# Social Representation in the U.S. Military Services

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## BACKGROUND

The 25th annual Department of Defense (DoD) report on social representation in the U.S. Military Services[1] provides demographic characteristics of applicants, new recruits, and enlisted and officer members of the Active and Reserve Components. This report covers fiscal year (FY) 1998, from October 1, 1997, to September 30, 1998. In the enlisted force, African Americans were overrepresented among active duty accessions (20 percent) relative to the 18-24 year-old civilian population (14 percent). Hispanics, on the other hand, were underrepresented, with 10 percent active duty accessions relative to the 18-24 year-old civilian population (15 percent). FY 1998 representation of "other" minority-enlisted accessions (Native Americans, Asians, and Pacific Islanders) stood at more than 6 percent, slightly more than the relative civilian population (5 percent). Not only did African Americans enlist in higher proportions, but also higher retention rates boosted their representation among active component enlisted members to 22 percent in contrast to the 12 percent of African Americans among 18-24 year-old civilians in the workforce. With 8 percent of active duty enlisted members counted as Hispanic, this ethnic minority maintained its low proportion relative to the comparable civilian population (12 percent). This particular report provides summary statistics only and does not have a public use data set. Data is collected every five years so the 25th annual report is the latest available for access.

Recent demographic information is available through non-DoD sources. The Military Family Resource Center published a report called 2002 Demographics Profile of the Military Community[2]. This report presents a synthesis of demographic information describing military members and families in the military community. This annual report serves as a reference tool for professionals who develop policy or deliver programs and services. Combining this military demographics data with U.S. census[3] estimates for minorities (age 18-24) in 2002 yields the below table:

1 http://www.dod.mil/prhome/poprep98/html/overview.html

2 http://www.mfrc-dodqol.org/stat.cfm

3 http://www.census.gov/population/projections/nation/summary

np-t4-b.txt

Table 1
Percent of Enlisted on Active Duty compared to National Population in 2002 (Age 18-24)

| | *White* | *African American* | *Hispanic* | *Other** | *Total Minority* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| DoD pop | 61.2% | 21.8% | 10.0% | 7.0% | 38.8% |
| U.S. pop | 68.8% | 13.1% | 13.3% | 4.8% | 31.2% |

* Other includes Native Americans/Alaskan Natives/Asian American/Pacific Islander/other or unknown

The recruitment of minorities to serve in the active component of the U.S. military service is an important priority for military force planners. Much success has been gained in this regard over the past three decades. In general, the percent of minority Active Duty members continues to rise for all service branches. From 1980 to 2002, the percent of minority members has increased from 23.2 to 35.8 percent. While total force structure numbers have fluctuated, the percent of minority officers and enlisted in relation to total DoD officers and enlisted has increased across DoD.[4]

Table 2
Percent of Minority Officers and Enlisted on Active Duty by Total DoD trends: 1980-2002

| | *Total DoD Minorities* | |
|---|---|---|
| Year | Officer | Enlisted |
| 1980 | 6.1% | 25.9% |
| 1985 | 7.9% | 25.0% |
| 1990 | 9.1% | 28.2% |
| 1995 | 10.5% | 28.2% |
| 2000 | 18.8% | 38.2% |
| 2002 | 19.7% | 38.8% |

4 http://www.mfrc-dodqol.org/stat.cfm

Assessing minority representation in the military invites a broader debate about the equitable distribution of sacrifice in an all-volunteer force. More specifically, are inequities in demographic representation in the military services acceptable in a democratic society? In the summer, 2003 issue of Philosophy & Public Policy Quarterly, William A. Galston and Robert K. Fullwider discussed the merits of conscription. To summarize their opinions, Dr. Galston proposes a universal national service program while Dr. Fullinwider concedes that a draft is legitimate if it is necessary for national defense. Bill Galston, citing the eighteenth century political philosopher John Stuart Mill, makes the plea for a program of national service to lessen the injustice of unequal burden sharing by military volunteers. Bob Fullinwider believes that it is safe for a democracy not to distribute sacrifice around more equitably and that the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) should be left as is.

In the fall 2003 issue of Quarterly, Mick Womersley makes the case that unequal burden sharing is dangerous in a democracy when a sovereign person is compelled in any way to sacrifice. Womersley argues that compulsion in any form, through either the mechanism of conscription, or the continued recruitment of underprivileged youth, undermines the notion of democratic service. "I doubt that I am the only person in the U.S. who is sick at heart to witness this regular and morbid parade of dead youths across our screens. One learns from the accompanying captions that these individuals are primarily of blue collar and rural extraction, and for the most part barely out of their teenage years." Womersley argues that Fullwider's solution continues the status quo and Galston's solution will not work practically; it encourages stubborn, intractable behavior, and discourages protest. He contends we should link service more closely to civil society through far stronger support for education, working at the same time to undercut unearned privilege and create a corps of future civic leaders.

## HYPOTHESIS

Is there a correlation between race and an individual's proclivity to enlist in the military? Clearly, the 25th Annual DoD report verifies the imbalance. Despite the data, is it just a matter of race? Is there a relationship between a person's willingness to join the military and other measures of social burden or disadvantage? Finding the underlying cause of this imbalance continually challenges military recruiters and personnel policy planners. Many socio-economic explanations have been offered that attempt to explain these imbalances (e.g. personal income, parent's income, educational attainment, urban distribution, etc.). Are there other factors that might explain these distinctions? Some of the factors that might distinguish a preference for military volunteerism would include trust in government, activist spirit, self-confidence, opportunism and religious/ political ideology; something that goes beyond the traditional profiles used by military recruiters. The hypothesis is that there is no correlation between an individual's willingness to volunteer for military service and a person's race, all else being equal. Simply, something else must explain the military enlistment imbalances between African Americans and Hispanics.

## DATA SET

The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement(CIRCLE), in collaboration with the Council for Excellence in Government's Center for Democracy and Citizenship, and the Partnership for Trust in Government sponsored a survey of American youth ages 15-25 in January of 2002. The survey interviewed young people on a range of civic engagement measures, what policy issues are of concern to young people, and civic attitudes of young people towards a range of potential policies that may affect them.

The survey was designed and administered by Lake Snell Perry & Associates and the Tarrance Group. The survey was conducted by telephone using professional interviewers from January 6 through January 17, 2002. The survey reached a total of 1,490 young people nationwide, including

1,200 randomly distributed interviews, and over samples of 150 African American and 150 Hispanic young people. Telephone numbers for the survey were drawn from a random digit dial sample (RDD). The data were weighted by age and race to reflect actual distribution of the national population of young people. The over samples were weighted into the base sample to reflect the racial distribution of the national population of young people.[5]

This survey asked a total of 143 questions with dichotomous response options. The sample was randomly split and respondents were asked similar questions with slight modifications to the lead-up prompts. Example: Split Sample C/D. "Now let me read you what some people have said politics/elections means to them." The survey also asked a variation of the same question to respondents 18 years of age and older and those under 18. Example: "… most important consideration in your vote/… thinking ahead to when you vote."

In this survey, respondents were asked to express their willingness to join the military (split sample C; question 111 and split sample D; question 119). Respondents in split sample D were specifically prompted to gauge their willingness to join the military based upon their personal assessment of the effects of the terrorist attacks of September 11th.

Survey participants responded to questions regarding personal demographics such as: age, gender, race, marital status, children, education, immigration status, population density, political affiliation and religious activity. Additionally, respondents expressed personal attitudes towards: citizenship, government, political leaders, civic engagement and social advantage (opportunity).

The Levine measure of educational attainment was used to create three dummy variables for responses to education questions 133/134 (those 18 years of age and older), and question 135 (15-17 year olds). This measure combines those who have completed school, those still in school (expected level of attainment) and full or part-time student status into three categories: ed success, ed less success and ed unsuccess.

A dummy variable unempower was created in response to split sample A/B questions 14/15. This question asked, "Do you agree or disagree that the government/politics and elections address the needs and concerns of young people like you."

A dummy variable mepower was created in response to question 31. This question asked, "In general, how much attention do you think our political leaders pay to the concerns of young people like yourself?"

A dummy variable makediff was created in response to split sample A/B questions 38/40. This question asked, "It would be difficult for someone like me to make a real difference in my community/ in politics or government."

A dummy variable getahead was created in response to split sample A/B questions 62/64. This question asked "Favor or oppose: Offering every young person a chance to do a full year of national or community service and earn money toward college or advanced training/making a year of national or community service a condition for receiving government student loans and grants." Summary statistics are presented in Table 3:

5 CIRCLE Youth Survey, January 2002 Data Codebook

Table 3
Summary of Selected Statistics

| *Survey Variable* | *Responses* | |
|---|---|---|
| - Gender | Male 51% | Female 49% |
| - Age 15-17 | 27% | |
| - Age 18-20 | 27% | |
| - Age 21-22 | 18% | |
| - Age 23-25 | 27% | |
| - White | 68% | |
| - African American | 12% | |
| - Hispanic | 13% | |
| - Asian | 2% | |
| - Other | 5% | |
| - Country of origin | Native 85% | Non-native 15% |
| - Job | None 24% | One or more 76% |
| - Marital status | Single 70% | Marr/part/div 29% |
| - Children | Yes 16% | No 83% |
| - Willingness to join military ***(mil)*** | Likely 20% | Unlikely 79% |
| - Government addresses your needs ***(unempower)*** | Agree 53% | Disagree 44% |
| - Politics/elections addresses your needs ***(unempower)*** | Agree 52% | Disagree 45% |
| - How much political leaders pay attention to your concerns ***(mepower)*** | A lot/some 48% | A little/none 50% |
| - You can make a difference in community ***(makediff)*** | Agree 44% | Disagree 53% |
| - Offer full year of service for college/adv training $ ***(getahead)*** | Favor 81% | Oppose 17% |
| - Make full year of service a condition for college loans/grants ***(getahead)*** | Favor 53% | Oppose 43% |
| - Education successful | 35% | |
| - Education less than successful | 50% | |
| - Education unsuccessful | 15% | |

## RESULTS OF ANALYSIS

Cross-tabulations were conducted to see if "willingness to join the military" was statistically independent of race, the null hypothesis. Each CHI-square test compared the mil dummy to all other races. Results are shown in Table 4.

In each race category, with (2-1)*(2-1) =1 degrees of freedom (DOF), the $X^2_{crit(.050)} = 3.84$. For each race variable, Pr is greater than .05% (with CHI square values less than 3.84); therefore, the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. There does not appear to be a correlation between the race variables as presented. Clearly, there is a correlation between gender and willingness to join the military with a $X^2 > 3.84$ and a Pr = 0.006 and the null hypothesis is rejected.

The maximum likelihood estimation model dprobit was used to apply the interpretive benefits of Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) analysis to dichotomous variables. The model dprobit was chosen because the data tends to be "skewed" and since dprobit evaluates averages (means), this model is much tighter at the tails. Since a weight factor (wt) was used in the regression model, no likelihood ratio test was conducted. The basic model can be expressed:

$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_{pi}(\text{personal dummies})_{pi} + \beta_{si}(\text{social dummies})_{si} + \beta_{ci}(\text{civic dummies})_{ci} + \epsilon_I$

p= number of personal dummy variables (age, race, gender)
s= number of social dummy variables (married, children, job, population density, political affiliation, parents take to vote, education, attends church)
c= number of civic dummy variables (makediff, mepower, unempower, getahead)
i= number of observations

Table 5 on the next page summarizes the results of the dprobit analysis.

Table 4
Chi2 results of *mil* versus race

| | *Population proportion* | *Willingness to join military* (1) | (0) | *Chi2/Pr* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| White | 464 (62.28%) | 88 (18.97%) | 376 (81.03%) | 2.527/0.112 |
| Black | 113 (15.17%) | 22 (19.47%) | 91 (80.53%) | 0.144/0.704 |
| Hispanic | 119 (15.97%) | 30 (25.21%) | 89 (74.79%) | 1.667/0.197 |
| Other | 49 (6.58%) | 15 (30.61%) | 34 (69.39%) | 3.061/0.080 |
| Male | 383 (51.41%) | 95 (24.80%) | 288 (75.20%) | 7.649/0.006 |
| Female | 362 (48.59%) | 60 (16.57%) | 302 (83.43%) | 7.649/0.006 |
| **Population** | **745 (100%)** | **150 (20.79%)** | **590 (79.19%)** | |

Table 5
Results of dprobit regression (mil as dependent variable)

| *mil* | *Model 1* | *Model 2* | *Model 3* | *Model 4* | *Model 5* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age 15-17 | 0.006 | -0.027 | -0.027 | -0.010 | -0.015 |
| | (0.883) | (0.513) | (0.521) | (0.807) | (0.723) |
| Age 21-22 | -0.062 | -0.054 | -0.049 | -0.035 | -0.030 |
| | (0.123) | (0.189) | (0.240) | (0.402) | (0.477) |
| Age 23-25 | -0.028 | -0.015 | -0.012 | -0.006 | 0.000 |
| | (0.498) | (0.728) | (0.783) | (0.898) | (0.994) |
| African American | 0.010 | -0.003 | -0.004 | -0.004 | -0.013 |
| | (0.822) | (0.948) | (0.922) | (0.918) | (0.761) |
| Hispanic | 0.062 | 0.035 | 0.033 | 0.020 | 0.021 |
| | (0.167) | (0.454) | (0.479) | (0.657) | (0.646) |
| Other | 0.073 | 0.053 | 0.042 | 0.030 | 0.042 |
| | (0.239) | (0.380) | (0.499) | (0.627) | (0.510) |
| Female | **-0.080** | **-0.079** | **-0.076** | **-0.088** | **-0.095** |
| | **(0.007)**** | **(0.008)**** | **(0.011)*** | **(0.003)**** | **(0.002)**** |
| Urban | | 0.011 | 0.006 | 0.008 | 0.010 |
| | | (0.751) | (0.872) | (0.814) | (0.764) |
| Rural | | -0.019 | -0.019 | -0.020 | -0.020 |
| | | (0.636) | (0.635) | (0.609) | (0.600) |
| Non-native | | 0.086 | **0.092** | **0.097** | **0.087** |
| | | (0.060) | **(0.045)*** | **(0.034)*** | **(0.056)** |
| Married | | -0.013 | -0.018 | -0.028 | -0.035 |
| | | (0.786) | (0.708) | (0.565) | (0.466) |
| Kids | | -0.027 | -0.029 | -0.026 | -0.028 |
| | | (0.509) | (0.477) | (0.530) | (0.497) |
| Job | | -0.059 | -0.048 | -0.062 | -0.062 |
| | | (0.152) | (0.247) | (0.131) | (0.135) |
| Independent | | | **-0.081** | **-0.080** | **-0.080** |
| | | | **(0.016)*** | **(0.015)*** | **(0.016)*** |
| Democrat | | | -0.051 | -0.048 | -0.045 |
| | | | (0.182) | (0.213) | (0.240) |
| Parents vote | | | 0.006 | 0.001 | -0.006 |
| | | | (0.854) | (0.964) | (0.843) |
| Make a diff | | | | 0.029 | 0.025 |
| | | | | (0.360) | (0.429) |
| Me-power | | | | 0.026 | 0.034 |
| | | | | (0.550) | (0.440) |
| Un-empower | | | | -0.048 | -0.045 |
| | | | | (0.130) | (0.159) |
| Get-ahead | | | | **0.108** | **0.104** |
| | | | | **(0.001)**** | **(0.001)**** |
| ed_less_success | | | | 0.065 | **0.074** |
| | | | | (0.055) | **(0.030)*** |
| ed_unsuccess | | | | **0.108** | **0.117** |
| | | | | **(0.034)*** | **(0.023)*** |
| Church | | | | | 0.060 |
| | | | | | (0.064) |
| New-draft | | | | | 0.002 |
| | | | | | (0.947) |
| **Observations** | 745 | 745 | 745 | 745 | 745 |

Robust p values in parentheses, * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%; a *wt* variable was used to adjust age and race to reflect the actual distribution of the national population.

Using model 5 for analysis, the independent dummy variables for race are not statistically significant. Females are 9.4 percentage points less willing to join the military than their male counterparts are, ceteris paribus. Non-natives (question 143, "are you or your parents originally natives of another country?") are 8.7 percentage points more willing to join than their native counterparts are. Independents (political ideology) are 7.9 percentage points less willing to join than Republicans (base case dummy variable). Less educated and unsuccessfully educated youths are 7.5 and 11.7 percentage points respectively more willing to join than their successfully educated counterparts are. Youths who responded favorably to the getahead survey question are 10.5 percentage points more willing to join the military than the unfavorable getahead survey respondents are.

Regression analysis was conducted on survey respondents categorized by race. Results are shown in Table 6.

Table 6
Willingness to Join Military Categorized by Race

| | *Mil (Pop)* | *Mil (White)* | *Mil (African American)* | *Mil (Hispanic)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age 15-17 | -0.013 | -0.029 | -0.076 | -0.001 |
| | (0.756) | (0.582) | (0.270) | (0.990) |
| Age 21-22 | -0.030 | -0.021 | -0.096 | -0.104 |
| | (0.481) | (0.680) | (0.177) | (0.265) |
| Age 23-25 | -0.000 | -0.005 | 0.085 | -0.098 |
| | (0.992) | (0.932) | (0.384) | (0.453) |
| Female | **-0.094** | **-0.111** | **-0.187** | 0.032 |
| | **(0.002)**** | **(0.002)**** | **(0.003)**** | (0.676) |
| Urban | 0.008 | 0.045 | -0.001 | 0.015 |
| | (0.807) | (0.307) | (0.991) | (0.844) |
| Rural | -0.023 | 0.010 | **-0.146** | 0.116 |
| | (0.558) | (0.815) | **(0.002)**** | (0.534) |
| Non-native | **0.097** | 0.088 | 0.148 | -0.028 |
| | **(0.028)*** | (0.204) | (0.149) | (0.745) |
| Married | -0.035 | -0.020 | -0.093 | -0.129 |
| | (0.461) | (0.745) | (0.143) | (0.217) |
| Kids | -0.025 | -0.088 | -0.041 | 0.089 |
| | (0.548) | (0.079) | (0.577) | (0.482) |
| Job | -0.062 | -0.045 | 0.003 | -0.008 |
| | (0.132) | (0.400) | (0.970) | (0.930) |
| Independent | **-0.081** | **-0.105** | -0.104 | -0.123 |
| | **(0.014)*** | **(0.008)**** | (0.075) | (0.147) |
| Democrat | -0.049 | -0.039 | -0.092 | -0.145 |
| | (0.194) | (0.418) | (0.178) | (0.136) |
| Parents vote | -0.007 | -0.017 | -0.054 | 0.040 |
| | (0.814) | (0.660) | (0.393) | (0.671) |
| Make a diff | 0.027 | 0.024 | 0.005 | 0.054 |
| | (0.388) | (0.528) | (0.937) | (0.481) |
| Me-power | 0.034 | 0.040 | 0.026 | 0.058 |
| | (0.434) | (0.476) | (0.771) | (0.603) |
| Un-empower | -0.044 | -0.029 | -0.045 | 0.017 |
| | (0.168) | (0.459) | (0.471) | (0.835) |
| Get-ahead | **0.105** | **0.113** | -0.093 | 0.154 |
| | **(0.001)**** | **(0.002)**** | (0.214) | (0.100) |
| Church | 0.057 | 0.021 | **0.219** | **0.254** |
| | (0.080) | (0.605) | **(0.000)**** | **(0.001)**** |
| ed_less_success | **0.077** | 0.068 | -0.099 | 0.138 |
| | **(0.026)*** | (0.099) | (0.141) | (0.141) |
| ed_unsuccess | **0.119** | 0.121 | 0.071 | **0.281** |
| | **(0.021)*** | (0.071) | (0.539) | **(0.032)*** |
| New-draft | 0.002 | -0.018 | -0.103 | 0.105 |
| | (0.949) | (0.626) | (0.099) | (0.190) |
| **Observations** | 745 | 464 | 113 | 119 |

Robust p values in parentheses* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%; a *wt* variable was used to adjust age and race to reflect the actual distribution of the national population. Statistics are slightly different than model 5 because race dummies have been eliminated.

There appears to be a consistent correlation among white and African American respondents based upon gender and their willingness to join the military. Females are less willing to join the military compared with their male counterparts. Whites show a strong correlation between their desire to get ahead and a willingness to join the military. This correlation is not statistically significant among other races. While the sample population has a positive correlation between education status and willingness to join the military, it did not bear out among whites and African Americans in the sub-samples. Only un-educated Hispanics showed a willingness to join the military at a 28-percentage point higher rate than their less-educated or educated Hispanic counterparts, all else being equal. African American and Hispanic churchgoers are more willing to join the military than their non-church going counterparts, all else being equal.

## OTHER COMMUNITY SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

Survey respondents were asked their preferences regarding several different occupations that have a community service component such as becoming a teacher, work in law enforcement or firefighting, work for a community service organization or work for local government. Regression analysis was conducted using similar independent variables to evaluate similarities or trends with the military volunteerism variable. Results are summarized in figure 6.

Table 7
Regression Results of Different Occupations

| | *Military* | *Teacher* | *Police/Fire* | *Comm servnt* | *Local gov* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age 15-17 | -0.015 | **-0.118** | -0.048 | **-0.148** | -0.059 |
| | (0.723) | **(0.004)**** | (0.268) | **(0.002)**** | (0.121) |
| Age 21-22 | -0.030 | -0.040 | -0.041 | -0.039 | -0.009 |
| | (0.477) | (0.377) | (0.348) | (0.444) | (0.837) |
| Age 23-25 | 0.000 | -0.049 | -0.053 | -0.045 | -0.005 |
| | (0.994) | (0.280) | (0.241) | (0.386) | (0.906) |
| African American | -0.013 | 0.021 | 0.034 | 0.023 | -0.005 |
| | (0.761) | (0.638) | (0.459) | (0.657) | (0.900) |
| Hispanic | 0.021 | -0.016 | -0.039 | -0.015 | 0.004 |
| | (0.646) | (0.725) | (0.402) | (0.781) | (0.916) |
| Other | 0.042 | 0.108 | 0.041 | 0.030 | 0.028 |
| | (0.510) | (0.134) | (0.531) | (0.704) | (0.640) |
| Female | **-0.095** | **0.066** | -0.053 | 0.062 | -0.030 |
| | **(0.002)**** | **(0.042)*** | (0.091) | (0.079) | (0.294) |
| Urban | 0.010 | -0.002 | -0.002 | -0.008 | -0.050 |
| | (0.764) | (0.951) | (0.954) | (0.834) | (0.118) |
| Rural | -0.020 | 0.033 | -0.009 | **-0.121** | -0.025 |
| | (0.600) | (0.450) | (0.835) | **(0.010)**** | (0.499) |
| Non-native | 0.087 | 0.063 | 0.073 | **0.120** | 0.075 |
| | (0.056) | (0.194) | (0.113) | **(0.026)*** | (0.087) |
| Married | -0.035 | **0.140** | 0.096 | 0.058 | **0.111** |
| | (0.466) | **(0.016)*** | (0.082) | (0.353) | **(0.034)*** |
| Kids | -0.028 | -0.001 | 0.007 | -0.058 | -0.012 |
| | (0.497) | (0.976) | (0.888) | (0.274) | (0.774) |
| Job | -0.062 | -0.032 | -0.013 | -0.050 | -0.023 |
| | (0.135) | (0.464) | (0.766) | (0.306) | (0.533) |
| Independent | **-0.080** | **-0.094** | -0.062 | -0.011 | **-0.074** |
| | **(0.016)*** | **(0.009)**** | (0.078) | (0.788) | **(0.020)*** |
| Democrat | -0.045 | -0.068 | -0.044 | -0.066 | -0.016 |
| | (0.240) | (0.078) | (0.275) | (0.151) | (0.668) |
| Parents vote | -0.006 | 0.065 | 0.032 | **0.080** | **0.094** |
| | (0.843) | (0.060) | (0.339) | **(0.035)*** | **(0.002)**** |
| Make a diff | 0.025 | **0.085** | 0.019 | **0.134** | 0.055 |
| | (0.429) | **(0.011)*** | (0.569) | **(0.000)**** | (0.064) |
| Me-power | 0.034 | 0.028 | **0.102** | 0.010 | 0.026 |
| | (0.440) | (0.552) | **(0.032)*** | (0.839) | (0.543) |
| Un-empower | -0.045 | -0.005 | -0.037 | -0.010 | -0.019 |
| | (0.159) | (0.896) | (0.271) | (0.791) | (0.552) |
| Get-ahead | **0.104** | 0.063 | 0.057 | 0.051 | 0.034 |
| | **(0.001)**** | (0.064) | (0.085) | (0.189) | (0.268) |
| ed_less_success | **0.074** | **-0.099** | 0.013 | **-0.187** | -0.019 |
| | **(0.030)*** | **(0.006)**** | (0.708) | **(0.000)**** | (0.552) |
| ed_unsuccess | **0.117** | 0.028 | 0.027 | -0.071 | -0.004 |
| | **(0.023)*** | (0.591) | (0.596) | (0.180) | (0.930) |
| Church | 0.060 | 0.052 | 0.065 | **0.116** | **0.079** |
| | (0.064) | (0.131) | (0.054) | **(0.002)**** | **(0.010)**** |
| New draft | 0.002 | 0.015 | -0.045 | 0.017 | -0.018 |
| | (0.947) | (0.645) | (0.161) | (0.643) | (0.554) |
| **Observations** | 745 | 745 | 745 | 745 | 745 |

Robust p values in parentheses* significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%; a *wt* variable was used to adjust age and race to reflect the actual distribution of the national population.

It appears from the results that there is no correlation between the factors that influence a young person's willingness to join the military and the factors that influence their willingness to pursue other community occupations. Race remains uncorrelated across all occupations while 15-17 yr olds seem less interested in becoming teachers or working for a community service organization compared to their older survey respondents, all else being equal. Females seem more willing to become teachers than their male counterparts, all else being equal. While the getahead variable has a positive influence on willingness to join the military, it appears to be uncorrelated with all the other occupations assessed in the analysis. While less educated and uneducated youths appear more inclined to join the military, it appears this education status has the opposite effect on those youths interested in becoming teachers or working for a community service organization.

## EFFECTS OF 9/11

In an attempt to measure the impact of the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 and a young person's willingness to volunteer for community service, half of the survey respondents were asked to indicate how this event influenced their likelihood to choose different occupations. Did the impact of this event replace some of the influencing variables revealed in the split survey? Regression analysis was conducted using identical variables and the results are shown in figure 7.

Table 8
Split Survey Comparison (Effects of 9/11)

| | *Military* | *Military (post 9/11)* |
|---|---|---|
| Age 15-17 | -0.015 | **-0.097** |
| | (0.723) | **(0.030)*** |
| Age 21-22 | -0.030 | **-0.143** |
| | (0.477) | **(0.001)**** |
| Age 23-25 | 0.000 | **-0.198** |
| | (0.994) | **(0.000)**** |
| Black | -0.013 | 0.071 |
| | (0.761) | (0.163) |
| Hispanic | 0.021 | -0.039 |
| | (0.646) | (0.422) |
| Other | 0.042 | 0.016 |
| | (0.510) | (0.831) |
| Female | **-0.095** | -0.062 |
| | **(0.002)**** | (0.084) |
| Urban | 0.010 | 0.025 |
| | (0.764) | (0.529) |
| Rural | -0.020 | 0.086 |
| | (0.600) | (0.096) |
| non-native | 0.087 | 0.004 |
| | (0.056) | (0.929) |
| Married | -0.035 | -0.058 |
| | (0.466) | (0.291) |
| Kids | -0.028 | 0.062 |
| | (0.497) | (0.283) |
| Job | -0.062 | 0.111 |
| | (0.135) | (0.357) |
| Independent | **-0.080** | -0.052 |
| | **(0.016)*** | (0.167) |
| Democrat | -0.045 | -0.065 |
| | (0.240) | (0.181) |
| Parents vote | -0.006 | 0.021 |
| | (0.843) | (0.575) |
| Make a diff | 0.025 | 0.009 |
| | (0.429) | (0.802) |
| Me-power | 0.034 | 0.001 |
| | (0.440) | (0.982) |
| Un-empower | -0.045 | -0.043 |
| | (0.159) | (0.291) |
| Get-ahead | **0.104** | 0.046 |
| | **(0.001)**** | (0.222) |
| Church | 0.060 | 0.066 |
| | (0.064) | (0.077) |
| ed_less_success | **0.074** | 0.008 |
| | **(0.030)*** | (0.841) |
| ed_unsuccess | **0.117** | -0.034 |
| | **(0.023)*** | (0.547) |
| New-draft | 0.002 | -0.029 |
| | (0.947) | (0.409) |
| **Observations** | 745 | 745 |

Robust p values in parentheses * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%; a *wt* variable was used to adjust age and race to reflect the actual distribution of the national population.

There appears to be no correlation between the effects of 9/11 and the variables that influence a young person's willingness to join the military, ceteris paribus. Race remains uncorrelated. In particular, those youths that are less educated or uneducated are no more willing to join because of the terrorist attacks. Additionally, those youths who see the military as their opportunity to get-ahead, are no more willing to join because of 9/11. Age seems to be a factor. 15-17 yr olds and 21-25 yr olds seem less willing to join the military after 9/11 than their 18-20 yr old counterparts, all else being equal.

## CONCLUSIONS

Based upon the analysis presented above, there does not appear to be a correlation between race and willingness to join the military, all else being equal. There does appear to be a positive correlation between immigration status, educational attainment and the opportunity dummy getahead, with a willingness to join. These factors are distinguishable measures of empowerment or advantage. Non-natives or children of non-natives might be less-privileged than their native counterparts. Many non-native citizens struggle to find employment or initially situate in low income jobs. While primary language was not asked in this survey, it can be presumed that many of these non-natives do not speak English as their first language. This is clearly an obstacle to increased opportunity. Youths who have achieved anything less than a post-high school education (or expect to achieve this level) would clearly have less employment capacity or would lack the social capital to compete with their more highly educated counterparts. Finally, the getahead dummy is a satisfactory indicator of a young person's sense of what they would be willing to sacrifice to capitalize on a funded program for college or advanced training. This variable is a fair indicator of an individual's current capacity or perceived potential to achieve. Independent capacity goes beyond educational attainment and might include less empirical measures such as power, advantage, motivation and privilege.

The lack of any relationship between the military variable and other community service occupations reinforces the conclusion that military service invites certain types of individuals with unique motivations. The requirements to become a police officer or teacher are distinctly different than the requirements to enlist in the military. Additionally, the military offers educational rewards and more importantly offers geographic relocation, an incentive considered beneficial to those who feel unable to advance within their local community. For many, joining the military represents a chance to start over; a prospect deemed most difficult without a change in location. The military offers technical on the job training where most other community service occupations require some level of prior education. Also, the military has a fairly liberal drug and criminal waiver program, an advantage not offered by many community service organizations.

The result of the sub-group analysis verifies the fact that it is not simply a matter of race that is driving the imbalance in enlistment demographics. With the exception of the church variable, each race category fails to yield any variable with explanatory power. African American and Hispanic church-goers are much more willing to enlist in the military than their non church-going counterparts. Church attendance appears to be a consistent predictor of young adults' behaviors and attitudes. While it appears church attendance can predict participation in a range of volunteer activities, education status and feelings of efficacy drive an individual's willingness to join the military.

Many military force structure planners predicted a wave of military enlistments following 9/11 that have failed to manifest. The potential influence of patriotism and increased social obligation do not bear out based upon the multivariate regression conducted on the split survey. In fact, it appears 9/11 had a negative impact on the 15-17 yr old respondents who seem less willing to join the military considering the events of 9/11. This is also true for the 21-25 yr old age group.

These results are important for several reasons beyond the distribution of sacrifice in a democratic society. The decision to serve

in the armed services is driven primarily by a measure of self-efficacy, not the quantifiable demographics targeted by military recruiters. Race, the common measure of apportionment in the modern military is a poor predictor of not only a person's willingness to join, but may also shadow a deeper social injustice. The notion that those who answer our nation's call to serve are patriots, altruists and community stalwarts thinly veils a deeper understanding and acknowledgement of the opportunity sought by this nation's less empowered youths. More specifically, if self-efficacy is the motivating force, why does it yield a disproportionately high number of African American enlistments and a disproportionately low number of Hispanic enlistments? This question warrants further research to answer.

## LIMITATIONS

There are several limitations to this analysis. The DoD report which cites race representation was conducted in 1998 while the CIRCLE survey was conducted in 2002. The CIRCLE survey only questioned U.S. citizens. There is a growing trend for non-U.S. citizens to enlist in the military. Several significant socio-economic changes have occurred during the two periods such as 9/11, a change in administrations, the war in Iraq, and a slow decline in the domestic job market. While these factors are significant, the trend regarding race representation continues today. The split survey only offered 750 observations. A larger data set, with questions formatted specifically for this type of investigation, would improve the analytical confidence of this research. It is difficult to assess the validity of the response to a question like "willingness to join the military" from a phone interview, especially from youths 15-17 years of age. Not only are they too young to actually join, but there is the "living room" factor that might tend to bias their responses up. I am critical of assertions regarding sacrifice when they are made in the comfort of one's home.

There are missing variables that were not a part of the CIRCLE survey. The following data would improve the model:

- Empirical measures of income
  - Respondent/spouse
  - Parents
- Family data
  - Child of single parent/two parent family
  - Parents education/occupation
- Number of siblings/birth order
- Prior military service in family (parent/sibling)
- Criminal history (Drugs/violent/non violent)

## THE FUTURE

In a March 28, 2004 front page article in the Sunday Washington Post; "Army Spouses Expect Reenlistment Problems", staff writer Thomas E. Ricks concluded the extended, or repeated, deployments that have characterized the Army since 9/11 have intensified the burdens traditionally borne by military families and most of the spouses who have remained behind are wondering how long the Army can keep it up. In a recent poll conducted by The Washington Post, the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation and Harvard University, and in dozens of supplemental interviews, the survey, the first nongovernmental survey of military spouses included more than 1,000 spouses living on or near the 10 heaviest-deploying Army bases. While most of the spouses said they have coped well, three-quarters said they believe the Army is likely to encounter personnel problems as soldiers and families tire of the pace and leave for civilian lives.

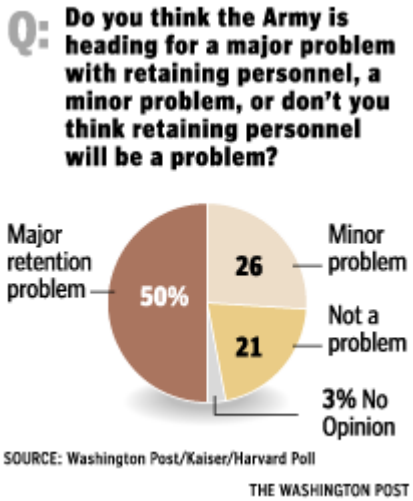
The strain on troops and their families has led some in Congress to advocate a big boost in the size of the active-duty Army, which stands at about 485,000 troops. The Pentagon is planning to add 30,000 soldiers over the next several years, but before agreeing to further expansion, it wants to see whether the other steps it is taking will ease the strain. Most notably, the Pentagon is reorganizing divisions to expand the number of the Army's deployable brigades from 33 to 48. In addition, the Army has announced a new policy under which troops will serve longer tours at bases,

permitting their families to put down deeper roots.

The question is whether those steps will be sufficient. "There's no way to know for sure," said Tom Donnelly, a former staff member of the House Armed Services Committee. Donnelly said he expects that 2005 will be "the make-or-break year," as some soldiers who have already served in Iraq for a year are sent back for a second tour.

In the meantime, repeated and unpredictable deployments remain Army spouses' biggest issue. In The Post/Kaiser/Harvard poll, a slight majority, 55 percent, said their spouses' current deployment had been extended longer than they expected. Of that group, more than a third said that had created "major problems" for them.

With this rather ominous challenge facing military leaders, profiling potential recruits and understanding the demographic and sociological make-up of today's military volunteers has broad public policy implications. The All Volunteer Force is drawing from a unique pool of today's youths. This analysis seems to suggest that it is the nation's under-educated and less empowered youths who are joining the military, all else being equal. Young people searching for opportunity, who come from modest means with less than modest potential to succeed, will certainly demonstrate a retention quality that is unique, and potentially undesirable. It seems plausible to suggest that those who enlist under the pretense of limited self-efficacy and desired opportunity might demonstrate a higher potential for disenfranchisement in the face of extended deployments and higher operational tempos. Meeting recruitment quotas is only half the challenge. Retaining personnel that meet certain initial enlistment demographics presents an important area of further research.



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CIRCLE (The Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement) promotes research on the civic and political engagement of Americans between the ages of 15 and 25. Although CIRCLE conducts and funds research, not practice, the projects that we support have practical implications for those who work to increase young people's engagement in politics and civic life. CIRCLE is also a clearinghouse for relevant information and scholarship. CIRCLE was founded in 2001 with a generous grant from The Pew Charitable Trusts and is now also funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York. It is based in the University of Maryland's School of Public Policy.

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