Whose War is it Anyway?

Supplementary Files

Naima Green-Riley* and Andrew Leber†

December 29, 2022

*Instructor, Princeton University, Department of Politics and School of Public and International Affairs, greenriley@princeton.edu

†Assistant Professor, Tulane University, Department of Political Science, aleber@tulane.edu

Contents

1 Appendix A: Main Analyses, Data, and Coding **3**

1.1 Surveys Used in Analysis . . . 3

1.2 Demographic Coding . . . 7

1.3 Questions Used in Analysis . . . 8

1.3.1 Outcome Questions . . . 8

1.3.2 Casualty Questions . . . 11

1.3.3 Alienation Questions . . . 11

1.4 Main Analyses - Regression Tables . . . 13

1.5 Main Analyses - Figures . . . 18

1.6 Summary Statistics . . . 23

2 Appendix B: Robustness Checks **32**

2.1 Bivariate Regressions . . . 32

2.2 Excluding Income Variable . . . 38

2.3 Alternative Casualty Question . . . 42

3 Appendix C: Democrats-Only Analysis **44**

4 Appendix D: The War in Afghanistan **46**

4.1 Race Gap in Support for Afghanistan War (Full & Democrats-Only Samples) . . . 46

4.2 Casualty Sensitivity and the Afghanistan War . . . 50

4.3 Spending Preferences and Support for Afghanistan War . . . 52

4.4 Alienation and Support for Afghanistan War . . . 54

1 Appendix A: Main Analyses, Data, and Coding

1.1 Surveys Used in Analysis

This article compiles a number of political polls and surveys for analysis. Political polls were found and downloaded from the iPoll database available through the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research. Other surveys used came from the Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES). In this section of the Appendix, a list of all surveys and variations of questions used in the analyses can be found.[1]

[1]Sample size indicates respondents covered by our analysis (i.e. black and white respondents). Symbols indicate coding notes, which are explained in the "Demographic Coding" section below.

Casualties:

Table A1: Surveys used in regressions related to casualty sensitivity.

	Organization	Dates	Administration	Sample Size
Iraq				
1	ABC/Washington Post	July 9-10, 2003*$^{\uplus}$†^{a}	Bush	874
2	ABC/Washington Post	September 10-13, 2003$^{\odot\uplus}$†^{a}	Bush	986
3	ABC/Washington Post	April 15-18, 2004$^{\odot\uplus}$†	Bush	1,032
4	ABC/Washington Post	May 20-23, 2004$^{\odot\uplus}$†	Bush	873
5	ABC/Washington Post	June 17-20, 2004$^{\odot\uplus}$†	Bush	1,028
6	ABC/Washington Post	December 16-19, 2004$^{\odot}$†	Bush	873
7	ABC/Washington Post	June 23-26, 2005$^{\odot}$†	Bush	890
8	ABC/Washington Post	August 25-28, 2005$^{\odot}$†	Bush	886
9	ABC/Washington Post	Oct. 30 - Nov. 2, 2005$^{\odot}$†	Bush	1,042
10	ABC/Washington Post	December 7-11, 2006$^{\odot}$†	Bush	872
11	ABC/Washington Post	January 16-19, 2007$^{\odot}$†	Bush	872
12	ABC/Washington Post	February 22-25, 2007$^{\odot}$†	Bush	969
13	ABC/Washington Post	April 12-15, 2007$^{\odot}$†	Bush	1,033
14	ABC/Washington Post	July 18-21, 2007$^{\odot}$†	Bush	997
15	ABC/Washington Post	September 27-30, 2007$^{\odot}$†	Bush	1,002
16	ABC/Washington Post	December 6-9, 2007$^{\odot}$†	Bush	993
17	ABC/Washington Post	April 10-13, 2008$^{\odot}$†	Bush	1,077
18	ABC/Washington Post	June 12-15, 2008$^{\odot}$†	Bush	1,000
Afghanistan				
1	ABC/Washington Post	March 7-10, 2002*$^{\uplus}$†^{a}	Bush	873

Alienation:

Table A2: Surveys used in regressions related to political alienation.

	Organization	Dates	Administration	Sample Size
Iraq				
1	ABC/Washington Post	January 24-27, 2002† [a]	Bush	1,292
2	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	*November 8-10, 2002	Bush	906
3	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	January 10-12, 2003	Bush	890
4	CBS/New York Times	January 19 - 22, 2003[a]	Bush	899
5	CBS	January 24-28, 2003[a]	Bush	560
6	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	April 5-6, 2003	Bush	909
7	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	June 27-29, 2003	Bush	887
8	ABC/Washington Post	October 26-29, 2003† ⊙	Bush	1,066
9	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	November 14-16, 2003	Bush	902
10	LA Times	November 15-18, 2003† ‡ ∩	Bush	1,186
11	ABC/Washington Post	December 18-21, 2003† ⊙	Bush	879
12	ABC/Washington Post	January 15-18, 2004† ⊙	Bush	921
13	ABC/Washington Post	February 10-11, 2004* † ⊙	Bush	868
14	ABC/Washington Post	March 4-7, 2004† ⊙	Bush	1,033
15	PSRAI/Newsweek	March 18-19, 2004*	Bush	865
16	PSRAI/Newsweek	March 25-26, 2004*	Bush	863
17	ABC/Washington Post	April 15-18, 2004† ⊙	Bush	1,032
18	ABC/Washington Post	May 20-23, 2004† ⊙	Bush	432
19	Washington Post	July 8-11, 2004† ⊙	Bush	745
20	SRBI/Time	August 24-26, 2004⊙ ⊔	Bush	1,073
21	PSRAI/Newsweek	September 2-3, 2004* † ∩	Bush	1,044
22	SRBI/Time	September 7-9, 2004⊙ ⊔	Bush	1,068
23	PSRAI/Newsweek	October 27-29, 2004† ∩	Bush	996
24	ABC/Washington Post	January 12-16, 2005† ⊙	Bush	886
25	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	January 14-16, 2005	Bush	437
26	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	April 1-2, 2005	Bush	939
27	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	August 28-30, 2005	Bush	882
28	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	September 8-11, 2005	Bush	912
29	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	September 16-18, 2005	Bush	728
30	CBS	October 3 - 5, 2005	Bush	731
31	ABC/Washington Post	October 30-November 2, 2005† ⊙	Bush	512
32	Gallup/CNN/USA Today	January 20-22, 2006	Bush	894
33	ABC/Washington Post	January 23-26, 2006† ⊙	Bush	440
34	CBS	February 22-26, 2006	Bush	954
35	ABC/Washington Post	March 2-5, 2006† ⊙	Bush	870
36	CNN	August 18-20, 2006†	Bush	900
37	CNN	December 15-17, 2006†	Bush	877
38	ABC/Washington Post	January 16-19, 2007† ⊙	Bush	443
39	CNN/ORC	March 9-11, 2007†	Bush	908
1	CNN	June 26-28, 2009† ‡ ⊙	Obama	903
2	CNN/ORC	January 22-24, 2010† ‡ ⊙	Obama	888
3	ABC/Washington Post	August 30-September 2, 2010† ⊙	Obama	864
4	ABC/Washington Post	October 31-November 3, 2011† ⊙	Obama	848
Afghanistan				
1	CNN/USA Today	October 5-6, 2001	Bush	742
2	CBS	January 15-17, 2002	Bush	912
3	CBS/New York Times	January 21-24, 2002	Bush	924
4	CNN/ORC	March 9-11, 2007†	Bush	908
1	CNN/ORC	February 18-19, 2009	Obama	462
2	ABC/Washington Post	July 15-18, 2009† ⊙	Obama	873
3	CNN/ORC	October 30-November 1, 2009‡	Obama	465
4	CNN/ORC	January 22-24, 2010† ‡ ⊙	Obama	888
5	ABC/Washington Post	June 3-6, 2010† ⊙	Obama	869
6	ABC/Washington Post	June 2-5, 2011† ⊙	Obama	864
7	60 Minutes/Vanity Fair	September 28-October 2, 2011	Obama	903
8	CBS	October 17-20, 2012	Obama	1,174
9	CBS/New York Times	November 8-11, 2012	Obama	807
10	CNN/ORC	September 6-8, 2013	Obama	887
11	ABC/Washington Post	December 12-15, 2013† ⊙	Obama	859

Domestic Spending and Military Family:

Table A3: Surveys used in regressions related to domestic spending preferences and military families.

	Organization	Dates	Administration	Sample Size
Iraq				
1	CCES	Oct. 6 - Nov. 8, 2006†§‡	Bush	14,324
2	CCES	Oct. 8 - Nov. 3, 2008†§‡	Bush	28,971
1	CCES	Oct. 1 - Nov. 1, 2010†§‡	Obama	47,799
2	CCES	October 1-31, 2012†§‡	Obama	47,088
3	CCES	October 1-31, 2014†§‡	Obama	48,390
Afghanistan				
1	CCES	October 1-31, 2012†§‡	Obama	47,088
2	CCES	October 1-31, 2014†§‡	Obama	48,390

1.2 Demographic Coding

In order to control for a number of demographic characteristics – especially in sections of this article where we draw from a number of different polls – we created a simplified, factor-based coding scheme for our race, gender, education, party ID, age, and income variables. The cutoffs for the variables are as follows:

- *Race:* black/white
- *Gender:* male/female
- *Education:* high school degree or less, some college, college degree, post-graduate work or degree
- *Party ID:* Republican/Independent/Democrat
- *Age:* 18-29, 30-49, 50-64, 65+
- *Income:* less than $30,000, $30,000 to $50,000, $50,000 to $75,000, $75,000 and above

There were some coding issues to reconcile during our process. Some datasets did not include an income variable – thus, we replicate analyses without the use of this control variable in the robustness checks below.[2] In datasets where there was an option for Party ID other than Republican, Independent, or Democrat (i.e., "other" or "no party") those who chose this option were coded as Independents.[3] In surveys where there was a "mixed" option for race, those who selected it were considered "other," and thus would not appear in the black-white coding scheme. (Surveys generally did not include information for mixed race respondents on which races they belonged to or how they chose to identify.)[4] While many surveys used a cutoff of $30,000 for income, some

[2]Datasets lacking an income variable are denoted in Tables A1 - A3 with a *.

[3]Datasets in which options other than Republican, Democrat, or Independent were coded as "Independent" are denoted in Tables A1 - A3 with a †.

[4]Datasets in which "mixed" was considered "other" are denoted in Tables A1 - A3 with a ‡.

used a cutoff of $35,000. Similarly, some surveys used a high-end cutoff of $70,000 instead of $75,000. For this reason, the "under $30,000" or "over $75,000" categories in the regressions are sometimes inaccurate by $5,000 or less.[5] In a small number of surveys, responses that the survey taker had a certification from a technical school or an associate degree were coded as having "some college" instead of having a "college degree."[6] Across a number of ABC casualties surveys, the middle age cutoff is at 44/45 instead of 49/50, while the older age cutoff is at 61+ instead of 65+, and as a result, the cutoff in the regression is +/- 5 years for these surveys.[7] In another small group of surveys, the cutoff for middle age was 54/55 instead of 49/50, and as a result, the cutoff in the regression is +/- 5 years for these surveys.[8] There were a few more one-off discrepancies in the data, which are denoted in Tables A1 - A3 with an ^{a}.[9]

1.3 Questions Used in Analysis

The following section lists variations in questions used for our analyses.

1.3.1 Outcome Questions

We use a number of different outcome questions to measure support for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. In each case, a 0 indicates a lack of support (i.e., do not favor, war was a mistake, war was not worth fighting), and a 1 indicates support (i.e., favor, war was not a mistake, war was worth fighting).

[5] Surveys in which the cutoff for income was $35,000 instead of $30,000 are denoted in Tables A1 - A3 by a $\odot$. Surveys in which the cutoff for income was $70,000 instead of $75,000 are denoted by a §.

[6] Surveys in which technical school or associate degrees are coded as "some college" are denoted in Tables A1 - A3 by a $^{\cap}$.

[7] The surveys with slightly different middle and old age categories are denoted in Tables A1 - A3 by a $^{\uplus}$.

[8] The surveys in which the middle age cutoff is 54/55 instead of 49/50 are denoted in Tables A1 - A3 by a $^{\sqcup}$.

[9] The March 2002, July 2003, and September 2003 ABC casualties polls, as well as the January 2002 ABC survey used in the Iraq alienation section, included no option for "Asian" as a race, and thus, Asian respondents were included in the "other" category. Given that Asian responses were not included in this analysis, this coding choice is not relevant to the study at hand. The January 2003 survey by CBS featured in the Iraq alienation data used a $25,000 income cutoff instead of $30,000. The January 2003 survey by CBS/New York Times in the Iraq alienation dataset had a discrepancy in its high-end cutoff for income in its questionnaire as compared to in its survey question: the SPSS dataset says $70,000, but the survey questionnaire says $75,000.

- *Iraq:*
  - Do you favor or oppose the U.S. war in/with Iraq?
  - Looking back, do you think the United States did the right thing in taking military action against Iraq, or should the U.S. have stayed out?
  - In view of the developments since we first sent our troops to Iraq, do you think the United States made a mistake in sending troops to Iraq, or not?
  - Which comes closest to your opinion on U.S. decisions regarding Iraq ("Support" = agree with):
    * The U.S. was right in going to war in Iraq, but mistakes made following the invasion have made the results too costly in American lives and money to be worth it.
    * The U.S. was right in going to war in Iraq, and despite mistakes made following the invasion, the results have been worth the cost in American lives and money.
    * The U.S. was right in going to war in Iraq and made no serious mistakes following the invasion; the difficulties the U.S. has faced were unavoidable, and the war's results have been worth the cost in American lives and money.
  - All in all, do you think it was worth going to war in Iraq, or not?
  - All in all, do you think the situation in Iraq was worth going to war over, or not?
  - Do you approve or disapprove of the United States taking military action against Iraq to try to remove Saddam Hussein from power?
  - Would you favor or oppose invading Iraq with U.S. ground troops in an attempt to remove Saddam Hussein [Suh-DAHM WHO-sane] from power?
  - From what you know now, do you think the United States did the right thing in taking military action against Iraq last year, or not?

  - Do you think the United States was right or wrong in going to war with Iraq?
  - On another subject, all in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war in Iraq was worth fighting, or not?
  - All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war with Iraq was worth fighting, or not?
  - Considering everything, do you think the United States did the right thing in going to war with Iraq, or do you think it was a mistake?
  - Would you favor or oppose having U.S. forces take military action against Iraq to force Saddam Hussein from power?
  - All things considered, do you think it was a mistake to invade Iraq?
  - Do you think it was a mistake to invade Iraq?

- *Afghanistan:*
  - Do you support or oppose the U.S. military action in Afghanistan?
  - Do you favor or oppose the war in Afghanistan?
  - In view of the developments since we first sent our troops to Afghanistan, do you think the United States made a mistake in sending troops to Afghanistan, or not?
  - On another subject, all in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war in Afghanistan was/has been worth fighting, or not?
  - Do you think the U.S. is doing the right thing by fighting the war in Afghanistan now, or should the U.S. not be involved in Afghanistan now?
  - Do you favor or oppose the United States taking direct military action in Afghanistan?
  - Do you favor or oppose the United States taking direct military action using ground troops in Afghanistan?

- Do you approve or disapprove of the military attacks led by the United States against targets in Afghanistan?
- All things considered, do you think it was a mistake to invade Afghanistan?

1.3.2 Casualty Questions

- Do you think the United States should keep its military forces in Iraq until civil order is restored there, even if that means continued U.S. military casualties?
- Do you think the United States is doing all it reasonably can do to try to avoid U.S. military casualties in Afghanistan, or do you think the United States should be doing more to avoid U.S. military casualties?

1.3.3 Alienation Questions

Questions used to measure political alienation included the following (coded 0 if the respondent thought that the president cared/understood and 1 if the respondent thought that they didn't):

- Bush/Obama cares about the needs and problems of people like yourself
- Bush/Obama cares about people like you
- Bush/Obama cares about the needs of people like you
- Bush/Obama generally agrees with you on issues you care about
- Bush/Obama is someone who: a) cares about people like me or b) someone who DOESN'T care about people like me
- Bush/Obama understands the needs of people like you
- Bush/Obama understands the problems of people like you

- Bush/Obama understands the needs and problems of people like yourself

1.4 Main Analyses - Regression Tables

The regression tables for the analysis of the race gap in support for war, as well as for the analyses of explanatory variables discussed in the paper (casualties, family member in the military, domestic spending, and alienation), can be found in this section. Running bivariate versions of our regressions and mediations yields largely the same results. Bivariate results are included in the "race gap" table in this section; and for all explanatory variables, bivariate regression results may be found in the Appendix B, section 2.1 in the supplementary files.[10]

[10] As would be expected, the magnitude of effects of the explanatory variables on support for war are larger in bivariate regressions without controls. The only difference worth noting is that in bivariate analyses, the domestic spending regression results during the Obama administration look much more similar to the results during the Bush administration, with a positive coefficient on "Black" in the simplified version of Table A6 Model 4 (see Table B2 Model 4). The bivariate mediation analyses for spending during the two administrations are very similar, as well. All bivariate regression results can be seen in Tables B1 - B3 in Appendix B of the supplementary files; bivariate mediation results can be seen in Figures B1 - B3.

Table A4: Race and support for the Iraq War, 2002-2014.

	Bush (Casualties)		Bush (Alienation)		Obama (Alienation)		Bush (CCES)		Obama (CCES)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Black	−0.320***	−0.163***	−0.319***	−0.173***	−0.247***	−0.055**	−0.309***	−0.085***	−0.214***	−0.008*
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.010)	(0.024)	(0.027)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Male		0.028***		0.025***		0.040**		0.008**		0.024***
		(0.007)		(0.005)		(0.017)		(0.004)		(0.003)
Independent		0.203***		0.187***		0.188***		0.271***		0.232***
		(0.009)		(0.007)		(0.023)		(0.005)		(0.003)
Republican		0.541***		0.518***		0.417***		0.692***		0.602***
		(0.009)		(0.007)		(0.019)		(0.005)		(0.003)
Some College		−0.008		−0.018**		−0.014		−0.037***		−0.010**
		(0.009)		(0.007)		(0.023)		(0.005)		(0.004)
College Grad		−0.051***		−0.069***		0.002		−0.051***		−0.047***
		(0.010)		(0.008)		(0.023)		(0.005)		(0.004)
Post-Grad		−0.111***		−0.135***		−0.054**		−0.119***		−0.101***
		(0.012)		(0.008)		(0.027)		(0.007)		(0.005)
Age: 30-49		0.019		0.030***		0.004		0.032***		0.031***
		(0.012)		(0.009)		(0.033)		(0.007)		(0.005)
Age: 50-64		−0.017		−0.004		−0.027		0.035***		0.039***
		(0.013)		(0.010)		(0.032)		(0.007)		(0.005)
Age: 65+		−0.049***		−0.069***		−0.052		0.017**		0.027***
		(0.013)		(0.010)		(0.032)		(0.007)		(0.005)
Income: $30K-$50K		0.042***		0.020**		0.029		0.018***		−0.006
		(0.011)		(0.008)		(0.026)		(0.007)		(0.004)
Income: $50K-$75K		0.024**		0.018**		0.073***		0.034***		0.001
		(0.011)		(0.009)		(0.025)		(0.006)		(0.004)
Income: $75K and above		0.024**		0.022***		0.055**		0.013**		−0.005
		(0.011)		(0.008)		(0.024)		(0.006)		(0.004)
Constant	0.576***	0.325***	0.394***	0.202***	0.442***	0.211***	0.454***	0.098***	0.442***	0.151***
	(0.015)	(0.020)	(0.016)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.038)	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.002)	(0.006)
Poll FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	18	17	39	35	11	11	2	2	3	3
Observations	16,947	14,339	31,875	25,500	3,397	3,019	43,115	38,099	119,819	102,692
R^2	0.082	0.269	0.065	0.260	0.023	0.172	0.026	0.364	0.022	0.262

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A5: Casualty sensitivity, military household status, and support for the Iraq War, 2003-2014.

Outcome:	Casualty Sensitivity	Support Iraq War		Military Family	Support Iraq War		Military Family	Support Iraq War	
Presidency		Bush Administration					Obama Administration		
Sample:	Combined	Black	White	Combined	Black	White	Combined	Black	White
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Black	0.185***			0.038***			0.033***		
	(0.011)			(0.007)			(0.003)		
Casualty Sens.		−0.208***	−0.410***						
		(0.023)	(0.009)						
Military Family					0.012	0.061***		0.015	0.072***
					(0.020)	(0.007)		(0.011)	(0.005)
Male	−0.111***	0.024	−0.019***	−0.002	0.003	0.009**	−0.003*	0.026***	0.023***
	(0.008)	(0.015)	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.014)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.007)	(0.003)
Independent	−0.178***	0.039**	0.154***	0.030***	0.065***	0.287***	0.025***	−0.006	0.266***
	(0.010)	(0.016)	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.017)	(0.006)	(0.002)	(0.009)	(0.003)
Republican	−0.398***	0.278***	0.392***	0.047***	0.552***	0.699***	0.036***	0.354***	0.623***
	(0.010)	(0.049)	(0.010)	(0.004)	(0.039)	(0.005)	(0.002)	(0.022)	(0.003)
Some College	−0.037***	−0.022	−0.022**	0.016***	−0.042**	−0.037***	0.015***	−0.059***	−0.004
	(0.010)	(0.017)	(0.010)	(0.005)	(0.020)	(0.006)	(0.002)	(0.011)	(0.004)
College Grad	−0.064***	−0.041*	−0.073***	0.006	−0.039*	−0.050***	0.004*	−0.089***	−0.040***
	(0.011)	(0.022)	(0.010)	(0.004)	(0.020)	(0.006)	(0.002)	(0.010)	(0.004)
Post-Grad	−0.020	−0.052**	−0.120***	−0.008	−0.059**	−0.120***	−0.005*	−0.108***	−0.094***
	(0.013)	(0.025)	(0.012)	(0.006)	(0.027)	(0.008)	(0.003)	(0.013)	(0.005)
Age: 30-49	−0.042***	−0.031	0.011	0.007	−0.013	0.035***	−0.020***	0.007	0.037***
	(0.013)	(0.023)	(0.013)	(0.006)	(0.022)	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.010)	(0.006)
Age: 50-64	−0.052***	−0.050**	−0.032**	−0.006	−0.032	0.039***	−0.020***	0.007	0.045***
	(0.013)	(0.024)	(0.013)	(0.006)	(0.023)	(0.007)	(0.003)	(0.010)	(0.005)
Age: 65+	−0.064***	−0.099***	−0.064***	−0.024***	−0.099***	0.024***	−0.033***	−0.040***	0.036***
	(0.014)	(0.025)	(0.014)	(0.006)	(0.026)	(0.008)	(0.003)	(0.014)	(0.005)
Income: $30K-$50K	−0.052***	−0.004	0.026**	0.006	−0.022	0.021***	0.002	−0.023**	0.001
	(0.011)	(0.020)	(0.011)	(0.005)	(0.021)	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.010)	(0.005)
Income: $50K-$75K	−0.061***	−0.050**	0.008	0.008	−0.014	0.038***	0.008***	−0.048***	0.013***
	(0.012)	(0.021)	(0.012)	(0.005)	(0.021)	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.010)	(0.004)
Income: $75K and above	−0.078***	−0.027	−0.002	−0.004	−0.045**	0.019***	0.009***	−0.061***	0.006
	(0.011)	(0.022)	(0.011)	(0.005)	(0.021)	(0.007)	(0.002)	(0.010)	(0.004)
Constant	0.630***	0.325***	0.569***	0.091***	0.169***	0.074***	0.087***	0.220***	0.117***
	(0.020)	(0.046)	(0.022)	(0.007)	(0.029)	(0.009)	(0.004)	(0.013)	(0.007)
Poll FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	17	17	17	2	2	2	3	3	3
Observations	14,138	2,046	11,879	38,166	2,617	35,414	120,697	13,885	88,807
R^2	0.227	0.164	0.372	0.006	0.131	0.360	0.006	0.060	0.277

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A6: Spending preferences and support for the Iraq War, 2006-2014.

Outcome	Domestic Spending	Support Iraq War		Domestic Spending	Support Iraq War	
Presidency	Bush Administration			Obama Administration		
Sample:	Combined	Black	White	Combined	Black	White
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Black	0.025**			−0.041***		
	(0.010)			(0.004)		
Dom. Spending		−0.161***	−0.378***		−0.178***	−0.368***
		(0.017)	(0.006)		(0.009)	(0.004)
Male	−0.012***	0.005	0.005	−0.060***	0.024***	−0.0005
	(0.004)	(0.015)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.007)	(0.003)
Independent	−0.270***	0.056***	0.175***	−0.287***	−0.014*	0.146***
	(0.006)	(0.017)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.003)
Republican	−0.607***	0.470***	0.464***	−0.578***	0.288***	0.393***
	(0.005)	(0.040)	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.021)	(0.004)
Some College	0.059***	−0.037*	−0.014**	0.0004	−0.047***	−0.006
	(0.006)	(0.020)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.011)	(0.004)
College Grad	0.088***	−0.034*	−0.017***	0.022***	−0.076***	−0.031***
	(0.006)	(0.020)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.010)	(0.004)
Post-Grad	0.180***	−0.036	−0.051***	0.075***	−0.085***	−0.068***
	(0.008)	(0.027)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.013)	(0.004)
Age: 30-49	−0.051***	−0.004	0.009	−0.018***	0.011	0.025***
	(0.007)	(0.022)	(0.007)	(0.005)	(0.010)	(0.005)
Age: 50-64	−0.075***	−0.025	0.002	−0.031***	0.018*	0.025***
	(0.008)	(0.023)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.010)	(0.005)
Age: 65+	−0.094***	−0.090***	−0.020***	−0.060***	−0.029**	0.005
	(0.008)	(0.026)	(0.008)	(0.005)	(0.013)	(0.005)
Income: $30K-$50K	−0.020***	−0.026	0.015**	−0.025***	−0.024**	−0.012***
	(0.007)	(0.021)	(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.010)	(0.004)
Income: $50K-$75K	−0.037***	−0.017	0.023***	−0.047***	−0.050***	−0.009**
	(0.007)	(0.021)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.004)
Income: $75K and above	−0.034***	−0.042**	0.004	−0.067***	−0.065***	−0.021***
	(0.007)	(0.021)	(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.010)	(0.004)
Constant	0.753***	0.264***	0.373***	0.872***	0.341***	0.467***
	(0.010)	(0.032)	(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.015)	(0.007)
Poll FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	2	2	2	3	3	3
Observations	36,483	2,450	33,912	119,061	13,761	87,697
R^2	0.291	0.161	0.454	0.241	0.095	0.374

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table A7: Political alienation and support for the Iraq War, 2002-2011.

Outcome:	Alienation	Support War		Alienation	Support War	
Presidency	Bush Administration			Obama Administration		
Sample	Combined	Black	White	Combined	Black	White
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Black	0.129***			−0.182***		
	(0.009)			(0.023)		
Alienation		−0.281***	−0.428***		0.196*	0.204***
		(0.026)	(0.007)		(0.103)	(0.021)
Male	−0.006	0.014	0.022***	0.008	−0.046	0.046***
	(0.005)	(0.017)	(0.005)	(0.015)	(0.048)	(0.017)
Independent	−0.223***	0.010	0.106***	0.390***	−0.074	0.121***
	(0.007)	(0.019)	(0.007)	(0.023)	(0.051)	(0.025)
Republican	−0.622***	0.172***	0.265***	0.635***	−0.001	0.299***
	(0.006)	(0.046)	(0.008)	(0.017)	(0.143)	(0.024)
Some College	0.017**	0.017	−0.013*	0.008	−0.114*	−0.007
	(0.007)	(0.021)	(0.007)	(0.021)	(0.060)	(0.024)
College Grad	0.028***	−0.019	−0.056***	−0.023	−0.032	0.018
	(0.008)	(0.025)	(0.008)	(0.021)	(0.073)	(0.024)
Post-Grad	0.065***	−0.062**	−0.108***	−0.070***	−0.136**	−0.018
	(0.008)	(0.028)	(0.008)	(0.024)	(0.062)	(0.028)
Age: 30-49	−0.012	0.008	0.027***	0.063**	0.072	−0.023
	(0.009)	(0.024)	(0.009)	(0.030)	(0.074)	(0.035)
Age: 50-64	−0.009	0.002	−0.008	0.063**	−0.021	−0.051
	(0.009)	(0.026)	(0.010)	(0.029)	(0.069)	(0.034)
Age: 65+	−0.002	−0.037	−0.070***	0.084***	−0.0003	−0.083**
	(0.010)	(0.030)	(0.010)	(0.030)	(0.081)	(0.034)
Income: $30K-$50K	−0.022***	0.005	0.008	0.005	−0.053	0.040
	(0.008)	(0.022)	(0.008)	(0.024)	(0.069)	(0.028)
Income: $50K-$75K	−0.038***	−0.014	−0.001	0.014	0.048	0.076***
	(0.008)	(0.026)	(0.008)	(0.022)	(0.079)	(0.026)
Income: $75K and above	−0.059***	−0.008	−0.006	0.018	−0.068	0.060**
	(0.008)	(0.024)	(0.008)	(0.021)	(0.066)	(0.025)
Constant	0.810***	0.335***	0.539***	0.146***	0.187**	0.175***
	(0.018)	(0.048)	(0.019)	(0.035)	(0.075)	(0.041)
Poll FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	35	35	35	4	4	4
Observations	25,345	2,149	22,590	3,069	247	2,747
R^2	0.315	0.200	0.379	0.366	0.115	0.199

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

1.5 Main Analyses - Figures

This section includes mediation figures for the explanatory variables discussed in the paper (casualties, family member in the military, domestic spending, and alienation). It also includes a coefficient plot for the "military family" variable.

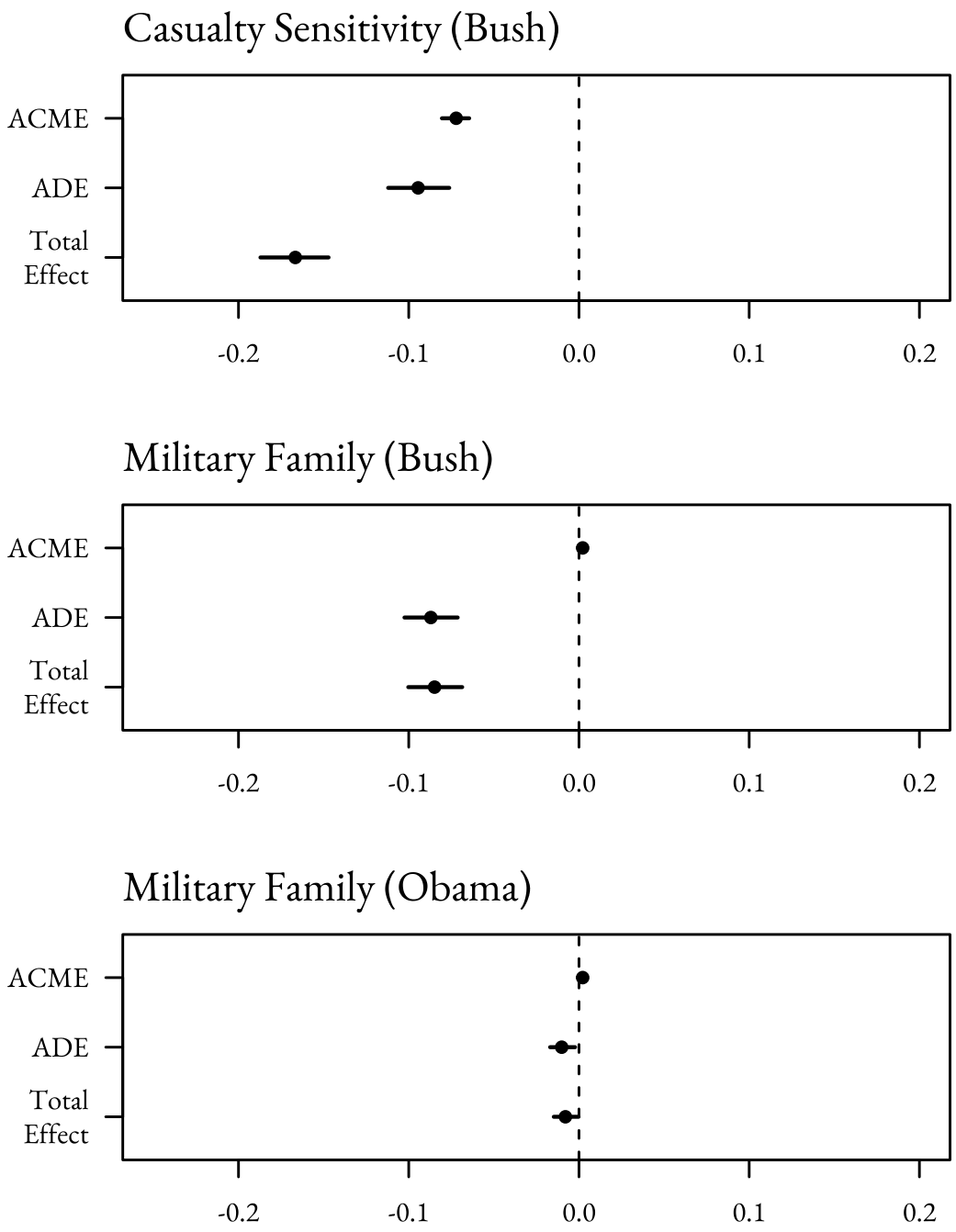

Figure A1: Mediation effects plots, casualty sensitivity and military family status.

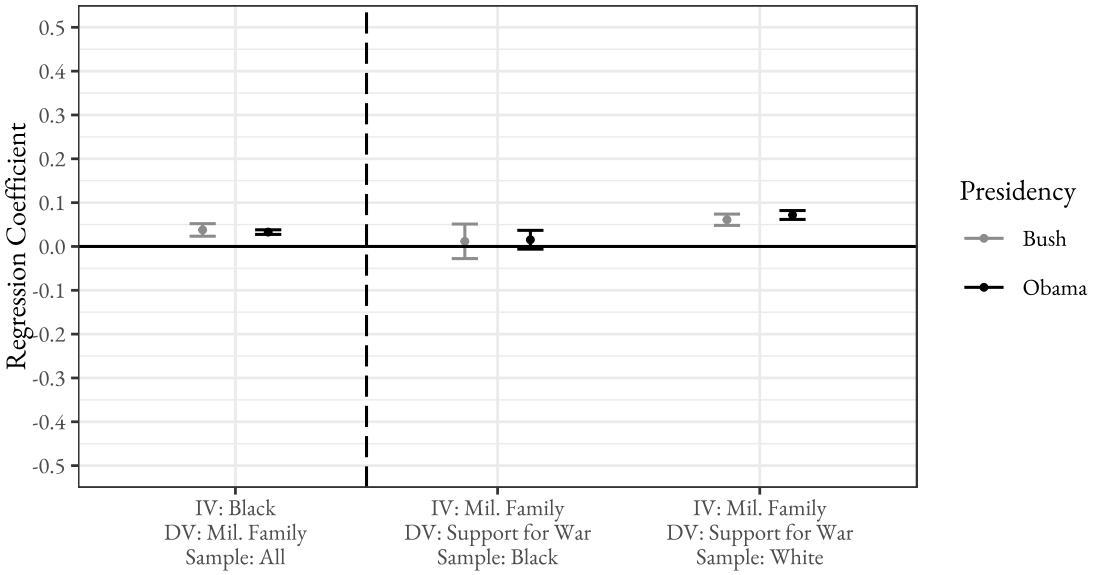

Figure A2: Coefficient plot, race and military family status.

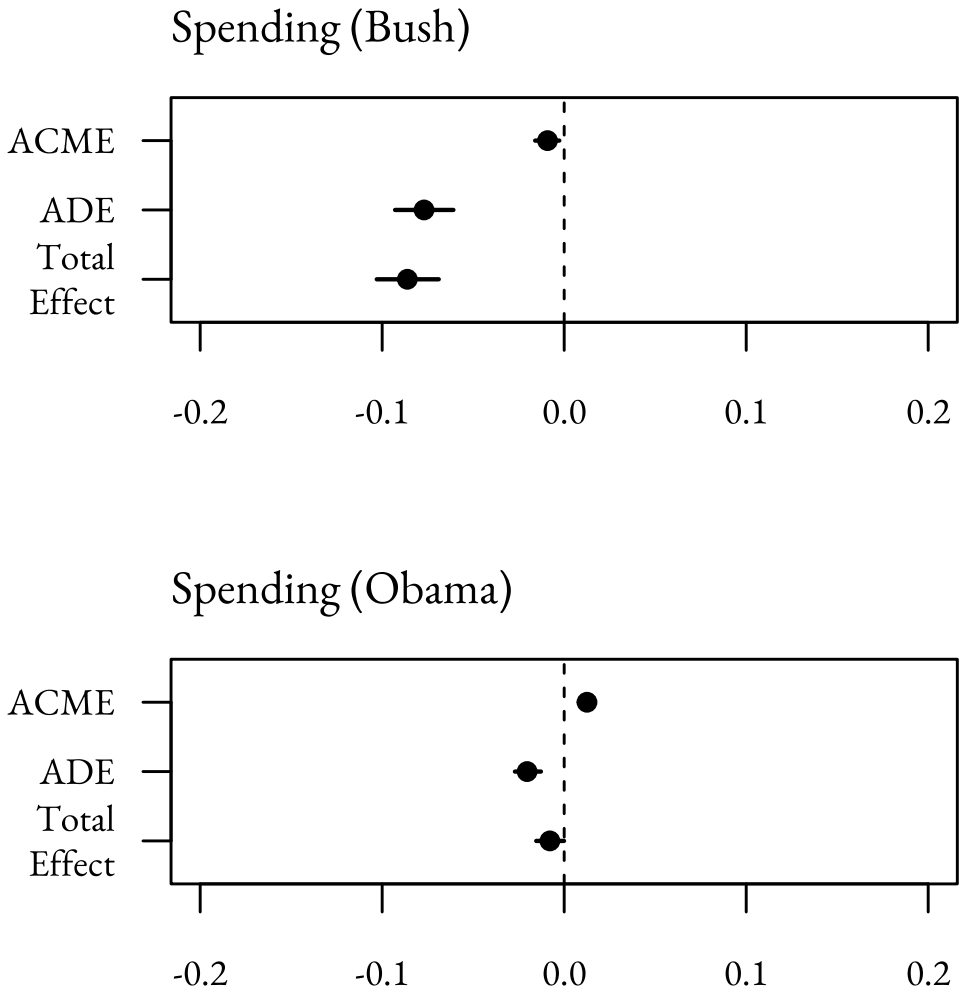

Figure A3: Mediation effects plots, spending preferences.

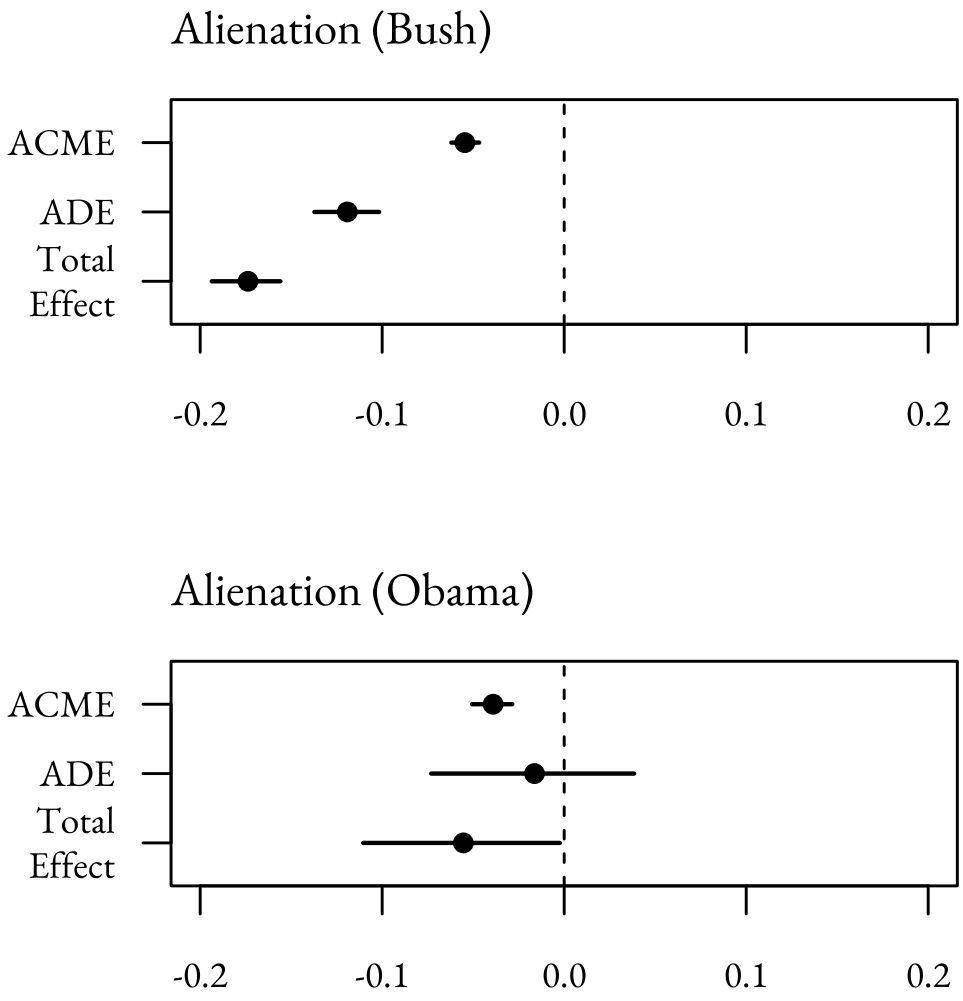

Figure A4: Mediation effects plots, political alienation.

1.6 Summary Statistics

Table A8: Summary statistics, surveys related to casualty sensitivity (Iraq War).

Variable	Mean	Sd	Min	Max
Support War	0.43	0.50	0	1
Casualty Sensitivity	0.45	0.50	0	1
Alt. Cas. Sensitivity	0.66	0.47	0	1
Black	0.14	0.34	0	1
Gender				
... Female	0.54	0.50	0.0	1.0
... Male	0.46	0.50	0.0	1.0
Education				
... HS or Less	0.34	0.47	0.0	1.0
... Some College	0.28	0.45	0.0	1.0
... College Grad	0.24	0.43	0.0	1.0
... Post-Grad	0.14	0.35	0.0	1.0
Party ID				
... Democrat	0.34	0.47	0.0	1.0
... Independent	0.37	0.48	0.0	1.0
... Republican	0.29	0.45	0.0	1.0
Age				
... 18-29	0.11	0.32	0.0	1.0
... 30-49	0.33	0.47	0.0	1.0
... 50-64	0.33	0.47	0.0	1.0
... 65+	0.23	0.42	0.0	1.0
Income				
... Less than $30K	0.27	0.45	0.0	1.0
... $30K-Less than $50K	0.18	0.39	0.0	1.0
... $50K-Less than $75K	0.20	0.40	0.0	1.0
... $75K and above	0.34	0.47	0.0	1.0

Table A9: Summary statistics, surveys related to casualty sensitivity (Afghanistan War).

Variable	Mean	Sd	Min	Max
Support War	0.94	0.25	0	1
Casualty Sensitivity	0.14	0.35	0	1
Black	0.084	0.28	0	1
Gender				
... Female	0.53	0.50	0.0	1.0
... Male	0.47	0.50	0.0	1.0
Education				
... No College	0.38	0.49	0.0	1.0
... Any College	0.62	0.49	0.0	1.0
Party ID				
... Democrat	0.33	0.47	0.0	1.0
... Independent	0.33	0.47	0.0	1.0
... Republican	0.33	0.47	0.0	1.0
Age				
... 18-29	0.18	0.39	0.0	1.0
... 30-49	0.31	0.46	0.0	1.0
... 50-64	0.31	0.46	0.0	1.0
... 65+	0.20	0.40	0.0	1.0

Table A10: Summary statistics, surveys related to political alienation (Iraq War, Bush administration).

Variable	Mean	Sd	Min	Max
Support War	0.53	0.50	0	1
Alienation	0.50	0.50	0	1
Black	0.087	0.28	0	1
Gender				
... Female	0.51	0.50	0.0	1.0
... Male	0.49	0.50	0.0	1.0
Education				
... HS or Less	0.33	0.47	0.0	1.0
... Some College	0.27	0.44	0.0	1.0
... College Grad	0.24	0.42	0.0	1.0
... Post-Grad	0.17	0.37	0.0	1.0
Party ID				
... Democrat	0.32	0.47	0.0	1.0
... Independent	0.35	0.48	0.0	1.0
... Republican	0.33	0.47	0.0	1.0
Age				
... 18-29	0.12	0.32	0.0	1.0
... 30-49	0.38	0.49	0.0	1.0
... 50-64	0.29	0.45	0.0	1.0
... 65+	0.22	0.41	0.0	1.0
Income				
... Less than $30K	0.26	0.44	0.0	1.0
... $30K-Less than $50K	0.23	0.42	0.0	1.0
... $50K-Less than $75K	0.21	0.40	0.0	1.0
... $75K and above	0.30	0.46	0.0	1.0

Table A11: Summary statistics, surveys related to political alienation (Iraq War, Obama administration).

Variable	Mean	Sd	Min	Max
Support War	0.39	0.49	0	1
Alienation	0.52	0.50	0	1
Black	0.079	0.27	0	1
Gender				
... Female	0.53	0.50	0.0	1.0
... Male	0.47	0.50	0.0	1.0
Education				
... HS or Less	0.31	0.46	0.0	1.0
... Some College	0.24	0.43	0.0	1.0
... College Grad	0.29	0.45	0.0	1.0
... Post-Grad	0.16	0.37	0.0	1.0
Party ID				
... Democrat	0.38	0.48	0.0	1.0
... Independent	0.24	0.43	0.0	1.0
... Republican	0.38	0.49	0.0	1.0
Age				
... 18-29	0.08	0.27	0.0	1.0
... 30-49	0.27	0.44	0.0	1.0
... 50-64	0.35	0.48	0.0	1.0
... 65+	0.31	0.46	0.0	1.0
Income				
... Less than $30K	0.29	0.46	0.0	1.0
... $30K-Less than $50K	0.15	0.36	0.0	1.0
... $50K-Less than $75K	0.20	0.40	0.0	1.0
... $75K and above	0.36	0.48	0.0	1.0

Table A12: Summary statistics, surveys related to political alienation (Afghanistan War, Bush administration).

Variable	Mean	Sd	Min	Max
Support War	0.82	0.39	0	1
Alienation	0.32	0.47	0	1
Black	0.083	0.28	0	1
Gender				
... Female	0.55	0.50	0.0	1.0
... Male	0.45	0.50	0.0	1.0
Education				
... HS or Less	0.36	0.48	0.0	1.0
... Some College	0.24	0.43	0.0	1.0
... College Grad	0.22	0.42	0.0	1.0
... Post-Grad	0.17	0.38	0.0	1.0
Party ID				
... Democrat	0.32	0.47	0.0	1.0
... Independent	0.35	0.48	0.0	1.0
... Republican	0.34	0.47	0.0	1.0
Age				
... 18-29	0.12	0.33	0.0	1.0
... 30-49	0.38	0.49	0.0	1.0
... 50-64	0.28	0.45	0.0	1.0
... 65+	0.22	0.41	0.0	1.0
Income				
... Less than $30K	0.29	0.45	0.0	1.0
... $30K-Less than $50K	0.28	0.45	0.0	1.0
... $50K-Less than $75K	0.19	0.39	0.0	1.0
... $75K and above	0.25	0.43	0.0	1.0

Table A13: Summary statistics, surveys related to political alienation (Afghanistan War, Obama administration).

Variable	Mean	Sd	Min	Max
Support War	0.44	0.50	0	1
Alienation	0.46	0.50	0	1
Black	0.091	0.29	0	1
Gender				
... Female	0.53	0.50	0.0	1.0
... Male	0.47	0.50	0.0	1.0
Education				
... HS or Less	0.30	0.46	0.0	1.0
... Some College	0.25	0.43	0.0	1.0
... College Grad	0.27	0.45	0.0	1.0
... Post-Grad	0.18	0.38	0.0	1.0
Party ID				
... Democrat	0.32	0.47	0.0	1.0
... Independent	0.40	0.49	0.0	1.0
... Republican	0.28	0.45	0.0	1.0
Age				
... 18-29	0.092	0.29	0.0	1.0
... 30-49	0.26	0.44	0.0	1.0
... 50-64	0.33	0.47	0.0	1.0
... 65+	0.32	0.47	0.0	1.0
Income				
... Less than $30K	0.27	0.45	0.0	1.0
... $30K-Less than $50K	0.17	0.37	0.0	1.0
... $50K-Less than $75K	0.21	0.41	0.0	1.0
... $75K and above	0.35	0.48	0.0	1.0

Table A14: Summary statistics, surveys related to spending preferences and military family status (Iraq War, Bush administration).

Variable	Mean	Sd	Min	Max
Support War	0.47	0.50	0	1
Mil. Family	0.12	0.33	0	1
Dom. Spending	0.42	0.49	0	1
Black	0.067	0.25	0	1
Gender				
... Female	0.50	0.50	0.0	1.0
... Male	0.50	0.50	0.0	1.0
Education				
... HS or Less	0.35	0.48	0.0	1.0
... Some College	0.27	0.44	0.0	1.0
... College Grad	0.28	0.45	0.0	1.0
... Post-Grad	0.10	0.30	0.0	1.0
Party ID				
... Democrat	0.34	0.47	0.0	1.0
... Independent	0.32	0.47	0.0	1.0
... Republican	0.35	0.48	0.0	1.0
Age				
... 18-29	0.14	0.35	0.0	1.0
... 30-49	0.35	0.48	0.0	1.0
... 50-64	0.32	0.47	0.0	1.0
... 65+	0.19	0.39	0.0	1.0
Income				
... Less than $30K	0.20	0.40	0.0	1.0
... $30K-Less than $50K	0.22	0.41	0.0	1.0
... $50K-Less than $75K	0.27	0.45	0.0	1.0
... $75K and above	0.31	0.46	0.0	1.0

Table A15: Summary statistics, surveys related to spending preferences and military family status (Iraq War, Obama administration).

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Support War	0.40	0.49	0	1
Mil. Family	0.089	0.28	0	1
Dom. Spending	0.54	0.50	0	1
Black	0.14	0.35	0	1
Gender				
... Female	0.53	0.50	0.0	1.0
... Male	0.47	0.50	0.0	1.0
Education				
... HS or Less	0.27	0.45	0.0	1.0
... Some College	0.26	0.44	0.0	1.0
... College Grad	0.34	0.48	0.0	1.0
... Post-Grad	0.13	0.33	0.0	1.0
Party ID				
... Democrat	0.38	0.48	0.0	1.0
... Independent	0.34	0.47	0.0	1.0
... Republican	0.29	0.45	0.0	1.0
Age				
... 18-29	0.12	0.32	0.0	1.0
... 30-49	0.24	0.43	0.0	1.0
... 50-64	0.41	0.49	0.0	1.0
... 65+	0.24	0.43	0.0	1.0
Income				
... Less than $30K	0.24	0.43	0.0	1.0
... $30K-Less than $50K	0.22	0.41	0.0	1.0
... $50K-Less than $75K	0.26	0.44	0.0	1.0
... $75K and above	0.28	0.45	0.0	1.0

Table A16: Summary statistics, surveys related to spending preferences and military family status (Afghanistan War, Obama administration).

Variable	Mean	Sd	Min	Max
Support War	0.58	0.49	0	1
Mil. Family	0.089	0.28	0	1
Dom. Spending	0.54	0.50	0	1
Black	0.14	0.35	0	1
Gender				
... Female	0.53	0.50	0.0	1.0
... Male	0.47	0.50	0.0	1.0
Education				
... HS or Less	0.27	0.45	0.0	1.0
... Some College	0.26	0.44	0.0	1.0
... College Grad	0.34	0.48	0.0	1.0
... Post-Grad	0.13	0.33	0.0	1.0
Part ID				
... Democrat	0.38	0.48	0.0	1.0
... Independent	0.34	0.47	0.0	1.0
... Republican	0.29	0.45	0.0	1.0
Age				
... 18-29	0.12	0.32	0.0	1.0
... 30-49	0.24	0.43	0.0	1.0
... 50-64	0.41	0.49	0.0	1.0
... 65+	0.24	0.43	0.0	1.0
Income				
... Less than $30K	0.24	0.43	0.0	1.0
... $30K-Less than $50K	0.22	0.41	0.0	1.0
... $50K-Less than $75K	0.26	0.44	0.0	1.0
... $75K and above	0.28	0.45	0.0	1.0

2 Appendix B: Robustness Checks

This section features a number of robustness checks meant to provide added insight into the results presented in the article.

2.1 Bivariate Regressions

Here we conduct robustness checks for regressions involving each of our proposed explanations without control variables (only race and poll fixed effects).

Table B1: Casualty sensitivity, military household status, and support for the Iraq War, 2003-2014 (bivariate).

Outcome:	Casualty Sensitivity	Support Iraq War		Military Family	Support Iraq War		Military Family	Support Iraq War	
Presidency		Bush Administration					Obama Administration		
Sample:	Combined	Black	White	Combined	Black	White	Combined	Black	White
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Black	0.344^{***}			0.028^{***}			0.023^{***}		
	(0.010)			(0.007)			(0.002)		
Casualty Sens.		-0.240^{***}	-0.514^{***}						
		(0.022)	(0.007)						
Military Family					0.045^{**}	0.110^{***}		0.019^{*}	0.119^{***}
					(0.021)	(0.008)		(0.011)	(0.005)
Constant	0.252^{***}	0.316^{***}	0.717^{***}	0.118^{***}	0.153^{***}	0.440^{***}	0.095^{***}	0.146^{***}	0.442^{***}
	(0.014)	(0.044)	(0.015)	(0.003)	(0.013)	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.005)	(0.003)
Poll FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	18	18	18	2	2	2	3	3	3
Observations	16,710	2,289	14,129	43,213	2,892	40,141	143,276	15,656	104,163
R^2	0.107	0.121	0.272	0.001	0.003	0.008	0.002	0.014	0.006

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

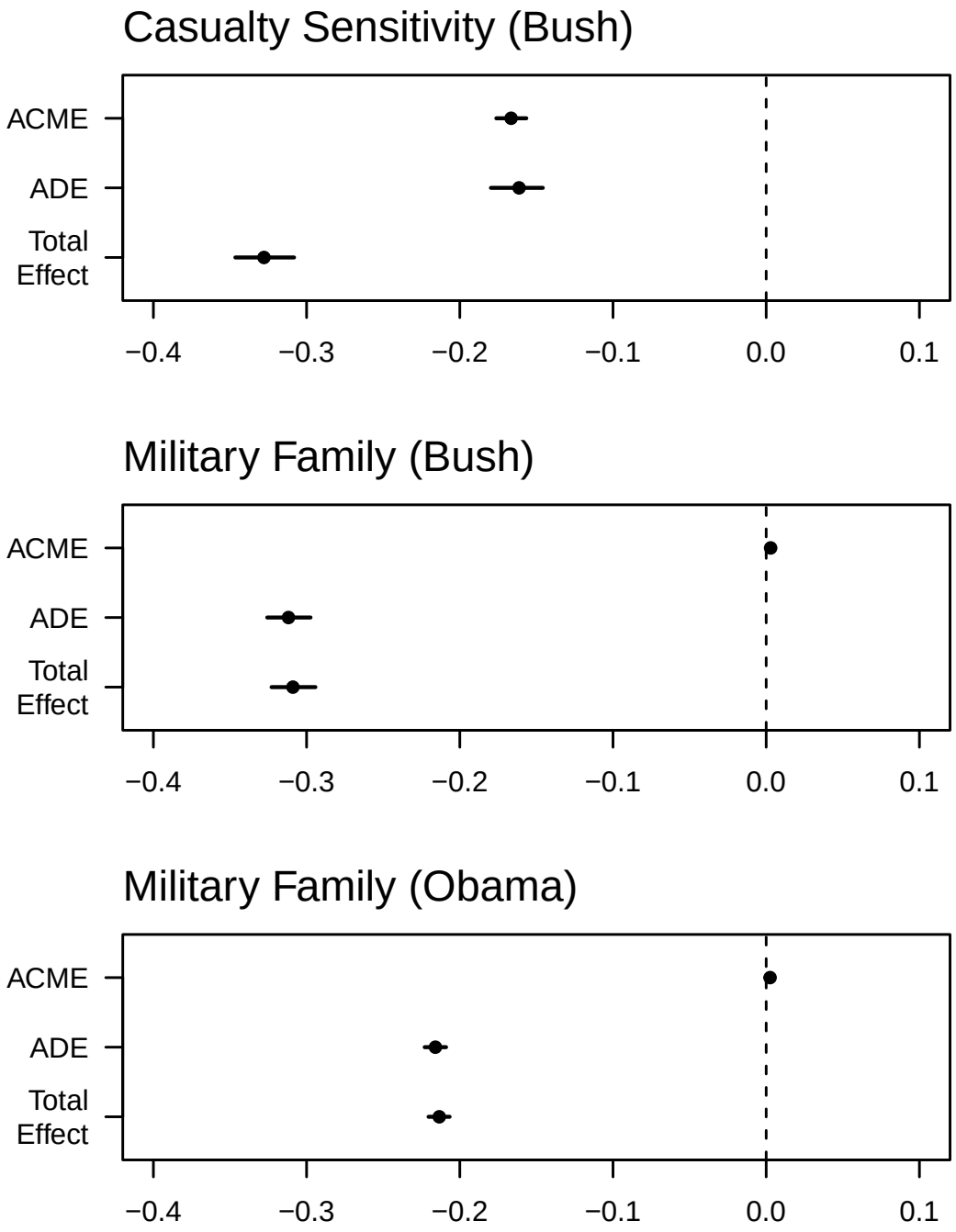

Figure B1: Mediation effects plots, casualty sensitivity and military household status (bivariate).

Table B2: Spending preferences and support for the Iraq War, 2006-2014 (bivariate).

Outcome	Domestic Spending	Support Iraq War		Domestic Spending	Support Iraq War	
Presidency	Bush Administration			Obama Administration		
Sample:	Combined	Black	White	Combined	Black	White
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Black	0.237***			0.192***		
	(0.010)			(0.004)		
Dom. Spending		−0.208***	−0.584***		−0.205***	−0.534***
		(0.017)	(0.004)		(0.008)	(0.003)
Constant	0.410***	0.289***	0.678***	0.488***	0.298***	0.713***
	(0.004)	(0.019)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.008)	(0.003)
Poll FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	2	2	2	3	3	3
Observations	41,120	2,698	38,265	140,970	15,505	102,636
R^2	0.014	0.069	0.334	0.019	0.063	0.291

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

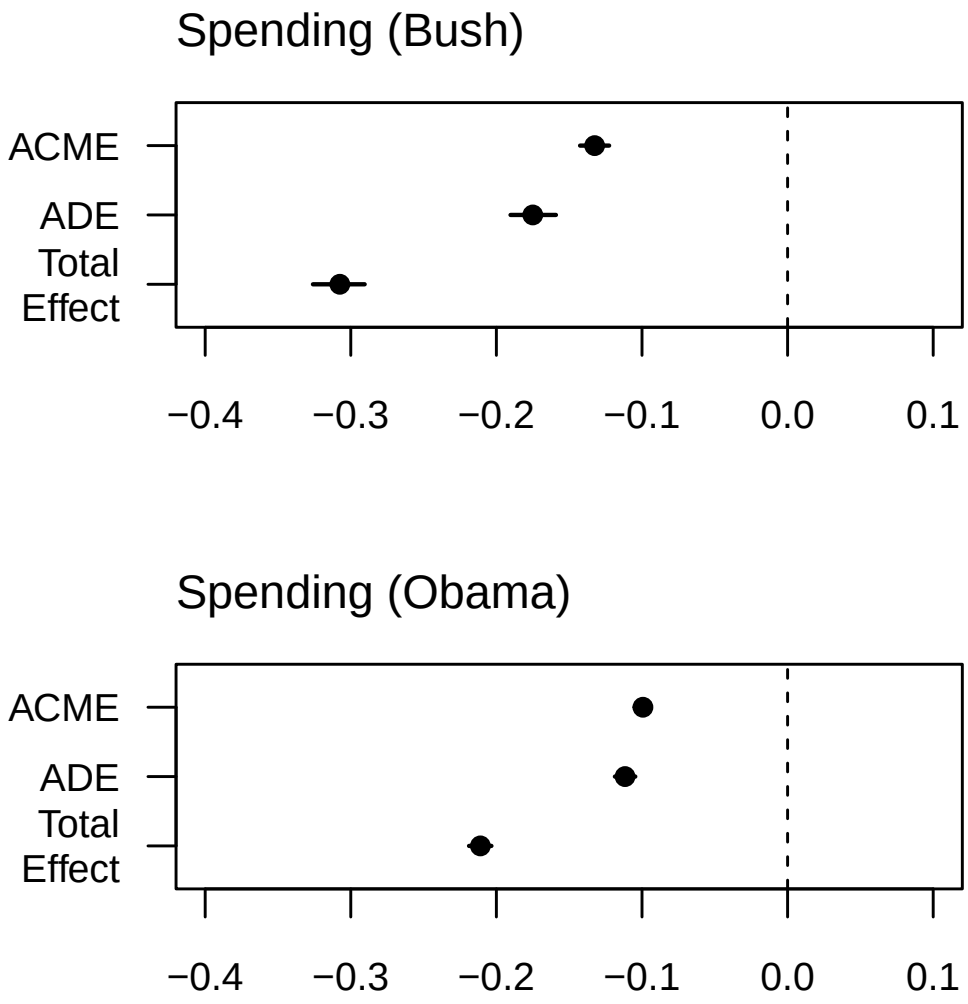

Figure B2: Mediation effects plot, spending preferences (bivariate).

Table B3: Political alienation and support for the Iraq War, 2002-2011 (bivariate).

Outcome:	Alienation	Support War		Alienation	Support War	
Presidency	Bush Administration			Obama Administration		
Sample	Combined	Black	White	Combined	Black	White
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Black	0.344^{***}			-0.488^{***}		
	(0.008)			(0.018)		
Alienation		-0.342^{***}	-0.561^{***}		0.188^{*}	0.358^{***}
		(0.024)	(0.005)		(0.106)	(0.016)
Constant	0.509^{***}	0.403^{***}	0.683^{***}	0.570^{***}	0.089^{**}	0.245^{***}
	(0.016)	(0.040)	(0.014)	(0.016)	(0.041)	(0.018)
Poll FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	39	39	39	4	4	4
Observations	31,542	2,582	28,064	3,466	266	3,099
R^2	0.059	0.184	0.343	0.070	0.047	0.135

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

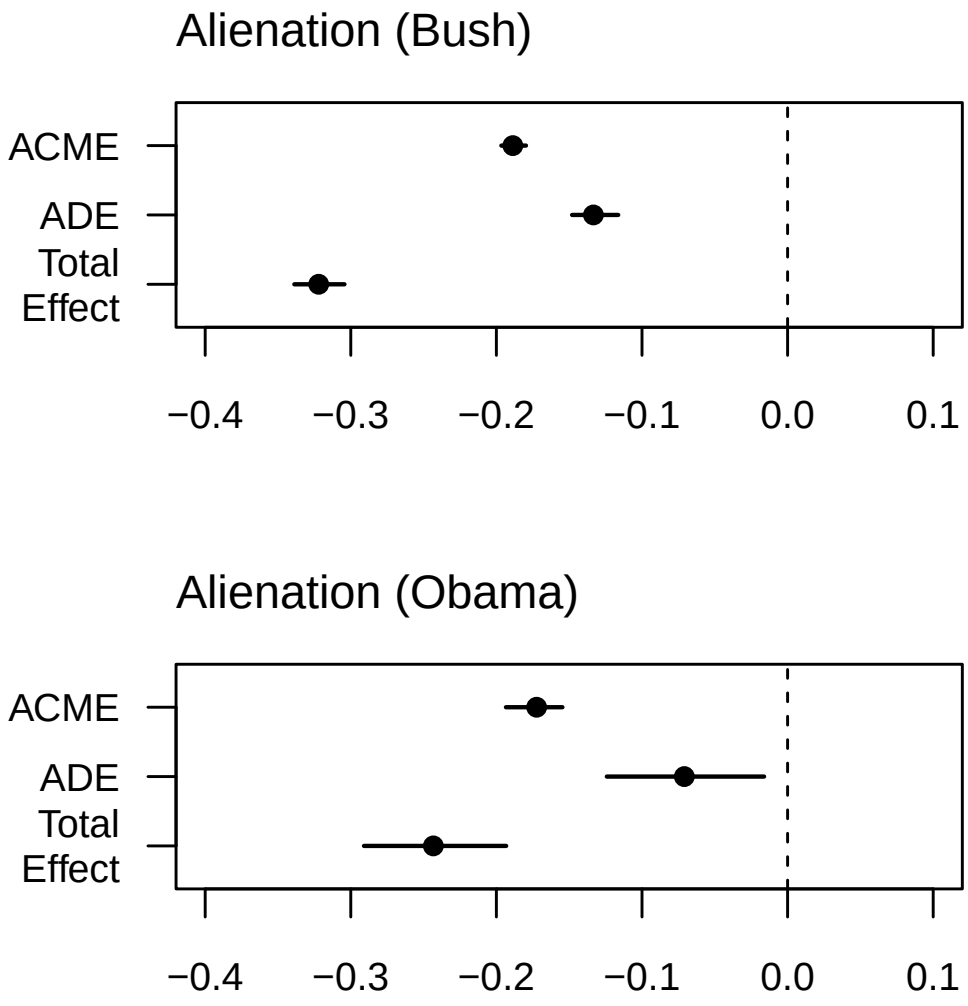

Figure B3: Mediation effects plot, political alienation (bivariate).

2.2 Excluding Income Variable

Here we conduct robustness checks for regressions involving casualty sensitivity (ABC polls) and political alienation (assorted polls) under the Bush administration given that a number of polls lacked income data for respondents.

Table B4: Casualty sensitivity and support for the Iraq War, 2003-2008 (dropping income variable).

	Dependent variable:			
	Support War	Casualty Sensitivity	Support War	
Sample	Combined	Combined	Black	White
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Black	−0.165***	0.197***		
	(0.009)	(0.010)		
Cas. Sensitivity			−0.209***	−0.406***
			(0.022)	(0.008)
Male	0.032***	−0.113***	0.024*	−0.015**
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.014)	(0.007)
Independent	0.205***	−0.177***	0.040**	0.157***
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.016)	(0.009)
Republican	0.544***	−0.396***	0.300***	0.396***
	(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.047)	(0.010)
Some College	−0.002	−0.049***	−0.017	−0.020**
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.017)	(0.009)
College Grad	−0.043***	−0.085***	−0.057***	−0.071***
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.018)	(0.009)
Post-Grad	−0.099***	−0.050***	−0.068***	−0.117***
	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.022)	(0.011)
Age: 30-49	0.018	−0.056***	−0.026	0.001
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.023)	(0.013)
Age: 50-64	−0.012	−0.065***	−0.047**	−0.036***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.023)	(0.012)
Age: 65+	−0.056***	−0.054***	−0.085***	−0.072***
	(0.012)	(0.013)	(0.024)	(0.013)
Constant	0.332***	0.603***	0.315***	0.568***
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.045)	(0.020)
Poll FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	19	19	19	19
Observations	16,574	16,347	2,221	13,846
R^2	0.269	0.225	0.166	0.369
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

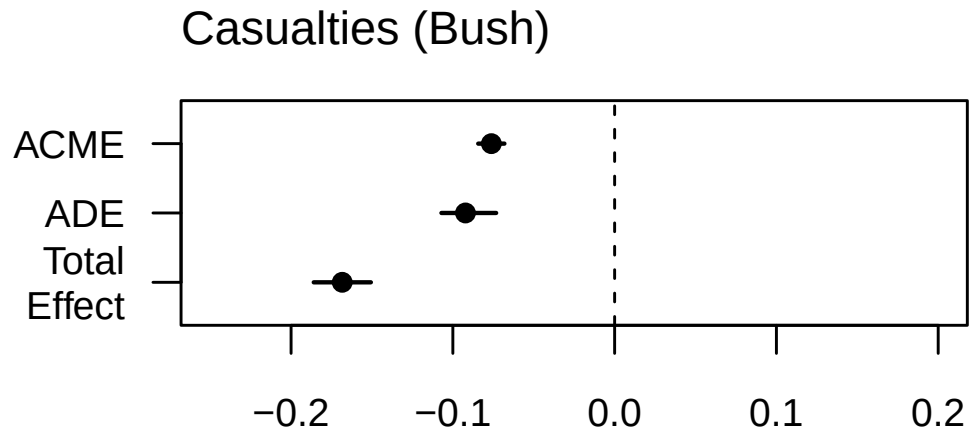

Figure B4: Mediation effects plot, casualty sensitivity (dropping income variable).

Table B5: Political alienation and support for the Iraq War, 2002-2008 (dropping income variable).

	Dependent variable:			
	Support War	Alienation	Support War	
Sample	Combined	Combined	Black	White
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Black	-0.168^{***}	0.140^{***}		
	(0.009)	(0.008)		
Alienation			-0.302^{***}	-0.439^{***}
			(0.025)	(0.006)
Male	0.030^{***}	-0.009^{*}	0.029^{*}	0.023^{***}
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.016)	(0.005)
Independent	0.195^{***}	-0.228^{***}	0.018	0.108^{***}
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.018)	(0.007)
Republican	0.526^{***}	-0.629^{***}	0.170^{***}	0.265^{***}
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.041)	(0.008)
Some College	-0.014^{**}	0.004	0.010	-0.014^{**}
	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.019)	(0.006)
College Grad	-0.060^{***}	0.006	-0.030	-0.055^{***}
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.021)	(0.007)
Post-Grad	-0.124^{***}	0.042^{***}	-0.074^{***}	-0.104^{***}
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.024)	(0.007)
Age: 30-49	0.026^{***}	-0.020^{**}	0.0003	0.022^{**}
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.022)	(0.009)
Age: 50-64	-0.006	-0.014^{*}	-0.014	-0.011
	(0.009)	(0.008)	(0.024)	(0.009)
Age: 65+	-0.074^{***}	-0.002	-0.047^{*}	-0.070^{***}
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.027)	(0.009)
Constant	0.202^{***}	0.801^{***}	0.363^{***}	0.544^{***}
	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.044)	(0.017)
Poll FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	39	39	39	39
Observations	31,055	30,705	2,509	27,369
R^2	0.261	0.316	0.199	0.389
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

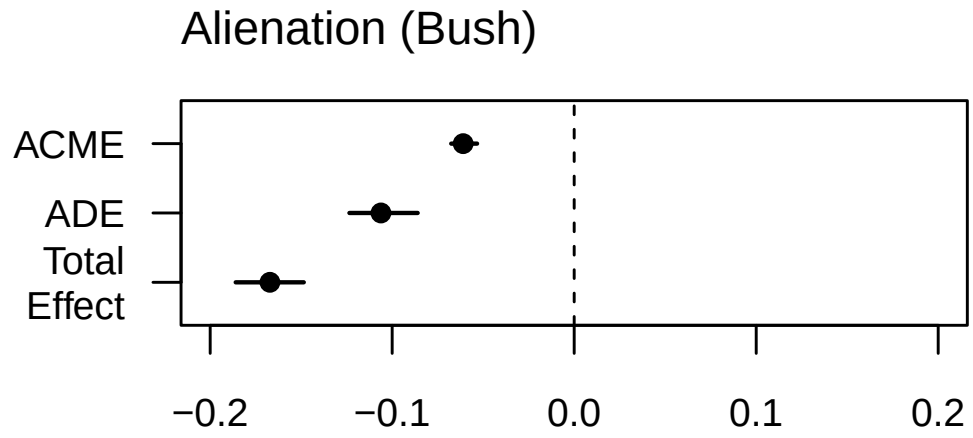

Figure B5: Mediation effects plot, political alienation (dropping income variable).

2.3 Alternative Casualty Question

Here, we present the results of an alternate coding of the casualty sensitivity question, which asks: "Thinking about the goals versus the costs of the war, so far in your opinion has there been an acceptable or unacceptable number of U.S. military casualties in Iraq?"

Table B6: Casualty sensitivity and support for the Iraq War, 2003-2005 (alternative question).

	Dependent variable:		
	Casualty Sensitivity (alt.)	Support War	
Sample	Combined	Black	White
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Black	0.098***		
	(0.015)		
Casualty Sens.		−0.463***	−0.459***
		(0.058)	(0.013)
Male	−0.112***	0.076**	−0.026**
	(0.011)	(0.031)	(0.011)
Independent	−0.164***	0.013	0.142***
	(0.012)	(0.030)	(0.015)
Republican	−0.454***	0.223**	0.332***
	(0.014)	(0.097)	(0.017)
Some College	−0.051***	−0.022	−0.034**
	(0.015)	(0.038)	(0.015)
College Grad	−0.054***	−0.104**	−0.094***
	(0.016)	(0.044)	(0.016)
Post-Grad	0.005	−0.118**	−0.141***
	(0.019)	(0.053)	(0.018)
Age: 30-49	−0.025	−0.003	0.015
	(0.019)	(0.043)	(0.020)
Age: 50-64	−0.025	−0.081**	−0.021
	(0.018)	(0.041)	(0.019)
Age: 65+	−0.034*	−0.112**	−0.069***
	(0.020)	(0.051)	(0.020)
Income: $30K-$50K	−0.014	−0.017	0.034**
	(0.016)	(0.042)	(0.017)
Income: $50K-$75K	−0.004	−0.069	0.017
	(0.017)	(0.046)	(0.017)
Income: $75K and above	−0.024	−0.008	−0.001
	(0.017)	(0.044)	(0.017)
Constant	0.948***	0.632***	0.768***
	(0.024)	(0.075)	(0.029)
Poll FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	7	7	7
Observations	5,793	621	5,102
R^2	0.210	0.261	0.388
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

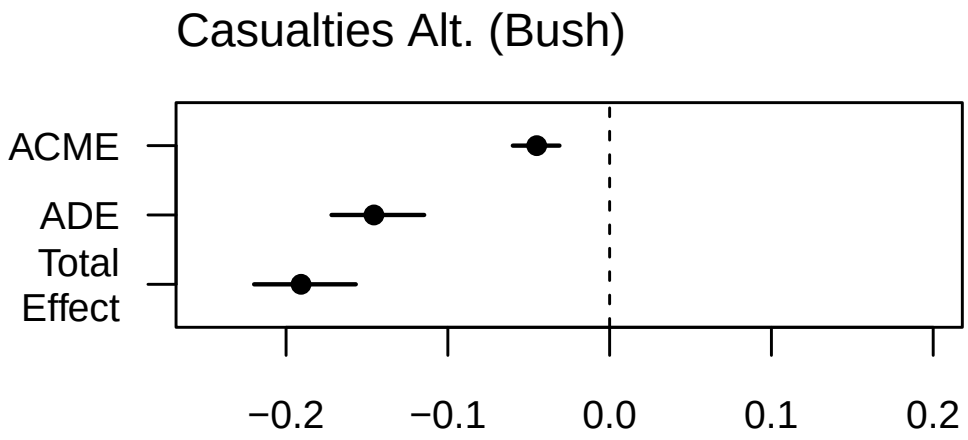

Figure B6: Mediation effects plot, casualty sensitivity (alternative question).

3 Appendix C: Democrats-Only Analysis

Given that the vast majority of black American voters are Democrats, and that partisanship accounts for much of the black-white between-group variation in support for war, we re-run our analyses subsetting to only the self-identified Democrats in our samples. We observe a substantive race gap in support for war among Democrats during the Bush years but not during the Obama years.

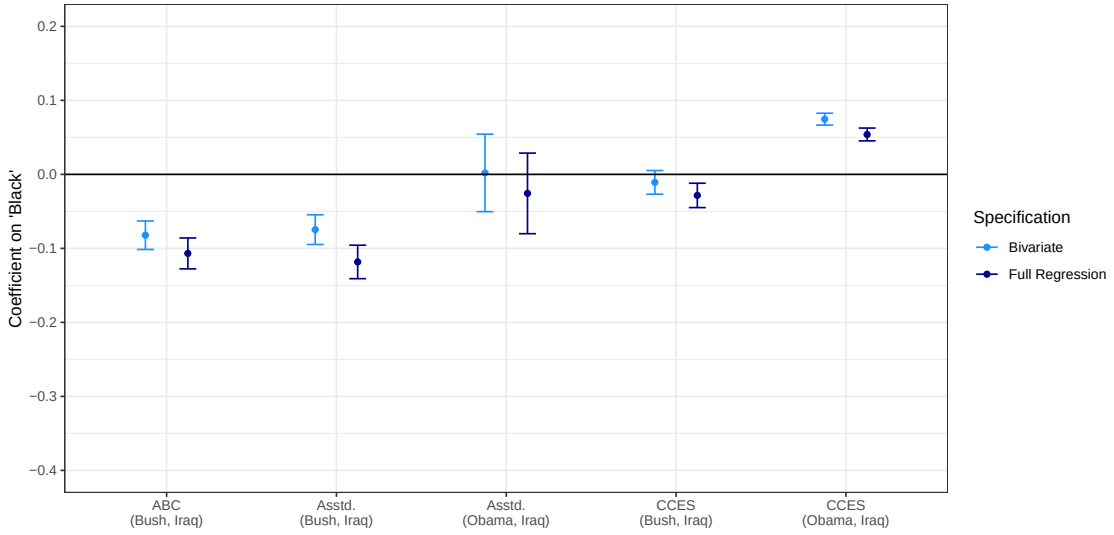

Figure C1: Coefficient plot, race and support for the Iraq War (Democrats only).

Table C1: Race and support for the Iraq War, 2002-2014 (Democrats only).

	Bush (Casualties)		Bush (Alienation)		Obama (Alienation)		Bush (CCES)		Obama (CCES)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Black	−0.082***	−0.107***	−0.075***	−0.118***	0.002	−0.026	−0.011	−0.028***	0.075***	0.054***
	(0.010)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.012)	(0.027)	(0.028)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Male		0.037***		0.032***		−0.034		−0.021***		0.004
		(0.011)		(0.009)		(0.022)		(0.006)		(0.004)
Some College		−0.029**		−0.031**		−0.083***		−0.071***		−0.077***
		(0.014)		(0.013)		(0.030)		(0.008)		(0.006)
College Grad		−0.073***		−0.103***		−0.087***		−0.092***		−0.115***
		(0.015)		(0.013)		(0.033)		(0.008)		(0.005)
Post-Grad		−0.122***		−0.212***		−0.124***		−0.118***		−0.153***
		(0.015)		(0.013)		(0.034)		(0.009)		(0.006)
Age: 30-49		−0.028		0.014		0.054		−0.004		−0.005
		(0.019)		(0.017)		(0.044)		(0.010)		(0.007)
Age: 50-64		−0.068***		−0.029*		−0.019		−0.010		−0.019***
		(0.019)		(0.017)		(0.041)		(0.010)		(0.006)
Age: 65+		−0.113***		−0.109***		−0.068		−0.062***		−0.066***
		(0.020)		(0.017)		(0.042)		(0.010)		(0.007)
Income: $30K-$50K		−0.001		−0.020		−0.028		−0.005		−0.032***
		(0.015)		(0.013)		(0.032)		(0.010)		(0.006)
Income: $50K-$75K		−0.011		−0.012		0.057*		−0.032***		−0.049***
		(0.016)		(0.014)		(0.034)		(0.009)		(0.005)
Income: $75K and above		−0.027*		−0.018		−0.006		−0.059***		−0.066***
		(0.015)		(0.014)		(0.032)		(0.009)		(0.005)
Constant	0.286***	0.388***	0.062***	0.190***	0.169***	0.266***	0.053***	0.173***	0.066***	0.224***
	(0.025)	(0.031)	(0.013)	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.050)	(0.004)	(0.012)	(0.002)	(0.008)
Poll FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	18	17	39	35	11	11	2	2	3	3
Observations	5,769	5,029	9,948	8,125	1,276	1,165	14,140	13,077	44,369	40,324
R^2	0.058	0.083	0.105	0.159	0.006	0.040	0.023	0.054	0.023	0.059

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

4 Appendix D: The War in Afghanistan

We extend our analysis to public opinion regarding the war in Afghanistan. We include these analyses, which show largely the same results as the main article, to expand the scope of the present study beyond views on the Iraq War and consider another recent war. Note that there are no CCES surveys during the Bush administration that ask about support for the war in Afghanistan.

4.1 Race Gap in Support for Afghanistan War (Full & Democrats-Only Samples)

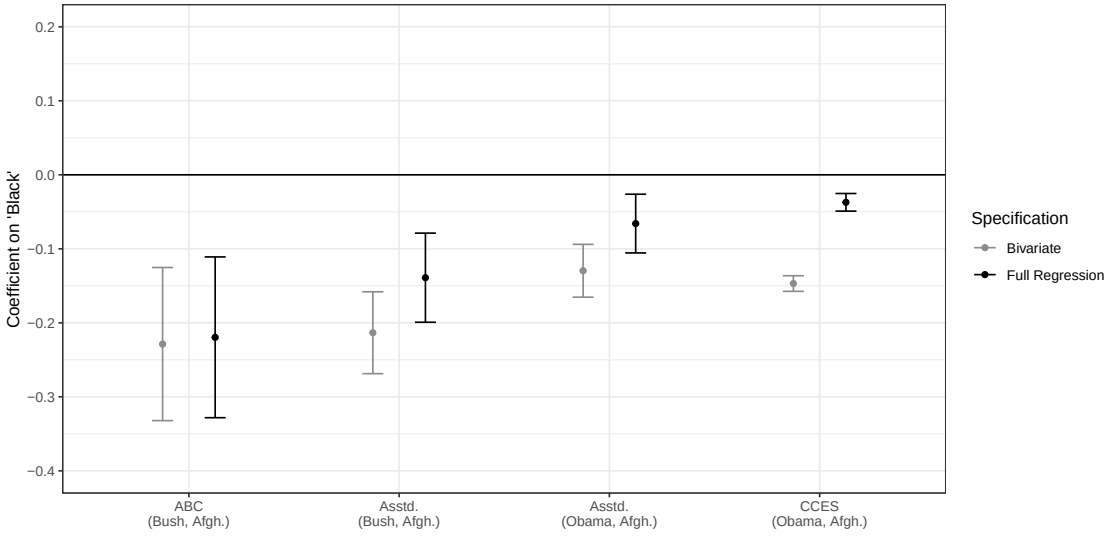

Figure D1: Coefficient plot, race and support for the Afghanistan War.

Table D1: Race and support for the Afghanistan War, 2002-2014.

	Bush (Casualties)		Bush (Alienation)		Obama (Alienation)		Obama (CCES)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Black	−0.229***	−0.220***	−0.213***	−0.139***	−0.130***	−0.066***	−0.147***	−0.037***
	(0.053)	(0.055)	(0.028)	(0.031)	(0.018)	(0.020)	(0.005)	(0.006)
Male		0.025		0.052***		0.045***		0.103***
		(0.016)		(0.013)		(0.012)		(0.004)
Independent		−0.022		0.091***		0.034**		0.098***
		(0.024)		(0.018)		(0.014)		(0.005)
Republican		0.023		0.184***		0.203***		0.284***
		(0.020)		(0.016)		(0.015)		(0.005)
Any College		0.014						
		(0.017)						
Some College				0.023		0.057***		0.019***
				(0.017)		(0.016)		(0.005)
College Grad				−0.019		0.061***		0.004
				(0.018)		(0.016)		(0.005)
Post-Grad				−0.014		0.039**		−0.008
				(0.022)		(0.019)		(0.007)
Age: 30-49		0.040		0.056**		0.029		0.055***
		(0.026)		(0.022)		(0.022)		(0.007)
Age: 50-64		0.033		0.039*		−0.008		0.030***
		(0.026)		(0.023)		(0.022)		(0.007)
Age: 65+		0.024		0.029		−0.045**		−0.035***
		(0.029)		(0.025)		(0.022)		(0.007)
Income: $30K-$50K				0.031*		0.023		0.025***
				(0.018)		(0.018)		(0.006)
Income: $50K-$75K				0.034		0.057***		0.038***
				(0.021)		(0.017)		(0.006)
Income: $75K and above				0.067***		0.062***		0.073***
				(0.021)		(0.017)		(0.006)
Constant	0.955***	0.906***	0.789***	0.592***	0.475***	0.316***	0.636***	0.382***
	(0.007)	(0.031)	(0.016)	(0.030)	(0.023)	(0.034)	(0.002)	(0.009)
Poll FE			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	1	1	4	4	11	11	2	2
Observations	868	851	3,350	2,951	8,139	7,123	77,570	66,567
R^2	0.067	0.080	0.130	0.174	0.032	0.076	0.017	0.092

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table D2: Race and support for the Afghanistan War, 2002-2014 (Democrats only).

	Dependent variable: Support for Afghanistan War							
	Bush (Casualties)		Bush (Alienation)		Obama (Alienation)		Obama (CCES)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Black	−0.115**	−0.121**	−0.137***	−0.145***	−0.039*	−0.031	−0.021***	−0.013*
	(0.057)	(0.058)	(0.036)	(0.038)	(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Male		0.029		0.055**		0.063***		0.128***
		(0.034)		(0.028)		(0.020)		(0.007)
Any College		0.007						
		(0.038)						
Some College				0.077**		0.012		−0.011
				(0.035)		(0.028)		(0.009)
College Grad				−0.024		0.029		−0.029***
				(0.041)		(0.028)		(0.009)
Post-Grad				−0.050		0.005		−0.028**
				(0.044)		(0.032)		(0.011)
Age: 30-49		0.088		0.024		0.010		0.050***
		(0.057)		(0.045)		(0.040)		(0.011)
Age: 50-64		0.083		−0.024		0.017		0.046***
		(0.053)		(0.048)		(0.039)		(0.011)
Age: 65+		0.027		−0.005		−0.024		−0.019
		(0.063)		(0.051)		(0.039)		(0.012)
Income: $30K-$50K				0.024		−0.040		0.014
				(0.036)		(0.029)		(0.009)
Income: $50K-$75K				0.045		0.035		0.016*
				(0.042)		(0.030)		(0.009)
Income: $75K and above				0.077*		0.017		0.054***
				(0.046)		(0.029)		(0.009)
Constant	0.927***	0.863***	0.690***	0.633***	0.344***	0.297***	0.439***	0.345***
	(0.017)	(0.057)	(0.033)	(0.059)	(0.037)	(0.055)	(0.005)	(0.013)
Poll FE			Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	1	1	4	4	11	11	2	2
Observations	285	280	1,008	928	2,609	2,343	26,903	24,435
R^2	0.024	0.043	0.209	0.201	0.025	0.037	0.001	0.023

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

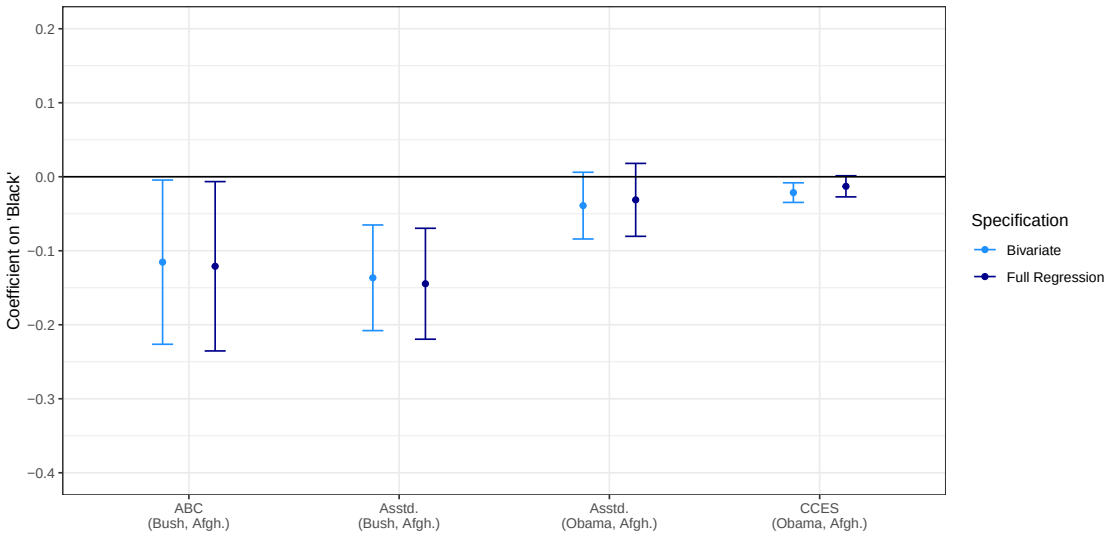

Figure D2: Coefficient plot, race and support for the Afghanistan War (Democrats only).

4.2 Casualty Sensitivity and the Afghanistan War

Table D3: Casualty sensitivity, military family status and support for the Afghanistan War, 2002-2014.

	Dependent variable:					
	Casualty Sensitivity	Support War		Military Family	Support War	
Presidency	Bush Admin.			Obama Admin.		
Sample	Combined	Black	White	Combined	Black	White
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Black	0.206***			0.034***		
	(0.061)			(0.004)		
Cas. Sens		−0.333***	−0.101***			
		(0.118)	(0.036)			
Mil. Family					−0.011	0.057***
					(0.016)	(0.006)
Male	−0.047**	0.039	0.014	−0.007***	0.158***	0.093***
	(0.023)	(0.100)	(0.014)	(0.002)	(0.011)	(0.004)
Independent	−0.056*	−0.381***	0.008	0.031***	0.038***	0.107***
	(0.032)	(0.140)	(0.020)	(0.003)	(0.014)	(0.005)
Republican	−0.129***	0.199	0.028	0.041***	0.221***	0.289***
	(0.029)	(0.147)	(0.018)	(0.003)	(0.025)	(0.005)
Any College	−0.027	0.031	0.002			
	(0.024)	(0.109)	(0.016)			
Some College				0.018***	−0.034**	0.028***
				(0.003)	(0.015)	(0.006)
College Grad				0.005	−0.045***	0.012**
				(0.003)	(0.015)	(0.005)
Post-Grad				−0.002	−0.026	0.0002
				(0.004)	(0.021)	(0.007)
Age: 30-49	−0.053	0.003	0.026	−0.019***	0.079***	0.050***
	(0.037)	(0.150)	(0.023)	(0.005)	(0.015)	(0.008)
Age: 50-64	−0.095***	0.014	0.011	−0.018***	0.104***	0.014*
	(0.036)	(0.163)	(0.024)	(0.005)	(0.015)	(0.008)
Age: 65+	−0.089**	−0.143	0.009	−0.032***	0.085***	−0.049***
	(0.039)	(0.176)	(0.026)	(0.005)	(0.023)	(0.008)
Income: $30K-$50K				−0.0005	0.028**	0.026***
				(0.004)	(0.014)	(0.006)
Income: $50K-$75K				0.006*	0.019	0.042***
				(0.003)	(0.014)	(0.006)
Income: $75K and above				0.006*	0.064***	0.074***
				(0.004)	(0.016)	(0.006)
Constant	0.287***	0.918***	0.932***	0.090***	0.267***	0.391***
	(0.044)	(0.146)	(0.025)	(0.006)	(0.019)	(0.009)
Poll FE				Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	1	1	1	2	2	2
Observations	845	67	774	66,567	8,890	57,677
R^2	0.086	0.318	0.037	0.005	0.053	0.094
Note:						*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

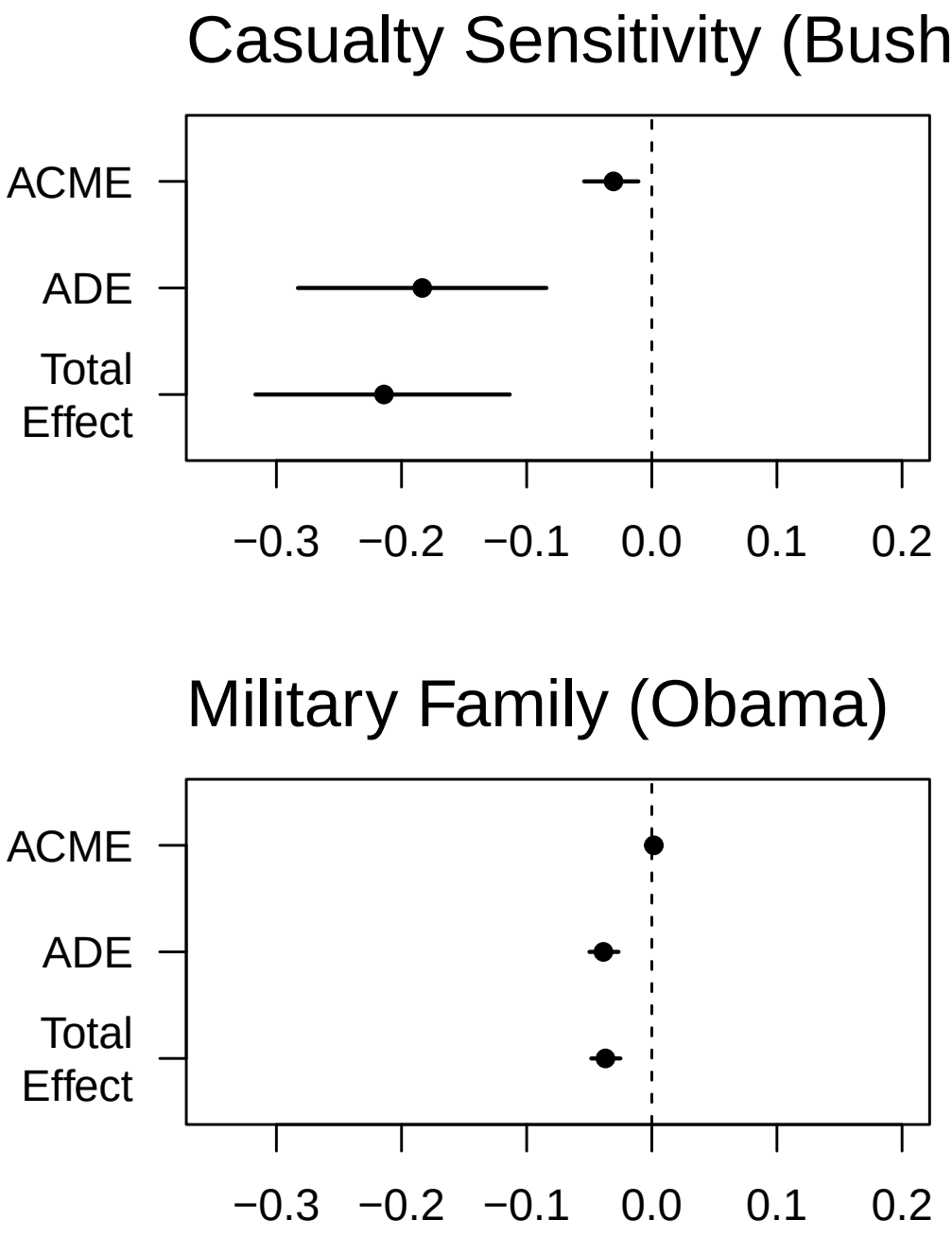

Figure D3: Mediation effects plots, casualty sensitivity and military family status (Afghanistan War).

4.3 Spending Preferences and Support for Afghanistan War

Table D4: Spending preferences and support for the Afghanistan War, 2010-2014.

	Dependent variable:		
	Domestic Spending	Support Afghanistan War	
Presidency	Obama Admin.		
Sample	Combined	Black	White
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Black	−0.023***		
	(0.005)		
Dom. Spending		−0.111***	−0.222***
		(0.012)	(0.005)
Male	−0.068***	0.157***	0.077***
	(0.003)	(0.011)	(0.004)
Independent	−0.326***	0.034**	0.026***
	(0.004)	(0.013)	(0.005)
Republican	−0.619***	0.173***	0.147***
	(0.004)	(0.025)	(0.006)
Some College	−0.003	−0.028*	0.027***
	(0.005)	(0.015)	(0.006)
College Grad	0.019***	−0.035**	0.015***
	(0.005)	(0.015)	(0.005)
Post-Grad	0.077***	−0.009	0.014**
	(0.006)	(0.021)	(0.007)
Age: 30-49	−0.023***	0.081***	0.039***
	(0.007)	(0.015)	(0.008)
Age: 50-64	−0.030***	0.112***	−0.0001
	(0.007)	(0.015)	(0.008)
Age: 65+	−0.053***	0.090***	−0.069***
	(0.007)	(0.023)	(0.008)
Income: $30K-$50K	−0.029***	0.029**	0.017***
	(0.005)	(0.014)	(0.006)
Income: $50K-$75K	−0.049***	0.019	0.029***
	(0.005)	(0.014)	(0.006)
Income: $75K and above	−0.072***	0.062***	0.057***
	(0.005)	(0.016)	(0.006)
Constant	0.897***	0.338***	0.608***
	(0.008)	(0.020)	(0.010)
Poll FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	2	2	2
Observations	65,691	8,815	56,876
R^2	0.286	0.063	0.128
Note:		*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

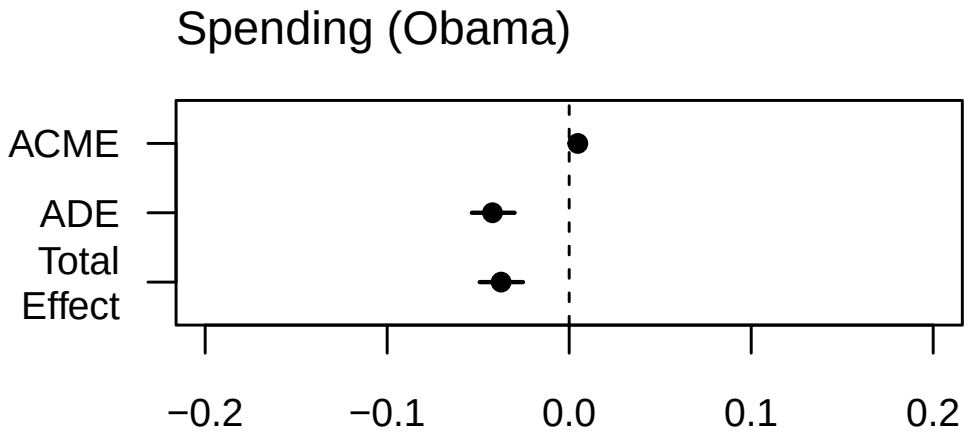

Figure D4: Mediation effects plots, spending preferences (Afghanistan War).

4.4 Alienation and Support for Afghanistan War

Table D5: Political alienation and support for the Afghanistan War, 2001-2013.

	Dependent variable:					
	Alienation	Support Afghanistan War		Alienation	Support Afghanistan War	
Presidency	Bush Admin.			Obama Admin.		
Sample	Combined	Black	White	Combined	Black	White
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Black	0.227***			−0.206***		
	(0.031)			(0.013)		
Alienation		−0.193***	−0.177***		−0.104	0.055***
		(0.059)	(0.020)		(0.070)	(0.014)
Male	0.004	0.014	0.051***	0.016	0.090**	0.040***
	(0.015)	(0.062)	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.038)	(0.012)
Independent	−0.178***	0.071	0.058***	0.358***	−0.028	0.024
	(0.021)	(0.069)	(0.019)	(0.011)	(0.045)	(0.016)
Republican	−0.437***	−0.022	0.107***	0.610***	−0.036	0.177***
	(0.018)	(0.122)	(0.018)	(0.012)	(0.091)	(0.018)
Some College	0.015	0.080	0.023	−0.044***	0.056	0.054***
	(0.020)	(0.074)	(0.017)	(0.013)	(0.048)	(0.017)
College Grad	0.028	−0.091	−0.0002	−0.075***	0.092*	0.053***
	(0.020)	(0.097)	(0.018)	(0.014)	(0.055)	(0.017)
Post-Grad	0.048**	0.014	−0.001	−0.122***	−0.034	0.047**
	(0.024)	(0.115)	(0.021)	(0.016)	(0.069)	(0.020)
Age: 30-49	0.010	0.042	0.056***	0.046**	−0.014	0.038
	(0.024)	(0.079)	(0.022)	(0.019)	(0.055)	(0.025)
Age: 50-64	0.014	−0.127	0.054**	0.075***	0.092	−0.020
	(0.026)	(0.096)	(0.023)	(0.018)	(0.059)	(0.024)
Age: 65+	0.026	−0.021	0.041	0.093***	0.056	−0.052**
	(0.027)	(0.110)	(0.025)	(0.019)	(0.063)	(0.024)
Income: $30K-$50K	−0.044**	−0.093	0.037**	−0.008	0.044	0.024
	(0.021)	(0.075)	(0.019)	(0.015)	(0.055)	(0.019)
Income: $50K-$75K	−0.054**	−0.011	0.033	0.0005	0.045	0.069***
	(0.024)	(0.103)	(0.021)	(0.015)	(0.056)	(0.019)
Income: $75K and above	−0.100***	−0.064	0.056***	0.019	0.073	0.069***
	(0.023)	(0.115)	(0.021)	(0.014)	(0.056)	(0.018)
Constant	0.492***	0.792***	0.661***	0.099***	−0.023	0.329***
	(0.032)	(0.111)	(0.031)	(0.030)	(0.072)	(0.037)
Poll FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Polls	4	4	4	11	11	11
Observations	2,986	250	2,632	7,653	643	6,281
R^2	0.274	0.182	0.196	0.309	0.075	0.079

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

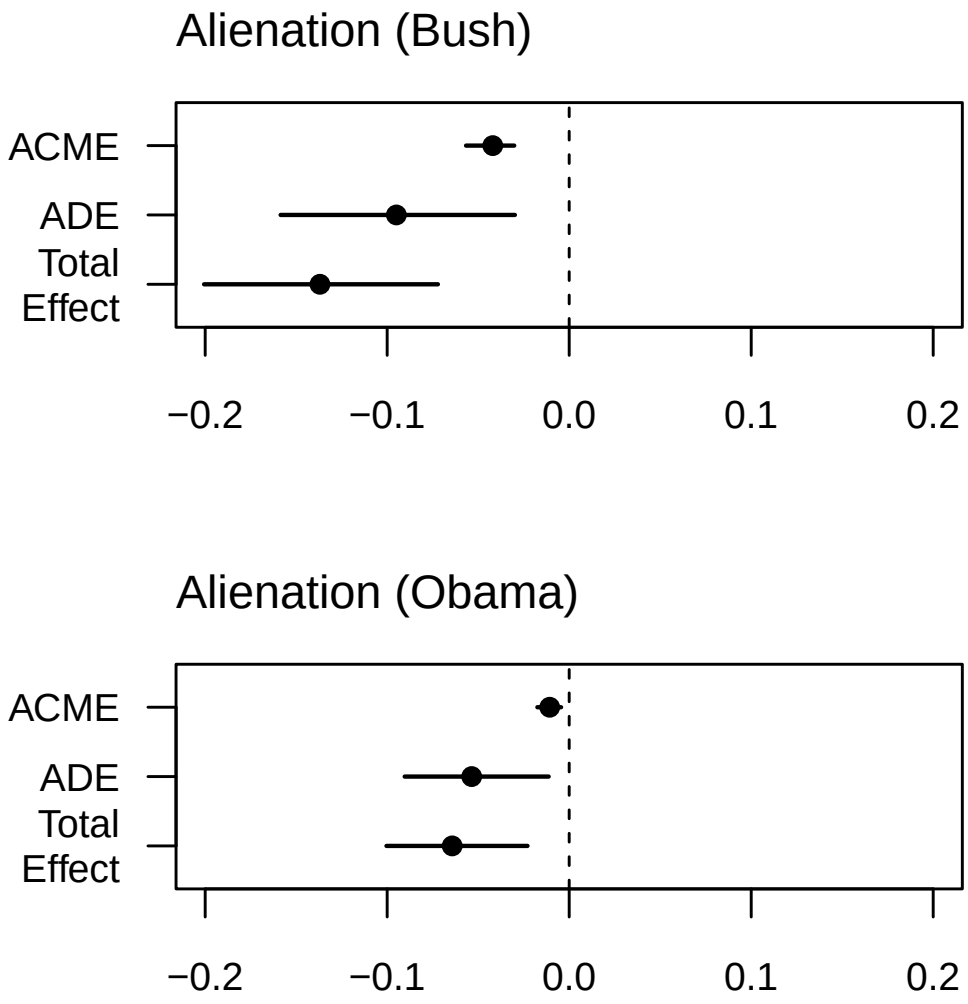

Figure D5: Mediation effects plots, political alienation (Afghanistan War).