

Online Appendices

These appendices provide additional information and analysis for which there was no space in the actual paper. It will be posted online along with the replication data for the paper. This section has four parts.

1. Survey questions on the draft from the Roper Center database

This section lists all the questions on the military draft available in the Roper Center's database. I used these to construct Table 1.

2. Education and income: additional hypotheses about the cost of being drafted

This section presents two additional hypotheses about the cost of being drafted based on the opportunity cost of the time spent in the military, and expectations about being able to obtain a deferment. It also tests the overall effect of income and education in each survey.

3. The effect of party and ideology in the post-1969 surveys

This section presents the results of including party in surveys after 1969. Party positions were not sufficiently clear to motivate an empirical test of the elite leadership hypothesis after the Truman administration, and the paper only did so through 1969. This section also considers the possibility of substituting ideology for party.

4. Are veteran status and support for the draft endogenous?

This section presents additional analysis assessing the extent to which prior pro-military attitudes motivated both military service and subsequent support for the draft.

1. Survey questions on the draft from the Roper Center database

I used responses to these questions to construct Table 1 in the paper. In each case, I used the proportion of all responses that favored the continuation or restoration of the draft.

Roper Survey	Question	Year of Poll
1. Questions on Resuming the Draft		
USCBS2011-11B	Do you favor or oppose reinstating the military draft in the United States?	2011
USPEW2011-SDT09	Do you think the United States should return to the military draft at this time, or not?	2011
USCBS2009-12B	Do you think we should return to the military draft at this time, or not?	2009
USNORCGSS1972-2006	Do you think we should return to a military draft at this time, or should we continue to rely on volunteers?	1982, 1983, 1984, 2006
USCBS2006-03A	Do you favor or oppose reinstating the military draft in the United States?	2006
USAP2005-06US2	Do you favor or oppose the reinstatement of the military draft in the United States?	2005
USAIPOCNUS2003-47	Do you think the United States should return to the military draft at this time, or not?	2003
USAIPOCNUS2003-01	Do you think the United States should return to the military draft at this time, or not?	2003
USTM1987-PS0487	The following is a list of some programs and proposals that are being discussed in this country today. For each one, please tell me whether you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose...Resuming the military draft	1987
USYANK1985-5731	Do you favor or oppose...Reinstating the military draft	1985
USABCWASH1985-8890	Do you think we should return to the military draft at this time, or not?	1985
USABCWASH1984-8540	I am going to read a few statements. After each, please tell me if you agree with the statement or disagree with it, or if, perhaps, you have no opinion about that statement...The military draft should be reinstated.	1984
GSS	Do you think we should return to a military draft at this time, or should we continue to rely on volunteers?	1984
GSS	Do you think we should return to a military draft at this time, or should we continue to rely on volunteers?	1983
GSS	Do you think we should return to a military draft at this time, or should we continue to rely on volunteers?	1982
USABCWASH1981-8999	Turning to another subject, do you think we should return to the military draft at this time or not?	1981
USYANK1981-8608	Now I'd like to know how you feel about a number of important issues that face the country. Do you favor or oppose: Reinstating the military draft	1981
USAIPO1981-1180G	Do you think we should return to the military draft at this time or not?	1981
USNBCAP1981-JUL	Do you favor or oppose reinstatement of the draft for the armed forces?	1981
USYANK1981-8607	Now I'd like to know how you feel about a number of important issues that face the country. Do you favor or oppose: Reinstating the military draft	1981

USRPRR1981-04	In late 1978 for the first time since the draft ended, all four armed services failed to meet their recruiting targets. Furthermore, the Pentagon reports there is a critical shortage of people in the Army Reserves. Some people say the only way to meet the needs of the nation's armed forces is to restore the peacetime draft. Others say the problem can be solved by offering more incentives for people to volunteer for military service. How do you feel--are you in favor of or opposed to restoring the draft?	1981
USNBCAP1981-JAN	Do you favor or oppose the reinstatement of the draft for the armed forces?	1981
USAIPO1980-1159G	Do you think we should return to the military draft at this time or not?	1980
USCBSNYT1980-FEB	Do you think the U.S. should or should not actually resume drafting men into the armed forces?	1980
USRPRR1980-03	In late 1978 for the first time since the draft ended, all four armed services failed to meet their recruiting targets. Furthermore, the Pentagon reports there is a critical shortage of people in the Army Reserves. Some people say the only way to meet the needs of the nation's armed forces is to restore the peacetime draft. Others say the problem can be solved by offering more incentives for people to volunteer for military service. How do you feel--are you in favor of or opposed to restoring the draft?	1980
USAIPO1980-1148G	Do you think we should return to the military draft at this time or not?	1980
USRPRR1979-04	In late 1978 for the first time since the draft ended, all four armed services failed to meet their recruiting targets. Furthermore, the Pentagon reports there is a critical shortage of people in the Army Reserves. Some people say the only way to meet the needs of the nation's armed forces is to restore the peacetime draft. Others say the problem can be solved by offering more incentives for people to volunteer for military service. How do you feel--are you in favor of or opposed to restoring the draft?	1979
USAIPO1979-1122G	As you may know, there is no longer a military draft and those who serve in the armed forces are volunteers. Recently, however, the armed forces have had trouble in getting enough volunteers to meet manpower needs. Do you think we should return to the draft at this time, or not?	1979
USAIPO1977-0967	As you may know, there is no longer a military draft and those who serve in the armed forces are volunteers. Recently, however, the armed forces have had trouble in getting enough volunteers to meet manpower needs. Do you think we should return to the draft at this time, or not?	1977
2. Questions on whether the draft should have been ended		
USRPRR1980-03	In 1972 the draft was ended, and we now man the armed services by volunteers. How do you feel about this--that this has been a good thing, or that it would be better if we had kept the draft?	1980
USRPRR1979-04	In 1972 the draft was ended, and we now man the armed services by volunteers. How do you feel about this--that this has been a good thing, or that it would be better if we had kept the draft?	1979
USRPRR1977-04	In 1972 the draft was ended, and we now man the armed services by volunteers. How do you feel about this--that this has been a good thing, or that it would be better if we had kept the draft?	1977

USRPRR1974-03	In 1972 the draft was ended, and we now man the armed services by volunteers. How do you feel about this--that this has been a good thing, or that it would be better if we had kept the draft?	1974
3. Questions on Support for the Draft		
Gallup #734-K	Do you think every able-bodied male 18 years old should be required to serve in the armed forces one year?	1966
USAIPO1955-0542	Would you be in favor of requiring every able-bodied young man in this country when he reaches the age 18, to spend on year in military training and then join the reserves?	1955
USAIPO1952-0487	Would you favor or oppose requiring every able-bodied young man in this country, when he reaches age 18, to serve 6 months in military training and then join the reserves?	1952
USAIPO1950-0459	Q8BK. In the future, do you think every able-bodied young man (who has not already been in the armed forces) should be required to take military or naval training for one year?	1950
USAIPO1950-0451	The Selective Service Draft law ends in June. Do you think Congress should or should not continue the draft law for another 3 years?	1950
USAIPO1949-0436	The U.S. now has the Draft Act to keep our armed forces at the strength needed at present. It has been suggested that we have, in addition, Universal Military Training to build up a large reserve force. Do you think every able-bodied young man (who has not already been in the Armed Forces) should be required to take military or naval training for one year?	1949
USAIPO1948-0423	On August 30, all men between 18 and 25 years of age will start registering under the new federal draft law. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the draft?	1948
USAIPO1948-0415	Q4A. Do you think Congress should or should not pass a law to require every able-bodied young man (who has not already been in the armed force) to take military or naval training for one year?	1948
USAIPO1948-0415	Q10B. Do you think Congress should pass a law which would permit the government to draft young men to serve in the armed forces?	1948
USAIPO1947-0388	In the future, do you think every able-bodied young man should be required to take military or naval training for one year?	1947
USRFOR1946-053	Do you think the United States should or should not draft all young men for a certain amount of military training during peacetime?	1946
USAIPO1946-0367	The Selective Service Draft Law expires in May. Do you think Congress should or should not vote to continue the Draft Law for another year?	1946
USNORC1945-0239	Would you be in favor of or would you be against a law that would require boys to take a year's military training in peacetime when they become 18 years old?	1945
USAIPO1945-0354	Q1K. In the future, do you think every able-bodied young man should be required to take military or naval training for one year?	1945
USAIPO1945-0354	Q1T. In the future, do you think every able-bodied young man should be required to serve on year in the army or navy?	1945
USAIPO1945-0348	Q14K. Do you think Congress should pass a law requiring every able-bodied young man to take military or naval training for one year?	1945
USAIPO1945-0339	Q2AK. After this war is over, do you think every able-bodied young man should be required to serve one year in the army or navy?	1945
USAIPO1945-0339	Q2AT. After this war is over, do you think every able-bodied young man should be required to take military or naval training for one year?	1945

USRFOR1944-038	3. After the war, do you think the United States should draft all young men for a certain amount of Army training during peacetime or should be go back to the regular Army system of taking volunteers only?	1944
USRFOR1944-037	2. After the war, do you think the United States should draft all young men for a certain amount of Army training during peacetime?	1944
USAIPO1940-0226	Is the draft a good thing?	1940
4. Questions on the Abolition of the Draft		
USAIPO1969-0773	After the Vietnam War is over, do you think the U.S. should do away with the draft and depend upon a professional military force made up of volunteers, or do you think the draft should be continued?	1969
Gallup #699KB	Do you think the time has come when this country should do away with the draft and depend upon professional military forces made up of volunteers, or do you think the draft should be continued?	1964
USAIPO1956-0571	Do you think the time has come when this country should do away with the draft or not?	1956
USAIPO1951-0473	After the present emergency is over, do you think EVERY young man (who has not already been in the Armed Forces) should or should not spend two years in the Armed Forces or in work connected with national defense?	1951
USRFOR1944-038	3. After the war, do you think the United States should draft all young men for a certain amount of Army training during peacetime or should be go back to the regular Army system of taking volunteers only?	1944

2. Education and income: additional hypotheses about the cost of being drafted

The surveys considered in the paper provide relatively little support for the idea that the costly prospect of being drafted influence support for the draft. Only the three surveys from the 1980s—a period when there was no ongoing war and thus the potential cost of being drafted was relatively low—turned up evidence that those likely to pay the costs of the draft were more likely to oppose it.

One possible objection to this conclusion is that the cost hypothesis tested in the paper is too simple. While military service might have been fundamentally similar to all potential draftees, it was not equally costly to all of them in an economic sense. Those who had relatively better prospects outside the military paid a higher opportunity cost as a result. Those with better education, or from wealthier backgrounds, could earn more if they remained in civilian life than those with less education or wealth. At the other extreme, the opportunity cost of being drafted might actually have been negative for those with especially poor prospects. They might receive educational opportunities that they would not otherwise have had. This suggests another cost hypothesis:

HA1: Among draft eligible men, support for the draft should be negatively related to education and socioeconomic status.

Another way in which the cost of the draft varied concerns individual expectations about actually having to serve. The Cold War draft was notoriously rife with exemptions for those who did not wish to serve. While many, such as marriage and children, were open to nearly anyone, many others were much more easily available to those with money or political connections. Not everyone could afford to go to graduate school to avoid the draft, and not everyone had the political connections necessary to obtaining a posting with a non-combat unit where they would face little danger. These deferments were largely abolished once the lottery system was implemented in 1970, but they suggest an alternative hypothesis for the years when the earlier system prevailed.

HA2: During the Cold War draft era, among those eligible to be drafted, support for the draft should be positively related to education and income.

These two hypotheses suggest contradictory patterns for the Cold War draft era. It is possible that both patterns held, but canceled one another out.

In order to test these hypotheses I estimated four additional models for each survey. I began with sex, age, and draft eligibility, variables that were available in every survey. The first model added education to this set, testing its effects on the sample as a whole. The second substituted social class or income, depending on which had been recorded in the survey. The third and fourth models interacted education, then income, with draft eligibility. Because education and income were always recorded as categorical variables, I used separate dummies for all but the lowest category. In the interactive models, this meant multiple interaction effects. Table A1 reports the overall results in summary form, giving the joint significance of the income and education categories in the full sample from the first two models, then for the conditional coefficients on income and education for the draft-eligible part of the sample for the last two models containing

interaction terms. The type of joint significance test depended on whether survey weights were available. When they were, an F-test was used. When they were not, a Wald test was used instead. All the results were produced using the *logit* or *svy: logit* commands in Stata 13.

Table A1.
The Effect of Education and Income on all Respondents and Draft-Eligible Respondents

<p align="center"><i>1945 Survey, Form K</i></p> Education, full sample: $F(3, 31) = 1.10$ Social class, full sample: $F(3, 31) = 0.50$ Education, draft-eligible: $F(3, 31) = 0.18$ Social class, draft-eligible: $F(3, 31) = 0.34$	<p align="center"><i>1945 Survey, Form T</i></p> Education, full sample: $F(3, 31) = 1.76$ Social class, full sample: $F(3, 31) = 1.42$ Education, draft-eligible: $F(3, 31) = 0.15$ Social class, draft-eligible: $F(3, 31) = 0.61$
<p align="center"><i>1952 Survey</i></p> Education, full sample: $\chi^2(3) = 1.25$ Social class, full sample: $\chi^2(2) = 3.04$ Education, draft-eligible: $\chi^2(3) = 3.03$ Social class, draft-eligible: $\chi^2(2) = 0.87$	<p align="center"><i>1969 Survey</i></p> Education, full sample: $F(3, 1) = 12.58$ Income, full sample: $F(3, 1) = 3.66$ Education, draft-eligible: $F(3, 1) = 2.43$ Income, draft-eligible: $F(3, 1) = 0.69$
<p align="center"><i>1980 Survey</i></p> Education, full sample: $F(1, 1) = 0.54$ Income, full sample: $F(1, 1) = 11.32$ Education, draft-eligible: $F(1, 1) = 4.38$ Income, draft-eligible: $F(1, 1) = 7.65$	<p align="center"><i>1981 Survey</i></p> Education, full sample: $\chi^2(3) = 15.08^{**}$ Income, full sample: $\chi^2(4) = 6.65$ Education, draft-eligible: $\chi^2(3) = 0.39$ Income, draft-eligible: $\chi^2(4) = 2.26$
<p align="center"><i>1985 Survey</i></p> Education, full sample: $\chi^2(3) = 6.73^*$ Income, full sample: $\chi^2(5) = 0.79$ Education, draft-eligible: $\chi^2(3) = 2.09$ Income, draft-eligible: $\chi^2(5) = 2.97$	<p align="center"><i>2003 Survey</i></p> Education, full sample: $\chi^2(3) = 5.45$ Income, full sample: $\chi^2(4) = 1.04$ Education, draft-eligible: $\chi^2(3) = 0.54$ Income, draft-eligible: $\chi^2(4) = 0.36$
<p align="center"><i>2011 Survey</i></p> Education, full sample: $F(3, 154) = 4.32^{**}$ Income, full sample: $F(4, 152) = 5.73^{**}$ Education, draft-eligible: $F(3, 154) = 2.28^*$ Income, draft-eligible: $F(4, 152) = 0.97$	

** $p < 0.05$

* $p < 0.10$

Notes:

1. The education variables used here have four categories: (1) less than high school; (2) high school graduate; (3) some college; (4) college degree.
2. Interviewers recorded their perception of the respondent's social class in the 1945 and 1952 surveys, using a five-category scale. In the 1945 survey, the highest category was included with the second highest because of the small number of observations. In the 1952 survey the highest and lowest categories were included with the second-highest and second-lowest for the same reason, producing a 3-category variables.
3. For all but the 1985 survey, income is coded in quintiles. The 1985 survey provided six broad categories: (1) under \$8,000; (2) \$8,000-11,999; (3) \$12,000-19,999; (4) \$20,000-29,999; (5) \$30,000-49,999; (6) \$50,000 or more.

As the results reported in Table A1 indicate, there is little evidence that either education or income had any effect on the support for the draft among those eligible for it. Only one of the 18 joint significance tests conducted among the draft-eligible portion of the sample produced a statistically significant result. It is worth emphasizing that these hypotheses make greater demands of the available data than the cost hypotheses tested in the paper. There are generally a small number of draft-eligible respondents in any given survey, and the interaction with wealth, socioeconomic status, or education reduces the number of observations even further. It would be a mistake to draw strong conclusions from failure to reject the null. However, it is also worth noting that there is also little evidence that income or education had much effect on opinion about the draft in the larger sample. In 4 of the 18 significance tests presented in Table A1, wealthier or (more often) better-educated respondents were more likely to oppose the draft, but there was usually no relationship.

3. The effect of party and ideology in the post-1969 surveys

This section presents the results concerning party and ideology from the post-1969 surveys. In each case, dummy variables indicating Republican and Democratic Party identification were added to the first model listed for each survey. I also estimated another model in which liberal and conservative ideology were substituted for the party identification variables. Table A2 reports the coefficients for these new variables. In no case were the results for the other variables substantially changed.

As the results in the table indicate, party and ideology were frequently related to support for the draft, but not consistently. There may well be a theoretical explanation that matches these results, but it does not follow from the arguments about the costs and benefits of the draft, or group identification, presented in the paper.

Table A2.
Party, Ideology, and Support for the Draft in the Post-1969 Surveys

	Year of Survey:				
	1980	1981	1985	2003	2011
Democrat	0.05 (0.09)	-0.10 (0.11)	-0.09 (0.12)	-0.33 (0.20)	0.07 (0.13)
Republican	0.39* (0.05)	0.36* (0.12)	-0.02 (0.14)	-0.03 (0.18)	-0.36* (0.15)
Liberal	-0.45* (0.03)	-0.58* (0.12)	-0.24 (0.21)	-0.07 (0.24)	0.27* (0.13)
Conservative	0.26* (0.01)	0.26* (0.11)	0.07 (0.08)	0.34* (0.16)	0.04 (0.14)

*p < 0.05

4. Are veteran status and support for the draft endogenous?

One important threat to the inference in the paper that military service leads individuals to support of the military draft later in life is the possibility that a broader set of pro-military attitudes causes both the decision to enlist and subsequent support for the draft. This would not be an issue if all who served in the military were drafted, but this has never been the case. Even during the last three years of World War II, when voluntary enlistment was suspended, there were a large number of people had volunteered in the immediate aftermath of Pearl Harbor, before this policy went into effect, as well as others who had enlisted before the war began. Compared to the two world wars, draft deferments were relatively easy to obtain during the wars in Korea and Vietnam, and even easier during the peacetime draft of the 1950s and early 1960s. Most military personnel who served during this period were actually volunteers.

Of course, an individual's attitude toward the military before enlisting might not actually shape their attitudes toward the military later in life. Actual military service could produce important changes in an individual's perspective, even if they remain pro-military both before and after they serve. Moreover, it is not obvious that those who volunteer for military service should be more likely to support the draft. They might view volunteers like themselves as better soldiers, or just believe a draft is not necessary. This is particularly true for those who have served in the all-volunteer force since 1973. Some of these veterans might even resent the suggestion that the draft should be restored, because it implies that a force of draftees would be superior to the all-volunteer force in which they served.

The most straightforward way to assess the endogeneity problem would be to see if those who were drafted felt differently about the draft than those who enlisted voluntarily. Unfortunately, none of the surveys used here collected the information necessary to do so. One way to approximate this information is to break down military veterans by their period of service. Roughly 60 percent of those who served during the World Wars—the vast majority of veterans who served before 1945 given the small size of the interwar force—were draftees. The figure for the wars in Korea and Vietnam is around 20 percent. All of those who entered military service after 1973 have been volunteers. If the correlation between veteran status and support for the draft is a function of the prior attitude that motivated voluntary enlistment, then it should be strongest among those who served in the all-volunteer force, weaker among those who served in the Cold War draft era because of the presence of some draftees, and weaker still among veterans of the mainly-drafted force that fought in the two World Wars.

This analysis is possible in three of the surveys examined here: those conducted in 1985, 2003, and 2011. The 1952 survey also asked about veteran status, but the question on military service asked only if had served during one of the World Wars. Table A4 presents the results of this analysis. It replicates the first model of these three surveys in Tables 4 and 5 of the paper, except that veteran are divided according to the period in which they joined, assuming that none did so until they reached age 18.

Table A4.
Logit Models of Support for Resumption of the Draft with Disaggregated Veteran Status

	<i>Year of Survey:</i>		
	<i>1985</i>	<i>2003</i>	<i>2011</i>
Veteran who joined in all-volunteer force (1974-)	1.10* (0.45)	0.57 (0.37)	0.05 (0.27)
Veteran who joined Cold War draft era force (1946-73)	0.79* (0.21)	0.63* (0.22)	0.40* (0.19)
Veteran who joined World War I or II force (through 1945)	-0.21 (0.23)	0.07 (0.44)	-0.27 (0.50)
Eligible for draft	-0.64* (0.27)	0.43 (0.46)	0.13 (0.27)
Non-veteran living in household with veteran	0.26* (0.10)		
Respondent has children under age 18			-0.10 (0.18)
Male	0.19 (0.17)	0.08 (0.21)	0.44* (0.14)
Age	0.01* (0.004)	0.03* (0.01)	0.02* (0.005)
Constant	-1.83* (0.25)	-3.17* (0.38)	-2.52* (0.29)
Wald test: H ₀ : All veteran status coefficients are equal	F(2, 13) = 5.82*	F(2, 125) = 1.23	F(2, 155) = 0.26
N	1,441	976	1,851
All-volunteer force veterans	32	50	119
Cold War draft era veterans	171	100	189
World War veterans	70	29	27

Note: These data are from the Roper Center's Public Opinion Archive, surveys USABCWASH1985-8890, USAIPOCNUS2003-47, and USPEW2011-SDT09. Asterisk indicates significance at $p < 0.05$ level in a one-tailed test. Standard errors in parentheses. Question wording in text.

The results in Table A4 suggest that there may be some differences among the groups of veterans, but that they are not large. Only in the 1985 survey can we reject the null hypothesis that all three veteran coefficients are equal. In this case, the coefficient for AVF veterans is the largest, followed by the coefficient for Cold War draft era veterans. The coefficient for World War II veterans is smaller still, and not statistically significant. Though this pattern appears consistent with the possibility that pro-military attitudes prevalent among those who enlisted voluntarily, the results are actually more ambiguous. Age has a significant effect on support for the draft, with older respondents being more likely to take this position. When one considers the average age of these groups, the probability of support for the draft among them is nearly identical. The predicted probability of support for the draft among Cold War draft era veterans is 0.41. Among veterans of the AVF it is 0.44. While the 1985 survey provides no evidence that World War II veterans were more likely to support the draft than other respondents of the same age, the 1952 survey in the paper found a very strong effect for these veterans.

The results in Table A4 shed some light on why veteran status was statistically insignificant in the 2011 survey, as the results reported in Table 5 of the paper indicate. The likely explanation is inconsistent with the claim that underlying pro-military attitudes could motivate both voluntary enlistment and support for the draft. The results in Table A1 indicate the veterans who entered service before 1973 were still much more likely to support the draft than other Americans in 2011. Compared to an otherwise identical 68-year old man, who had a 0.30 probability of supporting the draft, a veteran of the Cold War draft era force had 0.39 probability of taking this position. By contrast, being a veteran of the AVF had no statistically effect. The same pattern held in the 2003 survey, but veterans of the AVF were not as prevalent in the veteran population then as they were in 2011. It seems likely that pride in their voluntary service or belief in the quality of the AVF have trumped any potential pro-draft attitudes among veterans who did not serve with draftees. This makes it even less likely that voluntary enlistment explains the pro-draft attitudes of veterans.

Overall, while it is possible that endogeneity somewhat inflates the apparent causal effect of military service on support for the draft, the differences among veterans from different eras are not large enough to support the suspicion that prior pro-military attitudes entirely account for the relationship. As was noted in the paper, the relationship between veteran status and support for the draft is substantively very large. Even if part of it can be attributed to endogeneity, part is probably still causal. More research is necessary to establish this with certainty, but the weight of the evidence reviewed here supports the inference that military service influences attitudes toward the draft.