

Appendices

These Appendices provides additional information regarding our survey instrument, samples, and results.

1 Instruments

The instruments for our 2019 cross-national and 2024 USA surveys are attached at the end of this document.

2 Survey Samples

Figure 1 reports the gender distribution of our respondents. Figure 2 reports the distribution of age in the samples. Figure 3 reports the distribution of education attainment. Figure 4 reports the distribution of income. Figure 5 reports the distribution of married and unmarried respondents. Figure 6 reports the distribution of white and non-white respondents in the USA and UK samples. Figure 7 reports the distribution of political ideologies.

Table 1 reports the results of a series of logit models estimating the extent to which various background covariates predict the treatments. In these models, we included all of the variables shown in Figures 1 through 7, as well as fixed effects for national regions. These models exclude respondents who did not respond to the applicable outcome prompt or one or more demographic questions. In a few cases, background covariates predict assignment to treatment at the $p < 0.05$ level, but that can be expected at random given the number of hypothesis tests reported in Table 1. Overall, the poor fit of the models indicates that assignment to treatment was not predicted by these demographic variables.

Tables 2 and 3 compare the two Lucid USA samples to population benchmarks. Benchmark data are from the relevant monthly data for the Current Population Survey (CPS). The tables show only modest differences between the samples and these benchmarks. These com-

parisons are also in line with prior research, which shows that Lucid samples tend to resemble fairly closely to national benchmarks on general socio-demographic variables (Coppock and McClellan 2019).

3 Statistical Models

Tables 4 and 5 provide the results of ordinary least squares models and ordered probit models, respectively. In these models, we included all of the variables shown in Figures 1 through 7, as well as fixed effects for national regions. Positive coefficients indicate larger levels of approval for the applicable actor. The results of these models are consistent with the difference-of-means tests reported in the main text, indicating that our results are not due to any sampling bias with respect to these demographic covariates.

4 Contextual Treatments

As discussed in the main text, we included two contextual treatments, varying attributes of the government and opposition group respectively. For the government, we varied whether the foreign regime was a democracy or non-democracy. For the opposition group, we varied two common war aims: whether the group sought to secede and form its own country, or whether it strove to overthrow the government. The language for the contextual treatment was as follows, and the order in which they were presented was randomized: (a) Government Regime Type: “The Foreign Government [DEMOCRACY = is a democracy, and shows every sign that it will remain a democracy / AUTOCRACY = is not a democracy, and shows no sign of becoming a democracy].”; (b) Opposition Aims: “The Opposition Group is fighting to [SECESSION = separate and create its own independent country / OVERTHROW = overthrow the government].” Treatment language for the regime type conditions was based on Tomz and Weeks (2013). War aim conditions are inspired by the main typology of ‘incompatibility’ from the well-known UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset. Of course, there

are myriad other ways in which the scenario's context could be varied. Nonetheless, these treatments strike a balance of highlighting theoretically relevant attributes of belligerents commonly discussed in the literature, while avoiding greater complexity in the design that would come from adding further contextual conditions.

We tested whether the effects of the compliance/noncompliance with international law treatments differed based on these conditions. Figure 8 shows the results of these tests with respect to the government regime type conditions. The top panel shows the effects of government compliance with international law on public approval of the government. For each country, we tested those treatment effects in two subsamples: one in which the government was a democracy and one in which the government was an autocracy. The lower panel shows equivalent results with respect to the effects of opposition compliance on approval of the opposition. The relevant comparison here is between each pair of point estimates. No pair of point estimates is statistically significantly different from each other, and thus we did not find that the treatment effects were conditional on the government regime type.

Figure 9 shows the results of these tests with respect to the opposition war aims conditions. The top panel shows the effects of government compliance with international law on public approval of the government. For each country, we tested those treatment effects in two subsamples: one in which the opposition aimed for secession and one in which the opposition aimed to overthrow the government. The lower panel shows equivalent results with respect to the effects of opposition compliance on approval of the opposition. The relevant comparison here is between each pair of point estimates. No pair of point estimates is statistically significantly different from each other, and thus we did not find that the treatment effects were conditional on the opposition war aims.

5 Conditional Effects

As discussed in the main text, we tested whether the treatment effects were conditional on the choices made by the actor’s adversary. Figure 10 shows the results of these tests. The top panel shows the effects of government compliance with international law on public approval of the government. For each country, we tested those treatment effects in two subsamples: one in which the rebels complied with international law and one in which they violated international law. The lower panel shows equivalent results with respect to the effects of rebel compliance on approval of the rebels. The relevant comparison here is between each pair of point estimates. No pair of point estimates is statistically significantly different from each other, and thus we did not find that the treatment effects were conditional on the adversary’s compliance choice.

6 Robustness Tests

We asked all respondents if they could correctly recall whether or not each armed actor complied with international law. Figure 11 shows the results of robustness tests in which we restrict the samples to those respondents who correctly recalled whether or not the applicable armed actor complied with international law. The results with these subsamples are similar to those reported in the main text. Not surprisingly, the effect size is much larger with respect to these subsamples because the effect size in the full sample is likely weighed downward by lack of recall among other respondents.

We also asked all respondents to tell us the extent to which they considered the information we had provided them trustworthy. Figure 12 shows the results of robustness tests in which we restrict the samples to those respondents who indicated they found the information either “very trustworthy” or “partly trustworthy”. The results with these subsamples are similar to those reported in the main text.

7 International Law in Media Coverage of Armed Conflict

As part of the justification for the research design underlying the main survey experiment used in our paper, this appendix provides an illustration of the exposure of members of national publics to messaging related to international law in the context of foreign armed conflicts. To do so, we use media coverage of the Ukraine War as an illustrative study to measure the prevalence of discussions of international law and related legal terminology in newspaper stories about the conflict and salient events that took place during the war.

Given our cross-national survey was fielded in the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, we matched our analysis of media coverage to news outlets in those three same countries. We focused on two newspapers of record in each country, as these outlets generally play a pivotal role in shaping public dialogue and debate, especially around issues of foreign policy. The newspapers included in our analysis were as follows:

- United States: New York Times; Washington Post
- United Kingdom: The Guardian; The Times
- France: Le Figaro; Le Monde

For each newspaper, we conducted a series of content analyses to identify news stories matching certain criteria based on the presence of particular words in a given article. Analysis was conducted using the Dow Jones Factiva database for all newspapers, except for Le Monde in France where we used the Proquest Global Newsstream service. We focused on two main periods and events: (1) the larger Ukraine War; and (2) particular coverage around the Bucha Massacre that took place as part of the larger conflict.

7.1 Ukraine War

We began by identifying all stories for each newspaper that dealt with the Ukraine War, broadly speaking. We limited our analysis to a one-year period from the generally agreed upon start date of Russia’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine: February 24, 2022 to February 24, 2023. We further excluded any duplicate entries for identical stories, while limiting the analysis to English-language coverage for the U.S. and U.K. newspapers, and French-language coverage for the newspapers in France.

We used the following search terms to identify news stories related to the Ukraine War (*s include any variants of the relevant word stems. For instance, “Ukraine”, “Ukrainian”, etc.):

- For U.S./U.K. newspapers: Ukrain* AND (war* OR conflict* OR crisis OR fight* OR combat*)
- For French newspapers: Ukrain* AND (guerre* OR conflict* OR crise* OR lutte* OR combat*)

Search terms were chosen based our reading of representative news stories in each newspaper, as well as to include commonly used language to refer to the military nature of the events taking place in Ukraine at the time. Subsequently reading a random selection of the resulting stories identified using these search parameters confirmed that the search terms were extremely effective in capturing articles of interest (i.e., the rate of false positives is likely to be extremely low). Moreover, these parameters should offer a lower end estimate of relevant stories (given any relevant stories not including any of the relevant terms would not be captured). Our approach thus offers a pretty thorough, yet still conservative estimate, of news coverage of the Ukraine War

To then identify the subset of stories about the Ukraine War that included additional references to international law or related legal dynamics, we included the following additional search terms:

- For U.S./U.K. newspapers: (“war crime*” OR criminal* OR court* OR law* OR legal OR treaty OR treaties OR Geneva OR convention*)
- For French newspapers: (“crime* de guerre” OR criminel* OR tribuna* OR loi* OR légal* OR traité* OR Genève OR convention*)

As with identifying overall Ukraine War stories, search terms were informed by an initial reading of a representative set of stories, as well as incorporating general terminology frequently used when referring to international law and related dynamics. Random draws from the resulting stories confirmed the presence of law-related themes. Likewise, these procedures likely offer an underestimate of the total number of relevant law-related stories.

7.2 Bucha Massacre

To assess whether the prevalence of international law-related coverage may have differed for particularly salient wartime events, we also conducted a corresponding analysis of what became widely known as the Bucha Massacre. Bucha is a suburb of the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, which fell under Russia occupation during the early stages of the war. Over the course of approximately one month from late February through late March, occupying Russian forces killed more than 400 civilians and engaged in a series of other abuses, including torture and sexual violence. While violations against city residents appear to have taken place throughout the period of occupation, the massacre only became publicly known after Russian forces withdrew from the area in late March in response to counter-attacks by Ukrainian military units. The first news stories detailing the massacre and related events began around April 1, 2022 with the most intense coverage taking place over the next few months.

Since news coverage of the Bucha Massacre dealt with a more specific and time-delimited series of events, we focused our analysis on a two-month period beginning with the first news stories covering the massacre: April 1 to May 31, 2022.

For search terms to first identify news stories concerning the massacre, we chose to only use the name of the city: “Bucha” in English for the U.S. and U.K. sources; and “Boutcha” for the French sources. As Bucha was generally not a well-known city before the wartime events, a subsequent check of the results confirmed that all stories identified using these variants of the names for the city concerned the massacre.

As with the analysis of the Ukraine War, we then included the same additional international law-related search terms to identify the subset of stories that included international law and similar dynamics. Similar checks confirmed the resulting set of stories identified engaging international law in their coverage.

7.3 Results

The full results across both the Ukraine and Bucha Massacre analyses for the two newspapers of record in all three countries are summarized in Table 6 below. The table shows that language and themes related to international law figured prominently in newspaper coverage of the Ukraine War. The extent of coverage varied somewhat both in the absolute number of stories and in proportional terms. *Le Figaro* in France had the highest percentage of stories on the Ukraine War that included references to international law (55%), but even for the newspaper with the lowest relative incidence – *The Times* in Britain – meant that more than one if four stories on the war (28%) incorporated discussions related to international law.

An additional pattern that emerges is that when discussing particularly violent events, such as the Bucha Massacre, these newspapers placed even greater emphasis on international law. The total number of stories was smaller compared to the prior analysis covering the Ukraine War as a whole (due in part to the more specific set of events and shorter timeframe). But for every newspaper in the analysis, the percentage of stories on Bucha that included references to international law was larger than the corresponding values for stories on the Ukraine War as a whole. In each instance, the percentage of law-related stories neared at least 50% (the lowest was *The Times* again, but here at around 47%), while for the *New*

York Times fully 72% of all stories on the massacre in the newspapers included law-related references.

In sum, an analysis from events surrounding the Ukraine War suggests that information and themes related to international law are prominent in news coverage of armed conflict, and thus likely to figure into the wider public imagination and debates concerning these sorts of foreign policy issues.

Figures and Tables

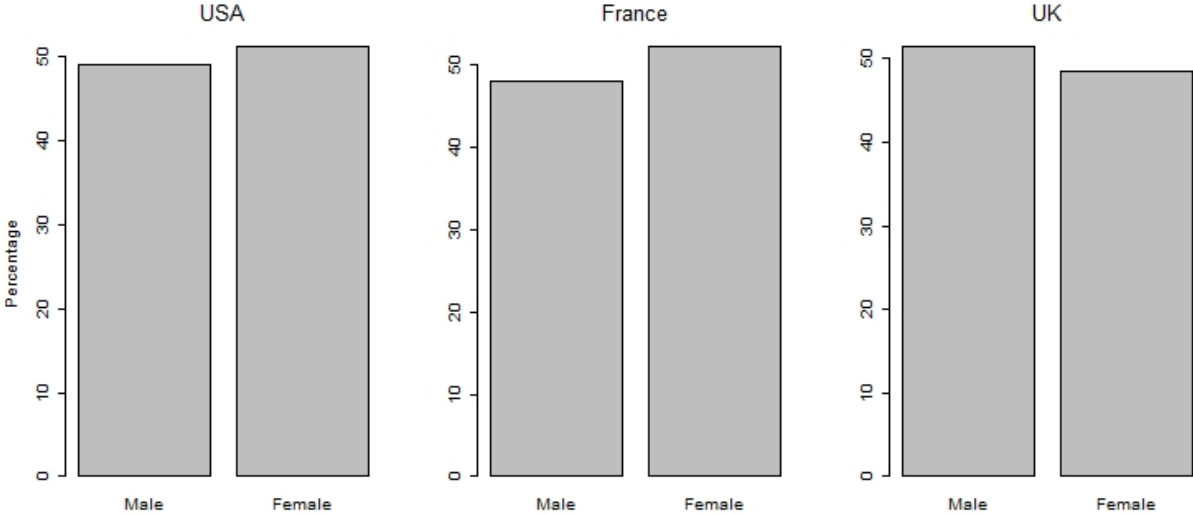


Figure 1: Gender Distributions

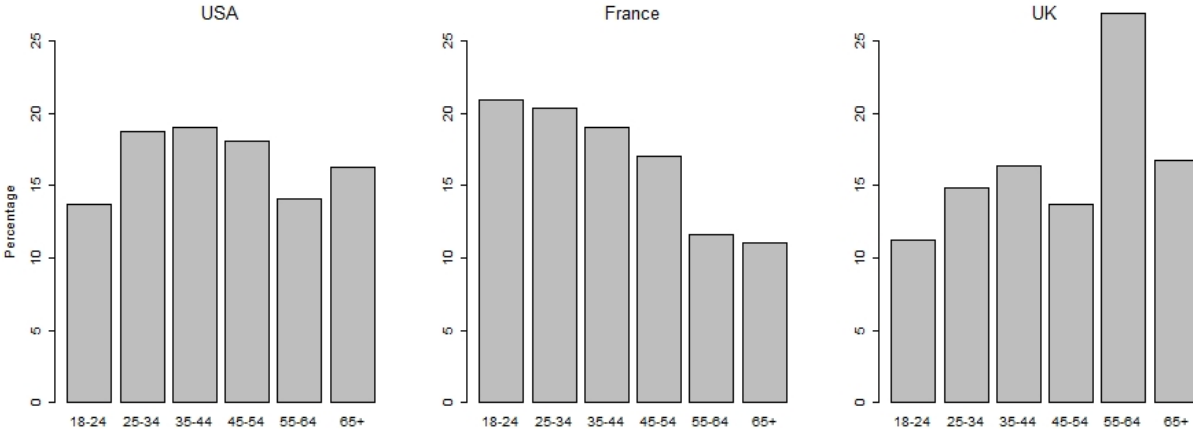


Figure 2: Age Distributions

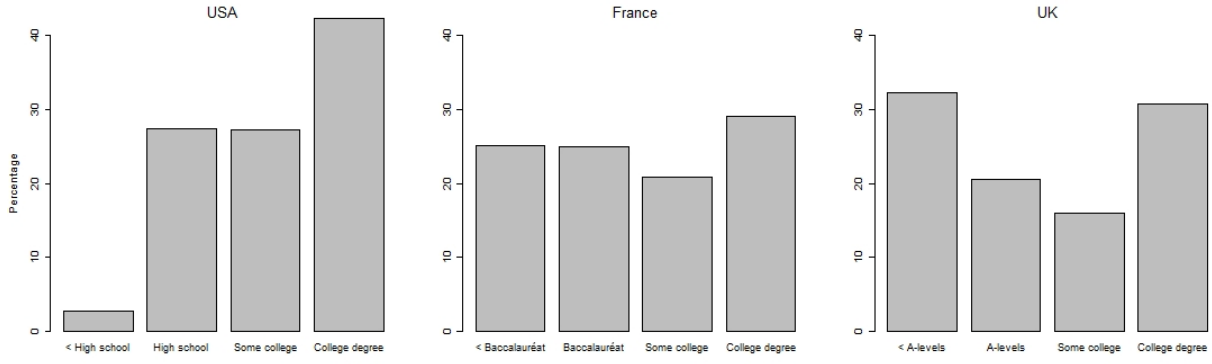


Figure 3: Education Distributions

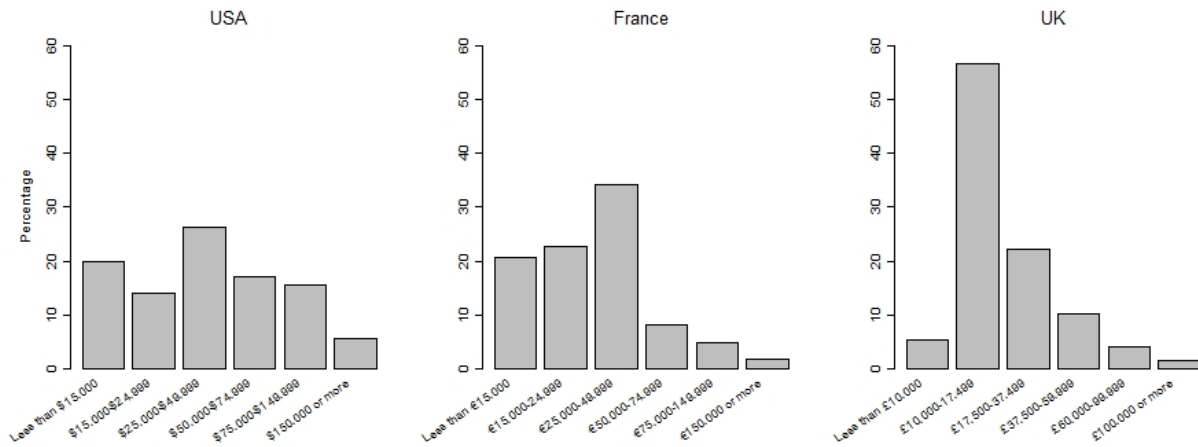


Figure 4: Income Distributions

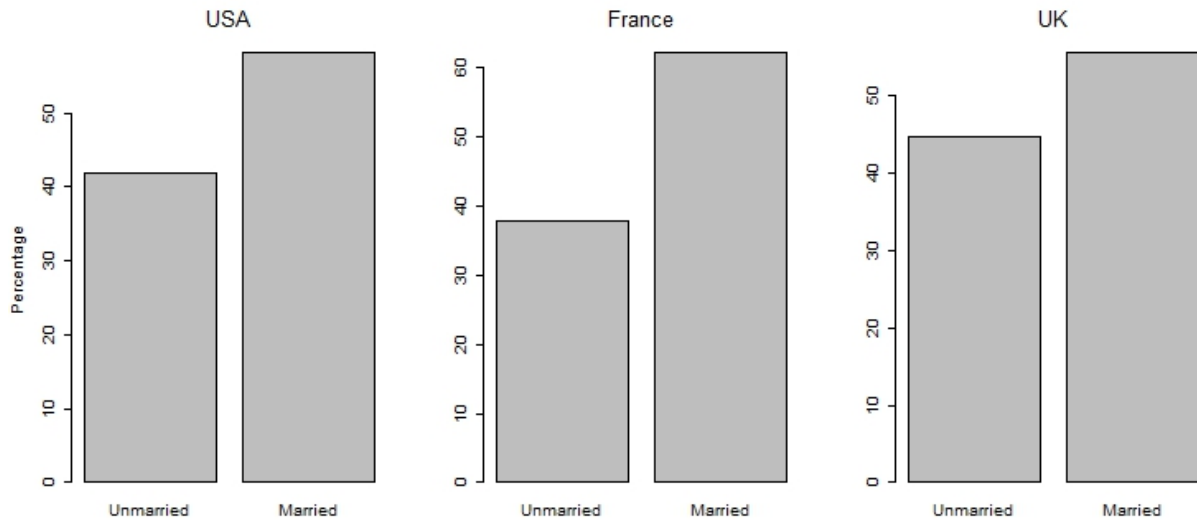


Figure 5: Marital Status Distributions

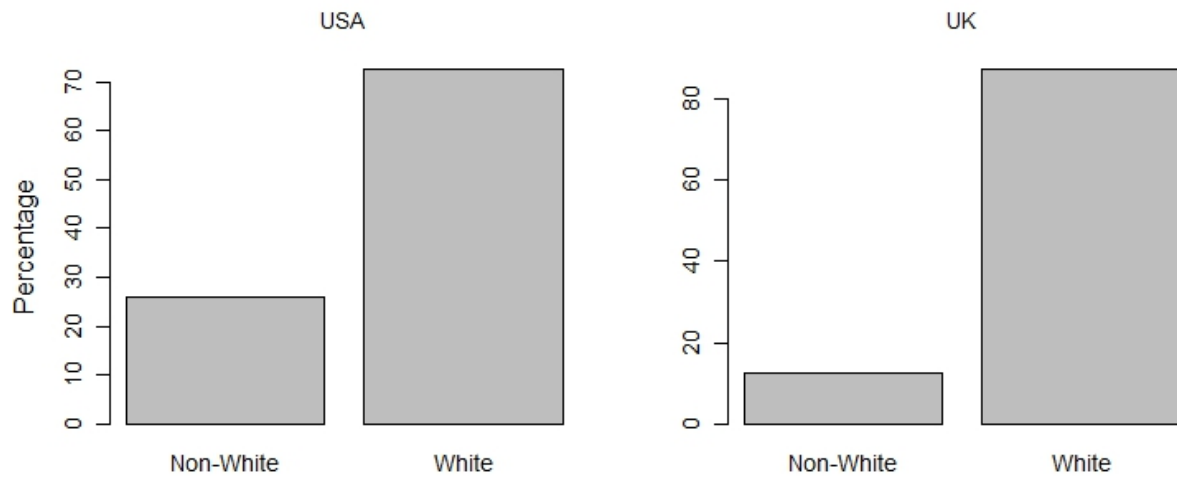


Figure 6: Race Distributions

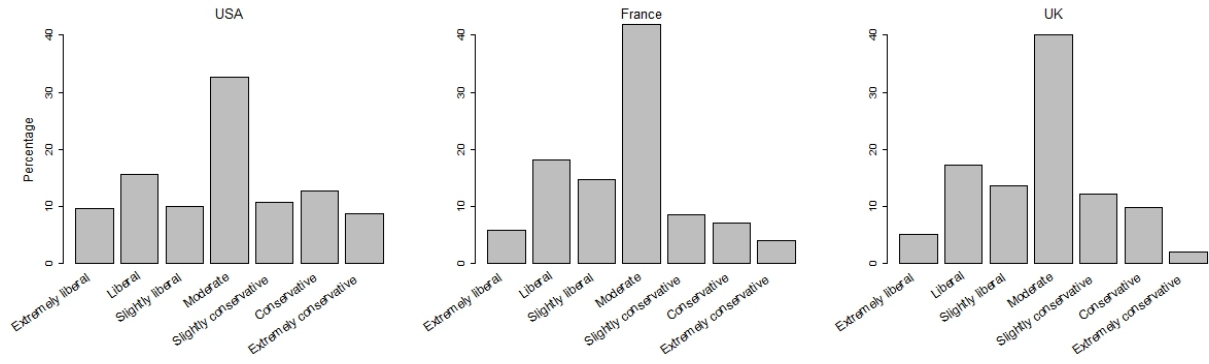


Figure 7: Ideology Distributions

Table 1: Sample Balance

	USA		France		UK	
	Government Violation	Opposition Violation	Government Violation	Opposition Violation	Government Violation	Opposition Violation
Age	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.000 (0.003)	0.001 (0.003)	-0.007 (0.029)	-0.010 (0.029)
Male	0.045 (0.092)	-0.006 (0.092)	-0.029 (0.094)	-0.077 (0.094)	-0.111 (0.090)	0.004 (0.090)
Education	0.029 (0.056)	-0.010 (0.055)	0.010 (0.044)	0.048 (0.043)	0.046 (0.036)	0.014 (0.036)
Income	0.068 (0.036)	0.016 (0.036)	0.092* (0.045)	0.004 (0.045)	-0.083 (0.047)	0.079 (0.047)
Married	-0.155 (0.102)	-0.008 (0.102)	-0.095 (0.104)	-0.019 (0.104)	0.183* (0.092)	0.036 (0.092)
White	0.123 (0.109)	-0.218* (0.108)			-0.039 (0.138)	0.142 (0.138)
Ideology	0.008 (0.027)	0.003 (0.027)	-0.083* (0.033)	0.017 (0.033)	-0.053 (0.032)	-0.012 (0.032)
Constant	-0.090 (0.246)	0.268 (0.246)	0.095 (0.262)	-0.176 (0.262)	0.320 (0.223)	-0.268 (0.223)
<i>N</i>	1947	1947	1891	1887	2188	2187
pseudo <i>R</i> ²	0.005	0.003	0.007	0.002	0.006	0.004

Standard errors in parentheses

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

All models include fixed effects for national regions

Table 2: USA 2019 Survey Benchmark Comparison

	Adult U.S. Population (%)	Lucid Sample	Absolute Deviation
Sex			
Male	49	49	0
Female	51	51	0
Average deviation			0
Age (years)			
18-24	10	14	4
25-34	16	19	3
35-44	16	19	3
45-54	16	18	2
55-64	18	14	4
65 or older	23	16	7
Average deviation			4
Education			
No high school diploma	14	3	11
High school diploma	28	28	0
Some college	27	27	0
College degree	32	42	10
Average deviation			5
Income			
Less than \$15,000	9	20	11
\$15,000-\$24,999	8	14	6
\$25,000-\$49,999	22	26	4
\$50,000-\$74,999	19	17	2
\$75,000-149,999	29	16	13
\$150,000 or more	14	6	8
Average deviation			7
Marital Status			
Married	52	42	10
Not married	48	58	10
Average deviation			10
Race			
White	80	74	6
Non-White	20	26	6
Average deviation			6
Region			
Midwest	19	19	0
Northeast	16	21	5
South	37	38	1
West	27	23	4
Average deviation			3
Total average deviation			5

U.S. population benchmarks come from the relevant monthly data for the Current Population Survey (CPS). The sums for particular variables may not equal to 100 percent because of rounding.

Table 3: USA 2024 Survey Benchmark Comparison

	Adult U.S. Population (%)	Lucid Sample	Absolute Deviation
Sex			
Male	49	48	1
Female	51	52	1
Average deviation			1
Age (years)			
18-24	10	11	1
25-34	16	19	3
35-44	16	19	3
45-54	15	14	1
55-64	16	20	4
65 or older	27	16	11
Average deviation			4
Education			
No high school diploma	12	5	7
High school diploma	28	25	3
Some college	26	32	6
College degree	34	38	4
Average deviation			5
Income			
Less than \$15,000	6	18	12
\$15,000-\$24,999	6	11	5
\$25,000-\$49,999	19	23	4
\$50,000-\$74,999	17	16	1
\$75,000-149,999	31	24	7
\$150,000 or more	22	9	13
Average deviation			7
Marital Status			
Married	51	42	9
Not married	49	58	9
Average deviation			9
Race			
White	80	72	8
Non-White	20	28	8
Average deviation			8
Region			
Midwest	19	19	0
Northeast	17	21	4
South	38	37	1
West	26	24	2
Average deviation			2
Total average deviation			5

U.S. population benchmarks come from the relevant monthly data for the Current Population Survey (CPS). The sums for particular variables may not equal to 100 percent because of rounding.

Table 4: OLS Results

	Approval of Foreign Government			Approval of Opposition Group		
	USA	France	UK	USA	France	UK
Government Violation	-0.160*** (0.012)	-0.093*** (0.012)	-0.189*** (0.011)	0.005 (0.012)	0.003 (0.012)	0.002 (0.010)
Opposition Violation	0.007 (0.012)	0.028* (0.012)	0.017 (0.011)	-0.155*** (0.012)	-0.111*** (0.012)	-0.196*** (0.010)
Age	-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.003*** (0.000)	-0.020*** (0.004)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)	-0.025*** (0.004)
Male	0.058*** (0.013)	0.031* (0.013)	0.036** (0.011)	0.059*** (0.012)	0.029* (0.012)	0.036*** (0.011)
Education	-0.014 (0.008)	-0.003 (0.006)	-0.000 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.002 (0.006)	-0.007 (0.004)
Income	0.009 (0.005)	0.001 (0.006)	-0.015** (0.006)	0.006 (0.005)	0.002 (0.006)	-0.005 (0.006)
Married	0.008 (0.014)	0.036** (0.014)	0.045*** (0.011)	0.032* (0.013)	0.020 (0.014)	0.016 (0.011)
White	-0.013 (0.015)		-0.057*** (0.017)	-0.000 (0.014)		-0.020 (0.017)
Ideology	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.020*** (0.004)	0.004 (0.004)	-0.011** (0.003)	-0.022*** (0.004)	-0.005 (0.004)
Constant	0.628*** (0.035)	0.662*** (0.036)	0.669*** (0.028)	0.638*** (0.033)	0.635*** (0.035)	0.682*** (0.028)
N	1947	1891	2188	1947	1887	2187
R^2	0.098	0.071	0.155	0.117	0.082	0.168

Standard errors in parentheses

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

All models include fixed effects for national regions

Table 5: Ordered Probit Results

	Approval of Foreign Government			Approval of Opposition Group		
	USA	France	UK	USA	France	UK
Government Violation	-0.609*** (0.049)	-0.366*** (0.049)	-0.797*** (0.047)	0.024 (0.048)	0.009 (0.049)	0.013 (0.045)
Opposition Violation	0.028 (0.048)	0.117* (0.049)	0.075 (0.045)	-0.622*** (0.049)	-0.448*** (0.050)	-0.853*** (0.047)
Age	-0.005*** (0.002)	-0.011*** (0.002)	-0.085*** (0.016)	-0.008*** (0.002)	-0.009*** (0.002)	-0.107*** (0.016)
Male	0.226*** (0.048)	0.134** (0.049)	0.158*** (0.047)	0.244*** (0.048)	0.132** (0.050)	0.161*** (0.048)
Education	-0.051 (0.029)	-0.007 (0.023)	-0.001 (0.019)	-0.007 (0.029)	-0.001 (0.023)	-0.030 (0.019)
Income	0.035 (0.019)	0.005 (0.024)	-0.063* (0.025)	0.026 (0.019)	0.010 (0.024)	-0.023 (0.025)
Married	0.034 (0.053)	0.145** (0.055)	0.193*** (0.049)	0.130* (0.054)	0.082 (0.055)	0.073 (0.049)
White	-0.048 (0.057)		-0.240*** (0.072)	0.001 (0.057)		-0.086 (0.073)
Ideology	-0.003 (0.014)	-0.082*** (0.017)	0.016 (0.017)	-0.048*** (0.014)	-0.095*** (0.018)	-0.022 (0.017)
<i>N</i>	1947	1891	2188	1947	1887	2187
pseudo R^2	0.034	0.026	0.057	0.042	0.030	0.063

Standard errors in parentheses

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

All models include fixed effects for national regions

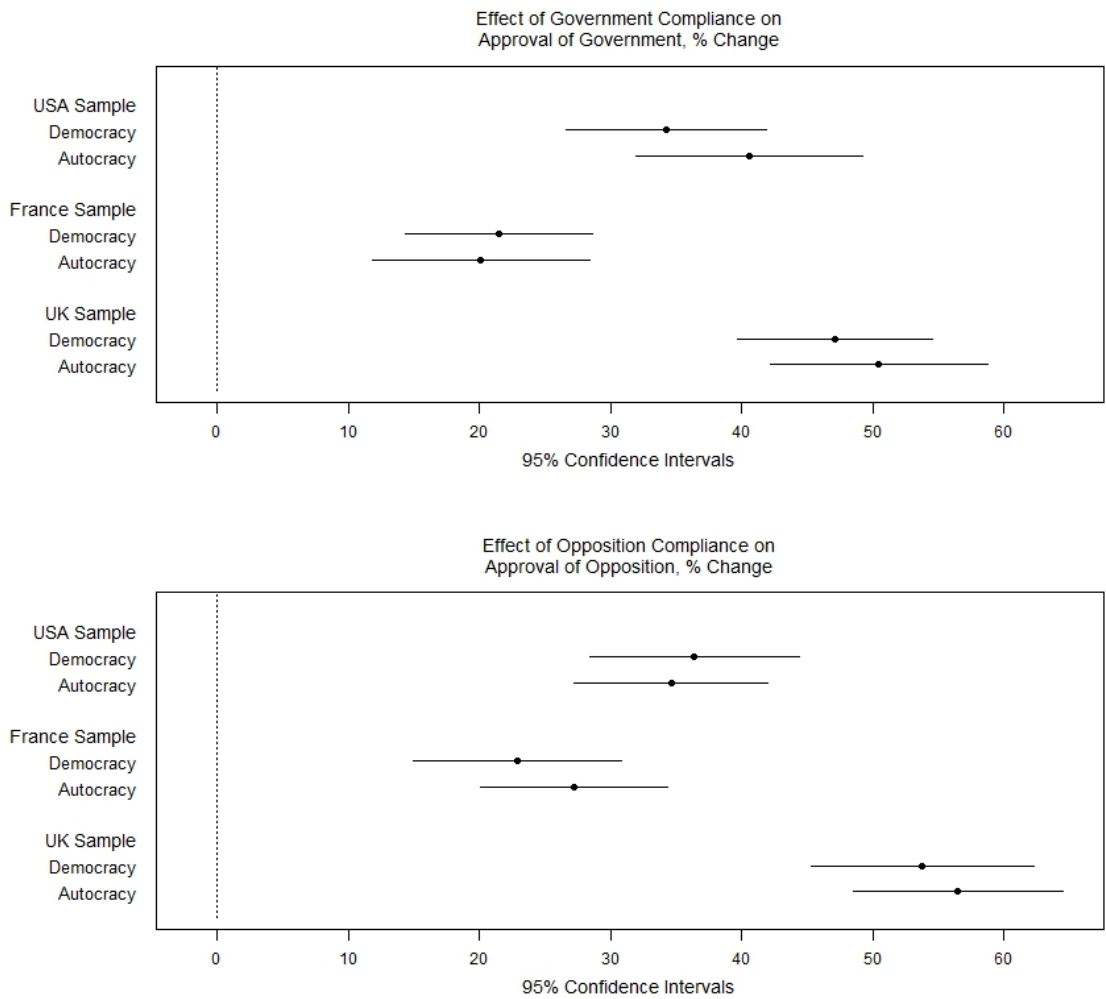


Figure 8: Effects of Compliance with International Law by Government Regime Type Sub-sample

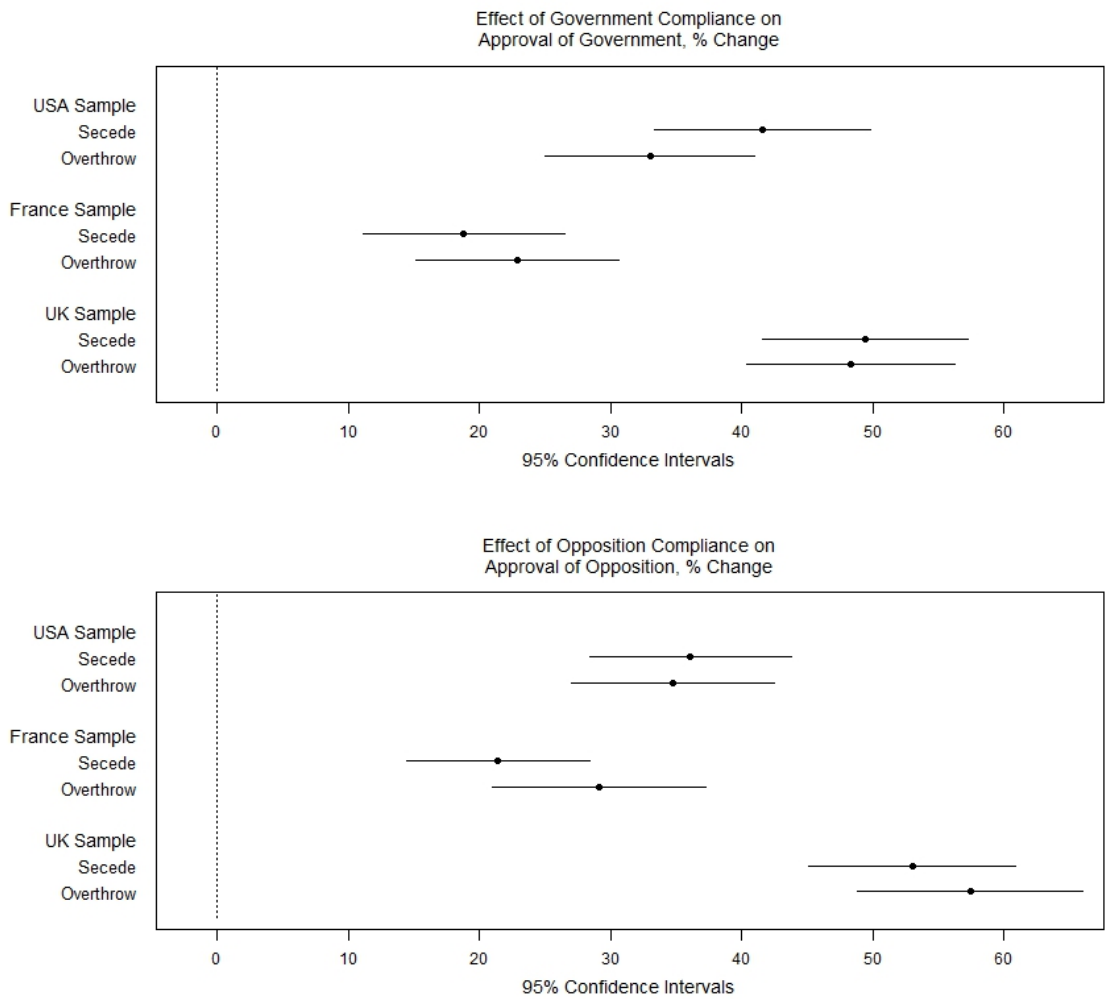


Figure 9: Effects of Compliance with International Law by Opposition War Aims Subsample

Table 6: Stories Covering Ukraine War and International Law in Select National Newspapers (USA, UK, and France)

Newspaper	Ukraine War		Bucha Masaacre	
	Total Stories	Stories Including Legal References (%)	Total Stories	Stories Including Legal References (%)
<i>USA</i>				
New York Times	4,733	2,388 (50%)	95	68 (72%)
Washington Post	3,592	1,946 (54%)	103	60 (58%)
<i>UK</i>				
The Guardian	10,279	5,253 (51%)	257	175 (68%)
The Times	13,640	3,886 (28%)	242	113 (47%)
<i>France</i>				
Le Figaro	4,253	2,321 (55%)	94	63 (67%)
Le Monde	4,307	1,681 (39%)	69	34 (49%)

1. First column reports number of stories on relevant topic (Ukraine War, Bucha Massacre) during given timeframe in the newspaper. Second column reports the subset of news stories on the topic that included some sort of “legal” reference (with percentage of total stories in parentheses). Full set of search terms is specified in text above. News stories identified using the Dow Jones Factiva database for all newspapers, except for *Le Monde* (Proquest’s Global Newsstream service).
2. For Ukraine War, the time period covered is one year from February 24, 2022 to February 24, 2023.
3. For Bucha Massacre, the time period covered is two months from April 1, 2022 to May 31, 2022

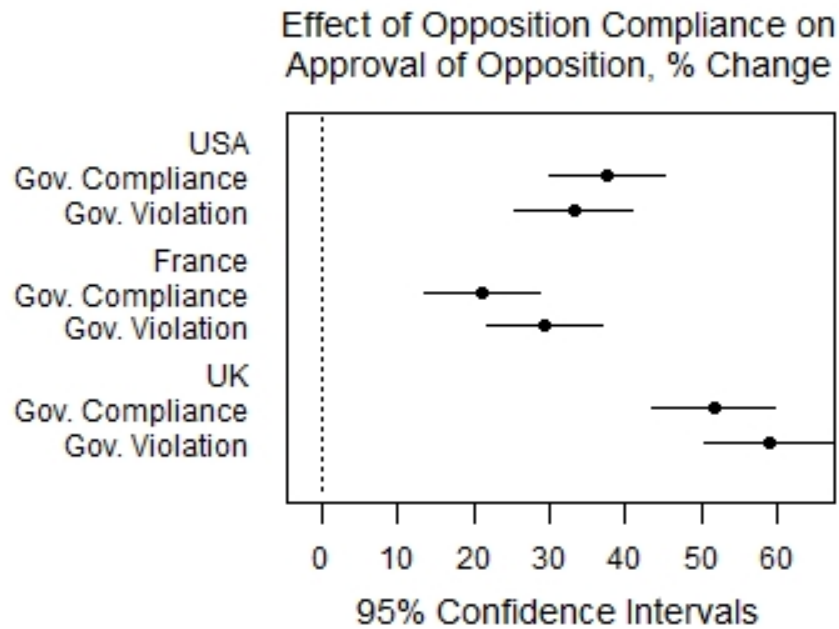
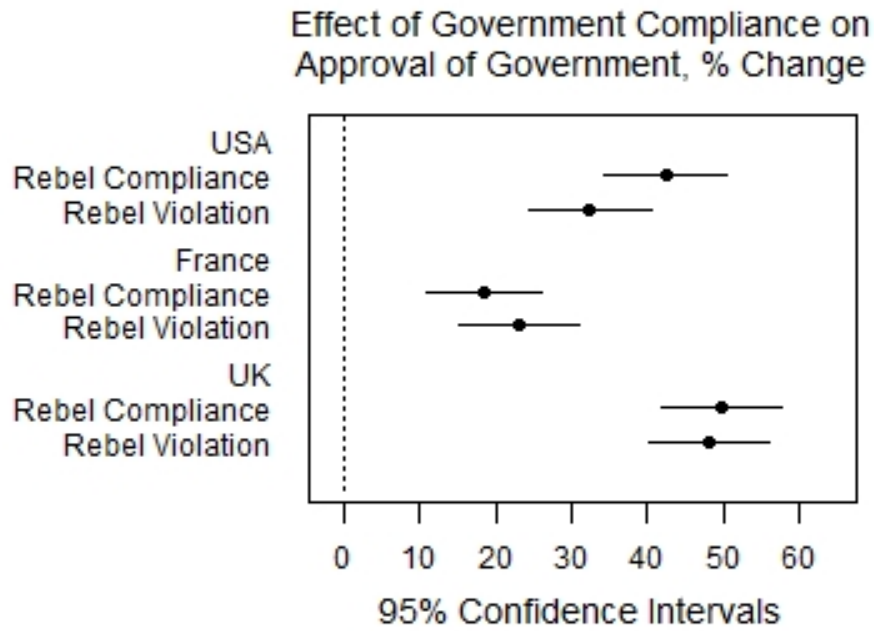


Figure 10: Effects of Compliance with International Law, Conditional on Other Actor's Tactics

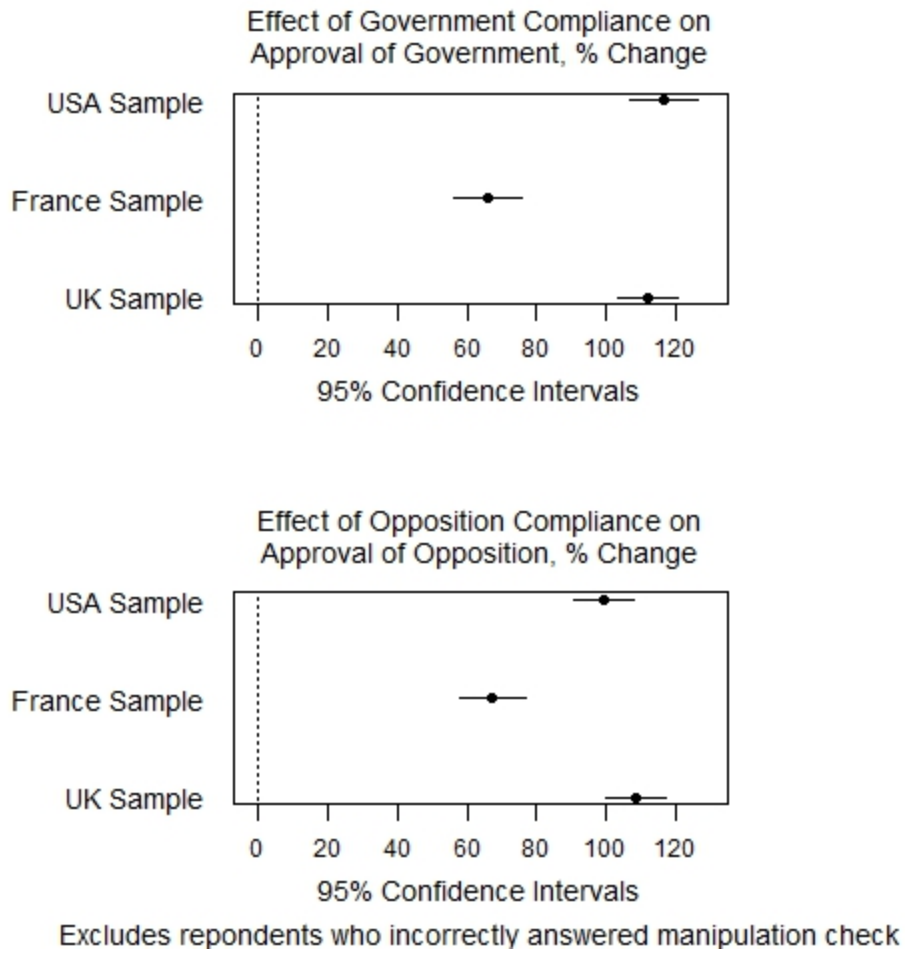


Figure 11: Effects of Compliance with International Law, by Manipulation Checks

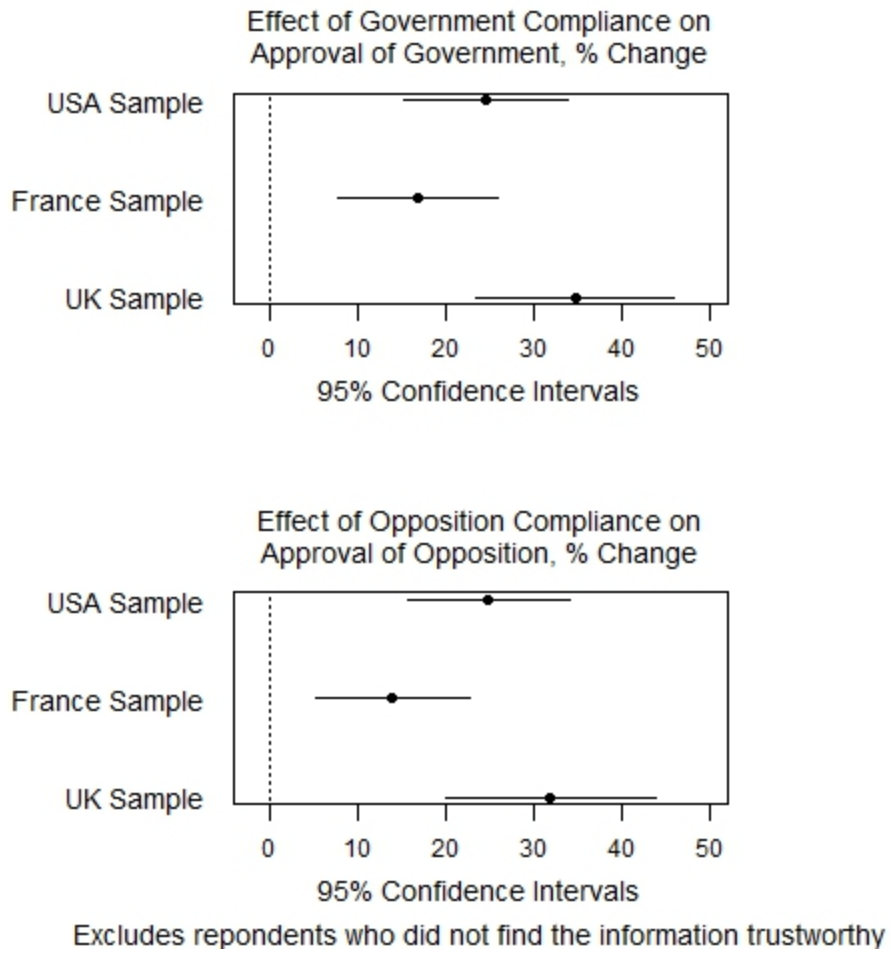


Figure 12: Effects of Compliance with International Law, by Perceived Trustworthiness of the Information Provided

INSTRUMENT FOR 2019 SURVEYS (UNITED STATES, UNITED KINGDOM, AND FRANCE)

COUNTRIES AND SAMPLING

The surveys were conducted in conjunction with the survey research firm Lucid, now CINT (<https://luc.id/>). The survey were run in three countries in the following sequence: United States, United Kingdom, France.

LUCID BACKGROUND ITEMS

The following are general background items that are collected by Lucid (and its partner firms). Lucid will pass along these data for survey participants, and thus the relevant items do not need to be asked in the main surveys. Items marked with an asterisk () are only asked in the USA.*

- *Age (numeric)*
- *Gender*
- *Zip Code**
- *Region*
- *Race/Ethnicity* (Lucid has a separate version for UK samples)*
- *Hispanic (including country of origin)**
- *Education (categorical)*
- *Household Income*
- *Political Party**

Items only asked in certain countries will be noted accordingly. Similarly, country-specific language in either question wording or answer choices will also be clearly indicated.

The French-language version of the survey fielded in France is available from the authors upon request.

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC ITEMS – SET #1

First, we would like to ask you a few questions about yourself.

Militarism

Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with this statement:

“The use of military force only makes problems worse.”

- Strongly Agree
- Somewhat Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Internationalism

Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with this statement: “[USA = The United States; UK = The United Kingdom; France = France] needs to play an active role in solving conflicts around the world.”

- Strongly Agree
- Somewhat Agree
- Neither Agree nor Disagree
- Somewhat Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Refugees [UK and France Only]

Thinking about immigration, would you support or oppose [UK = the United Kingdom; France = France] taking in refugees from countries where people are fleeing violence and war?

- Strongly support
- Somewhat support
- Neither support nor oppose
- Somewhat oppose
- Strongly oppose

Nationalism Battery

How much do you agree or disagree with each of these statements?

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
In [USA = the United States; UK = the United Kingdom; France = France], our people are not perfect, but our culture is superior to others.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I would rather be a citizen of [USA = America; UK = the United Kingdom; France = France] than of any other country in the world.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like [USA = Americans; UK = the British; France = the French].	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Trust in Government

How much of the time do you think you can trust the [USA = U.S.; UK = UK; France = French] government to do what is right?

- Just about always
- Most of the time
- Only some of the time
- Never

Marital Status

What is your current status?

- Single, never married
- Married
- Separated
- Divorced
- Widowed
- Living with partner

Religion

Which religion or denomination, if any, do you consider yourself belonging to?

- No religion
- [UK Only] Church of England
- Catholic
- Protestant
- Other Christian denomination
- Muslim
- Hindu
- Jewish
- [UK Only] Sikh
- Buddhist
- Other (please specify): _____

EXPERIMENT

OPENING PROMPT – PROVIDED TO ALL RESPONDENTS

Next, we would like to ask you about a particular issue.

Around the world in various foreign countries, some opposition groups decide to take up arms and fight against their government. Recent examples include the Shining Path in Peru, the Azawad National Liberation Movement in Mali, and Houthis in Yemen. During the fighting, both opposition and government military forces can differ in the level of violence they choose to use.

[NEW SCREEN]

To try to limit the effects of armed conflict for humanitarian reasons, countries have collectively created a set of international rules, commonly referred to as the laws of war. These laws impose restrictions on how combatants are allowed to fight during warfare, such as attacks against civilians, abusing prisoners, or using land mines.

[NEW SCREEN]

We will describe a situation involving an armed opposition group and a foreign government that various countries have faced many times in the past and will probably face again. This is a general situation, and is not about a specific opposition group or government in the news today. Some parts of the description may strike you as important; other parts may seem less important.

Please read the details carefully. After describing the situation, we will ask your opinion about a few policy options.

[NEW SCREEN]

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

The experimental component of the survey then involves providing respondents with additional information regarding the scenario based on four separate substantive treatments – two contextual treatments (#2 and #3) and two compliance treatments (#4 and #5). The order in which the treatments related to the government and rebel group are presented is also randomized as a separate initial treatment (#1):

- 1. Combatant Order: Rebel then Government / Government then Rebel*
- 2. Rebel Group Aims: Secession / Government*
- 3. Government Regime Type: Democracy / Autocracy*
- 4. Government Compliance: Compliance / Violation*
- 5. Rebel Group Compliance: Compliance / Violation*

All treatments are binary and are fully crossed in a factorial design. Each respondent is randomly assigned to one of the corresponding groups.

EXPERIMENTAL TREATMENT #1 – ORDER OF REBEL-GOVERNMENT PROMPTS

[REBEL THEN GOVERNMENT / GOVERNMENT THEN REBEL]

The order of the Government and Rebel contextual treatments is randomized (Rebel then Government / Government then Rebel) to guard against order effects. The particular order a respondent is assigned is then maintained throughout subsequent elements of the survey (e.g., the Compliance treatments, as well as relevant outcome items) to maintain consistency and limit cognitive burdens.

EXPERIMENTAL TREATMENT #2 – REBEL GROUP TYPE [SECESSION / GOVERNMENT]

EXPERIMENTAL TREATMENT #3 – GOVERNMENT REGIME TYPE [DEMOCRACY / AUTOCRACY]

The language for each treatment condition is provided in square brackets below.

[IF rebel group listed first = “An armed Opposition Group and a Foreign Government” / IF foreign government is listed first = “A Foreign Government and an armed Opposition Group”] have been fighting a war for several years. Many combatants on both sides have been killed, with an estimated total count of over a thousand battle deaths.

Order of the Rebel and Foreign Government sentences is then based on the order determined by Treatment #1. For organizational purposes here, the sentences are shown separately.

Rebel Group Contextual Treatment

The Opposition Group is fighting to [SECESSION = separate and create its own independent country / GOVERNMENT = overthrow the government].

Foreign Government Contextual Treatment

The Foreign Government [DEMOCRACY = is a democracy, and shows every sign that it will remain a democracy / AUTOCRACY = is not a democracy, and shows no sign of becoming a democracy].

[NEW SCREEN]

EXPERIMENTAL TREATMENT #4 – GOVERNMENT COMPLIANCE [COMPLIANCE / VIOLATION]

EXPERIMENTAL TREATMENT #5 – REBEL GROUP COMPLIANCE [COMPLIANCE / VIOLATION]

The order in which the compliance behavior of the Government and Rebel Group is presented will match the randomized order set at the beginning of the scenario by Treatment #1. The language for each treatment condition is provided in square brackets below.

COMPLIANCE

Rebel Group

[Include “In contrast,” IF Rebel Group is listed second AND Government = Violation] There have [Include “also” IF Rebel is listed second] been recent reports that military forces from the Opposition Group have been following international laws that limit how combatants are allowed to fight.

Government

[Include “In contrast,” IF Government is listed second AND Rebel Group = Violation] There have [Include “also” IF Government is listed second] been recent reports that military forces from the Foreign Government have been following international laws that limit how combatants are allowed to fight.

VIOLATION

Rebel Group

[Include “In contrast,” IF Rebel Group is listed second AND Government = Compliance] There have [Include “also” IF Rebel is listed second] been recent reports that military forces from the

Opposition Group have been violating international laws that limit how combatants are allowed to fight.

Government

[Include “In contrast,” IF Government is listed second AND Rebel Group = Compliance] There have [Include “also” IF Government is listed second] been recent reports that military forces from the Foreign Government have been violating international laws that limit how combatants are allowed to fight.

OUTCOME ITEMS – PRESENTED TO ALL RESPONDENTS

For any paired Government/Rebel Group items, the order each relevant question is asked will match the randomized order set at the beginning of the scenario by Treatment #1.

Approval Government

Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way the Foreign Government is fighting the war?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Neither approve nor disapprove
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove

Approval Government – Open-ended follow-up

Would you please type a few sentences telling us why you {insert answer from previous question} of the way the Foreign Government is fighting the war?

[Enter answer here]

Approval Rebel Group

Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way the Opposition Group is fighting the war?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Neither approve nor disapprove
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove

Approval Rebel Group – Open-ended follow-up

Would you please type a few sentences telling us why you {insert answer from previous question} of the way the Opposition group is fighting the war?

[Enter answer here]

Reputation Government

Do you think the Foreign Government's conduct has helped or hurt the country's reputation in the world?

- Helped a lot
- Helped somewhat
- Neither helped nor hurt
- Hurt somewhat
- Hurt a lot

Reputation Rebel Group

Do you think the Opposition Group's conduct has helped or hurt the group's reputation in the world?

- Helped a lot
- Helped somewhat
- Neither helped nor hurt
- Hurt somewhat
- Hurt a lot

Morality Government

Do you think the Foreign Government's conduct is morally acceptable?

- Yes, their conduct is morally acceptable
- No, their conduct is not morally acceptable

Morality Rebel Group

Do you think the Opposition Group's conduct is morally acceptable?

- Yes, their conduct is morally acceptable
- No, their conduct is not morally acceptable

Legitimacy Rebel Group

How legitimate do you think are the aims of the Opposition Group?

- Very legitimate
- Somewhat legitimate
- Neither legitimate nor illegitimate
- Not very legitimate
- Not at all legitimate

War Outcome

Which side do you think is most likely to win the war?

- Foreign Government very likely to win
- Foreign Government somewhat likely to win
- Neither side likely to win
- Opposition Group somewhat likely to win

- Opposition Group very likely to win

POLICY OPTIONS

Now please tell us whether you approve or disapprove of these additional policy options that could be taken by [INSERT COUNTRY AND LEADER: for U.S.A. = “the U.S. president”; for U.K. = “the UK Prime Minister”; for France = “the French president”].

Government Verbal Statement

To what extent would you support [INSERT COUNTRY AND LEADER: for U.S.A. = “the U.S. president”; for U.K. = “the UK Prime Minister”; for France = “the French president”] making a speech about this issue, where 1 is strongly supporting a speech condemning the Foreign Government, 7 is strongly supporting a speech praising the Foreign Government, and 4 is saying nothing about the Foreign Government?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Condemning the Foreign Government			Saying Nothing about the Foreign Government			Praising the Foreign Government

Opposition Group Verbal Statement

To what extent would you support [INSERT COUNTRY AND LEADER: for U.S.A. = “the U.S. president”; for U.K. = “the UK Prime Minister”; for France = “the French president”] making a speech, where 1 is strongly supporting a speech condemning the Opposition Group, 7 is strongly supporting a speech praising the Opposition Group, and 4 is saying nothing about the Opposition Group?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Condemning the Opposition Group			Saying Nothing about the Opposition Group			Praising the Opposition Group

Government Economic Policy

To what extent would you support [INSERT COUNTRY AND LEADER: for U.S.A. = “the U.S. president”; for U.K. = “the UK Prime Minister”; for France = “the French president”] using economic policy to address this issue, where 1 is strongly supporting imposing economic sanctions on the Foreign Government, 7 is strongly supporting sending foreign aid to the Foreign Government, and 4 is doing nothing economically about the Foreign Government?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Imposing economic sanctions on			Doing nothing economically			Sending foreign aid to the

the Foreign Government			about the Foreign Government			Foreign Government
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Opposition Group Economic Policy

To what extent would you support [INSERT COUNTRY AND LEADER: for U.S.A. = “the U.S. president”; for U.K. = “the UK Prime Minister”; for France = “the French president”] using economic policy to address this issue, where 1 is strongly supporting imposing economic sanctions on the Opposition Group, 7 is strongly supporting sending foreign aid to the Opposition Group, and 4 is doing nothing economically about the Opposition Group?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Imposing economic sanctions on the Opposition Group			Doing nothing economically about the Opposition Group			Sending foreign aid to the Opposition Group

Military Intervention

Military Intervention #1 – General Support for Military Intervention

To what extent do you approve or disapprove [INSERT COUNTRY AND LEADER: for U.S.A. = “the U.S. president”; for U.K. = “the UK Prime Minister”; for France = “the French president”] sending military forces to the country?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Neither approve nor disapprove
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove

Military Intervention #2 – Side of Support in Military Intervention

Still ask to all respondents

If [INSERT COUNTRY AND LEADER: for U.S.A. = “the U.S. president”; for U.K. = “the UK Prime Minister”; for France = “the French president”] sent military forces, would you prefer them being sent to support...

- The Foreign Government
- Neither side (Neutral)
- The Opposition Group

MANIPULATION AND OTHER CHECKS

For any paired Government/Rebel Group items, the order each relevant question is asked will match the randomized order set at the beginning of the scenario by Treatment #1.

Trust in the Messages Reporting Compliance

To what extent do you consider the reports on the fighting by the two sides in the situation you just read about to be trustworthy?

- Very trustworthy
- Somewhat trustworthy
- Neither trustworthy nor untrustworthy
- Somewhat untrustworthy
- Very untrustworthy

Government Compliance Check

In the situation you just read about, which of the following best describes the way military forces from the Foreign Government fought during the war?

- Followed international laws
- Violated international laws
- Don't remember

Rebel Group Compliance Check

In the situation you just read about, which of the following best describes the way military forces from the Opposition Group fought during the war?

- Followed international laws
- Violated international laws
- Don't remember

Government Regime Type Check

In the situation you just read about, was the Foreign Government a democracy, or not a democracy?

- Democracy
- Not a democracy
- Don't remember

Rebel Group Aims Check

In the situation you just read about, what were the aims the Opposition Group was fighting for?

- Separate and create its own independent country
- Overthrow the government
- Don't remember

Expected Region Check

If you had to guess, what region of the world do you think the war in the situation described earlier is located?

- Africa
- Asia
- Europe
- Middle East
- North America
- South America
- Central America or the Caribbean
- Don't know

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC ITEMS – SET #2

Next, we would like to ask you a few more questions about yourself.

Civilian/Veteran (USA version)

Have you ever served on active duty in the U.S. Armed Forces, Military Reserves, or National Guard?

- I am now on active duty
- I was on active duty in the past, but not now
- I have trained for the Reserves or National Guard, but have never been activated
- I have never served in the military

Civilian/Veteran (UK version)

Have you ever served on active duty in the UK Armed Forces, or Military Reserves?

- I am now on active duty
- I was on active duty in the past, but not now
- I have trained for the Military Reserves, but have never been activated
- I have never served in the military

Civilian/Veteran (France version)

Have you ever served on active duty in the French Armed Forces, or National Guard?

- I am now on active duty
- I was on active duty in the past, but not now
- I have trained for the National Guard, but have never been activated
- I have never served in the military

Brexit Referendum Support [UK only]

At the time, which side did you prefer more during the 2016 referendum on the United Kingdom's membership in the European Union (EU), commonly known as "Brexit"?

- Remain in the EU
- Leave the EU
- Neither side

Brexit Negotiations – Follow [UK Only]

How closely have you been following recent negotiations over the United Kingdom’s withdrawal from the European Union (EU), commonly known as “Brexit”?

- Very closely
- Fairly closely
- Not too closely
- Not at all closely

Voter

Did you happen to vote in the [USA = 2016 presidential election; UK = 2017 general election; France = 2017 presidential election]?

- Yes
- No
- Don’t remember

Party Identification (USA). Note: a version of this item is part of Lucid’s standard demographic delivery, but does not include follow-up on strength of association.

Party1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a...

- Republican
- Democrat
- Independent
- Other (please specify): _____

If answer “Republican” to Party1, then follow up with Republican1

Would you call yourself a...

- Strong Republican
- Not so strong Republican

If answer “Democrat” to Party1, then follow up with Democrat1

Would you call yourself a...

- Strong Democrat
- Not so strong Democrat

If answer “Independent” or “Other” to Party1, then follow up with Independent1

Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or Democratic Party?

- Republican Party
- Democratic Party
- Neither

Party Identification (UK)

Generally speaking, which political party do you support the most?

- Conservative
- Labour

- Scottish National
- Liberal Democrats
- Change UK
- Democratic Unionist
- Sinn Féin
- Plaid Cymru
- Green
- Other (please specify): _____
- None

Party Identification (France)

Generally speaking, which political party do you support the most?

- La République En Marche!
- Les Républicains
- Le Parti Socialiste
- Le Rassemblement National (previously Front National)
- Le Mouvement Démocrate
- La France Insoumise
- Le Parti Communiste Français
- Le Mouvement Radical
- Les Centristes
- Other (please specify): _____
- None

Follow-up on Strength of Party Identification, if did not answer “None” to previous question (UK and France)

Would you say your support of this party is strong, moderate, or weak?

- Strong
- Moderate
- Weak

Political Ideology

In general, do you think of yourself as...

- Extremely liberal
- Liberal
- Slightly liberal
- Moderate, middle of the road
- Slightly conservative
- Conservative
- Extremely conservative

Interest in Politics

In general, how interested are you in politics and public affairs?

- Very interested
- Somewhat interested
- Slightly interested
- Not at all interested

Activist

In the past 12 months, have you...(check all that apply)

- Attended a political protest or rally
- Contacted a government official
- Volunteered or worked for a [USA = presidential; UK = parliamentary; France = presidential or parliamentary] campaign
- Volunteered or worked for another political candidate, issue, or cause
- Given money to a [USA = presidential; UK = parliamentary; France = presidential or parliamentary] campaign
- Given money to another political candidate, issue, or cause
- Worked with others in your community to solve a problem
- Served on a community board
- None of the above

CLOSING REMARKS

Thank you for your time.

INSTRUMENT FOR 2024 FOLLOW-UP SURVEY (UNITED STATES)

The following provides an overview of a follow-up survey experiment conducted in the United States by the survey research firm Lucid, now CINT (<https://luc.id/>).

This follow-up study follows the same overall structure as the original 2019 cross-national surveys except for a change to two different contextual treatments (U.S. Interests; U.S. Costs), which are discussed below. Because all other elements of the survey remain the same – the blocks of socio-demographic items, main experimental outcome items, etc. – we only present the experimental scenario/treatments and the altered manipulation checks below. For the other components that remain the same, please refer back to the instrument for the original 2019 surveys.

LUCID BACKGROUND ITEMS [refer to 2019 instrument]

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC ITEMS – SET #1 [refer to 2019 instrument]

EXPERIMENT

OPENING PROMPT – PROVIDED TO ALL RESPONDENTS

Same as 2019 instrument.

Next, we would like to ask you about a particular issue.

Around the world in various foreign countries, some opposition groups decide to take up arms and fight against their government. Recent examples include the Shining Path in Peru, the Azawad National Liberation Movement in Mali, and Houthis in Yemen. During the fighting, both opposition and government military forces can differ in the level of violence they choose to use.

[NEW SCREEN]

To try to limit the effects of armed conflict for humanitarian reasons, countries have collectively created a set of international rules, commonly referred to as the laws of war. These laws impose restrictions on how combatants are allowed to fight during warfare, such as attacks against civilians, abusing prisoners, or using land mines.

[NEW SCREEN]

We will describe a situation involving an armed opposition group and a foreign government that various countries have faced many times in the past and will probably face again. This is a general situation, and is not about a specific opposition group or government in the news today. Some parts of the description may strike you as important; other parts may seem less important.

Please read the details carefully. After describing the situation, we will ask your opinion about a few policy options.

[NEW SCREEN]

EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

In a similar manner to the original 2019 survey, the experimental component of this follow-up study then involves providing respondents with additional information regarding the scenario based on five separate treatments. The order in which the treatments related to the government and rebel group are presented (#1), as well as the two compliance treatments (#4 and #5) remain the same. The main change is a switch to two new contextual treatments are new (#2 and #3):

- 1. Combatant Order: Rebel then Government / Government then Rebel*
- 2. U.S. Interests: Low / High*
- 3. U.S. Costs: Low / High*
- 4. Government Compliance: Compliance / Violation*
- 5. Rebel Group Compliance: Compliance / Violation*

All treatments are binary and are fully crossed in a factorial design. Each respondent is randomly assigned to one of the corresponding groups.

Alongside these treatments, we include two additional pieces of contextual information, which fixes values drawn from the two original contextual treatments used in the 2019 survey: Rebel Group Aims (Secession / Government); Government Regime Type (Democracy / Autocracy). These elements were not included as separate treatments in this follow-up study given the large number of existing treatments. Moreover, because neither of these original contextual treatments were significant on their own nor when interacted with the Compliance treatments, the exact choice to fix the values for each is unlikely to affect the results for the other treatments. We opted to fix the values as follows: Rebel Group Aims = Government; Government Regime Type = Autocracy.

This means that all respondents received these prompts related to the attributes of each combatant, along with the other treatments. This additional richness to the vignette also provides a harder test for the main treatments of interest concerning Compliance, as prior work shows that more contextual detail tends to attenuate treatment effects (Brutger et al. 2023).

EXPERIMENTAL TREATMENT #1 – ORDER OF REBEL-GOVERNMENT PROMPTS

[REBEL THEN GOVERNMENT / GOVERNMENT THEN REBEL]

The order of the Government and Rebel contextual treatments is randomized (Rebel then Government / Government then Rebel) to guard against order effects. The particular order a respondent is assigned is then maintained throughout subsequent elements of the survey (e.g., the Compliance treatments, as well as relevant outcome items) to maintain consistency and limit cognitive burdens.

CONTEXTUAL DETAILS ON REBEL GROUP AIMS (OVERTHROW GOVERNMENT)
AND GOVERNMENT REGIME TYPE (AUTOCRACY)

While this section involves separate contextual treatments for Rebel Group Aims and Government Regime Type in the 2019 survey, in this follow-up study all respondents are given the same set of contextual detail (Overthrow government; and Autocracy). Square brackets indicates formatting based on the order of Rebel and Foreign Government prompts determined by Treatment #1.

[IF rebel group listed first = “An armed Opposition Group and a Foreign Government” / IF foreign government is listed first = “A Foreign Government and an armed Opposition Group”] have been fighting a war for several years. Many combatants on both sides have been killed, with an estimated total count of over a thousand battle deaths.

This is then followed by the fixed contextual details from the relevant Rebel Group Aims [Overthrow Government] and Government Regime Type [Autocracy] conditions from these original contextual treatments. The order of the Rebel Group Aims and Foreign Government sentences is then based on the order determined above. For organizational purposes here, the sentences are shown separately.

Order of the Rebel and Foreign Government sentences is then based on the order determined by Treatment #1. For organizational purposes here, the sentences are shown separately.

Rebel Group Aims – Fixed to Overthrow Government

The Opposition Group is fighting to overthrow the government.

Foreign Government – Fixed to Autocracy

The Foreign Government is not a democracy, and shows no sign of becoming a democracy.

[NEW SCREEN]

EXPERIMENTAL TREATMENT #4 – GOVERNMENT COMPLIANCE [COMPLIANCE / VIOLATION]

EXPERIMENTAL TREATMENT #5 – REBEL GROUP COMPLIANCE [COMPLIANCE / VIOLATION]

The order in which the compliance behavior of the Government and Rebel Group is presented will match the randomized order set at the beginning of the scenario by Treatment #1. The language for each treatment condition is provided in square brackets below.

COMPLIANCE

Rebel Group

[Include “In contrast,” IF Rebel Group is listed second AND Government = Violation] There have [Include “also” IF Rebel is listed second] been recent reports that military forces from the

Opposition Group have been following international laws that limit how combatants are allowed to fight.

Government

[Include “In contrast,” IF Government is listed second AND Rebel Group = Violation] There have [Include “also” IF Government is listed second] been recent reports that military forces from the Foreign Government have been following international laws that limit how combatants are allowed to fight.

VIOLATION

Rebel Group

[Include “In contrast,” IF Rebel Group is listed second AND Government = Compliance] There have [Include “also” IF Rebel is listed second] been recent reports that military forces from the Opposition Group have been violating international laws that limit how combatants are allowed to fight.

Government

[Include “In contrast,” IF Government is listed second AND Rebel Group = Compliance] There have [Include “also” IF Government is listed second] been recent reports that military forces from the Foreign Government have been violating international laws that limit how combatants are allowed to fight.

CONTEXTUAL TREATMENT #2: U.S. INTERESTS [LOW / HIGH]

CONTEXTUAL TREATMENT #3: U.S. COSTS [LOW / HIGH]

Respondents are then presented with additional prompts from the following two new contextual treatments. For ease of presentation, the full phrasing for each treatment condition is included below. The language for both treatments draws from similar treatments in Tomz and Weeks (2021).

U.S. INTERESTS

Low

The continued fighting from the war would neither weaken U.S. military security nor hurt the U.S. economy.

High

The continued fighting from the war would weaken U.S. military security and hurt the U.S. economy.

U.S. COSTS

Low

The U.S. military could stop the war, and the military operation would not be very costly to the United States.

High

The U.S. military could stop the war, but the military operation would be very costly to the United States.

OUTCOME ITEMS [refer to 2019 instrument]

MANIPULATION AND OTHER CHECKS [refer to 2019 instrument]

Most of the compliance checks remain the same except for those related to the two new contextual treatments (U.S. Interests; U.S. costs), which are changed to the following.

U.S. Interests Check

In the situation you just read about, what were the potential consequences for the United States from the continued fighting in the war?

- Would neither weaken U.S. military security nor hurt the U.S. economy
- Would weaken U.S. military security and hurt the U.S. economy
- Don't remember

U.S. Costs Check

In the situation you just read about, how costly to the United States would be any military operations involving the U.S. military to stop the war?

- The military operation would not be very costly to the United States
- The military operation would be very costly to the United States
- Don't remember

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC ITEMS – SET #2 [refer to 2019 instrument]

CLOSING REMARKS

Thank you for your time.

REFERENCES

- Brutger, Ryan, Joshua D. Kertzer, Jonathan Renshon, Dustin Tingley, and Chagai M. Weiss. 2023. "Abstraction and Detail in Experimental Design." *American Journal of Political Science* 67(4): 979-995.
- Tomz, Michael, and Jessica L.P. Weeks. 2021. "Military Alliances and Public Support for War." *International Studies Quarterly* 65(3): 811-824.