Supplemental Information for The Tripwire Effect: Experimental Evidence Regarding U.S. Public Opinion

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CCES Experiments

Survey Administration

The 2018 CCES experiment was administered as part of the 2018 Cooperative Congressional Election Study during the pre-election wave (October 2018). A total of 1,000 respondents were included in the survey module; N's for individual experiments are reported in each table.

Survey Questionnaire

Randomly assign respondents to either Version A, Version B, Version C, Version D, Version E, or Version F.

VERSION A: As you know, many American military personnel are deployed to countries where the United States is not currently fighting a war, such as Estonia. Imagine that fighting has broken out between Estonia and Russia. A few U.S. military personnel have been killed by Russian forces.

U.S. policymakers are considering whether to commit additional forces to defend Estonia or to pull back U.S. troops. Committing additional troops could lead to an escalation of the conflict, while pulling back could lead to the defeat of Estonia.

VERSION B: As you know, many American military personnel are deployed to countries where the United States is not currently fighting a war, such as Estonia. Imagine that fighting has broken out between Estonia and Russia. Dozens of U.S. military personnel have been killed by Russian forces.

U.S. policymakers are considering whether to commit additional forces to defend Estonia or to pull back U.S. troops. Committing additional troops could lead to an escalation of the conflict, while pulling back could lead to the defeat of Estonia.

VERSION C: As you know, many American military personnel are deployed to countries where the United States is not currently fighting a war, such as Estonia. Imagine that fighting has broken out between Estonia and Russia. No U.S. military personnel have been killed by Russian forces.

U.S. policymakers are considering whether to commit additional forces to defend Estonia or to pull back U.S. troops. Committing additional troops could lead to an escalation of the conflict, while pulling back could lead to the defeat of Estonia.

VERSION D: As you know, many American military personnel are deployed to countries where the United States is not currently fighting a war, such as South Korea. Imagine that fighting has broken out between South Korea and North Korea. A few U.S. military personnel have been killed by North Korean forces.

U.S. policymakers are considering whether to commit additional forces to defend South Korea or to pull back U.S. troops. Committing additional troops could lead to an escalation of the conflict, while pulling back could lead to the defeat of South Korea.

VERSION E: As you know, many American military personnel are deployed to countries where the United States is not currently fighting a war, such as South Korea. Imagine that fighting has broken out between South Korea and North Korea. Dozens of U.S. military personnel have been killed by North Korean forces.

U.S. policymakers are considering whether to commit additional forces to defend South Korea or to pull back U.S. troops. Committing additional troops could lead to an escalation of the conflict, while pulling back could lead to the defeat of South Korea.

VERSION F: As you know, many American military personnel are deployed to countries where the United States is not currently fighting a war, such as South Korea. Imagine that fighting has broken out between South Korea and North Korea. No U.S. military personnel have been killed by North Korean forces.

U.S. policymakers are considering whether to commit additional forces to defend South Korea or to pull back U.S. troops. Committing additional troops could lead to an escalation of the conflict, while pulling back could lead to the defeat of South Korea.

Would you support committing additional U.S. troops to this conflict?

1. Yes, I support committing additional troops
2. No, I do not support committing additional troops

Adjustment Variables

We asked respondents if they identified as Republicans, Democrats, or Independent/Other. If respondents stated that they identified as Rs or Ds, we asked if they thought of themselves as "Strong" or "Weak" members of that party. If they identified as Independent/Other, we asked if they leaned toward the R or D parties. A similar procedure was undertaken with the CCES questions. (As the questionnaires below demonstrate, some questionnaires forced a choice for independents to identify with a member of a political party.)

This gave us a familiar 7-point scale:

- 0 = Strong Republican
- 1 = Weak Republican

- 2 = Lean Republican (Independent)
- 3 = Independent (no partisan preference)
- 4 = Lean Democrat (Independent)
- 5 = Weak Democrat
- 6 = Strong Democrat

We code 0, 1, and 2 as Republicans and 4, 5, and 6 as Democrats, while only 3s are Independents.

Age is respondents' age, in years.

College takes a 1 if respondents have a college degree (BA/BS) or higher and a 0 otherwise.

White takes a 1 if respondents say they are white with no other racial identity.

Female takes a 1 for female-responding CES users.

Full Results

We present full results in tabular form for the models presented in the main paper. We also present a variety of alternative specifications in tabular form, including versions that code the fatalities treatment as dichotomous (any deaths/no deaths), versions that use logistic regression, versions that treat the fatalities treatments as a continuous (rather than categorical) variable, versions that omit the interaction term, and versions that divide our findings by party.

Table 1: OLS Models of CES Experiments

	Dependent variable:			
	supportthetroops			
	Base	Adjustments	2018 Only	2020 Only
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
A Few Deaths	0.035	0.027	0.035	0.020
	(0.038)	(0.038)	(0.055)	(0.052)
Dozens of Deaths	0.019	0.018	0.006	0.036
	(0.038)	(0.037)	(0.053)	(0.054)
Scenario	−0.120**	−0.124**	−0.095+	−0.153**
	(0.038)	(0.037)	(0.053)	(0.052)
Dozens of Deaths x Estonia	0.004	0.023	0.025	0.025
	(0.055)	(0.053)	(0.078)	(0.073)
A Few Deaths x Estonia	0.055	0.062	0.036	0.081
	(0.055)	(0.053)	(0.076)	(0.076)
Experiment Year		−0.032		
		(0.022)		
Age		0.001+	0.001	0.002+
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female		−0.129**	−0.099**	−0.157**
		(0.022)	(0.032)	(0.031)
White		0.075**	0.027	0.131**
		(0.026)	(0.036)	(0.037)
College		0.040+	0.045	0.038
		(0.023)	(0.034)	(0.032)
Democratic		−0.152**	−0.120**	−0.175**
		(0.025)	(0.035)	(0.034)
Independent		−0.120**	−0.127**	−0.112*
		(0.033)	(0.046)	(0.047)
Constant	0.525**	0.571**	0.599**	0.514**
	(0.026)	(0.050)	(0.068)	(0.070)
Observations	1,967	1,965	979	986
R^2	0.012	0.067	0.037	0.106
Adjusted R^2	0.010	0.061	0.026	0.096

Table 2: OLS Models of CES Experiments

	Dependent variable:			
	supportthetroops			
	Base	Adjustments	2018 Only	2020 Only
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Any Deaths	0.027	0.023	0.019	0.027
	(0.033)	(0.032)	(0.046)	(0.045)
Scenario	-0.120^{**}	-0.124^{**}	-0.095^{+}	-0.153^{**}
	(0.038)	(0.037)	(0.053)	(0.052)
Any Deaths x Estonia	0.030	0.043	0.031	0.051
	(0.047)	(0.046)	(0.066)	(0.064)
Experiment Year		-0.032		
		(0.022)		
Age		0.001^{+}	0.001	0.002^{+}
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female		-0.129^{**}	-0.099^{**}	-0.156^{**}
		(0.022)	(0.032)	(0.031)
White		0.075^{**}	0.027	0.129^{**}
		(0.026)	(0.036)	(0.037)
College		0.040^{+}	0.045	0.038
		(0.023)	(0.034)	(0.032)
Democratic		-0.152^{**}	-0.121^{**}	-0.175^{**}
		(0.024)	(0.035)	(0.034)
Independent		-0.120^{**}	-0.128^{**}	-0.111^{*}
		(0.033)	(0.046)	(0.047)
Constant	0.525^{**}	0.570^{**}	0.601^{**}	0.512^{**}
	(0.026)	(0.050)	(0.068)	(0.070)
Observations	1,967	1,965	979	986
R^2	0.012	0.066	0.036	0.104
Adjusted R^2	0.010	0.062	0.027	0.095

Table 3: Logit Models of CES Experiments

	Dependent variable:		
	supportthetroops		
	Adjustments	2018 Only	2020 Only
	(1)	(2)	(3)
A Few Deaths	0.116	0.145	0.086
	(0.160)	(0.228)	(0.229)
Dozens of Deaths	0.077	0.028	0.162
	(0.160)	(0.217)	(0.239)
Scenario	-0.531^{**}	-0.394^{+}	-0.691^{**}
	(0.160)	(0.219)	(0.236)
Dozens of Deaths x Estonia	0.105	0.102	0.127
	(0.229)	(0.324)	(0.328)
A Few Deaths x Estonia	0.268	0.151	0.369
	(0.228)	(0.312)	(0.338)
Experiment Year	−0.136		
	(0.094)		
Age	0.005^{+}	0.002	0.007^{+}
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Female	-0.546^{**}	-0.410^{**}	-0.686^{**}
	(0.095)	(0.131)	(0.139)
White	0.322^{**}	0.111	0.593^{**}
	(0.109)	(0.148)	(0.166)
College	0.173^{+}	0.186	0.175
	(0.100)	(0.142)	(0.144)
Democratic	-0.638^{**}	-0.496^{**}	-0.763^{**}
	(0.104)	(0.146)	(0.151)
Independent	-0.504^{**}	-0.523^{**}	-0.482^{*}
	(0.138)	(0.189)	(0.205)
Constant	0.290	0.407	0.037
	(0.211)	(0.281)	(0.310)
Observations	1,965	979	986
Log Likelihood	−1,294.461	−659.974	−627.129
Akaike Inf. Crit.	2,614.922	1,343.948	1,278.259

Table 4: Logit Models of CES Experiments

	Dependent variable:		
	supportthetroops		
	Adjustments	2018 Only	2020 Only
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Any Deaths	0.097	0.082	0.121
	(0.137)	(0.190)	(0.200)
Scenario	-0.531^{**}	-0.394^{+}	-0.691^{**}
	(0.160)	(0.219)	(0.236)
Any Deaths x Estonia	0.187	0.130	0.244
	(0.197)	(0.273)	(0.288)
Experiment Year	−0.137		
	(0.094)		
Age	0.005^{+}	0.002	0.007^{+}
	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Female	-0.546^{**}	-0.409^{**}	-0.681^{**}
	(0.095)	(0.131)	(0.139)
White	0.321^{**}	0.111	0.586^{**}
	(0.109)	(0.148)	(0.166)
College	0.174^{+}	0.189	0.177
	(0.100)	(0.142)	(0.144)
Democratic	-0.640^{**}	-0.499^{**}	-0.764^{**}
	(0.104)	(0.146)	(0.151)
Independent	-0.504^{**}	-0.526^{**}	-0.479^{*}
	(0.138)	(0.188)	(0.205)
Constant	0.289	0.413	0.027
	(0.211)	(0.281)	(0.309)
Observations	1,965	979	986
Log Likelihood	−1,294.782	−660.148	−628.153
Akaike Inf. Crit.	2,611.565	1,340.296	1,276.306

Table 5: OLS Models of CES Experiments (3-way Fatalities as Continuous)

	Dependent variable:		
	supportthetroops		
	Adjustments	2018 Only	2020 Only
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Fatalities	0.009	0.003	0.018
	(0.019)	(0.026)	(0.027)
Scenario	-0.126^{**}	-0.093^{+}	-0.158^{**}
	(0.034)	(0.049)	(0.047)
Fatalities x Estonia	0.031	0.018	0.040
	(0.027)	(0.038)	(0.038)
Experiment Year	−0.031		
	(0.022)		
Age	0.001^{+}	0.001	0.002^{+}
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	-0.129^{**}	-0.098^{**}	-0.157^{**}
	(0.022)	(0.032)	(0.031)
White	0.076^{**}	0.027	0.131^{**}
	(0.026)	(0.036)	(0.036)
College	0.040^{+}	0.045	0.038
	(0.023)	(0.034)	(0.032)
Democratic	-0.152^{**}	-0.121^{**}	-0.175^{**}
	(0.024)	(0.035)	(0.034)
Independent	-0.121^{**}	-0.129^{**}	-0.112^{*}
	(0.033)	(0.046)	(0.047)
Constant	0.576^{**}	0.609^{**}	0.515^{**}
	(0.049)	(0.067)	(0.068)
Observations	1,965	979	986
R^2	0.066	0.036	0.106
Adjusted R^2	0.062	0.027	0.097

Table 6: OLS Models of CES Experiments (3-way Fatalities as Continuous)

	Dependent variable:		
	supportthetroops		
	Adjustments	2018 Only	2020 Only
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Fatalities	0.024^{+}	0.012	0.039^{*}
	(0.013)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Scenario	-0.096^{**}	-0.075^{*}	-0.119^{**}
	(0.022)	(0.032)	(0.030)
Experiment Year	-0.031		
	(0.022)		
Age	0.001^{+}	0.001	0.002^{+}
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	-0.129^{**}	-0.099^{**}	-0.156^{**}
	(0.022)	(0.032)	(0.031)
White	0.076^{**}	0.027	0.132^{**}
	(0.026)	(0.036)	(0.036)
College	0.041^{+}	0.046	0.039
	(0.023)	(0.034)	(0.032)
Democratic	-0.152^{**}	-0.121^{**}	-0.174^{**}
	(0.024)	(0.035)	(0.034)
Independent	-0.119^{**}	-0.128^{**}	-0.109^{*}
	(0.033)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Constant	0.561^{**}	0.602^{**}	0.492^{**}
	(0.047)	(0.065)	(0.065)
Observations	1,965	979	986
R^2	0.066	0.035	0.105
Adjusted R^2	0.062	0.027	0.097

Table 7: OLS Models of CES Experiments

	Dependent variable:			
	supportthetroops			
	Base	Adjustments	2018 Only	2020 Only
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
A Few Deaths	0.037	0.038	0.047	0.031
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.039)	(0.036)
Dozens of Deaths	0.046^{+}	0.048^{+}	0.024	0.077^{*}
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.038)	(0.038)
Scenario	-0.100^{**}	-0.096^{**}	-0.075^{*}	-0.119^{**}
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.032)	(0.030)
Experiment Year		−0.031		
		(0.022)		
Age		0.001^{+}	0.001	0.002^{+}
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female		-0.129^{**}	-0.100^{**}	-0.156^{**}
		(0.022)	(0.032)	(0.031)
White		0.076^{**}	0.027	0.132^{**}
		(0.026)	(0.036)	(0.037)
College		0.041^{+}	0.045	0.039
		(0.023)	(0.034)	(0.032)
Democratic		-0.151^{**}	-0.120^{**}	-0.174^{**}
		(0.024)	(0.035)	(0.034)
Independent		-0.119^{**}	-0.126^{**}	-0.110^{*}
		(0.033)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Constant	0.516^{**}	0.557^{**}	0.591^{**}	0.495^{**}
	(0.022)	(0.047)	(0.066)	(0.066)
Observations	1,967	1,965	979	986
R^2	0.011	0.066	0.036	0.105
Adjusted R^2	0.010	0.061	0.027	0.096

Table 8: OLS Models of CES Experiments

	Dependent variable:			
	supportthetroops			
	Base	Adjustments	2018 Only	2020 Only
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Any Deaths	0.042^{+}	0.043^{+}	0.035	0.053
	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.033)	(0.032)
Scenario	-0.100^{**}	-0.096^{**}	-0.075^{*}	-0.119^{**}
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.032)	(0.030)
Experiment Year		−0.032		
		(0.022)		
Age		0.001^{+}	0.001	0.002^{+}
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female		-0.129^{**}	-0.100^{**}	-0.155^{**}
		(0.022)	(0.032)	(0.031)
White		0.075^{**}	0.027	0.130^{**}
		(0.026)	(0.036)	(0.037)
College		0.041^{+}	0.046	0.039
		(0.023)	(0.034)	(0.032)
Democratic		-0.151^{**}	-0.121^{**}	-0.174^{**}
		(0.024)	(0.035)	(0.034)
Independent		-0.119^{**}	-0.127^{**}	-0.109^{*}
		(0.033)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Constant	0.516^{**}	0.556^{**}	0.592^{**}	0.493^{**}
	(0.022)	(0.047)	(0.065)	(0.066)
Observations	1,967	1,965	979	986
R^2	0.011	0.066	0.036	0.103
Adjusted R^2	0.010	0.062	0.028	0.096

Table 9: OLS Models of CES Experiments, Democrats

	Dependent variable:		
	supportthetroops		
	Adjustments	2018 Only	2020 Only
	(1)	(2)	(3)
A Few Deaths	−0.052	−0.036	−0.072
	(0.058)	(0.089)	(0.078)
Dozens of Deaths	−0.036	−0.078	−0.006
	(0.057)	(0.082)	(0.081)
Scenario	0.107	0.135	0.092
	(0.082)	(0.127)	(0.109)
A Few Deaths x Estonia	0.148^{+}	0.167	0.130
	(0.082)	(0.121)	(0.112)
Dozens of Deaths x Estonia	−0.165**	−0.203*	−0.139^{+}
	(0.058)	(0.086)	(0.079)
Experiment Year	−0.080*		
	(0.034)		
Age	−0.001	−0.001	−0.0004
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Female	−0.125**	−0.060	−0.179**
	(0.034)	(0.052)	(0.047)
White	0.094*	0.052	0.130**
	(0.037)	(0.056)	(0.050)
College	0.006	0.011	0.004
	(0.034)	(0.053)	(0.045)
Constant	0.564**	0.597**	0.474**
	(0.071)	(0.101)	(0.095)
Observations	848	392	456
R^2	0.043	0.025	0.059
Adjusted R^2	0.032	0.002	0.040

Table 10: OLS Models of CES Experiments, Republicans

	Dependent variable:		
	supportthetroops		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
A Few Deaths	0.085	0.062	0.107
	(0.057)	(0.081)	(0.081)
Dozens of Deaths	0.040	0.010	0.096
	(0.059)	(0.081)	(0.087)
Scenario	−0.031	−0.031	−0.032
	(0.083)	(0.118)	(0.117)
A Few Deaths x Estonia	−0.009	−0.013	−0.029
	(0.084)	(0.116)	(0.122)
Dozens of Deaths x Estonia	−0.106^{+}	−0.058	−0.155^{+}
	(0.058)	(0.081)	(0.083)
Experiment Year	−0.002		
	(0.034)		
Age	0.002*	0.001	0.003*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	−0.125**	−0.114*	−0.133**
	(0.035)	(0.048)	(0.051)
White	0.045	−0.005	0.131^{+}
	(0.044)	(0.058)	(0.069)
College	0.091*	0.118*	0.072
	(0.038)	(0.055)	(0.053)
Constant	0.493**	0.554**	0.388**
	(0.075)	(0.100)	(0.112)
Observations	800	421	379
R^2	0.054	0.035	0.094
Adjusted R^2	0.042	0.014	0.072

Table 11: OLS Models of CES Experiments, Independents

	Dependent variable:		
	supportthetroops		
	Adjustments	2018 Only	2020 Only
	(1)	(2)	(3)
A Few Deaths	0.070	0.089	0.060
	(0.098)	(0.146)	(0.135)
Dozens of Deaths	0.105	0.170	0.058
	(0.095)	(0.137)	(0.135)
Scenario	−0.051	−0.055	−0.005
	(0.137)	(0.197)	(0.196)
A Few Deaths x Estonia	−0.005	−0.109	0.141
	(0.134)	(0.186)	(0.199)
Dozens of Deaths x Estonia	−0.055	0.039	−0.208
	(0.090)	(0.125)	(0.137)
Experiment Year	0.007		
	(0.056)		
Age	0.004*	0.003	0.004+
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Female	−0.130*	−0.133+	−0.124
	(0.056)	(0.079)	(0.081)
White	0.082	0.049	0.132
	(0.062)	(0.086)	(0.091)
College	−0.007	−0.049	0.098
	(0.065)	(0.089)	(0.102)
Constant	0.273*	0.295+	0.262+
	(0.111)	(0.155)	(0.148)
Observations	317	166	151
R^2	0.061	0.048	0.106
Adjusted R^2	0.030	−0.007	0.049

Table 12: OLS Models of CES Experiments, Democrats

	Dependent variable:		
	supportthetroops		
	Adjustments	2018 Only	2020 Only
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Any Deaths	−0.043	−0.060	−0.041
	(0.049)	(0.073)	(0.068)
Scenario	−0.165**	−0.203*	−0.139+
	(0.058)	(0.085)	(0.079)
Any Deaths x Estonia	0.126+	0.154	0.110
	(0.071)	(0.106)	(0.096)
Experiment Year	−0.082*		
	(0.034)		
Age	−0.001	−0.001	−0.0003
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Female	−0.126**	−0.061	−0.180**
	(0.034)	(0.051)	(0.047)
White	0.092*	0.054	0.125*
	(0.037)	(0.055)	(0.050)
College	0.007	0.013	0.007
	(0.034)	(0.053)	(0.045)
Constant	0.563**	0.596**	0.471**
	(0.071)	(0.100)	(0.095)
Observations	848	392	456
R^2	0.042	0.024	0.054
Adjusted R^2	0.033	0.007	0.039

Table 13: OLS Models of CES Experiments, Republicans

	Dependent variable:		
	supportthetroops		
	Adjustments	2018 Only	2020 Only
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Any Deaths	0.063	0.036	0.102
	(0.050)	(0.070)	(0.073)
Scenario	-0.106^{+}	-0.058	-0.155^{+}
	(0.058)	(0.081)	(0.083)
Any Deaths x Estonia	-0.021	-0.023	-0.031
	(0.072)	(0.100)	(0.102)
Experiment Year	-0.0002		
	(0.034)		
Age	0.002^{*}	0.001	0.003^{*}
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	-0.124^{**}	-0.113^{*}	-0.133^{**}
	(0.034)	(0.048)	(0.051)
White	0.044	-0.007	0.132^{+}
	(0.044)	(0.058)	(0.068)
College	0.091^{*}	0.118^{*}	0.072
	(0.038)	(0.055)	(0.052)
Constant	0.494^{**}	0.558^{**}	0.388^{**}
	(0.075)	(0.100)	(0.112)
Observations	800	421	379
R^2	0.053	0.033	0.094
Adjusted R^2	0.044	0.017	0.077

Table 14: OLS Models of CES Experiments, Independents

	Dependent variable:		
	supportthetroops		
	Adjustments	2018 Only	2020 Only
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Any Deaths	0.088	0.134	0.059
	(0.080)	(0.117)	(0.111)
Scenario	−0.055	0.040	−0.205
	(0.090)	(0.124)	(0.137)
Any Deaths x Estonia	−0.028	−0.085	0.062
	(0.114)	(0.159)	(0.169)
Experiment Year	0.005		
	(0.056)		
Age	0.004*	0.003	0.004+
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Female	−0.128*	−0.136+	−0.118
	(0.055)	(0.078)	(0.080)
White	0.082	0.054	0.132
	(0.061)	(0.085)	(0.091)
College	−0.008	−0.051	0.090
	(0.065)	(0.088)	(0.101)
Constant	0.266*	0.296+	0.244+
	(0.110)	(0.154)	(0.146)
Observations	317	166	151
R^2	0.059	0.046	0.099
Adjusted R^2	0.034	0.004	0.055

2020 CCES Replication Experiment

This experiment was re-run in the spring of 2020 (another experiment on the same CCES module had a randomization problem, and the contractor simply re-ran the entire module). The questionnaire was the same as the 2018 CCES Experiment. Again, 1,000 respondents were targeted and N's for individual experiments are reported in each table.

2018 Conjoint Experiment 1

Survey Administration

Respondents for this study were recruited via Mechanical Turk between 13 April 2018 and 26 April 2018. The survey was administered via Qualtrics using a conjoint profile prepared using Anton Strezhnev et al's Conjoint Survey Design Tool.

A total of 1,226 respondents completed the survey. As discussed in the section on ex post balancing, this number was reduced to 912 responses after culling suspicious respondents. The online calculator Conjoint Experiments Power Analysis Tool suggests that a 912 respondent conjoint with 4 variable levels (the level of our tripwire presence category) has a power of 94% with an effect size of 5 percent, a conservative interpretation of the emotionally portrayed Schelling hypothesis. (If we take five, the highest number of categories in the conjoint, it has a power of 90 %).

Table 15 displays basic descriptive information.

Table 15: Summary statistics from Experiment 1

Variable	Mean	Max	Min
Female (All)	46.08%	1	0
Female (Subset)	46.93%	1	0
College (All)	56.41%	1	0
College (Subset)	53.7%	1	0
Republicans (All)	22.94 %	1	0
Republicans (Subset)	22.6 %	1	0
Democrats (All)	44.3 %	1	0
Democrats (Subset)	43.75 %	1	0
Year Born (All)	1981.1	1932	2001
Year Born (Subset)	1980.3	1932	1999

To verify that randomization succeeded, we present counts of surveys by their condition in Figure 1. In almost all cases, visual inspection obviously confirms randomization succeeded; the apparent exception—"Eastern Europe" for region and "has a limited nuclear arsenal" for aggressor nuclear status—corresponds to the restriction we placed because we could not envision a limited nuclear weapons state being an aggressor in Eastern Europe. (For the Middle East, it might be a future Iran; for Asia, North Korea might fit the bill.)

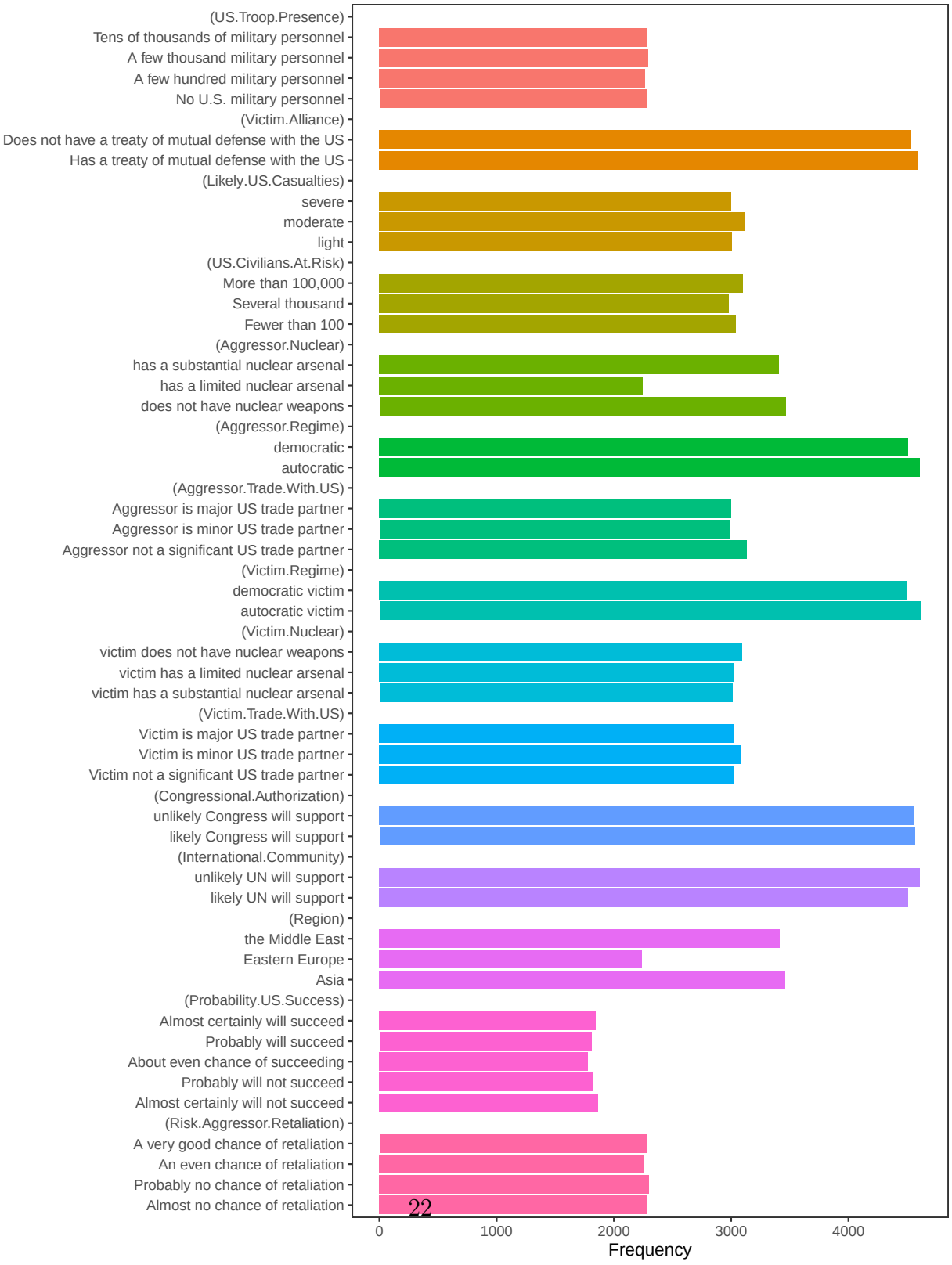

Figure 1: Experiment 1 Randomization Check.

Internationalism Scale

We create a five-point (0 to 4) internationalism scale based on responses to the following workhorse questions:

1. In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies. ["Agree" = 1 point]

2. Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not. ["Disagree" = 1 point]

3. The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations. ["Agree" = 1 point]

4. The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own. ["Disagree" = 1 point]

Respondents who scored a 3 or a 4 were coded as being internationalist; those with a score of 2 or less were coded as being not internationalist. This scale was used for both experiments.

Additional Results for Experiment 1

In this subsection, we present additional subgroup results as detailed in the main text.

Internationalism

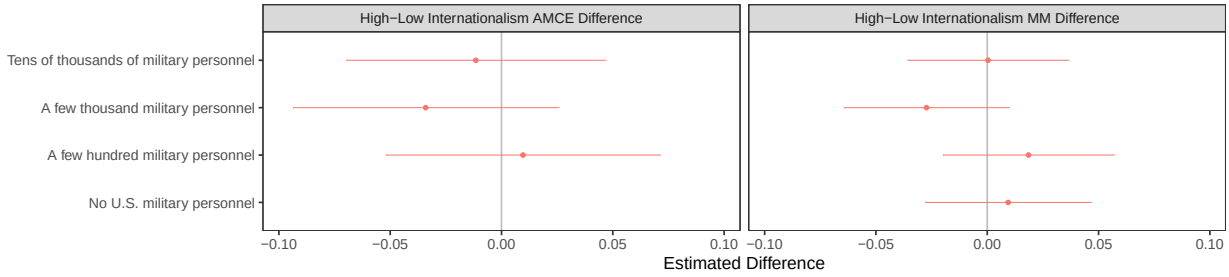

Figure 2: Experiment 1 Differences in AMCEs and marginal means by Internationalism Status, showing only tripwire-related treatment.

Education level

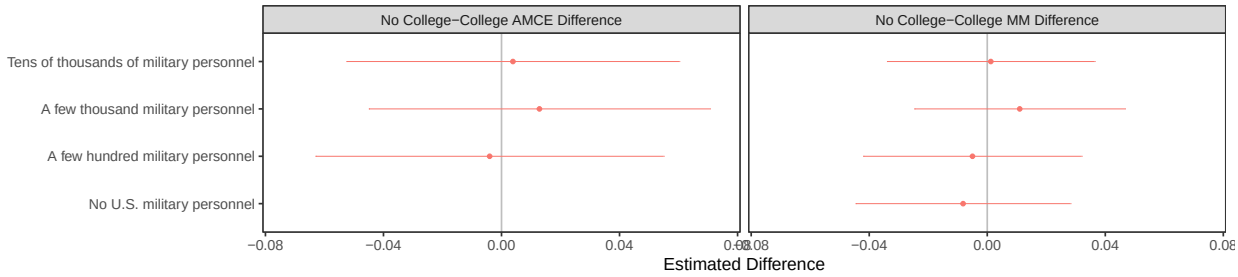

Figure 3: Experiment 1 Differences in AMCEs and marginal means by College Status, showing only tripwire-related treatment.

Partisanship

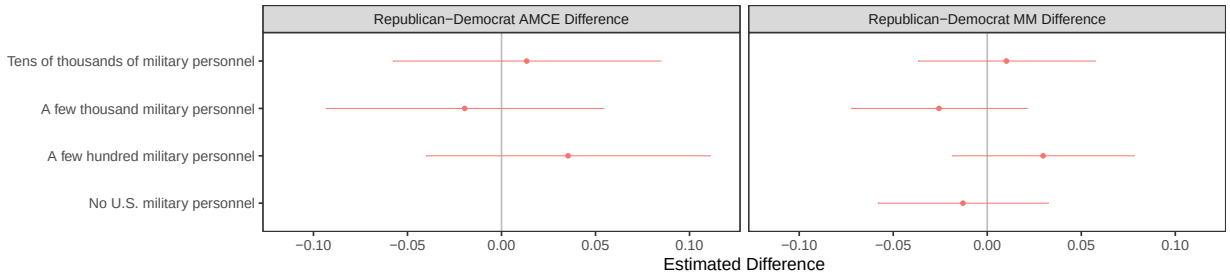

Figure 4: Experiment 1 Differences in AMCEs and marginal means by Party ID (indpendents excluded), showing only tripwire-related treatment.

2018 Conjoint Experiment 2

Survey Administration

Experiment 2 was administered via SSI. Respondents completed a Qualtrics survey from 15 August 2018 until 18 August 2018. In all, 818 subjects completed the survey and displayed no suspicious tendencies, as described in the section on Post-Facto Validity Checks. Table 16 displays summary information on selected variables.

The online calculator Conjoint Experiments Power Analysis Tool suggests that a 818 respondent conjoint with 4 variable levels (the level of our tripwire presence category) has a power of 94% with an effect size of 5 percent, a conservative interpretation of the emotionally portrayed Schelling hypothesis. (If we take five, the highest number of categories in the conjoint, it has a power of 97 %).

Table 16: Summary statistics from Experiment 2

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Female	0.47	0.5	0	1
College	0.54	0.5	0	1
Internationalism	2.7	1.17	0	4
Republicans	0.23	0.42	0	1
Democrats	0.44	0.5	0	1
Year Born	1977.83	13.6	1922	2001

To verify that randomization succeeded, we present counts of surveys by their condition in Figure 5. In almost all cases, visual inspection obviously confirms randomization succeeded. As mentioned earlier, one apparent exception—"Eastern Europe" for region and "has a limited nuclear arsenal" for aggressor nuclear status—corresponds to the restriction we placed because we could not envision a limited nuclear weapons state being an aggressor in Eastern Europe. (For the Middle East, it might be a future Iran; for Asia, North Korea might fit the bill.) The other major exception is the relatively small number of treatments assigned to the "no US military personnel present" condition, which reflects the restriction driven by our desire not to have profiles in which "

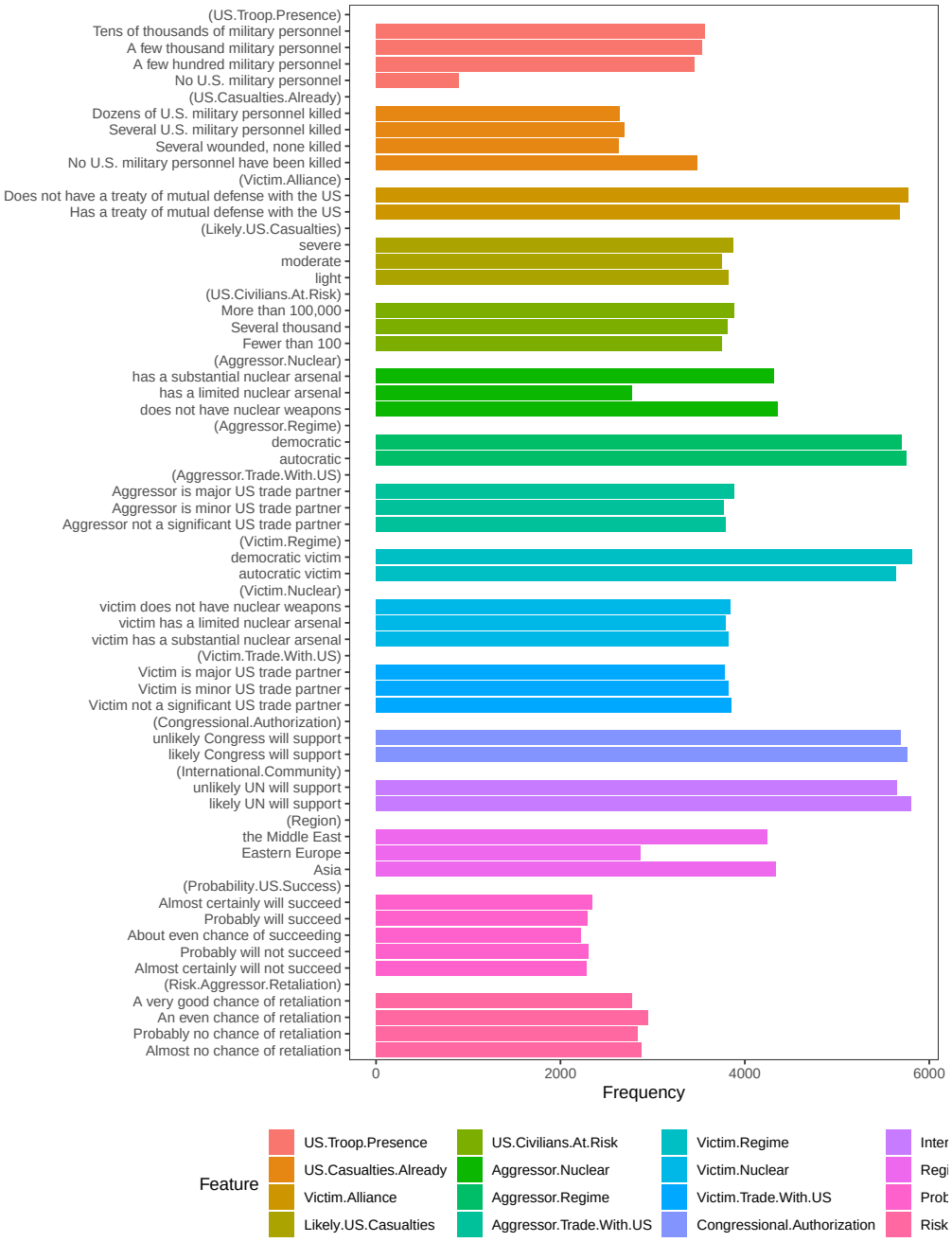

Figure 5: Experiment 2 Randomization Check.

Additional Results for Experiment 2

In this subsection, we present additional subgroup results as detailed in the main text.

Internationalism

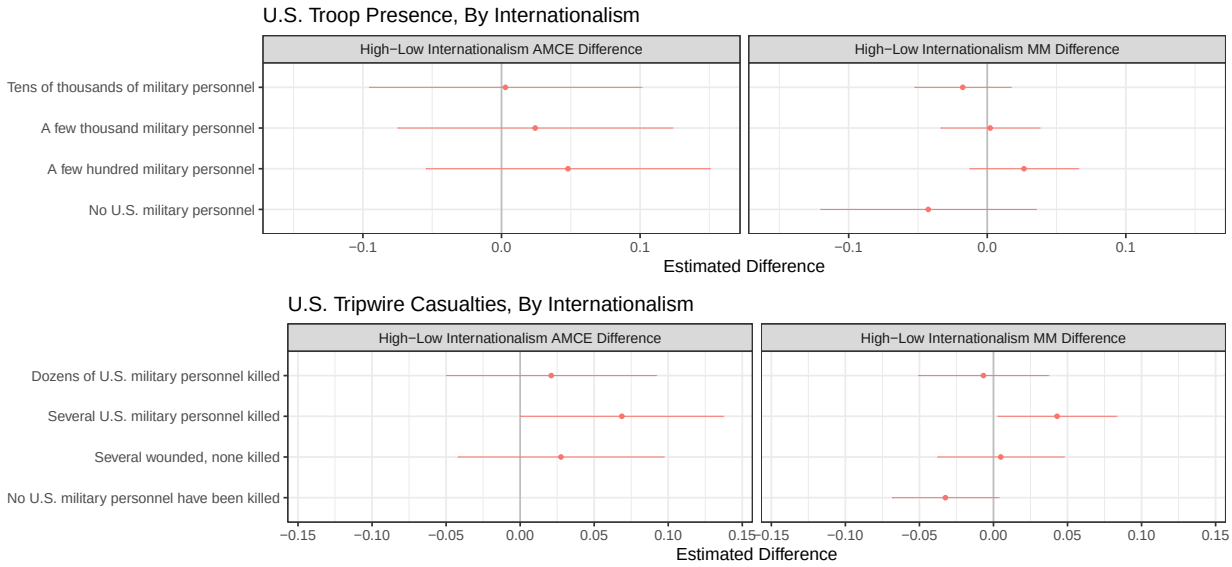

Figure 6: Experiment 2 Differences in AMCEs and marginal means by Internationalism Status, showing only tripwire-related treatments.

Education level

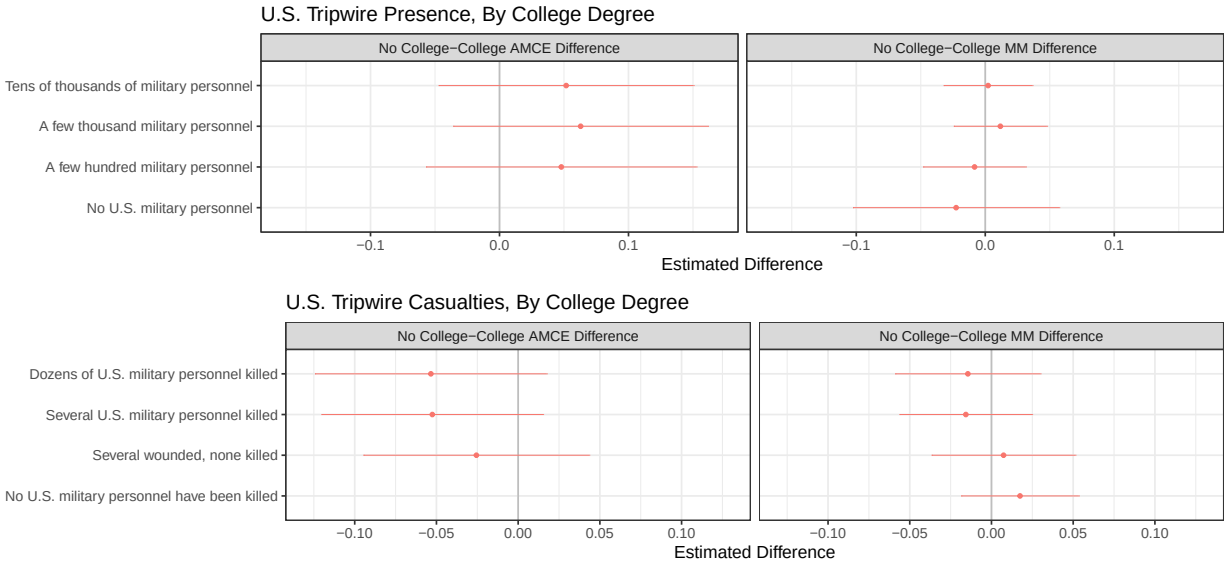

Figure 7: Experiment 2 Differences in AMCEs and marginal means by Educational Level, showing only tripwire-related treatments.

Partisanship

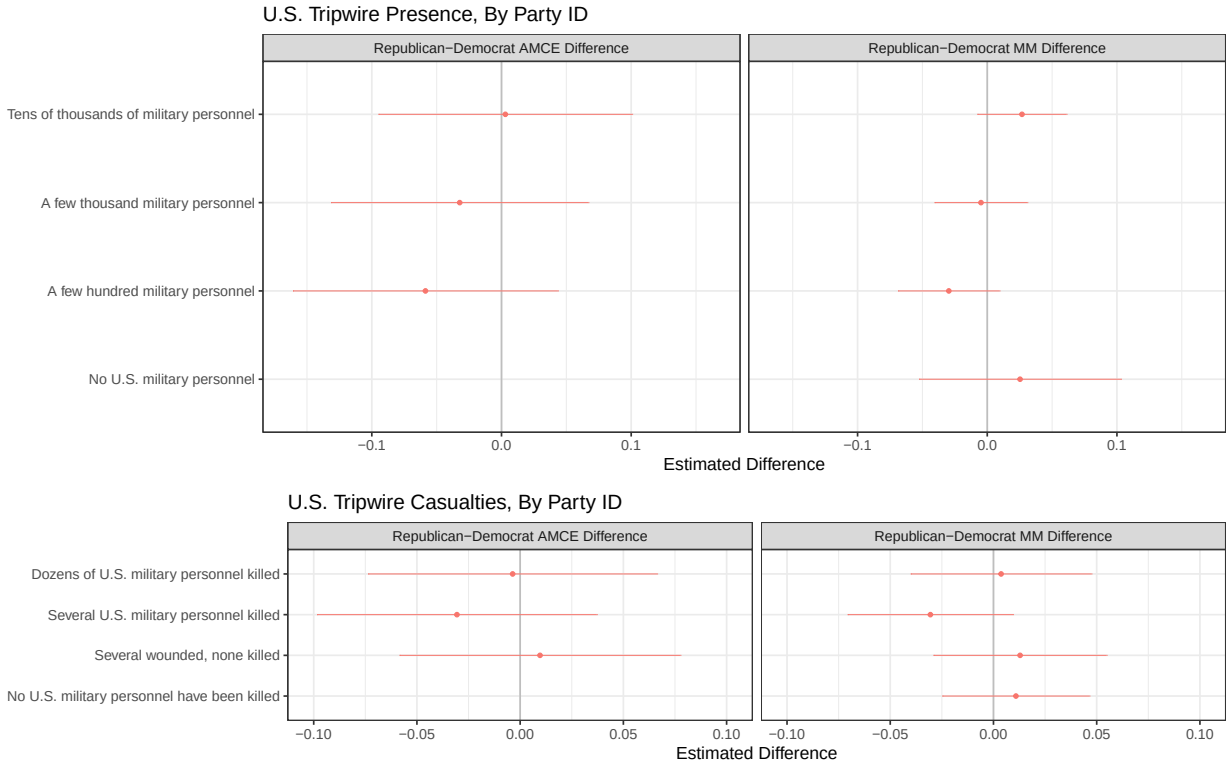

Figure 8: Experiment 2 Differences in AMCEs and marginal means by Party ID (independents excluded), showing only tripwire-related treatments.

Post-Facto Validity Checks for 2018 Conjoint Experiments

During the preparation of this manuscript, other survey experimenters on Twitter and on the media reported unusual patterns of responses becoming increasingly prevalent in their audiences. Following the methods used in the Dennis et al report (link), we sought to determine whether bots or bot-like respondents formed a major part of our experimental samples.

We sought to see if respondents

1. Were in the United States, as required by our experimental parameters
2. Displayed any out-of-the-ordinary or suspicious behaviors, such as repeated survey-taking in combination with unusually low durations

Reverse Geocoding Our first step in tracking down any malicious or suspicious activity was to use reverse geocoding. Qualtrics tracks the latitude and longitude of respondents. I used Geocodio to reverse-geocode the respondents to the Spring 2018 MTurk experiment and the August 2018 SSI experiment.

Our second step was to use ip2geo, a free Web service that provides information about the country and (in many cases) town associated with an IP address. We used this information as a check on the reverse geocoding. It turned out to be even more comprehensive. This process created variables describing whether the lat/long coordinates were duplicated or whether the coordinates were in the USA. Geocodio only returns street addresses for the United States and Canada; consequently, only addresses positively identified as being in the United States were deemed to be in the US. Any address not in the US would be excluded from further analysis.

Analyzing the Data

In the MTurk sample, of the 1,224 respondents, 945 respondents (77%) had no duplicated latitude or longitude. Of the same number, 1,213 (99%) had no duplicated IP address. By IP Address, we identified that 54 of 1,224 respondents (4.5%) were outside of the US. Latitude and longitude analysis identified 49 of 1,224 (4.4%) as outside of the US. Combining the two revealed that the lat/long group was a complete subset of the IP address group. Combining the two analyses, we find that 912 respondents (74%) were neither duplicates nor outside of the US. Alternately, about one respondent in four failed our (stringent) quality screening.

A few addresses accounted for a disproportionate share of the abuses. As with other researchers, we found a hotbed of fraud in Buffalo, New York, specifically at IP addresses and geographical coordinates associated with 5 Niagara Square, Buffalo, NY. Thirteen respondents were located at (42.886398, -78.878098). IP lookup (ultratools.com/tools/ipWhoisLookupResult) yielded the information that these were associated with organizations involved in hosting VPSs (virtual private servers). We suspect but cannot prove that these were the same organizations as discussed in the Dennis et al study.

IP Address	Organization	City
107.172.140.110	Virtual Machine Solutions LLC	Seattle
107.172.195.110	ColoCrossing	Buffalo
107.172.5.149	Virtual Machine Solutions LLC	Seattle
107.173.171.167	Virtual Machine Solutions LLC	Seattle
107.175.81.234	ColoCrossing	Buffalo
172.245.185.101	Virtual Machine Solutions LLC	Seattle
172.245.210.185	Virtual Machine Solutions LLC	Seattle
192.210.171.151	ColoCrossing	Buffalo
192.227.142.196	Virtual Machine Solutions LLC	Atlanta
23.95.130.220	Virtual Machine Solutions LLC	Seattle
23.95.226.250	Virtual Machine Solutions LLC	Seattle
23.95.246.5	Virtual Machine Solutions LLC	Seattle

Interestingly, all of the suspicious Buffalo-affiliated results claimed to be Black or African-American male respondents with Bachelor's or Master's degrees; they were roughly evenly divided between Democratic and Republican respondents. Their average total duration for taking the study was 525 seconds, compared to a sample-wide average of 1773 seconds. In all, one-third of the Black or African-American (sole response) respondents in our survey came from duplicate IP addresses (41 of 124); the Buffalo respondents accounted for 14 of those 41.

On this basis, we decided to exclude all duplicates (IP or geo) from further analysis.

SSI Sample

Of the full sample (1,293 respondents), we found that 343 were duplicates in terms of geographic coordinates and 160 were duplicate IPs. However, much of that was due (we believe) to a researcher error which omitted completion links from the first

couple hundred of the SSI responses. These may represent respondents trying to take the survey again in order to find the missing links (as it were). These respondents have been dropped from the sample.

Filtering those out, we find that 822 of the 1,032 respondents (80%) were neither duplicate IP nor geographical coordinates. Latitude and longitude duplicates accounted for 208 of the 210 duplicates; IP address duplicates accounted for 16, of which only 2 were unique (that is, the vast bulk of the duplicates were duplicate addresses, not duplicate IP addresses).

I investigated several of the duplicate addresses. Some of them appear plausibly to be problems with reverse geocoding, such as the 24 addresses located in (37.751007, -97.821999), the middle of a lake in Mount Vernon, Kansas. This may reflect a factor like an ISP's decision to set a geocoding somewhere arbitrary (in this case, IP addresses related to the location were registered to ATT Mobility, T Mobile, Viasat, Hughes Network Systems, and the like). In other cases, as with the four respondents at one address in Missouri City, with an average response time of 280 seconds (sample average: 998 seconds) it more likely reflects spurious responses. (The Mount Vernon, KS, respondents averaged 626 seconds?more than twice that of the Missouri City respondents.) Other responses, such as the five respondents at [redacted], Chicago, followed a plausible demographic pattern but had short response times (average 375 seconds).

Although the Mount Vernon KS respondents seemed to be an artifact of IP addressing, in other words, there appeared to be sufficient warrant to exclude all other duplicate observations. Excluding the non-Mount Vernon duplicates leaves us with 845 of the 1,000+ observations in the balanced sample.

Conclusions

Despite recent attention being paid to the issue of Mechanical Turk and potentially other online survey providers' audiences being bots or otherwise misrepresenting them, we believe that these problems were marginal and easily addressed through ex-post validity checks. Furthermore, the SSI sample was much cleaner than the MTurk sample. From an abundance of caution, we have dropped all even potentially suspicious respondents from our results.

Substantive Unimportance of Validity Checks

The irony of all of this is that the bots/low-quality human respondents do not appear to have affected the results very much (as we might expect if they were in fact

answering at random or almost at random). We present here the results in graphical form for the overall populations (including bots/LQHRs) in Figure 9 and Figure 10.

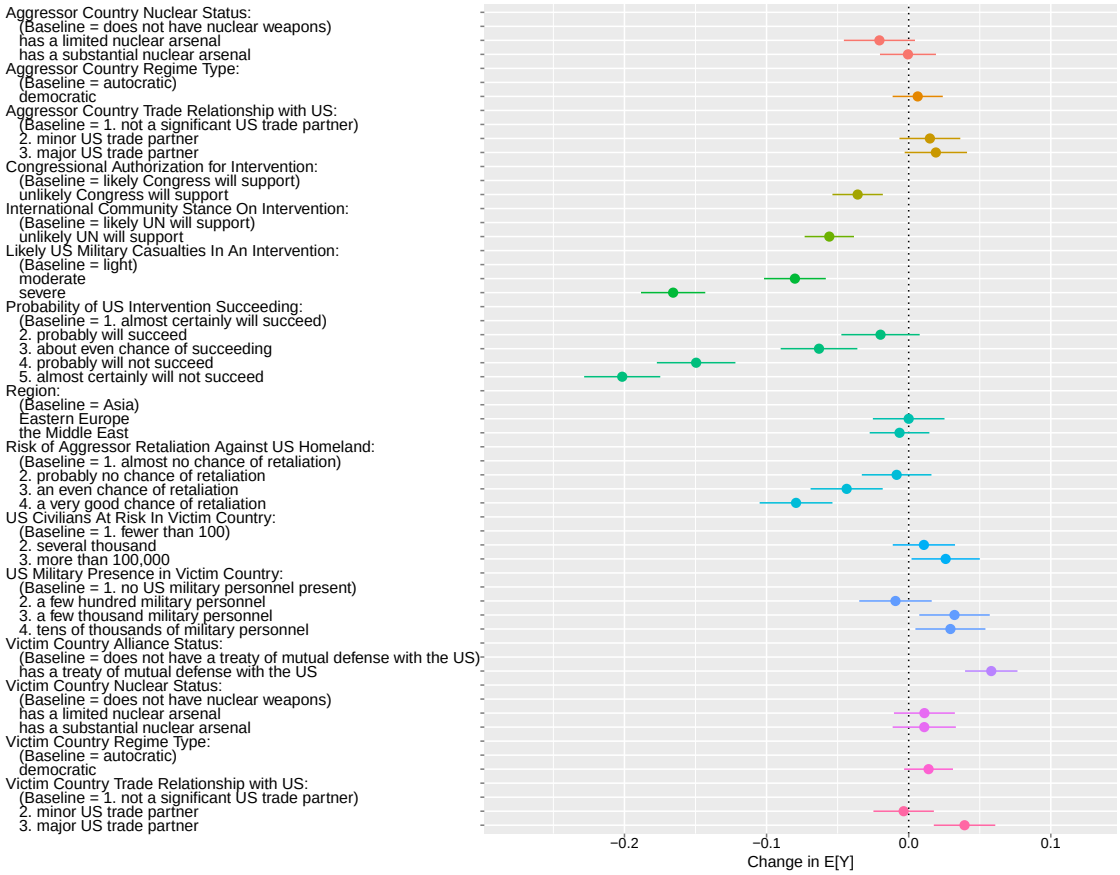

Figure 9: Experiment 1 Results With Bots or low-quality human respondents included.

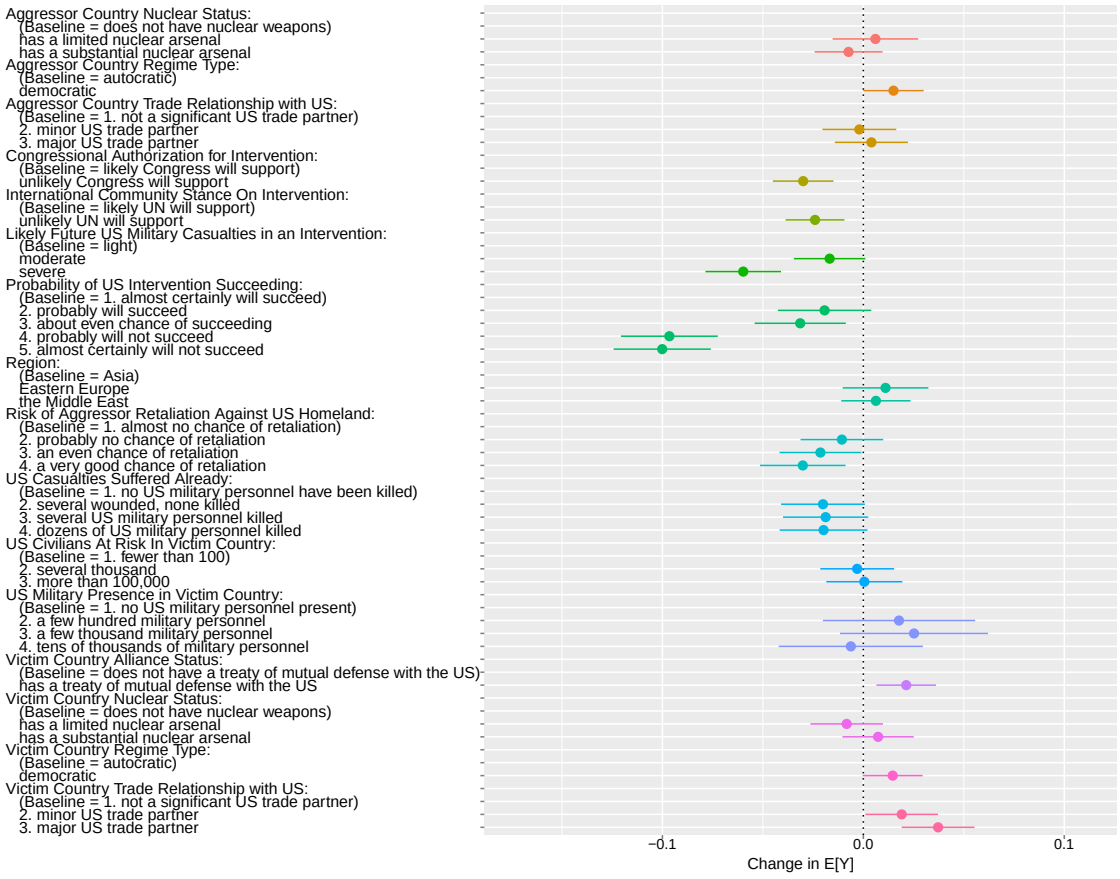

Figure 10: Experiment 2 Results With Bots or low-quality human respondents included.

Questionnaires

Conjoint Experiment 1 Questionnaire

This study is being conducted by researchers from BLANK and BLANK for academic purposes. The study's aim is to investigate the attitudes and opinions of Americans about military intervention abroad.

Participation involves answering a brief survey about a variety of hypothetical scenarios involving US military intervention. The survey should take approximately 5 to 10 minutes to complete but will be available for up to 30 minutes. Participants who complete the survey will be compensated in the amount of $0.75. Upon completion, you will be assigned a unique completion code which you can use to request payment via MTurk.

Participating in this study involves no risks or benefits to participants (beyond the compensation described above for those who complete the survey). Participation is voluntary and participants can withdraw at any time. No personal identifying information will be collected in the course of conducting the survey or maintained as part of the results.

If you have questions or concerns about the survey, please contact BLANK. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a subject in this study, you may contact BLANK. You may also report your concerns anonymously through BLANK.

Continuing to the survey indicates that you have read and understood the information provided above, and that you consent to participation in the study.

As a reminder: Please accept the HIT on the Mechanical Turk Web site before beginning this survey!

1. In what year were you born? [Dropdown]
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.)
    a) Less than a high school diploma
    b) High school degree or equivalent (e.g. GED)
    c) Some college, no degree
    d) Associate degree (e.g. AA, AS)

e) Bachelor's degree (e.g. BA, BS)

f) Master's degree (e.g. MA, MS, Med)

g) Professional degree (e.g. JD, MD, DDS)

h) Doctorate (e.g. PhD, EdD)

3. Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or of Spanish origin?

   a) Yes

   b) No

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

   a) American Indian or Alaska Native

   b) Asian

   c) Black or African American

   d) Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

   e) White

5. What is your sex?

   a) Male

   b) Female

   c) Other/Prefer not to Say

6. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?

   a) Republican

   b) Democrat

   c) Independent

   d) Other

7. IF ANSWERS "Republican" or "Democrat" TO PREVIOUS: Would you call yourself a strong (Republican/Democrat) or a not very strong (Republican/Democrat)?

   a) Strong

b) Not very strong

8. IF ANSWERS "Independent": Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?

   a) Republican
   b) Democratic

9. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

   a) Extremely liberal
   b) Slightly liberal
   c) Moderate; middle of the road
   d) Slightly Conservative
   e) Conservative
   f) Extremely conservative
   g) Haven't thought much about this

10. IF ANSWERS "Moderate" or "Haven't thought much about this": If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?

    a) Liberal
    b) Conservative

11. Do you think it is best for the future of the country if the United States takes an active interest in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs?

    a) Take an active part
    b) Stay out of world affairs
    c) Don't know / prefer not to say

12. Which of the following do you think is more important in determining a country?s overall power and influence in the world?a country?s economic strength, or its military strength?

    a) Economic strength

b) Military strength

c) Don't know / prefer not to say

13. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies.

    a) Agree

    b) Disagree

    c) Don't know / prefer not to say

14. Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not.

    a) Agree

    b) Disagree

    c) Don't know / prefer not to say

15. The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations.

    a) Agree

    b) Disagree

    c) Don't know / prefer not to say

16. The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own.

    a) Agree

    b) Disagree

    c) Don't know / prefer not to say

17. In this exercise, we will present you with several different scenarios in which one country has attacked another one. In a situation like this, the United States can always choose to intervene on behalf of the victim that has been attacked by using military force against the aggressor country. No two situations are alike, and so the scenarios we will present to you will also be different. You will be asked to evaluate in which of the two hypothetical situations you would

be more willing to support an intervention by the United States on behalf of the victim country. We will also ask you to rate how likely you would be to support the use of force in both countries. Make sure to keep in mind all of the different factors presented in each scenario. [Repeat this question and the following one five times]

	Scenario 1	Scenario 2
$e://Field/F-1-1	$e://Field/F-1-1-1	$e://Field/F-1-2-1
$e://Field/F-1-2	$e://Field/F-1-1-2	$e://Field/F-1-2-2
$e://Field/F-1-3	$e://Field/F-1-1-3	$e://Field/F-1-2-3
$e://Field/F-1-4	$e://Field/F-1-1-4	$e://Field/F-1-2-4
$e://Field/F-1-5	$e://Field/F-1-1-5	$e://Field/F-1-2-5
$e://Field/F-1-6	$e://Field/F-1-1-6	$e://Field/F-1-2-6
$e://Field/F-1-7	$e://Field/F-1-1-7	$e://Field/F-1-2-7
$e://Field/F-1-8	$e://Field/F-1-1-8	$e://Field/F-1-2-8
$e://Field/F-1-9	$e://Field/F-1-1-9	$e://Field/F-1-2-9
$e://Field/F-1-10	$e://Field/F-1-1-10	$e://Field/F-1-2-10
$e://Field/F-1-11	$e://Field/F-1-1-11	$e://Field/F-1-2-11
$e://Field/F-1-12	$e://Field/F-1-1-12	$e://Field/F-1-2-12
$e://Field/F-1-13	$e://Field/F-1-1-13	$e://Field/F-1-2-13
$e://Field/F-1-14	$e://Field/F-1-1-14	$e://Field/F-1-2-14
$e://Field/F-1-15	$e://Field/F-1-1-15	$e://Field/F-1-2-15

Table 17: Experiment 1 table showing merge fields. Attributes were arranged at random, and levels were filled at random, using a PHP script developed by Anton Strezhnev.

a) Scenario 1

b) Scenario 2

18. How likely would you be to support intervention in each scenario?

	Extremely likely	Moderately likely	Somewhat likely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Moderately unlikely	Extremely unlikely
Scenario 1							
Scenario 2							

19. What were the most important factors in your choice? Please answer in your own words in a sentence or two.

Conjoint Experiment 2 Questionnaire

This study is being conducted by researchers from [BLANK] and [BLANK] for academic purposes. The study's aim is to investigate the attitudes and opinions of Americans about military intervention abroad.

Participation involves answering a brief survey about a variety of hypothetical scenarios involving US military intervention. The survey should take approximately 10 minutes to complete.

Participating in this study involves no risks or benefits to participants beyond the compensation for those who complete the survey. Participation is voluntary and participants can withdraw at any time. No personal identifying information will be collected in the course of conducting the survey or maintained as part of the results.

If you have questions or concerns about the survey, please contact [BLANK]. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a subject in this study, you may contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) [BLANK]. You may also report your concerns anonymously through [BLANK].

Continuing to the survey indicates that you have read and understood the information provided above, and that you consent to participation in the study.

1. In what year were you born? [Dropdown]
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.)
    a) Less than a high school diploma
    b) High school degree or equivalent (e.g. GED)
    c) Some college, no degree
    d) Associate degree (e.g. AA, AS)
    e) Bachelor's degree (e.g. BA, BS)
    f) Master's degree (e.g. MA, MS, Med)
    g) Professional degree (e.g. JD, MD, DDS)
    h) Doctorate (e.g. PhD, EdD)
3. Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or of Spanish origin?
    a) Yes
    b) No

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

    a) American Indian or Alaska Native
    b) Asian
    c) Black or African American
    d) Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
    e) White

5. What is your sex?

    a) Male
    b) Female
    c) Other/Prefer not to Say

6. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, Independent, or what?

    a) Republican
    b) Democrat
    c) Independent
    d) Other

7. IF ANSWERS "Republican" or "Democrat" TO PREVIOUS: Would you call yourself a strong (Republican/Democrat) or a not very strong (Republican/Democrat)?

    a) Strong
    b) Not very strong

8. IF ANSWERS "Independent": Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?

    a) Republican
    b) Democratic

9. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

a) Extremely liberal

b) Slightly liberal

c) Moderate; middle of the road

d) Slightly Conservative

e) Conservative

f) Extremely conservative

g) Haven't thought much about this

10. IF ANSWERS "Moderate" or "Haven't thought much about this": If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?

    a) Liberal

    b) Conservative

11. Do you think it is best for the future of the country if the United States takes an active interest in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs?

    a) Take an active part

    b) Stay out of world affairs

    c) Don't know / prefer not to say

12. Which of the following do you think is more important in determining a country?s overall power and influence in the world?a country?s economic strength, or its military strength?

    a) Economic strength

    b) Military strength

    c) Don't know / prefer not to say

GRID Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. [Responses are "Agree", "Disagree", "Don't Know/Prefer Not To Say"]

a) In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies.

b) Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not.

c) The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations.

d) The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own.

13. In this exercise, we will present you with several different scenarios in which one country has attacked another one. In a situation like this, the United States can always choose to intervene on behalf of the victim that has been attacked by using military force against the aggressor country. No two situations are alike, and so the scenarios we will present to you will also be different. You will be asked to evaluate in which of the two hypothetical situations you would be more willing to support an intervention by the United States on behalf of the victim country. We will also ask you to rate how likely you would be to support the use of force in both countries. Make sure to keep in mind all of the different factors presented that may affect your decision. [Repeat subsequent questions seven times]

	Situation 1	Situation 2
$e://Field/F-1-1	$e://Field/F-1-1-1	$e://Field/F-1-2-1
$e://Field/F-1-2	$e://Field/F-1-1-2	$e://Field/F-1-2-2
$e://Field/F-1-3	$e://Field/F-1-1-3	$e://Field/F-1-2-3
$e://Field/F-1-4	$e://Field/F-1-1-4	$e://Field/F-1-2-4
$e://Field/F-1-5	$e://Field/F-1-1-5	$e://Field/F-1-2-5
$e://Field/F-1-6	$e://Field/F-1-1-6	$e://Field/F-1-2-6
$e://Field/F-1-7	$e://Field/F-1-1-7	$e://Field/F-1-2-7
$e://Field/F-1-8	$e://Field/F-1-1-8	$e://Field/F-1-2-8
$e://Field/F-1-9	$e://Field/F-1-1-9	$e://Field/F-1-2-9
$e://Field/F-1-10	$e://Field/F-1-1-10	$e://Field/F-1-2-10
$e://Field/F-1-11	$e://Field/F-1-1-11	$e://Field/F-1-2-11
$e://Field/F-1-12	$e://Field/F-1-1-12	$e://Field/F-1-2-12
$e://Field/F-1-13	$e://Field/F-1-1-13	$e://Field/F-1-2-13
$e://Field/F-1-14	$e://Field/F-1-1-14	$e://Field/F-1-2-14
$e://Field/F-1-15	$e://Field/F-1-1-15	$e://Field/F-1-2-15
$e://Field/F-1-16	$e://Field/F-1-1-16	$e://Field/F-1-2-16

Table 18: Experiment 2 table showing merge fields. Attributes were arranged at random, and levels were filled at random, using a PHP script developed by Anton Strezhnev.

a) Situation 1

b) Situation 2

14. How likely would you be to support intervention in each scenario?

	Extremely likely	Moderately likely	Somewhat likely	Neither likely nor unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Moderately unlikely	Extremely unlikely
Situation 1							
Situation 2							