**Technical Paper 340** 

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# RAPS 2--AN ABRIDGED VERSION OF THE RACIAL ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS SURVEY

Francis E. O'Mara and William Tierney

ARI FIELD UNIT AT PRESIDIO OF MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

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20. (continued)

Since the Incidence of Discriminatory Behavior (IDB) section of the RAPS was designed for item-by-item analysis, it was not possible to shorten it without reducing its scope. The other major section of the RAPS, the Racial Perceptions Inventory (RPI), became the focus of the abridgment procedure because its principal purpose is the determination of a summary score for each of the four scales included in this section. A subset of items was chosen from each of the RPI scales in such a way as to maximize the predictability of the appropriate scale score that was provided by each item and that was independent of that provided by the rest of the items in the scale. The validity of the resulting abridged scales was determined by calculating the correlation between subjects' scores on the full and on the abridged scales for each of two samples drawn from different Army installations at different times.

The results of this analysis indicated high agreement between the two versions of the scales. Inspection of the internal consistency measures of the abridged scales indicates some attenuation. However, the pattern of the results indicates that this may be largely due to sample differences or to the "aging" of the RAPS rather than to any major psychometric deficiencies of the abridged scales. In sum, the abridged RAPS appears to be a suitable alternative to the unabridged version, and one that, when used properly, would complement the use of the complete instrument.

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**Technical Paper 340** 

# RAPS 2--AN ABRIDGED VERSION OF THE RACIAL ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS SURVEY

Francis E. O'Mara, Army Research Institute

and

William Tierney, U.S. Army

James A. Thomas, Work Unit Leader

# ARI FIELD UNIT AT PRESIDIO OF MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA

Submitted as complete and technically accurate, by: Jack J. Sternberg Field Unit Chief Approved By:

E. Ralph Dusek, Director INDIVIDUAL TRAINING AND PERFORMANCE RESEARCH LABORATORY

Joseph Zeidner TECHNICAL DIRECTOR

U.S. ARMY RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR THE BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES 5001 Eisenhower Avenue, Alexandria, Virginia 22333

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#### FOREWORD

In 1973 the Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences (ARI) responded to requirements from the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Manpower & Reserve Affairs) and the Army Chief of Staff for Research and Development by developing the Racial Attitudes and Perceptions Survey (RAPS) for assessing racial climate at Army installations. ARI Technical Papers 338 and 339 describe the RAPS development and utilization. Subsequent research at the ARI Field Unit at Presidio of Monterey, Calif., has produced a shorter version of the RAPS described in this report.

Research was conducted under Army Project 2Q763744A769, in support of requirements of the Office of Equal Opportunity Programs of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel (DAPE-HRR).

Technical Director

RAPS 2--AN ABRIDGED VERSION OF THE RACIAL ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS SURVEY

#### BRIEF

#### Requirement:

To develop an abridged, alternate version of the Racial Attitudes and Perceptions Survey (RAPS) for use by unit commanders at the division or installation level.

#### Procedure:

A subset of items was selected from the RAPS to minimize the number of items used, while keeping constant the underlying concepts measured by the RAPS subscales. The validity of the abridged scales was determined by calculating the correlation between subjects' scores on both scales for each of two samples drawn from different Army installations at different times. The reliability of the abridged instrument was ascertained through the calculation of each subscale's coefficient alpha.

#### Findings:

There was high agreement between the scale obtained with the abridged RAPS and those obtained with the original version.

The internal consistency measures of the abridged scales were lower than those for the full scales. However, the pattern of results indicates that this may be largely due to sample differences or to the "aging" of the RAPS rather than to any psychometric deficiency in the abridged scales.

#### Utilization of Findings:

The use of the abridged version--RAPS 2--will permit more frequent measurement of a unit's racial climate without imposing a large burden on the unit's personnel resources. RAPS 2--AN ABRIDGED VERSION OF THE RACIAL ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS SURVEY

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# RAPS 2--AN ABRIDGED VERSION OF THE RACIAL ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS SURVEY

In 1973, the Army Research Institute (ARI) was tasked by the Office of the Chief of Research and Development, Department of the Army, to develop an instrument that would provide a reliable and valid assessment of the racial climate at a military installation. Such an instrument was seen as essential to provide commanders with the minimal information necessary for evaluation of the nature and scope of racial problems in their units; it could also assess the impact of a unit's race relations programs. In response to this assignment, the Racial Attitudes and Perceptions Survey (RAPS) was developed by ARI through a contract to a private research organization.<sup>1</sup> Subsequent to its development and field testing throughout the Department of Defense, the RAPS has continued to be the subject of research and refinement by ARI on an in-house basis. This report describes research designed to make the RAPS a more effective and efficient management tool.

#### BACKGROUND

The RAPS is divided into two sections: the Racial Perceptions Inventory (RPI) and the Incidence of Discriminatory Behaviors (IDB). These sections differ in the level of abstraction at which they measure racial attitudes and perceptions. The RPI measures generalized racial attitudes and perceptions independent of an installation's racial climate. This measurement is important because these attitudes and perceptions are the target of many of the Army's race relations educational efforts. The IDB attempts to measure individual perceptions of the racial climate at a specific installation. It does this by asking subjects to report the frequency with which various racially related incidents and practices occur.

# Racial Perceptions Inventory

Previous analyses with the RAPS (Hiett et al., 1974) have shown that the RPI section contains the following four factors or scales.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Hiett, R. L., McBride, R. S., & Fiman, B. G. Measuring the Impact of Race Relations Programs in the Military, McLean, Va.: Human Sciences Research, Inc., March 1974.

1. <u>Perceived Discrimination Toward Blacks (PDB)</u>. The items loading on this factor tap perceptions of the amount of racial discrimination that exists in the treatment of black personnel in specific areas of military life. The following RPI questions are examples of this factor:

- 35. Whites get away with breaking rules that blacks are punished for.
- 10. Blacks get more extra work details than whites.

2. Attitudes Toward Racial Interaction (ATI). Items loading on this factor measure the attitude of being favorably or unfavorably oriented toward interaction with people of different races, both in the military and in society in general. For example,

- 28. Blacks and whites would be better off if they lived and worked only with people of their own races.
- 37. Blacks and whites should mix together only while they're on duty.

3. <u>Feelings of Reverse Racism (FRR)</u>. The items that load on this factor measure the perception that whites feel threatened by or are fearful of blacks and that black personnel are treated more favorably than white personnel. For example,

- 2. With the same education and skills, black soldiers get better treatment than whites.
- 18. Blacks get extra advantages at this installation.

4. <u>Racial Climate (RC)</u>. The items in this factor measure perceptions of the quality of race relations in the Army and of the Army's level of commitment to racial harmony. For example,

- 12. The Army is firmly committed to the principle of equal opportunity.
- 27. Race relations in the Army are good.

#### Incidence of Discriminatory Behaviors

The IDB section differs from the RPI section in psychometric philosophy as well as in content. An assumption underlying the development of this section was that the commander who uses the RAPS would be interested in each area of discrimination and racial conflict measured by this instrument. Therefore, in contrast to the RPI, the unit of analysis for the IDB is not a global score derived through the aggregation of responses to a group of items, but rather is the responses given to each item, taken individually. It would presumably be of little use to a commander to have a low overall IDB score if hidden in this score was the report of a strong prevalence of a single discriminatory practice in his command.

Given this orientation, factor analytic techniques were not used in the development of the IDB. However, the 42 items that constitute this section were categorized topically into the following four groups:

1. <u>Racial Harassment</u>. Items in this group concern verbal abuse or physical intimidation directed toward members of other racial groups. For example, the following questions are included in the IDB:

- 7. I hear whites on this installation making insulting remarks about the hairstyles, music, or food preferences of blacks.
- 102. I see blacks on this installation harassing or excluding whites from facilities open to all.

2. <u>System Treatment</u>. This section contains items dealing with the occurrence of discrimination directed toward whites and blacks at different facilities on the installation. For example,

- 73. I see whites who work in offices like finance, disbursement, or transportation providing whites with better service than they do for blacks.
- I see whites receiving discriminatory treatment at military facilities (such as the exchange, commissary, or service clubs).

3. <u>Supervisory Treatment</u>. This group of items measures the incidence of discrimination by supervisors toward subordinates of a different race. For example,

- 76. I see white supervisors giving blacks less credit for good performance than they give to whites.
- 80. I see black supervisors pass whites over for training opportunities for which they are qualified.

4. <u>Self-Segregation</u>. These items measure the degree to which personnel associate strictly with members of their own race. For example,

- 70. Whites on my job stick together.
- 87. During off-duty hours, I see blacks spending time with just blacks.

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#### PROBLEM

A major problem of the RAPS is the amount of time it requires. Experience has shown that the total administration time is approximately 1 to  $1-\frac{1}{2}$  hours, although on occasion the time required is as much as 2 hours. Although this usually is not an extensive period and is comparable to that required by most comprehensive attitude surveys, it would be desirable to reduce the time required. Reduction of time would make the RAPS less costly to a commander, and the survey could therefore be used more frequently. Further, any shortening of the RAPS would also reduce subject fatigue and maximize subject attention and cooperation.

Therefore, the objective of this research was to develop an abridged, alternate version of the RAPS for use by unit commanders.

#### METHOD

A primary concern when modifying scales is the way in which the scale will be used. This is especially true in the case of the abridgment of a scale, since some information will be lost. It is important to insure that the discarded information is not essential to the intended application of the scale.

In the abridgment of the RAPS, it was assumed that the primary purpose of the RPI section was the estimation of scores on each of the four scales (PDB, ATI, FRR, RC) for various subgroups of the surveyed population (e.g., whites, blacks). Thus, it was assumed that the pattern of responses to any particular item on the RPI would be only of secondary importance to the user. Given these assumptions, the task of reducing the RPI becomes primarily the elimination of those items that do not make a substantial independent contribution to the prediction of a given scale score. Ideally, what would be desired for each of the four RPI scales would be a small number of items, each maximally correlated with the appropriate scale score and also minimally correlated with each other. The large correlation that each item would have with the scale score would be indicative of the degree of predictability of the scale score afforded by that item; the low intercorrelations would insure that the increment of predictability provided by each item would be independent of that provided by the rest.

The 42 items in the IDB, on the other hand, were designed to measure the perceived frequency of a particular racially related incident or practice at an installation. Therefore, reducing this section would limit its scope rather than minimize redundancy. Hence, the effort to reduce the size of the RAPS was confined to an abridgment of the RPI.

### Sample

The data used for this research were obtained through the administration of the RAPS to a sample of 7th Infantry Division personnel at Fort Ord, Calif., during the period 30 June to 3 July 1975. The sample consisted of 505 permanent-basis military personnel. The composition of this sample by race and grade is shown in Table 1. A second group of 1,500 personnel who were administered the RAPS at Fort Hood, Tex., in 1974 was used as a cross-validation sample.

# Table 1

|           |       |       | Racial                            | ethnic gr            | oup   |       |      |
|-----------|-------|-------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|-------|-------|------|
| Rank      | White | Black | Spanish-<br>American <sup>a</sup> | Pacific <sup>b</sup> | Other | Total | 8    |
| E1-E3     | 93    | 82    | 15                                | 4                    | 18    | 212   | 42.3 |
| E4 & E5   | 84    | 22    | 16                                | 6                    | 15    | 143   | 28.  |
| E6-E9     | 48    | 22    | 14                                | 10                   | 7     | 101   | 20.3 |
| WO        | 4     | 0     | 1                                 | 0                    | 0     | 5     | 1.0  |
| 2LT & 1LT | 13    | 2     | 0                                 | 0                    | 2     | 17    | 3.   |
| CPT & MAJ | 18    | 2     | 0                                 | 0                    | 3     | 23    | 4.0  |
| Total     | 260   | 130   | 46                                | 20                   | 45    | 501   |      |
| 8         | 51.0  | 25.9  | 9.2                               | 4.0                  | 9.0   |       |      |

#### Composition of Sample by Race and Rank

<sup>a</sup>Spanish-American = Cuban, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican.

<sup>b</sup>Pacific = Filipino, Guamanian, Hawaiian, Samoan.

#### Procedure

To insure that the factor structure of the RPI had not changed drastically during the 3 years between the initial RAPS development and the Fort Ord administration of the scale, a factor analysis of the RPI was performed on the Fort Ord data. The same factor analytic technique that was employed in the original development of the RAPS was used--a principal axis factor analysis followed by varimax rotation (Hiett et al., 1974). Briefly, the results of this factor analysis revealed that the same four factors that emerged from the original analysis of the RPI (PDB, ATI, FRR, RC) still comprised the current factor structure of this instrument; however, they differed somewhat in item content (Table 2). For discussion in this report, the RPI scales defined by the original factor analysis will be termed the "original" RPI scales, those defined by the present factor analysis will be termed the "Fort Ord" RPI scales, and those ultimately derived through the abridgment procedure will be referred to as the "abridged" RPI scales.

#### Table 2

Items on the Original and Abridged RPI

| Scale | Original RPI<br>(1973 factor structure)                                  | Fort Ord RPI<br>(1975 factor structure)            | Abridged RPI                             |
|-------|--|--|--|
| PDB   | 3,5,6,7,10,14,16,23,24,<br>25,32,33,34,35,38,39,<br>42,44,45,47,52,55,56 | 7,10,16,23,24,25,32,33,<br>34,35,44,45,50,55,56,66 | 6,7,10,16,23,<br>24,25,34,35             |
| ATI   | 4,13,17,20,28,30,31,<br>36,46,53,58,61,63                                | 4,13,19,20,28,31,36,37,<br>46,58,61,63             | 4,13,20,28,<br>31,58,61 <sup>a</sup>     |
| FRR   | 2,9,15,18,22,26,40,41,<br>54,60,62,64,67,68,69                           | 2,10,18,40   | 6 <sup>a</sup> ,40,41,54,<br>59,60,67,69 |
| RC    | 1,8,11,12,21,27,29,43,<br>48,51,59                                       | 11,12,21,27,49                                     | 11,12,21                                 |

a Reverse-scored.

Because the same four factors emerged in the present factor analysis that emerged in the original factor analysis of the RPI, it was concluded that the Fort Ord data constituted an appropriate data base for the present study. Using this data base, two criteria were applied to reduce the number of items in each of the four subscales. An item was retained in the subscale if (a) it had a loading of at least .50 on the appropriate factor (as determined by the factor analysis performed on the Fort Ord data) and (b) the correlations it shared with the other items in that subscale did not exceed .40. The items that were retained through this procedure in each of the subscales are listed in Table 2, along with the items that constituted the original scales and those that constituted the full scales as defined by the results of the factor analysis that was performed on the RPI using the Fort Ord data. Reduction of items in a scale is often difficult because the removal of some items causes the underlying factor that is being measured to be lost or distorted. To insure that this had not occurred in the present instance, a principal axis factor analysis was performed on the body of retained items. The results of this factor analysis are displayed in Table 3 and indicate that the factor structure of the RPI was preserved.

The final test of an alternate instrument is to apply both instruments to the same phenomenon and check that the resulting data agree. In the present case, this criterion becomes the amount of agreement between subjects' scores on each of the four original scales and those on the abridged version. A scale score (using unit weighting) was computed for each of the Fort Ord subjects on each of the original and each of the abridged RPI scales. To determine extent of agreement, Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were computed between scores derived for each of the original RPI scales and those derived for the abridged version.

#### RESULTS

#### Correlations Between Original and Abridged Scales

Table 4 displays the correlation coefficients between the original and the abridged RPI scales. The data show a strong agreement between the two versions of each of the scales. Thus, the reduction of items in the four scales did not alter the general concept that was measured by each.

To assess the stability of these correlations, these calculations were repeated on a second sample of 1,500 permanent-basis personnel who were administered the RAPS at Fort Hood in November 1974. The correlation coefficients that were computed between the original and the abridged RPI scale scores are shown in Table 5. These results are highly similar to those obtained between the original scales and the abridged scales using the Fort Ord data. However, these high correlations may be spurious. Since the short form was contained in the original form, the obtained correlations may be inflated by errors of measurement.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Cronbach, L. J. <u>Essentials of Psychological Testing</u>. New York: Harper and Row, 1970, p. 225.

# Table 3

# Factor Analysis of the Abridged RPI

| Loading |     | Factor 1Feelings of reverse racism   |  |
|---------|-----|--|--|
| 47      | 6.  | Harsher punishments are given out to black offenders<br>than to white offenders for the same types of<br>offenses. |  |
| .54     | 40. | Some blacks get promoted just because they are black.  |  |
| .55     | 41. | Black power is a dangerous thing.  |  |
| .78     | 54. | Blacks frequently cry "prejudice" rather than accept blame for personal faults.                                    |  |
| .64     | 59. | The Army provides a good career opportunity for blacks.  |  |
| .60     | 60. | Blacks get away with breaking rules that whites are punished for.  |  |
| .57     | 67. | Blacks don't take advantage of the educational oppor-<br>tunities that are available to them.                      |  |
| .77     | 69. | Many blacks have begun to act as if they are superior to whites.   |  |
|         |     | Factor 2Perceived discrimination against blacks  |  |
| .41     | 6.  | Harsher punishments are given out to black offenders<br>than to white offenders for the same type of offenses      |  |
| .67     | 7.  | Whites who supervise blacks doubt their competence.  |  |
| .59     | 10. | Blacks get more extra work details than whites.  |  |
| .51     | 16. | Whites act as though stereotypes about blacks were true.   |  |
| .58     | 23. | Whites have a better chance than blacks to get the best training opportunities.                                    |  |

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# Table 3 (Continued)

| Loading |     | Factor 2 (Continued)  |
|---------|-----|---|
| . 54    | 24. | Whites assume that blacks commit any crime that oc-<br>curs, such as thefts in the barracks.              |
| .52     | 25. | Whites do not show proper respect for blacks with higher rank.  |
| .61     | 34. | Whites are not willing to accept criticism from blacks.   |
| .70     | 35. | Whites get away with breaking rules that blacks are punished for.   |
|         |     | Factor 3Attitudes toward integration  |
| .51     | 4.  | Blacks were better off before this integration busi-<br>ness got started.                                 |
| .61     | 13. | After duty hours, soldiers should stick together in groups made up of their race only.                    |
| .54     | 20. | Trying to bring about racial integration is more trouble than it's worth.                                 |
| .74     | 28. | Blacks and whites would be better off if they lived<br>and worked only with people of their own races.    |
| .60     | 31. | If my unit had a supervisor of a race different from mine, I would dislike it.                            |
| .50     | 58. | A black who attends an all-black school is better off<br>as long as it is just as good as a white school. |
| 50      | 61. | There should be more close friendships between blacks and whites in the Army.                             |

# Table 3 (Continued)

| Loading |     | Factor 4Racial climate   |
|---------|-----|--|
| .52     | 11. | I understand the feelings of people of other races better since I joined the Army. |
| .60     | 12. | The Army is firmly committed to the principle of equal opportunity.                |
| .48     | 21. | If the race problem can be solved anywhere, it can be solved in the Army.          |

#### Table 4

# Product Moment Correlations--Original vs. Abridged Scales, and Fort Ord RPI vs. Abridged Scales (Fort Ord 1975 Data Base, n = 505)

| Scale | Original vs. abridged | Fort Ord vs. abridged |
|-------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| PDB   | .92                   | .90                   |
| ATI   | .94                   | .96                   |
| FRR   | .86                   | .95                   |
| RC    | .75                   | .91                   |

#### Table 5

# Product Moment Correlations--Original vs. Abridged Scales, and Fort Ord RPI vs. Abridged Scales (Fort Hood 1974 Data Base, n = 1,500)

| Scale | Original vs. abridged | Fort Ord vs. abridged |
|-------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| PDB   | .95                   | .96                   |
| ATI   | .94                   | .95                   |
| FRR   | .88                   | .91                   |
| RC    | .80                   | .91                   |

# Reliability

The final consideration in the abridgment of the RPI lies in the issue of reliability. The reduction of the length of a scale will almost invariably reduce that scale's reliability. Additionally, an item was selected for inclusion in an abridged RPI scale precisely on the basis of there <u>not</u> being a strong correlation between that item and the other items in that scale. One adverse side-effect of this procedure would be a reduced internal consistency for the scales. Therefore, a matter of real concern is the degree to which the RPI scales suffered a serious reduction in their reliability as a result of their abridgment.

Alpha coefficients were computed for each Fort Ord RPI scale (full length) for each of the abridged RPI scales. These coefficients are displayed in Table 6 along with the coefficients determined in the original development of the RAPS. These coefficients indicate that, although a good degree of internal consistency was preserved in the shortening of the RPI, this consistency was less than that for the full scale. However, inspection of this data reveals that this attenuation may be more a function of sample differences than of the length of the scales. For example, the difference between the alpha coefficient computed for the RC scale based on the original (1973) data and on the Fort Ord (1975) data base was .20, whereas the abridgment of this scale reduced its reliability only .05 further. Whether this cross-sample difference in the reliability of these scales was due to the passage of time (i.e., 1973 vs. 1975), to the nature of the samples (i.e., a service-wide sample vs. a sample drawn from a single installation), or to differing sample sizes is a matter for further experimental attention. Therefore, further research on the cross-validation of the abbreviated RPI scales should be done. However, this cross-sample difference notwithstanding, it appears that the effect of the shortening of the RPI scales on these scales' reliabilities was not overly detrimental.

#### Table 6

| Scale | Original<br>(1973 data) <sup>a</sup> | Fort Ord<br>(1975 data) | Abridged<br>(1975 data) |
|-------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| PDB   | .95                                  | 92                      |                         |
|       |                                      | .82                     | .72                     |
| ATI   | .88                                  | .82                     | .88                     |
| FRR   | .88                                  | .77                     | .71                     |
| RC    | .80                                  | .60                     | .55                     |

Alpha Coefficients--Original, Fort Ord, and Abridged RPI Scales

<sup>a</sup>Hiett et al., 1974.

<sup>3</sup>Cronbach, L. J. Coefficient Alphas and the Internal Structure of Tests. Psychometrika, 1954, 16, 298-334.

#### DISCUSSION

These results indicate that the abridged RPI (see Appendix) is a suitable alternative to the unabridged version of the scale. The high correlations between the scale scores on the abridged RPI and on the full instrument indicate that a similar pattern of results may be obtained regardless of which version was employed.

Even with these positive results, however, it would not be advisable for a commander to rely solely on the abridged version (the RAPS 2). It is recommended that the initial administration of the RAPS in a unit should be accomplished with the original scale, and the abridged version should be readministered on some periodic basis for followup purposes. This use of the complete scale allows for an itemby-item analysis of the resultant data that would provide the commander with a fuller understanding of the factors that influence the racial climate in his organization. With this understanding, the commander is in a better position to interpret the results of the abridged RAPS, which should be administered in the periods between the use of the full scale. Thus, the abridged RAPS should not displace the full RAPS but rather complement its use. By using both scales, a commander should be able to keep a close and continual watch on the racial climate in his unit without imposing a heavy burden on his personnel resources.

### APPENDIX

RACIAL ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS SURVEY: THE ABRIDGED RACIAL PERCEPTIONS INVENTORY (RPI) On your answer sheet, mark your answer to each of these questions, as follows:

A DISAGREE STRONGLY

B DISAGREE

- 1. Blacks were better off before this integration business got started.
- Harsher punishments (Article 15s, courts-martial, etc.) are given out to black offenders than to white offenders for the same types of offenses.
- Whites who supervise black supervisors doubt their competence.
- Blacks get more extra work details than Whites.
- I understand the feelings of people of other races better since I joined the Army.
- The Army is firmly committed to the principle of equal opportunity.
- After duty hours, soldiers should stick together in groups made up of their race only (Blacks only with Blacks, and Whites only with Whites).
- Whites act as though stereotypes about Blacks were true (for example, all Blacks are lazy).
- Trying to bring about racial integration is more trouble than it's worth.
- If the race problem can be solved anywhere, it can be solved in the Army.
- Whites have a better chance than Blacks to get the best training opportunities.
- 12. Whites assume that Blacks commit any crime that occurs, such as thefts in barracks.
- Whites do not show proper respect for Blacks with higher rank.

- C NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
- D AGREE E AGREE STRONGLY
- Blacks and Whites would be better off if they lived and worked only with people of their own race.
- 15. If my unit had a supervisor of a race different from mine, I would dislike it.
- Whites are not willing to accept criticism from Blacks.
- Whites get away with breaking rules that Blacks are punished for.
- Some Blacks get promoted just because they are Black.
- 19. Black power is a dangerous thing.
- Blacks frequently cry "prejudice" rather than accept blame for personal faults.
- A Black who attend an all-black school is better off as long as it is just as good as a white school.
- 22. The Army provides a good career opportunity for Blacks.
- Blacks get away with breaking rules that Whites are punished for.
- 24. There should be more close friendships between Blacks and Whites in the Army
- 25. Blacks don't take advantage of the educational opportunities that are available to them.
- 26. Many Blacks have begun to act as if they are superior to Whites.

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