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***Fabian Endres, Matthias Mader, Harald Schoen (2015):
***On the relationship between strategic cultures and support for European defence:
***A comment on Irondelle, Mérand and Foucault.
***European Journal of Political Research.

//Replication syntax//


*Download data: doi:10.4232/1.10937

cd "A:\"
use ZA3387_v1-1-0.dta , replace


**Necessary .ado-files
*capture ssc install coefplot
*capture ssc install center
*capture ssc install estout
*capture ssc install paran
*findit polychoric

*Independend and dependent variables

*Gender*
gen gender = v350 - 1
lab def gender 0"male" 1"female"
lab val gender gender
lab var gender "Gender"

*Age*
gen age = v351
lab var age age

*Education*
recode v348 (.n=.c)(98=.s) , g(education)
lab def education 0"no full-time education" .s"still studying" .c"no answer"
lab val education education
//no answer treated as low education
//students/pupils are categorized according to their age
recode education (1/15 .c=0)(16/19=1)(20/67 96=2) , g(educat)
lab def educat 0"low" 1"middle" 2"high"
lab val educat educat
lab var educat "education (categorized)"
replace educat = 0 if education == .s & age <= 15
replace educat = 1 if education == .s & age >= 16 & age <= 19
replace educat = 2 if education == .s & age >= 20 & age <= 89

*Ideology*
gen ideology = v327 - 1 if v327 <= 10
replace ideology = .b if v327 == .r
replace ideology = .a if v327 == .d
replace ideology = .c if v327 == .i
lab def ideology 0"left" 9"right" ///
            .a"don't know" .b"refusal" .c"Norway"
lab val ideology ideology
lab var ideology "Left-Right Placement"

*Country*
gen country = v6 if v6 <= 9
replace country = v6 + 1 if v6 >= 10
lab def country    1"France" ///
                                    2"Belgium" ///
                                    3"The Netherlands" ///
                                    4"Germany West" ///
                                    5"Italy" ///
                                    6"Luxembourg" ///
                                    7"Denmark" ///
                                    8"Ireland" ///
                                    9"Great Britain" ///
                                    10"Northern Ireland" ///
                                    11"Greece" ///
                                    12"Spain" ///
                                    13"Portugal" ///
                                    14"Germany East" ///
                                    15"Norway" ///
                                    16"Finland" ///
                                    17"Sweden" ///
```

```
                                        18"Austria"
lab val country country
lab var country "Country"

drop if country == 15

*Weights*
gen weight = v20
lab var weight "Provided weight (population + sociodemographics)"

        *Weight sociodemographic
        bysort country: egen meanweight = mean(weight)
        gen weightsoc = weight/meanweight

        *Weight household
        gen hh = v354
        lab var hh "size of household"
        gen weighthh = .
        replace weighthh = hh/6
        capture drop meanweighthh
        bysort country: egen meanweighthh = mean(weighthh)
        replace weighthh = weighthh/meanweighthh

        *Weight equal country size (~1000)
        gen weightco = .
        bysort country: gen countrysize = _N
        replace weightco = 1000/countrysize
        gen weightn2 = weightco //weights for gllamm

*Combined weight
gen weightn=weighthh*weightsoc
gen weightn1 = weightn //weights for gllamm
bysort country: egen meanweightn = mean(weightn)
replace weightn=weightn/meanweightn
replace weightn=weightn*weightco
capture drop meanweightn
egen meanweightn = mean(weightn)
replace weightn=weightn/meanweightn

*European Defence*
recode v132 (1=1)(2=0)(.d=.a) , g(eudefence)
lab def proposal 0"against" 1"for" .a"don't know"
lab val eudefence proposal
lab var eudefence "EU Proposal: common defence policy"

*Projection*
recode v171 (1=1)(2=0)(.d=.a) , g(projection)
lab def projection 0"not a priority" 1"priority" .a"don't know"
lab val projection projection
lab var projection "Priority: asserting the political and diplomatic importance of the EU around the world"

*Role of the army*
lab def army 1"yes" 0"no" .a"don't know" .b"army of no use (spontaneous)" .c"Norway"
*Militarism
recode v282 (1=1)(2=0)(.d=.a)(.a=.b)(.i=.c) , g(security)
lab val security army
lab var security "Militarism (army should prepare for wars and fighting)"
*Humanitarian Internationalism
recode v289 (1=1)(2=0)(.d=.a)(.a=.b)(.i=.c) , g(humint)
lab val humint army
lab var humint "Humanitarian Internationalism (Army should help others in disaster (ecological, famine, minefields))"

capture lab def army 1"yes" 0"no" .a"don't know" .b"army of no use (spontaneous)" .c"Norway"
foreach var of varlist v281-v289 {
        recode `var' (1=1)(2=0)(.d=.a)(.a=.b)(.i=.c) , g(`var'r)
        lab val `var'r army
}
rename v281r a_defend
rename v282r a_prepar
rename v283r a_peacek
rename v284r a_values
rename v285r a_passin
rename v286r a_integr
rename v287r a_nunity
rename v288r a_natdis
rename v289r a_glodis
lab val a_defend-a_glodis army
```

```
                     **Exploratory factor analysis**
                     *polychoric a_* , dots
                     *matrix r = r(R)
                     *global N = r(sum_w)
                     *quie factormat r , n($N) pcf
                     *rotate , blanks(0.3) oblimin oblique
                     *scree
                     *paran, mat(r) factor(pcf) n($N) graph color

                     *Confirmatory factor analyses in Mplus yielded the same results

*Exclusive National Identity*
recode v100 (1=0)(2=1)(3=2)(4=3)(.d=.a)(.i=.c) , g(identity)
lab def identity 0"only national" 1"national and European" 2"European and national" ///
               3"European only" .a"don't know" .c"Norway"
lab val identity identity
recode identity (0=1)(1 2 3=0)(.a=.a)(.c=.c) , g(exklid)
lab def exklid 0"somewhat European" 1"national only" .a"don't know" .c"Norway"
lab val exklid exklid

*Threats*
tab1 v271-v280
foreach var of varlist v271 v273 v276 v278 {
               recode `var' (1=1)(2=0)(.d=.a)(.i=.c) , g(`var'r)
}
gen thr_ww = v271r
gen thr_cw = v273r
gen thr_te = v278r
gen thr_pr = v276r
gen at_peac = v300
lab var thr_ww "afraid of World War?"
lab var thr_cw "afraid of conventional war in Europe?"
lab var thr_te "afraid of terrorism?"
lab var thr_pr "afraid of proliferation of wmds?"
lab var at_peac "guaranteeing peace in the EU"
lab def threat 0"not afraid" 1"afraid" .a"don't know"
lab val thr_* threat

*EU army tasks*
gen at_defe = v294
gen at_bord = v295
gen at_worl = v296
gen at_humi = v304
lab var at_defe "defending the EU, including [country]"
lab var at_bord "intervening in conflicts at the borders of the EU"
lab var at_worl "intervening in conflicts in other parts of the world"
lab var at_humi "carrying out humanitarian missions"

**Centering of metric variables**
center ideology , prefix(z_)
replace z_ideology = z_ideology/10
center age , prefix(z_)

**Defining of valid cases**
quie logit eudefence projection at_defe at_bord at_worl at_humi security humint ///
                     thr_* c.exkl z_age gender i.educat c.z_ideolo##c.z_ideo ///
                     [pweight=weightn] , vce(cluster country)
capture gen validcase = 1 if e(sample)


//////////////////////
///**************///
///**Replication**///
///**************///
//////////////////////


**Table 1, p.370**
preserve
label drop projection army
lab def projection 0"Inward looking/territory" 1"Outward looking/projection"
lab def security 0"Soft security" 1"Hard security"
lab val projection projection
lab val security security
tab projection security , cell
restore
```

```
**Table 2, p.372**
logit eudefence c.projection##c.security
estadd fitstat
eststo table2_b
esttab table2_b , ///
          varlabels( ///
          projection "Projection" ///
          security "Security" ///
          c.projection#c.security "Projection * Security") ///
          cells(b(star fmt(2)) se(par fmt(2))) ///
          stats(N r2_mfadj, fmt(%9.0g %9.3f) labels("No. of Cases" ///
          "Adj. McFadden's R2")) nonumber wide
margins, at(projection=(0 1) security=(0 1)) post
eststo table2_p
esttab table2_p , ///
          varlabels( ///
          1._at "Pacifist" ///
          2._at "Traditionalist" ///
          3._at "Humanitarian" ///
          4._at "Globalist") ///
          cells(b(fmt(2)))
//0-0 Pacifist
//0-1 Traditionalist
//1-0 Humanitarian
//1-1 Globalist


/////////////////
///************///
///**Analyses**///
///************///
/////////////////

*Table A1
tab1 eudefence projection at_defe at_bord at_worl at_humi humint security ///
          exklid thr_ww thr_cw thr_te thr_pr educat gender ideology , m
sum age ideology , d

*Table A2
tab security humint , cell

*Table 2 and Table A3
foreach var of varlist eudefence projection at_defe at_bord at_worl at_humi {
          quie logit `var' humint security c.exkl ///
                    thr_* z_age gender i.educat c.z_ideolo##c.z_ideo ///
                    [pweight=weightn] if validcase==1, vce(cluster country)
          quie estadd fitstat
          eststo m_`var'
          describe `var'
          margins, dydx(humint security exklid) post //Marginal probability changes reported in Table 2
          eststo p_`var'
}

esttab m_eudefence m_projection m_at_defe m_at_bord m_at_worl m_at_humi ///
          using TableA3.rtf ///
          , stats(N r2_mfadj, fmt(%9.0g %9.3f) labels("No. of Cases" ///
          "Adj. McFadden's R2")) drop() nonumber wide ///
          mtitles("European Defence" "Projection" "Defence" "Border" ///
                    "Intervention" "Humanitarian") ///
          cells(b(star fmt(2)) se(par fmt(2))) ///
          varlabels ///
                    (security "Militarism" ///
                    humint "Humanitarian Internationalism" ///
                    exklid "Exclusive National Identity" ///
                    c.security#c.exklid "Militarism x Excl. Nat. Identity" ///
                    c.humint#c.exklid "Humanitarian Internationalism x Excl. Nat. Identity" ///
                    thr_ww "Threat World War" ///
                    thr_cw "Threat Conventional War" ///
                    thr_te "Threat Terrorism" ///
                    thr_pr "Threat Nuclear Proliferation" ///
                    z_age "Age" ///
                    gender "Gender" ///
                    1.educat "Education: medium" ///
                    2.educat "Education: high" ///
                    z_ideology "Ideology (right)" ///
                    c.z_ideology#c.z_ideology "Ideology squared" ///
```

```
                        _cons "Constant") ///
            order() ///
            eqlabels(none) replace ///
            refcat() ///
            drop(0b.educat) addnotes("Notes: Reported are unstandardized logistic regression coefficients b with robust standard errors
clustered by country in parentheses." ///
            "Levels of significance: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001." ///
            "Weighted by sociodemographic characteristics and household size, assuming equal country sizes (West and East Germany are
treated as separate countries).")


*Table A4
eststo clear
foreach var of varlist eudefence projection at_defe at_bord at_worl at_humi {
            quie logit `var' c.humint##c.security c.exkl ///
                        thr_* z_age gender i.educat c.z_ideolo##c.z_ideo ///
                        [pweight=weightn] if validcase==1, vce(cluster country)
            quie estadd fitstat
            eststo m_`var'
}

esttab m_eudefence m_projection m_at_defe m_at_bord m_at_worl m_at_humi ///
            using TableA4.rtf ///
            , stats(N r2_mfadj, fmt(%9.0g %9.3f) labels("No. of Cases" ///
            "Adjusted R2")) drop() nonumber wide ///
            mtitles("European Defence" "Projection" "Defence" "Border" ///
                        "Intervention" "Humanitarian") ///
            cells(b(star fmt(2)) se(par fmt(2))) ///
            varlabels ///
                        (security "Militarism" ///
                        humint "Humanitarian Internationalism" ///
                        exklid "Exclusive National Identity" ///
                        c.humint#c.security "Militarism x Hum. Int." ///
                        c.security#c.exklid "Militarism x Nationalism" ///
                        c.humint#c.exklid "Humanitarian Internationalism x Nationalism" ///
                        thr_ww "Threat World War" ///
                        thr_cw "Threat Conventional War" ///
                        thr_te "Threat Terrorism" ///
                        thr_pr "Threat Nuclear Proliferation" ///
                        z_age "Age" ///
                        gender "Gender" ///
                        1.educat "Education: medium" ///
                        2.educat "Education: high" ///
                        z_ideology "Ideology (right)" ///
                        c.z_ideology#c.z_ideology "Ideology squared" ///
                        _cons "Constant") ///
            order() ///
            eqlabels(none) replace ///
            refcat() ///
            drop(0b.educat) addnotes("Notes: Reported are unstandardized logistic regression coefficients b with robust standard errors
clustered by country in parentheses." ///
            "Levels of significance: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001." ///
            "Weighted by sociodemographic characteristics and household size, assuming equal country sizes (West and East Germany are
treated as separate countries).")


*Table A5
eststo clear
foreach var of varlist eudefence projection at_defe at_bord at_worl at_humi {
            quie logit `var' c.(humint security)##c.exkl ///
                        thr_* z_age gender i.educat c.z_ideolo##c.z_ideo ///
                        [pweight=weightn] if validcase==1, vce(cluster country)
            quie estadd fitstat
            eststo m_`var'
            quie margins, dydx(humint security) at(exklid=(0)) post
            eststo p0_`var'
            quie estimates restore m_`var'
            quie margins, dydx(humint security) at(exklid=(1)) post
            eststo p1_`var'
}

esttab m_eudefence m_projection m_at_defe m_at_bord m_at_worl m_at_humi ///
            using TableA5.rtf ///
            , stats(N r2_mfadj, fmt(%9.0g %9.3f) labels("No. of Cases" ///
            "Adjusted R2")) drop() nonumber wide ///
            mtitles("European Defence" "Projection" "Defence" "Border" ///
                        "Intervention" "Humanitarian") ///
            cells(b(star fmt(2)) se(par fmt(2))) ///
```

```
                varlabels ///
                        (security "Militarism" ///
                        humint "Humanitarian Internationalism" ///
                        exklid "Exclusive National Identity" ///
                        c.security#c.exklid "Militarism x Nationalism" ///
                        c.humint#c.exklid "Humanitarian Internationalism x Nationalism" ///
                        thr_ww "Threat World War" ///
                        thr_cw "Threat Conventional War" ///
                        thr_te "Threat Terrorism" ///
                        thr_pr "Threat Nuclear Proliferation" ///
                        z_age "Age" ///
                        gender "Gender" ///
                        1.educat "Education: medium" ///
                        2.educat "Education: high" ///
                        z_ideology "Ideology (right)" ///
                        c.z_ideology#c.z_ideology "Ideology squared" ///
                        _cons "Constant") ///
                order() ///
                eqlabels(none) replace ///
                refcat() ///
                drop(0b.educat) addnotes("Notes: Reported are unstandardized logistic regression coefficients b with robust standard errors
clustered by country in parentheses." ///
                "Levels of significance: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001." ///
                "Weighted by sociodemographic characteristics and household size, assuming equal country sizes (West and East Germany are
treated as separate countries).")


*Figure 1
coefplot(p0_eudefence , label(Inclusive) color(black) ciopts(recast(rcap) color(black))) ///
                        (p1_eudefence , label(Exclusive) color(gs11) ciopts(recast(rcap) color(gs11))) , bylabel("European" "Defence") || ///
                        (p0_projection , label(Inclusive) color(black) ciopts(recast(rcap) color(black))) ///
                        (p1_projection , label(Exclusive) color(gs11) ciopts(recast(rcap) color(gs11))) , bylabel("Project" "EU power") || ///
                        (p0_at_defe , label(Inclusive) color(black) ciopts(recast(rcap) color(black))) ///
                        (p1_at_defe , label(Exclusive) color(gs11) ciopts(recast(rcap) color(gs11))) , bylabel("Defend" "EU territory") || ///
                        (p0_at_bord , label(Inclusive) color(black) ciopts(recast(rcap) color(black))) ///
                        (p1_at_bord , label(Exclusive) color(gs11) ciopts(recast(rcap) color(gs11))) , bylabel("Intervene in conflicts" "at EU
borders") || ///
                        (p0_at_worl , label(Inclusive) color(black) ciopts(recast(rcap) color(black))) ///
                        (p1_at_worl , label(Exclusive) color(gs11) ciopts(recast(rcap) color(gs11))) , bylabel("Intervene in conflicts" "around
the world") || ///
                        (p0_at_humi , label(Inclusive identity) color(black) ciopts(recast(rcap) color(black))) ///
                        (p1_at_humi , label(Exclusive identity) color(gs11) ciopts(recast(rcap) color(gs11))) , bylabel("Carry out
humanitarian" "missions") ///
                keep(humint security) ///
                order() ///
                xline(0 , lwidth(thin) lcolor(black)) byopts(row(2) graphregion(color(white))) graphregion(color(white)) ///
                legend(row(2)) legend(region(lc(gs16))) ///
                coeflabel(humint="Hum. Int" security="Militarism")



*Table A6
preserve
capture drop security humint validcase

gen armynouse = 0 if v290 == 0
replace armynouse = 1 if v290 == 1
capture lab def armynouse 0"no" 1"yes"
lab val armynouse armynouse
lab var armynouse "army of no use (spontaneous)"

recode v282 (1=1)(2 .a=0)(.d=.a)(99=.c) , g(security)
lab val security army
lab var security "Army should prepare for wars and fighting"

recode v289 (1=1)(2 .a=0)(.d=.a)(99=.c) , g(humint)
lab val humint army
lab var humint "Army should help others in disaster (ecological, famine, minefields)"

logit eudefence projection at_defe at_bord at_worl at_humi security humint ///
                        thr_* c.exkl z_age gender i.educat c.z_ideolo##c.z_ideo ///
                        [pweight=weightn] , vce(cluster country)
capture gen validcase = 1 if e(sample)



eststo clear
foreach var of varlist eudefence projection at_defe at_bord at_worl at_humi {
        quie logit `var' c.(humint security armynouse)c.exkl ///
                        thr_* z_age gender i.educat c.z_ideolo##c.z_ideo ///
```

```stata
                    [pweight=weightn] if validcase==1, vce(cluster country)
            quie estadd fitstat
            eststo m_`var'
}

esttab m_eudefence m_projection m_at_defe m_at_bord m_at_worl m_at_humi  ///
            using TableA6.rtf ///
            , stats(N r2_mfadj, fmt(%9.0g %9.3f) labels("No. of Cases" ///
            "Adjusted R2")) drop() nonumber wide ///
            mtitles("European Defence" "Projection" "Defence" "Border" ///
                    "Intervention" "Humanitarian") ///
            cells(b(star fmt(2)) se(par fmt(2))) ///
            varlabels ///
                    (security "Militarism" ///
                    humint "Humanitarian Internationalism" ///
                    armynouse "Army of no use (spontaneous)" ///
                    exklid "Exclusive National Identity" ///
                    c.security#c.exklid "Militarism x Nationalism" ///
                    c.humint#c.exklid "Humanitarian Internationalism x Nationalism" ///
                    c.armynouse#c.exklid "Army of no use x Nationalism" ///
                    thr_ww "Threat World War" ///
                    thr_cw "Threat Conventional War" ///
                    thr_te "Threat Terrorism" ///
                    thr_pr "Threat Nuclear Proliferation" ///
                    z_age "Age" ///
                    gender "Gender" ///
                    1.educat "Education: medium" ///
                    2.educat "Education: high" ///
                    z_ideology "Ideology (right)" ///
                    c.z_ideology#c.z_ideology "Ideology squared" ///
                    _cons "Constant") ///
            order() ///
            eqlabels(none) replace ///
            refcat() ///
            drop(0b.educat) addnotes("Notes: Reported are unstandardized logistic regression coefficients b with robust standard errors
clustered by country in parentheses." ///
            "Levels of significance: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001." ///
            "Weighted by sociodemographic characteristics and household size, assuming equal country sizes (West and East Germany are
treated as separate countries).")

restore
```