



1970

## The Psychological of the Draft on Male College Students

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The  
P S Y C H O L O G I C A L   E F F E C T S  
|  
of the  
D R A F T  
on  
M A L E   C O L L E G E   S T U D E N T S

Charles A. Bonney  
||

SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

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Date

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Reader-Outside

## STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The project was developed with the intent of determining the psychological effects of the draft upon male college students. With this purpose in mind, an instrument was designed to uncover as well as possible these effects upon a sampling of male undergraduates on selected campuses in the South and Midwest. Feelings toward the draft at this point in time were hypothesized to be almost inseparably intertwined with feelings toward the conflict in Vietnam, so this correlation was prominent in the wording of the instrument. Due to limitations in time and manpower, the instrument had to be written and rather brief. For this reason, primarily, it is to be taken only as a preliminary base study of the problem. A follow-up study, utilizing depth-interview technique is advised. This study centers on opinion and reveals psychological disturbances linked to the Selective Service System on only a superficial level. Frustration in planning and developing a lifestyle, anxiety over the future, and alienation from the systems and persons responsible for this institution, are definitely revealed to exist and to be quite prevalent, but the document was not intended or designed to provide a measure of their incidence, intensity, or the primacy of the draft as a causal agent. It is hoped that the findings of this study will provide a statistical base of opinion which will enable measurements of the psychological effects of the draft to be undertaken.

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## THE RESEARCH TECHNIQUE

It was decided that, in the 26 to 28 days allowed for research, the goal would be to research a representative sampling of schools, and students within these schools, for as large an area as was possible. For this reason, a questionnaire was selected rather than interviews, which would probably have covered the subject in better depth, but at the expense of a much smaller sample. For the sake of larger response, it was also decided to keep the instrument as brief as possible. The eventual result was the questionnaire found in the appendix, held to both sides of one legal-sized sheet of paper.

In order to achieve a larger sample it was also necessary to abandon the original plan for randomness, which was to use random numbers from a computer to find the page and position on the page of a potential respondent in student directories. Instead, since none of these campuses were known to the researcher, as far as reputations for political leaning or any other characteristics of the residents of a given housing unit, the technique of knocking on closed doors--doors empty, so far as practical, of identifying symbols of the residents' viewpoints--was selected to accomplish a random sampling of a campus. This was the broad technique; by employing this and all the usual rules for interviewers, the responses were kept as random and objective as circumstances allowed.

Schools were chosen (from a listing of all the schools that could reasonable be reached in the areas chosen and time available) so as to get a representative sampling of many variables: size, type (denominational, private, public), size of community the school is located in, etc. Within the category of type of school, many other factors were also taken into consideration. For example, public schools were divided into community, primary state school, and branch state school. Denominational schools were also chosen with respect to which denomination: that both are church-related schools may not mean much similarity if one is Quaker and the other Southern Baptist, for example. No record was kept of the respondents' race, but the sample was probably a fairly accurate reflection of the campus ratios. Six predominately black universities were visited (at which at least 3 or 4 respondents were white), and, at the other campuses, probably somewhere between 25 and 50 respondents were black.

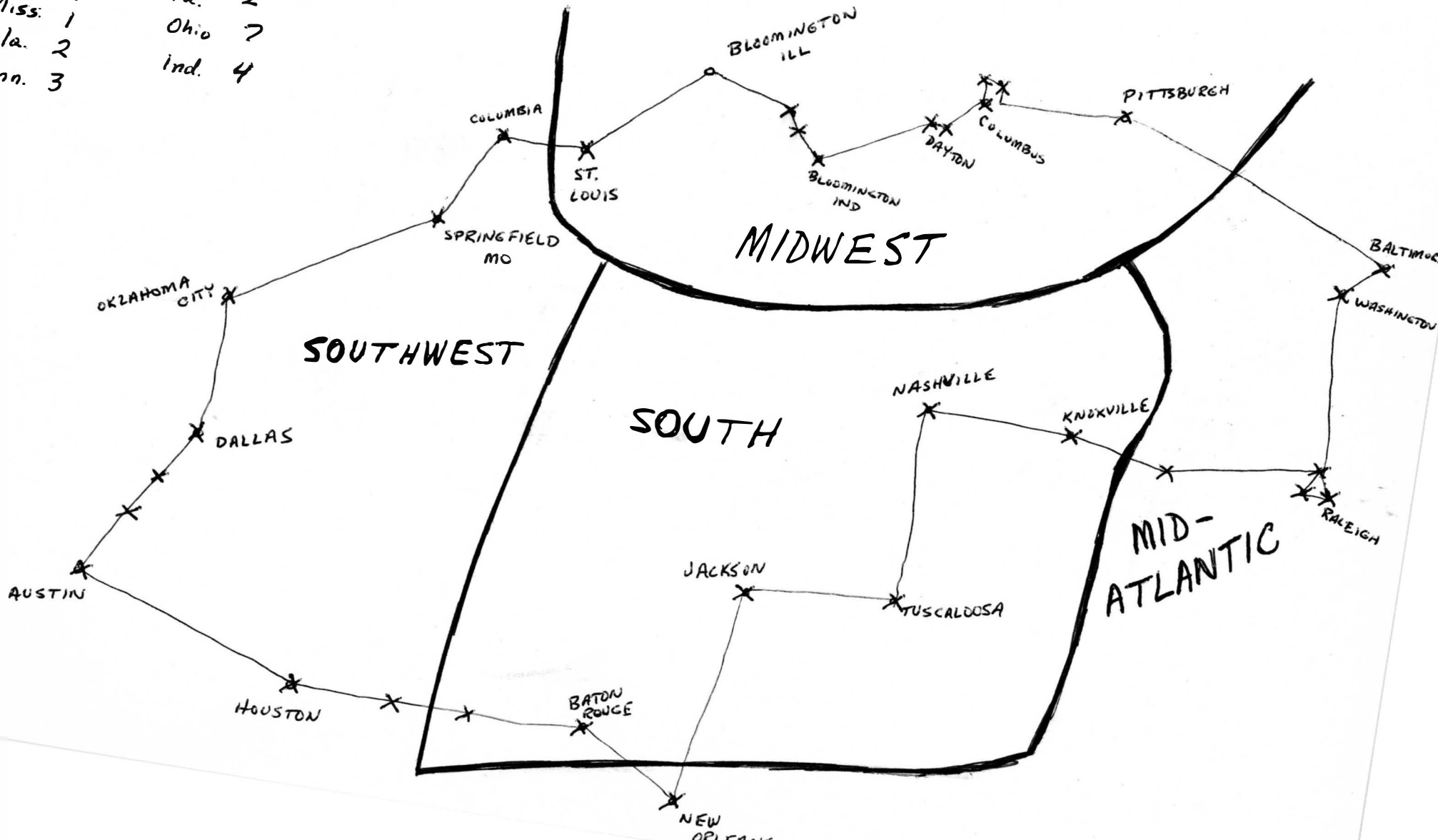
All things considered, it is felt that the sample obtained is a sufficiently accurate reflection of the regions studied, that the conclusions drawn can be accepted as true for the regions studied at the time they were studied (January, 1970).

# 44 CAMPUSES

Mo.	5	N.C.	3
Okl.	1	D.C.	2
Tex.	8	Md.	2
La.	4	Pa.	2
Miss.	1	Ohio	7
Ala.	2	Ind.	4
Tenn.	3		

## APPROXIMATE TRIP ROUTE

X's mark stops





## SCOPE OF REGIONAL CATEGORIES

Black universities: schools either established as segregated colleges or which are and have been all or nearly all black. 6 schools; 117 respondents.

REGIONS: (excluding black universities)

Southwest: Missouri (except St. Louis), Oklahoma, Texas.

11 schools; 225 respondents.

South: Louisiana (except New Orleans), Alabama, Mississippi,

Tennessee. 6 schools; 125 respondents.

Mid-Atlantic: North Carolina, District of Columbia, Maryland.

5 schools; 128 respondents.

Midwest: western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, St. Louis area.

15 schools; 375 respondents.

## HYPOTHESES FOR STATEMENTS

## 1. The draft is a national necessity.

This statement underlies the entire research. If the students see the draft as necessary, then no matter how opposed they may be to its application, it would remain a 'necessary evil' and the principal response could be expected to be resignation rather than hostility or other more externally-directed attitudes. Of course, even if the concept of a draft were seen as necessary, it cannot be assumed that the response to its particular forms would be primarily resignation. The majority of the following statements on the instrument refer to specific manifestations or uses of the draft and can be responded to independently of the possible necessity of having some draft. The response to this first statement indicates whether the alleviation of any of the specific grievances found in any of the ~~later~~ statements is to be sought in reform of the draft or in its elimination. The hypothesis was that if in later statements the draft is shown to be seen as evil, it is not seen as a 'necessary evil'.

## 2. The draft is used to control civilian life.

This general statement was used to measure the existence and extent of any severe and far-reaching feelings of the domination of this one military-connected organization in civilian life. The statement, according to comments received both in

writing and in discussion, seems to have generally been interpreted broadly and implying heavy-handed, cynical intent on the part of the government and/or the military to exercise undue illicit control over the civilian population. The hypothesis was that positive response to this statement would indicate the base positive response for civilian control statements of a more specific nature, the positive response to the other statements (3, 5, and 13) beyond the level of positive response to number 2 indicating the number of respondents who saw evidence of each specific manifestation of control. This base positive response (that is, the positive response to number 2) would indicate the respondents who saw broad evidence of civilian control by the Selective Service System, presumably including all three of the specific manifestations.

3. Threatening to revoke deferments is used as a weapon against dissent.

This is the first of the statements testing response to alleged specific aspects of civilian control by the Selective Service System. The statement in this case is not a reflection of or response to opinion; General Hershey and other representatives of the System had stated this to be an actual policy of the organization,<sup>1</sup> and the courts, in rejecting the legality of such action, had also acknowledged its actual existence. The significant response, then, would not be agreement, since this is expected if one knows accurately of draft policy; it is disagree-

ment. Disagreement with this statement was hypothesized to indicate a favorable outlook on the draft as a whole: its necessity and fairness, and a low level of dissent by the respondent against the draft and the conflict in Vietnam.

4. The lottery-type draft is the fairest method of induction.

This was an attempt to separate opposition to the draft system in general from opposition to its specific form at the moment. In that respect it is a failure, because too late it was realized that the statement leaves no form of response open to a person who feels that no method of induction is fair. Its value is rather as an independent test of opinion on the lottery method, although there is a definite link between agreement and rejection of this statement and agreement and rejection of other statements. An hypothesis-after-the-fact is that most respondents who reject any system of conscription as unfair put 'disagree' on the statement; those who would accept any system because it is the law put 'agree'. This is partially borne out by comparison of response on this statement by those who responded 'accept the law because it is the law' as opposed to 'oppose the draft under any foreseeable circumstances', but the wordings are only partially appropriate, and the hypothesis would have to be tested by further research.

5. Occupational deferments are used as bait or weapons to direct men into certain jobs.

The Selective Service System has a pamphlet out entitled 'Channeling'. This statement is a restating of the official policy of the System; former director Lewis B. Hershey in Congressional testimony used the terms 'carrot' for bait and 'keep a string on' for weapon.<sup>2</sup> Some of the statements have even claimed channeling as the primary purpose of the draft, outranking its supposed function, military manpower procurement, in importance. Hence, like statement number 3, agreement is simply recognizing official policy; disagreement is again the significant response. The hypothesis was very similar to that of number 3: disagreement on this statement indicates a favorable outlook on the draft as a whole: its necessity and fairness, and a low level of belief that the draft is used by the government for other than military purposes.

6. The draft is a significant factor in the 'generation gap'.

This statement is an indicator of alienation. The 'Establishment' is of another generation, and this was another way of getting at this attitude. How many respondents indicated primarily intra-family problems is not known, but this would still be a factor in psychological effects of the draft. Separating these two differing interpretations is not possible within this study, but both are relevant to the purpose of the research. The hypothesis was that the draft is seen as a generational problem, among other forms,

in our society: imposed by one generation upon another. Another way of stating this hypothesis would be reference to the Phil Ochs lyrics: "Always the old who lead us to the war; always the young who fall."<sup>3</sup>

7. The draft discriminates against ~~the~~ non-whites.

The hypothesis on this statement came from an assumption that attitudes toward racial equality are reciprocally linked to attitudes toward the draft and toward the war. The statement itself probably measures racial feeling more than feeling toward the draft, but this racial feeling affects perception of alleged draft inequities. The hypothesis was that agreement with this statement is correlated to rejection of the necessity and fairness of the draft, and also linked to opposition to the Vietnam conflict. In other words, the assumption was made and tested that 'dovishness' on Vietnam, opposition to the draft, and perception of alleged racial inequities are all parallel phenomena, and tend to exist together in a person holding any one of the views.

8. The Vietnam Moratoriums are injurious to the best interests of the American people.

Like the question on the respondent's position on Vietnam, this statement is based on the assumption that dissent against the war and the draft are also parallel phenomena. The statement does not seek to determine support for this dissent, but rather tolerance towards such dissent. Since the tolerance for this dissent

(disagreement with the statement) was expected to be quite high, the hypothesis was centered around those who agreed with the statement (the ones who were not tolerant of this dissent). It was hypothesized that agreement with statement 8 indicates 1) a respondent who supports the President's policy in Vietnam or is more 'hawkish', and 2) one who perceives the draft as necessary and more fair than unfair.

9. Graduate student should be eligible for student deferments.

This statement was placed primarily as an unrelated opinion question for curiosity's sake. It is somewhat linked to the other statements, since it does concern a change in current draft policy, but is not clear-cut as pro or con. Graduate school deferments may be perceived as a legal way to entirely avoid induction, or as an extension of a deferment system which may be alternately judged logically justified or discriminatory. It could perhaps be hypothesized that support for graduate student deferments, since they may be used to avoid the draft, indicates a feeling that being drafted is not a duty one owes to his country, but the linking-test, at least as the statement is worded, would be so tenuous that no hypothesis was made. The statement finds its justification for inclusion in the questionnaire as simply an independent poll of opinion on a controversial aspect of the draft system.



10. To be drafted would waste years of my life.

There is probably no greater disaffection, short of being forced to do something one views as harmful, than being forced to do something on views as a waste of time, especially for an extended period of time. Hence, this statement is one of the key indicators in the survey. A measurement has already been taken above of whether or not the respondents view the draft as necessary; this statement is to measure whether or not they see it as valuable, or even of any redeeming value whatsoever.<sup>4</sup> The hypothesis was that most college students do not see forced military service as having any personal value. It was further hypothesized that this feeling is linked to the belief that the draft is unnecessary and inequitable.

11. Drug use may be significantly tied to escape from pressures and anxieties caused by the draft.

This is the first of the questions specifically dealing with perceived pressures and uncertainties caused by the feeling of something unpopular hanging over one's head. There were, unfortunately, no statements dealing solely with these psychological disturbances: this one is tied to drug use, the other to earlier marriage. In both cases the main thrust is escape from, not existence of, these effects. Another problem with this statement is that it seems to take a moralistic, opposing view of drug use, implying that it is linked necessarily to escape from something. This may have interfered with achieving an accurate level of re-



sponse to the intended focus of the statement: the existence of pressures and anxieties which the respondents feel to be caused by the draft. The hypothesis was that there are widespread pressures and anxieties stemming from the possibility of being drafted, and one manifestation of escape from such disturbances is increased drug use.

12. A loyal American should not demonstrate against foreign policy in crisis times such as Vietnam.

The statement was partially inspired by the overt or implied charges of disloyalty surrounding the Moratoriums and other anti-war demonstrations, especially charges made or implied by the Vice President. One underlying assumption of the statement was that the tolerance for dissent in general can be measured fairly accurately by a measurement of the tolerance for dissent against any large sub-category of overall governmental policy; in other words, that dissent against the draft is parallel to dissent against the war or other aspects of foreign policy. Later analysis has led to the conclusion that that assumption would have to be more specifically tested before it could be accepted as valid. The hypothesis was identical to that of number 8. As in statement number 8, tolerance toward dissent against foreign policy was assumed to be quite high, so, again, the emphasis was upon respondents who agreed to the statement (were not tolerant toward dissent).

13. The draft is used to indoctrinate young men into viewpoints acceptable to 'the Establishment'.

The statement is a rephrasing of one made in 1940 by the late Senator Robert Taft during Congressional debate over a proposed draft: "By handing boys over to the arbitrary and complete domination of the Government, we put them in the power of the Government and indoctrinate them with the political doctrines then popular with the Government."<sup>5</sup> The paraphrase sought to broaden the perspective somewhat: from 'political doctrines' to viewpoints in general, and from 'the Government' to 'the Establishment'. This is the final statement in the group of specific aspects of Selective Service System control of the civilian population. It was hypothesized that agreement would be linked to broad opposition to the draft system; disagreement would also correlate broadly to support for the necessity and fairness of the draft.

14. Draft resistance is the coward's way out of one's duty to his country.

This statement was intended to be the third of the three key questions: number 1 asks 'Is the draft necessary?' number 10 asks 'Does conscription have personal value?' number 14 was to ask 'Is being inducted, if called, and obligation?' In retrospect, it appears that response was as much to the word 'coward' as to the word 'duty'. If draft resistance is acceptable (or tolerable) to most respondents, then a new perspective is placed on the value, necessity, and legitimacy of the draft. It was believed that this

acceptance probably would be quite high, so the hypothesis was formulated around those who do not accept (tolerate) such resistance (that is, those who responded 'agree'). The hypothesis was that those who do not accept (tolerate) draft resistance accept the draft system as legitimate Governmental power and also view the draft as necessary and more equitable than inequitable.

15. The draft is a significant cause of high anxiety or frustration which may lead a person to seek emotional security in earlier marriage.

This is the second statement attempting to measure the existence and extent of anxiety, frustration, and other effects of the possibility of being drafted. It suffers from some of the same failings as statement number 11, primarily in being tied to a specific possible escape from such problems rather than focusing on the problems themselves, though it is a better question in not carrying such a stigma of opprobrium as is implicit against drug use in the former statement. The hypothesis is very similar to that of statement number 11: there are widespread anxieties and frustrations stemming from the possibility of being drafted. One manifestation of escape from such disturbances is earlier marriage.

16. A person who cannot, in conscience, participate in the Vietnam war, although he might conceivably fight in some other war, should be deferred as a conscientious objector.

This is a stating of the concept of 'selective objection', based primarily on the so-called 'just war' concept, which has been one of the main tenets of opponents of the draft and the Vietnam war. It is sufficiently justified in the instrument as an independent poll of opinion on this controversial concept, but it was also felt to be closely tied to other forms of opposition to the draft. It has many implications such as respect for individual conscience and rejection of the narrow definition placed by the Selective Service System upon conscientious objection.<sup>6</sup> It is a key item in the link between view on Vietnam and view on the draft, since it is the specific meeting place of opposition to the two (in a more general scope, Vietnam and the draft are closely linked for potential draftees because conscription is the vehicle by which the Vietnam war most closely touches them, much closer than talk of economic drain, moral dilution, or reshuffling of priorities). This statement is perhaps the most direct, although several statements touch the area also, in implications of authoritarianism, which is often mentioned as a possible psychological effect of the draft. This study, however, is by no means sufficient to analyze this alleged effect. The hypothesis for statement 16 was that agreement with this statement would correlate closely with opposition to both the war and the draft. Selective objection has connotations of both dissent and draft resistances, and was expected to be

correlated closely to statements 8, 12, and 14 for that reason. Men who perceived the most widespread, varied, and intense inequities in the draft were expected to agree with this statement the most highly.

## ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

## NOTE ON TECHNIQUE:

Various scaling techniques are feasible and would have been performed if time had allowed. All correlations are on the basis of 50 questionnaires selected randomly from each category of response. A sample of the sample was necessary again due to lack of time. Tests for correlation were run to find the lowest limits of significance in a sample of 50. Any samples equal to or higher than this low limit were simply called significant (with various non-quantitative modifiers such as 'highly'); exact correlation was not determined for each case due to lack of time.

## CENSUS VARIABLES:

Only age, year in school, home community size, and draft lottery number were checked for results. None of these were found to be significant in variation for any of the questions. Only home community size had been hypothesized to be significant; the other variables were checked, but no prior hypotheses had been made. Major subject and home state are still hypothesized to be significant, but were not checked due to lack of time. There were an insufficient number of veterans and of classifications other than II-S for these variables to be checked; they had also been hypothesized to be significant. The incidence of expected changes in classification and of trouble with the draft board over classification was not checked, but did not appear to be large enough for tests to be made.

## POSITION ON VIETNAM: (N=953)

Opinion on Vietnam was significantly tied to nearly every other question on the instrument. Because this link between opinion on the war and opinion on the draft was so basic to the wording of the research project, and because it was found to be so basic to understanding attitudes toward the draft, the correlation between this statement and the others will be reproduced in full:

RESPONSES ACCORDING TO POSITION ON VIETNAM  
(sample of 50 per category)

item	win a military victory	support for Nixon's policies	withdraw troops on timetable	withdraw completely, immediately
personal action,				
if drafted:				
enlist with pride	20	11	4	0
enlist, but re-				
luctantly	10	12	20	7
go through in-				
duction	9	11	8	0
seek legal de-				
ferment	5	13	12	13
fake a defer-				
ment	2	1	3	5
'disappear' or				
leave country	1	1	0	8
go to jail, if				
necessary	1	1	3	18
other (often ROTC)	2	1	0	0
view of draft:				
accept law because				
it is the law	18	9	3	1
support lottery	19	20	12	5
support other draft				
method	4	4	3	2
oppose peace-time				
draft	7	15	19	11
oppose any draft	3	3	5	14
oppose standing army	0	0	1	2
oppose all war	0	0	5	15
1-1	26	13	6	3
2	18	22	16	1
3	1	3	5	2
4	5	11	18	18
5	0	1	5	25
2-1	4	3	5	18
2	5	3	10	10
3	7	7	15	9
4	11	13	7	8
5	23	24	13	5



RESPONSES ACCORDING TO POSITION ON VIETNAM  
(sample of 50 per category)

item	win a military victory	support for Nixon's policies	withdraw troops on timetable	withdraw completely, immediately
3-1	6	5	16	25
2	10	12	15	10
3	16	15	9	10
4	8	7	3	2
5	10	11	7	3
4-1	14	12	10	6
2	17	21	15	15
3	7	7	4	4
4	6	6	12	10
5	6	4	8	13
5-1	10	3	16	19
2	6	8	9	14
3	15	9	5	12
4	10	12	11	5
5	8	17	9	0
6-1	12	6	11	30
2	11	9	19	9
3	6	10	4	5
4	11	16	12	4
5	10	9	3	1
7-1	5	0	6	26
2	3	5	7	5
3	10	7	12	9
4	7	8	10	5
5	25	30	15	4
8-1	12	8	4	4
2	12	15	5	1
3	10	5	4	4
4	9	18	10	2
5	7	4	25	38
9-1	31	32	36	38
2	9	5	11	6
3	7	4	1	0
4	2	5	2	1
5	1	4	0	5

RESPONSES ACCORDING TO POSITION ON VIETNAM  
(sample of 50 per category)

item	win a military victory	support for Nixon's policies	withdraw troops on timetable	withdraw completely, immediately
10-1	11	17	25	41
2	6	11	11	4
3	3	2	2	2
4	9	8	8	1
5	21	12	4	1
11-1	6	1	4	11
2	5	5	15	13
3	14	10	8	11
4	12	8	10	9
5	13	25	13	5
12-1	13	4	1	2
2	10	7	4	0
3	4	3	2	0
4	17	26	16	3
5	6	10	27	45
13-1	5	2	6	17
2	4	4	17	19
3	13	12	9	9
4	18	17	11	5
5	10	14	7	0
14-1	16	8	5	1
2	7	16	5	2
3	4	6	3	1
4	14	12	14	8
5	9	8	23	38
15-1	8	6	5	15
2	11	14	18	13
3	11	13	17	15
4	10	9	7	2
5	10	8	3	5
16-1	9	11	12	28
2	5	6	10	9
3	11	7	12	7
4	6	16	6	1
5	19	10	10	5

The war and the draft are seen to be very closely related phenomena. Further elaboration on each link will be provided in the analysis of each question and statement.

PERSONAL ACTION, IF DRAFTED: (N=974)

Certain links between one's view of the draft (and of the war) and one's intended personal action if one were to be drafted are readily apparent. It is hardly surprising, for example, that a person who sees the draft as unnecessary, unfair, and a waste of time is less likely to enlist than one with opposite views. Unfortunately, this study cannot go very far beyond these almost self-evident observations in answering the question, "Why do some men enlist or go through induction while others would go to jail or leave the country rather than enter the military?" Because there is quite a wide range of personal responses to the draft in any of the breakdowns made in the various samples, the answer would seem to lie in such factors as intensity of feelings about the military and the draft, other political and social viewpoints, and/or the psychological make-up of the individual and the groups in which he lives. This study insufficiently measures intensity of feeling, and hardly touches on the other factors at all. Almost all that can be said (and then only tentatively as far as an actual mathematical model is concerned) is that draft resisters are likely to be persons with a high number of the following characteristics: attend school in the Midwest (of the regions studied, as previously

defined); believe in complete and immediate withdrawal from Vietnam; be opposed to any draft, and, especially, to all war; strongly agree with statements 2, 3, 5, 7, 10, 13, and 16; and strongly disagree with statements 1, 4, 8, 12, and 14. Beyond this point, the study serves only as a basis for further research.

VIEW ON THE DRAFT: (N=1003)

Viewpoint on the draft in general is the opinion basis for all other aspects of the research design. For that reason, the responses according to the respondent's view on the draft are reproduced in full:

RESPONSES ACCORDING TO VIEW ON THE DRAFT  
(sample of 50 per category)

item	accept law because it is the law	support draft- lottery	oppose peace-time draft	oppose any draft	oppose all war
position on Vietnam:					
win a military victory	19	11	5	2	0
pursue a hold- ing action	2	1	0	0	0
support for Nixon's policies	16	22	10	4	0
withdraw troops on set timetable	10	12	23	18	10
withdraw completely and immediately	3	2	11	25	38
personal action, if drafted:					
enlist with pride	18	17	3	0	0
enlist, luctantly	12	14	11	3	1
go through in- duction	13	9	12	7	0
seek legal de- ferment	5	9	16	18	15
attempt to fake a deferment	0	1	3	4	1
'disappear' or leave country	1	1	3	7	10
go to jail, if necessary	0	1	0	11	23
other (often ROTC)	0	0	0	0	0
1-1	25	18	2	0	2
2	21	24	11	6	1
3	3	2	6	5	1
4	0	6	24	12	8
5	1	0	7	27	38
2-1	3	2	7	6	15
2	7	7	6	18	16
3	8	9	8	10	9
4	9	13	13	11	6
5	21	19	16	5	4

RESPONSES ACCORDING TO VIEW ON THE DRAFT  
(sample of 50 per category)

item	accept law because it is the law	support draft- lottery	oppose peace-time draft	oppose any draft	oppose all war
3-1	6	5	16	20	24
2	12	12	17	15	13
3	8	15	8	9	8
4	9	7	6	2	2
5	15	11	2	4	3
4-1	8	15	7	2	4
2	16	25	19	14	8
3	16	7	9	5	8
4	5	3	10	13	8
5	5	0	5	15	19
5-1	8	8	10	14	14
2	12	4	14	16	18
3	10	13	10	9	12
4	11	15	10	7	4
5	9	10	6	4	2
6-1	8	10	19	24	21
2	11	8	9	10	14
3	8	13	7	9	11
4	8	12	8	5	0
5	9	10	6	4	2
7-1	4	3	4	23	23
2	5	5	7	11	10
3	8	9	17	6	8
4	6	7	8	4	4
5	27	26	14	6	4
8-1	15	10	2	2	1
2	8	11	8	3	0
3	12	6	7	5	2
4	7	14	13	10	5
5	8	9	19	29	42
9-1	30	19	35	31	31
2	13	19	5	8	6
3	4	4	4	2	2
4	1	3	3	3	2
5	2	5	3	5	6

RESPONSES ACCORDING TO VIEW ON THE DRAFT  
(sample of 50 per category)

item	accept law because it is the law	support draft- lottery	oppose peace-time draft	oppose any draft	oppose all war
10-1	8	12	26	41	40
2	11	10	11	4	6
3	5	7	6	3	1
4	14	13	3	2	0
5	11	8	3	0	1
11-1	5	5	5	4	7
2	5	3	17	16	15
3	7	14	11	10	11
4	10	11	8	10	3
5	23	17	9	10	12
12-1	15	9	3	0	1
2	10	7	3	0	0
3	3	8	2	1	1
4	15	15	16	8	2
5	7	11	26	41	45
13-1	4	5	7	15	18
2	7	8	18	17	18
3	9	8	10	8	9
4	16	15	8	8	3
5	13	14	7	2	1
14-1	13	8	1	0	0
2	13	9	7	1	0
3	3	5	3	0	0
4	10	14	17	11	4
5	10	14	22	38	46
15-1	10	7	9	12	9
2	10	9	12	13	15
3	12	14	17	18	19
4	12	13	8	3	5
5	6	7	4	3	0
16-1	9	6	17	27	31
2	8	15	13	13	13
3	10	7	6	3	2
4	14	10	5	1	3
5	9	12	9	6	0

Like the question above asking the respondent's position on Vietnam, further analysis of the correlation between view on the draft in general and of its specific aspects will be discussed in the analysis of the later statements. Correlation between view on the draft in total and position on Vietnam is impressive. Responses of 'win a military victory' declined from 19 to 0 as respondents move farther down the list of responses to the draft; responses of 'withdraw completely and immediately' rose from 3 to 38. All other alternatives also followed definite patterns. Correlation of view on the draft and personal action if one is drafted shows a similarly strong pattern. Enlistment or cooperation with induction falls from 43 to 2; draft resistance rises from 1 to 34. Again, other alternatives follow a similar pattern. All three of the general questions (position on Vietnam, personal action if drafted, and view on the draft) are closely intertwined, and, if time had allowed, rating respondents according to a composite score on these three questions, then comparing responses to the statements, probably would have been very fruitful. (This was tried on the pre-test, and, although some problems arose, primarily through bugs which were eliminated in the final instrument, the results were encouraging.)

1. The draft is a national necessity. (N=971)

The necessity for a system of conscription was rejected by a majority (51.3%) of respondents, although only the Mid-Atlantic and Midwest regions were of that viewpoint. Total response was 414



agree, 59 undecided, and 498 disagree, of which 241 strongly disagreed as opposed to only 148 who strongly agreed. This statement was very closely linked to many of the other aspects of the draft, and to all 3 of the questions above. A comparison of those who strongly agreed as opposed to those who strongly disagreed is enlightening. Of those marking '1', 42% put 'win a military victory', and 26% put 'support the President's policies'; comparable figures for those marking '5' was 2% in each case. 20% of those agreeing put 'withdraw troops on a set timetable'; 34% of those disagreeing. For 'withdraw completely and immediately' the figures are 6% and 60%, respectively. The contrast is even more startling on the question of personal action if drafted: enlistment or cooperation with induction is 82% for those who agree, compared with 12% of those who disagree. None of those who see the draft as a necessity would resist the draft, yet, of those denying the necessity of it, 44% would resist. 90% who think it necessary, support the draft in some form; 98% who reject its necessity would abolish the draft. Correlation with other statements is frequently high. Those who agree with statement 1 generally agree with 4, 8, 12, and 14 significantly more often than those disagreeing with 1; agreement with 1 is correlated with disagreement on 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 13, 15, and 16 at far greater rates than those who disagree that the draft is a national necessity.

2. The draft is used to control civilian life. (N=972)

This statement was rejected by an overall majority (51.1%), with only respondents at black universities in agreement. Total response was 311 agree, 164 undecided, and 497 disagree. The intent of this question was a base score for use with statements 3, 5, and 13. Correlation was significant with all three of those statements, but not as high as had been expected. Statement 2 was inversely correlated to the three basic questions, as well as to statements 1, 3, 5, 7, 10, 13, and 16. As was discussed in the hypothesis, the statement seems to have been interpreted in a very extreme manner. For this reason, it is of less significance than had been hoped, either as a base level for feelings of draft control of civilian life, or as an independent poll of a frequent charge against the draft.

3. Threatening to revoke deferments is used as a weapon against dissent. (N=966)

Statement 3 was accepted overwhelmingly at black universities and in the Midwest and Mid-Atlantic regions, and received slight pluralities in the South and Southwest, for an overall 56.1% acceptance. Total response was 542 agreed, 185 undecided, and 239 in disagreement. It correlated inversely with the three basic questions, the correlation being especially evident as far as personal action if drafted. Inverse correlation was striking on statements 1, 12, and 14, and somewhat less on 4, and 8. Direct correlation was strong on 5, 6, 7, 10, and 13, and significant, but somewhat

less, on 2, 11, 15, and 16. It was an important and successful part of the research design.

4. The lottery-type draft is the fairest method of induction.

(N=970)

As discussed in the hypothesis section of this paper, statement 4 was, for its original purposes, a failure. However, coming, as the research did, soon after the lottery system was introduced and discussion of it was a lively topic, the question is an interesting opinion poll nevertheless. And it does correlate somewhat with other items on the instrument. The wording of the statement should have been elaborated more, and some response possibility should have been left open for those opposed to any method of induction, but the results are probably fairly close to an accurate reflection of sentiment. In the total sample, agreement was a plurality (49.5% to 33.7%), with an answer of '2' receiving twice as many responses as any other single response, and the other four possibilities all within 8 responses of one another. Less than one-third of respondents gave a strong preference one way or the other. Blacks rejected the statement, the Midwest was split evenly, and the other three regions gave large pluralities of agreement, but chiefly to 'agree with reservations'. The statement correlates slightly to position on Vietnam, and strongly to the other two basic questions. Direct correlation is strong on statements 1, 8, 12, and 14. Inverse correlation exists on 13 and 16, and is strikingly evident on number 2. Correlation to the other eight statements was not found to be significant.

5. Occupational deferments are used as bait or weapons to direct men into certain jobs. (N=966)

This statement was agreed with by a plurality of respondents. Majorities agreed at black universities and in the Midwest, exactly 50% agreed in the Mid-Atlantic region, and agreement and disagreement ran even in the South and Southwest. Total response was: agree, 448; undecided, 186; disagree, 332. Inverse correlation was strong to view on the draft and personal action if drafted; significant, but less, to position on Vietnam. The hypothesis was found to be true, but to a much lesser degree than anticipated. Correlation, both direct and inverse, was the same as on statement 3, but to a lesser degree. The overall results seem to indicate a low level of knowledge or acceptance of Selective Service System policy. Possibly the words "bait or weapons" were interpreted as being more extreme or implying more cynical intent than respondents were willing to attribute to draft policy. Only further testing could say for sure.

6. The draft is a significant factor in the 'generation gap'. (N=981)

Acceptance of statement 6 was high (55.1%) and confirms the hypothesis. Response was fairly similar throughout the regions, even though the statement did correlate, as was hypothesized, to overall view of the draft, its necessity and fairness. Perhaps this is so because other generations are somewhat parallel to the students in the various regions in opinion on the draft: parents in the Midwest, for example, being more opposed to the draft than parents in the

South. Further research would be necessary to bear this out. Overall total response was 541 agree, 152 undecided, and 288 disagree. Statement 6 correlated to other statements in the same manner as statement 3, but to a lesser degree.

7. The draft discriminates against non-whites. (N=969)

This statement turned out to be one of the key indicators on the instrument. It was inversely correlated to the three basic questions to an exceptional degree, fully justifying the hypothesis that views on race, war, and the draft are all intertwined. The statement was rejected by a slight plurality (42.5% to 39.1%). Overall totals were: agree, 379; undecided, 178; disagree, 412. Respondents at black universities strongly agreed; in the South and Southwest, disagreement was strong; and in the Mid-Atlantic and Midwest regions opinion was close, the former slightly rejecting, the latter slightly accepting. There was strong inverse correlation with statements 1, 4, 8, 12, and 14. Direct correlation was very high on statements 2, 3, 13, and 16, and somewhat less, although still strong, on 5, 6, 10, 11, and 15.

8. The Vietnam Moratoriums are injurious to the best interests of the American people. (N=964)

The hypotheses for statement 8 were overwhelmingly substantiated. Tolerance of this dissent was high: 67.1% of all respondents disagreed with the statement, with 42.1% in strong disagreement. Only in the South was a majority not attained, and even there

a strong plurality was evidenced. The overall response was 206 in agreement, 111 undecided, and 647 in disagreement, 406 of them strongly so. Correlation with the three basic questions was very high, justifying the assumption that dissent on the draft and the war runs parallel. This assumption is further supported by high correlation with statements 1 and 12. Significant inverse correlation with 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 13, and 16, and direct correlation with 1, 4, and 12, added to correlation with the three basic questions, leads to acceptance of both parts of the hypothesis.

9. Graduate students should be eligible for student deferments.

(N=967)

Agreement with this statement was staggering: 62.0% of all respondents strongly agreed, and an additional 19.5% agreed with reservations, for a total agreement of 81.5%. Responses totaled 788 in agreement (599 in strong agreement), 61 undecided, and 118 who disagreed. Because the agreement was so universally high, no significant correlation to region or other questions or statements was found. The response indicates overwhelming dissatisfaction with at least this one aspect of draft policy.

10. To be drafted would waste years of my life. (N=964)

This was expected to be one of the key indicators of alienation; the response was found to be so large that correlation was sometimes lacking, but in certain areas, it was impressive. Overall a majority (51.9%) of students strongly agreed with the statement, with to-



tal agreement reaching 70.1%. Response was 675 in agreement (500 strongly so), 71 undecided, and 218 in disagreement; agreement ran 3 to 1 over disagreement, while strong agreement ran 5 to 1 over strong disagreement. All regions agreed with the statement, although the percentages were somewhat less in the South and Southwest. Inverse correlation with the three basic questions was very high. Of those in strong agreement with this statement, 70% thought the draft unnecessary; 72% of those who put '4' or '5' found the draft necessary. Strong correlation was found with statements 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 15, and 16; inverse correlation existed with statements 1 (as noted above), 4, 8, 12, and 14. Both hypotheses are strongly supported by these statistics. The draft is seen by a large number of students as both unnecessary and of no personal value.

11. Drug use may be significantly tied to escape from pressures and anxieties caused by the draft. (N=963)

Statement 11 was rejected by a plurality (46.5%) of the respondents. Students at black universities accepted it by better than 2 to 1; Midwestern students were fairly closely divided; all others strongly rejected it. Total response was 303 in agreement, 212 undecided, and 448 opposed. Statement 11 is correlated highly to the same questions and statements as statement 3, although on a lower level. The results are not seen as having very much importance as a measurement of pressures and anxieties; only as a measurement of perceived drug use stemming from these sources. The open-ended questions on the back of the instrument revealed a much higher

level of disturbance than would be seen if this statement were assumed to be a reflection of the disturbances themselves. The hypothesis is not adequately answered by the results obtained.

12. A loyal American should not demonstrate against foreign policy in crisis times such as Vietnam. (N=969)

When talking about demonstrations against foreign policy in the abstract, students were even more tolerant than in statement 8, concerning a more specific group of demonstrations, the Moratoriums. 77% of all respondents rejected this statement, 49.5% of them strongly. A solid majority of students in each category rejected the statement. Total scores were: agree, 168; undecided, 55; disagree, 746 (480 strongly disagreed). Direct correlation with the three basic questions was very high, as it was also with statements 1, 4, 8, and 14. Inverse correlation is particularly high with statements 2, 3, and 10, and is significant with numbers 6, 7, 11, 13, and 16. The hypotheses were verified.

13. The draft is used to indoctrinate young men into viewpoints acceptable to 'the Establishment'. (N=971)

Statement 13, in the total sample, was a toss-up. The mean was exactly 3.00. By categories it was accepted in black schools and in the Midwest, rejected in the Southwest and South, and even in the Mid-Atlantic schools. Total scores were 402 in agreement, 177 undecided, and 392 in disagreement, but with the strongly disagree's outnumbering the strongly agree's by all but 2 of that 10 vote margin.



The hypothesized correlations are true right down the line. It would be very interesting to play around with several variations of this statement in further testing, including using the direct quotation from Senator Taft which appeared in the hypothesis discussion.

14. Draft resistance is the coward's way out of one's duty to his country. (N=974)

This statement was strongly rejected in all regions, although rejection was considerably less in the South. Overall, 73.6% of the respondents disagreed with the statement, including 45.3% who strongly disagreed. Total response was: agree, 194; undecided, 63; disagree, 717. The hypotheses were verified. Correlations were high with nearly all other questions and statements. Of those agreeing with statement 14, 68% favored either a military victory or President Nixon's policies; those who strongly disagreed went 85% for one of the withdrawal plans, with 60% favoring immediate withdrawal. Not surprisingly, statement 14 correlated closely to personal action if drafted; the surprising item, perhaps, was rather that 6% of those who agreed with the statement would resist the draft, making them either inconsistent or self-proclaimed cowards. View on the draft also correlates closely to this statement: 74% of those who agreed support some form of the draft, and the remaining 26% oppose only a peace-time draft; 82% of those who strongly disagreed with statement 14 would abolish the draft, and 68% would abolish the draft even in war-time. Correlation to the two key

statements, 1 (necessity of the draft) and 10 (value of the draft), is very high, directly with 1, inversely with 10. Direct correlation is significant with statements 4, 8, and 12. Correlation with 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 15, and 16 is inverse. The inverse correlation is strikingly high with statements 2, 7, and 13.

15. The draft is a significant cause of high anxiety or frustration which may lead a person to seek emotional security in earlier marriage. (N=962)

Statement 15 is very similar in results to statement 11, except acceptance was much higher. 26.9% of all students responded 'don't know or undecided', nearly 5% higher than any other statement, with number 11 having been second highest in this response with 22%. Such a high 'undecided' response is indicative of a poor statement, either poorly worded so as to be vague or confusing, or concerning an aspect of the subject on which the respondents have little knowledge. The latter may be the case for both 11 and 15. Agreement with statement 15 ran better than 2 to 1 over disagreement, even though it failed to be a majority response (49.4% to 23.7%). Response was a fairly uniform throughout the regions. Correlation to other statements was similar to statement 11. For measuring anxiety and frustration the statement is a failure; for measuring the second part of the hypothesis (earlier marriage to escape these disturbances), the statement is, at best, poor, primarily as indicated by the more than 1 in 4 respondents who put 'don't know or undecided'. Since those who did respond in agreement or disagreement went for the

agree side by better than 2 to 1, the hypothesis can probably be accepted, but further testing would be advisable.

16. A person who cannot, in conscience, participate in the Vietnam war, although he might conceivably fight in some other war, should be deferred as a conscientious objector. (N=959)

All the hypotheses were verified for statement 16. Response was favorable to the statement (55.5%), with all the regions accepting the statement, though barely. The South went 'agree' by only 40.8% to 40.0%; in the Southwest it was still only a plurality; in black universities 'agree' went just over 50%; the Mid-Atlantic and Midwest regions were the only ones above the overall percentage. Total response was 532 in agreement, 134 undecided, and 293 who disagreed. Inverse correlation to the three basic questions was high, with 'position on Vietnam' being one of the highest correlations of any two questions on the instrument. Inverse correlation to statements 8, 12, and 14 was strong, as hypothesized, although less than had been anticipated. Inverse correlation was even higher with statement 1; those who would not allow selective objection are those who see the draft as a national necessity. Direct correlations were lower than for many statements, but several were still significant: 2, 3, 5, 6, 13, and 15 were all significant, but fairly low; 7 and 10 correlated somewhat more strongly. Statements 4, 9, and 11 did not correlate significantly.

## THE OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

These questions (To what extent does the draft interfere with your plans, both in school and after school? What are your feelings because of these problems?) were placed in the instrument because it was felt that an open-ended response would probably better indicate the precise nature and intensity of psychological effects of the draft. Unfortunately, for the analysis to measure such responses precisely, techniques other than a Procrustean scale for statistical testing must be employed. And this simply was not possible for one worker in the time available. The responses were all read, and some were tremendously insightful, but, other than a simple statement that the psychological effects of the draft on male college students are numerous, varied, and sometimes intense, any conclusions at this time would be subjective. Since the researcher has some intense opinions on the topic of his research, subjective analysis is not felt to be safe sociologically. All the results of this study, to the best capability of the researcher, are objective. But the one inescapable result of the open-ended responses should perhaps be repeated: The psychological effects of the draft on male college students are numerous, varied, and sometimes intense.

## APPENDICES

Instrument	41
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Total Scores	42
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Age \_\_\_\_\_ Year in School \_\_\_\_\_ Major \_\_\_\_\_  
Home State \_\_\_\_\_ Home Community Size: Under 5,000 \_\_\_\_\_  
5-50,000 \_\_\_\_\_ 50-500,000 \_\_\_\_\_ Over 500,000 \_\_\_\_\_

Draft Status: Veteran? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Current Classification \_\_\_\_\_  
Draft Lottery Number (if known) \_\_\_\_\_  
Any expected change in classification soon? \_\_\_\_\_  
Any trouble with draft board over classification? \_\_\_\_\_

My position on Vietnam is (check the one nearest to your own):  
\_\_\_\_\_ win a military victory  
\_\_\_\_\_ pursue a holding action  
\_\_\_\_\_ support for the President's policies  
\_\_\_\_\_ withdraw troops on a set timetable (of roughly a year)  
\_\_\_\_\_ withdraw completely and immediately  
\_\_\_\_\_ no opinion

My personal action, if drafted, would be (please check the farthest down the list you would go):  
\_\_\_\_\_ enlist with pride  
\_\_\_\_\_ enlist, but reluctantly  
\_\_\_\_\_ go through induction  
\_\_\_\_\_ seek legal deferment  
\_\_\_\_\_ attempt to fake a deferment  
\_\_\_\_\_ "disappear" or leave the country  
\_\_\_\_\_ go to jail, if necessary, rather than be inducted  
\_\_\_\_\_ other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

My view on the draft is:  
\_\_\_\_\_ would accept the law because it is the law  
\_\_\_\_\_ support the draft-lottery method  
\_\_\_\_\_ oppose current proposals, but would support some other draft method (please specify, if possible) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ oppose any peace-time draft (volunteer army instead)  
\_\_\_\_\_ oppose the draft under any foreseeable circumstances (volunteer army instead)  
\_\_\_\_\_ oppose any standing army  
\_\_\_\_\_ oppose war under any circumstances

Please respond to the following statements according to this scale:  
strongly agree with      don't know      disagree with      strongly  
agree      reservations      or undecided      reservations      disagree  
1                      2                      3                      4                      5

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. The draft is a national necessity.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. The draft is used to control civilian life.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Threatening to revoke deferments is used as a weapon against dissent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 4. The lottery-type draft is the fairest method of induction.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 5. Occupational deferments are used as bait or weapons to direct men into certain jobs.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 6. The draft is a significant factor in the "generation gap".
- \_\_\_\_\_ 7. The draft discriminates against non-whites.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 8. The Vietnam Moratoriums are injurious to the best interests of the American people.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 9. Graduate students should be eligible for student deferments.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 10. To be drafted would waste years of my life.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 11. Drug use may be significantly tied to escape from pressures and anxieties caused by the draft.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 12. A loyal American should not demonstrate against foreign policy in crisis times such as Vietnam.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 13. The draft is used to indoctrinate young men into viewpoints acceptable to "the Establishment".
- \_\_\_\_\_ 14. Draft resistance is the coward's way out of one's duty to his country.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 15. The draft is a significant cause of high anxiety or frustration which may lead a person to seek emotional security in earlier marriage.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 16. A person who cannot, in conscience, participate in the Vietnam war, although he might conceivably fight in some other war, should be deferred as a conscientious objector.

TO WHAT EXTENT DOES THE DRAFT INTERFERE WITH YOUR PLANS, BOTH IN SCHOOL AND AFTER SCHOOL?

(for example, staying in school to keep a deferment when you would rather take a year off for work, travel, or independent study; planning for an occupationally-deferred job rather than whatever other plans you had, difficulty in getting a job due to the possibility of being drafted etc.)

WHAT ARE YOUR FEELINGS BECAUSE OF THESE PROBLEMS?

(for example, anxiety over the possibility of being drafted; unusual pressure to stay in school, make grades through mickey-mouse courses, or seek a certain job; alienation from the government or "the Establishment"; an increased feeling of the "generation gap"; etc.)

ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

## TOTAL SCORES

	raw score	per- centage
My position on Vietnam is:		
win a military victory	114	12.0
pursue a holding action	9	.9
support for the President's policies	180	18.9
withdraw troops on a set timetable	400	42.0
withdraw completely and immediately	250	26.2
My personal action, if drafted, would be:		
enlist with pride	116	11.9
enlist, but reluctantly	197	20.2
go through induction	161	16.5
seek legal deferment	253	26.0
attempt to fake a deferment	48	5.0
'disappear' or leave the country	77	7.9
go to jail, if necessary, rather than be inducted	92	9.5
other (often ROTC)	30	3.0
My view on the draft is:		
would accept the law because it is the law	114	11.4
support the draft-lottery method	223	22.3
oppose current proposals, but would support some other draft method	55	5.5
oppose any peace-time draft	309	30.9
oppose the draft under any foreseeable circumstances	159	15.9
oppose any standing army	32	3.2
oppose war under any circumstances	111	11.1



## RAW TOTAL SCORES

Question number	1	2	3	4	5
1	148	266	59	257	241
2	126	185	164	204	293
3	279	263	185	114	125
4	159	321	163	167	160
5	192	256	186	201	131
6	310	231	152	176	112
7	211	168	178	133	279
8	111	95	111	241	406
9	599	189	61	50	68
10	500	175	71	118	100
11	106	197	212	190	258
12	67	101	55	266	480
13	153	249	177	231	161
14	79	115	63	276	441
15	171	304	259	134	94
16	327	205	134	138	155

## TOTAL SCORE PERCENTAGES

Question number	1	2	3	4	5
1	15.2	27.4	6.1	26.5	24.8
2	13.0	19.0	16.9	21.0	30.1
3	28.9	27.2	19.2	11.8	12.9
4	16.4	33.1	16.8	17.2	16.5
5	19.9	26.5	19.3	20.8	13.6
6	31.6	23.5	15.5	17.9	11.4
7	21.8	17.3	18.4	13.7	28.8
8	11.5	9.9	11.5	25.0	42.1
9	62.0	19.5	6.3	5.2	7.0
10	51.9	18.2	7.4	12.2	10.4
11	11.0	20.5	22.0	19.7	26.8
12	6.9	10.4	5.7	27.5	49.5
13	15.8	25.6	18.2	23.8	16.6
14	8.1	11.8	6.5	28.3	45.3
15	17.8	31.6	26.9	13.9	9.8
16	34.1	21.4	14.0	14.4	16.2

## BLACK UNIVERSITIES

	raw score	per- centage
My position on Vietnam is:		
win a military victory	10	9.1
pursue a holding action	0	0.0
support for the President's policies	2	1.8
withdraw troops on a set timetable	45	40.9
withdraw completely and immediately	53	48.9
My personal action, if drafted, would be:		
enlist with pride	10	8.8
enlist, but reluctantly	21	18.4
go through induction	15	13.2
seek legal deferment	47	41.2
attempt to fake a deferment	3	2.6
'disappear' or leave the country	5	4.4
go to jail, if necessary, rather than be inducted	13	11.4
other	0	0.0
My view on the draft is:		
would accept the law because it is the law	18	15.9
support the draft-lottery method	20	17.7
oppose current proposals, but would support some other draft method	9	8.0
oppose any peace-time draft	19	16.8
oppose the draft under any foreseeable circumstances	32	28.3
oppose any standing army	4	3.5
oppose war under any circumstances	11	9.7

## BLACK UNIVERSITIES

## raw scores

Question number	1	2	3	4	5
1	27	31	5	23	29
2	39	18	21	10	27
3	47	22	21	12	8
4	17	21	24	21	31
5	36	31	18	20	8
6	49	18	26	13	9
7	62	16	13	7	15
8	18	10	16	18	51
9	89	9	5	1	10
10	74	12	9	13	7
11	37	29	17	10	21
12	12	4	9	18	70
13	35	26	31	14	8
14	8	10	6	33	58
15	40	31	21	9	14
16	40	18	25	15	17

## percentages

Question number	1	2	3	4	5
1	23.5	27.0	4.1	20.0	25.2
2	33.9	15.7	18.2	8.7	23.5
3	42.7	20.0	19.1	10.9	7.3
4	14.9	18.4	21.1	18.4	27.2
5	31.9	27.4	15.9	17.7	7.1
6	42.6	15.7	22.6	11.3	7.8
7	54.9	14.2	11.4	6.2	13.3
8	15.9	8.9	14.2	15.9	45.1
9	78.1	7.9	4.3	.9	8.8
10	64.3	10.4	7.8	11.3	6.2
11	32.5	25.4	14.9	8.8	18.4
12	10.6	3.5	8.1	15.9	61.9
13	30.7	22.8	27.2	12.3	7.0
14	7.0	8.7	5.2	28.7	50.4
15	34.8	27.0	18.2	7.8	12.2
16	34.8	15.7	21.7	13.0	14.8

## SOUTHWEST

	raw score	per- centage
My position on Vietnam is:		
win a military victory	39	18.2
pursue a holding action	5	2.3
support for the President's policies	53	24.8
withdraw troops on a set timetable	86	40.2
withdraw completely and immediately	31	14.5
My personal action, if drafted, would be:		
enlist with pride	36	16.4
enlist, but reluctantly	64	29.1
go through induction	44	20.0
seek legal deferment	41	18.6
attempt to fake a deferment	12	5.5
'disappear' or leave the country	7	3.2
go to jail, if necessary, rather than be inducted	7	3.2
other (often ROTC)	9	4.1
My view on the draft is:		
would accept the law because it is the law	32	14.2
support the draft-lottery method	63	28.0
oppose current proposals, but would support some other draft method	10	4.4
oppose any peace-time draft	76	33.8
oppose the draft under any foreseeable circumstances	25	11.1
oppose any standing army	1	.4
oppose war under any circumstances	18	8.0

## SOUTHWEST

## raw scores

Question number	1	2	3	4	5
1	36	86	15	59	26
2	12	38	35	60	77
3	43	55	55	37	32
4	45	96	27	29	24
5	28	54	48	49	41
6	74	50	31	39	25
7	33	32	32	46	78
8	30	30	28	63	70
9	133	40	13	17	18
10	95	49	13	35	28
11	17	41	51	48	64
12	17	33	12	75	85
13	24	47	51	58	41
14	20	32	19	68	82
15	36	67	59	34	24
16	54	46	31	40	49

## percentages

Question number	1	2	3	4	5
1	16.2	38.7	6.8	26.6	11.7
2	5.4	17.1	15.8	27.0	34.7
3	19.4	24.8	24.8	16.6	14.4
4	20.4	43.4	12.2	13.1	10.9
5	12.7	24.5	21.9	22.3	18.6
6	33.8	22.8	14.2	17.8	11.4
7	14.9	14.5	14.5	20.8	35.3
8	13.6	13.6	12.6	28.5	31.7
9	60.2	18.1	5.9	7.7	8.1
10	43.2	22.3	5.9	15.9	12.7
11	7.7	18.6	23.0	21.7	29.0
12	7.7	14.9	5.4	33.8	38.2
13	10.9	21.3	23.0	26.2	18.6
14	9.0	14.5	8.6	30.8	37.1
15	16.4	30.5	26.7	15.5	10.9
16	24.5	20.9	14.1	18.2	22.3

## SOUTH

	raw score	per- centage
My position on Vietnam is:		
win a military victory	29	23.5
pursue a holding action	2	1.6
support for the President's policies	30	24.4
withdraw troops on a set timetable	52	42.3
withdraw completely and immediately	10	8.1
My personal action, if drafted, would be:		
enlist with pride	23	18.9
enlist, but reluctantly	26	21.3
go through induction	29	23.8
seek legal deferment	29	23.8
attempt to fake a deferment	2	1.6
'disappear' or leave the country	7	5.7
go to jail, if necessary, rather than be inducted	3	2.5
other	3	2.5
My view on the draft is:		
would accept the law because it is the law	26	20.8
support the draft-lottery method	34	27.2
oppose current proposals, but would support some other draft method	9	7.2
oppose any peace-time draft	43	34.4
oppose the draft under any foreseeable circumstances	6	4.8
oppose any standing army	1	.8
oppose war under any circumstances	6	4.8

## SOUTH

## raw scores

Question number	1	2	3	4	5
1	24	41	11	33	13
2	4	18	20	29	51
3	20	34	28	18	21
4	22	54	18	16	11
5	23	23	27	27	21
6	36	20	21	24	19
7	12	8	21	19	59
8	21	19	22	32	26
9	85	20	8	4	4
10	45	28	15	14	18
11	13	21	22	30	35
12	11	18	10	49	33
13	10	22	18	48	22
14	20	25	11	31	32
15	17	39	31	24	9
16	22	27	23	23	25

## percentages

Question number	1	2	3	4	5
1	19.7	33.6	9.0	27.0	10.7
2	3.3	14.8	16.3	23.8	41.8
3	16.5	28.1	23.1	14.9	17.4
4	18.2	44.6	14.9	13.2	9.1
5	19.0	19.0	22.3	22.3	17.4
6	30.0	16.7	17.5	20.0	15.8
7	10.1	6.7	17.6	16.0	49.6
8	17.5	15.8	18.3	26.7	21.7
9	70.2	16.5	6.7	3.3	3.3
10	37.5	23.3	12.5	11.7	15.0
11	10.7	17.4	18.2	24.8	28.9
12	9.1	14.9	8.2	40.5	27.3
13	8.3	18.3	15.0	40.0	18.3
14	16.8	21.0	9.2	26.1	26.9
15	14.2	32.5	25.8	20.0	7.5
16	18.3	22.5	19.2	19.2	20.8

## MID-ATLANTIC

	raw score	per- centage
My position on Vietnam is:		
win a military victory	9	7.3
pursue a holding action	0	0.0
support for the President's policies	26	21.0
withdraw troops on a set timetable	66	53.2
withdraw completely and immediately	23	18.5
My personal action, if drafted, would be:		
enlist with pride	15	12.1
enlist, but reluctantly	33	26.6
go through induction	14	11.3
seek legal deferment	38	30.6
attempt to fake a deferment	4	3.2
'disappear' or leave the country	7	5.6
go to jail, if necessary, rather than be inducted	8	6.5
other	5	4.0
My view on the draft is:		
would accept the law because it is the law	11	8.6
support the draft-lottery method	36	28.1
oppose current proposals, but would support some other draft method	6	4.7
oppose any peace-time draft	44	34.4
oppose the draft under any foreseeable circumstances	13	10.2
oppose any standing army	3	2.3
oppose war under any circumstances	15	11.7



## MID-ATLANTIC

## raw scores

Question number	1	2	3	4	5
1	20	25	5	46	28
2	9	23	27	26	34
3	42	34	17	13	17
4	24	38	22	25	14
5	23	39	23	22	17
6	41	38	13	20	10
7	17	28	34	14	32
8	12	10	6	39	56
9	69	30	12	6	4
10	63	23	11	16	10
11	7	20	31	37	29
12	10	10	4	35	66
13	14	32	21	36	20
14	12	12	7	37	57
15	17	42	38	19	9
16	45	27	19	18	16

## percentages

Question number	1	2	3	4	5
1	16.1	20.2	4.0	37.1	22.6
2	7.6	19.3	22.7	21.8	28.6
3	34.1	27.6	13.8	10.6	13.8
4	19.5	30.9	17.9	20.3	11.4
5	18.5	31.5	18.5	17.7	13.7
6	33.6	31.1	10.7	16.4	8.2
7	13.6	22.4	27.2	11.2	25.6
8	9.8	8.1	4.9	31.7	45.5
9	57.0	24.8	9.9	5.0	3.3
10	51.2	18.7	9.0	13.0	8.1
11	5.6	16.1	25.1	29.8	23.4
12	8.0	8.0	3.2	28.0	52.8
13	11.4	26.0	17.0	29.3	16.3
14	9.6	9.6	5.6	29.6	45.6
15	13.6	33.6	30.4	15.2	7.2
16	36.0	21.6	15.2	14.4	12.8

## MIDWEST

	raw score	per- centage
My position on Vietnam is:		
win a military victory	25	7.1
pursue a holding action	2	.6
support for the President's policies	68	19.2
withdraw troops on a set timetable	139	39.3
withdraw completely and immediately	120	33.9
My personal action, if drafted, would be:		
enlist with pride	28	7.6
enlist, but reluctantly	53	14.4
go through induction	59	16.0
seek legal deferment	90	24.5
attempt to fake a deferment	23	6.3
'disappear' or leave the country	47	12.8
go to jail, if necessary, rather than be inducted	56	15.2
other	12	3.3
My view on the draft is:		
would accept the law because it is the law	25	6.7
support the draft-lottery method	64	17.1
oppose current proposals, but would support some other draft method	18	4.8
oppose any peace-time draft	119	31.7
oppose the draft under any foreseeable circumstances	71	18.9
oppose any standing army	20	5.3
oppose war under any circumstances	58	15.5

## MIDWEST

## raw scores

Question number	1	2	3	4	5
1	37	81	22	88	132
2	55	75	60	76	96
3	115	111	61	31	43
4	46	102	60	70	75
5	71	101	69	79	40
6	98	96	57	62	46
7	76	72	76	44	91
8	27	25	39	92	187
9	207	84	22	20	26
10	205	62	22	38	32
11	27	77	89	61	102
12	13	35	29	85	207
13	61	107	65	73	65
14	17	24	20	95	196
15	56	118	103	46	37
16	152	85	38	41	43

## percentages

Question number	1	2	3	4	5
1	10.3	22.5	6.1	24.4	36.7
2	15.2	20.7	16.6	21.0	26.5
3	31.9	30.7	16.9	8.6	11.9
4	13.0	28.9	17.1	19.8	21.2
5	19.7	28.1	19.2	21.9	11.1
6	27.3	26.7	15.9	17.3	12.8
7	21.2	20.1	21.2	12.3	25.3
8	7.3	6.8	10.5	24.9	50.5
9	57.7	23.4	6.1	5.6	7.2
10	57.4	17.4	5.6	10.6	9.0
11	7.6	21.6	25.0	17.1	28.7
12	3.5	9.5	7.9	23.0	56.1
13	16.4	28.8	17.5	19.7	17.5
14	4.8	6.8	5.7	27.0	55.7
15	15.6	32.8	28.5	12.8	10.3
16	42.3	23.7	10.6	11.4	12.0

## AGREE-DISAGREE PERCENTAGES

Straight percentage: derived from total number of respondents in that category answering that question. Responses of '1' and '2' are totaled for 'agree'; responses of '4' and '5' are totaled for 'disagree'.

Weighted percentage: responses of '3' are omitted in totaling the responses to that particular question. Responses of '2' plus twice the number of responses of '1' are totaled for 'agree'; responses of '4' plus twice the number of responses of '5' are totaled for 'disagree'.

	straight percentage		weighted percentage
QUESTION 1			
total	disagree 51.3	disagree	56.6
black	agree 50.5	agree	51.2
southwest	agree 54.9	agree	58.7
south	agree 53.3	agree	60.1
mid-Atlantic	disagree 59.7	disagree	61.1
midwest	disagree 61.1	disagree	69.4
QUESTION 2			
total	disagree 51.1	disagree	64.4
black	agree 49.6	agree	60.0
southwest	disagree 61.7	disagree	77.5
south	disagree 65.6	disagree	83.4
mid-Atlantic	disagree 50.4	disagree	69.6
midwest	disagree 47.5	disagree	59.2
QUESTION 3			
total	agree 56.1	agree	69.3
black	agree 62.7	agree	80.6
southwest	agree 44.2	agree	58.3
south	agree 44.6	agree	55.2
mid-Atlantic	agree 61.7	agree	71.5
midwest	agree 62.6	agree	74.5
QUESTION 4			
total	agree 49.5	agree	56.7
black	disagree 45.6	disagree	60.1
southwest	agree 63.8	agree	70.7
south	agree 62.8	agree	72.1
mid-Atlantic	agree 50.4	agree	61.9
midwest	agree 41.9	disagree	53.1

## AGREE-DISAGREE PERCENTAGES

	straight percentage		weighted percentage	
QUESTION 5				
total	agree	46.4	agree	58.0
black	agree	59.3	agree	74.1
southwest	disagree	40.9	disagree	54.4
south	disagree	39.7		50.0
mid-Atlantic	agree	50.0	agree	60.3
midwest	agree	47.8	agree	60.4
QUESTION 6				
total	agree	55.1	agree	68.0
black	agree	58.3	agree	77.9
southwest	agree	56.6	agree	69.0
south	agree	46.7	agree	59.7
mid-Atlantic	agree	64.7	agree	75.0
midwest	agree	54.0	agree	65.5
QUESTION 7				
total	disagree	42.5	disagree	53.9
black	agree	69.1	agree	79.1
southwest	disagree	56.1	disagree	67.3
south	disagree	65.6	disagree	76.5
mid-Atlantic	disagree	36.8	disagree	55.7
midwest	agree	41.3	disagree	50.2
QUESTION 8				
total	disagree	67.1	disagree	76.9
black	disagree	61.0	disagree	72.3
southwest	disagree	60.2	disagree	69.3
south	disagree	48.4	disagree	57.9
mid-Atlantic	disagree	77.2	disagree	81.6
midwest	disagree	75.4	disagree	85.5
QUESTION 9				
total	agree	81.5	agree	88.2
black	agree	86.0	agree	89.8
southwest	agree	78.3	agree	85.2
south	agree	86.7	agree	94.1
mid-Atlantic	agree	81.8	agree	92.7
midwest	agree	81.1	agree	87.4

## AGREE-DISAGREE PERCENTAGES

	straight percentage		weighted percentage	
QUESTION 10				
total	agree	70.1	agree	78.7
black	agree	74.7	agree	85.6
southwest	agree	65.5	agree	72.4
south	agree	60.8	agree	69.4
mid-Atlantic	agree	69.9	agree	80.5
midwest	agree	74.8	agree	82.2
QUESTION 11				
total	disagree	46.5	disagree	63.3
black	agree	57.9	agree	67.5
southwest	disagree	50.7	disagree	70.1
south	disagree	53.7	disagree	68.0
mid-Atlantic	disagree	53.2	disagree	73.6
midwest	disagree	45.8	disagree	66.9
QUESTION 12				
total	disagree	77.0	disagree	83.9
black	disagree	77.8	disagree	84.9
southwest	disagree	72.0	disagree	78.5
south	disagree	67.8	disagree	74.2
mid-Atlantic	disagree	80.8	disagree	84.8
midwest	disagree	79.1	disagree	89.1
QUESTION 13				
total	agree	41.4	agree	50.1
black	agree	53.5	agree	76.2
southwest	disagree	44.8	disagree	59.6
south	disagree	58.3	disagree	68.7
mid-Atlantic	disagree	45.6	disagree	55.9
midwest	agree	45.2	agree	53.0
QUESTION 14				
total	disagree	73.6	disagree	80.9
black	disagree	79.1	disagree	85.1
southwest	disagree	67.9	disagree	72.3
south	disagree	53.0	disagree	59.4
mid-Atlantic	disagree	75.2	disagree	80.7
midwest	disagree	82.7	disagree	89.4

## AGREE-DISAGREE PERCENTAGES

	straight percentage	weighted percentage
QUESTION 15		
total	agree 49.4	agree 66.7
black	agree 61.8	agree 75.0
southwest	agree 46.9	agree 62.9
south	agree 46.7	agree 63.5
mid-Atlantic	agree 47.2	agree 67.3
midwest	agree 48.4	agree 65.7
QUESTION 16		
total	agree 55.5	agree 65.7
black	agree 50.5	agree 66.7
southwest	agree 45.4	agree 52.7
south	agree 40.8	disagree 51.7
mid-Atlantic	agree 57.6	agree 70.1
midwest	agree 66.0	agree 75.4

## WEIGHTED PERCENTAGE AGREEMENT BY REGION

QUESTION NUMBER	TOTAL	BLACK	SOUTH- WEST	SOUTH	MID- ATLANTIC	MIDWEST
1	43.4	51.2	58.7	60.1	38.9	30.6
2	35.6	60.0	22.5	16.6	30.4	40.8
3	69.3	80.6	58.3	55.2	71.5	74.5
4	56.7	39.9	70.7	72.1	61.9	46.9
5	58.0	74.1	45.6	50.0	60.3	60.4
6	68.0	77.9	69.0	59.7	75.0	65.5
7	46.1	79.1	32.7	23.4	44.3	49.8
8	23.1	27.7	30.7	42.1	18.4	14.5
9	88.2	89.8	85.2	94.1	92.7	87.4
10	78.7	85.6	72.4	69.4	80.5	82.2
11	36.7	67.5	29.9	32.0	26.4	33.1
12	16.1	15.1	21.5	25.8	15.2	10.9
13	50.1	76.2	40.4	31.3	44.1	53.0
14	19.1	14.9	23.7	40.6	19.3	10.6
15	66.7	75.0	62.9	63.5	67.3	65.7
16	65.7	66.7	52.7	49.3	70.1	75.4



## MEAN RESPONSE--TOTAL SAMPLE

Position on Vietnam:

.70 towards 'withdraw troops on a set timetable', from 'support  
for the President's policies'

Personal action if drafted:

.55 towards 'seek a legal deferment', from 'go through induction'

View on the draft:

.71 towards 'oppose any peace-time draft', from 'oppose current  
proposals, but would support some other draft method'

Statement	Mean	Statement	Mean
1	3.18	9	1.76
2	3.36	10	2.11
3	2.53	11	3.31
4	2.84	12	4.02
5	2.75	13	3.00
6	2.54	14	3.92
7	3.10	15	2.66
8	3.76	16	2.57

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>American Friends Service Committee, The Draft?, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup>Hearings of House Armed Services Committee, June, 1966, pp. 9630, 9679.

<sup>3</sup>'I Ain't Marchin' Anymore', Phil Ochs.

<sup>4</sup>A parallel could perhaps be made between this statement and the current method of determining between pornography and literature: is the draft viewed as having redeeming social importance, or is it merely obscene?

<sup>5</sup>The Draft?, p. vii.

<sup>6</sup>The narrow definition referred to consists of the following three concepts, among others: must be based on early religious training and belief; must oppose all wars; must be religious opposition, not political, philosophical, sociological, or stemming from personal conscience.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

There apparently has never been an objective study done on the psychological effects of the draft on male college students, or anything similar. In fact, there seems to be no studies done on any effects of the draft on anyone. The following are three suggested books for background study, perhaps the three best of the type. But no other materials have been found to incorporate into this study: it is an untapped, important, field of research.

American Friends Service Committee, The Draft?, (Hill and Wang, New York, 1968).

This is the book which inspired the project to begin with. It raises most of the issues which are incorporated in the study, but lacks concrete substantiation.

Carper, Jean, Bitter Greetings: The Scandal of the Military Draft, (Grossman Publishers, New York, 1967).

The Report of the President's Commission on an All-Volunteer Armed Force (the Gates Commission), (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1970).