

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND MILITARY SERVICE

Andrew Thomas Sparks

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Master of Arts
in the Department of Political Science,
Indiana University

December 2015

Accepted by the Graduate Faculty, Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Master's Thesis Committee

Aaron Dusso Ph. D, Assistant Professor, Chair

Ramla Bandele Ph. D, Associate Professor

Amanda Friesen Ph. D, Assistant Professor

Andrew Thomas Sparks

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND MILITARY SERVICE

Time spent in the military has the ability to guide service members with political characteristics that influence voting behavior and political involvement throughout life. The objective of this thesis is investigating the relationship between military service and their personal political ideology. This thesis will address political socialization as an agent, while truly understanding the difficulty in what time spent in the service has. The research questions addressed are: How much does military service contribute to an individual's political ideology? and, Does military service alter an individual's political belief from a neutral or liberal perspective to a more conservative view?

The variables of political socialization are as vast as our imagination, and is a constant changing process. The course from which we form our political views is indicative of the social constructs from which we are subjected to. The ebbs and flows of life experiences is for the most part planned. To what extent our life experiences shape our views could never be calculated. There are, however, variables that can be applied to almost all human life such as our peers, family, institutions, education, strife, success, struggle, and perseverance. Most can understand that family and school are important early in life. Later as adults; peers, literature, education, and socioeconomic status is more impressionable. This research aims to discover military service as an agent with the ability to frame forming opinions. Military service is not a rare human experience of itself, but is rare in its ability to hold all of the above variables in a complete surrounding environment. Military service has the unique ability to sever ties from outside influence,

inhabit complete social submersion, force uniformity in thought, regularity in action, all during the time an individual is most impressionable towards political ideas. This is interesting as it tests a full immersion political socialization environment to what we label ourselves in the grand scheme of political constructs over a life time.

Aaron Dusso Ph. D, Assistant Professor, Chair

Table of Contents

An Introduction to Apolitical Military	1
Figure 1 - Causal logic relationship	9
Basic Training on Military Service and Political Ideology	10
Data and Methods	18
Drawing on the Data	20
Results	22
Model and Assumptions	22
Appendices	27
Table A1 Survey Question Wording and Coding	27
Table A2 Military Rank	27
Table A3 Political Ideology and Military Service	27
References	31
Curriculum Vitae	

An Introduction to Apolitical Military

The connection between military experience and a slant towards conservative political ideology is well documented and varies slightly (Bachman Freedman Segal and O'Malley 2000; Beck and Jennings 1991; Clawson and Oxley 2008; Kinder 2006; Krebs 2004; Parker Gimbel and Ivie 1995; and Powell and Cowert 2003; Huddy and Terkildsen 1993; Norrander and Wilcox 2008; Reed 1999; and Welch 1985). The military is officially neutral and apolitical. However, un-officially it is of popular belief that military members and veterans alike have socially conservative ideology (Teigen 2007). The concept of military members possessing conservative leanings is nearly commonplace with traditional evidence to support it (Mazur 2005; Teigen 2007; and Schreiber 1979).

Ideally the public's perspective would be for the military, holistically, to have a neutral and unbiased opinion. Ideology in the public is constrained by how people think of themselves and society. This ideology includes ideas about who should rule, moral codes, and fundamental personal values, as well as attitudes toward equality, freedom, and democracy (Lane 1962). This is shown from research about the role of the military in strategy, and largely revolved around the soldier-statesman or political warrior model. There is much criticism of the soldier-statesman model being hazardous to the military itself, to foreign policy, and to civilian control (Slater 1977). Generally this means an individual that is actively engaged in conducting the business of a government or in shaping its policies, but does so with a subjective military driven purpose. A political warrior or soldier statesman would see the role of the military in the formulation of national security policy as a priority, not as an alternative.

This same philosophy could be applied to police officers, public educators, judiciaries, or un-elected civil servants. This is inevitably not the case, and for the most part benign towards the greater good. However, the military is unequivocally held to a higher standard, and the military holds with it larger implications on the global scale. Hackett claims that a bad person "cannot be ... a good soldier, or sailor, or airman" (Hackett 1970). Wakin agrees with this idea, and refers to this as the functional line (Wakin 1986). He argues that demands placed on the character and behavior of military members flow directly from the military function itself. For example, military units cannot function well, especially in combat environments, if the individuals are not scrupulously honest with each other. Military members simply will not be able to do their jobs if they are not, to a certain degree, selfless. Otherwise, they wouldn't be willing to put up with even the ordinary hardships of military life, much less be willing to risk their lives (Ficarrotta 1997). Another example of higher standards can be better understood by military members abiding by stricter moral codes of the Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ). This is above and in addition to standard civilian legal values. Many times the actions of a service member carries a greater impact than a civilian. The higher an individual rises in rank and file, the greater the responsibility and so to stricter requirements.

Every Soldier, Airman, Sailor or Marine must take an "Oath of Enlistment" or "Oath of Office" depending on type of service. Every enlisted member must recite the following, "I (NAME) do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I will obey the orders of the President

of the United States and the orders of the officers appointed over me, according to regulations and the Uniform Code of Military Justice. So help me God." Every Officer must recite the following, "I, (NAME) do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God."

The differentiation between the officer oath and enlisted oath is that officers are demanded to disobey any order that violates our Constitution, while enlisted are bound to obey only permitted orders. Despite the distinction, key words still remain, "I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same". What does this mean? These oaths dictate the protection, defense, and security of our Constitution as law. Military members could very well interpret the constitution individually, but cannot act on individual beliefs. To act on an individual's political beliefs would be acting on a so-called "living constitution" (Rehnquist 1975). Every Soldier, Airman, Sailor, and Marine takes the oath that bounds him or her to support and defend the Constitution's basis without a personal agenda. To act on personal political beliefs while serving the country would result in disorder and disarray. Acting on personal political beliefs would interfere with obligated duty, and would not be in the best interest of the nation. The engine of military service is built on discipline and uniformity.

An active and dynamic un-biased role by the military in the political process is and always has been essential to our nation's defense. A predictable starting point for any

investigation into the state of civil-military relations in the U.S. would be to define civil-military relations from what some scholars refer to as “civilian control” (Cohen 1997). A general definition of civil-military relations would be “the relationship between the armed forces of the state and the larger society they serve, how they communicate, how they interact, and how the interface between them is ordered and regulated” (Hooker 2004). Similarly, civilian control means simply “the degree to which the military's civilian masters can enforce their authority on the military services” (Weigley 1993). This clarification sheds an interesting light and creates ground work for this thesis. That is, the possible nuance of beliefs that the military possesses from the society it serves, possible abandoned political neutrality favoring partisan politics, and a prohibited role in policymaking. Is there a traditional conservative ideology with the military, does this influence policy decision, and does military service alter an individual’s political views?

These questions pose a stark contrast to the idea of the nonpartisan military, or the apolitical soldier with a different reality (Hooker 2004). A discussion of the different existing explanations as to why military members and veterans alike may have social conservative leanings is warranted. This may be associated with a sampling bias. The demographic of military personnel causes some members of the overall population to be less likely to be included than others. For example this could be due to higher number of a specific gender, race, and geographical location. Though all respondents are not equally balanced or objectively represented, this thesis has limited the bias of selection effect.

An argument for geography can be made from the recruiting numbers in the annual Personnel Demographics survey published by the Department of Defense (2010). The largest and most populous region in the United States, the northeast, has provided the

least amount of personnel every year since the Military went into an all-volunteer force. The much less populous south provided disproportionately more of the Military force. A major reason for this is that the Pentagon focused its recruiting efforts on the Sunbelt since the draft ended 40 years ago (Segal 2004). The idea that the South is a conservative area is one of the fixtures on the American political landscape. There is little left to question whether the picture of the conservative South provides a complete depiction of mass politics in that region (Cotter and Stovall 1990). A larger population of the military originates from the south, and this in turn may have a large impact on military members having conservative ideology.

Another argument could be for gender, and why military members lean towards conservative ideology can be found in a poll generated by Gallop (2011). This poll of more than 138,000 interviews, tracked data back to January of 2010. The poll shows that nearly 9 out of 10 (91%) military members are male. There are extensive studies addressing “Gender Gap” and voting behavior, showing that men are more likely to be Conservative than women (Huddy 1993, and Fausto-Sterling 1992). The variable of gender supports a social model of voting behavior highlighting the importance of sex (McClurg, Wade, and Wright-Phillips 2013). A survey was administered in 2003 to determine if military affiliation is associated with attitudes toward sending troops into the war (Iraq and Afghanistan). The survey sampled United States Military Academies and ROTC cadets showing the majority of all students supporting both war efforts compared to civilian students. The differences of political affiliation are best explained by students’ gender-politics gap. It suggests that differences between the groups result from selection effects rather than cultural differences (Rohall, Ender, and Matthews 2006).

The notion of the military being stronger than gender as a socialization agent falls somewhat short. This may be because in the military, social definition pertains to the structural ways in which women are permitted to serve only in certain jobs and units (Devilbiss 1985, 533). As a result, the perception is created that women are part of a special protected class who are exempt from direct combat roles, and therefore not sharing the same risks as men (Reed 1999). The history of women in the military shows their participation to be both limited and auxiliary, which could very well play a role in the overall effectiveness that the military influences ideology. However, this is changing as the military opens up more jobs for women in nontraditional roles, the effect of women's social visibility in these jobs, and the social impact of their performance (determined by how well they do) become more critical in shaping military ideology (Reed 1999, 18). This has been especially evident as time goes by, and even more so since 1973 due to the draft (Holm 1992). Women have also been thrust into role identification hurdles when put through military training programs designed traditionally to "make men out of boys" (Holm 1982, p. 273).

It is highly possible that the comparison of a largely male population of veterans with a mixed-gender population of nonveterans is the reasoning behind military members holding conservative leanings. That is to say, having a population already inclined to possess conservative beliefs (males primarily from the south) combined with military service gives way to the extreme measure on the scale. However, there is still evidence to support that this effect is not only attributed to gender. The 2011 Gallup poll conducted an analysis of the differences in partisan gap among men only. They compared male veterans to male nonveterans at each age group, and showed that the partisan differences

somewhat persisted. This thesis hypothesizes that there will be a stronger relation to the conservative party when women are excluded. What is different is that this thesis also hypothesizes that when polled singularly across both groups (veteran to non-veteran) women veterans will be more likely to have conservative ideology.

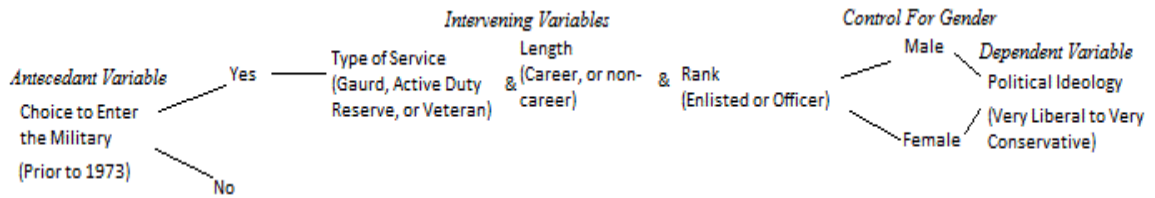
An argument can be made as to length of service possessing the most profound effect towards political ideology. The Gallup poll conducted in 2010 showed that respondents classified as veterans (prior military) or active duty indicated stronger conservative beliefs coinciding with length of service. If military service has an effect on ideology, it is reasonable to expect that the longer one serves, the stronger this effect will be. Environment shapes ideology and forces one to develop traits and habits that might be foreign otherwise. Participation in voluntary associations like military service, is explained by different theories in sociology, psychology, and most importantly political science. Political scientists have traditionally emphasized the effects of resources such as human and social capital (Foley and Edwards 1999). Psychologists have demonstrated the role of empathy and extraversion towards aspects of personality (Hirsh, DeYoung, Xu, and Peterson 2010). Together, we must consider the affects towards political values and attitudes.

Becker studied and investigated the predictive value of personality characteristics, political values, and social conditions for civic engagement (2005). If a person is naturally casual and spontaneous but their work schedule is very structured in a way that dictates change, their preferences are likely to modify in form. You may begin switch back to being a unpremeditated style individual as soon as you leave that job. The same rule applies to other traits as well. Individuals will naturally gravitate towards solidarity

as a group, as social theory demands adaptation (Becker 2005). From this, it is safe to assume that time in service and an association with a more conservative and less liberal political identity can be attributed to the immersion of likeminded individuals. This is especially significant for an individual immersed in an environment during the time in life that political beliefs are beginning to form. It is also safe to assume the stronger remaining influence that individuals hold over a life time from longer military service.

A standard hypothesis is that the longer one serves in the military, the more conservative they are likely to be. People with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interaction with elite, opponents, and authorities grow to deliberate alike (Tarrow and Tollefson 1994). The key descriptor being sustained. The more time an individual serves, the stronger the individual's conservative beliefs will be. The question at hand is twofold; how much affect from immersion stays with an individual over time, and how strong is the external influence?

What factors contribute to the members of this group's ideology? Gender, length of service, education, and geography are four significant contributors to one's ideology, but there are more variables used to illuminate the complexities of this thesis. Those interested in voting and political behavior should discover this topic to be especially interesting to their work as many see an individual with a military background more common than not, having conservative leanings. This research hypothesizes that military service will ultimately have a stronger influence over the other utilized variables. For clarity, Figure 1 illustrates the causal logic relationship and variables:



*This diagram only addresses the first regression that was performed.

The flow chart is not suggesting a sequence of events, just exemplifying the key initial regression. Other variables that shape political ideology for a military member (age, branch of service, length of service, location, enlisted, commission, and race) fall behind gender, length of service, and geography. Thus far, an individual with a background in the military whether it be active duty or veteran is correlated with conservative leanings. This study will test this theory by military service alongside the various control variables.

Basic Training on Military Service and Political Ideology

The literature can be broken down into three categories that gather the most important aspects of the overall thesis. *Military Service* as an influence towards political ideology was chosen to develop a foundation of the theory. *Gender* was chosen as it provides the highest potential as the stronger political motivator (versus Military Service). *Veteran political identification* was chosen as it tests the individual's ideology after leaving service and can be used to test the effects of civilian life.

The literature that has been collected is primarily concerned with political socialization, starting at the point when an individual chooses to enter military service. This includes the complex political socialization process, how an individual arrived at the decision to enter military service, and political ideology. There are many sources that an individual utilizes in order to form their own political doctrine. Without much hesitation, most individuals can create a list of potential motivators as to why we act, believe, and most importantly in regard to this thesis, arrived at our political ideology. Creating a list of political motivators is effortless, but understanding the significance singularly is impossible. There is no true solitary variable that acts alone, and over time holds value independently. Ideologically oriented belief systems are difficult to grasp because they are abstract, wide ranging, and interconnected. At the same time, new lines of research have led to a reconsideration of the role of ideological thinking in mass publics (Carmines 2012). Ideology is an important topic that has been covered by vast scholarship, particularly the separation between Democrats and Republicans (Jacoby 1991, Zaller 1992). During the time frame of over a half century, there are two contested paradigms in relation to political ideology. One considers the role that values and

principles play in determining the political and ideological thinking of individuals. This body of work often forces individuals into the liberal-conservative structure prevalent among much political research, contrary to evidence that ideology among the American public is more complicated (Saucier 2000). There is a new line that has led to a reconsideration of the role of ideological thinking in mass publics (Carmines 2012). The second questions the current conception and measurement standards of political ideology among the American mass public, and that it is formed by positions along two related but separate dimensions. This emphasizes the shared nature of ideology. That is, ideology communicates a common way a particular group or community views the world and believes it should be structured (Denzau & North 1994). This thesis aims to measure the social and economic dimensions and how they relate to military service as a political socialization agent.

Political socialization is concerned with the “study of the developmental processes by which one acquires political cognition, attitudes, and behaviors” (Powell and Cowert 2003). Some foundational political socialization agents include schools, peers, the news media, religion, and perhaps the strongest, family (Clawson and Oxley 2008, pg 30). A growing number of political scientists even argue that predispositions to political ideology is genetically rooted (Friesen and Ksiazkiewicz 2014). This may not necessarily lend itself to the traditional debate but this idea raises questions about other possible traits that jointly underlie social and economic ideology. This thesis is primarily concerned with military service as a socialization agent (Guard, Active Duty, rank, length of service, Veteran, etc.). Military Service and political socialization can loosely be quantified as time served, where it truly begins or ends will never be known. Converse

(1964) uses a similar concept, but defines it as constraint. He argued that in a political belief systems some attitudes are held more strongly and the number of political attitudes held varies. The characteristics of serving in the military together with time served helps in identifying ideological thinking. Converse argues that constraint is the idea that attitudes are linked and interdependent, such that holding one belief should be accompanied by holding another belief. For example, an individual who supports increased spending for education should also favor more spending for health care because both attitudes indicate a liberal belief in an enhanced role for government. In the same way, military members support more defense spending and more spending on veteran's benefits in an enhanced role for federal management. Thus, ideological individuals hold some centrally important beliefs that are connected to other attitudes in a wide-ranging system.

One of the most important works examining military service as a socializing agent derives from Beck and Jennings (1991). They focus specifically on the important role that the military plays in the political socialization of its members. They refer to this as "The Life Cycle Explanation" and hypothesize that people's political attitudes are strongly influenced by their age and early socialization. Early in life, there are often positive feelings toward the nation and idealized views of political leaders. These early impressionable years are most often the time when an individual decides to enter the military, the time when strong political attitudes are just beginning to form. When a young recruit arrives at initial training their beliefs have yet to be fully formed, and in some ways the individual can be viewed as a blank slate (Krebs 2004).

Data from a national study of young adults from the high school classes from 1976 through 1995 compared Military recruits with their high school classmates who entered college or civilian full-time employment (Bachman, Freedman, Segal, and O'Malley 2000). The largest disparities involved service member's preferences for greater military spending, and they reflected both selection and socialization. Stark contrasts were shown when service members were compared to civilians. Service members overwhelmingly supported greater military influence in the U.S. They were slightly more willing than their counterparts to employ U.S. military force, health care, stronger global policy, and tighter fiscal policy.

Individuals with a military background are more likely to align with the conservative beliefs. Having a military background can be broken down into two categories, veterans and active duty military. For veterans compared to active duty military members, the way in which the veteran holds this belief is a bit more complex. When examining partisanship, candidate affect, and vote choice, veterans are similar to the nonveteran population on certain topics outside of the above mentioned (Teigen 2007, 415). The group's magnitude exemplifies the complexity of quantifying veteran ideology. There are currently more than 24 million veterans in the United States that share military experience and attempting to calculate patriotism, conformity, and other values is difficult. This number is steadily climbing as enlistments drastically rose after the advent of 9/11. After enlistments were fulfilled, members separated and caused a rise in the veteran group. The reasoning behind the nuance of political values between the two sample groups is simply detachment from environment.

The Bush – Kerry presidential election platforms served as an exemplary historical model. Their campaigns were a wartime contest that entailed a great deal of discussion about how military service played out in elections for both candidates. Using polling data throughout 2004, Teigen (2007) examined party identification, candidate affect, and vote choice preferences among veterans and nonveterans in the electorate. Despite widespread assumptions depicting the veteran population as deeply Republican, those with military experience showed similarities to their nonveteran peers. These similarities were shown in terms of partisan identification, warmth toward candidates, ballot intentions, and vote choice.

One important exception manifested after the “Swift Boat” advertisement in that September. The Swift Boat veterans, are a group of veterans that use discourse in collusion with the Vietnam War remembrance to create rhetorically powerful indictments of Kerry (namely falsification of medals and time spend in the war theatre). This impelled significant numbers of veterans who identify with the Democratic Party to express the intention to vote for George W. Bush (Reyes 2006). The Republican Party strategically seeks the veteran vote count. Out of all veterans, 70% cast a ballot in that presidential election, compared with 61.8% of all U.S. citizens 18 years and older (Census 2014). Military service may influence turnout when compared to contemporaries without military service, and is a clear target for political candidates. In 2015, Gallup conducted a “Confidence in Institutions” poll. While Republicans are among the most likely of all groups to say serving in the military reveals a great deal about one's patriotism, more than half of both Democrats and independents agree. Republicans also tend to place more value on saying the pledge of allegiance and wearing an American

flag pin, while independents align more closely with Democrats, who are generally less likely to place a high value on each action.

To provide insight into veteran's policy agenda, Syracuse University's Institute for Veterans and Military Families identified and cataloged more than 1,300 policies. These included federal and state policies, executive orders, and agency directives that impacted veterans from 1997 through 2011.

****Figure 1 about here****

****Figure 2 about here****

For active duty military, the answer is more clear. Recent scholarship has identified a palpable conservative slant to today's officers. The Republican Party is often recognized as stronger than Democrats on matters of defense and national security based on legislative patterns (Feaver and Khon 2001; Newcity 1999; Reed 1999). Research has found that veterans and active duty members align strongly with the conservative party on issues regarding international relations, military involvement, and international human rights (Schreiber 1991). These findings reflect both selection effects with some consistent evidence of socialization.

Studies have shown that the Republican Party advocates more spending on national defense, and this may have an effect towards service members vote. During the Presidential race in 2004, Bush strongly advocated for increased military spending which promised to directly impact serving members (Gordon 2001). Often times Republican candidates in the primary and general election, along with the campaign advertisements provide an environment infused with the theme of military service and patriotism

(Petrocik, Benoit, and Hansen 2003). This is aimed at tugging the heartstrings of many, but in particular individuals with a military service background.

There is also strong evidence that demonstrates national Republican campaign events aiming to galvanize veterans' vote choice rapidly, especially when topics of military and veterans support rises (Mazur 2005, 88). Take for example the 2008 Presidential Campaign between Obama and McCain. Spending on veteran's medical care was the only area in which the majority of McCain voters said federal spending should be increased. This view supports veterans aligning with the Republican party, or holding conservative views. Not only veterans issues, but McCain voters were significantly more likely than Obama voters to favor increased spending on programs to protect against bioterrorism, and the national defense budget (Blenden 2008). John McCain, a veteran himself, won the military vote in 2008 by 10 percentage points (Bishen 2009).

The literature provides ties between conservative political ideology and individuals with a military background. There were two strong arguments as to why this may be. The first is about timing, and the period in life that an individual starts to form opinions. Military service immerses young adults into an institution that controls its members' environment with near totality during a period in their life when attachments to party form (Krebs 2004). The bond that exists between the very essence of citizenship and the obligation of military service leaves little to doubt (Parker 1995). During a developmental period of young adulthood the individual develops many of the fundamental ideas toward political ideology. The second is that military training differs from high school, vocational training, or college as it provides both instruction of military skills and technical knowledge as well as an assimilating function into a "total

institution” (Parker, Gimbel, and Ivie 1995). The military serves as the institution and occupies a critical “turning point in life” (Teigen 2007, 415). Not only is their total immersion, but immersion during a point in time that is the most malleable. To assume that there is strong attachment to the conservative party, which values conformity and whose core value is national defense is only rational.

To draw some conclusions from the applicable literature at hand, one inference can be made. The nature of political socialization is very complex, and truly quantifying the implication military life makes on an individual is extremely difficult. This is especially true when controlling for numerous variables such as aging veterans, gender, race, etc. However, a formal hypothesis can be made: *Serving in the military increases the probability that one will have a conservative ideology.*

Data and Methods

The quintessential research questions that this thesis seeks to answer is, “Does military service contribute to an individual’s political ideology”, and “Does military service alter an individual’s political belief from a moderate perspective to a more conservative view?” The raw data utilized is from the Tata Institute of Social Sciences (TISS) project, which undertook a comprehensive comparison of civilian values and military values, attitudes, opinions, and perspectives. The poll explored a wide segment of civilian and military elites, as well as the mass public. The project completed a broad, in-depth survey of nearly 6,000 respondents representing key groups; the general public, influential civilian leaders, military enlisted individuals, and up and coming military officers (Teigen 2007).

The project's survey instrument was designed to generate data that would be comparable to data obtained by earlier surveys of attitudes about foreign and domestic policy (Feaver and Kohn 2001). The survey sought responses to some 250 questions covering a range of issues from the respondent's collective societal values, views on national security policy, military professionalism, and even civil - military relationships. Between the fall of 1998 and the spring of 1999, the survey instrument was administered to military and military related civilian personnel. The method of deliverance varied from in person, electronic submission, and traditional mail correspondence.

Feaver and Kohn sought to reach a comparable group of military officers, which they refer to as "military elite," and enlisted alike. The military sample is drawn from active duty members, Reserve, National Guard, retired, and veterans. It is important to note that there is a distinction between veteran and retired. From the data, the veteran has

more than likely fulfilled four years of military service (of varying degrees) and was honorably discharged. The retiree has more than likely served for up to twenty years, service related discharge, and in both instances honorable. The key difference being retired infers a much longer political socialization time and this could have an influence towards the dependent variable.

Of the 5,889 respondents, 2,901 have military affiliation of some kind ranging from branch of service to type of service. The officers included in the data come from a pool of military leaders that shape the military profession in America and function as the custodians of military culture over time. The importance of addressing the dichotomy between the officer corp and enlisted is addressed later. While the rank and file is somewhat less central to this civil-military thesis, it is by no means of trivial concern. This has received close scrutiny in a parallel study by the Center for Strategic and International Studies, "American Military Culture in the 21st Century" (2000). This thesis hypothesizes that evidence will surface from the officer corps aligning stronger with the conservative party both fiscally and socially.

The survey broke down basic questions - what is the nature of the gap, what factors shape it, and what does it matter - into nearly two dozen research questions. This thesis draws upon both the original data generated by the TISS survey, and other sources to code specifically for the hypothesis; *Military service causes an increase in conservative ideology.*

**** *Appendix 1 (Table 2 & Table 3) about here* ****

Drawing on the Data

The utilized TISS variables included in the data, were ones that only had direct association to the hypothesis. Of the 3,386 that had military affiliation of some kind (out of 5,889), their relationship ranged from branch of service to type of service. The sample with military affiliation were used in two different models during the analysis portion of the research. First, this thesis addresses the dependent variables. This is an ordinal level variable and is measured as 1 Far Left, 2 Very Liberal, 3 Somewhat Liberal, 4 Moderate, 5 Somewhat Conservative, 6 Very Conservative, and 7 Far Right. The key independent variables utilized is whether or not the individual served in the military, and rank. Served is coded as either answering yes (1), or answering no (0) for not serving. Rank is coded as 0 to 2 and illuminated in *Table A2*.

From these key variables (in accordance with the hypothesis), other independent variables were used. Region is used and tested against individuals from the South being more likely to be conservative (Cotter and Stovall 1990). Rank tests the socioeconomic theory that as rank rises so too does the strength of political ideology (aligning with the conservative party). Officers are more likely to align with the conservative party both socially and fiscally. This is due to two reasons. Officers are college educated, per requirements of commission, and have higher incomes (favoring conservative fiscal policies). Research shows that there is a strong association between education (knowledge and skill acquisition, attitude formation, credential acquisition, participation in networks and institutions) and conservative ideology such as participation, partisan choice and political identity (Elizabeth and Emler 1999).

The variable of the type of service was constructed and added to the regression. Type of service meaning, Guard, Reserve, or Active Duty. This variable could prove to be important to the equation because the difference between an active duty military member and an individual with a guard or reserve background could prove to be significant. This is the difference between an individual that was completely immersed in a politically socialized environment, and an individual that was partially involved.

Other independent variables were included that are hypothesized to have significance. The first is race. This is coded as; 0 for White, 1 for Black, Hispanic, Asian, American Indian, and Other. The second is gender. This is coded as 0 for male and 1 for female. The third is education this was measured as 0 for High School, 1 for Some College, 2 for College Graduate, 3 for Some Graduate Degree, and 4 for Graduate Degree. This variable could very well have a correlation with the officer corps, because in the traditional sense of becoming commissioned, an individual has to have earned at least a four-year degree. The fourth is age and was used directly (with no recoding). All of these demographic variables were included because they have been found to show an effect on ideology.

Results

Model 1: In a comparison of all individuals, respondents with a military background will be more conservative than individuals without military service?

**** Table 1 about here ****

To give a substantive meaning to the impact of military service on political ideology, a regression analysis with just the independent variable of military service as a dummy while adding rank was run.

Model 2: In a comparison of military members, individuals with higher rank will be more conservative than individuals with lower rank. Model 2 was ran without control showing rank to be significant and military service alone to have a negative impact towards the dependent variable.

**** Model 2 is included in Table 1 about here ****

After finding that there was a relationship between military rank, and political ideology, a few assumptions can be made.

Assumption 1: In a comparison of all individuals, females are less likely than males to be conservative, despite military service.

Assumption 2: In a comparison of individuals, individuals that are older are more likely to be conservative than individuals that are younger.

Assumption 3: In a comparison of individuals, individuals that are white will be more likely to be conservative than non-white.

Conclusions can be made from the three assumptions. The first is the very complex nature of political socialization making it nearly impossible to quantify how much of an impact the military has made on an individual. This is especially true of aging

veterans, because as time passes so too does an individual's opinions. Second, there is at least some causal logic relationship between service members and the conservative party (just not as strong as hoped). The third is women are strongly more likely to align with the Democratic Party than men. The significance behind Gender can be accounted for by two fundamental different schools of thought; gender and the military as a socialization agent (discussed in the literature review).

Drawing Inferences from the Data

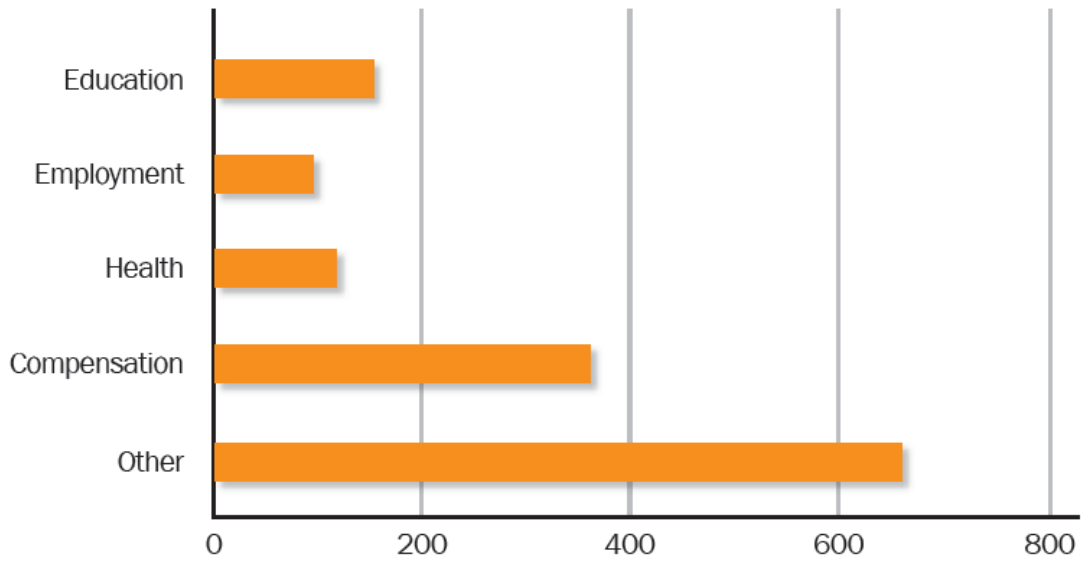
Political ideology research will perhaps never contain a survey that includes individuals with military experience and political ideology over time. It is problematic and almost impossible to measure when, how, and why an individual adopts a certain political ideology. In an ideal environment there would be a data set that contains political ideology before entering the military, during, and long after an individual is discharged. The TISS data was missing a variable that measured length of service. This measurement could have very well influenced political ideology due to a longer immersion in a military environment. It would have also been ideal to possess a measurement for income which was highly desired. This is slightly accounted for in the data from rank (officer compared to enlisted) but the study could not gain an inference on conjecture. A recoded variable that addressed whether the individual was drafted was expected to see some kind of effect. From previous scholar's research it seemed almost certain that a relationship between members that were drafted or began service prior to 1973 would have shown significance towards the dependent variable. However, this was not the case and had almost no effect on the outcome of the dependent variable.

If there is one salient point that can be taken away from this research, it is that there is a gap between the political disposition of the military (especially the officer group and military elites) and the general public. This illustrates a Republican or conservative institution that clashes with Democratic legislators. However, the officer group composes less than 20 percent of the armed forces. The enlisted ranks of men and women who likely joined without degrees beyond high school, do not exhibit the same

distinctions from mainstream America as their commissioned leaders do. There is something to be learned here.

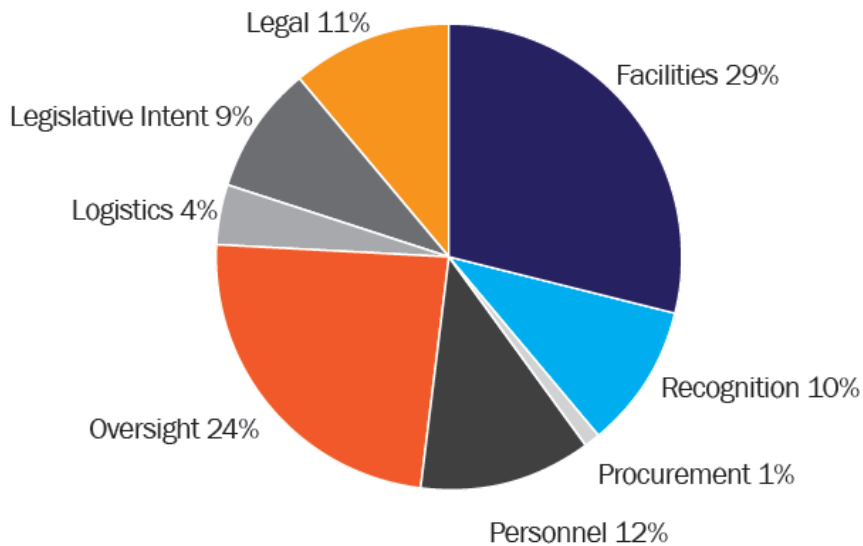
Political science scholars tolerate the assumption that past military service strongly influences a casted vote towards conservative electoral candidates. To arrive at the validity of these conventions, a demonstration of how military experiences may shape attitudes towards a candidate was examined. Truly understanding the ever changing exposure to formidable information an individual experiences will never be fully understood. This thesis utilized the TISS survey to evaluate whether voters with a military background gravitate towards the conservative party. Previous research shows that service members show uniformity in regards to defense and security issues, are slightly more supportive of conservative leaders, and align with platforms promising improved veteran issues. While conventional wisdom holds that military members historically lean conservative, the case was not shown to be as strong. National candidates will certainly court veterans, despite the uniformity of a completely cohesive military vote.

Figure 1 Policy ‘Category’ Summary



Each policy was catalogued based on 11 criteria, to include level of government, name, effective date, reference, source, term, lead entity, other entity, category, impact area and beneficiary. Additionally, each policy was categorized by overarching theme (to summarize the policy objective) to include: Education, Employment, Health, Compensation and Other.

Figure 2 *Other* Veterans Polices



The collection methodology focused on identifying all veteran-related polices those that specifically impact the major, post-service concerns of veterans (Education, Employment, Health and Compensation), the overwhelming majority of veteran-focused policies focused on “Other” themes and objectives.

Appendix 1

Table A1
Survey Question Wording and Coding

Independent Variables

SERVE IN MILITARY

Have you ever served, or are you currently serving in the U.S. military? (academies and ROTC defined as “no”)

- 1 Yes
- 2 No - GO TO NEXT QUESTION

GENDER

Here are a few questions for background information:

- 1 male
- 2 female

YEAR OF BIRTH

- 1 Lowest to 20
- 2 21 to 25
- 3 26 to 30
- 4 31 to 35
- 5 36 to 40
- 6 41 to 45
- 7 46 to 50
- 8 51 to 55
- 9 56 to 60
- 10 61 to 65
- 11 66 to 70
- 12 71 to 75
- 13 76 to 80
- 14 81 to Highest

REGION GROWING UP

Where did you live most of the time when you were growing up?

- 1 New England (dropped and becomes the comparison group)
- 2 South
- 3 Mountain States
- 4 Pacific Coast
- 5 Mid-Atlantic
- 6 Midwest
- 7 Southwest
- 8 other (please specify)
- 9 moved around

(Continued)

RACE

What is your racial/ethnic identity?

- 1 White or Caucasian, not Hispanic
- 2 Hispanic
- 3 Asian-American
- 4 Black or African American, not Hispanic
- 5 American Indian, Eskimo or Aleut
- 6 other (please specify)
- 9 refused

Dependent Variables**POLITICAL VIEWS**

How would you describe your views on political matters?

- 1 far left
- 2 very liberal
- 3 somewhat liberal
- 4 moderate
- 5 somewhat conservative
- 6 very conservative
- 7 far right

HIGHEST RANK

See Table A2 for Coding

1. *Region was coded as 8 dummy variables.*
2. *Age and education were readily transferred from the TISS data.*
3. *A separate model was ran that tested drafted or to avoid the draft and coded as 0. This proved to be insignificant*
4. *A separate model was ran that controlled for Branch and type of service coded as (1 Army, 2 Navy, 3 Air Force, 4 Marines, 5 Coast Guard, 6 Reserve and Guard). This proved to be insignificant.*

Table A2
Military Rank

MILITARY RANK:

CODE	GRADE	ARMY	NAVY/COAST GUARD	AIR FORCE	MARINES
01	E-1	Private	Seaman Recruit	Airman Basic	Private
02	E-2	Private	Seaman Apprentice	Airman	Private First Class
03	E-3	Private First Class	Seaman	Airman First Class	Lance Corporal
04	E-4	Corporal, Specialist	Petty Officer Third Class	Senior Airman	Corporal
05	E-5	Sergeant	Petty Officer Second Class	Staff Sergeant	Sergeant
06	E-6	Staff Sergeant	Petty Officer First Class	Technical Sergeant	Staff Sergeant
07	E-7	Sergeant First Class	Chief Petty Officer	Master Sergeant	Gunnery Sergeant
08	E-8	Master Sergeant, First Sergeant	Senior Chief Petty Officer	Senior Master Sergeant	Master Sergeant, First Sergeant
09	E-9	Sergeant Major, Command Sergeant Major	Master Chief Petty Officer	Chief Master Sergeant	Master Gunnery Sergeant, Sergeant Major
10	W-1	Warrant Officer One			Warrant Officer One
11	W-2	Chief Warrant Officer Two	Chief Warrant Officer		Chief Warrant Officer Two
12	W-3	Chief Warrant Officer Three	Chief Warrant Officer		Chief Warrant Officer Three
13	W-4	Chief Warrant Officer Four	Chief Warrant Officer		Chief Warrant Officer Four
14	W-5	Chief Warrant Officer Five			Chief Warrant Officer Five
15		Cadet	Cadet	Cadet	Cadet
16	O-1	Second Lieutenant	Ensign	Second Lieutenant	Second Lieutenant
17	O-2	First Lieutenant	Lieutenant Junior Grade	First Lieutenant	First Lieutenant
18	O-3	Captain	Lieutenant	Captain	Captain
19	O-4	Major	Lieutenant Commander	Major	Major
20	O-5	Lieutenant Colonel	Commander	Lieutenant Colonel	Lieutenant Colonel
21	O-6	Colonel	Captain	Colonel	Colonel
22	O-7	Brigadier General	Rear Admiral (lower half)	Brigadier General	Brigadier General
23	O-8	Major General	Rear Admiral (upper half)	Major General	Major General
24	O-9	Lieutenant General	Vice Admiral	Lieutenant General	Lieutenant General
25	O-10	General	Admiral	General	General

Code 10 – 15 was recoded as 0. Code 01 – 09 was recoded as 1. Code 16 – 25 was recoded as 2.

Table A3
Political Ideology and Military Service

	Model 1 w/o Controls	Model 2 with Controls
Served	-0.623 (0.090)	-0.047 (0.098)
Rank	0.421*** (0.039)	0.248*** (0.038)
<i>Control Variables</i>		
Male	N/A	0.353*** (0.054)
White	N/A	0.394*** (0.066)
Age	N/A	0.038*** (0.010)
Education	N/A	-0.096*** (0.024)
Region	N/A	
South		0.132 (0.068)
Mountain States		0.128 (0.110)
Pacific Coast		0.168* (0.079)
Mid-Atlantic		0.024 (0.067)
Midwest		0.070 (0.066)
Southwest		0.088 (0.092)
Other		0.217 (0.121)
Moved Around		0.257* (0.118)
R ²	0.58	0.12
N	3386	3188

Notes: OLS regression, with robust standard errors in parentheses. * = p < .05, ** = p < .01; two-tailed

References

- Abrams, D. (2000). *Social identity and social cognition*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Alford, J.R., Funk, C.L., and Hibbing, J.R. (2005). Are political orientations genetically transmitted? *American Political Science Review*, 99, 153-167.
- Bachman, J.G, Freedman, P.D., Segal, D.R., and O'Malley, P.M. (2000). Distinctive Military attitudes among U.S. enlistees, 1976-1997: self-selection versus socialization. *Armed Forces and Society*, 26(4), 561-585.
- Baxter, S, and Lansing, M. (1980). *Women and politics: the invisible majority*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Beck, P.A., and Jennings, M.K. (1991). Family traditions, political periods, and the development of partisan affiliations. *Journal of Politics*, (53), 742-763.
- Bekkers, R. (2005), Participation in Voluntary Associations: Relations with Resources, Personality, and Political Values. *Political Psychology*, 26: 439–454. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9221.2005.00425.x.
- Bishin, B. (2009). *Tyranny of the minority: the subconstituency politics theory of representation*. Temple University Press.
- Blendon, R. J., Altman, D. E., Benson, J. M., Brodie, M., Buhr, T., Deane, C., and Buscho, S. (2008). Voters and health reform in the 2008 presidential election. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 359(19), 2050-2061.
- Clawson, R.A., and Oxley, Z.M. (2008). *Public opinion, democratic ideals, democratic practice*. Washington D.C.: CQ Press.

- Cook, B. (1979). Sentencing behavior of federal judges, draft cases. *University of Cincinnati Law Review*, 42, 597-63.
- Cohen, E. A. (1997). Civil-military relations. *Orbis*, 41(2), 177-186.
- Converse PE. 1964. The nature of belief systems in mass publics. In *Ideology and Discontent*, ed. DE Apter, pp. 206-61. New York: Free Press.
- Converse PE. 2006. Democratic theory and electoral reality. *Crit. Rev.* 18:297-329.
- Cotter, P. R., and Stovall, J. G. (1990). The Conservative South?. *American Politics Research*, 18(1), 103-119.
- Diamond, I. (1977). *Sex Roles in the State House*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Department of Defense, Demographics Survey, (2009). Washington, DC: CPMS.
- Devilbiss, M.C. (1985). Gender integration and unit deployment: a study of gi jo. *Armed Forces and Society*, 11(4), 523-553.
- Elizabeth, F., and N. Emler (1999) Politics: The education effect, *Oxford Review of Education*, 25 (1-2).
- Elshtain, J.B. (1991). If women ran the war. *Women and Leadership*, 11(11), 1-18.
- Fausto-Sterling, Anne (1992). *Myths of Gender: Biological Theories about Women and Men*. New York, New York: BasicBooks.
- Feaver, P. D., and Kohn, R. H. (Eds.). (2001). *Soldiers and civilians: the civil-military gap and American national security*. The MIT Press.
- Fine, Cordelia (2010). *Delusions of Gender: How Our Minds, Society, and Neurosexism Create Difference*. W. W. Norton and Company.

- Ficarrotta, J. C. (1997). Are Military Professionals Bound by a Higher Moral Standard?.
Armed Forces & Society, 24(1), 59-75.
- Fite, D., Genest, M., and Wilcox, C. (1990). Gender differences in foreign policy attitudes: A longitudinal analysis. *American Politics Quarterly*, 18, 492–512.
- Friesen, A., & Ksiazkiewicz, A. (2014). Do Political Attitudes and Religiosity Share a Genetic Path?. *Political Behavior*, 1-28.
- Foley, M. W., & Edwards, B. (1999). Is it time to disinvest in social capital?. *Journal of public policy*, 19(02), 141-173.
- Norpoth, H., and Buchanan, B. (1992). “Wanted: The Education President: Issue Trespassing by Political Candidates,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 56 (1), 88.
- Gordon, P. H. (2001). Bush, Missile Defence. *Survival*, 43(1), 17-36.
- Gurtov, M. (2006). *Superpower on crusade: The Bush doctrine in US foreign policy*. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Hirsh, J. B., DeYoung, C. G., Xu, X., and Peterson, J. B. (2010). Compassionate liberals and polite conservatives: Associations of agreeableness with political ideology and moral values. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 36(5), 655-664.
- Holm, J. (1992). *Women in the Military: an unfinished revolution*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Hooker Jr, R. D. (2004). *Soldiers of the State: Reconsidering American civil-military relations*. ARMY WAR COLL CARLISLE BARRACKS PA.
- Huddy, L., Terkildsen, N., (1993), Gender Stereotypes and the Perception of Male and Female Candidates, *37(1)*, 119-147.

- Jacoby WG. 1991. Ideological identification and issue attitudes. *Am. J. Polito Sci* 35: 178- 205.
- Jennings, M.K, and Niemi, R.G. (1986). The transmission of political values from parent to child. *American Political Science Review*, 62, 169.
- Johnston, P., Feldman, S., (1981), The Origins and Meaning of Liberal/Conservative Self-Identifications, *Journal of Political Science*, 25(4), 617-645.
- Kinder, D.R. (2006). Politics and the life cycle. *Science*.
- Krebs, R. R. (2004). A School for the Nation? How Military Service Does Not Build Nations, and How It Might, *International Security*, 28(4), 85-124.
- Lane RE. 1962. *Political Ideology: Why the American Common Man Believes That He Does*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press of Glencoe.
- McClurg, S. D., Wade, M. L., and Wright-Phillips, M. V. (2013). He Said, She Said Sex, Social Networks, and Voting Behavior. *American Politics Research*, 41(6), 1102-1123.
- Military Times. (2007, Dec 31). Politics, Civilians, and Policy, 12(4), Springfield, Va.
- Newcity, J. (1999). Description of the 1998–1999 TISS Surveys on the Military in the Post Cold War Era. TISS Project on the Gap Between the Military and Civilian Society.
- Newport, F. (2009). Military veterans of all ages tend to be more republican. Informally published manuscript, Politics, Gallup University, Washington DC.
- Norrander, B, and Wilcox, C. (2008). The gender gap in ideology. *Political Behavior*, 30(4), 503-523.

- Norrander, B. and Wilcox, C. (2008), *Understanding public opinion* (2nd ed., pp. 21–42).
Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Parker, P. (1995). Citizenship status and Military service: the quest for inclusion by minorities and conscientious. *Armed Forces and Society*, 21(4).
- Parker, P, Gimbel, C., and Ivie, R. (1995). Citizenship status and Military service: the quest for inclusion by minorities and conscientious. *Military Psychology*, 3(4), 215.
- Powell, L., and Cowart, J. (2003). *Political Campaign Communication: Inside and Out*. Allyn and Bacon.
- Petrocik, J. R., Benoit, W. L., and Hansen, G. J. (2003). Issue ownership and presidential campaigning, 1952–2000. *Political Science Quarterly*, 118(4), 599-626.
- Reed, B.J. (1999). Gender integrated basic training: a theoretical analysis of the continuing debate. *MINQUIREW*, 17(2), 18-36.
- Rehnquist, W. H. (1975). Notion of a Living Constitution. *Tex. L. Rev.*, 54, 693.
- Reyes, G. M. (2006). The Swift Boat Veterans for Truth, the politics of realism, and the manipulation of Vietnam remembrance in the 2004 presidential election. *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, 9(4), 571-600.
- Rohall, D. E., Ender, M. G., & Matthews, M. D. (2006). The effects of military affiliation, gender, and political ideology on attitudes toward the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. *Armed Forces & Society*, 33(1), 59-77.
- Schreiber, E. M. (1979). Enduring Effects of Military Service - Opinion Differences between U.S. Veterans and Nonveterans, *Sociological Forum*, 57, 824.

- Sapiro, V., and Conover, P. J. (1997). The variable gender basis of electoral politics: Gender and context in the 1992 U.S. election. *British Journal of Political Science*, 27, 497–523.
- Sapiro, V. (2002). It's the context, situation, and question, stupid: The gender basis of public opinion.
- Saucier G. 2000. Isms and the structure of social attitudes. *J. Personal. Soc. Psychol.* 78:366-85.
- Segal, D. R., and Segal, M. W. (2004). America's military population (Vol. 59, No. 4). Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau.
- Slater, J. (1977). Apolitical Warrior or Soldier-Statesman The Military and the Foreign Policy Process in the Post-Vietnam Era. *Armed Forces and Society*, 4(1), 101-118.
- Tarrow, S., and Tollefson. (1994). Power in movement: Social movements, collective action and politics (pp. 3-4). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tavris, Carol. *The Mismeasure of Woman* (1992) Why Women Are Not the Better Sex, Inferior or Opposite Sex. Simon and Schuster.
- Teigen, J.M. (2007). Veterans' party identification,. *Armed Forces and Society*, 33(3), 414-437.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2014). Veteran's Day. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/newsroom/facts-for-features/2014/cb14-ff24.html>
- Wakin, M. M. (1981). Ethics of leadership. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 19, 571.

- Weigley, R. F. (1993). The American military and the principle of civilian control from McClellan to Powell. *Journal of Military History*, 57(5), 27-58.
- Welch, S. (1985). Are Women More Liberal than Men in the U. S. Congress? *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 10(1), 125-134.
- Varkey, K. (2003). *Political Theory A Philosophical Perspective*. Indian Publishers.
- Zaller J. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge Univ. Press.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Andrew Thomas Sparks

Education

Bachelor of Arts – Political Science
Indiana University degree, earned at
Indiana University—Purdue University Indianapolis

Master of Arts – Political Science
Indiana University degree, earned at
Indiana University—Purdue University Indianapolis

Professional Experience

Commercial Negotiator
Rolls-Royce Aerospace
June 2013- Current

Community Affairs & Research
Emmis Communications
August 2012- December 2012

Staff Sergeant Select/Emergency Medical Evacuation
United States Air Force
September 2002-September 2006