

Appendix

No Right to Be Wrong: What Americans Think About Civil-Military Relations—and Why It Matters

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Appendix 1

Lucid Data and Analyses

1 Sample Characteristics

1. Age

Age	Total #	Total %
18-29	400	20.82
30-39	348	18.12
40-49	320	16.66
50-59	334	17.39
60-69	340	17.70
70+	179	9.32
Total	1921	100.00

2. Gender

Gender	Total #	Total %
Male	935	48.67
Female	986	51.33
Total	1921	100.00

3. Race

Race	Total #	Total %
Non-Hispanic White (Caucasian)	1,359	70.74
Black or African American	234	12.18
Hispanic or Latino/a	165	8.59
Asian	88	4.58
American Indian	21	1.09
Other/None of the Above	54	2.81
Total	1921	100.00

4. Income

Income	Total #	Total %
Under \$20,000	454	23.63
\$20,000 - \$39,999	565	29.41
\$40,000 - \$69,999	444	23.11
\$70,000 - \$99,999	238	12.39
\$100,000 - \$149,999	148	7.70
\$150,000 - \$249,999	60	3.12
More than 250,000	12	0.62
Total	1921	100.00

5. Education

Education	Total #	Total %
Less than HS	61	3.18
High school graduate	495	25.77
Some college	684	35.61
College Graduate	492	25.61
Grad/Professional degree	189	9.84
Total	1921	100.00

6. Household Service

	Total #	Total %
No	1,333	69.39
Yes	588	30.61
Total	1921	100.00

7. Self-Service

	Total #	Total %
Yes	209	10.88
No	1,712	89.12
Total	1921	100.00

8. Branch

Branch	Total #	Total %
Airforce	52	24.88
Army	93	44.50
Coast Guard	5	2.39
Marines	17	8.13
Navy	42	20.10
Total	209	100.00

9. Pre-AVF

	Total #	Total %
Pre-1978	84	40.19
Post-1978	125	59.81
Total	209	100.00

10. Drafted (don't know excluded)

	Total #	Total %
No	64	84.21
Yes	12	15.79
Total	76	100.00

11. Ideology—7 point scale

Ideology	Total #	Total %
Extremely Liberal	188	9.79
Liberal	306	15.93
Slightly Liberal	175	9.11
Moderate, Middle of Road	588	30.61
Slightly Conservative	204	10.62
Conservative	270	14.06
Extremely Conservative	190	9.89
Total	1921	100

12. Ideology—8 point scale

Ideology	Total #	Total %
Extremely Liberal	188	9.79
Liberal	306	15.93
Slightly Liberal	175	9.11
Moderate-Lean Liberal	236	12.29
Moderate-Lean Conservative	352	18.32
Slightly Conservative	204	10.62
Conservative	270	14.06
Extremely Conservative	190	9.89
Total	1921	100.00

13. Party Identification—6 point scale

PID	Total #	Total %
Strong Dem	492	25.61
Dem	245	12.75
Ind-Lean Dem	348	18.12
Ind-Lean Rep	283	14.73
Rep	193	10.05
Strong Rep	360	18.74
Total	1921	100.00

14. Sample Characteristics to known benchmarks

Variable	Lucid Self-Report	Benchmark	Source
Female	51.33	52%	CPS 2017
College	25.61	30%	CPS 2017
Black	12.18	12%	CPS 2017
White	70.74	65%	CPS 2017
Hispanic	8.59	15%	CPS 2017
Democrat	38.37	34%	ANES 2016
Republican	28.79	28%	ANES 2016
Independent	26.70	32%	ANES 2016
Mean Age	40-49	47	ANES 2016
Median Income	\$20,000 - \$39,999	\$55,000-\$59,000	ANES 2016

2 Descriptive Results

2.1 Expertise:

How much do you think senior military officers know about international affairs compared to the following groups of people:

Figure 1

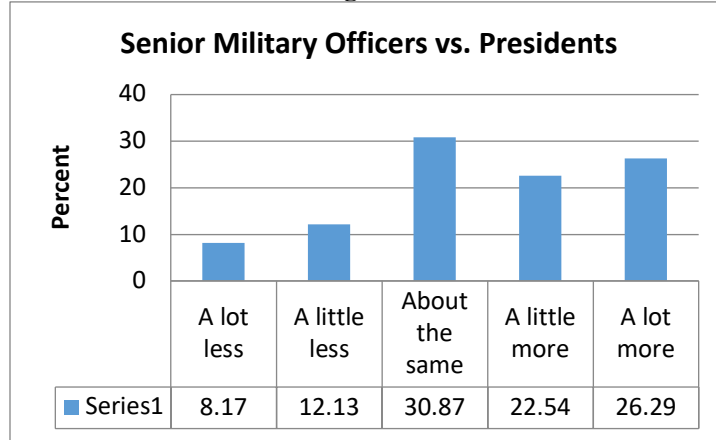


Figure 2

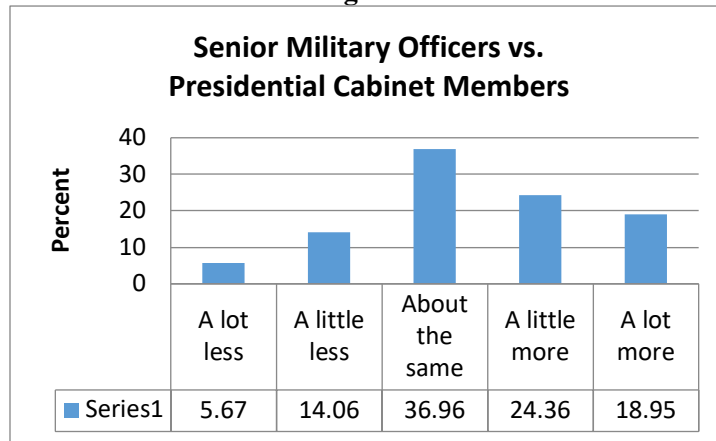


Figure 3

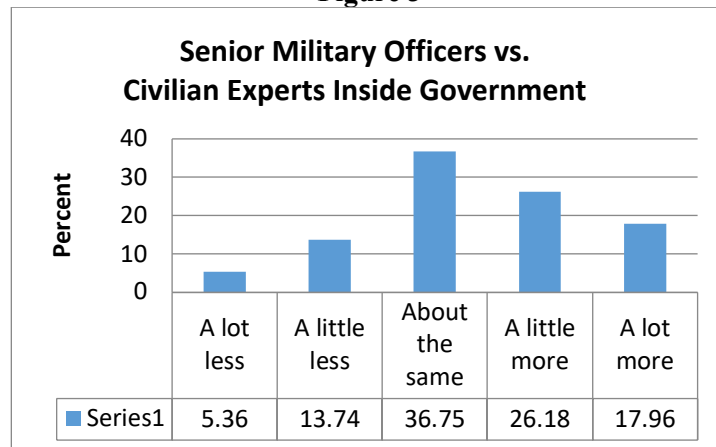
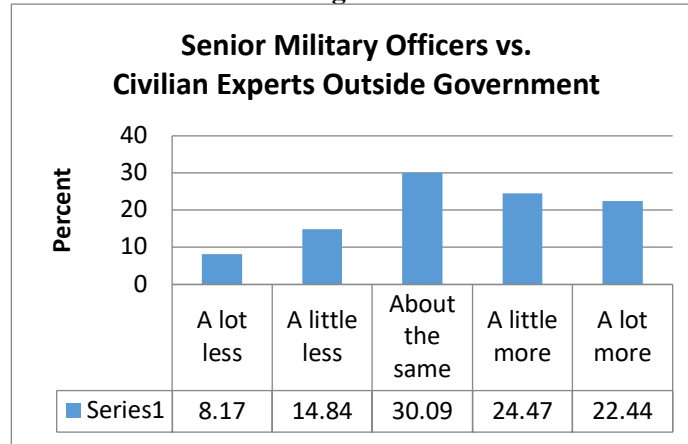


Figure 4



2.2 The Military in the Political Arena

Figure 5

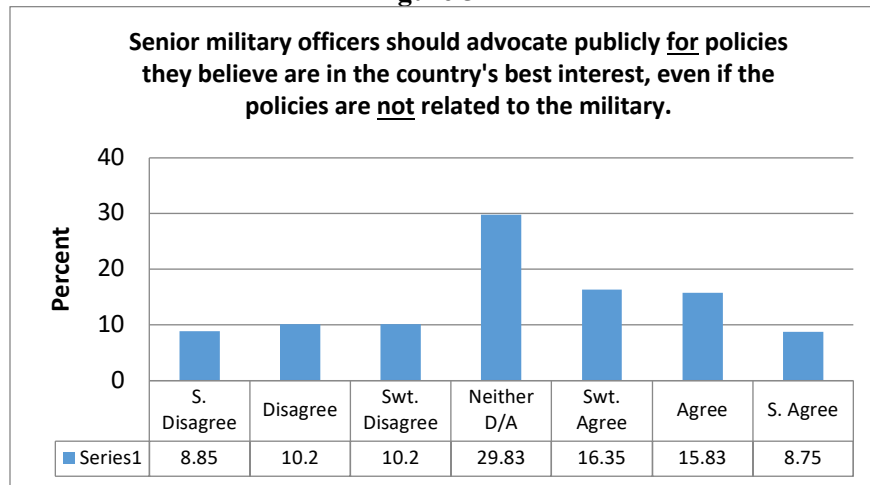


Figure 6

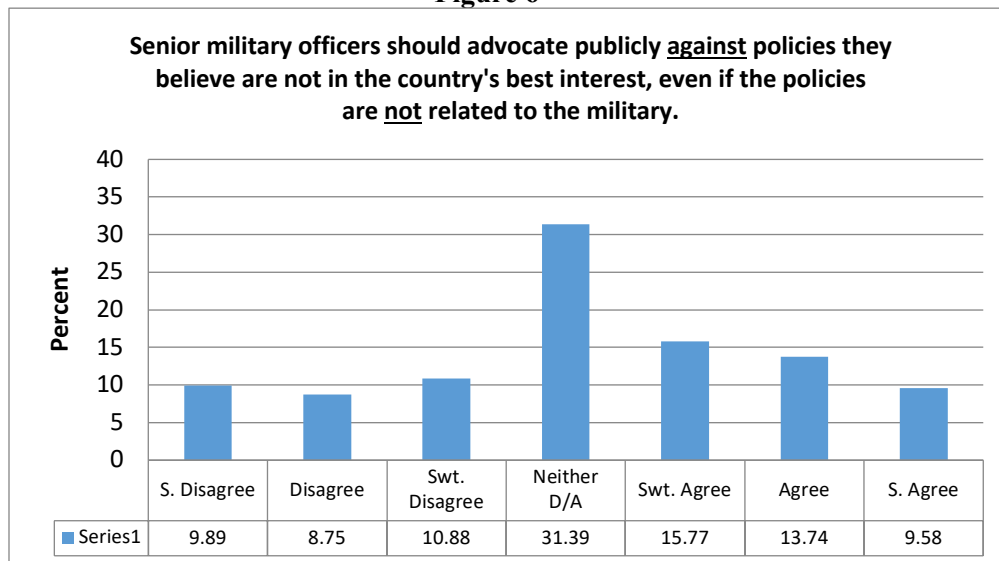


Figure 7

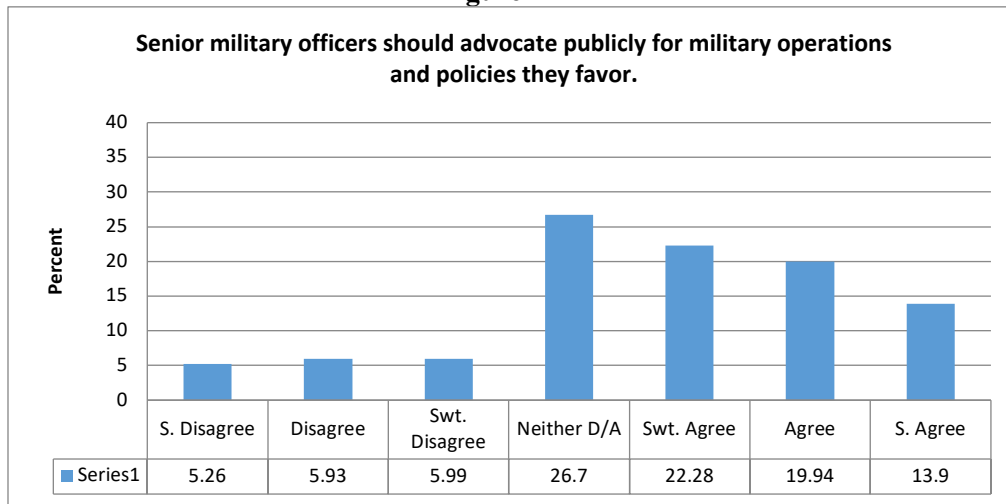


Figure 8

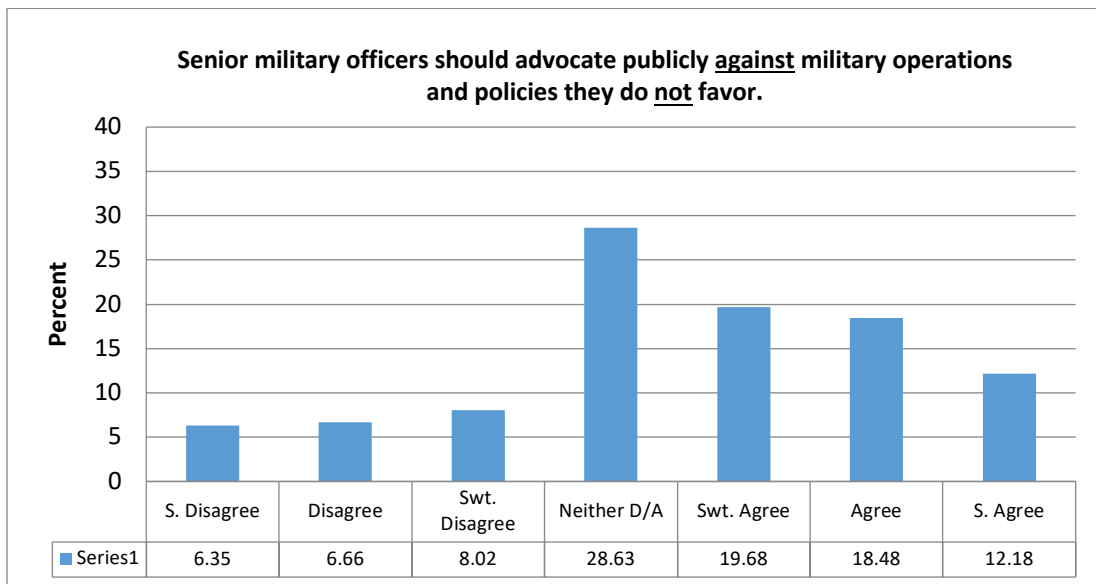


Figure 9

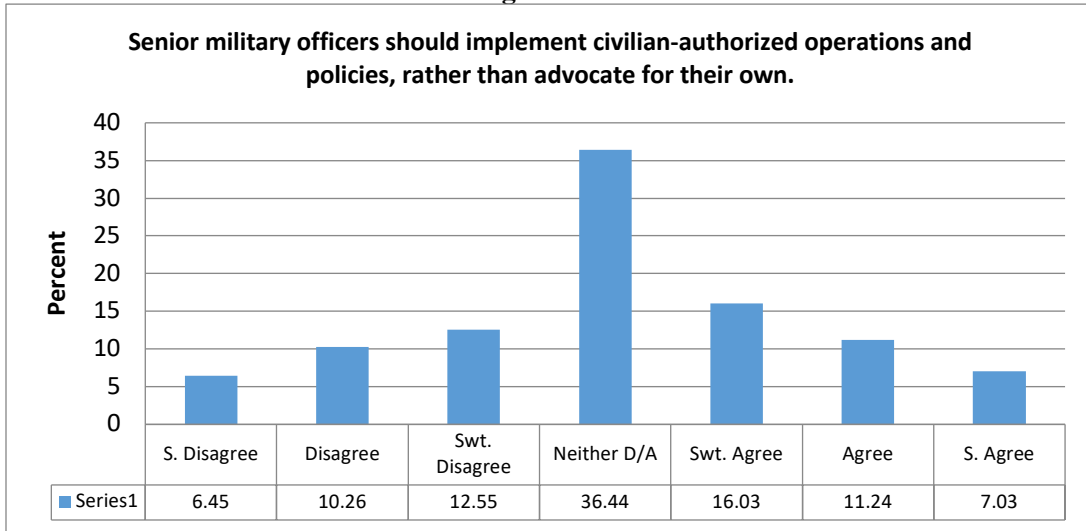


Figure 10

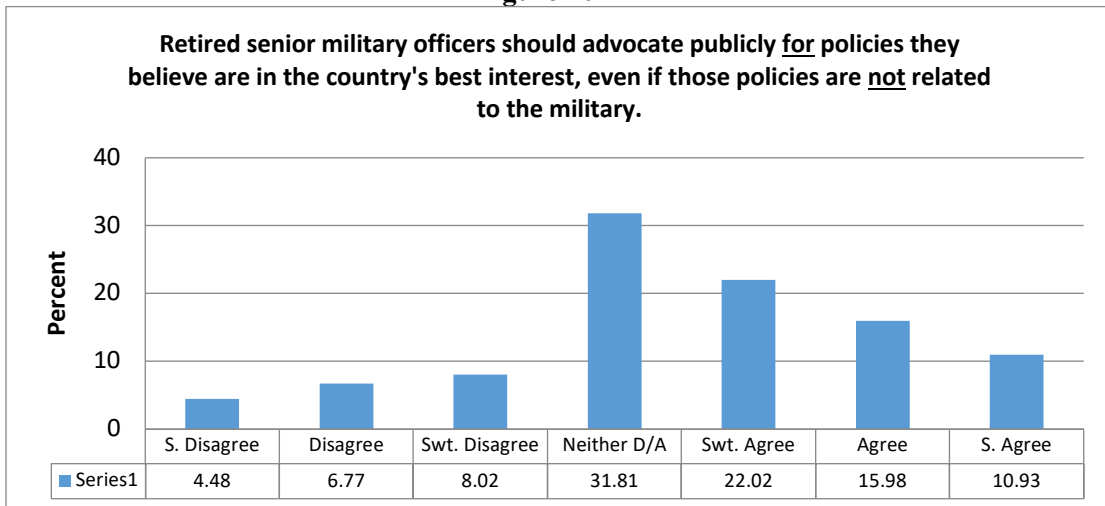


Figure 11

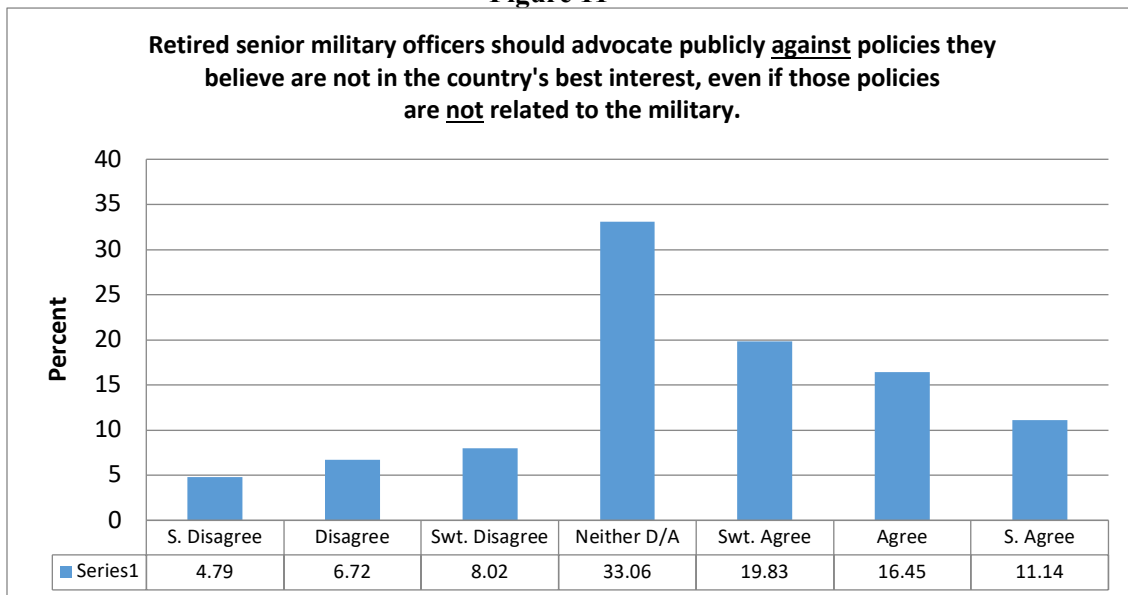


Figure 12

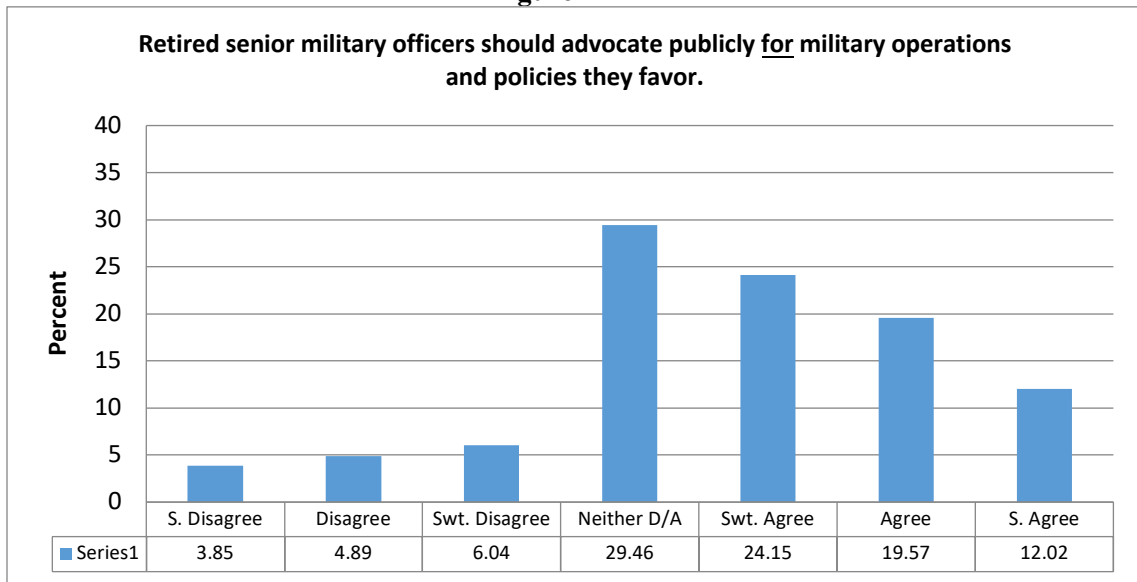
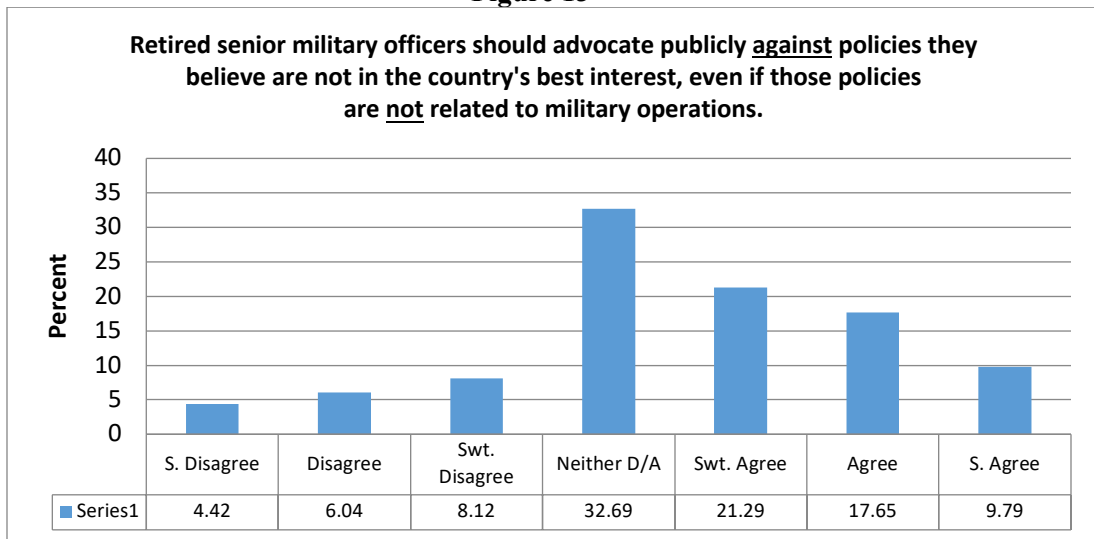


Figure 13



2.3 Trust & Admiration Descriptives

Trust

Table 1. I would generally describe my trust in military officers as:

	Total #	Total %
Distrust a lot	89	4.63
Distrust a little	216	11.24
Trust a little	830	43.21
Trust a lot	786	40.92
Total	1921	100.00

Table 2. Which of the following best represents the reason you trust military officers?

	Total #	Total %
Military officers are good at what they do.	420	25.99
Military officers do not get involved in politics.	161	9.96
Military officers have a strong sense of ethics.	281	17.39
Military officers put the interests of the country first.	754	46.66
Total	1616	100.00

Table 3. Which of the following best represents the reason you do not trust military officers?

	Total #	Total %
Military officers are not good at what they do.	21	6.89
Military officers get involved in politics.	99	32.46
Military officers do not have a strong sense of ethics.	76	24.92
Military officers put the interests of the military first.	109	35.74
Total	305	100.00

Figure 14. I trust military officers because they are good at what they do.

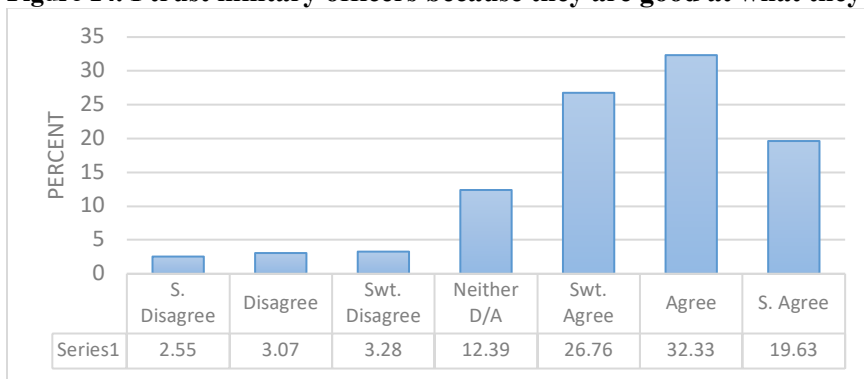


Figure 15. I trust military officers because they do not get involved in politics.

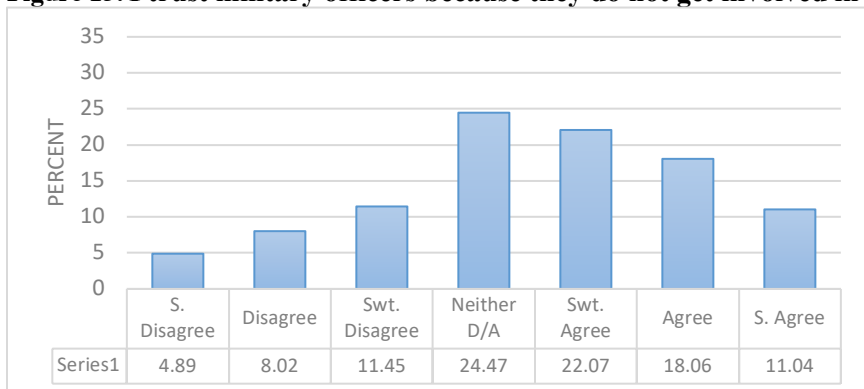


Figure 16. I trust military officers because they have a strong sense of ethics.

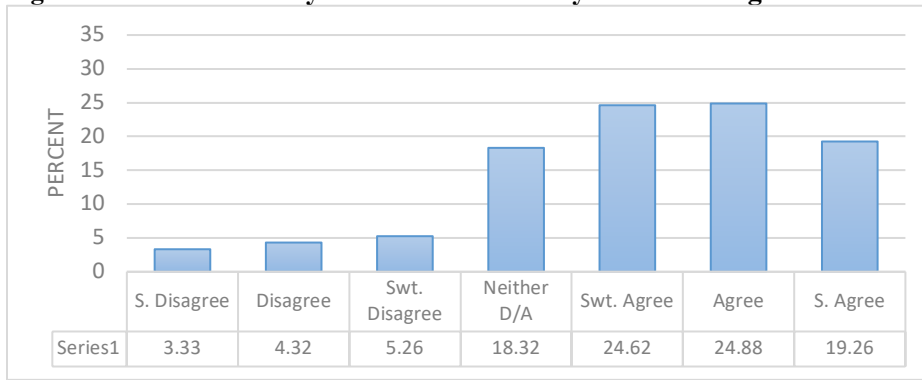
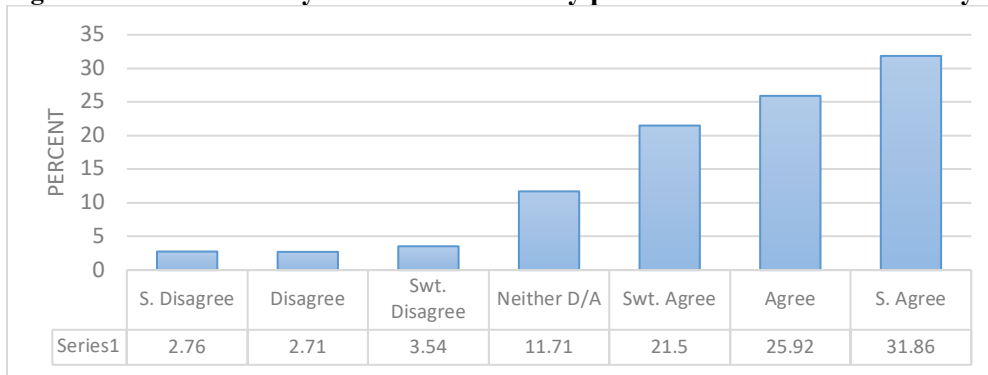


Figure 17. I trust military officers because they put the interests of the country first.



Admiration

1. I would generally describe my admiration of military officers as:

	Total #	Total %
Do not admire	138	7.18
Admire very little	222	11.56
Admire somewhat	813	42.32
Admire a lot	748	38.94
Total	1921	100.00

2. Which of the following best represents the reason you admire military officers?

	Total #	Total %
Military officers are good at what they do.	357	22.87
Military officers do not get involved in politics.	99	6.34
Military officers have a strong sense of ethics.	309	19.80
Military officers put the interests of the country first.	796	50.99
Total	1561	100.00

3. Which of the following best represents the reason you do not admire military officers?

	Total #	Total %
Military officers are not good at what they do.	25	6.94
Military officers get involved in politics.	116	32.22
Military officers do not have a strong sense of ethics.	94	26.11
Military officers put the interests of the military first.	125	34.72
Total	360	100.00

Figure 18. I admire because they are good at what they do

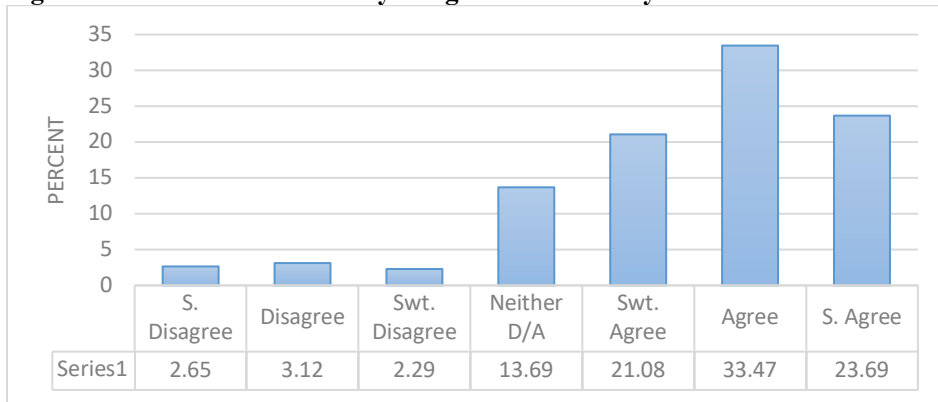


Figure 19. I admire because they are non-political

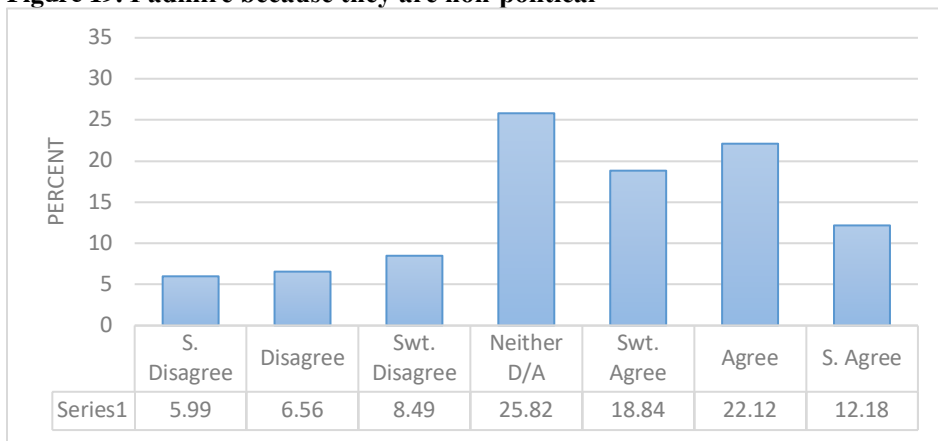


Figure 20. I admire because they are ethical

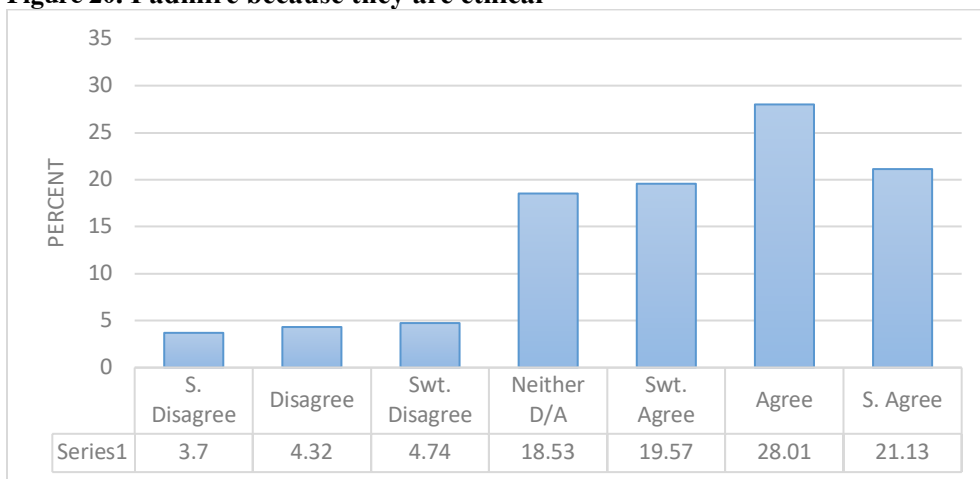
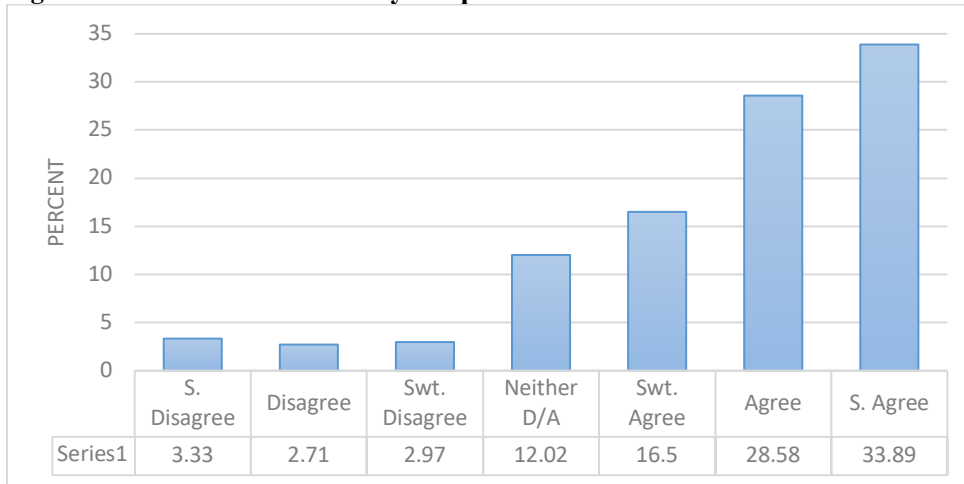


Figure 21. I admire because they are patriotic



2.4 Oversight Descriptives

How intense should civilian scrutiny of military decisions be? “1” on the scale below indicates light and occasional civilian scrutiny of military decisions, and “7” indicates intense and frequent civilian scrutiny of military decisions. Please mark on the scale below what you deem an appropriate level of civilian oversight of the military with respect to the issues listed.

Figure 22.

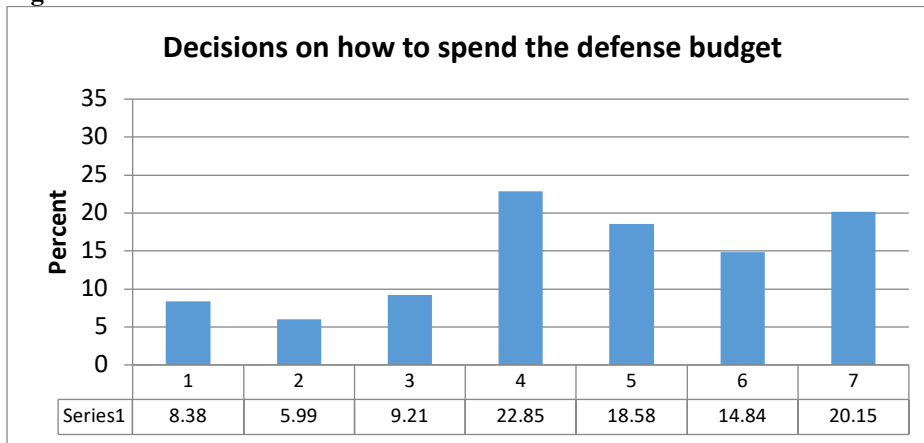


Figure 23.

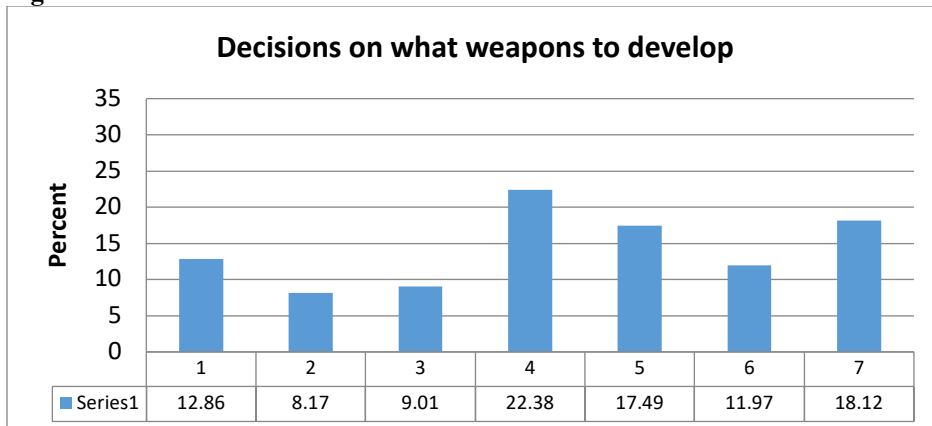


Figure 24.

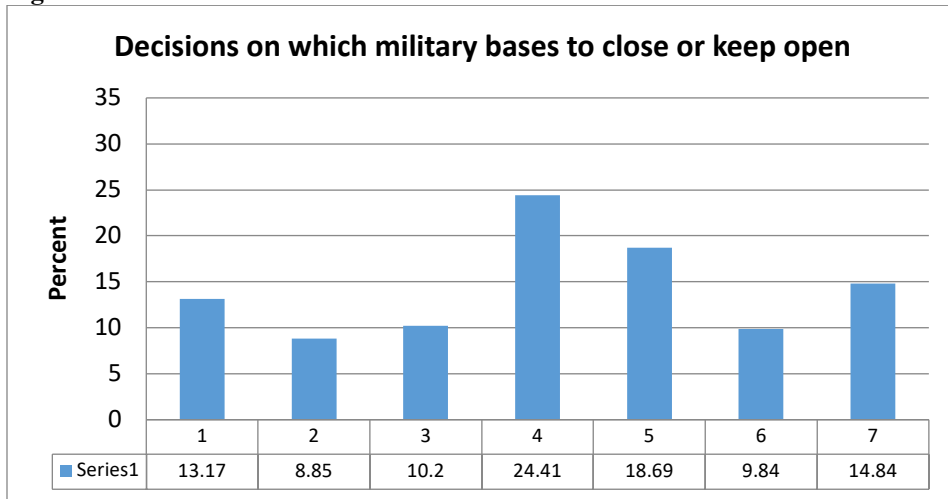


Figure 25.

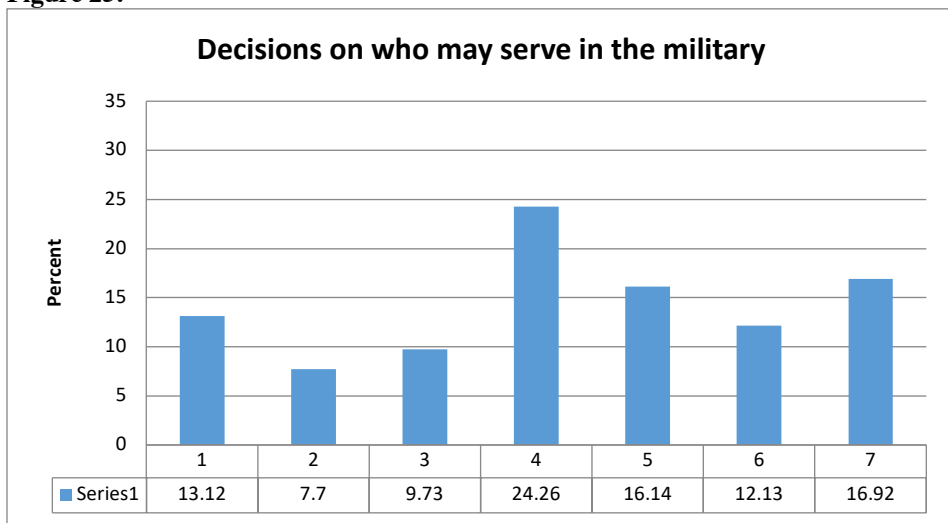


Figure 26.

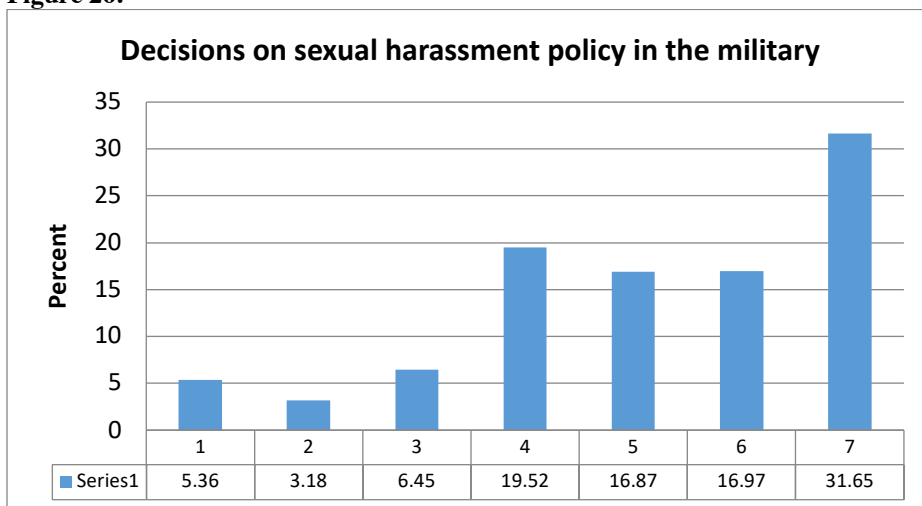


Figure 27.

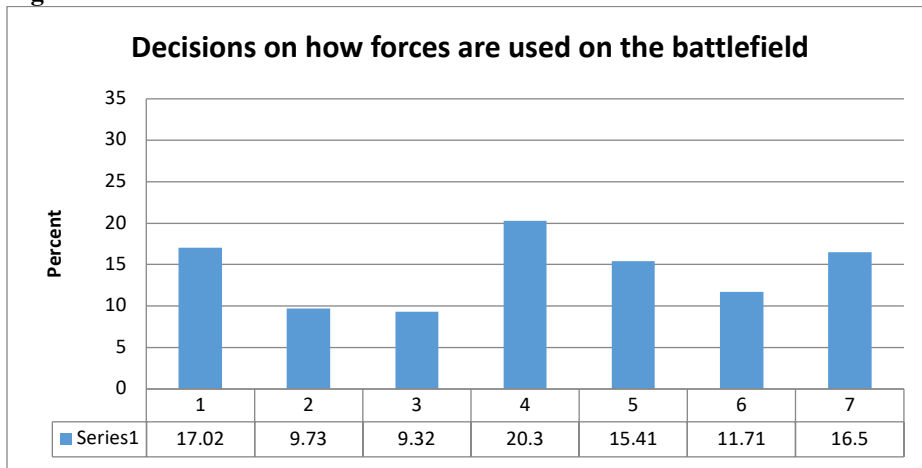


Figure 28.

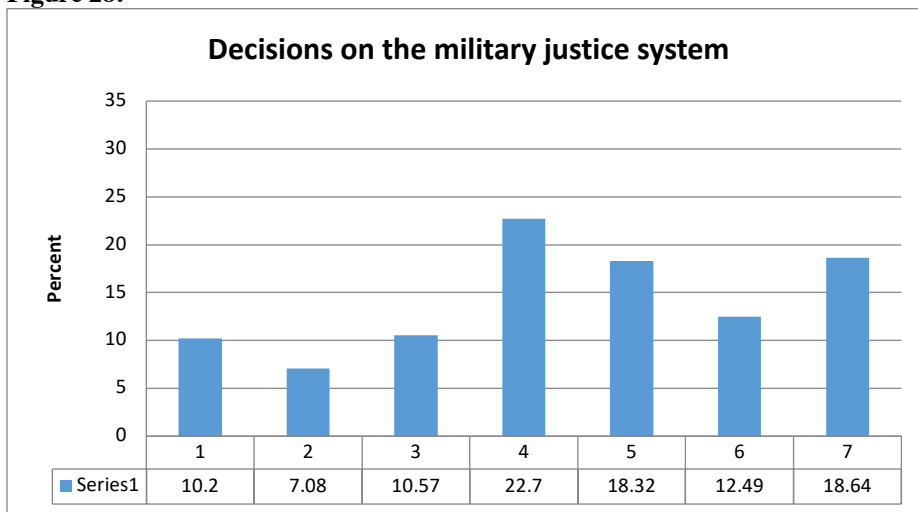


Figure 29.

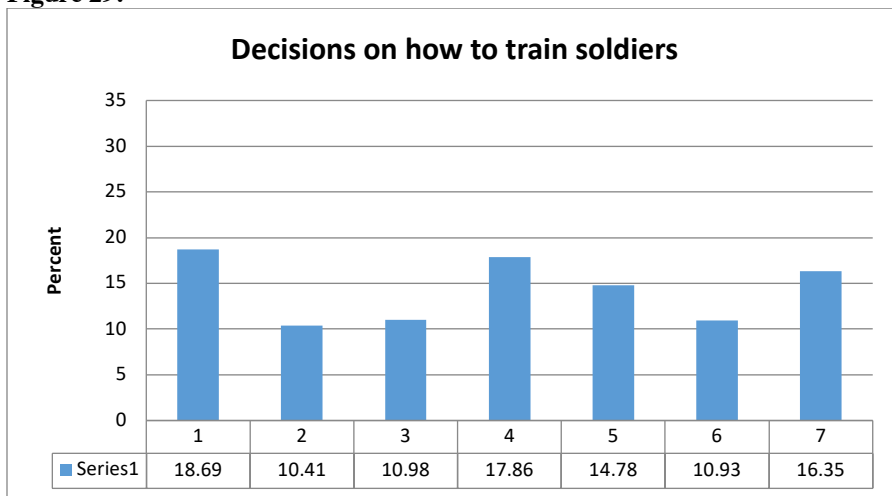
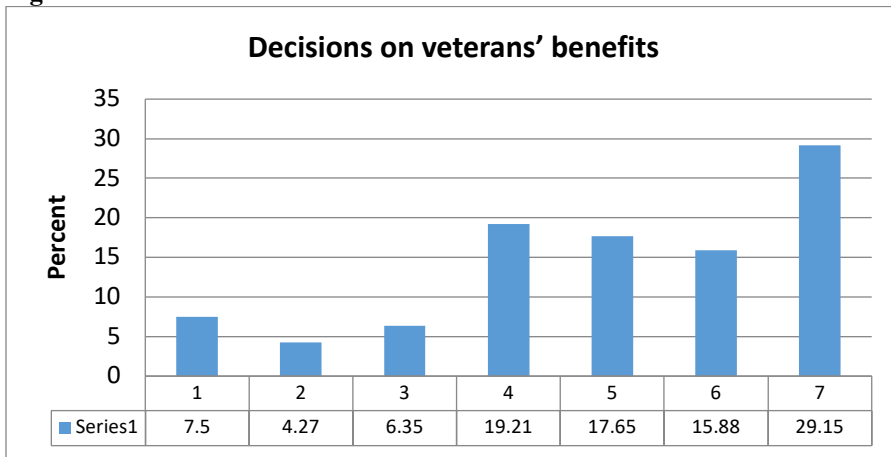


Figure 30.



2.5 Oversight Descriptives: Bivariate Cross-Tabulations

1. Decisions on how to Spend the Defense Budget

Budget	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Republican Combined	Democrat Combined
Less oversight	12.48	5.7	7.6	30.74	19
2	8.5	5.02	4.68		
3	9.76	8.28	10.72		
4	19.89	21.3	25.73	19.89	21.3
5	17.54	21.57	15.4	49.36	59.69
6	13.74	17.77	13.45		
More oversight	18.08	20.35	22.42		
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

2. Decisions on What Weapons to Develop

Weapons	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Republican Combined	Democrat Combined
Less oversight	19.17	8.28	14.04	39.06	23.07
2	10.31	5.97	9.16		
3	9.58	8.82	8.77		
4	17.36	22.8	25.34	17.36	22.8
5	15.19	20.62	15.79	43.58	54.13
6	12.48	14.38	8.77		
More oversight	15.91	19.13	18.13		
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

3. Decisions on Which Military Bases to Close or Keep Open

Bases	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Republican Combined	Democrat Combined
Less oversight	19.53	9.09	13.06	37.98	26.46
2	9.95	6.92	10.33		
3	8.5	10.45	12.28		
4	22.42	24.42	24.37	22.42	24.42
5	15.37	24.15	15.98	39.6	49.11
6	10.85	11.53	6.43		
More oversight	13.38	13.43	17.54		
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

4. Decisions on who may Serve in the Military

Service	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Republican Combined	Democrat Combined
Less oversight	17.54	9.5	13.45	38.87	24.02
2	9.4	5.97	8.58		
3	11.93	8.55	10.14		
4	18.99	23.61	29.24	18.99	23.61
5	15.73	17.5	15.4	42.13	52.37
6	11.57	15.06	8.58		
More oversight	14.83	19.81	14.62		
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

5. Decisions on Sexual Harassment Policy in the Military

Sexual Harassment	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Republican Combined	Democrat Combined
Less oversight	8.5	3.53	4.48	22.06	10.59
2	4.88	2.04	3.51		
3	8.68	5.02	6.43		
4	18.26	17.64	21.64	18.26	17.64
5	18.81	16.69	15.79	59.68	71.78
6	15.19	18.05	17.93		
More oversight	25.68	37.04	30.21		
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

6. Decisions on how Forces are Used on the Battlefield

Force Employment	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Republican Combined	Democrat Combined
Less oversight	22.78	11.53	19.3	40.68	29.98
2	9.58	7.87	13.45		
3	8.32	10.58	8.77		
4	17.9	20.9	20.08	17.9	20.9
5	13.38	18.05	13.26	41.41	49.13
6	12.84	13.98	7.8		
More oversight	15.19	17.1	17.35		
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

7. Decisions on the Military Justice System

Military Justice	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Republican Combined	Democrat Combined
Less oversight	14.47	6.92	11.31	34.72	20.76
2	8.5	5.56	8.19		
3	11.75	8.28	13.26		
4	18.99	22.39	23.98	18.99	22.39
5	18.08	20.35	15.98	46.29	56.85
6	11.39	16.15	8.97		
More oversight	16.82	20.35	18.32		
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

8. Decisions on how to Train Soldiers

Training	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Republican Combined	Democrat Combined
Less oversight	24.41	14.25	20.66	44.85	34.46
2	12.66	8.41	11.11		
3	7.78	11.8	13.84		
4	13.38	19.27	18.32	13.38	19.27
5	13.2	17.77	12.87	41.77	46.26
6	11.57	11.94	8.38		
More oversight	17	16.55	14.81		
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

9. Decisions on Veterans' Benefits

Veterans' Benefits	Republican	Democrat	Independent	Republican Combined	Democrat Combined
Less oversight	10.49	5.29	7.6	22.06	14.65
2	5.06	3.8	4.29		
3	6.51	5.56	6.82		
4	17.72	18.18	21.25	17.72	18.18
5	18.63	19.27	14.62	60.22	67.16
6	15.73	16.55	16.37		
More oversight	25.86	31.34	29.04		
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

2.6 Political Involvement Descriptives: Bivariate Cross-Tabulations

10. Senior military officers should advocate publicly for policies they believe are in the country's best interest, even if the policies are not related to the military.

	Democrats and Democratic-Leaning Independents	Republicans and Republican-Leaning Independents
Strongly Disagree	7.19	11
Disagree	9.95	10.53
Somewhat Disagree	9.03	11.72
Neither Agree/Disagree	32.17	26.79
Somewhat Agree	16.41	16.27
Agree	15.48	16.27
Strongly Agree	9.77	7.42
Total	100	100

11. Senior military officers should advocate publicly against policies they believe are not in the country's best interest, even if the policies are not related to the military.

	Democrats and Democratic-Leaning Independents	Republicans and Republican-Leaning Independents
Strongly Disagree	7.65	12.8
Disagree	8.57	8.97
Somewhat Disagree	9.12	13.16
Neither Agree/Disagree	34.29	27.63
Somewhat Agree	15.02	16.75
Agree	14.19	13.16
Strongly Agree	11.15	7.54
Total	100	100

12. Senior military officers should advocate publicly for military operations and policies they favor.

	Democrats and Democratic-Leaning Independents	Republicans and Republican-Leaning Independents
Strongly Disagree	4.52	6.22
Disagree	6.54	5.14
Somewhat Disagree	6.27	5.62
Neither Agree/Disagree	29.12	23.56
Somewhat Agree	22.3	22.25
Agree	18.25	22.13
Strongly Agree	13	15.07
Total	100	100

13. Senior military officers should advocate publicly against military operations and policies they do not favor.

	Democrats and Democratic-Leaning Independents	Republicans and Republican-Leaning Independents
Strongly Disagree	4.88	8.25
Disagree	5.35	8.37
Somewhat Disagree	8.02	8.01
Neither Agree/Disagree	30.32	26.44
Somewhat Agree	21.2	17.7
Agree	17.88	19.26
Strongly Agree	12.35	11.96
Total	100	100

14. Retired senior military officers should advocate publicly for policies they believe are in the country's best interest, even if those policies are not related to the military.

	Democrats and Democratic-Leaning Independents	Republicans and Republican-Leaning Independents
Strongly Disagree	3.78	5.38
Disagree	6.18	7.54
Somewhat Disagree	6.27	10.29
Neither Agree/Disagree	33.09	30.14
Somewhat Agree	21.75	22.37
Agree	16.59	15.19
Strongly Agree	12.35	9.09
Total	100	100

15. Retired senior military officers should advocate publicly against policies they believe are not in the country's best interest, even if those policies are not related to the military.

	Democrats and Democratic-Leaning Independents	Republicans and Republican-Leaning Independents
Strongly Disagree	3.59	6.34
Disagree	6.45	7.06
Somewhat Disagree	6.08	10.53
Neither Agree/Disagree	34.1	31.7
Somewhat Agree	20.65	18.78
Agree	17.51	15.07
Strongly Agree	11.61	10.53
Total	100	100

16. Retired senior military officers should advocate publicly for military operations and policies they favor.

	Democrats and Democratic-Leaning Independents	Republicans and Republican-Leaning Independents
Strongly Disagree	3.04	4.9
Disagree	4.88	4.9
Somewhat Disagree	5.53	6.7
Neither Agree/Disagree	30.05	28.71
Somewhat Agree	24.79	23.33
Agree	19.72	19.38
Strongly Agree	11.98	12.08
Total	100	100

17. Retired senior military officers should advocate publicly against military operations and policies they do not favor.

	Democrats and Democratic-Leaning Independents	Republicans and Republican-Leaning Independents
Strongly Disagree	3.04	6.22
Disagree	5.53	6.7
Somewhat Disagree	6.91	9.69
Neither Agree/Disagree	32.9	32.42
Somewhat Agree	22.86	19.26
Agree	18.43	16.63
Strongly Agree	10.32	9.09
Total	100	100

2.7 Deference Crosstabs

PARTY IDENTIFICATION

1. If the president's civilian advisers object to a proposed military mission, then the president should: (Q13)

	Republican	Democrat	Independent
reject the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission worthwhile.	25.50	49.12	34.11
reject the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is not worthwhile.	74.50	50.88	65.89
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

2. If the president's civilian advisers approve of a proposed military mission, then the president should: (Q14)

	Republican	Democrat	Independent
approve the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission not worthwhile.	22.97	38.13	27.10
approve the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is worthwhile.	77.03	61.87	72.90
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

3. If senior US military officers object to a proposed military mission, then the president should: (Q15)

	Republican	Democrat	Independent
reject the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission worthwhile.	39.42	58.62	51.07
reject the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is not worthwhile.	60.58	41.38	48.93
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

4. If senior US military officers approve of a proposed military mission, then the president should: (Q16)

	Republican	Democrat	Independent
approve the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission not worthwhile.	30.56	48.58	36.65
approve the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is worthwhile.	69.44	51.42	63.35
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

5. If senior US military officers advise using US forces on the battlefield in a particular way, then the president should: (Q17)

	Republican	Democrat	Independent
use US forces as they advise--only if the president agrees	64.56	47.63	53.22
use US forces as they advise--even if the president disagrees.	35.44	52.37	46.78
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

TRUMP APPROVAL

6. If the president’s civilian advisers object to a proposed military mission, then the president should: (Q13)

	Strongly Disapprove	Somewhat Disapprove	Somewhat Approve	Strongly Approve
reject the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission worthwhile.	50.06	37.37	27.55	21.83
reject the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is not worthwhile.	49.94	62.63	72.45	78.17
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

7. If the president’s civilian advisers approve of a proposed military mission, then the president should: (Q14)

	Strongly Disapprove	Somewhat Disapprove	Somewhat Approve	Strongly Approve
approve the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission not worthwhile.	37.60	31.99	25.62	18.78
approve the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is worthwhile.	62.40	68.01	74.38	81.22
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

8. If senior US military officers object to a proposed military mission, then the president should: (Q15)

	Strongly Disapprove	Somewhat Disapprove	Somewhat Approve	Strongly Approve
reject the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission worthwhile.	60.84	50.51	43.25	35.45
reject the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is not worthwhile.	39.16	49.49	56.75	64.55
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

9. If senior US military officers approve of a proposed military mission, then the president should: (Q16)

	Strongly Disapprove	Somewhat Disapprove	Somewhat Approve	Strongly Approve
approve the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission not worthwhile.	47.19	41.41	32.23	29.11
approve the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is worthwhile.	52.81	58.59	67.77	70.89
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

10. If senior US military officers advise using US forces on the battlefield in a particular way, then the president should: (Q17)

	Strongly Disapprove	Somewhat Disapprove	Somewhat Approve	Strongly Approve
use US forces as they advise--only if the president agrees	44.55	53.54	59.23	69.01
use US forces as they advise--even if the president disagrees.	55.45	46.46	40.77	30.99
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

TRUST IN MILITARY

11. If the president’s civilian advisers object to a proposed military mission, then the president should: (Q13)

	Distrust a lot	Distrust a little	Trust a little	Trust a lot
reject the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission worthwhile.	58.43	48.15	37.71	32.19
reject the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is not worthwhile.	41.57	51.85	62.29	67.81
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

12. If the president’s civilian advisers approve of a proposed military mission, then the president should: (Q14)

	Distrust a lot	Distrust a little	Trust a little	Trust a lot
approve the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission not worthwhile.	44.94	37.50	30.24	26.72
approve the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is worthwhile.	55.06	62.50	69.76	73.28
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

13. If senior US military officers object to a proposed military mission, then the president should: (Q15)

	Distrust a lot	Distrust a little	Trust a little	Trust a lot
reject the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission worthwhile.	59.55	51.85	50.96	48.09
reject the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is not worthwhile.	40.45	48.15	49.04	51.91
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

14. If senior US military officers approve of a proposed military mission, then the president should: (Q16)

	Distrust a lot	Distrust a little	Trust a little	Trust a lot
approve the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission not worthwhile.	47.19	43.06	38.67	38.42
approve the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is worthwhile.	52.81	56.94	61.33	61.58
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

15. If senior US military officers advise using US forces on the battlefield in a particular way, then the president should: (Q17)

	Distrust a lot	Distrust a little	Trust a little	Trust a lot
use US forces as they advise--only if the president agrees	56.18	51.39	54.58	54.20
use US forces as they advise--even if the president disagrees.	43.82	48.61	45.42	45.80
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

3 Regression Analyses

Table 1: Oversight Index (OLS)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
ideology	- 8.98*** (0.97)					-5.96*** (1.17)	-6.51*** (1.21)
DJT		-5.47*** (0.72)				-1.42 (0.89)	-1.63+ (0.93)
self service			-3.87** (1.06)			-2.56* (1.07)	-2.54* (1.07)
household service			-0.00 (0.72)			0.47 (0.70)	0.46 (0.70)
trust				-2.35*** (0.36)		-1.05* (0.43)	-1.11* (0.44)
admire					-1.49*** (0.33)		
military thermometer						-2.42 (1.55)	-2.62+ (1.56)
hawk						2.79* (1.20)	2.37+ (1.27)
education						-0.06 (1.24)	0.21 (1.25)
income						1.43 (1.33)	1.44 (1.33)
female						0.66 (0.59)	0.55 (0.60)
non-white						2.45** (0.67)	2.28** (0.67)
political knowledge						-2.66** (0.94)	-2.37* (0.95)
age						2.71+ (1.45)	2.10 (1.49)
CivDef						2.93** (0.78)	2.91** (0.79)
rwa							2.85+ (1.69)
blind pat							0.07 (1.50)
<i>N</i>	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921
<i>R</i> ²	0.043	0.029	0.009	0.022	0.010	0.089	0.090

Table 1B: Deference Index (Ordered Logistic Regression)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
ideology	-1.14*** (0.14)						-0.26 (0.17)	-0.15 (0.18)
DJT		-1.17*** (0.10)					-0.85*** (0.13)	-0.77*** (0.14)
self service			-0.35* (0.15)				-0.27+ (0.16)	-0.27+ (0.16)
household service			-0.04 (0.10)				0.01 (0.10)	0.01 (0.10)
trust				-0.09+ (0.05)			0.14* (0.06)	0.16* (0.07)
admire					-0.09* (0.05)			
party ID						-0.22*** (0.23)		
military thermometer							0.11 (0.23)	0.19 (0.23)
hawk							-0.15 (0.18)	-0.00 (0.19)
education							-0.12 (0.18)	-0.20 (0.19)
income							0.08 (0.20)	0.10 (0.20)
female							0.06 (0.09)	0.07 (0.09)
non-white							-0.37** (0.10)	-0.34** (0.10)
political knowledge							0.39** (0.14)	0.32* (0.14)
age							0.04 (0.22)	0.16 (0.22)
CivDef							2.11*** (0.13)	2.13*** (0.13)
rwa								-0.50* (0.25)
blind pat								-0.27 (0.23)
<i>N</i>	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921
pseudo <i>R</i> ²	0.013	0.024	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.02	0.087	0.089

Table 2: Deference Question Q13

Q13	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
ideology	1.42*** (0.17)					0.46* (0.20)	0.46* (0.21)
DJT		1.32*** (0.13)				1.01*** (0.16)	1.07*** (0.16)
self service			0.20 (0.18)			-0.07 (0.19)	-0.07 (0.19)
household service			0.17 (0.12)			0.09 (0.12)	0.09 (0.12)
trust				0.34*** (0.06)		0.06 (0.07)	0.08 (0.08)
admire					0.31*** (0.05)		
military thermometer						0.38 (0.26)	0.42 (0.26)
hawk						0.17 (0.21)	0.26 (0.22)
education						-0.18 (0.22)	-0.20 (0.22)
income						0.89** (0.25)	0.89** (0.26)
female						-0.11 (0.23)	-0.09 (0.23)
non-white						-0.09 (0.10)	-0.11 (0.10)
political knowledge						0.07 (0.11)	0.06 (0.12)
age						0.37* (0.16)	0.35* (0.17)
rwa							0.18 (0.30)
blind pat							-0.41 (0.26)
<i>N</i>	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921
pseudo <i>R</i> ²	0.030	0.046	0.003	0.014	0.014	0.066	0.067

Table 3: Deference Question Q14

Q14	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
ideology	1.33*** (0.17)					0.81** (0.21)	0.87*** (0.22)
DJT		0.93*** (0.13)				0.83*** (0.17)	1.02*** (0.17)
self service			0.32 (0.19)			0.12 (0.21)	0.16 (0.21)
household service			0.19 (0.12)			0.06 (0.13)	0.06 (0.13)
trust				0.25*** (0.06)		0.05 (0.08)	0.11 (0.08)
admire					0.16** (0.06)		
military thermometer						0.04 (0.28)	0.18 (0.28)
hawk						-1.00*** (0.22)	-0.65** (0.24)
education						-0.27 (0.23)	-0.35 (0.23)
income						1.38*** (0.27)	1.48*** (0.28)
female						-0.24 (0.25)	-0.20 (0.25)
non-white						0.04 (0.11)	0.02 (0.11)
political knowledge						0.13 (0.12)	0.15 (0.12)
age						1.01*** (0.17)	0.91*** (0.18)
rwa							0.09 (0.32)
blind pat							-1.18*** (0.28)
<i>N</i>	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921
pseudo <i>R</i> ²	0.026	0.023	0.004	0.008	0.004	0.091	0.099

Table 4: Deference Question Q15

Q15	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
ideology	0.95*** (0.16)					0.24 (0.19)	0.16 (0.20)	-0.06 (0.21)
DJT		1.04*** (0.12)				0.98*** (0.15)	0.92*** (0.15)	0.62** (0.16)
self service			0.15 (0.17)			0.11 (0.18)	0.11 (0.18)	0.12 (0.18)
household service			-0.00 (0.11)			-0.02 (0.12)	-0.03 (0.12)	-0.05 (0.12)
trust				0.12* (0.06)		-0.02 (0.07)	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.08 (0.08)
admire					0.14** (0.05)			
military thermometer						0.01 (0.26)	-0.04 (0.26)	-0.17 (0.27)
hawk						0.17 (0.20)	0.06 (0.21)	0.14 (0.22)
education						-0.31 (0.21)	-0.26 (0.21)	-0.18 (0.22)
age						0.31 (0.24)	0.21 (0.25)	-0.22 (0.26)
income						-0.07 (0.22)	-0.08 (0.22)	-0.02 (0.23)
female						-0.02 (0.10)	-0.03 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.10)
non-white						0.31** (0.11)	0.28* (0.11)	0.28* (0.12)
political knowledge						-0.44** (0.16)	-0.39* (0.16)	-0.66*** (0.17)
rwa							0.37 (0.28)	0.35 (0.30)
blind pat							0.19 (0.25)	0.52* (0.26)
CivDef								-1.85*** (0.15)
<i>N</i>	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921
pseudo <i>R</i> ²	0.014	0.031	0.000	0.002	0.003	0.041	0.042	0.109

Table 5: Deference Question Q16

Q16	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
ideology	0.90*** (0.16)					0.39+ (0.20)	0.41* (0.20)	0.13 (0.22)
DJT		0.82*** (0.12)				0.83*** (0.15)	0.92*** (0.16)	0.54** (0.17)
self service			0.36* (0.18)			0.20 (0.19)	0.21 (0.19)	0.23 (0.20)
household service			0.08 (0.11)			0.02 (0.12)	0.02 (0.12)	-0.01 (0.13)
trust				0.10+ (0.06)		-0.08 (0.07)	-0.05 (0.07)	-0.12 (0.08)
admire					0.07 (0.05)			
military thermometer						0.05 (0.26)	0.11 (0.26)	-0.04 (0.29)
hawk						-0.54** (0.20)	-0.38+ (0.22)	-0.34 (0.23)
education						0.23 (0.21)	0.19 (0.21)	0.37 (0.23)
age						0.88** (0.25)	0.93** (0.25)	0.46+ (0.27)
income						-0.36 (0.23)	-0.33 (0.23)	-0.33 (0.25)
female						-0.07 (0.10)	-0.08 (0.10)	-0.07 (0.11)
non-white						0.21+ (0.11)	0.22+ (0.11)	0.20 (0.12)
political knowledge						0.39* (0.16)	0.34* (0.16)	0.08 (0.18)
rwa							0.05 (0.29)	-0.01 (0.31)
blind pat							-0.58* (0.26)	-0.25 (0.28)
CivDef								-2.37*** (0.15)
N	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921
pseudo R ²	0.012	0.019	0.003	0.001	0.001	0.041	0.043	0.156

Table 6: Deference Question Q17

Q17	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
ideology	-0.92*** (0.16)					-0.37+ (0.20)	-0.20 (0.20)	-0.10 (0.21)
DJT		-0.99*** (0.12)				-0.96*** (0.15)	-0.87*** (0.15)	-0.73*** (0.16)
self service			-0.39* (0.17)			-0.38* (0.18)	-0.39* (0.18)	-0.39* (0.18)
household service			-0.00 (0.11)			-0.01 (0.12)	-0.01 (0.12)	0.01 (0.12)
trust				-0.01 (0.06)		0.11 (0.07)	0.14+ (0.07)	0.15* (0.07)
admire					-0.01 (0.05)			
military thermometer						0.17 (0.26)	0.25 (0.26)	0.31 (0.27)
hawk						-0.32 (0.20)	-0.14 (0.21)	-0.17 (0.22)
education						-0.13 (0.21)	-0.23 (0.21)	-0.27 (0.21)
age						0.17 (0.24)	0.37 (0.25)	0.55* (0.25)
income						-0.12 (0.22)	-0.11 (0.22)	-0.14 (0.23)
female						0.04 (0.10)	0.07 (0.10)	0.06 (0.10)
non-white						-0.43** (0.11)	-0.38** (0.11)	-0.37** (0.11)
political knowledge						0.18 (0.16)	0.07 (0.16)	0.16 (0.16)
rwa							-0.86** (0.29)	-0.86** (0.29)
blind pat							-0.20 (0.25)	-0.32 (0.25)
CivDef								0.75*** (0.13)
<i>N</i>	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921	1921
pseudo <i>R</i> ²	0.013	0.028	0.003	0.000	0.000	0.043	0.048	0.060

In Table 9 below, Model 1 examines why some respondents are “flipper-hawks”—that is, they “flip” from a non-deferential stance (when senior US military officers object to the mission) to a deferential one (when senior US military officers approve of it). Model 2 explores why some respondents are “flipper-doves”—that is, they “flip” from a non-deferential stance (when senior US military officers approve of the mission) to a deferential one (when senior US military officers object to it).

Table 9: Deference and Hawkishness (Analysis of “Flippers”)

	(1) Flipper-Hawk	(2) Flipper-Dove
ideology	-0.86* (0.35)	0.18 (0.28)
DJT	-0.29** (0.09)	0.14+ (0.07)
rwa	-0.84+ (0.49)	-0.25 (0.39)
bp	1.76*** (0.45)	0.04 (0.35)
self service	-0.72* (0.35)	0.04 (0.25)
household service	-0.07 (0.20)	0.01 (0.16)
trust	-0.01 (0.12)	-0.02 (0.10)
military thermometer	-1.23** (0.42)	-0.47 (0.36)
hawk	1.24** (0.36)	-0.18 (0.30)
education	0.31 (0.36)	0.79** (0.30)
income	-0.12 (0.38)	-0.65* (0.32)
female	-0.08 (0.17)	-0.17 (0.14)
nonwhite	-0.11 (0.18)	-0.00 (0.15)
political knowledge	-0.24** (0.09)	0.22** (0.07)
<i>N</i>	955	966
pseudo <i>R</i> ²	0.098	0.025

Standard errors in parentheses

+ $p < 0.10$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.0001$

4 Military Deference, Civilian Deference, and Military Oversight Indexes

4.1 Military Deference Index

We created an indexed variable that ranged from 0 to 3, depending upon respondents’ answers to the following questions (Q15-Q17). Respondents received a point per question if they responded with the more deferential response, as follows:

- Q15: If senior US military officers object to a proposed military mission, then the president should... reject the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission worthwhile.
- Q16: If senior US military officers approve of a proposed military mission, then the president should...approve the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission not worthwhile.
- Q17: If senior US military officers advise using US forces on the battlefield in a particular way, then the president should... use US forces as they advise--even if the president disagrees.

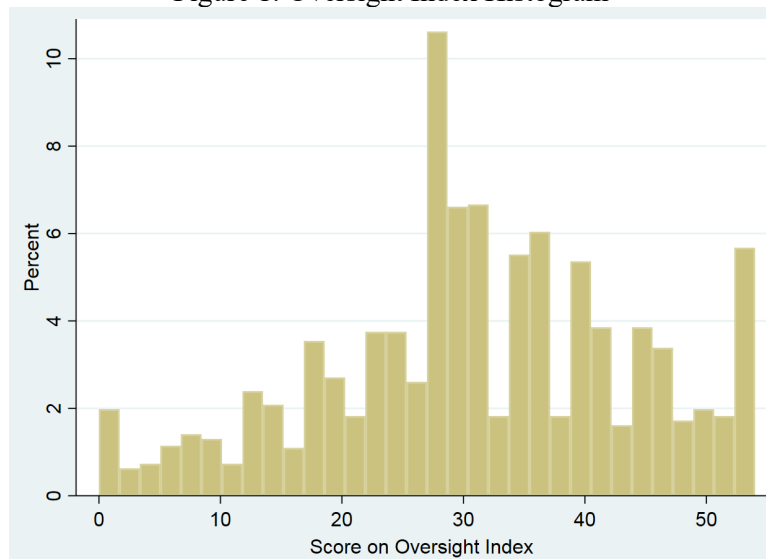
Military Deference Index Score	Frequency	Percent of Respondents
0	535	27.85
1	542	28.21
2	469	24.41
3	375	19.52

4.2 Oversight Index

We created an additive index that ranged from 0 to 54, depending upon respondents’ answers to Questions 52_1-52_9.

Respondents were asked: “How intense should civilian scrutiny of military decisions be? “1” on the scale below indicates light and occasional civilian scrutiny of military decisions, and “7” indicates intense and frequent civilian scrutiny of military decisions. Please mark on the scale below what you deem an appropriate level of civilian oversight of the military with respect to the issues listed.” Thus, higher scores on the oversight index represent higher levels of desired oversight.

Figure 1: Oversight Index Histogram



4.3 Civilian Deference Index

We created an indexed variable that ranged from 0 to 2, depending upon respondents' answers to the following questions (Q13-Q14). Respondents received a point per question if they responded with the more deferential response, as follows:

- Q13: If the president's civilian advisers object to a proposed military mission, then the president should...reject the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission worthwhile.
- Q14: If the president's civilian advisers approve of a proposed military mission, then the president should...approve the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission no worthwhile.

Civilian Deference Index Score	Frequency	Percent of Respondents
0	974	50.70
1	590	30.71
2	357	18.58

Appendix 2

No Right to Be Wrong: What Americans Think about Civil-Military Relations

TISS & ANES Supplementary Analyses

TISS Analysis

Table 1: TISS Q47e: It is proper for the military to advocate publicly the military policies it believes are in the best interests of the United States.

	Republican	Democrat	Independent
Agree (combined)	90.87	82	85.44
Disagree (combined)	9.12	18	14.57
Total	100	100	100

Table 2: TISS Q48a: In general, high ranking civilian officials rather than high ranking military officers should have the final say on whether or not to use military force.

	Republican	Democrat	Independent
Agree (combined)	52.58	60.8	55.07
Disagree (combined)	47.43	39.21	44.93
Total	100	100	100

Table 3: TISS Q47a: Members of the military should not publicly criticize senior member of the civilian branch of the government.

	Republican	Democrat	Independent
Agree (combined)	61.98	69.68	66.78
Disagree (combined)	38.01	30.32	33.22
Total	100	100	100

Table 4: TISS Q48b: In general, high ranking civilian officials rather than high ranking military officers should have the final say on what type of military force to use.

	Republican	Democrat	Independent
Agree (combined)	35.52	47.35	42.52
Disagree (combined)	64.49	52.65	57.48
Total	100	100	100

Table 5: TISS Q48d: In wartime, civilian government leaders should let the military take over running the war.

	Republican	Democrat	Independent
Agree (combined)	73.63	66.45	67.98
Disagree (combined)	26.37	33.56	32.01
Total	100	100	100

Table 6: TISS Q47c: Members of the military should be allowed to publicly express their political views just like any other citizen.

	Republican	Democrat	Independent
Agree (combined)	81.49	83.98	84.47
Disagree (combined)	18.52	16.02	15.53
Total	100	100	100

Table 7: TISS Q47e: It is proper for the military to advocate publicly the military policies it believes are in the best interests of the United States.

	Liberal (Combined)	Moderate	Conservative (Combined)
Agree (combined)	84.2	81.54	90.79
Disagree (combined)	15.8	18.46	9.21
Total	100	100	100

Table 8: TISS Q48a: In general, high ranking civilian officials rather than high ranking military officers should have the final say on whether or not to use military force.

	Liberal (Combined)	Moderate	Conservative (Combined)
Agree (combined)	58.03	60.47	50.5
Disagree (combined)	41.97	39.53	49.49
Total	100	100	100

Table 9: TISS Q47a: Members of the military should not publicly criticize senior member of the civilian branch of the government.

	Liberal (Combined)	Moderate	Conservative (Combined)
Agree (combined)	68.75	69.41	62.31
Disagree (combined)	31.26	30.59	37.69
Total	100	100	100

Table 10: TISS Q48b: In general, high ranking civilian officials rather than high ranking military officers should have the final say on what type of military force to use.

	Liberal (Combined)	Moderate	Conservative (Combined)
Agree (combined)	45.39	42.74	37.24
Disagree (combined)	54.61	57.26	62.76
Total	100	100	100

Table 11: TISS Q48d: In wartime, civilian government leaders should let the military take over running the war.

	Liberal (Combined)	Moderate	Conservative (Combined)
Agree (combined)	64.4	67.57	75.06
Disagree (combined)	35.6	32.44	24.94
Total	100	100	100

Table 12: TISS Q47c: Members of the military should be allowed to publicly express their political views just like any other citizen.

	Liberal (Combined)	Moderate	Conservative (Combined)
Agree (combined)	83.12	82.89	83.7
Disagree (combined)	16.87	17.12	16.3
Total	100	100	100

ANES Analysis

Table 13: 1996 ANES Post-Election (Column %s)

Year: 1996	Democrat	Republican	Independent
Satisfied	30.4	27.5	20.8
Fairly Satisfied	53.7	53.3	54
Not very Satisfied	13.9	17.2	21
Not at all Satisfied	1.9	2.1	4.2

Table 14: 2000 ANES Post-Election (Column %s)

Year: 2000	Democrat	Republican	Independent
Satisfied	32.5	40	26.8
Fairly Satisfied	51.6	47.7	47.6
Not very Satisfied	12.4	9.5	20.1
Not at all Satisfied	3.6	2.8	5.5

Table 15: 2004 ANES Post-Election (Column %s)

Year: 2004	Democrat	Republican	Independent
Very Satisfied	15.8	38.6	16.2
Fairly Satisfied	50.4	58	56.9
Not very Satisfied	23.8	2.6	20.2
Not at all Satisfied	10	0.8	6.6

Table 16: 2008 ANES Post-Election (Column %s)

Year: 2008	Democrat	Republican	Independent
Very Satisfied	31	22.7	18.2
Fairly Satisfied	57.9	58.4	58.9
Not very Satisfied	8.6	14.6	18
Not at all Satisfied	2.5	4.3	4.8

Table 17: 2012 ANES Post-Election (Column %s)

Year: 2012	Democrat	Republican	Independent
Very Satisfied	16	8.4	7.9
Fairly Satisfied	61	52.1	50.7
Not very Satisfied	20	30	32.1
Not at all Satisfied	3.1	9.5	9.4

Table 18: 2016 ANES Post-Election (Column %s)

Year: 2016	Democrat	Republican	Independent
Very Satisfied	9	13.5	7.1
Fairly Satisfied	55.6	62.4	53.1
Not very Satisfied	28.9	19.7	30.9
Not at all Satisfied	6.6	4.3	8.8

Appendix 3: Survey

**Distributed May 31 – June 23, 2019, via Lucid,
to a nationally representative sample of Americans**

Start of Block: Consent and Robot Check

[IRB Protocol here]



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

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

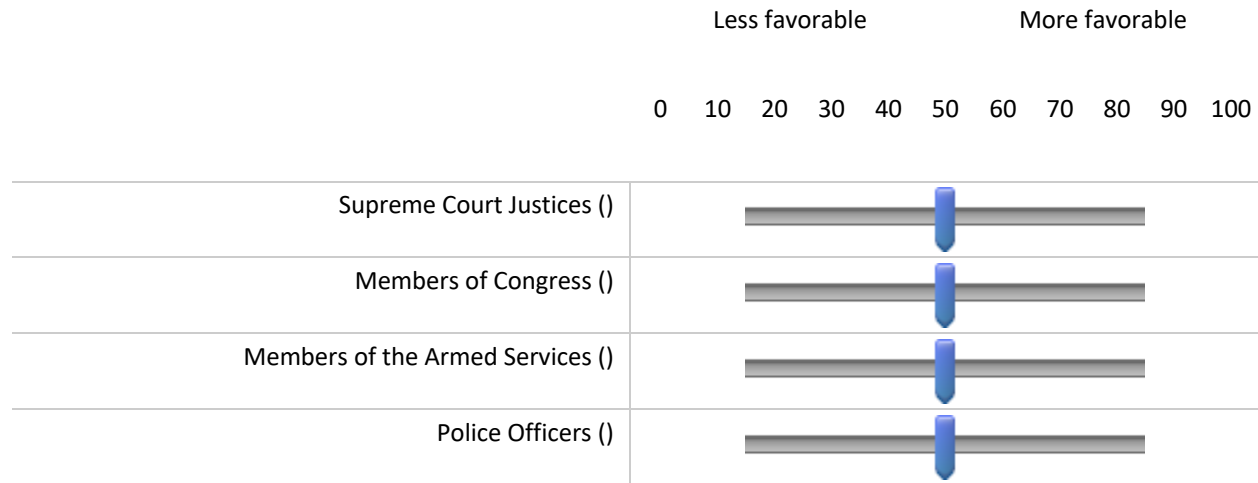
Page Break

Q3 Please click the box below to continue.

End of Block: Consent and Robot Check

Start of Block: - Trust in Govt/Pol Knowledge/Job Approval

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.



Page Break



Q5 How much trust do you have in the federal government when it comes to handling international problems?

- A great deal of trust (1)
- A fair amount of trust (2)
- Not very much trust (3)
- No trust at all (4)



Q6 How much trust do you have in the federal government when it comes to handling domestic problems?

- A great deal of trust (1)
- A fair amount of trust (2)
- Not very much trust (3)
- No trust at all (4)

Page Break

Q7 The following questions concern facts about the US government. Do not worry if you are unsure of the right answer, just do your best.



Q8 If the President of the United States is unable or unwilling to serve or is removed from office by Congress, the Vice President would become President. If the Vice President is unable or unwilling to serve, who would be eligible to become the President next?

- Secretary of State (1)
- Secretary of Defense (2)
- Speaker of the House (3)
- Chief Justice of the Supreme Court (4)



Q9 How many years are in one full term of office for a member of the U.S. House of Representatives?

- 2 years (1)
 - 4 years (2)
 - 6 years (3)
 - 8 years (4)
-



Q10 Who is the Commander in Chief of the Military?

- Secretary of Defense (1)
 - Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (2)
 - President of the United States (3)
 - Attorney General (4)
-

Page Break



Q11 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald J. Trump is handling his job as president?

- Strongly disapprove (1)
- Somewhat disapprove (2)
- Somewhat approve (3)
- Strongly approve (4)

End of Block: - Trust in Govt/Pol Knowledge/Job Approval

Start of Block: Deference Questions



Q12 Which of the following comes closest to your own beliefs?

- When the country is at war, the President should personally direct both the broad objectives as well as the details of military plans. (1)
- When the country is at war, the President should personally direct the broad objectives and manage some of the details of military plans. (2)
- When the country is at war, the President should manage the broad objectives but leave the details of military plans to the generals. (3)
- When the country is at war, the President should basically follow the advice of the generals. (4)
- Not sure (5)

Page Break



Q13 If the president's civilian advisers object to a proposed military mission, then the president should:

- reject the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission worthwhile. (1)
- reject the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is not worthwhile. (2)

Page Break



Q14 If the president's civilian advisers approve of a proposed military mission, then the president should:

- approve the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission not worthwhile. (1)
- approve the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is worthwhile. (2)



Q15 If senior US military officers object to a proposed military mission, then the president should:

- reject the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission worthwhile. (1)
- reject the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is not worthwhile. (2)

Page Break



Q16 If senior US military officers approve of a proposed military mission, then the president should:

- approve the proposed mission--even if the president thinks the mission not worthwhile. (1)
- approve the proposed mission--only if the president agrees that the mission is worthwhile. (2)

Page Break



Q17 If senior US military officers advise using US forces on the battlefield in a particular way, then the president should:

- use US forces as they advise--only if the president agrees (1)
- use US forces as they advise--even if the president disagrees. (2)



Q18 This question is meant to help us see how well you are paying attention. Please select 'disagree' below.

- Strongly agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

Skip To: End of Block If This question is meant to help us see how well you are paying attention. Please select 'disagree'... != Disagree

Page Break



Q19 Military commanders should have wide discretion to act first and ask civilian leaders later.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: Deference Questions

Start of Block: Reasons for Trust



Q20 I would generally describe my **trust** in military officers as:

- Distrust a lot (1)
- Distrust a little (2)
- Trust a little (3)
- Trust a lot (4)

Skip To: Q23 If I would generally describe my trust in military officers as: = Distrust a lot

Skip To: Q23 If I would generally describe my trust in military officers as: = Distrust a little



Q21 Which of the following best represents the reason you trust military officers?

- Military officers are good at what they do. (1)
- Military officers do not get involved in politics. (2)
- Military officers have a strong sense of ethics. (3)
- Military officers put the interests of the country first. (4)

Page Break

Q22 If none of the options in the preceding question well reflects your view as to why you trust military officers, please enter your view here (100 words max.):

Page Break

Display This Question:

If I would generally describe my trust in military officers as: = Distrust a lot

Or I would generally describe my trust in military officers as: = Distrust a little



Q23 Which of the following **best** represents the reason you do not trust military officers?

- Military officers are not good at what they do. (1)
- Military officers get involved in politics. (2)
- Military officers do not have a strong sense of ethics. (3)
- Military officers put the interests of the military first. (4)

Page Break

Display This Question:

If I would generally describe my trust in military officers as: = Distrust a lot

Or I would generally describe my trust in military officers as: = Distrust a little

Q24 If none of the options in the preceding question well reflects your view as to why you do not trust military officers, please enter your view here (100 words max.)

Page Break



Q25 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **I trust military officers because they are good at what they do.**

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)



Q26 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
I trust military officers because they do not get involved in politics.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Page Break



Q27 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
I trust military officers because they have a strong sense of ethics.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Somewhat disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Somewhat agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-



Q28 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
I trust military officers because they put the interests of the country first.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: Reasons for Trust

Start of Block: BP/RWA/SDO



Q29 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 (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)



Q30 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **I would support my country right or wrong.**

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Somewhat disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Somewhat agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-



Q31 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 (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Somewhat disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Somewhat agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Page Break



Q32 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 (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)



Q33 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 (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Page Break



Q34 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **It is better to accept bad literature than to censor it.**

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)



Q35 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 (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Page Break



Q36 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 (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Somewhat disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Somewhat agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-



Q37 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.**

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Somewhat disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Somewhat agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Page Break



Q38 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **No one group should dominate in society.**

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)



Q39 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **Group equality should not be our primary goal.**

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Somewhat disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Somewhat agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-



Q40 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **It is unjust to try to make groups equal.**

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Somewhat disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Somewhat agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-

Page Break



Q41 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 (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)



Q42 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 (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: BP/RWA/SDO

Start of Block: Reasons for Admiration



Q43 I would generally describe my **admiration** of military officers as:

- Do not admire (1)
- Admire very little (2)
- Admire somewhat (3)
- Admire a lot (4)

Skip To: Q46 If I would generally describe my admiration of military officers as: = Do not admire

Skip To: Q46 If I would generally describe my admiration of military officers as: = Admire very little



Q44 Which of the following **best** represents the reason you admire military officers?

- Military officers are good at what they do. (1)
- Military officers do not get involved in politics. (2)
- Military officers have a strong sense of ethics. (3)
- Military officers put the interests of the country first. (4)

Page Break

Q45 If none of the options in the preceding question well reflects your view as to why you admire military officers, please enter your view here (100 words max.):

Page Break

Display This Question:

If I would generally describe my admiration of military officers as: = Do not admire

Or I would generally describe my admiration of military officers as: = Admire very little



Q46 Which of the following **best** represents the reason you do not admire military officers?

- Military officers are not good at what they do. (1)
- Military officers get involved in politics. (2)
- Military officers do not have a strong sense of ethics. (3)
- Military officers put the interests of the military first. (4)

Page Break

Display This Question:

If I would generally describe my admiration of military officers as: = Do not admire

Or I would generally describe my admiration of military officers as: = Admire very little

Q47 If none of the options in the preceding question well reflects your view as to why you do not admire military officers, please enter your view here (100 words max.)

Page Break



Q48 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I admire military officers because they are good at what they do.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)



Q49 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
I admire military officers because they do not get involved in politics.

- Strongly disagree (1)
 - Disagree (2)
 - Somewhat disagree (3)
 - Neither agree nor disagree (4)
 - Somewhat agree (5)
 - Agree (6)
 - Strongly agree (7)
-



Q50 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
I admire military officers because they have a strong sense of ethics.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)



Q51 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement:
I admire military officers because they put the interests of the country first.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: Reasons for Admiration

Start of Block: Military Oversight

Q52 How intense should civilian scrutiny of military decisions be? “1” on the scale below indicates light and occasional civilian scrutiny of military decisions, and “7” indicates intense and frequent civilian

scrutiny of military decisions. Please mark on the scale below what you deem an appropriate level of civilian oversight of the military with respect to the issues listed.

	light and occasional scrutiny (1)	2 (2)	3 (3)	4 (4)	5 (5)	6 (6)	intense and frequent scrutiny (7)
Decisions on how to spend the defense budget (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Decisions on what weapons to develop (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Decisions on which military bases to close or keep open (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Decisions on who may serve in the military (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Decisions on sexual harassment policy in the military (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Decisions on how forces are used on the battlefield (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Decisions on the military justice system (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Decisions on how to train soldiers (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Decisions on veterans' benefits (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

End of Block: Military Oversight

Start of Block: Military's Boundaries



Q53 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **Senior military officers should advocate *publicly for* policies they believe are in the country's best interest, even if the policies are not related to the military.**

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Page Break

Q54 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Senior military officers **should advocate *publicly against* policies they believe are not in the country's best interest, even if the policies are not related to the military.**

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Page Break



Q55 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Senior military officers **should advocate publicly for military operations and policies they favor.**

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Page Break



Q56 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Senior military officers **should advocate publicly against military operations and policies they do not favor.**

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Q57 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: Senior military officers **should implement civilian-authorized operations and policies, rather than advocate for their own.**

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Q58 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **Retired** senior military officers **should advocate *publicly* for policies they believe are in the country's best interest, even if those policies are not related to the military.**

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Page Break

Q59 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **Retired** senior military officers **should** **advocate *publicly* against policies they believe are not in the country's best interest, even if those policies are not related to the military.**

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Page Break



Q60 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **Retired** senior military officers **should** advocate *publicly* for military operations and policies they favor.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

Page Break



Q61 How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statement: **Retired** senior military officers **should** advocate **publicly against** military operations and policies they do **not** favor.

- Strongly disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Somewhat disagree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat agree (5)
- Agree (6)
- Strongly agree (7)

End of Block: Military's Boundaries

Start of Block: Military as Experts and Why Join



Q62 How much do you think senior military officers know about international affairs compared to the following groups of people:

	A lot less (1)	A little less (2)	About the same (3)	A little more (4)	A lot more (5)
Presidents (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Members of the president's cabinet (such as the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of State) (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Civilian experts inside government (such as staff of the National Security Council, Defense Department, and State Department) (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Civilian experts outside government (such as researchers in universities and think tanks) (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q63 In your view, which of the following **best** represents why people choose to join the military as officers?

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

End of Block: Military as Experts and Why Join

Start of Block: Demographics

Q64 *As with all questions on this survey, your answers to the following questions will be kept confidential.*

X→

Q65 Please indicate your gender:

- Male (1)
 - Female (2)
-

X→

Q66 What is your age?

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

X→

Q67 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)
-



Q68 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)
-



Q69 What was your total income in 2018?

- 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

Start of Block: Ideology and Service Record



Q70 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)

Q71 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)

Page Break

Display This Question:

If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent,... = Republican



Q72 Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?

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

Display This Question:

If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent,... = Democrat



Q73 Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?

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

Display This Question:

If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent,... = Independent

Or Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent,... = No Preference



Q74 Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?

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

Q75 In general, do you think of yourself as...

- Extremely Liberal (1)
- Liberal (2)
- Slightly Liberal (3)
- Moderate, Middle of the Road (4)
- Slightly Conservative (5)
- Conservative (6)
- Extremely Conservative (7)

Skip To: Q77 If In general, do you think of yourself as... != Moderate, Middle of the Road

Q76 Do you think of yourself as more liberal or more conservative?

- More Liberal (1)
 - More Conservative (2)
-



Q77 Has anyone in your household ever been a member of the armed forces?

- No (1)
- Yes (2)

Skip To: Q80 If Has anyone in your household ever been a member of the armed forces? = No



Q78 Did your household member first serve after 1973?

- No (1)
- Yes (2)

Skip To: Q80 If Did your household member first serve after 1973? = Yes



Q79 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)



Q80 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

Q81 Which branch of the armed forces were you a member of?

- Air Force (1)
 - Army (2)
 - Coast Guard (3)
 - Marines (4)
 - Navy (5)
-



Q82 Did you first serve after 1973?

- No (1)
- Yes (2)

Skip To: Q84 If Did you first serve after 1973? = Yes

Q83 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)
-

Display This Question:

If Did you volunteer for service, or were you drafted? = I volunteered for service.



Q84 Looking back, what was the main reason you joined the military?

- Because it was my duty as a citizen. (1)
- Because I love my country. (2)
- Because I wanted the pay, benefits, and skills training the military offered. (3)
- Because I had no other options. (4)

End of Block: Ideology and Service Record
