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TR-78-B9

AN ANALYSIS OF THE UNIT RACE RELATIONS TRAINING PROGRAM IN THE U.S. ARMY

by

Robert L. Hiett and Peter G. Nordlie
Human Sciences Research, Inc.
7710 Old Springhouse Road
McLean, VA 22101

July 1978

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Contract DAHC 19-76-C-0015

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ARI Field Unit
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Prepared for

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Study Title: **An Analysis of the Unit Race Relations Training Program in the U.S. Army**

Authors: **Robert L. Hiett and Peter G. Nordlie**
Human Sciences Research, Inc.

Sponsor: **U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences**
Contract Number: **DAHC 19-76-C-0015**

Contracting Officer's Technical Representative: **Dr. James A. Thomas**

ABSTRACT

This report is the first of a series of reports from an on-going study of Army race relations and equal opportunity training. The scope of this particular report is limited to CONUS and the Pacific; training in USAREUR and the experimental training now underway will be examined in forthcoming reports.

The overall purpose of the study is to describe how the RR/EO unit training program is being implemented at local levels in the field and to assess the effectiveness of that training. The findings in this report are from data collected at four TRADOC and four FORSCOM posts in CONUS and two locations in the Pacific by biracial research teams during June and July of 1976. Data were collected by interviews and questionnaires from a number of different groups at each post.

ABSTRACT

Data Collection

Sources		Methods
40% random sample of personnel from approximately 12 companies per post (N = 4,340)	–	Survey Questionnaire
Brigade Commanders (N = 17)	–	Individual Interviews
Battalion Commanders (N = 33)	–	Individual Interviews
Company Commanders (N = 97)	–	Individual Interviews plus Questionnaires
Enlisted Personnel (N = 315)	–	Group Interviews plus Questionnaires
RR/EO Personnel - DRRI Graduates (N = 98) - DLC Graduates (N = 111) - Non-DRRI, DLC (N = 48)	–	Group Interviews plus Questionnaires

The report is organized around four major topics: (1) racial climate in the Army; (2) how the RR/EO unit training program is being implemented; (3) attitudes toward and perceptions of the RR/EO training program; (4) comparison of companies with higher and lower quality training programs. A number of conclusions and potential implications are drawn from the findings presented.

Racial Climate in the Army

The generally improving trend in racial attitudes, which studies have documented has been occurring since 1972, has stopped its upward movement by 1976. Despite the low frequency of overt interracial violence, race-related tensions persist and may be increasing. These tensions are fueled from two sources: (1) the frustration and bitterness of minorities; and (2) the anger of a growing number of whites who perceive they are being victimized by "reverse discrimination." It appears that a sort of *"interracial détente"* exists beneath which flows an undercurrent of suppressed interracial tension.

The overall picture is mixed; real progress in RR/EO has occurred, on the one hand, and on the other, racial tensions persist and may be growing.

How RR/EO Unit Training Is Being Implemented

Less than half of all companies in CONUS are conducting monthly RR/EO seminars. The quality of training is low and its relationship to RR/EO often minimal. There is much evidence that the unit training program is largely a "paper program" and for most company commanders its priority is extremely low. It seldom reaches personnel above the rank of E5; those persons who by virtue of their role in the organization have the most power to effect change if change is needed are least likely to participate in the seminars. The sensitive nature of the subject matter coupled with the specialized background knowledge required make it nearly impossible for untrained chain-of-command personnel to conduct effective RR/EO seminars.

Attitudes toward and Perceptions of the RR/EO Training Program

Two seemingly contradictory trends can be seen occurring for both whites and blacks. Since 1972, an increasing percentage of both saw RR/EO training as effective in helping to reduce racial tensions; simultaneously, an increasing number of both saw the training as not effective at all.

Despite widespread dissatisfaction with the current RR/EO training program, few personnel feel that there is no *need* for some type of RR/EO training. All groups queried express a decided preference for some new approach to RR/EO training to be developed and almost no one favored that RR/EO training be eliminated.

There is much confusion over the basic objectives and rationale of the Army's RR/EO program. The program is seen by many as primarily for show, as too black oriented, and as having the wrong target audience.

Commanders and RR/EO personnel have very divergent views about the RR/EO training program. Commanders feel that an inflexible program is being "crammed down their throats" and that they are not allowed to design the program to fit their units' needs. They admit they do not have sufficient training in the RR/EO area themselves and they feel they do not get sufficient support from trained RR/EO personnel. RR/EO personnel, on the other hand, feel that commanders do not support the program and avoid their training responsibilities where they can.

Comparison of Companies with Higher and Lower Quality Training Programs

There are more positive race-related attitudes, perceptions, knowledge, and reported behaviors in units with higher quality training programs than in units with lower quality programs. Higher quality training appears to be related, therefore, to the presence of greater racial harmony although further work is necessary before a causal relationship can be established. Although the racial climate tends to be better in units with higher

quality training programs, there is clearly much room for improvement even in the best of them. An important question remains as to whether training modeled on the present regulations is the most effective approach to achieving the training objectives.

Tentative Conclusions and Some Implications

The present study is continuing and new findings will undoubtedly influence any conclusions offered at this point. For that reason, the overall conclusions and the implications drawn from them are offered tentatively.

- The racial climate in the Army is such that morale, motivation, and unit effectiveness are, in all likelihood, adversely affected.
- There is a general consensus that a need for RR/EO training exists.
- There is general dissatisfaction with the current training program for a variety of different reasons.
- There is little RR/EO training actually being conducted under the current program.
- Where RR/EO training is being conducted in conformance with current regulations it appears to be associated with more positive race relations.

A number of potential action implications can also be stated.

- A clear statement of the goals and objectives of the training program needs to be developed and communicated to all persons throughout the Army.
- The basic training model currently in existence needs to be reconsidered.
- Commanders need instruction in how to apply the current training model and how to achieve the program objectives in their units.
- RR/EO training regulations need to be enforced.

- A strong RR/EO monitoring function needs to be established which focuses on substantive issues.

- DRRI and Discussion Leaders Course graduates need to be better integrated into the training system.

- Commanders need to be convinced that the program does contribute to unit readiness.

- Commanders need a better understanding of the problem to which the RR/EO program is addressed.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE
UNIT RACE RELATIONS TRAINING PROGRAM
IN THE U.S. ARMY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Background

The development and implementation of race relations and equal opportunity programs within the Army during the late sixties and early seventies constitutes one of the most massive change efforts of its type ever undertaken by any large organization. The creation of training programs, the development of race relations/equal opportunity (RR/EO) staffs, the formulation and enforcement of new policies, all required a tremendous investment of time and effort. At their very outset, the Army's race relations training programs were initiated quickly to meet urgent needs; there was little precedent on which to build and no experience with such training in the military. Methods were chosen and content formulated on the basis of limited experience, trial and error, and the best judgments of relatively few people.

The original Army-wide race relations and equal opportunity training program (RAP I) was a mandatory 18-hour block of instruction which was generally taught by graduates of the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) at the post or community. By early 1974, that program was modified by a revised AR 600-42 to create RAP II which placed the primary responsibility for conducting RR/EO training on the chain of command and required seminars to be conducted within units in platoon-sized groups on a monthly basis. Currently (December 1976), revisions of the basic RR/EO policy documents are under consideration and further modifications in the unit training program are likely.

The original training program was created and most of the subsequent changes in the program have been made with little input from evaluation research designed to measure the effectiveness of the training being given. A major impetus for the present research study is to help remedy that deficiency and begin to provide objective data on what impact the training is having. A further impetus is the desire to determine how, in fact, the present

policy is actually being implemented in the field. These two needs for information provide the twin thrusts behind the present study–i.e., program analysis and impact assessment.

Status of This Report

The total research study consists of three different parts:

Part I: the development of a management tool for use by unit commanders to measure institutional discrimination at division, brigade, and battalion levels.

Part II: analysis and assessment of the unit training program in race relations and equal opportunity.

Part III: an evaluation of how well the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) prepares personnel to perform RR/EO roles in the Army.

Each part is relatively independent of the other parts and has its own time schedule. The total study extends over 20 months. The present report is one of several on Part II. It was prepared to provide initial results from the unit training analysis and assessment part of the study to operational users in as timely a fashion as possible.

Objectives of Part II of the Study

Part II of the study has two objectives:

- to describe how the unit training program is being implemented at the local level; and
- to assess what impact the unit training program is having.

The first objective involves a comparison between how the unit training program was *intended* to function with how it was *actually* functioning at those sites visited during the study. In other words, how was the policy translated into reality at the company level in the field?

The second objective focuses on measuring the impact of RR/EO training. The intent is to measure changes in knowledge, attitudes, perceptions, and behavior which can be attributed to the RR/EO training experience. The purpose is to determine what impact RR/EO training is having, what aspects of variations appear most and least effective and, ultimately, how such training can be made more effective. In short, the assessment objective is to determine the extent to which RR/EO training is achieving its objectives.

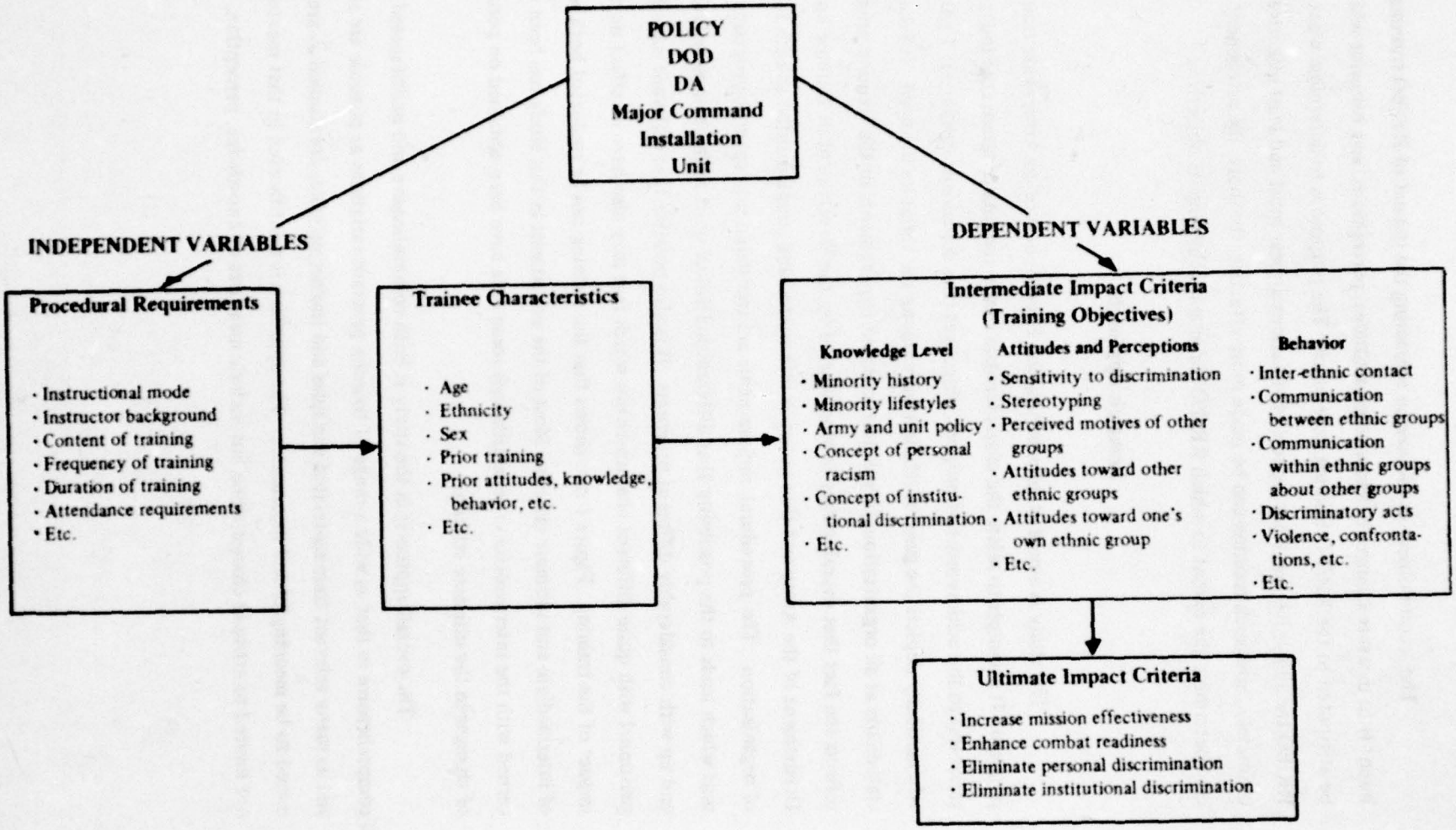
Research Approach

The study is aimed at determining the effectiveness of an Army-wide training program. It attempts to relate the characteristics of the training program (the independent variables) to the achievement of program objectives (the dependent variables). Figure 1 schematically depicts the general relationships among the variables involved. It relates policy statements at all organizational levels to the stated requirements of the training program and reflects the fact that overall policy is promulgated by the Department of Defense and the Department of the Army and that policy is interpreted and supplemented at each lower level of organization. The procedural requirements are translated into specific programs at every unit which leads to the possibility that different individual units at the company level will end up with considerably different programs. It is also possible that different units have personnel with quite different characteristics which fact may also have an effect on the impact of the training. Figure 1 also shows that the training can be evaluated both in terms of intermediate and ultimate criteria. Most of the assessment in this study has been concerned with the intermediate criteria although some data have been obtained on perceptions of changes in the ultimate criteria.

The overall approach in the study is both comprehensive and multifaceted. It is comprehensive in that as wide a range of training program variations as possible are sampled and as many relevant training-related variables and impact variables are studied as are determined to be meaningful and measurable. The approach is multifaceted in that measures are not limited to attitude change alone but include measures of knowledge, perception, and

Figure 1

The Relationship of Policy to the Procedural Requirements and Impact Objectives of RAP Training



reports of behavior. Methods, in addition to paper-and-pencil survey instruments, include individual and group interviews, observation of training, and the review of relevant Army policies and records.

The generic steps involved in the original design of the study were:

1. Review of racial awareness policy at all organizational levels to determine:
   (a) all specific training objectives;
   (b) all procedural requirements.
2. Identification of the most frequently occurring combinations of independent variables—i.e., the most common variants of the training model.
3. Development of operational measures of the dependent variables.
4. Measurement of changes in the dependent variables over time.
5. Relating changes in the independent variables over time to the training process.
6. Translating the findings into recommendations for changes in policy, procedure, objectives, curriculum, etc.

The original design envisioned a Time 1 measurement of personnel in a sample of companies in the Army and a Time 2 measurement several months later during which period training was presumed to occur. As a consequence of the Time 1 data collection in CONUS, it became evident that the amount of training actually occurring was insufficient for the original design to make any sense and the Time 2 data collection was cancelled in CONUS accordingly. Whereas most units did provide some sort of training experience to satisfy regulations, the content relevant to race relations was in many cases merely the title of the course. The general lack of race-related content meant that a Time 2 measurement would only overdocument the obvious outcome of little or no change with respect to training objectives.

In place of the originally planned Time 2 data collection, therefore, an experimental training program was set up at three locations where specific training interventions were

systematically varied to assess the impact of each type of training variation. This change in design will allow for some statements about training impact to be made in spite of the scarcity of race relations training at most locations.

In USAREUR, the original Time 1/Time 2 data collection design was retained since there appeared to be sufficient training being done to justify it and because a new variation in the program was being initiated at the time of the Time 1 data collection visits (October 1976). In this report, however, only the information collected during the Time 1 data collection in CONUS and the Pacific is reported. Information from the Time 2 data collection in the Pacific, the Time 1/Time 2 data collection in USAREUR, and from the three experimental and one control site in CONUS will be presented in a subsequent report.

This report, therefore, focuses primarily on the program analysis objective and describes what was found during the initial data collection visits to four TRADOC posts and four FORSCOM posts in CONUS and two locations in the Pacific. In the final report, this information will be synthesized with the findings from the USAREUR and experimental parts of the study.

During the month of June and the first two weeks of July 1976, two person, biracial research teams visited each post for a period of one week to collect a variety of pertinent data. The data collection methods and the sources from which data were collected were as listed below:

Data Collection

Sources		Methods
40% random sample of personnel from approximately 12 companies per post (N = 4,340)	–	Survey Questionnaire
Brigade Commanders (N = 17)	–	Individual Interviews
Battalion Commanders (N = 33)	–	Individual Interviews
Company Commanders (N = 97)	–	Individual Interviews plus Questionnaires
Enlisted Personnel (N = 315)	–	Group Interviews plus Questionnaires
RR/EO Personnel - DRRI Graduates (N = 98) - DLC Graduates (N = 111) - Non-DRRI, DLC (N = 48)	–	Group Interviews plus Questionnaires

The findings presented in this report came from these sources. The reader is referred to the separately bound Technical Appendices of this report for technical information on the sampling design, instrument development, instrument reliability, and a number of statistical analyses too detailed or too technical for presentation in this report.

Organization of This Report

This report emphasizes the findings from the study to date and is addressed primarily to persons concerned with RR/EO policy and training.

Survey findings about the current attitudinal and perceptual environment in which the equal opportunity and race relations training programs operate are presented in Chapter II.

The training model is described and detailed information about the actual operation of these programs at the unit level is provided in Chapter III.

The current attitudes of military personnel toward race relations programs in general and the training programs in particular are presented in Chapter IV.

Companies with higher quality training programs are compared with companies with lower quality training programs in terms of differences in attitudes, perceptions, knowledge, and reported behavior in Chapter V.

The findings of the work so far are summarized and conclusions given in the final chapter.

CHAPTER II

THE RACIAL CLIMATE IN THE ARMY

Under the assumption that the nature and impact of the unit RR/EO training program in the Army can be best understood when viewed in a broader context, information is presented here on "racial climate" in the Army. The description of racial climate is based on responses to questions concerning: respondents' perceptions of and attitudes toward race relations and equal opportunity in the Army; respondents' reports of their own behavior and the behavior of others in their companies; and respondent knowledge about EO- and race-related matters. The description presented here is based on the questionnaires of 4,340 respondents and on several hundred individual and group interviews at eight CONUS and two OCONUS locations.

In reviewing the data the reader should keep in mind that the racial environment is, of course, quite complex. The data reported in this study are the results of a series of paper-and-pencil instruments and personal interviews. All of these data collection methods have gone through a careful sequence of pretest and review activities and meet appropriate criteria for social science measuring instruments. Direct observation of behavior was not utilized for reasons of cost and practicality. It is of interest to note, however, that the findings of this study about interracial behavior are quite consistent with a recent Army study which relied extensively on direct observation of behavior.[1] Therefore, the study data collection techniques are viewed as providing meaningful indications of the racial climate in the Army.

The data reported here were collected in June and July of 1976. A number of questions were asked which were identical to questions asked in Army-wide surveys conducted in 1972 and repeated in 1974.[2] Where appropriate, therefore, responses for all three points in time are shown to provide an indication of changes over time.

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[1]Sophia F. McDowell, *Voluntary Racial Separation by Blacks in the Army* (Arlington, Va.: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, September 1976), Research Problem Review 76-2.

[2]Dale K. Brown and Peter G. Nordlie, *Changes in Black and White Perceptions of the Army's Race Relations/Equal Opportunity Program–1972-1974* (McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, Inc., January 1975).

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Racial Attitudes and Perceptions

Equality of Treatment

One primary goal of the Army's RR/EO program is to insure that all Army personnel are treated equally, without regard to race. An important aspect of the racial climate, then, would have to do with Army members' perceptions concerning equal treatment. While perceptions of the equality of treatment may not perfectly correlate with the objective reality of treatment, prior research suggests that behavior is more related to how people perceive reality than the objective characteristics of that reality. Thus, perceptions of unequal treatment are likely to lead to racial tension even if an objective assessment would demonstrate no inequality in treatment. Perceptions of discrimination have the impact of "fact," when they are regarded as fact. A basic and critical finding of this study is that most people do perceive differences in the treatment received by members of different races in the Army. Table 1 shows that fewer than half of those surveyed believe that whites and non-whites are treated exactly the same. Responses of the sample of black personnel verify what was documented in the prior Army surveys; i.e., that most blacks—in this case two out of every three—feel that minorities receive worse treatment than whites. There is small consolation in the fact that this figure is slightly lower now than in 1972, when 72 percent of blacks felt that they were treated worse than whites. In 1974 the comparable figure was 67 percent, about what it is today.

While most blacks continue to see themselves as victims of discrimination, however, only 7 percent of white respondents agree with that view and almost half of the whites surveyed feel that minorities receive *better* treatment than whites. The trend over the past several years is noteworthy. In 1972, some 30 percent of whites perceived favoritism toward minorities; in 1974, the figure increased to 35 percent; and currently it stands at 46 percent.

A very pervasive characteristic of the Army's racial climate is this vastly divergent set of perceptions on the part of blacks and whites, with most blacks continuing to report the presence of discrimination against minorities, and a large (and apparently increasing) group of whites seeing what white interviewees often referred to as "reverse racism"—favored treatment

for minorities. At best, only a relative handful of whites perceive the existence of racial discrimination against minorities.

Table 1

Perceptions of Equality of Treatment

Question: *Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
8%	46%	22%	In general, non-whites are treated better than whites in the Army.
26%	47%	45%	In general, non-whites are treated exactly the same as whites in the Army.
67%	7%	32%	In general, non-whites are treated worse than whites in the Army.

NOTE: In this and all subsequent tables in the report, the results are shown as percentages rounded to whole numbers. In most cases the results are given by race, which was determined by self-reports of the respondents when presented with the alternatives "Black," "White," and "Neither Black nor White (please specify)." The number of respondents to the tables in this and subsequent chapters is 1,036 blacks, 2,978 whites, and 326 "others." This varies slightly from table to table because of nonresponses to individual items. Although they are not presented in this volume of the report, statistical tests of differences in responses have been made and the results for each table are presented in the separately bound technical appendices.

Promotions

Table 2 shows the results for questions relating to promotions. With regard to the question of who is best qualified for promotion, almost three-fourths of all respondents, regardless of race, feel that no one racial group is better qualified than any other. This is a significant finding in view of the traditional argument that minorities are promoted less quickly because they are less well qualified than whites. The current data indicate that this perception is no longer widely accepted.

Table 2

Perceptions of Promotion Opportunities

Question: *As a general rule, which racial group is best qualified for promotion to higher enlisted grades in the Army?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
74%	72%	74%	On the average, soldiers of all races are equally qualified.
18%	26%	19%	On the average, white soldiers are best qualified.
8%	2%	7%	On the average, non-white soldiers are best qualified

Question: *As a general rule, which racial group has the best chance for promotion to higher enlisted grades?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
28%	67%	54%	Chances are equal for all races.
67%	9%	31%	Whites have the best chance.
2%	20%	11%	Blacks have the best chance.
2%	4%	4%	Other minorities have the best chance.

Despite the fact that most members of each race perceive all races as roughly equal in qualifications for promotion, there are large differences between races with regard to perceptions of actual chances for promotion. Although most whites and most non-black minorities feel that chances for promotion are equal for all races, two-thirds of all black respondents feel that whites have the best chance. This is also true for about one of every three persons in the "other" category. Only a small group of respondents sees its own race as having the best chances for promotion.

Although the perception of whites on this latter question has been relatively stable compared with the 1974 data, this is not true for blacks. While most blacks still tend to see whites as having the best promotion opportunities, the number who see chances as equal for blacks and whites is increasing, from 20 percent in 1972, to 23 percent in 1974, to 28 percent in 1976.

Thus, although the majority of blacks feel (and most whites agree) they are as well qualified as whites, most blacks still feel they are at a disadvantage in regard to chances for promotion; however, the proportion who see an atmosphere of equality of opportunity in the Army is increasing.[3]

Punishment

There is a major difference in the perceptions of different racial groups about consequences of punishable behavior. Table 3 shows the results of two questions about breaking rules. The two items are not directly comparable since one refers to conditions in the respondent's unit and the other does not. The results, nevertheless, are striking. Almost half the blacks agree that whites get away with breaking rules that non-whites are punished for, whereas 90 percent of the whites disagree. Conversely, almost half of the white respondents agree that non-whites get away with breaking rules that whites are punished for, while over 80 percent of the black respondents disagree. Here again, the two largest racial groups show "mirror image" perceptions.

Table 3

Perceptions of Punishment for Breaking Rules

Statement: *In my unit, whites get away with breaking rules that non-whites are punished for.*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
49%	3%	17%	Agree/Strongly Agree
23%	7%	21%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
29%	90%	62%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

Statement: *Non-whites get away with breaking rules that whites are punished for.*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
7%	48%	28%	Agree/Strongly Agree
10%	18%	20%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
82%	34%	51%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

[3]This trend, in fact, parallels objective changes in differential promotion rates which have been documented in Peter G. Nordlie, James A. Thomas, and Exequiel R. Sevilla, *Measuring Changes in Institutional Racial Discrimination in the Army* (Arlington, Va.: U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences, December 1975); and in Peter G. Nordlie, *Further Analyses of the Differences in Speed of Promotion of Blacks and Whites–A Supplemental Report* (McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, Inc., April 1976).

Work Assignments

Similar differences also are apparent in responses to a question about assignment to work details. The results are shown in Table 4. For blacks, 49 percent agree with the statement that non-whites get more than their share of dirty details. At the same time, 78 percent of the whites disagree with the statement. Note also another recurring pattern that is evident here, that there is far more consensus among white respondents than within the minority group.

Table 4

Perceptions of Assignment to Work Details

Statement: *Non-whites get more than their share of dirty details.*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
49%	7%	23%	Agree/Strongly Agree
23%	15%	27%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
29%	78%	50%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

Training Opportunities

A similar overall pattern exists in the area of training opportunities, as is shown in Table 5. When presented with the statement, "Whites have a better chance than non-whites to get the best training opportunities," half of the blacks agree, and three-fourths of the whites disagree. The non-black minorities tend to fall between these extremes, with half expressing disagreement with the statement.

Table 5

Perceptions of Opportunities for Training

Statement: *Whites have a better chance than non-whites to get the best training opportunities.*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
52%	6%	23%	Agree/Strongly Agree
24%	17%	27%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
24%	77%	50%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

Perceptions of Discrimination against Whites

Most white Army members see little evidence of discrimination against minorities, and a sizable proportion of whites across all grades see favoritism in the opposite direction, in favor of minorities, to the detriment of whites. This they often label "reverse discrimination." This is illustrated in Table 6 which shows that 35 percent of white respondents agree that there is racial discrimination against whites at their posts. (Somewhat surprisingly, 23 percent of black respondents also agree with that statement.)

Table 6

Perceptions of Discrimination against Whites

Statement: *There is racial discrimination against whites on this post.*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
23%	35%	31%	Agree/Strongly Agree
29%	29%	31%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
48%	34%	38%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

Behavioral Aspects of Racial Climate

Another important and pervasive aspect of racial climate is the behavioral component. The following discussion is based on respondents' reports of their own behavior and behavior intentions, and of the behavior of their own and other racial groups. Included here are reports of: discrimination as a personal experience; observations of voluntary racial separation; racial conflict; verbal racist behavior; and positive interracial interaction.

Personal Experiences with Discrimination

Respondents were asked to report the extent to which they felt they had been discriminated against in the past two years in receipt of on-post services (PX, snack bar, barber or beauty shop) and in job-related areas (duty assignments and details, promotions, and opportunities for training).

In receipt of services on post, 16 percent of blacks, 15 percent of non-black minorities, and 11 percent of whites reported being victims of race discrimination. In job-related areas, the figures jump dramatically, with 43 percent of blacks, 36 percent of non-black minorities, and 21 percent of whites reporting personal experiences of discrimination. While such reports are largely subjective, it is clear that large proportions of Army personnel *believe* they have been discriminated against in service- and job-related areas.

Voluntary Racial Separation

A very salient component of race-related behavior has to do with the extent to which people of one race tend (for whatever reason)[4] to associate with people of their own race. Tables 7 through 9 show results of several questions asked about this type of voluntary racial separation.

Table 7 indicates a great deal of perceived voluntary racial separation by whites. Over 60 percent of each group sees such behavior as being relatively frequent off the job. In terms of on-duty grouping, more blacks than whites report it as frequent; however, even among whites there is substantial agreement that it occurs at least "sometimes."

Table 7

Responses to Questions about White Self-Segregation

Question: *How often do white personnel in your company spend time with just whites during off-duty hours?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
60%	62%	60%	Often/Very Often
25%	28%	29%	Sometimes
15%	10%	11%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do white personnel in your company stick together while on the job?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
47%	35%	39%	Often/Very Often
27%	31%	32%	Sometimes
26%	35%	29%	Seldom/Never

[4] McDowell, *op. cit.*

The pattern of perceptions concerning black voluntary separation is almost a mirror image of that for whites, though not so pronounced. Substantial numbers from all racial groups perceive frequent non-white grouping behavior during off-duty hours. The numbers are only slightly smaller for on-duty voluntary separation.

Table 8

Responses to Questions about Non-White Voluntary Racial Separation

Question: *How often do non-whites or minority personnel in your company spend time with just non-whites during off-duty hours?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
50%	54%	48%	Often/Very Often
28%	27%	33%	Sometimes
22%	20%	19%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do non-whites or minority personnel in your company stick together while on the job?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
42%	46%	43%	Often/Very Often
31%	30%	29%	Sometimes
27%	24%	28%	Seldom/Never

Two other questions were asked to obtain some indication as to whether the motivation for voluntary separation comes from a desire to be with people like oneself or a desire to avoid people of other racial groups.

While it is clear that there is a lot of grouping along racial lines in the Army, this need not necessarily be seen as a negative indicator of race relations. However, when the motivation for such racial separation is avoidance, it is more likely to be indicative of a poor racial climate. Table 9 shows the responses to a question about avoidance behavior. In each racial group, more than half the respondents say that active avoidance of others by people of

the respondent's own race occurs seldom or not at all. On the other hand, some people, admittedly in relatively small proportions, see such behavior frequently, and about 30 per cent see it "sometimes." Obviously, the perception exists among a relatively large number of people of all races that active avoidance behavior does occur at least sometimes.

Table 9

Avoidance of Racial Interaction

Question: *How often do people of your own race in your company avoid doing things with people of other races?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
13%	15%	8%	Often/Very Often
31%	29%	30%	Sometimes
56%	56%	63%	Seldom/Never

Race-Related Verbal Behavior

Three areas of verbal behavior were examined as part of the racial climate. They are: racial slurs (name-calling); telling of racist jokes; and heated arguments over race-related issues. Table 10 summarizes responses concerning the perceived frequency of name-calling by white members of the respondents' companies.

The percentage of respondents indicating that whites use racial slurs when referring to blacks is surprisingly similar for both blacks and whites. About 25 percent of both blacks and whites indicate that whites use such slurs often or very often. Another 25 percent say it sometimes occurs and 50 percent say it seldom or never occurs. The non-black minority respondents report more usage of such slurs by whites than either the whites or blacks. Use of slurs against non-black minorities by whites is reported by a smaller percentage of all respondents.

Table 10

Use of Racial Slurs by Whites

Question: *How often do white personnel in your company refer to blacks as "nigger," "coon," etc.?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
25%	25%	33%	Often/Very Often
24%	25%	27%	Sometimes
51%	51%	39%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do white personnel in your company refer to Chicanos, Latinos, and others of Spanish heritage as "spicks," "greasers," etc.?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
22%	17%	25%	Often/Very Often
26%	23%	30%	Sometimes
52%	60%	44%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do white personnel in your company refer to Orientals and people of Asian heritage as "slopes," "gooks," etc.?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
23%	20%	25%	Often/Very Often
27%	24%	30%	Sometimes
51%	56%	45%	Seldom/Never

Table 11 shows the results of questions pertaining to the use of racial slurs by non-whites in the Army. When asked how often non-white personnel refer to whites by such names as "honky" or "gringo," 23 percent of the blacks, 31 percent of the whites, and 31 percent of the other minorities report such occurrences as being often or very often. Whites and non-black minorities tend to feel such terms are used more often than blacks indicate. The frequency of use of such slurs against other minority groups is somewhat lower, although the percent reporting the frequency of use as being often or very often never drops below ten percent for any group.

Table 11

Use of Racial Slurs by Non-Whites

Question: *How often do non-white or minority personnel in your company refer to whites as "honky," "gringo," etc.?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
23%	31%	31%	Often/Very Often
33%	29%	37%	Sometimes
44%	41%	32%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do non-white or minority personnel in your company refer to Chicanos, Latinos, and others of Spanish heritage as "spicks," "greasers," etc.?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
10%	16%	22%	Often/Very Often
21%	27%	28%	Sometimes
69%	57%	51%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do non-white or minority personnel in your company refer to Orientals and people of Asian heritage as "slopes," "gooks," etc.?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
10%	19%	18%	Often/Very Often
23%	28%	33%	Sometimes
67%	53%	48%	Seldom/Never

In addition to the use of racially demeaning terms, joke-telling also can take on a racist character. Questions were asked to obtain information about the frequency of racist joke-telling. Table 12 provides the results. The percentage of subjects responding "often" or "very often" to the question, "How often do people of your own race tell racist jokes about other races?" is 14 percent for blacks, 20 percent for whites, and 14 percent for the other racial groups. While these percentages are relatively small, they again reflect the perception of racially dysfunctional behavior on the part of a sizable minority of Army personnel.

Table 12

Racist Joke Telling

Question: *How often do people of your own race tell racist jokes about other races?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
14%	20%	14%	Often/Very Often
35%	41%	39%	Sometimes
51%	39%	47%	Seldom/Never

Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they thought people showed disrespect when talking to people of other races. Table 13 shows the results. Some 28 percent of the blacks indicate that whites often or very often show disrespect when talking to non-whites. And 29 percent of the whites report that non-whites often or very often show disrespect when talking to whites.

Table 13

Demonstrations of Disrespect

Question: *How often do white personnel in your company show disrespect when talking to non-whites?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
28%	10%	21%	Often/Very Often
36%	30%	39%	Sometimes
36%	60%	40%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do non-white or minority personnel in your company show disrespect when talking to whites?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
18%	29%	21%	Often/Very Often
39%	33%	39%	Sometimes
43%	38%	40%	Seldom/Never

Racial Conflict

A still further extension of racial separation, one which leads to results directly inimical to all objectives of the Army RR/EO program, exists when groups of people of one race gather together and harass members of other races. Table 14 deals with this aspect of interracial behavior. While the majority of respondents in many of the groups seldom or never see harassment and denial of access to facilities perpetrated either by whites against minorities or by minorities against whites, some people in each group report it as happening often or very often, and even more report its existence on an occasional basis. The tendency is for white respondents to attribute such behaviors to minorities far more often than to whites. Black respondents, however, show the same response pattern for both groups; i.e., there are as many who see minorities harassing whites as there are those who see whites harassing minorities.

Table 14

Interracial Harassment

Question: *How often do white personnel in your company get together in certain situations to harass or keep non-whites out of facilities which are supposed to be open to all?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
12%	5%	8%	Often/Very Often
20%	10%	21%	Sometimes
68%	85%	71%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do non-white or minority personnel in your company get together in certain situations to harass or keep whites out of facilities which are supposed to be open to all?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
9%	19%	14%	Often/Very Often
22%	25%	28%	Sometimes
69%	56%	58%	Seldom/Never

Table 15 refers to the final stage of active interracial conflict; i.e., fights between groups of whites and groups of non-whites. As would be expected for so serious a thing as interracial fights, the percentage of people reporting that such things seldom or never occur is very high, from 75 to 85 percent. The remaining 15 to 25 percent, however, report such fights "sometimes," "often," or "very often."

Table 15

Open Racial Conflict

Question: *How often do whites and non-whites in your company form groups and challenge each other to fights?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
6%	4%	7%	Often/Very Often
13%	11%	17%	Sometimes
81%	85%	75%	Seldom/Never

There is considerable post-by-post variation in response to this item, ranging from one installation where fewer than 3 percent see such fights as happening often or very often, to another where as many as 15 percent of minority respondents report frequent interracial fights.

Positive Interracial Interactions

A number of questions were asked to elicit responses about the frequency of occurrence of such things as whites and non-whites helping each other and doing things together. Tables 16 and 17 provide the results.

Respondents were asked how often whites and non-whites go out of their way to help each other. A low proportion of people indicating "seldom" or "never" can be considered a sign of a favorable racial climate. As Table 16 shows, however, there is a very sizable minority of people who report that individuals seldom or never go out of their way to help each other. Some 49 percent of the blacks, almost half, respond this way, and 38 percent of the whites and 37 percent of the other racial groups respond similarly.

Table 16

Helping Behaviors

Question: *How often do whites and non-whites in your company go out of their way to help each other?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
16%	22%	18%	Often/Very Often
35%	40%	45%	Sometimes
49%	38%	37%	Seldom/Never

Questions were asked about the frequency with which people of different races go to the clubs together and participate in athletic events together. The results are shown in Table 17.

Table 17

Racial Interaction

Question: *How often do whites and non-whites in your company go to post clubs together (Enlisted Club, NCO Club, Officers Club)?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
24%	28%	23%	Often/Very Often
35%	42%	43%	Sometimes
41%	30%	34%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do whites and non-whites in your company participate in athletic events together?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
47%	54%	46%	Often/Very Often
34%	32%	37%	Sometimes
19%	14%	17%	Seldom/Never

Because perceived "polarization" of the Army club system is frequently mentioned as a problem, racial interaction in club attendance is of interest. About 25 percent of the respondents indicated that people of different racial groups go to clubs together often or very often, with whites more likely to report such behaviors than blacks. On the negative side, however, there is a large percentage of people who report that such behaviors seldom or never occur, with blacks more likely than whites to report that it occurs seldom or never.

The area in which the most racial interaction seems to occur is in athletics. Almost half of all the racial groups report that whites and non-whites participate in athletic events together either often or very often.

Knowledge

In addition to racial attitudes and perceptions and reported behaviors, racial climate in the Army depends, in part, on the knowledge level of personnel with respect to race relations and equal opportunity issues. Several questions were asked about such areas as familiarity with regulations and policies and cultural and historical background information.

When presented with the statement, "Affirmative Actions Plans are actually quotas which must, by law, be filled within a certain time," only 21 percent of the respondents correctly indicated that the statement is untrue. A slightly higher percentage of blacks (24 percent) than whites (21 percent) gave the correct answer.

A much larger proportion of personnel (61 percent) know that 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.

A series of questions was included to determine whether respondents know the meaning of such terms as stereotype, affirmative actions plans, institutional discrimination, prejudice, and others. The results are shown in Table 18. As this table shows, there is considerable room for increasing the understanding most respondents have of the meaning of many of the terms relating to RR/EO. The terms which are most readily identified are

"segregation," "personal racism," and "stereotype." The term with the lowest number of correct responses is "institutional discrimination."

Table 18

Percent of Subjects Correctly Identifying the Use of Selected RR/EO Terms

	Blacks	Whites	Others
Stereotype	53%	62%	55%
Affirmative Actions Plan	40%	37%	37%
Institutional Discrimination	13%	12%	16%
Prejudice	54%	64%	54%
Personal Racism	56%	67%	65%
White Backlash	36%	35%	33%
Segregation	62%	70%	58%
Polarization	32%	48%	33%

A series of questions was asked relating to cultural symbols and terms as well as historical information. In general, blacks score highest on items about the Black Liberation flag, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday, Marcus Garvey, the number of black Americans serving in the U.S. Congress, and *Brown versus the Board of Education*. The non-black minority respondents are more likely to score highest on the items relating to the definition of such Spanish terms as "pachuco" and "barrio." In no case does the percentage of people getting the right answer exceed 75 percent and many are less than 20 percent.

Quality of Race Relations in the Army

Two questions were asked which might be considered indicators of the general quality of race relations in the Army. In the first, respondents were asked if they think race relations in the Army are good, fair, or poor. In the second, they were asked whether they think race relations in the Army during the past year have been getting better, have not changed, or have been getting worse. Table 19 shows the results.

Table 19

Perceived Quality of Race Relations

Question: *Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
23%	23%	19%	In general, race relations in the Army are good.
45%	48%	47%	In general, race relations in the Army are fair.
32%	29%	33%	In general, race relations in the Army are poor.

Statement: *Over the past year, race relations in the Army:*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
38%	29%	33%	have been getting better.
48%	55%	52%	have not changed.
13%	16%	15%	have been getting worse.

In terms of the current state of race relations, there is very little difference across racial lines. The largest percentage of respondents feel that race relations in the Army are fair. The next largest proportion of respondents feel that race relations are poor. The smallest percentage feel that that race relations are good.

There are differences, however, in the way different racial groups perceive the way race relations are changing. Some 13 to 16 percent of persons of all races feel things are getting worse. The largest percentage of people say that race relations have not changed—55 percent of the whites, 52 percent of the non-black minorities, and 48 percent of the blacks. Blacks are more likely than any other racial group to say that race relations are getting better.

The general tendency is for Army personnel to say that race relations are fair and that things are not changing. Since, however, these same questions have been asked in previous surveys in 1972 and 1974, it is possible to examine changes over time in more detail. Tables 20 and 21 show the results.

Table 20

Changes in Perceptions of Army Race Relations

Whites

	1972	1974	1976
Race relations are good.	20%	23%	23%
Race relations are fair	55%	55%	48%
Race relations are poor.	25%	22%	29%

Blacks

	1972	1974	1976
Race relations are good.	10%	20%	23%
Race relations are fair.	50%	52%	45%
Race relations are poor.	39%	27%	32%

Table 21

Changes in Perceptions of the Trend in Race Relations

Whites

	1972	1974	1976
Race relations are getting better.	39%	41%	29%
Race relations have not changed.	36%	41%	55%
Race relations are getting worse.	24%	18%	16%

Blacks

	1972	1974	1976
Race relations are getting better.	42%	48%	38%
Race relations have not changed.	39%	39%	48%
Race relations are getting worse.	18%	11%	13%

For whites, the percentage of people who think that race relations in the Army are good has remained constant since 1974. The percentage of whites who, in 1972 and 1974, thought that race relations were fair has declined from 55 percent to 49 percent. This decline is associated with an increase in the percentage of persons who feel that race relations are poor.

For blacks, there is a drop from the 1974 level in the percentage of persons who think that race relations are fair. This decline for blacks is associated with both a continuing increase since 1972 in the percentage who think race relations are good and a substantial drop since 1972 in those who think race relations are poor.

These results are related to an increase in the proportion of persons who think that race relations are not changing. As Table 21 indicates, 15 percent more whites and 10 percent more blacks than in 1974 think that race relations have not changed. This increase is related to a decrease in the percentage of both blacks and whites who think that race relations are getting better.

Summary and Conclusions about the Racial Climate

Basic conclusions which can be drawn from the data presented in this chapter may be summarized as follows:

- Most black members of the Army continue to see racial discrimination against non-whites in virtually every important aspect of Army life.
- Most whites see little evidence of discrimination against minorities.
- An increasing proportion of whites across all grades see "reverse discrimination" occurring to the detriment of whites.
- Non-black minority group members are fairly heterogeneous in regard to their attitudes and perceptions concerning racial climate in the Army, some reflecting the "white view" and nearly an equal number reflecting the "black view."

- Despite the low frequency of publicly reported incidents involving overt racial violence, at an attitudinal and perceptual level, the conditions for tension between the races appears to be ever present and quite widespread.

- Each racial group perceives the other racial groups as behaving in the more dysfunctional ways and having more negative attitudes than their own group.

- Each racial group perceives the other groups as more likely to receive favorable treatment while their own racial group is not treated equally.

- The frequency of positive interracial interactions is quite low.

- The frequency of openly hostile types of behavior reported by all groups is low.

- The overall quality of race relations in the Army which improved between 1972 and 1974 has stabilized at a level described as somewhere between "poor" and "fair."

- Voluntary racial separation is reported by all groups both on and off duty.

- Each group perceives the other groups doing more voluntary racial separation.

- Voluntary racial separation is reported to be much higher off duty than on duty.

- A substantial frequency of negative verbal behavior is still reported. Each racial group tends to see the other as doing more.

- Most Army personnel are not very aware of Army EO policy nor the basic concepts and terminology commonly used in discussing RR/EO

It is difficult to draw a summary picture of the diverse findings on the overall racial climate in the Army. They do indicate that despite the relative absence of overt interracial violence, race-related tensions persist and, in fact, they may be growing. What

was once a situation fueled largely by the frustration and bitterness of minorities now has an added source of tension: the anger of a growing number of whites who perceive that "reverse discrimination" is now occurring to their detriment.

Racial harmony clearly does not exist. It appears that a sort of *"interracial detente"* has been achieved, perhaps temporarily, beneath which flows an undercurrent of passive, and sometimes active, interracial tension. The widespread polarization of perceptions among persons of different races continues and underscores the fact that Army personnel are perceiving and responding to their common objective reality in vastly different and conflicting ways.

The Racial Awareness Program in the Army is aimed at altering the state of affairs just described and that is clearly a most difficult and complex undertaking.

CHAPTER III

THE RACIAL AWARENESS PROGRAM: UNIT TRAINING IN THE ARMY

The Army's race relations training program was developed initially in response to racial difficulties that began in the late sixties and early seventies. The training program was, at first, designed to be conducted at post level by graduates of the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) in 18-hour blocks of instruction. This phase was known as RAP I and all military personnel were required to attend one such training session each year.

With the issuance of AR 600-42 of 11 December 1973, the program entered a second phase, known as RAP II. RAP II is the training program currently in effect in all CONUS and Pacific installations.[5] The basic purpose of the present study is to describe in detail how RAP II is being implemented at the unit level and to provide an initial assessment of the kinds of effects it is having. In this chapter, the RAP II training program will be described as it is being carried out at selected CONUS and Pacific locations. Included is a discussion of the basic training model and objectives as described by AR 600-42 and AR 600-21. In addition, there will be a description of the specific ways in which the model is implemented at post and unit level.

RAP II Training Model

AR 600-42 and AR 600-21 provide the basic structure within which race relations training is given in Army units. Supplements to the basic regulations can be issued, but these provide further detail rather than changing the basic structure of the program.

Both AR 600-42 and AR 600-21 place the responsibility for the program in the hands of commanders. This is a considerable change from the RAP I effort since under that

[5]USAREUR does not follow the RAP II format, having developed a separate program of its own. The program in Europe is currently under study and will be described and evaluated in a subsequent report as part of the present study.

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program, all training was given by trained instructors at central locations on an installation. Under the previous program, personnel who attended generally were not trained with their work units but were organized into small groups of people drawn from all over an installation. The commanders had no responsibility for the training portion of the EO program in their units at all.

The revision of AR 600-42 and the institution of RAP II were intended to increase chain-of-command involvement and make the unit the focal point of the program. The unit training regulation requires the following:

1. Seminars on race relations and equal opportunity topics are to be held in each unit not less than once a month.

2. All personnel are expected to attend.

3. Seminars should be presented in groups of platoon size, except that introductory sessions may be conducted in larger groups.

4. The training will be conducted during prime training time.

5. A member of the unit chain of command will lead the seminars.

6. Graduates of DRRI and Discussion Leader Schools may assist the chain of command by providing technical expertise.

7. Topics are provided by AR 600-42, however, scheduling is at the discretion of the commander and subsequent topics may be selected to meet unit needs.

While the specific requirements of the regulation are fairly clear, the specific objectives of the unit training program are less well defined. The regulations and pertinent policy directives are confusing with regard to training program objectives. Certain general purposes are stated, but operational definitions are lacking. The interviews conducted with commanders, RR/EO personnel, and unit personnel all tend to support this view that the objectives and goals of the training are not well understood.

The objectives can be said to include:

1. the positive creation of an atmosphere of racial harmony;

2. the support of the soldier's legitimate drive for individual and cultural recognition while emphasizing his role as a member of the Army team;

3. the changing of behavior and the creation of an improved appreciation of individuals as members of groups and as human beings;

4. the promotion of racial harmony, reduction of tension and increase in understanding of race/ethnic group differences; and

5. stimulation of interracial communication.

All of these objectives are stated within the context of a broader purpose which is given as that of maintaining the highest degree of organizational and combat readiness by fostering harmonious relations. Basically, the program as it is currently designed can be described as a unit-specific program which is primarily a chain-of-command responsibility. The broad objective is to enhance organizational effectiveness by promoting: (1) equal treatment through the elimination of discriminatory behaviors; (2) interracial communication; and (3) interracial understanding. The rationale is that such efforts will result in more racial harmony, less racial tension, and greater unit effectiveness.

The Unit-Level RAP II

As noted in Chapter I, data were collected through interviews and questionnaires from several groups of people: commanders, RR/EO personnel; and unit personnel. The results of the information gathering efforts are discussed in detail in the sections which follow. The specific findings are organized under the following headings:

Frequency of Training;
Attendance;
Topic Selection;
Instructors;
Other Seminar Characteristics.

These sections are followed by a brief summary of the findings and conclusions.

Frequency of Training

The requirement of the regulation is that unit training be conducted monthly. Most commanders and RR/EO personnel indicate that unit seminars are held at least monthly. This is true at all the posts visited. There are some variations, however. One senior commander indicated that he required semimonthly seminars. At two posts a few units indicated that they held seminars quarterly rather than monthly. A few commanders stated that they did not hold sessions at all.

The interviews with RR/EO personnel generally support the reports from commanders. Some RR/EO personnel indicate, however, that sessions are not held as often as commanders claim. Some seminars are said to be "paper" sessions which do not actually take place. Others say that many seminars cover topics unrelated to RR/EO and therefore are not RAP sessions at all.

This latter view tends to be supported by the results of surveys of unit personnel. Table 22 shows the results of asking company personnel how often race relations seminars are held in their units. Since it is possible for seminars to be scheduled at the beginning of one month and the end of the next, personnel might think that monthly seminars were held as much as two months apart. Therefore, the categories which could be checked by a respondent and still meet the requirements of the RAP II model are: (1) more than once a month; (2) once a month; and (3) once every two months. Fifty percent of the respondents are included in these three categories. The other half of the respondents report that they are in units which do not meet the minimum frequency requirements of AR 600-42. The large percentage of people who do not know how often training is conducted can be interpreted as being the result of units where no sessions are held or are sporadically held, where RAP seminars deal with other than RR/EO topics, or where attendance requirements are not enforced.

The reports from commanders and RR/EO personnel provide a much more positive view of the training program than do personnel assigned to the units. There are several possible reasons for this divergence. Commanders may be reporting that sessions are held when they are not because they are reluctant to admit that they violate the regulations. Unit personnel may not be attending the sessions. The sessions may not be on RR/EO related topics, or attendance requirements are not enforced.

Table 22

Frequency with Which RR/EO Seminars Are Held*

	Percent of Respondents
More than once a month	7%
Once a month	36%
Once every two months	6%
Once every three months	12%
Less than quarterly	8%
Never	6%
Don't know	25%

*The sample size for this and subsequent tables in the section is 4,340 There is minor variation due to non-response.

The reports from commanders and RR/EO personnel provide a much more positive view of the training program than do personnel assigned to the units. There are several possible reasons for this divergence. Commanders may be reporting that sessions are held when they are not because they are reluctant to admit that they violate the regulations. Unit personnel may not be attending the sessions. Or the sessions may not be on RR/EO related topics. These possibilities will be discussed further in later sections.

Attendance

There is considerable confusion in the field about attendance levels. Even though attendance is mandatory according to the regulation, local commanders have a difficult time reaching 100 percent attendance. Therefore, there are considerable variations in the way attendance requirements are operationally defined.

Senior commanders tend to assert that attendance is mandatory, although there are exceptions. In a few units, seminars are required monthly with attendance quarterly. At one location the commander set an attendance requirement of 80 percent. Another set 70 percent and still another reduced the requirement to 50 percent.

Company commanders are more likely to point out the difficulties of getting high attendance in the face of operational duty requirements. While some commanders say they reach 100 percent attendance, others complain that they have difficulty getting senior personnel to attend the seminars. This is particularly true in HQ companies where a junior officer commands a company which has many senior officers and NCO's assigned to it. There are some indications that attendance reports are based upon company rosters rather than on actual figures. The company commanders' estimates of attendance ranged to as low as 25 percent in some units.

The views of the RR/EO personnel are even more negative. They agree that attendance is mandatory for junior enlisted personnel (E1-E5), but indicate that senior enlisted personnel (E6-E9) and senior officer personnel (O4 and higher) seldom attend.

These findings about poor seminar attendance are supported by the survey of unit personnel. Each respondent was asked, "How long ago did you last attend a Unit RR/EO Seminar in your unit?" Table 23 shows the results.

Table 23

Time Since Attending Last Seminar

	Percentage of Respondents
Less than 1 month ago	38%
1 - 2 months ago	24%
3 - 6 months ago	19%
7 - 12 months ago	6%
Longer than 12 months ago	4%
Never in this unit	10%

Assuming that a unit might not schedule sessions exactly 30 days apart, the longest a person should report would be one to two months ago. Only 62 percent of the respondents say they have attended a seminar within the previous two months. This is true in spite of the fact that 93 percent of the respondents say that attendance in their units is mandatory.

Topic Selection

The company commander is the person with ultimate responsibility for the selection of topics according to the regulations, although considerable flexibility in the topic selection is authorized. In practice, however, there are a number of ways of arriving at the topic. Some commanders personally make the decision as to the appropriate topic. Others do so after consultation with various personnel, which may include company staff, unit enlisted personnel, battalion or brigade personnel. In some instances the topics are sent down to a company from brigade. It varies as to whether the use of such topics is mandatory or voluntary. In most cases, use of the topics is voluntary. In those cases in which the commander does not personally lead the seminars, the individual he designates as instructor may be asked to select the topic. In most such cases the commander would still be responsible for approving the topic selected.

The topics chosen tend to be primarily related to race or human relations, although a wide variety of issues can be covered, including things like ground safety or income tax regulations. A number of people interviewed said that whatever the topic, sessions frequently degenerate into "bitch sessions."

It was clear from the discussions with commanders and RR/EO personnel that there is no one way in which topic selection occurs. Variation is the rule. The individual unit commander tends to choose for himself how involved he wishes to be in the process.

Commanders and unit personnel were both asked to indicate which topics had been covered during the past 12 months. The results are shown in Table 24. The patterns are very similar, although commanders are somewhat more likely to report that certain topics are covered than the unit personnel do. Topics getting the most attention are:

Personal Racism	Institutional Racism
Stereotypes	Prejudice

Those topics getting the least attention appear to be:

Affirmative Actions Plans	DOD RR/EO Policy
Causes and Effects of White Backlash	

It is interesting to note that the topics which get little attention appear to be very important. As noted in the previous chapter, there is reason to be concerned about attitudes and perceptions related to those topics that are least likely to receive coverage; e.g., affirmative actions plans, RR/EO policy, and backlash. Also, coverage of a specific topic does not insure effective communication of information in that area. Although 50 percent of unit personnel and 62 percent of commanders report that the topic of institutional racism had been covered, only 12 to 16 percent of the unit personnel could correctly answer a knowledge question about institutional racism.

Table 24

Seminar Topics

	Percent Reporting Topic Covered in Previous 12 Months	
	Personnel	**Commanders**
An introduction to the Army's RAP	46%	41%
DOD RR/EO policy	25%	26%
Army RR/EO policy	48%	43%
Personal racism	63%	75%
Institutional racism	50%	62%
Stereotypes	62%	67%
Prejudice	71%	80%
Interracial communication in the unit	57%	63%
Understanding minorities' lifestyle	53%	55%
The multiracial, multiethnic nature of America	39%	35%
Minority contributions to American life	47%	45%
Causes and effects of "white backlash"	27%	15%
Issues of national concern (busing, women's rights)	37%	44%
Irritants to effective relations in your unit	37%	52%
Affirmative Actions Plan	22%	28%
Ways of reducing racial tension in the unit	49%	46%
Off-post discrimination	38%	62%
Army channels for discrimination complaints	43%	66%

Instructors

The types of instructors used in conducting the sessions vary considerably from unit to unit. Possibilities ranged from:

Company commander;
Other chain of command personnel;
Discussion Leaders Course graduates in the unit;
RR/EO part-time personnel in the unit;
DRRI graduates from brigade or post;
Other personnel from within the unit.

There is no standard procedure used by all units. It is clear from the interviews that DRRI graduates do not lead the seminars. This is true despite the fact that DRRI graduates are the best prepared of any group to conduct RR/EO training. It is also a source of some frustration to DRRI graduates because they entered the field generally thinking they would be conducting a lot of training.

At some locations commanders are encouraged to lead the training sessions in accordance with AR 600-42. At one installation the opposite is true, with commanders directed by local policy not to lead the sessions. Instead, trained Discussion Leaders are to lead the seminar with the commanders present.

Sometimes combinations of these methods are used. Some commanders indicated they personally introduce the sessions and then platoon leaders or other personnel lead small group discussions. In many cases, Discussion Leaders conduct the training. Some 61 percent of the DLC graduates interviewed say they lead a session at least once a month. Some 77 percent have led a session during the past two months.

The general pattern is that most seminars are conducted by chain-of-command personnel or DLC graduates. While the DLC graduates actually lead some sessions, it is possible that there are many more sessions than trained Discussion Leaders. In such cases, other unit personnel may be given responsibility for conducting the training.

There is clearly some reluctance on the part of company commanders to leading the sessions themselves. First, they admit that they have no training for the task. Thus, they are likely to guide the discussion into less controversial, non-RR/EO related topics, where they feel more confident. Second, they tend to become targets for general questions about policies and activities unrelated to the RR/EO program. This also seems to increase the likelihood of sessions degenerating into "bitch sessions."

Other Seminar Characteristics

All personnel tend to agree that seminars are held during duty hours as required by the regulations. Respondents were asked if training was held during prime training time. Most say it is, but there seems to be little understanding as to the exact definition of prime training time and the results should be cautiously accepted.

The specific places in which the seminars are held varies, but for the most part include classrooms and dayrooms. Less frequently reported are work areas, theaters, and dining facilities.

In about half of the cases the number of people attending a seminar is less than 25. This conforms to the apparent intent of the regulation which calls for training in platoon-sized units. There are, however, a number of units in which training is given in larger groups. In fact, eight percent of the unit personnel indicate that training groups exceed 75 in size.

The seminars tend to run about one to two hours in length. About 10 percent of the respondents report that seminars are less than one hour. Some 45 percent indicate the seminars last from 60 to 90 minutes, another 45 percent say they last longer than 90 minutes.

There is some monitoring of seminars by RR/EO personnel. The extent to which monitoring is reported appears to differ considerably depending on who is asked. The full-time RR/EO people indicate that a great deal of monitoring is done. The company commanders and the Discussion Leaders Course graduates are much less likely to report that monitoring is done. In addition, commanders criticize the monitoring as being superficial in nature. Commanders complain that they are not given feedback about how to improve the sessions, but instead are written up for not following irrelevant requirements, such as formating of lesson plans. Monitoring in some cases is little more than a method for insuring

that the seminars are actually being conducted. When there is strong command support and command followup, the monitoring does appear to serve the function of getting the units to actually hold the seminars. The monitoring does not, however, seem to be related to the actual quality of the sessions.

Summary

There appear to be a number of critical discrepancies between the requirements of the regulations on unit race relations training and what actually takes place in the field. In addition, there are some important differences in the program as described by commanders and by RR/EO and unit personnel. Commanders tend to state that seminars are being held on a monthly basis with fairly high attendance. The responses from unit personnel suggest seminars are more infrequent than commanders are indicating and the attendance is lower. With respect to some of the less critical issues of the program, such as location and duration of training, there tends to be greater agreement.

Based on the results of the data collection effort, the program can be described as follows:

- Race relations seminars are probably being conducted monthly in less than half of the companies surveyed.
- Other companies may have some training sporadically which goes under the name of race relations training but is not regular enough for personnel to be aware of it as a continuous program.
- There is much evidence that the unit training program is largely a "paper program."
- There is a lot of variation in the number of companies with a regular program from post to post, but every post has some type of training program.
- Attendance is said to be mandatory but is not. Large proportions of the junior enlisted personnel attend as do junior officers, but senior enlisted personnel and senior officer personnel appear to systematically avoid the training.

- Seminars tend to be conducted by members of the chain of command or trained Discussion Leaders. DRRI graduates are isolated from the present program as instructors.

- Topics are typically selected by commanders or with their approval. Topics tend to focus heavily on race-related issues and not on such equal opportunity issues as affirmative actions plans.

- Little attention is given to the "white backlash" issue.

- Seminars, when held, last about one to two hours and are held in classrooms or dayrooms.

- RR/EO personnel do monitor some sessions but commanders, in general, are unaware of the monitoring function and, when they are aware of it, consider it to be superficial and unrelated to their needs.

These statements generally represent the nature of the program as it is presently conducted. In the next chapter, the attitudes of unit personnel, commanders and RR/EO personnel toward the present program are explored.

CHAPTER IV

CURRENT ATTITUDES TOWARD THE RACIAL AWARENESS PROGRAM

In order to understand completely the kinds of effects that the Racial Awareness Program is having at the unit level, information is needed about the basic attitudes and perceptions toward the program. A number of questions were asked of commanders, RR/EO personnel, and unit personnel in order to obtain such information.

The results are presented in detail in the following sections. The first section deals with the generalized attitudes about the overall Race Relations and Equal Opportunity (RR/EO) Program. The second focuses on the more specific attitudes toward the *unit training program* itself; and the final section covers the attitudes of commanders, RR/EO personnel, and selected unit personnel toward the training program and their ideas of ways it might be changed.

Attitudes about the RR/EO Program

As with perceptions about equality of treatment in the Army, blacks and whites tend to differ with respect to their perceptions of the Army's commitment to the Race Relations and Equal Opportunity Program. The most significant difference is apparent in answer to a question about the extent to which whites in the Army want racial minorities to be treated equally. Table 25 gives the results. Half of the blacks feel that whites don't really want racial

Table 25

Perceived Desire for Racial Equality by Whites

Statement: *Most whites in the Army don't want racial minorities to be treated equally.*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
50%	12%	28%	Strongly Agree/Agree
34%	23%	32%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
17%	65%	40%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

minorities to be treated equally. This perception differs considerably from that of whites. About 65 percent of the whites indicate that whites in general do desire that minorities be treated equally.

Since blacks don't feel that whites want them to be treated equally and the majority of the Army leadership is white, they might be expected to feel that the Army's commitment to the RR/EO program is not real. A series of questions was directed at this issue.

Table 26 shows the responses of unit personnel to a question about the Army's commitment to the principle of equal opportunity. Forty percent of the blacks agree that the Army is firmly committed to the principle of equal opportunity. This would appear to be a rather low percentage considering all the RR/EO activities that have taken place in the military during recent years. In addition, about one-third of the blacks and one-fifth of the whites indicate that they *do not* feel the Army is committed to equal opportunity.

Table 26

Perception of Commitment to Equal Opportunity

Statement: *The Army is firmly committed to the principle of equal opportunity.*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
40%	52%	46%	Strongly Agree/Agree
28%	28%	28%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
33%	20%	25%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

Respondents were asked about the extent to which RR/EO policies and regulations are enforced. Table 27 shows these results. Blacks are much more likely than whites to indicate that policies and regulations are not enforced. Some 48 percent of the blacks indicate that NCO's do not usually see to it that regulations are enforced. For the enforcement of regulations by officers, the percentage drops to 31 percent of the blacks who hold this pessimistic view.

The white respondents are much more likely than blacks to feel that policies are enforced; however, fewer than half of the whites report that RR/EO policies and regulations are enforced by either officers or NCO's. Therefore, less than a majority of all personnel think that the leadership in the Army enforces RR/EO regulations.

Table 27

Perception of Enforcement of RR/EO Policies

Statement: *Most NCO's usually see to it that RR/EO policies and regulations are enforced.*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
29%	44%	35%	Strongly Agree/Agree
24%	28%	23%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
48%	28%	42%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

Statement: *Most officers usually see to it that RR/EO policies and regulations are enforced.*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
35%	48%	39%	Strongly Agree/Agree
34%	34%	31%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
31%	18%	31%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

If NCO's and officers are not perceived as enforcing policies and regulations, the question arises as to whether the program is seen as supported by commanders. Table 28 provides responses to a series of questions in this area. Most people feel that the RR/EO program receives some command support and many feel that it receives a great deal of command support. In addition, most respondents appear to think that the commanders honestly believe that race relations programs are a good thing. The pervasive difference in perceptions across races exists here, also, however.

There is a big difference in the extent to which people feel troop commanders should pay more attention to meeting the needs of minority group members. Most blacks feel troop commanders should devote more attention to minority personnel, and most whites disagree.

Table 28

Perception of Attitudes of Commanders

Statement: *The people at the top command levels honestly believe that race relations programs are a good thing.*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
48%	57%	46%	Strongly Agree/Agree
33%	30%	40%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
19%	12%	14%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

Question: *How much command support does the Race Relations/Equal Opportunity (RR/EO) Program receive at this post?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
27%	45%	34%	A great deal of command support.
58%	48%	55%	Some command support.
16%	8%	11%	No command support

Statement: *Troop commanders at this post should pay more attention to meeting the needs of minority group members.*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
62%	15%	50%	Strongly Agree/Agree
26%	39%	31%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
12%	45%	20%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

Post-by-post variations in perceived level of command support are included in Table 29. Overall, whites attribute more command support to the program than do blacks. On a post-by-post level there are considerable differences in perceived level of command support within each racial group as well. (Percentages for non-black minorities are not included because of their small numbers at post level.)

Table 29

Perceived Command Support by Post

Question: *How much command support does the Race Relations/Equal Opportunity (RR/EO) Program receive at this post?*

	Black			White		
Post	A Great Deal	Some	None	A Great Deal	Some	None
A	31%	58%	10%	49%	44%	7%
B	24%	59%	17%	52%	42%	6%
C	31%	53%	16%	47%	46%	8%
D	24%	58%	19%	46%	46%	9%
E	24%	51%	25%	30%	60%	9%
F	21%	62%	17%	50%	41%	9%
G	29%	58%	14%	36%	52%	12%
H	17%	67%	16%	49%	44%	8%
I	23%	55%	22%	38%	54%	8%
J	44%	47%	9%	62%	35%	3%
K	24%	63%	13%	43%	50%	7%

One other question was asked which provided information relevant to the topic. Unit personnel were asked whether RR/EO programs were just for show. As Table 30 indicates, this was one question that blacks and whites tend to agree on. Slightly more than one-third of all personnel—black, white, and other—agree that RR/EO programs are just for show.

Table 30

Perception of the RR/EO Program

Statement: *RR/EO programs on this post are mostly just for show.*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
37%	39%	40%	Strongly Agree/Agree
33%	34%	32%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
31%	28%	28%	Strongly Disagree/Disagree

In general, it can be said that there is a sizable number of persons in the Army who express negative attitudes toward the RR/EO program. Blacks and whites tend to appoach the question differently, however. Blacks feel that whites don't really want racial equality, and as was noted in a previous chapter, there is a sizable group of whites who express backlash feelings. Thus, the RR/EO program is perceived as having different effects. Blacks feel that more attention should be given to minorities and whites disagree.

Attitudes about Race Relations Training

The Racial Awareness Program operates within the broader context of the Race Relations and Equal Opportunity Program. This broader context was described above and it was noted that there are a diversity of views about the value of the RR/EO program in general. However, there is a substantial number of persons of all races who view the RR/EO program negatively. In this section attitudes that relate more specifically to the race relations training program in the units will be examined.

Questions in a number of areas related to race relations training were asked. Table 31 shows the responses to a general evaluation question. Respondents tend to feel that race relations training is somewhat effective in reducing racial tension, with more than 40 percent falling into this category. However, there is a large number who feel the training was not

Table 31

Effectiveness of Training in Reducing Racial Tensions

Question: *In general, what is your opinion about the value of race relations training for reducing racial tensions in the Army?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
17%	5%	10%	Very effective in reducing racial tensions.
45%	41%	42%	Somewhat effective in reducing racial tensions.
25%	42%	30%	Not effective at all in reducing racial tensions.
13%	12%	17%	No opinion.

effective. Those who indicate that race relations training is not effective in reducing racial tension included 25 percent of the blacks, 42 percent of the whites, and 30 percent of the respondents of other races. It is notable that whites are almost twice as likely as blacks to feel that training is not effective in reducing racial tensions.

This question on the effectiveness of race relations training was also asked on the 1972 and 1974 surveys and it is of interest to make some comparisons. In Table 31A, the data from Table 31 is compared with the 1972 and 1974 data. The *Very Effective* and *Somewhat Effective* alternatives are combined into one category and the *No Opinion* category has been omitted to facilitate a comparison between those who assessed the program as effective and those who said it was ineffective.

Table 31A

Effectiveness of Training in Reducing Racial Tensions

Question: *In general, what is your opinion about the value of race relations training for reducing racial tensions in the Army?*

Whites			Blacks			
1972	1974	1976	1972	1974	1976	
32%	39%	46%	34%	46%	62%	Very or Somewhat Effective
12%	20%	42%	8%	15%	25%	Not Effective At All

The trends are fairly clearcut. Blacks consistently see it as more effective than whites. Of greatest interest, however, is that there is a steady increase in the percentage of *both* whites and blacks who see the program as at least somewhat effective. There is *also* a steady increase in the percentage of both whites and blacks who see the program as not effective at all. Of special note is the sharp increase in percentage of whites (from 20 percent to 42 percent) between 1974 and 1976 who see the program as not effective. This finding is consistent with other data which point to an increasing white dissatisfaction with the program and a growing "white backlash" phenomenon.

Personnel were also asked how important race relations training is in comparison to other kinds of Army training. The results, as shown in Table 32, indicate that blacks are

very likely to consider the training important. About half of the whites consider such training to be important. At the same time, however, about 20 percent of the blacks and almost 50 percent of the whites consider the training to be not very important or not important at all.

Table 32

Importance of Race Relations Training

Question: *Compared to all the different kinds of training the Army conducts, how important do you think race relations training is?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
79%	51%	67%	Extremely Important/Important
21%	49%	33%	Not Very Important/Not Important At All.

Table 33 shows the results of two related questions. The tendency is for blacks to feel that everyone should be required to attend race relations seminars. Among whites about the same number agree as disagree with mandatory attendance for all. Forty percent of whites feel that the seminars are a waste of time; blacks generally disagree with that view. Thus, there is a major difference in the attitudes of blacks and whites about the value of training.

Table 33

Perception of the Value of Race Relations Training

Statement: *Everybody in the Army should be required to attend race relations seminars.*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
74%	40%	54%	Strongly Agree/Agree
12%	20%	19%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
14%	41%	27%	Strongly Disagree/Disagree

Statement: *Race relations seminars are a waste of time.*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
19%	39%	28%	Strongly Agree/Agree
24%	27%	24%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
57%	34%	48%	Strongly Disagree/Disagree

Several questions about the specific effects of training were also asked. The results are shown in Table 34. Again, the responses of blacks and whites are considerably different with more blacks than whites expressing favorable attitudes and seeing positive effects of training. Blacks in the Army are most likely to feel that the seminars help somewhat in increasing their interest in improving race relations, help somewhat in improving communications between soldiers of different races, and help them to understand people of other races better. At the same time, whites are more likely to respond that the seminars do not increase their interest in improving race relations, that training does not help them to know how they can improve race relations, that communications between soldiers of different races has not improved, and that they don't understand people of other races better as a result of the program.

These results might be summarized in another way. As was verified in interviews, most blacks tend to see a need for an EO training program, primarily because they feel that there is a great deal of discrimination against minorities. In contrast, many whites do not see the need for the training program, although about an equal number do see that need. Both groups seem to feel that the present program is of limited effectiveness. If anything, the program is seen as more beneficial to blacks than to whites in terms of immediate effects. But if changes in the attitudes and behavior of the group in power are a primary goal of training, the long-run effects leave much to be desired. Many whites experience no effect or negative effects from the program.

Attitudes of Commanders, RR/EO Personnel and Selected Enlisted Personnel

It is clear from the findings discussed in the previous section that there is a substantial element of the population with negative attitudes about the RR/EO program in general and the training program in particular. What are the sources of this and how is it likely to relate to the effectiveness of the program? This question was explored in the interviews which were conducted with commanders, RR/EO personnel, and selected junior and senior enlisted personnel. These interviews covered such areas as: (1) training program objectives; (2) weaknesses of the current program; and (3) ways in which the program should

Table 34

Perceptions of Specified Training Effects

Question: *Did the seminar(s) you attended increase your interest in improving race relations?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
20%	6%	14%	Yes, a lot.
44%	35%	34%	Yes, somewhat.
29%	43%	39%	No, not at all.
8%	16%	13%	It decreased my interest.

Question: *Have seminars helped you know how you can work to improve race relations in your unit?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
19%	7%	19%	A great deal.
50%	46%	44%	Somewhat.
31%	47%	38%	Not at all.

Question: *In your opinion, have unit RR/EO Seminars helped to improve communication between soldiers of different races in your unit?*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
15%	7%	16%	A lot.
51%	45%	50%	Somewhat.
34%	48%	34%	Not at all.

Statement: *I understand people of other races better since I've taken part in race relations education programs.*

Blacks	Whites	Others	
46%	29%	35%	Strongly Agree/Agree
33%	35%	42%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
22%	36%	23%	Strongly Disagree/Disagree

be changed. The RR/EO personnel interviewed included DRRI graduates, Discussion Leaders Course (DLC) graduates, and non-trained RR/EO staff members.

Program Objectives

There are a number of objectives described by personnel at all levels. One of the most commonly stated objectives is that of creating "awareness." Awareness tends to be defined as the sensitization of Army personnel to the general problem of race as it relates to the organization and the people in it. It often is more specifically defined as the sensitization of whites to the problems of minorities in the military.

Another commonly expressed objective is the creation of racial harmony. The positive aspect of this idea seems to be to get people of different racial and ethnic backgrounds to get along together and to appreciate each other more. Some personnel state the objective in a more negative form: The objective of the program is to prevent racial conflict and disruption.

The creation of better understanding about different racial and ethnic groups is also a frequently expressed objective. This is often related to the objective of increasing communication.

Several respondents indicated that they feel the purpose of the program is to allow troops to "let off steam." This essentially appears to mean that the training is to be a forum where complaints can be expressed and tensions defused.

A number of respondents indicated a more negative view of the objective of the program by saying that it is primarily a response to fear. Almost all commanders say that they have no racial problems in their units. But at the same time they are concerned about the possibility of racial violence occurring. Thus, by conducting the program in accordance with the requirements (or at least by appearing to conduct the program), they need not fear official reprisals if a racial incident should occur. They could in such a case maintain that they had done all they could to prevent it and cite the conduct of the training program as an example.

Few respondents were willing to state that the program should be eliminated. A majority of all groups questioned responded that there is a need for an RR/EO program in the Army, as Table 35 shows. RR/EO personnel almost all expressed belief in such a need, as did approximately three-fourths of the company commanders interviewed. Just over half of the enlisted personnel believed there is a need for a program, with only 16 percent asserting that there is insufficient need for the program.

Table 35

Need for an RR/EO Program

Question: *Which of the following comes closest to your opinion?*

Company Commanders	Enlisted Personnel	DRRI Graduates	DLC Graduates	Non-Trained RR/EO Staff	
73%	54%	96%	85%	94%	I believe there is a definite need for a RR/EO program in the Army.
22%	30%	4%	13%	6%	I don't really know whether there is a need or not.
5%	16%	0%	0%	0%	I believe that there is insufficient need to have a RR/EO program in the Army.

Another fairly commonly expressed view was that the program is essential for the purpose of demonstrating to blacks that the Army is interested in their problems. Thus the training program is primarily seen as symbolic and has no real substance. This appears to conform to the image of many unit personnel who say that RR/EO programs are just for show.

Several respondents at all levels, however, were more positive in their answers. A number of those interviewed indicated that they feel the basic purpose of the training program is to help eliminate racial discrimination in the Army.

If we classify program objectives as either "positive"—to promote, enhance, improve—or as "negative"—to prevent, preclude, forestall—most of those named are of the positive type. However, the fact that there is such a wide diversity of answers to questions about objectives of the program indicates a lack of a common understanding of what the program is all about.

With respect to those responsible for conducting the RAP program, it seems clear that a large number have only a vague idea about its objectives. In many cases, their views of the goals are of the negative type, with many who see the program as being strictly symbolic. Also, some of the objectives stated by RR/EO personnel have no direct behavioral component. This would be the case for such an objective as "increasing awareness and understanding."

There were, of course, some responses which show a deeper understanding of the nature of the program and the problem it addresses. Those who indicated that the objective is to help eliminate discrimination appear to be more in tune with the regulation's basic intent. This would also be true of those who see the program's purpose as one of education and the improvement of communication behaviors.

The vagueness and confusion that surrounds the objectives of the Racial Awareness Program is a critical problem. It is difficult to imagine the implementation of an effective program of any type in an organization the size of the Army when the program's objectives are so poorly understood. It seems possible that the diversity of ways in which the program has been operationalized at different installations is a direct result of the confusion over and lack of understanding of program objectives.

Weakness of the Present Program

The respondents interviewed expressed a number of views about problems with the program as it is presently conducted. These ideas encompass a wide variety of difficulties and are heard from almost all groups of respondents at every post. In general, it can be stated that the problems with the program are not limited to specific posts but exist at all posts from which data were collected.

Commanders' Role

A major area in which problems exist is the relationship of commanders to the program. Many commanders feel that the program is not now a "commanders' program" but that it should be. A commonly expressed viewpoint is that each commander should be his own EO officer. Commanders tend to see the RR/EO structure as a chain of communication

which operates outside of command lines—a "stovepipe" system. Under RAP I, all training was outside the chain of command. While RAP II was intended to change that by putting the program back into the hands of the commanders, it is still not seen by many commanders as their own program. Commanders would like more responsibility for determining whether they need a program in their units, how often training should be given, what topics should be covered, and who should attend. Most RR/EO people feel this would lead to the destruction of the program because they think that most commanders are not committed to the program, and that a "commanders' program" would be a non-existent program. This conflict is endemic and results in many commanders claiming the program is being crammed down their throats and many RR/EO personnel complaining about lack of command support.

Command Support

The feeling among RR/EO personnel that commanders do not support the present program is practically universal, although a few commanders stand out as notable exceptions. A number of factors are given as evidence that most commanders do not support the program:

- Failure to hold seminars on a monthly basis;
- Willingness of commanders to cancel seminars for almost any excuse;
- Failure of officers and senior enlisted personnel to attend;
- Lack of preparation by seminar instructors;
- Inadequate instructor training;
- No followup on issues raised in seminars;
- Poor facilities and training aids.

Commanders, on the other hand, complain about the mandatory nature of the program as being a problem for them. They claim that they do not have the time to devote to it, that they have no training to teach them how to conduct an effective program, that their personnel are not interested in it, that they have a difficult time getting personnel to attend because of conflicting "mission-related" duties, and that the RR/EO staff does not really provide adequate support.

Problem Amplification

Another common complaint expressed by both many commanders and some unit enlisted personnel (mostly white NCO's), is that the program creates problems where none exist or amplifies problems when they were minor. Historically, this type of complaint usually symbolized resistance to any type of race relations or anti-discrimination effort. However, the current RR/EO system may in some ways tend to be counterproductive. RAP seminars in the hands of untrained, inexperienced instructors frequently degenerate into "bitch" sessions. Personnel frequently raise complaints about a wide variety of issues unrelated to human relations problems. These might include barracks problems, the mess hall, and similar complaints. There is seldom any effective closure on such problems at a session; therefore, people leave feeling that irritants have been expressed and they received no answer. Since there is seldom any followup, the same problems come up over and over again. Dissatisfaction builds up and the program is blamed for creating problems where none were thought to have existed.

Narrow Program Focus

The respondents interviewed frequently expressed the view that the focus of the program was too narrow. In particular, many people feel that the program is too black-oriented and emphasizes "white guilt." Many respondents from all groups feel that minorities other than blacks should be given attention in the program. Many also feel that the program should be broadened to encompass more general "human relations" topics rather than just "race relations," although a few felt that this change would dilute efforts to change race-specific behaviors. Another suggested shift in focus is toward solving problems which come up in daily life in the unit. This desire for a contemporary, unit-specific program may be a reaction to the tendency to talk about minority history and other historical or conceptual topics without relating them to current problems which exist in the Army.

Suggested Changes

When questioned about the preferred approach for the RR/EO program, respondents in all groups endorsed the idea of developing some new approach for training. As Table 36

shows, this was the most frequent response for company commanders, for enlisted personnel, and for RR/EO personnel. Company commanders were more in agreement with the current approach than any other group, although most commanders opted for the idea of a new approach.

Table 36

Preferred Approach for RR/EO Program

Statement: *Insofar as I understand the unit RR/EO seminar approach:*

Company Commanders	Enlisted Personnel	DRRI Graduates	DLC Graduates	Non-Trained RR/EO Staff	
39%	16%	17%	22%	25%	I generally agree with the current approach.
12%	12%	35%	10%	10%	I would prefer something more like the old approach which provided for an 18-hour block of mandatory training.
45%	64%	47%	68%	65%	I think some new approach should be developed.
5%	9%	1%	1%	0%	I think RR/EO training should be eliminated.

Many people, especially commanders, feel that the chain of command needs to be given more responsibility for the conduct of the program. They want more responsibility for determining the need for training in their units and the kind of training that should be given.

Almost all RR/EO personnel and most unit enlisted personnel feel commanders need to be more supportive of the program. RR/EO staff feel commanders are avoiding their responsibilities in the RR/EO area and point to the way in which the program is actually carried out as evidence. They also feel that, if given control over the program, most commanders—expecially those who need a good program the most—would use this power to drop the program altogether.

Most people see a need for better trained instructors. It is ironic that the program currently is designed so that those with the most training to instruct—the DRRI graduates—do

virtually no instruction; and those with the responsibility for the conduct of the program–commanders–have no training at all.

Most of the respondents, especially whites and senior NCO's of all races, call for a deemphasis of the purely racial aspects of the program. In particular, the focus on blacks is seen as negative and a broadening of scope is called for, to include other minorities, sexism, anti-semitism, and general "human relations."

Commanders indicate a need for better supporting materials. This would include more detailed lesson plans, more current films, books and similar materials. This sentiment is echoed by enlisted personnel; however, RR/EO staff indicate that commanders seldom use the materials that are available.

These are some of the suggestions offered by those interviewed about ways to change the program. While they may or may not be practical, they do demonstrate what the current thinking is among many Army personnel about the program.

Summary

The current attitudes toward the **Racial** Awareness Program can be summarized as follows:

- About half of whites and others and slightly fewer blacks believe that the Army is firmly committed to the principle of equal opportunity.
- Less than half of all personnel in the Army think that Army leadership enforces RR/EO regulations.
- Whites perceive somewhat more command support for RR/EO programs than do blacks and there is considerable variation in perceived command support from post to post.
- About a third of both blacks and whites believe the RR/EO programs are just for show and about a third believe they are not.
- Blacks are more likely than whites to feel that the training is effective in reducing racial tensions.

- Since 1972, an increasing percentage of both whites and blacks see race relations training as effective in reducing racial tensions; simultaneously an increasing percentage of both whites and blacks see the training as not effective at all. By 1976, both whites and blacks are fairly polarized on this issue.

- Whites are about evenly split on whether race relations seminars should be mandatory whereas blacks favor mandatory seminars by a margin of five to one.

- In general, blacks see the training as more useful than whites although whites appear to be fairly evenly divided on questions of usefulness.

- A great deal of confusion exists with respect to the objectives of RR/EO training.

- Despite widespread dissatisfaction with the current RR/EO training program, only a few personnel feel that there is no *need* for some type of RR/EO program.

- A decided preference for some new approach to RR/EO training is expressed by all groups of personnel.

- Commanders want more responsibility for the program while RR/EO personnel fear this would lead to destruction of the program.

- Personnel with the most preparation for conducting RR/EO training–DRRI graduates–are doing very little of the actual training, whereas personnel with the least preparation–chain of command personnel–are doing most of the training.

- The current RR/EO training program has a basically negative image throughout all levels of the Army with changes urged from all sides.

Overall, there is high consensus that a definite need exists for a RR/EO training program. There are some indications that the current program is achieving some of its objectives, but there exists a high level of dissatisfaction with the present program. Blacks generally favor the program, whereas whites are fairly evenly divided. However, substantial proportions of *all* racial groups see the program in a negative manner. The overall image of the program tends to be fairly negative but with the consistent difference between whites and blacks which has been repeatedly noted.

CHAPTER V

A COMPARISON OF ARMY UNITS WITH HIGHER AND LOWER QUALITY TRAINING PROGRAMS

While the previous chapters have included descriptions of the current racial climate and the current state of the training programs, a critical question still remains to be answered: What effect is the race relations training having? As noted in Chapter I, the initial design of the study called for data collection in the selected units at two times with a period of several months intervening. Changes in RR/EO related attitudes, perceptions, behaviors, and knowledge levels were then to be examined and related to the training program. This design was not feasible in CONUS, however, because so few units could be found which were conducting unit training in conformance to the regulations.

The approach was modified therefore and presently incorporates two elements. First, a series of experimental training programs were set up in randomly selected units. After six months of experience with the experimental programs, data will be collected. By comparing the results obtained from the test companies with control units, an assessment of a number of key variables in the program can be made. The results of this experimental program will be presented in a subsequent report.

As a second approach, a scoring system was used to evaluate the companies for which data were obtained in the initial data collection. Appendix E includes a description of the scoring system.[6] Using the scoring system, 20 companies which were above average in the extent to which they conformed to AR 600-42 were selected along with 20 companies which were below average. While it should not be concluded that these units are either "good" or "bad," it can be said that these represent "higher quality" and "lower quality" programs in terms of degree of conformance to AR 600-42 and how actively the program is being pursued.

A number of variables across which differences in attitudes, perceptions, behavior, and knowledge levels might occur as the result of race relations training were selected for further analysis. These variables result from an analysis of the objectives of training as

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[6]The scoring system involved comparing the unit responses with the total sample's responses on selected items relating to quality of training program. The differences between the unit and the total sample were summed and this score represented the extent to which a company was above or below average in the quality of its training program.

specified by the regulations and from interviews with those responsible for the conduct of the training. The variables selected for analysis include:

- *Perception of Current Racial Climate;*
- Perception of the Army's Commitment to Equal Opportunity;
- Perceptions of Discrimination;
- Perceptions of Reverse Racism;
- Interracial Contact;
- Interracial Conflict;
- Negative Verbal Behaviors;
- Willingness to Use the Equal Opportunity System;
- Knowledge Levels.

Each of these variables is discussed in detail in the sections which follow with differences in the responses of subjects in the higher quality program companies and subjects in the lower quality program companies pointed out.

It is important to recognize that differences between the two groups of companies cannot be directly attributed to the race relations program. There may be many factors at work which cause personnel in one set of units to report favorable racial attitudes and perceptions. These can include strong leadership by a good commander, the demographic makeup of the units, or the general post environment. While conclusions about the role of training in apparent differences in the two sets of companies must be cautiously expressed for these reasons, the analysis can provide useful insights. The results of the experimental training programs will provide further evidence which may make it possible to be more certain about causality.

Analysis of the two sets of companies shows that, demographically, the personnel differ in important ways. There are differences by race and grade. Thus, analysis of the differences in responses must take into account both types of demographic variation. Results are presented by race in the following sections in order to show the effect of the difference in racial makeup. The analysis was also done by rank and the findings are similar. Thus, no

attempt is made to present results by grade, although a covariance analysis including both race and grade was conducted. Results of the covariance analysis are presented in Appendix E. In general, those results show that the differences in responses obtained from the higher and lower quality program units were not accounted for by the differences in race or grade between the two groups of companies.

Perception of Current Racial Climate

One of the most critical questions asked obtained the respondents' views as to the quality of race relations in the Army. Table 37 shows the results. While for the sample as a whole the percentage of respondents who say that race relations are good is about 23 percent, there is considerable difference between the higher quality program and lower quality program units. In the companies with more positive training programs, 37 percent of the blacks and 33 percent of the whites indicate that race relations are good. For the companies with the more negative programs, less than 20 percent of the blacks and whites report that race relations are good.

Table 37

Current Racial Climate

Question: *Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
37%	33%	28%	19%	17%	15%	Race relations in the Army are good.
40%	48%	43%	43%	45%	44%	Race relations in the Army are fair.
23%	19%	28%	38%	38%	41%	Race relations in the Army are poor.

NOTE: The sample sizes for this and subsequent tables in this section are considerably smaller than those previously reported. Sample sizes in the higher quality program units are: blacks 173; whites 561; and others 53. Sample sizes in the lower quality program units are: blacks 200; whites 522; and others 62. Appendix G presents the results of statistical tests for significance for all tables in this report.

A similar pattern exists with respect to perceptions of the trend in race relations. This is also shown in Table 38. While there is a large black-white difference in results for both sets of companies, it is clear that personnel in units with higher quality programs are much more likely to feel that race relations in the Army are getting better.

Table 38

Trend in Race Relations

Statement: *Over the past year, race relations in the Army:*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
54%	39%	51%	38%	23%	20%	have been getting better.
37%	50%	31%	44%	56%	63%	have not changed.
9%	11%	18%	18%	22%	17%	have been getting worse.

Perception of Commitment of Equal Opportunity

There are a number of dimensions involved in the concept of commitment to EO. At one level, there is the perception of the commitment to EO by the Army as an institution. At another level, there is perception of command support at the post level. And finally, there is perception of support by officers and NCO's. Several questions were asked in these areas. Table 39 shows the extent to which personnel perceive that the Army is committed to the principle of equal opportunity. In both the higher and lower quality program companies, more whites than blacks feel that the Army is committed to equal opportunity. A higher quality race relations training program, however, appears to be associated with an increase in the perception of that commitment both for blacks and whites.

The presence of a higher quality program is also related to the perception that there is a great deal of command support for the race relations and equal opportunity program. As Table 40 notes, about 20 percent more respondents of all races in those companies with higher quality training programs feel that there is a great deal of command support for the program.

Table 39

Perception of Commitment to Equal Opportunity

Statement: *The Army is firmly committed to the principle of equal opportunity*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
47%	62%	59%	35%	43%	36%	Agree/Strongly Agree
32%	21%	26%	28%	34%	31%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
21%	16%	15%	38%	23%	33%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

Table 40

Perception of Command Support

Question: *How much command support does the Race Relations/ Equal Opportunity program receive at this post?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
38%	57%	52%	18%	32%	22%	Great deal of command support
53%	39%	44%	58%	57%	64%	Some command support
9%	4%	4%	23%	12%	14%	No command support

When asked about whether NCO's and officers enforce RR/EO regulations and policies, the respondents in the units with higher quality programs are much more likely to respond in the affirmative. As Table 41 indicates, about 20 percent more respondents in the higher quality companies agree that officers usually see to it that RR/EO policies and regulations are enforced. A similar pattern exists for NCO's, although the differences are not quite so large.

Table 41

Perception of Enforcement of RR/EO Policies and Regulations

Statement: *Most officers usually see to it that RR/EO policies and regulations are enforced.*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
42%	58%	50%	28%	36%	23%	Strongly Agree/Agree
30%	28%	28%	32%	42%	33%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
28%	14%	22%	41%	23%	44%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

Statement: *Most NCO's usually see to it that RR/EO policies and regulations are enforced.*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
36%	53%	44%	21%	33%	27%	Strongly Agree/Agree
26%	24%	15%	21%	31%	21%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
38%	23%	41%	58%	36%	52%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

These results suggest strongly that personnel in units with higher quality training programs are much more likely to feel that the Army is committed to the principle of equal opportunity and that this commitment is reflected in command support and the enforcement of policies and regulations by officers and NCO's.

Perceptions about Equality of Treatment

A very important issue in the area of race relations is the general perception which people have about equality of treatment. Generally, blacks feel that b'acks are treated worse. Whites either feel that whites are given worse treatment or that treatment is about the same. There are, however, differences in these perceptions related to the training programs. As Table 42A indicates, slightly fewer blacks in the higher quality training units feel that

non-whites receive worse treatment. In addition, whites in the higher quality companies are more likely to feel that all racial groups are treated the same.

Table 42A

Equality of Treatment

Question: *Which of the following statements is closest to your opinion?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
8%	43%	20%	6%	49%	21%	Non-whites are treated better than whites in the Army.
28%	50%	39%	22%	44%	40%	Non-whites are treated exactly the same as whites in the Army.
64%	8%	41%	72%	7%	39%	Non-whites are treated worse than whites in the Army.

There are a number of different components of the variable which can be called equality of treatment. These include promotion, assignments, enforcement of rules, and training. Each of these was examined across the two sets of companies.

Table 42B shows the differences in results with respect to perceptions of chances for promotion. In general, whites feel that chances for promotion are equal; blacks feel that whites have the better chance. This pattern holds true for both the higher and lower quality program companies. However, the percentage of persons who feel that chances are equal for all groups is considerably higher in the units with the higher quality programs.

Table 42B

Equality of Treatment

Question: *As a general rule, which racial group has the best chance for promotion to higher enlisted grades?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
32%	70%	64%	22%	63%	46%	Chances are equal for all races.
61%	9%	27%	74%	9%	39%	Whites have the best chance.
2%	18%	10%	1%	23%	14%	Blacks have the best chance.
4%	3%	0%	3%	5%	2%	Other minorities have the best chance.

Respondents were asked whether non-whites get more than their share of dirty details. Again, there are enormous differences in the perceptions of blacks and whites. Almost 80 percent of the whites disagree with the statement, but about half of the blacks indicate that non-whites do get more than their share of dirty details. These results are shown in Table 42C. The responses for whites are fairly consistent across the higher and lower quality program companies. It appears, however, that a higher quality training program is associated with a decrease of about 10 percent of the percentage of non-whites who feel they receive more than their share of dirty details.

Table 42C

Equality of Treatment

Statement: *Non-whites get more than their share of dirty details.*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
45%	6%	20%	56%	6%	31%	Strongly Agree/Agree
21%	15%	28%	22%	16%	21%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
34%	79%	52%	23%	79%	48%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

A similar pattern results when perceived differences in enforcement of regulations are examined. Table 42D indicates these results. There is very little difference in the higher and lower quality program companies for whites. In both sets of units, whites overwhelmingly disagree with the idea that whites get away with breaking rules that non-whites are punished for. But there is a large difference across the two sets of companies for blacks. About 20 percent fewer blacks agree with the notion that there is unequal treatment in favor of whites in the higher quality program companies.

Table 42D

Equality of Treatment

Statement: *In my unit, whites get away with breaking rules that non-whites are punished for.*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
38%	2%	11%	59%	3%	23%	Strongly Agree/Agree
24%	6%	22%	19%	5%	17%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
38%	92%	67%	22%	92%	60%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

Finally, a question about equality in training opportunities was asked. These results are shown in Table 42E. Whites, for the most part, disagree with the statement that whites have a better chance than non-whites to get the best training opportunities. Whites in the companies with the higher quality programs are slightly more likely to disagree. Almost 60 percent of the blacks in the companies with the lower quality training programs agree with the statement, but this figure drops to about 45 percent in the companies with the higher quality training programs.

Table 42E

Equality of Treatment

Statement: *Whites have a better chance than non-whites to get the best training opportunities.*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
45%	6%	24%	59%	5%	31%	Strongly Agree/Agree
22%	14%	20%	25%	20%	27%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
33%	81%	57%	17%	75%	42%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

Reverse Racism and Backlash

As was noted in an earlier chapter, there is a fairly large group of white personnel who perceive discrimination against whites. This was examined further by comparing the responses of personnel in the two sets of companies on several "backlash"-type questions.

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they agree or disagree with the statement, "*Non-whites get away with breaking rules that whites are punished for.*" As Table 43 shows, almost half of the whites in the units with the lower quality programs agree with the statement. In companies with a higher quality training program, the percentage drops to 40 percent.

Another statement presented to the respondents was, "There is racial discrimination against whites on this post." More people of all racial groups agree with the statement in the lower quality program companies. As Table 43 indicates, the percentage of whites agreeing with the statement drops from 45 percent in the lower quality program companies to 31 percent in the higher quality program units.

When asked whether the Army's RR/EO program helps minorities get ahead at the expense of whites, there is a sizable group of whites who answer in the affirmative. However, about seven percent fewer whites in the higher quality program units agree with the statement

Table 43

Perceptions of Reverse Racism

Statement: *Non-whites get away with breaking rules that whites are punished for.*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
4%	40%	26%	7%	51%	30%	Strongly Agree/Agree
13%	18%	17%	10%	18%	26%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
83%	42%	57%	83%	31%	45%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

Statement: *There is racial discrimination against whites on this post.*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
21%	31%	20%	25%	45%	44%	Strongly Agree/Agree
26%	28%	28%	33%	29%	35%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
53%	41%	52%	42%	27%	21%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

Statement: *The Army's RR/EO program helps minorities get ahead at the expense of whites*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
6%	25%	9%	6%	32%	19%	Strongly Agree/Agree
21%	30%	28%	27%	35%	46%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
74%	45%	63%	67%	33%	35%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

Statement: *White middle-class Americans are giving up too many of their own rights for the rights of others.*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
9%	33%	11%	10%	39%	19%	Strongly Agree/Agree
33%	31%	31%	29%	35%	54%	Neither Agree Nor Disagree
58%	37%	58%	62%	26%	27%	Disagree/Strongly Disagree

than in the lower quality program companies. There is little change for blacks, but there is about a ten percent change for those respondents who are neither black nor white. These results are also shown in Table 43.

Respondents were presented with the statement, "White middle-class Americans are giving up too many of their own rights for the rights of others." Table 43 shows the results. About 40 percent of the whites in the lower quality program companies agree with this statement, while only about 10 percent of the blacks agree. In the higher quality program companies, the percentage of whites who agree drops by about 6 percent. There is a similar change for the non-black minority personnel.

These tables show a clear pattern suggesting a substantial proportion of backlash sentiment among white personnel. It is also clear, however, that the backlash feelings are less strong in those companies which have been identified as having higher quality race relations training programs.

Interracial Contact

One of the problems indicated in the chapter on the current racial climate is the extent of racial polarization. An objective of the training program has been stated as a desire to reduce this polarization by increasing communication between blacks and whites. It can be hypothesized, therefore, that an effective training program might be associated with less racial polarization. This hypothesis was examined with several questions.

Respondents were asked how often black and white personnel in the units stick together while on the job. The results are presented in Table 44. Generally, whites say that blacks stick together and blacks say that whites stick together. However, when the differences across the higher and lower quality program companies are examined, it appears that for every racial group there are fewer reports of people of the same races sticking together in the higher quality program companies.

Personnel were also asked, "How often do whites and non-whites in your company go out of their way to help each other?" For all groups the results are discouragingly low.

However, it is clear from an examination of the results in Table 44 that more helping behaviors are taking place in the companies with higher quality training programs. This seems to be true for all racial groups, although the increase in frequency appears to be greatest for white respondents.

Table 44

Interracial Contact on the Job

Question: *How often do white personnel in your company stick together while on the job?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
41%	29%	34%	52%	40%	48%	Very Often/Often
29%	29%	22%	26%	31%	29%	Sometimes
31%	42%	44%	23%	29%	23%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do non-white personnel in your company stick together while on the job?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
32%	40%	38%	49%	50%	49%	Very Often/Often
35%	30%	26%	28%	30%	30%	Sometimes
33%	31%	36%	24%	20%	22%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do whites and non-whites in your company go out of their way to help each other?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
23%	26%	18%	16%	15%	13%	Very Often/Often
42%	45%	53%	36%	45%	38%	Sometimes
36%	30%	29%	49%	40%	49%	Seldom/Never

Another question presented to the respondents was, "How often do whites and non-whites in your company sit together in the dining facilities on post?" Again, in the units with the higher quality training programs there is an increase in the percentage of respondents saying that this type of behavior occurs often. The difference is much greater for whites than for blacks. These results are shown in Table 45.

Table 45

Interracial Contact Off Duty

Question: *How often do whites and non-whites in your company sit together in the dining facilities on post?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
35%	47%	35%	32%	32%	20%	Very Often/Often
45%	36%	40%	34%	40%	43%	Sometimes
21%	17%	25%	34%	29%	38%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do whites and non-whites in your company go to post clubs together (Enlisted Club, NCO Club, Officers Club)?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
32%	35%	20%	18%	26%	20%	Very Often/Often
36%	39%	51%	35%	40%	34%	Sometimes
32%	26%	29%	47%	34%	46%	Seldom/Nver

Polarization in clubs is often said to be an issue on posts. Respondents were asked, "How often do whites and non-whites in your company go to post clubs together?" Table 45 indicates that such racial interactions occur more frequently in units with higher quality training programs.

These results indicate that, while there is still a substantial degree of racial polarization both on and off the job, the polarization is less severe in those units with the higher quality training programs.

Interracial Conflict

The presence of racial polarization is not necessarily bad. However, when such polarization is associated with racial confrontations and conflict, the problems can become quite severe. Several questions were asked to obtain information about the frequency of such actions.

First, the question was asked, "How often do white personnel in your company get together in certain situations to harass or keep non-whites out of facilities which are supposed to be open to all?" As would be expected, the percentage responding "often" is fairly low. However, as Table 46 indicates, more respondents in the units with the higher quality training programs say that such activities seldom or never occur than in the lower quality program units.

A similar pattern occurs when the racial identity of the actors is reversed. Respondents were asked, "How often do non-white personnel in your company get together in certain situations to harass or keep whites out of facilities which are supposed to be open to all?" The results are shown in Table 46. Again, the reported frequency of occurrence is less in the companies with the higher quality training programs.

Finally, respondents were asked, "How often do whites and non-whites in your company form groups and challenge each other to fights?" Again, as Table 46 indicates, the percentage of occurrences is said to be very low. But for both blacks and whites, the proportion of respondents saying such behaviors occur often is lower in the units with higher quality programs. This pattern does not hold, however, for the non-black minority respondents. Why this would be true is not clear from the results.

Table 46

Interracial Conflict

Question: *How often do white personnel in your company get together in certain situations to harass or keep non-whites out of facilities which are supposed to be open to all?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
11%	3%	4%	17%	5%	8%	Very Often/Often
17%	9%	16%	22%	12%	26%	Sometimes
71%	89%	80%	62%	83%	66%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do non-white personnel in your company get together in certain situations to harass or keep whites out of facilities which are supposed to be open to all?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
7%	12%	16%	13%	23%	18%	Very Often/Often
19%	21%	24%	24%	29%	32%	Sometimes
74%	67%	60%	63%	48%	50%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do whites and non-whites in your company form groups and challenge each other to fights?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
4%	2%	10%	8%	5%	5%	Very Often/Often
15%	8%	15%	12%	14%	18%	Sometimes
82%	90%	75%	80%	82%	77%	Seldom/Never

Negative Verbal Behaviors

A great deal of the effort in race relations training programs has gone into sensitization of all personnel about the use of racially demeaning terms. If this training has any effect, then it might be expected that personnel in companies with higher quality training programs would report the use of such racial slurs less frequently. This hypothesis was examined using several questions.

Respondents were asked how often white personnel refer to blacks using such terms as "nigger." The results are shown in Table 47. There appears to be very little difference across race; however, there is a major difference between the higher and lower quality program companies. Almost one-third of the personnel in the lower quality program units report such terms were used often. In the units with the higher quality training program, the percentage drops to less than 20 percent. A similar pattern exists for the use of racial slurs about other racial minorities besides blacks, although the data are not presented here.

Respondents were also asked how often non-white personnel refer to whites using such terms as "honky" or "gringo." For blacks in the lower quality program companies, about 30 percent indicate that such terms are used often. This drops to 17 percent in the units with higher quality programs. A similar pattern exists for whites and for the other non-whites, although the percentage reporting that such terms are used frequently is somewhat higher. These results are also shown in Table 47. A similar pattern of results exists for the use of racial slurs by non-whites about persons of Spanish heritage or Oriental background.

Another question asked was, "How often do people of your own race in your company tell racist jokes about other races?" As with the previous results, the percentage of persons reporting that such behaviors occur often is somewhat less in the units with higher quality programs.

These results indicate that there is still a degree of name calling in the military. Furthermore, it exists for all racial groups, although the tendency is for each racial group to think it occurs more frequently among the other groups. However, the reported occurrence of such slurs is more frequent from those personnel in the units with lower quality training programs.

Table 47

Negative Verbal Behavior

Question: *How often do white personnel in your company refer to blacks as "nigger," "coon," etc.?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
17%	16%	28%	35%	32%	40%	Very Often/Often
27%	22%	24%	27%	26%	39%	Sometimes
57%	62%	49%	38%	42%	21%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do non-white or minority personnel in your company refer to whites as "honky," "gringo," etc.?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
17%	25%	23%	29%	40%	37%	Very Often/Often
35%	25%	35%	28%	28%	44%	Sometimes
49%	50%	43%	43%	32%	19%	Seldom/Never

Question: *How often do people of your own race in your company tell racist jokes about other races?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
10%	14%	10%	15%	25%	18%	Very Often/Often
35%	40%	47%	31%	43%	34%	Sometimes
56%	47%	43%	54%	32%	48%	Seldom/Never

Willingness to Use the Equal Opportunity System

One of the purposes of the training program seems to be to educate people about the program itself and to encourage people to begin to act to eliminate discrimination. A series of questions were asked about the willingness of personnel to use the RR/EO system.

One question asked, "How likely would you be to report a white supervisor in your company who you can prove is discriminating against non-whites?" Table 48 shows the results. As might be expected, blacks indicate that they are more likely to report such an individual than whites. However, there is a large difference across the two groups of companies. Considerably more personnel of all races in the higher quality program units indicate they would report such an individual. As Table 48 also shows, the converse is also true. Whites say they are more likely to report a black. And persons of all races in the higher quality program companies say they are more likely to report such discrimination than in the lower quality program units.

Respondents also were asked how likely they would be to file a formal complaint of discrimination if they thought they personally had been discriminated against. As Table 48 indicates, most people of all races would file a complaint, although the rate is much higher in the units with the higher quality race relations training programs.

Finally, respondents were asked, "How likely would you be to go to the post RR/EO office for help in solving a race related problem?" Table 48 indicates that more people in the higher quality program units would go to the post RR/EO office for help than in the lower quality program units.

It appears that in the area of RR/EO system utilization, as in the other areas already discussed, the personnel in the units with higher quality training programs have much more desirable attitudes than those in the lower quality program units.

Table 48

Willingness to Use RR/EO System

Question: *How likely would you be to report a white supervisor in your company who you can prove is discriminating against non-whites?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
73%	63%	77%	65%	46%	46%	Definitely Would/Probably Would
19%	22%	24%	26%	31%	41%	Not Sure
7%	16%	0%	9%	23%	13%	Probably Would Not/Definitely Would Not

Question: *How likely would you be to report a non-white supervisor in your company who you can prove is discriminating against whites?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
67%	70%	73%	47%	60%	54%	Definitely Would/Probably Would
24%	20%	20%	37%	26%	36%	Not Sure
9%	11%	8%	16%	15%	10%	Probably Would Not/Definitely Would Not

Question: *How likely would you be to file a formal complaint of discrimination if you though you'd been discriminated against on post?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
65%	58%	67%	57%	48%	46%	Definitely Would/Probably Would
23%	25%	22%	29%	31%	34%	Not Sure
11%	17%	12%	14%	22%	20%	Probably Would Not/Definitely Would Not

Question: *How likely would you be to go to the post RR/EO office for help in solving a race related problem?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
62%	41%	59%	46%	28%	41%	Definitely Would/Probably Would
28%	27%	18%	30%	33%	36%	Not Sure
10%	33%	24%	24%	39%	23%	Probably Would Not/Definitely Would Not

Knowledge Levels

Questions were also asked to obtain an understanding of the current knowledge levels of respondents in a number of areas. Three basic categories can be considered: knowledge about policies and regulations; knowledge about RR/EO terminology; and knowledge about culture and history.

In terms of understanding of policies and regulations, it was found in general that whites are slightly more knowledgeable than blacks although this pattern is not consistent across all questions. What is consistent, however, is the finding that individuals in the units with the higher quality training programs are much more likely to answer questions about regulations and policy correctly. This is true in such areas as policies regarding equality of treatment, requirements regarding the role of women, affirmative actions plans, minority representation on promotion boards and evaluation in the EO area on personnel rating forms.

Training programs in the race relations area have tended to focus extensively on definitions of various terms. A series of questions was asked to determine whether respondents had clear understandings of the meanings of the following terms:

- racial minorities
- ethnic groups
- stereotypes
- affirmative actions plans
- institutional discrimination
- prejudice
- personal racism
- white backlash
- segregation
- polarization

The results, which are shown in Tables 49 and 50, indicate that, for the most part, those individuals in the units with higher quality programs are able to identify the correct responses better. This is consistently true for all racial groups across all items, although some of the differences are quite small. There does, however, appear to be a relationship between the units with the higher quality programs and understanding of RR/EO terminology.

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Table 49

Knowledge about RR/EO Terminology

Statement: *"Ethnic groups" and "racial minorities" are two terms which mean the same thing.*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
32%	26%	40%	31%	22%	25%	Agree
41%	49%	42%	35%	40%	34%	Disagree (correct answer)
27%	25%	17%	34%	38%	41%	Don't Know

Table 50

Percent of Respondents Correctly Identifying RR/EO Terms

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
60%	71%	72%	45%	58%	53%	Stereotype
56%	44%	42%	34%	33%	32%	Affirmative Actions Plan
18%	14%	27%	15%	10%	17%	Institutional Discrimination
52%	72%	61%	52%	61%	53%	Prejudice
62%	75%	82%	53%	63%	57%	Personal Racism
36%	44%	53%	36%	34%	26%	White Backlash
67%	80%	69%	54%	66%	62%	Segregation
34%	58%	43%	30%	43%	30%	Polarization

Finally, the level of understanding of questions about culture and history was examined. The results of questions in this area are shown in Tables 51A through 51E. This is the only area reviewed in which there is no clear trend showing that persons in units with higher quality programs score better than individuals in the lower quality program units. It

appears that little information is retained in these areas if they are covered, or that the specific questions asked do not tap the areas actually covered in most current training programs.

In general, it appears that higher quality training programs are related to enhanced knowledge levels with respect to understanding of regulations and policies and, to a lesser extent, to RR/EO terminology. However, there seems to be little effect of the training programs in terms of knowledge about specific cultural and historical items.

Table 51 A

Knowledge about Culture and History

Statement: *Some black slaves who were set free in America by their owners were skilled craftsmen.*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
68%	64%	62%	58%	55%	39%	Agree (correct answer)
12%	7%	12%	12%	10%	15%	Disagree
20%	29%	27%	30%	35%	46%	Don't Know

Table 51B

Knowledge about Culture and History

Question: *What are the colors of the African or "Black Liberation" flag?*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	**Whites**	**Others**	**Blacks**	**Whites**	**Others**	
2%	2%	2%	1%	2%	0%	Yellow, green and white
74%	60%	71%	78%	59%	67%	Red, black and green (correct answer)
4%	1%	0%	3%	1%	2%	Red, white and blue
20%	37%	28%	19%	38%	31%	Don't Know

Table 51C

Knowledge about Culture and History

Question: *A man who is proud of his Mexican-American heritage is most likely to be insulted if referred to as:*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
2%	4%	8%	4%	5%	12	La Raza
14%	21%	47%	14%	20%	34%	Pachuco (correct answer)
10%	7%	8%	10%	6%	5%	Macho
74%	68%	37%	72%	70%	49%	Don't Know

Table 51D

Knowledge about Culture and History

Question: *Many people feel that January 15 should be a national holiday because it is:*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
1%	2%	2%	2%	2%	0%	Hawaiian Independence Day
57%	30%	24%	58%	24%	20%	Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday (correct answer)
5%	3%	8%	5%	3%	7%	Date of Battle of Wounded Knee
37%	64%	67%	36%	71%	73%	Don't Know

Table 51E

Knowledge about Culture and History

Question: *The "Back to Africa" movement in America was made popular by:*

Higher Quality Program Units			Lower Quality Program Units			
Blacks	Whites	Others	Blacks	Whites	Others	
4%	2%	4%	1%	2%	2%	Julius Debro
41%	19%	27%	37%	21%	17%	Malcolm X
20%	8%	8%	23%	8%	2%	Marcus Garvey (correct answer)
35%	72%	61%	38%	69%	80%	Don't Know

Summary and Conclusions

The basic conclusion which can be drawn from these data is that there appears to be a relationship between the presence of a higher quality race relations training program in a unit and more positive perceptions, behaviors, and knowledge levels.

Caution must be exercised in interpreting the data, however, for several reasons. First, as noted at the beginning of the chapter, a cause and effect relationship between training and the responses cannot be assumed. Some other factors may be resulting in both quality programs and favorable personnel responses. Second, personnel in the higher quality program units may tend to be responding positively to any question, including those about the training program. This would have the effect of making it appear that certain units have better training programs than is actually true. This would create an artificial distinction between the higher and lower quality units leading to the kinds of results already described. Finally, the differences between the units tend to be small. In some cases they are differences which could occur by chance.

The basic point to be made here, however, is that there is a consistent *pattern* appearing across almost all of the dimensions examined in which the units with the higher quality training were significantly different in the desired directions from units with the lower quality training. These dimensions include:

- Perception of Current Racial Climate
- Perception of the Army's Commitment to Equal Opportunity
- Perception of Discrimination
- Perception of Reverse Racism
- Interracial Contact
- Interracial Conflict
- Negative Verbal Behaviors
- Willingness to Use the Equal Opportunity System.

This strongly suggests that there is a definite and positive association between training and the responses obtained.

This strong suggestion that training is having a positive impact is very important. It is the first such evidence on the question and is worth further investigation. As was noted earlier, the experimental work currently underway using test and control units should provide further insight. Hopefully, it will be possible to better establish a link between training and resulting changes in attitudes, perceptions, reports of behaviors, and knowledge.

Although the racial climate tends to be superior in units with higher quality training programs, there are still substantial numbers of personnel of all races in such units who possess negative views of the racial climate. It seems that a training program modeled after current regulations can reduce the negative influences of some of these negative views; however, basic structural defects in the overall program may not allow for more than a minimal level of effectiveness. Problems related to lack of command support, misunderstanding of program objectives, and ineffective use of trained personnel limit overall program success, so that even in high quality units only 28 percent of blacks and 50 percent of whites perceive equal treatment of whites and non-whites in the Army.

The implications of the findings presented in the present chapter will be examined further and related to the current racial environment and the state of the training program in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This report is the first of a series of reports from a study of Army race relations and equal opportunity training. The scope of this report is limited to CONUS and the Pacific; training in USAREUR and findings from the experimental training programs currently underway will be examined in a separate, forthcoming report.

The overall purpose of the study is to describe how the RR/EO unit training program is being implemented at local levels in the field and to assess the effectiveness of that training. The report is organized into four major parts. First, the current racial climate in the Army is examined in an effort to establish the overall attitudinal and perceptual context in which the RR/EO training is being conducted. Second, how the RR/EO training is being conducted is described. Third, the attitudes and perceptions of various groups of Army personnel toward the RR/EO training are examined. Finally, units with higher quality training programs are compared with units with lower quality training programs across a number of attitudinal, perceptual, cognitive, and behavioral dimensions.

Racial Climate in the Army

Positive race relations are clearly not the general pattern in the Army in 1976. While minorities generally acknowledge progress in equal opportunity across the board, this should not be taken as a sign that they perceive that racial discrimination has been eliminated. They remain acutely sensitive to the continued existence of what they perceive as discriminatory treatment which operates to the disadvantage of racial minorities. Whites, on the other hand, for the most part do not perceive that same discrimination and tend to believe that Army personnel procedures and decisions are color blind. There is evidence in support of two opposite trends occurring within the white population. There appears to be an increase in the number of whites who have become aware of discrimination in Army functioning and wish to see it changed and at the same time, there appears to be an increase in the number of whites who perceive "reverse discrimination" occurring and feel resentful toward the RR/EO program.

The generally improving trend in racial attitudes, which studies have documented has been occurring since 1972, has stopped its upward movement by 1976. Voluntary racial separation continues at a high level in off-duty situations. Harassment and verbal abuse as well as racist jokes are still being reported fairly frequently.

Despite the low frequency of overt interracial violence, race-related tensions persist and may be increasing. It appears that a sort of *"interracial détente"* exists, beneath which flows an undercurrent of suppressed interracial tension. The primary source of racial tensions could once be seen as the frustration and bitterness of minorities. A second source must now be added and that is the anger of a growing number of whites who perceive that they are being victimized by "reverse discrimination." Interracial tensions are clearly being fueled from two sides.

The overall picture, then, is mixed; there is evidence both of real progress on the one hand, and of persisting, and perhaps, growing racial tensions on the other. If this interpretation of the findings on the overall racial climate is correct, it is especially important in view of the general tendency for Army leadership to consider the race problem in the Army as being largely resolved and a very low priority issue.

Race Relations and Equal Opportunity Unit Training

There is far less actual training occurring than would be expected if AR 600-42 were being strictly observed. Probably many less than half of all companies in CONUS are conducting monthly RR/EO seminars. The training that does occur is frequently of low quality and often relates to race relations or equal opportunity in name only. The return of the unit training responsibility to the chain of command which was specified in the 1974 revision of AR 600-42 has produced the ironic result that personnel charged with the responsibility for conducting the training have had no preparation in how to conduct such training, while personnel who have had the maximum preparation—DRRI graduates—are doing no training.

There is much evidence that the unit training program is largely a "paper program." Further, for most company commanders, it appears to be a very low priority program. The

sensitive nature of the subject matter and the specialized background knowledge required make it nearly impossible for untrained personnel to conduct effective RR/EO seminars.

The perceptions of commanders and RR/EO personnel contrast sharply on many issues. In particular, commanders continue to voice their desire to be able to determine the form and content of the RR/EO program, whereas RR/EO personnel express the fear that if commanders are given this power, this will lead to what RR/EO personnel perceive as the further demise of the program.

Another critical characteristic of the program as it is being currently implemented is the target group which the training actually reaches. There was very little evidence that personnel above the rank of E5 attend RR/EO seminars. Although it was intended that the training reach all levels in the Army, it does not. Those persons who by virtue of their role in the organization have the most power to effect change if change is needed are least likely to participate in the seminars.

Current Attitudes toward the Racial Awareness Program

Since 1972, an increasing percentage of both whites and blacks saw race relations training as effective in reducing racial tension; at the same time, an increasing percentage of both whites and blacks saw the training as not effective at all. For whites, this latter increase was extremely marked since 1974. Currently, both whites and blacks are fairly polarized on this issue.

Despite widespread dissatisfaction with the current RR/EO training program, few personnel feel that there is no *need* for some type of RR/EO program. The current RR/EO training program has a basically negative image throughout all levels of the Army with changes being urged from all sides. All different groups of personnel queried expressed a decided preference for some new approach to RR/EO training to be developed in place of the current program. There appears to be, therefore, a fairly high consensus that RR/EO training is needed, but that the current program is not satisfactorily meeting that need.

Overall, there is much confusion over the basic objectives and rationale of the Army's RR/EO program. This confusion appears to contribute substantially to many of the difficulties the program encounters.

The program is still seen by many Army personnel as essentially a black-oriented program and this perception tends to feed backlash feelings by whites and further disenchantment by the non-black minorities. Blacks, on the other hand, remain unconvinced that the Army is firmly committed to equal opportunity. The manner in which the training program is implemented and managed at the unit level only serves to reinforce that belief.

The training program is seen by a substantial number of Army personnel of all races as primarily for show. The fact that sessions are scheduled but not held, that attendance is supposedly mandatory but not enforced, that senior personnel seldom attend, and that topics are often unrelated to EO all serve to further that impression.

Commanders and RR/EO personnel have very divergent views about the RR/EO training program. Commanders feel the program is being "crammed down their throats" and that they don't have enough flexibility to design the programs to fit their individual unit needs. Furthermore, they admit that they do not have sufficient training in the RR/EO area but do not feel they get sufficient support from trained RR/EO personnel. They feel that monitoring by RR/EO personnel focuses on irrelevant issues and that feedback on substantive areas is lacking.

RR/EO personnel, on the other hand, feel that commanders do not support the program and attempt to avoid their training responsibilities. In particular, DRRI graduates see themselves as primarily being trained as instructors but with no role in the present training mode. RR/EO personnel generally perceive more racial problems than commanders and feel commanders should be taking more positive actions to deal with unit difficulties. They feel that RR/EO people are only sought out for assistance after a problem has already surfaced and it is too late to avoid a racial incident.

Comparison of Army Units with Higher and Lower Quality Training Programs

There are more positive race-related attitudes, perceptions, knowledge, and reported behaviors in units with higher quality training programs than in units with lower quality programs. Higher quality training appears to be related, therefore, to evidence of greater racial harmony. However, from the data now available, it cannot be stated conclusively that the high quality RR/EO training program *causes* a better race relations climate even though the two seem to be highly correlated. The results from an experimental training program now underway will shed further light on this question. At this point, what can be said is that higher quality training and more positive race relations appear in the same units.

Although the racial climate tends to be better in units with higher quality training programs, there is clearly much room for improvement even in the best of them. Even if it can be established that the training is causing the better racial climate, a question remains as to whether training modeled on present regulations is the most effective approach.

Tentative Conclusions and Some Implications

The present study is continuing and new findings will undoubtedly influence any conclusions offered at this point. For that reason, the overall conclusions and the implications drawn from them are offered tentatively.

- The racial climate in the Army is such that morale, motivation, and unit effectiveness are, in all likelihood, adversely affected.
- There is a general consensus that a need for RR/EO training exists.
- There is general dissatisfaction with the current training program for a variety of different reasons.
- There is little RR/EO training actually being conducted under the current program.

- Where RR/EO training is being conducted in conformance with current regulations, it appears to be associated with more positive race relations.

A number of potential action implications can also be stated.

- A clear statement of the goals and objectives of the training program needs to be developed and communicated to all persons throughout the Army. Commanders and those responsible for the program in particular need to be made aware of the objectives. The objectives need to focus on behavioral issues rather than broad but ambiguous statements using such terms as harmony and awareness.

- The basic training model currently in existence needs to be reconsidered. Commanders had considerable difficulties making the model fit their individual units. The model appeared to best fit a line unit which had platoons. But commanders of HQ units and permanent party personnel at schools found themselves trying to apply a training model which seemed unsuitable.

- Commanders need instruction in how to apply the current training model and how to achieve the program objectives in their units. One of the great ironies of the present system is that those with the most training, the DRRI graduates, have no responsibility for the program while those with no training, the commanders, have the most responsibility.

- RR/EO training regulations need to be enforced. Failure to enforce RR/EO training requirements communicates to all personnel that the program is symbolic in nature and primarily for show. If commanders do not take the program seriously, no one will.

- A strong RR/EO monitoring function needs to be established which focuses on substantive issues. Commanders need immediate feedback with respect to the key issues relating to their training programs. Things like accuracy of reports and format of training guides are of little importance when compared to the kinds of topics that are selected and the way in which the information is presented.

- DRRI and Discussion Leaders Course graduates need to be better integrated into the training system. The divisions that exist between the RR/EO personnel and commanders need to be resolved so that both are working together toward a common goal.

- Commanders need to be convinced that the program does contribute to unit readiness.

- Commanders need a better understanding of the problem to which the RR/EO program is addressed. They generally feel that because there is no racial violence, there is no problem. As the objectives of the program become more clearly defined, commanders need to be taught ways of looking at their own units to determine whether there are specific problems that need to be attacked through race relations training.