

No Laughing Matter: Interracial and Intra-ethnic Patterns in “Off Color” Jokes



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Abstract

The present study analyzes service members' assessed likelihood of hearing racially, ethnically, and/or nationally oriented (i.e., "off color") jokes. Such jokes are microaggressions (Pierce, 1978)—intentional acts that invalidate or antagonize individuals based on their racioethnic group memberships. The relationship of microaggressions to inter- and intra-group racial difference, gender, rank, branch, deployment status, and relative representation upon Latinas' and Latinos' levels of observed microaggressions is examined. Also presented are correlations of these microaggressions with observations of cross-racioethnic contact (i.e., positive EO behavior). Results show significant differences in likelihood of hearing racioethnically oriented jokes by gender, deployment status, branch, rank, and race. Within the group labeled as Hispanics, these differences vary significantly based upon phenotype, whose proxy is race in this study. Whites in general and White Hispanics reported less likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes. In general and among Latinas and Latinos, men reported more likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes. There were also differences by deployment status and branch in the perceived likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes, though the pattern of those differences varies. Hypotheses for color were partially substantiated. Hypotheses for representation were not substantiated. Theory-supported hypotheses regarding rank were disconfirmed. Limitations and implications for research and practice are discussed.

Keywords: Hispanics, Latinas, Latinos, jokes, racist behavior, racial jokes, humor, microaggressions, DEOCS, colorism, intra-ethnic racial difference

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Despite their imperfections, the armed services historically have led the United States in racial integration (Gonzales, 2012). In fact, some scholars view the military as the most integrated institution in the U.S. (Moskos & Butler, 1996). During the early 1940s, most branches of service were tackling the segregation of Blacks. For example, in the mid-1940s, both the United States Army (USA) and the United States Navy (USN) adopted policies of integration and equal rights for Black service members (MacGregor, 1981, p. 76). In 1948, President Harry Truman required equal treatment of all military personnel (Executive Order No. 9981). Though the policies and executive order were not strongly, consistently, or widely enforced, the armed services’ policies preceded the landmark case *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954, which declared federally sanctioned segregation unconstitutional in the civilian world. These policies, initially directed toward Blacks, were expanded to provide equal opportunity (EO) for women and other minority groups (Rosenfeld, Newell, & Le, 1998; Thomas, 1995).

While racial, gender, religious, sexual orientation, and ethnic problems remain, the U.S. military’s historic leadership in the area of organizational diversity and inclusion is encouraging. Military social progress not only supports mission readiness, it impacts civilian organizations—often quite directly because it forces interracial collaboration (Gonzalez, 2012, p. 1; Leal, 2003, p. 205).

A disproportionately large number of corporate CEOs are former military officers. In their study of leadership skills honed by different service branches, Groysberg, Hill, & Johnson (2010) cite a 2005 Korn & Ferry study that found while former officers represent just 3% of the number of men in the United States, they make up approximately 9% of CEOs at Standard and Poors 500 companies. Non-CEO leaders are also highly impacted by military leaders. Chris

Argyris, a thought leader in leadership and management, noted that his most important lessons on leadership were learned from “an infantry lieutenant from New York” who prepared him for combat (Personal Histories, 2001, p. 29). Similarly, Ben Bradlee, former executive editor of the Washington Post learned the need to make quick decisions from serving as officer of the deck aboard the destroyer *USS Phillip* during World War II. Clearly, military thought leadership and practice on race and culture is a ripe arena for studying organizational inclusion.

In this report, I present results of correlations and analyses of variance (ANOVA) of the perceived likelihood of observing racist behaviors, hearing jokes about a particular racioethnicity, and hearing racioethnic jokes in general. After grounding the study in extant literature, research methods are discussed followed by the study results. A discussion of these findings, study limitations, and implications for practice and research are provided. The results of this study suggest that race, particularly Whiteness, matters in the likelihood of observing racist behaviors and hearing racioethnic jokes—even among Latinas and Latinos. Gender is also a significant differentiator in the likelihood of observing racist behaviors. While there were racial correlations in the Army and the Navy, there were no such branch-specific findings with respect to gender.

Literature Review

Hispanics

Despite these gains, racial tension remains. The Department of Defense started keeping statistics on “Hispanics” in the mid 1970s (Asch, Buck, Klerman, Kleykamp, & Loughran, 2009). Reporting on the 1993 Navy Equal Opportunity/Sexual Harassment (NEOSH) Survey, Rosenfeld, et al. (1998) found that Blacks of both genders rated the overall EO climate significantly lower than did their White or Hispanic same-gender peers. In 1999, the Pentagon

discovered that two-thirds of service members had experienced racially offensive encounters (Holmes, 2001, p. 43).

Recently, U.S. policy and political discussion has focused more sharply upon Hispanics. The U.S. military has been researching this population for some time. In 1974, the Senate Armed Services Committee mandated that the DoD publish annual metrics on racial and ethnic representation (Asch, et al., 2009, p. 1; Senate Committee on Armed Services, 1974). The Department of Defense and the various branches of service have commissioned numerous studies to better understand this population's experiences. More specifically, many studies have sought to understand, diagnose, and remedy the statistical underrepresentation of Hispanics in the United States Armed Services. For example, Barbosa, Gosnell, & Evans (1986) explored challenges to Hispanics serving in the Army and concluded that Hispanic policy was not an EO issue, but rather a readiness issue (i.e., English Fluency, low ASVAB/AFQT scores, etc.). There are countless other studies commissioned to study this population.

With respect to representation, while approximately 16.3% of the U.S. population is Hispanic (Ennis, Rios-Vargas, & Albert, 2011), only 3.5% of the United States Air Force, 6.3% of the United States Army, 6.5% of the United States Coast Guard, 7.1% of the United States Marine Corps, and 6.5% of the United States Navy fall into the Hispanic category (Sudduth, 2011, p. 6). Still, Latinas and Latinos are not proportionally represented in the armed forces and Coast Guard. Other imbalances in their representative utilization exist. In his research, Gonzalez (2012) found that Latinos were disproportionately represented in combat arms military occupational specialty (MOS) careers. Thus, even with African Americans having a higher population percentage in the entire military compared to Latinos, Latinos have higher death rates in both theaters (Iraq and Afghanistan) than do Blacks (Gonzalez, 2012, p. 4–5).

A caveat to the term *Hispanic* is that it does not describe “a people,” but rather a highly diverse population (Asch, et al., 2009; Tienda & Mitchell, 2006). Latinas and Latinos hail from countries with highly diverse cultures including, but not limited to, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Panama, and Chile. Studying work-related national value differences, Geert Hofstede (1983) originally proposed four key dimensions of cultural difference: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity/femininity, and individualism. While Hofstede’s work is criticized as privileging Western and educated populations (his data were collected from global offices of U.S. computer giant International Business Machines [IBM]), the dimensions of cultural classification are useful for demonstrating stark differences among these Hispanic countries.

As Table 1 depicts, the scores on all four of Hofstede’s dimensions display high variability among the Hispanic countries. For example, while Guatemala and Panama score a 95 on power distance—the degree to which strict lines of authority are valued—Costa Rica scores a mere 35. With respect to uncertainty avoidance (high meaning uncertainty is avoided), Portugal scores 104, Guatemala scores 101, and Jamaica scores a mere 13. On the individualism scale, Spain scores a 51, while Ecuador scores 8. Finally, with respect to the masculinity dimension, Venezuela scores a 73, while Chile scores a 28. There is simply too much variability within the population labeled *Hispanic* to justify analyzing it as a homogeneous group, making generalizations, or crafting policy-informing recommendations. Figure 1 visually depicts the erratic pattern of cultural values measured by Hofstede.

Because of the wide variation in national values among Hispanic nations, “country of origin” is a more meaningful independent variable for examining the experience of Latinas and

Latinos in the military than is a binary categorization of “Hispanic or not.” Since the survey used in this research does not track nationality, Hispanic is the only categorization available.

Even given the same national heritage, a virtually endless list of factors erodes the homogeneity of this group. There are invisible dimensions of diversity within this population that explain quite a bit of variance in their experiences, such as their pursuit of college education (Cerezo, Lyda, Beristianos, Enriquez, & Connor, 2012). One factor is how many generations one’s ancestors have been in the United States. Latinas and Latinos whose ancestors have been here for centuries will have a markedly different experience in this society than those who are first generation Americans or newly immigrated. Secondly, socioeconomic status significantly impacts one’s experiences. Related to socioeconomic status, the education level of one’s parents impacts one’s social experiences. Fourth, and more internally, is one’s level of ethnic identity salience (Phinney, 1992)—the degree of centrality of one’s ethnic group membership to one’s self identity. Even more important is one’s level of English fluency.

Social Categorization and Visible Diversity

There are also visible dimensions of diversity. Social categorization is a sensible and efficient (Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1998) cognitive process that humans use to order and simplify the complexities of the social world (Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000). A particular type of social categorization is person categorization. In this study, I focus on the categorization stimulus first noticed (Ito & Urland, 2003) in the United States: race.

Ito and Urland (2003) conducted an experiment using electrocortical measures of human attention and social categorization. They found that participants direct their attention to Black targets very early in their social categorization processing. In fact, this categorization is nearly instantaneous. For perspective, a millisecond is one thousandth (1/1,000) of a second. A

microsecond is one millionth ($1/1,000,000$) of a second. It takes approximately 400 milliseconds ($400/1,000$ or .4 of a second) to blink an eye (Lohr, 2012). Ito and Urland (2003) found that it takes 100 microseconds ($100/1,000,000$ or .0001 of a second) for the human brain to register race. They found that the brain took 50 microseconds longer to register gender.

Categorization influences social evaluations, even when perceivers don't have previously held stereotypical views of the target (Zarate & Smith, 1990). However, widespread stereotypes abound for race, nationality, and ethnicity. Since we racially categorize each other so quickly, it is reasonable to expect that stereotype activation, "the process by which stereotypes are accessed from memory" (Jones & Fazio, 2010, p. 1073), rapidly follows. This process is nearly automatic, occurring before we have a chance to engage in rational thought. Left unchecked, stereotypes contribute to prejudice, out-group homogeneity effects, and stereotype threat (Jones & Fazio, 2010).

Microaggressions

While overtly racist acts are less prevalent and less socially acceptable in the United States today thanks to civil rights gains, more passive and subtle racial offenses have taken their place. Coined by Black psychiatrist Chester Pierce (1978), the term "microaggression" refers to "subtle, stunning, often automatic, and nonverbal exchanges, which are 'put downs' of Blacks by offenders" (p. 66). Later, Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucccheri, Holder, Nadal, & Esquilin, (2007) expanded Pierce's work to other racial groups and developed a taxonomy of microaggressions (Harwood, Huntt, Mendenhall, & Lewis, 2012). Sue, et al (2012) identified the following forms of microaggressions: microinsults (e.g., demeaning snubs, dismissive looks), microassaults (e.g., conscious verbal or nonverbal behaviors aimed at hurting a person), and microinvalidations (e.g.,

minimizing or denying the racialized experiences of “people of color”; Harwood, Hunt, Mendenhall, & Lewis, 2012, p. 162).

However, contrary to Pierce’s (1978) and Sue et al.’s (2007) assertions, microaggressions are not one-way in nature. They do not just flow from Whites to “people of color.” Members of racioethnic minority groups also wage microaggressions against Whites. Murphy-Shigematsu (2010) recommends that “acknowledging that we [members of racioethnic minority groups] are involved in microaggressions, not only as victims but also as antagonists, is a necessary step for supervisors of color” (p. 17). Murphy-Shigematsu (2010) is a scholar of Japanese and Irish ethnicity who was born in Japan, raised in the United States, and now lives in Japan. His identity is flexible, and he uses terms such as *Japanese*, *Japanese American*, and *Japanese Irish American* to describe himself; however, he never uses *White*. He describes the situation of taking a position as a psychologist in a predominantly Black inner-city community. He was “stunned” when his supervisor, presumably a Black female, asked him “How did [the patient] feel about getting a White psychologist?” (p. 16). Murphy-Shigematsu’s experience is clearly an example of Sue’s (2012) microinvalidation in that his supervisor clearly invalidated an important aspect of his identity.

Jokes as Microaggressions

Many racial jokes are attempts to humorize the joke teller’s existing racial stereotypes, which are accessed nearly immediately after he or she categorizes the target, or butt of the joke. Consider the linguistic stereotype that Chinese people cannot properly pronounce the English consonant sound produced by the letter *r* (Trawick-Smith, 2011). This stereotype was depicted in the Chinese restaurant scene of the comedic movie *A Christmas Story* (Clark, 1983). In 2012, an Asiana Airlines plane crashed in San Francisco, California. A San Francisco Fox-affiliate station

(KTVU) allegedly inadvertently broadcast a racial “joke.” Masquerading as the list of the flight crew’s names, the list of names depicted in Figure 2 slipped past quality control (Ariens, 2013).

The Asian American Journalists Association issued the following statement: “Those names were not only wrong, but so grossly offensive that it’s hard for us at the Asian American Journalists Association to fathom how those names made it on the broadcast” (Ariens, 2013). The station repeatedly apologized, saying that a summer intern acted out of his capacity when confirming the names. But the damage to the station’s reputation had been done.

Sometimes racist jokes told by Whites are not solely malicious; they may serve an instrumental purpose. Yosso, Smith, Ceja, and Solorzano (2009) suggest that racist humor sometimes provides Whites with a venue for easily gaining status and acceptance in White networks. As such, when Latinas and Latinos go along with the joke, they get “token acceptance”; however, when they take exception to the jokes, they end up “voluntarily” exiting the group or being excluded from it (pp. 671–672).

Some researchers do not explicitly define jokes as microaggressions (Brown, 2011; Sue, et al., 2007; Nadal, 2011; Torres-Harding, Andrade, and Diaz, 2012). Others do not believe that microaggressions even exist (Thomas, 2008). This study conceptualizes jokes as microaggressions. Those who are the targets of these “words that wound” (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993) unanimously agree that microaggressions exist—their emotional and psychological scars attest to their realness.

Using virtually the same base survey (administered at a different time to a different sample) as the present study, Brown (2011) tested a microaggression scale by adding questions to examine that construct’s relationship to existing organizational climate factors. One of those factors, racist behavior, was operationalized as telling racially/ethnically oriented jokes or using

racial epithets. Brown found that the construct microaggression mediated relationships among various organizational climate factors, depending upon the demographics of his subsamples. Most relevant for this study is that he found a statistically significant ($< .01$) positive ($r = .47$) correlation between racist behavior and microaggression.

I posit in this study that offensive racial and ethnic jokes not only correlate with microaggressions, but rather that they are microaggressions. There are scholars who share this view. Yosso, et al. (2009) explicitly label racial jokes as microaggressions. Despite Latinas and Latinos in their sample ascribing “ignorance” to Whites (i.e., they don’t know what they’re saying is offensive), these authors state that “whether or not White students realize they would hurt someone with their attempt at comedy, the act of telling a joke is intentional” (p. 669) and, therefore, a microaggression.

Humor and Jokes

Humor serves a functional role in both civilian and military organizational life. It makes the workday more enjoyable by providing useful emotional release (Scheff, 1979) and lightens sometimes tense moods in organizations (Bradney, 1957; Romero & Cruthirds, 2006). In fact, humor can support mission readiness by helping build group cohesion (Meyer, 1997), contributing to productivity (Avolio, Howell, & Sosik, 1999), generating camaraderie, promoting leadership effectiveness (Decker & Rotondo, 2001), relieving boredom (Roy, 1959; Sion & Ben-Ari, 2009), socializing members into a group (Coser, 1960), and promoting stability amid organizational change (Illian, 1976). In their study of joking in Israel’s combat reserves, Ben-Ari and Sion (2005) assert that jokes help build a positive atmosphere when they are reciprocal and when they rotate among team members (not focusing on a particular scapegoat). They give an example of the group kidding a soldier about the potbelly he acquired between stints of duty:

“Yes, you seem to be growing well; growing sideways” (p. 661). Another example of harmless humor was a joke a service member made about the communication specialist’s earring: “At night the earring might damage the night-sight equipment” (p. 661).

But humor can also link to hostility or aggression (Berkowitz, 1970). Sigmund Freud’s theory of wit helps us properly frame the role of jokes as microaggressions. In his analysis of Freud’s theory of wit, Brill (1911) asserts that there are two types of wit: harmless and purposeful. The jokes described above in Ben-Ari and Sion’s (2005) research on the Israeli military represented harmless wit. Berkowitz was referring to purposeful wit.

Of the two, Brill remarks that only the purposeful humor “is apt to be met with resistances from hearers or persons concerned” (p. 294). He unambiguously asserts that humor other than the harmless is purposeful, serving “two tendencies: it is either a hostile joke serving as aggression, satire, or defense, or it is an obscene joke serving as an exhibition” (p. 295). Sparing the reader a lengthy treatment of Freud’s often-criticized psychoanalytic assumptions, suffice it to say that Freud viewed purposeful humor as individuals’ way of expressing repressed hostile feelings. As such, he clearly and repeatedly viewed purposeful humor as aggressive. As Brill (1911) explains, “The wit of hostile aggression give us the means to make our enemy ridiculous, which, on account of the existing hindrances, could not be effected in any other way; in other words, the wit affords us the means of surmounting the restrictions and of opening the otherwise inaccessible pleasure sources” (p. 199). Stated simply, purposeful humor (which stems from a given “tendency”) allows people a socially accepted outlet for enacting verbal vengeance against those whom they consider out-group members.

As such, purposeful jokes grant access to the joke-teller’s unconsciously held beliefs and values (Seshadri-Crooks, 1997). They also grant access to the listener’s held beliefs and values if

the listener finds the joke funny; after all, in order to decode humor, a listener must first decode the meaning structure of the social system which embeds the joke (Douglas, 1968). This is because joking is referential; parties (the joke-teller and the listener) “share a history, an understanding of identity, and can understand joking references” (Sion & Ben-Ari, 2009, p. 27).

Skin Color and Race.

The issue of skin color is often omitted from psychological research on ethnic minority populations (Tummala-Narra, 2007). However, it is an important visible source of categorization, attribution, and judgment throughout the world. In their study of Hispanic Americans’ and Chileans’ attitudes about skin color, Uhlmann, Dasgupta, Elgueta, Greenwald, and Swanson (2002) found “an implicit preference for light skin... among participants who identified themselves as Moreno and those who identified themselves as Blanco in both cultural groups... underscoring the lasting effects of migration on skin color preferences” (Tummala-Narra, 2007). Research on implicit attitudes (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) shows that biases against members of minority groups in favor of White groups exist among Whites. Children belonging to minority groups and suffering from internalized oppression also hold skin-color biases in that they consider beauty to be white skin (Clark & Clark, 1947; Jordan & Hernandez-Reif, 2009), not brown skin like their own. Rudman, Feinberg, & Fairchild (2002) found that low-status minorities have more in-group bias than their more privileged cohorts. In their study of African-American male graduate students’ subjective experiences of social class and upward mobility, Sanchez, Liu, Leathers, Goins, and Vilain (2011) reported that one participant said, “My skin tone will determine the barriers and the opportunities that I may have to move through in a school system or an employment system” (p. 375).

Race is not a global construct. Outside of the U.S., other factors trump phenotype. However, this does not eliminate the effects of phenotype, including institutional and personal bias against individuals with darker skin tones. In a study of Black Brazilian men's racial identity and self-esteem, Bianchi, Zea, Belgrave, and Echeverry (2002) found that

...it is more likely that a dark Black Brazilian man would have encountered a situation in which he becomes the object of racism than would a light-skinned man. Many light-skinned individuals can pass as Whites and in doing so avoid encounters with racism. Therefore, darker skinned individuals may be more susceptible to the anxiety and confusion associated with the dissonance status because they are more likely to be forced to face the reality of racism and create alliances with their own racial group. In addition, dark-skinned Black Brazilian men reported significantly higher levels of resistance attitudes than did their light-skinned counterparts. (p. 166)

The contemporary use of the terms "Morena" and Moreno" also provides evidence that color is widely accepted as a distinguishing factor among Latinas and Latinos. These terms refer to those with darker skin tones. It is, thus, reasonable to expect differences in perceptions, experiences, and treatment based upon the perceiver's skin color.

However, for this report, I do not have skin color data. Therefore, I disaggregate the group *Hispanics* by another socially-constructed category: race. Despite not being genetically discrete, reliably measured, or conceptually meaningful in and of itself (Helms, Jernigan, & Mascher, 2005), it is a useful loose proxy for phenotype. As devoid of literal meaning as it is,

one thing is certain: people receive differential treatment based upon visible color, especially the racial group membership ascribed to them by others.

Differences by race or color also affect the experience of microaggressions. In his research on discrimination faced by Filipino and Chinese Americans, Nadal (2009) found that Filipinos are more likely to experience racial microaggressions similar to Blacks and Hispanics and that physical (phenotype) characteristics also contributed to racial microaggressions. Like the present study, Nadal recommended that researchers disaggregate research on Asian Americans.

Since racial appearance (phenotype) influences the type and level of racial microaggressions one experiences, I predict that:

Hypothesis 1a. Service members' reported likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes will vary significantly by race, regardless of ethnicity.

Hypothesis 1b. White service members will report a lower likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes than service members of different races, regardless of ethnicity.

Hypothesis 1c. Within this significant variation, the likelihood of hearing racial jokes will vary by color proxy (i.e., Whites will report fewest, Blacks will report the most).

Hypothesis 1d. Within this significant variation, the likelihood of hearing racial jokes will vary by percentage of racial representation in the armed services (e.g., Whites, most highly represented, will report fewest).

Because much racism is based upon visible characteristics (i.e., race), I expect interracial dynamics to manifest among the diverse Hispanic population. Consequently, I predict that:

Hypothesis 2. White Latino and Latina service members will report a lower likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes than Latino and Latina service members of other races.

Various scholars (Allport, 1954; Tsukashima & Montero, 1976) posit that more interracial contact under egalitarian conditions can improve race relations (Lawrence & Kane, 1995). To the extent that the military is one of the United States' more highly integrated institutions, one would expect that increased contact among racioethnic groups would result in higher interracial understanding and, thus, fewer microaggressions. Because supervisors and members intermingle and eat with people of different racioethnic groups (positive equal opportunity [EO] behavior), there should be less perceived likelihood of racioethnic jokes.

Hypothesis 3. Positive EO behaviors will be negatively correlated with the likelihood of hearing of racioethnic jokes and slurs.

Branch. All branches of the service may not be equal in the prevalence of microaggressions experienced by service members. It is particularly important to study microaggressions experienced by Hispanics within each branch. For example, Latinos have been found to enlist in the USMC in disproportionately high numbers (Gonzalez, 2012). Because of this relatively higher concentration of Latinas and Latinos, the USMC may be an initial place to make maximum positive impact on removing barriers to Latinas and Latinos being fully included in the military.

Using a modified version of contact theory as a basis, I hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 4a. Latinas and Latinos will report a lower likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes in the USMC than they do in other branches.

Still, even in the USMC, phenotypical differences in likelihood of hearing racial jokes will remain:

Hypothesis 4b. White Latinas and Latinos will report a lower likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes in the USMC than will Latinas and Latinos of other races.

Rank. It is reasonable to expect that race would interact with rank, since group memberships are not wholly independent of each other. Social group memberships and, thus, intergroup dynamics are embedded in society (Alderfer, 1982). For example, it is irresponsible to study public health without also studying race and socioeconomic status. This is because certain opportunities are afforded to people according to status. Within the military, rank provides an unambiguous status measure. While bawdy humor and joking are commonly researched as existing among military men in enlisted ranks (Ben-Ari & Sion, 2005), civilian researchers of humor in organizations find that “high status group members joke more than lower status members. Also, when a high status person jokes, he or she is more likely to select a lower status person as the focus of a joke” (Smeltzer & Leap, 1988, p. 296).

Building upon their findings, it is reasonable to expect that:

Hypothesis 5a. Officers will report a higher likelihood of racially oriented jokes than will enlisted service members, and this pattern will still hold when considering only Latinas and Latinos

Hypothesis 5. Latina and Latino officers will report a higher likelihood of racially oriented jokes than will Latina and Latino enlisted service members.

Intersection of Race and Gender: “Gendered Race”

Race and gender do not act independently. Consider the unit joke Ben-Ari and Sion (2005) heard during their research:

In Harlem one company put up a condom machine that no one used. The supplier decided that he would find out why. He asked the men there and got the answer: “Why should we use a condom? Aren’t the plastic covers we use for the loaves of bread good

enough?”

Needless to say, this joke represents racial humor based upon the Western stereotype about the size of Black male genitals. Race and gender also intersect for microaggressions in other ethnic groups. For example, in a quantitative study of microaggressions experienced by Asian Americans, Sue, Bucci, Lin, Nadal, & Torino (2007) found that Asian American women are exoticized.

One Chinese American woman [*sic*] stated, “White men believe that Asian women are great girlfriends, wait hand and foot on men, and don’t back-talk or give them shit. Asian women have beautiful skin and are just sexy and have silky hair. One Korean American woman indicated that she is frequently approached by White men who are very forthcoming with their ‘Asian fetishes,’ of subservience and pleasing them sexually.” (p. 76)

This interaction is particularly salient in the case of joking. Earlier, I offered hypotheses that both Latinas and Latinos overall would report more likelihood of racially oriented jokes than Whites, and that White Latinas and Latinos overall would report more likelihood of racially oriented jokes than their darker-skinned colleagues.

Gender

Men and women have different perceptions of the world and, thus, different joking interests (Hay, 2000; Kramarae, 1981). Lackoff (1975) went so far as to state that:

It is axiomatic in middle-class American society that, first, women can't tell jokes—they are bound to ruin the punchline, they mix up the order of things and so on. Moreover, they don't "get" jokes. In short, women have no sense of humor. (p. 56)

Similarly controversial was Freud's (1905) claim (Hay, 2000, p. 711) that women don't need a sense of humor because they have fewer strong feelings to repress. While I and other scholars strongly disagree with Lackoff's and Freud's assertions, their views vividly emphasize one fact: there are longstanding perceived differences in male and female humor and joke-telling behavior.

Joking behaviors, often offensive ones, occur more in male-only conversations than in mixed gender or female-only conversations. Researchers find that men use expletives less in mixed groups than in male-only groups (Limbrick, 1991) and women use humor more in all-female groups than when in mixed company (Cosser, 1960; Goodman, 1992). Some consider women to tell fewer jokes because joke-telling is seen as an aggressive act (Grotjahn, 1957). This assumption that women are less aggressive in their use of humor is substantiated by Hay (2000), who provisionally concludes that men may use humor for power-based functions more than women (p. 736). Ben-Ari and Sion (2005), in their study of all-male Israeli combat groups, discuss the "distinctively male character" of humor in their research. Males perceive sexual jokes (Groch, 1974) and insulting jokes (Decker, 1986) to be funnier than females do. They are also less offended by racial and sexual jokes than are females (Smeltzer and Leap, 1988). Consistent with Freud's assertion that jokes reflect repressed desires, ideals of sexual potency are intensified in military environments, which are highly masculinized (Arkin and Dobrofsky, 1978). Tannen (1990, 2011) reasons that the games many male children play are aggressively competitive

games that require using language to establish one-upmanship, whereas the games many female children play are non-competitive, collaborative games, which require using language to build community. Using this argument, it is reasonable to expect that males who use language to communicate dominance would engage in more joking (both racially offensive and otherwise). It is thus reasonable to expect that:

Hypothesis 6a. Latino service members, in general, will report higher likelihoods that racially oriented, nationally oriented, or color-based jokes occur than will Latina service members.

In the absence of studies that find otherwise, it is reasonable to also hypothesize that Latinos (in each branch) will report higher likelihoods that racially oriented, nationally oriented, or color-based jokes occur than will Latina service members in the same branch.

Hypothesis 6b1: Air Force Latinos will report higher likelihoods that racially oriented, nationally oriented, or color-based jokes occur than will Latinas in the same branch.

Hypothesis 6b2. Army Latinos will report higher likelihoods that racially oriented, nationally oriented, or color-based jokes occur than will Latinas in the same branch.

Hypothesis 6b3. Coast Guard Latinos will report higher likelihoods that racially oriented, nationally oriented, or color-based jokes occur than will Latinas in the same branch.

Hypothesis 6b4. Marine Corps Latinos will report higher likelihoods that racially oriented, nationally oriented, or color-based jokes occur than will Latinas in the same branch.

Hypothesis 6b5: Navy Latinos will report higher likelihoods that racially oriented, nationally oriented, or color-based jokes occur than will Latinas in the same branch.

Deployment

Service members who are deployed are likely under more stress. Not only are they forced to be away from their homes, families, friends, and familiar environments, they are deprived of an “extra-work” environment enabling free expression. Said differently, they are stuck with the same people day in and day out for months. This is undoubtedly stressful. Humor serves to relieve stress and tension (Bradney, 1957; Romero & Cruthirds, 2006) and provide emotional release (Scheff, 1979). In addition to the increased stress, I expect those who are deployed to hear more racially offensive jokes because there is very little opportunity for a façade, as described by the Johari window (Luft & Ingham, 2001, p. 255). One’s arena (attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs known to oneself and to others) keeps expanding while one’s façade (attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs known to oneself but unknown to others) keeps shrinking. As a result of being inescapably linked to the same people during work, meals, and free time, one’s attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs (prejudicial and biased as they may be) are going to eventually show. In the language of Freud’s theory of wit, individuals with highly negative biases eventually would be able to repress their ideas no more. Therefore, I expect that:

Hypothesis 7a. There will be significant differences by deployment status in the likelihood of racially oriented jokes.

Hypothesis 7b. The likelihood of racially oriented jokes will be higher among those deployed than for those not deployed.

Using similar reasoning, it can be argued that service members deployed in theater experience far more stress than those who are not deployed or who are deployed in non-combat situations. Due to the increased stress and proximity, I would expect that:

Hypothesis 7c. The likelihood of racially oriented jokes will be higher among service members deployed in combat zones than among those deployed in non-combat zones.

Finally, using the assumptions that (a) deployed is more stressful than not deployed, (b) being deployed internationally is more stressful than domestic deployment, and (c) being deployed in a combat zone is more stressful than being deployed in a non-combat zone, I hypothesize the following order of increasing stress level:

1. No, it has been more than 6 months since my last deployment, or I have never deployed
2. No, but I returned from non-combat zone deployment within the past 6 months
3. No, but I returned from combat zone deployment within the past 6 months
4. Yes (in the Continental United States CONUS)
5. Yes (Outside of Continental United States OCONUS, in a non-combat zone)
6. Yes (OCONUS, in a combat zone)

Since humor is used as a stress and tension release, it is reasonable to expect that its use would be increasingly necessary as stress and tension increase. Also, the degree of proximity to other service members may be higher when deployed. With increased tension and proximity come lower ability to censor oneself and repress one's (potentially racially offensive) inner thoughts. Thus, it is expected that:

Hypothesis 7d. The likelihood of racially oriented jokes will follow the pattern above in order ranging from least likelihood of racially oriented jokes (never deployed or more than 6 months since last deployment) to highest likelihood of racially oriented jokes (deployed OCONUS in a combat-zone).

Relative Representation

In addition to colorism and deployment status, it is hypothesized that level of numeric representation will impact the likelihood of hearing racioethnically oriented jokes told in a given situation. Research on tokenism shows that numerical relations (e.g., relative proportions) influence the likelihood of categorization and, thus, stereotyping (Kanter, 1977; Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff, & Ruderman, 1978; Zarate & Smith, 1990).

With respect to race, the general United States population (United States Census Bureau, 2011) disaggregates as follows: Whites, 72.4%; Blacks, 12.6%; Other Race, 6.2%; Asian, 4.8%; American Indian and Alaska Native, .9%; Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, .2%.

Using the representation argument, it is expected that Latinas and Latinos of (likely) darker hues will report higher likelihood of racially oriented jokes than will White Latinas and Latinos. It is also expected that the likelihood of racially oriented jokes will correspond with their relative representation within their branches of service. The overall pattern of representation in the services is generally, in decreasing order of representation, White, Black, Asian, Mixed Race, American Indian/Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander. American Indian identification varies the most within the services. For example, in the U.S. Air Force, it is second least represented; in the U.S. Navy, it is the third most represented. However, White and Black are the most and second most represented groups, respectively, regardless of branch or officer/enlisted status. Similarly, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders remain the least represented group regardless of branch or officer/enlisted status. See Table 2 and Table 3 for demographics by branch and officer/enlisted status. While the statistics for the reserve forces were slightly different, they followed the same general trend of representation.

I expect that in accordance with their overall representation in the active duty forces (Sudduth, 2011, p. 6):

Hypothesis 8a. In the United States Air Force, there will be significant differences corresponding to racial representation in the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes.

Hypothesis 8b. In the United States Army, there will be significant differences corresponding to racial representation in the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes.

Hypothesis 8c. In the United States Coast Guard, there will be significant differences corresponding to racial representation in the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes.

Hypothesis 8d. In the United States Marine Corps, there will be significant differences corresponding to racial representation in the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes.

Hypothesis 8e. In the United States Navy, there will be significant differences corresponding to racial representation in the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes.

Methods

The Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI) originally opened in 1971 as the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) as a result of the civil rights movement in the United States. It offers equal opportunity (EO) and equal employment opportunity (EEO) education and training for active duty and reserve service members and civilians. It offers both resident and non-resident courses that vary in length (www.deomi.org). The data used from this study originate from DEOMI's Organizational Climate Survey (DEOCS) version 3.3.5. DEOCS analyzes perceptions of civilian and military personnel and provides climate-related feedback to commanders on a number of factors, including military EO issues, civilian EEO issues, sexual assault prevention and response (SAPR) issues, and organizational effectiveness (OE) factors. For more detail on the DEOCS, please see Appendix A.

Population

From June 1–30, 2013, the survey was completed online by 95,062 active-duty military, civil-service employees, and others (i.e., contractors, local nationals, etc.) at various military installations throughout CONUS and OCONUS. The descriptive statistics for the population are contained in Table 5. The survey administrator, assigned by the requesting commander, provided a link to survey respondents providing them access to the survey. The instructions provided in the notification are provided in Appendix B.

As can be expected, the population self-reported as being overwhelmingly male (79.66%), Non-Hispanic (85.7%), White (62.79%), young (51.08% age 30 or younger), Army (50.17%), active component including Coast Guard (66.77%), and having more than 6 months since their last deployment or having never deployed (78.95%). Please see Table 4 for population and sample descriptive statistics along these and other dimensions.

Of those who declared Hispanic as their ethnicity, their racial designations were as follows: American Indian/Alaska Native, 2.57%; Asian, 1.29%; Black or African American, 5.45%; Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, 1.38%; White, 40.78%; and mixed race, 3.97%. The remaining 44.56% of the population who identified as Hispanic did not specify a race.

Pay grade was calculated for all military and civilian government participants who completed the study. Most of the respondents (54.5%) classified themselves in pay grades 4 through 6. This encompasses GS-4–GS-6, Corporals/Petty Officers/Senior Airmen (E4) through Staff Sergeants/Petty Officers First Class/Technical Sergeants (E6), and Majors/Lieutenant Commanders (O4) through Colonels/Captains (O6). The next most commonly reported pay grade (20.96%) included Grades 1 through 3. This encompasses GS-1–GS-3, Privates/Seamen/Recruits/Airmen (E1) through Privates First Class/Seamen/Lance

Corporals/Airmen First Class (E3), and Warrant Officers 1/Second Lieutenants/Ensigns (W1 and O1) through Chief Warrant Officers 3/Captains/Lieutenants (W3 and O3).

With respect to age, the sample is relatively young. Roughly half of respondents were younger than 30 years old: 10.91% were 18–21 year old, 20.17% were 22–30 years old. The second highest single category consisted of those 31–40 years old (26.21%).

As expected, most respondents reported being members of the U.S. Army (50.17%), followed by the U.S. Navy (22.38%), and the U.S. Marine Corps (8.66%). The remainder of respondents came from the U.S. Air Force (1.6%), U.S. Coast Guard (1.14%), and non-U.S. military service (.03%). Approximately 16% of respondents declined to indicate their branch of service.

With respect to organization, the vast majority (66.77%) were active component members (including the Coast Guard). Most had not been deployed in the past 6 months or had never been deployed (78.95%). Nearly 6.5% had returned from combat zone deployment within the past 6 months, 3.32% had returned from non-combat zone deployment within the past 6 months. Just over 11% are currently deployed CONUS (2.65%), OCONUS in a non-combat zone (5.49%), and OCONUS in a combat zone (3.18%).

See Table 4 for a complete demographic breakdown of the research population and sample by gender, Hispanic ethnicity, race, deployment status, branch, officer or enlisted status, and rank.

Sample

The purpose of this study was to explore barriers to inclusion for Latinas and Latinos in the military compared to other racioethnic groups. This required knowing both the race and

ethnicity of respondents. After eliminating those who did not specify a race (1763 respondents), the sample size decreased from 95,062 to 93,299 respondents.

Because I was focusing on barriers, I chose to explore the perceptions of service members who had personally experienced discrimination. Of the population, 81,007 reported experiencing no discrimination. This drastically reduced the sample from 93,200 to 12,292.

While it is certainly possible in one's current organization to personally experience every type of discrimination queried by DEOCS (i.e., racial/national origin/color, gender/sex, age, disability, and religion) within the past 12 months, I wanted to eliminate the cases of those respondents who may have engaged in "survey sabotage," the tendency to falsify questionnaire answers (Van Den Bergh & Fischer, 1976). As a result, I removed 374 more cases of respondents who reported experiencing all 5 types of discrimination. This brought the sample size down to 11,918 subjects, the sample size of the current study.

Data Coding

While all questions in the DEOCS are answered in one sitting, I divided the questions into independent and dependent variables. While traditional demographic questions (e.g., race, ethnicity, branch of service, etc.) were used as independent variables, so was having personally experienced in their present organization an incident of up to five types of discrimination: racial/national origin/color, gender/sex, age, disability, and religion. The reasoning here is that, barring a discriminatory test environment, the discrimination to which they refer likely would have occurred in the past. Using similar reasoning, having heard "off color" jokes (and other factors which report upon observed behavior) can also reasonably be used as independent variable against which to analyze other opinion or perception variables such as organizational commitment, trust in the organization, and job satisfaction.

Results

General Findings

There is a wide range of racioethnic groups' perceptions of the likelihood that racioethnically oriented jokes were told, that racial/ethnic names were used, and that racial/ethnic jokes were frequently heard. As stated earlier, the full data set collected from the administration of the online DEOCS 3.3.5 in June 2013 (N=95,062) was refined to just under 12,000 cases (n=11,918). These cases consisted of responses from individuals who completed the survey somewhat thoughtfully, provided their racial and ethnic information, and had personally experienced discrimination regarding between one and four of the following five dimensions: Racial/national origin/color, gender/sex, age, disability, and religion. Results of hypothesized findings and non-hypothesized noteworthy findings follow. Table 5 shows the mean scores by race for each DEOCS factor that was available in the data set. This will enable the reader to compare this study's population characteristics to those of future studies for possible meta-analytic purposes.

Tests of Hypotheses

Below are the hypotheses followed by their associated test results. Since most hypotheses predicted intergroup or intragroup differences in the perceived likelihood of hearing racioethnically oriented jokes and slurs, most tests were run using one-way ANOVA. Race was measured in two categories. Gender was measured in two categories. Branch was measured in five categories. Deployment status was measured in three ways: a six-category variable, a dummy "Yes/No" variable, and a variable that contrasted being deployed in theater or not. Contrasts were run by race (relative color/phenotype), branch (based upon color and representation), and race among Latinas and Latinos.

It is important to remember that negatively stated items on the questionnaire were reverse rated before analyses. Thus, all results are coded such that, regardless of the factor or item name, 5 is the most positive or healthy answer. As such, a 4.8 on the racist behavior factor is an extremely positive score, indicating the likely absence of racist behavior. Similarly, a 1.4 on racist behavior is an extremely negative score, indicating the likely presence of racist behavior.

The two sections of non-hypothesized findings, which end this chapter, present results using correlation and logistic nominal regression.

Hypothesis 1a. Service members' reported likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes will vary significantly by race, regardless of ethnicity.

This hypothesis was supported. A one-way ANOVA (Table 6) was used to test for perceptual differences among six racial designations. Perceptions of the racist behavior factor differed significantly across the six races, $F(5,11912) = 32.759, p = .000$. The mean score for the sample on this factor was 3.11. The likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes about a particular ethnicity $F(5,11912) = 28.636, p = .000$, and the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes in general, $F(5,11912) = 29.333, p = .000$, varied similarly. The mean scores on these two items were 2.86 and 3.14, respectively. For all three measures (racist behavior, cross-racioethnic jokes told, and jokes in general), contrast measures for color and for representation supported the hypothesized relationships between color and likelihood of hearing jokes and between relative representation and hearing jokes.

Hypothesis 1b. White service members will report a lower likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes than service members of different races, regardless of ethnicity.

This hypothesis was supported. With respect to the racist behavior factor, the mean score for Whites was 3.21, whereas the scores for other racial groups remained below 3.0. Scores ranged from a low of 2.83 for Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders to a high of 2.96 for Blacks.

For the likelihood of jokes being told about a particular racioethnicity, the mean score for Whites was 2.97, while the scores for other races ranged from 2.54 for Native Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders to 2.71 for Blacks. For complete results, please see Table 6, which reports the mean scores of the sample for hypotheses 1a and 1b. Table 7 contains the mean scores and standard deviations, which support the results of Hypotheses 1a through 1d.

Hypothesis 1c: Within this significant variation, the likelihood of hearing racially oriented jokes will vary by color proxy (i.e., Whites will report fewest, Blacks will report the most).

For the planned contrasts, the Levene test of homogeneity allowed for assuming equal variances for racioethnic jokes about a particular ethnicity but not for the factor racist behavior or for the item measuring probability of hearing racioethnic jokes in general.

This planned contrast was partially supported. Racist behavior differed significantly by the first planned contrast (Contrast 1), which predicted the level of perception based upon color. It was hypothesized that Whites (1) would report the lowest likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes, and that this would increase gradually for mixed race (.75), Asians (.5), American Indian/Alaska Natives (-.5), Native Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders (-.75), and Blacks (-1). Planned contrasts supported the hypothesis that the perceived likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes increases for people of increasingly darker skin tones: for racist behavior, $t(871.847) = 2.829$, $p = .005$, and for hearing racioethnic jokes about a particular race/ethnicity, $t(11912) = 3.223$, $p =$

.001. However, planned contrasts in the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes in general did not support the hypothesized direction, $t(855.458) = 1.805$, $p = .071$.

Hypothesis 1d. Within this significant variation, the likelihood of hearing racially oriented jokes will vary by percentage of racial representation in the armed services (e.g., Whites, most highly represented, will report fewest).

This planned contrast was supported. The Levene test results from Hypothesis 1c also hold for this planned contrast. Racist behavior differed significantly by the second planned contrast (Contrast 2), which predicted the level of perception based upon relative representation. It was hypothesized that Whites (1) would report the lowest likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes, and that this would increase gradually for Blacks (.75), Asians (.5), mixed race (-.5), Native Americans/Alaska Natives (-.75), and Native Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders (-1). Planned contrasts supported the hypothesis that the perceived likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes increases as one becomes more tokenized, or least represented: for racist behavior, $t(578.576) = 3.545$, $p = .000$; for hearing racioethnic jokes about a particular race/ethnicity, $t(11912) = 3.737$, $p = .000$; for hearing racioethnic jokes in general, $t(572.948) = 2.763$, $p = .006$.

Hypothesis 2. White Latino and Latina service members will report a lower likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes than Latino and Latina service members of other races.

This hypothesis was partially supported. A one-way ANOVA (Table 8) was used to test for perceptual differences among two racial designations (White and all others) among Latinas and Latinos in the sample ($n = 1165$). Descriptive statistics supporting this analysis are provided in Table 9. Perceptions of the racist behavior factor differ significantly between Whites and non-Whites, $F(1,1163) = 5.402$, $p = .020$. The mean score for the sample on this factor was higher for Whites (3.0) than for non-Whites (2.82). These two groups differed significantly in their

likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes about a particular ethnicity $F(1,1163) = 6.447, p = .011$.

The hypothesis was not supported for the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes in general,

$F(1,1163) = 1.475, p = .225$.

Hypothesis 3. Positive EO behaviors will be negatively correlated with the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes and racioethnic slurs.

This hypothesis was supported. Though not significant ($r = -.011, p = .265$), Latinas and Latinos who personally experienced no types of discrimination had a negative correlation between racist behavior and positive EO behavior, with a Pearson Correlation of $-.011$ (see Table 10). Among Latinas and Latinos who only reported experiencing racioethnic discrimination, the negative correlation was significant ($p = .006$), with a Pearson Correlation of $-.147$ (Table 11). Among Latinas and Latinos in the study (i.e., those reporting being personally victimized for 1–4 types of discrimination), there was also a significant negative correlation ($p = .021$) between racist behavior and positive EO behavior with a Pearson Coefficient of $-.064$ (see Table 12). In contrast, among the population who took the DEOCS ($n = 95,062$) in June 2013, there was a significant ($p = .000$) positive correlation between racist behavior and positive EO behavior (see Table 13).

Hypothesis 4a. Latinas and Latinos will report a lower likelihood of hearing racioethnically oriented jokes in the USMC than they do in other branches.

This hypothesis was not supported. There were not significant differences among the branches in the perceived likelihood of racist behavior happening, hearing jokes about a particular ethnicity, or hearing racial jokes in general. Specifically, the likelihood for Latinas and Latinos hearing jokes in the USMC was higher (2.32) than in the other branches: Air Force (2.65), Army (2.67), Coast Guard (2.39), and Navy (2.60). Remember, a lower score represents

less positive behavior, while a higher score represents more positive behavior. See Table 14 for the full ANOVA table and the means supporting analyses in Table 15.

Hypothesis 4b. White Latinas and Latinos will report a lower likelihood of hearing racioethnically oriented jokes in the USMC than will Latinas and Latinos of other races.

This hypothesis was not supported. There were not significant differences between how Latinas and Latinos of different races perceived the likelihood of racist behavior, jokes about a particular racioethnicity, or racial jokes in general (see Table 16). More specifically, White Latinas and Latinos did not report the lowest likelihood of these variables. With respect to the factor racist behavior, Blacks (2.71) were slightly more positive than Whites (2.68). With respect to the likelihood of hearing jokes about a particular racioethnicity, American Indians/Alaska Natives were most positive (2.67) followed by Whites (2.38). With respect to hearing racioethnic jokes in general, Blacks (2.79) were most positive, followed by American Indians/Alaska Natives (2.67). Please see Table 17 for descriptive statistics supporting this analysis.

Hypothesis 5a. Officers will report a higher likelihood of racially oriented jokes than will enlisted service members.

This hypothesis was not supported. While there were statistically significant differences in the perceived likelihood of racist behaviors ($p = 000$), hearing jokes about particular racioethnicities ($p = .000$), and hearing racist jokes in general ($p = .000$), they were in the opposite direction. With respect to racist behaviors, officers were far more positive about racist behaviors (3.55) than were enlisted (2.96). This pattern held for the likelihood of hearing jokes about particular ethnicities (officers: 3.21, enlisted: 2.72) and about hearing racial jokes in general (officers: 3.67, enlisted 2.98). For ANOVAs, see Table 18; for means, see Table 19.

Hypothesis 5b: Latina and Latino officers will report a higher likelihood of racially oriented jokes than will Latina and Latino enlisted service members.

Similar to Hypothesis 5a, this hypothesis was not supported. While there were significant differences between Latina and Latino officers and Latina and Latino enlisted service members (all p-values = .000), these differences were in the opposite direction, just as with the population in general. Officers thought that racist behaviors were far less likely to happen (3.30) than did enlisted members (2.85). They also thought there would be less likelihood (2.80) of racial jokes about a particular racioethnicity than did enlisted Latina and Latino service members (2.59). Similarly, they rated the likelihood of hearing racial jokes in general much lower (3.55) than did those who are enlisted (2.88). Please see Table 20 for ANOVA results.

Hypothesis 6a. Latino service members, in general, will report higher likelihoods that racially oriented, nationally oriented, or color-based jokes occur than will Latina service members.

This hypothesis was supported. Latinos reported significantly more likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes than did Latinas. ANOVA results with respect to racist behavior were $F(1,1275)=17.796$, $p = .000$), and Latinas (3.15) perceived significantly less of a likelihood of seeing these behaviors than did Latinos (2.84). Latinas also thought that there was less chance (2.86) of hearing jokes about a particular racioethnicity $F(1,1275 = 10.586$, $p = .001$) or racioethnic jokes (3.42) in general $F(1,1275 = 10.638$, $p = .001$) than did Latino service members (2.59 and 2.91, respectively). Please see Table 21 for ANOVA results and Table 22 for descriptive statistics supporting hypotheses 6a through 6b5).

Hypothesis 6b1. Air Force Latinos will report higher likelihoods that racially oriented, nationally oriented, or color-based jokes occur than will Latinas in the same branch.

This hypothesis was not supported (see Table 23). In the Air Force, there was no consistent pattern of direction between Latinas' and Latinos' perceived likelihood of seeing racist behaviors (3.333 for both genders), hearing jokes about a particular racioethnicity (2.75 and 2.56, respectively), or hearing racioethnic jokes in general (3.50 and 3.56, respectively).

Hypothesis 6b2. Army Latinos will report higher likelihoods that racially oriented, nationally oriented, or color-based jokes occur than will Latinas in the same branch.

This hypothesis was supported (see Table 24). In the Army, Latinos (2.82) reported significantly higher likelihoods than Latinas (3.17) of seeing racist behaviors ANOVA $F(1,701) = 11.863, p = .001$. Latinos (2.60) also reported higher likelihood of hearing jokes about a particular racioethnicity than Latinas (2.87), ANOVA $F(1,701) = 5.718, p = .017$. Finally, Latinos (2.88) considered the likelihood of racioethnic jokes in general to be higher than Latinas (3.17), ANOVA $F(1,701) = 6.533, p = .011$.

Hypothesis 6b3. Coast Guard Latinos will report higher likelihoods that racially oriented, nationally oriented, or color-based jokes occur than will Latinas in the same branch.

This hypothesis was not supported (see Table 25). In the Coast Guard, there was a consistent (though statistically insignificant) directional pattern of Latinas' and Latinos' perceived likelihood of hearing these microaggressions. However, that direction was opposite the hypothesized direction. Latinas reported higher likelihood of seeing racist behaviors (2.90 vs. 3.02 for Latinos), hearing jokes about a particular racioethnicity (2.29 vs. 2.44 for Latinos), and hearing racioethnic jokes in general (3.14 vs. 3.19 for Latinos).

Hypothesis 6b4. Marine Corps Latinos will report higher likelihoods that racially oriented, nationally oriented, or color-based jokes occur than will Latinas in the same branch.

This hypothesis was not supported (see Table 26). Though Latinos did report higher likelihoods on all three measures (racist behaviors: 2.60 vs. 2.86 for Latinas, jokes about a particular racioethnicity: 2.28 vs. 2.48 for Latinas, and racioethnic jokes in general: 2.68 vs. 2.87 for Latinas), these patterns were not statistically significant.

Hypothesis 6b5. Navy Latinos will report higher likelihoods that racially oriented, nationally oriented, or color-based jokes occur than will Latinas in the same branch.

This hypothesis was not supported (see Table 27). As in the Marine Corps (H6b4), Latinos in the Navy reported higher likelihoods on all three measures (racist behaviors: 2.80 vs. 3.00 for Latinas, jokes about a particular racioethnicity: 2.54 vs. 2.73 for Latinas, and racioethnic jokes in general: 2.84 vs. 2.98 for Latinas), but these patterns were not statistically significant.

Hypothesis 7a. There will be significant differences by deployment status in the likelihood of racially oriented jokes.

This hypothesis was supported. One-way ANOVA results (Table 28) found significant differences by deployment status along all three variables: the factor racist behavior, $F(5,11912) = 11.416, p = .000$; jokes told about a particular racioethnicity, $F(5,11912)=9.973, p=.000$; and racioethnic jokes being told in general, $F(5,11912) = 9.364, p = .000$. Across all three variables, those who had never deployed or who had gone more than 6 months since their last deployment were most positive (3.12, 2.87, and 3.16 respectively), indicating the least likelihood of these three variables. Also across all three variables, those who had returned from combat zone deployment within the past 6 months rated the highest likelihood of hearing racist behaviors (2.77), jokes about a particular ethnicity(2.52), and racioethnic jokes in general (2.81). Please see Tables 28 and 29 for ANOVA and descriptive statistics, respectively.

Hypothesis 7b. The likelihood of racially oriented jokes will be higher among those deployed than for those not deployed.

This hypothesis was not supported (see Table 30). While those not deployed (in any type of situation) did rate racist behaviors as being less likely (3.07 vs. 3.11 for deployed), jokes about particular ethnicities being less likely (2.85 vs. 2.86 for deployed), and racioethnic jokes in general as being less likely to occur (3.10 vs. 3.15 for deployed), these differences were not statistically significant.

Hypothesis 7c. The likelihood of racially oriented jokes will be higher among service members deployed in theater than among those deployed in non-combat situations.

This hypothesis was not supported (see Table 31). Similar to H7b above, while those deployed in combat rated racist behaviors as being less likely (3.08 vs. 3.14 for deployed non-combat), jokes about particular ethnicities being less likely (2.84 vs. 2.89 for deployed non-combat), and racioethnic jokes in general as being less likely to occur (3.11 vs. 3.18 for deployed non-combat), these differences were not statistically significant.

Hypothesis 7d. The likelihood of racially oriented jokes will follow the pattern above in order ranging from least likelihood of racially oriented jokes (never deployed or more than 6 months since last deployment) to highest likelihood of racially oriented jokes (deployed OCONUS in a combat-zone).

Contrast tests showed partial support for the hypothesized order. The contrast test for the factor racist behavior supported the hypothesized order ($p = .018$). Item 1 (a person of one race or ethnicity telling several jokes about a particular racioethnicity) was also supported ($p = .002$). However, Item 2 (racial or ethnic names) and Item 3 (racial or ethnic jokes frequently heard) were promising, but not statistically significant ($p = .081$ and $.117$, respectively).

Hypothesis 8a. In the United States Air Force, there will be significant differences corresponding to racial representation in the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes.

This hypothesis was supported. One-way ANOVA results (see Table 32) showed significant differences in the level of likelihood that Air Force service members of different races ascribed to hearing jokes about particular ethnicities, $F(5,89) = 4.026, p = .002$. There were also statistically significant differences in the likelihood of racioethnic jokes in general being told, $F(5,89) = 3.374, p = .008$. They also differed in the perceived likelihood of observing racist behaviors in general, $F(5,89) = 5.668, p = .000$. Furthermore, contrast tests were confirmed in the hypothesized direction for racist behaviors and for jokes about a particular ethnicity. Contrast tests were not confirmed for the hypothesized pattern for racial jokes in general. Table 33 contains branch-level descriptive statistics for the variables of interest for Hypotheses 8a through 8e.

Hypothesis 8b. In the United States Army, there will be significant differences corresponding to racial representation in the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes.

This hypothesis was supported. One-way ANOVA results (see Table 34) showed significant differences in the level of likelihood Army service members of different races ascribed to hearing jokes about particular ethnicities, $F(5,6356) = 12.570, p = .000$. There were also statistically significant differences in the likelihood of racioethnic jokes in general being told, $F(5,6356) = 12.267, p = .000$. They also differed in the perceived likelihood of observing racist behaviors, $F(5,6356) = 13.950, p = .000$. However, contrast tests did not confirm the hypothesized pattern.

Hypothesis 8c. In the United States Coast Guard, there will be significant differences corresponding to racial representation in the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes.

This hypothesis was partially supported. One-way ANOVA results (see Table 35) did show a statistically significant difference among different races' perceived likelihood that jokes were told about a particular racioethnicity, $F(5,129) = 2.544$, $p = .031$. However, cross-racial differences in the likelihood of observing racist behaviors, $F(5,129) = 17.01$, $p = .14$ and racioethnic jokes in general, $F(5,129) = 1.928$, $p = .094$ were not statistically significant. Additionally, no planned contrast tests were supported.

Hypothesis 8d. In the United States Marine Corps, there will be significant differences corresponding to racial representation in the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes.

This hypothesis was supported. One-way ANOVA results (see Table 36) showed a statistically significant difference among the races' perceived likelihood of observing all behaviors in the Marine Corps. With respect to racist behaviors, significant differences were found $F(5,844) = 3.742$, $p = .002$. Also significant were differences in likelihood of jokes told about a particular racioethnicity $F(5,844) = 3.933$, $p = .002$, and racioethnic jokes told in general $F(5,844) = 3.097$, $p = .009$. However, contrast tests of the hypothesized pattern were not confirmed.

Hypothesis 8e: In the United States Navy, there will be significant differences corresponding to racial representation in the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes.

This hypothesis was supported. One-way ANOVA results (see Table 37) showed a statistically significant difference among races' perceived likelihood of observing all behaviors. With respect to racist behaviors, significant differences were found $F(5,2450) = 11.287$, $p = .000$. Also significant were differences in likelihood of jokes told about a particular racioethnicity $F(5,2450) = 10.000$, $p = .000$, and racioethnic jokes told in general $F(5,2450) = 11.617$, $p = .000$. All variables' contrast tests confirmed the hypothesized pattern.

Noteworthy Non-Hypothesized Findings

Interracial Group Dynamics

In a preliminary analysis of the population who took the DEOCS between June 1 and June 30, 2013, over 80,000 individuals reported experiencing no discrimination. It is worth noting how they scored with respect to the likelihood of hearing racioethnically oriented jokes. Respondents used a 5-point Likert-type scale to rate the likelihood that such jokes occurred. As stated earlier, the data were reverse rated such that a score of 1 means there is “a very high chance” that the racioethnically oriented joke occurred, and a 5 means there is “almost no chance” that the racioethnically oriented joke occurred.

On average, respondents reporting no personal experience of discrimination measured by the DEOCS scored 4.19 out of 5.0 on racist behaviors (see Table 38). Among this group, there was also a significant ($\alpha = .000$) positive correlation between hearing few racioethnically oriented jokes and slurs (racist behavior factor positive score) and seeing positive EO behavior. Those who reported the least likelihood that racist behavior occurred were senior officers, who scored 4.58 (out of 5.0) and senior enlisted officers, who scored 4.41. However, among virtually all non-White demographic groups, there was a significant negative correlation between hearing few racioethnically oriented jokes and slurs and seeing positive EO behavior. Said differently, with Whites and officers, there was a statistically significant positive correlation between few racial jokes and inter-racioethnic contact. However, for virtually all racioethnic minority groups, there was a significant negative correlation between these variables; the more cross-racioethnic contact, the more likelihood of racioethnically offensive jokes. Additional scores for the portion of the population who reported no experiences of personal discrimination are contained in Table

39. This table is useful to provide a broader comparison base for Latinas' and Latinos' scores presented in this study.

Centrality of the Commander

I refined the larger file to a sample of 11,918 individuals who had reported personally experiencing discrimination on between one and four of these five factors: racial/national origin/color, gender/sex, age, disability, and religion. Within this sample, I analyzed the prevalence of racially oriented jokes to explore which factors attributed to the greatest amount of variance. The probability of hearing racially oriented jokes was reverse scored and measured on the following Likert-type scale whose extremes were (1 = there is almost no chance that racially oriented jokes occurred, 3 = there is a moderate chance that racially oriented jokes occurred, and 5=there is a very high chance that racially oriented jokes occurred). I recoded this variable into a dummy variable named "FewOrManyJokes," where few (scores of 1 or 2) was represented by 0, and many (scores of 4 or 5) was represented by 1. I then used nominal logistic regression to regress the following categorical variables: whether someone had personally experienced racial discrimination, whether one was officer or enlisted, one's age category, one's branch of service, presence or absence of Hispanic ethnicity, command identifier, gendered race (e.g., non-Hispanic White Male, Hispanic Black Female, etc.), and type of service (e.g., active component member, traditional guardsman [drilling], etc.).

The Nagelkerke statistic (pseudo R-square) of this regression was .493 (see Table AA). This means that nearly half of the variance on the level of racially oriented jokes told is accounted for collectively by these factors. The variables that contributed the most to understanding variance in racially oriented jokes heard were age category, command identifier, and gendered race.

More startlingly is that when I re-ran the nominal logistic regression without the command identifier, the Nagelkerke statistic dropped dramatically (from .493 to .097). Stated differently, the command identifier alone contributes to 40 percent of the variance in the likelihood of service members hearing racially oriented jokes. Without the command identifier, the variables explaining the most of this variance were age, gendered race, and whether the service member was an officer or enlisted.

Discussion

The study sample included service members who disclosed their ethnicity (Hispanic or not), race, and personal experiences with discrimination on the June 2013 administration of the DEOCS. This report hypothesized about the likelihood of observing racist behaviors, specifically about hearing jokes about a particular ethnicity and racioethnic jokes in general. These hypotheses were clustered around race, representation, cross-racial contact, gender, rank, deployment, and branch. Hypotheses focused on all members in the sample or only the Latina and Latino members within the sample.

Race

Hypotheses by race showed significant differences in how individuals of different races perceived the likelihood of observing racist behavior, jokes about a particular racioethnicity, and racioethnic jokes in general. More specifically, White service members, whether Hispanic or not, reported less likelihood of seeing racist behaviors. The hypothesized pattern that the lighter the race was, the less likely respondents would be to expect to hear racioethnic jokes was partially supported. Specifically, this pattern held for observing racist behaviors, hearing jokes about a particular racioethnicity, and hearing racioethnic jokes in general. Representational hypotheses also held within the sample. Those races that were more represented in the military reported

fewer jokes. Also, when comparing White service members to those of other races as a whole (i.e., not White) or individually (e.g., Whites vs. Asians, Blacks, etc.), Whites expressed a lower likelihood of hearing racist behaviors and racioethnic jokes. This may be because they are desensitized to them or because many of the jokes are not told around them. It also may be because such jokes about racioethnicity are normalized in the culture. Even for Whites who heard fewer jokes, the mean scores were still in the low 4.0 range out of a maximum of 5. Additionally, among Latinas and Latinos only, those who considered themselves as White did report significantly less likelihood of observing racist behaviors and hearing jokes about a particular race (but not for hearing racial jokes in general). In this way, they responded more similarly to non-Hispanic Whites than they did to Hispanics of other races. This lends support that how one visibly appears influences one's proximity to or perception of racioethnic jokes.

Representation

While representation hypotheses (in the form of contrasts) were supported for the study sample in general, they were not supported for Latinas and Latinos in the Marine Corps. We expected Latinas and Latinos to report the least likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes in the Marine Corps versus other branches because they are most highly represented there. In actuality, this is where they were most likely to hear racioethnic jokes. This may indicate that the culture of racioethnic joking in the U.S. Marine Corps trumps demographic influence.

Cross-racial contact

Many, based upon Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, believe that the more races have contact with each other, under the right conditions, the more race relations should improve. This essentially means that the more positive EO behavior one sees (cross-racial socialization, sharing of meals, etc.), the less one would expect to hear microaggressions or racioethnic jokes. This was

true for Whites. The more they reported seeing cross-racial socialization, the lower likelihood of jokes and racist behaviors they reported.

However, as hypothesized in this study, among Latinas and Latinos (as with many minority racial groups), the data showed the opposite. The more they saw races intermingle, the more likely they thought racioethnic jokes and racist behaviors were to occur. This is likely because they would only hear such jokes when in mixed-race company. When in similar-race groups, they would likely hear fewer of these jokes. This reasoning is consistent with why Whites would report less likelihood of hearing jokes. Since they are in the majority, they are more often around groups of Whites, thus they may hear fewer racioethnic jokes. Another explanation is that those who belong to racial minority groups are hearing jokes about themselves and other minority racioethnicities from Whites and others of different racial groups than themselves. As such, they hear the racioethnic jokes more when they are with others of different races. Inexplicably, the scores of American Indians/Alaska Natives correlated in the same direction as Whites. Perhaps the American Indians/Alaska Natives in this sample are also White, or perhaps there is another dynamic at play.

Finally, it is worth noting that the DEOCS does not measure the direction of the jokes heard or the level of offensiveness of them. So, findings in this area should be further explored. This is an area ripe for qualitative exploration of racioethnic minority groups' perceptions of the presence, nature, and offensiveness of racioethnic jokes in the military.

Gender

In the overall sample, Latinos clearly perceived a higher likelihood of observing racist behaviors, jokes about a particular racioethnicity, and racioethnic jokes in general than did Latinas. This was consistent with research on gender, which shows that men engage in more

boasting, joking, and jesting behavior. Interestingly, however, when examined by branch, only in the Army did males perceive racioethnic joking and racist behaviors to be significantly more likely. While there may be different service-specific cultural norms for racioethnic humor, or for how this humor manifests in different genders, this may not be the case. The results may be because the Army was the most represented in the June 2013 DEOCS population (50.17%) and the study sample (53.38%). Please see Table 4. This study should be repeated with a stratified random sample or with a sample consisting of more members of other branches. Either approach would make the cell sizes for the branches more equal and make comparison results more robust.

Rank

When analyzing the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes by officer or enlisted status within the sample as a whole, and within Latinos and Latinas specifically, theoretically based hypotheses were thoroughly disconfirmed. Instead of the confirming the expectation that those of higher ranks would report higher likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes than those of lower ranks, we found the opposite. Enlisted service members reported a significantly higher likelihood of observing racist behaviors and racioethnic jokes. One explanation for this is that officers are predominantly White, and Whites in the sample (whether Hispanic or not) reported lower likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes. Alternatively, because officers outrank enlisted service members, those who are enlisted may censor their conversations around officers. Yet another explanation is that there really are more racist behaviors and racioethnic jokes told within the enlisted ranks. Again, understanding the actual joking behaviors among officers and enlisted service members is an area ripe for qualitative exploration.

Deployment

There were clear differences by deployment status in the perceived likelihood of observing racist behaviors, jokes about a particular ethnicity, and racioethnic jokes in general. There was also strong (partial) support for hypotheses that as the stress level of the six deployment statuses increased, one could be expected to report a higher likelihood of observing racist behaviors and racioethnic jokes.

However, the other two hypothesized patterns (that there would be higher likelihood among those deployed versus those not deployed, and that there would be higher likelihood among those deployed in theater versus those deployed elsewhere) were not supported at all. Further research in this area needs to be conducted to understand the actual pattern of the relationship between deployment status and perceived likelihood of observing these behaviors. This research is particularly needed as women are now allowed to be deployed into combat because such research can be informative in not only racioethnic jokes but also gendered or sexual jokes.

Branch

Across the branches, there were differences in the likelihood of how much different races expected to hear racist behaviors, jokes about a particular racioethnicity, and racioethnic jokes in general. The Coast Guard was the exception. Among those respondents, there were not statistically significant differences in the likelihood of observing racist behaviors or racioethnic jokes in general. However, for the Air Force, Army, Marine Corps, and Navy, there were statistically significant differences in responses to all three variables. Only in the Army and Navy, however, were the expected color or racial contrasts supported. Because these two services collectively comprise over 72% of the study sample (see Table 4), they may be more

diverse, and thus, more likely to reflect U.S. racial dynamics. It also may be because these two branches of the service are more diverse than the Air Force and the Coast Guard (see Table 2).

Non-Hypothesized Findings

The degree of influence of the command identifier was discovered to have immense impact on the variation of expressed likelihood of observing racist behaviors. More specifically, an exploratory logistic regression was performed. Independent variables included whether or not one had personally experienced racioethnic discrimination, one's status as officer or enlisted, age, branch, ethnicity (Hispanic or not), command identifier, gendered race (a 24-level variable), and service (e.g., active duty, reserve and drilling, etc.). The Nagelkerke statistic (pseudo R-square) of this regression was .49, meaning that an estimated 49% of the variance in respondents' expressed likelihood of observing racist behaviors was accounted for by this set of factors. However, when the command identifier was removed from the equation, the Nagelkerke statistic dropped drastically from 49 to .097. Knowing which command a service member was in accounted for nearly 40% of the variance.

This means that interventions at the command/unit level may be particularly effective in understanding the likelihood of racist and other behaviors that exist among service members. As the cliché goes, organizational culture starts at the top. This non-hypothesized relationship bears this out for this particular sample. It would be worthwhile to examine the influence of command identifier in other DEOCS data sets to see if the results found in this sample are spurious.

In sum, several general observations can be made. Color, particularly Whiteness, mattered in the sample and among Latina and Latino respondents' perception of the likelihood of hearing racioethnic jokes. However, the Hispanic population needs to be disaggregated further to reach substantive findings. There are so many variables (country of ancestral origin, level of

identity salience, years of ancestors' U.S. citizenship, citizenship, etc.) that influence their experiences.

With the removal of *Hispanic/Latina/Latino* from the race category, many in this group find themselves confused, conflicted, or nonplussed after choosing "Yes" to the Hispanic ethnicity question. For example, without the traditional Hispanic racial category, what race is a Mexican American to choose? Black? White? American Indian? Native Hawaiian? Asian? My point is that there are Latinas and Latinos whose responses are falling through the cracks or getting diluted because they either (a) do not choose a race or (b) choose "other."

These and other results that show more racist behaviors and racioethnic joking in enlisted ranks rather than in officer ranks may provide a basis for contributing to theory development in microaggressions, specifically in humor. That literature clearly predicts more use of humor in higher organizational ranks. Exploring differences between use of humor in military and civilian contexts is a fruitful area of study.

Clearly there are gender dynamics to jokes. For example, men in general and Latinos in particular reported a higher likelihood of hearing jokes than did women in general and Latinas in particular. Understanding the gendered dynamics of humor is important given that women are now cleared to deploy into combat. More exploration of the impact of deployment on these behaviors needs to occur.

Limitations

Like any study, this one has its limitations. First, the DEOCS asks probabilistic (versus historical or behavioral) questions about racioethnic jokes. It only assesses the likelihood of hearing such jokes, not the direct observation of them. Similarly, it does not measure the

direction of the jokes. Are they told by a member of the majority racioethnicity about a member of a minority racioethnicity? Are they told by minority members about minority members?

It is also not clear which command the service members are evaluating. Since the survey is done early in the change of command, which command is it measuring? The past command? The present command? Longitudinal research by command may add value in this area.

As stated before, the methodology used to cull this sample likely missed the voices of many Latinas and Latinos because they may not have specified a race. They also may be lost in the “mixed race” or “others” categories.

Finally, the DEOCS is a robust survey that has been given monthly to thousands of service members. These results are only for one month of its administration.

Practical Implications

The percentage of respondents refusing to check race and those checking that they have been discriminated against for all five factors should be monitored: particularly those who engage in both of the above behaviors. This may be an indirect and passive-aggressive measure of resistance to efforts of inclusion. Before the DEOCS is administered, commanders should ensure that their service members are briefed on discrimination that exists and on how microaggressions potentially decrease mission readiness by negatively impacting morale, organizational commitment, and trust in the organization.

It is also worth examining these statistics by command ID. As stated in the results, this identifier, which identifies all individuals in a particular group, was a very significant predictor of the results. In fact, with this identifier, the estimated R-squared of the nominal regression on racial/ethnic microaggressions was nearly .5, and without it was .13. This indicates that targeted

intervention is needed with certain commanders. These interventions should include, but not be limited to:

- explaining to the commander the value of accurate findings,
- ensuring that the commander grasps the importance of DEOCS data;
- having the commander explain to his or her direct reports a genuine desire to truly understand what is going on in the command;
- suggesting the commander explain to individual-level respondents (informally individually and/or formally to groups) his or her desire to hear their opinions; and
- Positioning the DEOCS survey results as another tool for the commander, not simply as yet another evaluative measure.

On the other hand, often bystanders don't know what to do when they hear offensive racial jokes. Because confronting racial microaggressions at the interpersonal level is difficult and uncomfortable (Harwood, et al., 2012, p. 165), we often try to ignore racist jokes and comments. However, addressing the hurtful content of the joke often decreases the "funny" of the joke and, thus, its likelihood of being retold. This is because according to Freud, "If a person focuses his attention on the fact that the humor expresses aggressive impulses, his inhibitions become mobilized and he is then relatively unable to enjoy the humor" (Gollob & Levine, 1967, p. 368).

One solution to lessening the number of racial jokes is to train commanders and service members alike on what to do when they find themselves in such situations. One video that I have used repeatedly in consulting is entitled "Ouch! That Stereotype Hurts" (Aguilar, 2006). Less than 15 minutes long, it teaches a handful of responses to memorize so that when such a racist or

other “off color” joke arises, the observer knows how to non-offensively respond. One of the examples is to simply grimace and say, “Ouch!” While the tool is somewhat expensive (approximately \$600), I have used it repeatedly in consulting and find it worth its price. There is a second video, “Ouch! Your silence hurts.” It is a continuation of the first video. While I have not personally used this one, I anticipate purchasing it. Finally, there is a short (79 page) book, which is far less expensive (\$12.95). The video is quite engaging and amenable to a half-day training session or for self-directed education. Regardless of the media, I highly recommend this tool from my experience as a diversity and inclusion consultant and educator. It is simple behaviors like these that, when consistently performed, moderate and eventually change a culture to be more inclusive.

Racial jokes are significantly more common among those deployed, regardless of location or combat status. Therefore, I particularly recommend this video (or a similar training) be done during pre-deployment preparations.

Another potential way to lessen the attractiveness of racially and ethnically oriented jokes is to make them less funny. Nathanson and Cantor (2000) explored children’s proneness to aggressive behavior after watching violent cartoons. While they found no differences in post-viewing aggressiveness in girls, they found that boys whose “fictional involvement with the victim” was increased prior to watching the cartoon did not show an increase in aggressive tendencies after watching the violent cartoon. More simply stated, when young males were given tools to empathize and identify with the victim, despite the violent cartoon watching, they did not become more aggressive.

This effect is even stronger when actual involvement gives way to real adult friendships. Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, and Ropp (1997) explored the relationship between knowledge

of cross-group friendships and intergroup attitudes. They found that subjects who knew an in-group member who had a friend in the target out-group demonstrated significantly less affective and overall prejudice toward that same out-group (p. 78). As the number of in-group members having friends of the out-group increased, in-group members' prejudices further decreased. This is similar to the effect of fictionalized relationships in the study mentioned above with boys.

When we find a way to humanize others, we develop empathy, which when active (Boller, 1999) and strategic (Zembylas, 2012) is associated with effectively decreasing interracial hostility. In order to benefit from these effects, commanders and their direct reports might make it a point, where feasible and appropriate, to let subordinates know of genuine friendships that they have with members of out-groups who are often victimized by microaggressions in the form of racially or ethnically offensive jokes. However, if the commander doesn't have any such out-group friendships, he or she should say nothing. He or she should be explicitly directed not to utter the oft maligned infamous preamble that makes many members of stigmatized minority groups roll their eyes: "Some of my best friends are [insert stigmatized group label]." This only engenders indifference at best and cynicism, ridicule, and hostility at worst.

The hilarity of racially offensive jokes can also be decreased by "spoiling" our uninhibited sense humor triggered by the joke by distracting us from the content. If a listener fully grasps (i.e., apprehends viscerally and comprehends intellectually) that a joke expresses hostile or highly offensive impulses, the listener's inhibitions become mobilized (Freud, 1960, pp. 150–153). This is because part of what makes a joke funny is our not processing it—merely reacting to it. To test this theory, Gollob and Levine (1967) conducted an experiment with female college students. They showed three types of cartoons: high interpersonal aggression, low interpersonal aggression, or nonsense (innocent cartoons). Ten weeks after an original

assessment of how funny the cartoons were, one group was asked to cognitively dissect the cartoon. They were asked to “state what about the cartoon you think is funny, or is supposed to be funny. Describe as vividly as you can the intended point of the joke” (p. 369). Immediately after processing the joke, the young women were asked to rate the cartoons on how funny they were. As predicted, those who processed the jokes in the cartoons found them less funny after cognitively deconstructing them than did those who simply rated the cartoons without an intervention. Thus, commanders may consider the following:

- Talking through the logic and intended “funny” parts of particularly toxic racially offensive jokes that they hear, and
- Having members of the command reflect upon and explain the stereotypes of particular groups and what aspects of fact have been blown out of proportion.

Similar to the study of male aggression after watching cartoons, it is the analysis (whether emotional or intellectual) of the stimulus that makes the stimulus (i.e., either the violent cartoon or the offensive cartoon) less potent.

Research Implications

Since inclusion has been shown to highly correlate with job performance, organizational commitment, and job satisfaction, I would recommend including a few optional questions on the DEOCS to assess how these factors correlate with sense of inclusion.

Additionally, quantitative research such as this is best for determining generalizable patterns and trends in data; however, it does not explain why. I recommend collecting qualitative data using interviews, focus groups, and/or participant-observer methodologies to ascertain nuances in the data and the reasons behind the patterns that have been discussed here. For example, why is there a reverse correlation between having people of different races eat together

and the likelihood of hearing racially offensive jokes? Why is this relationship only the case for Whites, not for Hispanics and Blacks? Is it that Whites or others are telling jokes about the member of the racioethnic minority group? Is it that the observer hears jokes about racial groups other than his or her own? Is it simply a matter of proximity and seeing the facades of political correctness give way to the more authentic biases, stereotypes, and attitudes held by one's comrades?

It is not enough to simply make shifts or teams more diverse. While Allport (1954) and other social psychologists recommended cross-racial contact (under particular circumstances) as a way to lessen prejudice and bias, proximity doesn't always result in improved relationships. According to Holmes (2001), Drill Sergeants Williams and Feyer "were also partners—'battle buddies,' in military parlance—in running Fourth Platoon ... Their metal desks sat three feet apart. They even lived on the same street, less than 200 yards from each other. But neither had ever set foot in the other's house. Williams had a simple explanation: 'We don't have anything in common. We're just different'" (p. 44). This is the experience of many who underwent involuntary desegregation.

The more likely explanation is that though the military is a place where heterogeneous groups (intergroup contact) are not only common but often inevitable, positive EO behavior (eating and socializing together) is not enough to reduce bias. This is because these heterogeneous groups are immersed in a wider societal context whose norms shape intergroup relations (Kinloch, 1991; Pettigrew, 1998)—even within the military.

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Table 1

Hispanic Countries' Relative Rankings on Hofstede's Four Cultural Dimensions

Country	Abbr	Power Distance		Uncertainty Avoidance		Individualism		Masculinity	
		PDI	Rank	UAI	Rank	IDV	Rank	MAS	Rank
Argentina	ARG	49	18-19	86	36-41	46	28-29	56	30-31
Brazil	BRA	69	39	76	29-30	38	25	49	25
Chile	CHL	63	29-30	86	36-41	23	15	28	8
Colombia	COL	67	36	80	31	13	5	64	39-40
Costa Rica	COS	35	12- Oct	86	36-41	15	8	21	6-May
Ecuador	EQA	78	43-44	67	24	8	2	63	37-38
Guatemala	GUA	95	48-49	101	48	6	1	37	11
Jamaica	JAM	45	17	13	2	39	26	68	43-44
Mexico	MEX	81	45-46	82	33	30	20	69	45
Panama	PAN	95	48-49	86	36-41	11	3	44	19
Peru	PER	64	31-32	87	42	16	9	42	15-16
Portugal	POR	63	29-30	104	49	27	18-19	31	9
Salvador	SAL	66	34-35	94	45-46	19	12	40	14
Spain	SPA	57	23	86	36-41	51	31	42	15-16
U.S.	USA	40	16	46	11	91	50	62	36
Uruguay	URU	61	28	100	47	36	23	38	12
Venezuela	VEN	81	45-46	76	29-30	12	4	73	48

Table 2

Active Duty Forces 2010 Demographic Statistics Used for Representational Hypotheses (Sudduth, 2011, p. 6)

Branch/Off-Enl	AmerInd/ AlaskNat	Asian	Black/AfAm	NatHawa/PI	White	Mixed Race
USAF Officers	0.50%	3.30%	5.80%	0.30%	80.20%	1.30%
USAF Enlisted	0.70%	2.50%	16.70%	1.20%	71.50%	2.60%
USAF Total	0.70%	2.60%	14.50%	1%	73.30%	2.30%
USA Officers	0.50%	4.20%	13.70%	0%	72.50%	0%
USA Enlisted	0.90%	3.70%	21.50%	0%	68.90%	0%
USA Total	0.80%	3.80%	20.20%	0%	69.50%	0%
USCG Officers	1.60%	0.80%	4.90%	0.10%	80.30%	4.60%
USCG Enlisted	2.70%	0.90%	5.80%	0.70%	76%	5.60%
USCG Total	2.50%	0.90%	5.60%	0.60%	76.90%	5.40%
USMC Officers	0.80%	2.40%	5.70%	0.40%	80.70%	1.30%
USMC Enlisted	1.10%	2.20%	10.90%	1%	78.30%	0.90%
USMC Total	1.10%	2.20%	10.30%	0.90%	78.60%	1%
USN Officers	0.70%	4.10%	8.30%	0.40%	80.90%	1.90%
USN Enlisted	5.30%	5.80%	19.90%	1.20%	58.50%	6.90%
USN Total	4.60%	5.60%	18%	1.10%	62.10%	6.10%

Table 3

Races by branch in order of representation

USAF Officers		USAF Enlisted	
NatHawa/PI	0.30%	AmerInd/AlaskNat	0.70%
AmerInd/AlaskNat	0.50%	NatHawa/PI	1.20%
Mixed Race	1.30%	Asian	2.50%
Asian	3.30%	Mixed Race	2.60%
Black/AfAm	5.80%	Black/AfAm	16.70%
White	80.20%	White	71.50%
USA Officers		USA Enlisted	
NatHawa/PI	0%	NatHawa/PI	0%
Mixed Race	0%	Mixed Race	0%
AmerInd/AlaskNat	0.50%	AmerInd/AlaskNat	0.90%
Asian	4.20%	Asian	3.70%
Black/AfAm	13.70%	Black/AfAm	21.50%
White	72.50%	White	68.90%
USCG Officers		USCG Enlisted	
NatHawa/PI	0.10%	NatHawa/PI	0.70%
Asian	0.80%	Asian	0.90%
AmerInd/AlaskNat	1.60%	AmerInd/AlaskNat	2.70%
Mixed Race	4.60%	Mixed Race	5.60%
Black/AfAm	4.90%	Black/AfAm	5.80%
White	80.30%	White	76%
USMC Officers		USMC Enlisted	
NatHawa/PI	0.40%	Mixed Race	0.90%
AmerInd/AlaskNat	0.80%	NatHawa/PI	1%
Mixed Race	1.30%	AmerInd/AlaskNat	1.10%
Asian	2.40%	Asian	2.20%
Black/AfAm	5.70%	Black/AfAm	10.90%
White	80.70%	White	78.30%
USN Officers		USN Enlisted	
NatHawa/PI	0.40%	NatHawa/PI	1.20%
AmerInd/AlaskNat	0.70%	AmerInd/AlaskNat	5.30%
Mixed Race	1.90%	Asian	5.80%
Asian	4.10%	Mixed Race	6.90%
Black/AfAm	8.30%	Black/AfAm	19.90%
White	80.90%	White	58.50%

Table 4

DEOCS June 2013 Population and Study Sample Demographics

	Population (N)	%	Sample (n)	%
	95,062		11,918	
Gender				
Male	75,726	79.66%	8,348	70.05%
Female	19,336	20.34%	3,570	29.95%
TOTAL	95,062		11,918	
Ethnicity				
Not Hispanic	81,469	85.70%	10,641	89.29%
Hispanic	13,593	14.30%	1,277	10.71%
TOTAL	95,062		11,918	
Race (Hispanic Respondents)				
American Indian/Alaska Native	350	2.57%	72	5.64%
Asian	176	1.29%	52	4.07%
Black or African American	741	5.45%	168	13.16%
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	187	1.38%	39	3.05%
White	5,543	40.78%	834	65.31%
Mixed Race	539	3.97%	112	8.77%
(Did not specify)	6,057	44.56%	-	
TOTAL	13,593		1,277	
Race (all respondents)				
American Indian/Alaska Native	1,168	1.23%	247	2.07%
Asian	4,016	4.22%	666	5.59%
Black or African American	15,337	16.13%	2,660	22.32%
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	1,465	1.54%	226	1.90%
White	59,690	62.79%	7,393	62.03%
Mixed Race	3,882	4.08%	726	6.09%
(Did not specify)	9,504	10.00%	-	
TOTAL	95,062		11,918	
Pay grade				
Grades 1–3 (1)	19,925	20.96%	2,270	19.05%
Grades 4–6 (2)	51,805	54.50%	7,107	59.63%
Grades 7–8 (3)	10,329	10.87%	964	8.09%
Grades 9–10 (4)	2,212	2.33%	302	2.53%
Grades 11–13 (5)	6,682	7.03%	847	7.11%
Grades 14–15 (6)	1,741	1.83%	169	1.42%
(Did not specify)	2,368	2.49%	259	2.17%
TOTAL	95,062		11,918	
Age				
18–21 years	10,370	10.91%	1,481	12.43%
22–30 years	38,182	40.17%	5,261	44.14%
31–40 years	24,919	26.21%	2,565	21.52%
41–50 years	13,551	14.25%	1,539	12.91%
51 or over	8,040	8.46%	1,072	8.99%
TOTAL	95,062		11,918	
Branch				
Air Force	1,521	1.60%	95	0.80%

	Population (N) 95,062	%	Sample (n) 11,918	%
Army	47,691	50.17%	6,362	53.38%
Coast Guard	1,087	1.14%	135	1.13%
Marine Corps	8,237	8.66%	850	7.13%
Navy	21,271	22.38%	2,456	20.61%
Non-U.S. Military Service	30	0.03%	8	0.07%
Missing	15,225	16.02%	2,012	16.88%
TOTAL	95,062		11,918	
Organization				
Active component member (incl. Coast Guard)	63,470	66.77%	8,061	67.64%
Traditional guardsman (drilling)	2,497	2.63%	270	2.27%
Guardsman on active duty	3,948	4.15%	619	5.19%
Traditional reservist (drilling)	5,420	5.70%	365	3.06%
Reservist on active duty	2,940	3.09%	362	3.04%
Not applicable	1,562	1.64%	229	1.92%
Missing	15,225	16.02%	2,012	16.88%
TOTAL	95,062		11,918	
Deployment				
1 = It has been more than 6 months since my last deployment, or I have never deployed	72,680	78.95%	8,628	72.39%
2 = I returned from combat zone deployment within the past 6 months	5,897	6.41%	804	6.75%
3 = I returned from non-combat zone deployment within the past 6 months	3,059	3.32%	455	3.82%
4 = Yes (CONUS)	2,443	2.65%	399	3.35%
5 = Yes (OCONUS, in a combat zone)	2,925	3.18%	832	6.98%
6 = Yes (OCONUS, in a non-combat zone)	5,058	5.49%	800	6.71%
TOTAL	92,062		11,918	

Table 5

DEOCS Factors Mean (Standard Deviation) in Study Sample (1 to 4 Discrimination Dimensions) by Racioethnicity

	N=95,062*	n=11,918**	AmerInd/ AlaskaNat n=247	Asian n=666	Black/AfAm n=2660	NatHa/PI n=226	Whites n=7393	Latinas and Latinos n=1277	Latinas n=389	Latinos n=888
F3Positive EO Behavior	4.10 (.9643)	3.75 (1.0457)	3.58 (1.044)	3.59 (.9989)	3.59 (1.0356)	3.59 (1.0274)	3.82 (1.0484)	3.72 (1.0391)	3.78 (1.0828)	3.70 (1.0189)
F4RacistBehavior (Jokes)	4.02 (1.0357)	3.11 (1.2056)	2.97 (1.1708)	2.85 (1.1255)	2.96 (1.1658)	2.83 (1.1240)	3.21 (1.2164)	2.94 (1.2051)	3.15 (1.2418)	2.84 (1.1772)
F6ReligDiscrim	4.55 (.7208)	3.89 (1.0308)	3.70 (1.167)	3.84 (1.0375)	3.79 (1.0606)	3.80 (1.1216)	3.95 (1.0085)	3.88 (1.0372)	4.06 (.9842)	3.80 (1.0504)
F8Organizational Commitment	3.29 (.6965)	2.86 (.7074)	2.91 (.6878)	2.94 (.6211)	2.88 (.7036)	2.88 (.5962)	2.84 (.7207)	2.88 (.7057)	2.91 (.6873)	2.87 (.7136)
F9Trust in Organization	3.49 (1.0683)	2.67 (1.0279)	2.69 (1.0464)	2.99 (1.0199)	2.74 (1.0032)	2.89 (1.0123)	2.62 (1.0338)	2.66 (1.0293)	2.63 (.9911)	2.68 (1.0459)
F13Job Satisfaction	3.89 (.8725)	3.34 (.9352)	3.31 (.9216)	3.46 (.8931)	3.50 (.9107)	3.51 (.9170)	3.26 (.9405)	3.35 (.9503)	3.40 (.9315)	3.33 (.9583)

* There were originally 101,589 respondents. Partial responses were eliminated from analyses.

**After removing 81,007 who chose no discriminations and 374 who chose all discriminations and 1763 who chose no race

Table 6

ANOVA and Test results for Hypotheses 1 and 1c

		ANOVA				
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between Groups	251.009	5	50.202	28.636	.000
	Within Groups	20882.824	11912	1.753		
	Total	21133.833	11917			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between Groups	200.459	5	40.092	23.004	.000
	Within Groups	20760.782	11912	1.743		
	Total	20961.241	11917			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between Groups	258.765	5	51.753	29.333	.000
	Within Groups	21016.457	11912	1.764		
	Total	21275.222	11917			
F4RacistBehav	Between Groups	234.927	5	46.985	32.759	.000
	Within Groups	17085.129	11912	1.434		
	Total	17320.055	11917			

Table 7

Descriptive Statistics Used in Hypothesis Testing (Hypotheses 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d)

Hypothesis #	Racist Behavior				Racioethnic jokes re: particular group (Item 1)				Racioethnic jokes frequently heard (Item 3)			
	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
1a, 1b, 1c, 1d- ALL												
Amer. Ind/Alaska Native (n=247)	2.97	1.171	1	5	2.69	1.35	1	5	3.02	1.313	1	5
Asian (n=666)	2.85	1.126	1	5	2.62	1.281	1	5	2.88	1.261	1	5
Black/Af American (n=2660)	2.96	1.166	1	5	2.71	1.3	1	5	3.00	1.311	1	5
Nat. Hawaii/PI (n=226)	2.83	1.124	1	5	2.54	1.222	1	5	2.92	1.268	1	5
White (n=7393)	3.21	1.216	1	5	2.97	1.338	1	5	3.26	1.342	1	5
6 (N/A, Mixed)	2.89	1.215	1	5	2.65	1.334	1	5	2.89	1.339	1	5

(n=726)

TOTAL=	3.11	1.206	2.86	1.332	3.14	1.336
11918						

Table 8

ANOVA Results Hypothesis 2

		ANOVA				
		Sum of	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
		Squares				
Joke-1 A person told jokes about a particular ethnicity	Between Groups	11.362	1	11.362	6.447	.011
	Within Groups	2049.639	1163	1.762		
	Total	2061.001	1164			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between Groups	11.284	1	11.284	6.413	.011
	Within Groups	2046.283	1163	1.759		
	Total	2057.567	1164			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between Groups	2.635	1	2.635	1.475	.225
	Within Groups	2078.323	1163	1.787		
	Total	2080.958	1164			
F4RacistBehav	Between Groups	7.753	1	7.753	5.402	.020
	Within Groups	1669.098	1163	1.435		
	Total	1676.851	1164			

Table 9

Descriptive Statistics Used in Hypothesis Testing (Hypothesis 2)

Hypothesis #	Racist Behavior (Factor)				Racioethnic jokes re: particular group (Item 1)				Racioethnic jokes frequently heard (Item 3)			
	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
White Latinas and Latinos (n=834)	3.0	1.229	1	5	2.74	1.343	1	5	3.04	1.357	1	5
Non-White Latinas and Latinos (n=331)	2.82	1.115	1	5	2.52	1.287	1	5	2.93	1.286	1	5
TOTAL= 1165	2.95	1.200	1	5	2.68	1.33	1	5	3.01	1.337	1	5

Table 10

Correlation of DEOCS Factors Among Latinas and Latinos Personally Experiencing Zero Types of Discrimination

		Correlations					
		F3PosEOBehav	F4RacistBehav	F6ReligDiscrim	F8OrgCommitment	F9TrustInOrg	F13JobSatisfac
F3PosEOBehav	Pearson Correlation	1					
	Sig. (2- tailed)						
	N	11236					
F4RacistBehav	Pearson Correlation	-.011	1				
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.265					
	N	11236	11236				
F6ReligDiscrim	Pearson Correlation	.147	.521	1			
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.000	.000				
	N	11236	11236	11236			
F8OrgCommitment	Pearson Correlation	.140	.255	.202	1		
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.000	.000	.000			
	N	11236	11236	11236	11236		
F9TrustInOrg	Pearson Correlation	.206	.304	.257	.504	1	
	Sig. (2- tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000		
	N	11236	11236	11236	11236	11236	
F13JobSatisfac	Pearson Correlation	.216	.288	.295	.486	.624	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000	
	N	11236	11236	11236	11236	11236	11236

Table 11

Correlation of DEOCS Factors Among Latinas and Latinos Personally Experiencing Only Racioethnic discrimination

		Correlations					
		F3PosEOBehav	F4RacistBehav	F6ReligDiscrim	F8OrgCommitment	F9TrustInOrg	F13JobSatisfac
F3PosEOBehav	Pearson	1					
	Correlation						
	Sig. (2-tailed)						
	N	344					
F4RacistBehav	Pearson	-.147	1				
	Correlation						
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.006					
	N	344	344				
F6ReligDiscrim	Pearson	.154	.454	1			
	Correlation						
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.000				
	N	344	344	344			
F8OrgCommitment	Pearson	.165	.189	.253	1		
	Correlation						
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.000	.000			
	N	344	344	344	344		
F9TrustInOrg	Pearson	.164	.185	.185	.425	1	
	Correlation						
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.001	.001	.000		
	N	344	344	344	344	344	
F13JobSatisfac	Pearson	.165	.180	.232	.429	.487	1
	Correlation						
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.001	.000	.000	.000	
	N	344	344	344	344	344	344

Table 14

ANOVAS Results Hypothesis 4a

		Sum of		Mean Square	F	Sig.
		Squares	df			
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between Groups	13.008	4	3.252	1.914	.106
	Within Groups	1872.407	1102	1.699		
	Total	1885.415	1106			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between Groups	14.944	4	3.736	2.144	.073
	Within Groups	1920.048	1102	1.742		
	Total	1934.992	1106			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between Groups	13.527	4	2.633	1.924	.104
	Within Groups	1936.978	1102	1.400		
	Total	1950.504	1106			
F4RacistBehav	Between Groups	10.534	4		1.880	.112
	Within Groups	1543.311	1102			
	Total	1553.845	1106			

Table 15

Descriptive Statistics Used in Hypothesis Testing (H4a)

Hypothesis #	Racist Behavior (Factor)				Racioethnic jokes re: particular group (Item 1)				Racioethnic jokes frequently heard (Item 3)			
	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
4a												
Air Force (n=17)	3.33	1.208	1	5	2.65	1.412	1	5	3.53	1.281	1	5
Army (n=703)	2.91	1.181	1	5	2.67	1.322	1	5	2.96	1.311	1	5
Coast Guard (n=23)	2.99	1.161	1	4.33	2.39	1.234	1	4	3.17	1.193	1	5
Marine Corps (n=115)	2.65	1.189	1	5	2.32	1.253	1	5	2.72	1.380	1	5
Navy (n=249)	2.86	1.188	1	5	2.6	1.273	1	5	2.88	1.355	1	5
TOTAL=	2.88	1.200	1	5	2.61	1.306	1	5	2.93	1.328	1	5

Table 16

ANOVAS Results Hypothesis H4b

		ANOVA				
		Sum of	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
		Squares				
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between Groups	4.796	5	.959	.600	.700
	Within Groups	174.300	109	1.599		
	Total	179.096	114			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between Groups	4.947	5	.989	.599	.701
	Within Groups	180.183	109	1.653		
	Total	185.130	114			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between Groups	3.767	5	.753	.385	.858
	Within Groups	213.329	109	1.957		
	Total	217.096	114			
F4RacistBehav	Between Groups	3.260	5	.652	.450	.812
	Within Groups	157.938	109	1.449		
	Total	161.198	114			

Table 17:

Descriptive Statistics Used to Test Hypotheses (H4b)

Hypothesis #4b	Racist Behavior (Factor)				Racioethnic jokes re: particular group (Item 1)				Racioethnic jokes frequently heard (Item 3)			
	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Amer. Ind/Alaska Native (n=6)	2.722	1.020	2	4.33	2.67	1.366	1	5	2.83	.983	1	4
Asian (n=1)	1		1	1	1		1	1	1		1	1
Black/Af American (n=14)	2.71	1.183	1	5	2.21	1.251	1	5	3.14	1.292	1	5
Nat. Hawaii/PI (n=5)	2.40	.83	1	3	2.00	1.000	1	3	2.8	1.095	1	3
White (n=84)	2.68	1.244	1	5	2.38	1.289	1	5	2.89	1.308	1	5
6 (N/A, Mixed) (n=5)	2.533	.901	1	3.33	1.80	.837	1	3	3.2	1.304	1	3

NO LAUGHING MATTER

TOTAL	2.65	1.189	1	5	2.32	1.253	1	5	2.91	1.274	1	5
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(n=115)

Table 18

ANOVA Results Hypothesis 5a

		ANOVA		Mean		
		Sum of	df	Square	F	Sig.
		Squares				
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between Groups	676.370	2	338.185	196.968	.000
	Within Groups	20457.463	11915	1.717		
	Total	21133.833	11917			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between Groups	655.014	2	327.507	192.170	.000
	Within Groups	20306.227	11915	1.704		
	Total	20961.241	11917			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between Groups	957.531	2	478.765	280.765	.000
	Within Groups	20317.691	11915	1.705		
	Total	21275.222	11917			
F4RacistBehav	Between Groups	753.132	2	376.566	270.828	.000
	Within Groups	16566.923	11915	1.390		
	Total	17320.055	11917			

Table 19

Descriptive Statistics Used to Test Hypotheses 5a and 5b

Hypothesis #	Racist Behavior (Factor)				Racioethnic jokes re: particular group (Item 1)				Racioethnic jokes frequently heard (Item 3)			
	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
H5a												
Missing (n=2012)	3.54	1.203	1	5	3.30	1.393	1	5	3.62	1.275	1	5
Officers (n=953)	3.55	1.097	1	5	3.21	1.312	1	5	3.67	1.197	1	5
Enlisted (n=8953)	2.96	1.182	1	5	2.72	1.291	1	5	2.98	1.324	1	5
TOTAL= 11918	3.11	1.206	1	5	2.86	1.332	1	5	3.14	1.336	1	5

NO LAUGHING MATTER

H5b												
Missing	3.30	1.272	1	5	3.09	1.430	1	5	3.39	1.360	1	5
(n=170)												
Officers	3.30	1.125	1	5	2.80	1.388	1	5	3.55	1.218	1	5
(n=87)												
Enlisted	2.85	1.184	1	5	2.59	1.298	1	5	2.88	1.324	1	5
(n=1020)												
TOTAL= 1277	2.94	1.205	1	5	2.67	1.332	1	5	2.99	1.341	1	5

Table 20

ANOVA Results Hypothesis 5b

		ANOVA				
		Sum of	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
		Squares				
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular race or ethnicity	Between Groups	37.323	2	18.662	10.673	.000
	Within Groups	2227.507	1274	1.748		
	Total	2264.830	1276			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between Groups	31.317	2	15.658	8.867	.000
	Within Groups	2249.815	1274	1.766		
	Total	2281.132	1276			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between Groups	67.558	2	33.779	19.330	.000
	Within Groups	2226.329	1274	1.748		
	Total	2293.887	1276			
F4RacistBehav	Between Groups	41.742	2	20.871	14.680	.000
	Within Groups	1811.260	1274	1.422		
	Total	1853.002	1276			

Table 21

ANOVA Results Hypothesis 6a

		ANOVA				
		Sum of		Mean Square	F	Sig.
		Squares	df			
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between Groups	18.650	1	18.650	10.586	.001
	Within Groups	2246.180	1275	1.762		
	Total	2264.830	1276			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between Groups	41.940	1	41.940	23.881	.000
	Within Groups	2239.192	1275	1.756		
	Total	2281.132	1276			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between Groups	18.981	1	18.981	10.638	.001
	Within Groups	2274.906	1275	1.784		
	Total	2293.887	1276			
F4RacistBehav	Between Groups	25.507	1	25.507	17.796	.000
	Within Groups	1827.494	1275	1.433		
	Total	1853.002	1276			

Table 22

Descriptive Statistics Used to Test Hypotheses 6a, 6b1, 6b2, 6b3, 6b4, and 6b5

Hypothesis #	Racist Behavior				Racioethnic jokes re: particular group				Racioethnic jokes frequently heard			
	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
H 6a												
Latinos (n=888)	2.84	1.177	1	5	2.59	1.301	1	5	2.91	1.321	1	5
Latinas (n=389)	3.15	1.242	1	5	2.86	1.385	1	5	3.17	1.370	1	5
TOTAL= (n=1277)	2.94	1.205	1	5	2.67	1.332	1	5	2.99	1.341	1	5
H 6b1												
Latinos (n=9)	3.33	.898	1.67	5	2.56	1.590	1	5	3.56	.882	2	5
Latinas (n=8)	3.33	1.553	1	4.67	2.75	1.282	1	4	3.50	1.690	1	5

H 6b3

Latinos 3.02 1.164 1 4.33 2.44 1.263 1 4 3.19 1.223 1 5
(n=16)

Latinas 2.90 1.243 1.33 4.33 2.29 1.254 1 4 3.14 1.215 2 5
(n=7)

TOTAL= 2.99 1.161 1 4.33 2.39 1.234 1 4 3.17 1.193 1 5
(n=23)

Mean Std Dev Min Max Mean Std Dev Min Max Mean Std Dev Min Max

H 6b4

Latinos 2.60 1.183 1 5 2.28 1.243 1 5 2.68 1.390 1 5
(n=92)

Latinas 2.86 1.218 1 5 2.48 1.310 1 5 2.87 1.359 1 5
(n=23)

TOTAL= 2.65 1.189 1 5 2.32 1.253 1 5 2.72 1.380 1 5
(n=115)

Table 23

ANOVA Results Hypothesis 6b1

		ANOVA				
		Sum of	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
		Squares				
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between Groups	.160	1	.160	.076	.787
	Within Groups	31.722	15	2.115		
	Total	31.882	16			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between Groups	.082	1	.082	.043	.838
	Within Groups	28.389	15	1.893		
	Total	28.471	16			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between Groups	.013	1	.013	.007	.932
	Within Groups	26.222	15	1.748		
	Total	26.235	16			
F4RacistBehav	Between Groups	.000	1	.000	.000	1.000
	Within Groups	23.333	15	1.556		
	Total	23.333	16			

Table 24

ANOVA Results Hypothesis 6b2

		ANOVA				
		Sum of	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
		Squares				
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between Groups	9.921	1	9.921	5.718	.017
	Within Groups	1216.190	701	1.735		
	Total	1226.111	702			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between Groups	31.603	1	31.603	18.503	.000
	Within Groups	1197.294	701	1.708		
	Total	1228.896	702			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between Groups	11.142	1	11.142	6.533	.011
	Within Groups	1195.578	701	1.706		
	Total	1206.720	702			
F4RacistBehav	Between Groups	16.293	1	16.293	11.863	.001
	Within Groups	962.801	701	1.373		
	Total	979.093	702			

Table 25

ANOVA Results Hypothesis 6b3

		ANOVA				
		Sum of	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
		Squares				
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between Groups	.112	1	.112	.071	.793
	Within Groups	33.366	21	1.589		
	Total	33.478	22			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between Groups	.112	1	.112	.060	.809
	Within Groups	39.366	21	1.875		
	Total	39.478	22			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between Groups	.010	1	.010	.007	.936
	Within Groups	31.295	21	1.490		
	Total	31.304	22			
F4RacistBehav	Between Groups	.066	1	.066	.047	.831
	Within Groups	29.596	21	1.409		
	Total	29.662	22			

Table 26

ANOVA Results Hypothesis 6b4

		ANOVA				
		Sum of	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
		Squares				
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between Groups	.704	1	.704	.446	.506
	Within Groups	178.391	113	1.579		
	Total	179.096	114			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between Groups	2.663	1	2.663	1.649	.202
	Within Groups	182.467	113	1.615		
	Total	185.130	114			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between Groups	.628	1	.628	.328	.568
	Within Groups	216.467	113	1.916		
	Total	217.096	114			
F4RacistBehav	Between Groups	1.184	1	1.184	.836	.363
	Within Groups	160.014	113	1.416		
	Total	161.198	114			

Table 27

ANOVA Results Hypothesis 6b5

		ANOVA				
		Sum of	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
		Squares				
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between Groups	1.889	1	1.889	1.167	.281
	Within Groups	399.950	247	1.619		
	Total	401.839	248			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between Groups	4.908	1	4.908	2.799	.096
	Within Groups	433.164	247	1.754		
	Total	438.072	248			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between Groups	.986	1	.986	.536	.465
	Within Groups	454.636	247	1.841		
	Total	455.622	248			
F4RacistBehav	Between Groups	2.334	1	2.334	1.658	.199
	Within Groups	347.690	247	1.408		
	Total	350.024	248			

Table 28

ANOVA Results Hypotheses 7a and 7d

		ANOVA				
		Sum of		Mean		
		Squares	df	Square	F	Sig.
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between	88.101	5	17.620	9.973	.000
	Groups					
	Within Groups	21045.732	11912	1.767		
	Total	21133.833	11917			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between	85.019	5	17.004	9.702	.000
	Groups					
	Within Groups	20876.222	11912	1.753		
	Total	20961.241	11917			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between	83.295	5	16.659	9.364	.000
	Groups					
	Within Groups	21191.927	11912	1.779		
	Total	21275.222	11917			
F4RacistBehav	Between	82.602	5	16.520	11.416	.000
	Groups					
	Within Groups	17237.454	11912	1.447		
	Total	17320.055	11917			

Table 29

Descriptive Statistics Used to Test Hypothesis 7a

Hypothesis #7a	Racist Behavior (Factor)				Racioethnic jokes re: particular group (Item 1)				Racioethnic jokes frequently heard (Item 3)			
	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max	Mean	Std Dev	Min	Max
Never deployed or > 6 mos since last deployed (n=8628)	3.16	1.22	1	5	2.9	1.345	1	5	3.19	1.343	1	5
Not deployed, returned from Combat in < 6 mos (n=804)	2.86	1.17	1	5	2.6	1.236	1	5	2.90	1.302	1	5
Not deployed, returned from non-combat < 6 mos (n=455)	2.92	1.12	1	5	2.66	1.266	1	5	2.96	1.291	1	5
Deployed CONUS (n=399)	3.10	1.14	1	5	2.96	1.325	1	5	3.11	1.273	1	5

NO LAUGHING MATTER

Deployed OCONUS Combat (n=832)	3.08	1.18	1	5	2.84	1.303	1	5	3.11	1.296	1	5
Deployed OCONUS non- combat (n=800)	3.06	1.19	1	5	2.81	1.308	1	5	3.07	1.359	1	5
TOTAL=11918 (n=249)	3.11	1.21	1	5	2.86	1.332	1	5	3.14	1.336	1	5

Table 30

ANOVA Results Hypothesis H7b

		ANOVA				
		Sum of	Df	Mean	F	Sig.
		Squares		Square		
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between Groups	.150	1	.150	.085	.771
	Within Groups	21133.682	11916	1.774		
	Total	21133.833	11917			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between Groups	3.905	1	3.905	2.220	.136
	Within Groups	20957.336	11916	1.759		
	Total	20961.241	11917			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between Groups	5.478	1	5.478	3.069	.080
	Within Groups	21269.744	11916	1.785		
	Total	21275.222	11917			
F4RacistBehav	Between Groups	2.459	1	2.459	1.692	.193
	Within Groups	17317.596	11916	1.453		
	Total	17320.055	11917			

Table 31

ANOVA Results Hypothesis H7c

		ANOVA				
		Sum of	df	Mean	F	Sig.
		Squares		Square		
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between	1.944	1	1.944	1.084	.298
	Groups					
	Within Groups	18398.033	10258	1.794		
	Total	18399.978	10259			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between	3.090	1	3.090	1.750	.186
	Groups					
	Within Groups	18115.896	10258	1.766		
	Total	18118.986	10259			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between	2.979	1	2.979	1.657	.198
	Groups					
	Within Groups	18439.111	10258	1.798		
	Total	18442.090	10259			
F4RacistBehav	Between	2.644	1	2.644	1.801	.180
	Groups					
	Within Groups	15059.423	10258	1.468		
	Total	15062.067	10259			

Table 32

ANOVA Results Hypothesis H8a

		ANOVA				
		Sum of	df	Mean	F	Sig.
		Squares		Square		
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between Groups	30.726	5	6.145	4.026	.002
	Within Groups	135.864	89	1.527		
	Total	166.589	94			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between Groups	30.942	5	6.188	5.765	.000
	Within Groups	95.542	89	1.074		
	Total	126.484	94			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between Groups	25.104	5	5.021	3.374	.008
	Within Groups	132.433	89	1.488		
	Total	157.537	94			
F4RacistBehav	Between Groups	27.924	5	5.585	5.668	.000
	Within Groups	87.697	89	.985		
	Total	115.621	94			

Table 33

Descriptive Statistics Used to Test Hypotheses 8a, 8b, 8c, 8d and 8e

<i>Racist Behavior</i>															
Hypothesis #	Air Force (H8a)			ARMY (H8b)			USCG (H8c)			USMC (H8d)		NAVY (H8e)			
8a, 8b, 8c, 8d, 8e	n	Mean	Std Dev	n	Mean	Std Dev	n	Mean	Std Dev	N	Mean	Std Dev	n	Mean	Std Dev
Amer. Ind/Alaska Native (n=247)	11	2.33	1.054	136	2.93	1.20	3	2.67	1.453	21	3.37	1.154	48	2.90	1.052
Asian (n=666)	8	3.38	.765	301	2.67	1.08	11	2.85	1.18	30	2.48	1.164	168	2.80	1.059
Black/Af American (n=2660)	6	2.83	1.243	1539	2.95	1.16	13	2.77	1.18	121	2.61	1.127	523	2.79	1.106
Nat. Hawaii/PI (n=226)	1	3.33		134	2.89	1.10	4	2.83	.430	12	2.81	1.029	40	2.42	1.064
White (n=7393)	58	3.71	.976	3899	3.13	1.19	94	3.28	1.27	609	2.89	1.195	1468	3.13	1.203
6 (N/A, Mixed) (n=726)	11	4.33	1.022	353	1.90	1.20	10	2.23	1.40	57	2.46	1.055	209	2.80	1.194

NO LAUGHING MATTER

TOTAL= 11918															
95 3.54 1.109 6362 3.04 1.19 135 3.09 1.27 850 2.82 1.182 2456 2.99 1.180															
<i>Jokes re: particular ethnicity!</i>															
Hypothesis #	Air Force (H8a)	ARMY (H8b)			USCG (H8c)			USMC (H8d)			NAVY (H8e)				
8a, 8b, 8c, 8d, 8e	n	Mean	Std Dev	n	Mean	Std Dev	n	Mean	Std Dev	n	Mean	Std Dev	n	Mean	Std Dev
Amer. Ind/Alaska Native (n=247)	11	2.33	1.183	136	2.62	1.39	3	2.33	1.155	21	3.10	1.411	48	2.65	1.158
Asian (n=666)	8	3.13	1.356	301	2.46	1.18	11	2.09	1.300	30	2.30	1.264	168	2.48	1.184
Black/Af American (n=2660)	6	2.33	1.211	1539	2.72	1.28	13	1.85	1.068	121	2.26	1.180	523	2.51	1.226
Nat. Hawaii/PI (n=226)	1	2.00		134	2.63	1.24	4	2.00	.816	12	2.50	1.087	40	2.05	.959
White (n=7393)	58	3.38	1.226	3899	1.91	1.31	94	2.85	1.375	609	2.64	1.301	1468	2.86	1.309
6 (N/A, Mixed) (n=726)	11	4.00	1.265	353	2.68	1.34	10	1.90	1.449	57	2.16	1.115	209	2.59	1.272

NO LAUGHING MATTER

TOTAL= 11918															
Hypothesis #	Air Force (H8a)			ARMY (H8b)			USCG (H8c)			USMC (H8d)			NAVY (H8e)		
8a, 8b, 8c, 8d, 8e	N	Mean	Std Dev	n	Mean	Std Dev	n	Mean	Std Dev	n	Mean	Std Dev	n	Mean	Std Dev
Amer. Ind/Alaska Native (n=247)	11	2.45	1.036	136	2.62	1.39	3	2.67	1.528	21	3.48	1.250	48	2.94	1.174
Asian (n=666)	8	3.38	.916	301	2.46	1.18	11	3.18	1.328	30	2.37	1.377	168	2.86	1.203
Black/Af American (n=2660)	6	3.00	1.265	1539	2.72	1.28	13	3.05	1.320	121	2.65	1.250	523	2.78	1.281
Nat. Hawaii/PI (n=226)	1	4.00		134	2.63	1.24	4	3.50	1.000	12	2.92	1.240	40	2.40	1.194
White (n=7393)	58	3.66	1.305	3899	2.91	1.31	94	3.40	1.347	609	2.89	1.352	1468	3.17	1.333
6 (N/A, Mixed) (n=726)	11	4.45	1.036	353	2.68	1.34	10	2.10	1.287	57	2.51	1.182	209	2.72	1.341
TOTAL= 11918															
	95	3.55	1.295	6362	2.81	1.30	135	3.24	1.357	850	2.83	1.33	2456	3.01	1.323

Table 34

ANOVA Results Hypothesis H8b

		ANOVA				
		Sum of	df	Mean	F	Sig.
		Squares		Square		
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between	105.652	5	21.130	12.570	.000
	Groups					
	Within Groups	10684.842	6356	1.681		
	Total	10790.494	6361			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between	84.351	5	16.870	9.737	.000
	Groups					
	Within Groups	11012.305	6356	1.733		
	Total	11096.656	6361			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between	106.584	5	21.317	12.267	.000
	Groups					
	Within Groups	11045.368	6356	1.738		
	Total	11151.952	6361			
F4RacistBehav	Between	97.109	5	19.422	13.950	.000
	Groups					
	Within Groups	8849.339	6356	1.392		
	Total	8946.448	6361			

Table 35

ANOVA Results Hypothesis 8C

		ANOVA				
		Sum of	df	Mean	F	Sig.
		Squares		Square		
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between Groups	22.687	5	4.537	2.544	.031
	Within Groups	230.083	129	1.784		
	Total	252.770	134			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between Groups	8.877	5	1.775	.847	.519
	Within Groups	270.337	129	2.096		
	Total	279.215	134			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between Groups	17.169	5	3.434	1.928	.094
	Within Groups	229.764	129	1.781		
	Total	246.933	134			
F4RacistBehav	Between Groups	13.392	5	2.678	1.701	.139
	Within Groups	203.097	129	1.574		
	Total	216.489	134			

Table 36

ANOVA Results Hypothesis H8d

		ANOVA				
		Sum of	df	Mean	F	Sig.
		Squares		Square		
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between	31.797	5	6.359	3.933	.002
	Groups					
	Within Groups	1364.820	844	1.617		
	Total	1396.618	849			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between	21.268	5	4.254	2.454	.032
	Groups					
	Within Groups	1462.967	844	1.733		
	Total	1484.235	849			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between	27.160	5	5.432	3.097	.009
	Groups					
	Within Groups	1480.417	844	1.754		
	Total	1507.578	849			
F4RacistBehav	Between	25.729	5	5.146	3.742	.002
	Groups					
	Within Groups	1160.592	844	1.375		
	Total	1186.321	849			

Table 37

ANOVA Results Hypothesis 8e

		ANOVA				
		Sum of	df	Mean	F	Sig.
		Squares		Square		
Joke-1 A person of one race or ethnicity told several jokes about a particular racioethnicity	Between	81.005	5	16.201	10.000	.000
	Groups					
	Within Groups	3969.143	2450	1.620		
	Total	4050.148	2455			
Joke-2 Offensive racial or ethnic names were frequently heard	Between	56.966	5	11.393	6.657	.000
	Groups					
	Within Groups	4193.001	2450	1.711		
	Total	4249.967	2455			
Joke-3 Racial or ethnic jokes were frequently heard	Between	99.531	5	19.906	11.617	.000
	Groups					
	Within Groups	4198.194	2450	1.714		
	Total	4297.725	2455			
F4RacistBehav	Between	76.972	5	15.394	11.287	.000
	Groups					
	Within Groups	3341.648	2450	1.364		
	Total	3418.620	2455			

Table 38

Descriptive Statistics for Racist Behavior Factor of the 81,007 DEOCS Respondents Who Report No Personal Experiences of Discrimination in the Past 12 Months

	N	Mean	Std
		Racist Behavior	Dev
		r	
ALL reporting zero discrimination	81,007	4.19	.9001
STATUS			
	N	Mean	Standard
		Racist Behavior	Deviation
		Score	
Junior Federal Civilian	2883	4.41	.7736
Senior Federal Civilian	8000	4.47	.7137
Junior Enlisted	47,774	4.03	.9659
Senior Enlisted	8787	4.41	.7155
Junior Officer	7006	4.27	.8004
Senior Officer	3930	4.58	.6094
Non-Federal Civilian	2041	4.40	.8103
Missing Answer	586		
TOTAL	81,007		
DEPLOYMENT STATUS			
1 = It has been more than 6 months since my last deployment, or I have never deployed	62,587	4.22	.8844
2 = I returned from combat zone deployment within the past 6 months	4922	4.05	.9577
3 = I returned from non-combat zone deployment within the past 6 months	2498	4.02	.9781
4 = Yes (CONUS)	1966	4.20	.8813

5 = Yes (OCONUS, in a combat zone)	4931	4.14	.9163
6 = Yes (OCONUS, in a non-combat zone)	4103	4.04	.9730
TOTAL	81,007		
RANK			
Officers	11,472	4.39	
Enlisted	56,611	4.09	
Missing Answer	12,924	4.45	
TOTAL	81,007		
GENDER			
Males	65,828	4.17	.9101
Females	15,179	4.27	.8501
TOTAL	81,007		
RACIOETHNICITY*			
Non-Hispanics	69,771	4.18	.9243
Hispanics	11,236	4.09	.9356
RACIOETHNICITY			
American Indian/Alaska Native	918	4.15	.9512
Asians	3335	4.13	.8850
Black or African American	12,645	4.12	.9185
Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander	1229	4.06	.9168
Whites	52,064	4.23	.8812

Mixed/Multiple Race	3124	4.05	.9692
Missing Answer	7692	4.10	.9425
TOTAL	81,007		
RACIOETHNICITY			
Latinas and Latinos ONLY*			
Hispanic American Indian/Alaska Natives	277	4.04	.9902
Hispanic Asians	124	3.93	1.0159
Hispanic Blacks/African Americans	571	4.02	.9629
Hispanic Native Hawaiians/Pacific Islanders	144	4.09	.9918
Hispanic Whites	4682	4.15	.9091
Hispanic Mixed/Multiple Race	417	4.06	.9831
TOTAL	6215		
GENDER			
Latinas and Latinos ONLY*			
Males	9116	4.07	.9493
Females	2120	4.17	.8697
TOTAL	11,236	4.09	.0088
ORGANIZATION			
Active Component Member (includes Coast Guard)	53902	4.10	.9364
Traditional Guardsman (Drilling)	2193	4.23	.8104
Guardsman on active duty	3229	4.17	.8623
Traditional Reservist (Drilling)	4994	4.40	.7478
Reservist on active duty	2497	4.28	.8599

Not Applicable	1268	4.02	.9974
Missing Answer*	12,924	4.45	.7439
TOTAL	81,007		
BRANCH			
United States Air Force	1401	4.49	.7439
United States Army	40,131	4.15	.7443
United States Coast Guard*	933	4.25	.9009
United States Marine Corps	7196	3.93	.8526
United States Navy	18402	4.15	1.0217
Non-United States Military	20	4.37	.9161
Missing Answer	12,924	4.45	.7439
TOTAL	81,007		

Table 39

Service Members Reporting Zero Personal Experiences With Discrimination

	N=95,062*	n=81,007**	AmerInd/ AlaskaNat n=641	Asian n=321	Black/ AfAm n=12074	NatHa/ PI n=1085	Whites n=47,382	Latinas & Latinos n=11236	Latinas n=2120	Latinos n=9116
				3.93						
F3Positive EO Behavior	4.10 (.9643)	4.17 (.9332)	4.12 (1.0144)	(1.020 5)	4.07 (.9561)	3.99 (1.0411)	4.23 (.8968)	4.08 (.9821)	4.09 (.971)	4.07 (.9847)
F4RacistBehavior (Jokes)	4.02 (1.0357)	4.19 (.9007)	4.2 (.9305)	4.14 (.8788)	4.11 (.9162)	4.05 (.9068)	4.24 (.8785)	4.09 (.9356)	4.17 (.8697)	4.07 (.9493)
F6ReligDiscrim	4.55 (.7208)	4.67 (.5637)	4.63 (.6559)	4.66 (.5981)	4.63 (.6228)	4.66 (.62720)	4.69 (.537)	4.7 (.5683)	4.74 (.5193)	4.69 (.5789)
F8Organizational Commitment	3.29 (.6965)	3.37 (.666)	3.3 (.6844)	3.38 (.5954)	3.38 (.6592)	3.34 (.6085)	3.39 (.6749)	3.3 (.646)	3.36 (.6418)	3.33 (.6468)
F9Trust in Organization	3.49 (1.0683)	3.6344 (1.0072)	3.5143 (1.088)	3.85 (.9164)	3.58 (.9680)	3.73 (.972)	3.65 (1.015)	3.64 (1.0081)	3.55 (.9902)	3.66 (1.011)
F13Job Satisfaction	3.89 (.8725)	3.9854 (.821)	3.89 (.888)	4.08 (.7590)	4.08 (.7679)	4.04 (.7924)	3.96 (.8288)	4.02 (.8236)	4.02 (.805)	4.02 (.828)

*Due to partial responses, the usable data set among those experiencing zero discrimination decreased to 81,007.

**This number does not represent the sum total of the racioethnic designations to its right because (a) some respondents declared zero races and (b) some respondents chose multiple races.

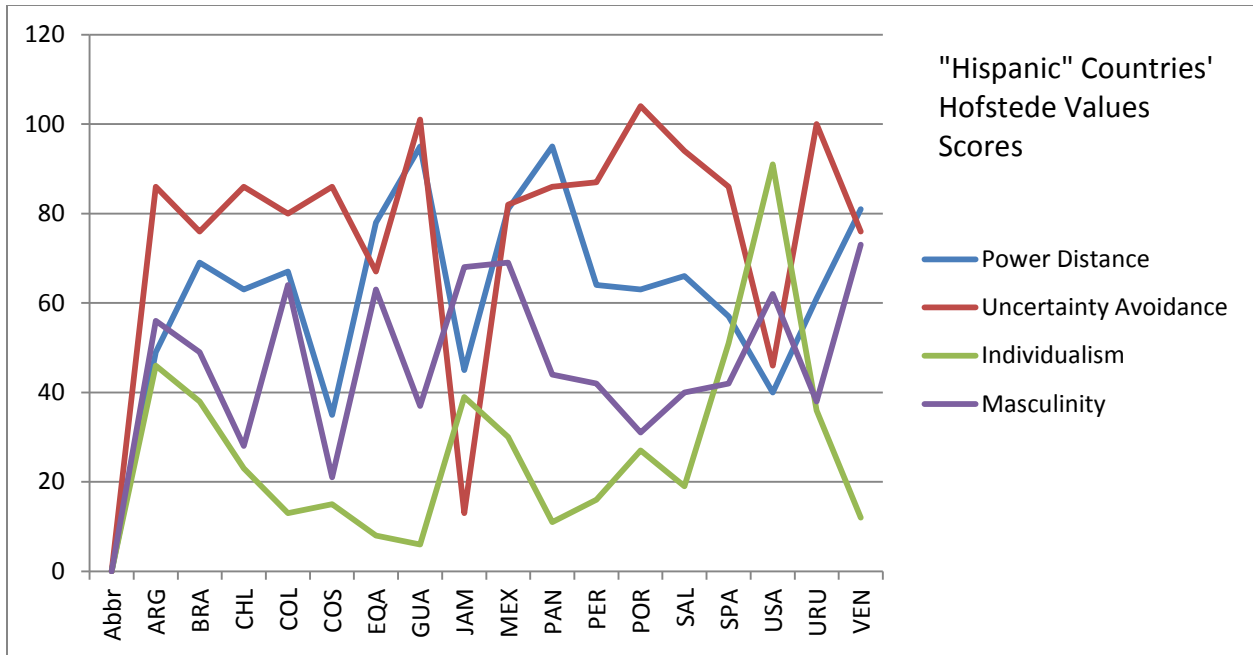


Figure 1. Visual depiction of Hispanic countries' diverse Hofstede value scores.



Figure 2. Screenshot of racioethnic microaggression broadcast on KTVU FOX San Francisco, July 2013.

Appendix A: DEOMI DEOCS Version 3.35

The following text was downloaded from

<http://www.deocs.net/DocDownloads/GeneralDescriptionwithSA.pdf>

**The Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI)
Organizational Climate Survey (DEOCS) version 3.3.5****General Description**

The DEOCS questionnaire is intended for organizations with as few as 16 members and is suitable for military and/or civilian personnel. The questionnaire uses the shared perceptions of an organization's members to measure climate factors associated with military equal opportunity (EO) issues, civilian equal employment opportunity (EEO) issues, and sexual assault prevention and response (SAPR) issues, as well as organizational effectiveness (OE) factors. The DEOCS allows leaders to proactively assess critical organizational climate dimensions that can impact their organization. DEOCS can be administered using paper questionnaires, completed online, or with a combination of both. The questionnaire typically takes about 20 minutes to complete. The race-ethnic classification system used on DEOCS follows recent Office of Management and Budget guidelines for classification of racial groups and multi-racial designations. Perceptions of how likely specific activities are considered within the organization are reported along a five-point scale, from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree." The estimated likelihood of negative behaviors (e.g., discrimination) occurring is reverse scored, so that higher numbers always reflect a more positive result. Regardless of the scale on which the items are measured, a higher number always reflects a more positive result.

Scales 1–7 focus on perceptions of EO/EEO climate factors.

- Sexual Harassment and Sex Discrimination
- Differential Command Behavior Toward Minorities
- Positive Equal Opportunity Behaviors

- Racist Behaviors
- Religious Discrimination
- Age Discrimination
- Disability Discrimination

- Sexual Harassment/Sex Discrimination: Perceptions of how extensively sexual harassment and sex discrimination, such as sexist jokes or sexually suggestive language, are thought to occur in the organization.
- Differential Command Behavior Toward Minorities: Perceptions of differential treatment on the basis of race/ethnicity.
- Positive Equal Opportunity Behaviors: Estimates of how well majority and minority members get along in the unit and are integrated in the unit's functioning.
- Racist Behaviors: This factor reflects perceptions of racist behaviors such as racial name calling and telling racist jokes.
- Religious Discrimination: Perceptions of whether people are discriminated against because of their religion.
- Age Discrimination: Perceptions of whether people are discriminated against because of their age.
- Disability Discrimination: Perceptions of whether people are discriminated against because of their disability or handicap.

Factors 8–13 measure perceptions of organizational effectiveness (OE).

- Organizational Commitment
- Trust in the Organization
- Work Group Effectiveness
- Work Group Cohesion
- Leadership Cohesion
- Job Satisfaction

- Organizational Commitment: Measures “bonding” to the organization, and reflects how much the respondent identifies with the organization and would like to remain in it.
- Trust in the Organization: An indicator of how people perceive the organization as a place where people trust and care for each other.
- Perceived Work Group Effectiveness: Reflects the degree to which the respondent’s unit is seen as productive and effective in accomplishing its mission.
- Work Group Cohesion: A measure of how well groups work together, pull together on projects, and care for and trust each other.
- Leadership Cohesion: Similar to Work Group Cohesion, but focused on how members perceive how well leaders work together.
- Job Satisfaction: Indicates how satisfied respondents are in their current job, measured using a five-point scale, from “Very Satisfied” to “Very Dissatisfied.”
- Respondents can report whether they personally experienced discrimination during the past 12 months. The DEOCS 3.3.5 also allows them to indicate the type of discrimination they experienced (e.g., race, sex, religion, etc.).

- Respondents can also report whether they reported the discrimination incident.
- The DEOCS 3.3.5 also allows them to indicate how they reported the incident (e.g., to an EOA/EEO representative, a fellow worker, a supervisor, confronted the offender, etc.).
- Respondents can report their level of satisfaction with how the issue of discrimination was resolved, using a five-point (“Very Satisfied” to “Very Dissatisfied”) scale.

Scales 14–17 focus on sexual assault prevention and response (SAPR) climate factors.

- Leadership Support for Sexual Assault Prevention and Response
 - Knowledge of Sexual Assault Reporting Options
 - Barriers to Reporting Sexual Assault
 - Bystander Intervention of Sexual Assault
-
- Leadership Support for Sexual Assault Prevention and Response: An indicator of people’s perceptions of leadership support as it relates to sexual assault prevention and response.
 - Knowledge of Sexual Assault Reporting Options: People’s knowledge of restricted reports of sexual assault.
 - Barriers to Reporting Sexual Assault: Perceived barriers to reporting sexual assault within the unit.
 - Bystander Intervention of Sexual Assault: How likely people will intervene and take the appropriate action if a situation was escalating to sexual assault.
 - The DEOCS compares the organization’s overall average scores on each climate factor against the averages of the respective organization’s service branch (Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines) and the Department of Defense overall. The averages used for comparison are obtained from all DEOCS that were completed during the last six months.*

The DEOCS compares the results of complementary groups across all climate factors:

- Minority vs. Majority
- Women vs. Men
- Officer vs. Enlisted
- Junior Enlisted vs. Senior Enlisted
- Junior Officer vs. Senior Officer
- Military vs. Civilian
- U.S. Military vs. Other Military
- Junior Civilian vs. Senior Civilian
- Government Civilian vs. Non-government Civilian

To facilitate interpreting subgroup comparisons, the DEOCS uses a color coding scheme, with green indicating an organizational strength, while yellow, orange, and red indicate organizational concerns of increasing seriousness. To assign color codes, the DEOCS plots a single point, using

the lower mean from the two groups being compared against the Disparity Index (DI), a statistic that reflects the magnitude of difference between the two groups.

The new DEOCS 3.3.5 version also provides notional interpretation and action prescription along with the group comparison data. Finally, the DEOCS 3.3.5 allows respondents to provide more information concerning their deployment status. Previously, only the person ordering the DEOCS for an organization was in a position to indicate whether the organization was deployed or not; now, each individual completing the DEOCS can indicate their respective deployment status:

- 1 = It has been more than 6 months since my last deployment, or I have never deployed
- 2 = I returned from combat zone deployment within the past 6 months
- 3 = I returned from non-combat zone deployment within the past 6 months
- 4 = Yes (CONUS)
- 5 = Yes (OCONUS, in a combat zone)
- 6 = Yes (OCONUS, in a non-combat zone)

For more information call the Directorate of Research at DEOMI: (321) 494-2675/1590 DSN: 854-2675/1590

Appendix B: DEOMI Equal Opportunity Climate Survey

SUBJECT: DEOMI Equal Opportunity Climate Survey
TO: XXXXXXXX

Message from: COMMANDER RANK/NAME

The survey I am asking you to complete gives you the opportunity to provide opinions on where I should focus attention to improve the human relations climate of our organization. No attempt will be made to identify you, so please respond openly and frankly.

This survey asks you to give opinions about whether something might happen, or could happen; you do not need to prove it actually did happen. Your perceptions are valuable because they give me insight into the general attitudinal climate of our organization. In addition to seeking your opinion about human relations and unit cohesion issues, I also want to know how well you think your workgroup operates and produces in comparison to other similar workgroups. For your answers to be useful, you must be honest. Do not tell me what you think I want to hear, or say what others might say; tell it as you see it.

I am requesting you complete a survey no later than XX/XX/2013. The survey will ask you to provide demographic information such as your rank, race, and sex. Demographic information is used to ensure we have a proper representation of participants. To begin the survey you must connect to the Internet. The survey can be found at URL:

[https: URL](https://URL)

An ACCESS CODE is required to gain access to the survey. This case-sensitive code was randomly generated and is not associated with your name or any other personal identifying source to ensure anonymity. Utilize the following survey access code: XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

I appreciate your assistance and assure you the time you devote to the survey will not be wasted. I look forward to sharing the results of the assessment with the members of our organization in the near future.

If you have questions concerning the assessment or the survey, my point of contact is RANK/NAME at TELEPHONE XXX-XXXX.