

Appendix A – Coding Procedures and Data File References

Variable	Coding rule and notes
<i>MilitaryConf</i>	GSS variable conarmy; Harris (1972, 1996, 2005): p19_p; e1_1; q506a Coding (both datasets): “hardly any” → <i>MilitaryConf</i> = 0; “only some” → 1; “great deal” → 2 Harris 1972 only: “none” → 0; “hardly any” → 1; “only some” → 2; “great deal” → 3
<i>Female</i>	GSS: sex; Harris (1972, 1996, 2005): f9, sex, q1020 “Female” → <i>Female</i> = 1; else 0
<i>NonWhite</i>	GSS: race; Harris f8, f8, q238 Any response but “White” → <i>NonWhite</i> = 1
<i>Edu-HS</i> <i>Edu-College</i>	GSS: degree; Harris: f5, f3, q216 High school diploma or “some college” reported → 1; all other cases 0 Bachelor’s degree or graduate degree → 1; all other cases 0
<i>BoomerGen</i>	GSS: cohort; Harris (1972, 1996, 2005): p13, f2, q1030 Birth year > 1942 and < 1962 → 1; other cases 0 Note: test regressions included WW2 (birth year < 1925); <i>Silent</i> (1925-1942); <i>GenX</i> (1962-1980); <i>Millennial</i> (1980-), dropped for final regression; see endnote 6
<i>Married</i>	GSS: marital = “currently married” → <i>Married</i> = 1; otherwise 0 Harris: n/a
<i>RegionSouth</i>	GSS: region; Harris s11, region, q343 (response options per 9-region Census defn) region S. Atlantic, E. So. Central, or W. So. Central → <i>RegionSouth</i> = 1; otherwise 0 Note: test regressions included region dummies for Northeast, Midwest, West; dropped for final regression, see endnote 7
<i>Democrat</i> <i>Republican</i>	GSS: partyID; Harris: plc, b1, q220 partyID = 0,1,2 (Strong Dem, Dem, “Ind but Near” Dem) → <i>Democrat</i> = 1; otherwise 0 partyID = 4,5,6 (“Ind but Near” Rep, Rep, Strong Rep) → <i>Republican</i> = 1; otherwise 0 Harris: party ID response ‘Democrat’ → <i>Democrat</i> = 1; “Republican” → <i>Republican</i> = 1
<i>Dem-Strong</i> <i>Rep-Strong</i>	GSS: partyID = 0 → <i>Dem-Strong</i> = 1 GSS: partyID = 6 → <i>Rep-Strong</i> = 1; Harris: n/a
<i>Liberal</i> <i>Conservative</i>	GSS: polviews = {0,1,2} → <i>Liberal</i> = {3,2,1}; otherwise 0. polviews = {4,5,6} → <i>Conservative</i> = {1,2,3}; otherwise 0. Harris: 1972: n/a; 1996: f4; 2005: q226 “liberal” → <i>Liberal</i> = 1; “conservative” → <i>Conservative</i> = 1; otherwise 0.
<i>PresAprv</i>	Harris: 1972 p16a; 1996 a2; 2005 q417 Coded: ‘poor’ → 0, ‘fair’ → 0.33; ‘pretty good’ → 0.67; excellent → 1.0.
<i>Aprv_Vietnam</i> <i>Aprv_Bosnia</i> <i>Iraq-Stay</i> <i>Iraq-GWOT</i>	Harris: all recoded to ‘1’ for ‘agree’, 0 otherwise 1972 p14a, “Approve the heavy bombing of N. Vietnam by U.S. planes” 1996 a5_1, “Approve the deployment of U.S. troops to Bosnia” 2005 q462, “Keep large number of U.S. troops in Iraq” 2005 q465, “Invasion of Iraq strengthened the War on Terrorism”
Missing cases	Cases were dropped if the dependent variable (<i>MilConf</i>) or any independent variables were missing, refused, or “don’t know”; the main cause of dropped cases is that the <i>MilitaryConf</i> question is only asked of about 2/3 of GSS respondents per year
Weight variables	GSS: Constructed a year-balancing weight variable as follows: (WTSSALL * FORMWT * OVERSAMP) * (Mean responses with non-missing MILCONF/year for all years in regression) ÷ (Total # of non-missing MILCONF responses for YEAR) The first three terms are standard GSS weights; the year-balancing term adjusts for uneven # responses per year (range from approx 500 to approx 2000) Harris: Harris-supplied weight variable (weight)

Data Sources	
GSS	General Social Survey Cumulative Release 1972-2016, published March 2017 Datafile available at (NORC): http://gss.norc.org/
Harris	1972: Louis Harris survey #2234. 1996: Louis Harris survey #961101. 2005: Harris Interactive survey #23283. Datafiles at (UNC – Odum Center): https://dataverse.unc.edu/dataverse/harris
Harris surveys for Figure 1	Fig. 1 “Harris” trend computed from surveys: 1702 (1967), 2234 (1972), 2434 (1974), 7581 (1975), 7681, 7690, 792103 (1979), 802125, 818375, 822115, 832101, 842234, 85123, 864011, 881202 (1988), 891202, 901209, 911108, 921102, 931101, 941101, 951101, 961101, 718210, 818375, 918653, 11767, 13599, 15652, 17800, 20621, 23283, 26827, 28335, 33084, 35884, 37767, 401111, 41437 (final year – 2012). Datafiles at (UNC – Odum Center): https://dataverse.unc.edu/dataverse/harris

Appendix B: Descriptive Statistics for Variables

Table B1
Descriptive Statistics for GSS Independent Variables

<i>Variable</i>	<u>Range</u>		<u>Nixon-Ford</u>		<u>Carter</u>		<u>Reagan-Bush</u>		<u>Clinton</u>		<u>G.W.Bush</u>		<u>Obama</u>	
	Min	Max	Mean	Std.Dev	Mean	Std.Dev	Mean	Std.Dev	Mean	Std.Dev	Mean	Std.Dev	Mean	Std.Dev
<i>MilitaryConf</i>	0	2	1.22	0.69	1.19	0.65	1.23	0.66	1.28	0.66	1.42	0.67	1.45	0.65
<i>Female</i>	0	1	0.52	0.50	0.55	0.50	0.55	0.50	0.54	0.50	0.54	0.50	0.55	0.50
<i>NonWhite</i>	0	1	0.13	0.33	0.11	0.32	0.15	0.35	0.19	0.39	0.23	0.42	0.26	0.44
<i>BoomerGen</i>	0	1	0.32	0.46	0.41	0.49	0.42	0.49	0.40	0.49	0.35	0.48	0.30	0.46
<i>Edu-HS</i>	0	1	0.51	0.50	0.54	0.50	0.58	0.49	0.61	0.49	0.60	0.49	0.58	0.49
<i>Edu-College</i>	0	1	0.13	0.33	0.14	0.35	0.17	0.38	0.23	0.42	0.26	0.44	0.28	0.45
<i>RegionSouth</i>	0	1	0.32	0.47	0.33	0.47	0.34	0.47	0.36	0.48	0.37	0.48	0.37	0.48
<i>Married</i>	0	1	0.73	0.44	0.69	0.46	0.63	0.48	0.57	0.49	0.57	0.50	0.52	0.50
<i>Democrat</i>	0	1	0.56	0.50	0.54	0.50	0.49	0.50	0.45	0.50	0.44	0.50	0.46	0.50
<i>Republican</i>	0	1	0.29	0.46	0.32	0.46	0.38	0.49	0.37	0.48	0.36	0.48	0.33	0.47
<i>Dem-Strong</i>	0	1	0.17	0.38	0.15	0.36	0.16	0.36	0.14	0.34	0.15	0.36	0.16	0.37
<i>Rep-Strong</i>	0	1	0.07	0.25	0.07	0.26	0.10	0.30	0.11	0.31	0.12	0.32	0.10	0.30
<i>Liberal</i>	0	3	0.47	0.81	0.41	0.76	0.42	0.77	0.43	0.80	0.43	0.80	0.48	0.86
<i>Conservative</i>	0	3	0.47	0.79	0.50	0.80	0.55	0.84	0.59	0.88	0.60	0.89	0.58	0.90

Raw data from General Social Survey cumulative file, 1972-2016; variables coded per Appendix A

Survey years in each time block (missing years due to GSS availability):

Nixon-Ford: 1973-1976; Carter: 1977, 1978, 1980; Reagan-Bush: 1982-1984, 1986-1991;

Clinton: 1993, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000; G.W.Bush: 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008; Obama: 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016

Table B2
Descriptive Statistics for Harris Independent Variables

<i>Variable</i>	<u>Range</u>		<u>1972</u>		<u>1996</u>		<u>2005</u>	
	Min	Max	Mean	Std.Dev	Mean	Std.Dev	Mean	Std.Dev
<i>MilitaryConf</i>	0	3 (1972) 2 (96/05)	2.14	0.84	1.39	0.63	1.35	0.68
<i>Female</i>	0	1	0.50	0.50	0.52	0.50	0.52	0.50
<i>NonWhite</i>	0	1	0.13	0.34	0.20	0.40	0.24	0.43
<i>BoomerGen</i>	0	1	0.24	0.43	0.37	0.48	0.36	0.48
<i>Edu-HS</i>	0	1	0.53	0.50	0.69	0.46	0.64	0.48
<i>Edu-College</i>	0	1	0.17	0.38	0.20	0.40	0.25	0.44
<i>RegionSouth</i>	0	1	0.24	0.42	0.33	0.47	0.31	0.46
<i>Democrat</i>	0	1	0.48	0.50	0.33	0.47	0.38	0.49
<i>Republican</i>	0	1	0.31	0.46	0.27	0.45	0.32	0.47
<i>Liberal</i>	0	1	.	.	0.19	0.39	0.22	0.41
<i>Conservative</i>	0	1	.	.	0.39	0.49	0.33	0.47
<i>PresidentAprv</i>	0	1	0.55	0.30	0.46	0.31	0.42	0.35
<i>Aprv-Vietnam</i>	0	1	0.46	0.50	.	.	.	.
<i>Aprv-Bosnia</i>	0	1	.	.	0.49	0.50	.	.
<i>Iraq-Stay</i>	0	1	.	.	.	.	0.40	0.49
<i>Iraq-GWOT</i>	0	1	.	.	.	.	0.49	0.50

Data from Harris surveys 2234, 961101, 23283. In 1972, military confidence included response "none" in addition to "hardly any / some / great deal". Presidential approval is a 4-response item, rescaled 0, .33, .66, 1.0.