Online Appendix: "Can You Have It Both Ways? Attribution and Plausible Deniability in Unclaimed Coercion"

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Table A1: Regression Analysis for Figure 1 in Article

Independent variable	Coefficient	SE
Target	-0.01	0.07
Unclaimed	-0.205***	0.07
Interaction	0.18*	0.10
Number of observations	402	

Note: OLS regression. Inference: * $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.01$

Table A2: Balance Statistics

Target vs. Other Country

	Target Country	Other Country	Difference	p-value*
Gender	1.455	1.528	0.073	0.15
Ideology	4.095	4.086	-0.009	0.96
Partisanship	4.235	4.305	0.070	0.77
National Pride	0.821	0.795	-0.026	0.51
Age	3.763	3.583	-0.180	0.28
Education	3.397	3.16	-0.237	0.15
Interest	3.25	3.16	-0.088	0.28

Claimed vs. Unclaimed

	Claimed	Unclaimed	Difference	p-value*
Gender	1.478	1.505	-0.027	0.58
Ideology	4.08	4.101	-0.021	0.91
Partisanship	4.246	4.293	-0.047	0.85
National Pride	0.782	0.834	-0.052	0.19
Age	3.73	3.614	0.116	0.49
Education	3.325	3.231	0.094	0.57
Interest	3.131	3.281	-0.151	0.07

*two-tailed test

Table A3: Duration in Seconds for Target vs. Other Country Subjects

	Target Country	Other Country	Difference	p-value*
Duration	470	544	73	0.55

*two-tailed test

Table A4: Multiple Mediators Analysis – Anger and Confusion

Mediator	Coefficient	Bootstrap SE	Bias-corrected confidence interval	
Anger	.026	0.012	.008	.055
Confusion	.017	0.011	-.0001	.043
Total indirect	.043	0.015	.018	.078

Note: SUR (seemingly unrelated regression). Bootstrap standard errors.

Figure A1: Figure 1 with Pre-Treatment Control (Gender)

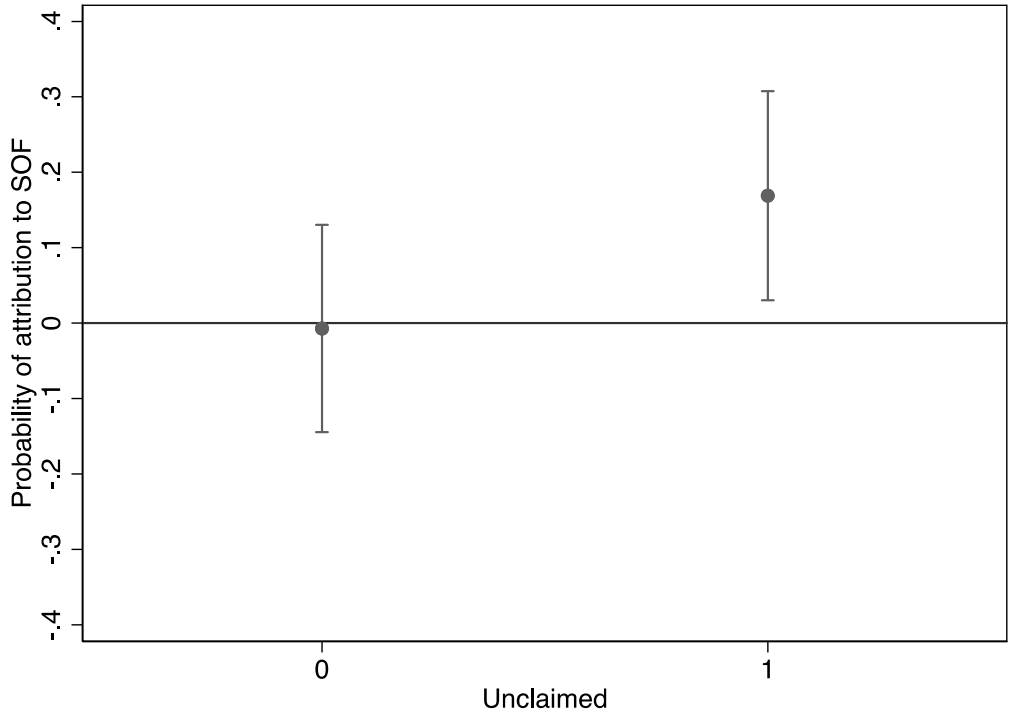


Figure A2: Figure 1 with Pre-Treatment Control (Ideology)

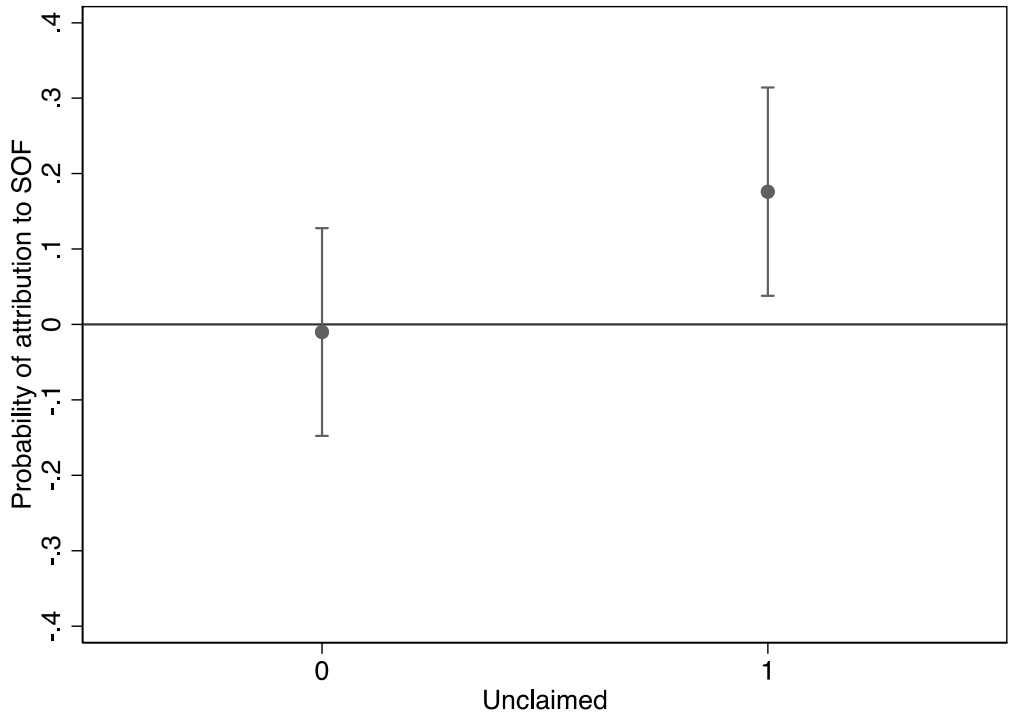


Figure A3: Figure 1 with Pre-Treatment Control (Partisanship)

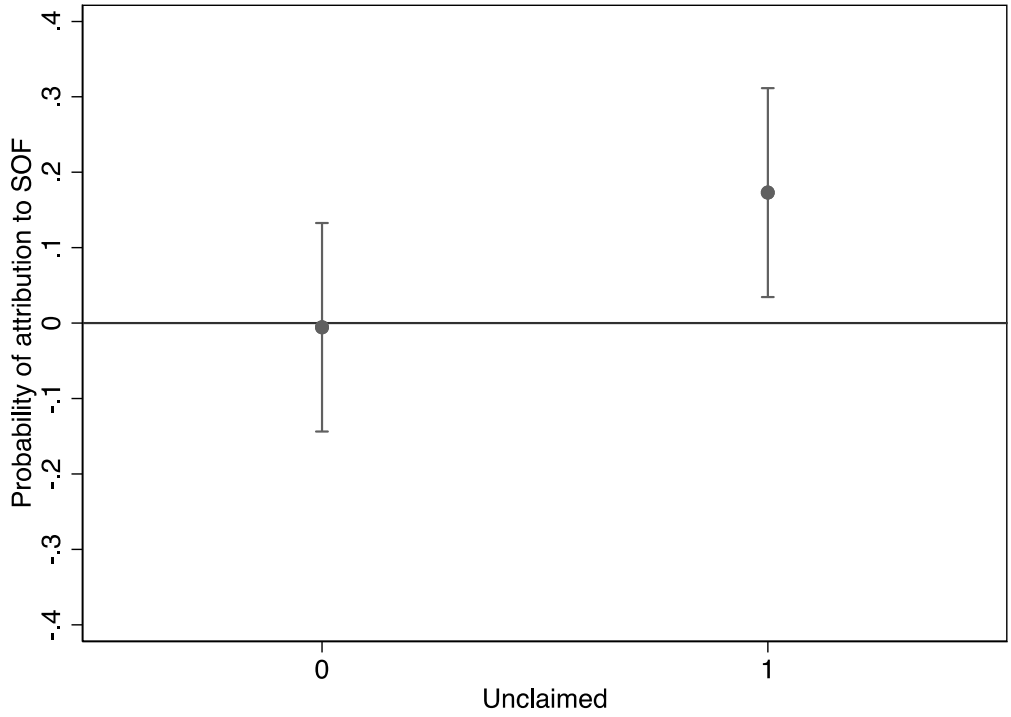


Figure A4: Figure 1 with Pre-Treatment Control (National Pride)

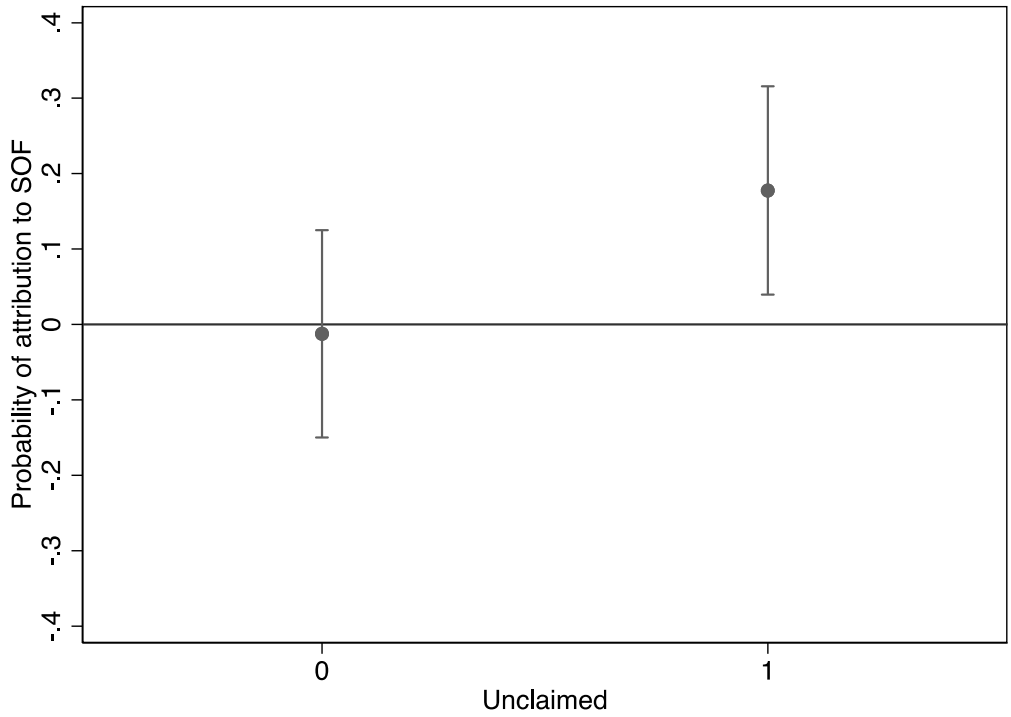


Figure A5: Figure 1 with Pre-Treatment Control (Age)

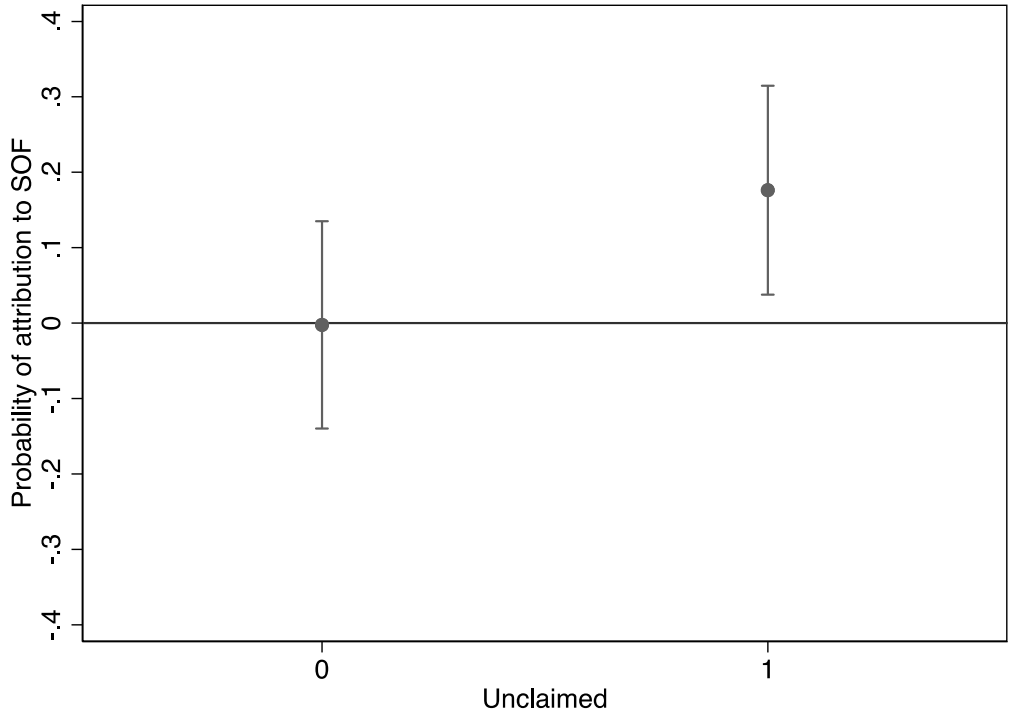


Figure A6: Figure 1 with Pre-Treatment Control (Education)

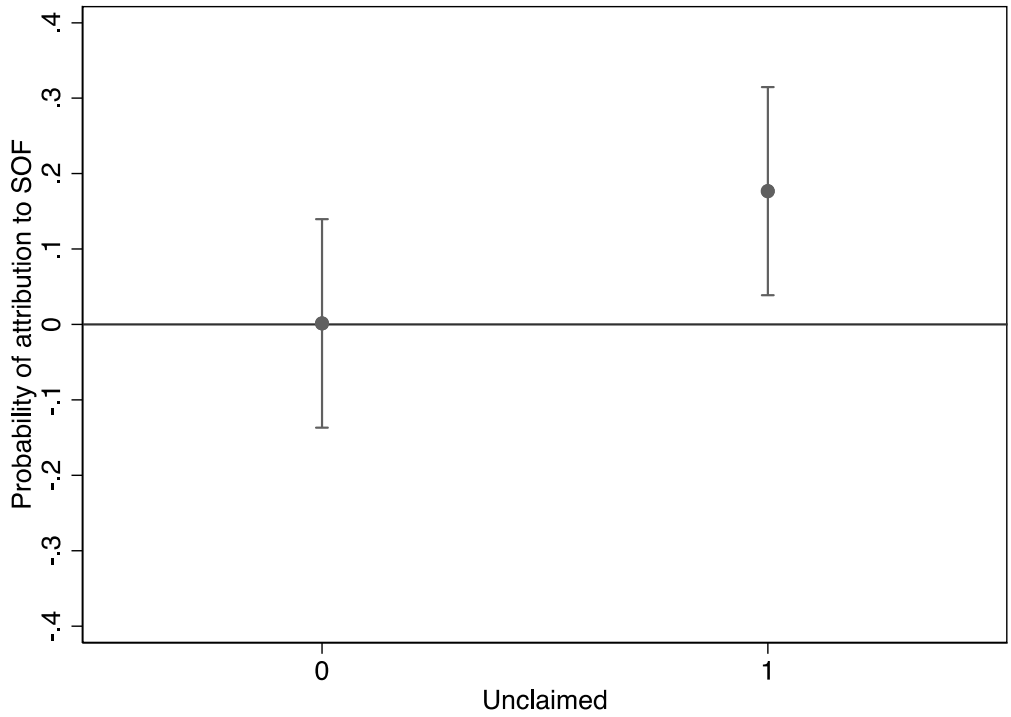


Figure A7: Figure 1 with Pre-Treatment Control (Interest in Current Affairs)

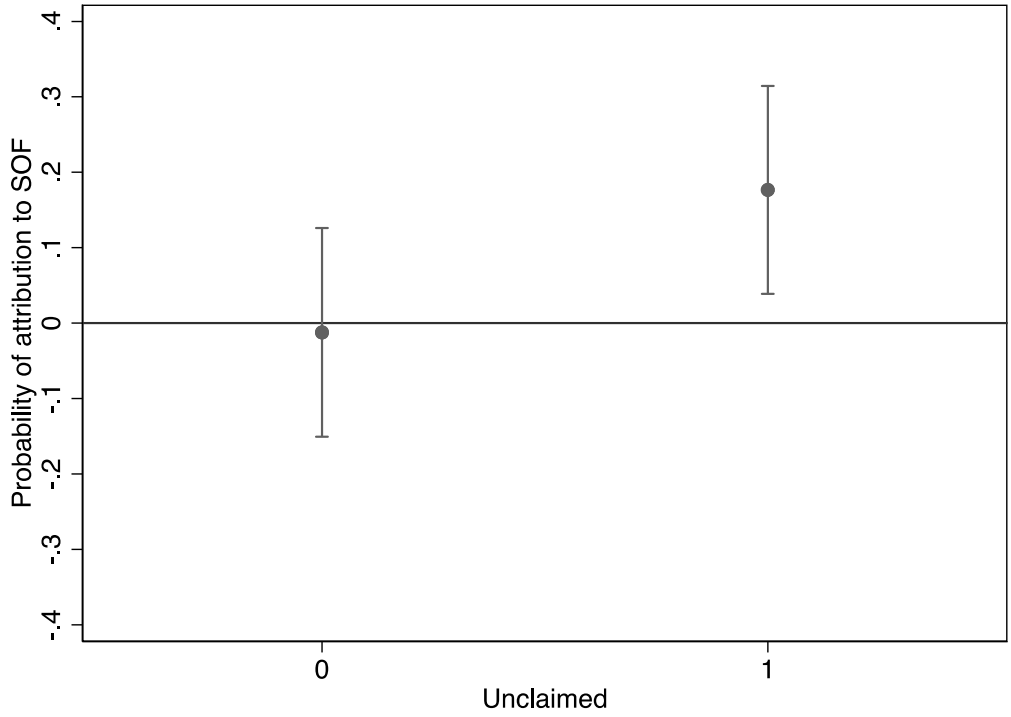


Figure A8: Figure 1 with Pre-Treatment Control (Duration)

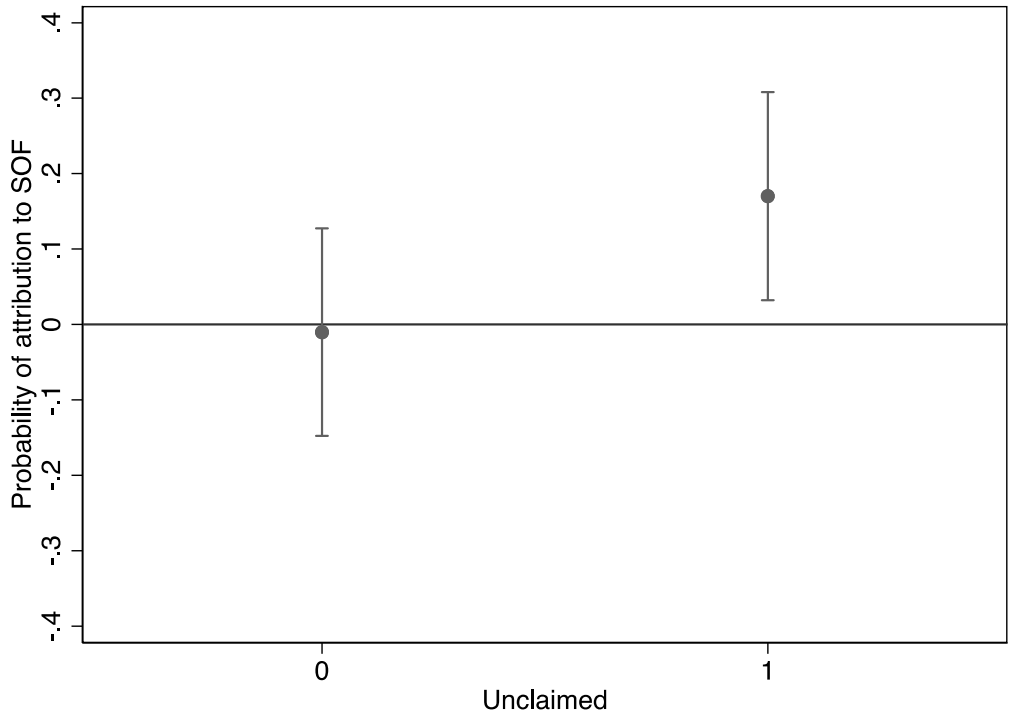


Figure A9: Figure 1 with Pre-Treatment Control (All Controls)

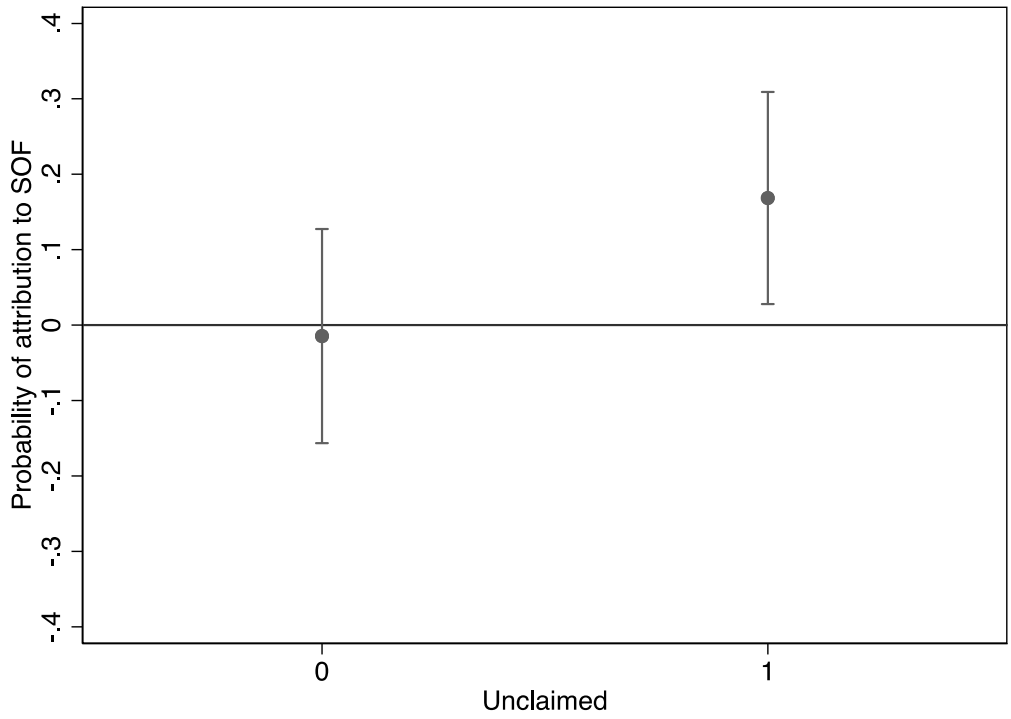


Figure A10: Anger as Mediator

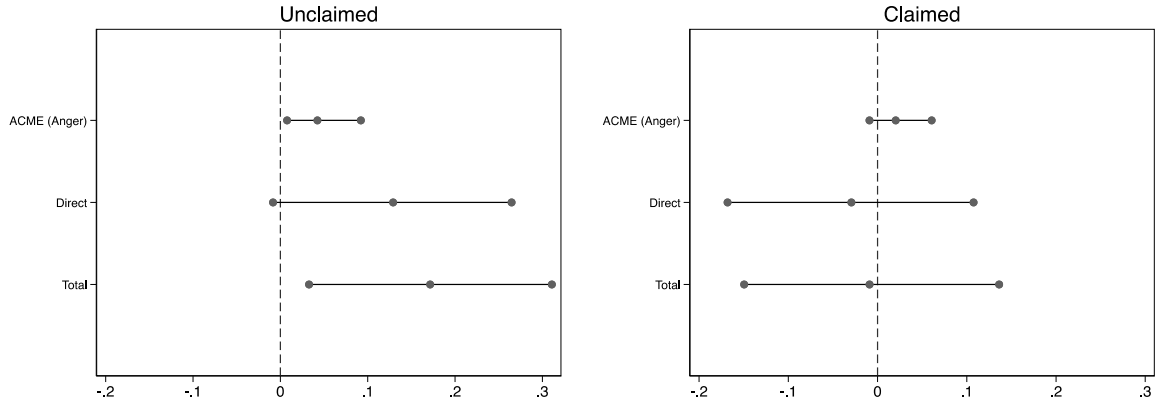


Figure A11: Fear as Mediator

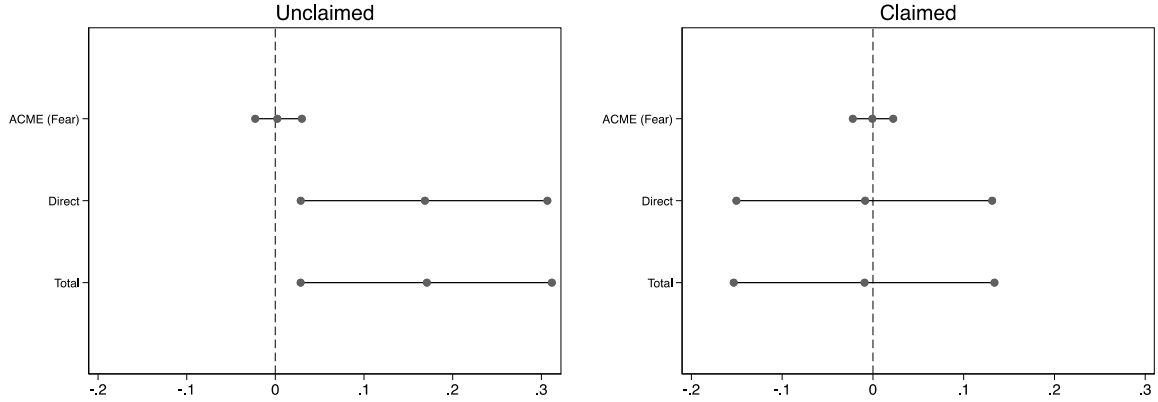


Figure A12: Resignation as Mediator

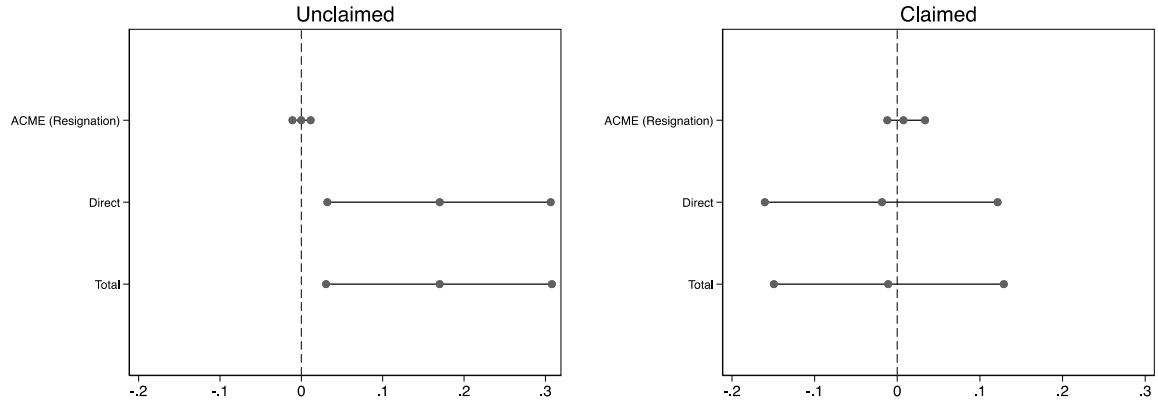
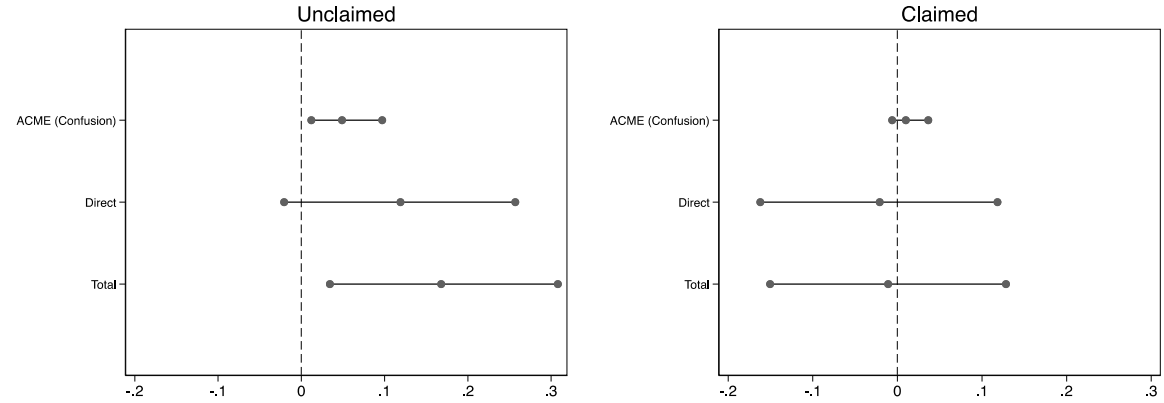


Figure A13: Confusion as Mediator



Note: ACME is the effect of the mediator when there is a shift from the value it would take on if the treatment were 0 to the value it would take on if the treatment were 1, while holding the value of the treatment constant.

Figure A14: Indifference as Mediator

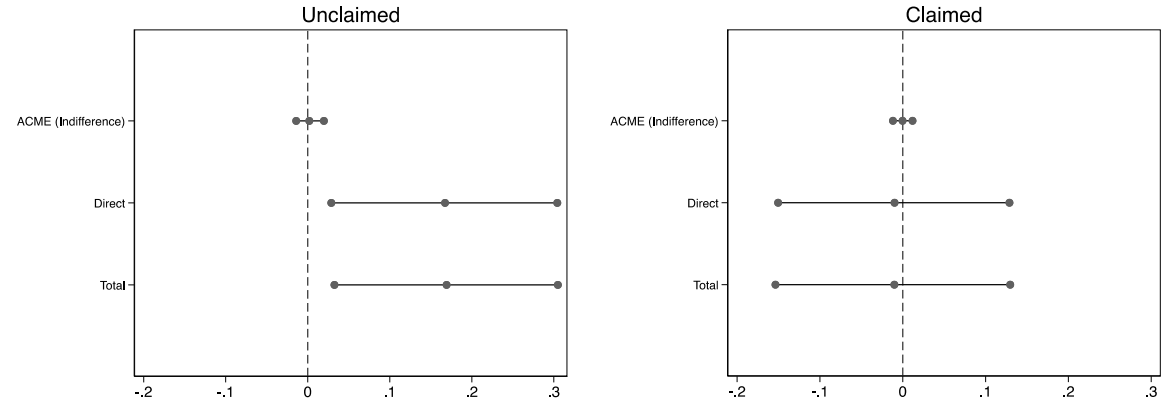


Figure A15: Other as Mediator

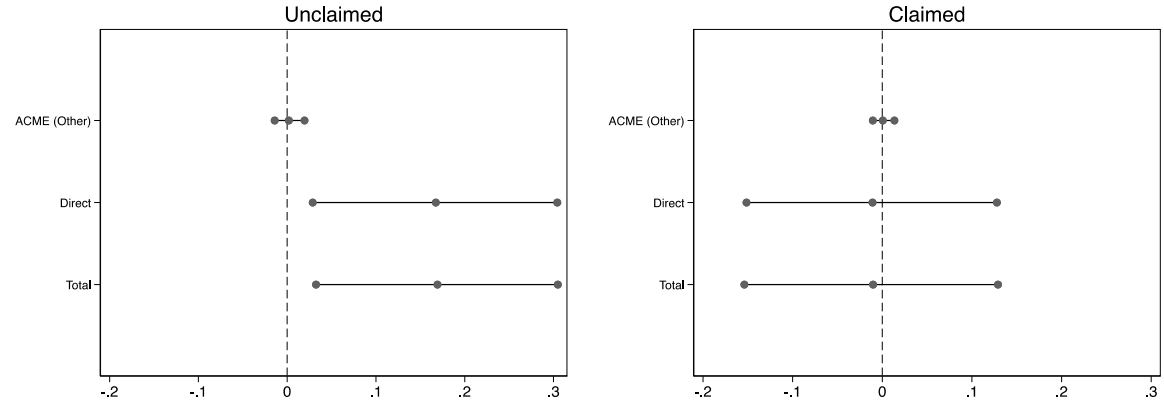


Figure A16: Pre-Treatment Control (Gender)

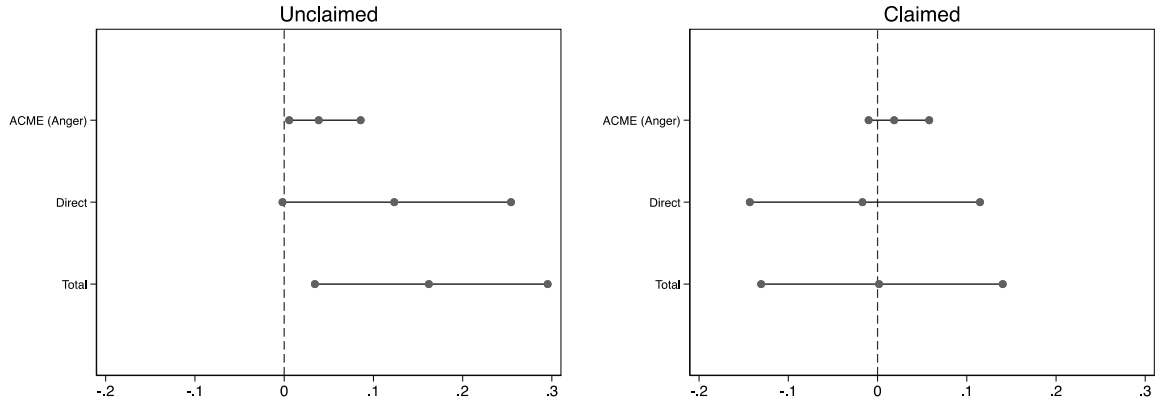


Figure A17: Pre-Treatment Control (Ideology)

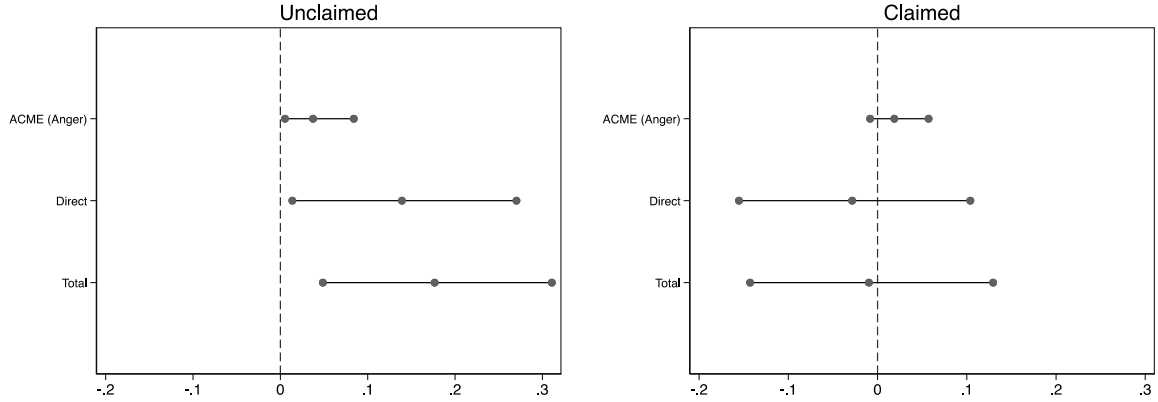


Figure A18: Pre-Treatment Control (Partisanship)

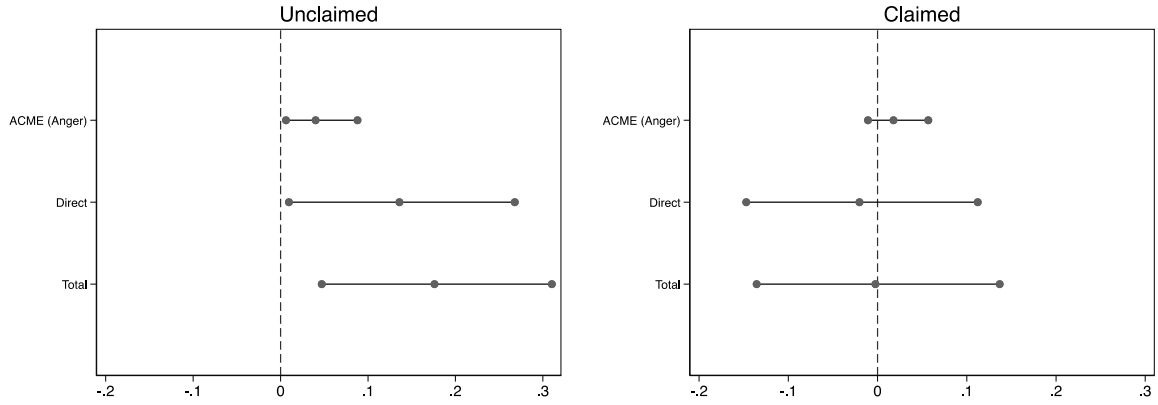


Figure A19: Pre-Treatment Control (National Pride)

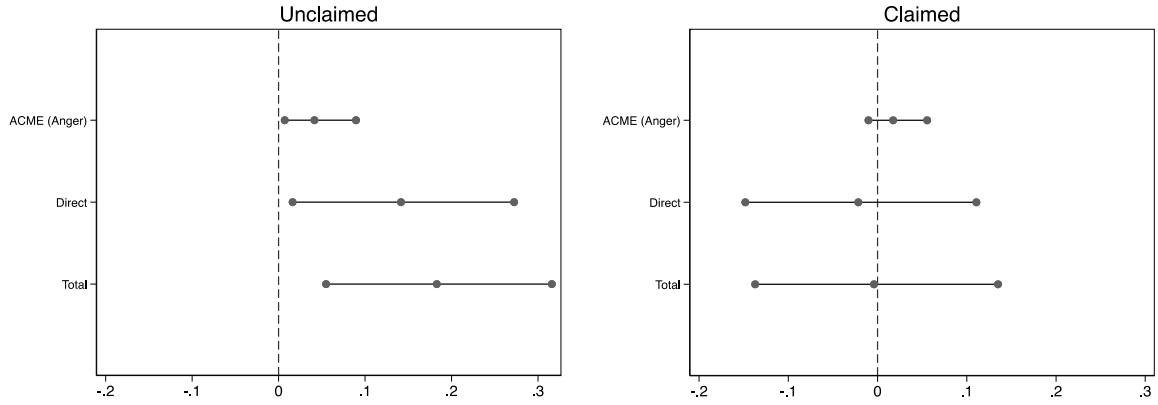


Figure A20: Pre-Treatment Control (Age)

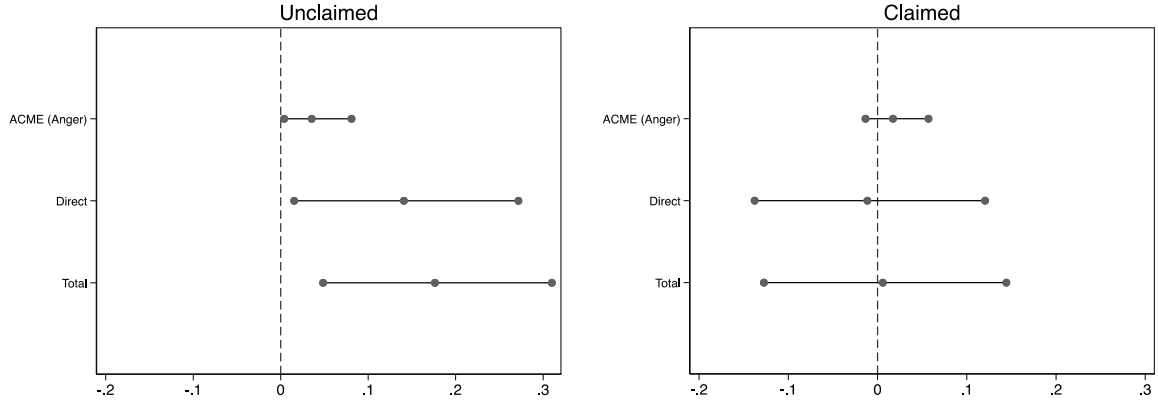


Figure A21: Pre-Treatment Control (Education)

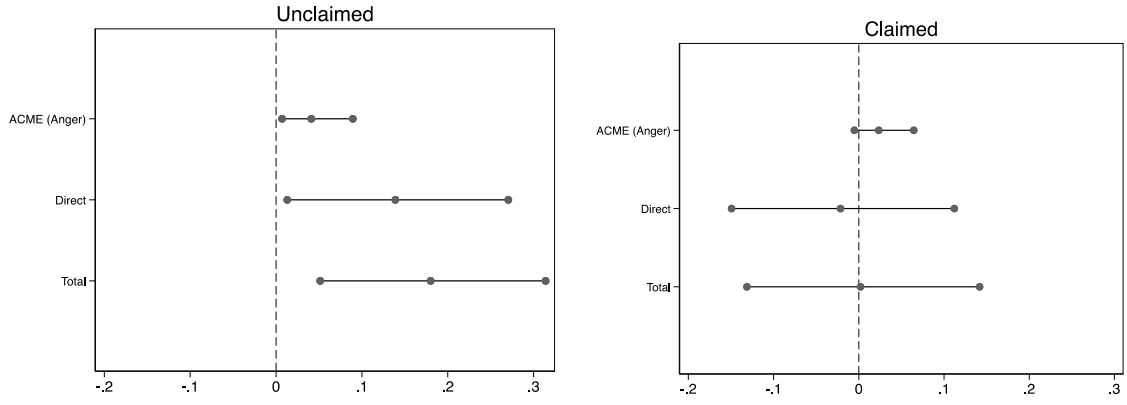


Figure A22: Pre-Treatment Control (Interest in Current Affairs)

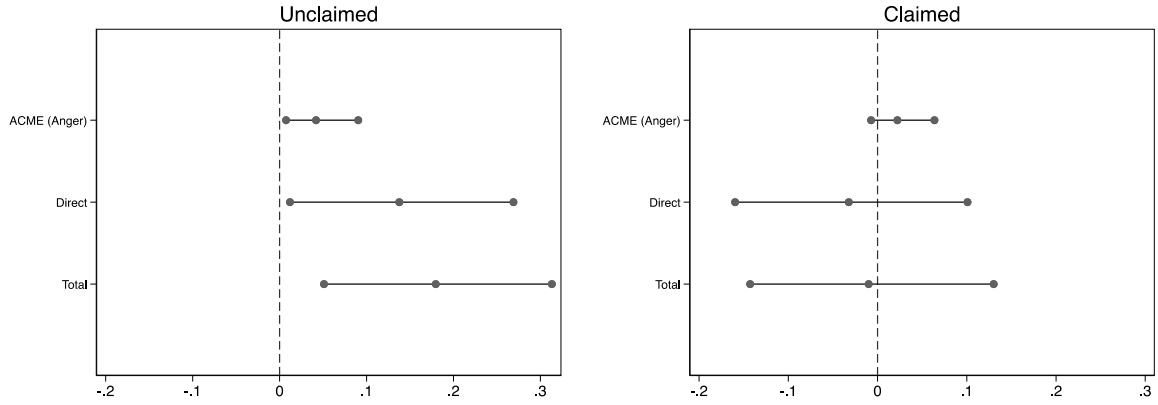


Figure A23: Duration

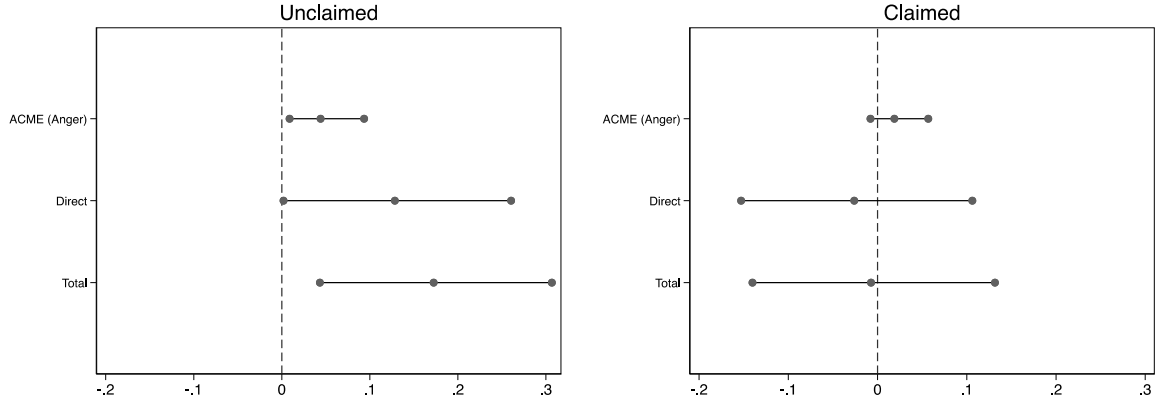


Figure A24: All Pre-Treatment Control and Duration

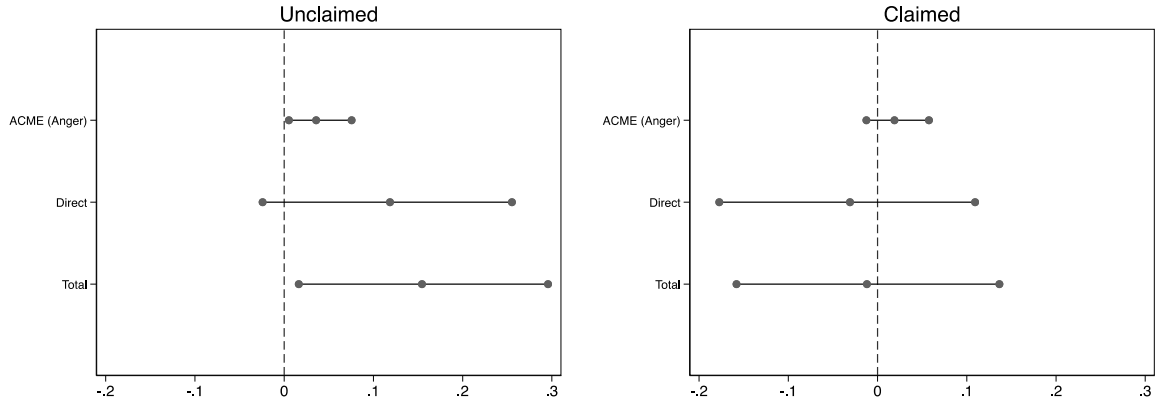


Figure A25: Drop "Other" Response Observations

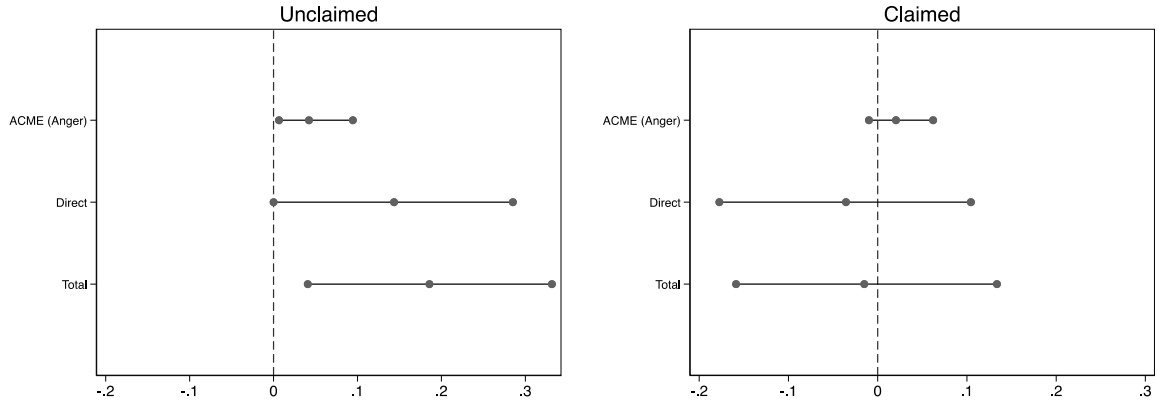
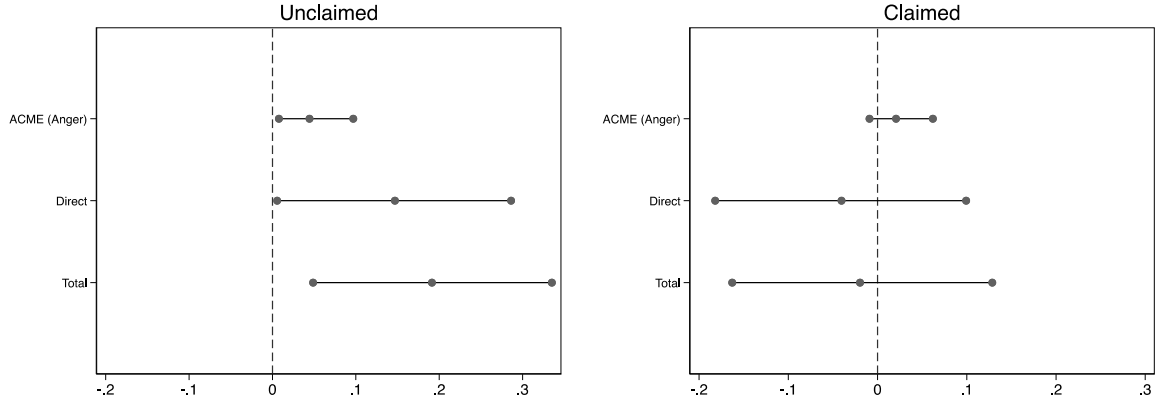


Figure A26: Drop "Other" Response Observations, Except Those Recoded as Confusion



Answers Provided by Subjects Choosing "Other" as Description of How They Felt

1) [no response]
2) [no response]
3) [no response]
4) [no response]
5) [no response]
6) [no response]
7) [no response]
8) [no response]
9) [no response]
10) [no response]
11) Intelligent response using minimal bias and maximal analysis
12) Sad
13) Steadfast
14) Amusement
15) Loss
16) Frustration
17) Defensive
18) Happy
19) Responsibility
20) Rebellious
21) Too many feelings
22) Need more information [coded as "confusion" for robustness check]
23) Uninformed [coded as "confusion" for robustness check]
24) Puzzled [coded as "confusion" for robustness check]
25) Complicated to understand what's going on [coded as "confusion" for robustness check]
26) In the dark. Need more information to make a decision [coded as "confusion" for robustness check]

Codebook

Attribution – A binary variable indicating whether the respondent identified Sons of Freedom as the perpetrator with moderate or high confidence.

Unclaimed – A binary variable indicating whether the attack described in the vignette went unclaimed.

Own country – A binary variable indicating whether the attack described in the vignette targeted the respondent's country.

Anger – A binary variable indicating respondent's self-reported feeling of "anger" (1). 0 otherwise.

Fear – A binary variable indicating respondent's self-reported feeling of "fear" (1). 0 otherwise.

Resignation – A binary variable indicating respondent's self-reported feeling of "resignation" (1). 0 otherwise.

Confusion – A binary variable indicating respondent's self-reported feeling of "confusion" (1). 0 otherwise.

Indifference – A binary variable indicating respondent's self-reported feeling of "indifference" (1). 0 otherwise.

Other – A binary variable indicating respondent's self-reported feeling of "other" (1). 0 otherwise.

Gender – A binary variable taking on 1 for female respondents and 2 for male respondents.

Ideology – An ordinal variable where "Very Conservative" = 1, "Conservative" = 2, "Slightly Conservative" = 3, "Moderate" = 4, "Slightly Liberal" = 5, "Liberal" = 6, and "Very Liberal" = 7.

Partisanship – An ordinal variable where "Strongly Republican" = 1, "Weakly Republican" = 2, "Lean Republican" = 3, "Pure Independent" = 4, "Lean Democrat" = 5, "Weakly Democrat" = 6, and "Strongly Democrat" = 7.

National Pride – A binary variable where the responses (to a question about respondents' pride in their country) "Quite proud" and "Very proud" are coded as 1, and the responses "Not proud at all" and "Not very proud" are coded as 0.

Age – An ordinal variable that records the respondent's age in years (18-24=1, 25-34=2, 35-44=3, 45-54 =4, 55-64=5, 65 or older=6.

Education – An ordinal variable where "Less than high school" = 1, "High school graduate" = 2, "Some college, no degree" = 3, "Associate's degree" = 4, "Bachelor's degree" = 5, "Graduate or advanced degree" = 6, and "Ph.D." = 7.

Interest in Current Affairs – A categorical variable where “Not interested at all” = 1, “Not interested” =2, “Somewhat interested” = 3, and “Very interested” = 4.

Survey experiment text

Pre-experiment general questions

Please answer the following questions about yourself:

-Are you at least 18 years old? (Yes, No)

-Are you fluent in English? (Yes, No)

-What is your gender? (Female, Male, Other)

-How old are you?

-Which one of the following best describes your politics? (Very liberal, Liberal, Slightly liberal, Moderate, Slightly conservative, Conservative, Very conservative)

-What is the highest degree or level of education you have achieved? (Less than high school, High school graduate, Some college, No degree, Associate's degree, Bachelor's degree, Graduate or advanced professional degree, Ph.D.)

-How interested are you in current affairs? (Very interested, Somewhat interested, Not interested, Not interested at all)

-How proud of your country are you? (Very proud, Quite proud, Not very proud, Not proud at all)

-Which of the following political categories do you identify with? (Republican, Democrat Independent)

-You have identified as Republican [Democrat]: Which of the following best describes you? (Strongly Republican [Democrat], Weakly Republican [Democrat])

- You have identified as Independent: Which of the following best describes you? (Lean Democrat, Lean Republican, Pure independent)

-When is war justified? (Never, In case of self-defense only, To ensure the safety and well-being of the nation, Always, In other circumstances, I don't know)

[Vignette 1: Unclaimed attack against respondent's country]

You are going to read about a scenario involving your country. This is fictional, but similar events have occurred in the past and may occur again. We are interested in knowing how you would react.

A major terrorist attack against your country has occurred. Casualties are in the hundreds. News broadcasts are filled with images of destruction like the one below, with bodies still being recovered from the rubble by emergency response teams. Intelligence agencies and media reports point to the Sons of Freedom, a terrorist organization that seeks the withdrawal of all foreign troops (including those of your country) from its homeland, Ruritania, as the likely culprit. Yet the group has not claimed responsibility for the attack.

-Question 1: Who do you think conducted the attack? (Sons of Freedom, Another terrorist organization, Ruritania, Another country, Your own government)

-Question 2: How confident are you in your assessment? (Very confident, Somewhat confident, Not at all confident)

-Question 3

Which one of the following terms best describes how you feel? (Fear, Indifference, Resignation, Confusion, Anger, Other [respondent types in emotion])

-Question 4

You said that fear [indifference, resignation, confusion, anger, other emotion] best describes how you feel. Which of the following best describes the intensity of your feeling? (Barely afraid at all, A little afraid, Somewhat afraid, Very afraid, Extremely afraid [Indifferent, Resigned, Confused, Angry, Other])

[Vignette 2: Unclaimed attack against respondent's country]

You are going to read about a scenario involving your country. This is fictional, but similar events have occurred in the past and may occur again. We are interested in knowing how you would react.

A major terrorist attack against your country has occurred. Casualties are in the hundreds. News broadcasts are filled with images of destruction like the one below, with bodies still being recovered from the rubble by emergency response teams. Intelligence agencies and media reports point to the Sons of Freedom, a terrorist organization that seeks the withdrawal of all foreign troops (including those of your country) from its homeland, Ruritania, as the likely culprit. The group has recently claimed responsibility for the attack.

-Question 1: Who do you think conducted the attack? (Sons of Freedom, Another terrorist organization, Ruritania, Another country, Your own government)

-Question 2: How confident are you in your assessment? (Very confident, Somewhat confident, Not at all confident)

-Question 3: Which one of the following terms best describes how you feel? (Fear, Indifference, Resignation, Confusion, Anger, Other [respondent types in emotion])

-Question 4: You said that fear [indifference, resignation, confusion, anger, other emotion] best describes how you feel. Which of the following best describes the intensity of your feeling? (Barely afraid at all, A little afraid, Somewhat afraid, Very afraid, Extremely afraid [Indifferent, Resigned, Confused, Angry, Other]

[Vignette 3: Unclaimed attack against another country]
You are going to read about a scenario involving a foreign country. This is fictional, but similar events have occurred in the past and may occur again. We are interested in knowing how you would react.

A major terrorist attack against a foreign country has occurred. Casualties are in the hundreds. News broadcasts are filled with images of destruction like the one below, with bodies still being recovered from the rubble by emergency response teams. Intelligence agencies and media reports point to the Sons of Freedom, a terrorist organization that seeks the withdrawal of all foreign troops (including those of the targeted country) from its homeland, Ruritania, as the likely culprit. Yet the group has not claimed responsibility for the attack.

-Question 1: Who do you think conducted the attack? (Sons of Freedom, Another terrorist organization, The foreign country itself, Ruritania, Another country)

-Question 2: How confident are you in your assessment? (Very confident, Somewhat confident, Not at all confident)

-Question 3: Which one of the following terms best describes how you feel? (Fear, Indifference, Resignation, Confusion, Anger, Other: [respondent types in emotion])

-Question 4: You said that fear [indifference, resignation, confusion, anger, other emotion] best describes how you feel. Which of the following best describes the intensity of your feeling? (Barely afraid at all, A little afraid, Somewhat afraid, Very afraid, Extremely afraid [Indifferent, Resigned, Confused, Angry, Other])

[Vignette 4: Claimed attack against another country]
You are going to read about a scenario involving a foreign country. This is fictional, but similar events have occurred in the past and may occur again. We are interested in knowing how you would react.

A major terrorist attack against a foreign country has occurred. Casualties are in the hundreds. News broadcasts are filled with images of destruction like the one below, with bodies still being recovered from the rubble by emergency response teams. Intelligence agencies and media reports point to the Sons of Freedom, a terrorist organization that seeks the withdrawal of all foreign troops (including those of the targeted country) from its homeland, Ruritania, as the likely culprit. The group has recently claimed responsibility for the attack.

Question 1: Who do you think conducted the attack? (Sons of Freedom, Another terrorist organization, The foreign country itself, Ruritania, Another country)

-Question 2: How confident are you in your assessment? (Very confident. Somewhat confident, Not at all confident)

-Question 3: Which one of the following terms best describes how you feel? (Fear, Indifference, Resignation, Confusion, Anger, Other: [respondent types in emotion])

-Question 4: You said that fear [indifference, resignation, confusion, anger, other emotion] best describes how you feel. Which of the following best describes the intensity of your feeling? (Barely afraid at all, A little afraid, Somewhat afraid, Very afraid, Extremely afraid [Indifferent, Resigned, Confused, Angry, Other])