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CHANGES IN BLACK AND WHITE PERCEPTIONS OF THE ARMY'S RACE RELATIONS/EQUAL OPPORTUNITY PROGRAMS--1972 TO 1974

by

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U.S. ARMY RESEARCH INSTITUTE
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BRIEF

Requirement:

To replicate a survey conducted in 1972 to determine changes in the perceptions of Army enlisted personnel toward the Army's race problem, and their perceptions, knowledge of and attitudes toward Equal Opportunity and Treatment Program.

Procedure:

In 1972, the Enlisted Personnel Questionnaire was administered to a sample of enlisted personnel located at eight Army installations in CONUS, three in U.S. Army Pacific and two in USAREUR. In 1974, the same questionnaire with only slight modification was administered to 2,246 white, and 1,943 black enlisted personnel at the same locations.

Findings:

The sharp pervasive differences which existed between the perceptions held by black and white personnel regarding race relations and equal opportunity in the Army in 1972 were substantially present in 1974, although almost all of the changes which occurred were in the direction of reducing the differences. Although less than in 1972, blacks continue to see a great deal of racial discrimination, especially in regard to their opportunities for promotion and in the administration of military justice. Blacks see the state of race relations in the Army as more favorable than in 1972. The perceived extent of command support for EOT programs has increased since 1972 although both races see such support as modest.

Large numbers of black and white personnel continue to report that they personally have benefited from the Army race relations training program. At the same time, however, there is still an absence of any widespread feelings that such programs will achieve the objectives set for them. Utilization of specific EOT programs has not increased with the level of awareness of these programs; the level of satisfaction among users of the programs is lower than in 1972.

In general, the findings from the 1974 survey closely parallel and support those from the 1972 survey. However, many of the differences which can be discerned across the two years are in the direction of a coming together of black and white perceptions.

Utilization:

Army commanders, race relations educators and trainers, and RR/EO staff personnel have used this report to update training programs. The RR/EO program manager has used this report to revise program guidelines designed to improve perceived deficiencies in the RR/EO program.

CHANGES IN BLACK AND WHITE PERCEPTIONS OF THE ARMY'S RACE RELATIONS/EQUAL OPPORTUNITY PROGRAMS 1972 TO 1974

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CHANGES IN BLACK AND WHITE PERCEPTIONS OF THE ARMY'S RACE RELATIONS/EQUAL OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM 1972 TO 1974

INTRODUCTION

In 1972, the Army Research Institute initiated an Army-wide survey to determine how whites and blacks in the Army perceived the nature and severity of the race problem and how they perceived the various equal opportunity and treatment (EOT) programs then in being in the Army.

In general, this survey showed a sharp cleavage in how the race problem was perceived by the whites and blacks. Whites in the Army tended to accept the proposition that the Army is, as its basic policy says it is--free from racial discrimination.

Blacks, on the other hand, saw the Army as highly discriminatory. This difference was also correlated with grade: officers and higher enlisted grades of both races tended to see the race problem as less serious than did the lower enlisted grades.

The overall result was that the majority view, and the view of Army leadership, tended to be that the race problem in the Army was not really a serious problem.

This predominating view tended to mask the fact that the dissenting view is held by nearly all of those who are the victims of racial discrimination--the racial minority. A more detailed abstract of the 1972 findings is included as Appendix A.

The 1972 survey was done at a time when the Selective Service still existed, and, many RR/EO programs were just beginning to be implemented. By 1974, the all-volunteer Army had become a reality; many RR/EO programs had been in operation more than two years, and most enlisted personnel should have been through the 18-hour RAP Training Program.

In addition, the racial composition of enlisted personnel had changed in that the percentage of blacks had increased at the same time that the total size of the Army was reduced. The enlistment and reenlistment rates of black enlisted personnel had risen sharply since 1972.[1]

It became desirable to replicate the 1972 survey in 1974 in order to compare the responses of Army enlisted personnel in 1974 to the same questions that were asked in 1972.

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1 Janowitz, Morris and Moskos, Charles C. Jr., "Racial Composition in the All-Volunteer Force," a Policy Paper, reprinted in Armed Forces and Society, 1, 1 (Fall 1974), pp 102-123; and Nordlie, P., Thomas J. and Sevilla, E., Measuring Changes in Institutional Racial Discrimination in the Army, ARI Technical Paper 270, December 1975.

Such a comparison would reveal any changes in perceptions and attitudes which may have occurred and provide some indication to kind and extent of impact the total RR/EO program may have had. This report presents the results of that replication in 1974.

OBJECTIVES

The specific objectives of the study were:

1. To determine whether changes had occurred in the extent to which the elements of the program were known to Army personnel and in the extent to which the facilities provided by the program had been used since 1972.

2. To assess changes in Army personnel's attitudes toward, and perceptions of, the Army's Race Relations Program since 1972.

3. To provide recommendations for improving the effectiveness of the program.

METHOD

DESCRIPTION OF THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

The Enlisted Personnel Questionnaire on Race Relations/Equal Opportunity Programs in the Army was originally developed and used in the 1972 survey.[2] The Questionnaire consisted of 277 questions divided among the following 11 areas.

	Content Area	No. of Questions
I.	Respondent Background	11
II.	Race Problems in the Army in General	34
III.	EOT Regulations and Procedures	26
IV.	Promotion/Selection	6
V.	Military Justice System	37
VI.	Services and Products Available to Minorities	24
VII.	EOT Officer	19
VIII.	Off-Post Housing	15
IX.	Race Relations Education	28
X.	Race Relations Seminars and Councils	34
XI.	Racial Attitudes and Perceptions	43
		277

[2] Ibid.

A few minor changes in that questionnaire were necessary to take account of changes in the race relations training programs, the virtual elimination of race relations councils and other changes in program terminology. The changes were as follows:

1. The wording of three items was changed because of errors or poor wording in the 1972 version.
2. Twelve items concerning race relations councils were omitted from the 1974 version.
3. Eight new items on race relations training were added.
4. In 1972, the wording "Race Relations Seminars" was used in a number of questions. This wording was changed in the 1974 version to "Racial Awareness Program Seminars" or "RAP" seminars.

There were, therefore, only minor differences between the two versions of the questionnaire.

THE SAMPLE

The goal, as it was in 1972, was to obtain equal-sized samples of blacks and whites stratified by grade.[3] The total sample was selected from the same 13 commands from which the 1972 sample was drawn--two in each Army area in the continental United States, two in the U.S. Army-Europe, and three in the U.S. Army-Pacific.

While there was not a particular concern with difference among commands, there was the desire to achieve geographical dispersion insofar as possible within practical limits.

Each command was asked to provide 330 respondents; this 10 percent increase over what was requested in 1972 was intended as a hedge against the short-fall experienced in the original survey. This method proved successful. Whereas the total sample in 1972 was six percent short of the design goal, the total sample in 1974 exceeded the goal by seven percent.

In Table 1, the composition of the Army and the survey samples in 1972 and 1974 are compared. It can be seen that the samples from the two years closely resemble each other with respect to distribution both by paygrade and by race.

---

[3]Whereas the real interest was in the differences between majority (white) perceptions and those of racial minorities, it was not practical within the scope of the study to develop questionnaires for, and proper samples of, each distinct racial minority. The decision was made, therefore, that because the black minority was far and away the largest racial minority in the Army, this study would focus on the differences between black and white perceptions.

The differences between the distributions of whites by paygrade and blacks by paygrade were tested by chi-square which confirmed the fact that the samples from the two years were not significantly different with respect to race and paygrade.[4]

Table 1

COMPARISON OF ARMY COMPOSITION AND SAMPLE COMPOSITION FOR 1972 AND 1974

	1972		1974	
Paygrade	Army Composition	Survey Sample	Army Composition	Survey Sample
E2 - E4	57.4%	57.4%	62.1%	56.3%
E5 - E6	31.8%	33.2%	27.8	32.2
E7 - E9	10.7%	9.3%	10.1%	11.5%
Race				
White		53.0%		54.0%
Black		47.0%		46.0%
TOTAL N		3,656		4,189

Table 2 describes the 1974 sample in terms of a number of demographic variables. The demographic differences between the 1972 and 1974 samples are slight, but some are worth mentioning. For example, there were more married, accompanied whites and fewer single whites in the 1974 sample than in 1972. Time in service was slightly higher for blacks in 1974, and even more so for whites, with an increase of nine percent in the "more than six years in service" category for whites. Both races showed more people in the middle of the educational range, and fewer at the top and bottom than in 1972. Housing patterns had changed somewhat, also. Fewer whites lived in barracks and more in civilian economy housing, whereas among blacks there were slightly fewer in civilian economy housing and more in on-post military housing. Finally, the white sample contained proportionately more women than the 1972 sample did.

[4]Computed chi-square values were: for whites $x^2 = 10.99$ (df = 2) and for blacks $x^2 = 4.29$ (df = 2).

Table 2

SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 1974 RESPONDENT SAMPLES

	White		Black	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
a. Sex				
Male	2,053	91.4	1,785	91.9
Female	183	8.1	138	7.1
No Response	10	0.5	20	1.0
Total	2,246	100.0	1,943	100.0
b. Marital Status				
Single	991	44.1	960	49.4
Married, accompanied	1,004	44.7	656	33.7
Married, unaccompanied	238	10.6	318	16.4
No Response	13	0.6	9	0.5
Total	2,246	100.0	1,943	100.0
c. Time in Service				
Less than 1 year	296	13.2	300	15.4
1 - 3 years	936	41.7	781	40.2
4 - 6 years	247	11.0	223	11.5
More than 6 years	752	33.5	630	32.4
No Response	15	0.6	9	0.5
Total	2,246	100.0	1,943	100.0
d. Education				
Less than 8th grade	24	1.1	5	0.2
8th to 11th grade	204	9.1	202	10.4
High school graduate or G.E.D.	1,464	65.2	1,321	68.0
1 to 3 years college	469	20.9	360	18.6
College graduate	72	3.2	35	1.8
No Response	13	0.5	20	1.0
Total	2,246	100.0	1,943	100.0
e. Housing*				
Barracks	738	40.1	937	56.7
Civilian economy	761	41.3	395	23.9
On-post military	276	15.0	281	17.0
Off-post military	66	3.6	39	2.4
Total	1,841	100.0	1,652	100.0

*No data from Korea included on this question.

These demographic variables which showed statistically significant differences (at the .001 level of confidence) in the two years include for whites: sex (x^2 = 32.51, df = 1); marital status (x^2 = 36.83, df = 2); housing (x^2 = 94.96, df =3); and time in service (x^2 = 48.54, df = 3). For blacks, the only significant difference was in the housing pattern (x^2 = 43.04, df = 3).[5]

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

All 1974 data were collected during the four-month period June thru September of 1974.

The attempt was made, insofar as possible, to replicate the 1972 survey exactly. The same questionnaire (with only very minor modifications) was used, the same sampling procedures were employed, the same installations were visited, and the same analyses were performed. The primary difference between the 1972 and the 1974 surveys is that the interviewing of a small sample of EOT personnel and officers in command positions which was part of the 1972 study was not repeated in 1974--only the enlisted personnel survey was replicated.

The data collection team consisted of one or two persons. Any two-person team was biracial. In those instances where one person administered the survey, a white visited some installations and a black visited others. The questionnaire was administered to groups which averaged about 100 persons each. Except for scheduling difficulties and the inordinate length of time the team was required to be on some installations in order to complete the sample, no difficulties were encountered in the administration.

The questionnaire took about 45 minutes to complete, on the average, and ranged from 30 to 80 minutes. Respondents' behavior closely resembled the behavior observed in 1972. They tended to grumble a bit when they saw the length of the questionnaire, but appeared to get interested in as they went along. The most common behavior was for responsents to work quietly and steadily until they completed the questionnaire.

A copy of the data obtained at each installation was provided to the commander as feedback information as soon as the data were processed.

ANALYSIS

Appendix B contains questionnaire items with response alternatives, accompanied by percentage figures. The figures indicate proportion of whites and blacks who chose each alternative in the 1972 survey, and the proportion in each sample who chose those alternatives in 1974.

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[5] Ibid.

Chi-square analysis was the primary statistical technique used. A chi-square was computed for each qustion (and in some cases, question responses) comparing the 1972-1974 white distributions of responses, 1972-1974 black distributions of responses, and 1974 black and white distributions of responses. Chi-square data comparing the distributions of responses for blacks and whites in 1972, were included to facilitate comparisons with similar data obtained for 1974 (see Appendix C).

With regard to the percentage figures, they have been rounded to the nearest whole number. The proportion of non-respondents has not been included. Therefore, percentage figures for any item will not necessarily add to 100 percent.

RESULTS

GENERAL PERCEPTIONS OF THE ARMY'S RACE PROBLEMS (QUESTIONS 1-18)

The initial attitudinal questions in the Enlisted Personnel Questionnaire deal with opinions about some rather general aspects of the racial situation in the Army and the surrounding civilian community. The intent of these questions was to determine how the overall, non-specific, racial situation in the Army and the overall program aimed at improving equal opportunity was perceived by whites and blacks.

These 18 questions consist of Questions 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, and 13, which deal with the current state of race relations and equal opportunity in the Army; questions 3, 7, 9, 10, 14, 15, 17 and 18, which deal with Army efforts at dealing with RR/EO matters, and questions 8, 11, 12, and 16, which are of a general nature.

Results obtained from this group of items are highly similar to those reported in 1972. In both the 1972 and 1974 surveys, the black and white samples differ significantly in terms of perception of most aspects of Army life covered in the surveys.

However, two differences are noted in the ways the two groups responded to this first set of questions. These differences may indicate subtle shifts in attitude occurring over a period of time. In general, the first 18 items show a tendency for both groups to see things in a somewhat more favorable light in 1974 than in 1972.

At the same time, a slightly larger proportion of the white EM surveyed see Army RR/EO programs as giving an unfair advantage to blacks. So, while the two groups appear to be converging in their perception of conditions on the whole, the small proportion of whites who exhibit indications of "backlash" seems to be growing in size.

While no individual indicator of potential white backlash found here is especially outstanding in itself, and although the magnitude of the differences between the two surveys is small, taken together the pattern of responses to this group of items suggests that this apparent trend should be watched closely to determine if the number of white enlisted personnel who hold negative orientations toward the RR/EO programs is continuing to increase. Although this "backlash" minority is small now, it has increased since 1972.

In 1972, a majority of whites and half the blacks rated race relations in the Army as "fair" (Q. 1), but more blacks than whites rated race relations as "poor" at that time. This same general pattern persists in the present data, but with a tendency for larger numbers in both groups to perceive the sitation more favorably. This difference is more pronounced for blacks than for whites, however, the end result being a convergence effect. Actually, the 1974 black sample is only slightly more negative than was the 1972 white sample.

In response to Q. 2 regarding the trend in the quality of race relations over the past year, the alternatives "getting better" and "have not changed" were chosen by about equal numbers of white respondents in 1974, as was also true in 1972. The minority of whites who chose the "getting worse" alternative has decreased, however, from 24 percent to 18 percent. Distributions for both whites and blacks have changed in a favorable direction; this is a more pronounced trend among blacks than among whites.

The convergence trend is again present in Q. 4. The fact is that no significant change occurred in either group alone in distributions of responses in the two-year period. The combination of slightly fewer whites and slightly more blacks who see Army race relations as "not as bad as they are in the rest of society" brings the two groups much closer together than they were in 1972.

The overall pattern, however, is for more whites than blacks to see things as "not as bad" in the Army, while more blacks than whites see Army conditions as "about the same as ... in the rest of society."

Once again in Q. 5, the overall distribution of black and white responses appears similar to those of 1972. A majority of whites feel that "both races receive equal treatment" in the Army, while a majority of blacks feel that "blacks receive worse treatment.

Mention should be made of the finding that about five percent more of the white 1974 than the white 1972 sample saw blacks as treated "better" than whites. If this apparent trend were to continue, it could well be construed as an indicator of "white backlash" against RR/EO programs.

A similar question, phrased slightly differently in Q. 13, provides quite similar results, with the addition that the proportion of blacks who see blacks as being treated worse than whites is about seven percent lower in 1974 than was true in 1972.

As more blacks tend to become better satisfied with the way they are treated, more white enlisted personnel, seeing the same changes, interpret them in terms of an overreaction on the part of the Army in the direction of favoritism toward blacks.

With regard to perceptions of the fairness of Army practices and procedures (Q. 6), the 1972 result is replicated here in that a majority of whites see these practices and procedures as "equally fair" to both groups, while a plurality of blacks see them as "fair to whites but not blacks."

Once again, however, the proportion of whites who see blacks as being favored has increased by five percent, although this attitude still holds for only a small minority in the present question.

The distributions of responses to the question of the perceived value of Army RR/EO programs to black soldiers (Q. 9) are essentially unchanged from 1972. A plurality of both blacks and whites (42 percent and 45 percent, respectively) see the programs as "generally helpful." Relatively more blacks than whites (27 percent and 18 percent) see them as "neither helpful nor harmful." Less than 10 percent of either group see them as "generally harmful" to blacks.

Compare this with the distribution of responses to the complementary question (Q. 10) concerning effects of RR/EO programs on white soldiers. Black responses are distributed as in 1972: a plurality of 47 percent feel the programs are "generally helpful" to whites.

In the white sample, however, several small (but overall statistically significant) differences appear which indicate that a larger number of white enlisted personnel hold a low opinion of RR/EO programs in 1974 than in 1972.

The proportion of whites who feel the programs are "generally helpful" is down three percent to 29 percent, while the proportions who feel they are "neither helpful nor harmful" or "generally harmful" are each four percent higher than the comparable figures for 1972.

Q. 3 asks whether the Army is doing all it can to improve race relations. As in 1972, a majority of both racial groups expresses the opinion that the Army "is taking some steps ... but still isn't doing a lot of things it could."

An interesting and significant difference appears secondary to this however, in that the proportion of respondents who feel the Army "is not really taking serious steps" is somewhat lower. The proportion is four percent lower or whites and seven percent lower for blacks. A corresponding increase has occurred in the response category "The Army is

doing all it can to improve race relations." The increase is five percent higher for whites and eight percent higher for blacks.

Similar to these findings, but more specific, is Q. 7 which asks how much more the Army could do to improve off-post treatment of black soldiers. As in 1972, large groups of white respondents registered no opinion on this question (40 percent in 1972, 39 percent in 1974), compared to blacks (18 percent both years).

The predominant response from blacks remains the same, also, with a majority of the sample indicating that there is "quite a bit more" the Army might do off-post.

Of possible importance here is the finding that again five percent fewer blacks supplied the response most critical of the Army ("quite a bit more") in 1974 than in 1972. There is an equal-sized increase in the middle category ("a little or somewhat more"). At the same time significantly more whites feel the Army can do "nothing at all" off-post beyond what it is now doing.

Q. 14 asks the respondent's opinion concerning the role officers play in improving race relations. The 1972 and 1974 responses to this item are virtually identical for each of the racial groups separately. Almost half the blacks and over 40 percent of the whites surveyed feel that "most officers are doing something but not enough to improve race relations."

However, remaining members of the white sample are about evenly split between the attitude that officers "are doing as much as they can" and the negative opinion that most officers "are doing nothing to improve race relations."

In contrast, over 40 percent of the black sample report that they feel officers "are doing nothing," and only eight percent feel they "are doing all they can."

A majority of both blacks and whites feel that EOT programs receive "some command support" as opposed to "a great deal" or "no command support" (Q. 15). However, more than twice as many whites as blacks feel the programs get "a great deal" of command support.

The proportion of soldiers surveyed who hold this high evaluation of the level of command support is 10 percent higher for whites and seven percent higher for blacks compared with 1972.

Once again in Q. 18, the 1974 results do not differ significantly from the 1972 results for either group. Nearly half of each group feel that "some Army leaders" see EOT as a leadership responsibility. More than four times as many blacks as whites, however, feel this is true of "few or no Army leaders" whereas more whites feel "all or most Army leaders" see EOT as a leadership responsibility.

Q. 17 lists nine areas in which equality of opportunity and treatment might be an issue, and asks the respondent to name those areas in which he feels the Army could do more to promote EOT than it is currently doing. No item on the list was checked by more than 27 percent of white respondents for 1974.

The top four responses for whites, in descending order of frequency are: "military justice;" "promotions and selection;" "off-post housing;" and "off-post discrimination in areas other than housing." No other area was checked by more than a relative handful of white respondents.

The same four areas were named by blacks, but in a different order, and by larger numbers, in general. The list of the top four for blacks is: "promotion and selection;" "military justice;" "off-post discrimination (non-housing);" and "off-post housing."

Two other areas named by 18 percent and 19 percent of blacks, respectively, are "race relations education" and "products and services available on post" for minorities.

No direct comparison of 1972 and 1974 percentages can be made since the instructions given for this item inadvertently differed in the two years. Comparing the relative frequencies with which the items were mentioned, however, the response patterns are quite similar in the two years.

There is little difference between 1974 and 1972 in enlisted personnel's interpretation of black and white "grouping" after duty hours (Q.16). Overall, the black and white distributions are quite similar now, as in 1972, with approximately equal proportions in both groups feeling that such self-segregation either "does not mean anything" or "means there is a problem, but not a serious one."

Few see after-hours grouping as a "good sign." However, 20 percent of the whites and 15 percent of the blacks see it as "a sure sign of trouble."

There is a substantial difference in the two findings in the extent to which both black and white enlisted personnel are aware of the various RR/EO programs and undertakings listed in Q. 8.

In 1972, as many white enlisted personnel as blacks were aware of the existence of the RR/EO officer. More whites than blacks knew of the Housing Referral Office and RAP Seminars. While increasing numbers in both groups have become aware of all the programs listed, this increase is greater for whites than for blacks.

The order of familiarity is identical for both groups, as follows: "RR/EO Officer;" "Race Relations Councils;" "Housing Referral Office;" "RAP Seminars or Workshops;" "Leadership Aspects of Race Relations;" and "Defense Race Relations Institute."

The last two are known to fewer than 30 percent in either group. A program listed in 1974 but not in 1972 is the Unit Race Relations Discussion Leader Course, known to 42 percent in each group.

In Q. 12, the respondent was asked to estimate the proportion of the population at his post comprised by blacks. In all but one of the 13 locations for which data were aggregated, black enlisted personnel chose the "20 to 40 percent" alternative more than any other alternative.

Responses of white enlisted personnel also tended to fall in this middle category. At seven locations equal or larger numbers of whites chose the "40 to 60 percent" alternative.

Overall, more whites than blacks see the black proportion as above 40 percent. Responses for both groups are significantly different from responses in the 1972 survey.

Some striking differences appear between the 1974 and 1972 surveys in the answers of black and white enlisted personnel to Q. 11 concerning the perceived amount of prejudice against black soldiers in the civilian communities surrounding the posts surveyed.

Four locations, Ft. Gordon, Ft. Carson, the 2nd Infantry Division in Korea, and the Okinawa site have remained essentially as they were in 1972.

In one location, Ft. McClellan, the proportion perceiving "a lot of prejudice" has decreased in both the black and white samples. At Ft. Ord, both samples show higher percentages in this response category. At Ft. Knox, the white group remains essentially unchanged, while the proportion of blacks seeing "a lot of prejudice" is up by eight percent.

In all the remaining places except the 19th Support Brigade (Korea), responses of the blacks are lower by 4 to 11 percent, with concomintant increases in white responses of 1 to 6 percent. Table 3 gives the post-by-post comparisons for 1972 and 1974.

Table 3

PERCENT PERCEIVING "A LOT OF PREJUDICE" IN THE SURROUNDING CIVILIAN COMMUNITY (Q. 11) IN 1972 AND 1974

Community	1972 White	1972 White	1972 Black	1974 Black
Ft. McClellan, AL	46%	36%	67%	62%
Bamberg, Germany	21	22	65	54
Ft. Gordon, GA	33	32	43	42
Ft. Hood, TX	21	27	52	47
Ft. Riley, KS	23	27	46	42
Okinawa	22	20	37	35
Hanau, Germany	14	20	47	39
Korea, 2nd Infantry Division	18	18	36	31
Korea, 19th Support Brigade (In 1972, KORSCOM)	17	26	31	27
Ft. Knox, KY	16	15	34	42
Ft. Dix, NJ	12	15	37	27
Ft. Carson, CO	15	15	31	34
Ft. Ord, CA	13	17	18	28

In general, the following conclusions can be made with regard to the comparison of the 1972 and 1974 results on this initial group of questions:

1. A strong black-white cleavage in perceptions is evident in both years although black and white perceptions are closer to each other in 1974 than they were in 1972.

2. Blacks appear to acknowledge that there has been some improvement in the racial situation across the board although it is by no means a large one.

3. The majority of whites appear to show a greater awareness of the black soldiers' problems.

4. There is a small but growing minority of whites who see the Army RR/EO programs as promoting favoritism toward blacks.

5. Enlisted personnel show a marked increase from 1972 to 1974 in knowledge about Army RR/EO programs.

All of the changes noted with the exception of the increased white "backlash" group, are in directions consistent with the objectives of the Army's RR/EO programs. Although the results cannot show any cause-effect relationship, the directions could be considered evidence that these programs are, in fact, having the effects intended.

REGULATIONS AND PROCEDURES (QUESTIONS 19-32)

The second set of survey questions deals with several aspects of Army regulations and procedures concerning equal opportunity and treatment. These questions were intended to determine the extent of enlisted personnel's knowledge of RR/EO regulations, policies, and procedures.

Questions 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 30, 31, and 32 deal with respondents' knowledge of and familiarity with EOT regulations. Questions 27, 28 and 29 ask to whom the respondent would go for aid in resolving certain hypothetical problems. Questions 23 and 24 deal with perceptions of the enforcement of EOT regulations by officers and NCOs.

In general, responses to the 1974 survey show increased knowledge of regulations in general, somewhat more widespread confidence in the Equal Opportunity Officer as a source of aid, but no significant changes in the proportion of enlisted personnel who see officers and NCOs as somewhat lax in enforcement of EOT regulations.

A majority of both white and black samples still report that they have never seen, read, nor had read to them, an Army EOT regulation (Q. 19). However, the proportion who say they have seen or heard such a regulation is 10 percent higher for whites and 8 percent higher for blacks than in 1972.

Both differences are statistically significant. The distribution of responses is virtually identical for the two groups.

Although the majority response to Q. 20, which asks whether the post being surveyed has its own EOT regulations and circulars is still "don't know," 38 percent of whites and 36 percent of blacks answer "yes" to that question.

This is slightly more "yes" responses than in 1972 and correspondingly fewer "don't know" responses; the differences are significant for both groups.

As in 1972, for both whites and blacks, the most frequent answer to Q. 21, "how many white soldiers know generally what the Army's equal opportunity and treatment regulations say?" is "few white soldiers."

Among those giving other responses, however, there is a greater tendency for whites to say "some white soldiers" have that knowledge, or "no opinion" while black enlisted personnel are more inclined not to express an opinion.

When asked the same about black soldiers (Q. 22), white soldiers appear to believe that black soldiers are more knowledgeable about EOT regulations than blacks themselves believe they are.

The proportion of whites and blacks who display accurate knowledge about what is required in Army regulations concerning EOT has generally increased since 1972.

The proportion answering "yes" (this was the correct answer in all cases) to the 13 parts of Q. 25 was anywhere from one percent to nine percent higher in 1974 for whites and blacks alike. The most frequently missed item in the group deals with the requirement (Q. 25. g) that results of Article 15 cases for E4s and below be displayed on unit bulletin boards for seven days.

Just over half in each group were correct about this requirement. Five of the 13 1972-74 comparisons show statistically significant differences for white respondents (Q. 25b, d, e, i, and m), but only two for blacks (Q. 25b, d).

The follow-up to this (Q. 26) asks how many of the requirements checked by the respondent in Q. 25 are "effective in making certain that all soldiers receive equal opportunity and treatment without regard to race."

The response distributions for blacks and whites are almost identical here, with just over 40 percent of each group indicating that "most" of the requirements are effective. However, slightly (but significantly) more blacks than whites have a propensity to be pessimistic on this point. Results for 1972 and 1974 show no significant differences for this item.

Personal acquaintance of respondents with the poster describing acceptable hairstyles in the Army (Q. 30) is highly similar to what it was in 1972. Significant differences appear here over 1972 in terms of soldiers' perceived satisfaction with haircut regulations (Q. 31).

Concerning the level of satisfaction of black soldiers, more than half of both white and black respondents feel that "very few black soldiers are happy with the regulation." This is significantly higher than in 1972 (11 percent higher for whites and 18 percent for blacks). Similar changes have occurred concerning the perceived acceptability of the haircut regulations evident in 1972 as being even stronger in 1974. This source of dissatisfaction seems universal and not particularly race-related.

The Equal Opportunity Officer apparently is becoming increasingly well-known among both black and white enlisted personnel. This is the person to whom a third or more of white and black respondents say they would go for help in handling the racial grievance of a subordinate (Q. 27).

These figures are eight percent higher for each group than in 1972. The only other person to whom a substantial proportion of people would go for this particular grievance would be a Race Relations Council Member.

For a race-related complaint concerning promotion, however, the EO Officer takes second place behind the Inspector General, as was also true in 1972 (Q. 29).

More than half the black respondents and around 40 percent of the whites feel that officers enforce EOT regulations only "some of the time" (Q. 23). The proportion of whites who feel that officers enforce these regulations "most of the time" is much higher than the proportion of blacks who feel this way.

The proportion of blacks compared to whites who feel these regulations are enforced by officers "none of the time" is much larger. There is no significant difference for either group in answering this question in 1974 as compared with 1972.

The same general pattern holds when the question is asked about enforcement of these regulations by NCOs (Q. 24).

In summary, it appears that familiarity with the Army's EOT regulations and procedures is increasing in both races and at all grade levels. A fairly large proportion of the members of both races has confidence that most Army regulations of this type have a favorable impact on race relations.

Especially at higher grade levels, members of both groups are also gaining confidence in the Equal Opportunity Officer as a source of aid on complaints concerning discrimination.

Blacks in general, especially in the lower pay grades, are less satisfied than whites with the enforcement of EOT regulations. Finally, haircut regulations continue as a source of dissatisfaction for both races.

PROMOTION AND SELECTION (QUESTIONS 33-38)

Part IV of the survey questionnaire deals with equality of opportunity in the areas of promotion to higher grade and selection for specialized training. Prior work and interviews had shown that perceived discrimination in promotions is one source of greatest dissatisfaction among black personnel.

This set of questions sought to illuminate perceptions in this area. In no other area are black and white differences in perception more sharply drawn. The 1974 responses closely resembled those in 1972.

A vast majority of whites still believe that black and white enlisted personnel have equal chances for selection and promotion, while the majority of black respondents in both years feel that whites have an advantage over blacks.

Two differences mentioned earlier, under "General Perceptions," are repeated here, however.

First, slightly more blacks than in 1972 tend to see their chances as equal. There is again an indication that a few more white respondents feel that blacks now have an advantage, at least in terms of promotion. This tendency does not seem to hold for selection for specialized training and high-civilian-pay skill areas.

When asked to compare the chances of whites and blacks for promotion (Q. 33), the vast majority of whites feel that chances are equal for the two groups whereas the vast majority of blacks feel that they are not equal.

The proportion of blacks who feel that their chances are equal is up a modest three percent over the comparable 1972 figure. The proportion of whites who feel that "blacks have an advantage" is up five percent over 1972. Overall, the distribution of responses is significantly different between 1972 and 1974 for white respondents, but not for blacks.

The same question asked with respect to specialized or technical training (Q. 34) shows greater agreement in both groups. The majority of white respondents again see opportunities as equal, although just over half of black respondents see whites as favored.

The proportion of blacks who see chances as equal for the two groups is higher than was true in 1972, and now represents over 40 percent of the black sample. This same pattern of responses holds for the question of chances for selection for skill areas that lead to high civilian pay (Q. 35).

In Q. 36, respondents were asked to compare the promotion chances of blacks today with their chances five years ago. Over four-fifths of white respondents see the situation as better now than five years ago. This figure is four percent higher than the 1972 figure.

The proportion of whites who feel chances are equal to what they were five years ago is four percent lower than in 1972. A majority of blacks still see today's promotion possibilities as better than they were in 1969.

The proportion who chose this alternative is four percent lower than in 1972, with a concomitant four percent increase in the group who feel their chances are worse now than five years ago. This distribution of responses is significantly different for the two surveys for both groups.

With regard to the relative qualifications of black and white enlisted personnel for promotion to higher grades (Q. 37), a majority of both groups feel as did the majority of both in 1972, that the two groups are equally qualified. But again as in 1972, about one-fifth of each group feels that whites are better qualified than blacks.

Generally speaking, the varying perspectives of blacks and whites are still strongly evident in their perceptions of equality of opportunity in the area of promotion and selection. Most whites perceive blacks as having an equal chance for advancement; most blacks feel they are still at a disadvantage as compared to whites.

In addition, there is the recurrence here of a small increase in white backlash feelings, and a small increase in the number of blacks who see their chances for promotion as lower now than five years ago.

MILITARY JUSTICE (QUESTIONS 39-61)

Because of the importance of the military justice system as a potential source of complaints concerning unequal treatment, 23 questions were included in the survey to deal with perceptions of military justice.

Apparently those enlisted personnel surveyed in 1974 hold essentially the same opinions of the military justice system as did their counterparts in the 1972 survey, and black and white enlisted personnel still differ in the same ways.

The major difference between 1972 and 1974 data is the decrease in the number of respondents who report that they have heard frequent complaints about specific aspects of the system from their peers (Q. 41 and 42).

Informal complaints are reportedly much less frequent among both white and black soldiers. Complaints are heard 3 to 21 percent "less frequently" now than in 1972, the largest decrease being in regard to complaints about "212s and other administrative discharges."

This is one of the largest differences found between the two years. Despite the decrease in complaints, however, the overall pattern is still one in which substantial proportions of both black and white soldiers have, at best, skeptical attitudes about military justice, with far more black soldiers expressing distrust of the system.

Perceptions of the equality of the military justice system (Q. 39) are distributed in the 1974 survey just as in the 1972 survey. Almost 75 percent of whites, but only 40 percent of blacks feel that both groups are treated equally; a majority of blacks still see black soldiers as being treated less fairly than white soldiers.

Concerning trust of black soldiers in the military justice system (Q. 46), about half the black enlisted personnel surveyed feel that most black soldiers "do not trust the military justice system at all."

The proportion of blacks who marked this response in 1974 is five percent less than in the 1972 survey. White respondents are split among the "do not trust,""no opinion" and "they trust the military justice system somewhat" responses.

Respondents were asked which of eight specific elements of the military justice system do they hear white soldiers complain about frequently (Q. 41). The same question is asked in Q. 42 regarding complaints of black soldiers. The white response for white complaints is much the same as in 1972.

"Article 15 and non-judicial punishment" and "COs and the brass, in general" are the items most frequently named, by just under half the white respondents. Third most frequently named is the "The UCMJ in general." No other area was named by more than 10 percent of white respondents.

Responses of black enlisted personnel show the same order of frequency, albeit with smaller percentages of this sample naming the top three sources of complaints.

The striking result in comparing the two surveys is that in the case of every one of the elements of the military justice system dealt with here, fewer respondents reported frequent complaints in 1974 than did so in 1972.

Apparently white soldiers' complaints are considerably reduced, especially concerning "212s," "COs and the brass," and "stockade conditions."

The same can be said of reported complaints from black enlisted personnel as found in Q. 42; all categories are down, especially alternatives f, g, and h, plus "pretrial confinement," which is also reported as a source of frequent complaints from black soldiers by significantly fewer people now than in 1972.

In 1972, 88 percent of white respondents replied that they felt black soldiers did not receive an unfair number of Article 15s (Q. 43). Conversely, 65 percent of black respondents feel that blacks did receive more than their share of such actions at that time.

Responses to this question from the 1974 survey are identical to those from the earlier work. This similarity across the two years extends to Q. 44 also, where a majority of whites still feel the "punishments given under Article 15" are "generally fair for both black and white enlisted personnel."

Black respondents are spread across three response categories --"fair for both," "fair for whites only," and "unfair for both." It should be noted, however, that about the same proportion of whites as blacks see the system as "unfair for both."

More attitudinal information concerning Article 15s comes from Q. 45. The most frequent response to this question for both whites and blacks, as was true in 1972, is that "The Army should completely overhaul Article 15 procedures."

Lesser proportions of both groups feel that "many" or "few" changes should be made, but the least frequent response is that the Army should make "no changes at all" to Article 15 procedures.

Leader behavior with regard to military justice is the focus of Q. 40, Q. 52, Q. 58, and Q. 59. Concerning the fairness with which commanders apply the military justice system (Q. 40), most white respondents, as in the 1972 survey, feel that the system is applied fairly to both blacks and whites. While 42 percent of black respondents still see whites as being treated better, this figure is less than it was in 1972.

With regard to Army leaders' reaction to the use of racial epithets (Q. 52), the most frequent response, given by over one-third of each group, is that most Army leaders "don't crack down on anyone," black or white.

The remainder of the white sample splits between the answers "they crack down harder on whites than on blacks." About one-fourth of the black sample agrees that everyone is equally severely affected, although an equal number feels that blacks are treated more harshly than whites for this behavior. No significant difference is found between 1972 and 1974 distributions for either whites or blacks.

Very few blacks report seeing unequal enforcement of the dress requirements concerning wearing of hats and blousing of boots (Q. 58). The most frequent response for blacks is that "very few of either blacks or whites" get away with failure to do these things, though a sizeable percent feel that "a lot of both blacks and whites" get away with it. Over one-third of the whites saw blacks as getting away with such violations more often than whites. There is no significant difference between the 1972 and 1974 results on this question.

Whereas black enlisted personnel perceive that "most" or "some" Army leaders see blacks who wear Afros as "militants or troublemakers" (Q. 59), white enlisted personnel feel that "some" or "few or no" leaders feel that way. The major significant difference between the 1972 and 1974 surveys is that in 1974 fewer blacks see "most Army leaders" as overreacting to Afro hairstyles.

"How many black soldiers know their rights under the Uniform Code of Military Justice?" was asked in Q. 48. Once again, the 1972 distribution of responses is replicated in that black respondents are evenly split between "some" and "few black soldiers know their rights," while most white respondents feel that "most" or "some" are knowledgeable.

Concerning white soldiers' knowledge of their rights under the UCMJ (Q. 49), the white respondent sample is again split between the "many white soldiers" and "some white soldiers" responses, whereas almost 40 percent of black respondents feel that only "some" white soldiers have the requisite information.

Each respondent was asked (Q. 54) how much improvement he has seen since he has been in the Army that would tend to make the military justice system fairer to all soldiers.

As might be expected, there is a direct correlation between pay grade of the respondent (which is, in turn, correlated with time in service) and his assessment of change in the system of justice.

Over half the white respondents in grades E7 to E9, and about 44 percent of blacks in those grades report "a great deal of improvement."

Although the proportion of the younger soldiers who report little improvement is greater than for older NOCs, nearly half of both whites and blacks in the E1 to E4 category see at least "some improvement."

Much the same finding holds for Q. 55, concerning improvements to make the military justice system fairer for black soldiers, with the notable exception that in this case the number of whites in the top-level NCO category who see "much improvement" is more than double the proportion of blacks in grades E7 to E9 who gave that answer.

More blacks than whites across all grades, however, see "some improvement."

A sizeable majority in both groups again, as in 1972, would favor the Army's requiring a JAG officer to review the case of every soldier in pretrial confinement and explain his rights to him no later than the second week of his confinement (Q. 50).

In answer to Q. 51, over three-fourths of the respondents in both the black and white samples would like to see the Army use lower-ranking enlisted personnel to advise soldiers of their legal rights and work with unit commanders to solve problems in the unit.

In the black sample, however, a significant difference from the 1972 survey appears in that five percent more black respondents in the recent survey would not favor such a policy.

The perceived racial composition of the Military Police, on a post-by-post basis is the focus of Q. 53. Whites tend to feel that there are "enough black MPs," whereas blacks are generally dissatisfied with the number of black MPs. This was true both years.

As in 1972, between two-thirds and three-fourths of respondents, white and black, report they have never seen a black Army lawyer, under any circumstances (Q. 56). This question was originally included because pretests showed that whites tended to report that they frequently saw black lawyers whereas blacks seldom saw one.

This finding, however, was not strongly substantiated in the survey itself. In 1972, there were only nine black lawyers in the Army and in 1974 not more than eighteen.

Respondents were asked to assume a situation where more black Army lawyers would be available, and to predict how this would affect the use of Army lawyers by black soldiers (Q. 57). White respondents are split, as were the 1972 respondents, between two alternatives: blacks "would be more likely to use Army lawyers" and "would not make any difference."

Also similar to the 1972 findings is the fact that over half of black respondents questioned see a greater likelihood of black soldiers using Army lawyers if more black lawyers were available. The group who responded in this way is six percent smaller than in 1972, however, with six percent more in the "would not make any difference" category.

A second question was asked about hairstyles without mention of a racial aspect (Q. 60). There is no real agreement among white or black respondents regarding "how many Army leaders agree as to what length and style of hair is 'acceptable.'"

Overall, the responses of the black sample differ little from those obtained in the 1972 survey, although significantly more whites in 1974 say that "most Army leaders agree" on hairstyle acceptability.

In Q. 47, each respondent was asked to judge how frequently he feels he personally "can get a fair shake under the Army's military justice system." The most frequent response, comprising half the blacks surveyed and 40 percent of the whites, is "some of the time."

This is as it was in the 1972 survey. About one-third of blacks and one-fourth of whites, however, feel they can get fair treatment "seldom or never."

The final question in this section (Q. 61) deals with respondents' estimates of the percentage of personnel in post stockades who are black. A greater proportion of black respondents than white estimate that figure to be "more than 60 percent." Here again the 1972 results are closely approximated.

Apparently, complaints about various aspects of the military justice system are heard less often now than in 1972, among both races. Article 15 procedures still represent a major source of complaints among blacks and whites alike. Large numbers in both groups feel the Article 15 procedures should be completely revamped. The black-white cleavage in perceptions of equality of treatment persists here, with blacks feeling that they receive inordinate numbers of Article 15s and that whites are treated with a greater degree of fairness than blacks under the military justice system.

White soldiers generally disagree with those "fairness" views on both points. The one unifying factor for a substantial minority of both races is that they perceive the system of military justice as unfair to everyone, black or white.

SERVICES AND PRODUCTS AVAILABLE ON POST (QUESTIONS 62-69)

This group of eight items dealing with possible areas of discrimination in the delivery of services and the availability of minority-oriented products reveals much the same findings as did the 1972 survey. The impression remains, despite certain specific areas where perceptions of white and black respondents differ, that this is not a source of widespread dissatisfaction.

As in 1972, a majority of both blacks and whites report that "blacks and whites are treated the same" in PX facilities (Q. 62). This is one of the few instances of this kind of agreement between whites and blacks.

The 1972 results are again replicated regarding frequency of complaints by white and black soldiers about inability to "get a good haircut" from an Army barber (Q. 63 and Q. 64). Whites still tend to report more complaints from their white peers than blacks from whites.

Substantial proportions of both respondent groups report frequent complaints from black troops, as was true of 1972 respondents. A majority of blacks feel that not enough Army barbers are trained to cut the hair of blacks (Q. 65). The percentage did show a significant decrease from 1972 to 1974. On this issue, the most frequent response for whites is, again "no opinion."

The next question asks opinions about the adequacy of the number of blacks employed in various capacities on post.

For white respondents, the most frequent response for the number of black "commanders," "teachers in dependent schools," and "laywers" is "don't know," but as for "employees (clerks, PX employees, etc.)" the majority of whites feel that blacks are adequately represented.

This finding reflects identical opinions to those expressed by whites in 1972; black responses are also quite similar between the two surveys. The modal response for blacks in every case is "no," there are not enough blacks in these positions. However, with regard to "commanders," and "employees," the proportion who are dissatisfied is lower than the corresponding figures in 1972.

Sizeable proportions of the black respondents are once again, as in 1972, dissatisfied with the amount of attention given black history and culture (Q. 67) in the areas of "entertainment at post clubs," "schools for military dependents," and "post activities for wives and dependents."

In only one of these areas, "entertainment," did a majority of whites express an opinion. In this case, 59 percent (up seven percent from 1972) feel that black entertainment is "given enough attention." Once again, in this area of living, the black-white cleavage persists.

Larger proportions of both blacks and whites report availability of black-oriented books in post libraries (Q. 68) than did so in the 1972 samples. About half the members of each group express satisfaction on this score.

With the exception of "soul food" and "clothes (dashikis, etc.)" as judged by black respondents, large proportions of both racial groups report satisfaction with availability on post of specific minority-oriented products (Q. 69).

All in all, the issue of minority-oriented services and products available on post was not a source of strong dissatisfaction for blacks nor an area of sharply marked black-white differences in perceptions.

The impression is given that there had been substantial real improvements in this area prior to 1972 and this trend has continued. "Treatment in the PX" is the only area in the survey in which blacks and whites agreed that blacks and whites were treated the same. This fact does suggest that respondents are making cognitive discriminations among the subjects asked about and are not merely reflecting a response set unrelated to their day-to-day experience.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY OFFICER (QUESTIONS 70-83)

The position of Equal Opportunity Officer was the focus of 14 survey questions. In 1972, this was a relatively new position. Only those respondents aware of such a position, as determined by responses to Q. 70a, were questioned further about the EO Officer.

Most respondents knew of the existence of such a person. The percentages quoted for Q. 70b through Q. 83 are based on Ns of 1,704 for whites and 1,288 for blacks. Note that the proportions of the 1974 samples who are aware of the EO Officer's existence are considerably higher than for their 1972 counterparts as would be expected.

On the other hand, the proportion who say they personally have approached the Equal Opportunity Officer with a problem or complaint is about the same in both groups for both years.

A majority of the two groups report they know how to contact the EO Officer (Q. 70b). This percentage is somewhat higher than in 1972 for both groups, but more so for whites. However, only 37 percent of whites in this group and 44 percent of blacks report knowing the name and rank of the EO Officer at their posts (Q. 70c). This is also a considerable increase over the 1972 results.

Neither group feels that white soldiers make use of the EO Officer's services with any great frequency (Q. 73). Both groups tend to attribute more, but still not a great deal of, utilization of this position to blacks than to whites.

More whites than blacks feel that "most" officers know what the job of the Equal Opportunity Officer is. These figures differ only negligibly from the 1972 data. More black respondents than white have a modest opinion of the general level of awareness of the EO Officer s job among black soldiers (Q. 76).

Whites attribute such awareness to a greater proportion of the black enlisted population than do blacks themselves. This pattern tends to appear with all questions of this type. Here again there is little difference from the 1972 data.

Neither respondent group attributed widespread knowledge of the EO Officer's job to white enlisted personnel in 1972. This still holds. Black respondents have a mildly positive view of the results obtained by the Equal Opportunity Officer (Q. 79), while whites are more likely to claim they "don't know" how satisfied most complainants are.

This is similar to the 1972 data. Again, the vast majority of both white and black enlisted samples are unaware of any civilian-owned business being put off-limits by the post commander due to racial discrimination (Q. 80)

The final two items in this group were to be answered only by those respondents who have had personal experiences in bringing problems to the attention of the EO OFficer as determined in Q. 81.

Only nine percent of the whites who are aware of the EO Officer (Q. 70) claim to have taken some complaint, request, or problem to him, while about 20 percent of blacks in the same category have done so.

The result represents about seven percent of the total white 1974 sample and 13 percent of the total black 1974 sample, as compared with seven percent of whites and 12 percent of blacks in 1972.

For some unknown reason, the number of people responding to Q. 82 and Q. 83 in the 1974 survey was more than should have responded, i.e., more than the number who reported personal experience with the EO Officer. Since this did not seem to have happened in 1972, results of these two items for 1974 should not be compared with earlier results.

In general, it appears that the position of EO Officers has become increasingly well-known since 1972. It also seems that this is not accompanied by an increase in the use of the EO Officer.

Whereas more white soldiers than blacks are aware of the Equal Opportunity Officer's existence, the aware blacks are more knowledgeable and more likely to use his services.

This gives the impression that the EO Officer is still seen by many whites as being in business solely to aid minority group members in lodging complaints of discrimination.

OFF-POST HOUSING AND HOUSING REFERRAL OFFICE (QUESTIONS (84-92)

Four items were included in the survey on discrimination in off-post housing (Q. 84-87). The distribution of responses to all four questions closely parallels the results from the same items in the 1972 survey with one major, and unexplained, difference.

The rate of non-response on all four items is 10 to 12 percent higher in 1974, i.e., fewer in each group chose to respond. This is surprising also since a larger percentage of both whites and blacks lived in off-post housing in 1974 (Q. 11).

Especially in view of the fact that the "no response" rates for each question were extremely similar in general between 1972 and 1974, we have been unable to account for the much higher "no response" rate on these four questions.

The most frequently selected response to Q. 84 for both groups is that they "don't know" how serious the housing discrimination is in off-post areas.

This response was again more frequent among whites than blacks, but over 30 percent of blacks also answered in that way. Among those who did assess the seriousness of the problem, more blacks than whites feel the problem is "serious," but few in either group judge it "very serious."

Question 85 is a question of factual knowledge, concerning the post commander's authority to place off-limits any housing facilities outside the post shown to be discriminatory. Whites tend to be more aware than blacks that post commanders have that authority.

Opinion concerning the effectiveness of the Army's Equal Opportunity in Off-Post Housing Program (Q. 86) is, at best, mixed. There is a high "no response" rate for both groups, and the most frequent response in both groups is "don't know."

However, 22 percent of the black sample feel the program "has improved" housing conditions for blacks somewhat. Higher ranking blacks tend to be more complimentary to the program in general.

Concerning personal knowledge of price discrimination in off-post housing against black soldiers, significantly fewer blacks in 1974 than in 1972 report such knowledge. Only a small percentage of white enlisted personnel surveyed report personal awareness of such discrimination.

For the off-post housing questions, the reader should be wary of making judgments about percentage differences in specific response categories between the 1972 and 1974 surveys, since much of the difference may be accounted for by the higher rate of nonresponse in 1974.

A second part of the section on off-post housing deals with the Housing Referral Office (HRO). Overall, the assessments of the HRO given by 1974 respondents differs little from what was said by 1972 respondents with these notable exceptions:

> The proportion of both groups who report having used the services of the HRO (Q. 91) is higher now than two years ago (six percent higher for whites, eight percent higher for blacks):
>
> of those who have used the HRO, far more did so in 1974 because their orders required them to do so (Q. 91A);
>
> the proportion of blacks who report having lodged a complaint of discrimination with the HRO (Q. 92) is five percent higher for the 1974 black enlisted sample than for the comparable 1972 sample; and
>
> of those who have lodged complaints concerning discrimination with the HRO, the proportion of people who say their complaints were never investigated is up five percent, and the proportion of whites whose complaints resulted in an investigation only, with no subsequent action, is ten percent lower in 1974 than in 1972 (Q. 92A).

Otherwise, the picture is still one in which: almost half of all respondents feel the HRO is at least "of some help" to white enlisted personnel (Q. 88) and only slightly fewer feel it is of that much help to black enlisted personnel (Q. 89); almost 25 percent of blacks, but only 11 percent of whites report personal knowledge of discrimination by a landlord whose facilities were listed as open in the HRO listing (Q. 90).

Opinion among blacks and whites alike is widely scattered concerning the amount of help they personally got from the HRO (Q. 91B). Most blacks and whites who sought the HRO's services were shown lists of open and off-limits housing, but few in either group were told how the off-limits list came into being (Q. 91C).

RACE RELATIONS EDUCATION (QUESTIONS 93-94)

Race relations education has been one of the largest components of the Army's affirmative action program. The Army instituted and has conducted what is probably the most massive program in race relations education ever undertaken.

Questions in this section are aimed at eliciting opinions of enlisted personnel about usefulness of their training.

Section IX.A. of the survey questionnaire posed several pages of questions concerning the two courses of race relations instruction entitled "Race Relations" and "Leadership Aspects of Race Relations." Those items numbered Q. 94A through Q. 940 are based on these Ns.

While substantially larger proportions of both racial groups have attended a race relations education course as of the 1974 survey than in 1972, attitudes in both groups concerning effects of the education (Q. 93) are more pessimistic than among their 1972 counterparts.

Eight percent fewer in each group in the 1974 survey feel that courses such as those mentioned "can do a great deal to improve race relations," while the proportion who feel "they are likely to make things worse" is six percent higher for whites and five percent higher for blacks.

Question 94A was recognized as a poorly constructed item in the report on the 1972 survey. For purposes of comparison with the 1974 survey, however, the item remained in its original form. The site of training most often reported by whites, and second by blacks is "this post."

The first source for blacks (second for whites) is "Basic Combat Training." At least 50 percent in each group reported having received some training in each of those settings. The NCO Academy and NCOES were the only others listed by more than 10 percent in either group.

The order of frequency is much the same here as in the earlier survey, although significantly fewer whites and blacks report having experienced race relations training as part of BCT in the 1974 survey, while significantly more in both groups list "this post" as providing them with instructions.

The most frequent response to Q. 94B indicates that approximately half of whites and blacks alike see their understanding of racial problems in the Army as having been increased "somewhat" by the courses

in question. However, about one-fifth in each group said they had gained "a great deal" of understanding, while about a third of both whites and blacks feel that there was no appreciable impact on them. This is quite similar to the 1972 results.

The responses to Q. 94C indicate that slightly fewer blacks and whites feel that the instruction increased understanding of "the causes of racial tension in the Army" as a result of the courses.

Respondents were asked, "Would you be in favor of requiring everyone in the Army to attend a race relations course?" (94E). Just over half of white respondents, and over 70 percent of blacks answered "yes" to this question.

However, this is 14 percent fewer whites and five percent fewer blacks than gave that same answer in the 1972 survey.

The proportion of white respondents who feel that race relations instruction benefited "black and white soldiers equally" (Q. 94F) is nine percent less than in 1972, with a corresponding nine percent more saying "neither black nor white" soldiers benefit.

Specific benefits derived from race relations education are the subject of Q. 94M. (This item is comparable to Q. 94G in the 1972 questionnaire.) With few deviations the largest proportions of both black and white respondents express a rather subdued opinion of the benefits derived.

The predominant response of white enlisted personnel to all 11 of the areas named is that they benefited "somewhat." Relatively large groups of whites saw no benefit in understanding "the relationship between slavery and discrimination and the attitudes of young black soldiers today" (Q. 94Mc) as well as "the attitudes of young white soldiers today" (Q. 94Md).

In contrast, 40 percent of black respondents felt they benefited "a lot" in understanding the attitudes of their black contemporaries (Q. 94M.c.) and 37 percent said that their "understanding of black cultural identity" was increased "a lot" (Q. 94Mk).

On the average, blacks have a significantly higher opinion of the benefits of the two courses than do whites. Little has changed in this respect since 1972.

One issue of particular interest was the question of what role black history and culture should play in race relations education. Several questions in this section sought to shed some illumination on this question.

Question 94N (Q. 94H in 1972) focuses on the part of the course dealing with "black history in America and the role blacks have played in the Army." This material was "somewhat new" to almost half the white respondents, and "not at all new" to almost half the blacks.

The proportion to whom it was "not at all new" is higher now than in 1972, by six percent for whites and four percent for blacks. The overall difference for whites is significant, but for blacks it is not.

As in 1972 about two out of five black respondents saw the segment of the course of instruction on "black history, civilian and military" as most valuable to them personally (Q. 940).

About that same proportion of whites were most happy with "discussion of the current racial situation in the Army with filmed or taped situations," again much as was true in 1972. In general, material on black history and culture was appreciated by blacks but not by whites.

Several items were added to the 1974 questionnaire which did not appear in the 1972 survey (Q. 94G thru Q. 94L), to deal with several additional aspects of race relations training. For example, Q. 94G asks whether the respondent feels "training in race relations resulted in improved interpersonal relationships."

Almost half the black respondents feel that interpersonal relationships were "somewhat improved." The comparable figure for whites is 39 percent, while 40 percent of whites and 28 percent of blacks see "no change."

With regard to the ability of discussion leaders to handle the subject matter comfortably (Q. 94H), relatively few members of either group felt that the leaders were "not comfortable."

Although about the same proportion of blacks and whites feel the course material is "somewhat interesting," relatively more blacks found it "very interesting" (Q. 94I). Both groups are by-and-large complimentary to the discussion leaders in terms of clarity of presentation and ease of understanding (Q. 94J).

Forty-four percent of black respondents and 33 percent of whites feel "more motivated" to eliminate racial discrimination after experiencing race relations training, although more than half the whites and over two of every five blacks feel "no change in motivation" (Q. 94K).

Relatively more blacks than whites view race relations training as "extremely important" as compared to all other Army training (Q. 94L), although over 60 percent of whites view it as either "important" or "extremely important." Responses to this question would appear to constitute strong grass roots endorsement of the positive value of race relations education.

RACIAL AWARENESS PROGRAM (RAP) SEMINARS (QUESTIONS 95-103)

The questionnaire used in 1972 posed a series of questions concerning Race Relations Councils and Race Relations Seminars. In the 1974 questionnaire, however, the same questions were asked about RAP Seminars only, not Councils.

Questions on Councils were eliminated because changes in policy concerning Councils made the question less meaningful. The following section reports the results of those questions (Q. 95 thru Q. 103E).

The proportion of respondents who report the existence of RAP Seminars at their posts (Q. 95) is 21 percent higher for whites and 24 percent for blacks than in the 1972 survey. About one-third of black respondents and two-fifths of whites still don't know whether such Seminars are held.

About half of each group report knowing someone who has attended a Seminar (Q. 97). This is 18 percent more whites and 23 percent more blacks than answered similarly in 1972.

Fewer than half the whites questioned say they would voluntarily attend a RAP Seminar (Q. 96) as compared to 65 percent of blacks. This figure is three percent less for whites but up by 10 percent for blacks compared to 1972 results.

Concerning "white backlash" as a result of RAP Seminars (Q. 98), the proportion of both blacks and whites who perceive "somewhat" of an increase in backlash is significantly higher (though still rather small) than in 1972, but the predominant response is still "no opinion" for both groups.

The proportion of black respondents who feel that most black soldiers view RAP Seminars as "helpful to the racial situation in the Army" (Q. 99) is seven percent higher (at 27 percent) than for the comparable sample surveyed in 1972.

At the same time, the proportion of blacks who feel their black peers think of Seminars as "neither helpful nor harmful" is up by 11 percent (to 26 percent). There is no corresponding decrease in those who see Seminars as viewed as "harmful," however.

The predominant response to Question 99 by white enlisted personnel is still "don't know" or no response at all, although there is an increase of six percent who are neutral.

In terms of how white soldiers view Seminars (Q. 100), however, both groups show significant increases in the neutral response category. The other significant difference from 1972 is a five percent increase in the proportion of whites who see their white contemporaries viewing Seminars as "harmful." The total group who express this attitude amount to only 10 percent of the white sample, however.

Each respondent was then asked to express his opinion as to "the value of RAP Seminars for reducing racial tensions in the Army" (Q. 101). Once again about half the members of each group expressed "no opinion" (including those who did not respond at all).

The predominant response in each group other than that is that Seminars are "somewhat effective," although the proportion who see them as "not effective at all" is nearly double, for both groups, what it was in the 1972 survey.

Although roughly one-third of the white and one-fourth of the black expressed no opinion concerning the contribution made by Seminars to better communication between soldiers of different races (Q. 102), most of those who did respond have only a mildly positive opinion of that contribution.

Both that response category and the negative response (no contribution at all to improved communication) show significantly higher response rates in both groups over 1972.

At present, 18 percent of all the whites and 14 percent of all the blacks surveyed feel that Seminars have contributed "not at all" to cross-racial communication.

The reported attendance at RAP Seminars (Q. 103) is 16 percent higher for white 1974 respondents than it was for white 1972 respondents, and 15 percent higher for blacks. Still, however, more than half the white enlisted personnel surveyed and 45 percent of blacks have never attended a Seminar, by their own report.

The final five questions in this series were answered only by those who have attended. Percentage figures for those items (Q. 103A thru Q. 103E) are based on Ns of 898 for whites and 901 for blacks.

Over 30 percent of blacks, but nearly half of whites who report having attended Seminars did so because they were ordered (Q. 103A). About one-third of each group say they were selected to represent their respective units.

One-fourth of blacks compared to less than half as many whites attended out of personal interest alone--these figures are down from the level found in the 1972 samples, by 11 percent for whites and six percent for blacks.

More than three-fourths of the people in each group feel they learned at least "a little" through Seminar attendance (Q. 103B). And, as in 1972, more than half of blacks and whites alike felt that members of both racial groups spoke out honestly in Seminars they attended.

However, 28 percent and 23 percent, respectively, of whites and blacks feel that neither group spoke honestly. This is five percent higher than for whites in the 1972 survey and six percent for blacks.

Although a majority of respondents in both groups still, as in 1972, feel that the content of RAP Seminars is "significant to both blacks and whites" (Q. 103D), a large proportion of whites relative to blacks still feel that blacks only find Seminar content to be of significance.

Blacks more often than whites express the feelings that Seminars increased their interest in improving race relations " a lot" (Q. 103E), although the predominant response for both groups refers only to "somewhat" of an increase in interest.

The major difference in this item compared to 1972 results is that the proportion of whites experiencing "a lot" of increased interest in improving race relations after attending a Seminar is six percent lower in 1974. Whites also show a four percent increase in the "not at all" response.

In summary, although the attempt was made in the questions to distinguish between formal race relations education courses and RAP Seminars, we are not convinced that respondents were aware of and maintained the distinction in their responses and suspect that most of them did not.

In general, a definite sign of disenchantment with race relations education appears as compared with 1972, although there is still rather strong endorsement of its positive value.

This apparent disenchantment also should be balanced against increase in knowledge and awareness of RR/EO policy and programs. Even with the increase in dissatisfaction, a majority of both groups still felt that such training should be mandatory.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In the 1972 report, findings were summarized under four headings:

1. How the Army Perceives its Race Problem;
2. How the Army Equal Opportunity and Treatment Programs are Perceived;
3. Army Experience with Race Relations Training;
4. Possible Implications for Increasing Program Effectiveness.

This outline will be followed again in dealing with generalizations drawn from the data with regard to changes which have occurred during the two-year period.

HOW THE ARMY PERCEIVES ITS RACE PROBLEM

On the basis of the results of the 1972 survey, the following was reported:

> First and foremost, a distinct cleavage exists with respect to how the race problem is perceived. ... Whites tend to buy the proposition that the Army is as its basic policy says it is--free from racial discrimination.

> Blacks, on the other hand, see the Army as highly discriminatory by race. This difference is also correlated with grade, such that officers and higher enlisted grades tend to see the race problems as less serious than do the lower enlisted grades.
>
> The overall result is that the majority view and the view of Army leadership tends to be that the race problem in the Army is really not a serious problem. This predominating view tends to mask and obscure the fact that the dissenting view is held by those who are the victims of racial discrimination--the racial minority.
>
> Moreover, whites tend to see the race problem as getting worse, whereas blacks tend to see it as getting better. Could both be attending to the same thing?
>
> For blacks, the areas of highest concern are: (1) the administration of military justice, and (2) promotions and selection.
>
> There appear indications that blacks perceive the Army as taking positive actions in other areas such as race relations education and in providing minority-oriented products and services, but that these areas are perceived as less important sources of racial tensions.
>
> An issue of considerable import is the question of the extent to which improving race relations is accepted as a leadership responsibility by Army leadership.
>
> Although official doctrine and pronouncements by the Secretary of the Army and other Army leaders have stated unequivocally that it is a leadership responsibility, Army enlisted personnel do not perceive that Army leaders accept it as such.
>
> Our overall impression was that although the realization that race relations and equal opportunity are leadership responsibilities is growing, it is far from being universally accepted ....

There is nothing in the current findings that would cause us to believe that these conclusions do not apply also in 1974. The differences which do appear between the 1972 and 1974 results are small in magnitude. The differences occur at a level of detail so that the general findings are virtually identical in the two years.

For the most part, the differences emphasize trends identified earlier rather than negating them. The basic cleavage in perceptions still exists, with whites seeing a favorable picture, and blacks seeing the continued existence of basic inequities throughout all important aspects of Army life dealt with in the surveys.

Promotion and selection and military justice continue to be regarded as the areas most in need of improvement. Few enlisted personnel see most of their leaders as accepting equal opportunity and treatment of their men as a leadership responsibility.

Some encouragement can be taken from the fact that a few more blacks as well as whites now see the state of Army race relations as not so bad, and improving over time. However, the fact that there are signs of growing "white backlash" attitudes somewhat balances the favorable implications of that finding.

The overriding generalization from the data, however again must be that the perceptions of blacks and whites in the Army still differ sharply although the small changes discernible since 1972 tend to be in the direction of coming together.

HOW ARMY EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND TREATMENT PROGRAMS ARE PERCEIVED

Regarding the provision of services and products oriented to minority groups, sufficient improvement appeared in that area in 1972 to remove it as a major source of complaints. We can certainly say that no gains made at that time have been lost, and that complaints are down and satisfaction up in 1974, especially among black soldiers. Improvement still is perceived to be occurring.

Knowledge about the existence of all EOT programs has become more widespread among enlisted personnel--whites even more so than blacks.

Accuracy of knowledge about a number of procedures and regulations concerning equality of opportunity and treatment has also increased to a modest extent among both races. And the number of enlisted personnel who attribute a great deal of command support to EOT programs has increased.

The Equal Opportunity in Off-Post Housing program is still not widely known, however. Utilization of the Housing Referral Office has increased since 1972, but user satisfaction has taken a decided drop, especially among blacks.

Knowledge of the existence of the Equal Opportunity Officer at the local level has increased since 1972, although utilization of the services provided by the EO Officer has remained proportionately at the same level as earlier.

The number of enlisted personnel who feel that the office of EO Officer is a necessary one is lower now than in 1972, especially among whites.

The overall picture regarding perceptions of the EOT programs is one in which more people are aware of their existence, but proportionately fewer are satisfied with the efficacy of those programs.

One possible explanation is that the quality of service provided by the programs has deteriorated with age or with increased demands.

Another possibility is that in 1972 the survey respondents were evaluating a program which, shortly before that time, did not exist, and in 1974 they are evaluating programs which have been in existence for two or more years.

Perhaps expectations were unrealistically high and have not been met. Perhaps the relative improvement over the two-year span has been so small as to be negligible, and that fact is being reflected in responses to the survey.

Whatever the explanation, the clear implication is that EOT programs need to have their achievements publicized--and may actually need to be upgraded in order to create higher levels of user satisfaction.

At the same time, such efforts may result in increased "backlash" feelings among whites who may see themselves as gaining nothing from EOT programs, and perhaps losing an advantage they feel they already have. Thus, there is the implied need for developing means to avoid the "backlash" effect.

ARMY EXPERIENCE WITH RACE RELATIONS TRAINING

At the time results of the 1972 survey were disseminated, Army's Race Relations Education program was a relatively new and massive effort.

By 1974, the number of people who reported having experienced the BCT "Race Relations" course or "Leadership Aspects of Race Relations" had increased to over 60 percent of both respondent samples.

But once again, we find the concomitant factors of increased contact and decreased satisfaction with the Race Relations Education program. Participants seem to feel that, while the courses are clear, informative, and basically well taught, the probability of their producing any real and lasting change in communication or interpersonal relations is rather slim.

Considerably fewer respondents in 1974 than in 1972 seemed to feel that such courses should be mandatory, and whites expressed that opinion more than blacks.

Blacks in general have a higher opinion of the courses than do whites. Blacks more often feel they have benefited from the instruction in specific ways, and attach considerably more importance to such training than do whites.

Much the same generalizations hold for RAP Seminars, with attendance up, but with increasing numbers of people who see their value as limited. Here again, blacks are more favorably disposed than whites.

IMPLICATIONS FOR INCREASING PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS

Most blacks and large numbers of whites see a definite need for continued progress in the direction of equality of opportunity and treatment.

A number of Army programs are designed to achieve that objective; yet utilization of, and satisfaction with, those programs is not occurring at what might reasonably called a high level.

This means either that the programs are not as effective as they could be, or that people's expectations as to what can be accomplished are unrealistic. If the former is true, concentrated effort should be put into upgrading programs.

If the latter is true, the aims and objectives of the programs should be clearly defined, and the limitations on program effectiveness due to uncontrollable external constraints identified and conveyed as part of the public relations and educational elements of the RR/EO program.

With regard to race relations education, it should be noted that many, if not most, participants in courses and seminars on race relations are learning something from them. The major problem, in the opinion of many of the enlisted personnel surveyed, is the lack of confidence that any widespread and long-lasting benefits will result.

There is also the fear among a small subgroup of whites and blacks that "white backlash" will continue to increase as EOT programs continue to function and receive emphasis and command support. The feeling may be justified.

It is important, then, that these feelings be taken into account in the design of race relations education programs and in the content of courses and seminars.

Obviously the need exists to continue to educate Army personnel at all levels to the inequities which exist and to the paths open to the resolution of those inequities. But this must be done with awareness and sensitivity to the potential unintended effects as well as the intended effects of the program.

A CONCLUDING COMMENT

Although there is no totally satisfactory way of summarizing the findings which have been presented and discussed, we will attempt to characterize a few of the points which appeared to be most salient.

> Overall, there is support for the proposition that there has been an improvement in the racial situation in the Army.

The areas of promotions and military justice remain the primary sources of dissatisfaction for blacks although significant improvement in both areas was perceived.

There is far less dissatisfaction now with military justice than there was in 1972.

The Equal Opportunity Officer has become a clearly recognized role in the Army.

Favorable perceptions of race relations training are down compared with 1972 but the results of race relations training in terms of increased knowledge and awareness appears definite.

Although the sharp cleavage in black-white perceptions and attitudes noted in 1972 still exists, there also has been a clear-cut convergence of black and white perceptions on certain basic issues.

We believe these findings are generally indicative of real and important changes which have occurred in the Army with respect to equal opportunity and treatment.

Even though the changes in perceptions are small, many of them are in the positive direction. We believe, although we cannot prove with the data of this survey, that the positive changes are, for the most part, the direct result of the Army's race relations and equal opportunity programs.

APPENDIX A

ABSTRACT OF RESULTS OF THE 1972 SURVEY

This appendix contains an abstract of the findings from the 1972 survey of attitudes and perceptions of Army personnel toward equal opportunity and treatment programs which originally appeared in Nordlie, P. and Thomas, J., Black and White Perceptions of the Army's Equal Opportunity and Treatment Programs. ARI Technical Paper 252, May 1974.

This is a report of the findings of a survey of the attitudes toward, and knowledge and perceptions of, the Army's race relations problems and equal opportunity and treatment (EOT) programs. Data were collected from three samples: (a) the primary sample of 3,656 enlisted personnel, half white and half black; (b) 127 officers in command positions; and (c) 126 personnel with equal opportunity and treatment responsibility. Questionnaires and personal interviews were used at eight installations in CONUS and five installations overseas during the summer of 1972. The report describes the development of the questionnaire and interview forms and the characteristics of the three samples obtained. It presents and discusses the detailed findings from the questionnaire and interviews. Some of the highlights of the findings are indicated below.

Black enlisted personnel see a lot of racial discrimination in the Army, believe that whites are treated much better than blacks, and are especially concerned with discrimination in promotions and the administration of military justice.

White enlisted personnel see very little racial discrimination in the Army, believe that blacks and whites are treated equally, and do not believe that blacks are discriminated against in promotions or in the administration of military justice.

Whites see the race problem in the Army as not being very serious but becoming much worse; blacks believe the race problem in the Army is quite serious but beginning to improve.

Officers see far less serious race problems existing among their troops than the troops see.

Blacks see twice as much prejudice in the surrounding civilian communities as whites see, and there are large differences in the amount of prejudice perceived in the surrounding community at different locations.

Neither white nor black enlisted personnel believe that Army leadership fully accepts equal opportunity and treatment as a leadership responsibility.

The amount of command support for EOT programs is perceived as being modest.

When questions are asked about racial perceptions and attitudes, the black-white responses are almost invariably significantly different; when questions are asked for knowledge or awareness, there is seldom any black-white difference.

The most marked persistent perceptual difference found is that between black enlisted personnel in the lower grades and white officers. The reality each of these perceives shares little or nothing in common.

Whites and blacks agree that there have been improvements in the Army such that there is less racial discrimination now than there has been. Off-post housing and availability of black-oriented products and services are two areas where decided improvements were noted.

The role of the EOT officer is not well known among enlisted personnel, nor is that office used much by either blacks or whites--about one percent of the enlisted sample in this study.

Blacks tend to think that officers and NCOs do not enforce EOT regulations.

Officers agree that they need more guidance and assistance in EOT matters.

Whites and blacks agree that the chances for promotion for blacks is better now than it was five years ago.

Neither blacks nor whites, but blacks especially, trust the military justice system, nor do they think they can expect to be fairly treated.

Article 15s and non-judicial punishments are the primary sources of complaints about the military justice system for both whites and blacks.

Most blacks believe that blacks receive an unfair number of Article 15s, while most whites do not believe that they do.

Whites believe that most commanders apply military justice fairly to both blacks and whites, but blacks believe that they apply it fairly to whites but not to blacks.

In terms of an understanding of the reality in which they live, white officers and black enlisted personnel share very little in common--in the area of military justice, almost nothing at all.

The availability of black-oriented products and services appears to be a less salient issue for blacks than it once was, largely because they now tend to be available.

Blacks and whites give fairly strong endorsement of the values of race relations education; the majority of both races favored mandatory race relations education for all Army personnel.

Whites and blacks both say they benefited from race relations training but in different ways.

Race relations Seminars and Councils are perceived generally favorably by those who have participated in them.

The survey results show that a distinct cleavage exists with respect to how the race problem is perceived. Whites in the Army tend to buy the proposition that the Army is, as its basic policy says it is--free from racial discrimination. Blacks, on the other hand, see the Army as highly discriminatory by race. This difference is also correlated with grade, such that officers and higher enlisted grades tend to see the race problem as less serious than do the lower enlisted grades. The overall result is that the majority view and the view of Army leadership tends to be that the race problem in the Army is not really a serious problems. This predominating view tends to mask and obscure the fact that the dissenting view is held by those who are the victims of racial discrimination--the racial minority.

There appeared to be far greater awareness of the nature of the race problem and the need for EOT programs at higher levels of command than at lower levels. At the company grade level, there is a tendency to view EOT programs as weakening the chain of command, decreasing mission effectiveness, and lowering standards in general. In short, EOT is perceived as threatening the command structure and military discipline. It also appears that this generally bad image of EOT programs is based more on fantasy and projection of what these programs must be, rather than accurate knowledge of what they actually are and why they exist.

One of the strongest messages in the data would appear to be the need for race relations training at all levels in the Army. Both officers and enlisted, black and white, who have had any race relations training in the Army give it fairly strong endorsement and agree that such training should be mandatory for all Army personnel.

In addition to the above, the report also discusses other possible action implications such as the need to clarify the structure of EOT programs, the need to provide guidance on how to rate EOT performance as required on Officer Efficiency Reports and Enlisted Efficiency Reports, the need for public information programs on EOT, the special requirements for EOT programs overseas, and the possible use of lower-ranking enlisted advisors as one means of helping overcome the extreme distrust enlisted personnel have for the entire military justice system.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE WITH PERCENTAGE OF BLACK AND WHITE RESPONDENTS 1972 AND 1974

Q.1 Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
20%	*23%*	*10%*	*20%*	a. In general, race relations in the Army are good.
55%	*55%*	*50%*	*52%*	b. In general, race relations in the Army are fair.
25%	*22%*	*39%*	*27%*	c. In general, race relations in the Army are poor.

Q.2 Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
39%	*41%*	*42%*	*48%*	a. Over the past year, race relations in the Army have been getting better.
36%	*41%*	*39%*	*39%*	b. Over the past year, race relations in the Army have not changed.
24%	*18%*	*18%*	*11%*	c. Over the past year, race relations in the Army have been getting worse.

Q.3 Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
24%	*28%*	*10%*	*18%*	a. The Army is doing all it can to improve race relations.
58%	*58%*	*68%*	*67%*	b. The Army is taking some steps to improve race relations, but still isn't doing a lot of things it could do.
18%	*13%*	*22%*	*15%*	c. The Army is not really taking serious steps to improve race relations.

Q.4 Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
44%	*41%*	*34%*	*37%*	a. Race problems in the Army are not as bad as they are in the rest of society.
36%	*38%*	*46%*	*46%*	b. Race problems in the Army are about the same as they are in the rest of society.
19%	*20%*	*19%*	*17%*	c. Race problems in the Army are worse than they are in the rest of society.

Q.5 Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
30%	*35%*	*1%*	*3%*	a. In general, blacks are treated better than whites in the Army.
58%	*56%*	*24%*	*28%*	b. In general, blacks are treated exactly the same as whites in the Army
9%	*7%*	*72%*	*67%*	c. In general, blacks are treated worse than whites in the Army.

Q.6 Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion about Army practices and procedures in general? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
55%	*55%*	*26%*	*30%*	a. They are equally fair to blacks and whites.
4%	*4%*	*45%*	*43%*	b. They are fair to whites but not to blacks.
11%	*16%*	*2%*	*2%*	c. They are fair to blacks but not to whites.
27%	*24%*	*22%*	*21%*	d. They are fair to neither blacks nor whites.

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Q.7 In your opinion, how much more could the Army do than it is already doing to improve *off-post* treatment of black soldiers? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
23%	*19%*	*59%*	*54%*	a. Quite a bit more.
21%	*21%*	*15%*	*20%*	b. A little or somewhat more.
15%	*20%*	*7%*	*7%*	c. Nothing at all.
40%	*39%*	*18%*	*18%*	d. No opinion.

Q.8 Have you ever heard of any of the following?

Yes 1972 White	Yes 1974 White	Yes 1972 Black	Yes 1974 Black	*(Check yes or no for each item.)*
13%	*27%*	*19%*	*29%*	a. Defense Race Realtions Institute.
23%	*27%*	*26%*	*29%*	b. "Leadership Aspects of Race Relations."
51%	*66%*	*46%*	*58%*	c. RAP Seminars or Workshops.
64%	*78%*	*60%*	*65%*	d. Housing Referral Office.
61%	*84%*	*61%*	*79%*	e. Equal Opportunity Officer or Race Relations Officer.
--	*42%*	--	*42%*	f. Unit Race Relations Discussion Leaders Course.
65%	*78%*	*67%*	*75%*	g. Race Relations Councils.

Q.9 In your opinion, have the Army's equal opportunity programs been helpful to *black* soldiers? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
45%	*45%*	*38%*	*42%*	a. Generally helpful.
16%	*18%*	*28%*	*27%*	b. Neither helpful nor harmful.
3%	*4%*	*8%*	*9%*	c. Generally harmful.
35%	*32%*	*24%*	*20%*	d. No opinion.

Q.10 In your opinion, have the Army's equal opportunity programs been helpful to *white* soldiers? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
32%	*29%*	*45%*	*47%*	a. Generally helpful.
28%	*32%*	*17%*	*18%*	b. Neither helpful nor harmful.
10%	*14%*	*3%*	*3%*	c. Generally harmful.
28%	*25%*	*34%*	*31%*	d. No opinion.

Q.11 In your opinion, how much racial prejudice against black soldiers is there in the civilian community surrounding this post? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
20%	*23%*	*41%*	*41%*	a. A lot of prejudice.
38%	*35%*	*38%*	*36%*	b. Some prejudice.
21%	*17%*	*10%*	*10%*	c. Very little prejudice.
19%	*24%*	*10%*	*12%*	d. No opinion.

Q.12 In your estimate, what percentage of the personnel assigned to this post are black? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
6%	*10%*	*6%*	*8%*	a. More than 60 percent.
32%	*38%*	*19%*	*25%*	b. 40 to 60 percent.
44%	*39%*	*40%*	*39%*	c. 20 to 40 percent.
14%	*10%*	*28%*	*22%*	d. 10 to 20 percent.
1%	*1%*	*6%*	*5%*	e. Less than 10 percent.

Q.13 In your opinion, what kind of treatment do black soldiers receive in the Army? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
25%	*30%*	*0%*	*1%*	a. Better treatment than whites.
53%	*50%*	*20%*	*23%*	b. Same treatment as whites.
7%	*5%*	*60%*	*53%*	c. Worse treatment than whites.
14%	*14%*	*17%*	*20%*	d. No opinion.

Q.14 Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion?

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
29%	*29%*	*8%*	*8%*	a. Most officers are doing as much as they can to improve race relations.
41%	*41%*	*48%*	*49%*	b. Most officers are doing something but not enough to improve race relations.
29%	*27%*	*43%*	*41%*	c. Most officers are doing nothing to improve race relations.

Q.15 From your own experience in the Army (at this post and others), how much command support do equal opportunity and treatment programs receive? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
26%	*36%*	*10%*	*17%*	a. Great deal of command support.
57%	*53%*	*66%*	*64%*	b. Some command support.
14%	*9%*	*21%*	*16%*	c. No command support.

Q.16 In your opinion, what does it mean when black and white soldiers have nothing to do with each other after regular duty hours are over? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
4%	*5%*	*5%*	*5%*	a. Is a good sign.
27%	*30%*	*29%*	*32%*	b. Does not mean anything at all.
34%	*30%*	*34%*	*34%*	c. Means there is a problem, but not a serious one.
22%	*20%*	*20%*	*15%*	d. A sure sign of trouble.
12%	*14%*	*11%*	*11%*	e. No opinion.

Q.17 The Army has created many regulations, policies and programs to help make certain that there is equal opportunity and treatment for all without regard to race. In which of the areas listed below do you think the Army could do *more* than it is presently doing?

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
38%	*27%*	*63%*	*40%*	a. Military justice.
40%	*23%*	*53%*	*22%*	b. Off-post housing.
36%	*22%*	*53%*	*28%*	c. Off-post discrimination in other areas beside housing.
34%	*24%*	*65%*	*43%*	d. Promotion and selection.
37%	*16%*	*50%*	*18%*	e. Race relations education.
28%	*12%*	*40%*	*13%*	f. Race relations seminars and workshops.
29%	*16%*	*38%*	*14%*	g. Community relations, family services.
22%	*10%*	*41%*	*19%*	h. Products and services available on post for minorities.
20%	*12%*	*30%*	*14%*	i. Medical care.
8%	*9%*	*10%*	*5%*	j. Other_____

Q.18 In your opinion, how many Army leaders see equal opportunity and treatment of the men in their unit as a *leadership* responsibility? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
23%	*23%*	*7%*	*9%*	a. All or most Army leaders.
44%	*45%*	*46%*	*47%*	b. Some Army leaders.
19%	*17%*	*35%*	*32%*	c. Few or no Army leaders.
12%	*14%*	*10%*	*11%*	d. No opinion.

Q.19 Have you ever personally seen or read or had read to you, an Army regulation on equal opportunity and treatment? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
29%	*39%*	*32%*	*40%*	a. Yes.
70%	*60%*	*67%*	*59%*	b. No.

Q.20 Does this post have its own regulations and/or circulars on equal opportunity and treatment? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
29%	*38%*	*30%*	*36%*	a. Yes.
6%	*5%*	*9%*	*7%*	b. No.
64%	*56%*	*60%*	*56%*	c. Don't know.

Q.21 In your opinion, how many *white* soldiers know generally what the Army's equal opportunity and treatment regulations say? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
10%	*14%*	*8%*	*10%*	a. Most white soldiers.
24%	*26%*	*19%*	*23%*	b. Some white doldiers.
44%	*37%*	*39%*	*36%*	c. Few white soldiers.
20%	*21%*	*32%*	*31%*	d. No opinion.

Q.22 In your opinion, how many *black* soldiers know generally what the Army's equal opportunity and treatment regulations say? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
19%	*23%*	*12%*	*12%*	a. Most black soldiers.
25%	*27%*	*25%*	*28%*	b. Some black soldiers.
32%	*26%*	*41%*	*38%*	c. Few black soldiers.
24%	*22%*	*21%*	*21%*	d. No opinion.

Q.23 In your opinion, how often are equal opportunity and treatment regulations enforced by officers? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
22%	*23%*	*7%*	*9%*	a. Most of the time.
39%	*41%*	*50%*	*51%*	b. Some of the time.
13%	*9%*	*24%*	*19%*	c. None of the time.
26%	*25%*	*18%*	*20%*	d. No opinion.

Q.24 In your opinion, how often are equal opportunity and treatment regulations enforced by NCOs? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
24%	*25%*	*11%*	*14%*	a. Most of the time.
40%	*44%*	*53%*	*53%*	b. Some of the time.
14%	*10%*	*20%*	*17%*	c. None of the time.
21%	*19%*	*14%*	*14%*	d. No opinion.

Q.25 For each of the items below answer Yes or No to indicate whether you believe it is required somewhere in an Army regulation?

Yes 1972 White	Yes 1974 White	Yes 1972 Black	Yes 1974 Black	*(Check yes or no for each item.)*
59%	*60%*	*63%*	*66%*	a. All local promotion/selection boards in commands where there are minority enlisted personnel must have at least one minority enlisted person as a voting member of the board.
64%	*73%*	*67%*	*76%*	b. All soldiers who are eligible for and want housing off-post must report to the Housing Referral Office at their new station before they start to look for housing.
63%	*67%*	*61%*	*66%*	c. All officers are to be rated on their Officer Evaluation Reports (OERs) as to how well they perform on equal opportunity and treatment matters.
60%	*68%*	*61%*	*69%*	d. All enlisted personnel who are supervisors are to be rated on their Enlisted Evaluation Reports (EERs) as to how well they perform on equal opportunity and treatment matters.
79%	*83%*	*82%*	*84%*	e. When an officer intends to impose non-judicial punishment (Article 15), he must tell the soldier that he has a right to a lawyer, tell him where the lawyer is, and give him time to consult the lawyer.
90%	*89%*	*89%*	*89%*	f. Punishment for Article 15 must be announced in front of the accused soldier.
51%	*52%*	*51%*	*2%*	g. Results of Article 15 cases for E-4s and below must be displayed on unit bulletin boards for seven (7) days.
74%	*78%*	*76%*	*80%*	h. Post commanders have the authority to declare housing off-limits if the owner or manager discriminates on the basis of race and cannot be persuaded to change his policy.
69%	*75%*	*74%*	*75%*	i. Every Army post with over 500 population (officers and enlisted personnel) must have a Housing Referral Office.
79%	*79%*	*80%*	*81%*	j. Post commanders have the authority to declare bars, restaurants, and other places of public accommodation off-limits if their owners or managers discriminate on the basis of race and cannot be persuaded to change their policy.
79%	*82%*	*81%*	*85%*	k. All posts in CONUS must have an equal opportunity or race relations officer.
73%	*75%*	*71%*	*73%*	l. All Special Courts-Martial must have a military judge.
61%	*67%*	*70%*	*75%*	m. All posts in CONUS must have race relations seminars.

Q.26 In your opinion, how many of those items which you marked YES are effective in making certain that all soldiers receive equal opportunity and treatment without regard to race? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
41%	*43%*	*37%*	*41%*	a. Most.
29%	*26%*	*29%*	*28%*	b. About half.
17%	*16%*	*23%*	*22%*	c. Few or none.
11%	*14%*	*8%*	*8%*	d. No opinion.

Q.27 Let's assume you are an enlisted supervisor and there is a person in your unit who would like to file a complaint of racial discrimination. He comes to you, his superior, for advice, but you do not know all the answers. You would then be *most* likely to go to: *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
14%	*10%*	*12%*	*10%*	a. Legal Assistance Officer (JAG)
28%	*36%*	*25%*	*33%*	b. Equal Opportunity Officer
2%	*1%*	*2%*	*3%*	c. Post Commander
6%	*5%*	*9%*	*8%*	d. Inspector General (IG)
6%	*4%*	*4%*	*4%*	e. Chaplain
1%	*1%*	*1%*	*1%*	f. Personnel Officer
30%	*28%*	*34%*	*30%*	g. Race Relations Council Member
8%	*8%*	*4%*	*4%*	h. Other (specify)_____

Q.28 Let's assume you were refused service in a local bar because of your race. You believe that this act was a serious violation of Army equal opportunity and treatment regulations and you want to take action. After you notify your immediate superior, he give you his approval to follow this matter up. You would then be *most* likely to go to: *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
21%	*19%*	*16%*	*18%*	a. Legal Assistance Officer (JAG)
30%	*37%*	*30%*	*38%*	b. Equal Opportunity Officer
7%	*6%*	*9%*	*8%*	c. Post Commander
10%	*9%*	*10%*	*12%*	d. Inspector General (IG)
2%	*2%*	*2%*	*2%*	e. Chaplain
1%	*1%*	*1%*	*0%*	f. Personnel Officer
21%	*14%*	*21%*	*13%*	g. Race Relations Council Member
3%	*5%*	*2%*	*2%*	h. Other (specify)_____

Q.29 Let's assume that you were denied a promotion, and you believe it was because of your race. You discuss the matter with your immediate superior, but you have reason to believe that the matter will not be handled appropriately through the chain of command. You would then be *most* likely to go to: *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
10%	*9%*	*9%*	*10%*	a. Legal Assistance Officer (JAG)
21%	*27%*	*19%*	*23%*	b. Equal Opportunity Officer
4%	*3%*	*6%*	*6%*	c. Post Commander
43%	*39%*	*42%*	*39%*	d. Inspector General (IG)
4%	*3%*	*3%*	*2%*	e. Chaplain
2%	*3%*	*2%*	*2%*	f. Personnel Officer
10%	*7%*	*12%*	*7%*	g. Race Relations Council Member
2%	*4%*	*2%*	*2%*	h. Other (specify)_____

Q.30 Have you ever personally seen the pictures (either in the poster or in the regulation) of the hair styles that are acceptable Army-wide? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
87%	*88%*	*82%*	*82%*	a. Yes.
12%	*10%*	*14%*	*16%*	b. No.

Q.31 In your opinion, how many *black* soldiers are happy with the haircut regulation? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
21%	*14%*	*25%*	*13%*	a. Most black soldiers are happy with the regulation.
21%	*18%*	*24%*	*19%*	b. Some black soldiers are happy with the regulation.
39%	*50%*	*42%*	*60%*	c. Very few black soldiers are happy with the regulation.
18%	*17%*	*6%*	*6%*	d. No opinion.

Q.32 In your opinion, how many *white* soldiers are happy with the haircut regulation? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
12%	*6%*	*24%*	*12%*	a. Most white soldiers are happy with the regulation.
22%	*17%*	*25%*	*24%*	b. Some white soldiers are happy with the regulation.
57%	*69%*	*34%*	*49%*	c. Very few white soldiers are happy with the regulation.
8%	*7%*	*14%*	*15%*	d. No opinion.

Q.33 As a general rule, how good a chance do black enlisted personnel have for promotion to higher grades as compared to white enlisted personnel? *(Mark the one closest to your opinion.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
70%	*67%*	*20%*	*23%*	a. Chances are equal for blacks and whites.
14%	*12%*	*75%*	*72%*	b. Whites have a better chance on the average.
14%	*19%*	*2%*	*2%*	c. Blacks have a better chance on the average.

Q.34 As a general rule, how equal are the chances for white and black enlisted personnel to get specialized or technical training in the Army? *(Mark the one closest to your opinion.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
80%	*78%*	*35%*	*41%*	a. Chances are equal for blacks and whites.
12%	*13%*	*59%*	*55%*	b. Whites have a better chance on the average.
6%	*8%*	*2%*	*1%*	c. Blacks have a better chance on the average.

Q.35 As a general rule, how equal are the chances for white and black enlisted personnel to get a skill area in the Army that will help them get good-paying jobs as civilians? *(Mark the one closest to your opinion.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
78%	*77%*	*32%*	*36%*	a. Chances are equal for blacks and whites.
15%	*14%*	*63%*	*58%*	b. Whites have a better chance on the average.
5%	*6%*	*2%*	*2%*	c. Blacks have a better chance on the average.

Q.36 As a general rule, how good a chance do black enlisted personnel have of being promoted today as compared to their chances five years ago? *(Mark the one closest to your opinion.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
77%	*81%*	*66%*	*62%*	a, Chances of promotion for blacks are better now than five years ago.
17%	*13%*	*21%*	*22%*	b. Chances of promotion for blacks are the same now as five years ago.
2%	*2%*	*8%*	*12%*	c. Chances of promotion for blacks are worse now than five years ago.

Q.37 Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion?

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
73%	*73%*	*62%*	*66%*	a. On the average, black and white soldiers are equally qualified for promotion to higher ranks in the Army.
22%	*22%*	*22%*	*20%*	b. On the average, white soldiers are better qualified for promotion to higher ranks in the Army than black soldiers are.
2%	*3%*	*12%*	*10%*	c. On the average, black soldiers are better qualified for promotion to higher ranks in the Army than white soldiers are.

Q.39 Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion of the military justice system?

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
74%	*73%*	*40%*	*40%*	a. The military justice system treats black and white enlisted personnel equally.
8%	*7%*	*54%*	*53%*	b. The military justice system treats whites more fairly than blacks.
14%	*16%*	*1%*	*3%*	c. The military justice system treats blacks more fairly than whites.

Q.40 Which of the following statements is *closest* to your opinion?

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
64%	*64%*	*32%*	*34%*	a. In carrying out the military justice system, most commanders apply the system fairly to both blacks and whites.
6%	*6%*	*47%*	*42%*	b. In carrying out the military justice system, most commanders apply the system fairly to whites but unfairly to blacks.
11%	*13%*	*2%*	*5%*	c. In carrying out the military justice system, most commanders apply the system fairly to blacks but unfairly to whites.
15%	*13%*	*14%*	*15%*	d. In carrying out the military justice system, most commanders apply the system unfairly to both blacks and whites.

Q.41 Which of the following elements of the military justice system have you heard *white* soldiers complain about frequently? *(Check as many as you think apply.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
29%	*26%*	*26%*	*23%*	a. The Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ), in general.
55%	*49%*	*49%*	*42%*	b. Article 15 and non-judicial punishment.
18%	*10%*	*15%*	*8%*	c. Pretrial confinement.
11%	*6%*	*10%*	*6%*	d. Summary Courts-Martial.
10%	*5%*	*8%*	*6%*	e. Special and General Courts-Martial.
22%	*10%*	*28%*	*13%*	f. 212s and other administrative discharges.
59%	*49%*	*47%*	*39%*	g. COs and the brass, in general.
18%	*9%*	*14%*	*8%*	h. Conditions in the stockade.

Q.42 Which of the following elements of the military justice system have you heard *black* soldiers complain about frequently? *(Check as many as you think apply.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
32%	*28%*	*34%*	*28%*	a. The Uniform Code of Military Justice (UCMJ), in general.
54%	*48%*	*61%*	*53%*	b. Article 15 and non-judicial punishment.
20%	*14%*	*31%*	*20%*	c. Pretrial confinement.
15%	*9%*	*22%*	*15%*	d. Summary Courts-Martial.
13%	*8%*	*23%*	*16%*	e. Special and General Courts-Martial.
27%	*13%*	*45%*	*25%*	f. 212s and other administrative discharges.
60%	*51%*	*48%*	*34%*	g. COs and the brass, in general.
22%	*13%*	*33%*	*18%*	h. Conditions in the stockade.

Q.43 In your opinion, do black soldiers (as compared to white soldiers) receive an *unfair* number of Article 15s? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
10%	*9%*	*67%*	*66%*	a. Yes.
88%	*88%*	*27%*	*28%*	b. No.

Q.44 In your opinion, do you think the punishments given under Article 15 are generally: *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
56%	*57%*	*34%*	*35%*	a. fair for both black and white enlisted personnel?
3%	*3%*	*30%*	*31%*	b. fair for whites but unfair for blacks?
9%	*9%*	*2%*	*3%*	c. fair for blacks but unfair for whites?
30%	*28%*	*30%*	*26%*	d. unfair for both black and white enlisted personnel?

Q.45 The Army has recently made some changes to Article 15 procedures to make non-judicial punishment fairer for all soldiers. What is your opinion about the Army making *more* changes to improve Article 15 procedures? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
38%	*42%*	*36%*	*39%*	a. The Army should completely over-haul Article 15 procedures.
20%	*18%*	*26%*	*27%*	b. The Army should make many changes to Article 15 procedures.
24%	*24%*	*22%*	*21%*	c. The Army should make a few changes to Article 15 procedures.
13%	*13%*	*9%*	*9%*	d. The Army should make no changes at all to Article 15 procedures.

Q.46 In your opinion, how do most black soldiers view the military justice system? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
3%	*4%*	*3%*	*4%*	a. They trust the military justice system completely.
26%	*25%*	*24%*	*26%*	b. They trust the military justice system somewhat.
35%	*35%*	*56%*	*51%*	c. They do not trust the military justice system at all.
34%	*34%*	*15%*	*16%*	d. No opinion.

Q.47 How often do you feel that YOU can get a fair shake under the Army's military justice system today? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
28%	*30%*	*11%*	*13%*	a. All or most of the time.
41%	*40%*	*50%*	*51%*	b. Some of the time.
29%	*26%*	*36%*	*33%*	c. Seldom or never.

Q.48 In your opinion, how many *black* soldiers know their rights under the Uniform Code of Military Justice? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
34%	*33%*	*24%*	*22%*	a. Most black soldiers know their rights.
25%	*27%*	*34%*	*34%*	b. Some black soldiers know their rights.
21%	*18%*	*32%*	*34%*	c. Very few black soldiers know their rights.
18%	*20%*	*7%*	*8%*	d. No opinion.

Q.49 In your opinion, how many *white* soldiers know their rights under the Uniform Code of Military Justice? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
34%	*32%*	*28%*	*26%*	a. Most white soldiers know their rights.
30%	*32%*	*41%*	*39%*	b. Some white soldiers know their rights.
20%	*18%*	*18%*	*20%*	c. Very few white soldiers know their rights.
14%	*16%*	*11%*	*13%*	d. No opinion.

Q.50 Are you in favor of the Army requiring that a JAG officer review the case of every soldier in pretrial confinement and explain his rights to him no later than the second week of his confinement? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
84%	*83%*	*79%*	*76%*	a. Yes.
14%	*15%*	*16%*	*20%*	b. No.

Q.51 Are you in favor of an Army program to use trained lower-ranking black and white enlisted personnel who would be available at all times to advise soldiers of their legal rights and to work with the unit commander to solve problems in the unit? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
78%	*75%*	*82%*	*77%*	a. Yes.
19%	*22%*	*14%*	*19%*	b. No.

Q.52 How do most Army leaders react to people who use words like honky, nigger, rabbit, spic, and so forth to refer to other soldiers? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
33%	*32%*	*24%*	*26%*	a. They crack down hard on everyone.
19%	*22%*	*6%*	*8%*	b. They crack down harder on whites than blacks.
4%	*4%*	*25%*	*24%*	c. They crack down harder on blacks than whites.
39%	*37%*	*37%*	*37%*	d. They *don't* crack down on anyone.

Q.53 Do you think there are enough black MPs in the Military Police Corps at this post? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
54%	*52%*	*21%*	*18%*	a. Yes.
8%	*7%*	*41%*	*43%*	b. No.
36%	*39%*	*34%*	*36%*	c. Don't know.

Q.54 Since you have been in the Army, how much improvement has there been in the military justice system to make the system fairer for *all* soldiers? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
19%	*20%*	*14%*	*16%*	a. A great deal of improvement.
44%	*45%*	*52%*	*50%*	b. Some improvement.
32%	*31%*	*28%*	*29%*	c. No improvement.

Q.55 Since you have been in the Army, how much improvement has there been in the military justice system to make the system fairer for *black* soldiers? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
28%	*33%*	*12%*	*13%*	a. A great deal of improvement.
42%	*44%*	*52%*	*55%*	b. Some improvement.
24%	*24%*	*30%*	*27%*	c. No improvement.

Q.56 Have you ever personnaly seen (whether you needed his services or not) a black Army lawyer during your time in service? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
26%	*30%*	*20%*	*22%*	a. Yes.
71%	*66%*	*76%*	*73%*	b. No.

Q.57 If more Army lawyers were black, do you think that black enlisted personnel: *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
51%	*47%*	*59%*	*53%*	a. would be more likely to use Army lawyers?
5%	*6%*	*8%*	*8%*	b. would be less likely to use Army lawyers?
41%	*44%*	*28%*	*35%*	c. would not make any difference?

Q.58 In your opinion, among the enlisted personnel who get away with not wearing a hat or blousing their boots are: *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
22%	*25%*	*29%*	*28%*	a. a lot of both blacks and whites.
2%	*3%*	*17%*	*17%*	b. a lot more whites than blacks.
39%	*36%*	*7%*	*8%*	c. a lot more blacks than whites.
34%	*34%*	*43%*	*44%*	d. very few of either blacks or whites.

Q.59 In your opinion, how many Army leaders think of blacks who wear Afros as militants or troublemakers? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
18%	*16%*	*44%*	*36%*	a. Most Army leaders.
38%	*35%*	*34%*	*37%*	b. Some Army leaders.
21%	*24%*	*11%*	*13%*	c. Very few or no Army leaders.
21%	*23%*	*7%*	*12%*	d. No opinion.

Q.60 How many Army leaders agree at to what length and style of hair is "acceptable"? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
23%	*28%*	*19%*	*20%*	a. Most Army leaders agree.
25%	*24%*	*25%*	*29%*	b. Some Army leaders agree.
30%	*30%*	*34%*	*32%*	c. Very few Army leaders agree.
19%	*16%*	*17%*	*15%*	d. No two Army leaders agree.

Q.61 In your estimate, what percentage of personnel in the stockade at this post are black? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
8%	*9%*	*21%*	*20%*	a. More than 60 percent.
21%	*26%*	*27%*	*28%*	b. 40 to 60 percent.
23%	*25%*	*16%*	*19%*	c. 20 to 40 percent.
12%	*14%*	*8%*	*10%*	d. 10 to 20 percent.
8%	*8%*	*4%*	*8%*	e. Less than 10 percent.

Q.62 How are blacks and whites treated in the post exchange (PX) here? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
76%	*73%*	*62%*	*61%*	a. Blacks and whites are treated the same.
2%	*2%*	*15%*	*13%*	b. Whites are treated better.
5%	*5%*	*2%*	*1%*	c. Blacks are treated better.
16%	*18%*	*19%*	*22%*	d. Don't know.

Q.63 How often have you heard *white* soldiers at this post or any other post, complain that they could not get a good haircut from an Army barber? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
64%	*62%*	*38%*	*34%*	a. Often.
24%	*26%*	*38%*	*39%*	b. Occasionally.
10%	*10%*	*21%*	*23%*	c. Never.

Q.64 How often have you heard *black* soldiers at this post or any other post, complain that they could not get a good haircut from an Army barber? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
51%	*48%*	*66%*	*62%*	a. Often.
29%	*31%*	*21%*	*25%*	b. Occasionally.
18%	*20%*	*9%*	*9%*	c. Never.

Q.65 In your opinion, are there enough barbers at this post who are trained to cut blacks' hair? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
30%	*30%*	*14%*	*17%*	a. Yes.
25%	*22%*	*71%*	*64%*	b. No.
43%	*47%*	*11%*	*16%*	c. No opinion.

Q.66 Do you believe that there are enough blacks presently serving on this post as:

Yes 1972 White	1974 White	Yes 1972 Black	1974 Black	*(Check one for each item.)*
34%	*36%*	*5%*	*8%*	a. commanders?
20%	*22%*	*4%*	*5%*	b. teachers in dependent schools?
15%	*16%*	*2%*	*2%*	c. lawyers?
53%	*55%*	*19%*	*23%*	d. employees (clerks, PX employees, etc.)

Q.67 Do you believe that black history and black culture are given enough attention at this post in each of the following areas:

Yes		Yes		*(Check one for each item.)*
1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
52%	*59%*	*23%*	*28%*	a. entertainment at post clubs?
29%	*34%*	*9%*	*10%*	b. schools for military dependents?
32%	*38%*	*9%*	*10%*	c. post activities for wives and dependents?

Q.68 Check whether the following types of books are available at the post library?

Available		Available		*(Check one for each item.)*
1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
42%	*50%*	*48%*	*54%*	a. Books on black history and culture.
43%	*48%*	*46%*	*51%*	b. Books written by black authors.
32%	*38%*	*26%*	*34%*	c. Books about military contributions by blacks.

Q.69 Many manufacturers and publishers product items made especially for blacks. Check below whether items of each type are available in the PX or commissary at this post.

Available		Available		*(Check one for each item.)*
1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
70%	*71%*	*58%*	*60%*	a. Books, paperbacks, etc.
79%	*79%*	*69%*	*68%*	b. Popular magazines.
82%	*80%*	*64%*	*63%*	c. Records.
33%	*41%*	*30%*	*30%*	d. Soul food.
78%	*78%*	*69%*	*64%*	e. Hair care products.
68%	*71%*	*54%*	*50%*	f. Cosmetics.
39%	*44%*	*34%*	*34%*	g. Toys and dolls.
43%	*51%*	*46%*	*43%*	h. Greeting cards.
60%	*62%*	*31%*	*32%*	i. Clothes (dashikis, etc.)
4%	*14%*	*3%*	*11%*	j. Other_____

Q.70 Please answer the following questions about your familiarity with the Equal Opportunity Officer at this post.

Yes 1972 White	1974 White	Yes 1972 Black	1974 Black	*(Check yes or no for each item.)*
57%	*76%*	*54%*	*66%*	a. Did you know that such a person existed? *(If NO, go to Question 84.)*
59%	*67%*	*63%*	*67%*	b. Do you know how to get in touch with him?
29%	*37%*	*37%*	*44%*	c. Do you know his name and rank?

Q.71 How do most *black* enlisted personnel that you know feel about the way the Equal Opportunity Officer at this post does his job? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1972 Black	
20%	*24%*	*21%*	*24%*	a. Most black enlisted personnel think he does a good job.
7%	*8%*	*15%*	*17%*	b. Most black enlisted personnel think he does a poor job.
39%	*36%*	*50%*	*48%*	c. Most black enlisted personnel aren't sure whether he does a good job or not.
21%	*18%*	*8%*	*6%*	d. Most black enlisted personnel don't care whether he does a good job or not.

Q.72 How do most *white* enlisted personnel that you know feel about the way the Equal Opportunity Officer at this post does his job? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
20%	*24%*	*22%*	*25%*	a. Most white enlisted personnel think he does a good job.
8%	*8%*	*8%*	*11%*	b. Most white enlisted personnel think he does a poor job.
42%	*37%*	*35%*	*32%*	c. Most white enlisted personnel aren't sure whether he does a good job or not.
20%	*20%*	*25%*	*25%*	d. Most white enlisted personnel don't care whether he does a good job or not.

Q.73 As far as you know, how often do *white* soldiers take problems, requests, or complaints to the Equal Opportunity Officer? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
5%	*5%*	*7%*	*7%*	a. Quite often.
20%	*16%*	*17%*	*20%*	b. Sometimes.
36%	*41%*	*29%*	*32%*	c. Seldom or never.
38%	*36%*	*46%*	*40%*	d. Don't know.

* All percentages from here through Q83 are based on a white N = 1,109 and a black N = 930 for the 1972 survey; and a white N = 1,704 and a black N = 1,288 for the 1974 survey.

Q.74 As far as you know, how often do *black* soldiers take problems, requests, or complaints to the Equal Opportunity Officer? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
29%	*22%*	*21%*	*22%*	a. Most white enlisted personnel think he does a good job.
28%	*25%*	*31%*	*31%*	b. Most white enlisted personnel think he does a poor job.
13%	*14%*	*19%*	*20%*	c. Most white enlisted personnel aren't sure whether he does a good job or not.
39%	*38%*	*27%*	*26%*	d. Most white enlisted personnel don't care whether he does a good job or not.

Q.75 In your opinion, how many *officers* at this post know what the job of the Equal Opportunity Officer is? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
38%	*39%*	*24%*	*26%*	a. Most.
30%	*27%*	*34%*	*34%*	b. Some.
11%	*12%*	*22%*	*20%*	c. Few or none.
19%	*21%*	*19%*	*20%*	d. Don't know.

Q.76 In your opinion, how many *black enlisted personnel* know what the job of the Equal Opportunity Officer is? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
31%	*32%*	*24%*	*26%*	a. Most.
35%	*32%*	*43%*	*42%*	b. Some.
14%	*12%*	*18%*	*19%*	c. Few or none.
19%	*22%*	*13%*	*13%*	d. Don't know.

Q.77 In your opinion, how many *white enlisted personnel* know what the job of the Equal Opportunity Officer is? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
23%	*25%*	*20%*	*17%*	a. Most.
40%	*37%*	*42%*	*41%*	b. Some.
19%	*17%*	*19%*	*23%*	c. Few or none.
17%	*19%*	*17%*	*18%*	d. Don't know.

Q.78 Do you think it was necessary for the Army to set up a special office—the Equal Opportunity Office—to handle race-related problems, requests, and complaints? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
58%	*49%*	*76%*	*70%*	a. It was necessary.
21%	*23%*	*12%*	*15%*	b. It was not necessary, but desirable.
7%	*8%*	*2%*	*5%*	c. It should not have been done at all.
13%	*18%*	*7%*	*9%*	d. Don't know.

Q.79 Do you think that most enlisted personnel who have gone to the Equal Opportunity Officer are satisfied with the way their problems were handled? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
15%	*17%*	*13%*	*13%*	a. Most are satisfied.
28%	*28%*	*39%*	*40%*	b. Some are satisfied.
8%	*10%*	*16%*	*20%*	c. Very few are satisfied.
46%	*44%*	*30%*	*26%*	d. Don't know.

Q.80 Are you personally aware of any case where the Equal Opportunity Officer took some action which resulted in any of the following civilian-owned businesses being placed off limits by the post commander because of racial discrimination?

More Than One Case		One Case Only		Not Aware of Any		
1972 White	1974 White	1972 White	1974 White	1972 White	1974 White	*(Check one for each item.)*
23%	*22%*	*8%*	*9%*	*65%*	*65%*	a. Restaurant, bar, or lounge.
6%	*8%*	*2%*	*4%*	*85%*	*82%*	b. Retail store.
8%	*11%*	*7%*	*4%*	*80%*	*80%*	c. Recreational facility such as a pool hall.
6%	*7%*	*2%*	*5%*	*44%*	*46%*	d. Other (specify)_____

More Than One Case		One Case Only		Not Aware of Any		
1972 Black	1974 Black	1972 Black	1974 Black	1972 Black	1974 Black	*(Check one for each item.)*
24%	*21%*	*11%*	*14%*	*59%*	*60%*	a. Restaurant, bar, or lounge.
7%	*7%*	*4%*	*5%*	*76%*	*78%*	b. Retail store.
8%	*7%*	*6%*	*6%*	*73%*	*76%*	c. Recreational facility such as a pool hall.
3%	*6%*	*3%*	*5%*	*38%*	*41%*	d. Other (specify)_____

Q.81 Have you ever personally gone to the Equal Opportunity Officer for aid with a problem, request, or complaint? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
13%	*9%*	*22%*	*20%*	a. Yes.
87%	*88%*	*78%*	*76%*	b. No. *(If your answer is NO, go to Question 84.)*

Q.82 Were you satisfied with the way the Equal Opportunity Officer handled your problem, request, or complaint? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
36%	*5%*	*28%*	*10%*	a. Satisfied.
36%	*10%*	*43%*	*19%*	b. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied.
26%	*4%*	*26%*	*7%*	c. Dissatisfied.

Q.83 If, in the future, you had another such problem, request, or complaint, would you go back to the Equal Opportunity Officer? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
44%	*6%*	*45%*	*17%*	a. Yes.
29%	*5%*	*28%*	*10%*	b. No.
24%	*10%*	*25%*	*12%*	c. Not sure.

Q.84 How serious is the problem of racial discrimination in off-post housing for black soldiers at this post today? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
4%	*4%*	*15%*	*10%*	a. Very serious.
12%	*10%*	*22%*	*19%*	b. Serious.
34%	*30%*	*20%*	*21%*	c. Not serious.
47%	*41%*	*36%*	*32%*	d. Don't know.

Q.85 Does the post commander have the authority to declare housing off-limits around this post if the owner or manager refuses to rent or lease to blacks on the same basis as to whites? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
56%	*52%*	*54%*	*45%*	a. Yes.
9%	*6%*	*10%*	*9%*	b. No.
33%	*28%*	*30%*	*28%*	c. Don't know.

Q.86 How much has the Army's Equal Opportunity in Off-Post Housing Program improved housing conditions for black soldiers? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
17%	*15%*	*13%*	*12%*	a. Has improved housing conditions for blacks a great deal.
18%	*16%*	*25%*	*22%*	b. Has improved housing conditions for blacks somewhat.
6%	*5%*	*15%*	*11%*	c. Has made little or no improvement in housing conditions for blacks.
56%	*48%*	*41%*	*36%*	d. Don't know.

Q.87 Do you personally know of any case where a black soldier was charged more rent than a white soldier for the same apartment, house, or trailer? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
12%	*11%*	*30%*	*25%*	a. Yes.
85%	*73%*	*61%*	*55%*	b. No.

Q.88 How much help do you think the Housing Referral Office at this post is to *white* enlisted personnel in finding suitable housing? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
22%	*24%*	*31%*	*32%*	a. A lot of help.
21%	*24%*	*15%*	*15%*	b. Some help, but not a lot.
9%	*8%*	*4%*	*4%*	c. Little or no help.
4%	*4%*	*2%*	*1%*	d. More of a hindrance than a help.
26%	*25%*	*27%*	*28%*	e. Don't know.

Q.89 How much help do you think the Housing Referral Office at this post is to *black* enlisted personnel in finding suitable housing? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
23%	*23%*	*12%*	*16%*	a. A lot of hlep.
20%	*24%*	*25%*	*25%*	b. Some help, but not a lot.
7%	*7%*	*11%*	*12%*	c. Little or no help.
2%	*3%*	*4%*	*3%*	d. More of a hindrance than a help.
30%	*28%*	*26%*	*25%*	e. Don't know.

Q.90 Do you personally know of any case where a *black* enlisted person went to a landlord whose facilities were listed as "open" at the Housing Referral Office, and was refused housing because of his race? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
9%	*11%*	*25%*	*24%*	a. Yes.
72%	*72%*	*52%*	*56%*	b. No.

Q.91 When arriving at a new duty station, have you ever gone to a Housing Referral Office (either here or a another post) for help in finding off-post housing for yourself and your family? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
26%	*32%*	*22%*	*30%*	a. Yes.
54%	*52%*	*55%*	*50%*	b. No. *(If NO, go to Question 92.)*

Q.91A Did your orders require you to go to the Housing Referral Office? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
46%	*68%*	*46%*	*56%*	a. Yes.
45%	*24%*	*42%*	*30%*	b. No.
8%	*6%*	*10%*	*9%*	c. Don't know.
N= (511)	(724)	(379)	(579)	

Q.91B How much help did the Housing Referral Office give you in finding suitable housing? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
33%	*30%*	*29%*	*31%*	a. A lot of help.
30%	*29%*	*34%*	*34%*	b. Some help, but not a lot.
30%	*33%*	*28%*	*26%*	c. Little or no help.
6%	*13%*	*4%*	*17%*	d. Interfered with finding suitable housing.
N= (511)	(724)	(379)	(579)	

Q.91C Did the Housing Referral Office do any of the following things for you?

Yes 1972 White	Yes 1974 White	Yes 1972 Black	Yes 1974 Black	*(Answer Yes or No for each question.)*
52%	*60%*	*46%*	*55%*	a. Show you a list of off-limits housing.
32%	*39%*	*30%*	*39%*	b. Explain to you how they got their list of off-limits housing.
72%	*71%*	*65%*	*63%*	c. Show you a list of available open housing.
N= (511)	(724)	(379)	(579)	

Q.92 Have you ever taken a complaint of racial discrimination in housing to the Housing Referral Office? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
2%	*5%*	*4%*	*9%*	a. Yes.
39%	*76%*	*30%*	*66%*	b. No. *If NO, go to Question 93.)*

Q.92A What happened with regard to your complaint? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
28%	*33%*	*21%*	*19%*	a. It was investigated and action was taken.
22%	*12%*	*26%*	*24%*	b. It was investigated, but no action was taken.
18%	*18%*	*15%*	*14%*	c. It is still being investigated.
8%	*13%*	*8%*	*15%*	d. It was never investigated.
14%	*13%*	*21%*	*21%*	e. Don't know what happend to it.
N= (80)	(103)	(129)	(180)	

Q.93 Can education courses on race relations improve race relations in the Army? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
32%	*24%*	*44%*	*36%*	a. They can do a great deal to improve race relations.
40%	*38%*	*33%*	*34%*	b. They can be of some help to race relations.
14%	*16%*	*10%*	*13%*	c. They can be of little help to race relations.
10%	*16%*	*6%*	*11%*	d. They are likely to make matters worse.

Q.94 Have you ever attended either of the Army courses described above? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974[Black	
26%	*69%*	*20%*	*61%*	a. Yes.
25%	*26%*	*22%*	*30%*	b. No. *(If NO, go to Question 95.)*

Q.94A If *Yes*, check where attended.

Yes 1972 White	1974 White	Yes 1972 Black	1974 Black	*(Check Yes or No for each item.)*
70%	*52%*	*65%*	*51%*	a. Basic Combat Training.
2%	*2%*	*3%*	*3%*	b. Officer Candidate Training Program.
15%	*14%*	*15%*	*15%*	c. NCO Educational Program.
17%	*16%*	*20%*	*19%*	d. NCO Academy.
7%	*5%*	*10%*	*9%*	e. Drill Sergeant School.
6%	*4%*	*6%*	*7%*	f. Army Infantry Center (USAIC) at Fort Benning, Ga.
45%	*59%*	*34%*	*50%*	g. This Post.
15%	*19%*	*15%*	*16%*	h. Other_____ _____
N=	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.94B Would you say that the instruction you received increased your understanding of racial problems in the Army? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
19%	*18%*	*23%*	*20%*	a. A great deal.
54%	*48%*	*46%*	*50%*	b. Somewhat.
27%	*33%*	*28%*	*28%*	c. Not at all.
N= (941)	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.94C Would you say that the instruction you received increased your understanding of the causes of racial tension in the Army? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
18%	*17%*	*22%*	*20%*	a. A great deal.
56%	*53%*	*52%*	*54%*	b. Somewhat.
25%	*29%*	*23%*	*24%*	c. Not at all.
N= (941)	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.94D Would you say that the instruction you received helped you to improve race relations in your unit? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
11%	*10%*	*14%*	*15%*	a. A great deal.
47%	*43%*	*46%*	*47%*	b. Somewhat.
41%	*46%*	*38%*	*37%*	c. Not at all.
N=(941)	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.94E Would you be in favor of requiring *everyone* in the Army to attend a race relations course? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
65%	*51%*	*76%*	*71%*	a. Yes.
34%	*47%*	*21%*	*26%*	b. No.
N=(941)	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.94F Would you say that the instruction benefited: *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
51%	*42%*	*51%*	*49%*	a. black and white soldiers equally?
14%	*10%*	*22%*	*19%*	b. white soldiers more than black?
12%	*16%*	*7%*	*10%*	c. black soldiers more than white?
21%	*30%*	*16%*	*20%*	d. neither black nor white?
N=(941)	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.94G Do you feel the training in race relations resulted in improved interpersonal relationships? *(Check one.)*

1974 White	1974 Black	
9%	*15%*	a. Very improved.
39%	*49%*	b. Somewhat improved.
40%	*28%*	c. No change.
11%	*6%*	d. Worse relationships.
N= (1546)	(1193)	

Q.94H In general, did the discussion leaders seem to be comfortable with the subject matter? *(Check one.)*

1974 White	1974 Black	
41%	*36%*	a. Very comfortable.
42%	*45%*	b. Somewhat comfortable.
16%	*15%*	c. Not comfortable.
N = (1546)	(1193)	

Q.94I In general, did you think the material was interesting? *(Check one.)*

1974 White	1974 Black	
23%	*38%*	a. Very interesting.
46%	*46%*	b. Somewhat interesting.
29%	*14%*	c. Not interesting.
N=(1546)	(1193)	

Q.94J Overall, were the presentations clear and easy to understand? *(Check one.)*

1974 White	1974 Black	
51%	*54%*	a. Very clear.
38%	*35%*	b. Somewhat clear.
10%	*8%*	c. Not clear.
N=(1546)	(1193)	

Q.94K As a result of your training, do you feel there is any increase in your motivation to eliminate racial discrimination wherever you can? *(Check one.)*

1974 White	1974 Black	
33%	*44%*	a. More motivated.
52%	*43%*	b. No change in motivation.
12%	*9%*	c. Less motivated.
N=(1546)	(1193)	

Q.94L Compared to all the different kinds of training the Army conducts, from your standpoint, how important is race relations training? *(Check one.)*

1974 White	1974 Black	
23%	*41%*	a. Extremely important.
40%	*36%*	b. Important.
22%	*14%*	c. Not very important.
13%	*7%*	d. Not important at all.
N=(1546)	(1193)	

you. Did the course:

A Lot		Somewhat		Not At All		
1972 White	1974 White	1972 White	1974 White	1972 White	1974 White	*(Check one for each item.)*
18%	*18%*	*58%*	*55%*	*23%*	*24%*	a. help your understanding of the racial problem?
27%	*24%*	*51%*	*51%*	*21%*	*22%*	b. make you aware of minority contributions both to society and to the Army?
24%	*22%*	*42%*	*41%*	*32%*	*34%*	c. help you understand the relationship between slavery and discrimination and the attitude of young *black* soldiers today?
19%	*18%*	*42%*	*42%*	*38%*	*38%*	d. help you understand the relationship between slavery and discrimination and the attitude of young *white* soldiers today?
20%	*19%*	*48%*	*46%*	*30%*	*32%*	e. make you aware of the indicators of racial tension in a unit and what to do about them?
32%	*30%*	*43%*	*44%*	*24%*	*24%*	f. make you aware of the complaints most frequently expressed by *black* soldiers?
19%	*19%*	*47%*	*48%*	*33%*	*30%*	g. make you aware of the procedures for handling complaints of racial discrimination?
33%	*31%*	*47%*	*44%*	*19%*	*22%*	h. make you aware of the importance of communication in race relations?
25%	*22%*	*44%*	*45%*	*30%*	*30%*	i. teach you the basics of good communications with persons of other races?
20%	*20%*	*48%*	*47%*	*31%*	*30%*	j. make you aware of ways to increase understanding between races?
22%	*20%*	*47%*	*46%*	*30%*	*31%*	k. increase your understanding of black cultural identity?

(White N (1972) = 941) (White N (1974) = 1546)

A Lot		Somewhat		Not At All		
1972 Black	1974 Black	1972 Black	1974 Black	1972 Black	1974 Black	*(Check one for each item.)*
23%	*24%*	*53%*	*53%*	*19%*	*20%*	a. help your understanding of the racial problem?
34%	*37%*	*42%*	*42%*	*19%*	*16%*	b. make you aware of minority contributions both to society and to the Army?
42%	*40%*	*34%*	*33%*	*20%*	*23%*	c. help you understand the relationship between slavery and discrimination and the attitude of young *black* soldiers today?
25%	*26%*	*39%*	*40%*	*31%*	*30%*	d. help you understand the relationship between slavery and discrimination and the attitude of young *white* soldiers today?
26%	*26%*	*42%*	*47%*	*26%*	*23%*	e. make you aware of the indicators of racial tension in a unit and what to do about them?
39%	*36%*	*38%*	*38%*	*17%*	*21%*	f. make you aware of the complaints most frequently expressed by *black* soldiers?
26%	*29%*	*45%*	*45%*	*24%*	*21%*	g. make you aware of the procedures for handling complaints of racial discrimination?
37%	*36%*	*43%*	*43%*	*15%*	*17%*	h. make you aware of the importance of communication in race relations?
32%	*30%*	*40%*	*41%*	*23%*	*25%*	i. teach you the basics of good communications with persons of other races?
26%	*27%*	*46%*	*46%*	*24%*	*23%*	j. make you aware of ways to increase understanding between races?
40%	*37%*	*33%*	*34%*	*22%*	*24%*	k. increase your understanding of black cultural identity?

(Black N (1972) = 746) (Black N (1974) = 1193)

Q.94N Was the part of the course on black history in America and the role blacks have played in the Army: *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
16%	*14%*	*10%*	*11%*	a. completely new to you?
52%	*48%*	*36%*	*36%*	b. somewhat new to you?
29%	*35%*	*45%*	*49%*	c. not at all new to you?
N= (941)	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.94O Which part of the course was the most valuable to you? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
26%	*24%*	*43%*	*40%*	a. Black history, civilian and military.
22%	*23%*	*20%*	*23%*	b. Explanation of Army Equal Opportunity and Treatment policy and complaints and indicators of racial tension.
44%	*41%*	*28%*	*28%*	c. Discussion of the current racial situation in the Army with filmed or taped situations.
N= (941)	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.95 Does this post have RAP Seminars? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
29%	*50%*	*23%*	*48%*	a. Yes.
4%	*5%*	*8%*	*12%*	b. No.
53%	*42%*	*39%*	*34%*	c. Don't know.
N= (941)	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.96 If you were asked to participate in a RAP Seminar, would you attend voluntarily—without being ordered? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
51%	*48%*	*55%*	*65%*	a. Yes.
N= (941)	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.97 Do you personally know anyone who has participated in a RAP Seminar? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
30%	*48%*	*30%*	*53%*	a. Yes.
N= (941)	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.98 In your opinion, how much have RAP Seminars increased what is sometimes called "white backlash"? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
6%	*8%*	*7%*	*8%*	a. Have increased "white backlash" a lot.
8%	*14%*	*8%*	*19%*	b. Have increased "white backlash" somewhat.
8%	*8%*	*7%*	*10%*	c. Have not increased "white backlash" at all.
47%	*66%*	*32%*	*55%*	d. No opinion.
N= (941)	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.99 How do you think most *black* soldiers view RAP Seminars? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
16%	*16%*	*20%*	*27%*	a. Helpful to the racial situation in the Army.
13%	*19%*	*15%*	*26%*	b. Neither helpful nor harmful to the racial situation in the Army.
3%	*4%*	*3%*	*6%*	c. Harmful to the racial situation in the Army.
38%	*58%*	*19%*	*34%*	d. Don't know.
N= (941)	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.100 How do you think most *white* soldiers view RAP Seminars? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
15%	*14%*	*15%*	*16%*	a. Helpful to the racial situation in the Army.
18%	*27%*	*12%*	*25%*	b. Neither helpful nor harmful to the racial situation in the Army.
5%	*10%*	*4%*	*8%*	c. Harmful to the racial situation in the Army.
33%	*45%*	*26%*	*44%*	d. Don't know.
N= (941)	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.101 In general, what is *your* opinion about the value of RAP Seminars for reducing racial tensions in the Army? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
10%	*10%*	*13%*	*15%*	a. Are very effective in reducing racial tensions.
22%	*29%*	*21%*	*31%*	b. Are somewhat effective in reducing racial tensions.
12%	*20%*	*8%*	*15%*	c. Are not effective at all in reducing racial tensions.
27%	*38%*	*16%*	*31%*	d. No opinion.
N= (941)	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.102 In your opinion, how much have Seminars contributed to better communication between soldiers of different races? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
9%	*11%*	*13%*	*16%*	a. A lot.
26%	*34%*	*22%*	*38%*	b. Somewhat.
10%	*18%*	*8%*	*14%*	c. Not at all.
27%	*34%*	*16%*	*25%*	d. No opinion.
N= (941)	(1546)	(746)	(1193)	

Q.103 Since entering the Army, have you ever attended an Army RAP Seminar? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
24%	*40%*	*31%*	*46%*	a. Yes.
70%	*56%*	*56%*	*45%*	b. No. *(If NO, go to Question 104.)*

Q.103A Did you attend the Seminar(s) because: *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
42%	*48%*	*23%*	*32%*	a. you were ordered to?
29%	*33%*	*40%*	*37%*	b. you were selected to represent your unit?
23%	*12%*	*32%*	*26%*	c. you were interested?
3%	*3%*	*4%*	*2%*	d. other_____
N= (460)	(898)	(529)	(901)	

Q.103B In general, how much did you learn from the Seminar(s) about race relations? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
27%	*25%*	*38%*	*38%*	a. Learned a lot.
52%	*55%*	*42%*	*45%*	b. Learned a little.
20%	*19%*	*18%*	*15%*	c. Learned nothing.
N= (460)	(898)	(529)	(901)	

Q.103C Do you think that enlisted personnel spoke out honestly at the Seminar(s) you attended? *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
62%	*63%*	*57%*	*56%*	a. Both black and white enlisted personnel spoke out honestly.
4%	*3%*	*4%*	*3%*	b. Only white enlisted personnel spoke out honestly.
8%	*4%*	*19%*	*16%*	c. Only black enlisted personnel spoke out honestly.
23%	*28%*	*17%*	*23%*	d. Neither black nor white enlisted personnel spoke out honestly.
N= (460)	(898)	(529)	(901)	

Q.103D Were the problems discussed at the Seminar(s) you attended: *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
59%	*58%*	*71%*	*71%*	a. significant to both blacks and whites?
4%	*3%*	*7%*	*8%*	b. significant to whites only?
25%	*29%*	*8%*	*8%*	c. significant to blacks only?
10%	*9%*	*11%*	*10%*	d. significant to neither blacks nor whites?
N= (460)	(898)	(529)	(901)	

Q.103E Did the Seminar(s) you attended increase your interest in improving race relations: *(Check one.)*

1972 White	1974 White	1972 Black	1974 Black	
24%	*18%*	*36%*	*34%*	a. a lot?
45%	*46%*	*40%*	*44%*	b. somewhat?
19%	*23%*	*17%*	*17%*	c. not at all?
10%	*11%*	*4%*	*3%*	d. decrease your interest?
N= (460)	(898)	(529)	(901)	

APPENDIX C

Chi Square Values:

1972-1974 White

1972-1974 Black

1972 Black-White

1974 Black-White

Note:

(a) The ellipse indicates a difference significant at the .001 level of confidence.

(b) Where no χ^2 value is presented, the 1972 and 1974 items were not comparable, and no test of the difference was performed.

(c) For the non-statistically oriented reader, a "statistically significant difference" is a difference which, in accordance with certain rules, we can be fairly certain is a real difference and not one that could have occurred by chance. In this report, we have chosen to use the .001 level of confidence for our criterion of what we will call "significant." This means that when we say a difference is significant, we mean that that particular difference could have occurred only one (1) time in 1,000 if chance factors alone were operating. If, in comparing black-white responses, we say the difference is significant, we mean that it didn't occur by chance and therefore must be related to something having to do with the skin color of the respondent.

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Question Number	1972-1974 White	1972-1974 Black	1972 Black/White	1974 Black/White
1	7.0	92.7	138.5	28.9
2	24.2	38.2	25.7	61.8
3	21.4	61.4	158.5	98.2
4	4.5	3.8	130.7	30.5
5	12.3	18.6	1638.6	1792.6
6	25.1	6.5	1005.0	1118.0
7	21.6	17.4	523.3	664.8
8A	122.7	54.9	28.8	15.2
8B	11.0	6.3	20.4	19.1
8C	96.8	63.4	9.0	10.6
8D	108.7	16.1	5.0	52.0
8E	313.4	161.3	5.1	4.7
8F	- -	- -	- -	5.3
8G	80.5	36.0	11.7	3.9
9	12.2	11.3	175.2	168.1
10	27.0	5.1	184.5	324.7
11	24.1	4.4	262.6	240.5
12	59.0	38.7	208.8	233.4
13	16.3	22.9	1522.7	1665.8
14	0.7	2.2	313.2	338.7
15	66.4	42.3	181.4	242.0
16	19.7	13.7	55.4	66.8
17A	- -	- -	- -	83.5
17B	- -	- -	- -	3.8
17C	- -	- -	- -	25.5
17D	- -	- -	- -	167.7
17E	- -	- -	- -	10.5
17F	- -	- -	- -	0.7

Question Number	1972-1974 White	1972-1974 Black	1972 Black/White	1974 Black/White
17G	- -	- -	- -	5.9
17H	- -	- -	- -	69.2
17I	- -	- -	- -	16.2
17J	- -	- -	- -	29.3
18	5.0	4.0	258.0	275.8
19	40.1	26.0	8.3	7.8
20	39.2	19.0	14.0	11.9
21	25.8	9.9	97.4	106.7
22	27.4	6.0	70.0	136.9
23	15.8	15.7	284.2	287.6
24	15.4	8.3	180.0	180.7
25A	1.4	2.2	10.9	15.8
25B	39.3	34.0	8.4	11.7
25C	5.6	7.2	2.2	4.8
25D	31.0	21.4	3.1	5.7
25E	11.9	3.0	5.0	1.8
25F	0.8	0.5	1.4	0.8
25G	0.8	0.0	10.5	0.8
25H	9.6	3.2	4.5	4.6
25I	18.1	0.4	12.0	5.3
25J	2.4	0.3	10.5	9.6
25K	6.2	8.7	5.6	8.5
25L	0.8	2.1	4.0	4.6
25M	12.7	10.0	29.3	41.1
26	10.0	5.1	38.4	58.0
27	51.0	32.6	- -	97.3
28	61.0	61.8	- -	65.6
29	50.8	32.1	31.4	77.7

Question Number	1972-1974 White	1972-1974 Black	1972 Black/White	1974 Black/White
30	2.5	1.4	9.3	31.3
31	62.6	136.6	127.8	208.8
32	93.8	116.5	225.6	205.7
39	4.0	5.9	1032.0	1163.9
40	5.4	29.1	929.9	892.6
41A	4.0	3.4	12.7	12.7
41B	13.9	18.4	15.5	22.5
41C	43.9	36.0	21.2	12.0
41D	34.5	13.5	7.6	0.3
41E	27.0	8.4	1.2	1.6
41F	103.3	120.4	18.9	13.3
41G	42.8	25.0	63.5	61.0
41H	69.1	39.6	9.2	4.8
42A	9.3	12.5	1.4	1.5
42B	12.7	26.7	23.2	14.7
42C	30.6	59.0	60.9	29.3
42D	40.8	30.4	34.2	40.2
42E	26.1	33.6	72.7	59.6
42F	117.6	173.3	143.0	92.3
42G	34.0	70.1	53.6	110.5
42H	64.3	105.3	57.0	19.1
43	3.2	0.4	1402.0	1559.5
44	2.7	8.9	627.6	435.6
45	5.9	2.5	55.6	70.7
46	4.2	12.1	238.7	206.0
47	5.9	3.5	176.3	204.2
48	5.8	4.8	245.5	297.9
49	7.6	5.3	87.0	87.8

Questions Number	1972-1974 White	1972-1974 Black	1972 Black/White	1974 Black/White
50	1.0	7.6	12.0	38.7
51	7.3	15.0	27.6	45.9
52	7.1	2.3	462.7	510.6
53	5.5	5.6	692.6	881.0
54	1.3	2.6	40.5	26.7
55	0.6	6.2	192.4	177.1
56	9.8	4.5	41.2	45.6
57	6.7	18.8	72.9	45.3
58	8.3	1.4	673.7	637.3
59	11.8	36.9	324.3	396.6
60	17.4	8.1	56.9	17.8
61	3.2	21.8	126.3	194.1
62	4.9	8.2	236.7	253.2
63	2.5	5.2	334.8	268.8
64	5.9	8.9	146.5	112.7
65	10.2	22.7	849.6	841.2
66A	3.0	18.4	1225.0	1240.6
66B	2.9	3.4	816.7	752.4
66C	5.5	0.9	1006.2	968.2
66D	2.5	12.4	925.9	925.3
67A	31.2	17.6	1054.5	991.2
67B	9.8	5.5	645.4	604.3
67C	14.0	1.6	898.0	775.1
68A	27.5	20.8	149.0	171.2
68B	8.8	12.1	154.9	193.8
68C	15.2	40.5	201.6	274.0
69A	5.9	2.2	269.6	234.0
69B	3.0	1.2	215.1	177.8

Question Number	1972-1974 White	1972-1974 Black	1972 Black/White	1974 Black/White
69C	3.3	0.6	405.3	354.3
69D	34.0	4.2	938.3	879.0
69E	3.3	8.2	373.3	266.3
69F	6.6	5.3	344.6	252.1
69G	14.9	0.3	301.8	217.2
69H	30.2	2.4	502.2	437.6
69I	3.8	2.8	393.9	823.1
69J	71.8	38.3	156.5	48.0
70A	151.7	40.3	3.0	30.2
70B	24.5	5.6	21.3	7.1
70C	23.0	15.4	27.4	24.4
71	11.2	7.0	105.5	147.5
72	7.4	7.5	18.4	41.6
73	9.6	8.8	32.2	45.9
74	4.6	1.1	50.1	67.8
75	2.8	2.8	79.5	97.9
76	6.9	0.6	45.5	106.9
77	6.1	6.0	5.6	55.8
78	24.1	15.6	89.4	163.9
79	3.6	7.6	81.4	162.7
80A	0.2	4.1	16.8	32.7
80B	7.8	7.4	16.9	14.2
80C	17.7	0.6	1.5	20.3
80D	11.3	6.5	9.8	5.9
81	2.0	29.4	31.9	89.7
82	7.7	7.5	5.0	4.9
83	19.1	1.7	2.4	38.0
84	1.1	15.4	268.7	176.4

Question Number	1972-1974 White	1972-1974 White	1972 Black/White	1974 Black/White
85	8.1	1.9	5.1	29.3
86	1.0	3.4	135.5	161.7
87	1.2	49.9	236.8	167.4
88	4.9	7.9	90.1	149.7
89	12.5	11.7	118.9	65.8
90	3.8	1.8	193.0	142.8
91	12.5	23.5	9.7	17.9
91A	65.3	13.9	3.9	19.9
91B	34.7	28.6	9.0	8.3
91CA	7.2	5.5	0.6	2.9
91CB	5.4	7.1	3.8	4.8
91CC	3.2	3.8	1.3	7.6
92	0.3	2.5	28.7	47.6
92A	4.8	2.8	11.8	24.3
93	56.4	43.5	81.9	118.5
94	206.6	120.3	3.8	15.5
94AA	72.2	37.3	1.0	4.9
94AB	0.4	0.5	*	14.0
94AC	0.5	8.8	5.2	5.1
94AD	0.9	0.2	7.4	16.8
94AE	1.5	0.2	11.4	23.1
94AF	6.8	0.2	4.5	21.8
94AG	45.4	47.3	9.9	5.8
94AH	6.6	9.0	2.5	0.5
94B	10.5	3.5	15.2	19.0
94C	5.6	0.7	8.2	27.6
94D	4.8	0.1	13.6	35.7
94E	42.2	7.1	42.0	136.2

* Chi Square not computed because some cells have 0 frequency.

Question Number	1972-1974 White	1972-1974 Black	1972 Black/White	1974 Black/White
94F	43.4	9.0	34.9	114.5
94G	- -	- -	- -	109.5
94H	- -	- -	- -	19.7
94I	- -	- -	- -	123.6
94J	- -	- -	- -	12.9
94K	- -	- -	- -	60.7
94L	- -	- -	- -	167.8
94MA	1.1	9.6	14.3	19.3
94MB	2.1	4.0	19.7	67.6
94MC	2.1	2.3	77.2	118.0
94MD	0.6	0.4	23.8	42.8
94ME	1.4	5.4	17.7	49.7
94MF	0.6	4.3	16.4	20.4
94MG	1.8	3.2	26.6	57.4
94MH	4.8	0.7	12.5	33.2
94MI	2.1	0.7	19.6	35.8
94MJ	5.2	0.3	16.2	37.9
94MK	0.7	1.9	88.6	111.1
94N	14.0	0.9	82.4	67.2
940	4.9	3.0	74.4	95.9
95	134.8	117.1	42.0	66.5
96	2.5	140.5	118.9	189.3
97	17.1	4.7	17.6	29.8
98	15.9	19.2	38.5	59.1
99	18.6	11.6	103.5	237.2
100	38.9	37.1	23.4	15.7
101	17.6	19.6	60.1	85.2
102	11.0	17.4	65.6	96.2

Question Number	1972-1974 White	1972-1974 Black	1972 Black/White	1974 Black/White
103	123.4	78.0	41.1	35.6
103A	42.1	25.8	78.2	82.1
103B	7.1	4.6	21.3	49.4
103C	9.3	16.8	35.1	80.6
103D	7.2	13.5	- -	165.4
103E	16.0	10.6	29.9	109.3