The Long-Term Effect of Military Conscription on Personality and Beliefs*

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Abstract

Military conscription is one of the most prevalent policies observed worldwide, typically affecting men at a very young age. However, its consequences on shaping men's personalities and beliefs remain unknown. We estimate the causal impact of military conscription on long-term beliefs and personality traits. To address potential endogeneity concerns we exploit the conscription draft lottery in Argentina. We combine administrative data from 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 adopt the military mindset, and this effect is long-lasting. In particular, 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, they are less tolerant, more disciplined, more politically conservative, more authoritarian, and more belligerent.

Keywords: Military service, personality traits, behavior.

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I. Introduction

Beliefs and personality traits affect the way people see the world. They play a fundamental role in modern societies, influence individuals and groups' interactions, and shape the political agenda. According to vast literature in social psychology (Mannheim 1952; Krosnick and Awin 1989), personality and beliefs are formed in early adulthood (the so-called impressionable years) and remain largely unaltered thereafter. Thus, the study of the determinants of personality and beliefs should pay particular attention to major events affecting the youth. For millions of individuals from all around the world, military conscription is one of such life-shaping events. Still, there is no clear evidence on the causal effect of military conscription on an individual's mindset.

In this paper, we provide empirical evidence on the causal impact of military conscription on subsequent personality and beliefs. To address potential endogeneity concerns, we exploit a well-documented natural experiment (Argentine draft lottery) that affected millions of men during their impressionable years. For almost all the 20th Century, the draft lottery in Argentina randomly assigned eligibility of all young males to military conscription based on the last three numbers of their national ID. For reasons totally unrelated to their personality or beliefs, some men were eligible for military conscription whereas others were not.

We use administrative data on draft eligibility and survey data on beliefs and personality traits for a sample of 1,133 Argentine males born between 1958 and 1976. Males in these cohorts were potentially eligible to serve (at age 18) in the period 1976 to 1994, and thus our survey allow us to address the long-term effects of military conscription.

We find that men who 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, men that served in the conscription are more likely to adopt the military mindset, and this effect is long-lasting.

Our paper pieces together multiple bodies of literature. Various authors have studied the impact of military conscription on a wide set of outcomes, including criminal behavior (Galiani, Rossi, and Schargrodsky 2011; Siminski, Ville, and Paull 2016; Albaek et al. 2017; Lyk-Jensen 2018) and labor market outcomes (Paloyo 2010; Grenet, Hart, and Roberts 2011; Bauer et al. 2012; Card and Cardoso 2012).

There is also literature -starting with Angrist (1990)- that exploits the Vietnam-era draft lottery to identify the causal impact of combat exposure on many outcomes. This includes 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 (Bouffard 2003; Rohlfs 2010). Some studies correlate combat exposure with increased political participation (Blattman 2009), greater volunteerism (Nesbit and Reigbold 2011), and higher voter turnout (Teigen 2006). Grossman, Manekin, and Miodownik (2015) exploit the assignment of health rankings determining combat eligibility in Israel Defense Forces to investigate the causal effect of combat exposure on support for peaceful conflict

resolution. They report that combat exposure hardens attitudes toward the rival and reduces support for negotiation. Combat exposure, or serving in the military service during wartime is, however, a very different intervention compared to peacetime conscription.

Our findings tie in with the specialized literature on the characteristics of the military and its culture. This literature focuses on the connection between military service and pro-military values, commonly 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 undergraduate students. They find that even though Army cadets do not differ considerably from undergraduate students in the context of background variables, they score higher on personality scales measuring 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. In two related papers, Stadelmann, Portmann, and Eichenberger (2015, 2018) study the link between serving in the military and 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. An obvious drawback of these studies is that people self-select into the military service. In this paper, we avoid selection problems by exploiting a well-documented random assignment. To the best of our knowledge, our paper represents the first effort to identify the causal effect of military conscription on the personality traits and beliefs that follow.

Finally, our paper also relates to relatively new literature that looks at the impacts of events that occur during impressionable years.[1] Giuliano and Spilimbergo (2014) find that macroeconomic conditions experienced during early adulthood have an effect on life-long beliefs. Individuals who grow up during recessions tend to support more government redistribution, have less confidence in public institutions, and believe that success in life depends more on luck than on effort. This effect is higher when individuals are exposed to the shock between the ages of 18 and 25. More recently, Cantoni et al. (2017) exploit a major textbook reform in China between 2004 and 2010 to study the causal effect of school curricula on students' political attitudes. They find that students exposed to the new curriculum see their mindset changed in the direction intended by the Chinese government.

The organization of the paper is as follows. Section II describes military conscription around the world, and military values. Section III presents military conscription in Argentina, which is the focus of our study. Section IV describes administrative data and the survey on personality traits and beliefs. Section V reports econometric methods and results. Section VI concludes.

II. Military conscription and the military culture

Military conscription is the mandatory enlistment in a country's armed forces. The origins of military conscription date back thousands of years to ancient Mesopotamia. Babylonian kingdoms employed a system of conscription called "ilkum", in which laborers owed military service to royal officials for the right to own land. The first

[1] Various authors have studied determinants of beliefs. Di Tella, Galiani, and Schargrosky (2007) study the role of property rights. Alesina and Fuchs-Schuendel (2008) study the effect of growing up in a communist regime on political beliefs. Della Vigna et al. (2014) study the influence of the media on political views. Malmendier and Nagel (2011) investigate whether individual experiences of macroeconomic shocks affect individual's attitudes towards risk.

universal mass conscription of young men regardless of social class took place in France during the French Revolution. After the French monarchy was overthrown in 1789, the French needed a bigger army, so in 1793 the French government conscripted all unmarried and able-bodied men between the ages of 18 and 25.

Today, 35 percent of nations around the world have military conscription.[2] Most commonly, 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 and to the military culture. In general, military training involves tasks in which new recruits go through a process of deconstructing their civilian status. Subsequently, having become receptive to new values, recruits are intensively exposed to the norms, authority relations, and disciplinary codes of the military organization, which are elucidated by senior members of the military (Soeters, Winslow, and Weibull 2006).

Military culture

There is specialized literature that analyzes the codes and characteristics of military organizations. Lang (1965) points to various unique characteristics of military organizations. First, the uniform is worn 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,

[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). Retrieved 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.

there is a chain of command postulating a downward flow of directives, thereby introducing discipline and control.

The characteristics of military organizations relate 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 occasional national differences, an international military culture also exists. In addition, Meyer, Writer, and Brim (2016) conclude that an extended military exposure is not necessary to absorb 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 in both the Army and the Air Force and up to two years in the case of the Navy. These services began with a three-month instruction period where recruits learned military norms and were exposed to military training. Following the initial training, conscripts were allocated to a military unit to perform a specific duty, which was not necessarily related to military training.[4]

From 1901 to 1976, males served in conscription at the age of 21; later, this was modified to age 18. The cohort born in 1955 was the last to serve at age 21 and the cohort

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

born in 1958 was the first to serve at age 18.[5] The cohort born in 1976 faced the draft lottery but was not drafted, as conscription was abolished in December 1994. Our analysis focuses on 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 random assignment was conducted in a public session administered by the National Lottery. Results were broadcasted over radio and published in major newspapers.

Following the lottery, individuals were called to have 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 and the survey

We measure personality traits and beliefs using a web-based survey we conducted in November 2018.[7] We sent an e-mail invitation to participate in the survey to an email list of approximately 19,000 Argentinian males born between 1958 and 1976. We received 1,133 completed surveys.

[5] Because of this change, the cohorts born in 1956 and 1957 were not called to military conscription.
[6] Those individuals whose ID number was below the cut-off could serve in the conscription as volunteers. 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).

The call to answer the survey did not mention military conscription.[8] To encourage participation in the survey, participants were included in a raffle for multiple smartphones. Participants entered the raffle with their last three ID digits. Asking for the last three ID digits to participate in raffles is a common practice in Argentina, so there is no reason to expect participants to associate the request of the last three ID digits with military conscription. One of the participants was awarded with a Samsung smartphone.

Survey questions

Our survey measures five personality traits and five specific beliefs related to the military culture.

The personality traits are tolerance, discipline, authoritarianism, conservatism, and belligerence, and are measured by using scales from the International Personality Item Pool (Goldberg 1999; Goldberg et al. 2006).[9] Each scale consists of a set of items. The respondents indicate how much they agree or disagree with each item on a five point scale where 1 is "Totally disagree" and 5 is "Totally agree". Following the literature, we grouped the answers to each item to obtain a single value for each scale.[10]

The specific beliefs are right to bear arms, justification of the use of violence to solve conflicts, justification of intervention of foreign countries, need of having a mandatory military conscription, and justification for coups against democratically elected governments, and are measured by using purposely designed statements. The respondents indicate how much they agree or disagree with each statement on a five point scale where 1 is "Totally disagree" and 5 is "Totally agree". To analyze specific

[8] The English version of the recruitment e-mail is presented in the Appendix.

[9] International Personality Item Pool: A Scientific Collaboratory for the Development of Advanced Measures of Personality Traits and Other Individual Differences (http://ipip.ori.org/).

[10] Tolerance (Cloninger et al. 1994), discipline (Conn and Rieke 1994), authoritarianism (Simms et al. 2011), conservatism and belligerence (Tellegen 1995/2003).

beliefs, we generate a dummy variable that takes value of one if the person agrees or totally agrees with the statement, and zero otherwise.

From the survey, we also obtained self-reported information on the last three ID digits, conscription status, and pre-treatment characteristics (birth district, parents' education, parents' nationality, father conscription status).

Using the self-reported last three ID digits, the lottery draft results, and the cut-off numbers by cohort, we define the dummy variable *Draft Eligible*, which takes the value of one for men whose last three ID digits is above the cut-off and therefore draft-eligible, and zero otherwise.[11] We also construct the treatment variable *Conscription*, which takes the value of one for men who report serving in the conscription, and zero otherwise.

Interpretation of survey responses

The survey was conducted privately, online, so there is no reason to expect social stigma attached to particular responses or any changes in answers due to cues about what constitutes appropriate behavior (the so-called experimenter demand effect). In addition, for all outcomes and in each treatment assignment, we found responses in the full range, from 1 to 5, and in every case the modal response was provided by no more than 60 percent of men. This indicates that responses were not concentrated around a single "acceptable" response.

One potential concern is that the diversity of outcomes we measure captures the same characteristics of personality traits and beliefs. Table 1 exhibits the correlation matrix of the outcomes, showing that several correlations are weak. In light of this, we believe the outcomes capture different and relevant characteristics of personality traits and beliefs.

[11] We obtained lottery draft results and cutoff numbers from Galiani, Rossi, and Schargrodsky (2011).

The response rate to our survey, 6 percent, is lower than that seen in surveys using alternative methods (Shih and Fan 2008). A natural concern in this context is potential selection into the sample. If selection into the sample were nonrandom, our estimated treatment effects may be bias. For nonrandom selection into our sample to threaten the internal validity of our estimates, the selection would need to be differential by draft-eligibility status. We test for differential selection into the survey by draft-eligibility status in three ways. First, we check whether the sample proportion of draft eligible in our sample is similar to the population proportion. In the population, the average proportion of draft eligible for the cohorts 1958 to 1975 is equal to 0.477. In our sample, the average proportion of draft eligible for these cohorts is equal to 0.487. The difference between the two proportions is statistically indistinguishable from zero. In Table 2 we report population and sample proportions, by cohort. For 16 out of 18 cohorts, the difference between population and sample proportions of draft eligible is statistically indistinguishable from zero.

Second, we check whether the sample distribution of the last three ID digits in our sample is similar to the population (uniform) distribution. We first display the sample distribution of the last three ID digits, grouping the last three ID digits in bins of 100 consecutive numbers (10 bins of 100 numbers each). As shown in Figure 1, the sample distribution of the last three ID digits looks like a uniform distribution. We then run a Chi-test on the frequencies using the original (ungrouped) data, and we cannot reject the hypothesis that the sample distribution of the last three ID digits is statistically not different from a uniform distribution.

Third, even though eligibility to serve in the conscription was randomly determined, we examine whether individuals' pre-treatment characteristics are balanced across the draft-eligible and the draft-exempted groups within our sample. Table 3 reports differences, by draft-eligibility status, in parents' education, parents' nationality, and whether his father served in the conscription. Table 4 reports differences, by draft-eligibility status, in birth district. For most of the pre-treatment characteristics available there are no statistically significant differences between the draft-eligible and the draft-exempted groups.

Since (i) population and sample proportion of draft eligible are statistically indistinguishable, (ii) the sample distribution of the last three ID digits is statistically not different from the population (uniform) distribution, and (iii) pre-treatment characteristics are balanced within our sample, we conclude results reported below are not subject to significant sources of selection bias.

V. Econometric methods and results

To begin our analysis of the effect of serving in the conscription, we compare means of men's personality traits and beliefs by draft-eligibility assignment. As observed in Table 5, 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 7 out of 10 differences are statistically significant.

We next examine the causal effect of conscription on beliefs and personality traits in a regression framework. Formally, we want to estimate the following equation:

$$Y_{ic} = \beta + \alpha\, Conscription_{ic} + \delta_c + \varepsilon_{ic} \quad (1)$$

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 who 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.

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.

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 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. For the two indices, a higher z-score is associated to being closer to the military mindset. In addition to examining the effect of conscription on broad indices, when we examine individual metrics, we address concerns about multiple hypothesis testing by presenting p-values that are adjusted using the false discovery rate procedure (Benjamini, Krieger, and Yekutieli 2006).

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 6, results with and without controls indicate that men who served in the conscription have personality traits and beliefs that are more in line with the ones observed in military culture.[12]

Figure 2 shows that results are robust to excluding one cohort at a time. In all cases, results for both the index of personality traits and the index of beliefs remain positive and significantly different from zero.

Table 7 reports first-stage estimates for the pooled sample of the 18 cohorts available, with and without controls. 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. All first-stage effects are precisely estimated and significantly different from zero.

Table 8 reports the preferred 2SLS estimates. There is a robust positive effect of military conscription on the indices 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 direction of being closer to the military mindset.

To determine whether the effects are wide-ranging or concentrated in just one or two outcomes, we estimate and report in Table 9 the effects on each separate metric. The top panel reports OLS estimates and the lower panel reports 2SLS estimates. The effect on

[12] In all cases, we obtain similar results when we use the principal components for personality traits and beliefs, instead of the indices. Results mentioned but not reported are available from the authors upon request.

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 size differences among personality traits are important. Focusing on mean effects in 2SLS estimates, we see from Table 9 that tolerance is 5.4 percentage points lower (or 7.3% relative to the mean of the draft ineligible) for those who 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 (280%), and the probability of supporting the right to bear arms by 14.6 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 17 percentage points higher (39%) for those who served in the conscription.

Overall, our results indicate that military conscription has long-lasting effects on both beliefs and personality traits. 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. The effect of military conscription 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 ultimately drafted.[13] 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-eligible is statistically not significant for all outcomes (see Table 10), 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.

Further results

Finally, we explore differential effects of conscription for (i) those who served in the Navy, (ii) those who served during the Malvinas War, and (iii) those who served during military dictatorship.

We first study differential effects for those who served in the Navy and thus did two years of service, rather than one year for the Army and the Air Force. As reported in the upper panel of Table 11, the effect of conscription on personality traits and beliefs is

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

larger for those who served in the Navy. The estimated differential effects, however, are statistically not significant.

Given that our sample includes two cohorts that participated in the 1982 Malvinas War between Argentina and the United Kingdom, we are able to explore the difference between serving in the conscription in peacetime versus serving in the conscription in wartime. As shown in the middle panel in Table 11, our results suggest that the effect of conscription is smaller for those draftees in the cohorts that participated in the Malvinas War than for other cohorts, though the coefficients on the interaction effects are statistically not significant for both the index of personality traits and the index of beliefs.

Finally, the lower panel of Table 11 reports the differential effects of serving in the conscription during military dictatorship. The estimated coefficients for the interaction effects are negative, though the magnitudes are small and statistically not significant.

VI. Conclusions and discussion

Military conscription is one of the most prevalent policies around the world, affecting typically men in early adulthood. Our paper provides novel evidence on the role military conscription 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 strong evidence that serving in the conscription changes the way individuals see the world. Men that served in the conscription are more likely to have mindsets in line with the ones observed in the military culture. The magnitudes of the estimated effects are both statistically significant and quite large.

Our paper contributes to current policy discussions on the costs and benefits of reintroducing military conscription. This is important since some countries (mainly European countries such as Sweden and Lithuania) have recently reintroduced conscription, and many other countries (such as Italy, Romania, France, and Germany) are currently discussing bringing back some kind of military conscription. The likely reason for this recent pro-conscription trend is the need of producing men that can serve in the military.[14] Our paper contributes to these policy discussions by providing empirical evidence that military conscription, aside of producing men that can serve in the conscription, has the by-product effect of producing men that adopt a military mindset.

To conclude, our paper highlights the important role of military conscription on the formation of values and beliefs of people from all around the world. Our natural experiment, however, does not identify the mechanisms through which conscription affect personality traits and beliefs.

[14] "A key reason for the revival of the draft is a changing security situation in Europe, especially after the Russian annexation of Crimea four years ago," said Elisabeth Braw, an associate fellow at the Royal United Services Institute for Defense and Security Studies in London. Retrieved on May 13th, 2019, from https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2018/10/19/military-draft-is-making-comeback-europe/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.a522c4488da0.

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Table 1. Correlations among personality traits and beliefs

	(1) Tolerance	(2) Discipline	(3) Conservatism	(4) Authoritarianism	(5) Violence or Belligerence
Tolerance	1				
Discipline	0.37	1			
Conservatism	-0.23	0.45	1		
Authoritarianism	-0.62	-0.23	0.22	1	
Violence or Belligerence	-0.69	-0.43	0.10	0.54	1

	(6) In favor of right to bear arms	(7) Justify violence to solve conflicts	(8) Accept countries' interventions	(9) In favor of mandatory conscription	(10) Accept coups
In favor of right to bear arms	1				
Justify violence to solve conflicts	0.36	1			
Accept countries' interventions	0.30	0.28	1		
In favor of mandatory conscription	0.25	0.15	0.21	1	
Accept coups	0.33	0.30	0.28	0.24	1

Table 2. Draft-eligibility status

Cohort	Population proportion	Sample proportion	Difference
1958	0.825	0.870	-0.045
1959	0.680	0.681	-0.001
1960	0.659	0.606	0.053
1961	0.650	0.624	0.027
1962	0.680	0.735	-0.055
1963	0.650	0.623	0.027
1964	0.600	0.676	-0.076
1965	0.607	0.705	-0.098
1966	0.373	0.451	-0.078
1967	0.333	0.186	0.147**
1968	0.413	0.381	0.032
1969	0.446	0.526	-0.080
1970	0.502	0.532	-0.030
1971	0.281	0.264	0.017
1972	0.164	0.268	-0.104*
1973	0.240	0.203	0.037
1974	0.256	0.210	0.046
1975	0.257	0.340	-0.083
Total	0.477	0.487	-0.010

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

Table 3. Pre-treatment characteristics, by draft-eligibility assignment

	Draft eligible mean	Non draft eligible mean	Difference
Father's country of birth	0.920	0.910	0.010
	(0.271)	(0.286)	(0.017)
Mother's country of birth	0.906	0.921	-0.015
	(0.292)	(0.270)	(0.017)
His father did military conscription	0.623	0.632	-0.009
	(0.485)	(0.483)	(0.029)
Father's maximum level of education			
No instruction	0.015	0.010	0.004
	(0.120)	(0.101)	(0.007)
Incomplete primary school	0.129	0.120	0.009
	(0.335)	(0.326)	(0.020)
Complete primary School	0.250	0.225	0.025
	(0.433)	(0.418)	(0.025)
Incomplete secondary school	0.114	0.114	0.000
	(0.318)	(0.318)	(0.019)
Complete secondary School	0.158	0.181	-0.023
	(0.365)	(0.385)	(0.022)
Incomplete high education	0.024	0.033	-0.009
	(0.152)	(0.178)	(0.010)
Complete high education	0.063	0.038	0.026*
	(0.244)	(0.191)	(0.013)
Incomplete university	0.073	0.083	-0.010
	(0.259)	(0.276)	(0.016)
Complete university	0.165	0.186	-0.021
	(0.371)	(0.389)	(0.023)
Mother's maximum level of education			
No instruction	0.011	0.016	-0.005
	(0.104)	(0.124)	(0.007)
Incomplete primary school	0.116	0.103	0.013
	(0.320)	(0.305)	(0.019)
Complete primary School	0.310	0.248	0.062**
	(0.463)	(0.432)	(0.027)
Incomplete secondary school	0.101	0.115	-0.014
	(0.302)	(0.320)	(0.019)
Complete secondary School	0.212	0.246	-0.034
	(0.409)	(0.431)	(0.025)
Incomplete high education	0.024	0.010	0.013*
	(0.152)	(0.101)	(0.008)
Complete high education	0.138	0.153	-0.015
	(0.345)	(0.360)	(0.021)
Incomplete university	0.034	0.036	-0.002
	(0.182)	(0.187)	(0.011)
Complete university	0.053	0.069	-0.016
	(0.223)	(0.253)	(0.014)

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

Table 4. District of origin, by draft-eligibility assignment

	Draft eligible mean	Non draft eligible mean	Difference
Buenos Aires	0.567	0.497	0.070**
	(0.496)	(0.500)	(0.030)
Catamarca	0.011	0.007	0.004
	(0.104)	(0.083)	(0.006)
Chaco	0.015	0.021	-0.006
	(0.120)	(0.142)	(0.008)
Chubut	0.011	0.009	0.002
	(0.104)	(0.092)	(0.006)
Cordoba	0.058	0.074	-0.016
	(0.234)	(0.262)	(0.015)
Corrientes	0.018	0.019	-0.001
	(0.133)	(0.136)	(0.008)
Entre Rios	0.018	0.029	-0.011
	(0.133)	(0.169)	(0.009)
Formosa	0.011	0.005	0.006
	(0.104)	(0.072)	(0.005)
Jujuy	0.016	0.017	-0.001
	(0.127)	(0.130)	(0.008)
La Pampa	0.013	0.005	0.008
	(0.112)	(0.072)	(0.006)
La Rioja	0.007	0.003	0.004
	(0.104)	(0.059)	(0.005)
Mendoza	0.040	0.024	0.016
	(0.196)	(0.153)	(0.010)
Misiones	0.011	0.010	0.001
	(0.104)	(0.101)	(0.006)
Neuquen	0.020	0.024	-0.004
	(0.140)	(0.153)	(0.009)
Rio Negro	0.011	0.007	0.004
	(0.104)	(0.083)	(0.006)
Salta	0.027	0.045	-0.018
	(0.163)	(0.207)	(0.011)
San Juan	0.009	0.010	-0.001
	(0.095)	(0.101)	(0.006)
San Luis	0.005	0.007	-0.001
	(0.074)	(0.083)	(0.005)
Santa Cruz	0.011	0.007	0.004
	(0.104)	(0.083)	(0.006)
Santa Fe	0.076	0.088	-0.012
	(0.265)	(0.283)	(0.016)
Santiago del Estero	0.007	0.024	-0.017**
	(0.085)	(0.153)	(0.007)
Tucuman	0.034	0.067	-0.033***
	(0.182)	(0.250)	(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 5. Outcomes, by draft-eligibility assignment

	Draft-eligible mean	Non-draft eligible mean	Difference
Outcomes			
Tolerance	0.715	0.736	-0.021***
	(0.101)	(0.080)	(0.005)
Discipline	0.756	0.752	0.004
	(0.102)	(0.109)	(0.006)
Conservatism	0.656	0.641	0.015***
	(0.093)	(0.092)	(0.006)
Authoritarianism	0.533	0.519	0.014
	(0.169)	(0.147)	(0.009)
Belligerence	0.474	0.460	0.014**
	(0.117)	(0.106)	(0.007)
In favor of right to bear arms	0.236	0.162	0.074***
	(0.425)	(0.369)	(0.024)
Justify violence to solve conflicts	0.223	0.194	0.029
	(0.417)	(0.396)	(0.024)
Accept countries' interventions	0.284	0.241	0.043*
	(0.452)	(0.428)	(0.026)
In favor of mandatory conscription	0.533	0.432	0.101***
	(0.499)	(0.496)	(0.030)
Accept coups	0.143	0.065	0.078***
	(0.351)	(0.247)	(0.018)

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

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

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Index of personality traits		Index of beliefs	
Conscription	0.234***	0.216***	0.326***	0.290***
	(0.051)	(0.050)	(0.056)	(0.055)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133
Mean of output	0.067	0.067	0.086	0.086
SD of output	0.628	0.628	0.695	0.695

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 2 and 3. *Significant at the 10% level. **Significant at the 5% level. ***Significant at the 1% level.

Table 7. First-stage estimates

	(1)	(2)
Cohorts	1958-1975	1958-1975
Draft Eligible	0.393***	0.394***
	(0.027)	(0.027)
Method	OLS	OLS
Controls	No	Yes
Observations	1,133	1,133

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 8. 2SLS estimates: impact of conscription on personality traits and beliefs

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Index of personality traits		Index of beliefs	
Conscription	0.342***	0.328***	0.382***	0.393***
	(0.103)	(0.102)	(0.112)	(0.111)
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes
Observations	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133

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 2 and 3. *Significant at the 10% level. **Significant at the 5% level. ***Significant at the 1% level.

Table 9. Impact of mandatory military conscription on personality traits and beliefs, by outcome

	(1) Tolerance	(2) Discipline	(3) Conservatism	(4) Authoritarianism	(5) Violence or Belligerence	(6) In favor of right to bear arms	(7) Justify violence to solve conflicts	(8) Accept countries' interventions	(9) In favor of mandatory conscription	(10) Accept coups
Conscription	-0.027***	0.004	0.031***	0.020*	0.034***	0.142***	0.086***	0.066**	0.185***	0.124***
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.032)	(0.035)	(0.025)
p-value	0.000	0.590	0.000	0.090	0.000	0.000	0.005	0.042	0.000	0.000
FDR-p-value	0.001	0.134	0.001	0.048	0.001	0.001	0.003	0.009	0.001	0.001
% change	-3.67	0.53	4.84	3.85	7.40	87.77	44.22	27.39	42.82	189.59
Method	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS	OLS
Controls	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Observations	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133
Conscription	-0.054***	0.006	0.035**	0.028	0.044**	0.146**	0.088	0.089	0.170**	0.183***
	(0.015)	(0.017)	(0.015)	(0.026)	(0.018)	(0.067)	(0.068)	(0.071)	(0.081)	(0.046)
p-value	0.000	0.739	0.019	0.287	0.014	0.030	0.196	0.212	0.037	0.000
FDR-p-value	0.002	0.421	0.027	0.168	0.027	0.052	0.093	0.093	0.052	0.001
% change	-7.34	0.80	5.46	5.40	9.57	90.24	45.25	36.93	39.35	279.80
Method	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS	2SLS
Controls	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Observations	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133	1,133

Notes: Standard errors clustered at the ID-cohort level are shown in parentheses. FDR-p-values are False Discovery Rates adjusted p-values, following the procedure in Benjamin, Krieger, and Yekutieli (2006). 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 10. Placebo regression: cohort that faced the draft lottery but eventually was not drafted

	(1) Tolerance	(2) Discipline	(3) Conservatism	(4) Authoritarianism	(5) Violence or Belligerence	(6) In favor of right to bear arms	(7) Justify violence to solve conflicts	(8) Accept countries' interventions	(9) In favor of mandatory conscription	(10) Accept coups
Draft Eligible	0.002	-0.028	-0.031	-0.011	-0.027	0.025	-0.128	0.016	-0.026	0.019
	(0.023)	(0.030)	(0.027)	(0.039)	(0.027)	(0.106)	(0.107)	(0.138)	(0.150)	(0.062)
Constant	0.729***	0.749***	0.623***	0.508***	0.477***	0.133**	0.233***	0.300***	0.500***	0.033
	(0.014)	(0.019)	(0.013)	(0.022)	(0.018)	(0.063)	(0.079)	(0.085)	(0.093)	(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.

Table 11. Further results: Navy, Malvinas War, and dictatorship

	(1) Index of personality traits	(2) Index of beliefs
Navy		
Draft Eligible	0.116**	0.131***
	(0.046)	(0.049)
Draft Eligible*Navy	0.053	0.094
	(0.067)	(0.085)
Controls	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,133	1,133
Malvinas War		
Draft Eligible	0.143***	0.164***
	(0.045)	(0.049)
Draft Eligible*Malvinas	-0.117	-0.079
	(0.133)	(0.130)
Controls	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,133	1,133
Dictatorship		
Draft Eligible	0.149***	0.155**
	(0.058)	(0.063)
Draft Eligible*Dictatorship	-0.046	-0.001
	(0.086)	(0.094)
Controls	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,133	1,133

Notes: Standard errors clustered at the ID-cohort level are shown in parentheses. All models include cohorts fixed effects and controls. The set of controls includes all variables listed in Tables 2 and 3. *Significant at the 10% level. **Significant at the 5% level. ***Significant at the 1% level.

Figure 1. Distribution of the last three ID digits in our sample

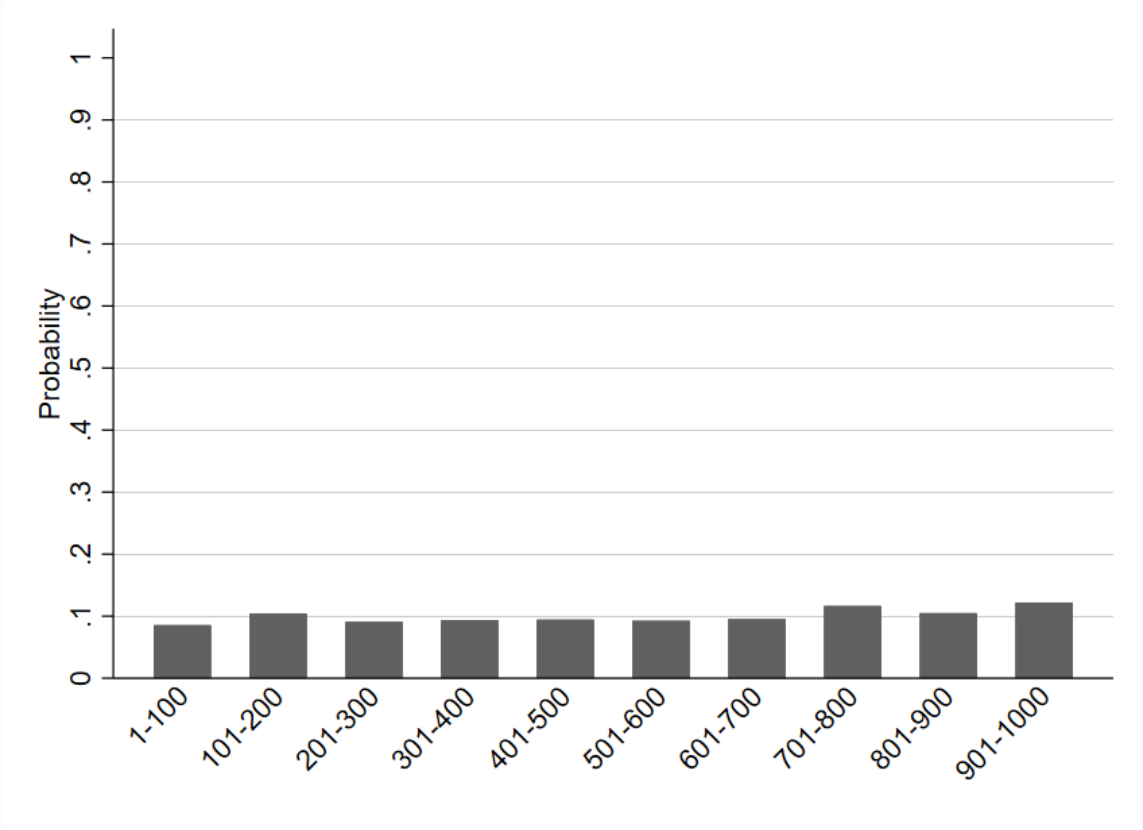
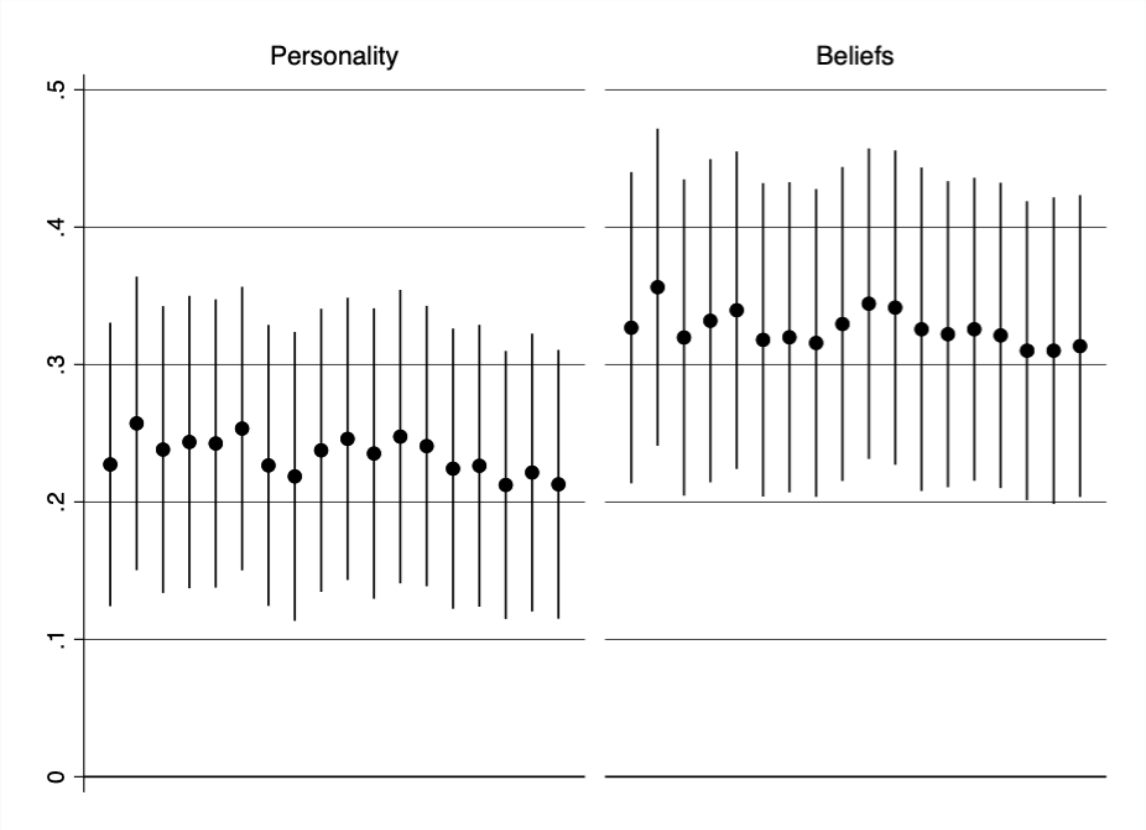


Figure 2. Robustness check: results excluding one cohort at a time



Appendix

Invitation to answer the survey

We invite you to participate in an investigation about personality traits. This is a strictly academic project directed by a team of researchers from Universidad de San Andrés. Answering this survey should take you about 10 minutes. Your answers are completely anonymous. After completing the questionnaire you will be given a code with which you will be participating in the raffle of multiple smartphones (Samsung Galaxy J7 Neo). At the end of the survey, we will give you the details to participate in the raffle.

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
	Treat people as inferiors

Beliefs/Personality traits	Questions
	Believe that others have good intentions
	Am quick to judge others
	Can accept a lot from others
	Am annoyed by others' mistakes
Violence/belligerence	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