THE CONTACT HYPOTHESIS AND RACIAL DIVERSITY IN THE UNITED STATES MILITARY

A DISSERTATION

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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

BY

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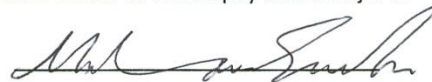
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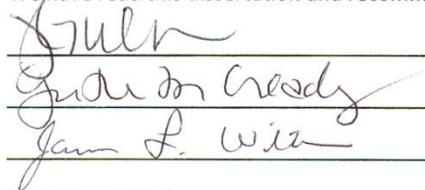DENTON, TEXAS

2 November 2012

To the Dean of the Graduate School:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Damon Bullock entitled "The Contact Hypothesis and Racial Diversity in the United States Military." I have examined this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy with a major in Sociology.

Mahmoud Sadri, Ph.D., Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Department Chair

Accepted:

Interim Dean of the Graduate School

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ABSTRACT

DAMON BULLOCK

THE CONTACT HYPOTHESIS AND RACIAL DIVERSITY IN THE UNITED STATES MILITARY

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This study explains the application of the Contact Hypothesis in the

discussion of racial diversity in the United States military. The purpose of this study is to

explore soldiers' racial experiences in an ethnically diverse military. The Contact

Hypothesis, also known as the Intergroup Contact Theory, was formulated by Gordon

Allport in 1954. Prejudice results from negative generalizations or stereotypes about

other groups, particularly minorities. Contact between groups will lessen these

prejudices, therefore, leading to better communication and interaction. For this

research, I conducted in-depth, targeted interviews with 27 soldiers to explore their

racial experiences interacting in an ethnically diverse military. Participants in this study

were men and women who were at least 18 years old. All participants were current or

former military personnel enlisted from the rank of E-4 (i.e. Specialist) to E-8 (Sergeant

Major/Command Sergeant Major).

Three research questions were explored. The first research question focused on

the role of interracial contact in shaping the experience of race relations in the military.

Approximately 93% (N=25) of the participants experienced good relations and high

levels of contact with service members of other races and ethnicities, while 7% reported

good relations and low levels of contact. No participants reported poor relations with

service members of other races and ethnicities.

The second research question concerned the impact of length of contact.

Participants in this study reported good relations with service members from other

races and ethnicities regardless of their years in service, and regardless of the length of

service.

The third research question concerned the intensity of contact. Nearly 67%

(N=18) of the participants reported experiencing good relations while engaged in an

intense situation with service members of other races and ethnicities.

The military has been able to successfully integrate various racial groups for

several reasons: 1.) Inter-group contact between whites and minorities has lessened

prejudice and led to group solidarity, 2.) The military has rules, guidelines, and policies

that favor combat effectiveness and not a particular individual or group, and 3.)

Powerful sanctions are implemented by military leaders to ensure both of the above

objectives. Implications of the findings can be discussed. These conditions also illustrate

the premise of the Contact Hypothesis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE

The purpose of this study is to explore soldiers' racial experiences in an

ethnically diverse military environment. It uses exposure to interracial contact as a

factor in reducing stereotypical negative perceptions against soldiers, particularly

minorities. The study applies the "Contact Hypothesis" to explore racial diversity in the

United States military and its stated quest for an inclusive and supportive environment

for both personal and professional camaraderie. The term Contact Hypothesis was

coined by Gordon Allport in 1954. Allport states that interracial contact will improve

between majority and minority group members when four conditions are satisfied. The

four conditions are: 1) There must be an equal status relationship, 2) Both groups share

a common task and work on a common goal, 3) The groups develop a personal and

informal relationship, and 4) Some higher authority acknowledges and approves of the

groups working together. It is believed that an environment in which soldiers are not

disenfranchised or discriminated against promotes diversity, integration, and

interdependence.

Specifically, the study explores the following research questions 1) What is the

role of interracial contact in the military in shaping the experience of race relations?, 2)

What is the role of "frequency" of contact in shaping the experience of race relations?, and 3) What is the role of "intensity" of interaction-for example during tours of duty-in shaping the experience of race relations?

This dissertation also assesses personal experiences of soldiers involved in interracial relations and asks if this contact alleviates racial conflicts that result from previous negative stereotypical beliefs or prejudicial feelings. The expectation is that the more racially inclusive the United States military the less likely racial conflicts will occur. This is in view of the fact that the U.S. military was the first social institution integrated by President Harry S. Truman in 1948. Increased interracial contact in the military creates the possibilities for building professional and personal relationships. This study contributes to the growing body of literature about the Contact Hypothesis and its relevance in terms of its impact on interracial contact between in-and-out group members.

The United States Army is the largest and oldest branch of the armed forces of the United States. Like armed forces everywhere, it has the primary responsibility for land-based military operations. Similarly, the Air Force has the primary responsibility for air-based military operations, the Marine Corps for tactical-based military operations, and the Navy for sea-based military operations. The Army, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Navy are under the control of the Department of Defense (DoD) while the Coast Guard is administered by the Department of Homeland Security.

Armor (1996) points out that the military has been pursuing the issue of race relations among its soldiers, since WW II, so that by 1976 the proportion of black enlisted soldiers began to increase. By the 1980s, the military focused on making the composition of their personnel resemble that of society. American culture shows a tendency for diversity, patriotism, and cohesion for the greater good but there are also instances where individuals manifest prejudice and racism towards minority groups. Camaraderie and loyalty are key components for the necessary cohesion in the armed forces. Therefore, the United States military has the moral responsibility to ensure that equality is a way of life in every aspect of its existence (Armor 1996).

In this study, the term military will be used synonymously with the term Armed Forces denoting the identified branches of the United States. According to the military, strengthening bonds of friendship, mutual respect, and unit cohesion are integral aspects of sustaining an efficient force. Initially, the action of integrating the military was met with resistance and resentment due to the racial and political atmosphere of the United States at the time. The sentiment of segregation has waned over the years and integration of the military has predominantly been supported by the military and the country as a whole. According to Kane and Lawrence (1995), the United States military has enjoyed relatively peaceful and harmonious working relations among its racial and ethnic groups since the late 1970s compared to their civilian counterparts.

The experience of what W.E.B. DuBois (1903) called "double consciousness" in *The Souls of Black Folk* is somewhat relived each time a soldier puts on the Army Combat Uniform (ACU), which is the designated uniform for the Army. This awareness is further reinforced when performing any assigned role in the military, especially within the unit. Secondly, any soldier must be cognizant of diverse ethnic and racial groups to recognize the importance of mutual dependence. Maintenance of racial diversity in the military is deemed advantageous in improving access to a wider recruitment pool and the alleviation of any internal racial conflicts that may weaken morale, cohesion, and Esprit de Corps.

The Contact Hypothesis deals with the conditions of improving relations among groups ordinarily experiencing conflict that may improve through interracial contact. Frequently, issues of racism, prejudice, and discrimination occur among groups in competition with one another. Intergroup conflict can diminish morale and public trust in the military to protect its citizens from enemies. It is expected that racial diversity in the military would confirm the Contact Hypothesis because interpersonal contact in the military is supposed to be egalitarian, interdependent, goal-oriented, and supported by relevant authority.

This study evaluates intergroup relations in the military by assessing personal experience in the military. The issue of race relations in the United States is seen as a sensitive topic and often avoided in social situations. However, the military has attained

an unprecedented level of racial integration and minority achievement as compared to civilian institutions in the United Sates. The military places focus on completion of the mission and not on racial background of those completing the mission. Charles Moskos helps to explain this, "Race relations can best be transformed by an unambiguous commitment to non-discrimination coupled with uncompromising standards and performance. At the same time, educational and training programs must be set up to raise performance standards of soldiers." (cited in African Defense Review 1994).

RATIONALE

This study contributes to the race relations literature by exploring how viable the above-mentioned circumstances remain, and the relevance of the "Contact Hypothesis" in this situation. Also, this essay may help educate the civilian population concerning the effectiveness and importance of implementing programs and policies that support racial equality and collaborative efforts in a diverse environment. It may also encourage the military to sustain current programs and policies supporting a friendly, collaborative environment while continuing to improve its programs for racial equality in the future. In addition, no studies were located that indicated that anyone in the military and outside had studied the applicability of the Contact Hypothesis in explaining race relations in the military. This fact shows that research in this area would be useful and pertinent in addressing the issue of race relations among military personnel.

OVERVIEW

Chapter 1 describes the purpose, rationale, and overview. Chapter 2 reviews literature concerning the Contact Hypothesis, race relations in the United States, and race in the United States military. Chapter 3 describes the data, data collection, and data analysis. Chapter 4 describes the findings and addresses the research questions. Chapter 5 summarizes the key findings, discusses limitations, implications of the findings, and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter first reviews literature concerning the Contact Hypothesis. The

second section reviews literature concerning racism and prejudice. This is followed by a

discussion of race relations in the United States. A discussion on workplace diversity is

followed by reviews of literature on Equal Opportunity in the military. Afterwards, a

discussion of gender and the military is followed by reviews of literature on women in

the military. The final section reviews literature on race in the United States military.

CONTACT HYPOTHESIS

For interracial contact to be effective and yield positive results, Allport (1954)

notes that four conditions must be met: 1) the racial groups coming into contact must

have equal status, 2) the racial groups must have a pleasant experience in jointly

pursuing common goals, 3) the contact must be intimate and authentic and not just

superficial and impersonal, and 4) the contact between the groups must be sanctioned

by relevant authority. According to the theory, racial segregation and intolerance is

reduced when opportunities are created for personal, collaborative interracial contact.

Similarly, neighborhood interracial contact acts to break down prejudice. For example,

Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi (2002) found that higher-status neighbors are more tolerant and

welcoming towards members of the other racial group and less likely to engage in behaviors perceived as prejudicial or racially intolerant by nature.

Grant-Thompson and Wittig (1998) found that support given by authorities (e.g. teachers, facilitators, other role models), strengthens norms and expectations that the groups will interact positively. In their study, the target participants were given equal status within the situation. Cooperative interdependence was fostered that encouraged working together to achieve a common goal. It is ensured that the contact is individualized and personal so participants get to know one another as persons. Positive interaction was promoted that weakens negative stereotypes.

Rebecca A. Bianchi and Linda R. Tropp (2006) examined ways in which valuing diversity relates to interest in intergroup contact among members of minority and majority status groups. Developing from the earlier research of Williams (1947) and Allport (1954), decades of research on intergroup contact has shown that greater levels of intergroup contact typically corresponds with lower levels of intergroup prejudice (Bianchi & Tropp 2006). Importantly, Bianchi & Tropp (2006) conclude that due to increased immigration of Latin and Asian immigrants in the United States and elsewhere societies have become increasingly diverse, and social norms and institutions have begun to shift, such that greater efforts are now being made to acknowledge and promote racial and ethnic diversity.

Johanna R. Vollhardt (2010) examined the effect of close and extended intercultural contact on attributions for behavior of out-group members. Traditionally, psychosocial research on the effects of intergroup contact focused on the reduction of prejudice as its primary outcome (Vollhardt 2010). According to Vollhardt, extended and authentic contact has the potential to reduce biases, and to enhance people's awareness of explanations that take external and, in particular, societal or cultural causes into consideration. Consequently, individuals will typically make wise objective evaluations when they are in sustained contact with diverse cultures.

Participants in the Vollhardt study were found to use more situational than personal judgments because they were experiencing close intercultural contact. However, ethnic groups that had less experience with other diverse groups made more internal attributions. Vollhardt found that culturally sensitive attributions have a direct relationship with types of activities enjoyed by both groups. In other words, the more personal and intimate the intergroup contact, the more culturally sensitive the other group would become.

In sum, the findings of the Vollhardt study indicated that individuals who have experienced close intercultural contact in their everyday lives over a prolonged period of time are more likely to make external and culturally sensitive judgments from varied behaviors of other cultures, compared to people who lack this experience (Vollhardt 2010). This finding confirms the contact hypothesis because of the frequent, personal

contact experienced among diverse cultures. Contact under these conditions reduces

prejudice and stereotypes.

Sheila Grant-Thompson and Michele A. Wittig (1998) tested the predictive power

of perception as it relates to Allport's (1954/1979) classic articulation of the conditions

of contact conducive to reducing intergroup prejudice and increasing tolerance. Grant-

Thompson and Wittig (1998) point out that as racial/ethnic migration has increased in

the United States an increase in racial/ethnic conflicts has resulted due to intolerance,

stereotypes, competition for resources, and so forth. Consequently, social scientists are

interested in reducing this type of malignant contact. The study deemed the Contact

Hypothesis as one of the most researched theoretical constructs for creating and

implementing programs to improve interracial prejudicial perceptions. Grant-Thompson

& Wittig (1998) found that the origins of prejudice against out-group members' arises

from the need to protect limited resources and advantages that are accessible to the in-

group members.

Kimberly L. Ebert and Tyrone A. Forman (2004) investigated possible

mechanisms (i.e. interracial friendship, frequency of contact and quality of contact) that

might mediate the relationship between interracial contact and adolescents' racial

attitudes. Ebert & Forman (2004) concluded that relatively little research has examined

the Contact Hypothesis and its impact on adolescents' racial attitudes or racial

minorities' racial attitudes. This unfortunate phenomenon deprives social scientists

from researching possible factors in adolescent interracial conflict. For example, a recent study of schools found that 93 percent of students in schools in California and 60 percent of students enrolled in schools in Hawaii report that there is racial and ethnic tension in their schools (Ebert & Forman 2004). Consequently, these cases show the importance of examining the issue of racial attitudes among adolescents.

Desforges, Lord, Pugh, Sia, Scarberry, & Ratcliff (1997) suggest that for the most part, American adolescents from the six racial/ethnic groups exhibit high levels of support for integration and moderate levels of endorsement for segregation. Further, Ebert & Forman (2004) reports that a little more than one in ten white youths, nearly a third of black youths, four in ten Mexican youths, five in ten other Latino youths, six in ten Asian youths, and seven in ten Puerto Rican youths have friends outside of their race/ethnic groups. Also, Ebert & Forman (2004) report that these results are consistent with other research that shows that black, Latino, and Asian youths report greater cross-race friends than white youths.

Ebert and Forman (2004) extend prior research in four ways: 1) by examining the relevance of the Contact Hypothesis for Asian, black, Latino, and white adolescents racial attitudes, 2) by operationalizing the concept of interracial contact in multiple ways, 3) by exploring several factors that might mediate the effect of the opportunity for interracial contact on adolescent racial attitudes, and 4) by investigating whether or not the effect of interracial contact varies by race/ethnicity. Ebert and Foreman (2004)

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suggest that about two in ten youths nationwide have the opportunity for cross-racial

contact. Also, Ebert and Foreman (2004) found that the effect of interracial contact on

racial attitudes is weaker for minorities compared to white youths.

Wilson (1996) tested the Contact Hypothesis using four indicators of National

Opinion Research Center (NORC) respondents' interracial contact with blacks along with

two indicators of prejudice, which are stereotypes and social distance. Each of the

contact indicators was associated with reduced stereotyping and reduced social

distance. Each of the contact indicators remains associated with reduced social distance

to blacks, even controlling for social distance relative to other minorities. Wilson (1996)

suggests that those who work with blacks are less likely than others to view blacks in

negative terms such as "lazy," "violent," or "welfare-dependent." Results from the

Wilson (1996) study are similar to the Jackson and Crane (1986) study and a bit stronger

for individuals attending churches with blacks, living close to a black family and still

stronger for those individuals reported having had a black dinner guest. Respondents

experiencing only one or varied contacts with blacks were less prejudiced toward blacks,

particularly with respect to social distance and stereotyping.

Thomas C. Wilson (1996) studied the impact of interracial contact on whites'

attitudes towards blacks. Wilson (1996) concludes: 1.) research results show mixed

reports on the effect of contact on prejudice, 2.) some support for the Contact

Hypothesis comes from military and public housing experiments, and 3.) its

generalizability to unplanned interracial contacts occurring in daily life is questionable, and 4.) the contact studies have been cross-sectional and unable to determine if interracial contact definitely reduces prejudice.

Bianchi & Tropp (2006) suggest that individuals often attempt to relate to members of other status groups in order to build a bridge to better understanding and increased positive relations. Consequently, intergroup contact is a corollary of diversity. Bianchi and Tropp (2006) show that the more a person values his/her contact experiences, the more the contact will contribute to promoting positive intergroup attitudes.

Ellison and Powers (1994) indicate that while both black and white respondents generally report interest in intergroup contact, they believe out-group members are less interested in contact than they are. Black respondents generally reported lower interest in intergroup contact than white respondents. Findings from the Ellison and Powers (1994) study indicate that white respondents reported that they and out-group members value diversity to similar degrees, whereas black respondents reported that they value diversity substantially more than out-group members. Both black and white respondents had a mutual interest in intergroup contact. Importantly, interest in intergroup contact resulted in both black and white respondents being more likely to have racially diverse friends of the opposite status group. Ellison and Powers (1994) indicate that diversity concerns play a significant role in predicting group members'

interest in intergroup contact. This study also reveals that minority and majority group

members vary in defining how diversity personally affects them in their lives.

Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, and Ropp (1997) proposed that benefits

associated with cross-group friendship might also stem from vicarious experiences of

friendship and the knowledge that in-group members have friends in the out-group.

Group members will most likely model behaviors and actions towards other groups

because of the understood norms, values, and beliefs they share. A previous study by

Crisp and Lambert (2007) suggests that having friendly contact with out-group members

will reduce prejudice. Extended cross-group friendship should result in a balanced state

where all group members are in a positive, harmonious relationship. Previous research

on intergroup contact by Christ, Hewstone, Paolini, Turner, & Voci (2007) has shown

that higher-quality contact that is comfortable and pleasant-is associated with more

positive out-group attitudes.

Stephan, Stephan, and Gudykunst (1999) studied the impact of interracial

intergroup contact on intergroup anxiety. They found that interracial intergroup contact

may lead to intergroup anxiety. Possible reasons for this were: 1.) there may be a fear of

feeling uncomfortable, not in control, or inept, due to the awkwardness of intergroup

interactions, 2.) people may be concerned with appearing to be insensitive and

offensive to out-group members, 3.) they may be anxious that out-group members will

take advantage, exploit, or oppress them, 4.) intergroup anxiety may arise from a fear of

humiliation or rejection by out-group members, and 5.) there is a fear of disapproval by

in-group members concerning intergroup interaction with other group members.

Further, Christ, Hewstone, Paolini, Turner, and Voci (2007) found that anxious

individuals make every effort to avoid intergroup contact because this helps keep

anxiety low. Unfortunately, intergroup anxiety has a negative impact on intergroup

relations because of the psychological barriers preventing positive interaction between

group members.

RACISM AND PREJUDICE

Michael A. Hogg (2003) describes intergroup relations as the way in which

people act, respond, feel about, and perceive people in other groups. In intergroup

contexts people generally behave so as to gain or maintain an advantage for their own

group over other groups in terms of resources, status, prestige, and so forth (Hogg

2003). Consequently, intergroup relations can generate negative prejudicial beliefs to

blatant acts of racial violence. For example, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) has negative

intergroup relations with minority group members, particularly blacks and Jews because

of the KKK's deliberate acts of violence and tyranny in the name of racial hegemony.

Discrimination is the essential behavioral feature of intergroup relations.

Therefore, they are described as the way groups act and react towards each other.

Discrimination can be viewed in subtle terms such as favoritism toward another group

or it may be a result of deliberate actions such as institutional racism disfavoring people

of color. Overt and explicit racism is becoming less relevant and pronounced with time.

Social psychologists and sociologists seek measures to reveal that prejudice and

discrimination still exist because there is a racial hierarchy established in the United

States. Hogg (2003) explained that a racist ideology is more a result of negative or

improper socialization than of personality. This is a result of the in-group seeking to

maintain the position of authority and control over the available resources. For

example, people who have a high social dominance orientation will most likely support

the idea of race being a social hierarchy. Therefore, discrimination is seen as being

influenced by in-group and out-group relations.

Shawn O. Utsey, Joseph G. Ponterotto, and Jerlym S. Porter (2008) address the

origins, mechanisms, and expressions of prejudice. They argue that racism continues to

be a pervasive problem throughout world (Ponterotto, Porter, & Utsey 2008).

Manifestations of racism are direct and indirect, as well as blatant and subtle in

contemporary society (Ponterotto, Porter, & Utsey 2008). In other words, racism can be

broadly manifested into such actions as institutional racism, housing discrimination, the

committing of hate crimes, and so forth just as much as they can appear in anecdotes

and jokes. Hurricane Katrina and anti-Muslim racism and discrimination are key

examples of how racism and prejudice is manifested in our society. Allport (1954)

defines prejudice as negative bias toward a particular group of people. However, Casas

(2005) defines racism as the assumed belief manifested in the in-group behaviors

concerning their superiority toward out-groups based on their ethnic identity. Therefore, prejudice is having a negative attitude while racism is deliberate discrimination based on these negative perceptions.

RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Michael W. Link and Robert W. Oldendick (1996) examined the ways in which racial attitudes in the minds of white Americans affect their attitudes toward the issues of equal opportunity and multiculturalism. The issue of race has been a topic of conflict in the United States that has been primarily between whites and minorities or non-whites. Ramasaran (2009) argues that the foundation of the American racial system is rooted in the "one drop" principle. This rule states that anyone visually identified with having one drop of African ancestry is considered black. This type of categorization exemplifies a form of racial hierarchy in the United States that favored whites above other ethnic groups, particularly African Americans.

However, other scholars have claimed that white racism has transformed into more "symbolic" forms of expression (Link & Oldendick 1996). White racism has been more covert over time than any expression of discrimination or prejudice in society and is unacceptable. Interestingly, the Link and Oldendick study points out that white racism or anti-black attitudes exists because of perceived attitudes of blacks about "American values". The "group conflict" theory of racial attitudes argues that perceptions of threats to status quo are the cause of white racism.

Link & Oldendick (1996) shows that whites will begin to have a more positive outlook for other groups as their population becomes younger and better educated. Racism is a result of negative beliefs toward disadvantaged groups that tend to disempower the disenfranchised people (Link & Oldendick 1996). The general conclusions that can be reached are similar to those of Sears, Hensler, & Speer (1979); that is, lower support among whites for the minority group-based policy issues derive from negative views of minority groups (i.e. antiminority sentiment) relative to this of one's own race (Link & Oldendick 1996).

Tabbye M. Chavous (2005) examined the association of racial climate with social integration among 215 African American students and 144 white students from a Predominantly White Institution (PWI). Interracial cohesion does not necessarily result because of increased diversity in predominantly White institutions. In fact, diversity related issues continue to be primary sources of conflict on campus across the country (Chavous 2005). Also, Chavous (2005) reveals that both ethnic minorities and white students have different racial experiences at the same institution. For example, white students report more positive perceptions of intergroup relationships and racial diversity at their institutions than do African Americans (Chavous 2005).They found that this disparity in the perception of a positive racial climate is because white students are not exposed to discrimination, institutional racism, and informal segregation that often impact the lives of minorities. Ethnic minorities are constantly aware of their racial

climate because their race is a constant fixture on the proverbial walls in predominantly white institutions. Some research suggests that having racially integrated schools can be related to positive intergroup interactions (Chavous 2005).

Research from the Chavous (2005) study has explained that diversity alone does not lead to a positive, inclusive atmosphere. For example, Chavous' (2005) study points out that white students report more positive perceptions of intergroup relationships and diversity norms at their institutions than do African Americans. Importantly, disparity exists between whites and minority attitudes due to their experience regarding race relations. The dominant group enjoys the privileges of not having a racial category that is marginalized and perceived as inferior or subordinate.

Song (2009) proved essential for the teaching of multicultural education by expounding the idea of multiculturalism instead of accepting assimilation as the norm. The United States is becoming a multiracial nation in which each ethnicity has a right to value, respect, and practice its own cultural values and traditions. Importantly, more research should be focused on group integration instead of assimilation. Learning each other's cultural norms will lead to a sense of solidarity, acceptance, and inclusiveness.

Link and Oldendick (1996) expounded more on whites' attitudes regarding equal opportunity and multiculturalism. This study confirmed that whites that have a positive outlook on race relations and tolerance tend to be better educated and younger. This is essential for reducing prejudice and discrimination. Link and Oldendick (1996) confirmed

that racial inclusion and acceptance can be enhanced through positive intergroup relations, societal inclusion, and multicultural education. Dragan M. Stanisevski (2010) reexamined the value of tolerance in dealing with inter-cultural conflicts and multicultural discourses. Similarly, Prewitt (2010) agrees that diverse minority populations are more prone to internal conflict that are absent in the homogeneous majority population. Multicultural societies usually have multiple interpretations of various ethnicities. Acknowledging ethnicities in a multicultural society can affect race-based policies and ensure that each ethnic minority have a fair chance of success. Tolerance of cultural differences safeguards against fundamentalist views that sometimes preach intolerance (Stanisevski 2010).

Deliberative democracy has been suggested as one option for connecting conflicting cultural narratives and engaging culturally diverse citizens (Stanisevski 2010). Deliberative democracy is where diverse citizens can become part of a forum to make contributions towards the political process of inclusion and equality. Stanisevski (2010) suggest that cultural tolerance affords a deeper understanding of diverse cultures through interaction, acceptance of others, and willingness to learn by listening. Tolerance can extend past inter-personal disagreements and can be used in institutions of the government as well. Tolerance means openness to learn about others and a way to obtain an accurate and detailed portrait instead of erroneous stereotypes.

WORKPLACE DIVERSITY

Cynthia Estlund explored the paradoxical nature and the paramount importance of workplace bonds in a diverse democratic society. Beside family, workplace creates the greatest sense of belonging. It surpasses neighborhood, church, or clubs in this respect (Estlund 2005). This is the case because co-workers have known each other over time and have developed a sense of solidarity and empathy for each other. Therefore, the workplace is the most important site of group solidarity, interdependence, and mutual cooperation. Estlund argues that the workplace is the single most significant site of regular and ongoing interaction among adult citizens of different racial and ethnic identities, especially among black and white citizens (Estlund 2005). She highlighted the military as the nation's foremost social institution in terms of success towards racial integration.

The military's policy on inclusion and diversity is successful because soldiers follow standard rules and guidelines, obey authority figures, and learn to trust and cooperate with people of diverse ethnic backgrounds. In the military, distinction is made along a rigid hierarchal system known as rank. Estlund lauds this as "an instructive example of racial integration" (pg. 83). The military, as a workplace, is shown to be integrated and to yield beneficial interracial interaction and friendship. Acting together stimulates social bonds. It seems likely that the rising instances of friendships between

black and white citizens stems largely from increased integration and interaction in the workplace (Estlund 2005).

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE MILITARY

John S. Butler and Malcolm D. Holmes (1981) attempted to synthesize the literature on race relations to account for differential perceptions of discrimination for black and white enlisted men. Previous studies have indicated that black personnel are subject to substantially greater discrimination compared to their white counterparts (Butler & Holmes 1981). The organizational structure in the military exists to maintain egalitarianism and a hierarchal chain of command where strict obedience to orders and commands are enforced. In addition, Truhon (2008) concludes that a positive Equal Opportunity climate is an essential component of combat readiness and organizational effectiveness.

The military has been identified as the first major institution ending inequality among its members and supporting integration. Butler and Holmes (1981) suggested that desegregation of the military was the first experience of many minorities in being part of an integrated social institution. Also, Robert L. Fleegler (2008) described the military as comprising heterogeneous individuals of various ethnic backgrounds that fought in battle together. The literature lists the critical influence of interracial contact on racial attitudes. However, this relationship is contingent upon each of Allports conditions of the Contact Hypothesis (1954).

This literature supports the idea that changing the structure of the military will change the perception and practice of discrimination. Blacks in the military often perceive less discrimination than their counterparts in the civilian sector (Butler & Holmes 1981). It may be beneficial to compare this to black attitudes in the civilian sector. Changing the organizational structure of the military is pointed out in the literature as having important consequences for race relations. For example, the rigid hierarchal structure of the military has been successful in promoting equality.

The previous literature has explored black and white enlisted military personnel's views of discrimination due to personal experience. Disparity exists because minority members tend to encounter or perceive greater racial discrimination and negative stereotypes compared to their white counterparts. Butler & Holmes (1981) argued that discrimination is a strong predictor of social and economic inequality. The military is the first social institution integrated and continues to receive an increase in minority enlistment.

Peoples (2004) discussed the difference between universal remedial and targeted ethnic-based policies toward disadvantaged groups. Peoples (2004) concluded that women and homosexuals do not feel included in the military probably because women are not fully accepted into all of the various military occupational specialties, particularly the combat arms branch. Also, homosexuals have only recently been recognized in the military due to the repeal of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" (DADT) policy.

Clayton D. Peoples (2004) examined how ethnic-based policies impact the likelihood

that disadvantaged minority groups will engage in interethnic conflict. In addition,

Dansby, Hoyle, and Landis helps explain this by stating, "Distributive and procedural

justices are two aspects that involve organizational fairness in representing individuals.

Distributive justice involves fair distribution of punishment and outcome. Procedural

justice involves fair hearings of the accused as they move through the justice system"

(1997, pg. 184).

Moore and Webb (1998) and Peoples (2004) focus on race-based policies and

their impact on intergroup cohesion and conflict. Needless to say, this issue is seen as a

relevant topic to examine social edifices seen to favor some while disenfranchising

others. The armed forces have made earlier and greater progress than other American

institutions in moving toward racial equality in employment (Booth & Segal 2005).

Consequently, African Americans are highly represented in the military because of

egalitarian treatment and career opportunities. According to Booth and Segal, the

military is the largest employer in the nation of male African American high school

graduates.

Segal (1999) considers military service members as part of the labor force, based

on factors such as voluntary employment in the military and other similar factors shared

with civilian occupations and industries. It seems that being African American, a woman,

and lacking a college education contributes to a pattern of social inequity found in the

civilian sector. Importantly, average military earnings are found to be less than civilian

earnings among white and black men and women working full-time. Within the military,

there is a significant racial gap in earnings between African Americans and whites with

high school diplomas (the enlisted rank(s), and the race gap among military men with

bachelor's degrees (officers) is much smaller than that found within the civilian sector

(Booth & Segal 2005).

GENDER AND THE MILITARY

J. Norman Baldwin (1996) examined the extent to which women and minorities

are represented in the Army's promotion processes at the middle management ranks,

and then examined the promotion rates of women and minority officers over time and

relative to men and Caucasians. Two studies examine promotion rates of military

members. Whites took less time to earn rank in the Army than comparably qualified

African-Americans (Baldwin 1996). White civilians on an Army base had a greater

likelihood of promotion than comparable nonwhite civilians (Baldwin 1996). Similarly,

Baldwin and Rothwell (1993) conducted a 12-year longitudinal study of the U.S. Air

Force and found minority officers were not promoted at the same rate as white officers

and that few women served as officers. For example, the Navy's policy only allows

approximately 10% of its members to be composed of women (Rosenfeld 1994).

Baldwin (1996) indicated that those promoted and considered for promotion in

the Army were disproportionately men and Caucasian. Also, the study revealed that

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men were promoted at higher rates than women and Caucasians at higher rates than minorities. However, the study indicated that male-female and Caucasian-minority promotion rate differences do not necessarily increase consistently with rank. Findings in the study were consistent with Baldwin and Rothwell's (1993) finding of extreme underrepresentation of women in the Air Force. In other words, Caucasians were typically promoted at a higher rate than minorities.

Mady W. Segal, David Segal, and Meridith H. Thanner (2007) documented the current representation of Hispanic and African American men and women in the armed forces. While African Americans have served in the military at higher numbers than their percent of the population, Hispanics are a growing segment in the United States population but are underrepresented in the military (Segal, Segal, & Thanner 2007). Two studies researched the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) of the military in terms of labor market dynamics. Levy (2007) suggested that the transition from conscription to volunteer force is looked favorably upon by blacks because of their perception of fair treatment in attaining material rewards comparable with the market economy. In other words, blacks could receive the economic benefits from the military in a racially-inclusive environment without the prevalence of racism and prejudice found in the civilian sector. Also, Segal (1995) found that Hispanic males' representation would increase in the military because of being the disadvantaged group in the social strata.

This literature primarily discussed enlistment and retention trends of African

Americans and Hispanics since the military became an All-Volunteer Force (AVF) in 1973.

For example, African Americans have enlisted and re-enlisted in the military, particularly

the Army, compared to Hispanics who remain underrepresented in the military. Segal,

Segal, & Thanner (2007) revealed that blacks have been highly represented in the Army

compared to other military branches. In contrast, Hispanics are more likely to be highly

represented in the Marine Corps and less likely in the Air Force. Similarly, Smith (1983)

points out that on the basis of public opinion data, alarm over the number of blacks in

the military is unwarranted. Democratic nations tend to have a military force that is

representative of the national values and culture of its citizens (Armor 1996).

In sum, the military has relatively high representation of African Americans,

particularly women, and an increasing Hispanic enlistment. African American enlistment

in the military has declined compared to Hispanics' increased enlistment. Segal, Segal,

and Thanner (2007) believe that the representation of Hispanic men and women in the

U.S. military services will continue to increase, while African American representation

will further decline if current recruiting and re-enlistment trends continue.

WOMEN IN THE MILITARY

Clyde Wilcox (1992) examined the issue of race, gender, and support for women

in the military. Liberal and radical feminists have had divergent views on women being

involved in the military draft. However, both agree that support for women in the

military is a civil rights issue. As of this moment, women are barred from combat

operations in the Air Force, Navy, and Army, although women are assigned to "combat

related" tasks in the Army (Wilcox 1992). Military performance and unit cohesiveness

are the most common arguments for barring women from combat positions. However,

studies have demonstrated that women do not degrade and may actually enhance the

performance of their units in combat-support tasks (Wilcox 1992).

Although there is continued debate over women's roles in the military, there is

little research published on this topic (Wilcox 1992). The attitudes toward gender

equality have a direct impact on the thoughts of women serving in combat positions.

Racial differences on gender issues have been observed, particularly among men, where

whites are more supportive of equality (Wilcox 1992). Also, Wilcox (1992) reported that

black women are more supportive of gender equality goals using legal or collective

action. Among military personnel, women were more supportive than men about

training women in the use of weapons, but less supportive of assigning women to

combat (Wilcox 1992).

Wilcox (1992) points out that attitudes toward gender roles and women's roles

in society and politics are strong predictors of support for women in combat and other

nontraditional roles. A number of studies have suggested that younger and better-

educated men and women exhibit more equalitarian gender attitudes (Wilcox 1992).

Those who are affiliated with conservative religious denominations who exhibit high

levels of religiosity are among the least supportive of gender equality (Wilcox 1992).

The Engineer Branch is the only combat arm specialty in the U.S. Army where women

could join but their numbers are low. Women tend to be more supportive of women

joining the military. The younger and better-educated respondents tend to support

gender equality in the military, diversity, multiculturalism, and positive race relations.

Richard T. Cooney Jr., William W. Falk, David R. Segal, and Mady W. Segal (2003)

studied the effect of military service on the socioeconomic status of female veterans.

The study focused on women veterans of the post-1973 all-volunteer force (AVF). This

era was used because of increased female enlistment in the armed services. The

questions asked in this study were: 1) How does time spent in the military affect

women's post-service economic outcomes? and 2) how does this experience vary by

race? The researchers used the 1990 Public Use Micro data Sample L (PUMS-L). Joining

the military is seen as an investment. These benefits and opportunities are mostly

sought by minorities and low-income individuals. Female veterans benefit because the

skills learned in the military lead to increased earnings in the civilian sector. Also,

women in the military will be well-prepared to work at a traditional male job in the

civilian sector.

The bridging environment hypothesis was first introduced by Browning,

Lopreato, and Poston in 1973. It identifies the military as an investment for those who

lack human capital or have difficulty converting human capital into an increased

socioeconomic status. The military is considered an investment because volunteer

service will afford the individual quality training and educational opportunities.

Therefore, these skills will increase human capital which will have a positive effect on

their socioeconomic status. The authors suggest viewing the lack of a veteran advantage

as a depreciation of veteran benefits relative to the benefits of citizenship. The military

is a major social institution in American life that is under-analyzed by social scientists

and sociologists (Cooney, Falk, Segal, & Segal 2003).

RACE IN UNITED STATES THE MILITARY

Steve Sailer (1995) examined how the U.S. Army is capable of reducing racial

tension among 18-to-24-year old soldiers compared to their civilian counterparts of the

same age group. Race relations on college campuses are usually explored through

affirmative action, increased diversity workshops, and increased victim studies. Sailer

(1995) points out that this list is not exhaustive and certainly does not guarantee unity

among various ethnic groups. However, the military has been completely integrated

since 1948 and has enjoyed a long tradition of harmonious race relations. Blacks'

success in the Army is an essential concept in explaining racial solidarity in the military.

Success is reached when achievement is repetitive in the same field. According to

Charles Moskos, black Army officers mentor younger or junior officers on the demands

of being an officer and a gentleman.

Sailer (1995) draws a parallel between the military and civilian sectors in terms of racial equality. However, it should be borne in mind that the military has been integrated since 1948 while the civilian sector still has cases of institutional racism and discrimination. James G. Daley (1999) outlines the core components of what constitutes an ethnic identity in the military. It is embraced as the military develops over time into a military family.

Daley (1999) suggests that individuals in the military agree to "shed" their individual identities and adopt a new set of rules or serious consequences will result. For example, Lawrence and Kane (1995/96) found that veterans are more likely to live in integrated neighborhoods compared to their nonveteran counterparts. He considers Service members' entrance into the military an "ethnicity" because of the new common military identity. Knowing the rituals of the military is most valued and spontaneity is replaced by discipline (Daley 1999). Similar to a traditional family, the military will take care of its own members. For example, every military base/post provides the basic necessities of a community, such as grocery stores, living quarters, department stores, theaters, hospitals, schools, post office, and so forth (Daley 1999). Daley (1999) suggested that very little research has been conducted on military as ethnicity. Most of the research has been conducted to find ways to improve combat capabilities in war. Unfortunately, no research has specifically focused on military identity assessment or transition during a career.

There are three major popular non-fiction books that contain a wealth of information about the conditions of equality and inequality in the military. In: "*To Serve My Country,*" Brenda L. Moore (1997) discusses how the political activities of African American organizations led to the establishment of the Postal Directory Battalion. In the book, the surviving women of the 6888th Central Postal Directory Battalion described their experiences of being the first black WACs (Women Auxiliary Corp). They described instances of deliberate discrimination, the expected mission to accomplish, the selection process, and so forth. Their experiences provide valuable insight into racism, prejudice, and segregation during a time when integration of the military was a new phenomenon.

The second monograph, entitled: "*Black Soldier/White Army*" by William T. Bowers, William M. Hammond, and George L. MacGarrigle (2005). It documents pervasive problems in the 24th Infantry Regiment in Korea. Racial conflict in this regiment reflected problems in American society, such as bigotry on the part of the officers, poor leadership, poor self-esteem and performance of the soldiers.

The third study is*: "All That We Can Be"* by Charles Moskos and John S. Butler (1997) and is described as one of the most important recent sociological analyses of race relations in the military. In this book of race relations in the military, Moskos and Butler accomplished the sociological analysis through direct observation by being former members of the United States Army.

Daly's (1999) study converges with Bodnar's (1999) study in examining social change resulting in integration of the United States military. Historically, the military was relatively homogeneous with white Protestant males. However, the military culture has changed integrating a substantial number of minorities and women. For the most part, blacks have expressed a greater interest in joining the military because of greater job opportunities and career progression compared to the civilian sector (Armor 1996). The military is described as being both traditionally conservative and progressive in its cultural outlook. It has a plethora of individuals with traditional family values that may be politically conservative. However, the military is progressive because of implementing social policies that are deemed important by the political leadership of the United States.

Bodnar (1999) suggests that progress in the Unites States Naval Academy depends on four stages that must be completed prior to a total change within the organization. These stages include traditional segregation, integration by presidential decree, inclusion of black midshipmen, full integration of blacks in the Naval Academy, and full establishment of a "level playing field" removing all barriers to promotion. Similarly, Serge Guimind (2000) examined the social transmission of prejudice in the military among prospective military officers at the beginning and end of a four-year ROTC program. Guimind (2000) found that prejudice and racism is a result of socialization rather than individual's social or political background.

Leal (2003) argues that the military integrates various ethnic groups into a social institution with group cohesion and morale. This is accomplished through an explicit socialization process. The concept of socialization relates to the way individuals are transformed into group members, whatever the nature of the group involved (Guimind 2000). In other words, socialization educates individuals about their potential in-group. More generally, several studies indicate that the social identification may be a powerful determinant of intergroup attitudes and behaviors (Guimind 2000).

The Harvard Law Review Association (2004) examined forced associations in the United States military. The article described the American military as the most thoroughly and successfully racially integrated institution in the United States. The idea of forced association has a structural basis in the contact hypothesis because individuals' interaction creates a transformative experience between various ethnic and racial groups. The American military is extremely diverse indicating that 1.3% active-duty enlisted service members are American Indian, 3.9% are Asian American, 10.0% are Hispanic, 23.2% are African American, and 61.6% are white in 2004 (Harvard Law Review Association 2004). In addition, Allan J. Futernick's (1977) study supports the conclusion that the military bridges the gap between diverse communities by suggesting that favorable contact with blacks appears to reduce prejudice and prejudicial feelings.

In sum, the military operation is an accumulation of forced association of groups that are assigned complex tasks and organized in a hierarchal command structure that

enforces equality among service members. For example, the Army works in squads,

platoons, and companies; the Navy is organized into submarine crews; and the Air Force

has fighter squadrons. The military environment encourages group solidarity based on

interdependence and shared responsibility for success of the mission. The group is

punished as a whole as an internal disciplinary mechanism that is common in the

military. These military policies generate a pattern of interactions with the same people

that facilitates familiarity and empathy predicted by Gordon Allport's Contact

Hypothesis 58 years ago (Futernick 1977).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes how the data were collected, research questions were

posed, and data were analyzed. This study involves qualitative research using in-depth,

semi-structured interviews and digital recordings to ensure accuracy in the data

analysis.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions to be explained are as follows:

1. What is the role of interracial contact in shaping the experience of race relations

   in the military

2. What is the role of "frequency" of interracial contact in shaping the experience

   of race relations in the military

3. What is the role of "intensity" of interracial contact in shaping the experience of

   race relations in the military

SAMPLE

I will use non-random "targeted sampling" in order to obtain the sample.

Targeted sampling will be used because I want individuals who are or have been in the

United States military in order to explore their experiences of interracial contact with

colleagues of diverse ethnic/racial backgrounds in the military. The sample size is 27 and

the targeted population will have some characteristic differences, particularly in race

and gender. I chose this number in order to obtain insight and varied experiences

encountered by the participants. Participants in this study were adult men and women

who are at least 18 years old and they comprised current or former (i.e. retired or no

longer serving in the armed forces) military personnel. Participants were military

personnel that were enlisted when in the military. The participants varied in age

because excluding on that basis would skew the results by not considering the fact that

soldiers were more likely to socialize with those around their age group. Sex was not an

exclusionary variable because the military supports the integration of women. These

military personnel were from various ranks and branches (i.e. military occupational

specialties). The participants were identified by a chosen pseudonym and their correct

rank.

I am a member of the targeted population, having served in the United States

Army for 12 years. This experience adds in the commonality of understanding the

military as a social institution with norms, values, and expectations with my

interviewees. Scholars of qualitative inquiry have long privileged the situated knowledge

or the researcher as valid data (Denzin 2009). Thus, I drew on my experiences with

understanding of military operations during the interview process.

DATA COLLECTION

I used face-to-face recruitment. I targeted three initial locations to begin the recruitment process: the U.S. Army Recruiting Station, University of North Texas-R.O.T.C. (Reserve Officer Training Corp), and the VFW (Veterans of Foreign Wars) in Denton, Texas. Recruitment was not limited to these places. Besides these initial and primary locations, I interviewed soldiers in my former Army National Guard unit in North Little Rock, Arkansas. I identified military personnel by the individuals wearing military uniforms such as (Army Combat Uniforms (ACUs). After the potential participants were identified, I made contact with them. Initially, the research study was described and the purpose was given. Potential participants were asked if they would like to participate in a 90 minute interview in one or two sessions. If they were interested, the researcher would give them contact information and a time would be scheduled. Snowball sampling was also used to find respondents. This type of sampling was also a viable method because military members often are connected through a direct or indirect linkage with each other.

Data was collected in face-to-face, semi-structured interviews. In-depth interviews were conducted with each participant. Verbatim transcription allowed me to get precise quotations from the interviews. An "interview guide" was used to assist the interviewer in utilizing the participant's time by providing a framework and allowing enough freedom to fully explore, probe and ask questions. An interview guide is a

composite of research questions that help direct the conversation towards particular topics. It helps focus the interview so that individual experiences and perspectives to emerge (Patton 1980). Therefore, I had an outline composed of questions and prompts in order to keep the participants on track and at the same time allowing them to freely talk about their individual experiences and personal perspectives. The participants were allowed to take bathroom breaks before and during the interview as needed. I negotiated with them an appropriate public setting that would have a private area available to facilitate the interview session. Each interview lasted a total of 7 to 15 minutes. Importantly, interviews lasted an average of 13 minute.

For this research, I conducted in-depth, targeted interviews to explore soldier's racial experiences interacting in an ethnically diverse military. However, questions arose that were specific to that individual. According to Creswell (2007), data analysis is a spiral process because the process of analysis involves the researcher moving in analytical circles rather than a fixed linear approach. The goal is to enter the process with data and leave it with a narrative. I recorded each interview with a digital voice recorder and with handwritten notes. Interviews were digitally recorded with the consent of the participant. Only the Primary Investigator (PI) and Research Advisor had access to the digital recorder and audio files. The Research Advisor had access to the digital recordings and audio files in order to assist the PI in the transcription process.

All participants were instructed that their participation would be completely voluntary and that they did not have to answer any questions that made them feel uncomfortable. They could stop at any time. The informed consent form was locked in a cabinet immediately after the interview.

Social desirability bias is a term used in scientific literature when respondents respond favorably to questions that are socially acceptable instead of responding completely accurately. Often, respondents have a bias about social research when answering personal, sensitive questions as dealing with race, sexual behavior, or drug use. Social desirability bias was reduced in this study by providing clear information on the purpose and rationale of this research. Also, I provided clearly understandable procedures that ensured confidentiality, reduced potential embarrassment, built rapport with the respondents, and secured their trust and cooperation in soliciting personal experiences regarding race relations in the military. I ordered questions by placing sensitive questions towards the end of the interview guide.

DATA ANALYSIS

I transcribed the recorded audiotapes verbatim and listened to each participant's recorded audiotapes several times to make sure common themes were not missed. I used jotted notes during the transcription process and during the interview process. The jotted notes helped me to develop themes and ideas. Themes were found by patterns that developed during the interview process. I used axial coding to continue to develop

themes and ideas, which started the process of moving from concrete ideas to more abstract and theoretical ideas. I continued the process with analytic memos and with the use of NVivo, a qualitative software package, to assist with organizing and developing common themes and ideas.

PARTICIPANT PROTECTION

The place that ethics play in qualitative research is highly significant because the researcher is working with sensitive and private subject matter. Therefore, the researcher does his best to ensure that confidentiality is preserved. The participants were given a consent form explaining the nature of the study, information about confidentiality, voluntary participation of the study, right to ask questions any time during the study, and the opportunity to withdraw from the study at any time. The consent form included information on how they may obtain results from the study. The participant signed the form as agreement to participation in this study.

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) application that includes a list of referrals available to the participants inside and outside their communities was given to the participants along with the consent form. It is important to have a referral list so that the participants can receive professional help or assistance in an anonymous, confidential environment. I also informed the participants and IRB that transcripts and recorded audiotapes will be destroyed after the data is analyzed. IRB and the participants were informed that pseudonyms will be used as a mechanism to ensure the

protection of actual identities. I took great care to ensure there would be no identifying information about the participants in the findings.

My participants were military personnel. That is another reason to keep any identifying information from being accessible. Data were stored in password protected files, and were de-identified. Printed copies and a back-up CD ROM were stored in a locked filing cabinet in the PI's TWU office. Consent forms are kept separate from and printed material and locked in a filing cabinet.

The interviews were held at a location that the participant and researcher had agreed upon. No one but the researcher learned the participants' real names. The tapes and written interviews are stored in a locked cabinet in the researcher's office. Only the researcher and his advisor heard the tapes and read the written interview. The tapes and the written interview will be destroyed after the data is analyzed. The results of the study will be reported in scientific magazines or journals but participants name or any other identifying information will not be revealed.

LIMITATIONS

There are limitations to this investigation. Data were collected from primarily three places that are frequented by soldiers; which precludes generalizing to a larger population of armed forces soldiers. Data cannot be unreservedly generalized without reservation to all soldiers or to those who belong to other branches of the military. Another limitation in this study is not including Privates (i.e. E/1-E/3) and Officers (i.e.

Commissioned and Warrant) in my sample. Private is the lowest rank and is the initial

starting point in the military. Also, the rank of Private is termed differently according to

the branch of service. For example, in the Army it is Private (PV1), in Navy it is Seaman

Recruit (SR), in Marine Corps it is Private (Pvt), and in the Air Force it is Airman Basic

(AB). The decision to exclude Privates was based on their lack of interracial contact in

the military which prohibit them from providing in-depth experience in an ethnically

diverse environment. In other words, promotion time or Time in Service (TIS) is typically

2 years from Private 1 (E/1) to Private First Class (E/3). This time does not afford the

opportunity for soldiers in these ranks to have time in the military to develop personal,

deliberate relationships that was essential in choosing participants for this dissertation.

In addition, much of this time is accrued in Basic Training and Advanced Individual

Training where a majority of a soldier's interpersonal interaction is monitored and

induced by cadre (i.e. leadership personnel). However, I chose Specialist (E/4) as the

initial rank for selecting my participants because of their Time in Service (TIS) in the

military. The average time that a Specialist is in the military is approximately 3-4 years.

This allot more time for interpersonal interaction with individuals of various

backgrounds that extend beyond a training environment. Officers were excluded from

this study because of being primarily "managers" or leaders that are trained for success

of the mission and the overall organization (i.e. unit, troop, and squadron) under their

control and direction. Officers are less likely to have regular interaction with soldiers

compared to their enlisted counterparts. Therefore, officers' duties and roles prevent

frequent interaction with soldiers. That is commonly viewed as a task for enlisted

leaders. This lack of contact may have an adverse effect by skewing data collected from

officers.

REFLEXIVITY

Burawoy (1998) points out that reflexivity is often regarded as the enemy of

social science. According to Gilgun (1998), reflexivity is an important topic for qualitative

researchers because of the opportunity for bias and multiple influences on the

conducted study. Individual reflexivity, that is, the self-monitoring of behavior, leads to

an irrevocable uncertainty in human action, making scientific prediction impossible

(Burawoy 1998). Researchers must be vigilant in order to conduct research to minimize

personal and professional influences on their study. For example, this researcher's

membership in the military as a Captain in the Army Reserves and as an African-

American are personal and professional influences that are perceived by the

interviewees. Steps have been taken to remain impartial and to emphasize that

impartiality while conducting the interviews. The purpose is to achieve the most

accurate mapping of workings of the social world (Burawoy 1998). I have attempted to

check the impact of this kind of reflexivity by writing relevant thoughts, feelings, and

biases and talking to others about them, this assists in maintaining objectivity in the

study. After all, researchers are not infallible individuals. They are prone to mistakes and biases of their own. Maintaining integrity of the research is of the utmost importance.

Little social scientific research has been conducted on interracial contact in the United States military. As such, this study will contribute to the understanding of military members' experiences of intragroup, interracial contact in a diverse environment. On a larger scale, this will contribute to the field of military sociology. On a practical level, this project may help develop strategies for addressing other issues in the U.S. military that involve communication with fellow soldiers, subordinates, or superiors.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

This chapter is devoted to the analysis of the data. After a discussion of the

characteristics of participants the remainder of the chapter reports findings concerning

each research question.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS

Most participants were male (67%), with 33% female. There were 18 males and 9

females in this study. In terms of race, most were African Americans (41%) or Caucasians

(37%) followed by Hispanics (11%), Asians (7%), and Pacific Islander (4%). In terms of

service branch, most were Army (85%), with 7% Navy, and 7% Marines. In terms of duty

status, the most common was National Guard (44%), Active (37%) and Reserves (4%). In

terms of years in service, most participants had been in the military less than 10 years

(48%). Financial stability and educational benefits were the primary motives disclosed

by the participants for joining the military. Also, most of the participants were from

small towns in Texas. Information on participants is found in Tables 1-3 (appendix).

RESEARCH QUESTION 1

The first research question ask: What is the role of interracial contact in shaping the experience of race relations in the military? An analysis of the interview transcripts relevant to this research question indicated the presence of seven themes.

Shared Experience Results in Comfortable Feelings

It was evident from the responses that frequent, personal contact leads to mutual understanding and rapport. This relationship not only leads to harmonious interaction but to a feeling of trust and unity. Various soldiers reflected on how their shared experiences resulted in a feeling of ease. For example, Petty Officer 3rd Class Mona responded:

"Yes I do and-- I guess I'd say I feel more comfortable with them because… it's just like an experience. We all have experience in the same thing where we have a type of relation. And I'd probably be able to talk to them more than I would talk to a civilian of the same race."

Also, Sergeant First Class Smith's experience coincides with Petty Officer 3rd Class Mona on how shared feelings between soldiers results in comfortable and relaxed feelings towards each other. He experience reflects this point as he said: "Yes, I do. And they-they again, bring something different to the table and we have fun; we joke. Um, it's-it's better than everybody being the same."

Friendship Crosses Racial Boundaries

Friendship crosses racial boundaries is a theme that expounds on the participants sentiment of acceptance and loyalty. Racial boundaries are seen as an unnecessary distraction that is bypassed and substituted for authentic friendship. In particular, three Army soldiers reported that friendship is about compatibility and personality rather than skin pigmentation. For example, Sergeant First Class Sim Dog said:

"Yes, I have friends that I socialize with from different race and ethnicity…when we socialize, I ---I'm not looking at the person as being from a different race, I'm looking at them as being a friend."

However, soldiers do note that there are differences such as language and religion between the soldiers. But even these are not seen as issues and the cause of problems between service members. For example, Sergeant First Class Rodriguez reported:

"I have plenty of friends who are [of] a different race and ethnicity. When I'm around them, it's just like I'm around anybody else. I don't feel any different. You know, I think the only difference is…either we speak different languages or they don't speak a different language. You know, we just both have different cultural backgrounds. But typically here in this area---and I don't know anybody with a Hispanic background and so I---I am socializing with black and white and Asian, mostly."

In addition, Sergeant Bob adds his experience of seeing his comrades as "regular people" as he said:

"I have friends that since---outside my ethnicity. We---I feel like you know they---I treated---I got treated just the way they would treat each other. Like a regular person just no racial boundaries."

Diversity in Friendships Creates Acceptance as Close-knit Family

Participants came to identify each other as more than mere associates. Their

bond is considered similar to biological kin ships in strength, intensity, and importance.

Specialist Townsend adds that a majority of his friendships are between individuals of

different racial/ethnic backgrounds. They are seen as his "brothers" and an extension of

the reciprocal love and understanding of genuine acceptance. Specialist Townsend

illustrates this point as she said:

"Yeah; almost all my friends are of a different race than I am. I just feel like they're, you know, like my brothers, basically. Color of skin doesn't really matter. We hang out, talk about the same things, have a good time with each other. Yeah, a lot of my friends are different races than African American."

Also, Staff Sergeant Dusty reiterate the point as acceptance as he responded:

"Yeah, I mean, we have Hispanics, blacks, whites in the office and we usually get together, you know, one time a month and try to do everything um. Ah, the individuals, I mean, ah, you ask anybody in the military, it doesn't matter what race or background or ethnicity you come from; we're brothers and sisters regardless."

Similarities and Differences in Activities Creates Inclusive, Supportive Environment

Similarities and differences in activities create an inclusive, supportive

environment in which camaraderie is built through shared experience. This environment

is positively impacted through active participation and authentic willingness to accept

each other as friends and colleagues. Staff Sergeant Jackson admits that soldiers'

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enjoying each other's company is not anything new. There is a cliché commonly used in

the civilian sector called "brotherhood bonding" and "girl's night out" which refers to

males and females engaging in activities that are enjoyable and build camaraderie in the

process. The only noted caveat in this illustration is the example of a personal and

private issue such as an individual's religious belief. Staff Sergeant Jackson experience

reflected this point:

"Yes, I do and, I mean, normal. I mean, again, there's no---no change in who you are. We all enjoy some of the same things whether it's sports or types of food or different types of outings. So, there's nothing that you have to do in particular um, unless it's part of a---I guess an individual's religious belief. Um, then you have to be courteous to that---that particular thing. But other than that, everything is pretty much normal."

In addition, Staff Sergeant JoJo took his experience a step further by interjecting

a Christian perspective. He revealed his belief that his friends are "good Christian

people" that shares similar goals and ideas. He said:

"I have friends that are-a different racial groups. I feel um, pretty comfortable around them and-and basically, we all have our own goals and achievements and when we come together, you know, it's nothing, you know, nothing that we're trying to do to you know, gain an edge on either one of us. So, it's just good people that we-we're in common with; good Christian people and we all have the same thing.

Also, Staff Sergeant Saber points to the fact that gender or race is not mutually

exclusive in his friendships. He illustrates this point as he said:

"I do and how it feels? To me it's just another one of guys or girls. I mean, I mean they have different stories than I -I do _____ um, different cooking methods that I absolutely love. You know, I always learn from it."

Contact Increased Preference for Racially Diverse Environment

Over time participants reported a greater willingness to know and learn about other cultures and traditions. This not only showed a gravitation towards diversity but one of acceptance. Petty Officer 3rd Class Moore asserted that interracial relationships have increased her preference for diverse environments. This indirectly sheds light on how these types of relationships are accepted in the military. She demonstrates her preference for diverse backgrounds of inclusion as she reported:

"I do. Actually, I'm more comfortable in that environment than I am, I would say, with my own race. Simply because I've spent so much time in relationships, especially with African American males where I'm more comfortable in an environment where there's more African Americans than there are whites simply because I'm more free to be who I really am versus trying to appease somebody else's beliefs."

In addition, Sergeant First Class Jack agrees that friendship extend beyond a traditional "9-5 work schedule." Sergeant First Class Jack reflects a strong propensity to have interracial friendships as he said:

"Very comfortable with my, you know, friends ah, especially off duty. I don't limit myself to my own kind being Pacific Islander. I'm the type of person, If I were to limit myself to my own people, there's nothing to build from there. I like thinking outside of the box and, you know, having friends from another race and ethnicity, kinda adds that to the whole um, part of socializing and learning about different cultures and what they got to bring to the table as far as, you know, just being general friends."

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Accepting Racial/Ethnic Diversity as Part of the Norm

Accepting racial/ethnic diversity as part of the norm posits that racial identity is a natural part of an individual's reality. However, this reality does not substitute for or replace a deeper commitment to learn and know the individual for their behaviors, values, and personal choices. This acceptance is reflected in various interviews by Army and Marine Corps soldiers. Sergeant Frank, an Army soldier, said:

"Yes, I have friends of different races and ethnicities. I feel completely normal being around them. There's no…nothing wrong; I don't see skin color or ethnicity as something there."

In addition, Sergeant Powers, a Marine Corps soldier, added a similar response about accepting racial/ethnic diversity as part of the norm as she said: "Oh, I definitely do. I don't have any issues. We often go out to lunch or go hang out at the mall or something." Furthermore, Specialist Janet, an Army soldier, reiterates both points as she said: "I do have friends that are a different---from different races. I feel comfortable with them, like I said before. I learn from them and they learn from me from my race."

Not Much Exposure to Interracial Contact

However, there were participants who reported having limited exposure to interracial contact. Importantly, these participants were not opposed to interracial contact but did not have personal friendships with individuals of other races/ethnicities. Two soldiers explained that they did not have much exposure to interracial contact.

Sergeant First Class Dave said: "Ah, no; I do not have any friends." and SPC Nicole said:

"Not really, but I do have a sister-in-law, who's Caucasian. And she's cool."

RESEARCH QUESTION 2

The second research question asks: What is the role of "frequency" in shaping

the experience of race relations in the military? An analysis of the interview transcripts

relevant to this research question indicated the presence of seven themes.

Frequent Shared Experiences Result in Comfortable Feelings

Respondents reported that frequent personal contact leads to mutual

understanding and support. Participants reported that sharing a memorable experience

with their peer strengthened collegiality and trust. Specifically, Petty Officer 3rd Class

Mona was in the Navy for 3 years and explained her experience as she said:

"Usually, the socializing is stronger between other races because level of
experience is the same. We all went through some type of training and would
experience the same things."

Shared Interests Promote Inclusive Environment

Soldiers enjoying similar activities and passions such as dinners together,

attending festivities, movies, and the club helped promote an inclusive environment.

Soldiers thoroughly enjoyed each other's company. Oftentimes, soldiers engage in

shared activities to strengthen bonds and build collegiality. The usual leisure activities

for service members include movies, dining out, or going to the club. These activities are

also explained by military members during the interview as a source of fun outside of

their jobs. For example, Specialist Townsend who has been Active Army for 3 years said:

"On-everything. My-play video games, go to movies ah, go to barbecues, out to, you know, like clubs or like, you know like bars or watch football games. Like-you just about any and everything you can think of."

Staff Sergeant Jackson has been in the Army Reserves for 13 years and continues

to support the claim that shared interests promote an inclusive environment. Staff

Sergeant Jackson's interview supports this claim as she said: "Football, baseball,

volleyball. We've had dinners together. Just any and everything; just fun stuff." In

addition, Sergeant Jon, who has been Army National Guard for 5 years and agreed with

both Specialist Townsend and Staff Sergeant Jackson's explicit claim that shared

interests promote an inclusive environment said:

"Barbecues go out have a beer. We get together for anything from video game, little tournaments that we create ourself to golf. You name it; just about everything I do, I do with people of other ethnicities."

Accepting Diversity Beyond Duty Hours

Participants reported that friendship and acceptance extended past the

traditional "duty day." In other words, soldiers' desire to associate and socialize with

each other shows sincerity and acceptance that is more than mere tolerance that is

indicative of working with "co-workers." Various Active Army and Army National Guard

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soldiers reflected on their experience of accepting diversity beyond duty hours. This important fact is essential in knowing an individual beyond the confined time of duty hours. Time is seen as valuable in today's society and a thing that cannot ever be replaced. Therefore, this offering of a "valuable" commodity is an investment in an individual and shared bond. This rationale is expressed across gender and racial lines in the military. For example, Staff Sergeant Ashley, who has been Active Army for 10 years said: "I do a little bit of everything. We…interact with each other, as far as spending time with our children. Of course, working together. I attend school with them; little stuff like that, I guess." In addition, Sergeant First Class Sim Dog, who has been Active Army for 16 years reported:

"Pretty much the whole gamut. …been to clubs, parties; we went to host parties, host functions movies, dinners, dancing. There's pretty much race is not an issue as far as being part of the unit, being part of the Army that I serve in."

It can be safely accepted that acceptance of racial diversity is seen in extracurricular activities by service members beyond duty hours. Sergeant Bob, who has been Army National Guard for 5 years, supports this claim as she said: "We just hang out and going to clubs, bars; just drinking, especially during off hours."

Frequency of Contact Encourages Acceptance of Diversity

Accepting racial/ethnic diversity as part of the norm posits that racial identity is a natural part of an individual's racial category. However, this master trait is not deemed in soldier's ideas as the sole description of a fellow Service member. Therefore,

friendships in the military tend to be based on a holistic view of the person and not a

social construct such as race. Accepting someone is accepting their race/ethnicity as

intrinsic to that person. However, a problem surfaces when negative labels or

preconceptions are identified with certain groups and not others. Military members are

not unaware of the negativity that is prevalent in society but oftentimes do not adhere

to its poisonous philosophy of segregation, exclusion, and superiority. These soldiers

reveal in particular why acceptance and inclusion is their attitude toward members of

the military that are of different racial/ethnic backgrounds. For example, Staff Sergeant

JoJo, who has been in the Army National Guard for 13 years said:

"You know, just socialize, you know, normal. Go to work, socialize. I have some
close friends that I can talk to in the evening time or, and may be go play some-do some
athletic activities with; that type of thing; so."

In addition, Sergeant Denubes, who has been Active Army for 7 years, said:

"Like hanging out with buddies of mine, going to social events like bars or
concerts; things of that nature. We'd also go to restaurants whenever we want to get
away from post. Hanging out in the barracks or whenever we lived in my own
apartment---invite 'em over and things of that nature."

Frequency Encourage Cross Racial Friendships

Friendship is accepted as experiencing similar activities with accepted peers

without the portrayal of superiority or stereotypical prejudice. Boundaries created in

relation to another's racial/ethnic background are based on fear, ignorance, and/or an

ingrained attitude of supremacy and often reflected in the civilian sector. For example,

Sergeant Jim, who has been Active Army for 11 years said:

"I just socialize with them like I do anybody else. I mean, it's not---oh, that's, you know, black guy or whatever. It's that's Vince or Sergeant Santiago or, you know, just---like you do anybody else that works with you. I don't really care, what race you are. I care that you're my team leader or in my team or something like that, so. Me and a couple of guys, … they've been over to my house for Christmas, barbecues; we-we've been out to bars and clubs and just the mall and movies and---and they're my friends, so."

Frequency of Contact Creates Acceptance and Close Ties

Frequent contact led to participants seeing their fellow soldiers as more than

mere associates or co-workers. The participants even reported having special occasions

and times when their family would experience fellowshipping with each other.

Participants reported that diversity in friendships creates acceptance as close-knit

family. Gunnery Sergeant Tiger, who has been in the Marine Corps for 18 years,

illustrates this as he said:

"On my monthly basis, we do socialize and-and we have a[n] outing that the cadre and-and I participate in. Everything. I mean, we're---there's no difference. In the Army recruit, as a matter of fact, we coach football together, families---Sergeant Jones family, my family hangout together and do things."

Furthermore, Sergeant First Class Jack, who has been Active Army for 13 years, reported:

"We have a variety of social events that we attend. It kinda, you know, gets everybody together. Not only the service members, but their spouses and families, as

well. That's starting at the recruiting station level. We also have our company events that brings the whole company, as well as the battalion together at least once or twice a year to re-establish or reiterate the camaraderie, a spree décor, if you will."

Not Much Exposure to Interracial Contact

However, there were participants reported having not much exposure to interracial contact. Importantly, these participants were not opposed to interracial contact but did not have personal friendships with individuals of other races/ethnicities. Importantly, this does not have a direct effect of the length of service of the soldier. For example, Sergeant First Class Dave has been in the Army National Guard for 23 years. He said: "No; I do not have any friends."

RESEARCH QUESTION 3

The third research question asks: what is the role of "intensity" of interaction-for example during tours of duty-in shaping the experience of race relations in the military? An analysis of the interview transcripts relevant to this research question indicated the presence of seven themes.

Proven Loyalty in Intense Situations

Participants revealed that their friendship was often tested by an outside factor or influence. Proven loyalty in dangerous situations also attests to the level of sacrifice soldiers are willing to endure for their peers. Therefore, the importance of friendships cannot be taken lightly based on the perception of race in society. For example, society sees a person/race as a key factor in deciding to befriend and how to "relate" to this

person. Most of the respondents see race as a reality but not a deciding or influential

factor in deciding to befriend a person. Key factors that military members use to

determine the likelihood of friendship with others include shared interests and

compatibility. Soldiers have been in situations where detrimental things could have

happened to a fellow soldier if not under their friend's watchful eye. For example, Petty

Officer 3rd Class Mona reported:

"I have served in tense situations. It was just bringing a friend home; she was
really drunk. And one of the guys, (I don't know if I can say all of that; can I?). Bringing
a friend to the ship, she was kinda of intoxicated and one of the guys was trying to
basically, win her over. And I know she needed to go back to the ship and go to sleep.
And he got really mad at me 'cause I was basically trying to protect her. And he was--- I
think he was Hispanic. And he was yelling at me and fussing at me and everything. And
I just got upset about it. And so, it didn't really change my outlook on how I see
Hispanic people. I just saw him as that one person, who had an issue or he was
intoxicated. And he didn't need his anger how he was when he was intoxicated. So it
didn't change my attitude for Hispanics---didn't change because of that one person. It
just-I just realized he was not type person I need to deal with when he's intoxicated."

Act of War Strengthened Bond

Act of war strengthened bond indicates the reality of close association under

stressful times builds cohesion, mutual dependence, and respect. Participants often

reported that one of the goals during war is to ensure fellow soldiers are protected from

harm and will arrive home after the deployment. Sergeant Denubes and Staff Sergeant

Saber discussed their experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan. Both agreed that the act of

war strengthened bonds. Sergeant Denubes supports this claim as he said:

"Yes, I have served. I've been to two different deployments and---I think I've been kind of lucky with who I've been with where we all felt like we had each other's back. And----since your bond grows with those people that you are serving with, that's probably the biggest attitude change as opposed to being a stranger and then becoming a life-long buddy."

In addition, Staff Sergeant Saber recalls a memorable moment engaged in a

stressful situation with peers of different racial/ethnic backgrounds as he said:

"The intense situation was pretty much I got blown up. My attitude toward my comrades after that experience, if anything, you mean throughout the whole entire deployment, it's still---we grew together and----when it comes to change---change is all gonna come in time. And not slight or lower change has come, is all I'm trying to say. I mean, everything is always gradually building up for the better."

Another respondent, First Sergeant Rick supports, treating soldiers on an

egalitarian level where reward is the outcome of action and not by a socially defined

construct such as race/ethnicity. First Sergeant Rick explains his point of view as he said:

"When I was a First Sergeant in Iraq, I can honestly tell you that race relations didn't play any role at all. I treated every soldier the same regardless of race. The only intense situation during combat that I can recall is that we received some indirect fire and one of my soldiers was hit with shrapnel. He was Hispanic and I was first one on the scene. And I picked him up, took him to shelter. Treated him and I would have done it for, you know, no matter what race he was. So--- no."

Mutual Support and Protection Surpasses Racial Identity

Racial identity is perceived as an unnecessary distraction that is not relevant to completing the mission and neutralizing the enemy. Similarly, various respondents described their experiences and loyalty in offering mutual support and protection in the midst of intense situations. For example, Sergeant First Class Sim Dog said:

"Yeah, like I said I was deployed in 2004, 2005. My unit makeup, we had blacks, we had whites, we had Hispanics that was in the unit and like I said, we came under intense fire and, you know…several soldiers got injured, others got killed. But during the whole situation, I wasn't thinking about race at that time, you know. But if you're thinking about race at that time, you know, saying---you----maybe you're in the wrong field."

In addition, Staff Sergeant Jackson includes the fact that any racial discrimination and prejudice are seen as "additional barriers." In other words, getting to know someone on a personal level may be challenging in itself without interjecting biased beliefs based on a person's racial background. Staff Sergeant Jackson experience support this point as he said:

"Yes, I ---I've served in an intense situation, a few of them. When you're going through those things, you don't see different races, you just see---you just react, and with everybody reacting, there---again, there's a sigh of relief that, hey, what-what we're here to do actually pays off, and it works. We're all able to go home. So, in-in a since, those situations bring down those additional barriers that may be up. When it comes to different ethnicities and cultures and stuff like that."

Also, soldiers often times maintain friendships made during combat situations after the mission is complete. This is another indicator that friendships of substance

have a longevity indicative of mutual acceptance and support. Staff Sergeant Dusty

explains that some of his *"battle buddies"* in combat still have communication and

contact with each other to this day. He reported:

"Intense situations; of course, me being combat guy, we've been in many fire
fights, roadside bombs, getting mortared---we all-we all knew what our job was. You
know, if---if you know somebody got hurt whatever, we knew exactly what to do, … As
far as the racial ethnic---backgrounds, it-it didn't matter like I said before. I mean,
everybody knew their job. I will tell you that those guys that---you know, that I did get in
those intense situations for, I mean, they're still my friends 'til this day. So I mean, I talk
to them pretty much every single week, if not every other week."

Intensity of Collaboration Between Soldiers Results in Completed Mission

Respondents reported developing a deeper understanding and appreciation for

diversity and each other's personal contribution over time. The military is seen and

accepted as a valuable social institution where everyone's input and participation is

accepted and expected. This collaboration is essential to complete the assigned mission

whether it is in garrison (i.e non-combat environment) or in the midst of an actual

battle. The common denominator is that soldiers are expected to contribute their

particular expertise and talent. Sergeant First Class LSU complements this point as he

said:

"The only intense situation I could---I could really, remember being in is one in
recruiting. Where we-we were under the gun, we had to meet mission, things were
looking bad and, we all had to come together and pull through and get the job done.
So---I mean, in that situation, everybody---everybody played their part, played their part

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and we got---we -we got it done. We got the---we got the mission made and you know, it wasn't---it wasn't---it didn't have anything to do with race relations or anything, it was just about getting that done so we can enjoy our quality of life."

In comparison, Sergeant Powers revealed her experience in a hostile

environment as she said:

"Really can't think of anything during an intense situation, like that. Except maybe when I was in Germany as well, and, I needed to get on the base to help with a surgery and they want to do a full car search, but luckily since I knew one of the German guards that was working the gate and he knew me and could verify they were able to let me in because I explained to them that we had an emergent case with the bombing incident on-on the base for them to be able to let me on to be able to help save somebody."

Observed and Unwarranted Racial Bias Earns Empathy and Respect

A few soldiers witnessed how their fellow service members were recipients of

others' prejudice due to their race/ethnicity. Unfortunately, the military is not totally

void of individuals with prejudiced beliefs but these individuals are fewer in comparison

to the majority of military personnel that embrace diversity and racial inclusion. For

example, individuals are often empathetic because of experiencing or witnessing

another person experience the same or similar ordeal such as a family member. Soldiers

are not exempt from the realities of life so they empathize with their service members

particular minorities. Petty Officer 3rd Class Moore has been in close, personal

relationships with African American men and also has witnessed discrimination in the

Navy. She reveals her empathetic outlook as she said:

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"First Gulf War, would've been the most intense that---anything that I served in during that time. And again, I'll say that I took a new found respect for what-specially African American males what they have to go through in the Navy and -and put up with without being able to really have a say so or be able to-to say anything back without there being repercussions for their actions."

Importantly, Sergeant First Class Ann is not only Asian but a female in Active Army. She is in a sense a *"double minority".* This reference is given to soldiers as a result of their minority status in terms of race/ethnicity and gender. Sergeant First Class Ann illustrates her experience of how empathy is depicted in her outlook as she reported:

"Yeah, a lot time, believe or not, we do also work with 'em, you know, soldiers from Iraq background Arabic, background whatever you want to call it. And yeah, they're, I will definitely say that they are pretty much pigeon hole quite severely until you bring them in and let them know that you know, hey, you know, they're not like that. The person that's serving with you even though he's from, Arabic background, he--he is not like that. As long as you just----engage in talking, … you're gonna find out that he's just like anybody else."

Competence Regardless of Racial Background is Preferred During Intense Situations

The importance of competence affects the likelihood that soldiers will return home safely because of being proficient in their duties and aware of the enemy. The military strongly encourage soldiers to not only obtain a civilian education but attend military schools as well. As an Army officer, it is *"understood"* that one will have earned or at least pursuing a Master's Degree in the civilian sector and completes ILE (Intermediate Level Education) in the military. This would make the Army officer very competitive and increased their chances of upward mobility. However, a caveat is that

this is a general idea but more education and military schools is not frowned on by the Army in the least. It comes down to the vision and plan that the individual soldier has for their lives. The military seek educated and intelligent individuals because they have the ability to learn. Competence and learning have a direct relationship with each other and is in the greater good of the military as a whole. Therefore, competence is the ability to successfully perform your duty and this is very essential in a combat or intense situation. Sergeant First Class Smith explains his perspective on competence as he said:

"I've served where-we've-where you could be in danger every day and it's-it's not about the color of their skin, it's-it's can they do their job and I would take a lot of people that are not my background, you know, any day of the week. It doesn't have to be White, it doesn't have to be Black, it just has to be can you do your job? Are you competent and capable of-of performing your mission?"

Cannot Recall Intense Situation with Individuals in Various Racial Groups

However, there were participants reported having not much exposure to interracial contact in intense situations. Importantly, these participants were not opposed to interracial contact in intense situations but did not have those opportunities with individuals of other races/ethnicities. Various soldiers revealed that they had limited experience in an intense situation. For example, Staff Sergeant Ashley said: "At this time, I can't recall any intense situation with a particular ethnic group" and Sergeant Frank said: "No intense situations come to mind." In addition, Specialist Janet reiterated the fact of not being in an intense situation as she reported: "No, I haven't served during intense situations. Like war and stuff; so no."

THE CULTURAL OTHER

Although frequency and intensity of interaction (the differential association

predictions) did not seem to have had the anticipated effect, there emerged another

phenomenon; an effect I would like to call the individualization and humanization of the

"cultural other." Witness the following testimonies:

Common Belief in the Mission and Destiny

Various soldiers revealed their experiences while engaged in an intense situation

such as an act of war. Mutual dependence and support is imperative for soldiers to

return home. Therefore, trust and friendship is strengthened as soldiers encounter

these troublesome moments. For example, Sergeant First Class Jack, a Pacific Islander

male, said:

"I have, served in combat three times. I've been to Iraq, operation Iraqi
Freedom, twice and Operation Enduring Freedom, once. It true-it-it is truly a test of ah,
you know, knowing one another, living in close quarters, ah, being separated from your
loved ones for so long. And ah, you know, having each other's back at all times. Ah, *it*
brings-it, draws you closer as a team, as a unit and especially um, personally ah, as
well."

In addition, Staff Sergeant Jackson, an African American male, shared his

experience as he said:

"Yes, I ---I've served in an intense situation, a few of them. Um, attitudes after
that, ah, I guess was a bit of a relief ah, just because of what-what took place. Um,
when you're going through those things, you don't see different races, you just see---
you just react um, and with everybody reacting, there---again, there's a sigh of relief
that, hey, what-what we're here to do actually pays off, um, and it works. We're all

safe. We're all able to go home. Um, when it comes to different ethnicities and cultures and stuff like that."

Preference for Racially Heterogeneous Environment

Soldiers often reported enjoying a heterogeneous background with their peers

of other races/ethnicities. These shared moments include becoming familiar with each

other's culture and traditions such as food preparation, religious worship, music

preference, and so forth. For example, Petty Officer 3rd Class Moore, a Caucasian

female, supported this fact as she said:

"I do. Um, actually, I'm more comfortable in that environment than I am, I would say, with my own race. Simply because I've spent so much time in relationships, especially with African American males where I'm more comfortable in an environment where there's more African Americans than there are whites simply because *I'm more free to be who I really am* versus trying to appease somebody else's beliefs."

Emergence of Individuals Representing Themselves and not Their Racial/Ethnic Group

The military is a diverse social institution where individuals of various

racial/ethnic backgrounds are bound together with a common purpose. In doing so,

strong bonds are created as a result of frequent, personal contact the soldiers have with

each other. However, soldiers are still individuals with particular preferences regardless

of their racial/ethnic background. Sergeant Jim, a Caucasian male, shares this sentiment

as he said:

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"Sure, I've been under fire and believe my TC [Troop Commander] was Hispanic. I've been--- [hit with] IDs [IEDs] same... same crew. And at-[attitude]... *it didn't really change*---it was-that was the Sergeant … and Sergeant …, we were friends, it wasn't---I mean, from a racial standpoint, my attitude toward them didn't change, cause I really didn't care what his race was other than he liked Tejano Music and I can't stand it. But (laughs) beyond that, ah, there's not ah, you know, I didn't have an attitude towards Hispanics because---you know---the change---because of that."

Empathy for Other People's Personal Reality

Empathy was found to be one of the strong points of participants in this study.

For example, military members in this study enlisted to protect citizen's lifestyle and

freedoms. This sacrifice is particularly special because the "cost" of freedom may be the

soldier's life. Therefore, soldiers are not a novice to helping the less fortunate and

comforting the oppressed. For example, Sergeant First Class Ann, an Asian female, said:

"Yeah, a lot time, believe or not, we do also work with soldiers from Iraq background Arabic background whatever you want to call it. … I will definitely say that they are pretty much pigeon hole[d]. The person that's serving with you even though he's from Arabic background, he is not like that. As long as you engage in talking…you're gonna find out that he's just like anybody else."

In addition, Sergeant Powers, a Caucasian female, had a similar sentiment as she said:

"… I was in Germany, we had to treat the wounded and a very good experience, I remember, had to do with a few guys, they didn't know our language; we had to have translators for them. … you saw how regardless of who the person was, that that person was in pain. This poor guy end[ed] up having to get his leg amputated and he was trying to ask me in his language and his facial expressions on am I going to lose my leg, and just looking at me. And it was just sad seeing that 'cause he was a human and to see that he was going through that struggle, but there was nobody [to] translate that time. It was

just a sad experience, but at the same time, you could tell he was grateful that we were helping take care of him too because then he wouldn't have to be in pain anymore."

Diverse Racial Backgrounds Blur Racial Boundaries

Diversity in the military is seen as a natural component to any progressive institution. Soldiers often report having more and sustained friendships with their peers who are of different racial/ethnic backgrounds. For example, Sergeant Bob, an Asian male, supports this fact as he said:

"I have friends that since---outside my ethnicity. Ah, we---I feel like you know they---I treated---I got treated just the way they would treat each other. *Like a regular person* just no racial boundaries."

Friendships Flourishing with Strangers

Often times, individuals joining the military do not have prior knowledge of each other. So these individuals join the military and meet others with the same purpose of protecting the United States "way of life." Each soldier has different reasons for joining the military but all soldiers can agree that this decision may literally "cost" them their lives. Nevertheless, soldiers accept and complement each other's difference and similarities while sustaining an authentic friendship with those of other racial/ethnic backgrounds. For example, Sergeant Denubes, a Caucasian male, said:

"Yes, I have served. I've been to two different deployments and---I think I've been kind of lucky with who I've been with where we all felt like *we had each other's back.* And----since your bond grows with those people that you are serving with, that's

probably the biggest attitude change as opposed to being a stranger and then *becoming a life-long buddy."*

In addition, Specialist Townsend, an African American male, shared a similar

sentiment as he said:

"Yeah; almost all my friends are of a different race than I am. And ah, like, I just---*I just feel like they're, you know, like my brothers,* basically. Ah, color of skin doesn't really matter. Um, yeah, a lot of my friends are different races than African American."

CONCLUSION

This chapter reviewed significant findings in relation to interracial contact,

frequency, and intensity. Interracial contact has been found to lead to frequent,

personal contact leads to mutual understanding and rapport. Participants came to

identify each other as more than mere associates. Their bond is considered similar to

biological kinships in strength, intensity, and importance. Respondents reported that

frequent personal contact leads to mutual understanding and support. Participants

reported that sharing a memorable experience with their peer strengthened collegiality

and trust. Proven loyalty in dangerous situations also attests to the level of sacrifice

soldiers are willing to endure for their peers. Therefore, the importance of friendships

cannot be taken lightly based on the perception of race in society.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The first section summarizes the most significant findings. This is followed by a

discussion of findings in the context of the United States military and race relations. The

third section discusses central implications. The fourth section discusses limitations and

the final section offers suggestions for future research.

SUMMARY

This study explores soldiers' racial experiences in an ethnically diverse military. It

examines the exposure to interracial contact as a factor in minimizing stereotypical

negative perceptions, particularly against minorities. I have used the attitudes and

experiences of soldiers from different racial and ethnic backgrounds to explore the

contact hypothesis that posits interacting with ethnically diverse individuals in an

inclusive, supportive environment will reduce prejudice to the extent that being

"different" is no longer seen as being deficient.

This work also assesses personal experiences of soldiers when involved in

interracial inclusion and asks if this contact alleviates racial conflicts that result from

previously held negative stereotypical beliefs or prejudicial feelings. This is affirmed in

the fact that Service members are involved in personal, interracial friendships,

interracial relationships/marriages, and absence of serious racial conflicts occurring in the military.

The military satisfies all four conditions of Allport's Contact Hypothesis. Individuals enter the military with equal status as an enlistee. Basic Combat Training (BCT), commonly referred to as Basic Training is experienced by all new recruits regardless of race, religion, ethnicity, gender and ethnicity. Second, the military fosters an environment of camaraderie that is undergirded by a sense of shared risk and common destiny. Third, the military reinforces the idea of teamwork and group cohesion. Tasks are often assigned that require group effort. The military utilizes the combined talents of its service members regardless of racial and ethnic origin. Fourth, the military has a strong equal opportunity policy.

This study addressed three primary questions concerning soldiers' personal experiences with peers of other races and ethnicities in the military. The research questions were as follows: 1.) What is the role of interracial contact in the military on race relations?, 2.) What is the role of "duration" in shaping the experience of race relations?, and 3.) What is the role of "intensity" in shaping the experience of race relations?

Interracial contact was found to impact the experience of race relations in a positive way. However, duration and intensity were not found to have an appreciable impact on race relations in the U.S. military. In other words, the 2-year veteran reported

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the same positive feelings as the 29-year veterans. Veterans who worked together in theater (i.e. combat) or garrison (i.e. unit) did not report having necessarily better positive attitudes towards cultural others in the military. In other words, what Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey called "differential association" effect was not observed.

However, quite a different and unexpected impact emerged. Interracial contact caused people of various racial and ethnic backgrounds to advance beyond those barriers. I have called this effect *"humanization and individuation of the cultural other."* Specific attitudes were formed that illustrated the fact that soldiers were developing a personal, informal relationship with each other akin to that of a "family." The following section elaborates on this issue in additional detail.

DISCUSSION

Common awareness of mission and destiny fostered soldiers' dependence on their comrades in intense moments. In these difficult times, self-preservation is often eclipsed by unselfish dedication. Soldiers are usually deployed as strangers or, at best, respectful associates. But a transition takes place in the midst of training and working together or turmoil and war that strengthens bonds of camaraderie, and dispels negative, stereotypical images. Soldiers often sum up their feelings of experiencing dangerous times with a fellow service member as a "sigh of relief." Ethnicity and racial background becomes insignificant in comparison to arriving home alive. In other words,

barriers such as race/ethnicity are seen as an unnecessary distraction. There is a shared sense of responsibility, purpose, duty, and loyalty that are expressed in more than mere words or homecoming parades. This bond is shared by a group of men and women who subscribe to the Warrior's Ethos of the U.S. Army of "never leaving a fallen comrade."

This expressed preference for a racially heterogeneous environment denotes the participants in this study willingness to defy long held racial traditions. Societal norms regarding race relations are often more conservative and traditional compared to the ethos of the military. For example, interracial marriages/relationships are not negatively stigmatized and discouraged compared to the civilian sector. Therefore, there tends to be personal, genuine friendships of inclusiveness and acceptance where racial identity is seen as a natural aspect of one's existence. Soldiers in this study prefer a diverse, heterogeneous environment that allows the importance of personal growth and social understanding by conversing about the issue of race with allies and friends.

Emergence of individuals representing themselves and not their racial/ethnic group alludes to the strength of authentic friendship. For example, soldiers may have differences in music choice, political affiliation, or social issues with their fellow service members. These differences are realities of life and exist because individuals have varied experiences. However, soldiers are more than their racial/ethnic classification or their political and religious views. This shared loyalty discourages racial tension or hostility compared to the civilian sector. Importantly, the military creates an

atmosphere and a social environment in which diversity and inclusiveness is not only accepted but revered as the norm. This inclusiveness sustains a friendly environment where misunderstandings can be discussed and addressed without backlash or fear of retaliation. These soldiers have a vested interest in maintaining open communication while engaging in honest dialogue.

Empathy for other people's personal reality reveals that individuals have undergone unique experiences with palpable consequences. Soldiers in this study often reported experiencing a *"social awakening"* when recounting, in vivid detail, sharing a peer's hurt, pain, disappointment, and misfortune. This willingness to share and desire to alleviate another person's miseries is a catalyst for deeper commitment and loyalty that cannot be understood in the traditional, individualistic sense. The above mentioned allegiance between peers, comrades, and friends eschews out of the fire of distrust and misunderstanding and emerges as a phoenix of valor that can flourish and last throughout the difficult times of boredom, hardship, misfortune and catastrophe. Interviews suggested that military personnel are not only trained to support each other in combat but are primed to develop lasting interpersonal relationships. Bonds become stronger when there is a shared sense of purpose and vision. Importantly, soldiers in this study cited various situations in which they empathized with the weary and constructively engaged in core emotional and psychological health of the other person.

Diverse racial backgrounds blur racial boundaries; and inclusion promotes an

environment of social equality. Soldiers in this study often indicated that *"looking past

skin color"* liberated them from the negative stigma of traditional reaction to race

relations. This freedom from social expectation is mostly derived from the fact that

soldiers in general are enabled to free their minds from the chains of *"mental slavery"*

to generational and social segregation. Significantly, eradicating racial boundaries

destroys an *"unseen"* enemy along with any sentiment of division or inequality.

Friendships with strangers mean that bonds have grown from the proverbial

darkness of social distance. The forming of fictive kinship in some instances established

bonds that surpass the strength of traditional or biological kinship. This is a product of

active participation of willing parties. Sincere and personal friendships forged in the

military reduce combat stress, rigors of service, and incorrigible behavior; and thus

provide a surrogate family for the vested service members. Soldiers in this study often

referred to close friends as "battle buddies" who monitors their behavior to ensure it

falls within the confines of social norms and establish an inclusive union between

individuals sharing common bonds that may be stronger than lineal ancestry.

IMPLICATIONS

The findings have specific implications for theory. Specifically the combination of

the Social Learning Theory and the Contact Hypothesis can lend a needed understanding

of how the Contact Hypothesis works. It can help because there is a learning process

when individuals of different backgrounds associate with others in sustained, personal contact. Implementing the Social Learning Theories with the Contact Hypothesis would be an effective approach in the development of race relations. The Social Learning Theories and Contact Hypothesis deal with individuals who evolve from mere associates to close friends. Combining these two theories explains the bonds among soldiers in a combat environment.

The findings have a specific implication for practice which can begin in Basic Training. Drill Sergeants (DS) can place individuals of various races/ethnicities into groups or pairs to complete assigned trainings and missions. This will promote soldiers learning about each other's culture and begin the process of individualization and humanization of the "cultural other."

Importantly, findings from my study are in support of other studies relating to the Contact Hypothesis. For example, Bianchi & Tropp (2006) suggest that individuals often attempt to relate to members of other status groups in order to build a bridge to better understanding and greater positive relations. Also, findings of this study supported the importance of a higher authority having a positive impact on improving and legitimizing race relations. For example, Grant-Thompson and Wittig (1998) found that support given by authorities (e.g. teachers, facilitators, other role models), strengthens norms and expectations that the groups will interact positively. In their study, the target participants were given equal status within the situation. Cooperative

interdependence was fostered that encouraged working together to achieve a common

goal. In addition, the present research supports the idea of inclusion and

multiculturalism. This type of diversity and cultural acceptance is not only reflective of

the United States values but it promotes better understanding among citizens

historically plagued by mistrust. Song (2009) has proved the superiority of the idea of

"multiculturalism" over "assimilation" as the norm. The United States is becoming a

multiracial nation in which each ethnicity has a right to practice its own cultural values

and traditions while respecting others. More research should be focused on group

incorporation and integration instead of assimilation. Learning each other's cultural

norms will lead to a sense of solidarity, acceptance, and inclusiveness.

LIMITATIONS

As mentioned at the outset, data were collected in a manner that precludes

generalizing to a larger population of armed forces and to other branches of the

military. Also, Privates and Officers were excluded from this survey. Privates were

excluded based on their lack of interracial contact in the military which will prohibit

them from providing in-depth experience in an ethnically diverse military. Officers were

excluded because of being primarily "managers" or leaders that are trained for success

of the mission and the overall organization (i.e. unit, troop, and squadron) and because

they are prohibited to "fraternize" with their subordinates. They are less likely to have

regular interaction with soldiers. Nevertheless, this omission may have an adverse effect on the research. This omission points the way to future research.

Finally, what social scientists (Winch 1958, Burawoy 1998, Gilgin 1998) have called "Individual reflexivity," may have had an effect on the findings. For example, my ranking membership in the military and my race as an African-American are personal and professional influences that despite steps I have taken to remain impartial may have influenced my subjects' responses.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This research could be replicated by other researchers to include officers and privates. Participants expressed their opinion that more minority women representation in higher Commissioned Officer and Non Commissioned Officer ranks would be beneficial. More minority women should be promoted to higher ranks in the military compared to their male counterparts. Increasing minority women's presence in higher ranks has a positive impact on public opinion by reflecting diversity and the United States belief of equality. In-depth interviews can be used to explore the sentiment of minority women in higher ranks in the military. The Contact Hypothesis promotes more effective race/ethnic relations. The military has various Branches (i.e. Combat Arms, Combat Support, and Combat Service Support) that are accessible to soldiers of different races and ethnicities. Therefore, more minorities should be in Combat Arms position to increase the likelihood of promotion thus creating similar dynamics in higher

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ranks. In-depth interviews should be used to find if similar race relations exist among minority soldiers and their peers in Combat Arms positions.

Many participants in this study have high regards for the Equal Opportunity (EO) Program and annual briefings over such issues as diversity, religious tolerance, sexual harassment, and sexual orientation. The Contact Hypothesis has traditionally been appraised using intergroup contact between African Americans and Caucasians. This can be done using a qualitative approach within in-depth interviews. This research is important because racial and ethnic groups other than African Americans seek to be integrated in the dominant culture.

Finally, research (Katel 2009) reveals that 7 in 10 Americans favor allowing gays to openly serve in the military. Since the institution of "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy, gay recruitment in the military has increased by 26% (Katel 2009). The repeal of that policy is likely to increase gay recruitment even further. It may be advantageous to replicate this study by applying the Contact Hypothesis to the process of integration of gay soldiers' in the military through using face-to-face, in-depth interviews.

EPILOGUE

The thought of joining the military was prompted because of a business card I received from a Navy recruiter. This was the beginning of a 12-year journey as a United States Service member. I began to research the advantages and disadvantages of Army, Navy and Marine Corps. I decided to join the military because of the opportunities it offered for my educational ambitions. I was also encouraged by the prospects of personal development, and building diverse, egalitarian interpersonal relationships. After taking all the facts into consideration, I decided to join the Arkansas Army National Guard on June 2000. Basic Combat Training (BCT) in Fort Benning (i.e. Columbus), Georgia and Advanced Individual Training (AIT) in Fort Gordon (i.e. Augusta), taught me fundamental soldiering skills and an occupational specialty as a Communications Security (COMSEC) Repairer. More importantly, this experience confirmed my hope that racial and ethnic identity was not an impediment to one's progress in the military.

In my experience, the military's structure creates an environment in which teamwork, competence, and Espirit de Corps are important factors in maintaining a unified fighting force. Therefore, I felt I was part of an elite organization that discourages individuality but promotes team effort and joint success. This fact further satisfied my innate desire for equality, diversity, and camaraderie. Unlike the civilian sector, military bases are arenas of interracial friendships and romantic relationships.

These relationships are not discouraged or seen as taboo because race and ethnicity are not salient in the military. Therefore, individuals are *"free"* to befriend or love each other without the negative connotations, still present in the civilian sector. I jokingly inform individuals that the military is a *"hot spot"* for interracial romance, particularly for minorities. Also, the military, unlike the civilian sector highlights a soldiers' rank, rather than his or her race, as a *"badge of social status."* In other words, a soldier's rank decides the opportunities, privileges, and advantages that the individual will enjoys.

After receiving my commission as an Army Officer in May 2007 and graduating from OBC (Officer Basic Course) as an Engineer Officer in November 2008, I began to appreciate the advantages of an officer's position compared to that of an enlisted soldier. This opportunity came with new responsibilities as well as rewards and privileges. Immediately, I received *"command"* opportunities and certain benefits like further military schoolings, access to resources, higher pay, and personal quarters. Overall, joining the military is a decision with which I am well-pleased and do not expect to reverse until retirement.

In Freemasonry, a fraternal society to which I also belong for similar reasons there is a saying that "brothers meet on the level and part on the square." These specific working tools of ancient freemasons that is, level and square have a symbolic significance that connote equality and respect toward fellow Brothers and Mankind. This principle also holds for the military members' experiences of accepting their peers

as unique, yet accepted individuals rather than distant strangers. I received my 3rd

degree as a Free & Accepted-Prince Hall Mason on March 1996. This journey was

inspired by the idea of brotherhood, community service, and by the fact that

Freemasonry's tenets coincide with the principles of Christianity, a religion I practice.

For example, Freemasonry teaches that Brothers should assist and extend brotherly love

toward one another and toward Mankind. This idea resonates with the commandment

of Christ: "we should love our neighbors as ourselves" (Matthew 22: 39 King James

Version). Also, Jesus Christ enjoined: "what you do for the least of my Brothers, you do

unto me" (Matthew 25:40 King James Version). Prince Hall Masonry is predominately

African American but it is open to qualified men regardless of their racial and ethnic

background. My "Lodge" (where masons meet and conduct initiations) has inducted

Caucasian brothers into the organizations because brotherly love, not race, is the tenet

of true friendship. This further strengthened my bond with the organization and the

Brothers. I am confident that Freemasonry promotes positive race relations and

supports principles that are also revered in Christianity.

The above sentiment is also shared by my Beloved Alpha Phi Alpha Brother

Sydney P. Brown's poem entitled *House of Alpha.* It begins with, "Goodwill is the

monarch of this house, men unacquainted, enter, shake hands, exchange greetings and

depart friends." This poem encompasses the importance of establishing friendships and

building life bonds with "familial" ties. I have been a member of Alpha Phi Alpha since

December 4, 1994. This date is especially important because the organization was founded on December 4, 1906. Being a member introduced me to Alpha Brothers from various racial/ethnic backgrounds and regions. I have been accepted with open arms and reciprocated regardless of my interlocutor's racial identity. Like Prince Hall Masonry, Alpha Phi Alpha is a predominately African American intercollegiate fraternity but it is open to men of all racial and ethnic backgrounds. I find the same receptivity to diversity in the military. I am proud to be a member of the above mentioned organizations that promote brotherly love, racial inclusion, and Christian principles.

Although I embarked upon researching and writing this dissertation without any particular expectations and predelictions, I am gratified that Gordon Allport's Contact Hypothesis is tested and proven in the military's egalitarian and interracial atmosphere. I am also delighted that beyond mere tolerance and civility among military personnel, the reader of this essay is afforded a glimpse of what I have termed: "individuation and humanization of the cultural other" in the wake of the establishment of an environment of racial and ethnic equality in the military.

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Appendix A

What is the Role of Interracial Contact in the Military on Race Relations?

Interracial Contact in the Military on Race Relations (Table 1)

	Good Relations	Poor Relations
High Contact	Rick Moore Tiger Powers Mona Moore Ann Jack LSU Rodriguez Sim Dog Smith Supertrooper Bob Denumbis Frank Jim John Janst Townsend Ashley Dusty Jackson JoJo Saber	
Low Contact	Dave Nicole	

Appendix B

RQ 2: What is the Role of "Frequency" in Shaping the Experience of Race Relations?

Frequency of Contact in the Military on Race Relations (Table 1)

	Good Relations	Poor Relations
Under 5 Years	Frank (2) Janet (2) Mona (3) Moore (3) Townsend (3) Nicole (4)	
5-10 Years	Bob (5) Jon (5) Denubes (7) Dusty (7) Saber (8) Moore (9) Ashley (10)	

Note: ( ) denotes exact number of years in service.

Frequency of Contact in the Military on Race Relations (Table 2)

	Good Relations	Poor Relations
11-15 Years	Jim (11) Ann (13) Jack (13) Powers (13) Jackson (13) JoJo (13)	
16-20 Years	LSU (16) Sim Dog (16) Tiger (18) Rodriguez (19)	

Note: ( ) denotes exact number of years in service.

Frequency of Contact in the Military on Race Relations (Table 3)

	Good Relations	Poor Relations
More Than 20 Years	Dave (23) Supertrooper (23) Rick (24) Smith (29)	

Note: ( ) denotes exact number of years in service.

Appendix C

RQ 3: What is the Role of "Intensity" in Shaping the Experience of Race Relations?

Intensity of Contact in the Military on Race Relations (Table 1)

	Good Relations	Poor Relations
Intense	Rick Mona Moore Ann Dave Jack Sim Dog Smith Supertrooper Bob Denubes Nicole Townsend Dusty Jackson JoJo Saber Jim	
Not Intense	Tiger LSU Rodriguez Frank Jon Moore Powers Janet Ashley	

Interview Schedule

1.) What sex are you?

2.) Are you retired, separated, or currently serving in the armed forces?

3.) What was/is your branch of service and component?

4.) What was/is your pay grade and rank?

5.) What was/is your length of service?

6.) Where are/have you served?

7.) What race do you consider yourself? African-American, Anglo-American, Asian American, Hispanic, Native American, or Other, Specify.

8.) What sorts of socializing have you done or do with service members of other races/ethnicities who are in your unit or places of employment?

9.) How did/does your military installation or place of employment deal with ethnic/racial relations?

10.) In your opinion, have race relations gotten better or worse in the military? How has it gotten better or worse?

11.) Has being in the military changed your perception on race relations? If so, how?

12.) How do you feel being around service members who are of races/ethnicities different from yours?

13.) Do you have friends of a different race/ethnicity with whom you socialize in your home/quarters or when not on duty? Is so, how do you feel being around those individuals?

14.) In your opinion, have opportunities gotten better or worse for minority Service members in the military? What factors caused it to get better or worse?

15.) Did your outlook on race relations change after engaging in a mission that built troop cohesion and morale? If so, did your attitude toward your comrades change after that experience?

16.) Did any of your experiences in race relations change after basic training? If so, did your attitude toward your comrades change after that experience?

17.) Did any of your experiences in race relations change after service academies or military schools? If so, did your attitude toward your comrades change after that experience?

18.) Have you served during a military campaign such as war engaged in by the United States military? If so, did your attitude toward your comrades change after that experience?

19.) Have you served during intense situations with members of other racial/ethnic groups? If so, did your attitude toward your comrades change after that experience?

20.) How do you compare the military ethnic/racial environment with that of the society in general?

21.) Based on your experience, are there any policies or procedures that could be corrected or added to improve the inter-ethnic/racial relations in the military?

22.) Is there anything relevant to this issue that I have not asked, and you want to discuss?

Appendix D

IRB Letter

TWU
TEXAS WOMAN'S UNIVERSITY
DENTON DALLAS HOUSTON

October 31, 2011

Mr. Damon J. Bullock
P.O. Box 424141
Denton, TX 76204

Dear Mr. Bullock:

Re: *The Contact Hypothesis and Racial Diversity in the United States Military (Protocol #: 16815)*

The above referenced study has been reviewed by the TWU Institutional Review Board (IRB) and appears to meet our requirements for the protection of individuals' rights.

If applicable, agency approval letters must be submitted to the IRB upon receipt PRIOR to any data collection at that agency. A copy of the approved consent form with the IRB approval stamp and a copy of the annual/final report are enclosed. Please use the consent form with the most recent approval date stamp when obtaining consent from your participants. The signed consent forms and final report must be filed with the Institutional Review Board at the completion of the study.

This approval is valid one year from October 31, 2011. Any modifications to this study must be submitted for review to the IRB using the Modification Request Form. Additionally, the IRB must be notified immediately of any unanticipated incidents. If you have any questions, please contact the TWU IRB.

Sincerely,

Dr. Kathy DeOrnellas, Chair
Institutional Review Board - Denton

enc.

cc. Dr. James Williams, Department of Sociology & Social Work
     Dr. Mahmoud Sadri, Department of Sociology & Social Work
     Graduate School

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