

Do Soldiers Get a Say?

Soldiers' Views and Public Support for Military Operations in Four Democracies

Appendix

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Section 1: Descriptive and Multivariate Analyses

Table 1. National Samples and Benchmarks

Variable	Israel		France		UK		US	
	Sample	Benchmark	Sample	Benchmark	Sample	Benchmark	Sample	Benchmark
<i>Gender</i>								
Female	51%	51%	51%	51%	53%	51%	51%	52%
<i>Race/Ethnicity</i>								
White	N/A	N/A	92%	N/A	88%	86%	72%	65%
Asian	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	6%	8%	N/A	N/A
Black	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3%	3%	12%	12%
Hispanic	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	8%	15%
Ashkenazi	39%	44%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Mizrahi or Sephardi	39%	45%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
<i>Education & Age</i>								
Education	59%	60%	25%	25%	65%	63%	34%	30%
Median Age	30-39	30-39			35-44	35-44	46	47
18-24 years old			8%	12%				
25-34 years old			19%	17%				
35-44 years old			18%	18%				
45-54 years old			19%	18%				
55+ years old			35%	35%				
<i>Religious ID</i>			8%	12%				
Secular	43%	43%			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Traditional	36%	36%			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Religious	11%	11%			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ultraorthodox	10%	10%			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Benchmarks: Israel — provided by iPanel, Lewin-Epstein and Cohen 2019; UK — 2011 Census; US — ANES 2016, CPS 2017.

Education: Israel = higher education; France = Baccalaureat & License; UK = A-level equivalent or above; US = Bachelors degree or above. *Age:* Israel & UK = median; US = mean.

Table 2: Conceptions of Soldiering Across Countries¹

Prior Belief	FR %	UK %	US %	IL %
Citizen	26	12	14	16
Patriot	33	26	33	46
Pay/Benefits	26	50	43	38
Desperate	15	12	10	N/A

Table 3: Strong Believers Across Countries

	FR %	UK %	US %	IL %
Strong Believer Percent	39	46	63	83

¹ NB: Respondents in Israel were asked for the reason they thought *officers* joined.

Table 4: Full Table, MS Table 1 (Soldier Support of Operation & DV Operation Support)

	(1) FRANCE	(2) FRANCE	(3) ISRAEL	(4) ISRAEL	(5) UK	(6) UK	(7) USA	(8) USA
soldier support	0.94*** (0.13)	0.81*** (0.13)	1.48*** (0.13)	1.01*** (0.12)	0.95*** (0.12)	0.80*** (0.11)	1.17*** (0.11)	0.87*** (0.10)
citizen prime	0.10 (0.10)	0.16+ (0.10)	0.03 (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	-0.26** (0.08)	-0.20** (0.07)	0.06 (0.08)	0.08 (0.08)
patriot prime	0.11 (0.10)	0.17+ (0.09)	N/A	N/A	-0.04 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.06 (0.09)	0.03 (0.08)
pay/benefits prime	-0.05 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.10)	0.01 (0.06)	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.08)	0.00 (0.07)	0.09 (0.08)	0.05 (0.08)
desperate prime	0.16 (0.10)	0.18+ (0.10)	N/A	N/A	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.10 (0.07)	0.06 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)
prior: pay/ben		0.10 (0.10)	Base	Base		0.16* (0.08)		0.45*** (0.09)
prior: patriot		0.25** (0.10)		0.09+ (0.05)		0.11 (0.09)		0.40*** (0.10)
prior: citizen		0.22* (0.10)		0.15* (0.07)		0.23* (0.10)		0.35** (0.11)
ideology		0.14 (0.12)		0.46*** (0.11)		0.28** (0.10)		0.16 (0.11)
rwa		-0.23 (0.23)		0.23 (0.18)		0.24 (0.18)		0.48** (0.16)
sdo		0.08 (0.17)		-0.51** (0.18)		0.31+ (0.18)		-0.69*** (0.17)
bp		0.78*** (0.17)		1.88*** (0.23)		0.36** (0.14)		0.80*** (0.13)
miltherm		0.91*** (0.16)		0.54*** (0.14)		1.21*** (0.12)		0.82*** (0.12)
hawk		0.37** (0.12)		0.46*** (0.10)		0.63*** (0.11)		0.39** (0.11)
age		-0.17 (0.13)		0.20* (0.09)		0.11 (0.08)		0.09 (0.09)
education		0.04 (0.12)		0.12 (0.10)		0.05 (0.07)		0.02 (0.12)
income		-0.11 (0.24)		0.09 (0.10)		0.22* (0.11)		0.05 (0.13)
house service		0.06 (0.07)		N/A		0.05 (0.06)		0.05 (0.06)
personal service		0.20* (0.09)		0.04 (0.08)		-0.25* (0.11)		0.03 (0.09)
female		0.02 (0.07)		-0.18** (0.05)		-0.21*** (0.05)		-0.14** (0.06)
white		-0.17 (0.12)		N/A		-0.03 (0.08)		0.21** (0.06)

religiosity				-0.11 (0.09)				
Ashkenazi				-0.09 (0.09)				
Sephardi				0.01 (0.09)				
Mizrachi				0.01 (0.10)				
Mixed				0.19+ (0.10)				
_cons	3.58*** (0.11)	2.44*** (0.22)	4.59*** (0.11)	2.39*** (0.25)	3.67*** (0.08)	1.89*** (0.17)	3.77*** (0.08)	2.46*** (0.15)
<i>N</i>	1089	1089	1624	1506	2448	2448	2451	2451
<i>R</i> ²	0.051	0.176	0.081	0.287	0.030	0.162	0.049	0.166

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 5: Full Table, MS Table 2 (Soldier Support of Operation & DV Battlefield Performance)

	(1) FR	(2) FR	(3) IL	(4) IL	(5) UK	(6) UK
soldier support	0.75*** (0.10)	0.64*** (0.09)	1.72*** (0.12)	1.45*** (0.12)	0.47*** (0.08)	0.42*** (0.07)
citizen prime	0.08 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)	0.06 (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.07 (0.05)	0.09+ (0.05)
patriot prime	0.07 (0.07)	0.10 (0.07)	N/A	N/A	0.18** (0.05)	0.19*** (0.05)
pay/benefits prime	-0.00 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	-0.49*** (0.06)	-0.49*** (0.06)	-0.14** (0.05)	-0.13** (0.05)
desperate prime	0.15* (0.07)	0.16* (0.07)	N/A	N/A	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.05)
prior: pay/ben		0.21** (0.07)		BASE		0.12* (0.05)
prior: patriot		0.17* (0.07)		0.14** (0.05)		0.10+ (0.06)
prior: citizen		0.19* (0.07)		0.11 (0.07)		0.11+ (0.06)
ideology		-0.03 (0.09)		0.15 (0.11)		0.02 (0.06)
rwa		-0.01 (0.17)		0.46* (0.18)		0.55*** (0.12)
sdo		-0.27* (0.13)		-0.64** (0.18)		0.08 (0.11)
bp		0.39** (0.12)		0.47* (0.23)		-0.02 (0.09)
miltherm		0.61*** (0.12)		1.01*** (0.14)		0.82*** (0.08)
hawk		0.13 (0.09)		-0.04 (0.10)		-0.20** (0.07)
age		-0.01 (0.09)		0.44*** (0.09)		0.28*** (0.05)
education		0.16+ (0.09)		-0.05 (0.10)		-0.03 (0.05)
income		-0.05 (0.18)		-0.04 (0.10)		-0.07 (0.07)
household		0.01 (0.05)		N/A		0.06 (0.04)
selfserv		0.08 (0.07)		-0.07 (0.08)		-0.09 (0.07)
female		0.00 (0.05)		0.09+ (0.05)		0.02 (0.03)
white		0.07 (0.09)		N/A		0.11* (0.05)
religiosity				-0.14		

				(0.09)		
Ashkenazi				-0.03 (0.09)		
Sephardi				-0.05 (0.09)		
Mizrachi				-0.01 (0.10)		
Mixed				0.11 (0.10)		
_cons	2.71*** (0.08)	1.94*** (0.16)	4.69*** (0.10)	3.29*** (0.24)	3.42*** (0.05)	2.23*** (0.11)
<i>N</i>	1089	1089	1624	1506	2448	2448
<i>R</i> ²	0.062	0.132	0.190	0.306	0.034	0.155

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 6: Battlefield Performance, Soldier Support, and DV Operation Support

	(1) FR	(2) FR	(3) IL	(4) IL	(5) UK	(6) UK
soldier support	0.66*** (0.13)	0.63*** (0.13)	0.92*** (0.13)	0.72*** (0.13)	0.76*** (0.12)	0.68*** (0.11)
battlefield performance	0.37*** (0.04)	0.27*** (0.04)	0.33*** (0.03)	0.20*** (0.03)	0.41*** (0.03)	0.30*** (0.03)
citizen prime	0.07 (0.10)	0.14 (0.09)	0.01 (0.06)	0.11+ (0.06)	-0.28** (0.07)	-0.23** (0.07)
patriot prime	0.09 (0.10)	0.15 (0.09)	N/A	N/A	-0.11 (0.08)	-0.07 (0.07)
pay/benefits prime	-0.05 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.09)	0.17** (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)	0.03 (0.08)	0.04 (0.07)
desperate prime	0.10 (0.10)	0.14 (0.09)		N/A	-0.07 (0.08)	-0.08 (0.07)
prior: pay/ben		0.05 (0.10)		Base		0.12 (0.08)
prior: patriot		0.21* (0.09)		0.06 (0.05)		0.08 (0.09)
prior: citizen		0.17+ (0.10)		0.12+ (0.07)		0.20* (0.10)
ideology		0.14 (0.12)		0.43*** (0.11)		0.27** (0.09)
rwa		-0.23 (0.23)		0.13 (0.18)		0.08 (0.18)
sdo		0.15 (0.17)		-0.38* (0.18)		0.29+ (0.18)
bp		0.67*** (0.16)		1.78*** (0.22)		0.36** (0.13)
miltherm		0.75*** (0.16)		0.34* (0.14)		0.96*** (0.12)
hawk		0.33** (0.12)		0.47*** (0.10)		0.69*** (0.11)
age		-0.16 (0.13)		0.11 (0.09)		0.02 (0.08)
education		-0.01 (0.12)		0.13 (0.10)		0.05 (0.07)
income		-0.10 (0.24)		0.09 (0.10)		0.25* (0.11)
household		0.05 (0.07)		N/A		0.03 (0.06)

selfserv		0.18* (0.09)		0.05 (0.08)		-0.22* (0.11)
female		0.02 (0.07)		-0.20*** (0.05)		-0.22*** (0.05)
white		-0.19 (0.11)		N/A		-0.07 (0.08)
religiosity				-0.09 (0.09)		
Ashkenazi				-0.08 (0.08)		
Sephardi				0.02 (0.09)		
Mizrachi				0.01 (0.09)		
Mixed				0.17+ (0.10)		
_cons	2.58*** (0.15)	1.92*** (0.23)	3.06*** (0.16)	1.72*** (0.26)	2.26*** (0.13)	1.22*** (0.18)
<i>N</i>	1089	1089	1624	1506	2448	2448
<i>R</i> ²	0.118	0.209	0.169	0.316	0.095	0.192

Standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.0001$

Table 7: Comprehension Check Data

Prime	France	Israel	UK	US
Pay/benefits	60%	78%	72%	86%
Desperate	44%	N/A	69%	73%
Patriot	51%	78%	59%	56%
Citizen	70%		75%	85%

Table 8: France – Manipulation Check Passers Only – MS Table 3

	(1) favor	(2) favor	(3) soldier support	(4) soldier support
concern	0.40 (0.37)		0.13 (0.09)	
extrinsic	0.26 (0.32)	-0.03 (0.39)	0.02 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.09)
perspective		0.14 (0.43)		0.27** (0.10)
extrinsic# perspective		-0.26 (0.64)		-0.20 (0.15)
extrinsic# concern	-0.69 (0.47)		-0.23* (0.11)	
<i>Additional Controls</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
<i>N</i>	492	492	492	492
<i>R</i> ²	0.269	0.266	0.130	0.136

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 9: Full Table, MS Table 3 (Empathy, DV Operation Support, DV Soldier Support of Operation)

	France				UK			
	(1) favor	(2) favor	(3) soldier support	(4) soldier support	(5) favor	(6) favor	(7) soldier support	(8) soldier support
empathy- concern	0.31 (0.27)		0.19** (0.07)		0.47* (0.24)		0.16** (0.05)	
extrinsic prime	0.17 (0.23)	-0.08 (0.29)	0.08 (0.06)	0.03 (0.07)	0.51* (0.22)	0.11 (0.25)	0.01 (0.04)	0.01 (0.05)
extrinsic# concern	-0.40 (0.35)		-0.25** (0.08)		-0.72* (0.32)		-0.16* (0.06)	
empathy- perspective		0.34 (0.33)		0.26** (0.08)		-0.05 (0.27)		0.14** (0.05)
extrinsic # perspective		-0.01 (0.48)		-0.18 (0.12)		-0.11 (0.38)		-0.17* (0.07)
soldier support	0.77*** (0.14)	0.77*** (0.14)			0.71*** (0.14)	0.74*** (0.14)		
prior: pay/ben	0.09 (0.11)	0.09 (0.11)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.34** (0.10)	0.33** (0.10)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
prior: patriot	0.21* (0.11)	0.20+ (0.11)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.36** (0.11)	0.36** (0.11)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
prior: citizen	0.25* (0.11)	0.25* (0.11)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.45** (0.13)	0.44** (0.13)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
ideology	0.16 (0.13)	0.18 (0.13)	0.03 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.39** (0.12)	0.37** (0.12)	-0.04 (0.02)	-0.04+ (0.02)
rwa	-0.16 (0.26)	-0.15 (0.25)	0.07 (0.06)	0.08 (0.06)	0.42+ (0.23)	0.42+ (0.23)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)
sdo	0.05 (0.21)	0.06 (0.20)	-0.08 (0.05)	-0.08 (0.05)	0.29 (0.22)	0.31 (0.22)	0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)
bp	0.86*** (0.19)	0.82*** (0.19)	0.11* (0.05)	0.09* (0.05)	0.22 (0.17)	0.21 (0.17)	0.10** (0.03)	0.10** (0.03)
miltherm	1.04*** (0.18)	1.02*** (0.18)	0.06 (0.04)	0.04 (0.04)	1.37*** (0.15)	1.38*** (0.15)	0.05+ (0.03)	0.06* (0.03)
hawk	0.34* (0.14)	0.34* (0.14)	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)	0.87*** (0.14)	0.83*** (0.14)	0.01 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)
age	-0.23 (0.14)	-0.22 (0.14)	0.02 (0.04)	0.03 (0.03)	0.11 (0.10)	0.12 (0.10)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
education	0.06 (0.13)	0.04 (0.13)	0.05 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.09)	0.02 (0.09)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
income	-0.11 (0.27)	-0.10 (0.27)	0.02 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)	0.11 (0.14)	0.10 (0.14)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)
household	0.09 (0.07)	0.09 (0.07)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.04 (0.08)	0.04 (0.08)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
selfserv	0.17+ (0.07)	0.17+ (0.07)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.30* (0.08)	-0.29* (0.08)	-0.05+ (0.02)	-0.05+ (0.02)

	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.03)	(0.03)
female	0.00 (0.08)	0.00 (0.07)	-0.04+ (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.19** (0.06)	-0.18** (0.06)	-0.03* (0.01)	-0.02+ (0.01)
white	-0.28* (0.13)	-0.27* (0.13)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.10)	-0.03 (0.10)	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
_cons	2.41*** (0.29)	2.42*** (0.30)	0.41*** (0.07)	0.39*** (0.07)	1.09*** (0.26)	1.43*** (0.26)	0.49*** (0.05)	0.51*** (0.05)
<i>N</i>	871	871	871	871	1400	1400	1400	1400
<i>R</i> ²	0.197	0.197	0.076	0.076	0.226	0.223	0.074	0.071

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 10: UK and US -- Operation Types and DV Soldier Support

	UK (1) Soldier support	US (2) Soldier support
Genocide Operation	0.02 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Ally Operation	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
_cons	0.58*** (0.01)	0.63*** (0.01)
<i>N</i>	1048	1049
<i>R</i> ²	0.004	0.002

Standard errors in parentheses. Reference Group: Counterterrorism Operation.

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 11: Prior Beliefs and DV Soldier Support

Ref Grp:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Prior Desperate ²	France	Israel	UK	US
Prior: Patriotism	0.03 (0.02)	0.03** (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)
Prior: Citizenship	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.04+ (0.02)
Prior: Pay/Benefits	0.01 (0.02)		-0.01 (0.01)	0.03+ (0.02)
_cons	0.60*** (0.02)	0.75*** (0.01)	0.60*** (0.01)	0.59*** (0.02)
<i>N</i>	1089	1624	2448	2451
<i>R</i> ²	0.002	0.005	0.002	0.003

Standard errors in parentheses

+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

² In Israel, Prior pay/benefits was the base group, as desperate was not an option.

Table 12: Soldier Support & DV Operation Support, without primes as controls

	(1) Fr	(2) Fr	(3) Israel	(4) Israel	(5) UK	(6) UK	(7) US	(8) US
soldier support	0.96*** (0.13)	0.84*** (0.13)	1.49*** (0.12)	1.09*** (0.12)	0.95*** (0.12)	0.81*** (0.11)	1.17*** (0.10)	0.89*** (0.10)
prior: pay/ben		0.10 (0.10)				0.16* (0.08)		0.45*** (0.09)
prior: patriot		0.26** (0.10)		0.08 (0.05)		0.12 (0.09)		0.40*** (0.10)
prior: citizen		0.23* (0.10)		0.14+ (0.07)		0.23* (0.10)		0.35** (0.11)
ideology		0.12 (0.12)		0.46*** (0.11)		0.28** (0.10)		0.16 (0.11)
rwa		-0.23 (0.23)		0.22 (0.18)		0.26 (0.18)		0.49** (0.16)
sdo		0.09 (0.17)		-0.51** (0.18)		0.31+ (0.18)		-0.69*** (0.17)
bp		0.77*** (0.17)		1.82*** (0.23)		0.35* (0.14)		0.80*** (0.13)
miltherm		0.91*** (0.16)		0.53** (0.14)		1.21*** (0.12)		0.81*** (0.12)
hawk		0.35** (0.12)		0.45*** (0.10)		0.64*** (0.11)		0.40** (0.11)
age		-0.16 (0.13)		0.21* (0.09)		0.11 (0.08)		0.08 (0.09)
education		0.03 (0.12)		0.11 (0.10)		0.05 (0.07)		0.02 (0.12)
income		-0.08 (0.24)		0.08 (0.10)		0.22+ (0.11)		0.05 (0.13)
house service		0.06 (0.07)				0.05 (0.06)		0.05 (0.06)
selfserv		0.19* (0.09)		0.05 (0.08)		-0.25* (0.11)		0.03 (0.09)
female		0.02 (0.07)		-0.17** (0.05)		-0.21*** (0.05)		-0.14** (0.05)
white		-0.17 (0.12)				-0.04 (0.08)		
religiosity				-0.12 (0.09)				
Ashkenazi				-0.10 (0.09)				
Sephardi				0.01 (0.09)				
Mizrachi				0.00 (0.10)				

Mixed				0.19+				
				(0.10)				
nonwhite								-0.21**
								(0.06)
_cons	3.63***	2.52***	4.60***	2.42***	3.61***	1.84***	3.81***	2.48***
	(0.09)	(0.21)	(0.10)	(0.24)	(0.07)	(0.17)	(0.07)	(0.15)
<i>N</i>	1089	1089	1624	1506	2448	2448	2451	2451
<i>R</i> ²	0.046	0.169	0.081	0.282	0.026	0.159	0.048	0.166

Standard errors in parentheses
 + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 13: Soldier Support & DV Battlefield Performance, without primes as controls

(1) (2) | (3) (4) | (5) (6)

	Fr	Fr	Israel	Israel	UK	UK
soldier	0.76***	0.65***	1.98***	1.76***	0.54***	0.49***
support	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.07)	(0.07)
prior: pay/ben		0.20** (0.07)				0.13* (0.05)
prior: patriot		0.17* (0.07)		0.14** (0.06)		0.11+ (0.06)
prior: citizen		0.20** (0.07)		0.07 (0.08)		0.12+ (0.06)
ideology		-0.03 (0.09)		0.13 (0.11)		0.02 (0.06)
rwa		-0.02 (0.17)		0.45* (0.19)		0.55*** (0.12)
sdo		-0.26* (0.13)		-0.62** (0.19)		0.06 (0.11)
bp		0.39** (0.12)		0.34 (0.23)		-0.03 (0.09)
miltherm		0.61*** (0.12)		0.94*** (0.14)		0.81*** (0.08)
hawk		0.12 (0.09)		-0.09 (0.11)		-0.21** (0.07)
age		-0.00 (0.09)		0.44*** (0.09)		0.29*** (0.05)
education		0.16+ (0.09)		-0.09 (0.10)		-0.04 (0.05)
income		-0.03 (0.18)		-0.04 (0.10)		-0.06 (0.07)
house service		0.02 (0.05)				0.05 (0.04)
selfserv		0.07 (0.07)		-0.04 (0.08)		-0.09 (0.07)
female		0.01 (0.05)		0.10* (0.05)		0.02 (0.03)
white		0.07 (0.09)				0.11* (0.05)
religiosity				-0.14 (0.09)		
Ashkenazi				-0.04 (0.09)		
Sephardi				-0.04 (0.10)		

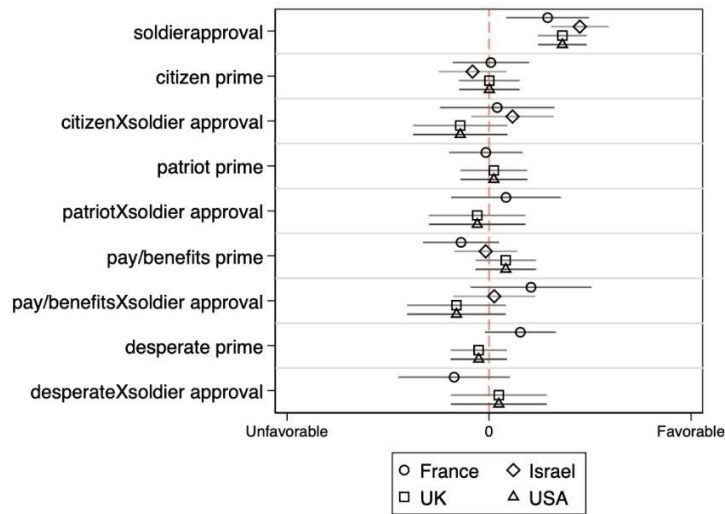
Mizrachi				-0.02 (0.10)		
Mixed				0.10 (0.10)		
_cons	2.77*** (0.06)	2.01*** (0.16)	4.35*** (0.10)	3.11*** (0.25)	3.39*** (0.05)	2.21*** (0.11)
<i>N</i>	1089	1089	1624	1506	2448	2448
<i>R</i> ²	0.056	0.126	0.142	0.250	0.021	0.142

Standard errors in parentheses
 + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 14: Service Record and Reasons for Joining, Pre/Post Volunteer Service

	France Pre-1997	France Post-1997	UK Pre-1960	UK Post-1960	US Pre-1973	US Post-1973
Intrinsic	62%	55%	40%	33%	48%	40%
Extrinsic	38%	45%	60%	77%	52%	60%

Figure 1: Primes and Soldier Support Interaction (DV Operation Support)—Coefficient Plot



Section 2: Mediation Analyses

Causal Mediation Analysis: Overview

As discussed in the article, the average causal mediation effect (ACME) is the indirect effect of the mediating variable on the outcome of interest, holding all else constant. Formally, the ACME, $\bar{\delta}$, in an experiment with a binary treatment is defined as

$$\bar{\delta}(t) \equiv \mathbb{E}(Y_i(t, M_i(1)) - Y_i(t, M_i(0)))$$

where t is the realized value of the treatment, and Y_i and M_i are the outcome and mediator variables indexed by respondents, respectively. $M_i(1)$ is the value of the mediator variable for respondent i when that individual is in the treatment group, and $M_i(0)$ is the mediator's value when i is in the control group. One cannot simultaneously observe respondents' evaluations of operation favorability when their perceptions of the soldier's support of the operation or battlefield performance correspond with having received an extrinsic treatment, and those same respondents' evaluations of favorability when their perceptions of the soldier's support of the operation or battlefield performance correspond with having received an intrinsic treatment. However, the distribution of respondents' potential attitudes towards operation favorability can be expressed as a function of the distributions of the observed data, allowing researchers to make inferences about unobserved counterfactual quantities like the ACME (Imai, Keele, and Yamamoto 2010). Mediation effects are only valid if the "sequential ignorability" assumption is upheld. It is necessary that the mediator is statistically independent of all potential outcomes given the observed treatment and pre-treatment covariates (Imai, Keele and Tingley 2010, 310; Montgomery et al. 2018, 772). Unlike the treatment, which is randomly assigned, unmeasured confounding variables may be correlated with both the outcome and mediator, biasing estimates of the relationship between the latter two. The mediating variable is a function of the treatment respondents receive, their pre-treatment covariates, and an error term. The outcome variable is a function of the treatment, mediator, pretreatment covariates, and a different error term. Sensitivity analysis can help diagnose issues related to the "sequential ignorability" assumption, though such tests are imperfect gauges of what is ultimately an untestable set of assumptions. For example, a sensitivity analysis estimates that the correlation between the error terms for the outcome (operation favorability) and the mediator (soldier support) would have to be between **0.15 and 0.20** for the sequential ignorability assumption to be violated such that the true ACME was 0. By way of comparison, the correlations between post-treatment perceptions of whether the soldier approves of the operation and the individual covariates in our country samples range from **-0.07 to 0.10**.

UK

Soldier Support

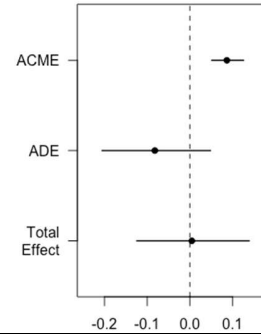
	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
ACME (soldier support)	0.08679	0.05128	0.13	<2e-16***
ADE (intrinsic prime)	-0.08203	-0.2058	0.05	0.26
Total Effect	0.00476	-0.12433	0.14	0.94
Prop. Mediated	18.24961	-28.06533	17.14	0.94

Nonparametric Bootstrap Confidence Intervals with the Percentile Method

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '+' 0.1 ' ' 1

Sample Size Used: 1400

Simulations: 1000



Soldier Battlefield Performance

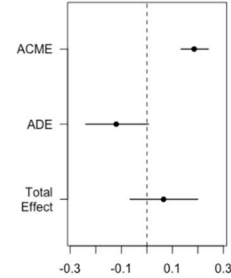
	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
ACME (battlefield perf.)	0.1852	0.1342	0.24	<2e-16 ***
ADE (intrinsic prime)	-0.1198	-0.2392	0.01	0.066 +
Total Effect	0.0655	-0.0657	0.2	0.278
Prop. Mediated	2.8301	-23.6238	26.16	0.278

Nonparametric Bootstrap Confidence Intervals with the Percentile Method

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '+' 0.1 ' ' 1

Sample Size Used: 1400

Simulations: 1000



France

Soldier Support

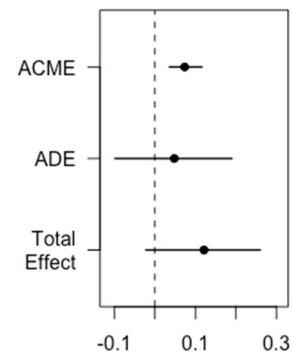
	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
ACME (soldier support)	0.0735	0.0358	0.12	<2e-16 ***
ADE (intrinsic prime)	0.0478	-0.0985	0.19	0.514
Total Effect	0.1213	-0.0223	0.26	0.088+
Prop. Mediated	0.6056	-1.6994	4	0.088+

Nonparametric Bootstrap Confidence Intervals with the Percentile Method

Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '+' 0.1 ' ' 1

Sample Size Used: 1400

Simulations: 1000

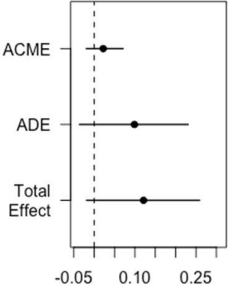


Soldier Battlefield Performance

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
ACME (battlefield perf.)	0.0223	-0.0192	0.07	0.304
ADE (intrinsic prime)	0.099	-0.0363	0.23	0.18
Total Effect	0.1213	-0.0187	0.26	0.092 +
Prop. Mediated	0.1841	-0.6532	1.48	0.348

Nonparametric Bootstrap Confidence Intervals with the Percentile Method

 Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '+' 0.1 '.' 1
 Sample Size Used: 1400
 Simulations: 1000



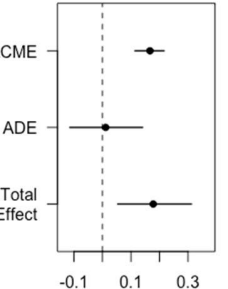
Israel

Officer Support

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
ACME (officer support)	0.1667	0.114	0.22	<2e-16 ***
ADE (citizen prime)	0.0113	-0.1143	0.14	0.876
Total Effect	0.178	0.0535	0.31	0.006 **
Prop. Mediated	0.9364	0.5144	2.83	0.006 **

Nonparametric Bootstrap Confidence Intervals with the Percentile Method

 Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '+' 0.1 '.' 1
 Sample Size Used: 1400
 Simulations: 1000

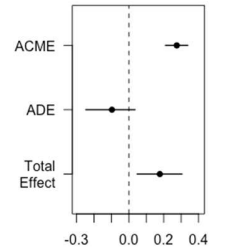


Officer Battlefield Performance

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
ACME (battlefield perf.)	0.275	0.2099	0.34	<2e-16 ***
ADE (citizen prime)	-0.097	-0.247	0.04	0.16
Total Effect	0.178	0.0478	0.31	0.01 **
Prop. Mediated	1.5453	0.8548	4.84	0.01 **

Nonparametric Bootstrap Confidence Intervals with the Percentile Method

 Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '+' 0.1 '.' 1
 Sample Size Used: 1400
 Simulations: 1000



Battlefield Performance (ACME) and Soldier Support (ADE) Analyses

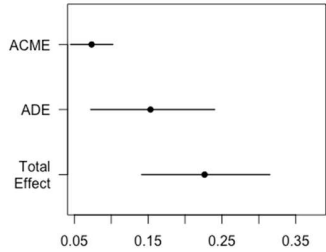
United Kingdom

Soldier Battlefield Performance and Support

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
ACME (battlefield p)	0.0734	0.0449	0.1	<2e-16***
ADE (Baker support)	0.1532	0.0722	0.24	<2e-16***
Total Effect	0.2265	0.1412	0.31	<2e-16***
Prop. Mediated	0.3238	0.2037	0.52	<2e-16***

Nonparametric Bootstrap Confidence Intervals with the Percentile Method

 Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '+' 0.1 ' ' 1
 Sample Size Used: 1400
 Simulations: 1000



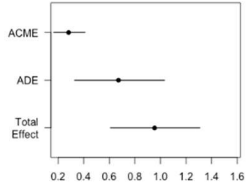
France

Soldier Battlefield Performance and Support

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
ACME (battlefield p)	0.282	0.166	0.41	<2e-16***
ADE (Dupont support)	0.672	0.328	1.03	<2e-16***
Total Effect	0.954	0.609	1.31	<2e-16***
Prop. Mediated	0.296	0.173	0.5	<2e-16***

Nonparametric Bootstrap Confidence Intervals with the Percentile Method

 Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '+' 0.1 ' ' 1
 Sample Size Used: 871
 Simulations: 1000



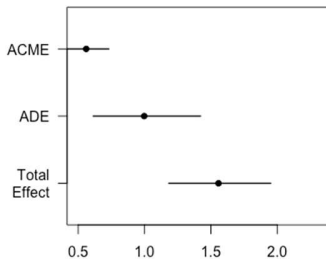
Israel

Officer Battlefield Performance, Officer Support

	Estimate	95% CI Lower	95% CI Upper	p-value
ACME (battlefield p)	0.56	0.408	0.73	<2e-16***
ADE (Officer support)	0.997	0.613	1.42	<2e-16***
Total Effect	1.557	1.182	1.95	<2e-16***
Prop. Mediated	0.36	0.241	0.5	<2e-16***

Nonparametric Bootstrap Confidence Intervals with the Percentile Method

 Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '+' 0.1 ' ' 1
 Sample Size Used: 1084
 Simulations: 1000



**Do Soldiers Get a Say?
Consent and Public Support for Military Operations in Four Democracies**

Appendix 2 –Survey Differences & Vignettes

Table 1: Survey Differences Relevant to Analyses

Survey	Difference(s) from other surveys
France	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tailored survey question and vignette language to accommodate local idioms. 2. Tailored income and education response options to align with local norms. 3. Included empathy battery (perspective-taking and concern) pre-treatment.
UK	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tailored survey question and vignette language to accommodate local idioms. 2. Tailored income and education response options to align with local norms. 3. Included empathy battery (perspective-taking and concern) pre-treatment. 4. Control treatments varied the mission type (counterterrorism, support for allies, and humanitarian intervention).
US	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tailored survey question and vignette language to accommodate local idioms. 2. Tailored income and education response options to align with local norms. 3. Control treatments varied the mission type (counterterrorism, support for allies, and humanitarian intervention). 4. The US survey does not include battlefield performance as a posttreatment variable.
Israel	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Tailored survey question and vignette language to accommodate local idioms. 2. Tailored income and education response options to align with local norms. 3. Pre-treatment motivation question(s) concern officers, not enlisted, personnel. Response options did not include “desperate” as an option. 4. The treatments describe an officer (detailed below) rather than an enlisted soldier. 5. While the other countries have four main substantive treatments (pay/benefits, desperate, patriotism, and citizenship), Israel has two: a pay/benefits prime and a combined intrinsic prime, with elements of citizenship and patriotism (detailed below) 6. The nature of the mission described in the treatment was concrete (references Lebanon and Hezbollah) and not hypothetical (Martesia). 7. Relevant controls include Jewish religious affiliation and religiosity, rather than race.

France

Pay-and-Benefits Treatment


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INTERNATIONAL Partage    

La France considère l'envoi de troupes en Martésie

Publié aujourd'hui à 14h03

Philippe Dupont est l'un des 1 500 membres de l'armée française en attente d'éventuels ordres qui les déploieraient en Martésie. Face aux attaques au-delà de sa frontière sud, la Martésie a demandé aux Forces françaises de renforcer ses défenses. Les autorités françaises soutiennent cette intervention car elle permettrait d'honorer leur traité avec la Martésie, renforcerait le droit international, et ferait avancer les intérêts stratégiques de la France...

« Après l'obtention de mon baccalauréat, les Forces armées semblaient être un moyen comme les autres de payer les factures », a déclaré Dupont lorsqu'on lui a demandé pourquoi il s'était enrôlé. « J'ai reçu un bon salaire dès le début. J'ai été séduit par l'idée d'acquérir des compétences qui pourraient m'aider plus tard. Et j'ai aimé que le contribuable français me subventionne pour suivre toutes sortes de formations, y compris pour obtenir un diplôme. Je ne peux pas en dire autant de nombreux autres emplois ! » La plupart des membres de son peloton se sont engagés pour les mêmes raisons, ajoute-t-il. De récents sondages montrent que les motivations de Dupont à s'inscrire pour le service militaire sont typiques...



« Les forces armées semblaient être un bon moyen de payer les factures ».

Soldat français
Philippe Dupont

Si Dupont est déployé, il dit : « je m'attends à être en Martésie pendant environ douze mois ».

No Other Options Treatment

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« D'où je viens, si vous voulez avoir une chance de faire quelque chose de votre vie, votre seul choix ce sont les Forces armées », a déclaré Dupont lorsqu'on lui a demandé pourquoi il s'était engagé. « Je voulais à tout prix ne pas finir comme certains des gars avec qui je suis allé au lycée, et je ne voyais pas d'autres moyens que de rejoindre l'armée ». La plupart des membres de son peloton se sont engagés pour les mêmes raisons, ajoute-t-il. De récents sondages montrent que les motivations de Dupont à s'inscrire pour le service militaire sont typiques...



« J'étais désespéré... Je ne voyais pas d'autres moyens que de rejoindre l'armée ».

Soldat français
Philippe Dupont

Si Dupont est déployé, il dit : « je m'attends à être en Martésie pendant environ douze mois ».

Patriot Treatment



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« J'aime mon pays. Je veux défendre la France comme tant d'autres l'ont fait avant moi, et je veux rendre mon pays fier », a déclaré Dupont lorsqu'on lui a demandé pourquoi il s'était engagé. « Choisir de servir dans les Forces armées françaises me semblait juste être la bonne chose à faire en tant que Français ». La plupart des membres de son peloton se sont engagés pour les mêmes raisons, ajoute-t-il. De récents sondages montrent que les motivations de Dupont à s'inscrire pour le service militaire sont typiques...



« Je suis un patriote... Je veux rendre mon pays fier ».

Soldat français
Philippe Dupont

Si Dupont est déployé, il dit : « je m'attends à être en Martésie pendant environ douze mois ».

Good Citizen Treatment

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« Je me suis enrôlé dans l'armée parce que j'avais l'impression que c'était mon devoir en tant que citoyen », a déclaré Dupont lorsqu'on lui a demandé pourquoi il s'était engagé. « Je sentais que je n'avais pas d'autres choix que de servir dans les Forces armées françaises—comme tant d'autres français avant moi. En tant que citoyen, il est de mon devoir de défendre mon pays ». La plupart des membres de son peloton se sont engagés pour les mêmes raisons, ajoute-t-il. De récents sondages montrent que les motivations de Dupont à s'inscrire pour le service militaire sont typiques...




« Je me suis enrôlé... parce que j'avais l'impression que c'était mon devoir en tant que citoyen ».

Soldat français
Philippe Dupont

Si Dupont est déployé, il dit : « je m'attends à être en Martésie pendant environ douze mois ».

Control


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La Martésie est un pays dont la population est d'environ 15 millions d'habitants. Environ 1 million d'habitants résident dans la capitale. Le pays est membre de la plupart des grandes organisations internationales, dont les Nations Unies et l'Organisation mondiale du commerce. La Martésie possède un climat et une géographie variés, ainsi qu'une économie équilibrée, avec des secteurs agricoles et industriels importants. Les responsables gouvernementaux aspirent également à développer les technologies de pointe dans le pays. La Martésie abrite l'une des plus anciennes universités de la région...



« Je m'attends à être en Martésie pendant environ douze mois ».

Soldat français
Philippe Dupont

Si Dupont est déployé, il dit : « je m'attends à être en Martésie pendant environ douze mois ».

Israel

Pay-and-Benefits Treatment

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פוליטי-מדיני

צבא וביטחון · מדיני · המערכת הפוליטית · פלסטינים · טורים ופרשנות

'השקט מטעה – אבל לא אותנו'

הצצה נדירה אל חיי הלוחמים של היחידה המובחרת האחראית על "מבצעים מיוחדים" בלבנון: פרויקט מיוחד

הצצה נדירה בחיי הלוחמים של היחידה המובחרת האחראית על "מבצעים מיוחדים" בלבנון: פרויקט מיוחד

על רקע החלטת הדרג המדיני להפעיל כוחות מיוחדים כדי לחסל את "המנהיג הבכיר" של ארגון החיזבאללה, מדברים הלוחמים על שגרה של כוננות מתמדת ועל המחיר הוודאי של החיסול – טילים על ישראל, פתיחה מחדש של החזית הצפונית ואף סכנה למלחמה כוללת נגד איראן.

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בחדר המבצעים של המוצב פגשתי את סרן ד', סגן מפקד היחידה. "ההמתנה לפני מבצע זה החלק הכי קשה", הוא מסביר. "ברגע שיוצאים לדרך אנחנו ממוקדים רק במטרה".

אנחנו משוחחים על חייו האישיים ועל ההחלטה לצאת לקורס קצינים: "כמו כל הקצינים כאן, גם אני לקחתי בחשבון את השיקול הכלכלי", הוא מספר. "כשאתה משתחרר הדלתות נפתחות. יש לך עדיפות ברורה בשוק העבודה ואתה מחובר לאנשים הנכונים".

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סרן ד'



אנחנו ממשיכים לדבר על המשימה "אנחנו מוכנים למבצע", הוא מסביר. "ברור לי שזה מסוכן, אבל זאת העבודה, זה המקצוע שלי".



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אנחנו משוחחים על השהות במוצב: "כמו כל הקצינים כאן, גם אני הגעתי כמה ימים לפני שהלוחמים והמפקדה הגיעו", הוא מספר. "התארגנו בדיוק כשהתחילה הסופה אבל עכשיו מזג האוויר יותר נוח".

"התארגנו בדיוק כשהתחילה הסופה אבל עכשיו מזג האוויר יותר נוח".

סרן ד'



אנחנו ממשיכים לדבר על המשימה "אנחנו מוכנים למבצע", הוא מסביר. "ברור לי שזה מסוכן, אבל זו המשימה שלנו ואנחנו נבצע אותה בלי קשר לשאלה מה יהיה מזג האוויר".

UK

Pay-and-Benefits Treatment



POLITICS | 15 April 2019 | 17:30 GMT

UK Weighs Sending Troops to Martesia



Luke Baker is one of roughly 500 members of the British Army waiting for possible orders that would send them into Martesia. Facing attacks across its southern border, Martesia has requested UK forces to bolster its defences. British officials support intervention because it would uphold the UK treaty with Martesia, strengthen international law, and further Britain’s strategic interests...

“After my GCSEs, the Armed Forces seemed like as good a way as any to pay the bills,” Baker says when asked why he joined. “I got good pay early-on. I liked the idea of learning skills that can help me later. And I liked that the Great British taxpayer will subsidise me to study for all sorts of qualifications, even up to degree level. Can’t say that about many other jobs!” Most of his platoon joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Baker’s motives in signing up for military service are typical...



“The Armed Forces seemed like as good a way as any to pay the bills.”

**British soldier
Luke Baker**

If Baker is deployed, he says, “I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months.”

No Other Options Treatment



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“Where I’m from, if you want to have any chance of doing something with your life, your only choice is the Armed Forces,” Baker says when asked why he joined. “I was desperate not to end up like some of the lads I went to secondary school with, and I didn’t see any other way except to join the Army.” Most of his platoon joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Baker’s motives in signing up for military service are typical...



“I was desperate... I didn't see any other way except to join the Army.”

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Patriot Treatment



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"I'm patriotic. I want to defend Great Britain like so many before me have done, and I want to do my country proud," Baker says when asked why he joined. "Choosing to serve in the UK Armed Forces just seemed like the right thing to do. It's part of what being British is all about." Most of his platoon joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Baker's motives in signing up for military service are typical...



"I'm patriotic... I want to do my country proud."

**British soldier
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Good Citizen Treatment



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"I signed up for the Army because I felt like it was my duty as a citizen," Baker says when asked why he joined. "I felt like I had no choice but to serve in the British Armed Forces – like so many other Brits before me. As a citizen, I have a responsibility to defend my country." Most of his platoon joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Baker's motives in signing up for military service are typical...

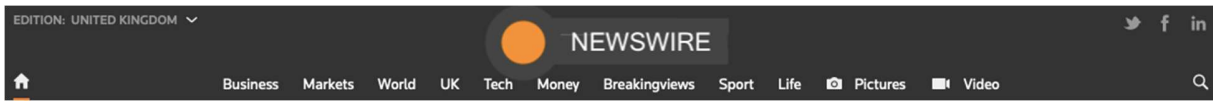


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Control – General Mission



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Martesias is a country with a population of roughly 15 million people. Around 1 million reside in the capital. It is a member of most major international organisations, including the United Nations and the World Trade Organization. Martesia has a varied climate and geography and a balanced economy, with substantial agricultural and industrial sectors. Government officials aspire to develop the country’s high-tech sector as well. Martesia is also home to one of the oldest universities in the region...

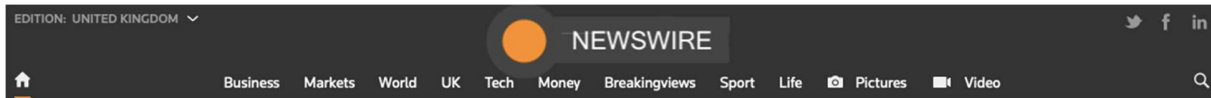


“I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months”

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Control – Humanitarian Mission



POLITICS | 15 April 2019 | 17:30 GMT

UK Weighs Sending Troops to Martesia



Luke Baker is one of roughly 500 members of the British Army waiting for possible orders that would send them into Martesia. Violence against civilians in Martesia has been intensifying, and the resulting refugee crisis has been destabilising its neighbours. Senior British officials say that Martesia is at the top of their genocide watch list. In the absence of UK intervention, they fear that violence could spiral out of control...

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"I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months"

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If Baker is deployed, he says, "I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months."

Control – Counterterrorism Mission



POLITICS | 15 April 2019 | 17:30 GMT

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Luke Baker is one of roughly 500 members of the British Army waiting for possible orders that would send them to defend against a surging Islamic State affiliate in Martesia. Martesia has recently faced a growing terrorist threat. Senior British officials say that the Islamic State affiliate there is unusually capable and well-financed. In the absence of Western intervention, they fear that Martesia's government will be overthrown and that the terrorists will then have a launching pad for attacks against Britain and other Western nations...

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USA

Pay-and-Benefits Treatment



POLITICS | August 15, 2018 | 5:30pm EDT

U.S. Weighs Sending Troops to Martesia



Michael Cameron is one of roughly 2,500 members of the US military waiting for a possible “go” order that would send them to Martesia. Facing attacks across its southern border, Martesia, a long-standing US ally, has requested US forces to bolster its defenses. US officials support intervention because it would uphold the treaty with Martesia, strengthen international law, and further America's strategic interests...

“After high school, the service seemed like as good a way as any to pay the bills,” Cameron says when asked why he joined. “I got a pretty nice signing bonus. I liked the idea of learning skills that can help me later. And I liked that Uncle Sam would help pay for college. Can’t say that about many other jobs!” Most of his battalion joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Cameron’s motives in signing up for military service are typical...



“The service seemed like as good a way as any to pay the bills.”
U.S. soldier
Michael Cameron

If Cameron is deployed, he says, “I expect to be in Martesia for about twelve months.”

No Other Options Treatment



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“Where I’m from, if you want to have any chance of doing something with your life, your only choice is the service,” Cameron says when asked why he joined. “I was desperate not to wind up like some of the guys I went to high school with, and I didn’t see any other way except to enlist.” Most of his battalion joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Cameron’s motives in signing up for military service are typical...



*“I was desperate ...
and I didn’t see any
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**U.S. soldier
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Patriot Treatment



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“I’m a patriot. I want to defend the United States like so many other Americans before me, and I want to do my country proud,” Cameron says when asked why he joined. “Choosing to serve in the US military just seemed like the right thing to do. It’s what being an American is all about.” Most of his battalion joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Cameron’s motives in signing up for military service are typical...



“I’m a patriot ... I want to do my country proud.”

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“I signed up for the service because I felt like it was my duty as a citizen,” Cameron says when asked why he joined. “I believe I had no choice but to serve in our nation’s military—like so many other Americans before me. As a citizen, I have a responsibility to defend my country.” Most of his battalion joined up for the same reason, he adds. Recent surveys show that Cameron’s motives in signing up for military service are typical...



“I signed up ... because I felt like it was my duty as a citizen.”

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Control – General Mission



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Michael Cameron is one of roughly 2,500 members of the US military waiting for a possible “go” order that would send them to defend against a surging Islamic State affiliate in Martesia. A long-standing US ally in the War on Terror, Martesia has recently faced a growing terrorist threat. Senior US officials say that the Islamic State affiliate there is unusually capable and well-financed. In the absence of US intervention, they fear that Martesia’s government would be overthrown and that the terrorists would have a launching pad for attacks against the United States and other Western nations...

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Michael Cameron is one of roughly 2,500 members of the US military waiting for a possible “go” order that would send them to prevent genocide in Martesia. Violence against civilians in Martesia has been intensifying, and the resulting refugee crisis has been destabilizing its neighbors. Senior US officials say that Martesia is at the top of their genocide watch list. In the absence of US intervention, they fear that violence could spiral out of control...

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