Understanding the Impact of Military Service on Support for Political Violence

Revised May 31, 2024

Online Appendix

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SURVEY DESIGN, DATA PROCESSING AND WEIGHTING PROCEDURE

The Veteran Survey was conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago on behalf of the authors. The following section details the survey design, data processing, and weighting procedures NORC used in fielding the survey and preparing the data.

Sampling

Two independent samples were selected from NORC's AmeriSpeak Panel for this study:

- A national sample of veterans ages 18-64
- A national sample of non-veterans 18-64 whose key demographic measures (age, race/Hispanic ethnicity, education, and gender) were distributed the same as the veteran sample

The two samples were selected from the AmeriSpeak Panel using sampling strata based on race/ethnicity, age, education, gender (48 sampling strata in total). The 48 sampling strata are constructed by Race/Ethnicity (NH Whites plus Other and 2+ Races/NH Blacks/Hispanic) x Age (18-34/35-44/45-54/55-64) x Education (Less than Some College/ Bachelors+) x Gender (M/F).

The Veteran and Nonveteran samples use the same 48 sampling strata and CPS Veteran benchmark. The size of the selected sample per sampling stratum is determined by the population distribution for each stratum. In addition, sample selection takes into account expected differential survey completion rates by demographic groups so that the set of panel members with a completed interview for a study is a representative sample of the target population. If panel household has one more than one active adult panel member, only one adult in the household is eligible for selection (random within-household sampling).

For veterans, the AmeriSpeak panel sample was supplemented with respondents from the Lucid's nonprobability online opt-in panel. To help to reduce potential bias in the nonprobability sample, Lucid attempted to balance the nonprobability respondent sample by age, race and ethnicity, gender, and education.

Field

A sub-sample of AmeriSpeak web-mode panelists were invited to the survey on December 16, 2021, in a soft-launch. The initial data from the soft-launch was reviewed and the remainder of sampled AmeriSpeak panelists were invited to the survey on December 20, 2021, with an additional small sample batch of non-veterans invited on January 19 to get the last interview needed to close field.

In total NORC collected 1,663 interviews by web mode. Both AmeriSpeak and Lucid fielded the survey to veterans from December 16 through January 4. AmeriSpeak fielded the survey to non-veterans from December 16 to January 20.

- Response Rate Reporting for AmeriSpeak Veteran Sample
    - Weighted AAPOR RR3 Recruitment rate: 19.1%
    - Weighted Household retention rate: 75.0%
    - Survey completion rate: 23.3%
    - Weighted AAPOR RR3 cumulative response rate: 3.3%
- Response Rate Reporting for AmeriSpeak Non-Veteran Sample
    - Weighted AAPOR RR3 Recruitment rate: 19.1%

- Weighted Household retention rate: 75.0%
- Survey completion rate: 26.6%
- Weighted AAPOR RR3 cumulative response rate: 3.8%

Gaining Cooperation of AmeriSpeak Panelists for the Study

To encourage study cooperation, NORC sent email reminders to sampled web-mode panelists. Panelists were offered the cash equivalent of $3 for completing the survey.

Data processing

NORC prepared a fully labeled data file of respondent survey data and demographic data for University of Chicago.

NORC applied cleaning rules to the survey data for quality control by removing survey responses in the main study interview questions from non-eligible respondents. These respondents provided responses indicative of speeding through the survey, skipping survey questions, and/or straight-lining responses to grid questions.

- Respondents were considered speeders if the web respondent completed the interview in less than one-third the median duration.
- Respondents were considered skippers if the web-respondent skipped more than 50% of questions asked.
- A respondent was considered a straight-liner if the web-respondent straight-lined responses on every grid question the respondent was shown.

These respondents flagged for any of speeding, skipping, or straight-lining, were not counted toward the total number of interviews (i.e., they were excluded from the sample).

Statistical Weighting

Using a different approach for each, NORC produced weights for the two set of samples in this study:

1. Non-veterans age 18-64, weighted to look like CPS vets age 18-64 (n=820 AmeriSpeak panelist completes)
2. Veterans age 18-64, weighted to look like CPS vets age 18-64 (n=319 AmeriSpeak panelist completes; n=524 Lucid completes)

Statistical Weighting for the AmeriSpeak Panelists

Among the probability cases in this study, statistical weights for the study respondents were calculated using *panel base sampling weights* to start.

Panel base sampling weights for all sampled housing units are computed as the inverse of probability of selection from the NORC National Frame (the sampling frame that is used to sample housing units for AmeriSpeak) or address-based sample. The sample design and recruitment protocol for the AmeriSpeak Panel involves subsampling of initial non-respondent housing units. These subsampled non-respondent housing units are selected for an in-person follow-up. The subsample of housing units that are selected for the nonresponse follow-up (NRFU) have their panel base sampling weights inflated by the inverse of the subsampling rate. The base sampling weights are further adjusted to account for unknown eligibility and

nonresponse among eligible housing units. The household-level nonresponse adjusted weights are then post-stratified to external counts for number of households obtained from the Current Population Survey. Then, these household-level post-stratified weights are assigned to each eligible adult in every recruited household. Furthermore, a person-level nonresponse adjustment accounts for nonresponding adults within a recruited household.

Finally, panel weights are raked to external population totals associated with age, sex, education, race/Hispanic ethnicity, housing tenure, telephone status, and Census Division. The external population totals are obtained from the Current Population Survey. The weights adjusted to the external population totals are the *final panel weights*.

Panel Weighting Variables & the Variable Categories

- Age: 18-24, 25-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-64, and 65+
- Gender: Male and Female
- Census Division: New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, West North Central, South Atlantic, East South Central, West South Central, Mountain, and Pacific
- Race/Ethnicity: Non-Hispanic White, Non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, and Non-Hispanic Other
- Education: Less than High School, High School/GED, Some College, and BA and Above
- Housing Tenure: Home Owner and Other
- Household phone status: Cell Phone-only, Dual User, and Landline-only/Phoneless
- Age x Gender: 18-34 Male, 18-34 Female, 35-49 Male, 35-49 Female, 50-64 Male, 50-64 Female, 65+ Male, and 65+ Female
- Age x Race/Ethnicity: 18-34 Non-Hispanic White, 18-34 All Other, 35-49 Non-Hispanic White, 35-49 All Other, 50-64 All Other, 50-64 All Other, 65+ Non-Hispanic White, and 65+ All Other

Again, for the probability cases in this study, *study-specific base sampling weights* developed to adjust for unequal selection probabilities from the AmeriSpeak panel, differential nonresponse across subpopulations, and frame coverage limitations. All these weighting adjustments are applied to the final panel weights described above.

The probability sample for this study is selected from the AmeriSpeak Panel using sampling strata (see the description of the sampling strata for this study earlier in this report). Sample selection considers the expected differential survey completion rates across these strata based on average completion rates in previous surveys. This sample selection based on expected nonresponse ensures a more representative final sample of completed interviews. However, the net result of the sampling design is an unequal selection probability that varies depending on the strata a respondent represents. Study-specific base weights are computed as the product of the final panel weights and the inverse of the probabilities of selection under the study sample design.

The final stage of weighting occurs after data is collected, and it is here where we have separate approach for the sample of *18-64 non-veterans*, which is made up of all probability-based sample, *18-64 veterans*, which is made up both probability and non-probability interviews. The latter involves our TrueNorth calibration approach.

Final Study-Specific Weights for 18-64 Non-Veterans/Veteran Sample

Finally, *Study Specific Final Weights* for the 18-64 Non-Veterans and the 18-64 Veterans sourced from AmeriSpeak are created by first adjusting the base weights for survey nonresponse through a weighting class method, where the weighting classes are defined by age, race/ethnicity, gender, and education. After that, a raking ratio adjustment is applied to the nonresponse adjusted base weights to align the sample with known population benchmarks made up of the topline socio-demographic characteristics of the following:

Variables & the Variable Categories for Study-Specific Survey Non-Response Raking

- Age: 18-24, 25-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, and 60-64
- Gender: Male and Female
- Census Division: New England, Middle Atlantic, East North Central, West North Central, South Atlantic, East South Central, West South Central, Mountain, and Pacific
- Race/Ethnicity: Non-Hispanic White, Non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, and Non-Hispanic Other
- Education: Less than High School, High School/GED, Some College, and BA and Above
- Age x Gender: 18-34 Male, 18-34 Female, 35-44 Male, 35-44 Female, 45-54 Male, 45-54 Female, 55-64 Male, and 55-64 Female
- Age x Race/Ethnicity: 18-34 Non-Hispanic White, 18-34 All Other, 35-44 Non-Hispanic White, 35-44 All Other, 45-54 All Other, 45-54 All Other, 55-64 Non-Hispanic White, and 55-64 All Other
- Race/Ethnicity x Gender: Non-Hispanic White Male, Non-Hispanic White Female, All Other Male, and All Other Female

These sociodemographic characteristics are weighted to benchmarks from the Current Population Survey. Raking and re-raking is done during the weighting process such that the weighted demographic distribution of the survey completes resemble the demographic distribution in the target population. The assumption is that the key survey items are related to the demographics. Therefore, by aligning the survey respondent demographics with the target population, the key survey items should also be in closer alignment with the target population.

At the final stage of the weighting process, any extreme weights are trimmed based on a criterion of minimizing the mean squared error associated with key survey estimates. Weights after trimming are re-raked to the same population totals to produce the final study weights.

Combined Study-Specific Weights for 18-64 Veterans

First, we describe the calculation of the weights for the AmeriSpeak sample, and then describe the statistical corrections made to the non-probability Lucid sample via NORC's TrueNorth™ calibration weighting service.

Generally speaking, the steps for calculating the weights for the AmeriSpeak Panel completed survey interviews involves the following sequential steps: adjusting the base weights by incorporating nonresponse adjustments and he by a raking ratio adjustments to population benchmarks. NORC followed the same procedure for weighting the veteran interviews sourced from the AmeriSpeak Panel, as was done for weighting the non-veteran interviews (described above).

In order to incorporate the nonprobability sample, NORC used TrueNorth calibration services, an innovative hybrid calibration approach developed at NORC based on small area estimation methods in order to explicitly account for potential bias associated with the nonprobability sample[23]. The purpose of TrueNorth calibration is to adjust the weights for the nonprobability sample so as to bring weighted distributions of the nonprobability sample in line with the population distribution for characteristics correlated with the survey variables (Ganesh et al. 2017; 2019). Such calibration adjustments help to reduce potential bias, yielding more accurate population estimates.

The first step is to create non-probability sample weights. As there is no known "design" to nonprobability samples, units in the nonprobability sample are simply given a design weight of one. The nonprobability sample is then calibrated to the same known distributions of the population as described above for the probability sample. Therefore, the nonprobability sample weights, prior to True North modelling are simple calibration weights.

At the core of the TrueNorth method, small area modeling is conducted in the following steps:

- First, we identify a set of 7 key response variables from the survey using a machine learning approach called gradient boosted tree modelling. Ideally, the key response variables are associated with the largest bias in the nonprobability sample and also are highly correlated with other response variables.
- Second, we define a set of 24 domains in the data, where each domain is a specific, relevant subgroup for data analysis and reporting.
- Third, we fit domain-level small area models for each of the response variables identified earlier using weighted probability sample and nonprobability sample domain-level estimates as input. The model included covariates, domain-level random effects, and sampling errors. The covariates were external data available from ACS.
- Fourth, the fitted small area models generate predicted values for each domain and for each response variable.

The final combined probability and nonprobability sample weights were derived such that for the combined samples, the weighted estimate reproduced the usual demographic benchmarks as well as small domain estimates (derived using the small area model) for key survey variables.

Design Effect and Sampling Margin of Error Calculations

- Veteran Sample
  - Study design effect: 1.66
  - Study margin of error: +/- 4.68%
- Non-Veteran Sample
  - Study design effect: 1.92
  - Study margin of error: +/- 4.74%

Under TrueNorth calibration, combined probability and nonprobability sample yields approximately unbiased estimates. The margins of error reported here reflect the sampling variation of the probability sample as well as the TrueNorth model-assisted calibration procedures that generate the combined sample weights. As such, it is reasonable for analysts using this data to employ standard methods for approximating margins of error and statistical

significance, although there is no statistically agreed upon approach to doing this when utilizing nonprobability samples.

NORC at the University of Chicago

NORC at the University of Chicago is an independent research institution that delivers reliable data and rigorous analysis to guide critical programmatic, business, and policy decisions. Since 1941, NORC has conducted groundbreaking studies, created and applied innovative methods and tools, and advanced principles of scientific integrity and collaboration. Today, government, corporate, and nonprofit clients around the world partner with NORC to transform increasingly complex information into useful knowledge. Please visit www.norc.org for more information.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The following was included in the consent explaining risks and measures taken to reduce them, with the goal of protecting subjects and reducing social desirability bias.

Risks

Your participation in this study does not involve any risk to you beyond that of everyday life. The survey contains some questions and short videos that may be stressful or upsetting. You may skip questions you would prefer not to answer without penalty. If you are concerned about your mental health and do not know where to find support, you can find resources to help at MentalHealth.gov, https://www.mentalhealth.gov/, and, for veterans, through the Veterans Administration mental health portal (https://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/MENTALHEALTH/get-help/index.asp).

There is a potential risk of loss of confidentiality. To minimize this risk, NORC will only provide de-identified data to the UChicago research team and employs a robust data security protocol to protect the identity of research participants in online surveys. Further, NORC will destroy identifiers that link individuals with the survey data within one week after administering the survey. Only de-identified data (data that cannot identify you personally) will be used by the research team.

Benefits

You are not likely to have any direct benefit from being in this research study. The study results may be used to help other people in the future.

Confidentiality

- The survey is administered by NORC.
- As an AmeriSpeak panelist, your identity will be known to NORC. NORC maintains the highest standards of data security. First, this research is covered by a Certificate of Confidentiality from the National Institutes of Health. This means that the researchers cannot release any information that may identify you in any legal action including federal, state, or local civil, criminal, administrative, legislative, or other proceedings. There are two exceptions. We must follow laws that require the reporting of child or elder abuse, some communicable diseases, and threats to harm yourself or others. And two, you can willingly release information about your involvement in this research. To find out more about Certificates of Confidentiality, visit:

https://www.amerispeak.org/html/terms/privacy.html. Second, any identifying information will be deleted after the study.
- The study sponsor, Department of Defense, or their representatives, including monitoring agencies, may review the research records in the event of an audit, but the records will not include personally identifiable data.
- De-identified information from this study may also be used for future research studies or shared with other researchers for future research without your additional informed consent.

SURVEY QUESTIONS

Our survey asked questions, some specific to veterans and some generalized for the entire sample, across several different topics. Those topics are enumerated below, with the questions categorized by any indexes they were combined to create or the key concept they were designed to capture.

Political Beliefs

Far-Right Conspiracy Beliefs

- qanon: A secret group of Satan-worshiping pedophiles is ruling the US government. 5-point Likert, Strongly disagree (1) to Strongly agree (5).
- jailpatriots: The federal government is intending to declare martial law and jail patriotic dissidents. 5-point Likert, Strongly disagree (1) to Strongly agree (5).
- demreplacement: The Democratic Party is trying to replace the current electorate — the voters now casting ballots — with new people, more obedient voters from the Third World. 5-point Likert, Strongly disagree (1) to Strongly agree (5).

Partisan Polarization

- favortrump: How favorable is your impression of each of the following people, or haven't you heard of them? Donald Trump
- favorbiden: How favorable is your impression of each of the following people, or haven't you heard of them? Joe Biden

In-Service Factors [Veterans Only]

Combat Trauma

The statements below are about your combat experiences during your time in the military. As used in these statements, the term "unit" refers to those you lived and worked with on a daily basis during deployment. Please select ‘Yes’ if you experienced any of these, ‘No’ if you did not.

During my time in the military…

- combat: I went on combat patrols or missions. Yes/No
- mortalfear: I experienced situations in which I feared I might be seriously injured or killed. Yes/No
- sawfriendkilled: I personally witnessed someone from my unit or an ally unit being seriously

wounded or killed. Yes/No
- sawenemykilled: I personally witnessed enemy combatants being seriously wounded or killed. Yes/No
- sawcivskilled: I personally witnessed civilians (for example, women and children) being seriously wounded or killed. Yes/No

Other Veteran-Specific Questions

- year_joined: What year did you join the US armed forces?
- msr5: How many years of military service did you complete?
- departurereason: Why did you leave the military? (1) Involuntary discharge; (2) dissatisfied with military life; (3) civilian opportunities; (4) retirement (voluntary)
- combat_deployed: How many months did you spend deployed in combat zones?

Post Service Factors [Veterans Only]

- disillusioned: There was no good purpose for the sacrifice made by me, my unit, or my family. [Looking back to your time serving in the US Military, please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements:] 5-point Likert, Strongly disagree (1) to Strongly agree (5).
- ptsd: I am bothered by repeated, disturbing memories of my military experience. [Looking back to your time serving in the US Military, please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements:] 5-point Likert, Strongly disagree (1) to Strongly agree (5).
- reintegration: After leaving the military, I had a difficult time adjusting to civilian life. [Looking back to your time serving in the US Military, please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements:] 5-point Likert, Strongly disagree (1) to Strongly agree (5).
- sacrificeunapp: Society does not appreciate the sacrifices soldiers make. 5-point Likert, Strongly disagree (1) to Strongly agree (5).

General Societal Factors

- econfear: Personally, how concerned are you about losing your primary source of income in the next 12 months? (1) Not at all concerned; (2) Slightly concerned; (3) Somewhat concerned; (4) Moderately concerned; (5) Extremely concerned.
- b_econhardship: In the past five years, did you experience extreme financial difficulty, such as declaring bankruptcy or losing your home to foreclosure? Yes/No.
- childlaw: Growing up I had trouble with the law. 5-point Likert, Strongly disagree (1) to Strongly agree (5).

Religiosity

- relig_pray: How often do you spend time in private religious activities, such as prayer, meditation or Bible study? (1) Rarely or never; (2) A few times a month; (3) Once a week; (4) Two or more times/week; (5) Daily; (6) More than once a day.
- relig_services: How often do you attend religious services? (1) Never; (2) Less than once per year; (3) About once or twice a year; (4) Several times a year; (5) About once a month; (6) 2-3 times a month; (7) Nearly every week; (8) Every week; (9) Several times a week.

- relig_life: My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life. (1) Definitely not true; (2) Tends not to be true; (3) Unsure; (4) Tends to be true; (5) Definitely true of me.

Authoritarianism

Listed below are pairs of desirable qualities. For each pair, please mark which one you think is more important for a child to have:

- value_elders: (1) Independence versus (2) Respect of Elders
- value_obedience: (1) Obedience versus (2) Self-Reliance [Reverse scored]
- value_manners: (1) Curiosity versus (2) Good Manners

SUMMARY STATISTICS

Table A.1. Descriptive Statistics for Dependent Variable and Covariates

	Non-Veteran	Veteran
N	820 (49.3%)	843 (50.7%)
DV		
Insurrection Index	1.551 (0.922)	1.856 (1.181)
Pre-Treatment Confounds		
Male = 1	666 (81.2%)	676 (80.2%)
Age - 4 Categories		
18-29	73 (8.9%)	60 (7.1%)
30-44	236 (28.8%)	209 (24.8%)
45-59	361 (44.0%)	390 (46.3%)
60+	150 (18.3%)	184 (21.8%)
Christian = 1	512 (62.4%)	569 (67.6%)
Religious = 1	204 (24.9%)	220 (26.2%)
Childhood Legal Trouble = 1	101 (12.4%)	155 (18.4%)
Republican = 1	313 (38.2%)	413 (49.0%)
White = 1	550 (67.1%)	594 (70.5%)
Authoritarian = 1	232 (28.4%)	272 (32.6%)
Mediators		
Far-Right Conspiracy = 1	118 (14.5%)	191 (22.9%)
Political Polarization = 1	215 (26.6%)	292 (34.9%)
Post-Treatment Confounds		
Economic Concern = 1	218 (26.7%)	296 (35.2%)
Recent Economic Hardship = 1	83 (10.1%)	118 (14.0%)
Service and Post-Service Factors		
Combat Trauma = 1	0 (0.0%)	494 (59.4%)
Involuntary Discharge = 1	0 (0.0%)	140 (16.8%)
Served During GWoT = 1	0 (0.0%)	365 (44.2%)
Served 4 years or Less = 1	0 (0.0%)	400 (48.0%)
Deployed to Combat Area = 1	0 (0.0%)	401 (48.3%)
Believe Service Unappreciated = 1	0 (0.0%)	795 (94.6%)
Not Proud of Service = 1	0 (0.0%)	243 (29.0%)
Trouble Reintegrating = 1	0 (0.0%)	566 (67.5%)
Disillusioned with Sacrifice = 1	0 (0.0%)	461 (54.9%)
Service-Related PTSD = 1	0 (0.0%)	486 (57.9%)

CALCULATED VARIABLES

In this section, we provide interitem correlations (when presenting an Index) and distributions for key variables we used in our analysis.

Political Conspiracy Index

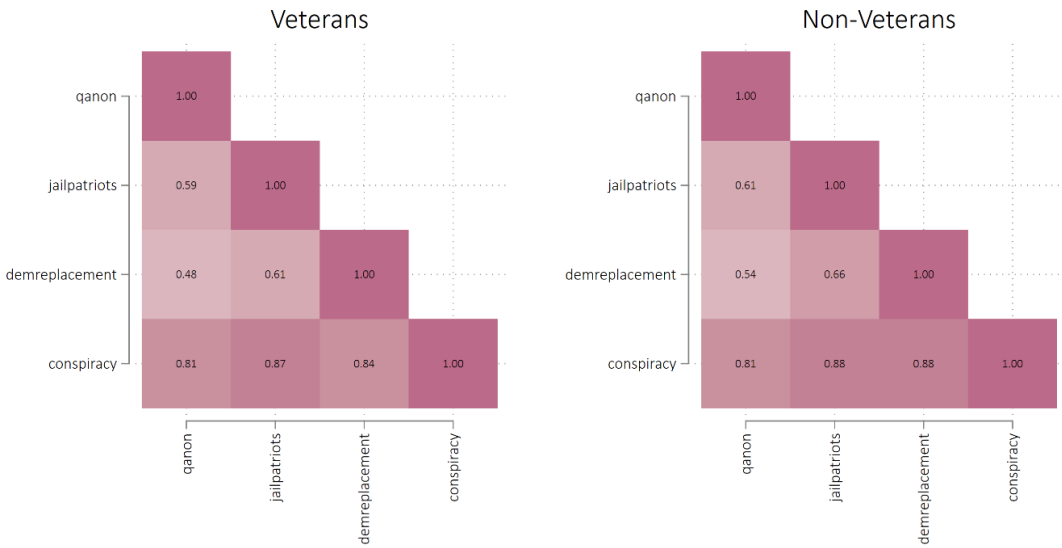

Figure A.1. Correlation matrix for Political Conspiracy Index and components (unweighted)

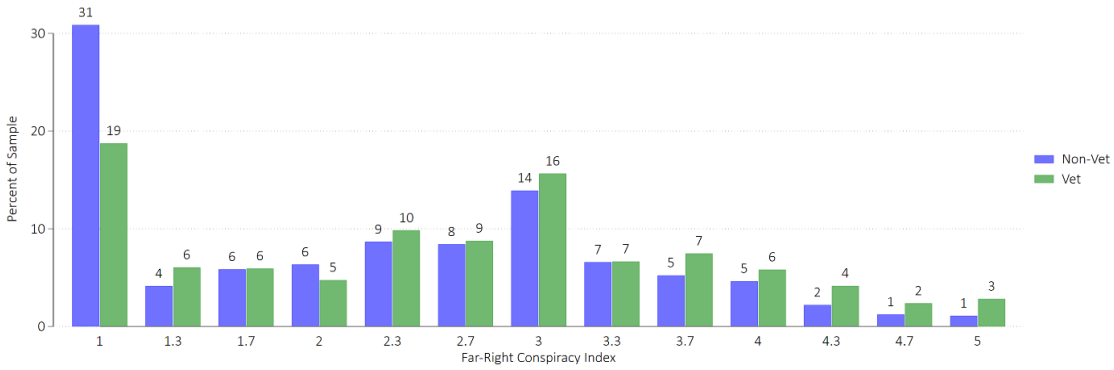

Figure A.2. Unweighted distribution of Political Conspiracy Index (veteran vs non-veteran samples)

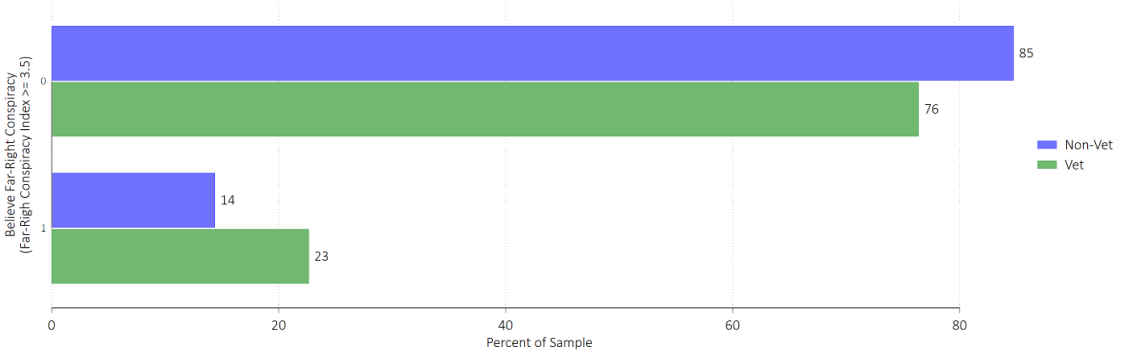

Figure A.3. Unweighted distribution of Believing Far-Right Conspiracy Index (veteran vs non-veteran samples)

Relative Support for Trump

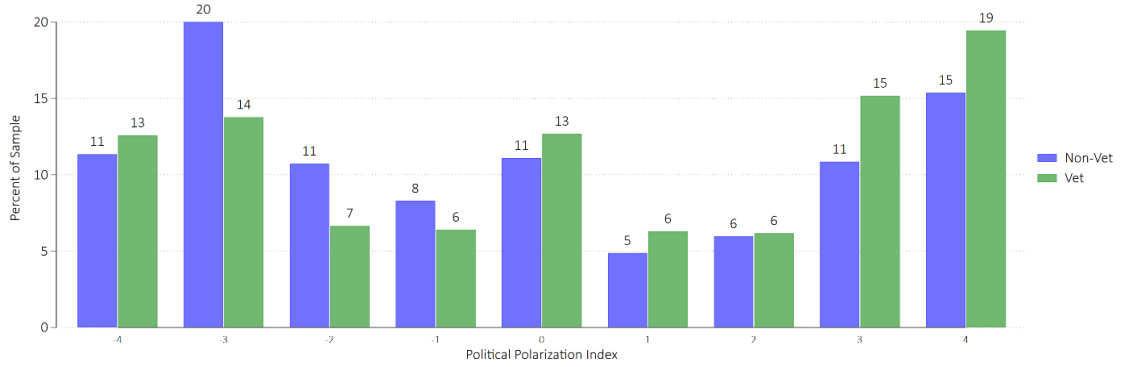

Figure A.4. Unweighted distribution of Relative Support for Trump (veteran vs non-veteran samples)

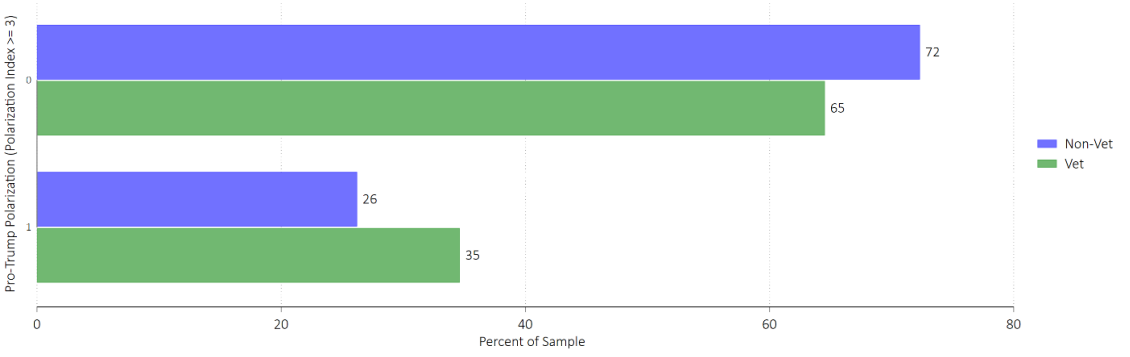

Figure A.5. Unweighted distribution of Relative Support for Trump (veteran vs non-veteran samples)

Combat Trauma

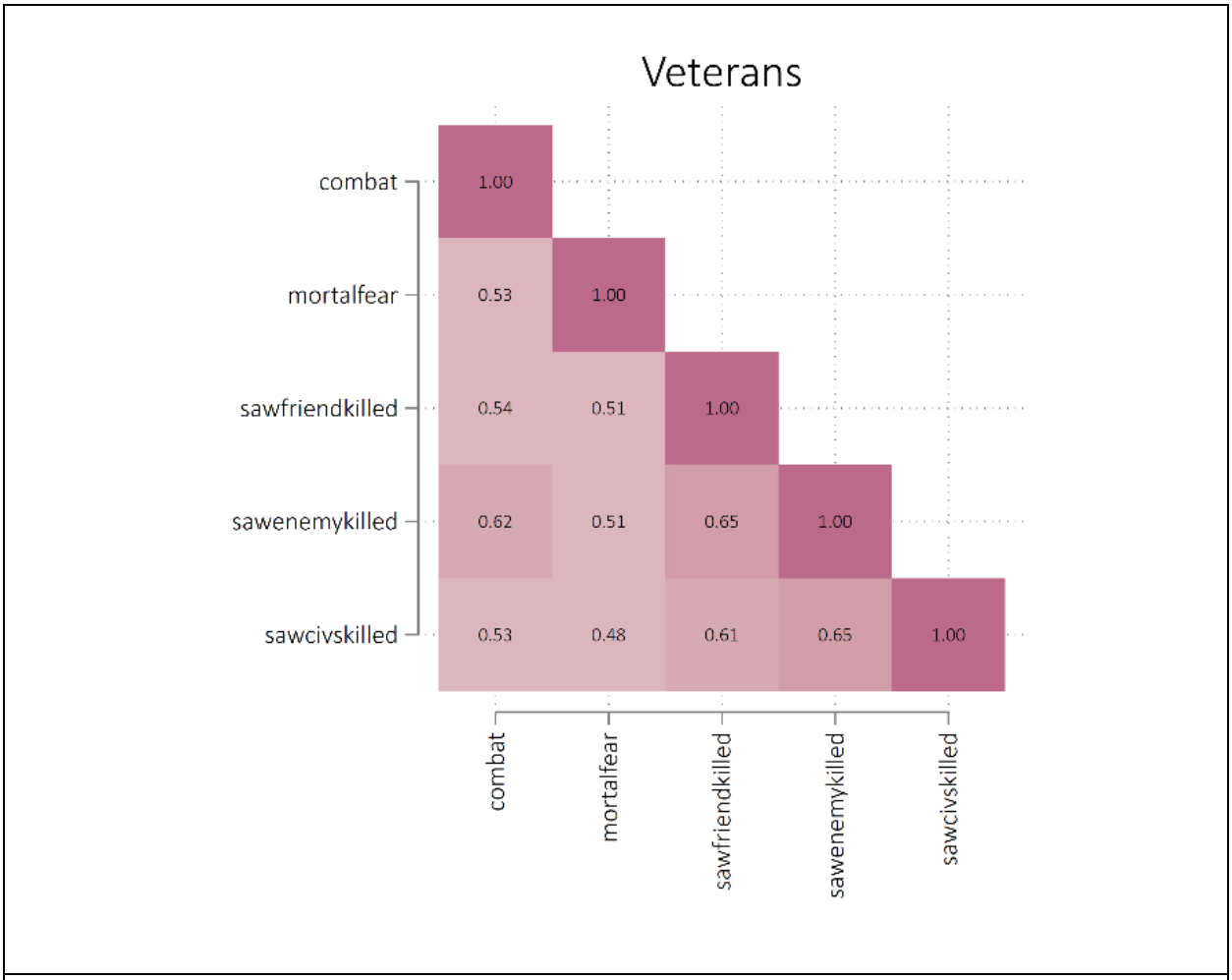

Figure A.6. Correlation matrix for Combat Experience and components for veteran and non-veteran samples (unweighted)

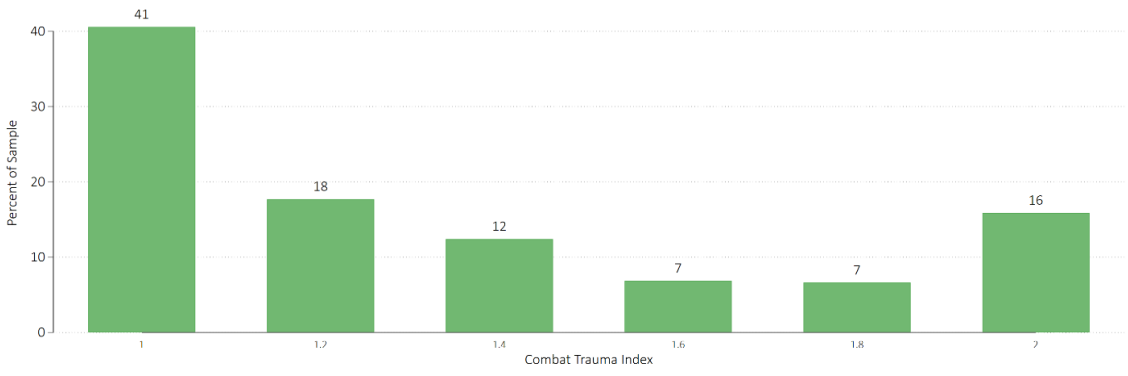

Figure A.7. Unweighted distribution of Combat Experience (veteran sample only)

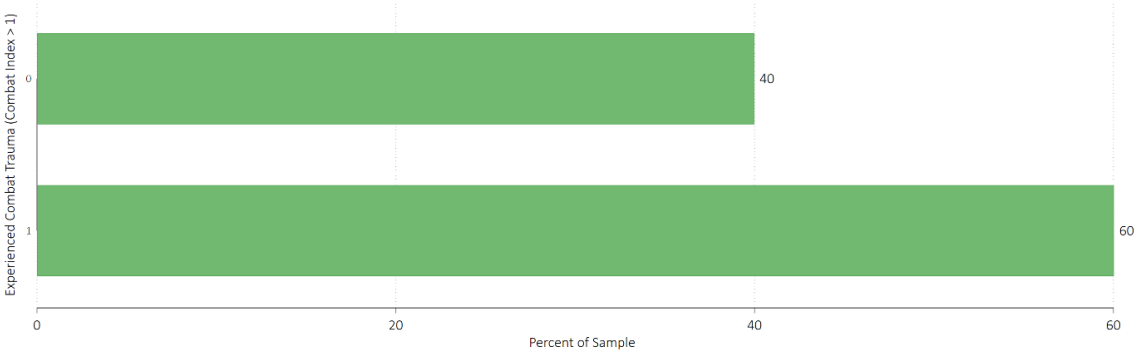

Figure A.8. Unweighted distribution of Experienced Combat Trauma (Combat Trauma Index > 1) (veteran sample only)

Served in Global War on Terror (GWoT)

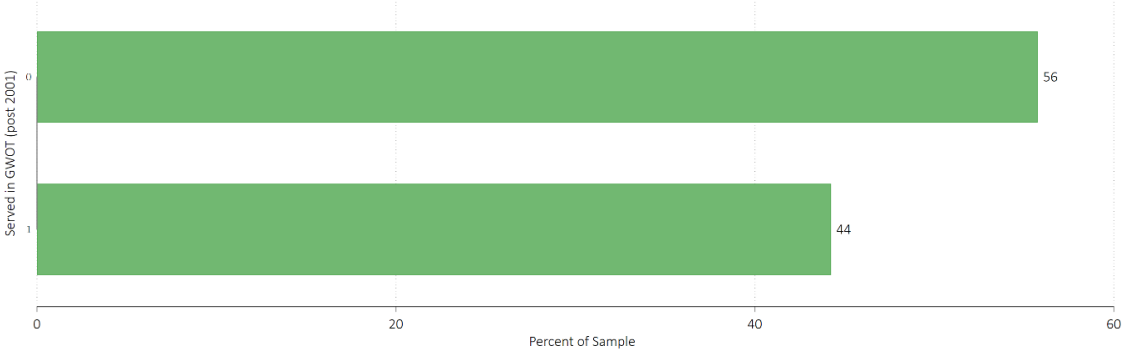

Figure A.9. Unweighted Distribution of Served During GWoT (veteran sample only)

Religiosity

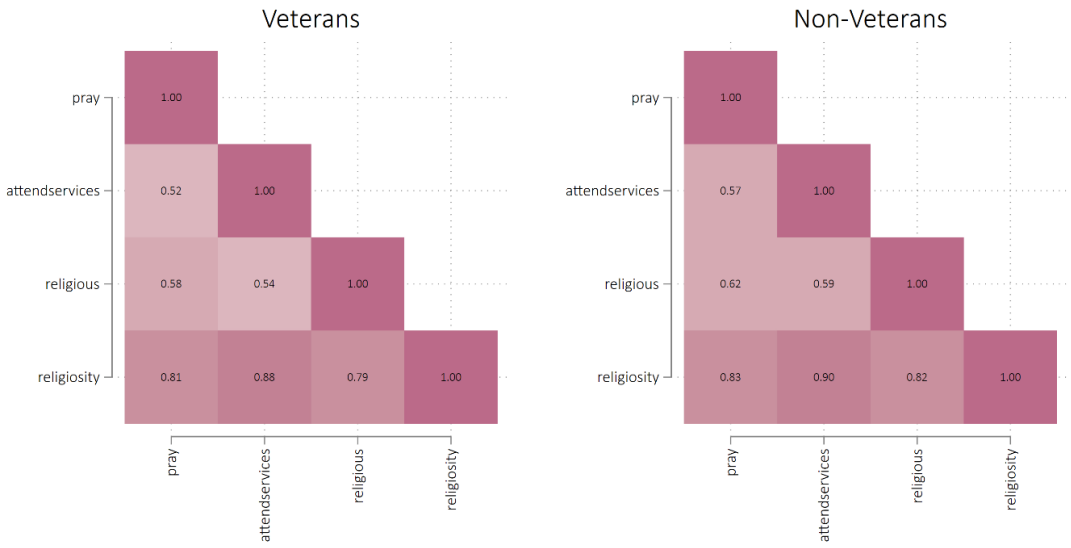

Figure A.10. Correlation matrix for Religiosity and components for veteran and non-veteran samples (unweighted)

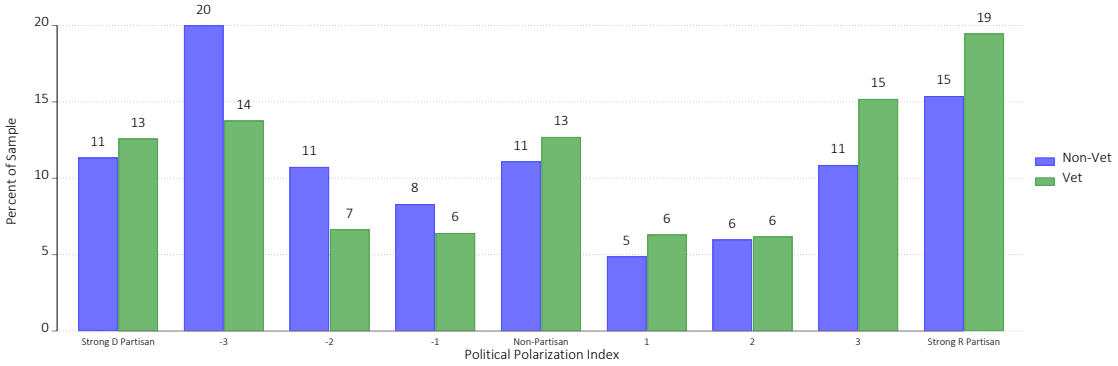

Figure A.11. Unweighted distribution of Religiosity (veteran vs non-veteran samples)

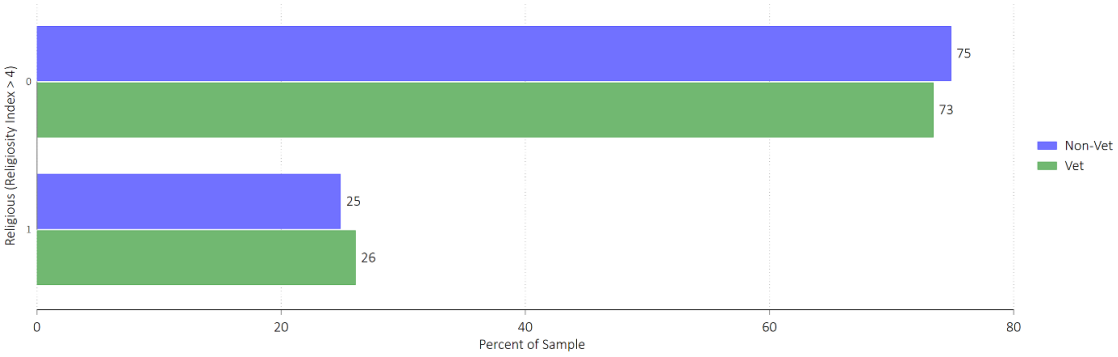

Figure A.12. Unweighted distribution of Religious (Religiosity Index > 4) (veteran vs non-veteran samples)

SUPPLEMENTAL ANALYSES

In this section, we introduce a number of analyses intended to check the robustness of our results.

Effect of Alternative DV on Regression Analysis

In Table A.2, we estimate the effect of veterancy on the two component variables of the Insurrectionist Index. The left column uses the Insurrectionist Index as dependent variable and is identical to Table 5 in the main paper. The other models use "The use of force is justified to restore Donald Trump to the presidency" (center) and "I would personally use force to restore Trump to the presidency" (right). Veterancy is statistically significant and positive in all three models, weakest for general force, strongest for personal force, and (unsurprisingly) in between for the Index (which averages the two).

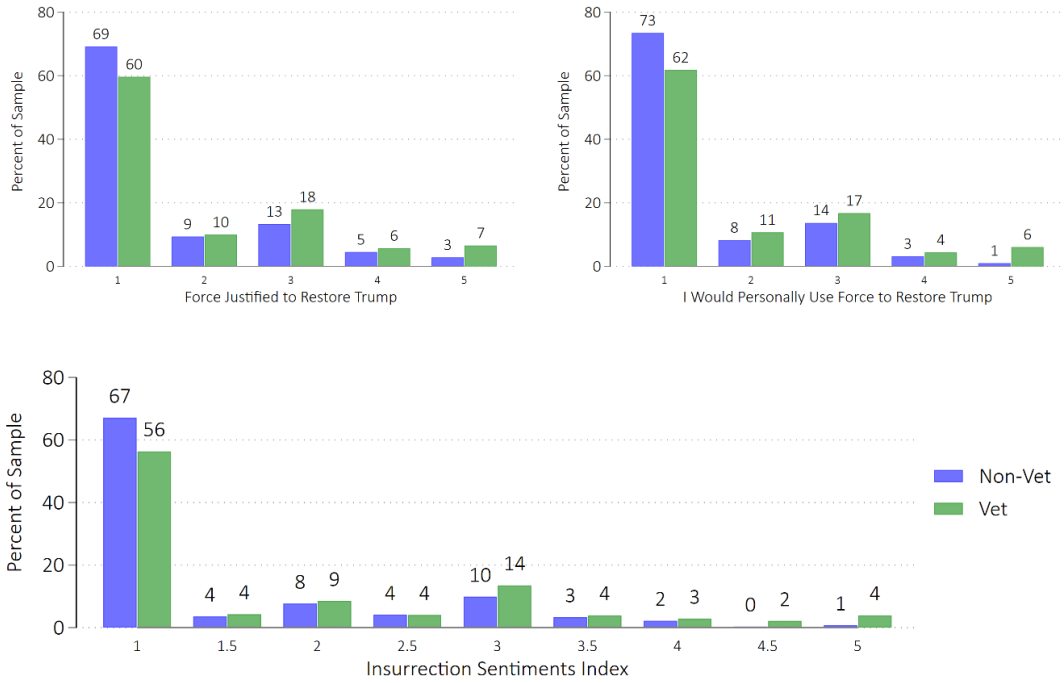

Figure A.13. Unweighted distribution the Insurrectionist Sentiments Index and three components (veteran vs non-veteran samples). Insurrection Index is rounded to the nearest whole number for display. For all three figures, 1 indicates strong disagreement; 3 indicates neither agreement nor disagreement, and 5 indicates strong agreement.

Table A.2. Effect of Veteran on Index Components

	Insurrection Index			Force			Personal Force		
	Main	Including Authoritarian	Including Education	Main	Including Authoritarian	Including College	Main	Including Authoritarian	Including College
Veteran	0.24*** (0.05)	0.24*** (0.05)	0.24*** (0.05)	0.21*** (0.05)	0.21*** (0.05)	0.21*** (0.05)	0.26*** (0.05)	0.26*** (0.05)	0.26*** (0.05)
Male = 1	0.03 (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	0.01 (0.07)	0.00 (0.07)	0.00 (0.07)	0.04 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)
Age 30-44 (vs 18-29)	-0.41*** (0.12)	-0.42*** (0.12)	-0.38** (0.12)	-0.40** (0.12)	-0.41** (0.12)	-0.36** (0.12)	-0.43*** (0.12)	-0.44*** (0.12)	-0.41*** (0.12)
Age 45-59 (vs 18-29)	-0.63*** (0.11)	-0.65*** (0.11)	-0.61*** (0.11)	-0.62*** (0.12)	-0.64*** (0.12)	-0.59*** (0.12)	-0.65*** (0.12)	-0.66*** (0.12)	-0.63*** (0.12)
Age 60+ (vs 18-29)	-0.75*** (0.12)	-0.77*** (0.12)	-0.73*** (0.12)	-0.76*** (0.13)	-0.78*** (0.13)	-0.73*** (0.13)	-0.75*** (0.12)	-0.76*** (0.12)	-0.73*** (0.12)
Christian = 1	0.23*** (0.05)	0.22*** (0.05)	0.22*** (0.05)	0.20*** (0.06)	0.19** (0.06)	0.18** (0.06)	0.25*** (0.05)	0.25*** (0.05)	0.24*** (0.05)
Religious = 1	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.06 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)	-0.00 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.10 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.07)
Childhood Legal Trouble = 1	0.40*** (0.08)	0.42*** (0.08)	0.38*** (0.08)	0.39*** (0.09)	0.42*** (0.09)	0.37*** (0.09)	0.40*** (0.08)	0.42*** (0.08)	0.39*** (0.08)
Republican = 1	0.60*** (0.05)	0.58*** (0.06)	0.58*** (0.06)	0.64*** (0.06)	0.62*** (0.06)	0.63*** (0.06)	0.55*** (0.06)	0.54*** (0.06)	0.54*** (0.06)
White = 1	0.03 (0.05)	0.04 (0.06)	0.03 (0.05)	0.01 (0.06)	0.03 (0.06)	0.01 (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)	0.06 (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)
Authoritarian = 1		0.15** (0.06)			0.20** (0.06)			0.12* (0.06)	
No College = 1			0.14** (0.05)			0.17** (0.06)			0.11* (0.05)
Constant	1.63*** (0.12)	1.61*** (0.12)	1.53*** (0.13)	1.70*** (0.13)	1.67*** (0.13)	1.58*** (0.14)	1.57*** (0.13)	1.56*** (0.13)	1.49*** (0.13)
Observations	1638	1627	1638	1642	1631	1642	1644	1633	1644
R^2	0.161	0.166	0.165	0.139	0.145	0.143	0.151	0.153	0.153

Note: OLS, robust standard errors in parentheses. Age base is 18-29.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Alternative Model Specifications and Effect of Veterancy

In the main paper we conduct analyses without using survey weights supplied by NORC. The decision to forgo weighting was motivated by the desire to avoid the inefficiency introduced into the analysis commonly associated with weighting in regression analysis. Given the veteran and non-veteran samples already very closely approximate key benchmarks of the target veteran population, we assessed the gain in efficiency worth any cost of not using weights.

We also decided to keep all observations and forego excluding the 150 respondents who gave inconsistent answers to two logically equivalent questions or completed the survey below a specific threshold, referred to by Westwood et al (2022) as "disengaged" respondents. Disengaged respondents, Westwood et al argue, are more likely to select answers at random, skewing estimates of political violence support. Other scholars, notably Kalmoe and Mason (2022), are critical of dropping these respondents, citing evidence that support among disengaged is real and explained by a known factor – trait aggression – associated with reduced attention to complex cognitive tasks and support for violence. These respondents, they argue, are selectively engaged and should not be discounted in estimates.

Below, in Table A.3, we assess the impact of these decisions on our estimates of the effect of veterancy using weights and limiting the sample to "engaged" respondents.

Table A.3. Effect of Veteran using Engaged and Weighting

	Unweighted		Weighted	
	Main	Engaged	Main	Engaged
Veteran	0.24***	0.21***	0.18**	0.17**
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Male = 1	0.03	-0.04	0.05	-0.03
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.09)
Age 30-44 (vs 18-29)	-0.41***	-0.38**	-0.35*	-0.30
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.15)	(0.17)
Age 45-59 (vs 18-29)	-0.63***	-0.52***	-0.60***	-0.46**
	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.15)	(0.17)
Age 60+ (vs 18-29)	-0.75***	-0.63***	-0.71***	-0.57**
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.18)
Christian = 1	0.23***	0.17**	0.18**	0.11
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Religious = 1	-0.05	-0.07	-0.03	-0.01
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Childhood Legal Trouble = 1	0.40***	0.26**	0.35***	0.29**
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Republican = 1	0.60***	0.70***	0.72***	0.83***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.07)
White = 1	0.03	0.09	-0.01	0.06
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Constant	1.63***	1.55***	1.62***	1.51***
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.17)

Note: OLS, robust standard errors in parentheses. Age base is 18-29.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

The results show that the effect of veterancy is statistically significant in all four models, strongest in the unweighted main sample. Limiting the sample to the engaged-only lowers the estimate for veterancy slightly in the unweighted condition, but appears to make no difference when weights are included. In short, the differences are small, in the estimated effect of veterancy on the Insurrectionist Sentiments Index between the main and Engaged-only samples with and without using survey weights.

Impact of Less Restrictive Specifications of IVs

In the main paper, we utilized binary specifications of continuous covariates and limited categorical variables to primary categories (e.g. White or not-White). Here we repeat the regressions with non-binary specifications for pre-treatment covariates when possible and theoretically meaningful. For example, we do not include the full specification of education since education levels above the level of no college are most likely post-treatment.

Table A.4. Effect of Veteran using Less Restrictive Specifications of IVs

	Unweighted		Weighted	
	Main	Engaged	Main	Engaged
Veteran	0.21***	0.18***	0.14*	0.12*
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Male = 1	0.01	-0.06	0.02	-0.06
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Age	-0.02***	-0.01***	-0.01***	-0.01***
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Christian = 1	0.20***	0.15**	0.17*	0.11
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Religiosity Index	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Childhood Trouble with the Law	0.17***	0.13***	0.17***	0.15***
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Republican = 1 (vs Democrat)	0.70***	0.84***	0.84***	0.98***
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Independent = 1 (vs Democrat)	0.32***	0.46***	0.31***	0.41***
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.07)
White = 1	0.02	0.07	-0.05	0.02
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.07)
Constant	1.48***	1.32***	1.50***	1.31***
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.17)	(0.17)
Observations	1638	1492	1638	1492
R^2	0.199	0.213	0.208	0.238

Note: OLS, robust standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

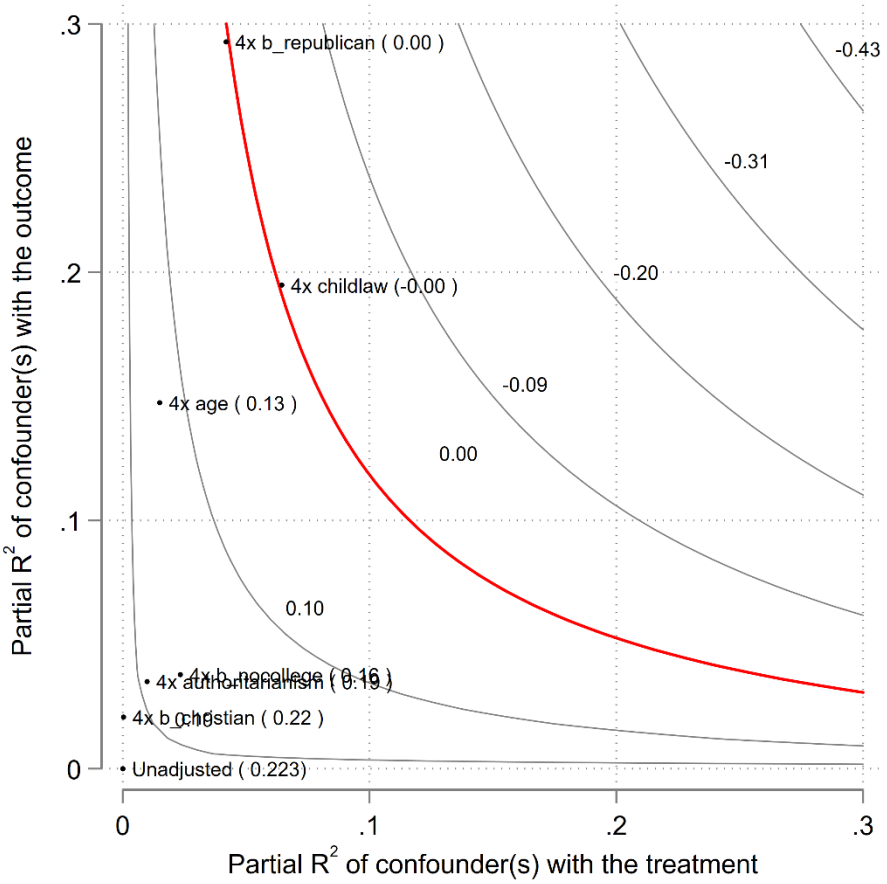

Figure A.14. Sensitivity Analysis with Less Restrictive Specifications of the IVs. This analysis shows how the sensitivity analysis changes when we use alternative specifications of the IVs ("Unweighted Main" above). The same variables remain the most potent confounders (Republican and Childhood Trouble with the Law), and a hypothetical unobserved confounder would have to be 4x as strong as either of them to nullify the effect of veterancy on insurrectionist sentiments.

Impact of Logistic Regression

Another alternative specification of the model is to use logistic regression and binary dependent variables, essentially looking at what predicts having insurrectionist sentiments vs. not having them (1-3 vs. 4-5 on the Index). In the two tables below, we examine this logistic regression, restrict it to only the engaged, incorporate weights, and examine the effects of less restrictive IVs. It is worth noting that for the logistic regression, the incorporation of weights does nullify the effect of veterancy. This may be as a consequence of the combination of the loss of information in the conversion of the linear 5-point variable to a binary one and the loss of statistical power as a consequence of weighting. It may also indicate that some of the key differences between veterans and non-veterans occur at other elements of the scale; if we revisit the insurrection index in Figure A.13, we see that veterans tend to be higher than non-veterans at every point above 1.

Table A.5. Effect of Veterancy on Having High Insurrectionist Sentiments

	Unweighted		Weighted	
	Main	Engaged	Main	Engaged
Veteran	0.57**	0.54*	0.31	0.32
	(0.19)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.25)
Male = 1	0.21	0.03	0.19	0.03
	(0.24)	(0.27)	(0.34)	(0.40)
Age 30-44 (vs 18-29)	-0.80**	-0.89*	-0.62	-0.76
	(0.29)	(0.39)	(0.40)	(0.48)
Age 45-59 (vs 18-29)	-1.32***	-1.13**	-1.06**	-0.89*
	(0.28)	(0.37)	(0.38)	(0.44)
Age 60+ (vs 18-29)	-1.68***	-1.53***	-1.40**	-1.30*
	(0.34)	(0.42)	(0.48)	(0.54)
Christian = 1	0.63**	0.48	0.48	0.23
	(0.22)	(0.25)	(0.28)	(0.31)
Religious = 1	-0.09	-0.12	0.01	0.06
	(0.21)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.27)
Childhood Legal Trouble = 1	1.26***	1.03***	1.04***	0.97***
	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.25)	(0.29)
Republican = 1	1.18***	1.76***	1.71***	2.41***
	(0.20)	(0.26)	(0.31)	(0.37)
Veteran	-0.03	0.18	-0.51	-0.36
	(0.21)	(0.27)	(0.34)	(0.40)
Male = 1	-2.99***	-3.48***	-2.89***	-3.39***
	(0.36)	(0.49)	(0.52)	(0.65)
Observations	1638	1492	1638	1492

Note: Results from logistic regression, coefficients reported as log odds. Robust standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table A.6. Effect of Veterancy on Having High Insurrectionist Sentiments (Less Restrictive IV Specifications)

	Unweighted		Weighted	
	Main	Engaged	Main	Engaged
Veteran	0.55**	0.51*	0.29	0.29
	(0.19)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.25)
Male = 1	0.19	0.02	0.19	0.04
	(0.25)	(0.28)	(0.35)	(0.41)
Age	-0.04***	-0.03**	-0.04***	-0.03*
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)
Christian = 1	0.59*	0.44	0.46	0.23
	(0.24)	(0.27)	(0.31)	(0.33)
Religiosity Index	0.04	0.01	0.04	0.03
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)
Childhood Trouble with the Law	0.41***	0.32***	0.34***	0.29**
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.10)
Republican = 1	1.29***	2.56***	1.80***	3.21***
	(0.22)	(0.40)	(0.33)	(0.50)
Independent = 1	0.24	1.57***	0.11	1.53**
	(0.30)	(0.46)	(0.36)	(0.55)
White = 1	-0.02	0.13	-0.50	-0.43
	(0.21)	(0.26)	(0.34)	(0.40)
Constant	-2.92***	-4.39***	-2.69***	-4.21***
	(0.48)	(0.69)	(0.74)	(1.01)
Observations	1638	1492	1638	1492

Note: Results from logistic regression, coefficients reported as log odds. Robust standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Assessing Impact of Alternative Model Specifications on Mediation Analysis

We replicate the analysis from Figure 4 in the main paper only dropping subjects identified as disengaged using two measures of disengagement: inattentiveness and speeding. Note: The ATE is the total effect of veterancy controlling for pre-treatment confounders. The ACDE of veteran is the average effect of veterancy holding the mediator constant and controlling for post-treatment and intermediate confounding. Confidence intervals overlapping with zero indicate we cannot reject the null hypothesis that the effect of veterancy is entirely mediated by the mediator tested. As Figure A.15 below shows, this is not the case in any of these tests, so we can conclude that veterancy has a direct effect that is unmediated by these specifications of the mediator.

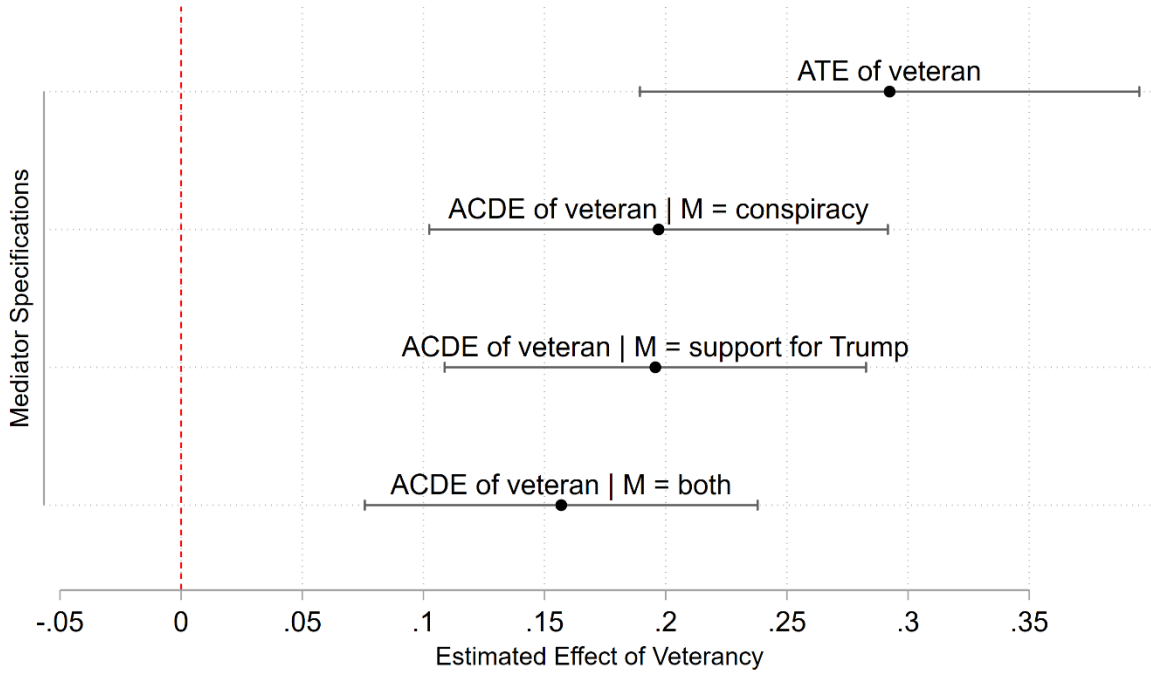

Figure A.15. Average Controlled Direct Effect of Veteran on Insurrectionist Sentiments by Mediator After Dropping Disengaged Note: The ATE is the average total effect of veterancy controlling for pre-treatment confounders. The ACDE of veteran is the average effect of veterancy holding the mediator constant and controlling for post-treatment and intermediate confounding. Confidence intervals overlapping with zero indicate we cannot reject the null hypothesis that the effect of veterancy is entirely mediated by the mediator tested.

Impact of Alternative Specifications of Variables on Mediation Analysis

Further specifications of the mediation analysis are included in Table A7 below. There we present many different options for how to specify the included variables, changing variables that we treat as pretreatment (X) as intermediate variables (Z), to see if it changes the results. In no case do we find an alternative specification of the model produces a different result; there is always an ACDE of veteran.

Table A7. ACDE of Veteran Across Alternative Specifications of Mediation Analysis

#	Pretreatment Confounders (X)	Intermediate Variables (Z)	ATE of Veteran	Both		Conspiracy		Support for Trump	
				ACDE	*Sig*	ACDE	*Sig*	ACDE	*Sig*
1	G C W Y M X R	E H	0.222374	0.165172	***	0.158594	***	0.211401	***
2	G C W Y M X R	E	0.222374	0.165044	***	0.158509	***	0.211484	***
3	G C W Y M X R	H	0.222374	0.162861	***	0.1558	***	0.210621	***
4	C W Y M X R	E H	0.274854	0.171421	***	0.188412	***	0.218673	***
5	G W Y M X R	E H	0.240621	0.175313	***	0.168808	***	0.228494	***
6	G C Y M X R	E H	0.222446	0.165274	***	0.158819	***	0.211253	***
7	G C W M X R	E H	0.216672	0.156914	***	0.152004	***	0.204466	***
8	G C W Y X R	E H	0.221757	0.164848	***	0.157761	***	0.211352	***
9	G C W Y M R	E H	0.22727	0.167736	***	0.161786	***	0.214678	***
10	G C W Y M X	E H	0.220353	0.163641	***	0.157062	***	0.209325	***
11	C W Y M X R	E H G	0.274854	0.177461	***	0.196358	***	0.225534	***
12	G C W Y M R	E H X	0.22727	0.168487	***	0.162632	***	0.215037	***
13	G C W Y M X	E H R	0.220353	0.163235	***	0.15664	***	0.209306	***
14	C W Y M R	E H G X	0.288814	0.184546	***	0.207222	***	0.233571	***
15	G C W Y M	E H X R	0.225312	0.16626	***	0.160461	***	0.212914	***
16	C W Y M	E H G X R	0.28879	0.182125	***	0.20578	***	0.231867	***

C - Childhood Trouble with the Law, E - Economic Concern, H - Recent Economic Hardship, G - Republican, M - Male, R - Religious, W - White, X - Christian, Y - Under 35

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Impact of Less Restrictive Covariate Specifications

We replicate the analysis from Figure 6 in the main paper, but this time using the less restrictive specifications of the IVs referenced previously in this supplement. The ACDE of veteran is the average effect of veterancy holding the mediator constant and controlling for post-treatment and intermediate confounding. Confidence intervals overlapping with zero indicate we cannot reject the null hypothesis that the effect of veterancy is entirely mediated by the mediator tested.

As Figure A.16 below shows, this is not the case in any of these tests, so we can conclude that veterancy has a direct effect that is not fully mediated by pro-Trump polarization, racial resentment against Blacks, far-right conspiracy beliefs, and all three combined, even when the full range of values for these variables are included.

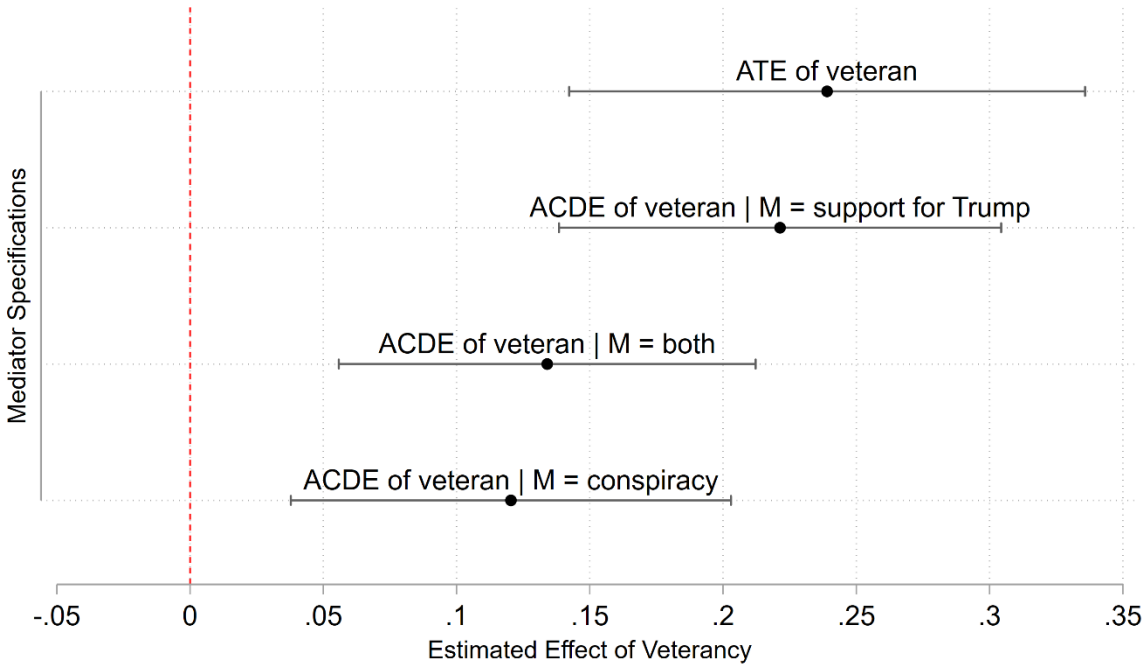

Figure A.16. Average Controlled Direct Effect of Veteran on Insurrectionist Sentiments by Mediator With Less Restrictive Specifications of IVs and Mediators Note: The ATE is the average total effect of veterancy controlling for pre-treatment confounders. The ACDE of veteran is the average effect of veterancy holding the mediator constant and controlling for post-treatment and intermediate confounding. Confidence intervals overlapping with zero indicate we cannot reject the null hypothesis that the effect of veterancy is entirely mediated by the mediator tested.

Effect of Binary Specifications of the DV on Interaction Analysis

Finally, we repeat the analysis from Figure 5 in the main paper, this time using logistic regression to estimate the effect of veterancy on having insurrectionist sentiments, i.e., a score on the Insurrectionist Sentiments Index of greater than 3 = 1, all others 0.

The results, presented in Figure A.17 below, confirm the original findings: Veterans *without* combat trauma, combat deployment, reintegration trouble, disillusionment with their service, PTSD, or the belief that their service is unappreciated are indistinguishable from non-veterans with respect to risk of having insurrectionist sentiments. Veterans with these factors show higher risk of violent pro-Trump support, indicating areas of potential intervention.

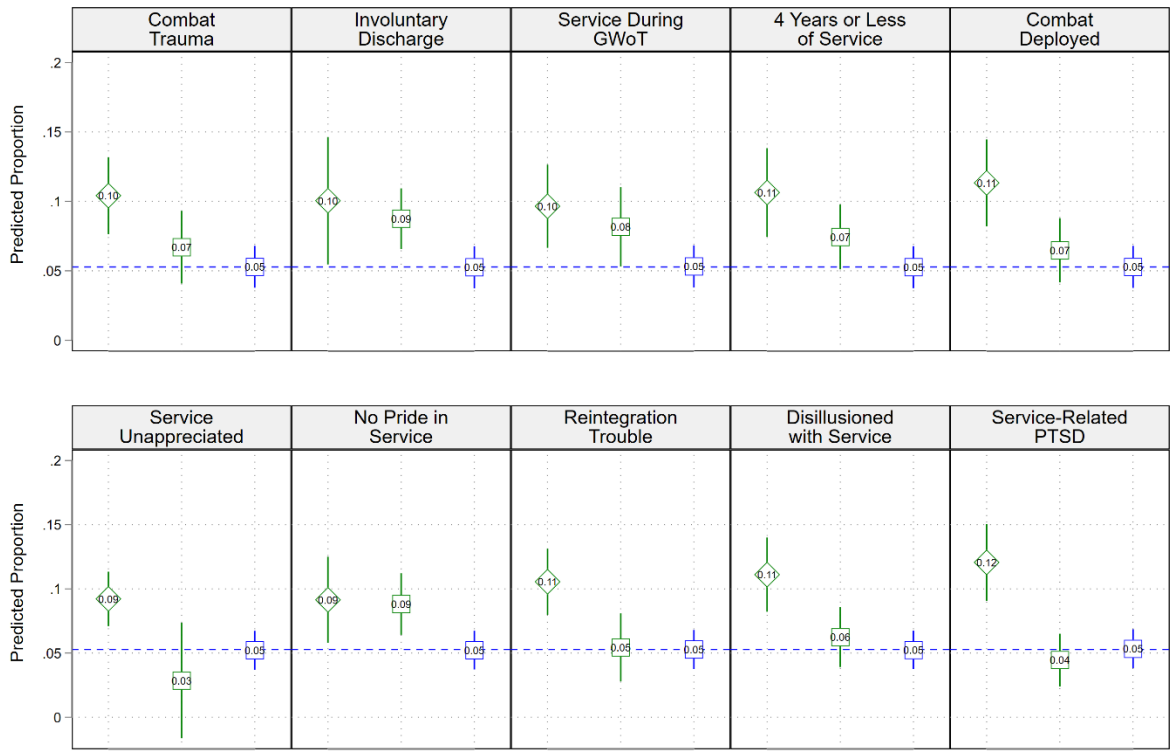

Figure A.17. Comparing high Insurrectionist Sentiments (binary DV) across veterans with and without a given pre- or post-military experience, using nonveterans as a benchmark*Note:* Results from separate logistic regressions of each factor on a binary where 1 = Insurrectionist Sentiments > 3. All models control for age, sex, race, party identification, childhood trouble with the law, being Christian, and religiosity.

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