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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

FOREIGN POLICY BELIEF SYSTEMS AND MILITARY SERVICE:
AN EMPIRICAL COMPARISON OF VETERANS AND NONVETERANS

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
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JAMES L. REGENS
Norman, Oklahoma

1976

FOREIGN POLICY BELIEF SYSTEMS AND MILITARY SERVICE:
AN EMPIRICAL COMPARISON OF VETERANS AND NONVETERANS

APPROVED BY











DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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CHAPTER I

FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDES AND MILITARY SERVICE: BELIEF SYSTEMS AMONG THE MASS PUBLIC

Introduction

This research addresses the extent to which differences in expressed preferences on a series of foreign policy issues areas exist within American society as a consequence of military experiences. Although adult socialization processes have been commonly conceptualized as primarily involving the acquisition of specific knowledge and skills rather than the inculcation or alteration of basic values (Brim and Wheeler, 1966: 27), the exposure of individuals to divergent personal as well as group experiences may result in discernible effects upon various attitudes among adults since ". . . different aspects of political orientation develop at different rates" (Hyman, 1959: 60):

. . . While socialization is mainly a product of experience within the formative years . . . the individual is not fixed in his politics for life. He may show further changes with cumulative experience in the larger society or in a particular segment of that society (Hyman, 1959: 151).

Thus, systematic examination of the role of specific institutions in society may further enhance the extent to which the processes of attitude formation and change are understood and contribute to the construction of empirical theory. Given the diffusion of military experiences throughout the adult male population of the United States, the influence of such experiences on foreign policy attitudes is a particularly appropriate subject for empirical analysis. In short, does military service affect political attitudes?

It seems reasonable to assume that not all social and political attitudes are influenced by military service (Wilson and Horack, 1972; Jennings and Markus, 1974; Regens and Rycroft, 1975); however, the potential impact of military experiences on individual and societal attitudes in that issue area is especially relevant. Generally, scholars have argued that the mass public does not tend to possess consistent foreign policy attitudes due to the general complexity and remoteness of international affairs for most individuals (Scott, 1958; Almond, 1960; Rosenau, 1961). More recent research, however, suggests that the Vietnam War may have enhanced public awareness of international affairs (Verba, et al., 1967; Rosenberg, Verba and Converse, 1970; Mueller, 1973). From 1966 until late 1972, a majority of respondents in surveys conducted by the

University of Michigan's Survey Research Center considered the war to be the nation's "most important problem" (Converse and Schuman, 1970: 19). In fact, Bennett (1974: 738) finds that the average inter-item gamma coefficients for the general public from 1964 and 1968 ". . . reveal that the citizenry was able coherently to structure its Vietnam views." Given this salience and the generally prevailing assumption of the military's importance as an institution in American society (Ambrose and Barber, 1972; Russett and Stepan, 1973), this research should enhance not only knowledge of the impact of military experiences on attitudes and the public's attentiveness to international affairs, but also further clarify the content and organization of belief systems in the mass public. Thus, this dissertation raises and will attempt to answer the following questions:

- (1) To what extent do veterans and nonveterans vary in their attitudes on a series of issue areas? To what degree do those attitudes exhibit constraint or structure?
- (2) What social and demographic background characteristics within American society are associated with the attitudinal patterns of the veterans and nonveterans?
- (3) To what extent are the attitudes of the veterans and nonveterans attributable to institutional experiences associated with military service? To what degree do the veterans vary among themselves due to the differential nature of their military experiences?
- (4) What, if any, explicitly causal inferences may be drawn concerning these relationships?

As has been the case with many systematic efforts in the social sciences, a major obstacle to empirical research in this area is the general paucity of sufficient data with which to investigate the assumptions underlying such a research question.¹ Even when data have been available, empirical research has often been limited by the absence of an integrating theory of sufficient breadth and depth to establish the importance of any relationship between institutional experiences and attitudinal expressions. This problem has proven to be enduring as well as extremely difficult to resolve in studies of the impact of military experiences on attitudes since commonly shared characteristics such as age or education may constitute the basis for non-congruent cleavages which can function as intervening variables² to affect the composition of an individual's attitudes in spite of diverse institutional experiences.

Political behavior is complex and many different aspects could be examined as outgrowths of socialization (Hyman, 1959; Hess and Torney, 1968; Dawson and Prewitt, 1969; Jennings and Niemi, 1974). It seems logical to distinguish at least two major foci of concern emerging from studies in the field: (1) involvement or participation in politics and (2) the various types of attitudes and goals manifested in the political spectrum of human affairs.

Just as individuals may differ in the quantity and perhaps quality of their political behavior, the substance of political attitudes has varied across time and space among individuals and social groups. This research, by concentrating on the second foci of socialization, seeks to further understanding of the content and structure of attitudes. In essence, are people's attitudinal conceptualizations within and across issue domains a function of institutional experiences as well as characteristics of the individuals themselves? If the latter is the case, one might expect different kinds of responses in accordance with varying exposure to alternative institutional environments. This may well be since as Dewey (1954) suggests:

. . . The underlying and generative conditions of concrete behavior are social as well as organic: much more social than organic as far as the manifestation of differential wants, purposes and methods of operation is concerned (Dewey, 1954: 103).³

Subsequent research has suggested that institutional experiences do, in fact, exert an influence on the political predispositions of individuals (Lipset, 1960; Alford, 1963; Milbrath, 1965; Lipset and Rokkan, 1967).

Two prominent areas of research in the social sciences offer an opportunity for the formulation of empirical theory focusing on the influence of post-adolescent institutional experiences as well as individual social and demographic background characteristics on attitudes. Political

scientists drawing largely upon the concepts of cognitive consistency theory in social psychology have examined the existence of coherent attitude structures among mass as well as elite segments of the public while sociologists, particularly students of armed forces and society, have attempted to assess the existence of a generally pervasive garrison state or militaristic mentality in modern industrial societies. This research thus seeks to foster at least partial understanding of the basis for foreign policy belief systems--certainly a crucial factor in our collective future given the concern for the creation of a climate enhancing the development of attitudes favorable to non-violent conflict resolution as a pre-requisite for global stability. While an inclusive theory of the impact of divergent institutional experiences on attitude formation and articulation remains to be developed, cross-sectional comparisons of veterans and nonveterans on their expressed preferences over a series of foreign affairs issue domains may further illuminate linkages necessary for the formulation of an empirical theory of the role of the armed forces in contemporary American society. The significance of this research, however, extends beyond the illumination of differential institutional experiences--in this case those of a military nature--on attitudes since the results reported may further specify the existence of

attitude structures and levels of consistency in the cognitive processes of the mass public. Such knowledge may form the basis for increased understanding of the processes of attitude formation and change.

Theoretical Background

In the most complete formulation of his theory of civil-military relations in the contemporary era, Lasswell (1950) suggests that modern, industrialized societies will increasingly tend to be characterized as militarized societies. As a form of social organization, the military and civilian components of the social order are depicted as becoming increasingly convergent and generally supportive of greater influence on the part of the military establishment in the polity. The rise of the garrison state⁴ occurs, according to Lasswell, primarily due to the security dilemma confronting individual states as a consequence of the uncertainty inherent in the international system:

Crisis strengthens the plausibility of the military way of thinking. Experts on any subject exaggerate what they know best. The expert concentrates on one set of relationships. The other dimensions of reality seem less prominent and less important. The professional strategist thinks of all the contingencies connected with the use of weapons in war. The result is to emphasize in the minds of all who are exposed to his thinking the most extreme possibilities and the importance of physical weapons (Lasswell, 1950: 26-27).

Furthermore, Lasswell (1950: 48) also suggests the ". . . garrison-police state is both a 'state of mind' and a 'state of readiness'." Consequently, the population of such a garrison state society--both civilian and military--share militarized attitudes⁵ which generally tend to ". . . rank military institutions and ways above the ways of civilian life, carrying military mentality and modes of acting and decision into the civilian sphere" (Vagts, 1937: 15). Thus, in addition to providing a projected typology of the potential organization of modern societies (Eulau, 1958), the garrison state concept implies that attitudinal dimensions as well as institutional features are involved in an analysis of the relationship of the military to society.

. . . Lasswell's construct remains of considerable importance as a sensitizing instrument; most critically, it sensitizes us to the importance of public attitudes toward the soldier as a possible measure of "garrison statism" (Clotfelter, 1974: 94).

In this research, attention focuses on attitudes among the mass public toward the role of the military in American society including the potential diffusion of the garrison state mentality as a result of military service. The magnitude of the potential impact of military experiences on individual and societal attitudes in that area is alluded to by Shoup (1969: 51) who suggests ". . . (P)rior to World War II, American attitudes were typically

isolationist, pacifist, and anti-military," however, since the conclusion of the Second World War, the United States has been transformed into a ". . . militaristic and aggressive nation . . . with millions of proud, patriotic, and frequently bellicose and militaristic citizens." This suggests that institutional experiences associated with exposure to the socialization processes of the military may, in fact, affect the composition of an individual's attitudes.

An Overview of Attitude Theory

Since the concepts of attitudinal content, organization and constraint are central to an analysis of the potential consequences of divergent individual characteristics, it is desirable to clarify the usage of those concepts before this research can adequately examine whether or not military experiences affect individual-level attitudes.

Perhaps the sole point upon which scholars of social psychology agree is that ". . . (T)he concept of attitude is probably the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary social psychology" (Allport, 1935: 798). Surely that statement is equally true today. The centrality of the concept to social psychology (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918; Krech and Crutchfield, 1948; Brown, 1965; McGuire, 1968; Rokeach, 1968) has even been admitted by

its critics who object to the ambiguity and lack of specificity in the usage of the concept (Doob, 1947; Tarter, 1970). Having accepted the theoretical utility of the concept for this research effort, it is necessary to establish a conceptual definition of attitude for this study.

Thomas and Znaniecki (1918), in what was at that point the most comprehensive and influential treatment of the concept, characterized attitude as an individual-specific, hypothetical construct whose presence and significance must be inferred from behavior:

. . . attitudes . . . are more or less generally found among the members of a social group, have real importance in the life-organization of the individuals who have developed them, and manifest themselves in social activities of these individuals (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918: 30).

This would suggest the concept refers to mental phenomena such as feelings which represent affective responses to objects (Thurstone, 1928 and 1931; Fishbein, 1967b) as well as overt behavior (Bain, 1928). Underlying these formulations of the concept is the view that attitude ". . . is an inferred entity" (Halloran, 1970: 15); and as a preparation or readiness for response, attitudes are in essence a ". . . precondition of behavior" (Allport, 1935: 805).

In what has subsequently come to be regarded as the classic formulation of attitude theory, Allport (1935) defined the concept in the following manner:

. . . An attitude is a mental or neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related (Allport, 1935: 810).

Allport's definition is consistent with earlier formulations of the concept in social psychology since it asserts the presumed linkage between attitude and behavior. It is, however, much more comprehensive than prior conceptualizations in its delineation of the elements of attitude.

Attitudes are considered to be: (1) mental and neural; (2) organized through experience; and (3) constitute a predisposition toward some form of action. This formulation of the concept by Allport, which includes aspects of both the Thurstone and Bain definitions, provides a theoretical framework which forms the basis for subsequent modern work which suggest that an attitude is a constellation of preconceptions, beliefs, and sentiments making for a relatively stable predisposition to respond in a consistent fashion to a set of related objects⁶ (McGuire, 1968).

Krech and Crutchfield (1948) allude to this role for the concept:

. . . People, in other words, direct their actions--whether the actions involve religious ceremonies, ways of earning a living, political activity, or violence --in terms of their beliefs and attitudes. The very

fact that beliefs and attitudes play such a prominent and seemingly significant role for the individual argues strongly for the indispensability of beliefs and attitudes in the analysis of social behavior (Krech and Crutchfield, 1948: 149).

Attitudes thus can be thought of as an element which contributes to the process by which individuals define various situations and determine courses of action. Katz and Stotland adopt this perspective when they define attitude as ". . . an individual's tendency or predisposition to evaluate an object or symbol of that object in a certain way" (1959: 428). While this definition of the concept retains the cognitive and behavioral components of prior formulations, Katz and Stotland also add an affective component possessing directionality which has subsequently become a central aspect of conceptualizations of attitude:

. . . An attitude can be defined as an enduring system of three components centering about the same object: the beliefs about the object--the cognitive component; the affect connected with the object--the feeling component; and the disposition to take action with respect to the object--the action tendency component⁷ (Krech, Crutchfield and Ballachey, 1962: 146).

Continuity in the evolution of the concept is also reflected in Rokeach's definition of attitude as the ". . . relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferred manner" (1968: 450).

While a precise definition of the concept remains elusive, several conclusions about the nature of attitudes

which can serve as a basis for consensual definition of the concept can be delineated from this brief review of the historical development of the concept. The existence of attitudes must be inferred from expressed preferences or overt behavior rather than directly assessed. Attitudes are acquired, maintained or altered in some manner through experiences. Attitudes contribute to the cognitive processes by which an individual defines situations and selects alternative courses of action. Although attitudes are changeable over time, they are relatively enduring and organized states instead of merely transitory reactions to stimuli at a single point in time (Berelson and Steiner, 1964). As a hypothetical construct, any single attitude can be operationally defined in terms of four key content properties (see Hartley and Hartley, 1952: 665-674):

- (1) Direction--positive, neutral or negative toward its referent (Newcomb, Turner and Converse, 1965; Katz, 1966).
- (2) Degree--magnitude expressed in terms of more or less (Welch, 1972; Hamblin, 1974).
- (3) Intensity--how strongly held; modifiability (Campbell, et al., 1960).
- (4) Saliency--centrality (Converse, 1964; Abelson and Rosenberg, 1967).

This suggests attitudes are definable at and can be inferred from data at the individual level for analysis purposes (Katz, 1966). Even critics of the usage of the concept in

social research have recognized its heuristic and research stimulating values (Blumer, 1956; Tarter, 1970).

. . . In the study of human conduct, wherein human actions are carving out lines of action, it is of the utmost importance to take their roles and get inside of their framework of operation. While, as I have said, the concept of attitude is not necessary to do this, its means of facilitating role taking is in order and may be helpful (Blumer, 1956: 64).

The topic of attitudinal ordering has increasingly become the focal point for a series of attempts to construct systematic empirical theories of attitude formation and change. While no single all-encompassing theory of human cognitive processes exists in the social psychology literature, generally these efforts have all utilized the same underlying principle--the concept of cognitive consistency. As Bennett (1973: 547) suggests, ". . . (I)n recent years some of the most important and stimulating research into the processes of attitude formation and change has come from the so-called 'cognitive consistency theorists'." Actually composed of three closely related theoretical frameworks⁸ (Brown, 1965: 549-609) drawing upon the pioneering efforts of Heider (1944 and 1946), this body of research postulates that the drive toward attitudinal consistency is an inherent quality of an individual's cognitive processes (Bennett, 1973: 548). Sullivan (1966) illustrates this point with the observation that cognitive consistency may be viewed as:

. . . that state in which an individual's friends do friendly things, his enemies do hostile things, and his political heroes support the causes he supports (Sullivan, 1966: 242).

Central to this body of theory is the assumption that a person ". . . tends to behave in ways that minimize the internal inconsistency among his interpersonal relations, or among his beliefs, feelings, and emotions" (McGuire, 1966: 1). In order to maintain this presumed desire for cognitive balance, the individual is conceptualized as striving to maintain internal congruence or structure among that individual's beliefs and attitudes.

. . . An attitude structure may be seen as a subsystem within the individual's total cognitive system--a subsystem which is organized around the concept of a particular event or class of events (Scott, 1958: 10).

Thus, from a theoretical perspective, it is the disequilibrium inherent in attitudinal inconsistency that initiates the modification of those elements (attitudes) which are mutually involved in an inconsistent cognitive structure so as to attain greater consistency among the elements. As a result, cognitive modification derives from the psychological stress produced by the interaction of inconsistent attitudes. Generally, such change is perceived to operate in the direction of equilibrium restoration or consistency⁹ (Osgood, 1960).

In the above usage, attitude is defined at the individual level although the concept has also been applied to

the aggregated opinions of social groups (Hennessy, 1975). Namely, it is the specific organization of feelings and beliefs according to which a given person evaluates an object or symbol positively or negatively (Katz, 1966). The mere presence of beliefs or opinion about political objects or symbols, however, does not necessarily imply the ideological nature of such attitudes (Sartori, 1969) or provide sufficient basis to infer a priori that those beliefs or opinions are necessarily structured. While agreement on the meaning of the concept of ideology is far from universal, a tendency can be discerned among contemporary scholars to regard ideologies as systems of belief or structured attitude which are elaborate, integrated and coherent (Campbell, et al., 1960; Converse, 1964).

Neither the word "system" nor the word "structure," however, should be taken to imply that attitudes are organized in a rational fashion.¹⁰ Rather, the terminology refers to the manner in which the individual components of attitudes interrelate cognitively in the mind of the believer (Rokeach, 1960) to justify the exercise of power; explain and evaluate historical events; identify political morality; establish causal and moral linkages between politics and other spheres of human activity; and furnish guides for action (Shils, 1958; Bell, 1960; Minar, 1961; Rejai, 1971). This would suggest that a belief system (or depending upon the above conditions, an ideology) may be

considered to constitute a configuration or organization of ideas and values in which the elements are bound together as a coherent attitude structure by some form of constraint or functional interdependence (Garner, 1962: 142).

Belief Systems in the Mass Public

The assumption that an individual's behavior is influenced by that individual's attitudes which are both structured and shared among members of a social group forms the underlying basis for the various cognitive consistency models. Presumably this strain toward consistency also applies to the public's political cognitions (Queener, 1949; Gamson and Modigliani, 1966; Bennett, 1973). Such a view provides the theoretical rationale for the concept that elections function in a democratic political system as a linkage mechanism between socially aggregated preferences --individual as well as collective--and policy¹¹ (Key, 1966). As Berelson (1952) has described it, classical democratic theory suggests that on the basis of an informed and carefully reasoned set of personal preferences and an accurate perception of the various candidates' positions, the voter is expected to vote for those candidates who best reflect his personal preferences. Until recently, it was widely assumed that political behavior in the United States was in large measure reflective of this tacit assumption which

is central to democratic theory.¹² Appreciable levels of consistency were thought to exist between an individual's evaluation of the political sphere and that individual's actions in the political realm¹³ (Rosenau, 1962; Kessel, 1965; Sullivan, 1966). Public preferences for policy options on various issues were commonly conceptualized as being distributed along a single, liberal-conservative ideological continuum which was sufficiently diffuse to encompass the entire spectrum of public opinion and political activity in American society.¹⁴ Consequently, individual members of the polity were believed to locate themselves along this unidimensional space and employ it as a basis for perception, definition, evaluation, and action within the political system (Schlesinger, 1939; Downs, 1957a and 1957b).

. . . we assume that political preferences can be ordered from right to left in a manner agreed upon by all voters. They need not agree on which point they personally prefer, only on the ordering of parties from one extreme to the other (Downs, 1957a; 115).

Empirical research, however, especially in the field of electoral behavior has suggested this image is inaccurate (see Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee, 1954; Campbell, Gurin and Miller, 1954; Campbell, et al., 1960; McClosky, Hoffman and O'Hara, 1960; Converse, 1964; McClosky, 1964). At the present time, a good deal of disagreement exists among scholars over the extent to which discernable attitude structures or systems exist for the vast majority of the

American public within and across issue domains (Kessel, 1972: 459; Bennett, 1973: 549-554).

The most serious questioning of the traditional assumption that high levels of cognitive consistency exist among the mass public which are associated with the public's tangible political actions occurred with the development of research techniques specifically designed to obtain data providing direct knowledge about the individual and that person's attitudes. In much of the early behavioral research in the social sciences, relationships between individuals, their cognitive processes, and their behavior resulted primarily from inferences based upon conjecture and/or aggregate data. As a result of various methodological advances associated with the initiation and subsequent diffusion of survey research techniques utilizing probability sampling procedures in conjunction with multivariate statistical analyses, scholars have increasingly developed the capability to make inferences about the attitudes manifested by large populations--including entire societies--from relatively small samples (Rosenberg, 1968; Dreyer and Rosenbaum, 1970; Frankel, 1971; Hyman, 1972; Babbie, 1973). This has led to the present uncertainty in the political science literature over ". . . the extent to which public policy attitudes of the contemporary American electorate can actually be characterized as 'consistent'" (Bennett,

1973: 545). The current debate is essentially between those scholars who assert discernable levels of consistency exist among the public's political beliefs and opinions (Luttbeg, 1968; Brown, 1970; Kirkpatrick, 1970a and 1970b; Bennett, 1973) and those whose research suggests most people lack stable and coherent structures among their attitudes (McPhee, Anderson and Milholland, 1962; Converse, 1964; Hennessy, 1970). In any event, the degree to which the mass public in the United States possesses coherently structured political attitudes remains far from settled (Litwak, Hooyman and Warren, 1973).

As noted earlier, the literature dealing with the topic of electoral behavior provides one of the most clearly empirical investigations of whether or not discernable attitude structures for positions on public questions exist within the mass public as well as an illumination of the presumed linkage between attitude and behavior. Generally, the most consistent finding of the early surveys of the American electorate in the 1940's and 1950's was that the vast majority of voters--even in the midst of presidential election campaigns--failed to reflect the ability to organize their cognitions according to the model suggested by traditional democratic theory. For the most part, the attitudes of most individuals were isolated rather than joined with other beliefs and feelings on related questions

to form highly differentiated, structured and consistent political belief systems (Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee, 1954; Campbell, Gurin and Miller, 1954).

Campbell, et al. (1960), in their classic The American Voter, suggest few members of the electorate hold stable and consistent positions on various issues of public concern.¹⁵ Only a minority of the respondents in their national survey sample could distinguish between the two major parties on the basis of their political cognitions for a series of issue domains. As a consequence, most voters tended to evaluate candidates and cast their ballots largely on the basis of partisan identification and candidate personality rather than as a result of issue positions based upon the individual's cognitive framework. Campbell and his associates concluded that the mass public could be characterized by an absence of discernable attitude structuring of beliefs that the cognitive consistency models derived from social psychology suggest occur (see also Campbell and Stokes, 1959; Stokes, 1966).

. . . We speak of an "attitude structure" when two or more beliefs or opinions held by an individual are in some way or another functionally related.

. . . We may imagine a number of types of functional relationship binding attitudes together. There is, for example, a means-end relationship that often emerges clearly in attitude structures. . . . Or attitudes may be functionally related if they operate in the service of a need. . . . Attitude structures are often thought of as hierarchies in which more specific attitudes interact with attitudes toward the more general class of objects in which the

specific object is seen to belong (Campbell, et al., 1960: 110).

Converse (1964), in what has subsequently come to be regarded as the point of departure for the debate over the existence of recognizable attitude structuring within the mass public, suggested constraint is a matter of degree. Therefore, the existence of attitude structures is amenable to measurement and can be inferred from the amount of inter-relatedness of association (constraint) in a set of cognitive orientations toward political objects or symbols. Converse maintains that the organization of beliefs and feelings about political objects and symbols into coherent attitude structures is essentially non-existent except among elites in society. Converse concluded that only a small portion of the electorate, which may be thought of as the politically attentive public, possesses opinions on various issue domains which manifest sufficient functional interdependence to constitute attitude structures.¹⁶

Prothro and Grigg (1960) found that while there was widespread support for statements of culturally familiar principles of freedom, democracy, and tolerance in a cross-sectional sample of the American electorate, that support was abstract. Support for those values became rapidly obscured when questions were posed examining attitudes in which specific cases were offered as situational referents¹⁷ (see also Stouffer, 1955). In those instances, Prothro and Grigg found that elites were more capable of structuring

their political attitudes to derive direct applications of the more diffuse general principles than were members of the mass public. This tends to support the earlier findings by Hyman and Sheatsley (1954) that a large portion of the electorate fail to grasp certain of the underlying ideals and concepts upon which the American political system is based with greater comprehension and endorsement occurring on the part of elites. McClosky (1964) also found differences in the levels of constraint among belief elements in a comparative study between an elite sample composed of delegates to national political party conventions and a cross-sectional sample for various items dealing with propositions about democracy and freedom (see also McClosky, 1958). These studies have all generally tended to support the conclusion that ". . . the mass of Americans do not have a sophisticated conceptual organization " (Merelman, 1969:751). According to Pomper (1972a):

. . . In broad terms, political scientists have found voters to have limited interest in politics, to be strongly attached to their traditional parties and social groups, and to lack ideological coherence in their views of political issues (Pomper, 1972a: 415).

Of particular concern for this study is the suggestion that most individuals in American society fail to exhibit attitudinal structuring in terms of their political cognitions. Despite the highly persuasive force with which that conclusion is presented by much of the early research,

debate over the extent to which individuals in the mass public tend to coherently structure their political beliefs and feelings has not subsided (Verba, et al., 1967; Converse, 1970; Hennessy, 1970; Marcus, Tabb and Sullivan, 1974; Pierce and Rose, 1974; Piereson and Maggiotto, 1972; Stimson, 1975).

Shortly before his death, Key (1966), in an effort to prove that the majority of the American electorate did conform in large measure to the assumptions of rationality underlying traditional democratic theory, presented the thesis ". . . that voters are not fools--that they are not molded solely by social determinants or skillful propagandists, but by a concern for relevant questions of public policy, governmental performance, and executive personality" (see Kirkpatrick, 1969: 6). Key concludes that the individual voters who constitute the mass public do, in fact, develop feelings and beliefs which are consonant with their electoral behavior:

. . . it is not unreasonable to suppose a goodly number of persons may very well have been governed in their candidate choice by their policy outlook (Key, 1966: 48).

While it should be noted that Key's political "outlooks" do not represent specific attitude structures, nevertheless; they provide a basis to infer that the public at large does seek to maintain congruence among the attitudes or opinions

which form their political cognitions (see also Kessel, 1965; Sullivan, 1966).

In their research on the beliefs providing an underlying foundation for partisan identification, Froman and Skipper (1963) suggest congruence between party choice and the respondent's attitudes on various political issues and questions is the norm. In order to empirically examine their hypothesis, Froman and Skipper presented the individuals in their study with a series of hypothetical situations requiring the respondent to make a choice between "his party's" candidate with whom the respondent disagrees and the "other party's" candidate with whom the respondent agrees on an issue. Their findings reveal that individuals tend to favor the candidate whose attitudes are congruent with their own in order to resolve the conflict created by the seeming inconsistency. Subsequent research, largely focusing on the impact of ideology on individuals' issue and candidate evaluations, has offered additional evidence that the cognitive consistency models of social psychology are applicable to the political attitudes of the mass public as well as those of elite segments of the electorate. Field and Anderson (1969) and Pierce (1970) found ideological orientations were, in fact, salient among the general public primarily as a result of high levels of political conflict associated with the Goldwater candidacy in the

1964 presidential election campaign during which the issue positions of both candidates were generally perceived as clearly differentiated (see also Axelrod, 1967; Luttbeg, 1968). Nexon (1971), in a study of occasional party activists, found similar evidence of increased ideological coherence in 1964. Repass (1971: 395) suggests the capacity of the electorate to perceive party differences on issues has increased and notes ". . . a strong strain toward a correct perception of party positions was also evident." Weisberg and Rusk (1970), in yet another study of individuals' candidate evaluations, assert that orientations toward political issues form one of two dimensions important for evaluating candidates:

. . . Issues apart from traditional partisan identification were critical in the determination of attitudes toward several of the candidates. The electorate did adapt to changing circumstances in its evaluation of candidates (Weisberg and Rusk, 1970: 1179).

Generally, these studies support the conclusion that ". . . (W)hile the voters did not respond ideologically in the full sense of the term, they did respond to the specific issues presented to them, and they did align their partisan loyalties closer to their policy preferences" (Pomper, 1972a: 425).

Further support for the argument that individuals possess coherent political attitudes appears in a collection of articles in the American Political Science Review

which examine the presence of issue-oriented voting behavior (see Pomper, 1972a and 1972b; Boyd, 1972a and 1972b; Brody and Page, 1972; Kessel, 1972). Focusing on the voters' perceptions of parties and policies, Pomper asserts the electorate when examined longitudinally has shown itself able to comprehend and respond to ideological conflict occurring within the political arena as a consequence of ". . . an increase in voter consciousness during the 1956-1968 period" (Pomper, 1972a: 416). Boyd, in an attempt to relate the normal voter concept (see Converse, 1966) to issue motivated voting, similarly asserts ". . . (B)eliefs about Vietnam, race and urban unrest, and Johnson's performance as president were all highly related to the vote in 1968" (Boyd, 1972a: 446). Brody and Page's findings as well as those by Kessel reveal that voters are able to evaluate self-perceived congruence between their attitudes and those of rival candidates for a series of issue domains and then vote for the candidate whose attitudes appear to be most proximal to the individual's own political con-
ditions.

Kirkpatrick (1970a and 1970b) suggests consistency within the public's cognitive structures including issue domains is relatively high for the American electorate as a whole (see also Sperlich, 1971; Kirkpatrick, 1974). In studies of voter choice and issue orientations, Kirkpatrick

and Jones (1970 and 1974) provide additional illustrations of the close association between these two elements of an individual's cognitive framework (see also Kirkpatrick, 1968). Similar evidence of at least latent strain toward attitudinal consistency among the public's beliefs and opinions is also evident in the findings from a study of individual's attitudes toward government mandated fair housing practices, the Rumsford Act, and referendum voting choice to repeal that statute in California (Wolfinger and Greenstein, 1968). Research on public opinion about the war in Vietnam has also revealed individuals are able to coherently structure their attitudes to relate issue positions to public choices other than voting behavior (Verba, et al., 1967; Verba and Brody, 1970). The findings of these studies support the view that pressure towards internal consistency among an individual's political beliefs, feelings, and outlooks tends to operate ". . . when the issue is salient, that is, when the issue is being 'thought about,' or if this is too rational a terminology, when 'cognitive work' is applied on the issue" (Abelson, 1967: 349-350).

Bennett (1973 and 1974), in an effort to show that levels of attitudinal structuring within American society are not static but can vary over time as well as across issue domains, applied Converse's methodology (Converse,

1964) to an analysis of various public issues arising in the course of presidential elections during the 1960's. His research essentially suggests that ". . . when highly salient policy issues are involved, people from all strata of society achieve consistent attitude structures" (Bennett, 1973: 553). In fact, Bennett (1973: 559) finds the average inter-item gamma coefficients for the general public in 1964 and 1968 on domestic social welfare issues reveal levels of attitudinal constraint among the mass public's political cognitions almost identical to those found by Converse for the congressional elites in 1958. Thus according to Bennett:

. . . the extent to which people hold consistent attitudes on a set of political issues is not constant over time, but varies from one period to another, depending partly on how much attention is focused on such disputes and partly upon how much controversy they generate (Bennett, 1973: 546).

Bennett also suggests a distinction should be made between different attitudinal domains in the public's issue consciousness with variable patterns of consistency and inconsistency occurring as a result of the relative centrality of those domains in an individual's cognitive framework (Abelson, 1967; Abelson and Rosenberg, 1967).

On the basis of the wide range of studies summarized above, one might categorize the attitude literature as plentiful but inconclusive overall in terms of its findings on the ability of the general public to provide coherent

structuring for its political attitudes. It is interesting to note that virtually all of the studies which report relatively low levels of cognitive consistency among the American electorate's political attitudes are based on survey research largely conducted in the 1950's. That period of time is often depicted as an essentially apolitical era. Bennett (1973: 551-552) maintains the public's seeming lack of coherent political attitudes during the 1950's ". . . was more a consequence of the lack of major issue cleavages among the political party elites during the Eisenhower years than a product of the inability of the citizenry to structure coherently its political attitudes"¹⁸ (see also Mills, 1956; Lipset, 1960). In fact, that period formed the basis for the conclusion then prevalent among academia that the "end of ideology" had possibly been achieved in American politics (Bell, 1960). On the other hand, most of the empirical research which asserts that individuals in the mass public as well as members of elite segments are capable of meaningfully organizing their political beliefs, feelings, and outlooks into coherent attitude structures is based upon data from surveys conducted during the 1960's. Generally, those years increasingly culminated in a decade of resurgent political cleavages within the United States (Hamilton, 1968; Scammon and Wattenberg, 1970; Lubell, 1970) marked by ". . . increasingly

pervasive and bitter political strife" (Bennett, 1973: 546). This suggests changes in the levels of discernably coherent attitudinal structuring among the public's political cognitions reflect the diffusion of generally high issue saliency throughout all sectors of society rather than having the centrality of those issues largely confined to elites. While another potential source of the conflicting findings stems from differences in analysis strategies adopted (Sears, 1969; Natchez, 1970) as well as continual refinements of research methodology, nevertheless, this body of literature when viewed as a whole suggests the public is able, at least on occasion, to give coherent organization to its beliefs, feelings, and outlooks in the political realm (Pierce and Rose, 1974). For example, Plamenatz (1958) asserts previous studies demonstrate not the absence of ideology within the public but the absence of the ability to articulate hidden ideology. Thus, studies of attitude formation and articulation within the mass public offer continual opportunity for further empirical research.

Social Consensus and Cleavage

One might well ask what factors influence the composition of attitudes. As noted earlier, theories of political socialization frequently stress the assertion that adult political behavior is little more than the elaboration

of patterns firmly grounded in an individual's childhood experiences. Such theories assume that early political socialization is more "basic" than later learning experiences and that the attitudes formed as a result of childhood experiences are generally enduring (LeVine, 1963). While the general proposition that attitudes and values acquired early in life are resistant to change is partially supported by studies of children's political attitudes (Hess and Easton, 1960; Greenstein, 1960), an important modification of this hypothesis is suggested by Hyman (1959: 46-47) who argues that different aspects of political socialization have different growth curves (see also Prewitt, Eulau and Zisk, 1966; Searing, Schwartz and Lind, 1973). Generally, salient social background characteristics have been suggested as major sources for such attitudinal consensus and cleavage within American society (Dennis, 1968; Devine, 1972). For instance, while partisan identification is well established early in life, political ideology in the form of coherent belief systems tends to emerge at least partially in response to factors present in the life-cycle experiences of individuals (Kirkpatrick, 1974).

Education. Disparities in individuals' levels of educational attainment tends to be the most frequently examined variable in terms of its influence on the content

and structure of belief systems (Kirkpatrick, 1974: 19-20). The dominant theme in early research examining the relationship between education (often conceptualized as being reflective of political information levels) and attitudes is one of high education-high consistency (Dewey, 1916; Prothro and Grigg, 1960; McClosky, 1964; Converse, 1964) although Kirkpatrick (1972) argues that lower consistency levels occur among higher education strata (see also Sperlich, 1971). Other early studies suggest high consistency levels for those individuals who possess low educational backgrounds (Harvey, Hunt and Schroder, 1961; Scott, 1962 and 1963). Thus, empirical evidence suggests a relationship exists between education and attitudinal constraint although studies reveal the nature of that relationship may vary (Kirkpatrick, 1974: 20):

. . . Finally, there is recent supporting evidence of either (1) few differences in constraint between levels of education (Bennett, 1973), (2) slight indicators of curvilinearity (Bennett, 1973; George, 1971), or (3) experimentally confirmed curvilinear relationships with constraint highest at the extremes of low and high education (Jones and Rambo, 1973).

Age. Another potential source of cleavage as well as continuity can be the intergenerational transfer of belief systems. If attitudinal orientations are not transferred from one generation to another because of the breakdown or disintegration of the socialization process, continuity in values and attitudes cannot be maintained.

Social research, especially in gerontology, asserts linkages exist between age and attitudes within the public (Gergen and Back, 1965; Neugarten, Moore and Lowe, 1968; Riley and Foner, 1968). Attempts to reveal the impact of age on attitudes through cohort analysis have suggested age may affect political attitudes and behavior (Crittenden, 1963; Glenn, 1969 and 1973; Cutler, 1970; Klecka, 1971; Glenn and Hefner, 1972; Kirkpatrick, 1974). For example, Klecka (1971) argues that age, in the form of both generational and maturation effects, influences attitudes toward isolation in foreign affairs. Kirkpatrick (1974: 6) suggests ". . . the weight of evidence is away from aging effects in political life and toward interpretations emphasizing generational differences or mixed effects."

Race. Sociological theory suggests few factors appear to possess more potential for fostering cleavage rather than consensus within American society than the one involving race (Glazer and Moynihan, 1963; Gordon, 1964). Parenti (1967) asserts that in terms of belief systems societal integration involves a process of acculturation ". . . whereby an ethnic group accepts the beliefs, values, and other norms and practices of the society" (Devine, 1972: 277). Marvick (1965) maintains that as a consequence of the racial situation in the United States such acculturation has failed, at least in part, to occur:

. . . Negro Americans in many ways are excluded from the dominant political culture of their community and nation, and are denied its rewards. Norms and values are learned in a special Negro subculture (Marvick, 1965: 113).

Other studies also conclude differing attitudinal and behavioral patterns exist for whites and nonwhites (Brink and Harris, 1966; Broom and Glenn, 1966; Verba, 1967; Erskine, 1969; Sears, 1969).

Regionalism and Urbanism. Ecological differentiation has been suggested by some research as a source of divergence in belief systems among individuals within the United States (Gillin, 1955; Scott, 1959; Vogt and O'Dea, 1964; Elazar, 1966; Jaros, Hirsch and Fleron, 1968). Some evidence exists that regional differences in attitudes may be increasing (Glenn and Simmons, 1967; Burnham, 1968). In addition to regionalism, the influence of urbanism (community size) on attitudes has been suggested (Dahl, 1967). Two alternative theories emerge from the literature with the more traditional theory asserting that small communities or rural areas tend to develop civic-oriented attitudes supportive of societal goals (Wirth, 1938). The second approach views urbanism as a force which tends to foster concern for ethical values without the intense pressures for uniformity inherent in smaller communities (Mumford, 1938).

Socialization Processes of the Military

Social science research has recognized that activity within a particular environmental context may have consequences for the values and attitudes that are developed and maintained by persons involved in those activities¹⁹

(Nosow and Form, 1962; Vollmer and Mills, 1966; Lynn, 1967).

The ability of an institution to effectively foster the acquisition of its belief structure is, in part, a function of the degree to which that institution is able to influence those individuals who come into contact with it as well as the degree to which interferences from alternative social groups and experiences are excluded.²⁰ Janowitz (1959: 25) suggests that ". . . (M)ilitary life is, in short, institutional life." The military, at least from outward appearances, exhibits the characteristics of a "total" institution.

. . . . First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member's daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together. Third, all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a pre-arranged time into the next, the whole sequence of activities being imposed from above by a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials. Finally the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfil the official aims of the institution (Goffman, 1961: 6).

The natural tendency of such organizations is toward not only self-government or autonomy (brooking minimal, if any, external interference), but also toward the extension of their values and power beyond the immediate surroundings.

This is especially the case with service schools and basic training--both primarily socialization mechanisms--during which the individual exists in relative isolation from the larger society. As a result of its semi-autonomous nature, the military is in a generally favorable position to influence the attitudes and values²¹ of those members of the essentially male population who experience military service,²² whether as draftees or as genuine volunteers. This suggests that institutional experiences in the armed forces have the following potential capacity as mediators of attitudes:

. . . (a) to implant definitions as to who is the primary potential enemy (and who the primary ally), (b) to create and sustain favorable attitudes to military methods as the chief means of security policy, and in general (c) to support attitudes congenial to the military mind (Abrahamsson, 1972: 116).

Thus, the belief systems of individuals having personal exposure to the institutional processes of socialization in the military, especially those individuals who constitute the professional military cadre, have been conceptualized as exhibiting a high degree of constraint in much of the literature dealing with the armed forces (Little,

1971; Lang, 1972; Abrahamsson, 1972). The relative homogeneity of their opinion sets has been attributed to processes of self-selection through initial interest or motivation, screening procedures established and maintained by the military, continuous selection of individuals for retention within the organizational structure, and professional socialization into the norms and values of the military to alter and reinforce basic orientations towards nationalism, authoritarianism, political conservatism, and human nature (Tromp, 1971; Abrahamsson, 1972).

To the extent that military experiences are, in fact, capable of creating and supporting sets of values among the public, military service and by implication the military as an institution possess normative influence. Janowitz (1959: 45) supports this view by arguing that the military is an integral component of contemporary society because ". . . (C)hanges in military life and changes in the society from which the officer and enlisted personnel come are closely linked." This has been bolstered by the assertion that ". . . there is no line separating the soldier from society at large" (Bradford and Murphy, 1973: 517). This would suggest that while the military establishment as an organization is able to carry out many of its socialization processes largely removed from external societal impacts,²³ nonetheless, some amorphous "indivisibility of interest"

is perceived to exist between the identify of the society and that of its military forces. At least in the context of American society, the armed forces themselves perceive such a role for military experiences. The Armed Forces Officer (Department of Defense, 1960), a guide prepared by the Office of Armed Forces Information and Education for the Department of Defense (DOD) and intended primarily for use by junior officers, offers the following analysis as an introduction to its discussion of the formation of military ideals:

Any stranger making a survey of what Americans are and how they get that way would probably see it as a paradox that within the military establishment the inculcation of ideals is considered the most vital of all teaching, while in our gentler and less rigid institutions there is steadily less emphasis on this subject.

He would be entitled to the explanation that it is done not because this has always been the way of armies, navies, and other fighting forces, nor because it is universal in the military establishments of the twentieth century, but because nothing else would better suffice the American military system under present conditions. . . .

Military ideals are therefore, as related to this purpose, mainly an instrument of national survival. But not altogether so, since in the measure that they influence the personal life and conduct of millions of men who move in and out of the Services, they have a regenerative effect upon the spiritual fiber of the Nation as a whole (Department of Defense, 1960: 13).

The United States has historically followed a policy of basing its primary reliance for national security on the concept of large-scale mobilization of the citizen-soldier

in the event of national emergency rather than on a large military establishment (O'Connor, 1965; Coates and Pellegrin, 1965; Ambrose and Barber, 1972). Rapid mobilization and equally rapid demobilization efforts have been a recurring norm evidenced by many episodes in American history. Under such circumstances, the already structured procedures of the military especially in the areas of selection and training (Stouffer, et al., 1949; Janowitz, 1964; Little, 1971; Head and Rokke, 1973) have tended to become highly routinized as well as rigorously organized according to bureaucratic precepts (Coates and Pellegrin, 1965). The new recruit in many instances ". . . is likely to feel somewhat lost and bewildered by the detailed scheduling of his daily life, the multiplicity of new skills to be learned and the apparent impersonality of the large organization in which he finds himself involved voluntarily or otherwise" (Hilmar, 1965: 287).²⁴ Coming from the relative freedom of movement and choice that characterizes the larger civilian environment, the individual experiencing socialization into the military subsystem may experience an initial and on occasion prolonged period of 'culture shock' in the transition from civilian life.²⁵ The following description of the initial procedures employed by the military at Army induction centers during World War II is equally applicable to the transition process encountered

by individuals beginning their military service in today's armed forces:

This phase of the process is difficult to describe because so much happens to the person in such a short time that his reactions tend to be confused and he does not comprehend the changed circumstances and events. Briefly, the man is sworn into the service, issued a serial number, which is more important to the War Department than his name, since two or more soldiers may have the same name. Thus, the change from a name to a name and a number is one step in the militarization of the person. The civilian clothes are disposed of when the uniform and toilet articles are issued. The new soldier is assigned to a unit, that is, a formal group designated by a letter or a number. This unit is a segment of a still larger unit. He is assigned to a barracks or a tent with the rest of his unit. Within the tent or barracks he is assigned to a bed. He is issued everything he needs in this phase of training according to a definite schedule of allowances, and he signs for all items that are non-expendable and has the expendable items checked against him (Hollingshead, 1946: 440).

Since World War II, the military has attained such a high degree of competence in these socialization processes that the amateur citizen-soldiers who enter may emerge as highly qualified professionals. That this process often occurs is evidenced by the admiration frequently expressed by General Westmoreland and other American commanders in Vietnam for the 'professionalism' demonstrated by the vast majority of the troops serving in that conflict. As was the case with Korea, the military essentially fought solely and simply because they were ordered to fight rather than out of any perceived identification with the political rationale for the war. That this was possible tends to

confirm that it takes only a matter of months to reinforce or establish those attitudinal patterns desired by the armed forces. While the degree of success attained varies with each individual, most young Americans are adaptable to their military experience.

Few other institutions in society conscientiously stress and attempt to perpetuate organizational values and attitudes to the degree that the military does (Huntington, 1957; Janowitz, 1960 and 1971b). The unique aspects of military experience are stress of the value and importance of discipline and conformity, organization traditions, unit esprit and service loyalty, and the mission of the military as an instrument of national policy (Janowitz, 1971a; George, 1971). Each of the components of the armed services imparts somewhat different skills and doctrines related to the performance of their specific functions in the defense establishment yet all have in common the underlying organizational norms of veneration of tradition, esprit de corps, and discipline (Moskos, 1970; Donovan, 1970; Ambrose and Barber, 1972). If discipline fosters a sense of conformity to military institutions while tradition seeks to establish lingering sentimental bonds, esprit de corps tends to inculcate perceptions of union or oneness suggesting a commonality between the veteran and other individuals who have shared the experiences of

military service as well as toward his particular branch of service. Donovan (1970: 35) asserts that many of these features associated with military service especially during wars ". . . remain with most men all their lives." This may explain why, for example, such statements as "Once a Marine, Always a Marine" may become not only a slogan but also may be symbolic of a potentially enduring basis for attitudes toward the military and, in some instances, broader social and political perspectives. It is this aspect of military service which may create the potential climate for military experiences to linger on as an influence on the cognitive frameworks of veterans.

Thus, military experiences--irrespective of their effects on personality (Braatz, Lumry and Wright, 1970; Stanton, 1971; Stuen and Solberg, 1972)--very likely have an impact on many Americans' political and social perspectives. This is perhaps not so much attributable to the fact that the military, at least in the United States, engages in extensive overt attempts at attitudinal indoctrination in the social and political realms²⁶ (as noted above, the military does so to a basically limited degree) but rather because the feelings, beliefs, and outlooks which the military attempts to instill or reinforce among its members in order to enhance their performance of its organizational functions tend to manifest larger social and political overtones.

. . . Thus, the automatic respect for authority drilled into the recruit by everyone from the DI to the chaplain carries with it an implicitly authoritarian view of society. Freedom lies in obedience; dissent is unpatriotic . . . To the extent that these attitudes are absorbed and carried on into adult life, basic training becomes a force for political docility in America, especially on matters of foreign policy (Barnes, 1972: 84).

That military service might, in fact, exert such influence suggests the potential importance of the content of veterans' attitudes particularly with respect to the role of the military in society. Since ". . . (I)n casting about for outside support to the military or militaristic policies deemed desirable, the directors of military establishments, particularly since the nineteenth century, have relied increasingly upon organizations of veterans" (Vagts, 1937: 386), this raises the question of the diffusion of military experiences as well as the nature of those experiences in order to assess the extent to which such experiences may influence attitudes in American society.

Diffusion of Military Experiences

Scarcely any family in the United States has remained untouched by the military in the course of the twentieth century. As Table 1-1 reveals, the number of individuals in American society with direct, personal exposure to the military has risen dramatically. Even in the relatively short time since the start of World War II, one can observe an increasing diffusion of military service among the

TABLE 1-1

NUMBER OF VETERANS IN AMERICAN SOCIETY
BY PERIOD OF SERVICE: 1945-1972^a

Period of Service	1945	1960	1972
All veterans ^b	6,455	23,811	28,804
Percent of males age 18 and older ^c	13.2	42.1	43.1
War veterans ^b	6,455	22,431	25,691
Spanish-American War ^d	164	36	3
World War I	3,821	2,673	1,291
World War II ^e	2,469	15,202	14,122
Korea ^f	<u>NA</u>	5,482	5,908
And World War II service	<u>NA</u>	962	1,259
No World War II service	<u>NA</u>	4,520	4,649
Vietnam ^g	<u>NA</u>	<u>NA</u>	5,976
And Korea service	<u>NA</u>	<u>NA</u>	350
No Korea service	<u>NA</u>	<u>NA</u>	5,626
"Cold War" era ^h	<u>NA</u>	1,380	3,113

a--Estimates in thousands, excludes Alaska and Hawaii.

b--Veterans with service in (1) both World War II and Korea or (2) both Korea and Vietnam (after August 4, 1964) counted once. Includes Indian wars veterans.

c--Based on total male population 18 years old and older.

d--Includes war with Spain, Philippine Insurrection, and Boxer Rebellion.

e--September 16, 1940 to July 25, 1947.

f--June 24, 1950 to January 31, 1955.

g--Service after August 4, 1964. The Vietnam period extends from August 4, 1964 to May 7, 1975.

h--Former members of U.S. Armed Forces whose only service on active duty was between January 31, 1955 and August 4, 1964.

NA--Not Applicable

Source: Adapted from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1973.
(Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973, 94th edition), Table No. 446.

American male population. Thus the potential for military experiences to exert an affect on attitudinal composition or formulation within American society would appear to be relatively widespread. In 1972, for example, approximately forty-three percent of the nation's adult males were veterans and an additional 2,277,000 males were serving on active duty in the various components of the armed forces.²⁷ This would suggest that exposure to the impact, if any, of military experiences is both a pervasive and an enduring feature of the contemporary American scene. Today, veterans are a substantial if not internally homogeneous part of the social fabric of America.

While direct American involvement in the hostilities of World War I was relatively brief, that period represented the first large scale exposure of Americans to individual experiences and contact with the military during the modern era. Within a generation, the United States was once again heavily involved in a global conflict of even greater magnitude. By the end of the Second World War in 1945, over twelve million individuals--most of them male--were in the military. As a consequence of the longer American participation in that conflict, millions of men returned to civilian life after having spent years in uniform during which the military unit was perceived of as the primary reference group by a majority of individuals (Stouffer, et al., I,

1949: 112; Marshall, 1964: 42-43). Following the previous historical pattern of American society, rapid demobilization occurred at the conclusion of World War II as had been the case with prior war-time expansions of the military.²⁸ The long period of mass mobilization of human and material resources which acquired many of the attributes of a crusade during World War II, however, ultimately ". . . shaped many of the images of military life that still persist" (Moskos, 1970: 2) in American society.

. . . It is noteworthy that, a quarter-century after its end, the Second World War still constitutes the conventional setting for war movies. Equally revealing, combat dramas on television deal exclusively with World War II (Moskos, 1970: 3).

That the image and collective experiences of World War II play such a salient role in shaping contemporary perceptions of the military in spite of subsequent involvements in Korea and Vietnam is perhaps explained by the fact that approximately half of all living veterans served in the military during that period.

In addition to creating widespread exposure to military experiences among the American public, the involvement in World War II also signaled a turning point in the nature of the military itself and its relationship to American society. Prior to the nation's direct entry into the hostilities, the military establishment was relatively small and existed largely on the periphery of society. For

example, in 1940, after the outbreak of conflict in Europe, there were only 458,365 individuals on active duty in the entire armed forces.²⁹ There was also no permanent, large-scale arms industry and little more than a vague concept of the manner in which such an industry might be mobilized within the economy to support defense requirements in the event of a national emergency (Davis, 1971: 20-61). By 1949, however, following the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, the adoption of the North Atlantic Treaty (NATO) by the United States decisively indicated that the former pattern had ceased to be the norm and for the future would be consigned to history. America's vastly expanded role in international politics has subsequently resulted in an increase in the relative salience of the military in society, the initial reduction of troop strength immediately after World War II notwithstanding.³⁰ In the intervening years, the number of veterans in American society has continued to increase as more individuals acquired military experience as a consequence of America's emergence as a global power.

Within a generation after the start of the Second World War, the number of veterans in American society had increased dramatically. Korea, the "cold war," and Vietnam--all stemming from the United States' actions and reactions in the international community--had resulted in

additional millions of individuals experiencing service in the military. Unlike World War II, however, the intervening years never resulted in total mobilization. Nonetheless, exposure to the military as an institutional experience has become commonplace for many.³¹ The sheer number involved, approximately twenty-eight million individuals in 1972, tends to make ". . . the shared experience of military service one of the most important agencies of socialization in our society" (Barber, 1972: 151). As Table 1-2 reveals, military experiences have been diffused throughout all age groups within the adult male population. In 1972, while the average age of all individuals having military experience was 44.7 years, almost 64 percent of all veterans were under fifty and almost 26 percent of all veterans were under thirty-five. The Report of the President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force (Department of Defense, 1970: 149-150) suggests that adding projected new veterans to the existing veteran population and adjusting for mortality will still result in a veteran population of approximately 23-26 million individuals by the year 2000. Thus the institutional experiences associated with military service will continue to potentially affect the attitudes of a large segment of the American public. Donovan (1970: 27-43) has suggested that due to the large number of individuals with military experience the United States can be characterized as a "nation of veterans." This has, in part, given rise to the idea that the military exercises a

TABLE 1-2

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF VETERANS
BY PERIOD OF SERVICE: 1972^a

Age in 1972	All Veterans		World War I	World War II ^c	Korea		Vietnam		"Cold War" Era ^f
	Number ^b	Percent			And WW II	No WW II	And Korea ^d	No Korea ^e	
18-20 years	36	0.1	--	--	--	--	--	36	--
20-24 years	1,725	6.0	--	--	--	--	--	1,725	--
25-29 years	3,175	11.0	--	--	--	--	--	2,888	287
30-34 years	2,519	8.8	--	--	--	8	884*	884*	1,627
35-39 years	2,588	9.0	--	(z)	1,419*	1,419*	106	76	1,093
40-44 years	3,639	12.6	--	657	4,042	2,876	139	11	95
45-49 years	4,719	16.4	--	4,407	774	299	95	4	9
50-59 years	7,141	24.8	--	7,092	561	45	93	2	2
60 years and older	3,262	11.3	1,291	1,966	104	2	10	(z)	--
Total	28,804	100.0	1,291	14,122	5,908	4,649	5,976	5,626	3,113
Average Age (years)	44.7	NA	77.5	52.6	43.0	40.9	27.6	26.4	33.7

a--Estimates in thousands, excludes Alaska and Hawaii.

b--Includes 3,000 Spanish-American War veterans, average age 92.8 years.

c--Includes 1,259,000 veterans who served in both World War II and Korea.

d--Includes 350,000 veterans who served in both Korea and Vietnam (after August 4, 1964).

e--Service after August 4, 1964.

f--Former members of the U.S. Armed Forces whose only active duty service was between January 31, 1955 and August 4, 1964.

NA--Not Applicable -- Represents zero values

(z) Less than 500 individuals

*--Period not clearly distinguished

Source: Adapted from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1973 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973, 94th Edition), Table No. 447.

disproportionate influence in American society with either the acquiescence or support of public opinion (Baldwin, 1949; Shoup, 1969).

. . . The lives, the attitudes, and the beliefs of America's war veterans have been influenced by their military service; and because they represent such a large share of the adult male population their degree of militarism creates a strong imprint on the national character (Donovan, 1970: 37).

Much of this concern was legitimized by President Eisenhower in his 1961 "Farewell Radio and Television Address to the American People" in which he warned of the ". . . unwarranted influence whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex" (1961: 180-181).

Potential Impacts of Military Service

Given the generally prevailing assumption of the salience of the military in American society, one might readily assume that considerable attention has been focused upon the impact of military service on those individuals exposed to that institutional experience. Most research, however, has been directed toward either active-duty personnel or the larger role of the military as a specific institution in terms of its relationship to civilian society (Stouffer, et al., 1949; Huntington, 1957; Janowitz, 1964; Cochran, 1974). Social science research, especially political science efforts, exploring the potential impacts of military service on social and political

attitudes has been extremely limited. Most studies have centered around the reactions of individuals to "extreme environments" as a result of experiences in the armed forces or on the transition to civilian life after military service. Yet our knowledge from these studies about the affect, if any, of institutional experiences in the military is surprisingly limited (Regens and Rycroft, 1975). The findings of research in both of these areas are not conclusive in establishing the existence or relative importance of relationships between military service and attitudes expressed by individuals with experiences in the military. For example, there is a vigorous debate over the eventual occupational, income, and educational attainments of veterans in comparison with those of individuals who lack military experiences (Katenbrink, 1969; Janowitz, 1971b; Barber, 1972; Cutright, 1974). Even in these areas, however, it is by no means certain that military experiences are a major determinant of the resultant outcomes.

Turning to explicitly attitudinal concerns, relatively little is known about the consequences of military experiences as they affect political and social attitudes. While numerous images--many of them often conflicting with one another--exist in the popular culture concerning the influences of military service on individuals (Moskos, 1970: 1-36), systematic evidence is much more fragmentary

and at times reveals results quite different from the prevailing images. For example, the argument that the military as a total organization tends to foster authoritarianism among those individuals exposed to it is a widely accepted assumption particularly among the academic community. Empirical research, however, both in the United States and in West Germany, fails to support such a view of the influence of military service on attitudes (French and Ernest, 1955; Campbell and McCormack, 1957; Roghmann and Sodeur, 1972; Stinchcombe, 1973; Roghmann and Sodeur, 1973). Another widely held belief is the view that the socialization processes of the military tend to enhance orientations which are generally favorable toward the use of violence as a means for resolving conflict. Using a variety of military and non-military samples, Brady and Rappoport (1973) concluded that their data did not tend to support such conclusions. In fact, their research revealed that middle-aged women exhibited higher pro-violence scores on an overall basis than did those individuals in their study who were enlisted personnel awaiting separation from the military. Research dealing with more explicitly political attitudes has compared the responses of veterans with those obtained from non-veterans on foreign policy issues (Wilson and Horack, 1972), domestic social welfare issues (Regens and Rycroft, 1975), and degrees of political trust and levels of cosmopolitanism (Jennings and Markus, 1974).

Studies have also focused on the extent to which political alienation is manifested by veterans (Johnson, 1974; Regens, 1975) as well as comparisons over time of outpatient veterans' patriotism and concern for society's welfare (Mellet, 1974). While many of the research concerns raised by these studies are extremely interesting, this body of research remains generally inconclusive in terms of resolving the debate over whether or not institutional experiences in the military affect the composition of individuals' attitudes, particularly in the social and political realms.

Moreover, these studies of the influence of military service on attitudes have often produced conflicting findings. Perhaps the most striking example of this problem has occurred in terms of the inferences made with regard to levels of alienation among Vietnam-era veterans as a result of their experiences in the military during a little understood and increasingly unpopular international conflict. There is widespread disagreement among behavioral scientists about the possible causal linkages between such attitudes and military service (Stenger, 1974). While some studies have implied the existence of pervasive levels of alienation from the larger society among this particular segment of the nation's veterans, this conclusion has primarily been restricted to the more impressionistic works (Polner, 1971; Lifton, 1973). Other studies have maintained that alienation

is largely confined to the less educated and minority group veterans (Harris, 1971; Johnson, 1974), but these findings have been challenged in terms of their applicability to black veterans (Fendrich and Pearson, 1970b). Still other research has disputed the contention that those experiences associated with military service, even in the socially unstable context of the Vietnam era, produces levels of alienation among veterans which are discernably different from those manifested among those individuals in society who lack such institutional experiences (Wilson and Horack, 1972; Jennings and Markus, 1974). While the prolonged period of American involvement in Southeast Asia helped contribute to an increased interest in these and other presumed consequences of socialization into the military, nonetheless most of that interest has not gone beyond speculation so that empirical research focusing on the potential attitudinal consequences of military service for the vast majority of individuals who acquire military experiences, the nation's veterans, remains extremely limited.³²

Examination of the various attitudes articulated by formal veterans' organizations within the context of the American political system has been suggested as a possible surrogate for individual-level analysis in order to infer potential influences of military experiences on attitude composition (Vagts, 1937; Donovan, 1970).³³ As Table 1-3

TABLE 1-3
 SIZE OF SELECTED VETERANS' ORGANIZATIONS
 IN THE UNITED STATES, 1969

American Legion	2,381,000
Veterans of Foreign Wars	1,800,000
Disabled American Veterans	245,000
Veterans of World War I	228,500
American Veterans of World War II	200,000
Retired Officers Association	94,000
Fleet Reserve Association	68,000
Reserve Officers Association	56,000
Catholic War Veterans	50,000
Army and Navy Union of the U.S.A.	50,000
Military Engineers Society of America	26,000
Marine Corps League	12,000

Source: Donovan (1970: 29-30).

reveals, both the size and composition of these groups is varied. Most of these organizations tend to ". . . constitute important military-oriented lobbying and opinion groups" which are generally inclined to advocate ". . . a large defense establishment and the weapons and policy programs being fostered by the Pentagon" (Donovan, 1970: 30). For example, in 1969, then Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird used the Annual Convention of the American Legion as a forum for the rebuttal of criticism directed against the military establishment. The paramount legislative priority for that same year of the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) was continued global deployment of the armed forces as a tangible demonstration of solidarity by the United States toward America's alliances in the international community. While the statements of these organizations often tend to be highly supportive of the military and strong national defense programs, these groups normally concentrate their efforts on ". . . programs of direct benefit to their members in the form of cash payments, bonuses, tax benefits, and other services" (Donovan, 1970: 31). Thus, veterans' groups function in the same manner as do other interest groups in the American political system (Key, 1958; Truman, 1960). From this perspective additional evidence emerges which suggests that ". . . the institutional differentiation of the military will carry over into the post-service lives of many servicemen" (Moskos, 1970: 178).

Critical Evaluation of the Theoretical Background

While certain critical comments have been included within the discussion of the literature which forms the basis for the various segments of the theoretical background underlying this research effort, a brief summation of limitations of prior studies is in order at this point. This study will explicitly attempt to either avoid or resolve those problems in order to empirically assess the influence of institutional experiences in the military on selected components of individuals' cognitive frameworks. Generally, this goal will be accomplished through the use of an appropriate research design developed to operationalize an explicit theoretical framework. The empirical analysis necessary for this research will be based on an up-to-date, comprehensive data base created from a national survey of a representative cross-sectional sample of the U.S. population conducted during early 1973. Using multivariate statistical techniques, the extent to which prior military service affects attitudes among the mass public toward a series of issues involving civil-military relations will be examined in order to test the research model. Systematic evaluation of the extent to which the research model is able to account for attitude patterns revealed by the data will provide a test of the theoretical framework.

By defining the military primarily in terms of the more senior officers (Mills, 1956; Huntington, 1957 and 1963; Janowitz, 1960; Monsen and Cannon, 1965; Domhoff, 1967), much of the emphasis in the literature on processes of homogeneity has resulted in a stress on the study of elites. While a reflection of the central concern of most studies of military sociology, sources of internal cleavages within the military have been largely ignored. The nature of these cleavages can best be examined by empirically investigating internal differentiation, both vertically and horizontally, among the veterans' military experiences. Vertical differentiation is primarily based upon a rank (organizational status) dichotomy consisting of two strata-- officers and enlisted personnel (Stouffer, et al., 1949; Janowitz, 1960; Moskos, 1970). The major horizontal cleavage and one of increasing importance during the Vietnam era (Moskos, 1970; Polner, 1971; Helmer, 1973) is that between career and non-career oriented individuals.³⁴ Thus, it is necessary for research to focus on a broad cross-section of individuals rather than exclusively upon elites in order to assess the impact of institutional experiences in the military on attitudes.

Aside from often presenting an overly narrow definition of the military, much of the research on the "military mind" (Abrahamsson, 1972) fails to provide clear

conceptualizations of the attitudinal composition and nature of belief systems. The literature focusing on the ability of the public to organize its political cognitions, however, suggests a distinction must be made between the content and the structure of an individual's attitudes (Marcus, Tabb and Sullivan, 1974: 405). In addition, often the influence of such salient background characteristics as age, educational attainment or race on an individual's socialization processes (Dennis, 1968) is not considered which prevents one from assessing whether or not the attitudes examined are actually related to military experiences. This problem is compounded when studies fail to go beyond the simple classification of "military" and consider the differential nature inherent in various individuals' military experiences (Jennings and Markus, 1974). Particularly disconcerting is the general absence of attempts to incorporate such factors into theoretical frameworks and empirically test those models in order to discern the influence of military service on attitudes. Instead of attempting to systematically determine the interrelationships between salient background characteristics and the nature of military experiences as these relate to the content and structure of attitudes, it is common to find that much of the literature consists of impressionistic and largely descriptive treatments (see Huntington, 1957; Janowitz, 1960)

since such causal factors are often never explicitly operationalized.

The need for comparative research capable of furnishing such causal information leads to the last and perhaps greatest shortcoming of prior studies. While replete with assumptions about the impact of military experiences on attitudes, most studies reflect the singular limitation of basing their conclusions on relatively narrow samples. Essentially case studies, they tend to be idiosyncratic and limited primarily to the research site(s) from which the data are gathered. As a result, other than having a common research focus, these studies largely lack comparability. Generally, their findings cannot be legitimately applied to the entire range of individuals in American society having military experiences since they are normally not derived from research using cross-sectional national surveys.

Cumulatively, the limitations of previous research have restricted our understanding of the affect institutional experiences in the military exert on the composition and structure of attitudes in the mass public. Although agreement exists among scholars of armed forces and society on the existence of a distinctive military ethic, ideology or belief system, the question of the individual-level consequences of military service on attitudes is still very problematic. The following chapter is devoted to the

development of a theoretical framework capable of clarifying as well as accounting for such impacts.

NOTES

¹The data for this research are based upon a national survey collected from a representative cross-section of the U.S. civilian population during early 1973 by the Survey Research Center and the Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan for the Navy Manpower R & D program under a contract from the Office of Naval Research (Contract No. N00014-67-0181-0048). Neither the original collectors of the data, the University of Michigan nor the Department of the Navy bear any responsibility for the analysis or interpretations presented in this study. The author acknowledges the assistance of Jerald G. Bachman and John D. Blair in making the data available. Preliminary analyses of the data are presented in Backman (1973 and 1974).

²Recently, a number of researchers have maintained that intervening variables including such factors as reference groups, social distance or social constraint may affect attitudes. While many of the studies represented by this research are directed toward specifying linkages between attitude and behavior prediction, the concept suggests the difficulties inherent in attempting to empirically assess the relative direct and indirect effects of divergent factors on attitudes. See Ehrlich (1969); Warner and DeFleur (1969).

³The emphasis appears in the original quotation.

⁴The concept of the garrison state as a form of social organization is primarily a macro theory of political development which also has micro level applicability because of its propositions relating to attitudinal composition. For the original formulation and subsequent delineation of the concept see, inter alia, Lasswell (1937; 1941; 1950; 1962; 1966: 146-157). Also see Lasswell and Kaplan (1950: 213); Smith (1951); Social Science Research Center (1953); Clotfelter (1973).

⁵It should be noted that an important but nonetheless subtle distinction exists between militarism and military both as concepts and as attitudes. The distinction is fundamentally one of purpose with militarism transcending military functions. See Vagts (1937).

⁶Neither the word "set" nor the word "related" should be taken to refer to a coherent or rational framework.

Instead, they are meant to imply the manner in which the elements interrelate in the mind of the individual possessing the attitude.

⁷The action tendency component is generally referred to as the conative component in the attitude theory literature.

⁸While the three approaches differ among themselves on various points, they can generally be grouped into the following broad categories: (1) balance models--see Newcomb (1953); Cartwright and Harary (1956); (2) congruity models--see Osgood and Tannenbaum (1955); and (3) dissonance models--see Festinger (1957). For critique of these theoretical frameworks see Zajonc (1960).

⁹See Bem (1970) for a criticism of the assumptions of cognitive consistency models which suggests that inconsistency is, in fact, commonly an enduring characteristic of the cognitive processes of most individuals creating limitations which hamper the development of consistent belief systems among the public's attitudes.

¹⁰For example, inconsistencies in beliefs about political objects or symbols which are remote from an individual may not be inconsistent with that person's major personality system. In the case of international affairs, Scott (1958) suggests this may occur.

¹¹This rationale forms the basis for various public choice approaches to systematic empirical analysis in contemporary political science. See Buchanan and Tullock (1962); Curry and Wade (1968); Wade and Curry (1970); Riker and Ordeshook (1973).

¹²For more thorough discussions of the assumptions underlying democratic theory see Berelson (1952); Dahl (1956); Macpherson (1973).

¹³The question of whether or not consistency exists between attitude and behavior forms the basis for both rational choice and social psychological approaches to the analysis of electoral behavior and public policy. See Shapiro (1969) for an example of an attempt to synthesize the two alternative analytical perspectives.

¹⁴This spatial analogy for political cognitions is based upon the concept of competition in an economic market originally developed by Hotelling (1929) and expanded by Smithies (1941). Both Hotelling and Smithies suggest that

attitudes tend to converge in a two-party system as a consequence of competition between the parties over individuals who are clustered along a single ideological scale. Smithies suggests a limit to convergence exists for the parties since fear of being identical reduces the marginal utility of losing extreme outlying voters in order to appeal to the center. It should also be noted, however, that no such tendency toward imitation would theoretically occur in a multi-party political system since "product differentiation" in the form of a recognizable political ideology is necessary to maintain party image salience and voter appeal. This is the case because each party attempts to appeal to an increment(s) along the single linear space which is retained in models of such systems. See Downs (1957a: 114-141) for an extended discussion of this argument. See Davis and Verba (1960) for an application of the left-right continuum to such systems.

¹⁵The long-term significance of the study is easily illustrated by the frequency of its citation as well as the wide-spread acceptance of its conclusions about the American electorate. Unfortunately, the fact that those findings are perhaps generalizable to a specific rather than a universal time point is often overlooked due to its status as a landmark in social research. See Pomper (1972a: 427) for a discussion of this point.

¹⁶Converse's methodology involved the utilization of gamma coefficients as a statistical technique to analyze differences in levels of constraint among belief-elements between groups within the American electorate (1964: 227-231). For a critique of Converse's findings focusing on domestic social welfare attitudes see Bennett (1973: 550-551). Lipsitz (1970: 166-167) suggests Converse's findings provide insufficient basis for inference that the majority of the American public lacks structured political attitudes since while relevant to the concerns of political elites in the late 1950's the issue domains examined by Converse were not salient concerns for much of the population in the United States at that time.

¹⁷This suggests that the mediational assumption that attitudes are crucial to situational responses to behavioral stimuli is often difficult to document when tangible situations, even if only hypothetical, are juxtaposed to abstract cognitions. For an extensive discussion of this issue in attitude theory see LaPiere (1934); Deutscher (1969); LaPiere (1969); Tarter (1969); Summers (1970).

¹⁸An alternative view which suggests inconsistency is probably an enduring characteristic of most individuals' cognitive processes is presented in Converse (1970: 178) which asserts that the lack of cognitive consistency is an inevitable consequence for those strata of society which possess limited political information.

¹⁹The concepts of professionalization theory have been applied to socialization into the military in studies focusing on it as a corporate body. See Huntington (1957); Janowitz (1960); Coates and Pellegrin (1965); Sarkesian (1972); Diehl (1974); Larson (1974).

²⁰Social science research often tends to exaggerate and distort perceived differences between military and civilian organizations while tending to overlook that this is a common characteristic of large-scale organizations in general. See Spier (1952).

²¹The difficulties of defining the concept "value" are considerable. For purpose of this research, however, it is convenient to operationally define the concept as a direction of interest. See Williams (1951: 378).

²²While females as well as males are eligible for service in the United States Armed Forces, the percentage of women with military experience in American society is relatively low. For example, in Fiscal Year 1969 only approximately 1.2 percent of all individuals on active duty were women. Calculation based upon data in Little (1971). For a discussion of the implications of the utilization of women by the contemporary American military, see Goldman (1973: 107-116).

²³This suggests the relationship of the socialization processes of the military to the larger society within which the military operates can be examined from the systems approach employed in the social sciences. In essence, the military functions as a subsystem or component of the national system yet is able to exercise considerable subsystem autonomy in its internal operations as well as linkage with the social system of which it is a part. See Churchman (1968) for an overview.

²⁴Indicative of the importance of this problem is the fact that the entire first volume of The American Soldier is devoted to a detailed, systematic analysis of the problems encountered by the individual in attempting to adjust to military service. See Stouffer, et al., Volume I (1949).

For a contemporary analysis of the potential aspects of the problem within the context of individuals' views of the military, see Johnston and Bachman (1972).

²⁵It may well be that many of the features which at first glance seem unique to the transition from civilian to military life are in fact encountered to a high degree by individuals entering any "total" institution. See Goffman (1961). In addition, this same process may occur in terms of the transition from military to civilian status which account, at least in part, for some of the adjustment problems of veterans to society.

²⁶The cause celebre in 1962 surrounding Major General Edwin Walker's relief of command of U.S. Army troops in Europe for sponsoring "troop information" programs with an extreme conservative content illustrates this point.

²⁷These figures are based upon data in U.S. Bureau of the Census (1973: Table 425).

²⁸In 1946, there were approximately 3,000,000 individuals on active duty in the American military. During the period from 1947 to 1950, the average total strength of the active duty military was approximately 1.5 million. See U.S. Bureau of the Census (1959: Table 313).

²⁹See U.S. Bureau of the Census (1959: Table 313).

³⁰While the absolute size of the military has never again approached that of the World War II era, nonetheless the military has become a major factor in contemporary society in part due to the increasing technological sophistication of the military and the potential for almost instantaneous destruction available today. That the military is such a force in American society is evidenced by the fact that most debate over the role of the military in society centers around the 'good' as opposed to 'bad' features of the military-industrial complex rather than its existence. This debate also focuses upon the impact of the military on the economy and character of national life.

³¹For example, in 1970, the head of the construction unions in New York City estimated that approximately 95 percent of the membership of those unions were veterans. See Ambrose and Barber (1972: 15). This may help to explain the generally vocal support of American involvement in Southeast Asia by much of the organized labor movement in the United States.

³²Virtually all of the empirical studies of socialization which consider the question of military experiences focus their attention upon the active-duty military, especially upon the officer corps. See Dornbursch (1955); Lovell (1964); Janowitz (1971b); Jordan (1971); Lucas (1971); Sarkesian (1972); Wamsley (1972).

³³Generally, such a view is based upon the assumption that those political and social orientations expressed by the organization represent an aggregation of the attitudes of the membership as individuals. It should be noted that this potentially raises the question of inferential problems based upon levels of data analysis. See Robinson (1950); Rokkan (1962); Alker (1965: 103). In addition, such an approach normally does not allow for the fact that the membership of these groups may, in fact, be drawn from and representative of only a small segment rather than a broad cross-section of the nation's veterans since membership in several organizations may overlap.

³⁴This represents a fundamental distinction in one's motivation for military service between those individuals who were drafted or enlisted out of draft motivation and those personnel who were genuine volunteers.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Overview

Given the diffusion of military experiences throughout the adult male population, the influence of military service on the composition and structure of attitudes among individuals in the United States is a particularly appropriate subject for empirical analysis. This is no trivial concern but rather one which focuses, at least potentially, on the distribution of extremely significant values within contemporary society. Since the military establishment today occupies a highly visible and controversial position in American society, this tends to generate considerable public debate over national policies and alternatives within the domestic political arena (Ambrose and Barber, 1972; Russett and Stephan, 1973). Often couched in terms of "national priorities," public attention has focused on such concerns as poverty, urban decay, equal opportunity in society, the environment, and the role of the United States in the international community.

Largely as a consequence of the acrimony surrounding American involvement in Southeast Asia throughout the decade of the 1960's and into the 1970's, the distribution of national resources has become a salient political issue with the military often perceived as the major beneficiary of funding which might otherwise be allocated for domestic priorities¹ (Krause, 1969; Magdoff, 1970; Szymanski, 1973; Hartman, 1973; Benoit, 1973). There is little, if any, question that the armed forces as a social institution have become a major factor in American society in the aftermath of the Second World War. Whether one examines the military establishment in terms of national policy choices, organizational size, share of the federal budget or role in the political system, a single conclusion inescapably emerges from such analysis--the relationship between the military and the society of which it is an integral component has assumed formidable importance. Bell (1967: 107) alludes to this with the observation that ". . . the social and economic map of the U.S. has been redrawn more in the past twenty years by the influence of defense and defense spending than any other factor."

As noted earlier, a major limitation of much of the prior research in this area has been the absence of a sufficiently inclusive theoretical framework. Generally, most studies fail to provide precise information as to the

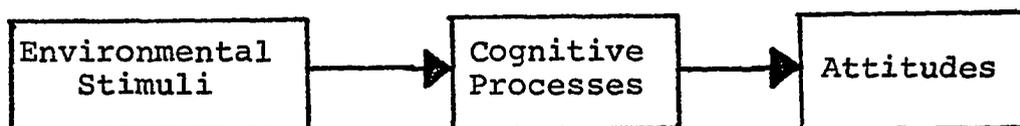
impact of external factors such as age or educational background in addition to military service so that the influences on variation in attitudes are often not isolated. If, however, one conceptualizes attitude as the product of the interaction of an individual's cognitive processes with various stimuli stemming from that individual's environment² (Kirkpatrick and Pettit, 1972: 1-15), then the influence of diverse social forces on attitudes can be assessed by using a research strategy involving multivariate analysis to deal with this problem. That is, given the focus of socialization research on the broad spectrum of social and demographic background characteristics as well as institutional experiences that are relevant to the composition and structure of attitudes, it is necessary to employ an approach which maximizes the utilization of information about such potential influences. What is needed is a specific theoretical framework capable of organizing the entire set of forces, personal characteristics as well as institutional experiences, which might be expected to cause variation in the attitudes of adult American males for a series of issues dealing with foreign affairs.

A Systems Framework for Empirical Analysis

The systems framework with its emphasis on interaction between the various elements which may influence an individual's acquisition of political and social outlooks,

values, and beliefs provides an appropriate analytical framework for this study (Parsons, 1961 and 1967; Easton, 1965a and 1965b). Central to this framework is the assumption that attitudes toward various political objects and symbols (what an individual thinks) are considered to be the product (output) of the interaction of an individual's cognitive processes with various stimuli (input) which constitute that individual's environment. Attitudes are developed by the individual through a process of learning or socialization (conversion) in which stimuli that are received from the environment surrounding the individual are translated into cognitive orientations or responses. Thus, the stimulus-organism-response paradigm (S-O-R) from psychology (Yinger, 1965) when combined with the related concept of a cognitive field (see Kirkpatrick and Pettit, 1972: 8) represents an adaption of the systems framework to attitude theory. Figure 2-1 presents a simplified diagram of the systems framework.

FIGURE 2-1
SIMPLIFIED DIAGRAM OF SYSTEMS FRAMEWORK

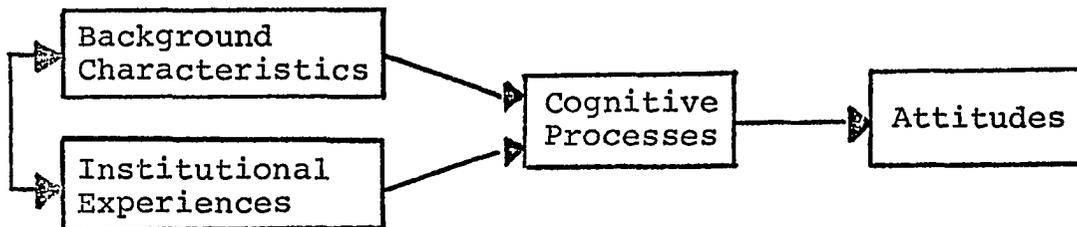


The systems framework suggests that for any individual, attitudes represent a response to environmental stimuli that are filtered through that individual's cognitive processes. Implicit in the above framework is the assumption that differential patterns of socialization and environmental stimuli will tend to significantly affect the nature of the attitudes manifested by individuals. That is, what an individual experiences will have some relationship to what that individual thinks. The empirical and analytical nature of this framework suggests that it provides a means to assess the relative influence of institutional experiences as well as demographic characteristics on the composition and structure of attitudes.

The flexibility inherent in defining the components of this framework provides a means for analytically distinguishing between the demographic background characteristics and the military experiences that make up the environmental stimuli without extending preeminence to either set of social forces since no assumption of the intrinsic importance of the various factors is involved. Since the environmental factors are conceptualized as independent variables in this framework, research focuses on tracing their relative impact on attitudes which are the dependent variables. This permits one to distinguish between the different effects of the various environmental stimuli

utilized in a specific application of this framework. Figure 2-2 presents a diagram which illustrates this point.

FIGURE 2-2
DIAGRAM OF MODIFIED SYSTEMS FRAMEWORK



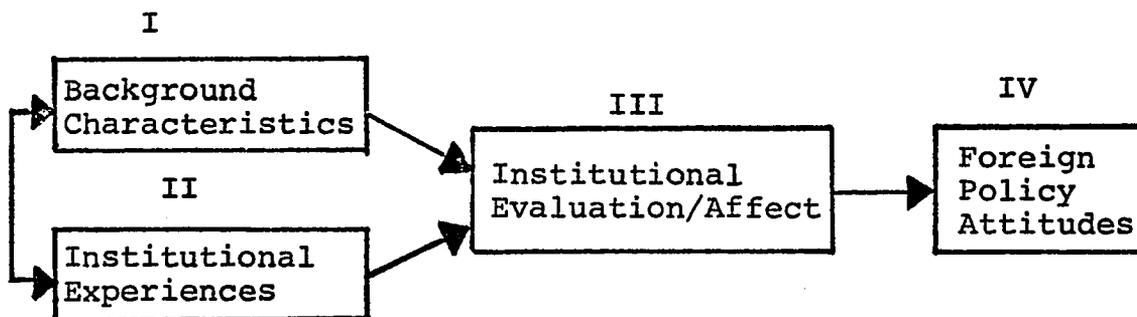
This modified systems framework appears to offer the potential for determining the extent to which, for any given set of social and political attitudes, demographic background characteristics as opposed to institutional experiences are the more important influence.³ Attitudes toward the role of the military in American society will be considered to be the potential product of both background characteristics and institutional experiences. Thus, a direct linkage between institutional experiences and attitudes is theoretically possible. In fact, the primary analytical concern of this research centers around precisely determining whether or not institutional experiences of a military nature independently affect the composition and structure of those attitudes.

In order to further enhance the analytical and empirical utility of this theoretical framework (Goldberg, 1966: 915), it is also desirable to specify the nature of the cognitive processes being considered in this research. This may increase understanding of the differential effects of various environmental stimuli on individual-level attitudes since for an individual ". . . to acquire sets of political attitudes and behavior, relevant political object-specific stimuli must be perceived" (Kirkpatrick and Pettit, 1972: 11). Katz and his associates (1974), in a recent study of personal contacts with governmental organizations, assert that an individual's attitudes toward an institution are influenced by that individual's mix of evaluative orientations and type of contact. Brim and Wheeler (1966: 35-37) maintain that the affective relationship between different agents of socialization (environmental stimuli) and individuals are likely to affect attitudes stemming from those socialization experiences. As a component of the political system, the military may constitute such an object-specific stimulus (empirical referent) for individuals' cognitive processes (Aberbach, 1969). Thus, in order to incorporate the cognitive processes component of the systems framework along with the environmental stimuli into this research, it is necessary to examine the impact of evaluative and affective orientations toward the military as an institution on attitudes.

The environmental-cognitive systems framework presented in Figure 2-3 explicitly incorporates both the environmental stimuli and the cognitive processes components into an integrated framework for analysis purposes. The following general proposition derived from the analytical framework will guide this study: Attitudes are the product of an individual's cognitive processes, and these processes may be affected directly or indirectly by differential environmental stimuli which interact with that individual's cognitive processes. As a result, none of the factors which may influence attitudes among veterans and nonveterans are tacitly accepted as "givens" but instead linkages are contingent upon the particular attitude(s) being examined. This framework provides a means for empirically testing whether or not institutional experiences in the military affect attitudes while controlling for the influence of intervening variables.

FIGURE 2-3

DIAGRAM OF ENVIRONMENTAL-COGNITIVE SYSTEMS FRAMEWORK



Research Design

The environmental-cognitive systems framework developed in the previous section provides a basis for the consideration of the various environmental and perceptual factors which interact to affect individual-level attitudes. More specifically, given the research concern of this study, a framework was needed which was capable of isolating the individual effects of these factors by making explicit what other researchers generally accept as given or only partially consider: that to understand and explain the influence of military experiences on attitudes a systematic consideration of the interaction of these factors is necessary. Once appropriate conceptualizations of the salient elements which constitute the components of the theoretical framework have been developed, the relationships between those elements may be systematically explained with an operational research model. The use of such a model will permit testing of the general theoretical proposition underlying the theoretical framework. To do this, the research model must delineate empirical indicators for each of the elements of the environmental-cognitive systems framework:

- I. The Background Characteristics Component
- II. The Institutional Experiences Component
- III. The Institutional Evaluation/Affect Component
- IV. The Foreign Policy Attitudes Component

When the various components of the theoretical framework have been operationally defined as well as integrated into a comprehensive research model, it will be possible to statistically test the relationships among those components--especially the influence of institutional experiences on attitudes. Several fundamental questions emerge from the analytical framework which must be considered in the formulation of the research model:

1. How does the content and organization of foreign policy attitudes differ for veterans and nonveterans?

2. To what extent are demographic background characteristics associated with variation in the content and structure among those attitudes?

3. To what extent are levels of military experience associated with variation in the content and structure among those attitudes?

4. To what degree are an individual's evaluative and affective cognition toward the military as an institution associated with foreign policy attitudes?

5. What are the relative weights of the various environmental and cognitive factors involved in explaining foreign policy attitudes among veterans and nonveterans?

Essentially, these are the primary issues involved in an analysis of the impact of military service on attitudes with which a research model should adequately cope.

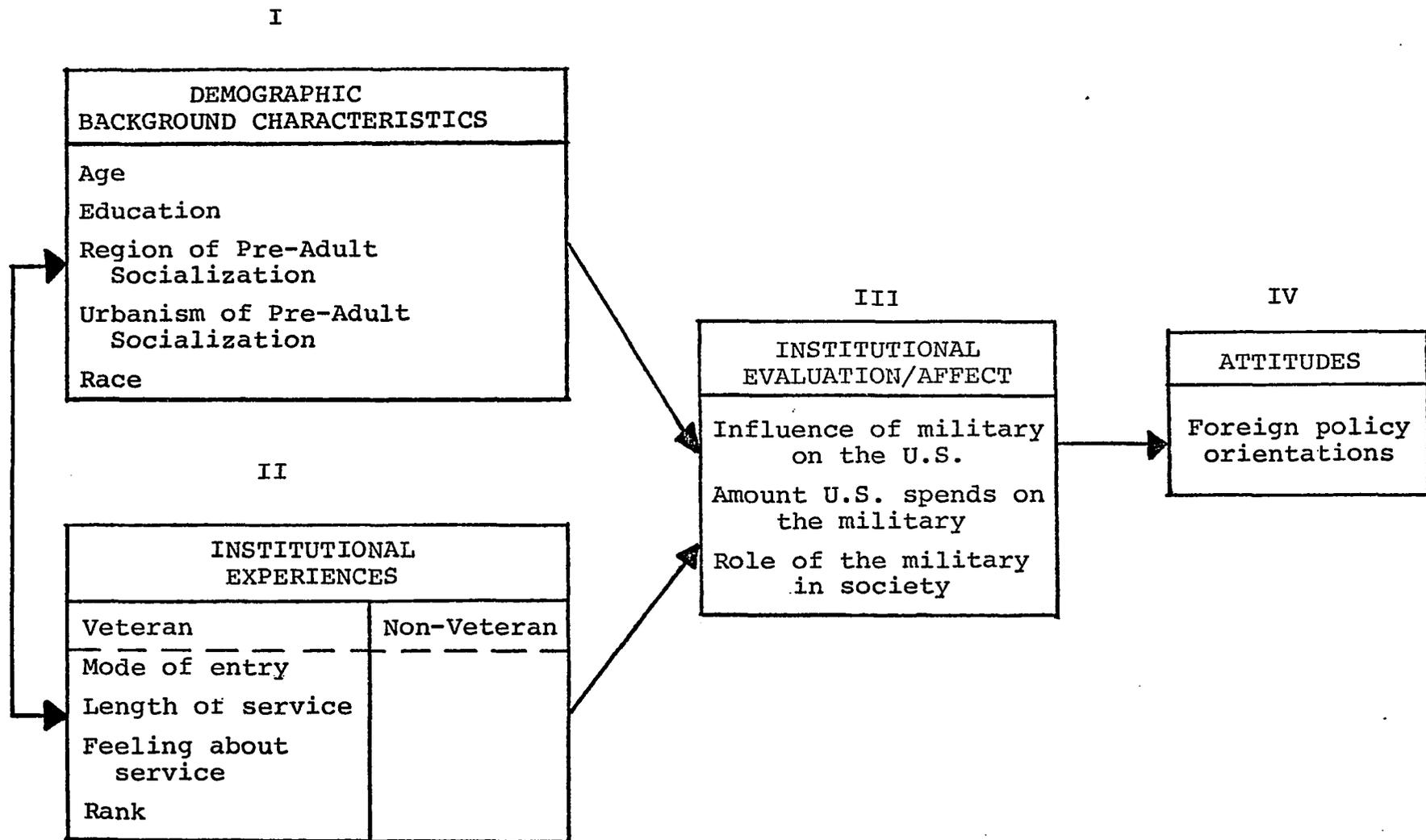
These analytical and empirical concerns are best dealt with in the context of a systematic examination of foreign policy attitudes across a broad cross-section of veterans and nonveterans.

The Research Model

The elements which define each component of the theoretical framework underlying this study have been integrated into a research model which is presented in Figure 2-4. The arrows in the diagram are intended to indicate potential linkages between the various components as they relate to each other. Component I specifies the demographic background characteristics which will be examined: (1) age, (2) education, (3) race, (4) region of pre-adult socialization, and (5) urbanism of pre-adult socialization. The second component of the research model consists of the differential exposure of individuals to military experiences as well as the nature of those experiences: (1) mode of entry, (2) length of service, (3) feeling about service, and (4) rank. Thus, the elements of Component II form the basis for determining whether or not military service affects the composition and structure of individuals' foreign policy attitudes. Component III involves the evaluative and affective cognitions of both veterans and nonveterans toward the military as an institution. Its elements consist of the individual's

FIGURE 2-4

DIAGRAM OF ENVIRONMENTAL-COGNITIVE SYSTEMS RESEARCH MODEL



perceptions of: (1) the influence of the military on the United States; (2) the amount the United States spends on the military; and (3) the role of the military in society. While Components I and II test the theoretical assumptions regarding the extent to which environmental stimuli affect attitudes toward foreign affairs among veterans and non-veterans, the third component provides a means for examining the influence of a potential intermediary process shaping the content and organization of a broader set of foreign policy orientations. The first three components of the research model constitute the independent variables for this analysis framework.

The fourth component of the analytical framework incorporates foreign policy attitudes which are the dependent variables into the research model. As noted earlier, not all attitudes may be assumed on an a priori basis to be affected by military experiences (Jennings and Markus, 1974; Regens and Rycroft, 1975). Thus, the individual items which define this component are sufficiently pertinent to the continuity and functioning of the military to have been affected by that institutional experience⁴ (Jennings and Markus, 1974: 5). As such, Component IV permits the testing of the proposition that attitudes are affected by institutional experiences which interact with an individual's demographic characteristics as well as

TABLE 2-1

SUMMARY OF MAJOR HYPOTHESES FOR THE RESEARCH MODELCOMPONENT I

Hypotheses I-1: Variation in the age of individuals affects both the content and level of constraint among foreign policy attitudes.

Hypothesis I-2: Variation in the education of individuals affects both the content and level of constraint among foreign policy attitudes.

Hypothesis I-3: Variation in the region of individuals' pre-adult socialization does not affect the content and level of constraint among foreign policy attitudes.

Hypothesis I-4: Variation in the urbanism of individuals' pre-adult socialization does not affect the content and level of constraint among foreign policy attitudes.

Hypothesis I-5: Variation in the race of individuals does not affect the content of foreign policy attitudes.

Hypothesis I-6: Variation in the race of individuals affects the level of constraint among foreign policy attitudes.

COMPONENT II

Hypothesis II-1: Variation in the military service of individuals affects both the content and level of constraint among foreign policy attitudes.

Hypothesis II-2: Variation in the mode of entry of individuals into the military does not affect the content and level of constraint among foreign policy attitudes.

Hypothesis II-3: Variation in the length of military service of individuals affects both the content and level of constraint among foreign policy attitudes.

Hypothesis II-4: Variation in individuals' feeling about their military service affects the content of foreign policy attitudes.

TABLE 2-1--Continued

Hypothesis II-5: Variation in individuals' feeling about their military service does not affect the level of constraint among foreign policy attitudes.

Hypothesis II-6: Variation in the rank of individuals affects both the content and level of constraint among foreign policy attitudes.

COMPONENT III

Hypothesis III-1: Variation in individuals' perception of the influence of the military on the United States affects both the content and level of constraint among foreign policy attitudes.

Hypothesis III-2: Variation in individuals' perception of the amount the United States spends on the military affects both the content and level of constraint among foreign policy attitudes.

Hypothesis III-3: Variation in individuals' perception of the role of the military in society affects both the content and level of constraint among foreign policy attitudes.

that individual's cognitive orientations toward the particular institution.

Table 2-1 presents a summary of the major hypotheses designed to empirically test the research model which was derived from the analytical framework developed for this study. In their formulation, these hypotheses were guided by the bodies of literature underlying the theoretical background reviewed in Chapter I. The major thrust of that literature is to suggest that the elements which make up the individual components of the model should not be expected to affect attitudes in the same fashion. Attitudes toward specific social or political objects and symbols are often the product of forces that are mutually contradictory or inconsistent. As a result, the research model suggests that ultimately the composition and structure of attitudes among veterans and nonveterans will depend upon the relative weight assumed by those factors as well as their interaction. This emphasizes the complexity of discerning the influence of institutional experiences on attitudes--a fact all too often overlooked in earlier research.

Operationalizing the Research Model

The theoretical framework developed for this study suggests that attitudes are the product of the interaction of various forces. Thus, it is necessary to consider more

than the overly simplistic distinction between those individuals "with" and those "without" military service in order to assess the impact of that particular institutional experience on the composition and structure of specific social and political attitudes expressed by adult males in American society. To facilitate this, a research model along with tentative hypotheses was derived from the theoretical framework presented in this chapter. Essentially, with this theoretical framework, and the research model developed in order to test its assumption, it is possible to investigate the impact of military experiences on attitudes. While providing a test for the theoretical framework guiding this effort, this also offers the potential for expanding empirically based theory in the area of attitude studies.

In order to accomplish this goal, it is necessary to specify the manner in which the different elements of the research model will be empirically measured for this study. Once empirical indicators for those elements are specified as research variables, it is then possible using multivariate analysis techniques to examine the relationships among the variables to statistically test the model. This will in turn permit an assessment of the relative effects of the various components which the theoretical framework guiding this research suggests affect the

composition and structure of attitudes manifested among veterans and non-veterans (Lewis-Beck and Mohr, 1974; Sullivan, 1974). In short, the relative distribution of those factors is conceptualized as creating individual-specific differences which account for variation in the attitudes among adult males in contemporary American society. The variable set chosen for this research was selected according to their individual adequacy as empirical indicators for the concepts underlying the environmental-cognitive systems framework developed for this study. The set of independent and dependent variables which will be utilized to examine the research model is presented in Table 2-2.

The data for the analysis variable set for this research are based on national survey data collected from a representative, cross-sectional sample of the civilian population of the United States. Sixteen-page interview and self-completed questionnaires were administered to the subjects of this research effort during February and March of 1973 as part of an "Omnibus" survey conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan.⁵ Appendix A provides a detailed presentation of the questionnaire items used to construct the analysis variable set employed in this study. The sample included 1327 dwelling units selected by a multistage sampling

TABLE 2-2

VARIABLE SET FOR THE RESEARCH MODEL

COMPONENT IDemographic Background Characteristics**Age:**

20-29 years old
30-39 years old
40-49 years old
50-59 years old
60-69 years old
70-79 years ld

Education:

Grade school or less
Some high school
Completed high school
Some college
Completed college
Some graduate School

Region of Pre-adult Socialization:

East
South
Midwest
West

Urbanism of Pre-adult Socialization:

Urban
Rural

Race:

White
Nonwhite

COMPONENT IIInstitutional Experiences**Military Service:**

Veteran
Nonveteran

TABLE 2-2--Continued

Mode of Entry:

Draft
Volunteer

Length of Service:

1-2 years
3-4 years
5-6 years
7 or more years

Feeling About Service:

Positive
Negative

Rank:

Enlisted
Officer

COMPONENT III

Institutional Evaluation/Affect

Perceived Influence of the Military on the
United States

Perceived Amount the United States spends
on the Military

Perceived Role of the Military in Society
since World War II

COMPONENT IV

Attitudes (Foreign Policy Orientations)

Reasons for War:

Intervention to protect the rights of
other countries

Intervention to protect United States
economic interests

Defend against an attack on the United
States

TABLE 2-2--Continued

Military Supremacy:

Relationship of United States military
power to that of the Soviet Union
Relationship of United States military
power to that of any other nation

Vietnam:

Involvement in Vietnam damaging to
national honor
Involvement in Vietnam not really in
the national interest
Involvement in Vietnam important to
fight the spread of communism
Involvement in Vietnam brought United
States closer to world war
Involvement in Vietnam important to
protect friendly countries
Involvement in Vietnam important to
show United States keeps promises

Military in Society:

Military role
Military influence
Military spending

system (Rosenberg, 1968; Babbie, 1973) and may be considered to be representative of all dwellings in the coterminous United States exclusive of those located on military installations. At each housing unit, a specifically designated respondent--male or female, age 18 or older--was interviewed by a trained interviewer from the Survey Research Center staff. In addition, copies of the pencil-and-paper questionnaire were administered to a supplementary sample consisting of all other individuals age 16 or older who were present in each household at the time the interview was conducted. Interviewers remained in the dwelling until all questionnaires distributed in the household were completed by the various respondents. Except for the fact that the supplementary sample included individuals aged 16 and 17, no systematic differences exist between the initial and supplementary samples which preclude their being treated as a unit. Therefore, for purposes of this research, the two samples can be treated as a single, unweighted sample of the civilian population age 16 and older throughout the United States. A more detailed description of the sampling procedure and data sources as well as an analysis of the degree to which the sample "fits" its respective population is available in Michaelson (1973).

Given the research goal of this study, the analysis will focus upon the male component of the sample (N=720). Within that analysis group, the distribution of veterans (N=334) and nonveterans (N=386) is relatively co-equal which reflects their distribution in society (the population). This facilitates inferences based upon statistical analyses of the data (Frankel, 1971; Hyman, 1972). In summary, then, the fundamental purpose of this study is the empirical testing and evaluation of the theoretical framework guiding this research in order to enhance understanding of environmental and cognitive factors affecting the content, organization and constraint of foreign policy attitudes in the mass public.

Accordingly, the remainder of this study focuses upon an in-depth analysis of the relationships discussed in this chapter. Chapter III provides the initial stage of that analysis. The independent variables are examined in order to delineate the characteristics for both major segments of the analysis group, veterans and nonveterans, as well as the differential nature of military experiences among the veterans. In addition, the chapter addresses itself to an analysis of the content of foreign policy attitudes for veterans and nonveterans, and the demographic and institutional factors influencing the content of those attitudes. Chapter IV considers the structural

or organizational differences in foreign policy belief systems between the two groups and the relative degree of constraint exhibited by them. Subsequently, in the final stage of the analysis, the effects of demographic characteristics and military experiences are isolated to assess their impact on both constraint and patterns of organization within the belief systems of the veterans and nonveterans. Chapter V is devoted to a summary of the research findings, including an evaluation of their implications.

NOTES

¹Such an argument often fails, however, to consider the fact that the availability of such funds in the form of reduced expenditures for the Department of Defense does not provide sufficient rationale to assume that additional increments would be allocated to alternative expenditure areas. For a discussion of this point, see Barber (1972).

²Essentially, this perspective involved conceptualizing the individual as an organism (O) which interacts with various environmental stimuli (S) to produce a behavioral and/or attitudinal response (R) within the context of larger societal forces. This represents a combination of field theory with the S-O-R paradigm from psychology. See Yinger (1965).

³In this instance, the term "important" is defined statistically and refers to differences in the amount of variance accounted for in the dependent variable. The independent variables which account for greater amounts of variance are more important than are those which account for lesser amounts.

⁴This refers to the potential salience or centrality of a particular attitude or set of attitudes for an individual. It should be noted that this may vary among individuals.

⁵The response rate was approximately 90 percent. See Michaelson (1973: 11).

CHAPTER III

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS, MILITARY EXPERIENCES AND FOREIGN POLICY CONTENT

Since the impact of environmental and cognitive factors on foreign policy attitudes forms the central focus for this research, this chapter explores the distribution of those attributes among veterans and nonveterans in American society as well as the content of foreign policy orientations for both groups. Thus, this chapter addresses two underlying concerns: (1) the nature of demographic background characteristics and military experiences in society; and (2) the patterns and correlates of foreign policy content among veterans and nonveterans. Specifically, for both veterans and nonveterans, the nature of their demographic background characteristics is noted and described. In addition, the differential nature of military experiences among those individuals having served in the armed forces is examined. Subsequently, the content of foreign policy attitudes including institutional evaluations is assessed as well as the effects demographic and institutional factors exert on the content of those attitudes.

Background Characteristics Among Veterans
And Nonveterans: An Overview

Before examining the content of foreign policy attitudes among veterans and nonveterans, it is worthwhile to consider briefly the relative distribution of demographic background characteristics that might affect those orientations among the two groups. To deal with foreign policy attitudes solely in terms of whether or not one had prior military experiences would raise the risk of missing sources of attitudinal variation that might conceivably exist at a different level (Jennings and Markus, 1974; Kirkpatrick and Regens, 1976). Jones and Jones (1971) suggest that when a number of sociological factors are examined individually that the possibility exists for patterns of difference and similarity to emerge among social groupings which are reflective of those factors. For example, research has revealed that attitudes may be influenced by such factors as age (Kirkpatrick, 1974), race (Marvick, 1965), or education (Jones and Rambo, 1973) as well as military service (Regens, 1975). Thus, in addition to noting the content of foreign policy attitudes of veterans and nonveterans, considerable attention is also given in this chapter to relating the content of foreign policy beliefs and individual background characteristics and experiences. That is, in addition to noting direction and intensity of attitudes toward a series of issue domains that have frequently

captured the special interests and deep concern of broad segments of the general public, attention will focus on the patterns and correlates of organization and those individual attitudes for both veterans and nonveterans.

Veterans and Nonveterans

An initial examination of Table 3-1 reveals that both groups appear to be highly similar in terms of their background characteristics. Since almost one-half of all living adult American males are veterans, that one finds many similarities when focusing upon the distribution of characteristics within the two groups is not overly surprising. With the possible exception of urbanism of pre-adult socialization, however, there are significant variations between veterans and nonveterans across levels for each of the demographic background characteristics. Overall, those individuals with prior military service emerge as being somewhat younger and better educated. In addition, the veterans are slightly more likely to be white and to have experienced their exposure to pre-adult socialization processes in urban areas in the East or Midwest.

If consideration is given to the characteristics of age and education, the greatest distinctions within levels between veterans and nonveterans are found. Veterans overwhelmingly are younger (71.3% under 50 years old) than their nonveteran counterparts (59.5% under 50 years old) in the

TABLE 3-1

DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION) FOR VETERANS AND NONVETERANS*

Demographic Background Characteristics	Veterans	Nonveterans
<u>Age:</u>		
20-29 years old	21.3	30.4
30-39 years old	22.8	22.1
40-49 years old	27.2	7.0
50-59 years old	19.1	13.7
60-69 years old	7.7	17.4
70-79 years old	1.9	9.4
Total %	100.0	100.0
(N)	(324)	(299)
	$\gamma = -.03$	$\chi^2 = 71.62$ $p < .001$
<u>Education:</u>		
Grade school or less	8.7	16.4
Some high school	14.6	27.3
Completed high school	33.7	24.7
Some college	19.5	18.0
Completed college	14.2	7.0
Some graduate school	9.3	6.5
Total %	100.0	100.0
(N)	(323)	(384)
	$\gamma = .27$	$\chi^2 = 37.24$ $p < .001$
<u>Region of Pre-adult Socialization:</u>		
East	30.5	31.0
South	21.3	29.3
Midwest	35.6	27.8
West	12.7	11.9
Total %	100.0	100.0
(N)	(315)	(352)
	$\gamma = .07$	$\chi^2 = 7.40$ $p > .05$
<u>Urbanism of Pre-adult Socialization:</u>		
Urban	68.7	64.7
Rural	31.3	35.3
Total %	100.0	100.0
(N)	(332)	(385)
	$\gamma = .09$	$\chi^2 = 1.11$ $p > .25$
<u>Race:</u>		
White	93.1	89.1
Nonwhite	6.9	10.9
Total %	100.0	100.0
(N)	(331)	(384)
	$\gamma = .24$	$\chi^2 = 2.96$ $p > .05$

*Parenthetical entries represent the percentage base. Total N's for each demographic background characteristic will vary because of occasional missing data. All statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

sample. This would appear to be, at least in part, reflective of the fact that the average age for all veterans in 1972 was 44.7 years. It can also be seen from Table 3-1 that veterans tended to be more likely than non-veterans to possess at least a high school education at a minimum (see also Janowitz, 1971b). While it is impossible to assess whether or not an individual's educational attainment was acquired prior or subsequent to military service, nonetheless, military service does appear to be associated with enhanced educational levels ($\gamma=.27$).¹

Ecological differentiation does not appear to be a major source of divergence between veterans and nonveterans in American society. While regionalism and urbanism of pre-adult socialization may foster or increase individual-level differences in attitudes, generally the data reveal that both groups are relatively similar in their background characteristics in terms of regionalism and urbanism. This tends to support the view that the military services in the United States are representative of a national base (Janowitz, 1959; Bradford and Murphy, 1973).

While the Vietnam era dramatically transformed the racial profile of the American military (Yarmolinsky, 1973: 659), the data suggest that most veterans in contemporary society are whites. The data also reveal that 35.4 percent of the nonwhite males in the survey had prior military

service as compared with 47.4 percent of the white males. This at least partially reflects the historical evolution of the role of minority groups in the military establishment. Prior to 1946, military units were racially segregated as was the case in the larger society. In fact, the initial steps toward desegregation in the United States occurred in 1946 when all naval ratings were opened to sailors irrespective of race. The Department of Defense announced the elimination of all segregated units (all-black) on October 30, 1954, and all aspects of formal segregation in the armed forces were eliminated by 1955 (Moskos, 1970: 108-133; Yarmolinsky, 1973). Subsequently, increasing numbers of nonwhites have experienced military service.²

As noted earlier, that veterans and nonveterans tend to be more similar rather than dissimilar is not altogether surprising. The two major areas of difference, age and education, would appear to be reflective of the historical variation in the nature of the military establishment due to fluctuations in manpower requirements and levels of technological expertise necessary to perform its functions. Because the military experience tends to affect a broad cross-section of adult males in American society, this suggests that differences in demographic background characteristics, if any exist, would more probably occur within

the groups rather than between them. One's rank and mode of entry into military service have frequently been suggested as the most likely sources of attitudinal differences among veterans (Stouffer, et al., 1949; Moskos, 1970; Helmer, 1973). Examination solely of veterans in terms of their demographic background characteristics based upon these potential sources of internal cleavage among veterans may further reveal possible sources of variation in the content of foreign policy attitudes.

Veterans

The background characteristics of the veterans based upon their rank and mode of entry into military service are compared in Table 3-2. An examination of the veterans alone reveals a distribution of those characteristics which is somewhat similar to that which exists between veterans and nonveterans. As is the case when the two groups are jointly compared, age and education provide the greatest sources of difference among veterans only. Without exception, some discernable but often minor variation exists between both officers and enlisted personnel and draftees as opposed to nondraftees for all of the demographic characteristics. Not only do former officers tend to be somewhat clustered among the older age cohorts and higher educational attainment levels; but as a subgroup within the veteran category, they also emerge as slightly

TABLE 3-2

DEMOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)
 FOR VETERANS BY RANK AND MODE OF ENTRY*

Demographic Background Characteristics	Rank		Mode of Entry			
	Officer	Enlisted	Draft	Non-Draft		
Age:						
20-29 years old	12.0	23.8	14.3	25.8		
30-39 years old	20.0	22.7	14.3	28.9		
40-49 years old	28.0	27.5	34.6	22.1		
50-59 years old	24.0	17.8	27.1	13.7		
60-69 years old	16.0	6.7	8.3	7.4		
70-79 years old	0.0	1.5	1.5	2.1		
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
(N)	(25)	(269)	(133)	(190)		
	$\gamma=.26$	$\chi^2=4.96$	$p>.25$	$\gamma=.31$	$\chi^2=24.27$	$p<.001$
Education:						
Grade school or less	0.0	9.1	12.4	6.2		
Some high school	0.0	15.1	20.9	10.4		
Completed high school	0.0	37.0	31.0	35.2		
Some college	16.0	20.8	15.5	22.3		
Completed college	56.0	10.6	10.9	16.6		
Some graduate school	28.0	7.5	9.3	9.3		
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
(N)	(25)	(265)	(129)	(193)		
	$\gamma=.84$	$\chi^2=58.36$	$p<.001$	$\gamma=-.23$	$\chi^2=13.32$	$p>.01$

TABLE 3-2 - Continued

Demographic Background Characteristics	Rank		Mode of Entry			
	Officer	Enlisted	Draft	Non-Draft		
Region of Pre-adult Socialization:						
East	19.2	28.2	29.7	31.2		
South	15.4	22.8	20.3	21.5		
Midwest	50.0	37.1	40.6	32.3		
West	15.4	12.0	9.4	15.1		
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
(N)	(26)	(259)	(128)	(186)		
	$\gamma=.23$	$\chi^2=2.54$	$p>.25$	$\gamma=-.01$	$\chi^2=3.51$	$p>.25$
Urbanism of Pre-adult Socialization:						
Urban	80.0	67.9	63.9	71.7		
Rural	20.0	32.1	36.1	28.3		
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
(N)	(25)	(274)	(133)	(198)		
	$\gamma=.31$	$\chi^2=1.06$	$p>.25$	$\gamma=-.18$	$\chi^2=1.90$	$p>.10$
Race:						
White	96.2	93.4	92.4	93.9		
Nonwhite	3.8	6.6	7.6	6.1		
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
(N)	(26)	(272)	(132)	(198)		
	$\gamma=.28$	$\chi^2=.02$	$p>.90$	$\gamma=-.12$	$\chi^2=0.10$	$p>.75$

*Parenthetical entries represent the percentage base. Total N's for each demographic background characteristic will vary because of occasional missing data. All statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

more likely to be white.³ Draftees also tend to differ somewhat from nondraftees especially in terms of age and educational attainment. When those characteristics are examined, veterans who were drafted into the military are more likely to possess less than a high school education and to be concentrated in the 40 to 49 and 50 to 59 year old age cohorts. Because almost half of all veterans in the United States served in the military during the Second World War when manpower requirements through the draft were at their highest level, this may explain the distribution of both characteristics since older individuals tend to have lower educational levels than younger members of American society.⁴ In addition, the former officers were also more likely than ex-enlisted personnel to have experienced their exposure to pre-adult socialization processes in urban locales in the Midwest.⁵ Generally, while one could conclude that veterans and nonveterans are similar on an overall basis, age and education differences which exist between the two groups also constitute the major sources of dissimilarity based upon internal cleavages (rank and mode of entry) among veterans. To summarize, the simple distinction between those with military experiences and those without provides an imprecise cutting point making it desirable to consider more refined distinctions in order to discern patterns in the demographic background

characteristics of veterans and nonveterans. To further understand the characteristics of the veterans, it is also necessary to examine the nature of their military experiences.

Given the total institution nature of the military, exposure to that experience ". . . encompasses a number of factors which must be considered in gauging its impact upon individual attitudes and beliefs" (Jennings and Markus, 1974: 4) among veterans. First, one needs to consider the motivation for that particular set of institutional experiences, especially the extent to which it represents a voluntary choice among alternatives (Helmer, 1973). A second factor which potentially affects attitudes is the relative intensity of the socialization experience. In the armed forces, while all members are subject to common institutional values and norms, some experience more intensive exposure to those standards than do others. Generally, such exposure is at least partially based upon organizational status (rank) differences with officers subject to more intense forms of socialization (Abrahamsson, 1972). Brim and Wheeler (1966: 90-91) also suggest that the length or duration of exposure to the experiences may exert a potential impact upon adult socialization ". . . to the extent that an institution propagates certain norms and modes of behavior, these should be internalized more by

TABLE 3-3
MILITARY EXPERIENCES (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)
FOR VETERANS*

<u>Mode of Entry</u>	
Draft	40.2
Nondraft	59.8
Total %	<u>100.0</u>
(N)	(333)
 <u>Rank</u>	
Officer	8.6
Enlisted	91.4
Total %	<u>100.0</u>
(N)	(301)
 <u>Length of Military Service</u>	
1-2 years	44.0
3-4 years	41.7
5-6 years	7.0
7 or more	7.3
Total %	<u>100.0</u>
(N)	(302)
 <u>Feeling about Military Service</u>	
Positive	82.4
Negative	17.6
Total %	<u>100.0</u>
(N)	(329)

*Parenthetical entries represent the percentage base. Total N's will vary for each of the military experiences because of occasional missing data.

long-termers than by short-termers" (Jennings and Markus, 1974: 4). Finally, the affective relationship between the socializing agent and the individuals experiencing exposure to that agent is likely to influence the nature of the socialization process (Brim and Wheeler, 1966: 35-37). This suggests that veterans who have positive feelings about their military service should be relatively more likely than those with negative feelings to identify with the dominant values of the military on issues which are relevant to the continuity and functioning of the armed forces.

The characteristics which describe the nature of the veterans' experiences in the military are presented in Table 3-3. The fact that the overwhelming majority of veterans were either drafted into the military or enlisted because they were fairly certain they would otherwise be drafted illuminates the essentially non-voluntary nature of the military experience for most of the nation's veterans. Those who, in fact, volunteered although they perceived they would not be drafted constitute a very small proportion of the veteran community.⁶ Considering the number of respondents, the proportion of former enlisted personnel approximates the actual distribution (about 85-90%) based upon rank in the military (Jennings and Markus, 1974; Savage and Gabriel, 1975). The data also reveal that

military service appears to represent a short-term interlude for most veterans with only 14.3 percent serving periods longer than four years. This reflects the historical reliance of the United States on the policy of large-scale manpower mobilization during the period which encompasses the military experiences of most contemporary veterans (O'Connor, 1965; Coates and Pellegrin, 1965; Ambrose and Barber, 1972). Table 3-3 also contains the response distribution for one subjective question dealing with veterans' affective orientation toward their military experiences. Whatever, if any, effects those experiences have on veterans' foreign policy attitudes, it seems highly unlikely to be attributable to resentment about the time spent in the military. Despite all the criticism and griping which naturally accompany military service, veterans were overwhelmingly positive about their service.⁷

Just as the simple distinction between military service and nonservice fails to fully reveal patterns of similarity and dissimilarity in demographic characteristics, merely categorizing individuals as veterans and then describing the distribution of military experiences among those individuals may be equally imprecise. The two major sources of dissimilarity in background characteristics among veterans, rank and mode of entry, may also be sources of differences in the military experiences which veterans

encountered. In fact, if variation in the nature of one's military experiences has any attitudinal consequences for former servicemen, those effects may well stem from differences linked to those two major sources of internal cleavage within the military.

An examination of the veterans' military experiences based upon organizational status and motivation for service reveals that the two factors are important sources of difference in the nature of those experiences (see Table 3-4). In fact, rank and mode of entry are essentially congruent cleavages ($\gamma = -.53$). As might be expected, veterans who were draftees were overwhelmingly concentrated in the enlisted ranks. While the majority within both groups served fewer than five years on active duty, veterans who were draftees tended to serve only their initial two year commitment. Actually, the data suggest most veterans remain in the military only for the duration of their initial commitment.⁸ Finally, veterans regardless of rank or mode of entry are substantially more positive rather than negative in their feelings about military service, with officers being especially positive ($\gamma = .70$).

Generally, while a great deal of homogeneity exists between veterans and nonveterans as well as among veterans, several differences also emerge. Dissimilarities arise which reflect not only age and educational differences but

TABLE 3-4

MILITARY EXPERIENCES (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)
FOR VETERANS BY RANK AND MODE OF ENTRY*

Military Experiences	Rank		Mode of Entry	
	Officer	Enlisted	Draft	Nondraft
Mode of Entry:				
Draft	19.2	43.4	-	-
Nondraft	80.8	56.6	-	-
Total %	100.0	100.0	-	-
(N)	(26)	(274)		
	$\tau_b = -.14 \quad \chi^2 = 4.78 \quad p < .05$			
Rank:				
Officer	-	-	4.0	11.9
Enlisted	-	-	96.0	88.1
Total %	-	-	100.0	100.0
(N)	-	-	(124)	(176)
	$\tau_b = -.14 \quad \chi^2 = 4.78 \quad p < .05$			
Length of Military Service:				
1-2 years	28.6	45.5	60.0	32.4
3-4 years	61.9	39.7	28.0	51.7
5-6 years	4.8	7.0	8.8	5.7
7 or more	4.8	7.8	3.2	10.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(21)	(257)	(125)	(176)
	$\tau_c = .03 \quad \chi^2 = 3.96 \quad p > .25$		$\tau_c = -.26 \quad \chi^2 = 28.48 \quad p < .001$	

TABLE 3-4 - Continued

Military Experiences	Rank		Mode of Entry			
	Officer	Enlisted	Draft	Nondraft		
<u>Feeling About Military Service:</u>						
Positive	96.2	81.6	85.6	80.1		
Negative	3.8	18.4	14.4	19.9		
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
(N)	(26)	(272)	(132)	(196)		
	$\tau_b = .11$	$\chi^2 = 2.58$	$p > .10$	$\tau_b = .07$	$\chi^2 = 1.28$	$p > .25$

*Parenthetical entries represent the percentage base. Total N's will vary for each of the military experiences because of occasional missing data. All statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

are also due to variation in individuals' rank and mode of entry into military service. These distinctions should be kept in mind when turning to the analysis to assess the impact of military experiences and demographic background characteristics on foreign policy attitudes in the mass public.

Foreign Policy Content: Correlates and
Patterns of Organization

As indicated earlier, this chapter is concerned with the content of foreign policy attitudes among veterans and nonveterans. In addition, the chapter explores the manner in which the content of those attitudes is affected by environmental experiences and institutional evaluations. In order to examine the content of those foreign policy attitudes, the means and standard deviations for both veterans and nonveterans for each of the attitudes are presented in Table 3-5. This information about relative attitudinal intensity and direction will assume additional significance as the analysis unfolds. Generally, both groups appear to be highly similar in terms of the content of their foreign policy attitudes. Both veterans and nonveterans also share similar levels of attitude agreement and intensity across the issues, as exemplified by essentially common standard deviations. As is the case for both demographic background characteristics and military experiences, however, the basic similarity of the means and

TABLE 3-5

FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDE CONTENT (MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS) FOR VETERANS AND NONVETERANS

Attitudes	Veterans		Nonveterans	
	\bar{X}	S.D.	\bar{X}	S.D.
Role of military in society ^a	2.3	0.7	2.3	0.8
Influence of military on US ^b	2.8	0.9	2.8	0.9
Amount US spends on military ^b	2.6	0.9	2.5	0.9
War to protect others ^c	2.3	1.0	2.5	1.0
War to protect economy ^c	2.1	1.0	2.1	1.0
US defend only US ^c	2.1	1.0	1.9	1.0
US military power vs. USSR ^c	3.0	1.1	2.8	1.1
US military power vs. others ^c	2.3	1.0	2.3	1.1
Vietnam damaging to US honor ^c	2.2	1.1	2.2	1.1
Vietnam not in nat'l interest ^c	2.2	1.1	2.1	1.1
Vietnam closer to world war ^c	2.7	1.1	2.6	1.1
Vietnam to protect friends ^c	2.3	1.0	2.4	1.0
Vietnam to keep promises ^c	2.2	1.0	2.3	1.1

a--Coded on a four point Likert scale ranging from a score of 1 which indicates "strongly positive" to 4, "strongly negative."

b--Coded on a five point Likert scale ranging from a score of 1 which indicates "far too much" to 5, "far too little."

c--Coded on a four point Likert scale ranging from a score of 1 which indicates "agree" to 4, "disagree."

standard deviations which suggests an apparent consistency of attitudinal content between the veterans and nonveterans may tend to mask subtle differences in the underlying distribution of foreign policy opinion within the two groups.

Civil-Military Relations

Veterans and nonveterans alike tend to view civil-military relations from an overwhelmingly status quo perspective as far as the armed forces' role in national policy is concerned. The prevailing opinion for both groups holds that the level of influence exerted by as well as the amount of money expended for the military establishment is "about right" and that the role of the military in American society since the conclusion of World War II is "mostly positive" (see Table 3-6). Veterans, however, are slightly more inclined than are nonveterans to also perceive inadequate influence and spending for the military while nonveterans are marginally more negative in their assessment of the military's role in post-World War II society.

Since the content of institutional evaluations for veterans and nonveterans is basically identical, one might readily assume that military experience per se fails to discriminate in terms of the content of those attitudes. The data presented in Table 3-7 suggest that this conclusion is at least partially supported. However, when one

TABLE 3-6

OPINION ON ISSUES OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS
(PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION) FOR VETERANS
AND NONVETERANS*

Issue	Veterans	Nonveterans
<u>Role of Military in Society:</u>		
Strongly positive	9.2	8.8
Mostly positive	59.6	58.3
Mostly negative	26.6	22.9
Strongly negative	4.6	9.9
Total %	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
(N)	(327)	(362)
	$\gamma = -.06 \quad \chi^2 = 7.68 \quad p > .05$	
<u>Influence of Military on US:</u>		
Far too much	9.4	10.8
Too much	18.2	18.9
About right	56.2	56.3
Too little	13.7	10.8
Far too little	2.4	3.2
Total %	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
(N)	(329)	(380)
	$\gamma = .05 \quad \chi^2 = 1.92 \quad p > .75$	
<u>Amount US Spends on Military:</u>		
Far too much	11.5	17.8
Too much	32.1	28.5
About right	39.7	42.3
Too little	15.2	10.1
Far too little	1.5	1.3
Total %	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
(N)	(330)	(376)
	$\gamma = .11 \quad \chi^2 = 9.40 \quad p > .05$	

*Parenthetical entries represent the percentage base.
Total N's will vary because of occasional missing data.
All statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

TABLE 3-7

OPINION ON ISSUES OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION) FOR VETERANS BY RANK AND MODE OF ENTRY

Issue	Rank		Mode of Entry	
	Officer	Enlisted	Draft	Nondraft
<u>Role of Military in Society:</u>				
Strongly positive	4.0	9.7	6.1	10.8
Mostly positive	52.0	59.9	60.3	59.5
Mostly negative	40.0	26.0	29.8	24.6
Strongly negative	4.0	4.5	3.8	5.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(25)	(269)	(131)	(195)
	$\gamma=.27 \quad \chi^2=2.69 \quad p>.25$		$\gamma=.11 \quad \chi^2=3.00 \quad p>.25$	
<u>Influence of Military on US:</u>				
Far too much	12.0	8.9	7.5	10.3
Too much	16.0	18.5	17.3	19.0
About right	48.0	58.3	57.9	55.4
Too little	24.0	11.8	15.8	12.3
Far too little	0.0	2.6	1.5	3.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(25)	(271)	(133)	(195)
	$\gamma=.08 \quad \chi^2=4.04 \quad p>.25$		$\gamma=.08 \quad \chi^2=2.36 \quad p>.50$	

TABLE 3-7 - Continued

Issue	Rank		Mode of Entry	
	Officer	Enlisted	Draft	Nondraft
<u>Amount US Spends on Military:</u>				
Far too much	15.4	11.7	7.5	13.8
Too much	34.6	32.2	38.8	27.7
About right	34.6	38.8	42.5	37.9
Too little	11.5	16.1	9.7	19.0
Far too little	3.8	1.1	1.5	1.5
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(26)	(273)	(134)	(195)
	$\gamma = -.09 \quad \chi^2 = 2.07 \quad p > .50$		$\gamma = -.08 \quad \chi^2 = 10.84 \quad p < .05$	

*Parenthetical entries represent the percentage base. Total N's will vary because of occasional missing data. All statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

carefully examines the distribution of attitudes toward civil-military relations exclusively among veterans based upon their rank and mode of entry, several interesting dissimilarities emerge. Generally, the literature suggests that officers tend to be highly positive in their institutional cognitions as a consequence of the self-selection and socialization processes inherent in the military (Huntington, 1957; Janowitz, 1960; Margiotta, 1976). Although veterans who were former officers tend to adopt such an orientation as is the case with most ex-enlisted personnel, a sizable minority view the military negatively. In fact, almost half of them (44%) view the military's post-World War II role as being more negative than positive while a large percentage of them also express the opinion that military spending is excessive (50%). Most of the former officers (48%) view the influence of the military on the United States as being "about right" but an actual majority perceive it as either more (28%) or less (24%) than is desirable. Similar dissatisfaction, especially with perceived high levels of military spending, is articulated by near majorities of former enlisted men. Differences in the distribution of opinion about civil-military relations also emerge among the veterans based on their mode of entry into military service. Draftees tend to be slightly more skeptical than nondraftees in their

institutional evaluations. Overall, instead of military experiences fostering deferential attitudes toward the military within the American public (Shoup, 1969), most veterans appear to adopt a status quo or slightly critical orientation toward civil-military relations while viewing the military's role in society as essentially positive. In fact, attitudes of veterans toward the armed forces are not at all unlike the attitudes manifested by nonveterans.

Reasons for War

Lasswell (1950) suggests that modern, industrialized countries have increasingly become militarized or garrison state societies due to the security dilemma confronting them in the contemporary international arena. The diffusion of attitudes generally supportive of the use of military force in international affairs throughout the mass public represents one manifestation of such militarized societies (Clotfelter, 1974). Shoup (1969) asserts such a trend can be discerned in the United States since the end of World War II because of wide-spread public opinion favorable to military intervention as an option to resolve foreign disputes rather than using force only in reaction to aggression.

By examining the opinion of veterans and nonveterans on the reasons for American involvement in war, it is

possible to further explore this issue. Table 3-8 presents the attitudes of both groups toward the utilization of force in foreign policy. The patterns of foreign policy attitude content which prevail between the two groups for this issue domain are essentially similar. Both groups tend to favor intervention on protectionist grounds. The average viewpoint holds that the United States ought to go to war to protect the rights of friendly countries and to protect its own economy. Veterans, however, are more prone to agree with US involvement to protect the rights of other countries while nonveterans are slightly more inclined to support intervention to protect the American economy. The majority in both groups also agree with the concept that the only good reason for the United States to go to war is to defend against an attack on the United States, although veterans are slightly more prone to disagree (only in terms of intensity, not overall degree).

With the exception of opinion on war to protect the economy, no significant differences exist among the veterans in terms of their attitudes for this set of foreign policy attitudes (see Table 3-9). In fact, veterans, regardless of rank and mode of entry, are basically in agreement with all three rationales for American involvement in war, although veterans who were nondraftees and those who were former officers are less inclined to agree

TABLE 3-8

OPINION ON REASONS FOR AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT
IN WAR (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)
FOR VETERANS AND NONVETERANS

Reasons	Veterans	Nonveterans
<u>War to Protect Others:</u>		
Agree	24.1	20.5
Agree mostly	37.7	31.4
Disagree mostly	25.3	28.2
Disagree	13.0	19.9
Total %	100.0	100.0
(N)	(332)	(376)
	$\gamma = -.15 \quad \chi^2 = 8.78 \quad p < .05$	
<u>War to Protect Economy:</u>		
Agree	39.7	36.3
Agree mostly	26.7	32.8
Disagree mostly	22.1	17.9
Disagree	11.5	13.1
Total %	100.0	100.0
(N)	(330)	(375)
	$\gamma = -.02 \quad \chi^2 = 4.69 \quad p > .10$	
<u>US Defend Only US:</u>		
Agree	30.3	40.4
Agree mostly	44.1	34.0
Disagree mostly	13.2	16.1
Disagree	12.3	9.5
Total %	100.0	100.0
(N)	(333)	(379)
	$\gamma = .12 \quad \chi^2 = 11.98 \quad p < .01$	

*Parenthetical entries represent the percentage base.
Total N's will vary because of occasional missing data.
All statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

TABLE 3-9

OPINION ON REASONS FOR AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT IN WAR (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION) FOR VETERANS BY RANK AND MODE OF ENTRY*

Reasons	Rank		Mode of Entry	
	Officer	Enlisted	Draft	Nondraft
<u>War to Protect Others:</u>				
Agree	23.1	24.8	22.6	24.7
Agree mostly	38.5	36.9	36.8	38.4
Disagree mostly	23.1	25.5	26.3	24.7
Disagree	15.4	12.8	14.3	12.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(26)	274)	(133)	(198)
	$\gamma=.03$	$\chi^2=0.23$	$p>.95$	$\gamma=.06$
				$\chi^2=0.57$
				$p>.90$
<u>War to Protect Economy:</u>				
Agree	15.4	40.4	35.6	42.1
Agree mostly	34.6	26.1	37.1	19.8
Disagree mostly	42.3	21.3	14.4	27.4
Disagree	7.7	12.1	12.9	10.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(26)	(272)	(132)	(197)
	$\gamma=.31$	$\chi^2=9.45$	$p<.05$	$\gamma=.00$
				$\chi^2=16.09$
				$p<.01$
<u>US Defend Only US:</u>				
Agree	23.1	30.9	33.8	28.1
Agree mostly	46.2	42.9	38.3	47.7
Disagree mostly	7.7	14.5	13.5	13.1
Disagree	23.1	11.6	14.3	11.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(26)	(275)	(133)	(199)
	$\gamma=.16$	$\chi^2=3.80$	$p>.25$	$\gamma=-.02$
				$\chi^2=3.14$
				$p>.25$

*Parenthetical entries represent the percentage base. Total N's will vary because of occasional missing data. All statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

with the use of military force to protect the economy. Thus, although some differences emerge in the patterns of attitudinal content among veterans based upon organizational status and motivation for service within this issue area, military experiences do not appear to make veterans as a group any more likely to be supportive of the use of force in foreign affairs on an overall basis than those males lacking such experiences.

Military Superiority

The development of American military capabilities in the post-World War II era has evolved largely within the context of an arms race with the Soviet Union (Gray, 1971). That is, the force posture of the American defense establishment, as is also true for that of the Soviet military, has developed in an environment which may be characterized by several features: (1) conscious animosity between the United States and the Soviet Union; (2) mutual structuring of force posture status based upon perceived reciprocity of deterrent and combat capabilities; and (3) enduring competition in terms of force posture characteristics (Richardson, 1960; Art and Waltz, 1971; Gray, 1971). While fluctuating intermittently with regard to relative advantage between the two countries, the "arms race" phenomenon can be viewed as a mutual symmetry process in which neither state is capable of attaining enduring military superiority

(Deutsch and Singer, 1964; Rosecrance, 1966; Warner, 1974). Nonetheless, the issue of military superiority frequently arises as a salient foreign policy concern within the domestic political arena. In fact, the often vocal support among veterans' organizations for American military superiority (Donovan, 1970) suggests that this represents one issue domain in which military experiences may affect attitudes.

One of the principal rationales for the high level of military expenditures by the United States stems from the assumption among policy-makers of the necessity to establish or maintain military superiority over other countries, especially the Soviet Union (Russett, 1969 and 1970; Russett and Stepan, 1973). Thus, public opinion about this issue area can be examined in terms of the extent to which those policy choices are reflected in individuals' perceptions of the need for either military superiority over others on the part of the United States or the lack of need for such superiority over the Soviet Union. Table 3-10 reveals that the dominant sentiment among both veterans and nonveterans is basically in agreement with the idea that the United States ought to possess some degree of military superiority over other countries including the Soviet Union. Veterans, however, tend to be somewhat less supportive of military parity vis-a-vis the USSR than are nonveterans. Although

TABLE 3-10

OPINION ON ISSUES OF AMERICAN MILITARY
SUPERIORITY (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)
FOR VETERANS AND NONVETERANS*

Issue	Veterans	Nonveterans
<u>US Military Power vs USSR</u>		
<u>(no need for supremacy):</u>		
Agree	12.6	16.1
Agree mostly	18.3	21.4
Disagree mostly	26.1	23.8
Disagree	42.9	38.6
Total %	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
(N)	(333)	(378)
	$\gamma = .10 \quad \chi^2 = 3.57 \quad p > .25$	
<u>US Military Power vs Others</u>		
<u>(needed for supremacy):</u>		
Agree	25.6	29.7
Agree mostly	36.7	25.5
Disagree mostly	23.5	25.8
Disagree	14.2	18.9
Total %	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
(N)	(332)	(380)
	$\gamma = -.05 \quad \chi^2 = 11.15 \quad p > .05$	

*Parenthetical entries represent the percentage base. Total N's will vary because of occasional missing data. All statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

former officers are more willing than are those veterans who were not officers to accept the lack of need for military superiority including superiority over the Soviet Union, generally, the opinion patterns among veterans are similar regardless of rank or mode of entry (see Table 3-11). The fact that among ex-officers a sizable percentage are willing to disagree with the need for military superiority may reflect the realization among that segment of the nation's veterans of the essentially symmetrical balance which tends to occur over time between military force postures.

The Vietnam War

During the decade of American involvement in Vietnam, that issue surpassed all other concerns including race to become the most important public concern of the period (Converse and Schuman, 1970; Erikson and Luttbeg, 1973). American involvement in Southeast Asia increased popular conceptions as to the impact of military service on individuals and resulted in a series of studies, often limited in scope, focusing on the presumed consequences of Vietnam era experiences (see Regens and Rycroft, 1975; Regens, 1975):

. . . Returning veterans were said to be especially bitter about the government's conduct of the war, its treatment of returning veterans, the lack of support of the home folks, . . . Unenthusiasm for the nation's mission, and outright hostility toward the supposed South Vietnam allies, were other features of the Vietnam period which were thought

TABLE 3-11

OPINION ON ISSUES OF AMERICAN MILITARY SUPERIORITY (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION) FOR VETERANS BY RANK AND MODE OF ENTRY*

Issue	Rank		Mode of Entry	
	Officer	Enlisted	Draft	Nondraft
<u>US Military Power vs USSR</u> (no need for supremacy):				
Agree	7.7	12.7	12.8	12.6
Agree mostly	34.6	17.1	17.3	18.6
Disagree mostly	23.1	26.2	21.1	29.6
Disagree	34.6	44.0	48.9	39.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(26)	(275)	(133)	(199)
	$\gamma = -.15 \quad \chi^2 = 4.98 \quad p > .10$		$\gamma = .10 \quad \chi^2 = 4.06 \quad p > .25$	
<u>US Military Power vs Others</u> (need for supremacy):				
Agree	15.4	26.3	27.3	24.6
Agree mostly	34.6	35.8	35.6	37.2
Disagree mostly	38.5	23.4	22.7	24.1
Disagree	11.5	14.6	14.4	14.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(26)	(274)	(132)	(199)
	$\gamma = .17 \quad \chi^2 = 3.47 \quad p > .25$		$\gamma = -.03 \quad \chi^2 = 0.34 \quad p > .95$	

*Parenthetical entries represent the percentage base. Total N's will vary because of occasional missing data. All statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

to distinguish it from other wars and, in turn, to be implanting some lasting effects on the men who actually served during that period (Jennings and Markus, 1974: 3).

Although some assertions about Vietnam's consequences have been modified, it is quite probable that the Vietnam war ". . . has no doubt been an important--perhaps the dominant --factor in shaping recent attitudes toward the military services and their role in international policy" (Bachman, 1973: 35). Thus, the tragedy of American involvement in Vietnam further highlights the question of the potential attitudinal impacts of military experiences.

The attitudes associated with America's involvement in Vietnam consist of opinions about (1) the official rationale for involvement and (2) the consequences stemming from that involvement. Other things being equal, one might readily assume that veterans, especially those of the Vietnam era, would be somewhat more supportive of that involvement than nonveterans (Moskos, 1970: 35). At least in part, this might be viewed as an effort at dissonance reduction--perhaps understandably so since justification for the war effort might be linked to identification with and rationalization for one's own military service. Public opinion on the series of issues relating to this question does not, however, reveal significant variation in attitudes toward Vietnam between the groups⁹ (see Table 3-12). Generally, while the intensity of opinion

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TABLE 3-12 - Continued

Issue	Veterans	Nonveterans
<u>Protect Friendly Countries:</u>		
Agree	26.0	22.8
Agree mostly	34.7	35.8
Disagree mostly	24.5	22.8
Disagree	14.8	18.7
Total %	100.0	100.0
(N)	(331)	(369)
	$\gamma = -.07$	$\chi^2 = 2.58$ $p > .25$
<u>Show Keep Promises:</u>		
Agree	30.7	28.1
Agree mostly	34.7	32.7
Disagree mostly	18.5	19.7
Disagree	16.1	19.5
Total %	100.0	100.0
(N)	(329)	(370)
	$\gamma = -.07$	$\chi^2 = 1.82$ $p > .50$

*Parenthetical entries represent the percentage base.
 Total N's will vary because of occasional missing data.
 All statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

varies somewhat according to the specific item, both veterans and nonveterans tend to be quite similar in their overall acceptance of the official rationale for involvement, although the veterans are slightly more inclined to agree with that rationale--e.g., fight the spread of communism, protect friendly countries, and keep promises. The acceptance of the reasons commonly presented as an explanation for American involvement (Halberstam, 1969), however, is not matched by a similarly favorable evaluation of the war's consequences. Both veterans and nonveterans were in agreement with the ideas that the Vietnam war was both "damaging to national honor" and "not in the national interest" (see also Jennings and Markus, 1974: 21-25). In addition, a majority of the individuals in both groups disagreed with the suggestion that involvement in Vietnam exacerbated the potential for world war, with veterans slightly less inclined to agree with that viewpoint. Overall, the two groups appear to be highly similar in terms of the content of their attitudes toward Vietnam (see also Wilson and Horack, 1972; Backman, 1974; Bennett, 1974).

Given the suggestions that cleavages within the military were increased as a consequence of Vietnam (King, 1972; Loory, 1973; Helmer, 1973), it is interesting to note that only minimal differences emerge among the

veterans based upon rank or mode of entry. Table 3-13 reveals that while veterans as a group were inclined to accept the rationale for Vietnam involvement they were also highly critical in their evaluation of the consequences of that involvement (see also Bachman, 1973: 35-40; Jennings and Markus, 1974: 21-25). Thus, the question of American involvement in Vietnam appears to have been of sufficient salience to have generated attitudinal consensus throughout the general public regardless of differential military experiences. While largely accepting the rationale for involvement, both groups viewed that involvement critically.

Influences on Foreign Policy Content

The content of any single foreign policy attitude may reflect the impact of an individual's demographic background characteristics such as age, educational attainment or race as well as the presence or absence of socialization experiences in the military and evaluations of that institution as a component of society. Although those evaluative and affective cognitions are included among the overall set of foreign policy orientations in the preceding as well as subsequent analysis, they are treated in this section as independent variables in order to assess the relative contribution of both institutional experiences (military service) and institutional attitudes (evaluations

TABLE 3-13

OPINION ON VIETNAM ISSUES (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)
FOR VETERANS BY RANK AND MODE OF ENTRY*

Issue	Rank		Mode of Entry	
	Officer	Enlisted	Draft	Nondraft
<u>Damaging to National Honor:</u>				
Agree	38.5	34.3	33.8	36.0
Agree mostly	26.9	29.9	29.3	27.9
Disagree mostly	11.5	15.3	15.0	15.2
Disagree	23.1	20.4	21.8	20.8
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(26)	(274)	(133)	(197)
	$\gamma = -.03 \quad \chi^2 = 0.50 \quad p > .90$		$\gamma = .03 \quad \chi^2 = 0.20 \quad p > .975$	
<u>Not in National Interest:</u>				
Agree	28.0	32.7	36.1	29.3
Agree mostly	32.0	31.6	30.1	33.3
Disagree mostly	16.0	17.8	13.5	20.2
Disagree	24.0	17.8	20.3	17.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(25)	(275)	(133)	(198)
	$\gamma = .10 \quad \chi^2 = 0.68 \quad p > .75$		$\gamma = -.07 \quad \chi^2 = 3.85 \quad p > .25$	
<u>Important to Fight Communism:</u>				
Agree	32.0	33.2	34.1	34.8
Agree mostly	28.0	27.7	25.8	28.3
Disagree mostly	24.0	23.7	25.0	21.7
Disagree	16.0	15.3	15.2	15.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(25)	(274)	(132)	(198)
	$\gamma = .02 \quad \chi^2 = 0.02 \quad p > .995$		$\gamma = .03 \quad \chi^2 = 0.57 \quad p > .90$	

TABLE 3-13 - Continued

Issue	Rank		Mode of Entry	
	Officer	Enlisted	Draft	Nondraft
<u>Closer to World War:</u>				
Agree	7.7	19.6	19.5	18.1
Agree mostly	15.4	21.4	20.3	19.6
Disagree mostly	38.5	32.5	31.3	33.2
Disagree	38.5	26.6	28.9	29.1
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(26)	(271)	(128)	(199)
	$\gamma = .11 \quad \chi^2 = 3.69 \quad p > .25$		$\gamma = -.02 \quad \chi^2 = 0.20 \quad p > .975$	
<u>Protect Friendly Countries:</u>				
Agree	30.8	25.5	29.0	24.1
Agree mostly	23.1	34.7	31.3	36.7
Disagree mostly	26.9	25.5	24.4	24.6
Disagree	19.2	14.2	15.3	14.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(26)	(274)	(131)	(199)
	$\gamma = .04 \quad \chi^2 = 1.62 \quad p > .50$		$\gamma = -.03 \quad \chi^2 = 1.41 \quad p > .50$	
<u>Show Keep Promises:</u>				
Agree	30.8	30.5	34.6	28.3
Agree mostly	26.9	35.3	34.6	34.3
Disagree mostly	19.2	18.4	15.4	20.7
Disagree	23.1	15.8	15.4	16.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(26)	(272)	(130)	(198)
	$\gamma = .09 \quad \chi^2 = 1.25 \quad p > .50$		$\gamma = -.11 \quad \chi^2 = 2.30 \quad p > .50$	

*Parenthetical entries represent the percentage base. Total N's will vary because of occasional missing data. All statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

of the military as an institution) on the remaining set of foreign policy opinions. When the analysis focuses solely upon those individuals in American society who are veterans, it is also possible to consider in greater depth the relative impact of variation in the nature of those military experiences--mode of entry, rank and length of service--on the content of policy attitudes (see also Jennings and Markus, 1974; Kirkpatrick and Regens, 1976).

The relative contributions of demographic background characteristics, military experiences and institutional evaluations to an explanation of the content of foreign policy attitudes among veterans and nonveterans can best be assessed by individually regressing those attitudes on them in a stepwise fashion (Draper and Smith, 1966; Namboodiri, Carter and Blalock, 1975). Calculating R^2 s and utilizing the F test at each step to evaluate the statistical significance of each increment towards prediction ". . . enables us to determine the relative efficacies of different variables in the regression equation" (Kerlinger and Pedhazur, 1973: 71). While this is partially affected by the order of the predictor variables in the equation, it is important to note that the order of those variables does not affect the regression coefficients for the final, comprehensive regression equation. In addition, by using the t ratios for the standardized partial

TABLE 3-14

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDES REGRESSES (STEPWISE) ON DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS,
MILITARY SERVICE AND INSTITUTIONAL EVALUATIONS FOR BOTH VETERANS AND NONVETERANS

	Step	Independent Variable	Beta	R ² (%)		Step	Independent Variable	Beta	R ² (%)
US WAR TO PROTECT OTHERS	1	Influence of military	-.13*	2.9	US WAR TO PROTECT ECONOMY	1	Military spending	-.14*	5.5
	2	Urbanism	.14*	4.4		2	Education	.16*	8.1
	3	Role mil. in society	.11*	5.7		3	Role mil. in society	.14*	10.1
	4	Military service	-.07*	6.6		4	Regionalism	.06	10.5
	5	Education	-.07	7.2*		5	Age	.06	10.8
	6	Race	-.05	7.5		6	Race	.06	11.1*
	7	Military spending	-.04	7.6		7	Influence of military	-.05	11.3
	8	Regionalism	-.03	7.7		8	Military service	-.02	11.4
	9	Age	.03	7.8		9	Urbanism	.02	11.4
US DEFEND ONLY US	1	Military spending	.16*	3.4	US MILITARY POWER VS USSR	1	Military spending	.32*	16.2
	2	Education	.14*	5.3		2	Role mil. in society	-.11*	17.7
	3	Role mil. in society	-.11*	6.8		3	Education	-.07	18.6
	4	Regionalism	.07	7.3		4	Regionalism	-.07*	19.1
	5	Influence of military	.08	7.7		5	Age	.07*	19.5
	6	Urbanism	-.07	8.1		6	Military service	.06	19.8*
	7	Age	-.07	8.6*		7	Race	.04	20.0
	8	Race	.01	8.6		8	Influence of military	.04	20.1
	9	Military service	.01	8.6		9	Urbanism	-.02	20.1
US MILITARY POWER VS OTHERS	1	Military spending	-.24*	13.5	VIETNAM DAMAGING TO NATIONAL HONOR	1	Military spending	.24*	8.0
	2	Education	.14*	17.0		2	Role mil. in society	-.13*	9.7*
	3	Influence on military	-.11*	18.2		3	Race	.04	9.9
	4	Role mil. in society	.09*	19.0		4	Urbanism	-.04	10.0
	5	Regionalism	.07*	19.5		5	Influence of military	.03	10.0
	6	Age	-.07*	20.0		6	Education	.01	10.1
	7	Race	.06	20.4		7	Age	-.01	10.1
	8	Military service	-.05	20.6*		8	Regionalism	-.01	10.1
	9	Urbanism	.03	20.7		9	Military service	.00	10.1

TABLE 3-14 - Continued

	Step	Independent Variable	Beta	R ² (%)		Step	Independent Variable	Beta	R ² (%)
VIETNAM NOT IN NATIONAL INTEREST	1	Military spending	.24*	9.1	VIETNAM IMPORTANT TO FIGHT COMMUNISM	1	Influence of military	-.19*	11.9
	2	Role mil. in society	-.17*	11.9*		2	Role mil. in society	.18*	16.2
	3	Urbanism	.04	12.1		3	Education	.14*	18.8
	4	Military service	.04	12.2		4	Military spending	-.14*	20.3*
	5	Education	-.02	12.2		5	Age	-.04	20.4
	6	Age	-.02	12.3		6	Military service	-.03	20.5
	7	Influence of military	.02	12.3		7	Regionalism	.02	20.6
	8	Race	-.01	12.3		8	Race	.01	20.6
	9	Regionalism	.00	12.3		9	Urbanism	.00	20.6
VIETNAM CLOSER TO WORLD WAR	1	Role mil. in society	-.09*	1.4	VIETNAM IMPORTANT TO PROTECT FRIENDS	1	Military spending	-.17*	11.8
	2	Education	.20*	3.0		2	Role mil. in society	.19*	16.8
	3	Military spending	.11*	4.4		3	Influence of military	-.17*	19.5
	4	Age	.10*	5.3		4	Education	.11*	20.9
	5	Urbanism	-.05	5.6*		5	Age	-.08*	21.4*
	6	Race	.04	5.7		6	Military service	-.04	21.6
	7	Military service	.02	5.8		7	Regionalism	.02	21.6
	8	Influence of military	.02	5.8		8	Urbanism	.00	21.6
	9	Regionalism	.01	5.8		9	Race	.00	21.6
VIETNAM IMPORTANT TO KEEP PROMISES	1	Military spending	-.19*	13.2					
	2	Role mil. in society	.18*	17.8					
	3	Age	-.13*	20.3					
	4	Influence of military	-.16*	22.5					
	5	Education	.10*	23.1*					
	6	Military service	-.04	23.3					
	7	Race	-.03	23.4					
	8	Regionalism	-.01	23.4					
	9	Urbanism	.00	23.4					

*For beta weights this indicates statistical significance at the .05 level or less (t-test); for the multiple correlation coefficient it indicates a statistically significant increment at the .05 level or less (F test) up to and including the step indicated.

regression coefficients from the final equation, it is also possible to test the statistical significance of each relationship while controlling for the effect of the other independent variables ¹⁰ (Kerlinger and Pedhazur, 1973).

Generally, as Table 3-14 reveals, the amount of explained variance in the content of foreign policy attitudes for both veterans and nonveterans when examined jointly is greatest for those opinions dealing with issues of military superiority and the rationale for American involvement in Vietnam. Overall, evaluative and affective cognitions toward the military as an institution tend to be consistently the "best" predictors of attitudinal content for the entire set of foreign policy attitudes for both veterans and nonveterans combined. The regression coefficients for the individual equations ". . . reflect the pattern of the relationship between foreign policy attitudes and a positive view of the military as well as desire for a larger role for that institution in national policy" (Kirkpatrick and Regens, 1976: 27-29). Military service itself, however, tends to contribute only slightly toward accounting for variation in the content of the individual foreign policy attitudes when the groups are jointly considered. Although both age and educational attainment tend to be relatively good predictors of attitudinal content for the foreign policy items, as a group, the demographic characteristics

fail to exhibit consistent patterns in terms of explaining variance in the intensity and direction of those attitudes. Race and urbanism tend to contribute only a minimal increment toward explaining attitudinal content among the individuals' foreign policy orientations. While regionalism tends to be linked to variation in the content of attitudes toward military superiority, it contributes only slightly toward accounting for variation in the content of attitudes in the other issue areas.

It is possible that this presentation masks important variations in the service group. An examination of the foreign policy attitudes of the veterans alone, however, in terms of the nature of their military experiences as well as demographic background characteristics and institutional cognitions reveals similar results (see Table 3-15). As is the case when the attitudes of the veterans and nonveterans are jointly analyzed, orientations toward the military as an institution, especially evaluations of the adequateness of military spending, are consistently the best predictors of the veterans' foreign policy attitudes. In fact, the institutional evaluations are the only independent variables which do exhibit consistent as well as strong predictive relationships with those attitudes for veterans alone as well as for the two groups. The demographic characteristics, especially race and urbanism, reveal no consistent patterns of relationships.

TABLE 3-15

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDES REGRESSED (STEPWISE) ON DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS,
MILITARY EXPERIENCES AND INSTITUTIONAL EVALUATIONS OF VETERANS

	Step	Independent Variable	Beta	R ² (%)		Step	Independent Variable	Beta	R ² (%)
US WAR TO PROTECT OTHERS	1	Feeling about mil. srvcs.	-.14*	3.2	US WAR TO PROTECT ECONOMY	1	Military spending	-.24*	7.7
	2	Role mil. in society	.07	3.9		2	Education	.15*	11.2
	3	Urbanism	.09	4.4*		3	Role mil. in society	.13*	12.5
	4	Education	-.10	4.9		4	Regionalism	.10	13.4
	5	Influence of military	-.08	5.2		5	Urbanism	.10	14.2
	6	Rank	.06	5.5		6	Race	.07	14.8*
	7	Mode of entry	.05	5.8		7	Feeling about mil. srvcs.	.04	15.0
	8	Military spending	.03	5.8		8	Influence of military	.04	15.1
	9	Length military srvcs.	-.02	5.8		9	Age	-.01	15.1
	10	Race	-.01	5.9		10	Rank	.01	15.1
	11	Regionalism	-.01	5.9		11	Length military srvcs.	.01	15.1
	12	Age	-.01	5.9		12	Mode of entry	.01	15.1
US DEFEND ONLY US	1	Role mil. in society	-.12*	3.7	US MILITARY POWER VS USSR	1	Military spending	.35	14.4
	2	Education	.16*	6.0		2	Age	.12*	15.5
	3	Military spending	.16*	8.8		3	Role mil. in society	-.10	16.6
	4	Feeling about mil. srvcs.	.14*	10.3		4	Length military srvcs.	-.09	17.2
	5	Age	-.16*	12.0		5	Regionalism	-.07	17.8*
	6	Race	.09	12.7*		6	Influence of military	.07	18.2
	7	Mode of entry	.09	13.1		7	Race	-.06	18.5
	8	Length military srvcs.	.10	13.7*		8	Urbanism	-.03	18.6
	9	Regionalism	.06	14.2		9	Rank	-.04	18.7
	10	Influence of military	-.04	14.3		10	Feeling about mil. srvcs.	.02	18.7
	11	Rank	.03	14.4		11	Education	.02	18.8
	12	Urbanism	-.02	14.4		12	Mode of entry	.01	18.8

TABLE 3-15 - Continued

	Step	Independent Variable	Beta	R ² (%)		Step	Independent Variable	Beta	R ² (%)
US MILITARY POWER VS OTHERS	1	Military spending	-.37*	18.3	VIETNAM DAMAGING TO NATIONAL HONOR	1	Military spending	.21*	6.5
	2	Age	-.15*	20.1		2	Role mil. in society	-.08	7.8
	3	Regionalism	.11*	21.5		3	Regionalism	-.08	8.3*
	4	Role mil. in society	.12*	22.7		4	Feeling about mil. srvcs.	.07	8.7
	5	Education	.06	23.4*		5	Age	-.06	9.1
	6	Feeling about mil. srvcs.	.08	23.8		6	Urbanism	-.04	9.3
	7	Urbanism	.05	24.1		7	Influence of military	.05	9.5
	8	Influence of military	-.05	24.3		8	Length military srvcs.	-.04	9.7
	9	Length military srvcs.	.05	24.4		9	Mode of entry	.02	9.7
	10	Race	.02	24.5		10	Race	.02	9.8
	11	Mode of entry	.01	24.5		11	Rank	.02	9.8
	12	Rank	.01	24.5		12	Education	-.02	9.8
VIETNAM NOT IN NATIONAL INTEREST	1	Military spending	.24*	8.2	VIETNAM IMPORTANT TO FIGHT COMMUNISM	1	Influence of military	-.19*	11.8
	2	Role mil. in society	-.13*	10.2*		2	Role mil. in society	.17*	16.9
	3	Rank	.07	10.5		3	Military spending	-.20*	19.9
	4	Feeling about mil. srvcs.	.05	10.6		4	Feeling about mil. srvcs.	-.10	21.0
	5	Urbanism	.04	10.7		5	Education	.09	21.5
	6	Education	-.05	10.8		6	Length military srvcs.	.10	22.0*
	7	Age	-.04	10.9		7	Urbanism	-.05	22.3
	8	Length military srvcs.	.02	11.0		8	Mode of entry	.06	22.5
	9	Regionalism	-.01	11.0		9	Age	-.06	22.8
	10	Race	.01	11.0		10	Race	-.02	22.8
	11	Influence of military	-.01	11.0		11	Rank	-.02	22.8
	12	Mode of entry	.00	11.0		12	Regionalism	.01	22.8

TABLE 3-15 - Continued

Step	Independent Variable	Beta	R ² (%)	Step	Independent Variable	Beta	R ² (%)
	1 Education	.16*	2.6	1	Military spending	.22*	13.0
	2 Feeling about mil. srvc.	.12	3.9	2	Role mil. in society	.22*	19.2
	3 Military spending	.13*	4.5	3	Influence of military	-.16*	21.9
	4 Influence of military	-.10	5.3*	4	Age	-.06	22.6*
VIETNAM	5 Length military srvc.	-.05	5.6	5	Race	-.05	22.9
CLOSER TO	6 Urbanism	-.05	5.9	6	Regionalism	.06	23.2
WORLD	7 Race	.05	6.2	7	Feeling about mil. srvc.	-.06	23.5
WAR	8 Rank	.05	6.3	8	Education	.05	23.7
	9 Age	-.04	6.5	9	Length military srvc.	.04	23.8
	10 Regionalism	.02	6.5	10	Rank	-.01	23.8
	11 Mode of entry	.01	6.5	11	Urbanism	.01	23.8
	12 Role mil. in society	.00	6.5	12	Mode of entry	.00	23.8
	1 Military spending	-.23*	12.9				
	2 Role mil. in society	.22*	18.7				
	3 Influence of military	-.16*	21.4				
	4 Age	-.10	22.6				
VIETNAM	5 Length mil. srvc.	.08	23.3*				
IMPORTANT	6 Education	.06	23.7				
TO KEEP	7 Feeling about mil. srvc.	-.03	23.8				
PROMISES	8 Mode of entry	-.03	23.9				
	9 Regionalism	.02	23.9				
	10 Race	-.02	24.0				
	11 Urbanism	.01	24.0				
	12 Rank	.00	24.0				

*For beta weights this indicates statistical significance at the .05 level or less (t-test); for the multiple correlation coefficient it indicates a statistically significant increment at the .05 level or less (F test) up to and including the step indicated.

Once again, regionalism tends to be linked primarily to attitudes toward military superiority while age and education further illuminate patterns in the intensity and direction of veterans' foreign policy attitudes, especially opinions about the reasons for war and issues of military superiority. Although one might logically expect that the diverse nature of individuals' military experiences--mode of entry, rank and length of service--would be related to attitudinal content (Moskos, 1970; Abrahamsson, 1972), none of those factors are relatively discriminating predictors. This supports the view that military service, per se, as well as the nature of an individual's institutional experiences in the armed forces, does not tend to distinguish veterans from nonveterans in terms of the content of their foreign policy attitudes (Regens and Rycroft, 1975; Kirkpatrick and Regens, 1976). The affective dimension of veterans' military experiences does, however, tend to be a reasonably consistent predictor of veterans' attitudes (see also Jennings and Markus, 1974). Thus, while on an overall basis, military experiences exert a relatively limited impact upon the content of foreign policy attitudes, those experiences ". . . may have an impact on the organization of foreign policy belief systems which is masked through an item by item analysis of content (direction and intensity)" (Kirkpatrick and Regens, 1976: 29).

This raises the question of the manner in which the veterans and nonveterans organize their foreign policy attitudes. Generally, factor analysis provides the most appropriate means for displaying those patterns in a parsimonious fashion (Ferguson, 1954; Cattell, 1965; Harman, 1967). Table 3-16 reveals that both the veterans and nonveterans organize their attitudes for the series of foreign affairs issues into three relatively discrete dimensions based on an orthogonal factor solution, using a varimax rotation with Kaiser's criterion utilized to determine the number of dimensions for each group (Rummel, 1967: 323-394; Kirkpatrick, 1974: 237-256). Although veterans and nonveterans employ the same number of dimensions to provide structure for their attitudes, visual inspection of the factor loadings for the individual elements (attitude items) on the dimensions of the two matrices suggests that veterans differ from nonveterans in the manner in which they organize their foreign policy attitudes.¹¹ An examination of the elements comprising the belief systems for the groups indicates that the second dimension is common for both, although the overall loadings are somewhat higher for the veterans. This commonality suggests that veterans and nonveterans are highly similar not only in terms of the content of their perceptions of the implications stemming from American involvement in Vietnam; but

TABLE 3-16

FACTOR ANALYSIS* OF FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDES FOR VETERANS AND NONVETERANS

Attitudes	Veterans (N=334)			Nonveterans (N=386)		
	Use of Military Force	Vietnam Implications	Military Supremacy	Military in National Policy	Vietnam Implications	Vietnam Rationale
Role in military society	.50	-.09	-.15	.39	-.25	-.27
Influence of military on US	-.41	-.02	.45	-.57	.20	.24
Amount US spends on military	-.28	.14	.70	-.53	.30	.27
War to protect others	.49	-.42	.38	.49	-.30	-.07
War to protect economy	.54	.08	-.18	.70	.13	-.04
US defend only US	-.14	.60	-.00	-.29	.57	-.08
US military power vs USSR	-.14	.23	.70	-.56	.19	.23
US military power vs others	.25	.03	-.67	.68	.19	-.32
Vietnam damaging to nat'l honor	-.20	.64	.19	-.03	.68	.35
Vietnam not in nat'l interest	-.19	.71	.29	-.08	.52	-.52
Vietnam to fight communism	.69	-.22	-.26	.22	-.05	-.78
Vietnam closer to world war	.10	.80	-.06	.00	.73	.03
Vietnam to protect friends	.77	-.30	-.21	.25	-.08	-.80
Vietnam to keep promises	.75	-.16	-.22	.28	-.09	-.78
* Explained Variance	31.42	12.74	7.99	32.09	10.88	8.20
Total Explained Variance	52.15			51.18		

*Varimax rotation with Kaiser's criterion for the number of factors.

that regardless of military service, the two groups are similar in their organization of those attitudes. In addition, unlike veterans, nonveterans also structure their attitudes toward the formal rationale for involvement in Vietnam along a separate dimension. Thus, attitudes toward Vietnam form the underlying basis for two of the three dimensions of nonveterans' foreign policy belief systems. The major dimension for the nonveterans appears to represent a synthesis of what might abstractly be labeled the orientation of those individuals toward "the military in national policy." This dimension consists of a combination of the nonveterans' attitudes toward a series of issue areas: (1) civil-military relations, (2) military superiority, and (3) reasons for war. Those individuals with military experiences, however, appear to distinguish between the somewhat abstract concept of military superiority and the tangible application of military force in foreign affairs, while manifesting intensity and direction similar to that of nonveterans for those attitudes. This suggests that individuals having prior military experiences conceptualize the military's role in society as linked to the underlying rationale for its utilization in actual situations and distinguish this from the issue of relative force posture for the United States.

Conclusions

This chapter has presented an essentially exploratory effort to delineate the relationship between individuals' military experiences, demographic characteristics and the content of their foreign policy attitudes. Initially, questions were raised as to whether or not veterans differ from nonveterans in terms of their background characteristics. Basically, the data reveal that both groups on an overall basis are more similar rather than dissimilar, although veterans tend to be somewhat younger and more highly educated. These two major areas of difference, age and educational attainment, which exist between the two groups also emerge as the major sources of dissimilarity based upon internal cleavages (rank and mode of entry) among veterans. Some dissimilarities in the nature of individuals' military experiences, especially feelings about military service, also arise due to variation in both veterans' rank and mode of entry into military service. Thus, while a great deal of homogeneity exists between veterans and nonveterans as well as among veterans in American society, several differences also emerge. As noted earlier, examining the content of foreign policy attitudes suggests that veterans and nonveterans share similar levels of attitude agreement and intensity across the issues. When the influence of military experiences,

demographic characteristics and institutional evaluations on attitudinal content is assessed, cognitive and affective orientations toward the military as an institution consistently emerge as the best predictors with military experiences and demographic characteristics only slightly illuminating differences. Careful examination of the factor matrices for the two groups, however, does reveal that while both veterans and nonveterans are highly similar in terms of the content of their foreign policy attitudes, subtle distinctions emerge within the organizational patterns of those attitudes which may be related to military experiences. Potential bases for those distinctions will be examined in the following chapter.

NOTES

¹The issue in this research is not the relative impact of military service on educational opportunities and attainments but rather the relationship between military experiences, education and foreign policy attitudes. For a discussion of the former research question, see Janowitz (1971b).

²In fact, this has resulted in an increasing debate over the policy implications stemming from the radical composition of the current all-volunteer force. See Janowitz and Moskos (1974).

³By 1969, only 2.1 percent of all officers on active duty in the American military were black, although blacks constituted 11.2 percent of the total population. See Yarmolinsky (1973: 659). This should at least partially explain the small proportion of veterans who are nonwhites. It should also be noted, however, that 35.4 percent of the nonwhites in the sample were veterans. Among the non-white veterans, 94.7 percent were former enlisted personnel and 45.5 were draftees. See also Moskos (1969).

⁴This assumption tends to be supported by the fact that only 7.5 percent of all enlisted personnel on active duty in 1964 had an eighth grade education or less, see Janowitz (1971b: 175).

⁵Margiotta (1976: 157-158) suggests that this pattern of regional affiliation among former officers may be changing in the current military.

⁶In addition to asking respondents their mode of entry into the military, those respondents who were not draftees were asked: "Do you think you would have been drafted if you had not enlisted?" Among the nondraftees, 73.1 percent responded "yes" while only 26.9 percent responded "no." See also Jennings and Markus (1974) for their similar findings.

⁷Jennings and Markus (1974: 6-7) similarly found that satisfaction substantially exceeded dissatisfaction about military service in a study focusing exclusively on Vietnam era veterans although the level of satisfaction was somewhat lower (63.0 percent) than that found in this study for all veterans.

⁸Janowitz (1972) asserts that the pattern of significant numbers of officers and enlisted personnel serving six years or less for whom military service is essentially an interlude in an otherwise civilian existence will probably continue even with the all-volunteer force.

⁹It is perhaps important to note that this finding does not preclude the possibility that such a strain toward dissonance reduction may occur among individual veterans and affect their attitudes toward Vietnam.

¹⁰In order to test the extent to which minor violations in the degree to which data fulfill the assumptions for regression analysis influences the order for predictor variables, final regression coefficients and explained variance, multiple classification analysis was also performed (Andrews, Morgan and Sonquist, 1967). Since the results obtained were virtually identical to those obtained with the regression procedures (see also Kirkpatrick and Regens, 1976), the latter set of results are presented to facilitate comparability with subsequent factor analysis.

¹¹Empirical measures which assess the differences among the individual elements of the factor matrices for the veterans and nonveterans are presented subsequently in Chapter 4, which includes an analysis of those elements which are most and least similarly between the two matrices.

CHAPTER IV

CONSTRAINT AND BELIEF SYSTEM ORGANIZATION

In addition to knowledge about the content and overall pattern of an individual's beliefs, it is important to know the extent to which one can predict an individual's opinions on one issue from his opinion on others. Although ideology has a somewhat vague meaning, it generally encompasses an individual's set of beliefs about the proper ordering of phenomena (Shils, 1958; Bell, 1960; Minar, 1961). This suggests that political ideologies function, at least in part, as prisms to filter perceptions of political stimuli with the central elements of an individual's belief system constraining or organizing opinions on specific issues.¹ For example, some consistency between a person's opinion on trading with communist nations and his opinion about Vietnam involvement may be fostered by an underlying, more general view toward isolationist-internationalist foreign policy stances (Caspary, 1970b). Increasingly, controversy has arisen among students of public opinion over the degree to which Americans possess such well-integrated political belief systems. As previously noted, early research found that belief systems

among the mass public were less coherent and stable than those of elites (Converse, 1964; Hennessy, 1970). Subsequent research, drawing upon surveys conducted during the 1960s, suggests an ability on the part of the general public to organize a number of policy issues into somewhat coherent political belief systems (Luttbeg, 1968; Kirkpatrick, 1970a and 1970b; Bennett, 1973).

While the concept of constraint has attracted continuing study in the analysis of domestic belief systems, its application to a broad range of foreign policy attitudes has been largely neglected. Generally, students of foreign affairs have argued that because international politics is so complex and remote most people lack sufficient concern and information to possess firmly-held, consistent beliefs in that area (Almond, 1960; Rosenau, 1961). Until recently, in-depth examination of this assumption about the marginal nature of attitude structures for the mass public's foreign policy issue opinion has been restricted since national survey data permitting such analysis have measured only relatively narrow sets of attitudes about containing the expansion of communism, diplomatic and trade ties with communist countries, foreign aid or aspects of American military involvement overseas, especially Vietnam (Caspary, 1970a and 1970b; Bennett, 1974). Such data fail to enable treatment of

differences between veterans and nonveterans or focus attention upon other potential belief system elements such as attitudes toward civil-military relations, military superiority and intervention. With the availability of data to rectify such omissions, this chapter provides an investigation of whether or not such patterns of consistency occur among a wide range of foreign policy opinions held by members of the mass public as well as the impact of demographic characteristics and military experiences on constraint and organization patterns for the conceptual elements of belief systems.²

Consistency in Belief System Linkage Among
Foreign Policy Opinions

A belief system is a set of attitudes that are inter-related through the sharing of common content. The extent to which those attitudes or beliefs are linked is known as constraint. That is, when two or more attitudes are related, knowing a person's belief about one issue helps to predict the individual's belief about the other linked or connected issue. While questions arising from attitude theory suggest a variety of measures for the concept of constraint (Converse, 1964; Luttbeg, 1968; Hennessy, 1970; Pierce, 1975), the two most prevalent techniques--correlation analysis and factor analysis--are adopted in this analysis. Perhaps the simplest and also the most

frequently employed approach for assessing constraint involves calculating correlations between the attitudes of individuals on two or more issues, thereby indicating the general level of association between beliefs.³ The second measure of constraint, using factor analysis, measures constraint in terms of the total percentage of explained variance across common items and similar (comparable) numbers of factors.

How strong should the association among the public's foreign policy opinions be before one can realistically consider them to be constrained? Unfortunately, no definitive answer emerges from the literature to assert itself. Some guidance from prior research, however, is available to serve as a basis for decision. Operationally, the higher the degree of correlation or explained variance among opinions on two or more issues the higher the level of belief organization or constraint (Converse, 1964; Luttbeg, 1968; Bennett, 1973).

Since the aim of this chapter is to compare patterns of constraint and belief system organization for veterans and nonveterans, Table 4-1 presents mean correlation coefficients for the relationships between their foreign policy attitudes within four a priori issue domains: (1) civil-military relations, (2) reasons for war, (3) military superiority, and (4) Vietnam.⁴ In general,

the pattern of organization (see Table 3-16) for the veterans and nonveterans is more distinct than is the overall level of constraint. The data reveal that both groups possess fairly similar constraint levels for the issue domains, although both at the same time fail to exhibit highly constrained attitude structures for their foreign policy views. Both groups are identical in the degree of constraint they have in their attitudes about the reasons for war, and veterans are only slightly more constrained in their attitudes toward Vietnam. Interestingly enough, while one might expect veterans to manifest the characteristics of a more coherent foreign policy issue public, on the two remaining issue domains--civil-military relations and military superiority--nonveterans display somewhat higher levels of constraint. Although the differences are not great, nonveterans appear to view the military in a more coherent and integrated fashion than do those individuals possessing military experiences. This seeming anomaly may well stem from the outwardly monolithic appearance of the military establishment to individuals lacking military service while divergent institutional experiences create a more diffuse perspective among veterans. Such findings, however, do not necessarily imply more complex foreign policy belief systems on the part of nonveterans (Marcus, Tabb and Sullivan,

TABLE 4-1

FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDE CONSTRAINT (MEAN
CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS) WITHIN ISSUE
DOMAINS FOR VETERANS AND NONVETERANS

Attitudes	Veterans	Nonveterans
Civil-Military Relations	.31	.37
Reasons for War	.20	.20
Military Superiority	.38	.43
Vietnam	.37	.35

1974). In fact, the factor analysis presented in the preceding chapter (see Table 3-16) reveals that veterans have a lower level of constraint on the four a priori classifications because each of their empirical attitudinal dimensions is more complex. That is, several aspects of their attitudes about both civil-military relations and military superiority are closely related in their cognitive frameworks.

The Impact of Demographic Characteristics and Military Experiences

An alternative technique available for assessing the existence and extent of attitudinal constraint among the foreign policy opinions of veterans and nonveterans is factor analysis. As suggested earlier in this chapter, the advantage of this second approach to measuring constraint over the more frequently employed inter-item correlation procedure stem from the fact that in addition to gauging constraint a factor matrix also ". . . displays the pattern of organization within the overall constraint boundaries, and most important, it offers a unique opportunity to empirically compare factor patterns between subgroups of the population" (Kirkpatrick and Regens, 1976: 36). Therefore, by using a series of factor analytic solutions to compare constraint measured as the percentage of explained variance for a common number of factors across

subgroups of the population, it is possible to isolate empirically the effects of several variables on attitude structure to a greater degree than the more common method allows. Since the amount of explained variance tends to increase as the number of factors obtained increases, a comparison of constraint levels requires comparability in the number of factors. In order to facilitate such comparisons between levels of attributes (e.g., age intervals, educational attainment levels or mode of entry) for veterans and nonveterans as well as those between the two groups, it is necessary to determine variance percentages for the modal number of factors extracted with varimax solutions using an orthogonal rotation employing Kaiser's criterion to determine the number of dimensions. The number of actual dimensions extracted following this procedure also remains important, albeit mathematically arbitrary, since when Kaiser's criterion is uniformly applied to all factor solutions examination of the actual number of dimensions produced enables an empirical comparison of the complexity (number of dimensions) of attitude structures for the subgroups.

Table 4-2 presents such summary measures of belief system constraint and complexity in order to permit comparisons for both veterans and nonveterans on an overall basis as well as by subgroups for the demographic

TABLE 4-2

FACTOR ANALYTIC SUMMARY OF FOREIGN POLICY ATTITUDE ORGANIZATION FOR VETERANS AND NONVETERANS
BY DEMOGRAPHIC AND INSTITUTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics	VETERANS				NONVETERANS				VETERAN- NONVETERAN FACTOR COMPARISON
	# Comparable- Modal Dimensions ^a	% Explained Variance	# Kaiser's Dimensions	% Explained Variance	# Comparable- Modal Dimensions	% Explained Variance	# Kaiser's Dimensions	% Explained Variance	Intraclass Correlation Coefficient ^b
Overall	3	52.15	3	52.15	3	51.18	3	51.18	.90
Age Intervals:									
20-29	5	71.01	5	71.01	5	70.21	3	56.93	.91
30-39	5	67.19	4	60.21	5	68.87	5	68.87	.82
40-49	5	69.68	5	69.68	5	82.89	5	82.89	.80
50-59	5	68.91	5	68.91	5	65.27	6	72.69	.76
60-69	5	81.99	5	81.99	5	74.55	5	74.55	.81
70-79	5	100.00	3	90.92	5	74.67	5	74.67	.52
Education levels:									
Grade sch. or less	4	67.08	5	74.59	4	55.34	5	64.80	.74
Some high school	4	62.58	4	62.58	4	52.58	5	60.42	.66
Comp. high school	4	56.57	5	64.00	4	59.38	4	59.38	.89
Some college	4	69.53	4	69.53	4	70.05	3	63.09	.90
Completed college	4	67.57	4	67.57	4	71.33	4	71.33	.82
Some grad. school	4	73.54	4	73.54	4	82.20	3	75.36	.91
Regionalism:									
East	4	62.71	3	55.65	4	59.23	4	59.23	.79
South	4	59.87	5	67.62	4	62.69	4	62.69	.85
Midwest	4	63.47	4	63.47	4	60.90	4	60.90	.85
West	4	69.92	4	69.92	4	70.40	3	64.04	.89

TABLE 4-2 - Continued

Characteristics	VETERANS				NONVETERANS				VETERAN- NONVETERAN FACTOR COMPARISON
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	Intraclass Correlation ^b Coefficient
	Comparable- Modal Dimensions ^a	Explained Variance	Kaiser's Dimensions	Explained Variance	Comparable- Modal Dimensions	Explained Variance	Kaiser's Dimensions	Explained Variance	
Urbanism:									
Urban	4	61.29	4	61.29	4	60.86	4	60.86	.93
Rural	4	57.51	5	65.03	4	56.68	4	56.68	.91
Race:									
White	4	59.32	4	59.32	4	59.32	4	59.32	.93
Nonwhite	4	72.37	4	72.37	4	60.75	5	68.61	.74
Rank:									
Enlisted	4	58.93	4	58.93	-	-	-	-	-
Officer	4	76.80	4	76.80	-	-	-	-	-
Mode of Entry:									
Draft	4	59.06	3	51.96	-	-	-	-	-
Nondraft	4	61.25	4	61.25	-	-	-	-	-
Military Service:									
1-2 years	5	68.62	3	55.15	-	-	-	-	-
3-4 years	5	68.14	5	68.14	-	-	-	-	-
5-6 years	5	79.72	5	79.72	-	-	-	-	-
7 or more years	5	78.33	5	78.33	-	-	-	-	-
Feeling about Service:									
Positive	5	65.17	4	58.47	-	-	-	-	-
Negative	5	74.45	5	74.45	-	-	-	-	-

a--For each category, the most frequently occurring number of dimensions obtained by individual varimax solutions using

Kaiser's criterion are presented to provide a basis for within-category comparisons of constraint.

b--Indicates the degree to which the two matrices are similar in both pattern and magnitude.

characteristic and military experience variables examined in this research. The variance figures presented for the overall category confirm the basic similarity of constraint and belief system complexity between veterans and nonveterans in American society. It is both conceptually and empirically possible, however, for the patterns of belief system organization to differ. For example, visual comparison of the overall factor matrices for veterans and nonveterans reveals several subtle but important differences in the patterns of factor loading for the two groups. Comparisons between factor matrices are possible not only by means of visual inspection of attitude organization differences but also may be achieved through least squares statistical comparisons. Using this approach, the factor matrix for one subgroup of the population is rotated to obtain a degree of "fit" into the space of the other subgroup (Ahmavaara, 1954; Rummel, 1970: 449-471). Because juxtaposing factor matrices visually becomes unwieldy for multiple subgroup comparisons, factor comparison algorithms rather than visual inspection are more appropriate since they produce a summary measure (intraclass correlation coefficient) of the degree of pattern and magnitude similarity between the matrices for any two subgroups. As noted in Table 4-2, the intraclass correlation coefficient (.90) for veterans compared with nonveterans

reflects the relatively high overall degree of pattern and magnitude similarity of factor loadings for the foreign policy attitudes between the two groups.

Age. Generally, age in the form of both maturation and generation effects has been suggested as a major source of continuity and cleavage among attitudes within the general public (Gergen and Back, 1965; Riley and Foner, 1968; Klecka, 1971). Although aging effects have rarely been investigated in studies of attitudinal constraint, Kirkpatrick (1974) found a general tendency for the "in-between" generations to be less "ideological" in terms of their domestic social welfare attitudes. Table 4-2 reveals that such a curvilinear effect due to age is most noticeable for individuals with prior military service. Among veterans, those under 30 and over 60 years old have more highly interrelated foreign policy belief systems than do those veterans in the middle cohorts.⁵ If such curvilinearity in constraint patterns is generic to aging, then similar effects should be evident among the belief systems of non-veterans as well. The pattern for adult males lacking military experiences, however, is clearly mixed with the middle cohort (40-49 years old) emerging as the most "ideological." This suggests that an event interpretation rather than an aging effect is more plausible. This seems to be especially the case for the veterans who appear to

exhibit levels of constraint affected by events occurring at the time of their military experiences.

Comparison of factor matrices for all paired combinations of age groups suggests a more linear pattern in the similarity of belief system organization for veterans than is the case with constraint. Examination of the intraclass correlation coefficients presented in Table 4-3A indicates that pattern and magnitude similarity is highest for contiguous age cohorts among the veterans. The first diagonal in the lower half of the matrix (i.e., for veterans) reveals rather uniform commonality in belief organization between sequential generations of veterans. In fact, while the interaction of age and prior military service produces a curvilinear effect in terms of constraint, there is substantially greater and even slightly increasing continuity in the structure of veterans' foreign policy belief systems.⁶ For example, the pre-Cold War era veterans (40-79 year old age groups) cluster with relatively high degrees of similarity. Furthermore, with the exception of the first column which encompasses Vietnam era veterans, there is a tendency for inter-generational similarity to decrease as generations are separated across time (i.e., noncontiguous age cohorts). The belief systems of 30-39 year old veterans, for example, are most like those of 40-49 year olds. In fact, their similarity with

TABLE 4-3

FACTOR COMPARISONS (INTRACLASS CORRELATION COEFFICIENT) OF
FOREIGN POLICY BELIEF SYSTEM PATTERNS BETWEEN LEVELS OF
DEMOGRAPHIC AND MILITARY EXPERIENCE CHARACTERISTICS
FOR BOTH VETERANS AND NONVETERANS

A. Age 20-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60-69 70-79

20-29		.69	.54	.61	.71	.50
30-39	.83		.78	.75	.88	.77
40-49	.89	.84		.67	.76	.75
50-59	.82	.78	.87		.84	.75
60-69	.80	.74	.88	.86		.82
70-79	.87	.68	.82	.81	.86	

Nonveterans
Veterans

B. Educational Levels Grade School or Less Some High School Completed High School Some College Completed College Some Graduate School

Grade school of less		.80	.86	.88	.81	.91
Some high school	.80		.86	.86	.82	.88
Completed high school	.75	.73		.90	.82	.92
Some college	.80	.84	.87		.74	.92
Completed college	.79	.83	.88	.83		.89
Some graduate school	.77	.80	.89	.86	.85	

Nonveterans
Veterans

TABLE 4-3 - Continued

C. Region East South Midwest West

East		.86	.87	.91
South	.77		.84	.92
Midwest	.87	.86		.87
West	.76	.82	.82	

Nonveterans
Veterans

D. Urbanism Urban Rural

Urban		.88
Rural	.91	

Nonveterans
Veterans

E. Race White Nonwhite

White		.88
Nonwhite	.86	

Nonveterans
Veterans

F. Military Service 1-2 years 3-4 years 5-6 years

3-4 years	.83		
5-6 years	.68	.79	
7+ years	.69	.79	.71

G. Rank: Enlisted vs. Officer = .88

H. Mode of Entry: Draft vs. Nondraft = .95

I. Feeling About Military Service: Positive vs. Negative = .86

older age groups consistently decreases to a low point of .68 (intra-class correlation coefficient) when compared with 70-79 year olds.

An attitude item comparison of the belief system elements for the 30-39 and 60-69 year old veterans (Cold War with World War II era) illustrates this pattern and reveals substantial differences in the way many of the attitudes load for each age group. Table 4-4 displays summary indices of deviation for each attitudinal item (Rummel, 1970: 456-463). The higher the value of the coefficient, the more the attitudes shift in their patterns of loading between the two matrices. In this instance, attitudes toward impacts of the military on the United States and fighting communism as an underlying rationale for American involvement in Vietnam most distinguish Cold War from World War II veterans. Thus, with the possible exception of the apparent similarity in structure between the two extreme age groups (20-29 vs. 70-79 = .87), the data offer evidence for inter-generational transmission of structure which gradually decreases in similarity as generations are separated across time.

That military experience plays a role as an inter-generational socializing agent for the transmission of attitude organization somewhat independent of event

TABLE 4-4

INDICES OF ATTITUDE ITEM DEVIATION (d)* FOR FACTOR COMPARISONS OF
 FOREIGN POLICY BELIEF SYSTEM PATTERNS BETWEEN SELECTED
 DEMOGRAPHIC AND MILITARY EXPERIENCE CHARACTERISTICS
 FOR VETERANS AND NONVETERANS

Attitudes	All Veterans vs. Nonveterans	50-59 yr. old Veterans vs. Nonveterans	Nonwhite Veterans vs. Nonveterans	Veterans: Nonwhite vs. White	Veterans: Enlisted vs. Officer	Veterans: 30-39 yr. Old vs. 60-69	Veterans: 1-2 yrs. Service vs. 7+	Veterans: Some High School vs. High School Graduate	Veterans: Positive vs. Negative feeling about military service
Role of military in society	.06	.42	.36	.12	.47	.70	.65	.17	.53
Influence of military on US	.09	.30	.39	.20	.32	.66	.79	.43	.37
Amount US spends on military	.04	.23	.22	.00	.05	.38	.49	.42	.06
War to protect others	.24	.33	.20	.07	.17	.10	.16	.25	.03
War to protect economy	.24	.22	.46	.17	.19	.42	.39	.57	.21
US defend only US	.13	.66	.40	.31	.12	.24	.49	.43	.03
US military power vs USSR	.03	.31	.59	.27	.05	.38	.27	.05	.05
US military power vs others	.09	.16	.11	.13	.20	.52	.60	.20	.05
Vietnam damaging to national honor	.04	.25	.27	.38	.06	.05	.41	.10	.19
Vietnam not in national interest	.08	.37	.27	.05	.05	.13	.23	.19	.05
Vietnam to fight communism	.13	.18	.42	.14	.25	.76	.12	.23	.04
Vietnam closer to world war	.01	.08	.09	.05	.11	.11	.17	.26	.06
Vietnam to protect friends	.11	.20	.13	.06	.07	.21	.19	.19	.12
Vietnam to keep promises	.09	.21	.07	.14	.13	.08	.21	.32	.21
\bar{Xd}	.10	.28	.28	.15	.16	.34	.37	.27	.14

*The overall index of deviation, d, measures the contribution of each variable to the overall similarity or dissimilarity between the matrices. The index is zero if a variable is identical in covariation in the two matrices.

exposure is further confirmed by the more random patterns of belief system similarity for nonveterans (top half of the matrix, Table 4-3A). Among those individuals, there is less contiguous similarity between age groups. In fact, the general level of similarity is lower for nonveterans than it is for veterans ($\bar{X}r_i = .72$ vs. $.81$ for veterans). While there is a small higher cluster for older nonveterans (50-79 years old), the matrix reveals few clear age-related differences and instead suggests more abrupt generational differences. Table 4-2 provides further evidence that younger group males--irrespective of prior military experience--are more alike than are older individuals in the population. Examination of the intraclass correlation coefficients comparing veterans to nonveterans indicates that higher degrees of similarity in structure exist among the younger cohorts. On the other hand, 50-59 year old veterans and nonveterans provide an illustration of the relatively low similarity in structure among older cohorts. In this case, the low level of similarity reflects differing centrality of attitudes about national defense and the role of the armed forces in society in their belief systems (Table 4-4). Since the youngest nonveteran cohort is most divergent from all of the other nonveteran age cohorts (top row), military experiences appear to link younger individuals to older generations. In fact, without such

experiences, age-related trends dissipate. Military service therefore obviously divides older cohorts more distinctly in terms of foreign policy belief systems than it does younger ones. In summary, although the influence of military experience appears to be decreasing in the United States, among adult males exposed to such socialization processes there appears to be common attitude organization similarity from generation to generation although the extent of its "transmission" is difficult to assess without longitudinal data or paired comparisons between parents and children (Jennings and Niemi, 1973 and 1974).

Education. Because of its linkage to levels of information, the impact of disparities in individuals' levels of educational attainment tends to be the most frequently examined variable in attitude studies, especially those focusing on constraint (Kirkpatrick, 1974: 19-20). Empirical research investigating the relationship between education and attitudes has produced varying findings. (Converse (1964) maintains that high education is associated with high consistency. Other studies, however, suggest that individuals who possess low educational levels are more consistent (Harvey, Hunt and Schroder, 1961; Scott, 1962 and 1963; Kirkpatrick, 1970a). More recent research reveals that the relationship may be curvilinear, with constraint being the greatest at the extremes of both

high and low education (George, 1971; Bennett, 1973 and 1974; Jones and Rambo, 1973; Nie and Anderson, 1974). The latter effect suggesting that modest levels of educational attainment may serve to diversify belief interdependence, whereas low levels facilitate simplified structures and high levels foster sorting beliefs in a functionally interdependent fashion appears to be striking a responsive cord among researchers.

Table 4-2 indicates that such a curvilinear effect is indeed present for veterans as is shown by the variance percentages in the constraint scores. Among the veterans, the least constrained individuals are high school graduates who lack additional education (see also Bennett, 1973 and 1974). On the other hand, nonveterans are less likely to exhibit similar curvilinear effects in terms of belief system constraint. While those individuals without military experience who are more highly educated are more constrained in their foreign policy beliefs, the less educated nonveterans are characterized by low levels of belief congruence. Again, as was the case with age, the impact of military experience on foreign policy belief system congruence is masked until education subgroups are isolated and compared for both veterans and nonveterans. Once veterans are separated from nonveterans, the presence of prior military experience and the socialization effects

associated with that experience (Janowitz, 1971b) appear to heighten constraint among the uneducated. Furthermore, examination of the factor matrix comparisons between veterans and nonveterans reveals that those individuals who are the relatively least educated are also the most dissimilar in the patterning of their foreign policy belief system organization.

Additional examination of the paired matrix comparisons between educational levels for the two groups further reinforces the above finding about the role of high school completion (see Table 4-3B). High school graduation is apparently a breakpoint which serves to distinguish veterans from one another. Although curvilinear patterns of structure similarity are not as clear as those occurring for constraint, high school graduates and those individuals with post-high school educational experiences cluster with similar patterns of belief system organization while the two most dissimilar groups are high school dropouts and high school graduates (intraclass correlation coefficient = .73). This divergence in belief system is reflected by the substantial shifts in the pattern of loadings between the two groups of veterans for a wide range of foreign policy issues, especially those attitudes dealing with opinions about intervention and the military's impact on the United States (see Table 4-4). Among

nonveterans, however, the impact of educational attainment is less pronounced. An interesting exception is the high degree of similarity between the least and the most educated nonveterans (.91). While these two groups are less similar on overall belief constraint (the most educated are considerably more "ideological"), their foreign policy belief systems share a high degree of commonality of content and organization. On an overall basis, however, it appears that prior military experiences interact and condition the operation of education effects with regard to foreign policy beliefs.

Regionalism and Urbanism. Ecological differentiation based upon both regionalism and urbanism has also been suggested in some research as being potential causes of differences in individuals' belief systems (Scott, 1959; Elazar, 1966; Jaros, Hirsch and Fleron, 1968). Although findings about the impact of regionalism on attitudes have varied, some evidence exists in recent research that regionally based differences may be increasing in the United States (Glenn and Simmons, 1967; Burnham, 1968). Killian (1970), for example, maintains that the concept of region may exist as a psychological dimension providing an underlying basis for attitudinal and behavioral patterns. As is shown by the constraint scores presented in Table 4-2, some regional differences do emerge for both

veterans and nonveterans. With the exception of individuals whose pre-adult socialization occurred in the West, however, those differences in constraint tend to be rather slight. That is, for veterans and nonveterans, distinctions between regional backgrounds are not likely to have a great deal of influence on degrees of constraint other than for westerners. In fact, veterans and nonveterans having the same regional background exhibit similar degrees of attitudinal constraint and patterning, with westerners being the most similar (intraclass correlation coefficient = .89). A further inspection of the paired factor matrix comparisons between regional groupings of the veterans and nonveterans (Table 4-3C) reinforces this finding although the general level of similarity is lower for veterans ($\bar{X}_{r_i} = .82$ vs. .88 for nonveterans). Military service therefore not only fails to reduce regional differences in foreign policy belief systems but instead appears to be associated with a slight decrease in belief system similarity.

On the other hand, it appears that the relative urbanism of an individual's pre-adult socialization produces mixed effects on the degree of belief system constraint and complexity for both veterans and nonveterans. Table 4-2 indicates that individuals with urban backgrounds have more highly constrained foreign policy attitudes than do those with rural backgrounds irrespective of prior

military service. For veterans, however, distinctions between urban and rural backgrounds are less likely to influence degrees of constraint and patterning (Table 4-3D). In fact, when a distinction is made between veterans and nonveterans, the belief systems of veterans with rural backgrounds (as it true for those of urban veterans) are more highly constrained as well as more complex than are those of both urban and rural nonveterans. In summary, the presence or absence of military experience seems to be a condition for the operation of urbanism effects and to a lesser extent is potentially a condition for the occurrence of regionalism effects.

Race. Studies suggest that few factors in American society have more potential for fostering divergence in attitudinal and behavioral patterns than does race (Brown and Glenn, 1966; Parenti, 1967; Verba, 1967; Erskine, 1969; Sears, 1969). For instance, Marvick (1965) asserts that the beliefs, norms and values of blacks differ at least partially from those of whites due to the racial situation in the United States (see also Glazer and Moynihan, 1963; Brink and Harris, 1966). Examination of the variance percentages in Table 4-2 indicates that racial differences do indeed have a differing impact on foreign policy belief systems depending on the presence or absence of prior military service. Among individuals lacking such experience,

whites and nonwhites exhibit similar degrees of constraint with nonwhites having slightly more complex beliefs. Further comparison of the factor matrices for nonveterans also reveals high pattern and magnitude similarity between whites and nonwhites (Table 4-3E). This suggests that the foreign policy attitudes of white and nonwhite adult males are quite similar when those individuals are not veterans. On the other hand, clear differences between the racial groups emerge for veterans. Table 4-4 reveals that the belief systems of white and nonwhite veterans primarily differ in terms of the centrality of attitudes toward the influence of the military on society, self-defense as the only reason for war, military parity with the Soviet Union, and the degree to which American involvement in Vietnam was damaging to national honor. While the beliefs of white veterans are less constrained than those of any other group, nonwhite veterans are the most "ideological" in their foreign policy views. Furthermore, comparison of the belief systems for nonwhites indicates almost total divergence in attitudinal organization between veterans and nonveterans due to substantial shifts in the pattern of loadings between the two groups on the various issues (Table 4-4). Thus, military experience does not appear to produce significant attitudinal differences among whites but does seem to foster differences in the beliefs of

nonwhites. In fact, although the foreign policy belief systems of whites possess a high degree of similarity irrespective of military service, those held by nonwhites become less similar on the basis of that experience (.93 vs. .74 for nonwhites).

Military Experiences. The preceding analysis suggests that the presence or absence of prior military service generally affects the impact of demographic characteristics on attitude organization and constraint. It is also desirable to examine the degree to which divergent socialization experiences in the armed forces influence the characteristics of foreign policy belief systems among veterans. That is, for veterans, distinctions between individuals based upon rank, mode of entry, length of service, and feeling about ones military service may well influence degrees of constraint and patterning for belief systems.

When a distinction is made between former officers and enlisted personnel, relatively extreme differences in levels of constraint emerge with ex-officers possessing considerably more interrelated foreign policy beliefs (Table 4-2). In addition, veterans who were draftees as well as those who served less than five years in the military are slightly less constrained. However, while differences in structure between enlisted men and officers

(Table 4-3G: .88) are greater than those for drafted and nondrafted service (Table 4-3H: .95), the differences based upon rank are much less than widely divergent constraint levels for the officer and enlisted categories suggest. Those few differences in organization which occur between the groups are primarily due to factor loading shifts on attitudes toward the military's role in society and its influence on the United States (Table 4-4). Furthermore, the relatively linear effect of service length on increased constraint is accompanied by a sequentially decreasing similarity of structure between contiguous service duration categories (Table 4-3F). In fact, veterans whose military service was of the shortest duration are least like those with the longest period of military service (intraclass correlation coefficient = .69). These differences based upon the duration of military service are reflected in substantial shifts in factor loadings for a wide range of issue opinions between the two groups, especially among attitudes toward the military as an institution and military superiority (Table 4-4).

A fourth component of individuals' military experiences, one more subjective in nature, also affects veterans' belief systems. The affective relationship between the military and the veteran consisting of the veteran's feeling about military service produces substantial

differences in constraint with those who are negative in their feelings about military service having much more complex and "ideological" foreign policy views. Table 4-4 reveals that attitude structures for veterans who are positive about their military experiences and those who are negative primarily differ over institutional evaluations, reasons for war and aspects of the American involvement in Vietnam. In summary, military experiences produce clear constraint and organizational differences in the foreign policy belief systems of veterans.

Conclusions

Analysis of degrees of constraint and belief system organization for veterans and nonveterans clearly seems to indicate that military experiences affect the foreign policy belief systems of adult males in the United States. In most cases, the patterns of constraint and attitude organization are quite clear and interpretable. Thus, when a series of controls are included for salient demographic characteristics, it is possible using a multivariate analysis strategy involving a series of factor comparisons to reveal the impact of military service on foreign policy attitudes. Such analysis reveals that military experiences interact with age, education and race to produce both organizational and constraint differences between those with and

those without such experiences. Furthermore, just as the presence or absence of prior socialization experiences in the military tempers the impact of various demographic characteristics, differential military experiences also influence the nature of attitude constraint and organization for veterans. Generally, with the exception of those individuals having negative feelings about their military service, veterans whose experiences are more "careerist" in nature (i.e., higher rank, nondraft entry and longer service) exhibit more highly structured foreign policy beliefs. In summary, the findings in this chapter support the conclusion that military service functions as a socializing agent which influences degrees of coherence and patterning in the foreign policy beliefs of the mass public.

NOTES

¹This represents the coherence dimension of an ideology (the degree of attitude interrelatedness or constraint) which may exist independently of the content or pattern of organization of individual attitudes. See Rokeach (1960); Converse (1964); Cobb (1973).

²Much of the analysis in this chapter is a result of prior research intended for both the dissertation and publication under joint authorship. See Kirkpatrick and Regens (1976).

³The use of correlation coefficients as indicators of within domain constraint potentially presents the problem of unsubstantiated assumptions or of artificially imposing a logical structure upon the data which may be quite divergent from that employed by the respondents to organize their opinions. See Brown (1970: 67-68). This does not preclude the adoption of this technique to assess attitudinal constraint, however, considerable caution should be exercised by the researcher and reader with regard to interpreting structure in the data. See Bennett (1974: 733).

⁴While the gamma coefficient is most commonly employed when using this approach to measure the mass public's belief system organization (Converse, 1964; Bennett, 1973 and 1974; Kirkpatrick, 1974; Pierce, 1975), the underlying distribution of the data, the levels of measurement and the advantages of direct methodological comparability with the second measure utilized in this research to assess constraint (factor analysis) suggests the desirability of employing Pearson product-moment correlations (r) with provisions for missing data.

⁵Extreme caution is warranted when examining coefficients for the 70-79 year old veterans where $N=6$. All other categories have $N's \geq 25$. Furthermore, in the absence of longitudinal data and cohort analysis, this approach presents only a cross-sectional perspective on age and it precludes a more precise assessment of aging vs. generational differences.

⁶This suggests that attitude structure may be passed on from one generation to another. However, without time series data, this assumption cannot be precisely tested.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

Generally, the literature focusing on public opinion and foreign policy has argued that because international politics is so complex and remote most people lack sufficient awareness and interest to possess firmly-held, consistent attitudes in that issue area (Almond, 1960; Rosenau, 1961). As a result, while the concept of constraint has attracted continuing study in the analysis of domestic belief systems, its application to a broad range of foreign policy attitudes has been largely neglected. Furthermore, the nature of organizational patterns beyond summary measures of content and constraint has been largely avoided in the study of both domestic and foreign policy beliefs. Clarification of the impact of institutional experiences in the military on the content, organization and constraint of foreign policy belief systems in the mass public therefore offers new opportunities for empirical research. The general absence of systematic analyses comparing a broad cross-section of veterans and nonveterans has been the principal impediment to such research.

While replete with assumptions about the impact of military experiences on attitudes, critical examination of the research literature dealing with armed forces and society reveals that most studies reflect the singular limitation of basing their conclusions on relatively narrow samples predominantly composed of military elites. Essentially case studies, this body of scholarly inquiry is often atheoretical and tends to be idiosyncratic and limited in scope. As a result, the limitations of even the best previous research efforts in this area have restricted our understanding of the effect institutional experiences in the military exert on the composition and structure of attitudes in the mass public. Similarly, among social psychologists and political scientists, in-depth examination of the nature of the mass public's foreign policy orientations tends to focus on relatively narrow sets of attitudes. Thus, by drawing on data collected from a national survey, the results of the preceding analysis which examines a broad range of foreign policy issues provide a unique opportunity for critically investigating this topic.

Summary of the Study

Given the diffusion of military experiences throughout the adult male population, the study of the extent to

which differences in expressed preferences on a series of foreign policy issue areas exist within American society as a consequence of those experiences was placed in theoretical perspective in Chapter I. Initially, the evolution of attitude theory in social psychology and the evolving controversy over the existence of mass belief systems was traced. The significance of this particular research question for attitude theory was emphasized, especially insofar as it is linked to the debate about the influence of adult socialization processes on attitude formation and change: Do institutional experiences exert any measurable effect on attitudes when demographic characteristics have been taken into account?

The second chapter focused upon developing the theoretical framework and research design underlying this study. Foreign policy belief systems were conceptualized as being the product of the interaction of an individual's cognitive processes with various stimuli stemming from that individual's environment. With its emphasis on interaction between the various elements which may influence an individual's social and political outlooks, the framework adopted to guide this research represents an adaptation of the systems approach to attitude theory (see Kirkpatrick and Pettit, 1972: 1-15). Implicit in this framework is the assumption that differential patterns of adult

socialization and environmental stimuli will tend to significantly affect the nature of the attitudes individuals manifest toward various issue areas. Furthermore, it was postulated that variation in an individual's cognitive and affective orientations toward the military as an institution may constitute an empirical referent for foreign policy attitudes. Thus, the following general proposition derived from the analytical framework guided this study: Attitudes are the product of an individual's cognitive processes, and those processes may be affected directly or indirectly by differential environmental stimuli which interact with that individual's cognitive processes. Once appropriate conceptualization of the various elements which constitute the components of the theoretical framework were developed, an operational research model (see Figure 2-4) was presented in order to attempt to resolve the basic questions central to this research.

Chapter III was devoted to presenting the initial stage of an in-depth empirical analysis designed to provide answers to those questions. Initially, veterans and nonveterans were compared in order to delineate the background characteristics of the two groups. On an overall basis, a great deal of homogeneity with regard to background characteristics was discovered, although veterans did tend to be somewhat younger and more highly educated.

The veterans were also examined separately in order to assess whether or not internal cleavages based upon rank and mode of entry reflect differences in the nature of their background characteristics or military experiences. When that analysis was conducted, age and education were also found to be the most important sources of dissimilarity among veterans. Some dissimilarities in the nature of veterans' military experiences, especially feelings about one's own military service, also emerged due to variation in both rank and mode of entry into military service.

In addition, the chapter addressed the content of foreign policy attitudes for veterans and nonveterans. The influence of demographic and institutional factors on the content of those attitudes was also examined. Generally, findings reveal that the manner in which prior military service affects foreign policy preferences and perceptions on a series of issues is not immediately obvious. Examination of attitudinal content on an individual item basis suggests the absence of major differences between the two groups. In fact, an individual's cognitive and affective orientations toward the military as an institution consistently tended to be the best predictors of the foreign policy attitudes for both veterans and nonveterans while military experiences and demographic characteristics only slightly illuminated differences. This tends to support

earlier studies which assert that military experiences fail to exert significant effects upon attitudes (Jennings and Markus, 1974; Regens and Rycroft, 1975). However, the findings in this chapter reveal that those experiences do have an impact on the organization of foreign policy belief systems for adult American males which is masked by analyses that exclusively focus attention on attitudinal content. Visual examination of the factor matrices for the two groups revealed subtle but nonetheless important distinctions within the organizational patterns of veterans when compared with those manifested by nonveterans. Although those differences were not great, nonveterans tended to view the military in a more coherent yet abstract fashion than did those individuals possessing military experiences.

The fourth chapter compared patterns of constraint and belief system organization for the veterans and nonveterans while controlling for salient demographic characteristics and military experiences. Such analysis, involving a series of factor comparisons (Ahmavaara, 1954; Rummel, 1970: 449-471), clearly seemed to indicate that exposure to the socialization processes of the military does affect foreign policy belief systems. The data suggest that military experiences interact primarily with age, education and race to produce both organizational and constraint differences

between those with and those without such experiences. In addition, among veterans the differential nature of their military experiences also influenced degrees of attitudinal coherence and patterning. Those veterans for whom military experiences are apparently quite salient tended to exhibit more highly structured belief systems. The suggestion that the military functions as a socializing agent is further supported by the apparently idiosyncratic patterning of foreign policy beliefs which was evidenced among nonveterans.

Military Experiences and Foreign Policy
Attitudes in Perspective

In this look at the public's foreign policy attitudes, several different themes have been stressed. While the debate over the existence of discernably coherent political belief systems among the mass public remains a recurring issue among students of public opinion, hopefully this study has provided some fresh insights. Adult males in the United States, especially those with prior military experiences, do appear to be capable of providing somewhat coherent attitude structure for their foreign policy beliefs. This suggests that rather than necessarily being extremely remote from the general public, issues associated with international affairs may, in fact, become salient concerns which attract wide-spread attention (Free

and Cantril, 1967). For example, an overwhelming majority of the respondents in surveys conducted by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center from 1966 until late in 1972 considered American involvement in Vietnam to be the nation's "most important problem" (Converse and Schuman, 1970: 19). Highly visible and frequently controversial international issues therefore seem to generate opinion sets among the general public as well as on the part of elites.

This analysis also underlines the importance of considering the potential impact of exposure to varying adult socialization experiences on processes of attitude formation and change. While the foreign policy belief systems of both veterans and nonveterans are less highly constrained than are those of the general public for domestic issues (Converse, 1964; Bennett, 1973; Kirkpatrick, 1974), the model employed in this research effort has shown that attitudes are affected by the interaction of military experiences and demographic characteristics with individuals' cognitive processes. To summarize, gross comparisons between veterans and nonveterans suggest modest content effects and differences in attitude organization. A working premise, however, was that the simple distinction between those serving and those not serving is too crude a cutting tool and that it is necessary to make finer

distinctions based upon the nature of those military experiences among veterans (see also Jennings and Markus, 1974). As a result, this research explicitly considered the impact of such distinctions (e.g., rank, mode of entry, length of service, and feeling about military service) on foreign policy attitudes. While varying in overall significance, each of those elements had some influence on attitude content, organization or constraint. That each of the distinctions about veterans' institutional experiences did not affect foreign policy beliefs in the same manner is hardly surprising. Actually, there is little reason to expect uniformity of effects given the variety of attitudes examined and the potential interplay between pre-existing beliefs, secular shifts and life cycle developments with differential institutional experiences. Indeed, this study suggests that other effects might also be specified. Because of the apparent interaction of age and military service, the precise historical period in which military service occurred appears to affect the degree to which the belief systems of veterans are constrained. Unfortunately, this assumption cannot be explicitly verified but rather must be inferred since information about specific dates of service was not available. Military service therefore clearly seems to function as a socializing agent which influences aspects (particularly

organizational patterns) of individuals' belief systems. Thus, this research reinforces the conclusion that distinctions between content, organization and constraint must be made not only in attitude theory, but also in empirical analysis which must examine the impact of a number of factors on each of these components of belief systems.

This research also suggests several implications for the development of foreign policy attitudes within the mass public. Shifting individual evaluations of the military as an institution appear to constitute the underlying structuring mechanism for both veterans and nonveterans. In essence, what individuals perceive the military does and is for American society integrates environmental stimuli into coherent belief systems. The meaning given to foreign policy clearly appears to be linked to perceptions about American society which furnish an underlying empirical referent and filter for essentially external (international and extrasocietal) phenomena. While the influences of military experiences on foreign policy beliefs do appear to be waning among younger veterans in the United States, the data also suggest that the potential for the evolution of a distinct political ethos among the military as well as those leaving the military to return to civilian life will be enhanced as the armed forces are increasingly professionalized and isolated from the larger society. Such

differences may have important implications not only for foreign policy opinion in the United States but also for the possible composition of the all-volunteer military force of the future. The findings in this research suggest that such a force, and especially its nonwhite members, is likely to be composed of personnel whose foreign policy beliefs vary somewhat from those found in the civilian population. Overall, the extent to which such divergence in the foreign policy elements of mass belief systems would be healthy for a democracy remains open to debate.

The conclusions and reflections in this analysis are, of course, limited by the nature of the study, the time frame and the particular set of attitudes examined. Certainly, the scope of possible consequences stemming from military experiences has not been exhausted. Still, the emergence of differences in the foreign policy belief systems of veterans and nonveterans suggests that additional research might be fruitful in further illuminating the impact of military experiences on attitude formation and articulation. Ultimately, the effects of other adult socialization experiences as well as other types of political attitudes and also nonpolitical attitudes will have to be examined in order to place the overall effects of military service into proper perspective.

APPENDIX A

THE RESEARCH MODEL VARIABLE SET

Items for Foreign Policy Attitudes, Demographic Characteristics and Military Experience Measures:

Foreign Policy Attitudes

All things considered, do you think the armed services presently have too much or too little influence on the way this country is run?

(1 = far too much . . . 5 = far too little)

Do you think the U.S. spends too much or too little on the armed services?

(1 = far too much . . . 5 = far too little)

Overall, how do you feel about the role of the military services in our society during the time since World War II--has it been mostly positive or mostly negative?

(1 = strongly positive . . . 4 = strongly negative)

There may be times when the U.S. should go to war to protect the rights of other countries.

(1 = agree . . . 4 = disagree)

The U.S. should be willing to go to war to protect its own economic interests.

(1 = agree . . . 4 = disagree)

The only good reason for the U.S. to go to war is to defend against an attack on our own country.

(1 = agree . . . 4 = disagree)

The U.S. does not need to have greater military power than the Soviet Union.

(1 = agree . . . 4 = disagree)

The U.S. ought to have much more military power than any other nation in the world.

(1 = agree . . . 4 = disagree)

Fighting the war in Vietnam has been damaging to our national honor or pride.

(1 = agree . . . 4 = disagree)

Fighting the war in Vietnam has not really been in the national interest.

(1 = agree . . . 4 = disagree)

Fighting the war in Vietnam has been important to fight the spread of communism.

(1 = agree . . . 4 = disagree)

Fighting the war in Vietnam has brought us closer to world war.

(1 = agree . . . 4 = disagree)

Fighting the war in Vietnam has been important to protect friendly countries.

(1 = agree . . . 4 = disagree)

Fighting the war in Vietnam has been important to show other nations that we keep our promises.

(1 = agree . . . 4 = disagree)

Demographic Characteristics

Age

(1 = 20-29 . . . 6 = 70-79)

Race

(0 = nonwhite; 1 = white)

How much schooling have you had?

(1 = completed grade school or less . . . 6 = some graduate school)

While you were growing up--say until you were eighteen--what kind of community did you live in for the most part?

(0 = rural; 1 = urban)

While you were growing up, what region of the country did you primarily live in?

(1 = East; 2 = South; 3 = Midwest; 4 = West)

Military Experience

Have you ever served in any branch of the service?

(0 = no; 1 = yes)

Were you drafted?

(0 = no; 1 = yes)

Do you think you would have been drafted if you had not enlisted?

(0 = no; 1 = yes)

What was the highest rank you reached in the service?

(0 = enlisted; 1 = officer)

Would you say your feelings about having been in the military are mostly positive or mostly negative?

(0 = negative; 1 = positive)

How many years of active duty have you served?

(1 = 1-2; 2 = 3-4; 3 = 5-6; 4 = 7 or more)

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