Finding the Water's Edge: When Partisanship Influences Foreign Policy Attitudes

Sarah Maxey
Post-Doctoral Fellow
Perry World House, University of Pennsylvania

ABSTRACT
The polarization of U.S. politics is not limited to the domestic sphere. Partisan affiliations influence individuals' attitudes towards a range of foreign policy issues, but in the face of threats to U.S. security the president can evoke a sense of national identity to overcome partisan divisions and mobilize support. However, the threshold at which concerns about the nation supersede partisanship remains an open question. Under what conditions are U.S. presidents able to raise bipartisan support for military action? To what extent does increased polarization limit opportunities for generating this support? Through a series of ten survey experiments I exploit the period surrounding the 2016 presidential election to examine changes in foreign policy attitudes in the face of strong partisan primes. Follow-up experiments vary the level of partisanship, the president's party affiliation, and the intervention scenario. Taken as a whole, the results indicate that even during periods of heightened polarization and strongly primed partisan identities, presidents maintain the ability to generate unified, bipartisan support for military action. While existing scholarship focuses on security threats, this analysis demonstrates that humanitarian interventions also provide opportunities for bipartisan consensus. These operations increase support among Democrats while maintaining a majority of support among Republicans.

In the debate over whether politics stops at the water's edge, the evidence is decisively mixed. On the one hand, Americans possess strong national identities that can be activated in the face of threats and international crises to mitigate partisan divisions (Brody 1991; Kam and Ramos 2008; Levendusky 2018; Levendusky and Horowitz 2012; Malhotra and Popp 2012). On the other hand, domestic and foreign policy attitudes are structured by the same values and individuals' party identities shape their opinions on a wide range of issues, including the use of torture and the role of international institutions (Grieco et al. 2011; Haidt and Graham 2007; Rathbun 2007; Wallace 2013). As a result of this ongoing debate, the foreign policy implications of increasing polarization in U.S. politics are an open question. Under what conditions are U.S. presidents able to raise bipartisan support for military action? To what extent does increased polarization limit opportunities for generating this support?

Existing studies focus on bipartisan support for military interventions that address U.S. national interests or security, but here I argue that support for humanitarian interventions is also likely to reach across the aisle. These interventions combine Republicans' ownership of security issues with Democrats' ownership of human rights issues and appeal to internationalists in both parties. Therefore, even if it does not always generate the highest magnitude of support, framing intervention in terms of saving strangers is a particularly important political tool during periods of heightened polarization.

I evaluate the influence of partisanship on support for different types of intervention in three steps. First, I examine changes in support for military action during a period when partisan identities were most likely to be primed: the build-up to and immediate aftermath of the 2016 presidential election. Results from a series of ten original survey experiments, including two national samples, demonstrate that among both Democrats and Republicans support for military

action remained consistent or increased over this period. Thus, there is no evidence that the intensified salience of partisan identities undermined either side's willingness to support the use of force. Second, I examine the assumptions behind this support and directly prime the party affiliation of the president. Finally, a follow-up experiment investigates whether the potential for bipartisan support extends to the current period when partisan identities are directly primed.

Taken as a whole, the findings highlight the prospect of military action as a rare and consistent source of bipartisan support, even in intensely polarized political climates. Most notably, this support is not limited to conflicts where the national interest is at stake. Instead, presidents are likely to have the easiest time raising bipartisan support for humanitarian interventions. These results have important policy implications, suggesting that the White House maintains significant leeway to pursue military action for a variety of purposes even when partisan divisions constrain other foreign and domestic policy options.

Polarization in U.S. Politics

Evidence of rising polarization in U.S. politics suggests that the centrality of partisanship to a wide range of domestic and foreign policy attitudes is poised to increase over time. Examining partisanship at the elite level, Lee (2009, 68) concludes that "The dramatic increase in partisan conflict represents one of the most striking developments in Congress over the past 25 years." While the verdict is still out on the extent to which the polarization has led to more ideologically extreme outcomes, partisanship is exacerbated by presidents' attempts to champion particular issues and limits the president's ability to influence Congress and policies (Lee 2008, 2015). Increased polarization affects not only the way that politicians govern, but also the way they run campaigns. Intensified partisan identities create incentives for candidates to focus more

time and resources on mobilizing their base of support instead of winning over independents and moderates from the other party (Panagopoulos 2016).

Despite the consensus that Congress has become more polarized over time, the extent to which this polarization extends to the U.S. public is itself the subject of ongoing debate. In one camp, scholars provide evidence that elite polarization creates a misperception that the country is more divided than ever while public opinion remains centrist (Fiorina and Abrams 2008; Fiorina, Abrams, and Pope 2011; McAdam and Kloos 2014). McAdam and Kloos (2014, 11) summarize this perspective with their contention that, "the deep partisan divide that characterizes today's Congress, party activists, and other political elites is typically not mirrored in the general public. Quite the opposite: the general public has remained largely centrist in its views, while the parties—especially the GOP—and their candidates have been pushed off center." Explanations for parties' shift away from the center include pressure from social movements, party sorting, and the improved coordination of party teams, while explanations for the incorrect appearance of public polarization range from misperceptions to news coverage (Fiorina and Abrams 2008; Lee 2009; Levendusky and Malhotra 2016b, 2016a; McAdam and Kloos 2014)

By contrast, an opposing camp contends that polarization is on the rise among in both elite and public opinion. Responding to Fiorina, Abrams, and Pope's (2006) dismissal of a culture war between blue and red states, Abramowitz and Saunders (2008, 554) claim that "Polarization in America is not just an elite phenomenon. The American people, especially those who care about politics, have also become much more polarized in recent years. To a considerable extent, the divisions that exist among policymakers in Washington reflect real divisions among the American people." These findings are in line with more recent evidence that

the effects of partisan polarization increasingly influence individuals' economic and political choices (McConnell et al. In press).

Although the drivers and extent of public polarization remain uncertain, even misperceived polarization is likely to make partisan identities more salient. Determining whether and under what conditions heightened partisanship influences the presidents' ability to evoke a unified national identity and mobilize support for military action is key to understanding the implications of this trend for foreign policy.

Partisanship and Foreign Policy

While polarization may exacerbate the consequences, the idea that politics can sometimes extend beyond the water's edge is not a new proposition. Individuals' partisan identities influence their attitudes towards a range of foreign policies. In their study of international institutions and support for intervention, Grieco et al. (2011, 575–76) demonstrate that partisan differences over the use of force exist and "are comprised of two distinct effects. Confidence in the executive branch and valuation of IOs each have a significant impact on support for the mission, while the impact of party identification disappears when we control for these mediating factors." Democrats value endorsements from international organizations regardless of the president, while Republicans are only concerned with international approval when they lack confidence in the White House—i.e., when the other party is in power (Grieco et al. 2011, 569). Similarly, in his examination of how international law shapes attitudes towards torture, Wallace (2013, 121) finds that "Given the wartime scenario, the results suggest that higher levels of threat do not inevitably lead to similar views across ideological groups." Instead, "Conservative respondents thus appear less influenced by appeals to international legal principles compared to their liberal counterparts, which widens the gap between each group's support for torture.

Despite its overall promise, international law may thus act as a further source of polarization within the U.S. public" (Wallace 2013, 121).

Partisanship also affects the incentives of political elites in the build-up to military action. Kriner and Shen (2014) show that the partisanship of members of Congress moderates their response to military casualties and willingness to criticize intervention. Similarly, Trager and Vavreck (2011, 526) demonstrate that partisanship conditions the domestic pressures leaders face to act contrary to their foreign policy type, creating incentives for "Democratic presidents to fight wars they will not win."

In addition to shaping leaders' incentives, elite cue theory contends that partisanship also determines the extent to which a given political actor will be able to persuade the public. In their decisions to support or oppose an intervention, individuals seek out and listen to the advice of politicians and opinion leaders who share their political predispositions (Berinsky 2007, 975). When the message is divided, the statements and advice of elites from the other party are expected to resonate less. The rise of elite conflict during the intervention is linked to the erosion of public support over time (Baum 2002; Baum and Groeling 2010; Groeling and Baum 2008). The implications of this theory for public opinion are consistent with motivated reasoning, which asserts that individuals seek evidence—in this case, information about the prudence of military action—that is in line with their pre-existing political beliefs and discount evidence to the contrary (Taber and Lodge 2006).

That polarization on domestic political issues would extend to the sphere of foreign policy is unsurprising given evidence that attitudes in both arenas are structured by the same underlying values (Kertzer et al. 2014; Rathbun 2007; Rathbun et al. 2016). Both foreign policy orientations and partisan identity are linked to individuals' moral foundations, which capture

their concern with harm/care, fairness/reciprocity, authority/respect, purity/sanctity, and ingroup/loyalty (Graham et al. 2013; Haidt and Graham 2007; Jost et al. 2003). Individuals hold different combinations of these foundations at different magnitudes, which in turn influence political attitudes. Similarly, Rathbun (2007) demonstrates that liberal and conservative elites are separated by their community or hierarchical values. Rathbun et al. (2016, 124) draw on Schwartz's theory of values to show that conservation and universalism guide the public's daily choices and "travel to the domain of foreign affairs." From this perspective, the water's edge is not a meaningful boundary for public attitudes. The same values that divide the public domestically are expected to also divide them on matters of foreign policy.

Given the breadth and depth of these findings across issue areas, that heightened polarization at the domestic level will be recreated in foreign affairs seems like a foregone conclusion. From this perspective, the question is not whether polarization influences foreign policy, but how. However, there is equally strong evidence that Americans possess strong national identities that can be activated in the face of international crises and threats to mitigate partisan divisions—at least in the early stages of military action (Kam and Ramos 2008; Levendusky 2018; Levendusky and Horowitz 2012; Malhotra and Popp 2012). Levendusky (2018, 8) notes that "by changing the salience of an individual's identities—partisan versus American—one can change how they evaluate those from the other party." As an inherently partisan figure, presidents will often be ill-equipped to prime a unifying national identity (Levendusky 2018). However, in international crises, presidents have informational and first-mover advantages that mute the everyday effects of partisanship. In this context, "The fact that the president is the president, rather than a Republican or a Democrat, becomes the crucial factor" and there is no evidence that partisanship conditions individuals' willingness to impose

audience costs (Levendusky and Horowitz 2012, 325). Consistent with rally effects, from this view military interventions—especially in their early stages—represent the peak of the president's ability to appeal across partisan lines (Brody 1991). Increased polarization should matter least when the public is presented with a crisis that threatens U.S. national interests and security.

Additional evidence indicates that the president's ability to mobilize support across party lines is heightened in the face of terrorist threats (Gadarian 2010, 2014; Kam and Ramos 2008; Malhotra and Popp 2012). In the immediate aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, George W. Bush received widespread, bipartisan support for his war on terror initiatives; however, the bipartisan coalition dissolved as the threat of another attack declined (Malhotra and Popp 2012, 34). This uptick in support stems in part from media coverage of terrorist threats. Media reports emphasize threatening information and present evocative images, which in turn increase support for the president and create more hawkish foreign policy attitudes among members of both political parties (Gadarian 2010, 2014). From this view, consistent with studies of rally effects (Brody 1991; Kam and Ramos 2008), the president's ability to appeal across partisan lines peaks in the early stages of military interventions—especially those that respond to terrorist threats. Therefore, increased polarization should matter least when the public is presented with a crisis that threatens U.S. national interests and security.

Partisanship Across Intervention Contexts

As the previous section illustrates, the extent to and conditions under which partisanship influences foreign policy remains an open question, making it difficult to draw conclusions about the effect of increasing polarization on the president's ability to mobilize domestic support for the use of force. To clarify the implications of polarization for military action, it is necessary to

consider how intensifying partisan identities influence support and whether the effect of these

identities is consistent across different types of interventions. Jentleson and Britton (1998)

provide a structure for dividing interventions based on their principle policy objectives and

confirm that the public is willing to support military action for two purposes: foreign policy

restraint and humanitarian intervention.[1] The September 11, 2001 terror attacks ushered in a new

era in the U.S. national security narrative and the prospect of terrorist threats maintains support

among Republicans while increasing support among Democrats (Gadarian 2010; Malhotra and

Popp 2012, 34–35; Krebs 2015). Increasing polarization that intensifies partisan identities could

thus influence support for three types of contemporary interventions: security interventions

focused on conventional goals such as foreign policy restraint, security interventions with

counterterrorism goals, and humanitarian interventions.

Existing studies focus exclusively on security interventions and show that the prospect of

a common threat to national security can activate a national identity and mitigate the influence of

partisanship, at least in the short term. Building on this scholarship, I probe the limits of these

findings and investigate whether there is a threshold at which polarization begins to undermine

the president's ability to mobilize domestic support to meet security goals.

> H1. As polarization increases, the president's ability to mobilize bipartisan support for
> security interventions decreases.

> H2. Among security interventions, the effects of polarization are less severe for
> counterterrorism interventions relative to foreign policy restraint interventions.

This focus on security interventions is consistent with an underlying conventional

wisdom that expects the public to be more responsive to the prospect of military action when

there are clear national security interests at stake. Threats to national security and interests help

---

[1] See also Jentleson (1992) for the original description of principle policy objectives and foreign policy restraint.

presidents rally support at the beginning of interventions because "When the nation or its honor is threatened, the public is thought to suspend its usual mode of opinion formation and form ranks behind the president and the flag. External threat gives rise to the belief that one's patriotic duty requires the appearance of solidarity which, in the public at large, manifests itself as an unexpected jump in approval of presidential job performance" (Brody 1991, 45–46). However, in the absence of clear links to national security, humanitarian explanations enable intervention for different purposes (Finnemore 2003, 52). Humanitarian explanations can successfully generate public support when credible connections to U.S. interests are not otherwise plausible (Boettcher 2004; Gelpi, Feaver, and Reifler 2009; Jentleson and Britton 1998). However, because they frame action in terms of the benefits to foreign civilians rather than a state's own security, humanitarian interventions are expected to mobilize relatively lower, less reliable public support than security claims, even when polarization is not on the rise. As Hildebrandt et al. (2013, 250) note, "Although most people express concern over the human tragedies of famine, ethnic cleansing, and genocide, these crises are also often far removed from the everyday lives of American voters. They do not threaten the security of the United States directly, if at all, and their resolution has little direct linkage to American national interests." From this perspective, support for humanitarian interventions should be particularly susceptible to polarization—without a common security threat, presidents will have a hard time overriding the salience of partisan identities.

However, recent scholarship challenges this assumption. Contrary to the conventional wisdom, humanitarian rhetoric increases presidents' political power—even in security interventions—because it maximizes support among a coalition of internationalists and persuades those who are otherwise skeptical of military action and security goals (Maxey 2018).

Similarly, Kreps and Maxey (2017, 19–20) provide suggestive evidence that humanitarian interventions are particularly well-suited to mobilizing bipartisan support because they maintain approval and a sense of moral obligation among Republicans while increasing concern with harm done to foreign civilians among Democrats.

Consistent with this perspective, I expect humanitarian interventions to be particularly resilient to the effects of increasing polarization. Rather than overcoming partisan identities with a sense of common threat, these interventions generate support by appealing to both sides of the aisle for different reasons. They allow Democrats to focus on the human rights and multilateral aspects of the intervention and Republicans to focus on taking a strong military stance to promote American values. For leaders, humanitarian interventions offer an opportunity for both Democrats and Republicans to act contrary to their expected type—a move shown to increase support in audience cost scenarios (Trager and Vavreck 2011). If the president is a Democrat, taking military action to address a humanitarian threat is more hawkish behavior than they are expected to exhibit. If the president is a Republican, taking action to address egregious human rights constitutes a policy that is more cosmopolitan than expected.

H3. Support for humanitarian interventions will be stable and bipartisan in the face of rising polarization.

Mobilizing Support in a Changing Political Climate

Concern about the consequences of increasing polarization in U.S. politics is not new. However, the 2016 presidential election intensified these concerns, as the concept of a unified national identity that could be primed appeared at risk. Public opinion polls conducted in the immediate aftermath of the election reveal significant, polarizing shifts in the public's attitudes towards foreign policy and trust in the White House.

Pew polls show that Democrats and Republicans diverged significantly in their perceptions of the greatest threats facing the United States (Pew Research Center 2017a). The three most polarizing threats were: 1) refugees from Iraq and Syria, whom 70 percent of Republicans viewed as a major threat compared to only 19 percent of Democrats, 2) global climate change, which 88 percent of Democrats and only 18 percent of Republicans saw as a major threat, and 3) Russia's power and influence, which posed a major threat to 70 percent of Democrats but only 39 percent of Republicans (Pew Research Center 2017a). Perceptions of Russia have undergone the most dramatic change, with Republicans and Democrats changing places in their views of Russia as an adversary in 2017. At the beginning of 2016, 20 percent of Democrats and 25 percent of Republicans thought of Russia as an adversary, but by 2017 the percentage of Democrats with this view increased to 38 percent while the percentage of Republicans dropped to 20 percent (Kiley 2017). This change marked the first time in the last decade that Democrats have viewed Russia more critically than Republicans. It corresponded with an increase in the percentage of Democrats who hold a negative view of Vladimir Putin, as well as partisan differences in respondents' beliefs that Russia was behind the hacking of the Democratic National Committee (48 percent of Republicans and 93 percent of Democrats) and that U.S. sanctions against Russia were the correct response to hacking accusations (39 percent of Republicans compared to 51 percent of Democrats) (Kiley 2017).

In addition to influencing views of the most pressing foreign policy issues, polls conducted in early 2017 also reveal that Republicans' trust in the government increased by 17 percent compared to 2015 (11 to 28 percent) while trust among Democrats declined from 26 percent to 15 percent (Pew Research Center 2017c). Similarly, stark partisan divides appeared in opinions about the role of the media in democracies and perceptions that news organizations

favor one side of the political debate over the other (Bump 2017). Therefore, partisan differences in foreign policy attitudes increased at the same time that the White House's ability to evoke a unified national identity and the media's ability to expose the public to diverse views weakened.

However, attitudes towards U.S. airstrikes on Syria in April 2017 suggests that even in this volatile political climate the White House is able to mobilize support for interventions, including humanitarian interventions. The Syria case is instructive because between 2013 and 2017, Barack Obama and Donald Trump—arguably two of the most polarizing U.S. political figures in recent history—both proposed military strikes in response to Syria's use of chemical weapons and oversaw operations that targeted ISIS forces within the country. If partisanship is the dominant factor behind public attitudes towards military action, Democrats would be expected to support military action when it occurred under Obama's leadership and oppose operations that followed Trump's inauguration. Similarly, Republicans would be expected to oppose action taken by the Obama administration and support action that followed the presidential transition. Contrary to these expectations, in 2013 Pew polls revealed that 46 percent of Democrats and 56 percent of Republicans favored military action against Syria if the use of chemical weapons was confirmed (Pew Research Center 2013). When the U.S. conducted air strikes following Syria's use of chemical weapons in April 2017, support among Republicans increased as expected, but 45 percent of Democrats continued to support the action (Pew Research Center 2017b). Partisan polarization alone cannot explain Democrat's consistent level of support and opposition. It also does not provide a clear explanation for the bipartisan support that existed for Obama's military campaign against ISIS—including 64 percent of Republicans and 60 percent of Democrats (Pew Research Center, U.S. Politics and Policy 2014).

In sum, both existing scholarship and contemporary public opinion polls are mixed in their conclusions about the implications of rising polarization for U.S. foreign policy. The following section outlines a research design that begins to clarify these implications by conducting a comprehensive evaluation of support for different types of military interventions at different levels of partisanship. Importantly, in addition to support for security interventions, this design also gauges the effect of heightened partisanship on support for humanitarian interventions, which are expected to be relatively more resilient to polarization.

Research Design

To determine the conditions under which U.S. presidents are able to raise bipartisan support for military action and the extent to which these conditions are influenced by increasing polarization, I consider three questions. First, do attitudes towards military action shift during periods of heightened partisanship? Second, does polarization exert an equal influence on presidents from both political parties? Third, at what threshold do partisan identities exert this effect? This section outlines three sets of experiments that consider each question in turn.

In his study of national identity, Levendusky (2018) finds that events such as a the Fourth of July lead individuals to identify with the nation over their party, increasing their affinity for members of the other party. The inverse implication is that when events prime partisan identities, individuals should be more skeptical of the other party, increasing differences between the two sides. From debates to news coverage to political ads and rallies, election seasons—especially when the White House is at stake—expose individuals to almost constant partisan primes. The 2016 presidential campaign involved competitive primaries on both sides and intense partisan rhetoric. Examining attitudes towards military intervention during this period thus provides insight into how public opinion is likely to shift as polarization intensifies.

To this end, I fielded a series of ten survey experiments over the course of the presidential campaign and its immediate aftermath, from May 2016 to July 2017. Eight of these experiments were fielded through Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) and two were national samples collected through Survey Sampling International (SSI). These surveys include a total of 3,518 U.S. adults. To clarify the conditions under which partisanship shapes attitudes towards military action, these experiments randomly assigned respondents to read one of three types of intervention scenarios: foreign policy restraint, terrorism, or humanitarian intervention. Six of the surveys included a foreign policy restraint scenario, which told respondents that the U.S. president had proposed military action against a regime that posed "a grave threat to the security of the United States, including the American people. It has invaded its neighboring state and is a threat to the United States." Seven of the surveys included a terrorism scenario in which the president called for military action in response to a regime that "has created a safe haven for terrorists and is a threat to the United States." Nine of the surveys presented respondents with a humanitarian scenario in which intervention was necessary because the foreign regime posed "a grave threat to its own civilians, including innocent women and children. It has killed thousands of its own people and directly targeted civilians."[2] After reading the treatment scenario, respondents registered their support or opposition to military action. Follow-up questions probed whether respondents assumed the president belonged to one political party or the other and asked them to report their own party identification on a seven-point scale.

While asking respondents to guess the president's partisan identity can shed light on issue ownership for different types of interventions, it is an indirect and problematic measure of the effect of presidential party. Specifically, this question cannot distinguish between whether

---

[2] See appendix for the details of each experiment and the survey instruments.

individuals assume the intervention will be led by a member of their party because they approve of the intervention or approve of the intervention because they assume it will be led by a member of their own party. This limitation is exacerbated by the timing of the surveys—in the months prior to the election both sides could feasibly envision their candidate in the White House. To overcome this limitation, a second experiment varied both the type of intervention (foreign policy restraint or humanitarian) and the party of the president (Democrat or Republican), creating four treatment conditions. For each type of intervention, I varied the president's party affiliation by telling respondents that "In his address to the nation about this conflict, the U.S. President, a [Democrat/Republican]" and reiterating the president's party in bullet points that summarized the scenario. As before, respondents were then asked to register their support or opposition to the intervention and to report their own party identification. Combining the treatment condition with individuals' own party identity makes it possible to determine whether individuals are more likely to support intervention led by co-partisan presidents. The experiment included 392 U.S. adults, recruited through MTurk in May 2017.

Trends in attitudes during the 2016 election provide suggestive evidence about the effects of polarization on the president's ability to mobilize domestic support for military action. However, this measure is ultimately indirect. While opportunities for individuals' partisan identities to be primed abound during election seasons, the series of experiments does explicitly test the link between the salience of partisan identities and support. To overcome this limitation, a third experiment directly primes partisanship and measures its effect on support for interventions led by presidents from both parties. It employs a 2x2x2 factorial design that varies the level of partisanship, the president's party affiliation, and the type of intervention. I follow Albertson and Gadarian (2015, 34) and prime partisan identities by asking individuals to

participate in a thought listing activity before receiving the treatment. Respondents are first asked

to self-report their party identification on the same seven-point scale employed in the previous

surveys. In the high-partisanship condition, intended make partisan differences and identities

more salient, respondents were then asked: "First, we'd like you to take a moment to think about

politics in the United States. Think about a person from the other political party that you dislike.

Please tell us what you disagree with this person about. Please list everything that comes to

mind." In the low-partisanship condition, respondents were instead asked "First, we'd like you to

take a moment to think about politics in the United States. Think about a person from the other

political party that you like. Please tell us what you agree with this person about. Please list

everything that comes to mind."[3] Within the high and low partisanship treatments, respondents

are also randomly assigned to read about a counterterrorism intervention or a humanitarian

intervention led by either a Democratic or Republican president. Combined, this variation in

partisanship, intervention, and presidential party affiliation produces the eight treatment

conditions outlined in Table 1. In addition to priming different levels of partisanship directly, this

experiment also evaluates whether the trends in experiments one and two hold in the current

political climate.

Table 1. Experiment Three Treatment Conditions

	Low Partisanship	*High Partisanship*
Terror	(1) Democratic President (2) Republican President	(3) Democratic President (4) Republican President
Humanitarian	(5) Democratic President (6) Republican President	(7) Democratic President (8) Republican President

---

[3] Individuals who identified as independents were instructed to answer this question thinking about "the party whose candidate you would not have voted for in the last presidential election."

Results

Experiment One: Trends in Support

      Examining trends in support for intervention over the course of the 2016 presidential election provides an initial test of the hypotheses. If increasing polarization decreases the president's ability to mobilize bipartisan support, differences between the parties should become more pronounced over time. Considering these differences across different types of interventions evaluates whether polarization affects support for foreign policy restraint, counterterrorism, and humanitarian interventions equally. Figure 1 presents lowess-smoothed trends in the average support of Democrats and Republicans for different interventions scenarios.[4] The plots provide evidence that partisanship influences attitudes towards security interventions—Republicans consistently offer higher support than Democrats for both counterterrorism and foreign policy restraint scenarios. However, a majority of Democrats consistently offered support for counterterrorism operations, suggesting the substantive implications of partisanship may be muted in this context. Support among both Democrats and Republicans was more variable in the foreign policy restraint scenario. Despite these differences in the level of support, neither security scenario provides evidence in support of the hypothesis that increasing polarization amplifies the distance between Democrats and Republicans—on average, the size of the gap between the two parties remained stable over time.

---

[4] The bandwidth for plots in Figure 1 is 0.80, but the trends remain consistent across alternative specifications.

Figure 1. Trends in Support by Party and Intervention Type
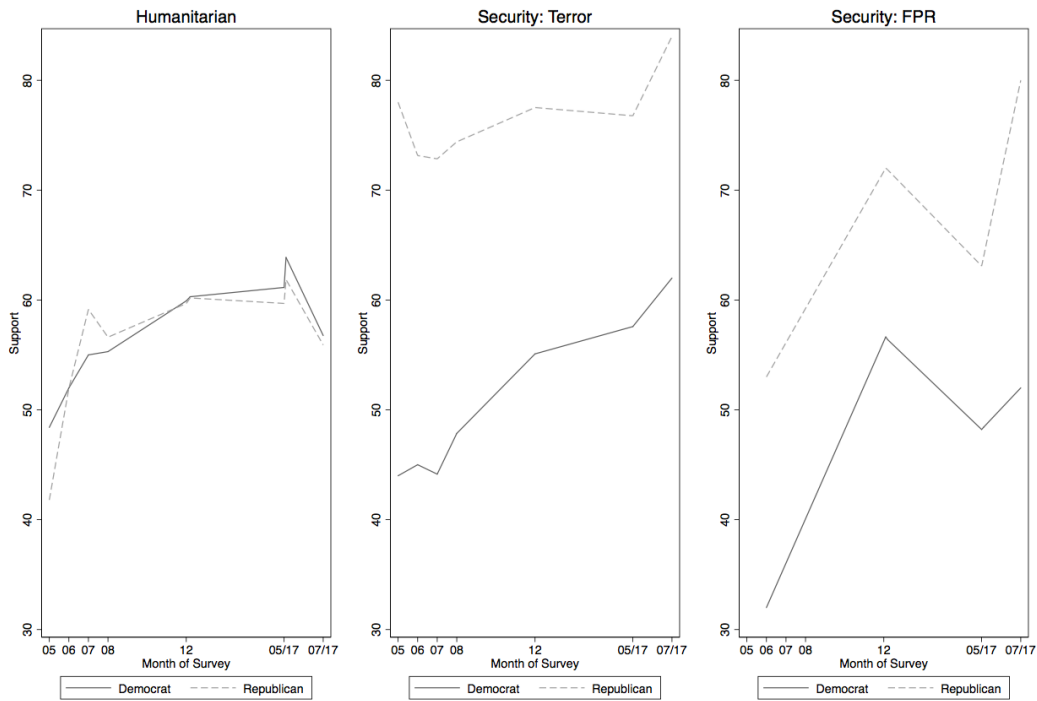
Note: Surveys were conducted during 2016 unless otherwise noted.

Given the consistent partisan gap in support for security interventions, the bipartisan consensus surrounding humanitarian interventions is particularly notable. The convergence in support for humanitarian interventions is a result of slightly higher support among Democrats and lower support among Republicans relative to security interventions—in humanitarian scenarios members of both parties meet in the middle. For Republicans, while support was lower for the humanitarian intervention scenario relative to the counterterrorism condition, it still included a majority of respondents. For Democrats, support for humanitarian interventions was significantly higher than support for either of the security conditions. This pattern is consistent with evidence from Kreps and Maxey (2017) which shows that humanitarian interventions create a sense of moral obligation among Democrats that brings their support in line with Republicans who view all interventions in moral terms.

While the 2016 election provides an opportunity to consider the effects of increasing polarization, election seasons also make it possible for respondents to envision their candidate as the leader in hypothetical scenarios—respondents from both parties may answer the follow-up questions assuming their candidate will be in power. To investigate the assumptions underlying participants' support or opposition to military action, a follow-up question asked them to give their "best guess" about the party affiliation of the hypothetical president. Responses to this question, detailed in Table 2 show that the modal answer was to remain agnostic about the president's party affiliation, choosing the "don't know" option rather than taking a guess. However, among respondents who offered a best guess, in the terror and foreign policy restraint conditions a significantly higher proportion assumed the president was a Republican.[5] This finding is consistent with the expectation that Republicans have issue ownership over national security. In the humanitarian conditions, the proportion of respondents who assumed the president was a Democrat was not statistically distinguishable from the proportion of respondents who assumed the president was a Republican. Evidence that humanitarian interventions are not clearly associated with a single political party is in line with the expectation that these interventions are well-suited to building bipartisan coalitions.

---

[5] In the terror condition p=0.0000 and in the foreign policy restraint condition p=0.0000.

Table 2. Assumed Presidential Party

	Humanitarian	Security: Terror	Security: FPR
Democrat	0.28	0.15	0.11
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)
Republican	0.30	0.40	0.50
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.05)
Don't Know	0.43	0.45	0.39
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.05)
N	403	407	101

Table reports the proportion of respondents who assumed the president was a Democrat, Republican, or neither. Standard errors reported in parentheses.

As expected, Table 3 shows that underlying assumptions about the president's party affiliation are correlated with support for the intervention. In the aggregate, 68 percent of respondents supported humanitarian interventions when they assumed the intervention was proposed by a Democrat, compared to 54 percent support from those who assumed the president was a Republican (p=0.0289). In the security conditions, fewer respondents supported the counterterrorism intervention when they assumed it would be led by a Republican, but more respondents supported the foreign policy restraint scenario. However, these differences in support are not statistically significant.[6]

---

[6] For the difference in support in the terror condition, p=0.3111. For the foreign policy restraint condition, p=0.4905.

Table 3. Support Based on Assumption of President's Party

	Humanitarian	*Security: Terror*	*Security: FPR*
Democrat	0.68	0.63	0.45
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.15)
Republican	0.54	0.55	0.57
	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.07)
Don't Know	0.46	0.65	0.51
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.08)
N	403	407	101

Table reports the proportion of respondents who supported intervention based on their assumption about the president's political party. Standard errors reported in parentheses.

Experiment Two: Priming the President's Party

To evaluate the relationship between the president's party affiliation and support for intervention more directly, the second experiment randomly assigned participants to conditions that identified the president as a Democrat or Republican. The results, presented in Table 4 show that Democratic and Republican presidents receive comparable levels of support across intervention types. Combining the president's party affiliation with individuals' self-reported party identity also makes it possible to consider the effect of co-partisanship on support for intervention. Across all conditions there are no significant differences in support when the president is a co-partisan. The absence of any partisan differences fails to provide evidence in support of the hypothesis that rising partisanship undermines the president's ability to mobilize bipartisan support for military action. Additionally, the potential for bipartisan support is not limited to security interventions but extends to cases of humanitarian intervention as well.

Table 4. Support by President's Party Affiliation

	Humanitarian	*Security: FPR*
Democratic President	0.61 (0.05)	0.65 (0.05)
Republican President	0.55 (0.05)	0.54 (0.05)
Difference	0.06 (0.07)	0.11 (0.07)
Copartisan	0.61 (0.05)	0.62 (0.06)
Non-Copartisan	0.57 (0.05)	0.57 (0.05)
Difference	0.04 (0.07)	0.05 (0.07)
N	196	196

Table reports the results of two-tailed tests of proportions. Standard errors reported in parentheses.
***p<0.01; **p<0.05; *p<0.10.

Experiment Three: Levels of Partisanship

Experiment one evaluates support for alternative interventions during a period when partisan identities should be particularly salient, but does not directly gauge the strength of these identities. Similarly, experiment two highlights the effect of the president's party affiliation but does not consider whether this affiliation becomes more relevant as polarization intensifies. To address both of these limitations, the third experiment evaluates the effect of the president's party affiliation at different levels of partisanship for humanitarian and counterterrorism interventions.

[Results to come, experiment currently in the field.]

Conclusions and Implications

Rising polarization has defined the last 25 years in American politics and is poised to further intensify in the aftermath of the 2016 election. While a substantial body of evidence indicates that partisan identities influence attitudes towards foreign policy, we know little about the threshold at which increasing partisanship undermines the president's ability to mobilize domestic support for military action. Clarifying this threshold is key to understanding the implications of polarization for the future of U.S. foreign policy.

This paper took three steps towards understanding the threshold at which polarization begins to influence politics beyond the water's edge. First, it exploits the period surrounding the 2016 presidential election as an opportunity to examine changes in foreign policy attitudes in the face of strong partisan primes. Results from series of ten experiments provide evidence of a stable gap in Democrats' and Republicans' attitudes towards security interventions. However, this gap does not increase over the course of the election season and while their support is lower than Republicans, a majority of Democrats consistently support counterterrorism interventions. Therefore, there is no evidence that increasing polarization will further widen the gap between parties' willingness to support the use of force. While existing scholarship focuses on rallies of support in response to security threats, this analysis demonstrates that humanitarian interventions also provide opportunities for bipartisan consensus. These interventions increase support among Democrats while maintaining a majority of support among Republicans and approval remained remarkably stable over the election period. Humanitarian interventions' ability to generate bipartisan support even in highly polarized environments adds to a growing body of evidence that suggests humanitarian narratives are equally if not more important than security explanations for mobilizing the U.S. domestic audience (Kreps and Maxey 2017; Maxey 2018).

Second, directly priming the party affiliation of the president reveals no significant differences in individuals' willingness to support Republican or Democratic presidents across different intervention scenarios. Surprisingly, even co-partisans do not offer significantly higher support when the matter at hand is a military intervention. Combined with evidence from a third experiment, still in the field, these findings indicate that leaders from both parties retain the ability to mobilize domestic support for security and humanitarian interventions alike, even when partisan identities are salient.

In sum, somewhat remarkably, even during periods of heightened polarization and strongly primed partisan identities, presidents maintain the ability to generate unified, bipartisan support for military action. Investigating the extent to which polarization amplifies the effects of elite cues and speeds the decline in support over the course of an intervention are important avenues for future research. However, combined with technological advances that make it possible for the U.S. to conduct quicker, cheaper interventions that minimize the risk of military casualties, even a short-term surge of bipartisan support may be enough for presidents to pursue active military engagement with little risk of political consequences.

References

Abramowitz, Alan I., and Kyle L. Saunders. 2008. "Is Polarization a Myth?" *The Journal of Politics* 70 (2): 542–55.

Albertson, Bethany, and Shana Kushner Gadarian. 2015. *Anxious Politics: Democratic Citizenship in a Threatening World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Baum, Matthew. 2002. "The Constituent Foundations of the Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomenon." *International Studies Quarterly* 46 (2): 263–98.

Baum, Matthew, and Tim Groeling. 2010. "Reality Asserts Itself: Public Opinion on Iraq and the Elasticity of Reality." *International Organization* 64: 443–79.

Berinsky, Adam. 2007. "Assuming the Costs of War: Events, Elites, and American Public Support for Military Conflict." *Journal of Politics* 69 (4): 975–97.

Boettcher, William. 2004. "Military Intervention Decisions Regarding Humanitarian Crises." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48 (3): 331–55.

Brody, Richard. 1991. *Assessing the President: The Media, Elite Opinion, and Public Support*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Bump, Phillip. 2017. "A Timely Reminder: Trump's Base Is Skeptical of the Media's Role as Watchdog." The Washington Post. May 10, 2017.

Finnemore, Martha. 2003. *The Purpose of Intervention*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Fiorina, Morris P., and Samuel J. Abrams. 2008. "Political Polarization in the American Public." *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (1): 563–88.

Fiorina, Morris P., Samuel J. Abrams, and Jeremy C. Pope. 2006. *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America*. 2nd Edition. New York: Pearson Longman.

———. 2011. *Culture War? The Myth of a Polarized America*. Third. Boston: Longman, Inc.

Gadarian, Shana Kushner. 2010. "The Politics of Threat: How Terrorism News Shapes Foreign Policy Attitudes." *Journal of Politics* 72 (2): 469–83.

———. 2014. "Scary Pictures: How Terrorism Imagery Affects Voter Evaluations." *Political Communication* 31 (2): 282–302.

Gelpi, Christopher, Peter Feaver, and Jason Reifler. 2009. *Paying the Human Costs of War: American Public Opinion and Casualties in Military Conflicts*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Graham, Jesse, Jonathan Haidt, Sena Koleva, Matt Motyl, Ravi Iyer, Sean P. Wojcik, and Peter H. Ditto. 2013. "Moral Foundations Theory: The Pragmatic Validity of Moral Pluralism." *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* 47 (1): 55–130.

Grieco, Joseph M., Christopher Gelpi, Jason Reifler, and Peter Feaver. 2011. "Let's Get a Second Opinion: International Institutions and American Public Support for War." *International Organization* 55 (2): 563–83.

Groeling, Tim, and Matthew Baum. 2008. "Crossing the Water's Edge: Elite Rhetoric, Media Coverage, and the Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomenon." *Journal of Politics* 70 (4): 1065–85.

Haidt, Jonathan, and Jesse Graham. 2007. "When Morality Opposes Justice: Conservatives Have Moral Intuitions That Liberals May Not Recognize." *Social Justice Research* 20 (1): 98–116.

Hildebrandt, Timothy, Courtney Hillebrecht, Peter M. Holm, and Jon Pevehouse. 2013. "The Domestic Politics of Humanitarian Intervention: Public Opinion, Partisanship, and Ideology." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 9 (3): 243–66.

Jentleson, Bruce. 1992. "The Pretty Prudent Public: Post Post-Vietnam American Opinion on the Use of Military Force." *International Studies Quarterly* 36 (1): 49–73.

Jentleson, Bruce, and Rebecca L. Britton. 1998. "Still Pretty Prudent: Post-Cold War American Public Opinion on the Use of Military Force." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42 (4): 395–417.

Jost, John T., Jack Glaser, Arie W. Kruglanski, and Frank Sulloway. 2003. "Political Conservatism as Motivated Social Cognition." *Psychological Bulletin* 129 (3): 339–75.

Kam, Cindy D., and Jennifer M. Ramos. 2008. "Joining and Leaving the Rally: Understanding the Surge and Decline in Presidential Approval Following 9/11." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 72 (4): 619–50.

Kertzer, Joshua D., Kathleen E. Powers, Brian C. Rathbun, and Ravi Iyer. 2014. "Moral Support: How Moral Values Shape Foreign Policy Attitudes." *Journal of Politics* 76 (3): 825–40.

Kiley, Jocelyn. 2017. "U.S. Public Sees Russian Role in Campaign Hacking, but Is Divided over New Sanctions." *Pew Research Center* (blog). January 10, 2017. http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/10/u-s-public-says-russia-hacked-campaign/.

Krebs, Ronald R. 2015. *Narrative and the Making of US National Security*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kreps, Sarah, and Sarah Maxey. 2017. "Mechanisms of Morality: Sources of Support for Humanitarian Interventions." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* Forthcoming: 1–29. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002717704890.

Kriner, Douglas, and Francis Shen. 2014. "Responding to War on Capitol Hill: Battlefield Casualties, Congressional Response, and Public Support for the War in Iraq." *American Journal of Political Science* 58 (1): 157–74.

Lee, Frances E. 2008. "Dividers, Not Uniters: Presidential Leadership and Senate Partisanship, 1981-2004." *The Journal of Politics* 70 (4): 914–28.

———. 2009. *Beyond Ideology: Politics, Principles, and Partisanship in the U.S. Senate*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 2015. "How Party Polarization Affects Governance." *Annual Review of Political Science* 18 (1): 261–82.

Levendusky, Matthew S. 2018. "Americans, Not Partisans: Can Priming American National Identity Reduce Affective Polarization?" *The Journal of Politics* 80 (1): 59–70.

Levendusky, Matthew S., and Michael C. Horowitz. 2012. "When Backing Down Is the Right Decision: Partisanship, New Information and Audience Costs." *Journal of Politics* 74 (2): 323–38.

Levendusky, Matthew S., and Neil Malhotra. 2016a. "Does Media Coverage of Partisan Polarization Affect Political Attitudes?" *Political Communication* 33 (2): 283–301.

———. 2016b. "(Mis)Perceptions of Partisan Polarization in the American Public." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80 (Special Issue): 378–91.

Malhotra, Neil, and Elizabeth Popp. 2012. "Bridging Partisan Divisions over Antiterrorism Policies: The Role of Threat Perceptions." *Political Research Quarterly* 65 (1): 34–47.

Maxey, Sarah. 2018. "The Power of Humanitarian Narratives: A Domestic Coalition Theory of Justifications for Military Action." *Working Paper*.

McAdam, Doug, and Karina Kloos. 2014. *Deeply Divided: Racial Politics and Social Movements in Postwar America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

McConnell, Christopher, Yotam Margalit, Neil Malhotra, and Matthew S. Levendusky. In press. "The Economic Consequences of Partisanship in a Polarized Era." *American Journal of Political Science*.

Panagopoulos, Costas. 2016. "All about That Base: Changing Campaign Strategies in U.S. Presidential Elections." *Party Politics* 22 (2): 179–90.

Pew Research Center. 2013. "Modest Support for Military Force If Syria Used Chemical Weapons." *Pew Research Center for the People and the Press* (blog). April 29, 2013. http://www.people-press.org/2013/04/29/modest-support-for-military-force-if-syria-used-chemical-weapons/.

———. 2017a. "The World Facing Trump: Public Sees ISIS, Cyberattacks, North Korea as Top Threats." *Pew Research Center for the People and the Press* (blog). January 12, 2017. http://www.people-press.org/2017/01/12/the-world-facing-trump-public-sees-isis-cyberattacks-north-korea-as-top-threats/.

———. 2017b. "Public Supports Syria Missile Strikes, but Few See a 'Clear Plan' for Addressing Situation." *Pew Research Center for the People and the Press* (blog). April 12, 2017. http://www.people-press.org/2017/04/12/public-supports-syria-missile-strikes-but-few-see-a-clear-plan-for-addressing-situation/.

———. 2017c. "Public Trust in Government: 1958-2017." *Pew Research Center for the People and the Press* (blog). May 3, 2017. http://www.people-press.org/2017/05/03/public-trust-in-government-1958-2017/.

Pew Research Center, U.S. Politics and Policy, 1615 L. 2014. "Bipartisan Support for Obama's Military Campaign Against ISIS." *Pew Research Center for the People and the Press* (blog). September 15, 2014. http://www.people-press.org/2014/09/15/bipartisan-support-for-obamas-military-campaign-against-isis/.

Rathbun, Brian C. 2007. "Hierarchy and Community at Home and Abroad: Evidence of a Common Structure of Domestic and Foreign Policy Beliefs in American Elites." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 51 (3): 379–407.

Rathbun, Brian C., Joshua D. Kertzer, Jason Reifler, Paul Goren, and Thomas Scotto. 2016. "Taking Foreign Policy Personally: Personal Values and Foreign Policy Attitudes." *International Studies Quarterly* 60: 124–37.

Taber, Charles S., and Milton Lodge. 2006. "Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (3): 755–69.

Trager, Robert F., and Lynn Vavreck. 2011. "The Political Costs of Crisis Bargaining: Presidential Rhetoric and the Role of Party." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (3): 526–45.

Wallace, Geoffrey P.R. 2013. "International Law and Public Attitudes Towards Torture: An Experimental Study." *International Organization* 67 (1): 105–40.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: EXPERIMENT SERIES ONE SURVEY INSTRUMENTS

Demographics and Foreign Policy Beliefs
First, we are going to ask you a few background questions.
What is your gender?
- Female
- Male
- Other

Which of the following best reflects the role you think the United States should play in the world:
- It is essential for the United States to work with other nations to solve problems such as overpopulation, hunger, and pollution.
- It is important for the United States to maintain a strong military to ensure world peace.
- It is best for the future of the United States if we stay out of world affairs.

What is the last grade or class that you completed in school?
- None or grades 1-8
- High school incomplete (grades 9-11)
- High school graduate (grade 12 or GED certificate)
- Technical, trade, or vocational school after high school
- Some college, no 4-year degree (including 2 year Associates Degree)
- College graduate (BS, BA, or other 4-year degree)
- Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college

Now you are going to read about a situation the U.S. has faced many times in the past and will likely face again in the future. The situation reflects actions taken by presidents from both political parties. It is NOT about the current president and it is NOT about any specific country in the news today.

[RESPONDENTS WERE RANDOMLY ASSIGNED TO ONE OF THE FOLLOWING SCENARIOS.]

Humanitarian
Over the last few months, a violent conflict has developed in the country of Numar. In his address to the nation about this conflict, the U.S. President said:

*"*My fellow Americans, tonight I want to talk to you about the situation in Numar--why it matters, and where we go from here. The regime in Numar poses a grave threat to its own civilians, including innocent women and children. It has killed thousands of its own people and directly targeted civilians.*"*
*"*This is not a world we should accept. The safety of Numar's civilians is at stake and we must act. This is why, after careful deliberation, I have determined that the United States must respond to this crisis with military action."

After the President's address, most experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention. They, too, thought the U.S. action would protect Numar's civilians.

Summary:
- The U.S. President has announced his plans to take military action in Numar.
- He said the U.S. must act to protect Numar's civilians.
- Experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention.
- Experts said military action would mainly protect Numar's civilians.

Security: Terrorism
Over the last few months, a violent conflict has developed in the country of Numar. In his address to the nation about this conflict, the U.S. President said:

"My fellow Americans, tonight I want to talk to you about the situation in Numar--why it matters, and where we go from here. The regime in Numar poses a grave threat to the security of the United States, including the American people. It has created a safe haven for terrorists and is a threat to the United States."

"This is not a world we should accept. The safety of the United States is at stake and we must act. This is why, after careful deliberation, I have determined that the United States must respond to this crisis with military action."

After the President's address, most experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention. They, too, thought the U.S. action would protect U.S. security.

Summary:
- The U.S. President has announced his plans to take military action in Numar.
- He said the U.S. must act to protect U.S. security.
- Experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention.
- Experts said military action would mainly protect U.S. security.

Security: Foreign Policy Restraint
Over the last few months, a violent conflict has developed in the country of Numar. In his address to the nation about this conflict, the U.S. President said:

"My fellow Americans, tonight I want to talk to you about the situation in Numar--why it matters, and where we go from here. The regime in Numar poses a grave threat to the security of the United States, including the American people. It has invaded its neighboring state and is a threat to the United States."

"This is not a world we should accept. The safety of the United States is at stake and we must act. This is why, after careful deliberation, I have determined that the United States must respond to this crisis with military action."

After the President's address, most experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention. They, too, thought the U.S. action would protect U.S. security.

Summary:
- The U.S. President has announced his plans to take military action in Numar.
- He said the U.S. must act to protect U.S. security.
- Experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention.
- Experts said military action would mainly protect U.S. security.

Support
Would you oppose or favor U.S. military action in this situation?
- Oppose strongly
- Oppose somewhat
- Favor somewhat
- Favor strongly

President's Party Affiliation
If you had to guess, which party do you think the hypothetical president is most likely to belong to?
- Definitely a Democrat
- Probably a Democrat
- Not sure, could be a Democrat or a Republican
- Probably a Republican
- Definitely a Republican

Personal Party Affiliation
Generally speaking, when it comes to political parties in the U.S., how would you describe yourself?
- Strong Democrat
- Democrat
- Independent close to Democrat
- Independent (close to neither)
- Independent close to Republican
- Republican
- Strong Republican

APPENDIX B: EXPERIMENT TWO TREATMENT CONDITIONS

Now you are going to read about a situation the U.S. has faced many times in the past and will likely face again in the future. The situation reflects actions taken by presidents from both political parties. It is NOT about the current president and it is NOT about any specific country in the news today.

[RESPONDENTS WERE RANDOMLY ASSIGNED TO ONE OF THE FOLLOWING SCENARIOS.]

Humanitarian: Democrat

Over the last few months, a violent conflict has developed in the country of Numar. In his address to the nation about this conflict, the U.S. President, a Democrat, said:

"My fellow Americans, tonight I want to talk to you about the situation in Numar--why it matters, and where we go from here. The regime in Numar poses a grave threat to its own civilians, including innocent women and children. It has killed thousands of its own people and directly targeted civilians."
"This is not a world we should accept. The safety of Numar's civilians is at stake and we must act. This is why, after careful deliberation, I have determined that the United States must respond to this crisis with military action."

After the President's address, most experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention. They, too, thought the U.S. action would protect Numar's civilians.

Summary:
- The U.S. President, a Democrat, has announced his plans to take military action in Numar.
- He said the U.S. must act to protect Numar's civilians.
- Experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention.
- Experts said military action would mainly protect Numar's civilians.

Humanitarian: Republican
Over the last few months, a violent conflict has developed in the country of Numar. In his address to the nation about this conflict, the U.S. President, a Republican, said:

"My fellow Americans, tonight I want to talk to you about the situation in Numar--why it matters, and where we go from here. The regime in Numar poses a grave threat to its own civilians, including innocent women and children. It has killed thousands of its own people and directly targeted civilians."
"This is not a world we should accept. The safety of Numar's civilians is at stake and we must act. This is why, after careful deliberation, I have determined that the United States must respond to this crisis with military action."

After the President's address, most experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention. They, too, thought the U.S. action would protect Numar's civilians.

Summary:
- The U.S. President, a Republican, has announced his plans to take military action in Numar.
- He said the U.S. must act to protect Numar's civilians.
- Experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention.
- Experts said military action would mainly protect Numar's civilians.

Foreign Policy Restraint: Democrat
Over the last few months, a violent conflict has developed in the country of Numar. In his address to the nation about this conflict, the U.S. President, a Democrat, said:

"My fellow Americans, tonight I want to talk to you about the situation in Numar--why it matters, and where we go from here. The regime in Numar poses a grave threat to the security of the United States, including the American people. It has invaded its neighboring state and is a threat to the United States."

"This is not a world we should accept. The safety of the United States is at stake and we must act. This is why, after careful deliberation, I have determined that the United States must respond to this crisis with military action."

After the President's address, most experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention. They, too, thought the U.S. action would protect U.S. security.

Summary:
- The U.S. President, a Democrat, has announced his plans to take military action in Numar.
- He said the U.S. must act to protect U.S. security.
- Experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention.
- Experts said military action would mainly protect U.S. security.

Foreign Policy Restraint: Republican

Over the last few months, a violent conflict has developed in the country of Numar. In his address to the nation about this conflict, the U.S. President, a Republican, said:

"My fellow Americans, tonight I want to talk to you about the situation in Numar--why it matters, and where we go from here. The regime in Numar poses a grave threat to the security of the United States, including the American people. It has invaded its neighboring state and is a threat to the United States."

"This is not a world we should accept. The safety of the United States is at stake and we must act. This is why, after careful deliberation, I have determined that the United States must respond to this crisis with military action."

After the President's address, most experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention. They, too, thought the U.S. action would protect U.S. security.

Summary:
- The U.S. President, a Republican, has announced his plans to take military action in Numar.
- He said the U.S. must act to protect U.S. security.
- Experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention.
- Experts said military action would mainly protect U.S. security.

APPENDIX C: EXPERIMENT THREE TREATMENT CONDITIONS

Demographics and Party Affiliation
First, we are going to ask you a few background questions.
What is your gender?
- Female
- Male
- Other

What is the last grade or class that you completed in school?
- None or grades 1-8
- High school incomplete (grades 9-11)
- High school graduate (grade 12 or GED certificate)
- Technical, trade, or vocational school after high school
- Some college, no 4-year degree (including 2 year Associates Degree)
- College graduate (BS, BA, or other 4-year degree)
- Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college

Generally speaking, when it comes to political parties in the U.S., how would you describe yourself?
- Strong Democrat
- Democrat
- Independent close to Democrat
- Independent (close to neither)
- Independent close to Republican
- Republican
- Strong Republican

Low/High Partisanship Prime
First, we'd like you to take a moment to think about politics in the United States. Think about a person from the other political party that you [like/dislike].

Please tell us what you [agree/disagree] with this person about. Please list everything that comes to mind.

Now you are going to read about a situation the U.S. has faced many times in the past and will likely face again in the future. The situation is NOT about a specific politician or country in the news today.

Please read the description carefully. You will be quizzed about its content.

Humanitarian: Democrat/Republican
Over the last few months, a violent conflict has developed in the country of Numar. In his address to the nation about this conflict, the U.S. President, a [Democrat/Republican], said:

"My fellow Americans, tonight I want to talk to you about the situation in Numar--why it matters, and where we go from here. The regime in Numar poses a grave threat to its own civilians, including innocent women and children. It has killed thousands of its own people and directly targeted civilians."
"This is not a world we should accept. The safety of Numar's civilians is at stake and we must act. This is why, after careful deliberation, I have determined that the United States must respond to this crisis with military action."

After the President's address, most experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention. They, too, thought the U.S. action would protect Numar's civilians.

Summary:
- The U.S. President, a [Democra/Republican], has announced his plans to take military action in Numar.
- He said the U.S. must act to protect Numar's civilians.
- Experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention.
- Experts said military action would mainly protect Numar's civilians.

Terrorism: Democrat/Republican
Over the last few months, a violent conflict has developed in the country of Numar. In his address to the nation about this conflict, the U.S. President, a [Democrat/Republican] said:

"My fellow Americans, tonight I want to talk to you about the situation in Numar--why it matters, and where we go from here. The regime in Numar poses a grave threat to the security of the United States, including the American people. It has created a safe haven for terrorists and is a threat to the United States."

"This is not a world we should accept. The safety of the United States is at stake and we must act. This is why, after careful deliberation, I have determined that the United States must respond to this crisis with military action."

After the President's address, most experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention. They, too, thought the U.S. action would protect U.S. security.

Summary:
- The U.S. President, a [Democrat/Republican] has announced his plans to take military action in Numar.
- He said the U.S. must act to protect U.S. security.
- Experts publicly agreed with the President's reasons for intervention.
- Experts said military action would mainly protect U.S. security.