Citizenship Traditions and Cultures of Military Service:
Patriotism and Paychecks in Five Democracies

Appendix 1: Additional Data and Analysis

Table 1. National Samples and Benchmarks – Israel, France, UK, and US[1]

	Israel		France		UK		US	
Variable	**Sample**	**Benchmark**	**Sample**	**Benchmark**	**Sample**	**Benchmark**	**Sample**	**Benchmark**
Gender								
Female	51%	51%	51%	51%	53%	51%	51%	52%
Race/Ethnicity								
White	N/A	N/A	92%	N/A	88%	86%	72%	65%
Asian	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	6%	8%	N/A	N/A
Black	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	3%	3%	12%	12%
Hispanic	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	8%	15%
Ashkenazi	39%	44%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Mizrahi or Sephardi	39%	45%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Education & Age								
Education	59%	60%	25%	25%	65%	63%	34%	30%
Median Age	30-39	30-39			35-44	35-44	46	47
18-24 years old			8%	12%				
25-34 years old			19%	17%				
35-44 years old			18%	18%				
45-54 years old			19%	18%				
55+ years old			35%	35%				
Religious ID			8%	12%				
Secular	43%	43%			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Traditional	36%	36%			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Religious	11%	11%			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ultraorthodox	10%	10%			N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Benchmarks: Israel — provided by iPanel, Lewin-Epstein and Cohen 2019; UK — 2011 Census; US — ANES 2016, CPS 2017. Education: Israel = higher education; France = Baccalaureat & License; UK = A-level equivalent or above; US = Bachelors degree or above. Age: Israel & UK = median; US = mean.

[1] For Germany, please see https://opus4.kobv.de/opus4-zmsbw/frontdoor/index/index/searchtype/series/id/3/start/0/rows/10/facetNumber_author_facet/all/author_facetfq/Elbe%2C+Martin/docId/649

Table 2. France – Reasons for Joining (Logistic Regression)

	(1) Patriotism	(2) Citizenship	(3) Pay/Benefits	(4) Desperate
Ideology	0.69**	-0.52+	0.17	-0.63+
	(0.25)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.34)
Self Service	0.15	-0.30	0.20	-0.15
	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.20)	(0.28)
Household Service	-0.09	0.06	0.02	-0.01
	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.20)
Mil Feeling	1.86***	1.25**	-1.54***	-1.97***
	(0.36)	(0.36)	(0.33)	(0.38)
Hawkishness	0.69**	-0.30	-0.79**	0.43
	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.35)
Age	-0.43	-0.21	0.38	0.47
	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.37)
Edu	-0.08	0.06	-0.57*	0.82*
	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.29)	(0.33)
Female	0.09	0.50**	-0.62***	0.03
	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.19)
Income	-0.27	0.01	-0.09	0.52
	(0.54)	(0.56)	(0.58)	(0.68)
White	0.14	0.22	-0.27	-0.25
	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.27)	(0.31)
_cons	-2.68***	-1.91***	0.73+	-0.54
	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.38)	(0.44)
N	1089	1089	1089	1089
pseudo R^2	0.046	0.026	0.051	0.052

Standard errors in parentheses. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 3. Germany – Reasons for Joining (Logistic Regression)

	(1) Patriotism	(2) Citizenship	(3) Pay/Benefits	(4) Desperate
Ideology	0.94	-0.26	-0.32	0.05
	(0.58)	(0.47)	(0.34)	(0.41)
Self Service	-0.07	0.52*	-0.15	-0.14
	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.17)	(0.22)
Household Service	-0.21	0.32+	0.07	-0.20
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.12)	(0.14)
Mil Feeling	0.67	-1.15**	1.58***	-1.83***
	(0.44)	(0.43)	(0.31)	(0.35)
Hawkishness	1.10**	0.46+	-0.51**	-0.25
	(0.29)	(0.27)	(0.19)	(0.24)
Age	-0.06	0.15**	-0.03	-0.02
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Edu	0.20	-0.18	0.15	-0.23
	(0.30)	(0.29)	(0.21)	(0.26)
Female	-0.34+	0.15	-0.11	0.30+
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.13)	(0.15)
Income	-0.94*	-0.30	0.90**	-0.51
	(0.42)	(0.45)	(0.31)	(0.38)
_cons	-2.48***	-2.02***	-0.92*	0.35
	(0.52)	(0.52)	(0.36)	(0.40)
N	1682	1682	1682	1682

Standard errors in parentheses. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 4. Israel – Reasons for Joining (Logistic Regression)

	(1) Patriotism	(2) Citizenship	(3) Pay/Benefits
Ideology	0.64**	-0.25	-0.56*
	(0.24)	(0.31)	(0.25)
Self Service	0.44*	-0.24	-0.31+
	(0.18)	(0.22)	(0.18)
Household Service	1.52***	1.41**	-2.17***
	(0.30)	(0.45)	(0.30)
Mil Feeling	-0.07	-0.13	0.19
	(0.23)	(0.31)	(0.25)
Hawkishness	1.17***	0.54*	-1.66***
	(0.20)	(0.26)	(0.21)
Age	0.45*	-0.63*	-0.11
	(0.22)	(0.30)	(0.24)
Edu	0.09	-0.08	-0.04
	(0.11)	(0.15)	(0.12)
Female	0.03	0.41	-0.26
	(0.23)	(0.31)	(0.24)
Income	-0.29	0.32	0.12
	(0.20)	(0.27)	(0.21)
Ashkenazi	-0.10	-0.06	0.15
	(0.21)	(0.29)	(0.22)
Sephardi	-0.18	-0.25	0.34
	(0.22)	(0.31)	(0.23)
Mizrahi	-0.26	0.03	0.27
	(0.23)	(0.33)	(0.24)
Mixed	0.27	0.16	-0.38+
	(0.20)	(0.26)	(0.21)
Religiosity	-2.91***	-2.56***	2.60***
	(0.44)	(0.59)	(0.44)
N	1528	1528	1528
pseudo R^2	0.052	0.029	0.086

Standard errors in parentheses. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 5. UK – Reasons for Joining (Logistic Regression)

	(1) Patriotism	(2) Citizenship	(3) Pay/Benefits	(4) Desperate
Ideology	0.61**	0.23	-0.28+	-0.48+
	(0.19)	(0.24)	(0.16)	(0.24)
Self Service	-0.20	-0.25	0.13	0.15
	(0.23)	(0.35)	(0.20)	(0.32)
Household Service	0.05	-0.23	0.10	-0.21
	(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.11)	(0.18)
Mil Feeling	2.46***	0.30	0.02	-2.91***
	(0.28)	(0.30)	(0.20)	(0.26)
Hawkishness	1.10***	0.39	-1.01***	0.15
	(0.21)	(0.27)	(0.18)	(0.28)
Age	-0.82***	-1.48***	1.29***	-0.26
	(0.17)	(0.23)	(0.15)	(0.23)
Edu	-0.47**	-0.31	0.41**	0.10
	(0.16)	(0.20)	(0.13)	(0.20)
Female	0.19+	0.18	0.02	-0.53***
	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.13)
Income	-0.78**	0.36	0.32	0.32
	(0.23)	(0.30)	(0.20)	(0.30)
White	-0.37*	-0.28	0.18	0.39+
	(0.16)	(0.19)	(0.14)	(0.22)
_cons	-2.78***	-1.72***	-0.52*	0.17
	(0.29)	(0.32)	(0.22)	(0.30)
N	2448	2448	2448	2448
pseudo R^2	0.084	0.039	0.050	0.098

Standard errors in parentheses. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 6. US – Reasons for Joining (Logistic Regression)

	(1) Patriotism	(2) Citizenship	(3) Pay/Benefits	(4) Desperate
Ideology	1.06***	-0.55*	-0.25	-1.04**
	(0.17)	(0.22)	(0.16)	(0.27)
Self Service	-0.37*	-0.20	0.35*	0.24
	(0.16)	(0.22)	(0.15)	(0.26)
Household Service	0.25*	0.12	-0.21*	-0.23
	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.10)	(0.17)
Mil Feeling	0.81***	0.56*	-0.52**	-1.12***
	(0.20)	(0.26)	(0.18)	(0.28)
Hawkishness	1.00***	0.62**	-0.89***	-0.81**
	(0.18)	(0.23)	(0.17)	(0.28)
Age	-0.05	-0.45*	0.54**	-0.88**
	(0.15)	(0.20)	(0.14)	(0.24)
Edu	-1.00***	0.06	0.58**	0.66*
	(0.21)	(0.27)	(0.19)	(0.32)
Female	-0.00	0.13	0.05	-0.29*
	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.14)
Income	0.16	0.11	-0.18	-0.03
	(0.22)	(0.28)	(0.20)	(0.33)
White	0.33**	-0.22+	-0.10	-0.14
	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.15)
_cons	-1.99***	-2.00***	0.12	-0.49+
	(0.21)	(0.26)	(0.18)	(0.28)
N	2451	2451	2451	2451
pseudo R^2	0.058	0.017	0.027	0.059

Standard errors in parentheses. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 7. France – Reasons for Joining (Logistic Regression) & Conscript Age

	(1) Patriotism	(2) Citizenship	(3) Pay/ Benefits	(4) Desperate	(5) Patriotism	(6) Citizenship	(7) Pay/ Benefits	(8) Desperate
Cons	0.15	-0.34*	0.46**	-0.35+	0.55*	-0.50*	0.45+	-0.71*
Age	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.32)
Ideo					0.79**	-0.57*	0.01	-0.54
					(0.26)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.35)
Self Service					0.15	-0.32	0.23	-0.17
					(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.21)	(0.28)
House Service					-0.10	0.08	0.02	-0.02
					(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.20)
Mil Feeling					1.80***	1.10**	-1.48***	-1.80***
					(0.38)	(0.38)	(0.36)	(0.42)
Hawk					0.78**	-0.38	-0.97**	0.59
					(0.27)	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.36)
Blind Patriot					0.56	0.37	-0.51	-0.60
					(0.37)	(0.39)	(0.41)	(0.49)
RWA					-0.56	0.37	0.18	0.15
					(0.52)	(0.54)	(0.56)	(0.65)
SDO					-0.51	0.12	1.04*	-0.56
					(0.39)	(0.41)	(0.42)	(0.50)
Age					-1.07**	0.38	-0.16	1.41*
					(0.41)	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.56)
Edu					-0.07	0.04	-0.55+	0.80*
					(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.34)
Female					0.09	0.51**	-0.61**	-0.01
					(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.16)	(0.19)
Income					-0.33	-0.02	-0.16	0.72
					(0.54)	(0.57)	(0.59)	(0.69)
White					0.11	0.24	-0.29	-0.23
					(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.27)	(0.32)
_cons	-0.83***	-0.78***	-1.40***	-1.49***	-2.53***	-2.14***	0.48	-0.28
	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.47)	(0.47)	(0.45)	(0.52)
N	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089	1089
pseudo R^2	0.001	0.004	0.006	0.004	0.053	0.032	0.059	0.061

Standard errors in parentheses. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001

Table 8. Germany – Reasons for Joining (Logistic Regression) & Conscript Age

	(1) Patriotism	(2) Citizenship	(3) Pay/Benefits	(4) Desperate
Cons	-0.05	0.09	0.06	-0.11
Age	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.12)	(0.15)
ideology	-0.23	0.98	-0.38	0.13
	(0.47)	(0.60)	(0.34)	(0.41)
Self Service	0.51*	-0.06	-0.13	-0.17
	(0.25)	(0.24)	(0.18)	(0.23)
household	0.33+	-0.24	0.07	-0.20
	(0.18)	(0.18)	(0.12)	(0.15)
Mil Feeling	-1.16**	0.76+	1.57***	-1.86***
	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.31)	(0.35)
hawk	0.44	1.08**	-0.50**	-0.25
	(0.27)	(0.29)	(0.19)	(0.24)
age	0.15**	-0.05	-0.03	-0.02
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)
educ	-0.21	0.20	0.17	-0.24
	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.21)	(0.26)
female	0.13	-0.36+	-0.10	0.31*
	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.13)	(0.15)
income	-0.33	-0.91*	0.91**	-0.52
	(0.46)	(0.42)	(0.32)	(0.38)
_cons	-1.96**	-2.60***	-0.93*	0.38
	(0.53)	(0.54)	(0.37)	(0.41)
N	1671	1671	1671	1671

Standard errors in parentheses. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001.

Table 9. UK – Reasons for Joining (Logistic Regression) & Conscript Age

	(1) Patriotism	(2) Citizenship	(3) Pay/Benefits	(4) Desperate	(5) Patriotism	(6) Citizenship	(7) Pay/Benefits	(8) Desperate
Cons	-0.34+	-0.91**	0.59**	-0.12	0.02	0.18	-0.31+	0.41
Age	(0.18)	(0.32)	(0.15)	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.36)	(0.18)	(0.29)
Ideo					0.50*	0.19	-0.18	-0.43+
					(0.20)	(0.25)	(0.17)	(0.25)
Self Service					-0.22	-0.29	0.18	0.11
					(0.23)	(0.35)	(0.20)	(0.32)
House Service					0.05	-0.23	0.11	-0.21
					(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.11)	(0.19)
Mil Feeling					2.26***	0.17	0.20	-2.82***
					(0.29)	(0.31)	(0.21)	(0.28)
Hawk					0.91***	0.26	-0.88***	0.32
					(0.22)	(0.29)	(0.19)	(0.30)
Blind Patriot					0.98**	0.69+	-0.60*	-0.81*
					(0.28)	(0.36)	(0.24)	(0.36)
RWA					0.13	-0.43	-0.02	0.39
					(0.38)	(0.48)	(0.32)	(0.48)
SDO					-0.30	0.39	-0.53+	0.70
					(0.37)	(0.47)	(0.32)	(0.47)
Age					-0.87***	-1.53***	1.45***	-0.45+
					(0.20)	(0.26)	(0.17)	(0.26)
Edu					-0.45**	-0.33	0.41**	0.08
					(0.16)	(0.20)	(0.13)	(0.20)
Female					0.17+	0.18	0.02	-0.49**
					(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.14)
Income					-0.78**	0.35	0.28	0.36
					(0.24)	(0.30)	(0.20)	(0.30)
White					-0.36*	-0.26	0.15	0.40+
					(0.16)	(0.19)	(0.14)	(0.22)
_cons	-1.03***	-1.94***	-0.06	-1.93***	-2.95***	-1.77***	-0.29	-0.08
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.33)	(0.38)	(0.27)	(0.37)
N	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448	2448
pseudo R^2	0.001	0.006	0.005	0.000	0.089	0.042	0.054	0.102

Standard errors in parentheses. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001.

Table 10. US – Reasons for Joining (Logistic Regression) & Conscript Age

	(1) Patriotism	(2) Citizenship	(3) Pay/Benefits	(4) Desperate	(5) Patriotism	(6) Citizenship	(7) Pay/Benefits	(8) Desperate
Cons	0.02	-0.29*	0.35**	-0.76***	0.00	0.18	0.03	-0.54+
Age	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.09)	(0.19)	(0.17)	(0.23)	(0.16)	(0.28)
Ideo					0.58**	-0.80**	0.17	-0.61*
					(0.19)	(0.24)	(0.18)	(0.31)
Self Service					-0.41*	-0.21	0.37*	0.25
					(0.16)	(0.22)	(0.15)	(0.26)
House Service					0.26*	0.12	-0.22*	-0.23
					(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.10)	(0.17)
Mil Feeling					0.44*	0.33	-0.18	-0.89**
					(0.21)	(0.27)	(0.19)	(0.29)
Hawk					0.43*	0.21	-0.37*	-0.34
					(0.20)	(0.25)	(0.19)	(0.31)
Blind Patriot					1.34***	0.94**	-1.43***	-0.57
					(0.23)	(0.31)	(0.22)	(0.36)
RWA					1.27***	-0.09	-0.53*	-0.98*
					(0.29)	(0.38)	(0.26)	(0.43)
SDO					-0.28	0.67+	0.15	-0.32
					(0.29)	(0.39)	(0.28)	(0.47)
Age					-0.25	-0.65*	0.65**	-0.25
					(0.24)	(0.31)	(0.23)	(0.36)
Edu					-0.73**	0.17	0.34+	0.45
					(0.21)	(0.28)	(0.20)	(0.33)
Female					-0.06	0.16	0.08	-0.27+
					(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.15)
Income					0.15	0.01	-0.13	-0.04
					(0.22)	(0.29)	(0.21)	(0.34)
White					0.35**	-0.23+	-0.11	-0.19
					(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.15)
_cons	-0.70***	-1.76***	-0.37***	-2.06***	-2.64***	-2.21***	0.49*	-0.14
	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.24)	(0.29)	(0.21)	(0.31)
N	2451	2451	2451	2451	2451	2451	2451	2451
pseudo R^2	0.000	0.002	0.004	0.012	0.085	0.026	0.048	0.071

Standard errors in parentheses. + p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.0001.

Table 11: France Household Service Data & Motivations for Service

	Pre-2001 Household	Post-2001 Household
Citizenship	27.3	23.08
Patriotism	34.87	32.05
Pay/Benefits	25.33	28.21
Desperate	12.5	16.67

Table 12: UK Household Service Data & Motivations for Service

	Pre-1960 Household	Post-1960 Household
Citizenship	12.5	7.74
Patriotism	25	30.03
Pay/Benefits	49.5	53.87
Desperate	13	8.36

Table 13: Reasons for Joining (including Standard Errors and 95% CIs) - UK

Response Option	Percent	Std Error	Lower Estimate	Upper Estimate
Duty	0.120	0.007	0.107	0.133
Patriotism	0.258	0.009	0.241	0.276
Pay/Benefits	0.497	0.010	0.477	0.517
No Other Options	0.125	0.007	0.113	0.139

Table 14: Reasons for Joining (including Standard Errors and 95% CIs) - US

Response Option	Percent	Std Error	Lower Estimate	Upper Estimate
Duty	0.138	0.007	0.125	0.153
Patriotism	0.333	0.010	0.314	0.351
Pay/Benefits	0.431	0.010	0.411	0.451
No Other Options	0.098	0.006	0.087	0.111

Table 15: Reasons for Joining (including Standard Errors and 95% CIs) - France

Response Option	Percent	Std Error	Lower Estimate	Upper Estimate
Duty	0.264	0.013	0.239	0.292
Patriotism	0.329	0.014	0.301	0.357
Pay/Benefits	0.257	0.013	0.232	0.284
No Other Options	0.150	0.011	0.130	0.172

Table 16: Reasons for Joining (including Standard Errors and 95% CIs) - Israel

Response Option	Percent	Std Error	Lower Estimate	Upper Estimate
Duty	0.156	0.009	0.139	0.174
Patriotism	0.464	0.012	0.440	0.488
Pay/Benefits	0.380	0.012	0.357	0.404

Table 17: Reasons for Joining (including Standard Errors and 95% CIs) - Germany

Response Option	Percent	Std Error	Lower Estimate	Upper Estimate
Duty	0.132	0.009	0.115	0.151
Patriotism	0.121	0.009	0.105	0.140
Pay/Benefits	0.534	0.014	0.507	0.560
No Other Options	0.213	0.011	0.192	0.236

Appendix 2: Survey Details

This appendix offers an example survey instrument using questions from the US survey that we analyze in this study. For space considerations, we do not provide the other survey instruments for the UK, France, and Israel. Each survey instrument is very similar, with minor tweaks for country-specific contexts (spelling, national demographic variables, etc.). Full survey instruments are available upon request.[2]

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)

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.

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

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.

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.

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.

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

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.

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.

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

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

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

[2] For information on the German study, see the Bundeswehr website at: https://opus4.kobv.de/opus4-zmsbw/frontdoor/index/index/searchtype/series/id/3/start/0/rows/10/facetNumber_author_facet/all/author_facetfq/Elbe%2C+Martin/docId/649

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

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

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

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?

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

Q40 In general, do you think of yourself as…

- o Very Liberal
- o Liberal
- o Moderate
- o Conservative
- o Very Conservative

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

Q42 Did your household member first serve after 1973?

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

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

Q52 Please indicate your gender:

Q53 What is your age?

Q54 How do you identify yourself racially?

Q55 What is your highest level of education?

Q 56 What was your total income in 2017?

Appendix 3: Ethical Considerations

Our surveys in the US, UK, France, and Israel were ruled exempt by the University of Minnesota's Institutional Review Board (IRB #s: STUDY00006331; STUDY00009006; STUDY00003607). The Germany data comes from a study conducted independently by the Bundeswehr Center and the authors were only involved in secondary data analysis.

Consent. All respondents consented to the research.

Recruitment and Compensation. Respondents were recruited and compensated through the respective survey platforms (Lucid, Dynata, or iPanel).

Survey & Data Confidentiality. Qualtrics collects respondents' IP addresses and geographical location. That information will be deleted from our publicly posted replication files. De-identified survey data will be publicly released post-publication to adhere to replication and transparency standards in the social sciences.

Deception. The survey used minimal deception in their designs.

Harm and Impact. The surveys have minimal potential harms for participants. The University of Minnesota Institutional Review Board deemed that the research met the exempt criteria for research. There were minimal foreseeable risks in taking the survey(s). Since participants were taking an online survey, there were no foreseeable physical discomforts or hazards. We minimized potential discomfort by explaining the topic and goal of the survey in the consent form, which participants saw first.