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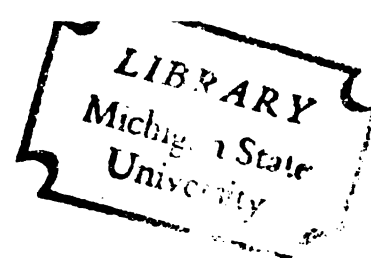
MILITARY SERVICE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
IN A MEXICAN - AMERICAN SAMPLE

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OCTOBER 1969

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

THESIS



MILITARY SERVICE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
In a Mexican-American Sample

by

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October 1969

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Department of Sociology of Michigan State
University in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Military service experience is generally assumed to facilitate increased political participation on the part of minority group members. This and other hypotheses are tested using a Mexican-American sample. Indicators used are voting behavior and political attitudes. Results show those with military experience to exhibit a higher degree of political participation, higher political awareness and a greater sense of personal efficacy in political matters. Some suggestions toward further research are mentioned at the end of the paper.

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Odd numbered tables from one through nineteen are total sample tables. Even numbered tables from two through twenty are a breakdown of the military portion of the sample by rank. The remaining three tables are a breakdown of the military portion of the sample by year of service entry.

Introduction: Service in the armed forces is generally assumed to facilitate minority group entry into various forms of political participation. Three possible explanations for this assumed relationship are put forth below. These include influences due to wartime mobilization, status reward, and social forces internal to the military. An hypothesis expressing the assumed relationship is stated and then tested using relevant indicators.

In wartime patriotic propaganda is disseminated from military and government sources to promote acceptance of images of united team effort, of common danger, and of common goals. The immediate intent of the promotional endeavor is the modification of social relationships to enable united "effort in the national enterprise",⁽¹⁾ but a long range effect is probably inherent since changes in the self-image of minority group members and the social relationships of groups are involved.⁽²⁾ To increase support of the war effort, existing distinctions are submerged. New working environments are opened to minority group members and new skills and self-images are acquired.⁽³⁾

In the present reward structure of American society, military service may be viewed as a rite of initiation to a higher status position. Lack of access to alternative opportunities is a factor in enhancing the significance of military service for minority group members. On this basis, the Mexican-American minority group, faced in part by language

barriers, ethnic prejudice, and disadvantageous class standing might be expected to find military service or veteran status attractive.⁽⁴⁾ Military service may also have a "manhood" legitimating value.⁽⁵⁾ It may be perceived as a key to a better life both during the military experience and after, perhaps leading to fulfillment of housing, income, or employment goals. Given such an orientation, minority group members might gradually internalize the goal of political participation since political participation may be seen both as a vehicle for attainment of "the good life" and as a symbol of arrival -- a part of the trappings of "the good life" and of the fully successful citizen.

The military services themselves provide a manipulated environment of enforced lectures, peer group and leader pressures, and negative sanctions including physical force to channel behavior and thought. Other factors such as initial isolation from normal social environment, new experience in unusual settings, the mechanism of shared experience in the face of common danger, and the equality of opportunity offered in the military can serve to develop personally favorable orientations toward the military⁽⁶⁾ and may carry over to a participational orientation in the political aspect of civilian life from a sense of patriotic duty or civic obligation. A brief look at history yields many examples of the inculcation process at work in military experience. Sometimes this process occurs "naturally" or unconsciously and sometimes it is consciously directed for the manipulation of the self-systems of individuals.

Part of the carry-over from service equality, opportunity, and in-service ideological training may be expressed through increased political participation.

The Sample: The sample was drawn for a study of Mexican-Americans in Michigan by Professors Grafton Trout and Harvey Choldin of Michigan State University under the auspices of the United States Department of Labor and Michigan State University. An adjusted sample size of 627 was used for this paper, after deleting the females and unusable interviews from the original sample size of 695 interviewees. Of these males, 175 had served in the military and 452 had not. For the purposes of this paper, the adjusted sample size (627) will be hereafter referred to as the sample size or "the total sample" and those who served in the military will be referred to as "the military service group" or the military portion of the sample. Military service was identified by respondents' answers to questions dealing with military service experience. The length of service ranged from under one year up to and including twenty years. Included were service in the American Navy, Army, Air Force, and in two cases in a state national guard unit. Service in the Mexican armed forces or in the Mexican Revolution was not included. In the breakdown of the military portion of the sample by rank, the higher ranking section is composed almost exclusively of the ranks of corporeal and sergeant. A much fuller explication of the characteristics of the original sample is available in reports issued from the Mexican-American Project office.

Hypotheses and Variable Indicators: The hypotheses of this study are concerned with the impact of military service on the sense of personal efficacy in political matters,⁽⁷⁾ on political awareness, and on political participation. Two subhypotheses, one dealing with rank and the other with year of service entry, will also be examined. The sense of personal efficacy in political matters will be indicated through attitudinal items dealing with politicians and public officials, politics and government, attitude toward voting, and attitude toward ethnic group. Political awareness will be indicated by an attitudinal item concerned with voting and by conditional interpretation of other efficacy items. The indicators for political participation consist of three voting behavior items.

The indicators will be applied first to the total sample (627 respondents) and then to the military (175 respondents) portion of the sample alone. Our first closer look at the military portion of the sample will use a breakdown according to rank: "pfc or equivalent" vs. "higher rank". The expectation is that "higher rank will be related to "pfc or equivalent" in the military portion of the sample as "military service" is related to "no military service" in the total sample. Social systems tend to advance those who exhibit internalization of their ideal types and attributes. What is expected of the military service group will be expected even more of those who have advanced in rank. The second close look at the military portion of the sample uses a breakdown according to year of service entry. The median of the year of service entry distribution occurs in the year 1945. Those who entered military service in "1945 and before" constitute

a group of older men, most of whom served in the second World War. Those who entered after 1945 are younger men who entered the military after the second World War.

Results will be judged for significance according to the Chi Square significance test. The arbitrary convention for this paper will be to accept Chi Square significance levels of (0.05) or better.⁽⁸⁾

Results: Regarding the hypothesis on efficacy, the first set of indicators for political efficacy is concerned with feelings about politicians and public officials. The first item asks "How much do you think Anglo Politicians and Officials know about our problems?" The second asks "And how much do you think Anglo Politicians and Officials are doing to help solve our problems?" The third asks response to the statement "I don't think that Public Officials care much what people like me think." None of the results from the use of these three indicators are significant to the (0.05) level. Since these results do not fall within the required level of significance, the relationships shown in the tables cannot be regarded as dependable. However, because the level of significance chosen was somewhat arbitrary, the directions indicated in the tables will be discussed. The tables for the three indicators under discussion are located on the following page.

The response to the first two items shows the military service group to have a lower sense of efficacy than the no-military-service part. Contrarywise, the response to the third item would indicate a higher sense of efficacy for the military service group. This third item (Public Officials Don't Care) ran in the expected direction and will not be discussed further.

How Much Do You Think Anglo Politicians and Officials Know
About Our Problems?

Table 1

	Well Informed	Somewhat or Poorly Inf.	
Military Service	24.8% (39)	75.2% (118)	(157)
No MS	32.2% (127)	67.8% (267)	(394)
	(166)	(385)	(551)

Significance Level: 0.10
 $\chi^2 = 2.915$

Table 2

	Well Informed	Somewhat or Poorly Inf.	
Higher Rank	17.0% (9)	83.0% (44)	(53)
PFC	28.8% (30)	71.2% (74)	(104)
	(39)	(118)	(157)

Significance Level: 0.20
 $\chi^2 = 2.647$

And How Much Do You Think Anglo Politicians and Officials
are Doing to Help Solve Our Problems?

Table 3

	Quite a Bit	Little or Nothing	
Military Service	13.7% (21)	86.3% (132)	(153)
No MS	19.3% (74)	80.7% (310)	(384)
	(95)	(442)	(537)

Significance Level: 0.20
 $\chi^2 = 2.311$

Table 4

	Quite a Bit	Little or Nothing	
Higher Rank	7.3% (4)	92.7% (51)	(55)
PFC	17.3% (17)	82.7% (81)	(98)
	(21)	(132)	(153)

Significance Level: 0.10
 $\chi^2 = 3.019$

I Don't Think That Public Officials Care Much What People
Like Me Think.

Table 5

	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	
MS	54.9% (95)	12.1% (21)	32.2% (57)	(173)
No MS	58.1% (262)	15.3% (69)	26.6% (120)	(451)
	(357)	(90)	(177)	(624)

Significance Level: 0.30
 $\chi^2 = 2.859$ D.F. = 2

Table 6

	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	
High Rank	55.0% (33)	10.0% (6)	35.0% (21)	(60)
PFC	54.9% (62)	13.3% (15)	31.9% (36)	(113)
	(95)	(21)	(57)	(173)

Significance Level: 0.80
 $\chi^2 = 0.464$ D.F. = 2

The first two items, in contrast to the main flow of data which follows, did not register as expected. No complete explanation for this failure to behave as expected will be given since it is not completely understood. A conjecture, however, is that while the military service group scores higher on most efficacy indicators, it does not score higher on these items because the sense of efficacy is here undermined by the development of political awareness. If these two items elicit feelings that politicians do not know or do much about Mexican-American problems, and if the military service group were to be more aware of this situation than the no-military-service group, they then would have less reason to feel efficacious.

The breakdown of the military portion of the sample by rank exhibits practically the same directional trends as above and results were also not significant to the (0.05) level.

In the items related to attitude toward politics and government, which are concerned with the feeling that politics is too complicated to understand and the feeling of inability to have a say in what the government does, the military service group shows a greater sense of efficacy than the no-military-service group. These results are quite good. They are significant to the (0.01) level. The results of the breakdown of the military portion of the sample by rank ran in the expected directions but were not significant to the (0.05) level. Since the total sample results ran in the expected directions and were significant to the (0.01) level, these results tend to confirm the efficacy portion of the hypotheses. The relevant tables are on the following page.

Sometimes Politics and Government Seem So Complicated That a Person Like Me Can't Really Understand What is Going On.

Table 7

	Agree or Don't Know	Disagree	
Military Service	61.0%	39.0%	
	(105)	(67)	(172)
No MS	78.4%	21.6%	
	(352)	(97)	(449)
	(457)	(164)	(621)

Significance Level: 0.01

$$\chi^2 = 19.262$$

Table 8

	Agree or Don't Know	Disagree	
Higher Rank	56.7%	43.3%	
	(34)	(26)	(60)
PFC	63.4%	36.6%	
	(71)	(41)	(112)
	(105)	(67)	(172)

Significance Level: 0.50

$$\chi^2 = 0.743$$

People Like Me Don't Have Any Say About What the Government Does.

Table 9

	Agree or Don't Know	Disagree	
Military Service	40.4%	59.6%	
	(69)	(102)	(171)
No MS	56.7%	43.3%	
	(251)	(192)	(443)
	(320)	(294)	(614)

Significance Level: 0.01

$$\chi^2 = 13.149$$

Table 10

	Agree or Don't Know	Disagree	
Higher Rank	35.0%	65.0%	
	(21)	(39)	(60)
PFC	43.2%	56.8%	
	(48)	(63)	(111)
	(69)	(102)	(171)

Significance Level: 0.30

$$\chi^2 = 1.100$$

With respect to attitude toward the Mexican-American ethnic group, the military service group shows less self-blame toward their ethnic group than does the no-military-service group, but the results are not significant to the (0.05) level. Rank data are also in the expected direction but with less than one percentage point of difference and the results are not significant. Tables for attitude toward ethnic group and also for voting attitude are on the following page.

Regarding the awareness hypothesis, the military service group shows more awareness than the no-military-service group by disagreeing with the voting attitude item: "Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things." This also shows a higher degree of efficacy since the feeling that there are other ways than voting to influence politics indicates the feeling of a reserve of knowledge, power, or influence. The results were in the direction expected, and the χ^2 value is within the (0.05) limit.

In the breakdown of the military portion of the sample by rank, the direction is as expected but the percentage difference is less than one point of percentage and the results are not significant.

For the hypothesis that the military service group would show a higher degree of political participation, the three political participation items show sizable leads (each result significant to the (0.01) level) in political participation of twenty or more percentage points for the military service group. The political participation tables follow on page eleven.

Mexican-Americans Often Blame Other Americans for our Situation,
but it's Really our own Fault.

Table 11

	Agree or Don't Know	Disagree	
Military Service	68.8%	31.2%	
	(119)	(54)	(173)
No MS	74.5%	25.5%	
	(336)	(115)	(451)
	(455)	(169)	(624)

Significance Level: 0.20

$$x^2 = 2.068$$

Table 12

	Agree or Don't Know	Disagree	
Higher Rank	68.3%	31.7%	
	(41)	(19)	(60)
PFC	69.0%	31.0%	
	(78)	(35)	(113)
	(119)	(54)	(173)

Significance Level: 0.95

$$x^2 = 0.009$$

Voting is the Only Way That People Like Me Can Have Any Say
About How the Government Runs Things.

Table 13

	Agree or Don't Know	Disagree	
Military Service	83.8%	16.2%	
	(145)	(28)	(173)
No MS	90.7%	9.3%	
	(409)	(42)	(451)
	(554)	(70)	(624)

Significance Level: 0.02

$$x^2 = 5.929$$

Table 14

	Agree or Don't Know	Disagree	
Higher Rank	83.3%	16.7%	
	(50)	(10)	(60)
PFC	84.1%	15.9%	
	(95)	(18)	(113)
	(145)	(28)	(173)

Significance Level: 0.90

$$x^2 = 0.016$$

Are You Registered to Vote?

Table 15

	Yes	No	
Military Service	74.9% (131)	25.1% (44)	(175)
No MS	50.6% (214)	49.4% (209)	(423)
	(345)	(253)	(598)

Significance Level: 0.01
 $\chi^2 = 29.864$

Table 16

	Yes	No	
Higher Rank	87.1% (54)	12.9% (8)	(62)
PFC	68.1% (77)	31.9% (36)	(113)
	(131)	(44)	(175)

Significance Level: 0.01
 $\chi^2 = 7.643$

Did You Vote in the Last Presidential Election, in 1964?

Table 17

	Yes	No	
Military Service	76.3% (132)	23.7% (41)	(173)
No MS	47.1% (196)	52.9% (220)	(416)
	(328)	(261)	(589)

Significance Level: 0.01
 $\chi^2 = 42.176$

Table 18

	Yes	No	
Higher Rank	85.2% (52)	14.8% (9)	(61)
PFC	71.4% (80)	28.6% (32)	(112)
	(132)	(41)	(173)

Significance Level: 0.05
 $\chi^2 = 4.170$

Have You Voted for Local Officials?

Table 19

	Yes	No	
Military Service	62.6% (109)	37.4% (65)	(174)
No MS	39.3% (165)	60.7% (255)	(420)
	(274)	(320)	(594)

Significance Level: 0.01
 $\chi^2 = 27.012$

Table 20

	Yes	No	
Higher Rank	75.4% (46)	24.6% (15)	(61)
PFC	55.8% (63)	44.2% (50)	(113)
	(109)	(65)	(174)

Significance Level: 0.02
 $\chi^2 = 6.542$

Since the three items were closely related in that two were voting questions and one was a voting-registration item and since persons may not vote unless registered, it was not surprising that a strong percentage lead in one item would be carried through to the others. The breakdown of the military portion of the sample by rank also runs in the same directions and shows significance levels of (0.05) and better.

The second close look at the military portion of the sample was concerned with the year of military service entry. Only in three cases were the results of applying the indicators to the "year entered" data significant to the (0.05) level. The younger group (entering service after 1945) were considerably less likely to agree that "Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on." Though the younger group split about evenly on this item, the difference between the older (entered service in 1945 or before) and younger groups is approximately twenty percentage points with a X^2 level of (0.01). The younger group were more politically aware than the older group, with a higher percentage recognizing more possibilities than the vote for having a say in "how the government runs things" ($X^2 = 0.05$). A higher percentage of the older group voted in local elections in 1964 ($X^2 = 0.01$). This difference in political participation may be due to the older men having been "settled" longer with the development of property tax, school, and other interests of a local nature. Tables for the "year entered" breakdown follow on page thirteen.

Sometimes Politics and Government Seem So Complicated That a Person Like Me Can't Really Understand What is Going On.

Table 21

	Agree or Don't Know	Disagree	
'45 & Before	70.8% (63)	29.2% (26)	(89)
After 1945	50.6% (42)	49.4% (41)	(83)
	(105)	(67)	(172)

Significance Level: 0.01

$$x^2 = 7.358$$

Voting is the Only Way That People Like Me Can Have Any Say About How the Government Runs Things.

Table 22

	Agree or Don't Know	Disagree	
'45 & Before	89.9% (80)	10.1% (9)	(89)
After 1945	77.4% (65)	22.6% (19)	(84)
	(145)	(28)	(173)

Significance Level: 0.05

$$x^2 = 4.983$$

Have You Voted for Local Officials?

Table 23

	Yes	No	
'45 & Before	73.0% (65)	27.0% (24)	(89)
After 1945	51.8% (44)	48.2% (41)	(85)
	(109)	(65)	(174)

Significance Level: 0.01

$$x^2 = 8.405$$

Summary and Conclusions: This paper has been a study of three hypotheses: Military service experience facilitates political participation, political awareness, and a sense of personal efficacy in political matters. Also examined were possible relationships of rank data and of year of service entry data. The political participation results are strongest with both the total sample and the breakdown of the military portion of the sample according to rank yielding data in the expected directions, with noticable percentage point leads, and within the standards of significance set for this paper. The awareness results in response to the voting attitude item were as expected for the total sample data and were also within the acceptable significance limit. Also, an awareness conjecture was raised in relation to results in the items dealing with politicians' knowlege and actions regarding Mexican-American problems although these results did not meet the significance criteria. The efficacy results were excellent for the total sample data in the items dealing with attitude toward politics and government. For both these items the X^2 significance level was (0.01). Also, the efficacy hypothesis was supported in the attitude toward voting results. Except for two items regarding feelings about the extent of politicians knowledge and action toward Mexican-American problems, results ran in the directions expected. These indicators did not yield data significant to the (0.05) level. They remain unexplained, although a conjecture was offered.

In a closer look at the military portion of the sample,

rank data were examined and were found significant only with the indicators for the political participation hypothesis. In this case they behaved as expected and tended to confirm the hypothesis. In the breakdown of the military portion of the sample by year of service entry, significant results were obtained from three indicators. These were the local voting item in the political participation hypothesis, the voting attitude indicator of the awareness hypothesis, and the 'politics too complicated' item of the efficacy hypothesis. In all other cases, the results of the partials were not significant to the criteria set.

The political participation hypothesis is confirmed. The voting attitude item confirms the political awareness hypothesis. On balance, the efficacy hypothesis tends toward confirmation with the reservation that two of its indicators out of six did not register data within the significance criteria.

Suggestions for Further Study: Additional checks might be run on the conclusions of this paper by looking closely at the influence of age, income, and education. For further study, a sample with a larger military "n", who have preferably concluded military service within the past five years would be valuable. It would also be interesting to compare those with military service experience with those active in such movements as the 'Grape Strike' along the dimensions of efficacy, awareness, and participation. Such a study might raise questions concerning efficacy vs. civic obligation in the political

participation of the military portion of the sample. It might also deal with factors such as the effect of service equality, status acquisition, and ideological inculcation. Radicalizing factors such as the experience of a step from service equality to civilian inequality, discriminatory experiences encountered in the military, and the perception of social injustice, could also be dealt with.

The style of political participation might be related to a model of national political identity consisting of two ideal types (routinized, activated) and a residual (non-involved). Routinized national identity could be defined as a type of self-image/worldview which is not only system-sustaining but which lends its holder to manipulation by external forces and power dominants. It would be a form of self-pacification characterized by assenting inaction or, in more extreme form, by uncritical participational assent. It would be differentiated from activated national identity and from non-involvement due to lack of identification with the host power system. Activated national identity would be defined as a type of self-image/worldview which while primarily system-sustaining is critical in style with respect to the host system and with respect to prevailing forces and power dominants, and so is less likely to lend its holder to external manipulation. The residual category would not be identified with the host system.

The finding of a relationship between military experience and political participation is possibly due more to stimulation

from experience outside the ordinary rather than to the specifically military nature of the experience. Certainly no policy implication is intended or should be inferred.

Any results in this paper can only be regarded as tentative, serving to point toward further study.

Appendix I: Interview Items

1. How much do you think that the Anglo politicians and officials around here know about our problems? (Well informed?, Somewhat informed?, or Poorly informed?)
2. And how much do you think the Anglo politicians and officials around here are doing to help solve our problems? (Quite a bit?, A little?, or Nothing at all?)
- 3* I don't think that public officials care much what people like me think. (Agree, Don't Know, Disagree)
- 4* Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on. (Agree, Don't Know, Disagree)
- 5* People like me don't have any say about what the government does. (Agree, Don't Know, Disagree)
- 6* Voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things. (Agree, Don't Know, Disagree)
7. Mexican-Americans often blame other Americans for our situation, but it's really our own fault. (Agree, Don't Know, Disagree)
8. In talking to people about voting we find that quite a few people were not able to vote because they were not registered, or they were sick, or they just did not have time. How about you? Are you registered to vote? (No, Yes)
9. Did you happen to vote in the last Presidential election, in 1964? (No, Yes)
10. During the last few years have you voted for any city or county officials? -- such as: mayor, county sheriff, city councilmen, school board members, and so on. (No, Yes)

*Starred items are from The American Voter by Angus Campbell, Phillip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes, NY, John Wiley & Sons, 1960.

Appendix II: Notes

1. An example of the thinking underlying this process is in an early World War II edition of the American Journal of Sociology in an article by Louis Wirth.

"The disadvantaged position of our minorities lends itself readily to exploitation by foreign governments ...we are likely to get better morale by emphasizing our common aspirations rather than our common memories because, if our minorities can be convinced that they can hope to share fully in the promises of democracy then effort in the national enterprise can be relied upon."

Wirth, Louis, "Morale and Minority Groups," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 47, 1941-42, pp. 415-33.

2. In The American Soldier, the expectations of another minority group in this regard were noted.

"...some of the insistence on the part of Negro soldiers that Negroes were doing their share or more, as well as their concern that Negroes be given a fair chance to help win the war, reflects not simply Negroes' loyalty to the war on the one hand nor their alienation from it because of their disadvantaged status in the United States on the other, but a feeling of many Negro soldiers that the contributions made by Negroes to winning the war would earn for them a moral claim to improved postwar conditions...Their was a tendency among Negro soldiers to expect or hope for an increase in rights and privileges, improved treatment, and better economic status after the war."

Stouffer, Suchman, De Vinney, Star, Williams, Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, Vol. I, Chapter 10, pp. 513-14

3. George I. Sanchez, in his chapter on History, Culture, and Education in Julian Samora's La Raza/ Forgotten Americans mentions the "educative results of military service (as a stimulus to) assimilation of Spanish

Speaking People."

Sanchez, George I., in Julian Samora, La Raza/ Forgotten Americans, University of Notre Dame Press, 1966, p. 7.

Fernando Penalosa also describes the effects of World War II.

"There was a major breakthrough during World War II of forces promoting change and the solution of problems confronting the Mexican-American community. At this time there was a great flow of people out of the barrio or Mexican-American neighborhood. Young Mexican-Americans took industrial jobs in increasing numbers, went off to war, traveled around the world, and were treated as individuals, some for the first time. During World War II Mexican-Americans volunteered in greater numbers and won more Congressional Medals of Honor per capita than any other ethnic group. Veterans especially returned to find themselves dissatisfied with the old ways, and many went to college under the provisions of the G.I. bill."

Penalosa, Fernando, "The Changing Mexican-American in Southern California," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 51, July 1967, No. 4, p. 410.

4. The attraction of military service, in light of the institutionalized ideal of "service equality" is discussed in Sociology and the Military Establishment.

"For the potential recruit, especially the volunteer, a positive attitude is based not only on the task of the armed forces but also on the fact that the military offers an adequate and respectable level of personal security...The strong regulations requiring non-discriminatory practices -- whether they be regional or racial-ethnic, or social class -- have had the consequence of attracting the socially disadvantaged, especially lower class persons with rural backgrounds, and Negroes who develop strong career commitments to the services."

Janowitz, Morris and Lt. Col. Roger Little, Sociology and the Military Establishment, revised edition, Russel Sage Foundation, 1965, p. 52.

5. The armed forces promote and use this orientation by means of recruitment slogans such as "Be a Man...be a Marine".
6. Sanford M. Dornbusch cites similar mechanisms with respect to the academy experience of cadets.

"As a consequence of undergoing...very unpleasant experience together, the swab class develops remarkable unity...knowledge of common interest and common destiny serves as a unifying force...assignment of low status is useful in producing a correspondingly high evaluation of an Academy career and requires that there be a loss of identity in terms of pre-existing statuses."

Dornbusch, Sanford M., "The Military Academy as an Assimilating Institution," Social Forces, University of North Carolina Press, Vol. 33, No. 4, pp. 316-22.

7. Political efficacy is defined by Kenneth Prewitt in the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. A portion of his description follows.

"It refers to the person's belief that political and social change can be effected or retarded and that his efforts, alone or in concert with others, can produce desired behavior on the part of political authorities...The efficacious person views his political self with respect. He feels powerful, competent, and important. He holds a corollary set of expectations with respect to political officials; they are concerned about his vote and heed his demands. These self-evaluations and orientations toward political authorities are related to a generalized set of attitudes about the political system--for example that leadership circles can be influenced or even penetrated.

Efficacy is not the same as a sense of civic obligation. The latter can motivate political activity whether or not the citizen feels that his action matters. Involvement, interest, and concern also tap dimensions different from efficacy. They are likely to be specialized or temporary, whereas efficacy involves a generalized orientation, toward the self and toward political objects, which remains more or less stable

over time.

Efficacy refers to the individual's perceptions of his effectiveness, not his actual influence... However, while evaluations of influence may not mirror reality, they are probably not unrelated to objective political conditions. It is quite likely that feelings of efficaciousness are nurtured and reinforced in a context in which one witnesses the translation of one's wishes into realities."

Prewitt, Kenneth, "Political Efficacy," in David L. Shills, ed., International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, the Macmillan Company and the Free Press, Vol. 12, 1968, pp. 225-27.

8. The table used for the interpretation of X^2 results was the table of X^2 , on page 280 of the Handbook of Mathematical Tables, Chemical Rubber Company, Second edition, 1964.

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