

Shaping Personality and Beliefs: The Role of Military Conscription*

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Abstract

Military conscription is one of the most prevalent policies around the world, typically affecting men at a very young age. Still, its consequences on shaping men's personalities and beliefs remain unknown. We estimate the causal impact of mandatory military conscription on subsequent beliefs and personality traits. To address potential endogeneity concerns we exploit the conscription draft lottery in Argentina. We combine administrative data on the draft with data from a purposely-designed survey on beliefs and personality traits. We find that men that served in the conscription are more likely to justify violence to solve conflicts, believe that military service should be mandatory, support coups against civilian governments, accept military interventions in foreign countries, and support the right to bear arms. In addition, men that served in the conscription are less tolerant, more disciplined, more politically conservative, more authoritarian, and more belligerent. Our paper highlights the potential role that military conscription has in shaping the values and beliefs of young people from all around the world.

Keywords: Military service, personality traits, behavior.

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I. Introduction

Military conscription (also called military service or conscription) is one of the most prevalent policies around the world, affecting men typically at a very young age. Almost every country has some kind of military service in which young men are exposed to indoctrination by the military. Our paper provides novel evidence on the role this military indoctrination has on subsequent beliefs and personality traits.

Because military conscription typically occurs before other life-shaping events (such as parenthood, marriage, and participation in the labor market), it maximizes the possibility of redirection in behavior, personality, and beliefs of young men (Elder, Modell, and Parke 1993). Even though it is well established that personality development is mostly influenced by genetic and environmental factors (Bouchard 1994), there is recent economics literature providing evidence that policies targeting teenagers can affect subsequent beliefs and personality traits. For example, Meghir, Palme, and Simeonova (2013) find that education policies that target teenagers have an effect on their personality traits. More generally, Akee et al. (2018) shows personality traits are malleable into teenage years.

There is specialized literature on the characteristics of the military and its culture that concludes the military are above average in conservatism, authoritarianism, traditionalism, and aggressiveness (Bachman, Sigelman, and Diamond 1987). Our hypothesis is that the exposure to the military culture and to military indoctrination, at an age in which personality traits are still malleable, can potentially shape young men's personality traits and beliefs towards personality traits and beliefs observed in the military culture.

Given the wide presence of military conscription around the globe and its potential for shaping young men's personality, it is surprising there is no empirical evidence concerning the effect of conscription on beliefs and personality traits. Our paper fills this gap in the literature and provides empirical evidence on the causal impact of mandatory conscription on subsequent personality and beliefs. To address potential endogeneity concerns we exploit the conscription draft lottery in Argentina. For almost all the 20th Century, the draft lottery in Argentina randomly assigned eligibility of all young males to military service based on the last three numbers of their national ID. We use administrative data on draft eligibility for male cohorts born between 1958 and 1975, and we complement this data with a purposely-designed survey on beliefs and personality traits.

Using a sample of 1,137 Argentine males born between 1958 and 1975, we find that participation in military conscription has a substantively impact on subsequent personality and beliefs. In particular, we find that men that served in the conscription are more likely to justify violence to solve conflicts, to believe that military service should be mandatory, to support coups against civilian governments, to accept military interventions in foreign countries, and to support the right to bear arms. In addition, men that served in the conscription are less tolerant, more disciplined, more politically conservative, more authoritarian, and more belligerent. That is, even though the main goal of military conscription is to produce men that can serve in the military, we report evidence that conscription also produce men that think as the military.

Our paper connects to several strands of literature. Some authors analyzed the connection between military service and pro-military values, typically comparing

individuals who are in (or planning to follow) a military career against individuals who do not. In an early contribution, Goertzel and Hengst (1971) compare Army cadets with university undergraduates. They find that even though Army cadets do not differ greatly from university undergraduates on background variables, they score higher on scales measuring personality authoritarianism, misanthropy, intolerance, aggressive nationalism, political-economic conservatism, and belief in imperialism. More recently, Jackson et al. (2012) show a positive correlation between personality traits and the decision to enter the military. People lower in agreeableness and openness to experience during high school were more likely to enter the military after graduation. An obvious drawback of such studies is that people self-select into the military service. Our paper represents the first effort to identify the causal effect of military conscription on subsequent personality traits and beliefs.

There is a small amount of literature on the link between serving in the military and politicians' voting behavior. In two related papers, Stadelmann, Portmann, and Eichenberger (2015) and Stadelmann, Portmann, and Eichenberger (2018) explore the voting behavior of Swiss parliamentarians and show that politicians who served in the military have a higher probability of accepting pro-military legislative proposals. They also have higher probability of accepting proposals on neutrality and lower probability of accepting proposals linked to international human rights and the environment, compared to those who have not served. The authors find evidence that intrinsic motivation to serve in the military is the factor that explains these differences in legislative decisions. That is, the factor that causes the observed differences in voting behavior is not military service,

but self-selection into the military. Here we avoid selection problems by exploiting a well-documented random assignment.

More generally, our paper is related to important literature on the causal impact of military service on a wide set of outcomes, including criminal behavior (Galiani, Rossi, and Schargrodsky 2011; Siminski, Ville, and Paull 2016; Hjalmarsson and Lindquist 2016; Albaek et al. 2017; Lyk-Jensen 2018), earnings (Paloyo 2010; Galiani, Rossi, and Schargrodsky 2011; Grenet, Hart, and Roberts 2011; Card and Cardoso 2012; Bauer et al. 2012; Hjalmarsson and Lindquist 2016), and education (Keller, Poutvaara, and Wagener 2009).¹

Finally, our findings also tie in with the literature that uses micro-data to show that personal experiences such as the exposure to a stock market boom (Greenwood and Nagel 2009), past inflation (Malmendier and Nagel 2016), or the great recession (Malmendier and Tate 2005), play an important role in shaping expectations and beliefs.

The organization of the paper is as follows. Section II describes the military values. Section III presents the natural experiment and the main characteristics of military service in Argentina. Section IV describes the administrative data and the survey. Section V reports the econometric methods and results. Section VI concludes.

II. Military conscription and the military culture

The modern system of near-universal national conscription for young men dates to the French Revolution, where it became the basis of a very large military. Nowadays,

¹ Many studies have exploited the natural experiment generated by the Vietnam draft lottery in the U.S. to analyze the impact of serving in the military during wartime on many outcomes, such as future earnings (Angrist, 1990; Angrist and Chen 2007), alcohol consumption (Goldberg et al., 1991), cigarette consumption (Eisenberg and Rowe 2009), health (Angrist, Chen, and Frandsen 2009; Dobkin and Shabini, 2009; Autor, Duggan, and Lyle 2011), mortality (Conley and Heerwig 2009), and criminal behavior (Rohlf's 2010; Lindo and Stoecker 2014). Military service during wartime is, however, a very different intervention compared to peacetime conscription.

almost every country has some kind of military service, and 35 percent of the countries around the world have mandatory military conscription.² Countries involved in wars are most likely to have mandatory conscription, and those states that have abolished mandatory conscription still reserve the right to resume it during wartime.

Typically, men serve in the conscription at age 18 for a period between 4 and 32 months.³ During this period, young men are exposed to military training. In general, military training includes a process in which new recruits go through a process of deconstruction of their civilian status. Subsequently, having become receptive to new values, recruits are exposed intensively to the norms, authority relations, and disciplinary codes of the military organization, which are expressed to them by senior members of the military (Soeters, Winslow, and Weibull 2006).

There is specialized literature that analyzes the codes and characteristics of military organizations. Lang (1965) points to various specific characteristics of military organizations. First, militaries wear the uniform inside and outside the organization. This relates to the degree to which the control of the military organization extends to various aspects and stages of personal life, much more than in ordinary organizations. Second, there is a heavy emphasis on hierarchy, which may lead to a certain authoritarian ideology. Third, there is a chain of command postulating a downward flow of directives, thereby introducing discipline and control.

² Some countries have recently reintroduced military conscription (for example, Sweden and Lithuania), and many countries that currently do not have military conscription are evaluating its reintroduction (for example, France, Germany, and Italy). Obtain from <https://qz.com/1318379/france-joins-sweden-and-lithuania-in-bringing-back-mandatory-national-service/amp/>.

³ Only a few countries also conscript women. For example, China, North Korea, Israel, Eritrea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Libya, and Peru conscript both men and women.

The characteristics of military organizations relates to the individual characteristics of its members. A number of studies describe the military as being above average in authoritarianism, conservatism, aggressiveness, and traditionalism (Bachman, Sigelman, and Diamond 1987).

Soeters (1997) studies military culture among thirty countries and finds that, despite some national differences, an international military culture also exists. In addition, Meyer, Writer, and Brim (2016) conclude that it is not necessary a lengthy exposure to the military in order to absorb the military culture and norms. These two factors are important for the external validity of our findings, because they suggest that our results from Argentina are likely to be valid in other countries and contexts as well, independent of the specific type of instruction and the period conscripts are exposed to it.

III. Military conscription in Argentina

Military conscription in Argentina was mandatory between 1901 and 1994. The length of service was a minimum of one year (Army and Air Force) and a maximum of two years (Navy). Service began with a three-month instruction period during which recruits learned military norms and were exposed to military training. After that, conscripts were allocated to a military unit to perform a specific duty, not necessarily related to military training.⁴

From 1901 to 1976, males served in conscription at the age of 21; later, this was changed to age 18. The cohort born in 1955 was the last cohort that served at age 21; the cohort born in 1958 was the first cohort to serve at age 18.⁵ The cohort born in 1976 faced the draft lottery but was not drafted, as mandatory conscription was abolished in

⁴ For more details on military conscription in Argentina, see Ricardo Rodriguez Molas (1983) and Galiani, Rossi, and Schargrotsky (2011).

⁵ Because of this change, the cohorts born in 1956 and 1957 were not called to military conscription.

December 1994. Our analysis focuses in all cohorts that served at age 18, that is, on cohorts born between 1958 and 1975.

The eligibility of young males for military service was randomly determined, using the last three digits of their national IDs. Each year a lottery assigned a number between 1 and 1,000 to each combination of the last three ID digits. The lottery system was run in a public session administered by the National Lottery. Results were broadcasted over the radio and published in the main newspapers.

After the lottery, individuals were called for mental and physical examinations. Later on, the government announced a cut-off number. Individuals whose ID number had been assigned a lottery number higher than the cut-off number (and who had also passed the mental and physical examinations) were mandatorily called to military conscription.⁶

IV. Data

Exploiting the random assignment of eligibility into the Argentine military conscription, we aim to identify whether being conscripted affects individuals' subsequent beliefs and personality traits. To answer this question, we combine administrative data in the draft with data from a purposely-designed survey on personality traits and beliefs.⁷

Using the lottery draft results and the cut-off numbers by cohort, we define the dummy variable *Draft Eligible* that takes the value of one for men whose ID is above the cut-off and therefore draft-eligible, and zero otherwise.⁸ We also construct the treatment

⁶ Exemption was granted to clerics, seminarians, novitiates, and any individual with family members dependent upon him for support. Deferment to finish high school or attend college was granted up to a maximum of ten years until the completion of studies. Deferment was also granted without a particular reason for a maximum of two years. In all cases, the lottery numbers and cut-offs used to decide eligibility were those of their specific cohort.

⁷ The English version of the survey is presented in the Appendix (Table A1).

⁸ We obtained lottery draft results and cutoff numbers from Galiani, Rossi, and Schargrotsky (2011).

variable *Conscription* that takes the value of one for men that actually served in the conscription, and zero otherwise (obtained from the survey).

From the survey, we also obtained 10 outcome variables. Half of the outcomes relate to personality traits: tolerance, discipline, conservatism, authoritarianism, and belligerence. The other half relate to specific beliefs: the right to bear arms; justification to the use of violence to solve conflicts; justification on the intervention of foreign countries; the need of having a mandatory military conscription; and justification for coups against democratically elected governments.

We use standardized psychological tests to construct measurements of personality traits.⁹ Each trait relates to a set of statements and each statement has a score that depends on how much the person agrees or disagrees with the statement. We construct a separate index for each personality trait. In order to analyze specific beliefs we generate a dummy variable that takes value of one if the person agrees or strongly agrees with the statement, and zero otherwise.

Although eligibility to serve in the conscription was randomly determined, it is useful to examine whether individuals' pre-treatment characteristics are balanced across the draft-eligible and the draft-exempted groups within our sample.¹⁰ From the survey, we obtained information on a set of pre-conscription variables. Table 1 reports differences, by draft-eligibility status, in parents' education, parents' nationality, and whether his father served in the conscription.¹¹ Table 2 reports differences in birth district, by draft-eligibility status. For most of the pre-treatment characteristics available

⁹ Tests for personality traits were obtained from <https://ipip.ori.org/newIndexofScaleLabels.htm>.

¹⁰ Galiani, Rossi, and Schargrodsky (2011) show that, in the population, the draft-eligible and the draft-exempted groups are balanced in the pre-treatment characteristics available. This is as expected given that, on average, each year approximately 250,000 males participated of the lottery assignment.

¹¹ We are assuming that parents' education has reached its maximum when their sons were 18 years old.

there are no statistically significant differences between the draft-eligible and the draft-exempted groups. Thus, we conclude that pre-treatment characteristics are balanced within our sample, suggesting that that the results presented below are not subject to significant sources of selection bias. Additionally, all results are robust to including the set of pre-treatment characteristics as control variables in the regression function.¹²

Table 3 reports summary statistics for outcome variables by draft-eligibility assignment and provides an anticipation of the main results. Those in the draft-eligible group have personality traits and beliefs more aligned with the military compared to those in the draft-exempted group. All differences have the expected sign, and 6 out of 10 differences are statistically significant.

V. Econometric methods and results

We are interested in estimating the causal effect of conscription on beliefs and personality traits. Formally, we want to estimate the following equation:

$$Y_{ic} = \beta + \alpha \text{Conscription}_{ic} + \delta_c + \varepsilon_{ic} \quad (1)$$

where Y_{ic} are outcomes for individual i from birth cohort c , Conscription is a dummy variable that takes the value of one for those individuals that actually served in the military, δ_c is a cohort fixed effect, and ε_{ic} is an error term. The coefficient of interest is α . We expect α to be negative in the equation of *Tolerance*, and positive for all other outcomes. In all estimates, we cluster standard errors at the ID-cohort level.

In order to draw general conclusions in a context of multiple outcomes, we construct an index of personality traits that aggregates the five measures on personality traits, and an index of beliefs that aggregates the five measures on beliefs. Each index is the equally

¹² Figures A1, A2, and A3 in the Appendix compare parents' education and district of origin between the sample and the population.

weighted average of the z-scores of its components (see Kling, Liebman, and Katz 2007). The z-scores are levels standardized using the mean and standard deviation for the draft-exempted group. In all cases, being more aligned with the military culture is associated to higher z-scores.

Since conscription is potentially endogenous in a model on beliefs and personality traits, we estimate equation (1) by Two Stage Least Squares (2SLS), where we use *Draft Eligible* as an instrument for *Conscription*. The 2SLS estimator recovers the average treatment effect for draft-lottery compliers, that is, for those who served in the military because they were assigned a high lottery number, but would not have served otherwise. Thus, 2SLS estimates do not need to generalize to the population of volunteers or to the population of young men who under no circumstances would have passed the pre-induction medical examination.

Table 4 reports first-stage estimates for the pooled sample of the 18 cohorts available, and for 3 groups of 6 cohorts, 1958-1963, 1964-1969, and 1970-1975. The point estimate of the coefficient on *Draft Eligible* in the pooled sample indicates that the probability of serving in the conscription is almost 40 percentage points higher for men in the draft-eligible group than for those in the draft-ineligible group. Looking at the evolution over time of first-stage estimates, the probability of serving in the conscription for the draft-eligible is higher in the earliest cohorts. All first-stage effects are precisely estimated and significantly different from zero.

As a benchmark, we first report Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) estimates of equation (1) for both the index of personality traits and the index of beliefs. As shown in Table 5, results with and without controls indicate that men that served in the conscription have

personality traits and beliefs that are more in line with the ones observed in the military culture.¹³

Table 6 reports the preferred 2SLS estimates. There is a robust positive effect of military conscription on the indexes of personality traits and beliefs. All coefficients in the 2SLS regressions are positive and statistically significant at the 1% level, indicating that serving in the conscription significantly affects beliefs and personality traits in the expected direction.¹⁴

To determine whether the effects are wide-ranging or concentrated in just one or two outcomes, we estimate and report in Table 7 the effects on each separate metric. The first panel reports OLS estimates and the lower panel reports 2SLS estimates. The effect on personality and beliefs of serving in military conscription appears quite general. For all 10 metrics the point estimates have the expected signs (for both OLS and 2SLS estimates) and are statistically significant for 9 (OLS) and 6 (2SLS) of them.

The differences in personality traits are important in size. Focusing on mean effects in 2SLS estimates, we see from Table 7 that tolerance is 5.4 percentage points lower (or 7.4% relative to the mean of the draft ineligible) for those that served in the conscription. Conservatism is 3.5 percentage points higher (5.5%) for those serving in the conscription, and the probability of having a violent personality goes up by 4.4 percentage points (9.6%).

The differences in beliefs are even more important. Serving in the conscription significantly increases the probability of accepting coups by 18.3 percentage points

¹³ Some recruits from the cohorts born in 1962 and 1963 participated in the Malvinas War. Results are robust to excluding those cohorts. Results mentioned but not reported are available from the authors upon request.

¹⁴ The coefficients associated to all control variables are statistically not significant.

(280%), and the probability of supporting the right to bear arms by 14.5 percentage points (90%). These are nontrivial effects. Lastly, military conscription appears as a self-perpetuating institution: the probability of being in favor of mandatory conscription is 16.4 percentage points higher (35%) for those that served in the conscription.

Overall, our results indicate that men that served in the military conscription are less tolerant, more disciplined, more politically conservative, more authoritarian, and more belligerent. In addition, they are more likely to justify violence to solve conflicts, believe that military service should be mandatory, support coups against civilian governments, accept military interventions in foreign countries, and support the right to bear arms.¹⁵ The effect of military indoctrination on specific beliefs is stronger than its effects on personality traits. Nevertheless, the effect on personality traits is substantive and statistically significant.

False experiment

Even though our study relies on well-documented randomization, we try a placebo experiment to further test the exogeneity of our instrument. To do so, we take advantage of the fact that the cohort of 1976 faced the lottery, but was not drafted in the end.¹⁶ We create a fake cut-off number for this cohort using the cut-off number for the 1975 cohort. We then compare outcomes for those with “high” and “low” numbers, and we find no differences between the two groups: the coefficient for the fake dummy for being draft-

¹⁵ Galiani, Rossi, and Schargrodsky (2011) report that conscription increases the likelihood of developing a criminal record in adulthood. The detrimental effects of military conscription on subsequent criminal behavior, however, operate through the labor market (mainly by delaying conscripts’ entry into the labor market) and not by changing attitudes towards criminal activity.

¹⁶ The lottery for the cohort born in 1976 took place on May 27, 1994, but conscription was abolished in December 1994.

eligible is statistically not significant for all outcomes (see Table 8), and most of the coefficients are small and with the opposite sign.

This placebo exercise also addresses the potential concern that the outcome of the lottery could have a direct effect on personality traits and beliefs through mechanisms other than military conscription.

VI. Conclusions

Military conscription is one of the most prevalent policies around the world, affecting typically men in their teenage years. Young men that serve in the conscription are exposed to indoctrination by the military. Our paper provides novel evidence on the role that this military indoctrination has on subsequent beliefs and personality traits.

Our empirical strategy combines administrative data on the conscription draft lottery in Argentina with data from a survey on beliefs and personality traits. We find that participation in military conscription has a substantive and statistically significant impact on personality and beliefs. In particular, we find that men that served in the conscription are more likely to have personality traits, values, and beliefs that are in line with the ones observed in the military culture.

Our paper highlights the important role of military conscription (and military indoctrination) on the formation of values and beliefs of young people from all around the world.

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Table 1. Pre-treatment characteristics, by draft-eligibility assignment

	Draft eligible mean	Non draft eligible mean	Difference
Father's country of birth	0.921 (0.270)	0.911 (0.285)	0.010 (0.017)
Mother's country of birth	0.906 (0.292)	0.921 (0.270)	-0.015 (0.017)
His father did military conscription	0.623 (0.485)	0.631 (0.483)	-0.008 (0.029)
Father's maximum level of education			
No instruction	0.014 (0.119)	0.010 (0.101)	0.004 (0.007)
Incomplete primary school	0.128 (0.334)	0.120 (0.326)	0.008 (0.020)
Complete primary School	0.254 (0.436)	0.227 (0.419)	0.026 (0.025)
Incomplete secondary school	0.114 (0.318)	0.113 (0.317)	0.001 (0.019)
Complete secondary School	0.157 (0.364)	0.180 (0.385)	-0.023 (0.022)
Incomplete high education	0.023 (0.151)	0.033 (0.178)	-0.009 (0.010)
Complete high education	0.063 (0.243)	0.038 (0.191)	0.025** (0.013)
Incomplete university	0.072 (0.259)	0.083 (0.275)	-0.010 (0.016)
Complete university	0.164 (0.371)	0.186 (0.389)	-0.022 (0.023)
Mother's maximum level of education			
No instruction	0.011 (0.104)	0.016 (0.123)	-0.005 (0.007)
Incomplete primary school	0.115 (0.320)	0.103 (0.304)	0.013 (0.019)
Complete primary School	0.314 (0.464)	0.247 (0.432)	0.065*** (0.027)
Incomplete secondary school	0.101 (0.301)	0.117 (0.322)	-0.016 (0.019)
Complete secondary School	0.211 (0.408)	0.246 (0.431)	-0.035 (0.025)
Incomplete high education	0.023 (0.151)	0.010 (0.101)	0.013* (0.008)
Complete high education	0.137 (0.344)	0.153 (0.360)	-0.016 (0.021)
Incomplete university	0.034 (0.182)	0.036 (0.187)	-0.002 (0.011)
Complete university	0.052 (0.223)	0.069 (0.253)	-0.016 (0.014)

Notes: *Significant at the 10% level. **Significant at the 5% level. ***Significant at the 1% level.

Table 2. District of origin, by draft-eligibility assignment

	Draft eligible mean	Non draft eligible mean	Difference
Buenos Aires	0.567 (0.496)	0.497 (0.500)	0.070** (0.030)
Catamarca	0.011 (0.104)	0.007 (0.083)	0.004 (0.006)
Chaco	0.014 (0.119)	0.021 (0.142)	-0.006 (0.008)
Chubut	0.011 (0.104)	0.009 (0.092)	0.002 (0.006)
Cordoba	0.058 (0.234)	0.074 (0.262)	-0.016 (0.015)
Corrientes	0.018 (0.133)	0.019 (0.136)	-0.001 (0.008)
Entre Rios	0.018 (0.133)	0.029 (0.169)	-0.011 (0.009)
Formosa	0.011 (0.104)	0.005 (0.072)	0.006 (0.005)
Jujuy	0.016 (0.127)	0.017 (0.130)	-0.001 (0.008)
La Pampa	0.013 (0.112)	0.005 (0.072)	0.007 (0.006)
La Rioja	0.007 (0.104)	0.003 (0.059)	0.004 (0.005)
Mendoza	0.040 (0.195)	0.024 (0.153)	0.016 (0.010)
Misiones	0.011 (0.104)	0.010 (0.101)	0.001 (0.006)
Neuquen	0.020 (0.140)	0.024 (0.153)	-0.004 (0.009)
Rio Negro	0.011 (0.104)	0.007 (0.083)	0.004 (0.006)
Salta	0.027 (0.162)	0.045 (0.207)	-0.018 (0.011)
San Juan	0.009 (0.095)	0.010 (0.101)	-0.001 (0.006)
San Luis	0.005 (0.074)	0.007 (0.083)	-0.001 (0.005)
Santa Cruz	0.011 (0.104)	0.007 (0.083)	0.004 (0.006)
Santa Fe	0.078 (0.268)	0.089 (0.285)	-0.012 (0.016)
Santiago del Estero	0.007 (0.085)	0.024 (0.153)	-0.017** (0.007)
Tucuman	0.034 (0.182)	0.067 (0.250)	-0.033*** (0.013)

Notes: Buenos Aires includes the military districts Bahia Blanca, Buenos Aires, Junin, La Plata, San Martin, and Tandil. Cordoba includes the military districts of Rio Cuarto and Cordoba. Santa Fe includes the military districts of Rosario and Santa Fe. Santa Cruz includes Tierra del Fuego. *Significant at the 10% level. **Significant at the 5% level. ***Significant at the 1% level.

Table 3. Outcomes, by draft-eligibility assignment

	Draft-eligible mean	Non-draft eligible mean	Difference
<i>Outcomes</i>			
Tolerance	0.715 (0.101)	0.736 (0.080)	-0.021*** (0.005)
Discipline	0.756 (0.102)	0.752 (0.109)	0.004 (0.006)
Conservatism	0.656 (0.093)	0.641 (0.092)	0.015*** (0.005)
Authoritarianism	0.532 (0.169)	0.519 (0.147)	0.013 (0.009)
Belligerence	0.474 (0.116)	0.460 (0.106)	0.014** (0.007)
In favor of right to bear arms	0.235 (0.424)	0.162 (0.368)	0.073*** (0.024)
Justify violence to solve conflicts	0.222 (0.416)	0.194 (0.396)	0.028 (0.024)
Accept countries' interventions	0.283 (0.451)	0.242 (0.429)	0.041 (0.026)
In favor of mandatory conscription	0.531 (0.500)	0.433 (0.496)	0.098*** (0.030)
Accept coups	0.143 (0.350)	0.065 (0.247)	0.078*** (0.018)

Notes: *Significant at the 10% level. **Significant at the 5% level. ***Significant at the 1% level.

Table 4. First-stage estimates

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Cohorts	1958-1975	1958-1963	1964-1969	1970-1975
Draft Eligible	0.392*** (0.027)	0.568*** (0.041)	0.394*** (0.051)	0.205*** (0.042)
Constant	-0.039 (0.040)	-0.033*** (0.059)	0.174** (0.057)	0.025 (0.038)
Method	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS
Observations	1,136	389	352	395

Notes: Standard errors clustered at the ID-cohort level are shown in parentheses. The dependent variable is *Conscription*. All models include cohorts fixed effects. *Significant at the 10% level. **Significant at the 5% level. ***Significant at the 1% level.

Table 5. OLS estimates: impact of conscription on personality traits and beliefs

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Index of personality traits		Index of beliefs	
Conscription	0.234*** (0.051)	0.216*** (0.050)	0.329*** (0.056)	0.293*** (0.055)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136

Notes: Standard errors clustered at the ID-cohort level are shown in parentheses. All models include cohorts fixed effects. The set of controls includes all variables listed in Tables 1 and 2. *Significant at the 10% level. **Significant at the 5% level. ***Significant at the 1% level.

Table 6. 2SLS estimates: impact of conscription on personality traits and beliefs

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Index of personality traits		Index of beliefs	
Conscription	0.341*** (0.103)	0.328*** (0.102)	0.377*** (0.112)	0.388*** (0.111)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136

Notes: Standard errors clustered at the ID-cohort level are shown in parentheses. All models include cohorts fixed effects. The set of controls includes all variables listed in Tables 1 and 2. *Significant at the 10% level. **Significant at the 5% level. ***Significant at the 1% level.

Table 7. Impact of mandatory military conscription on personality traits and beliefs, by outcome

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Tolerance	Discipline	Conservatism	Authoritarianism	Violence or Belligerence	In favor of right to bear arms	Justify violence to solve conflicts	Accept countries' interventions	In favor of mandatory conscription	Accept coups
Conscription	-0.027*** (0.007)	0.004 (0.008)	0.031*** (0.007)	0.020* (0.012)	0.034*** (0.009)	0.143*** (0.030)	0.087*** (0.030)	0.066** (0.032)	0.187*** (0.035)	0.124*** (0.025)
Constant	0.703*** (0.019)	0.729*** (0.018)	0.654*** (0.015)	0.544*** (0.027)	0.467*** (0.020)	0.092 (0.057)	0.147** (0.065)	0.211*** (0.072)	0.341*** (0.081)	0.075 (0.058)
% change	-3.67	0.53	4.84	3.86	7.40	88.54	44.81	27.24	43.19	189.92
Method	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS
Controls	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Observations	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136
Conscription	-0.054*** (0.015)	0.006 (0.017)	0.035** (0.015)	0.027 (0.026)	0.044** (0.018)	0.145** (0.068)	0.087 (0.068)	0.085 (0.072)	0.164** (0.082)	0.183*** (0.046)
Constant	0.705*** (0.012)	0.727*** (0.020)	0.637*** (0.018)	0.559*** (0.022)	0.501*** (0.016)	0.213*** (0.060)	0.294*** (0.070)	0.294*** (0.061)	0.418*** (0.070)	0.153*** (0.051)
% change	-7.34	0.80	5.46	5.21	9.57	89.78	44.81	35.09	37.88	280.28
Method	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS
Controls	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Observations	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136	1,136

Notes: Standard errors clustered at the ID-cohort level are shown in parentheses. All models include cohorts fixed effects. Percentage change is calculated relative to the mean of the outcome in the draft-ineligible group. *Significant at the 10% level. **Significant at the 5% level. ***Significant at the 1% level.

Table 8. Placebo regression: cohort that faced the draft lottery but eventually was not drafted

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
	Tolerance	Discipline	Conservatism	Authoritarianism	Violence or Belligerence	In favor of right to bear arms	Justify violence to solve conflicts	Accept countries' interventions	In favor of mandatory conscription	Accept coups
Draft Eligible	0.002 (0.023)	-0.028 (0.030)	-0.031 (0.027)	-0.011 (0.039)	-0.027 (0.027)	0.025 (0.106)	-0.128 (0.107)	0.016 (0.138)	-0.026 (0.150)	0.019 (0.062)
Constant	0.729*** (0.014)	0.749*** (0.019)	0.623*** (0.013)	0.508*** (0.022)	0.477*** (0.018)	0.133** (0.063)	0.233*** (0.079)	0.300*** (0.085)	0.500*** (0.093)	0.033 (0.033)
Method	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS
Controls	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Observations	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49

Notes: Standard errors clustered at the ID-cohort level are shown in parentheses. *Significant at the 10% level. **Significant at the 5% level. ***Significant at the 1% level.

Appendix

Table A1. Survey

Beliefs/Personality traits	Questions
Beliefs	Having a weapon should be a right The use of violence is justified to resolve certain conflicts Intervention from one country to another is justified under certain circumstances Military service should be mandatory A coup is acceptable when a government is incompetent
Authoritarianism	Boss people around Like having authority over others Insist that others do things my way Make demands on others Have a strong need for power Am known as a controlling person
Conservatism	Tend to vote for conservative political candidates Believe in one true religion Believe that we should be tough on crime Tend to vote for liberal political candidates Believe in the importance of art Don't consider myself religious Believe that there is no absolute right and wrong Believe that criminals should receive help rather than punishment
Discipline	Believe laws should be strictly enforced Use swear words Try to follow the rules Oppose authority Respect authority Know how to get around the rules Like to stand during the national anthem Resist authority Break rules
Tolerance	Accept people as they are Am a bad loser Respect others Get irritated easily Sympathize with the homeless Lay down the law to others Believe there are many sides to most issues

Beliefs/Personality traits	Questions
Violence/belligerence	Treat people as inferiors
	Believe that others have good intentions
	Am quick to judge others
	Can accept a lot from others
	Am annoyed by others' mistakes
	Get back at others
	Try to forgive and forget
	Hold a grudge
	Rarely get irritated
	Do things out of revenge
	Cheat to get ahead
	Have a sharp tongue
	Would never take things that aren't mine
	Seldom get mad
Rarely complain	

Figure A1. District of origin

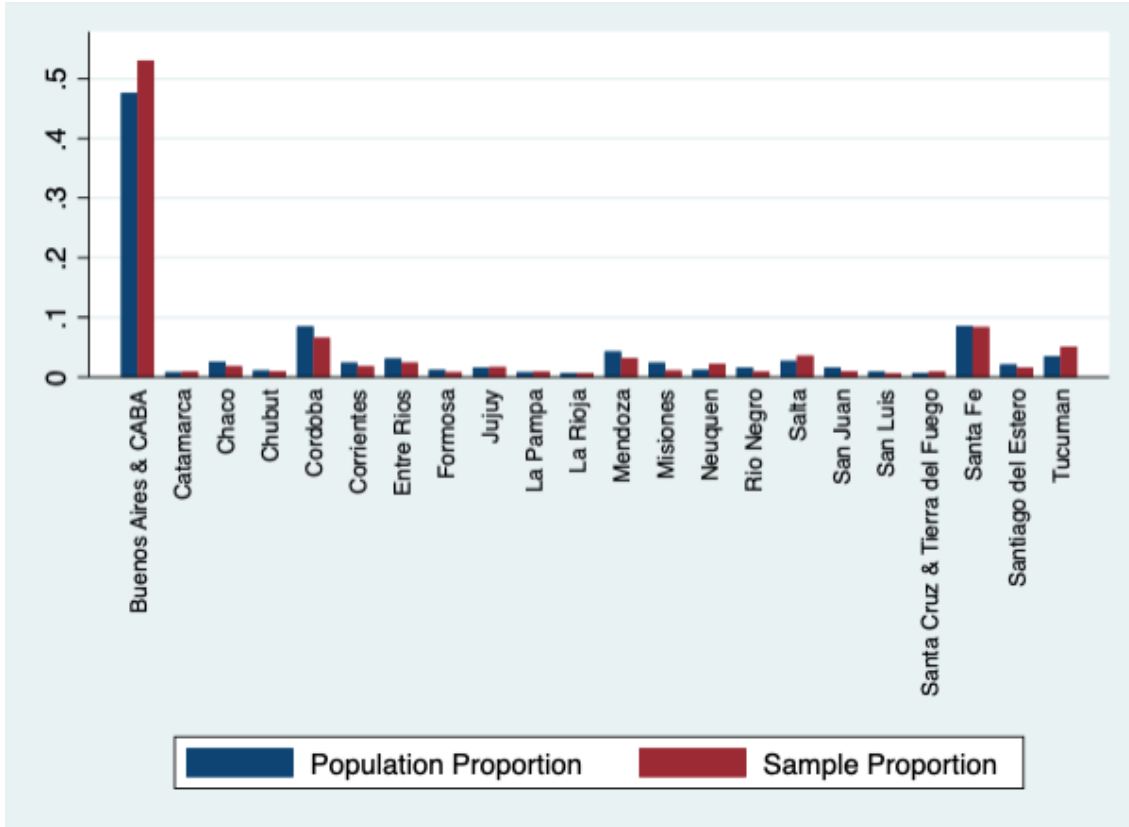


Figure A2. Father's education

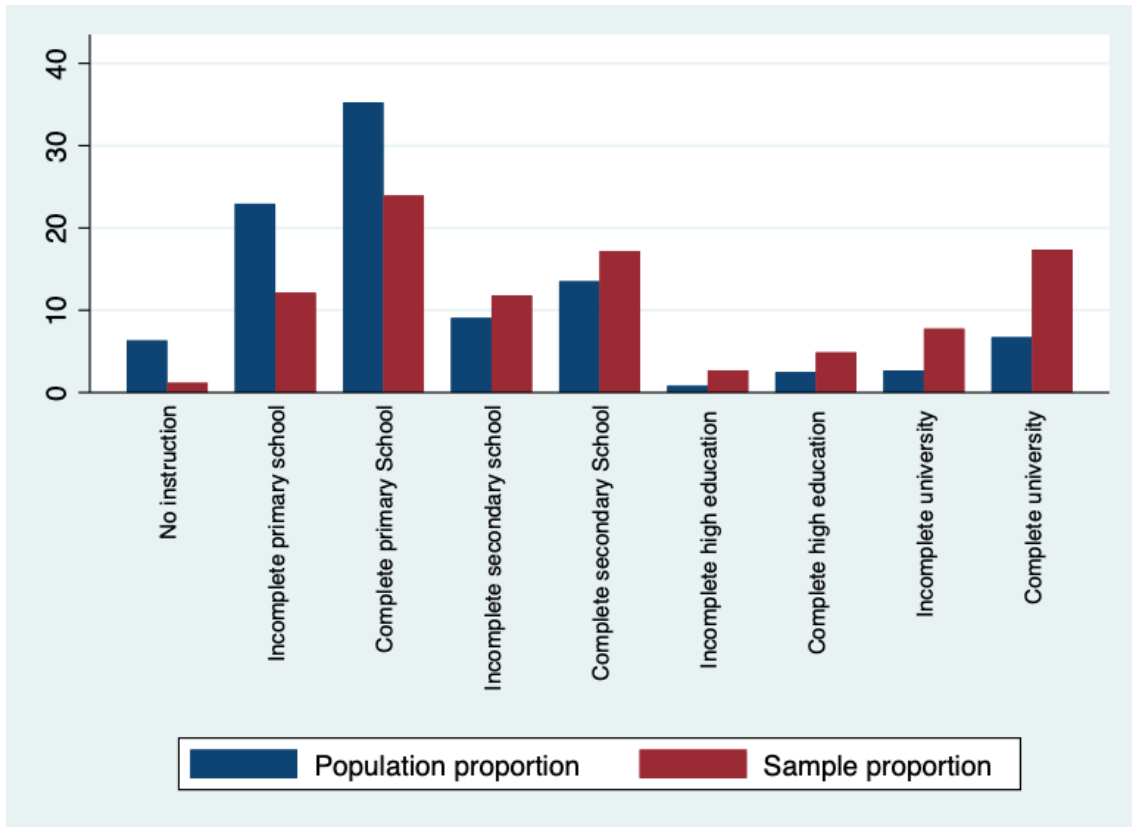


Figure A3. Mother's education

