

The Vietnam War and Racial Integration*

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Abstract

The Vietnam draft caused hundreds of thousands of young Americans to enlist in an integrated military. I combine quasi-random draft lottery variation with administrative voter data to study the long-run racial integration effects of coerced national service. Black veterans become more likely to marry white spouses, are more politically conservative, and live in more-integrated neighborhoods, with only the latter effect mediated by economic standing. Effects are larger for Southerners and precisely null for white veterans. Vietnam enlistment generated substantial racial integration and cross-racial political convergence among Black veterans and caused at least 25 percent of 1950's Black men's interracial marriages.

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1 Introduction

Many nations face persistently high levels of economic, political, residential, and interpersonal segregation by race. Political interest in facilitating racial integration has motivated a substantial social-scientific literature on whether and when interracial contact between children and young adults affects youths' subsequent racial attitudes and behaviors (Williams, 1948; Allport, 1954). Governments maintain three primary sets of institutions in which policy changes could foster youths' interracial contact: public education, public housing, and national service. This study provides quasi-experimental evidence on the long-run racial integration and political identity effects of integrated national service in the United States.

I study the Vietnam War draft, which caused over 200,000 white and Black teenagers to enlist for two-year stints in an integrated military (Angrist, 1990). The draft was conducted via an imperfectly-randomized lottery over birth dates, with almost one-third of men in the 1950-1952 birth cohorts called up (which I term 'VDL' status, for the Vietnam Draft Lottery). I employ both month-year fixed effects and difference-in-difference designs relative to same-date women in the same cohorts and same-date men in neighboring cohorts to isolate quasi-random variation in VDL status. I then estimate the local average treatment effect of coerced military enlistment on white and Black youths' long-run racial integration and political identity by using VDL status as an instrument. The resulting Wald estimators account for imperfect compliance in enlistment resulting from VDL-status men's draft deferments and non-VDL men's voluntary enlistment.

I measure racial integration and political identity using a comprehensive 51-state 2022 voter registration database containing the name, birth date (which identifies VDL status), home address, gender, political party membership, and imputed race and economic standing of about 3.7 million American men (about 82 percent) in the 1950-1952 birth cohorts.¹ I compare the race of men's spouses, the racial composition of their neighborhoods and local public schools, and their political affiliations between men with and without VDL status. While my analysis focuses on 2022 voter records, when members of the baseline sample were in their early 70's, I replicate parts of the analysis among mid-50's Californians in that state's 2006 voter registration database.

I find that coerced military enlistment in the Vietnam War strongly affected the long-run racial

¹Race and economic standing (and sometimes political party) are imputed by the data provider, L2. I discuss the imputation below and in Appendix A.

integration and political identity of Black veterans. Black veterans' likelihood of marrying a white spouse more than doubled ($p < 0.01$), and the share of their neighbors who were Black, Hispanic, or Native American (URM) declined by over 4 percentage points ($p = 0.04$). These estimates are confirmed by time series analysis of interracial marriage patterns that reveal elevated intermarriage rates of Black veterans in all years following the military's early-1950's integration. Point estimates among Black veterans from the Jim Crow South are larger than in the rest of the country, though I cannot distinguish between greater enlistment compliance and larger enlistment treatment effects. The estimated magnitudes imply that at least 25 percent of all Black-white intermarriages with Black men in the early 1950's cohorts – and a higher share in earlier years, when more men were veterans – were caused by enlistment in the integrated military.

Only 7 percent of Black men from the early 1950's cohorts are Republicans, and the expected effect of Vietnam enlistment on Black veterans' political identity is ambiguous. Vietnam enlistment causes Black veterans' political identities to converge toward those of their white peers, with their likelihood of being a Republican in 2022 almost doubling ($p = 0.01$) and a commensurate decline in their Democratic party membership.

Using imputed income and wealth measures provided by L2 (derived in part from home valuation and ownership records), I find that VDL status also appears to have raised the economic standing of Black veterans, with early-70's imputed wealth gains of as much as 20 percent ($p = 0.03$). I test whether these economic gains mediate Black veterans' increased racial integration and political convergence by flexibly controlling for each of these measures. Economic standing explains at least 40 percent of Black veterans' residential desegregation but only 5 percent of the effect on Republican party membership. While interracial marriage has become a potentially important channel for Black intergenerational mobility in recent years (Jácome et al., 2024), less than 20 percent of the effect of VDL status on interracial marriage can be explained by changes in veterans' economic standing.

Finally, I turn to the effects of coerced military enlistment on white veterans. Along every measured dimension, point estimates are an order of magnitude smaller than those estimated for Black veterans, and nearly all are statistically indistinguishable from 0. The Vietnam draft appears to have led Black veterans toward lives that were more interconnected with and similar to those of white Americans – interpersonally, residentially, politically, and economically – without any

substantial long-run movement along those same dimensions by white veterans.

Statistical error in the imputation of voters' race may bias estimates for Black and white veterans toward each other, likely resulting in downward bias for Black veterans and upward bias for white veterans. I replicate the presented analysis among voters from the six Southern states where race is directly elicited during voter registration, finding qualitatively and statistically similar estimates for both Black interracial marriage and white racial integration. The point estimates on Black Republican membership are smaller and statistically noisier than the baseline estimates; maps visualizing the treatment effect's geographic heterogeneity suggest that the Black political identity results are largely driven by Midwest and Pacific Northwest states where race is not directly observed.

This study primarily contributes to the broad literature on intergroup contact (Williams, 1948). Transitory intergroup contact causes short-run prejudice reduction among majority-group youths (Paluck et al., 2019), but few studies have directly documented the relationship between interracial contact and actual later-life racial integration. Studies of policies that target children tend to have the largest effects; for example, Bazzi et al. (2019) and Chyn et al. (2023) show that government resettlement programs increased minority children's later-life residential integration and intermarriage in Indonesia and the Chicago suburbs, with the latter partly mediated by residential resettlement's large effects on education and economic standing.² Southern white (black) children who attend more racially diverse high schools are more likely to be registered Democrats (independents) in 2020's adulthood (Billings et al., 2021; Kaplan et al., 2023).³ Studies of late teenagers are more mixed: e.g. studies of interracial college roommates (Marmaros and Sacerdote, 2006; Boisjoly et al., 2006; Camargo et al., 2010; Corno et al., 2022) and class peers (Carrell et al., 2019) have documented small increases in white students' interracial friendship that persist until the end of college, but Bleemer and Jaynes (2025) show that neither interracial roommate matches nor collegiate racial diversity affects white students' later-life neighborhood composition or interracial marriage.⁴ I document the long-run integration and political effects of both minority and major-

²Evidence of a positive within-school relationship between high school cohort diversity and white students' later-life racial integration (Merlino et al., 2019, 2022) has not been validated by quasi-experimental shocks to white students' neighborhoods or school composition (Gordon and Reber, 2018; Goldman et al., 2024), though Shen (2018) finds evidence of increased cross-race partnership among Black women following school desegregation.

³Fouka (2020) shows that within-school assimilation policies can reduce minority students' long-run ethnic integration.

⁴Studying adults, Bursztyn et al. (2024) show that majority residents with foreign minority neighbors shift their atti-

ity teenagers' two-year integrated national service (MacGregor, 1985), finding similar effects on Black veterans from around the country to Chicago's Gautreaux Assisted Housing Program (Chyn et al., 2023) despite the later age at which veterans were treated.

Several prior studies have investigated the effects of Vietnam enlistment on racial attitudes and behaviors. Most similarly to the present study, Green and Hyman-Metzger (2024) detects positive but statistically noisy effects of VDL status on white veterans' attitudes regarding neighborhood diversity, interracial marriage, and party identification among about 500 respondents to the General Social Survey (GSS).⁵ I investigate the behaviors corresponding to these reported attitudes with substantially greater statistical power (higher N by a factor of 4) and reject meaningful effects. Green et al. (2019) estimate approximately null effects of VDL status on white veterans' 2014 party membership; I confirm these findings differencing out irregularities in VDL status assignment. Fryer (2007) documents a correlation between interracial marriage and veteran status since the 1970's, particularly for Black veterans; I show that this relationship began for Black veterans only after the military integrated; that it did not begin for white veterans until the military transitioned to being all-volunteer; and that only the relationship for Black veterans is causal (and is fully explained by the causal effect).

2 Background

The Vietnam Draft Lottery comprised three birth-date lotteries held in 1969, 1970, and 1971.⁶ The first lottery covered the 1944-1950 birth cohorts, and the subsequent lotteries covered the 1951 and 1952 cohorts. Each lottery purportedly-randomly ordered each birth date from 1 to 365/366, and by the end of the subsequent year a threshold had been determined: all American men in the appropriate cohort with birth dates assigned lottery numbers below the threshold were 'VDL status'. Men with VDL status were obligated to report to over 4,000 local draft boards. Deferments could be granted to students, fathers, members of certain professions, the physically

tudes more positively toward the minority group, but Cutler et al. (1999) present evidence of a positive correlation between residential integration and support for bans on interracial marriage among white survey respondents.

⁵Green and Hyman-Metzger (2024) document that white veterans have more positive attitudes toward Black ambition and other peoples' cross-race friendships. Lawrence and Kane (1995) show a negative observational relationship between veteran status and racial attitudes among white GSS respondents.

⁶Lotteries were also held in 1972-1975, but no birth dates were ever drafted.

unfit, and the low-testing, with local draft boards wielding considerable discretion over who was ultimately coerced into enlistment.⁷ Drafted enlistees typically completed two years of military service before returning to civilian life, and were eligible for subsidized college education from the GI Bill subsequent to their enlistment.

Angrist and Chen (2011) show that ‘winning’ the lottery and being assigned Vietnam draft lottery (“VDL”) status increased enlistment rates by 10-15 percentage points for only the 1950-1952 birth cohorts, for which reason I use the 1947-1949 and 1953-1955 cohorts as control years. Lottery assignment was imperfectly randomized for the 1950 birth cohort, apparently due to insufficient mixing of the November and December dates in the lottery ball hopper; the result was higher VDL risk in later months (Fienberg, 1971).⁸

3 Data

I study the birth cohorts impacted by the Vietnam draft using a database of all registered voters in August 2022 provided by L2 containing full name, birth date, residential address, and gender. L2 imputes race by past and current first, middle, and last names using observed race in the registration databases of six Southern states (Rosenman et al., 2023); in those states, observed race replaces imputed race in the available data.⁹ Vietnam Draft Lottery (VDL) status is determined by exact birth dates for the 1950-1952 cohorts.¹⁰ I also assign placebo VDL status to the 1947-1949 and 1953-1955 birth cohorts using the respective dates three years before or after.

These data facilitate measurement of two primary behavioral outcomes that reflect racial integration. Interracial marriage is measured by matching each voter to the race of their spouse, where I assume that a person is a spouse if they are the only coresident at the same address within 15 years of the person’s age.¹¹ Residential integration is measured by the underrepresented minority

⁷The availability of deferments for university enrollees and fathers also led to small increases in college enrollment (Card and Lemieux, 2001) and young parenthood (Bailey and Chyn, 2020) among VDL-status men, likely among men from higher-income backgrounds in the former case (Bleemer and Quincy, 2024).

⁸Erikson and Stoker (2011) and Berinsky and Chatfield (2015) find some evidence that VDL status from the first draft lottery predicts political attitudes ($p = 0.003$) and party identification ($p = 0.103$), respectively, among birth cohorts whose enlistment was unaffected by the draft (Angrist and Chen, 2011) but who may have been affected by draft-related anxiety and political activity.

⁹See Appendix B for details on L2 race imputation and error rates.

¹⁰About 6 percent of L2 voter records do not include exact birth date; these individuals are dropped from all analysis.

¹¹I follow Bleemer et al. (2021, 2017) in choosing 15 because it exactly maximizes the area under the Receiver

(URM) – Black, Hispanic, or Native American – share of the voter’s residential Census Block or of their nearest elementary school (only observable in California). I measure political identity by voters’ political party registration. The L2 data also facilitate measurement of three outcomes reflecting economic success, including a continuous prediction of income and an eight-category prediction of wealth constructed by L2. Complementing these measures, I link each voter to the average 2022 household income of residents of their Zip code.

Appendix A provides further details on variable definitions, coverage, and external validation of the L2 data. I augment the analysis using the raw 2006 California voter registration record, though these earlier records are unavailable for other states.

Table 1 provides summary statistics on the baseline sample. The 3.7 million men born in 1950-1952 comprise 82 percent of the 4.5 million such men implied by the 2022 American Community Survey, excluding both non-citizens and citizens who choose to not register to vote.¹² About 7 (72) percent of those voters are identified as Black (white) – relative to 10 (75) percent in the same-aged citizen population – and 65 percent have a spouse. Black men have lower imputed income and wealth and are much more likely to be Democrats. Black and white voters have very different neighborhood ethnic composition – though there is substantial within-race variation – and ethnic marriage patterns. Differences by VDL status are small.

4 Methodology

If VDL status were randomly assigned within month, then the effect of β_1 in the following linear model would causally identify the effect of VDL status on outcome Y_{it} for individual i in birth cohort t :

$$Y_{it} = \beta_1 VDL_t + \gamma_{m_t} + \epsilon_{it} \tag{1}$$

where VDL_t indicates VDL status, γ_{m_t} are year-month fixed effects, and the model is estimated over males from the 1950-1952 birth cohorts.¹³ Bias would arise if either imperfect randomiza-

Operating Characteristic (ROC) curve designed to minimize types 1 and 2 error in the 2021 American Community Survey (where coresidence and spousal match are both observed). See Appendix A for further details and validation.

¹² Angrist et al. (2010) and Conley and Heerwig (2012) find no evidence of differential mortality resulting from VDL status in administrative US death records.

¹³ All estimates below are very similar when year-month fixed effects are replaced by year fixed effects, though the former are preferred in order to purge spurious cross-month autocorrelation resulting from later months being mixed

tion or small sample bias were correlated with Y_{it} . I purge such bias by differencing against two closely-comparable groups. First, I purge bias arising from any other within-year date-specific determinants of Y_{it} – for example, the effect of being slightly too young to recall important events of the mid-1950’s (like the fall of Joseph McCarthy), since later dates were disproportionately assigned VDL status – by differencing outcomes against same-race women (who were never draft-eligible) born on the same dates. Second, I purge *across*-year date-specific determinants of Y_{it} – for example, the effect of starting school one year later, as would have been disproportionately common for individuals with VDL status – by assigning ‘possible’ VDL status to members of the 1947-1949 and 1953-1955 birth cohorts as if they were born exactly 3 years later/earlier and differencing relative to those cohorts.¹⁴ The resulting triple-difference model is estimated over everyone in the 1947-1955 birth cohorts:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha_1 VDL_t + \alpha_2 M_i + \beta_2 (VDL_t \times M_i) + \alpha_3 (PossVDL_t \times M_i) + \gamma'_{m_t, M_i} + \epsilon'_{it} \quad (2)$$

where η_{m_t, M_i} are month-year-gender fixed effects. I estimate each model by OLS, clustering standard errors by t (level of treatment assignment). My preferred estimate of β is $\hat{\beta}_2$.

The relationship between VDL status and enlistment exhibits strong non-compliance: among non-white individuals, about 70 percent were never-takers (exempted from enlistment) and 20 percent were always-takers who would have enlisted even absent VDL status (Angrist and Chen, 2011). I measure the effect of enlistment – under the exclusion restriction that VDL status only affects Y_{it} by leading compliers to enlist – using Wald estimators that employ the estimated change in enlistment likelihood resulting from VDL status reported in Angrist (1990).¹⁵

less than earlier months in the 1969 lottery ball hopper (Fienberg, 1971; Angrist and Chen, 2011).

¹⁴The 1947 cohort was assigned the same draft numbers as the 1950 cohort, but VDL status did not affect their enlistment likelihood Angrist and Chen (2011); as a result, this difference may also partial out the effect of having a low draft lottery number irrespective of enlistment (Erikson and Stoker, 2011).

¹⁵I use the first-stage estimates of Angrist and Chen (2011) from the 2000 US Census, using the ‘non-white’ estimate for the Black sample and assuming no covariance between the estimated first-stage and reduced-form coefficients. The enlistment estimates are 9.0 (0.34) and 14.5 (0.13) for non-white and white youths, resulting in first-stage F -statistics of over 500; estimates from SSA veteran status are slightly higher for white youths (Angrist et al., 2011).

5 Black Racial Integration

Table 2 presents estimates of Equations 1 and 2 for Black registered voters. It shows that VDL status increased Black voters' later-life racial integration, increasing their likelihood of having a white spouse and decreasing the URM share of their residential Block (though the latter $\hat{\beta}_1$ estimate is statistically imprecise).¹⁶ It also increased Black registered voters' likelihood of being registered Republicans, narrowing the Black-white gap in party registration. Panel B shows that coerced enlistment in the integrated military is estimated to have had large effects, with Black voters' likelihoods of interracial marriage rising 8.1 percentage points (from an 8 percent baseline) and Republican membership rising 4.4 percentage points from a 6 percent baseline.¹⁷ The in-sample standard deviation of residential Block URM share is 30.2, implying that Black veterans resided in neighborhoods that were 0.14 standard deviations less URM.

One potential mechanism that could explain Black veterans' racial integration and political convergence is that Black veterans may have economically benefited from their military service.¹⁸ Table 3 provides evidence that VDL status provided considerable (but statistically imprecise) economic benefits to early-70's Black veterans, with estimated wealth rising by about 20 percent.¹⁹

The right half of Table 3 tests the degree to which effects on economic standing mediate Black veterans' racial integration and political convergence by replicating Table 2 including centile average Zip code household income fixed effects, centile imputed income fixed effects, and categorical imputed wealth fixed effects. While these economic measures mediate about half of the effect on residential integration, they mediate less than 20 (5) percent of the effects of coerced enlistment on Black veterans' interracial marriage (political convergence).

¹⁶Regressions on interracial marriage are conditional on having a spouse; Table A-1 shows that there is no statistical relationship between VDL status and having a spouse, a finding confirmed in the 2000 Census (Angrist and Chen, 2011). Greenberg et al. (2022) show that 1990's volunteer Black enlistees at the Army's test score cutoffs see increased marriage likelihood. Regressions on Census block composition include (endogenous) county fixed effects to isolate neighborhood choice as distinct from regional residential decisions; estimates are larger and noisier when these fixed effects are omitted.

¹⁷Table A-2 presents each of the separate difference-in-difference estimates for each outcome, providing statistically similar estimates to $\hat{\beta}_1$ and $\hat{\beta}_2$ and suggesting that both margins of bias may attenuate estimation.

¹⁸Angrist (1990) and Angrist and Chen (2011) show ambiguous evidence of VDL status on non-white veterans' wages and (in the latter case) educational attainment. Greenberg et al. (2022) shows that enlistment provided large wage gains and increases in average income of residential Zip code to 1990's volunteer Black (but not white) veterans at enlistment's test score margin.

¹⁹Most of the sample is likely retired by 2022, so imputed wealth may provide a better proxy for lifetime income than imputed income.

Narrative accounts of Black Vietnam veterans from the Jim Crow South suggest that they were particularly impacted by integrated military service, with many encountering Black leaders of mixed groups and other features of racial integration for the first time (e.g. Terry, 1985). While I cannot observe birth state in my registered voter database, Panel C of Table 2 shows that reduced-form point estimates of the effect of VDL status on racial integration and political convergence are substantially (though not statistically significantly) larger and more statistically differentiable from 0 among residents of the South.²⁰ However, because prior studies have not reported the relationship between VDL status and enlistment among Southern residents, I cannot distinguish larger treatment effects of coerced enlistment from larger treatment effects *on* enlistment (which may have led to larger observed changes in Y_{it} in turn).²¹

Appendix B replicates these analyses in the restricted set of six Southern states where race is directly observed in voter registration data. Table BB-1 shows that the estimated effects of VDL status on having a white spouse are quantitatively and statistically similar to the full sample, whereas the estimates on residential integration are considerably noisier and on political identity substantially attenuated. Only about 3 percent of in-sample Black residents of these states are Republicans – half the national average – and state-by-state heterogeneity suggests that the effects of VDL status on Black veterans’ political ideology are driven by residents of the Midwest and Pacific Northwest (Figure A-3(c)). Because any observed effect of VDL status on Black veterans’ economic standing is also driven by Midwest and Pacific Northwest states (Figure A-3(b)), not the South, Table BB-2 shows that income explains none of the interracial marriage effect in race-observed states.

6 White Racial Integration

Table 4 reports the effect of VDL status on racial integration, politics, and economic standing for white registered voters in their early 70’s.²² Despite considerable statistical power, no combina-

²⁰See Table A-4 for simple lottery estimates, which follow the same pattern.

²¹Living in the South is both an imperfect proxy for enlisting from the South and could be endogenous to VDL status, though Table A-1 shows that that VDL status does not meaningfully affect whether Black veterans reside in the South. However, VDL status does increase Southern residency among white veterans; see Green (2024).

²²I define interracial marriage to include Black, Hispanic, and Native American (URM) spouses because the base rate of white-Black interracial marriage is below 1 percent, challenging the implementation of linear probability models.

tion of integration or political outcome and research design provides statistical evidence of any meaningful relationship, with most of the Wald estimators a full order of magnitude smaller than estimates for Black voters.²³ The standard deviation of URM Block shares across the white baseline sample is 19.4 percentage points, implying that the Wald estimator rejects increases of any more than 0.04 standard deviations.²⁴

These outcomes were measured almost 50 years after the end of the Vietnam War, leaving open the possibility that meaningful impacts of white coerced enlistment had faded by 2022. Panel C of Table 4 replicates the reduced-form estimates in Table 4 using the 2006 California voter registration database, the earliest available such records.²⁵ It closely mirrors the null findings – though with less statistical precision due to the smaller sample size – in a period when the veterans were in their mid-50’s.²⁶

Appendix B’s Table BB-3 shows similar null relationships between VDL status and racial integration and economic standing among white veterans in the six Southern states where race is directly observed, though it provides weak evidence of small increases in white veterans’ Republican party membership in those states ($p = 0.096$).

7 Contextualizing Enlistment’s Effect on Interracial Marriage

Figure 1 visualizes the overall trend in male’s Black-white interracial marriage by race, veteran status, and birth cohort using data from the US Census and the American Community Survey. The interracial marriage rates of Black veterans and non-veterans diverge in the late 1920’s birth cohorts – the first to serve following the military’s integration in 1950 – providing further evidence that

²³The VDL point estimates on economic standing are statistically imprecise and even directionally inconclusive, in line with Angrist and Chen (2011)’s evidence of null wage effects in the 2000 Census.

²⁴These evidence accord with the evidence from roommate lotteries in Bleemer and Jaynes (2025), which similarly show null effects of interracial roommate matches on long-run racial integration for white students but strong effects for Black and Hispanic students.

²⁵I do not report estimates for the Black 2006 Californian sample due to statistical noise resulting from the small size (5,808) of California’s identifiable Black population.

²⁶Interracial marriage and L2-imputed economic standing are unavailable in this earlier voter database since it is unprocessed by L2, but an additional measure of residential integration – the URM share of the nearest public elementary school – also shows tightly-bound null $\hat{\beta}_2$. See Table A-5 for simple lottery estimates, which follow the same patterns.

military integration boosts interracial marriage.²⁷ White veterans' relative likelihood of interracial marriage jumps after the 1953 birth cohort, when the military transitions to being all-volunteer (increasing the potential for differential selection).²⁸ Interracial marriage has been steadily rising and is much higher for Black men (over 10 percent) than for white men (less than 1 percent).

In the early 1950's birth cohorts, married Black veterans were about 2.5 percentage points more likely to have a white spouse than Black non-veterans. Assuming that the treatment effect of coerced enlistment on interracial marriage is the same as the average treatment effect of *all* enlistment, this is about the same as the bottom of the 95-percent confidence interval of the estimated Wald treatment effect reported in Table 2 (2.4 percentage points), suggesting that the entire observational gap (and maybe more) is causal.

About 30 percent of Black members of the 1950-1952 cohorts are veterans. As a result, these estimates imply that at least 25 percent of all Black-white intermarriages with Black men in the early 1950's cohorts – and a higher share in earlier years, when more men were veterans (Figure A-2) – were caused by the combination of military integration and enlistment.

Conclusion

Coerced enlistment in integrated military service in Vietnam led Black veterans to converge toward their white compatriots in terms of likelihood of marrying a white spouse and Republican party registration – closing each gap by about 10 percent – and appears to have led at least Black Southerners to live in substantially more racially-integrated neighborhoods. It had no effect on the racial integration or political identity of white veterans. As in the contexts of university affirmative action and randomized roommate assignment (Bleemer and Jaynes, 2025), real-world high-impact policies that place young adults in relatively racially integrated environments appear to meaningfully integrate minority groups with little measurable impact on majority groups' future behaviors.

²⁷Fryer (2007) points out that overall veterans' interracial marriage rises in the late 1920's cohorts without differentiating between Black and white veterans; the latter experienced no increase in interracial marriage. He also notes that “With the current data, it is impossible to distinguish between selection (individuals who enter the military are those who would be more inclined to intermarry) and treatment (the military experience cultivates a demand for interracial intimacy).”

²⁸Figure A-1 plots the veteran-nonveteran gaps in percentage points and percent, further emphasizing little relationship between white veteran status and interracial marriage until the all-volunteer era.

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Table 1: Descriptive Statistics

	All Men	White Men		Black Men	
		VDL	Non-VDL	VDL	Non-VDL
Age in 2022	71.0	71.2	70.8	71.2	70.8
Northeast (%)	19.0	18.6	18.7	16.9	16.8
South (%)	39.1	39.1	38.2	64.5	64.4
Midwest (%)	20.3	21.6	22.7	13.6	13.8
West (%)	21.6	20.6	20.4	5.0	4.9
Has Spouse (%)	65.2	50.6	50.7	68.5	68.3
White (%)	74.7	95.3	95.3	7.6	7.5
Black (%)	5.8	0.6	0.6	89.5	89.6
Hispanic (%)	6.6	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.2
Other (%)	4.3	1.0	0.9	0.7	0.8
Unknown (%)	8.7	1.8	1.8	0.9	0.9
URM Share in Res. Block (%)					
25th	4.0	2.9	2.9	43.1	43.6
50th	12.5	9.4	9.3	76.1	76.6
75th	32.5	22.0	21.8	94.4	94.5
Missing (%)	4.6	5.0	5.0	3.7	3.7
Democrat (%)	38.5	31.6	31.6	86.2	86.3
Republican (%)	42.1	48.8	48.9	7.0	6.8
Imputed Income (\$)					
25th	55,000	58,000	58,000	38,000	38,000
50th	79,000	81,000	81,000	58,000	58,000
75th	116,000	117,000	117,000	86,000	85,000
Missing (%)	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.7
Imputed Wealth (\$)	202,000	207,000	206,000	120,000	119,000
White (%)	71.9				
Black (%)	7.4				
Hispanic (%)	7.8				
Other (%)	4.2				
Unknown (%)	8.6				
VDL Status (%)	37.2				
<i>N</i>	3,676,825	982,157	1,661,506	101,757	170,866

Note: Mean (or percentile where noted) values of individual characteristics among all 2022 male registered voters in the 1950-1952 birth cohorts, and among white and Black voters by VDL status. See Appendix A for details on data construction and variable definitions. Spousal race is conditional on matching a spouse. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.

Table 2: The Vietnam Draft and Black Veterans' Racial Integration and Political Identity

	White Spouse (%)	URM Share in Res. Block (%)	Political Party: Dem. (%) Rep. (%)	
Panel A: Simple Lottery Estimates				
VDL Status	0.28 (0.16)	-0.12 (0.12)	-0.17 (0.14)	0.28 (0.12)
\bar{Y}	7.5	67.2	86.3	6.9
N	138,095	262,493	272,623	272,623
Panel B: Triple-Difference Relative to Female and Neighboring Years				
VDL Status \times Male \times 1950-1952	0.77 (0.27)	-0.39 (0.18)	-0.49 (0.21)	0.41 (0.16)
\bar{Y}	7.9	68.3	88.5	5.8
N	816,669	1,938,996	2,012,811	2,012,811
Wald Est.	8.14 (2.92)	-4.12 (1.97)	-5.23 (2.24)	4.37 (1.71)
Panel C: Triple-Difference Among Residents of the South				
VDL Status \times Male \times '50-'52	0.97 (0.31)	-0.58 (0.24)	-0.48 (0.28)	0.62 (0.22)
\bar{Y}	6.6	66.5	87.0	7.0
N	550,684	1,237,538	1,261,895	1,261,895
Year-Month FE	X	X	X	X
County FE		X		

Note: OLS regressions of the URM share of 2022 residential block, an indicator for being married to a white spouse in 2022, the registered political party, or the L2-imputed income or wealth on whether the person's birthday indicates that they were eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. **Panel A** is restricted to registered Black male voters born in 1950-1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names (Rosenman et al., 2023). **Panel B** shows triple-difference estimates relative to female voters and relative to same-date voters in 1947-1949 and 1953-1955 (where voters in each of these periods are assigned VDL status using the same birth dates as 1950-1952). The panel also presents scaled Wald estimators for the effect of Vietnam enlistment – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via enlistment – using the triple-difference estimates and enlistment estimates from Angrist (1990), Table 2. **Panel C** shows triple-difference estimates among residents of the former Jim Crow South; Wald estimators are not presented because there is no available estimate of first-stage enlistment for Southern residents. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.

Table 3: The Vietnam Draft and the Mediating Role of Economic Standing for Black Veterans

	Avg. Zip Code AGI (log \$)	Imputed (log \$):		Conditional on Flexible Income and Wealth Fixed Effects			
		Income	Wealth	White Spouse (%)	URM Share in Res. Block (%)	Political Party: Dem. (%) Rep. (%)	
Panel A: Simple Lottery Estimates							
VDL Status	0.0021 (0.0018)	0.007 (0.004)	0.010 (0.006)	0.22 (0.16) [19.3%]	-0.05 (0.10) [62.0%]	-0.13 (0.14) [23.5%]	0.27 (0.12) [3.4%]
\bar{Y}	10.9	10.9	11.3	7.5	67.2	86.3	6.9
N	272,003	265,296	168,218	138,095	262,493	272,623	272,623
Panel B: Triple-Difference Relative to Female and Neighboring Years							
VDL Status \times Male \times '50-'52	0.0047 (0.0028)	0.005 (0.005)	0.019 (0.009)	0.66 (0.27) [13.4%]	-0.22 (0.16) [42.6%]	-0.45 (0.21) [8.3%]	0.39 (0.16) [4.9%]
\bar{Y}	10.9	10.9	11.2	7.9	68.3	88.5	5.8
N	2,008,633	1,968,039	1,337,484	816,669	1,938,996	2,012,811	2,012,811
Wald Est.	0.049 (0.030)	0.058 (0.054)	0.202 (0.092)	7.02 (2.87)	-2.35 (1.67)	-4.79 (2.23)	4.15 (1.69)
Year-Month FE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
County FE					X		
Set of Income FEs				X	X	X	X

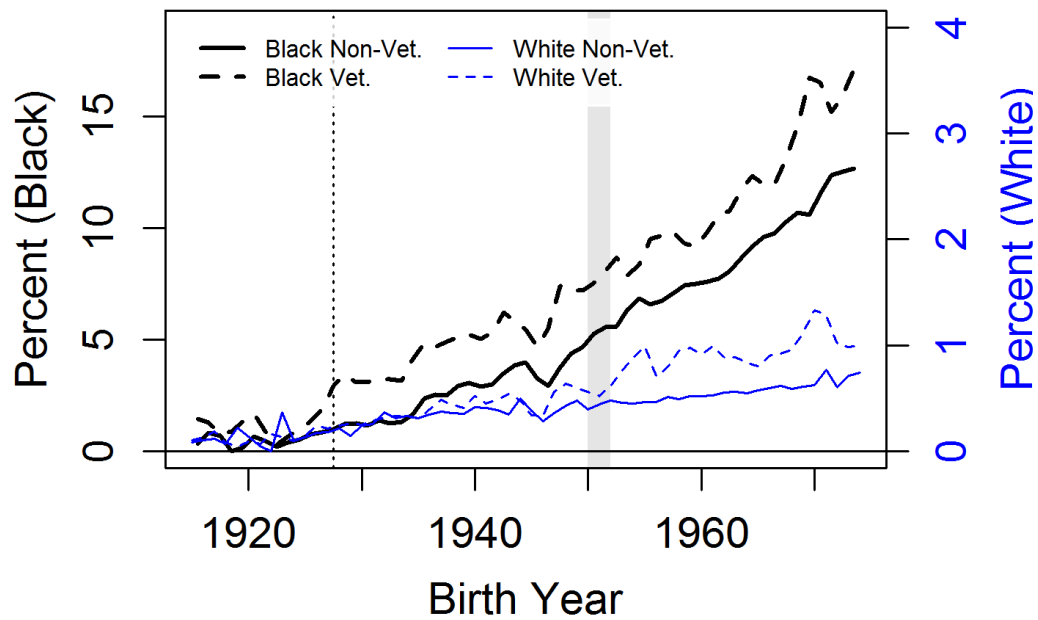
Note: OLS regressions of the average 2021 adjusted gross income of households in the residential Zip code, L2-imputed income or wealth, an indicator for being married to a white spouse in 2022, the URM share of 2022 residential block, or the registered political party on whether the person's birthday indicates that they were eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation, and the latter four regressions include centile Zip code AGI, centile L2-imputed income, and L2-imputed wealth (8 categories) fixed effects with additional fixed effects for missing values. **Numbers in brackets** show the percent of the baseline $\hat{\beta}$ estimate from Table 2 absorbed by the income fixed effects. **Panel A** is restricted to registered Black male voters born in 1950-1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names (Rosenman et al., 2023). **Panel B** shows triple-difference estimates relative to female voters and relative to same-date voters in 1947-1949 and 1953-1955 (where voters in each of these periods are assigned VDL status using the same birth dates as 1950-1952). The panel also presents scaled Wald estimators for the effect of Vietnam enlistment – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via enlistment – using the triple-difference estimates and enlistment estimates from Angrist (1990), Table 2. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.

Table 4: The Vietnam Draft and White Veterans' Racial Integration, Politics, and Economic Standing

	URM Spouse (%)	URM Share in (%): Res. Block	URM Share in (%): Elem. School	Political Party: Dem. (%)	Political Party: Rep. (%)	Avg. Zip Code AGI (log \$)	Imputed (log \$): Income	Imputed (log \$): Wealth
Panel A: Simple Lottery Estimates								
VDL Status	0.039 (0.024)	0.032 (0.024)		-0.051 (0.075)	-0.059 (0.090)	-0.0005 (0.0009)	0.0018 (0.0009)	0.0033 (0.0017)
\bar{Y}	2.0	16.2		31.6	48.9	11.4	11.3	11.9
N	1,808,776	2,511,206		2,643,663	2,643,663	2,614,165	2,570,267	1,926,855
Panel B: Triple-Difference Relative to Female and Neighboring Years								
VDL Status × Male × '50-'52	0.027 (0.035)	0.032 (0.037)		-0.027 (0.109)	0.077 (0.114)	-0.0019 (0.0011)	0.0021 (0.0015)	0.0037 (0.0024)
\bar{Y}	1.7	16.4		34.6	46.9	11.4	11.2	11.9
N	10,699,205	16,294,757		17,131,743	17,131,743	16,951,452	16,694,302	12,713,312
Wald Est.	0.19 (0.24)	0.22 (0.26)		-0.19 (0.75)	0.53 (0.79)	-0.013 (0.0079)	0.014 (0.010)	0.026 (0.017)
Panel C: Triple-Difference Estimated Over 2006 Californians								
VDL Status × Male × '50-'52		0.13 (0.076)	0.13 (0.086)	-0.14 (0.19)	-0.14 (0.17)	-0.0014 (0.0018)		
\bar{Y}		25.9	48.2	39.3	38.3	11.1		
N		345,932	344,730	352,040	352,040	352,017		
Year-Month FE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
County FE		X	X					

Note: OLS regressions of the URM share of 2022 residential block or nearest public elementary school (in California sample), an indicator for being married to a URM spouse in 2022, the registered political party, the average adjusted gross income of households in the residential Zip code, or the L2-imputed income or wealth on whether the person's birthday indicates that they were eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. **Panel A** is restricted to registered white male voters born in 1950-1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names (Rosenman et al., 2023). **Panel B** shows triple-difference estimates relative to female voters and relative to same-date voters in 1947-1949 and 1953-1955 (where voters in each of these periods are assigned VDL status using the same birth dates as 1950-1952). The panel also presents scaled Wald estimators for the effect of Vietnam enlistment – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via enlistment – using the triple-difference estimates and enlistment estimates from Angrist (1990), Table 2. **Panel C** shows triple-difference estimates across 2006 California registered voters. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.

Figure 1: Interracial Marriage at Middle Age by Race and Veteran Status



Note: The percent of married male Black (left axis) and white (right axis) veterans and non-veterans between ages 45-55 who were married to white and Black spouses, respectively, conditional on having a spouse and by birth cohort. The dotted line at the 1928 cohort indicates the first year in which a sizable share (at least 5 percent) of men served in Korea, and thus in an integrated military. The 1950-1952 cohorts are shaded. Spouses are identified by reported relationships on survey forms (Ruggles et al., 2018). White respondents and spouses exclude Hispanics. Black series are two-year moving averages. Source: US Census and American Community Survey (Ruggles et al., 2018).

Online Appendix

The Vietnam War and Racial Integration

Zachary Bleemer

December 2024

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Appendix A: Data Appendix

This study extends a series of administrative datasets constructed by Bleemer and Jaynes (2025) to study the long-run effects of Vietnam War enlistment on racial integration and cohesion. This section discusses each dataset in turn; additional details are available in the earlier study.

A.1 US Voter Registration Data

I construct a comprehensive database of all US voters using the 50-state L2 voter registration database, which is available for purchase from that firm. My version of the L2 database is from August 2022. The L2 database includes each voter’s name and birth date, residential address, longitude/latitude, 2020 Census block, imputed gender and race, registered political party. I exclude 5.9 percent of voters in the 1947-1955 birth cohorts due to incomplete birth date. Birth dates on the first of the month, especially January, remain substantially overrepresented in the data; presented results are very similar if the first day of every month is omitted from all analysis.

The resulting dataset includes 3,676,825 men and 4,272,887 women born between 1950 and 1952. Data from the 2022 American Community Survey imply that there were 4,477,051 men and 5,067,269 women from those cohorts in the US, implying coverage rates of 82 and 84 percent. Table AA-1 shows that coverage is higher for women than for men – especially among Black women – and lower for VDL-status people even in years in which the draft was non-operative or did not affect enlistment. There is no evidence of meaningful imbalance in the coverage of VDL-status men in the 1950-1952 birth cohorts; if anything, VDL-status Black men are *slightly* more likely to be covered in the voter record ($p = 0.09$).²⁹

In the 17 states where voters do not report political party membership, L2 imputes affiliation using partisan primary participation and many other sources. See [L2’s documentation](#) for details. I do not distinguish between reported and imputed party membership, and ignore membership in any party other than Democrat and Republican. Hersh and Goldenberg (2016) show that imputed party membership almost perfectly matches reported political ideology among a convenience sample of physicians.

See Appendix B for details on L2 race imputation and error rates.

I impute that someone is person i ’s spouse if they are the only registered voter who resides at the same address as i within 15 years of i ’s age, choosing 15 because it exactly maximizes the area under the Receiver Operating Characteristic (ROC) curve designed to minimize types 1 and 2 error in the 2021 American Community Survey (where coresidence and spousal match are both observed).³⁰ The resulting Type 1 and 2 error rates in the ACS are 21.6 and 5.8 percent. I do not

²⁹About 1 percent of Vietnam enlistees were killed in the war, which would combine with the first stage to generate a sample decline of about 0.1 percentage points; that value is within each triple-interaction 95 percent confidence interval.

³⁰Bleemer et al. (2021, 2017) similarly choose 15 as the appropriate age to identify matched spouses.

Table AA-1: Log Sample Size by VDL Status and Birth Cohort

	White		Black	
	2006 CA	2022 US	2006 CA	2022 US
1950-1952	-0.0153 (0.0032)	-0.0097 (0.0025)	-0.0227 (0.0181)	0.0093 (0.0027)
Male	-0.0949 (0.0025)	-0.1256 (0.0010)	-0.3571 (0.0150)	-0.3674 (0.0025)
VDL Status	-0.0113 (0.0035)	-0.0125 (0.0029)	0.0044 (0.0167)	-0.0316 (0.0046)
1950-1952 × Male	0.0046 (0.0037)	-0.0018 (0.0013)	-0.0039 (0.0260)	-0.0065 (0.0039)
1950-1952 × VDL Status	0.0005 (0.0056)	-0.0119 (0.0042)	0.0201 (0.0266)	-0.0013 (0.0043)
Male × VDL Status	0.0043 (0.0037)	-0.0028 (0.0014)	-0.0478 (0.0230)	-0.0105 (0.0039)
1950-1952 × Male × VDL Status	-0.0119 (0.0062)	0.0018 (0.0021)	0.0177 (0.0394)	0.0113 (0.0067)
Month-Day FE	X	X	X	X
\bar{Y}	5.8	7.9	2.0	5.7
N	6,574	6,574	6,574	6,574

Note: This table shows that there are far fewer male than female voters, especially among Black voters, and the birth dates associated with VDL status are underrepresented across all cohorts among both genders, but there is little evidence of differential representation among VDL-status men in 1950-1952 among white or Black voters, though the Black 2006 Californian sample is very small. OLS regressions of the log number of registered voters with that birth date by gender on interactions between indicators for the 1950-1952 cohorts, being male, and having possible VDL status (determined in that year in 1950-1952 or three years earlier or later), across all dates in 1947-1955. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by month-day.

Source: L2 Voter Database, the US Census, and the California Department of Education.

consider gender in assigning matches; of the 59 percent of the baseline male 1950-1952 sample who match to a spouse, 97 percent are matched to a female spouse. Mismatched spouses are mostly likely roommates or siblings. Bleemer and Jaynes (2025) show that the aggregate trends in interracial marriage by birth cohort in the L2 voter registration record closely match both the imputed white-URM and white-Asian interracial marriage trend in the ACS (using the 15-year rule to identify spouses) as well as the true interracial marriage trend, though that study focuses on middle-aged voters in western states.

L2 provides a continuous prediction of income (“CommercialData_EstimatedHHIncomeAmount”) and an eight-bin prediction of wealth (“CommercialDataLL_HH_Net_Worth”). L2 does not provide public information about how these predictions are constructed, but their database includes block-level median income and housing value, measures of address-specific home value, and measures of homeownership among other characteristics. Yorgason (2024) shows that L2 imputed

income is highly correlated with observed income in a small convenience sample (forecast coefficient $\beta = 1.029$, s.e. 0.026, $R^2 = 0.97$).

I divide the US into four regions. The largest is the Jim Crow South, which included TX, LA, FL, MS, AL, GA, SC, NC, VA, MD, WV, TN, KY, AK, OK, and MO. The Northeast includes CT, DC, DE, MA, ME, NH, NJ, NY, PA, RI, and VT. The Midwest includes IA, IL, IN, KS, MI, MN, ND, NE, OH, SD, and WI. Finally, the West includes AK, AZ, CA, CO, HI, ID, MT, NM, NV, OR, UT, WA, and WY.

A.2 CA Voter Registration Data

I also link each UC student to the annual California voter registration datasets from 2006, which was also obtained from L2. The voter registration database includes registered California voters' name and birth date, gender, residential address, and registered political party. I geolocate each residential address to latitude/longitude using a 2023 North America geocode database (with about 2 percent of addresses unmatched). I impute race by assigning each person to white, Black, Hispanic, or Asian if at least half of people with exactly the same first and last name in the L2 voter registration database are imputed to have that race; otherwise race is left as unknown.

A.3 Vietnam Draft Lottery

VDL status by birth date is observed from [this archived website](#). VDL status is assigned to members of the 1950, 1951, and 1952 birth cohorts with lottery numbers less than or equal to 195, 125, and 95. 'Potential' VDL status is also assigned to members of the 1953, 1954, and 1955 birth cohorts with lottery numbers less than or equal to 195, 125, and 95 had they been born three years earlier.

A.4 Other administrative datasets

I use L2's geolocation of each address to identify the residential Census block of each registered voter using [Census TIGER shapefiles](#), and then match each Census block to the average URM share of residents of that block using Black, Hispanic, and Native American residential shares in the 2020 Census (for the 2022 US voter registration records) or the 2010 Census (for the 2006 California voter registration records).

I match each student's home Zip code to the average adjusted gross income of 2021 federal tax filers in that Zip code using data from the [Internal Revenue Service's Statistics of Income](#) dataset, or 2006 federal tax filers for the 2006 California voter registration records.

The California Department of Education [publishes](#) the latitude/longitude of each 2022 public elementary and high school in California. I identify the closest public elementary and high school

Table BB-1: The Vietnam Draft and Black Veterans’ Racial Integration and Political Identity Among Voters with Observed True Race

	White Spouse (%)	URM Share in Res. Block (%)	Political Party: Dem. (%)	Rep. (%)
Panel A: Simple Lottery Estimates				
VDL Status	0.43 (0.17)	-0.17 (0.22)	0.03 (0.20)	-0.05 (0.15)
\bar{Y}	3.5	65.6	90.8	3.7
N	50,050	91,582	93,543	93,543
Panel B: Triple-Difference Relative to Female and Neighboring Years				
VDL Status × Male × ‘50-‘52	0.60 (0.29)	-0.29 (0.33)	-0.16 (0.30)	-0.07 (0.21)
\bar{Y}	3.2	66.6	92.5	3.2
N	289,585	677,807	691,938	691,938
Year-Month FE	X	X	X	X
County FE		X		

Note: OLS regressions of the URM share of 2022 residential block, an indicator for being married to a white spouse in 2022, the registered political party, or the L2-imputed income or wealth on whether the person’s birthday indicates that they were eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery, **among registered voters in AL, FL, GA, LA, NC, and SC who report their race**. All regressions include year-month fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. **Panel A** is restricted to registered Black male voters born in 1950-1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names (Rosenman et al., 2023). **Panel B** shows triple-difference estimates relative to female voters and relative to same-date voters in 1947-1949 and 1953-1955 (where voters in each of these periods are assigned VDL status using the same birth dates as 1950-1952). Wald estimators are not presented because there is no available estimate of first-stage enlistment for residents of the six race-eliciting states. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.

to each 2020 California Census block (by haversine Great Circle distance), excluding charter, magnet, and virtual schools. I then measure the URM share of each block’s nearest elementary school as the share of 2022 students at that nearest school who are Black, Hispanic, or Native American.

Appendix B: Race Imputation and Replication with Non-Imputed Race

Race imputation is conducted by L2 using past and current first, middle, and last names and a model trained on data from six states that collect race in registration records: AL, FL, GA, LA, NC, and SC (Rosenman et al., 2023). In those states, 97 percent of registered voters report their race; L2 assigns those individuals to their actual reported race in their imputed race variable, and

imputes the race of voters in those states who do not report race. Racial misclassification would likely bias downward the presented estimates for Black voters (since estimates for white voters are small) and bias upward the presented estimates for white voters (since those for Black voters are larger).

Because L2 replaces imputed race with reported race in cases where race is reported, I am unable to provide Type 1 and 2 error rates for race-reporting individuals. Bleemer and Jaynes (2025) show that overall race Types 1 and 2 error rates are 24 and 32 percent among University of California enrollees who are matched to voter registration records by name and birth date, where the latter excludes unknown voter race records and we take students' reported race on their undergraduate application as base truth. Chyn et al. (2023) reports a Type 2 error rate for Black voters among those linked by name and birth date to administrative social assistance records (like SNAP) in Illinois. Error rates of these magnitudes suggest that the presented estimates on Black voters could be biased downward by as much as 10-20 percent.

I study the relevance of racial imputation for the baseline estimates presented above by replicating Tables 2 (by Table BB-1), 3 (by BB-2), and 4 (by BB-3) using the restricted sample of voters for whom race is directly observed. Spousal race in these states also reflects the true reported spousal race; the small number of spouses who do not report race are omitted.

Table BB-2: The Vietnam Draft and the Mediating Role of Economic Standing for Black Veterans **Among Voters with Observed True Race**

	Avg. Zip Code AGI (log \$)	Imputed (log \$): Income	Imputed (log \$): Wealth	Conditional on Flexible Income and Wealth Fixed Effects			
				White Spouse (%)	URM Share in Res. Block (%)	Political Party: Dem. (%) Rep. (%)	
Panel A: Simple Lottery Estimates							
VDL Status	0.004 (0.003)	0.006 (0.006)	0.002 (0.012)	0.50 (0.19)	-0.05 (0.19) [69.4]	0.10 (0.20)	-0.06 (0.14)
\bar{Y}	10.9	10.9	11.3	4.2	65.6	90.8	3.7
N	93,257	91,021	59,012	51,809	91,582	93,543	93,543
Panel B: Triple-Difference Relative to Female and Neighboring Years							
VDL Status × Male × '50-'52	0.003 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.008)	-0.003 (0.014)	0.79 (0.32)	-0.19 (0.28) [33.6]	-0.14 (0.30) [11.0]	-0.07 (0.21) [4.0]
\bar{Y}	10.9	10.8	11.2	3.8	66.6	92.5	3.2
N	689,972	675,833	470,976	300,099	677,807	691,938	691,938
Year-Month FE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
County FE					X		
Set of Income FEs				X	X	X	X

Note: OLS regressions of the average 2021 adjusted gross income of households in the residential Zip code, L2-imputed income or wealth, an indicator for being married to a white spouse in 2022, the URM share of 2022 residential block, or the registered political party on whether the person's birthday indicates that they were eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery, **among registered voters in AL, FL, GA, LA, NC, and SC who report their race**. All regressions include year-month fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation, and the latter four regressions include centile Zip code AGI, centile L2-imputed income, and L2-imputed wealth (8 categories) fixed effects with additional fixed effects for missing values. **Numbers in brackets** show the percent of the baseline $\hat{\beta}$ estimate from Table 2 absorbed by the income fixed effects; numbers are omitted if the estimates are greater than those estimated without income controls. **Panel A** is restricted to registered Black male voters born in 1950-1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names (Rosenman et al., 2023). **Panel B** shows triple-difference estimates relative to female voters and relative to same-date voters in 1947-1949 and 1953-1955 (where voters in each of these periods are assigned VDL status using the same birth dates as 1950-1952). Wald estimators are not presented because there is no available estimate of first-stage enlistment for residents of the six race-eliciting states. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.

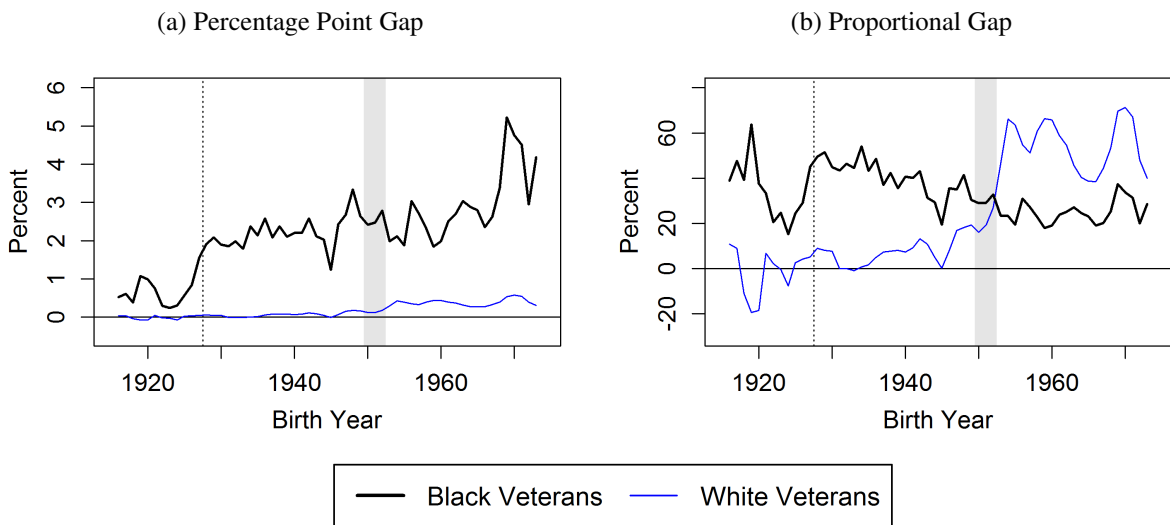
Table BB-3: The Vietnam Draft and White Veterans' Racial Integration, Politics, and Economic Standing **Among Voters with Observed True Race**

	URM Spouse (%)	URM Share in (%) Res. Block	Political Party: Dem. (%) Rep. (%)		Avg. Zip Code AGI (log \$)	Imputed (log \$): Income Wealth	
<u>Panel A: Simple Lottery Estimates</u>							
VDL Status	0.060 (0.049)	-0.028 (0.057)	-0.400 (0.183)	0.459 (0.253)	0.0005 (0.0025)	0.0002 (0.0023)	0.0040 (0.0053)
\bar{Y}	1.9	18.2	22.8	57.7	11.3	11.2	11.9
N	342,920	484,135	495,321	495,321	491,307	483,001	315,448
<u>Panel B: Triple-Difference Relative to Female and Neighboring Years</u>							
VDL Status \times Male \times '50-'52	0.062 (0.083)	0.003 (0.089)	-0.059 (0.217)	0.421 (0.253)	-0.0022 (0.0028)	0.0056 (0.0034)	-0.0017 (0.0057)
\bar{Y}	1.8	18.3	25.4	56.7	11.3	11.2	11.9
N	2,072,678	3,199,201	3,270,576	3,270,576	3,244,711	3,195,630	2,176,345
Year-Month FE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
County FE		X					

Note: OLS regressions of the URM share of 2022 residential block or nearest public elementary school (in California sample), an indicator for being married to a URM spouse in 2022, the registered political party, the average adjusted gross income of households in the residential Zip code, or the L2-imputed income or wealth on whether the person's birthday indicates that they were eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery, **among registered voters in AL, FL, GA, LA, NC, and SC who report their race**. All regressions include year-month fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. **Panel A** is restricted to registered white male voters born in 1950-1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names (Rosenman et al., 2023). **Panel B** shows triple-difference estimates relative to female voters and relative to same-date voters in 1947-1949 and 1953-1955 (where voters in each of these periods are assigned VDL status using the same birth dates as 1950-1952). Wald estimators are not presented because there is no available estimate of first-stage enlistment for residents of the six race-eliciting states. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.

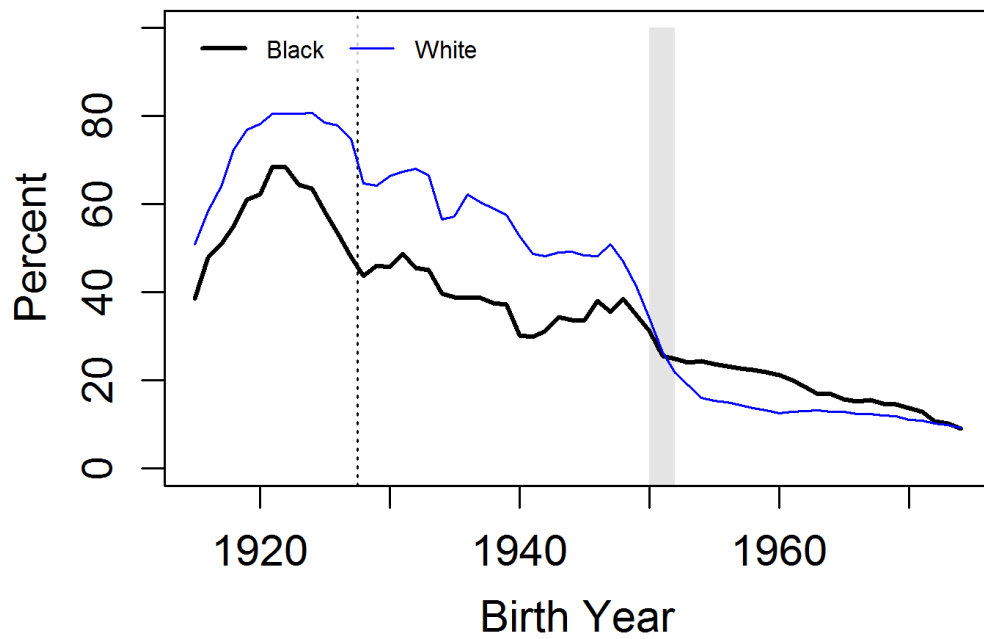
Other Appendix Figures and Tables

Figure A-1: Interracial Marriage Gaps at Middle Age by Race and Veteran Status



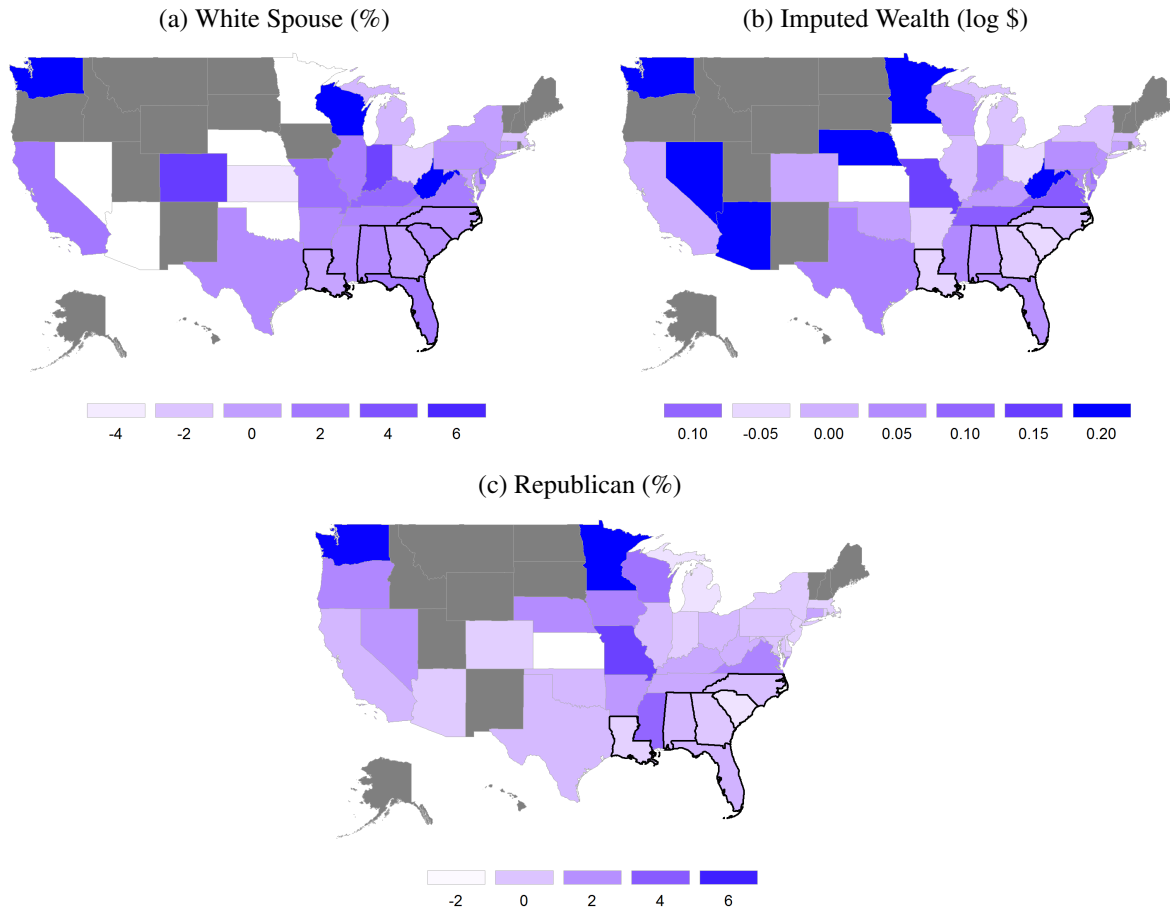
Note: This figure shows that the level gap in Black men's intermarriage rates by veteran status appeared after the military's early-50's integration and was unchanged through the Vietnam era, whereas the gap for white men didn't arise until the military transitioned to an all-volunteer force in 1973. Age 45-55 male veterans' differential likelihood of interracial marriage relative to non-veterans by birth cohort and race, measured as percentage point difference (a) or percent increased likelihood relative to baseline (b). Interracial marriage is measured as white non-Hispanic or Black veterans having a Black or white non-Hispanic spouse, respectively. Spouses are identified by reported relationships on survey forms (Ruggles et al., 2018). Presented statistics are three-year moving averages. Source: US Census and American Community Survey (Ruggles et al., 2018).

Figure A-2: Veteran Status by Birth Cohort and Race



Note: This figure shows that about 30 percent of men in the Vietnam era were veterans, half the level of a generation earlier and far higher than contemporary levels. Age 45-55 male respondents' likelihood of reporting veteran status by birth cohort and race. White respondents and spouses exclude Hispanics. Source: US Census and American Community Survey (Ruggles et al., 2018).

Figure A-3: Geospatial Variation in Black Enlistment Treatment Effects



Note: This figure shows that the effect of enlistment on Black veterans' interracial marriage is geographically widespread (except the Plains and Desert states with few Black residents), including in the states where voters' race is directly observed, whereas estimated effects on wealth and Republican membership are concentrated in the Midwest and Pacific Northwest. Note: Choropleths of triple-difference OLS regression coefficients of an indicator for being married to a white spouse in 2022, an indicator for being a member of the Republican party, or L2-imputed wealth on whether the person's birthday indicates that they were eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery, estimated separately by state (excluding states with fewer than 1,000 in-sample registered voters with an observed outcome). The reported coefficients are triple-difference estimates for registered Black male voters born in 1950-1952 relative to female voters and relative to same-date voters in 1947-1949 and 1953-1955 (where voters in each of these periods are assigned VDL status using the same birth dates as 1950-1952). Race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names (Rosenman et al., 2023) except in the six outlined states, where it is directly observed (and only imputed for the 3 percent of voters who do not report race). All regressions include year-month fixed effects. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.

Table A-1: The Vietnam Draft and Data Censorship: Marriage Rates and Southern Residency

	<u>Black Voters</u>		<u>White Voters</u>	
	Has Spouse (%)	South (%)	Has Spouse (%)	South (%)
<u>Panel A: Simple Lottery Estimates</u>				
VDL Status	-0.14 (0.23)	0.01 (0.40)	0.14 (0.09)	0.75 (0.23)
\bar{Y}	50.7	63.1	68.4	37.8
N	272,623	272,623	2,643,663	2,643,663
<u>Panel B: Triple-Difference Relative to Female and Neighboring Years</u>				
VDL Status \times Male \times '50-'52	-0.16 (0.33)	-0.36 (0.33)	0.19 (0.11)	0.36 (0.12)
\bar{Y}	40.6	62.7	62.5	38.3
N	2,012,811	2,012,811	17,131,743	17,131,743
Wald Est.	-1.7 (3.5)	-3.8 (3.5)	1.31 (0.77)	2.47 (0.82)
Year-Month FE	X	X	X	X

Note: This table shows that there is no evidence of differential selection of Black men with VDL status into either marriage or residency in the South, though VDL-status white voters appear to have moved south (and may have slightly elevated levels of partnership). OLS regressions of indicators for being matched to a spouse and for residing in the South on whether the person's birthday indicates that they were eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. **Panel A** is restricted to registered male voters by race born in 1950-1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names (Rosenman et al., 2023). **Panel B** shows triple-difference estimates relative to female voters and relative to same-date voters in 1947-1949 and 1953-1955 (where voters in each of these periods are assigned VDL status using the same birth dates as 1950-1952). The panel also presents scaled Wald estimators for the effect of Vietnam enlistment – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via enlistment – using the triple-difference estimates and enlistment estimates from Angrist (1990), Table 2. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database.

Table A-2: Double-Difference Specifications for Black Voters

	White Spouse (%)	URM Share in Res. Block (%)	Political Party: Dem. (%) Rep. (%)		Imputed (log \$): Income Wealth	
Panel A: Difference-in-Difference Relative to Female						
VDL Status × Male	0.43 (0.21)	-0.17 (0.15)	-0.29 (0.16)	0.22 (0.13)	0.003 (0.004)	0.012 (0.007)
\bar{Y}	7.8	68.4	88.7	5.7	10.9	11.2
N	272,360	643,910	668,436	668,436	653,758	446,742
Wald Est.	4.54 (2.27)	-1.77 (1.58)	-3.08 (1.73)	2.38 (1.36)	0.027 (0.042)	0.130 (0.072)
Panel B: Difference-in-Difference Relative to Neighboring Years						
VDL Status × 1950-1952	0.24 (0.19)	-0.26 (0.15)	-0.20 (0.17)	0.26 (0.15)	0.010 (0.005)	0.012 (0.008)
\bar{Y}	7.6	67.2	86.0	7.0	10.9	11.3
N	415,023	792,972	823,456	823,456	801,042	505,490
Wald Est.	2.55 (2.08)	-2.75 (1.57)	-2.09 (1.82)	2.74 (1.57)	0.105 (0.048)	0.132 (0.084)
Year-Month FE	X	X	X	X	X	X
County FE		X				

Note: This table presents alternative specifications to estimates presented in Tables 2 and 3, confirming generally similar point estimates and statistical significance to those estimates. OLS regressions of the URM share of 2022 residential block, an indicator for being married to a white spouse in 2022, the registered political party, or the L2-imputed income or wealth on whether the person's birthday indicates that they were eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. **Panel A** is restricted to registered Black voters born in 1950-1952 and shows the difference-in-difference estimate for male voters relative to female voters. **Panel B** shows the difference-in-difference estimate relative to male voters born in 1947-1949 and 1953-1955, where voters in each of these periods are assigned VDL status using the same birth dates as 1950-1952. Scaled Wald estimators present the effect of Vietnam enlistment – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via enlistment – using the triple-difference estimates and enlistment estimates from Angrist (1990), Table 2. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.

Table A-3: Double-Difference Specifications for White Voters

	White Spouse (%)	URM Share in Res. Block (%)	Political Party: Dem. (%) Rep. (%)		Imputed (log \$): Income Wealth	
Panel A: Difference-in-Difference Relative to Female						
VDL Status × Male	-0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.01 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.09)	0.005 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.002)
\bar{Y}	1.7	16.3	35.2	46.3	11.2	11.9
N	3,537,996	5,367,733	5,643,957	5,643,957	5,500,174	4,188,626
Wald Est.	-0.10 (0.23)	0.28 (0.25)	0.10 (0.74)	-0.27 (0.76)	0.044 (0.010)	-0.003 (0.017)
Panel B: Difference-in-Difference Relative to Neighboring Years						
VDL Status × 1950-1952	0.04 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.09)	0.09 (0.11)	0.002 (0.001)	0.004 (0.002)
\bar{Y}	2.0	16.2	30.9	49.6	11.3	11.9
N	5,481,755	7,628,684	8,030,290	8,030,290	7,806,995	5,854,126
Wald Est.	0.33 (0.24)	0.06 (0.25)	-0.31 (0.75)	0.72 (0.93)	0.018 (0.010)	0.034 (0.018)
Year-Month FE	X	X	X	X	X	X
County FE		X				

Note: [This table presents alternative specifications to estimates presented in Tables 4, confirming generally similar point estimates and statistical significance to those estimates.](#) OLS regressions of the URM share of 2022 residential block, an indicator for being married to a white spouse in 2022, the registered political party, or the L2-imputed income or wealth on whether the person’s birthday indicates that they were eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. **Panel A** is restricted to registered white voters born in 1950-1952 and shows the difference-in-difference estimate for male voters relative to female voters. **Panel B** shows the difference-in-difference estimate relative to male voters born in 1947-1949 and 1953-1955, where voters in each of these periods are assigned VDL status using the same birth dates as 1950-1952. Scaled Wald estimators present the effect of Vietnam enlistment – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via enlistment – using the triple-difference estimates and enlistment estimates from Angrist (1990), Table 2. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.

Table A-4: The Vietnam Draft and Later-Life Black Outcomes in the South

	White Spouse (%)	URM Share in Res. Block (%)	Political Party: Dem. (%) Rep. (%)		Imputed (log \$): Income Wealth	
Panel A: Simple Lottery Estimates						
VDL Status	0.46 (0.19)	-0.25 (0.16)	-0.26 (0.19)	0.49 (0.18)	0.007 (0.005)	0.010 (0.009)
\bar{Y}	6.4	65.4	84.6	8.2	10.9	11.4
N	94,083	168,642	172,084	172,084	167,639	107,954
Panel B: Triple-Difference Relative to Female and Neighboring Years						
VDL Status \times Male \times '50-'52	0.97 (0.31)	-0.58 (0.24)	-0.48 (0.28)	0.62 (0.22)	0.010 (0.006)	0.028 (0.010)
\bar{Y}	6.6	66.5	87.0	7.0	10.9	11.3
N	550,684	1,237,538	1,261,895	1,261,895	1,234,055	850,932
Year-Month FE	X	X	X	X	X	X
County FE		X				

Note: This table presents the simple lottery and triple-difference estimates associated with Panel C of Table 2. OLS regressions of the URM share of 2022 residential block, an indicator for being married to a URM spouse in 2022, the registered political party, or the L2-imputed income or wealth on whether the person's birthday indicates that they were eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. **Panel A** is restricted to registered Black male voters born in 1950-1952 **who reside in the South**; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names (Rosenman et al., 2023). **Panel B** shows triple-difference estimates relative to female voters and relative to same-date voters in 1947-1949 and 1953-1955 (where voters in each of these periods are assigned VDL status using the same birth dates as 1950-1952). Wald estimators are not presented because there is no available estimate of first-stage enlistment for Southern residents. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.

Table A-5: The Vietnam Draft and 2006 White Outcomes in California

	URM Share in Elem. School (%)	URM Share in Res. Block (%)	Political Party:		Avg. Zip Code AGI (log \$)
			Dem. (%)	Rep. (%)	
Panel A: Simple Lottery Estimates					
VDL Status	0.13 (0.09)	0.13 (0.08)	-0.13 (0.19)	-0.14 (0.17)	-0.0014 (0.0018)
\bar{Y}	48.2	25.9	39.3	38.3	11.1
N	344,730	345,932	352,040	352,040	352,017
Panel B: Triple-Difference Relative to Female and Neighboring Years					
VDL Status \times Male \times '50-'52	0.10 (0.15)	0.05 (0.13)	-0.18 (0.30)	0.07 (0.29)	0.06 (0.31)
\bar{Y}	48.5	26.3	43.2	36.8	11.1
N	2,192,342	2,201,287	2,238,320	2,238,320	2,238,209
Year-Month FE	X	X	X	X	X
County FE	X	X			

Note: This table presents the simple lottery and triple-difference estimates associated with the 2006 California voter estimates presented in Table 4. OLS regressions of the URM share of nearest elementary school or 2006 residential block, the registered political party, or the average 2006 adjusted gross income of households in the residential Zip code on whether the person's birthday indicates that they were eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. **Panel A** is restricted to 2006 registered white male voters in California born in 1950-1952; gender is observed and race is imputed by matching to L2 voter registration records by name and birth date (see Appendix A). **Panel B** shows triple-difference estimates relative to female voters and relative to same-date voters in 1947-1949 and 1953-1955 (where voters in each of these periods are assigned VDL status using the same birth dates as 1950-1952). Wald estimators are not presented because there is no available estimate of first-stage enlistment for California residents. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.