Appendix
A Matter of Principle: How Local Consent Affects U.S. Support for Military Intervention

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A Sample

Our sample was drawn from YouGov's matched sampling procedure, which uses a stratified sample of the American Community Survey (ACS) to draw the target sample and construct the sampling frame. The sample itself is drawn from a large pool of opt-in respondents. The ACS is a representative survey run by the U.S. Census Bureau on 3.5 million addresses every year. YouGov interviewed 5,384 respondents who were then matched down to a sample of 5,050 to produce the final dataset. The respondents were matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race, and education. The frame was constructed by stratified sampling from the full 2019 ACS 1-year sample with selection within strata by weighted sampling with replacement, using the person weights on the public use file. The matched cases were weighted to the sampling frame using propensity scores. The matched cases and the frame were combined and a logistic regression was estimated for inclusion in the frame. The propensity score function included age, gender, race/ethnicity, years of education, and region. The propensity scores were grouped into deciles of the estimated propensity score in the frame and post-stratified according to these deciles. The weights were then post-stratified on 2016 and 2020 Presidential vote choice, and a four-way stratification of gender, age (4-categories), race (4-categories), and education (4-categories), to produce the final weight. Table A1 summarizes key characteristics of our sample, weighted and unweighted, in comparison with the sampling frame. 3,360 of the 5,050 total respondents in the YouGov sample were assigned to complete the experiment reported in this paper. 1,673 of these 3,360 respondents were randomly assigned to read a prime ahead of completing this experiment, details on this are reported in Appendix F. The remaining respondents received a different experiment outside of the scope of this paper. Table A1 provides information on the 3,360 respondents our analysis draws on.

Table A1: Sample Characteristics

Characteristic	Unweighted	Weighted	Frame
Male	44.40	48.20	49.00
Female	54.30	50.40	51.00
Other	1.30	1.40	0.00
High school or less	34.80	36.20	36.00
Some college or college degree	51.30	50.50	51.00
Postgraduate degree	14.00	13.30	13.00
Democrat	35.10	34.50	42.00
Republican	27.60	28.30	35.00
Independent	26.90	27.00	19.00
Other	10.40	10.20	4.00
White	68.30	67.40	67.00
Black	12.30	12.50	13.00
Hispanic	12.10	12.50	13.00
Other	7.40	7.60	7.00
18-29 years	18.20	18.70	21.00
30-44 years	24.90	25.50	24.00
45-64 years	32.40	31.60	33.00
65 + years	24.40	24.20	22.00

B Survey Experiment Wording

The vignette respondents see is presented in Table 2 of the main text. This section provides the wording of the question for the first of five paired intervention scenarios, including the preamble to the vignette, the vignette, manipulation check, and survey question.

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This scenario features the fictional country Esor.  Please
consider the following, hypothetical scenario as if it were real.

The ethnic Braam group in the country Esor is threatened by Esor's
government with persecution, ethnic cleansing and even genocide.
Intelligence reports suggest that the Braam have long endured
persecution from the government and recently the government has
started to imprison, kill, and disappear members of the Braam.
The President of the United States is considering a U.S. military
intervention in Esor to protect the Braam, who are unable to
defend themselves against Esor's troops.  Intelligence suggests
that an external intervention is the only way to stop the violence
against the Braam.  The U.S. Regional Command has drawn-up plans
for a military intervention into Esor.  Relying on air power, a
military intervention would not put U.S. troops in harm's way.
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Manipulation Check
Please indicate which of the following statements is true:

(a) The government of Esor is planning an attack against the United States.

(b) The ethnic Braam group is at risk of ethnic cleansing by Esor's troops and unable to defend itself.

(c) The ethnic Braam group is well armed and able to defend itself against Esor's troops.

(d) The scenario does not specify whether the ethnic Braam group can defend itself against ethnic cleansing by Esor's troops.

(e) I don't know.

[The answer choices will randomly vary in order. The correct answer above is b). If a respondent fails to choose b), they will be sent back to re-read the prime.]

As mentioned, the U.S. regional command in charge of the intervention in Esor has drawn up potential strategies for the intervention to protect the Braam. The strategies have different projected consequences regarding how many civilian casualties they are likely to cause among the Braam and among the ethnic Esorians. The strategies also differ regarding how likely they are to successfully halt the ethnic cleansing of the Braam. Moreover, please imagine that whether the Braam support an intervention varies in different scenarios.

Below we present you with two potential scenarios for the military intervention in Esor to stop the violence against the Braam. Please take a moment to familiarize yourself with the scenarios.

We will show you five comparisons, with 10 different scenarios in total.

[Respondents evaluate five pairs of scenarios with randomly varying attribute levels. After each profile they are asked Q1 and Q2 below]

Q1)Even if you are not completely sure, please indicate in which one of these two scenarios you would support a U.S. military intervention more. (Scenario A/Scenario B)

Q1a) On a scale of 1 to 5, to what extent would you support a U.S. military intervention in scenario A? 1 (Not at all support)---(Fully support)

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Q1b) On a scale of 1 to 5, to what extent would you support a U.S.
military intervention in scenario B? 1 (Not at all
support)---(Fully support)
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C Additional Information on Main Results

In this section, we provide additional information on our core results. Table C1a reports the AMCE for each attribute level, as visualized in figure 1 in the main text. Table C1b provides the estimated AMCEs of levels of consent and likelihood of success for profiles where there is no beneficiary or bystander harm, plotted in Figure 2 in the main text.

Table C1: AMCEs of Attributes and Principled Consent

(a) AMCEs of Attributes

	Forced Choice	Rating
Consent		
Less than half	0.099^{***}	0.052^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.005)
More than half	0.133^{***}	0.076^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.005)
All support	0.191^{***}	0.116^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.006)
Beneficiary Casualties		
20 beneficiaries	-0.024^{**}	-0.015^{**}
	(0.007)	(0.005)
200 beneficiaries	-0.103^{***}	-0.045^{***}
	(0.007)	(0.005)
2000 beneficiaries	-0.239^{***}	-0.109^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.005)
Bystander Casualties		
20 bystanders	-0.044^{***}	-0.026^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.005)
200 bystanders	-0.104^{***}	-0.049^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.005)
2000 bystanders	-0.216^{***}	-0.104^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.005)
Likelihood of Success		
65%	0.050^{***}	0.019^{***}
	(0.007)	(0.005)
80%	0.140^{***}	0.056^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.005)
95%	0.189^{***}	0.083^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.005)
N	33,600	33,594

$^{***}p < 0.001$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{*}p < 0.05$; $^{\circ}p < 0.1$

Note: Baselines omitted.

(b) Principled Consent

	Forced Choice	Rating
Consent		
Less than half support	0.100^{***}	0.053^{**}
	(0.030)	(0.021)
More than half	0.087^{**}	0.086^{***}
	(0.029)	(0.020)
All support	0.134^{***}	0.140^{***}
	(0.028)	(0.020)
Likelihood of Success		
65%	0.048	0.017
	(0.030)	(0.020)
80%	0.122^{***}	0.052^{**}
	(0.029)	(0.020)
95%	0.168^{***}	0.092^{***}
	(0.028)	(0.020)
N	2,038	2,038

$^{***}p < 0.001$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{*}p < 0.05$; $^{\circ}p < 0.1$

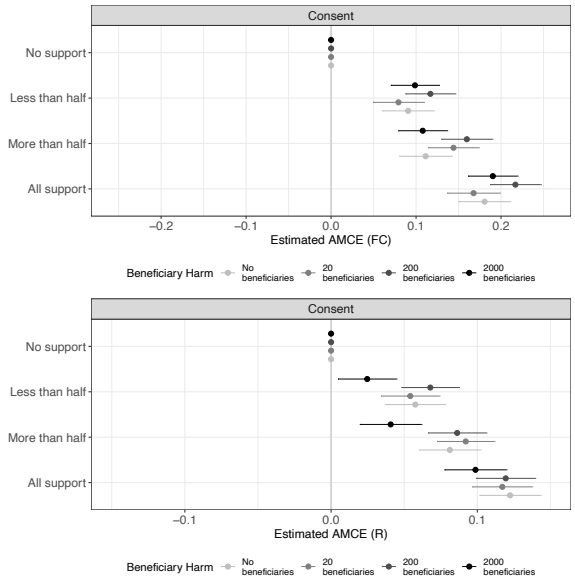
Note: Baselines omitted.

D Interaction Effects

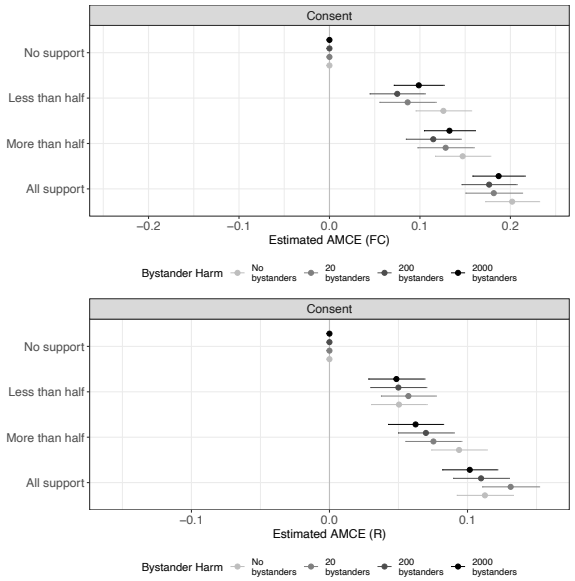
This section provides additional information on how the effect of consent varies across levels of the other attributes. Figures D1a, D1b, and D1c plot the AMCEs of levels of consent across the attribute levels of beneficiary harm, bystander harm, and likelihood of success, respectively.

Table D1 presents formal tests of interaction effects between consent and beneficiary harm, bystander harm, and likelihood of success. Estimates represent differences in the effect of each level of consent across levels of the moderating attribute compared to the baseline. For example, a positive value indicates that a given consent level (e.g., “more than half support") has a stronger

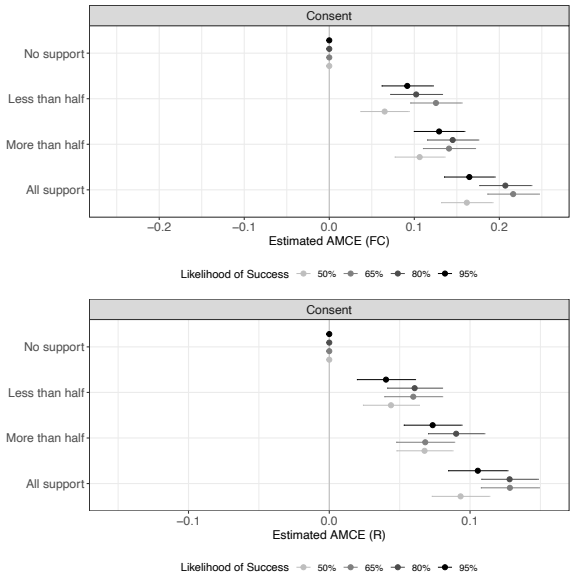
Figure D1: Effects of Consent by Attribute



(a) Effects of Consent by Beneficiary Harm



(b) Effects of Consent by Bystander Harm



(c) Effects of Consent by Likelihood of Success

Note: This figure presents the AMCEs of consent levels across varying levels of beneficiary harm (panel a), bystander harm (panel b), and likelihood of success (panel c). For each attribute, the top plot shows estimates from the forced choice outcome, while the bottom plot shows estimates from the ratings outcome (rescaled to range from 0 to 1). Within each panel, the point estimate is the AMCE of a given level of consent on the probability of an intervention being preferred (forced choice) or rated favorably (ratings), conditional on the given level of the moderating attribute. The lines represent 95% confidence intervals around each point estimate. Estimates reflect interaction effects, showing how the effect of consent on support changes across levels of harm and likelihood of success.

effect on support when 200 beneficiaries would be harmed than when no beneficiaries would be harmed. All models include the other randomized attributes as controls to adjust for the full conjoint design, but their coefficients are not shown.Results are shown separately for the forced choice and rating outcomes. Standard errors are clustered by respondent, and 95% confidence intervals are reported in parentheses.

E Robustness Checks

E.1 Weighted Results

This section replicates our main, significant results accounting for survey weights. Table E1 reports the AMCEs for the values of each attribute in the collective conjoint for both the unweighted and weighted sample. Table E2 reports the AMCEs of the various levels of consent and likelihood of success when there is no harm to beneficiaries and bystanders. There are no significant differences when accounting for survey weights.

In the replication code, we account for survey weights for the interaction effect results. Accounting for weights does not change the results.

E.2 Corrections for Multiple Hypothesis Testing

Tables E3 and E4 test the robustness of our core results to corrections for multiple hypothesis testing. The tables present the original p-values of our results alongside four corrections for multiple hypothesis testing, drawing on Liu and Shiraito 2023.[30] In the first Bonferroni correction, we divide each p-value by the total number of comparisons made in the specific model (in our case, this is 16 for Tables E3a, E3b and 8 for Tables E4a and E4b). In the second Bonferroni correction, we divide each p-value by the total number of comparisons made across both the forced choice and ratings models (32 for Tables E3a, E3b and 16 for Tables E4a and E4b).

[30]Liu, Guoer, and Yuki Shiraito. “Multiple Hypothesis Testing in Conjoint Analysis." *Political Analysis* (2023): 1-16.

Table D1: Differences in the AMCEs of Consent Across Other Attribute Levels

	Beneficiary Harm (FC)	Beneficiary Harm (R)	Bystander Harm (FC)	Bystander Harm (R)	Success (FC)	Success (R)
20 beneficiaries - No beneficiaries : Less than half	−0.011	−0.003				
	(0.021)	(0.014)				
20 beneficiaries - No beneficiaries : More than half	0.033	0.011				
	(0.021)	(0.015)				
20 beneficiaries - No beneficiaries : All support	−0.013	−0.005				
	(0.021)	(0.015)				
200 beneficiaries - No beneficiaries : Less than half	0.026	0.010				
	(0.021)	(0.014)				
200 beneficiaries - No beneficiaries : More than half	0.048*	0.005				
	(0.022)	(0.015)				
200 beneficiaries - No beneficiaries : All support	0.036	−0.003				
	(0.022)	(0.015)				
2000 beneficiaries - No beneficiaries : Less than half	0.008	−0.033*				
	(0.021)	(0.015)				
2000 beneficiaries - No beneficiaries : More than half	−0.003	−0.040**				
	(0.021)	(0.015)				
2000 beneficiaries - No beneficiaries : All support	0.010	−0.024				
	(0.021)	(0.015)				
20 bystanders - No bystanders : Less than half			−0.040	0.007		
			(0.022)	(0.014)		
20 bystanders - No bystanders : More than half			−0.019	−0.019		
			(0.022)	(0.014)		
20 bystanders - No bystanders : All support			−0.020	0.019		
			(0.022)	(0.014)		
200 bystanders - No bystanders : Less than half			−0.051*	−0.000		
			(0.022)	(0.014)		
200 bystanders - No bystanders : More than half			−0.032	−0.024		
			(0.022)	(0.014)		
200 bystanders - No bystanders : All support			−0.025	−0.003		
			(0.021)	(0.014)		
2000 bystanders - No bystanders : Less than half			−0.027	−0.002		
			(0.021)	(0.015)		
2000 bystanders - No bystanders : More than half			−0.015	−0.032*		
			(0.021)	(0.014)		
2000 bystanders - No bystanders : All support			−0.015	−0.011		
			(0.021)	(0.014)		
65% - 50% : Less than half					0.060**	0.016
					(0.021)	(0.015)
65% - 50% : More than half					0.035	0.000
					(0.021)	(0.014)
65% - 50% : All support					0.055*	0.035*
					(0.021)	(0.015)
80% - 50% : Less than half					0.037	0.017
					(0.021)	(0.014)
80% - 50% : More than half					0.039	0.022
					(0.021)	(0.014)
80% - 50% : All support					0.045*	0.035*
					(0.021)	(0.015)
95% - 50% : Less than half					0.027	−0.004
					(0.021)	(0.015)
95% - 50% : More than half					0.023	0.006
					(0.021)	(0.014)
95% - 50% : All support					0.003	0.012
					(0.021)	(0.015)

$^{***}p < 0.001$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{*}p < 0.05$

Table E1: AMCEs of Attributes, Unweighted and Weighted Sample

	FC (unweighted)	FC (weighted)	R (unweighted)	R (weighted)
Consent				
Less than half support	0.099^{***}	0.100^{***}	0.052^{***}	0.054^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.005)
More than half	0.133^{***}	0.132^{***}	0.076^{***}	0.077^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.006)
All support	0.191^{***}	0.189^{***}	0.116^{***}	0.115^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Beneficiary Harm				
20 beneficiaries	-0.024^{**}	-0.025^{**}	-0.015^{**}	-0.015^{**}
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.005)
200 beneficiaries	-0.103^{***}	-0.100^{***}	-0.045^{***}	-0.043^{***}
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.005)
2000 beneficiaries	-0.239^{***}	-0.236^{***}	-0.109^{***}	-0.108^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Bystander Harm				
20 bystanders	-0.044^{***}	-0.046^{***}	-0.026^{***}	-0.026^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.005)
200 bystanders	-0.104^{***}	-0.101^{***}	-0.049^{***}	-0.045^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.006)
2000 bystanders	-0.216^{***}	-0.213^{***}	-0.104^{***}	-0.103^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Likelihood of Success				
65%	0.050^{***}	0.052^{***}	0.019^{***}	0.021^{***}
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.006)
80%	0.140^{***}	0.141^{***}	0.056^{***}	0.057^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.006)
95%	0.189^{***}	0.191^{***}	0.083^{***}	0.083^{***}
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.006)
N	33,600	33,600	33,594	33,594

$^{***}p < 0.001$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{*}p < 0.05$; $^{\circ}p < 0.1$

Note: Baselines omitted.

Table E2: Principled Consent, Weighted vs. Unweighted Sample

	FC (unweighted)	FC (weighted)	R (unweighted)	R (weighted)
Consent				
Just less than half support	0.100^{***}	0.100^{**}	0.053^{**}	0.053^{*}
	(0.030)	(0.034)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Just more than half support	0.087^{**}	0.105^{**}	0.086^{***}	0.073^{***}
	(0.029)	(0.032)	(0.020)	(0.022)
Almost all support	0.134^{***}	0.145^{***}	0.140^{***}	0.141^{***}
	(0.028)	(0.031)	(0.020)	(0.021)
Likelihood of Success				
65%	0.048	0.063°	0.017	0.020
	(0.030)	(0.032)	(0.020)	(0.023)
80%	0.122^{***}	0.129^{***}	0.052^{**}	0.058^{**}
	(0.029)	(0.032)	(0.020)	(0.022)
95%	0.168^{***}	0.146^{***}	0.092^{***}	0.092^{***}
	(0.028)	(0.032)	(0.020)	(0.022)
N	33,600	33,600	33,594	33,594

$^{***}p < 0.001$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{*}p < 0.05$; $^{\circ}p < 0.1$

Note: Baselines omitted.

Table E3: Corrections for Multiple Hypothesis Testing, AMCEs of Attributes

(a) Adjusted P-Values, Forced Choice

Level	Original	Bonferroni	Bonferroni 2	Hochberg	Ash
Less than half	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
More than half	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
All support	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
20 beneficiaries	0.001	0.023	0.046	0.001	0.007
200 beneficiaries	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
2000 beneficiaries	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
20 bystanders	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
200 bystanders	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
2000 bystanders	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
65%	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
80%	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
95%	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Note: Baselines omitted.

(b) Adjusted P-Values, Rating

Level	Original	Bonferroni	Bonferroni 2	Hochberg	Ash
Less than half	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
More than half	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
All support	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
20 beneficiaries	0.002	0.038	0.076	0.002	0.010
200 beneficiaries	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
2000 beneficiaries	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
20 bystanders	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
200 bystanders	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
2000 bystanders	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
65%	0.000	0.003	0.006	0.000	0.001
80%	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
95%	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Note: Baselines omitted.

Table E4: Corrections for Multiple Hypothesis Testing, Principled Consent.

(a) Adjusted P-Values, Forced Choice (Principled Consent)

Level	Original	Bonferroni	Bonferroni 2	Hochberg	Ash
Less than half	0.001	0.006	0.011	0.002	0.009
More than half	0.002	0.020	0.040	0.005	0.026
All support	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
65%	0.108	0.866	1.731	0.108	0.267
80%	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001
95%	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Note: Baselines omitted.

(b) Adjusted P-Values, Rating (Principled Consent)

Level	Original	Bonferroni	Bonferroni 2	Hochberg	Ash
Less than half	0.010	0.077	0.154	0.019	0.079
More than half	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.001
All support	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
65%	0.405	3.241	6.481	0.405	0.366
80%	0.009	0.076	0.152	0.019	0.127
95%	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Note: Baselines omitted.

F Priming Individual-Other Defense

In the pre-analysis plan, we hypothesized that asking respondents to first reflect on individual-other defense amplifies the effect of consent on support for U.S. military intervention. Half of the 3,360 respondents were randomly assigned to read an individual-level prime before proceeding to the conjoint experiment presented in the main paper. The text of this prime is below:

> This scenario features the fictional country Pilut. Please consider the following, hypothetical scenario as if it were real.
>
> Blake and Alex are citizens of Pilut and live there. Blake is taking a ride in an elevator. Alex hates Blake and starts sawing through the elevator cable in order to kill Blake. Taylor, an American member of the U.S. armed forces who has recently travelled to Pilut, can save Blake, but only by throwing one of the grenades Taylor is carrying for professional reasons at Alex. Throwing a grenade at Alex will kill Alex and stop the elevator cable from breaking. This is the only way to save Blake, who will otherwise die from the fall of the elevator. The blast from the grenade has a small chance of killing Blake and one person waiting for the elevator might lose an arm. Taylor is wondering whether to try and get in touch with Blake to ask whether Blake consents to Taylor throwing the grenade.
>
> (Q3) Please take a moment to think about whether Taylor should seek Blake's consent before throwing the grenade to rescue Blake.
>
> *[Respondents cannot go to the next page for 20 seconds: then they see the following.]*
>
> Thank you for reflecting on this question. Now to a different fictional country and different scenario!
>
> *[Respondents then proceed as in the group without prime, reading the vignette and evaluating five military intervention profiles]*

We do not find support for the hypothesis that exposure to the prime amplifies the effect of consent on support for U.S. military intervention, as reported in Table F1.

G Comparison of Results with Pre-Analysis Plan

Table G1 summarizes our results and maps the pre-registered hypotheses to the most relevant sections in the paper and appendix.

Table F1: Difference in AMCEs of Attributes between Prime / No Prime

Comparison Prime/No Prime	AMCE Diff (FC)	AMCE Diff (R)
Consent		
Less than half	-0.006	-0.000
	(0.015)	(0.010)
More than half	0.002	0.000
	(0.015)	(0.011)
All support	-0.019	0.001
	(0.016)	(0.011)
Beneficiary Casualties		
20 beneficiaries	-0.029°	-0.017°
	(0.015)	(0.010)
200 beneficiaries	-0.044^{**}	-0.020^{*}
	(0.015)	(0.010)
2000 beneficiaries	-0.052^{**}	-0.018°
	(0.016)	(0.011)
Bystander Casualties		
20 bystanders	0.018	-0.003
	(0.015)	(0.010)
200 bystanders	-0.012	-0.008
	(0.015)	(0.010)
2000 bystanders	-0.027°	-0.022^{*}
	(0.016)	(0.011)
Likelihood of Success		
65%	-0.034^{*}	0.004
	(0.015)	(0.010)
80%	-0.026°	-0.005
	(0.015)	(0.010)
95%	-0.050^{**}	0.003
	(0.016)	(0.011)
N	33,600	33,594

$^{***}p < 0.001$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{*}p < 0.05$; $^{\circ}p < 0.1$

Note: The AMCE differences are the coefficients of interactions between each attribute level and a variable representing assignment to group (prime vs no prime). The coefficients thus represent an estimate of the difference in causal effects for the attribute level in the prime group to the estimate for the attribute level in the group without the prime. Comparisons of the baselines are omitted.

Table G1: Summary of Results and Comparison with Pre-Analysis Plan

Hypothesis	Support FC?	Support Rating?	Results
H1 consent: Consent of the intended beneficiary increases support for U.S. military intervention.	YES	YES	Figure 1/Table C1a
H2 beneficiary costs: Projected harm to the intended beneficiaries decreases support for U.S. military intervention.	YES	YES	Figure 1/Table C1a
H3 bystander costs: Projected harm to innocent bystanders decreases support for U.S. military intervention.	YES	YES	Figure 1/Table C1a
H4 uncertainty of success: Uncertainty of success decreases support for U.S.military intervention	YES	YES	Figure 1/Table C1a
H5 beneficiary costs: The effect of consent is larger the more harm U.S. military intervention is projected to cause to the intended beneficiaries.	NO	NO	Figure D1a/Table D2
H6 bystander costs: The effect of consent is larger the more harm U.S. military intervention is projected to cause to innocent bystanders.	NO	NO	Figure D1b/Table D2
H7 uncertainty: The effect of consent on support is larger the more uncertain the success of U.S. military intervention.	NO	NO	Figure D1c/Table D2
H8 principled: Consent has a positive effect on support for U.S. military intervention even when it is projected to succeed and not harm the intended beneficiaries and innocent bystanders.	YES	YES	Figure 2/Table C1b
H9 amplification: The effect of consent on support for U.S. military intervention is larger among respondents who are first asked to reflect on the role of consent in individual other-defense.	NO	NO	Table F1

The pre-analysis plan also specifies hypotheses for a separate conjoint that focuses on individual-other defense. These results are not reported here.