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AMERICANS VIEW THE MILITARY

Public Opinion in 1982

Technical Report

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SUMMARY

The Study

In 1982 the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) conducted its General Social Survey (GSS) for the ninth time since its inception in 1972. The GSS is a survey of a nationally representative sample of approximately 1,500 adults. Most of the questions put to respondents are repeated verbatim in each survey, or on a rotating schedule, to allow social scientists to track trends over time in American attitudes on such important topics as national spending priorities, women's rights, confidence in major social institutions, crime, and racial integration. From time to time, the regular GSS questions are supplemented by questions on special concerns.

The 1982 GSS included such a supplement. A special six-page section of the questionnaire dealt with questions on issues related to the U.S. military. This effort, sponsored by The Ford Foundation, was assisted by an Advisory Committee, chaired by Richard V. L. Cooper, of Coopers & Lybrand, that helped to formulate questions, structure the analysis, and review the report.

The Findings

Attitudes toward the Military and Military Spending

When compared with the leaders of other major institutions (organized religion, the press, Congress, etc.) the military is relatively well regarded: 33.7 percent of Americans say that they have a great deal of confidence in military leaders. This places the military in fifth position among twelve institutions included in the survey. The assessments range from a low of 13.6 percent for organized labor to a high of 51.7 percent for medicine.

Americans are more "pro-spending" than some have claimed. However, when "the military, armaments, and defense" is included in a list of items with claims on the national budget (including health, crime, and foreign

aid) the 1982 survey shows it toward the bottom in priority. But the priority Americans give military expenditures has varied more than any other item over the 1973-1982 period, depending (presumably) on the assessment of external threats and internal tax burdens.

The greatest support for the military comes from Americans who describe themselves as "conservatives," from older Americans, and from the less well educated.

Military Personnel Policy: The All-Volunteer Force and Alternatives

There is no public consensus on military personnel policy in the present circumstances.

The AVF receives a positive but lukewarm endorsement from the American population: a clear majority (58.9 percent) rate the AVF as working very well or fairly well, but a third (34.8 percent) rate the AVF as not working well.

Less than half (42 percent) of the American population would choose a return to the draft in the absence of a national emergency, but only 9 percent would oppose a return to the draft if there were an emergency.

Nearly three-fourths of the population (72.8 percent) would favor ("strongly" or "probably") a national service program for all young men and women if there would be no increase in their taxes to support the program, but less than half (44 percent) would support it if it required such an increase.

Political conservatives and Americans who are pro-military tend to favor the draft but do not strongly endorse national service. Younger Americans are less enthusiastic about either form of conscription.

Attitudes toward Women in the Military

The proportion of women in the Armed Forces has increased from 2 percent to 9 percent over the last ten years, and Americans strongly endorse this increase: 84 percent wish to keep or increase the proportion female in the Services, and 81 percent believe that the increased number of women in the Services has either raised or had no effect on military effectiveness.

Most Americans oppose the use of women as soldiers in hand-to-hand combat (34.7 percent approve), but they favor women in a wide range of military roles. In addition to the high approval for traditional female roles in the Services (97.4 percent for typists and 93.7 percent for nurses in a combat zone) there are clear majorities for the assignment of women to jobs as truck mechanics (83.4 percent), jet fighter pilots (62.4 percent), missile gunners (59.2 percent), and commanders of large bases (58.7 percent).

When looking at alternatives to the AVF, 53.6 percent of those who approve of a draft favor the drafting of women as well as men, and 83.6 percent of those who approve of compulsory national service, either in the military or in non-military work, believe that women as well as men should be subject to this requirement.

Support for women in the military is linked to liberal attitudes on other social questions, such as feminism, race relations and free speech. Approval is greatest among the better educated, and younger adults.

Attitudes toward Blacks and Hispanics

Americans are generally satisfied with the current ethnic mix in the Armed Forces. Only 12 percent say there are too many Blacks in the military and 70 percent say that the current number is "about right." When asked about Hispanics, 7 percent say there are too many and 60 percent say the current proportion is about right.

Americans are less favorable to increasing the number of Blacks in the military than to raising the numbers of Hispanics and women. About one American in three would like to see more Hispanics and more women in the military; fewer than one in five favors increased recruitment of Blacks.

The relative concern about further increases in the number of Blacks in the military is greater among the liberal sectors of the society, including Blacks themselves, than in the more conservative groups.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Overview

In February, March, and April of 1982, National Opinion Research Center (NORC) interviewers visited the homes of 1,506 adults in some 300 neighborhoods scattered across the continental United States, as part of the 1982 NORC General Social Survey (GSS). Their hour-long interview schedule covered a wide array of topics (as explained below) and included a special six-page section on military service sponsored by The Ford Foundation.

This report summarizes the statistical findings from an analysis of this special section on the military. Its aims are:

- . To describe how American adults feel about the contemporary Armed Forces, various options for obtaining military personnel, the role of women in the services, and the ethnic composition of the Services
- . To locate the subgroups in the population who are especially favorable or unfavorable on these issues and to use these findings to gauge the underlying factors that appear to influence attitudes on military policies

The chapters of the report address these questions in turn:

- . How do Americans feel about the military in general? Who are the strongest and weakest supporters of the Armed Forces? How do Americans feel about the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) and the quality of current Service personnel?
- . How do two possible alternatives to the AVF--the draft and national service--appeal to American adults? Is there national consensus on military policy preferences? Who favors and who opposes conscription?
- . Do Americans support or oppose the recent increases in women personnel in the Services? To what sort of military jobs do they believe women should be assigned? Who favors and who opposes women in the Services?

- . Are Americans concerned about the high proportion of Blacks in the Services? The proportion of Hispanics? Who wishes to see changes in the ethnic composition of the Armed Forces?
- . What are the main statistical relations that cut across these chapters?

In addition, because women in the Services was a central focus of this study, we included in it an experiment concerning the effects of question order on the responses to the questions about women. Appendix E, which reports on this experiment, addresses an additional question:

- . Are answers to questions about women in the military affected by the context of the question-- for example, whether such questions precede or follow the same questions asked about men?

The Study

The 1982 GSS is the ninth in a series of unique national surveys carried out by NORC since 1972. While the sampling design and interviewing methods are standard for national studies of high quality, the General Social Survey program is unique in that:

- . The questions cover a broad array of topics chosen to reflect variables of interest to professional social scientists
- . Almost all the items are repeated in each survey or appear in a fixed rotation scheme that enables one to track change and stability
- . The data are immediately placed in the public domain for analysis by hundreds of investigators and students all over the country (and the world)

(For a detailed description of the program and the sample design, see Davis and Smith, 1982.)

Occasionally, GSS adds one-time substantive or methodological sections to the questionnaire if the topic is of social science interest and the data

can be placed in the public domain.* Such supplements enrich the GSS coverage and provide the sponsors of the supplement a much wider array of information at a cost far below that of a "stand-alone" survey.

After discussions among NORC, the Ford Foundation, and a specially appointed Advisory Committee (see Acknowledgments), a 39-variable section was added to GSS 1982 covering these topics:

- . Drafting men
- . Drafting women
- . National service for men
- . National service for women
- . Quality of the current Armed Forces personnel
- . Pay and benefits for the current Armed Forces
- . Sex composition of the Services
- . Ethnic composition of the Services
- . Rating of the All-Volunteer Force
- . Appropriateness of women for nine military jobs
- . Knowledge of current assignments for women in the Services
- . Effect of increased percentage of women on military effectiveness
- . Attitude toward resuming a draft
- . Opinions on six possible grounds for draft exemption

The GSS uses a two-stage area probability sample designed to yield estimates for the "noninstitutionalized English-speaking population of the continental United States, 18 years of age or older" (Davis and Smith, 1982,

* Codebooks and data tapes for the 1982 GSS and the military supplement will be available in July 1983 from The Roper Center, Box U-164R, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT 06168.

pp. 207-211). This definition of the "universe" is typical for modern national surveys, but the reader should bear in mind the following:

- . By setting the floor at 18 years of age we excluded young people most likely to be affected by military personnel policies in the next few years.
- . Deliberate exclusion of the "institutional" population means that military personnel living on base and college students living in dormitories (but not those living at home or in apartments) are excluded. This makes the sample of persons in their early twenties less than totally representative.
- . Deliberate exclusion of persons who do not speak English may remove a small proportion of Latinos and hence influence the questions on Spanish-speakers in the military (46 out of 2,221 original cases, or 2.1 percent, were excluded on language grounds; of these, 31, or 1.4 percent, were Spanish-speaking).

Except for a slight overrepresentation of Blacks in its first year, GSS samples have never shown any biases relevant to the findings discussed in this report, and the staff has no information that GSS 1982 differs from its predecessors in quality.

The response rate for GSS 1982 (completed cases divided by eligible respondents) is 77.5 percent (Davis and Smith, 1982, p. 212). This is the highest response rate for any GSS (the lowest, 1978, is 73.5 percent) and quite satisfactory by comparison with similar non-Federal surveys. As in any sample survey, the results reported here could be strongly biased if the missing 22.5 percent differed overwhelmingly on any of the measures. Since the losses involve a wide variety of reasons (refusals, illness, unavailable throughout the field period, etc.) and since statistical analyses of "lost respondents" have yet to show any strong reliable correlates, we have confidence that the data reported here are trustworthy.

Statistical analysis of the data took place in July, August, and September of 1982, the bulk of the work being done by Davis and Lauby, after consultation with Sheatsley and our Advisory Committee. We proceeded as follows.

Since there was little in the way of systematic prior research to guide us and since the complete 1982 GSS involves hundreds of possibly relevant variables, we chose (a) fourteen items from the military supplement and (b) fifty-five GSS items that we considered most likely to be related to these opinions. The fifty-five items may be grouped roughly as follows:

- A. Socioeconomic status (occupation, income, subjective social class)
- B. Information (education, newspaper reading, civic interest, etc.)
- C. Family status (marital status, children, age, sex, etc.)
- D. Ethnic and subcultural group (region, size of place, religion, etc.)
- E. Race and racial attitudes
- F. Political preference and political issues
- G. Military experience and attitudes on military issues such as foreign affairs
- H. Sex-role and sex-equality items

The fifty-five predictors were crosstabulated against the fourteen military items using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) program and the University of Chicago computer. These results are summarized in Appendices C and D of this report. Readers who wish to examine relationships not discussed in the main text are urged to inspect those pages.

The $55 \times 14 = 770$ associations were screened for statistical significance, magnitude, and sense. After reviewing the raw findings with members of the Advisory Committee, Davis and Lauby carried out detailed analysis and write-up of selected issues and themes at Harvard University using the Harvard VAX computer and the SPSS Conversational Statistical System.

Unless specifically stated in the text, all associations between variables mentioned in the report are statistically significant at the .05 level or less.

CHAPTER 2

OPINIONS ON THE MILITARY AND THE CURRENT ALL-VOLUNTEER FORCE

General Attitudes

When compared with other major institutions, the Military is relatively well regarded In contrast to other claims on the national budget, attitudes toward military spending fluctuate rapidly Those groups most supportive of the military (ultra-conservatives, older Americans, the less well educated) are least likely to be enthusiastic about its policies on women and minorities.

The 1981 Statistical Abstract tells us that the U.S. Defense establishment comprises:

- . About two million men and women in uniform
- . About three million civilian employees
- . 339.7 billion dollars of property
- . Outlays amounting to 5 or 6 percent of the Gross National Product

Doubtless such a large organization contains internal variation, yet it is common among both experts and ordinary citizens to speak of "the military" and it seems plausible to ask Americans about their attitudes toward the military in general.

Every year since 1973 GSS has included this question:

"I am now going to name some institutions in this country. As far as the people running these institutions are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them?"

Table 1 shows the proportions reporting "a great deal" of confidence for twelve institutions, pooling eight surveys from 1973 to 1982.

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE REPORTING "A GREAT DEAL" OF CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS
OF 12 MAJOR INSTITUTIONS--POOLED GSS, 1973-82
(NS VARY FROM 11,972 TO 11,982)

Area	Percent Reporting
Medicine	51.7
Scientific Community	40.0
Education	35.9
Organized religion	34.0
MILITARY	33.7
U.S. Supreme Court	31.2
Major companies	25.1
Press	23.3
Executive branch of the federal government ..	17.7
TV	17.5
Congress	15.3
Organized labor	13.6

The numbers run low: only Medicine gets more than 50 percent of respondents saying they have "a great deal of confidence" and that is a bare 51.7 percent. Among the twelve, however, the Military doesn't do badly; it ranks fifth out of twelve, and only two institutions (Medicine and the Scientific Community) are clearly ahead of it.

Viewing the same numbers a bit more abstractly, the institutions seem spread out on a dimension from "altruistic professions" to "self-seeking interest groups." If so, the Military seems to lie toward the former pole rather than the latter, in spite of the endless editorial cartoons about the "military-industrial complex."

Figure 1 shows the trends when the eight surveys are broken out year by year.

Whether the trend for all institutions is up, down, or just wiggly is controversial, but the higher rating of the Military is consistent throughout the period (which began with the end of Vietnam and ends with the Reagan military buildup). In each of the eight readings, Americans give a slightly higher confidence rating to the Military than to the average of the eleven other institutions and the gap doesn't seem to change much.

The GSS battery on national spending priorities covers the same years but from a different slant--whether we are spending "too much, too little, or about the right amount" on eleven national problems, one of which is "The Military, Armaments and Defense." The question reads like this:

"We are faced with many problems in this country, none of which can be solved easily or inexpensively. I'm going to name some of these problems, and for each one I'd like you to tell me whether you think we're spending too much money on it, too little money, or about the right amount?"

With eleven items, three possible answers to each, and eight years, numbers pile up fast. To simplify things, we reduced the three possible answers to one by calculating the percentage "too little" minus "too much." For example, if 40 percent say "too little" and 25 percent say "too much," $40 - 25 = +.15$. This index ranges between +1.00 (everybody says "too little, nobody says "too much") and -1.00. When positive it means there are more who favor an increase in spending than favor a decrease. Table 2 summarizes the yearly results.

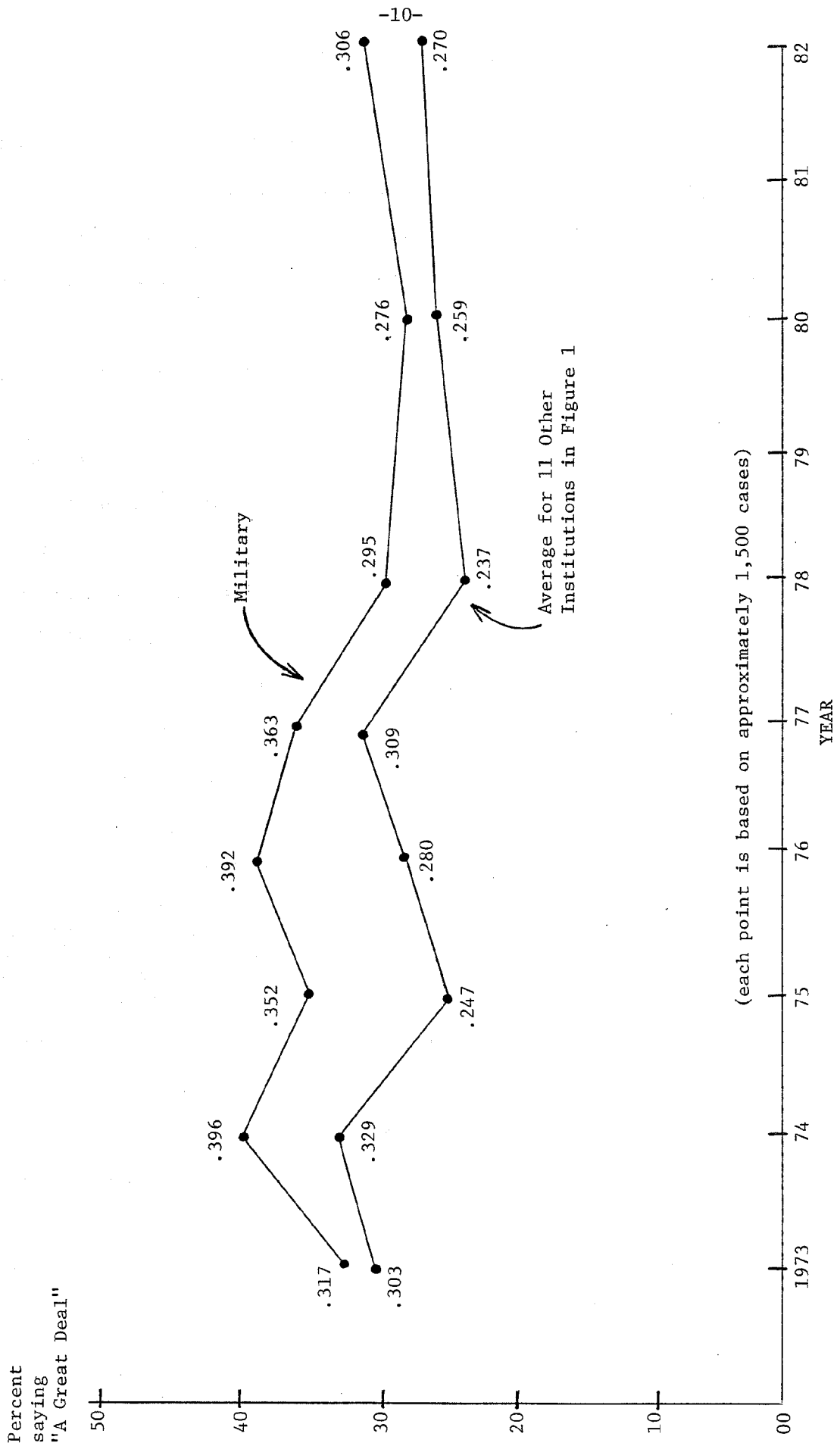


Figure 1: Trends in Confidence in Military and 11 Other Institutions, 1973-1982

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE RESPONDING "TOO LITTLE SPENDING" MINUS PERCENTAGE RESPONDING
"TOO MUCH SPENDING" FOR 11 TOPICS, 1973 TO 1982

Topic	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1980	1982	1973-1982	
									Mean	S.D.
Halting the rising crime rate	60	55	60	58	59	58	66	70	61	4.5
Improving and protecting the nation's health	56	59	58	55	50	48	49	53	54	3.9
Dealing with drug addiction	60	55	46	51	47	46	56	53	52	4.8
Improving and protecting the environment	54	51	42	44	34	33	34	41	42	3.6
Improving the nation's education system	40	42	37	38	39	40	44	49	41	3.8
Solving the problems of the big cities	36	38	33	22	19	17	21	27	27	7.6
Improving the conditions of Blacks	11	10	2	0	-1	-4	0	9	3	5.4
THE MILITARY, ARMAMENTS AND DEFENSE	-27	-14	-14	-2	2	7	48	-1	-1	20.9
Welfare	-32	-20	-20	-49	-49	-45	-45	-30	-36	11.5
Space exploration program	-51	-54	-51	-51	-39	-35	-23	-30	-42	10.9
Foreign aid	-66	-74	-69	-74	-64	-65	-68	-70	-69	3.6
Average, <u>excluding</u> MILITARY	17	18	14	9	9	9	13	20		

NOTE: Figures for 1973 through 1978 are from Davis, 1980, and a few of the very youngest respondents were excluded for purposes of that analysis. Figures for 1980 and 1982 are from the GSS codebook. The 1973-1978 figures will be very close to the codebook results but not a perfect match. The GSS was not conducted in 1979 and 1981.

The eleven topics or problem areas are arrayed according to their average scores over the nine years. Halting crime, improving Health, and dealing with Drug Addiction get the highest priorities, while at the opposite pole Welfare, Space Exploration, and Foreign Aid receive negative priorities throughout.

"The Military, Armaments and Defense" lies toward the bottom in terms of average priority. Averaged over the eight GSS years, Americans gave military spending lower priority than seven of its ten listed competitors for public funds. But this average conceals striking variability. Military spending hits a low of -27, which is down near Welfare; but it has a high of +48, which is close to such top priorities as fighting crime and improving health.

The standard deviations (righthand column in Table 2) confirm this impression of variability. The 20.9 measure for Military is not only the largest single value--it is almost twice the size of the next most variable topic, Welfare. (Americans are not sympathetic to Welfare spending in the abstract, but in hard times, such as 1975 and 1982, their opinions seem to soften a bit.) Figure 2 shows the patterns.

The curve for the ten non-Military topics has a slight saucer shape--it starts at +17, drops to 9 for 1976-77-78, and then rises to 20 by 1982. Although observers of the national scene have claimed a steady increase in "anti-spending sentiment," one would not draw that conclusion from Figure 2. It suggests fairly consistent "pro-spending" sentiment with a slight sag in the late seventies. The pattern for military spending, however, is quite different. It starts out strongly negative in 1973 but increases steadily in favorability until 1980. (The 1980 data it should be noted, were collected at the height of the "primary season" for the presidential election later that

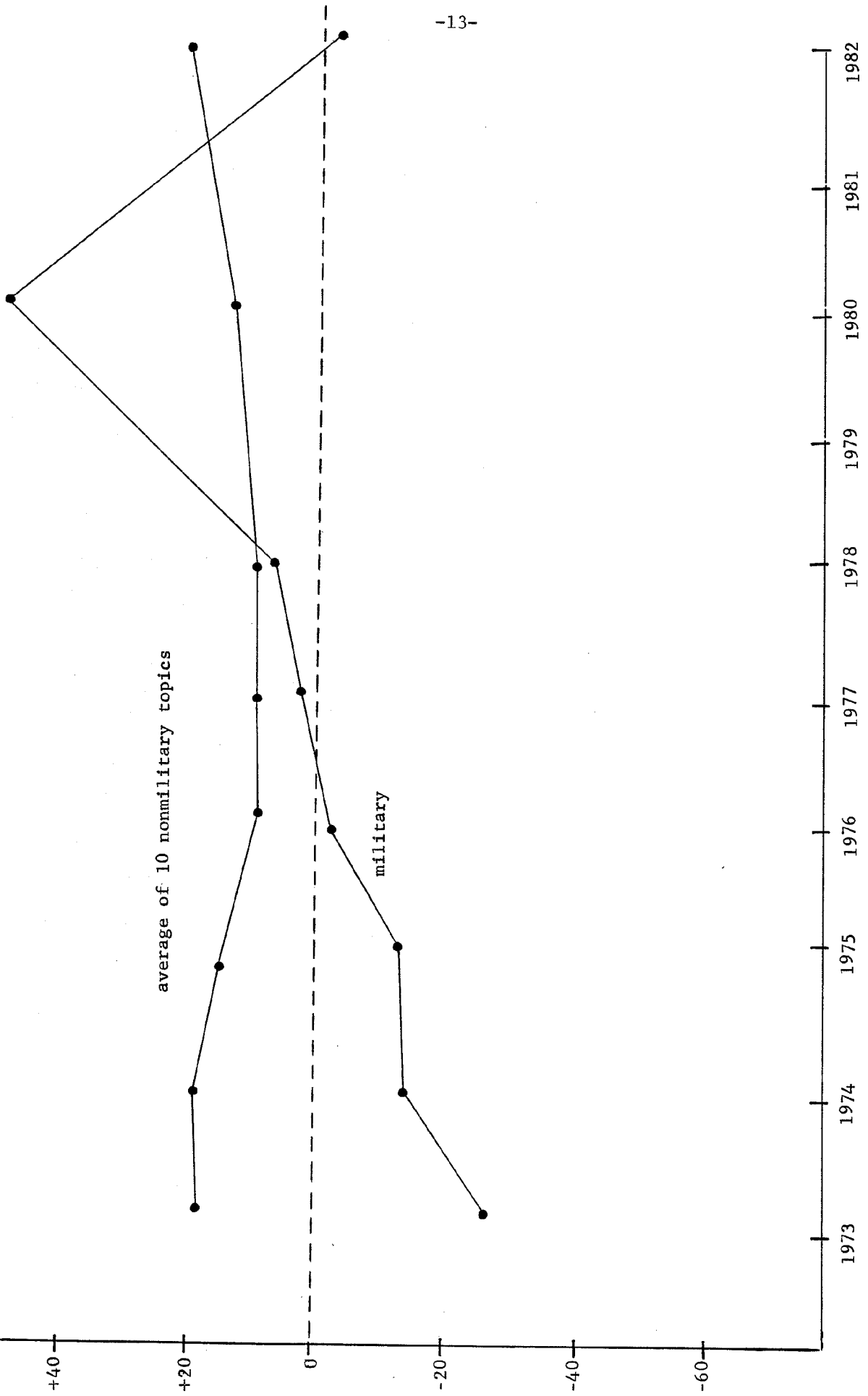


Figure 2: Data for Military and Average of All Non-Military from Table 2

year). In 1980 military spending ranked fourth in overall priority. Two years later, in 1982, this item had dropped precipitously to eighth in priority and a score of -1 (about as many favoring cuts as favoring increases). These results are striking not only in relation to the items in Table 2, but also in relation to the entire GSS. Of the hundreds of items tracked in the GSS, military spending has been among the two or three showing the most change. NORC's technical staff is confident that neither the 1980 surge nor the 1982 plummet can be explained away on sampling or methodological grounds, but the data do not tell us "why" the changes occurred.

In sum: from 1973 to 1982 Military spending was neither a sacred cow (such as halting Crime and improving Health) nor a permanent scapegoat (such as Space and Foreign Aid). Instead, its priority fluctuated enormously.

Combining the results for the two general attitude items: Americans have a high regard for the Military as an institution of American life, but the priority they give military expenditure veers from extreme to extreme, depending (presumably) on their assessment of external threats and internal tax burdens.

What are the implications of these findings for this study? Going well beyond the data, we would suggest the following: Americans would see their young men and women "in good hands" if they were to enter the Services, but at the time of the 1982 survey military programs that would add appreciably to defense spending had low priority.

Which sectors of society show greater or lesser enthusiasm for the Military? We used adjusted chi squares (see Appendix C for technical details) as a rule-of-thumb measure of how strongly two variables are associated. As yardsticks, the lowest significant association would have a value of 9; the highest we found was 203. Only six values are 100 or larger; the median or central value is about 30. Table 3 shows the variables most highly associated (chi square 35 or greater) with confidence in the Military and attitudes toward military spending.

TABLE 3

ITEMS SHOWING AN ADJUSTED CHI SQUARE OF 35 OR GREATER WITH
CONFIDENCE IN MILITARY (CONARMY) OR MILITARY
SPENDING ITEMS (NATARMS)

(Chi Square CONARMY/Chi Square NATARMS)

Mnemonic*	Support for Military goes with...	Adjusted Chi Square	
		Confidence in Military (CONARMY)	Military Spending (NATARMS)
RACMAR	Opposes racial intermarriage (whites only)	76	61
FEHOME	Women should stay home	58	22
SPKCOM	Opposes Free Speech for a Communist	56	47
RELIG	Protestant or Catholic on religion	41	34
AGE	Older	38	31
COMMUN	Opposes Communism	37	51
CHILDS	Has few or no children	37	26
EDUC	Fewer years of schooling	36	23
ERA	Opposes Equal Rights Amendment	31	52
POLVIEWS ...	Describes self as "conservative" not "liberal"	28	50
RACSEG	Favors segregated neighborhoods (whites only)	21	44
NATRACE	Less favorable to spending on Blacks	ns	48
PARTY	Democratic	ns	42

*A mnemonic is an acronym assigned to each question item (variable) to promote standardization in the use of the GSS variable names and to meet the demands prescribed by computer software systems such as SPSS. We use these mnemonics in tables to conserve space. In most cases, we describe their content either directly in the table or in the accompanying text. Readers seeking more information may refer to Appendix B for an alphabetical list of the mnemonics, which defines the content of each. Question wordings and percentaged responses can be found in Appendices A and D.

NOTE: ns--adjusted chi square is less than 9, not statistically significant.

Pro-military Americans disproportionately describe themselves as Conservatives (POLVIEWS), and the attitudes that distinguish them would generally be considered as such. Respondents who are pro-military on our two general items are more likely to oppose racial intermarriage, women working, free speech for Communists, Communism as a form of government, the ERA, and integrated neighborhoods. Demographically, they tend to be Protestant or Catholic, older, and less well educated.

Taken together, these findings will be familiar to sociologists and might be described as the "Stouffer syndrome." This follows from the late Samuel A. Stouffer's classic 1954 study of attitudes toward Communism and civil liberties (Stouffer, 1955). Stouffer was the first to demonstrate with national data that youth and learning operate independently to increase tolerance of new, strange, or threatening ideas and to show that Southerners, the devout, and women are less "progressive" on social issues. While our two military items show no sex difference and the regional effect is limited to a small tendency for Southerners to favor military spending (the adjusted chi square, 25, is too small to get the item a place in Table 3), the pattern here is distinctly Stoufferian.

Table 4 illustrates how conservative opinions (as measured by willingness to allow an admitted Communist to make a speech), age, and education operate together to affect attitudes toward the Military. The upper panel (a) shows a gap of 26 percentage points on "great deal of confidence" in military leaders between young, better-educated "liberals" (20.4 percent) and the older, less well educated, and less tolerant (46.3 percent). Similarly, the lower panel (b) of Table 4 reveals a gap of 25.1 points between these extremes for military spending.

TABLE 4

AGE, EDUCATION, SOCIAL CONSERVATISM, AND SUPPORT FOR THE ARMED SERVICES

Age	Years of Schooling	Would Allow Communist to Speak	N	Would Not Allow Communist to Speak	N
<u>(a) Proportion with "Great Deal of Confidence" in Military Leaders</u>					
40+	0-12	32.8%		46.3%	
	13+	28.2	(195)	40.0	(335)
18-39	0-12	19.9	(156)	32.8	(55)
	13+	20.4	(226)	30.4	(189)
			(250)		(46)
					N = 1452 NA = 54 <u>1506</u>
<u>(b) Proportion Rating Military Spending as "Too Little" or "About Right"</u>					
40+	0-12	70.6%		82.3%	
	13+	66.7	(197)	80.7	(351)
18-39	0-12	61.5	(156)	72.8	(57)
	13+	57.2	(226)	62.2	(195)
			(250)		(45)
					N = 1477 NA = 29 <u>1506</u>

NOTE: Partial effects of Age, Free Speech, and Education (Military Spending Only) exceed their two-sigma confidence intervals, after correction for clustering.

What does all of this mean for our study? It looks as if those segments of the population that most strongly support the military in general are likely to be least enthusiastic about its "social experiments" with women and minorities. Conversely, those groups who have been least enthusiastic about the Services might be receptive to these policies. Whether the draft and National Service can be considered "progressive social experiments" is less clear.

The All-Volunteer Force (AVF)

The AVF receives a positive, but lukewarm, endorsement from of U.S. adults in general Americans who rank low on socioeconomic status measures such as education, occupation and income are more enthusiastic about AVF than their counterparts who rank higher on these measures, but AVF items do not otherwise seem related to the "Stouffer syndrome" pertaining to social change and liberalism.

From 1940 to 1972--from World War II through Korea, The Cold War, and Vietnam--the U.S. relied on conscription, "the draft," to obtain men for the Armed Services. Conscription ended in 1972, and since then we have relied on volunteers. The "All Volunteer Force" (AVF) has remained an issue in defense and political circles and occasionally has surfaced in the press.

How do Americans feel about this experiment (or return to traditional policy, depending on how you look at it)? Table 5 gives the distribution for the two key questions.

The responses might be characterized as "lukewarm." Looked at in one way, opinions are quite positive:

A clear majority, 58.9 percent, rate the AVF as working very well or fairly well

About half, 48.5 percent, rate personnel quality as excellent or good

But:

A third, 34.8 percent, rate the AVF as not working well

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTIONS OF OPINION ON THE AVF (MILVOLOK)
AND MILITARY PERSONNEL QUALITY (MILQUAL)

(MILVOLOK)

- a) "All things considered, how well do you think relying on volunteers has worked for the armed forces--has it worked very well, fairly well, or not well?"

	Percentage	
Very well	9.6%	
Fairly well	49.3	
Not well	34.8	
Don't know	6.3	
Total	100.0%	N = 1496 NA = 10 1506

(MILQUAL)

- b) "As you know, this country stopped the military draft in 1972. Since that time we have relied on volunteers. Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about our armed forces.

How would you rate the quality of the men and women now serving in the armed forces--Would you say the quality of personnel is excellent, good, not so good, or poor?

	Percentage	
Excellent	5.5%	
Good	43.0	
Not so good	33.2	
Poor	10.5	
Don't Know	7.7	
Total	99.9%	N = 1499 NA = 7 1506

NOTE: For proportions based on the total sample (approximately 1,500), conservative estimates (multiplying the estimated sampling variance by 1.5 to correct for clustering) give two-sigma confidence limits on a proportion of $\pm .031$.

Not far from half, 43.7 percent, rate personnel quality as not so good or poor

If AVF attitudes were a "pass-fail" course, we would have to grade the policy as "pass," but in letter grades, it looks more like a C. It would be going too far to say the mood is definitely anti-AVF, but the support is sufficiently weak that reasonable alternatives are unlikely to be rejected out of hand. Thus, when we turn in the next chapter to opinions about the Draft and National Service, we must ask how much of the support for them stems from disappointment with the AVF.

Table 6 summarizes the correlates of these two items concerning the AVF.

Veterans are less likely to rate the AVF as working very well or fairly well (47 percent vs. 66 percent among nonveterans), but they do not differ significantly from nonveterans on their assessment of personnel quality.

Aside from veteran status, the other four important correlates appear to be measures of socioeconomic status. Americans in the bottom ranks on income, education, and occupation tend to be more favorable to the AVF. For example, 53 percent of the college-educated (one or more years), 66 percent of the high school group (12 years), and 71 percent of the less than high school group (0-11 years) say the AVF is working very well or fairly well. Why this relationship obtains is unknown, although one hypothesis is that elite groups have been exposed to more anti-AVF information.

TABLE 6

ITEMS SHOWING AN ADJUSTED CHI SQUARE OF 35 OR GREATER
WITH OPINIONS ON ALL VOLUNTEER FORCE (MILVOLOK) OR
MILITARY PERSONNEL QUALITY (MILQUAL)

(Chi Square MILVOLOK/Chi Square MILQUAL)

Mnemonic*	Favorability to AVF Goes With ...	Adjusted Chi Squares	
		AVF Working Well (MILVOLOK)	Personnel Quality Good (MILQUAL)
VETYEARS	Being a <u>non</u> veteran	36	ns
INCOME80	Lower family income in 1980	55	18
COMPREND	Interviewer rating of respondent's understanding as "Fair" or "Poor" (vs. Good)	49	ns
EDUC	Fewer years of schooling	45	40
OCC	Not being in a Professional or Managerial job	28	35

*See note to Table 3.

Perhaps more interesting are the correlations that are "missing." None of the "social conservatism" items is strongly related, nor is age, region, or religiosity. While educational attainment is a strong correlate, it appears that the AVF issue is not linked into the "Stouffer syndrome" tapping social liberalism and conservatism. The items seem to stand alone to be considered "on their merits" rather than as part of an ideological package.

CHAPTER 3

ALTERNATIVES TO THE AVF: THE DRAFT AND NATIONAL SERVICE

Overall Attitudes

Popular opinion has not reached consensus on the draft or national service Support for either falls short of a definite majority But only a minority seem clearly opposed to the notion of conscription.

Given that adult Americans are only lukewarm about the All-Volunteer Force, what kind of military personnel policy do they prefer? The study asked them about two other policies, the Draft and National Service.

The question defines National Service as "a program that required all young men/women to give one year of service to the nation--either in the military forces or in non-military work such as in hospitals or with elderly people." The draft was not further defined, though the question wording (see table 7) implied that it would replace volunteering.

Table 7 shows the distribution of opinions on these policies.

Both items contain contingency clauses (a national emergency for the draft and a 5 percent tax increase for National Service). The conclusions one draws depend on how one evaluates the large proportions whose reactions turn on these contingencies.

Making the most "favorable" interpretations:

Only 9 percent would oppose a draft in case of national emergency

Only 25 percent would oppose a no-extra-cost National Service

Clearly, there is not much opposition on the part of Americans to the concept of conscription per se. Strong majorities of the public (almost all of them above the age of conscription) seem to have no objection to the concept of compulsory service.

TABLE 7
DISTRIBUTIONS OF OPINIONS ON THE DRAFT AND
NATIONAL SERVICE

a) (DRAFTAT) "Do you think we should return to a military draft at this time, or should we continue to rely on volunteers?"

	<u>Percent</u>	
Return to draft now	41.6	
If volunteers "If there were a national emergency, do you or no opinion: think we should return to a military draft or should we continue to rely on volunteers?"		
Draft in emergency	47.1	
Rely on volunteers	8.9	
Don't know	2.5	
	<u>100.1</u>	N = 1502
		NA = 4
		<u>1506</u>

b) (NATSER) "How would you feel about a program that required all young men/women* to give one year of service to the nation--either in the military forces or in non-military work such as in hospitals or with elderly people. Would you strongly favor it, probably favor it, probably oppose it, or strongly oppose it?"

	<u>Percent</u>	
Strongly favor	37.4	72.8
Probably favor	35.4	
Probably oppose	15.3	24.8
Strongly oppose	9.5	
Don't Know	2.5	
	<u>100.1</u>	N = 1491
		NA = 15
		<u>1506</u>

Respondents who answered "Strongly favor or Probably favor" were then asked: "And suppose that the costs of such a program made it necessary to increase your taxes by a small amount--for example, 5 percent. Would you strongly favor it, probably favor it, probably oppose it, or strongly oppose it?"

When the contingency question is taken into consideration one gets:

	<u>Percent</u>	
Strongly favor even with a tax increase	15.2	44.0
Probably favor even with a tax increase	28.8	
Probably or Strongly favor without a tax increase but Probably or Strongly Oppose or Don't Know with a tax increase	28.8	
Probably oppose	15.3	24.8
Strongly oppose	9.5	
Don't Know	2.5	
	<u>100.1</u>	N = 1491
		NA = 15
		<u>1506</u>

*This item was part of an experiment in which a random half of the respondents were first asked about national service for men, then asked about women, while the other half received the opposite order. Results of the experiment are discussed in detail in Appendix E of this report. In Table 7 the two groups are pooled.

Shifting the contingencies in the opposite direction:
Less than half (42 percent) prefer the Draft in the absence
of a national emergency

Less than half (44 percent) favor National Service at the
price of a small tax increase

Shall we consider 42 and 44 percent "almost a majority" or "a
minority"? Who is to say? Conscription (like elective abortion) seems to be a
social issue on which neither "pros" nor "antis" dominate in the general
population.

Patterns of Attitudes

Americans do not appear to be sharply lined up for or
against any one of the three options Popular
opinions seem to fall into three groups of roughly equal
size . . . 28 percent prefer the AVF status quo . . . 34
percent endorse one or the other form of conscription but
also approve of the AVF . . . 30 percent favor draft or
national service and dislike the AVF.

From a strictly logical point of view the three policies represent
contradictory alternatives. A volunteer force would not require service,
while required national service would presumably provide a non-military option
not available in a draft. Adoption of one of the three pretty much precludes
the others. For the general public, however, it doesn't work out that way.

Contradictory or not, National Service and the Draft have a definite
positive correlation, as shown in Table 8.

TABLE 8
PERCENT FOR NATIONAL SERVICE (NATSER) EVEN IF TAX INCREASE
IS REQUIRED, BY OPINION ON DRAFT (DRAFTAT)

Favor Draft Now	Percent	N Favoring NATSER
Yes	58.8%	(599)
No	36.0%	(836)
	diff	N = 1435
		NA 71
		1506

Of those people who favor the Draft now, a strong majority (58.8 per cent) favor National Service as well. Of those who oppose the Draft, an even larger majority also oppose National Service; only 36 percent of them approve it. From which we deduce: For the mass public, the two policies are not generally seen as contradictory. Those who support the one support the other. Hence, we should not expect to find particular social groups supporting one and opposing the other.

The same point is shown in a slightly different way in the "Total Public" column of Table 9.

TABLE 9

Draft Now	Favor National Service*		Total Public	Think AVF Has Worked	
				Very, Fairly Well	Not Well
Yes	No	DRAFT	17.3%	11.1%	27.6%
Yes	Yes	EITHER	25.3	17.2	38.8
No	Yes	NAT-SERV	21.3	26.3	13.1
No	No	NEITHER	36.1	45.4	20.5
Total			100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
N			(1344)	(841)	(503)
			162 NA, etc.		
			1506		
Favor Draft Now				28.3%	66.4%
Favor National Service				43.5	51.9

* Even if taxes are increased.

Among all adult Americans, 25.3 percent favor resumption of the Draft and also approve of compulsory National Service even if taxes are increased. But 36.1 percent of the public disapprove of both these policies. Fewer than half give different answers to the two questions: 17.3 percent favor the Draft but not National Service, 21.3 percent favor National Service but not the Draft.

The last two columns of Table 9 relate attitudes toward the AVF to this mix. The "Very, Fairly Well" column shows how people with generally favorable attitudes toward AVF feel about the Draft and about National Service; the last column shows the attitudes of those who give AVF a low rating. The difference is clear: 79.5 percent of those giving low ratings to the AVF favor a Draft or National Service; the figure is 54.6 percent among those satisfied with the AVF. That is, pro-AVF Americans split are sharply divided on conscription, while anti-AVF Americans are strongly in favor of one or another form of conscription.

Doubts about the AVF raise approval of both the Draft and National Service, but the effect is much stronger for the Draft. For National Service the AVF effect is 8.4 points (51.9% - 43.5% = 8.4%, bottom line of Table 9); for the Draft the difference is 38.1 (66.4% - 28.3% = 38.1%, line above). Pro-AVF people are heavily anti-Draft at this time; anti-AVF people are strongly pro-Draft.

The patterns in all of this may become clearer if we look at Table 10, where the data are repercentaged so that the whole thing adds up to 100 percent.

TABLE 10
DATA IN TABLE 8 REPERCENTAGED

DRAFT	NATIONAL SERVICE	AVF		TOTAL
		-	+	
+	-	C = { 10% 15	B = { 7 11	17
+	+			26
-	+	5	16	21
-	-	D = 8	A = 28	36
		38	62	100%

NOTE: + = Positive attitude
- = Negative attitude

From which we can add things up in two ways:

First, from a policy point of view, we can divide American adults into three groups (A, B, C in the table), each of which comprises around a third of the total:

- A. 28 percent prefer the status quo (they are favorable to the AVF and do not favor the Draft now or National Service at the cost of more taxes).
- B. 34 percent seem to like the notion of conscription on its own merits (while favorable to the AVF they also endorse either the Draft or National Service). More prefer National Service than prefer the Draft.
- C. 30 percent favor conscription and dislike the AVF.
- D. An additional 8 percent seem to be anti-military: they don't like the AVF, nor do they favor either form of conscription.

Alternatively, one may add up the same figures in a different way to examine the clarity of the positions:

- 1. 43 percent seem to have a single clear-cut preference:
 - 28 percent endorse the AVF and oppose both forms of conscription
 - 10 percent favor the Draft but not National Service or the AVF
 - 5 percent favor National Service but not the Draft or AVF
- 2. 49 percent endorse two or three options simultaneously:
 - 23 percent favor AVF and one form of conscription
 - 15 percent favor both forms of conscription but not the AVF
 - 11 percent endorse all three options
- 3. 8 percent seem to oppose all three options

Now, of course, these numbers should not be taken at face value. If we combined answer-categories differently or varied the question wording, different figures would appear. However, we suspect this same theme would still emerge:

Americans are not sharply lined up for or against any specific policy option. Each of the three is essentially "acceptable." No one of the three has national consensus.

Who Supports Which Alternative?

Younger adults are less enthusiastic about either form of conscription Political conservatives and those who are pro-military are more likely to favor the draft National Service has relatively few correlations except age.

Table 11 summarizes the major correlates of opinions on the Draft and National Service in a fashion similar to tables 3 and 6.

TABLE 11
ITEMS SHOWING AN ADJUSTED CHI SQUARE OF 35 OR GREATER
WITH ATTITUDES TOWARD THE DRAFT (DRAFTAT) AND
NATIONAL SERVICE (NATSER)

(chi square DRAFTAT/chi square NATSER)

Mnemonic*	Support for Conscription goes with ...	Attitudes Toward the Draft	National Service
NATARMS	Pro military spending	100	ns
CIVIC	Self report as highly interested in government and public affairs	63	22
VETYEARS	Is a veteran	51	28
AGE	Older	50	53
RACE	White	50	ns
POLVIEWS	Describes self as "conservative" not "liberal"	42	ns
NATAID	Opposes foreign aid spending	36	ns
NATFARE	Opposes welfare spending	36	ns
MARITAL	Ever married	35	ns

* See notes to Table 3.

Three generalizations pretty well wrap it up:

Americans who are pro-military (NATARMS, VETYEARS) tend to be pro-Draft, but not especially pro-National Service

Younger Americans are less enthusiastic about either form of conscription (for both options endorsement runs from about one-third among those 18 to 34 to half among those 65 and older). The age difference probably explains the marital status one.

Political conservatives are pro-Draft, but not especially pro-National Service. National Service is not a Left/Right issue.

None of the three defies our imaginations, but there are some interesting nuances:

First, the issue items that relate to favoring the Draft, while also "conservative," are more political (spending, political self-designation) and less "social" than the items we examine in the next two chapters (women and minorities in service) which are items strongly associated with general attitudes. Perhaps unexpectedly, an anti-Draft position does not seem linked to the large complex of "progressive" social opinion.

Second, National Service has rather few correlates at all--only one item (age) with an adjusted chi square of 35 or more. Opinions on the topic seem little shaped by the usual social structural variables that influence opinions.

Third, education and socioeconomic status are not in the table. Unlike attitudes toward the Military or attitudes toward the AVF, attitudes toward conscription are related to age, not education. If one takes the point of view that age represents differences in generation rather than differences in lifecycle, these data suggest that the meter is running against conscription. A cross-sectional study cannot tell us which is true, although our guess is that a generation that grew up in the Vietnam era will always be less enthusiastic about military service than one that grew up around the period of World War II.

CHAPTER 4

REACTIONS TO WOMEN IN THE SERVICES

General Attitudes

Americans . . . strongly endorse the recent increases in women service personnel . . . are not anxious for further change, but if there are to be changes, definitely prefer more women to fewer . . . split 50-50 on drafting women and assigning them to extremely dangerous jobs . . . oppose assigning women to hand-to-hand combat, although only by a two-to-one margin.

As one of our questions informed the respondents, in the past ten years the proportion of women in the Armed Forces has increased from about 2 percent to about 9. Although law and military policy forbid female assignment to the most "combative" jobs (e.g., infantry rifleman, crew on a naval combat ship), the line between combat and noncombat is not clearly drawn, and women are assigned to so many tough, dirty, and risky jobs that the increase in their numbers represents a radical change in the Military.

Since women in the Services was one of the foci of this research, our questionnaire included a variety of items on popular reactions. The theme--enthusiasm for women in the Military--can be seen in some selected figures from Table 12:

84 percent wish to keep or increase the proportion female in the Services (a)

84 percent of those favoring National Service would conscript both women and men (b-2)

81 percent believe that the increased number of women in the Services has either raised or had no effect on military effectiveness (c)

A more balanced picture, however, may be obtained from Table 13, where we graph a variety of questions--including answers for nine occupations to the

TABLE 12

DISTRIBUTIONS FOR SELECTED ITEMS ON WOMEN IN SERVICE

a) (FENUMOK) "At the present time about 9 percent of the armed forces are women. All things considered, do you think there are too many women in the armed forces, about the right number, or should there be more women in the armed forces?"

Should be more	30.9%	
About the right number	52.6	
Too many women	8.2	
Don't Know	8.3	
	<u>100.0%</u>	N = 1500
		NA = <u>6</u>
		1506

b) (FENATSER) National Service
As explained in the discussion of Table 6 and in the final chapter of this report, the National Service question is complicated. Opinions on conscripting women can be tabulated two ways:

1) Pooling across experimental versions:

"And how would you feel about such a program for all young...."

	<u>...women</u>	<u>...men</u>
Strongly favor	26.7%	37.3%
Probably favor	34.4	35.4
Probably oppose	21.5	15.3
Strongly oppose	14.6	9.5
Don't know	2.6	2.5
	<u>99.8%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
N =	1488	1492
NA =	<u>18</u>	<u>14</u>
	1506	1506

2) Or by crosstabulating answers on women and answers on men, dichotomizing the data as "favor" vs. "oppose":

Favor National Service for...	Total	<u>Among those favoring National Service</u>
Men and Women	60.1%	83.6%
Men Only	11.8	<u>16.4</u>
		100.0%
Neither	26.7	
Don't Know	<u>1.3</u>	
	99.9%	
N =	1488	
NA =	<u>18</u>	
	1506	

TABLE 12 (CONT'D)

DISTRIBUTIONS FOR SELECTED ITEMS ON WOMEN IN SERVICE

c) (FEHLMIL) "In the past 10 years the number of women in the armed forces has increased from about 2 percent to about 8 percent today. In general, would you say the increased number of women has raised the effectiveness of our armed forces, has made no difference, or has it made our armed forces less effective?"

Raised effectiveness	20.0%	
No difference	61.1	
Made them less effective	7.7	
Don't Know	11.3	
	<u>100.1%</u>	N = 1500
		NA = <u>6</u>
		1506

d) (FEMDRAFT)* Draft
IF respondent favors return to draft now:

"If we return to a military draft at this time, should young women be drafted as well as young men, or not?"

Should	53.4%	
Should not	43.8	
Don't know	2.9	
	<u>100.1%</u>	N = 624

IF respondent does not favor draft now, but does
in case of national emergency:

"If we should return to a military draft in a national emergency, should young women be drafted as well as young men, or not?"

Should	53.6%	
Should not	42.6	
Don't know	3.9	
	<u>100.1%</u>	N = 700

	Total N = 1324
Opposes draft even in emergency	133
No Answer	49
	<u>1506</u>

*The item "FEMDRAFT" combines these two questions, excluding "don't knows".

question, "Please tell me whether you think a women should or should not be assigned to each job, assuming she is trained to do it?"

The items can be divided into three clusters:

(I) Six items show virtually unanimous support (by survey standards). More than 80 percent of the sample endorse: (a) National Service for women as well as men (among those not opposed to the policy in general), (b) job assignments for women as typists, nurses, and truck mechanics, (c) maintaining or increasing the proportion of women in the Services, and (d) the proposition that the increased member of women has not lessened the effectiveness of the Services. Taken together they suggest a strong national consensus that the military reforms so far are desirable and that the Services should not be an all-male sector. Virtually no one is opposed to women in the military--in jobs and roles that have civilian counterparts. The 83.4 percent who approve of women as truck mechanics is instructive, since it suggests widespread national support for women in the Services beyond the traditional feminine jobs of typing and nursing. This cluster can be seen as striking endorsement of the recent changes.

(II) Six items show majority support, but with enough opposition (27 percent to 46 percent) to merit attention. Here we have (a) four semi-combat jobs: jet transport pilot, jet fighter pilot, missile gunner, crew member on combat ships; (b) the masculine stereotype role of base commander, and (c) the important item of drafting women. The difference between these items and the group described above seems obvious: here we are not just talking about "in the military," we are talking about "of the military." Any nation where 62 percent endorse using women as jet fighter pilots can hardly be accused of Victorian sex role standards, but "militarizing" the content of the job seems to produce about a 15 point drop in support.

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGE FAVORABLE TO WOMEN'S MILITARY SERVICE ON VARIOUS ITEMS

Issue	Percent Approving
CLUSTER I: "Virtually unanimous support"	
Typists in Pentagon (TYPIST)	97.4
Nurses in combat zone (NURSE)	93.7
Current or greater proportion in the armed forces (FENUMOK)	91.0
National service for women--if approve of national service (FENATSER)	83.6
Military truck mechanics (MECHANIC)	83.4
Women raised effectiveness or made no difference (FEHELPMIL)	81.1
CLUSTER II: Majority support"	
Jet transport pilots (TRANSAIR)	72.7
Jet fighter pilots (FIGHTAIR)	62.4
Missile gunners in the U.S. (GUNNER)	59.2
Commander of a large base (BRASS)	58.7
Crew members on combat ships (FIGHTSEA)	57.4
Approve of drafting women--among those for draft now or in emergency (FEMDRAFT)	53.6
CLUSTER III: "Majority opposition"	
Soldiers in hand-to-hand combat (FIGHTLND)	34.7
Should be <u>more</u> women (FENUMOK)	30.9
Women <u>raised</u> effectiveness (FEHELPMIL)	20.0

NOTE: See Appendix B for exact wording and category combinations.

(III) Three show clear-cut majorities in opposition. The "super-feminist" positions that women have raised effectiveness and we need more are in the minority, as is the position that women should be assigned to "hand-to-hand combat." In other words, Americans are not for total equality of the sexes in the military.

One could argue that Americans are not being totally consistent here. The mortality risks for jet fighter pilots and missile gunners are far from negligible, and, like combat soldiers, both are expected to do severe damage to any enemy. Nevertheless, there is evidence here that traditional sex norms have not totally evaporated. To anyone brought up to hold the door open for females the finding that a third of the contemporary U.S. adult population endorses assignment of females to hand-to-hand combat is astounding because it is so high, not because it is so low.

In sum, taking the numbers at face value, we find: strong national consensus on extensive participation by women in military roles well beyond the traditional ones of nursing and clerical work; majority support, with substantial minority reservations, on women's participation in certain combat activities; and even a substantial minority approving women in hand-to-hand combat.

The results here seem much more clear cut than those on recruitment policies: taken together, these items show strong national support for extensive feminine involvement in the military, including the "military military."

As one would expect, the various items in Table 13 have positive associations with each other--respondents who are favorable on one tend to be favorable on another. For example, among those who support more women in the Services (FENUMOK), 81 percent favor drafting women as well as men, while among those who say the Armed Forces have "too many" or "about the right number" of women, only 40 percent favor drafting women.

However, the sex role items show only small associations with the three policy questions: AVF, National Service, the Draft. Table 14 illustrates one exception that is of some interest.

TABLE 14
RATING OF ALL VOLUNTEER FORCE (MILVOLOK) AND
ATTITUDE TOWARD SEX COMPOSITION
OF MILITARY (FENUMOK)

(Percent answering "should be more" women in the Armed Forces)

Relying on Volunteers Has Worked	Percent	N
Very or Fairly Well	29.3%	(833)
Not Well	42.4	(486)
	Diff =	-13.1

The association is not smashing (a 13-point difference) but its direction may be relevant for policy discussions. Those who think poorly of the voluntary approach want more women, not fewer. Similarly, respondents who support the Draft or National Service tend to favor more women in Service, not fewer.

Who Favors and Opposes Women in the Military

Attitudes toward women in the Services, like attitudes toward the Service in general are strongly related to the "Stouffer syndrome" items Favoring a military that includes women is part of the general package of liberalism on social issues.

There are so many correlates of the sex policy items that listing all adjusted chi squares over 35, as was done in Tables 3, 6 and 11, would be tedious. Table 15 shows the highlights.

TABLE 15

STRONGEST CORRELATES OF SELECTED WOMEN-IN-SERVICE ITEMS
(Adjusted Chi Square)

Type	"Pro Women" goes with . . .	BRASS*	FIGHTLND*	FEMDRAFT*	FENATSER*	FENUMOK*
<u>Attitudes</u>						
ERA	Favors Equal Rights Amendment		54	67	44	86
FEHOM	Women should <u>not</u> stay home	203				131
RACMAR	Favors racial intermarriage	140				88
SPKCOM	Favors free speech for Communist	118		66		
FEWORK	Favors wives working	107	58			
PREMARSEX	Tolerant of premarital sex				40	
<u>Personal Characteristics</u>						
RELITEN	Religious preference <u>not</u> strong			61	33	
EDUC	Better educated					86
AGE	Younger		70			
REGION	Other than South			65		
SEXLF	Working women (v. housewives and working men)		54			
MAWORK	Mother worked after marriage				26	

*BRASS = Women should serve as base commanders
 FIGHTLND = Women should be assigned to hand-to-hand combat
 FEMDRAFT = Women should be drafted, among those approving draft
 FENATSER = Women should be conscripted for National Service, among those approving National Service
 FENUMOK = Number of women in service should increase or remain the same

To begin with the perfectly obvious, "feminist" items such as attitudes toward the ERA and attitudes toward women's employment are good predictors of favorability toward enhanced female participation in the military. In a way, the results are a truism--one would hardly expect those who think women should stay at home to be enthusiastic about women in hand-to-hand combat--but they do set to rest one element of speculation. Because strong feminists are often anti-military in their politics, it is logically possible that those who endorse feminist ideas would draw the line at the barracks gates. Indeed, there has been some debate among feminists concerning the drafting of women. For the population in general, however, it is clear that a feminist stance on military matters is part and parcel of a general endorsement of sex equality.

Less obvious are the fairly strong relationships for items on race relations (RACMAR) and free speech for Communists (SPKCOM). One way to interpret these is to say that "liberal" attitudes toward women in the military are linked to the "Stouffer syndrome," or an attitude package involving racial liberalism, tolerance for political dissent, and permissive attitudes toward sex behavior.

So, it is not surprising that when we shift to the "objective" predictors they tend to be exactly those characteristics associated with support for free speech in Stouffer's work and with racial liberalism in other studies. Table 16 illustrates.

Support for women in the military is greater among (1) the better educated, (2) younger adults, (3) Northerners, and (4) the less devout. But the sex differences depart in an interesting way from Stouffer's. He found that working women were less tolerant than working men. In our data, working men and working women show no consistent difference, but both are more pro-female than housewives.

TABLE 16

SELECTED PERCENTAGES FROM APPENDIX D

Predictor	FIGHTLND*	BRASS*	FENUMOK*	FEMDRAFT*	FENATSER*	CONARMY*	NATARMS*
<u>Education</u>							
13+	↑ 41%	↑ 72	↑ 45	↑ 64		↓ 26	↓ 64
12	↑ 35	↑ 59	↑ 31	↑ 52		↓ 29	↓ 69
0-11	↑ 27	↑ 43	↑ 24	↑ 48		↓ 40	↓ 78
<u>Age</u>							
18-34	↑ 46	↑ 69	↑ 40			↓ 25	↓ 62
35-64	↑ 32	↑ 58	↑ 33			↓ 33	↓ 73
65+	↑ 18	↑ 38	↑ 21			↓ 43	↓ 78
<u>Region</u>							
North		↑ 62	↑ 37	↑ 62	↑ 86		↓ 66
South		↑ 51	↑ 26	↑ 40	↑ 77		↓ 78
<u>Religious Strength</u>							
Not Strong	↑ 40	↑ 64	↑ 40	↑ 62	↑ 88	↓ 27	
Strong	↑ 28	↑ 50	↑ 25	↑ 44	↑ 77	↓ 38	
<u>Sex Role</u>							
Working Men	↓ 32	↓ 57	↑ 41	↑ 62			
Working Women	↓ 48	↓ 72	↑ 36	↑ 53			
Housewives	↑ 26	↑ 51	↑ 23	↑ 47			

*See Table 15 for item descriptions.

The right side of Table 16 adds an element of irony: as forecast earlier in our analysis, those groups most supportive of the military's innovations regarding women tend to be those least supportive of the military in general. The better educated and the young report less confidence in military leaders (CONARMY) and less support for military spending (NATARMS), Northerners are less supportive of military spending, and the less religious show less confidence in military leaders.

Appendix C makes this same point more directly. It shows significant negative associations between support for military spending (NATARMS) and three of the sex role items--approval of women as base commanders, women in hand-to-hand combat, and the number of women in the Services (or a greater number). The adjusted chi squares (36, 17, and 21) are not huge, but they are not trivial.

Where we have done multivariate analyses, the effects of the predictor variables appear to be cumulative. In particular, although age and education are strongly correlated (the younger the respondent, the greater the educational attainment) both age and education seem to influence attitudes toward women in the Services. Table 17 illustrates for the item, "BRASS."

TABLE 17
AGE, EDUCATION AND ATTITUDE TOWARD WOMEN AS BASE COMMANDERS (BRASS)
(Percentage Favorable)

Years of Schooling	Age			Total
	18-34	35-64	65+	
13 plus	77% (N=229)	71% (223)	46% (52)	71% (N=504)
12	65% (227)	59% (229)	35% (48)	59% (504)
0-11	62% (95)	41% (180)	36% (159)	44% (434)
Total	70% (551)	58% (632)	38% (259)	59% (1442)
				64 NA, etc. 1506

In each age group (column) favorability increases with schooling, and in each educational level (row) favorability decreases with age. At the extremes, 77 percent of the younger respondents (18 to 34) with a year or more of college approve of women base commanders, in contrast to 36 percent among older respondents (65+) with 0 to 11 years of education.

In sum: Support for women in the Services seems to be part of a broad complex of "liberal" social attitudes. The groups who are more liberal here are the same ones who have repeatedly been shown to be more "liberal" on social questions such as race relations, sexual permissiveness, and free speech. These more liberal groups, however, tend to be exactly the groups who are less supportive of the Armed Forces in general.

CHAPTER 5

REACTIONS TO MINORITIES IN SERVICE

Americans are generally satisfied with the current ethnic mix in the Armed Forces . . . but they are less favorable toward increasing the numbers of Blacks than of women and Hispanics This relative concern about further increases in the Black component is greater in the liberal sectors of the society (including Blacks themselves) than in the conservative categories.

Two items in our survey of attitudes toward the military bear on minorities. Parelleling our question on women (Table 12, part a; FENUMOK) and immediately following it, interviewers said: "At the present time, about 4 percent of the armed forces are Hispanics. All things considered, do you think there are too many Hispanics in the armed forces, about the right number, or should there be more Hispanics in the armed forces?" The interviewers then read the next question: "At the present time, about (22 percent of the armed forces/33 percent of the army) are black. All things considered, do you think there are too many Blacks, about the right number, or should there be more?" (The two forms of this question--one using the phrase "22 percent in the armed forces," the other "33 percent in the army"--were each asked of a random half of the sample, and the results were pooled in our analysis.) Table 18 gives the results for these items, and includes the results for the similar question on women for comparison.

TABLE 18
OPINIONS ON PROPORTIONS OF BLACKS, HISPANICS
AND WOMEN IN THE ARMED FORCES

Group	Too Many	About Right Number	Should Be More	Total	More- Too Many	N
Hispanics	7%	60	33	100%	+26	1267
Women	9	57	34	100	+25	1376
Blacks	12	70	19	101	+ 7	1333

Since the numbers for Hispanics are virtually identical to those for women, we may draw the same inference as we did about women: Americans are pleased at the progress the Armed Services have made in recruiting Hispanics, and if any change is in store, they would opt for more.

The matter of Blacks is a bit different, rather controversial, and quite subtle. To begin with, there is a "real-world" difference. Even today women are underrepresented in the military, Hispanics seem to be roughly at a level in proportion to their numbers in the population, but Blacks are overrepresented. As our questions reminded the respondents, Blacks make up about 22 percent of the Armed Forces and 33 percent of the Army. This is well above their national share of the adult population of about 11 percent.

Are Americans concerned about the current overrepresentation of Blacks? The answer seems to be no.

It may be that some military planners have questions about the current ethnic composition of the Armed Forces, but the general population does not seem to find it a problem. Only 12 percent say there are "too many" Blacks, and these respondents are outnumbered by the 19 percent who say "too few" and overwhelmed by the 70 percent answering "right number." As always, one may be concerned about the respondents' candor on such touchy items. Some perspective on this may be gained by considering two other racial items in the same survey: 29 percent were bold enough to answer "yes" to "Do you think there should be laws against marriages between Blacks and whites?" and 27 percent agreed that "White people have a right to keep Blacks out of their neighborhoods." Since the bigotry that might underlie pious concern about racial composition of the military is less blatant, one would expect much more than 12 percent "too many" if concern was actually high but respondents were reluctant to express it.

Indirect evidence that ethnic composition of the military is not an important issue to the public comes from looking at the "don't know" rates for

various items, as shown in Table 19. While "everyone" has an opinion of the draft, the questions on ethnic composition elicit relatively high "don't know" percentages.

TABLE 19
PERCENT SAYING "DON'T KNOW"

Item		
SPNUMOK	Number of Hispanics	15.2%
BLNUMOK	Number of Blacks	10.9
FENUMOK	Number of Women	8.3
MILVOLOK	All Volunteer Force	6.3
NATSER	National Service	6.3
DRAFTAT	Draft	0.8

Thus, our data give no indication of national concern about the current disproportionate representation of Blacks in the ethnic mix of the Services.

But what if the disproportion were to increase?

We really have only two numbers to work with here, the 19 percent for "should be more" and the 12 percent for "too many" in Table 18. They tell us two things:

- Since only 12 percent of the public are now concerned that there are "too many" Blacks in the military, while 19 percent would like to see more, it appears that the proportion Black could rise even higher without widespread public disapproval.
- At the same time, the 19 "too few" for Blacks is distinctly smaller than the 33 for Hispanics and the 34 for women.

From which it appears: While there is no evidence that a further increase in the proportion of Blacks in the Services would elicit a negative response, American enthusiasm for it is definitely less than for increases in the proportions of women and Hispanics. Furthermore, support for more Blacks in Service is found in unanticipated places. Table 20 is a bit intricate, but it tells an interesting story.

The columns of Table 20 divide the respondents into three groups:

- a) Blacks
- b) Whites who are liberal on racial matters
- c) Whites who are not liberal on racial matters

TABLE 20
RACE, RACE ATTITUDES AND OPINION ON ETHNIC COMPOSITION
OF ARMED SERVICES

Target Group	Attitude	Respondents			
		Race =	(a) Black	Other	
		RACMAR* =	(b) Would Allow Intermarriage	(c) Would Forbid Intermarriage	
Hispanics	Should Be More		51.8%	31.9%	28.5%
	Right Number		42.3	63.1	61.6
	Too Many		<u>5.8</u>	<u>5.0</u>	<u>9.9</u>
	More - Too Many		+46.0	+26.9	+18.6
Blacks	Too Few		21.0	14.1	26.1
	Right Number		58.7	74.0	64.7
	Too Many		<u>20.3</u>	<u>11.9</u>	<u>9.2</u>
	Few - Too Many		+ 0.7	+ 2.2	+16.9
N =			(143)	(774)	(414) (1331)
		NA= $\frac{175}{1506}$			

* = "Do you think there should be laws against marriages between Blacks and whites?"

Beginning with the question on Hispanics at the top, things appear just as one might expect. Blacks are highly favorable toward boosting Hispanic proportions (51.8 percent say "more," 5.8 percent say "too many now"), White liberals are less supportive, but slightly more so than White illiberals.

Among Blacks themselves, those who are not satisfied with their present proportion in the Armed Forces divide almost evenly between "there should be more" (21 percent) and "there are too many now" (20.3 percent). White liberals show a similar pattern: 14.1 percent "should be more," 11.9 percent "too many now." It is whites with illiberal racial attitudes who, more than either of the other groups, opt for more Blacks in the Armed Forces.

Thus, with respect to Blacks in Service, it is the "more progressive" groups (Blacks and White liberals) who are saying, "Fine, but let's hold it there," while it is the illiberal whites who favor increasing the proportion.

Exactly this same pattern holds for the other "Stouffer syndrome" variables: region, age, and education. Summarizing by "should be more"-- "too many now" we get the results presented in Table 21.

TABLE 21
OTHER PREDICTORS OF ETHNIC COMPOSITION ATTITUDES
(More - Too Many)

Variables	Categories	Blacks	Hispanics
Region	South	+13.9	+21.1
	Other	+ 3.4	+28.9
Age	55+	+13.8	+21.7
	35-54	+ 4.2	+24.2
	18-34	+ 6.4	+30.6
Education	0-11	+16.0	+24.2
	12	+ 7.2	+22.6
	13+	- 2.0	+32.2

Persons outside the South, the younger age groups, and those with some college have the highest scores for Hispanics but scores near zero (More - Too Many) for Blacks. Southerners, older people, and the less educated are more likely to favor a higher proportion of Blacks in the military. Why the less racially liberal sectors of society clearly favor more increases in the Black fraction cannot be explained by these data.

CHAPTER 6

THE MAJOR STATISTICAL RESULTS IN SUMMARY

The four previous chapters have been organized in terms of the "dependent" variables, (the various attitudes on military matters), with "independent" variables (such as respondents' demographic characteristics), turning up or not depending on the size of their associations. For some readers, and some questions, it is equally interesting to ask "Which dependent variables are affected by independent variable X?" Or in more human terms, "What are the most salient attitudes on military matters of this or that social or demographic category?"

Drawing on the figures in Appendices C and D, we can begin with the following catalogue (the mnemonics and adjusted chi squares* appear in parentheses):

Educational Attainment

Better-educated Americans are more likely to . . .

Favor more women in Service (FENUMOK, 86)

Approve of women as base commanders (BRASS, 80)

Give low ratings to the All-Volunteer Force (MILVOLOK, 45)

Give low ratings to personnel in the Armed Force (MILQUAL, 40)

Have less confidence in military leaders (CONARMY, 36)

Favor drafting women--among those approving of a draft (FEMDRAFT, 28)

Approve of women in hand-to-hand combat (FIGHTLND, 21)

Oppose military spending (NATARMS, 23)

Favor National Service (NATSER, 19)

*The higher the chi square number, the stronger the association between the variables.

Age

Younger American adults are more likely to . . .

- Approve of women as base commanders (BRASS, 76)
- Approve of women in hand-to-hand combat (FIGHTLND, 70)
- Oppose National Service (NATSER, 53)
- Oppose a Draft (DRAFTAT, 50)
- Have less confidence in military leaders (CONARMY, 38)
- Favor more women in Service (FENUMOK, 35)
- Oppose military spending (NATARMS, 31)

Region

Americans living in the South are more likely to . . .

- Oppose drafting women--among those approving of a draft (FEMDRAFT, 65)
- Oppose more women in Service (FENUMOK, 32)
- Favor military spending (NATARMS, 25)
- Oppose including women in National Service--among those approving of National Service (FENATSER, 21)
- Oppose women as base commanders (BRASS, 19)
- Oppose National Service (NATSER, 16)

Religiosity

Americans who rate their religious identification as "strong" are more likely to . . .

- Oppose more women in Service (FENUMOK, 52)
- Oppose drafting women--among those approving of a draft (FEMDRAFT, 47)
- Disapprove of women as base commanders (BRASS, 33)
- Oppose including women in National Service--among those approving of National Service (FENATSER, 33)
- Have more confidence in military leaders (CONARMY, 26)
- Disapprove of women in hand-to-hand combat (FIGHTLND, 24)

Race

Black Americans are more likely to . . .

- Oppose a draft (DRAFTAT, 50)
- Give high ratings to the All-Volunteer Force (MILVOLOK, 32)
- Favor more Hispanics in the Services (SPNUMOK, 30)
- Favor higher pay for the Services (MILPAY, 29)

Oppose military spending (NATARMS, 24)

Oppose drafting women--among those approving of a draft (FEMDRAFT, 20)

Veterans

Respondents who have served in the military are more likely to . . .

Favor a draft (DRAFTAT, 51)

Give a low rating to the All-Volunteer Force (MILVOLOK, 36)

Favor National Service (NATSER, 28)

Disapprove of women in hand-to-hand combat (FIGHTLND, 17)

Sex and Employment

Comparing working men, working women, and housewives . . .

Working women are more likely to favor women in hand-to-hand combat than are working men or housewives (FIGHTLND, 54)

Working women are more likely to favor women as base commanders than are working men or housewives (BRASS, 48)

Working men and women are more likely to favor more women in Service than are housewives (FENUMOK, 42)

Working men and women are more likely to give a low rating to the All-Volunteer Force than are housewives (MILVOLOK, 23)

Working men and women are more likely to favor drafting women (among those approving of a draft) than are housewives (FEMDRAFT, 21)

Working men are less likely to give a high rating to personnel in the Armed Forces than are working women or housewives (MILQUAL, 18)

As for how all these relationships fit together as a system, Figure 3 provides a schematic overview. The diagram is not a formal "flow graph" or "path diagram" but the arrows do indicate the associations that seem stronger in the analysis, and the absence of arrows indicates weaker or zero associations. On the left we have attitudes that clearly fit the "Stouffer syndrome." For these attitudes, the predictors (center column) work as expected: liberals on social issues, younger people, and the better educated hold these opinions. The attitudes on the right, however, are less consistently related to the predictors.

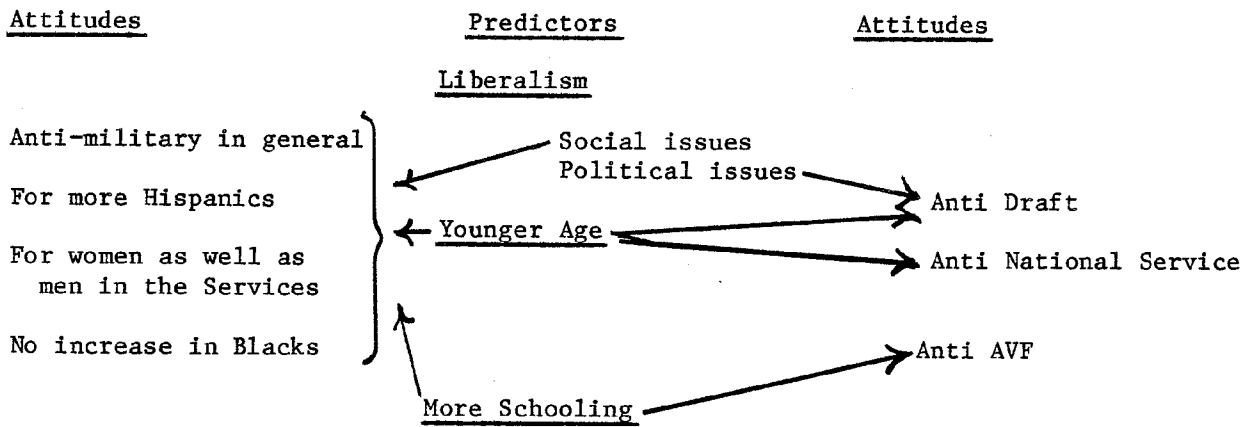


Figure 3: Schematic Summary of Major Relationships

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APPENDIX A
MILITARY QUESTIONS ON GSS

SPEX FOR MILITARY QUESTIONS ON GSS

- Q. 140: There are two versions of this question. Ask either X or Y, as instructed. Read the question slowly, repeating as necessary, to be sure the respondent understands. Note that "C" is asked if the respondent strongly or probably favors such a program for either men or women. You skip "C" only when R opposes the program for both men and women.
- Q. 141: This question also has two versions, with minor wording differences in "D" and "E". Many people may say that they don't know the facts on Items "A" and "B", but please probe for their impressions, their own opinions, based on whatever they may have heard or read.
- If any respondent is not familiar with the term "Hispanics" in "D," you may explain that we are referring to "people of Spanish-speaking ancestry, such as Mexicans, Cubans or Puerto Ricans."
- Q. 142: Self-explanatory. Probe for an overall opinion.
- Q. 143: Code a single response for each of the nine items. If necessary, you may explain that the Pentagon is "the headquarters of the Department of Defense" in Washington. On "E," the issue is "commander of a large military base," regardless of location. If a respondent says "It's all right for a base in the United States but not overseas," code "Should".
- Q. 144: Unlike Q. 143, which asked for opinions, the three items in this question ask about a factual situation. If R thinks women are assigned to these types of jobs, code Yes; if R believes they are not, code No; if R doesn't know, just circle Code 8.
- Q. 145: Self-explanatory.
- Q. 146: Be very careful to follow the skip directions. If R favors return to a military draft now, ask "A," then go to Q. 147. If R favors continued reliance on volunteers or doesn't know, ask "B." Then, if "Draft" on "B", ask "C"; otherwise, go on to Q. 147.
- Q. 147: Circle one code on each of the six lines. The question refers to across-the-board exemption for each group named. If R thinks some college students or married persons, etc., should be exempted and others not, circle Code 2 (Not exempt). Code 1 only if R thinks all members of the group should be exempted from a draft.

VERSION X

- 140X. A. How would you feel about a program that required all young men to give one year of service to the nation--either in the military forces or in non-military work such as in hospitals or with elderly people --Would you strongly favor it, probably favor it, probably oppose it, or strongly oppose it? RECORD UNDER "A" BELOW 18/
- B. And how would you feel about such a program for all young women--Would you strongly favor it, probably favor it, probably oppose it, or strongly oppose it? RECORD UNDER "B" 19/
- C. IF STRONGLY FAVOR OR PROBABLY FAVOR EITHER A OR B:
And suppose that the costs of such a program made it necessary to increase your taxes by a small amount--for example, 5 percent. Would you strongly favor it, probably favor it, probably oppose it, or strongly oppose it? 20/

	A Men	B Women	IF FAVOR: C Tax Increase
Strongly favor	1(C)	1(C)	1
Probably favor	2(C)	2(C)	2
Probably oppose. . . .	3	3	3
Strongly oppose. . . .	4	4	4
Don't know	8	8	8

VERSION Y

- 140Y. A. How would you feel about a program that required all young women to give one year of service to the nation--either in the military forces or in non-military work such as in hospitals or with elderly people --Would you strongly favor it, probably favor it, probably oppose it, or strongly oppose it? RECORD UNDER "A" BELOW 21/
- B. And how would you feel about such a program for all young men--Would you strongly favor it, probably favor it, probably oppose it, or strongly oppose it? RECORD UNDER "B" 22/
- C. IF STRONGLY FAVOR OR PROBABLY FAVOR EITHER A OR B:
And suppose that the costs of such a program made it necessary to increase your taxes by a small amount--for example, 5 percent. Would you strongly favor it, probably favor it, probably oppose it, or strongly oppose it? 23/

	A Women	B Men	IF FAVOR: C Tax Increase
Strongly favor	1(C)	1(C)	1
Probably favor	2(C)	2(C)	2
Probably oppose. . . .	3	3	3
Strongly oppose. . . .	4	4	4
Don't know	8	8	8

141X. As you know, this country stopped the military draft in 1972. Since that time we have relied on volunteers. Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about our armed forces.

A. How would you rate the quality of the men and women now serving in the armed forces--Would you say the quality of personnel is excellent, good, not so good, or poor? (Just your own opinion based on what you've heard or read.)

Excellent	1	24/
Good.	2	
Not so good	3	
Poor.	4	
Don't know.	8	

B. How do you feel about the pay and benefits that people in the armed forces receive?--Would you say the pay and benefits should be larger than they are now, should they be smaller, or are they about the right amount?

Should be larger.	1	25/
About the right amount. 2		
Should be smaller	3	
Don't know.	8	

C. At the present time, about 9 percent of the armed forces are women. All things considered, do you think there are too many women in the armed forces, about the right number, or should there be more women in the armed forces? RECORD UNDER "C" BELOW 26/

D. At the present time, about 4 percent of the armed forces are Hispanics. All things considered, do you think there are too many Hispanics in the armed forces, about the right number, or should there be more Hispanics in the armed forces? RECORD UNER "D" BELOW 27/

E. At the present time, about 22 percent of the armed forces are black. All things considered, do you think there are too many blacks in the armed forces, about the right number or should there be more blacks in the armed forces? RECORD UNDER "E" 28/

	C	B	E
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	<u>Blacks</u>
Too many in armed forces. 1(C)	1(C)	1(C)	1
About right number. 2(C)	2(C)	2(C)	2
Should be more. 3	3	3	3
Don't know. 8	8	8	8

VERSION Y

141Y. As you know, this country stopped the military draft in 1972. Since that time we have relied on volunteers. Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about our armed forces.

A. How would you rate the quality of the men and women now serving in the armed forces--Would you say the quality of personnel is excellent, good, not so good, or poor? (Just your own opinion based on what you've heard or read.)

Excellent	1	
Good	2	29/
Not so good	3	
Poor	4	
Don't know	8	

B. How do you feel about the pay and benefits that people in the armed forces received?--Would you say that the pay and benefits should be larger than they are now, should they be smaller, or are they about the right amount?

Should be larger	1	30/
About the right amount	2	
Should be smaller	3	
Don't know	8	

C. At the present time, about 9 percent of the armed forces are women. All things considered, do you think there are too many women in the armed forces, about the right number, or should there be more women in the armed forces? RECORD UNDER "C" BELOW

D. At the present time, about 4 percent of the army are Hispanics. All things considered, do you think there are too many Hispanics in the army, about the right right number, or should there be more Hispanics in the army? RECORD UNDER "D" BELOW

E. At the present time, about 33 percent of the army are black. All things considered, do you think there are too many blacks in the army, about the right number or should there be more blacks in the army? RECORD UNDER "E"

	C	B	E
	<u>Women</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	<u>Blacks</u>
Too many in armed forces	1(C)	1(C)	1
About right number	2(C)	2(C)	2
Should be more	3	3	3
Don't know	8	8	8

142. All things considered, how well do you think relying on volunteers has worked for the armed forces--has it worked very well, fairly well, or not well?

Very well	1	34/
Fairly well	2	
Not well.	3	
Don't know.	8	

These next questions are about the role of women in the armed forces.

143. I'm going to read you a list of jobs that people might have in the armed forces. Please tell me whether you think a woman should or should not be assigned to each job, assuming she is trained to do it.

	<u>Should</u>	<u>Should</u> <u>Not</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>Know</u>	
A. A jet fighter pilot.	1	2	8	35/
B. A truck mechanic	1	2	8	36/
C. A nurse in a combat zone	1	2	8	37/
D. A typist in the Pentagon in Washington	1	2	8	38/
E. Commander of a large military base .	1	2	8	39/
F. Soldier in hand-to-hand combat . . .	1	2	8	40/
G. A jet transport pilot.	1	2	8	41/
H. Air defense missile gunner in the United States.	1	2	8	42/
I. A crew member on a combat ship . . .	1	2	8	43/

144. A. As far as you know, are women now assigned to jobs in the armed forces that would expose them to combat, or are women not assigned to such jobs? RECORD UNDER "A" BELOW 44/
- B. As far as you know, are women in the armed forces now assigned to dirty jobs like repairing trucks or other heavy equipment or are they not assigned such jobs? RECORD UNDER "B" BELOW 45/
- C. As far as you know, are women in the armed forces now assigned to jobs where they have command over men, or are women not assigned to such jobs? RECORD UNDER "C" 46/

	A.	B.	C.
	<u>Combat</u>	<u>Dirty</u> <u>Job</u>	<u>Command</u> <u>of Men</u>
Yes, they are	1	1	1
No, they are not.	2	2	2
Don't know.	8	8	8

145. In the past 10 years the number of women in the armed forces has increased from about 2 percent to about 8 percent today. In general, would you say the increased number of women has raised the effectiveness of our armed forces, has it made no difference, or has it made our armed forces less effective? (Just your own opinion.)

Raised effectiveness	1	47
No difference.	2	
Made them less effective	3	
Don't know	8	

146. Do you think we should return to a military draft at this time, or should we continue to rely on volunteers?

Draft. . . . (ASK A)	1	48
Volunteers . (ASK B)	2	
Don't know . (ASK B)	8	

A. IF DRAFT:

If we should return to a military draft at this time, should young women be drafted as well as young men, or not?

Should	1	49
Should not	2	
Don't know	8	

B. IF VOLUNTEERS OR DON'T KNOW:

If there were a national emergency, do you think we should return to a military draft or should we continue to rely on volunteers?

Draft. . . . (ASK C)	1	50
Volunteers	2	
Don't know	8	

C. IF DRAFT ON "B":

If we should return to a military draft in a national emergency, should young women be drafted as well as young men, or not?

Should	1	51
Should not	2	
Don't know	8	

147. If the United States returned to a military draft, it would not be necessary to draft everyone of military age. That is, certain types of people could be exempted, even though they were otherwise qualified for service.

	<u>Yes, Exempt</u>	<u>No, not Exempt</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>	
A. Do you think college students should be exempted from a draft?	1	2	8	52/
B. Should married persons be exempted?	1	2	8	53/
C. Should parents of small children be exempted?	1	2	8	54/
D. Should homosexuals be exempted?	1	2	8	55/
E. People who have conscientious objections to war?	1	2	8	56/
F. People in important defense occupations?	1	2	8	57/

BLANK	58-78
DECK NUMBER	79-80

APPENDIX B

CODEBOOK FOR MILITARY SUPPLEMENT ITEMS'
RAW CATEGORIES ("PUNCHES")

APPENDIX B

Code Book for Military Supplement Items' Raw Categories
("Punches")

SOCIAL CLASS, SES

OCC = Respondent's Occupation

Census occupation classification

Professional, managerial	(1-246)	23.4%
Sales, clerical	(260-396)	26.0
Crafts	(401-599)	12.5
Operatives, services, labor	(601-799, 901-989)	36.2
Farm	(800-850)	<u>1.9</u>
		100.0%

N=1400

not applicable 106

1506

PRESTIGE = Respondent's Occupation Prestige Score

Hodge-Segal-Rossi prestige scores

High prestige	(49-90)	35.9%
Moderate prestige	(35-44)	23.4
Low prestige	(10-34)	<u>40.8</u>
		100.1%

N = 1400

not applicable 106

1506

INCOME80 = Family Income in 1980

\$25,000 and over	(15-17)	30.4%
\$12,500 to \$24,999	(10-14)	33.3
less than \$12,500	(1-9)	<u>36.3</u>
		100.0%

N = 1365

refused to answer 76
don't know, NA 65

1506

CLASS = Subjective Social Class

Middle class, Upper class	(3,4)	47.1%
Working class, Lower class	(1,2)	<u>52.9</u>
		100.0%

N = 1494

don't know 5

no answer 7

1506

INFORMATION

EDUC = Respondent's Education

0 to 11 years	(0-11)	30.6%
12 years	(12)	34.8
13 years and over	(13-20)	<u>34.6</u>
		100.0%

N = 1501

don't know 3

no answer 2

1506

NEWS = Frequency of Newspaper Reading

Daily	(1)	53.6%
Other	(2-5)	<u>46.4</u>
		100.0%

N = 1503

no answer 3

1506

COMPREND = Understanding of Questions

Interviewer's rating of respondent's comprehension

Good comprehension	(1)	78.3%
Fair, poor comprehension	(2,3)	<u>21.7</u>
		100.0%

N = 1500

no answer 6

1506

CIVIC = Attentiveness to Public Affairs (Self Report)

High attentiveness	(1)	35.6%
Moderate attentiveness	(2)	35.4
Low attentiveness	(3,4,8)	<u>29.0</u>
		100.0%

N = 1501
 no answer 5
 1506

FAMILY

MARITAL = Marital Status

Single	(5)	17.8%
Married	(1)	56.7
Widowed, divorced, separated	(2,3,4)	<u>25.5</u>
		100.0%

N = 1506

CHILDS = Number of Children Ever Born

None	(0)	27.8%
One or two	(1,2)	41.4
Three or more	(3-8)	<u>30.9</u>
		100.1%

N = 1504
 no answer 2
 1506

AGE = Respondent's Age

18 to 34	(18-34)	38.0%
35 to 64	(35-64)	43.4
65 and over	(65-89)	<u>18.5</u>
		99.9%

N = 1494
 no answer 12
 1506

SEX = Sex of Respondent

Male	(1)	42.4%
Female	(2)	<u>57.6</u>
		100.0%

N = 1506

BABIES = Household Members Less than 6 Years Old

None	(0)	82.7%
One or more babies	(1-5)	<u>17.3</u>
		100.0%

N = 1501

no answer 5

1506

PRETEEN = Household Members 6 to 12 Years Old

None	(0)	80.8%
One or more preteens	(1-6)	<u>19.2</u>
		100.0%

N = 1501

no answer 5

1506

TEENS = Household Members 13 to 17 Years Old

None	(0)	83.8%
One or more teens	(1-8)	<u>16.2</u>
		100.0%

N = 1503

no answer 3

1506

SUBCULTURE

GRANBORN = Grandparents Born Outside U.S.

None, grandparents U.S. born	(0)	54.5%
One or more grandparents born abroad	(1-4)	<u>45.5</u>
	100.0%	

N = 1423
don't know 11
no answer 72
1506

REGION = Region of Residence

North	(1-4,8,9)	67.7%
South	(5,6,7)	<u>32.2</u>
	100.0%	

N = 1506

RES16 = Place of Residence at Age 16

Open country or farm	(1,2)	30.3%
Town under 50,000	(3)	33.0
Metropolitan area	(4-6)	<u>36.8</u>
	100.1%	

N = 1499
no answer 7
1506

XNORCSIZ = NORC Size of Place

Over 250,000 population	(1,3)	32.9%
City 50,000-250,000	(2-6)	34.1
Not metropolitan (outside SMSA)	(7-10)	<u>33.0</u>
	100.0%	

N = 1506

RELIG = Religious Preference

Protestant	(1)	65.4%
Catholic	(2)	24.7
Jewish	(3)	2.5
None	(4)	<u>7.4</u>
		100.0%

N = 1479
 other 19
 no answer 8
 1506

ATTEND = Attendance at Religious Services

Weekly	(6,7,8)	34.4%
Less than weekly, more than yearly	(3,4,5)	28.7
Yearly	(0,1,2)	<u>36.9</u>
		100.0%

N = 1495
 don't know, NA 11
 1506

RELITEN = Strength of Religious Preference

"Would you call yourself a strong _____?"

Strong	(1)	39.8%
Not strong	(0,2,3,8)	<u>60.2</u>
		100.0%

N = 1469
 no answer 37
 1506

OWNGUN = Gun Ownership

Yes, own a gun	(1)	46.1%
No, do not own a gun	(2)	<u>53.9</u>
		100.0%

N = 1479
 refused to answer 19
 don't know, NA 8
 1506

RACE

RACE = Respondent's Race

White, other	(1,3)	89.6%
Black	(2)	<u>10.4</u>
	100.0%	

N = 1506

FOR WHITES ONLY:

RACMAR = Attitude toward Interracial Marriage

"Do you think there should be laws against marriages between Blacks and whites?"

No (2)	65.1%	
Yes	(1,8)	<u>34.9</u>
	100.0%	

N = 1347

no answer 3

1350

RACSEG = Attitude toward Segregated Neighborhoods

"White people have the right to keep Blacks out of their neighborhoods."

Disagree strongly	(4)	39.3%
Disagree slightly	(3)	31.1
Agree	(1,2)	<u>29.7</u>
	100.1%	

N = 1314

don't know 34

no answer 2

1350

NATRACE = Approval of Spending for Improving the Conditions
of Blacks

Pro, too little spent now	(1)	21.0%
All right as is	(2,8)	56.7
Con, too much spent now	(3)	<u>22.3</u>
		100.0%

N = 1343
no answer 7
1350

POLITICS

PARTYID = Political Party Affiliation

Democrat	(0-2)	54.6%
Independent	(3)	13.2
Republican	(4-6)	<u>32.2</u>
		100.0%

N = 1488
other 13
no answer 5
1506

POLVIEWS = Self-Rating of Political Views

"Where would you place yourself on this scale from extremely liberal to extremely conservative?"

Liberal	(1,2,3)	26.9%
Moderate	(4)	40.8
Conservative	(5,6,7)	<u>32.3</u>
		100.0%

N = 1429
don't know, NA 77
1506

NATSPAC = Spending for Space Exploration Program

"Do you think we're spending too much money on it,
too little money or about the right amount?"

Too little	(1)	12.4%
About right	(2,8)	47.5
Too much	(3)	<u>40.1</u>
		100.0%

N = 1505
no answer 1
1506

NATENVIR = Spending for Improving and Protecting the
Environment

Too little	(1)	49.7%
About right	(2,8)	38.8
Too much	(3)	<u>11.5</u>
		100.0%

N = 1504
no answer 2
1506

NATHEAL = Spending for Improving and Protecting the
Nation's Health

Too little	(1)	56.1%
About right	(2,8)	37.6
Too much	(3)	<u>6.3</u>
		100.0%

N = 1504
no answer 2
1506

NATCITY = Spending for Solving Problems of Big Cities

Too little	(1)	42.7%
About right	(2,8)	37.7
Too much	(3)	<u>19.5</u>
		99.9%

N = 1502
no answer 4
1506

NATCRIME = Spending to Halt Rising Crime Rate

Too little	(1)	71.1%
About right	(2,8)	23.1
Too much	(3)	<u>5.1</u>
		99.9%
N = 1496		
no answer	<u>10</u>	
1506		

NATDRUG = Spending for Dealing with Drug Addiction

Too little	(1)	56.8%
About right	(2,8)	35.0
Too much	(3)	<u>8.3</u>
		100.1%
N = 1502		
no answer	<u>4</u>	
1506		

NATEDUC = Spending for Improving Education System

Too little	(1)	55.7%
About right	(2,8)	36.0
Too much	(3)	<u>8.3</u>
		100.0%
N = 1504		
no answer	<u>2</u>	
1506		

NATAID = Spending for Foreign Aid

Too little	(1)	5.3%
About right	(2,8)	22.6
Too much	(3)	<u>72.0</u>
		99.9%
N = 1502		
no answer	<u>4</u>	
1506		

NATFARE = Spending for Welfare

Too little	(1)	19.6%
About right	(2,8)	32.1
Too much	(3)	<u>48.3</u>
		100.0%

N = 1505
no answer 1
1506

SPKCOM = Allow Communist to Speak

"If an admitted Communist wanted to make a speech in your community, should he be allowed to speak, or not?"

Yes, allowed to speak	(1)	55.8%
Not allowed	(2,8)	<u>44.2</u>
		100.0%

N = 1502
no answer 4
1506

MILITARY

VETYEARS = Ever Been in Military Service

No (0)		82.9%
Yes	(1-4)	<u>17.1</u>
		100.0%

N = 1501
no answer 5
1506

USWAR = Expect U.S. War within Ten Years

"Do you expect the U.S. to fight in another war within the next ten years?"

Yes	(1)	69.4%
No (2,8)		<u>30.6</u>
		100.0%

N = 1506

COMMUN = Attitude to Communist Government

"How do you feel about Communism as a form of government?"

Worst kind of all	(1)	59.5%
Bad, but not worst, all right, good	(2-4,8)	<u>40.5</u>
		100.0%
N = 1501		
no answer	<u>5</u>	
1506		

RUSSIA = Attitude toward Russia

"How would you rate your liking for this country?"

Pro, positive	(0-4)	22.5%
Con, negative	(5-8)	32.5
Strongly negative	(9)	<u>44.9</u>
		99.9%
N = 1455		
don't know, NA	<u>51</u>	
1506		

ISRAEL = Attitude toward Israel

Strongly positive	(0-2)	34.8%
Pro, positive	(3-4)	29.2
Con, negative	(5-9)	<u>36.1</u>
		100.1%
N = 1406		
don't know, NA	<u>100</u>	
1506		

EGYPT = Attitude toward Egypt

Strongly positive	(0-2)	31.0%
Pro, positive	(3-4)	39.2
Con, negative	(5-9)	<u>29.9</u>
		100.1%
N = 1369		
don't know, NA	<u>137</u>	
1506		

SEX ROLES

MAWORK = Mother's Employment since her Marriage

Yes, employed	(1)	53.1%
No, not employed	(2)	<u>46.9</u>
		100.0%

N = 1287
INAP, did not live with mother 147
don't know 25
no answer 47
1506

SEXLF = Labor Force Participation by Sex

Employed females		36.6%
Employed males		38.9
Keeping house (females)		<u>24.5</u>
		100.0%

N = 1263
INAP, NA 243
1506

EARNRS = Number in Family Who Earned Money Last Year

None	(0)	15.5%
One	(1)	42.0
Two or more	(2-8)	<u>42.5</u>
		100.0%

N = 1461
no answer 45
1506

FEHOME = Attitude Concerning Women's Place

"Women should take care of running their homes and leave running the country up to men."

Disagree	(2)	71.4%
Agree, don't know	(1,8)	<u>28.6</u>
		100.0%

N = 1506

FEWORK = Attitude Toward Women's Work

"Should a married woman earn money in business or industry if she has a husband capable of supporting her?"

Approve	(1)	74.2%
Disapprove, don't know	(2,8)	<u>25.8</u>
		100.0%

N = 1505
 no answer 1
 1506

ABDEFECT = Attitude to Abortion if Defect in Baby

"Should it be possible for a woman to obtain a legal abortion if there is a strong chance of defect in baby?"

Yes	(1)	81.4%
No, Don't know	(2,8)	<u>18.6</u>
		100.0%

N = 1502
 no answer 4
 1506

ABNOMORE = Attitude to Abortion if No More Children Wanted

"Should it be possible to obtain an abortion if the woman is married and does not want any more children?"

Yes	(1)	46.4%
No, Don't know	(2,8)	<u>53.6</u>
		100.0%

N = 1503
 no answer 3
 1506

PREMARSX = Attitude to Premarital Sex

"Is it wrong if a man and woman have sex relations before marriage?"

Not wrong, wrong sometimes	(3,4)	62.3%
Always wrong, almost always wrong	(1,2)	<u>37.7</u>
	100.0%	

N = 1455
 don't know 46
 no answer 5
 1506

ERA = Attitude to Equal Rights Amendment

"Do you favor or oppose the Equal Rights Amendment?"

Strongly favor	(1)	24.2%
Somewhat favor	(2)	48.2
Somewhat oppose, strongly oppose	(3,4)	<u>27.6</u>
	100.0%	

N = 1279
 INAP, don't understand ERA 142
 don't know 67
 no answer 18
 1506

ATTITUDE TO MILITARY

MILQUAL = Quality of Men and Women Serving in Armed Forces

"How would you rate the quality of the men and women now serving in the armed forces?"

Excellent, good	(1,2)	52.6%
Not so good, poor	(3,4)	<u>47.4</u>
	100.0%	

N = 1383
 don't know 116
 no answer 7
 1506

CONARMY = Confidence in Military Leaders

"How much confidence do you have in the people running the military?"

A great deal	(1)	31.4%
Only some	(2)	53.4
Hardly any	(3)	<u>15.3</u>
		100.1%

N = 1467
 don't know 35
 no answer 4
 1506

NATARMS = Spending for Military, Armaments, Defense

Too little	(1)	29.4%
About right	(2,8)	40.5
Too much	(3)	<u>30.1</u>
		100.0%

N = 1497
 don't know 9
 1506

MILPAY = Pay and Benefits Received by People in Armed Forces

"How do you feel about the pay and benefits that people in the armed forces receive?"

Should be larger	(1)	39.1%
About right, should be smaller	(2,3)	<u>60.9</u>
		100.0%

N = 1317
 don't know 181
 no answer 8
 1506

MANPOWER POLICY

MILVOLOK = Rating of the All-Volunteer Armed Forces

"How well do you think relying on volunteers has worked for the armed forces?"

Very well	(1)	10.3%
Fairly well	(2)	52.6
Not well	(3)	<u>37.1</u>
		100.0%

N = 1401
don't know 94
no answer 11
1506

NATSER = Attitude to Required National Service

Favor, even if requires tax increase	45.4%
Favor, only if no tax increase	27.7
Not favor	<u>26.8</u>
	99.9%

N = 1401
don't know 94
no answer 11
1506

DRAFTAT = Attitude to Draft

Favor draft now	41.8%
Favor draft only in emergency	46.9
Not favor draft	<u>11.3</u>
	100.0%

N = 1494
don't know 12
1506

WOMEN AND MINORITIES

BRASS = Woman as Commander of Large Military Base

"Do you think a woman should or should not be assigned to this job?"

Should be assigned	(1)	58.7%
Should not be assigned	(2)	<u>41.3</u>
		100.0%

N = 1454
don't know 42
no answer 10
1506

FIGHTLND = Woman as Soldier in Hand-to-Hand Combat

Should be assigned	(1)	34.7%
Should not be assigned	(2)	<u>65.3</u>
		100.0%

N = 1459
don't know 38
no answer 9
1506

FEMDRAFT = Favor Drafting Women if Favor Draft

Yes, draft women		53.6%
No, don't draft women		<u>46.4</u>
		100.0%

N = 1316
not favor draft, DK, NA 190
1506

FENATSER = Favor Service for Women if Favor National Service

Yes, service for women		83.6%
No, service only for men		<u>16.4</u>
		100.0%

N = 1070
not favor service, DK 436
1506

FENUMOK = Number of Women in Armed Forces

"Do you think there are too many women in the armed forces, about the right number, or too few?"

Too many women	(1)	8.9%
About right number	(2)	57.3
Should be more	(3)	<u>33.7</u>
		99.9%

N = 1376
 don't know 124
 no answer 6
 1506

SPNUMOK = Number of Hispanics in Armed Forces

Too many Hispanics	(1)	6.6%
About right number	(2)	60.5
Should be more	(3)	<u>33.0</u>
		100.1%

N = 1267
 don't know 227
 no answer 12
 1506

BLNUMOK = Number of Blacks in Armed Forces

Too many Blacks	(1)	11.9%
About right number	(2)	69.5
Should be more	(3)	<u>18.6</u>
		100.0%

N = 1333
 don't know 163
 no answer 10
 1506

FIGHTAIR = Approval of Women as Jet Fighter Pilots

"Please tell me whether you think a woman should or should not be assigned to this job?"

Should		62.4%
Should not		<u>37.6</u>

100.0%

N = 1467	
don't know	32
no answer	<u>7</u>

1506

MECHANIC = Approval of Women as Truck Mechanics

Should		83.4%
Should not		<u>16.6</u>

100.0%

N = 1479	
don't know	19
no answer	<u>8</u>

1506

NURSE = Approval of Women as Nurses in Combat Zone

Should		93.7%
Should not		<u>6.3%</u>

100.0%

N = 1486	
don't know	13
no answer	<u>7</u>

1506

TYPIST = Approval of Women as Typists in Pentagon

Should		97.4%
Should not		<u>2.6</u>

100.0%

N = 1486	
don't know	12
no answer	<u>8</u>

1506

TRANSAIR = Approval of Women as Jet Transport Pilots

Should		72.7%
Should not		<u>23.3</u>
		100.0%
N = 1462		
don't know	35	
no answer	<u>9</u>	
1506		

GUNNER = Approval of Women as Missile Gunners in the U.S.

Should		59.2%
Should not		<u>40.8</u>
		100.0%
N = 1453		
don't know	44	
no answer	<u>9</u>	
1506		

FIGHTSEA = Approval of Women as Crew Members on Combat Ships

Should		57.4%
Should not		<u>42.6</u>
		100.0%
N = 1452		
don't know	43	
no answer	<u>11</u>	
1506		

FEFIGHT = Are Women Now Assigned to Combat Jobs

"As far as you know, are women now assigned to jobs in the armed forces that would expose them to combat?"

Yes, they are		28.9%
No they are not		<u>71.1</u>
		100.0%
N = 1153		
don't know	342	
no answer	<u>11</u>	
1506		

FEDIRTY = Are women Now Assigned to Dirty Jobs

"As far as you know, are women in the armed forces now assigned to dirty jobs, such as mechanic?"

Yes, they are		67.1%
No, they are not		<u>32.9</u>
		100.0%

N = 1081	
don't know	411
no answer	<u>14</u>
1506	

FEBRASS = Are Women Now Assigned to Command Positions

"As far as you know, are women in the armed forces now assigned to jobs where they have command over men?"

Yes, they are		63.4%
No, they are not		<u>36.6</u>
		100.0%

N = 1104	
don't know	387
no answer	<u>15</u>
1506	

FEHLP MIL = Effect of Increased Number of Women on Armed Forces

"Would you say the increased number of women has raised the effectiveness of our armed forces, has it made no difference, or has it made our armed forces less effective?"

Raised effectiveness		22.5%
No difference		68.8
Made them less effective		<u>8.6</u>
		99.9%

N = 1331	
don't know	169
no answer	<u>6</u>
1506	

DRAFTCOL = Draft Exemption for College Students

"Do you think college students should be exempted from a draft?"

Yes, exempt	28.0%
No, not exempt	<u>72.0</u>

100.0

N = 1449	
don't know	55
no answer	<u>2</u>

1506

DRAFTMAR = Draft Exemption for Married Persons

Yes, exempt	44.1%
No, not exempt	<u>55.9</u>

100.0%

N = 1439	
don't know	64
no answer	<u>3</u>

1506

DRAFTPAR = Draft Exemption for Parents of Small Children

Yes, exempt	71.7%
No, not exempt	<u>28.3</u>

100.0%

N = 1470	
don't know	34
no answer	<u>2</u>

1506

DRAFTGAY = Draft Exemption for Homosexuals

Yes, exempt	17.0%
No, not exempt	<u>83.0%</u>

100.0%

N = 1421	
don't know	79
no answer	<u>6</u>

1506

DRAFTCO = Exemption for Conscientious Objectors

Yes, exempt		37.0%
No, not exempt		<u>63.0</u>

100.0%

N = 1420	
don't know	81
no answer	<u>5</u>
1506	

DRAFTDEF = Exemption for People in Defense Occupations

Yes, exempt		56.4%
No, not exempt		<u>43.6</u>

100.0%

N = 1431	
don't know	72
no answer	<u>3</u>
1506	

APPENDIX C
SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT ASSOCIATIONS

ADJUSTED χ^2 (see note at end)

	ATTITUDE TO MILITARY			MANPOWER POLICY			WOMEN & MINORITIES							
	MILQUAL	CONARMY	NATARMS	MILPAY	MILVOLOK	NATSER	DRAFTAT	BRASS	FIGHTLND	FENDRAFT	FENATSER	FENUMOK	SPNUMOK	BLNUMOK
<u>SES</u>														
OCC	35				28			30		29		41		
PRESTIGE	33				32		19	16				26		
INCOME80	18				55			29				25		
CLASS														
<u>INFORMATION</u>														
EDUC	40	36	23		45	19		80	21	28		86		23
NEWS	12				32				21					
COMPREND		31			49		19	21		22		45		
CIVIC					26	22	63							
<u>FAMILY</u>														
MARITAL		27	26		22		35		17			28		
CHILDS		37	26						20			40		
AGE		38	31			53	50	76	70			35		
SEX	14				15		16		14	19				18
BABIES								17	12					
PRETEEN														
TEENS														
<u>ETHNIC</u>														
GRANBORN		17								24				
REGION			25			16		19		65	21	32		
RES16		31		24				43		16	21	32		
XNORCSIZ								32					22	
RELIG	22	41	34					22		27		29		
ATTEND								29	32	61	22	36		
RELITEN		26						33	24	47	33	52		
OWNGUN			26											

	ATTITUDE TO MILITARY			MANPOWER POLICY			WOMEN & MINORITIES							
	MILQUAL	CONARMY	NATARMS	MILPAY	MILVOLOK	NATSER	DRAFTAT	BRASS	FIGHTLND	FEMDRAFT	FENATSER	FENUMOK	SPNUMOK	RI NIMOK
<u>RACE</u>														
RACE			24	29	32		50			20			30	
RACMAR		76	61		22			144	48	46		88		3
RACSEG		21	44				24	89	40	38	23	40	25	
NATRACE			48					27		23		30		
<u>POLITICS</u>														
PARTYID			42											
POLVIEWS		28	50				42	30	20	23		26		
NATSPAC	24							24		33		44		4
NATENVIR		29	19	18				49	33					
NATHEAL		22	25											
NATCITY		29					20					19		
NATCRIME			21	19										
NATDRUG			22											
NATEDUC		21						23	24			26		
NATAID			22				36							
NATFARE	27		20		34		36							
SPKCOM	17	56	47		24			118	30	68		71		
<u>MILITARY</u>														
VETYEARS					36	28	51		17					1
USWAR														
COMMUN		37	51				26	31	16	44		38		
RUSSIA			37				32	34	24	19		31		
ISRAEL														
EGYPT														
NATARMS		148		37			100	36	17			21		
<u>SEX ROLES</u>														
MAWORK		18	32					48	34		26	54		
SEXLF	18				23			48	54	21		42		
EARNRS								37	15			28		
FEHOME		58	22					203	46	42	16	131		
FEWORK		23	14			16		107	58			57		
ABDEFECT					16			19	13	29	17	28		
ABNOMORE	15	24	17		15			56	36	50	17	37		
PREMARX		34						83	47	56	40	72		
ERA		31	52					100	54	67	44	86		

*Cell entries are the value of the Chi Square statistic for the cross-tabulation of the row and column variables.

The raw chi square has been adjusted:

- 1) As if each table had 1500 cases (so that tables with differing N's may be compared)
- 2) By adding or subtracting 1.5 for the difference between d.f and 2, i.e., to give a rough estimate of what chi square would be if the table had two d.f.

Blanks indicate adjusted values of less than 9.0, i.e., relationships that would not be statistically significant at the .05 level, after allowing for clustering by assuming the effective $N = .667 \times N$.

APPENDIX D
BASIC TABLES: Percentages for Tables with Statistically
Significant Relationships in Appendix C

Attitude to Military

Manpower Policy

Social Class, SES

1) Respondent's Job, Census (OCC)

Professional, Managerial (1-246)
 Sales, Clerical (260-396)
 Crafts (401-599)
 Operatives, Service, Labor
 (601-799, 901-986)
 Farm (800-850)

	MILQUAL (good)	CONARMY (great deal)	NATARMS (too much)	MILPAY (more)	MILVOLOK (not well)	NATSER (favor)	DRAFTAT (draft men)
Professional, Managerial (1-246)	39				50		
Sales, Clerical (260-396)	55				34		
Crafts (401-599)	51				42		
Operatives, Service, Labor (601-799, 901-986)	60				32		
Farm (800-850)	56				36		
2) <u>Respondent's Job, Hodge-Segal-Rossi Prestige Score (PRESTIGE)</u>							
High (45-90/	44				47		49
Middle 35-44/	52				37		41
Low (10-34/	61				31		38
3) <u>Family Income in 1980 (INCOME80)</u>							
\$25,000+ (15,16,17/	47				48		
Middle (10-14/	49				38		
<\$12,500 (1-9/	60				27		
4) <u>Subjective Social Class (CLASS)</u>							
Middle & Upper (3,4/							
Working & Lower (1,2/							

Women & Minorities

Social Class, SES

1) Respondent's Job, Census (OCC)

	BRASS (tolerant)	FIGHTLND (tolerant)	FEMDRAFT (favor)	FENATSER (favor)	FENUMOK (more)	SPNUMOK (more)	BLNUMOK (more)
Professional, Managerial (1-246)	72		64		47		
Sales, Clerical (260-396)	58		52		32		
Crafts (401-599)	54		64		35		
Operatives, Service, Labor (601-799, 901-986)	54		48		28		
Farm (800-850)	44		46		29		

2) Respondent's Job, Hodge-Segal-Rossi Prestige Score (PRESTIGE)

High (45-90/)	65				41		
Middle (35-44/)	60				32		
Low (10-34/)	54				31		

3) Family Income in 1980 (INCOME80)

\$25,000+ (15,16,17/)	69				42		
Middle (10-14/)	58				34		
<\$12,500 (1-9/)	52				29		

4) Subjective Social Class (CLASS)

Middle & Upper 3,4/							
Working & Lower (1,2/)							

Attitude to Military

Manpower Policy

INFORMATION

	MILQUAL (good)	CONARMY (great deal)	NATARMS (too much)	MILPAY (more)	MILVOLOK (not well)	NATSER (favor)	DRAFTAT (draft men)
1) Respondent's Education (EDUC)							
0-11 years (0-11/	↑ 60	↑ 40	↓ 22		29	44	
12 years (12/	57	↓ 29	31		34	41	
13+ years (13-20/	42	26	↓ 36		47	51	
2) Newspaper Readership (NEWS)							
Daily (1/	↓ 49				↑ 43		↑ 46
Other (2-5/	57				30		↓ 37
3) Understanding of Questions (COMPREND)							
Good (1/		↓ 28			↑ 40		43
Other (2-5/		44			↓ 25		37
4) Attentiveness to Public Affairs (CIVIC)							
High (1/					↑ 44	↑ 52	↑ 50
Medium (2/					37	47	43
Low (3,4,5/					↓ 28	36	↓ 31

Women & Minorities

INFORMATION

1) Respondent's Education (EDUC)

0-11 years (0-11/
12 years (12/
13+ years (13-20/

BRASS
(tolerant)

FIGHTLND
(tolerant)

FEMDRAFT
(favor)

FENATSER
(favor)

FENUMOK
(more)

SPNUMOK
(more)

BLNUMOK
(more)

43
59
72
↓

27
35
41
↓

48
52
64
↓

24
31
45
↓

24
19
14

2) Newspaper Readership (NEWS)

Daily (1/
Other (2-5/

30
41
↓

3) Understanding of Questions (COMPRED)

Good (1/
Other (2-5/

62
48
↑

58
43
↑

36
24
↑

4) Attentiveness to Public Affairs (CIVIC)

High (1/
Medium (2/
Low (3,4,5/

Attitude to Military

Manpower Policy

FAMILY

1) Marital Status (MARITAL)

Single (5/
 Married (1/
 Widowed, Divorced, Separated
 (2,3,4/

MILQUAL (good)	CONARMY (great deal)	NATARMS (too much)	MILPAY (more)	MILVOLOK (not well)	NATSER (favor)	DRAFTAT (draft men)
	25	41		29		31
	30	29		41		47
	40	25		33		39

2) Number of Children (CHILDS)

None (0/
 1 or 2 (1,2/
 3 or more (3-8/

	28	39				34
	28	28				45
	39	25				45

3) Respondent's Age (AGE)

18-34 (18-34/
 35-64 (35-64/
 65 and over (65-89/

	25	38			34	33
	33	27			53	48
	43	22			53	47

4) Sex of Respondent (SEX)

Male (1/
 Female (2/

48				42		47
57				33		38

5) Household Members Less Than Six years old (BABIES)

None (0/
 1-5 (1-5/

6) Household Members 6 to 12 years old (PRETEEN)

None (0/
 1-6 (1-6/

7) Household Members 13 to 17 years old (TEENS)

None (0/
 1-8 (1-8/

Women & Minorities

FAMILY

1) Marital Status (MARITAL)

Single (5/
 Married (1/
 Widowed, Divorced, Separated
 (2,3,4/

BRASS
(tolerant)

FIGHTLND
(tolerant)

FENDRAFT
(favor)

FENATSER
(favor)

FENUMOK
(more)

SPNUMOK
(more)

BLNUMOK
(more)

44
31
37

48
31
29

2) Number of Children (CHILDS)

None (0/
 1 or 2 (1,2/
 3 or more (3-8/

42
34
28

45
32
26

3) Respondent's Age (AGE)

18-34 (18-34/
 35-64 (35-64/
 65 and over (65-89/

69
58
38

46
32
18

40
33
21

4) Sex of Respondent (SEX)

Male (1/
 Female (2/

30
38

61
50

17
20

5) Household Members Less Than Six years old (BABIES)

None (0/
 1-5 (1-5/

56
70

33
43

6) Household Members 6 to 12 years old (PRETEEN)

None (0/
 1-6 (1-6/

7) Household Members 13 to 17 years old (TEENS)

None (0/
 1-8 (1-8/

ETHNIC

1) Grandparents Born Outside U.S.
(GRANBORN)

	MILQUAL (good)	CONARMY (great deal)	NATARMS (too much)	MILPAY (more)	MILVOLOK (not well)	NATSER (favor)	DRAFTAT (draft men)
None (0/		29					
One or more (1-4/		34					

2) Region of Residence (REGION)

North (1-4,8,9/			↓ 34			49	
South (5,6,7/			↓ 22			39	

3) Place of Residence at Age 16
(RES16)

Country (1,2)		↑ 40		↓ 32			
Town (3/		30		↓ 38			
Metropolitan (4,5,6/		26		↓ 46			

4) NORC Size of Place (XNORCSIZ)

Over 250,000 (1,3/							
City (2,4,5,6/							
Not Metropolitan (7-10/							

5) Religious Preference (RELIG)

Protestant (1/	54	33	26				
Catholic (2/	56	34	33				
Jewish (3/	19	9	54				
None (4/	44	16	50				

6) Attendance at Religious Services (ATTEND)

Weekly (6,7,8/							
Between (3,4,5/							
Yearly (0,1,2/							

7) Strength of Religious Preference (RELITEN)

Strong (1/		38					
Other (0,2,3,8/		27					

8) Gun Ownership (OWNGUN)

Yes (1/			25				
No 2/			35				

Women & Minorities

ETHNIC

1) Grandparents Born Outside U.S.
(GRANBORN)

None (0/

One or more (1-4/

2) Region of Residence (REGION)

North (1-4,8,9/

South (5,6,7/

3) Place of Residence at Age 16
(RES16)

Country (1,2/

Town (3/

Metropolitan (4,5,6/

4) NORC Size of Place (XNORCSIZ)

Over 250,000 (1,3/

City (2,4,5,6/

Not Metropolitan (7-10/

5) Religious Preference (RELIG)

Protestant (1/

Catholic (2/

Jewish (3/

None (4/

6) Attendance at Religious Services (ATTEND)

Weekly (6,7,8/

Between (3,4,5/

Yearly (0,1,2/

7) Strength of Religious Preference
(RELITEN)

Strong (1/

Other (0,2,3,8/

8) Gun Ownership (OWNGUN)

Yes (1/

No (2/

	BRASS (tolerant)	FIGHTLND (tolerant)	FEMDRAFT (favor)	FENATSER (favor)	FENUMOK (more)	SPNUMOK (more)	BLNUMOK (more)
None (0/			49				
One or more (1-4/			61				
North (1-4,8,9/	62		62	86	37		
South (5,6,7/	51		40	77	26		
Country (1,2/	47		46	77	25		
Town (3/	59		54	85	34		
Metropolitan (4,5,6/	68		59	88	40		
Over 250,000 (1,3/	62					40	
City (2,4,5,6/	65					32	
Not Metropolitan (7-10/	48					27	
Protestant (1/	55		52		30		
Catholic (2/	61		53		37		
Jewish (3/	78		61		53		
None (4/	74		81		51		
Weekly (6,7,8/	49	26	43	78	25		
Between (3,4,5/	62	33	53	84	33		
Yearly (0,1,2/	65	43	67	89	42		
Strong (1/	50	28	44	77	25		
Other (0,2,3,8/	64	40	62	88	40		

Attitude to Military

Manpower Policy

RACE

1) Respondent's Race (RACE)

White, Other (1,3/

Black (2/

2) Should be Laws Against Inter-racial Marriage (RACMAR)

No (2/

Yes (1,8/

3) Whites Have Right to Keep Blacks Out of Neighborhood (RACSEG)

Disagree Strongly (4/

Disagree Slightly (3/

Agree (1,2/

4) Spending for Improving the Conditions of Blacks (NATRACE)

Pro (1/

OK (2,8/

Con (3/

	MILQUAL (good)	CONARMY (great deal)	NATARMS (too much)	MILPAY (more)	MILVOLOK (not well)	NATSER (favor)	DRAFTAT (draft men)
White, Other (1,3/ Black (2/			↓ 29 ↓ 43	↓ 37 ↓ 58	↑ 39 ↑ 21		↑ 43 ↑ 28
No (2/ Yes (1,8/		↓ 25 ↓ 46	↑ 35 ↑ 17		↑ 42 ↑ 32		
Disagree Strongly (4/ Disagree Slightly (3/ Agree (1,2/		↓ 27 ↓ 32 ↓ 38	↑ 38 ↑ 24 ↑ 21				↓ 39 ↓ 48 ↓ 47
Pro (1/ OK (2,8/ Con (3/			↑ 43 ↑ 27 ↑ 18				

Women & Minorities

RACE

1) Respondent's Race (RACE)

White, Other (1,3/
Black (2/

BRASS
(tolerant)

FIGHTLND
(tolerant)

FENDRAFT
(favor)

FENATSER
(favor)

FENUMOK
(more)

SPNUMOK
(more)

BLNUMOK
(more)

56
37

31
52

2) Should Be Laws Against Inter-racial Marriage (RACMAR)

No (2/
Yes (1,8/

↑ 69
38

↑ 41
23

↑ 63
45

↑ 41
22

14
26

3) White Have Right to Keep Blacks Out of Neighborhood (RACSEG)

Disagree Strongly (4/
Disagree Slightly (3/
Agree (1,2/

↑ 71
59
42

↑ 44
34
25

↑ 66
54
48

↑ 89
81
80

↑ 43
35
25

↑ 36
29
26

4) Spending for Improving the Conditions of Blacks (NATRACE)

Pro (1/
OK (2,8/
Con (3/

↑ 67
60
48

↑ 67
55
49

↑ 44
33
29

Attitude to Military

Manpower Policy

POLITICAL

1) Political Party Affiliation
(PARTYID)

	MILQUAL (good)	CONARMY (great deal)	NATARMS (too much)	MILPAY (more)	MILVOLOK (not well)	NATSER (favor)	DRAFTAT (draft men)
Democrat (0-2/			↑ 36				
Independent (3/			29				
Republican (4-6/			20				

2) Think Self Liberal or Conservative (POLVIEWS)

Liberal (1,2,3/		↓ 25	↑ 42				↓ 36
Moderate (4/		30	29				39
Conservative (5,6,7/		↓ 37	23				↓ 51

3) Spending for Space Exploration Program (NATSPAC)

Pro (1/	↓ 38						
OK (2,8/	52						
Con (3/	↓ 58						

4) Spending for Improving and Protecting Environment
(NATENVIR)

Pro (1/		26	35	44			
OK (2,8/		38	24	33			
(Con (3/		33	27	35			

5) Spending for Improving and Protecting the Nation's Health
(NATHEAL)

Pro (1/		30	↑ 35				
OK (2,8/		34	23				
Con (3/		25	29				

6) Spending for Solving Problems of Big Cities (NATCITY)

Pro (1/		27					40
OK (2,8/		36					39
Con (3/		32					51

Women & Minorities

POLITICAL

- 1) Political Party Affiliation
(PARTYID)
 - Democrat (0-2/
 - Independent (3/
 - Republican (4-6/

- 2) Think Self Liberal or Conservative (POLVIEWS)
 - Liberal (1,2,3/
 - Moderate (4/
 - Conservative (5,6,7/

- 3) Spending for Space Exploration Program (NATSPAC)
 - Pro (1/
 - OK (2,8/
 - Con (3/

- 4) Spending for Improving and Protecting Environment (NATENVIR)
 - Pro (1/
 - OK (2,8/
 - Con (3/

- 5) Spending for Improving and Protecting the Nation's Health (NATHEAL)
 - Pro (1/
 - OK (2,8/
 - Con (3/

- 6) Spending for Solving Problems of Big Cities (NATCITY)
 - Pro (1/
 - OK (2,8/
 - Con (3/

	BRASS (tolerant)	FIGHTLND (tolerant)	FEMDRAFT (favor)	FENATSER (favor)	FENUMOK (more)	SPNUMOK (more)	BLNUMOK (more)
1) Political Party Affiliation (PARTYID)							
Democrat (0-2/							
Independent (3/							
Republican (4-6/							
2) Think Self Liberal or Conservative (POLVIEWS)							
Liberal (1,2,3/	↑ 68	↑ 41	↑ 66		↑ 42		
Moderate (4/	61	36	54		32		
Conservative (5,6,7/	50	27	50		30		
3) Spending for Space Exploration Program (NATSPAC)							
Pro (1/	↑ 73		↑ 68		↑ 52		14
OK (2,8/	59		58		34		↓ 15
Con (3/	54		46		27		↓ 24
4) Spending for Improving and Protecting Environment (NATENVIR)							
Pro (1/	↑ 66	↑ 42					
OK (2,8/	54	28					
Con (3/	40	26					
5) Spending for Improving and Protecting the Nation's Health (NATHEAL)							
Pro (1/							
OK (2,8/							
Con (3/							
6) Spending for Solving Problems of Big Cities (NATCITY)							
Pro (1/					38		
OK (2,8/					27		
Con (3/					37		

Attitude to Military

Manpower Policy

POLITICAL (Cont.)

7) Spending for Halting Rising Crime Rate (NATCRIME)

	MILQUAL (good)	CONARMY (great deal)	NATARMS (too much)	MILPAY (more)	MILVOLOK (not well)	NATSER (favor)	DRAFTAT (draft men)
Pro (1/			29	42			
OK (2,8/			31	29			
Con (3/			42	40			

8) Spending for Dealing with Drug Addiction (NATDRUG)

Pro (1/			28				
OK (2,8/			32				
Con (3/			34				

10) Spending for Improving Education System (NATEDUC)

Pro (1/		27					
OK (2.8/		37					
Con (3/		35					

11) Spending for Foreign Aid (NATAID)

Pro (1/			39				32
OK (2,8/			22				33
Con (3/			32				45

12) Spending for Welfare (NATFARE)

Pro (1/	64		38		26		33
OK (2,8/	54		31		34		37
Con (3/	47		26		44		48

13) Should Allow Communist to Speak (SPKCOM)

Allow (1/	48	25	37		42		
Not Allow (2,8/	58	40	22		31		

Women & Minorities

POLITICAL (Cont.)

7. Spending for Halting Rising Crime Rate (NATCRIME)

PRO (1/
OK (2,8/
Con (3/

8) Spending for Dealing with Drug Addiction (NATDRUG)

Pro (1/
OK (2,8/
Con (3/

10) Spending for Improving Education System (NATEDUC)

Pro (1/
OK (2,8/
Con (3/

11) Spending for Foreign Aid (NATAID)

Pro (1/
OK (2,8/
Con (3/

12) Spending for Welfare (NATFARE)

Pro (1/
OK (2,8/
Con (3/

13) Should Allow Communist to Speak (SPKCOM)

Allow (1/
Not Allow (2,8/

BRASS
(tolerant)

FIGHTLND
(tolerant)

FEMDRAFT
(favor)

FENATSER
(favor)

FENUMOK
(more)

SPNUMOK
(more)

BLNUMOK
(more)

	64	40		36	
	53	28		30	
	48	27		32	
	71	40	63	42	
	42	27	42	23	

Attitude to Military

Manpower Policy

MILITARY

1) Ever Been in Military Service
(VETYEARS)

No (0/
Yes (1-4/

34	43	38
↓ 53	↓ 59	↓ 61

2) Expect U.S. War Within Ten Years
(USWAR)

Yes (1/
No (2,8/

3) Feelings About Communist Government
(COMMUN)

Worst kind (1/
Other (2,3,4,8/

↑ 36	↓ 24	45
↑ 24	↓ 38	37

4) Spending for Military, Armaments and Defense
(NATARMS)

Pro (1/
OK (2,8/
Con (3/

↑ 40	↑ 51	↑ 59
37	35	38
16	34	30

5) Attitude Toward Russia
(RUSSIA)

Pro (0-4/
Con (5-8/
Very Con (9/

↑ 42	33
31	↓ 41
24	↓ 47

6) Attitude Toward Israel
(ISRAEL)

High (0-2/
Pro (3-4/
Anti (5-9/

7) Attitude Toward Egypt
(EGYPT)

High (0-2/
Pro (3-4/
Anti (5-9/

Women & Minorities

MILITARY

1) Ever Been in Military Service
(VETYEARS)

No (0/

Yes (1-4/

BRASS
(tolerant)

FICHTLND
(tolerant)

FENDRAFT
(favor)

FENATSER
(favor)

FENUMOK
(more)

SPNUMOK
(more)

BLNUMOK
(more)

↑ 37
↑ 24

19
16

2) Expect U.S. War Within Ten Years (USWAR)

Yes (1/

No (2,8/

3) Feelings About Communists Government (COMMUN)

Worst kind (1/

Other (2,3,4,8/

↓ 53
↓ 67

31
40

↓ 48
↓ 65

28
43

4) Spending for Military, Armaments and Defense (NATARMS)

Pro (1/

OK (2,8/

Con (3/

↓ 50
↓ 57
↓ 70

↓ 28
↓ 35
↓ 41

34
27
41

5) Attitude toward Russia (RUSSIA)

Pro (0-4/

Con (5-8/

Very Con (9/

↑ 71
61
52

45
35
30

61
↑ 60
↑ 49

41
↑ 38
↑ 27

6) Attitude Toward Israel (ISRAEL)

High (0-2/

Pro (3-4/

Anti (5-9/

7) Attitude Toward Egypt (EGYPT)

High (0-2/

Pro (3-4/

Anti (5-9/

Attitude to Military

Manpower Policy

SEX ROLES

	MILQUAL (good)	CONARMY (great deal)	NATARMS (too much)	MILPAY (more)	MILVOLOK (not well)	NATSER (favor)	DRAFTAT (draft men)
1) <u>Mother's Employment Since Marriage</u> (MAWORK)							
Yes (1/		27	36				
No (2/		34	24				
2) <u>Sex by Employment</u> (SEXLF)							
Employed Females	56				36		
Employed Males	46				42		
Housewives	59				27		
3) <u>Number in Family Who Earned Money Last Year</u> (EARNRS)							
None (0/							
One (1/							
Two or more (2-8/							
4) <u>Women Should Stay Home</u> (FEHOME)							
Not Stay Home (2/		26	34				
Stay Home (1,8/		46	21				
5) <u>Women Should Work</u> (FEWORK)							
Work (1/		28	33			45	
Not Work (2,8/		40	23			47	
6) <u>Approve Abortion if Defect in Baby</u> (ABDEFECT)							
Approve (1/					39		
Disapprove (2,8/					29		
7) <u>Approve Abortion if No More Children Wanted</u> (ABNOMORE)							
Approve (1/	48	26	35		41		
Disapprove (2,8/	57	36	26		33		

Women & Minorities

SEX ROLES	BRASS (tolerant)	FIGHTLND (tolerant)	FENDRAFT (favor)	FENATSER (favor)	FENUMOK (more)	SPNUMOK (more)	BLNUMOK (more)
1) <u>Mother's Employment Since Marriage</u> (MAWORK)							
Yes (1/	67	42		88	41		
No (2/	50	28		78	25		
2) <u>Sex by Employment</u> (SEXLF)							
Employed Females	72	48	53		36		
Employed Males	57	32	62		41		
Housewives	51	26	47		23		
3) <u>Number in Family Who Earned Money Last Year</u> (EARNRS)							
None (0/	41	24			26		
One (1/	60	38			36		
Two or more (2-8/	64	37			34		
4) <u>Women Should Stay Home</u> (FEHOME)							
Not Stay Home (2/	70	40	60	86	39		16
Stay Home (1,8/	30	22	42	78	19		26
5) <u>Women Should Work</u> (FEWORK)							
Work (1/	66	40			38		
Not work (2,8/	36	19			22		
6) <u>Approve Abortion if Defect in Baby</u> (ABDEFECT)							
Approve (1/	61	37	58	85	36		
Disapprove (2,8/	47	26	40	75	25		
7) <u>Approve Abortion if No More Children Wanted</u> (ABNOMORE)							
Approve (1/	69	42	64	88	40		
Disapprove (2,8/	50	28	46	80	28		

Attitude to Military

Manpower Policy

SEX ROLES (Cont.)

8) Attitude Toward Premarital Sex (PREMARSX)

Not Wrong (3,4/

Wrong (1,2/

9) Favor Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)

Strongly Favor (1/

Somewhat Favor (2/

Oppose (3,4/

	MILQUAL (good)	CONARMY (great deal)	NATARMS (too much)	MILPAY (more)	MILVOLOK (not well)	NATSER (favor)	DRAFTAT (draft men)
8) <u>Attitude Toward Premarital Sex (PREMARSX)</u>							
Not Wrong (3,4/		27					
Wrong (1,2/		38					
9) <u>Favor Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)</u>							
Strongly Favor (1/		26	48				
Somewhat Favor (2/		27	30				
Oppose (3,4/		36	21				

Women & Minorities

SEX ROLES (Cont.)

8) Attitude Toward Premarital Sex (PREMARSEX)

Not Wrong (3,4/

Wrong (1,2/

9) Favor Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)

Strongly Favor (1/

Somewhat Favor (2/

Oppose (3,4/

BRASS
(tolerant)

FIGHTLND
(tolerant)

FENDRAFT
(favor)

FENATSER
(favor)

FENUMOK
(more)

SPNUMOK
(more)

BLNUMOK
(more)

68

41

62

88

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APPENDIX E

THE QUESTION WORDING EXPERIMENT

by

Jennifer Lauby

THE QUESTION WORDING EXPERIMENT

Several recent experiments have shown researchers that the answers they receive to survey questions may be affected by the way the questions are asked as well as by the underlying attitude or opinion that is being measured (Schuman and Presser, 1981). One such effect is caused by the juxtaposition of two questions concerning the rights or duties of two competing groups of people. The answers to the second question may be influenced by the desire of the respondent to show that he/she is treating both groups equally. This is the effect of the norm of evenhandedness described and studied by Schuman and Ludwig (1982). They found that the context effect occurs only when some form of reciprocity between the two groups is involved and when being evenhanded is perceived as normative.

An addition to the 1982 General Social Survey on attitudes toward women in the military included questions on required National Service for young men and women:

"How would you feel about a program that required all young men to give one year of service to the nation--either in the military forces or in non-military work such as hospitals or with elderly people--would you strongly favor it, probably favor it, probably oppose it, or strongly oppose it?"

"And how would you feel about such a program for all young women--Would you strongly favor it, probably favor it, probably oppose it, or strongly oppose it?"

These two questions were presented to half the respondents as given here and to half in the reverse order to balance out order effects. The design also gives us the opportunity to look at how the norm of evenhandedness works on questions of sex roles, which should be particularly interesting at this time when equality between the sexes is a salient issue.

Looking at the overall results, we find that the order of questions has a statistically significant effect, but only on the question of National Service (NATSER) for men (Table E-1). When the question of NATSER for men is asked first, 78 percent approve of it; when it is asked after a question about

TABLE E-1

EFFECT OF QUESTION ORDER ON ATTITUDE TO
NATIONAL SERVICE FOR MEN AND WOMEN
(percent approving)

	Order		d	χ^2	Adjusted χ^2
	1st	2nd			
NATSER for Men	77.6%	71.7%	5.9	<u>6.706</u>	6.918
	(N=723)	(731)			
NATSER for Women	60.7	65.2	-4.5	3.121	3.231
	(736)	(713)			
d	16.9	6.5			

underlined chi square is significant at $p=.05$

TABLE E-2

NATIONAL SERVICE FOR MEN BY NATSER FOR WOMEN
BY QUESTION ORDER

QUESTION ORDER	men/women NATSER for men			women/men NATSER for men		
	Yes	No	Total	Yes	No	Total
NATSER for Women				NATSER for Women		
Yes	64.2%	1.1%	65.3%	Yes	60.4%	0.7%
No	13.5	21.1	34.6	No	11.0	27.9
Total	77.7	22.2	100.0 (710)	Total	71.4	28.6 (725)

service for women the approval goes down to 72 percent. The effect on the question of NATSER for women is smaller but in the expected direction. When asked first about women, 61 percent approve, but when asked after the question about men, 65 percent approve. There is, therefore, some attempt by respondents to be evenhanded and to make their answers to the two questions agree. Looking at the context effect in a different way, there is a 17 point difference in the percentage who favor NATSER for men and women if we look only at first answers. This difference drops to 6.5 percentage points for second answers.

Table E-2 shows that the main difference between answers to the two forms is a movement from the "yes-yes" cell to the "no-no" cell. Over 85 percent of respondents give consistent answers; either both yes or both no.

Thus there is a context effect but not a large one, compared to the 10 to 30 percentage point differences due to order found in some other surveys (Schuman and Presser, 1981). The lesser effect of the norm of evenhandedness may be because there is not a reciprocal relationship between men and women in our question.

It is also important to see if the context in which a question is asked affects some groups of respondents more than others. If so, by using a certain order of questioning we may be artificially affecting differences between groups.

Other researchers have found that the way questions are asked may have more effect on the answers of the less educated, who are more easily influenced by the interviewer or who may not have clearly formed opinions on the topics under study. Schuman and Presser (1981) found that education does not always interact with context effects in this expected direction. In our study, education has an effect in the opposite direction. The group most affected by the order of the questions is the college-educated (Table E-3).

TABLE E-3

EFFECT OF QUESTION ORDER BY EDUCATION

	Order				
	1st	2nd	d	x^2	Adjusted x^2
HIGH SCHOOL OR LESS					
NATSER for Men	77.3%	73.6%	3.7	1.581	2.523
	(459)	(481)			
NATSER for Women	60.4	63.2	-2.8	0.765	1.226
	(485)	(451)			
d	16.9	10.4			
AT LEAST SOME COLLEGE					
NATSER for Men	78.5%	68.3%	10.2	<u>6.775</u>	19.965
	(260)	(249)			
NATSER for Women	61.6	68.6	-7.0	2.744	8.102
	(250)	(258)			
d	16.9	-0.3			

The group with higher education shows a remarkable effort to be evenhanded. The difference between first answers to NATSER for men and for women in this group is 17 percentage points, but it decreases to 0.3 points for second answers. The norm of evenhandedness affects only those who are sensitized to the issues involved. The more highly educated respondents seem more sensitive to the issues of equality between the sexes.

Similar effects are found for other groupings of respondents based on questions measuring awareness and information: people who report themselves highly attentive to civic affairs (Table E-4) are more affected by the norm of evenhandedness, as are people with more information on the Equal Rights Amendment (Table E-5). These are the people aware of the issue of equality between the sexes who are trying to show themselves as treating the sexes equally. (That they do not in fact believe men and women to be equal is revealed in the difference between first answers to the questions of NATSER for men and women. This difference is as great or greater for the better-informed group as for the less-informed group.)

Since the questions being studied concern sex roles, it is interesting to see if men or women respondents are more affected by the norm of evenhandedness. Surprisingly, it is the male respondents who try to be the most evenhanded (Table E-6). When asked about NATSER for women first, they have a lower rate of approval than do women (57 percent vs. 62 percent). Men then give a much lower approval of NATSER for men when it is asked second (68 percent vs. 79 percent when NATSER for men is asked first). Female respondents are hardly affected by question order. This seems to indicate that it is the men who are trying to appear to be fair to both sexes, while it is the women who are actually more egalitarian in their first answers.

Finally, the effect of feminist attitudes was looked at, using a question on attitude toward the ERA (Table E-7). While one might suspect that

TABLE E-4

EFFECT OF QUESTION ORDER BY ATTENTIVENESS
TO CIVIC AFFAIRS

	Order		d	x^2	Adjusted x^2
	1st	2nd			
HIGH ATTENTIVENESS					
NATSER for Men	80.6%	71.4%	9.2	<u>6.051</u>	17.488
	(278)	(241)			
NATSER for Women	59.6	64.1	-4.5	1.135	3.268
	(245)	(276)			
d	21.0	7.3			
MODERATE ATTENTIVENESS					
NATSER for Men	79.3%	73.9%	5.4	1.748	5.111
	(241)	(272)			
NATSER for Women	61.8	66.4	-4.6	1.176	3.459
	(272)	(238)			
d	17.5	7.5			
LOW ATTENTIVENESS					
NATSER for Men	71.8	69.1	2.7	0.275	0.987
	(202)	(216)			
NATSER for Women	60.8	65.5	-4.7	0.959	3.475
	(217)	(197)			
d	11.0	3.6			

TABLE E-5

EFFECT OF QUESTION ORDER BY AMOUNT OF INFORMATION
CONCERNING THE ERA

	1st	Order 2nd	d	x^2	Adjusted x^2
SUFFICIENT INFORMATION					
NATSER for Men	81.6% (206)	71.1% (235)	10.5	<u>6.615</u>	22.500
NATSER for Women	58.6 (237)	64.0 (203)	-5.4	1.337	4.558
d	23.0	7.1			
SOME OR NO INFORMATION					
NATSER for Men	75.9 (510)	72.0 (492)	3.9	2.009	3.007
NATSER for Women	61.7 (494)	65.8 (503)	-4.1	1.782	2.681
d	14.2	6.2			

TABLE E-6
EFFECT OF QUESTION ORDER BY SEX OF RESPONDENT

	Order 1st	2nd	d	x^2	Adjusted x^2
MALE RESPONDENTS					
NATSER for Men	79.0% (404)	67.6% (219)	11.4	<u>9.799</u>	23.593
NATSER for Women	57.3 (220)	65.2 (397)	-7.9	3.829	9.309
d	21.7	2.4			
FEMALE RESPONDENTS					
NATSER for Men	75.9% (319)	73.4 (512)	2.5	0.606	1.094
NATSER for Women	62.2 (516)	65.2 (316)	-3.0	0.750	1.352
d	13.7	8.2			

TABLE E-7

EFFECT OF QUESTION ORDER BY ATTITUDE TO THE ERA AMENDMENT

	1st	Order 2nd	d	χ^2	Adjusted χ^2
APPROVAL OF ERA					
NATSER for Men	77.1% (437)	73.1% (465)	4.0	1.924	3.199
NATSER for Women	64.5 (471)	67.7 (433)	-3.2	0.982	1.629
d	12.6	5.4			
DISAPPROVAL OF ERA					
NATSER for Men	79.1 (117)	67.3 (165)	11.8	<u>6.113</u>	26.811
NATSER for Women	51.2 (166)	57.0 (172)	-5.8	1.133	5.028
d	27.9	10.3			

people who favor the ERA would be most affected by the principle of evenhandedness, this is not the case. Feminists are more likely to say that women should serve, no matter the form of the question. It is those who do not favor the ERA who are affected by the question form in the direction that the whole sample is affected. After giving a rather low approval to NATSER for women, they also lower their approval for service for men. Thus the effect of the norm of evenhandedness in this case is not to increase approval of women in traditionally male roles but to decrease approval of National Service for males.

This analysis of the comparative sensitivity of various groups of respondents to changes in context helps to divide people into three groups on their attitude toward National Service for women. Although a majority of each group favors National Service for both men and women, there is a difference in the degree of approval. The first category contains people who definitely approve of equal roles for men and women in National Service. Women and people who favor the ERA are most likely to be in this group. A second group has less favorable attitudes about women in nontraditional roles than does the first group. This group, which does not try to be evenhanded, includes those with less education and less information. A third category includes people who are not so sure they approve of military and service roles for women, but wish to appear evenhanded in their treatment of men and women. Men, people with higher education, and people who are better informed are more likely to be in this group. They seem to be torn between their egalitarian stance and an ingrained belief in differences between the sexes.

Education and the media make people more aware of the issue of equality between the sexes and, while people's attitudes on appropriate roles for men and women may not change very quickly, exposure to the issue does make people aware of the norm of treating men and women equally.