

Online Supplement

(Mader, Matthias, 2017. Citizens' Perceptions of Policy Objectives and Support for Military Action: Looking for Prudence in Germany, in Journal of Conflict Resolution.)

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1. Detailed Information about Question Wording (Translated from German)¹

Variable	Measure																																				
Attitude toward German ISAF mission	<p>„Please tell whether you support or oppose the participation of the <i>Bundeswehr</i> in the following missions“</p> <p>– “International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan (ISAF)” (6 point Likert scale)</p> <p>The item was recoded to range from 0 (strong opposition) to 1 (strong support).</p>																																				
Perceived Success	<p>“What do you think: Is the participation of the <i>Bundeswehr</i> in the ISAF mission in Afghanistan a success or a failure?” (7 point Likert scale)</p> <p>The item was recoded to range from 0 (complete failure) to 1 (complete success).</p>																																				
Perceived policy objectives	<p>Dummy variables were created from an open question about the perceived policy goals of the German government in the ISAF mission, 1 indicating that a policy objective was mentioned by the respondent and 0 indicating that it was not mentioned by the respondent.</p> <p>“Which objectives do you think does the government pursue with the <i>Bundeswehr</i> mission in Afghanistan?” (up to three perceived objectives were taken down)</p> <p>The open responses were pre-coded by the research institute. These categories were collapsed further to create the dummy variables.</p> <p>Fight Terrorism:</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>2008:</td> <td>2009:</td> </tr> <tr> <td>–“To fight terrorism”</td> <td>–“To fight international terrorism”</td> </tr> <tr> <td>–“To defend Germany”</td> <td></td> </tr> </table> <p>Nation Building</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>2008:</td> <td>2009:</td> </tr> <tr> <td>–“To stabilize and rebuild Afghanistan”</td> <td>–“To stabilize Afghanistan politically and economically”</td> </tr> <tr> <td>–“ To improve living conditions”</td> <td>–“To stabilize the region”</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>–“To free Afghanistan from Taliban”</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>–“To build up/give developmental aid to Afghanistan”</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>– “To give humanitarian aid”</td> </tr> </table> <p>Peace Keeping:</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>2008:</td> <td>2009:</td> </tr> <tr> <td>–“To secure peace”</td> <td>–“To secure peace”</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>– “To protect the people in Afghanistan”</td> </tr> </table> <p>Democratization:</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>2008:</td> <td>2009:</td> </tr> <tr> <td>–“To establish democracy and human rights”</td> <td>–“To democratize Afghanistan”</td> </tr> <tr> <td></td> <td>–“To establish freedom and human rights”</td> </tr> </table> <p>Meet International Obligations:</p> <table border="0"> <tr> <td>2008:</td> <td>2009:</td> </tr> <tr> <td>–“Because of the U.S.”</td> <td>–“To support America/pursue U.S. goals”</td> </tr> <tr> <td>–“To back up international organizations”</td> <td>–“To attend to duties as an ally/to support NATO,UN, EU”</td> </tr> </table>	2008:	2009:	–“To fight terrorism”	–“To fight international terrorism”	–“To defend Germany”		2008:	2009:	–“To stabilize and rebuild Afghanistan”	–“To stabilize Afghanistan politically and economically”	–“ To improve living conditions”	–“To stabilize the region”		–“To free Afghanistan from Taliban”		–“To build up/give developmental aid to Afghanistan”		– “To give humanitarian aid”	2008:	2009:	–“To secure peace”	–“To secure peace”		– “To protect the people in Afghanistan”	2008:	2009:	–“To establish democracy and human rights”	–“To democratize Afghanistan”		–“To establish freedom and human rights”	2008:	2009:	–“Because of the U.S.”	–“To support America/pursue U.S. goals”	–“To back up international organizations”	–“To attend to duties as an ally/to support NATO,UN, EU”
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¹ Unless indicated otherwise, the question wording was the same in the 2008 and 2009 surveys.

Miscellaneous (MISC):

2008:

- “Because of economic interests”
- “To fight crime”
- “ Because of geopolitical interests”
- “To come to terms with the past”
- “To play an important role in the world”
- “Miscellaneous”

2009:

- “To secure resources”
- “To ensure order [für Ordnung sorgen]”
- “To increase Germany’s reputation”
- “To play an important role in the world”
- “To train Afghan police/military”
- “Miscellaneous”

No. of PO > 1: Dummy variable, with 1 indicating that more than one policy objective was perceived and 0 indicating that no or one objective was perceived.

Political awareness A political interest index and a political knowledge index were averaged, with 0 indicating low awareness and 1 indicating high awareness ($\alpha_{2008} = .55$; $\alpha_{2009} = .56$). To group respondents, a dummy variable was created with 1 indicating respondents with above-median scores and 0 indicating respondents with below-median scores.

Political interest index:

The responses to three items were averaged, with higher values indicating stronger interest ($\alpha_{2008} = .91$; $\alpha_{2009} = .88$).

“What topics are you especially interested in?” (Follow-up to question on general political interest)

- “Foreign policy” (5 point Likert scale)
- “Security Policy” (5 point Likert scale)
- “Defense policy” (5 point Likert scale)

Political knowledge index:

A count index of correct answers to nine knowledge questions was created with 0 indicating no correct answers and 1 indicating nine correct answers.

“Now, I would like to ask you some questions about the Bundeswehr and its missions. Respectively, one of the four response options given is the correct answer. Please tell me the correct answer for each.”

- “How many soldiers of the *Bundeswehr* are currently deployed in the Afghanistan mission?” (correct answer: “5,000 to 10,000”)
- “What is the name of the current minister of defense?” (correct answer: “Franz Josef Jung”)
- “Germany currently participates in a peace keeping mission in Lebanon (UNIFIL). What branch of the Bundeswehr is particularly engaged in this mission?” (correct answer: “The German Navy”)
- “Since when is the Bundeswehr as part of the ISAF mission stationed in Afghanistan?” (correct answer: “since 2002”)
- “Which body has to mandate any combat mission of the *Bundeswehr*?” (correct answer: The German parliament, “the *Bundestag*”)
- “In what country is the Bundeswehr currently engaged?” (correct answer: “Bosnia-Herzegovina”, not “Serbia”, “Slovenia”, or “Albania”)
- “How is the compulsory military service currently?” (correct answer: “9 months”)
- “What statement correctly describes the situation of women in the *Bundeswehr*?” (correct answer: “Any military service involving armed combat is open to women”)
- “How many soldiers currently serve in the *Bundeswehr*?” (correct answer: “ca. 200,000 to 300,000”)

Internationalism Dummy variable with 1 indicating a preference for an active German foreign policy, and 0 indicating no such preference. In Table 1, “High Internationalism” reports the percentage of respondents who agreed with the statement.

“What do you think, how should Germany act in international politics?”

-“Germany should pursue an active foreign policy and help solving problems, crisis, and conflicts.”

Antimilitarism

The responses to four items were averaged, with 0 indicating general opposition to using military force and 1 indicating general support for using military force ($\alpha_{2008} = .79$; $\alpha_{2009} = .82$). In Table 1, “High Antimilitarism” reports the percentage of respondents with an index score greater than 0.5.

“What tasks should the Bundeswehr perform abroad? Do you agree or disagree with performing the following tasks? The Bundeswehr should be deployed abroad...”

-“...to participate in the fight against international terrorism.” (6 point Likert scale)

-“...to disempower foreign governments that violate human rights.” (6 point Likert scale)

-“...to oversee the implementation of democratic elections.” (6 point Likert scale)

-“...to stop the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.” (6 point Likert scale)

-“...to ensure peace throughout the world.” (6 point Likert scale)

Atlanticism

The responses to two items were averaged, with 0 indicating no preference for transatlantic policy coordination and 1 indicating a strong preference ($\alpha_{2008} = .62$; $\alpha_{2009} = .71$). In Table 1, “High Atlanticism” reports the percentage of respondents with an index score greater than 0.5.

“The federal government can set different priorities in conducting foreign and security policy. How important are the following foreign and security policy goals to you?”

- “Cultivate the relationship with the United States.” (5 point Likert scale)

- “Preserve and advance the political and military cooperation within NATO” (5 point Likert scale)

2. Analysis of Perceived Objectives as Originally Coded

Table A2.1: Descriptive statistics of perceived mission objectives in 2008, original coding

	<i>Anzahl der Beobachtungen (%)</i>
<i>Fight Terrorism</i>	
To fight terrorism	375 (15.5 %)
To defend Germany	3 (0.1 %)
<i>Nation Building</i>	
To stabilize and rebuild Afghanistan	401 (16.6 %)
To improve living conditions	410 (16.9 %)
<i>Peace Keeping</i>	
To secure peace	891 (36.8 %)
<i>Democratization</i>	
To establish democracy and human rights	221 (9.1 %)
<i>International Obligations</i>	
Because of the U.S.	118 (4.9 %)
To back up international organizations	199 (8.2 %)
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	
Because of economic interests	50 (2.1 %)
To fight crime	49 (2.0 %)
Because of geopolitical interests	57 (2.4 %)
To come to terms with the past	8 (0.3 %)
To play an important role in the world	64 (2.6 %)
Miscellaneous	82 (3.4 %)

Unweighed data; N = 2422.

**Table A2.2: Effects of perceived policy objectives, political awareness and domain-specific predispositions
ISAF mission support in 2008 (original categories of perceived objectives)**

	Support for German ISAF Mission
<i>Fight Terrorism</i>	
To fight terrorism	0.02 (0.02)
To defend Germany	0.11 (0.06)
<i>Nation Building</i>	
To stabilize and rebuild Afghanistan	0.04** (0.01)
To improve living conditions	0.03 (0.02)
<i>Peace Keeping</i>	
To secure peace	0.01 (0.01)
<i>Democratization</i>	
To establish democracy and human rights	0.03* (0.02)
<i>International Obligations</i>	
Because of the U.S.	-0.11*** (0.03)
To back up international organizations	-0.03 (0.02)
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	
Because of economic interests	-0.14** (0.05)
To fight crime	0.02 (0.04)
Because of geopolitical interests	0.02 (0.04)
To come to terms with the past	0.05 (0.06)
To play an important role in the world	-0.00 (0.04)
Miscellaneous	0.05 (0.03)
Political Awareness	0.14*** (0.03)
Internationalism	0.10*** (0.01)
Antimilitarism	-0.46*** (0.03)
Atlanticism	0.21*** (0.03)
Constant	0.51*** (0.03)
Observations	2,153
R-squared	0.35

Table A2.3: Descriptive statistics of perceived mission objectives in 2009, original coding

	<i>N</i> (%)
<i>Fight Terrorism</i>	
To fight international terrorism	331 (16.0 %)
<i>Counterinsurgency</i>	
To free Afghanistan from Taliban	199 (10.0 %)
<i>Nation Building</i>	
To stabilize Afghanistan politically and economically	55 (2.6 %)
To stabilize the region	123 (5.9 %)
To build up/give developmental aid to Afghanistan	198 (9.4 %)
To give humanitarian aid	244 (11.6 %)
<i>Peace Keeping</i>	
To secure peace	460 (21.9 %)
To protect the people in Afghanistan	97 (4.6 %)
<i>Democratization</i>	
To democratize Afghanistan	194 (9.2 %)
To establish freedom and human rights	95 (4.5 %)
<i>International Obligations</i>	
To support America/pursue U.S. goals	106 (5.1 %)
To attend to duties as an ally/to support NATO,UN, EU	120 (5.7 %)
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	
To secure resources	26 (1.2 %)
To ensure order	31 (1.5 %)
To increase Germany's reputation	45 (2.1 %)
To play an important role in the world	27 (1.3 %)
To train Afghan police/military	65 (3.1 %)
Miscellaneous	346 (16.5 %)

Unweighed data; N = 2100.

**Table A2.4: Effects of perceived policy objectives, political awareness and domain-specific predispositions
ISAF mission support in 2009 (original categories of perceived objectives)**

	Support for German ISAF Mission
<i>Fight Terrorism</i>	
To fight international terrorism	0.02 (0.01)
<i>Counterinsurgency</i>	
To free Afghanistan from Taliban	0.02 (0.02)
<i>Nation Building</i>	
To stabilize Afghanistan politically and economically	0.04* (0.02)
To stabilize the region	-0.04 (0.03)
To build up/give developmental aid to Afghanistan	-0.01 (0.01)
To give humanitarian aid	0.00 (0.02)
To protect the people in Afghanistan	-0.01 (0.01)
<i>Peace Keeping</i>	
To secure peace	0.01 (0.02)
<i>Democratization</i>	
To democratize Afghanistan	-0.00 (0.02)
To establish freedom and human rights	0.08** (0.03)
<i>International Obligations</i>	
To support America/pursue U.S. goals	-0.09*** (0.02)
To attend to duties as an ally/to support NATO,UN, EU	-0.04 (0.03)
<i>Miscellaneous</i>	
To secure resources	-0.02 (0.04)
To ensure order	-0.03 (0.05)
To increase Germany's reputation	0.08* (0.03)
To play an important role in the world	0.03 (0.07)
To train Afghan police/military	0.06* (0.03)
Miscellaneous	-0.04* (0.02)
Political Awareness	0.10** (0.03)
Internationalism	0.14*** (0.01)
Antimilitarism	-0.53*** (0.03)
Atlanticism	0.10** (0.04)
Constant	0.55*** (0.03)
Observations	1,859
R-squared	0.44

3. Regression Table Corresponding to Figure 4

Table A3.1: Determinants of perceived success and mission support in 2008 and 2009 (Regression table corresponding to figure 4)

	Perceived ISAF mission success		ISAF mission support	
	2008	2009	2008	2009
<i>Perceived Objectives</i>				
Fight Terrorism	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	0.03* (0.01)
Counterinsurgency		-0.01 (0.02)		0.02 (0.02)
Peace Keeping	0.03** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)
Nation Building	0.04*** (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Democratization	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Meet Intern. Obligations	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
No. of PO > 1	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)
Political awareness	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	0.10** (0.03)	0.07* (0.03)
<i>Predispositions</i>				
Internationalism	0.04*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)	0.09*** (0.01)	0.10*** (0.01)
Antimilitarism	-0.21*** (0.02)	-0.40*** (0.03)	-0.33*** (0.03)	-0.32*** (0.03)
Atlanticism	0.16*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.03)	0.13*** (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
Perceived success			0.53*** (0.03)	0.56*** (0.03)
Constant	0.51*** (0.02)	0.56*** (0.03)	0.25*** (0.04)	0.22*** (0.04)
Observations	1,982	1,675	1,982	1,675
R-squared	0.28	0.35	0.43	0.55

Reported are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

4. Path Model

Table A4.1 reports the results from the multi-group path model referred to in footnote 20. The dummy variable “PO counterinsurgency”, which is available only in 2009, was omitted because in multi-group analysis the models have to be strictly the same across subgroups. Standard errors were bootstrapped (10.000 replications). Missing values were handled using listwise deletion.²

Since the model is just identified, it fits the data perfectly (RMSEA = 0; CFI = 1).

Table A4.1: Effects of Perceived Objectives, Policy Predispositions, and Perceived Success on Perceived ISAF Mission Support in 2008 and 2009

	2008	2009
<i>Perceived Objectives</i>		
Fight Terrorism	0.00 (0.02)	0.04** (0.01)
Peace Keeping	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Nation Building	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Democratization	0.03* (0.02)	0.03* (0.01)
Meet Intern. Obligations	-0.04* (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
No. of PO > 1	-0.00 (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)
Political awareness	0.10*** (0.03)	0.09*** (0.03)
<i>Predispositions</i>		
Internationalism	0.07*** (0.01)	0.11*** (0.01)
Antimilitarism	-0.33*** (0.03)	-0.30*** (0.03)
Atlanticism	0.14*** (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)
Perceived Success	0.52*** (0.03)	0.56*** (0.03)
Constant	0.24*** (0.03)	0.21*** (0.03)
Observations	2,050	1,859

Reported are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

² To check whether the results are biased due to missing data, MPLUS’s full-information maximum likelihood estimator (FIML) was used in an additional analysis, which yielded comparable results.

Table A4.2: Effects of Perceived Objectives and Policy Predispositions on Perceived Success in 2008 and 2009

	2008	2009
<i>Perceived Objectives</i>		
Fight Terrorism	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Peace Keeping	0.03** (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
Nation Building	0.03** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Democratization	0.01 (0.01)	0.00* (0.01)
Meet Intern. Obligations	-0.07*** (0.01)	-0.06*** (0.02)
No. of PO > 1	-0.05*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Political awareness	0.02 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)
<i>Predispositions</i>		
Internationalism	0.04*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Antimilitarism	-0.22*** (0.02)	-0.42*** (0.03)
Atlanticism	0.18*** (0.02)	0.15*** (0.03)
Constant	0.51*** (0.02)	0.55*** (0.03)
Observations	2050	1859

Reported are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table A4.3: Indirect Effects of Perceived Objectives and Policy Predispositions on Perceived ISAF Mission Support via Perceived Success in 2008 and 2009

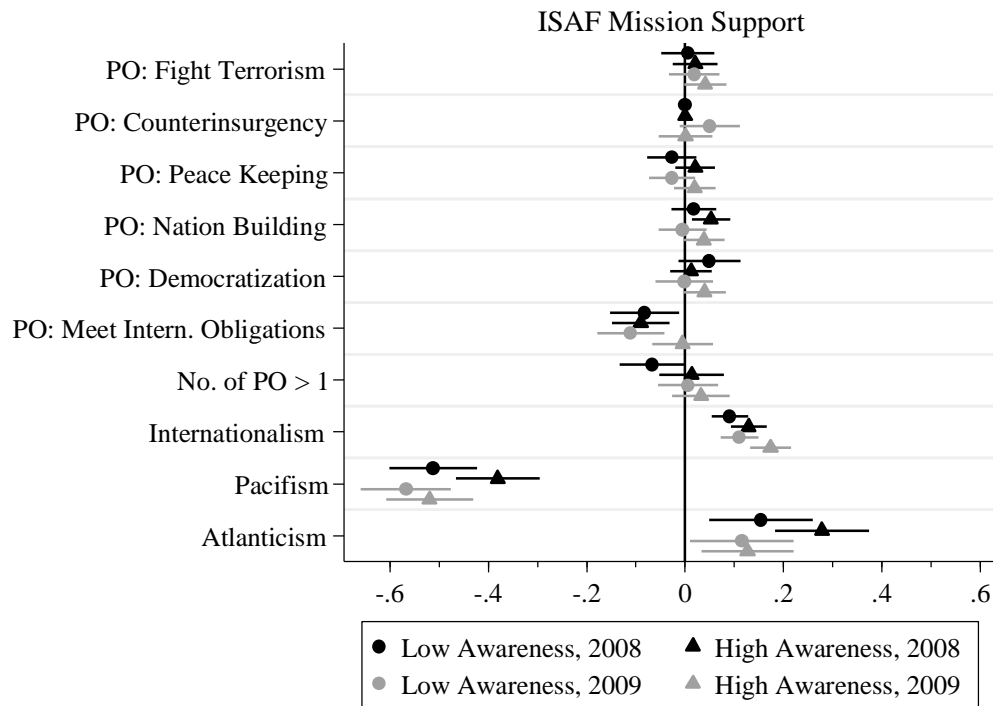
	2008	2009
<i>Perceived Objectives</i>		
Fight Terrorism	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Peace Keeping	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Nation Building	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Democratization	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Meet Intern. Obligations	-0.04*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)
No. of PO > 1	-0.03*** (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
Political awareness	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
<i>Predispositions</i>		
Internationalism	0.02*** (0.00)	0.03*** (0.01)
Antimilitarism	-0.12*** (0.01)	-0.24*** (0.02)
Atlanticism	0.09*** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.02)

Reported are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

5. Results Differentiated by Political Awareness

Figure A5.1: Effects of Perceived Objectives and Policy Predispositions on ISAF Mission Support in 2008 and 2009 (by political awareness; Corresponds to Figure 3)



Reported are unstandardized linear regression coefficients with 95% confidence intervals. Based on regression model reported in Table A5.1.

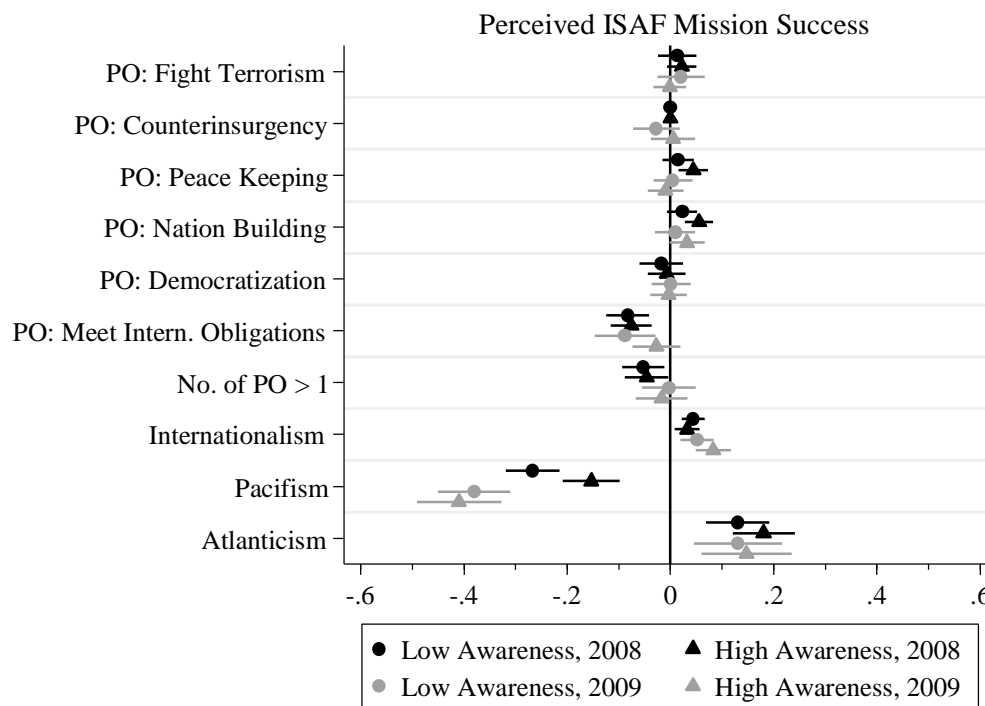
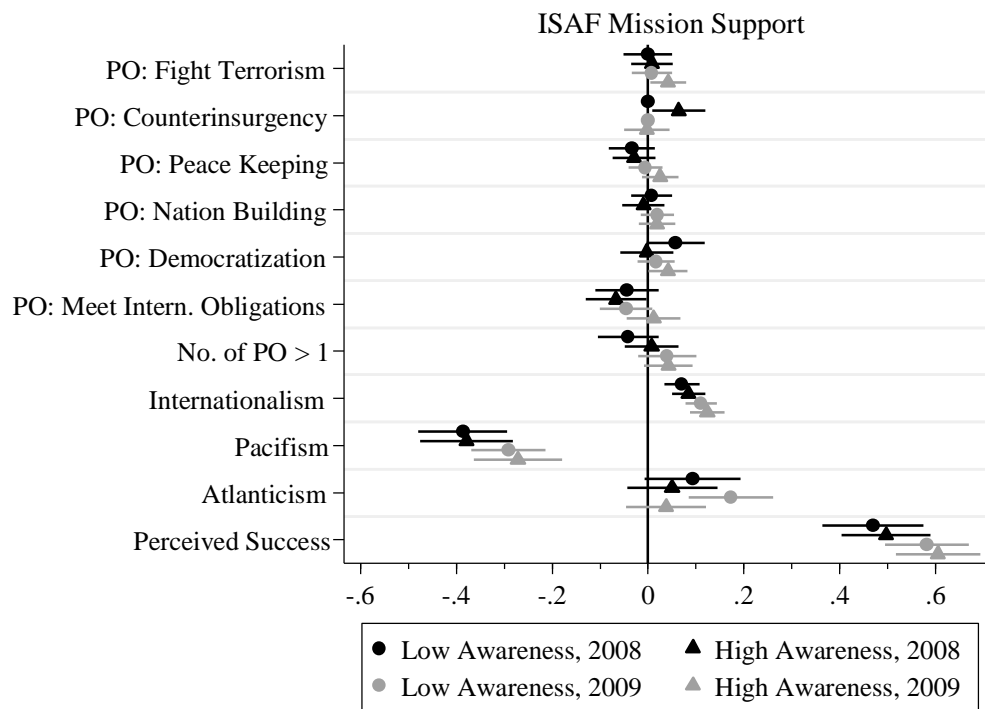
Table A5.1: Effects of Perceived Objectives and Policy Predispositions on ISAF Mission Support in 2008 and 2009 (by Political Awareness)

	Low Awareness			High Awareness		
	2008	2009	Diff.	2008	2009	Diff.
<i>Perceived Objectives</i>						
Fight Terrorism	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.04)	0.02 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)
Counterinsurgency		0.05 (0.03)			0.00 (0.03)	
Peace Keeping	-0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)
Nation Building	0.02 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.05** (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.03)
Democratization	0.05 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.05 (0.04)	0.01 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)
Meet Intern. Obligations	-0.08* (0.04)	-0.11** (0.03)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.09* (0.04)
No. of PO > 1	-0.07 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.07 (0.05)	0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.04)
<i>Predispositions</i>						
Internationalism	0.09*** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	0.13*** (0.02)	0.17*** (0.02)	0.04 (0.03)
Antimilitarism	-0.51*** (0.05)	-0.57*** (0.05)	-0.06 (0.07)	-0.38*** (0.04)	-0.52*** (0.05)	-0.14* (0.06)
Atlanticism	0.15** (0.05)	0.12* (0.05)	-0.04 (0.08)	0.28*** (0.05)	0.13** (0.05)	-0.15* (0.07)
Constant	0.65*** (0.05)	0.62*** (0.05)		0.51*** (0.04)	0.53*** (0.05)	
Observations	936	791		1,048	884	
R-squared	0.34	0.42		0.34	0.43	

Reported are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Differences in coefficients were obtained by pooling the data from the two surveys and running the same model with additional interaction terms between the independent variables and a dummy variable that identified respondents from the 2009 survey. Due to rounding, subtracting the 2009 coefficients from the 2008 coefficients does not always equal the difference reported here.

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Figure 5.2: Perceived Objectives and Policy Predispositions as Determinants of ISAF Mission Support in 2008 and 2009 (by Political Awareness)



Reported are unstandardized linear regression coefficients with 95% confidence intervals. Based on regression model reported in Tables A5.2 and A5.3.

Table A5.2: Effects of Perceived Objectives and Policy Predispositions on ISAF Mission Success in 2008 and 2009 (by Political Awareness)

	Low Awareness			High Awareness		
	2008	2009	Diff.	2008	2009	Diff.
<i>Perceived Objectives</i>						
Fight Terrorism	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Counterinsurgency		-0.03 (0.02)			0.01 (0.02)	
Peace Keeping	0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.04** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.05* (0.02)
Nation Building	0.02 (0.01)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.06*** (0.01)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Democratization	-0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)
Meet Intern. Obligations	-0.08*** (0.02)	-0.09** (0.03)	-0.01 (0.04)	-0.08*** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.05 (0.03)
No. of PO > 1	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.05 (0.03)	-0.05* (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)
<i>Predispositions</i>						
Internationalism	0.04*** (0.01)	0.05** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.03** (0.01)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)
Antimilitarism	-0.27*** (0.03)	-0.38*** (0.04)	-0.11* (0.04)	-0.15*** (0.03)	-0.41*** (0.04)	-0.26*** (0.05)
Atlanticism	0.13*** (0.03)	0.13** (0.04)	0.00 (0.05)	0.18*** (0.03)	0.15*** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.05)
Constant	0.57*** (0.03)	0.58*** (0.04)		0.48*** (0.03)	0.56*** (0.04)	
Observations	936	791		1,048	884	
R-squared	0.31	0.34		0.26	0.36	

Reported are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Differences in coefficients were obtained by pooling the data from the two surveys and running the same model with additional interaction terms between the independent variables and a dummy variable that identified respondents from the 2009 survey. Due to rounding, subtracting the 2009 coefficients from the 2008 coefficients does not always equal the difference reported here.

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table A5.3: Effects of Perceived Objectives, Policy Predispositions, and Perceived Success on Perceived ISAF Mission Support in 2008 and 2009 (by Political Awareness)

	Low Awareness			High Awareness		
	2008	2009	Diff.	2008	2009	Diff.
<i>Perceived Objectives</i>						
Fight Terrorism	-0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)
Counterinsurgency		0.06* (0.03)			-0.00 (0.02)	
Peace Keeping	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.00 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)
Nation Building	0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.02 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.03)
Democratization	0.06 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.06 (0.04)	0.02 (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)
Meet Intern. Obligations	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.05 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.06 (0.04)
No. of PO > 1	-0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.05 (0.04)	0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)	0.00 (0.04)
<i>Predispositions</i>						
Internationalism	0.07*** (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.03)	0.11*** (0.02)	0.12*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Antimilitarism	-0.39*** (0.05)	-0.38*** (0.05)	0.01 (0.07)	-0.29*** (0.04)	-0.27*** (0.05)	0.02 (0.06)
Atlanticism	0.09 (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.07)	0.17*** (0.05)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.14* (0.06)
Perceived Success	0.47*** (0.05)	0.50*** (0.05)	0.03 (0.07)	0.58*** (0.04)	0.61*** (0.04)	0.02 (0.06)
Constant	0.39*** (0.05)	0.33*** (0.05)		0.23*** (0.05)	0.19*** (0.05)	
Observations	936	791		1,048	884	
R-squared	0.40	0.52		0.45	0.57	

Reported are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Differences in coefficients were obtained by pooling the data from the two surveys and running the same model with additional interaction terms between the independent variables and a dummy variable that identified respondents from the 2009 survey. Due to rounding, subtracting the 2009 coefficients from the 2008 coefficients does not always equal the difference reported here.

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

6. The Influence of the Number of Perceived Objectives on ISAF Mission Support

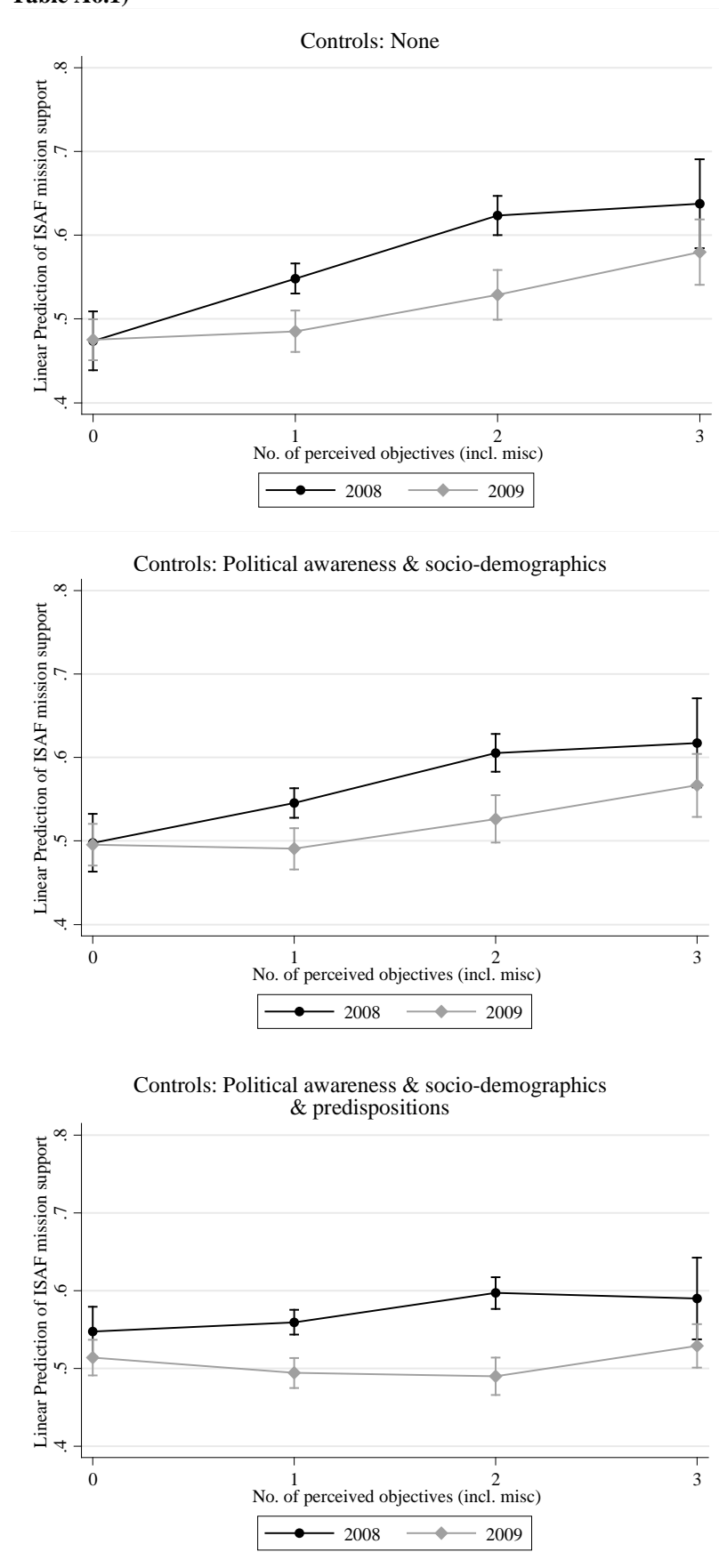
Table A6.1: Effects of the Number of Perceived Objectives in 2008 and 2009

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	2008	2009	2008	2009	2008	2009
Dummy: 1 PO	0.07*** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Dummy: 2 POs	0.15*** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.11*** (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Dummy: 3 POs	0.16*** (0.03)	0.10*** (0.02)	0.12*** (0.03)	0.06** (0.02)	0.05 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)
Internationalism					0.10*** (0.01)	0.14*** (0.01)
Antimilitarism					-0.47*** (0.03)	-0.53*** (0.03)
Atlanticism					0.22*** (0.04)	0.13*** (0.03)
Political awareness			0.19*** (0.04)	0.26*** (0.04)	0.12** (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)
Dummy: Educ. (low)			0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.01 (0.01)
Dummy: Educ. (high)			-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02 (0.02)
Age			-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
Dummy: Female			-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.03* (0.01)
Dummy: East GER			-0.09*** (0.02)	-0.05** (0.02)	-0.04* (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)
Constant	0.47*** (0.02)	0.48*** (0.01)	0.54*** (0.03)	0.50*** (0.03)	0.58*** (0.03)	0.62*** (0.04)
Observations	2,350	1,994	2,345	1,992	2,153	1,859
R-squared	0.03	0.02	0.09	0.07	0.34	0.43

Reported are unstandardized regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses. Reference category for the dummies concerning number of objectives is “0 objectives perceived”; Reference category for the dummies concerning education is “medium level of education (Realschulabschluss)”.

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Figure A6.1: Effect of Number of perceived Objectives on ISAF Mission Support (see Model 1, 2, and 3 in Table A6.1)



7. Determinants of the Perceived Objectives

Table A7.1: The Determinants of the Perceived Policy Objectives (*Logit coefficients*), 2008

	Fight Terror	Counter- Insurgency ^a	Peace Keeping	Nation Building	Democr.	Intern. Demands
Internationalism	0.00 (0.14)		0.32** (0.11)	0.29* (0.12)	0.21 (0.19)	-0.21 (0.16)
Antimilitarism	-0.93** (0.33)		-0.83*** (0.24)	-0.44 (0.27)	-0.10 (0.32)	1.56*** (0.35)
Atlanticism	0.07 (0.38)		0.55* (0.28)	0.43 (0.29)	0.20 (0.42)	-0.80 (0.44)
Political awareness	1.23** (0.39)		0.10 (0.28)	1.07*** (0.31)	1.68*** (0.46)	1.47*** (0.42)
Dummy: Educ. (low)	0.28 (0.28)		0.08 (0.21)	0.38 (0.22)	0.14 (0.37)	-0.39 (0.38)
Dummy: Educ. (high)	0.20 (0.16)		-0.16 (0.12)	0.18 (0.12)	0.16 (0.18)	0.31 (0.17)
Age	0.00 (0.00)		-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Dummy: Female	0.01 (0.14)		0.12 (0.11)	-0.11 (0.11)	0.02 (0.18)	-0.27 (0.16)
Dummy: East GER	-0.07 (0.21)		0.34* (0.14)	0.08 (0.15)	-0.33 (0.23)	-0.05 (0.21)
Constant	-2.37*** (0.41)		-0.51 (0.30)	-1.52*** (0.32)	-3.40*** (0.48)	-2.67*** (0.50)
Observations	2,200		2,200	2,200	2,200	2,200
R-squared	0.017		0.023	0.025	0.022	0.056

Entries are unstandardized logistic regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.

^a “Counterinsurgency” was not coded in 2008

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table A7.2: The Determinants of the Perceived Policy Objectives (Average Marginal Effects), 2008

	Fight Terror	Counter- Insurgency ^a	Peace Keeping	Nation Building	Democr.	Intern. Demands
Internationalism	0.00 (0.02)		0.07** (0.03)	0.06* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)
Antimilitarism	-0.12** (0.04)		-0.19*** (0.05)	-0.09 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.03)	0.17*** (0.04)
Atlanticism	0.01 (0.05)		0.13* (0.06)	0.09 (0.06)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.09 (0.05)
Political awareness	0.15** (0.05)		0.02 (0.07)	0.22*** (0.06)	0.15*** (0.04)	0.16*** (0.05)
Dummy: Educ. (low)	0.03 (0.03)		0.02 (0.05)	0.08 (0.05)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.04)
Dummy: Educ. (high)	0.03 (0.02)		-0.04 (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)
Age	0.00 (0.00)		-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Dummy: Female	0.00 (0.02)		0.03 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)
Dummy: East GER	-0.01 (0.03)		0.08* (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Observations	2,200		2,200	2,200	2,200	2,200

Entries are changes in probability of perceiving the objective for one unit change in the independent variable with robust standard errors in parentheses.

^a “Counterinsurgency” was not coded in 2008

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table A7.3: The Determinants of the Perceived Policy Objectives (Logit coefficients), 2009

	Fight Terror	Counter- insurgency	Peace Keeping	Nation Building	Democr.	Intern. Demands
Internationalism	0.36* (0.17)	0.07 (0.21)	0.16 (0.14)	0.45** (0.14)	0.32 (0.19)	0.36* (0.17)
Antimilitarism	-0.86* (0.39)	-0.20 (0.49)	-1.19** (0.37)	-0.43 (0.32)	-0.65 (0.40)	-0.86* (0.39)
Atlanticism	-0.19 (0.39)	0.26 (0.54)	1.51*** (0.36)	-0.47 (0.33)	0.39 (0.42)	-0.19 (0.39)
Political awareness	2.27*** (0.49)	1.11* (0.56)	0.02 (0.37)	2.41*** (0.40)	2.69*** (0.55)	2.27*** (0.49)
Dummy: Educ. (low)	0.00 (0.18)	0.43* (0.21)	0.08 (0.15)	0.34* (0.15)	0.04 (0.19)	0.00 (0.18)
Dummy: Educ. (high)	0.01 (0.18)	0.18 (0.23)	-0.41* (0.17)	0.09 (0.16)	-0.20 (0.20)	0.01 (0.18)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)
Dummy: Female	0.19 (0.15)	-0.12 (0.19)	0.19 (0.13)	0.26* (0.13)	0.11 (0.17)	0.19 (0.15)
Dummy: East GER	0.05 (0.19)	0.10 (0.24)	0.37* (0.16)	0.06 (0.17)	-0.01 (0.23)	0.05 (0.19)
Constant	-2.64*** (0.49)	-3.49*** (0.60)	-1.56*** (0.39)	-2.29*** (0.41)	-3.16*** (0.46)	-2.64*** (0.49)
Observations	1,912	1,912	1,912	1,912	1,912	1,912
R-squared	0.040	0.016	0.052	0.043	0.050	0.040

Entries are unstandardized logistic regression coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Table A7.4: The Determinants of the Perceived Policy Objectives (Average Marginal Effects), 2009

	Fight Terror	Counter-insurgency	Peace Keeping	Nation Building	Democr.	Intern. Demands
Internationalism	0.05* (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)	0.04 (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)
Antimilitarism	-0.11* (0.05)	-0.02 (0.04)	-0.22*** (0.07)	-0.08 (0.06)	-0.07 (0.04)	-0.11* (0.05)
Atlanticism	-0.02 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)	0.28*** (0.07)	-0.09 (0.06)	0.04 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.05)
Political awareness	0.29*** (0.06)	0.09* (0.05)	0.00 (0.07)	0.46*** (0.07)	0.30*** (0.06)	0.29*** (0.06)
Dummy: Educ. (low)	0.00 (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.02 (0.03)	0.07* (0.03)	0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
Dummy: Educ. (high)	0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	-0.08* (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
Age	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Dummy: Female	0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.04 (0.02)	0.05* (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Dummy: East GER	0.01 (0.03)	0.01 (0.02)	0.07* (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Observations	1,912	1,912	1,912	1,912	1,912	1,912

Entries are changes in probability of perceiving the objective for one unit change in the independent variable with robust standard errors in parentheses.

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

8. Interactions between Predispositions and Perceived Objectives

The following graphs show the average marginal effects (AMEs) of perceiving a mission objective on ISAF mission support at extreme values of the Likert-scaled Antimilitarism and atlanticism variables; for the binary internationalism variable, AMEs for both values are displayed. As few citizens actually score minimum/maximum values for Antimilitarism and atlanticism, this presentation of the interaction results focuses on the maximum range of the AMEs.

Figure A8.1: AMEs of Perceived Objectives, 2008

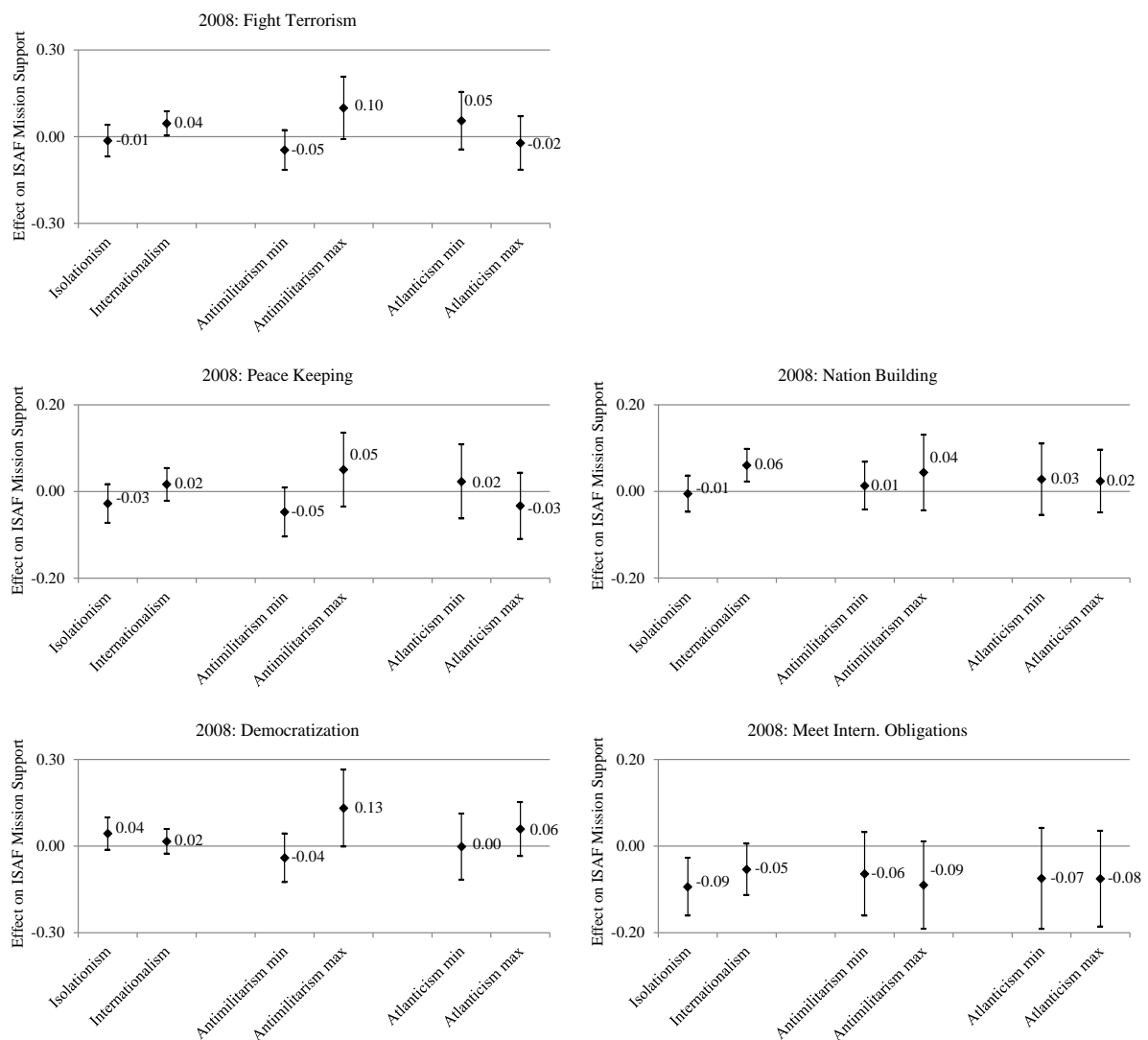


Figure A8.2: AMEs of Perceived Objectives, 2009

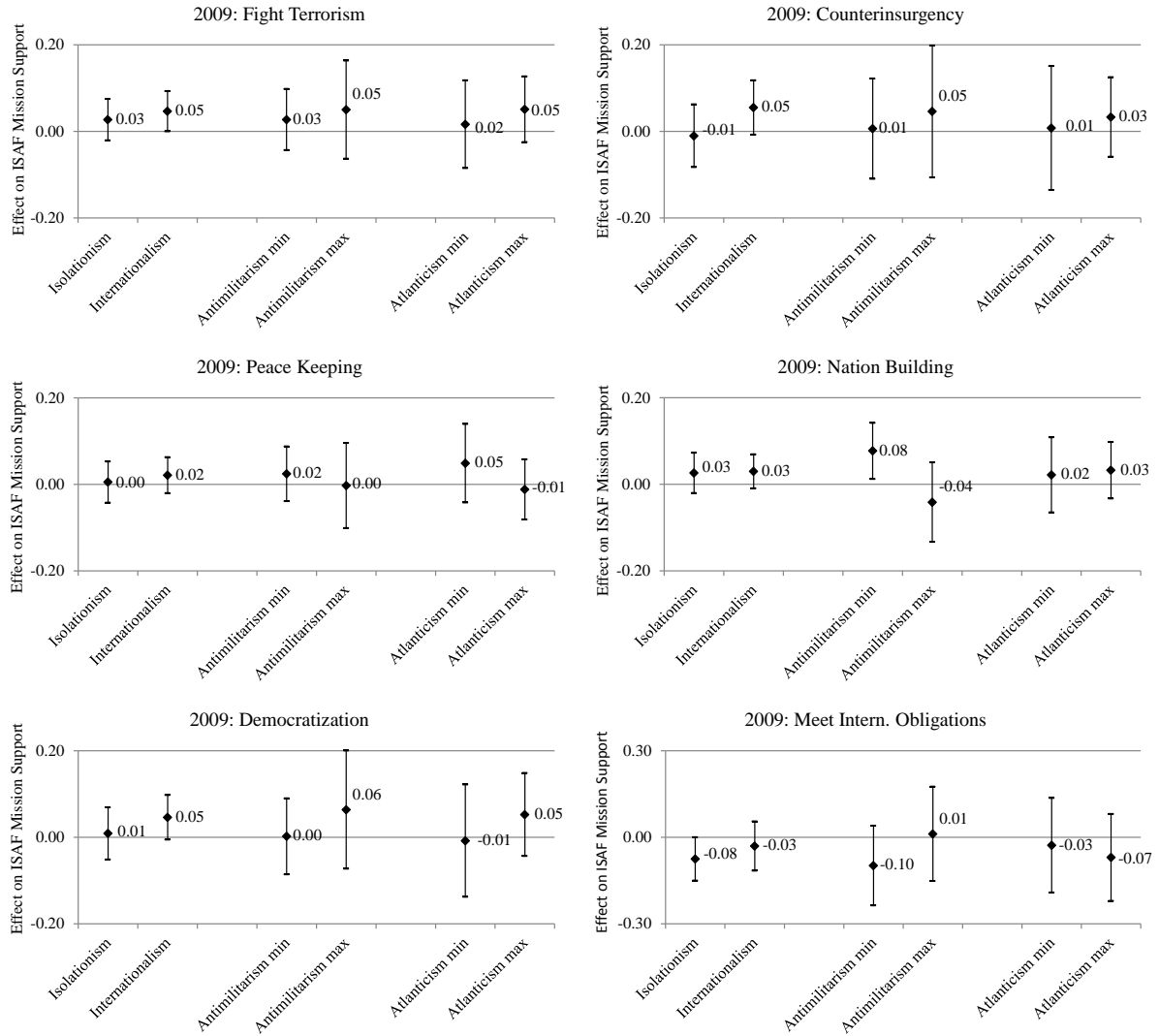


Figure A8.3: Linear prediction of ISAF mission support conditional on PO “Democratization” and Antimilitarism, 2008

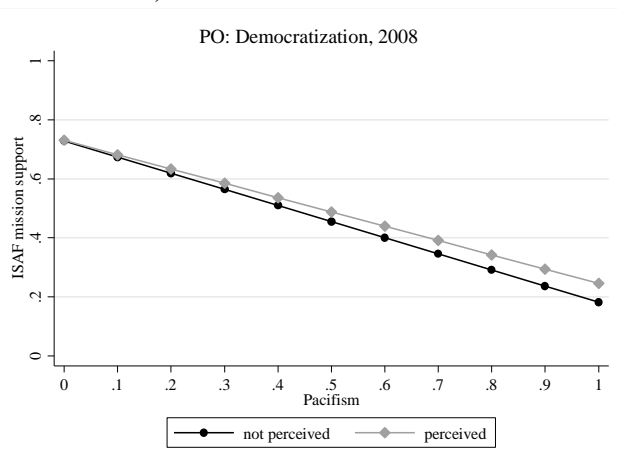


Table A8.1: Interaction Effects of Perceived Objective and Policy Predisposition on ISAF Mission Support

	2008	2009
Fight Terrorism	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.08)
Fight Terrorism * Internationalism	0.06 (0.04)	0.02 (0.03)
Fight Terrorism * Antimilitarism	0.15 (0.08)	0.02 (0.09)
Fight Terrorism * Atlanticism	-0.08 (0.09)	0.03 (0.08)
Counterinsurgency		-0.04 (0.11)
Counterinsurgency * Internationalism		0.07 (0.05)
Counterinsurgency * Antimilitarism		0.04 (0.13)
Counterinsurgency * Atlanticism		0.03 (0.11)
Peace Keeping	-0.04 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)
Peace Keeping * Internationalism	0.04 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Peace Keeping * Antimilitarism	0.10 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.08)
Peace Keeping * Atlanticism	-0.06 (0.08)	-0.06 (0.07)
Nation Building	-0.02 (0.06)	0.07 (0.07)
Nation Building * Internationalism	0.07* (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)
Nation Building * Antimilitarism	0.03 (0.07)	-0.12 (0.07)
Nation Building * Atlanticism	-0.00 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)
Democratization	-0.06 (0.08)	-0.05 (0.10)
Democratization * Internationalism	-0.03 (0.03)	0.04 (0.04)
Democratization * Antimilitarism	0.17 (0.10)	0.06 (0.11)
Democratization * Atlanticism	0.06 (0.10)	0.06 (0.11)
Meet Intern. Obligations	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.10 (0.14)
Meet Intern. Obligations * Internationalism	0.04 (0.04)	0.04 (0.06)
Meet Intern. Obligations * Antimilitarism	-0.03 (0.09)	0.11 (0.14)
Meet Intern. Obligations * Atlanticism	-0.00 (0.11)	-0.04 (0.15)
Internationalism	0.05* (0.02)	0.12*** (0.02)
Antimilitarism	-0.53*** (0.05)	-0.52*** (0.05)
Atlanticism	0.24*** (0.06)	0.12* (0.05)
No. of PO > 1	-0.04 (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)
Political Awareness	0.14*** (0.03)	0.10** (0.03)
Constant	0.57*** (0.05)	0.52*** (0.05)
Observations	2,153	1,859
R-squared	0.35	0.43