Smith College

Smith ScholarWorks

2014

We need a good war : factors that influence the experience of racism in the United States military

Sarah E. Chotkowski
Smith College

Sarah E. Chotkowski
We Need a Good War: Factors that
Influence the Experience of Racism
in the United States Military

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the quantitative study was to explore the experience of racism in the United States military in the context of the historical evolution of racial integration policies. The present study aims to clarify how factors such as race, era of service, exposure to combat, rank and gender influence the experience of racism. A total of 112 veterans completed a survey on-line or in person through their local American Legion, VFW, or student center. The survey was a 22-item measure with six demographic questions and 14 Likert scale questions designed to solicit feedback about a wide range of experiences. Results indicated that veterans of color experienced significantly more racism than white veterans, enlisted veterans experienced more racism than officers, and female veterans experienced more racism than male veterans. Surprisingly, a later discharge date was correlated with an increase in reported racism, when the reverse was expected to be true. Additionally, veterans who reported exposure to combat experienced more racism than non-combat veterans.   Since some of these findings were unexpected, possible explanations and confounding variables are discussed in detail. These findings inform new directions for future research and important implications for social work practice and policy in the military, VA healthcare system, and beyond.

WE NEED A GOOD WAR: FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THE EXPERIENCE OF

RACISM IN THE UNITED STATES MILITARY

A project based upon an independent investigation,
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Social Work.

Sarah E. Chotkowski

Smith College School for Social Work
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063

2014

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures

CHAPTER I

Introduction

On July 26th, 1948 President Truman signed into law executive order 9981 which promised: "there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin (p. 1)." While racial integration had been happening sporadically at various points in our nation's military history, executive order 9981 signified the first official and universal step towards racial integration. Change happened slowly, but by the time we began deploying troops to Vietnam in 1956 every unit in the military had been designated "desegregated" (Mershon & Schlossman, 1998).

Though the military is not normally considered a progressive social institution, the history of racial integration in the military stands in sharp contrast to the history of workplace segregation and discrimination in our nation's civilian workforce, and the country in general. The military integrated earlier, and arguably, more effectively than the civilian sector. This had a profound effect on people of color in the military and continues to contribute to the appeal of military service for people of color (Moskos, 1997).

However, just because the military has a noteworthy history of racial integration policies does not mean it is free from racism at the interpersonal or institutional level. Regardless of the era of service studied, service members have experienced and enacted some truly horrific instances of racialized violence (Mershon & Schlossman, 1998).

1

There is a wealth of evidence that service members of color experience racism, but the severity and frequency appear to differ widely (Antecol & Cobb-Clark, 2009; Lundquist, 2008; Samito, 2007). The aim of the present study is to clarify how a variety of demographic variables such as race, gender, age, exposure to combat, and rank influence personal experience. The historical evolution of racial integration policies will be used as a framework in which to locate this analysis.

The military has very rigid beliefs about race and racism. They see racism as something contrary to the "good order and discipline" necessary for mission readiness. They pride themselves on constructing a culture where racism has been eliminated (Moskos, 1997). New service members are indoctrinated to believe their identification with the military is their most important group identification – more important than political, religious, cultural, regional or racial affiliations (Biernat, Christian, Young, Kobrynowicz, Halpin, 1998; Eisenhart, 1975). Fostering an identification with military culture serves as a protective factor against the trauma and horror of war (Shay, 2010, Hennenberry, 2008).

One potential consequence of this ideology is that the military supports a "color blind" approach to race relations, as evidenced by colloquialisms such as "everyone's green in the Army!" (Astor, 2001). This is a tempting position to operate from because the military has made so many gains in terms of racial integration, and indeed many people feel the military offers unparalleled advantages for people of color. However, it is very dangerous to confuse the positive outcomes of their "race experiment" (as integration was initially thought of) with being "post racist" (Pettigrew, 1998).

I would argue that the military's aggressive position on its alleged lack of racism discourages continued and diverse research from being done on these issues. Since the Veterans

Administration is responsible for a significant portion of the research being done on the military experience, and its culture mimics that of the military, this bias is evident in that setting as well. This is not to say that there is not research being done on race relations, rather that it has been limited and exhibits a certain amount of bias.

The present study aims to address this gap by taking initial steps towards conducting empirical research into racism in the military that takes into account the potential for variance in personal experiences. In order to frame this research, I will review the historical evolution of racism in the military and draw connections to social work research and practice. There is something deeply problematic in pretending that racism is not a salient factor in the lives of service members. The experience of racism in the military, especially if it is ignored or minimized, has the potential to have significant mental health consequences. Clinicians working with military and veteran clients would be better served by increased knowledge and awareness of these topics. Overall, the military has made remarkable progress in a relatively short amount of time but there is still more work to be done and it is important that this work be grounded in both theory and research.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

People of color have served in the American military in every war since our nation's inception. They have done so in varying capacities, and a historical review of the evolution of their service is helpful for understanding racism in the military and the factors that influence it.

American Revolution

An estimated 5,000 African Americans served as soldiers for the Continental Army, while upwards of 20,000 served with the British (Foner, 1976). While many slaves were forced to serve on behalf of their owners (a legal option at the time) a significant number of non-enslaved African Americans were faced with the choice of which side of the Revolution to fight on. Trying to predict which side of the conflict best represented their hopes for widespread emancipation was a deciding factor for many. The question of the legality of slavery came before the British court system in 1776 when James Somerset escaped from slavery and attempted to sue for his freedom. The case was tried reluctantly by Lord Mansfield, who would have preferred the issue be settled out of court, rather than serve as legal precedent. Though there is some debate over the actual wording of the decision, general consensus is that Lord Mansfield said something to the effect of: "The state of slavery is of such a nature, that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons, moral or political […] I cannot say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England, and therefore the black must be discharged" (Lofft,

1772 as cited by Cotter, 1994). Soon afterwards, enslaved African Americans attempted to argue before the General Court in Boston that since America was still technically a British colony, the Mansfield ruling should apply there as well. The courts disagreed, leading many African Americans, enslaved and not, to believe that the British represented their best hopes for emancipation. The British attempted to exploit this throughout the war. For example, the British governor of Virginia, Lord Dunmore, promised freedom to any slave who ran away from a patriot master and fought with the British. Approximately 800 men joined and marched as the Royal Ethiopian Regiment, wearing uniforms that proclaimed "Freedom to Slaves" (Selig, n.d.).

Meanwhile, the Continental Army was facing a manpower crisis of its own, but were divided over including African Americans because the Southern states feared slaves would rebel against their masters if allowed to carry weapons. For a while, the militia system represented a compromise, African Americans could serve in the military on a temporary basis (service in the Army was presumed more permanent) and in some cases, they were prohibited from serving with weapons. Policies against African Americans in the military loosened up substantially as time went on, but when George Washington took command of the Continental Army in 1775, he barred the further recruitment of African American soldiers, despite their distinguished participation at battles such as Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill. However, he was forced to rescind this policy when the winter of 1777 devastated the ranks. In October of 1780, the 2nd Company in the 4th Connecticut Regiment was formed as an all-black regiment with 48 black privates and NCOs, under the command of white officers. By the time the Continental Army faced Lord Cornwallis in 1781, it was comprised of approximately one quarter African Americans, a degree of representation and integration the American military would not see again for nearly 200 years (Selig, n.d.).

The end of the war presented a significant conflict over what should happen to the African Americans who had served. Initially, the Americans demanded the return of all American property – including any slaves who had escaped and fought for the British. However, Sir Guy Carleton, the acting commanding officer of the British forces at the time refused, and while some of these veterans were sold back into slavery, a greater number were settled elsewhere in the British Empire.

Overall, the American Revolution illustrates a time period during which African Americans were reluctantly incorporated into the military in order to fill recruitment quotas, and while they served honorably throughout the war, they were not permitted to retain the gains they had made. The promise of freedom was a shallow one for the majority of enslaved African Americans, especially those who fought for the Americans.

American Civil War

This trend of exploitation and continued oppression was also visible during the American Civil War. While the Second Confiscation Act and the Militia Act of 1862 allowed for African Americans to serve in the Union army, there was a fierce debate amongst African Americans in the North as to whether or not they should enlist. Some argued that military service represented a way to prove themselves worthy of American citizenship, while others felt that the United States government should recognize their citizenship and equality prior to enlisting. Once President Lincoln adopted abolition as an official war aim, the expectation was that African Americans would be eager to fight for the Union. However, by this time, there were a number of serious disadvantages to military service. First, the war had bolstered economic development in the North and opened increasing job opportunities for African Americans which compared more favorably to the considerably lower wages offered to African Americans serving alongside white

soldiers (Taylor, 2012). Secondly, Confederate President Jefferson Davis had made it very clear that African American prisoners of war would not receive prisoner-of-war status, and in 1863 the Confederate Congress authorized the execution or trial by military tribunal for officers in command of black regiments and stated its intention to execute or enslave any captured African American soldiers (Taylor, 2012).

Despite considerable disadvantages, a significant number of African American men did enlist in the Union army. Of the 2,128,948 soldiers who served, approximately 10% were African American by the end of the war (Civil War Trust, n.d.) Despite being exclusively under the command of white officers, and afforded little military training, there is ample evidence of the competent and courageous performance of African Americans during the Civil War. Grant (1998) argues that while officials in Washington were reluctant to praise or accept the presence of African Americans, the rank and file soldiers in the Union Army were soon swayed in their favor. For example, the Army of the Potomac's Fifth Corps had long been commanded by someone who actively opposed emancipation and African American military service, but those who served along-side the 30th regiment (all-black soldiers; white officers) were reasonably accepting once they saw them in battle (Fleche, 2005). Their willingness to march into battle on behalf of the Union Army when they had relatively little chance of survival marked a turning point in popular opinion. After the siege on Port Hudson, which saw heavy casualties for the Union Army, the *New York Times* reported "it is no longer possible to doubt the bravery and steadiness of the colored race when rightly led" (as cited by Grant, 1998).

Despite the grudging acceptance of African American soldiers during the war, they struggled to parlay these gains into civil rights. While their service did contribute to the government recognizing black citizenship in law, it failed to inspire enforcement and protection

on behalf of African American citizens at the state and federal level. And while white Union soldiers might remember the shared camaraderie of serving alongside African American soldiers, they were likely to push these memories aside in favor of reconciling with their white brothers in arms who had fought for the South. Overall, the reconstruction of a white America was more important than the recognition or reward of African Americans. Sadly, this turn of events was foreshadowed by President Lincoln, who wrote to James Conklin in 1863:

> "there will be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind onto this great consummation; while, I fear, there will be some white ones, unable to forget that, with malignant heart, and deceitful speech, they will have strove to hinder it" (Lincoln, 1863 as cited in Grant, 1998).

As in wars before, and wars not yet to come, African Americans were welcomed into the military during times of crisis, but not during times of peace, and the advancement of their civil liberties stalled despite their honorable service. Christian Fleetwood, black veteran and Medal of Honor recipient summed it up best in 1895: "after each war, of 1776, of 1812, and of 1861, history repeats itself in the absolute effacement of remembrance of the gallant deed done for the country by its brave black defenders and their recognition to outer darkness" (as cited by Taylor, 2012 p. 75).

World War I

World War I marked an important shift in sentiments about African American men in the military, because it was the first war for which they were recruited at the inception. On the eve of declaring war against Germany in 1917, the United States only had a standing Army of 126,000 men, which the War Department knew to be insufficient, and they anticipated a

8

volunteer system would be as well. On May 18th 1917, Congress passed the Selective Service

Act requiring all male citizens between the ages of 21 and 31 to register for the draft. For the

first time, African Americans served in greater numbers than their proportional representation in

the population. One reason for this differential was the preference for southern recruiting

stations to defer single white men away from military service in favor of African Americans.

For example, one Georgia county exemption board discharged forty-four percent of white

registrants on physical grounds and exempted only three percent of black registrants based on the

same requirements (Bryan, 2003).

African Americans were once again faced with the question of whether or not military

service would advance their citizenship. Many felt there was something paradoxical and

problematic about participating in a war whose justification was freedom and democracy when

they themselves lacked equality in America (Smith, 2008). In an impassioned article for *The

Crisis*, W.E. du Bois argued that African Americans had a duty to the American military for two

reasons: first, he considered Germany to be an exceptionally racist country, stating: "That which

the German power represents today spells death to the aspirations of Negroes and all darker races

for equality, freedom and democracy" (as cited in Smith, 2008, p. 253). Secondly, he felt

honorable military service represented the best hope for advancing equality in the face of

increasingly tenuous race relations in the United States (Smith, 2008).

The War Department initially made concessions to achieve some semblance of

integration and equality in the military, but following a race riot in Houston in 1917, they

vacated most of their concessions. The majority of African American soldiers were assigned to

labor battalions modeled after southern chain gangs, with the exception of two combat units: the

93rd and the 92nd, who fought with the French and the Americans respectively (Davis, 2008).

Once again, those who did serve, had to prove African Americans were fit for military service, despite their previous military history, and once again, they performed admirably under less than ideal conditions. For its courage at Maison de Champagne, the 269th Regiment (one of the only African American combat regiments) was awarded the Croix de Guerre, and 171 soldiers received the Legion of Honor from the French. Overall though, "black soldiers returned home following the war deeply disillusioned with Americans' professed democratic principles as a result of the soldiers' encounters with racial discrimination in the U.S. Army" (Williams, 2007).

Service in World War I produced some unintended consequences for African American servicemen and civilians. As a whole, the French were remarkably welcoming to African American soldiers, something that did not go unnoticed by American Military Intelligence. One document entitled "Secret Information Concerning Black American Troops" attempted to prevent African Americans from having contact with French soldiers for fear that it would give them ideas about how they deserved to be treated in the United States (Davis, 2008). Continued frustration over their unfair treatment served as formative experiences for many members of the New Negro or Harlem Renaissance. This movement represented a shift towards a more defiant, more militant African American political identity: "we return. We return from fighting. We return fighting. Make way for Democracy! We saved it in France, and by the Great Jehova we will save it in the USA or know the reason why!" (Du Bois as cited by Prince, 1994).

Unfortunately, World War I also increased racial antagonism in the United States, including a resurgence of the KKK, race riots, increased lynching in southern states, and mass migration of African Americans to the north, which ensured that no part of the country was free from racial tension and unrest. So, while many African Americans had high hopes for advancement during World War I, they once again failed to materialize.

10

World War II

The Second World War marked a period of cultural upheaval for the entire country, and African Americans eligible for military service were no exception. The passage of the Selective Service and Training Act in 1940 ushered in the nation's first peacetime draft, and facilitated greatly expanded military opportunities for African Americans. For the first time, African Americans served in proportional (to the population) representation in all combat and non-combat units, and approximately 7,768 African Americans became officers during the war now that Officer Candidate School was open to them. However, the American military still enforced racial segregation at an institutional level, because, in the words of General Omar Bradley, "the Army is not out to make any social reforms. The Army will put men of different races in different companies. It will change that policy when the Nation as a whole changes it" (Saldin, 2011). As in the rest of the country "separate yet equal" translated into egregious disadvantages and prejudice for African Americans in uniform. For example, state officials in Arizona suggested that African American troops stationed there could best be put to use picking cotton, rather than engaging in military training (De Graffe, 1996). The Navy used the General Classification test to sort sailors into occupational specialties. Sailors who scored in the lowest bracket were used to load munitions ships at Port Chicago. The majority of these sailors were African Americans who faced a dangerous job made worse by their lack of specialized training, potentially faulty equipment and encouragement from their white officers to race (for their sport). In July of 1944, the resulting explosion of The Liberty ship SS E. A. Bryan killed 327 soldiers, the vast majority of whom were African American, a tragedy that led to the Port Chicago Mutiny (De Graffe, 1996).

African American service members were also treated worse than the quickly accumulating German and Italian prisoners of war (POWs). In Fort Lawton, Seattle, Washington, (a POW camp) matters came to a head on August 14th 1944 when a riot broke out between Italian POWs and African American soldiers which resulted in a significant number of injuries for both parties, and culminated in the largest military courts martial of World War II. Forty-three African American soldiers were charged with rioting (a crime with a maximum sentence of life in prison) and three were charged with first degree murder after the body of Private Guglielmo Olivotto (an Italian POW) was found hanging by a noose in the recreation yard. General Elliot Cook (on behalf of the Inspector General) concluded in his report that the Fort Lawton command had botched the investigation in addition to ordering that all forensic evidence be destroyed, and that many white soldiers present that night had either abandoned their posts or egged on the rioting soldiers. While the prosecutor, Leon Laworski, had access to the Cook Report, he failed to share its contents with the defense, and the 9-member jury (comprised of 9 white male officers) found 28 of the defendants guilty of rioting and 2 guilty of second-degree murder. This grave miscarriage of justice was not corrected until 2007, when, thanks to the dedicated investigation of Jack and Leslie Hammond, the American Board for Correction of Military Records overturned the convictions and issued honorable discharges and back pay to the former defendants (Hamann, 2008).

These miscarriages of justice and discrimination were offset by certain noteworthy advancements. Roosevelt was planning on running for an unprecedented third term, and knew he needed strong support from the African American community, which gave them the unique opportunity to demand certain political concessions. Furthermore, Eleanor Roosevelt was a staunch civil rights advocate, and had openly spoken about the discrimination faced by African

American soldiers. The United Stated also needed to distance itself from Hitler's Aryan Race ideology, and increased rights for African Americans, both in the military and on the home front were an effective way to address all three of these issues. In the end, as in previous military conflicts, the impetus for progress was a manpower crisis. The Battle of the Bulge spanning December 16th 1944 to January 28th 1945, was the largest land battle of World War II, and decimated the American forces to such an extent that the Army finally announced it would accept African American reinforcements. Thousands of African Americans volunteered, many taking demotions in rank to serve. This was the only example of authorized integrated combat during World War II, and it saw the award of over 7,000 medals to African American troops (Higginbotham, 2000).

While the Battle of the Bulge did not directly cause integration, it certainly planted the seeds. As the war dragged on, manpower concerns became more important than segregation. As General George Patton put it: "I don't care what color you are, so long as you go up there and kill those Kraut sonsabitches" (as cited in Saldin, 2011). As casualties mounted, many officers took it upon themselves to unofficially integrate their units, which functioned successfully, causing military brass to take notice and eventually express approval for integration (Saldin, 2011). For example, officers at Fort Jackson concluded that it was ineffective to racially segregate the massive influx of new soldiers, and implemented integration. Army officials considered this a test case, and when it went relatively smoothly, they officially recommended moving all training camps toward integration. The result being that all basic training camps were formally integrated by 1951 (Saldin, 2011).

While manpower shortages were certainly an important motivating factor for desegregation, individual African Americans also played an important role in convincing

military brass and those watching back home that they could serve their country honorably and effectively. No single group of African Americans best exemplifies this personal power to change the hearts and minds of the American people than the Tuskegee Airmen. The 99th Fighter Squadron and the 332nd Fighter Group were America's first all-black flying units. Over the course of their distinguished service record, they received 864 Legion of Merit awards, 95 Distinguished Flying Crosses, 1 Silver Star, 14 Bronze Stars, 744 Air Medals and clusters, 9 Purple Hearts and 1 Presidential Citation (Higginbotham, 2000). Despite enduring significant racism from the majority of their "parent" fighter groups, and the white officers in their chain of command, along with receiving subpar training and facilities, they performed admirably.

Unfortunately, their participation in the war effort was significantly influenced by the whims and prejudices of those with whom they served. For example, when Colonel Frederick Kimble took command of Tuskegee Army Air Field, he declared that no African American would ever rise above the rank of Captain, and generally made life miserable for those serving under him. However, when the airmen finally deployed to the Mediterranean Theater (MTO) and were attached to the 79th in October of 1943, they developed an unusual level of camaraderie with the men of the 79th and thus, were afforded more opportunities to take part in the combat missions of that region. In fact, when Colonel Bates wanted to throw the 79th a dinner celebrating their anniversary in the MTO, Lieutenant General Jacob L. Devers, the commander of the MTO, forbade the men of the 99th from attending, despite the 79th's invitation. However, the men of the 79th were insistent that since they had trained together, fought together, and even died together, they would celebrate together, and so they did (Percy, 2003). The Tuskegee Airmen's ability to make the best of a sometimes very bad situation, greatly contributed to the eventual desegregation of the Armed Forces.

While the war brought many advantages and advancements for African Americans, the end of the war posed new stressors. While the G.I. Bill theoretically afforded veterans entitlements with respect to job placement services, unemployment compensation, home and business loans, and educational subsidies, African American veterans, especially those in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi were sometimes unable to use these entitlements due to a combination of intense racial discrimination and administrative shortcomings (Onkst, 1998). African Americans also experienced significantly more discrimination than their white counterparts with respect to the Veterans Health Administration, particularly around issues of disability. Since medical authorities still considered African American soldiers to be biologically prone to upper respiratory and venereal diseases, in possession of below average intelligence, more likely to succumb to the psychological stress of warfare, and more likely to malinger, a significant number of African Americans were told their disabilities were connected to something innate about their "blackness" or the result of an injury sustained prior to the military due to their assumed poor lifestyle choices rather than a legitimate connection to their military service (Jefferson, 2003). While African Americans made many significant advances during the war, there were also a variety of factors that limited their potential for true progress.

The Korean War

Called by many the "forgotten war", the Korean War represented an important time of transition for African Americans, as well as the American public. The end of the Second World War marked a period of deindustrialization, which affected every working class American, but disproportionately so, African Americans. During the war, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802 for the Fair Employment Practices Commission which was aimed at preventing discrimination in the labor industry, but unfortunately, the ruling only applied to war industries,

15

in which the positions most likely to be open to them were also most likely to be eliminated at the end of the war (Higginbotham, 2000). Consequently, the military remained an attractive alternative to the economic instability presented by the civilian labor market. President Truman's executive order 9981, issued on July 26th 1948, further cemented the military as a viable career option for African Americans: "It is hereby declared to be the policy of the President that there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin. This policy shall be put into effect as rapidly as possible, having due regard to the time required to effectuate any necessary changes without impairing efficiency or morale (p. 1)". While it is a common misconception that Truman's order desegregated the military, true integration did not happen until the very end of the war. Still, the order was certainly heralded as a civil rights victory and inspired many African Americans to join the military.

The military was forced to grapple with the problem of integration during an active military conflict when the United States began military operations in Korea in June of 1950. The experience of African Americans stationed in Korea perfectly exemplifies the extent to which individual commanders can set the tone for segregation and racism, despite orders to move towards integration. When Kenneth C. Royal became Secretary of the Army, he did not make any effort to curtail his racist remarks, and insisted that African Americans were not suited for combat, but were "exceptionally and peculiarly well qualified for labor" (Royal as cited in Phillips, 1992 p. 123) despite several wars worth of information to the contrary. He was eventually forced into retirement in 1949 in no small part because of his failure to make progress with integrating the Army. General George McArthur, the commander of the United Nations force in Korean was also unabashedly racist. He refused to employ any African Americans on

his personal staff, and insisted on separate officers' clubs, and even separate "comfort stations" (brothels filled with Korean women who had been forced into prostitution by the Japanese) for troops stationed in Korea.

Unlike previous military conflicts, African American news correspondents were allowed to go overseas from the beginning of the war, and many of them witnessed first-hand the consequences of a racist chain of command. In particular, the American public was focused on the men of the 24th infantry regiment, the largest all-black regiment who had the distinction of being able to trace their roots back to the Civil War. The men of the 24th frequently went without appropriate rations, equipment, and even shoes, and unlike their white counterparts, did not rotate out of combat, once facing 126 days of continuous fighting without relief. Adding insult to grievous injury, they were told by their white officers that their loss of equipment was careless, and therefore did not merit replacement, leading some men to pool together their personal money in an attempt to fix or buy new equipment. Phillips (2012) speculates that military brass were frustrated with the lack of swift, easy victory in Korea, and took their frustrations out on the African American troops. Indeed, as the war progressed, the NAACP received a mounting number of complaints about African Americans being charged with cowardice in the face of insurmountable obstacles. Perhaps the best-known case is that of Lieutenant Leon Gilbert, who reported that he was unable to proceed with his unit as ordered due to lack of ammunition and other equipment, as well as the obvious influx of enemy troops into the region, all in addition to a severe case of advanced dysentery! He was charged with cowardice, and sentenced to death. Thurgood Marshall was eventually dispatched by the NAACP to investigate, and compiled a mountain of evidence displaying the unfair treatment of African American troops. His subsequent speaking tour which detailed these offenses

contributed to General McArthur being relieved of command on April 11th 1951. His successor, Lieutenant General Matthew B. Ridgway, was much more open to the prospect of integration in the military and concluded that the segregation problem in the military should be attributed to the attitude of white soldiers, rather than the aptitude of African American soldiers. In April of 1951, General Ridgway officially petitioned for permission to integrate all of the troops under his command, which he was able to accomplish by the end of Korean War in 1953.

The Vietnam War

The Vietnam War represented a significant departure from previous military conflicts with respect to the participation of African Americans. In the first war fought with integrated troops, 2.5 million men served, 300,000 of which were African Americans (Westheider, 2007). African Americans were initially supportive of the Johnson administration and the war, but concerns over institutional racism, in concert with the rise of the Black power movement in the wake of Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination, led to a shift in opinion.

One early concern was that the draft disproportionally targeted African Americans. In theory, the Selective Service Act of 1948 made all men older than 18 equally eligible for military service, but since the military didn't need that entire population, educational and occupational deferments were granted. This represented a significant shift in military history, because rather than serve for the duration of the war, as had been the norm in previous wars, the majority of people drafted served for as little as a year, which meant a constant influx of new draftees. However, since only 5% of African Americans went to college throughout the war, they were drafted in disproportionally higher numbers, and consequently served in the military in greater numbers than their representation in the population (Westheider, 2007). There is also anecdotal evidence that the draft was used as a weapon against African Americans who were active in the

Civil Rights movement. A scant week after Jeanette Crawford testified before the Louisiana

House Committee on Un-American Activities, all 3 of her sons received draft notices, and her

son James was indicted when he failed to report for duty. The problem was that James had been

in the Army for the last 13 years and was currently stationed in West Germany. Draft Boards

were also comprised almost exclusively of white members, who were generally more

sympathetic to white men trying to avoid induction. White men who were considered by the draft

board to be mentally qualified were 50% more likely than their African American counterparts to

fail their pre-induction physical (Westheider, 2007).

Once inductees passed their pre-induction examinations, they took another set of

examinations to determine their specializations (Military Occupation Specialization, or, MOS).

African Americans were significantly more likely to test into category 4, which predisposed

them to "soft-core" or "combat" specializations, due to their lack of comparable education at the

High School level, and because the Armed Forces Qualifying Test expected a knowledge of

white popular culture that placed African Americans at a clear disadvantage. When the Army

began using the Army Classification Battery (ACB) instead, scores for African Americans

improved significantly, whereas scores for white test takers remained the same. Since African

Americans were disproportionately drafted, and disproportionally drafted into combat

specialties, they died in disproportionate numbers. The Department of Defense was slow to

acknowledge this discrepancy, but since another important feature of the Vietnam War was the

increased presence of news cameras, they were eventually forced to acknowledge the difference,

and began shifting African Americans to rear-echelon positions which meant that the dealth

statistics evened out over the course of the war (Westheider, 2007).

Despite the knowledge that African Americans were paying a disproportionate share of the costs of the war, there was still the prevailing hope that they could reap an increased share of benefits. As in previous military conflicts, there was the hope that honorable service would parlay into increased civil rights. To some extent, this fantasy was actively exploited by the Johnson administration. Since President Johnson had supported recent civil rights legislation, leaders in the African American community felt pressure to continue to support the war effort. For example, Roy Wilkins, the President of the NAACP and a close friend of President Johnson, banned NAACP position-holders from attending anti-war rallies during his tenure (Ingram, 2006). The Johnson administration presented military service as a means of gaining support for civil rights. In the words of then Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel Patrick Moynihan: "History may record that the single most important psychological event in race relations in the nineteen sixties was the appearance of Negro fighting men on the TV screens of the nation. Acquiring a reputation for military valor is one of the oldest known routes to social equality" (Ingram, 2006).

One of the consequences of the close relationship between the NAACP and the Johnson administration was that the NAACP became gradually less popular with young people, allowing the more militant Black Power movement to step in to fill the void. Black militants like SNCC, the Black Panthers and Malcom X had a profound influence on African Americans, especially those entering the military after 1965. Race relations in the military were extremely tense during the Vietnam War, and for many, the Black Power movement offered identity, pride, and protection in what was a dangerous, openly hostile environment. Conflicts in the military exacerbated by racism often led to violence and even rioting. The naval brig at Da Nang experienced rioting on August 15th, 1968 as did Long Binh Stockade, Millington Naval Air Station in Memphis, Kaneohe Marine Corps Air Station in Hawaii that year. Similar riots took

place at Camp Lejeune in 1969 and the Air Craft Carriers Kitty Hawk and Constellation in 1972. Race riots in the military had the capacity to be sparked by even seemingly minor events. Antecedents include: a white soldier attempting to cut in on an African American soldier dancing with an Army nurse during a rare base dance, lack of appropriate African American hair care products at the Post Exchange, and failure to distribute airtime equally between different kinds of music on base (Westheider, 2007).

It is also important to remember that while interpersonal racism had serious consequences for African Americans in the military, institutional racism was also a powerful force in the military at this time. For example, there were significant discrepancies in the administration of military justice during the Vietnam War. Only 15% of white soldiers charged with going AWOL went to the stockade, while 40% of African Americans did. In West Germany, African Americans made up less than 10% of the Army's enlisted personnel but almost 50% of their pretrial confinements were African American. On average, white soldiers spent 29 days in confinement prior to the conclusion of their cases, whereas African Americans were confined for an average of 34.5 days. Maycock (2003) explains these differences by suggesting that the military justice system, particularly pretrial confinement, was a way for the chain of command to isolate African Americans considered to be "trouble-makers", a disproportionate number of whom were affiliated with the Black Power movement.

There were many factors that exacerbated racial tension in a particularly virulent way during the Vietnam War. Unlike previous military conflicts in which the majority of American soldiers had a personal connection to the war, or the intention to serve a long-term career in the military, this was not the case for the majority of Vietnam-era service members. The stress of

fighting a war without a clear moral imperative, under increasingly uncertain conditions exposed the worst in people, racism and racial violence being but one example.

The North Vietnamese also attempted to capitalize on racial tension in their propaganda campaign which was made easier by Ho Chi Minh's experience visiting Harlem. The North Vietnamese routinely spread flyers encouraging African American soldiers to abandon the battle in Vietnam in favor of returning home and combating racism in their own communities, or offering to smuggle any African Americans who wished to desert out of the country. The sentiment that African Americans and Vietnamese had no business fighting each other was not unique to the North Vietnamese propaganda campaign. Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) expressed something eerily similar: why should black folks fight a war against yellow folks so that white folks can keep a land they stole from red folks? […] we're not going to Vietnam. Ain't no Vietcong ever called me n—r" (Carmichael as cited by Westheider, 2007).

Soldiers serving in different capacities in Vietnam were exposed to different levels of racialized violence. The military actively created a training experience that was supposed to foster identification as a soldier as the most important identity category. For African Americans, who were already aware of the ways in which the military was racist, and had experienced the sometimes violent consequences, their racial identity remained the more powerful category. Changes in the distribution of personnel also hampered the potential for soldiers to develop a collective "soldier identity". Since the American military had transitioned away from having soldiers serve for the duration of the war, to serving tours of duty as brief as a year, soldiers arrived in and left Vietnam constantly. In the face of ever-changing personnel, soldiers gravitated towards and stayed within their own race, rather than developing cross-racial

friendships. Even sleeping quarters and social clubs remained segregated, either officially or otherwise. The Black Power movement dove-tailed with this reality and fostered ways for African American soldiers to express pride in their racial identity. It was not uncommon for soldiers to chalk "black power" on their uniforms, grow their hair out into afros, decorate their vehicles with black power symbols, or wear deshikis (traditional African dress popular in the Black Power movement in the United States) when they were not required to be in uniform. So called "slave bracelets" woven out of boot laces were also popular and the "dep" (a ritualized handshake where each component had a specific meaning germane to the experience of being a soldier) became a way for African American soldiers to greet each other. Self-defense organizations like the Blackstone Rangers, De Mau Mau (in the Army), and Ju Ju (Marine Corps) also became ways for African Americans to assert their racial pride and to defend themselves from the racism they were subjected to. Unfortunately, these soldiers were visible targets for military brass who had been forced to acknowledge the "race problem". The Chain of Command largely blamed these so called "black radicals" for racial violence even when it should have been clear that they were not the aggressors. For example, following the death of Martin Luther King Jr. on April 4th 1968, violence erupted over white soldiers parading around military bases in KKK costumes and flying the confederate flag above the barracks. African American soldiers were accused of participating equally in the conflict for flying the black power flag above their own barracks (Westheider, 2007).

While the vast majority of soldiers were exposed to racialized violence of one kind or another, there is some evidence that those serving in combat positions experienced less, compared to their rear-echelon counterparts. In the words or Arthur Woodley, a long-range patrolman: "no matter what his ethnic background is, or his ideals, you start to depend on that

person to cover your ass (as cited by Maycock, 2003)". Terry Whitmore (an African American Vietnam-era veteran and author) interviewed a veteran for his book who recounted a story of helping a known Klan member who had been injured and left to die by his Klan friends, and that the incident forced the Klan soldier to reexamine the validity of his prejudices. Such tales, however, appear to be few and far between. As one African American officer put it: "the threat of death changes many things, but comradeship doesn't last after you get back to the village" (Maycock, 2003).

Overall, racial tension during the Vietnam War was at an all-time high, and it posed serious consequences for individuals in theater, as well as for the future of minorities in the military. Following the Vietnam War, the African American community at large stopped seeing the military as a progressive social institution that would afford opportunities for advancement. This greatly influenced the extent to which African Americans were willing to join, and more importantly remain in the military. In 1966, over 60% of African Americans chose to reenlist, but in 1972 only 20% did so. While the Department of Defense had initially attempted to blame race-related problems in the military on individual black radicals, the war did force the issue of institutional racism to a sufficient extent that they created the Defense Race Relations Institute (DRRI) in 1971. The DRRI made a significant number of policy changes regarding the recruitment, inclusion, and advancement of minority service members, but by and large, military leaders did not implement these policies for some time. In general, racial violence in the military decreased significantly once troops withdrew from Vietnam, but as they did so, the momentum to make lasting changes slowed down.

Unfortunately, the consequences of racial violence in the military have the potential to last long beyond the end of the war. One study found that 40% of African American veterans

suffered from PTSD compared to 20% of white counterparts. However, racism in the military

did spur one important change that influences service members to this day: the transition to the

all-volunteer force (Gartner & Segura, 2000).

Transition to the All-Volunteer Force

While other presidents and politicians had argued in favor of abolishing the draft, it was

ultimately President Nixon who oversaw the transition to the All-Volunteer Force (AVF).

Nixon proposed the end of the draft in 1968 at the height of the Vietnam War, knowing that it

was not something that could be accomplished during the war, but hoping it would win him

favor in the upcoming presidential election – which it did. In 1969, Nixon formulated a

committee known colloquially as the Gates Commission (after former secretary of defense

Thomas Gates, who led the group) to investigate the feasibility of transitioning to an all-

volunteer military. Politically, it was the right time to advocate ending the draft. The Vietnam

War had collectively traumatized the American public, and the unfairness of the draft was widely

acknowledged. Liberal politicians also favored making it more difficult for America to engage

in future military conflicts, and the lure of a free-market as a solution to most problems grew

stronger and stronger. The Gates Commission unanimously voted to abolish the draft, but

expressed reservations.

One such concern was that if the AVF shifted recruitment aims towards demonstrating

the economic benefits to joining the military, it would disproportionately attract African

Americans. Over time, this would result in a primarily African American military, which would

exacerbate racial tension within the military. White soldiers would feel threatened, and African

Americans would resent bearing an unfair burden for any future military conflicts (Warner,

Miller & Asch, 2008). This concern was shared by many prominent African American civilians.

The President of St. Xavier College wrote "in point of fact, an all-volunteer army would liberate the middle class from the legal necessity of serving but commit others to compulsory service by economic circumstances. Is this not, in effect, forcing the poor and the less fortunate into the armed forces? Is this truly democratic?" (Marmion, 1971 p. 46 as cited in Rostker & Yeh, 2006, p. 43). However, these hypothetical concerns were weighed against the absolute certainty that African Americans had been unfairly targeted by the draft, and had served, fought, and died in unjust numbers. With the AVF, at least they would receive advantageous financial compensation for their sacrifices.

Once the decision was made to transition to the AVF, the problem then became how to make the military attractive to prospective recruits. Reasonably so, the Nixon administration did not have faith that young men would join the military in the wake of the Vietnam War solely because it was a rational economic decision (Bailey, 2007). Lieutenant General George Forsythe, newly in charge of SAMVA (Special Assistant, Modern Volunteer Army), was tasked with figuring out how to make the military attractive to young people. After studying Fortune 500 companies and Maslow's hierarchy of needs, he and his team determined that it was imperative to convince this generation that the military cared about them. So, the military hired a series of advertising agencies who produced slogans such as: "we care more about how you think than how you cut your hair", "today's Army wants to join you!" "take the Army's 16 month tour of Europe" and "if you think you'll miss the guys, bring them along" (Bailey, 2007). Additionally, the military specifically targeted African American men and women (as well as white women) by asking them "when was the last time you got promoted?" (Bailey, 2007).

The Modern, Professional Military

In the years since the transition to the all-volunteer force, the military has become more educated, more female, more married and less white than the draft-era military (Segal & Segal, 2004). The argument that the AVF is simply a "poverty draft" persists, and there is some evidence that this is true. From 1970 to 2000, the proportion of white service members dropped from 89% to 70% and the proportion of African American service members rose from 10% to 12% while the combined other racial categories rose from 1% to 18% (Quester & Gilroy, 2002). Especially in the early years of the AVF, African Americans made up an uneven number of volunteers due to uneven education and unemployment opportunities and a disproportionately high unemployment rate. By 1974, 30% of new accessions were African American, compared to only 11% of the U.S. population (Quester & Gilroy, 2002).

Some argue that the early years of AVF did represent a time of unequal enlistment, but that this gap has narrowed over time. Bailey (2011) points out that only 11% of military recruits come from areas where the average household income is below $33,000 (in the bottom 20%), and that 25% come from census tracts in the top quintile, whereas the majority of recruits actually come from the middle class (median income $50,000). She argues that young people from the most disadvantaged families are actually less likely to qualify for enlistment than their more advantaged peers due to education disparities, health problems, and contact with the legal system (Bailey, 2007).

However, the military continues to directly target low-income communities and communities of color. "Hispanic H2 Tour" and "Takin' it to the Streets" are recruitment campaigns that target the Latino and African American communities respectively (Mariscal, 2007). Any school receiving funding as part of No Child Left Behind must provide contact

information to military recruiters for every child in the school system (Benedict, 2009). The

military continues to exploit the hopes for economic advancement of its disadvantaged and

disenfranchised citizens to meet the competitive recruitment quotas of a standing professional

military. In 2007 the Associated Press revealed that nearly ¾ of all U.S. troops killed in Iraq

came from towns where the per capita income was below the national average, and more than

half came from towns where the percentage of people living below the poverty line was greater

than the national average (Mariscal, 2007). In a survey of high school students, African

American and Hispanic men report substantially greater intentions to serve in the military upon

graduation than their white peers (as cited in Segal & Segal, 2004).

Military recruiters are actually not under any obligation to tell the truth to prospective

recruits, nor are they liable if the realities of military service do not match up with the picture

they paint (Benedict, 2009). Still, there are significant advantages to military service. The

economic benefits are especially salient given that African Americans are paid approximately

half that of their white peers (Christie, 2010). Furthermore, Seeborg (1994) found that African

American youths living in poverty at age 17 who enlisted in the military in the early 80s had

largely "escaped" poverty by 1990. Since the inception of the AVF, the military has had to offer

increasing benefits to stay competitive with the civilian labor market, which means that even

lower-ranking military personnel have access to benefits such as housing assistance, relocation

reimbursement, spousal allotment, healthcare, on-base education, childcare for their children,

tuition assistance, the college loan repayment program, and the G.I. education enhancement

program (Elder, Wang, Spence, Adkins & Brown, 2010). Overall, the majority of people of color

in the military consider the benefits and opportunities afforded by military service to be better

than what would be available in the civilian sector (Lundquist, 2009).

However, this does not mean the AVF is free from the race-based discrimination that was so salient for those who served in previous military conflicts. African American enlisted personnel are more likely than white service members to serve in functional support, administrative specialties, or service and supply specialties and are less likely to serve in specialties related to the STEM fields (science, technology, engineering, and math). This puts them at a significant disadvantage when they transition to the civilian labor market, which may explain why African Americans are significantly more likely to reenlist (Antecol & Cobb-Clark, 2009). Furthermore, African Americans are more likely to be concentrated in lower ranks, because promotions happen faster in combat-related or STEM-field specialties (Segal & Segal, 2004). However, discrepancies in rank advancement are significantly less than what we can imagine they would be in the civilian sector. While African Americans, Hispanics and Native Americans represent approximately 30% of the U.S. population, they account for less than 3% of senior management jobs (Gilgoff, 2009 as cited in Orfield and Lee, 2005). Furthermore, underrepresentation of people of color in the officer corps is lessening: in 1980, 90% of officers were white, but by 2009 only 76% were white (Burke & Espinoza, 2012). Quester & Gilroy (2002) estimate that it takes an average 28 years of service to reach the rank of Brigadier General (0-7, Rear Admiral in the Navy) in today's military. Currently, 6.7% of Brigadier Generals are African American, but when they were first starting their careers approximately 28 years ago only 3.1% of Brigadier Generals were African American.

Despite the fact that the military may represent a more welcoming work environment for people of color, the consequences of racism still persist. Antecol & Cobb-Clark (2009) found that 2/3rds of active duty military personnel had experienced offensive racial behaviors in the last year, and one in ten reported threatening racial incidents and/or career-related discrimination.

Additionally, one Department of Defense study found that 20% of African Americans serving active duty in the military believed they received a negative evaluation because of their race (compared to 4% of white soldiers) (Holmes, 1999). Furthermore, Burke & Espinoza (2012) found evidence of racism with respect to the administration of military justice including discrepancies in processing time and sentence lengths. However, the authors make the important point that while significant differences existed, they were lower (by half) than comparable differences in the civilian sector.

Conclusion

A historical review of military conflicts in the United States suggests that people of color are actively recruited into the military during times of war, and are lured by the promise of advanced civil rights that never fully materialize by the end of the war. Still, progress happens, and while it is not intuitive to think of the military as a progressive social institution, there is evidence that the military has made progress more quickly with respect to race relations than the civilian sector. While this progress is certainly impressive given that the military is also a deeply rigid, conservative environment, it should by no means suggest that the military is an environment free from racism.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Formulation

The present study sought to investigate racism in the military. This study is a quantitative study with a descriptive, fixed method research design intended to investigate what factors are associated with the experience of racism while serving in the military. While there is a substantial body of literature on racism and racial integration in the military, there is very little quantitative information about the variables which correlate with or predict the experience and severity of racism. Previous research has explored historical trends associated with the military's evolving racial integration and equal opportunity policies, and there is a wealth of first-hand accounts and collected stories about racism. The present study is designed to address a gap in existing literature and suggest new directions for future research. A review of available literature suggests that race and ethnicity, exposure to combat, rank, the effectiveness of the chain of command, and era of service will likely interact to influence the experience of racism in the military. I will test a number of hypotheses and consider several exploratory questions that address these issues using a survey measure created explicitly for this study.

Research Design

Due to the relatively unstudied nature of factors that influence the experience of racism, it was necessary to create a new measure in order to solicit responses about the topics of interest.

31

A survey called "Racism in the U.S. Military" was created to gather a mix of demographic data as well as to ask participants to reflect on how often they had had a particular experience that was tied to prejudice on the basis of their identified race or ethnicity (see appendix A for survey instrument). Significant components of the survey were influenced by the Armed Forces Equal Opportunity Survey (AF-EOS) which the military periodically administers to assess the "equal opportunity climate as well as social prescriptions regarding interracial interactions" (Antecol & Cobb-Clark, 2009 p. 716). The survey can be broken down into six categories: personal demographics (2 items), military demographics (5 items), types of racialized incidents (6 items), impact of/on chain of command (5 items), observed social segregation (1 item) and comparing military and civilian experience (2 items). Demographic questions included: self-identified race and/or ethnicity, self-identified gender, dates and branch of service, exposure to combat, service as enlisted personnel or commissioned officer, and service as active-duty or reserve. For the section on types of racialized incidents, participants were asked to rate the frequency (never, rarely, sometimes, often or always) with which they personally experienced racist jokes, unfair, hurtful, rude or critical remarks, threats, physical assault, delays or lack of promotion, and unfair or unpleasant assignments due to their self-identified race or ethnicity. For the section concerning the chain of command, participants were asked about the role of their commanding officer and whether they chose to discuss racism with their CO. Did they find their CO's response helpful, and did they consider their CO to be racist? Participants were also asked whether or not people of different races spent time together socially when not working. Finally, participants were asked about their experience with racism as civilians, and asked to speculate on whether or not racism was worse or similar in the military compared to the civilian sector.

Participants were then invited to give any additional feedback they wished to provide in the form of an open-ended question and blank text box.

Hypotheses

The survey measure was created to explore a number of hypotheses suggested by previous research. Literature indicates that race, rank, gender, effectiveness of the chain of command, exposure to combat, and era of service will all play a role in the experience of racism. For some of these variables, there is sufficient evidence to suggest a specific hypothesis, while others are best studied as exploratory questions. Six specific hypotheses will be investigated in this study:

1.) People of color (including participants who identify biracial or multiracial) will report significantly more racism than white participants.

2.) Participants who separated from the military more recently will report significantly less racism that participants who have been separated from the military for longer.

3.) Officers will report less racism than enlisted service members.

4.) Female participants will report more racism than male participants.

5.) Era of service will be positively correlated with increasing social integration, and negatively correlated with poor unit cohesion.

6.) Exploratory question: exposure to combat will play a role in the experience of racism.

Sample

One-hundred and forty-five participants responded to the survey. Data from 112 participants were appropriate for analysis. Participants were removed from the data set if they failed to give consent, did not meet eligibility criteria, or skipped the majority of the questions.

Eligibility and exclusion criteria.

All veterans of the United States military were eligible for participation. I defined "veteran" as someone who at one point served in the United States military, but is no longer serving in any capacity. Therefore, people who had never served in any military, had or were currently serving in the military of another country, or were serving as either U.S. active-duty or reserve soldiers (Army), marines (U.S.M.C.), sailors (Navy), Airmen (U.S.A.F.), or guard (National Guard or Coast Guard) were not eligible for participation.

Screening process.

The first page of the survey gave a brief introduction to the study in which potential participants were reminded that they must be veterans of the U.S. military to participate (a definition of "veteran" was included; see Appendix A, p. 87). The second page of the survey asked if participants were veterans of the United States military (again, a definition was provided; see Appendix A, p. 88). If a participant selected "yes" they were invited to continue with the remainder of the survey. If a participant selected "no" they were directed or forwarded to the last page of the survey which thanked them for their efforts, provided a list of supportive resources and contact information for the researcher (see Appendix A p.96-97).

Sample Characteristics

The sample in the study is a non-probability sample of convenience, which was necessary given the constraints of the research project. While the initial population of interest was veterans and service members of the United States military the population was narrowed down to veterans only (see section on ethics for more information). All veterans were eligible to participate in the study, but not all veterans had an equal chance of being recruited or selected for participation. Potential participants were recruited through one of four categories: 1.) Facebook 2.) Local

34

American Legions 3.) Local Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFWs) and 4.) The University of

Connecticut's Office for Veterans Affairs and Military Programs.   I chose to recruit though

VFWs and American Legions because both are civic-minded community organizations dedicated

to supporting veterans and they attract a wide range of veterans from a variety of backgrounds. I

choose to recruit through Facebook to make good use of the snowball sample method of

recruitment in which potential participants were encouraged to spread word of the study to other

potential participants. The snowball sample method of recruiting has been suggested to be

particularly well-suited to recruiting participants for studies that deal with potentially sensitive

material (Cohen & Arieli, 2011) which makes it an apt tool for a study investigating racism in

the military. Recruiting through UCONN was an effort to attract younger veterans who were

recently separated from the military to diversify the sample.   Figure 1 describes recruiting

locations and their methods:

Figure 1

Recruiting Cites and Methods:

Name and Location	Recruitment Method	Recruitment Date	Type of Event
Facebook: via "Military Social Work" forum and Smith SSW forums	Remote	Open 02/05/14 – 04/04/14	On-line only
VFW Post 594: Norwich, CT	In-person	02/08/14	Weekly brunch
American Legion Post 223: Old Saybrook, CT	In-person	02/11/14	Post meeting
VFW Post 1840: Middletown, CT	In-person	02/12/14	Post meeting
VFW Post 10690: Higganum, CT	In-person	02/27/14	Post meeting
UCONN Office of Veterans Affairs and Military Programs	In-person and remote	In person: 02/28/14 and 03/13/14 Remote: Open 04/13/14 – 04/04/14	Lunch in Veterans OASIS and on-line
VFW Post 4608: Ledyard, CT	In-person	03/16/14	Award brunch

Recruitment methods

Recruitment began by calling local VFWs and American Legions in the state of Connecticut. In theory, this would have involved over 200 locations, but the vast majority were not operational or did not return my calls. In total, I was able to contact 11 VFWs, and 10 Legions that initially voiced willingness to assist with recruitment efforts. Of these, only 5 VFWs and 1 American Legion actually hosted recruitment events. These recruitment events ranged from post meetings, post brunches and award ceremonies. In each case, I introduced myself and the study, reviewed informed consent protocols, passed out copies of the survey to interested participants and remained present to answer any questions. Then I collected completed surveys and signed consent forms and stored them separately. Participants who participated in the study in this way were confidential but not anonymous.

Remote recruiting: Facebook

Potential participants affiliated with the social networking site were exposed to the survey through one of three ways: 1.) by viewing a description of my study on my personal Facebook page 2.) By viewing a description of my study on a Facebook forum to which they subscribe (either Facebook pages affiliated with the Smith College School for Social Work, or the forum dedicated to "Military Social Work") or 3.) if someone else they knew posted the description of my survey to their personal Facebook page (see Appendix B for post). Either option would enable participants to access a link to the survey hosted by the website "Survey Monkey". Participants who participated in the study in this way were anonymous, as there was no way to determine who might have accessed the survey link and decided to participate.

UCONN recruitment.

I met Kris Perry, the Director of UCONN's Veterans Affairs and Military Programs at the Norwich VFW. I met with him and his staff several times to discuss ways to make the project accessible to the students at UCONN. I received approval from HSR to amend my recruitment to include UCONN students on February 27th 2014 (see Appendix D). We decided I would visit the campus several times to allow the students to become accustomed to me and my research, and recruit any participants who were interested in giving feedback in person. Data gleaned from these events were confidential but not anonymous. I visited the campus on February 28th 2014 and again on March 13th 2014. We also disseminated information about the survey in the monthly newsletter (March 28th 2014) which included a brief paragraph about my research and provided a web link to the survey (see Appendix E). Students who participated in this way were anonymous and confidential.

Ethics and Safeguards

Risks of participation.

There were some risks to participating in this study, most of which were related to the sensitive nature of the topic (racism and military experience). In order to minimize risk, I limited participation to veterans (rather than including current service members). This was done because the study potentially posed increased risks to current service members. If a service member reports that she has experienced a significant amount of racism, and reflects that her commanding officer has not been helpful, she may view her military career with increasing dissatisfaction and act in a way that she might not have otherwise were it not for her participation in the study. Conversely, veterans will be reflecting on experiences that happened in the

(perhaps) distant past and they may be better prepared to handle the potentially negative side-effects of participation.

Benefits of participation.

Benefits to participation included the opportunity to give feedback on a topic that participants often felt strongly about. Throughout the course of recruitment I saw many examples of veterans who were interested in speaking about their experiences with racism, but had not often had a setting in which to do so. I also learned that many veterans (especially those we met at VFWs and American Legions) are deeply concerned with the experiences of newly returning service members and expressed the hope that speaking about their experiences would help providers be better informed and therefore able to provide better care.

Precautions taken to safeguard confidentiality and identifiable information.

Approval from the Smith College School for Social Work's Human Subjects Review Committee was sought prior to data collection. Approval was granted February 5th 2014 (see appendix B) with revisions approved February 27th 2014 (see appendix C). As an added precaution given the sensitive nature of the topic, agency approval was sought from each potential recruiting site (see appendix F). These processes ensured that all materials met federal and institutional (Smith College) standards for the protection of human subjects and that all partnering agencies were informed and active in maintaining these standards.

Hard-copies of data were stored in a locked box until they were uploaded into the Survey Monkey format. Once this process was completed, paper copies were shredded and disposed. When I met with participants in person, I acquired signed consent forms, and stored them separately from the other data collected. This procedure insured that their results were kept confidential and separate from any identified material.

Diversity in the sample.

Diversity will be discussed in greater depth in the findings section of this paper, but it is worth reviewing here. Despite the fact that white veterans only make up 65% of the state of Connecticut's veteran population (United States Census Bureau, 2012), the vast majority of participants at the vast majority of posts were exclusively white. In an effort to recruit as representative a sample a possible, post commanders and members were asked if they had any insight into the homogenous nature of their population. Some offered alternative locations where they believed veterans of color choose to spend their time, in which case I made efforts to recruit participants at these locations. However, in general, neither post commanders nor members could fully account for this discrepancy in their membership. This was one benefit to recruiting participants through Facebook, as the population of veterans who took the survey on-line was significantly more heterogeneous.

Reliability and Validity of the Chosen Measure

While a significant number of questions closely resemble the AF-EOS which has in and of itself been shown to have good reliability and validity (Antecol & Cobb-Clark, 2005), there have not been any tests performed on the reliability and validity of my specific survey "Racism in the U.S. Military".

Data Analysis

Initial data was collected using the website "surveymonkey.com" which hosted the survey "racism in the military" which had been designed specifically for this study. Once data collection was terminated, data was exported from Survey Monkey into an Excel spreadsheet. Data was analyzed with the assistance of Marjorie Postal a statistician and employee at Smith College. Descriptive statistics were applied to analyze demographic data. The majority of the

analysis focused on testing the correlations between combat exposure and racism, rank and racism, era served and racism, command intervention and racism, and race and racism. We also designed a regression analysis to test not only which independent variables were related to the experience of racism, but what the relationship between these variables was. All statistical analysis was completed using SPSS version 19.

Limitations

There are several limitations associated with this study. The majority of the limitations are associated with flaws (albeit unavoidable ones) in the measure, sample, and method of data collection. For example, it was necessary to design a new measure in order to study racism in a military sample that would address the associations we were interested in. While this was an appropriate survey design it means there is no guarantee that the measure has good reliability or validity. Additionally, the sample was a non-probability convenience sample, meaning that not every potential participant had an equal likelihood of being exposed to recruiting efforts. Consequently, it is unlikely that the results will have good generalizability.

However, the objective of this research was not to contribute completely a generalizable or statistically significant set of results. The goal was to study racism in a military sample in a new way, and stimulate a discussion about a new direction of research. Findings will indicate that there is much to be gained from considering the factors that influence racism in the military.

Potential Bias

My interest in the project stems from my commitment to seek a commission and serve as an active-duty officer and trauma counselor in the U.S. military when I finish my master's degree and earn my license. Military service has been a lifelong dream of mine, and I am passionate about the military, service members, and providing them and their families with

competent care. My experience as an intern at the Harris County Vet Center in Houston, Texas (as an undergraduate) and later at the VA hospital in West Haven (my second field placement) suggested to me that racism was a salient factor in the lives of my clients, but not one they often had the opportunity to talk about. I came to this research project with certain assumptions about the role of racism in the military, and it is certainly possible that these biases colored my research. In an effort to minimize their effect, I chose to use a survey measure rather than interview questions, and I did not attempt to recruit any clients at the VA.

Summary of Methodology

The present study attempted to investigate factors that influence the experience of racism in the military by using a quantitative fixed method research design. Based on an analysis of the current available literature, it was determined that an original survey design influenced by the AF-EOS was the best way to solicit the necessary data. Participants were recruited through a combination of the University of Connecticut, VFWs, American Legions, and Facebook. In total, 7 agencies participated in recruitment efforts. Participants who took the on-line version of the survey were anonymous and confidential, while participants who took the survey in-person were not anonymous but their results were confidential. Every effort was made to ensure that the study adhered to guidelines for the protection of human subjects. Descriptive statistics were used to analyze demographic data and a regression analysis was used to analyze the interaction between variables and their effects on racism.

CHAPTER IV

Findings

The present study is an exploratory study using a quantitative method design. The purpose of the study was to identify factors that influence the experience of racism in the United States military. Psychosocial factors such as rank, exposure to combat, and era of service were of special interest. The goal of the study was to clarify the relationship between these variables and suggest directions for future research and intervention. This chapter begins with a description of the sample and summaries of the quantitative data including basic demographic characteristics and responses to individual questions. This chapter also includes a review of the descriptive and inferential statistics used to explore service members' experiences with racism.

Demographic Data

The sample consisted of responses from 112 veterans who responded to the survey measure through social networking posts, local (Connecticut) Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFWs), American Legions, or UCONN's Veterans Affairs and Military Programs.

Gender. Participants were split somewhat evenly between male and female. Male participants (N = 60) represented the majority of the sample at 53.57%. Female participants represented the minority (N = 52) at 46.43%. This question included the option for open ended response if neither "male" nor "female" described a participant's gender identity, but no participants used this option.

Race and ethnicity. The majority of the sample, 79.09% identified as White (N = 87). A total of 10.91% identified as African American (N = 12), 5.45% identified as Latino/Latina (N = 6) and 4.55% identified as bi or multiracial (N = 5). The sample did not contain representation from any other racial or ethnic categories.

Branch. Since service members may serve with different branches during the course of their military career, participants were asked to identify which branch they spent the most time in. Participation was somewhat distributed across different branches, though the Coast Guard and National Guard were not well represented. The majority of participants were Army soldiers (N = 43) who made up 38.74% of the sample. Navy Sailors (N = 38) represented 24.23% of the sample, Airmen (N = 13) made up 11.71% of the sample, and Marines (N = 12) made up 10.81% of the sample. The Coast Guard (N = 4) and National Guard (N = 1) made up 3.60% and 0.90% respectively.

Rank. Since service members may serve in different capacities throughout their military service, participants were asked to identify whether they spent the majority of their time in the military as an enlisted personnel or as officers. The majority of the sample (N = 95) served as enlisted personnel at 85.59%. Officers (N = 16) made up 14.41% of the sample. Participants were also given the opportunity to describe themselves as warrant officers, but none did so.

Exposure to combat. Participants were also asked whether or not they considered themselves combat veterans. While certain military occupational specializations (MOS) are formally designated as combat, it is possible that a service member designated "non-combat" could be exposed to combat. Likewise, service members in designated "combat" specialties may feel that this label does not accurately reflect the nature of their job. Therefore, a decision to allow participants to self-select seemed most appropriate. Participants were split fairly evenly

between the two groups: 54.05% of the sample did not consider themselves combat veterans (N = 60) while 45.95% did consider themselves combat veterans (N = 51).

Years of service. Participants were asked to report their start and discharge date from military service. These measures produced a sum which measured years of service. These scores were then grouped into 4 different categories according to frequency. Years of service were relatively evenly distributed between 4 groups. 25.89% of the sample (N = 29) served 5-9 years, 16.51% (N = 43) served less than 5 years, 22.31% of the sample served for twenty or more years (N = 25) and the remaining 13.39% (N = 15) served between 5-9 years. Four years was the most common length of service.

Era of service. Participants were also grouped according to era of service. Participants were grouped based on service during WWII (1939-1945), the Korean War (1950-1953), the Vietnam War (1956-1975), or post-9/11 military service (2001-present). If participants served during the military for an extended period of time, they could conceivably be grouped into more than one era of service. The majority of participants (N = 63) served after the Vietnam War but prior to September 11th 2001. This period of time covered a variety of military engagements and peacekeeping missions in Cambodia, Lebanon, Korea, Zaire, Iran, Libya, Egypt, Grenada, Honduras, Chad, Somalia, Bosnia, Haiti, Kuwait, and Sierra Leone in addition to the Gulf War (1990-1991). A substantial number of participants (N = 48) served after September 11th 2001. Twenty-six participants served during the Vietnam era, 1 participant served during the Korean War era, and 1 participant served during WWII. All but one participant served after racial integration of the U.S. military was mandated by President Truman in 1948.

Responses to Likert Scale Questions Addressing Racism in the Military

Participants were asked 11 different questions directly pertaining to their experience with a particular kind of event. (See survey in Appendix A)   Events included: overall racism or prejudice, racist jokes, critical remarks, threats, physical assault, being passed over or delayed for promotions, unfair assignments, racist behavior from chain of command, and disrespected authority. In each case, participants were reminded that they were being asked whether they had had these experiences, how often, and whether they felt them to be motivated by racism. Participants were also asked about their experiences discussing these issues with their commanding officer (CO) and how helpful the response had been, in addition to the extent to which their unit was racially integrated during social time, and the extent to which this had an effect on their overall cohesion.

Overall, 50.9% of veterans in the sample (N = 57) reported experiencing racism while in the military. Racist jokes were reported most frequently, followed by racially motivated critical remarks, threats, and unfair assignments. Racially motivated physical assault was reported least frequently, followed by delays or lack of promotion. Racist jokes were reported by 72.3% of the sample (N = 69), though only 16.1% (N = 18) reported hearing them "often" or always". Racially motivated rude or critical remarks were reported by 58% of the sample (N = 65), though only 14.3% of the sample reported hearing them "often" or "always". Racially motivated threats made to the veteran or their friends/family were reported by 32% of the sample (N = 36) and only 5.4% (N = 6) reported hearing them "often" or "always". Racially motivated physical assault was only reported by 17.8% of the sample (N = 20). Racially motivated delays or lack of promotions were only reported by 23% of the sample (N = 26) and only 6.5% (N = 7) reported experiencing this "often" or "always". Racially motivated assignments that were unfair or

unpleasant in comparison to what others in their unit received were reported by only 29% of veterans (N = 33) with only 9.9% (N = 11) reporting this experience "often" or "always".

Response to Likert Style Questions Addressing Role of Chain of Command

Four of the questions asked participants about the impact of racism on the chain of command. First, participants were asked whether or not they discussed their own personal experience of racism with their commanding officers. Of the respondents who acknowledged experiencing racism, 65.57% (N = 40) reported that they never brought issues of racism to their commanding officers. Of the respondents who did choose to discuss the issue with their commanding officers, only 6.55% (N = 4) chose to do so "often" or "always". In the second question, the participants who did report discussing racism with their COs were asked whether or not they found their COs' intervention to be helpful. In this question "helpful" was defined as "helpful in a sense that you felt your COs' listened to you in a manner you found supportive *and* intervened in a way that led to change in the situation". Overall, 40% (N = 8) of these respondents found their COs' response helpful at least "sometimes" if not "often" or "always". Participants were also asked whether they believed their commanding officers were racist or engaged in racist behavior. The majority (67.31%, N = 70) did not feel their COs were racist and only 5.76% (N = 6) believed their COs were racist "often" or "always". Additionally, participants were asked about their experiences commanding others, and whether or not they believed racism had a negative impact on the extent to which their authority was respected. The majority (72%, N = 54) did not feel their authority was ever disrespected because of their race.

Response to Likert Style Questions Addressing Impact of Racism on Social Sphere

Participants were asked two questions pertaining to their experiences with social integration and unit cohesion. In one question, participants were asked whether people of

46

different races/ethnicities spent portions of their free time together. Slightly more than half (55.77% N = 58) reported that participants "often" or "always" spent free time together. Participants were also asked to speculate about the influence of racism on unit cohesion. In this question, unit cohesion was defined as "the extent to which you all got along and worked well together". The majority of participants (65.71%, N = 69) felt that racism "never" or "rarely" had a negative effect.

Response to Likert Style Questions Addressing Racism in the Civilian World

In the concluding questions, participants were also asked whether they had experienced racism as a civilian, and how they thought racism in the civilian sector compared to racism in the military. In the first question, 64.76% of participants (N = 69) reported experiencing racism as a civilian, which was slightly higher than the number of participants who reported experiencing racism in the military (50.9%, N = 57). Slightly less than half (47.62%, N = 50) of the participants felt that there is less racism in the military compared to the civilian experience. In contrast, only 13.33% (N = 14) felt that there was more racism in the military, and 37.14% (N = 39) felt there were about equal amounts of racism in both settings.

Inferential Statistics

Inferential statistics were used to analyze how service members of different demographic groups responded to specific Likert scale questions in relation to others. Hypotheses were tested using One-Way ANOVA with Bonferroni Post-Hoc Tests as well as T-Tests to determine whether or not variations existed among different groups. Additionally, Spearman Rho correlations were also run to analyze relationships among variables. The results of these tests are outlined below.

Hypothesis I: Service members of color will report more frequent incidents of racism compared to white service members.

In order to test this hypothesis, the Likert scale questions were quantified so that each participant would receive a numerical score (0-4) for each item. Items were combined into different subscales (0-8), and the 3 sub-scales were combined into one racism total (0-32). Subcale 1 or "verbally offensive incidents" was a combination of the racist jokes and the racist remarks measure. Subscale 2 "threatening incidents" was a combination of the threats and physical assault measures. Subscale 3 "career related incidents" was a combination of the unfair promotions and unfair assignments measures. The sum of subscales 1, 2 and 3 made up the "racism total" measure. T-tests were run to determine if there were differences in any of the three sub-scales by race. Significant differences were found between white service members and service members of color for all three subscales. A significant difference (t(110)=4.553, p=0.000, two-tailed) between groups was found for the verbally offensive subscale. A significant difference (t(28.97)=3.23, p=0.003, two-tailed) between groups was found for the threatening incident subscale. A significant difference (t(29.060)=4.08, p=0.000, two-tailed) was found between groups on the career-related racism subscale.

Hypothesis II: Era of service will be negatively correlated with racism.

A Pearson's correlation was run between discharge date and the total racism scale, in addition to each individual subscale. A significant positive correlation was found between discharge date and the total racism measure (r=.196, p=.038). A significant positive correlation was also found between discharge date and verbally offensive racism (r=.223, p=.018). There were no significant correlations found for the other two subscales (career related racism and threatening incidents). These findings were unexpected. I hypothesized that a later discharge date would be

48

negatively correlated with the experience of racism, instead it appears a later discharge date is associated with greater reported racism.

Hypothesis III: Officers will report less racism than enlisted service members.

T-tests were run to determine if there were difference in the subscales or total racism scale by rank. The majority of participants who identified as people of color reported service as enlisted personnel, and only 3 reported service as an officer. Therefore, it was not appropriate analyze this portion of the sample. For white service members, there was a significant difference in total racism ($t(44.27)=3.728$, $p=0.001$). Enlisted service members had a significantly higher mean ($m=.349$) than officers ($m=1.08$). There were significant differences in the verbally offensive racism scale ($t(85)=2.190$, $p=.-031$, two-tailed), enlisted service members had a significantly higher mean score ($m=2.20$) than officers ($m=.92$). There were also significant differences in the career related racism scale ($t(73)=3.887$, $p=.000$), enlisted service members had a higher mean on this scale ($m=.69$) than officers ($m=.00$). There were no significant differences in the threatening incidents scale. Overall, it appears rank is a significant factor in the experience of racism, and enlisted service members are more vulnerable to racism than officers.

Hypothesis IV: Women will report more racism than men.

T-tests were run to determine whether or not there was a difference in the scales by gender. There was a significant difference in the total racism scale ($t(72.668)=2.940$, $p=.004$). Women had a higher mean ($m=5.72$) than men ($m=3.08$). There was also a significant difference in the threatening incidents scale ($t(75.38)=2.937$, $p=.004$). Women had a higher mean on this scale ($m=1.25$) than men ($m=.44$). Women also scored higher ($m=1.72$) than men ($m=.44$) on the career related racism scale. The difference was significant ($t(64.16)=2.630$, $p=.001$).

However, no significant differences were found for verbally offensive racism. Overall, my hypothesis that women would report more racism than men was confirmed.

Hypothesis V: Era of service will be positively correlated with increasing social integration, and negatively correlated with poor unit cohesion.

A Pearson's rho correlation was run to see if there was a relationship between social integration and the extent to which service members felt racism negatively affected their unit cohesion. A significant negative correlation was found (rho=-.238, p=.015). The greater social integration the veteran observed, the less likely they were to feel racism had a negative effect on unit cohesion. The strength of the correlation was greater for post-9/11 veterans (r=-.451, p-.001) compared to post-Vietnam era veterans (r=-.377, p=.023). No significant correlation was found for Vietnam era veterans. One-way ANOVAs were run to see if there was a difference in social integration or a difference in negative unit cohesion based on era of service. Vietnam veterans, post-Vietnam era veterans and post-9/11 veterans were compared, no other groups were included for analysis due to small sample size. No significant differences were found between groups.

Exploratory hypothesis: Combat exposure will play a role in the experience of racism.

T-tests were run to determine if there was a difference in the three subscales based on exposure to combat. There was no significant difference in either the verbally offensive racism subscale, or the career-related racism subscale. There was a significant (t(99.68)=2.201, p=0.030, two-tailed) difference in the threatening incident subscale. Overall, exposure to combat was associated with a significantly higher subscale total (m=1.08) compared to no exposure to combat (m=0.51).

T-tests were then run to determine if this difference persisted across different races. There were no significant differences in racism scores by combat exposure for white participants. There were significant differences in the threatening incident subscale ($t(23)=2.236$, $p=0.029$, two-tailed) by combat exposure for service members of color. Service members of color who reported exposure to combat had a higher mean (m=0.2.57) compared to service members of color who were not exposed to combat (m=0.91) There were also significant differences in the career-related incidents subscale by combat exposure for service members of color. Service members of color who were exposed to combat had a higher mean (m=0.3.5) compared to service members of color who were not exposed to combat (m=0.1.55).

CHAPTER V

Discussion

Findings Relative to Available Literature

The present study investigated the relationship between race, era of service, rank, gender, combat exposure and social integration on the experience of racism while serving in the United States military. Results indicate that service members of color report significantly more racism than white service members, which was expected. Similarly, Antecol & Cobb-Clark (2009) found that African American and Hispanic service members were more than twice as likely as their white counterparts to report experiencing racially offensive behavior and career-related discrimination. Results also indicated that enlisted soldiers report significantly more racism than officers, and female service members report significantly more racism than male service members. These findings align with similar research in the field. Moore (1991), Jeffreys (2007), Buchanan, Settles & Woods (2008), and Foynes, Shipherd & Harrington (2013) all use the term "double jeopardy" to describe women of color in the military who have to contend with sexism and racism in a combination that is greater than the sum of its parts.

In the civilian sector, Wright (1978), Kawachi, Daniels & Robinson (2005), and Hardaway & McLoyd (2009) have all written about the extent to which classism interacts with and possibly mediates racism. While the officer-enlisted dichotomy is not literally a class-stratified system, there are enough parallels that it is unsurprising that officers experience less

racism than enlisted personnel. Settles, Buchanan & Colar (2012) found that enlisted men

reported significantly more sexual harassment than male officers. It is reasonable to infer that

vulnerably to one kind of oppression would be correlated with vulnerability to additional kinds.

Less expected was the relationship between era of service and racism. I expected that

veterans who served later would report less racism, but the reverse was found. Several possible

explanations for this discrepancy exist. These results run contrary to considerable findings in

available literature (see Thomas, 1976; Moskos & Butler, 1997; Burke & Espinoza, 2012,

among others). It is tempting, therefore, to attribute these findings to the small sample size, or

other errors in sampling methodology.

It is also possible that veterans who served later in time, were exposed to a different

military culture, more heavily influenced by the military's equal opportunity efforts. Service

members who served more recently may have had greater exposure to talking about their

experiences with race and racism, and perhaps are more likely to attribute the motivation for a

particular adverse event to racism (Starnes, 2013). It is possible that this bias is especially true

for white respondents, Norton & Sommers (2011) found that white people are increasingly more

likely to believe that equal opportunity efforts in America have eradicated discrimination against

people of color, and instead, created biases against white people.

Results also indicate that service members who recall greater social integration during

non-work hours were less likely to feel that racism had a negative effect on their unit's cohesion.

This effect was much stronger for veterans who served after September 11th 2001, compared to

veterans who served after the Vietnam War, and it was not significant for veterans who served

during Vietnam. These results indicate that era of service does play a role in the social climate

53

with respect to race and racism and more research is clearly indicated to evaluate the nature of this relationship.

Results also indicated that service members who considered themselves combat veterans were significantly more likely to report greater or more frequent racism than service members who considered themselves non-combat oriented. These findings were not wholly unexpected. However, in casual conversations with participants, many endorsed the idea that racial tension would decrease under the threat of combat, and people would "put aside differences" and "band together". In fact, the name of this thesis is derived from an anecdote in which one retired Air Force officer recalled the expression "we need a good war!" to describe the popular belief that "pettiness" (like racism, sexism, homophobia etc.) would be set aside in favor of a common mission. While I would speculate that this belief is important for fostering a strong positive military identification, it is unsupported by the findings of this study.

However, this finding is supported by literature which suggests that the experience of trauma makes an individual significantly more vulnerable to future trauma (Nelson et al., 2002). In a sample of Vietnam veterans, Breslau, Chilcoat, Kessler & Davis (1999) found that previous exposure to trauma indicated a greater likelihood of developing PTSD in the wake of subsequent military-related trauma. Furthermore, there is some evidence to suggest that people of color are more likely to develop PTSD. Kulka et al. (1990) found that African Americans and Latino veterans of the Vietnam War were at an elevated risk for PTSD compared to white veterans. Another possible explanation for this finding, is that people exhibit a range of inappropriate behavior when they are stressed, and racism is but one possible manifestation of this. Shay (2010) makes a similar argument in Achilles in Vietnam as he explores the breakdown of moral character under the stressors of combat.

The results of the present study generally aligned with previous research on racism in the military. Indications that combat veterans are more likely to experience racism than non-combat veterans are unexpected, but not surprising. However, findings that suggest a later discharge date is associated with more racism were surprising and are unsupported by current literature. While it is useful to speculate as to the reason for these findings, it is also important to consider the extent to which they may be the result errors in the research design or implementation before considering their implications.

Limitations of the Current Study

There are several limitations worth discussing in the current study. First and foremost are limitations resulting from the sample. The sample is clearly a convenience sample, which means the results have limited generalizability to the population of interest. Though it is unlikely that the results can be generalized to the experience of all veterans in the United States, it is more likely that the results are applicable to veterans living in the state of Connecticut, as that is where the vast majority of recruiting took place. For example, in 2010 the Census Bureau found that there were 230,000 veterans living in the state of Connecticut out of a total of 21,854,374 living veterans in the United States. Estimates from 2013 indicate that there are 3,596,080 people in the state of Connecticut and estimates from 2010 indicate that approximately 82% of them are white. Therefore, while I only sampled a fraction of a percent of the available sample, the sample appears to accurately reflect the demographic makeup of the state in addition to capturing a wide range of experiences (from rank, branch, gender, and era served). While the racial makeup of the sample is fairly homogenous, this is appropriate given the racial makeup of the state.

However, not every veteran had an equal likelihood of being selected for participation. Recruitment took place primarily in the southern part of the state, and only included veterans who were active in their local American Legion or VFW or attending the University of Connecticut. There are many veterans who are not active in their local veterans' organizations, and no efforts were made to recruit them. This is problematic because it is likely that there are many veterans who experienced significant racial trauma who therefore avoid American Legions and VFWs specifically because it triggers negative reminders of their military service. While it would have been difficult to find ways to recruit veterans in that category, one possible option would have been recruiting through the local VA hospital. This was not feasible in the present study, due to the time constraints and nature of the hospital's Internal Review Board, but it is an important consideration for future research.

Another significant limitation of the present study is that the survey had only 22 questions which limited the depth and breadth of data collected. The survey was largely influenced by equal opportunity surveys that the military administers to active-duty service members and those surveys are significantly longer. Several participants pointed out that the survey did not given them an opportunity to reflect on racist behaviors that they witnessed, nor provide space to discuss any racism that they themselves perpetuated. However, the decision to limit the survey to 22 items and only solicit information about the personal experience of racism was deliberate. I felt this was a more appropriate measure for potential participants who I did not know very well, and who would have required greater levels of trust and buy-in before taking a longer, more emotionally taxing survey.

Directions for Future Research

The current study was implemented as a result of efforts to address gaps in the existing literature. For example, while the Department of Defense has conducted many different studies about the experiences of service members with respect to racism, these studies are limited in that they capture a snapshot of an individual's experience in a particular moment in time (United States General Accounting Office, 1995). A review of existing literature did not yield any research that attempted to compare different generations of experience. Part of recognizing that racism in an incredibly complicated force in society involves investigating interactions of different variables related to racism. Since all forms of oppression are interconnected, the current research aimed to see how a variety of different variables would mediate the experience of racism.

Generalize findings.

The findings of the current study suggest several possible directions for future research. First and foremost, it would be interesting to see if the results can be generalized to a larger sample and thus applied to veterans in general. Additionally, the military and affiliated agencies have the benefit of having something of a 'captive audience' (service members) and it is possible that such a population would be more amenable to a longer measure with a greater number of and more invasive questions.

Include quantitative analysis.

Many of the veterans who participated in the study expressed an interest in more in depth interviews about their experiences with racism in the military. It is possible that qualitative analysis could lend rich support to the hypothesis that the face of racism in the military has changed but remained salient in the lives of service members. While comparative data trends

certainly paint a picture, there is no substitute for the moment a World War II veteran – who, up until this point has been speaking about his military service with nothing but pride – recalls the moment when a white soldier pulled a severed, charred ear out of his pocket and told him that whites in the South knew how to treat blacks in the military properly. This participant stated that the image "haunted" him to this day. As a direct result of my experience talking to participants about my study, I believe qualitative data would add much richness to the analysis of race relations in the United States military.

Role of equal opportunity trainings.

Another topic discussed by several participants was the way equal opportunity trainings are handled in the military. The Army defines equal opportunity programs as training that "formulates, directs, and sustains a comprehensive effort to maximize human potential to ensure fair treatment for military personnel, family members, and civilians without regard to race, color, gender, religion or national origin, and provide an environment free of unlawful discrimination and offensive behavior" (DEOMI.com, 2014).   Though the study did not record or investigate this, I would say that a significant number of participants reflected on their experience with EO trainings with scorn and derision, and suggested that the trainings are out of touch with the reality of being a person of color in the military and are not taken seriously by the vast majority of service members.

It would be interesting to study the implementation and reception of these trainings. For example, what effect do EO trainings have on prejudicial beliefs and actions? What attitudes and opinions do service members have about the effectiveness of EO trainings? How might EO trainings be implemented into military culture more effectively? Since EO is expected to cover sexism and sexual orientation in addition to racism, there is less emphasis on racism and it would

be interesting to see what beliefs persist about the necessity of anti-racist work in the military, particularly amongst training and senior officers. While the military has made significant progress with respect to overt racism in the military, future research needs to ensure that racism in the military remains at the forefront of people's consciousness.

Implications for Clinical Practice

While the present study contains limitations and significantly more research is needed, there are already a wealth of clinical implications for what is known about racism in the military. It is worthwhile reviewing some of these implications because they are directly relevant to the work we do with our clients.

To begin with, the VA is greatly influenced by military culture, which makes a certain amount of sense as military culture was likewise influential in the lives of the veterans who receive services at the VA. However, since the military often makes the mistake of taking a "color-blind" approach to race, the VA is in danger of repeating similar mistakes. Social work research has discussed in detail the dangers of clinicians attempting to practice this approach, but many VA clinicians are swayed by the attitude of the military on this issue.

This stance runs contrary to the foundational values of our profession. One of the core competencies in social work practice is to "understand how diversity characterizes and shapes the human experience and is critical to the formation of identity" additionally, to "appreciate that, as a consequence of difference, a person's life experiences may include oppression, poverty, marginalization and alienation" (Educational Policy and Accreditation Standards, 2.1.4. as cited by McMahon, 1992). VA clinicians not only need to recognize that racism is an important force in the lives of their clients, but also to recognize the ways in which these experiences may be filtered through military culture and other personal experiences of oppression. Though I have

not been able to find concrete data on whether or not, or how VA clinicians are trained with respect to race, I can say from my own personal experience as a social work intern at the VA hospital, that over the course of 9 months, there was not a single training on racism outside of what was initiated by Smith students as part of their Anti-racism projects. This is a deeply problematic stance to take because color blindness is a salient example of what Sue et al. (2007) term a "microinvalidation". A microinvalidation is something that "denies the racial and experiential reality of people of color and provides an excuse to White people to claim that they are not prejudiced" (p. 278).

Furthermore, race exists in the clinical relationship, whether a clinician is willing to acknowledge it or not. As Suchet (2004) says: "We all carry the haunting presence of shame and guilt as the heritage of our history, soaked as it is in the trauma of oppression, whether that is slavery, apartheid, or anti-Semitism. The therapeutic space is therefore ripe for the enactment of these historical and current tensions" (p. 430).

One of the challenges of keeping racism and the consequences of racism in the forefront is that the landscape of racism appears to have changed dramatically. Many participants of color that I talked to referenced "sneaky", "subtle", "covert" or even "politically correct" acts of racism, and admitted that it was difficult to discern whether particular events had a racial component to them. During the Vietnam War, many soldiers painted the confederate flag on their equipment, uniforms, or barracks, and some even donned KKK robes during various race riots. In these instances, it was easy to identify racists. Now, promotion evaluations consider the extent to which an individual advances equal opportunity, and several participants I spoke to told stories in which they knew someone or had heard of someone who was denied promotion in rank

because they had failed this measure in one way or another. These comparisons show that while the landscape of prejudice has evolved, discussion remains important.

Dovidio & Gertner (2000) hypothesize what they call Aversive Racism Theory, a type of racism held by people who claim egalitarian values and beliefs, and believe themselves to be unprejudiced but unconsciously hold negative beliefs about people of color and subtly discriminate in ways that are ambiguous or indirect enough that they can be rationalized as something other than racial discrimination. Similarly, Sue et al. (2007) coined the term microaggressions: "Racial microaggressions are brief and commonplace daily verbal behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory or negative racial slights and insults towards people of color" (p. 271). In both these theories, proving that something racist has taken place is something of a dilemma, while the target may experience discomfort, unease, and a sense of being attacked, the person who commits the microaggression can easily insist that they've done no such thing, an argument made much easier by their position of relative privilege. Racist encounters of this kind have the potential to be insidiously troubling. The initial incident has the potential to be upsetting and, if someone voices feelings of discomfort, they are usually told they are mistaken, which adds invalidation as a consequence.

Part of recognizing race and racism is understanding that exposure to racism has serious consequences that are relevant to mental health. Hinds (2010) describes "the traumatic experience of racism that comes to be the historical element that creates anxiety (or the uncanny) within an oppressed people" (p. 790). In general, people of color are more likely to be poorer, less educated, live shorter lives, be less healthy, and more likely to be forced to have their children given up for adoption or placed in foster care (Hogan & Siu, 1988; Ozawa, 1986; V.

61

Washington, 1987 as cited by McMahon, 1992). Racism can even play a role in low birth weight

(Hilmert et al., 2014). W.E. DuBois (1903) described the position of experiencing racism as a

person of color as one of "double consciousness" in which: "it is a peculiar situation this double

consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring

one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity" (p. 9). Hinds

(2010) argues that despite the fact that the landscape of racism has changed dramatically,

DuBois's argument is still relevant, as evidenced by crime statistics, low rates of high school

graduation, high rates of substance abuse, and what he describes as a "a pervasive sense of loss

and self-hatred attributable to a lack of authentic self-knowledge" (Wimberley, 1990 as cited by

Hinds, 2010 p. 785).

Once social workers and other health professionals have a basic awareness that race and

racism are relevant to their clients and the work we do together, then they can move forward in

investigating concrete strategies for intervention. Suchet (2004) describes race as something that

"is a vehicle for psychodynamics and a site for the performance of racial conflicts." Put another

way, the stakes are high, but the work is important.   In a review of available literature on

working with people of color, McMahon (1992) found that the overwhelming majority of articles

related to social work practice framed their intervention strategies in terms of thinking about

what was wrong with and how to fix an individual, rather than thinking critically about how they

interact with the systems that contribute to or exacerbate their problems. While the article is

more than 20 years old and social work research has certainly evolved, this danger is still

relevant to individual clinicians. Interestingly enough, clinicians working at the VA appear to

endorse biases in the opposite direction: they are more likely to attribute the cause of a client of

color's problems to their external environment, and more likely to attribute the cause of a white

client's problems to their own internal deficits (Davis & Gelsomino, 1994). Balancing an assessment of individual ego functioning and strengths with considering how an individual interacts with their environmental impingements is a difficult skill that requires a knowledge base grounded in research. While increased knowledge about race and racism is certainly important, it becomes something of a moot point if social workers fail to consider how these experiences will have a direct impact on the clinical work that they themselves participate in.

Social workers also need to be mindful of how race has the potential to impact transference themes, which was something not even considered in social work research until the 1960s (Protctor & Davis, 1994). Historically, race-based transference has been explained using an intrapsychic drive mode or a contemporary Kleinian model. The drive model explains race-based transference as a manifestation of the patient's intrapsychic conflicts while the Kleinian model explains it as the patient's defensive projection of the undesirable aspects of the self onto the therapist (Yi, 1998). Both these models explain race-based transference as something that the patient does, rather than the result of an interaction between the patient and therapist. We would argue that both patient and therapist contribute to transference themes. Yi (1998) uses an example from Holmes (1992) in which an African American patient becomes upset upon seeing a white patient in his African American therapist's waiting room. She responds "your great distress makes me wonder about other betrayals that have hurt and angered you so." In this example, her response was influenced by her knowledge that her patient had other similar experiences of rejection, which were filtered through experiences of racism and oppression. However Yi (1998) argues that this approach fails to consider the extent to which the therapist's own experience with privilege and oppression contribute to what occurs in the space between

client and therapist. Competent social work practice involves being mindful of the fact that the personal experiences of the therapist and the client affect the work that can be done together.

Another useful way of thinking about how racism impacts clinical presentation is to borrow from Freud's conceptualization of melancholia. Freud (1917) begins "Mourning and Melancholia" by making an important distinction between the two. In melancholia, the patient may not be aware of exactly what they have lost, Freud describes it as an "object-loss which is withdrawn from consciousness" (p. 245) and states that the consequences are directed inward, rather than in relation to the external world. In mourning, the world is temporarily seen as poor and empty, whereas in melancholia "it is the ego itself […] the patient represents his ego to us as worthless, incapable of any achievement and morally despicable; he reproaches himself, vilifies himself, and expects to be cast out and punished" (p. 246). Freud postulates that melancholia is a difficult condition to resolve, because the loss of the object, the ambivalence, and regression of libido into the ego all take place outside the patient's conscious awareness. Melancholia is a loss that is difficult to resolve precisely because it is so elusive to identify what has been lost.

Other authors have borrowed the concept of melancholia from Freud to describe the challenge of working with the loss that cannot be mourned, resolved or even acknowledged. Vaught (2012) uses melancholia to contextualize her work with male juvenile offenders. She describes a system in which adolescent men of color are trapped in a position of victimization and oppression that ushers them towards a life of exploitation, crime and violence which ultimately results in their confinement to the juvenile justice system. This traps them in the prison industrial complex, perpetuating the cycle of oppression and racism. Vaught (2012) argues that while the detention facilities are supposed to be therapeutic, there is no possibility for healing when the adolescents are re-traumatized by their time in the system in a way that is so

closely related to the traumas they have already experienced. She describes their position as melancholic because there is no structure for them to acknowledge the losses they have faced, and the ways in which these losses are tied to their experience as young men of color, nor is there any opportunity to have their position validated by any of the staff in the facility. Vaught (2012) describes staff who are so invested in their role as white benevolent saviors that they are unable to see the ways in which their actions perpetuate a traumatizing and racist system. Therapists in the program are encouraged to explain to their clients that their problems are the result of their anger issues, rather than a system of oppression that is stacked against them from the moment they enter the world as people of color.

Similarly, clinicians who work with clients who have experienced racism are in danger of working to keep their patients trapped in a melancholic position if they do not make room for them to identify and mourn what has been lost as a result of their experience with racism. My survey measure asked participants to reflect on whether or not racism had played a role in a variety of experiences during their time in the military. Many participants identified this task as challenging because they were not sure to what extent racism had influenced their experience. If clinicians leave these topics unaddressed, then we are complicit in a system that communicates to our clients that we do not believe racism or white privilege could possibly have played a role in their experiences.

While I believe this work is necessary, I also acknowledge that it is challenging. So where to start? The data analysis phase of my project indicated that an overwhelming majority of my participants were eager to talk about race and racism. The first step should be inviting this dialogue into the clinical space. The vast majority of clinicians begin their relationship with new clients with some sort of assessment process. We ask them about their family history, what

medications they are taking, whether they have had any life experiences they would consider traumatic and what they are interested in working on in therapy. Is it so ridiculous to imagine adding an assessment question asking about their experiences with racism? In my experience, the VA tries to be very sequential in their assessment questions, for example, if a patient in the Psychiatric Emergency Room has had a previous history of suicide attempts, the assessing clinician will ask about the means and context of the attempt. If a veteran presents with injuries that appear to be consistent with intimate partner violence, a screening process is initiated. If a female veteran presents for any kind of treatment, she is screened for Military Sexual Trauma. Basically, if certain variables are present, additional screening measures may be indicated. The results of the present study indicate that exposure to combat, service as an enlisted personnel and being female in addition to being a person of color all increase a veteran's likelihood of reporting racism. If a veteran presents with one of more of these variables, then clinicians should initiate some sort of conversation about their experience with race and racism. Overall, the default position of failing to discuss race and racism clinically runs contrary to the recommendations of a substantial body of research, as well as our very own ethical mandate as social workers. Once we increase our awareness of the system of oppression and the dangers posed by our silence, we can turn towards a rich body of guidance on anti-racist social work and cross-cultural competence for further direction, something that is outside the scope of this paper to do with the attention the topic deserves.

Summary

The process of racial integration in the military is especially noteworthy when viewed in the historical context in which it took place. The military was able to implement a dramatic policy change in part because it had already been quietly experimenting with racial integration,

and because individual service members are continuously socialized to obey orders without regard to their personal feelings. Racial integration was successful in that it allowed the military to capitalize on, and arguably, exploit people of color without the logistical nightmare of maintaining them in segregated units. Our continued involvement in military conflicts around the globe ensures that maintaining an adequately staffed standing professional military will remain a priority, which means the military will continue to take advantage of disenfranchised people in order to meet recruitment quotas. While recent focus has shifted to the integration of women, gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender service members this does not mean that evaluating and improving race relations are no longer critical.

The present study indicates that the majority of service members experienced racism while serving in the military. While the majority of them also believe there is less racism in the military compared to the civilian world, their experience in the military is still significant enough to warrant greater attention in both research and practice. The present study also indicated that veterans more recently separated from the military disclosed greater amounts of racism than their counterparts. While this finding was surprising, it may indicate that more recent veterans and current service members have more education about race relations and are more likely to be aware of race-based discrimination in their own lives. Furthermore, female veterans, enlisted veterans and combat veterans are all at an elevated risk for racism which supports the long-standing hypothesis that exposure to trauma begets future vulnerability. These populations deserve special attention, which may be difficult in the current research climate.

There is a robust body of literature concerning race in the military, but there are still striking gaps. For example, many researchers have studied racism during a particular military conflict, and there is an impressive spread of qualitative and quantitative data to this effect.

However, there is no recent research that attempts to compare experiences across generations of service, which limits the extent to which we can evaluate what progress has been made.

New research continues to be limited by the military's aggressively "color blind" attitude, because this stance fails to acknowledge the extent to which race is a powerful force in the lives of service members. While the military does have a demonstrated to equal opportunity, and many service members continue to speak favorably of the increased opportunities and fairness available to people of color, progress will go stagnant if new research and new ideas are not fostered.

In contrast, the Veterans Administration has a tremendous commitment to new and different research, and social workers (and other health professionals) working within this system, as well as in the community with this population have innumerable opportunities to think critically and raise awareness about race relations and their implications on clinical practice. While the VA is closely tied to the military and may mimic similar attitudes about race and racism, there is more room for consciousness raising and advocacy.

The consequences of racism are extensive, and they intersect with other forms of oppression as well as the trauma of combat exposure, moral injury, and other iatrogenic effects of being in the military. However, that is not to say that individual clinicians do not have power to enact change in the lives of these clients. As we raise our awareness levels, and understand the factors that influence the experience of racism in the military, we can begin to think about effective ways to intervene. The current research is one example of making an effort to learn more about these topics, and more than anything, it suggests that the stakes are high, and there is much more work to be done.

References

Antecol, H., Cobb-Clark, D. (2009). Racial harassment, job satisfaction, and intentions to remain in the military. *Journal of Population Economics*, 22(3), 713-738.

Bailey, B. (2011, October). A political history of the all-volunteer Army. *In The Forum*, 9(3), 5.

Bailey, B. (2007). The Army in the marketplace: Recruiting an all-volunteer force. *The Journal of American History*, 94(1), 47-74.

Benedict, H. (2009). *The lonely soldier: The private war of women serving in Iraq*. Beacon Press.

Biernat, M.C., Christian, C.S., Young, L.V., Kobrynowicz, D., Halpin, S.M. (1998). All that you can be: Stereotyping of self and others in a military context. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75(2), 301-317.

J. Bryan. (2003). Fighting for respect: African American soldiers during WWI. [Web log post]. Retrieved from http://www.militaryhistoryonline.com/wwi/articles/fightingforrespect .aspx.

Buchanan, N. T., Settles, I. H., & Woods, K. C. (2008). Comparing sexual harassment subtypes among Black and White women by military rank: Double jeopardy, the jezebel, and the cult of true womanhood. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 32(4), 347-361.

Burke, J. & Espinoza, E. (2012). Race relations within the U.S. military. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 38, 401-422.

Chenoweth, K. (1997). Taking Jim Crow out of uniform: Desegregation of the U.S. military. *Black Issues in Higher Education*, 14, 30-33.

Christie, Les (July 30, 2010). Pay gap persists for African Americans. CNN. Retrieved from

        http://money.cnn.com/2010/07/30/news/economy/black_pay_gap_persists/.

Civil War Trust (n.d.) Civil War Facts. *Civil War Trust*. Retrieved from http://www.civilwar.

        org/education/history/faq/.

Cohen, N., & Arieli, T. (2011). Field research in conflict environments: Methodological

        challenges and snowball sampling. *Journal of Peace Research*, 48(4), 423-435.

Cotter, W.R. (1994). The Sommerset case and the abolition of slavery in England. *History*,

        79(255), 31-57.

Davis, D.A. (2008). Not only war is hell: World War I and African American lynching

        narratives. *African American Review*, 42(3/4), 477-491.

Davis, L. E., & Gelsomino, J. (1994). An assessment of practitioner cross-racial treatment

        experiences. *Social Work*, 39(1), 116-123.

DeGraffe, L.B. (1996). Significant steps on an arduous path: The impact of World War II on

        discrimination against African Americans. *Journal of the West*, 35(1), 24-33.

Dovidio, J.F. & Gaertner, S.L. (2000). Aversive racism and selection decisions: 1989 and 1999.

        Psychological Science, 11(4), 315-320.

Du Bois, W. E. B. (1903). *The souls of black folk*. Oxford University Press.

Eisenhart, R. W. (1975). You can't hack it little girl: A discussion of the covert psychological

        agenda of modern combat training. *Journal of Social Issues*, 31(4), 13-23.

Elder, G. H., Wang, L., Spence, N. J., Adkins, D. E., & Brown, T. H. (2010). Pathways to the

        All-Volunteer Military. *Social Science Quarterly*, 91(2), 455-475.

Firestone, J.M. (1992). Occupational segregation: Comparing the civilian and military work

        force. *Armed Forces & Society*, 18(3), 363-381.

Fleche, A. (2005). "Shoulder to shoulder as comrades tried": Black and white union veterans and

    Civil War memory *Civil War History*, 51(2), 175-201.

Foner, E. (1976). *Tom Pain and revolutionary America*. Oxford University Press: New York.

Foynes, M. M., Shipherd, J. C., & Harrington, E. F. (2013). Race and gender discrimination in

    the Marines. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 19(1), 111.

Freud, S. (1968). *Mourning and melancholia. The meaning of despair*. New York, Science

    House, 50-69.

Gartner, S.S. & Segura, G.M. (2000). Race, casualties, and opinion in the Vietnam War. *Journal

    of Politics*, 62(1), 115-147.

Grant, S.M. (1998). Pride and prejudice in the American Civil War. *History Today*, 48(9), 41-9.

Grossman, D. (1996). *On killing: The psychological cost of learning to kill in war and society*.

    Back Bay Books.

Hamann, J. (2008). When justice became a casualty of war. *American History*, 43(1), 23-24.

Hardaway, C. R., & McLoyd, V. C. (2009). Escaping poverty and securing middle class status:

    How race and socioeconomic status shape mobility prospects for African Americans

    during the transition to adulthood. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 38(2), 242-256.

Henneberry, S. (2008). *Modern Leonidas: Spartan military culture in a modern American

    context* (Unpublished bachelor's thesis). University of Rhode Island, Kingston, RI.

Higginbotham, F. (2000). Soldiers for Justice: The role of the Tuskegee Airmen in the

    desegregation of the American armed forces. *William & Mary Bill of Rights Journal*,

    8(2), 273.

Hilmert, C. J., Dominguez, T. P., Schetter, C. D., Srinivas, S. K., Glynn, L. M., Hobel, C. J., & Sandman, C. A. (2014). Lifetime racism and blood pressure changes during pregnancy: Implications for fetal growth. *Health Psychology*, 33(1), 43.

Hinds, J.P. (2010). Traces on the blackboard: The vestiges of racism on the African American psyche. *Pastoral Psychology*, 59(6), 783-798.

Holmes, D. E. (1992). Race and transference in psychoanalysis and psychotherapy. *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 73(1), 1-11.

Ingram, G (2006). NAACP support of the Vietnam War: 1963-1969. *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 30(1), 54-61.

Jefferson, R.F. (2003). "Enabled courage": Race, disability, and black World War II veterans in postwar America. *Historian*, 65(5), 1102-1124.

Jeffreys, S. (2007, February). Double jeopardy: Women, the US military and the war in Iraq. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 30 (1), 1625.

Kawachi, I., Daniels, N., & Robinson, D. E. (2005). Health disparities by race and class: why both matter. *Health Affairs*, 24(2), 343-352.

Kulka, R. A., Schlenger, W. E., Fairbank, J. A., Hough, R. L., Jordan, B. K., Marmar, C. R., & Weiss, D. S. (1990). Trauma and the Vietnam War generation: Report of findings from the National Vietnam Veterans Readjustment Study. Brunner/Mazel.

Landis, D., Dansby, M.R., Hoyle, M. (1997). The effects of race on procedural justice: The case of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. *Armed Forces & Society*, 24(2), 183-219.

Lundquist, J.H. (2008). Ethnic and gender satisfaction in the military: The effect of a meritocratic institution. *American Sociological Review*, 73(3), 477-496.

Lutz, A. (2008). Who joins the military? A look at race, class, and immigration status. *Journal of Political & Military Sociology*, 36(2), 167-188.

Mariscal, J. (2005). Homeland security, militarism, and the future of Latinos and Latinas in the United States. *Radical History Review*, 93, 39-53.

Maycock, J. (September 14, 2001). War within a war. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2001/sep/15/weekend7.weekend3

McMahon, A. (1992). Is social work racist? A content analysis of recent literature. *Social Work*, 37(6), 533-539.

Mershon, S., & Schlossman, S. L. (1998). *Foxholes and Color Lines*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Moore, B.L. (1991). African-American women in the U.S. military. *Armed Forces & Society*, 17(3), 363-384.

Morgan, M.J. (2003). The reconstruction of culture, citizenship, and military service. *Armed Forces & Society*, 29(3): 373-391.

Moskos, C. C. (1997). *All that we can be: Black leadership and racial integration the Army way*. Basic Books.

Nelson, E. C., Heath, A. C., Madden, P. A., Cooper, M. L., Dinwiddie, S. H., Bucholz, K. K. & Martin, N. G. (2002). Association between self-reported childhood sexual abuse and adverse psychosocial outcomes: Results from a twin study. *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 59(2), 139-145.

Norton, M.I. & Sommers, S.R. (2011). Whites see racism as a zero sum game that they are now loosing. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 6, 215-218.

Onkst, D.H. (1998). 'First a negro… incidentally a veteran': Black World War II veterans and

    the G.I. Bill. *Journal of Social History*, 31(3), 517-527.

Orfield, G. & Lee, C. (2005). Poverty & educational inequality. *The Civil Rights Project of*

    Harvard University.

Percy, W. (2003). Jim Crow and Uncle Same: The Tuskegee Flying Units and the U.S. Army Air

    Forces in Europe during World War II. *Journal of Military History*, 67(3), 773-810.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 49(1), 65-85.

Phillips, K. L. (2012). *War! What is it good for?: Black freedom struggles and the U.S. military*

    from World War II to Iraq. University of North Carolina Press.

Prince, C.A. (1994). Black soldiers in two world wars: `Men of Bronze' (1980) and `Liberators'

    (1992). *Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television*, 14(4), 467-475.

Proctor, E. K., & Davis, L. E. (1994). The challenge of racial difference: Skills for clinical

    practice. *Social Work*, 39(3), 314-323.

Quester, A. O., & Gilroy, C. L. (2002). Women and minorities in America's volunteer military.

    Contemporary Economic Policy, 20(2), 111-121.

Rostker, B.D. & Yeh, K.C. (2006). I want you!: the evolution of the All-Volunteer Force. *Rand*

    Corporation.

Rhode, N. & Guest, R. (2013). Multidimensional racial inequality in the U.S. *Social Indicators*

    Research, 114(2), 591-605.

Saldin, R.P. (2011). Strange bedfellows. *World Affairs*, 173(6), 57-66.

Samito, C.G. (2007). The intersection between military justice and equal rights: Mutinies, courts-

    martial and Black Civil War soldiers. *Civil War History*, 53(2), 170-202.

Seeborg, M.C. (1994). Race, poverty, and enlistment: Some evidence from the national

      longitudinal survey of youth. *Journal of Economics* 20(1), 15-24.

Segal, D.R. & Segal, M.W. (2004). America's military population. *Population Bulletin*, 59(4), 1-

      40.

Selective Service Act, Pub. L. 65-12, 40 Stat. 76 (1917).

Selective Service and Training Act (Burke-Wadsworth Act), Pub. L. 76-783, 54, Stat. 885

      (1940).

Selig, R. (n.d.) African-Americans in the Continental Army and the state militias during the

      American war of independence. *American Revolution Center*. Retrieved from http://

      americanrevolutioncenter.org/reflections/african-americans-continental-army-and-state-

      militias-during-american-war-independence.

Settles, I.H., Buchannan, N.T., Colar, B.K. (2010). The impact of race and rank on the sexual

      harassment of black and white men in the U.S. military. *Psychology of Men &*

      Masculinity, 13(3).

Shay, J. (2010). *Achilles in Vietnam: Combat trauma and the undoing of character*. Simon and

      Schuster.

Starnes, T. (October 31 2013). Pentagon training manual: White males have unfair advantage.

      Fox News. Retrieved from http://www.foxnews.com/opinion/2013/10/31/pentagon-

      training-manual-white-males-have-unfair-advantages.

Smith, S.A. (2008). The crisis in the great war: W. E. B. Du Bois and his perception of African-

      American participation in World War I. *Historian*, 70(2), 239-262.

Suchet, M. (2004). A relational encounter with race. *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*, 14, 423-428.

Sue, D. W., Nadal, K. L., Capodilupo, C. M., Lin, A. I., Torino, G. C., & Rivera, D. P. (2008). Racial microaggressions against Black Americans: Implications for counseling. *Journal of Counseling & Development*, 86(3), 330-338.

Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: implications for clinical practice. *American Psychologist*, 62(4), 271.

Taylor, B. (2012). A politics of service. *Civil War History*, 58(4), 451-480.

Thomas, J. A. (1976). Changes in black and white perceptions of the Army's race relations/equal opportunity programs--1972 to 1974. *Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences*, Arlington, VA.

United States Department of the Army (2014). Commanders equal opportunity handbook. Retrieved from http://www.uscg.mil/civilrights/History_files/ArmyEOHandbook.pdf.

Vaught, S. E. (2012). Institutional racist melancholia: A structural understanding of grief and power in schooling. *Harvard Educational Review*, 82(1), 52-77.

Warner, J. T., Miller III, J. C., & Asch, B. J. (2008, January). Economics and the All-Volunteer Force. In *American Economic Association Meeting*, 5.

Westheider, J. E. (2007). *The African American experience in Vietnam: Brothers in arms*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Westmoreland, W. C. (1971). Military Justice: A commander's viewpoint. *American Criminal Law Review*, 10, 5.

Williams, C.L. (2007). Vanguards of the new Negro: African American veterans and post-World War I racial militancy. *Journal of African American History*, 92(3), 347-370.

Wright, E. O. (1978). Race, class, and income inequality. *American Journal of Sociology*, 83(6), 1368-1397.

Yi, K.Y. (1998). Transference and race: An intersubjective conceptualization. *Psychoanalytic Psychology*, 15(2), 245-261.

Survey Instrument

<u>Survey: Racism in the Military</u>

<u>Introduction:</u>

The following is a survey on racism in the military. These pages contain important information about informed consent, and the inclusion criteria. I am interested in recruiting veterans of the United States military for participation in my study. When I say "veteran" I mean a person who once served in the United States military, but is no longer serving (meaning active duty and reserve service members are not eligible for participation).

The data collected from this survey will be used to complete my Master's in Social Work (MSW) thesis at the Smith College School for Social Work. The results of the study may be used in publications and presentations.

This survey is anonymous (which means that no one, including myself will be able to tell if you have participated unless you choose to tell them). Participation is voluntary, and you may exit at any time. You do not have to answer every question. The survey should take you 20-30 minutes to complete, though you may take as much time as you like to complete it.

Sarah Chotkowski

Smith College School for Social Work '14

schotkowski@smith.edu

(XXX)-XXX-XXXX

Eligibility:

As previously mentioned, participation in this study is limited to veterans of the United States Military.

A veteran is defined as someone who once served in the United States military, but is no longer serving (active duty and reserve service members are not eligible for participation).

Are you a veteran of the United States Military?

□ Yes (If you select this option, you are eligible for participation in the study. Clicking this button does not mean you are agreeing to participate in the study. If you click this button you will be directed to a page with more information about the study, and the process of giving informed consent to participate)

□ No (If you select this option, you are not eligible for participation in the study)

Informed Consent:

Consent to Participate in a Research Study

Introduction:

You are being asked to be in a research study about your experiences with racism in the United States Military. You were selected as a possible participant because you are a veteran of the United States military (and are not currently serving). I ask that you read this form and ask any questions that you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

Purpose of Study:

The purpose of the study is to learn about your experience with racism in the United States military. This study is being conducted as a thesis requirement for my master's in social work degree. Ultimately, this research may be published or presented at professional conferences.

Description of the Study Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to do the following things: Answer a series of informational questions (branch of service, discharge date, gender, service as an officer or enlisted personnel, service on active-duty or reserve etc.) I will also ask you a series of questions about your experience with racist jokes, critical remarks, threats, physical violence, delays or lack of promotion and unfairness of assignments and indicate the extent to which you believe these negative events were tied to your race/ethnicity. Then I will ask you questions about your experience discussing these issues with your commanding officer.

Risks/Discomforts of Being in this Study:

This study has the following risks. First, you may experience discomfort thinking about your time in the military and/or your experience with racism if these are topics you have strong feelings about. There are no other foreseeable (or expected) risks.

Benefits of Being in the Study:

The benefits of participation are having an opportunity to give feedback on your experience in the military and the extent to which you believe your experience was related to racism on the basis of your race or ethnicity. You may have strong feelings about this topic and it may feel productive to write about them. Your feedback will be used to inform and educate other social workers and health professionals about your experience as a veteran. If professionals are better educated about your experience, they may provide better care to you, or subsequent generations of veterans. The benefits to social work and society are a potentially greater, more nuanced

understanding of the way racism interacts with military culture and how this may affect the well-being of veterans. This feedback will be used to inform other social workers and health professionals, which may improve the quality of care you receive as a veteran. The benefits to social work and society are a potentially greater, more nuanced understanding of the way racism interacts with military culture and how this affects the well-being of veterans.

Confidentiality:

This study is anonymous. I will not be collecting or retaining any information about your identity. If you are taking the survey on-line I will not collect your IP address. The records of this study will be kept strictly confidential. Research records will be kept in a secured file and all electronic information will be coded and secured using a password protected file. I will not include any information in any report we may publish that would make it possible to identify you. The data will be kept for at least 3 years according to Federal regulations. They may be kept longer if still needed for research. After the three years, or whenever the data are no longer being used, all data will be destroyed.

Payments:

You will not receive any financial payment for your participation.

Right to Refuse or Withdraw:

The decision to participate in this study is entirely up to you. You may refuse to take part in the study at any time without affecting your relationship with the researchers of this study or Smith College. Your decision to refuse will not result in any loss of benefits (including access to services) to which you are otherwise entitled. You have the right not to answer any single question, as well as to withdraw completely. If you choose to withdraw, I will not use any of your information collected for this study. Because the study is anonymous you will not be able to withdraw from the study once you have submitted your answers (on-line or in person) because I will not know which response is yours, and therefore not be able to remove it from the data set. If you wish to withdraw, you must do so prior to submitting your survey.

Right to Ask Questions and Report Concerns:

You have the right to ask questions about this research study and to have those questions answered by me before, during or after the research. If you have any further questions about the study, at any time feel free to contact me, Sarah Chotkowski at schotkowski@smith.edu or by telephone (XXX) XXX-XXXX. If you like, a summary of the results of the study will be sent to you. If you have any other concerns about your rights as a research participant, or if you have

any problems as a result of your participation, you may contact the Chair of the Smith College School for Social Work Human Subjects Committee at (413) 585-7974.

Consent:

Clicking "I ACCEPT" below indicates that you have decided to volunteer as a research participant for this study, and that you have read and understood the information provided above. If you are filling out a copy of this survey on-line, we recommend making a copy of this page for your records.

Having read the previous material, do you consent to participate?

□ I ACCEPT (click this option if you have read the above material and agree to participate in this study)

□ I DECLINE (click this option if you have read the above material and decline to participate)

For the remainder of the study please use the following options to navigate your way through the survey:

Click the Next button to continue to the next page.
Click the Previous button to return to the previous page.
Click the Exit the Survey Early button if you need to exit the survey.
Click the Done button to submit your survey.

Remember, you do not have to answer every question, and you may exit the answer at any time. However, because the survey is anonymous it will not be possible to delete or withdraw your answers once you have clicked "Done" and submitted the survey.

Survey: Racism in the Military

The following is a 22-item survey that will ask you questions about your time in the military and the racism you may have experienced. Please answer to the best of your ability, you do not have to answer every question.

A.) Please choose the race/ethnicity that best describes how you identify
○ African American/Black
○ American Indian/Native Alaskan
○ Asian
○ Bi and/or multiracial
○ Caucasian/White
○ Latino/Latina and/or Hispanic
○ Pacific Islander
○ Other: _____ (please describe)

B.) What is your self-identified gender?
○ Female
○ Male
○ Other: _____ (please describe)

The following questions pertain to your military history, please answer to the best of your ability:

1.) Please enter the dates of the your military service (in years): _____ to _____
      Example: 2004-2009

2.) What branch of the military did you serve in? (if you served in more than one branch, please select the one in which you spent the most time)
○ Army   ○ Air Force   ○ Marine Corps
○ Navy   ○ Coast Guard   ○ National Guard

3.) Do you consider yourself to be a combat veteran?
○ yes
○ no

4.) During your time in the military were you an officer or enlisted personnel? (If you spent time as both, which did you spend more time as?)
○ Enlisted
○ Officer
○ Warrant Officer

5.) If racism is defined as "prejudice against someone based on their skin color or ethnicity" or "negative stereotypes of others based on racial characteristics" did you personally experience racism while in the military?
○ yes
○ no

5.) Racist jokes were made about me or members of my identified racial and/or ethnic group
○ I never experienced this
○ I rarely experienced this
○ I sometimes experienced this
○ I experienced this often
○ I always experienced this

6.) Unfair, hurtful, rude, or critical remarks were made about me or members of my identified racial and/or ethnic group
○ I never experienced this
○ I rarely experienced this
○ I sometimes experienced this
○ I experienced this often
○ I always experienced this

7.) Threats to my safety, comfort, job, family, and/or overall wellbeing were made to me or members of my identified racial or ethnic group because of my race and/or ethnicity
○ I never experienced this
○ I rarely experienced this
○ I sometimes experienced this
○ I experienced this often
○ I always experienced this

8.) I was the target of physical assault because of my identified race and/or ethnicity
○ I never experienced this
○ I rarely experienced this
○ I sometimes experienced this
○ I experienced this often
○ I always experienced this

9.) I was passed over for promotion or my promotion was delayed because of my identified race and/or ethnicity
○ I never experienced this
○ I rarely experienced this
○ I sometimes experienced this
○ I experienced this often
○ I always experienced this

10.) I was given assignments that were unfair or more unpleasant than what others in my unit received on the basis of my identified race and/or ethnicity
○ I never experienced this
○ I rarely experienced this
○ I sometimes experienced this
○ I experienced this often
○ I always experienced this

11.) If you experienced racism, did you discuss the issue with your commanding officer?
○ I never brought issues of racism to my commanding officer
○ I rarely brought issues of racism to my commanding officer
○ I sometimes brought issues of racism to my commanding officer
○ I often brought issues of racism to my commanding officer
○ I always brought issues of racism to my commanding officer

12.) When you brought issues of racism to you commanding officer, did he or she intervene in a way that you found helpful? (helpful in the sense that you felt your CO listened to you in a manner that you found supportive, AND intervened in a way that led to a change in the situation)

○ I did not bring issues of racism to my commanding officer
○ I never found their response to be helpful
○ I rarely found their response to be helpful
○ I sometimes found their response to be helpful
○ I often found their response helpful
○ I always found their response helpful

13.) Do you feel your commanding officer was racist and/or engaged in racist behavior?
○ I do not feel my commanding officer was racist
○ I feel my commanding officer was rarely racist
○ I feel my commanding officer was sometimes racist
○ I feel like my commanding officer was often racist
○ I feel like my commanding officer was always racist

14.) If you were in command of other soldiers, did you feel as though your authority was disrespected because of your identified race or ethnicity?
○ I was never in command of other soldiers
○ I never felt my authority was disrespected because of my race or ethnicity
○ I rarely felt my authority was disrespected because of my race or ethnicity
○ I sometimes felt my authority was disrespected because of my race or ethnicity
○ I often felt my authority was disrespected because of my race or ethnicity
○ I always felt my authority was disrespected because of my race or ethnicity

16.) During your time in the military, did different races/ethnicities of people spend portions of their free time together?

○ People of different races never spent free time together
○ People of different races rarely spent free time together
○ People of different races sometimes spent free time together
○ People of different races often spent free time together
○ People of different races always spent free time together

15.)   What influence did racism have on your unit's overall cohesion (the extent to which you
        all got along and worked well together) and productivity?
○ I do not feel racism had a negative effect on our cohesion and productivity
○ I feel racism rarely had a negative effect on our cohesion and productivity
○ I feel racism sometimes had a negative effect on our cohesion and productivity
○ I feel racism often had a negative effect on our cohesion and productivity
○ I feel racism always had a negative effect on our cohesion and productivity

16.)   As a civilian (civilian = someone who is no longer serving in the military in any capacity)
        have you personally experienced racism on the basis of your race or ethnicity?
○ I have never experienced racism as a civilian
○ I have rarely experienced racism as a civilian
○ I have sometimes experienced racism as a civilian
○ I have often experienced racism as a civilian
○ I have always experienced racism as a civilian

19.) In your personal opinion, how does racism in the military compare to racism in the civilian
sector?
 ○ There is more racism in the military
○ There is less racism in the military
○ There are about equal amount of racism in the military and the civilian sector
○ There is no racism in either the military or the civilian sector

17.)   Do you have any additional comments about racism in the military that you would like to
        add? If so, please use the box below.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

You have completed the survey "Racism in the Military" please take a moment to review your responses before clicking "Done". Due to the fact that the survey is anonymous, you will not be able to change, delete, or withdraw your answers once you have clicked "Done"

□ DONE (I have reviewed my answers and am ready to submit them)

Thank You:

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. Your feedback will be used to help me complete my thesis about racism in military which is part of the requirements to earn a Masters in Social Work from Smith College School for Social Work. If you have any additional comments or questions about the survey, or you would like information about the results of the survey, please do not hesitate to contact me at schotkowski@smith.edu or (XXX) XXX-XXXX. And finally, thank you for your service!

Resources:

As previously mentioned, you may experience some discomfort reflecting on racism and your military experience. I have included some resources that you might find helpful should you wish to speak to someone:

Veteran's Crisis Line: (**1-800-273-8255** – press 1)
Free, confidential support for Veterans in crisis and their families and friends.

VA Medical Centers:

VA Medical Center – West Haven, CT
950 Campbell Ave, West Haven, CT 06516
(203) 932-5711
Psychiatric emergency room: extension 4471 or 4472

VA Medical Center – Newington, CT
555 Willard Ave, Newington, CT 06111
(860) 666-6951

VA Medical Center – Leeds, MA
421 N Main St, Leeds, MA 01053
(413) 584-4040

Community Based Outpatient Clinics:

Danbury CBOC
7 Germantown Rd. Suite 2B
Danbury, CT 06810
(203) 798-8422

Stamford CBOC
1275 Summer St.
Stamford, CT 06905
(203) 325-0649

New London CBOC
4 Shaw's Cove, Suite 101
New London, CT 06320
(860) 437-3611

Waterbury CBOC
95 Scoville St.
Waterbury, CT 06706
(203) 465-5292

Willimantic CBOC
1320 Main St.
Willimantic, CT 06226
(860) 450-7583

Winsted CBOC
115 Spencer St.
Winsted, CT 06098
(860) 738-6985

Vet Centers:

Danbury Vet Center
457 North Main St.
Danbury, CT 06811
(203) 790-4000

New Haven Vet Center
141 Captain Thomas Blvd.
West Haven, CT 06506
(203) 932-9899

Hartford Vet Center
25 Elm St. Suite A
Rocky Hill, CT 06067

Norwich Vet Center
2 Cliff St.
Norwich, CT 06360

Appendix B

Facebook Post

Hi friends and friends of friends! I'm looking for help disseminating my thesis survey. I am writing about racism in the military and am interested in surveying veterans (people who have served, but are no longer serving in any capacity) of the United States Military. A link to the survey is attached to this post, the study is anonymous and participation is voluntary. If you meet eligibility criteria and are interested in participating please follow the link for more information.

https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/militaryracism

I would also greatly appreciate your help passing the survey along to people you know who meet eligibility criteria.

Thanks a bunch!

- Sarah

Appendix C

HSR Approval Letter

SMITH COLLEGE

School for Social Work
Smith College
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063
T (413) 585-7950   F (413) 585-7994

February 4, 2014

Sarah Chotkowski

Dear Sarah,

You did a very nice job on your revisions. Your project is now approved by the Human
Subjects Review Committee.

Please note the following requirements:

Consent Forms: All subjects should be given a copy of the consent form.

Maintaining Data: You must retain all data and other documents for at least three (3) years past completion of the research activity.

In addition, these requirements may also be applicable:

Amendments: If you wish to change any aspect of the study (such as design, procedures, consent forms or subject population), please submit these changes to the Committee.

Renewal: You are required to apply for renewal of approval every year for as long as the study is active.

Completion: You are required to notify the Chair of the Human Subjects Review Committee when your study is completed (data collection finished). This requirement is met by completion of the thesis project during the Third Summer.

Congratulations and our best wishes on your interesting study.

Sincerely,

Elaine Kersten, Ed.D.
Co-Chair, Human Subjects Review Committee

CC: Claudia Bepko, Research Advisor

Appendix D

HSR Approval of Revisions Letter

SMITH COLLEGE

School for Social Work
Smith College
Northampton, Massachusetts 01063
T (413) 585-7950   F (413) 585-7994

February 27, 2014

Sarah Chotkowski

Dear Sarah,

I have reviewed your amendment and it looks fine. The amendment to your study is therefore approved. Thank you and best of luck with your project.

Sincerely,

Elaine Kersten, Ed.D.
Co-Chair, Human Subjects Review Committee

CC: Claudia Bepko, Research Advisor

Appendix E

Recruitment Email Sent to UCONN Student Veterans

Hi UCONN veterans. My name is Sarah Chotkowski, and I'm writing a thesis about racism and racial integration in the United States military as part of my Masters in Social Work at the Smith College School for Social Work (Northampton, MA). The military and veterans are near and dear to my heart, it's my hope to secure a commission in the United States Air Force (once I get my clinical license) and work as a trauma counselor. I'm looking for your help disseminating my thesis survey. I am interested in surveying veterans (people who have served, but are no longer serving in any capacity) of the United States Military. A link to the survey is attached to below, the study is anonymous and participation is voluntary. If you meet eligibility criteria and are interested in participating please follow the link for more information.

https://www.surveymonkey.com/s/militaryracism

If you know anyone who is eligible and might be interested in participating, please feel free to pass the information along as well. Thank you for your service and your help with my research.

Best,
    Sarah Chotkowski

Appendix F

Agency Approval Letters

February 1st 2014

Smith College
School for Social Work
Lilly Hall
Northampton, MA 01063

Attn: HSR Committee

To Whom It May Concern:

Post 594: Richard E. Hourigan Post (in Norwich, CT) gives permission for Sarah Chotkowski to recruit participants for her research at this location. We do not have a Human Subjects Review Board and, therefore, request that Smith College School for Social Work's (SSW) Human Subject Review Committee (HSR) perform a review of the research proposed by Sarah Chotkowski. VFW Post 594 will abide by the standards related to the protection of all participants in the research approved by SSW HSR Committee.

Sincerely,

Bruce Allen
Commander
Post 594 Richard E. Hourigan Post

January 31st 2014

Smith College
School for Social Work
Lilly Hall
Northampton, MA 01063

Attn: HSR committee

To Whom It May Concern:

American Legion Post 223 (Faulk-Marcolini-Newman Post in Old Saybrook, CT) give permission for Sarah Chotkowski to recruit participants for her research at this location. We do not have a Human Subjects Review Board and, therefore, request that Smith College School for Social Work's (SSW) Human Subject Review Committee (HSR) perform a review of the research proposed by Sarah Chotkowski. American Legion Post 223 will abide by the standards related to the protection of all participants in the research approved by the SSW HSR Committee.

Sincerely,

Name: Jon Vilksb

Position: Post Commander SP

American Legion Post 223 (Faulk-Marcolini-Newman Post in Old Saybrook, CT)
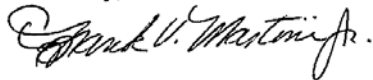
February 12th 2014

Smith College
School for Social Work
Lilly Hall
Northampton, MA 01063

Attn: HSR Committee

To Whom It May Concern:

VFW Post 1840: Middletown Post gives permission for Sarah Chotkowski to recruit participants for her research at this location. We do not have a Human Subjects Review Board and, therefore, request that Smith College School for Social Work's (SSW) Human Subject Review Committee (HSR) perform a review of the research proposed by Sarah Chotkowski. VFW Post 10060: Montville Memorial Post will abide by the standards related to the protection of all participants in the research approved by SSW HSR Committee.

Sincerely,

Frank Martini
Commander
Post 1840: Middletown Post
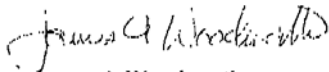
January 28, 2014

Smith College
School for Social Work
Lilly Hall
Northampton, MA 01063

Attn: HSR Committee

To Whom It May Concern:

Higganum Haddam Memorial VFW Post 10690 gives permission for Sarah Chotkowski to
recruit participants for her research at this location. We do not have a Human Subjects Review
Board and, therefore, request that Smith College School for Social Work's (SSW) Human
Subject Review Committee (HSR) perform a review of the research proposed by Sarah
Chotkowski Higganum Haddam Memorial VFW Post 10690 will abide by the standards related
to the protection of all participants in the research approved by SSW HSR Committee.

Sincerely,

James A Woodworth
Quartermaster / Adjutant
Higganum Haddam Memorial VFW Post 10690

February 25, 2014

Smith College
School for Social Work
Lilly Hall
Northampton, MA 01063

Attn: HSR Committee

To Whom It May Concern:

The University of Connecticut's Office of Veterans Affairs and Military Programs gives permission for Sarah Chotkowski to recruit participants for her research at this location. We request that Smith College School for Social Work's (SSW) Human Subject Review Committee (HSR) perform a review of the research proposed by Sarah Chotkowski. UCONN's Office of Veterans Affairs and Military Programs will abide by the standards related to the protection of all participants in the research approved by SSW HSR Committee.

Sincerely,

Kristopher E. Perry
Director
Office of Veterans Affairs and Military Programs
University of Connecticut

February 3rd 2014

Smith College
School for Social Work
Lilly Hall
Northampton, MA 01063

Attn: HSR Committee

To Whom It May Concern:

VFW Post 4608 A R Evans Jr & C A Lutz Sr Post (in Ledyard, CT) gives permission for Sarah
Chotkowski to recruit participants for her research at this location. We do not have a Human
Subjects Review Board and, therefore, request that Smith College School for Social Work's
(SSW) Human Subject Review Committee (HSR) perform a review of the research proposed by
Sarah Chotkowski. VFW Post 4608 A R Evans Jr & C A Lutz Sr Post will abide by the
standards related to the protection of all participants in the research approved by SSW HSR
Committee.

Sincerely,

Merlin Evered
Commander
VFW Post 4608: A R Evans Jr & C A Lutz Sr Post