

Supplemental Material

for

Crumbling in the face of cost? How cost considerations affect public support for European security and defence cooperation

by

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Supplemental Material S1: Details on surveys and question wording

S1.1 Details on surveys

The reported data from the BLINDED surveys targeted the 18+ population in 25 European countries. Partner survey vendor was IPSOS. The sampling involved quota selection from the IPSOS Access Panel according to gender, age, region, and education. Survey mode was CAWI. For more details, see Table S1.1.

Translation of master questionnaire

The translation was carried out in a three-stage process. The English master questionnaire was 1) professionally translated into national language(s) by IPSOS (see Table S1.1.), 2) the translations were proofread by colleagues who are fluent in the respective language and have a background in survey research, and 3) their suggestions and revisions were then checked by the primary investigators and IPSOS to ensure that, from a comparative perspective, the equivalence of the items was maintained after these country-specific revisions.

Table S1.1: Details on surveys

Country	Field work	Sample size	Language(s) of Questionnaire
Austria	14.10.2020-30.10.2020	1500	German
Belgium	16.10.2020-28.10.2020	1500	French, Flemish
Bulgaria	23.10.2020-02.11.2020	1500	Bulgarian
Croatia	23.10.2020-03.11.2020	1500	Croatian
Czechia	23.10.2020-29.10.2020	1500	Czech
Denmark	13.10.2020-28.10.2020	1500	Danish
Estonia	19.10.2020-02.11.2020	1500	Estonian / Russian
Finland	15.10.2020-28.10.2020	1500	Finish
France	19.10.2020-27.10.2020	2000	French
Germany	13.10.2020-29.10.2020	2000	German
Great Britain	08.10.2020-19.10.2020	2000	English
Greece	15.10.2020-28.10.2020	1500	Greek
Hungary	16.10.2020-29.10.2020	1500	Hungarian
Ireland	08.10.2020-03.11.2020	1500	English
Italy	14.10.2020-27.10.2020	2000	Italian
Latvia	27.10.2020-03.11.2020	1500	Latvian / Russian
Lithuania	19.10.2020-02.11.2020	1500	Lithuanian
Netherlands	14.10.2020-29.10.2020	1500	Dutch
Poland	23.10.2020-29.10.2020	2000	Polish
Portugal	15.10.2020-29.10.2020	1500	Portuguese
Romania	14.10.2020-29.10.2020	1500	Romanian
Slovakia	22.10.2020-30.10.2020	1500	Slovakian
Slovenia	22.10.2020-03.11.2020	1500	Slovenian
Spain	14.10.2020-26.10.2020	2000	Spanish
Sweden	16.10.2020-27.10.2020	1500	Swedish

S1.2. Question wording

Survey experiments

See article, Table 1.

Attitude towards the European Union

Next you will see a series of people, countries and groups. We'd like to know how you feel about each person or group. Please use the following scales from 0 to 10, where 0 represents feeling very coldly or very unfavourably towards that person or group and 10 represents feeling very warmly or very favourably towards that person or group. – The European Union

Response scale: (1) Very coldly... (11) Very warmly

Militant internationalism

Please say whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

- [Country] needs a strong military to be effective in international affairs.
- [Country] should take all steps including the use of force to prevent aggression by any expansionist power.

Response scale: (1) Strongly agree... (5) Strongly disagree

National attachment

How attached do you feel to each of the following? – [Country]

Response scale: (1) Not at all attached... (7) Extremely attached

Political knowledge

We want to know how much information gets out to the public. For the following statements about the European Union, please indicate whether you think they are true or false. If you don't know, please just say so.

- The EU parliament meets in both Brussels (Belgium) and Strasbourg (France).
- Switzerland is a full member of the European Union.
- The term of office for a member of the European Parliament is five years.
- Russia spends more on national defence than all EU member states combined.

Response scale: (1) True; (2) False

Attachment to Europe

How attached do you feel to each of the following? – Europe

Response scale: (1) 1 – Not at all attached... (7) 7 – Extremely attached

Cooperative internationalism

Please say whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

- In deciding on its foreign policies, [country] should take into account the view of other countries.
- To ensure international cooperation, [country] must be willing to compromise.
- [Country] should be prepared to follow the leadership of other countries.

Response scale: (1) Strongly agree... (5) Strongly disagree

Voting intention

If there were a General Election tomorrow, which party would you vote for?

Response scale: Country-specific party lists; responses were coded to indicate (1) Vote for opposition party; (2) Vote for government party

Supplemental Material S2: Question order effects

The order of the two experiments was randomly varied. The figure below shows that the order of the experiments had no substantially relevant impact on either the level of support for the respective activity or the treatment effects. Results were obtained from regression models analogous to those reported in the main paper, with the additional interactions of experimental treatments with a dummy variable indicating which experiment came first in the survey. The figure reports estimated predicted values for all subgroups. All estimations include country fixed effects.



Supplemental Material S3: Regression tables

Main treatment effects: Experiment 1: Military Intervention

	DV: Support for proposal
(Intercept)	0.41 *** (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Casualties	-0.04 *** (0.00)
Budgetary Costs: National Budget	-0.04 *** (0.00)
Budgetary Costs: Pooled Budget	0.04 *** (0.00)
Belgium (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
Bulgaria (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Croatia (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Czech Republic (Dummy)	0.10 *** (0.01)
Denmark (Dummy)	0.12 *** (0.01)
Estonia (Dummy)	0.16 *** (0.01)
Finland (Dummy)	0.09 *** (0.01)
France (Dummy)	0.14 *** (0.01)
Germany (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
Great Britain (Dummy)	0.16 *** (0.01)
Greece (Dummy)	0.16 *** (0.01)
Hungary (Dummy)	0.04 *** (0.01)
Ireland (Dummy)	0.14 *** (0.01)
Italy (Dummy)	0.06 *** (0.01)
Latvia (Dummy)	0.10 *** (0.01)
Lithuania (Dummy)	0.20 *** (0.01)
Netherlands (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
Poland (Dummy)	0.19 *** (0.01)
Portugal (Dummy)	0.18 *** (0.01)
Romania (Dummy)	0.20 *** (0.01)
Slovakia (Dummy)	0.08 *** (0.01)
Slovenia (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Spain (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
Sweden (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
R^2	0.05
Adj. R^2	0.05
Num. obs.	36452

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses. Significance levels are denoted by
 * < 0.1, ** < 0.05, *** < 0.01. The dependent variable ranges between 0 and 1.

Main treatment effects: Experiment 2: Defence Procurement

	DV: Support for proposal
(Intercept)	0.51 *** (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Job Cuts	-0.12 *** (0.00)
Budgetary Costs: National Budget	-0.07 *** (0.00)
Budgetary Costs: Pooled Budget	0.04 *** (0.00)
Belgium (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Bulgaria (Dummy)	0.06 *** (0.01)
Croatia (Dummy)	0.04 *** (0.01)
Czech Republic (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Denmark (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Estonia (Dummy)	0.12 *** (0.01)
Finland (Dummy)	0.06 *** (0.01)
France (Dummy)	0.06 *** (0.01)
Germany (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Great Britain (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
Greece (Dummy)	0.12 *** (0.01)
Hungary (Dummy)	0.06 *** (0.01)
Ireland (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
Italy (Dummy)	0.02 (0.01)
Latvia (Dummy)	0.04 *** (0.01)
Lithuania (Dummy)	0.14 *** (0.01)
Netherlands (Dummy)	0.08 *** (0.01)
Poland (Dummy)	0.14 *** (0.01)
Portugal (Dummy)	0.10 *** (0.01)
Romania (Dummy)	0.18 *** (0.01)
Slovakia (Dummy)	0.04 ** (0.01)
Slovenia (Dummy)	-0.01 (0.01)
Spain (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Sweden (Dummy)	0.04 *** (0.01)
R ²	0.09
Adj. R ²	0.08
Num. obs.	36422

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses. Significance levels are denoted by
 * < 0.1, ** < 0.05, *** < 0.01. The dependent variable ranges between 0 and 1.

Military Intervention, Country-level

DV: Support for proposal									
	Austria	Belgium	Bulgaria	Croatia	Czechia	Denmark	Estonia	Finland	
(Intercept)	.47*** (.02)	.53*** (.01)	.44*** (.02)	.49*** (.02)	.49*** (.02)	.52*** (.02)	.57*** (.02)	.49*** (.02)	
N-BC: Casualties	-.12*** (.02)	-.07*** (.01)	-.04* (.02)	-.06*** (.02)	-.01 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.03 (.02)	-.03 (.02)	
BC: National Budget	-.05* (.02)	-.07*** (.02)	-.00 (.02)	-.05** (.02)	-.04* (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.05** (.02)	-.08*** (.02)	
BC: Pooled Budget	-.03 (.02)	.06** (.02)	.06** (.02)	.02 (.02)	.03 (.02)	-.00 (.02)	.03 (.02)	.07*** (.02)	
R^2	.03	.05	.01	.02	.01	.00	.01	.04	
Adj. R^2	.03	.04	.01	.02	.01	-.00	.01	.04	
Num. obs.	1380	1317	1368	1412	1358	1288	1380	1339	

DV: Support for proposal									
	France	Germany	GB	Greece	Hungary	Italy	Ireland	Latvia	Lithuania
(Intercept)	.54*** (.01)	.52*** (.01)	.58*** (.01)	.53*** (.02)	.42*** (.01)	.46*** (.01)	.58*** (.02)	.46*** (.02)	.59*** (.02)
N-BC: Casualties	-.03* (.01)	-.04*** (.01)	-.07*** (.01)	-.01 (.02)	-.04* (.01)	-.08*** (.01)	-.04* (.02)	.01 (.02)	.00 (.02)
BC: National Budget	-.06*** (.02)	-.07*** (.02)	-.03 (.02)	-.04 (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.03 (.02)	-.10*** (.02)	-.03 (.02)	-.05* (.02)
BC: Pooled Budget	.06*** (.02)	.05** (.02)	.04* (.02)	.08*** (.02)	.10*** (.02)	.09*** (.02)	-.02 (.02)	.07*** (.02)	.02 (.02)
R^2	.03	.03	.02	.03	.04	.05	.02	.02	.01
Adj. R^2	.03	.03	.02	.03	.04	.05	.02	.02	.01
Num. obs.	1712	1808	1741	1406	1349	1801	1373	1361	1368

DV: Support for proposal								
	Netherl.	Poland	Portugal	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Spain	Sweden
(Intercept)	.52*** (.02)	.60*** (.01)	.61*** (.02)	.59*** (.01)	.47*** (.02)	.47*** (.02)	.51*** (.01)	.52*** (.02)
N-BC: Casualties	-.06*** (.02)	-.05*** (.01)	-.08*** (.01)	-.00 (.01)	-.01 (.02)	-.03* (.02)	-.06*** (.01)	-.06*** (.02)
BC: National Budget	-.06** (.02)	-.06*** (.01)	-.06** (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.03 (.02)	-.09*** (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.03 (.02)
BC: Pooled Budget	.08*** (.02)	.05*** (.01)	.04* (.02)	.00 (.02)	.02 (.02)	.04 (.02)	.05** (.02)	.06** (.02)
R^2	.05	.04	.04	.00	.00	.04	.02	.02
Adj. R^2	.04	.04	.04	-.00	.00	.03	.02	.02
Num. obs.	1330	1712	1413	1397	1364	1399	1762	1314

Defence Procurement, Country-level

DV: Support for proposal									
	Austria	Belgium	Bulgaria	Croatia	Czechia	Denmark	Estonia	Finland	
(Intercept)	.50*** (.02)	.59*** (.01)	.57*** (.02)	.54*** (.02)	.56*** (.01)	.57*** (.02)	.60*** (.02)	.58*** (.01)	
N-BC: Casualties	-.07*** (.02)	-.15*** (.01)	-.10*** (.02)	-.13*** (.02)	-.10*** (.01)	-.11*** (.02)	-.08*** (.02)	-.11*** (.02)	
BC: National Budget	-.09*** (.02)	-.07*** (.02)	-.06** (.02)	-.06*** (.02)	-.05** (.02)	-.05** (.02)	-.05* (.02)	-.11*** (.02)	
BC: Pooled Budget	.00 (.02)	.03 (.02)	.03 (.02)	.07*** (.02)	.03 (.02)	.04* (.02)	.05* (.02)	.02 (.02)	
R^2	.03	.09	.04	.08	.05	.05	.03	.08	
Adj. R^2	.02	.09	.04	.08	.05	.05	.03	.08	
Num. obs.	1375	1322	1356	1404	1348	1307	1361	1331	

DV: Support for proposal									
	France	Germany	GB	Greece	Hungary	Italy	Ireland	Latvia	Lithuania
(Intercept)	.62*** (.01)	.59*** (.01)	.66*** (.01)	.64*** (.01)	.58*** (.01)	.49*** (.01)	.57*** (.02)	.53*** (.02)	.65*** (.02)
N-BC: Casualties	-.17*** (.01)	-.10*** (.01)	-.17*** (.01)	-.16*** (.01)	-.10*** (.02)	-.10*** (.01)	-.06*** (.02)	-.07*** (.02)	-.12*** (.02)
BC: National Budget	-.10*** (.02)	-.09*** (.02)	-.08*** (.02)	-.04* (.02)	-.10*** (.02)	-.02 (.02)	-.03 (.02)	-.07*** (.02)	-.08*** (.02)
BC: Pooled Budget	.02 (.02)	.02 (.02)	-.00 (.02)	.05** (.02)	.03 (.02)	.05** (.02)	.05* (.02)	.03 (.02)	.05** (.02)
R^2	.13	.06	.10	.09	.08	.04	.02	.03	.07
Adj. R^2	.13	.06	.09	.09	.07	.04	.02	.03	.06
Num. obs.	1697	1803	1755	1383	1323	1786	1392	1350	1358

DV: Support for proposal									
	Netherl.	Poland	Portugal	Romania	Slovakia	Slovenia	Spain	Sweden	
(Intercept)	.62*** (.02)	.66*** (.01)	.58*** (.02)	.66*** (.01)	.53*** (.02)	.48*** (.02)	.61*** (.01)	.58*** (.02)	
N-BC: Casualties	-.15*** (.02)	-.16*** (.01)	-.12*** (.01)	-.11*** (.01)	-.10*** (.02)	-.11*** (.02)	-.19*** (.01)	-.14*** (.02)	
BC: National Budget	-.11*** (.02)	-.07*** (.01)	-.03 (.02)	-.01 (.02)	-.07*** (.02)	-.07*** (.02)	-.08*** (.02)	-.09*** (.02)	
BC: Pooled Budget	.02 (.02)	.07*** (.01)	.08*** (.02)	.04* (.02)	.04* (.02)	.09*** (.02)	.00 (.02)	.02 (.02)	
R^2	.10	.13	.07	.05	.05	.08	.11	.09	
Adj. R^2	.09	.13	.06	.04	.05	.08	.11	.09	
Num. obs.	1365	1752	1410	1390	1341	1417	1780	1316	

Interaction effects, Military Intervention: Political Knowledge

	DV: Support for proposal
(Intercept)	0.36 *** (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Casualties	-0.04 *** (0.01)
Political Knowledge	0.07 *** (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: National Budget	-0.05 *** (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: Pooled Budget	0.05 *** (0.01)
Belgium (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
Bulgaria (Dummy)	0.06 *** (0.01)
Croatia (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Czech Republic (Dummy)	0.10 *** (0.01)
Denmark (Dummy)	0.13 *** (0.01)
Estonia (Dummy)	0.17 *** (0.01)
Finland (Dummy)	0.10 *** (0.01)
France (Dummy)	0.14 *** (0.01)
Germany (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
Great Britain (Dummy)	0.17 *** (0.01)
Greece (Dummy)	0.16 *** (0.01)
Hungary (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Ireland (Dummy)	0.14 *** (0.01)
Italy (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Latvia (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
Lithuania (Dummy)	0.21 *** (0.01)
Netherlands (Dummy)	0.12 *** (0.01)
Poland (Dummy)	0.20 *** (0.01)
Portugal (Dummy)	0.18 *** (0.01)
Romania (Dummy)	0.22 *** (0.01)
Slovakia (Dummy)	0.08 *** (0.01)
Slovenia (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Spain (Dummy)	0.12 *** (0.01)
Sweden (Dummy)	0.12 *** (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Casualties * Political Knowledge	-0.01 (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: National Budget * Political Knowledge	0.01 (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: Pooled Budget * Political Knowledge	-0.01 (0.01)
R ²	0.05
Adj. R ²	0.05
Num. obs.	36265

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses. Significance levels are denoted by
 * < 0.1, ** < 0.05, *** < 0.01. The dependent variable ranges between 0 and 1.

Interaction effects, Defence Procurement: Political Knowledge

	Model 1
(Intercept)	0.47 *** (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Job Cuts	-0.09 *** (0.01)
Political Knowledge	0.09 *** (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: National Budget	-0.07 *** (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: Pooled Budget	0.03 *** (0.01)
Belgium (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Bulgaria (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Croatia (Dummy)	0.04 *** (0.01)
Czech Republic (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Denmark (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Estonia (Dummy)	0.12 *** (0.01)
Finland (Dummy)	0.06 *** (0.01)
France (Dummy)	0.06 *** (0.01)
Germany (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Great Britain (Dummy)	0.12 *** (0.01)
Greece (Dummy)	0.13 *** (0.01)
Hungary (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Ireland (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
Italy (Dummy)	0.02 * (0.01)
Latvia (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Lithuania (Dummy)	0.15 *** (0.01)
Netherlands (Dummy)	0.08 *** (0.01)
Poland (Dummy)	0.15 *** (0.01)
Portugal (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
Romania (Dummy)	0.19 *** (0.01)
Slovakia (Dummy)	0.04 *** (0.01)
Slovenia (Dummy)	-0.01 (0.01)
Spain (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Sweden (Dummy)	0.04 *** (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Job Cuts * Political Knowledge	-0.05 *** (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: National Budget * Political Knowledge	0.01 (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: Pooled Budget * Political Knowledge	0.01 (0.01)
R ²	0.09
Adj. R ²	0.09
Num. obs.	36238

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses. Significance levels are denoted by
 * < 0.1, ** < 0.05, *** < 0.01. The dependent variable ranges between 0 and 1.

Interaction effects, Military Intervention: Attitudes towards the EU

	Model 1
(Intercept)	0.25 *** (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Casualties	-0.02 ** (0.01)
Attitudes towards the EU	0.27 *** (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: National Budget	-0.05 *** (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Pooled Budget	0.04 *** (0.01)
Belgium (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
Bulgaria (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Croatia (Dummy)	0.06 *** (0.01)
Czech Republic (Dummy)	0.13 *** (0.01)
Denmark (Dummy)	0.13 *** (0.01)
Estonia (Dummy)	0.14 *** (0.01)
Finland (Dummy)	0.08 *** (0.01)
France (Dummy)	0.15 *** (0.01)
Germany (Dummy)	0.09 *** (0.01)
Great Britain (Dummy)	0.17 *** (0.01)
Greece (Dummy)	0.16 *** (0.01)
Hungary (Dummy)	0.03 ** (0.01)
Ireland (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
Italy (Dummy)	0.06 *** (0.01)
Latvia (Dummy)	0.09 *** (0.01)
Lithuania (Dummy)	0.16 *** (0.01)
Netherlands (Dummy)	0.12 *** (0.01)
Poland (Dummy)	0.17 *** (0.01)
Portugal (Dummy)	0.14 *** (0.01)
Romania (Dummy)	0.18 *** (0.01)
Slovakia (Dummy)	0.08 *** (0.01)
Slovenia (Dummy)	0.03 ** (0.01)
Spain (Dummy)	0.10 *** (0.01)
Sweden (Dummy)	0.12 *** (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Casualties * Attitudes towards the EU	-0.03 ** (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: National Budget * Attitudes towards the EU	0.01 (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Pooled Budget * Attitudes towards the EU	-0.00 (0.01)
R ²	0.10
Adj. R ²	0.10
Num. obs.	35862

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses. Significance levels are denoted by
 * < 0.1, ** < 0.05, *** < 0.01. The dependent variable ranges between 0 and 1.

Interaction effects, Defence Procurement: Attitudes towards the EU

	Model 1
(Intercept)	0.37 *** (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Job Cuts	-0.13 *** (0.01)
Attitudes towards the EU	0.24 *** (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: National Budget	-0.08 *** (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: Pooled Budget	0.03 ** (0.01)
Belgium (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Bulgaria (Dummy)	0.06 *** (0.01)
Croatia (Dummy)	0.03 ** (0.01)
Czech Republic (Dummy)	0.10 *** (0.01)
Denmark (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Estonia (Dummy)	0.09 *** (0.01)
Finland (Dummy)	0.04 *** (0.01)
France (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Germany (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Great Britain (Dummy)	0.12 *** (0.01)
Greece (Dummy)	0.13 *** (0.01)
Hungary (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Ireland (Dummy)	0.08 *** (0.01)
Italy (Dummy)	0.01 (0.01)
Latvia (Dummy)	0.02 * (0.01)
Lithuania (Dummy)	0.10 *** (0.01)
Netherlands (Dummy)	0.08 *** (0.01)
Poland (Dummy)	0.12 *** (0.01)
Portugal (Dummy)	0.06 *** (0.01)
Romania (Dummy)	0.15 *** (0.01)
Slovakia (Dummy)	0.03 ** (0.01)
Slovenia (Dummy)	-0.03 ** (0.01)
Spain (Dummy)	0.03 ** (0.01)
Sweden (Dummy)	0.04 *** (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Job Cuts * Attitudes towards the EU	0.01 (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: National Budget * Attitudes towards the EU	0.02 (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: Pooled Budget * Attitudes towards the EU	0.02 (0.01)
R ²	0.14
Adj. R ²	0.14
Num. obs.	35863

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses. Significance levels are denoted by
 * < 0.1, ** < 0.05, *** < 0.01. The dependent variable ranges between 0 and 1.

Interaction effects, Military Intervention: Militant Internationalism

	Model 1
(Intercept)	0.28 *** (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Casualties	-0.06 *** (0.01)
Militant Internationalism	0.31 *** (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: National Budget	-0.05 *** (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: Pooled Budget	0.04 *** (0.01)
Belgium (Dummy)	0.06 *** (0.01)
Bulgaria (Dummy)	-0.02 (0.01)
Croatia (Dummy)	0.02 (0.01)
Czech Republic (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Denmark (Dummy)	0.08 *** (0.01)
Estonia (Dummy)	0.12 *** (0.01)
Finland (Dummy)	0.04 *** (0.01)
France (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Germany (Dummy)	0.09 *** (0.01)
Great Britain (Dummy)	0.10 *** (0.01)
Greece (Dummy)	0.09 *** (0.01)
Hungary (Dummy)	0.04 ** (0.01)
Ireland (Dummy)	0.12 *** (0.01)
Italy (Dummy)	0.04 *** (0.01)
Latvia (Dummy)	0.08 *** (0.01)
Lithuania (Dummy)	0.16 *** (0.01)
Netherlands (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Poland (Dummy)	0.13 *** (0.01)
Portugal (Dummy)	0.15 *** (0.01)
Romania (Dummy)	0.14 *** (0.01)
Slovakia (Dummy)	0.04 *** (0.01)
Slovenia (Dummy)	0.02 * (0.01)
Spain (Dummy)	0.08 *** (0.01)
Sweden (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Casualties * Militant Internationalism	0.03 * (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: National Budget * Militant Internationalism	-0.00 (0.02)
Budgetary Costs: Pooled Buget * Militant Internationalism	-0.01 (0.02)
R ²	0.11
Adj. R ²	0.11
Num. obs.	33903

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses. Significance levels are denoted by
 * < 0.1, ** < 0.05, *** < 0.01. The dependent variable ranges between 0 and 1.

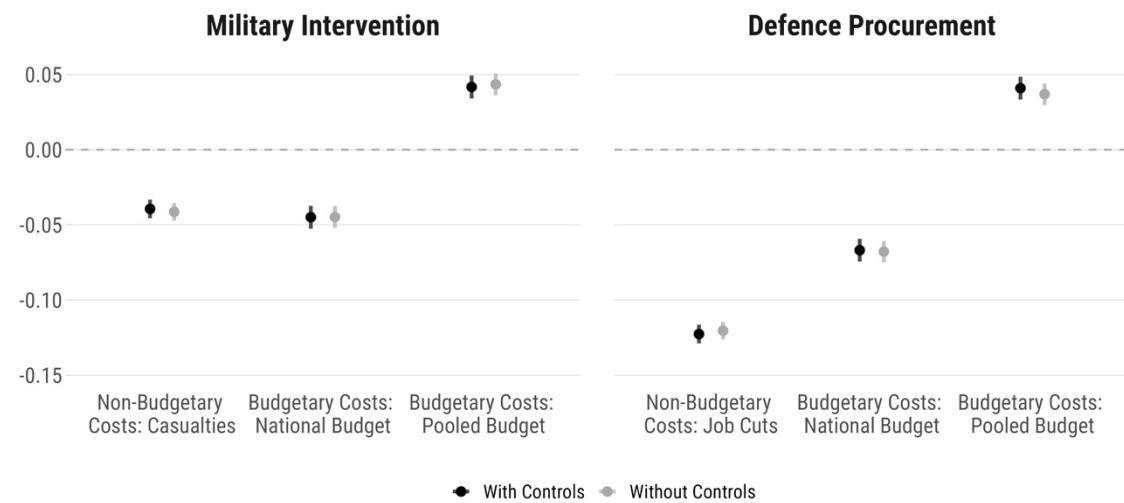
Interaction effects, Defence Procurement: Militant Internationalism

	Model 1
(Intercept)	0.36 *** (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Job Cuts	-0.03 *** (0.01)
Militant Internationalism	0.36 *** (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: National Budget	-0.08 *** (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: Pooled Budget	0.03 ** (0.01)
Belgium (Dummy)	0.02 (0.01)
Bulgaria (Dummy)	-0.00 (0.01)
Croatia (Dummy)	-0.01 (0.01)
Czech Republic (Dummy)	0.02 (0.01)
Denmark (Dummy)	0.02 * (0.01)
Estonia (Dummy)	0.08 *** (0.01)
Finland (Dummy)	0.01 (0.01)
France (Dummy)	-0.02 * (0.01)
Germany (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Great Britain (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Greece (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Hungary (Dummy)	0.05 *** (0.01)
Ireland (Dummy)	0.10 *** (0.01)
Italy (Dummy)	-0.01 (0.01)
Latvia (Dummy)	0.02 (0.01)
Lithuania (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
Netherlands (Dummy)	0.04 *** (0.01)
Poland (Dummy)	0.09 *** (0.01)
Portugal (Dummy)	0.07 *** (0.01)
Romania (Dummy)	0.11 *** (0.01)
Slovakia (Dummy)	0.00 (0.01)
Slovenia (Dummy)	-0.04 *** (0.01)
Spain (Dummy)	0.01 (0.01)
Sweden (Dummy)	-0.01 (0.01)
Non-Budgetary Costs: Job Cuts * Militant Internationalism	-0.16 *** (0.01)
Budgetary Costs: National Budget * Militant Internationalism	0.02 (0.02)
Budgetary Costs: Pooled Budget * Militant Internationalism	0.02 (0.02)
<hr/>	
R ²	0.14
Adj. R ²	0.14
Num. obs.	33869

Note: Standard Errors in Parentheses. Significance levels are denoted by
 * < 0.1, ** < 0.05, *** < 0.01. The dependent variable ranges between 0 and 1.

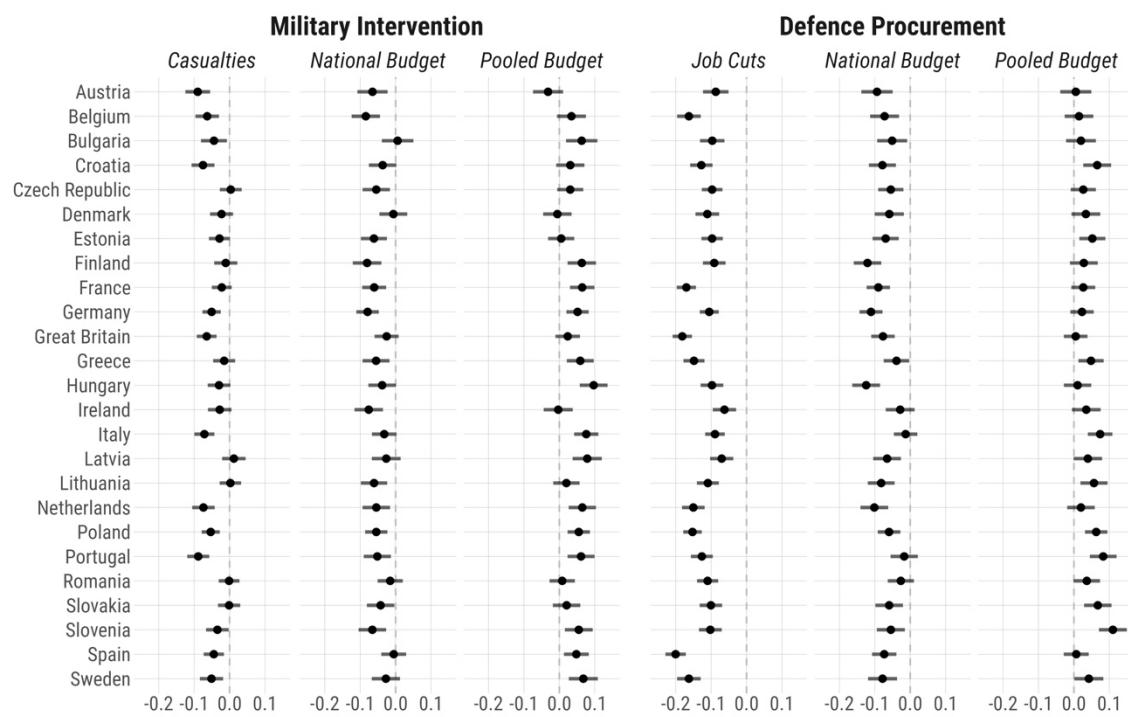
Supplemental Material S4: Results for expanded models

Main treatment effects with controls



Note: Reported are coefficients from a linear regression with country fixed effects and their 95% confidence intervals. Models with control variables additionally include attitudes towards the EU, postures towards militant internationalism, political knowledge, national attachment, attachment to Europe, cooperative internationalism, an additive index of perceived international threats, and voting intention towards the government or opposition. The dependent variables range between 0 and 1.

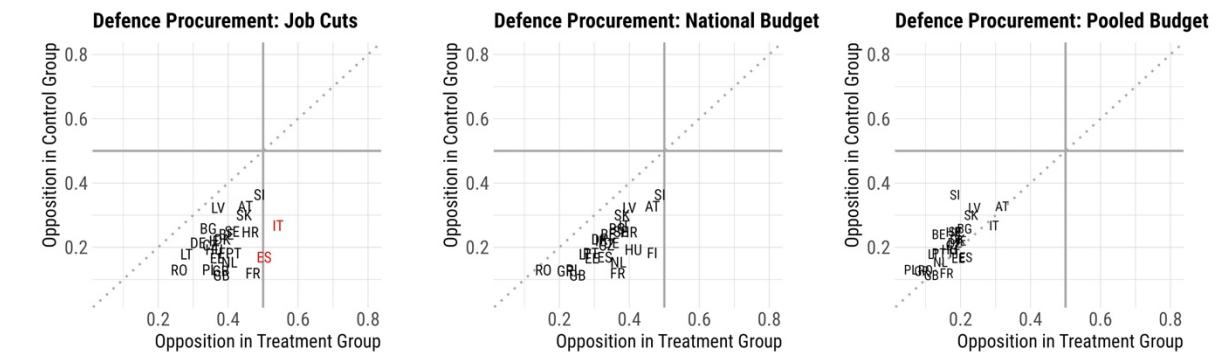
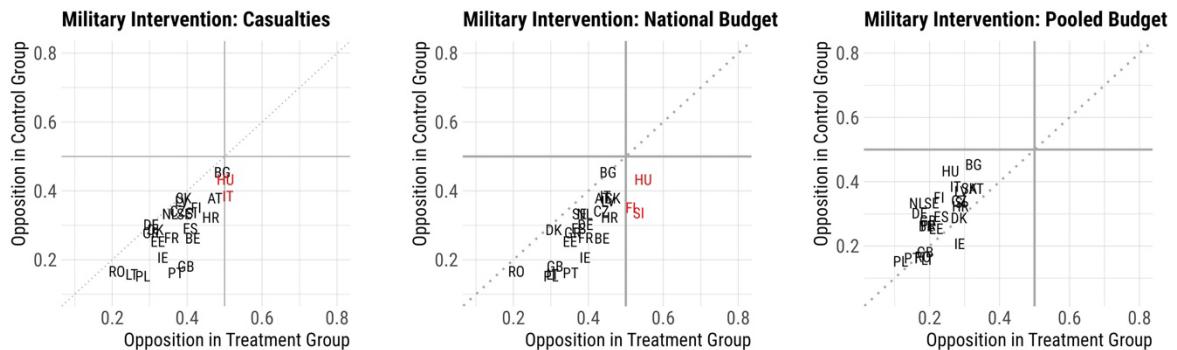
Country-level effects with controls



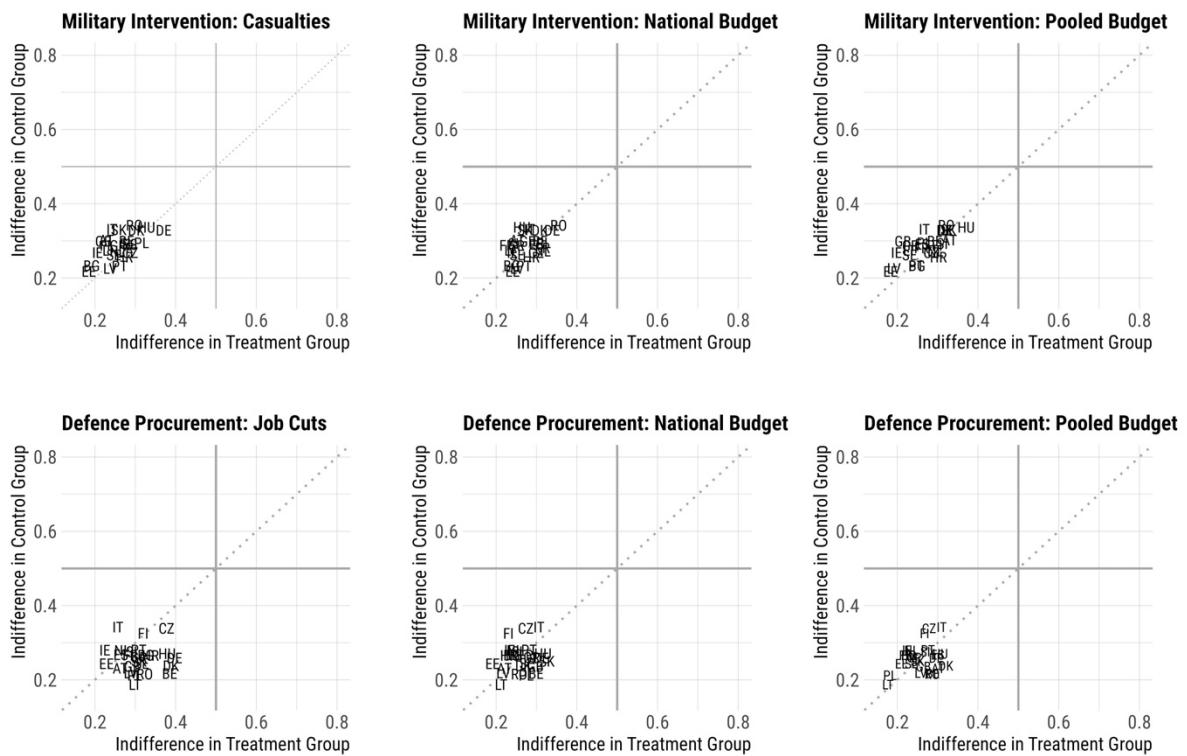
Note: Reported are coefficients from a linear regression with 95% confidence intervals, separately estimated for each country. The models additionally include attitudes towards the EU, postures towards militant internationalism, political knowledge, national attachment, attachment to Europe, cooperative internationalism, an additive index of perceived international threats, and voting intention towards the government or opposition as control variables. The dependent variables range between 0 and 1.

Supplemental Material S5: Sizes of other groups

Predicted group sizes of opponents



Predicted group sizes of “neither nor”



Supplemental Material S6: Deviations from pre-registration

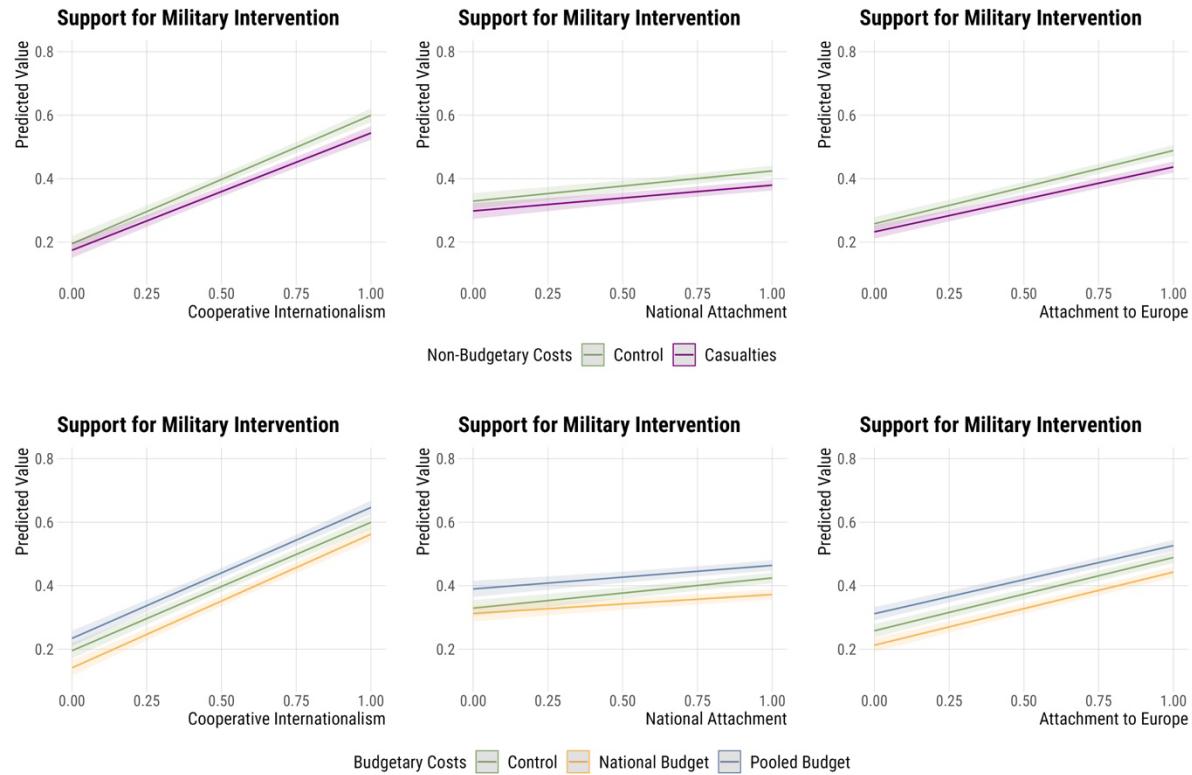
See footnote 1 of main article.

Hypothesis, research question and research design were pre-registered before data collection at OSF (<https://osf.io/pwu5y>). The data collection and the analyses described in this article fully correspond to the pre-registration. However, further hypotheses and research questions were registered that were not included in the article due to space constraints, although some are addressed implicitly. Analysis/results not considered in the article do not qualify its findings and conclusions. We report all differences between article and pre-registration below.

Overview:

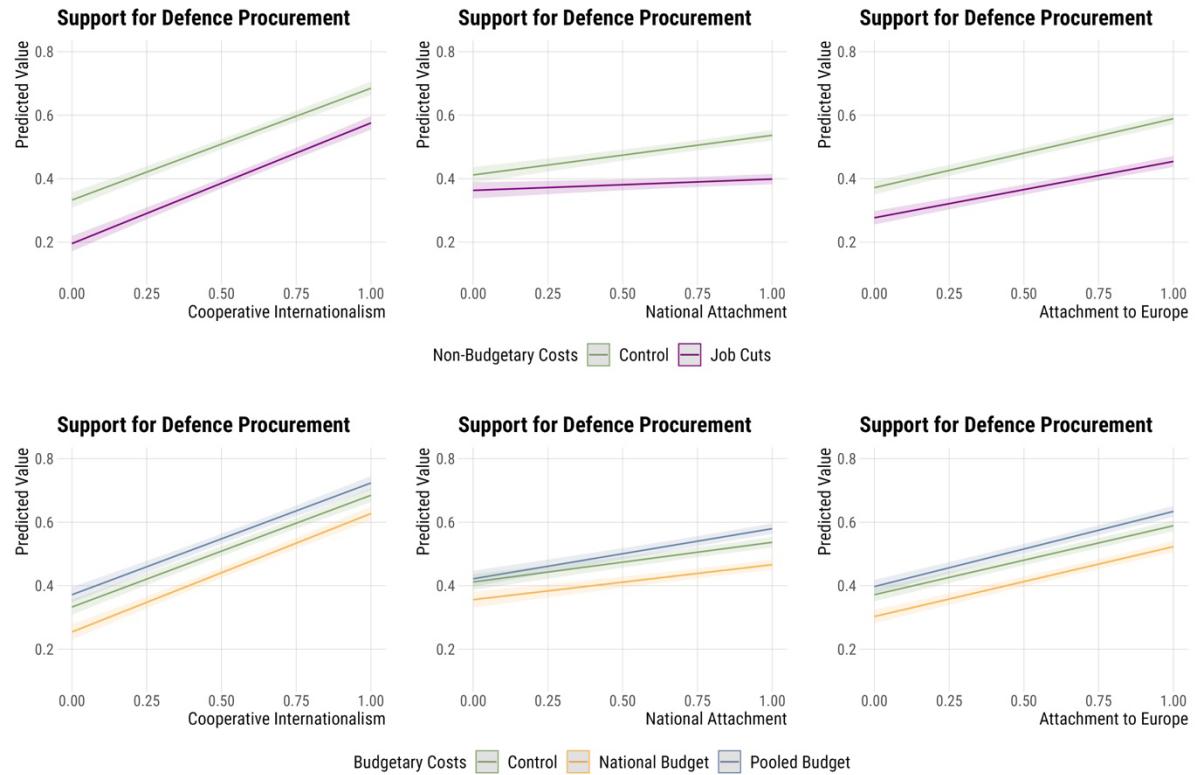
Deviation from pre-registration	Comment
Rephrased hypothesis	Article: "Citizens are less supportive of cooperative activities when exposed to information about the costs of their country's participation in these activities." Pre-Registration: "Mentioning costs decreases the willingness to cooperate compared to the control group." Rephrasing for stylistic reasons; does not change the content.
Condensed Research question	Article: "Do framing effects vary across individuals and countries?" Preregistration: "Do treatment-related attitudes moderate the effect of mentioning expected costs?"; "Do country-level differences moderate the effect of mentioning expected budget costs?" Condensed for reasons of space; does not change the content.
Renaming concepts	Article: "Non-budgetary costs"; "Budgetary costs" Pre-registration: "Social costs"; "financial costs" Renaming for reasons of clarity; does not change the content.
Additional hypotheses	Pre-registration: "H2: Mentioning both types of costs simultaneously decreases the willingness to cooperate more than mentioning only one of the cost components (compared to the control group, respectively)."; "H3: Mentioning social costs decreases the willingness to cooperate more than mentioning budget costs (compared to the control group, respectively)." Dropped for reasons of space; as for the former, interaction analysis show that there are no multiplicative effects; the latter is implicitly addressed in the article—effects are the same in the military operation scenario, effects of non-budgetary are larger than budgetary costs in the aircraft procurement scenario.
Additional individual-level moderators	Pre-registration: "Several individual-level traits might trigger heterogeneous treatment effects. Among others, attitudes towards Europe, one's own nation and attitudes towards international politics (such as the willingness to compromise or the use of military force) ... We may explore additional sources of heterogeneous treatment effects than those mentioned above." The article focuses on three moderators (Attitudes towards the EU, militant internationalism [cf. "use of military force" in the pre-registration] and political knowledge. Below we provide corresponding results for the concepts mentioned in the pre-registration. The results support the conclusion of the article, that the treatment effects are largely the same across individuals, i.e. no heterogeneous treatment effects.
Additional research questions	Pre-registration: "Does mentioning a pooled budget cost lead to different treatment effects than mentioning national budget costs?"; "Do the average treatment effects vary between the two scenarios?" Dropped for reasons of space; implicitly addressed in the article—pooled and national budget costs do lead to different effects; the effects of national budget costs and non-budgetary costs are larger in the aircraft procurement scenario.

Results for additional individual-level moderators; Proposal: Military intervention



Note: Reported are predicted values with 95% confidence intervals across the range of three different moderators (columns) for non-budgetary costs (first row) and budgetary costs (second row). Estimations are based on linear regressions including interactions of treatment dummies and the respective moderator and country fixed effects. The dependent variables range between 0 and 1. Colours indicate the treatment status.

Results for additional individual-level moderators; Proposal: Defence procurement



Note: Reported are predicted values with 95% confidence intervals across the range of three different moderators (columns) for non-budgetary costs (first row) and budgetary costs (second row). Estimations are based on linear regressions including interactions of treatment dummies and the respective moderator and country fixed effects. The dependent variables range between 0 and 1. Colours indicate the treatment status.