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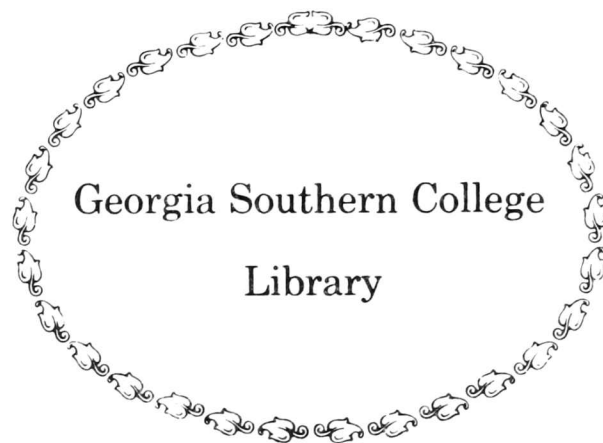
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ATTITUDES TOWARD
SELECTIVE SERVICE AND THE
ROLE OF WOMEN IN
MILITARY SERVICE

Robert LeGrande Gardner, III



ATTITUDES TOWARD SELECTIVE SERVICE
AND
THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN MILITARY SERVICE

By

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B.S., Georgia Southern College, 1979

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of Georgia Southern College in Partial Fulfillment

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APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

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To young men and women around the world, upon whose
shoulders the burden of war is too often placed.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION, STATEMENT OF PURPOSE, AND
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEMS

On the afternoon of June 12, 1980, the United States Senate, by a vote of 58 to 34, approved the expenditure of 13.3 million dollars to conduct a peacetime draft registration. The Senate vote, which followed a vote by the House of Representatives earlier in the year, enacted legislation which would require approximately 4 million men to register for the draft during the summer of 1980 and January 1981. Thereafter, young men of registration age would be required to register on their 18th birthdays. This legislation marked the end of a five-year period during which registration, as well as the Selective Service System, had been discontinued following the implementation of "zero draft" in January 1973.

This study is concerned with the significance of this legislation in relationship to two contemporary social issues: changing views toward the Selective Service System and conscription, and the changing roles of women in many aspects of American society, particularly that of military service.

Many events relevant to this study are occurring even as it is being written. One such example is the Supreme Court decision on the constitutionality of the exclusion of women from the draft registrations. The fact that many of these events are so recent limits the availability of current research. Furthermore, the

capricious character of some of these events and the absence of current research impose constraints which suggest that this study be exploratory.

The purpose of this research is to test the relationship between attitudes toward current military developments and characteristics of the population that these developments affect. This study focuses upon the reinstatement of the draft registration and a possible future reinstatement of the draft. In addition, the registration of women for a draft, the inclusion of women in such a draft, and the roles of women in the military are also studied. Hypotheses are formulated which focus upon the relationship between social characteristics of the population and attitudes toward these issues. These hypotheses are tested to see how variables interrelate and the significance of these relationships is investigated.

THE PROBLEMS

THE NATIONAL DEFENSE AND CONSCRIPTION

Delineation of the Problem

Changing attitudes toward the role of Selective Service in America were evident during the late 60's and early 70's. Gary L. Wamsley described the growing prominence of the controversy over conscription in his 1969 study, Selective Service and A Changing America:

If one compares some of the news media's coverage of the operations of the Selective Service today with the coverage of 10, 30 or 50 years ago,

some sharp contrasts are found. Coverage 10 years ago was often slim or non-existent; there was little newsworthy about the Service's activities. When it made the news 30 or 50 years ago there were pictures of blindfolded officials drawing names from fishbowls amid great ceremony, or lines of youths, smiling nervously as they lined up outside board offices. Today, however, headlines herald stories of sit-ins in board offices, bomb threats and building evacuations, and of protesters bursting in to pour blood over board files.

Wamsley argues that this transition from passive acceptance of earlier years to the active resistance witnessed during the 60's was not a direct result of the war in Viet Nam, but the result of conflict between the values of a changing society and the inflexibility of the Selective Service System.

Throughout American history, military conscription has run counter to certain key values of American political culture -- voluntarism, civilian control of the military, local decisions are better decisions, sovereignty of the states, etc. Selective Service, by identifying its structure and processes with these values, was designed to ease the constraints posed by them. It has thus sought to meet the functional demands arising from defense needs without violating those values. Due to changes in American society and to institutional rigidities developed within the system, it is becoming increasingly difficult for it to maintain an equilibrium that satisfies both defense needs and societal values (Wamsley, 1969: 5).

This disequilibrium is viewed by Wamsley as arising from two major sources. First is the continued reliance by the Selective Service administration on local boards and the acceptance of traditional authority at the local level, and secondly, there are contemporary cultural movements away from localism to that of a national society and away from acceptance of traditional authority to that of legal-rational authority.

Should the draft be reinstated, it is presently not known whether the Selective Service System will return to its program of uniform, centralized administration. The recent national registrations held at post offices in 1980-81 are more characteristic of the latter.

Whether the legal-rational authority of a centralized administration alone would increase the acceptance of the draft as legitimate cannot be readily predicted. Other factors may influence the perceived legitimacy of conscription in the future. Wamsley notes that two major clusters of values of relevance to conscription are (1) that which demands that conscription decisions be made in a way that is fair and equitable, and (2) that which demands that the war be a just war. Furthermore, the nature of the relationship between the national defense and attitudes toward conscription is described as such:

If Americans cannot see a war as just, issues of equity in administering conscription assume greater importance; if perceived as just, the issues recede and the focus is upon efficient manpower procurement (Wamsley, 1969: 15).

At this time, it would be expected that the issue of greatest importance would be that of manpower procurement as the readiness of the armed forces has become of paramount concern to the American public in the presence of recent events such as the holding of American diplomats in Iran and Soviet intervention into the internal affairs of Afghanistan and Poland. The recent registrations were born out of this concern; they were called for by President Carter in his State of the Union message

in January, 1980, saying that "it would show American resolve in opposing Soviet aggression" (New York Times, 1980. July 20; 28: 1).

However, resistance has already emerged. Although much more peaceful than the protest of past decades, resistance to the current registration began to gain momentum in the weeks preceding July 21, 1980, the first day of registration. Media reports highlighted protest activities across the nation, ranging from sit-ins at post offices to pickets of post offices. Some attempted to interfere with the program by registering several times with false names and names of politicians, while others stood in line to buy one-cent stamps, then returning to the end of the line in order to repeat the process. Data disclosing the number of eligibles who failed to register and the impact of these protests on registration are not available.

Some indications of the attitudes of the registrants are found in a pre-registration poll conducted by the New York Times. The poll reported that a majority of eligible youths stated that they would register only to avoid prosecution and penalties, while a smaller proportion of eligibles responded as registering in order to be of service to their country (New York Times, July 21, 1980. 13:2).

Indications are that the response of eligibles in the face of registration are predominately characterized by reluctant acceptance. Such responses represent a position relatively inconsistent with Wamsley's hypothesis. However, the research

documenting the extent of these attitudes and their variability is extremely limited and incomplete.

A Newsweek poll conducted by the Gallup organization six months earlier reported findings consistent with Wamsley's hypotheses in regard to draft registration. Youth aged 18 to 24 responded with 75% favorable and 20% opposed to the statement: "would you favor or oppose the registration of the names of all young men so that in the event of an emergency the time needed to call up men for a draft would be reduced" (Newsweek, Feb. 18, 1980: 36).. This poll was conducted during the height of American agitation over the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The same poll showed nearly equal response between those who favored and opposed a reinstatement of the draft at that time.

The Problem

The absence of a scientific assessment of conscription in the 80's makes it nearly impossible to document any discernible change in attitudes between President Carter's call for draft registration in January 1980 and the implementation of the registration in July 1980.

A comparison of the two polls, presented in the preceding paragraphs, suggest a possible shift in attitudes. However, while the New York Times poll included only those eligible for the registration, the Newsweek poll included those aged 21 to 24, who would not be eligible for the registration. In addition, small sample sizes were used in both cases. These irregularities could bias a comparison of responses of draft age youth.

The most extensive study to date documenting attitudes toward conscription was by Davis and Dolbeare (1968). Their findings support Wamsley's hypothesis. However, variations in attitudes were found in relation to social characteristics of the sample, the most prominent being that of age. David and Dolbeare found that age was related to attitudes toward Selective Service -- those who were of draft age were less in favor of the draft than those who were not of draft age.

In consideration of the findings of Davis and Dolbeare and the current lack of research, some questions emerge. Will current registration age youth oppose a draft, as was the case during the Viet Nam era? Or will the perceived need for a strong national defense override opposition to the draft among eligibles?

This study will explore the attitudes of draft age youth to the new registration and to a future draft. Of particular interest will be the relationship between social characteristics and positive or supportive attitudes, and negative or non-supportive attitudes toward compulsory military service.

WOMEN, THE MILITARY, AND CONSCRIPTION

Delineation of the Problem

Culturally established norms governing the behavior considered suitable for women in our society have undergone extensive and pervasive change during the last decade.

In recent years there has been a trend in our society toward more liberal beliefs about the place of women. Numerous women's organizations have promulgated their equality in virtually all spheres of

life. Of major importance has been an emphasis on equality in educational and vocational roles involving such variables as equal pay, equal opportunity for advancement, and equal access to what have traditionally been stereotyped as male jobs (Tipton, 1976: 155).

The changing roles of women in American society have been accompanied by changing roles in the national defense. Although women have participated in America's national defense since the Revolutionary War, the increased numbers of female soldiers and their expanded utilization are recent developments.

Following the termination of the draft in 1973, the Department of Defense realized that it had to expand the utilization of females in the military in order to offset a shortage of male recruits. The previous roles of military women were limited to supportive services such as nursing and secretarial work. Even as such, their utilization was predominately a war-time phenomenon. Throughout military history, the role of soldier and the role of women were mutually exclusive. Heroic accounts of female soldiers such as Sergeant Molly Pitcher, Deborah Sampson, and Lucy Brewer have been few, due largely to their exclusion from military functions that have traditionally been performed by males

The shortage of male recruits, as well as other factors, opened to women new territory that previously had been closed by both tradition and federal legislation.

The combined impact of the ERA debate, litigation brought by military women, and the shortage of male volunteers had its effect. This time, not only their numbers, but also women's status, in the armed forces increased dramatically as the Department of Defense began a major recruitment drive (Katzman, 1980: 18).

At present, all but combat-related specialties are open to military women. Operating without current legislative restraints, military utilization of women is based on a policy shaped by the "will of the people." As implemented by the military, this excludes women from combat units, and limits the extent to which women can participate in units which may operate near the "front line" (Binkin and Bach, 1977: 103-4).

While there is no precise definition of the "will of the people," there is some indication that attitudes toward the utilization of women in combat roles has undergone some reassessment. Binkin and Bach (1977) reported the findings of a 1973 study by David R. Segal which measured responses to the statement: "If anyone should bear arms, it should be men rather than women." In response to this statement, 75% of the respondents either "agreed" or "strongly agreed." In contrast, a recent Newsweek poll (February 18, 1980: 36) conducted by the Gallup organization reported that 68% of the respondents felt that women should be given combat roles if they volunteer for them.

With these studies being the only available assessments of this issue, there is not enough evidence to document conclusively a change in attitudes toward the placement of women in combat roles. In addition, little research has been concentrated on attitudes toward the roles of women in military occupations other than combat.

As recently as 1976, a Gallup poll reported an adherence to traditional attitudes regarding the use of women in non-traditional

jobs. Respondents identified 19 occupations in which "women would be better than men," and vice versa. Findings revealed that women were thought to be better suited for nursing, secretarial work, hair dressing, and teaching. Men were thought to be better police officers, firemen, truck drivers, and auto repairmen. Neither sex or educational background were found to affect the opinions ("Women In American," 1976. Gallup Poll Index #128. As reported in Binkin and Bach, 1977: 40).

However, many of the increased occupational opportunities for women in the military were non-existent prior to 1978, when the constitutionality of restraints were successfully challenged. Since 1977, the number of women in the military has risen from 5% of the manpower force to the present 8%, and is expected to reach an all-time high of 12% by 1982. In addition, they have successfully participated in 80% of the regular military functions, including combat training.

The media have increased their focus upon the recent integration of women into the military and their accomplishments have received national recognition. Whether or not the successful integration of women has had an effect upon attitudes toward their roles in society is a question of broad scope, too broad in fact for the constraints within which this research must operate. Therefore, this study is more specifically concerned with the extent to which this integration has had an effect upon attitudes toward women's roles in the military.

A second concern of this study, related to the roles of women in the military, is that of their potential eligibility for conscription.

In his 1980 State of the Union message, President Carter called for the registration of draft age females as well as males. A written statement on the issue directly addressed the changing roles of women in America:

"My decision is a recognition of the reality that both men and women are working members of our society. It confirms what is already obvious . . . that women are now providing all types of skills in every profession. The military should be no exception." (Newsweek, February 18, 1980: 34)

Following this proposal, a Newsweek poll of draft age youth showed that of all respondents, 50% felt that women should be required to participate in a draft, 45% were in opposition, and 2.5% were undecided. Most men polled responded as favorable to the drafting of women, whereas the opposite was the case for the female respondents. In response to whether or not women should be required to register for the draft, 51% of the total respondents agreed while 44% disagreed (Newsweek, February 18, 1980: 36). These findings represent a shift in attitudes toward women's eligibility when compared to a 1971 Roper poll on women's rights in which 24% agreed and 71% disagreed to the statement: "women should have equal treatment regarding the draft" (reported in Binkin and Bach, 1977: 39).

President Carter's request for female registration died in committee when submitted to Congress. In addition, the Reagan

administration is reported as being opposed to the registration and drafting of women. Although postponed, the issue of women in the draft drew much discussion and debate over the place of women in both the national defense and society.

However, the controversy is far from over. The decision about whether or not equal rights means equal obligations will ultimately be the concern of the United States Supreme Court. Even so, it still remains to be seen whether a final decision by the Supreme Court will have an impact upon this growing controversy.

During the early stages of this research, the legal conflict had already begun. Three days before the registration was to begin, three federal judges issued an injunction against the Carter administration's plan to register men for the draft. The three-judge court ruled that, by excluding women, the registration program discriminated against men, in violation of the equal protection provision of the 5th amendment. The court did not address the question of including women in a draft. However, their opinion did make reference to the roles of women in the military by stating: "the die is already cast for substantial female involvement in the military." In addition, the panel stated that it was in disagreement with the notion that "women can contribute (to the military) only as volunteers and not as inductees" (New York Times, July 19, 1980. 5:4).

The day before the postponed registration was to begin, United States Supreme Court Justice William Brennan stayed the injunction,

allowing the draft registration to begin as scheduled. The constitutionality of female exclusion from the draft registration was scheduled to be judged by all nine justices at some time in the future.

In the final stages of this writing, the United States Supreme Court delivered its decision regarding the constitutionality of the exclusion of women from the draft registration. On June 23, 1981, the Supreme Court ruled by a vote of 6 to 3 that the exclusion of women is not unconstitutional and not discriminatory against men.

It should be noted that the data utilized in this research was collected at a time when the Supreme Court decision was still pending.

The Problem

Daryl and Sandra Bem (1970) have suggested that attitudes toward women's roles in our society have been based on non-conscious beliefs or norms to which we are socialized and which we accept because we cannot conceive of alternatives. The unavailability of contradictory evidence results in conformity to stereotypic and prejudiced norms. Such may have been the case in regard to the limited female involvement in the military prior to 1973 and the slow expansion of their utilization thereafter.

It has been suggested that, in a situation of equal status, changes in behavior can affect changes in attitudes. The reality of experience leads to greater understanding and an eventual breakdown of stereotypes (Arronson, 1972: 198). From this

perspective, it might be inferred that the expanded roles of women in the military, brought about by the end of the draft in 1973, would provide adequate evidence to contradict stereotypes and prejudices relating to their capacity to perform as soldiers.

However, only recently have women been accorded near equal status to men in the military. Even more recent has been the portrayal of women in military roles traditionally held by males. Through this portrayal, Americans have been provided with evidence that many women are capable of performing equally as well as male soldiers. However, the significance of this portrayal during a period of emphasis upon strengthening the national defense, as well as its recentness, leads to several questions. Has the integration of women into the military significantly affected attitudes toward their capacity to perform, or more specifically, has this integration resulted in changes in attitudes toward the roles of women in the military? Are female soldiers considered by the public to be of equal status with their male counterparts?

This study will attempt to explore contemporary attitudes toward the expanded roles of women in the military. As an extension of an expanded military role, this research is also concerned with attitudes toward women's eligibility for conscription.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

As was discussed in the preceding chapter, the issues of military conscription and the place of females in military service elicit considerable attitudinal variation in American society. This chapter will review previous literature and attempt to examine further the relationships between these social issues and variance in attitudes.

A currently accepted conceptualization of "attitude" is that of "the amount of affect for or against some object" (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1975: 11). As such attitudes cannot be directly observed. They must be inferred from observations of verbal expressions or observations of overt behavior. In turn, attitudes are used as predictors of behaviors that have not been measured (Secord and Backman, 1964: 98). Generally speaking, the study of attitudes is an inductive process through which observations of certain behaviors are used as predictive indicators of other behavior. The vehicle transforming these observations into predictions is the hypothetical construct known as the "attitude."

At present, it has yet to be demonstrated that a strong relationship exists between attitudes and behavior. See examples in Wicker (1969) and Liska (1975). On the other hand, it has yet to be demonstrated that such a relationship does not exist. See examples in Lemon (1973).

Despite continuing differences of opinion, the assumption that behavior can be investigated by the study of attitudes is still widely accepted. At the very least, it can be stated that the study of attitudes is one method to account for consistencies in human behavior. Secord and Backman (1964: 108) suggest the "concept of attitude is most useful when studied in context: as a component of the personality of individuals, as serving functional or adjustive ends, or as a descriptive concept characterizing a prevailing mode of thought of the members of a category or subgroup."

This study will adopt a concept of attitude in keeping with the second context provided by Secord and Backman. As was demonstrated in Chapter One, findings of previous studies of conscription and the extent of women's involvement in the military tend to yield different results when the data are stratified by certain social categories such as age and sex. The present study will attempt to make observations of verbal response and infer the existence of attitudes as distinct "modes of thought" among social categories. These categories (independent variables) are described below, followed by a statement of the dependent variables under study. A review of literature indicates that these independent variables are related to one or more of the issues under study. Moreover, the literature indicates that occupants of different social positions hold different attitudes toward various social issues. The variables chosen for this study relate to social positions which have been demonstrated to affect the attitudes under investigation.

The remainder of this chapter consists of a review of previous observations of the independent variables in regard to the dependent variables. From this review, hypotheses are drawn relating the independent variables under study to the dependent variables under study.

Independent Variables

The independent variables selected for inclusion in this study as based on a review of previous literature are age, sex, educational level, race and socioeconomic status (SES).

Dependent Variables

The investigation of conscription is approached through the use of two dependent variables: reinstatement of draft registration and reinstatement of the draft.

The investigation of female military roles is approached through three other dependent variables: inclusion of women in draft registration, inclusion of women in the draft, and expanded occupational roles of women within the military.

AGE

Commenting on the draft lottery of the Viet Nam era, Michael A. Toth (1971) brought to attention the effect of age upon behavior relative to draft eligibility position.

" . . . the draft lottery has transformed a relatively mundane piece of data into a thing of symbolic personal significance. A young man's birthday, circumstantially determined some two decades past, suddenly becomes a potential harbinger of death, a license to pursue private goals without worry or interruption, or

assignment to a close watch of casualty rates, draft calls, enlistment trends, and manpower pools for twelve anxiously tentative months."

According to Toth, the contexts within which decisions to act are made are distinctly different between those who are eligible for the draft and those who are not.

Levine and Denisoff (1972) reported the findings of a study of opinions toward courses of action favored to end the Viet Nam war. The sample of 369 male college students was separated into "safe" and "unsafe" categories with regard to draft eligibility. Those with a classification of "safe" had little or no chance of being drafted and "unsafe" respondents were those who were vulnerable to the draft. Subjects who were "unsafe" responded as more favorable to an immediate withdrawal from Viet Nam than "safe" respondents. "Unsafe" respondents were found to be less favorable than "safe" respondents toward an increased military effort as a solution to the war in Viet Nam.

During the late 60's and early 70's, the media were concentrating primarily on resistance to the draft and the Viet Nam war. However, a less publicized and less researched reaction to the draft was demonstrated by Johnston and Bachman (1972). Their study of draft eligibles hypothesized that young men who faced a high likelihood of being drafted were more likely to enlist. Findings supported this hypothesis, revealing that a perceived inevitability of being drafted led eligible youths to enlist in order to bargain better for duty within the military.

As stated in Chapter One, Davis and Dolbeare (1968) found that age was related to attitudes toward Selective Service. Their analysis of age divided the sample into two groups: ages 21 through 34 and ages 35 through 39. Although their study was not directly concerned with susceptibility, it was found that the older age group indicated that the draft was "fair" more often than the younger age group. The younger age group responded more often as undecided and with "not fair" than the older age group.

Susceptibility alone cannot explain attitudes toward Selective Service. However, its influence cannot be discounted. From an examination of the above literature, it might be expected that eligibles would be generally less favorable toward a reinstatement of the draft and draft registration.

Because reinstatement of the draft is not yet a reality at this time, the effects of a perceived inevitability of military service cannot be assessed. Therefore, hypotheses will be formulated only in regard to potential susceptibility, or age at which one is eligible for compulsory military service.

Hypotheses relating age to the dependent variables are as follows:

HYPOTHESIS ONE -- Persons eligible for draft registration are more likely to be non-supportive of draft registration than those who are not eligible.

HYPOTHESIS TWO -- Persons eligible for draft registration are more likely to be non-supportive of reinstatement of the draft than those not eligible.

Current research on attitudes toward the involvement of women in the military and their inclusion in compulsory military service

is almost non-existent. Furthermore, research pertaining to military roles of women fails to use age as a variable. In addition, sex roles research indicates that age is not a significant variable. Such studies indicate that attitudes toward the roles of women in society are related to many different factors. Examples of such research can be found in Young (1977); Mason and Czajka (1976); Arkin and Dobrofsky (1978); Segal, Bachman, and Dowdell (1978); and Dorn (1970).

The lack of research relating age and attitudes toward women's sex roles limits the formulation of hypotheses. As a result, this research will not focus upon hypotheses dealing with relationships between age and attitudes toward women's inclusion in the draft, the registration of women for the draft, and the roles of women in the military. However, these relationships will be explored as a part of this study.

SEX

In a discussion of the military as an agent of secondary socialization, Arkin and Dobrofsky (1978) suggest a relationship between military service and the masculine prototype in American society. The military is viewed as providing the primary traditional sex role identity for males.

The military has socialized millions of men according to the same masculine blueprint. As such, the dominant male-role model could largely be a product of the military, particularly in as much as those who are thus socialized have returned to society. Formal and informal social relations in society at large replicate the archetypes of male, female, team and family that are

used by the military to socialize the recruit. Even the universality of traditional male-gender role is telling as exhibited in visual, dramatic, and novel representations of war, depictions which are accepted as reality (Arkin and Dobrofsky, 1978: 167).

Masculine socialization places the woman in a supportive and dependent role.

The ideal woman remains at home; her support is demonstrated by sending letters and gift packages in tribute to the deprivation the recruit is undergoing for her own well-being and that of the nation's. The interpersonal relationship between recruit and family is defined in terms of symbolic martyrdom (Arkin and Dobrofsky, 1978: 165).

The masculine identity provided by the military has traditionally been associated with the combat role. In the past, the role of soldier has been equated with the role of warrior.

The combat branches of the Armed Forces are traditionally the strategic node of conventional stereotypes of masculine superiority, as well as the focus of civic rights. Those who have access to it, it is commonly assumed, are men and citizens, in the fullest sense of these words (Field, 1978: 557).

The traditional view of the soldier as warrior has been changing. Changes in American society have effected changes in the military. Military service has become viewed as a source of occupational opportunity. But Arkin and Dobrofsky suggest that the link between masculinity and military service has adapted with a redefinition of manhood.

As a result of the AVAF (All-Volunteer Armed Forces), today we find becoming a man being defined in terms of learning an occupation or a skill, but basically the recruitment message of turning a boy into a man has only added the traditional work ethic dimension of masculinity, which include productivity, occupation, and breadwinning (154).

As such, it may be inferred that military service is still regarded as a masculine endeavor. However, this view may be limited to the male population. In a report of interviews of male and female soldiers, Gottlieb (1978: 160) reported that the primary motivation for enlistment among males was found to be "a desire and critical need for escape from the complexities and dilemmas of civilian life to the more simplistic controlled environment of the military." In addition,

the Army, at least for many of the male respondents is perceived as a setting where one is forced to 'get it together' -- in a milieu which leaves the individual with minimal degrees of individual freedom or pressures from potentially harmful external influences (Gottlieb, 1978: 160).

In contrast, Gottlieb found that women soldiers enlisted more often in an attempt to "spread their wings." Females in his study viewed the military as a source of opportunity for occupational and social mobility.

Similar findings are reported in Segal, Bachman and Dowdell (1978), and Thomas and Durning (1978). These studies show that women tend to view military service as a source of greater personal and occupational opportunity more often than men.

These studies indicate a change in women's attitudes relating to their participation in a traditionally male domain. Based upon this body of research, it may be concluded that women would be more supportive of expanded occupational roles for women in the military than males. This relationship is stated in hypothesis three.

HYPOTHESIS THREE -- Females are more likely to support expanded occupational roles for women in the military than males.

In contrast, a longitudinal study of college women by Parelius (1975) indicated that, while women's attitudes about the roles of women in society have undergone significant change, the respondents were somewhat less inclined to incorporate these changes into their own plans and expectations. Similar findings regarding military service can be found in Segal and Bachman (1978). A survey of high school students' attitudes toward military service as a post-high school alternative found that more women were motivated to serve in the military than actually expected to serve. The opposite relationship was found to exist among men.

In consideration of attitudes toward women's inclusion in the draft and their registration for the draft, a complex question emerges. Will the apparent change in attitudes of women toward their roles in society affect their interpretation of their roles as citizens and as a potential resource to the military? Again, the issue of susceptibility comes into question. One may question the effect of recent publicity of a female registration and the impending Supreme Court decision at the time of data collection upon the findings of this study.

At first glance, it might be expected that females would be more inclined to support their inclusion in registration and a draft than males. However, in consideration of the complexities mentioned above, such an expectation may prove to be invalid. An example of this is found in a Newsweek poll conducted by the

Gallup organization (1980) shortly after President Carter's call for draft registration which would include the registration of women. The poll revealed that while women were slightly more supportive of a reinstatement of the draft than men, the differences were not significant. On the other hand, regarding the issue of drafting women, males were greatly more supportive than females of including women in such a draft. Males were found to be more supportive than women of the assignment of women to combat roles. More often than females, males responded as favorable to a peacetime registration and the inclusion of women in such a registration. These findings suggest that the issue of susceptibility to conscription may influence the responses of women to their role in compulsory military service. Since this Newsweek poll is the only current assessment of opinions toward a female draft, this research will hypothesize a similar relationship as found in this poll.

HYPOTHESIS FOUR -- Males are more likely to support the registration of women for the draft than females.

HYPOTHESIS FIVE -- Males are more likely to support the inclusion of women into a military draft than females.

There is an absence of research upon which to base hypotheses concerning a relationship between sex and attitudes toward draft registration and a relationship between sex and attitudes toward a reinstatement of the draft. Therefore, this research will not formulate such hypotheses. However, these relationships will be explored.

EDUCATION

Current research on the effects of college education upon attitudes generally deals with the extent to which college promotes a liberal or non-traditional orientation toward various issues such as sex roles and political policy. At present, there is no consensus as to whether or not college has a liberalizing effect upon students.

A review of recent studies indicated that those showing a significant liberalizing influence by college fail to utilize a non-college sample by comparison. Examples of such studies can be found in Henery (1971); Young (1977); Crotty (1967); Nosow and Robertson (1973); Parelius (1975); Baker (1974); and Dorn (1970). Without the use of such a control group, it is difficult to differentiate between the effects of college and the effects of maturation.

Most studies using a non-college control sample indicate that the overall effect of college, while present, is small. One example is a study of the effect of college on political awareness and knowledge. Rich (1976) found that while the college years do increase student awareness and knowledge, the same effect is found on subjects who "remain outside the academic fold" during those years. Another report by Rich (1977) examined the liberalizing influence of college upon students. Again, findings indicated that college students do become more liberal during their college years, but that non-college individuals also become more liberal during the comparable period of their lives.

. . . we must conclude that, although college appears to "press" students in the direction of greater political awareness, this change is actually no greater than that for the non-college persons. The same variables that are influencing college students also appear to be at work in the general population (1976: 74).

What has been mistaken for an effect for the college experience . . . appears to be nothing more than the maturation of individuals within a general societal context (1976: 77).

The difference between the two groups is insignificant. Thus it is concluded that the generally hypothesized liberalizing effect is really part of a larger environmental effect on all youth (1977: 208).

Similarly, a study of changes in women's sex role attitudes found no significant differences between college educated women and non-college women. While higher educational levels were found to be associated with "less traditional outlooks," the differences were not prominent. "Women from all walks of life have apparently undergone comparable attitude change since 1964" (Mason, Czajka, and Arber, 1976: 594).

For the total population of college students, the impact of college experience does not appear to be significantly different than the effect of similar years of maturation upon non-college persons. However, many studies have demonstrated that within the college population, liberalism is positively or negatively correlated with such factors as major, number of classes taken within different disciplines, grade point average, college class, etc. Examples of such findings can be seen in Huntley (1967); Crotty (1967); Lane (1968); Goertzel and Hengst (1977). The general

consensus is that a higher level of liberalism is associated with an education in the social sciences and the liberal arts.

Indications are that a difference in levels of liberalism does exist between college and non-college persons. However, this difference is repeatedly found to be statistically non-significant.

Research comparing educational levels in relation to compulsory military service has indicated that differences do exist. Davis and Dolbeare (1968) found that among respondents of different educational levels, college educated subjects were more likely to consider the Viet Nam era draft as "unfair" than non-college subjects. Similarly, Gardner (1979) found that college students were significantly less supportive of compulsory military service than non-college respondents.

Differences between these studies and previous studies mentioned may lie in the subject matter under study. Or perhaps they may result from a combination of the subject matter and prevailing conditions within the country at the time of the research.

In any case, the present study will formulate hypotheses based on the findings of previous studies relating educational levels and conscription. From these findings, the following hypotheses are proposed:

HYPOTHESIS SIX -- Persons with college experience are more likely to be non-supportive of draft registration than persons without college experience.

HYPOTHESIS SEVEN -- Persons with college experience are more likely to be non-supportive of a reinstatement of the draft than persons without college experience.

Presently, this researcher found no studies of relationships between educational levels and women's military roles, the drafting of women, and the registration of women for the draft. The review of studies presented on the preceding page revealed that college students were somewhat more liberal than their non-college counterparts with regard to the topic of military service. Based on these differences indicating greater liberalism among college students, this study will formulate hypotheses inferring greater liberalism, or less traditional attitudes, on the part of college students. These are stated below.

HYPOTHESIS EIGHT -- Persons with college experience are more likely to support the registration of women for the draft than persons without college experience.

HYPOTHESIS NINE -- Persons with college experience are more likely to support the inclusion of women in a draft than persons without college experience.

HYPOTHESIS TEN -- Persons with college experience are more likely to support expanded roles for women in the military than persons without college experience

RACE

Several studies of attitudes toward military service have shown that blacks are more likely than whites to view the military as a source of opportunity for self and occupational improvement. Segal, Bachman, and Dowdell (1978) document this relationship in a study of perceptions of job opportunities in the armed forces. The authors conclude that military service is viewed as a potential mobility channel by blacks more often than whites. Johnston and Bachman (1972) have shown that among high school drop-outs, blacks are more likely than whites to enlist in military service.

Literature relating race and attitudes toward compulsory military service is nearly non-existent. Therefore, hypotheses relating these variables are tentative, in the fullest sense of the word. However, based on studies of perceptions of opportunities, it might be inferred that blacks would be more supportive of the draft and draft registration than whites due to an overall positive view of military service. Based upon such inference, the following hypotheses are formulated:

HYPOTHESIS ELEVEN -- Blacks are more likely to be supportive of draft registration than whites.

HYPOTHESIS TWELVE -- Blacks are more likely to be supportive of a reinstatement of the draft than whites.

Similar to the absence of research linking race and compulsory military service, there is an absence of research focused upon race and attitudes toward women's involvement in the military. However, inferences may be drawn from studies of traditional attitudes toward the place of women in society. Cummings (1976) found that class position and racial status were important variables in explaining differences in attitudes toward women, more important than the variable of sex. Cummings' findings suggest that black respondents, regardless of sex, were significantly more supportive of equal treatment of the sexes in the work force. From these findings, it might be inferred that blacks would be more supportive than whites of women's roles in the military and inclusion of women in conscription. Therefore, the following relationships are proposed:

HYPOTHESIS THIRTEEN -- Blacks are more likely to support women's registration for the draft than whites.

HYPOTHESIS FOURTEEN -- Blacks are more likely to support the inclusion of women in a draft than whites.

HYPOTHESIS FIFTEEN -- Blacks are more likely to support expanded occupational roles for women in the military than whites.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS (SES)

Many studies have been made of the relationship between social class and various socio-political issues. However, when compared, these studies often yield different results. A discussion of the difficulties involved in assessing the extent to which social class is a determinant of public opinion is provided in Kornhauser (1950).

One explanation accounting for variation in findings is that of the issue or dependent variable under study. Reviewing previous studies of social class and its impact upon political opinions, Lipset (1959) found differences among previous studies to be based upon the context of the issue under study. Lipset observed that in regard to economic issues, the lower strata were more liberal in their opinions than the upper strata. Similarly, a study of politico-economic orientations of occupational strata by Centers (1961) demonstrated greater conservatism among the upper classes than among the lower classes. In contrast, however, regarding non-economic issues (e.g., civil liberties), Lipset found the lower strata

to be more conservative in attitudes than the upper strata. In addition, in non-economic issues, higher occupational status within each educational level tends to make for greater tolerance or liberalism.

The issues which are the focus of this study are not economic in character. Therefore, it might be expected that with regard to the issues of conscription and women's military roles upper class subjects will be more liberal or non-traditional in their responses than lower class subjects. Studies made of attitudes toward military service and toward sex roles generally yield results of this nature when stratified by SES levels.

Measuring responses toward the "fairness" of the Viet Nam draft, Davis and Dolbeare (1968) found that among different occupations, blue collar workers led in support for the draft. Johnston and Bachman (1972) studied enlistment trends of post high school boys and found differences in enlistment rates to exist among SES levels of the respondents in their study. It was found that enlisting is most frequent among boys in the lower classes. As their father's occupational status increased, there was found to be a steady decrease in the percent enlisting, with no one in their sample enlisting from the highest SES level. One explanation for this finding may be that there are fewer occupational alternatives open to lower class boys. However, for the purpose of formulating hypotheses, it will be inferred from the findings of Davis and Dolbeare, and Johnston and Bachman, that lower class persons would be more inclined to support compulsory military

service than higher class persons. Although such a conclusion should be taken in caution, hypotheses will be formulated in this direction.

HYPOTHESIS SIXTEEN -- Lower class persons are more likely to support draft registration than higher class persons.

HYPOTHESIS SEVENTEEN -- Lower class persons are more likely to support a reinstatement of the draft than higher class persons.

There is evidence that differences are also found among social classes in regard to the roles of women in society. Cummings (1976) found that regardless of sex or race, upper class respondents held more egalitarian attitudes in reference to the roles of women in society. "Simply, economically secure respondents appeared less committed to traditional attitudes than their economically insecure counter-parts" (104). Similarly, Centers (1961) found that the upper-lower class, or the working class, appeared to be more conservative in regard to the roles of women in society. In response to the employment of women outside the home, Centers found that the middle classes were the most liberal on the social class continuum and the lower classes were the most conservative.

From such findings, it can be inferred that the higher classes will be more supportive of women's military roles and their role in conscription than the lower classes. These relationships are hypothesized below.

HYPOTHESIS EIGHTEEN -- Higher class persons are more likely to support the registration of women for the draft than lower class persons.

HYPOTHESIS NINETEEN -- Higher class persons are more likely to support the inclusion of women in a military draft than lower class persons.

HYPOTHESIS TWENTY -- Higher class persons are more likely to support expanded occupational roles for women in the military than lower class persons.

The remainder of this study will deal with the testing of the relationships proposed in this chapter. In addition, a series of analyses will be made in which the effects of each independent variable will be evaluated while controlling the influence of the other independent variables. Hypotheses will not be formulated for such relationships due to the limitations of available literature reflected in this chapter.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Chapter III provided a theoretical framework for this study and a review of previous research findings related to the issues under study. From this review, hypotheses were formulated relating the variables under study. This chapter discusses the methodology utilized in testing these hypotheses.

This study employs a cross-sectional survey research design. The data collection instrument used in this survey is a standardized questionnaire administered to a sample of respondents. This chapter describes the methodology involved in the development of the questionnaire, sampling procedures, data collection techniques, and tools of data analysis.

Variables

In order to operationalize the variables, indicators were developed to represent the concepts under study. In developing indicators, questions were used that allowed the researcher to place the respondents in categories based on their responses. The questionnaire consisted of two parts: a series of questions relating to the independent variables and a set of questions composing scales which ascertain attitudes about draft registration, reinstatement of the draft, registration of women for the draft, inclusion of women in a draft, and expanding roles of women within the military. These questions are described below.

Assessment of Independent Variables

Throughout the questionnaire, questions were predominantly closed-ended. Such was the case for questions used to assess the independent variables of sex, race, and age. These can be seen in Section One (questions A through D) of the questionnaire in the appendix.

Assignment of each subject of a particular socioeconomic status (SES) was based upon Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index of Social Class (1957). Respondents were questioned in regard to the occupations and educational levels of their fathers, mothers, selves, and spouses. Classification of respondents into Hollingshead's occupational categories was based on questions as presented in the following example: Are you employed? Where do you work? and, what is your job? (Respondents were asked to provide a job description.) Educational level was obtained from responses to a question about highest grade level completed.

Respondents holding a full-time job were assigned a SES based upon information gathered about the respondent. Those respondents not holding a full-time job were assigned the higher SES of either parent. However, if that respondent was married, the SES was based upon the spouse's occupation and educational level.

Separate questionnaires were administered to college and non-college respondents. Each subject was questioned about his educational level before testing. This insured that each respondent received the correct questionnaire. Questionnaires for college and non-college respondents differed only in the content of Section

Two of the questionnaire which for college students requested their college class or classification, including whether or not they had graduated. College respondents were also asked if they intended to remain in college until the completion of their degrees and if they would remain in college in order to avoid being drafted if the draft were reinstated. In addition, college subjects were asked to specify their academic majors or fields of specialization.

In contrast, Section Two of the questionnaire for non-college respondents asked whether or not they intended to go to college or vocational school, if they intended to major or specialize in any particular discipline, and if they had applied to any college, university, or vocational school. They were asked about their high school education, and asked if they would attend a college, vocational, or technical school in order to keep from being drafted if the draft were reinstated.

In addition to the five independent variables, information was gathered from all respondents pertaining to selves and families military service, occupational plans, and various other personal data (see questionnaire in Appendix).

Measurement of the Dependent Variables

The dependent variables were measured through summated scales. These scales were each composed of two or more indicators of a single dependent variable. However, it should be noted that the term "scale" is used here in its commonly accepted

definition of Likert-type scales rather than to refer to an ordered response hierarchy of the indicators.

The first scale consists of two indicators of the dependent variable of draft registration:

- (1) I believe that there should be a permanent and continuous draft registration.
- (2) With recent crises such as the holding of American diplomats in Iran, the conflict between Iran and Iraq, and Russian occupation of Afghanistan, there is a need for draft registration.

A second scale measured responses to the dependent variable of reinstatement of the draft. These measures are presented below

- (1) Because of such crises mentioned above, there is a need to draft people into the military now.
- (2) The draft should be started during peacetime.
- (3) There should not be a draft even in times of war.
- (4) The Armed Forces should be an organization of professionals rather than an organization of citizen soldiers inducted through a draft.
- (5) I would be willing to serve if I were drafted.
- (6) The draft is not a valid method of induction.

A third scale was used to measure responses to the dependent variable of registration of women for a draft.

- (1) Women should not be registered for the draft during peacetime.
- (2) Women should not be registered for the draft.
- (3) Women should be registered for the draft during times of war.

The fourth scale employed six indicators of the independent variable of the inclusion of women in a draft. These are presented below.

- (1) Women should not be drafted.
- (2) Women should be drafted during peacetime.
- (3) Women should not be drafted during war.
- (4) If men are drafted, women should be drafted.
- (5) I would accept the inclusion of women into the draft.
- (6) If a woman were drafted and she refused to serve, I would consider her to be unpatriotic.

Below is the scale used to measure responses to the dependent variable of expanded roles for women in the military.

- (1) Most women cannot stand the stress and strain associated with being a commanding officer.
- (2) Positions such as General are too important for women to hold.
- (3) All leadership positions in the military should be held by males.
- (4) Women belong only in the medical corps and the dining halls.
- (5) Women do not belong in the Armed Forces.
- (6) Women in the military should be allowed to serve in combat.
- (7) Women would be unreliable in a combat situation due to their emotional character.
- (8) Women would be unable to equal men in courage and valor on the battlefield.
- (9) I would fear having to rely upon a woman in a combat situation.
- (10) Women should not perform the same jobs as men in the military.
- (11) Certain military jobs are so unfeminine that women should be excluded from them.

(12) Women should be allowed to work at any job they are capable of performing in the military.

(13) Women are capable of performing the same jobs as men in the military.

On each scale, with the exception of the first relating to draft registration, the statements were varied between positive and negative phrases in order to break up response sets. This variation in phrasing contained no pattern itself.

Scoring Technique

Scoring for the scales was accomplished by first establishing a value for each response to each question within the scales. A score of one was awarded to each response representing strong agreement toward the issue in question; a score of two for agreement toward the issue; a score of three for an undecided response; a score of four for a response of disagreement toward the issue; and a score of five for strong disagreement toward the issue in question.

Respondents' scores for each series of statements were totaled. Based upon the sum of the weights, each respondent was assigned a single score for his responses within the scales.

Pretest

A pretest was conducted in order to eliminate any ambiguities in wording and format, and to decrease difficulties that respondents encountered during the course of completing the questionnaire. The sample for the pretest was drawn from Screven County High

School, Georgia Southern College, and Fort Stewart as well as Statesboro and Savannah, Georgia.

Item analysis was performed on the scales in order to assess the discriminatory power of each item. Judged as a level of 1.0, statements which were found to have no discriminatory power were eliminated from the scales or re-written to be more concise and less ambiguous.

To assess the validity of the scales, face validation was employed. A panel of judges reviewed the questionnaire and judged that the indicators, on face value, provided some measure of the variables under study.

Sampling Procedures

Before the administration of the questionnaire, it was necessary to specify the research population from which the sample would be drawn. The research population was defined in terms of the independent variables under study: age -- persons aged sixteen to thirty; sex -- males and females; educational level -- college educated persons or non-college persons; race -- whites and blacks; and SES -- upper class, upper-middle class, lower-middle class, upper-lower class, and lower-lower class.

A non-random, convenience, purposive sampling technique was used to select the research sample. An attempt was made to obtain equally weighted samples of each of the first four categories described above. SES was not used as a criterion for sample selection.

To a great extent, the questionnaires were administered to groups of twenty or more. However, some were administered on an individual basis.

Subjects were selected from Georgia Southern College in Statesboro, Georgia; Augusta College in Augusta, Georgia; North Augusta High School in North Augusta, South Carolina; Harlem High School in Harlem, Georgia; and various shopping centers and other such convenient locations in Savannah, Augusta, and Statesboro, Georgia; and in Aiken, South Carolina.

In sampling the high schools, it was necessary to gain the permission of the principals and, in most cases, the permission of the teachers. Similarly, in sampling the colleges, it was necessary to gain the permission of the instructors whose classes were involved. In such cases, it was often necessary to solicit cooperation through the promise of a report of the conclusions of the study.

In an attempt to reduce the problem of non-response, a cover sheet was attached to each questionnaire assuring the respondents that only the researchers involved in the study would have access to the data and that responses would not be matched with individual subjects.

Questionnaire administration was conducted largely through the use of assistants. Each assistant was interviewed by this researcher prior to the administration of the questionnaire. The use of assistants allowed for a greater sample size and provided greater access to groups and individuals whose inclusion in this

survey would have been otherwise unobtainable. In addition, due to the length of the questionnaire, the use of assistants allowed for a greater savings of time. And as was mentioned, the recently increased focus upon the draft and women's involvement in the military by the media, the courts, and the general public, made it imperative that the data be collected as soon as possible.

Demographic Data

Demographic characteristics of the sample are presented in Table 1.

In relation to the independent variable of sex, subjects were classified as male or female. For race, the only categories included were white and black. Questionnaires completed by those other than whites and blacks were not included as they totaled no more than 1% of the entire sample. Educational levels were classified as "college" and "non-college" with the former including all subjects with any college experience and the latter including all subjects with no previous or present college experience. SES was assigned based upon Hollingshead's Two-Factor Index of Social Class (1957). Age was classified into three groups: age 17 and below -- representing pre-draft age subjects; 18 through 20 -- representing draft age subjects; and 21 and above -- representing post-draft age subjects. The age categories are based upon current draft registration ages as legislated by the United States Congress (1979).

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics
of the Sample.

RACE	SEX	AGE	EDUCATION	SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS
Black - 144 (26.3%)	Male - 229 (52.8%)	Age Group One - 112 (25.9%)	College - 235 (54.3%)	Upper Class - 43 (10.9%)
White - 319 (73.4%)	Female - 205 (47.2%)	Age Group Two - 187 (43.4%)	Non-College - 198 (45.7%)	Upper-Middle Class - 74 (18.8%)
		Age Group Three - 132 (30.6%)		Lower-Middle Class - 114 (28.9%)
				Upper-Lower Class - 111 (13.2%)
				Lower-Lower Class - 52 (13.2%)
Total = 433	Total = 434	Total = 431	Total = 433	Total = 394

Percentages may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

Total number of respondents in each category may vary due to omitting a response or failure to complete correctly the question by the respondents.

Classification and Categorization of Data

Frequency distributions of the range of actual scores for each scale were constructed in order to establish response categories. The possible range of scores and the actual distribution of responses are presented in Tables 2 through 6. Table 7 summarizes the response categories which were established for each scale.

The scale measuring responses to draft registration was categorized by making divisions among the potential range of scores rather than the actual distribution of responses. On this particular scale, the potential range of scores was divided into thirds. As seen in Table 2, the distribution of responses to draft registration is unequal among the thirds. However, the limited range of possible scores prevents the establishment of categories based upon the actual distribution and prevents divisions among quartiles as is done among the remainder of the scales.

Responses toward a reinstatement of a draft were categorized by dividing the actual distribution of responses (Table 3) into quartiles. The same was the case for scales measuring responses toward the registration of women for the draft (Table 4) and the inclusion of women in a draft (Table 5).

The scale measuring responses to expanded roles of women in the military was categorized by establishing quartiles of the potential range of scores rather than the actual range. As seen in Table 6, the actual distribution of responses is greatly unequal. Use of the actual responses in this scale would mask any differences

in responses to expanded military roles of women. Persons who mildly support expanded roles would have been in the same category as those who fully support expanded roles if the actual range of scores was used.

Respondents were placed in a particular category based upon their scores for the series of statements within each scale as ascertained through the scoring technique described earlier in this chapter.

It should be noted that the total number of scores for each scale varies. This results from respondents' failure to complete a particular scale or improper and ambiguous responses to an item within a scale. One such example is that of circling or marking two of the answer categories within one item, or failure to make any response to one or more statements contained within a scale. In order to maximize information, all respondents who completed each item of an individual scale were included in the analysis of that scale.

Analysis of Data

Data were analyzed through the use of an extension of the Chi-Square Test for k independent samples in order to determine whether the observations are significantly different from what would be expected according to chance. The k-sample test is used due to the presence of tables larger than 2x2.

Findings relative to these analyses are presented in Chapter IV.

Table 2. Possible Range of Scores, Actual Distribution, and Scattergram of Responses Toward Draft Registration.

<u>Possible Range</u>	<u>Distribution</u>	<u>Scattergram</u>
2	41	.....
3	31	.....
4	72	.....
5	53	.....
6	74	.....
7	50	.....
8	52	.....
9	38	.....
10	21	.....

Table 3. Possible Range of Scores, Distribution of Responses, and Scattergram of Responses Toward a Reinstatement of the Draft.

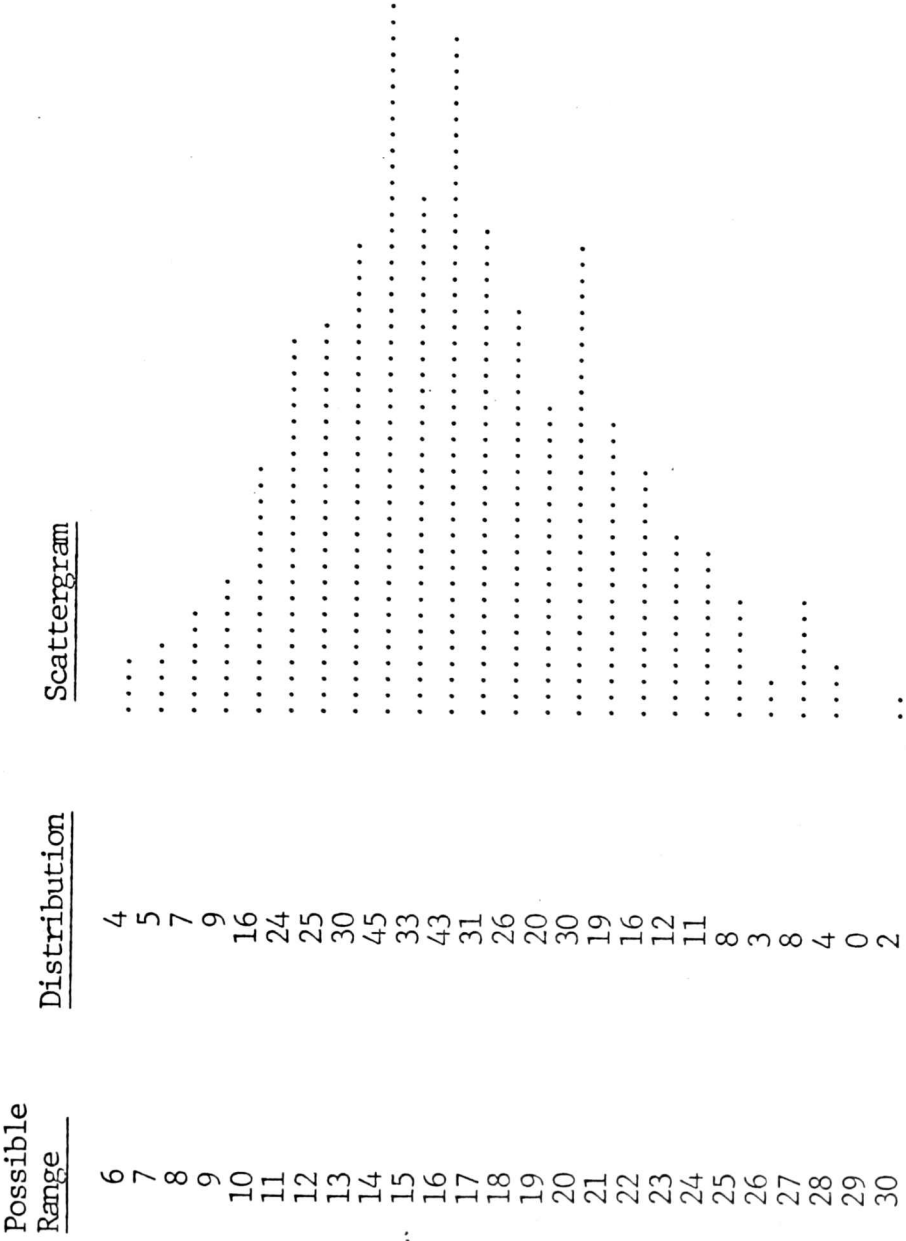


Table 4. Possible Range of Scores, Distribution of Responses, and Scattergram of Responses Toward the Registration of Women for the Draft.

Possible Range	Distribution	Scattergram
3	15	.....
4	12	.....
5	5	.....
6	48	.....
7	36	.....
8	47	.....
9	62	.....
10	42	.....
11	34	.....
12	56	.....
13	18	.....
14	20	.....
15	37	.....

Table 5. Possible Range of Scores, Distribution of Responses, and Scattergram of Responses Toward the Inclusion of Women in a Draft.

Possible Range	Distribution	Scattergram
6	5	.....
7	5	.....
8	2	..
9	4	....
10	13	.....
11	12	.....
12	18	.....
13	12	.....
14	28	.....
15	23	.....
16	38	.....
17	26	.....
18	32	.....
19	24	.....
20	27	.....
21	18	.....
22	28	.....
23	20	.....
24	23	.....
25	9	.....
26	12	.....
27	8	.....
28	4	....
29	9	.....
30	22	.....

Table 6. Possible Range of Scores, Distribution of Responses, and Scattergram of Responses Toward the Roles of Women in the Military.

<u>Possible Range</u>	<u>Distribution</u>	<u>Scattergram</u>
13	8	.....
14	4	....
15	3	...
16	8	.....
17	6	.....
18	5	.....
19	5	.....
20	7	.....
21	10	.....
22	7	.....
23	9	.....
24	12	.....
25	19	.....
26	16	.....
27	12	.....
28	10	.....
29	21	.....
30	18	.....
31	13	.....
32	15	.....
33	18	.....
34	12	.....
35	21	.....
36	10	.....
37	19	.....
38	16	.....
39	19	.....
40	10	.....
41	7	.....
42	13	.....
43	9	.....
44	5	.....
45	8	.....
46	11	.....
47	7	.....
48	6	.....
49	8	.....
50	4	....
51	6	.....
52	0	
53	5	.....
54	2	..
55	0	
56	3	...
57	1	.
58	0	
59	0	
60	0	
61	1	.
62	0	
63	1	.
64	0	
65	0	

Table 7. Response Categories by Dependent Variable.

DRAFT REGISTRATION	DRAFT	WOMEN'S REGISTRATION	WOMEN'S DRAFT	WOMEN'S MILITAR ROLES
Range Of Scores: through 10	Range Of Scores: 6 through 30	Range Of Scores: 3 through 15	Range Of Scores: 6 through 30	Range Of Scores 13 through 65
Response Categories:	Response Categories:	Response Categories:	Response Categories:	Response Categories:
through 4 - SUPPORT	6 through 12 - STRONG SUPPORT	3 through 7 - SUPPORT	6 through 15 - SUPPORT	13 through 25 - SUPPORT
through 7 - UNDECIDED	13 through 15 - SUPPORT	8 through 9 - UNDECIDED/MILD	16 through 18 - UNDECIDED/MILD	26 through 38 - MILD SUPPORT
through 10 - DISAGREE	16 through 18 - UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	10 through 11 - MILD DISAGREE	19 through 23 - MILD DISAGREE	39 through 51 - UNDECIDED/MILD DISAGREE
	19 through 30 - DISAGREE	12 through 15 - DISAGREE	24 through 30 - DISAGREE	52 through 65 - DISAGREE
				Collapsed:
				13 through 25 - SUPPORT
				26 through 38 - MILD SUPPORT
				39 through 65 - DISAGREE

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

This chapter will present descriptive findings, grouped according to independent variables and following the order established in Chapter II. Each independent variable will be subjected to individual analysis and then paired with each other so that the effects of each independent variable can be evaluated, holding constant the influence of the other variables. However, socioeconomic status will be subject to individual analysis only, due to a failure of nearly 14% of the respondents to correctly complete the questions employed to assess SES.

Age

Findings relative to the effects of age upon responses to the five dependent variables are presented in this section.

No significant differences were found to exist among the three age groups in relation to draft registration. Hypothesis One stated that age group two, those eligible for draft registration, would be less supportive of draft registration than those not eligible. As seen in Table 8, all three age groups responded more often as undecided and more often with support than in disagreement of draft registration. The proportion of each age group which is in disagreement with draft registration is almost identical. Hypothesis One is not supported by these findings.

Table 8. Responses Toward Draft Registration by Age.

AGE CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	
Age Group One	37	45	30	112
Age Group Two	60	81	43	184
Age Group Three	45	47	36	128
	142	173	109	N = 424
$\chi^2 = 1.8762734$				Not Significant

Hypothesis Two stated that persons within the age group eligible for draft registration would be less supportive of a draft than those not eligible for draft registration. As seen in Table 9, responses tended to follow this pattern. However, the differences were not found to be statistically significant. Age group one and age group two responded similarly, both responding more often with disagreement than with strong support. Age group three responded more often with strong support and with mild support. However, Hypothesis Two was not supported by these findings.

Among the three age groups, age group three tended to be more supportive of the registration of women for the draft than age group one and age group two. Age group two is found to be more disagreeable to women's registration than age group one or age group three. No hypothesis was formulated relating age and the registration of women. However, these differences were found to be significant at the .01 level. These differences can be seen in Table 10.

No hypotheses were formulated relating to age and the inclusion of women in the draft, and age and expanded military roles of women. However, these relationships were tested and were found not to be significant.

SEX

The findings presented in this section will pertain to the relationships found to exist between the independent variable of sex and the dependent variables of expanded military roles for

Table 9. Responses Toward a Draft by Age.

AGE CATEGORY	STRONG SUPPORT	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	DISAGREE	
Age Group One	20	32	21	36	109
Age Group Two	35	48	47	57	187
Age Group Three	35	29	29	39	132
	90	109	97	132	N = 428
	$\chi^2 = 6.3167589$				Not Significant

Table 10. Responses Toward the Registration of Women
for the Draft by Age.

AGE CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE
Age Group One	31	22	27	30
				110
Age Group Two	47	41	38	60
				186
Age Group Three	38	46	11	36
				131
	116	109	76	126
				N = 427

$\chi^2 = 18.264751$.01 level of significance

women, the registration of women for the draft, the drafting of women, draft registration, and reinstatement of a draft.

Hypothesis Three stated that females would be more supportive than males of an expanded role for women in the military. Findings support this hypothesis at a level of significance greater than .001. A comparison of male and female respondents shows that males respond more often with mild support and mild disagreement. Females respond more often with mild support and with strong support for expanded roles for women in the military. These differences are shown in Table 11.

Hypothesis Four stated that males would be more likely to support the registration of women for the draft than females. In examining responses toward the registration of women, males were found to be more supportive than females. Hypothesis Four is supported by these findings. Table 12 shows this relationship. The differences in responses were found to be significant at a level of .01.

A comparison of males' and females' responses toward the inclusion of women in a draft reveals that males respond more often as supportive than females. This is consistent with Hypothesis Five which stated that women would be less supportive of their inclusion in a draft than males. Hypothesis Five is supported by these findings at a level of significance greater than .001.

No hypothesis was formulated relating sex to draft registration. However, in a comparison of males and females; it is

Table 11. Responses Toward Expanded Military Roles for Women by Sex.

SEX CATEGORY	SUPPORT	MILD SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE
Males	31	108	80	227
Females	69	92	33	199
	100	200	113	13
				N = 426

$\chi^2 = 34.329011$

.001 level of significance

Table 12. Responses Toward the Registration of Women
for the Draft by Sex.

SEX CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE	
Males	76	62	35	53	226
Females	40	47	41	74	202
	116	109	76	127	N = 428

$\chi^2 = 15.843407$

.01 level of significance

Table 13. Responses Toward the Drafting of Women by Sex.

SEX CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE
Males	81	62	45	40
Females	41	34	72	54
	122	96	117	94
				N = 429

$\chi^2 = 24.769283$

.001 level of significance

found that males are more likely than females to support draft registration. Shown in Table 14, these differences were found to be significant at a level greater than .001. Females were more likely than males to respond as undecided or in disagreement, while males were more likely to respond as supportive of draft registration.

A significant difference was found to exist between males and females regarding responses toward a draft. No hypothesis was formulated relating sex to responses toward a draft. However, males were found to show strong support more often than females who tended to respond more often with disagreement. This relationship can be seen in Table 15. The differences were found to be significant at a level greater than .001.

EDUCATION

Presented in this section are findings relative to Hypotheses Six through Ten which proposed relationships between education and the five dependent variables under study.

Hypothesis Six stated that college-educated persons would be less supportive of draft registration than non-college persons. This hypothesis was not supported by the findings. As seen in Table 16, no significant differences were found to exist between college and non-college respondents. Both categories of respondents tended to be more undecided and more supportive than disagreeable to draft registration.

In relation to the draft itself, a comparison of college and non-college respondents yielded no significant differences between

Table 14. Responses Toward Draft Registration by Sex.

SEX CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE
Males	102	80	47
Females	42	97	64
	144	177	111
			N = 432

$\chi^2 = 27.767296$

.001 level of significance

Table 15. Responses Toward a Draft by Sex.

SEX CATEGORY	STRONG SUPPORT	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	DISAGREE	
Males	67	64	35	61	227
Females	23	45	65	72	205
	90	109	100	133	N = 432

$\chi^2 = 33.614519$.001 level of significance

Table 16. Responses Toward Draft Registration by Educational Level.

EDUCATIONAL CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE
College	75	100	60
Non-College	69	77	51
	144	177	111
			N = 432

$\chi^2 = .6224453$

Not Significant

responses. Hypothesis Seven, which stated that college respondents were more likely to be less supportive of a draft than non-college respondents, was not supported by these findings. As seen in Table 17, overall responses for both categories of subjects demonstrated some degree of support. College respondents were more often in disagreement to a draft than non-college respondents. However, these differences were not found to be statistically significant.

Analysis of data revealed that while non-college respondents were more often in disagreement to the registration of women for the draft, the differences were found not to be statistically significant. Hypothesis Eight stated that college respondents would be more favorable than non-college respondents to the registration of women for the draft. Hypothesis Eight was not supported by these findings. These data are presented in Table 18.

In addition, Hypothesis Nine, which stated that college respondents would be more supportive of the drafting of women than non-college respondents, was not supported by the findings. Shown in Table 19, non-college respondents were only slightly in less support of this issue than college respondents. These differences were found to be non-significant.

College respondents were found to respond most often as mildly supportive or with support of expanded military roles for women. In contrast, non-college respondents were most often in mild support and in mild disagreement. Hypothesis Ten stated

Table 17. Responses Toward a Draft by Educational Level.

EDUCATIONAL CATEGORY	STRONG SUPPORT	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	DISAGREE	
College	52	56	50	77	235
Non-College	43	53	46	53	195
	95	109	96	130	N = 430

$\chi^2 = 1.8601596$

Not Significant

Table 18. Responses Toward Registration of Women for the Draft by Educational Level.

EDUCATIONAL CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE
College	67	61	36	66
Non-College	49	48	40	61
	116	109	76	127
				N = 428

$\chi^2 = 2.351045$

Not Significant

Table 19. Responses Toward the Drafting of Women by Educational Level.

EDUCATIONAL CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE	
College	69	53	58	51	231
Non-College	53	43	58	44	198
	122	96	116	95	N = 429

$\chi^2 = 1.1342178$

Not Significant

that college respondents would be more favorable to expanded military roles for women than non-college respondents. While these findings are in the general direction hypothesized, the differences were not statistically significant. Table 20 presents these data.

RACE

Presented in this section are findings relative to Hypotheses Eleven through Fifteen. These hypotheses stated relationships between race and the five dependent variables.

Whites were more likely to support or to be undecided about draft registration than were blacks. Hypothesis Eleven stated that blacks were more likely than whites to be supportive of draft registration. However, findings show a relationship in the opposite direction with blacks responding more often as undecided or in disagreement. Presented in Table 21, these differences were found to be significant at a level of .001. Hypothesis Eleven is not supported.

Hypothesis Twelve stated that blacks were more likely than whites to support a reinstatement of a draft. However, whites were found to respond more often as supportive and strongly supportive than blacks who responded more often in disagreement to a draft. These findings are in the opposite direction hypothesized. Therefore, Hypothesis Twelve was not supported. The differences between blacks and whites in regard to a draft were found to be significant at a level of .001. Table 22 shows this relationship.

Table 20. Responses Toward Expanded Military Roles for Women by Educational Level.

EDUCATIONAL CATEGORY	SUPPORT	MILD SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE	
College	63	105	59	5	232
Non-College	40	96	53	7	196
	103	201	112	12	N = 428

$\chi^2 = 3.2073875$

Not Significant

Table 21. Responses Toward Draft Registration by Race.

RACE CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE
Whites	125	127	64
Blacks	19	49	46
	144	176	110
			N = 430

$\chi^2 = 26.345633$

.001 level of significance

Table 22. Responses Toward a Draft by Race.

RACE CATEGORY	STRONG SUPPORT	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	DISAGREE	
Whites	80	88	71	77	316
Blacks	9	21	26	54	110
	89	109	97	131	N = 426

 $\chi^2 = 30.232518$

.001 level of significance

Blacks were somewhat more disagreeable than whites to the registration of women for the draft. This finding contradicts Hypothesis Thirteen which stated that blacks would be more supportive of this issue than whites. Hypothesis Thirteen is not supported by the data which is presented in Table 23.

Hypothesis Fourteen stated that blacks would be more supportive of a women's draft than whites. The findings do not support this hypothesis. Shown in Table 24, whites were found to respond more often in support than blacks, who responded more often in disagreement. These differences were found to be significant at a level of .01. Hypothesis Fourteen is rejected and the alternative hypothesis that whites are more supportive to the drafting of women than blacks is accepted.

Hypothesis Fifteen stated that blacks would respond as supportive of expanded military roles for women more often than whites. However, findings show that both blacks and whites responded most often with mild support and mild disagreement. Overall, both categories tend to be supportive. These findings are presented in Table 25. Hypothesis Fifteen is not supported by these data.

SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS (SES)

This section will present findings relative to hypothesized relationships between the variables of SES and those of the dependent variables.

Hypothesis Sixteen stated that persons in the higher classes would be less supportive of draft registration than persons in

Table 23. Responses Toward the Registration of
Women for the Draft by Race.

RACE CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE	
Whites	94	79	56	89	318
Blacks	22	30	20	42	114
	116	109	76	131	N = 432

$\chi^2 = 5.5016992$

Not Significant

Table 24. Responses Toward the Inclusion of Women
in a Draft by Race.

RACE CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE	
Whites	103	68	88	59	318
Blacks	19	28	29	35	111
	122	96	117	94	N = 429

$\chi^2 = 13.762824$

.01 level of significance

Table 25. Responses Toward Expanded Roles for Women
in the Military by Race.

RACE CATEGORY	SUPPORT	MILD SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE	
Whites	77	150	83	9	319
Blacks	23	50	30	4	107
	100	200	113	13	N = 426
	$\chi^2 = .5550405$				Not Significant

the lower classes. Findings show that this hypothesis was not supported. Among the levels of SES, the upper class and the lower-middle class respondents were more supportive of draft registration than any of the other classes. The upper-middle class tended to be more disagreeable than any other class. The upper-lower class respondents were most often undecided and the lower-lower class was nearly equal in responding as supportive, undecided and in disagreement. These differences are presented in Table 26. These differences were found not to be statistically significant.

Similarly, no significant differences were found to exist among the levels of SES in regard to a draft. Hypothesis Seventeen stated that lower class respondents would be more supportive of the draft than higher class respondents. As shown in Table 27, this hypothesis was not supported.

Hypothesis Eighteen stated that higher class respondents would be more supportive of the registration of women for the draft than those of the lower classes. All classes of SES, with the exception of the upper-lower class, display a general tendency to be more supportive than non-supportive of this issue. In contrast, the upper-lower class shows a tendency to be more non-supportive than supportive. However, as presented in Table 28, these differences were found not to be statistically significant and do not support Hypothesis Eighteen.

Hypothesis Nineteen stated that the lower classes would be more likely to be non-supportive of the drafting of women than

Table 26. Responses Toward Draft Registration by SES.

SES CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE
Upper	17	18	8
			43
Upper - Middle	16	34	20
			70
Lower - Middle	47	46	17
			110
Upper - Lower	36	46	29
			111
Lower - Lower	18	17	17
			52
	134	161	91
			N = 386

$\chi^2 = 13.46333$

Not Significant

Table 27. Responses Toward the Draft by SES.

SES CATEGORY	STRONG SUPPORT	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	DISAGREE.	
Upper	12	8	10	11	41
Upper - Middle	13	18	17	26	74
Lower - Middle	29	31	31	23	114
Upper - Lower	21	27	27	33	108
Lower - Lower	11	10	10	21	52
	86	94	95	114	N = 389

$\chi^2 = 11.116941$

Not Significant

Table 28. Responses Toward the Registration of Women
for the Draft by SES.

SES CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE
Upper	14	8	4	14
				40
Upper - Middle	18	20	14	16
				68
Lower - Middle	35	31	17	29
				112
Upper - Lower	28	24	26	31
				109
Lower - Lower	10	16	7	19
				52
	105	99	68	109
				N = 381

$\chi^2 = 12.385226$

Not Significant

the higher classes. The two lowest classes in this study, the lower-lower class and the upper-lower class, both responded with disagreement more often than not. In comparison, between the two highest classes, the upper class responded more often in support for the drafting of women. However, the upper-middle class responded most often in disagreement. Although there is a slight trend in the direction hypothesized, the differences were not found to be significant. These are presented in Table 29. Hypothesis Nineteen is not supported.

As mentioned in Chapter III, the establishment of response categories regarding expanded roles for women in the military required that they be based upon the distribution of scores rather than the actual distribution of responses due to an uneven distribution among responses. As a result, it was found that many of the tables used in analysis of responses to an expanded role for women in the military had to be collapsed due to a combination of both small observed cell frequencies and small expected cell frequencies within the response category labeled "disagreement. Because of this, the "undecided, mild disagreement" and "disagreement" categories are collapsed to form one category labeled "disagreement" when cell frequencies require this adaptation.

In individual analyses of each independent variable, this adaptation is only used in the analysis of the effect of socioeconomic status upon responses to an expanded military role for women, as shown by the following.

Table 29. Responses Toward the Inclusion of Women
in a Draft by SES.

SES CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE	
Upper	15	10	8	8	41
Upper - Middle	21	10	22	14	67
Lower - Middle	35	29	29	20	113
Upper - Lower	26	26	37	20	109
Lower - Lower	12	9	11	19	51
	109	84	107	81	N = 381

$\chi^2 = 16.963075$

Not Significant

Regarding expanded roles for women in the military, respondents at all SES levels were most often in mild support. No significant differences were found to exist. Hypothesis Twenty stated that respondents in the higher classes would be more likely to support expanded roles for women than lower class respondents. As shown in Table 30, this relationship does not exist. Hypothesis Twenty is not supported by these findings.

The remainder of this chapter will present findings of analyses in which the effects of each independent variable were assessed while controlling for the influence of the other independent variables.

Sex and Race

No significant effects were found in the analyses of the variable of sex with race held constant in relation to draft registration, draft, women's registration, women's draft, and women's military roles.

Sex and Education

In relation to the variables of sex and education, no significant effects were found to exist in response to draft registration, draft, women's inclusion in the draft, and women's military roles. However, in response to the registration of women for the draft, education was found to have an effect upon responses among females.

As seen in Table 31, college females, while responding more often with disagreement, were found to provide some degree of

Table 30. Responses Toward Expanded Military Roles for Women by SES.

SES CATEGORY	SUPPORT	MILD SUPPORT	DISAGREE	
Upper	9	21	12	42
Upper - Middle	19	30	19	68
Lower - Middle	27	62	23	112
Upper - Lower	28	51	30	109
Lower - Lower	6	27	19	52
	89	191	103	N = 383

$\chi^2 = 9.0365667$

Not Significant

Table 31. Responses Toward the Registration of Women
for the Draft Among Females by Educational Level.

FEMALE EDUCATIONAL CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE	
College Females	30	34	22	41	127
Non-College Females	10	13	19	33	75
	40	47	41	74	N = 202

$\chi^2 = 7.6717939$

.05 level of significance

support more often than non-college females. These differences were found to be significant at a level of .05. Such relationships were not found to exist in other comparisons of the variables of sex and education.

Sex and Age

In response to draft registration, no significant effects were found to exist when the variables of sex and age were placed in interaction.

In response to a reinstatement of a draft, the interaction of the variables of sex and age yielded no significant differences with one exception. Among males, age group one and age group two tend to show greater disagreement to a draft than age group three which tends to display strong support most often. Age group two shows the greatest amount of disagreement among the age groups. These differences are presented in Table 32 and were found to be significant at a level of .001.

No interaction between the variables of sex and age on the question of registration of females for the draft was found when females were stratified into three age groups. However, among males, age group three responded more often in mild support for the registration of women for the draft than the other two age groups, who responded more often with a stronger degree of support. Male age group two responded more often in disagreement than the other age groups. As shown in Table 33, these differences were found to be significant at a level of .05.

Table 32. Responses Toward the Draft Among Males by Age Group.

MALE AGE CATEGORY	STRONG SUPPORT	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	DISAGREE	
Male Age Group One	17	23	13	25	78
Male Age Group Two	11	22	34	32	99
Male Age Group Three	36	15	10	14	75
	64	60	57	71	N = 252

 $\chi^2 = 38.638832$

.001 level of significance

Table 33. Responses Toward the Registration of Women
Among Males by Age Group.

MALE AGE CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE
Male Age Group One	24	18	16	16
				74
Male Age Group Two	31	17	15	23
				86
Male Age Group Three	21	27	4	13
				65
	76	62	35	52
				N = 225

$\chi^2 = 13.4825$.05 level of significance

In response to the inclusion of women in a draft, no significant effects resulted from a comparison of the variables of sex and age. Similarly, no such results were found to exist in regard to expanded roles for women in the military.

Race and Education

Regarding draft, the registration of women, the drafting of women, and expanded military roles for women, no significant differences were found in interaction among the variables of race and education. However, in relation to the issue of draft registration, significant differences were found to exist between blacks and whites.

Among blacks, educational level does not yield significant differences. Both college blacks and non-college blacks tend to be non-supportive of draft registration. In contrast, education is a partitioning variable among whites. As reported in Table 34, college whites tend to respond more often as undecided, whereas non-college whites respond more often as supportive of draft registration. Differences are significant at the .05 level.

Race and Age

No significant effects were found among responses to draft registration, draft, the inclusion of women in a draft, and expanded military roles for women when the variables of race and age are paired.

With regard to the registration of women for a draft, differences are found to exist among whites when stratified by age.

Table 34. Responses Toward Draft Registration Among Whites by Educational Level.

WHITE EDUCATIONAL CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE
College Whites	65	83	32
Non-College Whites	59	43	33
	124	126	65
			N = 315

$\chi^2 = 6.70367$

.05 level of significance

Such differences are not found to exist among blacks. Among whites, age group two responded more often with disagreement than the other two groups. Age group three expressed mild support most often. These differences are displayed in Table 35 and were found to be significant at a level of .01.

Education and Age

Significant effects were not found to result from the comparisons of education and age with regard to responses toward draft registration, draft, and expanded military roles for women.

However, when stratified by age, there are significant findings for both college and non-college samples in regard to the registration of women for the draft. Within the non-college sample, age group one responded more often in support than the other two age groups. Age group three responded more often with mild support and age group two responded more often in disagreement. These differences were found to be significant at the .05 level and are presented in Table 36.

Among college respondents, age group two responded most often in disagreement of the registration of women for the draft. College age group three responded most often as supportive of this issue. These differences are presented in Table 37 and were found to be significant at a level of .02.

Regarding responses toward the drafting of women, there were not any significant differences among the non-college age groups.

Table 35. Responses Toward the Registration of Women
Among Whites by Age.

WHITE AGE CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE	
White Age Group One	24	13	18	18	73
White Age Group Two	39	29	29	47	144
White Age Group Three	30	38	10	24	102
	93	80	57	89	N = 319

$\chi^2 = 17.633033$

.01 level of significance

Table 36. Responses Toward the Registration of Women
Among Non-College Respondents by Age.

NON-COLLEGE AGE CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE	
Non-College Age Group One	31	22	25	29	107
Non-College Age Group Two	14	12	10	20	56
Non-College Age Group Three	4	16	3	11	34
	49	50	38	60	N = 197

$$\chi^2 = 14.679345$$

.05 level of significance

Table 37. Responses Toward the Registration of Women
Among College Respondents by Age.

COLLEGE AGE CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE	
College Age Group Two	33	29	28	41	131
College Age Group Three	34	30	8	25	97
	67	59	36	66	N = 228

$$\chi^2 = 10.127624$$

.02 level of significance

However, among college respondents, age group two was found to be less supportive than age group three on this issue. These differences are presented in Table 38. They were found to be significant at a level of .02.

Table 38. Responses Toward the Drafting of Women
Among College Respondents by Age.

COLLEGE AGE CATEGORY	SUPPORT	UNDECIDED/MILD SUPPORT	MILD DISAGREE	DISAGREE
College Age Group Two	34	27	42	32
				135
College Age Group Three	35	26	16	19
				96
	69	53	58	51
				N = 231

$$\chi^2 = 8.6597147$$

.02 level of significance

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will present the summary and conclusions of this study. In addition, implications of these findings will be discussed.

Summary

The discontinuation of the draft in 1973, and of draft registration in 1975, resulted from social changes which produced cleavages in America during the latter part of the 60's and the early part of the 70's.

Viet Nam brought on a cultural civil war in the United States -- a deep and basic fracture. The conflict within the immense baby-boom generation -- the Americans who came of age just in time for Viet Nam -- almost amounted to this century's equivalent of the War Between the States (Time, July 13, 1981: 24).

As part of these changes, the experience of the Viet Nam war brought into question America's foreign policy as well as the policy of conscription.

President Carter's call for draft registration in 1980 brought to a close a five-year period in which a draft and draft registration were absent. One concern of this study is with the significance of the reinstatement of draft registration in relationship to the changing views of conscription as witnessed during the later years of the Viet Nam war. Of interest have been current views toward draft and draft registration.

During the five-year period without conscription, research focused upon a reinstatement of the draft and upon draft registration has been almost non-existent. This study attempts to provide research into these issues.

A second concern of this study has been the changing roles of women in the military. This issue has been included in this research because of its significance in relation to the five-year period mentioned above.

During this period, the military, as it is today, was faced with growing manpower shortages. To offset both recruitment shortages and shortages in specific skill areas, the military increased its utilization of women. For the first time in American history, women were offered and given training in military occupations and skills that had traditionally been closed to them.

The range of occupational roles open to women in the military has increased in the past five years. As this expansion continues, questions are being raised by Congress, the courts, and the general public as to the inclusion of women in draft registration and draft.

As with the issues pertaining to conscription, research into the eligibility of women for conscription is limited. There has been some research concentrated on the occupational roles of women in the military. However, these are limited and incomplete. This study attempts to provide additional research on women's military roles, including their eligibility for conscription.

Based on observations of verbal response, the researcher has sought to infer attitudes toward the issues presented in the preceding pages as distinct "modes of thought" among social categories.

In order to facilitate discussion of the major issues, they will be taken one at a time, as presented in this chapter thus far.

Conscription: Draft Registration and Draft

Findings show that among all respondents a generally undecided attitude existed in relation to draft registration, with more subjects responding as supportive of this issue than with disagreement. There was a favorable attitude prevalent among respondents in relation to a reinstatement of the draft.

In regard to draft registration, it was found that 33.3% of the respondents were in support of draft registration, 41% responded as undecided and 25% showed disagreement to draft registration. Similarly, in consideration of a reinstatement of the draft, 20.9% of the respondents were in strong support, 25% were supportive, 23.2% responded as undecided, but mildly supportive, and 30.9% were in disagreement.

One explanation for these findings may be, as Wamsley (1969) hypothesized (Chapter I), the context within which conscription takes place. According to Wamsley, if the reasons for war are considered to be just, then emphasis is placed upon manpower procurement. The data utilized in this study were collected in the weeks following the release of the "hostages" from Iran. Also,

Also, during the period of data collection, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the threat of Soviet intervention into the internal affairs of Poland were in their infancy and were the focus of daily media reports.

Therefore, it is suggested that these events may have had an impact upon responses in relation to draft registration and the draft. This is supported by further evidence. All subjects in this study were asked to respond as to whether or not they would be willing to serve in the armed forces under a set of "conditions." Each "condition" represented a degree of military service or military conflict.

In response to military service in a war similar to that of Viet Nam, 19.5% responded with "yes," 58.5% responded with "no" and 22% responded with undecided. In contrast, 41.7% responded as willing to fight against the Russians, 38.3% were not willing to fight against the Russians, and 20% were undecided on this issue.

In consideration of these findings, it is seen that a relationship exists between attitudes toward conscription and the character of the conflict under which conscription occurs. As Wamsley hypothesized, if a military conflict is perceived as necessary and just, public attention is focused upon the war effort.

Data analyses indicated that educational level, age, and socioeconomic status did not significantly affect responses to

draft registration and to draft. However, race and sex were found to significantly affect responses to these issues.

The hypotheses relating race and responses toward draft and draft registration (Chapter II) were based upon studies of perceptions of occupational opportunities via military service. Based upon inferences drawn from these studies, it was hypothesized that blacks would be more supportive of draft registration and draft than whites. However, the opposite relationship was found to exist. Whites responded as more favorable to these issues than blacks who responded more often as non-supportive.

An explanation for these differences may lie in both the literature and the inferences upon which the hypotheses were based. It was assumed that blacks would be more favorable than whites to conscription because blacks generally tend to view military service as a source of personal and occupational opportunity more often than whites. However, this assumption proved to be false. A major difference appears to exist between opinions held toward military service as a source of social mobility and opinions toward being involuntarily placed in military service. Even so, such a difference alone does not explain why blacks tend to deviate from the general support for draft registration and draft as presented earlier.

Perhaps an answer to this can be found in current attitudes prevalent among black Americans. Commenting on causes of racial disorder in the late 60's, the National Advisory Commission on

Civil Disorders (1968: 204-205) reported the following as prevalent among urban blacks:

As Americans, most Negro citizens carry within themselves two basic aspirations of our society. They seek to share in both the material resources of our system and its intangible benefits -- dignity, respect, and acceptance.

The expectations aroused by the great judicial and legislative victories of the civil rights movement have led to frustration, hostility and cynicism in the face of the persistent gap between promise and fulfillment.

Many Negroes have come to believe that they are being exploited politically and economically by the white "power structure." Negroes, like people in poverty everywhere, in fact lack the channels of communication, influence, and appeal that traditionally have been available to ethnic minorities. More generally, the result is alienation and hostility toward the institutions of law and government and the white society which controls them.

These facts have combined to inspire a new mood among Negroes, particularly among the young. Self-esteem and enhanced racial pride are replacing apathy and submission to "the system."

In addition, the experience of the Viet Nam war increased black consciousness with regard to war.

Black opportunism is the natural counterpart of White exploitativeness, the obvious, essential style of White America's approach to Black people, a thing-to-thing relationship heightened and clarified in times of war (Taylor, 1973: 8).

The lures of security and status that the defense establishment can hold out to Black youngsters seem formidable. But the changes in the tone of this contest since World War I suggest some limited but real gains for Black consciousness. Then, Black leaders agitated to get more Black men into the front lines. During the Viet Nam war, Black protest forced the Pentagon to limit the number of Blacks in the front-line elite units . . . where they were taking casualties far in excess of their proportions in the military or national population. (Taylor, 1973: 19).

So, faced with American wars, Black people have been caught and continue to be caught in a cycle of hustles, with the implicit promise "This time it'll be different." This time, it was different in that many didn't swallow the Viet Nam hustle at all (Taylor, 1973: 19).

Blacks had become conscious of their lower status in the armed forces. The Viet Nam war was increasingly viewed by blacks as a racial war in which they were being used ^{by} to "white America" to subjugate a non-white enemy.

Many black leaders of the 60's and 70's spoke out against U.S. involvement in Viet Nam and the racism imposed upon blacks in military service. One such statement is found in the historic speech by Martin Luther King, Jr. (1967) at Riverside Church -- a speech which is reported to have brought thousands into the ranks of the anti-war movement.

It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. We were taking the black young men who had been crippled by our society and sending them 8,000 miles away to guarantee liberties in Southeast Asia which they had not found in Southwest Georgia and East Harlem (King, 1967, as reported in Taylor, 1973: 81-82).

In sum, differences between responses of blacks and whites, with regard to conscription, may be characteristic of alienation by blacks from the "system." Referring back to Wamsley's hypothesis, while whites are concerned with manpower procurement for the military, blacks may not share an interest in the strengthening of the national defense. Blacks may perceive themselves to have less of an investment in "the system" to the point that they do not support a strengthening of its armed forces through conscription.

A second social characteristic found to significantly affect responses toward conscription is that of sex. No hypotheses were formulated for this relationship. However, it was found that in response to both draft registration and draft, males were significantly more supportive than females.

Although it may be expected that these findings represent an adherence to traditional sex roles -- the male as aggressive, brave; the female as weak, non-aggressive and domestic - such analysis is inconclusive within the context of personnel procurement for the national defense. A non-aggressive and domestic personality does not exclusively explain non-supportive attitudes toward conscription. As was the case for blacks, females tend to deviate from the general support shown by the total sample in regard to draft registration and draft. As noted in Chapter II, the potential eligibility of females for the draft may be the critical variable influencing responses among females.

Data for this survey were collected during the period when the Supreme Court's decision, regarding the inclusion of women in draft registration and a draft, was still pending. It was demonstrated in Chapter IV that age, in terms of eligibility for draft registration, did not significantly affect responses to these issues. However, there was found to be a slight tendency among eligibles (ages 18 through 20) to be non-supportive of conscription. An explanation of the findings relative to the responses of females may be that women in general, regardless of age, were not favorable toward draft and draft registration due to more pervasive and

extensive consequences -- that of the potential eligibility of females for compulsory military service.

Findings pertaining to the registration of women for the draft and the drafting of women are presented in the next section of this chapter. However, it might be relevant at this time to state that the responses of females to draft registration, draft, women's registration, and women's draft do not differ. On all these issues, females were significantly less supportive than males.

The publicized potentiality of women's eligibility for conscription may have influenced responses by females toward draft registration and draft. More specifically, it is proposed that in responding to these issues, females were responding with consideration to their potential induction into military service.

When the independent variables were paired, only one such relationship pertaining to draft registration was found to be significant. This relationship was among the variables of race and educational level. Among whites, educational level was found to affect responses toward draft registration. Among blacks, educational level had no effect upon responses. This gives rise to two points of focus: the liberalizing influence of college and, again, a prevalent "mode of thought" among blacks which appears to outweigh the effects of education. Although this liberalizing influence resulting from college experience is limited, it appears to operate only among whites. Blacks are consistently non-supportive of draft registration regardless of educational level.

Additionally, only one significant interactive relationship was found in regard to the draft. This relationship was among the variables of sex and age. Among females, age was found to have no effect upon responses to a reinstatement of the draft. All three age groups in the female sample were found to be generally less supportive of this issue than supportive. On the other hand, among males, it was found that susceptibility influenced responses to draft. Male subjects eligible for a draft (ages 18 through 20) were significantly less supportive of a reinstatement of the draft than any other male age group.

Women and Conscription: The Registration of Women for the Draft and the Inclusion of Women in a Draft.

Overall, findings show that responses were nearly equal in support of and disagreement with inclusion of women in draft registration. Among all respondents, 26.8% were supportive of the registration of women, 25.2% were generally undecided, but showed mild support, 17.6% were in mild disagreement, and 30.4% were in disagreement.

Similarly, with regard to the inclusion of women in a draft, responses of the total sample were nearly equal in showing both support and disagreement. However, responses to this issue were inclined to be slightly more supportive. Among all respondents, 30% supported the drafting of women, 22.7% were undecided, but mildly supportive, 27.7% responded with mild disagreement, and 20.6% were in disagreement.

Compared to the 1971 Roper poll, this sample is more positive toward the roles of women. The Roper poll found that 24% agreed and 71% disagreed with the drafting of women (reported in Binkin and Bach, 19-7: 39).

The findings presented above show that a slight majority of respondents were favorable to the registration and the drafting of women. These findings indicate that changing roles of women in society have led to a reassessment of their roles in the military. More specifically, it appears that equal rights for women are increasingly being translated into equal obligations with regard to military service.

Among respondents, socioeconomic status and educational level were not found to affect significantly responses to these two issues. The variable of age was found to affect significantly responses to the registration of women for the draft.

Hypotheses relating race and responses toward women's registration for the draft and the drafting of women proposed that blacks would be more supportive of these issues than whites.

However, findings showed relationships to exist in the opposite direction from that which was hypothesized. Whites were found to be more supportive of the inclusion of women in both registration and draft than blacks. The existing relationship between race and the drafting of women was found to be statistically significant. The relationship between race and the registration of women was in the direction described above, but was not found to be significant.

Hypotheses relating race to these two issues were drawn from a review of studies of traditional attitudes toward the place of women in society. These studies found that class position and race were important variables in explaining differences in attitudes toward women. Black respondents were found to be significantly more supportive of equal treatment of the sexes in the work force. However, Cummings (1976) reported that when the variables of social class and race were placed in interaction, the variable of social class was more important in predicting response to the roles of women in society. Cummings found that regardless of race, upper class respondents held more egalitarian attitudes in reference to the roles of women in society. Similar findings were reported by Centers (1961). These findings are relevant to the present discussion in that the distribution of the sample was unequal in relation to race and social class.

As seen below, the majority of the black respondents were in the lower classes. The distribution of whites among the classes was more even, with the exception of the lower-lower class within which the fewest number of white respondents were found. In contrast, the greatest number of black respondents were found in the lower-lower class.

<u>Social Class</u>	<u>Percent of Blacks</u>	<u>Percent of Whites</u>
Upper Class	2.2	13.4
Upper-Middle Class	14.6	17.8
Lower-Middle Class	14.6	35.3

<u>Social Class</u>	<u>Percent of Blacks</u>	<u>Percent of Whites</u>
Upper-Lower Class	30.3	26.0
Lower-Lower Class	38.3	7.5

The majority of respondents who failed to answer correctly questions used to assess SES in this study were black. Due to this technical problem, an analysis of the variables of race and SES in interaction was not performed.

In this study, the relationship between race and responses toward women's inclusion in draft registration and draft appears to be a spurious one, with social class intervening to affect responses. However, as such a relationship cannot be assessed in this study, this conclusion should be taken in caution.

A second social characteristic found to have an effect upon attitudes toward the registration and drafting of women is sex. Findings for these relationships were in the directions hypothesized. Males were found to be more supportive than females to both the registration of women for the draft and the inclusion of women in draft. As mentioned earlier in this chapter and in Chapter II, the potential eligibility of women for conscription, pending the decision of the United States Supreme Court, may have made most women respond with disagreement to their inclusion in draft registration and draft.

With regard to the registration of women for draft, age was found to affect responses significantly. Age group two (ages 18 through 20) responded more often with disagreement to the registration of women than the other two age groups. These findings

show that eligibles are less supportive of the registration of women for the draft than those not eligible. No hypothesis was formulated with regard to this relationship. However, the findings were statistically significant. Additional findings, presented below, show that age group two is consistently non-supportive of the registration of women.

When variables were placed in interaction with each other, several significant relationships were found in relation to the registration of women for the draft. These include the variables of sex and educational level, sex and age, educational level and age, and race and age.

Among males, educational level was not found to have an effect upon responses relating to the registration of women. However, college females were found to be significantly more supportive of this issue than non-college females. This finding points to a liberalizing influence resulting from college experience among females. The experience of college appears to make females more supportive of conscription of women.

A comparison of sex and age shows that among females age had no significant influence upon responses to the registration of women. All three female age groups were generally in disagreement with women's registration. In contrast, age appears to affect significantly responses among males. Males in age group two were found to respond more often with disagreement to the registration of women for the draft than any other age group.

Again, a similar pattern is found between the variables of educational level and age. Age groups two in both the college and non-college samples were significantly non-supportive of the registration of women for the draft than other age groups. This finding indicates that regardless of educational level, age affects responses toward the issue of women's registration.

With regard to the issue of including women in a draft, only one significant finding emerged with the interaction of the variables was assessed. This was seen between the variables of education and age. College respondents in age group two were found to be more non-supportive of the drafting of women than the other two age groups. No such relationship was found to exist among non-college respondents.

Expanded Occupational Roles For Women in the Military

Findings have shown that among all respondents there is a tendency to be supportive of expanded military roles for women. Of the entire sample, 24% responded with support for expanded roles for women in the military, 46.7% responded with mild support, 26.3% responded as undecided, but with mild disagreement to this issue and only 3% responded with disagreement.

Emphasis upon equal opportunity in society appears to have permeated the traditionally male domain of military service. Resulting from changing sex roles in society at large, attitudes toward the ability of women to perform military functions as well as males tend to be positive in nature. Women are viewed by most

respondents as capable of performing military functions traditionally performed exclusively by males, including the role of combat soldier. These attitudes are found to be more prevalent among females than males.

Female respondents were found to be significantly more supportive of expanded roles for women than male respondents. These findings point to an interesting relationship in reference to findings presented earlier regarding the inclusion of women in draft registration and draft. Males tend to be less supportive of expanded military roles for women than females. However, males are more supportive than females of the registration and drafting of women. In contrast, the reverse relationships were found among females.

It was found that among all respondents, age, race, educational level, and socioeconomic status were not related to attitudes toward expanded roles for women in the military.

In addition, when the variables were placed in interaction with each other, no significant relationships were found with regard to attitudes toward expanded military roles for women.

Implications

Conscription: Draft Registration and Draft

In a criticism of the AVAF (All-Volunteer Armed Forces), Coffey (1978) points out that the United States would be unable to fulfill its military obligation in the event of a conventional war in Europe between NATO and Warsaw Pact Forces. The major

cause cited for this inadequacy is the manpower dilemma resulting from the voluntary nature of AVAF itself.

Other concerns voiced by King (1977) point to the cost of the AVAF. King states that manpower costs are increasing at a faster rate than our ability to absorb them in the defense budget. It is estimated that the maintenance of a force of 3.1 million enlisted personnel (the Viet Nam peak level) would cost \$29 billion more under the AVAF than using the draft. According to King, on a financial basis, the AVAF is essentially a peacetime concept and any emergency situation would require reliance on an almost immediate return to the draft.

Such concerns fostered the reinstatement of draft registration in 1980. And there is continued concern in relation to the cost of the AVAF and its effectiveness. As recently as June 1981 Congress debated the institution of a policy of national military service in which all young men would be expected to serve two years in military service.

In consideration of this apparent concern with military manpower procurement, it might be expected that a draft, or some alternative to draft (e.g., national military service), could become a reality in the near future.

This study has sought to assess attitudes toward these issues. Of interest has been the existence of attitudes representing "modes of thought" among social categories. In turn, these attitudes are used to predict behavior that has not been measured. In light of the resistance to the draft in the late 60's and

early 70's, it would be beneficial to acquire some insight into the public reactions that might occur if a return to draft becomes a reality.

Findings of this study have shown that attitudes toward conscription are related to the nature of the conflict within which war takes place. Little resistance to conscription would be expected if Americans perceive a war or potential conflict to be just and necessary. Such may be the case of a war against the Soviet Union as a result of their intervention into the affairs of other countries. However, a war similar to that of Viet Nam might draw criticism and resistance from sectors of the public.

This brings into focus an important consideration. At the time this survey was conducted, the United States had not yet begun to send military advisors and arms to El Salvador. Since these actions, American involvement in El Salvador has been likened to the involvement in Viet Nam. Protests against such military involvement in El Salvador have gained momentum. In addition, media attention has shifted from Afghanistan to El Salvador. It might be expected that a military conflict against the Soviet Union would not meet with as much opposition and active resistance as would be expected from an increased military effort in El Salvador.

In the event of an "all-out" military effort in El Salvador, a resistance might be expected. Those persons who would condemn such an involvement would most likely be draft age youth and pre-draft age youth. A resistance to conscription would be most likely to occur among blacks and college-educated whites.

The behavior expected from females is not readily predicted. Findings have shown females are more non-supportive of draft registration and draft. However, it is not conclusive as to whether females were responding to the issue of conscription per se, or whether they were responding with regard to their own potential eligibility.

Women's Military Roles: The Registration of Women for the Draft, The Inclusion of Women in Draft, and Expanded Occupational Roles for Women in the Military.

In attempts to offset a manpower shortage in the military during the late 70's, the utilization of women was significantly increased by the military. In the event of a return to draft, this utilization of women is not expected to decline.

The encountered and projected increase of women in the armed forces reflects social change in the United States and the conscious effort of the military to recognize and incorporate such change (Goldman, 1973: 108).

In addition to pressures resulting from external social change, the reliance upon women as a resource to the military will continue as a result of demographic changes in the American population. In 1976, the 18-year old male population was at a level of 2.15 million. Population projections indicate that the 18-year old male population will decrease to about 1.7 million by the late 1980's. Based upon these projections, by the late 80's, the military will have to recruit one of every two available and qualified males in order to fulfill manpower requirements (King, 1977: 7-8). The future decline of the draft age population, and

pressures from external social change insure a continuation of the increased utilization of women in the military. These factors could possibly lead to the induction of women through compulsory military service.

As was the case with conscription, it would be beneficial to acquire some insight into reactions toward women's involvement in the national defense in the event that women are included in a future draft.

It appears that the inclusion of women into compulsory military service would be accepted more now than in previous decades. This acceptance would be most prominent among the male population and females with college experience.

Although age was consistently found to be related to attitudes toward the registration of women and the drafting of women, it would be difficult to predict a reaction among draft age youths due to the fact that these youths tended to respond as generally negative to all issues pertaining to military service in this study. In short, such responses may not have directly resulted from consideration of the issues as much as from their eligibility for military service under a draft. There appeared a tendency to be anti-military on all issues among draft age respondents. However, as demonstrated, many of these relationships were not found to be statistically significant.

With regard to expanded occupational roles for women in the military, it is seen that current changes in the roles of women in society and the military have had an effect upon attitudes held

by the respondents in this sample. If the findings of this study can be applied to the general population, an acceptance would be expected to expansion of occupational opportunities for women within the military, including combat specialties.

Any conflict with expanded military roles for women would be found among males. Most males apparently want females to be included in a draft. However, they do not feel that women are capable of performing as well as males in the military service and do not support expanded roles for women in the military.

Females do not want to be included in conscription. However, they want equal opportunity with regard to occupations within the military, including combat related fields.

As stated in Chapter I, current utilization of women in the armed forces is based upon what the Department of Defense (DOD) defines as the "will of the people." In recent years, the "will of the people" has been redefined to allow for an expanded use of women in 80% of all military occupations, with the exception of combat related occupations. In 1981, this definition was expanded to include combat training for women in the military.

There is no precise method of calculating rates of change in the DOD's definition of the "will of the people" versus actual change in attitudes of the population. However, in relation to the findings of this research, patterns of change in this definition thus far indicate that women in the military will be allowed to enter combat related occupations before being eligible for conscription. It should be noted that such analysis is inconclusive

due to the fact that women's eligibility for conscription is controlled by decisions of the legislative and judicial branches of government, whereas the definition of the "will of the people" is controlled by decisions of the DOD and the judicial branch of government.

In sum, if the findings of this survey can be said to represent the attitudes of the larger population, the "will of the people" is that women be given equal occupational opportunity as men in the military, including combat occupations. Additionally, if such an inference is drawn, the "will of the people" is increasingly becoming more favorable to giving women equal treatment with regard to draft.

DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME TO ANY PART OF THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

The following statements are designed to allow you to give your individual response. All individual responses will be confidential. No individual scores will be reported.

Your responses will be combined with others and the accumulated scores are to be reported in a scientific paper, therefore, no one person's responses can be identified.

Many questions and statements have key words underlined. These words are underlined for the purpose of bringing these key words to your attention and do not indicate a correct or incorrect response.

THERE ARE NO CORRECT RESPONSES OR INCORRECT RESPONSES

The first questions are designed to provide background information.

Later questions will deal strictly with your opinions and attitudes.

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THE ABOVE STATEMENTS, PLEASE ASK NOW BEFORE BEGINNING.

IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS DURING THE PROCESS OF ANSWERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE, PLEASE ASK!

PLEASE READ EACH QUESTION CAREFULLY

I. PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS A THROUGH L BEFORE PROCEEDING TO ANY OTHER SECTION.

A) SEX: MALE _____

FEMALE _____

B) AGE _____

C) DATE OF BIRTH _____
month day year

D) RACE: WHITE _____

BLACK _____

OTHER _____ (please specify) _____

E) Is your father employed?

NO _____

YES _____ If YES, where does your father work? _____
what is his job? (Please describe exactly what he does

F) Please indicate your father's educational level by checking the highest level completed in the list below:

Less than 8th grade _____

Completed 8th grade _____

Junior High _____

High School Graduate _____

Technical School Graduate _____

Some college or other training after High School _____

College graduate _____

Master's degree _____

Doctoral degree _____

G) Is your mother employed? (Employment other than housewife)

NO _____

YES _____ If YES, where does your mother work? _____

what is her job? (Please describe exactly what she do

H) Please indicate your mother's educational level by checking the highest level completed in the list below:

Less than 8th grade _____

Completed 8th grade _____

Junior High _____

High School graduate _____

Technical School graduate _____

Some College or other training after High School _____

College graduate _____

Master's degree _____

Doctoral degree _____

- I) Please indicate your educational level by checking the highest level completed in the list below:

Less than 8th grade _____

Completed 8th grade _____

Junior High _____

High School graduate _____

Technical School graduate _____

Some College or other training after High School _____

College graduate _____

Master's degree _____

Doctoral degree _____

- J) Do you hold a full-time job?

NO _____

YES _____ If YES, where are you employed? _____
what is your job? (Please describe exactly what you do

- K) Are you married?

NO _____ (Please go on to the next page)

YES _____ (Please answer the following questions on this page)

Is your spouse a college student? (The word spouse refers to your husband or your wife)

YES _____

NO _____

Is your spouse employed?

NO _____

YES _____ If YES, where is your spouse employed?

K) (continued)

what is the job that your spouse performs'
(Please describe exactly what your spouse
does) _____

L) Please indicate the educational level of your spouse by
checking the highest level completed in the list below:

Less than 8th grade _____

Completed 8th grade _____

Junior High _____

High School graduate _____

Technical School graduate _____

Some College or other training after High School _____

College graduate _____

Master's degree _____

Doctoral degree _____

IF YOU ARE CURRENTLY IN COLLEGE OR A COLLEGE GRADUATE, PLEASE
NOTIFY THE PERSON ADMINISTERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE AND DO NOT
PROCEED ANY FURTHER.

II. PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS A THROUGH D BEFORE GOING ON TO
THE NEXT SECTION.

A) Do you plan to go to college?

NO _____

YES _____ If YES, please state your intended major or
field of specialization. (If undecided, please
state "undecided.") _____

A) (continued)

If YES, have you applied to any college or university?

NO _____

YES _____ (please give names of schools to which you have applied)

B) Do you plan to go to a vocational school or program?

NO _____

YES _____ If YES, please state what you plan to study. (If undecided, please state "undecided") _____

If YES, have you applied to any vocational or technical schools or programs?

NO _____

YES _____ (please give the name of this school or program to which you have applied)

C) Are you currently in High School?

NO _____

YES _____ If YES, please indicate your grade level:

10th grade _____

11th grade _____

12th grade _____

If NO, please indicate your highest completed grade level. (If you have had any college experience, please use the space provided to indicate the extent of this experience.)

D) Would you attend a college, vocational or technical school to keep from being drafted?

YES _____

NO _____

III. PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS A THROUGH P BEFORE GOING ON TO THE NEXT SECTION.

A) Did you register for the draft during the recent registrations that occurred since June 30, 1980?

NO _____

YES _____ If YES, why did you do so? (Check one of the following, please.)

_____ I was required to register.

_____ I was not required to register, but wanted to show support for the draft.

_____ I was not required to register, but registered as a protest to the draft. (If so, please describe the basis of your protest, or what it is that you protest.) _____

B) If you were required to register during the recent registrations, please respond to the following by placing a check next to the statement which best describes your reason for registering. (Check only one, please)

_____ I registered in order to be of service to my country.

_____ I registered in order to avoid prosecution or penalties.

_____ I did not register even though I was required to register.

C) Assume that a draft were started that included both sexes. Do you think that you would be ineligible for any reason?

NO _____

YES _____ If YES, please specify the reason: _____

D) Would you volunteer for military service before receiving your draft notice if:

the draft were started in peacetime?

YES _____

NO _____

the draft were started during a period of war?

YES _____

NO _____

NOTE: A DEFERMENT IS AN OFFICIAL POSTPONEMENT OF MILITARY SERVICE. THOSE WHO RECEIVE DEFERMENTS WOULD BE AMONG THE LAST TO BE DRAFTED.

E) Do you think that there are any reasons why people should be deferred?

_____ NO, I don't think anyone should be deferred.

_____ YES, there are some reasons for deferment.

If you answered YES, from the following list of reasons for which people might be deferred, place a 1 (one) by the reason which you think is most important, a 2 (two) by the next most important reason, etc. Rank only those reasons for which you think people should be deferred.

_____ Educational

_____ Occupational (Please specify by listing types of jobs to be deferred) _____

_____ Only Child

_____ Sole supporter of elderly or disabled parents or relatives

_____ Married persons

_____ Married with children

_____ Political Beliefs

_____ Religious Beliefs

_____ Personal Beliefs (e.g., the belief that war is morally wrong)

_____ Other (please specify) _____

F) Would you be willing to serve in the Armed Forces if the following conditions occurred?

- A military conflict similar to that of Vietnam? (check one)

YES _____ NO _____ UNDECIDED _____

- A military conflict similar to that of Korea? (check one)

YES _____ NO _____ UNDECIDED _____

- A global war similar to that of World War II? (check one)

YES _____ NO _____ UNDECIDED _____

- To fight against Russians in Russia? (check one)

YES _____ NO _____ UNDECIDED _____

- To fight against the Russians in a country outside of Russia? (Check one)

YES _____ NO _____ UNDECIDED _____

- The sending of American troops to support a government friendly to ours during a non-declared war? (check one)

YES _____ NO _____ UNDECIDED _____

- The sending of American troops overseas to protect American economic interest (e.g., the protection of oil resources in the Persian Gulf)? (check one)

YES _____ NO _____ UNDECIDED _____

- A military engagement fought on American soil? (check one)

YES _____ NO _____ UNDECIDED _____

- The sending of troops as part of a treaty agreement (e.g., Germany)?

YES _____ NO _____ UNDECIDED _____

G) Do you have any immediate family members presently in military service?

NO _____

YES _____ If YES, please specify by placing the number of each on the line provided. (For instance, 2 brother(s), 1 sister(s), etc.)

_____ brother(s)

_____ sister(s)

_____ mother(s)

_____ father(s)

3 _____ husband(s)

_____ wife/wives

If YES, do any of them intend to make a career of military service?

NO _____

UNDECIDED _____

YES _____ (please specify which ones) _____

H) Do you have any immediate family members who have been in military service?

NO _____

YES _____ If YES, please specify by placing the number of each on the line provided. (For instance, 2 brother(s), 2 sister(s), etc.)

_____ brother(s)

_____ sister(s)

_____ mother(s)

_____ father(s)

_____ husband(s)

_____ wife/wives

if YES, did any of them make a career of military service?

NO _____

YES _____ (please specify which ones) _____

- I) Do you have any immediate family members who intend to serve in the military?

NO _____ (go on to the next page)

UNDECIDED _____ (go on to question J at bottom of this page)

YES _____ If YES, please specify by placing the number of each on the line provided. (For instance, 1 brother(s), 2 sister(s), etc.)

_____ brother(s)

_____ sister(s)

_____ mother(s)

_____ father(s)

_____ husband(s)

_____ wife/wives

If YES, do any of them intend to make a career of military service?

NO _____

YES _____ (Specify which ones) _____

- J) If you responded UNDECIDED to the above question, please specify by placing the number of each on the line provided. (For instance, 1 brother(s), 2 sister(s), etc.)

_____ brother(s)

_____ sister(s)

_____ mother(s)

_____ father(s)

_____ husband(s)

_____ wife/wives

If UNDECIDED, do any of them intend to make a career of military service?

NO _____

- O) Do you feel that you have an obligation to serve in the Armed Forces in peacetime?

YES _____

NO _____ If NO, do you feel that you have an obligation to serve in a supportive service or alternative service? (e.g., Reserves or Peace Corps)

YES _____

NO _____

- P) Would you consider a person to be unpatriotic if that person did not want to serve in the Armed Forces under each of the following conditions:

- Peacetime without a draft?

YES _____

NO _____

- Peacetime with a draft?

YES _____

NO _____

- A period of war without a draft?

YES _____

NO _____

- A period of war with a draft?

YES _____

NO _____

K) Are you presently participating in an ROTC program?

YES _____

NO _____ If NO, at any time prior to now have you participated in an ROTC program?

YES _____

NO _____

At any time in the future, do you intend to participate in an ROTC program?

YES _____

NO _____

UNDECIDED _____

L) Are you presently participating in the National Guard or a Reserve unit?

YES _____

NO _____ If NO, at any time prior to now have you participated in a Reserve unit or the National Guard?

YES _____

NO _____

At any time in the future, do you intend to participate in the National Guard or a Reserve Unit?

YES _____

NO _____

UNDECIDED _____

H) Are you presently a full-time member of any branch of the Armed Forces?

YES _____

NO _____ If NO, at any time in the past, have you been a full-time member of any branch of the Armed Forces?

YES _____

NO _____

At any time in the future, do you intend to become a full-time member of any branch of the Armed Forces

YES _____

NO _____

N) Do you feel that you have an obligation to serve in the Armed Forces in times of war or severe national crisis?

YES _____

NO _____ If NO, do you feel that you have an obligation to serve in a supportive service or alternative service? (e.g., Reserves or Peace Corps)

YES _____

NO _____

IV. DIRECTIONS: PLEASE CIRCLE THE ANSWER WHICH BEST DESCRIBES
YOUR REACTION TO THE FOLLOWING SERIES OF STATE-
MENTS:

- A) I believe that there should be a permanent and continuous
draft registration. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

- B) With recent crises such as the holding of American diplomats
in Iran, the conflict between Iraq and Iran, and Russian occu-
pation of Afghanistan, there is a need for a draft registration
(circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

- C) Because of such crises as mentioned above, there is a need to
draft people into the military now. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

- D) The draft should be started during peacetime. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

- E) There should not be a draft even in times of war. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

- F) The Armed Forces should be an organization of professionals
rather than an organization of "citizen soldiers" inducted
through a draft. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

- G) I would be willing to serve if I were drafted. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

- H) The draft is not a valid method of induction. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

I) Women should not be registered for the draft during peacetime.
(circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

J) Women should not be registered for the draft. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

K) Women should be registered for the draft during times of war.
(circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

L) Women should not be drafted. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

M) Women should be drafted during peacetime. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

N) Women should not be drafted during war. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

O) If men are drafted, women should be drafted. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

P) I would accept the inclusion of women into the draft. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

Q) If a woman were drafted and she refused to serve, I would consider her to be unpatriotic. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

R) Most women cannot stand the stress and strain associated with being a commanding officer. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

S) Positions such as General are too important for women to hold. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

T) All leadership positions in the military should be held by males. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

U) Women belong only in the medical corps and the dining halls. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

V) Women do not belong in the Armed Forces. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

W) Women in the military should be allowed to serve in combat. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

X) Women would be unreliable in a combat situation due to their emotional character. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

Y) Women would be unable to equal men in courage and valor on the battlefield. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

Z) I would fear having to rely upon a woman in a combat situation. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

AA) Women should not perform the same jobs as men in the military. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

BB) Certain military jobs are so unfeminine that women should be excluded from them. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

CC) Women should be allowed to work at any job they are capable of performing in the military. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

DD) Women are capable of performing the same jobs as men in the military. (circle one)

STRONGLY AGREE AGREE UNDECIDED DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION. PLEASE FEEL FREE TO USE THE BACK OF THIS PAGE TO WRITE ANY COMMENTS, CRITICISMS AND SUGGESTIONS THAT YOU MAY HAVE. WE VALUE AND WELCOME ANY RESPONSES THAT YOU OFFER.

IF YOU ARE CURRENTLY NOT IN COLLEGE OR ARE NOT A COLLEGE GRAD-
UATE, PLEASE NOTIFY THE PERSON ADMINISTERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE
AND DO NOT PROCEED ANY FURTHER.

II. PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS A THROUGH C ON THIS PAGE BEFORE
GOING ON TO THE NEXT SECTION.

A) Please indicate your college calss or classification:

freshman _____

sophomore _____

junior _____

senior _____

graduate _____

B) Do you intend to remain in college until the completion of
your degree?

YES _____

NO _____

UNDECIDED _____

If NO or UNDECIDED, would you remain in college to
keep from being drafted?

YES _____

NO _____

C) Please specify your major or field of specialization. (If
undecided, please state "undecided.") _____

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