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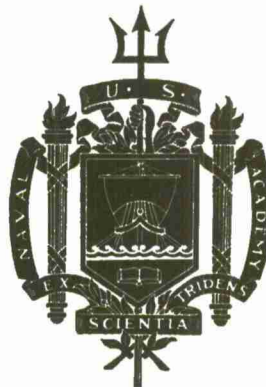
# A TRIDENT SCHOLAR PROJECT REPORT

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"AN ANALYSIS OF THE ATTITUDES OF BLACK  
URBAN YOUTH TOWARD MILITARY SERVICE"

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UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY  
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

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13. ABSTRACT <p>Due to the possibility of all-volunteer Armed Forces and on the other hand the domestic disturbances of our time (racial questions, anti-Vietnam War feelings, etc.) an inquiry has been made about the attitudes of urban black youths toward military services.</p> <p>First a pre-test of questionnaire survey was conducted at the Annapolis High School participating 42 students. After that pre-test, corrected questionnaires have been sent to six high schools in Baltimore, Md., during the autumn of 1971.</p> <p>The results of this questionnaire survey conducted with black and white high school students in Baltimore, Maryland, indicated no wide-spread existence of racially oriented militant feelings hostile to the military. Race was found to not significantly effect willingness to consider enlistment, and blacks were slightly more favorable than whites in regard to the occupational aspects of the military. The exposure which blacks receive to information about military life was shown to be basically similar to that received by white youths. As expected, some racial differences appeared in questions about the Vietnam War, military service in general, and the racial aspects of military service, but a wholesale rejection of the military by blacks was not evidenced. - In general, the findings of this study tend to support projections of somewhat higher percentages of blacks in the zero-draft military.</p>			

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE ATTITUDES OF BLACK  
URBAN YOUTH TOWARD MILITARY SERVICE

A Trident Scholar Project Report

by

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## ABSTRACT

Because of the unique life experiences of urban blacks in our society, it was hypothesized that they would hold significantly more negative attitudes toward military service. These unfavorable feelings would be the result of an essentially different exposure to the concept of military service and military life, and of identification of the military as an integral part of a society which discriminates against blacks. The discovery of strong, race-oriented sentiments of this nature would invalidate to some degree predictions of greatly increased black participation in the all-volunteer Armed Forces.

The results of a questionnaire survey conducted with black and white high school students in Baltimore, Maryland, indicated no widespread existence of racially oriented militant feelings hostile to the military. Race was found to not significantly affect willingness to consider enlistment, and blacks were slightly more favorable than whites in regard to the occupational aspects of the military. The exposure which blacks receive to information about military life was shown to be basically similar to that received by white youths. As expected, some racial differences appeared in questions about the Vietnam War, military service in general, and the racial aspects of military service, but a wholesale rejection of the military by blacks was not evidenced. In general, the findings of this study tend to

support projections of somewhat higher percentages of blacks in the zero-draft military.



## DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

### Fundamental Hypotheses

The primary hypothesis of this study was that the differences between the life experience of urban blacks and that of white society would be reflected by basically unique black perceptions of the military. It was held that black youths receive a substantially different exposure to the military from that obtained by whites, and that this difference would in turn result in a peculiarly black and hostile outlook on this subject. The specific sub-hypotheses supporting this study were:

#### A. Exposure

1. Reports about military life received by young blacks from relatives and friends who have served would be less favorable than those received by white youths from the same sources. This phenomenon would be the result of prejudice experienced by black veterans.
2. Black men serving ten years ago and earlier would have transmitted more favorable impressions of their military experience than men serving more recently. This hypothesis is based on the fact that, in the earlier time frame, the military was far ahead of civilian society in the area of equal rights. Recently the civilian sector has begun to close this gap, making military life less satisfactory to black servicemen.

3. The unique life experience of urban blacks would cause black youths to consider as important, influences and sources of information about the military different from those important to white youths.

B. Identification of the military with the so-called "White Establishment."

1. Blacks would widely reject military service because it preserves the status quo.
2. Fewer blacks than whites would feel that it is their duty to serve or that they have as much reason to fight for America as do whites.
3. Anti-Vietnam War sentiment will be expressed in racial terms, rather than in moral or political terms: i.e.,
  - a) It is a racial war being waged against the yellow-skinned Vietnamese people.
  - b) A disproportionate number of blacks have died in Vietnam; the war is an unfair drain on black youth.
4. Blacks of higher socio-economic status (SES) would be more negative toward the military since they would be more familiar with militant, anti-establishment thinking, and also will have a wider choice of options available in the civilian sector than in the military.
5. Racial ideology will prevent blacks from realistically evaluating the occupational advantages and disadvantages

of military service.

6. Blacks will be considerably more negative than whites concerning specifically racial aspects of military service, since their race is the subject of any racial prejudice which may be present there.
7. Black youths will not agree as strongly as whites that a strong military is necessary for the good of the United States because the military is often seen by blacks as diverting money from the solution of domestic problems which plague their race.
8. Fewer blacks would indicate a willingness to consider volunteering for military service. If this sub-hypothesis were confirmed, then predictions, based on economic reasoning, of greatly increased black participation in a zero-draft military would be of questionable validity.

### The Questionnaire

The questionnaire was constructed to draw responses which would affirm or disaffirm the stated hypotheses of the study. The instrument was divided into five sections to fulfill these objectives.

- 1) Part I was designed to provide demographic data on each respondent which would later be used in the analysis of attitudes expressed.
- 2) Part II was directed at gathering recruitment-related information which could provide insight into the origins of attitudes uncovered by the study and suggest possible avenues for creating more favorable outlooks. Several questions dealt with the relative importance of military information sources and individual influences on personal decision-making.
- 3) Part III was designed to determine how the respondent viewed certain occupational characteristics of military life. Information from this section would be valuable in making predictions pertinent to the proposed zero-draft military.
- 4) Part IV solicited general attitudes toward the military, military service, authority, the Vietnam War, and predicted peer and parent reaction to a supposed enlistment by the respondent.
- 5) Part V covered a variety of sub-topics related to the

central subject of the study. A series of questions was aimed at assessing each respondent's feelings on the racial aspects of serving in the military. Two questions were used to determine the service branch preferences of the survey participant. Finally, an open-ended question was included to allow the respondent to express, in his own words, additional sentiments on the subject of the military and military service.

Special attention should be drawn to the final structured question of the survey. This item was intended to summarize the respondent's attitudes toward military service by asking him if he would seriously consider volunteering. It was believed that this confrontation with the reality of military service would focus both racial sentiment and personal considerations and would serve as the most concrete measure of the participant's feelings on this subject.

### The Pre-test

A pre-test of the questionnaire survey was conducted in Annapolis High School. The purposes of the pre-test were:

- 1) To serve as a dry run for administering the final questionnaire.
- 2) To test the clarity of the questions and to insure that the questions were understandable and answerable.
- 3) To test the "content validity" of the questions, that is, their ability to measure what they were intended to measure. Basically, this is an intuitive test involving a search for unexpected patterns in the answers, comments or questions from the participants which indicate poor communication, misleading words, and/or offensiveness.

Forty-two students, including twenty-two whites and twenty blacks participated in the pre-test. These students, taken from physical education classes, were found to be representative of the student body, in terms of socio-economic background and academic achievement. A more detailed description of the pre-test sample is given in Appendix A.

After the pre-test had been completed and the results examined, appropriate adjustments were made in the questionnaire. A copy of the original questionnaire used in the preliminary trial and an explanation of changes made after the pre-test are also included in Appendix A.

### Conducting the Survey

The questionnaire survey, Attitudes Toward the Military, was conducted in six high schools in Baltimore, Maryland, during the autumn of 1971. The purpose of this survey was to collect information on the substance and origins of the attitudes of black, urban youth toward the military and military service. The sample was to be limited to eleventh and twelfth grade students, because it is this group which is presently confronted with the decision of what to do after high school graduation. Therefore, the comparison of the military as an occupation and life style with various civilian options should be fairly meaningful to these respondents. By the same token, since these youths are the potential enlistees who will be opting for or against military service in the next few years, their attitudes should be very important to military manpower planners.

Baltimore City was chosen because of its proximity to the Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. It was selected over Washington, D.C., because the latter city has a high federal employment level which could introduce biases into attitudes toward the military. Also, due to its geographic location, Baltimore can be described as neither a distinctly northern nor a distinctly southern city. Further, its balance between the percentages of people employed in the retail trade and in manufacturing (28 per cent and 18.5 per cent, respectively) is very representative of the ten largest urban centers in

the U.S.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the "Open Enrollment" policy of the Baltimore School System allows students from all over the city to attend the high school of their choice. Such a policy would seem to encourage an exchange of ideas between students from various parts of the city, thus countering any neighborhood attitude patterns.<sup>2</sup> This factor allowed the researcher slightly greater confidence that his sample was representative of the city's students rather than a mixture of several distinctly different neighborhood sub-samples.

Since the focal point of the study was the attitudes of black, urban youth, the survey was first conducted in four predominantly black high schools. Because of practical limitations prescribed by the individual school administrations, the method of sample selection varied with the situation at each school. For example, in the predominantly black Vocational-Technical school surveyed, eleventh and twelfth grade sections were randomly chosen from the various curricula offered there. A similar procedure was used in selecting the sample at one of the regular high schools.

At another black high school, known for its emphasis on the social sciences, the survey sample was drawn from one of two junior sections and one of two senior sections involved in a humanities

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<sup>1</sup>U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, County-City Data Book: A Statistical Abstract Supplement, (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1967), pp. 464-573.

<sup>2</sup>The schools participating in the survey were, in fact, dispersed geographically throughout the city of Baltimore.



course. This group included people of all academic ability levels, with the exception of those students in a special honors section for consistently straight A students. This excluded section reportedly comprised only about three to five per cent of the school's population. Analysis showed that the academic achievement distribution for this sample was a near-perfect bell-shaped curve.

In one black high school, the group surveyed included all of the eleventh and twelfth grade boys taking the physical education elective that semester. It was originally feared that this selection method might result in an academically imbalanced sample since boys opting for physical education might be poorer students trying to avoid academic courses. However, analysis showed that the scholastic achievement distribution for this sample also approximated a bell-shaped curve.<sup>3</sup>

Since it was desired to obtain a white control group for the purpose of attitude comparison, two predominantly white schools were surveyed. It was anticipated that the majority of the black sample would come from working class backgrounds; therefore, an attempt to insure a comparable working class sample of whites was made by surveying a predominantly white vocational school.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Academic achievement was determined by asking the respondent, in item I-6 of the questionnaire, for the most frequent grade on his last school report card.

<sup>4</sup>This effort accounts for the overrepresentation of lower SES students among the white sub-sample.

At this school, the sample was drawn from four physical education classes, one geometry class, one U.S. History section, and one television repair shop. The academic achievement distribution for the white students in this sample (N=106) closely resembled the normal bell curve; the black sub-sample from this group (N=59) indicated slightly higher scholastic performance.

The manner of survey administration at the last predominantly white school was substantially different from the methods previously described, and requires that the data from the white control group be considered with some amount of caution. The principal of this school agreed to cooperate only on the condition that school personnel conduct the survey in class sections where the normal teachers were absent for some reason. This fact resulted in a loss of control by the researcher over this sample. The sample obtained consisted of almost all B and C students, with no students indicating D or F as their most frequent grade. Further contaminating this sample was an unidentifiable group of questionnaires answered by freshmen boys from one of the four class sections surveyed. There were, however, convincing reasons for keeping this school in the white sub-sample. First, the minor differences in socio-economic level between this sample and that of the white vocational students can be explained by the fact that a college preparatory course of study is likely to attract students of somewhat higher SES. Further, this higher SES group served to round out the white control group to make it more similar to the black sub-sample.

The absence of D and F students from this sample might be attributed to the college preparatory emphasis at this school. Assuming a more academic atmosphere, it is possible that the students are more positive toward scholastics, or that the teachers are slightly more reluctant to issue low grades.

In the end, a decision had to be made resolving the conflict between the added confidence accompanying a larger number of respondents, and the risk assumed in considering data collected by questionable methods. Since the white control sub-sample was surveyed only for the purpose of comparison with the black target group, and was to be supplemented by data from national surveys on certain questions, it was decided that it would be more beneficial to use this data reservedly than to merely discard it.

An academic achievement and socio-economic profile of the sample, by race, is provided below:

TABLE 1

Recent Academic Performance: (What grade did you receive most frequently on your last school report card? (Item I-6))

(Percentages across)

	A	B	C	D	F	TOTAL
White	3.4% (8)	35.3% (81)	48.9% (112)	10.4% (24)	1.7% (4)	229
Black	3.5% (22)	23.6% (145)	53.7% (330)	16.7% (103)	2.2% (14)	614

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

TABLE 2

Socio-economic Status (SES): (Based on a variable combining occupation and educational level of the respondent's parents.<sup>5</sup>)  
(Percentages across)

	LOWEST	LOWER-MIDDLE	HIGHER-MIDDLE	HIGHEST	TOTAL
White	16.8% (38)	67.5% (152)	14.2% (32)	1.3% (3)	225
Black	26.1% (159)	56.0% (341)	16.6% (101)	1.1% (7)	608

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

It can be seen from the above table that the blacks surveyed come from a slightly lower socio-economic background and have been a little less successful academically than their white counterparts in the survey. Among the black respondents, there were 12 per cent fewer B students, and 11 per cent more C and D students. While there were about 9 per cent more blacks than whites in the lowest SES category, there were 11.5 per cent fewer blacks in the next higher category. This distribution is reasonable considering the effects of racism in limiting the jobs open to blue collar blacks.

Two other studies were used extensively to enrich the data obtained in this survey or for comparative purposes. The first is entitled, "Young Men Look At Military Service: A Preliminary Report,"

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<sup>5</sup>The designations given to the SES categories should not be considered to connote any commonly held prestige rankings. The categories represent only four arbitrary divisions of the respondents' scores assigned for parents' occupation and educational level. For further information on the coding of the SES variable, see Appendix C.

by Jerome Johnston and Jerald G. Bachman, and was part of a larger study tracing the attitude changes of a national sample of young men over a four-year period.<sup>6</sup> Since no racial breakdown was given, it was assumed that the vast majority of participants were white.

The second report, "Attitudes of Youth Toward Military Service," was prepared by Human Resources Research Organization (HumRRO) and was based on the results of a survey conducted by Gilbert Youth Research, Inc., in May 1971.<sup>7</sup> The sample of 2,845 males between the ages of 16 and 21 included 256 non-whites. (It was presumed that the non-white sub-group was predominantly black.)

Since the Baltimore survey, "Attitudes Toward the Military" included 633<sup>8</sup> blacks, it will be considered more representative of black, urban sentiment than the Gilbert study in the case of conflicting results. On the other hand, the size of the white samples in the Gilbert survey and the Johnston and Bachman study would seem to make them more valid measures of white sentiment than the Baltimore survey.

It should be noted that the two supplementary reports provided

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<sup>6</sup>Jerome Johnston and Jerald G. Bachman, Young Men Look at Military Service: A Preliminary Report (Ann Arbor, Institute for Social Research, Univ. of Michigan, 1971).

<sup>7</sup>Gilbert Youth Research, Inc., Attitudes of Youth Toward Military Service: Results of a National Survey Conducted in May 1971, (Alexandria, Va.: Human Resources Research Organization (HumRRO), 1971).

<sup>8</sup>Not all the respondents answered all questions. This fact accounts for the different totals found in the various tables.

no information pertinent to the statistical significance and strength of associations uncovered. Therefore, inferences drawn from percentages alone should be regarded with some caution.

For the analysis of the data obtained by the survey conducted in Baltimore, the chi square test was used to determine the statistical significance of discovered relationships. The risk level for the probability of chi square was set at 0.05. Goodman's and Kruskal's tau was employed as the measure of strength of association, with any values of tau greater than 0.01 considered worthy of mention.

## FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

## I. EFFECT OF DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES ON ENLISTMENT ATTITUDES

It was originally anticipated that simple cross-tabulation between the previously described summary variable, "willingness to consider volunteering," and the demographic variables of race, SES, and academic achievement would uncover interesting and healthy relationships. Subsequent analysis would serve to explain the origins and background of the initial findings. This approach to the study had to be discarded when the anticipated associations did not materialize.

As previously stated, the primary hypotheses of this survey was that the unique life experience of blacks in our cities would cause them to be considerably more negative than whites in their attitudes toward military service. Of primary import to this study, then, was the surprising finding that race of respondent had no significant effect on willingness to consider volunteering.

TABLE 3

(Percentages across)      Would you seriously consider volunteering?

Race	Yes, definitely	Yes, probably	No, probably	No definitely	Total
White	11.1%(25)	28.1% (63)	30.3% (68)	30.3% (68)	224
Black	9.6%(56)	28.0%(163)	26.6%(155)	35.7%(208)	582

$$\gamma = .002$$

$$\chi^2, P > .05$$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

As the table shows, almost forty per cent of both racial subgroups expressed favorable outlooks toward enlistment. Furthermore,

the Gilbert Youth Study found non-whites to be more positive than whites on the prospect of enlistment, under both the present draft system, and under a proposed zero-draft situation.<sup>9</sup>

TABLE 4

(Percentages across)      How likely is it that you will enlist for Active Service as a Regular?

	Present Draft Condition		With No Draft	
	Def. Enlist	Prob. Enlist	Def. Enlist	Prob. Enlist
White	4%	8%	3%	7%
Non-white	14%	10%	14%	10%

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

Among blacks, inclination toward enlistment was found to be completely independent of SES. An inverse relationship between SES and willingness to think about volunteering was observed for the white sample, but it was determined to be statistically insignificant ( $\chi^2$ ,  $P > .05$ ).

A fairly weak inverse relationship was discovered between the variables for academic proficiency and willingness to contemplate volunteering; higher achievement levels produced proportionately fewer respondents interested in enlistment. However, when race was introduced as a control variable, this association no longer satisfied the confidence limits previously set.

With the primary hypothesis of the study already disaffirmed,

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<sup>9</sup>Gilbert Youth Research, Inc., op. cit., p. IV-5.



namely that blacks would be substantially more negative than whites about enlistment, a new approach to the study was undertaken. A search was begun for more subtle racial differences in attitudes, vis-a-vis incentives to enlist and various facets of military life, and in the external influences which help to shape these views.

## II. INFLUENCES ON ATTITUDES

### Influence of Friends and Relatives Who Have Served.

Questionnaire items II-1 through II-8 comprised a battery of questions designed to determine what kind of descriptions of military life were being transmitted to high school youths. The first pair of questions asked if the respondent's father had served, and how the latter felt about military service. Succeeding pairs replaced "father" with "uncle or male adult friend (over 30 years old)," "brother," and "cousin or close friend (under 30 years old)." In analyzing these data, it must be noted that the respondents' answers reflect only their perceptions of the military experiences of other persons, and not necessarily the exact feelings of these persons. However, it is also important to remember that perceptions such as these are the determining factors in attitude formation.

Simple cross-tabulation revealed that 84.2 per cent of the white fathers and 74.5 per cent of the black fathers had passed on favorable views of military service. The racial difference here is understandable considering the past discriminatory practices which existed in the Armed Forces. The results for "uncle or male adult friend" were very proportionately similar, with 78.8 per cent of the whites and 68.1 per cent of the blacks being attributed positive sentiments by the respondents of this survey.

Slightly fewer students of both races ascribed favorable feelings to their brothers (71.4 per cent of the whites and 63.6 per cent of the blacks), with a noticeable racial difference still

existing. The subsequent analysis of cousin's or close friend's military experience showed the smallest percentages of favorable views on military service, and also the absence of any real racial difference in the number of positive responses (61.8 per cent of the blacks vs. 60.1 per cent of the whites).

It was considered desirable to measure the influence of these opinion inputs on the willingness of students to seriously consider enlistment. For blacks, a significant relationship was found between father's view of military service and the respondent's inclination toward volunteering ( $r=.032$ ); this did not hold true for the white sub-sample.

For white respondents, the perceived military experience of cousin or close friend offered a very strong correlation with the "volunteering" variable ( $r=.219$ ). In contrast, no significant association between these variables existed for the black sub-group.

Brother's opinion of military service was found to significantly affect only black responses on the question of volunteering. The absence of a statistically significant relationship here for whites may be due to the small number of whites claiming brothers who have served ( $n=49$ ). But more specifically, of those respondents whose brothers had transmitted unfavorable views of the military, blacks were more likely than whites to be negative toward enlistment.

For black respondents, the input from uncle or male adult friend provided the strongest relationship with disposition to enlist

( $\gamma=.056$ ); among whites this relationship was nearly as strong ( $\gamma=.046$ ). This finding is somewhat surprising. One would not expect a youth to be as close to an uncle or male adult friend as to his father, his brother, or his contemporaries.

In order to facilitate a search for generational differences in views on military life, two new variables were created. The first, a combination of the perceived opinions of father and of uncle or male adult friend, was named "Earlier Experiences" and represents sentiments primarily based on service before the mid-1960's. The other, designated "Recent Experiences" includes the views of brothers and cousins or friends (under 30 years old).

TABLE 5

(Percentages across)

RACE	EARLIER EXPERIENCES			RECENT EXPERIENCES		
	NEGATIVE	POSITIVE	TOTAL	NEGATIVE	POSITIVE	TOTAL
White	17.8% (32)	82.1%(147)	179	38.0% (57)	62.0% (93)	150
Black	26.9%(118)	73.0%(320)	438	36.0%(167)	63.9%(296)	463

$\chi^2$ ,  $P<.05$ ;  $\gamma=.01$

$\chi^2$ ,  $P>.05$ ;  $\gamma=0$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

The tables show a statistically significant, but fairly weak racial difference for "Earlier Experiences": 9.1 per cent fewer blacks than whites attributed positive military experiences to their fathers, uncles, or male adult friends. On the other hand, no racial difference existed in the case of "Recent Experiences."

Of greater interest is the comparison between the two new

variables. It had been hypothesized that blacks serving in the earlier time frame would be more favorable toward military service. One might expect that blacks serving under the more blatant discrimination of the past would have more hostile memories of military life. However, this apparent contradiction could be explained by the fact that the pre-1960 military was far ahead of the civilian sector in race relations, and was therefore a comparatively pleasant life style for blacks. As civilian society has drawn closer to the military in this area, the difficulties of military life become relatively less acceptable to black servicemen. The generational differences found in the black responses seem to bear out this hypothesis.<sup>10</sup>

SES was introduced as a control variable to determine its effect, if any, on perceived military experiences. No statistically significant trend was found for either racial sub-sample.

A brief summary of the complicated findings of this section of the survey follows.

- 1) The great majority of both racial sub-groups attribute positive military experiences to friends and relatives who have served, especially to fathers, uncles, and male adult friends. But blacks were somewhat less likely than whites

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<sup>10</sup>While the generational differences among whites were even greater than those for blacks, their explanation was deemed to be beyond the scope of this report. The black generational differences are inherently peculiar and require unique explanation because the factor of racial discrimination permeates every facet of the black military experience.

to ascribe positive experiences to these persons.

- 2) Black disposition to enlist appears to be affected by the military experiences of uncles or male adult friends, brothers, and fathers, in that order of respective strength. Whites are strongly influenced by the reports of cousins or close friends who have served and moderately affected by the input of uncle or male adult friend.
- 3) Black satisfaction with military life appears to have been higher during earlier times of blatant discrimination than in recent years. Recent racial progress in the civilian sector may be the cause of this phenomenon.

### Guidance Counselor and Recruiter Effect on Attitudes

An attempt was made to examine the role of the school guidance counselor in shaping attitudes toward military service by asking how often the respondent had conferred with his adviser, and whether or not the latter had suggested military service as a career option. Cross-tabulation of the latter variable with the one describing willingness to consider enlistment was expected to illustrate the counselor's impact in this area.

To begin, item II-9 was examined to see just how often the students had visited with their guidance counselor. A very high percentage of whites (44.1 per cent) and a somewhat smaller segment of the blacks (28.7 per cent) had never consulted with their adviser about their future.

TABLE 6

(Percentages across)      How often have you spoken with your guidance counselor?

RACE	NEVER	ONCE	2-5 TIMES	MORE THAN 5 TIMES	TOTAL
White	44.1%(101)	12.2% (28)	34.9% (80)	8.7%(20)	229
Black	28.7%(177)	18.6%(115)	36.6%(226)	15.9%(98)	616

$$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .009$$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

As the table shows, the black participants seemed to have a better rapport with counselors. It was suspected that this trend might be a result of the overrepresentation of vocational students in the white sample. Therefore, the blacks and whites from the two vocational

schools were isolated and compared, with the same trend emerging.

Next, item II-10 was studied to determine how many of those respondents who had consulted with their guidance counselor remembered his suggesting military service as an occupational option. Approximately eighty-four per cent of the whites and eighty-two per cent of the blacks stated that their adviser did not mention the military, or they did not recall his doing so. It appears that guidance counselors are not making a very strong or very effective effort to "sell" the military. Surprisingly, there was no apparent pattern between the academic ability of the student and how frequently he has met with his adviser or whether the military has been suggested to him.

Cross-tabulation between item II-10 and the summary variable indicated that the counselor can have some effect on the student's enlistment attitudes. Among blacks, of those whose counselors had mentioned military service, 45.6 per cent said they would consider volunteering; in contrast, only 32.9 per cent of those blacks without mention of the military from advisers indicated positive enlistment tendencies. These figures may be compared to the overall willingness of blacks to consider enlistment--37.9 per cent. The relationship between these two variables for blacks was not very strong, however ( $r=.018$ ). For whites it was considerably stronger ( $r=.088$ ).

A later section of this chapter reveals that guidance counselors are the second most important influence on decision making for both blacks and whites. This finding, coupled with those previously



discussed, suggests that the influence of guidance counselors could be much better exploited for the purposes of military recruitment.

Items II-13 and II-14 on the questionnaire were designed to examine the present and potential effectiveness of recruiters, from the students' standpoint. The first question asked, "Have you ever talked with a military recruiter about military service or heard one lecture on this subject?"

TABLE 7

(Percentages across) Have you talked with or heard a recruiter?

RACE	NO, NEVER	ONCE	A FEW TIMES	MANY TIMES	TOTAL
White	65.6%(149)	16.2% (37)	14.9% (34)	3.0% (7)	227
Black	53.3%(324)	21.2%(129)	21.5%(131)	3.7%(23)	607

$\chi^2, P < .05; 7.008$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

Noteworthy is the fact that 46.7 per cent of the black sample claimed some recruiter contact, whereas only 34.4 per cent of the whites did so. These figures may be compared to a national sample in which 46 per cent of the blacks and 48 per cent of the whites acknowledged recruiter exposure.<sup>11</sup> The apparent difference in the recruiter exposure of whites between the two surveys is difficult to explain, and the Gilbert study can be presumed to be more accurate regarding the white sub-sample. At any rate, both surveys seem to disaffirm one of the original sub-hypotheses of this study: that urban blacks

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<sup>11</sup>Gilbert Youth Research, Inc., op. cit., p. VII-4.

are peculiarly insulated from normal recruiting techniques.

In item 41, the respondents who had recalled previous recruiter contact were asked how the recruiter had affected their opinion of military service.

TABLE 8

(Percentages across) Effect of Recruiter on Opinions of Military.

RACE	POSITIVE EFFECT	NEGATIVE EFFECT	NO CHANGE	TOTAL
White	46.6% (35)	8.0% (6)	45.3% (34)	75
Black	45.6%(132)	8.3%(24)	46.0%(133)	289

$$\chi^2, P > .05; \gamma = .001$$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

Nearly half of both racial sub-groups felt that the recruiters made military service seem more attractive to them than it had previously seemed. Negative effects were reported by very few respondents. These data suggest that the recruitment exposure of black youths is very similar to that of their white counterparts.

An attempt was made to determine if a relationship existed between the impression made by the recruiter and willingness to consider volunteering. Students of both races who were impressed favorably by the recruiter showed a greater willingness to think about enlistment than did the overall sample (for whites: 73.5 per cent vs. 39.2 per cent; for blacks: 55.9 per cent vs. 37.6 per cent). Interestingly, the few blacks being impressed negatively were more likely to hold positive attitudes toward enlistment. Beyond the explanation of pure coincidence, this inconsistency is

inexplicable.

In summary, it appears that recruiters rarely cause negative reactions toward military service and, in general, are successful in promoting favorable outlooks. Their impact on enlistment attitudes deserves further study. Finally, noting that more than half of the survey participants denied having personal contact with a recruiter, it seems that stronger efforts to attain exposure are needed.

Sources of Information about Military Service, and Influences  
on Personal Decision-making

It was considered important, for recruitment purposes, to look more deeply into sources of information about the military and influences on the decision-making process of high school students. In items II-11-1 through II-11-7 respondents were asked to rate several sources as "extremely important," "important," "fairly important," "not very important," or "of no importance at all" in providing information about the military.

TABLE 9

(Percentages down)      Percentages Describing Information Sources  
as Extremely Important or Important.

SOURCES	WHITE	BLACK
Friends or relatives in the military.....	57.2%(130)	64.0%(387) $\chi^2$ , $P > .05$ ; $\gamma = .005$
Family Adults.....	55.5%(126)	62.7%(382) $\chi^2$ , $P > .05$ ; $\gamma = .004$
Television.....	45.8%(104)	51.3%(313) $\chi^2$ , $P > .05$ ; $\gamma = .002$
Newspaper.....	39.6% (90)	48.0%(290) $\chi^2$ , $P > .05$ ; $\gamma = .006$
Magazines and Books.....	37.4% (85)	38.8%(236) $\chi^2$ , $P > .05$ ; $\gamma = .001$
High School friends.....	26.4% (60)	32.2%(197) $\chi^2$ , $P > .05$ ; $\gamma = .003$
Friends in college.....	23.1% (52)	25.5%(155) $\chi^2$ , $P > .05$ ; $\gamma = .001$

The results showed a definite tendency on the part of blacks to give higher evaluations of importance to the various information sources.

(The mean difference between black and white ratings was 5.4 per cent.) While this trend would make questionable any detailed attempt at racial comparisons where the differences are smaller than the mean difference, valuable recruitment information is contained in these data. As the figures show, more than half of the respondents of both

racers described "friends or relatives in the military" and "family adults" as important or extremely important sources of information about the military. It should be recalled that 73 per cent of the black respondents exhibited positive perceptions of the variable "Earlier Experiences," and 63.9 per cent received positive scores for interpretation of "Recent Experiences." These facts suggest that the strongest information input is also a very positive one.

"Television" was cited by 51.3 per cent of the blacks as being of considerable import in providing information about the military. Inferences pertinent to recruiting are difficult to draw from this figure alone because frequently documentaries and newscasts are as unfavorable to the military as recruiting advertisements are favorable. However, these data do supplement the Gilbert study's finding that, considering the number of people reached by this medium, television ranks with personal recruiter contact as most important in influencing enlistment decisions.<sup>12</sup>

"Newspapers" were frequently described as being important or extremely important (48.0 per cent of the blacks), followed by "magazines and books" (38.8 per cent), "friends in high school" (32.2 per cent), and "friends who are in college" (25.5 per cent). The low rating of the last source merits brief attention. The Johnston and Bachman study showed that college students are more

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid, p. VII-9.

negative about the Vietnam War,<sup>13</sup> while the Gilbert Youth study reported them to be more negative toward enlistment.<sup>14</sup> Thus, it seems that the potentially most negative information input is also relatively the weakest.

In order to determine possible avenues for concentrated recruiting efforts, the respondents were asked to rate the importance of nine possible influences on decision-making (items II-12-1 through II-12-9). Again blacks tended to rate the influences as having greater importance than did the whites, with the exception of "friends who are in high school" (Table 10).

TABLE 10

(Percentages down) Percentages Describing Influence Sources as Important or Extremely Important.

INFLUENCE SOURCE	RACE	
	WHITE	BLACK
Parents.....	79.7%(181)	84.7%(516) $\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .008$
Guidance Counselor...	52.2%(118)	59.2%(360) $\chi^2, P > .05; \gamma = .004$
Teacher.....	51.1%(116)	57.4%(350) $\chi^2, P > .05; \gamma = .004$
Religious Leader.....	40.7% (92)	56.6%(342) $\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .022$
Coach.....	48.0%(108)	52.4%(318) $\chi^2, P > .05; \gamma = .003$
Professional Athlete or Entertainer.....	29.7% (67)	42.5%(258) $\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .013$
Friends who are in college.....	25.6% (58)	33.0%(200) $\chi^2, P > .05; \gamma = .006$
Community Center Director.....	21.4% (48)	30.7%(186) $\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .01$
High School friends..	27.4% (62)	25.4%(155) $\chi^2, P > .05; \gamma = .001$

<sup>13</sup>Johnston and Bachman, op. cit., p. 119.

<sup>14</sup>Gilbert Youth Research, Inc., op. cit., p. II-7.

These figures should be dealt with carefully for three reasons. First, the low ranking of high school friends as an influence might not reflect the real impact of peer reaction and peer pressure on the decision-making process. This may be due to a difference between perceived and actual peer influence for youths. Second, the numerical closeness of several of the percentage figures lowers the confidence one can have in their relative standings. Third, as before, the black tendency to rate influences higher in importance allows racial comparison only in cases of differences between black and white percentages which are statistically significant ( $\chi^2, P < .05$ ).

One obvious and important finding of this analysis is that parents are shown to be, by far, the greatest influence on decision-making. This fact suggests that it might be worthwhile to try to enlist parents as intermediaries in recruitment efforts.

Among blacks, 59.2 per cent rated guidance counselors as important or extremely important influences. This development is surprising considering that only 52.7 per cent of the blacks had met with their advisers more than once. Possibly, this high rating represents the students' conceptions of what their relationship with their counselors should be. At any rate, the advisers' potential for use in recruitment is obvious.

Also highly valued by blacks are the opinions of individual teachers, religious leaders, and coaches. It is interesting to note that considerably more blacks than whites considered religious

leaders and professional athletes and entertainers to be important influences. This fact could have significance in the development of recruiting methods aimed at attracting blacks.

Again, the input of "friends who are in college" is relatively minor. Of least relative importance for blacks were "a director at a community center" and "friends in high school"; whites more frequently described as important "high school friends" rather than "friends who are in college" and "community center directors."



Parent and Peer Influences on Attitudes

Each respondent was asked in item IV-6 how his parents would feel if he volunteered for military service. The racial difference was statistically significant but not very strong ( $\gamma=.011$ ).

TABLE 11

(Percentages down) Parent reaction to enlistment.

	RACE	
	WHITE	BLACK
Proud of you for serving .....	28.7%(65)	13.6% (80)
They'd think it was a good career opportunity .....	14.6%(33)	20.1%(118)
Proud and good career opportunity .....	24.7%(56)	23.3%(137)
Negative: against the military in general .....	6.6%(15)	7.3% (43)
Negative: because of family or personal reasons .....	13.2%(30)	25.4%(149)
It wouldn't matter much .....	11.9%(27)	10.0% (59)
Total .....	226	586

$\chi^2, P<.05; \gamma=.011$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

Fifteen per cent fewer blacks than whites predicted that their parents would be proud of them for volunteering to serve, and 5.5 per cent more blacks than whites felt their parents would view enlistment as a good career opportunity. And blacks were much more likely than whites to think that their parents would oppose their enlistment for personal or family reasons.

Continued analysis showed that no significant relationship existed between perception of parent reaction and the previously examined variable relating the importance of parental advice on decision-making. Also, SES was found to have little effect on

predicted parent reaction to volunteering.

One interesting association was uncovered: expected parent reaction to enlistment had a moderately strong correlation with willingness to consider volunteering ( $\gamma=.069$  for both blacks and whites). Of the blacks who predicted any one of the three positive reactions from their parents, nearly half would consider enlistment, in contrast to only 22.5 per cent of the blacks anticipating one of the two negative reactions. By the same token, about 80 per cent of the blacks who were favorable toward volunteering perceived positive parent reaction. These data are another reflection of the important role played by parents in the formation of attitudes toward the military, and enlistment in particular.

In an attempt to assess the nature of peer influence on enlistment attitudes, item IV-5 on the questionnaire asked each respondent how most of his friends would feel if he volunteered.

TABLE 12

(Percentages down)	How would friends feel if you volunteered?	
	RACE	
	WHITE	BLACK
Proud of you for serving .....	8.3% (18)	5.9% (35)
They'd think it was a good career opportunity .....	7.9% (17)	12.9% (76)
Proud and good career opportunity .....	12.0% (26)	10.4% (61)
It wouldn't matter .....	52.5% (113)	51.0% (299)
Angry or disappointed .....	19.0% (41)	19.6% (115)
Total .....	215	586

$\chi^2, P>.05; \gamma=.002$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

In general, the racial differences were statistically insignificant. However, as in the variable describing parent reaction to volunteering, a greater percentage of blacks than whites chose the response "They would think that it was a good career opportunity for me." This is another indication that blacks more so than whites, view the question of military service in occupational terms, and that they perceive their friends and parents as doing likewise.

Predicted peer reaction to enlistment was found to be independent of the SES or academic achievement of the respondent. However, among blacks, a stronger association existed between expected peer reaction and willingness to consider volunteering ( $\gamma=.124$ ), than was found for parental reaction to enlistment.

TABLE 13

(Percentages across)		Would you consider volunteering?		
Race=Black				
Peer reaction to volunteering	Yes	No	Total	
Positive reaction .....	59.8%(100)	40.1%(67)	167	
Negative reaction .....	24.1% (27)	75.8%(85)	112	

$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .124$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

\*\*Respondents answering "It would not matter..." were not included in this table.

Of those blacks predicting favorable peer reaction to their supposed enlistment, 59.8 per cent also expressed a willingness to think about volunteering, as opposed to only 24.1 per cent of those expecting negative reactions from their friends. This result contradicts the low relative standing attributed by blacks to their

friends as influences on their decisions.

### III. THE MILITARY SERVICE AS AN OCCUPATION

Several items in the survey were devoted to finding out how the military is viewed as an occupation. One such question, contained in the background section of the questionnaire, asked the students what they expected to do after leaving high school. Some of the data obtained here could be misleading because the white sub-sample was drawn so heavily from vocational-technical curricula. Therefore, this analysis will focus on the black responses, and also on those survey participants planning on early military service.

TABLE 14

(Percentages across)		<u>Post-graduation Plans</u>				
Race	Further Schooling	Take up a Trade	Get any job Available	Military Service	Don't Know	Total
White	47.3%(108)	16.2%(37)	7.8%(18)	11.8%(27)	16.6%(38)	228
Black	62.3%(385)	8.7%(54)	8.1%(50)	9.2%(57)	11.5%(71)	617

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

Further schooling was by far the most popular response option, with 62.3 per cent of the blacks choosing it. Entry into military service was anticipated by slightly more blacks than was "taking up a trade" or "getting any job available."

A racial breakdown of those respondents expecting to enter the Armed Forces reveals no significant difference. This result suggests a racial similarity in attitudes since it is reasonable to assume that men planning to enter the Armed Forces are either fairly positive toward military service, or at least have accepted the idea of

serving under the draft.

It was considered desirable to examine more closely those respondents anticipating early military service. Students from both races describing themselves as C students tended to choose the military response more frequently than those in other grade levels. In terms of SES, it appears that among whites, those expecting to serve tend to come from the two lowest SES levels; no such trend was found among the blacks.

In items III-1 through III-5, the respondents reacted to several of the advantages and disadvantages of military life. A variable representing an overall profile of each respondent's occupational views was created by combining the answers to each item in Part III. Examination of this general variable yielded some interesting results, particularly in terms of some of the original hypotheses of the study.

TABLE 15

(Percentages across) Overall View of the Military as an Occupation

Race	Very Negative	Negative	Neutral*	Positive	Very Positive	Total
White	5.7%(13)	24.7% (56)	0.0%(0)	61.9%(140)	7.5%(17)	226
Black	1.6%(10)	20.8%(126)	0.1%(1)	66.7%(404)	10.5%(64)	605

\*To be categorized as neutral, a respondent's negative and positive responses had to balance.

\*\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .005$

Cross-tabulation between race and the occupational variable resulted in significant, but statistically weak, racial differences

( $\gamma = .005$ ). Blacks were shown to be noticeably more positive, and fewer blacks received negative scores. These data disaffirm the hypothesis that racial ideology would prevent blacks from recognizing any occupational advantages of military service and would cause them to hold more negative job images of the military.

Since it had been predicted that SES would have a large effect on views of the military as a job, SES was introduced into the analysis. A slight inverse relationship was observed between SES and the occupational variable for the white sub-sample only; higher SES whites were more likely to receive negative scores on this variable. However, no such trend was observed for the black sub-sample. This latter fact is consistent with the earlier finding that SES had no effect on the willingness of blacks to consider enlistment.

The occupational variable was then cross-tabulated with the attitude summary variable, disposition to volunteering. A strong relationship was found to exist between these two variables for both blacks and whites (for blacks,  $\gamma = .14$ ). Those holding favorable occupational images of the military were more likely to be positive toward volunteering. Further, results indicated that the majority of volunteers can be expected to enter the military holding moderately positive occupational images.

After examining the aggregate occupational variable, a closer look was taken at the individual aspects covered by each item. Question III-1-1 asked, "Do you think the military can give you the

opportunity for training in a trade which could later be useful in civilian life?"

TABLE 16

(Percentages across) Can Military Provide Training in a Trade?

Race	Yes, Def.	Yes, Prob.	Prob. Not	Def. Not	Total
White	41.5% (94)	41.5% (94)	9.7% (22)	7.0% (16)	226
Black	43.1% (261)	45.2% (274)	7.9% (48)	3.6% (22)	605

$\chi^2$ ,  $P > .05$ ;  $\gamma = .003$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

The overwhelming majority felt that the military can provide useful occupational training, with slightly more of the blacks answering positively. There is some question as to whether each respondent was indicating that this advantage applied to him personally or just to youth in general. In either case, these results reflect widespread recognition of one benefit of military service.

How important is the prospect of job training in attracting enlistees? Participants in the Gilbert Youth study ranked it fourth as an important incentive; 32 per cent of all those acknowledging the possibility of their serving considered it a strong influence on their decision.<sup>15</sup> However, nine per cent fewer non-whites than whites (twenty-five per cent vs. thirty-four per cent, respectively) viewed it as a strong influence.<sup>16</sup> Apparently, blacks are at least

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. III-9.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. IV-30.



as aware as whites of the existence of useful occupational training in the military, but are somewhat less likely to be attracted by it. Further, analysis showed that socio-economic background and academic achievement level bore little relationship with recognition of this advantage of military service.

The respondents were then asked if they thought the military could offer them better housing than they presently live in. In this case, the racial difference in response was significant. Twenty-one per cent more blacks than whites answered this question affirmatively (48.4 per cent vs. 27.0 per cent, respectively). Among blacks a noticeable inverse relationship between SES and the comparative estimate of military housing was revealed by further analysis.

Possibly the most important findings of this study were uncovered in the area of military pay. There were strong indications that blacks are substantially more sensitive to monetary incentives and are more favorable to military pay than their white counterparts.

The Gilbert Youth study reported that a much larger percentage of non-whites than whites (thirty-one per cent vs. seventeen per cent, respectively) named "making lots of money" as their primary occupational objective.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, in reacting to a question about potential inducements to enlist, proportionately twice as many non-whites (thirty-eight per cent) as whites (nineteen per cent) endorsed

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. I-5

"pay" as the strongest enticement.<sup>18</sup>

Item III-1-3 of this survey asked the respondents if they believed that military service could offer them better pay than most other jobs available to them after graduation.

TABLE 17

(Percentages across)      Can Military Offer Better Pay than Most Jobs Open to You?

Race	Yes, Def.	Yes, Prob.	Prob. Not	Def. Not	Total
White	9.2% (21)	28.3% (64)	39.8% (90)	22.5% (51)	226
Black	16.8% (102)	38.8% (235)	27.2% (165)	17.0% (103)	605

$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .012$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

As is revealed by the above table, 55.6 per cent of the blacks, in contrast to only 37.5 per cent of the whites, answered "yes, definitely" or "yes, probably." It is important to note that this finding cannot be dismissed as a purely socio-economic phenomenon stemming from the relatively low financial position of blacks in civilian society. Surprisingly, among both blacks and whites, SES, as well as academic proficiency, was found to have no statistically significant effect on outlook toward military pay. It had been anticipated that higher social background and scholastic ability would result in higher financial expectations and, in turn, lower relative opinions of military pay. It was evident that blacks of all social strata view the

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. III-10.

financial compensation for military duty more favorably than do white youth. This conclusion is further supported by another finding of the Gilbert Youth study; of those participants who defined their major occupational goal as "making lots of money," eight per cent of the blacks, as opposed to only four per cent of the whites, felt the military was the best place for them to achieve it.<sup>19</sup>

It was also discovered through cross-tabulation that blacks who viewed military pay more favorably were also more disposed to contemplate military enlistment. This relationship was also found to exist among white respondents, although here it was not nearly as strong, nor was it statistically significant. It appears that whites holding military pay in low estimation are more likely to consider enlistment anyway, than are their black counterparts having the same feelings. This finding again underscores the importance of pay considerations to black youths insofar as military service is concerned.

TABLE 18

(Percentages across)

Race=White

Race=Black

Mil. Pay Better?	Consider Volunteering?			Consider Volunteering?		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
Yes, Def.	47.6%(10)	52.3%(11)	21	47.9% (47)	52.0% (51)	98
Yes, Prob.	46.7%(29)	53.2%(33)	62	46.1%(102)	53.8%(119)	221
Prob. Not	37.5%(33)	62.5%(55)	88	33.1% (53)	66.8%(107)	160
Def. Not	30.0%(15)	70.0%(35)	50	16.0% (16)	84.0% (84)	100
$\chi^2, P > .05; \gamma = (.018)$				$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = (.056)$		

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. I-7.

When asked if military service could offer as much vacation time as most jobs open to them after graduation, black respondents tended to answer more positively than whites. Within both racial subsamples, slightly less than half (47.8 per cent of the blacks, and 46.8 per cent of the whites) responded, "yes, definitely" or "yes, probably."

Predictably, the responses to the question, "Do you think military service can give you the opportunity for travel?" were overwhelmingly affirmative (92.1 per cent of the blacks; 87.9 per cent of the whites). Again, the blacks appear to hold a slightly more positive view of another aspect of military life. This finding may be combined with results from two other studies. In an Air Force study of basic airmen, Negroes more frequently listed opportunity to travel as a reason to enlist than did non-Negroes (14.6 per cent vs. 8.4 per cent, respectively).<sup>20</sup> Also, the Gilbert Youth study revealed that 52 per cent of both blacks and whites felt travel opportunities to be an important enlistment incentive.<sup>21</sup> Together, these findings suggest that blacks are slightly more aware than whites of the travel opportunities offered by military service, and that this advantage is at least as important as an enlistment incentive to blacks as it is to whites.

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<sup>20</sup>Cecil J. Mullins, Iris H. Massey, Larry D. Riederich, Why Airmen Enlist, (Lackland AFB, Texas: Personnel Research Division, Air Force Human Resources Laboratory, 1970), p. 30.

<sup>21</sup>Gilbert Youth Research, Inc., op. cit., p. III-10.

The great majority of respondents felt that military service could offer them the opportunity for further education (item III-1-6). Again, blacks tended to respond slightly more positively than did white respondents, 88.3 per cent of the blacks and 82.6 per cent of the whites answering "yes." Academic achievement was found to have no systematic bearing on recognition of this benefit of military service. Noteworthy is the finding of the Gilbert Youth survey that non-whites, slightly more than whites (34 per cent vs. 30 per cent) consider "advanced education" to be a strong factor in the enlistment decision.<sup>22</sup> Also, aside from avoiding the draft, educational opportunities were considered the strongest incentive to join the Reserves (28 per cent of the whites; 35 per cent of the non-whites).<sup>23</sup> In summary, it appears that educational benefits are an attractive and well-publicized enlistment incentive, especially for blacks.

Item III-1-7 asked the respondent if the military can offer them financial security. Affirmative answers were given by 63.7 per cent of the whites and 77.9 per cent of the blacks. Socio-economic status was found to have no great effect on the participants views on this possible advantage of military service.

In item III-2, the students were asked, "Do you think that it is easier to get a good civilian job if you have served in the military?"

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. IV-30.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. V-8.

A solid majority of both racial sub-groups replied, "yes, definitely" or "yes, probably" (60.7 per cent of the whites, and 66.1 per cent of the blacks). In view of present job discrimination against blacks, this selling point might be worthy of greater emphasis in recruitment efforts.

When asked if the military would offer them enough chance for advancement, 76.5 per cent of the whites and 78.2 per cent of the blacks answered affirmatively. The positive nature of the black responses here indicate that reports of discrimination in the promotion of blacks in the military have not made a firm negative impression on the students.

Questions pertaining to two disadvantages of military life, discipline and family separation, found blacks to be more negative than whites on these matters. Item III-4 was designed to find out how many would be discouraged from enlistment by the rules and regulations of military life. Fifty-three per cent of the whites and 50.5 per cent of the blacks answered that they definitely would not or probably would not be discouraged.

In the last occupational question, the respondents were asked "Do you think that military service would force you to be away from your family too much?" Nearly 70 per cent of the blacks, as compared to 53.5 per cent of the whites, answered affirmatively. This finding contradicts that of the Gilbert Youth study where 49 per cent of the total sample named "extended time away from home" as a condition which

might deter their enlistment. In that study, fewer members of the non-white sample (40 per cent) than of the white sample (50 per cent) seemed concerned about this drawback of military service.<sup>24</sup> Since the Baltimore survey included 597 blacks who responded to this question as opposed to the 256 in the Gilbert Youth survey, the former will be considered a better measure of urban, black sentiment on this matter. Further, since the percentages for the whites in both surveys are very similar on this question, the finding of the Baltimore study that blacks are more negative on this facet of military life will stand as valid.

In viewing two obvious disadvantages of military service, discipline and family separation, blacks, more frequently than whites, expressed unfavorable feelings. In answering all other occupational items, more blacks than whites displayed favorable outlooks. This observation suggests that racially oriented sentiments have not obscured to blacks the occupational benefits which military service could provide them; the opinions expressed seem to be quite in line with the realities of job opportunities for blacks in civilian society. Thus, the hypothesis that strong racial sentiments would preclude realistic occupational evaluation of the military was decidedly disaffirmed.

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. III-15.

## IV. GENERAL FEELINGS ABOUT THE MILITARY

The questions in Part IV were designed to elicit general feelings about the military and authority and more specific sentiments on military service and the war in Vietnam.

Item IV-1, by asking for reaction to the statement, "A strong military is necessary for the good of the United States," was an attempt to determine how the military is viewed in the abstract.

TABLE 19

(Percentages across) Strong Military is Necessary.

Race	Agree Strongly	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	Total
White	42.5% (97)	35.0% (80)	14.4% (33)	4.8% (11)	3.0% (7)	228
Black	36.6% (218)	32.4% (193)	21.0% (125)	6.2% (37)	3.6% (22)	595

$$\chi^2, P > .05; \gamma = .003$$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

Although both racial sub-samples were predominantly positive in response, (77.5 per cent of the whites, and 69.0 per cent of the blacks) blacks were slightly less likely to strongly agree or agree with the given statement. Possibly this difference was caused by black interpretation of "strong military" as synonymous with defense spending, which is commonly portrayed as the financial antithesis of the poverty programs, in large part designed to aid the black poor. The small racial differences in the numbers disagreeing or disagreeing strongly suggest that black youth is not substantially more opposed to the concept of a strong military than their white contemporaries.



In order to determine the relationship between general views on the military and inclination to volunteering, a cross-tabulation was performed between these two variables. The results reveal a statistically significant and fairly strong association: the more positive a respondent felt toward the given statement, the more likely it was that he would consider enlistment. It was noted that this relationship was not as strong for blacks ( $\gamma=.024$ ) as it was for whites ( $\gamma=.068$ ). At the same time, the fact that over half of the students strongly agreeing with the concept of a strong military would not consider serving, points up a widespread feeling that a strong military may be a good idea as long as it's left to those who want to be part of it. This sentiment was further evidenced by the responses to the open-ended question at the end of the questionnaire, several of which were critical of mandatory military service.

The students were next asked to consider the statement, "In general, people in charge deserve my respect and obedience."

TABLE 20

(Percentages across) People in Charge Deserve Respect and Obedience

Race	Agree Strongly	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Disagree Strongly	Total
White	31.7% (72)	39.2% (89)	18.9% (43)	7.9% (18)	2.2% (5)	227
Black	21.4% (128)	44.4% (265)	23.1% (138)	6.8% (41)	4.0% (24)	596

$$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .009$$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

Whites were slightly more likely than blacks to agree or agree strongly with the authoritarian statement. This fact may suggest that whites are a little more desirable as military recruits, but results from only one question of this nature must be considered as inconclusive at best, especially considering the weak racial differences ( $\gamma=.009$ ).

A cross-tabulation was performed to evaluate any possible association between respect for authority and willingness to consider volunteering. While among whites there was a fairly strong direct relationship between these variables ( $\gamma=.078$ ), that for blacks was much weaker ( $\gamma=.015$ ).

In item IV-3, students were given six response choices to describe their feelings about serving in the military.

TABLE 21

(Percentages down) Feelings about Military Service	RACE	
	WHITE	BLACK
Privilege and Duty of all.....	22.4% (50)	14.1% (84)
Fact of life; Will serve if drafted.....	46.6% (104)	39.4% (234)
Mere occupation.....	15.6% (35)	19.8% (118)
Negative: It supports dominant, "White Establishment.".....	1.7% (4)	12.8% (76)
Negative: Morally wrong.....	5.8% (13)	6.4% (38)
Never think about it.....	7.6% (17)	7.2% (43)
Total.....	223	593

$$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .008$$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

The most popular response for respondents of both races was "Military service is a fact of life. If I am drafted I will serve. If

not, I will not serve." The next most frequently used response by the whites (22.4 per cent) was the highly positive statement "Military service is the privilege and duty of all American citizens," which was less popular with blacks (14.1 per cent). On the other hand, more blacks than whites felt that "Military service should be viewed merely as another occupation...." As expected, substantially more blacks than whites opted for the racially militant declaration "I am against military service because it supports the dominant "White Establishment." But the small figure of 12.8 per cent reveals that the majority of black students are not as militant in their views of military service as had been hypothesized. Apparently, among blacks there is no wholesale rejection of the military as being the protective arm of a society which represses them. Finally, very small percentages of both blacks and whites expressed moral objections to military service. The fact that the respondents preferred the positive and neutral responses by far over the negative ones contradicts any notions that youth is violently anti-military.

Examination revealed that a predictably strong association existed between willingness to consider volunteering and sentiments about military service. About 90 per cent of the whites and 72.5 per cent of the blacks who described military service as a privilege and duty also indicated that they would consider enlisting. One noticeable difference between races was that among those viewing military service merely as an occupation, a greater percentage of blacks than

whites (56.4 per cent vs. 38.2 per cent, respectively) were willing to consider volunteering. This observation coupled with the fact that slightly more blacks chose to view the military strictly in terms of a job, again suggests that blacks might be more occupation-conscious than whites in evaluating the enlistment option. However, such an inference must be cautiously drawn, since the percentage differences are small, and the relationships are not statistically strong ( $\gamma=.008$ ).

It should be noted that certain discrepancies appeared between respondents' answers to the two variables, feelings about military service and willingness to consider volunteering. For example, 27.5 per cent ( $n=22$ ) of the blacks who stated that military service was the privilege and duty of all Americans, also said they would not or probably would not consider enlistment. Similar inconsistencies occurred where students expressed moral objections to military service, but still answered positively about volunteering. These contradictions are possibly the result of a lack of forethought on this subject by the individuals concerned. Or perhaps they are attributable to the difference between one's professed sentiments and his feelings when his own personal life is affected by a certain issue. While these discrepancies are not widespread enough to warrant lack of confidence in the data, they should be kept in mind.

SES and academic achievement were found to have no systematic effect on feelings about military service.

Item IV-4 sought a response to the question, "Do you think that the leaders of the military care what the lower ranking servicemen think about the military?" A racial difference, though statistically not very strong, was found, as about eight per cent more blacks than whites answered in the negative.

TABLE 22

(Percentages across) Do Leaders Care what Enlisted Men Think?

Race	Yes	No	Total
White	45.2%(100)	54.7%(121)	221
Black	37.3%(218)	62.6%(366)	584

$$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .008$$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

A fairly strong relationship appeared between this variable and the summary variable on volunteering. Within each racial sub-group, this association remained intact, although it was weaker for blacks ( $\gamma = .025$ ) than for whites ( $\gamma = .061$ ).

TABLE 23

(Percentages Across)

Race=White

Do leaders care?	Consider Volunteering?		Total
	Yes	No	
Yes	52.5%(51)	47.4%(46)	97
No	28.3%(34)	71.6%(86)	120

$$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .061$$

Race=Black

Do leaders care?	Consider Volunteering?		Total
	Yes	No	
Yes	47.1%(100)	52.8%(112)	212
No	31.3%(111)	68.6%(243)	354

$$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .025$$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

As the table shows, those who believed military commanders to be responsive to their subordinates' ideas are more likely than those who did not think so to consider enlistment.

It should be considered that some of the negative responses given might not accurately reflect the respondents' views on the question as stated. Some students may have used the negative response here to show that they believe that more communication between officers and enlisted men is desirable and possible, on the hope that their responses might have a beneficial effect. Therefore, it can be inferred that the image of military leaders is, at worst, not too bad, and possibly it is slightly better than the data indicate.

In order to measure sentiment on the war in Vietnam, a question on this subject, followed by six structured responses was included in the questionnaire (item IV-7). One response, which was supportive of the U. S. role in Southeast Asia, was expected to attract all those students who favor, to one degree or another, our presence in Vietnam. The other five responses were of an unfavorable character and were intended to define more specifically the nature of any discontent with the war.

A significant racial difference was found between the answers given by black and white respondents.

TABLE 24

(Percentages down) Describe your feelings on the Vietnam War.

Feelings on Vietnam War	Race	
	White	Black
U. S. presence necessary.....	46.6%(104)	24.6%(141)
Mistake to fight Communism in other parts of world.....	12.1% (27)	19.4%(111)
Unfair drain on black youth.....	1.3% (3)	21.8%(125)
Racist war against yellowskinned Vietnamese.....	2.6% (6)	3.1% (18)
Fighting for only few wealthy Vietnamese....	9.8% (22)	5.6% (32)
Moral objections.....	27.3% (61)	25.2%(144)
Total.....	233	571

 $\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .025$ 

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

As expected, a greater percentage of blacks than whites (21.8 per cent vs. 1.3 per cent) opposed the war as an unfair drain on the black youth of our country. Another striking contrast appeared between the numbers of blacks and whites viewing our presence in Vietnam as "necessary to prevent the Communist takeover of Southeast Asia" (46.6 per cent of the whites vs. 24.6 per cent of the blacks). About 7 per cent more blacks than whites felt that it is a mistake for the U. S. to try to stop Communism in other parts of the world. Of the responses unfavorable to the U. S. stance in Vietnam, the one most frequently chosen was general, moral objection to the War, and it was almost equally used by blacks and whites alike (25.2 per cent and 27.3 per cent, respectively). It was somewhat surprising that, even among blacks, very few respondents chose the racially militant response, opposing the war "because it is a racist war against the yellow-skinned Vietnamese people" (Blacks: 3.1 per cent; Whites: 2.6 per

cent). Only a small percentage of both racial sub-samples objected to the war "because we are fighting only for a few wealthy Vietnamese."

The racial differences mentioned remained when SES was used as a control variable. SES itself, along with the variables for academic achievement, influence of friends in college and friends in high school were found to have no systematic bearing on Vietnam War sentiment.

The Johnston and Bachman survey of a national sample (presumed to be predominantly white) made an attempt to find any relationship between post-high school plans and anti-war sentiment. Their results showed that college-bound students were not substantially more opposed to the war than students with other post-graduation expectations. Predictably, those respondents expecting to enter the military soon after graduation were noticeably less opposed than other groups to the war, but the difference was smaller than expected.<sup>25</sup>

A similar analysis was performed here, in this study focusing on black youths, with slightly different results. Again, college-bound students of both races were not found to be significantly more opposed to the war than the other respondents. Among whites, those expecting to enter the military soon after graduation were much more favorable to the U. S. role in Vietnam than the other whites. However, blacks planning to enter the military did not stand out from the other black participants at all in this respect.

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<sup>25</sup>Johnston and Bachman, op. cit., p. 29.



A cross-tabulation between disposition to volunteering and Vietnam War sentiment was performed to uncover any relationship between these variables. As expected, those students of both races believing our presence in Vietnam to be necessary were more likely to be positive toward enlistment. Notably, among blacks, the next most favorable group was those answering that it is wrong for the United States to try to stop Communism in other parts of the world.

In summary, whites tended to support United States' presence in Vietnam more than blacks. Of those students expressing opposition to the war, the reason most frequently chosen was moral objection. Substantially more blacks opposed the war as an unfair drain on the black youth of America, and as a foreign policy mistake. It is important to note that very few blacks chose the most militant response, depicting the war as racist, reflecting the absence of racially militant anti-war sentiment. Among whites, youths expecting to enter the military shortly after graduation were particularly favorable toward our role in Vietnam. No such trend was found among black respondents. Finally, a moderate association was discovered between sentiment on the Vietnam War and willingness to consider volunteering. Students of both races favoring U. S. presence in Southeast Asia were also more likely to consider enlistment, and among blacks, those believing the war to be a foreign policy mistake were relatively less negative toward enlistment.

One interesting discovery occurred during the analysis of the

correlations between responses to the questions in this section of the survey and willingness to consider volunteering. General sentiments on the necessity of a strong military, authority, military service, the Vietnam War, and officer-enlisted rapport were far more strongly correlated to the enlistment attitudes of whites than to those of blacks. This finding, together with previous results, suggests an important racial contrast in the development of disposition toward volunteering. It appears that personal philosophy is a particularly important factor in white enlistment attitudes, while black enlistment decisions are more closely bound to practical considerations such as pay.

## V. RACIAL PERSPECTIVES ON SERVING IN THE MILITARY

The first six items of Part V of the questionnaire were designed to measure and compare the sentiment of blacks and whites on specifically racial aspects of military service.

Item V-1 asked, "In general, do you think that people of all races get equal treatment in the Armed Forces?" As expected, the black respondents were decidedly more negative than their white counterparts on this question.

TABLE 25

(Percentages across) Do people of all races get equal treatment?

Race	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
White	51.5%(118)	21.8% (50)	26.6% (61)	229
Black	16.4% (97)	59.0%(348)	24.4%(144)	589

$$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .08$$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

Nearly sixty per cent of the blacks answered in the negative, while over half of the whites replied "yes." A check was performed to measure any effect which SES might have on the respondent's answer to this question. A trend was revealed indicating that as the SES of the respondent rose, he was more likely to recognize discrimination. However, this correlation between variables was statistically insignificant, and therefore must be regarded with caution. The influence of academic proficiency on responses was also examined, with one interesting result: blacks of lower ability were found to be less aware of racial inequalities in the service than blacks of higher scholastic

caliber.

Item V-2 asked the respondent if he thought that whites get better jobs than blacks in the military, and the results were similar to those of the previous question (V-1).

TABLE 26

(Percentages across) Do whites get better jobs than blacks?

Race	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
White	18.3% (42)	52.4% (120)	29.2% (67)	229
Black	56.3% (331)	16.1% (95)	27.4% (161)	587

$\chi^2$ ,  $P < .05$ ;  $\gamma = .085$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

SES was found to have an effect only on the replies of white participants on this question: as SES rose, whites became more likely to acknowledge job discrimination in the military. In contrast, SES had no real effect on black awareness of bias in assignments. Figures for both racial sub-groups hinted that students of lower academic caliber were less capable of identifying job discrimination, but this relationship was statistically insignificant, and therefore not reliable.

Respondents were next asked to react to the question, "Do you think that the military provides a good career opportunity for blacks." It was expected that while many whites would view the military as a path of upward social mobility for blacks, many blacks

themselves would interpret this suggestion as racist or degrading and would therefore reject the notion. The Johnston and Bachman survey reported that 54.3 per cent of their national sample (presumably mostly white) believed that "Negroes had a better chance of getting ahead" in the military than civilian life.<sup>26</sup>

TABLE 27

(Percentages across)      Is military service a good career opportunity for blacks?

Race	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
White	49.3%(112)	15.4% (35)	35.2% (80)	227
Black	33.7%(198)	29.9%(176)	36.2%(213)	587

$\chi^2$ ,  $P < .05$ ;  $\gamma = .014$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

The results for this question were very much as expected. About sixteen per cent fewer blacks than whites answered affirmatively, and almost twice as many (proportionately) blacks as whites said "No." A surprisingly large part of both racial sub-samples expressed no opinion.

A slight relationship was found between SES and this variable among black respondents: the higher the SES of the respondent, the less likely was he to view the military as a good career opportunity for blacks. This association might suggest that blacks from higher socio-economic backgrounds are possibly more sensitive about their

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

racial identity and read the concept of upward mobility as a racial slur. However, it is more likely that having higher SES leads to higher self-expectations and more job options being available. This perspective in turn causes higher SES blacks to view the military less favorably as a career opportunity for their race in general.

Academic achievement was found to have little effect on the responses to this question.

Question V-4 asked participants if they thought the military had more or less racial discrimination than civilian society. In general, the military was judged favorably on this question.

TABLE 28

(Percentages across)

Does military have more or less discrimination than civilian society?

Race	More	Less	No opinion	Total
White	10.0% (23)	59.2% (135)	30.7% (70)	228
Black	22.8% (133)	42.8% (250)	34.3% (200)	583

$$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .017$$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

Only a small percentage of each racial subgroup believed the military to have more racial bias than the civilian sector, but as the table shows, the racial difference is significant. An even larger racial difference existed between whites and blacks ascribing less discrimination to the military. (Further credence was lent to the results for the white sub-sample by the Johnston and Bachman study which

reported nearly identical results on this question.<sup>27</sup>) Noteworthy is the high number of participants selecting the option, "No opinion" (30.7 per cent of the whites and 34.3 per cent of the blacks). It had been expected that those desiring to express the idea that discrimination was about the same in the military as in civilian society would use this response option. However, the high utilization of this response in previous questions suggests that this choice really does reflect a lack of well-defined sentiment on this question. This fact in turn indicates that common complaints of black servicemen that our military system is inherently discriminatory (i.e., military justice, promotion procedures, etc.) have not taken hold on black high school students. SES and academic ability were shown to have no significant effect on the respondent's answers to this question.

In item V-5 it was asked, "In your opinion, do members of minority groups have as much reason to fight for America as whites do?" It was intended that this question would articulate black despair in fighting "wars for democracy" elsewhere, only to return to the discriminatory conditions in the United States. As expected, the racial differential in responses was substantial.

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

TABLE 29

(Percentages across) Do blacks have as much reason to fight for America?

Race	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
White	62.5%(142)	11.0% (25)	26.4% (60)	227
Black	38.7%(227)	26.9%(158)	34.3%(201)	586

$$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .03$$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

The percentage of blacks answering affirmatively to this question (38.7 per cent) is small compared to that of the whites doing so (62.5 per cent). Further, blacks were far more likely to answer "No" to this question than whites (26.9 per cent of the blacks vs. 11.0 per cent of the whites). Again, we have a high incidence of "No opinion" responses, particularly among the black students, which again suggests the absence of strong anti-military sentiment. Within each racial subgroup, SES and academic achievement were found to have no significant association with responses to this question.

Participants were next asked in item V-6 if they thought the military was making a "real effort to wipe out racial injustices and racial tensions."



TABLE 30

(Percentages across)      Is military making an effort to end racial problems?

Race	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
White	37.0% (83)	23.6% (53)	39.2% (88)	224
Black	25.2% (147)	33.6% (196)	41.1% (240)	583

$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .009$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

Thirty-seven per cent of the white respondents believed that the military is making a real attempt to eliminate racism and its effects, while only 25.2 per cent of the blacks acknowledged this effort. Conversely, ten per cent more blacks than whites answered this question in the negative. While this racial difference is significant, statistically speaking it is not very strong ( $\gamma$  less than .01). No systematic relationship was found between this variable and either SES or academic proficiency. The extremely large percentage of blacks expressing no opinion might be an indication of fertile ground for recruitment advertising, publicizing and stressing the efforts undertaken by the military to improve race relations. It is interesting to note that the military's image in race relations fared much better in comparison to civilian society than on its own merits. While 42.8 per cent of the black respondents believed the military to have less discrimination than civilian society, only 25.2 per cent acknowledged a real effort on the part of the military to eliminate racial prejudice. A similar contrast existed for whites between these two variables. This difference would seem to suggest a widespread

belief that there is much room for progress in the area of military race relations.

In order to obtain a profile for each respondent's feeling on race-oriented questions about the military, a general variable was coded, combining the responses from items V-1 through V-6. As anticipated, there was a significant difference between the scores of whites and blacks on this variable.

TABLE 31

(Percentages down)

Overall profile on combined feelings  
about racial questions pertinent to  
the military

	Race	
	White	Black
Very negative.....	3.0% (7)	15.7% (93)
Moderately negative.....	9.6% (22)	34.5% (204)
Neutral*.....	14.8% (34)	15.9% (94)
Moderately positive.....	39.3% (90)	25.7% (152)
Very positive.....	33.1% (76)	8.1% (48)
Total.....	229	591

$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .043$

\*The neutral category included only those respondents whose negative answers exactly balanced their positive ones.

\*\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

As the table shows, black scores were far more likely than those of whites to be rated as very negative or moderately negative, and less likely to be considered as positive about the racial aspects of military service. Within each racial sub-sample, SES and academic achievement were not found to be significantly related to the respondent's outlook on this subject. (A trend was noted, which

showed higher scholastic grade levels to hold more "very negative" and fewer "very positive" respondents. However, this relationship did not hold for the moderate categories, and was found to be statistically insignificant.).

A fairly strong association was discovered between the general profile of blacks on the racial questions and their willingness to consider volunteering.

TABLE 32

(Percentages Across) Would you consider volunteering?

Race=Black

Profile on racial atmosphere in military	Yes	No	Total
Very negative	22.2%(20)	77.7% (70)	90
Mod. negative	31.0%(62)	69.0%(138)	200
Neutral	31.8%(29)	68.1% (62)	91
Mod. positive	50.3%(76)	49.6% (75)	151
Very positive	62.5%(30)	37.5% (18)	48
Total	217	363	580

$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .064$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

Blacks favorable on the race-related matters are much more willing to think about enlistment than those holding negative impressions of this aspect of military life. However, the converse relationship between these variables is not as strong. Further analysis showed that 38.7 per cent of those blacks willing to contemplate volunteering displayed negative racial outlooks on the military. Furthermore, 290 members of the black sample received negative scores,

as compared to only 199 exhibiting positive profiles. After considering these numerical totals, one can see that a large portion of those blacks considering military service nevertheless hold negative, race-oriented views of military service.

What conclusions can be drawn from this last set of confusing percentages? First, if a black youth holds a positive outlook on the racial facets of military service, chances are that he will seriously consider enlistment. At the same time however, many of those considering military service do so knowing full well that race relations in the Armed Forces are far from perfect. This latter fact may be attributable to realistic appraisals of job opportunities for blacks in the civilian sector. It may be further articulated by the results from item V-4: while the situation in the military might not be good, only a small percentage of black respondents (22.8 per cent) considered it worse than that in civilian society.

An attempt was made to determine the origins of black attitudes on the race-related questions. This was done by cross-tabulating this variable with other variables representing possible inputs to these views.

First, it was thought that blacks who considered "friends or relatives in the military" to be important or very important sources of information about the service might hold less favorable views on the racial topics. This conjecture was found to be false; there was no significant correlation between views expressed and how important the

respondent considered his friends and relatives in the military to be as information sources. Next, the data for black respondents were examined to uncover any association between perceived military experiences of friends or relatives who have served and the respondent's feelings on the racial aspects of military service. Cross-tabulations were performed between the racial attitude variable and the individual variables representing the military experiences of the respondent's "father," "brother," "uncle or male adult friend (over 30 years old)," and "cousin or close friend (under 30 years old)." Only the comparisons involving the experiences of "uncle or male adult friend" and "brother" yielded statistically significant relationships. This result is especially puzzling in view of the fact that the association involving uncle's or male adult friend's experience is nearly twice as strong ( $r=.061$ ) as the one including brother's perceived experience ( $r=.031$ ). This surprising finding was borne out by the previous discovery that the military experience of uncle or male adult friend was more strongly correlated with respondent's inclination toward volunteering than was father's experience, for both blacks and whites. While these surprising data may be a matter of pure coincidence, they are worthy of further study for recruitment purposes.

## VI. SERVICE BRANCH PREFERENCES

Items V-7 and V-8 of the questionnaire asked the respondent to name the branch of service he would be most likely and least likely to choose, assuming he were to volunteer. Some interesting recruitment information was uncovered in the analysis of the replies to these questions.

TABLE 33

(Percentages across) Branch Most Likely to Join

Race	Army	Marine Corps	Navy	Air Force	Coast Guard	Total
White	15.5% (34)	14.6% (32)	35.3% (77)	21.1% (46)	13.3% (29)	218
Black	17.2% (99)	17.7% (102)	20.5% (118)	33.4% (192)	10.9% (63)	574

$$\chi^2, P < .05; \gamma = .012$$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

TABLE 34

(Percentages across) Branch Least Likely to Join

Race	Army	Marine Corps	Navy	Air Force	Coast Guard	Total
White	31.6% (69)	34.4% (75)	8.2% (18)	9.6% (21)	16.0% (35)	218
Black	31.1% (177)	33.2% (189)	12.8% (73)	9.6% (55)	13.1% (75)	569

$$\chi^2, P > .05; \gamma = .002$$

\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

The most marked racial differences occurred in the support of the Navy and the Air Force (the two most popular services). Whites

avored the Navy significantly more than did blacks, whereas blacks were much more likely to find the Air Force to be the most attractive service branch. These racial differences are supported by the findings of the Gilbert Youth survey where participants were asked to choose the service which is "best overall."

TABLE 35\*

(Percentages across) Branch of Service, Best Overall

Race	Army	Marine Corps	Navy	Air Force	Coast Guard	No difference All the Same
White	8%	8%	30%	29%	8%	18%
Non-white	6%	10%	10%	49%	3%	22%

\*From Gilbert Youth Research, Inc., p. III-20.

\*\*Because of the rounding of decimals, percentage totals may not equal 100%.

It should be recalled that blacks, more than whites (69.3 per cent vs. 53.5 per cent, respectively) stated that military service would keep them away from home too much. At the same time, the Navy was highly identified by non-whites in the Gilbert Youth survey (24 per cent of those feeling family separation to be a significant deterrent to enlistment) as the service most likely to exemplify this condition.<sup>28</sup> This fact may account for some of the difference between black support for the Air Force and that for the Navy. However, a discrepancy cropped up in the data from the Gilbert Youth study which further shrouded the reason for black preference for the Air Force over the

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<sup>28</sup>Gilbert Youth Research, Inc., op. cit., p. III-18.

Navy. A large percentage of blacks (46 per cent) rated choice of assignment as an important incentive to enlist,<sup>29</sup> but of those doing so, more chose the Navy than the Air Force as the service best for this feature<sup>30</sup> (34 per cent vs. 20 per cent, respectively).

The Army and Marine Corps were not highly supported by either racial sub-group, and indeed, were highly rejected by both. One minor contradiction was found in the data from the Gilbert Youth survey. Non-whites were found to be more likely than whites to consider risk of injury to be an important deterrent to their enlistment (66 per cent vs. 57 per cent of the whites<sup>31</sup>). However, blacks were not found by either the Gilbert Youth survey or the Baltimore survey to be more reluctant than whites to join the two infantry-oriented services, the Army or the Marine Corps.

Among whites, SES seemed to have an effect on service preference. As SES rose, support for the Navy did also, while support for the Air Force declined. Within the black sub-sample however, no such relationship was revealed. Also, no significant association between academic ability and service preference was shown to exist for students of either race.

The combined results from this survey and the Gilbert Youth study suggest that in the zero-draft situation, the percentage of

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. III-10.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. III-13.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. III-15.



blacks among Air Force enlistees might increase noticeably. However, blacks do not seem to view the other services so favorably (particularly the Navy) that marked rises in black representation in them should be anticipated.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>These conclusions on percentage representations result from racial differentials in support, and not merely from the absolute support percentages.

## VII. OPEN-ENDED QUESTION

An open-ended question was placed at the end of the questionnaire in order to allow the respondents to express, in their own words, any feelings they might have had about the military or military service. Since a detailed analysis of this type of response is very difficult, an attempt was made to characterize the type of comment given.

Of the 866 participants in the survey, 238 offered observations which could be classified as either positive or negative. Eighty-three of the remarks were decidedly favorable to the military. Several of these were supportive of the military in general, but also included criticism of the draft system or of the U. S. involvement in Vietnam. Many of the positive comments depicted the military service as a chance for a young man to think about his future or to grow into manhood. Also, several youths wrote that the military was alright, and then stated that it was not for them for one reason or another.

It was interesting to find several of the respondents stating that more information about the service should be disseminated. If a handful of students took the trouble to register this comment, one wonders how many of those not bothering to do so felt the same way.

One hundred and fifty-five negative remarks were received. The two subjects predominating in the criticism were the draft and the war in Vietnam. Mentioned less frequently among the unfavorable comments were poor leadership by military officers, discipline and loss of personal freedoms, and the disruption of personal plans for the future.

Included among the negative responses were thirty-one racially oriented criticisms, which cited job discrimination, general prejudice, and unfulfilled recruitment promises to young blacks.

The relatively small number of negative remarks about the racial situation in the Armed Forces again reflects an absence of racial militancy on the subject of military service in urban black high school students.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Blacks are not any more negative about enlistment, and are possibly more favorable on this matter, than whites. SES and displayed academic proficiency were found to have little or no correlation with willingness to consider volunteering.

Images of military life transmitted to black youths by relatives and friends who have served are slightly less likely to be favorable than those passed on to white students. Specifically, the input from uncles and male adult friends seems to have strongest influence on black enlistment attitudes and black race-oriented feelings about the military. Blacks serving in the Armed Forces in recent years appear to be less satisfied with the military than those who served in earlier times of outright discrimination.

It appears that the school guidance counselor has not been a very helpful or effective figure in the area of military recruitment. Very few blacks or whites recalled their advisers' mentioning military service as an occupational choice. Enlistment attitudes were found to be somewhat related to counselor's suggestions of military service, though the association was considerably stronger for whites than for blacks. Further, guidance counselors received a high degree of support from the respondents as important influences on personal decision-making. It appears that better methods of involving counselors in military recruitment are needed.

Combined results from the Baltimore survey and the Gilbert

Youth Study indicate that urban blacks receive at least as much personal exposure to military recruiters as do whites. Recruiters, in general, are successful in promoting favorable impressions of military service. However, considering that over half of the survey sample denied ever having personal recruiter contact, it is evident that improved efforts to attain wider exposure are essential.

In regard to sources of information about the military and influences on personal decisions, the relative rankings accorded for importance were very similar for both racial sub-groups. Friends or relatives in the military received the greatest amount of support as being an important information source, particularly among blacks. In view of the fact that the military experiences of friends or relatives who have served were perceived by most respondents to be positive, it appears that the strongest information source is a favorable one. Television was reported to provide a good deal of information about the military, and because of the number of people reached by this medium, the Gilbert Youth Study ranked it with personal recruiter contact as most important in influencing enlistment decisions.

Family adults were ranked second in terms of support as an important source of information about the military, and parents were by far the influence most frequently described as important in the making of personal decisions. Although black students were somewhat less likely than whites to expect positive parent reaction to their supposed enlistments, over half still predicted favorable reactions.

It was also discovered that black parents were more likely than white parents to oppose their sons' enlistments because of "family or personal reasons." Thus, it seems that while black parents are very important influences on their sons' thinking, they are not as positive on the subject of military service as are white parents. Attempts to correct this situation could yield substantial results in creating favorable attitudes toward the military among black youth.

High school friends and "friends who are in college" were ranked low (relatively) in importance as information sources and as influences on decision-making. However, the low degree of importance ascribed by black students to their friends was belied by the subsequent finding that, for blacks, predicted peer response to supposed enlistment was strongly related to willingness to consider volunteering.

The similarity in percentages of whites and blacks planning to enter the military shortly after graduation mirrors a likeness in attitudes as well as in future plans. While white students from the two lowest SES categories were more likely to expect to enter the service, no such trend was found among the black participants. Students of average ability were more likely than students of high or low caliber to plan on early military service.

On a variable describing overall view of the military as an occupation, blacks were found to be slightly more positive than whites. This result disaffirms the hypothesis that racial sentiment would prohibit rational evaluation of the occupational aspects of

military service. SES was found to have no correlation with this variable for blacks. Disposition to consider enlistment was found to correlate strongly with images of the military as an occupation.

In evaluating separately the possible advantages of military life, blacks were more positive than whites. On the other hand, the black respondents were more negative on two obvious occupational disadvantages, discipline and family separation. The pay issue seems to be a more important job consideration to blacks than to whites, and black views on military pay were more favorable and more closely related to their enlistment attitudes than those of whites.

Blacks were found to be somewhat less likely to acknowledge the necessity for a strong military. On a general question on feelings about military service, racially militant response options received little support, indicating an absence of race-oriented anti-military sentiment. On the subject of the Vietnam War, blacks were less likely than whites to support the U. S. participation, and as expected, more likely to see the war as an unfair drain on the black youth of our nation. Also, personal feelings on general issues such as the Vietnam War had particularly strong correlation with white enlistment attitudes, white black enlistment decisions were shown to be more firmly based in practical considerations such as pay.

Predictably, blacks were found to exhibit more negative views on six specifically racial questions about the military. The manner in which blacks answered these questions had a moderately strong

relationship with inclination toward volunteering. At the same time, many blacks were positive about enlistment despite their unfavorable feelings about the racial aspects of military service, possibly because of the lack of civilian alternatives.

Blacks were found to be more attracted to the Air Force than to the Navy whereas the reverse was true for whites. The Army, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard received lower levels of support, with the first two services being heavily chosen as the branch least likely to be joined.

The small number of racial comments received in response to the open-ended question again indicates the absence of racial militancy on the subject of military service. Black remarks were not significantly different from those which would be expected from white youths, with the draft and the war in Vietnam the chief preoccupations.

It has been frequently suggested that, with the ending of the draft, the military will attract primarily those who have limited civilian options. Consequently, blacks who, as a race, are restricted by discrimination, will become over-represented in the Armed Forces. Severe, racially based, anti-military sentiment would have contradicted these predictions about rises in the percentages of blacks in the military. However, such attitudes were not found to exist. Further, positive views of blacks on most of the occupational aspects of the military, particularly military pay, support the projections of increased military participation based on the economic disfranchisement



of blacks in civilian society. Even negative feelings on the racial aspects of military service would not prohibit many blacks from considering enlistment. If increased black participation in the military does come about, the Air Force will probably be the service branch most affected, with the Navy feeling the smallest rise in black enlistment.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of the survey and personal observations of the researcher suggest three recommendations pertinent to military recruitment methods.

First, the data indicated that professional athletes and entertainers are especially important influences on the decisions of young blacks. The logical extension of this finding, then, is to utilize these personages in the recruitment advertising aimed at black youths. Such action could have significant impact on minority recruitment efforts.

Second, parents and family adults were considered to exert a very strong influence on the personal decision-making of youths of both races, and to be important sources of information about the military. These data suggest that parents might profitably be incorporated into the exposure phase of the recruitment effort. Specifically, mailed pamphlets describing the short term and long term advantages of military service, and neighborhood meetings between parents and recruiters might induce parents to encourage their sons to enlist. While the administrative and financial difficulties of compiling a list of parents of military-age youths could be considerable, they might be outweighed by the benefits accruing from this additional approach to the military exposure problem.

Finally, the survey results indicated that the recruitment methods presently used in high schools are ineffective at best. It

was revealed that guidance counselors suggest military service to only a very small portion of their students. Also, less than half of the students of both racial sub-samples acknowledged any personal contact with recruiters. This finding may result from the fact that visiting recruiters usually meet only with students who were already interested enough in the military to attend the lecture. Further, it has been observed that guidance counselors frequently send to recruiter meetings only students whom they consider to be interested in, or qualified for, military service, thereby screening out a large number of potential enlistees.

The researcher's personal experience in conducting this survey led to the recommendation that high school recruiting be performed in the actual classroom. It was evident that the word "military" is enough to prevent many youths from taking the time to listen to a recruiter. However, in the classroom environment, especially as an alternative to scholastic work, a military representative can expect to find a good deal of interest from the students present. It is therefore suggested that recruiters attempt to gain access to individual classrooms in order to attain "forced exposure." While school administrators are generally reluctant to sacrifice their students' class-time, the researcher found them also to be fairly well attuned to the idea that high school must involve more than academics alone. Influential military leaders might be able to convince the administrators that it is their obligation to insure student exposure to the important

occupational option of military service.

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## APPENDIX A

## The Pre-test

Annapolis High School was chosen for the pre-test because of its closeness to the Naval Academy. However, its students were considered sufficiently similar to those in the Baltimore high schools to be surveyed to be useful for pre-test purposes.

The Annapolis sample of twenty blacks and twenty-two whites was found to be representative of expected black and white sub-populations. This judgment was based on three criteria: educational level of parents, occupation of parents, and recent academic performance of the student.

As expected, the black sub-sample had substantially fewer parents who had attended college than the white sub-sample had. However, the parents of the white participants were found to represent all academic levels fairly equally.

In the occupational category, the parents of the black group held jobs within a range which was noticeably lower in prestige than the range of jobs held by the white parents. No white parents were listed as manual laborers and several were described as professionals, whereas several black parents were categorized as manual workers, and only three as professionals. Within each racial sub-group, the parents' occupations were evenly distributed over the ranges just described.

A question on academic performance of the student, determined by the student's most frequent grade on his last report card, revealed the following information about our pre-test sample: among the blacks there were six B, ten C, and three D students (one did not answer this question); of the white sample, there were ten B, nine C, two D students, and one F student. (There were no A students in the sample.)

Judging from the responses and comments of the pre-test sample, only a few minor changes to the questionnaire were required. The changes and the reasons for them are given below:

- 1) The term "minority officers" in question V-5 was confusing to several students who were unfamiliar with one or both of the words in the phrase. Since this entire question was judged to be of negligible value, it was not included in the final questionnaire.
- 2) One student suggested as another possible response to question IV-7 on the Vietnam War the statement, "It is not the responsibility of the U. S. to stop Communism in other countries." Original response option b to this question was replaced by the suggested option because the former was a two-part (and thereby invalid) response.
- 3) A few students had trouble categorizing their parents' occupations, in question I-3, and answering questions II-12 and II-13. It was decided that this problem would be dealt with by a more specific oral introduction to the survey, rather than by altering the questions themselves.



SURVEY  
ATTITUDES TOWARD THE MILITARY

## INTRODUCTION:

This is a survey which aims to find out what high school students think about military service. Most of the questions ask for your opinions about certain aspects of the military. To these questions there are no right or wrong answers; just answer according to how you feel about each question.

Several questions ask for certain information about yourself. Please Note: No effort will be made to identify any particular student, so you are not asked for your name! The purpose of these questions is only to find out about your backgrounds in general.

## DIRECTIONS:

Each question will have more than one possible answer. Choose the answer which best fits each question. If the given answers do not exactly describe your feelings, or if more than one answer applies, choose only the closest or best response.

Place the letter of the answer you choose in the corresponding box at the right hand side of the page. Example:

Question: How important to you is the weather?

- a) Extremely important
- b) Important
- c) Fairly important
- d) Not very important
- e) Of no importance at all

a
---

If the weather were extremely important to you, you would mark the letter a in the box.

There is no time limit on this survey. Take all the time you need to answer every question. When you have finished, check to make sure that every box has a letter marked in it!

Thank you for your cooperation.

PART I. Please choose the response which best answers each question.

1) Please indicate your race.

- a) Black
- b) White
- c) Other (Spanish-American surname, Oriental,  
American Indian, etc.)

☐

2) Mark the highest level of education completed by your father or foster father, and your mother or foster mother.

- a) Grades 1-11
- b) Graduated from high school
- c) 1-3 years of college or some technical  
training after graduation from high  
school
- d) College, 4 years or more
- e) Don't know

Father

☐

Mother

☐

3) Choose the letter which most closely indicates the occupation of your father or foster father, and that of your mother or foster mother (a housewife will be considered "not employed").

- a) Manual Worker (such as heavy labor worker, sanitation employee, janitor, general hospital employee, window cleaner, hod carrier, construction laborer, domestic worker, odd job worker)
- b) Craft Worker (such as foreman, trained auto mechanic or body man, die maker, plumber, electrician, carpenter, welder, butcher, telephone repairman, radio or TV repairman, watch maker)
- c) Operative (such as railroad engineer, conductor, bus driver, taxi driver, truck driver, route delivery man, operator of heavy construction machine)
- d) Service and Protective Worker (such as barber, beautician, food service worker, practical nurse, postman, gas station attendant, fireman, policeman, watchman)

Father

☐

Mother

☐

- e) Clerical, Sales, and Kindred Worker (such as bank teller, sales person, secretary, receptionist, clerk, telephone operator, postal clerk, teacher aide, community worker, shipping or warehouse clerk, draftsman, supervisor of maintenance, timekeeper)
- f) Administrative, Small Business (such as credit manager, service manager, sales manager, gas station owner, small contractor, mortician, railroad dispatcher, supervising foreman, independent food store owner, shoe store owner, other small businesses)
- g) Professional, Technical, Large Business (such as army major, owner of medium-size or large business, lawyer, teacher, pharmacist, physician, social worker, registered nurse, engineer, veterinarian, minister, journalist, elected official)
- h) Not Employed

4) Do you plan to stay in high school until you graduate?

- a) Yes      b) No      c) Don't know

☐

5) After you leave high school, you will probably:

- a) Take up a trade
- b) Get any job available to you
- c) Go to college or technical school
- d) Enter the military service
- e) Don't know

☐

6) Which letter grade did you receive most frequently on your last school report card?

- a) A      b) B      c) C      d) D      e) F

☐

PART II. In PART II please choose the answer which best fits each question.

1) Did your father or foster father serve in the Armed Forces?

- a) Yes      b) No      c) Don't know

☐

A-V

- 2) If yes, how do you think he felt about military service in general? (If father did not serve, mark the letters NA in the box to the right.)
- a) He liked it very much
  - b) He disliked some things about the service,  
but in general he liked it
  - c) He liked some things about the service,  
but in general he disliked it ☐
  - d) He disliked it very much
  - e) Don't know
  - NA) Not applicable; father did not serve
- 3) Have you ever discussed military service with an uncle or male adult friend (over 30 years old) who has served in the Armed Forces?
- a) Yes
  - b) No ☐
- 4) If yes, how do you think he felt about military service in general? (If you have never discussed the military with an uncle or male adult friend, mark NA in box at right.)
- a) He liked it very much
  - b) He disliked some things about the service,  
but in general he liked it
  - c) He liked some things about the service,  
but in general he disliked it ☐
  - d) He disliked it very much
  - e) Don't know
  - NA) Not applicable; I have never discussed the  
military with an uncle or male adult friend  
who served
- 5) Do you have a brother who recently served or is now serving in the military?
- a) Yes
  - b) No ☐

- 6) If yes, what do you think are his feelings about military service in general? (If brother did not serve, mark the letters NA in the box at right.)
- a) He liked it very much
  - b) He disliked some things about the service,  
but in general he liked it
  - c) He liked some things about the service,  
but in general he disliked it
  - d) He disliked it very much
  - e) Don't know
  - NA) Not applicable; brother did not serve
- 7) Do you have a cousin or close friend who recently served or is now serving in the military?
- a) Yes
  - b) No
- 8) If yes, what do you think are his feelings toward military service in general? (If you have no cousin or close friend who has recently served, mark the letters NA in the box at right.)
- a) He liked it very much
  - b) He disliked some things about the service,  
but in general he liked it
  - c) He liked some things about the service,  
but in general he disliked it
  - d) He disliked it very much
  - e) Don't know
  - NA) Not applicable; no cousin or close friend who recently served
- 9) Of the following, which is your favorite form of entertainment?
- a) Television
  - b) Radio
  - c) Movies
  - d) Books
  - e) Magazines

10) Since you entered high school, how many times have you spoken with your guidance counselor about your future plans?

- a) Never
- b) One time
- c) 2-5 times
- d) 5 or more times

☐

11) Has your guidance counselor ever suggested military service as a possible career choice for you after you leave high school?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) Don't remember

☐

For questions 12 and 13, mark your answer according to the following scale:

- a) Extremely important
- b) Important
- c) Fairly important
- d) Not very important
- e) Of no importance at all

12) How important is each of the following in informing you about the military? (Place an answer in every box.)

12-1) Friends in high school \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

☐

12-2) Television \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

☐

12-3) Adults in your family \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

☐

12-4) Friends who are in college \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

☐

12-5) Magazines and books \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

☐

12-6) Friends or relatives in the military \_ \_ \_ \_

☐

13) How important to you is the advice or opinions of each of the following when you are making a decision?

- 13-1) One of your coaches \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ ☐
- 13-2) One of your teachers \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ ☐
- 13-3) Your minister, priest, rabbi or  
Sunday School teacher \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ ☐
- 13-4) Your guidance counselor \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ ☐
- 13-5) Your friends who are in college \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ ☐
- 13-6) Your friends who are in high school \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ ☐
- 13-7) Your parents \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ ☐
- 13-8) A director at a community center \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ ☐
- 13-9) A professional athlete or entertainer \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ ☐

14) Have you ever talked with a military recruiter about military service or heard a recruiter lecture on this subject?

- a) No, never  
b) Yes, one time  
c) Yes, a few times  
d) Yes, many times

☐

15) If yes, how did this recruiter affect your general opinion of military service? (If you have never had contact with a recruiter, mark the letters NA in the box to the right.)

- a) Listening to the recruiter made military service seem more attractive to me than it had before
- b) Listening to the recruiter made military service seem less attractive to me than it had before
- c) Listening to the recruiter caused no real change in my opinion of military service
- NA) Not applicable; I have never had any contact with a military recruiter

☐

### PART III.

In question 1, be sure to place a letter answer in every box.

1) Do you think military service can give you the opportunity for the following:

1-1) Training in a trade which could later be useful in civilian life.

- a) Yes      b) No      c) Don't know

☐

1-2) Better housing than you live in now.

- a) Yes      b) No      c) Don't know

☐

1-3) Better pay than most jobs which will be open to you after you leave high school.

- a) Yes      b) No      c) Don't know

☐

1-4) Travel.

- a) Yes      b) No      c) Don't know

☐

1-5) Further education.

- a) Yes      b) No      c) Don't know

☐



1-6) Financial security.

a) Yes    b) No    c) Don't know

☐

2) Is it easier to get a good civilian job if you have served in the military?

a) Yes    b) No    c) Don't know

☐

3) Do you think the military would offer you enough chance for advancement?

a) Yes    b) No    c) Don't know

☐

4) Would the rules and regulations of military life discourage you from entering the military?

a) Yes    b) No    c) Don't know

☐

5) Do you think that military personnel get as much time off for vacation as do people in other occupations?

a) Yes    b) No    c) Don't know

☐

6) Do you think that military service would force you to be away from your family too much?

a) Yes    b) No    c) Don't know

☐

#### PART IV.

For questions 1 and 2, choose the answer which best shows how you feel about the given statement.

1) "A strong military is necessary for the good of the United States."

- a) Strongly agree
- b) Agree
- c) No opinion
- d) Disagree
- e) Strongly disagree

☐

- 2) "In general, people who are 'in charge' (i.e., parents, teachers, government leaders) deserve my respect and obedience."

a) Strongly agree  
b) Agree  
c) No opinion  
d) Disagree  
e) Strongly disagree

☐

- 3) Choose the one statement which best describes your feelings about military service.

a) Military service is the privilege and duty of all American citizens.  
b) Military service is a fact of life. If I am drafted, I will serve. If not, then I will not serve.  
c) Military service should be viewed merely as another occupation with certain advantages and disadvantages.  
d) I am against military service because it supports the dominant "White Establishment."  
e) I am against serving in the military because to do so would be morally wrong.

☐

- 4) Do you think the leaders of the military care what the lower ranking servicemen think about the military?

a) Yes      b) No

☐

- 5) Choose the statement which most closely describes how most of your friends would feel if you volunteered for military service.

a) They would be proud of you for voluntarily serving the country.  
b) They would think that it was a good career opportunity for you.  
c) They would be proud of you, and they would think it was a good career opportunity for you.  
d) It really would not matter much to them.  
e) They would be angry or disappointed with you because they are against the military in general.

☐

6) How would your parents feel if you volunteered for military service?

- a) They would be proud of you for voluntarily serving the country.
- b) They would think that it was a good career opportunity.
- c) They would be proud of you and they would think that it was a good career opportunity for you. ☐
- d) It would not matter much to them.
- e) They would be against it for family or personal reasons.

7) Choose the one statement which best describes your feelings toward the War in Vietnam.

- a) I believe our presence in Vietnam was necessary to prevent the Communist takeover of Southeast Asia.
- b) It was a mistake for the U. S. to get involved in Vietnam, and we should get out immediately.
- c) I am against the war in Vietnam mainly because the unfair number of blacks killed there has been an unjust drain on the black youth of our country. ☐
- d) I am against the war in Vietnam mainly because it is a racist war against the yellow-skinned Vietnamese people.
- e) I am against the U. S. presence in Vietnam because we are fighting only for a few wealthy Vietnamese.
- f) I oppose the war in Vietnam mainly for moral reasons.

PART V.

1) In general, do you think that people of all races get equal treatment in the Armed Forces?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) Don't know ☐

- 2) In general, do you think that whites get better jobs in the military than do servicemen from minority groups?
- a) Yes      b) No      c) Don't know      ☐
- 3) In general, do you think that the military provides a good career opportunity for members of minority groups?
- a) Yes      b) No      c) Don't know      ☐
- 4) In your opinion, does the military have more or less racial discrimination than civilian society?
- a) More      b) Less      c) Don't know      ☐
- 5) Regarding the number of minority officers in the military at the present time:
- a) There should be many more minority officers in the military than we have now.
- b) There should be fewer minority officers in the military than we have now.      ☐
- c) The number of minority officers now in the military is just about what it should be.
- 6) In your opinion, do members of minority groups have as much reason to fight for America as whites do?      ☐
- a) Yes      b) No      c) Don't know
- 7) Do you think that the military is making a real effort to wipe out racial injustices and racial tensions?      ☐
- a) Yes      b) No      c) Don't know
- 8) Assuming that you were to volunteer for military service, which branch of the service would you be most likely to join?
- a) Army
- b) Navy
- c) Marine Corps      ☐
- d) Air Force
- e) Coast Guard

9) What service would you be least likely to join?

- a) Army
- b) Navy
- c) Marine Corps
- d) Air Force
- e) Coast Guard

☐

10) After weighing all the advantages and disadvantages of military service, would you seriously consider volunteering for the military once you have finished with high school or college?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) Don't know

☐

11) In the space below feel free to write any comment you would like about military service, military life, or the military in general. This section of the survey is voluntary.

## SURVEY

## ATTITUDES TOWARD THE MILITARY

## INTRODUCTION:

This is a survey which aims to find out what high school students think about military service. Most of the questions ask for your opinions about certain aspects of the military. To these questions there are no right or wrong answers; just answer according to how you feel about each question.

Several questions ask for certain information about yourself. Please Note: No effort will be made to identify any particular student, so you are not asked for your name! The purpose of these questions is only to find out about your backgrounds in general.

## DIRECTIONS:

Each question will have more than one possible answer. Choose the answer which best fits each question. If the given answers do not exactly describe your feelings, or if more than one answer applies, choose only the closest or best response.

Place the letter of the answer you choose in the corresponding box at the right hand side of the page. Example:

Question: How important to you is the weather?

- a) Extremely important
- b) Important
- c) Fairly important
- d) Not very important
- e) Of no importance at all

a
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If the weather were extremely important to you, you would mark the letter a in the box.

There is no time limit on this survey. Take all the time you need to answer every question. When you have finished, check to make sure that every box has a letter marked in it!

Thank you for your cooperation.

B-I

## PART I. Please choose the response which best answers each question.

1) Please indicate your race.

- a) Black
- b) White
- c) Other (Spanish-American surname, Oriental,  
American Indian, etc.)

☐2) Mark the highest level of education completed by your father or foster father, and your mother or foster mother.

- a) Grades 1-11
- b) Graduated from high school
- c) 1-3 years of college or some technical  
training after graduation from high  
school
- d) College, 4 years or more
- e) Don't know

Father

☐

Mother

☐3) Choose the letter which most closely indicates the occupation of your father or foster father, and that of your mother or foster mother (a housewife will be considered "not employed").

- a) Manual Worker (such as heavy labor worker,  
sanitation employee, janitor, general  
hospital employee, window cleaner, hod  
carrier, construction laborer, domestic  
worker, odd job worker, restaurant or  
hotel employee)
- b) Craft Worker (such as foreman, trained auto  
mechanic or body man, die maker, plumber,  
electrician, carpenter, welder, butcher,  
telephone repairman, radio or TV repair-  
man, watch maker)
- c) Operative (such as railroad engineer,  
conductor, bus driver, taxi driver,  
truck driver, route delivery man,  
operator of heavy construction machine)
- d) Service and Protective Worker (such as  
barber, beautician, food service worker,  
practical nurse, postman, gas station  
attendant, fireman, policeman, watchman,  
enlisted serviceman)

Father

☐

Mother

☐

- e) Clerical, Sales, and Kindred Worker (such as bank teller, sales person, secretary, receptionist, clerk, telephone operator, postal clerk, teacher aide, community worker, shipping or warehouse clerk, draftsman, supervisor of maintenance, timekeeper)
  - f) Administrative, Small Business (such as credit manager, service manager, sales manager, gas station owner, small contractor, mortician, railroad dispatcher, supervising foreman, independent food store owner, shoe store owner, other small businesses)
  - g) Professional, Technical, Large Business (such as army major, owner of medium-size or large business, lawyer, teacher, pharmacist, physician, social worker, registered nurse, engineer, veterinarian, minister, journalist, elected official)
  - h) Not employed
- 4) Do you plan to stay in high school until you graduate? ☐
- a) Yes      b) No      c) Don't
- 5) After you leave high school, you will probably: ☐
- a) Take up a trade  
b) Get any job available to you  
c) Go to college or technical school  
d) Enter the military service  
e) Don't know
- 6) Which grade did you receive most frequently on your last school report card? ☐
- a) A or 90-100      d) D or 60-70  
b) B or 80-90      e) F or below 60  
c) C or 70-80



PART II. In PART II please choose the answer which best fits each question.

- 1) Did your father or foster father serve in the Armed Forces?

a) Yes      b) No      c) Don't know

☐

- 2) If yes, how do you think he felt about military service in general? (If father did not serve, mark the letters NA in the box to the right.)

a) He liked it very much  
b) He disliked some things about the service,  
    but in general he liked it  
c) He liked some things about the service  
    but in general he disliked it  
d) He disliked it very much  
e) Don't know

☐

NA) Not applicable; father did not serve

- 3) Have you ever discussed military service with an uncle or male adult friend (over 30 years old) who has served in the Armed Forces?

a) Yes      b) No

☐

- 4) If yes, how do you think he felt about military service in general? (If you have never discussed the military with an uncle or male adult friend, mark NA in box at right.)

a) He liked it very much  
b) He disliked some things about the service,  
    but in general he liked it  
c) He liked some things about the service,  
    but in general he disliked it  
d) He disliked it very much  
e) Don't know

☐

NA) Not applicable; I have never discussed the military with an uncle or male adult friend who served.

- 5) Do you have a brother who recently served or is now serving in the military?

a) Yes      b) No

☐

- 6) If yes, what do you think are his feelings about military service in general? (If brother did not serve, mark the letters NA in the box at right.)
- a) He liked it very much
  - b) He disliked some things about the service,  
but in general he liked it
  - c) He liked some things about the service,  
but in general he disliked it
  - d) He disliked it very much
  - e) Don't know
  - NA) Not applicable; brother did not serve
- ☐
- 7) Do you have a cousin or close friend (under 30 years old) who recently served or is now serving in the military?
- a) Yes
  - b) No
- ☐
- 8) If yes, what do you think are his feelings toward military service in general? (If you have no cousin or close friend who has recently served, mark the letters NA in the box at right.)
- a) He liked it very much
  - b) He disliked some things about the service,  
but in general he liked it
  - c) He liked some things about the service,  
but in general he disliked it
  - d) He disliked it very much
  - e) Don't know
  - NA) Not applicable; no cousin or close friend who recently served
- ☐
- 9) Since you entered high school, how many times have you spoken with your guidance counselor about your future plans?
- a) Never
  - b) One time
  - c) 2-5 times
  - d) 5 or more times
- ☐

- 10) Has your guidance counselor ever suggested military service as a possible career choice for you after you leave high school? (If you have never spoken with your guidance counselor, mark the letters NA in the box at right.)

- a) Yes  
 b) No  
 c) Don't remember  
 NA) Not applicable; have never spoken with  
     guidance counselor

☐


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For questions 11 and 12, mark your answer according to the following scale:

- a) Extremely important  
 b) Important  
 c) Fairly important  
 d) Not very important  
 e) Of no importance at all
- 

- 11) How important is each of the following in informing you about the military? (Place an answer in every box.)

11-1) Friends in high school \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

☐

11-2) Television (newscasts, documentaries, dramas,  
       etc.) \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

☐

11-3) Adults in your family \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

☐

11-4) Friends who are in college \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

☐

11-5) Magazines and books \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

☐

11-6) Friends or relatives in the military \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

☐

11-7) Newspapers \_ \_ \_ \_ \_

☐

12) How important to you is the advice or opinions of each of the following when you are making a decision?

12-1) One of your coaches \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

12-2) One of your teachers \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

12-3) Your minister, priest, rabbi or \_\_\_\_\_ ☐  
Sunday School teacher

12-4) Your guidance counselor \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

12-5) Your friends who are in college \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

12-6) Your friends who are in high school \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

12-7) Your parents \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

12-8) A director at a community center \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

12-9) A professional athlete or entertainer \_\_\_\_\_ ☐

13) Have you ever talked with a military recruiter about military service or heard a recruiter lecture on this subject?

a) No, never

c) Yes, a few times

b) Yes, one time

d) Yes, many times

☐

14) If yes, how did this recruiter affect your general opinion of military service? (If you have never had contact with a recruiter, mark the letters NA in the box to the right.)

- a) Listening to the recruiter made military service seem more attractive to me than it had before
- b) Listening to the recruiter made military service seem less attractive to me than it had before
- c) Listening to the recruiter caused no real change in my opinion of military service
- NA) Not applicable; I have never had any contact with a military recruiter

☐

PART III.

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For each part of question 1, mark your answer according to the following scale:

- a) Yes, definitely
- b) Yes, probably
- c) No, probably not
- d) No, definitely not

Be sure to place a letter answer in every box.

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1) Do you think military service can give you the opportunity for the following:

1-1) Training in a trade which could later be useful in civilian life

☐

1-2) Better housing than you live in now

☐

1-3) Better pay than most jobs which will be open to you after you leave high school

☐

1-4) As much time off for vacation as most jobs which will be open to you after you leave high school

☐

1-5) Travel

☐

1-6) Further education

☐

1-7) Financial security

☐

B-VIII

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For questions 2 through 6, mark your answers as you did in question 1, according to the following scale:

- a) Yes, definitely
  - b) Yes, probably
  - c) No, probably not
  - d) No, definitely not
- 

2) Do you think it is easier to get a good civilian job if you have served in the military?

☐

3) Do you think the military would offer you enough chance for advancement?

☐

4) Would the rules and regulations of military life discourage you from entering the military?

☐

5) Do you think that military service would force you to be away from your family too much?

☐

PART IV.

For questions 1 and 2, choose the answer which best shows how you feel about the given statement.

1) "A strong military is necessary for the good of the United States."

- a) Strongly agree
- b) Agree
- c) No opinion
- d) Disagree
- e) Strongly disagree

☐

2) "In general, people who are 'in charge' (i.e., parents, teachers, government leaders) deserve my respect and obedience."

- a) Strongly agree
- b) Agree
- c) No opinion
- d) Disagree
- e) Strongly disagree

☐

- 3) Choose the one statement which best describes your feelings about military service.
- a) Military service is the privilege and duty of all American citizens.
  - b) Military service is a fact of life. If I am drafted, I will serve. If not, then I will not serve.
  - c) Military service should be viewed merely as another occupation with certain advantages and disadvantages. ☐
  - d) I am against military service because it supports the dominant "White Establishment."
  - e) I am against serving in the military because to do so would be morally wrong.
  - f) I never think at all about military service.
- 4) Do you think the leaders of the military care what the lower ranking servicemen think about the military? ☐
- a) Yes
  - b) No
- 5) Choose the statement which most closely describes how most of your friends would feel if you volunteered for military service.
- a) They would be proud of you for voluntarily serving the country.
  - b) They would think that it was a good career opportunity for you.
  - c) They would be proud of you, and they would think it was a good career opportunity for you. ☐
  - d) It really would not matter much to them.
  - e) They would be angry or disappointed with you because they are against the military in general.
- 6) How would your parents feel if you volunteered for military service?
- a) They would be proud of you for voluntarily serving the country.
  - b) They would think that it was a good career opportunity for you.

- c) They would be proud of you and they would think that it was a good career opportunity for you.
  - d) It would not matter much to them.
  - e) They would be angry or disappointed with you because they are against the military in general. ☐
  - f) They would be against it for family or personal reasons.
- 7) Even though it is impossible for the given answers to describe exactly how you feel, choose the one answer which best describes your feelings toward the War in Vietnam.
- a) I believe our presence in Vietnam was necessary to prevent the Communist takeover of Southeast Asia.
  - b) I am against our presence in Vietnam because it is a mistake for the U. S. to try to stop Communism in other parts of the world.
  - c) I am against the War in Vietnam mainly because the unfair number of blacks killed there has been an unjust drain on the black youths of our country. ☐
  - d) I am against the War in Vietnam mainly because it is a racist war against the yellow-skinned Vietnamese people.
  - e) I am against the U. S. presence in Vietnam because we are fighting only for a few wealthy Vietnamese.
  - f) I oppose the War in Vietnam mainly for moral reasons.

## PART V.

- 1) In general, do you think that people of all races get equal treatment in the Armed Forces? ☐
- a) Yes      b) No      c) No opinion
- 2) In general, do you think that whites get better jobs in the military than do blacks? ☐
- a) Yes      b) No      c) No opinion



- 3) In general, do you think that the military provides a good career opportunity for blacks? ☐
- a) Yes      b) No      c) No opinion
- 4) In your opinion, does the military have more or less racial discrimination than civilian society? ☐
- a) More      b) Less      c) No opinion
- 5) In your opinion, do members of minority groups have as much reason to fight for America as whites do? ☐
- a) Yes      b) No      c) No opinion
- 6) Do you think that the military is making a real effort to wipe out racial injustices and racial tensions? ☐
- a) Yes      b) No      c) No opinion
- 7) Assuming that you were to volunteer for military service, which branch of the service would you be most likely to join? ☐
- a) Army  
b) Navy  
c) Marine Corps  
d) Air Force  
e) Coast Guard
- 8) What service would you be least likely to join? ☐
- a) Army  
b) Navy  
c) Marine Corps  
d) Air Force  
e) Coast Guard
- 9) After weighing all the advantages and disadvantages of military service, would you seriously consider volunteering for the military once you have finished with high school or college? ☐
- a) Yes, definitely  
b) Yes, probably  
c) No, probably not  
d) No, definitely not

- 10) In the space below feel free to write any comment you would like about military service, military life, or the military in general. This section of the survey is voluntary.

## APPENDIX C

## Coding Methods Used in the Creation of New Variables

In order to simplify the cross-tabulation of variables, a few sets of items were coded into different, more meaningful terms. This combining procedure resulted in the creation of five new variables not seen on the questionnaire. An explanation of this process follows.

A variable describing the socio-economic status of the respondent was created from items I-2 and I-3, the highest level of education of each of the respondent's parents, and the occupation held by each parent. After an examination of the national averages for the 1960 Census Bureau SES scores,<sup>33</sup> point scores were arbitrarily assigned for occupational prestige and educational levels in the following manner:

<u>Educational Level</u>	<u>Occupational Prestige</u>
a) Grades one through eleven.....2 pts.	a) Manual worker.....2 pts.
b) Graduated from high school....4 pts.	b) Craft worker.....4 pts.
c) One through three years of college or some technical training after high school....8 pts.	c) Operative.....4 pts.
d) College, four years or more..10 pts.	d) Service and protective worker.....4 pts.
e) Don't know..... 0 pts.	e) Clerical, sales and kindred worker.....6 pts.
NA) Not answered..... 0 pts.	f) Administrative, small business.....8 pts.
	g) Professional, technical large business.....10 pts.
	h) Not employed..... 0 pts.
	i) Not answered..... 0 pts.

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<sup>33</sup>John P. Robinson, Robert Athanasiou, Kendra B. Head, Measures of Occupational Attitudes and Occupational Characteristics, (Ann Arbor, Institute for Social Research, Univ. of Michigan, 1969) p. 357.

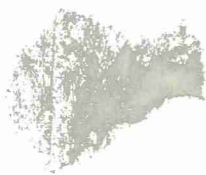
For each of these original variables, an average was taken of the point scores for the father and the mother of the respondent. In cases where only one parent was represented by an answer, that parent's score alone was considered. Then, these averaged scores for each of the original variables were combined into a twenty-point SES scale, with education and occupation receiving equal weighting.<sup>34</sup>

In a similar fashion, the answers to questions II-2 and II-4, as well as II-6 and II-8 were combined to search for any differences between earlier military experiences and more recent experiences.

The various items included in questions III-1 through III-5 were coded into a single overall view of the occupational traits of military life. Finally, questions V-1 through V-6 were combined to indicate the participants' general opinion of the racial aspects of military service. In the creation of these two new variables, the step of averaging point scores was unnecessary and was therefore omitted from the coding process.

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<sup>34</sup>E. Terrence Jones, Conducting Political Research, (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1971), p. 185.



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