750	4746	4746	4746	4746	4742

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

D.2 Questionnaire

If a member state of NATO is attacked, then other members of the alliance may invoke Article 5 of the alliance's founding treaty. If invoked, Article 5 requires members to come to the defense of the member under attack. **Treatment 1**

Invoking Article 5 requires a unanimous vote. The United States has a highly influential voice in the alliance.

NATO has stated that cyberattacks are included under Article 5 on a case-by-case basis. **Treatment 1**

Now, imagine this scenario. Multiple electric utility companies in a NATO member country in Europe experience a cyberattack conducted by a hacking group associated with a Russian government intelligence agency.

The attack causes power outages that last for 48 hours in multiple hospitals, many of whose back-up generators also failed. **Treatment 2**

The attacked country has asked for NATO's Article 5 to be invoked.

- Would you support or oppose invoking Article 5, which would commit the United States to assist the attacked country?
  - Strongly support (1)
  - Support (2)
  - Neither support nor oppose (3)
  - Oppose (4)
  - Strongly oppose (5)

Please rate (0 - 100%) how much you support the following responses NATO could pursue against Russia for this cyberattack:

	Strongly oppose				Neither support nor oppose			Strongly support			
	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Do nothing ()											
Call for new international treaties to ban cyberattacks ()											
Indict Russian government officials with criminal charges ()											
Impose economic sanctions against Russia ()											
Conduct a cyberattack against Russia's electric grids ()											
Launch airstrikes against Russian intelligence agency headquarters in Moscow ()											

E Experiment 4: Estonia

In this section, we present full results and additional results for the Estonia experiment.

E.1 Full Results

We begin by presenting the results shown in the main text in logistic regressions and multinomial logistic regression, as well as OLS.

Table 14: Estonia Experiment, Main DV, Logit

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat
Casualty Type					
Civilian	0.0502	0.0153	0.00272	0.0172	0.00607
	(0.33)	(0.10)	(0.02)	(0.11)	(0.03)
Russian Attribution					
somewhat plausible	-1.196***	-1.248***	-1.245***	-1.235***	-1.339***
	(-6.73)	(-6.62)	(-6.53)	(-6.53)	(-6.24)
highly plausible	-1.112***	-1.228***	-1.232***	-1.217***	-1.164***
	(-5.64)	(-5.92)	(-5.91)	(-5.86)	(-4.90)
Demographics					
Age		0.0116	0.00883	0.0118	0.0188*
		(1.80)	(1.28)	(1.84)	(2.39)
White Racial Identity		0.157	0.167	0.142	0.0545
		(0.78)	(0.83)	(0.71)	(0.24)
Female Gender Identity		-0.125	-0.0715	-0.129	-0.175
		(-0.76)	(-0.41)	(-0.78)	(-0.93)
Hispanic Identity		-0.0138	0.0224	0.00674	0.244
		(-0.04)	(0.07)	(0.02)	(0.67)
College Degree		0.439*	0.421*	0.466**	0.373
		(2.52)	(2.38)	(2.66)	(1.84)
Weak D		0.0485	0.0367	0.000771	0.0296
		(0.19)	(0.14)	(0.00)	(0.10)
Lean D		0.148	0.118	0.0815	0.0654
		(0.48)	(0.37)	(0.26)	(0.18)
Independent		-0.573*	-0.593*	-0.715**	-0.754*
		(-2.17)	(-2.16)	(-2.63)	(-2.41)
Lean R		0.193	0.212	0.0306	0.407
		(0.56)	(0.61)	(0.09)	(0.94)
Weak R		-0.0146	-0.00359	-0.0994	-0.107

	(-0.05)	(-0.01)	(-0.36)	(-0.32)
Strong R	0.274	0.289	0.146	0.415
	(0.99)	(1.03)	(0.52)	(1.14)
Veteran	0.0624	0.0293	0.0666	0.117
	(0.18)	(0.08)	(0.20)	(0.32)
$25,000-50{,}000$	0.222	0.188	0.222	0.0597
	(0.88)	(0.74)	(0.88)	(0.21)
$50,000-100{,}000$	-0.190	-0.221	-0.168	-0.218
	(-0.78)	(-0.89)	(-0.69)	(-0.75)
$100,000-200{,}000$	-0.569	-0.635*	-0.526	-0.645
	(-1.90)	(-2.08)	(-1.75)	(-1.84)
More than $200,000$	-0.324	-0.440	-0.312	-0.0714
	(-0.64)	(-0.86)	(-0.62)	(-0.12)
Employed part-time	0.104	0.0920	0.108	0.139
	(0.45)	(0.40)	(0.47)	(0.51)
Not employed	-0.300	-0.268	-0.328	-0.448
	(-1.37)	(-1.21)	(-1.50)	(-1.77)
Attention	0.457**	0.423**	0.435**	0.642***
	(2.85)	(2.62)	(2.71)	(3.32)
Experiment Order Manipulation	0.412**	0.413*	0.400*	0.335
	(2.58)	(2.57)	(2.50)	(1.85)
Mobile Operating System	0.220	0.202	0.243	0.534
	(0.58)	(0.53)	(0.64)	(1.15)
Frequency of News Consumption		0.351*		
		(2.34)		
News Importance		-0.110		
		(-0.90)		
News Personality Type		-0.0953		
		(-0.45)		
Knowledge (Scan)		-0.113		
		(-0.94)		
Knowledge (Stable)		0.206		
		(1.71)		
Knowledge (Cheat)		0.113		
		(0.69)		
Trust in Federal Government			-0.198*	
			(-2.29)	

Militant Internationalism					-0.230*
					(-2.22)
Cooperative Internationalism					-0.0198
					(-0.20)
Isolationism					0.135
					(1.40)
Russia Warmth					-0.00577
					(-0.08)
Estonia Warmth					0.0305
					(0.30)
Constant	1.354***	-0.770	-0.856	-0.378	-1.457
	(9.11)	(-1.10)	(-1.20)	(-0.53)	(-1.67)
Casualty Type					
Civilian	-0.385*	-0.389*	-0.412**	-0.386*	-0.426*
	(-2.57)	(-2.48)	(-2.60)	(-2.45)	(-2.38)
Russian Attribution					
somewhat plausible	0.545**	0.535**	0.553**	0.547**	0.763***
	(2.83)	(2.63)	(2.69)	(2.68)	(3.29)
highly plausible	1.138***	1.114***	1.116***	1.123***	1.462***
	(5.62)	(5.27)	(5.24)	(5.31)	(5.94)
Demographics					
Age		0.00199	-0.00309	0.00207	0.000871
		(0.32)	(-0.46)	(0.33)	(0.11)
White Racial Identity		0.152	0.174	0.144	0.0913
		(0.78)	(0.88)	(0.74)	(0.41)
Female Gender Identity		-0.168	-0.105	-0.172	-0.184
		(-1.04)	(-0.62)	(-1.06)	(-1.00)
Hispanic Identity		0.0669	0.114	0.0830	0.263
		(0.22)	(0.38)	(0.28)	(0.75)
College Degree		0.173	0.142	0.198	0.0779
		(1.01)	(0.82)	(1.15)	(0.39)
Weak D		-0.378	-0.307	-0.427	-0.402
		(-1.50)	(-1.19)	(-1.69)	(-1.41)
Lean D		-0.228	-0.180	-0.290	-0.212
		(-0.74)	(-0.58)	(-0.94)	(-0.59)
Independent		-1.076***	-0.978***	-1.206***	-1.444***
		(-4.12)	(-3.60)	(-4.48)	(-4.55)

Lean R	-0.563	-0.447	-0.706*	-0.317
	(-1.63)	(-1.27)	(-2.00)	(-0.73)
Weak R	-0.376	-0.266	-0.453	-0.498
	(-1.44)	(-0.98)	(-1.71)	(-1.54)
Strong R	-0.106	-0.104	-0.222	-0.208
	(-0.40)	(-0.38)	(-0.81)	(-0.58)
Veteran	-0.000500	-0.0123	0.00387	-0.301
	(-0.00)	(-0.04)	(0.01)	(-0.79)
$25,000-50,000$	0.709**	0.660*	0.711**	0.535
	(2.77)	(2.54)	(2.77)	(1.78)
$50,000-100,000$	0.519*	0.458	0.541*	0.473
	(2.11)	(1.84)	(2.19)	(1.59)
$100,000-200,000$	0.393	0.289	0.431	0.154
	(1.33)	(0.96)	(1.45)	(0.44)
More than $200,000$	0.403	0.280	0.415	0.792
	(0.82)	(0.56)	(0.84)	(1.34)
Employed part-time	0.203	0.221	0.202	0.248
	(0.89)	(0.96)	(0.89)	(0.93)
Not employed	-0.116	-0.0418	-0.143	-0.266
	(-0.54)	(-0.19)	(-0.67)	(-1.07)
Attention	0.134	0.102	0.111	0.124
	(0.94)	(0.70)	(0.78)	(0.71)
Experiment Order Manipulation	-0.00832	-0.0191	-0.0181	-0.0212
	(-0.05)	(-0.12)	(-0.12)	(-0.12)
Mobile Operating System	0.460	0.464	0.474	0.679
	(1.26)	(1.26)	(1.29)	(1.50)
Frequency of News Consumption		0.490***		
		(3.30)		
News Importance		0.0588		
		(0.49)		
News Personality Type		-0.131		
		(-0.63)		
Knowledge (Scan)		-0.0750		
		(-0.64)		
Knowledge (Stable)		0.117		
		(0.99)		
Knowledge (Cheat)		0.174		
		(1.09)		

Trust in Federal Government				-0.178*	
				(-2.13)	
Militant Internationalism					0.111
					(1.06)
Cooperative Internationalism					-0.109
					(-1.08)
Isolationism					0.0375
					(0.39)
Russia Warmth					-0.274***
					(-4.01)
Estonia Warmth					0.289**
					(2.95)
Constant	0.298	-0.431	-0.943	-0.0656	-0.316
	(1.75)	(-0.65)	(-1.37)	(-0.10)	(-0.37)
Observations	1405	1344	1344	1344	1134

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 15: Estonia Experiment, Main DV, Logit

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat
Russia Attribution					
Civilian	-0.416***	-0.401**	-0.412***	-0.399**	-0.435**
	(-3.56)	(-3.29)	(-3.35)	(-3.27)	(-3.15)
Russian Reaction					
somewhat plausible	1.359***	1.385***	1.408***	1.390***	1.674***
	(9.08)	(8.82)	(8.89)	(8.84)	(9.33)
highly plausible	1.906***	1.950***	1.961***	1.955***	2.271***
	(12.42)	(12.17)	(12.17)	(12.19)	(12.19)
Demographics					
Age		-0.00504	-0.00855	-0.00495	-0.0109
		(-1.02)	(-1.62)	(-1.00)	(-1.83)
White Racial Identity		0.0521	0.0671	0.0496	0.0457
		(0.34)	(0.43)	(0.32)	(0.26)
Female Gender Identity		-0.0899	-0.0594	-0.0927	-0.0743
		(-0.72)	(-0.45)	(-0.74)	(-0.52)
Hispanic Identity		0.0588	0.0910	0.0646	0.0996
		(0.24)	(0.37)	(0.27)	(0.37)
College Degree		-0.0994	-0.119	-0.0928	-0.162
		(-0.74)	(-0.88)	(-0.69)	(-1.03)
Weak D		-0.412*	-0.333	-0.428*	-0.422
		(-2.12)	(-1.67)	(-2.20)	(-1.94)
Lean D		-0.317	-0.250	-0.338	-0.248
		(-1.36)	(-1.06)	(-1.45)	(-0.92)
Independent		-0.781***	-0.662**	-0.824***	-1.057***
		(-3.53)	(-2.91)	(-3.64)	(-3.91)
Lean R		-0.684*	-0.580*	-0.733**	-0.586
		(-2.54)	(-2.12)	(-2.67)	(-1.82)
Weak R		-0.369	-0.261	-0.394	-0.421
		(-1.83)	(-1.26)	(-1.93)	(-1.67)
Strong R		-0.279	-0.284	-0.319	-0.465
		(-1.41)	(-1.41)	(-1.57)	(-1.73)
Veteran		-0.0310	-0.0292	-0.0322	-0.364
		(-0.12)	(-0.11)	(-0.12)	(-1.21)
$25,000-50,000$		0.566**	0.538**	0.566**	0.499*

	(2.78)	(2.62)	(2.78)	(2.09)
$50,000-100,000$	0.631**	0.593**	0.638**	0.607*
	(3.15)	(2.94)	(3.18)	(2.55)
$100,000-200,000$	0.739**	0.677**	0.751**	0.550
	(3.06)	(2.77)	(3.11)	(1.95)
More than $200,000$	0.594	0.550	0.600	0.803
	(1.56)	(1.43)	(1.57)	(1.90)
Employed part-time	0.132	0.154	0.131	0.153
	(0.76)	(0.88)	(0.75)	(0.76)
Not employed	0.0548	0.109	0.0461	-0.00127
	(0.32)	(0.63)	(0.27)	(-0.01)
Attention	-0.106	-0.123	-0.114	-0.229
	(-0.87)	(-0.99)	(-0.93)	(-1.56)
Experiment Order Manipulation	-0.259*	-0.273*	-0.262*	-0.227
	(-2.13)	(-2.24)	(-2.16)	(-1.65)
Mobile Operating System	0.344	0.361	0.344	0.360
	(1.29)	(1.34)	(1.29)	(1.16)
Frequency of News Consumption		0.280*		
		(2.36)		
News Importance		0.126		
		(1.34)		
News Personality Type		-0.0705		
		(-0.43)		
Knowledge (Scan)		-0.000595		
		(-0.01)		
Knowledge (Stable)		-0.0131		
		(-0.14)		
Knowledge (Cheat)		0.0964		
		(0.80)		
Trust in Federal Government			-0.0591	
			(-0.89)	
Militant Internationalism				0.255**
				(3.15)
Cooperative Internationalism				-0.0926
				(-1.16)
Isolationism				-0.0460
				(-0.63)

Russia Warmth					-0.273***
					(-5.12)
Estonia Warmth					0.273***
					(3.65)
Constant	-1.289***	-0.855	-1.309*	-0.735	-0.318
	(-10.04)	(-1.59)	(-2.34)	(-1.33)	(-0.47)
Observations	1405	1344	1344	1344	1134

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 16: Estonia Experiment, Dichotomous Main DV, OLS

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat
Russia Attribution					
Civilian	-0.0878***	-0.0827**	-0.0834***	-0.0823**	-0.0811**
	(-3.58)	(-3.28)	(-3.32)	(-3.27)	(-3.04)
Russian Reaction					
somewhat plausible	0.281***	0.278***	0.281***	0.279***	0.319***
	(9.47)	(9.12)	(9.21)	(9.15)	(9.89)
highly plausible	0.414***	0.413***	0.412***	0.414***	0.450***
	(13.69)	(13.34)	(13.34)	(13.37)	(13.69)
Demographics					
Age		-0.000997	-0.00175	-0.000974	-0.00205
		(-0.99)	(-1.62)	(-0.96)	(-1.79)
White Racial Identity		0.00956	0.0131	0.00853	0.00625
		(0.30)	(0.41)	(0.27)	(0.18)
Female Gender Identity		-0.0205	-0.0142	-0.0210	-0.0140
		(-0.79)	(-0.52)	(-0.81)	(-0.51)
Hispanic Identity		0.00904	0.0164	0.0102	0.0133
		(0.18)	(0.32)	(0.20)	(0.25)
College Degree		-0.0180	-0.0228	-0.0166	-0.0292
		(-0.65)	(-0.82)	(-0.60)	(-0.97)
Weak D		-0.0820*	-0.0643	-0.0849*	-0.0790
		(-2.03)	(-1.57)	(-2.10)	(-1.85)
Lean D		-0.0647	-0.0493	-0.0687	-0.0498
		(-1.35)	(-1.02)	(-1.43)	(-0.97)
Independent		-0.154***	-0.126**	-0.163***	-0.189***
		(-3.49)	(-2.79)	(-3.60)	(-3.81)
Lean R		-0.140*	-0.119*	-0.150**	-0.111
		(-2.55)	(-2.14)	(-2.68)	(-1.79)
Weak R		-0.0751	-0.0531	-0.0802	-0.0806
		(-1.78)	(-1.23)	(-1.89)	(-1.64)
Strong R		-0.0555	-0.0552	-0.0639	-0.0853
		(-1.34)	(-1.33)	(-1.51)	(-1.65)
Veteran		-0.00458	-0.00592	-0.00447	-0.0582
		(-0.09)	(-0.11)	(-0.08)	(-1.05)
$25,000-50,000$		0.114**	0.109**	0.113**	0.0907*

	(2.78)	(2.66)	(2.77)	(2.03)
$50,000-100,000$	0.127**	0.119**	0.128**	0.114*
	(3.13)	(2.95)	(3.16)	(2.54)
$100,000-200,000$	0.148**	0.136**	0.151**	0.102
	(3.02)	(2.76)	(3.06)	(1.90)
More than $200,000$	0.120	0.114	0.121	0.149
	(1.52)	(1.43)	(1.53)	(1.82)
Employed part-time	0.0295	0.0325	0.0297	0.0359
	(0.82)	(0.91)	(0.83)	(0.93)
Not employed	0.0116	0.0226	0.00994	-0.00131
	(0.33)	(0.64)	(0.28)	(-0.03)
Attention	-0.0222	-0.0268	-0.0237	-0.0386
	(-0.87)	(-1.05)	(-0.93)	(-1.33)
Experiment Order Manipulation	-0.0529*	-0.0549*	-0.0536*	-0.0417
	(-2.11)	(-2.20)	(-2.14)	(-1.56)
Mobile Operating System	0.0731	0.0764	0.0734	0.0700
	(1.32)	(1.38)	(1.32)	(1.17)
Frequency of News Consumption		0.0565*		
		(2.34)		
News Importance		0.0267		
		(1.39)		
News Personality Type		-0.0147		
		(-0.44)		
Knowledge (Scan)		-0.000969		
		(-0.05)		
Knowledge (Stable)		-0.000876		
		(-0.05)		
Knowledge (Cheat)		0.0174		
		(0.70)		
Trust in Federal Government			-0.0124	
			(-0.90)	
Militant Internationalism				0.0467**
				(3.05)
Cooperative Internationalism				-0.0175
				(-1.15)
Isolationism				-0.00953
				(-0.68)

Russia Warmth					-0.0518***
					(-5.15)
Estonia Warmth					0.0534***
					(3.72)
Constant	0.229***	0.324**	0.238*	0.348**	0.405**
	(9.42)	(2.92)	(2.09)	(3.05)	(3.07)
Observations	1405	1344	1344	1344	1134

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

We demonstrate variations in these results by subgroup. Notably, our results are largely consistent across these subgroups.

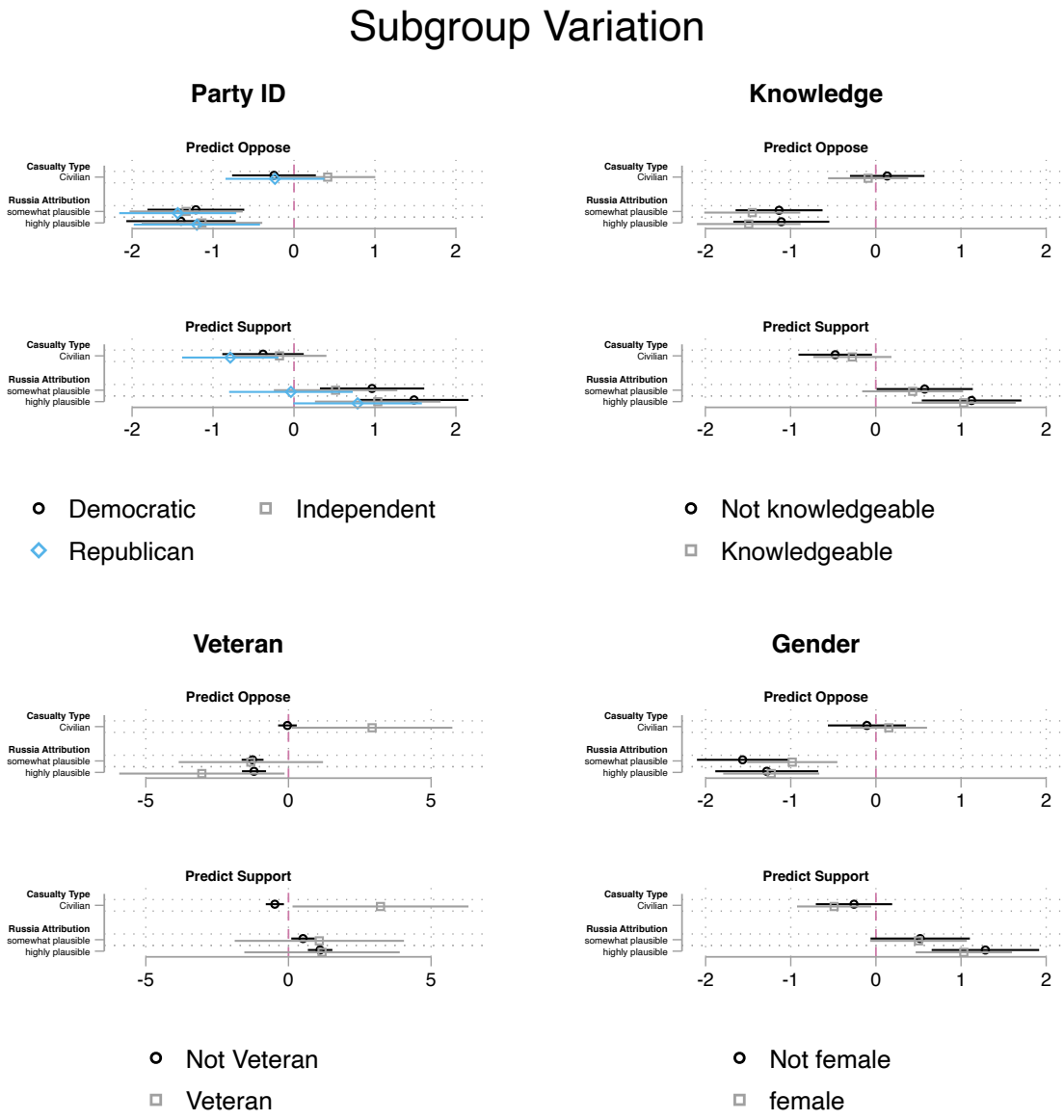

Figure 2: Variations in key treatment variables by selected subgroups.

We continue by presenting variants with an interaction term in tabular form.

Table 17: Estonia Experiment Testing, Main DV Categorical, Mlogit

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat
Casualty Type					
Civilian	0.102	-0.0486	-0.0691	-0.0543	-0.228
	(0.40)	(-0.18)	(-0.26)	(-0.20)	(-0.75)
Russian Attribution					
somewhat plausible	-1.024***	-1.188***	-1.193***	-1.178***	-1.407***
	(-3.86)	(-4.22)	(-4.19)	(-4.17)	(-4.38)
highly plausible	-1.302***	-1.504***	-1.515***	-1.503***	-1.625***
	(-4.47)	(-4.86)	(-4.86)	(-4.85)	(-4.53)
Civilian × somewhat plausible	-0.301	-0.0984	-0.0840	-0.0920	0.122
	(-0.84)	(-0.26)	(-0.22)	(-0.24)	(0.29)
Civilian × highly plausible	0.326	0.484	0.497	0.502	0.812
	(0.82)	(1.16)	(1.18)	(1.20)	(1.71)
Demographics					
Age		0.0112	0.00833	0.0115	0.0181*
		(1.74)	(1.21)	(1.78)	(2.28)
White Racial Identity		0.155	0.163	0.140	0.0545
		(0.77)	(0.81)	(0.70)	(0.24)
Female Gender Identity		-0.124	-0.0708	-0.128	-0.171
		(-0.75)	(-0.41)	(-0.78)	(-0.91)
Hispanic Identity		-0.0184	0.0164	0.00198	0.246
		(-0.06)	(0.05)	(0.01)	(0.67)
College Degree		0.441*	0.424*	0.467**	0.367
		(2.53)	(2.40)	(2.67)	(1.81)
Weak D		0.0622	0.0515	0.0145	0.0645
		(0.24)	(0.19)	(0.06)	(0.22)
Lean D		0.159	0.128	0.0914	0.0894
		(0.51)	(0.40)	(0.29)	(0.25)
Independent		-0.571*	-0.590*	-0.716**	-0.731*
		(-2.16)	(-2.15)	(-2.63)	(-2.33)
Lean R		0.196	0.218	0.0303	0.424
		(0.57)	(0.62)	(0.09)	(0.98)
Weak R		-0.0138	-0.00123	-0.0997	-0.0888

	(-0.05)	(-0.00)	(-0.36)	(-0.26)
Strong R	0.282	0.298	0.153	0.447
	(1.02)	(1.06)	(0.54)	(1.23)
Veteran	0.0718	0.0400	0.0766	0.142
	(0.21)	(0.12)	(0.22)	(0.39)
$25,000-50{,}000$	0.199	0.165	0.198	0.0209
	(0.79)	(0.65)	(0.78)	(0.07)
$50,000-100{,}000$	-0.202	-0.233	-0.180	-0.233
	(-0.82)	(-0.94)	(-0.73)	(-0.80)
$100,000-200{,}000$	-0.586	-0.652*	-0.543	-0.665
	(-1.95)	(-2.13)	(-1.80)	(-1.89)
More than $200,000$	-0.337	-0.453	-0.322	-0.0852
	(-0.66)	(-0.89)	(-0.64)	(-0.14)
Employed part-time	0.102	0.0916	0.106	0.145
	(0.44)	(0.39)	(0.46)	(0.54)
Not employed	-0.291	-0.259	-0.320	-0.433
	(-1.33)	(-1.17)	(-1.45)	(-1.70)
Attention	0.463**	0.430**	0.442**	0.656***
	(2.88)	(2.65)	(2.74)	(3.38)
Experiment Order Manipulation	0.407*	0.409*	0.394*	0.328
	(2.55)	(2.55)	(2.46)	(1.80)
Mobile Operating System	0.196	0.177	0.217	0.505
	(0.51)	(0.46)	(0.57)	(1.08)
Frequency of News Consumption		0.349*		
		(2.32)		
News Importance		-0.108		
		(-0.88)		
News Personality Type		-0.0941		
		(-0.44)		
Knowledge (Scan)		-0.111		
		(-0.92)		
Knowledge (Stable)		0.207		
		(1.71)		
Knowledge (Cheat)		0.103		
		(0.63)		
Trust in Federal Government			-0.201*	
			(-2.32)	

Militant Internationalism					-0.236*
					(-2.27)
Cooperative Internationalism					-0.0120
					(-0.12)
Isolationism					0.132
					(1.37)
Russia Warmth					-0.00910
					(-0.13)
Estonia Warmth					0.0339
					(0.34)
Constant	1.328***	-0.736	-0.818	-0.337	-1.366
	(7.47)	(-1.04)	(-1.13)	(-0.46)	(-1.56)
Casualty Type					
Civilian	-0.132	-0.201	-0.216	-0.207	-0.448
	(-0.43)	(-0.62)	(-0.66)	(-0.64)	(-1.22)
Russian Attribution					
somewhat plausible	0.831**	0.718*	0.744*	0.726*	0.810*
	(3.01)	(2.45)	(2.51)	(2.48)	(2.44)
highly plausible	1.112***	1.107***	1.110***	1.106***	1.267***
	(3.93)	(3.71)	(3.67)	(3.70)	(3.65)
Civilian × somewhat plausible	-0.563	-0.365	-0.384	-0.359	-0.119
	(-1.45)	(-0.90)	(-0.94)	(-0.89)	(-0.26)
Civilian × highly plausible	0.00889	-0.0233	-0.0272	-0.00487	0.332
	(0.02)	(-0.06)	(-0.06)	(-0.01)	(0.69)
Demographics					
Age		0.00182	-0.00335	0.00188	0.000250
		(0.29)	(-0.49)	(0.30)	(0.03)
White Racial Identity		0.149	0.170	0.140	0.0911
		(0.76)	(0.86)	(0.72)	(0.40)
Female Gender Identity		-0.169	-0.107	-0.172	-0.183
		(-1.05)	(-0.63)	(-1.07)	(-0.99)
Hispanic Identity		0.0635	0.109	0.0786	0.265
		(0.21)	(0.36)	(0.26)	(0.76)
College Degree		0.174	0.145	0.198	0.0757
		(1.02)	(0.83)	(1.15)	(0.37)
Weak D		-0.377	-0.305	-0.425	-0.384
		(-1.50)	(-1.18)	(-1.68)	(-1.34)

Lean D	-0.225	-0.178	-0.287	-0.198
	(-0.73)	(-0.57)	(-0.93)	(-0.55)
Independent	-1.078***	-0.978***	-1.208***	-1.429***
	(-4.12)	(-3.60)	(-4.48)	(-4.49)
Lean R	-0.556	-0.436	-0.700*	-0.299
	(-1.60)	(-1.23)	(-1.98)	(-0.68)
Weak R	-0.375	-0.266	-0.452	-0.482
	(-1.43)	(-0.98)	(-1.71)	(-1.48)
Strong R	-0.103	-0.101	-0.218	-0.185
	(-0.38)	(-0.37)	(-0.79)	(-0.52)
Veteran	0.00149	-0.00760	0.00618	-0.287
	(0.00)	(-0.02)	(0.02)	(-0.75)
$25,000-50,000$	0.692**	0.642*	0.694**	0.509
	(2.69)	(2.46)	(2.69)	(1.68)
$50,000-100,000$	0.508*	0.445	0.529*	0.461
	(2.06)	(1.78)	(2.14)	(1.55)
$100,000-200,000$	0.382	0.278	0.419	0.140
	(1.29)	(0.92)	(1.41)	(0.40)
More than $200,000$	0.389	0.262	0.403	0.784
	(0.79)	(0.52)	(0.82)	(1.32)
Employed part-time	0.199	0.218	0.198	0.250
	(0.88)	(0.95)	(0.87)	(0.93)
Not employed	-0.116	-0.0414	-0.143	-0.257
	(-0.54)	(-0.19)	(-0.67)	(-1.03)
Attention	0.132	0.0999	0.110	0.123
	(0.93)	(0.69)	(0.77)	(0.71)
Experiment Order Manipulation	-0.0116	-0.0208	-0.0215	-0.0256
	(-0.07)	(-0.13)	(-0.14)	(-0.14)
Mobile Operating System	0.452	0.455	0.463	0.659
	(1.23)	(1.23)	(1.26)	(1.46)
Frequency of News Consumption		0.496***		
		(3.33)		
News Importance		0.0565		
		(0.47)		
News Personality Type		-0.130		
		(-0.62)		
Knowledge (Scan)		-0.0678		
		(-0.58)		

Knowledge (Stable)			0.110		
			(0.93)		
Knowledge (Cheat)			0.171		
			(1.07)		
Trust in Federal Government				-0.178*	
				(-2.12)	
Militant Internationalism					0.106
					(1.02)
Cooperative Internationalism					-0.104
					(-1.03)
Isolationism					0.0322
					(0.34)
Russia Warmth					-0.277***
					(-4.04)
Estonia Warmth					0.290**
					(2.95)
Constant	0.182	-0.489	-1.010	-0.120	-0.269
	(0.85)	(-0.73)	(-1.44)	(-0.17)	(-0.32)
Observations	1405	1344	1344	1344	1134

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 18: Estonia Experiment, Main DV Dichotomous, Logit

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat
Russia Attribution					
Civilian	-0.214	-0.174	-0.167	-0.178	-0.282
	(-0.91)	(-0.71)	(-0.68)	(-0.73)	(-1.02)
Russian Reaction					
somewhat plausible	1.538***	1.536***	1.574***	1.537***	1.785***
	(7.37)	(7.00)	(7.11)	(7.00)	(7.26)
highly plausible	1.969***	2.087***	2.109***	2.088***	2.349***
	(9.10)	(9.20)	(9.22)	(9.20)	(9.05)
Civilian × somewhat plausible	-0.372	-0.314	-0.344	-0.307	-0.235
	(-1.24)	(-1.01)	(-1.10)	(-0.99)	(-0.67)
Civilian × highly plausible	-0.149	-0.288	-0.308	-0.280	-0.168
	(-0.49)	(-0.91)	(-0.96)	(-0.88)	(-0.47)
Demographics					
Age		-0.00494	-0.00841	-0.00486	-0.0110
		(-1.00)	(-1.59)	(-0.98)	(-1.84)
White Racial Identity		0.0495	0.0650	0.0472	0.0420
		(0.32)	(0.42)	(0.30)	(0.24)
Female Gender Identity		-0.0903	-0.0618	-0.0928	-0.0751
		(-0.72)	(-0.47)	(-0.74)	(-0.53)
Hispanic Identity		0.0598	0.0909	0.0653	0.0992
		(0.25)	(0.37)	(0.27)	(0.37)
College Degree		-0.102	-0.122	-0.0959	-0.164
		(-0.76)	(-0.90)	(-0.71)	(-1.04)
Weak D		-0.419*	-0.341	-0.434*	-0.424
		(-2.16)	(-1.71)	(-2.22)	(-1.94)
Lean D		-0.321	-0.254	-0.341	-0.252
		(-1.38)	(-1.07)	(-1.46)	(-0.94)
Independent		-0.782***	-0.663**	-0.823***	-1.056***
		(-3.54)	(-2.91)	(-3.63)	(-3.90)
Lean R		-0.676*	-0.572*	-0.723**	-0.576
		(-2.50)	(-2.08)	(-2.62)	(-1.78)
Weak R		-0.369	-0.263	-0.393	-0.417
		(-1.82)	(-1.26)	(-1.92)	(-1.66)
Strong R		-0.280	-0.287	-0.319	-0.463

	(-1.42)	(-1.43)	(-1.57)	(-1.71)
Veteran	-0.0357	-0.0316	-0.0365	-0.363
	(-0.13)	(-0.12)	(-0.14)	(-1.21)
$25,000-50,000$	0.564**	0.536**	0.564**	0.499*
	(2.76)	(2.60)	(2.76)	(2.08)
$50,000-100,000$	0.628**	0.590**	0.634**	0.605*
	(3.13)	(2.92)	(3.16)	(2.54)
$100,000-200,000$	0.740**	0.679**	0.751**	0.549
	(3.06)	(2.77)	(3.10)	(1.94)
More than $200,000$	0.590	0.545	0.596	0.806
	(1.54)	(1.41)	(1.56)	(1.90)
Employed part-time	0.129	0.151	0.129	0.151
	(0.74)	(0.86)	(0.74)	(0.75)
Not employed	0.0483	0.101	0.0401	-0.00474
	(0.28)	(0.58)	(0.23)	(-0.02)
Attention	-0.108	-0.126	-0.116	-0.234
	(-0.89)	(-1.01)	(-0.95)	(-1.58)
Experiment Order Manipulation	-0.260*	-0.274*	-0.263*	-0.228
	(-2.14)	(-2.24)	(-2.16)	(-1.66)
Mobile Operating System	0.351	0.368	0.350	0.364
	(1.31)	(1.36)	(1.31)	(1.17)
Frequency of News Consumption		0.286*		
		(2.40)		
News Importance		0.122		
		(1.30)		
News Personality Type		-0.0717		
		(-0.44)		
Knowledge (Scan)		0.00432		
		(0.05)		
Knowledge (Stable)		-0.0203		
		(-0.22)		
Knowledge (Cheat)		0.100		
		(0.83)		
Trust in Federal Government			-0.0569	
			(-0.86)	
Militant Internationalism				0.254**
				(3.15)

Cooperative Internationalism					-0.0925
					(-1.16)
Isolationism					-0.0479
					(-0.66)
Russia Warmth					-0.274***
					(-5.13)
Estonia Warmth					0.272***
					(3.64)
Constant	-1.381***	-0.944	-1.409*	-0.826	-0.364
	(-8.55)	(-1.73)	(-2.49)	(-1.47)	(-0.53)
Observations	1405	1344	1344	1344	1134

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 19: Estonia Experiment, Main DV Dichotomous, OLS

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat
Russia Attribution					
Civilian	-0.0321	-0.0252	-0.0231	-0.0257	-0.0313
	(-0.77)	(-0.59)	(-0.54)	(-0.60)	(-0.69)
Russian Reaction					
somewhat plausible	0.338***	0.326***	0.331***	0.326***	0.362***
	(7.98)	(7.45)	(7.58)	(7.46)	(7.89)
highly plausible	0.442***	0.455***	0.455***	0.455***	0.484***
	(10.18)	(10.24)	(10.26)	(10.24)	(10.19)
Civilian × somewhat plausible	-0.113	-0.0928	-0.0979	-0.0917	-0.0842
	(-1.90)	(-1.53)	(-1.61)	(-1.51)	(-1.32)
Civilian × highly plausible	-0.0547	-0.0819	-0.0850	-0.0802	-0.0666
	(-0.90)	(-1.32)	(-1.37)	(-1.29)	(-1.01)
Demographics					
Age		-0.000950	-0.00169	-0.000930	-0.00204
		(-0.94)	(-1.56)	(-0.92)	(-1.77)
White Racial Identity		0.00924	0.0129	0.00826	0.00541
		(0.29)	(0.40)	(0.26)	(0.16)
Female Gender Identity		-0.0205	-0.0148	-0.0210	-0.0143
		(-0.79)	(-0.54)	(-0.81)	(-0.52)
Hispanic Identity		0.00993	0.0176	0.0110	0.0141
		(0.19)	(0.34)	(0.21)	(0.26)
College Degree		-0.0188	-0.0236	-0.0175	-0.0294
		(-0.68)	(-0.85)	(-0.63)	(-0.97)
Weak D		-0.0846*	-0.0674	-0.0874*	-0.0811
		(-2.10)	(-1.64)	(-2.16)	(-1.89)
Lean D		-0.0661	-0.0508	-0.0699	-0.0511
		(-1.38)	(-1.05)	(-1.45)	(-0.99)
Independent		-0.154***	-0.126**	-0.162***	-0.190***
		(-3.49)	(-2.80)	(-3.59)	(-3.82)
Lean R		-0.137*	-0.116*	-0.147**	-0.108
		(-2.49)	(-2.08)	(-2.61)	(-1.74)
Weak R		-0.0752	-0.0536	-0.0801	-0.0806
		(-1.79)	(-1.25)	(-1.88)	(-1.64)
Strong R		-0.0565	-0.0566	-0.0644	-0.0865

	(-1.37)	(-1.36)	(-1.52)	(-1.67)
Veteran	-0.00677	-0.00787	-0.00663	-0.0610
	(-0.13)	(-0.15)	(-0.12)	(-1.10)
$25,000-50,000$	0.113**	0.108**	0.113**	0.0911*
	(2.76)	(2.63)	(2.74)	(2.03)
$50,000-100,000$	0.125**	0.118**	0.127**	0.112*
	(3.09)	(2.91)	(3.12)	(2.51)
$100,000-200,000$	0.148**	0.136**	0.150**	0.101
	(3.01)	(2.76)	(3.05)	(1.88)
More than $200,000$	0.118	0.111	0.119	0.149
	(1.49)	(1.41)	(1.51)	(1.82)
Employed part-time	0.0283	0.0314	0.0285	0.0342
	(0.79)	(0.88)	(0.80)	(0.89)
Not employed	0.00920	0.0200	0.00764	-0.00345
	(0.26)	(0.56)	(0.22)	(-0.09)
Attention	-0.0230	-0.0277	-0.0245	-0.0404
	(-0.91)	(-1.09)	(-0.96)	(-1.39)
Experiment Order Manipulation	-0.0530*	-0.0551*	-0.0537*	-0.0415
	(-2.11)	(-2.20)	(-2.14)	(-1.55)
Mobile Operating System	0.0749	0.0782	0.0751	0.0720
	(1.35)	(1.41)	(1.35)	(1.20)
Frequency of News Consumption		0.0580*		
		(2.40)		
News Importance		0.0257		
		(1.34)		
News Personality Type		-0.0150		
		(-0.45)		
Knowledge (Scan)		0.000678		
		(0.04)		
Knowledge (Stable)		-0.00348		
		(-0.19)		
Knowledge (Cheat)		0.0188		
		(0.75)		
Trust in Federal Government			-0.0117	
			(-0.85)	
Militant Internationalism				0.0471**
				(3.08)

Cooperative Internationalism					-0.0176
					(-1.16)
Isolationism					-0.00999
					(-0.71)
Russia Warmth					-0.0520***
					(-5.17)
Estonia Warmth					0.0531***
					(3.70)
Constant	0.201***	0.300**	0.212	0.324**	0.391**
	(6.76)	(2.68)	(1.85)	(2.81)	(2.95)
Observations	1405	1344	1344	1344	1134

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

We continue by presenting counterfactual results in tabular form. "Counterfactual Declining" records whether a respondent saw a higher (= 0) or a lower (=1) treatment in the counterfactual condition. Counterfactual Treatment is the number of steps the respondents moved (0 = 1 step, 1 = 2 steps).

Table 20: Estonia Experiment Counterfactual (Logit)

	(1) CF4	(2) CF5	(3) CF6
Counterfactual Treatment=1	0.991***	0.986***	0.986***
	(8.27)	(8.20)	(7.79)
Counterfactual Declining		-0.316**	-0.358**
		(-2.72)	(-2.94)
Civilian			0.175
			(1.43)
Age			0.00668
			(1.37)
White Racial Identity			0.201
			(1.27)
Female Gender Identity			-0.241
			(-1.90)
Hispanic Identity			0.0540
			(0.21)
College Degree			0.166
			(1.23)
Weak D			-0.155
			(-0.82)
Lean D			0.0837
			(0.37)
Independent			-0.687**
			(-3.09)
Lean R			-0.545*
			(-2.03)
Weak R			-0.439*
			(-2.15)
Strong R			-0.618**
			(-3.05)
Veteran			0.146
			(0.55)
$25,000-50,000$			0.200

			(1.01)
$50,000-100,000$			0.0580
			(0.30)
$100,000-200,000$			0.191
			(0.81)
More than $200,000$			0.315
			(0.84)
Employed part-time			0.283
			(1.64)
Not employed			0.171
			(1.01)
Attention			0.417**
			(2.92)
Experiment Order Manipulation			0.187
			(1.53)
Mobile Operating System			-0.0173
			(-0.06)
Constant	-0.874***	-0.721***	-2.546***
	(-12.01)	(-7.93)	(-4.33)
Observations	1352	1352	1293

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 21: Estonia Experiment Counterfactual (Mlogit)

	(1) CF1	(2) CF2	(3) CF3
Counterfactual Treatment=1	-0.332	-0.321	-0.306
	(-0.92)	(-0.89)	(-0.82)
Counterfactual Declining		0.502	0.545
		(1.70)	(1.74)
Civilian			0.350
			(1.15)
Age			0.00125
			(0.10)
White Racial Identity			-1.403***
			(-4.08)
Female Gender Identity			0.443
			(1.39)
Hispanic Identity			-1.070
			(-1.85)
College Degree			0.103
			(0.31)
Weak D			-0.364
			(-0.63)
Lean D			0.559
			(1.01)
Independent			0.260
			(0.50)
Lean R			0.173
			(0.25)
Weak R			1.028*
			(2.16)
Strong R			0.364
			(0.70)
Veteran			0.901
			(1.85)
$25,000-50,000$			0.749
			(1.37)
$50,000-100,000$			0.494
			(0.90)
$100,000-200,000$			0.445

			(0.69)
More than $200,000$			-0.0193 (-0.02)
Employed part-time			-0.0467 (-0.11)
Not employed			0.0912 (0.22)
Attention			-0.0388 (-0.15)
Experiment Order Manipulation			-0.306 (-1.01)
Mobile Operating System			0.0616 (0.10)
Constant	-2.703***	-2.997***	-4.242***
	(-17.16)	(-12.21)	(-3.54)
Counterfactual Treatment=1	0.991***	0.984***	0.991***
	(8.27)	(8.19)	(7.83)
Counterfactual Declining		-0.312**	-0.359**
		(-2.69)	(-2.95)
Civilian			0.176 (1.44)
Age			0.00692 (1.42)
White Racial Identity			0.206 (1.30)
Female Gender Identity			-0.233 (-1.85)
Hispanic Identity			0.0485 (0.19)
College Degree			0.165 (1.23)
Weak D			-0.148 (-0.78)
Lean D			0.0792 (0.35)
Independent			-0.688** (-3.10)

Lean R			-0.532*
			(-1.99)
Weak R			-0.431*
			(-2.12)
Strong R			-0.627**
			(-3.09)
Veteran			0.147
			(0.56)
$25,000-50,000$			0.214
			(1.08)
$50,000-100,000$			0.0665
			(0.34)
$100,000-200,000$			0.207
			(0.88)
More than $200,000$			0.328
			(0.87)
Employed part-time			0.279
			(1.62)
Not employed			0.169
			(1.00)
Attention			0.429**
			(3.03)
Experiment Order Manipulation			0.186
			(1.53)
Mobile Operating System			-0.00504
			(-0.02)
Constant	-0.874***	-0.722***	-2.610***
	(-12.01)	(-7.93)	(-4.49)
Observations	1405	1405	1344

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

We conclude by showing results for the retaliation index in tabular form.

Table 22: Estonia Experiment, Strategy Index, Ologit

	(1) Base	(2) Controls	(3) Internet	(4) MI/CI	(5) Threat
somewhat plausible	1.194***	1.250***	1.274***	1.260***	1.381***
	(9.61)	(9.64)	(9.73)	(9.70)	(9.60)
highly plausible	1.410***	1.459***	1.460***	1.470***	1.580***
	(11.11)	(11.11)	(11.09)	(11.17)	(10.85)
Civilian	-0.338***	-0.371***	-0.382***	-0.368***	-0.470***
	(-3.46)	(-3.66)	(-3.75)	(-3.63)	(-4.22)
Age		-0.00108	-0.00511	-0.00100	-0.00549
		(-0.27)	(-1.18)	(-0.25)	(-1.15)
White Racial Identity		-0.186	-0.180	-0.195	-0.166
		(-1.45)	(-1.39)	(-1.52)	(-1.17)
Female Gender Identity		-0.0109	0.0302	-0.0171	-0.0593
		(-0.10)	(0.28)	(-0.16)	(-0.51)
Hispanic Identity		0.0408	0.0786	0.0418	0.145
		(0.20)	(0.38)	(0.20)	(0.64)
College Degree		0.0635	0.0492	0.0752	0.0268
		(0.57)	(0.44)	(0.67)	(0.21)
Weak D		-0.605***	-0.521**	-0.632***	-0.602***
		(-3.75)	(-3.16)	(-3.90)	(-3.41)
Lean D		-0.448*	-0.379*	-0.484*	-0.399
		(-2.35)	(-1.97)	(-2.52)	(-1.88)
Independent		-0.564**	-0.443*	-0.636***	-0.406
		(-3.12)	(-2.39)	(-3.43)	(-1.92)
Lean R		-0.585**	-0.503*	-0.663**	-0.322
		(-2.59)	(-2.20)	(-2.87)	(-1.22)
Weak R		-0.453**	-0.349*	-0.493**	-0.361
		(-2.68)	(-2.02)	(-2.89)	(-1.76)
Strong R		-0.401*	-0.385*	-0.463**	-0.407
		(-2.43)	(-2.32)	(-2.74)	(-1.88)
Veteran		0.0149	0.0166	0.0156	-0.0524
		(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(-0.22)
$25,000-50,000$		-0.0124	-0.0333	-0.0148	-0.248
		(-0.08)	(-0.20)	(-0.09)	(-1.32)
$50,000-100,000$		0.115	0.0753	0.126	-0.0357
		(0.72)	(0.47)	(0.78)	(-0.19)

$100,000-200,000$	0.339	0.284	0.356	0.0850
	(1.73)	(1.44)	(1.81)	(0.38)
More than $200,000$	0.183	0.148	0.201	0.0897
	(0.57)	(0.46)	(0.62)	(0.26)
Employed part-time	0.158	0.168	0.159	0.286
	(1.11)	(1.17)	(1.12)	(1.80)
Not employed	0.0926	0.148	0.0803	0.0512
	(0.65)	(1.03)	(0.56)	(0.32)
Attention	-0.0643	-0.0870	-0.0720	-0.165
	(-0.63)	(-0.84)	(-0.70)	(-1.35)
Experiment Order Manipulation	0.0342	0.0224	0.0298	0.106
	(0.34)	(0.22)	(0.30)	(0.95)
Mobile Operating System	0.176	0.192	0.172	0.0997
	(0.80)	(0.87)	(0.78)	(0.41)
Frequency of News Consumption		0.145		
		(1.49)		
News Importance		0.131		
		(1.67)		
News Personality Type		0.0401		
		(0.30)		
Knowledge (Scan)		-0.00483		
		(-0.06)		
Knowledge (Stable)		0.0331		
		(0.44)		
Knowledge (Cheat)		0.00512		
		(0.05)		
Trust in Federal Government			-0.0949	
			(-1.70)	
Militant Internationalism				0.167*
				(2.55)
Cooperative Internationalism				-0.0590
				(-0.90)
Isolationism				-0.136*
				(-2.30)
Russia Warmth				-0.268***
				(-6.11)
Estonia Warmth				0.248***
				(4.08)

cut1	0.185	-0.316	-0.0222	-0.500	-0.676
	(1.76)	(-0.70)	(-0.05)	(-1.08)	(-1.21)
cut2	0.845***	0.360	0.656	0.177	0.0538
	(7.78)	(0.80)	(1.42)	(0.38)	(0.10)
cut3	1.757***	1.313**	1.614***	1.132*	1.054
	(15.29)	(2.91)	(3.47)	(2.44)	(1.88)
cut4	2.677***	2.266***	2.571***	2.087***	2.057***
	(21.17)	(4.98)	(5.49)	(4.46)	(3.65)
cut5	3.338***	2.927***	3.235***	2.748***	2.708***
	(23.50)	(6.37)	(6.84)	(5.82)	(4.77)
Observations	1405	1344	1344	1344	1134

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

E.2 Questionnaire

Imagine that NATO conducts a military training exercise in Estonia, a NATO member that borders Russia.

During the exercise, a NATO drone aircraft collides with a $e : //Field/estoniavictim$. The crash kills fifty people.

Estonia's intelligence agency say Russian intelligence services caused the crash by hacking the drone. The Russian government denies Estonia's accusation. Russia blames the crash on NATO's failure to manage air traffic.

Independent cybersecurity experts say that Estonia's claim that Russia caused the incident is $e : //Field/estoniaplausible$.

Estonia asks other NATO countries to take measures against Russia. The U.S. government is considering the request.

- Would you support or oppose committing the United States to take action against Russia in response to the incident?
  - Strongly support (1)
  - Support (2)
  - Somewhat support (3)
  - Neither support nor oppose (4)
  - Somewhat oppose (5)
  - Oppose (6)
  - Strongly oppose (7)

- Please indicate which of the following measures you would support the U.S. government taking against the Russian government in response. You may support any, all, or none of these responses.
  -
  - Do nothing (1)
  - Formally condemn Russia's involvement (2)
  - Impose sanctions against Russia (3)
  - Conduct cyber espionage against Russia (4)
  - Launch a cyber attack against the Kremlin (Russia's White House) (6)
  - Hack a Russian military drone (8)

  - Conduct air strikes against Russian facilities (7)

- Now imagine that independent experts had described Estonia's claims of Russia's responsibility for the incident as $e : //Field/estoniaplausiblealt$. In that case, how would you have answered the question, would you support or oppose committing the United States to take action against Russia in response to the incident?
  - Strongly support (1)
  - Support (2)
  - Somewhat support (3)
  - Neither support nor oppose (4)
  - Somewhat oppose (5)
  - Oppose (6)
  - Strongly oppose (7)

F April Experiment Details

In this section, we discuss how we conducted the April experiments.

F.1 Recruitment

Recruitment took place on Amazon's Mechanical Turk Web site. To construct a high-quality sample, we imposed quotas so that no more than 60 percent of respondents could identify as male or female; no more than 40 percent of respondents identified as Democrats, Independents, or Republicans; and that White-identifying respondents to count as more than 70 percent of the sample. To diversify our sample further, we also imposed quotas by Census region weighted by population (17% Northeast, 21% Midwest, 24% West, 38% South). We recruited no more than 300 respondents per day, with a target of half recruited between 6 am and 6 pm Eastern time and half between 6 pm and 6 am Eastern time.

F.2 Participant Variables

We included questions measuring standard demographic variables. These included age, defined as 2021 minus reported birth year; gender (self-reported as male, female, non-binary/third gender, or prefer not to say); educational attainment (less than high school diploma to Ph.D., reduced to a college/no-college binary); Hispanic origin; a binary measure of White racial self-identification; and the standard 7-point scale for party identification [**?**].

To assess possible treatment heterogeneity, we also included information on several other points. Because earlier research indicates that veterans have distinctive political preferences and attitudes compared to non-veterans [**?**, **?**, **?**, **?**], we also included a question asking whether respondents were currently serving in the U.S. military or were veterans of a military service. (None indicated service in the Space Force, bolstering our confidence in respondents' veracity—were respondents trolling or answering at random, someone would have selected this brand-new service with no veterans and almost no servicemembers.)

To assess whether familiarity with the Internet pointed to different attitudes [**?**], we included several questions measuring respondents' self-reported familiarity with various computer tasks, including using social media, a laptop computer, and writing code in a programming language. These questions were based upon a survey questionnaire by the Georgia State University Center for the Study of Adult Literacy [**?**]. We refined these questions during a pilot study to reflect the slightly greater Internet familiarity of our pool. We used factor analysis to reduce these questions to one dimension, which loaded strongly on basic Internet familiarity. We also measured Internet usage through respondents' self-reported usage (less than 1 hour a day; 1-3 hours a day; 3-5 hours a day; 5-7 hours a day; 7-9 hours a day; more than 9 hours a day), adding the last two categories after a pilot study showed that, during the pandemic period, many of our respondents' answers (and, it must be said, the two researchers) exceeded the original scale, which terminated at "more than 7 hours a day". To capture whether respondents viewed cybersecurity as a personal issue [**?**], we included questions asking whether respondents had been a victim of Internet crime (39 percent of sample said yes), how often they changed their passwords, and what kind of Internet security measures they took (for example, using two-factor identification or a password manager).

To assess political knowledge relevant to international relations, we devised a scale that measured both static (relatively unchanging) and surveillance (relatively fast-changing) facts [**?**]. For static knowledge, we asked respondents to identify which of Japan, India, France, or Russia did not have nuclear weapons. For surveillance questions, we originally asked only one question—correctly identifying the then-recent coup in Myanmar—but on a pilot study we discovered that 70 percent of respondents correctly identified this. To increase discrimination between highly-knowledgeable and less-knowledgeable respondents, we added two more questions, one about a space mission by the United Arab Emirates and the second about former Brazilian president Lula's being ruled eligible to run for president again. These questions were combined by simple addition into one five-point (0 to 4) scale measuring how many questions respondents answered correctly, which most respondents scoring a 1 or a 2.

Building on a long tradition of inquiry into the roots of foreign policy attitudes [**?**], recent research indicates that people's values influence their judgments about foreign policy, even in the absence of elite cueing [**?**, **?**]. We measure militant internationalism by using factor analysis to reduce four questions (whether the United States should go its own way, whether the Israelis should be supported over the Palestinians, whether the United States has a special role to play in world affairs or not, and the priority given to maintaining superior military power worldwide). Similarly, we measure cooperative internationalism by using factor analysis to reduce three questions (priority given to strengthening the UN, combating world hunger, and protecting the environment).

Finally, we included attentiveness checks [**?**]. One was a factual manipulation check [**?**]. After respondents read a brief, neutral description of NATO and the European Union, we asked respondents how many member countries are in NATO (30, a detail included in the description). Just under 70 percent responded correctly; the remainder were returned to the passage to re-read it. Other checks throughout the questionnaire included asking respondents to correctly select a given number from a list (83.84%) and to choose Hawkeye as their favorite Avenger (96.8% correct). We statistically control for attention (summing the number of attention checks passed) rather than dropping inattentive respondents [**?**].

F.3 Participant Variables Details

- In what year were you born?
  - 2004
  - 1900

- What is your gender?
  - Male (1)
  - Female (2)
  - Non-binary / third gender (3)
  - Prefer not to say (4)

- How would you describe your racial identity? Please choose one or more categories.

  - American Indian or Alaska Native (1)
  - Asian (2)
  - Black or African-American (3)
  - Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (4)
  - White (5)

- Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?
  - Yes (1)
  - No (2)

- What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? (If you are currently enrolled in school, please indicate the highest degree you have received.)
  - Less than a high school diploma (1)
  - High school degree or equivalent (e.g. GED) (2)
  - Some college, no degree (3)
  - Associate's degree (e.g. AA or AS) (4)
  - Bachelor's degree (e.g. BA or BS) (5)
  - Master's degree (e.g. MA, MS, M.Ed.) (6)
  - Professional degree (e.g. JD, MD, DDS) (7)
  - Doctorate (e.g. PhD, EdD) (8)

- Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?
  - Republican (1)
  - Democrat (2)
  - Independent (3)
  - Other (4)

- Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?
  - Strong (1)
  - Not very strong (2)

- Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?
  - Strong (1)

  - Not very strong (2)

- Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?
  - Republican (1)
  - Democratic (2)
  - Neither (3)

- Are you a veteran or currently serving member of the U.S. military?
  - Yes (1)
  - No (2)

- Which branch did/do you serve in? Select the answer that best fits.
  - Army (1)
  - Navy (2)
  - Air Force (3)
  - Marine Corps (4)
  - Coast Guard (5)
  - Space Force (6)
  - Army or Air National Guard (7)

- Rate your familiarity with the following:

- Approximately how many hours a day do you use the internet?
  - Less than 1 (1)
  - 1 - 3 (2)
  - 3 - 5 (3)
  - 5 - 7 (4)
  - 7 - 9 (5)
  - More than 9 (6)

- How often do you change your passwords? Choose the answer that best fits.
  - Rarely, if ever (1)
  - About once a year (2)
  - About once a month (3)

	Not at all familiar (1)	Unfamiliar (2)	Somewhat familiar (3)	Familiar (4)	Very familiar (5)
Using a laptop computer, smartphone, and/or tablet (1)	○	○	○	○	○
Creating and maintaining a website (4)	○	○	○	○	○
Writing code in a programming language (Python, JavaScript, etc.) (5)	○	○	○	○	○
Using social networks (Facebook, TikTok, Twitter, LinkedIn, etc.) (6)	○	○	○	○	○
Using office software suites (Microsoft Word and Excel, Google Docs and Sheets, etc.) (8)	○	○	○	○	○
Managing files and file directories on a computer (9)	○	○	○	○	○

  - About once a week (4)

- When it comes to your passwords, which of the following security measures do you take? [Select all that apply.]
  - Creating complex passwords (1)
  - Using two-factor authentication (2)
  - Using password management software (3)
  - None of these (4)

- Have you ever been the victim of a cybercrime (stolen personal data, financial data, virus on devices, ransomware, etc.)?
  - Yes (1)
  - No (2)

- We are checking to make sure that your browser is working properly. Please select the number 4 from the answers below.

  - 9 (1)
  - 4 (2)
  - 7 (3)
  - 3 (4)
  - 2 (5)

- How worried are you that attacks on the country's computer systems will personally impact you?
  - Very worried (1)
  - Somewhat worried (2)
  - Not at all worried (3)
  - Not sure (4)

- Please rate whether you agree or disagree with the following responses.

	Strongly agree (1)	Somewhat agree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Somewhat disagree (4)	Strongly disagree (5)
The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other nations get along as well as they can on their own. (intlattitudes_1)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
The U.S. should support Israel over the Palestinians in the Middle East. (intlattitudes_2)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯
The U.S. has a special role to play in world affairs and should behave differently than other nations. (intlattitudes_3)	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯

- How important do you think each of the following should be for U.S. foreign policy?
- Now, we are going to ask you a few questions about facts regarding international affairs. It is important that you rely only on your own knowledge, and respond without searching to find the correct answer.
- To the best of your knowledge, which country most recently had a military coup?
  - Nigeria (1)

	Very important (1)	Somewhat important (2)	Not important (3)
Maintaining superior military power worldwide (intlpriorities_1)	○	○	○
Strengthening the United Nations (intlpriorities_2)	○	○	○
Combating world hunger (intlpriorities_3)	○	○	○
Improving the global environment (intlpriorities_4)	○	○	○
Defending U.S. allies (intlpriorities_5)	○	○	○

  - Ecuador (2)
  - Myanmar (3)
  - Bangladesh (4)
  - None of these (5)

- To the best of your knowledge, which of the following countries does NOT have nuclear weapons?
  - Russia (1)
  - Japan (2)
  - India (3)
  - France (4)
  - These all have nuclear weapons (5)
  - None of these have nuclear weapons (6)

- To the best of your knowledge, which of these countries launched a spacecraft that reached orbit around Mars in February 2021?
  - Saudi Arabia (1)
  - Russia (2)
  - United Arab Emirates (3)
  - Qatar (4)
  - India (5)

- Recently, a court in this country annulled the corruption conviction of a former president. To the best of your knowledge, which country of these was it?
  - Brazil (1)
  - Philippines (2)
  - Argentina (3)
  - Mexico (4)
  - None of these (5)
  - All of these (6)

G December Experiment Details

In the November/December questionnaire, we built upon our knowledge and experience from the first round of surveys to make small tweaks to recruitment and analysis. Notably, this included separating the attitudinal/demographic questions from the main experiments, employing the counterfactual question format, and tweaking the inclusion of certain questions. For example, since the Internet experience/threat questions did not have any interesting findings in the April surveys, we deleted them. We also upgraded the cooperative/militant internationalism scale to include items related to isolationism. We also updated our knowledge survey because the "scan" items had become outdated. Because this survey would hinge more on the specific traits of countries, we added feeling "thermometers" (seven-point scale) to adjust for pre-existing feelings toward other countries.

G.1 Participant Variables Questionnaire

- What is your gender?
  - Male
  - Female
  - Non-binary / third gender
  - Not listed (please specify)
  - I prefer not to say (4)

- How would you describe your racial identity? Please choose one or more categories
  - American Indian or Alaska Native (1)
  - Asian (2)
  - Black or African-American (3)
  - Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (4)
  - White (5)

- Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?
  - Yes (1)
  - No (2)

- What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed? (If you are currently enrolled in school, please indicate the highest degree you have received.)
  - Less than a high school diploma (1)
  - High school degree or equivalent (e.g. GED) (2)

  - Some college, no degree (3)
  - Associate's degree (e.g. AA or AS) (4)
  - Bachelor's degree (e.g. BA or BS) (5)
  - Master's degree (e.g. MA, MS, M.Ed.) (6)
  - Professional degree (e.g. JD, MD, DDS) (7)
  - Doctorate (e.g. PhD, EdD) (8)

- Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?
  - Republican (1)
  - Democrat (2)
  - Independent (3)
  - Other (4)

- Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?
- Strong (1)
- Not very strong (2)

- Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?
- Strong (1)
- Not very strong (2)

- Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?
- Republican (1)
- Democratic (2)
- Neither (3)

- Are you a veteran or currently serving member of the U.S. military?
- Yes (1)
- No (2)

- Which branch did/do you serve in? Select the answer that best fits.
- Army (1)
- Navy (2)
- Air Force (3)
- Marine Corps (4)
- Coast Guard (5)
- Space Force (6)
- Army or Air National Guard (7)

- What is your employment status?
- Full-time employed (1)
- Part-time employed (2)
- Contract/temporary (3)
- Unemployed (4)
- Retired (8)
- Unable to work (5)
- Not listed (please specify) (6)
- I prefer not to say (7)

- What is the level of your annual household income?
- Less than $25,000 (1)
- $25,000-$50,000 (2)
- $50,000-$100,000 (3)
- $100,000-$200,000 (4)
- More than $200,000 (5)
- I prefer not to say (6)

- What is your marital status?

- Married (1)
- In a relationship (8)
- Divorced (2)
- Separated (3)
- Widowed (7)
- Single (4)
- Not listed (please specify) (5)
- I prefer not to say (15)

- Do you currently live in a rural area, small town, suburb, or a city?
- Rural area (1)
- Small town (2)
- Suburb (3)
- City (4)
- Other (5)
- I prefer not to say (6)

- How often do you watch, read, or hear news? By news, we mean any kind of news, including sports, traffic, weather, stocks, politics, lifestyle, or any other kind of news, by any means.
- Several times an hour (1)
- Several times a day (2)
- Once a day (3)
- Several times a week (4)
- Once a week (5)
- Less often than once a week (6)
- Never (7)

- How important is it to you personally to keep up with news and information?
- Not at all important (1)
- Not very important (2)
- Somewhat important (3)
- Very important (4)
- Extremely important (5)

- Choose the statement that best describes you, even if it is not exactly right.
- I actively seek out news and information (1)
- I mostly bump into news and information while I do other things or I hear about it from others (2)

Now, we are going to ask you a few questions about facts regarding international affairs.

It is important that you rely only on your own knowledge, and respond without searching to find the correct answer.

- Will you answer the following questions **without** help from outside sources, like the Internet?
- Yes (4)
- No (5)

- To the best of your knowledge, who is the current U.S. secretary of state?
- Kamala Harris (1)
- Mike Pompeo (2)
- John Kerry (3)
- Antony Blinken (4)
- None of these (5)
- I don't know (6)

- To the best of your knowledge, which of the following countries does NOT have nuclear weapons?

- Russia (1)
- Japan (2)
- India (3)
- France (4)
- These all have nuclear weapons (5)
- None of these have nuclear weapons (6)
- I don't know (7)

- To the best of your knowledge, who is currently the prime minister of Belize?
- Dean Barrow (1)
- Johnny Briceño (2)
- Queen Elizabeth (3)
- Jair Bolsonaro (4)
- None of these (5)
- I don't know (6)

- To the best of your knowledge, who is currently the chancellor of Germany?
- Angela Merkel (1)
- Olaf Scholz (2)
- Armin Laschet (3)
- Annalena Baerbock (4)
- None of these (6)
- I don't know (5)

- The United States brokered a peace deal between Israel and this country in the 1979 Camp David accords:
- Egypt (1)
- Jordan (2)

- Turkey (3)
- Iraq (4)
- None of these (5)
- All of these (6)

- To the best of your knowledge, a representative from which country currently serves as president of the UN Economic and Social Council?
- Botswana (1)
- Pakistan (2)
- France (3)
- Brazil (4)
- None of these (5)
- I don't know (6)

We're interested in learning more about your pop-culture views. Researchers increasingly believe that entertainment can tell much about how people view themselves in relation to society.

The Marvel Cinematic Universe is a popular film and television franchise. Some people believe their favorite character is Iron Man, while other people like Thor or Captain America. Still others like the talking tree named Groot. Regardless of your favorite character, for the following question, please choose the answer Hawkeye.

- Who is your favorite character from the Marvel Cinematic Universe?
- Hawkeye (1)
- Iron Man (2)
- Thor (3)
- Captain America (4)
- Groot (5)

The next several questions will ask you to rate whether you agree or disagree with a given statement. Please read carefully and then choose the answer that best describes your opinion.

- The United States should take all steps, including the use of force, to prevent aggression by any expansionist power.

- Strongly agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly disagree (5)
- Don't know (6)

- The United States needs a strong military to be effective in international relations.
- Strongly agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly disagree (5)
- Don't know (6)

- The United States should be more committed to diplomacy and not so fast to use the military in international crises.
- Strongly agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly disagree (5)
- Don't know (6)

- The United States should work more through international organizations, like the UN.
- Strongly agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)

- Disagree (4)
- Strongly disagree (5)
- Don't know (6)

- In deciding on its foreign policies, the United States should take into account the views of its major allies.
- Strongly agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly disagree (5)
- Don't know (6)

- The best way for the United States to be a world leader in foreign affairs is to build international consensus.
- Strongly agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly disagree (5)
- Don't know (6)

- The interests of the United States are best protected by avoiding involvement with other nations.
- Strongly agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly disagree (5)

- Don't know (6)

- The United States shouldn't risk its citizens' happiness and well-being by getting involved with other nations.
- Strongly agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly disagree (5)
- Don't know (6)

- The United States needs to simply mind its own business when it comes to international affairs.
- Strongly agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Neither agree nor disagree (3)
- Disagree (4)
- Strongly disagree (5)
- Don't know (6)

- How often can you trust the federal government in Washington to do what is right?
- Always (1)
- Most of the time (2)
- About half the time (3)
- Some of the time (4)
- Never (5)

- Do you approve or disapprove of the way that President Biden has been handling his job?

- Strongly approve (1)
- Somewhat approve (2)
- Somewhat disapprove (3)
- Strongly disapprove (4)
- Don't know (5)

- Do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?
- Strongly approve (1)
- Somewhat approve (2)
- Somewhat disapprove (3)
- Strongly disapprove (4)
- Don't know (5)

Now, we'd like to ask you some questions about how you feel about certain countries. Just answer based on your first reaction—this is about your feelings.

- How would you rate your feelings toward **Russia**?
-
- Very warm (1)
- Warm (2)
- Somewhat warm (3)
- Neither warm nor cold (4)
- Somewhat cold (5)
- Cold (6)
- Very cold (7)
- Don't know (8)

- How would you rate your feelings toward **the People's Republic of China**?
- Very warm (1)
- Warm (2)

- Somewhat warm (3)
- Neither warm nor cold (4)
- Somewhat cold (5)
- Cold (6)
- Very cold (7)
- Don't know (8)

- How would you rate your feelings toward **Iran**?
- Very warm (1)
- Warm (2)
- Somewhat warm (3)
- Neither warm nor cold (4)
- Somewhat cold (5)
- Cold (6)
- Very cold (7)
- Don't know (8)

- How would you rate your feelings toward **Norway**?
- Very warm (1)
- Warm (2)
- Somewhat warm (3)
- Neither warm nor cold (4)
- Somewhat cold (5)
- Cold (6)
- Very cold (7)
- Don't know (8)

- How would you rate your feelings toward **Brazil**?

- Very warm (1)
- Warm (2)
- Somewhat warm (3)
- Neither warm nor cold (4)
- Somewhat cold (5)
- Cold (6)
- Very cold (7)
- Don't know (8)

- How would you rate your feelings toward the **United Kingdom**?
- Very warm (1)
- Warm (2)
- Somewhat warm (3)
- Neither warm nor cold (4)
- Somewhat cold (5)
- Cold (6)
- Very cold (7)
- Don't know (8)

- How would you rate your feelings toward **Germany**?
- Very warm (1)
- Warm (2)
- Somewhat warm (3)
- Neither warm nor cold (4)
- Somewhat cold (5)
- Cold (6)
- Very cold (7)

- Don't know (8)

- How would you rate your feelings toward **Sweden**?
- Very warm (1)
- Warm (2)
- Somewhat warm (3)
- Neither warm nor cold (4)
- Somewhat cold (5)
- Cold (6)
- Very cold (7)
- Don't know (8)

- How would you rate your feelings toward **Estonia**?
- Very warm (1)
- Warm (2)
- Somewhat warm (3)
- Neither warm nor cold (4)
- Somewhat cold (5)
- Cold (6)
- Very cold (7)
- Don't know (8)

- How would you rate your feelings toward **Israel**?
- Very warm (1)
- Warm (2)
- Somewhat warm (3)
- Neither warm nor cold (4)
- Somewhat cold (5)

- Cold (6)
- Very cold (7)
- Don't know (8)

- How would you rate your feelings toward **North Korea**?
- Very warm (1)
- Warm (2)
- Somewhat warm (3)
- Neither warm nor cold (4)
- Somewhat cold (5)
- Cold (6)
- Very cold (7)
- Don't know (8)

- Have you or someone you know been diagnosed with the novel coronavirus (COVID-19) during the past year? Select all that apply.
- Yes, I have (1)
- Yes, a family member (2)
- Yes, a friend (3)
- Yes, a co-worker (4)
- No, I do not know anyone who has been diagnosed (5)
- Don't know/prefer not to answer (6)

- Do you know anyone who died from the novel coronavirus (COVID-19)? Select all that apply.
- Yes, a family member (2)
- Yes, a friend (3)
- Yes, a co-worker (4)

- No, I do not know anyone who has died from coronavirus (5)
- Don't know/prefer not to answer (6)

- How did your work status change as a result of the coronavirus pandemic? Select all that apply.
- My hours have been reduced (2)
- My hours were reduced, but they have been restored (3)
- I was temporarily laid off (4)
- I was temporarily laid off but have now been re-hired (5)
- I lost my job (8)
- I was not working when the pandemic began (10)
- The pandemic had no effect on my work status (9)
- Don't know/prefer not to answer (6)