

Supplementary Material for:

**Public and Expert Preferences in Survey Experiments on Foreign Policy:  
Evidence from Parallel Conjoint Analyses**

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## Section A. Survey questions

### *Conjoint preamble*

In the questions to follow, you will be presented with descriptions of countries that may become targets of U.S. military action. We will provide you with several pieces of information about these countries, including reasons for military action against them. For each pair of countries, please indicate military action against which of the two you personally find more justified. This exercise is purely hypothetical. Even if you are not entirely sure, please indicate military action against which country you find more justified.

### *Ethnocentrism*

The following statements deal with various ways in which you may think, feel about and relate to the ethnic group you see yourself belonging to or are most closely identified with. Some statements also pertain to your relationship with other ethnic groups. Please assume that the term “we” relates to your ethnic group.

- (1) In most cases, I like people from my culture more than I like others.
- (2) I don't think I have any particular preferences for my own cultural or ethnic group over others (reversed)
- (3) The world would be a much better place if all other cultures and ethnic groups modelled themselves on my culture
- (4) The values, way of life, and customs of most other cultures are probably just as good as those of my own (reversed)
- (5) Our culture would be much better off if we could keep people from different cultures out
- (6) I like the idea of a society in which people from completely different cultures, ethnic groups, and backgrounds mix together freely (reversed)
- (7) We need to do what's best for our own people, and stop worrying so much about what the effect might be on other peoples
- (8) We should always show consideration for the welfare of people from other cultural or ethnic groups even if, by doing this, we may lose some advantage over them (reversed)

Statement order randomized. Respondents were randomly presented with four statements, one from each following pair: (1) and (2), (3) and (4), (5) and (6), (7) and (8). Answers coded from 1 = “Strongly disagree” to 7 = “Strongly agree”

### *Militant vs cooperative approach to foreign policy (hawkishness)*

What are your views on the United States military?

- (1) The U.S. should involve themselves or stay committed militarily in current overseas conflict
- (2) The U.S. should involve themselves non-militarily (sanctions or aid) in current overseas conflicts (reversed)
- (3) The U.S. should maintain its dominant position as the world's most powerful nation at all costs
- (4) The U.S. should defer to international organizations (such as NATO or the U.N.) more frequently (reversed)

Statement order randomized. Answers coded from 1 = *Strongly disagree* to 7 = *Strongly agree*

### *Partisanship*

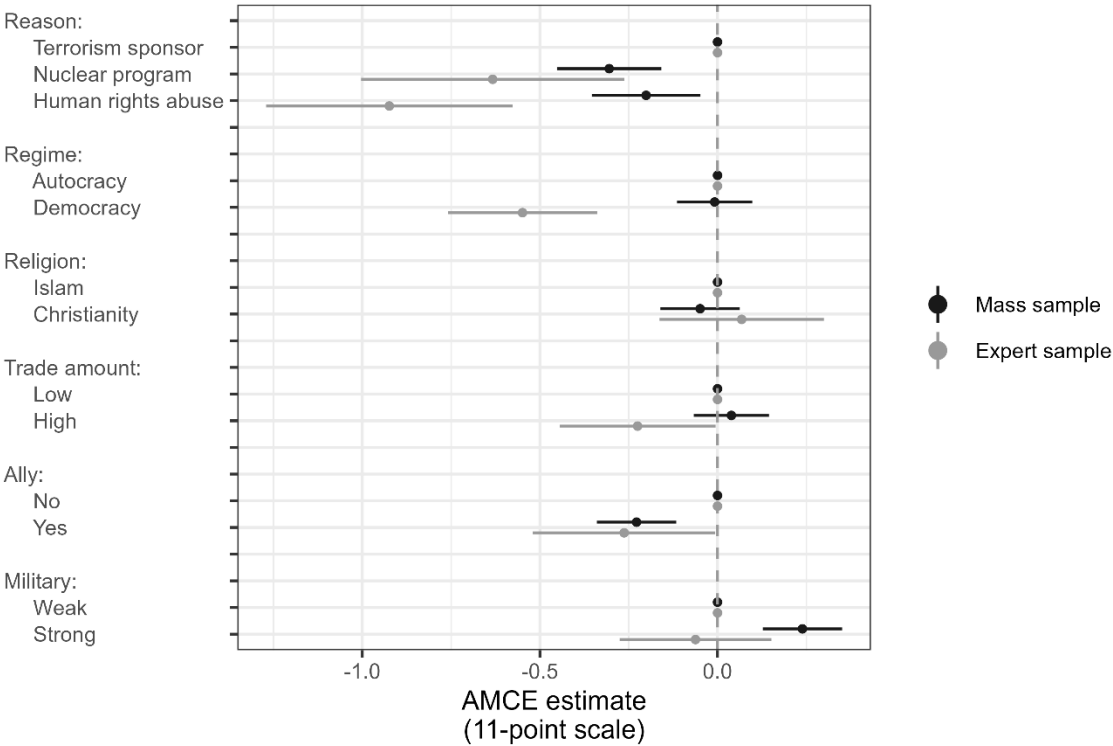
Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, or an independent?

[if Democrat] Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

[if Republican] Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

[if independent] Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

Section B. Results of the conjoint experiment, rating outcome



**Section C. Effects of political regime by respondents' partisanship and hawkishness (mass sample)**

	Estimate
Partisanship	
Democrat	-3.40*
	(1.40)
Republican	-2.95
	(1.71)
Difference	-0.45
	(2.21)
Hawkishness	
Low	-3.93*
	(1.56)
High	-2.87*
	(1.24)
Difference	-1.06
	(1.99)

*Note.* Standard errors in parentheses

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

#### **Section D. Feedback from expert respondents**

As part of our survey of foreign policy professionals, we asked our respondents to comment and provide feedback on our research design. Among the more common responses were that the reasons provided for military intervention were too vague, and the situations too stylized. As one respondent put it, “[t]he issue of whether to intervene militarily requires a lot more context to determine how justified or not it would be. There was not enough information in the examples to justify military intervention.” Another respondent informed us that the highly complex steps involved in military intervention were not reflected by our research design. They told us that “[m]ilitary action is serious, complex, and requires a spectrum of risk management that is not reflected here.” These responses validate the two-sample experimental design by confirming that respondents from the expert sample give very serious thought to international relations, and the matters of war and peace in particular. They also show that the way in which the public perceives the matters of foreign policy is much less sophisticated than the way in which experts perceive them.