

**Supplementary Information For
“Public Opinion and Decisions about Military Force in Democracies”**

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APPENDIX 1: SURVEY OF ISRAELI KNESSET

A. QUESTIONNAIRE

PART 1: Experiment

We randomly assigned respondents to two conditions:

Public supports: D_1 = תומך בפעולה; D_2 = צריכה; D_3 = בעד

Public opposes: D_1 = מתנגד לפעולה; D_2 = לא צריכה; D_3 = נגד

Translation:

Public supports: D_1 = supports; D_2 = should; D_3 = for

Public opposes: D_1 = opposes; D_2 = should not; D_3 = against

The randomized values were inserted into the following scenario.

כעת נבקש את עמדתך בנוגע לתרחיש היפותטי הבא.

- עשרה מחבלים חמושים יצאו ממנהרה תת קרקעית בצפון ישראל, בסמוך לגבול עם לבנון. המחבלים תכננו לתקוף יישוב יהודי, לקחת אזרחים כבני ערובה, ולקחת אותם בחזרה ללבנון. זה"ל תפס חלק מהמחבלים, אבל אחרים נמלטו בחזרה ללבנון. מספר חיילי צה"ל נפצעו במהלך המבצע.
- הממשלה דנה האם ישראל צריכה לשלוח כוחות מיוחדים ומטוסים לתקוף את בסיסי המחבלים בלבנון.
- מערכת הביטחון חלוקה בנוגע לשאלה האם ישראל צריכה לבצע פעולה צבאית שכזו. תומכים טוענים שהמבצע יעניש את המחבלים, יפחית את האיום מהמנהרות, וירתיע התקפות עתידיות. מתנגדים אומרים שהפעולה תוביל לנפגעים בקרב חיילי צה"ל, תגרום למחבלים להגיב נגד ערים בישראל, ותידרדר לעימות צבאי בקנה מידה גדול.
- הציבור מאוד {e://Field/D_1}\$ צבאית נגד המחבלים. התקשורת סיקרה בהרחבה את המצב, וסקרים מראים שיותר מ-75% מהמצביעים חושבים שישאל {e://Field/D_2}\$ לתקוף את בסיסי המחבלים. אזרחים התחילו להפגין {e://Field/D_3}\$ הפעולה הצבאית ושולחים הודעות לנציגייהם.

בתרחיש זה, האם היית תומך או מתנגד לשליחת כוחות מיוחדים ומטוסים לתקוף את בסיסי הטרור?

תומך מאוד

תומך במידת מה

מתנגד במידת מה

מתנגד בתוקף

Translation:

Now we will ask for your opinion about a hypothetical scenario.

Ten armed terrorists emerged from an underground tunnel in northern Israel, close to the border with Lebanon. The terrorists were planning to attack a Jewish town, take civilian hostages, and bring them back to Lebanon. The IDF caught some of the terrorists, but others escaped back into Lebanon. Several IDF soldiers were wounded during the operation.

The government deliberated whether Israel should send special forces and planes to attack the terrorist bases inside Lebanon.

The security establishment is divided over whether Israel should carry out this military operation. Supporters say the operation would punish the terrorists, reduce the threat from the tunnels, and deter future attacks. Opponents say the operation would lead to IDF casualties, would cause terrorists to retaliate against Israeli cities, and would escalate into a large-scale military conflict.

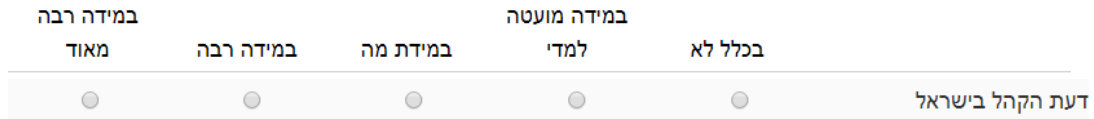
The public strongly [supports/opposes] taking military action against the terrorists. The media has covered the situation extensively, and polls show that more than 75% of voters think Israel [should/should not] attack the terrorist bases. Citizens have started demonstrating [for/against] the military action and sending letters to their representatives.

In this situation, would you support or oppose sending special forces and planes to attack the terrorist bases?

- Support strongly
- Support somewhat
- Oppose somewhat
- Oppose strongly

PART 2: Direct inquiry

באופן כללי, כשאתה חושב האם להשתמש בכוח צבאי נגד אויב זר, עד כמה אתה לוקח בחשבון כל אחד מהשיקולים הבאים:



Translation:

In general, when you consider whether to use military force against a foreign adversary, to what extent do you consider each of the following factors?

Public opinion in Israel

- Not at all
- Small extent
- Medium extent
- Large extent
- Very large extent

PART 3: We measured each respondent's expectations about what would happen if ...

עכשיו היינו רוצים שתחשוב על השימוש בכוח צבאי באופן כללי יותר. אנא בחן את המצבים היפותטיים הבאים:

נניח שממשלה בישראל שוקלת אם לצאת למלחמה נגד אויב זר. אם הציבור התנגד בתוקף ליציאה למלחמה, אבל הממשלה החליטה בכל זאת לצאת למלחמה, בבקשה דרג את הסבירות שכל אחד מהאירועים הבאים יקרה בטווח הקצר:

סביר ביותר	מאוד סביר	סביר במידת מה	לא סביר	
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	הממשלה תאבד תמיכה בסקרים
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	הממשלה תתקשה יותר לקבל תמיכה במדיניות פנים וחוץ אחרות
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	הממשלה תיפול
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	אם בחירות היו מתקיימות בטווח הקצר, מפלגות השלטון יאבדו מושבים

נניח שממשלה בישראל שוקלת אם לצאת למלחמה נגד אויב זר. אם הציבור תמך מאוד ביציאה למלחמה, אבל הממשלה החליטה בכל זאת שלא לצאת למלחמה, בבקשה דרג את הסבירות שכל אחד מהאירועים הבאים יקרה בטווח הקצר:

סביר ביותר	מאוד סביר	סביר במידת מה	לא סביר	
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	הממשלה תאבד תמיכה בסקרים
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	הממשלה תתקשה יותר לקבל תמיכה במדיניות פנים וחוץ אחרות
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	הממשלה תיפול
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	אם בחירות היו מתקיימות בטווח הקצר, מפלגות השלטון יאבדו מושבים

Translation:

Now we would like you think more generally about the use of military force. Please review the following hypothetical situations.

Let's assume the Israeli government is considering going to war against a foreign enemy. If the public strongly opposed going to war, but the government decided to go to war, please rate the likelihood that each of the following events would happen in the short term:

	Unlikely	Somewhat likely	Very likely	Extremely likely
The government will lose support in the polls.	○	○	○	○
The government will find it harder to get support for other domestic and foreign policies.	○	○	○	○
The government will fall.	○	○	○	○
If elections were held in the short term, the ruling parties would lose seats.	○	○	○	○

Let's assume the Israeli government is considering going to war against a foreign enemy. If the public strongly supported going to war, but the government decided not to go to war, please rate the likelihood that each of the following events would happen in the short term:

	Unlikely	Somewhat likely	Very likely	Extremely likely
The government will lose support in the polls.	○	○	○	○
The government will find it harder to get support for other domestic and foreign policies.	○	○	○	○
The government will fall.	○	○	○	○
If elections were held in the short term, the ruling parties would lose seats.	○	○	○	○

B. RECRUITMENT MATERIALS AND PROCEDURES

PART 1: Recruitment Letter to Knesset Members

הנך מוזמן להשתתף במחקר בחסות פרופסורים מאוניברסיטאות XXX שבארצות הברית. פרויקט זה בוחן כיצד מקבלי החלטות חושבים על מדיניות חוץ. השאלון מיועד לנשים וגברים כאחד.
נהלי המחקר: המחקר כרוך בהשלמת שאלון אמריקאי ויקח כ-15 דקות להשלים. שאלון זה מופץ לכל חברי הכנסת בישראל בהווה או בשני העשורים האחרונים. בכוונתנו לערוך בעתיד מחקר השוואתי עם חברי הפרלמנט הבריטי ואלטות בארצות הברית.
סודיות: מחקר זה הינו אקדמי בלבד, ועל מנת לשמור על אמינותו המחקרית אנו מחויבים לשמר את האנונימיות של המשתתפים. התשובות שלך יהיו אנונימיות לחלוטין ללא אפשרות לקשר את זהותך לתשובות שאתה מספק.

להתחיל את השאלון, אנא הקש על הקישור הבא: XXX
אתה תבקש להזין סיסמה בעלת 6 ספרות. סיסמה זו הינה אישית, סודית, ונועדה לשימושך הפרטי בלבד. הסיסמה שלך היא: XXXXX
בשל הפורמט של השאלון, אנו מבקשים שלא תענה על השאלון מהמכשיר הסלולרי שלך. (אם אתה מעדיף שנשלח לך עותק קשיח של השאלון באי-מייל או בדואר, נשמח לעשות זאת!)

אנו מודים לך על השתתפותך במחקר זה. אנו יודעים שזמנך יקר מאוד, ומעריכים את תרומתך למחקר בנושאים חשובים אלו. נשמח לשתף אותך בתוצאות המחקר לאחר שנעבד את הנתונים.
אם יש לך שאלות אנא פנה לפרופ' XXX מאוניברסיטת XXX באימייל: XXX.
בברכה,
XXX

Translation:

You are invited to participate in a survey sponsored by professors from XXX universities in the United States. This project examines how decision-makers think about foreign policy. The questionnaire is intended for men and women alike.

Procedures: The survey consists of multiple choice questions and will take about 15 minutes to complete. This questionnaire is sent to all current members of the Knesset as well as those who served as Knesset members in the past two decades. We intend to conduct a comparative survey of members of the British Parliament and elites in the United States in the future.

Confidentiality: This research is purely academic, and in order to maintain its academic integrity we are obligated to preserve the anonymity of the participants. Your answers will be entirely anonymous without a possibility to connect your identity to the responses you provide.

To start the survey, please click on the following link: XXX
You will be asked to insert a 6-digit password. This password is personal, confidential, and is intended for your personal use only.

Your password is: XXXXX

Because of the format, we ask that you not answer this survey from your cellular phone (if you prefer us to send you a hard copy, please let us know and we will be happy to do so!)

We thank you again for your participation in this research. We know your time is valuable, and we appreciate your contribution to these important research areas. We are happy to inform you of the results of this survey after we process the data.

If you have any questions, please email XXX from XXX University at XXX.

Sincerely,

XXX

PART 2: Introduction to the Survey

תודה על השתתפותך במחקר זה. הסקר צריך לקחת בערך 15 דקות כדי להשלים.

הסקר כתוב בלשון זכר, ברם הוא מופנה לנשים וגברים כאחד.

כל תשובות שאתה מספק תישמרנה באופן חשאי. כאשר ממצאים ממחקר זה יפורסמו, אנו תמיד נדווח על תוצאות כלליות באופן שלא יכול לשמש כדי לזהות משיבים אינדיבידואלים, ואנחנו לא נשתמש בשמו של כל משיב בכל חומר מחקרי שהוא.

אם אתה רוצה עותק של הדו"ח הסופי שלנו, או אם יש לך שאלות על מחקר זה, אנא צור עימנו קשר ב [redacted] ואם יש לך שאלות על הזכויות שלך כמשתתף במחקר זה, ניתן לפנות ל [redacted] Institutional Review Board באימייל: [redacted]

שוב תודה על השתתפותך!

Translation:

Thank you for participating in this study. The survey should take about 15 minutes to complete.

The survey is written in the masculine form, but it is intended for both men and women.

Any answers you provide will be kept confidential. When findings from this study are published, we will always report general results in a way that cannot be used to identify individual respondents, and we will not use the name of any respondent in any research material.

If you would like a copy of our final report, or if you have any questions about this research, please contact us at XXX. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this study, please contact XXX by email at: XXX.

Thank you again for your participation!

PART 3: Recruitment Procedures

We built a database of all 411 individuals who had served in the Knesset between June 1996 (beginning of the 14th Knesset) and March 2015 (beginning of the 20th Knesset). After removing 28 who had died before our survey began on July 2015, we were left with a sampling frame of 383 individuals.

We sought contact information for all 383 individuals through a variety of channels, including the Secretary of the Knesset, the Knesset Channel, party leadership offices in the Knesset, and other government offices. We found valid contact information for all 120 current Knesset members and 168 former members, covering 288 of the 383 individuals (75%) in the sampling frame.

On July 10, 2015, we executed a soft launch of the on-line survey. The survey included a recruitment email, written in Hebrew (reproduced above), a link to the on-line survey, and an individual six-digit password that was pre-assigned to each member. In the following days, we emailed the invitation to all 288 members for whom we had obtained contact information. A few weeks later, we sent a reminder email to those who had not taken the survey. We sent another round of reminders a few weeks later. Between these rounds, we phoned current and former members to remind them to take the survey. In early August 2015, the Director of Academic Affairs at the Knesset, together with the Secretary of the Knesset, emailed all current Knesset members, repeating the information in our invitation and encouraging them to take the survey.

In mid-August we sent those who had not responded a reminder email and attached an electronic copy of the survey that could be opened in Microsoft Word. Some printed the survey, filled it out, and faxed or emailed their answers back to us. Finally, in a few cases involving current Knesset members, a Hebrew-speaking member of our research team gave the Knesset members the survey directly and picked it up from them within a two-hour window.

Participants were promised full anonymity: with the exception of the research team, participants were assured that identifiable information would not be released or reported.

We took several steps to increase confidence that current and former Knesset members, rather than members of their staff, completed the questionnaires. First, in all recruitment materials we emphasized that the questionnaire should be filled out by the subject directly, and not by members of his or her staff. We reiterated this point in follow-up conversations and explained that the six-digit code we provided to access the on-line survey was personal, and must not be shared with others. Second, in the case of former Knesset members (76% of the completed interviews), a Hebrew-speaking member of the research team contacted the policymaker directly via phone or email, and confirmed that they were the one taking the survey.

C. DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

Of the 288 current and former MKs for whom we found contact information at the time of our study, 87 (30%) answered the survey.

Table 1 summarizes the demographic and political attributes of respondents, and compares them with the attributes of all 383 people in our sampling frame. As the table shows, our sample was representative on most dimensions, including gender, age, education, birthplace, and experience. If anything, levels of political experience in our sample were slightly higher than in the sampling frame as a whole. Approximately 67% of our respondents had served in more than one Knesset, compared with 61% in the sampling frame. Likewise, 43% of our respondents had been either a minister or a deputy minister, compared with 38% in the sampling frame.

We also classified the parties to which members belonged when they served in the Knesset. The literature on political parties in Israel distinguishes five broad clusters of parties: left-wing parties, center parties, right-wing parties, Jewish religious parties, and Arab parties. Some members of our sampling frame switched parties—and even party clusters—while in office. To account for this fact, we computed the percentage of time each person spent in each cluster and recorded the average percentages in Table 1. Our sample closely matched the sampling frame for centrist and right-wing parties, while overrepresenting left-wing parties at the expense of Arab and Jewish religious parties.

Table 1: Demographic and Political Attributes of Knesset and Sample

	Completed Interviews	Sampling Frame	Difference
Gender			
Male	83	81	2
Female	17 %	19 %	-2 %
Age			
30-49 years	14 %	17 %	-3 %
50-59 years	17	25	-7
60-69 years	40	36	4
70 and over	29	23	6
Education			
No college degree	18 %	17 %	2 %
College degree	37	33	4
Graduate degree	43	40	3
Rabbinical ordination	2	8	-6
Not reported	0	2	-2
Birthplace			
Israel	74 %	68 %	5 %
Not Israel	26	32	-5
Elected to Current Knesset			
Yes	24 %	31 %	-7 %
No	76	69	7
Total Number of Knessets			
One	33 %	39 %	-6 %
Two or Three	39	32	7
Four or More	28	29	-1
Highest Ministerial Position			
Never a minister	57 %	62 %	-5 %
Deputy Minister	9	6	3
Minister	29	27	2
Prime Minister or Vice-PM	5	5	0
Party Affiliations			
Left	40 %	26 %	14 %
Center	27	25	2
Right	25	25	0
Religious	4	17	-13
Arab	3	8	-4

APPENDIX 2: ISRAEL PUBLIC SURVEY, MARCH 2016

A. QUESTIONNAIRE

PART 1: We measured the respondent's preferences about economic, foreign, and religious policies.

בקשר למבנה החיים הכלכליים בארץ, האם אתה תומך יותר בגישה הסוציאליסטית או בגישה הקפיטליסטית?

- קפיטליסטית בהחלט
- יותר קפיטליסטית מאשר סוציאליסטית
- יותר סוציאליסטית מאשר קפיטליסטית
- סוציאליסטית בהחלט

בנושאי חוץ וביטחון, האם אתה תומך בגישה יונית (שמאל) או ניצית (ימין)?

- יונית (שמאל) בהחלט
- יותר יונית (שמאל) מניצית (ימין)
- יותר ניצית (ימין) מיונית (שמאל)
- ניצית (ימין) בהחלט

באיזו תדירות על הממשלה לדרוש שהמסורת היהודית הדתית תחול על חיי הציבור הכללי?

- אף פעם
- לעיתים רחוקות
- לעיתים תכופות
- תמיד

Translation:

About the structure of economic life in the country, do you support more a capitalist or a socialist approach?

- Definitely capitalist
- More capitalist than socialist
- More socialist than capitalist
- Definitely socialist

On matters of foreign affairs and security, do you support a dovish (left) or a hawkish (right) approach?

- Definitely dovish (left)
- More dovish (left) than hawkish (right)
- More hawkish (right) than dovish (left)
- Definitely hawkish (right)

To what extent should the government require Jewish religious traditions in public life?

- Never
- Rarely
- Often
- Always

PART 2: We described the evaluation task. In the list below and in subsequent tables, we randomized the order of the three policy categories, and randomized the order of the four non-policy categories.

במסכים הבאים אנו נתאר מספר מפלגות פוליטיות. המפלגות הן היפותטיות, הן אינן מפלגות אמיתיות הפועלות בישראל כיום. הרוב המכריע של המועמדים בכל מפלגה הם יהודים, וכל מפלגה צפויה לעבור את אחוז החסימה ולהיכנס לכנסת.

אנחנו נספק את הנתונים הבאים לגבי כל מפלגה:

- מדיניות כלכלית של המפלגה
- מדיניות חוץ וביטחון של המפלגה
- מדיניות דתית של המפלגה
- המגדר של ראש המפלגה
- אחת מ-3 המפלגות הגדולות ביותר?
- ניסיון פוליטי של ראש המפלגה
- ניסיונו הצבאי של ראש המפלגה

אנא קרא את הנתונים בקפידה, ולאחר מכן ספר לנו על עמדותך בנוגע למפלגות.

Translation:

On the following screens we will describe a number of political parties. The parties are hypothetical; they are not real parties operating in Israel today. The vast majority of candidates in each party are Jews, and each party is expected to pass the electoral threshold and enter the Knesset.

We will provide the following information about each party:

- Economic policy of the party
- Foreign security policy of the party
- Religious policy of the party
- Gender of the party leader
- One of the three largest parties?
- Political experience of the party leader
- Military experience of the party leader

Please read the information carefully, and then tell us about your opinions about the parties.

PART 3: We independently randomized the attributes of each party. The randomized values were:

מדיניות כלכלית של המפלגה
סוציאליסטית בהחלט
יותר סוציאליסטית מאשר קפיטליסטית
יותר קפיטליסטית מאשר סוציאליסטית
קפיטליסטית בהחלט

מדיניות חוץ וביטחון של המפלגה
יונית (שמאל) בהחלט
יותר יונית (שמאל) מניצית (ימין)
יותר ניצית (ימין) מיונית (שמאל)
ניצית (ימין) בהחלט

מדיניות דתית של המפלגה
שהמסורת היהודית דתית אף פעם לא תחול על חיי הציבור הכללי
שהמסורת היהודית דתית לעיתים רחוקות תחול על חיי הציבור הכללי
שהמסורת היהודית דתית לעיתים תכופות תחול על חיי הציבור הכללי
שהמסורת היהודית דתית תמיד תחול על חיי הציבור הכללי

המגדר של ראש המפלגה
זכר
נקבה

אחת מ-3 המפלגות הגדולות ביותר ?
כן
לא

ניסיון פוליטי של ראש המפלגה
0 שנים
שנה 1
2 שנים
...
30 שנים

ניסיונו הצבאי של ראש המפלגה
שירות חובה סדיר בלבד
קצין זוטר
קצין בכיר

Translation:

Economic policy of the party = {
Definitely socialist –OR–
More socialist than capitalist –OR–
More capitalist than socialist –OR–
Definitely capitalist
}

Foreign security policy of the party = {
Definitely dovish (left) –OR–
More dovish (left) than hawkish (right) –OR–
More hawkish (right) than dovish (left) –OR–
Definitely hawkish (right)
}

Religious policy of the party = {
Jewish religious traditions should never be applied in public life –OR–
Jewish religious traditions should rarely be applied in public life –OR–
Jewish religious traditions should often be applied in public life –OR–
Jewish religious traditions should always be applied in public life –OR–
}

Gender of the party leader = {
Male –OR–
Female
}

One of the three largest parties? = {
Yes –OR–
No
}

Political experience of the party leader = {
0 years, 1 year, 2 years, ..., –OR– 30 years
}

Military experience of the party leader = {
Compulsory service only –OR–
Junior officer –OR–
Senior officer
}

PART 4: We asked respondents to evaluate four pairs of parties (A vs B, C vs D, E vs F, and G vs H), which varied randomly on all dimensions. The table below provides an example of what respondents saw.

בבקשה תקרא את התיאור בעיון. במסך הבא, אנחנו נשאל אותך איזו מפלגה אתה מעדיף.

מפלגה א'	מפלגה ב'	
סוציאליסטית בהחלט	יותר קפיטליסטית מאשר סוציאליסטית	מדיניות כלכלית של המפלגה
יונית (שמאל) בהחלט	יותר יונית (שמאל) מניצית (ימין)	מדיניות חוץ וביטחון של המפלגה
שהמסורת היהודית דתית לעיתים תכופות תחול על חיי הציבור הכללי	שהמסורת היהודית דתית לעיתים רחוקות תחול על חיי הציבור הכללי	מדיניות דתית של המפלגה
זכר	זכר	המגדר של ראש המפלגה
לא	כן	אחת מ-3 המפלגות הגדולות ביותר?
4 שנים	14 שנים	ניסיון פוליטי של ראש המפלגה
קצין בכיר	קצין בכיר	ניסיונו הצבאי של ראש המפלגה

לפני שתספר לנו מהי עמדתך בנוגע למפלגות, אנחנו רוצים לוודא שקראת את הטבלה בעיון. באילו פרמטרים המפלגות שתיארנו זהות, ובאילו פרמטרים המפלגות שתיארנו שונות אחת מהשנייה?

המפלגות היו זהות בפרמטר הזה: המפלגות היו שונות בפרמטר הזה:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | מדיניות כלכלית של המפלגה |
| <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | מדיניות חוץ וביטחון של המפלגה |
| <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | מדיניות דתית של המפלגה |
| <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | המגדר של ראש המפלגה |
| <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | אחת מ-3 המפלגות הגדולות ביותר? |
| <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | ניסיון פוליטי של ראש המפלגה |
| <input type="radio"/> | <input type="radio"/> | ניסיונו הצבאי של ראש המפלגה |

Translation:

Please read the description carefully. On the next screen, we will ask which party you prefer.

	Party A	Party B
<u>Economic policy</u> of party	Definitely socialist	More capitalist than socialist
<u>Foreign security policy</u> of party	Definitely dovish (left)	More dovish (left) than hawkish (right)
<u>Religious policy</u> of party	Jewish religious traditions should often be applied in public life	Jewish religious traditions should rarely be applied in public life
<u>Gender</u> of party's leader	Male	Male
One of three <u>largest parties</u> ?	No	Yes
<u>Political experience</u> of party's leader	4 years	14 years
<u>Military experience</u> of party's Leader	Senior officer	Senior officer

Before you tell us your opinion about the parties, we want to make sure that you read the table carefully. On which dimensions were the parties the same, and on which dimensions were they different?

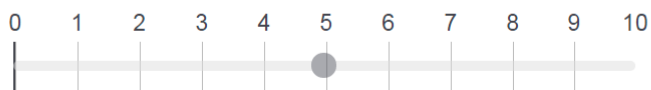
	The parties were the same on this dimension	The parties were different on this dimension
<u>Economic policy</u> of party	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<u>Religious policy</u> of party	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<u>Foreign security policy</u> of party	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<u>Gender</u> of party's leader	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
One of three <u>largest parties</u> ?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<u>Political experience</u> of party's leader	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<u>Military experience</u> of party's leader	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

לעיוןך, הנה התיאור של המפלגות פעם נוספת.

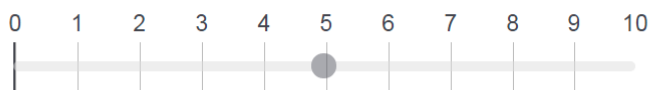
מפלגה ב'	מפלגה א'	
יותר קפיטליסטית מאשר סוציאליסטית	סוציאליסטית בהחלט	מדיניות כלכלית של המפלגה
יותר יונית (שמאל) מניצית (ימין)	יונית (שמאל) בהחלט	מדיניות חוץ וביטחון של המפלגה
שהמסורת היהודית דתית לעיתים רחוקות תחול על חיי הציבור הכללי	שהמסורת היהודית דתית לעיתים תכופות תחול על חיי הציבור הכללי	מדיניות דתית של המפלגה
זכר	זכר	המגדר של ראש המפלגה
כן	לא	אחת מ-3 המפלגות הגדולות ביותר?
14 שנים	4 שנים	ניסיון פוליטי של ראש המפלגה
קצין בכיר	קצין בכיר	ניסיונו הצבאי של ראש המפלגה

בהתבסס על המידע שניתן, דרג את המפלגה בסולם שמ – 0 עד 10, כאשר 0 הוא חוסר תמיכה עז במפלגה ו-10 הוא תמיכה עזה במפלגה

מפלגה א'



מפלגה ב'



אילו היה עלייך לבחור, לאיזו מפלגה היית מצביע?

- בהחלט למפלגה א'
- כנראה למפלגה א'
- כנראה למפלגה ב'
- בהחלט למפלגה ב'

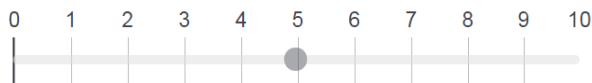
Translation:

Here is the description of the parties once again, for your reference.

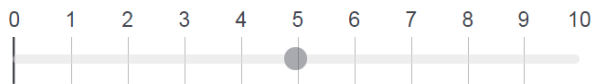
	Party A	Party B
<u>Economic policy</u> of party	Definitely socialist	More capitalist than socialist
<u>Foreign security policy</u> of party	Definitely dovish (left)	More dovish (left) than hawkish (right)
<u>Religious policy</u> of party	Jewish religious traditions should often be applied in public life	Jewish religious traditions should rarely be applied in public life
<u>Gender</u> of party's leader	Male	Male
One of three <u>largest parties</u> ?	No	Yes
<u>Political experience</u> of party's leader	4 years	14 years
<u>Military experience</u> of party's Leader	Senior officer	Senior officer

Based on the information provided, please rate each party on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is strong lack of support and 10 is strong support for the party.

Party A



Party B



If you had to choose, for which party would you vote?

- Definitely Party A
- Probably Party A
- Probably Party B
- Definitely Party B

[Respondents completed this task four times, for parties A vs B, C vs D, E vs F, and G vs H.]

PART 5: We asked about the political views and demographic attributes of respondents.

מתוך המפלגות הקיימות היום בישראל, לאיזו אתה מרגיש קרוב ביותר?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> ישראל ביתנו | <input type="radio"/> הליכוד |
| <input type="radio"/> כולנו | <input type="radio"/> המחנה הציוני |
| <input type="radio"/> יש עתיד | <input type="radio"/> הבית היהודי |
| <input type="radio"/> הרשימה המאוחדת | <input type="radio"/> ש"ס |
| <input type="radio"/> יחד | <input type="radio"/> יהדות התורה |
| | <input type="radio"/> מרצ |

באיזו תדירות אתה מצביע בבחירות הכלליות לכנסת?

- תמיד
- כמעט תמיד
- ברוב המקרים
- לעיתים
- בקושי
- אף פעם

בשנתיים האחרונות, מה עשית מבין הפעילויות הבאות? (סמן את כל אלו החלים לגביך)

- השתתפתי בצעדת מחאה, עצרת, או הפגנה הנוגעת לנושאי חוץ/ביטחון בישראל
- השתתפתי בצעדת מחאה, עצרת, או הפגנה הנוגעת לנושאים כלכליים/חברתיים בישראל
- השתתפתי בצעדת מחאה, עצרת, או הפגנה הנוגעת למעמד הדת בחיים הציבוריים בישראל
- ביצעתי עבודה בעבור אחת המפלגות או אחד המועמדים, או עבדתי בקמפיין פוליטי
- תרמתי מכספי למפלגה פוליטית במהלך שנת הבחירות או לכל קבוצה אחרת שתמכה או התנגדה למפלגה
- תליתי שלט תמיכה במפלגה או מועמד פוליטי בכניסה לביתי, הדבקתי מדבקה על פגוש רכבי או על בגדיי
- הלכתי למפגשים פוליטיים, עצרת, נאומים, חוגי בית או אירועים דומים בנוכחות נציגי מפלגה מסוימת
- במהלך הקמפיין, דיברתי עם אנשים וניסיתי להסביר להם מדוע עליהם לבחור או לא לבחור במפלגה או מועמד מסוים
- אף אחד מאלו לא חל עלי.

האם אתה נוהג להתעדכן בחדשות בעיתון יומי, בטלוויזיה, ברדיו או באינטרנט?

- כמעט אף פעם לא
- לעיתים רחוקות בלבד
- פעם בשבוע בערך
- פעמיים-שלוש בשבוע
- כמעט כל יום
- יותר מפעם אחת ביום

בת/ן כמה את/ה?

מהי רמת השכלתך הפורמלית הגבוהה ביותר:

- לא סיימתי בית ספר תיכון
- סיימתי בית ספר תיכון
- למדתי לקראת תואר ראשון
- סיימתי תואר ראשון
- למדתי לקראת/סיימתי תואר שני
- למדתי לקראת/סיימתי דוקטורט

איזה מהתשובות הבאות מתארת בצורה הטובה ביותר את רמת הדתיות שלך?

- חילוני
- מסורתי
- דתי
- חרדי

ההכנסה הממוצעת ברוטו לנפש היא כ-8800 ₪ לחודש. האם הכנסתך היא:

- הרבה מתחת לממוצע
- קצת מתחת לממוצע
- דומה לממוצע
- קצת מעל הממוצע
- הרבה מעל הממוצע
- מסרב לענות

מין:

- זכר
- נקבה

אם שירתת בצה"ל, האם שירתת באזור לחימה פעיל?

- לא שירתתי בצה"ל.
- שירתתי בצה"ל אבל לא באזור לחימה פעיל.
- שירתתי בצה"ל באזור לחימה פעיל.

אם שירתת בצה"ל, אילו מהבאים משקף את שירותך הצבאי:

- שירות חובה סדיר בלבד
- קצין זוטור
- קצין בכיר

Translation:

Of the parties existing in Israel today, which one do you feel closest to?

- Likud
- Zionist Union
- Jewish Home
- Shas
- United Torah Judaism
- Meretz
- Israel Beiteinu
- Kulanu
- Yesh Atid
- United Arab List
- Yachad

How often do you vote in the general elections for the Knesset?

- Always
- Almost always
- Most of the time
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

In the past two years, which of the following activities have you done? (Check all that apply)

- I participated in a protest march, rally, or demonstration related to foreign affairs/security issues in Israel.
- I participated in a protest march, rally, or demonstration related to economic/social issues in Israel.
- I participated in a protest march, rally or demonstration related to the status of religion in public life in Israel.
- I did work for one of the parties or one of the candidates, or worked in a political campaign.
- I contributed money to a political party during the election year or to another group that supported or opposed the party.
- I displayed a sign supporting a party or a political candidate outside my home, I put a sticker on my bumper or on my clothes.
- I went to political gatherings, rallies, speeches, house meetings or similar events in the presence of representatives of a particular party.
- During the campaign, I spoke with people and tried to explain to them why they should choose or not to choose a particular party or candidate.
- None of these apply to me.

How often do you follow the news in a daily newspaper, on TV, on the radio, or on the Internet?

- Almost never
- Rarely
- Once a week
- Twice a week
- Almost every day
- More than once a day

How old are you?

What is your highest level of formal education?

- I have not finished high school
- I finished high school
- I studied towards a first degree
- I completed my BA
- I studied towards/completed my MA
- I studied towards/completed my doctorate

Which of the following answers best describes your level of religiosity?

- Secular
- Traditional
- Religious
- Orthodox

The average gross income per capita is NIS 8800 per month. Is your income:

- Much below average
- A little below average
- Similar to average
- A little above average
- Much above average
- Refuse to answer

Gender

- Male
- Female

If you served in the IDF, did you serve in an active combat zone?

- I did not serve in the IDF
- I served in the IDF but not in an active combat zone
- I served in the IDF in an active combat zone

If you served in the IDF, which of the following reflects your military service?

- Regular compulsory service only
- Junior officer
- Senior officer

B. DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics

Security Policy		Military Rank	
Definitely dovish	9 %	Did not serve	23 %
More dovish than hawkish	27	Compulsory only	64
More hawkish than dovish	39	Officer	12
Definitely hawkish	25		
Economic Policy		Religiosity	
Definitely socialist	11 %	Secular	60 %
More socialist than capitalist	53	Traditional	18
More capitalist than socialist	30	Religious	15
Definitely capitalist	5	Orthodox	8
Religious Policy		Political Party	
Never require	36 %	Yesh Atid	23 %
Rarely require	40	Likud	17
Often require	16	Zionist Union	15
Always require	8	Jewish Home	15
		Meretz	9
Gender		United Torah Judiasm	
Female	52 %	Kulanu	5
Male	48	Israel Beiteinu	5
Age		Yachad	
18-30 years	29 %	Shas	2
31-49 years	38	United Arab List	1
50 and over	33	Not reported	0
Education		Exposure to News	
High school or less	31 %	More than once a day	49 %
Some college	23	Almost every day	34
College degree	28	Twice a week	10
Graduate study	18	Once a week	4
		Rarely	2
Income		Almost never	
Much below average	21 %		1
Below average	16	Frequency of Voting	
Similar to average	17	Always	82 %
Above average	23	Almost always	10
Much above average	11	Most of the time	2
Not reported	11	Sometimes	2
		Rarely	2
Military Service		Never	
Did not serve	23 %		1
Served but no combat	53	Political Activism	
Served in combat zone	24	Some activities	48 %
		No activities	52

C. METHODS

Each of the 1,067 respondents evaluated 4 pairs of parties: A vs B, C vs D, E vs F, and G vs H. After each pair we asked, “If you had to choose, which party would you vote for?” For the main analyses in the article, we assigned each party a score of 100 if the respondent said they would definitely or probably vote for the party, and a score of 0 if the respondent said they would definitely or probably not vote for the party. Operationalizing the dependent variable in this way allowed us to interpret the treatment effects in the article as percentage-point changes in public support. As shown later in this appendix, though, our substantive conclusions remained the same when we operationalized the dependent variable in other ways.

Having assigned each party a score based on the voters’ expressed preferences, we stacked the data from all 8 parties, resulting in $1,067 \times 8 = 8,536$ observations. We regressed the parties’ scores on dummy variables for interactions of the voter’s position and the party’s position, as well as indicators for the military experience, political experience, and gender of the party leader, and the size of the party. Given that each respondent contributed 8 responses to this regression model, we clustered the standard errors by respondent.

Table 3, below, gives the estimated coefficients and standard errors from the regression model we used to compute the treatment effects in Figures 3 and 4 of the article. On security policy, 1 = Definitely Dovish, 2 = Leans Dovish, 3 = Leans Hawkish, and 4 = Definitely Hawkish. On economic policy, 1 = Definitely Socialist, 2 = Leans Socialist, 3 = Leans Capitalist, and 4 = Definitely Capitalist. On the role of religion, 1 = Never, 2 = Rarely, 3 = Often, and 4 = Always. For all three issues, the omitted reference categories were Voter = 4 & Party = 4. For military experience, the omitted reference category was “mandatory only”, and for political experience, the omitted reference category was 0-5 years.

Table 3: Regression Model of Selection in Israel

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
Security Policy		
Voter=1 & Party=1	-6.08	3.93
Voter=1 & Party=2	-4.88	3.62
Voter=1 & Party=3	-25.06	3.45
Voter=1 & Party=4	-42.69	3.66
Voter=2 & Party=1	-16.26	2.59
Voter=2 & Party=2	-7.80	2.54
Voter=2 & Party=3	-24.88	2.60
Voter=2 & Party=4	-35.79	2.56
Voter=3 & Party=1	-38.22	2.28
Voter=3 & Party=2	-24.63	2.32
Voter=3 & Party=3	-8.00	2.26
Voter=3 & Party=4	-13.45	2.33
Voter=4 & Party=1	-42.10	2.82
Voter=4 & Party=2	-29.78	2.74
Voter=4 & Party=3	-8.48	2.76
Economic Policy		
Voter=1 & Party=1	8.82	4.77

Voter=1 & Party=2	11.34	4.93
Voter=1 & Party=3	-4.48	4.70
Voter=1 & Party=4	-18.78	5.00
Voter=2 & Party=1	5.70	4.24
Voter=2 & Party=2	8.90	4.22
Voter=2 & Party=3	-5.64	4.24
Voter=2 & Party=4	-11.79	4.22
Voter=3 & Party=1	-10.18	4.35
Voter=3 & Party=2	-2.51	4.36
Voter=3 & Party=3	6.44	4.33
Voter=3 & Party=4	1.85	4.40
Voter=4 & Party=1	-9.60	6.86
Voter=4 & Party=2	-6.37	6.91
Voter=4 & Party=3	11.57	6.09

Role of Religion

Voter=1 & Party=1	0.49	3.73
Voter=1 & Party=2	-3.25	3.74
Voter=1 & Party=3	-19.70	3.76
Voter=1 & Party=4	-36.10	3.70
Voter=2 & Party=1	-11.06	3.68
Voter=2 & Party=2	-4.33	3.68
Voter=2 & Party=3	-14.65	3.76
Voter=2 & Party=4	-25.69	3.72
Voter=3 & Party=1	-37.57	4.14
Voter=3 & Party=2	-15.99	4.12
Voter=3 & Party=3	4.24	3.97
Voter=3 & Party=4	-10.75	4.04
Voter=4 & Party=1	-35.02	5.75
Voter=4 & Party=2	-20.27	5.45
Voter=4 & Party=3	-1.38	4.70

Military Experience

Junior officer	1.90	1.24
Senior officer	2.58	1.23

Political Experience

6-10 years	5.04	1.70
11-15 years	7.57	1.66
16-20 years	8.65	1.62
21-25 years	4.61	1.64
26-30 years	7.05	1.68

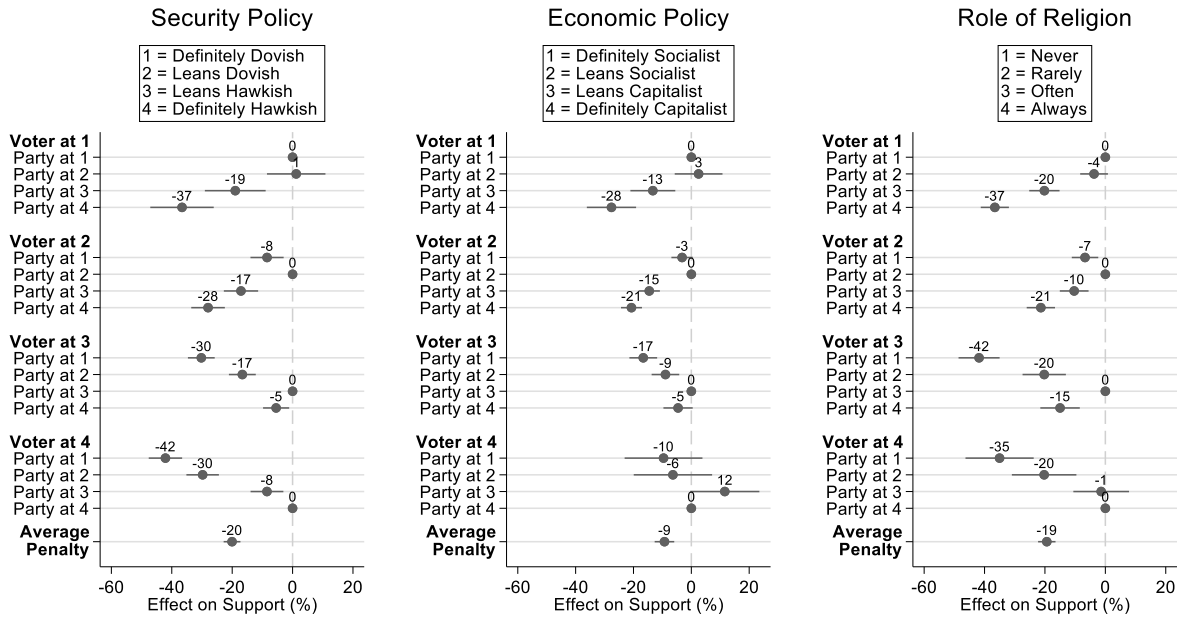
Other Attributes

Leader is male	0.91	1.01
Large party	2.69	0.96
Constant	77.50	5.70

Observations	8,536	
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D. EFFECTS OF POLICY POSITIONS

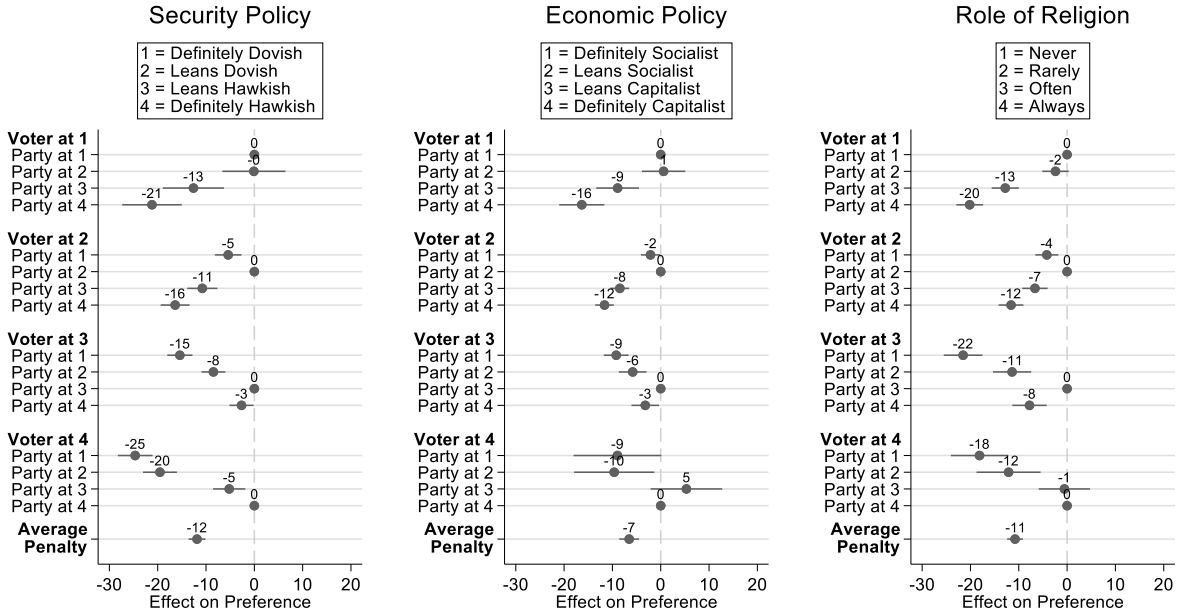
Figure 1: Effects of Policy Positions on Vote Choice (As Shown in the Article)



Note: Figure shows the effect of policy positions on the percentage of respondents who voted for the party.

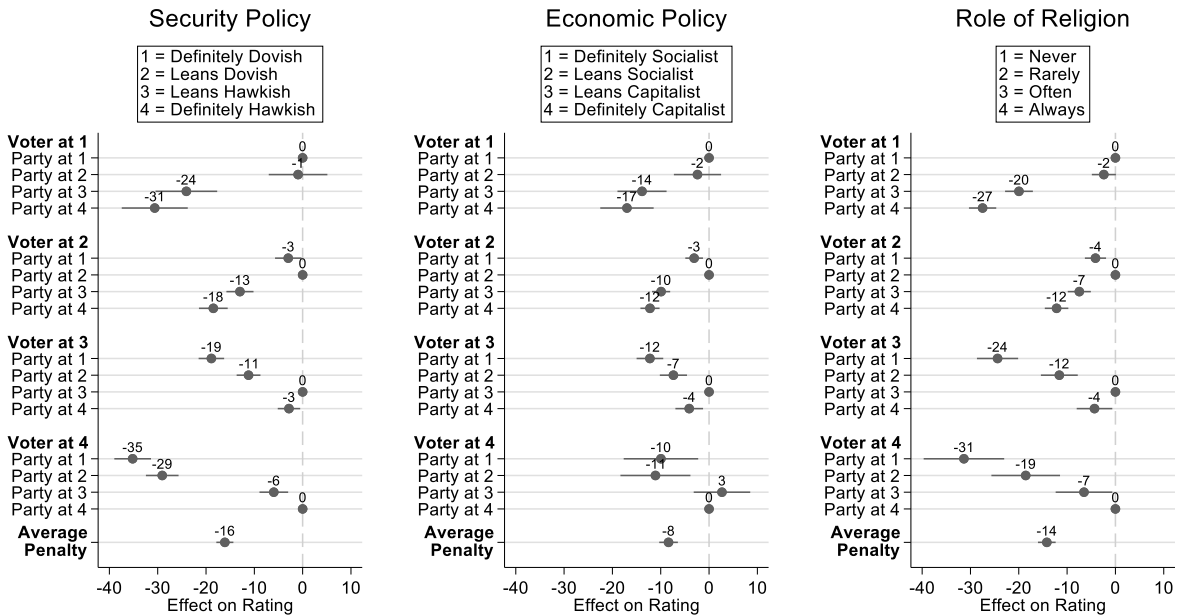
In addition to asking which party subjects preferred, we measured the strength of their preferences, and we asked them to rate each party individually on a scale of 0 to 10. When we operationalized our dependent variable to take into account the strength of voters' preferences (Figure 2), or studied party ratings rather than the comparisons between the parties (Figure 3), our conclusions about the absolute and relative effects of security policy remained unchanged.

Figure 2: Effects of Policy Positions on the Strength of Voters' Preferences



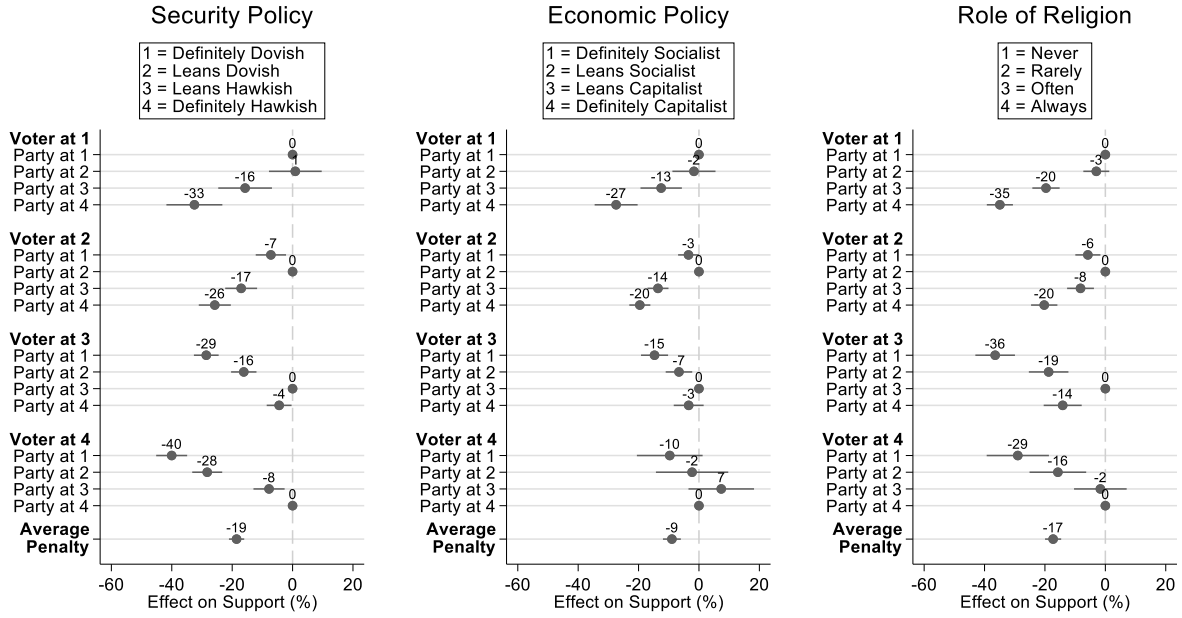
Note: Strength of preference was measured on a scale in which 100=definitely preferred the party, 67=probably preferred the party, 33=probably preferred the opposing party, and 0=definitely preferred the opposing party.

Figure 3: Effects of Policy Positions on Ratings of Parties



Note: Respondents rated each party from 0 (worst) to 10 (best), which we rescaled to run from 0 to 100.

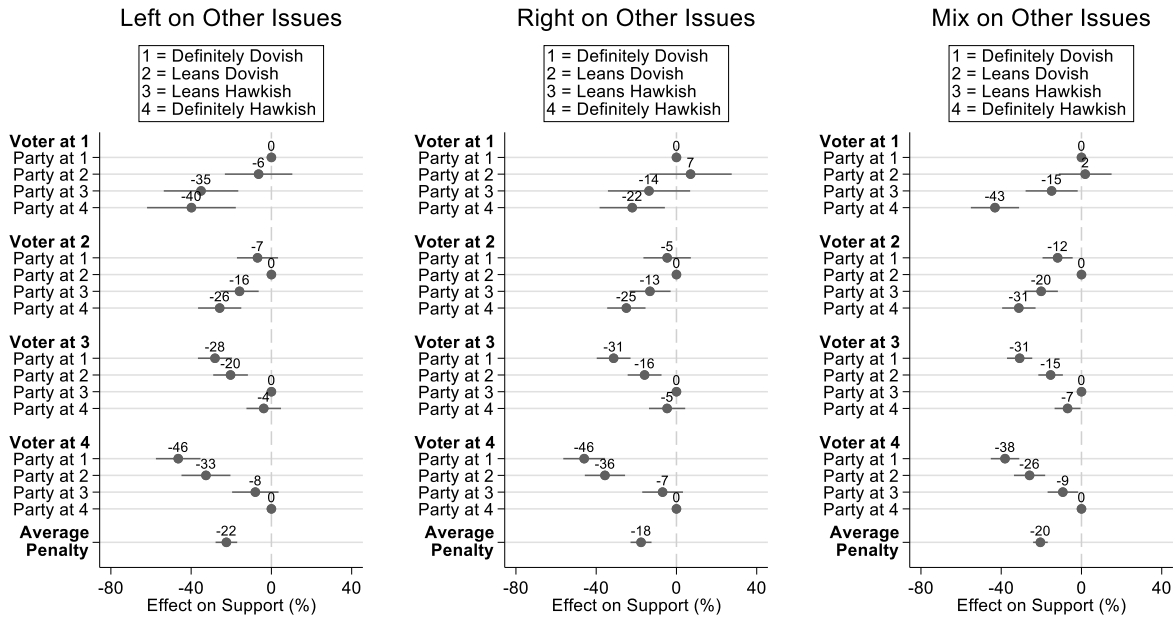
Figure 4: Effects of Policy Positions, All Respondents Regardless of Attentiveness



Note: The figure combines the 1,067 respondents who passed the attention checks and the 210 who did not.

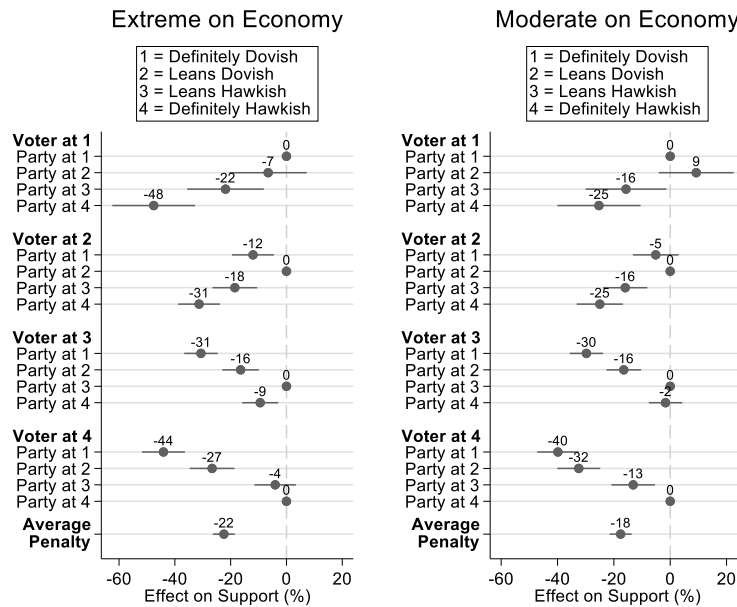
E. EFFECTS OF POLICY POSITIONS, BY OTHER ATTRIBUTES OF THE PARTY

Figure 5: Effects of Security Policy, by Party’s Position on Other Issues



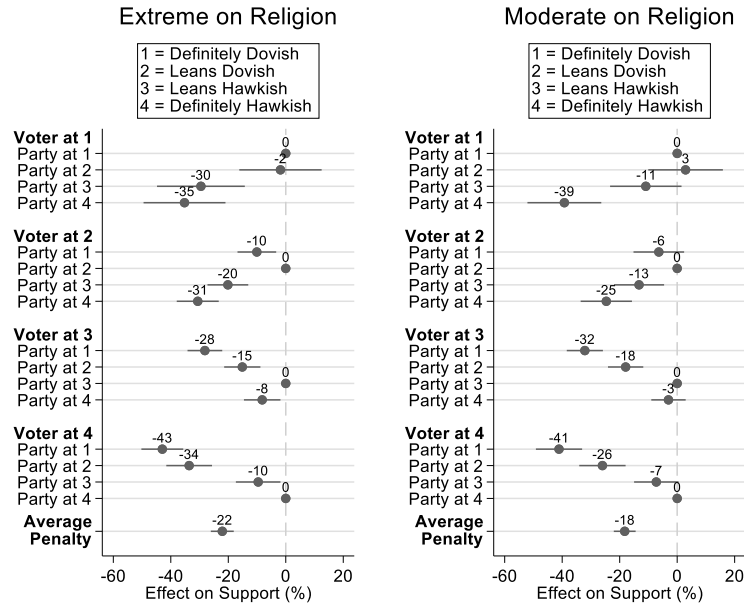
Note: Parties were coded as left on economic policy if they were “definitely socialist” or “more socialist than capitalist,” and left on religious policies if they thought religion should “never” or “rarely” be applied in public life.

Figure 6: Effects of Security Policy, by Party’s Extremity on Economic Policy



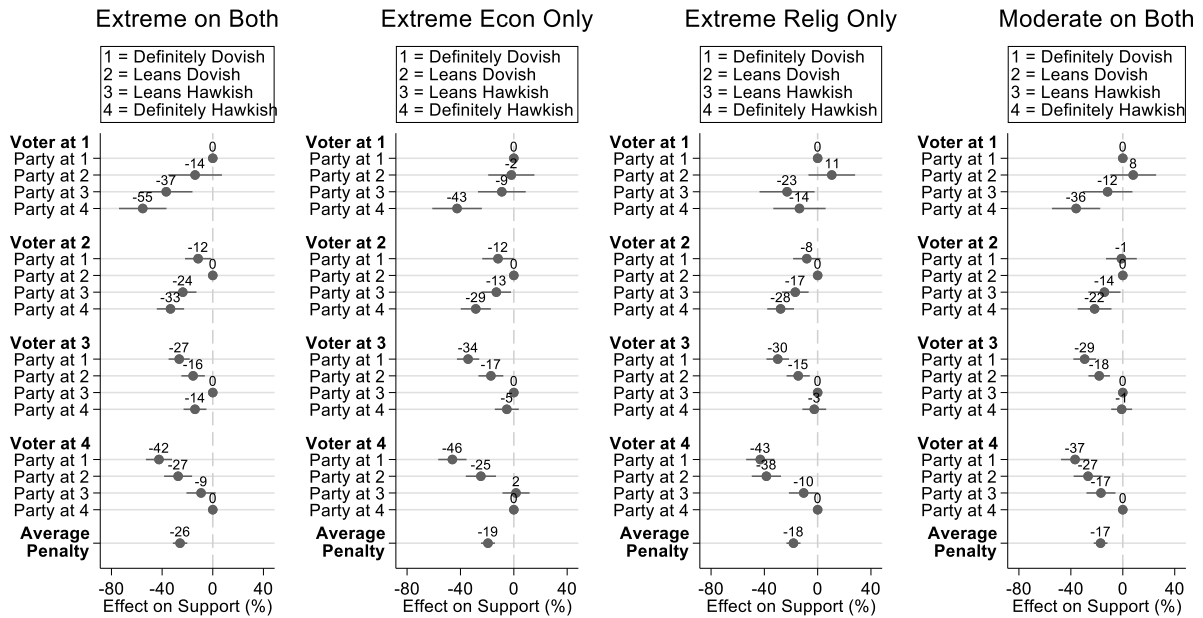
Note: Parties were coded as extreme on economic policy if they were “definitely socialist” or “definitely capitalist,” and moderate if they took intermediate positions.

Figure 7: Effects of Security Policy, by Party's Extremity on Religious Policy



Note: Parties were coded as extreme on religious policy if they said religion should “never” or “always” be applied in public life, and moderate if they took intermediate positions.

Figure 8: Effects of Security Policy, by Party's Extremity on Economics and Religion



Note: See previous figures for coding of extreme versus moderate positions on economics and religion.

Figure 9: Effects of Security Policy, by Party Leader's Political Experience

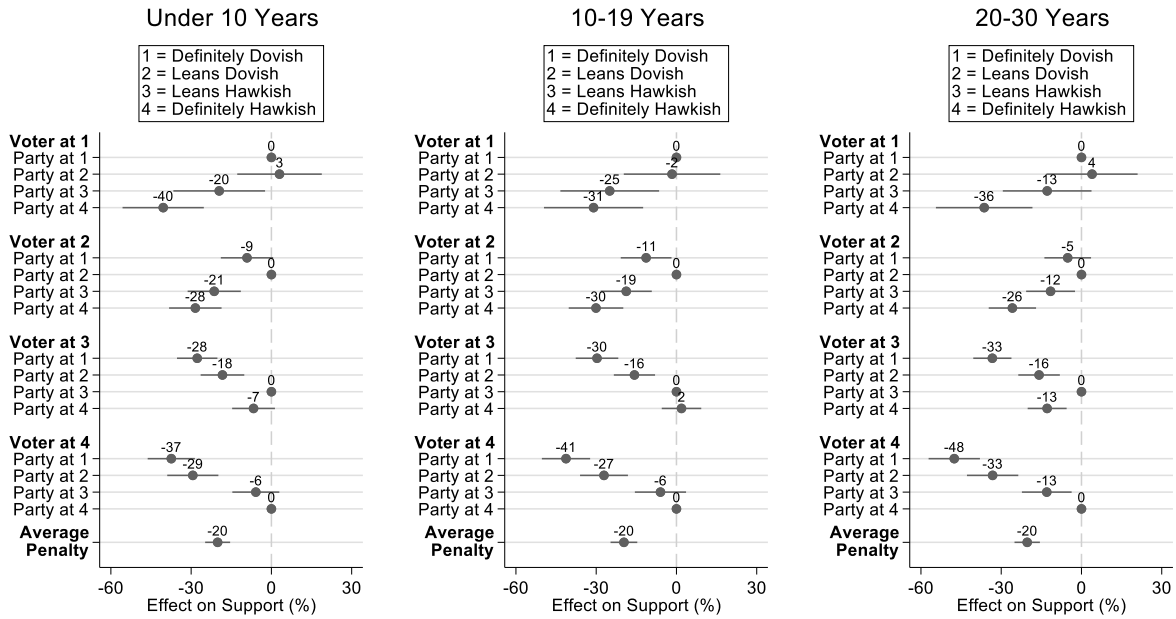


Figure 10: Effects of Security Policy, by Party Leader's Military Experience

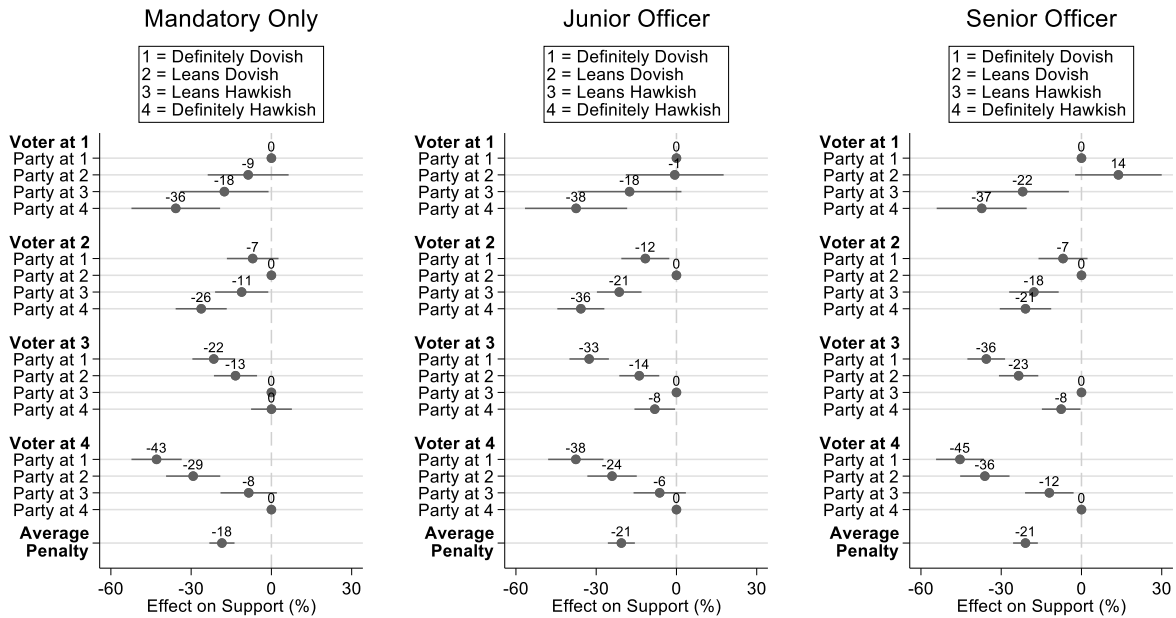


Figure 11: Effects of Security Policy, by Party Leader's Gender

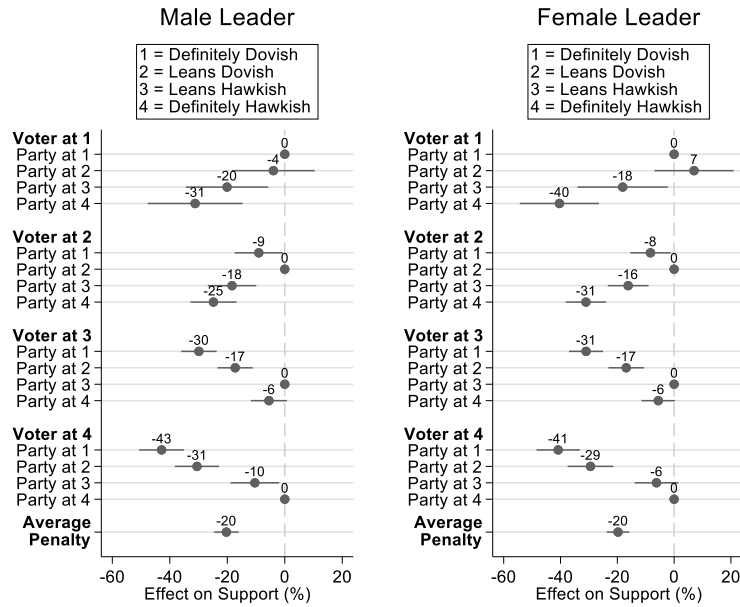
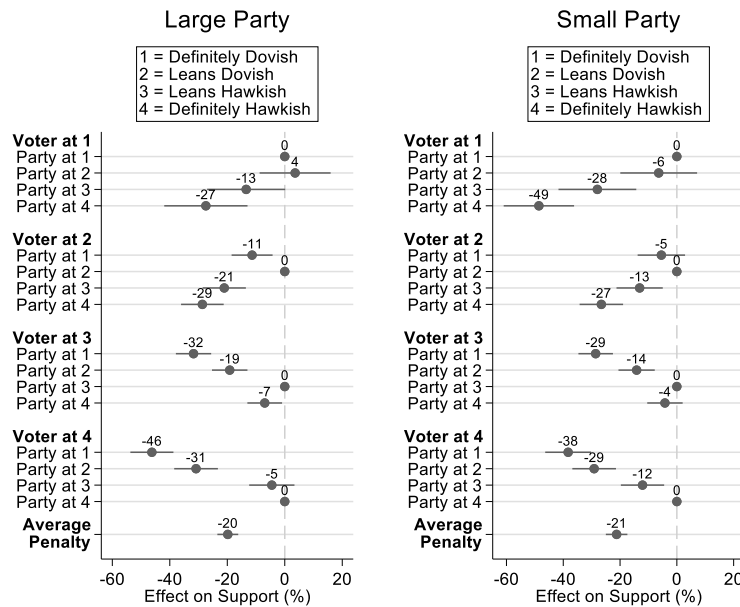


Figure 12: Effects of Security Policy, by Size of Party



F. EFFECTS OF POLICY POSITIONS, BY DEMOGRAPHIC ATTRIBUTES OF THE RESPONDENT

Figure 13: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Gender

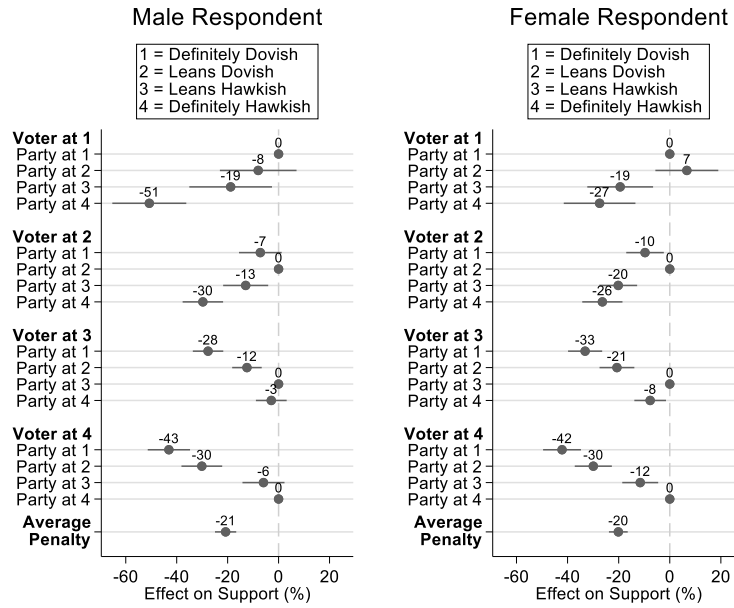


Figure 14: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Age

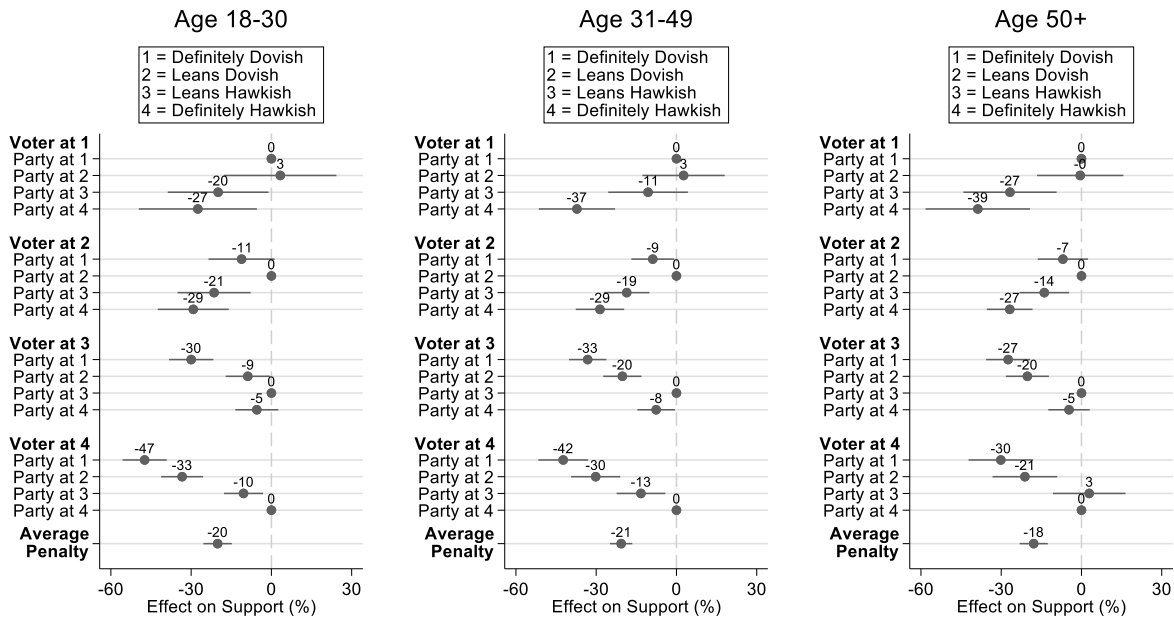


Figure 15: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Education

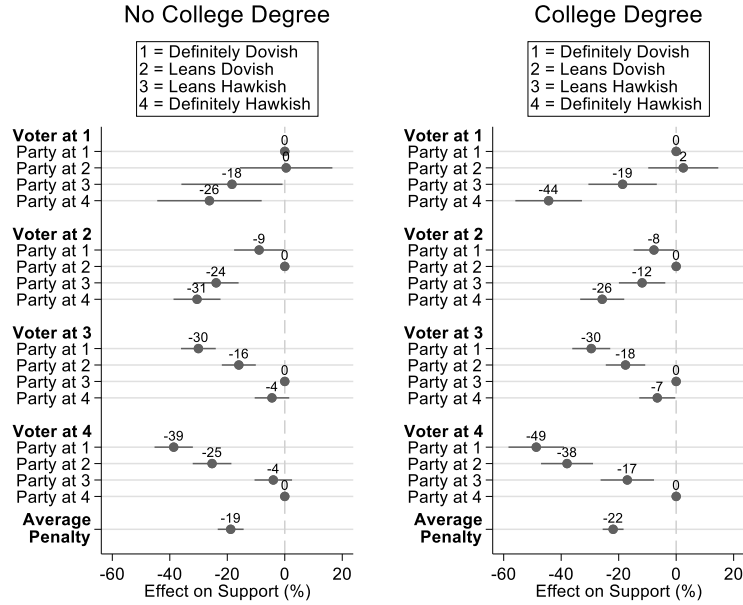
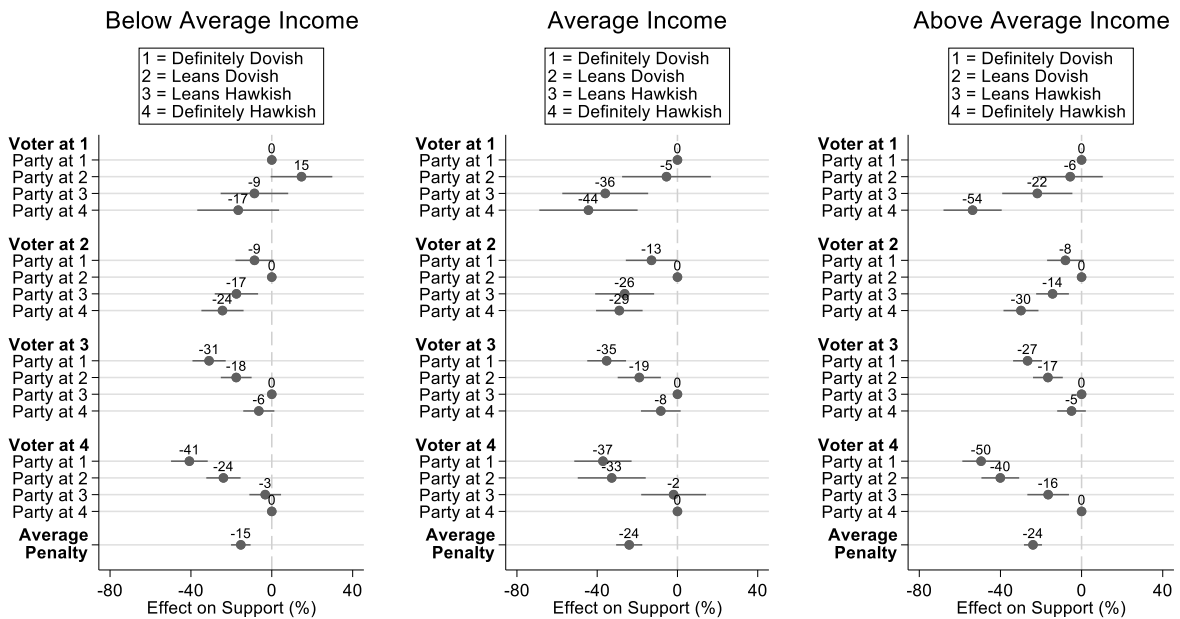


Figure 16: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Income



Note: Approximately 11% of respondents did not provide their income. They are excluded from this figure.

Figure 17: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Military Experience

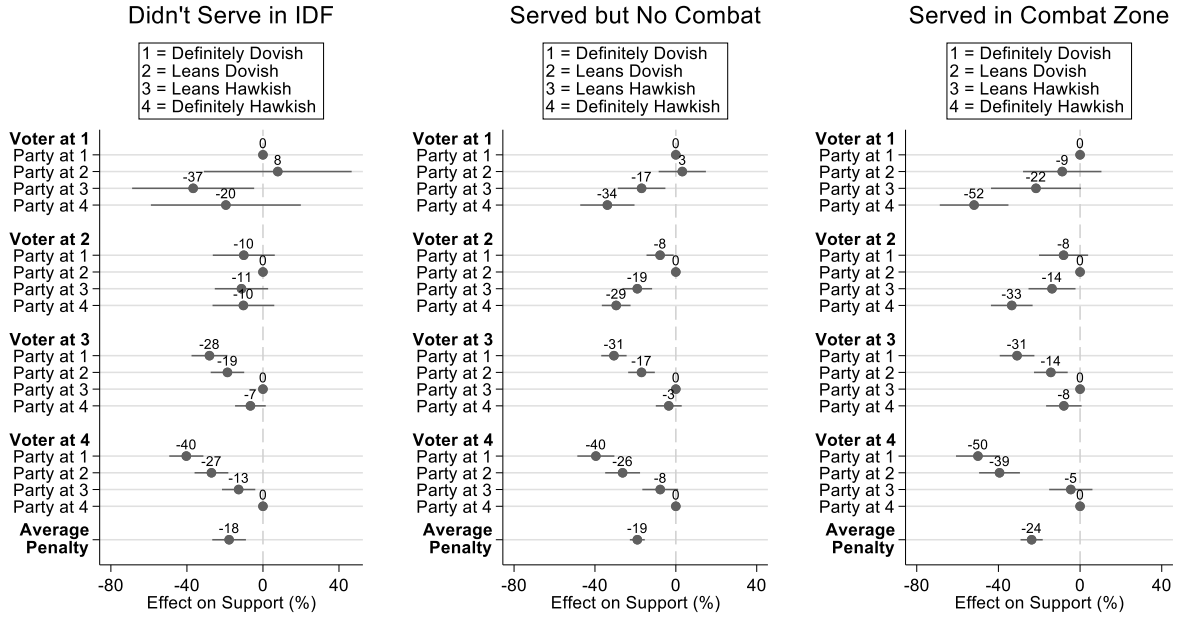
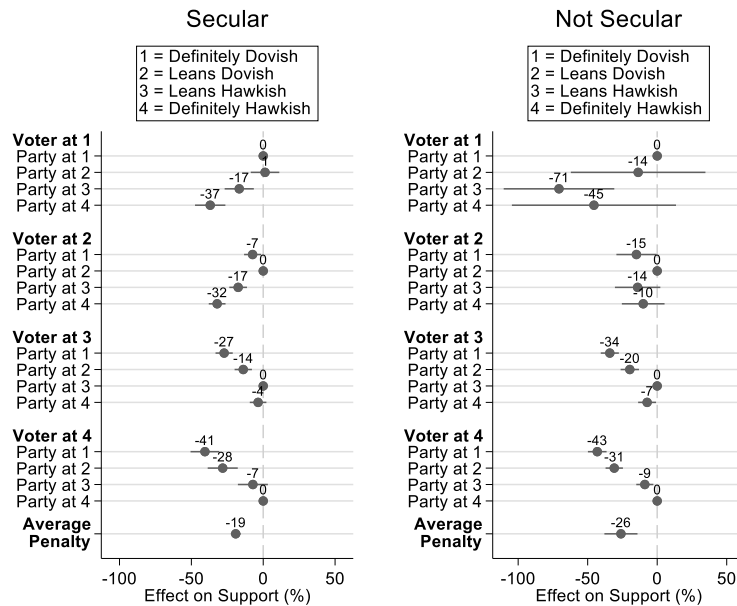


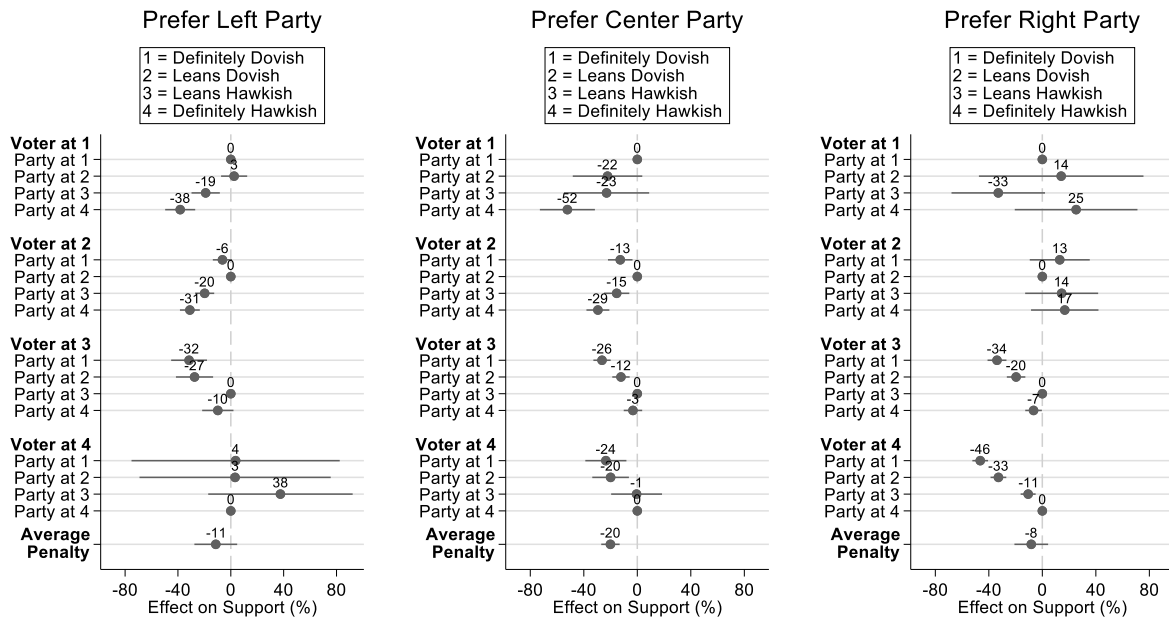
Figure 18: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Religiosity



Note: Not Secular includes traditional, religious, and orthodox Judaism.

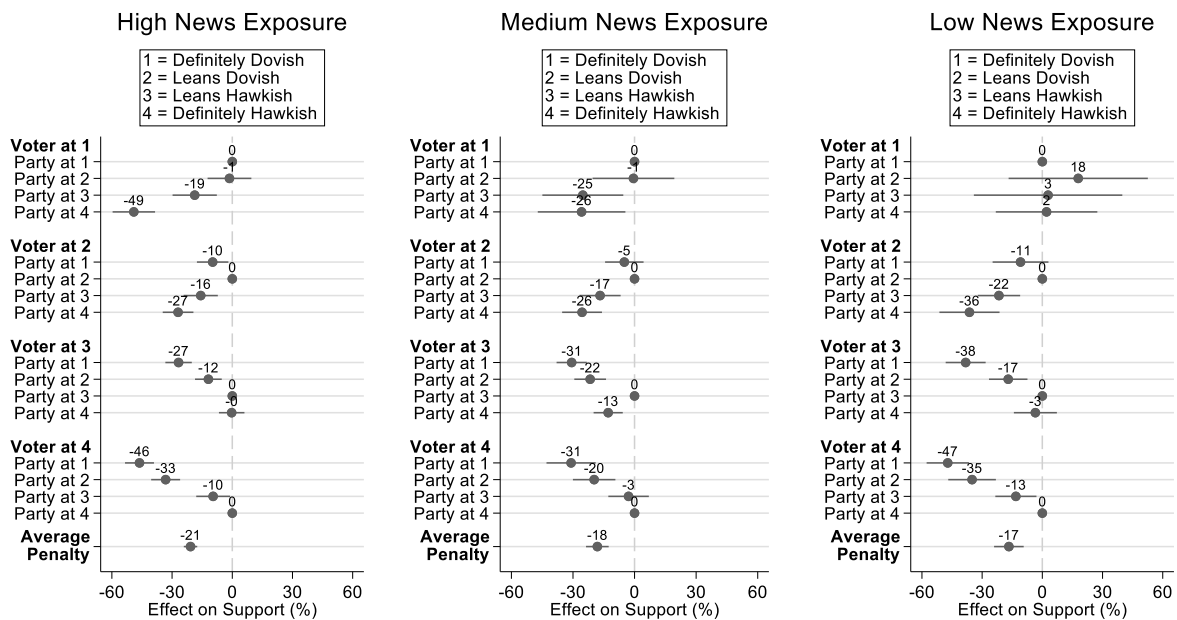
G. EFFECTS OF POLICY POSITIONS, BY POLITICAL ATTRIBUTES OF THE RESPONDENT

Figure 19: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Party Affiliation



Note: Meretz, Zionist Union, and United Arab List were coded as left parties; Kulanu, United Torah Judaism, and Yesh Atid were coded as center; and Israel Beiteinu, Jewish Home, Likud, Shas, and Yachad were coded as right.

Figure 20: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Exposure to News



Note: High news exposure = "more than once per day" (49%). Medium news exposure = "almost every day" (34%). The remaining respondents were classified as having low news exposure.

Figure 21: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Frequency of Voting

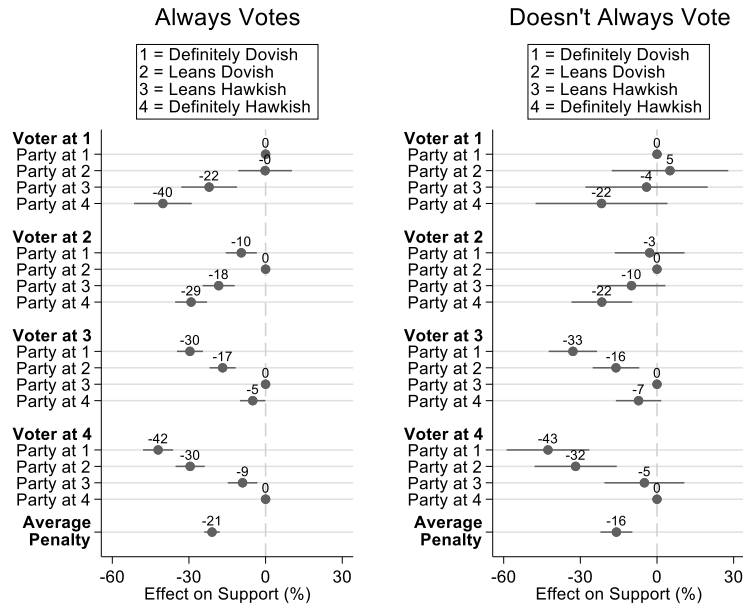
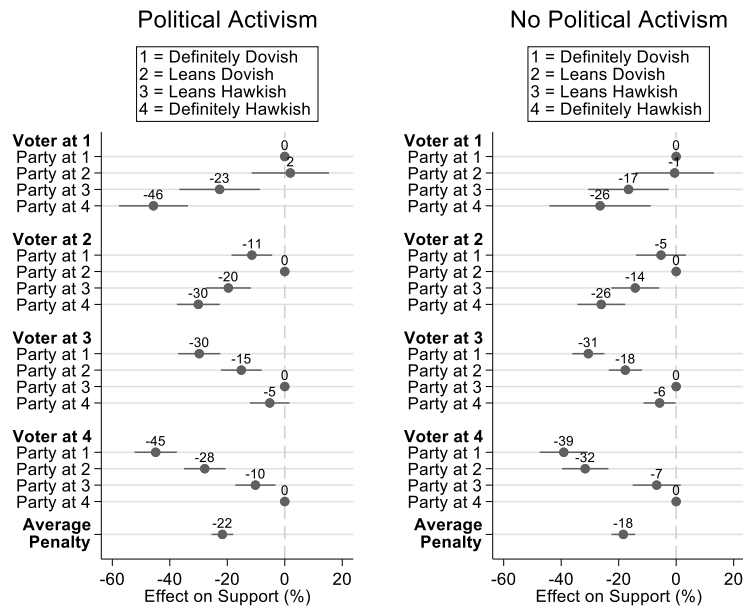


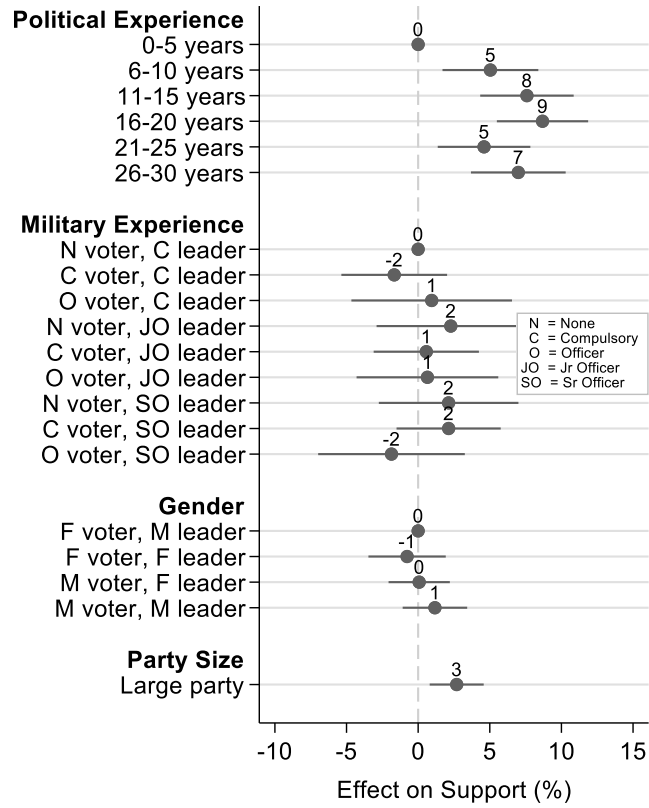
Figure 22: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Level of Political Activism



Note: We asked, “In the past two years, which of the following activities have you done? (Check all that apply).” Respondents showed political activism if they checked at least one of the 8 activities.

H. EFFECTS OF NON-POLICY ATTRIBUTES OF THE PARTY

Figure 23: Effects of Non-Policy Attributes, with Interactions



APPENDIX 3: U.S. PUBLIC SURVEY, APRIL 2017

A. QUESTIONNAIRE

PART 1: We measured the respondent's preferences about economic, foreign, and religious policies.

Some people favor capitalist economic policies. They think the government should play only a small role in the economy, and should let the market determine economic outcomes.

Other people favor socialist economic policies. They think the government should play a large role in the economy by regulating businesses and redistributing income.

Which approach to U.S. economic policy do you prefer?

- Definitely capitalist (small government role)
- More capitalist (small government role) than socialist (large government role)
- More socialist (large government role) than capitalist (small government role)
- Definitely socialist (large government role)

Some people think military force should be used frequently in U.S. foreign policy. They are called "hawks."

Other people think U.S. foreign policy should be based on diplomacy, and the U.S. should rarely if ever use military force. They are called "doves."

Which approach to U.S. foreign policy do you prefer?

- Definitely hawkish (military)
- More hawkish (military) than dovish (diplomatic)
- More dovish (diplomatic) than hawkish (military)
- Definitely dovish (diplomatic)

How big of a role do you think religion should play in shaping government policy in the United States?

- Large role
- Medium role
- Small role
- No role

PART 2: We described the evaluation task. In the list below and in subsequent tables, we randomized the order of the three policy categories, and randomized the order of the four non-policy categories.

On the following screens we will describe several candidates for president of the United States. The candidates are hypothetical; they are not real candidates. All of the candidates are Christian.

We will provide the following information about each candidate's policy positions and other characteristics:

- Economic policy
- Foreign policy
- Role of religion
- Race
- Gender
- Years in politics
- Home region

Please read the information carefully, and then tell us your opinions about the candidates.

PART 3: We independently randomized the attributes of each candidate. The randomized values were:

Economic policy = {
Definitely socialist (large government role) –OR–
More socialist (large government role) than capitalist (small government role) –OR–
More capitalist (small government role) than socialist (large government role) –OR–
Definitely capitalist (small government role)
}

Foreign policy = {
Definitely dovish (diplomatic) –OR–
More dovish (diplomatic) than hawkish (military) –OR–
More hawkish (military) than dovish (diplomatic) –OR–
Definitely hawkish (military)
}

Role of religion = {
Religion should play no role in shaping government policy in the U.S. –OR–
Religion should play a small role in shaping government policy in the U.S. –OR–
Religion should play a medium role in shaping government policy in the U.S. –OR–
Religion should play a large role in shaping government policy in the U.S.
}

Race = {
White –OR–
Black –OR–
Hispanic
}

Gender = {
Male –OR–
Female
}

Years in politics = {
0 years, 1 year, 2 years, ..., –OR– 30 years
}

Home region = {
Northeast –OR–
Midwest –OR–
South –OR–
West
}

PART 4: We asked respondents to evaluate four pairs of candidates (A vs B, C vs D, E vs F, and G vs H), which varied randomly on all dimensions. The table below provides an example of what respondents saw.

The first two candidates are **Candidate A** and **Candidate B**.

Please read the descriptions carefully. On the next screen, we will ask which candidate you prefer.

	Candidate A	Candidate B
Economic policy	Definitely socialist (large government role)	More socialist (large government role) than capitalist (small government role)
Foreign policy	More hawkish (military) than dovish (diplomatic)	More hawkish (military) than dovish (diplomatic)
Role of religion	Religion should play a large role in shaping government policy in the U.S.	Religion should play a medium role in shaping government policy in the U.S.
Race	White	Hispanic
Gender	Female	Male
Years in politics	16 years	8 years
Home region	South	West

Before you share your opinions about the candidates, we need to make sure you read the table carefully. **On which dimensions are the candidates identical, and on which dimensions do they differ from each other?**

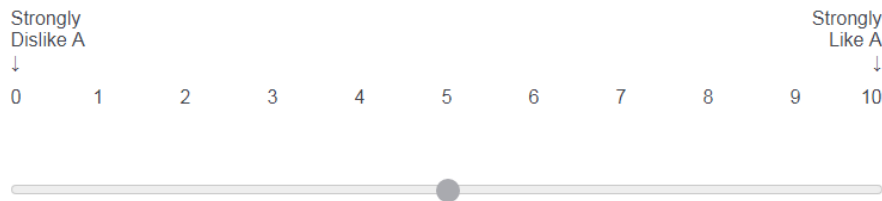
	The candidates were identical on this dimension	The candidates differed on this dimension
Economic policy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Foreign policy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Role of religion	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Race	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Gender	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Years in politics	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Home region	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Here are the candidates again, for your reference:

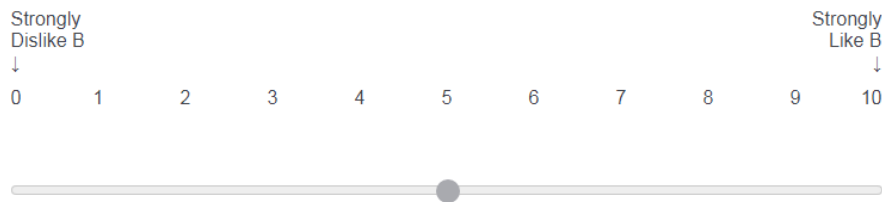
	Candidate A	Candidate B
Economic policy	Definitely socialist (large government role)	More socialist (large government role) than capitalist (small government role)
Foreign policy	More hawkish (military) than dovish (diplomatic)	More hawkish (military) than dovish (diplomatic)
Role of religion	Religion should play a large role in shaping government policy in the U.S.	Religion should play a medium role in shaping government policy in the U.S.
Race	White	Hispanic
Gender	Female	Male
Years in politics	16 years	8 years
Home region	South	West

Based on the information we provided, please rate each candidate on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "strongly dislike" and 10 means like "strongly like."

Candidate A



Candidate B



If you had to choose, which candidate would you vote for?

- Definitely Candidate A
- Probably Candidate A
- Probably Candidate B
- Definitely Candidate B

[Respondents completed this task four times, for candidates A vs B, C vs D, E vs F, and G vs H.]

PART 5: We asked about the political views and demographic attributes of respondents.

Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs ...?

- Most of the time
- Some of the time
- Only now and then
- Hardly at all
- Don't know

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a ...

- Republican
- Democrat
- Independent
- Another party, please specify
- No preference

Did you vote for President of the United States in November 2016?

- No
- I usually vote, but did not in 2016
- I am not sure
- Yes. I definitely voted

During the past year did you ... (Please check all that apply)

- Attend local political meetings (such as school board or city council)
- Put up a political sign (such as a lawn sign or a bumper sticker)
- Work for a candidate or campaign
- Donate money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization
- Donate blood
- None of these

How important is religion in your life?

- Very important
- Somewhat important
- Not too important
- Not at all important

Are you male or female?

- Male
 - Female
-

What racial or ethnic group best describes you?

- White
 - Black or African American
 - Hispanic or Latino
 - Asian or Asian American
 - Native American
 - Middle Eastern
 - Mixed Race
 - Some other race – Type in race
-

Thinking back over the last year, what was your family's annual income?

- Less than \$10,000
- \$10,000 - \$14,999
- \$15,000 - \$19,999
- \$20,000 - \$24,999
- \$25,000 - \$29,999
- \$30,000 - \$39,999
- \$40,000 - \$49,999
- \$50,000 - \$59,999
- \$60,000 - \$69,999
- \$70,000 - \$79,999
- \$80,000 - \$99,999
- \$100,000 - \$119,999
- \$120,000 - \$149,999
- \$150,000 or more
- Prefer not to say

Please enter your age on your last birthday.

What is the highest level of school you have completed?

- Did not graduate from high school
 - High school graduate
 - Some college, but no degree (yet)
 - 2-year college degree
 - 4-year college degree
 - Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc)
-

In what state do you currently reside?

B. DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics

Security Policy		Race	
Definitely dovish	15 %	White	73 %
More dovish than hawkish	50	Black	9
More hawkish than dovish	27	Hispanic	12
Definitely hawkish	9	Asian	4
		Other	3
Economic Policy		Region	
Definitely socialist	5 %	Northeast	19 %
More socialist than capitalist	28	Midwest	23
More capitalist than socialist	39	South	35
Definitely capitalist	28	West	23
Religious Policy		Religiosity	
No role	46 %	Not at all important	22 %
Small role	21	Not too important	18
Medium role	20	Somewhat important	27
Large role	14	Very important	33
Gender		Political Party	
Female	56 %	Democrat	38 %
Male	44	Independent	37
		Republican	25
Age		Follow Political News	
18-34 years	34 %	Most of the time	33 %
35-55 years	33	Some of the time	35
56 and over	34	Only now and then	21
		Hardly at all	11
Education		Turnout in 2016 Election	
High school or less	32 %	Voted	75 %
Some college	23	Didn't vote	25
College degree	28		
Graduate study	16		
Income		Political Activism	
Less than \$30K	27 %	Some activities	23 %
\$30 - 59.9 K	29	No activities	77
\$60K or more	42		
Not reported	3		

C. METHODS

Each of the 1,420 respondents evaluated 4 pairs of candidates: A vs B, C vs D, E vs F, and G vs H. After each pair we asked, “If you had to choose, which candidate would you vote for?” For the main analyses in the article, we assigned each candidate a score of 100 if the respondent said they would definitely or probably vote for the candidate, and a score of 0 if the respondent said they would definitely or probably not vote for the candidate. Operationalizing the dependent variable in this way allowed us to interpret the treatment effects in the article as percentage-point changes in public support. As shown later in this appendix, though, our substantive conclusions remained the same when we operationalized the dependent variable in other ways.

Having assigned each candidate a score based on the voters’ expressed preferences, we stacked the data from all 8 candidates, resulting in $1,420 \times 8 = 11,360$ observations. We regressed the candidates’ scores on dummy variables representing interactions of the voter’s position and the candidate’s position, as well as dummy variables for the candidate’s political experience, and dummy variables measuring whether the candidate and the voter were similar with respect to gender, race, and geographic region. Given that each respondent contributed 8 responses to this regression model, we clustered the standard errors by respondent.

Table 5, below, gives the estimated coefficients and standard errors from the regression model we used to compute and plot the treatment effects in Figures 5 and 6 of the article. On security policy, 1 = Definitely Dovish, 2 = Leans Dovish, 3 = Leans Hawkish, and 4 = Definitely Hawkish. On economic policy, 1 = Definitely Socialist, 2 = Leans Socialist, 3 = Leans Capitalist, and 4 = Definitely Capitalist. On the role of religion, 1 = No Role, 2 = Small Role, 3 = Medium Role, and 4 = Large Role. For all three issues, the omitted reference categories were Voter = 4 & Candidate = 4. Other omitted reference categories were political experience = “0-5 years,” gender = “F voter & M candidate,” race = “Different races,” and region = “Different regions.”

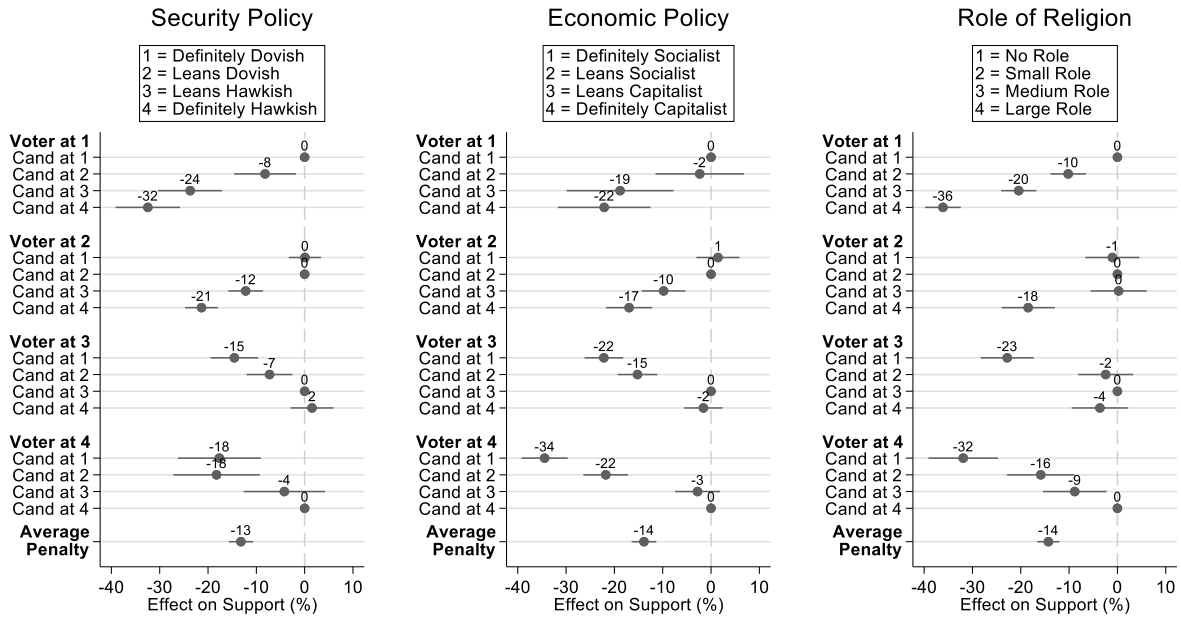
Table 5: Regression Model of Selection in the U.S.

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
Security Policy		
Voter=1 & Candidate=1	7.34	3.46
Voter=1 & Candidate=2	-0.85	3.60
Voter=1 & Candidate=3	-16.35	3.51
Voter=1 & Candidate=4	-25.11	3.55
Voter=2 & Candidate=1	-0.45	3.01
Voter=2 & Candidate=2	-0.51	2.99
Voter=2 & Candidate=3	-12.71	3.04
Voter=2 & Candidate=4	-21.86	3.00
Voter=3 & Candidate=1	-18.03	3.21
Voter=3 & Candidate=2	-10.74	3.15
Voter=3 & Candidate=3	-3.47	3.16
Voter=3 & Candidate=4	-1.95	3.17
Voter=4 & Candidate=1	-17.65	4.37
Voter=4 & Candidate=2	-18.24	4.57
Voter=4 & Candidate=3	-4.20	4.29
Economic Policy		
Voter=1 & Candidate=1	-5.13	3.58

Voter=1 & Candidate=2	-7.46	3.40
Voter=1 & Candidate=3	-23.95	3.68
Voter=1 & Candidate=4	-27.23	3.55
Voter=2 & Candidate=1	-6.38	2.05
Voter=2 & Candidate=2	-7.81	2.09
Voter=2 & Candidate=3	-17.62	2.02
Voter=2 & Candidate=4	-24.76	2.10
Voter=3 & Candidate=1	-27.73	1.91
Voter=3 & Candidate=2	-20.77	1.97
Voter=3 & Candidate=3	-5.55	1.94
Voter=3 & Candidate=4	-7.12	1.96
Voter=4 & Candidate=1	-34.44	2.43
Voter=4 & Candidate=2	-21.79	2.36
Voter=4 & Candidate=3	-2.79	2.37
Role of Religion		
Voter=1 & Candidate=1	2.43	2.51
Voter=1 & Candidate=2	-7.76	2.55
Voter=1 & Candidate=3	-18.01	2.55
Voter=1 & Candidate=4	-33.68	2.54
Voter=2 & Candidate=1	-9.88	2.90
Voter=2 & Candidate=2	-8.85	2.87
Voter=2 & Candidate=3	-8.60	2.90
Voter=2 & Candidate=4	-27.32	2.79
Voter=3 & Candidate=1	-29.95	2.84
Voter=3 & Candidate=2	-9.56	2.85
Voter=3 & Candidate=3	-7.14	2.90
Voter=3 & Candidate=4	-10.77	2.92
Voter=4 & Candidate=1	-31.92	3.67
Voter=4 & Candidate=2	-15.87	3.55
Voter=4 & Candidate=3	-8.83	3.35
Region		
Both Northeast	0.76	1.91
Both Midwest	4.19	1.65
Both South	1.33	1.41
Both West	4.89	1.68
Political Experience		
6-10 years	3.79	1.53
11-15 years	6.23	1.54
16-20 years	7.67	1.55
21-25 years	8.94	1.49
26-30 years	8.81	1.54
Gender		
F voter & F candidate	2.32	1.22
M voter & F candidate	1.71	0.95
M voter & M candidate	1.04	0.98
Race		
Both white	1.66	0.97
Both black	10.19	2.34
Both Hispanic	0.50	1.93
Constant	79.52	4.08
Observations	11360	

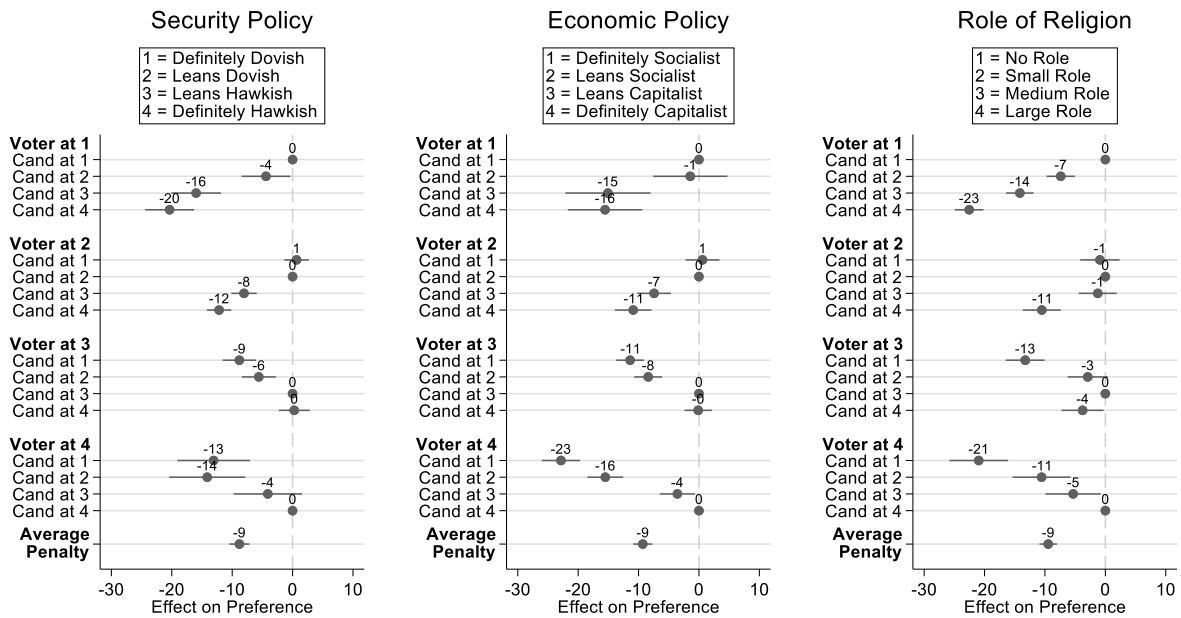
D. EFFECTS OF POLICY POSITIONS

Figure 24: Effects of Policy Positions on Vote Choice (As Shown in the Article)



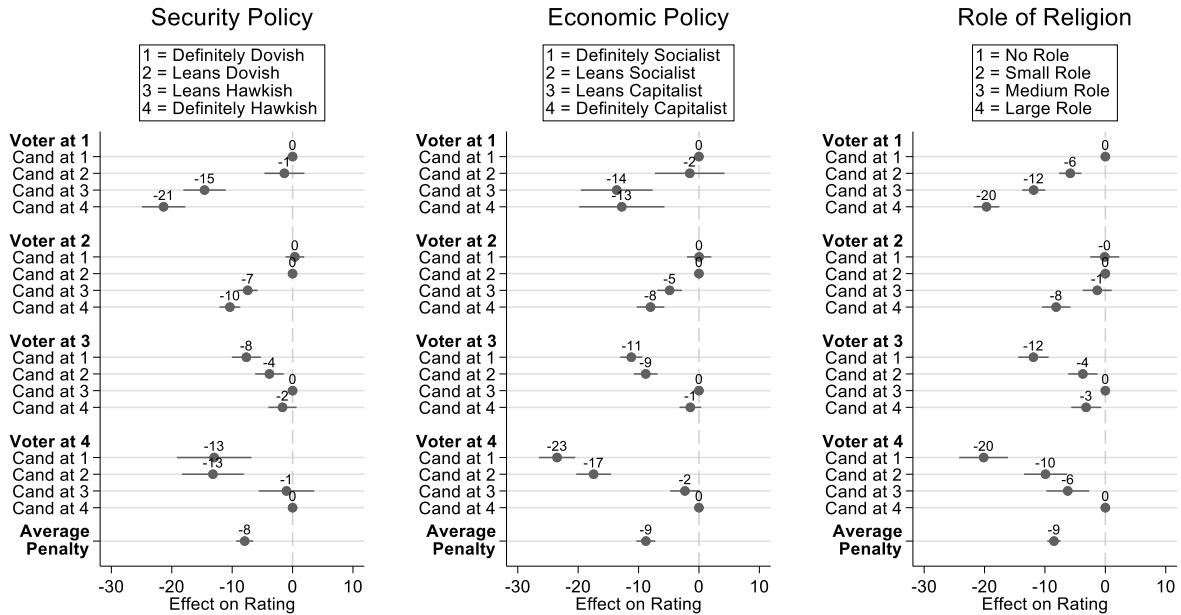
Note: Figure shows the effect of policy positions on the percentage of respondents who voted for the candidate.

Figure 25: Effects of Policy Positions on the Strength of Voters' Preferences



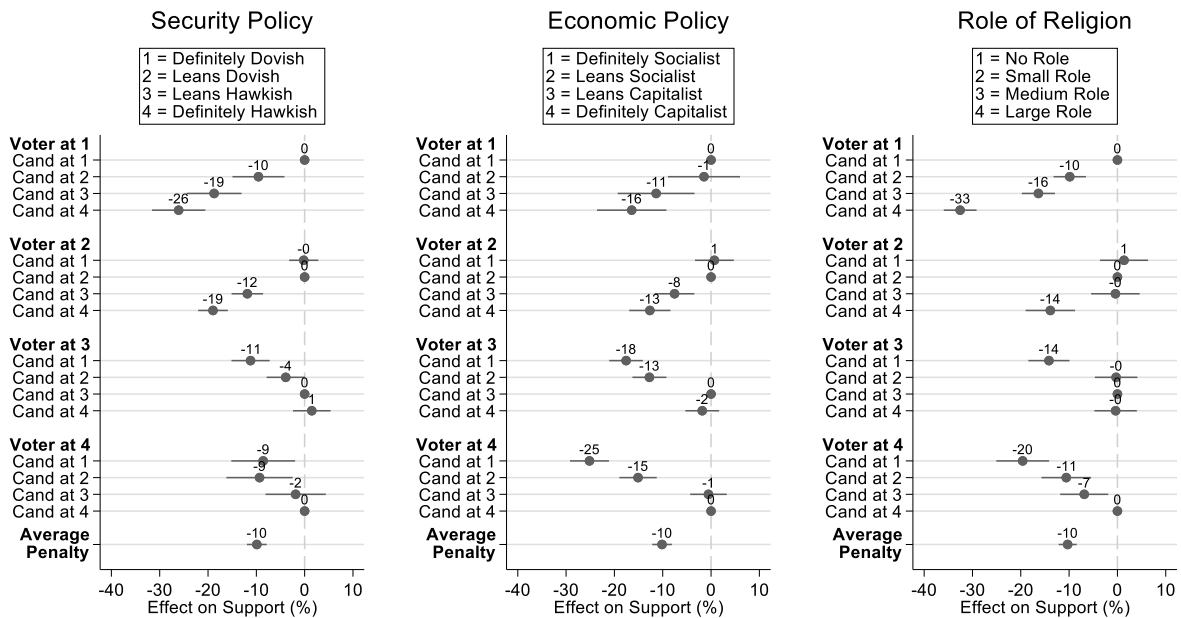
Note: Strength of preference was measured on scale in which 100=definitely preferred the candidate, 67=probably preferred the candidate, 33=probably preferred the opponent, and 0=definitely preferred the opponent.

Figure 26: Effects of Policy Positions on Ratings



Note: Respondents rated each candidate from 0 (worst) to 10 (best), which we rescaled to run from 0 to 100.

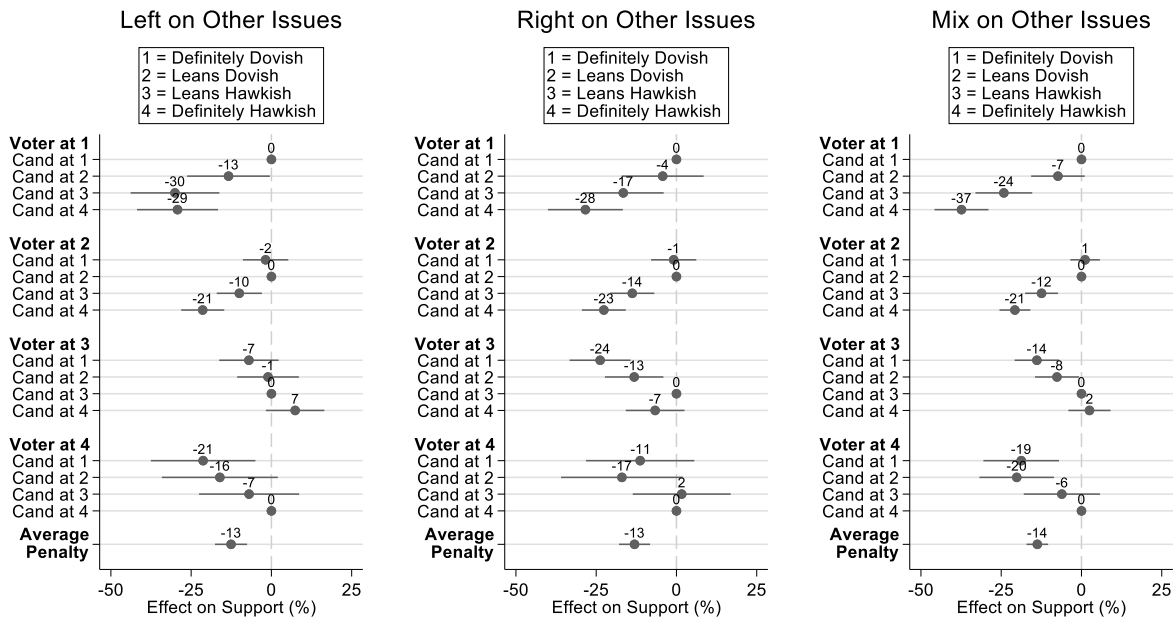
Figure 27: Effects of Policy Positions, All Respondents Regardless of Attentiveness



Note: The figure combines the 1,420 respondents who passed the attention checks and the 631 who did not.

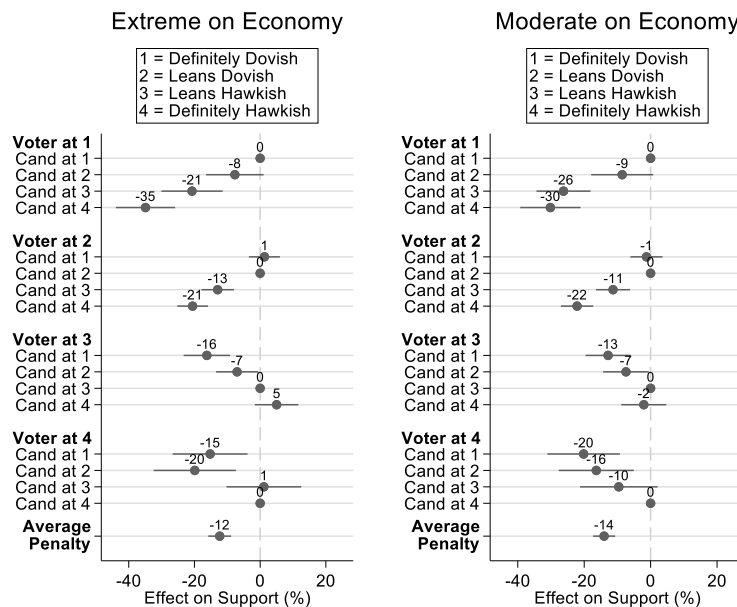
E. EFFECTS OF POLICY POSITIONS, BY OTHER ATTRIBUTES OF THE CANDIDATE

Figure 28: Effects of Security Policy, by Candidate's Position on Other Issues



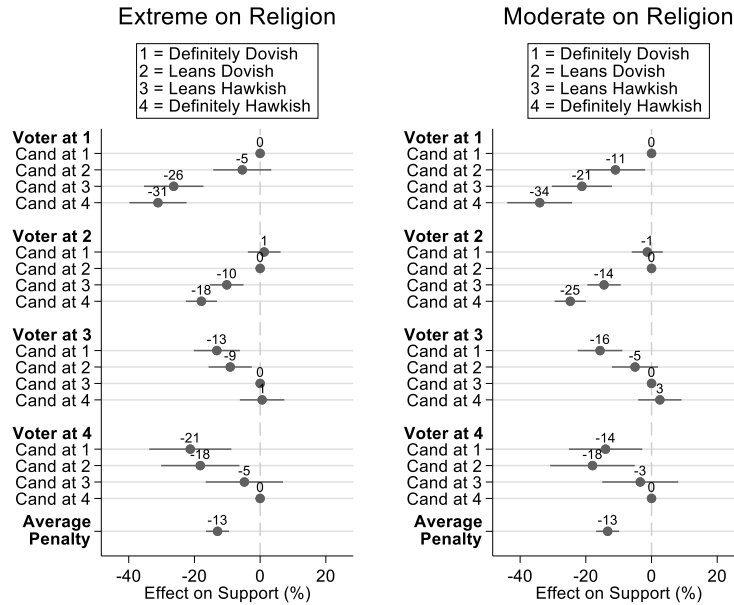
Note: Candidates were coded as left on economic policy if they were “definitely socialist” or “more socialist than capitalist,” and left on religion if they thought religion should “a small role” or “no role” in policy.

Figure 29: Effects of Security Policy, by Candidate's Economic Policy



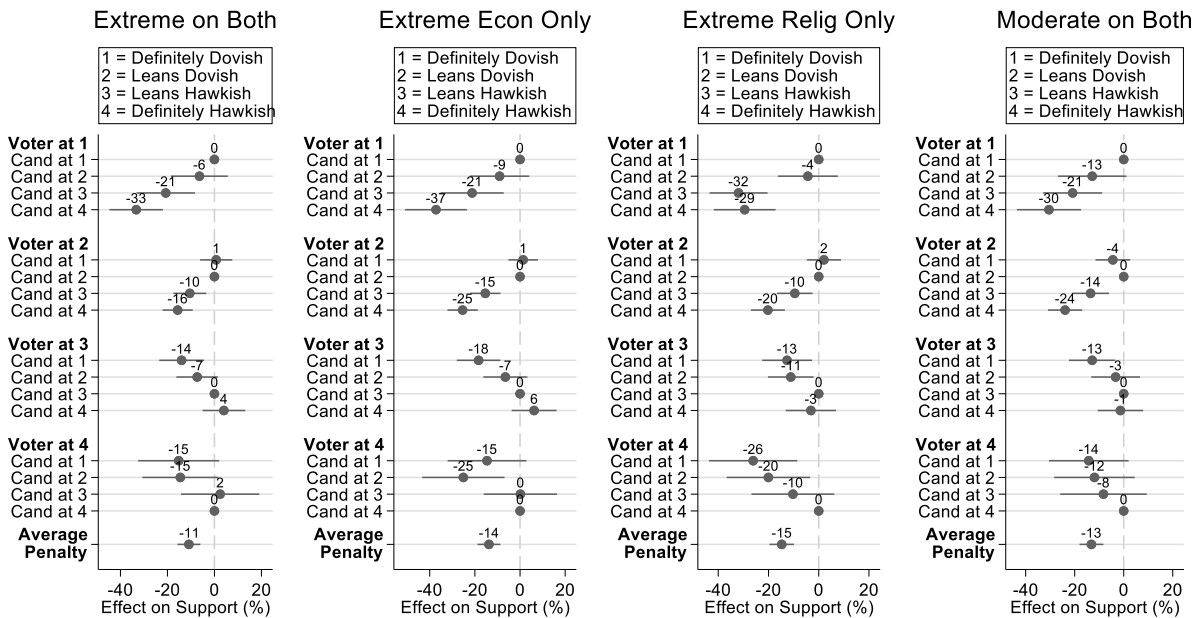
Note: Candidates were coded as extreme on economic policy if they were “definitely socialist” or “definitely capitalist,” and moderate if they took intermediate positions.

Figure 30: Effects of Security Policy, by Candidate's Religious Policy



Note: Candidates were coded as extreme on religious policy if they said religion should “never” or “always” be applied in public life, and moderate if they took intermediate positions.

Figure 31: Effects of Security Policy, by Candidate's Extremity on Economics and Religion



Note: See previous figures for coding of extreme versus moderate positions on economics and religion.

Figure 32: Effects of Security Policy, by Candidate's Political Experience

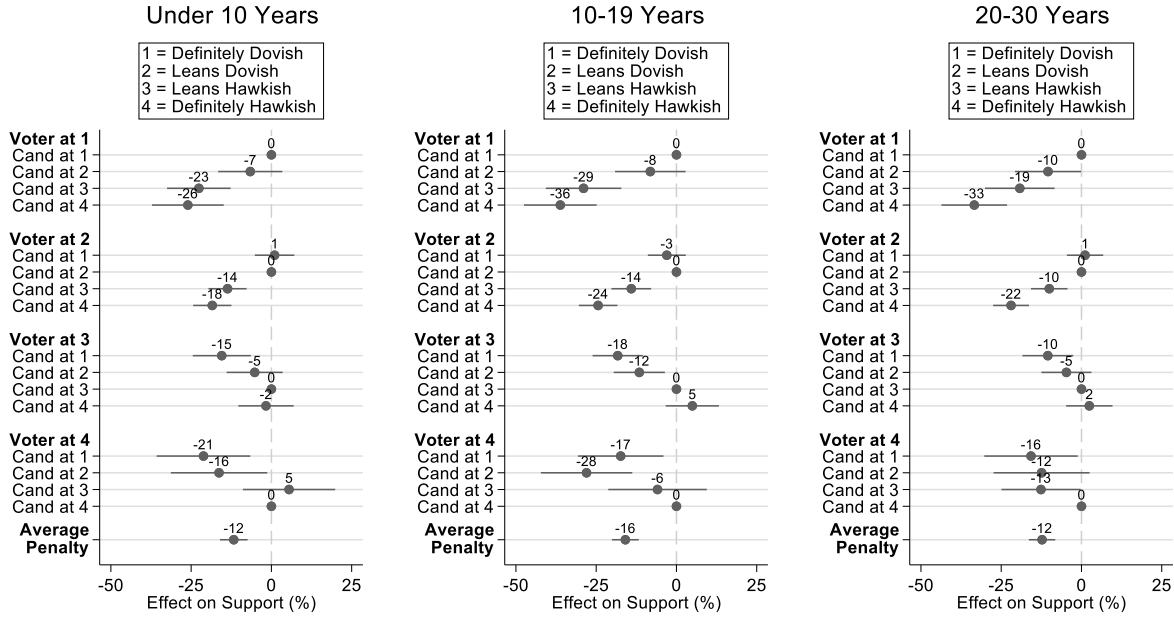


Figure 33: Effects of Security Policy, by Candidate's Gender

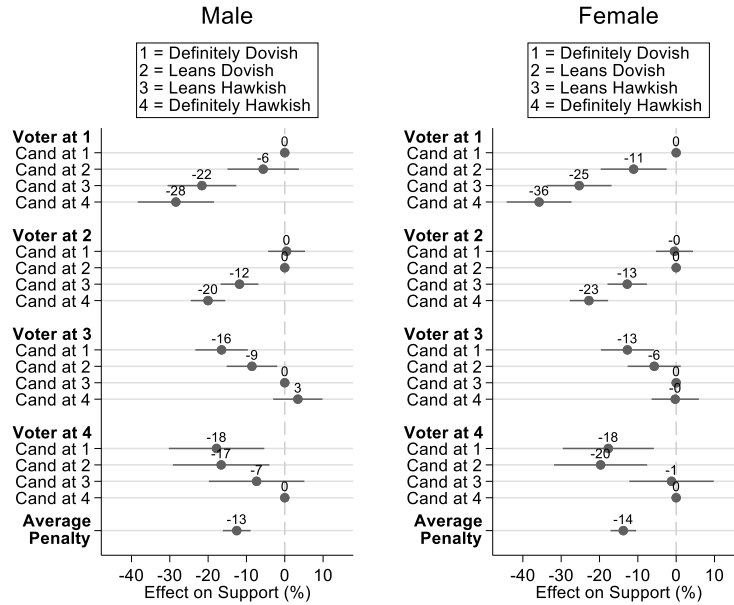


Figure 34: Effects of Security Policy, by Candidate's Race

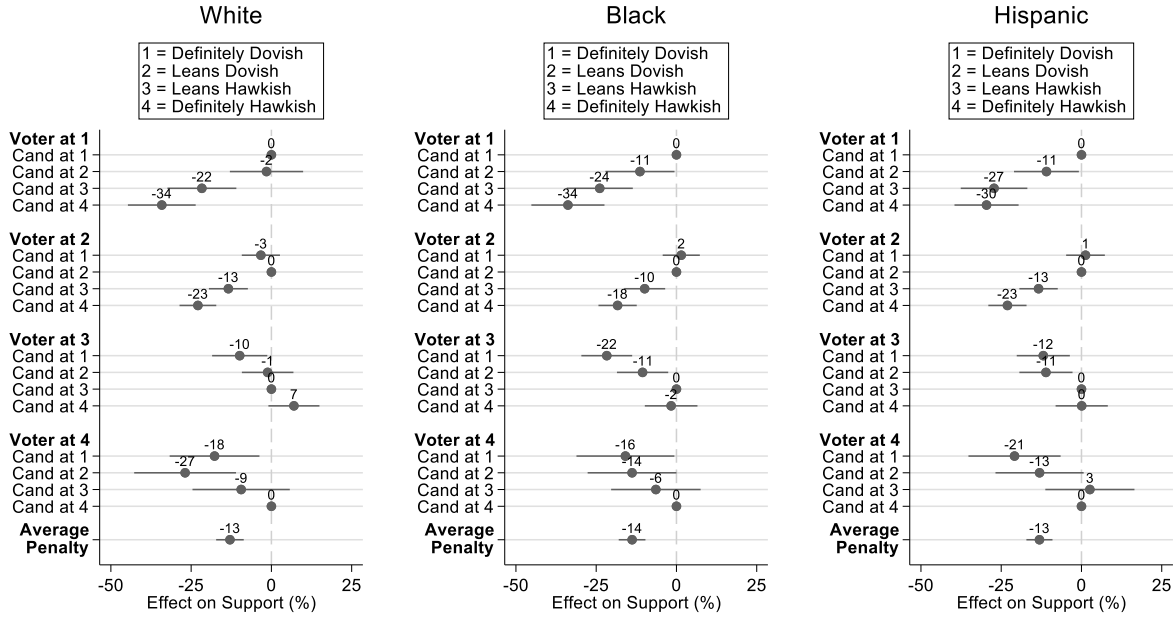
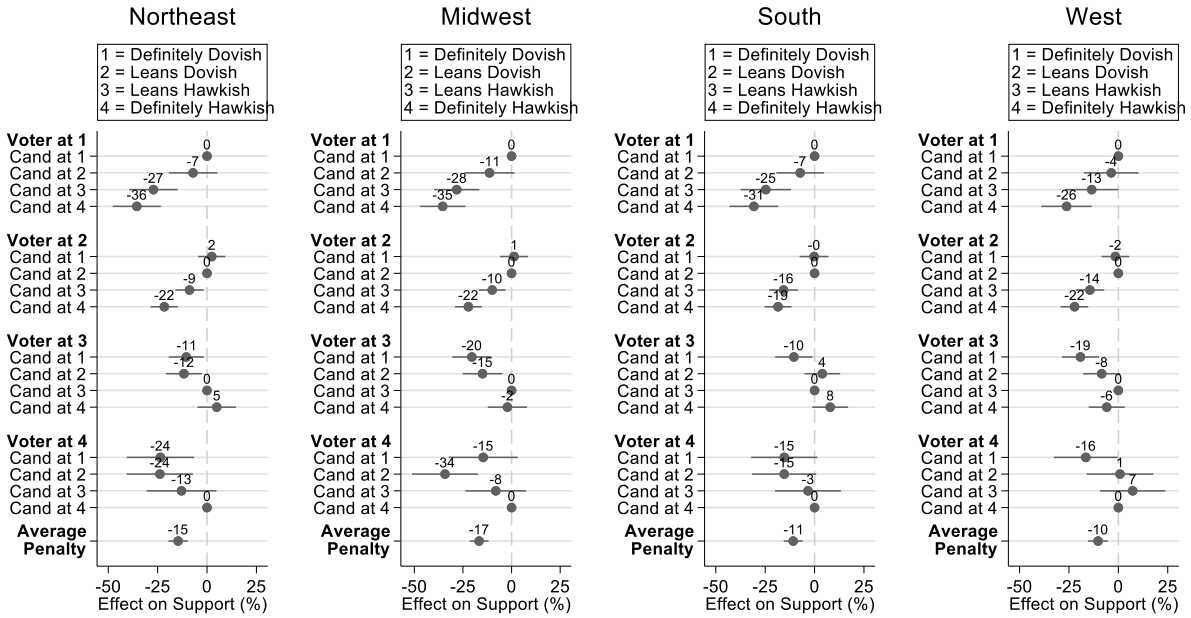


Figure 35: Effects of Security Policy, by Candidate's Region



F. EFFECTS OF POLICY POSITIONS, BY DEMOGRAPHIC ATTRIBUTES OF THE RESPONDENT

Figure 36: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Gender

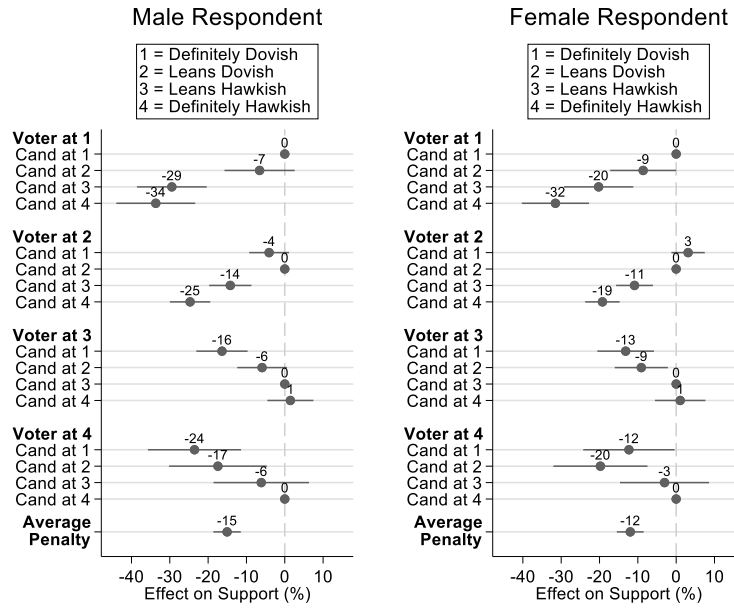


Figure 37: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Age

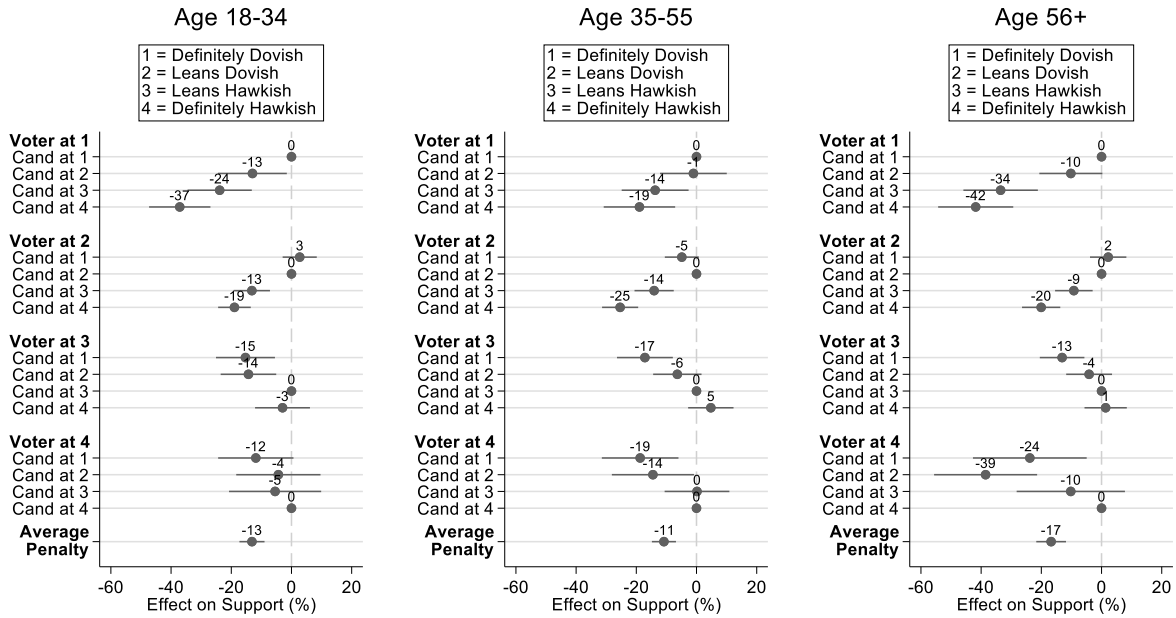


Figure 38: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Education

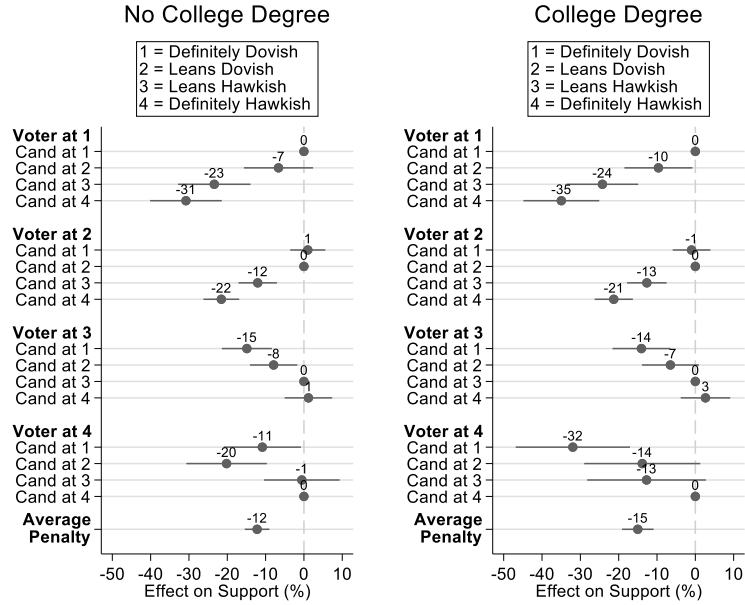


Figure 39: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Income

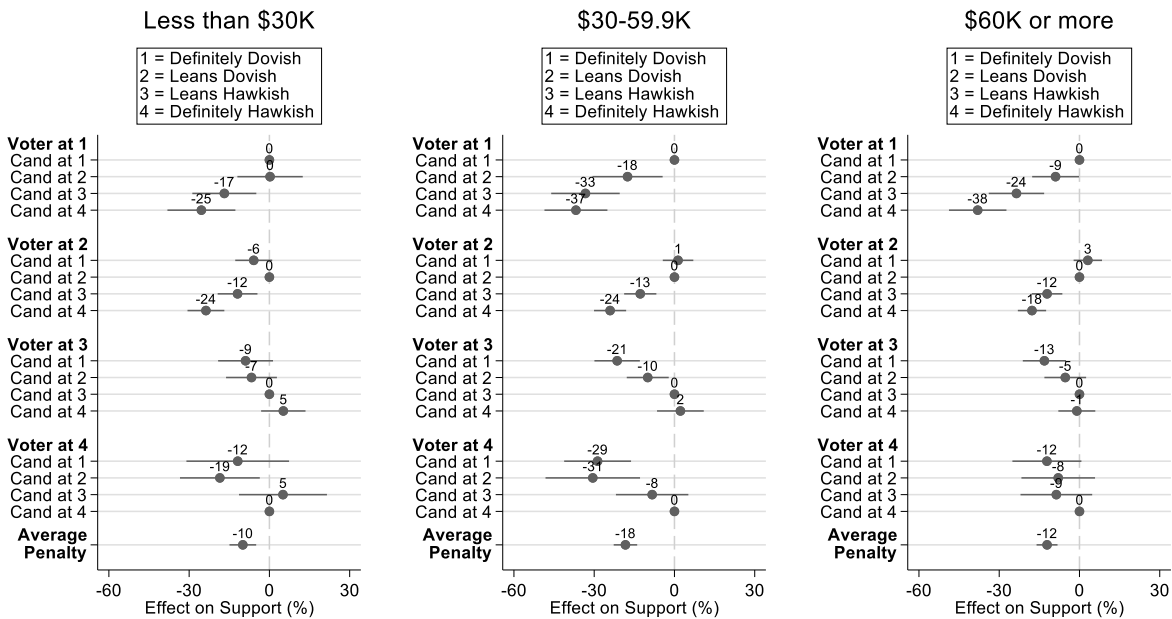


Figure 40: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Race

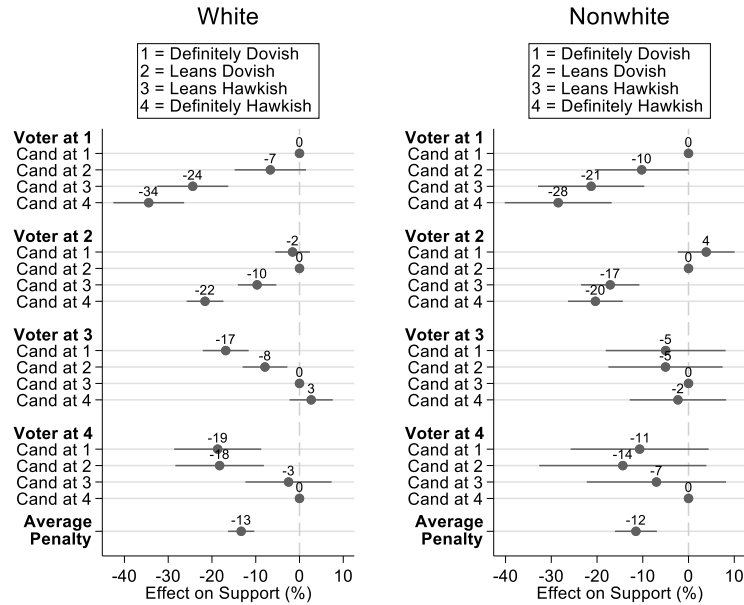
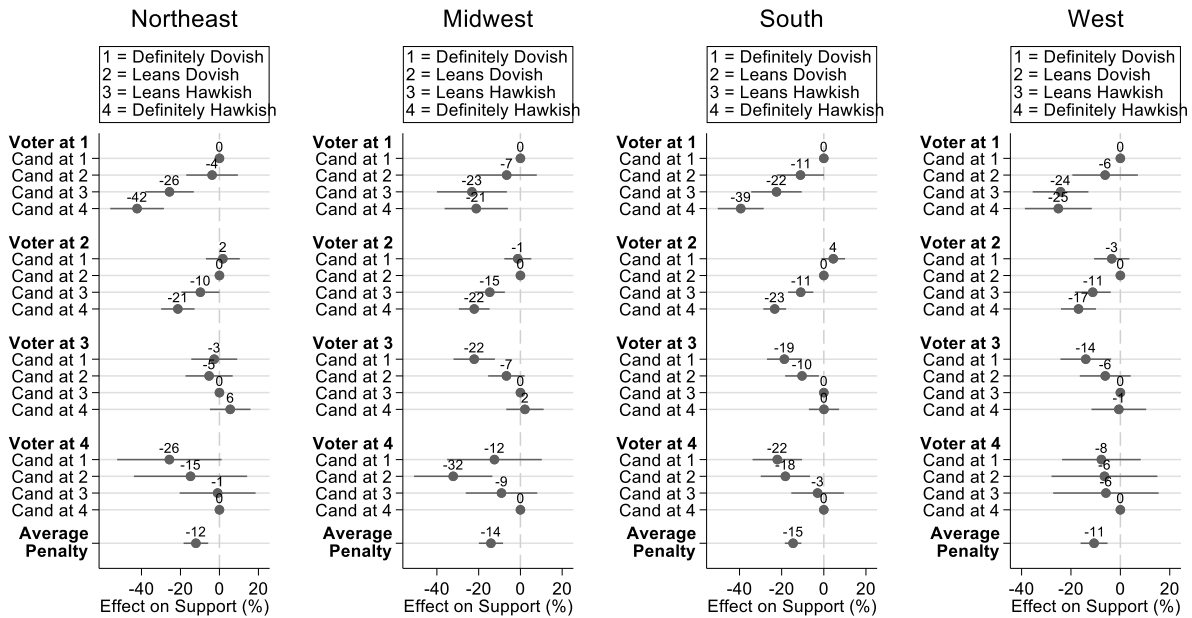
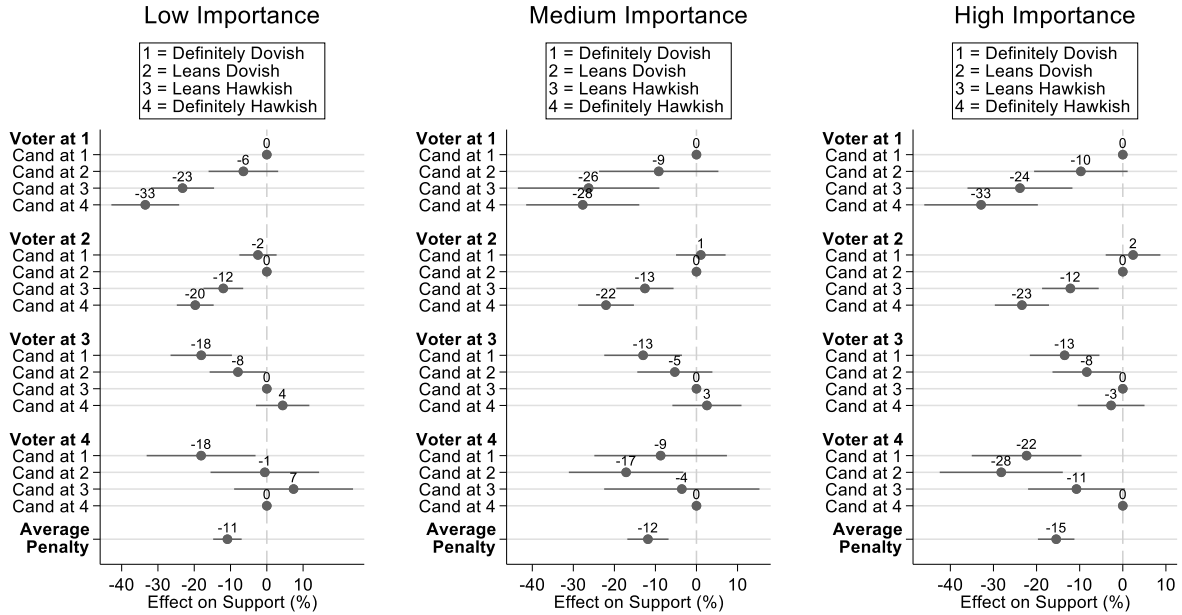


Figure 41: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Home Region



Note: Northeast = Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont. Midwest = Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin. South = Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia. West = Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.

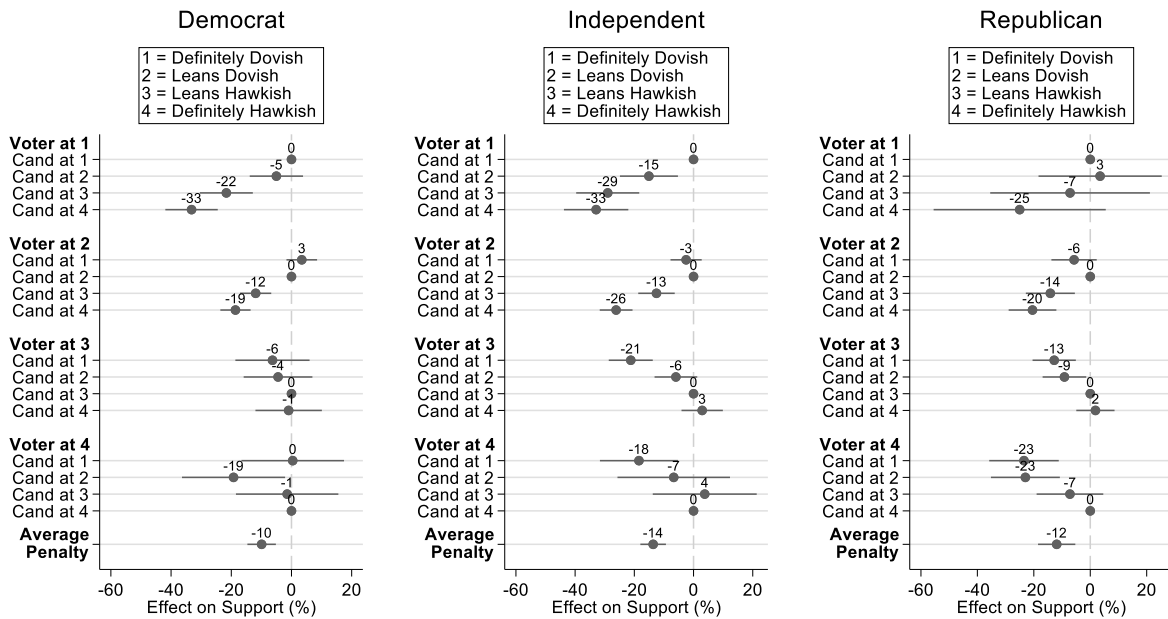
Figure 42: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent’s Religiosity



Note: We asked, “How important is religion in your life?” Low = “Not at all important” or “Not too important”; Medium = “Somewhat important”; High = “Very important”

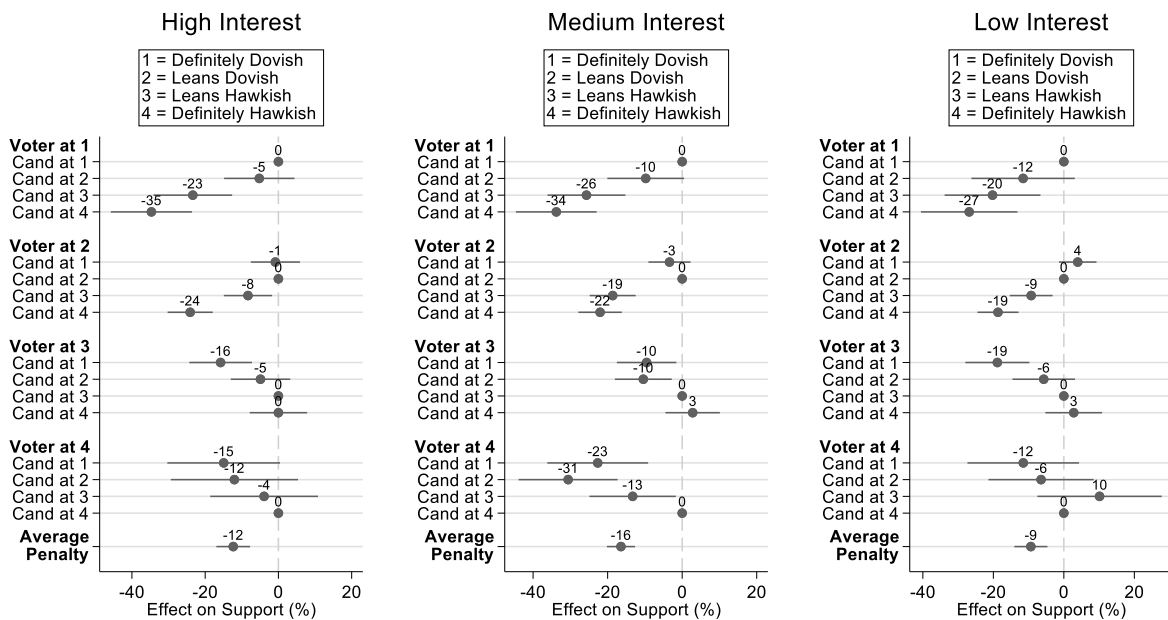
G. EFFECTS OF POLICY POSITIONS, BY POLITICAL ATTRIBUTES OF RESPONDENTS

Figure 43: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Party Affiliation



Note: Independents include people who said they were independent, identified with another party, or expressed no preference.

Figure 44: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Interest in Politics



Note: We asked how often people follow what's going on in government and public affairs. High interest = "Most of the time"; Medium interest = "Some of the time"; Low interest = "Hardly at all" or "Only now and then"

Figure 45: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Voter Turnout

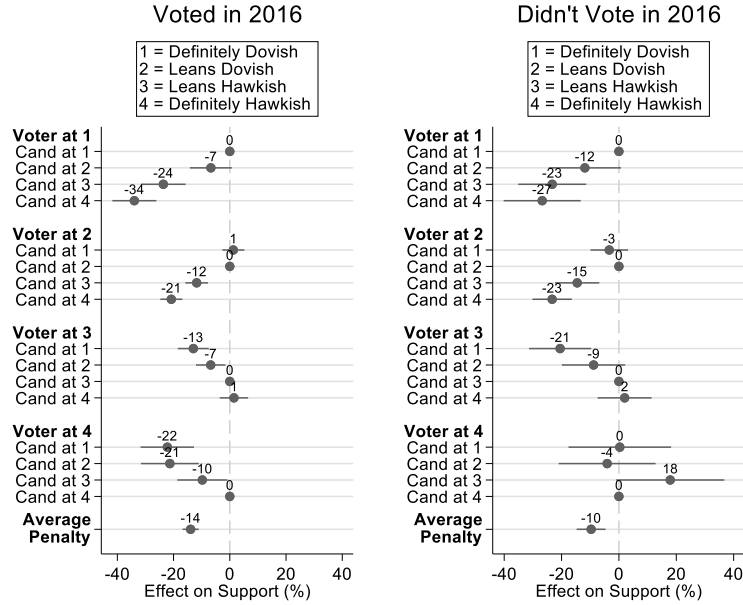
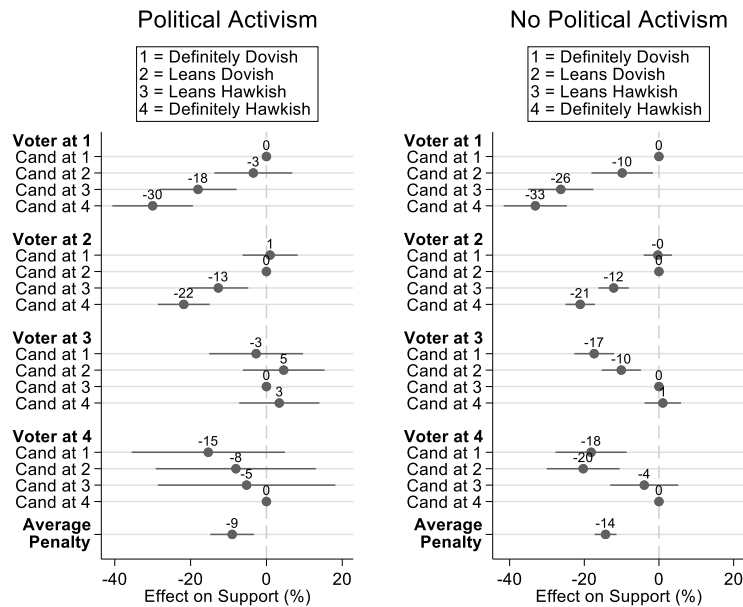


Figure 46: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Level of Political Activism



Note: People showed political activism if, in the past year, they: attended local political meetings; put up a political sign; worked for a candidate or campaign; or donated money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization.

APPENDIX 4: U.S. PUBLIC SURVEY, SEPTEMBER 2017

A. QUESTIONNAIRE

PART 1: We measured the respondent's preferences about economic, foreign, and religious policies.

Some people favor capitalist economic policies. They think the government should play only a small role in the economy, and should let the market determine economic outcomes.

Other people favor socialist economic policies. They think the government should play a large role in the economy by regulating businesses and redistributing income.

Which approach to U.S. economic policy do you prefer?

- Definitely capitalist (small government role)
- More capitalist (small government role) than socialist (large government role)
- More socialist (large government role) than capitalist (small government role)
- Definitely socialist (large government role)

Some people think military force should be used frequently in U.S. foreign policy. They are called "hawks."

Other people think U.S. foreign policy should be based on diplomacy, and the U.S. should rarely if ever use military force. They are called "doves."

Which approach to U.S. foreign policy do you prefer?

- Definitely hawkish (military)
- More hawkish (military) than dovish (diplomatic)
- More dovish (diplomatic) than hawkish (military)
- Definitely dovish (diplomatic)

How big of a role do you think religion should play in shaping government policy in the United States?

- Large role
- Medium role
- Small role
- No role

PART 2: We described the evaluation task. In the list below and in subsequent tables, we randomized the order of the three policy categories, and randomized the order of the four non-policy categories.

On the following screens we will describe several candidates for president of the United States. The candidates are hypothetical; they are not real candidates. All of the candidates are Christian.

We will provide the following information about each candidate's policy positions and other characteristics:

- Economic policy
- Foreign policy
- Role of religion
- Party
- Race
- Gender
- Years in politics

Please read the information carefully, and then tell us your opinions about the candidates.

PART 3: The economic policies of all candidates were held constant at “More capitalist (small government role) than socialist (large government role),” and the religious policies of all candidates were held constant at “Religion should play a small role in shaping government policy in the U.S.” We independently randomized the following attributes of each candidate.

Foreign policy = {
Definitely dovish (diplomatic) –OR–
More dovish (diplomatic) than hawkish (military) –OR–
More hawkish (military) than dovish (diplomatic) –OR–
Definitely hawkish (military)
}

Race = {
White –OR–
Black –OR–
Hispanic
}

Gender = {
Male –OR–
Female
}

Years in politics = {
0 years, 1 year, 2 years, ..., –OR– 30 years
}

Party = {
Democrat –OR–
Republican
}

PART 4: We asked respondents to evaluate four pairs of candidates (A vs B, C vs D, E vs F, and G vs H), which varied randomly on foreign policy, party, race, gender, and years in politics. We held candidates' policies on the economy and the role of religion constant. The table below provides an example of what respondents saw.

The first two candidates are **Candidate A** and **Candidate B**.

Please read the descriptions carefully. On the next screen, we will ask which candidate you prefer.

	Candidate A	Candidate B
Economic policy	More capitalist (small government role) than socialist (large government role)	More capitalist (small government role) than socialist (large government role)
Foreign policy	Definitely dovish (diplomatic)	More hawkish (military) than dovish (diplomatic)
Role of religion	Religion should play a small role in shaping government policy in the U.S.	Religion should play a small role in shaping government policy in the U.S.
Party	Democrat	Republican
Race	White	White
Gender	Male	Male
Years in politics	6 years	25 years

Before you share your opinions about the candidates, we need to make sure you read the table carefully. **On which dimensions are the candidates identical, and on which dimensions do they differ from each other?**

	The candidates were identical on this dimension	The candidates differed on this dimension
Economic policy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Foreign policy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Role of religion	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Party	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Race	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Gender	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Years in politics	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Here are the candidates again, for your reference:

	Candidate A	Candidate B
Economic policy	More capitalist (small government role) than socialist (large government role)	More capitalist (small government role) than socialist (large government role)
Foreign policy	Definitely dovish (diplomatic)	More hawkish (military) than dovish (diplomatic)
Role of religion	Religion should play a small role in shaping government policy in the U.S.	Religion should play a small role in shaping government policy in the U.S.
Party	Democrat	Republican
Race	White	White
Gender	Male	Male
Years in politics	6 years	25 years

Based on the information we provided, please rate each candidate on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means "strongly dislike" and 10 means like "strongly like."

Candidate A



Candidate B



If you had to choose, which candidate would you vote for?

- Definitely Candidate A
- Probably Candidate A
- Probably Candidate B
- Definitely Candidate B

[Respondents completed this task four times, for candidates A vs B, C vs D, E vs F, and G vs H.]

PART 5: We asked about the political views and demographic attributes of respondents.

Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs ...?

- Most of the time
- Some of the time
- Only now and then
- Hardly at all
- Don't know

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a ...

- Republican
- Democrat
- Independent
- Another party, please specify
- No preference

Did you vote for President of the United States in November 2016?

- No
- I usually vote, but did not in 2016
- I am not sure
- Yes. I definitely voted

During the past year did you ... (Please check all that apply)

- Attend local political meetings (such as school board or city council)
- Put up a political sign (such as a lawn sign or a bumper sticker)
- Work for a candidate or campaign
- Donate money to a candidate, campaign, or political organization
- Donate blood
- None of these

How important is religion in your life?

- Very important
- Somewhat important
- Not too important
- Not at all important

Are you male or female?

- Male
 - Female
-

What racial or ethnic group best describes you?

- White
 - Black or African American
 - Hispanic or Latino
 - Asian or Asian American
 - Native American
 - Middle Eastern
 - Mixed Race
 - Some other race – Type in race
-

Thinking back over the last year, what was your family's annual income?

- Less than \$10,000
- \$10,000 - \$14,999
- \$15,000 - \$19,999
- \$20,000 - \$24,999
- \$25,000 - \$29,999
- \$30,000 - \$39,999
- \$40,000 - \$49,999
- \$50,000 - \$59,999
- \$60,000 - \$69,999
- \$70,000 - \$79,999
- \$80,000 - \$99,999
- \$100,000 - \$119,999
- \$120,000 - \$149,999
- \$150,000 or more
- Prefer not to say

Please enter your age on your last birthday.

What is the highest level of school you have completed?

- Did not graduate from high school
 - High school graduate
 - Some college, but no degree (yet)
 - 2-year college degree
 - 4-year college degree
 - Postgraduate degree (MA, MBA, MD, JD, PhD, etc)
-

In what state do you currently reside?

B. DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

Table 6: Descriptive Statistics

Security Policy		Race	
Definitely dovish	18 %	White	80 %
More dovish than hawkish	50	Black	6
More hawkish than dovish	25	Hispanic	5
Definitely hawkish	7	Asian	6
		Other	3
Economic Policy		Region	
Definitely socialist	8 %	Northeast	17 %
More socialist than capitalist	26	Midwest	21
More capitalist than socialist	34	South	40
Definitely capitalist	32	West	23
Religious Policy		Religiosity	
No role	56 %	Not at all important	38 %
Small role	18	Not too important	14
Medium role	16	Somewhat important	21
Large role	10	Very important	26
Gender		Political Party	
Female	51 %	Democrat	31 %
Male	49	Independent	31
		Republican	37
Age		Follow Political News	
18-34 years	46 %	Most of the time	39 %
35-55 years	42	Some of the time	44
56 and over	12	Only now and then	13
		Hardly at all	5
Education		Turnout in 2016 Election	
High school or less	12 %	Voted	79 %
Some college	24	Didn't vote	21
College degree	51		
Graduate study	13		
Income		Political Activism	
Less than \$30K	26 %	Some activities	26 %
\$30 - 59.9 K	31	No activities	74
\$60K or more	41		
Not reported	2		

C. METHODS

Each of the 1,461 respondents evaluated 4 pairs of candidates: A vs B, C vs D, E vs F, and G vs H. After each pair we asked, “If you had to choose, which candidate would you vote for?” For the main analyses in the article, we assigned each candidate a score of 100 if the respondent said they would definitely or probably vote for the candidate, and a score of 0 if the respondent said they would definitely or probably not vote for the candidate. Operationalizing the dependent variable in this way allowed us to interpret the treatment effects in the article as percentage-point changes in public support. As shown later in this appendix, though, our substantive conclusions remained the same when we operationalized the dependent variable in other ways.

Having assigned each candidate a score based on the voters’ expressed preferences, we stacked the data from all 8 candidates, resulting in $1,461 \times 8 = 11,688$ observations. We regressed the candidates’ scores on dummy variables for interactions of the voter’s position and the candidate’s position on foreign policy, as well as dummy variables for the voter’s position on economic policy and the role of religion, and dummy variables measuring whether the candidate and the voter were similar with respect to party, gender, and race. Given that each respondent contributed 8 responses to this regression model, we clustered the standard errors by respondent.

Table 7, below, gives the estimated coefficients and standard errors from the regression model we used to compute and plot the treatment effects in Figures 7 of the article. On security policy, 1 = Definitely Dovish, 2 = Leans Dovish, 3 = Leans Hawkish, and 4 = Definitely Hawkish. The omitted reference category was Voter = 4 & Candidate = 4. On economic policy, 1 = Definitely Socialist, 2 = Leans Socialist, 3 = Leans Capitalist, and 4 = Definitely Capitalist, with Voter = 1 as the omitted reference category. On the role of religion, 1 = No Role, 2 = Small Role, 3 = Medium Role, and 4 = Large Role, with Voter = 1 as the omitted reference category. Other omitted reference categories were party = “D voter & D candidate”, political experience = “0-5 years,” gender = “F voter & M candidate,” and race = “Different races.”

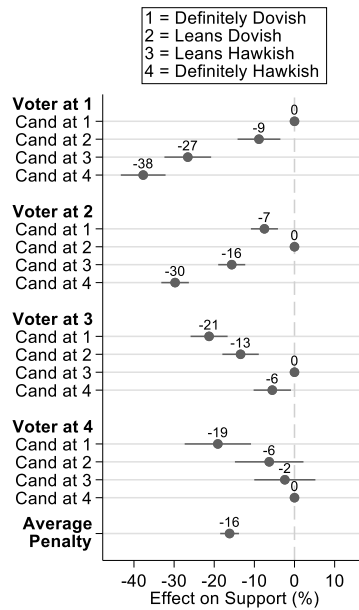
Table 7: Regression Model of Selection in the U.S., with Party Labels

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error
Security Policy		
Voter=1 & Candidate=1	10.91	3.23
Voter=1 & Candidate=2	2.05	3.18
Voter=1 & Candidate=3	-15.68	3.26
Voter=1 & Candidate=4	-26.80	3.15
Voter=2 & Candidate=1	-1.38	2.92
Voter=2 & Candidate=2	6.11	2.89
Voter=2 & Candidate=3	-9.53	2.90
Voter=2 & Candidate=4	-23.64	2.88
Voter=3 & Candidate=1	-18.24	3.06
Voter=3 & Candidate=2	-10.40	3.05
Voter=3 & Candidate=3	3.04	3.06
Voter=3 & Candidate=4	-2.50	3.08

Voter=4 & Candidate=1	-19.10	4.21
Voter=4 & Candidate=2	-6.30	4.35
Voter=4 & Candidate=3	-2.41	3.88
Economic Policy		
Voter=2	0.40	0.53
Voter=3	-0.14	0.53
Voter=4	0.15	0.54
Role of Religion		
Voter=2	-0.48	0.31
Voter=3	-0.62	0.31
Voter=4	0.17	0.40
Party		
D voter & D candidate	52.20	2.36
I voter & R candidate	26.31	1.89
I voter & D candidate	25.92	1.90
R voter & R candidate	55.04	1.58
R voter & D candidate	-2.38	1.57
Political Experience		
6-10 years	5.94	1.30
11-15 years	7.63	1.38
16-20 years	9.80	1.33
21-25 years	11.30	1.45
26-30 years	11.19	1.38
Gender		
F voter & F candidate	2.00	1.10
M voter & F candidate	1.04	0.82
M voter & M candidate	1.51	0.83
Race		
Both white	2.49	0.89
Both black	5.93	2.82
Both Hispanic	4.63	3.15
Constant	21.76	3.08
Observations	11,688	

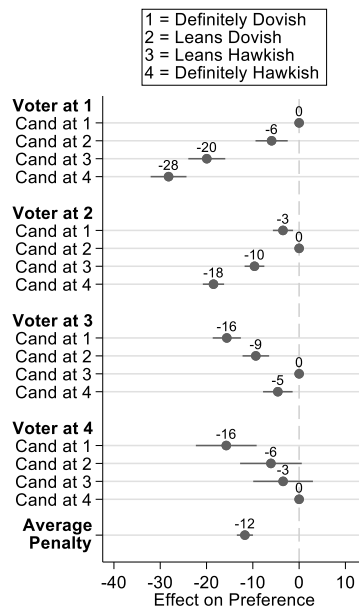
D. EFFECTS OF POLICY POSITIONS

Figure 47: Effects of Security Policy on Vote Choice (As Shown in the Article)



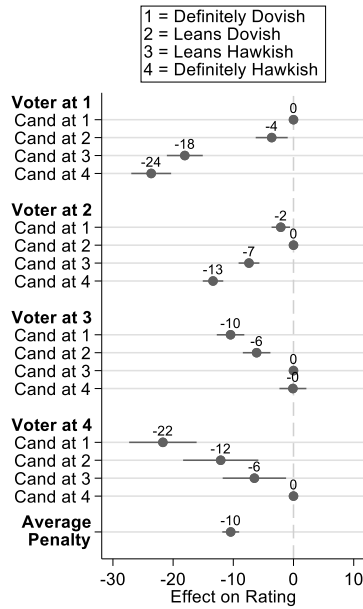
Note: Figure shows the effect of policy positions on the percentage of respondents who voted for the candidate.

Figure 48: Effects of Policy Positions on the Strength of Voters' Preferences



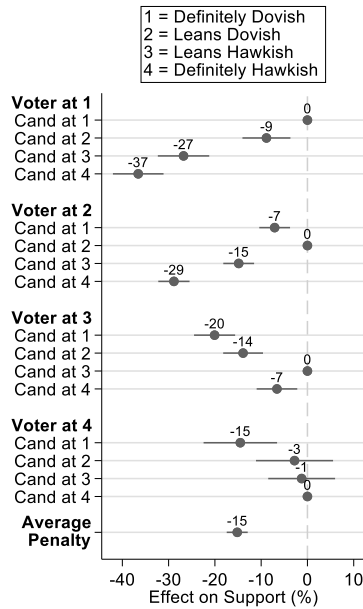
Note: Strength of preference was measured on a scale in which 100=definitely preferred the candidate, 67=probably preferred the candidate, 33=probably preferred the opponent, and 0=definitely preferred the opponent.

Figure 49: Effects of Policy Positions on Ratings



Note: Respondents rated each candidate from 0 (worst) to 10 (best), which we rescaled to run from 0 to 100.

Figure 50: Effects of Policy Positions, All Respondents Regardless of Attentiveness



Note: The figure combines the 1,461 respondents who passed the attention checks and the 119 who did not.

E. EFFECTS OF POLICY POSITIONS, BY OTHER ATTRIBUTES OF THE CANDIDATE

Figure 51: Effects of Security Policy, by Candidate's Political Party

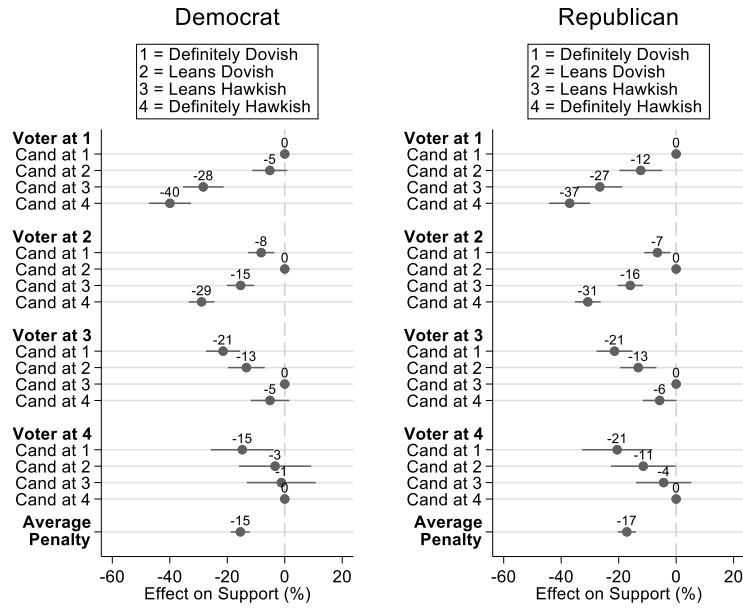


Figure 52: Effects of Security Policy, by Candidate's Political Experience

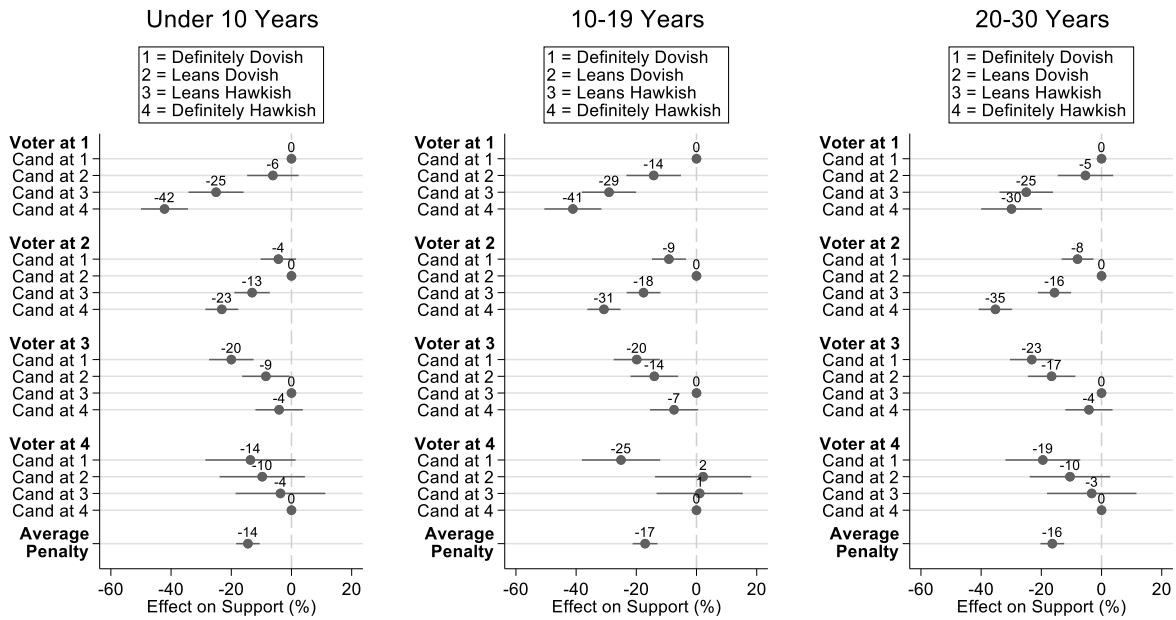


Figure 53: Effects of Security Policy, by Candidate's Gender

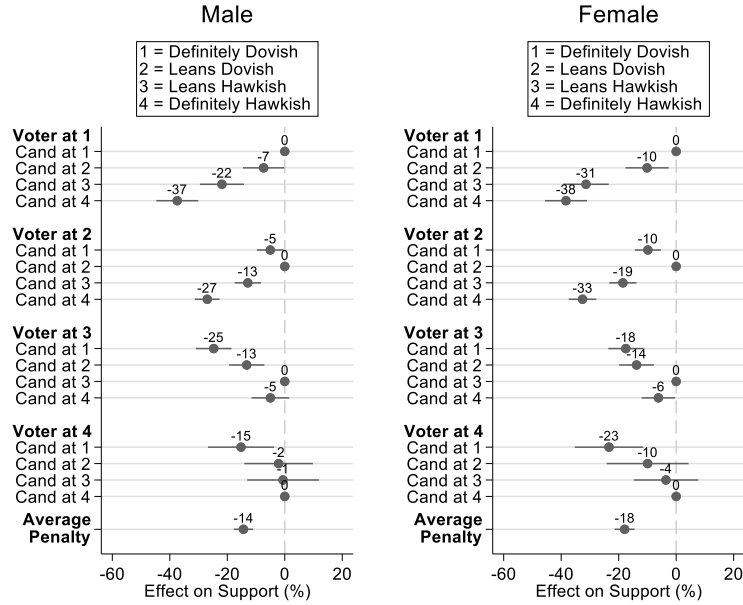
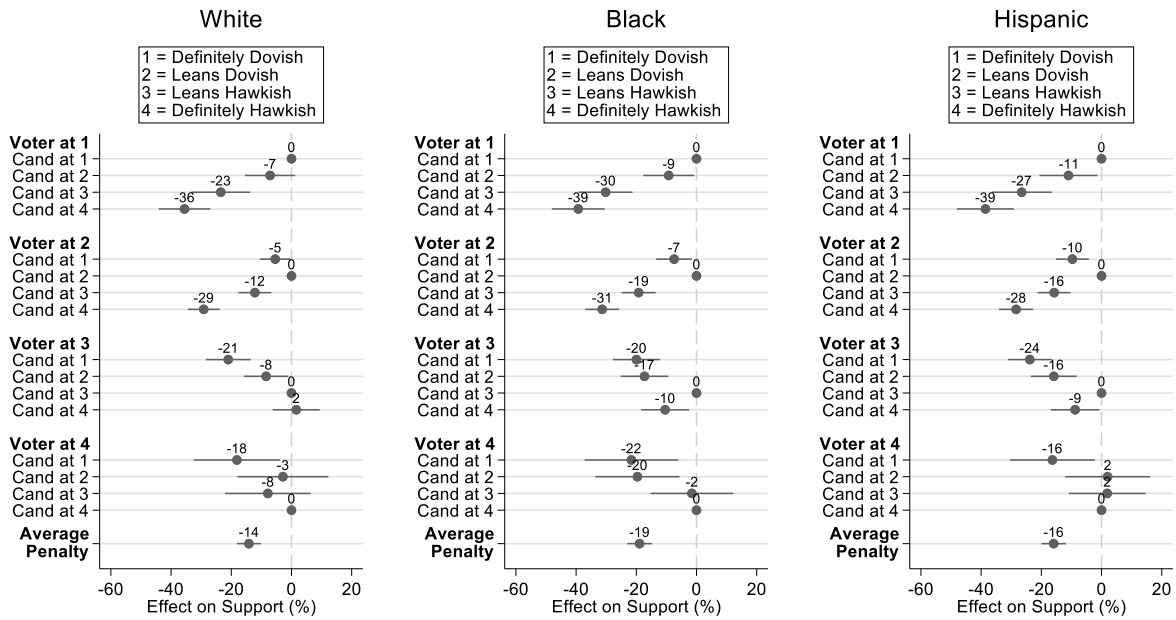


Figure 54: Effects of Security Policy, by Candidate's Race



F. EFFECTS OF POLICY POSITIONS, BY DEMOGRAPHIC ATTRIBUTES OF THE RESPONDENT

Figure 55: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Gender

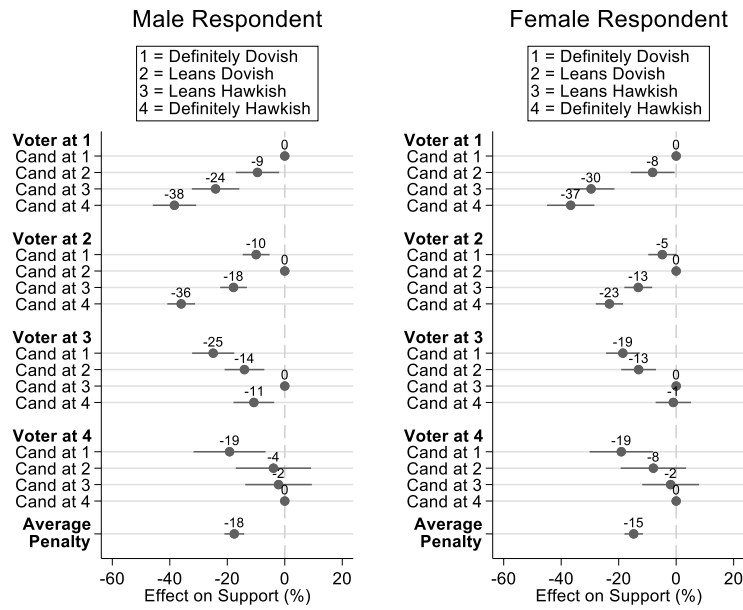


Figure 56: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Age

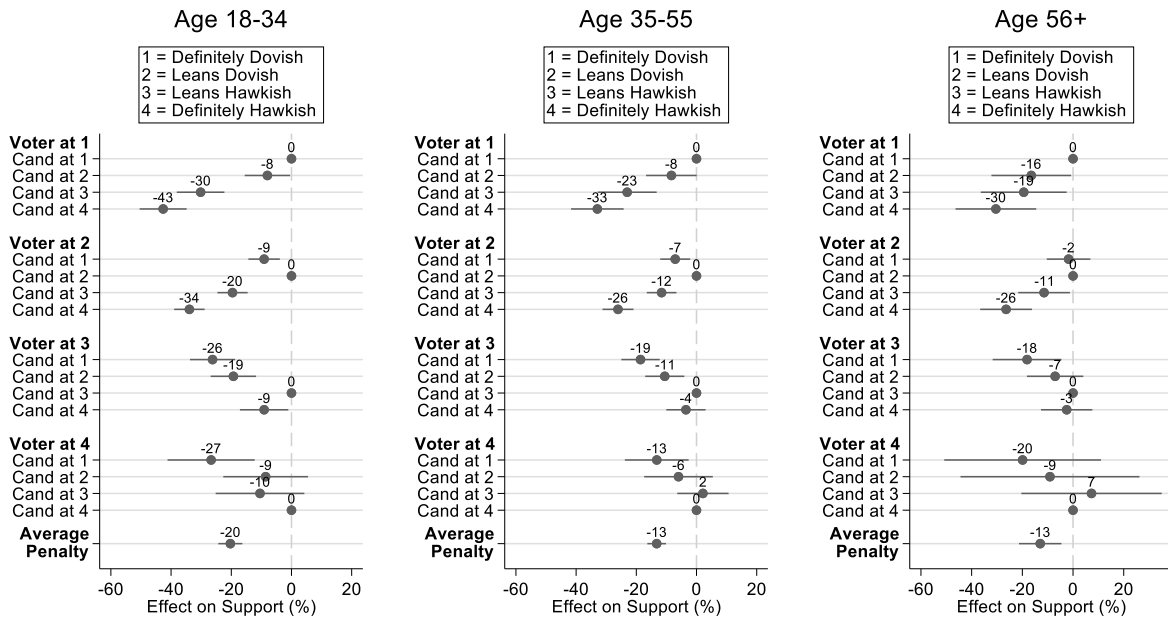


Figure 57: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Education

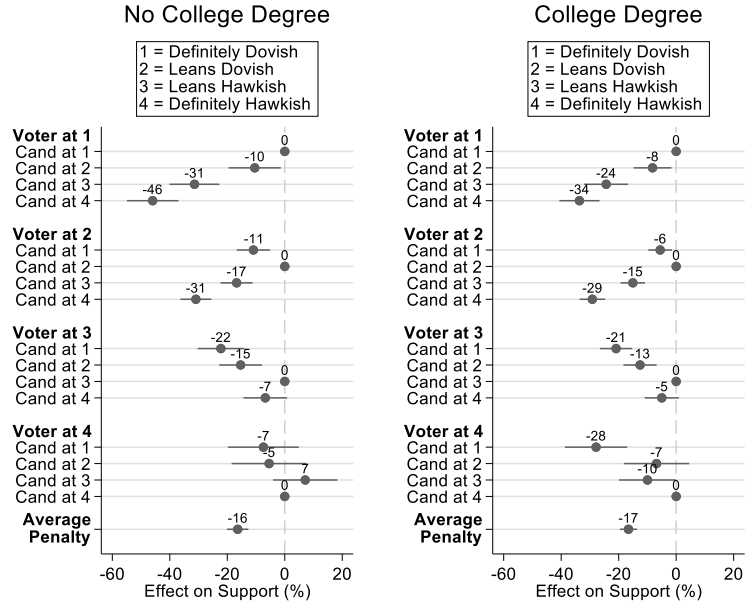


Figure 58: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Income

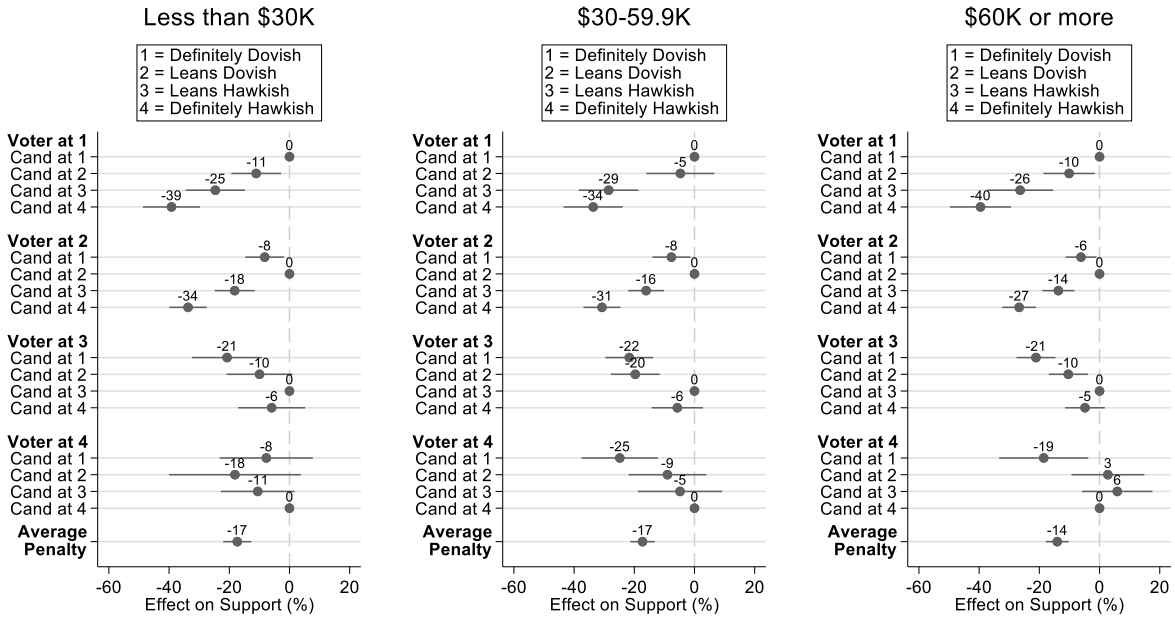


Figure 59: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Race

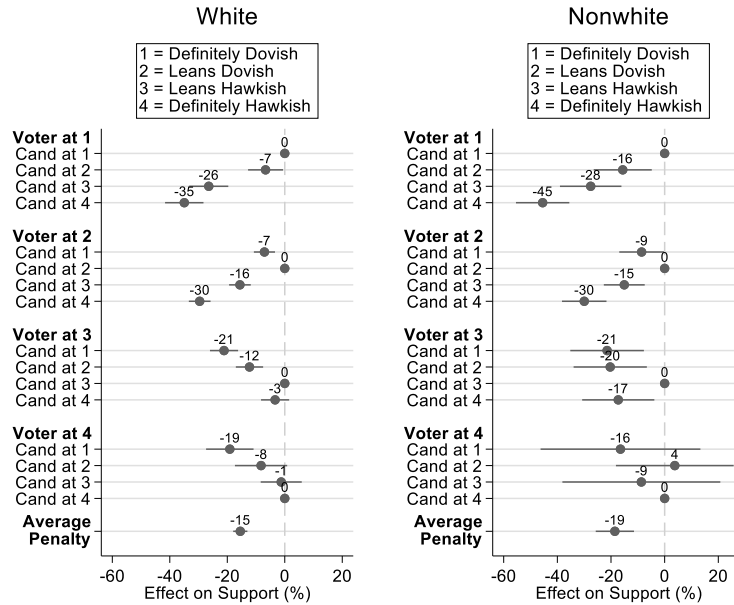
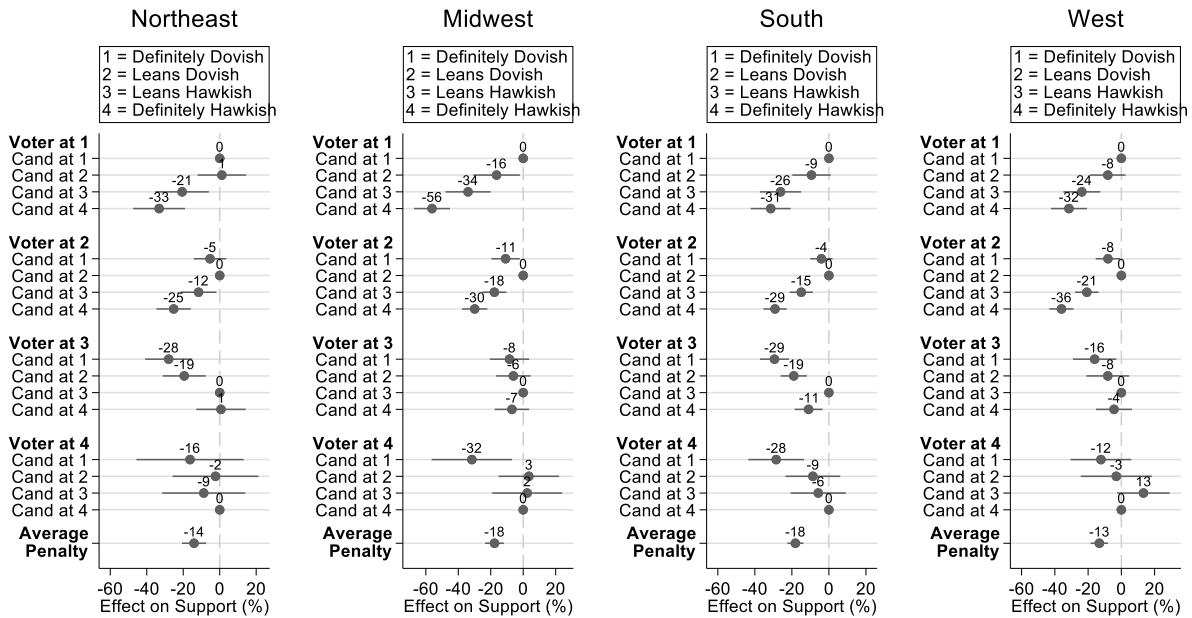
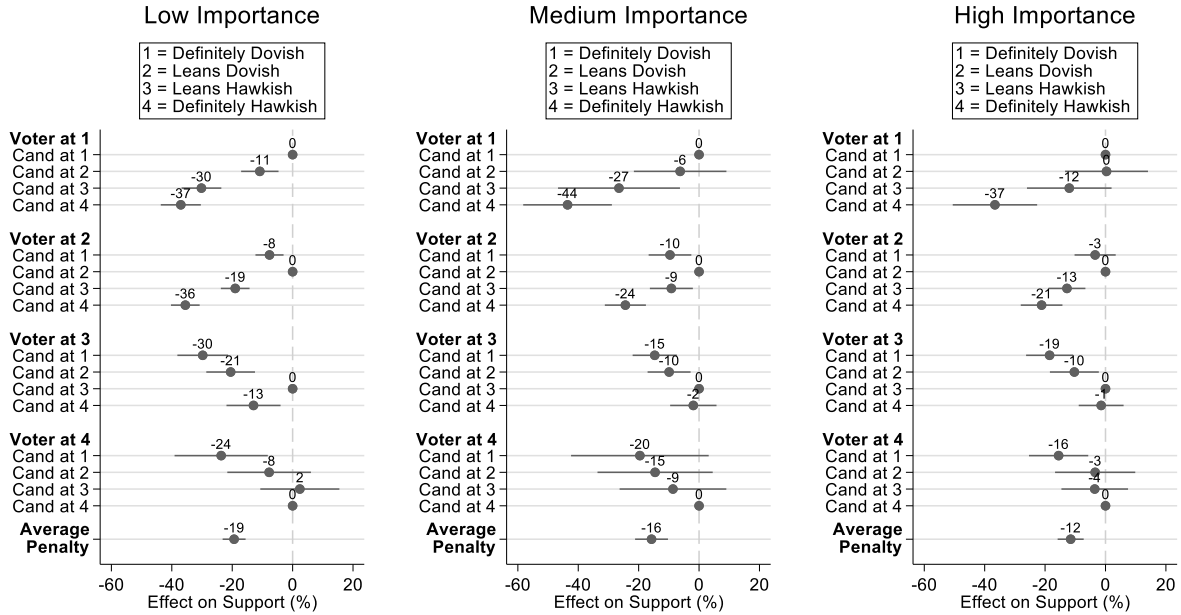


Figure 60: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Home Region



Note: Northeast = Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont. Midwest = Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin. South = Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia. West = Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.

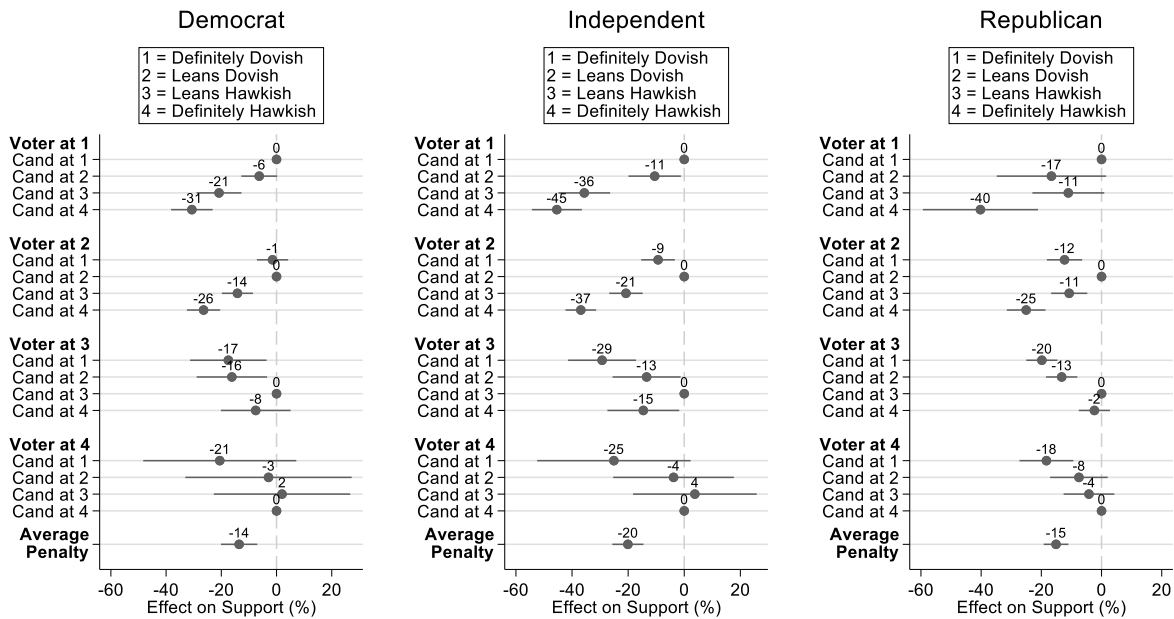
Figure 61: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent’s Religiosity



Note: We asked, “How important is religion in your life?” Low = “Not at all important” or “Not too important”; Medium = “Somewhat important”; High = “Very important”

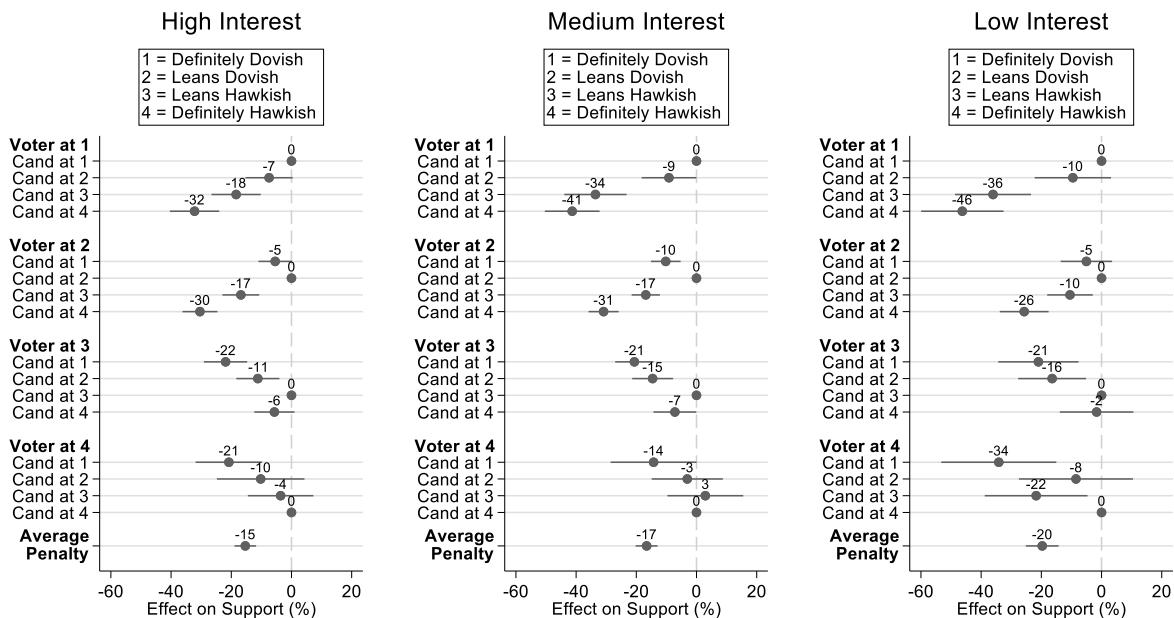
G. EFFECTS OF POLICY POSITIONS, BY POLITICAL ATTRIBUTES OF THE RESPONDENT

Figure 62: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Party Affiliation



Note: Independents include people who were independent, identified with another party, or expressed no preference.

Figure 63: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Interest in Politics



Note: We asked how often people follow what's going on in government and public affairs. High interest = "Most of the time"; Medium interest = "Some of the time"; Low interest = "Hardly at all" or "Only now and then"

Figure 64: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Voter Turnout

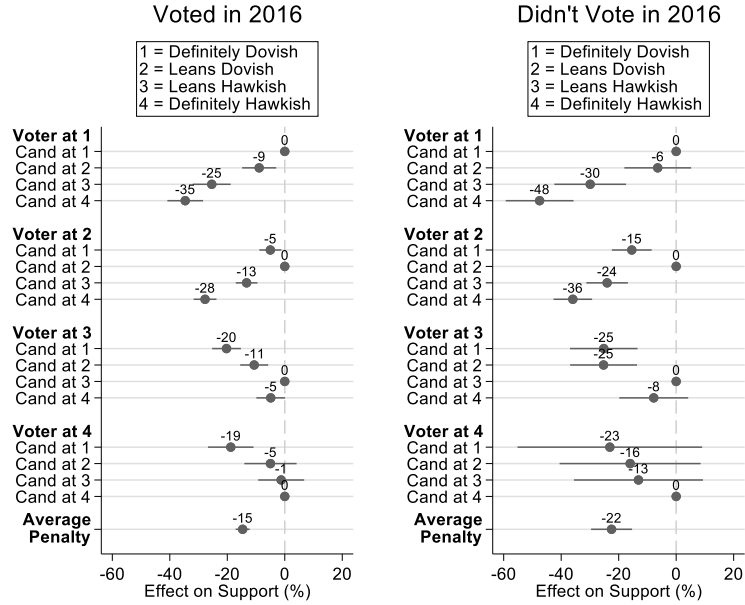
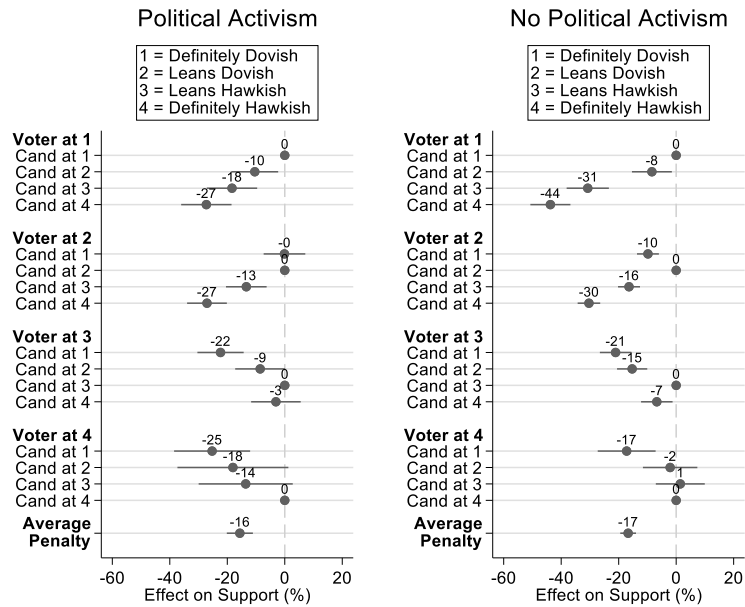


Figure 65: Effects of Security Policy, by Respondent's Level of Political Activism



H. EFFECTS OF NON-POLICY ATTRIBUTES OF THE CANDIDATE

Figure 66: Effects of Non-Policy Attributes, With Interactions

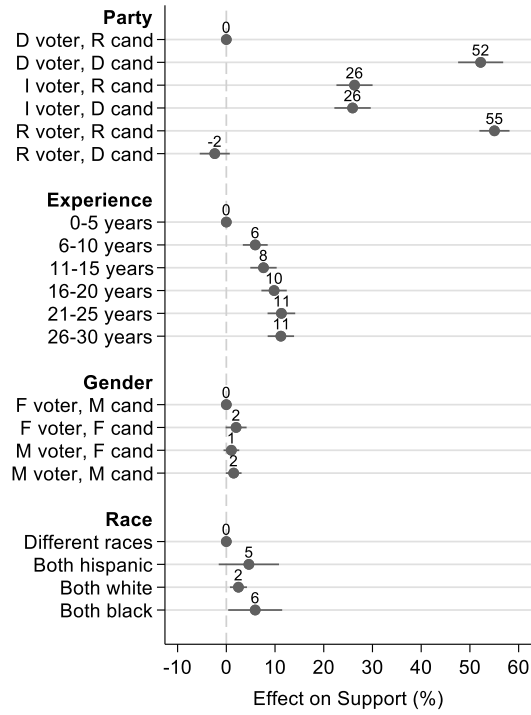


Figure 67: Rate of Voting for Democratic Candidate, by Voter's Party

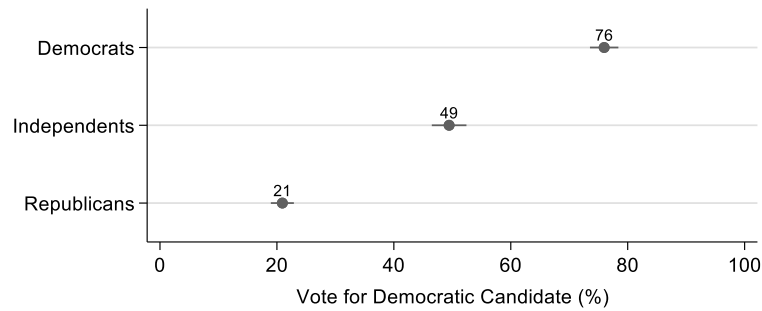
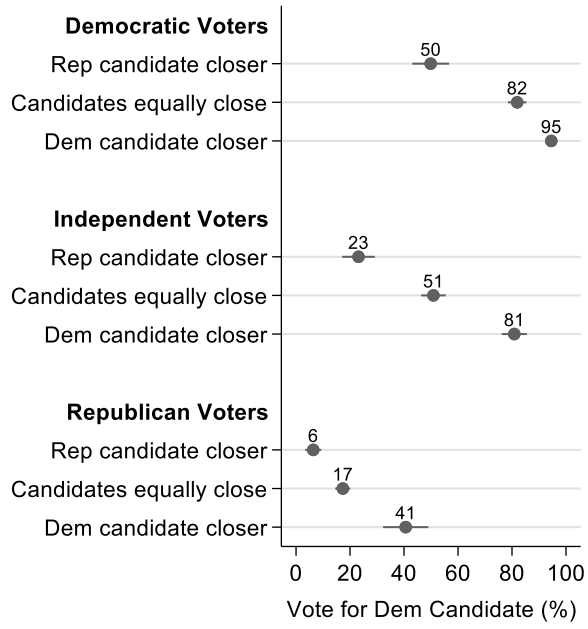


Figure 68: Rate of Voting for Democratic Candidate, by Voter's Party and Proximity to the Candidate



APPENDIX 5: MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM

Did our U.S. experiments occur at a time when foreign policy was unusually important to American voters? To assess this possibility, we analyzed survey data about the “most important problem” facing the country.

We analyzed the `marpor1_perc` variable in the annual time series by Heffington, Park, and Williams (2019), which covers the years 1939–2015. The variable measures the percentage of Americans who named a foreign policy issue as the most important problem facing the country. For the years 1939–2015, the median annual value was 23%, and the mean annual value was 26%.

To obtain comparable values for April 2017 and September 2017, the months when our U.S. surveys were fielded, we applied the coding rules described in Heffington, Park and Williams (2019) to Gallup aggregate survey data at news.gallup.com/poll/1675/most-important-problem.aspx (accessed October 24, 2017). Specifically, we classified the following problems as relating to foreign policy: Situation with North Korea; International issues, problems; Wars/War (nonspecific)/Fear of war; Terrorism; National Security; Situation in Iraq/ISIS; Lack of military defense; Situation with Russia; War/conflict between Middle East Nations; Foreign Policy/Foreign aid/Focus overseas; and Foreign trade/Trade deficit.

In several cases, Gallup reported that less than 0.5% of respondents had given an answer choice, without specifying the exact amount. When we rounded all instances of <0.5% down to 0, the percentage of Americans naming a foreign policy issue as the most important problem facing the country was 16% in April 2017 and 12% in September 2017. When we instead treated all instances of <0.5% as if they were 0.5%, the percentage of Americans naming a foreign policy issue as the most important problem facing the country was 17.5% in April 2017 and 14% in September 2017.

We conclude that the perceived importance of foreign policy (measured by the most important problem question) was lower than usual during our survey, increasing confidence that the powerful effects we found were not due to the timing of our experiments