Online Appendix A. Sample Survey

The following questions are about U.S. foreign policy. You will read about a hypothetical situation similar to those our country has faced in the past and may face again in the future. Different leaders have handled the situation in different ways. We will describe one approach American leaders have taken and ask whether you approve or disapprove of that approach.

The Situation:

The United States and Russia had a longstanding dispute over a resource-rich area in the Arctic. Over 25% of the world's undiscovered oil and gas are beneath the Arctic seabed, and portions of the ice contain gas-hydrates, which scientists believe will become the world's next alternative energy source.[1] According to international law, any coastal nation is entitled to the area if it is within 200 nautical miles of the state's continental shelf. The United States and Russia presented contradictory seafloor mapping data suggesting that the resource-rich area is completely within each country's extended continental shelf.[2] The United Nations ruled that each country's

[1] This estimate is taken from the 2000 USGS assessment of worldwide, undiscovered oil and gas resources. The assessment includes the East Siberian basin, which does not technically lie within the Arctic Circle. Even deducting this region from the estimate would still leave at least 14%. See Alan Bailey. 2007. "USGS: 25% Arctic Oil, Gas Estimate a Reporters Mistake." *Petroleum News*, October 21, 2007. http://www.petroleumnews.com/pntruncate/347702651.shtml (accessed March 8, 2012).

[2] See "The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea," available at http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf (accessed March 8, 2012). It is important to note that the United States has not signed the convention.

evidence is “inconclusive.” Both countries began a large build-up of conventional military forces to operate in the Arctic, sparking serious fears of a conflict.

The leader of Russia at the time was known for his aggressive position toward the contested Arctic resources. In a public statement, he declared, “This area is ours by right! If our rights are not respected at the negotiating table, we will see that they are respected on the battlefield!”[3]

Following several months of negotiations, the U. S. president announced that a deal had been reached by which the United States will receive rights to all of the disputed resource-rich area.[4] The leaders of the opposition party in the U.S. congress sharply criticized the president's foreign policy. Commentators and political experts on television, on radio news programs, and in newspaper editorials were split on the efficacy of the president's policy. Some argued that the

[3] In contrast, the moderate rhetoric treatment was as follows: The leader of Russia at the time was known for his moderate position toward the contested Arctic resources. In a public statement, he declared, “This territorial dispute should be solved by negotiations with the participation of the international community.”

[4] In contrast, the war treatment where the United States triumphed was as follows: Following several months of negotiations, the U. S. president announced that negotiations had ended abruptly and the Russian navy had moved into the area. The United States responded by also sending its navy. After a tense standoff, both forces exchanged fire. Over 1,100 American troops, and a similar number of Russian troops, died in the exchange. The Russian leader withdrew the Russian navy and the United States took complete control of the resource-rich region.

president had shown weakness, others that the president was too heavy-handed and aggressive. Still other commentators argued that the president had been firm but prudent.

Summary:

- The United States and Russia had a longstanding dispute over a resource-rich area in the Arctic.
- The United Nations ruled that the evidence for U.S. and Russian claims is “inconclusive.”
- The Russian leader was known for his “aggressive” position on the dispute.
- Following months of negotiations a deal was reached by which the United States will receive rights to all of the disputed resource-rich area.
- Leaders of the opposition party in congress sharply criticized the president's foreign policy. Political commentators were split on the efficacy of the president's policy.

Online Appendix B. Comparing Audience Demographics to ANESP and U.S. Census

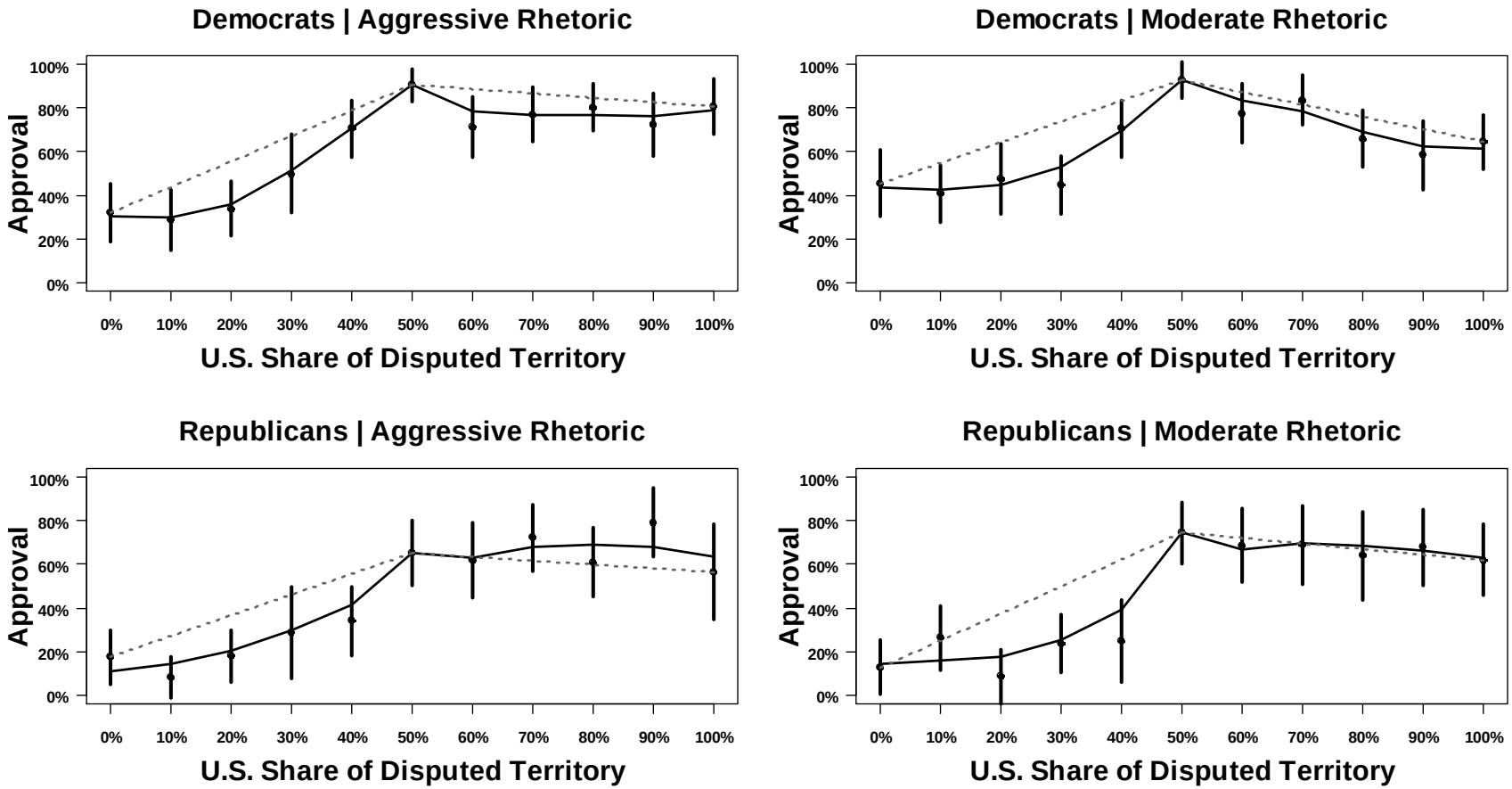
Demographics	Audience	ANESP	U.S. Census
Female			
	47.6 %	57.9 %	51.5 %
Age			
18-29	10.7 %	8.3 %	22.4 %
30-60	45.5 %	62.1 %	44.7 %
>60	30.3 %	29.6 %	23.8 %
(Mean on 3-point scale, 3 = >60)	2.22	2.13	2.02
Education			
Not a High School Graduate	2 %	3.3 %	12.9 %
High School Graduate	9.7 %	15.6 %	31.2 %
Some College, but No Degree	25.4 %	36.9 %	16.8 %
Associate's or Bachelor's Degree	33 %	24.6 %	28.5 %
Advanced Degree	28.3 %	19.6 %	10.5 %
(Mean on 5-point scale)	3.77	3.03	2.9
Household Income			
Less than $15,000		5.5 %	13 %
Less Than $20,000	7.2 %		
$15,000 - $24,999			11.9 %
$15,000- $29,999		10.7 %	
$20,000 - $34,999	10 %		
$25,000 - $34,999			11.1 %
$30,000 - $49,999		21.7 %	
$35,000 - $49,999	12.9 %		14.1 %
$50,000 - $74,999	20.4 %	22.5 %	20.6 %
$75,000 - $99,999	16.7 %	15.3 %	12.2 %
$100,000 or more	31.1 %	24.3 %	20.1 %
Ideology			
Extremely Conservative	4 %	3 %	
Conservative	19.9 %	17 %	
Slightly Conservative	15.1 %	12 %	
Moderate, In the Middle	14.5 %	22 %	
Slightly Liberal	15.1 %	9 %	
Liberal	19.2 %	10 %	
Extremely Liberal	6.8 %	3 %	
(Mean on 7-point scale, 7 = Extremely Liberal)	4.07	3.77	
Party ID			
2008 Vote Cast for President Obama (Democrat)		65 %	52.9 %
Democrat	33.8 %	34.2 %	
Independent, Leans Democrat	15.9 %	10.6 %	
Independent	14.5 %	15.1 %	
Independent, Leans Republican	10.1 %	10.4 %	
Republican	24.3 %	29.8 %	
(Mean on 5-point scale, 5 = Republican)	2.76	2.9	
Region			
Northeast	20.5 %	16.9 %	18 %
Midwest	21.4 %	28.3 %	22 %
South	31.6 %	31.4 %	37 %
West	24.4 %	23.4 %	23 %

Note: Age and Party ID were aggregated on common components to generate comparable scales.

About SM Audience

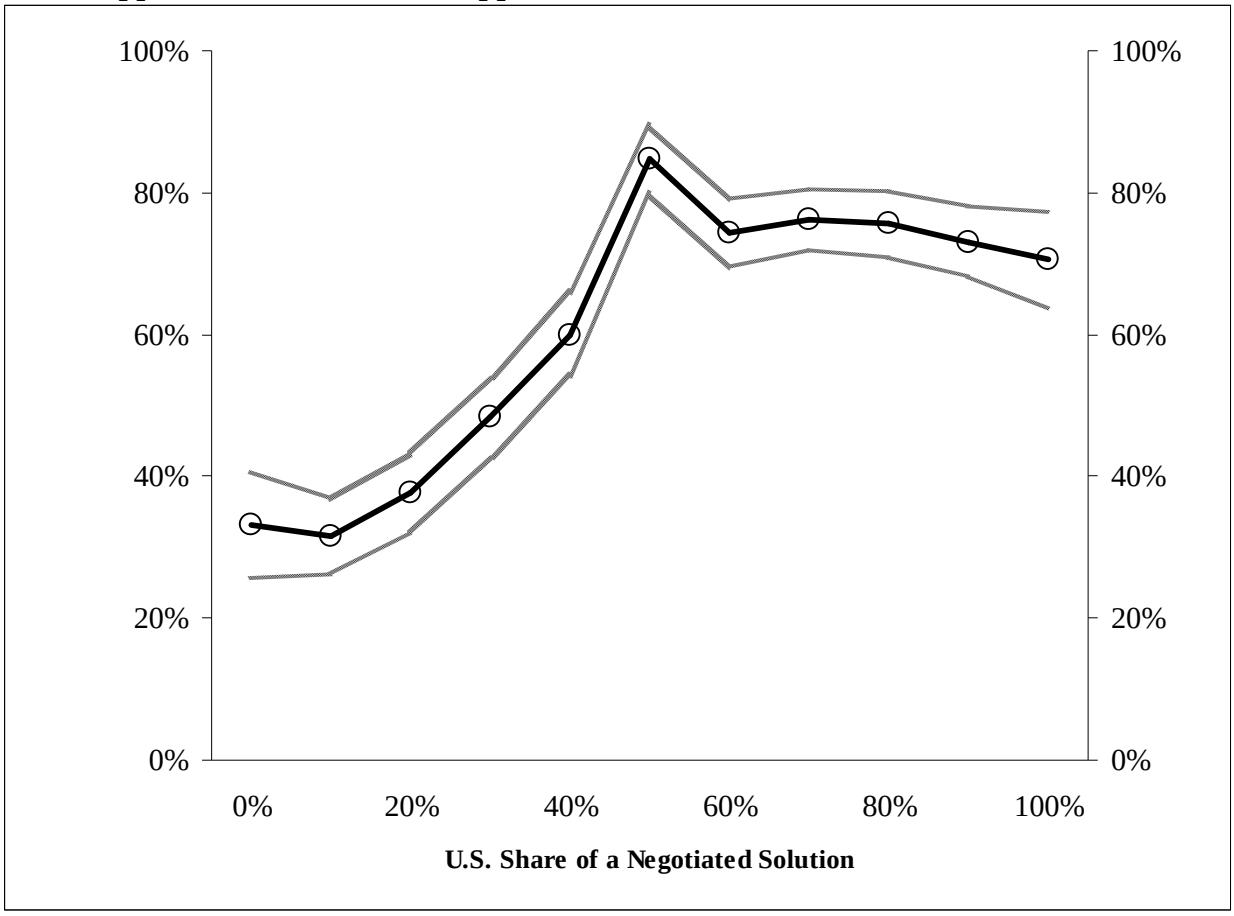
Our nation-wide sample came from SM Audience. The primary method of recruitment into the panel is SM surveys. Over 30 million unique respondents answer SM surveys sent out by their subscribers each month. Individuals who participate in these surveys are then recruited into the Audience subject pool, which over time has become a very large diverse group of people highly representative of the U.S. population. For each Audience project, individuals are selected at random from this panel and asked to take a survey. Participation is entirely voluntary, and informed consent is done prior to taking a survey. After completing the survey, participants get to donate $0.50 to a participating charity of their choosing, such as Boys and Girls Clubs of America, Girls for Change, Teach for America, and the Humane Society of the United States. This incentive limits problems that can arise from offering cash rewards, and encourages respondents to provide honest, thoughtful opinions.

Online Appendix C. Effect of Rhetoric and Party on Presidential Approval at Peaceful Settlement Outcomes



Note: Each estimate corresponds to expected presidential approval for specified negotiated divisions of the disputed Arctic territory. Vertical bars provide 95% confidence intervals for each estimate. The solid line is a cubic smoothing spline divided from 0% to 50% and from 50% to 100%. Values below the dotted gray line demonstrate risk-acceptance. Values along the dotted gray line demonstrate risk-neutrality or risk-aversion.

Online Appendix D. Presidential Approval at Peaceful Settlement Outcomes



Note: The figure shows predicted probabilities of approval of the U.S. President derived from a logit model of Presidential Approval on the following independent variables: U.S. Share, $(\text{U.S. Share})^2$, $(\text{U.S. Share})^3$, $(\text{U.S. Share})^4$, 50% Share Dummy, Respondent Party, Aggressive Foreign Rhetoric Dummy. Grey lines represent 95% confidence interval. This is the same specification as Model 1 in Table 2, but we include a longer Taylor series to better illustrate the underlying convexity in the structural form for low U.S. shares of territory.

Appendix E. Predicting Presidential Approval using Piecewise Logistic Regression

Variable	Model 1 β/(SE)	Model 2 β/(SE)
U.S. Share	0.018***	
	(0.002)	
U.S. Share ≤ 50%		0.043***
		(0.004)
U.S. Share > 50%		-0.013*
		(0.006)
Difference-in-Slope after the Breakpoint		-0.056***
		(0.007)
Aggressive Rhetoric	-0.53**	-0.53**
	(0.18)	(0.19)
U.S. Share * Aggr. Rhet.	0.009**	0.008*
	(0.003)	(0.003)
Respondent Party	-0.25***	-0.26***
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Respondent Age	0.13**	0.13*
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Respondent Income	0.1***	0.1***
	(0.03)	(0.03)
Respondent Female	0.03	0.03
	(0.1)	(0.1)
Respondent Education	0.06	0.06
	(0.05)	(0.05)
Intercept	-0.984***	-1.58***
	(0.28)	(0.3)
N	1,997	1,997

***p<0.001, **p<0.01, *p<0.05

Note: The dependent variable for each model is the binary measure, *Presidential Approval*, at peaceful negotiated outcomes. All models were estimated using a logit function. Model 1 is the

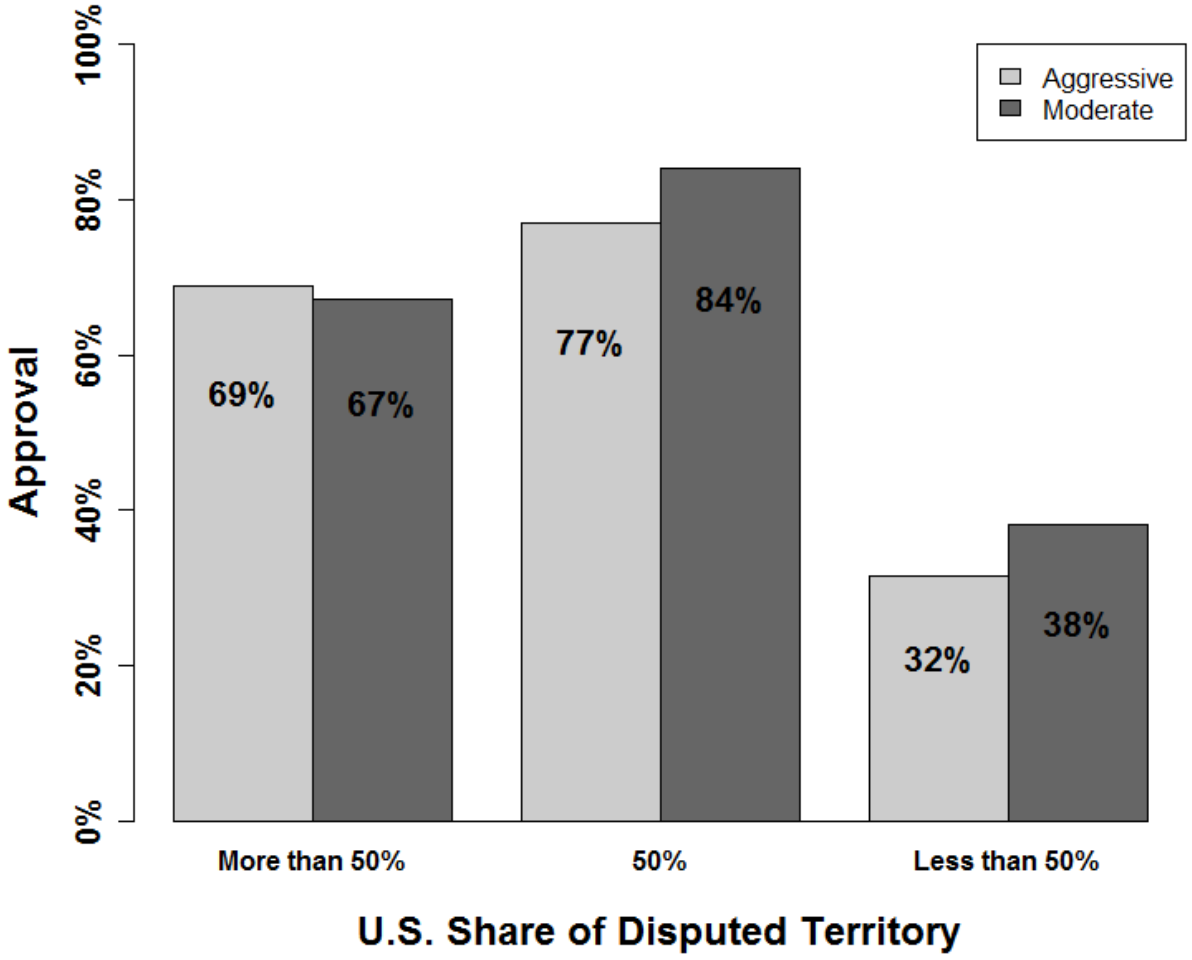
original logistic model that we used to estimate a breakpoint in the relationship between *U.S. Share* and *Presidential Approval*. A Davies' test confirms that there is a breakpoint in the parameter space and the best estimate for the break is a 50-50 split of the resource-rich territory. Model 2 uses a piecewise regression model taking into account this segmented relationship. The coefficient for U.S. shares between 0% and 50% is positive, meaning that presidential approval increases as the United States peacefully receives more of the disputed territory in this range. The coefficient for U.S. shares greater than 50% is negative, demonstrating that highly favorable divisions actually decrease presidential approval. Thus, in support of the Fairness Heuristic Hypothesis, the piecewise regression model shows parametrically that leader popularity is satiated at a 50-50 division of the disputed territory.

Online Appendix F. Convex Presidential Utility Below 50%

	Total Population		Republicans		Democrats	
Change in Share	**Aggressive Rhetoric**	**Moderate Rhetoric**	**Aggressive Rhetoric**	**Moderate Rhetoric**	**Aggressive Rhetoric**	**Moderate Rhetoric**
50% - 40%	27.1***	30.6***	30.9***	49.4***	19.9***	22.1***
40% - 30%	9.7	15.4**	5.6	1.2	20.6*	25.8**
30% - 20%	11.6	3	10.4	15.1*	16.1	-2.7
20% - 10%	9.5	-0.023	9.9	-17.6*	5	6.8
10% - 0%	-2.4	4.9	-9.2	13.4	-3.1	-4.8

Note: Estimates are the difference in means for presidential approval (%).
***Significant difference at $p \leq 0.01$ using two tailed test
**Significant difference at $p \leq 0.05$ using two tailed test
*Significant difference at $p \leq 0.1$ using two tailed test

Online Appendix G. Effect of Foreign Rhetoric on Peaceful Settlements



Online Appendix H. Militarism

To test the relationship of partisanship and militarism dispositions, we calculated a militarism score according to how respondents answered the following four questions: (1) Some people feel that in dealing with other nations the United States government should be strong and tough. Others feel that the U.S. government should be understanding and flexible. Which comes closer to the way you feel - that the U.S. government should be strong and tough or understanding and flexible? (2) Which do you think is the better way for us to keep the peace - by having a very strong military so other countries won't attack us, or by working out our disagreements at the bargaining table? (3) To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "The U.S. government should maintain its position as the world's most powerful nation, even if it means going to the brink of war." (4) In your opinion, how important is it for the United States to have a strong military force in order to get our way with our adversaries?[5]

Respondents who answered "strong and tough," "having a very strong military," "agree strongly," and "extremely important" for the four questions respectively had the highest militarism score (out of 14 possible points). Respondents who answered "understanding and flexible," "working out our disagreements at the bargaining table," "Disagree strongly," and "extremely important" had the lowest militarism score. For simplicity, we deemed a respondent a "hawk" if they scored greater than 8. This threshold allows for individuals who answered "dovishly" on the first two questions, but demonstrated indifference on latter two questions to be counted as a dove. It also falls just below our sample mean of militarism, which was 8.9. The

[5] These questions have been validated by Hurwitz and Peffley (1988). See Jon Hurwitz and Mark Peffley. 1988. "Report to the NES Board of Overseers on New Militarism Items." National Election Studies: Ann Arbor.

Pearson’s product moment correlation between our hawkish respondents and Republicans is 0.424 ($p < 0.0001$), demonstrating a very strong positive relationship. Further supporting this interpretation of the changes in approval, we found that aggressive rhetoric leads to a decrease in the fraction of respondents who believed the president's conduct of foreign policy was too aggressive following a successful war. This difference is significant at the 0.06 level.