**Appendix to “Partnerships in military interventions and the Canadian public”**

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1. Covariate balance across treatment groups

In the text, I note some significant differences across treatment groups in covariates that are plausibly associated with support for a peace operation: the respondent’s education and positions on climate change and on terrorism. These differences are demonstrated below.

**Table A1. Differences in means among treatment groups**

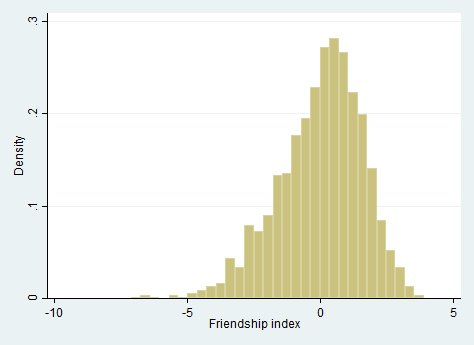
Note: cells contain estimate and 95% confidence interval. Treatment groups in which there is a statistically significant difference in the mean of the variable with another treatment group (*p* <.05) are in bold.

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| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| *Covariate* | Control | US | UK/Fr | UN |
| Supports doing more to aid poor countries *(-1=do less; 0=do same; 1=do more)* | .186  [.105 .268] | .204  [.127 .281] | .210  [.134 .287] | .222  [.151 .293] |
| Supports doing more to fight climate change *(coded as above)* | **.605**  **[.538 .671]** | .552  [.477 .627] | **.605**  **[.533 .675]** | **.501**  **[.427 .576]** |
| Supports doing more to combat terrorism *(coded as above)* | **.242**  **[.167 .317]** | **.131**  **[.054 .208]** | .168  [.091 .244] | **.107**  **[.033 .182]** |
| Supports doing more to promote Canadian trade *(coded as above)* | .482  [.407 .558] | .530  [.458 .603] | .485  [.416 .554] | .511  [.446 .575] |
| Regards other countries as friends to Canada *(explained in text below)* | -.052  [-.242 .138] | .048  [-.129 .225] | -.028  [-.219 .162] | .022  [-.163 .207] |
| Age *(years)* | 48.8  [46.6 50.9] | 48.7  [46.7 50.7] | 47.3  [45.2 49.5] | 47.5  [45.5 49.5] |
| Gender *(1=female, 0=male)* | .542  [.484 .600] | .524  [.467 .581] | .492  [.434 .551] | .504  [.448 .559] |
| Education *(1=high school or less; 2=college or some university; 3 = university graduate)* | 2.22  [2.13 2.31] | **2.26**  **[2.18 2.34]** | **2.14**  **[2.05 2.24]** | 2.18  [2.09 2.27] |
| Income *(1 = under $30k; 2=$30k to $60k; 3=$60k to $80k; 4=$80k to $100k; 5=$100k to $150k; 6 = $150k+)* | 3.18  [2.98 3.38] | 3.37  [3.18 3.56] | 3.32  [3.12 3.52] | 3.32  [3.13 3.51] |

1. Distribution of the friendship index

The paper introduces a “friendship index,” summarizing the respondent’s tendency to view other countries as friends or enemies of Canada. Figure A1 gives the distribution of this index.

**Figure A1. Histogram of friendship index**



1. Extensions: results of the experiment by age, gender, region, and left-right opinion

The main paper was principally interested in the “partnership logic” of support for military interventions and in how that logic interacts with the “substantive logic.” There was therefore not space to examine other ways in which the partnership logic might not be uniform in the Canadian public, beyond how it differs between those who are substantively internationalist and those who are not. However, there are several interesting dimensions to analyze here. For each, I conducted the same analysis as in the paper for support for foreign aid and the friendship index (Figures 2 and 3 in the main paper). That is, I first analyzed a logit model interacting the relevant variable with the treatment groups, controlling for education and positions on climate change and terrorism (to deal with covariate balance problems). I then provide predicted probabilities on the basis of these models.

First, there is a significant gender gap in support for military intervention of many kinds, including peace operations (Eichenberg, 2003; Gidengil et al., 2003, 153). This gap is confirmed in the main results in the paper: women were significantly less likely to support the hypothetical peace operation than were men (in the ordered logit model in particular). Do partnership logics maintain, reinforce,or attenuate this gap? For example, it might be that women’s greater skepticism towards the use of force is particularly acute when the use of force appears to be unilateral—as in a US-led intervention. Figure A2 suggests, however, that women’s greater skepticism is actually located elsewhere, in missions with no leader indicated and in UN missions. Support for a US-led mission is comparable across genders, and women are, if anything, slightly *more* likely than men to support a peace operation if led by Britain and France. These findings do not lend themselves to an obvious interpretation, however.

**Figure A2. Gender and the partnership logic of support for peace operations**

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**Figure A3. Age and the partnership logic of support for peace operations**

Second, my main results also show an age gap in support for peace operations. Does this have a partnership dimension? For example, does increasing reluctance for peace operations among older Canadians go along with concern about the UN in particular? Figure A3 suggests that increasing reluctance for peace operations by age is fairly general across treatment categories. It also suggests, however, that the gap in support between US-led and other missions is especially pronounced among younger respondents, going along with their greater general support for peace operations. Here, it appears as though the twin internationalist logics of support for peace missions *and* for multilateralism are especially clear among younger Canadians.

**Figure A4. Region and the partnership logic of support for peace operations**

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Third, the paper analyzes elements of a broad Canadian strategic culture, but other studies have pointed to the existence of regional strategic subcultures, notably with Quebecers somewhat less likely to support combat operations, and Albertans more so, compared to the remaining regions of the country (Massie, 2008; Massie et al., 2010). Massie and Boucher (2013) also find that Quebecers evince greater support for missions that have UN leadership or UN Security Council approval than those that do not. How, then, do regions differ in the partnership logics that obtain?

Figure A4 shows some very wide gaps that are consistent with these past patterns. There is most similarity among Saskatchewan and Manitoba, on the one hand, and Ontario on the other, with very little difference across treatment categories in either of these regions. Skepticism towards US leadership is most in evidence in BC, Quebec and the Atlantic provinces. Alberta, however, demonstrates a totally different pattern, with a clear drop in support when the mission is led by the United Nations. The results suggest that distinctive regional strategic subcultures may indeed exist and imply differences in preferred partnerships for peace operations.

Finally, other studies have noted some reason to believe that opinions about military missions may be associated with attitudes about other political issues. Conservative party supporters tend to be more militaristic than others, for example (Fitzsimmons et al., 2014), though this association appears to go beyond opinions on domestic policy concerns (Gravelle et al., 2014). Several studies (Gidengil et al., 2006; Fournier et al., 2013) also find that Canadian voters who favour closer ties with the United States in general, and with specific regard to trade, are more likely to be Conservative supporters than those who are not. Unfortunately, however, because the survey did not ask questions about partisan identification or left-right self-placement, there is not a really clear opportunity to address this question. The closest the survey comes to asking about a clear left/right socioeconomic issue is to ask respondents if they approve of a guaranteed minimum income. Despite the fact that some conservative economists, such as Milton Friedman, have favoured this policy in the past as a way of replacing targeted welfare-state programs, it seems plausible that typical members of the Canadian public would be unaware of this and would tend to align with left-wing respondents favouring a minimum income and right-wing respondents generally against it. In Figure A5, then, I break down the experiment by opinion on this issue to at least *hint* at what the left-right dynamics of partnerships in peace operations might be.

Interestingly, the results are as one might expect: left-wing respondents seem to be generally more favourable to peace operations, and also to be negatively affected in their support by US leadership. Again, however, I caution that this result is at best an interesting, suggestive hint.

**Figure A5. Left-right alignment and the partnership logic of support for peace operations**

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As noted, without a party identification question, it was not possible to directly assess whether supporters of different political parties are affected by different partnerships in military missions. There *is* a suggestive hint across these results, however. With Conservative supporters tending to be disproportionately older, right-wing on socio-economic issues, and in Alberta, one plausible hypothesis that emerges from these findings is that the continentalism in support for the Conservatives extends to attitudes about peace operations. On the flip side, supporters of other political parties may be more skeptical about partnering with the United States on military missions. However, it would take a more systematic investigation to test this.

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