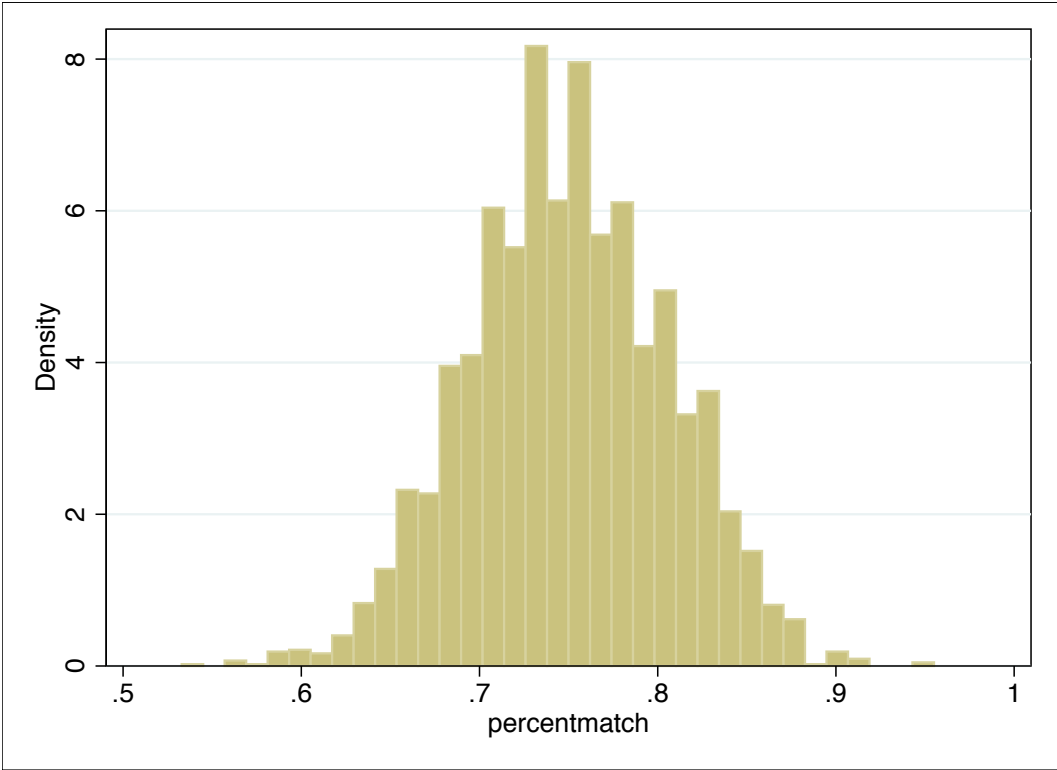


Support for Intervention Appendix:

Figure A1: Percentmatch Plot to Check for Data Falsification



Note: plot shows healthy normal distribution centered at 0.75, with no suspicious outlier clusters close to 1.

Table A1: Comparison of Sample Demographics with Arab Barometer Surveys and Iraqi Central Organization of Statistics (COSIT) Projections

	IACSS 2016	AB 2012	AB 2013	COSIT 2014
<u>Urban</u>				
Urban	66.5%	71.6%	69.1%	69.7%
Rural	33.5	28.4	30.9	30.3
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	54.2%	52.6%	50.0%	50.9%
Female	45.8	47.4	50.0	49.1
<u>Age</u>				
18-24	16.7%	22.8%	25.3%	25.2%
25-34	28.0	25.9	27.4	27.0
35-44	24.2	22.8	20.0	20.4
45-54	19.0	19.1	16.8	14.1
55+	12.1	9.6	10.5	13.3
<u>Unemployed</u>				
Yes	14.2%	14.0%	12.5%	14.3%
No	85.8	86.0	87.5	85.7
<u>Ethnicity</u>				
Arab	85.8%	83.5%	83.5%	
Kurd	12.9	14.6	14.6	
<u>Islamic Sect</u>				
Sunni	47.6%	45.9%	44.3%	
Shi'a	52.4	53.4	51.7	

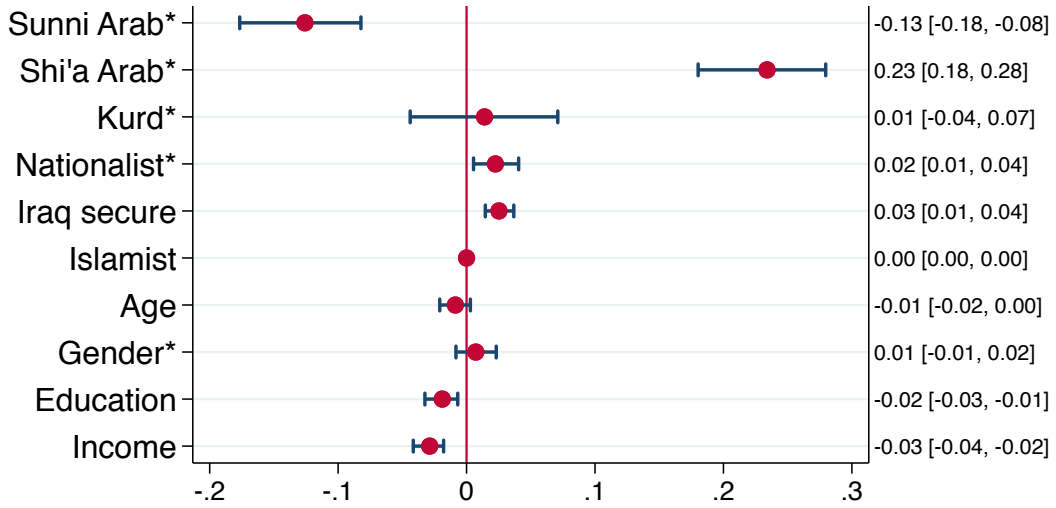
Note: Arab Barometer respondents who identified as just Muslim were split between Sunni and Shi'a proportionally for purposes of comparison. There is no contemporary census data on the country's ethnic or sectarian composition (due to the political sensitivity of these issues).

Table A2: Descriptive Statistics for All Variables Used

Variable	N	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Coalition intervention	3,343	1.688	1.048	0	3
Iranian intervention	3,430	1.337	1.111	0	3
Russian intervention	3,348	1.359	1.039	0	3
Sunni Arab	3,500	0.390	0.488	0	1
Shi'a Arab	3,500	0.454	0.498	0	1
Kurd	3,500	0.129	0.335	0	1
National identity	3,500	0.591	0.492	0	1
Security perceptions	3,478	1.470	0.811	0	3
Islamist ideology	3,489	0.184	0.423	0	3
Age	3,500	37.78	12.71	18	80
Gender	3,500	0.542	0.498	0	1
Education	3,323	2.227	1.489	0	6
Income	3,259	3.763	1.776	0	6
Cognitive national ID	3,475	2.362	0.813	0	3
Privacy	3,500	1.715	0.508	0	2
Comfort	3,500	0.896	0.305	0	1
Honesty	3,500	0.923	0.267	0	1
Comprehension	3,500	2.605	0.767	0	3
Coalition inaccurate	3,285	2.360	1.258	0	4
Coalition helps ISIL	3,391	1.962	1.407	0	4
Govt. effective vs. ISIL	3,451	1.763	0.939	0	3
Iraqi army committed	3,474	0.790	0.408	0	1
Religious ID	3,500	0.041	0.198	0	1
Ethnic ID	3,500	0.746	0.263	0	1
Kurdistan ID	3,500	0.013	0.114	0	1
Lived under ISIL rule	3,496	0.213	0.410	0	1
Distance to airstrike	3,500	87.18	125.8	0.233	469.3
Distance to ISIL attack	3,500	6.188	12.06	0.004	180.9

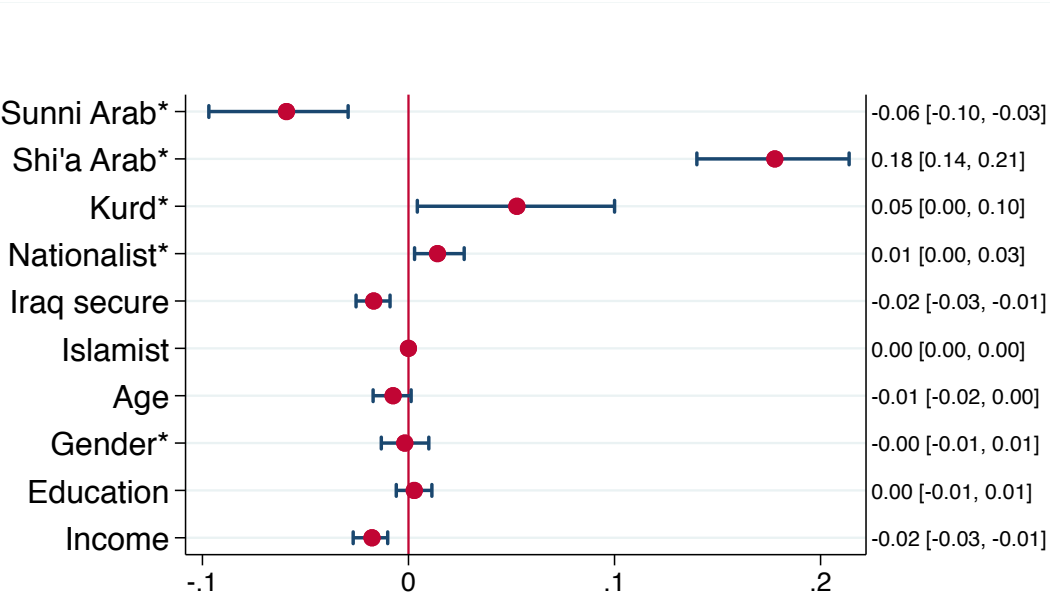
Note: table shows number of observations, mean, standard deviation, and minimum and maximum value for each of the variables used in the analysis.

Figure A2: First Differences in Strong Support for Iranian Intervention



First differences represent the effect of a change from the 25th to the 75th percentile of each variable. Variables with * are discrete – first difference is change from 0 to 1. Plotted with 90% confidence intervals.

Figure A3: First Differences in Strong Support for Potential Russian Intervention



First differences represent the effect of a change from the 25th to the 75th percentile of each variable. Variables with * are discrete – first difference is a change from 0 to 1. Plotted with 90% confidence intervals

Table A4: Replication with Alternative Measure of National Identity

	Coalition intervention	Iranian intervention	Russian intervention
Sunni Arab	0.53** (0.13)	-1.00** (0.13)	-0.50** (0.13)
Shi'a Arab	-0.48** (0.12)	0.75** (0.13)	0.72** (0.13)
Kurd	0.67** (0.15)	0.14 (0.15)	0.33* (0.15)
Cognitive national ID	0.14** (0.03)	0.13** (0.03)	0.11** (0.03)
National security	0.16** (0.03)	0.09** (0.03)	-0.12** (0.03)
Islamist ideology	0.02 (0.06)	0.16* (0.07)	0.00 (0.07)
Age	0.01** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00+ (0.00)
Gender	-0.07+ (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	-0.01 (0.04)
Education	0.04** (0.02)	-0.04* (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Income	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.06** (0.01)	-0.05** (0.01)
1 st Cutpoint	-0.27 (0.18)	-0.71** (0.18)	-0.80** (0.18)
2 nd Cutpoint	0.49** (0.18)	0.01 (0.18)	-0.08 (0.18)
3 rd Cutpoint	1.55** (0.18)	1.12** (0.18)	1.13** (0.18)
Observations	2,952	3,005	2,940

Note: Cognitive national identification is a measure of how homogeneous Iraqis perceive their national group to be. Results from ordered probit regressions. Standard errors in parentheses.

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

Table A5: Replication with Enumerator Observations of Interview Quality

	Coalition intervention	Iranian intervention	Russian intervention
Sunni Arab	0.59** (0.13)	-1.00** (0.13)	-0.46** (0.13)
Shi'a Arab	-0.44** (0.13)	0.77** (0.13)	0.75** (0.13)
Kurd	0.62** (0.15)	0.06 (0.15)	0.30* (0.15)
National identity	0.11* (0.05)	0.10* (0.05)	0.10* (0.05)
National security	0.16** (0.03)	0.11** (0.03)	-0.11** (0.03)
Islamist ideology	0.05 (0.06)	0.16* (0.07)	0.00 (0.07)
Age	0.01** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Gender	-0.08* (0.04)	0.02 (0.04)	-0.02 (0.04)
Education	0.03* (0.02)	-0.04** (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Income	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.07** (0.01)	-0.06** (0.01)
Privacy	0.13** (0.04)	0.07+ (0.04)	0.11* (0.04)
Comfort	0.29** (0.08)	0.06 (0.08)	0.01 (0.08)
Honesty	-0.09 (0.09)	0.10 (0.09)	-0.12 (0.09)
Comprehension	0.08** (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
1 st Cutpoint	0.06 (0.20)	-0.74** (0.20)	-0.87** (0.20)
2 nd Cutpoint	0.83** (0.20)	-0.02 (0.20)	-0.15 (0.20)
3 rd Cutpoint	1.89** (0.20)	1.09** (0.20)	1.06** (0.20)
Observations	2,960	3,013	2,948

Note: Enumerator observations include the comfort, honesty, comprehension, and privacy of each Iraqi interviewed. Results from ordered probit regressions. Standard errors in parentheses.

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

Table A6: Support for Coalition Intervention, with Perceived Consequences

	Coalition intervention	Coalition intervention	Coalition intervention
Sunni Arab	0.53** (0.13)	0.56** (0.13)	0.37** (0.13)
Shi'a Arab	-0.47** (0.12)	-0.42** (0.13)	-0.40** (0.13)
Kurd	0.59** (0.15)	0.32* (0.15)	-0.06 (0.16)
National identity	0.12** (0.04)	0.16** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)
National security	0.18** (0.03)	0.17** (0.03)	0.19** (0.03)
Islamist ideology	0.02 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.06)	-0.09 (0.07)
Age	0.01** (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)
Gender	-0.06 (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)
Education	0.04** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	0.06** (0.02)
Income	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.04** (0.01)	-0.07** (0.01)
Airstrikes harm civilians		-0.25** (0.02)	-0.10** (0.02)
Airstrikes help ISIL			-0.34** (0.02)
1 st Cutpoint	-0.51** (0.17)	-1.12** (0.18)	-1.70** (0.18)
2 nd Cutpoint	0.26 (0.17)	-0.30+ (0.18)	-0.81** (0.18)
3 rd Cutpoint	1.31** (0.17)	0.79** (0.18)	0.37* (0.18)
Observations	2,960	2,865	2,840

Note: Perceived consequences measure whether Iraqis think that the airstrikes: (1) harm civilians and (2) help ISIL. Results from ordered probit regressions. Standard errors in parentheses.

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

Table A7: Replication with All Additional Attitudinal and Demographic Covariates

	Coalition intervention	Iranian intervention	Russian intervention
Sunni Arab	0.45** (0.13)	-0.89** (0.13)	-0.28* (0.13)
Shi'a Arab	-0.22+ (0.13)	0.57** (0.13)	0.51** (0.13)
Kurd	0.55** (0.16)	0.05 (0.16)	0.23 (0.16)
National identity	0.16** (0.05)	0.15** (0.05)	0.14** (0.05)
National security	0.15** (0.03)	0.07* (0.03)	-0.14** (0.03)
Islamist ideology	0.04 (0.07)	0.14* (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)
Age	0.00** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Gender	-0.05 (0.04)	0.05 (0.04)	0.01 (0.04)
Education	0.03+ (0.02)	-0.03 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)
Income	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.05** (0.01)	-0.05** (0.01)
Govt. effective vs. ISIL	0.13** (0.02)	0.18** (0.02)	0.14** (0.02)
Iraqi army committed	0.02 (0.06)	0.42** (0.06)	0.35** (0.06)
Religious ID	-0.12 (0.11)	-0.11 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.11)
Ethnic ID	0.37** (0.10)	0.25* (0.10)	0.30** (0.10)
Kurdistan ID	0.85** (0.23)	-0.03 (0.22)	0.17 (0.22)
Lived under ISIL rule	0.34** (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)	-0.21** (0.07)
Distance to airstrike	-0.00** (0.00)	0.00** (0.00)	0.00** (0.00)
Distance to ISIL attack	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
1 st Cutpoint	-0.32+ (0.19)	-0.07 (0.19)	-0.30 (0.19)
2 nd Cutpoint	0.47* (0.19)	0.67** (0.19)	0.44* (0.19)
3 rd Cutpoint	1.57** (0.19)	1.82** (0.19)	1.70** (0.19)
Observations	2,960	3,013	2,948

Note: Results from ordered probit regressions. Standard errors in parentheses.

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1

Table A8: Replication with Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Regressions

	Coalition intervention	Iranian intervention	Russian intervention
Sunni Arab	0.46** (0.11)	-0.81** (0.10)	-0.41** (0.11)
Shi'a Arab	-0.43** (0.11)	0.69** (0.10)	0.66** (0.11)
Kurd	0.53** (0.13)	0.07 (0.12)	0.26* (0.13)
National identity	0.11** (0.04)	0.07+ (0.04)	0.07+ (0.04)
National security	0.16** (0.02)	0.10** (0.02)	-0.08** (0.02)
Islamist ideology	0.01 (0.05)	0.12* (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)
Age	0.00** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Gender	-0.07+ (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)
Education	0.04** (0.01)	-0.03** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Income	-0.03** (0.01)	-0.05** (0.01)	-0.05** (0.01)
Constant	1.23** (0.14)	1.56** (0.13)	1.56** (0.14)
Observations	2,952	3,005	2,940
R-squared	0.21	0.39	0.23

Note: Results from OLS regressions. Standard errors in parentheses.

** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.1