

ARTICLE TYPE

**Supplementary Information for:  
Polarization vs. Professionalism: Military and Civilian  
Views on the Domestic Use of the Military**

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## 1. Descriptive Statistics

Table A.1. Demographics of US Public Sample

| Covariate            | Category                  | Civilian Sample (percent)<br>(n = 827) |
|----------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Gender               | Female                    | 51.5                                   |
|                      | Male                      | 48.1                                   |
|                      | Non-binary / third gender | 0.4                                    |
| Age Group            | < 35                      | 30.3                                   |
|                      | 35-55                     | 31.8                                   |
|                      | 55 >                      | 37.9                                   |
| Education            | Graduate Degree           | 17.3                                   |
|                      | Bachelor's degree         | 33.0                                   |
|                      | Some College              | 28.9                                   |
|                      | High School               | 19.1                                   |
|                      | Less than High School     | 1.7                                    |
| Race                 | Asian / Pacific Islander  | 4.0                                    |
|                      | Black                     | 10.6                                   |
|                      | Hispanic/Latino           | 5.1                                    |
|                      | Multi-racial              | 1.3                                    |
|                      | Native American           | 0.6                                    |
|                      | Other                     | 0.7                                    |
|                      | White                     | 77.6                                   |
| Employment           | Disabled                  | 4.8                                    |
|                      | Employed                  | 45.2                                   |
|                      | Homemaker                 | 6.3                                    |
|                      | Part-Time Employment      | 10.6                                   |
|                      | Retired                   | 23.9                                   |
|                      | Student                   | 2.4                                    |
|                      | Unemployed                | 6.7                                    |
| Location             | City                      | 26.6                                   |
|                      | Other                     | 0.1                                    |
|                      | Rural                     | 16.9                                   |
|                      | Small Town                | 10.0                                   |
|                      | Suburb                    | 46.3                                   |
| Military Connections | No                        | 41.7                                   |
|                      | Yes                       | 58.3                                   |
| Veteran Status       | Currently Serving         | 2.4                                    |
|                      | Never Served              | 88.6                                   |
|                      | Previously Served         | 8.9                                    |

**Table A.2.** Military Officer vs. Public Sample

| Covariate            | Category     | Military Sample (percent) | Civilian Sample (percent) |
|----------------------|--------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
|                      |              | (n = 137)                 | (n = 827)                 |
| Party Identification | Democratic   | 22.6                      | 40.0                      |
|                      | Independent  | 40.9                      | 29.2                      |
|                      | Republican   | 36.5                      | 30.7                      |
| Service Tenure       | <10 years    | 2.2                       |                           |
|                      | 10-20 years  | 58.0                      |                           |
|                      | 20+ years    | 39.9                      |                           |
| Service Branch       | Air Force    | 13.9                      | 2.9                       |
|                      | Army         | 29.9                      | 5.2                       |
|                      | Coast Guard  | 2.2                       | 0.2                       |
|                      | Marines      | 13.1                      | 1.0                       |
|                      | Navy         | 34.3                      | 1.9                       |
|                      | Other        | 6.6                       | 0.1                       |
|                      | Never Served |                           | 88.6                      |

## 2. Measuring Respondent Attitudes on Civil-Military Norms

### 2.1 Military Participation in Domestic Politics

On some issues, ELECTED CIVILIAN LEADERS may disagree with PROFESSIONAL MILITARY LEADERS on the use of armed force. Below we present fictional scenarios about how civilian and military leaders should interact. Keep in mind we are not talking about any specific president, member of Congress, or military officer.

We include the following six questions related to the military participation:

- Congress should prioritize the perspective of senior military officers if they request more troops to be deployed in an ongoing conflict?
- Senior military officers should never leak classified information to the news media, even if they believe that a conflict is unjust, illegal, or unnecessary.
- If the President sends troops into a combat after a senior military officer voices opposition to the conflict, it is only fair for that military officer to resign in protest.
- If the President refuses to use military forces to challenge a hostile regime, it is appropriate for senior military officers to speak out in disagreement to the news media.
- Congress should prioritize the opinion of senior military officers if they petition to redirect funds away from military weaponry and toward veterans' benefits.
- It is appropriate for senior military officers to appeal directly to the American people if Congress opposes deploying military forces in an ongoing conflict.

### 2.2 Civilian Oversight over Military Decision-Making

On other issues, PROFESSIONAL MILITARY LEADERS disagree with ELECTED CIVILIAN LEADERS about the appropriate amount of public oversight. Below we present fictional scenarios about how civilian and military leaders should interact. Keep in mind we are not talking about any specific president, member of Congress, or military officer.

- If Congress believes that US soldiers are mistreating prisoners of war, they should be able to send civilian lawyers to oversee prisoner treatment.
- Even in wartime, the President should be able to fire a senior military officer who issues rules of engagement (i.e., military orders that define when soldiers can use deadly force) that are more aggressive than the President thinks are necessary for succeeding on the battlefield.
- Senior military officers should decide where and how women serve in combat, even if Congress directs them to include women as widely as possible.
- If a senior military officer thinks the President is acting irrationally, that military officer should be able to privately reassure US allies that they will not use nuclear weapons if they are ordered to.
- It is appropriate for the President to fire a senior military officer if s/he repeatedly objects to carrying out a drone strike.
- Senior military officers should monitor soldiers' social media accounts for extremist political opinions, even if Congress instructs them not to.

### 3. Vignette 1: 2028 Presidential Election

#### 3.1 *Treatment 1: Democratic Winner*

Imagine the following fictional scenario:

The US Presidential Election of 2028 is very close and the candidates differ on many issues: immigration, policing and crime, health care, and the economy. The election will be decided by the state of Wisconsin, where the candidates are separated by less than 1,000 votes.

After two recounts, Wisconsin election officials declare the DEMOCRATIC Presidential Candidate to be the winner. The candidate makes a speech, saying, "The election is over, and it is time for the country to come together."

However, many news organizations are raising serious doubts about the results. Thousands of mail-in ballots were rejected, dozens of polling stations were closed unexpectedly, and the Wisconsin Secretary of State in charge of administering the election is a DEMOCRAT. Because of these issues, the REPUBLICAN Presidential Candidate does not concede, saying, "Democracy demands that every vote be counted."

Large crowds of protesters supporting the REPUBLICAN candidate are growing around the State Capitol building in Madison. The protesters hope to stop the results from being certified by the state legislature.

The protesters have become increasingly violent, and many worry that the Wisconsin State Police will not be able to protect the State Legislature or the Governor unless more security personnel arrive.

#### 3.2 *Treatment 2: Republican Winner*

Imagine the following fictional scenario:

The US Presidential Election of 2028 is very close, and the candidates differ on many issues: immigration, policing and crime, health care, and the economy. The election will be decided by the state of Wisconsin, where the candidates are separated by less than 1,000 votes.

After two recounts, Wisconsin election officials declare the REPUBLICAN Presidential Candidate to be the winner. The candidate makes a speech, saying, "The election is over, and it is time for the country to come together."

However, many news organizations are raising serious doubts about the results. Thousands of mail-in ballots were rejected, dozens polling stations were closed unexpectedly, and the Wisconsin Secretary of State in charge of administering the election is a REPUBLICAN. Because of these issues, the DEMOCRATIC Presidential Candidate does not concede, saying, "Democracy demands that every vote be counted." Large crowds of protesters supporting the DEMOCRATIC candidate are growing around the State Capitol building in Madison. The protesters hope to stop the results from being certified by the state legislature.

The protesters have become increasingly violent, and many worry that the Wisconsin State Police will not be able to protect the State Legislature or the Governor unless more security personnel arrive.

#### **4. Vignette 2: 2026 Pittsburgh Riot**

##### **4.1 Treatment 1: In Favor of Statue Removal**

Imagine a SEPARATE fictional scenario:

In the summer of 2026, a few dozen Democratic activists occupy a public park in Pittsburgh, calling for the removal of a statue of a 19th century senator who is believed to have been a member of the Ku Klux Klan. When the protesters refuse a police curfew, police attempt to remove protesters from the park. After a physical altercation, a police officer shoots and kills one of the protesters.

Over the following week, thousands of Democratic-leaning protesters flock to the area, calling for the firing of the police officer. Even though police keep their distance from protesters, the protests become more violent over the course of the week. On the third night, a group of protesters smash front windows and burn down more than twenty stores and restaurants. On the fifth night, a group of protesters surround and beat five police officers with bats and chains. On the seventh night, a group of protesters break the legs of two unarmed bystanders who argue with them.

Concerned about escalating violence, the police commissioner asks for federal assistance in halting the protests.

##### **4.2 Treatment 2: Against Statue Removal**

Imagine a SEPARATE fictional scenario:

In the summer of 2026, a few dozen Republican activists occupy a public park in Pittsburgh, protesting against the removal of a statue of a 19th century senator who is believed to have been a member of the Ku Klux Klan. When the protesters refuse a police curfew, police attempt to remove protesters from the park. After a physical altercation, a police officer shoots and kills one of the protesters.

Over the following week, thousands of Republican-leaning protesters flock to the area, calling for the firing of the police officer. The protesters march between the park and City Hall, chanting slogans and refusing to cooperate with the Pittsburgh police. Even though police keep their distance from protesters, the protests become more violent over the course of the week. On the third night, a group of protesters smash front windows and burn down more than twenty stores and restaurants. On the fifth night, a group of protesters surround and beat five police officers with bats and chains. On the seventh night, a group of protesters break the legs of two unarmed bystanders who argue with them.

Concerned about escalating violence, the police commissioner asks for federal assistance in halting the protests.

5. Additional Results

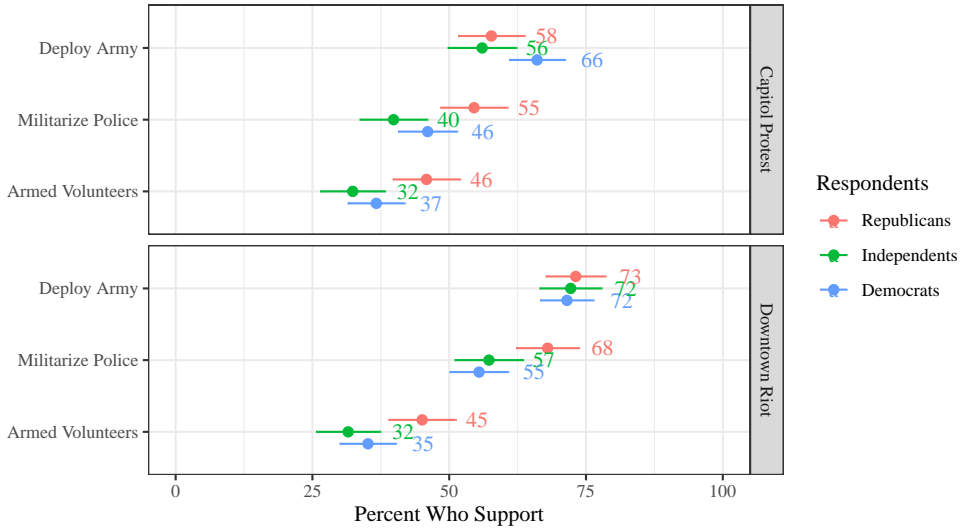


Figure A.1. Overall Support for Militarized Policing

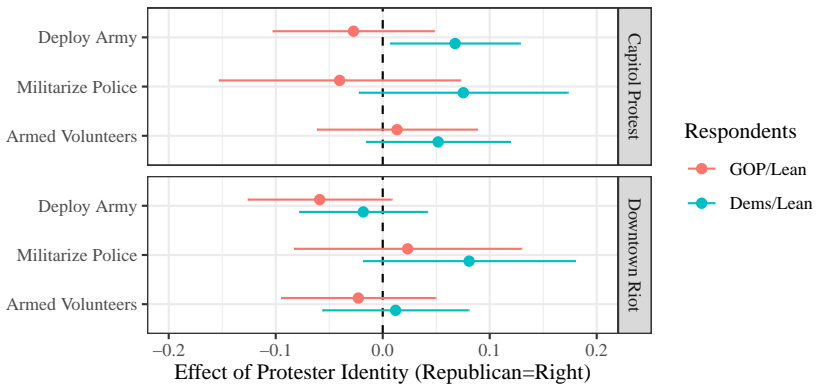
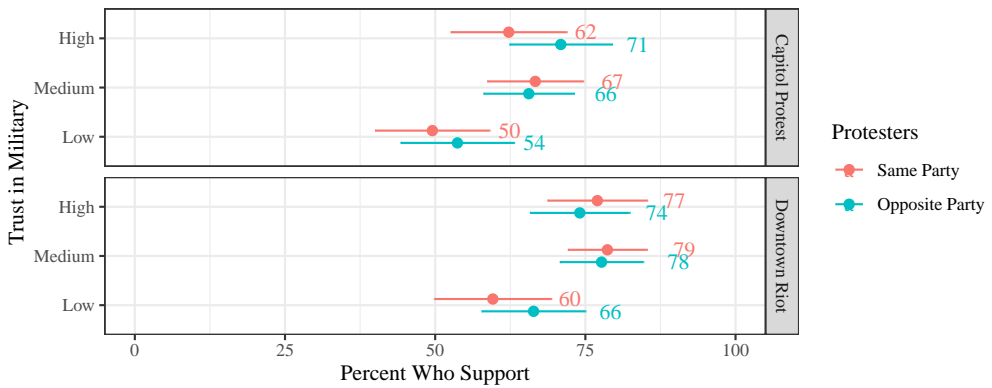


Figure A.2. Effect of Partisanship on Support for Militarized Policing

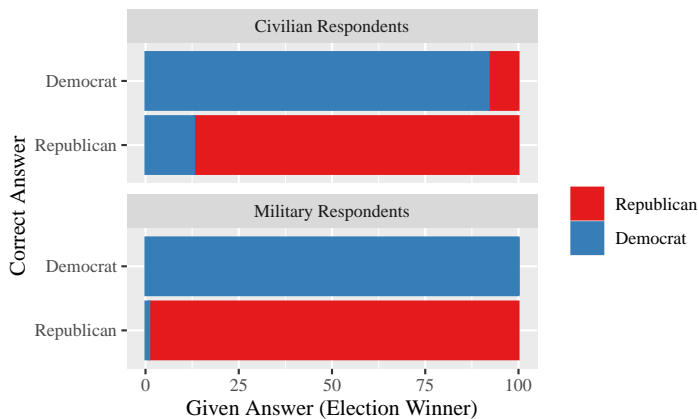
**Table A.3.** Partisanship and Trust in Institutions

|              | Democrats | Independents | Republicans | Military Officers |
|--------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Federal Govt | 45%       | 15%          | 14%         | 44%               |
| State Govt   | 47        | 28           | 41          | 55                |
| Military     | 68        | 63           | 73          | 90                |
| Local Police | 58        | 59           | 75          | 79                |

Percent who say they trust each actor “most” or “all” of the time.



**Figure A.3.** Partisan Treatment Effects, by Respondent Trust in Military



**Figure A.4.** Attention Check on Treatment, Vignette 1

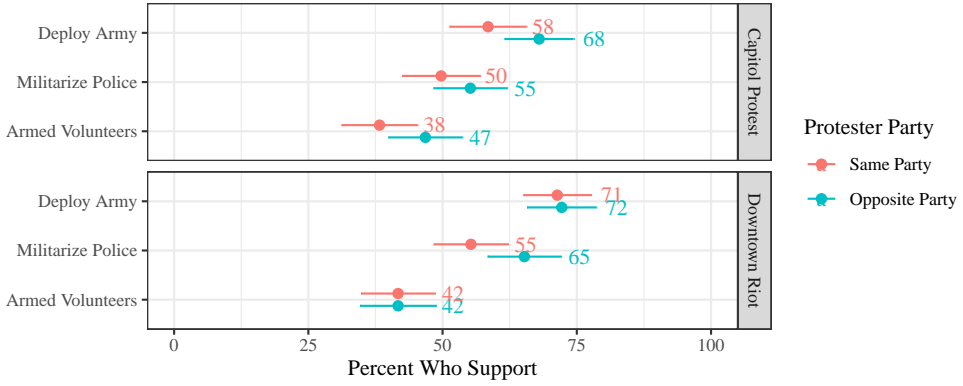


Figure A.5. Partisan Treatment Effects, Strong Partisans Only

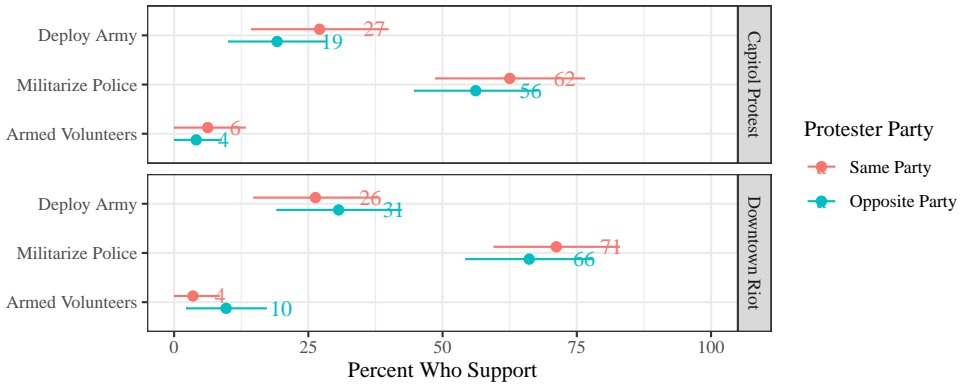


Figure A.6. Partisan Treatment Effects on Military Personnel

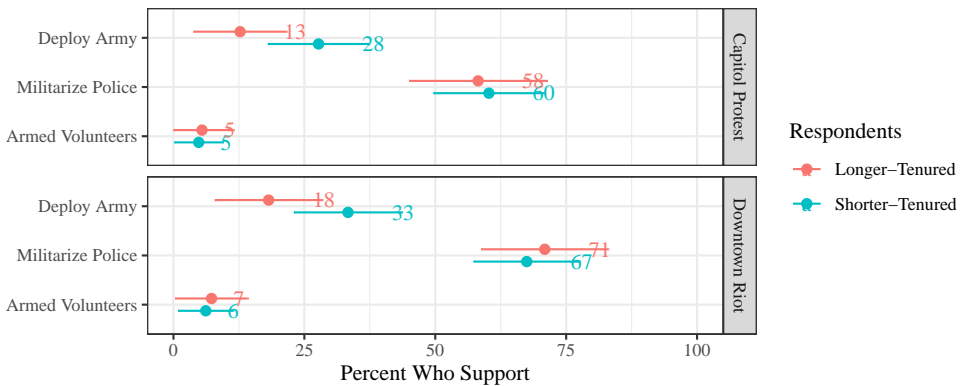


Figure A.7. Support for Military Actions by Military Officers, By Tenure