Online Appendix

for Andy Baker and David Cupery (2023). “Animosity, Amnesia, or Admiration? Mass Opinion around the World toward the Former Colonizer” *British Journal of Political Science*

Part A. Survey Data Information

Table A.1 includes the precise wordings (in English) for each survey.

Table A1: Information about Measurement and Observations for the Five Survey Projects

Americas and the World (Center for Research and Teaching in Economics (CIDE). 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014. The Americas and the World. Mexico City, Mexico. Available at https://www.lasamericasyelmundo.cide.edu/)
Question Wording: "Now I am going to ask that you measure your opinion of some countries, with zero expressing a very unfavorable opinion, 100 expressing a very favorable opinion and 50 expressing an opinion that is neither favorable or unfavorable. You can use any number between 0 and 100, and the higher the number the more favorable your opinion of that country .If you don't have an opinion or don't know the country, please tell me."
Coding: "51" to "100" (positive); "0" to "49" (negative); "50" and "Don't know" and "Don't have an opinion" (neutral)
Years: 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014
Number of directed-dyad-year observations: 403

AsiaBarometer (Inoguchi, Takashi. 2003-2007. AsiaBarometer. Tokyo, Japan. Available at https://www.asiabarometer.org **)**
Question Wording: "Do you think the following countries have a good influence or bad influence on your country? Please select the response closest to your opinion for each country listed."
Coding: "Good influence" and "Rather good influence" (positive); "Bad influence" and "Rather bad influence" (negative); "Neither good nor bad influence" and "Don't know" (neutral)
Years: 2003-2007
Number of directed-dyad-year observations: 524

BBC/Globescan (BBC World Service, Globescan, Program for Public Consultation. 2005-2014, 2017. The Country Ratings Poll. Toronto, Canada. More information on the most recent survey is available at https://globescan.com/sharp-drop-in-world-views-of-us-uk-global-poll/#)
Question Wording: "Please tell me if you think each of the following country is having a mainly positive or mainly negative influence in the world."
Coding: "Mainly positive" (positive); "Mainly negative" (negative); "Depends" and "Neither, neutral" and "Do not know/No answer" (neutral).
Years: 2005-2014, 2017
Number of directed-dyad-year observations: 3,436

Latinobarometer (Corporación Latinobarómetro. 1995-2011, 2013, 2015-2018. Latinobarómetro. Santiago, Chile. Available at https://www.latinobarometro.org/)
Question Wording: "I would like to know your opinion about the following countries and powers. Do you have a very good, good, bad or very bad opinion about…"
Coding: "Very good" and "good" (positive); "Very bad" and "bad" (negative); "Do not know" and "No answer" (neutral)
**Note that from 1995 respondents were also given the option to answer "Neither positive nor negative". In 1996, 1997 and 1998, the option "About average" was provided. These responses have been coded as neutral.
Years: 1995-2011, 2013, 2015-2017
Number of directed-dyad-year observations: 1,630

Pew Global Attitudes Project (Pew Research Center. 2002-2020. Pew Global Attitudes Project. Washington, D.C. Available at https://www.pewresearch.org/global/datasets/)
Question Wording: "Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of…"
Coding: "Very favorable" and "favorable" (positive); "Very unfavorable" and "unfavorable" (negative); "Don't know" and "Refused" (neutral)
Years: 2002-2020
Number of directed-dyad-year observations: 2,498

We also reference Afrobarometer in a footnote. We do not merge the Afrobarometer directed dyads into the dependent variable because the project's question wording is *so* different, which is surely responsible for its low convergent validity. (See next section).

Table A2: Information about Measurement and Observations for Afrobarometer

Afrobarometer (Afrobarometer Data, [Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malai, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabe], [Round 4], [2008-2009], available at http://www.afrobarometer.org)
Question Wording: "In your opinion, how much do each of the following do to help your country, or haven't you heard enough to say?"
Coding: "Do nothing, no help" and "Help a little bit" (negative); "Help somewhat" and "Help a lot" (positive); "Don't know" and "Refused" (neutral)
Years: 2008-2009
Number of directed-dyad-year observations: 97

Evaluations of the European Union are also widely available across these datasets (701 directed dyad year observations). We drop these from all analyses, however, since the EU is not a nation-state.

Part B. Creating the Dependent Variable

For each of the five different survey projects, we recoded the relevant question into a three-point variable of positive responses, neutrality, and negative responses. We then aggregated responses to the directed-dyad-year level using the following formula:

$$Opinion^{*}_{ijt} = \frac{p_{ijt}}{p_{ijt}+n_{ijt}}, \quad (1)$$

where p is the number of positive responses and n the number of negative responses. $Opinion^{*}_{ijt}$ is thus the proportion of valenced responses in year t by citizens in i that are positive toward j, and the variable we ultimately use, $Opinion_{ijt}$, is the standardized version of $Opinion^{*}_{ijt}$.

The presence of different question wordings and response options is the biggest challenge to merging data from the different projects into a single dependent variable, but once we aggregate responses to the directed dyad level, the variables from the different survey projects have strong convergent validity. In many years multiple survey projects polled the same home country about the same target country, which allows us to calculate correlation coefficients for most of the pairwise combinations of survey projects. Table A3 reports this correlation matrix. For the five main projects, six of the eight observed coefficients (shaded in grey) exceed +.80, and seven of the eight exceed +.70. Most reassuringly, the correlation between the BBC Globescan and Pew GAP variables is high, which is important because these two projects provide the bulk of cases. Overall, the correlations for these five projects are sufficiently high to justify collapsing them into a single measure. The variable from Afrobarometer, however, does not correlate very highly with two other projects, which is not surprising since it induces evaluation of a very different and specific aspect of target countries. For this reason, we do not include these Afrobarometer cases in $Opinion_{ijt}$.

Table A3: Convergent Validity Analysis:
Inter-item Correlations at the Directed-Dyad-Year Level

	Pew GAP	**Latin-barometer**	**Americas & the World**	**Asian-Barometer**	**BBC Globescan**
Latin-barometer	+0.81 (175)				
Americas & the World	+0.85 (39)	+0.72 (64)			
Asian-Barometer	+0.88 (29)	Ø (0)	Ø (0)		
BBC Globescan	+0.81 (975)	+0.81 (183)	+0.46 (81)	+0.86 (25)	
Afro-barometer	+.48 (6)	Ø (0)	Ø (0)	Ø (0)	+.25 (9)

Note: Entries are Pearson correlation coefficients with number of observations in parentheses.

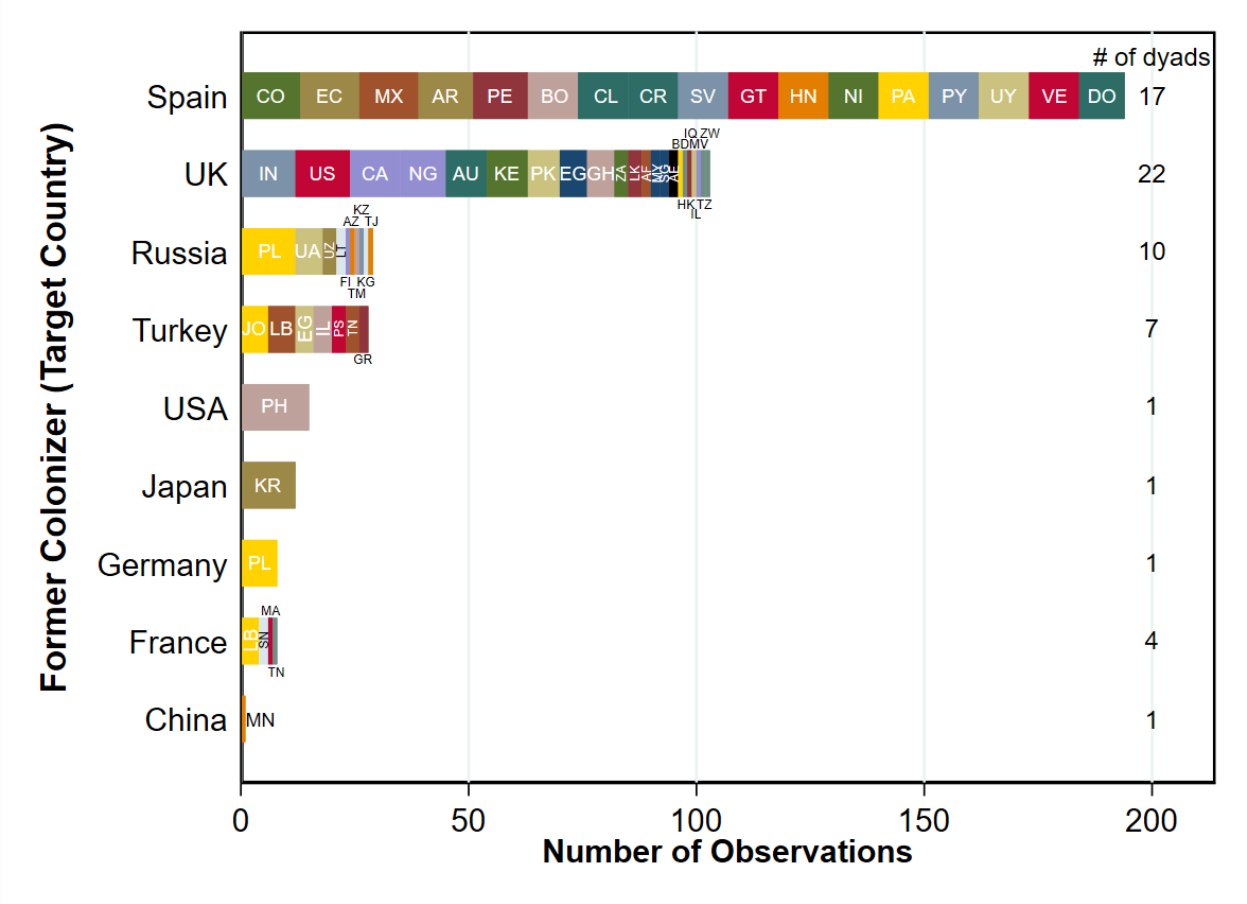
Even with these high inter-item correlations, we still face the challenges of (1) mapping five variables (from the five survey projects) with different underlying wordings/scales onto a single scale and (2) an incomplete correlation matrix (i.e., the two empty cells in the "Asianbarometer" row of Table A3). We could solve the first challenge with scoring coefficients from a factor analysis, but a factor solution is elusive without a fully observed covariance matrix. To proceed, we generate an estimate of the full covariance matrix. Multiple imputation (MI) techniques first compute a full covariance matrix, so we estimate ours using the expectation maximization (EM) algorithm from an MI procedure (Graham 2009; Truxillo 2005; UCLA 2021; Weaver and Maxwell 2014). With this in hand, we can generate imputations for missing values on all five variables (which we average over) and scoring coefficients to convert the five variables into $Opinion^{*}_{ijt}$. As mentioned in the paper, to absorb any remaining differences across the five variables, we include survey-project fixed effects in all regression analyses.

Part C. The Former-Colony Independent Variable

Our $FormerColony_{ij}$ variable is based on "IndFrom: Entity from Which Independence Was Gained" and "ColRuler: Primary Colonial Ruler" in Hensel (2018). $FormerColony_{ij}$ equals one if, according to Hensel, *i* gained independence from *j* or *j* was the primary colonial ruler of *i*. From there, we adjust about a dozen of Hensel's codings according to the following rules. First, for a few directed dyads, the pre-independence relationship was not colonial in nature and independence occurred through secession rather than decolonization. These directed dyads (recoded by us to $FormerColony_{ij}$=0) are (1) *i*=Ecuador and *j*=Colombia, (2) *i*=Peru and *j*=Bolivia, (3) *i*=Uruguay and *j*=Brazil, and (4) *i*=Bangladesh and *j*=Pakistan. Second, because Hensel tends to code only the primary colonizer, we recoded $FormerColony_{ij}$ for some directed dyads to reflect multiple former colonizers or, in a few cases, to fix oversights. The codings we changed, along with what we changed them to, are as follows: (1) *i*=Palestine and *j*=Turkey, $FormerColony_{ij}$=1; (2) *i*=Hong Kong and *j*=Great Britain, $FormerColony_{ij}$=1; (3) *i*=Egypt and *j*=Great Britain, $FormerColony_{ij}$=1; (4) *i*=Tunisia and *j*=France, $FormerColony_{ij}$=1; (5) *i*=Bhutan and *j*=India, $FormerColony_{ij}$=0; (6) *i*=Bhutan and *j*=Great Britain, $FormerColony_{ij}$=0. Third, we dropped a few cases (i.e., recoded by us to $FormerColony_{ij}$=missing) in which sovereignty from the target does not currently exist: (1) *i*=Palestine and *j*=Israel, (2) *i*=Taiwan and *j*=China, and (3) *i*=Hong Kong and *j*=China. Notes and citations justifying these decisions are available in the computer code, which will be posted along with this Online Appendix.

Figure A1 shows the directed dyads—along with their frequency (i.e., years observed)—for which $FormerColony_{ij}$=1. (This figure excludes the Afrobarometer dyads, referring strictly to the data used for the tables in the main text.) Note that four countries (Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Poland) were asked about two former colonizers.

Figure A1: Directed Dyads for which the Target is a Former Colonizer of the Home Country (i.e., *FormerColony*$_{ij}$=1)



Note: Abbreviations are the two-letter ISO country codes of home countries. Abbreviations are as follows: AE=United Arab Emirates; AF=Afghanistan; AR=Argentina; AU=Australia; AZ=Azerbaijan; BD=Bangladesh; BO=Bolivia; BR=Brazil; CA=Canada; CL=Chile; CO=Colombia; CR=Costa Rica; DO=Dominican Republic; EC=Ecuador; EG=Egypt; FI=Finland; GH=Ghana; GR=Greece; GT=Guatemala; HK=Hong Kong; HN=Honduras; IL=Israel; IN=India; IQ=Iraq; JO=Jordan; KE=Kenya; KG=Kyrgyzstan; KR=Korea, Republic of; KZ=Kazakhstan; LB=Lebanon; LT=Lithuania; MA=Morocco; MN=Mongolia; MV=Maldives; MX=Mexico; MY=Malaysia; NG=Nigeria; NI=Nicaragua; PA=Panama; PE=Peru; PH=Philippines; PK=Pakistan; PL=Poland; PS=Palestine; PY=Paraguay; SG=Singapore; SN=Senegal; SV=El Salvador; TJ=Tajikistan; TM=Turkmenistan; TN=Tunisia; TZ=Tanzania, United Republic of; UA=Ukraine; UG=Uganda; US=United States of America; UY=Uruguay; UZ=Uzbekistan; VE=Venezuela; ZA=South Africa.

Because we are not working with a systematic sample of countries or directed dyads, it is worth commenting on the sampling properties of our list of observed former-colony dyads. To provide a point of reference, Table A4 gives an approximation of the universe to which our sample can be compared. Table A4 is the frequency distribution of primary colonizers for the set of modern nation-states (Hensel 2018). For example, the UK was the primary colonizer of 59 countries (e.g., Ghana, US), France was the primary colonizer of 24 countries (e.g., Mali, Vietnam), and so on. How well does our sample of former-colony dyads—the frequency distribution of which appears in the column below "# of dyads" in Figure A1—approximate this

universe? Reasonably well, with some exceptions. Among the major colonizers, the UK (22 of 64 dyads in our sample) and Turkey (7 of 64 dyads) appear in our dataset in close proportion to their share among today's formerly colonized nation-states. By contrast, Spain and Russia are over-represented as targets in our sample (17 and 10 of the 64 dyads in our sample, respectively), and this over-representation clearly comes at the cost of under-representing France (just 4 of our directed dyads) and Portugal (none of our directed dyads). (We do have better representation of former French (5 of 19 former-colony dyads) and Portuguese (2 of 19 former-colony dyads) in the Afrobarometer sample, however.) In our main sample, we also have four targets (China, Germany, Japan, US) from a longer list (in Table A4) of former metropoles who were the primary colonizers of just one to three of today's countries.

Table A4: Distribution of Primary Colonizers among Modern Nation-States

Primary colonizer	Number of countries	Percentage of (formerly colonized) countries
United Kingdom	59	35.76%
France	24	14.55%
Spain	23	13.94%
Turkey	19	11.52%
Russia	12	7.27%
Portugal	7	4.24%
Austro-Hungary	4	2.42%
United States	3	1.82%
Netherlands	3	1.82%
Belgium	3	1.82%
Italy	2	1.21%
Japan	2	1.21%
Germany	1	0.61%
China	1	0.61%
Australia	1	0.61%
New Zealand	1	0.61%
Total	165	100%

Part D. Other Independent Variables

CenturiesSinceSovereignty$_{ijt.}$ is how long ago (in units of centuries to ensure coefficient readability) the home country ceased to be governed by the metropole in question. Our use of the word "sovereignty" is a (slightly inaccurate) shorthand for "no longer being governed" by the target. The fact that this variable is indexed by *j* means it can vary within a single home country, although it does so only for the four countries who were polled about multiple former colonizers. For example, the territory that is today Israel was under Ottoman rule until 1918, at which point it switched to British rule until 1948. We thus score *CenturiesSinceSovereignty*$_{ijt}$ as .90 when *i*=Israel, *j*=Turkey, and *t*=2008, and we score it as .60 when *i*=Israel, *j*=UK, and *t*=2008. (Because it is interacted with another covariate, we subsequently center *CenturiesSinceSovereignty*$_{ijt}$ at its median among the former-colony dyads.) Our source for this variable is "IndDate: Date of Independence" (Hensel 2018), although we make some minor adjustments to Hensel's

scorings. In particular, Hensel records this variable as the date on which the country "acquired control of its own foreign policy," but we make minor changes to the year, where necessary, so that this variable reflects the more standard date of achieving sovereignty from the relevant metropole.

ViolenceAtSovereignty$_{ij}$ equals 1 if "independence occurred through organized violence … (it occurred through armed revolt by the entity)" and 0 if not. This quote and variable come from "IndViol: Violent Independence?" (Hensel 2018). Because of the aforementioned changes we made to Hensel's coding in creating our *FormerColony*$_{ij}$ variable, we had to do our own research to score this variable for a few cases—cases for which Hensel did not have a scoring. (Again, note that this variable is indexed by *j* and can thus vary within home countries by metropole.) New scorings are as follows: (1) *i*=Bangladesh and *j*=Great Britain, *ViolenceAtSovereignty*$_{ij}$=0; (2) *i*=Tunisia and *j*=France, *ViolenceAtSovereignty*$_{ij}$=1; (3) *i*=Israel and *j*=Turkey, *ViolenceAtSovereignty*$_{ij}$=1; (4) *i*=Palestine and *j*=Turkey, *ViolenceAtSovereignty*$_{ij}$=1; (5) *i*=Lebanon and *j*=Turkey, *ViolenceAtSovereignty*$_{ij}$=1; (6) *i*=Hong Kong and *j*=Great Britain, *ViolenceAtSovereignty*$_{ij}$=0; (7) *i*=Egypt and *j*=Great Britain, *ViolenceAtSovereignty*$_{ij}$=1; (8) *i*=Lithuania and *j*=Russia, *ViolenceAtSovereignty*$_{ij}$=1; (9) *i*=Morocco and *j*=France, *ViolenceAtSovereignty*$_{ij}$=1; (10) *i*=Poland and *j*=Russia, *ViolenceAtSovereignty*$_{ij}$=0. Notes and citations justifying these decisions are available in the computer code, which will be posted along with this Online Appendix.

IndigenousMortality$_{i}$ equals 1 if indigenous mortality was high and 0 if it was low (Easterly and Levine 2016).

SettlerShare$_{ij}$ is the share of the country's population at the peak of the colonial era that was a settler (from the metropole in question) or settler-descended peoples. For most directed dyads, this is the *Euro Share* variable from Easterly and Levine (2016), which is "the European share of the population during colonization" (p. 231). In deciding which era to use in designating *Euro Share*, these authors "choose a date at least a century after initial European contact, but at least 50 years before independence" (p. 231). For directed dyads for which *Euro Share* is unavailable or irrelevant—such as Russian ethnics in the republics of the Soviet Union or Turkish ethnics in the *vilayet* (provinces) of the late Ottoman Empire—we did our own research to score *Settler Share.* Data for these cases are more sparse, so we had little choice as to dates. But we were able to find credible values for almost all former-colony dyads not scored by Easterly and Levine. Useful sources for this include Karpat (1985) and Sakwa (1998, 244). Notes and citations justifying our scorings are available in the computer code.

Polity$_{jt}$ is from the PolityV dataset (Center for Systemic Peace 2018).

GDP$_{jt}$ is reported in current US dollars (International Monetary Fund (IMF) 2021b).

GDPperCapita$_{jt}$ is reported in current US dollars (International Monetary Fund (IMF) 2021b).

$Trade_{ijt}$ is the logged sum of $Imports_{ijt}$ and $Exports_{ijt}$. These are calculated as a share of country *i*'s GDP (International Monetary Fund (IMF) 2021a). Bilateral imports data, when reported, is used for both the imports of the reporting country and the exports of the partner country. Bilateral exports data is only used as a replacement when the partner country's imports are not reported.

$SharedReligion_{ij}$ indicates whether the countries in the dyad have the same majority religion. This equals 1 if at least 50% of population in home has the same religious affiliation as at least 50% of population in target and 0 if not. Like Gartzke and Gleditsch (2006), we use the major, level-1 religious categories (e.g. Christian, Buddhist, Muslim) rather than level-2 subcategories (e.g. Protestant, Catholic, Sunni Muslim, Shia Muslim) (Maoz and Henderson 2013).

$SharedLanguage_{ij}$ indicates whether the countries in the dyad share an official language (=1) or not (=0) (Central Intelligence Agency 2021).

FDI_{ijt} is the stock of FDI from *j* in *i* in year *t* calculated as a share of *i*'s GDP (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 2021).

Aid_{ijt} is the inflow of official development assistance from *j* to *i* in year *t* calculated as a share of *i*'s GDP (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 2021).

Part E. Missing Data Patterns

In model 1.2 we lose all observations for which $IndigenousMortality_i$ is undefined in Easterly and Levine (2016). In model 1.4 we lose all observations in which the home country is a never-colonized European country, since *SettlerShare* is undefinable for these cases. Also, we lose four former-colony directed dyads that are former Ottoman colonies, namely *i*=Israel and *j*=Turkey, *i*=Palestine and *j*=Turkey, *i*=Jordan and *j*=Turkey, and *i*=Lebanon and *j*=Turkey. Data on Turkish ethnics in these territories under late Ottoman rule are unavailable (Karpat 1985).

In Table 2, we lose 118 cases in all models that use $Polity_{jt}$; these are cases from 2019 or 2020 for which Polity scores do not yet exist. In all models that use GDP_{jt} we lose 262 cases for which North Korea is the target because of its lack of GDP data. We also lose 80 cases in all models that use $Trade_{ijt}$ owing to missing trade data.

Part F. Further Regressions on Dyadic Traits

Table A5: Features of Postcolonial Dyadic Relationships as Explanations of the Former-Colonizer Premium

	A5.1	A5.2
FormerColony_{ij}	0.263	0.420*
	(0.154)	(0.135)
FDI_{ijt}	1.383	
	(0.964)	
Aid_{ijt}		0.681
		(3.307)
Observations	2,698	2,293
Directed dyads	520	443

Note: Dependent variable is $Opinion_{ijt}$. Entries are between-effects OLS coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. All models include survey-project, home-country, and year FEs.
* $p < 0.05$

Two other measures of dyadic economic flows from target to home—FDI_{ijt} and Aid_{ijt}—are insignificant, though these variables are missing for about 60 percent of our cases. FDI_{ijt} and Aid_{ijt} are only available for directed dyads in which the outflow is from an OECD nation, hence the large quantities of dropped cases in models A5.1 and A5.2.

Part G. Instrumental Variable for Trade Flows

Frankel and Romer (1999) develop an instrumental variable for trade flows between two countries based on the following variables: whether the two countries share a border, whether one of them is landlocked, their sizes in both area and population, and their distance from one another. As geographical measures, these are all plausibly exogenous to trade flows, and exogeneity is important for us to achieve since trade flows may be partially endogenous to the international opinions we seek to explain (Rose 2016). In the first stage equation of model 2.3, we regress $Trade_{ijt}$ on each of these variables plus the interactions between shared border and each of the other variables (plus all the regressors in the second stage equation reported in Table 2). The instrument is a strong one, explaining 42% of the variance between directed dyads.

Still, the coefficient on $Trade_{ijt}$ in model 2.3 may be inflated because we cannot be entirely certain that this instrumental variables regression satisfies the exclusion restriction. We cannot be certain that, say, distance between home and target only affects home's opinion of target through the channel of bilateral trade flows. Indeed, this is surely a strong assumption to make, and whether truly exogenous shifts in trade flows yield changes in $Opinion_{ijt}$ requires further research that would be beyond the scope of this paper. For this reason, we are most comfortable with the cautious conclusion that trade merely helps to account for the former-colonizer premium along with the monadic trait of democracy.

Part H. Regression with Mexico as the Only Home Country

Table A6: Contemporary Monadic and Dyadic Features as Correlates of Mexicans' Opinions of 33 Target Countries

Model:	A6.1
Polity_{jt}	0.040^{*}
	(0.019)
GDP_{jt}	0.195^{*}
	(0.062)
GDPperCapita_{jt}	0.008
	(0.078)
Observations	262
Directed dyads	33

Note: Dependent variable is $Opinion_{ijt}$. Sample is limited to cases in which Mexico is the home country. Entries are BE OLS coefficients (A6.1) or BE IV regression coefficients (A6.2) with standard errors in parentheses. All models include survey-project FEs. * $p < 0.05$

Part I. Online Appendix References

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