What Do We Owe Soldiers? Evidence from the UK Armed Forces Covenant

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Supplementary Appendixes

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APPENDIX 1

Table 1: Comparison of Sample to National Benchmarks

Variable	Sample	Benchmark
Gender		
Female	52%	51%
Race/Ethnicity		
White	85.83%	86%
Asian	7.80%	8%
Black	2.87%	3%
Education & Age		
A-level equivalent or above	68.79%	63%
Mean Age	35-44	35-44
Location		
England	85.11%	84%
Scotland	8.11%	8%
Wales	5.03%	5%
NI	1.75%	3%

Table 2: Replication of Table 2 in MS with Additional Psychological Controls

	(1) Operation Favorability	(2) Binary Casualty Sensitivity
covenant knowledge	0.30+	0.78*
	(0.16)	(0.31)
military knowledge	0.27	0.81*
	(0.20)	(0.39)
ideology	-0.13	0.38
	(0.21)	(0.42)
military feeling thermometer	0.98**	0.96
	(0.32)	(0.65)
hawkishness	-0.04	0.31
	(0.25)	(0.48)
female	-0.21+	-0.26
	(0.12)	(0.23)
age	0.25	1.00*
	(0.22)	(0.43)
education	0.46+	0.33
	(0.26)	(0.51)
income	0.11	-0.21
	(0.23)	(0.44)
nonwhite	-0.10	-0.57+
	(0.17)	(0.35)
personal service	0.29	-0.88
	(0.27)	(0.54)
household service	-0.03	0.35
	(0.17)	(0.34)
right-wing authoritarianism	0.49	-0.38
	(0.38)	(0.75)
blind patriotism	1.06**	0.36
	(0.31)	(0.62)
social dominance orientation	-0.13	1.30+
	(0.39)	(0.77)
_cons	2.45***	-2.66**
	(0.37)	(0.77)
N	404	404
R^2	0.179	
pseudo R^2		0.109

Standard errors in parentheses. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 3: Knowledge of Covenant and Benefits (Observational Analysis)

	(1) respect	(2) appropriate compensation	(3) NHS	(4) pensions	(5) private jobs	(6) public jobs	(7) War-- NHS	(8) War--Pensions	(9) War--Private	(10) War--Public
covenant knowledge	-0.04	0.18	0.17	0.13	0.37+	0.44*	0.18	0.12	0.35+	0.47*
	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.19)
ideology	0.26	0.39	0.38	-0.23	0.24	0.44+	0.22	-0.06	0.13	0.33
	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.24)	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.24)
military feeling thermometer	2.33***	-0.74+	3.29***	2.53***	2.59***	2.84***	2.82***	2.32***	3.00***	3.07***
	(0.38)	(0.41)	(0.36)	(0.34)	(0.37)	(0.36)	(0.38)	(0.35)	(0.37)	(0.37)
hawkishness	0.49	0.43	0.57+	0.30	1.13**	0.88**	0.49	0.36	0.72*	0.69*
	(0.31)	(0.33)	(0.29)	(0.27)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.28)	(0.30)	(0.30)
female	0.07	-0.36*	-0.04	-0.02	0.07	0.13	0.04	-0.01	0.02	0.05
	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)
age	-0.07	-0.38	-0.31	-0.54*	-0.42	-0.42	-0.26	-0.56*	-0.60*	-0.44
	(0.28)	(0.30)	(0.27)	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.26)	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.27)
education	-0.38	-0.10	-0.41	-0.42	-0.44	-0.22	-0.60+	-0.06	-0.37	-0.27
	(0.33)	(0.35)	(0.31)	(0.29)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.32)	(0.30)	(0.32)	(0.32)
income	0.03	0.54+	0.05	-0.14	0.11	0.23	0.12	-0.45+	-0.13	0.08
	(0.29)	(0.31)	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.28)
nonwhite	-0.16	-0.51*	0.72**	0.66**	0.42*	0.45*	0.65**	0.49*	0.41*	0.50*
	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.21)
household service	0.14	0.11	0.32	0.55**	0.53*	0.46*	0.40+	0.78**	0.61**	0.47*
	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.22)
personal service	0.32	-0.87*	-0.20	0.35	-0.63+	-0.36	-0.08	-0.28	-0.41	-0.32
	(0.34)	(0.37)	(0.33)	(0.31)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.32)	(0.34)	(0.34)
military knowledge	0.00	0.08	-0.60*	-0.06	-0.69**	-0.45+	-0.14	0.19	-0.59*	-0.33
	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.24)	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.23)	(0.25)	(0.25)
_cons	2.99***	4.59***	2.45***	3.47***	2.38***	1.92***	2.83***	3.38***	2.47***	1.97***
	(0.44)	(0.47)	(0.42)	(0.39)	(0.42)	(0.41)	(0.43)	(0.40)	(0.43)	(0.43)
N	404	404	404	404	404	404	404	404	404	404
R^2	0.143	0.068	0.273	0.229	0.256	0.258	0.208	0.195	0.256	0.250

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 4: Knowledge of Covenant and Consent/Obligation

	(1) obligation	(2) obligation	(3) consent/danger	(4) consent/danger
covenant knowledge	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.05* (0.02)	0.04+ (0.03)
ideology		-0.04 (0.04)		0.06+ (0.03)
military feeling thermometer		0.34*** (0.06)		0.01 (0.05)
hawkishness		-0.02 (0.05)		-0.06 (0.04)
female		0.04+ (0.02)		-0.07** (0.02)
age		-0.04 (0.04)		0.11** (0.03)
education		0.06 (0.05)		-0.03 (0.04)
income		-0.00 (0.04)		-0.01 (0.04)
nonwhite		0.07* (0.03)		-0.04 (0.03)
personal service		0.08 (0.05)		-0.02 (0.05)
household service		-0.00 (0.03)		0.04 (0.03)
_cons	0.67*** (0.01)	0.39*** (0.07)	0.74*** (0.01)	0.73*** (0.06)
N	404	404	404	404
R^2	0.000	0.108	0.012	0.132

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 5: Covenant Knowledge and Covenant Prime Interaction

	(1) Operation Favorability	(2) Binary Casualty Sensitivity
Covenant Prime	0.14 (0.10)	0.23 (0.17)
Covenant Knowledge	0.52** (0.15)	0.87** (0.26)
Covenant prime X Knowledge	-0.17 (0.22)	0.02 (0.37)
_cons	4.29*** (0.07)	-0.40** (0.11)
N	748	748
R^2	0.024	
pseudo R^2		0.027

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 6: Experimental Results (excluding respondents who know of Covenant)

	(1) Operation Favorability	(2) Operation Favorability	(3) Binary Casualty Sens	(4) Binary Casualty Sens
covenant prime	0.14 (0.10)	0.12 (0.09)	0.23 (0.17)	0.20 (0.18)
ideology		0.27+ (0.17)		0.26 (0.32)
military feeling thermometer		1.10*** (0.23)		0.72 (0.47)
hawkishness		0.79*** (0.20)		1.50** (0.40)
female		-0.14 (0.09)		-0.83*** (0.18)
age		0.29+ (0.17)		1.00** (0.35)
education		0.16 (0.21)		0.19 (0.41)
income		-0.08 (0.18)		-0.02 (0.36)
nonwhite		0.22 (0.14)		-0.33 (0.28)
personal service		0.09 (0.34)		-0.04 (0.66)
household service		0.16 (0.15)		0.16 (0.28)
military knowledge		0.44** (0.15)		0.51+ (0.30)
_cons	4.29*** (0.06)	2.66*** (0.28)	-0.40** (0.11)	-2.04** (0.57)
N	581	581	581	581
R^2	0.003	0.132		
pseudo R^2			0.002	0.088

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 7: Replication of Table 3 in MS with Additional Psychological Controls

	(1) Operation Favorability	(2) Binary Casualty Sens
covenant prime	0.06	0.28+
	(0.08)	(0.16)
covenant knowledge	0.11	0.65**
	(0.11)	(0.22)
ideology	0.19	0.04
	(0.16)	(0.31)
military feeling thermometer	1.19***	0.96*
	(0.22)	(0.44)
hawkishness	0.54**	0.78*
	(0.18)	(0.35)
female	-0.21*	-0.57**
	(0.09)	(0.17)
age	0.31*	1.12**
	(0.16)	(0.31)
education	0.53**	-0.02
	(0.19)	(0.37)
income	-0.09	-0.21
	(0.17)	(0.32)
nonwhite	0.18	-0.23
	(0.12)	(0.24)
personal service	0.09	-0.28
	(0.19)	(0.38)
household service	0.14	0.40+
	(0.12)	(0.24)
military knowledge	0.45**	0.68*
	(0.14)	(0.27)
blind patriotism	0.83**	0.29
	(0.23)	(0.45)
social dominance orientation	-0.08	1.82**
	(0.28)	(0.57)
right-wing authoritarianism	0.16	-0.97+
	(0.28)	(0.55)
_cons	2.11***	-2.18***
	(0.27)	(0.56)
N	748	748
R^2	0.204	
pseudo R^2		0.116

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 8: Experimental Results – Benefits

	(1) respect	(2) NHS	(3) pensions	(4) private jobs	(5) public jobs	(6) War-- NHS	(7) War-- Pensions	(8) War--Private	(9) War--Public
covenant prime	0.04	0.07	0.12	0.07	0.05	0.07	0.09	0.09	0.10
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)
covenant knowledge	-0.14	0.05	0.15	0.26+	0.32*	0.14	0.15	0.33*	0.44**
	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.14)
Ideology	0.32	0.46*	-0.06	0.27	0.37*	0.34+	0.12	0.31+	0.35+
	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.18)
military feeling thermometer	2.15***	3.01***	2.51***	2.68***	2.92***	2.82***	2.62***	2.73***	2.96***
	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.24)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.26)
hawkishness	0.63**	0.61**	0.24	1.22***	1.01***	0.54*	0.41*	0.84***	0.89***
	(0.23)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.21)
female	-0.09	0.07	-0.06	0.13	0.15	0.14	-0.04	0.13	0.09
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)
age	-0.08	-0.33+	-0.57**	-0.55**	-0.56**	-0.35+	-0.55**	-0.76**	-0.48*
	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.19)
education	-0.15	-0.45+	-0.35	-0.50*	-0.37	-0.62*	-0.17	-0.50*	-0.34
	(0.25)	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.23)
income	-0.22	0.37+	0.10	0.30	0.52*	0.40+	-0.01	0.15	0.37+
	(0.22)	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.20)
nonwhite	-0.26	0.47**	0.42**	0.33*	0.39**	0.41**	0.27+	0.38*	0.56**
	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)
personal service	-0.02	0.03	0.33*	0.29+	0.14	0.29+	0.55**	0.40**	0.38*
	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.15)
household service	0.40	0.06	0.36	-0.22	0.04	0.05	-0.16	-0.08	-0.10
	(0.25)	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.24)	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.23)
military knowledge	0.08	-0.26	-0.04	-0.48**	-0.20	-0.01	0.13	-0.38*	-0.11
	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)
_cons	3.14***	2.36***	3.35***	2.21***	1.81***	2.61***	2.97***	2.43***	1.76***
	(0.33)	(0.31)	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.32)	(0.29)	(0.31)	(0.31)
N	748	748	748	748	748	748	748	748	748
R^2	0.133	0.239	0.209	0.276	0.281	0.222	0.217	0.267	0.286

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 9: Interactive Effects Between Ideology and Covenant Treatment

	(1) Operation Favorability	(2) Operation Favorability	(3) Operation Favorability
covenant prime	-0.23	-0.20	-0.24
	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.16)
ideology	0.51*	0.13	-0.07
	(0.20)	(0.19)	(0.20)
covenant prime X ideology	**0.66***	**0.57***	**0.60***
	(0.30)	**(0.28)**	**(0.28)**
military feeling thermometer		1.42***	1.17***
		(0.21)	(0.22)
hawkishness		0.73***	0.56**
		(0.17)	(0.18)
female		-0.23**	-0.22*
		(0.09)	(0.09)
age		0.28+	0.31*
		(0.16)	(0.16)
education		0.47*	0.55**
		(0.19)	(0.19)
income		-0.08	-0.10
		(0.17)	(0.17)
nonwhite		0.21+	0.19
		(0.12)	(0.12)
personal service		0.18	0.14
		(0.18)	(0.18)
household service		0.18	0.14
		(0.12)	(0.12)
military knowledge		0.45**	0.47**
		(0.14)	(0.14)
blind patriotism			0.86**
			(0.23)
right-wing authoritarianism			0.10
			(0.28)
social dominance orientation			-0.07
			(0.28)
_cons	4.14***	2.40***	2.26***
	(0.12)	(0.26)	(0.28)
N	748	748	748
R^2	0.046	0.189	0.208

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 10: Perception of Soldier Approval of the Operation

	(1) Perceived Soldier Approval
covenant prime	0.01 (0.06)
ideology	0.01 (0.11)
military feeling thermometer	0.33* (0.16)
hawkishness	0.40** (0.13)
female	-0.12+ (0.07)
age	-0.16 (0.12)
education	0.20 (0.14)
income	0.20 (0.13)
nonwhite	-0.03 (0.09)
personal service	-0.06 (0.14)
household service	0.11 (0.09)
military knowledge	0.03 (0.11)
_cons	2.92*** (0.19)
N	748
R^2	0.0483

Table 11: Interactive Effects Between Empathy and Covenant Treatment

	(1) Binary Casualty Sens	(2) Binary Casualty Sens	(3) Binary Casualty Sens + psych controls
covenant prime	1.16+	1.58*	1.60*
	(0.65)	(0.70)	(0.70)
empathetic concern	-0.90	-0.64	0.12
	(0.62)	(0.69)	(0.75)
covenant prime X concern	**-1.26**	**-1.85+**	**-1.88+**
	(0.93)	**(1.00)**	**(1.01)**
ideology		0.23	0.08
		(0.28)	(0.31)
military feeling thermometer		1.08*	1.12*
		(0.43)	(0.46)
hawkishness		0.96**	0.80*
		(0.34)	(0.35)
female		-0.57**	-0.58**
		(0.17)	(0.17)
age		0.97**	1.06**
		(0.30)	(0.31)
education		0.12	0.07
		(0.36)	(0.37)
income		-0.11	-0.19
		(0.32)	(0.32)
nonwhite		-0.23	-0.22
		(0.24)	(0.24)
personal service		0.03	0.03
		(0.36)	(0.37)
household service		0.41+	0.44+
		(0.23)	(0.24)
military knowledge		0.79**	0.77**
		(0.27)	(0.27)
blind patriotism			0.37
			(0.45)
right-wing authoritarianism			-1.08*
			(0.55)
social dominance orientation			1.54*
			(0.63)
_cons	0.38	-1.77**	-2.27**
	(0.43)	(0.65)	(0.74)
N	748	748	748
pseudo R^2	0.016	0.102	0.112

Standard errors in parentheses. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 12: Political Ideology, Feelings Toward Military, and Hawkishness

	(1) Military feeling thermometer	(2) hawkishness
ideology	0.17***	0.12**
	(0.02)	(0.03)
_cons	0.67***	0.34***
	(0.01)	(0.02)
N	748	748
R^2	0.062	0.017

Standard errors in parentheses
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 13: Military Knowledge Questions and Index Distribution

Question	Percent Correct
True or False: A Colonel is a higher rank than a Major	55.95%
True or False: The Royal Navy has more personnel than the British Army	60.78%
True or False: Royal Air Force Officers undergo their basic training at Sandhurst	61.29%

Figure 1: Distribution of Military Knowledge Index

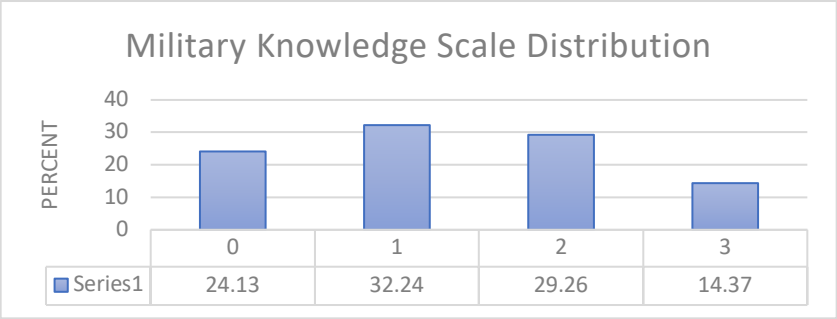

Table 14: Knowledge of the Covenant, Operation Support, & Casualty Sensitivity (All Respondents)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Operation Support		Casualty Tolerance	
knowledge of Covenant	0.55***	0.31*	0.87**	0.76**
	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.26)	(0.27)
ideology		0.30+		0.51
		(0.18)		(0.35)
warmth toward military		1.38***		0.86
		(0.28)		(0.54)
hawkishness		0.01		0.23
		(0.21)		(0.40)
female		-0.17		-0.44*
		(0.11)		(0.20)
age		0.11		0.35
		(0.19)		(0.36)
education		0.28		0.23
		(0.24)		(0.45)
income		0.29		-0.38
		(0.21)		(0.40)
nonwhite		-0.07		-0.59+
		(0.15)		(0.31)
self service		0.31		-0.76
		(0.25)		(0.48)
household service		0.07		0.49
		(0.16)		(0.30)
military knowledge		0.17		0.94**
		(0.18)		(0.34)
_cons	4.21***	2.66***	-0.40**	-1.76**
	(0.06)	(0.31)	(0.11)	(0.60)
N	491	491	404	491
R^2	0.033	0.134		
pseudo R^2			0.021	0.091

Standard errors in parentheses. Models 1-2 are OLS models, while Models 3-4 are logistic regressions.
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 15: Covenant Prime, Operation Support, & Casualty Sensitivity (All Respondents)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Operation Support		Casualty Tolerance	
covenant prime	0.05	0.05	0.20	0.20
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.13)	(0.14)
ideology		0.44**		0.31
		(0.13)		(0.24)
warmth toward military		1.47***		0.90*
		(0.19)		(0.36)
hawkishness		0.71***		0.99**
		(0.15)		(0.28)
female		-0.20**		-0.59***
		(0.08)		(0.14)
age		0.08		0.53*
		(0.14)		(0.25)
education		0.56**		0.34
		(0.17)		(0.32)
income		0.07		-0.19
		(0.15)		(0.27)
nonwhite		0.14		-0.36+
		(0.11)		(0.21)
self service		0.20		-0.09
		(0.16)		(0.31)
household service		0.16		0.48*
		(0.11)		(0.20)
military knowledge		0.32**		0.87**
		(0.12)		(0.23)
_cons	4.32***	2.17***	-0.29**	-2.06***
	(0.06)	(0.22)	(0.09)	(0.43)
N	974	974	974	974
R^2	0.000	0.170		
pseudo R^2			0.002	0.083

Standard errors in parentheses. Models 1-2 are OLS models, while Models 3-4 are logistic regressions.
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 16: Balance of Respondents, Treatment vs. Control Group

Variable	Control Mean	Treatment Mean
Age	0.54	0.54
Gender	0.53	0.52
Income	0.50	0.48
Education	0.63	0.63
Non-White	0.15	0.13
Ideology	0.50	0.52

Note: Respondents were randomly assigned to be in the treatment or control group using Qualtrics' random assignment tool. All variables standardized to fall between 0 and 1.

APPENDIX 2

Covenant Prime

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POLITICS | 20 January 2022 | 17:30 GMT

UK Weighs Sending Troops to Martesia

Luke Baker is one of roughly 500 members of the British Army waiting for possible orders that would send them into Martesia. Facing attacks across its southern border, Martesia, a longstanding British ally, has requested UK forces to bolster its defences. British officials support intervention because it would uphold the UK treaty with Martesia, strengthen international law, and further Britain's strategic interests…

In explaining the possible intervention in Martesia, a spokesperson for HM Government declared, "We will deploy troops in line with our foreign policy."

The spokesperson also reinforced the commitment made to soldiers deployed to Martesia under the Armed Forces Covenant. "The first duty of Government is the defence of the realm. Our Armed Forces fulfil that responsibility on behalf of the Government, sacrificing some civilian freedoms, facing danger and, sometimes, suffering serious injury or death as a result of their duty," the spokesperson said. "In return, the whole nation has a moral obligation to the members of the Armed Forces. They deserve our respect and support, and fair treatment."

"Our Armed Forces fulfil that responsibility [defence of the realm] on behalf of the Government… In return, the whole nation has a moral obligation to the members of the Armed Forces."

UK Government Spokesperson

If Baker is deployed, he says, "I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months."

Control Prime

EDITION: UNITED KINGDOM

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In explaining the possible intervention in Martesia, a spokesperson for HM Government declared, "We will deploy troops in line with our foreign policy."

The spokesperson also offered background on Martesia. "Martesia is a country with a population of roughly 15 million people. Around 1 million reside in the capital. It is a member of most major international organisations, including the United Nations and the World Trade Organization," the spokesperson said. "Martesia has a varied climate and geography and a balanced economy, with substantial agricultural and industrial sectors."

"Martesia is a country with a population of roughly 15 million people."

UK Government Spokesperson

If Baker is deployed, he says, "I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months."