SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL
APOLOGIES ON PUBLIC OPINION

By Risa Kitagawa and Jonathan A. Chu
World Politics

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APPENDIX:

The Impact of Political Apologies on Public Opinion

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I. Samples in the U.S. and Japan

The following are summary statistics for key demographic variables in the U.S. and Japan samples.

Sample Demographic Breakdown

	U.S. Sample	Japan Sample
Age	25%-tile: 30 50%-tile: 35 75%-tile: 48	25%-tile: 30 50%-tile: 47 75%-tile: 60
Gender	44.1% Female 55.9% Male	52.3% Female 47.7% Male
Highest level of education completed[a]	35.8% No 4Y College 64.2% 4Y College	54.1% No 4Y College 45.9% 4Y College
Ideology	49.7% Liberal 16.6% Moderate 33.6% Conservative	23.9% Liberal 34.0% Moderate 42.1% Conservative
Political party[b]	29.6% Republican 45.0% Democrat 25.4% Other	31.1% LDP 26.6% Other Party 42.3% No affiliation
Sample Size	758	1,567[c]

Notes: **(a)** In Japan, two-year college (*tanki*) and technical school (*senmon gakkō*) degrees are also common. The percentages here refer to having completed a four-year college education. **(b)** For Japan, Liberal Democratic Party (LDP or Jiyū minshutō) is the incumbent party; "Other Party" includes: Kōmeitō, in a coalition with the LDP; Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan (CDP or Rikken minshutō); Democratic Party for the People (Kokumin minshutō); Nippon Ishin No Kai; Japanese Communist Party (Kyōsantō); Social Democratic Party (Shakai minshutō); Reiwa Shinsengumi; and other political party. The percentages in our sample closely match a February 2020 national poll conducted by Japan's national broadcasting organization NHK ("NHK 世論調査内閣支持率| NHK 選挙 WEB, 2013 年 1 月～2020 年 2 月," available at: http://nhk.or.jp/senkyo/shijiritsu, last accessed Feb 28, 2020). **(c)** The sample size for Scenario 1 (U.S. apology to Japan) is 775. These participants are part of the larger N=1,567 sample, all of whom encounter Scenario 2 (Japan apology to South Korea).

II. Survey Instruments

A. U.S. Sample

1. Moderator questions

Beliefs about perceived value of the bilateral relationship

Benefit_   Alliance benefits questions (5-point scale). U.S. respondents answer the alliance benefits question for the U.S. as well as Japan. We use perceived benefits to the U.S. for block randomization.

How much do you think the [United States / Japan] benefits from this alliance?

- *A great deal*
- *A lot*
- *A moderate amount*
- *A little*
- *None at all*

Hierarchical group dispositions

Nat_ Nationalism questions (1-7 agree-disagree scale). Respondents provide a response for each statement for each country (U.S., Japan) with the exception of the *_citizen* statement, which only refers to U.S. citizenship. Order of statements is randomized.

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements about [Japan / the U.S.]?

Nat_culture *[Japanese people / Americans] are not perfect, but [Japanese/American] culture is better than other cultures.*

Nat_citizen *I would rather be a citizen of the U.S. than of any other country in the world.*

Nat_better *The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like [Japan / the U.S.]*

- *Strongly agree*
- *Somewhat agree*
- *Slightly agree*
- *Neither agree nor disagree*
- *Slightly disagree*
- *Somewhat disagree*
- *Strongly disagree*

SD_ Social dominance questions from Pratto et al. (2013); Pratto et al. (1994) (1-7 agree-disagree scale). Order of statements is randomized.

There are many groups in the world: men and women, ethnic and religious groups, nationalities, political factions. How much do you support or oppose the following ideas about groups in general?

SD_priorities *"In setting priorities, we must consider all groups."*

SD_equal *"We should not push for group equality."*

- *Support a great deal*
- *Support a moderate amount*
- *Support a little*
- *Neither support nor oppose*
- *Oppose a little*
- *Oppose a moderate amount*
- *Oppose a great deal*

2. Scenario #1 vignettes and main DV (approval) question

Prompt

Next, you will read a hypothetical news story about U.S.-Japan relations. The situation is general and not about any specific event in the news today. Some parts of the description may strike you as important; other parts may seem unimportant.

After reading the article, please answer the questions that follow.

Vignette   U.S.-Japan scenario

[HEADLINE]
August 1 -- A U.S. delegation of government officials visited Hiroshima City, Japan. The visit took place just days before August 6th, the date the U.S. dropped an atomic bomb on the city during World War II. In reaction to the visit, many have called upon the U.S. government to issue an official apology.

After considering its options, the U.S. government [U.S. GOVERNMENT REPSONSE].

HEADLINE:
- [No apology, no remorse] US Stays Silent on World War II Atomic Bomb Use
- [Apology, no remorse] US Apologizes for World War II Atomic Bomb Use
- [Remorse, no apology] US Expresses Remorse for World War II Atomic Bomb Use
- [Apology and remorse] US Apologizes, Expresses Remorse for World War II Atomic Bomb Use

U.S. GOVERNMENT RESPONSE:
- [No apology, no remorse] did not respond to the request for an apology
- [Apology, no remorse] issued a statement apologizing for using nuclear weapons during WWII. Observers, however, noted that the statement did not express sincere remorse
- [Remorse, no apology] issued a statement expressing sincere remorse for using nuclear weapons during WWII. Observers, however, noted that statement did not include an apology
- [Apology and remorse] issued a statement apologizing and expressing deep remorse for using nuclear weapons during WWII

Approve_historical   Approval question (1-7 approve-disapprove scale)

Do you approve or disapprove of the U.S.'s handling of the situation?

B. Japan Sample

1. Moderator questions

Beliefs about perceived value of the bilateral relationship

Benefit_   Perceived benefits questions (5-point scale). Japanese respondents answer the alliance benefits question for each country for each scenario: i.e., perceived benefits of the Japan-U.S. military alliance to Japan and to the U.S. (relevant to Scenario 1); and perceived benefits of the Japan-South Korean military intelligence sharing alliance to Japan and to South Korea (relevant to Scenario 2).

Note that we use Japanese respondents' perceived benefits to Japan in the alliance with U.S. for block randomization in Scenario 1; in the alliance with South Korea for block randomization in Scenario 2.

日本は [Scenario 1: 米国と軍事同盟を組んでいます / Scenario 2: 韓国と軍事情報共有協定を結んでいます]。

日本はこの[軍事同盟 / 協定]によりどの程度の恩恵を受けていると思いますか？

- 非常に大きな恩恵を受けている
- 大きな恩恵を受けている
- ある程度の恩恵を受けている
- 少し恩恵を受けている
- 全く恩恵を受けていない

[米国 / 韓国] はこの[軍事同盟 / 協定]によりどの程度の恩恵を受けていると思いますか？

- 非常に大きな恩恵を受けている
- 大きな恩恵を受けている
- ある程度の恩恵を受けている
- 少し恩恵を受けている
- 全く恩恵を受けていない

Hierarchical group dispositions

Nat_ Nationalism questions (1-7 agree-disagree scale). Respondents provide a response for each statement for each country (Japan, U.S., Korea) with the exception of the *_citizen* statement, which only refers to Japanese citizenship. Order of statements is randomized.

次の文章にどの程度賛成、あるいは反対しますか？

Nat_culture 「[日本人・アメリカ人・韓国人]は決して完璧でないけれども、[日本・アメリカ・韓国]の文化は他の文化より優れている」

Nat_citizen 「世界のどの国よりも、日本の国民である方がよい」

Nat_better 「他国の人々がより[日本人・アメリカ人・韓国人]のようであれば、より良い世界になる」

- 非常に賛成
- ある程度賛成
- やや賛成
- どちらとも言えない
- やや反対
- ある程度反対
- 非常に反対

SD_ Social dominance questions from Pratto et al. (2013); Pratto et al. (1994) (1-7 agree-disagree scale). Order of statements is randomized.

世の中には男性や女性、民族や宗教、国籍、政治の党派などいろいろなグループが存在します。一般的なグループに関する次のような意見をどの程度支持しますか、あるいは反対しますか？

SD_priorities 「優先順位を設定する場合、すべてのグループに配慮しなければならない。」

SD_equal 「グループ間の平等を求める必要はない。」

- 非常に支持する
- ある程度支持する
- やや支持する
- どちらとも言えない
- やや反対である
- ある程度反対である
- 非常に反対である

2. Scenario #1 vignettes and main DV (approval) question

The prompt, vignettes and main DV question below are the same as those for the U.S. sample.

Prompt

次に、日米関係に関する仮想の報道記事を読んでいただきます。記事のシナリオは一般的なものであり、実際に起きた事件を描いたものではありません。より重要に感じられる箇所もあれば、あまり重要でない情報も含まれているかもしれません。よく読んで、そのあとに続く質問にお答えください。

Vignette U.S.-Japan scenario

[HEADLINE]

1日—米国政府の代表団が広島県広島市を訪問した。第二次世界大戦中、広島市に原爆が投下された8月6日の原爆忌に先立つ今回の訪問を受け、米国政府に公式の謝罪を求める声が強まっている。

要求に対し米国政府は、[U.S. GOVERNMENT RESPONSE]。

HEADLINE:
- [No apology, no remorse] 第二次世界大戦中の原爆投下に関し米国の沈黙続く
- [Apology, no remorse] 第二次世界大戦中の原爆投下に関し米国が謝罪
- [Remorse, no apology] 第二次世界大戦中の原爆投下に関し米国が深い反省の意を表明
- [Apology and remorse] 第二次世界大戦中の原爆投下に関し米国が謝罪、深い反省の意を表明

U.S. GOVERNMENT RESPONSE:
- [No apology, no remorse] 謝罪の求めに応じなかった
- [Apology, no remorse] 第二次世界大戦中の原爆使用について謝罪する声明を発表した。しかし声明が反省の意に欠けているとの指摘もあった
- [Remorse, no apology] 第二次世界大戦中の原爆使用について深い反省の意を示す声明を発表した。しかし声明が謝罪に至らないとの指摘もあった

6

- [Apology and remorse] 第二次世界大戦中の原爆使用について謝罪し、深い反省の意を示す声明を発表した

Approve_historical   Approval question (1-7 approve-disapprove scale)

米国の事態対処の方法にあなたは賛成しますか？不賛成ですか？

3. Scenario #2 vignettes and main DV (approval) question

Prompt

次に、日韓関係に関する仮想の報道記事を読んでいただきます。記事のシナリオは一般的なものであり、実際に起きた事件を描いたものではありません。より重要に感じられる箇所もあれば、あまり重要でない情報も含まれているかもしれません。よく読んで、そのあとに続く質問にお答えください。

Vignette   Japan-South Korea scenario

[HEADLINE]
Ahead of a delegation from South Korea set to visit Japan next month, South Korea has signaled it would press for "new measures" over [INCIDENT: Korean women forced to work in Japanese military brothels / Koreans forced to work for Japanese companies] during WWII.

Regarding these new measures, the South Korean government has called on Japan to "apologize with wholehearted sincerity to the victims and take this as a lesson so as to avoid the recurrence of such atrocities by making efforts in conjunction with the international community." In reaction to this request, many have called upon the Japanese government to renew its official apology.

After considering its options, the Japanese government [JAPAN GOVERNMENT RESPONSE].

[HEADLINE]
来月行われる日韓対談を控え、韓国側は、戦時中に [INCIDENT] について、日本政府に「新たな解決策」を求める見解を示した。

解決策に関し、韓国は、「日本側は被害者に対し誠実な謝罪をし、国際社会との協力のもと、似たような惨劇の再発防止に向け努力しなければならない」との見解を述べた。日本政府に再度公式の謝罪を求める声が強まっている。

要求に対し、日本政府は [JAPAN GOVERNMENT RESPONSE]。

HEADLINE:
- [No apology, no remorse] 日韓歴史問題巡り日本の沈黙続く
- [Apology, no remorse] 日韓歴史問題巡り日本が謝罪を表明
- [Remorse, no apology] 日韓歴史問題巡り日本が深い反省の意を表明
- [Apology and remorse] 日韓歴史問題巡り日本が謝罪、深い反省の意を表明

JAPAN GOVERNMENT RESPONSE:

- [No apology, no remorse] [INCIDENT SHORT] について新たな謝罪の求めに応じなかった
- [Apology, no remorse] [INCIDENT SHORT] について新たに謝罪する声明を発表した。しかし声明が反省の意に欠けているとの指摘もあった
- [Remorse, no apology] [INCIDENT SHORT] について深い反省の意を示す声明を発表した。しかし声明が謝罪に至らないとの指摘もあった
- [Apology and remorse] [INCIDENT SHORT] について謝罪し、深い反省の意を示す声明を発表した

INCIDENT:

- [INCIDENT: Forced labor] 日本が韓国人を工場や炭鉱で強制労働させたとする、いわゆる「徴用工問題」
    - [INCIDENT SHORT version:] 強制労働問題
- [INCIDENT: Forced prostitution] 日本が韓国人女性を日本軍兵士に奉仕させる目的で軍の施設に送り込んだとする、いわゆる「慰安婦問題」
    - [INCIDENT SHORT version:] 慰安婦問題

Approve_SK　Approval question (1-7 approve-disapprove scale)

日本の事態対処の方法にあなたは賛成しますか？不賛成ですか?

III.　Balance Tables

Mean of variables by treatment group (U.S. Sample)

	Treatment Group			
	Stay Silent	Apology, no Remorse	Remorse, no Apology	Both
Age	38	38	40	40
Female	.49	.42	.43	.42
White	.70	.74	.74	.75
Income*	3.20	3.16	3.16	3.04
Party ID**	1.91	1.84	1.78	1.85
Ideology***	1.87	1.78	1.79	1.92

*Income is coded on a 7-point ordinal scale by income bracket.
**1=Democrat, 2=Independent/Other, 3=Republican
***1=Liberal, 2=Moderate, 3=Conservative

Mean of variables by treatment group (Japan Sample – U.S. Scenario)

	Treatment Group			
	Stay Silent	Apology, no Remorse	Remorse, no Apology	Both
Age	46	45	48	46
Female	.54	.55	.54	.52
Income*	597	576	579	586
LDP	.29	.29	.38	.30
Ideology**	2.14	2.24	2.17	2.15

*Income coded from a 0 to 1500 slider (in 10,000 Yen).
**1=Left, 2=Moderate, 3=Right

Mean of variables by treatment group (Japan Sample – South Korea Scenario)

	Treatment Group			
	Stay Silent	Apology, no Remorse	Remorse, no Apology	Both
Age	46	46	45	47
Female	.53	.51	.53	.52
Income*	577	573	581	593
LDP	.34	.30	.33	.27
Ideology**	2.18	2.14	2.23	2.18

*Income coded from a 0 to 1500 slider (in 10,000 Yen).
**1=Left, 2=Moderate, 3=Right

IV.   Manipulation Check

In the article you just read, how did the U.S. respond? (*answer options are randomized*)

- [SHORT VERSION OF CORRECT ANSWER: Did not respond to the request for an apology / Apologized to Japan / Showed remorse to Japan / Apologized and showed remorse to Japan]
- Announced strengthening its military alliance with Japan
- Cancelled the delegation visit to Japan

Percent passing manipulation check: 84%

先ほど読んだ新聞記事で、米国はどのように対応しましたか？(*answer options are randomized*)

- [SHORT VERSION OF CORRECT ANSWER: 謝罪の求めに応じなかった / 日本に謝罪した / 日本に反省の意を示した / 日本に謝罪し、反省の意を示した]
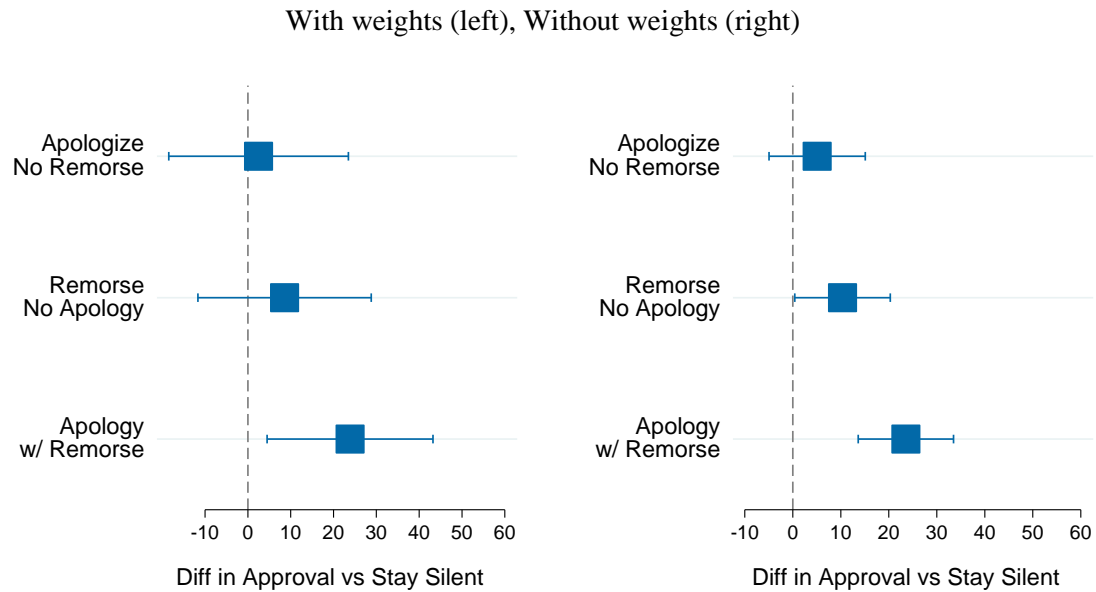- 日本との軍事同盟強化の意を示した
- 日本訪問を中断した

Percent passing manipulation check: 73.4%

V.   MTurk Weighting

The main manuscript presented the main effects of apologies on the American public using survey weights to correct for potential biases in the Mechanical Turk (MTurk) sample. Weights were generated using procedures described in Hainmueller (2012) and the following demographic targets provided in the table below.
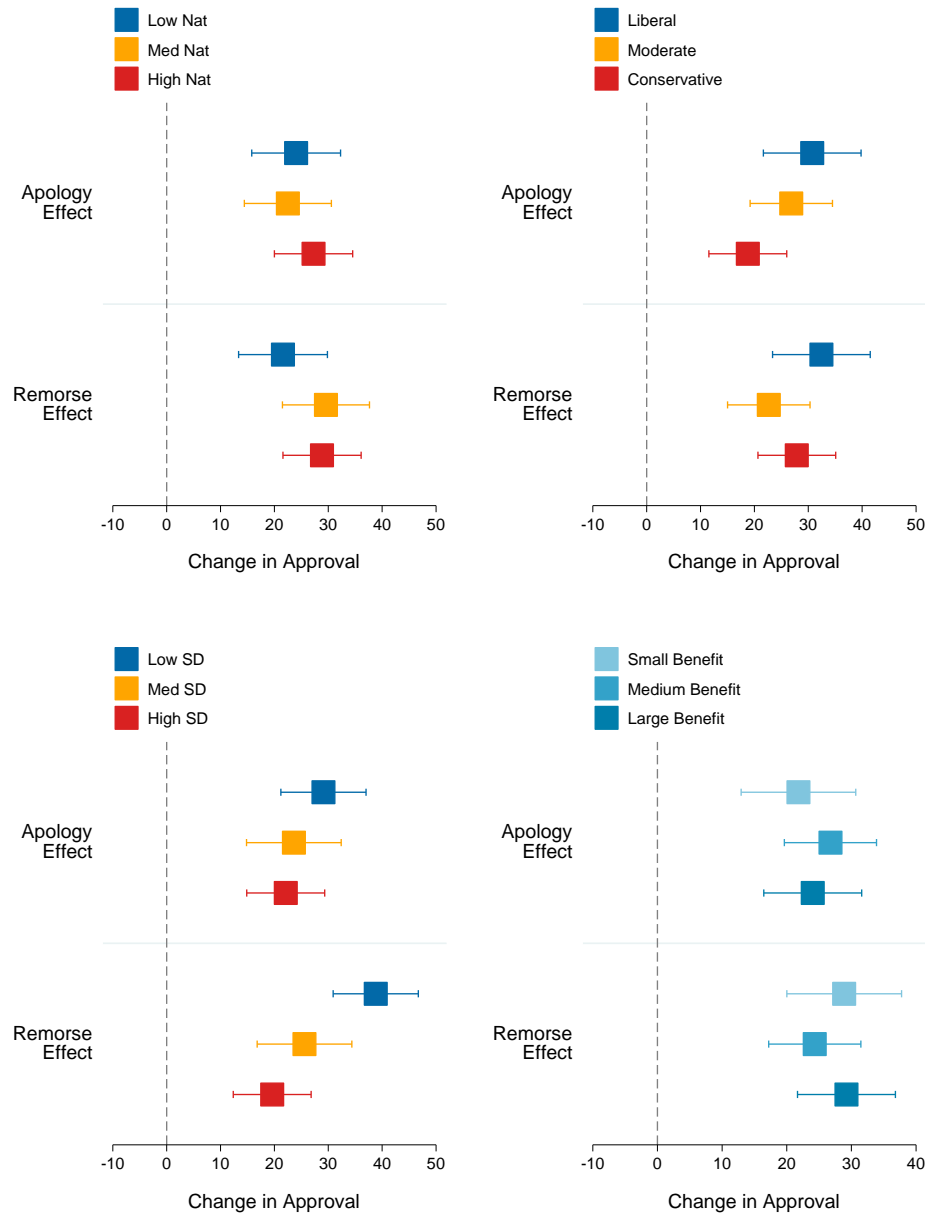
Group	Target	Source/Notes
Female Male	0.508 Residual	https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/US/LFE046217
19-25 26-34 35-54 55-64 65+	.118 .158 .342 .171 Residual	Kaiser Family Foundation estimates based on the Census Bureau's American Community Survey, 2008-2018. https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/distribution-by-age/ (calculated removing under 18 population)
White Black Hispanic Other	0.60 0.12 0.18 Residual	https://www.kff.org/other/state-indicator/distribution-by-raceethnicity/
< Bachelor Degree Bachelor > Bachelor	0.677 0.206 Residual	https://www.census.gov/data/tables/2018/demo/education-attainment/cps-detailed-tables.html
$0 to $24,999 25k to 49,999 50k to 74,999 75k to 99,999 Over 100k	0.191 0.208 0.172 0.125 Residual	https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/income-poverty/cps-hinc/hinc-01.html
Republican Democrat Independent	0.30 0.31 Residual	https://news.gallup.com/poll/15370/party-affiliation.aspx
Conservative Liberal Moderate	0.37 0.24 Residual	https://news.gallup.com/poll/275792/remained-center-right-ideologically-2019.aspx

The treatment effects are largely with weights, though the weights have the effect of making the estimates less precise, as there is more variance in the true population than in the MTurk sample. As shown below, the substantive patterns do not change when excluding the weights.

With weights (left), Without weights (right)

VI.   Moderators for Recipient Nation Public Approval

Recall that Hypotheses 4 and 5 anticipated that a variety of moderators—nationalism, conservativism, social dominance, and beliefs about the strategic value of the bilateral relationship—should condition the effect of an apology on the approval within the *apologizing* country. This led us to present analysis in the main paper summarized in Figures 4 and 5. Here, we conduct similar analyses but from the perspective of the *recipient* country's public approval. The paper stated that the theory does not predict that these moderators would lead to differences in approval in the *recipient* state, and indeed, the results below show that there is generally a lack of systematic pattern among these subgroups.

VII. Correlation among Moderators

While people's hierarchical group dispositions and their beliefs about the strategic value of bilateral relationships may have some overlap, these are both conceptually and empirically distinct sets of factors. In the main paper we discuss the conceptual reasons for why this is the case. Here we provide additional analysis to show how our claims are substantiated in the data in two ways.

First, the table below shows the correlations among the three hierarchical group disposition indicators and strategic value measure. By and large, as our argument implies, respondent nationalism, conservatism, and social dominance are more strongly correlated with each other than they are with the strategic value factor. In fact, people's beliefs about strategic value (last row of each table below) are almost completely orthogonal (nearly zero correlation) with the three hierarchical group disposition variables. Of the 12 different potential correlations across the two surveys, the only correlation that stood out as anomalous to our claims is that between social dominance and nationalism in the Japan survey, which has a near zero correlation.

U.S. Survey: Correlation among moderators

	Nationalism	Conservativism	Social Dominance	Strategic Value
Nationalism	1.00			
Conservativism	0.35	1.00		
Social Dominance	0.38	0.35	1.00	
Strategic Value	0.13	-0.03	0.02	1.00

Japan Survey: Correlation among moderators

	Nationalism	Conservativism	Social Dominance	Strategic Value
Nationalism	1.00			
Conservativism	0.20	1.00		
Social Dominance	-0.02	0.11	1.00	
Strategic Value	0.00	-0.09	-0.01	1.00

Second, we conduct regression analysis to show that each of the hierarchical group disposition variables (*Nationalism, SDO, Conservative*) moderate the apology effect, even when controlling for the strategic value variable (*Benefit*), and vice versa.

As shown in the tables below, the interaction effect of the moderators does not significantly change with the inclusion of the other moderators (compare the estimated magnitude of the effect and significance levels in the green-highlighted column-pairs).

Moderated Effect of Apologies on Public Approval in the *Apologizing* State (U.S. Sample, U.S.-Japan Scenario)

Apology	23.46** (9.84)	23.68** (9.80)	44.08*** (9.87)	46.09*** (9.80)	35.34*** (8.065)	35.73*** (7.99)	-15.61 (9.76)	-16.02 (10.89)
Remorse	30.49*** (9.83)	29.86*** (9.79)	36.08*** (9.83)	36.20*** (9.74)	26.54*** (8.065)	26.12*** (7.99)	3.58 (9.78)	1.70 (10.89)
Nationalism	22.01*** (3.88)	21.02*** (3.88)						12.13*** (2.51)
Nationalism*Apology	-7.45* (4.43)	-7.49* (4.41)						
Nationalism* Remorse	-7.97* (4.43)	-7.64* (4 .41)						
SDO			20.86*** (3.82)	21.39*** (3.79)				1.99 (2.41)
SDO*Apology			-17.03*** (4.38)	-17.95*** (4.35)				
SDO*Remorse			-10.32** (4.36)	-10.34** (4.32)				
Conservative					15.93*** (3.44)	16.10*** (3.41)		1.23 (2.15)
Conservative*Apology					-14.07*** (3.94)	-14.25*** (3.90)		
Conservative*Remorse					-6.23 (3.94)	-5.96 (3.90)		
Benefit		6.43*** (2.31)		8.98*** (2.31)		8.66*** (2.32)	0.45 (4.27)	-1.40 (4.02)
Benefit*Apology							11.04** (5.02)	10.72** (4.59)
Benefit*Remorse							4.80 (5.03)	5.52 (4.58)
Constant	-4.49 (8.43)	-17.03* (9.53)	-2.52 (8.42)	-23.90** (9.99)	10.49 (7.11)	-9.38 (8.84)	37.53*** (8.19)	12.42 (10.91)
With Controls?	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01. The coefficients are from an OLS regression and represent the effect of the covariate on the percentage of the public approving of the apologizing government's actions. Standard errors are in parentheses. N = 758.

Moderated Effect of Apologies on Public Approval in the *Apologizing* State (Japan Sample, Japan-South Korea Scenario)

Apology	7.40	7.12	-5.01	-4.94	11.60	11.77	-23.45***	-24.63***
	(6.88)	(6.88)	(6.73)	(6.73)	(7.34)	(7.34)	(6.38)	(6.28)
Remorse	-2.66	-2.56	9.36	9.13	-4.40	-4.69	-18.12***	-17.33***
	(6.87)	(6.87)	(6.73)	(6.73)	(7.35)	(7.34)	(6.38)	(6.28)
Nationalism	13.08***	13.07***						7.89***
	(2.65)	(2.64)						(1.53)
Nationalism*Apology	-8.18***	-8.06***						
	(3.04)	(3.04)						
Nationalism* Remorse	-1.54	-1.61						
	(3.04)	(3.03)						
SDO			-3.40	-3.24				-7.54***
			(2.57)	(2.57)				(1.48)
SDO*Apology			-1.74	-1.79				
			(2.96)	(2.96)				
SDO*Remorse			-7.22**	-7.12**				
			(2.96)	(2.96)				
Conservative					6.78**	6.76**		0 .89
					(2.71)	(2.71)		(1.59)
Conservative*Apology					-9.56***	-9.65***		
					(3.16)	(3.16)		
Conservative*Remorse					-0.75	-0.63		
					(3.16)	(3.16)		
Benefit		3.51*		2.58		3.62*	-4.96	-5.78*
		(1.89)		(1.90)		(1.91)	(3.30)	(3.25)
Benefit*Apology							9.14**	9.78***
							(3.82)	(3.76)
Benefit*Remorse							7.87**	7.24*
							(3.82)	(3.76)
Constant	27.64***	22.30***	61.72***	57.44***	39.96***	34.46***	62.53***	61.31***
	(5.94)	(6.60)	(5.89)	(6.68)	(6.30)	(6.93)	(5.51)	(7.51)
With Controls?	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes

*p<0.10, **p<0.05, ***p<0.01. The coefficients are from an OLS regression and represent the effect of the covariate on the percentage of the public approving of the apologizing government's actions. Standard errors are in parentheses. N = 1,567.