

Appendix

Patriotism or Paychecks:

Who Believes What About Why Soldiers Serve

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Appendix 1

Appendix 1 provides data on the composition of our sample, as well as bivariate and multivariate analyses referenced in the main text as supplemental analyses.

1 Sample Characteristics

Lucid (<https://luc.id/lucid-for-academics/>) supplies respondents using an iterative process that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin, state, and region to parameters from the 2015 Census Bureau's American Community Survey. Put differently, while not a probability sample, Lucid uses quota sampling to match key demographics. Our own analysis (Table 13 below) shows that, on these characteristics, our sample is largely comparable to existing national benchmarks: it leans only slightly more educated, white, and Democratic. Tables 1-13 below supply demographic and other common breakdowns of the sample.

1. Age

Age	Total #	Total %
18-29	480	19.58
30-39	506	20.64
40-49	396	16.16
50-59	428	17.46
60-69	436	17.79
70+	205	8.36
Total	2,451	100.00

2. Gender

Gender	Total #	Total %
Male	1,192	48.63
Female	1,259	51.37
Total	2,451	100.00

3. Race

Race	Total #	Total %
Non-Hispanic White (Caucasian)	1,773	72.34
Black or African American	292	11.91
Hispanic or Latino/a	191	7.79
Asian	95	3.88
American Indian	24	0.98
Other/None of the Above	76	3.10
Total	2,451	100.00

4. Income

Income	Total #	Total %
Under \$20,000	556	22.68
\$20,000 - \$39,999	658	26.85
\$40,000 - \$69,999	618	25.21
\$70,000 - \$99,999	339	13.83
\$100,000 - \$149,999	193	7.87
\$150,000 - \$249,999	67	2.73
More than 250,000	20	0.82
Total	2,451	100.00

5. Education

Education	Total #	Total %
Less than HS	62	2.53
High school graduate	605	24.68
Some college	942	38.43
College Graduate	620	25.30
Grad/Professional degree	222	9.06
Total	2,451	100

5. Region

Region	Total #	Total %
Northeast	501	20.44
Midwest	473	19.30
South	937	38.23
West	540	22.03
Total	2,451	100

6. Household Service

	Total #	Total %
Yes	872	35.58
No	1,579	64.42
Total	2,451	100.00

8. Self-Service

	Total #	Total %
Yes	300	12.24
No	2,151	87.76
Total	2,451	100.00

9. Branch

Branch	Total #	Total %
Airforce	58	19.33
Army	140	46.67
Coast Guard	11	3.67
Marines	32	10.67
Navy	59	19.67
Total	300	100.00

10. Pre-AVF

	Total #	Total %
Pre-1978	123	41.00
Post-1978	177	59.00
Total	300	100.00

11. Drafted (don't know excluded)

	Total #	Total %
No	247	87.90
Yes	34	12.10
Total	281	100.00

11. Combat Arms Training

	Total #	Total %
No	201	67.00
Yes	99	33.00
Total	300	100.00

12. Combat Zone Service

	Total #	Total %
No	185	61.67
Yes	115	38.33
Total	300	100.00

13. Sample Characteristics to Known Benchmarks¹

Variable	Sample %	Benchmark	Source
Female	51%	52%	CPS 2017
College	34%	30%	CPS 2017
Black	12%	12%	CPS 2017
White	72%	65%	CPS 2017
Hispanic	8%	15%	CPS 2017
Democrat	37%	34%	ANES 2016
Republican	28%	28%	ANES 2016
Independent	27%	32%	ANES 2016
Mean Age	46	47	ANES 2016
Median Income	\$40,000 - \$69,999	\$55,000-\$59,000	ANES 2016

Table 14 presents correlations between beliefs about why service members join. These data are based on Question 6 in the survey, which asked respondents to give their best estimate as to what percentage of respondents join for each rationale. The table demonstrates that intrinsic and extrinsic motivations are more closely correlated than motivations that cut across this dimension. Note that all correlations are negative by virtue of the construction of the question.

Table 14: Correlations of beliefs about what percentage of service members join for each rationale

	% Joining “Sense of duty”	% Joining “Love of country”	% Joining “Pay, benefits”	% Joining “No other options”
% Joining “Sense of duty”	1.00			
% Joining “Love of country”	-0.14	1.00		
% Joining “Pay, benefits”	-0.40	-0.60	1.00	
% Joining “No other options”	-0.24	-0.43	-0.14	1.00

¹ CPS= Current Population Survey of the US Census Bureau 2017; ANES= American National Election Study 2016

Table 15 replicates Table 3 in the manuscript, among only those who are strong believers, per Q6 in the study.

	Category: Citizenship					Category: Patriotism					Category: Desperate				
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Ideology	-0.13 (0.33)			-0.30 (0.35)	-1.02** (0.39)	1.51*** (0.22)			1.09*** (0.24)	0.37 (0.28)	-1.13** (0.34)			-0.63+ (0.37)	-0.22 (0.43)
AVF		-0.64 (0.39)		-0.73+ (0.43)	-0.85* (0.43)		-0.40+ (0.22)		-0.69** (0.26)	-0.85** (0.27)		-0.48 (0.37)		-0.26 (0.42)	-0.25 (0.43)
PreAVF		-0.49 (0.49)		-0.37 (0.53)	-0.41 (0.54)		0.25 (0.25)		-0.07 (0.30)	-0.14 (0.31)		0.02 (0.40)		0.56 (0.47)	0.55 (0.47)
Household			0.02 (0.19)	0.31 (0.22)	0.35 (0.22)			0.26* (0.12)	0.35* (0.15)	0.40** (0.15)			-0.30 (0.20)	-0.09 (0.24)	-0.13 (0.24)
Military therm				0.62 (0.38)	0.09 (0.40)				1.10*** (0.27)	0.62* (0.28)				-1.08** (0.37)	-1.02** (0.38)
Hawkishness				1.39*** (0.36)	0.44 (0.40)				1.24*** (0.25)	0.55+ (0.28)				-0.94* (0.39)	-0.67 (0.44)
Blind Patriot					2.40*** (0.48)					2.01*** (0.32)					0.17 (0.50)
RWA					0.23 (0.60)					1.56*** (0.40)					-0.99+ (0.57)
SDO					1.12+ (0.60)					-0.68+ (0.40)					-0.37 (0.62)
Age				-0.84** (0.42)	-0.96** (0.33)				-0.29 (0.21)	-0.55* (0.22)				-1.30*** (0.32)	-1.19** (0.33)
Education				-0.80+ (0.42)	-0.38 (0.44)				-1.37*** (0.29)	-0.86** (0.30)				0.49 (0.42)	0.37 (0.43)
Female				0.03 (0.19)	0.11 (0.20)				0.00 (0.13)	-0.10 (0.14)				-0.29 (0.20)	-0.27 (0.20)
Income				-0.32 (0.46)	-0.44 (0.47)				0.17 (0.30)	0.24 (0.31)				-0.22 (0.45)	-0.21 (0.45)
Nonwhite				0.16 (0.21)	0.14 (0.21)				-0.27+ (0.15)	-0.29+ (0.16)				-0.01 (0.21)	0.09 (0.21)
Constant	-1.43*** (0.18)	-1.43*** (0.09)	-1.50*** (0.11)	-1.59** (0.41)	-2.41*** (0.47)	-1.07*** (0.13)	-0.25*** (0.06)	-0.36*** (0.07)	-1.27*** (0.29)	-2.12*** (0.33)	-1.01*** (0.17)	-1.47*** (0.10)	-1.41*** (0.11)	0.15 (0.38)	0.34 (0.40)
Observations	1526	1526	1526	1526	1526	1526	1526	1526	1526	1526	1526	1526	1526	1526	1526
Log-L	-1774.7042	-1810.3316	-1809.7888	-1678.9158	-1617.3737	-1774.704	-1810.3316	-1809.7888	-1678.915	-1617.3737	-1774.704	-1810.3316	-1809.7888	-1678.9158	-1617.3737
Chi-Squared	79.94	8.69	9.78	271.52	394.61	79.94	8.69	9.78	271.52	394.61	79.94	8.69	9.78	271.52	394.61

Multinomial logistic regression. Reference category is “Pay, benefits.” Standard errors in parentheses. + $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. All variables normalized to fall between 0 and 1.

The following tables present the coefficients for variables in pairwise comparisons.

Table 16: Pairwise Comparisons-Control Variables (Manuscript Table 3, Model 4)

Variable: Miltherm	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	-0.09
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	0.80**
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	1.52***
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	0.89***
Love of Country vs. No other Options	1.62***
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	0.73*
Variable: Hawkishness	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	-0.17
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	1.05***
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	1.30***
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	1.21***
Love of Country vs. No other Options	1.47***
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	0.25
Variable: Age	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	-0.33
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	-0.70**
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	0.40
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	-0.37*
Love of Country vs. No other Options	0.72**
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	1.09***
Variable: Education	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	0.73*
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	-0.30
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	-0.59
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	-1.03***
Love of Country vs. No other Options	-1.33***
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	-0.30
Variable: Female	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	0.11
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	0.09
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	0.37*
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	-0.02
Love of Country vs. No other Options	0.26
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	0.28+
Variable: Income	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	0.00
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	0.19
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	0.13
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	0.19
Love of Country vs. No other Options	0.13
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	-0.06
Variable: Nonwhite	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	0.41**
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	0.13
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	0.05
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	-0.29*
Love of Country vs. No other Options	-0.36*
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	-0.07

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Table 17: Pairwise Comparisons-Control Variables (Manuscript Table 3, Model 5)

Variable: Miltherm	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	-0.02
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	0.43
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	1.15**
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	0.45*
Love of Country vs. No other Options	1.17***
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	0.72*
Variable: Hawkishness	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	-0.12
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	0.40
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	0.50
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	0.53*
Love of Country vs. No other Options	0.62+
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	0.09
Variable: Age	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	-0.20
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	-0.81***
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	0.24
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	-0.60***
Love of Country vs. No other Options	0.44
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	1.05***
Variable: Education	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	0.63*
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	-0.07
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	-0.32
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	-0.70**
Love of Country vs. No other Options	-0.95**
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	-0.25
Variable: Female	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	0.17
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	0.09
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	0.38*
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	-0.08
Love of Country vs. No other Options	0.20
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	0.28+
Variable: Income	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	-0.10
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	0.07
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	-0.01
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	0.17
Love of Country vs. No other Options	0.09
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	-0.08
Variable: Nonwhite	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	0.42**
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	0.13
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	-0.01
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	-0.30*
Love of Country vs. No other Options	-0.42*
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	-0.13
Variable: SDO	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	0.69
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	0.47
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	0.86
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	-0.22
Love of Country vs. No other Options	0.17
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	0.39

Table 17 (Continued)

Variable: RWA	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	-1.01*
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	0.23
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	0.83
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	1.24***
Love of Country vs. No other Options	1.84***
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	0.60
Variable: Blind Patriotism	
Pairwise Comparison	Coefficient
Sense of Duty vs. Love of Country	-0.13
Sense of Duty vs. Pay/Benefits	1.65***
Sense of Duty vs. No other Options	1.36**
Love of Country vs. Pay/Benefits	1.77***
Love of Country vs. No other Options	1.49***
Pay/Benefits vs. No other Options	-0.29

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Appendix 2

Survey Instrument

Cultures of Military Service September 2018

Distributed May 31 – June 23, 2019, via Lucid. For details on the sample, see Appendix 1.

Start of Block: Consent Information

Q1 This survey is a research study meant to assess people's attitudes towards the United States military and the use of military force. This study is being conducted by researchers from the **** * in collaboration with researchers at *****. The survey specifically presents participants with a scenario in which the US is considering the possible deployment of military personnel to defend a foreign country. The survey will take less than 10 minutes to complete, and can be taken only once. Any resident of the US age 18 or older registered to take surveys on Lucid is eligible to participate. Approximately 2,100 people will participate in the survey.

You will be asked to answer a series of questions having to do with your political views as well as some basic demographic information. You will then be asked to read a scenario about the possible deployment of US military personnel, and then will be asked to answer a series of questions having to do with the scenario. Please note that none of the questions are a test of your personal intelligence or ability, and all information provided is anonymous.

Participation in the survey is voluntary. The survey involves no greater risk than you would experience during a normal day. You will not receive any benefit from completing the survey aside from compensation through Lucid for your participation. No participants will be blocked from completing the survey provided it is finished within four (4) hours. The data generated by your responses to the survey questions will be recorded and stored in a secure, password and firewall protected computer. All data will be coded so that your anonymity will be protected in any research papers and presentations that result from this work. You cannot be identified by your responses to the questions, and no personal information aside from the demographic information you are willing to provide will be collected or analyzed.

If, after taking the survey, you have questions about it or are interested in its results, you can contact the principal investigator **** via his email address: **** * To share feedback privately about your research experience, including any concerns about the study, call the Research Participants Advocate Line: **** * or give feedback online at **** * You may also contact the Human Research Protection Program in writing at **** *. Clicking the button below indicates that you have understood the information about the survey and consent to your participation. The following page will ask you to briefly describe what the survey is about to insure you have understood the consent form. If you wish you can print or save a copy of this screen for your own record.

End of Block: Consent Information

Start of Block: Consent and Robot Check



Q2 Based on what you just read, this survey...

- ☐ is voluntary and anonymous (1)
- ☐ is compulsory and is not anonymous (2)

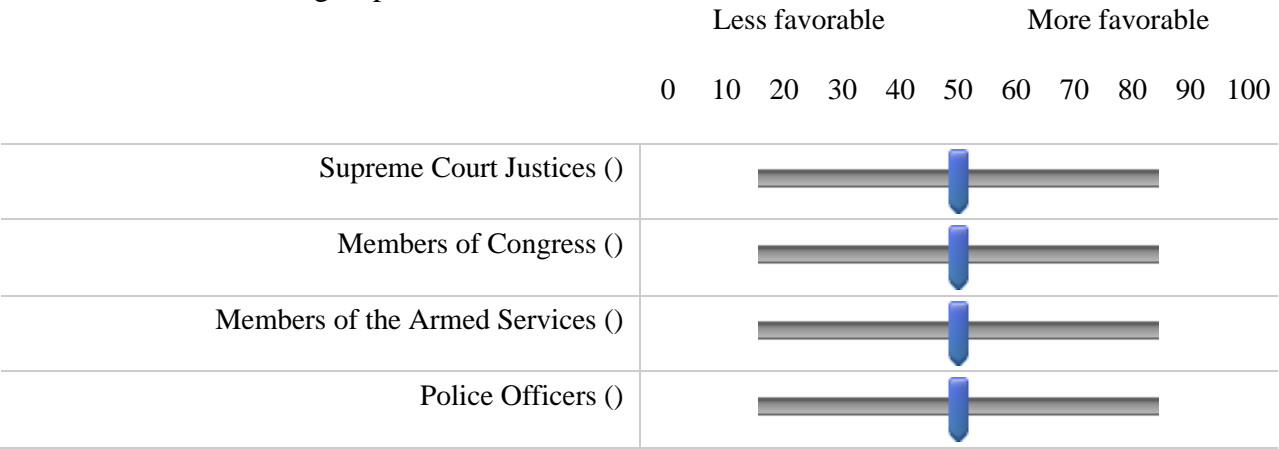
Page Break

Q3 Please click the box below to continue.

End of Block: Consent and Robot Check

Start of Block: Pre-Treatment

Q4 I'd like to get your feelings toward members of different institutions and organizations in the US using something called a feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable toward these groups of individuals. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward these groups of individuals. You would rate a group of individuals at the 50 degree mark if you are indifferent in your feelings about them--that is, you do not feel either particularly favorable or unfavorable toward that group of individuals.



End of Block: Pre-Treatment

Start of Block: Why Join Qs



Q5 In your view, which of the following **best** represents why people join the military?

- ☐ People join the military primarily because they believe it is their duty as citizens. (1)
- ☐ People join the military primarily because they are patriots who love their country. (2)
- ☐ People join the military primarily for the pay, benefits, and skills they get in exchange for military service. (3)
- ☐ People join the military primarily because they do not believe they have other ways of escaping their desperate life circumstances. (4)

Page Break



Q6 What percentage of people do you think join the US military for each of the following reasons? Please give us your best estimate. Your answers must total 100%.

People join the military primarily because they believe it is their duty as citizens. : _____ (1)

People join the military primarily because they are patriots who love their country. : _____ (2)

People join the military primarily for the pay, benefits, and skills they get in exchange for military service. : _____ (3)

People join the military primarily because they do not believe they have other ways of escaping their desperate life circumstances. : _____ (4)

Total : _____

Page Break

Q7 If none of the options in the preceding question well reflects your view as to people's primary reason for joining the military, please enter your view here (100 words max.):

End of Block: Why Join Qs

Start of Block: Pre-Benefits and Deference

Q8 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **Soldiers generally receive appropriate pay and benefits from the US government.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (16)
 - ☐ Disagree (17)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (18)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (19)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (20)
 - ☐ Agree (21)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (22)
-

Q9 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **Veterans of the US armed forces generally receive appropriate pay and benefits from the US government.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (15)
 - ☐ Disagree (16)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (17)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (18)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (19)
 - ☐ Agree (20)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (21)
-

Q10 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **When considering the use of military force abroad, we should first and foremost trust the judgment of US military leaders regarding whether to deploy US forces.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (31)
 - ☐ Disagree (32)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (33)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (34)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (35)
 - ☐ Agree (36)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (37)
-

Q11 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: When considering the use of military force abroad, we should first and foremost trust the judgment of US military leaders regarding how to use US forces on the battlefield.

- ☐ Strongly disagree (15)
 - ☐ Disagree (16)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (17)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (18)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (19)
 - ☐ Agree (20)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (21)
-

Q544 Do you think U.S. spending on the military should be:

- ☐ Decreased a lot (1)
- ☐ Decreased some (2)
- ☐ Kept about the same (3)
- ☐ Increased some (4)
- ☐ Increased a lot (5)

End of Block: Pre-Benefits and Deference

Start of Block: Blind Patriotism/Right Wing Authoritarianism/Social Dominance Orientation²

Q12 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **There is too much criticism of the U.S. in the world, and we its citizens should not criticize it.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (29)
 - ☐ Disagree (30)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (31)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (32)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (33)
 - ☐ Agree (34)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (35)
-

² On these constructs, see respectively (Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001; Zakrisson, 2005). On their relationship to political ideology, see (Van Hiel & Mervielde, 2002).

Q13 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **I would support my country right or wrong.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (29)
 - ☐ Disagree (30)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (31)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (32)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (33)
 - ☐ Agree (34)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (35)
-

Q14 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **I believe that U.S. policies are almost always the morally correct ones.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (29)
 - ☐ Disagree (30)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (31)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (32)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (33)
 - ☐ Agree (34)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (35)
-

Q15 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **The “old-fashioned ways” and “old-fashioned values” still show the best way to live.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (15)
 - ☐ Disagree (16)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (17)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (18)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (19)
 - ☐ Agree (20)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (21)
-

Q17 This question is meant to help us see how well you are paying attention. **Please select ‘agree’ below.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (15)
- ☐ Disagree (16)
- ☐ Somewhat disagree (17)
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (18)
- ☐ Somewhat agree (19)
- ☐ Agree (20)
- ☐ Strongly agree (21)

Skip To: End of Block If This question is meant to help us see how well you are paying attention. Please select ‘agree’ b... != Agree

Q16 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **Facts show that we have to be harder against crime and sexual immorality, in order to uphold law and order.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (11)
 - ☐ Disagree (12)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (13)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (14)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (15)
 - ☐ Agree (16)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (17)
-

Page Break

Q18 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **It is better to accept bad literature than to censor it.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (11)
 - ☐ Disagree (12)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (13)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (14)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (15)
 - ☐ Agree (16)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (17)
-

Q19 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (11)
 - ☐ Disagree (12)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (13)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (14)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (15)
 - ☐ Agree (16)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (17)
-

Q20 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (11)
 - ☐ Disagree (12)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (13)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (14)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (15)
 - ☐ Agree (16)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (17)
-

Q21 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (15)
 - ☐ Disagree (16)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (17)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (18)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (19)
 - ☐ Agree (20)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (21)
-

Page Break

Q22 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **No one group should dominate in society.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (15)
 - ☐ Disagree (16)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (17)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (18)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (19)
 - ☐ Agree (20)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (21)
-

Q23 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **Group equality should not be our primary goal.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (15)
 - ☐ Disagree (16)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (17)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (18)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (19)
 - ☐ Agree (20)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (21)
-

Q24 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **It is unjust to try to make groups equal.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (11)
 - ☐ Disagree (12)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (13)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (14)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (15)
 - ☐ Agree (16)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (17)
-

Q25 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (11)
 - ☐ Disagree (12)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (13)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (14)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (15)
 - ☐ Agree (16)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (17)
-

Q26 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed.**

- ☐ Strongly disagree (11)
 - ☐ Disagree (12)
 - ☐ Somewhat disagree (13)
 - ☐ Neither agree nor disagree (14)
 - ☐ Somewhat agree (15)
 - ☐ Agree (16)
 - ☐ Strongly agree (17)
-

Page Break

End of Block: BP/RWA/SDO

Start of Block: PID, Ideology and Service Record

Q35 Some people believe that the United States should normally solve international problems by using diplomacy and other forms of international pressure and that military force rarely works. Suppose we put such people at "1" on this scale. Others believe that diplomacy and other forms of international pressure rarely work and that the US should normally solve international problems by using military force. Suppose we put them at number "7." Where would you place yourself on this scale?

- ☐ U.S. should use diplomacy; force rarely works (1)
- ☐ 2 (2)
- ☐ 3 (3)
- ☐ 4 (4)
- ☐ 5 (5)
- ☐ 6 (6)
- ☐ U.S. should use military force; diplomacy rarely works (7)

Page Break

Q36 Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

- ☐ Republican (1)
- ☐ Democrat (2)
- ☐ Independent (3)
- ☐ No Preference (4)

Skip To: Q37 If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent,... = Republican
Skip To: Q38 If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent,... = Democrat
Skip To: Q39 If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent,... = Independent
Skip To: Q39 If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent,... = No Preference

Page Break

Q37 Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

- ☐ Strong Republican (1)
- ☐ Not Very Strong Republican (2)

Skip To: Q40 If Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican? = Strong Republican

Skip To: Q40 If Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican? = Not Very Strong Republican

Page Break

Q38 Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

- ☐ Strong Democrat (1)
- ☐ Not Very Strong Democrat (2)

Skip To: Q40 If Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat? = Strong Democrat

Skip To: Q40 If Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat? = Not Very Strong Democrat

Page Break

Q39 Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?

- ☐ Republican Party (1)
- ☐ Democratic Party (2)

Page Break

Q40 In general, do you think of yourself as...

- ☐ Very Liberal (6)
 - ☐ Liberal (13)
 - ☐ Moderate (14)
 - ☐ Conservative (15)
 - ☐ Very Conservative (16)
-

Page Break

Q41 Has anyone in your household ever been a member of the armed forces?

- ☐ No (1)
 - ☐ Yes (2)
-

Q42 Did your household member first serve after 1973?

- ☐ No (1)
 - ☐ Yes (2)
-

Q43 Did your household member volunteer for service, or were they drafted?

- ☐ They volunteered for service (1)
 - ☐ They were drafted for service (2)
 - ☐ I don't know (3)
-

Page Break

Q44 Have you ever been a member of the armed forces?

☐ No (1)

☐ Yes (2)

Skip To: End of Block If Have you ever been a member of the armed forces? = No

Skip To: Q45 If Have you ever been a member of the armed forces? = Yes

Q45 Which branch of the armed forces were you a member of?

☐ Air Force (1)

☐ Army (2)

☐ Coast Guard (3)

☐ Marines (4)

☐ Navy (5)

Q46 Was your occupational specialty in combat arms?

☐ No (1)

☐ Yes (2)

Q47 Did you serve in a combat zone?

☐ No (1)

☐ Yes (2)

Q48 Did you first serve after 1973?

☐ No (1)

☐ Yes (2)

Q49 Did you volunteer for service, or were you drafted?

☐ I volunteered for service (1)

☐ I was drafted for service (2)

☐ I don't know (3)

Q50 Why did you join the military?

End of Block: PID, Ideology and Service Record

Start of Block: Demographics

Q51 As with all questions on this survey, your answers to the following questions will be kept confidential.

Q52 Please indicate your gender:

☐ Male (1)

☐ Female (2)

Q53 What is your age?

- ☐ 18-29 (1)
 - ☐ 30-39 (2)
 - ☐ 40-49 (3)
 - ☐ 50-59 (4)
 - ☐ 60-69 (5)
 - ☐ 70 or older (6)
-

Q54 How do you identify yourself racially?

- ☐ Non-Hispanic White (Caucasian) (1)
 - ☐ Black or African American (2)
 - ☐ Hispanic or Latino/a (3)
 - ☐ Asian (4)
 - ☐ American Indian (5)
 - ☐ None of the above/Other (6)
-

Q55 What is your highest level of education?

- ☐ Less than high school degree (1)
- ☐ High school graduate (includes equivalency) (2)
- ☐ Some college or associate's degree (3)
- ☐ College graduate (4)
- ☐ Graduate or professional degree (5)

Q56 What was your total income in 2017?

- ☐ Under \$20,000 (1)
- ☐ Between \$20,000 and \$39,999 (2)
- ☐ Between \$40,000 and \$69,999 (3)
- ☐ Between \$70,000 and \$99,999 (4)
- ☐ Between \$100,000 and \$149,999 (5)
- ☐ Between \$150,000 and \$249,999 (6)
- ☐ More than \$250,000 (7)

End of Block: Demographics

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