

PREDISPOSITIONS, BELIEFS, AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS MILITARY MISSIONS

APPENDIX: Question Wording and Descriptive Statistics

Variable name	Measure							
Attitude towards the ISAF Mission	“One can have different opinions regarding the future of the German military action in Afghanistan. What is your view on this subject? Do you approve of an immediate withdrawal of the <i>Bundeswehr</i> from Afghanistan or do you think more troops should be deployed? Please answer using a scale from 1 to 7 with 1 meaning ‘immediate withdrawal’ and 7 meaning ‘extension of deployment’. With the values in between you can differentiate your point of view.”							
	Withdrawal	2	3	4	5	6	Expansion	DK/NA
	29.9	10.0	21.9	20.7	10.4	2.8	3.0	1.3
Militarism*	“War is sometimes necessary to protect a country’s interests.”							
	Strongly agree	4	3	2	Strongly disagree	DK/NA		
	9.4	5.2	19.5	20.9	41.1	3.8		
Internationalism*	“The use of military force is never justified (To form the index, the scale was reversed)							
	Strongly agree	4	3	2	Strongly disagree	DK/NA		
	28.4	14.4	30.3	12.4	12.8	1.8		
Multilateralism*	“Germany should play a more active role in global politics.”							
	Strongly agree	4	3	2	Strongly disagree	DK/NA		
	21.8	15.3	30.9	14.7	14.0	3.3		
Atlanticism*	“Germany shouldn’t be concerned with questions of global politics but focus on its domestic problems.” (To form the index, the scale was reversed)							
	Strongly agree	4	3	2	Strongly disagree	DK/NA		
	20.3	9.3	25.6	14.2	30.3	0.3		
Atlanticism*	“In international crises, the members of the European Union should try and find a common policy position.”							
	Strongly agree	4	3	2	Strongly disagree	DK/NA		
	69.6	18.4	6.1	3.8	1.3	0.8		
Atlanticism*	“Germany should provide for its security on its own.” (To form the index, the scale was reversed)							
	Strongly agree	4	3	2	Strongly disagree	DK/NA		
	21.7	9.2	23.1	20.4	24.1	1.5		
Atlanticism*	“When foreign policy is concerned, Germany should act in accordance with the U.S.”							
	Strongly agree	4	3	2	Strongly disagree	DK/NA		
	7.4	6.4	27.4	28.3	29.1	1.4		
Atlanticism*	“Germany should express its interests more confidently vis-à-vis the U.S.” (To form the index, the scale was reversed)							
	Strongly agree	4	3	2	Strongly disagree	DK/NA		
	56.5	19.5	16.2	3.4	2.6	1.9		

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Variable name	Measure											
Success**	“In the end, the <i>Bundeswehr</i> mission in Afghanistan will be successful.”											
	Strongly agree	4	3	2	Strongly disagree	DK/NA						
	4.4	6.3	22.5	23.1	38.1	5.6						
Casualties (German Army) **	“All in all, the casualties of the <i>Bundeswehr</i> in Afghanistan have not been that high.” (For the regression analysis, the scale was reversed)											
	Strongly agree	4	3	2	Strongly disagree	DK/NA						
	12.0	10.1	14.7	15.3	43.9	3.9						
Casualties (overall) **	“The conflict in Afghanistan has claimed too many lives on all sides already”											
	Strongly agree	4	3	2	Strongly disagree	DK/NA						
	86.1	6.4	3.7	1.7	0.7	1.6						
Allies**	“Most German allies are in favor of continuing the mission in Afghanistan.”											
	Strongly agree	4	3	2	Strongly disagree	DK/NA						
	23.8	17.6	21.7	14.4	11.0	11.5						
Party identifications	Dummy variables from the item “In Germany, many people tend to a certain political party for some time, although they occasionally vote for another party. Do you – in general – tend to a certain party? If so, which party?”											
	<i>CDU/CSU</i>	<i>SPD</i>	<i>FDP</i>	<i>Greens</i>	<i>Left Party</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>No Party</i>	DK/NA				
	14.4	17.0	2.4	9.6	1.5	0.8	47.3	7.0				
Ideology	“In politics one often refers to ‘left’ and ‘right’. We’d like to ask you whether you assess yourself as being rather left or right. On a scale from 1 meaning ‘left’ to 11 meaning ‘right’, where would you assess yourself? With the values in between you can differentiate your point of view.”											
	Left	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Right	DK/NA
	2.7	1.4	8.5	12.8	19.4	31.6	5.9	5.6	2.1	0.9	1.4	7.7
Political interest	“Of course, one can’t keep closely track of all policy domains. How about you: How interested are you in foreign and security policy? Very strongly interested, quite strongly interested, moderately interested, hardly interested, or not interested at all?”											
	Not interested at all	4	3	2	Very strongly interested	DK/NA						
	5.6	9.8	50.1	22.6	12.1	0.01						

Note: Data weighted by post-stratification weights.

* All Questions were asked in a battery that was introduced with the statement: “Now, we’d like to ask for your evaluation of a few statements about German foreign and security policy. Please let me know whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree.” All questions were ordered in a way that the items measuring one theoretical concept were not asked consecutively.

** All Questions were asked in a battery that was introduced with the statement: “Now, we’d like to ask for your evaluation of a few statements about *Bundeswehr*’s mission in Afghanistan. Please let me know whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, strongly disagree.”

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Table A1

Results of a mediation analysis with predispositions as independent variables, beliefs as mediating variables, and attitudes towards the German ISAF mission as dependent variable (direct effects)

	Success		Casualties (German army)		Casualties (overall)		Allies		German ISAF mission	
	b	β	b	β	b	β	b	β	b	β
Success									.41***	.43
									(.03)	
Casualties (German army)									.00	.00
									(.02)	
Casualties (overall)									-.17***	-.10
									(.04)	
Allies									.04	.05
									(.02)	
Militarism	.08*	.07	-.37***	-.27	-.05**	-.09	.01	.01	.06*	.06
	(.03)		(.05)		(.02)		(.04)		(.03)	
Internationalism	.22***	.22	-.12**	-.10	-.05***	-.09	-.04	-.04	.16**	.16
	(.03)		(.04)		(.02)		(.04)		(.03)	
Multilateralism	-.10**	-.08	.01	.00	.01	.01	.09*	.06	.12***	.10
	(.04)		(.05)		(.02)		(.04)		(.03)	
Atlanticism	.09*	.07	-.05	-.03	-.07***	-.10	-.03	-.02	.12***	.09
	(.04)		(.05)		(.02)		(.05)		(.03)	
Left Party	-.14**	-.06	.04	.02	-.00	-.00	.01	.01	-.10*	-.05
	(.05)		(.07)		(.04)		(.08)		(.04)	
CDU/CSU	.09**	.11	.04	.04	.00	.01	-.01	-.01	-.07**	-.09
	(.03)		(.03)		(.02)		(.03)		(.02)	
SPD	.01	.01	.06*	.06	.02	.04	-.08**	-.09	-.03	-.05
	(.02)		(.03)		(.01)		(.03)		(.02)	
FPD	.17**	.10	-.03	-.01	-.13*	-.13	-.01	-.00	.06	.04
	(.06)		(.06)		(.05)		(.07)		(.05)	
Greens	-.04	-.04	-.01	-.01	.02	.04	-.06	-.06	.00	.00
	(.03)		(.03)		(.01)		(.03)		(.02)	
Ideology	-.02	-.02	-.06	-.03	-.03	-.03	-.15*	-.08	.09*	.06
	(.06)		(.08)		(.04)		(.06)		(.05)	
Political Interest	-.21***	-.18	-.03	.02	.01	.01	.03	.02	.07*	.07
	(.03)		(.04)		(.02)		(.04)		(.03)	
R^2 (*100)	12.0		1.0		5.5		1.8		33.7	

Notes. N = 1,162. Results are from a path model computed with standard bootstrapping (10,000 draws). The cell entries are unstandardized regression coefficients (b) and with the bootstrap standard errors in parentheses and standardized coefficients (β). In Mplus, standard errors for standardized effects are not available for direct effects. Identification with no party/other party is the reference category for the party identification dummies.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

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Table A2

Standardized total indirect, specific indirect, and total effects of party identification, ideology, and political interest on attitudes towards the ISAF-mission

	<i>Total indirect effect</i>	<i>Specific indirect effects via</i>			<i>Total effect</i>	
		<i>Success</i>	<i>Casualties (German army)</i>	<i>Casualties (overall)</i>	<i>Allies</i>	
CDU/CSU	0.05** (0.02)	0.05** (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.05 (0.03)
SPD	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.05 (0.03)
FPD	0.05** (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01* (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.09** (0.03)
Greens	-0.03 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.03 (0.03)
Ideology	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.05 (0.04)
Political Interest	-0.08*** (0.01)	-0.08*** (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.03)

Notes. N = 1,162. Results are from a path model computed with standard bootstrapping (10,000 draws). The cell entries are standardized regression coefficients with their bootstrap standard errors in parentheses. Due to rounding, the sums of the specific indirect effects are not always equal to the total indirect effects.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.