

The Vietnam War and Racial Integration*

Zachary Bleemer[†]

February 2026

Abstract

The Vietnam draft conscripted hundreds of thousands of young Americans into an integrated military. I combine near-random draft lottery variation with administrative voter data to study the long-run racial integration effects of coerced national service. Black and Native American veterans became more likely to marry white spouses, identify as Republicans, and live in more-integrated neighborhoods. Improved economic standing may partly mediate these effects. Effects are larger for Southerners and are precisely null for white veterans. Coerced military service generates substantial but asymmetric cross-racial political convergence and racial integration: Vietnam-era service caused about 20 percent of affected cohorts' interracial marriages.

JEL Codes: H56, J12, J15, R21

*Thanks to Orley Ashenfelter, Eric Chyn, Bob Erikson, Donald Green, Seth Green, Kyle Greenberg, Eric Manning, Sahar Parsa, and Laura Stoker for helpful comments. Any errors that remain are my own.

[†]Department of Economics, Princeton University and NBER. Email: bleemer@princeton.edu.

I'm convinced part of Martin Luther King's dream came true in Vietnam. In his famous 1963 speech at the Lincoln Memorial he said he had a dream that one day the sons of former slaves and sons of slave owners would sit at the same table. That dream came true in only one place, the front lines of Vietnam. I'm not talking about Larry Bird and Dennis Johnson playing on the Celtics together. I'm talking about thousands of Americans who found their common humanity on the front, where they shared the last drop of water, where they gave their lives for each other. Certainly putting on a uniform doesn't wipe away racism, but despite what I've described, the Armed Forces during the war and even today is the most successfully integrated institution in our society—except perhaps the National Basketball Association and some of our prisons.

~Wallace Terry, author of Bloods: An Oral History of the Vietnam War¹

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 conscripted over 200,000 teenagers into 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 month-year and day-month fixed effects to isolate quasi-random variation in VDL status. I then estimate the local average treatment effect of military conscription on minority (Black or Native American) and white youths' long-run racial integration and political identity by using VDL status as an instrument. The resulting Wald estimators account for imperfect compliance in conscription 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 constructed by the firm L2. The data contain the name, birth date (which

¹From an interview published by Wilhelm (1987).

determines VDL status), home address, gender, political party membership, and imputed race and economic standing of about 3.6 million American men (about 81 percent) in the 1950–1952 birth cohorts.² I compare the race of men’s spouses, the racial composition of their neighborhoods, and their political affiliations between minority and white men with and without VDL status. I also compare men’s economic standing by VDL status, which could play a role in explaining observed differences.

I find that military conscription in the Vietnam War had asymmetric effects on majority and minority conscripts. Coerced military service strongly affected the long-run racial integration and political identity of minority (Black and Native American) veterans. Their likelihood of marrying a white spouse rose by over 40 percent ($p = 0.03$), and the share of their neighbors who were themselves minorities (relative to the rest of their county) likely declined by about 2 percentage points ($p = 0.09$). These estimates are confirmed by a 100-year time series analysis of interracial marriage patterns that reveal elevated intermarriage rates of Black veterans in all years following the military’s early 1950s integration. Point estimates among minority veterans from the Jim Crow South – where race relations were more discordant – are larger than in the rest of the country, though I cannot distinguish between greater compliance in conscription and larger conscription treatment effects. The estimated magnitudes imply that at least 20 percent of all Black-white intermarriages in the early 1950s cohorts – and a higher share in earlier years, when more men were veterans – were caused by service in the integrated military.

Only 7 percent of minority men from the early 1950’s cohorts are Republicans, and the expected effect of Vietnam conscription on minority veterans’ political identity is ambiguous. Vietnam conscription causes minority veterans’ political identities to converge toward those of their white peers, with their likelihood of being a Republican in 2022 rising by 40 percent ($p < 0.01$) and a smaller decline in their Democratic party membership.

While the interracial contact and cohesion facilitated by Vietnam War conscription could explain these observed effects on minority veterans, other channels may also contribute. 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 long-run economic standing

²Race and economic standing (and sometimes political party) are imputed by the data provider, L2. I discuss the imputation below and in Appendix A.

of minority veterans, with early-70s imputed income gains of as much as 9 percent ($p < 0.01$) driven by measurable increases in home value and square footage. It is difficult to quantify the magnitude of a potential economic channel in explaining the observed effects absent causal estimates of the relationship between economic standing and racial integration. The weak correlation between economic standing and interracial marriage in this population, however, suggests that while interracial marriage has importantly promoted Black intergenerational mobility in recent years (Jácome et al., 2024), little of the effect of VDL status on interracial marriage can be explained by changes in veterans' economic standing.

Vietnam conscription had very different effects on the white youths who made up the large majority of the war's veterans. Along each measured dimension of racial integration and political identity, point estimates are at least an order of magnitude smaller than those estimated for minority veterans and are statistically indistinguishable from 0. Estimates on the economic standing of white conscripts are non-zero but small. Integrated national service in Vietnam appears to have led minority 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 changes along those same dimensions by white veterans.³

The primary threat to identification in this setting is the potential of differential selection into the voter registration file by VDL status, either because of differential mortality or because VDL status or conscription affects men's likelihood of voter registration. I find precise null relationships between VDL status and the number of male registered voters by birth date, the share of voters who are female, or the share of male voters who are minority, and find that voter density is continuous near the VDL status cutoff. A second threat is that statistical error in the imputation of voters' race may bias estimates for minority and white veterans toward each other, likely resulting in downward bias for minority 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; estimates on interracial marriage are qualitatively and statistically similar, while the estimates on residential integration and political identity are similar-magnitude but statistically noisier. Finally, I also conduct a series of placebo exercises examining men born on the same

³The asymmetric and convergent effects of Vietnam conscription between minority and majority veterans mirror the asymmetric and convergent peer effects between white and minority college roommates (Bleemer and Jaynes, 2026) and between lower- and higher-income students (Chetty et al., 2022).

VDL-status dates in 1953–1955 (among whom there was no conscription) and women born on the VDL-status dates (who were not conscripted), generally finding precise null relationships with long-run racial integration, political identity, and economic outcomes.

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. 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.⁴ Southern white (Black) children who attend more racially diverse high schools are more likely to be registered Democrats (independents) in 2020s adulthood (Billings et al., 2021; Kaplan et al., 2023).⁵ 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 (2026) show that neither interracial roommate matches nor collegiate racial diversity affects white students’ later-life neighborhood composition or interracial marriage.⁶ I document the long-run integration and political effects of both minority and majority teenagers’ two-year integrated national service – a policy-relevant setting that combines extended interracial contact with foreign deployment and military activities (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 military service on racial attitudes and behaviors. Most similarly to the present study, Green and Hyman-Metzger (2024) detect positive but

⁴Evidence 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.

⁵Fouka (2020) shows that within-school assimilation can reduce minority students’ long-run ethnic integration.

⁶Studying adults, Bursztyn et al. (2024) show that majority residents with foreign minority neighbors shift their attitudes 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.

statistically noisy effects of VDL status on white Vietnam veterans’ racial attitudes among about 500 respondents to the General Social Survey (GSS), but do not investigate outcomes for non-white conscripts.⁷ I investigate majority and minority veterans’ behaviors corresponding to these reported attitudes with substantially greater statistical power (higher N by a factor of 4) and reject meaningful effects for majority veterans. Ang and Chinoy (2023, 2025) document that conscription into the *segregated* US military of the first World War caused political attitudes to polarize by race without affecting economic outcomes, the opposite effect that I observe for minority veterans of an integrated military.⁸ 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. 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 the military satisfied its labor demand by sequentially drafting men in this order over the subsequent year. As a result, the number of birth dates that were drafted in each year was determined by contemporaneous military demand, and undrafted men did not know whether the military’s demand would be sufficiently high to result in their being drafted until the end of the draft year.

Each year thus had an ‘Administrative Processing Number’ (APN) between 1 and 366: all

⁷Specifically, Green and Hyman-Metzger (2024) show some evidence that white Vietnam veterans have more positive attitudes toward Black ambition and other peoples’ cross-race friendships. Green et al. (2019) estimate approximately null effects of VDL status on white veterans’ 2014 party membership. Lawrence and Kane (1995) show a negative observational relationship between veteran status and racial attitudes among white GSS respondents.

⁸Studies of conscription in Spain (Bagues and Roth, 2023; Cáceres-Delpiano et al., 2021) and Argentina (Navajas et al., 2022; Ronconi and Ramos-Toro, 2025) have shown that veterans who served abroad build contacts and culturally integrate with other regions, gain stronger national identity, and are more conservative, but have not studied heterogeneity between conscripts from minority and majority groups. Dahl et al. (2021) show that gender-integrated military units lead men to have more egalitarian attitudes in the short- but not long-run, but they do not study outcomes for women.

men whose ordered birth dates placed them at or below the APN were drafted, and all other men were not drafted. I term as ‘VDL status’ all American men in the appropriate cohort with birth dates assigned lottery numbers below the APN: 195 for the 1950 cohort, 125 for the 1951 cohort, and 95 for the 1952 cohort. 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 unfit, and the low-testing, with local draft boards wielding considerable discretion over who was ultimately conscripted.⁹ Draftees 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 conscription.

Angrist and Chen (2011) show that ‘winning’ the lottery and being assigned Vietnam draft lottery (“VDL”) status increased Census respondents’ likelihood of veteran status by 10–15 percentage points for the 1950–1952 birth cohorts: 20–25 percent of undrafted men in these cohorts nevertheless enlisted, while the remaining VDL-status men received draft deferments or otherwise were never conscripted. They show much smaller effects of VDL status on enlistment in the pre-1950 cohorts, for which reason I exclude those birth cohorts in both the main and placebo analysis. While lotteries were also held in 1972–1975 for the 1953–1956 birth cohorts, the military did not draft or conscript any members of these cohorts.

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).¹⁰

While about 13 percent of Americans in 1970 were Black or Native American, minority soldiers made up more than 23 percent of combat soldiers and about 2 percent of officers (Goodwin, 2017). The US military integrated its last all-Black units in 1954, and soldiers in Vietnam shared training and deployment units, barracks, meals, and leisure time across racial lines (Terry, 1985). Fiman et al. (1975) report that about 60 percent of Vietnam veterans believed that race relations were better in the military than in the United States, with similar beliefs across veteran race and a

⁹The 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).

¹⁰Erikson 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 veteran status was little affected by the draft (Angrist and Chen, 2011).

higher rate among combat veterans.

3 Data

I study the birth cohorts impacted by the Vietnam draft using a database of all registered voters in August 2022 containing full name, birth date, residential address, and gender. The data were collected and provided by L2, a consumer data firm. L2 imputes race by past and current first, middle, and last names and Census Block racial composition (for some Black voters) using observed race in the registration databases of six states in the South (Rosenman et al., 2023).¹¹ Vietnam Draft Lottery (VDL) status is determined by birth date for the 1950–1952 cohorts.¹² I define minority status to include Black and Native American voters but not Hispanic voters, since about 43 percent of 2022 Hispanic US citizens in these cohorts had been naturalized and were thus unlikely to be draft-eligible in the 1970s.¹³

The L2 database facilitates 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 ‘spouse’ is defined as an individual’s only coresident at the same address within 15 years of their age.¹⁴ Residential integration is measured by the minority share of the voter’s residential Census Block. I measure political identity by voters’ political party registration. The L2 data also facilitate measurement of three main outcomes reflecting economic success, including a continuous prediction of income and an eight-category prediction of wealth constructed by L2 using individual-level homeownership, home valuation, home and plot square footage, and other characteristics. I also link each voter to the average 2021 household income in their Zip code. Appendix A provides further details on variable definitions, coverage, and external validation of the L2 data.

The 3.6 million men born in 1950–1952 comprise 81 percent of the 4.5 million such male

¹¹See Appendix B for details and validation regarding L2 race imputation.

¹²Six percent of L2 records are excluded because they do not include exact birth date; another 1.6 percent are excluded because their reported January 1 and July 1 birth dates are used as placeholder birth dates in many states.

¹³Statistics from the 2022 American Community Survey. In contrast, the naturalization rate among Black and Native American US citizens from the 1950–1952 birth cohorts was 8 and 2 percent, respectively; the naturalization rate for white US citizens was 4 percent.

¹⁴Figure BB-1 shows that imputed L2 intermarriage rates match imputed and true rates in the 2021 American Community Survey (ACS). I choose 15 because it minimizes the sum of types 1 and 2 error in the ACS for white and minority respondents and both overall and at ages 70–75. See the ROC curves in A (Figure AA-1) and Bleemer et al. (2021, 2017). I discuss robustness to alternative cutoffs below.

citizens implied by the 2022 American Community Survey; the remaining men are not registered to vote (see Table A-1). About 7 (73) percent of those voters are identified as Black or Native American (white), relative to 10 (77) percent in the same-aged male citizen population, and 65 percent have a ‘spouse’.

4 Methodology

Let individual i have the birth date $t = \{m, d, y\}$. I exploit the near-random assignment of VDL status by estimating linear models of the following form by OLS:

$$Y_{it} = \beta VDL_t + \gamma_{my} + \delta_{md} + \epsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

where VDL_t indicates VDL status, γ_{my} and δ_{md} are year-month and month-day fixed effects, and the model is estimated over males from the 1950–1952 birth cohorts. The fixed effects purge bias resulting from possible correlation between Y_{it} and either imperfect cross-month randomization or small sample bias, comparing each voter to others in their same birth month and to voters born on the same date in other years. I interpret the resulting β as the causal effect of VDL status on Y_{it} .

The relationship between VDL status and conscription exhibits strong non-compliance: among non-white individuals, about 70 percent were never-takers (exempted from conscription) and 20 percent were always-takers who would have enlisted even absent VDL status (Angrist and Chen, 2011). I estimate the effect of conscription – under the exclusion restriction that VDL status only affects Y_{it} by leading compliers to conscription – using Wald estimators that employ the estimated change in veteran status resulting from VDL status reported in Angrist and Chen (2011).¹⁵ The resulting Wald estimates would be biased if VDL status also affected long-run outcomes by means other than conscription – e.g. by incentivizing marriage or college enrollment to defer the draft (e.g. Card and Lemieux, 2001) or through the long-run effects of draft-related anxiety (Erikson and Stoker, 2011) – though these channels are likely second-order in magnitude.

¹⁵Angrist and Chen (2011) show that VDL status increases the likelihood of veteran status by 9.0 (s.e. 0.34) and 14.5 (0.13) percentage points in the 2000 US Census for non-white and white youths, respectively. I employ the ‘non-white’ estimate for the minority sample and assume no covariance between the estimated first-stage and reduced-form coefficients, resulting in first-stage F -statistics of over 500. Estimates from SSA veteran status are slightly higher for white youths (Angrist et al., 2011).

The primary threat to the identification of β is differential selection into the US voter registration file by VDL status: conscription could affect the decision to register through either differential mortality or changed preferences.¹⁶ I test for differential selection into the registration file by estimating versions of Equation 1 at the *date* level – that is, an observation is a date in 1950–1952 – where Y_t represents characteristics of that date: the number or log number of male voters with that birth date, the gender share of voters with that birth date, and the share of male voters with that birth date who are minority. Table 1 shows that there is no measurable relationship between these characteristics and the date’s VDL status by race in either the baseline national voter sample or in the restricted set of six Southern states where race is directly observed in voter registration data (see below).¹⁷ The standard errors reject even small differences; for example, VDL-status birth dates differ from non-VDL-status dates in their number of registered-voter white male births by -0.7 to 0.5 percent (using a 95-percent confidence interval). These estimates provide little reason to expect differential selection by VDL status into 2022 voter registration.

5 Minority Racial Integration

Table 2 presents estimates of Equation 1 for minority voters. It shows that VDL status increased minority voters’ later-life racial integration, with their reduced-form likelihood of having a white spouse rising by 0.34 percentage points ($t = 2.2$)¹⁸ and the URM share of their residential Block falling by 0.19 percentage points ($t = 1.7$).¹⁹ Minority voters’ likelihood of being registered as Republicans rose by 0.27 percentage points ($t = 2.6$), narrowing the minority-white gap in party registration.²⁰ Given that VDL status only increased minority citizens’ likelihood of having

¹⁶Angrist et al. (2010) and Conley and Heerwig (2012) find no evidence of differential mortality resulting from VDL status in administrative US death records. About 1 percent of Vietnam enlistees and draftees were killed in the war, which would combine with the first stage to generate a sample decline of about 0.1 percentage points.

¹⁷Figure A-1 further shows no measurable change in voter density at lottery numbers near the annual conscription APN.

¹⁸Interracial marriage estimates are conditional on having a spouse. Table A-2 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). Table A-3 shows that β is little-changed using alternative year cutoffs for the spousal definition.

¹⁹Regressions on Census Block composition include (endogenous) county fixed effects to isolate neighborhood choice as distinct from regional residential decisions; estimates are somewhat larger and more rejective of a null hypothesis ($t = 2.1$) when these fixed effects are omitted (Table A-4).

²⁰Estimates are similar when restricted to states where party registration is directly observed (Table A-4). Table A-5 shows that the estimated effects of VDL status are not concentrated in a single bin of lottery numbers, though bin-specific estimates are too noisily estimated to mirror between-bin variation in the first stage from (Angrist and Chen,

served in the military by about 9 percentage points, Panel A shows much larger Wald estimates: conscripted minority veterans' likelihood of interracial marriage rose 3.6 percentage points (from an 8 percent baseline) and Republican membership rose 2.9 percentage points from a 7 percent baseline. The in-sample standard deviation of residential Block minority share is 32.2, implying that conscripted minority veterans resided in neighborhoods with almost 0.1 standard deviations fewer minority residents.

Panel B of Table 2 presents a placebo exercise in which 1953–1955 voters are assigned placebo VDL status as if they were born exactly three years earlier.²¹ We do not expect differential outcomes for these groups because none of them were conscripted. Panel B confirms that the VDL-status dates are not meaningfully correlated with later-life residential integration or political identity absent conscription; the coefficients are uniformly small and statistically insignificant.

The interracial contact and cohesion facilitated by Vietnam War conscription provide one channel that could explain these observed effects, but other channels may have also contributed. Angrist and Chen (2011) provide statistically-noisy ($t = 1.6$) evidence that non-white VDL-status Americans attended about 0.02 more years of college – likely because college-going provided enrollees with a draft deferment (and not due to GI Bill benefits; Card and Lemieux, 2001) – but this effect is very small. Angrist and Chen (2011) also show that conscripted minority veterans were over 10 percentage points more likely to work in the public sector ($t = 3.8$), which may have provided both employment stability and a relatively desegregated workplace. Conscription may have also integrated veterans by uprooting them from their potentially-segregated home communities.

Another potential mechanism that could explain minority veterans' racial integration and political convergence is that minority veterans may have economically benefited from their military service.²² Table 3 provides evidence that VDL status resulted in economic benefits to early-70s minority veterans. VDL status leads minority veterans to higher L2-imputed income by about 9 percent, while estimates on Zipcode-level income and L2-imputed wealth are smaller and statisti-

2011).

²¹There were draft lotteries for the 1953–1955 cohorts – with numbers orthogonal to 1950–1952 VDL status – but no lottery numbers were called (the APN was 0). The 1947–1949 cohorts were technically drafted using the same dates as 1950, though Angrist and Chen (2011) show that the lottery had little effect on their enlistment.

²²Angrist (1990) and Angrist and Chen (2011) present positive but statistically-noisy evidence of VDL status on non-white veterans' wages. 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 the enlistment test score margin.

cally indistinguishable from 0. The right half of Table 3 presents estimated effects on some of the observable components that L2 uses to construct its income imputation: conscripted minority veterans own homes with 8 percent higher value and 8 percent more square feet of residential space, while their homeownership rates and lot size appear slightly larger but are statistically indistinguishable from 0. Absent estimates of the local causal relationship between economic standing and the presented measures of racial integration and political identity, however, I cannot quantify the contribution of minority veterans' improved economic circumstances to their racial integration and political convergence.²³

Narrative accounts of Black Vietnam veterans from the Jim Crow South suggest that minority veterans from those states 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 the 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. However, because prior studies have not reported the relationship between VDL status and veteran status among Southern residents, I cannot distinguish larger treatment effects of conscription from larger first-stage treatment effects on veteran status (which may have led to larger observed changes in Y_{it} in turn).²⁴

The baseline estimates could be attenuated by imperfect racial measurement, since the minority voter sample is selected using the racial imputation algorithm provided by L2. The resulting bias might be particularly pronounced (and non-classical) when the outcome is minority Block share, since this information is used as part of L2's race algorithm for some Black voters (though its implementation is orthogonal to voters' VDL status). I test the empirical relevance of this bias in Panel D of Table 2, which replicates the baseline analyses in the restricted set of six Southern states where race is directly observed in voter registration data.²⁵ The estimated effects of VDL status on having a white spouse are quantitatively and statistically similar to the full sample, whereas

²³Under the strong assumptions of linear mediation analysis – that each outcome's cross-sectional relationship with economic standing is causal – economic standing explains only 10–30 percent of the observed effects (Table A-6).

²⁴Living in the South is an imperfect proxy for conscription in the South and could be endogenous to VDL status, though Table A-2 shows that that VDL status does not meaningfully affect whether minority veterans reside in the South. However, VDL status does increase Southern residency among white veterans; see Green (2024).

²⁵This no-imputation panel also redefines 'White Spouse' to use reported race of the identified spouse and 'Registered Party' is restricted to states where political party is reported.

the estimates on residential integration and political identity are similar-magnitude but statistically noisier (and not statistically distinguishable from 0), providing supportive evidence for the baseline findings.²⁶

As an additional placebo check, Appendix C replicates these analyses among *female* voters from the 1950–1952 birth cohorts. While there is no measurable relationship between women’s VDL status and either their later-life racial integration or economic standing – and even small positive racial integration relationships can be precisely rejected – there is surprising evidence that VDL-status women are 0.3 percentage points more likely to be registered Democrats ($t = 3.3$), possibly reflecting sampling error.

6 White Racial Integration

In order to test for possible asymmetry in the effects of conscription on minority and majority veterans, Table 4 reports the effect of VDL status on racial integration, politics, and economic standing for white voters. Despite considerable statistical power, I find no statistical evidence of any meaningful relationship between conscription and majority veterans’ racial integration or political identity, with most of the Wald estimators one or more orders of magnitude smaller than estimates for minority voters.²⁷ The standard deviation of Block minority shares across the white baseline sample is 12.4 percentage points, implying that the Wald estimator rejects increases of any more than 0.02 standard deviations.²⁸

Panel B of Table 4 shows similarly-precise null relationships between 1953–1955 white voters’ placebo VDL status and later-life integration, political affiliation, and economic standing. Panel C shows comparable null estimates among white voters in the six Southern states where race is directly observed, with one exception: there is evidence that white VDL-status Southerners are more likely to be registered Republicans ($t = 3.6$), though this may be the result of differential

²⁶State-by-state heterogeneity (Figure A-2) suggests that the interracial marriage effect is driven by border states like Missouri, Kentucky, and Virginia, whereas the political ideology effects are strongest in the South and Midwest. Table BB-1 replicates null placebo results in the no-imputation sample.

²⁷The point estimates on economic standing suggest very small statistically-precise economic gains for conscripted white men (though they live in lower-income Zip codes); the estimates are within the confidence intervals of Angrist and Chen (2011)’s approximately-null wage effects for white Vietnam veterans in the 2000 Census.

²⁸Table A-7 shows that the presented estimates are little-changed by 2022 county fixed effects or if restricted to states where party registration is observed.

white selection into Southern residency (see Table A-2). As an additional placebo test, Appendix C's Table CC-3 shows uniformly null relationships between VDL status and outcomes for 1950–1952 white female voters.

While the effects of Vietnam conscription on white and minority veterans' later-life racial integration and political identity are asymmetric, this need not imply that the effects of interracial contact are asymmetric. Assume that all observed effects are the result of interracial contact with other soldiers and that a typical soldier interacted with other soldiers who were 77 percent white and 23 percent minority (Goodwin, 2017). Consider a model in which the effect of contact is proportional to the share of experienced soldiers who are other-race (either white or minority). This would imply that the effect of conscription on minority veteran outcomes would be about four times larger than that on white veteran outcomes. I find only tenuous evidence that the interracial marriage ($p = 0.06$) and residential composition ($p = 0.09$) effects of minority veterans' coerced military service in Vietnam were indeed more than four times larger than that on white veterans, and no such evidence regarding political identity.

7 Contextualizing Conscription's Effect on Interracial Marriage

Figure 1 visualizes the overall trend in males' 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 – but there is no parallel divergence for white veterans, providing further evidence that military integration boosts interracial marriage asymmetrically.²⁹ White veterans' relative likelihood of interracial marriage jumps upward after the 1953 birth cohort, when the military transitions to being all-volunteer (increasing the potential for differential selection).³⁰ Interracial marriage has been steadily rising and is much higher for Black men (over 10 percent) than for white men (less than 1 percent).

²⁹Fryer (2007) points out that veterans' overall interracial marriage rate rose in the late 1920's cohorts but does not differentiate 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 ... and treatment".

³⁰Figure A-3 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. White women's likelihood of interracial marriage sharply increases following the Vietnam War (Figure A-4).

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 conscription on interracial marriage is the same as the average treatment effect of *all* military service, this is well within the confidence interval of the estimated Wald treatment effect reported in Table 2 (3.6 ± 3.3 percentage points), suggesting that the entire observational gap (and maybe more) is causal.

About 30 percent of Black male Americans of the 1950–1952 birth cohorts were veterans. Only 4.4 percent of those cohorts' marriages were between Black and white Americans, but 74 percent of those included a Black man. Assuming that the effects of coerced military service are reflective of the average effect of serving in the US military in the early 1970s, these estimates imply that about 20 percent of all Black-white intermarriages in the early 1950's cohorts – and 25 percent of those including Black men – were caused by the combination of military integration and service. These shares were likely even higher for Black men born in the 1930s and 1940s, over 40 percent of whom were veterans (see Figure A-5).

Conclusion

Conscription into integrated military service in Vietnam led minority veterans to converge toward their white compatriots in terms of likelihood of marrying a white spouse and Republican party registration – closing each gap by 4–8 percent – and appears to have led minority veterans 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, 2026), real-world high-impact policies that place young adults in relatively racially integrated environments have asymmetric effects: they meaningfully integrate minority groups with little measurable impact on majority groups' future integration or political identities.

References

- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice*. Addison-Wesley. Pages: xviii, 537.
- Ang, D. and S. Chinoy (2023). Vanguard: Black veterans and civil rights after world war i. *Manuscript*.
- Ang, D. and S. Chinoy (2025). World war i and the rise of the ku klux klan. *Manuscript*.
- Angrist, J. (1990). Lifetime earnings and the vietnam era draft lottery: Evidence from social security administrative records. *American Economic Review* 80(3), 313–336.
- Angrist, J., S. Che, and J. Song (2011). Long-term consequences of vietnam-era conscription: New estimates using social security data. *American Economic Review* 101(3), 334–338.
- Angrist, J. and S. Chen (2011). Schooling and the vietnam-era gi bill: Evidence from the draft lottery. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 3(2), 96—118.
- Angrist, J., S. Chen, and B. Frandsen (2010). Did vietnam veterans get sicker in the 1990s? the complicated effects of military service on self-reported health. *Journal of Public Economics* 94(11–12), 824–837.
- Bagues, M. and C. Roth (2023). Interregional contact and the formation of a shared identity. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 15(3), 322–350.
- Bailey, M. and E. Chyn (2020). The demographic effects of dodging the vietnam draft. *AEA Papers and Proceedings* 110, 220–225.
- Bazzi, S., A. Gaduh, A. Rothenberg, and M. Wong (2019). Unity in diversity? how intergroup contact can foster nation building. *American Economic Review* 109(11), 3978–4025.
- Berinsky, A. and S. Chatfield (2015). An empirical justification for the use of draft lottery numbers as a random treatment in political science research. *Political Analysis* 23(3), 449–454.
- Billings, S., E. Chyn, and K. Haggag (2021). The long-run effects of school racial diversity on political identity. *American Economic Review: Insights* 3(3), 267–284.
- Bleemer, Z., M. Brown, D. Lee, and W. van der Klaauw (2017). Tuition, jobs, or housing: What’s keeping millennials at home? *Federal Reserve Bank of New York Staff Report* 700.
- Bleemer, Z., M. Brown, D. Lee, and W. van der Klaauw (2021). Echoes of rising tuition in students’ borrowing, education attainment, and homeownership in post-recession america. *Journal of Urban Economics* 122, 103298.
- Bleemer, Z. and G. Jaynes (2026). Affirmative action and racial integration. *Manuscript*.
- Bleemer, Z. and S. Quincy (2024). Changes in the college mobility pipeline since 1900. *NBER Working Paper* 33797.
- Boisjoly, J., G. J. Duncan, M. Kremer, D. M. Levy, and J. Eccles (2006). Empathy or antipathy? the impact of diversity. *American Economic Review* 96(5), 1890–1905.
- Bursztyn, L., T. Chaney, T. A. Hassan, and A. Rao (2024). The immigrant next door. *American Economic Review* 114(2), 348–384.
- Calonico, S., M. Cattaneo, and R. Titiunik (2014). Robust nonparametric confidence intervals for regression-discontinuity designs. *Econometrica* 82(6), 2295–2326.
- Camargo, B., R. Stinebrickner, and T. Stinebrickner (2010). Interracial friendships in college. *Journal of Labor Economics* 28(4), 861–892.
- Card, D. and T. Lemieux (2001). Going to college to avoid the draft: The unintended legacy of the vietnam war. *American Economic Review* 91(2), 97–102.
- Carrell, S. E., M. Hoekstra, and J. E. West (2019, November). The impact of college diversity on behavior toward minorities. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy* 11(4), 159–82.
- Chetty, R., M. Jackson, T. Kuchler, J. Stroebe, N. Hendren, R. Fluegge, and S. Gong (2022). Social capital i: Measurement and associations with economic mobility. *Nature* 608, 108–121.
- Chyn, E., R. Collinson, and D. Sandler (2023). The long-run effects of residential racial desegregation programs: Evidence from gautreaux. *Manuscript*.
- Chyn, E. and K. Haggag (2023). Moved to vote: The long-run effects of neighborhoods on political participation. *Review of Economics and Statistics* 105(6), 1596–1605.
- Conley, D. and J. Heerwig (2012). The long-term effects of military conscription on mortality: estimates

- from the vietnam-era draft lottery. *Demography* 49(3), 841–855.
- Corno, L., E. La Ferrara, and J. Burns (2022). Interaction, stereotypes, and performance: Evidence from south africa. *American Economic Review* 112(12), 3848–75.
- Cutler, D., E. Glaeser, and J. Vigdor (1999). The rise and decline of the american ghetto. *Journal of Political Economy* 107(3), 455–506.
- Cáceres-Delpiano, J., A.-I. D. Moragas, G. Facchini, and I. González (2021). Intergroup contact and nation building: Evidence from military service in spain. *Journal of Public Economics* 201, 104477.
- Dahl, G. B., A. Kotsadam, and D.-O. Rooth (2021). Does integration change gender attitudes? the effect of randomly assigning women to traditionally male teams. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 136(2), 987–1030.
- Erikson, R. and L. Stoker (2011). Caught in the draft: The effects of vietnam draft lottery status on political attitudes. *American Political Science Review* 105(2), 221–237.
- Fienberg, S. (1971). Randomization and social affairs: The 1970 draft lottery. *Science* 171(3968), 255–261.
- Fiman, B., J. Borus, and M. D. Stanton (1975). Black-white and american-vietnamese relations among soldiers in vietnam. *Journal of Social Issues* 31(4), 39–48.
- Fouka, V. (2020). Backlash: The unintended effects of language prohibition in u.s. schools after world war i. *Review of Economic Studies* 87(1), 204–239.
- Fryer, Jr., R. (2007). Guess who’s been coming to dinner? trends in interracial marriage over the 20th century. *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 21(2), 71–90.
- Goldman, B., J. Gracie, and S. R. Porter (2024). Who marries whom? the role of segregation by race and class. *Manuscript*.
- Goodwin, G. (2017). Black and white in vietnam. *The New York Times* July 18, 2017.
- Gordon, N. and S. Reber (2018). The effects of school desegregation on mixed-race births. *Journal of Population Economics* 31, 561–596.
- Green, A. (2024). Networks and geographic mobility: Evidence from world war ii navy ships. *Manuscript*.
- Green, D., T. Davenport, and K. Hanson (2019). Are there long-term effects of the vietnam draft on political attitudes or behavior? apparently not. *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 6, 71–80.
- Green, D. and O. Hyman-Metzger (2024). The vietnam draft lottery and whites’ racial attitudes: Evidence from the general social survey. *American Political Science Review*.
- Greenberg, K., M. Gudgeon, A. Isen, C. Miller, and R. Patterson (2022). Army service in the all-volunteer era. *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 137(4), 2363–2418.
- Hersh, E. and M. Goldenberg (2016). Democratic and republican physicians provide different care on politicized health issues. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* 113(42), 11811–11816.
- Jácome, E., I. Kuziemko, and S. Naidu (2024). Mobility for all: Representative intergenerational mobility estimates over the 20th century. *Journal of Political Economy* 133(1), 306–354.
- Kaplan, E., J. Spenkuch, and C. Tuttle (2023). School desegregation and political preferences: Long-run evidence from kentucky. *Manuscript*.
- Lawrence, G. and T. Kane (1995). Military service and racial attitudes of white veterans. *Armed Forces & Society* 22(2), 235–255.
- MacGregor, M. (1985). *Integration of the Armed Forces 1940–1965*. Washington, D.C: Center of Military History, United States Army.
- Marmaros, D. and B. Sacerdote (2006). How do friendships form? *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 121(1), 79–119.
- Merlino, L. P., M. F. Steinhardt, and L. Wren-Lewis (2019). More than just friends? school peers and adult interracial relationships. *Journal of Labor Economics* 37(3), 663–713.
- Merlino, L. P., M. F. Steinhardt, and L. Wren-Lewis (2022). The long run impact of childhood interracial contact on residential segregation. *IZA Discussion Paper* 15538.
- Navajas, G. E., P. A. L. Villalba, M. A. Rossi, and A. Vazquez (2022). The long-term effect of military conscription on personality and beliefs. *Review of Economics and Statistics* 104(1), 133–141.
- Paluck, E., S. Green, and D. Green (2019). The contact hypothesis re-evaluated. *Behavioural Public*

- Policy 3(2), 129–158.
- Ronconi, J. P. and D. Ramos-Toro (2025). Nation-building through military service. Manuscript.
- Rosenman, E. T. R., S. Olivella, and K. Imai (2023). Race and ethnicity data for first, middle, and surnames. Scientific Data 10, 299.
- Ruggles, S., S. Flood, R. Goeken, J. Grover, E. Meyer, J. Pacas, and M. Sobek (2018). IPUMS USA: Version 8.0. Minneapolis, MN: IPUMS.
- Shen, M. (2018). How i met your mother: The effect of school desegregation on birth outcomes. Economics of Education Review 63, 31–50.
- Terry, W. (1985). Bloods: Black Veterans of the Vietnam War: An Oral History. New York: Presidio Press.
- Westcott, P. (2021). L2's ethnic coding. L2 Memo.
- Wilhelm, M. (1987). An angry vietnam war correspondent charges that black combat soldiers are platoon's m.i.a.s. People Magazine April 20,1987.
- Williams, R. M. J. (1948). The reduction of intergroup tensions: A survey of research on problems of ethnic, racial, and religious group relations. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 258(1), 166–167.
- Yorgason, C. (2024). Campaign finance vouchers do not expand the diversity of donors: Evidence from seattle. American Political Science Review.

Table 1: The Vietnam Draft and Selection into the 2021 Voter Sample

	Minority Voters			White Voters			
	# Male Voters	Log Male Voters	% Voters Female	# Male Voters	Log Male Voters	% Voters Female	% Voters Minority
<u>Panel A: Baseline Lottery Sample</u>							
VDL Status	-119 (129)	-0.004 (0.005)	0.05 (0.16)	-202 (790)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.04)
\bar{Y}	24,732	5.5	59.2	242,093	7.8	53.1	7.5
N	1,090	1,090	1,090	1,090	1,090	1,090	1,090
<u>Panel B: Voters with No Imputed Data</u>							
VDL Status	-29 (71)	-0.004 (0.009)	0.10 (0.28)	282 (216)	0.006 (0.005)	-0.13 (0.13)	-0.14 (0.12)
\bar{Y}	8,295	4.4	59.6	44,210	6.1	53.8	14.2
N	1,090	1,090	1,090	1,090	1,090	1,090	1,090
$\gamma_{my} + \delta_{md}$	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Note: OLS regressions over 1950–1952 birth dates of the number of male voters, log number of male voters, share voters female, and share voters who are Black or Native American (minority) with each birth date on whether that birth date was eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery (VDL). The first three columns are restricted to minority voters, the next three columns to white voters. January 1 and July 1 are omitted because they are extreme outliers in voter density, likely because they are common placeholders in legacy voter registration systems; 1952 was a leap year. Race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023). Panel B is restricted to registered voters in the six states where most voters report their race – AL, FL, GA, LA, NC, and SC – who themselves report their race. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by month-day.

Source: L2 Voter Database.

Table 2: The Vietnam Draft and Minority Veterans’ Racial Integration and Political Identity

	White Spouse	Minority Share in Block (%)	Registered Party: Dem.	Rep.
Panel A: Baseline Lottery Estimates				
VDL Status	0.34 (0.16)	-0.19 (0.11)	-0.14 (0.13)	0.27 (0.10)
\bar{Y}	8.2	55.0	85.6	7.4
N	136,901	265,100	269,574	269,574
Wald Est.	3.58 (1.70)	-1.97 (1.15)	-1.52 (1.35)	2.92 (1.12)
Panel B: Placebo Lottery Estimates (Post-VDL Cohorts)				
Placebo VDL Status	-0.02 (0.16)	0.08 (0.10)	-0.08 (0.13)	0.10 (0.09)
\bar{Y}	8.8	54.9	85.4	7.1
N	157,993	315,877	321,200	321,200
Panel C: Lottery Estimates Among Residents of the South				
VDL Status	0.49 (0.19)	-0.27 (0.15)	-0.28 (0.17)	0.55 (0.14)
\bar{Y}	7.3	54.6	83.9	8.8
N	92,682	165,374	168,811	168,811
Panel D: Lottery Estimates Among Voters with No Imputed Data				
VDL Status	0.45 (0.23)	-0.19 (0.21)	-0.39 (0.34)	0.20 (0.20)
\bar{Y}	4.9	55.1	85.0	4.5
N	48,668	88,488	48,232	48,232
$\gamma_{my} + \delta_{md}$	X	X	X	X
County FE		X		

Note: OLS regressions of an indicator for being married to a white spouse in 2022, the minority share of 2022 residential block, or the registered political party on whether the person’s birthday was eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month and month-day fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. The first column is restricted to voters with a spouse; the second column is restricted to voters who reside at geolocated addresses. **Panel A** is restricted to registered Black or Native American (minority) male voters born in 1950–1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023). The panel also presents scaled Wald estimators for the effect of Vietnam conscription – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via conscription – using the veteran status estimates of Angrist (1990), Table 2. **Panel B** is restricted to registered minority male voters born in 1953–1955, assigning VDL status as if each voter were born exactly three years earlier. **Panel C** restricts each baseline model to residents of the former Jim Crow South. **Panel D** instead restricts each baseline model to registered voters in AL, FL, GA, LA, NC, and SC who report their race; ‘white spouse’ is defined as having a spouse who reports being white; and ‘Democrat’ and ‘Republican’ are restricted to states where political party membership is directly observed. Wald estimators are not presented in Panels C and D because there is no available estimate of first-stage veteran status 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 Minority Veterans' Economic Standing

	Avg. Zip Code AGI (log \$)	Imputed (log \$):		Some Components of Imputed Income/Wealth			
		Income	Wealth	Home Value (log \$)	Own Home (%)	Log Sq. Ft.: Lot	Home
Panel A: Baseline Lottery Estimates							
VDL Status	0.001 (0.002)	0.008 (0.003)	0.003 (0.005)	0.007 (0.003)	0.10 (0.20)	0.005 (0.006)	0.007 (0.003)
\bar{Y}	10.9	10.9	11.3	12.2	49.6	9.3	7.5
N	268,729	262,207	165,753	262,490	269,574	206,263	194,046
Wald Est.	0.0086 (0.0171)	0.086 (0.030)	0.032 (0.054)	0.076 (0.035)	1.1 (2.2)	0.056 (0.060)	0.077 (0.027)
Panel B: Placebo Lottery Estimates (Post-VDL Cohorts)							
Placebo	-0.004	-0.001	-0.003	0.002	-0.24	0.004	0.001
VDL Status	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.20)	(0.005)	(0.002)
\bar{Y}	10.9	10.9	11.3	12.2	46.7	9.3	7.4
N	320,242	311,736	188,820	311,938	321,200	242,824	228,103
$\gamma_{my} + \delta_{md}$	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

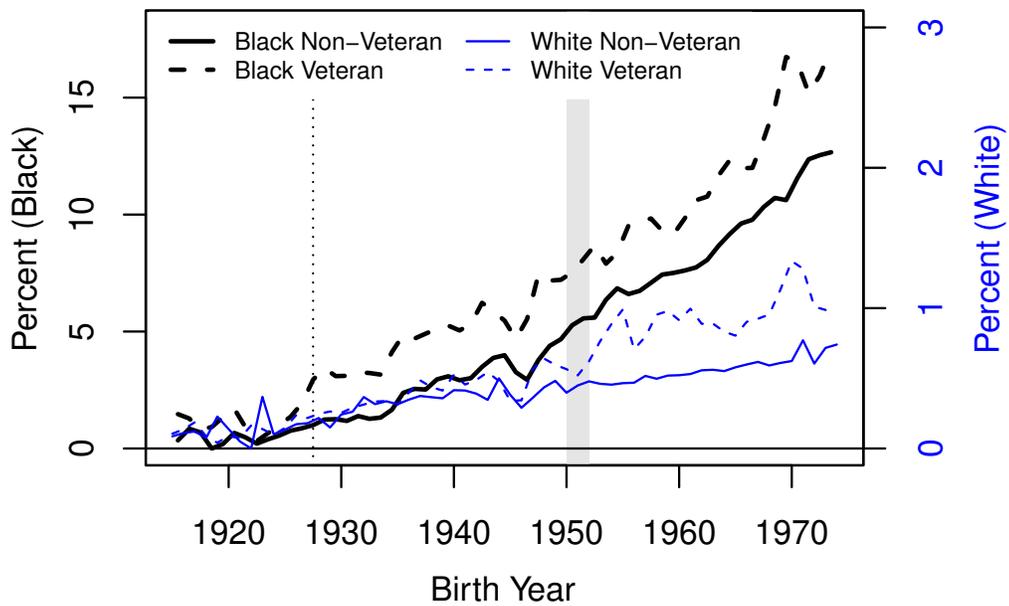
Note: OLS regressions of the average 2021 adjusted gross income of households in the residential Zip code, L2-imputed income or wealth, and several L2-reported household features used to construct imputed income and wealth (estimated current retail market value of home, predicted homeownership indicator, and the square footage of the residential address's lot and dwelling) on whether the person's birthday was eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month and month-day fixed effects. The first column is restricted to voters with a Zip code; the remaining columns are restricted to observations where each variable is reported by L2. **Panel A** is restricted to registered Black or Native American (minority) male voters born in 1950–1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023). The panel also presents scaled Wald estimators for the effect of Vietnam conscription – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via conscription – using the veteran status estimates of Angrist (1990), Table 2. **Panel B** is restricted to registered minority male voters born in 1953–1955, assigning VDL status as if each voter were born exactly three years earlier. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database, IRS SOI, and the 2020 US Census.

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

	Minority Spouse	Minority Share in Block (%)	Registered Party: Dem. Rep.		Avg. Zip Code AGI (log \$)	Imputed (log \$): Income Wealth	
Panel A: Baseline Lottery Estimates							
VDL Status	0.009 (0.013)	0.005 (0.015)	0.013 (0.063)	0.016 (0.067)	-0.0018 (0.0007)	0.0016 (0.0008)	0.0033 (0.0014)
\bar{Y}	0.7	7.5	31.8	48.4	11.4	11.3	11.9
N	1,800,526	2,576,572	2,638,821	2,638,821	2,609,439	2,565,929	1,914,765
Wald Est.	0.06 (0.09)	0.03 (0.10)	0.09 (0.44)	0.11 (0.46)	-0.012 (0.005)	0.0113 (0.0057)	0.023 (0.010)
Panel B: Placebo Lottery Estimates (Post-VDL Cohorts)							
Placebo VDL Status	0.021 (0.013)	0.012 (0.016)	0.045 (0.060)	-0.068 (0.062)	0.00062 (0.00065)	-0.0002 (0.0008)	-0.0002 (0.0014)
\bar{Y}	0.8	7.7	30.2	49.4	11.4	11.3	11.9
N	1,978,697	2,875,816	2,947,486	2,947,486	2,916,218	2,863,915	2,116,001
Panel C: Lottery Estimates Among Voters with No Imputed Data							
VDL Status	0.010 (0.027)	-0.051 (0.041)	-0.208 (0.155)	0.593 (0.166)	-0.0023 (0.0017)	-0.0007 (0.0019)	0.0006 (0.0034)
\bar{Y}	0.6	10.1	26.1	48.5	11.3	11.2	11.9
N	334,061	470,983	323,873	323,873	477,912	469,950	304,620
$\gamma_{my} + \delta_{md}$ County FE	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

Note: OLS regressions of an indicator for being married to a minority spouse in 2022, the minority share of 2022 residential block, the registered political party, the average 2021 adjusted gross income of households in the residential Zip code, or L2-imputed income or wealth on whether the person’s birthday was eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month and month-day fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. The first column is restricted to voters with a spouse; the second to voters who reside at geolocated addresses; the fifth to voters with a Zip code; and the sixth and seventh to voters with imputed income or wealth. **Panel A** is restricted to registered *white* male voters born in 1950–1952; race is imputed by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023). The panel also presents scaled Wald estimators for the effect of Vietnam conscription – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via conscription – using the veteran status estimates of Angrist (1990), Table 2. **Panel B** is restricted to white male voters born in 1953–1955, assigning VDL status as if each were born exactly three years earlier. **Panel C** is restricted to voters in AL, FL, GA, LA, NC, and SC who report their race; ‘minority spouse’ is defined as having a spouse who reports being Black or Native American; and ‘Democrat’ and ‘Republican’ are restricted to states where membership is observed. 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

February 2026

Table of Contents

Data Appendix	1
Race Imputation and Replication with Non-Imputed Race	3
The Vietnam Draft and Women	7
Other Figures and Tables	10

Appendix A: Data Appendix

This study extends a series of administrative datasets constructed by Bleemer and Jaynes (2026) to study the long-run effects of Vietnam War conscription 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 was provided by Yale University and 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 6.0 percent of voters in the 1950–1955 birth cohorts due to incomplete birth date. I also exclude 1.6 percent of voters whose birth dates are listed as January 1 or July 1 because those dates are extreme outliers in voter density, likely because they are common placeholders in legacy voter registration systems.

The resulting dataset includes 3,612,324 men and 4,202,504 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 81 and 83 percent.

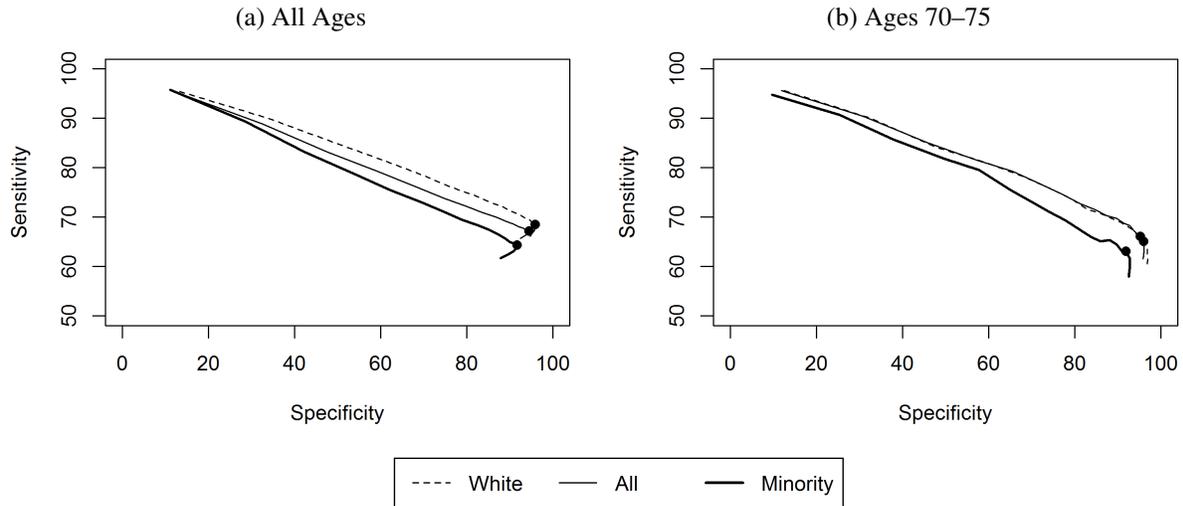
In the 17 states where voters do not report political party membership, L2 imputes affiliation using partisan primary participation and many other sources. See [L2's documentation](#) for details; the non-reporting states are AL, GA, HI, IL, IN, MI, MN, MO, MT, ND, OH, SC, TX, VT, VA, and WA. I do not distinguish between reported and imputed party membership except when reporting estimates for individuals with 'no imputed data' (see Appendix B) or in Tables A-4 and A-7, which restrict to the states where party membership is reported. I 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. I choose 15 by using the 2021 American Community Survey to estimate the true positive rate (sensitivity) and true negative rate (specificity) for each integer value between 5 and 20. The resulting Receiver Operating Characteristic (ROC) curves are shown in Figure AA-1 overall and for white and minority respondents, both for all ages and for respondents between ages 70–75. The figure shows that 15 is at the vertex of each curve and maximizes the sum of specificity and sensitivity for five of the six series; for 70–75 minority respondents, the sum is slightly higher for 16.³¹ The resulting Type 1 and 2 error rates for 70–75

³¹Bleemer et al. (2021, 2017) find the same pattern in earlier ACS years for younger respondents and choose the same

Figure AA-1: ROC Curves for Imputation of Spouses



Note: This figure shows that the optimal age for identifying spouses is 15 for both minority and white Americans at all ages and for those between ages 70 and 75. Receiver Operating Characteristic (ROC) curves for integer values between 5 and 20 of x in the following approximate definition of a spouse: “a spouse is the only person with x years of an individual’s age who lives at their same address.” Sensitivity (true positive rate) and specificity (true negative rate) are measured in the 2021 ACS among all white and minority (Black and Native American) respondents and among respondents between ages 70–75. The value $x = 15$ (marked by solid dots) has the highest sum of sensitivity and specificity for all series. Source: 2021 American Community Survey.

ACS respondents are 33.9 and 4.8 percent. I do not 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. Figure BB-1 further employs the 2021 ACS to show that interracial marital patterns by ethnicity and birth cohort are very similar between imputed marriages (using the 15-year rule) and actual marriages, with the former underestimating interracial marriage rates by less than 5 percent on average.³²

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,

spousal definition.

³²Bleemer and Jaynes (2026) similarly 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.

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 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. ‘Placebo’ 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 exactly three years earlier.

A.3 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. Multiracial residents are included as URM if they report at least one URM race.

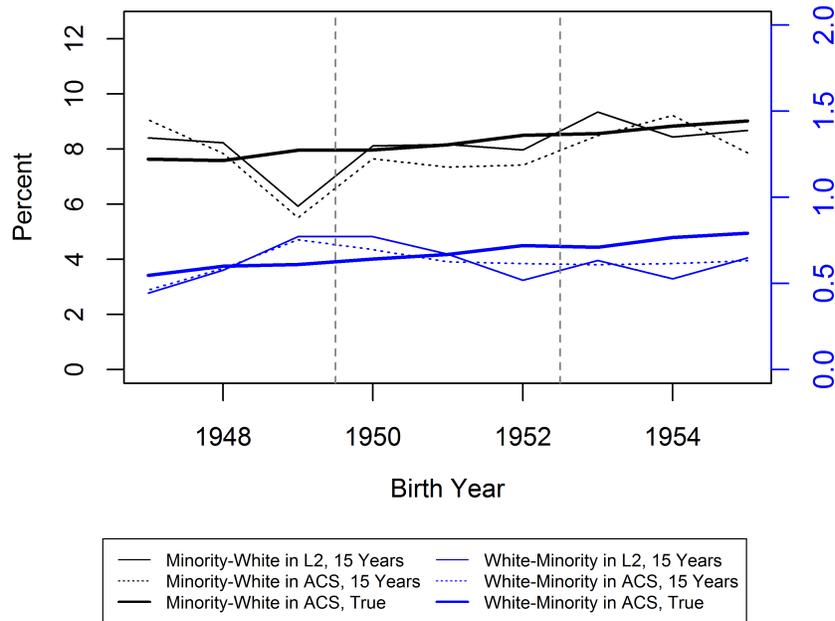
I match each student’s home Zip code to the average adjusted gross income of 2021 federal tax filers in that Zip code using data from the [Internal Revenue Service’s Statistics of Income](#) dataset.

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). While three other states also permit registered voters to report race, fewer than 10 percent of PA and HI voters and less than half of TN voters have done so, whereas 97 percent of registered voters in the former six states report their race; I refer to those six states as those with ‘no imputed race data’ in the main text. 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. The model is then augmented only for classifying Black voters by using differential classification thresholds in Census Blocks with higher and lower Black residential shares (Westcott, 2021).³³ Racial misclassification would likely bias downward the presented estimates

³³The Westcott memo is available at <https://redistrictingdatahub.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/L2s-Ethnic-Coding.pdf>.

Figure BB-1: Comparison between L2 and ACS Interracial Marriage Rates



Note: This figure shows that the imputed male white and minority interracial marriage rates by birth cohort in the 2021 L2 voter registration database – imputing spouses as the only person within 15 years of age living with a person – are very similar to the imputed interracial marriage rates measured in the 2021 American Community Survey, and that the true and imputed rates are very similar to each other in the ACS. The share of minority (Black and Native American) males with white spouses – and the share of white males with minority spouses – by year of birth among registered voters in the L2 database and among respondents to the 2021 American Community Survey, where ‘spouses’ are defined as either directly-observed spouses (‘True’) or as the only coresident within 15 years of the person’s age (‘15 Years’). In the L2 data, race is imputed by L2; race is directly reported in the ACS (individuals who report multiple races are binned as ‘other’). True spouses in the ACS are identified using the following family relations: household head and spouse, child and child-in-law, sibling and sibling-in-law, two parents, or two parents-in-law. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2021 American Community Survey.

for Black and Native American voters (since estimates for white voters are small) and bias upward the presented estimates for white voters (since those for minority voters are larger), though the resulting bias may not be classical if VDL status changes Black voters’ residential Block (which might have second-order effects on whether the voter is classified as Black).

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 (2026) 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 students’ reported race on their undergraduate application is taken as base truth. Chyn and Haggag (2023) report a Type 2 error rate of 15 percent for Black voters among those linked by name and birth date to administrative social assistance records (like SNAP) in Illinois.³⁴ Error rates of these magnitudes suggest that the presented estimates on

³⁴Statistic from private communication with Eric Chyn on January 25, 2025.

Table BB-1: The Vietnam Draft and Minority Veterans’ Racial Integration and Political Identity Among Voters with No Imputed Data

	White Spouse	Minority Share in Block (%)	Registered Party: Dem. Rep.	
Panel A: Baseline Lottery Estimates				
VDL Status	0.45 (0.23)	-0.19 (0.21)	-0.39 (0.34)	0.20 (0.20)
\bar{Y}	4.9	55.1	85.0	4.5
N	48,668	88,488	48,232	48,232
Panel B: Placebo Lottery Estimates (Post-VDL Cohorts)				
Placebo VDL Status	0.05 (0.20)	-0.18 (0.18)	0.38 (0.32)	0.09 (0.18)
\bar{Y}	5.3	54.6	83.6	4.8
N	55,557	103,712	56,070	56,070
$\gamma_{my} + \delta_{md}$ County FE	X	X X	X	X

Note: OLS regressions of an indicator for being married to a white spouse in 2022, the minority share of 2022 residential block, or the registered political party on whether the person’s birthday was eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. The sample is restricted to registered voters in AL, FL, GA, LA, NC, and SC who report their race; ‘white spouse’ is defined as having a spouse who reports being white; and ‘Democrat’ and ‘Republican’ are restricted to states where political party membership is directly observed. All regressions include year-month and month-day fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. The first column is restricted to voters with a spouse; the second column is restricted to voters who reside at geolocated addresses. **Panel A** is restricted to registered Black or Native American (minority) male voters born in 1950–1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023). The panel also presents scaled Wald estimators for the effect of Vietnam conscription – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via conscription – using the veteran status estimates of Angrist (1990), Table 2. **Panel B** is restricted to registered minority male voters born in 1953–1955, assigning VDL status as if each voter were born exactly three years earlier. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.

minority voters could be biased downward by as much as 10–20 percent.

Figure BB-1 shows that L2’s racial imputations result in aggregate interracial marriage rates by ethnicity and birth cohort – defined as the share of minority men with an white spouse or the share of white men with a minority spouse – that is within 10 percent of the parallel intermarriage rates in the 2021 American Community Survey. This provides additional evidence favoring the L2 dataset as capturing a representative set of voters by ethnicity and accurately identifying different-race voters in the same household (and often with the same last name).

One test of the relevance of racial imputation for the baseline estimates presented above is shown in the ‘Voters with No Imputed Data’ panels of Tables 2 and 4. Tables BB-1, BB-2, and BB-3 fully replicate the other panels of Tables 2, 3, and 4 using these voters for whom race is directly observed. Spousal race in these states also reflects the true reported spousal race; the small

Table BB-2: The Vietnam Draft and Minority Veterans’ Economic Standing **Among Voters with No Imputed Race Data**

	Avg. Zip Code AGI (log \$)	Imputed (log \$):		Some Components of Imputed Income/Wealth			
		Income	Wealth	Home Value (log \$)	Own Home (%)	Log Sq. Ft.: Lot	Home
Panel A: Baseline Lottery Estimates							
VDL Status	-0.001 (0.003)	0.008 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.008)	0.003 (0.005)	-0.08 (0.35)	0.005 (0.009)	0.005 (0.004)
\bar{Y}	11.0	10.9	11.4	12.1	56.1	9.7	7.5
N	94,382	92,155	59,435	92,201	94,683	76,678	73,299
Panel B: Placebo Lottery Estimates (Post-VDL Cohorts)							
Placebo VDL Status	-0.003 (0.003)	0.001 (0.004)	-0.000 (0.007)	0.005 (0.005)	-0.01 (0.31)	0.012 (0.008)	0.005 (0.004)
\bar{Y}	10.9	10.9	11.4	12.1	53.3	9.7	7.5
N	110,563	107,629	67,464	107,633	110,850	88,907	84,927
$\gamma_{my} + \delta_{md}$	X	X	X	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, and several L2-reported household features used to construct imputed income and wealth – estimated current retail market value of home, predicted homeownership indicator, and the square footage of the residential address’s lot and dwelling – on whether the person’s birthday was eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. The sample is restricted to registered voters in AL, FL, GA, LA, NC, and SC who report their race. All regressions include year-month and month-day fixed effects. The first column is restricted to voters with a Zip code; the remaining columns are restricted to observations where each variable is reported by L2. **Panel A** is restricted to registered Black or Native American (minority) male voters born in 1950–1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023). The panel also presents scaled Wald estimators for the effect of Vietnam conscription – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via conscription – using the veteran status estimates of Angrist (1990), Table 2. **Panel B** is restricted to registered minority male voters born in 1953–1955, assigning VDL status as if each voter were born exactly three years earlier. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database, IRS SOI, and the 2020 US Census.

number of spouses who do not report race are omitted. Three of the six states – Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina – do not collect party registration on their voter register; for those outcomes, these tables restrict the sample to states where party registration is observed.

The resulting estimates are discussed in the main text. While the sample of minority voters in the six-state sample is relatively small, all of the point estimates are very similar to the national estimates, though only the estimate for minority VDL-status voters marrying a white spouse is statistically significant at the 5 percent level. The only notable difference between the two sets of estimates is that VDL-status white men in these six Southern states are also substantially more likely to be members of the Republican party, a difference that is not observed nationally.

Table BB-3: The Vietnam Draft and White Veterans’ Racial Integration, Politics, and Economic Standing **Among Voters with No Imputed Data**

	Minority Spouse	Minority Share in Block (%)	Registered Party: Dem. Rep.		Avg. Zip Code AGI (log \$)	Imputed (log \$): Income Wealth	
Panel A: Baseline Lottery Estimates							
VDL Status	0.010 (0.027)	-0.051 (0.041)	-0.208 (0.155)	0.593 (0.166)	-0.0023 (0.0017)	-0.0007 (0.0019)	0.0006 (0.0034)
\bar{Y}	0.6	10.1	26.1	48.5	11.3	11.2	11.9
N	334,061	470,983	323,873	323,873	477,912	469,950	304,620
Panel B: Placebo Lottery Estimates (Post-VDL Cohorts)							
Placebo VDL Status	0.040 (0.029)	0.101 (0.041)	-0.006 (0.148)	-0.202 (0.173)	-0.00009 (0.00155)	-0.0035 (0.0018)	-0.0022 (0.0034)
\bar{Y}	0.6	10.5	24.7	50.4	11.3	11.3	11.9
N	350,742	504,298	344,343	344,343	513,403	503,671	323,546
$\gamma_{my} + \delta_{md}$ County FE	X	X X	X	X	X	X	X

Note: OLS regressions of an indicator for being married to a minority spouse in 2022, the minority share of 2022 residential block, the registered political party, the average 2021 adjusted gross income of households in the residential Zip code, or L2-imputed income or wealth on whether the person’s birthday was eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month and month-day fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. The sample is restricted to registered voters in AL, FL, GA, LA, NC, and SC who report their race; ‘white spouse’ is defined as having a spouse who reports being white; and ‘Democrat’ and ‘Republican’ are restricted to states where political party membership is directly observed. The first column is further restricted to voters with a spouse; the second to voters who reside at geolocated addresses; the fifth to voters with a Zip code; and the sixth and seventh to voters with imputed income or wealth. **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 by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023). The panel also presents scaled Wald estimators for the effect of Vietnam conscription – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via conscription – using the veteran status estimates of Angrist (1990), Table 2. **Panel B** is restricted to registered white male voters born in 1953–1955, assigning VDL status as if each voter were born exactly three years earlier. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.

Appendix C: The Vietnam Draft and Women

Women were not drafted in the Vietnam era. As a result, female voters may constitute a second placebo group among whom to test whether VDL-status dates are associated with differences in long-run racial integration, political identity, or economic standing. Alternatively, it is also possible that the arbitrary nature of the draft lottery’s date selection could affect the beliefs and attitudes of women born on VDL-status dates. This section replicates Tables 2 (by Table CC-1), 3 (by CC-2), and 4 (by CC-3) for female minority and white voters instead of male voters.

Nearly all presented estimates have very small magnitudes and are statistically insignificant, providing further placebo evidence that the non-negligible racial integration and political identity effects of VDL status for minority men are unlikely to result from spurious variation or any other causal mechanism but as a result of VDL status itself. The only exception is that Table CC-1

Table CC-1: Minority **Women** Voters’ Racial Integration and Political Identity

	White Spouse	Minority Share in Block (%)	Registered Party:	
			Dem.	Rep.
VDL Status	-0.17 (0.17)	0.12 (0.09)	0.33 (0.10)	-0.07 (0.08)
\bar{Y}	8.8	57.1	89.8	5.3
N	133,410	385,324	391,455	391,455
$\gamma_{my} + \delta_{md}$	X	X	X	X
County FE		X		

Note: OLS regressions of an indicator for being married to a white spouse in 2022, the minority share of 2022 residential block, or the registered political party on whether the person’s birthday was eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month and month-day fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. The sample is restricted to registered Black or Native American (minority) *female* voters born in 1950–1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023). The first column is further restricted to voters with a spouse; the second column is restricted to voters who reside at geolocated addresses. The panel also presents scaled Wald estimators for the effect of Vietnam conscription – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via conscription – using the veteran status estimates of Angrist (1990), Table 2. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.

shows that minority women born on VDL-status dates in 1950–1952 are about 0.3 percentage points more likely to be registered Democrats in 2022 than women born on other dates, possibly reflecting sampling error.

Table CC-2: Minority **Women** Voters' Economic Standing

	Avg. Zip Code AGI (log \$)	Imputed (log \$):		Some Components of Imputed Income/Wealth			
		Income	Wealth	Home Value (log \$)	Own Home (%)	Log Sq. Ft.: Lot	Home
VDL Status	-0.001 (0.002)	0.003 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.002 (0.003)	0.29 (0.17)	0.004 (0.005)	-0.000 (0.002)
\bar{Y}	10.9	10.8	11.2	12.1	49.1	9.2	7.4
N	390,337	383,995	274,620	384,174	391,455	290,965	274,396
$\gamma_{my} + \delta_{md}$	X	X	X	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, and several L2-reported household features used to construct imputed income and wealth – estimated current retail market value of home, predicted homeownership indicator, and the square footage of the residential address's lot and dwelling – on whether the person's birthday was eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month and month-day fixed effects. The sample is restricted to registered Black or Native American (minority) *female* voters born in 1950–1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023). The first column is further restricted to voters with a Zip code; the remaining columns are restricted to observations where each variable is reported by L2. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database, IRS SOI, and the 2020 US Census.

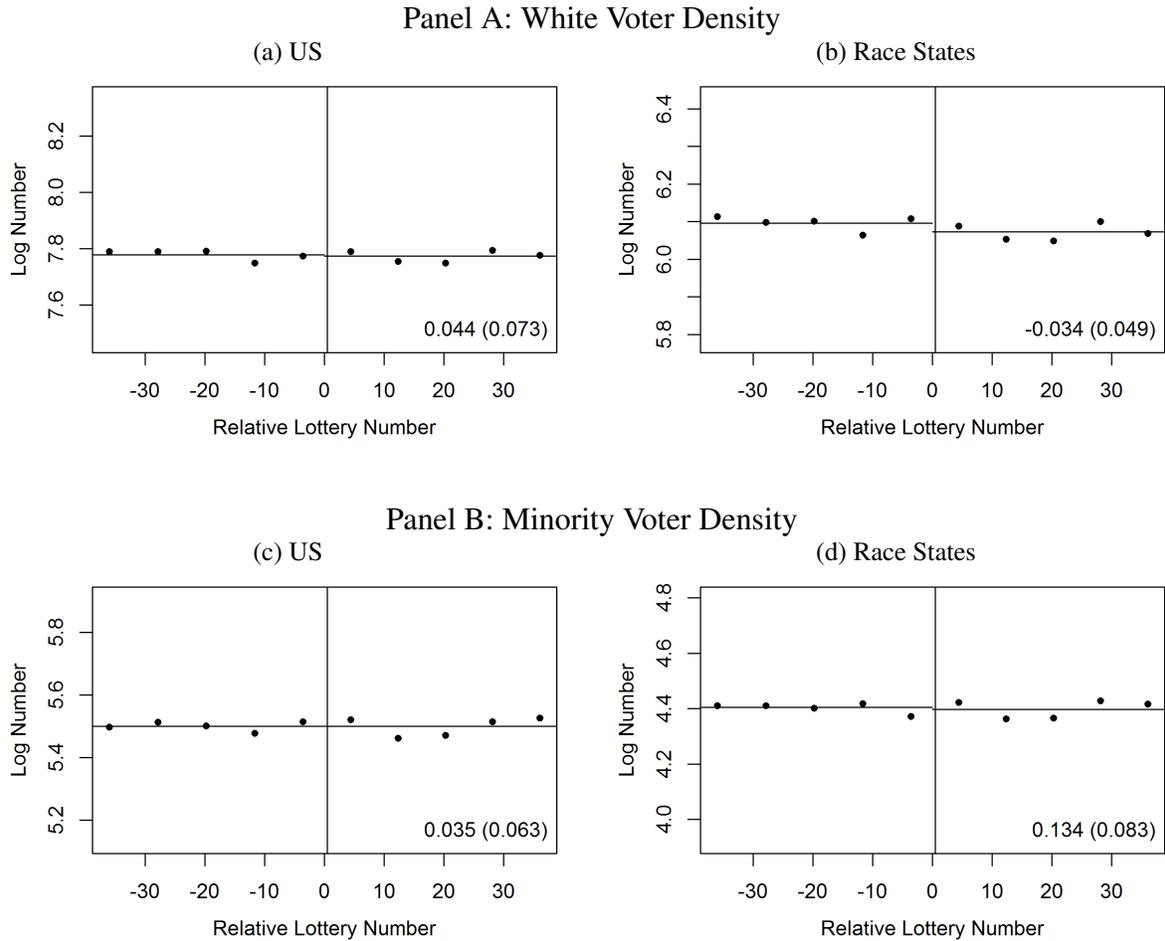
Table CC-3: White **Women** Voters' Racial Integration, Politics, and Economic Standing

	Minority Spouse	Minority Share in Block (%)	Registered Party:		Avg. Zip Code AGI (log \$)	Imputed (log \$):	
			Dem.	Rep.		Income	Wealth
VDL Status	0.009 (0.013)	-0.024 (0.014)	-0.029 (0.061)	-0.033 (0.064)	0.0003 (0.0007)	-0.0006 (0.0009)	-0.0008 (0.0013)
\bar{Y}	0.6	7.7	38.5	43.7	11.4	11.2	11.9
N	1,718,706	2,921,969	2,986,666	2,986,666	2,956,384	2,916,989	2,242,782
$\gamma_{my} + \delta_{md}$	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
County FE		X					

Note: OLS regressions of an indicator for being married to a white spouse in 2022, the minority share of 2022 residential block, the registered political party, the average 2021 adjusted gross income of households in the residential Zip code, or L2-imputed income or wealth on whether the person's birthday was eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month and month-day fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. The sample is restricted to registered white *female* voters born in 1950–1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023). The first column is further restricted to voters with a spouse; the second to voters who reside at geolocated addresses; the fifth to voters with a Zip code; and the sixth and seventh to voters with imputed income or wealth. The panel also presents scaled Wald estimators for the effect of Vietnam conscription – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via conscription – using the veteran status estimates of Angrist (1990), Table 2. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.

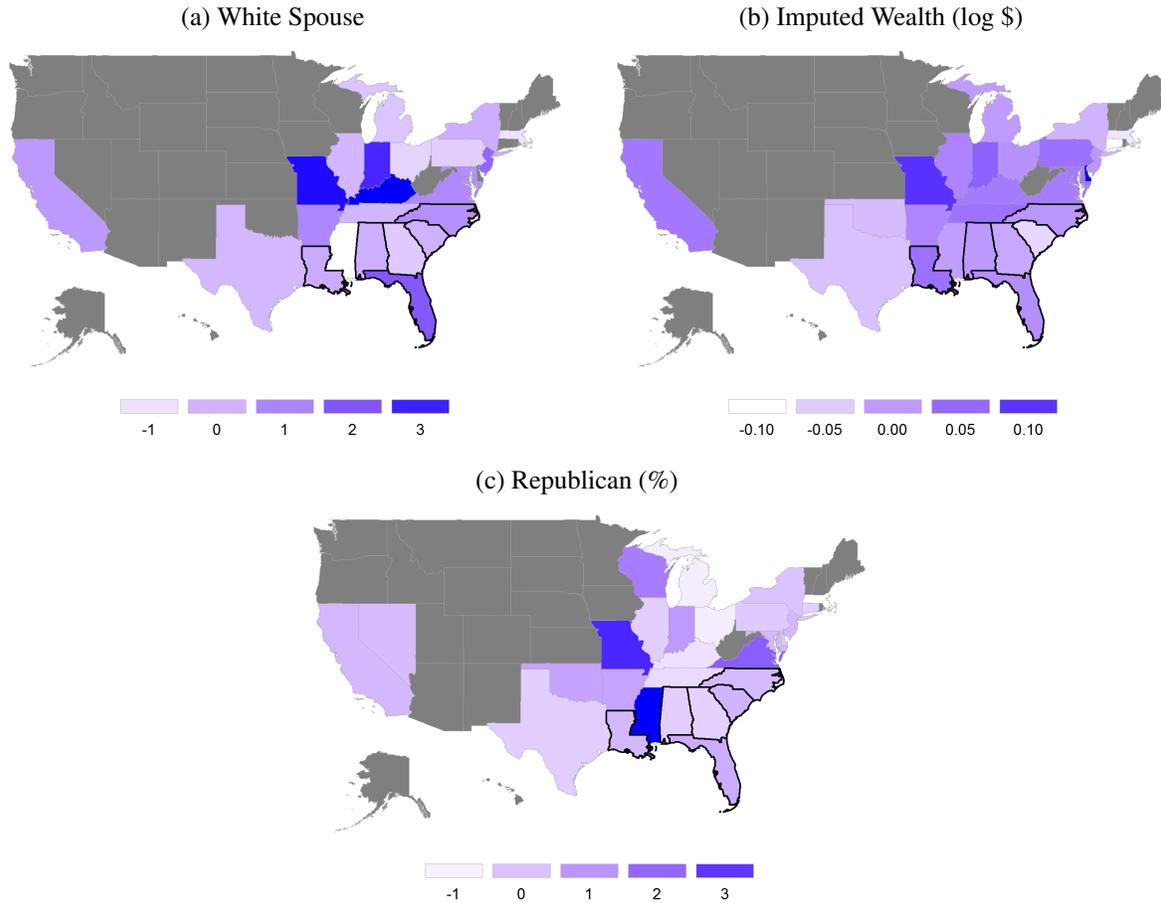
Other Figures and Tables

Figure A-1: Selection into Voter Registration by Distance to VDL Status Cutoff



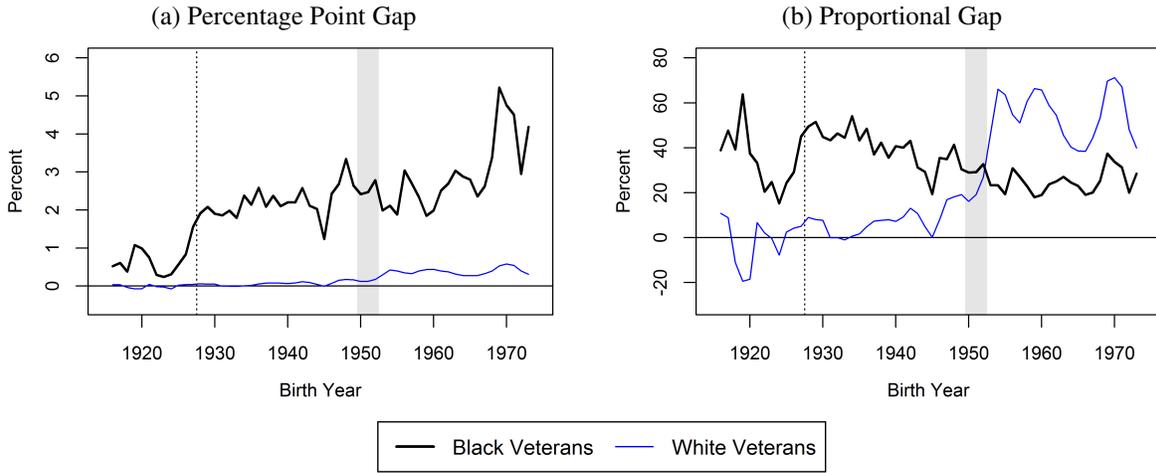
Note: [This figure shows that there is no measurable relationship between VDL status and voter registration on the margin of attaining VDL status.](#) Binscatter plots and regression discontinuity estimates of the relationship between each 1950–1952 birth date’s distance (in draft lottery numbers) from that year’s maximum VDL-status draft number, where negative numbers mean that the date is VDL-status, and the log number of 2022 male registered voters who were born on that date. The lines show the simple mean of log voters on either side of the VDL-status cutoff among birth dates within the 40-date bandwidth. The sample is restricted to white or minority (Black or Native American) voters in all 50 states – where race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023) – or to the six ‘Race States’ where voters’ race is directly observed: AL, FL, GA, LA, NC, and SC. Robust regression discontinuity coefficients and standard errors follow Calonico et al. (2014). Source: L2 Voter Database.

Figure A-2: Geospatial Variation in Minority Conscription Treatment Effects



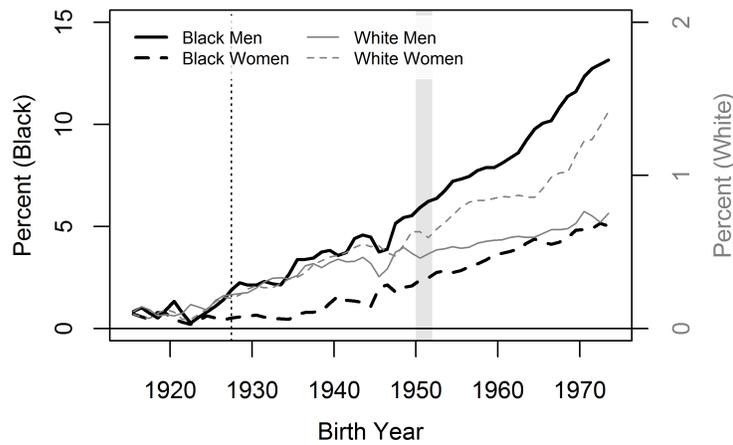
Note: This figure shows that the effect of conscription on minority veterans' interracial marriage is geographically widespread (except in Mississippi), including in the black-outlined states where voters' race is directly observed, whereas estimated effects on wealth and Republican membership are more concentrated in border states of the South and Midwest. Choropleths of 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 was 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 restricted to registered Black and Native American (minority) voters born in 1950–1952. **The states where race is directly observed are outlined in black;** in all other states, race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names (Rosenman et al., 2023). All regressions include year-month and month-day fixed effects. Source: L2 Voter Database.

Figure A-3: Interracial Marriage Gaps at Middle Age by Race and Veteran Status



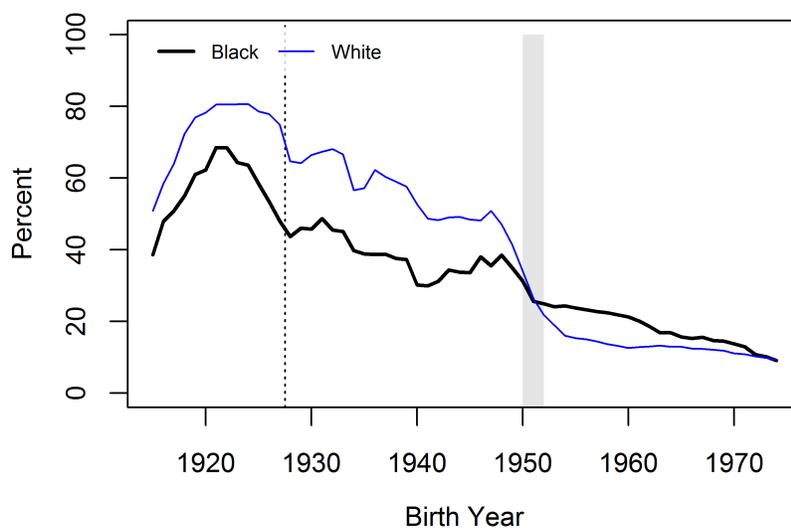
Note: This figure shows that the level gap in Black men’s intermarriage rates by veteran status appeared after the military’s early-50’s integration and was unchanged through the Vietnam era, whereas the gap for white men didn’t arise until the military transitioned to an all-volunteer force in 1973. 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-4: Interracial Marriage at Middle Age by Race and Gender



Note: This figure shows that Black men and white women have been more likely than white men and Black women to intermarry since around the time the military integrated, with white women’s intermarriage rate sharply rising following the Vietnam War. The percent of married male and female Black (left axis) and white (right axis) Americans 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).

Figure A-5: 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).

Table A-1: Descriptive Statistics

	All Men	White Men		Minority Men	
		VDL	Non-VDL	VDL	Non-VDL
Age in 2022	71.0	71.2	70.8	71.2	70.8
Northeast (%)	19.2	18.8	19.1	17.2	17.2
South (%)	39.2	38.9	38.3	64.0	63.9
Midwest (%)	19.8	21.6	21.8	13.8	13.8
West (%)	21.8	20.8	20.8	5.1	5.0
Has Spouse (%)	65.2	68.4	68.1	50.7	50.6
White (%)	75.6	95.3	95.3	7.8	7.8
Black (%)	5.7	0.6	0.6	89.5	89.5
Native American (%)	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
Hispanic (%)	6.7	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3
Asian (%)	3.4	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.6
Unknown (%)	8.6	1.9	1.9	0.9	0.9
Res. Block Minor. Share (%)					
25th	0.0	0.0	0.0	26.1	26.3
50th	3.9	3.2	3.1	57.9	58.0
75th	11.8	9.1	9.1	85.7	85.7
Missing (%)	2.2	2.4	2.4	1.5	1.6
Democrat (%)	38.6	31.8	31.8	86.1	86.3
Republican (%)	42.1	48.5	48.4	7.1	6.9
Other (%)	19.4	19.7	19.8	6.7	6.8
Predicted Income (\$)					
25th	55,000	58,000	58,000	38,000	38,000
50th	79,000	81,000	81,000	58,000	58,000
75th	116,531	117,000	118,000	86,000	85,000
Missing (%)	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.7
Predicted Wealth (\$)	202,750	207,560	207,492	120,091	119,506
White (%)	73.1				
Black (%)	7.4				
Native American (%)	0.1				
Hispanic (%)	7.9				
Asian (%)	3.0				
Unknown (%)	8.6				
VDL Status (%)	37.4				
<i>N</i>	3,612,324	987,560	1,651,261	99,584	166,371

Note: [This table provides overall descriptive statistics of the main analytical sample in this study.](#) 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 minority (Black or Native American) 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 A-2: The Vietnam Draft and Data Censorship: Marriage Rates and Southern Residency

	Minority Voters		White Voters	
	Has Spouse	South	Has Spouse	South
Panel A: Baseline Lottery Estimates				
VDL Status	-0.14 (0.20)	-0.26 (0.20)	0.08 (0.06)	0.27 (0.07)
\bar{Y}	50.8	62.6	68.2	37.8
N	269,574	269,574	2,638,821	2,638,821
$\gamma_{my} + \delta_{md}$	X	X	X	X

Note: This table shows that there is no evidence of differential selection of minority men with VDL status into either marriage or residency in the South, though VDL-status white voters appear to have moved south. OLS regressions of indicators for being matched to a spouse and for residing in the South on whether the person's birthday was 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). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database.

Table A-3: The Vietnam Draft and Minority Veterans’ Interracial Marriage, **Alternative Definitions**

	White ‘Spouse’ Defined by x Years Different:					Any White Coresident
	10	14	15	16	20	
Panel A: Baseline Lottery Sample						
VDL Status	0.36 (0.16)	0.31 (0.16)	0.34 (0.16)	0.31 (0.16)	0.33 (0.16)	0.24 (0.11)
\bar{Y}	7.9	8.2	8.2	8.3	8.5	7.8
N	127,129	135,686	136,901	137,815	139,676	269,574
Panel B: Lottery Estimates (Post-VDL Cohorts)						
VDL Status	-0.01 (0.16)	-0.03 (0.16)	0.01 (0.16)	-0.02 (0.16)	-0.01 (0.16)	-0.21 (0.11)
\bar{Y}	8.5	8.8	8.8	8.9	9.1	8.2
N	147,841	156,742	157,993	159,064	161,059	321,200
Panel C: Lottery Estimates Among Residents of the South						
VDL Status	0.47 (0.19)	0.42 (0.19)	0.45 (0.19)	0.50 (0.19)	0.60 (0.19)	0.42 (0.14)
\bar{Y}	7.0	7.2	7.3	7.3	7.5	7.1
N	86,328	91,907	92,682	93,209	94,154	168,811
Panel D: Lottery Estimates Among Voters with No Imputed Data						
VDL Status	0.32 (0.23)	0.36 (0.23)	0.45 (0.23)	0.42 (0.23)	0.49 (0.23)	0.26 (0.15)
\bar{Y}	4.7	4.9	4.9	4.9	5.0	3.9
N	45,223	48,266	48,668	48,928	49,438	90,410
$\gamma_{my} + \delta_{md}$	X	X	X	X	X	X

Note: This table shows there is little sensitivity of the relationship between VDL status and minority veterans’ likelihood of having a white spouse to the definition by which spouses are identified (relative to our 15-year baseline; see Appendix A.1), except that estimates are somewhat smaller when the window is narrowed for voters among whom race is directly observed. Estimate are also smaller, but more precise, when we consider coresidence with *any* white voter. OLS regressions of an indicator for being married to a white spouse or coresiding with a white voter in 2022 on whether the person’s birthday was eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery, where the definition of being married to a white spouse is living at the same address as a white registered voter within x years of his age. All regressions include year-month and month-day fixed effects and are restricted to voters who live with only one person within x years of their age. **Panel A** is restricted to registered Black or Native American (minority) male voters born in 1950–1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023). **Panel B** is restricted to registered minority male voters born in 1953–1955, assigning VDL status as if each voter were born exactly three years earlier. **Panel C** restricts each baseline model to residents of the former Jim Crow South. **Panel D** instead restricts each baseline model to registered voters in AL, FL, GA, LA, NC, and SC who report their race; ‘white spouse’ is defined as having a spouse who reports being white. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database.

Table A-4: The Vietnam Draft and Minority Veterans’ Racial Integration and Political Identity, **Alternate Specifications**

	With County FE			No FE	True Reg. Party	
	White Spouse	Dem.	Rep.	Minority Share in Block (%)	Dem.	Rep.
Panel A: Baseline Lottery Estimates						
VDL Status	0.29 (0.16)	-0.10 (0.12)	0.25 (0.10)	-0.27 (0.13)	-0.18 (0.19)	0.34 (0.12)
\bar{Y}	8.2	85.6	7.4	55.0	83.6	5.5
N	135,768	267,255	267,255	265,100	154,415	154,415
Wald Est.	3.10 (1.66)	-1.07 (1.27)	2.65 (1.07)	-2.87 (1.35)	-1.86 (2.01)	3.63 (1.28)
Panel B: Placebo Lottery Estimates (Post-VDL Cohorts)						
Placebo VDL Status	-0.05 (0.15)	-0.01 (0.12)	0.08 (0.09)	0.17 (0.12)	0.04 (0.19)	-0.03 (0.11)
\bar{Y}	8.8	85.4	7.1	54.9	82.9	5.3
N	156,696	318,533	318,533	315,877	182,363	182,363
Panel C: Lottery Estimates Among Residents of the South						
VDL Status	0.43 (0.19)	-0.21 (0.16)	0.51 (0.13)	-0.37 (0.17)	-0.23 (0.27)	0.63 (0.18)
\bar{Y}	7.3	83.9	8.8	54.6	80.9	7.2
N	91,726	166,903	166,903	165,374	88,700	88,700
$\gamma_{my} + \delta_{md}$	X	X	X	X	X	X
County FE	X	X	X			

Note: This table shows that the paper’s baseline integration and identity findings for minority veterans are largely insensitive to the inclusion of (endogenous) county fixed effects or restricting to states where political party registration is not imputed, except that the relationship between VDL status and local residential composition strengthens when across-county variation is not absorbed. OLS regressions of an indicator for being married to a white spouse in 2022, the minority share of 2022 residential block, or the registered political party on whether the person’s birthday was eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month and month-day fixed effects. Unlike in Table 2, columns 1–3 include county fixed effects (isolating local variation); column 4 does not. Columns 5 and 6 exclude the 17 states where political party is imputed by L2; see Appendix A.1. The first column is restricted to voters with a spouse; the fourth column is restricted to voters who reside at geolocated addresses. **Panel A** is restricted to registered Black or Native American (minority) male voters born in 1950–1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023). The panel also presents scaled Wald estimators for the effect of Vietnam conscription – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via conscription – using the veteran status estimates of Angrist (1990), Table 2. **Panel B** is restricted to registered minority male voters born in 1953–1955, assigning VDL status as if each voter were born exactly three years earlier. **Panel C** restricts each baseline model to residents of the former Jim Crow South; Wald estimators are not presented because there is no available estimate of first-stage veteran status 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 Minority Veteran Outcomes by Lottery Year

	Baseline Sample					States with No Imputed Data				
	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
Panel A: White Spouse										
RSN 1–95	-0.25 (0.35)	-0.93 (0.38)	-0.17 (0.37)	0.45 (0.31)	-0.12 (0.32)	-0.57 (0.51)	-0.10 (0.51)	0.48 (0.49)	0.52 (0.46)	-0.16 (0.43)
RSN 96–125	-0.68 (0.65)	-1.13 (0.50)	-0.02 (0.49)	1.04 (0.52)	0.03 (0.42)	-0.41 (0.71)	-1.10 (0.64)	1.98 (0.74)	0.92 (0.65)	-0.23 (0.66)
RSN 126–160	1.31 (0.46)	0.13 (0.52)	1.21 (0.50)	-0.24 (0.47)	-0.71 (0.51)	0.04 (0.74)	-0.27 (0.69)	0.44 (0.71)	0.08 (0.64)	-0.70 (0.64)
RSN 161–195	0.24 (0.52)	-0.50 (0.51)	0.59 (0.48)	-0.60 (0.45)	-0.92 (0.43)	-0.06 (0.75)	0.12 (0.60)	1.80 (0.66)	0.67 (0.67)	0.23 (0.66)
RSN 196–230	0.01 (0.52)	-0.23 (0.51)	0.22 (0.52)	0.09 (0.47)	-0.42 (0.47)	-0.41 (0.77)	0.04 (0.68)	0.81 (0.63)	-0.41 (0.58)	-0.04 (0.58)
\bar{Y}			8.1					4.9		
N			216,688					76,729		
Panel B: Republican										
RSN 1–95	-0.09 (0.25)	0.06 (0.25)	0.54 (0.25)	0.54 (0.21)	0.27 (0.22)	-0.45 (0.47)	-1.02 (0.50)	-0.02 (0.48)	0.66 (0.37)	0.83 (0.42)
RSN 96–125	0.70 (0.38)	-0.11 (0.43)	0.40 (0.39)	0.35 (0.31)	0.07 (0.33)	-0.78 (0.65)	-1.59 (0.66)	0.52 (0.76)	0.16 (0.58)	1.27 (0.68)
RSN 126–160	0.04 (0.35)	-0.03 (0.41)	0.18 (0.34)	0.35 (0.30)	0.64 (0.26)	0.15 (0.64)	-0.86 (0.65)	-1.21 (0.68)	0.51 (0.57)	0.99 (0.57)
RSN 161–195	-0.51 (0.38)	0.33 (0.39)	-0.63 (0.37)	0.28 (0.30)	-0.04 (0.29)	-0.64 (0.74)	-0.30 (0.70)	-0.45 (0.67)	0.70 (0.56)	0.56 (0.61)
RSN 196–230	0.41 (0.43)	0.21 (0.39)	0.24 (0.36)	0.05 (0.32)	-0.20 (0.32)	0.24 (0.63)	0.25 (0.75)	-0.06 (0.65)	0.68 (0.62)	-0.30 (0.57)
\bar{Y}			7.6					4.6		
N			423,543					75,527		

Note: This figure shows that the estimated effects of VDL status are not concentrated in a single bin of lottery numbers, but bin-specific estimates are too noisily estimated to mirror the between-bin first-stage variation shown in Angrist and Chen (2011). OLS regressions of an indicator for being married to a white spouse in 2022 or the registered political party on whether the person’s birthday falls within each of five year-specific ‘random sequence number’ (RSN) bins: the date-of-birth-assigned numbers used to determine Vietnam Draft Lottery status. RSN numbers range from 1 to 366; estimates in bold indicate VDL status, while estimates in italics indicate groups that saw measurable (but smaller) increases in likelihood of veteran status (Table 2 of Angrist and Chen, 2011). Each block of 25 coefficients – five RSN bins by five years – comes from a single linear regression estimated over registered Black or Native American (minority) male voters born in 1948–1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023). In the ‘States with No Imputed Data’ columns, the sample is restricted to registered voters in AL, FL, GA, LA, NC, and SC who report their race; ‘white spouse’ is defined as having a spouse who reports being white; and ‘Republican’ is restricted to states where political party membership is directly observed. All regressions include year-month and month-day fixed effects. The first panel is restricted to voters with a spouse. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database.

Table A-6: Linear Mediation Analysis of the Vietnam Draft and Minority Veterans’ Racial Integration and Political Identity

	White Spouse	Minority Share in Block (%)	Registered Party: Dem. Rep.	
Panel A: Baseline Lottery Estimates				
VDL Status	0.31 (0.16)	-0.13 (0.10)	-0.11 (0.13)	0.26 (0.10)
\bar{Y}	8.2	55.0	85.6	7.4
N	136,901	265,100	269,574	269,574
Share Explained (%):	7.4	32.0	25.1	7.0
$\gamma_{my} + \delta_{md}$	X	X	X	X
County FE		X		
Income FEs ¹	X	X	X	X

Note: This table shows that under the strong assumptions of linear mediation analysis – essentially assuming that the cross-sectional relationships between economic standing and other outcomes are causal – changes in economic standing explain only 5–30 percent of the observed effects of VDL status on minority veterans’ racial integration and political identity outcomes. OLS regressions of an indicator for being married to a white spouse in 2022, the minority share of 2022 residential block, or the registered political party on whether the person’s birthday was eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month and month-day fixed effects; Census Block regressions include county fixed effects to isolate local variation. ¹ All models also include centile Zip code AGI, centile L2-imputed income, and L2-imputed wealth (8 categories) fixed effects (with additional fixed effects for missing values) for the purpose of linear mediation analysis. “Share Explained” reports the percent of the baseline $\hat{\beta}$ estimate from Table 2 absorbed by the income fixed effects. The first column is restricted to voters with a spouse; the second column is restricted to voters who reside at geolocated addresses. All models are restricted to registered Black or Native American (minority) male voters born in 1950–1952; race is imputed by past and current first, middle, and last names by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023). Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database, IRS SOI, and the 2020 US Census.

Table A-7: The Vietnam Draft and White Veterans’ Racial Integration and Political Identity, **Alternate Specifications**

	With County FE			No FE	True Reg. Party	
	White Spouse	Dem.	Rep.	Minority Share in Block (%)	Dem.	Rep.
Panel A: Baseline Lottery Estimates						
VDL Status	0.011 (0.012)	0.024 (0.061)	-0.037 (0.063)	0.033 (0.017)	0.033 (0.079)	-0.078 (0.084)
\bar{Y}	0.7	31.8	48.4	7.5	32.4	43.2
N	1,779,404	2,604,327	2,604,327	2,576,572	1,640,046	1,640,046
Wald Est.	0.075 (0.086)	0.162 (0.419)	-0.258 (0.432)	0.227 (0.115)	0.230 (0.544)	-0.536 (0.576)
Panel B: Placebo Lottery Estimates (Post-VDL Cohorts)						
Placebo VDL Status	0.022 (0.013)	0.020 (0.058)	-0.020 (0.059)	0.009 (0.017)	0.070 (0.075)	-0.075 (0.076)
\bar{Y}	0.8	30.2	49.4	7.7	30.7	44.6
N	1,954,405	2,907,291	2,907,291	2,875,816	1,822,113	1,822,113
$\gamma_{my} + \delta_{md}$	X	X	X	X	X	X
County FE	X	X	X			

Note: This table shows that the paper’s baseline integration and identity findings for white veterans are largely insensitive to the inclusion of (endogenous) county fixed effects or restricting to states where political party registration is not imputed. OLS regressions of an indicator for being married to a minority spouse in 2022, the minority share of 2022 residential block, or the registered political party on whether the person’s birthday was eligible for the Vietnam Draft Lottery. All regressions include year-month and month-day fixed effects. Unlike in Table 4, columns 1–3 include county fixed effects (isolating local variation); column 4 does not. Columns 5 and 6 exclude the 17 states where political party is imputed by L2; see Appendix A.1. The first column is restricted to voters with a spouse; the fourth column is restricted to voters who reside at geolocated addresses. **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 by L2 (Rosenman et al., 2023). The panel also presents scaled Wald estimators for the effect of Vietnam conscription – maintaining the exclusion restriction that outcomes are only affected via conscription – using the veteran status estimates of Angrist (1990), Table 2. **Panel B** is restricted to registered white male voters born in 1953–1955, assigning VDL status as if each voter were born exactly three years earlier. Standard errors in parentheses are clustered by birth date. Source: L2 Voter Database and the 2020 US Census.